Contextualizing Cues In Haida Narrative

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Introduction

Verbal strategies and efforts to analyze them interpretively and sociolinguistically have been topics of a number of recent works (e.g., the two recent volumes written and edited respectively by Gumperz as part of a series of Studies in International Sociolinguistics (1982)). Underlying this work is a recognition that context and the language user's sociocultural presuppositions "play a key role in interpretive processes" (Gumperz, 1982:205). The idea is that in order to intend, we need to use our knowledge of the world. In conversation we need to both intend and comprehend. Our problem here, as Gumperz puts it, "is not simply one of making sense of a given chunk of discourse". Instead,

What is to be interpreted must first be created through interaction, before interpretation can begin, and to that end speakers must enlist others' cooperation and actively seek to create conversational involvement." (Gumperz, 1982:206)

Conversation is just one style of speaking, one type of discourse task. In a conversational mode there is turn-taking which allows for interactive checking for the speaker's intention. With narrative, where what is to be comprehended is first created by the narrator interacting with an audience, interpretation must enlist audience cooperation as well and actively seek to create what may be called 'narrative involvement'. This one—many speech style as opposed to the one—on conversational mode involves discourse strategies of a different form. In this mode, 'checking' for the speaker's intention is of a different sort. Research in recent years on narrative has tended to focus on structure (Hymes, 1981; Givon (ed.), 1983), or on the interpretation of content (as given impetus by the 'anthropologizing' of hermeneutics in works such as those of e.g., Ricoeur, 1981). The Hymes (1981) approach sees narrative structure in its sociocultural context, interpreting the text through linguistic, cultural and personal dimensions. In this paper we seek to isolate structural devices in Haida narrative that narrators use to involve the audience and enlist its cooperation. Our interest is in the way narrative structures the performance context rather than how it structures itself.

We are concerned with how narrators assist audiences in their comprehension task. In contrast, some studies have looked at how the audiences let the narrators know that they are being attended and with what effect. Eastman (1983) described certain exclamations in Swahili as pragmatic parts of speech used to keep a narrative going. Silverstein (1983) has looked at how narrators build the texts of their narrative using various discourse strategies. In our work with Haida, we have looked at oral folk narrative (e.g., the legend "qano qano" discussed in Edwards and Eastman, 1982), conversation (Edwards, 1983), and recently we have examined historical narrative, personal narrative, and biblical (translation) narrative. In each case the audience was composed of both of us and up to three native speakers of Haida. Certain common devices emerged that crosscut narrative in whatever form. These are what we will describe here as devices used by the narrator to insure audience comprehension of text structure. In our paper on conjunction in Haida (1982), we looked at how various grammatical devices and morphological particles link different clauses, phrases, and words. Here we will see that there are other conjunctions used above the sentence level that are involved in signalling to the audience where the narrator is in terms of sequencing of events or plot development. Such conventions when used in conversation are referred to by Gumperz (1982, Chapter 6) as contextualizing cues.

Audience Involvement Devices

When telling traditional stories, narrators make sure their audiences are clearly informed that the narrative is over. In formal story telling, narrators also see that audiences are informed that a legend or historical tale is about to begin. There are also different connectives used in narrative that link whole segments and relate them to each other. In our paper for this conference last year, we pointed out that, in the narrative being looked at there, lexical formatives entered into increasingly complex forms
as the narrative moved along. This is a form of what we mean here by audience involving on the part of the narrator such that, once the audience gets a sentence's meaning for example, the fun comes later in seeing what happens to the whole sentence as what it says is progressively referred to by shorter phrases and ultimately often single words. The audience is to listen for such transformations of sentences into single words, or for roots to have their referential meaning changed, or for roots to be combined in novel ways after first being used separately.

Striking to us, too, in a number of our texts, was the use of negative sentences or negated nominals prior to the formal closing and thanking elements of a narrative. Each narrative form we looked at from Swanton's Skidegate text (Swanton, 1911), to the stories recorded in the Alaska Native Language Haida Language Workshop project (e.g., Lawrence, 1975), to Bible stories, to traditional and personal narratives (when orally rendered) exhibited this feature.

Within the body of the narrative itself, narrators also employ certain devices to keep an audience attentive and on track with regard to how far along into the narrative they are. These contextualizing devices, then, range from using the same roots over and over again, word building sequentially throughout the narrative, employing narrative segment connectives in a certain pattern, to syntactically signalling the approach of the narrative's close by using e.g., negative constructions not used previously in the story. This change in usual sentence pattern in a narrative's final segment is a kind of jolt to lulled listeners to get them to pay heed to the summation part of the narrative just prior to its formulaic close. Such cues to an audience ensure that its members are given as good a chance as possible of following a narrative without the benefit of being able to take turns, interrupt, or ask questions as it progresses. The devices allow them to periodically 'check' that they are comprehending yet do not make it incumbent on them to help the narrator along with devices of their own such as exclamatory verbal cues.

In the remainder of this paper we will look at each such device in turn. We will be drawing for the most part from each type of narrative for which we have data. Our examples will be gleaned then from:

1. personal narrative: e.g., "The Scaredest I've Ever Been in My Life" and "The First Kill" - childhood reminiscences and memories of 'the old days' respectively - told to us in Haida by Lillian Pettviel.

2. traditional narrative: e.g., "qaaq qaaq" the legend discussed in Edwards and Eastman (1982) told to us by Lillian Pettviel in Haida and also told to us in English by David Peiel.

3. historical narrative: a retelling in Kaigani Haida of the Skidegate story at the end of Swanton's (1911) Haida Grammar: "The Spanish Story" from a collection of Haida historical legends in English put together by Erma Lawrence (1975) and told to us in Kaigani Haida by Lil Pettviel (1984). We also draw on the other historical legends in the Lawrence collection and make some reference to the abstracts of Haida (Kaigani) texts gathered in English by Swanton (1905).

4. biblical narrative: e.g., a Haida translation of Psalm 46 from the Revised Standard version of the Bible.

We hope to show here that the narrative devices described are common to oral narrative in Haida and that they are also often evidenced in transcribed texts as well - sometimes even hinted at in some Haida narratives told in English or gathered and written only in English.

Narrative Openings and Closings

Perhaps the clearest contextualizing cues are words and phrases or sentences used to open and close traditional narratives whether legendary or historical. They may also be used in personal narratives told as stories about one's childhood or the old days. These are formal devices that, as such, do not usually occur in narratives embedded in conversation. They are also missing from our examples of biblical narrative (translated from English) and from stories collected in English (e.g., Swanton, 1905; Lawrence, 1975). When such non-traditional English narratives are translated into Haida, there is an ambiguity manifested with regard to beginnings and endings. This will be seen below when these forms of narrative are discussed in connection with how they are structured in the telling. The formulaic openings and closings set up a frame in which the narrative takes place and block out a period when other people (i.e., the audience) are to be quiet and listen. The opening phrase most often used is awaahl or awaahl Gaol, translated generally as 'a long time ago' or 'once upon a time'. Lawrence (1977:157) glosses these openers as 'long ago' and 'long long ago' respectively. Our experience is that they may be used interchangeably and that there is no distinction such that one is used for events further in the past than another. Traditional narratives end formulaically with a sentence roughly of the form:
The Skidegate text at the end of Swanton’s grammar in Boas’ Handbook of American Indian Languages (1911) referred to by Swanton as “A Raid on the Bella Coola by the People of Ninstints and Kaisun” (1911:277ff) ends with:

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Hao Lan a’sgai at gialgal‘ndAgai ge’d a
here end this of the story comes to an
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Once it is retranslated, this actually conforms almost exactly to the formulaic ending we have found to be ‘the rule’ in Kaigani, i.e.,

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Hao Lan a’sgai at gialgal‘ndAgai ge’d a
this never from then to the story state
There’s no more of the story.
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When Swanton’s script is adapted to the current orthography, the ending in Kaigani Haida becomes:

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aa tlaan esaay aa gyaehlingaay Giidaang
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essentially the very ending noted above as the ‘usual’ formula for a narrative close.

In our Haida rendering of Psalm 46 (Revised Standard Version), an ending is added to the biblical one. After "...the God of Jacob is our refuge" comes:

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aa tlaan gyaehlingaay Giidaang
this never story the state
At this the story ended.
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haw’aa diang ahl kil laagan
thank you you self+I talk good
Thank you, I myself spoke well to you.
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This is said to be a "real Indian" ending. In keeping with the religious tone of the piece the ending is extended with

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aan ilIlaaagdaas xiiit aehl stangay
God us with two the
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hans guu dii guudangan
also topic I pray
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iitlaagdaas xiitl aehl stang
God us with two the
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I pray also that God is one with us.
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Note the use of stang + gaay (two + definite) to convey the idea of one. This also occurs in the ‘title’ given Psalm 46, i.e., ‘God is with us’ rendered as saan ilIlaaagdaas xiiit aehl stang, literally ‘God with us is two’ said to mean ‘We become one’. Once the extra ending formula is used, there are then two more haw’aa, haw’aa utterances for ‘thank you, thank you’.

Narrative-specific lexical manipulation

One practice that seems common in Haida narrative is to keep the number of actual lexemes to a minimum while effecting nuances of meaning by means of grammatical particles with certain pragmatic and syntactic functions. Looking solely at traditional narrative in our paper for this conference last year (Edwards & Eastman, 1983), we observed there to be a creative verb forming feature—a kind of narrative virtuosity whereby verbs are built from nouns that were key in the story. For example, the raven had been attacking the people’s fish with his claws (sa), then we see him as he would be claw-ruining the fish (xadaGangii..!), and he would get in the habit of claw-ruining them, xadaGangii jiiigaangaan, he would claw-shred them (xajaGangii) and claw-ruin them again. As the narrative moved along, the constructions in which ‘claw’ (sa) appeared were more and more complex and novel. In that same story, this device was also used in character development: we are first introduced sententially to a key person in the story, one who understood raven language (nang sGwaansang uu yaahl kil an i unsidaang ‘there’s one, he understands raven language.’). This character is a person able to figure out why the ravens are causing such trouble with the people’s fish. Then, as that person is referred to again and again, each new mention is a condensation of that sentence through a process of progressive nominalization. The next mention is-

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nang sGwaansang yaahl kil an i unsidaang - ‘there’s one, he understands raven language.’
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The raven language understanding one it is

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Of raven language, the knower it
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The one who knows raven language
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and finally, yaahl kil an i unsits
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The one who knows raven language

```
and finally, yaahl kil an i unsits
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The raven language knower.
In the story, lexical repetition also involves the root *k’aadangaa* 'amazing', the root *gii?* 'wait for', and the root *gii* 'fly'. These examples are discussed more fully in Edwards and Eastman (1985).

In the Haida version of Psalm 46, even though a set text, we see this same phenomenon in the use of the root *stang* two mentioned above as it occurred at the close of the narrative. The Psalm is referred to in English as 'God is with us' literally rendered in Haida as 'God with us equals two'. Later, where the English is 'The Lord Almighty is with us': the form is *stangada* i.e., 'two' is inflected as a verb. This is carried over in a nominal phrase----saan *itlaagdada* vilill *aelh* *stanga* 'The God-with-us pair or two', i.e., the union of God and us. Also in Psalm 46, the roots again 'save' and *hilaak* 'fear' are used over and over again, e.g.,

It is through God we are saved.

The God of Jacob is with us.

It is interesting that here we may have expected *stang* 'two' again but that was used just previously in 'The Lord Almighty is with us' since the English uses '...is with us'. Later the English essentially repeats the two phrases but when we get 'The God of Jacob is our refuge' this second time it occurs in Haida as:

It is through God we are saved.

With Jacob’s father it is that we are saved.

In the short personal narrative 'The Scaredest I’ve Ever Been in My Life', lexical manipulation involves primarily *skaa* 'berry' and also *hilaak* again. *Skaa* occurs as a verbal noun in *skaadanga* 'berry picking' e.g.,

Everyone topic berry goes always picking

Everyone was always going berry picking.

It also occurs as a definite noun, e.g.,

*skaan* *kwaangiini* berries the many always were

The berries used to be many.

Inflected as a verb², e.g.,

*tlaang* *skaadanginaa* we berry picking went

We went berry picking.

*tlaang* *skaadanginaa* diwu...berry picking when
did...when we went berry picking...

and again as a verbal noun, e.g.,

*dil* *skaadang* *kwaangiini* berry good always picking was

I used to be good at berry-picking.

As we saw with the raven story and the root *xaaw* 'claw', *skaa* 'berry' in this narrative entered progressively more complex constructions. We even get the verb form *skaadaangaa* 'berry-picking any old way'. *Hilaak* also occurs in the 'Scared' story as e.g.,

*I was always afraid* (fearing any old way)

In our Kaigani version of Swanton’s Skidegate story, lexical manipulation of *xaaw* 'blow' runs throughout - again a lexical particle not obviously necessary given the content of the story. In the first instance it is used to render '...they entered Bentinck arm' which occurs as:

*...tilu Bentinck kaaw* *ili* *nuu* *kwaangiini*

canoes Bentinck Bay into blew go did...
canoes blew (sailed) into Bentinck Arm.
Next it occurs with the incipient verb form -iid- in "...they (people) started out' i.e.,
"aage kuwstidaan.
They blow go began did and then in '...they started from Point-Djiidaao'
uuguven Djiidaao kuwst uu 1 kuwstidaan and Djiidaao point it they blow go
from is began did
Next the sentential usage of wu plus ist developed to this point is nominalized to refer to 'some people who
were coming along under sail' as wu wu istaalgaav.
the ones blow go-ers the the sailing people For 'after they had travelled two more nights,' we get Gahi stang i wu gaa guu keaoduu
night two they blow walk it while
is
While it was (that) two nights they travelled
Here we get 'blow' + 'walk' for 'travel' in contrast to what we had above i.e., 'blow' + 'go' for 'sail' (cf. Lawrence 1977:448 "'sail: xukaa". In our orthography here it would be xuuuga.

Narrative Event Connectives

An additional type of contextualizing cue used to keep
audiences involved in Haida narrative may be seen in the way
connectives are used. In an earlier paper, (Eastman and
Edwards 1982), we described various conjunctions in Kaigani
Haida from the point of view of their function within
sentences and between words. There are also conjunctions
operating above the sentence level that link bits of
narrative to each other in a kind of sequencing strategy.
Different narratives may use different ones but any
narrative will use some conjunctions within sentences and
others to link narrative segments which consist of several
sentences.
In "The First Kill" the structure is based on using waadluu 'then' to introduce the first segment of the story
and link it to the introductory formula and initial event.
line statement. The body of the story is contained between
waadluu and the appearance of esgaay 'and then' a
conjunction that introduces the closing statement...this is
the way they honored him for his deed; to him they gave
the day' is how they refer to it". Then comes the formulaic
ending (my story is done, thank you, thank you). The main
text or body is related between waadluu and esgaay by
sentences linked by dilu 'when' or keaoduu 'while'.
In "qada qaga", the longer traditional story (as
described in Edwards and Eastman, 1983), esgaay is the
connective starting the main narrative with waadluu
introducing each event after that except for the very final
segment which begins with waadlaa 'after that it is...'.
With the main segments signalled by waadluu, various
sentential connectives such as gyaanaan 'and', hayaan 'while
still', and keaoduu 'then' are used event internally linking
subsections of the story much as dilu and keaoduu did in "The First Kill".

waadluu and waadlaa have slightly different
connotations. waadluu occurs between descriptions of two
contiguous events while waadlaa disconnects the sequent from
the precedent, e.g., They went to Carta Bay and then
(waadluu) they heard something in the woods. They left
Carta Bay and after that (waadlaa) they found out what the
noise had been.' So when waadluu occurs at points within
the story it's function is to indicate yet another event in
a sequence but waadlaa brings the audience out of the story
to today's consequences. Both waadluu and esgaay occur
frequently in all of the narratives we looked at as sentential
markers. In "The Scaredest I've ever Been In My Life", waadluu begins the main event and esgaay never signals the
beginning of the close. The esgaay 'from then' section of a
narrative generally is intended to convey content on the
order of "ever since then I no longer do y x ravens no longer
do y" etc.
Both waadlaa and esgaay may occur in non-narrative
contexts. That is, they are not restricted to functioning as
indicators of narrative structure. In conversational
usage esgaay connects facts and may be glossed 'for this
reason'. This is similar to the use of gyaanaan in non-
narrative discourse. Where gyaanaan links two clauses and
in so doing reverses the sense of the first (see Eastman and
Edwards, 1982), esgaay links clauses such that the second
refirms the first e.g.,
laam tiawunh sluunaan uu tnilgaa
drink six only it I drank
is gyaanaan (uu) tlijGuusdaan gin kixingaa
and unexpectedly
aak-ayuukhi tnilgaa
I see
I only drank six drinks and unexpectedly already I am seeing monsters.

A comparable construction using **esgaayst** is

\[ \text{taanaayk an hi sukwetaisgan} \]

bears self die

\[ \text{esgaayst hanu laan dji gaa bilaak gii} \]

from then once bears I afraid always

I (thought I would) die of fear of the bears. From then on I was scared of bears forever.

The audience knows that when **waadluu** and **esgaayst** are used major events are being segmented. Even the Psalm recast narratively begins with **waadluu** narrowing the focus to God our shelter and strength being ready to help us in times of trouble. The most frequent internal connective used in the Haida version of Psalm 46 is **duwaanu** 'even if' with *uugyaan* 'and' common as well. There is no final event marked in the Psalm by a connective shift, i.e., we get no **waadluu uw** or **esgaayst**. This may be indicative of narrator uncertainty as to whether it is a narrative or really geared for translation to Haida narrative form. This unnaturalness of translating the Psalm is reinforced by the 'extra' ending added after the formulaic narrative one. It is as if the narrator knows something is wrong and then fixes it up with the post-thankyou extra prayer given as a blessing - effectively changing the Psalm into a prayer after it has been 'told' as a narrative.

In narrative embedded in conversation, once the topic is presented the story line is begun and kept going with the connective **waadluu**. In our version of Swanton's Skidegate story (retold in Kaigani Haida), the events are linked by *uugyaan* 'and'. Events that follow *uugyaan* comprise the main body of the story of the raid. The final segment of the narrative is introduced by **waagyaan** and gives us the consequences of the chain of events. *uugyaan* serves as an information introducing particle prefixed to *gyaan* 'and'. **wa** is a complete particle. (cf. Haida Dictionary 1977,p.392 - **wa** 'there, that, it'; **uug** 'introductory particle').

From Swanton's (1905) English texts, many of which are just abstracts of narratives told to him in English, we cannot discern structure via connectives because of the tendency not to make such distinctions in English and because Swanton was getting only the gist of the stories and not the essence of their performance. In these English-Haida stories it appears that the connectives have been randomly normalized to 'and' and 'then'.

Final Segment Structure

In each of the narratives we looked at, noticeable changes in syntactic pattern took place within the last segment (i.e., that initiated by a switch to **esgaayst** or **waadluu**. In "gaa gaa", the final segment beginning with **waadluu** contains the only negative verb form used in the whole story and the narrator steps outside the story to assert that what has just been said is true. "The Spanish Story", given in English by Erma Lawrence (1975) and told in Haida by Lily Pettis (1984), also uses negative verb forms only at the end saying that once the Spanish left the area taking some Haida children with them "...the Haidas never saw them again. These Spanish people never reported what they did with the four Haida children. No report ever came back." As with "gaa gaa" here too in the final segment, the content is less story than direct talk to the audience i.e., in both cases the audience is being told that they are expected to believe what they've heard. Here, just because we have no report does not mean that the Spanish people did not take some Haida children away with them. Lack of evidence does not mean that the event did not happen.

In the Skidegate story, as told in Kaigani, the narrative ends with a negative NP form, 

\[ \text{gaa ti' taanaan an tlaaGhihidaa gyaan u}\]

what they went for completing and unexpectedly

\[ \text{uugyaan ti' bidaaqar gaa as ti' tlaaGhihidaa} \]

back they arrived not it they completed

\[ \text{tlaa Gjiindaa diyu country far when} \]

in "That which they went to complete is what they unexpectedly arrived back not having completed it while (they were) far off."

That is, the people who went on the raid failed when away to successfully conduct the raid and had to return NOT having met their goal.

Conclusion

In some sense what we have been discussing in these pages is a form of language use above both the word and sentence level akin to what Grice has called implicature. That is, these linguistic devices represent "assumptions over and above the meaning of the sentence used which the speaker..."
knows and intends that the hearer will make...in order to
interpret the speaker's sentence" (Kempson 1975:143). What Gumperz (1982, Chapter 6) has called "contextualizing
cues", also with reference to conversation, appear to be of
such a nature as well. Here we have looked at how narrators
express assumptions about sequence and consequence for
audience interpretation when the form of language use is
narrative discourse rather than conversation. In Haida,
based on this rather cursory look at a range of narrative
forms, it appears that narrators utilize contextualizing
cues to aid the audience's ability to interpret a story be
it personal, traditional, embedded in conversation, or
adapted from another medium (such as the Bible, Swanton's
texts, English renderings of Haida stories etc.). Psalm 46
did not begin with the usual traditional narrative opener,
yet it did have connected segments translated as sequential
episodes and the narrator used lexical manipulation and a
formulaic ending. The final segment, however, did not come
to any summation or manifest a change in cadence. Despite
its narrative aspects, Psalm 46 did not come out "right" as
a traditional story. There was no final "from then..."
segment. As Gumperz (1982:150-151) noted,

"Miscommunication caused by contextualizing
conventions reflects phenomena that are typically
sociolinguistic, in the sense that their
interpretive weight is much greater than their
linguistic import...Whenever they occur, they have
the effect of retrospectively changing the
character of what has gone before and of reshaping
the entire course of an interaction."

In Psalm 46 confusion came when the content did not
lend itself to a final segment with the result that the
Psalm was retrospectively changed from a Psalm to a prayer.
When we tried working from English translations of e.g.,
"The Spanish Story", Psalm 46, or Swanton's Skidegate text,
we discovered that contextualizing cues that would have been
there had the narrative been told in Haida were missing and
speakers doing the translating from English to Haida became
as Gumperz predicted (p.157) "Aware of vague difficulties in
communication" which they did not think of as
"...difficulties that may have linguistic causes".

When a story is being told in Haida, the teller will
1. use an opening formula, particularly if the narrative is
   traditional/historical
2. use some form of lexical manipulation, e.g., build
   single words gradually by transforming sentences employed at
   the outset or use the same particles literally at first and
   metaphorically later
3. begin the main story line with a connective, repeatedly
   mark new segments (when a story has many events in it) with
   it until coming to the final segment which is introduced by
   a different connective (of a summarizing nature)
4. use negative forms or asides or somehow otherwise change
cadence in the final segment as a signal that the story is
   over and the summary is being made.
5. use a formulaic ending followed by 'thank you', said
twice.

Some of the contextualizing cues used by story tellers
structure sequences in a way similar to "and then...and
then..." in English oral narratives. Others operate in such
a way that, within a segment a particle, word, or
sentence may later be used only metaphorically or in an
altered form (as e.g., "the raven language knower") the
summarizing connective (e.g., esqaayst, waadaa or waagyaen)
signalling the final segment gives the audience a chance to
find out what the consequences of the narrative might have
been. Here the audience is given information in a novel
form alerting it to prepare for the end and to respond to the
narrator's thanks with that of its own.

What we have described in these pages is what struck us
as quite obvious once we began to look at the range of
examples of narrative that we had collected. Next we hope
to take a more in depth look at narrative internal structure
and begin to examine in detail how metaphor plays a part in
Haida expressive culture. What interested us here was what
we found to be a surprising similarity of narrator devices
consistent across narrators and narrative forms.

We did not expect to find out that different narrative
forms have such similar structures. Granted that a negative
verb form in a narrative concluding statement indicates that
a narrative is about to close we do not find any need to
make an exception here in ours so,

aad tlaan, wyaeslingaat, xitiyova Sidang
this never story the our state
Our story has ended.

Haw'aa haw'aa
Thank you, thank you.
Sources


Notes

1. We wish to acknowledge the assistance of the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society for funds to carry out this research and to express our gratitude to our primary language consultant, Lil Pettviel, whose personal interest in the preservation of Haida language and texts has greatly enhanced our efforts.

2. The verbs skaadangqaan and skaadanggaanqaan consist of the following parts: skaa- stem, dang aspect, jing- manner, gaan narrative tense; and skaa- stem, dang aspect, caan narrative tense marker, jing, manner (focused), (g)an aspect.
Contextualizing Cues in Haida Narrative

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1. awAAhl, awAAhl GagwII
   long ago

2. AAo tlaan gyaehlingAAy dIIngaa GIIdang
   'There's no more to my story'

3. haw'aa, haw'aa
   'thank you, thank you'

4. haw'aa, dlang an h1 kil 1AAgan
   'thank you, I myself spoke well to you'

5. nang sGwAAnsang uu yAAhl kII an 1 Unsidaang
   'there's one, he understands raven language'

6. nang sGwAAnsang yAAhl kII an Unsidaan uu
   'The raven language understanding one it is'

7. yAAhl kII an nang Unsits uu
   'of raven language, the knower it is'

8. nang yAAhl kII an 1 Unsits
   'the one who knows raven language'

9. nang yAAhl kII an Unsits
   'the raven language knower'

10. sAAn iitlaakdAAs uu GIItl' ga stAng
    'God is with us.'

11. GIItl' aehl stAng
    'make us (two in) one'

12. sAAn iitlaakdAAs kwiiAAs GIItl' aehl stAnggang
    'God Almighty is with us'

13. sAAn iitlaakdAAs GIItl' aehl stAng-aay
    'the God with us two or pair'

14. wAAdluuu sang GIdaas nang Iihlingaa sAAwaan
    'and so on a certain day a man said'

15. esgAAyst hAnuu tAAan dii ga h1GwAAsk gii
    'From then on I was scared of bears forever.'
16. wAAdlaa uu tlAAn yAAhl...
   "after that there were no more ravens"

17. dii AAO daa xUUjuus dluu
   "when my mother’s brother was small"

18. xitIIIt xuujUU "bow n arrow" aelh 1 tiiyAAyaan
    "he killed a small bird with a bow and arrow."

19. gam waast jLIngaanggaang daanuu
    "not long after that"

20. yAAlaay tl’ wAAdluaan uu xitlAA’iidAAAn
    "the ravens all started flying in."

21. GAndlaayk gii-tlagAn kaOduu
    "After floating in the water for a long time..."

22. gin tl’ tAAnaan an tlaGIhldaa gyaenaan uu
    "what things they went to do and unexpectedly"

23. sihlgAAaN tl’ xiditlAA gam aa tl’ tlaGIhldan
    "they arrived back not having done it"

24. uugyaen k’wajuuwAAAs yILdang duwaanuu
    "and even if the hills are shaking"

25. hayAAAnuu gam iitl’ hlwAAkansaan
    "still we will not be afraid"

26. wAAdlaa uu tlAAn yAAhl isgyaan xaatgAAy gwaa an
    GAAyhlItga’anggaang
    "after that there were never any more ravens and the people
didn’t fight among themselves anymore."