

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

George Adams, Brent Galloway, Catalina Renteria
Nooksack Tribe, First Nations University, Nooksack Tribe

This is a story told by Sindick Jimmy in 1956 in Lhéchelessem, 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 "Sxwná7am" 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'eméylem 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 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), k^w, q, q^w, ʔ, p', t', k^w, q', q'^w, c, č, (θ'), c', č', λ', (θ), s, š, (x'), ʦ, x^w, x, x^w, h, m, n, y, l, w, i, æ, ə, 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	conj = conjunction
= derivational affix	Vi = intransitive verb
1 = first person	Vt = transitive verb
2 = second person	Asp = aspect affix
3 = third person	ctv = continuative
s = singular	st = stative
p = plural	res = resultative
n = nominalizer	dur = durative
sb = subject	in = inceptive
ob = object	dispos = dispositional
sjv = subunctive	m = male
sd = subordinate subject	f = female
poss = possessive pronoun	pv = present and visible
eposs = emphatic independent possessive pronoun	nn = nearby not visible
nip = nominal independent pronoun	rem = remote, distant
vip = verbal independent pronoun	past = past tense/past deriv. affix
obp = object of preposition, independent pronoun	fut = future tense
<u>control transitivizers:</u>	rt = root
mt = (=noxw) 'happen to, manage to accidentally do to s-o/s-th'	if = infix
cz = (=txw) 'cause/make s-o do s-th'	der = derivational affix
pt = (=V _i)t 'purposely, intentionally do to s-o/s-th'	indef = indefinite
bt = (=shit) 'benefactive, malefactive, do for s-o, do to/on s-o'	s-t = sometimes
iat = (=nit) 'do indirectly affecting s-o/s-th'	s-th = something
pct = (=V _i)n 'purposely do to s-o/s-th + completive'	s-o = someone
aop = (=exy)(borrowed from Upriver Halkomelem) 'do to (preferably) animate object'	dim = diminutive
it = intransitive	irog = interrogative
pass = passive voice	dstb = distributive, all around
mid = middle voice	dsj = disjunctive, but, or, either, on the other hand
dem = demonstrative	sa = do as a structured activity
prep = preposition	nsd = nominalizes subordinate clause following
adv = adverb	anp = animate plural
aux = auxiliary	refl = reflexive
	rel = relative pronoun
	dirob = direct object
	indirob = indirect object
	[- -] inflectional infix (in IPA lines)
	[=] derivational infix (IPA lines)

Sxwná7am
 “Indian Doctors”

From PTA:SJ Fieldnotes Book 2, 11/20/56; re-transcribed: GA:BG:CR 5/20/04-1/4/05, morpheme segmentation & glosses added May 2005.

1. Lhiya sníchichims/ sníchim lhiq'olhólh ay
 †=iyæ s-ní[=či=]čim-s s-níčim †iq'=o†-ó† æy
 pv=dem n-rt=ifder-poss nmz-tell s-t=past-past ctv
 this his story history used to ctv.
 Dem N N Adv Asp
 This is his story (or) history my late grandfather used to

sníchichim[t]s	ten	síla7olh.
s=ní[=či=]čim-c	t-ən	síl'æ-7o†
der=rt=ifder-1sob	pv-1sposs	grandfather-past
tell me	the male my	late-grandfather
Vt	PossPron	N
tell me.		

2. [slhiyá] swó7welos lhéq'olh ay chsátem waníl
 s=†=iyæ sw[Aa]7wəloš †éq'=o† æy čsæ=t-əm¹ wən=íl
 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	shó:kw'em
λ'o-s	ma	ox ^w	šó:k' ^w -əm
dem-nsd rt	go	rt-mid	
and	to go	bathe.	
Conj	Aux	Aux	Vi
to go and bathe.			

3. Tl'os mas ó:m7a7 chsátem swaníl.
 λ'o-s mæ-s² 7ó·m'æ? čsæ=t-əm s-wən=il-š
 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: “[č] transcribed but it sounds like two consonants, tš”

2. PTA: “λ'os mas” inserted here

**throughout shows GA's corrections (which bg & cr agree with unless noted).

4. Tl'os mas oxw shókw'em te swówelos, tl'os mas
 λ'o-s mæ-s ox^w šók'^w-əm tə s=w[á]wəloš λ'ó-s mæ-s

dem-nsd	rt-sd3	rt	rt=mid	pv	n=rt-ifp	dem-nsd	rt-sd3
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

kwi	ts'ixwnitem	lheq'	malh	7al7áliynitas	kw	stámes;
CD: k ^w =i	c'ix ^w =nit-əm	λ'o-s	mæ	ʔɛl-ʔéliy=nit-æs	k ^w	s=tæm=əs
PA: k ^w i	c'ix ^w nitəm	ʔəq'	mæ-ʔ ²	ʔéliynitæs	k ^w ɿ	stæməs
rem=p	rt=iat-pass	s-t	rt-past	p-rt=iat-sb3	rt	n=irog=indef
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	temíxw	welhtách	lhiyá	temíxw;	noxway7ém7.
ʔ=iyá	tə	təmíx ^w	wəʔ=tæč	ʔ=iyá	təmíx ^w	nɔx ^w =æy7=əm?
ps=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.Tl'os	mas	lhéq's	óxw	chsátem	ti	swówelos
λ'o-s	mæ-s ³	ʔəq'-s	óx ^w	čsæ=t-əm	t=i	s=w[á]wəlos
dem-nsd	rt-sd3	s-t-sd3	rt	rt=pt-pass	pv=p	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	haw7kwa7il	kw	mekw' stáms
k ^w æ	šók ^w -əm	λ'o-s	mæ-s	h=aw7k ^w æ=il?	k ^w	mək ^w s=tæm=ɿ
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

í	tematl'ó	swí7welos..
í	tə=mæ=λ'ó	s=wí7wəlos
rt	pv=aux=dem	n=rt
of/from/on	that	young man
Prep	DemPron	N

from that young man (his body).

3. "λ'os mæs" written above "λ'ó iʔ" as SJ's correction of what was on tape.

6.Ilh	kwem	kw	néch'o	skwáyal	tl'os	mas	oxw	ímashnitas
iʔ	k ^w əm ⁴	k ^w	néč'o	s=k ^w æy(=)ɛl	λ'o-s	mæ-s	ox ^w	ímæš=nit-as
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

slhiyás	swá7alt;	ímash.
s=ɬ=iyæ-s	s=wæ7ælt	ím=æš
p=pv=dem-sd3	n=rt	step=upright
these	woods;	he walks
Dem	N	Vi

(in) these woods; he walks.

7.Tl'os	mas	oxw	tis	te	néch'o	xóch'o7.
ɬ'o-s	mæ-s	ox ^w	tis	tə	nəč'o	xáčo?
dem-nsd	rt-sd3	rt	rt	pv	rt	rt
then	he'll	go	near	a	one/certain	lake
Conj	Aux	Aux	Vi	Art	Num	N

Then he'll go near/he's going to come to a certain lake.

8.Tl'os	mas	ilh	kws	ay	q'élem.
ɬ'o-s	mæ-s	iɬ	k ^w -s	æy	q'él-əm
dem-nsd	rt-sd3	rt	rem-sd3	rt	rt-mid
then	it comes	there	that he	ctv	camp
Conj	Aux	Dem	Conj	Asp	N

Then it will be there that he's camping.

PTA notes here: "N.B. He also builds a raft after he dreams about it" (SJ adds in English as they go through the tape and PTA gets the word for word translations and SJ corrections.)

9.Hów7kwa	s7ilhens;	hów7kwa	stám	[s7ilhens]*	mel7	hóy
h=áw7k ^w æ	s=7iɬ=ən-s	h=ów7k ^w æ	s=tæm	s=iɬ=ən-s	məl?	hóy
der=neg	n=eat=pct-poss3	der=neg	n=irog	n=eat=pct-poss3	rt	rt
it's none	his food	it's none	kind of	his food	it's just	finished
Vneg	N	Vneg	N	N	Adv	Vi

He has no food, no food of any kind; it's just finished

4. "iɬ k^wəm" written on top of "iɬ mæɬ" (latter is said on the tape [now on CD])
 *. Bracketed words here are not on the CD

kws	[tl'os	lhíyas]	tl'os	mas	éliye;	[áliyenitas]*;	oxwnitas
k ^w -s	ɬ'o-s	ɬ=iyæ-s	ɬ'o-s	mæ-s	éliyə	éliyə=nít-æs	ox ^w =nít-əs
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.

ná[=næ=]t=ox^w

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 mæ-s ox^w šók'^w-əm
 dem-nsd rt-sd3 rt rt-mid
 Then he goes out bathe
 Conj Aux Aux Vi
 Then he goes out to bathe.

11. Oxw xwnánatíl.
 óx^w x^w=ná[=næ=]t=íl
 Vi toward=night=dimif=goes
 goes toward morning
 Vi Adv
 He goes toward morning.

12. Tl'os mas oxw te cháwchaw tis te hóchem.
 λ'o-s mæ-s ox^w* tə čáw=čaw tís tə húčəm
 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 húchem ilh kw stam ay
 λ'o-s mæ-s néq-əm tx^w=tə húčəm⁵ íł k^w s=təəm æy
 dem-nsd rt-sd3 rt-mid toward=the 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 "ləq'əmtx^wtə húčəm" is written over "néqəm"; GA notes LG "níqim" 'dive'.
 yálxtis qe(y) ilhas s7áliya q(w?)ilhas shxwná7am.
 yél=x=t-is qey íł-əs s=7éliyə q^(w)-íł-əs šx^w=nə?æm
 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.Tl'o	ma	ímashnitem	kw	nench'ó	swíwelos;
λ'ó	mæ	ímaš=nit-əm	k ^w	nə=nč'ó	s=wí=wəlos
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	selátsots	lhiyá
i†	ɛs=ístæ	t	æy	səlácots	†=iyæ
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."
x ^w lítəm ⁺	i†	æy	có=on-əm	tákte?
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.Tl'o	ta=	welhtáchsolh	nasol7á	tematl'ó
λ'ó	tɛ=	wə†=tæčs[-o† ⁶	næsol7æ.] [*]	tə=mæ=λ'ó
rt	pv=	eposs=3-past	rt?	pv=aux=dem
that		was his own.	way	he/that
Dem	IndepPossPron	N		Dem Pron

That was his own way for that

swíwelos	ilh	may	oxw	ímash	kws	kwénoxws	kw
s=wí=wəlos	i†	mæ (æ)y	ox ^w	ímæš	k ^w -s	k ^w én=(n)ox ^w -s	k ^w
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. "wə†tæčs" 'belongs to him' is written over this word

stám	naheli:ns	kwá7a	stetsós	xelh	stí7ixw.
s=təm	næ=hɛlí=ns	k ^w -æ7æ-s	s=təcós	[xó†]**	s=tí7ix ^w
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	kwénoxwas	kw	stám[es]
əmí-s	k ^w əm	k ^w én=(n)ox ^w -ɛs	k ^{w7}	s=təm[əs]

rt-sjv3	fut	rt=mt-sb3	rem	n=irog [=der]
when it comes ⁸	will	he gets it	the	certain kind
Vi	Tns	Vt	Art	N

When it comes, he will get a certain kind of spirit power/vision,

s7áliye	ílhás	ha7lh	stam	s7éliye;
s=7éliyø	í4-əs	hæ74	s=tæm	s=7éliyø
n=dream(Vi)	rt-sjv3	rt	n=irog	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	mæ- <u>s</u> ⁹	í4	hæ74	k ^w	s=7æháy-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.Mís	eháynites	te	ilh	<u>xel</u> h.
mi-s	7øháy=nit-əs	tø	í=4	<u>xé</u> 4
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'ó	mæ4-tø	tø	qél	s=tæm ¹⁰	s=7éliyø	k ^w on=(n)ox ^w -əs
rt	dsj-st	pv	rt	n=irog	n=have vision	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^wí4 x^wénox^wəs k^wsk'óx^w" above, here, but this too is in error, perhaps for k^w í4 k^wénox^wəs k^w sk^wós 'the name that he got';

10. There is an arrow here that seems to indicate that the previous two words should be reversed.

me17	hoy	kws	ay	q'óyotas	te	noxwtetsós	stí7ixws.
mø17	hoy	k ^w -s	æy	q'óy=ot-əs	tø	nøx ^{w11} =tøcós	s=tí7ix ^w -s
rt	rt	rem-sd3	rt	die=pt-sb3	pv	always=poor	n=rt-poss3
just	it ends	that he	ctv	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]	asísta	tíye	ta	hóysolh;	[asísta	tíye	ta	lhéq'olh
λ'ó	mæ4	əs=ístæ	t=íyø	tæ	hóy-s-o4 ¹²	əs=ísta	t=íyø	tæ
rt	dsj	st=rt	pv=dem	pv	finish-sd3-past	st=rt	pv=dem	pv
and so	it's like	this	what	he finished	it's like	this	the/what	used to

Conj Aux? Vi Dem Art Vi Vi Dem Art Adv
 And so it's like this, what he finished; it's like this what used to be

lhaq'solh (te ilholh hóy)	swá[l]ayolhchalh	te	ilh	oxw.
†æq'-s-o† (tə í=†-o† hóy)	s=wá[-la-]y-o†-čæ†	tə	i-†	ox ^w
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]**haw7kwa7il7 te swalayólhchalh/[yewánesólhchalh]
 [mæk^w=wæt h=aw7k^wæ=7il7 tə s=wáley-ó†-čæ†^{13a}]/[yəwæn-əs-ò†-čæ†]
 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
 PronV Vi Art N

Our old peoples are all gone now

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

[qey tl'os ma]	ay	chsátem	te	swówelos;	wení:l7;
qæy λ'o-s mæ ^{13b} æy		čsæ=t-əm	tə	s=w[-Aá-]ʔwelos	wən=i:l7
dsj dem-sd3 rt rt		rt=pt-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 x" (definitely not x, this supports our correction to [h]

13a. PTA has "yəwænəsò†čæ†" above this word and a "{" before both; [bg: UHk has [šx"əwæléy] 'parent(s)', so Nk cognate, [swáleyó†] with -ó† 'past, deceased' may be better 'ancestors'

13b. PTA has "kæy λ'os mæ" above k^ws ox^ws

22. Tl'os ma oxw shókw'em.
 λ'o-s mæ ox^w šók^w-əm
 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=† məl? nəč'=éx^w i† k^wæ s=tæm
 rt=past rt one=time 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

24. Q ówa ?** ilhas astsí:** kws ehay7 nench'ó
 q-ówæ í=í-əs əs-θí· k^w-s əhæy nə=nč'ó
 Conj neg rt-past-sjv3 st=fix rem-sd3 rt person=one
 but wasn't if it was fixed that he works one person
 Conj Vneg Tns Vstative Conj Vi Num
 but if wasn't fixed/made that he worked (i.e. kept busy), one person,

nech'áxw mel7 óxwtít slálams kws oxw 7as7lewí7.
 nəč'=əx^w məl7 óx^w=tít s=lələm-s k^w-s ox^w 7əs-7ləw=il?
 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.
 məl7 hoy tə=wəɬ=təč tə s=lələm-s s=7əlɪyə
 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 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 asísta tíye lhéq'olh ay sníchichims te
 CD: k^wən=(n)ox^w-əs əs=ístə t=íyə ɬéq'='oɬ¹⁴ əy s=ní[=či=]čim-s tə
 rt=mt-sb3 st=rt pv=dem s-t=past rt der=rt=der-sd3 pv
 he got it like this used to ctv 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 "əsístə tíyə" should follow "ɬək'ot"
 swalayólhchalh.

CD: swæley=úɬ-čæɬ

PTA: s=wáleyoɬ čæɬ

n=rt=past-poss1p

old peoples/ancestors past -our

N-Pron

27. Lhéq'solh asísta tíye kw ósonem.
 ɬéq'-s-oɬ əs=í·stə t=íyə k^w ós=on-əm
 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. Ó7sonas ta stá7awelhs kw swó7welos

óʔs=on-æs	tə	s=tæʔæx ^w ɛʔ-s	k ^w	s=w[-Aá-]wəlos
rt=pct-sb3	pv	n=rt-poss3	nn/rem	n=rt-pif
they taught them	the	their children	the	young men
Vt	Art	N	Art	N

They taught their children (that) young men

kwénoxw**	ta	ha7lhs.
k ^w én=(n)ox ^{w15}	tæ	hæʔʔ-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 ^w én=(n)ox ^w -s	k ^w	s=tám	s=ʔéliyə_
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. Ha7lh	s7áliye	kw	stámes.
hæʔʔ	s=ʔéliyə	k ^w	s=tám=əs
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^wómʔmí" above kəminox^w and "k^wónox^w" below it

31. Tl'ó mas	yistis	yewín7;		kwénoxwas	
CD: ʔ'o	mæ-s	yi=s=tis ¹⁶	yəw=ínʔ ¹⁷	(ʔ'o ¹⁸)	k ^w én=(n)ox ^w -æs
rt	Vi-sb3	anp=st=rt	rt=der	rt	rt=mt-sb3
then	it comes near	power to help	cure/harm		they get it
Conj	Aux	Vi	N	(Conj)	Vt

Then the power to help, cure or harm comes near; they get it

tulílh	te	hóchem	kws	oxws	ay	níqim**.
tul=iʔ	tə	húčəm	k ^w -s	ox ^w -s	æy	ləq-əm
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. Níqimí:nes**	kw	stam	ilh	aslheliç'h.q.
ləq=əm=[Aí]=in-əs	k ^{w19}	s=tæ·m	iʔ	əs=ʔəl=iç'q

rt=mid=dur=pct-sb3	rem	n=irog	rt	st=rt=der
he dives for it	the	what is it?	in	it is wet
Vt	Art	N	Prep	Vi

He dove for something in the water (lit. "that is wet").

33. Ilh lhiyá lhéq'olh ay sníchichims ten s7ila7olh
 i† †=iyæ †éq'=o† æy s=ni[=çi=]çim-s t-ən s=7ilə=7o†
 rt pv=dem s-t=past rt der=rt=ifder-sb3 pv-poss1s n=rt=past
 it is this used to ctv tell/talk the my late grandfather
 Aux Dem Adv Asp Vi Art N
 This is what my late grandfather used to tell, that

kws	nench'ó	swíwelos	chsátem	óxwas	ímash.
[CD:k ^w -s]	nə=nč'ó	s=wí=wəlos	čsæ=t-ə̃m	ox ^w -əs	ím=æš
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 "siwil? *(x" (Halk) above this word and "siwín?" [Lummi] below it; Jimmy says this is †) [Lhechelessem/Nooksack], conflicts with G.S. says Lummis call it siwín?

18. PTA has round brackets around this word and a "?" above it

19. This word is faint and may have been erased

34. [Ímashnitas]²⁰ te xách'o; tl'os mas ilh oxw^w tíya
 CD: ím=æš=nít-æs tə xáč'o λ'o-s mæ-s i=† óx^w t=íyæ
 step=upright=iat-sb3 pv rt conj-nsd aux-sd3 aux-past rt nn=dem
 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 he went, that

nanch'ó7	swíwelos;	[ímash*; tl'os mas*]	shókw'em	txwa
CD: nə=nč'ó	s=wí=wəlos	əsísu [UHK]	šók ^w =ə̃m	tx ^w æ
person=one	n=dem?=rt	[step=upright conj-nsd rt-sd3]	rt=mid	towards/at
one person	young man	walk	then he bathes	at
Num	N	Vi	Conj Vi	Prep

certain young man; he walked; then he would bathe at

*not on CD, but in PTA notes

q'élem (txwta)/ilh	ta	néch'o(7)	xách'o(7).
CD: q'élə̃m tx ^w tə ²¹	tə	néč'o	xáč'o
nom towards/at/in	pv	rt	rt
camp in	the/a	one	lake

N	Prep	Art	Num	N
camp in one/a certain lake.				

35.	Tl'os	mas	ilh	[ay]	áliyenites	te	stam.
	λ'o-s	mæ-s	í=†	[ʔéy]	éliyθ=nít-æs	tθ	s=tæm
	conj-nsd	rt-sd3	rt=past	rt	rt=iat-sb3	pv	n=irog
	Then	so he	past	ctv	he dreams about	the	what(ever)
	Conj	Aux	Tns	Asp	Vt	Art	N

Then he was dreaming about whatever

36.	ilhas	lhelq;	ilh	tsónem;	"o:	háv7kwa	ne7ilh	te7ánats.
CD:	í=†-εs	†θl=q	í†	có=n-θm	o·	h=ów7k ^w æ	nθ-7í†	tθ=ʔénεc
rt=past-sjv3	rt=der	rt=past	rt=pct-pass	rt	der=neg		poss3-rt	pv=PronV
	it was soaked	past	he was told	"Oh	there's nothing	my-in	the=me	
	Tns/Aux	Vi	Tns	Vt	Interj	Vneg	Pron-Prep	ArtPron

was in the water; he was told, "Oh, what's in me is nothing.

37.	Oxw	chaxw	te	nech'ó7	xácho7	7ilh	te	ilhnoxw/ilh	ne oxw
CD:	óx ^w -čæx ^w	tθ	nóč'ó(7)	xáčo(7)	7í†	tθ	í†nox ^w /**í†	nθ	ox ^w
	rt-sb2s	pv	one	rt	rt	pv	rt?/	rt	poss1s
GA:	go to you	the	one/a	certain	lake in	the	way/**	in my	going
	Vi	Pron	Art	Num	N	Prep	Art	N	

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

20. PTA has "ímæšnitæs" above "tis)" here

21. PTA has "í† tæ" above this word

í:7ilh	kwa=tsiya**	7n**	sqálheqoyt;	askw'áys
CD: 7í=7í†	k ^w æ=θ=iyæ	θn	s=qæ†θeqoyt	ʔεs=k ^w æ·y-s
dim?=rt	rem=f=dem	poss1s	n=stem (anal. uncertain)	st=rt-sd3
over	the f. this	my	older sibling	it's impossible
Prep	Art=Dem f	Pron	N	Vi

over to my older sibling; it's impossible

**GA suggestions (which BG & CR agree with)

tematl'ó	ilhas	lhelq	ilh	ta	hóchem,	óxwnitchaxw
tθ=mæ=λ'o	í†-εs ²²	†θl=q	í†	tæ	húčθm	óx ^w =nit-čæx ^w
pv=aux=dem	rt-sjv3	rt=der	rt	pv	rt	rt=iat-sb2s
he	when/if she	is wet	in	the	water	you go after her
Pron	Aux	Vi	Prep	Art	N	Vt

for him when she is wet in the water; you go after her;

[schaw7átsot**chaxw.]

[s=]cæw7æt-cot-čæx^w

der=rt-refl-sb2s

you know how yourself/you take care of yourself

Vi Pron

you take care of yourself..

**GA suggestion; BG: for meaning cf. GS [k^{hw}s θəwæt^s t^hə sté:x^wə†] 'that he take care of the children' & LG [sčuw7æt^hč^həx^w] 'you know how to'; the word is not on the CD here but was added later by PTA:SJ. The Nk form is tsaw7atsot ~ schaw7atsot ~ tsow7atsot ~ schow7atsot.

38.Tl'os ma	niqimí:m7**	qey	tsaw7átsotchaxw."
λ'o-s mæ	ləq'=əm-í·m?	qey	cæw'æt-cot ²³ -čex ^w
conj-sd3 rt	rt=mid=repeatedly rt		rt=refl-sb2s
then so	dive repeatedly and		you take care of yourself
Conj Aux Vi		Conj Vt	

And then dive repeatedly and take care of yourself/look out for yourself."

**GA suggestion, from pronunciation on tape of this word by LG; the CD ends here; we've not found a continuation on tape or CD of this story yet.

39.Tsónem	tematl'ó	swíwelos,	"tsow7átsotchaxw
có=n-əm	tə=mæ=λ'ó	s=wí=wəlos	tsow'æt=cot-čex ^w
rt=pct-pass	pv=aux=dem	n=dim?=rt	rt=refl-sb2s (or imperative2s)
be said	him/this	young man	look after yourself
Vt	Pron	N	Vt

It was said to this young man, "Look after yourself

22. PTA= "(refers to speech)"

23. PTA has "cæw'æcot čex^w" above the first transcription "scw'æ7tcot".

q	oxwnítaxw	Kwenkwtsinten	tsen	sqo.
q	ox ^w =nít-əx ^w	k ^w ənk ^w (=)cIn=tən	c-ən	s=qa
rt	rt=iat-sjv2s	rt=mouth=m	name(device)	mrem-poss1s n=rt

when you go after him Kwenkwtsinten (the) my brother
 Conj Vt-subjunct.subj. N (proper name) Art-Pron N
 when you go after Kwenkwtsinten, my (older) brother.

40.Lhiyá	kwem	tens	7ótsentsí	tsíyitichixw	mos	te
†=iyá·	k ^w əm	t-ən-s	7óc=ən-cí	θiy=it=iči-x ^w	mos	tæ
pv=dem	futpv-poss1s-nsd	rt=pct-ob2s	rt=pt=?-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

qél sqwémqwemays.
 qél s=q^wém-q^wəm=ay-s
 rt s=soft=fur-ifp
 bad his dogs
 Adj N
 his bad dogs.

41.Tl'o	kwem	q'óq'oytsí	qa7waxw	kwem
---------	------	------------	---------	------

ł'ó	k ^w əm	q'ó[-q'ó-]y-cí	q-æ7wæ-x ^w	k ^w əm ²⁴
dem	fut	die-ifder-ptob2s	rt-neg-sjv2s	fut
that	will be	what'll kill you	if you do not	will
Conj	Tns	Vt	Conj-Vneg	Tns

These will be what will kill you if you don't

("chaw7áttotexw") [schaw7áttotaxw]**

čæw'æt-cot-ex^w

rt=refl-sd2s/sjv2s

Vt

watch out (for yourself).

42.Qey	néch'o7	te	hikw	sts'ókway**	tl'o	kwem
qey	něč'o	tə	hík ^w	s=θ'ók ^w ey	ł'o	k ^w əm
rt	rt	pv	rt	n=rt	dem	fut
and	one	the	big	fish	that	will
Conj	Num	Art	Adj	N	Dem/Rel	Tns

And (also) there's a certain big fish which will

24. PTA has "qæ7wæx^w k^wəm" above this word

méq'entsí	tsónem	tematl'ó	swíwelos.
méq'=ən-ci	có=n-əm	tə=mæ=ł'ó	s=wí=wəlos
rt=pt-ob2s	rt=pt-pass	pv=aux=dem	n=dem?=rt
eat you	was told	this him	young man
Vt	Vt	Dem	N

eat you," this young man was told.

43.Oxw	ímashnít	lhiyá	temíxw.
ox ^w	ímæš=nít	ł=iyé	təmíx ^w
rt	rt=iat	pv=dem	rt
go	walk to it	here	on earth
Aux	Vt	Dem	N

He went to walk to it here on land/earth.

44.Oxw	ímash	kws	mesám7.
ox ^w	ím=æš	k ^w -s	mesæ=m?
rt	step=u	upright	rem-sjv3
go	walk	when he	get up/wake up
Aux	Vi	Conj	Vi

He went to walk after he woke up.

45.Oxwnitas	kwtiye	xácho	ilh	oxw	[chsátems]**
óx ^w =nit-əs	k ^w =t=iyə	xáč'o	ił	ox ^w	čsæ=t-əm-s
rt=iat-sb3	rem-dem	rt	rt	rt	rt=pt-pass-sd3
he went to it	this	lake	where	he goes	was sent

Vt Dem N Prep Aux Vt

He went to it, this lake where he was sent

kw'í:nas skwáyal7 kws ays q'elem, ítot, shokw'em[.]**
k'w'í:n=əs²⁵ s=k'w'áy=ɛl? k'w-s æy-s q'él=əm ítot šók'w=əm
irog=cycles/rd things n=rt=in rem=nsd rt=sd3 rt=mid rt rt=mid
so many day that he ctv 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
šók'w=əm qey †=iyæ θiy=æt-is t=iyə í†-ɛs óc=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;

25. There is an "æ" above the "ə" in this word

chkwem; ótsentschaxw te7ánats," [syátsems]** qe tsiyetis
č-k'w=əm óc=ən-θ-čex^w tæ=7énɛc s-yæc=əm-s qə cíy=ət-
is
sb1s-fut rt=pt-ob1s-sb2s nip (pv=vip) n-rt-pass-poss3 rt rt=pt-sb3
I will you show me me what he was told and he makes it
Pron-Tns Vt Pron Vt Conj Vt
you will show me," he was told, and he made

mekw' [stam]**; ilh [tsíyoxwas] tiya [syátsems]**
məkw'w [s=təm] i=† θiy=nox^w ɛs t=iya s-yæc=əm-s
rt n=irog rt=past rt=mt-sb3 nn=dem n-rt=pass-poss3
all things past he managed to make it that what he was told
Nob Nob Tns Vt DemOb N (<n-Vt)-Poss
all things; he managed to make whatever he was told.

47. Ilh te nech'ó skwáyal ná:natoxw swenílš [shokw'em]**
i† tə néč'ó s=k'w'áy=ɛl ná: [=næ=]t=ox^w š-wən-il-s* šók'w=əm
rt pv rt n=rt=in rt=ifdim=go n-rt=in-sd3 rt=mid
Then. the one day in early morning he gets up bathes
Conj Art Num N Adv Vi Vi
He got up in the morning one day

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

ilh oxw xwná:natil.
i=† ox^w x^w=ná: [=næ=]t=il
rt=past rt toward=night=ifdim=in
it was going just between dark and daylight

Tns Aux N

he bathed until daybreak. [it was in the hours between dark and daylight]bg

48.Tl'os ma	ilh	oxw	oxwnitas
λ'o-s mæ	i=†	óx ^w	óx ^w =nit-εs
conj-sd3 rt	rt=past	rt	rt=iat-sb3
then 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'átł'e;
k ^w n=æ'-s	tə	hík ^w	č'él'ə
rt=?-3sb	p _v	rt	rt
he takes	a	big	rock
Vt	Art	Adj	N

He takes (along) a big rock.

50.[T'ónoxwas]**	kwem	míyq'es	[lhi:kw'shen].
t'on=(n)óx ^w -εs	k ^w om ²⁶	míyq'=əs	†i·qəsn [sic, †i·k ^w =šn]
rt=mt-sb3	fut	rt=sjv3	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 ^w -s	k ^w əm	lólq'=ən	i†	o[=:::]= č
Conj rem-sd3 fut	rt=mid		rt	rt=if (emphatic: way way way way)
then the he will	dive		in	insi.....de
Conj Art Tns	Vi		Prep	N

And he will dive in, way way way way inside;

txwtł'apil7	(ta7á txwtíye te-)	txwta	lhiyá.
tx ^w =λ'εp=éyl7	(t-æ7æ tx ^w tiyə tə-)	tx ^w =tæ	†=iyé
toward=deep=in	(p _v -poss2s to-nn=dem p _v)	toward=der	p _v =dem
become submerged		toward	this/here
Vi	[speech editing?]bg	Prep	Dem

he becomes submerged toward this (place).

52.Tl'o kwems	mel7	ay	oxwtem [kw	ay]**	pónoxwas
λ'o k ^w əm-s	məl7	æy (?)	óx ^w =təm	q ^w ey	pón=(n)ox ^w -εs
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

kwem te sqwemáy7.

k ^w əm	tə	s=q ^w əm=æy'
fut	pv	n=soft=fur
will	the	dog
Tns	Art	N

the dog

53. Ilholh ay [yatsím7toms]**.
i=ɬ=oɬ əy yɛc=ím7=t-om-s
in-past-already rt rt=repeatedly=pt-pass-sd3
it's past Ctv what he was told
Aux Tns Asp Vt
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. Tl'os mas ilh kwná7as tíya ilhs tsónem [tsíyatis]**
λ'o-s mæ-s i=ɬ k^wn=æ7-æs t=iyə i=ɬ-s có=n=əm θiy=æt-is*
conj-nsd rt-sd3 rt=past rt=der-sb3 nn=dem rt=past-sd3 rt=pass rt=pt-3sb3
then so he past he took out⁺ that he past was told he makes it
Conj Aux Tns Vt Dem Tns Vt Vt
Then he took out what he was told to make,

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

+cp PF:GS 8/8/50 Box 2 card 1260 [k^wɛnɛ·s] 'to take out (power or objects from flesh)'
and preceding card with [k^wʌnɛ·] 'to grab (catch, as of power)'

"ilhás	mis	kwem	ɣetl'entsí.
iɬ-ɛs	mi-s	k ^w əm	ɣəλ'='ən-ci
rt-sjv3	rt-sd3	fut	rt=pct-ob2s
if/when it	it comes to	future	bites you
Aux	Aux	Tns	Vt

"when it will come bite you.

55. Tl'os tá7as mas tl'o ta chálash
λ'o-s t-æ7æ-s²⁷ mæ-s λ'o t-æ čéalæš
conj-nsd pv-poss2s-sd3 rt-sd3 rt pv-poss2s[Hk] rt
Then your it comes to that's your hand
Conj DemPn Aux Conj Art N
Then your-, it comes to your hand.

56. Asóxwshit ta sqwemáy7 kws melh ay
æs=óx^w=šit tæ s=q^wəm=æy k^w-s məɬ æy
st=rt=bt pv n=soft=fur rem-sd3 rt rt
it's brought for the dog so that it now ctv
Vt Art N Conj Adv Asp
It's brought for the dog so that now it

kwnátis	[ta]	siyólh.
k ^w nǎ=t-is ²⁸	[tǎ]	s=yó†
rt=pt-sb3	rt	n=(burn firewood)
it fetches/takes the		wood
Vt	Art	N

will be taking the wood.

27. There is an "ε" above the "ǣ" in this word

28. PTA has "tə" above "tis" in this word.

57. <u>Xetl'</u> enas[tem]	k ^w em	[ta7a	s-chálash]**;
57. xǣł' =ən-ǣs=(təm ²⁹	k ^w əm	t-ǣ7ǣ	s-č'ǣlǣš
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

tematl'ó	te	siyólh	meq'enes	tematl'ó.
tə=mǣ=ł'ó	tə	syó†	mǣq' =ən-əs	tə=mǣ=ł'ó
pv=aux=dem	pv	n=rt	rt=pcs-sb3	pv=aux=dem
he	the	wood	he swallows it	he/it
Pron	Art	N	Vt	Pron

he'll swallow the wood.

58. Mekw'axw	mekw'as	[qe	mekw'as]**
mǣk ^{'w} -ǣx ^{'w}	mǣk ^{'w} -ǣs	qə	mk ^{'w} -ǣs
rt-sjv2s	rt-sjv3	rt	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

yáyyusní	tematl'ó	sqwemqwemáy7.
yǣyyus=nít	təmǣł'ó	s=q ^w əm-q ^w əm=ǣy
rt=iat	pv=aux=dem	n=p-soft=fur
work on them	them	dogs
Vt	Pron/Dem	N

(you/it will) work on them dogs.

59. Tl'os ma	oxw	yalów;	oxwchaxw	chpónoxwchkwem
ł'ó-s mǣ	óx ^{'w}	yeláw	óx ^{'w} -čex ^{'w}	č-pún=(n)ox ^{'w} -č-k ^w əm
conj-sd3 rt	rt	rt	rt-sb2s	der?-rt=iat-sb2-fut
then so	goes	after	you go	you will see it
Conj Aux	Aux	Adv	Aux-Pron	Vt

Then they go after (them); go, you will see it

tiye	[l]hiye	ts'ókway	ilh	te	shalhs
t=iyə	[ɬ]=iyə	s=θ'ok ^w æy	iɬ	tæ	ʃæɬ-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 "æs", above it

tematl'ó;	ilh	oxw	ay	óxnit.
tə=mæ=λ'o	i=ɬ	ox ^w	æy	óx ^w =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]**	[astsi7tsót]**	meq'en;
t'ó [λ'o] k ^w əm	ɛs=θi=θót	méq'=ən
rt fut	st=rt=refl	rt=pt
then will	get ready ³⁰	swallow it
Conj Tns	StativeVt	Vt

Then it will get ready to swallow.

ilhchaxw	kwem	meq'enem.
iɬ-čæx ^{w31}	k ^w əm	méq'=ən-əm
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	ǰéqtxwas	te	qwlhay
λ'o-k ^w m-æy ³²		ǰéq=tx ^w -æs ³³	tə	q ^w ɬ=áy ³⁴
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	[qwlhay7]**.
λ'o-s	mæ	θiy=əθ	tə q ^w ɬ=áy
conj-sd3	rt	rt=pt	pv float=wood
it's that	so	made it	the stick
Conj	Aux	Vt	Art N

The stick is what (he/you) made..

30. PTA= "(?)"

31. PTA= "preferred i+æx^w"

32. PTA= has "sk'əxt" crossed out here

33. PTA note: "xəqt^w" = 'straddle'

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

63. Ówa	ílhexw	(as7ots)	méq'enem
ówæ ³⁵	i+æx ^w	(is+oc ?)	méq'=ən-əm
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'osís	mas	ilh]**	kwá7atem.
θiy=ot-č-k ^w m-æs	λ'os-,λ'o-s-ís	ma-s	i=+	k ^w æ7=æt-əm
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	tíye	ilh	oxw
λ'o-s	mæ	i+	ox ^w	(x ^w)=yéláw	ówc=t(x) ^w	t=iyə	i+	ox ^w
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=tæm=əs	"to(?)" [t'wæ] ³⁶	tə=mæ=λ'ó
n=irog=der	rt	pv=aux=dem
whatever	must be/evidently	it is
N	Modal	PronV

whatever it evidently was.

65. Ílhas	oxw	ilholh	ówtstwi ^x nites	sxwná7[am]	s7áliyes.
i=+εs	ox ^w	i=+o+ ³⁶	ówc=tx ^w =ix=nit-es ³⁷	sx ^w =ná7[æm]**	s=7éliyə-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. Tl'o ílholh (ó:tstxwnitas); ó:tstxw.
 λ'o í=†=o† [ó:c=tx^w=nit-æs]³⁷ ó:c=tx^w
 rt rt=past=already rt=ct=iat-sd3 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.t.

67. "Welhenats!" [tl'os mas]³⁹ bg níchichimt.
 wə†=ənɛc³⁸ [λ'o-s mæ-s] níči[=či=]m=t
 eposs-1s [conj-nsd rt-sd3] speak/say=ifder=pt
 it belongs to me so he spoke/said it
 Vi (PronV) Conj Aix Vt
 "It belongs to me!" he said then.

68. Tl'o kwems mas (~ kws olh) tekw'élhnalh
 λ'o k^wm-s mæ-s (k^w-s-o†) tək'^w=é†næ†
 rt fut-nsd rt-sd3 (rem-sd3-past) rt (broke)=in the throat
 then will he comes to (came to) faint
 Conj Tns Aux (Conj) Vi
 Then he will come to faint (came to faint).

69. Amí:tem skwáyal snánatoxw kws msám;
 ɛmí:-təm s=k^wáy=ɛl s=næ[=næ=]t=ox^w k^w-s msæ=m
 rt=st n=rt=in n=night=dimif=goes rem-sd3 rt=mid
 comes the day early morning that 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** kwó7a
 t'ów=ot-ɛs i†-ɛs čæ[=čə=]l k^w-s mæ [†]č=íl k^wa7æ
 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, "ówtstwi~~x~~nites;" or more likely ó:tstxwnitas

38. PTA= "preferable"

39. PTA= "t'os mæs" below previous word

70. Tl'os	mes	ilh	waní:l	tl'o	t'ichim
λ'o-s	mə-s	i†	wɛn=i:l	λ'o	t'íc=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	ox ^w	tæ	q'əl=min-s
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' ^w in=θs	s=k ^w áy=ɛl-s	k ^w -s	i=† (i† ⁴⁰)	?áy*	ci=cót
irog=cycles	n=rt=in-poss3	rem-sd3	rt=past	rt	rt=refl
so many	days it	that he	past	ctv	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 ?áy 'keep on going'.

kw	tis	kwem	kw	néch'o	skwáyal.
k ^w	tis	k ^w əm	k ^w	néč'o	s=k ^w áy=ɛl?
nn	rt	fut	nn	rt	n=rt=in
the	get near	future	such that	certain one	day
Art	Vi	Tns	Art	Num	N

for a certain day to approach.

73. Tl'os	mas	t'okw'	q	ówa	ilhas	solál	kws
λ'o-s	mæ-s	t'ok ^w	q	ówæ	í†-æs	solál	k ^w -s
conj-nsd	rt-sd3	rt	rt	rt	rt-sb3	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.
?əháy=nit-s	k ^w -s	æs=xé†
rt=iat-sd3	rem-sd3	st=rt
to work on them	that	are sick
Vt	Conj	Vi

work on the sick.

40. This is crossed out

74. Kw'ínes skwáyal qay yalhs t'á:nes tíye
 k'w'in=əs s=k'w'áy=əl qay yɛʔ-s t'á=·n-es t=íyə
 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
 í=ʔ mi k'w'én=(n)ox'-əs s=7éliyə q s=7éliyə-s šx'w'ə=ná7æm
 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
 šx'w'ə=ná7æm ma nəx'w'=7áy7y=ém-s k'w'ə nəč'ó yi=stí7ix'
 (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 nəx'w'=7áy7y=ém-s k'w'ə nəč'ó yi=stí7ix'
 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 hītsolh/xwítsolh lhéq'olh ay
 k'w=ow híc=oʔ/x'w'íc=oʔ⁴¹ ʔéq'=oʔ æy
 rem=really long time=past sometimes=past rt
 long ago used to ctv
 Adv Adv Adv Asp

selá:tsots ta [swálayolh]**chalh.
 sələ=·cot-s? tə š=wéley=oʔ-čæʔ
 (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 "hwícoʔ" above "hwáθos"

78. Ilh malh tís kwem néch'ó skwáyal.
 íʔ mɛʔ tís k'w'əm nəč'ó s=k'w'áy=əl
 rt rt rt fut rt s=rt=in

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=† pón=(n)ox^w-εs k^w nθ=nč'ó
 rt=nsd rt=sd3 rt=past rt=mt-sb3 rem person=one
 Then it comes past he sees it such that one person
 Conj Aux Tns Vt Art NumN
 Then so (if) he sees one person;/Then one person came to see it.

80. Skw'ayas [kwe sí7ixwalh]**.
 s=k^wæy-εs k^wθ s=7i=7ix^w=ε†⁴²
 n=rt-sb3 rem n=dim=person=offspring
 AdjV Art N
 it's not right young child
 It's not right for a young child (to see);

81. yisti7ixw (yisti7ixw) asxelh.
 yi=sti7ix^w (yisti7ix^w) εs=xθ†
 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'ix^w=nit=θs i=† mæ† t=iyθ nθč'o s=k^wæy=εl
 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;

lhiyá mi kwéxwenem tiye
 †=iyá mi k^wóx^w=θn-θm t=iyθ
 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=†=o† óx^w=nit-θs i7 tθ s=wæ7ælt
 rt=past=already rt=iat-sb3 rt pv n=rt
 past already he goes to it in the woods
 Aux Vt Prep Art N
 He already went out in the woods (to find it).

84.O::, lhéq'olh mi kwénoxwas ilholh mi kwénoxwes kw
 o· ʔéq'=oʔ mi kʷén=(n)oxʷ-ɛs í=ʔ=ʔ mi kʷén=(n)oxʷ-əs kʷ
 ohhh/well s-t=past rt rt=mt-sb3 rt=past=already rt rt=mt-sb3 rem
 well used to come he gets it past come he got it the
 Interj Adv Aux Vt Tns Aux Vt Art
 Well, he used to come get what he got,

nench'ó xwkwéxwens
 nə=nč'ó xʷ=kʷəxʷ=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 tíya te temíxw
 kʷ xʷ=stəcos t=iyáe táʔæ- tə təmixʷ
 nn/rem always=poor pv? =dem pv rt
 the poor of this/here/that the earth
 Art N Dem Art N
 the poor ones of this earth.

85.Tl'os mas s7yáyasnitas, lháwates
 ʔ'o-s mæ-s s=ʔyáyæs=nit-ɛs ʔáw=æt-əs⁴³
 conj-nsd rt-sd3 n=rt=iat-sb3 rt=pt-sb3
 Then so he worked on them he doctors them up
 Conj Aux Vt Vt
 So then he worked on them, doctored them up.

86.Tl'os mis halí: kws kwénoxw sáyem sʷxelh
 ʔ'os mis héli: kʷ-s kʷén=(n)oxʷ sáy=əm s=xəʔ
 conj-nsd rt-sd3 alive rem-sd3 rt=mt rt=mid n=rt
 then so they come to get well that they get have pain or hurt sickness
 Conj Aux Vi Conj Vt Adj N
 Then they come to get well, those that get a painful/strong sickness.

43. PTA has "ʔáwætəs" above "səwatis"

87.qey tl'o malhs q ilhas tl'o ta tes skw'áy
 qey ʔ'ó mæʔ-s q íʔ-ɛs ʔ'o tæ təs s=kʷáy
 rt then dsj rt rt=past-sjv3 rt pv rt n=rt
 but on the other hand if if it was that that approaches is wrong
 Conj Dem Aux Conj Aux Conj Rel Vi Vi (<N)
 But then on the other hand if what approaches is wrong

s7áliye, kwenoxwas mel7 hoy[txws] ay
 s=ʔéliyə kʷén=(n)oxʷ-ɛs məl7 hóy=t[x]ʷ-s æy
 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	tetsoslhs;
q'óy=ot=ámin-əs	k ^w =i	məʔ	təcos=ʔ-s
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 oxwshitem kw sta:m
 q ow-əs óx^w=šit-əm-s k^w s=tə: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.
 hæʔʔ i=ʔ s=λ'i:s tul7iʔ t=iye
 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.Ílhas xelh qay tl'o te ilh kwenoxw ta ha7lh s7éliye.
 iʔ-əs xəʔ qəy λ'o tə i=ʔ k^wən=(n)ox^w tə hæʔʔ s=ʔéliye
 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 stetos sti7ixw.
 həli:=n-əs k^w-s s=tə-cos s=ti7ix^w
 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 óxwshitem stámes.
 λ'o-s mə-s əy óx^w=šit-əm s=təəm=əs
 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. Ha7lhs	[yi]	stsíyetems	kwa	ha7lh	sqwáliwens.
háʔɬ-s	yi	s=cíy=ət-əm-s	k ^w æ	háʔɬ	s=q ^w æl=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 mind/feelings).

94. Tematl'ó	íhloh	oxw	ímash.
tə=mæ=λ'o	í=ɬ=oɬ	ox ^w	ím=æš
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	ʔíɬ-s	hóy	tən s=níçim
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	ta7a	s7eháy
háʔɬ	t-æʔæ	s=ʔəháy
rt	pv-poss2s	n=rt
is good	your	work
Vi	Art-Pron	N
You work is good		

References

- Amoss, Pamela Thorsen. Unpublished Nooksack field notes and tapes.
 _____. 1961. Nuksack Phonemics, unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of Washington, Seattle.
- Efrat, Barbara. Unpublished Nooksack field notes and tapes.
- Fetzer, Paul. Unpublished Nooksack field notes.
- Galloway, Brent. 1983a. "A Look at Nooksack Phonology," in Working Papers of the 18th International Conference on Salishan Languages, compiled by Eugene Hunn and Bill Seaburg, University of Washington Seattle, Wash., pp. 80-132.
- _____. 1983b. "Nooksack Pronouns, Transitivity, and Control," a paper presented at the 22nd Conference on American Indian Languages, American Anthropological Association, 82nd Annual Meeting, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 17-20, 1983.
- _____. 1984a. "A Look at Nooksack Phonology," in Anthropological Linguistics, 26 (1):13-41, Anthropology Department, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., Spring 1984 issue.
- _____. 1984b. "Nooksack Reduplication," in Papers of the XIX International Conference on Salishan and Neighboring Languages, special issue of Working Papers of the Linguistic Circle, University of Victoria, 4 (2):81-100, Victoria, B.C., June 1984 issue.
- _____. 1987. "Computerized Dictionaries of Halkomelem and Nooksack: Some Discoveries So Far," given as a late paper at the 22nd International Conference on Salishan Languages, Victoria, B.C.
- _____. 1988. "Some Proto-Central Salish Sound Correspondences," pp. 293-343 in a refereed subset of the conference papers, entitled, In Honor of Mary Haas, From the Haas Festival Conference on Native American Linguistics, edited by William Shipley, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- _____. 1992. "Computerized Dictionaries of Upriver Halkomelem and Nooksack," and "3-D Semantics and the Halkomelem Dictionary," in Amerindia, Revue d'Ethnolinguistique Amerindienne, numero special 7, "Amerindian Languages and Informatics, The Pacific Northwest, ed. by Guy Buchholtzer, pp.47-82, Paris
- _____. 1993. "Nooksack Reduplication," in American Indian Linguistics and Ethnography in Honor of Laurence C. Thompson, Anthony Mattina and Timothy Montler, eds., University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics, no. 10, pp. 93-112.
- _____. 1996. "A Look At Some Nooksack Stories" A paper presented at the 35th Conference on American Indian Languages, 95th American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, Calif.
- _____. 1997. "Nooksack Pronouns, Transitivity, and Control," in Papers for the 32nd International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages, Peninsula College, Port Angeles, Wash., compiled by Timothy Montler, University of North Texas, pp. 197-243.
- _____, George Adams, & Catalina Renteria. 2004a. "Bringing Back

the Nooksack Language from the Dead." University of British Columbia Working Papers in Linguistics, 14:141-148.

_____, George Adams, & Catalina Renteria. 2004b. "What a Nooksack Story can tell us about Morphology and Syntax." University of British Columbia Working Papers in Linguistics, 14:149-165.

Thompson, Laurence C. unpublished Nooksack field notes & tapes.