

The expression of NPs in Lushootseed texts

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This paper extends to some Lushootseed data a recent analysis of the distribution and interpretation of noun phrases in two Halkomelem narratives.

1 Introduction

Bates (1997) discusses the expression of arguments in Martha Lamont's telling of the Lushootseed story "Pheasant and Raven" (Hess, 1998). That paper tracks characters (discourse referents) through the story, told by Mrs. Lamont to Thom Hess in 1964; Langen (1997) provides an analysis of parallelism and other literary devices in the text, and Bennett and Beck (1998) discuss the prosodic correlates to several syntactic and narrative devices in the text. The current paper reworks Bates (1997) and extends it in the framework of Gerdts and Hukari (2003). In addition to "Pheasant and Raven", the current paper examines Harry Moses' telling of "How Daylight Was Stolen" (Hilbert and Hess (1977).

Gerdts and Hukari's corpus comprises 613 sentences. They do not report how many clauses each sentence might contain, however, and conventions for identifying sentence boundaries can differ among linguists and among different presentations by the same linguist. The Lushootseed corpus for this paper is comprised of 459 sentences containing a total of 543 clauses, where a clause is defined by the presence of a verbal predicate.¹ The Lushootseed corpus under study is somewhat smaller than its Halkomelem counterpart (approximately 3/4 of its size), but it seems reasonable to compare the two.

The four texts under study are similar in general content, as well. Gerdts and Hukari (2003:93) note that "Seagull Steals the Sun" and the other text they analyze are "action/adventure stories with many different third persons entering and exiting, and are thus excellent for the purpose of a study on the expression of NPs." "Pheasant and Raven" seems a comparable enough text, and it is roughly the same length as "Seagull Steals the Sun"—310 lines in Hess's (1998) presentation, in which lines mostly correspond to sentences—in comparison to 310 sentences reported for "Seagull Steals the Sun" (2003:92). Langen (1997) notes that "Pheasant and Raven" is a highly structured narrative comparing a spirit quest by the virtuous Pheasant and a parody of that quest by the tricksterish Raven; this text, too, has many different third person characters. "How Daylight Was Stolen" reflects similar cultural and literary functions as

¹ A few main clauses that contain no overt verbal predicate are punctuated as sentences in the source documents, and the current treatment counts them as monoclausal sentences; interjections and a very few DPs with propositional force ('[It was a] REALLYBIG elk' comprise the bulk of these examples.

“Seagull Steals the Sun;” indeed, the two texts were published together in a special volume on Northwest Coast tales of stealing daylight (Hukari et al., 1977; Hilbert and Hess, 1977).

2 Overt NP

Gerdts and Hukari discuss the distribution of overt NPs as subjects and objects of transitive predicates. They identify 81 transitive clauses with third person subject and object in their corpus, excluding initial focus NPs; assuming that each of their transitive clauses appears in a separate sentence, slightly over 13% of the sentences in the Halkomelem corpus contain transitive clauses. The rest (87%) of the sentences contain intransitive, passive, or topicalized clauses, or those with a second or first person subject or object (directly quoted speech is not uncommon in these texts, as Gerdts and Hukari mention). The Lushootseed corpus contains 62 transitive clauses—13.5% of the total sentences, and slightly over 11% of the total clauses.

Gerdts and Hukari give the following table concerning the expression of NPs in each of their texts.

	MTS		SSS		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Subject and object are overt NPs	4	8%	3	10%	7	9%
Only overt NP is subject	2	4%	1	3%	3	4%
Only overt NP is object	28	54%	15	52%	43	53%
Both subject and object are zero	18	35%	10	35%	28	35%
Total 3 rd person/3 rd person	52	100%	29	100%	81	100%

Table 1. Expressing Halkomelem NPs in Transitive Clauses
(Gerdts and Hukari 2003:93)

Lushootseed sentence syntax disallows two overt third person NPs, so there is no comparison among the first two rows of Table 1 for the two languages. Table 2 gives the comparable Lushootseed data to Table 1 for the last three rows.

	Pheasant & Raven		How Daylight Was Stolen		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Only overt NP is object	23	64%	17	65%	40	65%
Both subject and object are zero	13	36%	9	35%	22	35%
Total 3 rd person/3 rd person	36	100%	26	100%	62	100%

Table 2. Expressing Lushootseed NPs in Transitive Clauses

The two different corpora show the same percentage (35%) of transitive clauses with zero subject and object in comparison to all clauses with a third person object and a third person subject. Gerdt and Hukari note that their findings (and now, mine) consistent with the published work on Salish syntax. There are few transitive clauses with two overt NPs in Halkomelem and none in Lushootseed; a single overt NP is usually the object in Halkomelem and always one in Lushootseed.

Gerdt and Hukari also examine the distribution of NPs in passive clauses in their two texts. Table 3 reprints their Table 4.

	MTS		SSS	
	#	%	#	%
Both agent and patient are overt post-verbal NPs	0	0	3	5
Only overt post-verbal NP is agent	7	8	7	11
Only overt post-verbal NP is patient	26	29	32	52
Both agent and patient are zero	57	63	19	31
Total passives with 3 rd person patients	90	100	61	100

Table 3. Expression of NPs in Halkomelem passive clauses (Gerdt and Hukari, 2003:102)

Table 4 organizes the Lushootseed passives in the corpus. The Lushootseed texts under study evidence a larger percentage of passive clauses with overt agents as the only post-verbal NP (23% and 40%, compared with the Halkomelem 8% and 11%).

	Pheasant and Raven		How Daylight Was Stolen	
	#	%	#	%
Both agent and patient are overt post-verbal NPs	3	4	1	6
Only overt post-verbal NP is agent	16	23	6	40
Only overt post-verbal NP is patient	13	19	4	27
Both agent and patient are zero	37	54	4	27
Total passives with 3 rd person patients	69	100	15	100

Table 4. Expression of NPs in Lushootseed passive clauses

Lushootseed, like Halkomelem, places the agent of a passive in an oblique phrase, so at this point I detect no syntactic reason for the differences between Table 3 and Table 4. Rhetorical choice and literary style probably influence this difference; the differences between the two texts inside each table would be consistent with such an explanation.

3 Textual Divisions and Topics

Gerds and Hukari explicate some of the discourse structure of each of the Halkomelem texts. They explore topic maintenance through some excerpts and are particularly interested in the relationship between discourse topics and the interpretation of zero NP. Table 5 reprints Gerds and Hukari's Table 6; it analyses lines 18-38 of "Seagull Steals the Sun". In Gerds and Hukari's table, capitals designate an overt NP; the second column details for each sentence the representation of 'sun', the topic of the main discourse, and the number of times 'sun' is subject of a verb (or possessor). The third column tracks the NP subject of the main clause, the topic of the sentence. The fourth column contains their analysis of topic transitions. They define START as the beginning of a section, and a CONTINUE is a transition type that arises when the topic of the previous sentence is the same as the topic of the current sentence; they also use CONTINUE

for an NP topic that follows the continue transition. A SHIFT is when the topic of the previous sentence is not the same as the current one, and a RESUME marks a transition back to the overall topic of the section, 'sun'.

#	Sun =	Topic	Transition
1	SUN x 1; Ø x 2	sun	start
2	Ø x 4	sun	continue
3	Ø x 3	sun	continue
4	Ø x 4	sun	continue
5	possessor x 1	fish scales	shift
6	Ø x 2	house	shift
7	Ø x 1	sun	resume
8	SUN x 1	sun	continue
9	possessor x 1	his eyes	continue
10	Ø x 2	you	shift
11	none	things that burn	shift
12	none	you	shift
13	THAT SUN x 1, Ø x 1	sun	resume
14	Ø x 1	sun	continue
15	none	seagull	start

Table 5. Gerdt's and Hukari (2003:110): Lines 18-38 in "Seagull Steals the Sun"

Gerdt's and Hukari identify lines 1-14 in Table 5 as a section of the text; the term SECTION goes undefined in their analysis, so I employ the definition of episode from Bates (2002) for a comparable concept. An EPISODE is a textual division, similar to a paragraph, that indicates one of three narrative functions identified in Bierwert (1996:25): changes in scene; shifts in the focus of the narrative; and narrative repetitions. Bates (2002) notes that Lushootseed text divisions are often signaled by morphemes that Fabb (1997:194) identifies as connectives, often glossed 'and then'. Fabb notes that connectives tend to be concentrated at episode beginnings. Hess (1998), Bierwert (1996) and Langen (1997) all employ similar textual divisions in their various presentation of Lushootseed literature, although their analyses differ somewhat; the concept of episode is more grounded in literary and textual analysis than Gerdt's and Hukari's concept of section. The episode boundaries in Bates (1997) match those in Hess's (1998) presentation of "Pheasant and Raven" fairly closely and they are reflected in the present paper as well.

Table 6 analyses episode 1 of "Pheasant and Raven" according to Gerdt's and Hukari's analysis. The analysis, Lushootseed sentences and their morpheme glosses for the second half of the story are included in the Appendix; Bates (1997) gives most of the first half. Like Gerdt's and Hukari's 'sun' in Table 1, Pheasant and Raven trade off in this story as the TOPIC: a protagonist who continues as the center of attention over stretches of discourse (2003:92).

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition
1	THAT PHEASANT& THIS RAVEN x 1	Pheasant and Raven	start
2	Ø x 1	Pheasant and Raven	continue
3	THIS PHEASANT&THIS RAVEN x 1	Pheasant and Raven	continue
4	THIS PHEASANT	Pheasant	continue
5	THIS PHEASANT	Pheasant	continue
6	THIS PHEASANT	I	shift
7	possessor x 1	wife	shift
8	THIS RAVEN (topicalized)	Raven	shift
9	possessor x 1	his wife	shift
10	Ø x 1	Pheasant and Raven	resume

Table 6. Bates (1997) meets Gerdts and Hukari (2003)

The Appendix shows the voice and valence of the clauses and uses the published line numbers instead of following their practice of introducing example numbers in the table.

Tables 7 through 19 analyze the representation of NPs in each episode of "How Daylight Was Stolen." Notes on voice and valence are included as well.

Further work will compare Gerdts and Hukari's comments about the relationship between narrative structure and the distribution of NPs in Halkomelem to the episodic analysis shown here for Lushootseed.

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
1-2	DAYLIGHT [overt subject]	daylight	start	active intransitive
2-3	none	THIS LAND [topicalized]	shift	active intransitive
4	none	THESE PEOPLE [overt subject]	shift	active intransitive
4-5	YONDER DAYLIGHT [overt object]	'we'	continue	active transitive
6-7	YONDER DAYLIGHT [overt subject]	daylight	shift	active intransitive

7-8	Ø x 1 [zero object]	'we'	shift	active transitive
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Table 7. Episode 1, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
9	TWO YOUTHS [overt subject]	two youths	start	reflexive
10	Ø x 1	two youths	continue	reflexive
10-11	'they' x 2	two youths	continue	reflexive; active intransitive
12-13	THIS RAVEN AND LITTLE MINK [topicalized]	Raven and Little Mink	continue	reflexive
13	'they'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
14	none	Det canoe [overt subject]	shift	active intransitive
15-16	Ø x 1	Raven and Little Mink	resume	active intransitive
17-18	'they'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active transitive [overt object 'canoe']
18-19	'they'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active transitive [zero object 'canoe' (lx sfx)]
20-21	'they'; Ø x 2	Raven and Little Mink	continue	reflexive; active intransitive; active intransitive
22-23	'they' x 2	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active transitive [overt object]

				'canoe'; active intransitive
24-25	none	canoe [overt subject]	shift	active intransitive; active intransitive; active intransitive
25-26	Ø x 1	Ravena and Little Mink	resume	active transitive [overt object]
26	Ø x 1	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
27	'they'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	passive
27-28	'us'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active transitive [object suffix]
28	'we'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
29-30	'we'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active transitive [overt object]

Table 8. Episode 2, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
31-32	THIS HERE LITTLE MINK AND RAVEN [overt subject]	Raven and Little Mink	start	active intransitive
32-34	'they'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active transitive [overt object]
34-35	'they'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
36	'they'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
36-37	none	daylight [overt subject]	shift	active intransitive
37	none	daylight	continue	active intransitive
38-39	'they' x 2	Raven and	resume	active

		Little Mink		transitive; active intransitive
39-40	'they' x 1	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active transitive [overt object]
40	Ø x 1	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
41	'they'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
41-42	Ø x 1	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
42-43	none	daylight [overt oblique]	shift	active intransitive

Table 9. Episode 3, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
44	'they'	Raven and Little Mink	start	active intransitive
44-45	'us'; Ø x 1; YONDER DAYLIGHT	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active transitive [overt object=daylight]
46	'we'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
46-48	'we' x 2; YONDER DAYLIGHT	Raven and Little Mink	continue	passive; active transitive [overt object=daylight]
48-49	'we'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active transitive; active intransitive
49-50	THIS HERE LITTLE MINK	Little Mink	shift	active intransitive [overt subject]
50-51	'I' (emph)	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
51-52	'I'; Ø x 2	Little Mink	continue	active inansitive; active inansitive; active inansitive;

52-53	'I'	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
53-54	'I'	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
54-55	'I'	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
55	THIS RAVEN	Raven	shift	active intransitive [overt subject]
56	'I'	Raven	continue	active intransitive
57	'I' (Raven); 'you' (Mink)	Raven	continue	active intransitive; active transitive
58-59	'you' (Mink) x 2	Mink	shift	active transitive; active intransitive
60-61	'I' (emph) (Raven); Ø x 1	Raven	shift	active transitive; active transitive

Table 10. Episode 4, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
62	Ø x 1	Little Mink	start	active intransitive
63-64	THIS LITTLE MINK	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive [overt subject]
63-64	Ø x 1	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
64-65	Ø x 3	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive; active intransitive
65	Ø x 1	Little Mink	continue	passive [overt agent 'by these people']
66-67	THIS PERSON (Mink) (topicalized)	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
67	THIS MINK	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
68	'I'	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive

69	'I'	Little Mink	continue	active transitive; active intransitive
69-73	'me', 'I'	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active transitive [object suffix]; active intransitive
73-74	'I' x 2	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive
75-76	THIS OLD FELLOW	nobleman	shift	passive [overt agent and patient]
76	Ø x 1	Little Mink	resume	passive
76-78	'you' (Mink) x 2	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive
78	Ø x 1	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
78-79	'I'	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
80	'I'	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
81-82	Ø x 2	Little Mink	continue	passive

Table 11. Episode 5, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
83-84	Ø x 3	Little Mink	start	active intransitive; active transitive [overt object]; active transitive [overt object]
85	Ø x 1	Little Mink	continue	active transitive
86-87	THAT SUN [overt subject]; THIS LIGHT [overt patient of passive]	daylight	shift	active intransitive; passive

87-88	Ø x 1	daylight	continue	passive
88-89	Ø x 1	daylight	continue	active intransitive
89	LITTLE MINK [agent of passive]	daylight	continue	passive
90	LITTLE MINK	Little Mink	shift	active intransitive
91	Ø x 1 (Mink); THIS DAYLIGHT [overt object]	Little Mink	continue	active transitive
92-93	Ø x 1 (Mink)	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
93-94	LITTLE MINK	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
94-95	Ø x 2 (Mink)	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive
95-96	Ø x 1	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
96	Ø x 1	Little Mink	continue	active transitive [overt object]
96-97	Ø x 1	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
97-98	Ø x 1	the others at the far part of the house	shift	active transitive
98-99	YONDER DAYLIGHT	daylight	shift	active intransitive
100-101	Ø x 1 (daylight); THIS OLD FELLOW (Mink (overt agent of passive)	daylight	continue	passive [overt agent]

Table 12. Episode 6, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
102-103	LITTLE MINK (agent of passive)	daylight	start	passive
103-104	Ø x 1; THIS SUNLIGHT (overt object)	Little Mink	shift	active transitive
105	Ø x 2	Little Mink	continue	active transitive;

				active transitive
106	THIS SUNLIGHT (overt object)	Little Mink	continue	active transitive
107	Ø x 1	Little Mink	continue	active transitive

Table 13. Episode 7, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
108	LITTLE MINK (patient of passive)	Little Mink	start	passive
108-110	Ø x 2;	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive
111	Ø x 1	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
111-113	Ø x 1 (Mink); HIS FRIEND (Raven— overt object)	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active transitive
113-114	Ø x 1 (Mink); Ø x 1 (Raven); THIS DAYLIGHT (oblique patient of applicative)	Little Mink	continue	active transitive
114	RAVEN (agent of passive)	daylight	shift	passive
115-116	RAVEN (possessive)	Raven	shift	active intransitive
116				interjections
117	Ø x 1	no-one	shift	active transitive
117	Ø x 1	Raven	resume	active intransitive
118	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active intransitive
118-119	Ø x 1	Mink	shift	active intransitive
119-120	Ø x 1	Raven	resume	active intransitive
120-121	THIS RAVEN (overt object)	no-one	shift	active transitive
121	Ø x 1	Raven	resume	active intransitive

121-122	Ø x 1 (Raven); HIS FRIEND (Mink—overt object)	Raven	continue	active transitive
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Table 14. Episode 8, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
123	LITTLE MINK (patient of passive)	Little Mink	start	passive
124-126	LITTLE MINK (possessive)	Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive
126-127	THIS SWIFT ANIMAL (Mink—overt object)	no thing	shift	active transitive
128	Ø x 1 (Mink)	wolf, cougar (topicalized)	shift	active transitive
128-129	THE LITTLE MINK (overt object)	no one	shift	active transitive
129-130	Ø x 1 (Mink)	Mink	resume	active intransitive

Table 15. Episode 9, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
131-132	none	people chasing	start	active intransitive
132-133	none	people chasing	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive
134	none	people chasing	continue	active intransitive
134-135	none	fog	shift	active intransitive
135	THE LITTLE MINK (agent of passive)	people chasing	shift	passive
136	'I' x 2	Mink	shift	active intransitive; active intransitive
137	none	this land	shift	active intransitive (overt subject)
137-	none	people	shift	active

138		chasing		intransitive
138-139	'them'	people chasing	continue	active intransitive; active transitive

Table 16. Episode 10, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
140	Ø x 1 (Mink and Raven)	Raven and Little Mink	start	active intransitive
140-141	Ø x 1 (Mink and Raven); THIS DAYLIGHT (overt object)	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active transitive
141-144	'they'; THIS (daylight—overt object)	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active transitive
144	none	people chasing	shift	active intransitive
145	THE MEN (overt subject)	Raven and Little Mink	shift	active intransitive
145-146	Ø x 1 (Mink and Raven); THIS DAYLIGHT (overt object)	Raven and Mink	continue	active transitive
146	Ø x 1 (Mink and Raven)	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive
146-147	none	people chasing	shift	active intransitive
147-148	'they'; THIS DAYLIGHT (overt object)	Raven and Little Mink	resume	active transitive
148-149	Ø x 1 (Mink and Raven); 'they'	Raven and Little Mink	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive

Table 17. Episode 11, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
150-151	RAVEN (topicalized); Ø x 1; YONDER DAYLIGHT (overt object)	Raven	start	active transitive
151-152	THIS ONE (Raven, topicalized); Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive

	(daylight)			
152-153	Ø x 2 (daylight)	daylight	shift	active intransitive; active intransitive
153-154	none	people	shift	active intransitive
154-155	none	daylight	shift	active intransitive
155	Ø x 1	daylight	continue	active intransitive
156	LITTLE MINK (patient in passive)	Little Mink	resume	passive
156-157	none	daylight	shift	active intransitive
157-158	none	daylight	continue	active intransitive
158-159	Ø x 1 (Mink)	Little Mink	shift	active transitive; active transitive (overt object)
160	RAVEN (topicalized)	Raven	shift	active intransitive
160-161	Ø x 2 (daylight)	daylight	shift	active intransitive; active intransitive
161-162	none	people	shift	active intransitive
163	none	daylight	shift	active intransitive

Table 18. Episode 12, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

#	Daylight/Raven/Mink	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
164	none	my talking	start	active intransitive (overt subject)
164-165	none	good story	continue	active intransitive (overt subject)

Table 19. Episode 13, "How Daylight Was Stolen"

Appendix "Pheasant and Raven" analysis with text

This presentation starts at the end of the first half of the story. Having been successful in his quest for hunting power, Pheasant feeds his family and village.

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
129	'they'	Pheasant and wife	start	active transitive
	g ^w əχ=al=ĩj-əd-əx ^w untie=bundle-tr-cos	əlg ^w ə? 3pl		
130	'they'	Pheasant and wife	continue	active transitive
	g ^w əl (h)uy conj adv	q ^w ibi-d-əx ^w prepare-tr-cos	əlg ^w ə? 3pl	
131	'they'	Pheasant and wife	continue	active transitive
	g ^w əl (h)uy conj adv	q ^w ata-d-əx ^w lay.out-tr-cos	əlg ^w ə? 3pl	
132	none	elk	shift	active intransitive
	cətul' previously	ʔəs-/q ^w ib st-/prepare		
133	none	elk	continue	passive
	ʔəs-ʔi+/ʔiç'-tu-b st-red1+/cut.up-caus-pass P	ʔə tiʔəʔ ʔacit̪albiχ ^w D(prx) people [overt agent of passive]		
134	none	hunters (topicalized)	shift	active intransitive
	s-ʔub+/ʔubədiʔ nom-red2+/hunter adv	haw'əʔ tiʔiʔ D(dist)	s-əs-/huy-s nom-st-/make-3S	

Table Appendix 1. Episode 21

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
135	Ø x 1	Pheasant	start	active transitive
	huy, ʔil-d-əx ^w tiʔəʔ adv give.food-tr-cos	bi+bəd+/bədaʔ-s D(prx) red+red+/offspring-3poss		
	ʔə tiʔəʔ P D(prx)	ʔudaw' tallow [overt applicative and overt patient in oblique]		
136	none	tallow	shift	passive
	yəχi adv	ʔəs-/q ^w at-(t)u-b, st-/lay.out-caus-pass		
137	none	tallow	continue	passive

	ʔəs-/tab-tu-b st-/do-caus-pass [overt patient of passive]	tiʔəʔ D(prx)	ʔudaw' tallow	
138	Ø x 1	Pheasant	resume	active transitive
	ʔil-d-əx ^w tiʔəʔ give.food-tr-cos ʔə P	bi+bəd+/bədaʔ-s D(prx)red1+red2+/offspring-3poss tiʔəʔ D(prx)	ʔudaw' tallow	
	[overt applicative and overt patient in oblique]			

Table Appendix 2. Episode 22

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
139	none	little pheasants	start	active intransitive
	ʃaad ^z al-əx ^w tiʔəʔ go.outside-cos D(prx)	s-g ^w i+g ^w əl+/g ^w əlub nom-red1+red2+/pheasant	[overt subject]	
140	none	little pheasants	continue	active intransitive
	g ^w əl (h)uy ʔəʔəd-əx ^w əlg ^w əʔ ʔal tudɪʔ čəg ^w =alatx ^w conj adv eat-cos 3pl P adv seaward=house			
141	none	little pheasants	continue	intransitive
	ʔuk ^w uk ^w -il-b-əx ^w play-incep-md-cos	əlg ^w əʔ 3pl		

Table Appendix 3. Episode 23

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
142	THIS RAVEN	little pheasants	start	passive
	tiləb-əx ^w ʔu-/ʃu-du-b adv-cos pnt-/see-tr-pass	ʔə P	tiʔəʔ D(prx)	qaw'qs raven [overt agent of pass]
143	Ø x 1	Raven	shift	active inansitive
	g ^w əl conj	lə-/cut, prog-/speak	“ʔə”! interjection	
144	PHEASANT (possessive)	food	shift	active intransitive; active intransitive

	stab-əx ^w ti?ə? ?əs-/q ^w əq ^w -il s-u-/?əfəd what-cos (prx) st-/white-incep nom-pnt-/eat			
	?ə tə bəd+/bədə? ?ə sg ^w əlub.” P D red2+/offspring P pheasant			
145	Ø x 1	Raven	resume	active intransitive
	huy, ?uχ ^w -əx ^w then go-cos			
146	none	Raven's children	shift	active transitive
	“hiwil ?i šuu-c vocative.adv 2pl look-tr			
147	none	Raven's children	continue	active transitive
	šuu-c ?i look-tr 2pl			
148	none	Raven's children	continue	active intransitive
	hiwil ?i.” vocative.adv 2pl			

Table Appendix 4. Episode 24

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
149	possessive	Raven's children	start	active intransitive
	?uχ ^w -əx ^w ti?ə? bi+bəd+/bədə?-s go-cos D(prx) red1+red2+/offspring-3poss			
150	possessive	Raven's children	continue	reflexive
	lə-/q ^w əs-cut ti?ə? bi+bəd+/bədə?-s prog-/[unknown]-refl D(prx) red+red+/offspring-poss			
151	none	little pheasants	shift	active intransitive
	χ ^w ul' ?u-χic+/χic-il adv pnt-red2+/angry-incep			
	ti?ə? c+aa+dīf s-g ^w i+g ^w əl+/g ^w əlub D(prx) D(emph.pl) nom-red1+red1+/pheasant [overt subject]			
152	none	Raven's children	shift	reflexive

	“lil-cut!” far-refl			
153	none	little ravens	continue	active transitive
	?u-/x ^w ak ^w -ab=ič-tubuł čə[ləp], qi+qi+/qaw’qs” pnt-/dirty-md=body-1plO 2plS red1+red2+/raven			

Table Appendix 5. Episode 25

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
154	none	none		active intransitive
	x ^w i? neg			
155	none	little ravens	start	active transitive; active intransitive
	huy-əx ^w hay-dx ^w -əx ^w stab ti?ə? s-u-/?ə?əd adv-cos know-tr-cos what D(prx) nom-pnt-/eat ?ə ti?ə? wiw’su P D(prx) children			
156	none	little pheasants	continue	passive
	x ^w ul’ ?it-/duk-tu-b adv part-/angry-caus-pass			

Table Appendix 6. Episode 26

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
157	none	little ravens	start	active intransitive
	huy, bə-/həd?iw’-əx ^w adv ad-/enter-cos			
158	THAT PHEASANT (possessive)	Pheasant’s children	continue	active intransitive
	?udaw’ ti?it s-u-/?ə?əd ?ə ti?it bəd+/bədə? tallow D(dist) nom-asp- eat P D(dist) red2+ offspring ?ə ti?it sg ^w əlub” P D(dist) pheasant			
159	THAT ONE	Raven	shift	passive

	huy, hay-du-b-əx ^w ?ə ti?ə? cədiɬ adv know-tr-pass-cos P pronoun(prx) pronoun(emph) [overt agent of passive]			
160	'they'	Pheasant, children, wife	continue	active transitive
	"[tul']-/čad k ^w i s-/k ^w əd-(d)x ^w -s əlg ^w ə?" dir-/where comp nom/take-tr-3S 3pl			
161	THIS PHEASANT	Pheasant	continue	passive
	cu(t)-t-əb-əx ^w ti?ə? sg ^w əlub ?ə ti?ə? qaw ^w qs, speak-tr-pass-cos D(prx) pheasant ^P D(prx) raven [2 full NP]			
162	'you' x 2	Pheasant	continue	active transitive
	"tul'-/čad k ^w i ad-s-/k ^w əd-(d)x ^w ti?iɬ ad-s-/?əɬəd" dir-/where D(irr) 2sgS-nom/take-tr D(dist) 2sg.poss-nom-/food [overt object]			
163	'we'; vocative honorific	Pheasant	continue	active transitive
	"ʔu-/ʔəy'-dx ^w čəɬ, siʔab, pnt-/find-tr 1plS voc ti [haʔ+]/haʔi siʔ+iʔ+ab D red2+/good red4-honored s-ʔub+/?ubədi? nom-red2+/hunter [overt object]			
164	'I' x 1; possessive	Pheasant	continue	active transitive
	g ^w əl diɬ ti?ə? cəx ^w -/k ^w əd-(d)x ^w ti?ə? d-s-/?əɬəd conj foc D(prx) 1sgS-nom/take-tr D(prx) 1sg.poss-nom-food [overt object]			
165	'I' x 3	Pheasants	continue	passive passive passive

<p>ʔu-/ʔil-t-əb-əx^w čəd ʔə tiʔəʔ qa•(h)</p> <p>pnt-/give.food-tr-pass-cos 1sgS P D(prx) lots</p> <p>dəč'u? s-/čəbaʔ tiʔəʔ</p> <p>one nom-backpack D(prx)</p> <p>d-s-/čəbaʔ-tu-b, cəx^w-/ʔil-t-əb."</p> <p>1sgS-nom-/backpack-tr-pass 1sgS.nom-/give.food-tr-pass</p>
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Table Appendix 7. Episode 27

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
166	possessive	Raven's wife	start	passive
	<p>ʔil-t-əb-əx^w tsilʔəʔ čəg^was-s</p> <p>give.food-tr-pass-cos D(prx) wife-3poss</p> <p>ʔə tiʔəʔ ʔu-s-əs-/q^wəl-[s]</p> <p>P D(prx) fut-nom-st-/cook-3S</p> <p>[overt patient of passive]</p>			
167	THIS RAVEN; Ø x 1	Raven?	shift?	passive
	<p>huy g^wəl χ^wul'-əx^w χət ti χ^wul'</p> <p>adv conj only-cos sort.of only</p> <p>k^wid-ət-s-/lək^w tiʔit s-/lək^w-t-əb-s</p> <p>QA-af-nom- mouthful D(dist) nom- eat-tr-pass-3S</p> <p>ʔə tiʔəʔ qaw'qs</p> <p>P D(prx) raven</p> <p>[overt agent of passive]</p>			
168	Ø x 1; possessive	Raven	shift	active transitive
	<p>x^wiʔ-əx^w lə-/ʔil-d tsilʔəʔ čəg^was-s</p> <p>neg-cos subjunct-/give.food-tr D(prx) wife-3poss</p> <p>[overt object]</p>			
169	Ø x 1; possessive	Raven	continue	active transitive

	x ^w iʔ-əx ^w neg-cos subjunct-/give.food-tr 3poss [overt object]	lə-/ʔil-d D(prx)	tiʔəʔ red1+red2+/offspring-3poss	bi+bəd+/bədəʔs-s
170	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive
	huy, bək ^w -dx ^w adv all-tr			

Table Appendix 8. Episode 28

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
171	Ø x 1	Raven	start	active intransitive
	tiləb-əx ^w ʔu-/cut, adv-cos pnt-/speak			
172-3	'I' (emphatic); Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive
	"tiləb-əx ^w ʔu ʔəca, cən'əximalig ^w əd adv-cos Q 1sgS name g ^w əl x ^w iʔ [k ^w i] g ^w ə-s-u-/ʔəy'-dx ^w [-s] conj neg D(irr) subjunct-nom-pnt-/find-tr-3S k ^w ədiʔ s-ʔub+/ʔubədiʔ D(irr, dist) nom-red2-/hunter [overt object]			
174	'I'	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	ʔu-/čubəʔ čəd, q ^w əlq ^w əlwič fut-/go.up.from.shore 1sgS name (vocative appositive)			
175	'I'	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	ʔu-/ʔibəš čəd" fut-/travel 1sgS			
176	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	huy, ʔibəš-əx ^w adv travel-cos			
177	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	čubə-həx ^w go.up.from.shore-cos			

Table Appendix 9. Episode 29

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
178	THIS PHEASANT	Pheasant	start	reflexive
	haʔl-i-cut-əx ^w good-der-refl-cos [overt subject of reflexive; adverb gloss 'however']	k ^w aʔ tiʔəʔ adv D(prx)		sg ^w əlub Pheasant
179	Ø x 1; possessive	Pheasant	continue	active intransitive
	tu-dx ^w -/ɬil=ig ^w əd past-dir-/give.food=from.the.heart	ʔə tə P D		ʔiɬəd-s friend-3poss
180	'they'	Pheasant and wife	continue	active intransitive; passive
	g ^w əl ʔəʔəd-ax ^w əlg ^w əʔ ʔə conj eat-cos 3pl P	tiʔəʔ tu-s-/ɬil-t-əb-s D(prx) past-nom-/give.food-tr-		pass-3S
181	none	non- referential 'it'	shift	active intransitive
	haʔl-ɬ-əx ^w good-incep-cos			
182	'they' x 2	Pheasant and wife	resume	active intransitive
	haʔk ^w adv	s[-u-]/ʔəʔəd-s nom-pnt-/eat-3S		əlg ^w əʔ 3pl
183	none	elk	shift	active intransitive
	huy qa(h), qa(h) adv lots lots	biac tiʔiɬ meat D(dist)		k ^w ag ^w ičəd elk

Table Appendix 10. Episode 30

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
184	THIS RAVEN	Raven	start	active intransitive
	huy g ^w əl, huy g ^w əl ʔuχ ^w -əx ^w tiʔəʔ qaw'qs adv conj adv conj go-cos D(prx) raven [overt subject]			
185	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	g ^w əl, g ^w əl lə-/ɬč-il conj conj prog-/arrive-intr			
186	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive

	g ^w əl conj	lə-/ʔəy'-dx ^w prog-/find-tr	tiʔəʔ D(prx)	caadiṭ D(emph.pl)	s-/ʔubədiʔ nom-/hunter
	[overt object]				
187	'that one' (Pheasant)		hunters	shift	passive
	ʌ'al AdvP	bə-/diṭ dəx ^w -/ʔa asp- focus nom- be.there	ʔə P	tiʔiṭ DET	
		dəx ^w -/ʔəy'-du-b-s nom- find-tr-pass-3S	ʔə P	tiʔiṭ pronoun(dist)	
	[overt agent of passive]				

Table Appendix 11. Episode 31

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
188	Ø x 1	Raven	start	passive
	g ^w u(h)u-t-əb-əx ^w ʔə bark-tr-pass-cos P [overt agent of passive]	tiʔəʔ D(prx)	s-q ^w əb+/q ^w əbayʔ nom-red2+/dog	
189	THIS RAVEN [patient of passive]	Raven	continue	passive
	χidi-t-əb-əx ^w tiʔəʔ growl-tr-pass-cos D(prx)		qaw'qs raven	
190	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	passive
	g ^w əl conj	cut+/cut-(t)-əb-əx ^w red2+/speak-tr-pass-cos		
191	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	passive
	"mi". χidi-t-əb-əx ^w ʔə tiʔəʔ interjection growl-tr-pass-cos P [overt agent of passive]	dogs D(prx)	dogs	
192	'you'; RAVEN (vocative appositive)	Raven	continue	active transitive
	g ^w i(h)i-d t(i) ad-s-q ^w əb+/q ^w əbayʔ, qaw'qs call-tr D 2sg.poss-nom-red2+/dog [overt object]	raven		
193	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive
	g ^w i(h)i-d call-tr			
194	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive

	g ^w i(h)i-d ^w call-tr			
195	none	none	continue	none
	"təməliš! təməliš! təməliš!" name name name			
196	none	none	continue	none
	x ^w i? neg			
197	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	passive
	χ ^w ul'-əx ^w ?u-χ ^w uλ'+/χ ^w uλ'u-t-əb-əx ^w adv-cos pnt-red2+/chew-tr-pass-cos ?ə ti?it cədiŋ s-q ^w əb+/q ^w əbay? P D(dist) D(emph) nom-red2-/dog [overt agent of passive]			
198	Ø x 1	Pheasant	continue	active transitive
	təməliš k ^w ədi? s-u-/da?ə-d-s name D(irr,dist) nom-pnt-/name-tr-3S ti?ə? s-q ^w əb+/q ^w əbay? D(prx) nom-red2-/dog [overt object]			
199	Ø x 1 (Raven); THAT PHEASANT (in adverbial PP)	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	x ^w i? [k ^w i] g ^w ə-s-/cut-s neg D(irr) subjunct-nom-/speak-3S χ ^w ul'ab ?ə adv P ti?it sg ^w əlub, D(dist) pheasant			
200	possessive	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	"x ^w i? lə-d-s-/g ^w a?" neg subjunct-1sg.poss-nom-/own			
201	THIS RAVEN	Raven	continue	active intransitive

	huy dx ^w -s-/bədč tiʔəʔ qaw'qs adv nom-nom-/lie D(prx) raven [overt subject]
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Table Appendix 12. Episode 32

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
202	Ø x 1	dogs	start	passive; passive
	hay, g ^w i(h)i-t-əb-əx ^w tiʔəʔ adv call-tr-pass-cos D(prx) dəx ^w -u-/χ ^w uʔ'u-t-əb-s nom-pnt-/bite-tr-pass-3 [overt patient of passive]			
203	Ø x 1	Raven	shift	passive
	huy, wiliq ^w i-t-əb-əx ^w adv ask-tr-pass-cos			
204	possessive	elk	shift	active intransitive
	ad-s-/g ^w aʔ ʔu tiʔiʔ 2sg.poss-nom/own Q pronoun(dist)			
205	possessive; RAVEN (vocative appositive)	elk	continue	active intransitive
	ad-s-əs-/bəč=alq ʔu, qaw'qs" 2sg.poss-/bring.down=game Q raven			
206	possessive	elk	continue	active intransitive
	"ʔi, d-s-/g ^w aʔ yes 1sg.poss-/own			
207	'I'	Raven	shift	active intransitive
	huy čəd s-/ʔubədiʔ adv 1sgS nom/hunter			
208	'I'	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	s-/ʔubədiʔ čəd nom/hunter 1sgS			
209	'I'	Raven	continue	active intransitive

	diŋ	d-dəx ^w -əs-/bəč=alq	ʔə	tiʔiŋ
	focus	1sgS-nom-st/bring.down=game	P	pronoun(dist)
		[oblique patient of intransitive]		

Table Appendix 13. Episode 33

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
210	Ø x 1; RAVEN [appositive vocative]	Raven	start	active transitive
	“k ^w ič ^w ’i-d-əx ^w [ti s-]/ʔa(h)-s, qaw’qs butcher-tr-cos D nom-/loc.-3S raven			
211	possessive	elk	continue	active intransitive
	tiʔiŋ ad-s-/x ^w iʔx ^w iʔ D(dist) 1sg.poss.nom-/game [overt subject]			
212	Ø x 1	Raven	resume	active transitive
	“k ^w ič ^w ’i-d-əx ^w ” butcher-tr-cos			
213	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive
	χəʔ t(i ʔ)u-/k ^w əda-d-əx ^w tiʔəʔ cədiŋ biac sort.of pnt-/take-tr-cos D(prx) D(emph) meat [overt object]			
214	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive
	g ^w əl χəʔ t(i ʔ)u-/g ^w əχ=al=iŋ-əd-əx ^w conj sort.of pnt-/untie=bundle-tr-cos			
215	Ø x 1; possessive	Raven	continue	active transitive
	g ^w əl χəʔ t(i ʔ)u-/k ^w ič ^w ’i-d-əx ^w k ^w i χəč-bid-s conj sort.of pnt-/butcher-tr-cos D(irr) mind-loc-3poss [overt object]			
216	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive
	x ^w iʔ [k ^w i] g ^w ə-s-/huy-dx ^w -s neg D(irr) subjunct-nom-/do-tr-3S			

Table Appendix 14. Episode 34

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
217	Ø x 1	Raven	start	passive
	huy, χəd-t-əb-ax ^w adv shove-tr-pass-cos ?ə ti?ə? cədiŋ s-ʔub+/?ubədi? P D(prx) D(emph) nom-red2+hunter [overt agent of passive]			
218	Ø x 1; RAVEN (appositive vocative)	Raven	continue	reflexive
	"lil-cut, qaw'qs" far-refl raven			
219	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	passive
	huy ?əs-/hay-dub adv st-/know-tr-pass			
220	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	passive
	λ'(u)-as-/d'ili-t-əb hab-st-/scorn-tr-pass			
221	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	day'ay' s-əs-/cəq ^w -s [ti] s-əs-/huy-s only-red3 nom-st-/rectum-3S D nom-st-/make-3S			
222	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	passive
	χəd-t-əb-ax ^w shove-tr-pass-cos			
223	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	reflexive
	"lil-cut" far-refl			
224	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	passive
	huy lə-/χəd-t-əb-ax ^w adv prog-/shove-tr-pass-cos			
225	Ø x 1	elk	shift	passive; passive
	g ^w əl (h)uy k' ^w ič'i-t-əb-əx ^w conj adv butcher-tr-pass-cos ti?ə? cədiŋ s-/ʔil-t-əb-s D(prx) D(emph) nom-/give.food-tr-pass-3S [overt patient of passive]			
226	YOU (emphatic; overt	'we'	shift	active

	object)			transitive
	“ʔi•, ɬu-/k'w'ic'-yi-d yes fut-/butcher-bf-tr 1plS D 2sg	čət ti dæg'ɪ'		

Table Appendix 15. Episode 35

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
227	none	tallow	start	passive
	q ^w at+/q ^w ata-t-əb-əx ^w red2+/lay.out-tr-pass-cos			
228	THIS HERE RAVEN (agent of passive)	tallow	continue	passive
	huy, čətχ ^w ə-t-əb-əx ^w ʔə tiʔə? cədiɬ qaw'qs adv gobble-tr-pass-cos P D(prx) D(emph) raven tiʔiɬ s-/ʔudaw' D(dist) nom-/tallow [overt agent and patient in passive]			
229	none	tallow	continue	active intransitive
	qa(h) tiʔə? ʔudaw' lots D(prx) tallow			
230	none	tallow	continue	passive; passive
	χ ^w ul' lə-/ʔa[h]a-t-əb, lə-/q ^w ata-t-əb adv prog-/be.there-tr-pass prog-/lay.out-tr-pass			
231	Ø x 1	Raven	shift	active transitive
	hay g ^w əl lək ^w -əd-əx ^w adv conj eat-tr-cos			
232	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive
	g ^w əl lək ^w -əd-əx ^w conj eat-tr-cos			
233	Ø x 2	Raven	continue	active transitive; passive
	g ^w əl lək ^w -əd-əx ^w tiʔiɬ [s-]u-/k'w'ic'-yi-t-əb-s conj eat-tr-cos D(dist) nom-pnt-/butcher-bf-tr- pass-3S [overt object]			

Table Appendix 16. Episode 36

#	Pheasant/Raven =	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
234	Ø x 1	Raven	start	passive
	hay, huy g ^w əl bə-/q ^w ib-yi-t-əb-əx ^w adv adv conj ad-/prepare-bf-tr-pass-cos			
235	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	passive
	huy cut-(t)-əb-əx ^w then speak-tr-pass-cos			
236-7	'you'; YOU (emph); possessive	Raven	continue	active transitive; active transitive; active transitive
	<p>"t̥u-/čəbaʔ-əd čəx^w tiʔəʔ s-/t̥il-d čəʔ fut-/pack-tr 2sgS DET nom-/give.food-tr 1plS</p> <p>ti dæg^wi t̥(u)-a(d)-dəx^w-/t̥č-il-tx^w D 2sg(emph) fut-2sgS-nom- arrive.with-incep-tr</p> <p>dx^w-/ʔal k^ws(i) ad-/čəg^was" P D(irr.f) 2sg.poss-/wife [overt object; overt object; overt object]</p>			

Table Appendix 17. Episode 37

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
238	Ø x 1	Raven	start	active intransitive
	t̥iləb-əx ^w ʔu-/cut adv-cos pnt-/speak			
239	'I'	Raven	continue	active transitive
	"t̥u-/k ^w əda-d čəd fut-/take-tr 1sgS			
240	'I'	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	t̥u-/huy čəd s-/ʔubədiʔ fut-/adv 1sgS nom-/hunter			
241	'I'	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	s-/ʔubədiʔ čəd" nom-/hunter 1sgS			
242	Ø x 2; possessive	Raven	continue	active

				intransitive; active intransitive
	bəs-/g ^w aʔ-s-əx ^w ownership-/own-3S-cos k ^w ədiʔ D(irr.dist)	bəs-/x ^w iʔx ^w iʔ-s ownership-/hunt-3S s-u-cu(t)+/cut-s nom-pnt-red2-/speak		
243	HUNTER (topicalized); Ø x 2	Raven	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive
	s-/ʔubədiʔ nom/hunter	tiʔiʔ D(dist)	s-əs-/cut-s k ^w [i] s-/x ^w iʔx ^w iʔ[-s] nom-st-/speak-3S D(irr) nom/hunt-3S	

Table Appendix 18. Episode 38

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
244	Ø x 2	Raven	start	active transitive; passive
	hu•y, čəbaʔ-əd-əx ^w tiʔəʔ s-/ʔil-t-əb-s adv backpack-tr-cos D nom-/give.food-tr-pass-3S [overt object]			
245	Ø x 2	Raven	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive
	lə-liʔ+ lil prog-red1+/far čad where	ʔal P [k ^w i] D(irr)	k ^w ədiʔ D(irr.dist) tu-dəx ^w -qaʔk-s asp-nom- rest-3S	
246	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	g ^w əl conj	lə-/cut prog-/speak		
247	'I' x 2; possessive	Raven	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive

	“hay-əx” čəd ti gʷə... ləs-/čəba? čəd adv-cos 1sgS D cont-/backpack 1sgS ?ə kʷi d-s-/xʷi?xʷi? P D(irr) 1sg.poss-/game			
248	‘I’	Raven	continue	active intransitive
	tuχʷ čəd bə-s-/ʔubədi? adv 1sgS ad-nom-/hunter			

Table Appendix 19. Episode 39

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
249	Ø x 1	Raven	start	active transitive
	dʒalq=us=bi-d-əxʷ turn=face-appl-tr-cos			
250	‘I’	Raven	continue	active transitive
	“xʷi?-əx” čəd lə-/šuu-c.” neg-cos 1sgS subjunct-/look-tr			
251	possessive	Raven’s thoughts	continue	active intransitive
	gʷa? ?əxʷ[-s]/ləkʷ-əd-ab tiʔiʔ χəč-bid-s adv dir-nom-/eat-tr-intr D(dist) mind-loc-3poss [overt subject]			
252	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive
	gʷəl dʒalq=us=bi-d conj turn=face-der-tr			

Table Appendix 20. Episode 40

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
253	Ø x 1	elk	start	active intransitive; active intransitive
	ti·ləb ?u-/gʷəχ=agʷil tiʔə? tu-s-əs-/čəba?-s kʷagʷičəd adv pnt-/untie=agent D past-nom-st-/backpack-3S elk [overt subject]			
254	none	elk	continue	active intransitive; active

				intransitive; active intransitive
	ʔu•χ ^w , sax ^w əb, bəlk ^w go run return			
255	none	elk	continue	active intransitive
	sa•x ^w əb run			

Table Appendix 21. Episode 41

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
256	Ø x 1	elk-cum- rotten wood (topicalized)	start	active intransitive; passive; active intransitive
	huy, dəb-əx ^w əw'ə tiʔiʔ p'q'=ac adv instead-cos adv D(dist) rotten=wood tiʔiʔ s-/χq=al=ič=yi-t-əb-s D(dist) nom/tie=back=bf-tr-pass-3S χ ^w ul'ab ʔə tiʔiʔ tu-s-əs-/huy-s adv P D(dist) past-nom-st-/make-3S			
257	Ø x 1	elk-cum- rotten wood (topicalized)	continue	active intransitive; active transitive
	p'q'=ac-əx ^w tiʔiʔ ʔəs-/čəbaʔ-əd rotten-wood-cos D(dist) st/backpack-tr			
258	Ø x 1	Raven	shift	active intransitive
	g ^w əl ʔəx ^w -s-/cut-əb-əx ^w conj st-nom-nom-/think-md-cos			
259	none	elk (topicalized)	resume	active intransitive; active intransitive
	diʔ tiʔiʔ focus pronoun(dist)			
260	none	elk	continue	active

				intransitive
	g ^w aʔ əw'ə ʔu-/sax ^w əb-əx ^w tiʔiʔ cədiʔ k ^w ag ^w ičəd adv adv pnt-/run-cos D(dist) D(emph) elk [overt subject]			
261	none	elk	continue	active intransitive
	ʔu-/bəlk ^w pnt-/return			
262	none	hunters	shift	passive
	g ^w əl cut-(t)-əb ʔə tiʔiʔ s-ʔub+/ʔubədiʔ conj speak-tr-pass P D(dist) nom-red2/hunter [overt agent of passive]			
263	THE RAVEN (agent of passive); Ø x 1	Raven	shift	passive; active transitive
	ʔu*, ʔu-/d ^z alq=us-bi-t-əb d ^z əʔ six ^w ʔə ti qaw'qs asp- turn=face-appl-tr-pass modal modal P D raven tiʔəʔ tu-s-/ʔil-d čəʔ D(prx) asp-nom- give.food-tr 1plS			
264	none	elk (topicalized)	shift	active intransitive; active intransitive
	tiʔəʔ bə-lə-/ʔč-il-əx ^w D(prx) ad-prog-/arrive-incep			
265	none	elk	continue	active intransitive
	g ^w əl lə-/ʔəʔ' tiʔiʔ k ^w ag ^w ičəd conj prog-/come D(dist) elk [overt subject]			
266	Ø x 1	Raven	shift	active intransitive
	ʔu-/d ^z alq=us d ^z əʔ pnt-/turn=fac adv			
267	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive

	x ^w uʔələʔ maybe	six ^w adv	χəʔ adv	tu-/lək ^w -əd past-/eat-tr	
268	Ø x 2	Raven	continue	active transitive; active intransitive	
	tiləb-əx ^w k ^w əʔ [tu]/tabəd tiʔəʔ s-u-/tab-s ^w adv-cos adv past-/pro.verb D(prx) nom-pnt-/pro.verb-3S [overt object]				

Table Appendix 22. Episode 42

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
269	Ø x 1	elk-cum- rotten wood (topicalized)	start	active intransitive; active intransitive
	χ ^w ul'+ul'-əx ^w p'q'=ac ʔal k ^w i tu-s-/ičil-əx ^w adv-red3-cos rotten=wood P D(irr) past-nom-/arrive- cos [overt subject]			
270	none	elk	continue	active intransitive
	ča•d where			
271	Ø x 1	elk	continue	active intransitive; active transitive
	χ ^w ul' b(ə)-as-/duk ^w tiʔəʔ [s-ə]s-/χq=al=ič-tx ^w [-s] adv ad-st-/bad D(prx) nom-st/tie=pack-caus-3S [overt subject]			

Table Appendix 23. Episode 43

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
272	Ø x 1	Raven	start	passive

	cut(-t)-əb ʔə tsiʔəʔ čəg ^w as-s speak-tr-pass P D(f.prx) wife-3poss [overt agent of passive]			
273	'you'	elk-cum-rotten wood (topicalized)	shift	active intransitive; active intransitive; active intransitive
	“χ ^w ul'+ul' p'q'=ac tiʔəʔ ad-s-əs-/χq=al=ič ʔəs-/bəč adv-red3rotten=wood D(prx) 2sgS-nom-st/-tie=back st/-lie [overt subject/topicalization]			
274	none	meat	shift	active intransitive
	x ^w iʔ k ^w i g ^w ə-/biac k ^w i g ^w ə-/stab” neg D(irr) subjunct-/meat D(irr) subjunct-/proform [overt subject]			
275	none	Raven's wife	shift	active intransitive
	“ʔidig ^w at č'əluləq', ʔadəyuləq'!” what-say nonsense woman [Raven speaking]			
276	none	Raven's wife	continue	passive
	cut(-t)-əb tsiʔəʔ s-/ʔuʃəbabdx ^w speak-tr-pass D(prx.f) nom-/poor [overt patient of passive]			
277	Ø x 2	Raven	shift	active transitive; active intransitive
	hu·y d ² uχ ^w a-t-əx ^w tiʔəʔ χ ^w ul'+ul'-əx ^w p'q'=ac adv vomit-tr-cos D(prx) just+red3-aspect rotten=wood tiʔəʔ tu-s-u-/ʔəʔəd-s D(prx) past-nom-pnt/-eat-3S [overt object]			
278	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active intransitive

	ha•y	g ^w əl,	χi+χi(h-ə)x ^w	(?)al	ti?it
	adv	conj	red1+/embarrass-cos P	D(dist)	

Table Appendix 24. Episode 44

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
279	Ø x 1	Raven	start	active transitive
	ʔu-/cuu-c-əx ^w ti?ə? cont-/speak-tr-cos pronoun(prx) [overt object]			
280	THAT PHEASANT	Pheasant	shift	active intransitive; active intransitive
	“qah+a(h) u?x ^w ti?it s-u-/ʔətəd ʔə a.lot+red3 particle D(dist) nom-pnt-/eat P ti?it sg ^w əlub” D(dist) pheasant [overt subject]			
281	Ø x 1	Raven	resume	active transitive
	huy, cuu-c-əx ^w ti?ə? bəd+/bədə?-s adv speak-tr-cos D(prx) red2+/offspring-3poss [overt object]			
282	THAT PHEASANT (possessive)	Raven's children	shift	active intransitive
	“ʔub-əx ^w čələp ʔu-χi+/χəliχ-əx ^w good-cos 2plS pnt-red1+/fight-cos ʔə ti?it bəd+/bədə? P D(dist) red2+/offspring ʔə ti?it sg ^w əlub P D(dist) pheasant [overt ‘have a little fight with Pheasant’s kids]			
283	none	tallow (topicalized)	shift	active intransitive

	χ ^w ul' ʔudaw' tiʔəʔ ʌ'u-s-u-/ʔəʔəd-s əlg ^w əʔ adv tallow D(prx) cont-nom-pnt-/eat-3S 3pl			
284	Ø x 2	Raven's children	shift	active transitive
	χi+/χəliχ-tx ^w -əx ^w ʔi" red1+/fight-caus-cos 2pl			
285	Ø x 1	Raven	shift	active transitive
	cuu-c-əx ^w tiʔəʔ bi+bəd+/bədaʔ-s, qi+qi+/qaw'qs speak-tr-cos D(prx) red1+red2+/offspring-3poss red1+red2+/raven [overt object with appositive]			
286	none	sucker fish (topicalized)	shift	active intransitive
	"s-/k ^w up k ^w i ʔu-s-/g ^w aʔ-ləp nom-sucker.fish D(irr) fut-nom-/own-2pl			
287	none	sucker fish (topicalized)	continue	active intransitive
	diʔ tiʔəʔ s-/k ^w up, fish foc D(prx) nom-/sucker.fish fish			
288	none	sucker fish	continue	active intransitive
	ʌ'u-/fish ʔal creek" cont-/fish P creek			

Table Appendix 25. Episode 45

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
289	none	Raven's children	start	active intransitive
	huy, ʔuχ ^w -əx ^w tiʔəʔ wiw'su adv go-cos D(prx) children [overt subject]			
290	none	Raven's children	continue	active intransitive
	huy, pusil-əx ^w ʔə tiʔəʔ s-/k ^w up adv throw-cos P D(prx) nom-sucker.fish [overt patient of intransitive]			
291	Ø x 1	Raven's children	continue	passive

	huy, pusu-t-əb-əx ^w ʔə tiʔəʔ cədiʔ adv throw-tr-pass-cosP D(prx) pronoun [overt agent of passive]
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Table Appendix 26. Episode 46

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
292	Ø x 1	Raven	start	active intransitive
	ʔu-/ʔah-əx ^w fut-/be.there-cos			
293	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	reflexive
	ʔəs-/huyu-cut-əx ^w χəʔ ti catcher st-/make-refl-cos sort.of catcher ʔal tiʔiʔ ləq-bid ʔə tiʔəʔ wiw'su P D(dist) after-loc P D(prx) children [overt NP in adverbial 'behind the children']			
294	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive
	diʔi+it [ti] s-u-/k ^w əd-(d)x ^w -s tiʔiʔ soon-red3 D nom-pnt-/take-tr-3S pronoun(dist) [overt object]			
295	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive
	g ^w əl lə-/lək ^w -əd conj prog-/take-tr			
296	Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active transitive; passive
	diʔi+it [ti] s-/k ^w əd-(d)x ^w -s tiʔiʔ s-u-/pusu-t-əb-s soon-red3 D nom-/take-tr-3S D(dist) nom-pnt-/throw-tr-pass-3S tiʔəʔ wiw'su D(prx) children [overt object; overt patient of passive]			
297	possessive; Ø x 1	Raven	continue	active intransitive; active intransitive

	duk ^w -tu-b-əx ^w tiʔəʔ wiw'su change-caus-pass-cos D(prx) children [overt patient of passive: 'the children got angry']			
303	none	Raven's children	shift	active transitive
	"hiwil-əx ^w ʔi interjection 2pl			
304	none	Raven's children	continue	reflexive
	lil-cut far-refl			
305	none	Raven's children	continue	active transitive
	ʔu-/x ^w ak ^w -ab=ič-tubuʔ čələp!" pnt-/dirty-md=body-1plO 2plS			
306	none	Raven's children (topicalized, with appositive)	continue	passive
	tiʔəʔ cədiʔ qi+qi+/qaw'qs, D(prx) D(emph) red1+red2+/raven bəd+/bədaʔ-s, red1+red2+/offspring ʔəs-/d ^z ili-t-əb əlg ^w əʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ sg ^w ələb hab-st-/scorn-tr-pass 3pl P D(prx) pheasant dəbəʔ sg ^w ələb belonging.to pheasant [overt agent of passive]			

Table Appendix 28. Episode 48

#	Pheasant/Raven	Topic	Transition	Voice/Valence
307	none	the story	start	active intransitive
	hay, huy-əx ^w tiʔiʔ adv finish-cos pronoun(dist)			
308	Ø x 1	Raven	shift	active intransitive

	dił-əx ^w ti?ił tu-dəx ^w -u-/tab-s, x ^w (ə)łil-s-əx ^w say foc-cos D(dist) past-nom-pnt-/prov.verb-3S ?-3S-cos adv			
309	Ø x 1 (Raven); HIS FRIEND (Pheasant)	Raven	continue	active intransitive; active transitive
	?əs-/čal-əx ^w k ^w i łu-s-/huy-s, st-/how-cos D(irr) fut-nom-/do-3S k ^w i g ^w ə-dəx ^w -/k ^w əd-(d)x ^w -yi-d-s D(irr) subjunct-nom-/take-tr-bf-tr-3S ti?ə? cədił ?iisəd-s D(prx) D(emph) friend-3poss ?ə k ^w i s-u-/?əłəd-s P D(irr) nom-pnt-/eat-3S [overt object]			
310	THAT PHEASANT AND THAT RAVEN	Pheasant and Raven	shift	active intransitive
	dił tu-(s)-/šac' ?ə ti?ił g ^w əł sg ^w əlub foc past-nom-/end P D(dist) belong.to pheasant ti?ił ?i ti?ił qaw'qs D(dist) conj D(dist) raven			

Table Appendix 29. Episode 49

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