

A Bella Coola Text: Sniniq<sup>1</sup>

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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.

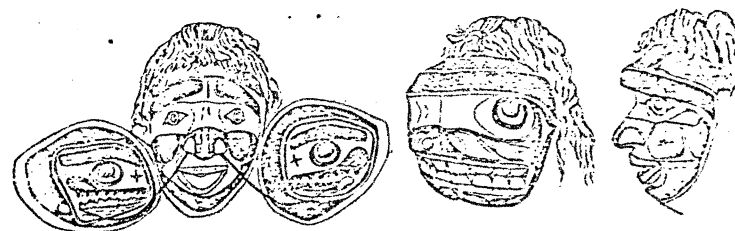
A second genre is made up of those stories that take place in the distant past, but after the creation and settlement of the world. It is from this type that derive stories involving the sniniq, the girl who had a skeleton baby, and the explanation for the necklace of white feathers the loon has. None 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 Luilitimut refused to surrender a seal to pursuing wolves and lost his life; how Almci in similar circumstances tricked the wolves and survived; how Qāklis saw a puq's---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 Wakashan speaking peoples.

The story presented here concerns the sniniq<sup>2</sup>. These are large individuals, not human, nor yet a puq<sup>u</sup>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.



Double mask representing Nusné'neq'als (opened, closed, and profile of inner mask). Inner face, red, blue, and black; inner side of wings, black and red; outer face, black, red, blue. Height, 14 inches. Cat. No. 7117.

Fig. 1

The text is given in three forms. First, the Bella Coola is given; it has been morphologically segmented where there is good evidence for a grammatical division. The Bella Coola

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, xnas 'woman' is grammatically feminine and takes the appropriate feminine deictic affixes in Paradigms below. Yet the phrase ti-xnas-tayx appears in the recording. Additionally, it is appropriate to use 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 sniniq). Mistakes 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 Qumquts, the only village still occupied. At earlier times, additional ones were scattered up the valley.<sup>3</sup> 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 Qumquts where bodies have mysteriously disappeared from their place of burial.

## Sniniq

(1) way (2) ?ay-cut-c s-ka-tm-ay-uc-timut-c

(1) OK (2) do-Ref1-I Der-Unr-just-do-mouth-CRef1-I

(1) OK. (2) I'm going to just try to talk about what they

s-ka-ya-yuc<sup>4</sup>-c-tū ?ai-ti-s-?alači-q<sup>u</sup>-tx

Der-Unr-good-mouth-I-NContr Prep-Prox-Der-say-Usit-Prox

used to tell and to tell it well.

(3) tm-?alači-ii-aw x-tX<sup>u</sup> tu-ik<sup>u</sup>lx-tX<sup>u</sup>

(3) just- say-DP-they Prep-them NProx-old people-Dist

(3) The old people used to just tell them.

(4) ?ay-s ?ai-tX<sup>u</sup> ta-?msta-tX (5) ?atm-nalst<sup>5</sup>-a<sup>6</sup>-k<sup>u</sup>-q<sup>u</sup>

(4) do he Prep-then NProx-person-Dist (5) die-Part-they-Quot-Usit

(4) A person did this then. (5) Some of the people's

taX<sup>u</sup> ... tu-?msta-tX<sup>u</sup> ... ?al-a-ax<sup>u</sup>a

those ones ... NProx-person-Dist ... Prep-Prox-here

families around here were dying.

(6) ?ax<sup>u</sup>-aīnap-ic s-wi<sup>7</sup>-ka-s ?al-a-ax<sup>u</sup>a ?ūl-Xi<sup>8</sup>

(6) Neg-know-I/it Der-be there-Unr-it Prep-Prox-here Prep-upriver

(6) I don't know where it was around here up the river.

(7) ?atm-nalst-aw (8) ?ap-aw

(7) die-Part-they (8) go-they

(7) Some members of their families died. (8) They went

s-qa<sup>9</sup>-mut-aw ti-s-?atm-nalst-aw (9) ?ap-s-k<sup>u</sup>-č

Der-put away-Ref1-they Prox-Der-die-Part-they (9) go-he-Quot-Perf

to bury the one of them who had died. (9) He went.

(10) ?ap-sk<sup>u</sup>-č ta-nu-maw ta-cācti-tX

(10) go-he-Quot-Perf NProx-human-one NProx-youth-Dist

(10) A certain young man went.

(11) k<sup>u</sup>nta-cut-k<sup>u</sup>-č ta-nu-maw ta-?msta-tX

(11) decide-Ref1-Quot-Perf NProx-human-one NProx-person-Dist

(11) A certain person had made up his mind.

(12) way cut-k<sup>u</sup> taX (13) ?anayk-c s-ka-kx-ic

(12) Alright say-Quot that one (13) want-I Der-Unr-see-I/it

(12) "Alright," he said. (13) "I want to see

ti-umat-ayx-aw-ck wa-s-?atm-nalst-ii-ac

Prox-get to-Unc-they-InfDub Prox-Der-die-Part-we-Prox

what's becoming of the ones of us who have died,"

cut-s<sup>10</sup>-k<sup>w</sup> ta-<sup>1</sup>msta-tX<sup>w</sup> ?ui-ta-satix-s-tX<sup>w</sup>  
 say-he-Quot NProx-person-Dist Prep-NProx-close friend-his-Dist  
 the person said to his close friend.

(14) yayā-liwa-timut-nu-ma cucut-m-is-k<sup>w</sup>  
 (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<sup>w</sup> (15) qaw-cap ka-Xim-s<sup>w</sup>  
 NProx-close friend-his-Dist (15) put away-you/me Unr-dawn-it  
 him. (15) "You'll put me away when

a-sunx<sup>w</sup>-ac (16) ninic-k<sup>w</sup> tayx (17) ninic-tum-k<sup>w</sup>  
 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-napamx<sup>w</sup>-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<sup>w</sup> 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-k<sup>w</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>u tu-<sup>1</sup>msta-tX<sup>w</sup> (20) qa-  
 (19) die-Intr- they-Quot-Usit NProx-person-Dist (20) put away-  
 (19) People would die. (20) They

mut-aw (21) k<sup>w</sup>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-k<sup>w</sup>-i-<sup>1</sup>ci-k<sup>11</sup> taX<sup>w</sup> ... tu-xixnasi-  
 (22) Perf-do-they-Quot-Contr-Perf those ones ... NProx-young ladies  
 (22) The young ladies did like that for him now.

tX<sup>w</sup> ai-tayx (23) k<sup>w</sup>nk<sup>w</sup>anāt-tmax<sup>w</sup>-aw-<sup>c</sup>  
 Redp-Dist Prep-this one (23) cry Redp-each other-they-Perf  
 (23) They were making each other cry.

(24) ninic-<sup>c</sup> tayx s-qaw-im  
 (24) alive-Perf this one Der-put away-Pass  
 (24) He was alive when he was put away.

(25) ?ai-k<sup>w</sup>up-lx-cx<sup>w</sup>-i-<sup>1</sup>ci-k ka-<sup>c</sup>usm-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,"

cut-s-k<sup>v</sup>-čn      taX      way      ?ui-ta-satix-s-tX  
 say-he-Quot-Impf that one alright Prep-close friend-his-Dist  
 he said to his close friend.

(26) ?ai-k<sup>v</sup>up-lx-cx<sup>v</sup>-č      (27) wix-tu      c  
 (26) Perf-hide and watch-Inch-you/me-Perf (27) be then-Conf it  
 (26) "You'll hide and watch me. (27) It's when

s-ka-čkt-s      ui-nc      s-ka-šap-nu-lu-č  
 Der-Unr-reach-he Prep-me Der-Unr-go-you-Expv-Perf  
 it[sniniq] gets to me that you'll go immediately to the

?ui-ti-?apsui-tx      s-ka-alač<sup>i</sup>-tux<sup>v</sup>      cut-s-k<sup>v</sup>-č  
 Prep-Prox-live-Prox Der-Unr-tell-Cyou/it say-he-Quot-Perf  
 villagers to tell them," the person said to him.

ta-šmsta-tX      ūi-tX      (28) ?ai-ay-na-k<sup>v</sup>-i-lu-č<sup>i</sup>-k  
 Dis-person-Dist Prep-him (28) Perf-do-they-Quot-Contr-Expv-Perf  
 (28) And they did it just like that

taX<sup>v</sup>      ai-tX<sup>v</sup>      way      s-?ai-k<sup>v</sup>up-lx-im      x-tX  
 those ones Prep-then alright Der-Perf-hide and watch-Inch Prep-him  
 then alright; he was watched by him.

(29) ?ai-qa-mūt-i-a-k<sup>v</sup>-č      ac      way  
 (29) Perf-put away-Pass-Mid-they-Quot-Perf these ones alright  
 (29) They buried him then alright.

(30) k<sup>v</sup>anat-aw tu-xixnas<sup>i</sup>-tX<sup>v</sup>      ?ai-tX<sup>v</sup>  
 (30) cry-they NProx-young ladies Redp-Dist Prep-then  
 (30) The young ladies cried then.

(31) ?anuītnānk<sup>2</sup>ti-?ay-uc-m-im      s-?anuītnānk-s  
 (31) Anuītnānk Prox-do-mouth-Tr-Pass Der-Anuītnānk-it  
 (31) Anuītnānk is what they said, it being their

wa-syut-aw      ?ai-tX<sup>v</sup>      (32) ?ai-nanix-it  
 Prox-song-their Prep-then (32) Perf-mourn-they/him  
 song then. (32) They were mourning the one

ti-ḡaw-im-ṭayx      (33) ?ax<sup>13</sup>-k<sup>v</sup>-i-lu-k-ayk<sup>v</sup>-m-i-s  
 Prox-put away-Pass-Prox (33) Neg-Quot-Contr-Expv-be long-MP-Dim-it  
 they had put away. (33) It wasn't very long after

ta-s-cx<sup>v</sup>-lx-ulmx-tX      s-tuin-m-s-k<sup>v</sup>-lu-č  
 NProx-Der-dark-Inch-earth-Dist Der-show up-MP-he-Quot-Expv-Perf  
 it got dark that the animal showed up before expected.

ta-nanmk-tX (34) sm-?uia-s  
 NProx-animal-Dist (34) from the beginning-approach-it  
 (34) It went right up and put the

s-Xapa-t-is ti-?atm-a-tayx (35) lap-tum-lu-č  
 Der-pack-Tr-he/it Prox-die-Intr-Prox (35) go-CPass-Expv-Perf  
 dead person in his pack. (35) He was already

x-tX (36) lap-s-lu-č tayx ?ui-ta-  
 Prep-it (36) go-he-Expv-Perf this one Prep-NProx-  
 carried off by it. (36) He[the friend] went immediately

apsui-tX (37) lap-tum-lu-čn taX  
 live-Dist (37) go-CPass-Expv-Impf that one  
 to the villagers. (37) "He's already carried off.

(38) lap-tum-lu-č ta-satix-i-c cut-s-k"  
 (38)\*go-CPass-Expv-Perf NProx-close friend-Mid-my say-he-Quot-  
 (38) My friend is already carried off," he was saying.

čn tX (39) čXi-anm-uc-a-k"-č tu-xnas-uks-tX"  
 Impf he (39) true- -mouth-they-Perf NProx-woman-Pl-Dist  
 (39) The women then cried for real.

s-ka-k<sup>u</sup>anat-aw (40) lap-tum-č tX s-km-im  
 Der-Unr-cry-they (40) go-CPass-Perf he Der-carry in mouth-Pass  
 (40) He was picked up in its mouth and carried off.

(41) ?a-ik<sup>u</sup>-m-uc-tutim-k<sup>u</sup> wa-čmsta ?al-a-?ayk  
 (41) Perf-lace-Tr-edge-CPass-Quot Prox-person Prep-Prox-long ago  
 (41) Long ago people were laced up in bearskins.

?al-a-s-ča-yanī (42) qaw-tim  
 Prep-Prox-Der-black bear-covering (42) put away-Pass  
 (42) They were buried.

(43) ?ai-ay-tum-k<sup>u</sup>-i-č-i-k ta-čmsta-tX  
 (43) Perf-do-CPass-Quot-Contr-Perf NProx-person-Dist  
 (43) This person was fixed like that.

(44) ?aa, lap-tum tayx ?al-a-ac (45) q<sup>u</sup>nāX<sup>u</sup>-uc-im  
 (44) Aah, go-CPass this one Prep-Prox-here (45) walk-edge-Pass  
 (44) Ah, he was carried off here. (45) They went up

wa-anuX<sup>u</sup>um-?ac ?ul-a-Xi (46) ?ul-a-?āXi  
 Prox-river-Prox Prep-Prox-upriver (46) Prep-Prox-upriver  
 along the edge of the river. (46) Upriver

s-<sup>1</sup>ap-tum    <sup>1</sup>ayx    s-ka-itnm-tum    <sup>2</sup>ai-ti-smt  
 Der-go-CPass this one Der-Unr-go up-CPass Prep-Prox-mountain  
 where he was taken is where he was carried a mountain by

x-ta-nanmk<sup>2</sup>    ta-ai-Xapa-t-tX  
 Prep-NProx-animal Nprox-Perf-pack-Tr-Dist  
 the animal that was packing him.

(47) wix-k<sup>14</sup>-it-q<sup>u</sup>-ka    tX<sup>u</sup>    (48) <sup>2</sup>ik-aX-k<sup>u</sup>-sq<sup>u</sup>-  
 (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-nanmk<sup>2</sup>-tX    (49) iX<sup>u</sup>t-k<sup>u</sup>-q<sup>u</sup>  
 long horizontal axis-Unc-he NProx-animal-Dist (49) crawl-Quot-Usit  
 jumps over anything.    (49) It always

<sup>1</sup>ax    <sup>2</sup>ai-tu-tqnk-us    tu-stn-tX<sup>u</sup>  
 that one Prep-NProx-underneath-flat surface NProx-log-Dist  
 crawls underneath the bottoms of logs.

(50) <sup>2</sup>aX<sup>u</sup>-sq<sup>u</sup>-ik-is    ti-ka-stn    <sup>2</sup>ai-tX<sup>u</sup>  
 (50) Neg-jump-long horizontal axis-he/it Prox-Unr-log Prep-then  
 (50) It didn't jump over any logs then.

(51) x<sup>u</sup>ux<sup>u</sup>mp-cut-s-q<sup>u</sup>    ta-sniniq<sup>1</sup>-tX  
 (51) unhook Redp-Refl-he-Quot-Usit NProx-sniniq<sup>1</sup>-Dist  
 (51) The sniniq<sup>1</sup> would[have to] get untagnled from the

<sup>2</sup>ai-ta-tqnk-us    tu-stn-tX<sup>u</sup>  
 Prep-NProx-underneath-flat surface NProx-log-Dist  
 bottoms of the logs.

(52) <sup>2</sup>ip-us-m-s-k<sup>u</sup>-q<sup>u</sup>    ta-<sup>1</sup>msta-tX  
 (52) grab-flat surface-MP-he-Quot-Usit NProx-person-Dist  
 (52) The person was grabbing onto the logs.

<sup>2</sup>ui-tu-stn-tX<sup>u</sup>    (53) <sup>2</sup>ai-<sup>2</sup>ip-us-m-s  
 Prep-NProx-log-Dist (53) Perf-grab-flat surface-MP-he  
 (53) He would hold on as long as he

<sup>2</sup>ai-tX<sup>u</sup>ui-<sup>2</sup>aylikt-s    s-<sup>2</sup>ai-<sup>2</sup>ip-us-m-s  
 Prep-towards-long-it Der-Perf-grab-flat surface-MP-he  
 could do so.

(54) x<sup>u</sup>p-ak-m-s-k<sup>u</sup>-q<sup>u</sup>    <sup>1</sup>ax  
 (54) unhook-hanX-MP-he-Quot-Usit that one  
 (54) Then he would let go.



(55) <sup>16</sup>ap-āX-s-k<sup>v</sup>-q<sup>v</sup> ta-nanmk-tX  
 (55) go-bottom-it-Quot-Usit NProx-animal-Dist  
 (55) The animal began to fart.

s-ka-nu-pixpiqt-s (56) wix-k<sup>v</sup>-it-q<sup>v</sup>u-k tX<sup>v</sup>  
 Der-Unr-human-fart Redp-he (56) be then-Quot-Contr-Usit it  
 (56) It's then that he

s-?ay-uc-k<sup>v</sup>-q<sup>v</sup>u taX ?ai-tX<sup>v</sup> (57) qamXam<sup>17</sup>ilaw<sup>16</sup>  
 Der-do-mouth-Quot-Usit that one Prep-then (57) O salmon  
 would speak. (57) "O salmon,"

cut-s-k<sup>v</sup>-it-q<sup>v</sup>u-k taX ... ta-sniniq-tX  
 say-he-Quot-Contr-Usit that one ... NProx-sniniq-Dist  
 the sniniq would say then.

(58) qamXam<sup>17</sup>ilaw (59) nuq<sup>v</sup>-āXāX-s-ma-su  
 (58) O salmon (59) crack- bottom Redp-he-Dub-Expb  
 (58) "O salmon! (59) Maybe it's cracking open,"

cut-k<sup>v</sup>-it-q<sup>v</sup>u-k taX (60) tX<sup>v</sup>ui-?aylikt-ai-s tayx  
 say-Quot-Contr-Usit that one (60) towards-long-foot-he this one  
 he would say. (60) For quite a while he

s-qalum-s ?ai-ti-smt-tayx (61) ?u-?uk  
 Der-climb-he Prep-Prox-mountain-Prox (61) Dir-high  
 climbed this mountain. (61) Going up,

s-?ai-?ay-tus x-tX<sup>v</sup> (62) yayāX-m-is  
 Der-Perf-do-Ché/it Prep-them (62) play trick Redp-Tr-he/it  
 he was doing this. (62) He was playing tricks

ta-nanmk-tX (63) yayātwi-ma-lu-č ?ai-tX<sup>v</sup>  
 NProx-animal-Dist (63) be happy-Dub-Expv-Perf Prep-then  
 on the animal. (63) Maybe he was having fun then

s-?ai-?ay-s-ck x-tX<sup>v</sup> (64) x<sup>v</sup>p-āX-ik-  
 Der-Perf-do-he-InfDub Prep-them (64) unhook-bottom-long horizontal  
 doing those things like that. (64) Alright, ever now and then

m-im-k<sup>v</sup>-it-q<sup>v</sup>u-k taX x-taX way  
 axis-Tr-Pass-Quot-Contr-Usit that one Prep-that one alright  
 he would be taken out of the pack by the animal.

(65) ?anų-mus-ik-im-k<sup>v</sup>-q<sup>v</sup>u way  
 (65) Cont-feel-long horizontal axis-Pass-Quot-Usit alright  
 (65) Alright, he puts his hand on his[the man's] stomach.

(66) wix-k<sup>v</sup>-it-q<sup>v</sup>-u-ka tX<sup>v</sup> s-?aX-k<sup>v</sup>-q<sup>v</sup>-iupt-s  
 (66) be then-Quot-Contr-Usit it Der-Neg-Quot-Usit-breathe-he  
 (66) That would be the time that the person would

taX ... ta-?msta-tX (67) ?aX-k<sup>v</sup>-q<sup>v</sup>-iupt-s  
 that one ... NProx-person-Dist (67) Neg-Quot-Usit-breathe-he  
 never breathe. (67) He never breathed

tX<sup>v</sup>ui-?aylikt-s s-?anu-mus-ik-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) ?al-a-wayxi-k<sup>v</sup>-q<sup>v</sup> way s-x<sup>v</sup>p-ak-m-s  
 (68) Prep-Prox-soon-Quot-Usit alright Der-let go-hand-MP-he  
 (68) After a little while the animal let go

ta-nanmk-tX ?ai-tX (69) ?aa Xapa-t-im-k<sup>v</sup>-su-č  
 NProx-animal-Dist Prep-him (69) Ah pack-Tr-Pass-Quot-Expb-Perf  
 of him. (69) Ah, he is put back in the pack

tayx (70) ?ap-tum-č ?u-?uk ?ul-a-s-čkt-aw  
 this one (70) go-CPass-Perf Dir-high Prep-Prox-Der-reach-they  
 again. (70) He is carried upwards until they reach

taX<sup>v</sup> ul-a-sui-s-k<sup>v</sup> taX ... ta-sniniq-tX  
 those ones Prep-Prox-house-his-Quot that one ... NProx-sniniq-Dist  
 the house of the sniniq

(71) sui-k<sup>v</sup>-tu wa-?amat-s ta-sniniq-tX s-?apsui-s  
 (71) house-quot-Conf Prox-stay-he NProx-sniniq-Dist Der-live-h  
 (71) It's a real house where the sniniq lives.

(72) slaX-a-k<sup>v</sup>-tu wa-mamnci-s ta-nanmk-tX  
 (72) many-they-Quot-Conf Prox-children Redp-his NProx-animal-Dist  
 (72) The animal has a lot of children.

(73) čkt-nix-im tayx ?al-a-ac  
 (73) reach-achieve-Pass this one Prep-Prox-here  
 (73) He was finally gotten there.

(74) x<sup>v</sup>p-āX-ik-m-im ?ai-ta-asuc-s  
 (74) take off-bottom-long horizontal axis-Tr-Pass Prep-NProx-front-  
 (74) He was unpacked at the front of the house.

tu-sui-tX<sup>v</sup> (75) way (76) sq<sup>v</sup>-ui-im  
 NProx-house-Dist (75) alright (76) untie-round-Pass  
 (75) Alright. (76) The body was

ṭayx ṭal-a-ac tu-ik<sup>u</sup>-m-uc-ta-tX<sup>u</sup>  
 this one Prep-Prox-here NProx-lace-MP-edge-Inst-Dist  
 unlaced here.

(77) pu<sup>i</sup>-a-k<sup>u</sup>-c ta-qīqpī-tX<sup>u</sup>  
 (77) come-they-Quot-Perf NProx-little ones Redp-Dist  
 (77) The little ones came and bounced his testicles up

s-ka-ṭai-q<sup>u</sup>aca-ūīī-t-it-k<sup>u</sup>-q<sup>u</sup> tu-maka-s  
 Der-Unr-Perf-shake-slightly-Tr-they/it-Quot-Usit NProx-testicle-his  
 and down in their hands.

ṭaX (78) ṭnc-i-ma-ks ṭac muXmuX-it-ūī-īkan-ta<sup>18</sup>  
 that one (78) be me-have-Dub-Ind these ṭ-hang-round-ear-Inst  
 (78) "Maybe I'll be the one who has these for

cucut-a-k<sup>u</sup>-it-q<sup>u</sup>u-k ṭaX<sup>u</sup> (79) wix-k<sup>u</sup>-  
 say Redp-they-Quot-Contr-Usit those ones (79) be then-Quot-  
 my earrings," they were saying. (79) It was then

it-q<sup>u</sup>u-ka tX<sup>u</sup> s-ṭai-īīq<sup>u</sup>ni-alus-s ta-ṭmsta-tX  
 Contr-Usit it Der-Perf-laugh-want-he NProx-person-Dist  
 that the person wanted to laugh.

(80) qāXacxi-s-c s-ṭai-q<sup>u</sup>aca-yūīī-t-im  
 (80) tickle-it-Perf Der-Perf-shake-slightly-Tr-Pass  
 (80) It tickled to have his testicles shaken.

tu-maka-s-tX<sup>u</sup> (81) ṭaay ṭax<sup>u</sup>-taX<sup>u</sup>-ai-ṭay-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<sup>u</sup>-it-q<sup>u</sup>u-k ṭaX way ta-sniniq-tX  
 say-Quot-Contr-Usit that one alright NProx-sniniq-Dist  
 the sniniq would say.

(82) ṭax<sup>u</sup>-taX<sup>u</sup>-ai-ṭay-uc-ap (83) q<sup>u</sup>las-ak-m-ic  
 (82) Neg-Imp-Perf-do-mouth-you Pl (83) strange-hand-Tr-I/it  
 (82) "Don't talk like that. (83) I see something

ti-ṭai-pu<sup>i</sup>-ayx-c-ṭayx ṭaiṭaysc cucut-k<sup>u</sup>-it-q<sup>u</sup>u-k  
 Prox-Perf-come-Unc-I-Prox now say Redp-Quot-Contr-Usit  
 different in this one I've brought back now,"

ṭaX way (84) ṭaay ṭai-ṭay-na-k<sup>u</sup>-q<sup>u</sup>  
 that one alright (84) ay Perf-do-they-Quot-Usit  
 he would say. (84) Ay, the little ones would

ta-qĩqĩ-tX<sup>u</sup> s-X<sup>u</sup>ism-aw (85) pu<sup>1</sup>-aw  
 NProx-little ones-Dist Der-play-they (85) come-they  
 play like that. (85) They went up

?ui-tX (86) way (87) wal-im x-tX  
 Prep-him (86) alright (87) leave-Pass Prep-him  
 to him (86) Alright. (87) He was left where he

ai-ta-as-?amat-s-tX<sup>u</sup> s-?ai-k<sup>u</sup>ā-s (88) wix-k<sup>u</sup>-  
 Prep-NProx-be-stay-he-Dist Der-Perf-put-he (88) be then-Quot-  
 was put. (88) It was

i-čĩ-k tX<sup>u</sup> s-k<sup>u</sup>x-is ĩaX ai-tX<sup>u</sup>  
 Contr-Perf it Der-see-he/it that one Prep-there  
 then that he saw it there.

(89) k<sup>u</sup>x-is-k<sup>u</sup> ta-ĩmsta-tX (90) ?ai-?ay-k<sup>u</sup>-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

ta-?anu-it-ĩX<sup>u</sup> ac ?ai-ta-as-tX<sup>u</sup>-s  
 NProx-Cont-hang-top these ones Prep-NProx-be-inside-his  
 the things hanging around inside his

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

ta-ĩmsta-tX ti-can-tum (92) ?anu-it-ĩX<sup>u</sup>-s-k<sup>u</sup>  
 NProx-person-Dist Prox-spear-CPass (92) Cont-hang-top-it-Quot  
 a 'spear'. (92) It was hanging in

ai-tX<sup>u</sup> ... tu-sui-tX<sup>u</sup> ... sui-s ta-sniniq-tX  
 Prep-there ... NProx-house-Dist ... house-his NProx-sniniq-Dist  
 there ... the house... the sniniq's house.

(93) ?ay... ĩap-ak-m-im-k<sup>u</sup> ĩayx ?al-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

s-ka-?istux-im (94) ?apsuw-ĩX<sup>u</sup>-im-k<sup>u</sup> ta-?uqũni-s  
 Der-Unr-skin-Pass (94) blow-top-Pass-Quot NProx-throat-his  
 be skinned. (94) His throat was blown upon.

ĩaX (95) ?a-squpĩĩc-ma-tu ai-tX<sup>u</sup>  
 that one (95) be-covered with hair-Dub-Conf Prep-then  
 (95) Maybe he was indeed covered with hair

al-a-slq̣-tum-ck (96) ʔapsuw-IX<sup>v</sup>-im-k<sup>v</sup>  
 Prep-Prox-mind-CPass-InfDub (96) blow-top-Pass-Quot  
 to their way of thinking. (96) He was blown upon.

(97) ʔapsuw-im-k<sup>v</sup> si<sup>18</sup>-ʔai-ʔay-tum ti-nanmḳ-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) ʔai-ʔay-tum-k<sup>v</sup>-i-č̣i-k ʔaX  
 Der-skin-Pass (98) Perf-do-CPass-Quot-Contr-Perf that one  
 is skinned. (98) He had that done to him like that

ai-tX<sup>v</sup> (99) ʔaa sq̣-ak-tux<sup>v</sup>-alu-tx 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-k<sup>v</sup>-č̣ ai-tX<sup>v</sup> (100) ʔanu-mus-iḳ-  
 he-Quot-Perf Prep-then (100) Cont-feel-long horizontal axis-  
 thinking then (100) He kept on having his stomach

im-k<sup>v</sup>-lū-q̣<sup>v</sup>u ʔaX x-tX wix s-ka-iun̄iupt-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) tX<sup>v</sup>ui-ʔai-ʔaylikt s-aX<sup>v</sup>-iupt-s ta-sasq̣<sup>v</sup>alus  
 (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) ʔai-ʔay-s x-tX<sup>v</sup> way  
 NProx-person-Incomp (102) Perf-do-he Prep-then alright  
 didn't breathe,eh? (102) He did like that then alright.

(103) ʔaa ʔai-ʔay-s-k<sup>v</sup>-tu-tu-ku ai-tX<sup>v</sup>  
 (103) ah Perf-do-he-Quot-Conf-Conf-Surp Prep-then  
 (103) Ah, he did exactly as planned then when he

s-sq̣-ak-tum (104) sq̣i-s  
 Der-scrath-hand-CPass (104) scratch on skin-he  
 was scratched. (104) The person was scratched on

ʔai-ta-anukalalini-s ta-ʔmsta-tX  
 Prep-Nprox-center line of throat-his NProx-person-Dist.  
 the middle of his throat.

(105) ka-istux-im-č̣n ʔayx x-ac (106) ʔap-s-k<sup>v</sup>-č̣  
 (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<sup>u</sup>aX-uc-s (107) nu-q<sup>u</sup>aX-uc-  
that one Der-Unr-Cont-raven-mouth-he (107) human-raven-mouth-  
to holler like a raven. (107) He hollered

k<sup>u</sup>-c taX al-tX<sup>u</sup> (108) i<sup>q</sup>-ak-m  
Quot-Perf that one Prep-then (108) slap-hand-MP  
like a raven then. (108) He clapped his hands.

(109) iap-a-k<sup>u</sup> taX<sup>u</sup> s-ka-nu-tka<sup>k</sup>-m-  
(109) go-they-Quot those ones Der-Unr-human-fall Redp-MP-  
(109) The snini<sup>q</sup> and his children went and fell over

aX-aw ta-snini<sup>q</sup>-tX tu-mamnci-s-tu  
bottom-they NProx-snini<sup>q</sup>-Dist NProx-children Redp-his-NContr  
backwards.

(110) nu-tka<sup>k</sup>-m-aX-aw (111) iap-k<sup>u</sup>-cn  
(110) human-fall Redp-MP-bottom-they (111) go-Quot-Impf  
(110) They fell over backwards. (111) He began

taX s-ka-likm-s al-a-ac ?ui-ti-anu-it-ix<sup>u</sup>  
that one Der-Unr-run-he Prep-Prox-here Prep-Prox-Cont-hang-top  
to run here to the spear that was hanging up

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

s-ka-likm-s (114) ?ay-s ?ai-tX<sup>u</sup> s-likm-s ?ai-tX<sup>u</sup>  
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<sup>u</sup>-i-lu-k taX ?ui-ti-k<sup>u</sup>uiulmx-  
(115) ah reach-Quot-Contr-Expv That one Prep-Prox-[level] ground-  
(115) Ah, he reached [level] ground down towards us.

tayx tq<sup>u</sup>n<sup>i</sup> (116) x<sup>u</sup>in-nimut s-nix<sup>19</sup>-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<sup>u</sup>-ti-ka-sl<sup>q</sup>-s iayx  
Dim-Tr-Pass Prep-him (117) Neg-Prox-Unr-mind-his this one  
gained up by him[snini<sup>q</sup>] (117) He can't think of what

?al-a-ka-ckta-timut-s (118) l<sup>q</sup>-aylayx-s-k<sup>u</sup> tX  
Prep-Prox-Unr-do-CRef1-he (118) think-be able to-he-Quot he  
to do. (118) He got the idea

s-ka-mulm-s      ?ul-a-qla-c      (119) pu<sup>1</sup>-s      ?ai-tX<sup>v</sup>  
 Der-Unr-dive-he Prep-Prox-water-Prox (119) come-it Prep-then  
 of diving into the water.      (119) It happened then.

(120) ?ay-s    ?ai-tX<sup>v</sup>    way    s-?ai-mulm-s  
 (120) do-he Prep-then alright Der-Perf-dive-he  
 (120) He did it then alright, he dove.

(121) tpi-āX-uc-am-s      ?al-a-anuX<sup>v</sup>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) ?i-lx-ai-timut-s-k<sup>v</sup>-tu-čn      ai-tX<sup>v</sup>  
 (122) dry-Inch-foot-CRef1-he-Quot-Conf-Impf Prep-then  
 (122) He reached dry land then, but the sniniq would maybe

tm-aliim-i-k<sup>v</sup>-m-i-lū-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-kx-s      uī-tX      ?al-a-ka-si-Xilx<sup>v</sup>us  
 Der-Unr-Perf-watch-he Prep-him Prep-Prox-Unr-Prep-appear  
 appears [from the water].

(123) ?ap-s-k<sup>v</sup>-ma-q<sup>v</sup>u      ta-sniniq      s-ka-nukim-s-  
 (123) go-he-Quot-Dub-Usit NProx-sniniq Der-Unr-cross-he-  
 (123) The sniniq would go across to follow him again

tu-č      s-ka-ai-awi-is-tu-č      ?ai-tX<sup>v</sup>  
 Conf-Perf Der-Unr-Perf-follow-he/him-Conf-Perf Prep-then  
 then.

(124) čXmayx-k<sup>v</sup>-č      s-aX<sup>v</sup>-ti-ka-s-tuin-s      ?aX  
 (124) true-Quot-Perf Der-Neg-Prox-Unr-Der-show-he that one  
 (124) He was truly hardly recognizable from the blood.

x-a-six      (125) ?k<sup>v</sup>-s-č      ta-asūikali-s-tX  
 Prep-Prox-blood (125) bleed-it-Perf NProx-throat-his-Dist  
 (125) His throat was bleeding.

(126) ?ay-s-k<sup>v</sup>-tu-č      ?ai-tX<sup>v</sup>    way  
 (126) do-he Quot-Conf-Perf Prep-then alright  
 (126) He did it again then alright.

(127) ?ay-tus-tu-č      ai-tX<sup>v</sup>      (128) mulm-s-tu-č  
 (127) do-Che/it-Conf-Perf Prep-then (128) dive-he-Conf-Perf  
 (127) He did it again then.      (128) He dove again.

- (129) s<sup>q</sup>-s u<sup>i</sup>-ta-qla-tX<sup>u</sup> (130) nix-ay-āq-  
 (129) jump-he Prep-NProx-water-Dist (130) more-do-behind-  
 (129) He jumped into the water. (130) He's being

nix-i-t-im x-tX s-ka-paq<sup>u</sup>nix-im  
 achieve-Dim-Tr-Pass Prep-him Der-Unr-catch-Pass  
 gained upon by him [sniniq] trying to catch him.

- (131) ?ai-?ay-s-k<sup>u</sup>-q<sup>u</sup> ta-nanmk-tX ai-tX<sup>u</sup>  
 (131) Perf-do-he-Quot-Usit NProx-animal-Dist Prep-then  
 (131) The animal was doing as he had before.

- (132) tm-?ai-kx-i-s ?ai-a-ka-umat-ai-s  
 (132) just-Perf-look-Mid-he Prep-Prox-Unr-get to-foot-he  
 (132) He's just watching where he got to then.

- ?ai-tX<sup>u</sup> (133) Xilx<sup>u</sup>us-tu-č ?ai-tu-s-čix-  
 Prep-then (133) appear-Conf-Perf Prep-NProx-Der-sand-  
 (133) He appeared then on a sandbar further

ik-ai ta-taq<sup>u</sup>i-i-taX<sup>u</sup>  
 long horizontal axis-foot NProx-further down-Dim-Mid  
 down river.

- (134) ?ai-?ay-k<sup>u</sup>-i-lu-k taX x-ac tq<sup>u</sup>n<sup>i</sup>  
 (134) Perf-do-Quot-Contr-Expv that one Prep-these this way  
 (134) He kept on doing this coming down this way.

- (135) us-cāq<sup>u</sup>-k<sup>u</sup>-i-čik way ti-s-čix-  
 (135) Dir-long-Quot-Contr-Perf alright Prox-Der-sand-  
 (135) The sandbar that the women came to

ik-ai ti-umat-a-k<sup>u</sup>-ma-č  
 long horizontal axis-foot Prox-get to-they-Quot-Dub-Perf  
 to cry on was a long one.

tu-xnas-uks-tX<sup>u</sup> s-k<sup>u</sup>anat-aw ?ai-ta-s-čix-  
 NProx-woman-P1-Dist Der-cry-they Prep-NProx-Der-sand-

- ik-ai-tX (136) k<sup>u</sup>anat-aw-č  
 long horizontal axis-foot-Dist (136) cry-they-Perf  
 (136) The women

tu-xnas-uks-tX<sup>u</sup> ai-tX<sup>u</sup> (137) k<sup>u</sup>pūs-timut-k<sup>u</sup>-č  
 NProx-woman-P1-Dist Prep- there (137) face one way-CRef1-Quot-Perf  
 were crying there. (137) His friend was



ta-satix-s-tX s-ai-kx-s ?ul-Xi  
 NProx-close friend-his-Dist Der-Perf-see-he Prep-upriver  
 facing one way, watching upriver.

(138) ?ainap-is-k<sup>w</sup>-lu-ku-ks s-ka-lip<sup>i</sup>-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

?ai-tX<sup>w</sup> (139) ?ai-lip<sup>i</sup>-ayx (140) ?ay-s-k<sup>w</sup>-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-tX<sup>w</sup> s-Xilx<sup>w</sup>us ai-fa-aXi-tX<sup>w</sup>  
 Prep-then Der-appear Prep-NProx-upriver-Dist  
 then that he appeared upriver.

(141) ik-m-s-k<sup>w</sup>-lu-č ta-satix-s-tX  
 (141) speak-he-Quot-Expv-Perf NProx-close friend-his-Dist  
 (141) His friend spoke out immediately.

(142) ?aa iaki-naw-it<sup>20</sup> cay-uc-ap s-ka-k<sup>w</sup>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-č ti-Xilx<sup>w</sup>us-tayx cut-k<sup>w</sup>-i-č-i-k  
 (143) be him-Dub-Perf Prox-appear-Prox say-Quot-Contr-Perf  
 (143) The one who has appeared may be him," the person

ta-łmsta-tX ?ui-tu-xnas-uks-tX<sup>w</sup>  
 NProx-person-Dist Prep-NProx-woman-P1-Dist  
 said to the women.

(144) ?ay-na-k<sup>w</sup>-tu-tū tX<sup>w</sup> s-cay-uc-aw  
 (144) do-they-Quot-Conf-NContr they Der-stop-mouth-they  
 (144) And they really did stop it.

(145) čXmayx ta-ka-s-tuin-s ta-łmsta-tX  
 (145) true NProx-Unr-Der-show-he NProx-person-Dist  
 (145) The person was truly hardly recognizable from the

x-a-six (146) čXmayx-k<sup>w</sup>-  
 Prep-Prox-blood Der-reach-he Prep-them (146) true-Quot-  
 blood when he reached them. (146) He was

i-lu-č-i-k s-?ai-?awi-im tayx ?al-a-ac  
 Contr-Expv-Perf Der-Perf-follow-Pass this one Prep-Prox-here  
 actually followed here to his house.

?uī-tu-sui-tX<sup>v</sup> (147) ?us-tx<sup>u</sup>a (148) ?ai-ip-  
 Prep-NProx-house-Dist (147) Dir-inside (148) Perf-grasp-  
 (147) He went inside. (148) He held

is-č<sup>h</sup> tayx ti-can-tayx (149) wix-k<sup>u</sup>-č<sup>h</sup>  
 he/it-Perf this one Prox-spear-Prox (149) be it-Quot-Perf  
 onto the spear. (149) It's because

s-ka-anusk<sup>v</sup>inix-im taX si-tx-ai-ay-ak-  
 Der-Unr-not believe-Pass that one Prep-have-Perf-do-hand-  
 he was not believed that he held onto the spear.

timut-s ta-can-tX (150) ta-slaX-k<sup>u</sup>  
 CRef1-he NProx-spear-Dist (150) NProx-many-Quot  
 (150) "There are many

ta-qa-ūi-ta-ii ?ai-a-amat-s wa-sui-s  
 NProx-put away-round-Inst-DP Prep-Prox-stay-he Prox-house-his  
 shrouds where the sniniq's house is.

ti-sniniq-tayx (151) ?ay-s-k<sup>u</sup>-č<sup>h</sup> ?ai-tX<sup>v</sup> way  
 Prox-sniniq-Prox (151) happen-it-Quot-Perf Prep-then alright  
 (151) It happened then alright that

q<sup>v</sup>ix<sup>u</sup>ui-cut-s ta-āmsta-tX (152) čXmayx s-lik-s  
 Der-gather-Pass-he NProx-person-Dist (152) true Der-full-it  
 the people gathered. (152) The house was

tu-sui-tX<sup>v</sup> (153) ?ix-lq-m-aw-čn<sup>h</sup> ?ac  
 NProx-house-Dist (153) Distb-think-MP-they-Impf these  
 really full. (153) They thought about what to

?ai-a-ka-čkta-tut ta-nanmk-tX  
 Prep-Prox-Unr-happen-CPthey/it NProx-animal-Dist  
 do to the animal in its house.

ai-a-sui-s (154) ?lq-aylayx-s ti-nu-maw  
 Prep-Prox-house-his (154) think-able-he Prox-human-one  
 (154) One of the people thought

ti-āmsta ai-tX<sup>v</sup> (155) ?ay-uc-aw-č<sup>h</sup>  
 Prox-person Prep-then (155) do-mouth-they-Perf  
 of something then. (155) They talked.

(156) spk<sup>u</sup>n-aw (157) spk<sup>u</sup>n-cut-aw  
 (156) have a meeting-they (157) have a meeting-Pass-they  
 (156) They had a meeting (157) They met.

- (158) ?ix-lq-m-aw al-a-ka-cka-tut  
 (158) Distb-think-MP-they Prep-Prox-Unr-happen-Cthey/it  
 (158) They thought about what we do to the animal

ta-nanmk-tX ai-tX<sup>v</sup> (159) ?ix-?lq-m-aw-cn  
 NProx-animal-Dist Prep-then (159) Distb-think-MP-they-Impf  
 then. (159) They thought.

- (160) ?ix-lq-aylayx-s ti-nu-maw-tayx  
 (160) Distb-think-able-he Prox-human-one-Prox  
 (160) The one of them had an idea.

- (161) ikm-s-tu-c ?ul-a-skianii-s  
 (161) speak-he-Conf-Perf Prep-Prox-sanitary napkins-her  
 (161) He mentioned this woman's sanitary napkins.

ci-xnas-cayx (162) wa-ax<sup>v</sup>i a-qix<sup>v</sup>ui-im ?ai-tX<sup>v</sup>  
 Prox-woman-Prox (162) Prox-rest Prox-gather-Pass Prep-then  
 (162) The rest were gathered then

- (163) q<sup>v</sup>lx<sup>v</sup>ui-im wa-?ayk-m-ii a-sx-c a-sqik<sup>v</sup>  
 (163) gather-Pass Prox-old-MP-DP Prox-bad-Perf Prox-clothes  
 (163) The bad, old clothes were gathered then.

- ai-tX<sup>v</sup> (164) ?lq-im-c tayx s-ka-nu-q<sup>v</sup>up-im  
 Prep-then (164) think-Pass-Perf this one Der-Unr-human-smoke-Pas  
 (164) He had thought to smoke the animal out.

ta-nanmk-tX (165) ?ay-naw x-tX<sup>v</sup> s-?awqaw-  
 NProx-animal-Dist (165) do-they Prep-then Der-put away Redp-  
 (165) What the villagers did then was

- cut-aw tu-apsui-tX<sup>v</sup> (166) lap-aw s-ka-cik<sup>v</sup>-ai-m-aw  
 Refl-they NProx-live-Dist (166) go-they Der-Unr-move-foot-MP-they  
 to pack up. (166) They set out on foot.

- (167) tix-k<sup>v</sup>-lu-c tX ti-ai-k<sup>v</sup>nus-tan<sup>22</sup>  
 (167) be him-Quot-Expv-Perf he Prox-Perf-show-he/them  
 (167) The one who had been picked up by the sniniq was

ti-ai-km-ii-im-tayx x-ta-sniniq-tX  
 Prox-Perf-pick up in mouth-DP-Pass-Prox Prep-NProx-sniniq-Dist  
 the one who showed them the way.

- (168) lap-aw s-ka-cik<sup>v</sup>-ai-m-aw ?ai-tX<sup>v</sup>  
 (168) go-they Der-Unr-move-foot-MP-they Prep-then  
 (168) They set out on foot then.

(169) ?aw ... ?ai-ta-sunx<sup>v</sup>-tX s-čkt-aw  
 (169) yes ... Prep-NProx-day-Dist Der-reach-they  
 (169) Yes...it was daylight when they reached the place

?ul-a-si-qlum-us-ck ai-tX<sup>v</sup>  
 Prep-Prox-Prep-climb-flat surface-InfDub Prep-then  
 to climb then.

(170) ?ay-uc-m-im slāXi-s<sup>23</sup> (171) slāXi-tum  
 (170) do-mouth-Tr-Pass slāXi-it (171) slāXi-CPass  
 (170) It was said that it was SlāXi. (171) The sniniq's

wa-mnta-s-k<sup>v</sup> ta-nanmk-tX u-łuk<sup>k</sup>  
 Prox-path-his-Quot NProx-animal-Dist Dir-high  
 path up [the mountain] is called SlāXi.

(172) ?ay-s-č ai-tX<sup>v</sup> way (173) Xim-s  
 (172) happen-it-Perf Prep-then alright (173) dawn-it  
 (172) It happened then alright. (173) It was daylight.

(174) łap-aw-tu-č s-ka-cik<sup>v</sup>-ai-m-aw u-łuk<sup>k</sup>  
 (174) go-they-Conf-Perf Der-Unr-move-foot-MP-they Dir-high  
 (174) They set off upward on foot on the mountain.

?ai-ta-smt-tX (175) čkt-aw ui-tX<sup>v</sup>  
 Prep-NProx-mountain-Dist (175) reach-they Prep-there  
 (175) They reached there.

(176) wix-k<sup>v</sup>-it-q<sup>v</sup>u-ka tX<sup>v</sup> 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 łax ... ta-nanmk-tX  
 front-MP-he that one ... NProx-animal-Dist  
 them.

(177) nu-sx<sup>v</sup>m-als-aq<sup>v</sup>s-timut-s-k<sup>v</sup>-q<sup>v</sup>u łax  
 (177) human-burn-side-eye-CRef1-he-Quot-Usit that one  
 (177) The sniniq made his eyelids flash like fire.

ta-sniniq-tX (178) ?ai-?ay-s-k<sup>v</sup>-q<sup>v</sup>  
 NProx-sniniq-Dist (178) Perf-happen-it-Quot-Usit  
 (178) It would happen to the person

x-ta-?ai-us-yul ta-łmsta-tX  
 Prep-NProx-Perf-Dir-rub NProx-person-Dist.  
 that it came over.

- (179) ?ulXanm-s-k<sup>w</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>u      taX      (180) nu-maw-k<sup>w</sup>-  
 (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-km-ii-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-aX<sup>w</sup>-?alacix<sup>w</sup>-s      (181) ?aiim-k<sup>w</sup>-it-q<sup>w</sup>u-k      taX  
 Der-Neg-happen to-it      (181) stand-Quot-Contr-Usit      that one  
 happen.      (181) He would stand there.

- ?ai-tX<sup>w</sup>      (182) ?ai-kx-s-č      ?ui-ta-?msta-tX<sup>w</sup>  
 Prep-there      (182) Perf-watch-he-Perf      Prep-NProx-person-Dist  
 (182) He watched the people.

- (183) lq-aylayx-aw-č      ac      s-ka-?ay-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

ai-ta-as-iX<sup>w</sup>-s      tu-sui-s      ta-nanmk-tX  
 Prep-NProx-be-top-its      NProx-house-his      NProx-animal-Dist  
 the animal's house.

- (184) ka-niX<sup>w</sup>-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) icui-it      ai-tX<sup>w</sup>      s-ki-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

- ?ai-ta-as-iX<sup>w</sup>-s      tu-sui-tX<sup>w</sup>      (186) sx<sup>w</sup>m-č  
 Prep-NProx-be-top-its      NProx-house-Dist      (186) burn-Perf  
 top of the house.      (186) It was

s-nu-tati-als-it      x-tX<sup>w</sup>  
 Der-human-throw Redp-inside-they/it Prep-then  
 burning as they threw it then.

- (187) ?aX-k<sup>w</sup>-i-lu-č-i-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-k<sup>w</sup>-ma-č      taX<sup>w</sup>  
 (188) human-Der-smoke-container-Unc-they-Quot-Dub-Perf      those ones  
 (188) They were suffocated.

(189) ?atm-naw ?ai-tX<sup>u</sup> ta-sniniq-tX n  
 (189) die-they Prep-then NProx-sniniq-Dist and  
 (189) The sniniq and his children died then.

tu-mamnc-s-tX<sup>u</sup> (190) ?ii-xnas-tū-ii  
 NProx-children Redp-his-Dist (190) NProx-woman-NContr-Dist  
 (190) And his wife, too.

(191) ?ai-?ay-naw ?ai-tX<sup>u</sup> s-tm-?aiii-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-us.  
 Prep-NProx-be-outside-long horizontal axis-flat surface  
 his house.

tu-sui-s-tX<sup>u</sup> (192) samnt-anī-s-ma-lu-ku  
 NProx-house-his-Dist (192) cement-covering-it-Dub-Expv-Surp  
 (192) It must have been made of

taX<sup>u</sup> (193) ?ay-naw c ?ai-tX<sup>u</sup> way  
 that one (193) do-they they Prep-then alright  
 cement. (193) What they did then alright was to

s-?ix-lq-m-aw al-a-ka-cka-tutit  
 Der-Distb-think-MP-they Prep-Prox-Unr-happen-Cthey/them  
 think what to do with them.

(194) wix-k<sup>u</sup>-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.

lqs-ai-i-tutim-k<sup>u</sup>-cn taX<sup>u</sup>  
 end-foot-Dim-CPass-Quot-Impf those ones

(195) ?istux-im-č tu-sniniq-i-tX<sup>u</sup>  
 (195) skin-Pass-Perf NProx-sniniq-Dim-Dist  
 (195) The little sniniqs were skinned.

(196) ti-lqs-ai-i-naw-č ?ai-tu-sqatxix<sup>u</sup>ak-aw-tX<sup>u</sup>  
 (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<sup>u</sup> (198) x<sup>u</sup>p-lXs  
 (197) do-they Prep-then (198) unhook-end  
 (197) They did it then. (198) It's the end.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>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 Rize 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.

<sup>2</sup>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).

<sup>3</sup>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.

<sup>4</sup>The ūc ~ yūc alternation is accounted for by a phonological rule that provides an epenthetic y following an unrounded vowel, i or a, before a vowel.

<sup>5</sup>Several morphemes (-nalst 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. sqī 'scratched on skin' and ?atm ['?atp] 'die', the n is present, e.g. sqīnaw and ?atmnaist. 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 → ∅ rule, thus simplifying the latter.

<sup>6</sup>The shape a for -naw 'they' is accounted for by two phonological rules. First, in certain morphemes n → ∅ / [-Syll] and second, w → ∅ /  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} +\text{Labial} \\ -\text{Glottalized} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ . That is, w's drop preceding labial consonants p and m, before labialized consonants k<sup>w</sup>, q<sup>w</sup>, x<sup>w</sup>, and χ<sup>w</sup>, and before u (cf. qa ~ qaw in sentence 150. Note that no glide y appears in this context.).

<sup>7</sup>The form wi is a variant of wix 'be them/there/then' apparently grammatically conditioned by a following ka Unrealized.

<sup>8</sup>Xi is a variant of ?āXi (cf. sentence 46). The phrase 'upriver' consists of a preposition ?ūi 'to', a plural proximal deictic prefix wa, and ?āXi. The fricative i alternates with l before w, and the latter is deleted following affricates and fricatives (cf., e.g. sentence 15). With the loss of ? (cf. note 15) the form ?ūlaāXi is produced. Speakers vary in the pronunciation of this form. The following have been recorded: [?ōlaXi], [?ōlXi], and [?ōl:Xi].

<sup>9</sup>The form qa alternates with qaw, e.g. sentence 15. Cf. note 6.

<sup>10</sup>The -s 'he/she/it' following t is frequently combined with the dental to form an affricate [c]; this varies with the sequence [tʰs] where the t is released and somewhat aspirated.

<sup>11</sup>The Contrastive Conjunctive Particle ?i...k is discontinuous. Here the Perfective particle č ~ či appears between its two portions.

<sup>12</sup>The word ?anuitnank is now generally unknown. McIlwraith (1948: 579, Vol. 2) records the following: "ānuitnānk: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one."

<sup>13</sup>The labialization of ?aX<sup>w</sup> is lost before a labialized, non-glottalized consonant.

<sup>14</sup>Sequences of two identical non-stops are capable of being reduced to a single one. Here ?ai-ik<sup>w</sup> → ?aik<sup>w</sup>. In sentence 18, -aw wa- → -awa-, etc.

<sup>15</sup>Morpheme initial glottal stops behave in different ways. Some, e.g. ?i...k and ?aX<sup>w</sup>, may glottalize a preceding stop and be lost as a separate segment. Here, k<sup>w</sup>-?i → k<sup>w</sup>i. But glottalization in this combination of morphemes, does not always occur. Cp. sentence 43. The Noncontrastive Conjunctive Particle, when followed by Negative ?aX<sup>w</sup>, i.e. ?ik-?aX<sup>w</sup>, is always ?ikaX<sup>w</sup>. 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.

<sup>16</sup>The Usitative q<sup>w</sup> varies freely with q<sup>w</sup>u. Cp. sentence 55 with 131. In this text q<sup>w</sup>u is the more frequent: 24 to 5. The Noncontrastive Conjunctive Particle ?i...k has two additional, variant shapes, ?it...k and ?it...ka, 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: ?it...k, 5 times and ?it...ka, 4 times.

<sup>17</sup>QamXam?ilaw is commented upon by McIlwraith (1948: 605 Vol. 2):



"qānxāmila, vocative, qāmāmilao: 1-Term used for the spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish.

2-Term used by snīniq to human beings, who are like salmon to them.

3-Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings."

Cf. also Boas 1898: 78.

<sup>18</sup>McIlwraith (1948: 592 Vol. 2) records "moxmoxitoi:kānda: Dentalium-shell earrings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion."

<sup>19</sup>The form si is here a prepositional copy of ?ai 'there' or ?ui 'to'. It occurs as well in sentence 122. Cf. Davis and Saunders 1973.

<sup>20</sup>The form nix- varies with ?inix- 'more/additional'. Cp. ?inix-pūXta 'more flour'.

<sup>21</sup>The form ḵakīt is singular; ḵaki-naw-it, the plural. Third person endings (not second person) mark exhortative expressions.

<sup>22</sup>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. ḵx-tis 'he sees them' and ti-?imlk ti-ḵx-tan-tx 'the man who sees them'. Cf. Davis and Saunders 1973.

<sup>23</sup>McIlwraith (1948: 614 Vol. 2) records: "sla-ki: White-water [Atnarko] River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola." Boas (1898: 49), in a list of villages in the Bella Coola valley, has "24. Slā'aXL On the Bella Coola River, above No. 23 [= "Snū' L'Elal On the Bella Coola River, above No. 22(=Stuix)"]". In Boas's transcription, an etymological relation between the name and -āXi '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."

## Abbreviations

Att	Attemptive	Inst	Instrument
C	Causative	Intr	Intransitivizer
CPass	Causative Passive	MP	Mediopassive
CRef1	Causative Reflexive	Mid	Middle
Conf	Confirmative	NContr	Noncontrastive Conjunctive
Cont	Continuative		Particle
Contr	Contrastive Conjunctive	NProx	Nonproximal
	Particle	Neg	Negative
DP	Distant Past	Part	Partitive
Der	Derivation	Perf	Perfective
Dim	Diminutive	Pers	Persistent
Dir	Direction	P1	Plural
Dist	Distal	Prep	Preposition
Distb	Distributive	Prox	Proximal
Dub	Dubitative	Quot	Quotative
Expb	Expectable	Redp	Reduplicated
Expv	Expectative	Refl	Reflexive
Impf	Imperfective	Sim	Simulative
Impv	Imperative	Surp	Surprise
Inch	Inchoative	Tr	Transitivizer
Incomp	Incompletive	Unc	Uncontrolled
Ind	Individuative	Unr	Unrealized
InfDub	Inferential Dubitative	Usit	Usitative

## Paradigms

## TRANSITIVE

Patient Agent		Sg			Pl		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
	1	---	cinu	ic	---	tuiap	tic
Sg	2	cx <sup>w</sup>	---	ix <sup>w</sup>	tuiX <sup>w</sup>	---	tix <sup>w</sup>
	3	cs	ct	is	tuis	tap	tis
	1	---	tuinu	ii	---	tuiap	ti
Pl	2	cap	---	ip	tuiP	---	tiP
	3	cant	ct	it	tuit	tap	tit

## TRANSITIVE-PASSIVE

	Sg	Pl
1	tinic	tinii
2	ct	tap
3	im	tim

## TRANSITIVE-IMPERATIVE

Patient Agent		Sg			Pl		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Sg	2	cX	---	tX	tuiX	---	tX
Pl	2	caX <sup>w</sup>	---	taX <sup>w</sup>	tuiX <sup>w</sup>	---	taX <sup>w</sup>

## INTRANSITIVE

	Sg	P1
1	c	ii
2	nu	nap
3	s ~ Ø	naw

## INTRANSITIVE-IMPERATIVE

	Sg	P1
2	X	naX <sup>v</sup>

## CAUSATIVE

Patient Agent		Sg			P1		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
	1	---	tuminu	tuc	---	tumuip	tutic
Sg	2	tumx <sup>v</sup>	---	tux <sup>v</sup>	tumuix <sup>v</sup>	---	tutix <sup>v</sup>
	3	tum	tumt	tus	tumuix	tutap	tutis
	1	---	tumuinu	tui	---	tumuip	tutii
P1	2	tumanp	---	tup	tumuip	---	tutip
	3	tumant	tumt	tut	tumuip	tutap	tutit

## CAUSATIVE-PASSIVE

	Sg	P1
1	tuminic	tumini
2	tumt	tutap
3	tum	tutum

## CAUSATIVE-IMPERATIVE

		Sg			P1		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Sg	2	tumX	---	tX <sup>v</sup>	tumuix	---	tutanX
P1	2	tumanX	---	taX <sup>v</sup>	tumuiaX <sup>v</sup>	---	tutanX

## DEIXIS

		Proximal		Middle		Distal	
		Demons	NDemons	Demons	NDemons	Demons	NDemons
Masc		ti--tayx	ti--tx	ta--taX	ta--i	ta--tix	ta--tX
Fem		ci--cayx	ci--cx	?ii--?il?ay	?ii--i	?ii--cix	?ii--?ii
P1		wa--?ac	wa--c	ta--taX <sup>v</sup>	ta--i	ta--taX	ta--tX <sup>v</sup>

Sample  
Glossary

- ani. Referential suffix. 'external covering'.  $\lambda$ a-yani  
'bear skin':  $\lambda$ a 'black bear'. iq-ani  
'wet clothes'. samnt-ani 'made of cement'.  
k<sup>v</sup>s-ani 'rough material'.
- cix<sup>v</sup>. 'what is it? [in answer to having one's name called]'.  
cix<sup>v</sup>-nu-ks 'what's the matter with you?':  
\*cix<sup>v</sup>-nu: -ks Individuative.  $\text{?al-a-cix}^v$ -nu  
'what happened to you?':  $\text{?ai-?al}$  Prep: a~wa  
Prox.  $\text{?alacix}^v$  'what happened?'
- $\text{?ip}$ . 'grasp'.  $\text{?ip}$ -is 'he grabs it'.  $\text{?ai-?ip}$  'it's taken'.  
 $\text{?ip}$ -us-is 'he grabs onto it'.  $\text{?ip}$ -us-m  
'he grabs':  $\text{?ai-?ip}$ -us-m 'he holds up his  
weight/hangs onto a float in water'.
- ik<sup>v</sup>. 'pick up'. ik<sup>v</sup>-is 'he picks it up'.  $\text{?a-ik}^v$ -m 'it's laced':  
\* $\text{?a-ik}^v$ :  $\text{?a-?ai}$  Perf: m MP. ik<sup>v</sup>-m-uc-is  
'he laces it up': uc 'edge/orifice'.  
ik<sup>v</sup>-m-uc-tis 'he causes him to be laced up/  
he laces him up'.
- nalst. Partitive. 'member of family/close group'.  $\text{?atm-nalst}$   
ta-X 'one(or more) of X's family died'.  
 $\text{?atm-nalst-aw wa-imlkuks-c}$  '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-inuin<sup>us</sup> [Prep-Prox-two Redp]  
'two of the/his/her family died'.  
 $\text{?atm-nalst-ii}$  'one or more of our family died'.  
\*staltmx-alst: staltmx 'chief'. \* $\lambda$ ap-alst:  
 $\lambda$ ap 'go'. \*ya-nalst: ya 'good'.
- Xi. 'look down'. Xi-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]'.
- $\tilde{u}i\tilde{i}$ . 'a little bit/slightly'. mus- $\tilde{u}i\tilde{i}$ -t-it 'they're touching it':  
mus-is 'he's feeling it': t Tr.  $\text{?ai-q}^v$ aca-  
y $\tilde{u}i\tilde{i}$  'it shakes slightly:  $\text{?ai-q}^v$ aca 'it  
shakes'.

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Preparing dried fish - a Bella Coola text

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Leiden

The following text was volunteered by Mrs. Margaret Siwallace 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 (c's = [c], s's = [s], s is morphologically /sʔs/) and elision (^wa = [w], ^ʔ = ø. ^ reads /ʔʔ/). 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:

p	p̣	m	ṃ	w	u
t	ṭ	n	ṇ		
o	ọ	s			a
	ʌ	ɬ	ɭ		
k	ḳ	x		y	i
ḳ	ḳ̣	x̣			
q	q̣	ṡ			
q̣	q̣̣	ṩ			
	ʔ	h			

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 (ṃ, ṇ, and ɭ) are pronounced with a preceding schwa. Stops bordering on ʔ are, unless elision takes place, phonetically glottalized, there being no opposition between ṡ, ṩ, and ṩ̣ (ṡ = plosive).