From the Nisgha speaker's point of view:
the evidential postclitics

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To be a good speaker of Nisgha is more than simply to control the grammatical skeleton of the language.[1] This skeleton is necessary, but not sufficient: as the sole means of expression it would result in correct but lifeless, disembodied language. The fluent and idiomatic use of Nisgha also requires the judicious use of optional postclitics which enable the speaker to add a personal touch to what he says: to emphasize his role as conversational partner, narrator or relator, and to make clear to others in what manner his words are to be taken.

Because these postclitics are optional, and have a mostly pragmatic function, having to do, in varying proportions, with the context ot the speech event as well as with the speech event itself and the actual events it refers to, they are much more elusive for the analyst than the obligatory structures of the grammar.[2] Translation into Nisgha usually leaves them out altogether, while translation from Nisgha of sentences containing some of the postclitics is often very difficult and inadequate. Nevertheless the postclitics can be divided into five pairs on the basis of their meaning and syntactic use. The chart on p. 14 summarizes the relations between the pairs.

1. The speaker's relation to the utterance.
1.1. Conversational status of the utterance. Whether a sentence is declarative or interrogative is not a purely formal grammatical matter. Under normal circumstances, a question is a request for a reply from another person. A declarative sentence may have various pragmatic meanings depending on the context of utterance.

Two postclitics are characteristic of normal conversational exchange. The interrogative postclitic -a indicates the attitude: 'Tell me whether it's true that..' while the interactive postclitic -is(t) indicates 'I am talking to you and I mean what I say'.[3] These postclitics normally occur at the end of the sentence, and may be followed only by a term of address.

1.1.1. The interrogative postclitic -a (-ya after vowel). A yes/no question ends in the interrogative postclitic -a. Such a question may be in the form of an independent declarative sentence:

| Siipkw ñiina?[4] | Were you sick? |
| sick   you- a | |

| Wayinhl andidaalaẏa? | Did you find my wallet? |
| you find   my wallet - a | |

or, more politely, of a negative sentence:

| Nihl siipgwina? | You weren't sick, by |
| not   sick-you- a | any chance? |

| Ni mi Wahl andidaalaẏa? | You wouldn't have |
| not you find my wallet- a | found my wallet? |

In either/or questions, -a occurs only at the end of the first clause:

| Hlgu gathl hlgu beebiiya, | Is the baby a boy |
| little man little baby - a | |

oo ligii hlgu hanak'?	or a girl?
or for in- little woman	
stance	

1.1.2. The interactive postclitic -is(t)[5] (-yis(t) after vowel, -as(t) after uvular, -s(t) after glottal stop) (use of final t is older, more formal). A declarative sentence, or a question beginning with a question word, is grammatically complete without -is(t), but the exclusive use of such sentences in conversation would mark a speaker as extremely abrupt if not downright rude. It seems to have a pragmatic function similar to that of English well, why, so, sure, the main function of which is to assert the interest of the speaker in participating in the conversation.

This postclitic is especially typical of short, single word answers to questions, which would sound like incomplete sentences if not rounded out by -is(t):

| Naa tgusdi? -- Maryis. | Who's that? |
| who   that-Q   -is(t) | -- Why, it's Mary! |

Ñiin tguni? -- Nii, hlgiigwiẏis.	Is this you [in the
you this-Q no my sister - is(t)	picture]?
	-- No, it's my sister.

| Luumaanhl kofiiya? -- Luumaanis! | Is there any coffee |
| in-left   coffee- a   in-left - is(t) | left? -- Sure! |

A common exchange is this pair of comments:

Ñida?　——　Ñidis!　　　　　　　Is that so? —— Yes it is!
that's - a　　that's - is(t)

This postclitic can also be used when initiating a conversation,
often at the end of questions beginning with a question word:

Aguhl jijabinis?　　　　　　　What are you doing?
what　you are doing - is(t)
Aguhl dim dii giigwinist? (195.15-196.1)[6] What do you want
what　FUT intensive you buy - is(t)　　　　to buy?

Such questions without the postclitic are correct and do occur, but
they sound definitely more neutral, colder.　A bureaucratic interview
conducted in Nisgha would probably omit -is(t).
Requests and suggestions also often end in -ist:

Ji ṁalinhl k'udats'inis!　　　　[You should] button
IRREALIS you button your coat - is(t)　　your coat!

Sim simihl lagwist! (130.8-9)　　[All of you] light
you (pl) kindle firewood - is(t)　　the fire!

In one of the Boas stories, the hero, Txeemsim, the Trickster, comes
to a river where people are fishing on the other side; he shouts to

Sim jagammagahl k'eegwihl anwinsiṁist looẏ![7] [please] put one
you (pl) put ashore one　what you've got　ashore for me!
　　　　　　(fish)　　　　-is(t)　for me　(16.3-4)

After asking the same thing twice in this friendly tone, Txeemsim
resorts to threats--without the postclitic.
It is also added to all sorts of comments and spontaneous
utterances, as in

Ts'axw ñiinis!　　　　　　　You're really something!
considerable you - is(t)

Hlaa xsdaanist, wagiẏ Logabuulaa!　You've won, brother
now　you win - is(t)　　(20.13)　　Logabuulaa!

The speaker's interest in the conversation is not always friendly:

Agu ma gan haksiẏist? (118.2)　　Why do you call me names?
what you reason call me names - is(t)

1.2. The speaker's stake in the information conveyed. Two pairs
of postclitics come under his heading.　The pair -a'a/-(i)ma'a con-
veys the speaker's personal opinion of the reliability of his in-
formation.　The pair -sin/-gat conveys the message that the utter-
ance is not necessarily reliable.　Within each pair there is again
a dichotomy between personal and neutral information.　Except for
-sin, these postclitics are suffixed to the first contentive word
or phrase of the sentence, which may be the predicate, the auxiliary
or negative verb if present, or a topicalized element such as a
question word.

1.2.1. The speaker claims some truth value for the utterance.
Both postclitics in the pair -(i)ma'a/-a'a convey the speaker's
opinion that what he says is true.　However, -(i)ma'a indicates a
truth value based on inference, and therefore subject to confirm-
ation, while -a'a indicates that the speaker is absolutely sure of
the fact, usually because he has verified it himself.[8]

1.2.1.1. The probabilitive postclitic -(i)ma'a (present-day usual-
ly -ima'a, -yima'a after vowel; Boas usually -ma'a).　The use of
this postclitic in a declarative sentence means that the speaker
thinks that what he says is probably true on the basis of what he
knows or can infer, but does not want to commit himself as he could
be proved wrong:

Ga'ahl wil t'uuts'kwhl laxha anuu geets',　Look how dark the sky
see　that black　sky　towards　　　is down the valley,
　(conj)　　　　　　　downriver

yugwima'ahl haywis Gitxat'in.　　it's probably raining
AUX - ima'a rain　Greenville　　in Greenville.

Ga'ahl maxmak'ay,　　　　　　Look at the rainbow,
see　rainbow

dim amaalaxhayima'a ji t'aahlakw.　it will probably be
FUT　nice weather- IRR tomorrow　a nice day tomorrow.
　　-ima'a

Dim naksgwidima'as Peter t Susan.　Peter is probably
FUT　he will marry-
　　-ima'a　　　　　　　　　going to marry Susan.

Gitwinksihlgwima'a dim wil jokdiit.　They will probably
Canyon City -　FUT where they live　live in Canyon City.
　　-ima'a

In one story, Txeemsim, who is continually hungry, notices people fishing for halibut and thinks:

Hildima'ahl ḣaxs dip gusdi	Those people probably
many-ima'a bait those	have lots of bait

a ni dim gipt! (50.14)	that I can eat!
(goal) I FUT eat it	

In another story a Grizzly bear woman is living in a village with her human husband; one day in the spring she says:

Hlaa ṁukwdima'ahl hli wil wiliɣ!(206.6-7) The berries are	
now it's ripe- the where I am	probably ripe now
-ima'a	where I come from!

As this postclitic does not commit the speaker, it is especially useful in situations requiring diplomatic restraint. In another story, a chief's son has been abandoned years before; one day the father decides to send for him, but the son refuses to have anything to do with the family that abandoned him and instructs the messenger to say he is dead. When the chief asks for news of his son, the messenger can reply without disloyalty to either father or son:

Hlaa ḣakwhl daa ḣuẁtma'a.(182.8)	He's been dead a long
now long since he died - (i)ma'a	time, probably.

It is polite to use this postclitic when asking a question, since in doing so the speaker is only talking about himself and does not imply that he requires an answer; Nisgha people usually use 'I wonder' as the English equivalent of -ima'a in a question:

Naayima'a dip gusdi?	Who are those people,
who - ima'a those-Q	I wonder?

The addressee may be wondering the same thing, and reply

Naayima'a.	I wonder [who they are].
who - ima'a	

For the same reason, -ima'a is used in polite requests:

Aamima'ahl dim jaɡamaxgwiɣ loosiṁa?	Would it be all right
good - FUT I ride across with you	if I got a ride across
-ima'a (pl) - a	with you?

1.2.1.2. The assertive postclitic -a'a. The postclitic -a'a on the other hand indicates that the speaker can vouch for the truth of the utterance, even against his own or others' expectations. For instance, you may think that you locked your car, but in fact:

K̲'anno'a'ahl pdo'on!	Your door is unlocked!
ajar- a'a your door	(I bet you didn't know)

It does not usually snow in May, but I just looked out the window:

Yugwa'ahl maadim!	It's actually snowing!
AUX - a'a snowfall	(believe it or not)

The voice on the phone sounds familiar, but turns out to belong to someone else:

Haḣiigoodiɣhl Oscarhl heheet,	I thought it was Oscar
my thought speaking	speaking,

ahl k'ii Huberta'a!	but it was actually
but -a'a	Hubert!

Some people may be afraid of an eclipse (ḣuẁhl hlok̲s, 'the sun dies') but:

Niiya'ahl dim k̲'ap ḣuẁhl hlok̲s	I can assure you that
no - (y)a'a for die sun	the sun is not really
FUT sure	going to die

In one story from Boas, a toddler (who is actually Txeemsim, the Trickster) cannot make himself understood; he obviously wants something, but no one can tell what he is whining about; finally someone makes the right guess:

"Ṁaxa'a" anheetsa! (22.3)	"Light", that's what
light - a'a what he means- sa	he obviously means!
(old word) PROXIMAL	

This postclitic may be combined with the interactive postclitic -is(t) (1.1.2), as in the following examples: Baby Txeemsim is given the ball of light to play with and finally runs aways with it as he intended to do all along; but others ignorant of his true identity are surprised:

Ksidibaayis Txeemsimhl ṁaxa'ast! (23.3)	Would you believe that
ran out with light- a'a - is(t)	Txeemsim actually ran
	out with the light!

After many adventures, T̲xeemsim, now grown, arrives at the oolichan chief's house and declares that he has caught oolichans, even though oolichan season is six months away; no one believes him, but some curious youths go investigate and report:

    Simuda'ast! (29.13)   He's really telling the
    he's correct – a'a – is(t)   truth!

1.2.1.3. Like -a and -is(t) (1.1.), -(i)ma'a and -a'a can be contrasted in conversational exchange:

    Ñidima'a!   It's probably so!
    that's – ima'a

    Ñida'a!   It is so too!

1.2.2. **The speaker does not claim any truth value for the utterance**. The pair -gat/-sin is probably less of a true pair than the other pairs of postclitics. Syntactically, -sin does not have the same distribution as the other postclitics in this section. Yet -sin and -gat do have common and opposite features, which qualify them for pair status. By using -gat or -sin the speaker disclaims responsibility for the truth of the utterance: with -gat, because he is only reporting information originating with others; with -sin, because what he is saying is not really meant to be heard.

1.2.2.1. **The reportive postclitic -gat** (t drops before the connectives -hl and -s). The use of -gat means that the information relayed by the speaker originates with others and that the speaker has no idea of its truth value. Naturally this postclitic is very useful for gossip as well as for legitimate news:

    Siipkw-gat t Mary.   I hear Mary is sick.
     sick

    Dim bingodii-gat ji t'aayuwin.   I hear there's going
    FUT bingo   IRR tonight   to be bingo tonight.

    Ts'axw-gahl sils Peter   They say Peter was
    considerable drunk   very drunk.

    Dim naksgwit-gas Peter t Lilian. They say Peter is
    FUT he marries   going to marry Lilian.

    Using -gat in questions means that the speaker is only asking about a report, not about the truth of an event, and the listener

need not feel bad if he does not know the answer; on the other hand, the reply may also include -gat:

    Agu diya-gat t Mary?   – What's Mary supposed
    what says   to have said?

    Ji gax̲gu-gahl dim x̲go'om̓?   – When did they say
    IRR when   FUT we get paid   we'd get paid?

    G̲anuutkw tgun-gat.   – They said this week.
    week this

    Orders and instructions emanating from legitimate authority, which are not supposed to be questioned, are reported using this postclitic. In the Boas stories, a common situation is that of moving a village to another site; the chief who makes the decision never announces it himself, but send a slave to make the announcement; as the slave merely reports the official pronouncement, he always uses -gat , as in:

    Ji lukw-gat ñisim̓ ji t'aahlakw (37.9-10) You are supposed to
    IRR move   you (pl) tomorrow   move tomorrow
               IRR

A slave using -gat is naturally understood to be speaking for his master; he can sometimes turn this fact to his advantage, as in this other T̲xeemsim story: at a feast, T̲xeemsim behaves with perfect propriety in asking his slave to mention to the chief his love of a certain food; the slave says instead:

    Nii-gat-gidii^{t}gwiixgiphl sim'oog̲it tgunhl I am told this chief
    not (intensives)   chief   this   never touches
            always eat

    anwinin   what you've got
    what you've got

T̲xeemsim is humiliated and the slave gets to eat the food instead of him, but does not get away with it for long.

1.2.2. **The rhetorical postclitic -sin**. The syntactic distribution of -sin is not quite clear at this point. As far as meaning goes, -sin is added to an utterance, usually a question, which from the point of view of information need not be said at all, either because it is unanswerable, as in asking of a dead person:

Agu gan daawihlt-sin?   Why did he go?
what reason he leaves

or because the speaker or hearer knows the answer only too well.
Thus what is conveyed by the use of -sin is not really information
but a sense that the speaker is merely relieving his feelings and
that what he says should not be taken seriously: 'Don't pay atten-
tion to me, I am just talking to myself'.

For instance, your son is constantly getting into scrapes. You
no longer need to ask:

Aguhl wilt-sin?   What's he done?
what his act   (you don't really need
                                      to tell me, I know
                                      the type of message
                                      you're bringing)

You think you have made a foolish remark, and you reflect aloud:

Agu niya ńiiy-sin?   What did I say!
what I say I   (I should have known
                                      better)

Since -sin allows the speaker to pretend that he did not mean
to be heard, it is well suited to teasing or insulting someone, as
in

Aguhl anheen-sin?   What do you mean?
what   what you   (Don't tell me, I know)
        mean

In the Boas stories, Txeemsim is frequently (and deservedly) the
butt of jokes and insults using -sin; others pretend they have not
heard or understood him, talking about him in the third person:

Aguhl hit-sin? Hlaa huxw ńihl Ẃii t Txeémsim!   What did he say?
what he says   now again that's big   That's big
(23.9-10)   Txeemsim all
                                                 over again!

Jaa ndahl dimt wil diẃitkwhl   So where is the big
IRR? where FUT where get from
   (Q)   (conj)   liar going to get

Ẃii gwiixgalamgahl heet-sinhl anheet?   the stuff he's talking
big always fibbing his saying what he's   about?
(16.6-7)   talking about

At one point, Txeemsim finds himself in a house where he is first
entertained, then tricked and beaten by invisible beings; he hears
women's voices laughing at him: they guess his thoughts and distort
their meaning, adding

... diya-sinhl goots Ẃii Gat.(61.13-14)   ... that's what Giant
    says   heart big man   thinks to himself!

The postclitic -sin can be followed by the interrogative post-
clitic -a, as in the following examples. In the story of Sgaẃo,
mentioned in Boas (Sqawô , 1902: 222), Sgaẃo's grandmother is trying
to find her a suitable husband; one suitor after another answers
her call and says:

Nihl ńiiy dimt an nakskwhl hlguuhlkwhl hit-sina?   Will I be the
not   I   Fut REL marry   child   one who   one to marry
                                         speaks   the daughter of
                                                     the one who
                                                     speaks?

Here the use of -sin conveys the humble attitude of the speaker,
who is ready to take back the suggestion if it is not appropriate.

2. The speaker's relation to the event.
2.1. Spatio-temporal correlates. The two postclitics -sa and -gi
refer to the speaker's physical distance (in time or space) to what
he is talking about. These postclitics are usually attached to the
last NPin the clause, and refer to the whole of it.[9] If there is no
overt NP (e.g. if the object of a transitive verb is left unmention-
ed), they are attached to the predicate. In at least one case the
distal postclitic -gi has become part of a noun-phrase:

Sim'oogit laxha-gi   God
   chief (in) sky

2.1.1. The proximal postclitic -sa. This postclitic indicates that
the utterance refers to a situation in which the topic of convers-
ation is physically close to the speaker (and usually the addressee
as well):

Aguhl was gun-sa?   What is this [that I
what name this   hold in my hand]?

Naa ant japt-sa?   Who made this ["]?
who who made it
(q) (REL)

Lip jabiy-sa.
self I make it

I made this myself.

Hlaa sim gamkhl laxha-sa.
now quite warm weather

This weather is nice
and warm.

Ga'ahl anheehl gaak ahl geew-sa! (151.13-14)
see what he raven at water's
      talks   edge
      about

Go see what this
raven is cawing
about on our beach!

2.1.2. The distal postclitic -gi. The postclitic -gi indicates that
thetopic of conversation is remote from the speaker in place or time
or both:

Lip jabiy-gi.
self I make it

I had made it myself
(I don't have it
anymore).

Wii sim'oogit t nigwoodiy-gi
big chief my father

[either] My father, who
lives far away, is a
great chief [or] My
father, who is dead,
was a great chief.

In the story of the abandoned son (1.2.1.1.), the father sends
people to look for him, saying:

Ado'o, sim ga'ahl hlguuhlgwiy-gi
Go! you see my child
      (pl)

Go see my son (who is
far away and may be dead)

This postclitic is used liberally in tales, which refer to the
past. This is a typical story beginning from the Boas tales:

K'yoolhl hlgu tk'ihlkw-gi,
one little child

There was a little boy

Ts'akhl wat-gi, ganhl hlgu nits'iits't,
  his name and little his grandmother

named Ts'ak,and his
    grandmother,

ńihl k'ii hitkwhl hlgu wilpdiit-gi..
that and stand little their house

and they had a little
house ... (117.1-2)

2.1.3. Although -gi indicates the past, -sa is often used for
a more vivid effect in stories, once the past background is established.
This use is rare in Boas, who recorded by the slow dictation method,

but very frequent in more spontaneous texts.

2.2. The speaker's control over an undesirable event. The pair of
predicate-final postclitics -giy and -gwa indicates the control, or
lack thereof, of the speaker over an event he wishes to prevent.
With -giy, the event is prevented, with -gwa, the speaker bemoans an
unavoidable fate. It may seem strange to classify -giy under the
heading 'speaker associates self with event', since the event does
not happen, and -gwa under the opposite heading, since the event
does happen. The justification is that with -giy the speaker states
that he has the power to let the event happen or not; with -gwa the
speaker is the passive plaything of uncontrollable forces against
his wishes and efforts.

2.2.1. The potentive postclitic -giy. An independent declarative
sentence without the future particle dim normally means that an
event occurred. Use of the postclitic -giy after the predicate means
that the speaker is or was confident of being able to prevent this
event from happening.
    The speaker may have exercised self-control to prevent nature
from taking her usual course:

Siipkw-giy ńiiy.
sick I

I didn't let myself
be sick, I made sure
I did not get sick.

This postclitic is appropriate to the expression of threats: the
declarative form of the sentence suggests that the event would have
happened already were it not for the speaker's self-control, which
of course might be relaxed any time. For instance, the story of
the Grizzly bear wife (1.2.1.1) ends with the bear getting angry with
humans and deciding to go back to her home; her husband entreats her
to stay, but she says in anger:

Ado'o, yaltgwin, jakwdiy-giy ńiin! (210.1)
Go! turn back I kill you

Away, go back, I
could very well
kill you!

Another grizzly bear gets angry at Ts'ak (2.1.2) and gets him to
provoke him to carry out his threat:

Nimts'axgwiy-giy ńiin, "way, goń", miya'an! I could snuff you in,
  I snuff it in you why go ahead you say Just say 'go ahead'!
(118.5)
Ts'ak gets snuffed into the bear, but manages to kill him. When he
tells his grandmother, she refuses to believe him:

Biikw'in, x̱ha'a, huxw sidoogan-giɣ n̓iiɣ! You're lying, slave,
your lie, slave again you fool-giɣ I you think you can
(119.6-7) fool me again! (but
I won't let you)

This postclitic is used most often when the speaker is involved in
the sentence as subject, agent or object, but other uses are
possible too. In one story a man goes up to heaven to rescue his
little son who has been kidnapped by the stars. The child cries
and the father says:

Gilo! Gilo! Nax̱n̓ayit-giɣ ahl ts'im wilp! Stop! Stop! We
don't he hears it PREP inside house don't want them
to hear in
the house! (and
we can make sure
they don't)[10]

2.2.2. The impotentive postclitic -gwa. Finally, the postclitic
-gwa, which seems to be used mostly in songs and some traditional
formulæ, means that the speaker is lamenting an event which he was
unable to prevent. A person beset by misfortune can bemoan his fate
and disclaim responsibility by saying:

Aywaahl wiliɣ-gwa! Alas! there was nothing
alas! my act I could do!

and similarly others may commiserate and absolve him from blame:

Aywaahl wilt-gwa! There was nothing he
alas! his act could do!

In one of the Tx̱eemsim stories, Tx̱eemsim kills a deer and pretends
to the deer's wife he mourns the unfortunate 'accident':

Aywaas k̲'ahlaaniɣ-gwa! Alas! my poor brother-
alas! my brother-in-law in-law!

Boas (1895:56) quotes a ceremonial song sung by people who have been
possessed by the spirit of sleep and are awakened by a chief. The
line repeated in the song is

Aywoohl wok̲-gwa! Alas, that uncontroll-
alas sleep able sleep![11]

Aywoo is probably a rendering of the Coast Tsimshian equivalent for
aywaa. The sleepers are lamenting not their interrupted sleep, but
the fact that they were put to sleep by a force beyond their control.

General meaning	Speaker associates self with utterance or event	Speaker dissociates self from utterance or event	Syntactic position
	SPEAKER'S RELATION TO UTTERANCE		
Conversational status of utterance	Speaker's interest in utterance: -is(t) INTERACTIVE	Yes/No question: -ː INTERROGATIVE	Sentence or clause-final
Speaker's stake in information	Speaker vouches for truth even against expectation -aʔa ASSERTIVE	Speaker does not vouch for truth; inference, probability -(i)maʔa PROBABILITIVE	Rhetorical question or statement: -sin RHETORICAL	Report from third party -gat REPORTIVE	Suffixed to first contentive (except -sin)
	SPEAKER'S RELATION TO EVENT		
Distance of speaker to event	Here and now, present: -sa PROXIMAL	Far in time or space, past: -gi DISTAL	NP- or clause-final
Speaker's control over undesired event	Speaker has power to prevent event: -giɣ POTENTIVE	Speaker is powerless to prevent event: -gwa IMPOTENTIVE	Predicate-final

Notes

1. The Nisgha language, a member of the Tsimshianic family, is spoken in the Nass Valley of British Columbia. Most of the data presented here were gathered during the course of my employment with B.C. School District 92 (Nisgha). Among the many Nisgha speakers who helped me learn their language, I especially wish to thank Mrs. Rosie Robinson and Mrs. Verna Williams, who were among my first teachers of Nisgha, and who, as members of my Nisgha Linguistics class in 1983-84, helped me clarify and confirm the use and meaning of the more elusive postclitics. The term itself was suggested to me by Thom Hess, who read an earlier version of this paper. The interpretations presented here are my own, and I alone am responsible for any errors.

2. For instance, several examples of each postclitic occur in the Boas stories, but Boas' grammar mentions only -sa and -is(t), the latter incorrectly described and glossed (see note 5).

3. I have tried to give each postclitic a suitable label and have had to make up some words. There may be better labels already in use but unknown to me.

4. Examples are given in the modern (Rigsby-designed) Nisgha alphabet, with approximate word-for-word translation underneath. Space considerations prevented a fuller analysis in this paper.

5. In Boas (1911:349) this is considered a 'demonstrative suffix' indicating 'presence and nearness'. It is definitely not demonstrative. 'Presence and nearness' is not too far from the truth if it is taken to refer to the interlocutor rather than anything talked about.

6. Quotes are from Boas 1902, referred to by page and line number. They have been (with the help of native speakers) transcribed into the modern alphabet, corrected and retranslated, as the texts contain numerous errors.

7. a. Here -is(t) is suffixed to the last stressed contentive of the sentence. Present-day speakers would put it right at the end.

   b. Boas' transcription indicates a pronunciation jagammoogahl.. which is probably an attempt to reproduce a Coast Tsimshian pronunciation. Mythical characters in Boas' stories often speak--or rather, attempt to speak--the Coast Tsimshian language.

8. These two are probably morphologically related. The m of -ima'a could be the same m which appears in some compound suffixes and seems to add the meaning 'for a more or less predictable duration'. The postclitic would then mean: 'true (-a'a) for the time being', until confirmed or disproved.

9. Rigsby 1975 uses the term sentence deictics for this pair. I find the word sentence here too restrictive as the domain of these postclitics does not extend beyond the clause and sometimes even the noun-phrase.

10. In one of the Nisgha songs collected and published by Marius Barbeau, one instance of misinterpretation occurs when yajiⱡ-giⱡ ńiin is translated 'I strike thee' (yatsdiⱡ ńiin), ignoring -giⱡ, instead of 'I could strike thee--but I choose not to'. (p. 133)

11. In the 1895 report this is misleadingly rendered as 'Oh, how sleepy we are!' which implies a desire to sleep in peace. In fact the sleepers have no wish to sleep but have been put to sleep in spite of themselves.

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