THE STORY OF BAK*BAK*ALANUSIWA
as Told by
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I. INTRODUCTION

This text presentation serves three goals: (1) to open to inspection the main one of the precious few Haisla texts we have recorded; (2) to illustrate the function of the first and second sentential connective moods in Haisla (see the editorial notes to follow); (3) to support Franz Boas' thesis that, at least in the North Wakashan speaking area, there was a stock of relatively well-defined mythical themes but that it varied from one local group to another which themes combined into a story and in which order (Boas 1932: ix-x). In the present story, three themes are combined which occur in separate stories among the Oowekeeno, namely (a) persecution by BAK*BAK*ALANUSIWA, (b) The Blind Archer, (c) creating salmon out of elderwood (Walkus 1982:37-38, 47ff, 100ff, 159-160).

The text, in Haisla Wakashan, was tape-recorded in 1983 at the Vancouver residence of the narrator, Mr. Gordon Robertson. Although living off-reserve most of the time, Mr. Robertson is one of the main cultural and linguistic resource people for the Haisla-speaking area. He grew up in the remote village of Kilope at the head of Gardner Canal, not far from the Heiltsuk Wakashan and Bella Coola Salishan speaking areas. The text is Mr. Robertson's response to our specific request for information on BAK*BAK*ALANUSIWA, an entity the nature of which has always remained as intriguing as the etymology of its name (see Hilton and Rath 1982:98-105). Specifically, the elicitation procedure was to read to Mr. Robertson, in Oowekeeno language, the myth of this entity as told by the late Oowekeeno elder Simon Walkus Sr. Mr. Robertson and Walkus used to know each other; they fished together. After listening to the text, Mr. Robertson said 'Yes, that is their story. Ours is different' and remained in thought for a while. Then he began telling the story that follows. His text was transcribed in 1983 and checked twice line by line and word by word with him.
Our transcriptional system is explained extensively in Lincoln and Rath 1985. However, new is the substitution, where indicated morphophonemically, of vocalic unglottalized resonant plus following homorganic consonantal resonant (e.g., /mm/, /iy/, /mh/, /iy/) by vocalic unglottalized resonant plus following juncture /h/ or /ʔ/ (e.g., /mm/ → /mh/, /mh/ → /ʔ/). Fricative plus following /h/ is now written as fricative plus /ʔ/. It is to be kept in mind that sentence-initial practitics, e.g., /we/, are seldom more than a murmur in connected speech; our transcriptions render Mr. Robertson's interpretations of such murmurs when played back to him. Word-finally, phonetic degeneration is usual with /ŋ/; we indicate it in the text by a circle above the letter: thus /ń/. For more information, see Lincoln and Rath 1985:13. Also prone to phonetic degeneration are certain occurrences of /l/, and glottal junctures (/ʔ/). For example, /...ʔnā ha/ may reduce to [mʌ̃ːs], showing the typically Haisla excescence of a gingival plosive between /ŋ/ and /s/. A number of words have the accent in a different place than indicated in Lincoln and Rath 1985, both placements being permitted. An example is /bą̃g̠ap/, which is also pronounced /bą̃gap/. We mark such cases in the text. Credit for the text translation goes largely to Mrs. Evelyn Windsor, daughter of the fore-mentioned late Simon Walkus Sr. Text and running translation have recently been re-read to Mr. Robertson line by line, giving him time to check the English against his own words. It hardly needs saying that all punctuation in the text is editorial. We use capital letters sentence-initially in our transcriptions since we find they enhance readability. It is to be borne in mind that the morphophonemic analysis underneath each line of transcription really only scratches the surface of Haisla and, generally, Wakashan morphophonemics. For example, /ŋuy/ in line 1 and /nus/ in line 2 are derivate from one and the same canonical morpheme form but, for present purposes, there is no need to go into the complicated derivational rules involved.

We shall use the following abbreviations and notational devices:

- (precedes a suffix allomorph);
- (precedes an enclitic);
- (follows a practitic, as in qa branching "this" (or: that) person", but is also used before a demonstrative that is enclitically joined to the word preceding and functions as a relatum ("argument" or "complement" if one prefers), as in gõlhe branching "I helped this" (or: that) one);
- (precedes an element that is joined practitically to the word or other practitic following in dictations, but joined enclitically to

the word preceding in most connected speech);

In the morphophonemic analyses, junctures and epenthetic phonemes are written in parentheses following the boundaries - " or "· e.g., /ŋ/ in /ŋ, branching (h)". To save space, the gloss for an allomorph preceded by a juncture or epenthetic phoneme is written flush left with the juncture or epenthetic phoneme rather than the allomorph proper. For example, instead of writing...

In the morpheme by morpheme glosses, to save space this super-script character is sometimes used to refer to the earlier gloss for a series of morphemes and to indicate that the gloss preceding the superscript is merely convenient considering the running translation.

Around a word in phonemic transcription: inserted by narrator when text was first checked with him; in the morphophonemic analyses, and morpheme-by-morpheme glosses: morpheme augment; in the running translation: editorial insert.

Pause or hesitation by narrator.

See note following text.

In the morphophonemic analyses, a phoneme which is underlined is a morphophonemic construct without phonetic realization in the particular context in which it occurs.

Here with me

Here with you, there with you

Over there, under discussion

Absent, gone

Caus Causative

Con Conative

Con Conjunctive (corresponds to "and" in English "John and Bill worked" but also to such English relational particles as "as" in "I am the same age as you" or "with" in "simultaneous with").

Cont Continuative (The suffix so referred to is semantically reminiscent of English "-ing" both in "runn-ing wolves" and "runn-ing is good", the cover-Ing of the bed", "boat-Ing")

De Demonstrative

Df Satisfying the definition of

Emph Emphatic

ESSu Exponent of Subordinate Subject (must be followed by a demon-
strative, word, or phrase serving as the explication of the grammatical subject of the subordinate clause.

F  Formative (i.e. suffix with little or no definable meaning).
Fact  Factualizing (i.e. translatable in many contexts as "the fact that")
Fut  Future
G  (To save space this abbreviation is always used instead of "Gen" after a reference to the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person).
Gen  Genitive (possessive, instrumental, comitative, explicative)
Inv  Invisible, seen "in the mind's eye"
LM  Locative-directional-ablatival
LPass  Passive meaning that in addition makes word usable as a left-hand adjunct to a constructional centre (as in English "encounter-ed person")
Med  Mediation (i.e. 1. performer of act, 2. performance of act
3. beneficiary or victim of act)
Mom  Momentaneous, in a single act
NR  Non-Recent, some time ago (the clitic concerned, /gu/ can also refer to the distant past and/or express the meaning of "in substance", "by nature")
NT  New Topic
O  Grammatical Object
Occ  Occasionative (i.e. 1. happen unplanned, 2. be victim or beneficiary of sth. unplanned, 3. cause, invite, occasion the occurrence of sth)
Pass  Passive (in this text, the enclitic with Passive meaning, /su/ is sometimes used when the suffix with LPassive meaning, sc. /xu/ is appropriate)
Perf  Perfective
PD  Primary Deictic (See the following notes on Haisla syntax)
PI  Plural
Purp  Purposive
Rep  Reportative-quotative
SD  Secondary Deictic
Sg  Singular
SP  Separated from Present (depending on syntactic context, this means "in recent past", or "dead, former, over and done with")
Su  Grammatical Subject
Trans  Transitive

The following examples may help understand Haisla syntax. The word /pəle/ means "to work" or "one who works", depending on syntactic environment. Similarly, /bəng/ means "person" or "to be a person". The enclitic /a/ is the primary deictic meaning "over there" or "under discussion"; the demonstrative /qə/ (here broadly equivalent to English "this" as in "There was this fellow named Jones who...") and the secondary deictic /a/ reinforce this meaning and, together with /e/, mark the word or phrase in which they occur as a relatum (= "complement" = "argument") rather than a sentence predicate. If the sentence predicate is not a single word but consists of a constructional centre plus one or more left-hand adjuncts (for example, the proclitic /a/), an enclitic from a paradigm of "subject enclitics" usually follows the first left-hand adjunct (but /a/ if this is preceded by /w/ see below).

Moods of Sentences

1. Declarative
   Imperfective /pəle/ "qə bəng a nə a xə a kə/ (This man worked)
   Perf /a/ /pəle/ /qə bəng a nə a xə a kə/ "This man worked (after... had happened)"

   In the imperfective sentence, the predicate is /pəle/ and the subject is /qə bəng a nə a xə a kə/. The subject contains the proclitic /qə/ for a left-hand adjunct.

   In the perfective counterpart, the predicate consists of a constructional centre /pəle/ plus a left-hand adjunct, the proclitic /a/ (here reduced to just /I/ for morphophonemic reasons). The subject is first of all the enclitic 3rd person subject deictic /I/ the meaning of which is rendered as /xə/ in the text analyses below. This meaning is explicated descriptively by /qə bəng a nə a xə a kə/ in this example, syntactically this explication is optional.

   Imperfective /pəle/ "qə bəng a nə a xə a kə" (b) Interrogative "Did this man work?"
   Perf /a/ /pəle/ /qə bəng a nə a xə a kə "Did this man work (after... had happened)"?
The interrogative clitic /I/ has been attached to the sentence's first word or proclitic; in the perfective sentence it is separated by /I/ from the following 3rd person subject deictic /I/. The sentence-final "question mark" /a/ is optionally allowed in yes-no questions but not in other questions.

2. Imperative  
/pæla/  
"Work!"

3. First Connective  
G*š q₁ bg*šnm*(h)š *šI  
"And this" man worked"

The predicate consists of a constructional center /pæla/ plus a left-hand adjunct, the proclitic root allomorph /gI/. The subject is as in the perfective assertive sentence.

4. Second Connective  
We læš iš pæla(?l)ina  
"Now/then this" man worked"

The syntactic structure is identical to that of the preceding perfective assertive sentence, except that there is a second left-hand adjunct in the predicate, /wa/. Occasionally this structure is replaced by: G*š pæla(?l)ina  
"q₁ bg*šnm*(h)š *šI.

A sentence in either connective mood can follow a sentence in any mood. The root allomorph /gI/ signifies "same topic; no change of scene and/or reference of the grammatical subject term" and the root allomorph /wa/ (sometimes /he/) signifies the opposite. The connective moods cause translating Hebraic (and Heiltsuk-Dowakwa, Kwakwala) into English to present the same kind of difficulties as does translating Biblical Hebrew, unless one is willing to put up with such King James Bible style translations as

He killed them all. And he took their weapons.  
And he took their houses. Then he took their cattle.  
Now the rest of his army took heart.  
And ...  
(freely adapted from Kings and Chronicles).

Often the second connective mood calls for the use of the English perfect or pluperfect tense, and/or such terms as "now", "then", "meanwhile".

"thereupon", "after that". The first connective mood may correspond to an English temporal clause ("at the time when it happened that ....") or conditional clause of the "when next ...." or "whenever (i.e. at any or every time that) ...." type.

A sentence in any mood (including the imperative) can be anaphoric, that is concerned with something that is known contextually and may or may not be expressed descriptively. We are talking here about the equivalents of English "That is him", "That is how they did it", "That is when they do it". Hebraic anaphoric sentences involve the use of a special order of sentence constituents, the anaphoric root allomorph /hI/ "the one in question" and/or the proclitic /lI/.

Declarative Assertive (Imperfective):  
Pæla ḡ₁ bg*šnm*(h)š *šI "This" man worked"

Anaphoric Declarative Assertive (Imperfective):  
 גבי bg*šnm*(h)š *šI pæla "It is this" man (as opposed to woman) or ... who worked "

Anaphoric Declarative Assertive (Imperfective) with only a 3rd person deictic /qI/ to identify who the anaphoric reference (/hI*š1/1/) applies to:

G*š q₁ bg*šnm*(h)š *šI "It is 3\textsuperscript{rd} (as opposed to ... ) who worked"

Note that this deictic /qI/ is a 3rd person grammatical object deictic (see English "That is me" as opposed to "That is ii")

Examples of anaphoric /lI/ and additional comments on anaphoric sentences are given in the text analysis to follow; see specially lines 6, 28, 86.

It is a peculiarity of Mr. Robertson's dialect of Hebraic that demonstratives can be phonetically indistinguishable from third person grammatical object enclitics. Compare the following sentences; *nug*a is the grammatical subject term and denotes the first person singular.

1. Gudšša*nug*a *qI  "I help(ed) 3\textsuperscript{rd}"
2. Gudšša*nug*a *qI  "I help(ed) this (or: that) one\textsuperscript{st}"
3. Gudšša*nug*a *qI  "I help(ed) this\textsuperscript{rd} (or: that\textsuperscript{rd}) person\textsuperscript{st}"
If the attributive demonstrative /"qi/ of sentence 3 is indeed run together with preceding /gu'ulanug/a/ rather than with /bg'o'bhanyi/ (see the definition of /), the first part of sentence 3 is indistinguishable phonetically from sentence 2 which in its turn is indistinguishable phonetically from sentence 1. Note that the orthographic distinction between sentences 1 and 2 is warranted not only by semantics, but also by the fact that in the Kitimaat dialect, sentence 1 would read Gu'ula*nug*a*(?i).

II. THE TEXT

1. Wa "qi-nuymsi*nä, "qi-gegapnd.s ... wa qi nuy -m *(h)a *si *nä. NT De3 tell history -Med *PD1 *3G *1SgG qi ge'ap -ap *g *nds. De3 grandparent -kin *PD3 *1SgG

Here, now, is what they told me, my grandparents that is ...  

2. Qi'n-xi dä nuslasi gi'wisms gegeapi*d.s du "qi-yams gegeapi*d.s qi -pä -(x) (?)d. *i nus -g *nä *si** gi many-times -Mom *3S tell history -f *1SG *3G De3 wis -m *s ge'ap -ap *g *nds du qi yäm -m *s male -f *LM grandparent -PD2 *1SgG Conj De3 female -f *LM ge'ap -ap *a *nds grandparent -PD2 *1SgG

My grandfather and my grandmother told it to me many times.

3. Wäli dä s gegeapi*d.s -"ns,baka'alalusiwaklasuad sän wi'd s goi -qaäxä -as *a *ds hs NT well *ESSu from where -depart -place *PD2 *Inv Gen [baka'] baka'** -ola-nu -siwa *ka *su *(?)a *ds *sä (human) human -f -aspect -manifest -call *Pass *PD3 *Inv *SD3 It is about the origins of the one called Bäx'bak'alalusiwake

4. Lä-qid.s Gàla yad s, g"kxsk"ääsä. la qi *ds gä -{a}la *(y)a *ds *sä Loc De3 *Inv long time -Cont *PD2 *Inv *SD3 gä"l -kxsk" -lä -as *a *sä how -speed -Cont -dimension *PD2 *3G

...long ago, his speed

5. Qi.. msä... qan-bäqamasisi hauk's bg'äm. g *l ms -la qn le -qi *mas *l *si and *S Su desire -Cont Purp go top of head *Occ *Fact *3G now -uk *s bg' -an -m one -item *LM human -f -f when he desired to overtake some person.

6. Hä'lä Bäx'bäkalalusiwaklasuad ssi hi *da *l |bäx'bak"-ala-nu-siwa *kla *su the one in point *Emph *? Bäx'bak'alalusiwake* call *Pass *gi* -l *a *ds *sä *Reason *PD2 *Inv *3G This latter is why he was called Bäx'bak'alalusiwake

7. Lä-qid.s Gàla yad s bg'ämäki. la qi *ds gela *(y)a *ds bg' -an -m *sä Loc De3 *Inv first *PD2 *Inv people *SD2 in (the days of) the First People.

8. Lanu*gä nusalkä"läsä "ns, -qik_nis gäät, la *nugä nus-s-a *l *la *sä now *1SgSu tell* *Fut *Perf *20 hs qik nis gä -t -(a)† Gen De3 mnne knowledge -by exposure I shall now tell you what I know.

9. Nuymsi*d.s "ns, "qi-mäiok"s gegeapi*d.s ... nuy-m *(h)a *nds hs qi mäi -(o)uk *s ge'ap *g *nds ... story *PD2 *1SgG Gen De3 two -item *LM grandparent -PD2 *1SgG what was told to me by both my grandparents ...  

10. Häm'wsm sâmäti "ns, qid.s. Gàla yad s bg'ämäki, du-xläs. nän -m *wsm saw -at -i hs qi *ds shoot with bow and arrow -Med *still use -F -F Gen De3 *Inv gala *(y)a *ds bg' -an -m *sä first *PD2 *Inv people *SD2 au *tä -l *s Conj pull towards oneself -f -f
The arrow was still used by the First People, and the bow.

   ha gug’-is  *(?)ina nu -aq -la *(y)a *(y)í du
   NT live -in world *Perf mature -emanate -Cont *PD5 *SD5 Conj
   sás m *a *si
   children -f *PD5 *3G
   An elder and his children lived in the world

12. sáuk *sámisdíí -
   sá-kak *sás-m *a *ds *si
   five-item children *PD5 *inv *3G
   he had five children -

13. li gug’-is?ištis?ištis? is -hs_wáx_yakí ...
   la *(y)í gug’-is *(?)ina la hu-Xλa *(?)is hs
   now *3Su live -in world *Perf Loc Df-base -on beach Gen
   wa -a *(y)í *(y)í
   river -f *PD5 *SD5
   they lived at the mouth of a river.

14. Dííshísíí qa, mámhíisi
   gíi -om -is *(?)í qí qa
   wait -Pl -in the area *Rep *3Su Purp
   [mal]míq -á *hi *si
   [be after]fish -Con *Fact *3G
   The story has it that they waited out there for them to catch fish

15. xínmísí,básh?allá xún ...
   xínmísí la -(x)íl a -á -la *(y)á zú -n
   if go towards -surface -Cont *Fut coho -f
   when the coho arrived ["surfaced"

   [In 16-19 the narrator makes a digression]

16. Gíála -qid.s Géla_yed.s Bq’ánmíí, *qi_hug”lizá’d,
   Gíloqíí -(x)a qí *ds gale *(y)í *(y)í *ds bá’-on-m *(y)í
   such -Cont Df *Fut first *PD5 *Inv people *SD5
   qi hu -(g)”íl -íz -ad
   De3 Df -range -near sea owner

17. “qid.s_weaká -qid.s.lih’k”ini’xí’xí’íí lág GIbíla_yad sáki_qí
   g *í *ds_weak -a qí *ds
   and *3Su *inv put feather down on head -f De3 *inv
   [lìlik] -ini”’k *a *xí la -gí -(x)í *y)í *(y)í *ds *(y)í
   [Pl] different -people *PD5 *SD5 Loc long time -Cont *PD5 *Inv *SD5
   qí De3"
   when they invited" the different peoples long ago

18. qa_gííqi amesí “qi, húnsa_yási.
   qa_gai -qí *mas *i qí hms-a *(y)í *si
   Purp from where -ahead *Occ *Fact De3 food -f *PD5 *3G
   to produce food for their future use.

   ha yágí’tá -*qí la qa
   NT system De3
   That was the system.

20. Láb?allálex -qína nubqale yakí “hs, “qí Báb’bák’alanusiwa_yakí ...
   la-(x)íl a -á -á *(?)ína nu-qq-la *(y)í *(y)í hs qí
   come upon *-LPass *Perf elder *PD5 *SD5 Gen De3
   [bák’bák’alanusiwa *(y)í *(y)í
   Báb’bák’alanusiwa *PD5 *SD5
   Now the elder, he had accidentally come upon this Báb’bák’alanusiwa ...

21. Háqalí diákíítsí
   hóq -u -(x)a á *i diàlu *qi *ds
   speak -together -Cont *3Su Conj *3D *inv
   He spoke with him

22. wáá li_wála’suwíná
   wa lg *í wa -kí *su *(?)ína
   NT now *3Su go ahead -say *Pass *Perf
   and was told

23. qa_qáisí dítítá -qí, wáuk’ésí.
Purp not fact *3^G stored in mind?* -F containment -trans De^3
way -uk "a si group of people -item *PD^3 *3^G
not to report it to his companions.

24. He asked his group of people, not to report it to his companions.

25. The story has it that the old man was blind.

26. Working around the area, he had been an expert at shooting animals,

27. He had been an expert at shooting animals, when he saw them,

28. Gen De^3 arrow^9 *PD^3 *3^G

29. With his arrow.

30. Gen of the name of the arrow.

31. His arrow understood him.

32. A grizzly came to the mouth of the river on the opposite bank.

33. His wife told him about it.

34. Not one of his children could use his arrow;

35. Not one of his children could use his arrow.

36. It was his [3] doing ... namely that this [the old man] was the one to use it [arrow].
of Bax*bek*elenusiwa (i.e. it was the doing of B)

37. dâÎM.qi “hs_tåw”ini qil.
da -id "qi hs tua -ê""""-ing -l qîn *ì
take -beneficiary *3° Gen strong -f -mode -f Purp *3°Su
who gave him the old man power to do it.

wa lg *œ “du-nâ -ôd *(â)ina qi es mâli -â s mâla-m *si
NT now *3°Su name* -own *Perf De* not miss -f *LM arrow* *3°G
and *3°Su use -Cont *3°G
This arrow of his that never missed its target when he used it had a
name.*

39. Wâ_lëi mâloqyljseusînâ “hs_yomhâsî
wa la *la “i mâl -yug -1 -s -o "su
NT now *Rep *3°Su take by hand -out -area -outdoors -Trans *Pass
*(?lina hs ym-m *(mh) *si
*Perf Gen female* *PD* *3°G
He told the old man to lead the hand outside the house by his wife

40. QÎ_lëka lâ_hug“iwïsëkî*.
g *l “la -ka la hu -(g)’iwâ -l -s -o “XI
and *3°Su go -reach Loc De -uprising -area on ground -outside *PD* *SD*1
and they reached the steep river bank.

41. QIËçq’â“Î “l_w _qi. mikt,
g *l “cuq” -â la qi mikt
and *3°Su beg -f Loc De -hard stone arrow point**
He asked of her a hard stone arrow-point,

42. miktëgãsâ “la_yad_s, “qi_yâllamâkî,
mikt *gla “su “qÎ “(y)a “ds qi hâla-m *(s) “XI
mikt “call *Pass *recall *PD* *Inv De* arrow* *PD* *SD*
what is called mikt as I now recall, this arrow,

43. miktëbulë, níki
mikt -b -(-a)la nîk “XI
mikt -tip -Cont say *3°Su

44. mikt hübî.ye “hs_ “qi_yâllamâsi.
mikt hu-be *(y)a hs qi hâla-m *(s) “SI
mikt De -tip *PD* Gen De* arrow* *PD* *3°G
The tip of his arrow was mikt.

45. Hîl îh cuq’asu “hs núdqle_yaxî -“lîh.qi.
hi *la cuq” -“su hs nu-aj-la *(y)la “XI *(la) qi
the one in point *Rep ask* *Pass Gen elder* *PD* *3°G
Loc De* That is what was asked of her by the old man.

46. Li_wâëaïïnÎ âllëmsi -“qÎ_qapl’âljud.qi
la *i we-Ra *(?lina ym-m *(mh) *SI
now *3°Su order* *Perf female* *PD* *3°G
qÎ qap “la -â -la “ud “XI
Purp on target -f -surface -Cont -Trans *3°D
He told his wife to aim it right at

47. lêltms yârtlæglis “qi_yâsekšu’uêki.
lâ *tm “s ye -ût -la -(g) -is “SI
Loc *there is *ESSu* ? -f -f -in motion -in open area De*
sax *gesu “Sa “XI
grizzly *big** *PD* *SD*1
the spot out there where the big grizzly roamed about.

48. Wâ_li_tx”âdöînâ t’klisâsi,
wa lg *l tx” -(?l)id *(â)ina tx” -i -s -â “SI
NT now *3°Su pull -Mom *Perf bow* *PD* *3°G
He pulled his bow.

49. QI_yâll “l_w _qi.
g *l “hâla-no la qi
and *3°Su shoot* Loc De*
and shot at it.

50. Wâ_li_quul’get”Îna lëbtis “qi_yâllamâsi lë.qi_yâsekšu’uêki.
wa lg *l qaût -get *(?l)ina la -bt -is
NT now *3°Su hear -sudden noise *Perf go -penetration -body
He heard his arrow penetrate into the body of the big grizzly.

His children screamed all of them.

His children screamed around him.

He was taken to the house by his wife.

It was the youngest who was on the side of the old man, his father....

He blew at the fur of the grizzly.

He licked it off the carcass of the big grizzly.

He allowed dripping off of blood to occur.
63. "wa;i. לקויוה "NSO "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;gi "ng;g
Well, the next day.

They followed it upstream, the children the river that is.

They were attacked by the eldest.

The story says they heard a sound of wind behind them.

Then they looked at the one that flashes like lightning (from the eyes?).

They realized what it was, namely that it was Bax*bak*alanusiwa.

He was the one Bax*bak*alanusiwa came near to.

I am not sure of the distance they had run. Let what shall I tell you be the distance they had run [Lit. what shall I tell you is the distance they had run].

When it caught up to the youngest.

When it caught up to the youngest.
90. "kúłanug" a kíkálule.
ku'yu -lum a kík -a -q -u'la
not contrary to expectation 15Gsu kill -f -Fut -d 20
Don't think I am going to kill you.

91. Gúélénuqú'la guéliq's "qi ngâqle yaâl.
gú-ak-a -q -nug'a -u'la gú-ak-a -l -aq -us -q
help -f -Fut 1SgS u -20 help -Fact -PD2 -2G
qi nû-q-le "(y)â "Ri
De -3 elder -PD2 -SD3
I am going to help you because you helped the old man.

92. Núg'a Bâk'bak'alansuisu.
núg'a [bax] bâk'-ala-nu-siwa
I am Bâk'bak'alansuisu.

93. Wiíx'k's ..., x'îtes.
wi'îna -s -k 's x'î-t-me -s
try -Emph -s -Imp return -Imp
Do go back.

94. Dâs "qi núônguyus
d'e -a "s qi núôhîle "(y)â "us
take -f -Imp De -3 elder sibling[PI] -PD2 -2G
Take your elder brothers

95. gs.x'îta
g -s x'î-t-e
and 2S u return and turn back.

96. Láetuss, kíx'atuisís qu wèb'yaâ lûq'.
They were warned by the woman, their mother, that they were wanted by the woman, their mother.

When they were wanted by the woman, their mother,

They were warned by the woman, their mother.

They looked to their mother, and she told them: 'Go inside.'

Meanwhile, it had been dry for a long while. This thing they had dried...

They were warned by the woman, their mother, that they were wanted by the woman, their mother.

When they were warned and the woman disappeared, they kept running without stopping. Running on...

They were warned by the woman, their mother, that they were wanted by the woman, their mother.
Oh, I knew it, he answered.

I have not once missed target

I have not once missed target

with these magical arrows of mine, the story has him say.

The next day

the old man asked his youngest son

the one point in time

because he did not see

because it was his youngest son who had helped him

in everything he did

according to the story he was blind.

right.

Well, the youngster led his father by the hand

on the bank of the river, going upstream....

At one point they sat down...
the food, the meat.

117. wa_lai_haux'iniwa ganuq
wa la #1 #1 new-us *(?)ina #1 gen -ul
NT now #Rep #3Su one* #Perf #LM night*(?) -substance
One evening it happened

118. wa_li_huuk'ala'ina -qi_cayesla_yaqli.
wa la #1 hu-ak*-la -*#1*ina qi cay-es-la *(y)a #1
NT now #3Su hold in mouth* #Perf De* youngest* #PD* #SD*
that the youngest held it in his mouth.

119. Kuui 'niki*id -qi_hziiyi.
ku #1 #1 'niki#1 (?)id qi'hz #1
not #Rep #3Su swallow -Mom De* meat #PD* #SD*
According to the story he did not swallow the meat.

120. wa_li_k*i renegot-ina -dauqi, hauuasi.
wa la #1 k*i, 'i-k* -itu *#1*ina daulu #1
NT now #Rep #3Su lie -indoors #sometimes #Perf Conj #3O
hauu #1 #1
father* #PD* #3G
Now, he sometimes slept with him, his father.

121. Haux'iniwa laksdi.
haux-us *(?)ina #1 la -(k)sd -itu
one* [time] #Perf #LM go -position -indoors
At one time they had gone to bed

122. ga_mik* -qzula -qi_hauuasi -ha_ -qi_cayak's hziiyi.
g #1 mik* -qz-ud *la qi hauu #1
and #3Su filled mouth* #Rep De* father* #PD* #3G
hs qi cuy -(o)k* #1 hz #1
Gen De* dry -LPass #LM meat #SD*
and he put in his father's mouth the dried meat.

123. Gi_hisla dutiha hauuasi.
g #1 hisla du-ti-t+a hauu #1
and #3Su recent* tell* father* #PD* #3G
Not until then did he tell his father.

wa haup nix *(?)ik #1
NT father* say #Rep #3Su
"Well, father," he said according to the story.

125. 'Kuussu miyka -qi_hkalasurwa,
kuw #1 Re -su -miyka qi hkal-a
not #range #2su miss* De* shoot with bow and arrow* #Pass #2G
you did not miss what you shot.

126. Kuussu miiaqi.
kuw #1 su miyka #1
not* #2su miss* #3O
you did not miss it.

127. We_hid_hbuk*nuuqigle.
we lid b-fu -nu -eq -1 -(g)il
NT well* mother* mature -emanate f -make
But it was mother who had ideas

128. gi_dutiuxa 'hs miiaq'iqi.
g #1 du-ti-t+a 'ul'a hs miyka #1
and #3Su tell* #20 Gen miss* #Fact #PD* #2G
#3O
and told you that you missed it.

129. Wa_lid_hibamaqi -ha_ -qi_mik 'hs_hkalamus.
wa la #1 ds hi -ba #1 *mas *(?)ina #1
NT now #3Su *inv at once -at end #Occ #Perf #3O
hs** qi mik* hs hkal-m #1 #1
Gen De* mik* Gen arrow* #PD* #2G
But it killed it instantly, by the mik* of your arrow.

130. Gifta kaysak'aki hauuasi.
rit a Re -(?)bo-k* #1 #1 hi haup #1
say -f youngest* #PD* #SD* father* #PD* #3G
the youngster told his father.

131. 'Hau .... qalunug'sgi,' wa_lai_nix*ina,
... and he [father] told ... told his son.

146. "I can see now; he's old according to the story.

147. The things done to me by your mother,

150. "Please turn back for a while.

151. "The youngster turned back.

155. "When he returned, he said:

159. He was asked by his mother.

160. "He was asked by his mother.
How -Cont -mode Gen father* *PD* #3#G
what his father was doing

when *Emph *3#Su leave -f father* *PD* #3#G
when he left his father.

while his father was doing
gulp -a *si
but when -f we -a *(y)a *ki
bath* *Fut *Rep *3#Su Loc De*3 river* *PD* #SD#
he said he was going to bathe in the river.

He told me to turn back.

He sent me going to be the in river.

He said he was going to be the in river.

It became killer whales although he had tried to create salmon.

It became killer whales although he had tried to create salmon.

It became killer whales although he had tried to create salmon.

So much for the yellow cedar wood.

All his creations had now one now the other quality.
Different kinds of wood, red cedar**, were different kinds of fish [i.e. sea creatures].

Alderwood ...

**Different kinds of wood, red cedar**, were different kinds of fish [i.e. sea creatures].
Igí·5 loc Foct [SSu** nil< oill 1 SIIY -Rep -3 1 Su

when your youngest brother left me," he said.

190. 'Ilanug'aj píewáisla?íná
la *nu*ga' piw -ola -is -la *(?)ina
now *15SgSu feel -upstream -near water -Cont *Perf
As I was feeling my way upstream

191. guáile?ína cuála ya *hs_ *qi miá'yaRí iá* gi áleak'ári.
quá -ola *(?)ina hís qi mis *((y)a *ri
hear -sound *Perf splash -sound *PD2 Gen De3 salmon *PD2 *SD3
le qi nále -k* *ri
Loc De3 upstream -F *PD3 *SD2
I heard the sound of salmon splashing at the upstream part of the river.

dud(a)* -si *qi tans *λ *a *ds *níx*(*(?)a *i
look[Pl]-F *Imp *3'O one day from now *Fut *PD2 *Inv say *Rep *3'Su
Go and see it tomorrow," he said.

193. Lou *g?at?ína *qi dâu'esi,
la *ig *i *g?at **(?)ina qi dâu-ú-i *(?)a *si
now *Rep *3'Su finish *Perf De3 task* *PD2 *3'G
He had now completed his task.

194. wákílmhaqi *hs_bák'bek*alani reinforced *yi
we *-k* -ul -m *(h)a *qi
go ahead -say -substance -Med *PD3 *3'O
hs bák'bek'-ele-nú-siwa *((y)a *ri
Gen Bx=bék'alani reinforced *PD2 *SD3
the things Bák'bek'alani were asked to do

195. qá*íwék * *qi miá'yaRí.
qá*í *wék* qi mía *((y)a *ri
Purp how -appear? De3 fish *PD2 *SD3
in regard to what the fish should be like.
204 The old woman, his [the father’s] wife, went along;
205 along with others [Perf Del four-item *LM offspring] #3*G she went along with her four children.
206 There were five of them including his [the father’s] wife.
(contradicts 1-12)
207 The old woman ordered him.
208 The group was leaving,
209 to take a look - his youngest child [was ordered] that is.
210 Their mother cleaned it.
211 They reached the place where the fish were, the fish he created.
212 They saw it [the fish]
213 and moved around in the upstream area,
214 Their mother cleaned it.
215 Victims of the elder Victims of the elder
216 "Victims of the elder Victims of the elder"
217 "Victims of the elder Victims of the elder"
218 He sang four times.

mio -(g)le -k* a *si
fish -make -LPass *PD* #3*G

The old woman, [the father’s] wife, went along,
Along with others [Perf Del four-item *LM offspring] #3*G she went along with her four children.
There were five of them including his [the father’s] wife.
The old woman ordered him.
The group was leaving,
to take a look - his youngest child [was ordered] that is.
Their mother cleaned it.
"Victims of the elder Victims of the elder"
"Victims of the elder Victims of the elder"
He sang four times.
According to the story the children took a look.

219. đʊq'atus, líkí, đʊq'atus lā qi wāya yāki

look downstream say *3Su look -downstream Loc De¹ river* *PD² SD²

looked downstream, it is said, looked down the river.

220. qitiitstisába'í

and *3Su stone*[Pil] -F -turn around *Rep

and turned to stone.

221. wələ̃ nəlqí 'hs₃ qi Bāx*bak*alaniiswiya yāki qí

play -Ed *Fact *3G De father* *PD³ SD³

because they had fun of their father.

222. nəlukimís bií 'qi ńəwupasi.

Nālq -m -*(h)* *si qi ńəwup *a *si

play -Med *Fact *3G De father* *PD³ SD³

Their father now had revenge on them.

223. Li niłkamí tsí 'hs₃ ńəwupasi 'hs₃ qí.

lə *ι* nək -a *me *(?)in qi ńəwup *a *si hs qí

now *3Su revenge -F *Occ *Perf De father* *PD² SD³ Gen De²

The one in point *Emph *Rep *PD² SD²

reason *ESSu

This is the reason why these coho are red

224. Hidā̃qí ƛax-ãqíts 'qu zūmāku

hs *da *ia *1 ƛãqíts -zu 'qt *s

the one in point *Emph *Rep *PD² SD²

Red[Pi] -Flat *reason *ESSu

De² coho* *PD² SD²

This is the reason why these coho are red

225. gu ńəmt -a la qi wa-a *(y)a *ki

when *3Su play -F Loc De¹ river* *PD² SD²

when they play in the river.

226. hidá̃q season tů tů.

hi *da *id *s ƛənqála *gu *id *su

the one in point *Emp *Fact *ESSu elder *NR *Fact *3G

namely the fact that they are elder in substance.

227. ƛənqímt *hs₃ nukmásqí 'hs₃ húx'a

wa -síym -it

qi nuy-m *t(h)q *nd.s

at limit -length -in mental containment De³ story *PD³ *15G

qi húx'a

De²* likewise

This is the extent of my version of the story.

228. 'hs₃ qi Bāx*bak*alaniiswiya yāki,

hs qi [bax*bak]-ala-nu-siwa *(y)a *ki

of De¹ Bāx*bak*alaniiswiya* *PD³ SD³

of Bāx*bak*alaniiswiya.

229. nāukí *s ƛənqíts 'hs₃ Bāx*bak*alaniiswiya yāki.

now-uk *s ƛənqíts -(a)g -(a)g, *as

one *LM how -Cont -way

hs [bax*bak]-ala-nu-siwa *(y)a *ki

Gen Bāx*bak*alaniiswiya* *PD³ SD³

one tradition about Bāx*bak*alaniiswiya.

230. ƛən-qíts 's ƛənqíts 'isdləsád qí 'hs₃ Bāx*bak*alaniiswiya yāki

qi-nm qí *d.s ƛənqíts 'isdləsád *a *d.s

many *De³ *Inv deeds* *PD³ *Inv

hs [bax*bak]-ala-nu-siwa *(y)a *ki

Gen Bāx*bak*alaniiswiya* *PD³ SD³

There were many Bāx*bak*alaniiswiya adventures

231. tů tů Gále yəd s Bq'ən̓ən̓xí.

la *id *s gale *(y)a *d.s Bq'-en-m *ki

Loc *Fact *ESSu first *PD³ *Inv people* *SD²

when the First People lived.
232. X’it x’lta ... ñik snálayu ...

X’it x’lta -o ñik sn -(e)la -ýu

[fire burns] [fire burns] -iterative say mention -Cont -Med

Spreading fire ... they say with reference to

233. “qi. ñ’iksuk”lésassid’s gi_winá.

qi “y”-kuku “la-es’ a *s *si *ds g *i wine

3° speed * PD* *inv *3°G *inv and *3°Su attack

its speed when it attacks.

234. X’it x’lta li

X’it x’lta -o *la *i

spreading fire *Rep *3°Su

They say it is spreading fire

235. wà-li “gála?iná čàp’ál’alas X’ldk”.

wa la “i “g”-lalagalga -(a)la “(?ina čap -I -X“ - (e)la *s

NT now *3°Su like * Perf to trail -move -behind -Cont *LM

X’ld -k

fire burns -LPass

and is like a trailing fire.

236. Náuk”s náy’mhnd s’qi

now -uk” *s nuy-ml *(th)g *nds qi

one * LM story * PD* 1SgG De3

This is one story told to me.

237. Lenug’a nusali’tina “qik “q’má?nkiwagek

la “nug’a nus -al-it ” *(?ina qik**

now *1SgG history -F -contained in mind * Perf De3

q’m-(k)siwa “go *Rigal”*

white people *PD* *3°D

I now tell to these white people with me

238. “hs’ qik náy’megáxe la qik tape-gasi

hs qik nuy-m “go *Rga la qik tape “ga *si

of De3 story * PD* *3°D Loc De3 tape *PD* *3°G

the story, on this their tape.

239. wa-sgímti la “q’a qa-(a)l “g *nds hs qi

extent * now *PD* knowledge * PD* 1SgG Gen De3

This is what I currently know of it.

Notes

Line

2 If the predicate of the sentence has di-transitive meaning, the Haisla grammatical object corresponds to an English indirect object while a Haisla right-hand adjunct beginning in /hs/ corresponds to the English direct object.

3 1. The proclitic /hi/ is assumed to be the counterpart to the Heiltsuk and Owueskiyala proclitic /hi/ which is used in anaphoric sentences to indicate resumption of a line of thought or to introduce a remark (cf. the English interjection “well”).

2. If root is related to bi” “human, person”, the reduplicated form could mean “ever more human” or “human from time to time”.

6 Meaning and grammatical function of /me/ and /hi/ are unclear - /hi/ cannot be 3°Su because not substitutable by 3°Su or 3°S.

8 See note to line 2.

16 I.e. owning it as a resource gathering area.

17 1. The grammatical function of this /qi/ is unclear.

2. This invitation was done by means of the feather down ceremony.

25 This word is shown as naíklo in Lincoln and Rath 1985. It is an unpredictable two-stage contraction: [naíklo] ÷ [naíklo] ÷ [naíklo].

28 Analysis of this word is uncertain and based partly on the occurrence of a proclitic /hi/ in Heiltsuk and Owueskiyala which indicates resumption of a thread of thought or introduction of a remark (cf. English interjection “well”), and partly on the parallelism with the semantically clear line 57.

29 Apparently the narrator does not recall the (proper) name of the arrow, but the matter is still in the back of his mind in lines 30ff.
The sequence *a* frequently contracts into /I/ as here.

The subordinate clause is anaphoric, /hida/ being the anaphoric reference.

*tu-w-(a)k* contracts into /tu-w/.

See lines 28-30.

Lincoln and Rath 1985 has ḥuq"iwálo.

The identity of this hard stone is not yet known.

1. In locative clauses, the enclitic /tm/ functions as exponent of the subordinate predicate instead of the "factualizing" enclitic /lid/. See also 59. However, this existentializing /tm/ can co-occur with the factualizing enclitic in non-locative clauses, see 61.

2. The meaning of /gas?u/ is the opposite of hypocoristic, and "big" only approximates it. (Cf. English "big bad wolf").

1. See line 3.

2. This item is bimorphemic but involves morphophonemic fusion of either ḥñála- or ḥñálwala- "father" with either -op or-up "kin".

1. See line 47.

2. When having locative-directional or ablative meaning, /la/ can be followed by 1st and 2nd person grammatical object enclitics, but the 3rd person is referred to by special enclitics some of which (e.g. this /li/) are formally identical to secondary deitics. For more information, see the entry "la" in Lincoln and Rath, 1985.

Note merger of /q/ and /r/ into /li/.

Cf. ḥuak* "chewing tobacco".

Lincoln and Rath 1985 has ḥuq"i instead of ḥuq"u.

Lincoln and Rath 1985 has qáqüla.

Direction of targeted motion (e.g. going into house, or this going upstream) is expressed not by a grammatical object as in English, but by a (right-hand) adjunct beginning in pronominal /la/.

This is an example of an anaphoric sentence in the second connective mood.

...aq*us always contracts into /aq*/s/, but it is not clear why /a/ of /aq*/s/ is lost after the factualizing clitic allomorph /I/.

/Nug*a/ is an anaphoric reference to the 1st person: "I (as opposed to you or whoever) am the one in question".

...aq*Ru → /aRu/.

1. Not an autochthonous Haisla word according to the narrator himself. Has many pronunciation variants.

2. /has.../ derives from [h]has..., the reduplication being required by the suffix following.

This /I/ may not be an enclitic at all but a euphonic element facilitating phonetic transition to /ɣ/.

This word is a "false start" and the narrator replaces it by the pluralized stem /bibla-/ of the next word.

See note to line 91.

Because /hibamsls/ has transitive meaning here ("kill instantly") and a grammatical object (/qi/), this genitive clitic /hs/ should not occur here. Its presence is probably due to the transitive meaning of /hibamsls/ being contaminated with the intransitive meaning "getting killed instantly"; see the meanings of the Occasional clitic /mas/ in the list of abbreviations and technical terms.

Uncertain if /I/ is (1) the factualizing clitic or (2) the last clitic but one that occurs in the assertive main clause hi-dae*"qi "3" is the one. Perhaps (1) and (2) are identical /I/ cannot be one of the clitics serving as grammatical subject since it is not substitutable by a subject enclitic such as /u/ "3sSu", for example.
This whole line 149 is an explicative genitive that functions syntactically as a right-hand adjunct to a predicate the centre of construction of which is /duq"na/ “see” (line 148). This centre also has two left-hand adjuncts, the root allomorph /g/ and the word /λu/ka/ Although the use of an explicative genitive instead of a grammatical object is obligatory if the centre of construction refers to a mental state (e.g. feeling or hiking), /duq"na/ normally does take a grammatical object.

In this line 149 is hard to decide which meaning should dominate in the translation.


Hilton, Susanne, John C. Roth, and Evelyn Windsor (Editors) (1980) *Oowekeno Oral Traditions as Told by the Late Chief Simon Walkus Sr.*. Canadian Ethnology Service, Paper No. 84, Ottawa.

Hilton, Susanne and John C. Roth (1982) "Objections to Franz Boas’ Referring to Eating People in the Translations of the Kwakwala Terms homaisle and bax*bak*ulanux*sivek*", Papers of the 1982 International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages, Vancouver.
