A Bella Coola Text: Sniniq

Philip W. Davis
Rice University

Ross Saunders
Simon Fraser University

The Bella Coola live in British Columbia on the North Bentinck arm of the Burke Channel that opens, sixty miles west, to the Pacific Ocean. They are a coastal people who speak a Salishan language related to others further south in British Columbia and the United States; they are the northernmost representatives of this group.

The culture of the Bella Coola, like many other native cultures in North America, is preliterate, which means that the language is neither written nor read by those who speak it. This does not mean that the Bella Coola lack a literary tradition; on the contrary, there is a large and varied body of traditional literature that has been transmitted orally from generation to generation.

The text given below comes from a collection representative of that tradition. The stories may be tentatively divided into three genres, the first of which consists of those that belong to individual families and that are the source of Bella Coola names. These properties may be taken as defining characteristics of the type. The first genre is additionally set off from the others by the term smayusta used to name such a story. It is in this genre that the raven figures as a precursor to human settlement, his purpose being to prepare the natural environment; he is, for example, responsible for the presence of light and soapberries.

A second genre is made up of those stories that take place in the distant past, but after the creation and settlement of the world. It is from this type that derive stories involving the sniniq, the girl who had a skeleton baby, and the explanation for the necklace of white feathers the loon has. None of these stories provides names, and they are not thought of as the property of specific families.

A third genre records historical events and involves known human participants. Stories of this type tell how Kuluitmut refused to surrender a seal to pursuing wolves and lost his life; how Almci in similar circumstances tricked the wolves and survived; how Qáklis saw a púgís—the Bella Coola equivalent of the sasquatch—near Namu, etc. To this type also belong stories that are more strictly oral history; these chronicle relationships between the Bella Coola and other coastal groups, the Haida, the Bella Bella and other Nakaskan speaking peoples.
The story presented here concerns the sniniq. These are large individuals, not human, nor yet a puuk's. They are reputed to have round feet like an elephant and are covered with hair. Sniniqs live in the mountains, but not at too great a distance from the Bella Coola villages. Their home is usually a cave, but some (as in this story) live in houses. It is from there that the sniniq, wearing a large basket on his or her back (they may be either male or female), makes forays among the Bella Coola. Sniniq's usual interaction with the Bella Coola is to kidnap them and carry them off in his basket. His home is a threat to humans, but it can also be a source of perpetual riches. In one story the person kidnapped escapes, and the resources of the cave make him wealthy for life. In other respects, sniniqs have human characteristics. They speak a human language (Bella Coola, of course). They have children; they weep for them when they die; a female sniniq is vain, worrying whether or not she is pretty. Fig. 1 (Boas 1898: Plate VII) shows a rendition of sniniq in mask form.

It is incorrect to say the stories about the sniniq---and others of this genre---have a single function. The conclusion to one of these has the sniniq destroyed, and her pulverized remains exist as the mosquitoes of today. In yet others, features of the landscape receive their names. In one story, the sniniq has lost her child and mourns him sitting on a rock in the middle of the river and crying. She continues until another---a Bella Coola---joins with her in mourning. Thus Crying Rock is named. Elsewhere, the narrator says, "It was just like this what the old people told us about them, the stories. They told us to tell our children so that they would not do the same in matters like that." The stories instruct as well as entertain.
has been edited as well; that is, false starts, an occasional stutter, etc. have been removed. The narrator--in the opinion of some native speakers--has made grammatical mistakes at times. Some of this is simply incorrect Bella Coola. For example, \textit{xnas} 'woman' is grammatically feminine and takes the appropriate feminine deictic affixes in Paradigms below. Yet the phrase \textit{ti-xnas-tayx} appears in the recording. Additionally, it is appropriate to use \textit{k} Quotative on Comments (predicates) in telling a story, the events of which the narrator has not personally observed. These are occasionally omitted, and the listener's reaction is that "It sounds like she saw it." This latter may be a stylistic device (as may be the uninterrupted sequence of passives in sentences 40-46 where the focus is upon the kidnapped man and not the \textit{sniniq}). Mistsakes have been corrected. Where the listener's comments appear to deal with stylistic-like variants, the original text has been left unchanged.

The second version is the morpheme-by-morpheme translation. We have made extensive use of grammatical labels here. The explanation of these is given in Abbreviations. Systematic treatment of the morphological semantics must be dealt with elsewhere. Cf. e.g. Davis and Saunders 1975 and Saunders and Davis 1975. A sample glossary is given to illustrate how the glosses will be expanded upon in the finished collection. Inflectional material is given separately in the Paradigm section.

Finally, a free translation into English is provided. Here, much of the material in the morpheme-by-morpheme translation is simply omitted. To try to put all the semantic stuff of a Bella Coola sentence into English requires a paragraph; but by comparing the two English versions, the reader may gain an appreciation for the Bella Coola.

The setting of the narrative is NuXalk, a valley that runs eastward from North Bentinck for a distance of approximately eighty miles. At its widest the valley is no more than three miles across. The defining mountains range from four to six thousand feet. The Bella Coola River (formed by the confluence of the Atnarko and Talchako Rivers) flows west into North Bentinck at the Bella Coola village of \textit{Qumquts}, the only village still occupied. At earlier times, additional ones were scattered up the valley. The furthest was in the area of Stuix, sixty miles away; but the majority of them lay along the river within a distance of ten miles from salt water. The story begins at \textit{Qumquts} where bodies have mysteriously disappeared from their place of burial.
I'm going to just try to talk about what they used to tell and to tell it well.

The old people used to just tell them.

A person did this then.

Some of the people's families around here were dying.

A certain person had made up his mind.

Alright, he said.

What's becoming of the ones of us who have died,
cut-s10-kw ta-imsta-tX ?ui-ta-satix-s-tX
say-he-Quot NProx-person-Dist Prep-NProx-close friend-his-Dist
the person said to his close friend.

(14) yayá-liwa-timut-nu-ma cucut-m-is-kw
(14) good Redp-Sim-CRef1-you-Dub say Redp-Tr-he/him-Quot
(14) "Maybe you'll be brave," his close friend said to

ta-satix-s-tX (15) qaw-cap ka-xim-s
NProx-close friend-his-Dist (15) put away-you/me Unr-dawn-it
him.
(15) "You'll put me away when

a-sunx-ac (16) ninic-kw tayx (17) ninic-tum-kw
Prox-sun- Prox (16) alive-Quot this one (17) alive-Pass-Quot
day comes. (16) He was alive. (17) He was alive

tayx s-qaw-im (18) ?anayk-aw s-napamxw-it
this one Der-put away-Pass (18) want-they Der-find out-they/it
when he was buried. (18) They wanted to find out

stam-s-ka-umat-ayx-aw a-qaw-tim ?ai-tX" wa-?atma
what-Der-Unr-get to-Unc-they Prox-put away-Pass Prep-then Prox-die
what was becoming of those dead ones who were buried then.

(19) ?atm-a-na-kw-Quot-qwu tu-imsta-tX (20) qa-
(19) die-Intr- they-Quot-Usit NProx-person-Dist (20) put away-
(19) People would die.

mut-aw (21) k'anat-aw a-?atm-nalst-ac way
Pass-they (21) cry-they Prox-die-Part-Prox alright
were buried. (21) The ones who had lost someone would cry, alright.

(22) ?ai-?ay-na-kw-?i-i-k11 tollax" ... tu-xixnasI-
(22) Perf-do-they-Quot-Contr-Perf those ones ... NProx-young ladies
(22) The young ladies did like that for him now.

(23) k'knk'anat-tmaxw-ay-Ê
Redp-Dist Prep-this one (23) cry Redp-each other-they-Perf
(23) They were making each other cry.

(24) ninic-Ê tayx s-qaw-in
(24) alive-Perf this one Der-put away-Pass
(24) He was alive when he was put away.

(25) ?ai-k'up-1x-Ê-?i-i-k ka-cusm-s
(25) Perf-hide and watch-Inch-you/me-Contr-Perf Unr-night comes-It
(25) "You'll hide and watch me when night comes,"
"You'll hide and watch me."

"It's when...

...and then...

...it got dark that the animal showed up before expected."
The women then cried for real.
s-lap-tum  ísyx  s-ka-ìtnn-tum  ?aì-ti-smt
der-go-CPass this one  Der-Unr-go up-CPass  Prep-CPass-mountain
where he was taken is where he was carried a mountain by

ta-aì-Xapa-t-tX
Prep-NProx-animal  NProx-Perf-pack-Tr-Dist
the animal that was packing him.

(47) wix-ku14-it-ì'u-ka  txw
(48) ?iiX-k-w-sq-w.
(47) be it-Quot-Contr-Usit it  (48) Contr-Neg-Quot-jump-
(47) This happened ever now and again.  (48) The animal never

ik-ayx-s  ta-nanmì-tX
long horizontal axis-Unc-he  NProx-animal-Dist  (49) crawl-Quot-Usit
jumps over anything.  (49) It always

?aì-tu-tqnk-us  tu-stn-tXw
that one Prep-NProx-underneath-flat surface  NProx-log-Dist
crawls underneath the bottoms of logs.

(50) ?axw-sq-w-ik-is  ti-ka-stn  ?aì-txw
(50) Neg-jump-long horizontal axis-he/it  Prep-Unr-log  Prep-then
(50) It didn't jump over any logs then.

(51) xwuxwmp-cut-s-qw  ta-sniniq-tX
(51) unhook  Redp-Refl-he-Quot-Usit  NProx-sniniq-Dist
(51) The sniniq would [have to] get untangled from the

?aì-ta-tqnk-us  tu-stn-tXw
Prep-NProx-underneath-flat surface  NProx-log-Dist
bottoms of the logs.

(52) ?ip-us-m-s-k-w-sq-w  ta-ìmsta-tX
(52) grab-flat surface-MP-he-Quot-Usit  NProx-person-Dist
(52) The person was grabbing onto the logs.

(53) ?aì-tu-stn-tXw  (53) ?aì-?ip-us-m-s
Prep-NProx-log-Dist  (53) Perf-grab-flat surface-MP-he
(53) He would hold on as long as he

?ai-tXwui-?aylik-s  s-?ai-?ip-us-m-s
Prep-towards-long-it  Der-Perf-grab-flat surface-MP-he
could do so.

(54) xwpsk-m-s-k-w-sq-w  ?aì-tX
(54) unhook-hank-MP-he-Quot-Usit that one
(54) Then he would let go.
The animal began to fart.

It's then that he said, "O salmon," and the salmon would crack open. It's maybe it’s cracking open, so the man would say, "O salmon," and maybe the salmon would speak. It's then that he would say, "O salmon," and maybe he was having fun then.

For quite a while he did this. He was playing tricks against the animal. Alright, ever now and then he would be taken out of the pack by the animal.

Alright, he puts his hand on his [the man's] stomach.
(66) wix-kʷ-it-qʷu-ka txʷ s-ʔaX-kʷ-qʷ-upt-s
(66) be then-Quot-Contr-Usit it Der-Neg-Quot-Usit-breathe-he
(66) That would be the time that the person would

(66) ñaX ... ta-いたら-tX (67) ʔaX-kʷ-qʷ-upt-s
that one ... NPprox-person-Dist (67) Neg-Quot-Usit-breathe-he
never breathe. (67) He never breathed

(66) tXʷuł-ʔaylikt-s s-ʔanu-mus-1k-im x-tX
toward-long-it Der-Cont-feel-long horizontal axis-Pass Prep-him
for as long as his stomach was felt by-him.

(68) ʔaɪ-ʔawayxį-kʷ-qʷ way s-xʷp-ak-m-s
toward-long-it Der-Cont-feel-long horizontal axis-Pass Prep-him
(68) After a little while the animal let go

(68) ta-namik-tX ʔat-tX (69) ʔa xa-kʷ-im-kʷ-su-ć
NPprox-animal-Dist Prep-him (69) Ah pack-Tr-Pass-Quot-Expb-Perf
of him. (69) Ah, he is put back in the pack

(70) ʔayx (70) ʔap-tum-ć ?u-luć ʔuł-a-s-ckpt-aw
this one (70) go-CPass-Perf Dir-high Prep-Prox-Der-reach-they
again. (70) He is carried upwards until they reach

(70) ñaX uł-a-suł-s-kʷ \(\text{\textquoteleft} \text{\textquoteright}\) ñaX ... ta-sniniq-tX
those ones Prep-Prox-house-his-Quot that one ... NPprox-sniniq-Dist
the house of the sniniq

(71) sui-kʷ-tu waʔamat-s ta-sniniq-tX s-ʔapsuł-s
(71) house-quot-Conf Prox-stay-he NPprox-sniniq-Dist Der-live-h'
(71) It's a real house where the sniniq lives.

(72) ʔaX-a-kʷ-tu wa-mamčį-s ta-namik-tX
(72) many-they-Quot-Conf Prox-children Rep-his NPprox-animal-Dist
(72) The animal has a lot of children.

(73) ʔkt-nix-im ñayx ʔa-ąc
(73) reach-achieve-Pass this one Prep-Prox-here
(73) He was finally gotten there.

(74) xʷp-ʔak-m-im ?a-ł-ta-asuc-s
(74) take off-bottom-long horizontal axis-Tr-Pass Prep-NPprox-front-i
(74) He was unpacked at the front of the house.

(75) tu-suł-tX \(\text{\textquoteleft} \text{\textquoteright}\) way (76) sʔw-ʔí-im
NPprox-house-Dist (75) alright (76) untie-round-Pass
(75) Alright. (76) The body was
this one Prep-Prox-here NProx-lace-MP-edge-Inst-Dist unlaced here.

(77) pu{l-a-kt-\c} ta-qlq{p-i}{tX}
(77) come-they-Quot-Perf NProx-little ones Redp-Dist
(77) The little ones came and bounced his testicles up

s-ka-\?al-\q"aca-\u{g}il-t-it-k-\q" tu-maka-s
Der-Unr-Perf-shake-slightly-Tr-they/it-Quot-Usit NProx-testicle-his
down in their hands.

\(\text{\textbf{tax}}\) (78) \?nc-1-ma-ks \?ac muXmuX-i{t}-i\u{g}-ikan-ta
that one (78) be me-have-Dub-Ind these \?-hang-round-ear-Inst
(78) "Maybe I'll be the one who has these for

\(\text{\textbf{cut-k-\i{t}}\"\u{u-k tax}}\) (79) wix-k-\v
say Redp-they-Quot-Contr-Usit those ones (79) be then-Quot-
my earrings," they were saying.
(79) It was then

it-\"\u{u-k tx} s-\?al-\i{i}q-mi-alus-s ta-\u{m}sta-tX
Contr-Usit it Der-Perf-laugh-want-he NProx-person-Dist
that the person wanted to laugh.

(80) q\u{a}Xacxi-s-\c s-\?al-\q"aca-yu{\u{g}i}-t-im
(80) tickle-it-Perf Der-Perf-shake-slightly-Tr-Pass
(80) It tickled to have his testicles shaken.

(81) tu-maka-s-tx\u{u}
(81) ay \?ax-\t{aX}-\ai-\?ay-uc-ap
NProx-testicle-his-Dist (81) ay Neg-Imp-Perf-do-mouth-you Pl
(81) "Ay, don't you talk like that

cut-k-\i{t}\"\u{u-k \textbf{tax way ta-sniniq-tX}
say-Quot-Contr-Usit that one alright NProx-sniniq-Dist
the sniniq would say.

(82) \?ax-t{aX}-\ai-\?ay-uc-ap (83) \q"\u{l}as-ak-m-ic
(82) Neg-Imp-Perf-do-mouth-you Pl (83) strange-hand-Tr/1/it
(82) "Don't talk like that. (83) I see something

\(\text{\textbf{tax way}}\) (84) \?aay \?ai-sys-\c cucut-k-\"\u{u-k
Prox-Perf-come-Unc-I-Prox now say Redp-Quot-Contr-Usit
different in this one I've brought back now,"

\(\text{\textbf{tax way}}\) (84) \?aay \?ai-\?ay-na-k-\v
that one alright (84) ay Perf-do-they-Quot-Usit
he would say. (84) Ay, the little ones would
ta-ṣiqpi-tX  s-X'im-aw (85) pu3-aw
NProx-little ones-Dist Der-play-they (85) come-they
play like that. (85) They went up
?
ul-tX  (86) way (87) wai-im x-tX
Prep-him (86) alright (87) leave-Pass Prep-him
to him (86) Alright. (87) He was left where he
a1-ta-as-ʔamat-s-tX  s-ʔa1-k"as-s (88) wix-tu
Prep-NProx-be-stay-he-Dist Der-Perf-put-he- (88) be then-Quot-
was put. (88) It was
i-či-k  tx'+ s-ʔx-is  iαX  a1-tX
Contr-Perf it Der-see-he/it that one Prep-there
then that he saw it there.

(89) ʃx-is-k  ta-ʔmsta-tX  (90) ?a1-ʔay-k"-tu-ya
(89) see-he/it-quot NProx-person-Dist (90) Perf-do-quot-Conf-Incomp
(89) The person saw it. (90) It was surprising

(91) tu-sui-tX  (91) kal-ʔaq"s-m-is-k
NProx-house-Dist (91) select the right one-eye-Tr-he/it-Quot
house. (91) The person spied a thing called

(92) ta-ʔmsta-tX  ti-can-tum  (92) ?anu-ʔil-ix"-s-k
NProx-person-Dist Prox-spear-Cpass (92) Cont-hang-top-Quot
a 'spear'.

(92) It was hanging in

(93) ?ay... ʃap-ʔak-m-im-k  ʃayx  ?a1-a-ac
(93) ay... go-hand-Tr-Pass-quot this one Prep-Prox-here
(93) Ay, he began to be work on here so that he could

(94) s-kaʔistux-im  (94) ?apsuw-ix"-im-k  taʔquni,s
Der-Unr-skin-Pass (94) blow-top-Pass-Quot NProx-throat-his
be skinned. (94) His throat was blown upon.

(95) ʃαX  (95) ?a-ṣqπiš-ma-tu  a1-tX
that one (95) be-covered with hair-Dub-Conf Prep-then
(95) Maybe he was indeed covered with hair
Prep-Prox-mind-CPass-InfDub (96) blow-top-Pass-Quot to their way of thinking. (96) He was blown upon.

(97) ?apsuw-im-kʷ sʔaʔ-ʔay-tum ti-namk-tx
(97) blow-Pass-Quot Prep-Perf-do-CPass Prox-animal-Prox
(97) He was blown upon the way an animal is when it

s-istux-im (98) ?aʔ-ʔay-tum-kʷ i-či-k ḥaX
Der-skin-Pass (98) Perf-do-CPass-Quot-Contr-Perf that one is skinned. (98) He had that done to him like that

s-ʔaʔ-s-ak-tuxʷ-ʔay-s-ka-nunucutik- Prep-then (99) ah cut-hand-Cyou/it-Att-let Der-Unr-think Redp-
then. (99) "Ah, let you try to cut it," is what he was

s-ʔaʔ-s-kʷ-č aʔ-ta-anukalaiini-s
(100) ?anu-mus-ʔik-
he-Quot-Perf Prep-then (100) Cont-feel-long horizontal axis-thinking then
(100) He kept on having his stomach

im-kʷ-ʔu-ʔu ḥaX x-tx wix s-ka-lunʔupt-s
Pass-Quot-Pers-Usit that one Prep-him be it Der-Unr-breathe Redp-he
felt by him in case he was breathing.

(101) txʷul-ʔaʔ-ʔaylikə s-ʔaʔxʷ-ʔupt-s taʔ-ʔasqʷalus
(101) towards-Perf-long Der-Neg-breathe-he NProx-good winded
(101) For as long as he did that the good winded person
ta-ʔmsta-ya (102) ?aʔ-ʔay-s x-taʔxʷ way
NProx-person-Incomp (102) Perf-do-he Prep-then alright
didn't breathe, eh? (102) He did like that then alright.

(103) ?aaʔ aʔ-ʔay-s-ʔaʔ-s-ʔaʔxʷ-tu-tu-ku aʔ-taʔxʷ
(103) ah Perf-do-he-Quot-Conf-Conf-Surp Prep-then
(103) Ah, he did exactly as planned then when he

s-ʔaʔ-s-ak-tum (104) sʔaʔ-s
Der-scratch-hand-CPass (104) scratch on skin-he
was scratched. (104) The person was scratched on

ʔai-ʔaʔ-ta-anukalaiini-s ta-ʔmsta-ʔaX
Prep-Nprox-center line of throat-his NProx-person-Dist.
the middle of his throat.

(105) kaʔ-istux-im-čn ḥaX x-ac (106) ʔaʔ-s-kʷ-č
(105) Unr-skin-Pass-Impf this one Prep-now (106) go-he-Quot-Perf
(105) He's going to be skinned now. (106) He began
tax s-ka-anu-q'ax-uc
that one Der-Unr-Cont-raven-mouth-he
to holler like a raven.
(107) He hollered

k'z tax a1-tXw
Quot-Perf that one Prep-then
like a raven then.
(108) He clapped his hands.

(109) 1ap-a-k'w taxw
s-ka-nu-tXak-m
(109) go-they-Quot those ones Der-Unr-human-fall Redp-MP-
(109) The sniniq and his children went and fell over

ax-aw ta-sniniq-TX tu-ma'mc1-s-tu
bottom-they NProx-sniniq-Dist NProx-children Redp-his-NContr
backwards.

(110) nu-tXak-m-ax-aw
(110) human-fall Redp-MP-bottom-they
(110) They fell over backwards.
(111) He began

?tax s-ka-lXkm-s a1-a-ac
that one Der-Unr-run-he Prep-Prox-here Prep-Prox-Cont-hang-top
to run here to the spear that was hanging up
27

ti-can-tayx (112) ?ip-is
Prox-spear-Prox (112) grab-he/it
(112) He grabbed it. (113) He began

s-ka-lXkm-s (114) ay-s a1-tXw s-lXkm-s a1-tXw
Der-Unr-run-he (114) do-he Prep-then Der-run-he Prep-then
to run.
(114) What he did then was run.

(115) ?aa ckt-k'u-1u-k tax ?ui-ti-k'ulmx-
(115) ah reach-Quot-Contr-Expv That one Prep-Prox-[level] ground-
(115) Ah, he reached [level] ground down towards us.

tayx tqu'n
(116) x'in-nimut s-nix-xp-ay-aq-nix-
Prox towards us (116) find-Pass Der-more-do-behind-achieve-
(116) He discovered that he was being

i-t-im x-tX (117) ?ax'v-ti-ka-sl'z-s tayx
Dim-Tr-Pass Prep-him (117) Neg-Prox-Unr-mind-his this one
gained up by him[sniniq] (117) He can't think of what

?al-a-ka-cXka-timut-s (118) 1q-aylayx-s-k'w tX
Prep-Prox-Unr-do-CRefl-he (118) think-be able to-he-Quot he
to do.
(118) He got the idea
der-unr-divi-he prep-prox-water-prox (119) come-it prep-then of diving into the water. (119) It happened then.

(120) 'ay-s 'ai-tX' way s-'ai-mulm-s
(120) do-he prep-then alright der-perf-dive-he
 (:20) He did it then alright, he dove.

(121) tpi-âx-uc-am-s 'ai-a-anuX'um-ac
(121) one of a pair-bottom-edge-become-he prep-prox-river-prox
(121) He's going over to the other side of the river.

(122) fî-1x-ai-timut-s-k'-'tu-čn aî-tX'
(122) dry-inch-foot-CRef1-he-quot-conf-impf prep-then
(122) He reached dry land then, but the sniniq would maybe

tm-aîîm-î-k'-'mi-lû-k ta-sniniq-tX
just-stand-Mid-quot-dub-contr-pers nprox-sniniq-dist
just be standing there looking at him wherever. he

s-ka-'ai-ţx-s ui-tX 'ai-a-ka-sî-áx'hus
der-unr-perf-watch-he prep-him prep-prox-unr-perf-appear
appears [from the water].
(129) s'q"-s u'il-ta-qla-tX" (130) nix-ay-âq-
(129) jump-he Prep-NProx-water-Dist (130) more-do-behind-
(129) He jumped into the water. (130) He's being

nix-1-t-im x-tX s-ka-paq"nix-im
achieve-Dim-Tr-Pass Prep-him Der-Unr-catch-Pass
gained upon by him [sniniq] trying to catch him.

(131) ?aî-?ay-s-k'"-q'u tannàk-tX aî-tX"a
(131) Perf-do-he-Quot-Usit NProx-animal-Dist Prep-then
(131) The animal was doing as he had before.

(132) ta-?aî-îx-î-s ?aî-â-ka-umat-aî-s
(132) just-Perf-look-Mid-he Prep-Prox-Unr-get to-foot-he
(132) He's just watching where he got to then.

?aî-tX". (133) ?aî-tX"us-tu-îc ?aî-tu-s-ćiX-
Prep-then (133) appear-Conf-Perf Prep-NProx-Der-sand-
(133) He appeared then on a sandbar further

ik-âî ta-taq"î-l-îx
long horizontal axis-foot NProx-further down-Dim-Mid
down river.

(134) ?aî-?ay-k'v-î-lu-k tâx x-ac tq"nî
(134) Perf-do-Quot-Contr-Expv that one Prep-these this way
(134) He kept on doing this coming down this way.

(135) us-càq"-k'v-î-ći-k way tî-s-ćiX-
(135) Dir-long-Quot-Contr-Perf alright Prep-Der-sand-
(135) The sandbar that the women came to

ik-âî ti-umat-a-k'v-ma-ç
long horizontal axis-foot Prep-get to-they-Quot-Dub-Perf
to cry on was a long one.

tu-xnas-uks-tX" s-k'w•anat-aw ?aî-ta-s-ćiX-
NProx-woman-Pl-Dist Der-cry-they Prep-NProx-Der-sand-

ik-âî-tX (136) k'w•anat-aw-ç
long horizontal axis-foot-Dist (136) cry-they-Perf
(136) The women

tu-xnas-uks-tX" aî-tX (137) k'w•pūs-timut-k'v-ç
NProx-woman-Pl-Dist Prep-there (137) face one way-CResI-Quot-Perf
were crying there. (137) His friend was
ta-satix-s-t\textsuperscript{X} s-a\textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}-k-x-s \textsuperscript{?u1-Xi} NProx-close friend-his-Dist Der-Perf-see-he Prep-upriver facing one way, watching upriver.

(138) ?ainap-is-k'-lu-ku-ks s-ka-\textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}lip-ayx-s (138) know-he/it-Quot-Expv-Surp-Ind Der-Unr-Turn-Unc-he (138) He had a feeling that he would be getting back

?a\textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}-t\textsuperscript{X} (139) ?a\textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}-lip-ayx (140) ?ay-s-k'-tu-tu-ku Prep-then (139) Perf-turn-Unc (140) happen-it-Quot-Conf-Conf-Surp then. (139) He returned. (140) Sure enough it happened

ai-t\textsuperscript{X} x\textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}-Xilx'us ai-\textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}a\textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}Xi-t\textsuperscript{X} Prep-then Der-appear Prep-NProx-upriver-Dist then that he appeared upriver.

(141) i\textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}-m-s-k'-lu-\textsuperscript{?} ta-satix-s-t\textsuperscript{X} (141) speak-he-Quot-Expv-Perf NProx-close friend-his-Dist (141) His friend spoke out immediately.

(142) ?aa \textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}aki-nav-it\textsuperscript{20} cay-uc-ap s-ka-k'\textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}anat-ap (142) ah better-you P1 stop-mouth-you P1 Der-Unr-cry-you P1 (142) "Ah, you better stop your crying.

(143) tix-ma-\textsuperscript{?} ti-Xilx'us-\textsuperscript{?}ayx cut-k'\textsuperscript{?}-i-\textsuperscript{?}ci-k (143) be him-Dub-Perf Prox-appear-Prox say-Quot-Contr-Perf (143) The one who has appeared may be him," the person

?u1-tu-xnas-\textsuperscript{?	extcircled{XX}} NProx-person-Dist Prep-NProx-woman-P1-Dist said to the women.

(144) ?ay-na-k'-tu-tu \textsuperscript{?} tx' s-cay-uc-aw (144) do-they-Quot-Conf-NContr they Der-stop-mouth-they (144) And they really did stop it.

(145) \textsuperscript{?}Xmayx ta-ka-s-tuin-s ta-\textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}msta-t\textsuperscript{X} (145) true NProx-Unr-Der-show-he NProx-person-Dist (145) The person was truly hardly recognizable from the

x-a-six (146) \textsuperscript{?}Xmayx-k'\textsuperscript{?} Prep-Prox-blood Der-reach-he Prep-them (146) true-Quot-blood when he reached them. (146) He was

i-lu-\textsuperscript{?}ci-k s-\textsuperscript{?}al-\textsuperscript{\textcircled{X}}awi-im \textsuperscript{?}ayx \textsuperscript{?}al-a-ac Contr-Expv-Perf Der-Perf-follow-Pass this one Prep-Prox-here actually followed here to his house.
He went inside.

He held this one spear onto the spear.

It's because he was not believed that he held onto the spear.

There are many shrouds where the sniniq's house is.

It happened then alright that.

They talked.

They had a meeting.

The house was really full.

They thought about what to do to the animal in its house.

One of the people thought.

They talked.

They met.
They thought about what to do to the animal. They thought.

The one of them had an idea. He mentioned this woman's sanitary napkins. The one who had been picked up by the Snln:q was the one who showed them the way.

The bad, old clothes were gathered then.

He had thought to smoke the animal out. What the villagers did then was cut up to pack up. They set out on foot.

The one who showed them the way.

They set out on foot then.
(169) ?aw ... ?al-ta-sunx"-tx  s-ckt-aw
(169) yes ... Prep-NProx-day-Dist Der-reach-they
(169) Yes...it was daylight when they reached the place

?ul-a-si-qlam-us-cx  si-tx"'
Prep-Prox-Prep-climb-flat surface-InfDub Prep-then to climb then.

(170) ?ay-uc-m-im  slâxî-s 23  (171) slâxî-tum
(170) do-mouth-Tr-Pass slâxî-it  (171) slâxî-CPass
(170) It was said that it was Slâxî. (171) The sniniq’s
wa-mnta-s-k"  ta-namâk-tx  u-îûk
Prox-path-his-Quot NProx-animal-Dist Dir-high path up [the mountain] is called Slâxî.

(172) ?ay-s-ç  ai-tx"  way  (173) Xîm-s
(172) happen-it-Perf Prep-then alright  (173) dawn-it
(172) It happened then alright.  (173) It was daylight.

(174) ħap-aw-tu-ç  s-ka-cik"-ni-m-aw  u-îûk
(174) go-they-Conf-Perf Der-Unr-move-foot-MP-they Dir-high
(174) They set off upward on foot on the mountain.

(175) ?al-ta-smt-tX  ckt-aw  ui-tx"
Prep-NProx-mountain-Dist (175) reach-they Prep-there (175) They reached there.

(176) wix-âv-it-î-u-ka  tx" s-xy-
(176) be then-Quot-Contr-Usit it Der-look down on from_above-
(176) Every now and then the animal would look out at
us-m-s  ïaX  ... ta-namâk-tX
front-MP-he that one ... NProx-animal-Dist them.

(177) nu-şx"m-als-aq"s-timut-s-kv-q"u  ïaX
(177) human-burn-side-eye-CRef1-he-Quot-Usit that one
(177) The sniniq made his eyelids flash like fire.

(178) ta-sniniq-tX  ?ai-?ay-s-kv-îv
NProx-sniniq-Quot (178) Perf-happen-it-Quot-Usit
(178) It would happen to the person
x-ta-?ai-us-yul  ta-îmsta-tX
Prep-NProx-Perf-Dir-rub NProx-person-Dist.
that it came over.
(179) ?ulXanm-s-kʷ-αʷu  tαx  (180) nu-maw-kʷ-
(179) pass out-he-Quot-Usit that one (180) human-one-Quot-
(179) He would pass out.  (180) The one who

lu-č  ta-ai-kʷ-m-ìl-im-tX
Expv-Perf NProx-Perf-pick' up in mouth-DP-Pass-Dist
was carried off was the only one to whom it did not

s-αw-?alacix-w-s  (181) ?aílm-kʷ-it-q'u-k  tαx
Der-Neg-happen to-it (181) stand-Quot-Contr-Usit that one
happen.  (181) He would stand there.

*?aí-txʷ_  (182) ?aí-ìx-s-c  *?uí-ìta-ìmsta-tXʷ
Prep-there (182) Perf-watch-he-Perf Prep-NProx-person-Dist
(182) He watched the people.

(183) lq-aylayx-aw-č  ac  s-ka-?aay-ai-tut
(183) think-able-they-Perf these Der-Unr-do-container-Cthey/it
(183) They got the idea of putting through the top of

*al-ta-as-ìXʷ-s  *tu-suì-s  *ta-namkʷ-tX
Prep-NProx-be-top-its NProx-house-his NProx-animal-Dist
the animal's house.

(184) ka-nìXʷ-s-č  s-ka-ki-it
(184) Unr-fire-it-Perf Der-Unr-drop-they/it
(184) It will be on fire when they drop it.

(185) ícůi-it  aí-txʷ  s-ìl-it
(185) set on fire-they/it Prep-then Der-drop-they/it
(185) They set it on fire then to drop it through the

*?aí-ta-as-ìXʷ-s  *tu-suì-tXʷ  (186) sxw-ìč
Prep-NProx-be-top-its NProx-house-Dist (186) burn-Perf
top of the house.  (186) It was

s-nu-tati-als-it  x-tXʷ
Der-human-throw Redp-inside-they/it Prep-then
burning as they threw it then.

(187) ?aX-kʷ-i-lu-či-k-ayk-aw  ac
(187) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf-long-they these ones
(187) They didn't take long.

(188) nu-s-?up-ai-ayx-a-kʷ-маč  tαxʷ
(188) human-Der-smoke-container-Unc-they-Quot-Dub-Perf those ones
(188) They were suffocated.
(189) ?atm-naw ?ai-tX ta-sniniq-tX n
(189) die-they Prep-then NProx-sniniq-Dist and
(189) The sniniq and his children died then.

(190) ?ii-xnas-tu-li
NProx-children Redp-his-Dist (190) NProx-woman-NContr-Dist
(190) And his wife, too.

(191) ?ai-?ay-naw ?ai-tX s-tm-?aiH-aw
(191) Perf-do-they Prep-then Der-just-stay-they
(191) What they did then was just stay in front of

ai-ta-as-qa-ik-ux
Prep-NProx-be-outside-long horizontal axis-flat surface
his house.

tu-su?i-s-tX (192) samnt-ani-s-ma-lu-ku
NProx-house-his-Dist (192) cement-covering-it-Dub-Expv-Surp
(192) It must have been made of

?ax (193) ?ay-naw c ?ai-tX way
that one (193) do-they they Prep-then alright
cement. (193) What they did then alright was to

s-?ix-l?i-m-aw al-a-ka-?kta-tutit
Der-Dist-think-MP-they Prep-Prox-Unr-happen-Cthey/them
think what to do with them.

(194) wix-kw-i-ci-k ac way s-titi-
(194) be then-Quot-Contr-Perf this alright Der-leave Redp-
(194) This is when they had their claws left on them.

1qs-a?i-tutim-kw-?n ?ax end-foot-Dim-CPass-Quot-Impf those ones

(195) ?istux-im-c tu-sniniq-l-tX
(195) skin-Pass-Perf NProx-sniniq-Dim-Dist
(195) The little sniniqs were skinned.

(196) leave-end-foot-Dim-they-Perf Prep-NProx-fingernail-their-Di
(196) They were left with their fingernails on.

(197) ?ay-naw x-tX (198) x"p-1Xs
(197) do-they Prep-then (198) unhook-end
(197) They did it then. (198) It's the end.
We wish to thank Mrs. Agnes Edgar, Mrs. Margaret Siwallace, and Mr. Charles Snow for reciting the text and for aid in the translation. Our work during the period in which these stories were collected was supported by the National Museum of Canada, Simon Fraser University, and Rine University. Current support of this work is provided by the National Science Foundation (SOC73-05713 A01 and BNS73-05713 A02) and the Canada Council (S73-1973 and S75-0225). An English translation of this text will appear in Sound Heritage.

English versions of this story are given by Boas(1898: 86-87) and McIlwraith(1948: 436-441). The latter gives two variants, one from Bella Coola and another from Kimsquit (cf. note 3).

The Bella Coola previously occupied areas to the north and south of their present location. To the north, two rivers (the Dean and the Kimsquit) flow into the Dean Channel, and settlements existed along each of these rivers. To the south, there existed settlements at the end of the South Bentinck arm of the Burke Channel. All these sites were occupied by small groups until the first half of this century.

The ñc ~ vuc alternation is accounted for by a phonological rule that provides an epenthetic y following an unrounded vowel, i or a, before a vowel.

Several morphemes (-næist Partitive, -nap 'you Pl', -naw 'they') show an alternation with a vowel initial shape (-alst, -ap, -aw). When the preceding segment is syllabic (vowel, liquid or nasal), e.g. sülü 'scratched on skin' and tátm [tætp] 'die', the n is present, e.g. sínaw and támnaist. When non-syllabic, the n is absent. Furthermore, y and w behave as the syllabic segments, conditioning the n-variants, e.g. ?ay-naw 'they do'. Grouping vowels, glides, and syllabic liquids and nasals versus obstruents and non-syllabic liquids and nasals requires a disjunction of two features, [Syll] and [Cons]. An alternative description is to consider postvocalic y and w to be underlying vowels, i.e. [Syll], that become [-Syll] after the n → Ø rule, thus simplifying the latter.

The shape y for -naw 'they' is accounted for by two phonological rules. First, in certain morphemes n → Ø /-{Syll} and second, w → Ø /-Labial [Glottalized]. That is, w's drop preceding labial consonants p and ŋ, before labialized consonants kʷ, qʷ, xʷ, and Xʷ, and before u (cf. ña ~ ñaw in sentence 150. Note that no glide y appears in this context.).

The form wi is a variant of wix 'be them/there/then' apparently grammatically conditioned by a following ka Unrealized.
is a variant of \( ?\text{x}_1 \) (cf. sentence 46). The phrase 'upriver' consists of a preposition \(?\text{u} \ 'to', \) a plural proximal deictic prefix \( \text{w}_4 \), and \(?\text{x}_1 \). The fricative \( \text{i} \) alternates with \( \text{j} \) before \( \text{w}_4 \), and the latter is deleted following affricates and fricatives (cf., e.g. sentence 15). With the loss of \( ? \) (cf. note 15) the form \(?\text{u}\text{w}_4\text{x}_1 \) is produced. Speakers vary in the pronunciation of this form. The following have been recorded: \(?\text{u}\text{w}_4\text{x}_1 \), \(?\text{w}_4\text{i}\text{x}_1 \), and \(?\text{w}_4\text{X}_1 \).

The form \(?\text{a}_1 \) alternates with \(?\text{a}_2 \), e.g. sentence 15. Cf. note 6.

The -\( ?_1 \) 'he/she/it' following \( ? \) is frequently combined with the dental to form an affricate [c]; this varies with the sequence [\( \text{c}\theta s \)] where the \( ? \) is released and somewhat aspirated.

The Contrastive Conjunctive Particle \(?\text{i}_{\cdot\cdot}\text{?}_1 \) is discontinuous. Here the Perfective particle \( ?_1 \) - \( ?_1 \) appears between its two portions.

The word \(?\text{anuitnank} \) is now generally unknown. McIlwraith (1948: 579, Vol. 2) records the following: "\(?\text{anuitnank}: \) Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one."

The labialization of \(?\text{a}_1 \) is lost before a labialized, non-glottalized consonant.

Sequences of two identical non-stops are capable of being reduced to a single one. Here \(?\text{a}_1\text{ik}\) \( \rightarrow \?\text{a}_1\text{ik} \). In sentence 18, \(-\text{aw} \) \( \rightarrow \) \(-\text{aw} \), etc.

Morpheme initial glottal stops behave in different ways. Some, e.g. \(?\text{i}_{\cdot\cdot}\text{?}_1 \) and \(?\text{a}_1 \), may glottalize a preceding stop and be lost as a separate segment. Here, \( k\text{'}-\?_1 \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \text{k}\text{'i} \).

But glottalization in this combination of morphemes, does not always occur. Cp. sentence 43. The Noncontrastive Conjunctive Particle, when followed by Negative \(?\text{a}_1 \), i.e. \(?\text{i}_{\cdot\cdot}\text{k}\text{'a}_1 \), is always \(?\text{i}_{\cdot\cdot}\text{k}\text{'a}_1 \). Cf. sentence 48. In a second class of morphemes, glottal stops (present initially) simply drop in non-slow speech, esp. when non-initial; they occur in hiatus.

The Usitative \(?_1 \) varies freely with \( ?\text{u} \). Cp. sentence 55 with 131. In this text \( ?\text{u} \) is the more frequent: 24 to 5. The Noncontrastive Conjunctive Particle \(?\text{i}_{\cdot\cdot}\text{?}_1 \) has two additional, variant shapes, \(?\text{i}_{\cdot\cdot}\text{?}_1 \) and \(?\text{i}_{\cdot\cdot}\text{?}_1 \), when the Usitative is infixed. The choice between them is free. Cp. sentence 47 with sentence 56. The last two variants occur with about equal frequency in this text: \(?\text{i}_{\cdot\cdot}\text{?}_1 \), 5 times and \(?\text{i}_{\cdot\cdot}\text{?}_1 \), 4 times.

\(?\text{anuitnank}\) is commented upon by McIlwraith (1948: 605 Vol. 2):
"q̓a̓m̓x̓ámila, vocative, q̓a̓m̓x̓ámila: 1-Term used for the spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish.
2-Term used by sn̓i̓n̓q̓ to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3-Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings."

Cf. also Boas 1898: 78.

McIlwraith (1948: 592 Vol. 2) records "moxmox̱ó̱̱̱i:k̓á̱̱̱a: Dentalium-shell earrings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion."

The form si is here a prepositional copy of ?al 'there' or ?ul 'to'. It occurs as well in sentence 122. Cf. Davis and Saunders 1973.

The form nix- varies with ?inix- 'more/additional'.
Cf. ?inix-púxta 'more flour'.

The form j̓ak̓ it is singular; j̓ak̓ -naw-it, the plural.

Third person endings (not second person) mark exhortative expressions.

The ending -tan 'he/them' or 'they/them' occurs in clauses of restrictive modification wherein the Agent of the Comment is the modified head of the clause, e.g. j̓ex-tis 'he sees them' and ti-ʔimík ti-ʔex-tan-tx 'the man who sees them'.

McIlwraith (1948: 614 Vol. 2) records: "sla:k̓i: White-water [Atlnarko] River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola."
Boas (1898: 49), in a list of villages in the Bella Coola valley, has "24. Sl̓a:k̓i: On the Bella Coola River, above No. 23 [="Sn̓u: L̓Ela: On the Bella Coola River, above No. 22 (=Stuíx)"]." In Boas's transcription, an etymological relation between the name and -ʔx̱i: 'upriver' is apparent. McIlwraith reports (1948: 12 Vol. 1) that Boas's village 24, plus several others, was "not known by several old men questioned on the subject."
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**TRANSITIVE-PASSIVE**

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### DEIXIS

**Proximal**
- NDemons
- N Demons
- N Demons

**Middle**
- Demons
- N Demons

**Distal**
- Demons
- N Demons

- Masc: ti-šayx - ti-tx ta-šlx
- Pem: ci-čayx ci-šx ?i-šx ťayx ťi-šx ťi-čix ťi-ššx
- P1: wa-šac wa-š ta-šlx ta-ššx

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Sample Glossary

-ani. Referential suffix. 'external covering'. ãa-yanî
'bear skin': ãa 'black bear'. ìq-ani
'wet clothes'. samnt-ani 'made of cement'.
k'y-s-ani 'rough material'.

cix'. 'what is it? [in answer to having one's name called]'.
cix'-nu-ks 'what's the matter with you?':
*cix'-nu: -ks Individuative. ?a1-a-cix'-nu 'what happened to you?': ?a1-?a Prep: a-wa
Prox. ?a1acix' 'what happened?'

?ip. 'grasp'. ?ip-is 'he grabs it'. ?a1-?ip 'it's taken'.
?ip-us-is 'he grabs onto it'. ?ip-us-m 'he grabs': ?a1-?ip-us-m 'he holds up his
weight/hangs onto a float in water'.

؟k'. 'pick up'. ؟k'-is 'he picks it up'. ؟a1-؟k'-m 'it's laced':
*؟a1-؟k': ؟a1-؟a1 Perf: m MP. ؟k'-m-uc-is
'he laces it up': uc 'edge/orifice'.
؟k'-m-uc-tis 'he causes him to be laced up/
he laces him up'.

-nalst. Partitive. 'member of family/close group'. ?atm-nalst
ta-X 'one(or more) of X's family died'.
?atm-nalst-aw wa-imlkuks-c 'one(or more)
of the men's family died'. km-aylayx-alst-aw
'one(or more of their family is sick'.
km-aylayx-alst x-a-cnunus[Prep-Prox-two Redp]
'two of the/his/her family died'.
?atm-nalst-iî 'one or more of our family died'.
*stalmx-alst: stalmx 'chief'. *lap-alst:
lap 'go'. *ya-nalst: ya 'good'.

Xî. 'look down'. Xî-cinu 'I look down at you'. Xy-us-is 'he
sees the one who has employed witchcraft[said
by the one afflicted]. Xy-us-m-is 'he sees
him through opening, e.g. door, window, etc.':
us 'front/flat surface'. Xy-us-m 'he looks
out[through opening]'.

-ûîî. 'a little bit/slightly'. mus-ûîî-t-it 'they're touching it':
mus-is 'he's feeling it': t Tr. ?a1-؟a1a-
yûî 'it shakes slightly': ?a1-؟a1 'it
shakes'.
References


XIIth International Conference on Salish Languages.

Preparing dried fish - a Bella Coola text
Henk P. Neter, Boerhaavekade 248
Leiden

The following text was volunteered by Kla, Margaret Sullivan in the summer of '75. With her assistance, the recording was transcribed and translated. Sandhi-phenomena are rendered by the symbol "^", which serves to mark two processes: contraction ("se = [tse]" and elision ("wa = [e]", "wa = [e]" reads [e]). When, as a result of "^"-elision, two vowels come into contact, they fuse into a doubled vowel (see below) with the quality of the doubled variant of the second vowel involved in the process.

Hyphens separate free forms from clitical elements. The Arabic numbers written directly under the text-lines refer to the morphemes the words are composed of and correspond with the numbers in the grammatical analysis following the text.

The segmental phonemes of Bella Coola are:

\[ \begin{align*}
p & \quad p' \\
t & \quad t' \\
n & \quad n \\
a & \quad a \\
u & \quad u \\
q & \quad q \\
w & \quad w \\
\end{align*} \]

Doubled plosives are released separately, whereas doubled fricatives, sonorants, and vowels are pronounced long, the doubled vowels having a more open quality than the single ones. Syllabic sonorants (\[q, q, \text{ and } l\]) are pronounced with a preceding schwa. Stops bordering on "^" are, unless elision takes place, phonetically glottalized, there being no opposition between "^", "T^", and "^" (\[T^\] = plosive).