A Nooksack story from 1956, How to become an Indian doctor

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This is a story told by Sindick Jimmy in 1956 in Lhéchelesem, the original language of the Nooksack tribe. It is presented here for the first time, with each sentence transcribed in the IPA (with corrections and morpheme boundaries), in the Nooksack practical orthography (similar to that used for Upriver Halkomelem), with morpheme-by-morpheme analysis, word-by-word translation, word-by-word syntactic categories, and fluent translations. Footnotes provide comments either from or about Pamela Amoss's original notes and comments on our interpretations, retranscriptions, reanalyses, or retranslations. This is only the second story published in the language.

This is our second story, transcribed, analyzed and corrected in 2004, thanks to a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada through First Nations University of Canada and thanks to the Nooksack tribe for their continued funding of Adams and Renteria. Thanks also to two earlier grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and an earlier one from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada which allowed computer entry of copies of all the extant linguistic field notes on Nooksack by researchers, Paul Fetzer, Pamela Amoss, Laurence C. Thompson, Barbara Efrat, and Brent Galloway. The volume of field notes by Pamela Amoss from which this story comes was entered with footnotes by the late Mary Wilde, one of the research assistants who did all the data entry and a good deal of manuscript analysis.

This story is much more ambitious than the previous story of 28 sentences. This story, told by Sindick Jimmy in 1956 to Pamela Amoss is entitled “Sxwnáʔam” and is 96 sentences long (longer if each sentence we’ve analyzed with semicolons is broken into several sentences, which may be appropriate). Unlike the previous story, we were able to find a tape of the first part of the story, now copied onto CD for the tribe, as well as Pamela Thorsen Amoss’s field note transcriptions (as in our last story) with her emendations and analysis while she went through the taped story with Sindick and got the word-for-word and fluent translations. There are gaps in the interlinear she provides and, of course, since this is one of the first stories she got, there are some mistakes in transcription, analysis, and gloss.

The morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and segmentation are totally ours (mostly Galloway’s), as are the word-for-word syntactic category analysis. The three co-authors transcribed the first 20 to 30 lines together, then George Adams
transcribed all the rest of the story by himself. Galloway and Adams exchanged refinements by e-mail attachments and Renteria provided refinements to Adams on site at the Nooksack Tribal Library, which now houses their collection of papers, articles, and CDs on the language, as well as dictionaries of and grammars and articles on related Central Salish languages like Lushootseed, Halq’eméylem, and Straits.

Adams has continued to study the language and transcribe vocabulary on an almost daily basis, and now corresponds with Galloway by e-mail in the Nooksack language (Galloway struggles to keep up). We have applied for a three-year grant to continue this work and complete a classified word list, grammar, and lessons, but have not heard about funding as of this writing. Our plan is to scan the English glosses from the Upriver Halq’emeyelem Classified Word List by Galloway et al, put it in a Word file and keep in on a Yahoo site that we all will have access to to add to it from both Canada and the U.S. as we continue to make transcriptions.

A great deal can be learned from this story, both about how to become an Indian doctor and about the Lhéchelesem language. The story is lengthy enough to show many examples of relative clauses, subjunctive phrases, anaphora, topic tracking, and story and ethnographic narrative construction. There is an interesting (and sometimes difficult) interweave of narrative-and flashbacks to visions. We think we have solved most of the puzzles about this in this story, but a few still remain.

A good way to approach this as a reader is to read the English fluent translation first, then delve into the Lhéchelesem. The IPA is phonetic rather than phonemicized but the orthography is largely phonemic. The Lhéchelesem phonemes are: /p, t, (k), kw, q, qw, ?, p’, t’, k’w, q’, q’w, c, c, (Θ’), c’, c’, k’, (Θ), s, ñ, (x’), ɬ, x, x’, h, m, n, y, l, w, i, æ, θ, u, o, (a), (stress)/. Symbols in parentheses are found here only in Nooksack spoken with a slight Upriver Halkomelem accent. Our theory as to why Sindick spoke this way in 1956 was that he mainly spoke Lhéchelesem with George Swanaset at that time, who had an Upriver Halkomelem accent. Sindick’s wife was also a fluent speaker of Upriver Halkomelem, Susan (Malloway) Jimmy, as was his daughter Maria (Jimmy) Villanueva. However, soon after 1956 George Swanaset died and we think Sindick, gradually through his work with linguists, through learning more Upriver Halkomelem, and from his own reflection, gradually replaced some of the Upriver Halkomelemized forms with the more regular Lhéchelesem forms he arrived at in later recordings, which match regular sound correspondences better.

The following page has a table of abbreviations used in the morpheme-by-morpheme analysis we present.
Abbreviations used in Morpheme-by-Morpheme Analysis of Lhéchelesem (Nooksack)

- grammatical affix
  = derivational affix
  1 = first person
  2 = second person
  3 = third person
  s = singular
  p = plural
  n = nominalizer
  sb = subject
  ob = object
  sjv = subunctive
  sd = subordinate subject
  poss = possessive pronoun
  eposs = emphatic independent
    possessive pronoun
  nip = nominal independent
  pronoun
  vip = verbal independent pronoun
  obp = object of preposition,
    independent pronoun
  control transitivizers:
    mt = (=noxw) ‘happen to, manage
to accidentally do to s-o/s-th’
    cz = (=txw) ‘cause/make s-o do
s-th’
    pt = (=Vt)t ‘purposely,
to intentionally do to s-o/s-th’
    bt = (=shit) ‘benefactive,
malefactive, do for s-o,
do to/on s-o’
    iat = (=nit) ‘do indirectly affecting
s-o/s-th’
    pct = (=Vt)n ‘purposely do to
s-o/s-th + completive’
    aop = (=exy)(borrowed from
Upriver Halkomelem) ‘do to
(preferably) animate object’
    it = intransitive
    pass = passive voice
    mid = middle voice
    dem = demonstrative
    prep = preposition
    adv = adverb
    aux = auxiliary

 conj = conjunction
 Vi = intransitive verb
 Vt = transitive verb
 Asp = aspect affix
 ctv = continuative
 st = stative
 res = resultative
 dur = durative
 in = inceptive
 dispos = dispositional
 m = male
 f = female
 pv = present and visible
 nn = nearby not visible
 rem = remote, distant
 past = past tense/past deriv. affix
 fut = future tense
 rt = root
 if = infix
 der = derivational affix
 indef = indefinite
 s-t = sometimes
 s-th = something
 s-o = someone
 dim = diminutive
 irog = interrogative
 dstb = distributive, all around
 dsj = disjunctive, but, or, either, on
    the other hand
 sa = do as a structured activity
 nsd = nominalizes subordinate
    clause following
 anp = animate plural
 refl = reflexive
 rel = relative pronoun
 dirob = direct object
 indirob = indirect object
 [ - - ] inflectional infix (in IPA lines)
 [= =] derivational infix (IPA lines)
1. Lhiya snichichims/ snichim lhiq’olholh ay
+i=iyä s-ni=çi=]çim-s s-niçim t’iq’=oô-ôt æy
pv=dem n-rt=ifder-poss nmz-tell s-t=past-past ctv
this his story history used to ctv.
Dem N Adv Asp
This is his story (or) history my late grandfather used to

snichichim[t]s
ten síla70lh.
s=ni[=çi=]çim-c
t-øn síl’æ=7oô
der=rt=ifder-1sob
pv-1sposs grandfather-past
tell me
Vt PossPron 

2. [shiyä] swä?welos lhëq’olh ay chsätem wanil
s=ô=iyä sw[Åa]?wælos t’iq’=oô æy čsäe=t-øm’ wèn=il
p=pv=dem rt-ifp (a-ablaut) s-t=past ctv send=pt-pass rt=in
these young men used to ctv. sent out get up
Dem N Adv Asp Vt Vi

These young men used to have to get up and be sent out

tl’os ma oxw sho:kw’em
λ’o-s ma ox’w šñk’w-øm
dem-nsd rt go rt-mid
and to go bathe.
Conj Aux Aux Vi
to go and bathe.

3. Tl’os mas ō:m7a7 chsätem swanils.
λ’o-s mæ-s2 ʔòm’æ? čsäe=t-øm’ s-wèn=il-s
Dem-nsd rt-sd3 rt rt=pt-pass n-rt=in-sd3
so then it is early they are sent out to get up they
Conj Aux Adv Vt Vi
So then it was early they were sent to get up.

1. PTA: “[ç] transcribed but it sounds like two consonants, ts”
2. PTA: “λ’os mas” inserted here
**throughout shows GA’s corrections (which bg & cr agree with unless noted).
And they go bathe the young men and they
Conj Aux Aux Vt Art N Conj Aux
And the young men go out and bathe, and they

And they go bathe the young men
Conj Aux Aux Vt

CD: kʷʷ= i  c'ixʷ=nit-əm  λ' o-s  mæ  ?əl-ʔəliy=ni-æs  kʷ  s=tæm=əs
PA: kʷi  c'ixʷnitəm  4əq'  mæ-ɬ  ʔəliyniæs  kʷ  stæmos
rem=pt=iat-pass  s-t  rt=pass  p-rt=iat-sb3  rt  n=irog=ind
they be pitied used to he dreams about it repeatedly something
Art Vt  Adv Aux Vt  Art  N

those that are pitied, then he used to dream repeatedly about something,

lhiyá te  temixw  welhtách lhiyá temixw;  noxwayʔem7.
t=iyé te  temixʷ  wεl=téč  t=iyé temixʷ  noxʷ=æyʔ=əm?
p=DEM pv  rt  eposs=3  pv=DEM rt  always=good=strength
this the earth belongs to this earth powerful
Dem Art  N  PossPron Dem  N  Vi

that it belongs to this earth, that is on this earth, which is powerful.

5. Ti'os mas  lheq’s  óxʷ  chsátem  ti  swówelos
λ' o-s  mæ-s³  4əq'-s  óxʷ  čsá=t-əm  t=i  s=w[á]wəlos
Dem-nsd rt=sd3  s-t=sd3  rt  rt=pt-pass  pv=rt  n=rt-ifp
that is it comes s-t they go get sent out the(plural) young men
Conj Aux  Adv Aux  Vt  Art  N

That is why sometimes the young men get sent out

kwa  shókw'em  tl'os mas  hawʔkwaʔil  kw  mekw' stáms
kʷʷ=  sókʷ=əm  λ' o-s  mæ-s  h=awʔkʷʷ=əlʔ  kʷ  mækʷ  s=tæm=s
conj  rt-mid  dem-nsd rt=sd3  der=neg=in  rem  rt  n=irog=der
to bathe then so it is none/gone the all thing
Conj Vi  Conj Aux  Vi  Art  Adj  N

to bathe so everything (B.O. human odor) will be gone from

i  tematl'ó  swíʔwelos..
i  tə=mæ=λ'ó  s=wiʔwelos
rt  pv=aux=DEM  n=rt
of/from/on that young man
Prep  DemPron  N

from that young man (his body).

3. "λ'os mæ" written above "λ'ó·i4" as SJ’s correction of what was on tape.

6. Ilh  kwem  kw néch'o  skwy'al  tl'os mas  óxʷ  imashnitas
i4  kʷəml  kʷ  néč' o  s=kʷęy(=)əl  λ' o-s  mæ-s  óxʷ  imæs=nit-əs
rt  fut  rem  rt  n=rt(=in)  dem-nsd rt=sd3  rt  Rt=iat-sb3
there will be the one day then he'll go out walk for it
Aux Tns Art Num N Conj Aux Aux Vt
There will be one day then he will go out and walk for it
sliyis swa7alt; imash.
s=4=iyæ-s s=waæælt im=æs
p= pv= dem-sd3 n= rt step=upright
then he walks
Dem N Vi
(in) these woods; he walks.

Then he'll go near/go to a certain lake.
Conj Aux Aux Vi Art Num N

Then it will be there that he's camping.
Conj Aux Dem Conj Asp N

He has no food, no food of any kind; it's just finished
Vneg N Vneg N N Adv Vi

4. "i4 k"øm" written on top of "i4 mæ4" (latter is said on the tape [now on CD])*. Bracketed words here are not on the CD

kws [tl'os lhiyas] tl'os mas elliye; [áliyenitas]*; oxwnitas
k"-s ʎ'ø-s 4=iyæ-s ʎ'ø-s mæ-s éliyø éliyø=nit-æs ox"=nit-øs
rem-sd3 dem-nsd pv= dem-sd3 rt-nsd rt-sd3 rt rt=iat-sb3 rt=iat-sb3
that then it's here that he comes to dream he dreams about it it goes to him
Conj Conj Vdem Conj Aux Vi Vt Vt.
so that it’s here that he’ll dream; he dreams about it; he goes after it

nánatoxw.
naé[=næ=]t=oxʷ
night=dimif=goes
early morning before dawn (lit. “night goes a little”)
Adv
early morning before dawn.

10. Tl’os mas oxʷ shókw’em.
λ’o-s máe-s oxʷ sókʷʷ-θm
dem-nsd rt-sd3 rt rt-mid
Then he goes out bathe
Conj Aux Aux Vi
Then he goes out to bathe.

11. Oxʷ xwnánatil.
óxʷ xʷ=naé[=næ=]t=il
Vi toward=night=dimif=goes
goes toward morning
Vi Adv
He goes toward morning.

12. Tl’os mas oxʷ te cháwchaw tis te húc’em.
λ’o-s máe-s oxʷ* te čáw=čaw tis te húc’em
dem-nsd rt-sd3 rt pv disposder=rt rt pv rt
then he’ll go out to the shore/middle near the water
Conj Aux Aux Art N Prep Art N
Then he will go to the shore/middle next to the water.

13. Tl’os mas néq’em txwta húc’em ilh kw stam ay
λ’o-s máe-s néq-əm txʷ=tæ húc’em⁵ it kʷ s=tem æy
dem-nsd rt-sd3 rt-mid toward=the rt rt rt pv n=irog rt
then he’ll dive toward the water for the something ctv
Conj Aux Vi Prep=Art N Prep Art N Asp
Then he’ll dive toward the water for something (that )

5. PTA “lq’ámtxʷtæ húc’em” is written over “néq’em”; GA notes LG “niqim” ‘dive’.
yálx⁵tis qe(y) ilhas s7áliya q(w?)ilhas shxwná7am.
yəl=χ=t-is qey i4-ės s=7éliyə q(w⁵)-i4-ės šxʷ=naéʔəm
rt=dstb=pt-sb3 disj aux-sjv³ n=rt disj-aux-sjv³ n=rt
he’s looking for either it’s spirit power or it’s Indian doctor power
Vt Conj Aux N Conj N
he is looking for, whether it is a spirit power or an Indian doctor power (song).
14. Ti'o ma imashnitem kw nench'ó swiwelos;
¡'ó- mae imaš=nit-əm kʷ nə=nɛ'ó s=wi=wełos
rt rt rt=iat-pass rem personclassifier=one n=dim?=rt
it's that it is walked for the one person young man
Dem Aux Vt Art Num N
That is what this one young man walks for;

ilh asista te ay selátstsots lhiyá
i t es=istæ t æy selécots ↔=iy̓á
Aux st=like pv rt (uncertain) pv=dem
it's is like the ctv what doing these
Aux Vi Art Asp Vi Dem
it's like what these white people are doing

xwenitem ilh ay tsó:nem, “tókte7.”
xʷitəm* i t æy có=on-əm tátktə?
rt rt rt rt=pct-pass rt
white person on/for ctv be called “doctor”
N Prep Asp Vt N
for being called “doctor.”

15. Ti'o ta= welhtáchsolh nasol7á tematl'ó
λ'ó tə= we=tɛqs[ oʃʷ nasol7á·]* tə=mæ=λ'ó
rt pv= eposs=3-past rt?
that was his own way he/that
Dem IndepPossPron N Dem Pron
That was his own way for that

swiwelos ilh may oxw imash kws kwénoxs ks kw
s=wi=wełos i t mæ (ə) y oxʷ ímaš kʷ-ʃ kʷén=(n)oxʷ-ə s kʷ
n=dim?=rt rt rt-rt rt stem rem-nsd rt=mt-sd3 rem
young man go walk that he receives it the
N Conj Aux-Asp Aux Vi Conj Vt Art
young man to go out about walking in order to/so that he receives

*Halq'eméylem accent for xwenitem. *bracketed parts not on CD.
6. “welhtáchšs” “belongs to him” is written over this word

stám nahelins kwá7a stetsós xelh sti7ixw.
s=tæm na=helî=ng kʷ-ɛʔæ-s s=təcóg [xət]** s=tiʔixʷ
n=irog der=alive=sa rem-poss2s n=rt rt n=rt
something to heal the (your) poor sick people
N Vi Art N/Adj Adj N
something to heal the poor sick people.

16. Emís kwem kwénoxs kws kw stám[es]
əmí-s kʷəm kʷén=(n)oxʷ-ɛs kʷ7 s=tæm[əs]
When it comes, he will get a certain kind of spirit power/vision,

s7áliye ilhas ha7lh stam s7áliye;
s=7éliye θ i=7-θ s=θ=áliye
n=dream(Vi) rt-sjv3 rt n=irot n=dream/have a vision

spirit power if it's good kind of spirit power
N Aux Adj N/Pron N
if it is a good kind of spirit power/vision,

17. Tl'os mas ilh ha7lh kw s7aháys
λ'o-s ma=7=9 i=7 hæ?=7 k"w s=7eháy-s
rt-nsd aux-sb3 rt rt rem n=Vi-poss3
then it comes to is be good the his work
Conj Aux Aux Vi Art N
then his work comes to be/will be good.

18. Mis eháynites te ilh xelh.
mi-s ?aháy-nit-θ θ i=7 x=9
rt-sjv3 rt=iat-sb3 pv in=past rt
when he comes he works on them the (past) sick
Aux Vt Art Tns Vi
When he comes he will do work on the sick.

19. Tl'o malhtem te stam qel s7éliye kwonoxwas
λ'o ma=t-tœm θ qœl s=tœm10 s=7éliye k"on=(n)ox"-œs
rt dsj-st pv rt n=irot rt=mt-sb3
but if it be a some kind of bad spirit power [he got]
Conj Conj Art Adj Adj N Vt
But if he gets some kind of bad spirit power

7. PTA has "(?)" here; 8. PTA has crossed out this word; 9. PTA has "k"i=7 x"œnax"œs k"sk'ox?n" above, here, but this too is in error, perhaps for k" i=4 k"œnax"œs k" sk"œs 'the name that he got';
10. There is an arrow here that seems to indicate that the previous two words should be reversed.

me7 hoy kws ay q'oyotas te noxwttetso s7ihxw.
me7 hoy k"-s aœ q'oy=ot-œs θ noxw"w11=œc=s s=7ihx"-s
rt rt rem-sd3 pv rt die=pt-sb3 pv always=poor n=rt-poss3
just it ends that he cvm he kills them the poor his people
Adv Vi Conj Asp Vt Art Adj N
then it just ends up that he is killing his poor people.

20. [Tl'o malh] asista tiye ta höysolh; [asista tiye ta lhéq'olh
λ'o ma=t es=istœ t=iy œ tœ höys-o=412 es=ista t=iy œ tœ |q"=o=4
rt dsj st=rt pv=dm pv finish-sd3-past st=rt pv=dm pv s=t=past
and so it's like this what he finished it's like this the/what used to
And so it's like this, what he finished; it's like this what used to be

Ihaq’solh (te ilholh höy) swá[l]ayolhchalh te ilh oxw.
†æq’-s-ô† (te i=ô† höy) s=wa[-la]-y-ô†-çæ† te i=ô† oxw
rt-sd3-past (pv rt=past=already rt) n=rt-p-past-poss lp pv in-past rt
back of old ones -our who past go
Vi/Adv Art Tns Vi N Rel Tns Vi
in back of/behind (what they did), our old ones that went on/are gone.

*Text in square brackets is not on the tape/CD & was added as SJ & PTA transcribed.

21.[Mekw’ wat]***haw7kwa7i17 te swalayólchahl/[yewánesólchahl]
[meók”=wät h=âw?k”=ae=î17 te s=waéley-ô†-çæ†13a/[yewán-ôs-ô†-çæ†]
all/every=what der=neg=in pV n=rt-past-poss lp/Vi-sb3-past-poss lp
everyone gone to none the our old ones/our ones that were first/before
PromV Vi Art N

Our old peoples are all gone now

**Reinterpretation first suggested by GA; like most, one BG & CR agree with.

[qey tl’òg ma] ay chsátem te swőwelos; weni:î7;
qey l’ô’s mê13b âey ñsé=t-êm to s=w[-Aâ-]7welos wên=i:î7
dsj dem-sd3 rt rt rt=past-pass pv n=rt-p rt=in
that’s why ctv are sent the young men get up
Conj dem aux Asp Vt Art N Vi
that is why the young men are being sent; they get up

12. PTA= "deff not χ" (definitely not χ, this supports our correction to [h]
13a. PTA has "yewánesôfçæ" above this word and a "{" before both; [bg: UHk has
[fû"swáléy]’parent(s), so Nk cognate, [swáléyôf] with -ôf ‘past, deceased’ may be
better ‘ancestors’
13b. PTA has "kæy l’ô’s mê" above k/ws oxw’s

22.Tl’os ma oxw shókw’em.
l’ô-s mê oxw šók”w-êm
rt-sd3 rt rt rt-mid
and they come to go bathe
Conj Aux Aux Vi
And they go bathe.

23.[Ilh mel7 nech’ixw**] ilh kwa stam
i=ô mell? nëç’=éxw i=ô k”ae s=têm
rt=past rt one=îme it’s indef n=irog
it was just once it was the certain
Tns Adv NumAdv Tns Art N
[It was just once] there was a certain one.
**GA’s suggestion, as LG pronounces it on tapes/now also on CDs
q-őwae i=-t=s es=-θi: k"-s øhøy nø=nč'ő
Conj neg rt-past-sjv3 st=fix rem-sd3 rt person=one
but wasn't if it was fixed that he worked one person
Conj Vneg Tns Vstative Conj Vi Num
but if wasn't fixed/made that he worked (i.e. kept busy), one person,

Rech'áxw mel7 óxw til slálam7 kws óxw 7as7lewil7.
nech'áxw mel7 óxw til slálam7 kws óxw 7es-7lew-il7?
oness=aexw mel7 óxw til slálam7 kws óxw 7es-7lew-il7?
one=time rt go=der n=rt-poss3 rem-sd3 rt st=in hollow=go(in.)
once, just go outside his house that he go be hidden
NumAdv Adv Vi N Conj Aux Vi
once, he just went outside his house to go hide.

25. Mel7 hoy tewelhtách ta slálam7s s7áliye.
Mel7 hoy tø=weθ=tač tæ s=lálam-s s=7éliyø
rt rt pv=eposs=3 pv n=rt-poss3 n=dream/ vision
that's why belongs to that (the) house spirit/spirit power
just finish belongs to that the his house/house of spirit power
Adv Vi PossPronV Art N
It just ends up the spirit power belongs to the house. (or)
That's why he/it belongs to the house of spirit power/the house spirit.

26. Kwénoxwas asista tiye lhéq’olh ay snichichims te
CD:k"=ć=nl ox"-es es=ístæ t=iyø 7éq’=o4 14 æy s=n[i=ci=]şim-s tø
rt=mt-sb3 st=rt pv=dem s-t=past rt der=rt=der-sd3 pv
he got it like this used to tell it the
Vt Adv Dem Adv Asp Vi Art
He got it like this, our old peoples used to tell us.
14. There is an arrow here apparently indicating "esistæ tiyø" should follow "+e;k’ot"
swalayólhchalh.
CD: swaley=út-ćæt
PTA: s=wáleyo+ ćæt
n=rt=pass-poss1p
old peoples/ancestors past -our
N-Pron

27. Lhéq’solh asista tiye kw ósonem.
7éq’-s-ot4 es=į-stæ t=iyø k" ós=on-øm
s-t-sb3-past st=rt pv=dem rem rt=pct-pass
used to like this what they were taught
Adv Vi Dem Art Vt
What they were taught used to be like this.

28. Ö7sonas ta stá7awelhs kw swágwelos
They taught their children (that) young men

kwénoxw** ta ha7lhs.
k"ón=(n)ox w15 tæ hæ?4-s
rt=mt pv rt-poss3
get them the their good (ones)
Vt Art Adj
(were to) get their best (ones).

29. Kwénoxwas kw stam s7áliye.
k"ón=(n)ox"-s k" s=tæm s?éliyø
rt=mt-sb3 rem n=irog n=Vi
they get/receive it he certain spirit power
Vt Art Adj N
They got some kind of spirit power.

30. Ha71h s7áliye kw stâmes.
hæ?4 s?=éliyø k" s=tæm=øs
rt n=Vi rem n=irog=der
is good spirit power a what it is
AdjV N Art N
It is a good spirit power of some kind.

15. PTA has "k"omʔ?mi" above kəminoxʷ and "k"onoxʷ" below it
31. Ti’o mas yistis yewin7; kwénoxwas
CD:λ’ o maes yi=s=tís16 yew=in?17 (λ’o18) k"ón=(n)ox w-æs
rt Vi-sb3 anp=st=rt rt=der rt
then it comes near power to help cure/harm
Conj Aux Vi N (Conj) Vt
Then the power to help, cure or harm comes near; they get it

tulilh te hóchem kws oxws ay niqim**.
tul=it+ tæ húčem k"-s ox w-s øy løq-øm
from=in pv rt rem-nsd rt-sd3 rt rt=mid
from (in) the water when they go ctv diving
Prep Art N Conj Aux Asp Vi
from in the water when they go diving.
**GA finds this Nooksack equivalent of SJ's Halkomelem ləqəm in LG:35.06 'ducking'

32.Niqimi:nes** kw stam ilh ashelhelich’q.
ləq=əm=[Ai]=in-øs k" w19 s=tæ:m it+ øs=ṭəl=ǐč’q
He dove for something in the water (lit. "that is wet").

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>33. Ilh</th>
<th>lhiyá</th>
<th>lhéq’olh ay</th>
<th>sníchichims</th>
<th>ten</th>
<th>s7ila7olh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t=iye</td>
<td>t=óq’=o[t]</td>
<td>æy</td>
<td>s=ní[=či]=]cim-s</td>
<td>t=éen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is this used to say tell/talk the my late grandfather
Aux   Dem  Adv  Asp  Vi             Art  N

This is what my late grandfather used to tell, that

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kws</th>
<th>nench’ó</th>
<th>swiwelos</th>
<th>chståtem</th>
<th>óxwas</th>
<th>imash.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[CD:k*-s]</td>
<td>n=nc’ó</td>
<td>s=wi=welos</td>
<td>čsæ=t=žem</td>
<td>ox*-és</td>
<td>im=æs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

rem-sd3 person=one n=dim=rt rt=pt-pass rt-sjv3 rt=der
[that he] a certain young man be sent out go walk
Conj  Num  N  Vt  Aux  Vi

that one/a certain young man was sent out to go walk.

16. PTA has something above this word, but we can't make it out
17. PTA has "šiwił? *(x" (Halk) above this word and "siwin?" [Lummi] below it; Jimmy says this is (4) [Lheechelem/Nooksack], conflicts with G.S. says Lummis call it siwin?
18. PTA has round brackets around this word and a "?" above it
19. This word is faint and may have been erased
34. [Imashnitas]20 te xách’o; tl’os mas ilh oxw: tiya
CD: im=æs=nit-æs tə xáč’o ə’o-s mæ-s i=4 ox” t-iyae
step=upright=iat-sb3 pv rt conj-nsd aux-sd3 aux-past rt nn=dam
he walks for it the lake then so he past go that
Vt  Art  N  Conj  Aux  Tns  Aux  Dem

He walks for it at the lake; then we went, that

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nanch’ó7</th>
<th>swiwelos; [imash*; tl’os mas*] shókw’em</th>
<th>txwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CD: n=æ’ó</td>
<td>s=wi=welos əs]su [Uh]</td>
<td>šök*=emma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person=one</td>
<td>n=dim=rt  [step=upright conj-nsd rt-sd3]</td>
<td>rt=mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one person</td>
<td>young man walk then he bathes at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Num</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Vi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

certain young man; he walked; then he would bathe at
*not on CD, but in PTA notes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>qélem (txwta)/ilh</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>nách’o(7)</th>
<th>xách’o(7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CD: q’élem tx”táe 21</td>
<td>tə</td>
<td>néč’o</td>
<td>xáč’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom towards/at/in</td>
<td>pv</td>
<td>rt</td>
<td>rt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camp in the/a one lake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
camp in one/a certain lake.

Then he was dreaming about whatever

he was told, "Oh, there's nothing in me.

You go to the one/a certain lake in the/my way

over to my older sibling; it's impossible

for him when she is wet in the water; you go after her;
38. Ti'os ma niqmim:7** qey tsaw7atsotchaxw."
λ'o-s mæ lōq'=əm-i-m? qey caew'ãcot-31-čex
then so dive repeatedly and you take care of yourself
And then dive repeatedly and take care of yourself/look out for yourself."

39. Tsónem tematl'ó swíwelos, "tsaw7atsotchaxw
co=n-em te=mæ=λ'ó s=wi=wélos tsow'ãcot-čex"
be said him/this young man look after yourself
It was said to this young man, "Look after yourself

22. PTA = "(refers to speech)"
23. PTA has "caew'ãcot čex" above the first transcription "scw'ãcotcot".

40. Lhiyá kwem tens 7ísentsí tsiyitchixw mos te
4=iyé: k*em t-onz s 7óc=øn-ci ñiy=it=icì-x mos tæ
pv=dem futpv-poss ls-nsd rt=pct-obl2s rt=pt=7-sjv2s rt pv
PTA: there I'll show you make you 4[four]
there it will be the my show you if you fix four the
Dem Tns Conj Vt Vt Num Art
There I will show you how to fix the four of

41. Ti’o kwem q’q’oq’oytsí qa7waxw kwem
These will be what will kill you if you don’t watch out (for yourself).

And (also) there’s a certain big fish which will eat you,” this young man was told.

He went to walk after he woke up.
He went to it, this lake where he was sent

kw’i:nas skwáyal7 kws ays q’elem, itot, shokw’em[.]**

k’wín=ns 25
s=kʷ=ey=el kʷ-s aey-s q’él=om itot šókʷ=om

irog=cycles/rd things n=rt=in rem-nsd rt-sd3 rt=mid r t rt=mid
so many day that he cvt camp sleep bathe

Num N Conj Asp Vi Vi Vi
for so many days to go, camping, sleeping and bathing.

46. Shokw’em qey lhiya [tsiyatis]** tiye ilhas ótsentsi
šókʷ=om qey Ʉ=iyæ Ʉi=yt-is t=iyə iɄ=es òc=ən-ci
rt=mid rt pv=dem rt=pt-sb3 nn=dem rt-sd3 rt=pct-ob2s
bathed he and here he made it what if he/it shows you
Vi Conj Dem Vt Reldirob Aux-sb Vt-indirob
And he bathed and here he made “what I will show you;,

47. Ilh te nech’ó skwáyal ná:natoxw swenils [shokw’em]**
iɄ t e náec’o s=kʷ=ey=el næ=[næ=]t=oxʷ š-wən-il-s* šókʷ=om
rt pv rt n=rt=in rt=ifdim=go n-rt=insd3 rt=mid
Then, the one day in early morning he gets up baths
Conj Art Num N Adv Vi Vi
He got up in the morning one day

*cf sentence 3 above, which shows the s is an error here [Halq’emylem allophone of /s/]

ilh oxʷ xwná:natil.
iɄ oxʷ x=ץ=næ=[næ=]t=il
rt=pt-sb rt toward=night=ifdim=in
it was going just between dark and daylight
48. Tl’o’s ma ilh oxw oxwnitas
   λ’o-s mæ i=† oxw oxw=niₙ-ₐs
cconj-sd³ rt rt=past rt rt=iₙₜ-sb³
tthen so past goes to go for it
Conj Aux Tns Aux Vt
Then he went out to go after it [PTA note: used raft to get to the middle of lake]

49. Kwná:s te hikw ch’atl’e;
k’₉ʷ=ten-s tœ hik’w c’ëλ’œ
rt=?-₃sb pv rt rt
he takes a big rock
Vt Art Adj N
He takes (along) a big rock.

50. [T’ónoxwas]** kwem miyq’es [lihi:kw’shen].
t’on=(n)oxw-ès k’₉’om₂⁶ miyq’=œs ⁴i:q’esn [sic, ⁴i:’k’w=šn]
rt=mt-sb³ fut rt=ṣjv³ rt=on his foot
[he learns/knows it] will (when ) he sinks hook his foot
Vt Tns Vi Vi
Then he will know/learn when he sinks to hook his foot (to the rock by a rope).

51. Tl’o kws kwem [níqim]** ilh [o:::ts];
   λ’o k’₉’k’om léq’=œn i⁴ o[=⋯⋯]=ç
Conj rem-sd³ fut rt=mid rt rt=if (emphatic: way way way way)
tthen the he will dive in insi.....de
Conj Art Tns Vi Prep N
And he will dive in, way way way way inside;

52. Tl’o kwems melʔ ay oxwtem [kw ay]** pónoxwas
   λ’o k’₉’om-s melʔ æy (?) oxw=tøm q’ey pón=(n)oxw-ës
rt fut rt rt rt=st rel (rem) rt rt=mt-sb³
Then will he just ctv be going the ctv manage to see it
Conj Tns Adv Asp Vt Art Asp Vt
Then he will just be going around so that he will be managing to see
53. Ilholh  

That's what he was being told repeatedly.

26. This line and the next are unclear, as many illegible things are crossed out or inserted and much of it has no gloss—further study of the manuscript is needed.

54. Ti'os mas ilh kwnâ7as tiya ilhs tsônem [tsiyatis]**

Then he took out what he was told to make,

* [PTA note: a little larger than Mrs. J.'s knitting needle]

55. Ti'os tá7as  

Then your-, it comes to your hand.

56. Asóxwshit  

It's brought for the dog so that now it
27. There is an "e" above the "æ" in this word.
28. PTA has "tø)" above "tis" in this word.

57. *Xetl’enas*[tem]  kwem  [ta7a]  s-chálash]**;
57. xøλ’æ=tæn-æs=(tøm**29
rt=pcs-sb3-st  fut  pv-poss2s  n=rt
it is bitten  will  the your hand
Vt  Tns  Art  N
Your hand will be bitten

he’ll swallow the wood.

58. *Mekw’axw*  mekw’as  [qe  mekw’as]**
møk’ω-æx’*  mék’w-æs
rt-sjv2s  rt-sjv3
when you get all  when he gives them all and  when he gives them all
Vt (Vi)  Vt (Vi)  Conj  Vt (Vi)
When you get them all and when he gives them all

(you/it will) work on them dogs.

59. *Tl’os ma*  oxw  yalów;  oxwchaxw  chpónoxwchkwem
λ’o-s  mæ  òx’*  yëlåw  òx’*-çex’*
conj-sd3  rt  rt  rt-sb2s
then  goes  after  you go
Conj  Aux  Aux  Adv  Aux-Pron  Vt
Then they go after (them); go, you will see it
tìye [I]hìye ts’ókway ilh te shalhs
t=tìyë [t]=iëyë s=0’ok”ëy i+ të ñë=4-s
nn-dem pv=dem n=rt rt pv rt-poss3
that this fish in the road/path/doorway of
Dem Dem N Prep Art N
that, this fish in the doorway of

29. PTA has brackets around "s", and "ës", above it

tematl’ô; ilh ñ=xw ay ñ=xwnit.
t=maë=˘’o i+= ñ=xw ëy ñ=x=nit
pv=aux=dem rt=past rt rt rt=iat
him past go ctv go after it
Pron Tns Aux Asp Vt
The one (you’re) going out going after.

60.[Tl’o kwem]** [astsi7tsôt]** meq’en;
t’ó [˘’o] këm ë=0i=0t méq’=ën
rt fut st=rt=refl rt=pt
then will get ready30 swallow it
Conj Tns StativeVt Vt
Then it will get ready to swallow.

ilchaxw kwem meq’enem.
i+=ñæx mëq’=ñ=ëm
rt-sb2s fut rt=pct-pass
it is you will be swallowed
Aux-Pron Tns Vt
You then will be swallowed.”

61.Tl’o kwem ay ñêqtxwas te qwlahy
˘’o-k˘m-ëy32 ñêq=tx”-ës33 ñë q˘=a˘y34
rt fut rt rt=ct-sb3 pv float=wood
then will ctv straddling he the stick
Conj Tns Asp Vt Art N
Then he will be straddling the stick.

62.Tl’os ma [tsiyet]** te [qwlahy7]**.
˘’o-s maë ñi=ët te q˘=a˘y
conj-sd3 rt rt=pt pv float=wood
it’s that so made it
Conj Aux Vt Art N
The stick is what (he/you) made.
30. PTA = "(?)"

31. PTA= "preferred itrexw"

32. PTA = has "sk’öxt" crossed out here

33. PTA note: "χʔqix" = ‘straddle’

34. PTA has an arrow pointing to this word and has "stick"

63. Ówa ilhexw (asitots) méq’enem
   ówæ i4-æxw (is defending ?) méq’=en dem
   neg rt-sjv2s (st=rt?) rt=pct-pass
   not you (it is shown?) be swallowed

NegV Aux Vt
   "You will not be swallowed,
   tsiyotchkwmas [tl’osis mas ilh]** kwá7atem.
   θiy=ot-č-k”mæs λ’os-,λ’o-s-is ma-s i=t k”=æ=st-æm
   rt=pt-sb2s-fut-sb3* rt-, rt-nsd-sd3 rt-sd3 rt=past rt=pt-pass
   you will make it so that he he came to be let go

Vt Conj Aux Tns Vt
   (but) you’ll be made to be spit out.”

*This form seems to prove that fut. is a suffix and can precede sb3 suffix.

64. Tl’os ma ilh oxw xwyalów, ótstxw tiye ilh oxw
   λ’o-s mæ i4 oxw (x”)=yəlaw ówc=t(x)’=iyœ i4 oxw
   conj-nsd rt rt=past rt toward=after rt=ct nn=dem rt=past rt
   then he so past go through go into that past goes

Conj Aux Tns Aux Adv Vt Dem Tns Vi
   So then he went/got through, he went into that

stames [t’wa] tematl’ó.
s=tám=øs "to(?)" [t’wæ]36 tø-mæ=λ’ó
n=irog=der rt pv=aux=dem
whatever must be/evidently it is N
N Modal PronV
whatever it evidently was.

65. Ílhas oxw ilholh ówtstix̂nites sxwná7[am] s7áliyes.
   i=t-øs oxw i=t-ø36 ówc=tx’=ix=nit-es37 sx”=næ?[æm]** s=?diyθ-s
   rt=past-sb3 rt in=past=already rt=ct=dstb=iat-sb3 n=going n=dream-poss3
   he past go out past he went in to find it Indian doctor his spirit power

TnsAux Aux Tns Vt N N
   He went out, went into (the water) to find Indian doctor spirit power.
35. PTA has "went" here very lightly, possibly erased.
36. This word is bracketed and crossed out; bg thinks it is t'wa 'evidently, must be' (Upriver Halkomelem has the same word as a cognate)

66. Ti'0 ilholh (ó:stxwnitas); ó:stxw.
   λ'o =t=o+ [ó·c=txⁿ=nt-æs] 37 ó·c=tx
   rt =past=already rt=ct=iat-3d rt=ct
   then past he got into what he went to see
   Conj Tns Vt Vt
   Then he got into what he went to see.

67. "Welhenats!" [tl'os mas ] 39 bg
   wevac 38 [λ'0-s mæ-s]
   eposs-1s [conj-nsd rt-sd3]
   it belongs to me so he
   it belongs to me so he
   Vi (PronV) Conj Aix Vt
   "It belongs to me!" he said then.

68. Ti'0 kwems mas (~ kws olh) tekw'élhnalh
   λ'o k"m-s mæ-s (k"-s-o+)
   rt fut-nsd rt-sd3 (rem-sd3-past)
   then will he comes to (came to) faint
   Conj Tns Aux (Conj) Vi
   Then he will come to faint (came to faint).

69. Ami:tem skwáyal snánatoxw kws msám;
   emi-tém s=k"-c=y=e1
   rt=st n=rt=in n=night=dimif=goes rem-sd3 rt=mid
   comes the day early in the morning he comes to
   Vi N Adv Conj Vi
   Comes the day early in the morning he awakens and wonders how he got back;

   t'ówotas* ilhas cháchel kws ma [lh]chíl** kwgé7a
   t'ów=ot-és i'=èc=c=èc=il k"-s mæ [t]=èlw k"a?æ
   rt=pt-sb3 rt=past-sd3 rt=ifder rem-sb3 rt rt=in rt
   he wonders it was how that he come to arrive back
   Vt Aux IrogPron Conj Aux Vi Adv
   he wondered how he came to arrive back.

* Compare Galloway, Adams & Renteria 2004b:157 #21, t'okwem 'understand'
37. These appear to be the same word, "ówtstwñites;" or more likely ó:tstxwñitas
38. PTA= "preferable"
39. PTA= "t'os mes" below previous word
40. This is crossed out
41. This is crossed out

70. Tl'os mes ilh wani:l, tl'o t'ichim
   λ' o-s mœ-s i† wên=î·l λ'o t'iö=im
   conj-nsd rt-sd3 rt=past rt=in rt rt=mid
   so then he past gets up then wades ashore
   Conj Aux Tns Vi Conj Vi
   So then he gets up, wades ashore.

71. Tl'os mas oxw ta q'elmins
   λ'o-s mæ-s oxw tæ q'el=mins
   conj-nsd rt-sd3 rt pv rt=n-poss3
   then so he goes the his camp
   Conj Aux Aux Art N
   Then he goes to his camp

72. Kw'ines skwáyals kws ilh ay tsitsót
   k"in=øs s=k"æy=él-s k"s i=† (i†40) ?æy* ci=çót
   irog=cycles n=rt=in-poss3 rem-sd3 rt=past rt rt=refl
   so many days it that he past cvt getting ready
   AdjV N Conj Tns Asp Vt
   (I don't know) how many days that he (spent) getting ready
   *May be a prefix; cognate with Upriver Halkomelem ?æy 'keep on going'.

73. Tl'os mas t'okw' q òwa ilhas solál kws
   λ'o-s mæ-s t'ok"w q òwaæ iâ-æs solâl k"-s
   conj-nsd rt-sd3 rt rt rt-st=rt3 rt rem-nsd
   then he starts to go home but not it's right away so that he
   Conj Aux Vi Conj Vneg Aux Adv Conj
   Then so he starts for home, but not right away, to (so that he)

   eháynits kws asxélh.
   ?æhæy=nit-s k"-s æs=xö†
   rt=iat-sd3 rem-sd3 st=rt
   to work on them that are sick
   Vt Conj Vi
   work on the sick.
74. Kw'ines skwáyal qay yalhs t'á:nes tiye kʷín=és s=kʷáy=él qay yél-s t’á= n-és t=iyθ irog (how many) = cyclic periods n=rt=in rt rt-nsd rt=pct-sb3 nn=dem so many days and he starts to try that Adj (Vq) N Conj Mod Vt Dem (I don’t know) how many days and he starts to try that (his power)

75. Ilh mi kwénoxwes s7áliye q s7áliyes sxwná7am i=4 mi kʷén=(n)oxʷ-és s=7éliyθ q s=7éliyθ-s šxʷθ=néʔæm rt=past rt rt=mt-sb3 n=vision rt n=vision-poss3 n=going past come he received spirit power but it’s spirit power of Indian doctor Tns Aux Vt N Conj N N He received the spirit power after power.** He received the spirit power but it’s spirit power of an Indian doctor. [bg]

76. GA: Sxwná7am ma nexw7ay7yéms kwe nech’ó yistí7ixw šxʷθ=néʔæm ma néxʷ=ʔay7y=έm-s kʷe neč’ó yi=sti7íxʷ (Hk accent) s=rt rt alway=good=strength-poss3 rem rt der=person Indian doctor came his strong power/strength a one/certain (old) person N Aux N Art Num N (Long ago) a certain person who got strong power was (powerful) Indian doctor.

76. BG Ma nexw7ay7yéms kwe nech’ó yistí7ixw ma néxʷ=ʔay7y=έm-s kʷe neč’ó yi=sti7íxʷ rt alway=good=strength-poss3 rem rt der=person it came always strong power of a certain/one (old) person Aux N Art Num N Always strong power came to certain person.

77. Kwo hitsolh/xwitsołh lhéq’olh ay kʷ=ow hic=ò/xʷic=òª1 ʧéq’=òª aey rem=really long time=past sometimes=past rt used to ctv Adv Adv Adv Asp selá:tsots ta [swálayolh]**chalh. séláː=cat-s? tæ š=waléy=òª-čæª (analysis unclear) pv n=rt=past-poss1p to be doing the our ancestors Vt Art N-Pron Long ago our ancestors used to be doing it (that way).

41. PTA has "hwico" above "hwáθos"
then there approach will be one day

**Aux Adv Vi Tns Num N**

Then there will be one/a certain day approach.

79.Tl'os mas ilh pónoxwas kw nench'ó.
λ'-o's mæ-s i=4 pón=(n)oxʷ-és kʷ nə=nč'ó
rt-nds rt-sd3 rt=mt-sb3 rem
Then it comes past he sees it such that one person
Conj Aux Tns Vi Art NumN
Then so (if) he sees one person;/Then one person came to see it.

80.Skw'ayas [kwe si7ixwalh]**.
s=k,wrey-ES kWa s=7i=7ix w =E+ 42
n=rt-sb3 rem n=dim=person=offspring
AdjV Art NumN
It’s not right young child
It’s not right for a young child (to see);

81.yisti7ixw (yisti7ixw) asxelh.
yi=sti7ix* (yisti7ixʷ) əs=χέ4
old?/p?=person st=rt
is old person is sick
Vi (<N) Vi
It’s [only/just] old persons [that] are sick.

82.Tl’os mas ts’ixwnites ilh malh tiye néch’o skwáyal;
λ’-o’s mæ-s c’ixʷ=nit=ōs i=4 mæt t=iyə nέč’o s=kʷəy=έl
conj-nds rt-sd3 rt=iat-sb3 rt=past rt pv=dem rt n=rt=in
Then he come to have pity past then that a certain/one day
Conj Aux Vt Tns Aux Dem Num N
Then he comes to have pity for them then one day;

lihiyá mi kwéxwenem tiye
4=iyə mi kʷ5xʷ=ən-əm t=iyə
pv=dem rt rt=pct-pass rem=dem
these come be helped that
Dem Aux Vt Dem Pron
these come to be helped from that (power);

42. PTA has "not necessary" above this bracketed phrase

83.Ílholh oxwnites i7 te swá7alt.
i=4=ō4 ōxʷ=nit-ōs i7 tə s=wáʔałt
rt=past=already rt=iat-sb3 rt pv n=rt
past already he goes to it in the woods
Aux Vt Prep Art NumN
He already went out in the woods (to find it).
Well, he used to come get what he got,

Interj Adv Aux Vt Tns Aux Vt Art

nench'ó xwkwéwxs
nə=ńć'ó xʷ=kʷáxʷ=əns
person=one always=rt=sa (as structured activity < UHk; Nk has =álikw)
one person that helps
NumN Vi
one person that helps

[kw]** [xw]stsos tiya te temixw.
kʷ xʷ=stécos t=iyá kéʔʔ=t̕ə- tə təmíxʷ
nn/rem always=poor pv?=dem pv rt
the poor of this/her/that the earth
Art N Dem Art N

the poor ones of this earth.

So then he worked on them, doctored them up.

Then they come to get well, those that get a painful/strong sickness.

But then on the other hand if what approaches is wrong

But then on the other hand if what approaches is wrong

s7áliye, kwenoxwas melʔ hoy[txws] ay
s=ʔéliyə kʷén=(n)oxʷ-əs məʔʔ hóy=t[x]ʷ-s əy
n=vision/dream rt=mt-sb3 rt rt=ct-sd3 rt
spirit power he gets it only he finishes them ctv
N Vt Adv Vt Asp
spirit power, he only gets it to finish them,

q’óyotamines kwi melh tetsoslihs;
q’óy=et=ámin-øs k”=i mø tøcos=-ø-rt
die=pt.want to-sb3 the=p rt rt=past?-poss3/sd3
he wants/tries to kill them the plural so? poor
Vt Art Adv? N
wanting/trying to kill the poor;

88.q owás oxwshitems kw sta:m
q ow-ës õx”=sit-øm-s k” s=tæ=m
dsj neg-sb3 rt=mt-pass-sd3 rem n=irog
or it’s not brought for him the s-th/what(ever)
Conj Vneg Vt Art N
Or it’s not brought for him, anything/whatever.

89.Ha7lh ilh stl’is tul7ilh tiye.
ha?= i= t= s=’i’s
tul?i=t=iyø
rt rt=past n=rt-poss3 rt nn=dem
good past he wants from that
Vi Tns N as Vi Prep DemPron
It is good, what he wanted from that.

90.Ílhass xełh qay tl’o te ilh kwenoxw ta ha7lh s7éliye.
i=æs xe=t që y λ’o tø i= të=ø=ø=ø n=ø=ø=ø
rt-sjv3 rt rt rt pv in=past rt=mt pv rt n=dream
if/when they are sick and it’s that what past gets it the good spirit/power
Aux Vi Conj Dem Art Tn Vt Art Adj N
If/When they were sick, what he got was the good (spirit) power.

91.Hali::nes kws stetsos sti7ixw.
he=li=n-øs k”-s s=ø-cos s=ti7ixw
alive=pct-sb3 rem-sd3 n=p-rt n=rt
he cures them that many poor people
Vt Art Adj/N N
He’ll cure the poor people

92.Tl’os mes ay ōxwsatem stâmes.
λ’o-s mø-s æy ōx”=sit-øm s=téém=øs
conj-nsd rt-sd3 rt rt=mt-pass n=irog=der
Then so he ctv be brought to him things
Conj Aux Asp Vt Nindef
Then it comes to (pass_ that things are being brought to him.
93. Ha7lh [yi] stsiyetems kwa ha7lh sqwáliwens.
   hâʔ+s yi s=ciy=ʔt-ʔm-s kʷæ hâʔ+s s=qʷæl=iwən-s
   rt-sb3 the pl. n=rt=pt-pass-sd3 rem rt n=talk=in mind-poss3
   It’s good many are fixed/made the good his mind/feelings
   Adj Art Vt Art Adj N
   It was good that he made many people happy (lit. "(to have) good
   mindset/feelings").

94. Tematl’ó ilholh oxw imash.
   tθ=ma=λ’o i=4=ɔ+i oxʷ im=æʃ
   pv=aux=dem rt=past=already rt step=upright
   He is the one past went out to walk
   Pron Aux=Adv Aux Vi
   He was that one who went out to get it (the power).

95. Tl’os ílhs hoy ten sníchim.
   λ’o-s ?i4-s hoy tən s=nícim
   rt-nsd rt=past-sd3 rt pv-poss1s n=rt
   that is it it past is done my history/talk
   Conj Aux Vi Art-Pron N
   That is it; my history is done.

96. Ha7lh taʔa sʔeháy
   hâʔ+t-æʔæ s=ʔeháy
   rt pv-poss2s n=rt
   is good your work
   Vi Art-Pron N
   You work is good
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