

the cultivated strawberries introduced by whites. Cf. 'wild carrot' (v. vi).

224: *k-ááqí* 'like that' is taken as going with *kánawí dán* 'all things', as in line 197 ('all things like that in the water'), rather than with the verb. (Not, that is, 'they told him like that').

227: Jacobs inserts 'entire' where I insert '(whole)'. Neither gloss is an expansion of the meaning, but a way of expressing in English the sense of the Chinookan expression 'to make (-x-) a myth'. Mrs. Howard's remarks in lines 227-8, and elsewhere, indicate that 'to make a myth' is to make (tell) a myth completely. Otherwise it is not, as such, 'made'.

228: The form of the negative particle here is emphatic *néšqí* as distinct from *níšqí* in line 198.

# THE STORY OF BAX<sup>w</sup>BAK<sup>w</sup>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 Oowekeno, namely (a) persecution by Bax<sup>w</sup>bak<sup>w</sup>alanusiwa, (b) the Blind Archer, (c) creating salmon out of alder wood (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 Kitlope 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 Bax<sup>w</sup>bak<sup>w</sup>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 Oowekyala language, the myth of this entity as told by the late Oowekeno 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 morpho-phonemically, of vocalic unglottalized resonant plus following homorganic consonantal resonant (e.g. /mm/, /iy/, /m̃h/, /iŷ/) by vocalic unglottalized resonant plus following juncture /h/ or /ʔ/ (e.g. /mm/ → /m̃h/, /m̃h/ → /m̃ʔ/). Fricative plus following /h/ is now written as fricative plus /ʔ/. It is to be kept in mind that sentence-initial proclitics, 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 /a/; we indicate it in the text by a circle above the letter: thus /ä/. For more information, see Lincoln and Rath 1985:13. Also prone to phonetic degeneration are certain occurrences of /i/, and glottal junctures (/ʔ/). For example, /...ʔiñh s/ may reduce to [eñs], showing the typically Haisla excrecence of a gingival plosive between /n/ 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 /ʔəʔəp/, which is also pronounced /ʔəʔəp/. 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, /nuy/ in line 1 and /nus/ in line 2 are derivable 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 proclitic, as in q̃l\_bgʷənm̃(h)əʔxi '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 g̃uəʔəʔnug̃ə\_q̃l 'I helped this' (or: that') one';
- (precedes an element that is joined proclitically to the word or other proclitic following in dictations, but joined enclitically to

the word preceding in most connected speech);

- (x) In the morphophonemic analyses, junctures and epenthetic phonemes are written in parentheses following the boundaries ~ ~ or ~•, e.g. /h/ in /bgʷənm̃(h)əʔxi/. 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

...ʔ(h)ə ... | we write |...ʔ(h)ə ...  
... PDʰ ... | |... PDʰ ...

- † In the morpheme by morpheme glosses, to save space this superscript 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.

- [x] 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.

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

1 Here with me

2 Here with you, there with you

3 Over there, under discussion

abs Absent, gone

Caus Causative

Con Conative

Conj Conjunction (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	Left-hand adjunct Marker
Loc	Locative-directional-oblative
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, /guʔ/, 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 where the suffix with LPassive meaning, sc. /xʷ ~ kʷ/ is appropriate)
Perf	Perfective
PD	Primary Deictic (See the following notes on Haisla syntax)
Pl	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

## Voc Vocative

The following examples may help understand Haisla syntax. The word /pàla/ means "to work" or "one who works", depending on syntactic environment. Similarly, /bgʷànɲ/ means "person" or "to be a person". The enclitic \*a is the primary deictic meaning "over there" or "under discussion"; the demonstrative /qi/ (here broadly equivalent to English "this" as in "There was this fellow named Jones who ...") and the secondary deictic \*xi reinforce this meaning and, together with \*a, 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 /wa/, see below).

## Moods of Sentences

### 1. Declarative

	Imperfective	pàla	~qi.bgʷànɲ*(h)a*xì
(a) Assertive		"This <sup>3</sup> man <sup>3</sup> worked"	
	Perfective	Lgʷi.pàla*(?)ina	~qi.bgʷànɲ*(h)a*xì
		"This <sup>3</sup> man <sup>3</sup> worked (after ... had happened)"	

In the imperfective sentence, the predicate is /pàla/ and the subject is /qi.bgʷànɲ\*(h)a\*xì/. The subject contains the proclitic /qi/ for a left-hand adjunct.

In the perfective counterpart, the predicate consists of a constructional centre /pàla\*?ina/ 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 3<sup>3</sup>Su in the text analyses below. This meaning is explicated descriptively by /qi.bgʷànɲ\*(h)a\*xì/ in this example; syntactically this explication is optional.

	Imperfective	pàla*?i	~qi.bgʷànɲ*(h)a*xì*a
(b) Interrogative		"Did this <sup>3</sup> man <sup>3</sup> work?"	
	Perfective	Lgʷi.i.pàla	~qi.bgʷànɲ*(h)a*xì*a
		"Did this <sup>3</sup> man <sup>3</sup> work (after ... had happened)?"	



If the attributive demonstrative /~qi/ of sentence 3 is indeed run together with preceding /gũðlanug'a/ rather than with /bg'ðnṁhāxi/ (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 Gũðlānug'a\*(?)i.

## II. THE TEXT

### 1. Wā ~qi\_nũymṁhāsīnṁlā, ~qi\_ḡðḡapnd.s ....

wā qī nuy -m \*(h)a \*si \*nṁlā  
NT De<sup>3</sup> tell history -Med \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G \*1Sg0

qī ḡðḡ -ap \*a \*nd.s  
De<sup>3</sup> grandparent -kin \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*1SgG

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

### 2. Qīṁṁx?īdī nũṁṁlāsi ḡi\_wīsṁs ḡðḡapnd.s du ~qi\_ḡnṁs ḡðḡapnd.s

qī -ṁn -(x)(?)id \*i nus -a \*nṁlā \*si\*\* ḡi  
many-times -Mom \*3<sup>3</sup>Su tell history -F \*1Sg0 \*3<sup>3</sup>G De<sup>3</sup>  
wīs -m \*s ḡðḡ-ap \*a \*nd.s du qī ḡn -m \*s  
male -F \*LM grandparent \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*1SgG Conj De<sup>3</sup> female -F \*LM  
ḡðḡ-ap \*a \*nd.s  
grandparent \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*1SgG

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

### 3. Wā\_lid.s\_gaiyaxciāsəd.s ~hs\_Bāx'bak'alanusiwaklasuad.sxi

wā lid \*s gai -yaxci -as \*a \*d.s hs  
NT well \*ESSu from where -depart -place \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv Gen  
[bax'] bak'\*\*\* -ala-nu -siwa \*kṁ \*su \*(?)a \*d.s \*xi  
[human] human -F -aspect -manifest -call \*Pass \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv \*SD<sup>3</sup>

It is about the origins of the one called Bāx'bak'alanusiwa

### 4. lā\_qid.s\_ḡilā.yad.sxi, ḡ'iksuk'lasasi

lā qī \*d.s ḡi -(a)lā \*(y)a \*d.s \*xi  
Loc De<sup>3</sup> \*Inv long time -Cont \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
ḡ'i -(k)suk' -lā -as \*a \*si  
how -speed -Cont -dimension \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G

long ago, his speed

### 5. gi...mslā qn\_lāqiamāsisi hāuk's bg'ðnṁ.

g \*i ms -lā qn lā -qia \*mas \*i \*si  
and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su desire -Cont Purp go top of head \*Occ \*Fact \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
hāw -uk' \*s bg' -an -m  
one -item \*LM human -F -F  
when he desired to overtake some person.

### 6. Hidāi Bāx'bak'alanusiwaklasugi + ad.ssi

hi \*da \*i [bax']bak' -ala-nu-siwa \*kṁ \*su  
the one in point \*Emph\*\* \*? Bāx'bak'alanusiwa \*coll \*Pass  
\*git \*a \*d.s \*si  
\*Reason \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv \*3<sup>3</sup>G

This latter is why he was called Bāx'bak'alanusiwa

### 7. lā\_qid.s\_Gāla.yad.s Bg'ðnṁxi.

lā qī \*d.s gāla \*(y)a \*d.s bg' -an -m \*xi  
Loc De<sup>3</sup> \*Inv first \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv people \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
in [the days of] the First People.

### 8. Lanug'a\_nũsāliṁlā ~hs\_~qik...nis qāat,

lā \*nug'a nus-a \*ṁ \*iṁ \*uṁa\*\*  
now \*1SgSu tell \*Fut \*Perf \*20  
hs qik nis qā -(a)†  
Gen De<sup>3</sup> mine knowledge -by exposure

I shall now tell you what I know,

### 9. nũymṁhd.s ~hs\_~qi\_māṁauk's ḡðḡapnd.s ....

nuy-m \*(h)a \*nd.s hs qī mā! -(a)uk' \*s ḡðḡ-ap \*a \*nd.s ...  
story \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*1SgG Gen De<sup>3</sup> two -item \*LM grandparent \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*1SgG  
what was told to me by both my grandparents ....

### 10. Hñṁwsm sāwātī ~hs\_~qid.s\_Gāla.yad.s Bg'ðnṁxi, du\_†k'is.

hñṁ -m \*wsm saw -at -i hs qī \*d.s  
shoot with bow and arrow -Med \*still use -F -F Gen De<sup>3</sup> \*Inv  
gāla \*(y)a \*d.s bg' -an -m \*xi  
first \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv people \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
du †k' -i -s  
Conj pull towards oneself -F -F

The arrow was still used by the First People, and the bow.

11. Hə, gùg<sup>o</sup>isʔinǝ ... nuəqle.yəxi ... du.səsməsi  
 hə gùg<sup>o</sup>-is      \*ʔina nu      -əq      -lə      \*(y)ə      \*xi du  
 NT live -in world \*Perf mature -emanate -Cont \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup> Conj  
 sas      -m      \*ə      \*si  
 children -F \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 An elder and his children lived in the world

12. - skəuk<sup>o</sup> səsməd.ssi -  
 skə -uk<sup>o</sup> sas-m      \*ə      \*d.s      \*si  
 five -item children<sup>o</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 - he had five children -

13. li gùg<sup>o</sup>isʔinǝ lǝ.hu-x<sup>o</sup>lǝʔis ~hs.wəə.yəxi ...  
 lǝ      \*i      gùg<sup>o</sup>-is      \*ʔina lǝ      hu-x<sup>o</sup>lǝ -ʔis      hs  
 now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su live -in world \*Perf Loc Df -base -on beach Gen  
 wə -ə \*(y)ə      \*xi  
 river -F \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 they lived at the mouth of a river.

14. Ğlǝmǝs.li qn.mə.miħisi  
 Ğlǝ -əm -is      \*(.)lə      \*i      qn  
 wait -Pl -in the area \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su Purp  
 [mə]miǝ      -ǝ      \*hi      \*si  
 [be after]fish -Con \*Fact \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 The story has it that they waited out there for them to catch fish

15. ħini-x<sup>o</sup>lǝxʔəx<sup>o</sup>lǝ zún ...  
 ħini-x<sup>o</sup> lǝ -(x)(?)ə -x<sup>o</sup>      -lə      \*x<sup>o</sup> zún -ŋ  
 if go towards -surface -Cont \*Fut coho -F  
 when the coho arrived ['surfaced'].

[In 16-19 the narrator makes a digression]

16. Ğ<sup>o</sup>əilǝ ~qid.s.Ğələ.yəd.s Bg<sup>o</sup>ənmǝxi, ~qi.hug<sup>o</sup>lǝzǝd,  
 Ğ<sup>o</sup>lǝy[ə] -(ə)lə qi      \*d.s      gələ      \*(y)ə      \*d.s      bg<sup>o</sup>-ən-m      \*xi  
 such -Cont De<sup>3</sup> \*Inv first \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv people<sup>o</sup>      \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 qi      hu-(g<sup>o</sup>)! -iz      -ad  
 De<sup>3</sup> Df -range -near sea owner

That is the way of the First People, those owning a tidal zone\*\*

17. ~qid.s.wəxǝ ~qid.s.li:lk<sup>o</sup>ini-x<sup>o</sup>əxi lǝ.ġilǝ.yəd.sxi.qi  
 g      \*i      \*d.s      wəxǝ      -ə      qi      \*d.s  
 and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su \*Inv put feather down on head -F De<sup>3</sup> \*Inv  
 [li]lk<sup>o</sup>      -ini-x<sup>o</sup>      \*ə      \*xi      lǝ      ġilǝ      -(ə)lə      \*(y)ə      \*d.s      \*xi  
 [Pl]different -people \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup> Loc long time -Cont \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 qi  
 De<sup>3</sup>\*\*  
 when they invited\*\* the different peoples long ago

18. qn.ğəiqaməsi ~qi.hmǝ.yəsi.  
 qn      gəi      -qia      \*məs      \*i      qi      hmǝ -ə      \*(y)ə      \*si  
 Purp from where -ahead \*Occ \*Fact De<sup>3</sup> food -F \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 to produce food for their future use.

19. Hə ġ<sup>o</sup>əilǝ ~qi.  
 hə ġ<sup>o</sup>[ə]y[ə]-(ə)lə qi  
 NT system<sup>o</sup>      De<sup>3</sup>  
 That was the system.

20. Lǝxʔəx<sup>o</sup>lǝxʔinǝ nuəqle.yəxi ~hs.~qi.Bəx<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa.yəxi ...  
 lǝ-(x)(?)ə-x<sup>o</sup>lǝ -x<sup>o</sup>      \*ʔina nu-əq-lǝ      \*(y)ə      \*xi      hs      qi  
 come upon<sup>o</sup> -LPass \*Perf elder<sup>o</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup> Gen De<sup>3</sup>  
 [bəx<sup>o</sup>]bak<sup>o</sup>-əla-nu-siwa      \*(y)ə      \*xi  
 Bəx<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa<sup>o</sup>      \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 Now the elder, he had accidentally come upon this Bəx<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa ...

21. Həquəli dəuqid.s  
 həq      -u      -(ə)lə      \*i      d[ə]u      \*qi      \*d.s  
 speak -together -Cont \*3<sup>3</sup>Su Conj \*3<sup>3</sup>O \*Inv  
 He spoke with him

22. wǝ.li.wǝxǝsuʔinǝ  
 wə lǝ      \*i      wə      -xǝ      \*su      \*ʔina  
 NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su go ahead -say \*Pass \*Perf  
 and was told

23. qn.ksisi dūtǝtǝ ~qi.wəuk<sup>o</sup>asi.

qñ ks \*i \*si du -t -it -a qi  
 Purp not \*Fact \*3<sup>3</sup>G stored in mind(?) -F -containment -trans De<sup>3</sup>  
 wəy -uk \*a \*si  
 group of people -item \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 not to report it to his companions.

24. Pəax<sup>3</sup> lə<sup>3</sup> ~qi\_nuəqlə.yəxi.  
 pə -(a)x<sup>3</sup> \*(.)lə qi nu-aq-lə \*(y)a \*xi  
 work -LPass \*Rep De<sup>3</sup> elder \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 The story has it that the old man was blind.

25. Li\_d]èdèinās hək]ə\*\* hñlā səsək<sup>3</sup>imas,  
 lə \*i d]ed \*(ə)ina \*s [hə]hik -lə hñl -a  
 now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su very \*Perf \*LM [Con]good -Cont shoot with bow and arrow -F  
 [si]sək<sup>3</sup>-imas  
 animal -class of things  
 He had been an expert at shooting animals,

26. ~gi\_duq<sup>3</sup>ləqi,  
 g \*i duq<sup>3</sup> -lə \*qi  
 and \*3<sup>3</sup> see -Cont \*3<sup>3</sup>O  
 when he saw them,

27. hs\_qi\_hñlmasi ....  
 hs qi hñl-m \*a \*si  
 Gen De<sup>3</sup> arrow \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 with his arrow.

28. Lid\_qi\_dùnt ~hs\_~qi\_hñlmaxi,  
 lid qi du -nt hs qi hñl-m \*a \*xi  
 well De<sup>3</sup> stored in mind(?) -F Gen De<sup>3</sup> arrow \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 Now for the name of the arrow,

29. hək]əlutasi gi\_hñlmasi  
 hək -u -(ə)lā -ut \*a \*si g \*i hñl-a \*lā \*si  
 speak -together -Cont -partner \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su shoot \*Fut \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 The one he spoke to whenever going to shoot with it.\*\*

30. Qəut]ə?inā ġi\_hñlmasiqi.

qəut -lə \*(?)ina ġi hñl-m \*a \*si \*qi  
 hear -Cont. \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> arrow \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G \*3<sup>3</sup>O  
 His arrow understood him.

31. Wəli\_qəks]i?inā ġuġ<sup>3</sup>is  
 wə lə \*i qə -(k)si \*(?)ina ġuġ<sup>3</sup> -is  
 NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su straight -oport \*Perf live -in area  
 Halfway the period they were living out there

32. gi... ləəxdis]ə səkəxi ~lā\_hsiġ<sup>3</sup>əlisi  
 g \*i lə -əx]d -is -lə sək \*a \*xi lə  
 when \*3<sup>3</sup>Su go -to mouth -on beach -Cont grizzly \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup> Loc  
 h -s -iġ<sup>3</sup> -əlā -is \*a \*xi  
 other one -range -side -long side of expanse -open area \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 a grizzly came to the mouth of the river on the opposite bank.

33. Wəli\_ləi\_dùti]əsu?inā ~hs\_ġñm]həs].  
 wə lə \*lā \*i dut-it-a \*su \*(?)ina hs ġñ-m \*(h)a \*si  
 NT now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su report \*Pass \*Perf Gen female \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 His wife told him about it.

34. Kuus hək]ə hñkuyā sək]ə ~hs\_~ġi\_hñlmasi lā\_qi\_səsmasi;  
 kuu -s hək -uk<sup>3</sup> hñk -uya sək -lə hs ġi  
 not -in range one -item good -outcome use -Cont Gen De<sup>3</sup>  
 hñl-m \*a \*si lə qi səs-m \*a \*si  
 arrow \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G Loc De<sup>3</sup> children \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 Not one of his children could use his arrow;

35. pəu]si qñ\_hidəis\_qi sək]asi  
 pə -u -i \*si qñ hi \*də \*i \*s qi  
 work -outcome -F \*3<sup>3</sup>G Purp\*\* the one in point \*Emph \*Fact \*ESSu De<sup>3</sup>  
 sək -lə \*si  
 use -Cont \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 it was his [B's] doing ... namely that this [the old man] was the one to  
 use it [arrow]

36. hs\_qi\_Bəx<sup>3</sup>bək<sup>3</sup>alanusiwa.yəxi  
 hs qi [bax<sup>3</sup>]bək<sup>3</sup>-əla-nu-siwa \*(y)a \*xi  
 Gen De<sup>3</sup> Box<sup>3</sup>bək<sup>3</sup>alanusiwa \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>

of Bax<sup>3</sup>bak<sup>3</sup>alanusiwa [i.e. it was the doing of B]

37. dàid.qi ~hs\_+òuk<sup>3</sup>ini qhì.

da -id \*qi hs taw -k<sup>3</sup>\*\* -ing -i qhì \*i  
take -beneficiary \*3<sup>3</sup>O Gen strong -F -mode -F Purp \*3<sup>3</sup>Su  
who gave him [the old man] power to do it.

38. Wà<sup>3</sup>li\_dundàdàino ~qi\_ks\_mìlās hñlmsi gi\_sàklasi.

wa lə \*i du-nd -ad \*(à)ina qi ks mìl -a \*s hñl-m \*si  
NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su name<sup>3</sup> -own \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> not miss -F \*LM arrow<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
g \*i sàk -lə \*si  
and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su use -Cont \*3<sup>3</sup>G

This arrow of his that never missed its target when he used it had a name.\*\*

39. Wà<sup>3</sup>leli\_màluyisəsuzinò ~hs\_ğnmhàsi

wa lə \*i lə \*i mál -uyə -l -s -a \*su  
NT now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su take by hand -out -area -outdoors -Trans \*Pass  
\*(?)ina hs ġn-m \*(h)a \*si  
\*Perf Gen female<sup>3</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G

He [old man] was led by the hand outside the house by his wife

40. gi\_ləka lə\_hug<sup>3</sup>iwləsa<sup>3</sup>i\*\*.

g \*i lə -ka lə hu -(g<sup>3</sup>)iwa -l -s \*a \*xi  
and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su go -reach Loc Df -uprising -area on ground -outside \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
and they reached the steep river bank.

41. Gi\_cùq<sup>3</sup>a ~lò\_qi ... mi<sup>3</sup>kt,

g \*i cuq<sup>3</sup> -a lə qi mi<sup>3</sup>kt  
and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su beg -F Loc De<sup>3</sup> hard stone arrow point\*\*  
He asked of her a hard stone arrow-point,

42. mi<sup>3</sup>ktglosuq<sup>3</sup>lə.yəd.s, ~qi\_hñlma<sup>3</sup>xi,

mi<sup>3</sup>kt \*glə \*su \*q<sup>3</sup>lə \*(y)a \*d.s qi hñl-m \*a \*xi  
mi<sup>3</sup>kt \*call \*Pass \*recall \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv De<sup>3</sup> arrow<sup>3</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
what is called mi<sup>3</sup>kt as I now recall, this arrow,

43. mi<sup>3</sup>ktbalə, ñiki.

mi<sup>3</sup>kt -b -(ə)lə ñik \*i  
mi<sup>3</sup>kt -tip -Cont say \*3<sup>3</sup>Su

mi<sup>3</sup>kt-tipped, as they say.

44. Mi<sup>3</sup>kt húbə.yə ~hs\_~qi\_hñlma<sup>3</sup>si.

mi<sup>3</sup>kt hu -bə \*(y)a hs qi hñl-m \*a \*si  
mi<sup>3</sup>kt Df -tip \*PD<sup>3</sup> Gen De<sup>3</sup> arrow<sup>3</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
The tip of his arrow was mi<sup>3</sup>kt.

45. Hìlò cùq<sup>3</sup>asu ~hs\_nuòq<sup>3</sup>lə.yəxi ~lò\_qi.

hi \*lò cuq<sup>3</sup> -a \*su hs nu-aq-lə \*(y)a \*xi [lò] qi  
the one in point \*Rep ask<sup>3</sup> \*Pass Gen elder<sup>3</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup> Loc De<sup>3</sup>  
That is what was asked of her by the old man.

46. Li\_wàxə?inò ġnmhàsi ~qn\_đəpləñlud.qi

lə \*i wa-xə \*(?)ina ġn-m \*(h)a \*si  
now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su order<sup>3</sup> \*Perf female<sup>3</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
qn đəp -lə -ñ -lə -ud \*qi  
Purp on target -F -surface -Cont -Trans \*3<sup>3</sup>O  
He told his wife to aim it right at

47. lətmə yəx<sup>3</sup>†ləglis ~qi\_səxgəs?uəxi.

lə \*tm \*s yə -x<sup>3</sup>† -lə -(g)! -is qi  
Loc \*there is \*ESSu\*\* ? -F -F -in motion -in open area De<sup>3</sup>  
səx \*gas?u \*a \*xi  
grizzly \*big\*\* \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
the spot out there where the big grizzly roamed about.

48. Wà<sup>3</sup>li\_tx<sup>3</sup>?iddəinò t<sup>3</sup>k<sup>3</sup>isasi,

wa lə \*i tx<sup>3</sup> -(?)id \*(à)ina t<sup>3</sup>k<sup>3</sup>-i-s \*a \*si  
NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su pull -Mom \*Perf bow<sup>3</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
He pulled his bow,

49. gi\_hñlə ~lò\_qi.

g \*i hñl-a lə qi  
and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su shoot<sup>3</sup> Loc De<sup>3</sup>  
and shot at it.

50. Wà<sup>3</sup>li\_qəu<sup>3</sup>lga?ina ləbtis ~qi\_hñlma<sup>3</sup>si lə\_qi səxgəs?uəxi.

wa lə- \*i qəu<sup>3</sup> -ga† \*(?)ina lə -bt -is  
NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su hear -sudden noise \*Perf go -penetration -body



qi hɔl-m \*a \*si la qi sax \*gasʔu \*a \*xi  
 De<sup>3</sup> arrow \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G Loc De<sup>3</sup> grizzly \*big \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 He heard his arrow penetrate into the body of the big grizzly.

51. Wǎli\_ǎ'ǎxsnisdaʔinǎ ~qi\_sǎsmasi  
 wa la \*i ǎ'ǎx -sn -isda \*(?)ina qi sas-m \*a \*si  
 NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su scream -body -around \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> children \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 His children screamed all of them

52. gi\_... dūtɪtǎla ~mǐlasuqi.  
 g \*i dut-ɪt-a \*la mǐl-a \*su \*qi  
 and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su tell \*Rep miss \*2Su \*3<sup>3</sup>O  
 upon which she [the wife] told "You missed it,"

53. hǐksu nuǎqla.yǎxi ..., ~mǐlasuqi.  
 hǐk \*su nu-aq-la \*(y)a \*xi mǐl-a \*su \*qi  
 tell \*Pass elder \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup> miss \*2Su \*3<sup>3</sup>O  
 the old man was told "You missed it."

54. Lǎli\_dǎaiλmʔinǎ ~hs\_ǧnmhǎsi.  
 la \*la \*i dǎ -aiλ -m \*(?)ina hs ǧn-m \*(h)a \*si  
 now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su take -into house -Med \*Perf Gen wife \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 He was taken into the house by his wife.

55. Lǎli\_lǎmǎwǐsʔinǎ ~qi\_xǐxǎbk'ǎxi, sǎsmasi,  
 la \*la \*i la -am-aʔ -is \*(?)ina qi  
 now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su go -Pl -across -space \*Perf De<sup>3</sup>  
 [xi] xǎ -b -k' \*a \*xi sas-m \*a \*si  
 [Pl] ? -F -F \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup> children \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 The youngsters, his children, went across as the story has it,

56. ~gi\_... dǎoqi saxǧǎsʔuǎxi ... sak'ilǎlaqi.  
 g \*i dǎ -a \*qi sax \*gasʔu \*a \*xi  
 and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su take -F \*3<sup>3</sup>O grizzly \*big \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 sak' -ila \*la \*qi  
 animal -prepare \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>O  
 and took the big grizzly ... butchered it.

57. Lid\_qi\_cǎyǎsλa.yǎxi ǧǎsǎwǐsλa ~qi\_nuǎqla.yǎxi, hǎupasi ...

li\*\* qi cǎy -as -la \*(y)a \*xi  
 well De<sup>3</sup> youngest -person -in lineage \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 ǧa -s -aʔ -is -la qi nu-aq-la \*(y)a \*xi  
 this side -range -across -space Cont De<sup>3</sup> elder \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 hǎup\*\* \*a \*si  
 father \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 It was the youngest who was on the side of the old man, his father ....

58. Wǎli\_... pǔx'aʔinǎ ~qi\_ǔsʔnai ~hs\_~qi\_sakǎxi  
 wa la \*i pux' -a \*(?)ina qi ǔs -ʔn -ai  
 NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su blow with mouth -F \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> hair -body -F  
 hs qi sak \*a \*xi  
 Gen De<sup>3</sup> grizzly \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 He blew at the fur of the grizzly

59. hǎmbis kǐbtudmǎsi\_laʔxi.  
 hǎm -bǧ \*i \*s kǐ -bt -ud \*mǎ \*si  
 leading -point \*Fact \*ESSu\*\* cut -penetration -Trans \*Occ \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 la \*xi  
 Loc \*3<sup>3</sup>\*\*  
 before he cut into it.

60. Wǎlid\_qi\_cǎyǎsλa.yǎs x'ǎnǔk'si;  
 wa lid qi cǎy-as-λa \*(y)a \*s x'ǎn[u]k' \*si  
 NT well De<sup>3</sup> youngest \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*LM child \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 It was his youngest child;

61. kǔuli hǐk qn\_tǐsǎxǎtmis qi\_bǐλmǎxi.  
 kuu \*la \*i hǐk qn tǐs -ǎxǎ \*tm \*i \*s  
 not \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su said Purp drip -off there occurs \*Fact \*ESSu  
 qi bǐλ -λm \*a \*xi  
 De<sup>3</sup> blood -? \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 according to the story he did not allow dripping off of blood to occur.

62. Wǎli\_kǐqǎxǎʔinaqi lǎ\_hǔk'ǎna.yǎ ~hs\_qi\_saxǧǎsʔuǎxi  
 wa la \*i kǐq -ǎx -la \*(?)ina \*qi la hǔ -(k')n -a \*(y)a hs  
 NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su lick -off -Cont \*Perf \*3<sup>3</sup>O Loc Df -body -F \*PD<sup>3</sup> Gen  
 qi sax \*gasʔu \*a \*xi  
 De<sup>3</sup> grizzly \*big \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 He licked it off the carcass of the big grizzly

63. ~wə́lɪ... k̥sʔina q̃n̥ʔid.qi.

wa lə ʔi k̥s ʔ(?)ina q̃n̥ʔ -(?).id ʔ(.)qi  
NT now ʔ3ʔSu not ʔPerf swallow -Mom ʔ3ʔO  
but did not swallow it.

64. Wə́lɪ\_huə̀kʔl̥aʔinaq̃i,

wa lə ʔi hu -ə̀kʔ -l̥a -l̥a ʔm̥ ʔina ʔqi  
NT now ʔ3ʔSu ? -F -manage ʔEmph ʔPerf ʔ3ʔO  
He kept it in his mouth\*\*.

65. gi\_lə̀kəli + lə lə́ h̥əupasi,

g ʔi lə -kə -l̥ -l̥ -i + ʔ(.)lə lə h̥əup ʔə ʔsi  
and ʔ3ʔSu go -towards -emerge(?) -in house ʔRep Loc fatherʔ ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
went to the house, to his father,

66. gi\_m̥iʔq̃zud̥l̥ə h̥əupasi ~hs\_~qi\_b̥iʔl̥əʔxi.

g ʔi m̥iʔ -q̃zud̥ -l̥ -l̥ -ud ʔl̥ə  
and ʔ3ʔSu give food on tip of tongue -consume -Trans ʔRep  
h̥əup ʔə ʔsi hs qi b̥iʔ-l̥əʔ ʔə ʔxi  
fatherʔ ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG Gen Deʔ bloodʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
and put the blood in his father's mouth.

67. Wə́lɪ\_k̥sʔina d̥uʔiʔəqi...

wa lə ʔi k̥s ʔ(?)ina du-t-iʔ-ə ʔqi  
NT now ʔ3ʔSu not ʔPerf tellʔ ʔ3ʔO  
He did not tell him [the father]

68. gi\_l̥uʔl̥ə l̥əw̥is,

g ʔi l̥uʔl̥ə l̥ə -əw̥ə -l̥ -s  
and ʔ3ʔSu again go -out -area -on ground outside  
and went outside again,

69. gi\_l̥uʔl̥ə l̥əka ~l̥əqi,

g ʔi l̥uʔl̥ə l̥ə -kə l̥ə qi  
and ʔ3ʔSu again go -reach Loc Deʔ  
went to them again,

70. g̥uə̀l̥ə ~qi\_h̥uʔl̥ə.yəsi\*\* sakʔil̥ə ~qi\_h̥əʔl̥ə ~hs\_~qi\_h̥əupasi.

g̥u -ə̀l̥ə -ə qi h̥u(h̥)l̥ə ʔ(y)ə ʔsi sakʔ-il̥ə qi  
help -F -F Deʔ sibling[Pl] ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG butcherʔ Deʔ  
h̥əʔl̥ə -kʔ hs qi h̥əup ʔə ʔsi

shoot with bow and arrow -LPass Gen Deʔ fatherʔ ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
to help his older brothers butcher what had been shot by their father.

71. Lə́l̥i\_q̃qəp̥l̥əʔinaq̃i\*\*

lə ʔl̥ə ʔi [q]qəp̥ -l̥ə ʔ(?)ina ʔqi  
now ʔRep ʔ3ʔSu use smoke -Caus ʔPerf ʔ3ʔO  
According to the story they smoked it

72. c̥uʔəʔina ~qi\_h̥iʔl̥əʔxi.

cus-ə ʔ(?)ina qi h̥iʔ ʔ(i)ə ʔxi  
dry -F ʔPerf Deʔ meat ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
after which the meat was dry.

73. G̥ə́l̥ə ~qid.s.G̥ə́l̥ə.yəd.s Bg̥ə́n̥m̥xi.

g̥[ə]l̥ə/(ə)l̥ə -l̥ə qi ʔd.s g̥ə́l̥ə ʔ(y)ə ʔd.s bg̥ə́n̥ -ə́n̥ -m̥ ʔxi  
thusʔ Deʔ ʔInv first ʔPDʔ ʔInv peopleʔ ʔSDʔ  
Thus did the First People.

74. ~H̥s\_qi ... Q̃ə́ə +\_qi q̃n̥.g̥i\_w̥əʔi ~qi\_h̥m̥sə.yəʔxi

h̥ -s ʔqi q̃ə-(ə) +\_qi q̃n̥ g̥i -w̥əʔ ʔi  
3rd person -range ʔDeʔ knowledgeʔ Deʔ Purp how -handle ʔFact  
qi h̥m̥s -ə ʔ(y)ə ʔxi  
Deʔ food -F ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
It was theirs ... That was knowledge concerning how to handle food

75. gi\_g̥iʔl̥əgi\_l̥əqi.

g ʔi g̥i -(ə)l̥ə -(g)il̥ə ʔqi.  
and ʔ3ʔSu long -Cont -make ʔ3ʔO  
when making it lost long.

76. C̥uʔəʔinaq̃i [hs\_] k̥uʔl̥ə.yəʔxi du\_q̃əp̥l̥ə.yəʔxi.

cus-ə ʔ(?)ina ʔqi hs k̥uʔ -l̥ə ʔ(y)ə ʔxi du  
dryʔ ʔPerf ʔ3ʔO Gen hot -Cont ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ Conj  
q̃əp̥ -l̥ə ʔ(y)ə ʔxi  
use smoke -Cont ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
They dried it [with] heat and smoke.

## 77. Wā\_lǐ\_tàns?ina

wa lǐ ʔi tǎns ʔ(?)ina  
 NT now ʔ3ʔSu one day from today ʔPerf  
 Well, the next day

## 78. ʔgi\_lamàlǎ ʔlǎ\_ʔqi, ʔixabkʔəxi qi\_wàa.yəxi

g ʔi lǎ -am-(ə)lǎ lǎ qi [ʔi]ʔə-b-kʔ ʔə ʔxi  
 and ʔ3ʔSu go -PI -upriver Loc\*\* Deʔ youngstersʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 qi wa-a ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 Deʔ riverʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 they followed it upstream, the children the river that is

## 79. wā\_lǐ... winàsu?inǎ ʔhs\_ʔqi\_Bàxʔbakʔalanusiwa.yəxi.

wa lǐ ʔi winà ʔsu ʔ(?)ina hs qi  
 NT now ʔ3ʔSu attack ʔPass ʔPerf Gen Deʔ  
 [bakʔ]bakʔ-ala-nu-siwa ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 Bàxʔbakʔalanusiwaʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 and they were attacked by Bàxʔbakʔalanusiwa.

## 80. Qàutʔxǎlǐ ʔqi\_yùkʔala.yəxi lǎ\_wàlǎʔlǎ?asi;

qəut ʔxǎ -i ʔlǎ ʔi qi yu -(kʔ)ala ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 hear -behind -F ʔRep ʔ3ʔSu Deʔ wind -noise ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 lǎ wǎl - (a)ʔlǎ -i ʔ(?)a ʔsi  
 Loc dimension -rear -F ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
 The story says they heard a sound of wind behind them;

## 81. lǐ\_dùqʔlǎ?inǎ ʔqi\_bixbika.yəxi.

lǐ ʔi dùqʔ-lǎ ʔ(?)ina qi [bix]bik -a ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 now ʔ3ʔSu seeʔ ʔPerf Deʔ [transfer fire]transfer fire -F ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 then they looked at the one that flashes like lightning [from the eyes?].

## 82. Li\_ǎqǎlǎ?inǎ mǎasdməsi, Bàxʔbakʔalanusiwi,

lǐ ʔi [ǎ]ǎlǎ -(a)lǎ ʔ(?)ina mǎa -s ʔdm ʔə ʔsi  
 now ʔ3ʔSu [PI]know -Cont ʔPerf matter -range ʔthere is ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
 [bakʔ]bakʔ-ala-nu-siwa ʔi ʔsi  
 Bàxʔbakʔalanusiwaʔ ʔFact ʔ3ʔG  
 They realized what it was, namely that it was Bàxʔbakʔalanusiwa,

## 83. gǐ\_hìtsiwaia.

## g ʔi hit -siwa ʔlǎ

and ʔ3ʔSu lucky -through ʔRep  
 and, as the story goes, ran away from the danger.

## 84. Kìkʔlǎ?ina, Kìkʔlǎlǎ lǎ\_qi\_wàa.yəxi,

Kì[k]kʔ -lǎ ʔ(?)ina Kì[k]lǎ -lǎ -is -lǎ  
 run[PI] -Cont ʔPerf run[PI] -upstream -in open area -Cont  
 lǎ qi wa-a ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 Loc Deʔ riverʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ

As they were running, running in an upstream direction following the river,

## 85. wā\_lǐ... wǎlǎʔlǎlǎ?inǎ ʔqi\_ǎyǎsǎ.yəxi.

wa lǐ ʔlǎ ʔi wǎl-(a)ʔlǎ -i -(g)lǎ -is ʔ(?)ina qi  
 NT now ʔRep ʔ3ʔSu lastʔ -move -near water ʔPerf Deʔ  
 ǎyǎ-as-lǎ ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 youngestʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 the youngest was last according to the story.

## 86. Wā\_lǐ... hǐdǎqi ʔhʔ\_ǎkʔakʔ ʔhs\_ʔqi\_Bàxʔbakʔalanusiwa.yəxi.

wa lǐ ʔlǎ ʔi hǐ ʔda ʔqi ʔhʔa -ka -kʔ  
 NT now ʔRep ʔ3ʔSu the one in point ʔEmph ʔ3ʔD near -reach -LPass  
 hs qi [bakʔ]bakʔ-ala-nu-siwa ʔ(y)a ʔxi\*\*  
 Gen Deʔ Bàxʔbakʔalanusiwaʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 He was the one Bàxʔbakʔalanusiwa came near to.

## 87. Mǎaszkʔlǎ wǎlǎlǎs ʔhs\_ʔqid.s\_kǐwakʔasid.s

mǎa-s ʔzkʔ ʔi ʔlǎ wǎl-(a)lǎ-as  
 matterʔ ʔI tell you ʔInterrogative ʔ? distanceʔ  
 hs qi ʔd.s kǐw -akʔ ʔə ʔsi ʔd.s  
 Gen Deʔ ʔInv run -LPass ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG ʔInv

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

## 88. ʔgi\_... lǎqia ʔlǎ\_ʔqi\_ǎyǎsǎ.yəxi

g ʔi lǎ -qia lǎ qi ǎyǎ-as-lǎ ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 and ʔ3ʔSu go -top of head Loc Deʔ youngestʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 when it caught up to the youngest

## 89. wā\_lǐ... bǎkʔlǎsu?inǎ ʔhs\_ʔqi\_Bàxʔbakʔalanusiwa.yəxi.

wa la \*iə \*i bɛ̃ -alo \*su \*(?)ina  
 NT now \*Rep \*3<sup>Su</sup> human -sound \*Pass \*Perf  
 hs qi [bax]bak -alo-nu-siwa \*(y)a \*xi  
 Gen De<sup>3</sup> Bax\*bak\*alanusiwa \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 who was spoken to by Bax\*bak\*alanusiwa.

90. Kùlanug\*a hìxəʔuʔa.  
 kuy \*la \*nug\*a hìx -a \*ʔ \*uʔa  
 not \*contrary to expectation \*1<sup>SgSu</sup> kill -F \*Fut \*20  
 'Don't think I am going to kill you.

91. Gúəʔəʔnug\*ʔuʔa gúəʔəʔs ~qi\_nuəqə.yəxi.  
 gú-aʔ-a \*ʔ \*nug\*ə \*uʔa gú-aʔ-a \*i \*əq \*us\*\*  
 help? \*Fut \*1<sup>SgSu</sup> \*20 help? \*Fact \*PD<sup>2</sup> \*2G  
 qi nu-aq-la \*(y)a \*xi  
 De<sup>3</sup> elder? \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 I am going to help you because you helped the old man.

92. Nùg\*a Bəx\*bak\*alanusiwa.  
 nug\*a [bax]bak -alo-nu-siwa  
 I\*\* Bax\*bak\*alanusiwa?  
 I am Bax\*bak\*alanusiwa.

93. Wìhək\*s ..., x'itəs.  
 wi \*hə \*k' \*s x'it-a \*s  
 try \*Emph \*? \*Imp return? \*Imp  
 Do go back.

94. Daas ~qi\_núhəyus  
 da -a \*s qi nú(h)ə \*(y)a \*us  
 take -F \*Imp De<sup>3</sup> elder sibling[Pl] \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*2G  
 Take your elder brothers

95. gs\_x'itə.  
 g \*s x'it-a  
 and \*2<sup>Su</sup> return?  
 and turn back.

96. Ləatuss, k'ix\*atusləs qu\_wəə.yəxu ʔuʔə.  
 Lo -atus \*s k'ix\* -atus -lə \*s qu wa-a \*(y)a \*xu\*\*  
 go -downriver \*Imp run -downriver -Cont \*Imp De<sup>2</sup> river? \*PD<sup>2</sup> \*SD<sup>2</sup>  
 ʔuʔə  
 again  
 Go downriver, running downriver again.

97. Lə\_ləsgmiz'inə ~qi\_cəyəsə.yəxi  
 la la -sgm -i \*(?)ina qi cəy-əs-ə \*(y)a \*xi  
 now go -bulky shape -F \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> youngest? \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 The youngest followed behind [the others]

98. lid.si\_ǵəʔ bɛ̃ ələsu ~hs\_~qi\_Bəx\*bak\*alanusiwa.yəxi  
 la \*id \*si ǵəʔ bɛ̃ -alo \*su hs  
 Loc \*Fact \*3<sup>G</sup> finish speak? \*Pass Gen  
 qi [bax]bak -alo-nu-siwa \*(y)a \*xi  
 De<sup>3</sup> Bax\*bak\*alanusiwa \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 when Bax\*bak\*alanusiwa had stopped talking to him

99. k'sist.wi.wəʔlɪʔ.  
 ks \*i \*si wi -wəʔ -i \*ʔ  
 not \*Fact \*3<sup>G</sup> which -carry out -F \*Fut  
 because he [Bax\*bak\*alanusiwa] would not do anything.

100. Ləli\_ləqiamas?inə ~qi\_mìrnis?utasi  
 la \*lɪ \*i la-qia \*mas \*(?)ina qi  
 now \*Rep \*3<sup>Su</sup> catch up? \*Occ \*Perf De<sup>3</sup>  
 qi [mì]rnis -is -ʔut \*a \*si  
 De<sup>3</sup> [Pl]simultaneous -in world -partner \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>G</sup>  
 He caught up to his brothers

101. gi\_wəxəʔə qn\_x'itisi,  
 g \*i wa-xə \*lə qn x'it-a \*i \*si  
 and \*3<sup>Su</sup> order? \*Rep Purp return? \*Fact \*3<sup>G</sup>  
 and asked them to turn back,

102. gi\_x'itə?ina.  
 g \*i x'it-a \*(?)ina  
 and \*3<sup>Su</sup> return? \*Perf  
 whereupon they turned back.

103. Ləi λújàʔina cəqəsu ʔhs\_ʔqi\_Bəxʔbəkʔalanusiwa.yəxi  
 la ʔi λúja ʔ(?)ina cəq -a ʔsu hs  
 now ʔRep ʔ3ʔSu again ʔPerf chase -F ʔPass Gen  
 qi [bəkʔ]bəkʔ-ala-nu-siwa ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 Deʔ Bəxʔbəkʔalanusiwaʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 They were again chased by Bəxʔbəkʔalanusiwa

104. lid.si\_ləmatuʔla  
 la ʔid ʔsi la -am -atus -la  
 now ʔFact ʔ3ʔG go -PI -downstream -Cont  
 when they were going downstream

105. gi\_λújàʔina kəkiwəuʔ, kiʔʔla.  
 g ʔi λúja ʔ(?)ina [kəkiw -a)uʔ kiʔʔ -la  
 and ʔ3ʔSu again ʔPerf [Con]running -keep on run -Cont  
 and again they kept running without stopping, running on.

106. Gi\_ħəʔəlaʔina gugʔəsasi  
 g ʔi ħəʔə -a)la ʔ(?)ina gugʔ-as ʔa ʔsi  
 and ʔ3ʔSu close -Cont ʔPerf live -place ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
 They had come close to where they lived

107. gi\_xsʔidja ʔqi\_Bəxʔbəkʔalanusiwa.yəxi λúja.  
 g ʔi xs -ʔ(?)id ʔ()ja qi [bəkʔ]bəkʔ-ala-nu-siwa ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 and ʔ3ʔSu disappear -Mom ʔRep Deʔ Bəxʔbəkʔalanusiwaʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 λúja  
 again  
 when Bəxʔbəkʔalanusiwa disappeared again, as the story says.

108. D)əd.s hiəsgn xiʔəbəkʔəxi  
 d)əd\*\* ʔs hias -gn [xi]ʔə-b-kʔ ʔa ʔxi  
 very ʔLM breathe -excessively youngstersʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 The youngsters were completely out of breath

109. gi\_ləmaʔəiʔ.  
 g ʔi la -ama -ʔ(?)əiʔ  
 and ʔ3ʔSu go -PI -into house  
 when they went inside.

110. Gi\_dùtiʔəʔinə ħbùkʔasi

- g ʔi du-t-it-a ʔ(?)ina ħb-ukʔ ʔa ʔsi  
 and ʔ3ʔSu tellʔ ʔPerf motherʔ ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
 They told their mother

111. hs\_ǵiʔwədəsa ʔqi ʔhs\_ʔqi\_Bəxʔbəkʔalanusiwa.yəxi ....  
 hs ǵi -wəd -as ʔa qi  
 Gen how -handle -way ʔPDʔ Deʔ  
 hs qi [bəkʔ]bəkʔ-ala-nu-siwa ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 Gen Deʔ Bəxʔbəkʔalanusiwaʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 the experience with Bəxʔbəkʔalanusiwa ....

112. Wa\_lid.si\_ǵiəla cùsaʔinə ʔqi... cùyakʔasi,  
 wa la ʔi ʔds ʔi ǵi -ala cus-a ʔ(?)ina  
 NT now ʔ3ʔSu ʔInv -ʔ\*\* long time -Cont dryʔ ʔPerf  
 qi cuy -akʔ ʔa ʔsi  
 Deʔ dry -LPass ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
 Meanwhile, it had been dry for a long while, this .... thing they had dried,

113. həʔxʔguʔdi ʔhs\_nuəqja.yəxi.  
 həʔ -xʔ ʔguʔ ʔd ʔi  
 shoot with bow and arrow -LPass ʔNR ʔSP ʔPDʔs  
 hs nu-aq-ja ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 Gen elderʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 what the old man had shot.

114. Bja, b)əʔəsuʔinə ʔhs\_ʔqi\_ǵnəħəxi, ħbùkʔasi,  
 b) -a\*\* [b)əʔə ʔsu ʔ(?)ina  
 prevent from -F [PI]prevent from ʔPass ʔPerf  
 hs qi ǵn-ə ʔ(h)a ʔxi ħb-ukʔ ʔa ʔsi  
 Gen Deʔ femaleʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ motherʔ ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
 They were warned by the woman, their mother,

115. qn\_ksid.si yəqʔə ʔqi\_nuəqja.yəxi  
 qn ks ʔid ʔsi yəqʔ -a qi nu-aq-ja ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 Purp not ʔFact ʔ3ʔG give -F Deʔ elderʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
 not to give to the old man

116. ʔhs\_ʔqi\_həmsa.yəxi, ħ)ziəxi.  
 hs qi hms-a ʔ(y)a ʔxi ħ)z ʔ(i)a ʔxi  
 of Deʔ foodʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ meat ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ

hau qə -(a)lə ʔnugʷa ʔqi wə lə ʔlɛ ʔi nix ʔ(?)inə  
Oh know -Cont ʔ1SgSu ʔ3ʔ0 NT now ʔRep ʔ3ʔSu say ʔPerf  
"Oh, I knew it," he answered,

132. h̥m̥t̥m̥ k̥s̥ ʔi ʔgə ʔnd.s̥ duqʷ -lə  
h̥m̥t̥m̥ k̥s̥ ʔi ʔgə ʔnd.s̥ duqʷ -lə  
although not ʔFact ʔPDʔ ʔ1SgG see -Cont  
"even though I do not see

133. wə ʔlanugʷa k̥s̥ ʔina h̥əxʷ ʔnə h̥iʔə  
wə lə ʔnugʷa k̥s̥ ʔ(?)inə h̥əxʷ -ʔnə -ə h̥iʔə -ə  
NT now ʔ1SgSu not ʔPerf one -time -F missʔ  
I have not once missed target

134. h̥s̥ ʔqik̥ n̥əuləkʷ s̥ h̥əʔm̥nd.s̥, n̥ix̥. ʔi̥ ....  
h̥s̥ qik̥ n̥əʔw(ə/ə) -(a)lə -kʷ ʔs̥ h̥əʔm̥ -m̥ ʔgə ʔnd.s̥  
Gen Deʔ spirit -F -LPass ʔLM arrowʔ ʔPDʔ ʔ1SgG  
h̥ix̥ ʔ(?)lə ʔi  
say ʔRep ʔ3ʔSu  
with these magical arrows of mine," the story has him say ....

135. wə ʔli ʔtənsʔina  
wə lə ʔi ʔəns ʔ(?)inə  
NT now ʔ3ʔSu one day from now ʔPerf  
The next day

136. wə ʔx̥ʔi d̥iə n̥əʔq̥lə yə ʔxi ʔq̥i ʔəʔəs̥ ʔlə yə ʔx̥ʔi n̥əkʷ si  
wə -x̥ -(ʔ?)id ʔlə n̥ə -əq̥ -lə ʔ(y)ə ʔxi  
go ahead -say -Mom ʔRep elderʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ  
q̥i ʔəʔəs̥ -lə ʔ(y)ə ʔs̥ ʔx̥ʔi n̥əkʷ si  
Deʔ youngestʔ ʔPDʔ ʔLM child ʔ3ʔG  
the old man asked his youngest son

137. q̥n̥ m̥əʔl̥ ʔəsuʔi  
q̥n̥ m̥əʔl̥ -lə ʔsu ʔ(?)i ʔsi  
Purp take by hand -Cont ʔPass ʔFact ʔ3ʔG  
to lead him by the hand

138. hi q̥ami ʔlid.s̥ ʔq̥i ʔəʔəs̥ ʔlə yə ʔx̥ʔi n̥əkʷ si g̥əʔəq̥i

hi ʔq̥am ʔi lid ʔ(.)s̥ q̥i ʔəʔəs̥ -lə ʔ(y)ə ʔs̥  
the one in point ʔonly ʔFact\*\* well ʔESSu Deʔ youngestʔ ʔPDʔ ʔLM  
ʔx̥ʔi n̥əkʷ si g̥əʔəq̥i  
child ʔ3ʔG helpʔ ʔ3ʔ0  
because it was his youngest son who had helped him

139. l̥ə wə ʔx̥ʔi ʔi ʔg̥i ʔis d̥ə l̥ə s̥ə si  
lə wə -x̥ ʔi ʔi ʔg̥i -isd -(a)lə -əs ʔə ʔsi  
Loc measure -F how[PI] -in circle -Cont -mode ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
in everything he did

140. k̥s̥i s̥i ʔduqʷ -lə  
k̥s̥ ʔi ʔsi ʔduqʷ -lə  
not ʔFact ʔ3ʔG see -Cont  
because he did not see

141. - ʔəəxʷ. ʔi̥.  
ʔə - (ə)xʷ ʔ(.)lə ʔi  
work -LPass ʔRep ʔ3ʔSu  
- according to the story he was blind.

142. wə ʔli m̥əʔl̥ ʔəʔina ʔx̥əʔb̥kʷ ʔxi h̥əʔp̥ə si  
wə lə ʔi m̥əʔl̥ -l̥ -s̥ -ə ʔ(?)inə  
NT now ʔ3ʔSu take by hand -motion -outside house -Trans ʔPerf  
ʔx̥ə - (ʔ?)b̥ -kʷ ʔə ʔxi h̥əʔp̥ə ʔə ʔsi  
childʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ fatherʔ ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
Well, the youngster led his father by the hand

143. l̥ə h̥ukʷ iə ʔxi ʔh̥s̥ wə ʔə yə ʔxi l̥ə l̥is̥ ....  
lə h̥u - (kʷ) iə ʔxi -i h̥s̥ wə -ə ʔ(y)ə ʔxi l̥ə -ə l̥ə -is̥  
Loc Df -bank -F Gen riverʔ ʔPDʔ ʔSDʔ go -upstream -near water  
on the bank of the river, going upstream ....

144. wə ʔli k̥ʷ ʔəʔisʔi ʔl̥ə ʔina  
wə lə ʔi k̥ʷ - (ʔ?)is̥ ʔ(?)l̥ə ʔ(?)inə  
NT now ʔ3ʔSu sit -in open space ʔMom\*\* ʔPerf  
At one point they sat down

145. gi ʔd̥iti ʔə ... d̥iti ʔə l̥ə ʔq̥i ʔx̥ʔi n̥əkʷ si.

the food, the meat.

117. Wā<sub>1</sub>lāi<sub>1</sub>hāux<sup>1</sup>ʔinā<sub>3</sub> ḡānu<sub>1</sub>l  
 wa la ʔi<sub>1</sub> hāux-ux<sup>1</sup> ʔ(?)ina ʔs ḡan -u<sub>1</sub>l  
 NT now ʔRep ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su one<sup>1</sup> ʔPerf ʔLM night(?) -substance  
 One evening it happened
118. Wā<sub>1</sub>li<sub>1</sub>hūā<sub>1</sub>k<sup>1</sup>ʔlā<sub>1</sub>ʔina ʔqi<sub>1</sub>cāy<sub>1</sub>as<sub>1</sub>lā<sub>1</sub>yā<sub>1</sub>xi.  
 wa li ʔi hū-ak<sup>1</sup>-lā<sub>1</sub> ʔ(?)ina qi cāy-as-lā<sub>1</sub> ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
 NT now ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su hold in mouth<sup>1</sup> ʔPerf De<sup>3</sup> youngest<sup>1</sup> ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔSD<sup>3</sup>  
 that the youngest held it in his mouth.
119. Kūu<sub>1</sub>li<sub>1</sub>q<sup>1</sup>hā<sup>1</sup>ʔid ʔqi<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>zā<sub>1</sub>xi.  
 kūu ʔi<sub>1</sub> q<sup>1</sup>hā<sup>1</sup> ʔ(?)id qi h<sub>1</sub>z ʔ(i)a ʔxi  
 not ʔRep ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su swallow -Mom De<sup>3</sup> meat ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔSD<sup>3</sup>  
 According to the story he did not swallow the meat.
120. Wā<sub>1</sub>lāi<sub>1</sub>k<sup>1</sup>h<sub>1</sub>ā<sup>1</sup>ʔnā<sup>1</sup>ʔina ʔdāu<sub>1</sub>qi, hāupasi.  
 wa la ʔi<sub>1</sub> k<sup>1</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-it ʔnā<sup>1</sup>ʔ ʔ(?)ina d[ə]u<sub>1</sub>qi ʔqi  
 NT now ʔRep ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su lie -indoors ʔsometimes ʔPerf Conj ʔ3<sup>3</sup>O  
 hāup ʔa ʔsi  
 father<sup>1</sup> ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔ3<sup>3</sup>G  
 Now, he sometimes slept with him, his father.
121. Nāux<sup>1</sup>ʔinā<sub>3</sub> lāksdi<sup>1</sup>  
 hāux-ux<sup>1</sup> ʔ(?)ina ʔs la -(k)sd -it  
 one<sup>1</sup> [time] ʔPerf ʔLM go -position -indoors  
 At one time they had gone to bed
122. gi<sub>1</sub>mā<sub>1</sub>q<sup>1</sup>zudā<sub>1</sub> ʔqi<sub>1</sub>hāupasi ʔhs<sub>1</sub> ʔqi<sub>1</sub>cūyā<sub>1</sub>k<sup>1</sup>s h<sub>1</sub>zā<sub>1</sub>xi.  
 g ʔi mā<sub>1</sub>q<sup>1</sup>-q<sup>1</sup>z-ud ʔi<sub>1</sub> qi hāup ʔa ʔsi  
 and ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su filled mouth<sup>1</sup> ʔRep De<sup>3</sup> father<sup>1</sup> ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔ3<sup>3</sup>G  
 hs qi cuy -(ə)k<sup>1</sup> ʔs h<sub>1</sub>z ʔxi  
 Gen De<sup>3</sup> dry -LPass ʔLM meat ʔSD<sup>3</sup>  
 and he put in his father's mouth the dried meat.
123. Gi<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>is<sub>1</sub>lā<sub>1</sub>dūti<sup>1</sup>ā<sub>1</sub> hāupasi.  
 g ʔi h<sub>1</sub>is<sub>1</sub>lā<sub>1</sub> du-t-it-a hāup ʔa ʔsi  
 and ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su recent<sup>1</sup> tell<sup>1</sup> father<sup>1</sup> ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔ3<sup>3</sup>G  
 Not until then did he tell his father.

124. "Wa, hāup," h<sub>1</sub>ix<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>i,  
 wa hāup h<sub>1</sub>ix ʔ(?)i<sub>1</sub>g ʔi  
 NT father<sup>1</sup> say ʔRep ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su  
 "Well, father," he said according to the story,
125. "Kūu<sub>1</sub>ssu mā<sub>1</sub>lā<sub>1</sub> ʔqi<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>ā<sub>1</sub>su<sub>1</sub>ʔus,  
 kūu -s ʔsu mā<sub>1</sub>lā<sub>1</sub>-a qi h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>ā<sub>1</sub>-a ʔsu ʔ(?)us  
 not -range ʔ2su miss<sup>1</sup> De<sup>3</sup> shoot with bow and arrow<sup>1</sup> ʔPass ʔ2G  
 you did not miss what you shot,
126. Kūu<sub>1</sub>ssu mā<sub>1</sub>lā<sub>1</sub>aqi.  
 kūu-s ʔsu mā<sub>1</sub>lā<sub>1</sub>-a ʔqi  
 not<sup>1</sup> ʔ2su miss<sup>1</sup> ʔ3<sup>3</sup>O  
 you did not miss it.
127. Wa<sub>1</sub>lid<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>bū<sub>1</sub>k<sup>1</sup> nuā<sub>1</sub>qigilā<sub>1</sub>  
 wa lid h<sub>1</sub>b-uk<sup>1</sup> nu -aq -i -(g)ilā<sub>1</sub>  
 NT well<sup>1</sup> mother<sup>1</sup> mature -emanate -F -make  
 But it was mother who had ideas
128. gi<sub>1</sub>dūti<sup>1</sup>u<sub>1</sub>lā<sub>1</sub> ʔhs<sub>1</sub> mā<sub>1</sub>lā<sub>1</sub>iq<sup>1</sup>sqi.  
 g ʔi du-t-it-g ʔu<sub>1</sub>lā<sub>1</sub> hs mā<sub>1</sub>lā<sub>1</sub>-a ʔi ʔaq ʔus\*\* ʔqi  
 and ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su tell<sup>1</sup> ʔ20 Gen miss<sup>1</sup> ʔFact ʔPD<sup>2</sup> ʔ2G ʔ3<sup>3</sup>O  
 and told you that you missed it.
129. Wa<sub>1</sub>lid<sub>1</sub>s<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>bā<sub>1</sub>mas<sub>1</sub>ʔinaqi ʔhs<sub>1</sub> ʔqi<sub>1</sub>mi<sub>1</sub>kt ʔhs<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>ā<sub>1</sub>mus,  
 wa li ʔi ʔd.s hi -bā<sub>1</sub> ʔmas ʔ(?)ina ʔqi  
 NT now ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su ʔInv at once -at end ʔOcc ʔPerf ʔ3<sup>3</sup>O  
 hs\*\* qi mi<sub>1</sub>kt hs h<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>ā<sub>1</sub>-m ʔg ʔus  
 Gen De<sup>3</sup> mi<sub>1</sub>kt Gen arrow<sup>1</sup> ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔ2G  
 But it killed it instantly, by the mi<sub>1</sub>kt of your arrow,"
130. n<sub>1</sub>it<sub>1</sub>a ʔā<sub>1</sub>ʔb<sub>1</sub>k<sup>1</sup>ā<sub>1</sub>xi hāupasi.  
 nit -a ʔā<sub>1</sub>-(ʔ)b-k<sup>1</sup> ʔa ʔxi hāup ʔa ʔsi  
 say -F youngster<sup>1</sup> ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔSD<sup>3</sup> father<sup>1</sup> ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔ3<sup>3</sup>G  
 the youngster told his father.
131. "Hāu .... qā<sub>1</sub>lanug<sup>1</sup>aqi," wa<sub>1</sub>lāi<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>ix<sub>1</sub>ʔina<sub>1</sub>,  
 "Hāu .... qā<sub>1</sub>lanug<sup>1</sup>aqi," wa<sub>1</sub>lāi<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>ix<sub>1</sub>ʔina<sub>1</sub>,

g ʔi du-t-i-t-a du-t-i-t-a ʔia qi ʔn[u]k ʔa ʔsi  
and ʔ3ʔSu tell tell ʔRep Deʔ child ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
and he [father] told ... told his son.

146. Lanug ʔa dũq ʔa ʔina, ʔix. ʔi.  
la ʔnug ʔa duq ʔ-ʔa ʔ(?)ina ʔix ʔ(.)ia ʔi  
now ʔ1SgSu see -Cont ʔPerf say ʔRep ʔ3ʔSu  
"I can see now," he said according to the story,

147. dæidŋlæ Bæx ʔbak ʔalanusiwa. yaʔi ʔhs ʔqi ʔ... tæuk ʔini ʔasi  
da-id ʔnla [bæx ʔbak ʔ-ala-nu-siwa ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
gave ʔ1SgD Bæx ʔbak ʔalanusiwa ʔ PDʔ ʔSDʔ  
hs qi taw ʔ-(a)k ʔ\*\* -ing -i ʔ(?)a ʔsi  
Gen Deʔ strong -F -way -F ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
"Bæx ʔbak ʔalanusiwa gave me ... his power

148. gi ʔlũlæ ʔ... gnuq ʔa ʔlũlæ dũq ʔia  
g ʔi ʔlũlæ g ʔnuq ʔa ʔlũlæ duq ʔ-ʔa  
and ʔ3ʔSu again and ʔ1SgSu again see -Cont  
and again ... and I saw again

149. hs ʔqi ʔi ʔwædæsesin ʔlæ hs ʔqi ʔhũk ʔus,  
hs ʔqi ʔi ʔi -wæd -as ʔa ʔsi ʔnla hs qi ʔhũ-uk ʔg ʔus  
Gen Deʔ how -handle -way ʔPDʔ ʔ3ʔG ʔ1SgD Gen Deʔ mother ʔ PDʔ ʔ2G  
the things done to me by your mother,

150. hæulmhisin ʔla.  
h[æ]ul -m ʔ(h)i ʔsi ʔnla.  
play -Med ʔFact ʔ3ʔG ʔ1SgD  
her making fun of me.

151. Lanug ʔa ʔi ʔt ʔina ʔla ʔa ʔquæla dæuqi.  
la ʔnug ʔa ʔi ʔt ʔ(?)ina ʔla ʔa ʔquæ -u ʔ-(a)la d[æ]u ʔqi  
now ʔ1SgSu stop ʔPerf ʔbut speak -together with -Cont Conj ʔ3ʔD  
I myself have stopped speaking to her.

152. Lanug ʔa ʔhæqu ʔi ʔna miæ yad.s læ qu wæa. yaʔu  
la ʔnug ʔa ʔhaq -u -d ʔla ʔi ʔna mia ʔ(y)a ʔd.s læ qu  
now ʔ1SgSu visible -out -Trans ʔFut ʔPerf fish ʔPDʔ ʔInv Loc Deʔ

wa-a ʔ(y)a ʔqu ʔ\*\*  
river ʔ PDʔ ʔSDʔ  
I am now going to make fish appear in the river here

153. wa ʔlid.s ʔks ʔina læ ætæ ʔla  
wa læ ʔi ʔd.s ʔks ʔ(?)ina læ -ætæ ʔla  
NT now ʔ3ʔSu ʔInv not ʔPerf go -along with others ʔFut  
and it will not follow any more

154. hæx ʔnug ʔa wæx ʔi ʔla ʔi ʔnuæ ʔla yaʔi.  
hæx ʔnug ʔa wa-x ʔ-(?)id ʔla ʔix ʔ(.)ia nu-aq-ʔa ʔ(y)a ʔxi  
if ʔ1SgSu order ʔ-Mom ʔFut say ʔRep elder ʔ PDʔ ʔSDʔ  
when I give the command," said the old man.

155. ʔwĩnak ʔs x ʔitæwss.  
wi-hæ-k ʔs x ʔit-a ʔws ʔs  
please ʔImp return ʔ-for a while ʔImp  
"Please turn back for a while.

156. ʔlũlæ hæq læ ætæ dũt i ʔhs ʔhũk ʔus.  
ʔlũlæ ʔs hæq -ʔa ʔnla du-t-i-t hs ʔhũ-uk ʔg ʔus  
again ʔImp speak -Cont ʔ1SgD tell ʔ Gen mother ʔ PDʔ ʔ2G  
Again tell me news about your mother.

157. ʔũx ʔitæ ʔnug ʔa læ ʔgu wæa. yaʔu, ʔix. ʔi.  
ʔũx -it -a ʔla ʔnug ʔa læ ʔgu wa-a ʔ(y)a ʔqu ʔ\*\* ʔix ʔ(.)ia ʔi  
wash -body -F ʔFut ʔ1SgSu Loc Deʔ river ʔ PDʔ ʔSDʔ say ʔRep ʔ3ʔSu  
I am going to bathe in the river here," he said.

158. wæ læ ʔi x ʔitæ ʔina ʔæ ʔb-k ʔa ʔxi.  
wa læ ʔi ʔx ʔit-a ʔ(?)ina ʔæ-(?)b-k ʔa ʔxi  
NT now ʔRep ʔ3ʔSu return ʔPerf youngster ʔ PDʔ ʔSDʔ  
The youngster turned back.

159. Wa ʔli ʔhumæsu ʔinæ ʔhs ʔhũk ʔasi  
wa læ ʔi ʔhuma ʔsu ʔ(?)ina hs ʔhũ-uk ʔa ʔsi  
NT now ʔ3ʔSu ask ʔPass ʔPerf Gen mother ʔ PDʔ ʔ3ʔG  
He was asked by his mother

160. ʔi ʔa ʔlas ʔhs ʔhũpasi



ǵ[olylə/a] -(a)lə -as hs həup \*a \*si  
how -Cont -mode Gen father\* \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
what his father was doing

161. ǵm̥i.hutə həupasi.

g \*m̥ \*i hut -a həup \*a \*si  
when \*Emph \*3<sup>3</sup>Su leave -F father\* \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
when he left his father.

162. ʔūx̣ʔitəli lə\_qi.wəə.yəxi.

ʔūx̣ʔ -it-a \*ʔ \*i lə qi wə-a \*(y)a \*xi  
bathe\* \*Fut \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su Loc De<sup>3</sup> river\* \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
"He said he was going to bathe in the river."

163. Wəxəʔinnlə qn\_xʔitəwsignə.s.

wə-xəʔ \*(?)ing \*n̥lə qn xʔit-a \*ws \*i \*gə \*nd.s  
order \*Perf \*1SgD Purp return\* \*short time \*Fact \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*1SgG  
He told me to turn back.

164. Wə\_ləlanugʔə\_ləjəʔina dənunaʔqi, n̥ix.li.

wə lə \*lə \*nugʔə ləjə \*(?)ina də-a \*nuna \*ʔ \*qi  
NT now \*nevertheless \*1SgSu again \*Perf take\* \*go to \*Fut \*3<sup>3</sup>D  
n̥ix \*(.)lə \*i  
say \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su  
But I am nevertheless again going to get him [back], he said.

165. Pələʔina ʔqi\_nuəqə.yəxi.

pə -(a)lə \*(?)ina qi nu-aq-lə \*(y)a \*xi  
work -Cont \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> elder\* \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
Meanwhile the old man was working.

166. Li\_miəgiləʔina.

lə \*i miə -(g)ilə \*(?)ina  
now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su fish -make \*Perf  
He was creating salmon.

167. Kʔəhəlesguʔd h̥x̣ʔ\_həməkə miəgiləsusi.

kʔəh̥ -əle -as \*guʔ \*d h̥x̣ʔ həmə -ka  
discoloured -F -mode \*NR \*SP try first -towards

miə -(g)ilə \*su \*si  
fish -make \*Pass \*3<sup>3</sup>G

Yellow cedar wood was the first thing he tried to turn into salmon.

168. ǵʔəʔ.li.

ǵʔəʔ \*(.)lə \*i  
finish \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su  
The story has it that when he completed the job

169. wə\_ləli\_ǵuʔsduəina(qi) lə\_wəə.yəxi.

wə lə \*lə \*i ǵuʔ -sdə -ud  
NT now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su scoop particled solid in hand -into water -Trans  
\*(ə)ina [qi] lə wə-a \*(y)a \*xi  
\*Perf [3<sup>3</sup>D] Loc river\* \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
he scooped a handful of it [i.e. the wooden salmon] into the river.

170. Wə\_ləli\_ksʔina\_miə

wə lə \*lə \*i ks \*(?)ina miə  
NT now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su not \*Perf salmon  
Rather than salmon

171. h̥ixʔiniʔiləpʔina\_qi.

h̥ix̣ -(?)iniʔ \*(?)iləp \*(?)ina qi  
killer whales -specimen \*Mom \*Perf De<sup>3</sup>  
this [wood] became killer whales.

172. H̥ixʔiniʔiləpʔinə\_qi h̥x̣ʔ\_miəgiləks̥i.

h̥ix̣ʔ -iniʔ \*(?)iləp \*(?)ina qi h̥x̣ʔ miə -(g)ilə -kʔ \*si  
killer whales\* \*Mom \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> try salmon -make -LPass \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
It became killer whales although he had tried to create salmon.

173. Hidəi ʔqi\_kʔəhəlesəxi.

hi \*də \*i qi kʔəh̥ -əle -as \*a \*xi  
that \*Emph \*?\*\*\* De<sup>3</sup> yellow cedar\* \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
So much for the yellow cedar wood.

174. ǵʔix̣ʔikə wə\_x̣qi\_pəuʔasi.

[ǵʔi -(x)] ǵʔi -ka wə -x̣ qi pə-u-i \*(?)a \*si  
[such -iterate] such -iterate limit -F De<sup>3</sup> creation\* \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
All his creations had now one now the other quality.

175. Lāk<sup>o</sup>ai<sup>o</sup>ia<sup>o</sup>ina<sup>s</sup> mia lāk<sup>o</sup>ai<sup>o</sup>ia<sup>o</sup>gas λὰῶsgu+d, k<sup>o</sup>ax<sup>o</sup>λὰῶ.  
 l(a)k<sup>o</sup> -ai<sup>o</sup> -(a)ia<sup>o</sup>\*(?)ina<sup>s</sup> \*s mia l(a)k<sup>o</sup>-ai<sup>o</sup>-ai(a)  
 different -side to side -Cont \*Perf \*LM fish different kinds<sup>o</sup>  
 \*(y)a<sup>o</sup> \*s λᾱῶ -s \*gu<sup>o</sup>+ \*d, k<sup>o</sup>ax<sup>o</sup> -λᾱῶ  
 \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*LM stand on ground -outside \*NR \*SP, split cedar -?  
 Different kinds of wood, red cedar\*\*, were different kinds of fish [i.e. sea creatures].

176. Hida<sup>o</sup>ina<sup>o</sup> ~qi<sup>o</sup>ā<sup>o</sup>ā<sup>o</sup>ia<sup>o</sup>sgu+dia<sup>o</sup>xi ...  
 hi<sup>o</sup> \*da<sup>o</sup>\*(?)ina<sup>o</sup> qi<sup>o</sup> ā<sup>o</sup>ā<sup>o</sup>-i<sup>o</sup>-ai<sup>o</sup>-as \*gu<sup>o</sup>+ \*d \*i  
 the one in point \*Emph \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> red -F -F -plant \*NR \*SP \*PD<sup>abs</sup>  
 \*a<sup>o</sup> \*xi  
 \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 Alderwood ...

177. lid<sup>o</sup>miagilāsi<sup>o</sup>qi.  
 lid<sup>o</sup> mia -(g)ila<sup>o</sup> \*si qi  
 well salmon -make \*3<sup>3</sup>G De<sup>3</sup>  
 is what he turned into salmon.\*\*

178. Dīdāinās hik.  
 dīed\*\* \*(ā)ina<sup>o</sup> \*s hik  
 quite \*Perf \*LM good  
 It was quite alright now.

179. Zūh<sup>o</sup>x<sup>o</sup>ilap<sup>o</sup>ina<sup>o</sup>qi  
 Zū<sup>o</sup> -n \*(x)(?)ilap<sup>o</sup>\*(?)ina<sup>o</sup> qi  
 coho -F \*become \*Perf De<sup>3</sup>  
 It [wood] became coho salmon

180. lid<sup>o</sup>si<sup>o</sup>gūx<sup>o</sup>sdud<sup>o</sup>qi la<sup>o</sup>qi<sup>o</sup>wāa<sup>o</sup>ya<sup>o</sup>xi  
 la<sup>o</sup> \*id<sup>o</sup> \*si gūx<sup>o</sup>-sda<sup>o</sup>-ud<sup>o</sup> \*(.)qi la<sup>o</sup> qi wa-a<sup>o</sup> \*(y)a<sup>o</sup> \*xi  
 Loc \*Fact \*3<sup>3</sup>G scoop into water<sup>o</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>O Loc De<sup>3</sup> river \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 when he scooped a handful of it [wood] into the river

181. gi<sup>o</sup>ā<sup>o</sup>ā<sup>o</sup>x<sup>o</sup>\*n zūn.  
 g<sup>o</sup> \*i ā<sup>o</sup>ā<sup>o</sup>x<sup>o</sup>-(?)n zū-n  
 and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su red -body coho<sup>o</sup>  
 and it was red-bodied coho.

182. Wa<sup>o</sup>li<sup>o</sup>hix<sup>o</sup>ina<sup>o</sup>.  
 wa<sup>o</sup> la<sup>o</sup> \*i hix<sup>o</sup>\*(?)ina<sup>o</sup>  
 NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su good \*Perf  
 Now it was alright.

183. Wa<sup>o</sup>li<sup>o</sup>g<sup>o</sup>alāusu<sup>o</sup>ina<sup>o</sup>qi  
 wa<sup>o</sup> la<sup>o</sup> \*i g<sup>o</sup>al<sup>o</sup> -(a)usu<sup>o</sup> \*(?)ina<sup>o</sup> \*qi  
 NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su finish -eventually \*Perf \*3<sup>3</sup>O  
 After he had accomplished it

184. gi<sup>o</sup>lūjā<sup>o</sup>lāka<sup>o</sup>la ~qi<sup>o</sup>x<sup>o</sup>nūk<sup>o</sup>asi  
 g<sup>o</sup> \*i lūjā<sup>o</sup> la-ka<sup>o</sup> \*la<sup>o</sup> qi x<sup>o</sup>nūk<sup>o</sup> \*a<sup>o</sup> \*si  
 and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su again approach<sup>o</sup> \*Rep De<sup>3</sup> child \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 he went again to his child [?who had meanwhile gone from his mother to the place where his father stayed? See line 156: the father is not living with the mother and children.]

185. gi<sup>o</sup>lūjā<sup>o</sup>dāasu.  
 g<sup>o</sup> \*i lūjā<sup>o</sup> da-a<sup>o</sup> \*su  
 and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su again take<sup>o</sup> \*Pass  
 and was again taken [to the mother].

186. Wa<sup>o</sup>li<sup>o</sup>g<sup>o</sup>anūt<sup>o</sup>ina<sup>o</sup>  
 wa<sup>o</sup> la<sup>o</sup> \*i g<sup>o</sup>an-ut<sup>o</sup> \*(?)ina<sup>o</sup>  
 NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su evening<sup>o</sup> \*Perf  
 Evening had come

187. gi<sup>o</sup>du<sup>o</sup>tūtāla<sup>o</sup> ~qi<sup>o</sup>sāsma<sup>o</sup>si,  
 g<sup>o</sup> \*i du-t-ūt-a<sup>o</sup> \*la<sup>o</sup> qi sas-m<sup>o</sup> \*a<sup>o</sup> \*si  
 and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su tell<sup>o</sup> \*Rep De<sup>3</sup> children<sup>o</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 when he told his children,

188. Pīwāh<sup>o</sup>isanug<sup>o</sup>a lā<sup>o</sup>qi<sup>o</sup>wāa<sup>o</sup>ya<sup>o</sup>xi  
 pīw<sup>o</sup>-alq<sup>o</sup> -is -la<sup>o</sup> \*nug<sup>o</sup>a la<sup>o</sup> qi wa-a<sup>o</sup> \*(y)a<sup>o</sup> \*xi  
 feel -upstream -near water -Cont \*1SgSu Loc De<sup>3</sup> river<sup>o</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 "I was feeling my way upstream alongside the river

189. h<sup>o</sup>s<sup>o</sup>hūt<sup>o</sup>lā<sup>o</sup>cāya<sup>o</sup>yoq<sup>o</sup>s, hix<sup>o</sup>li.  
 h<sup>o</sup>s<sup>o</sup>hūt<sup>o</sup>lā<sup>o</sup>cāya<sup>o</sup>yoq<sup>o</sup>s, hix<sup>o</sup>li.

lɑ ʔi ʔs hut-a ʔnλɑ ɕɑj -a ʔ(y)ɑq ʔus\*\*  
 Loc ʔFact ʔESSu\*\* leave ʔ 1SgO youngest sibling -F ʔPD<sup>2</sup> ʔ2G  
 ʔix ʔ(.)lɑ ʔi  
 say ʔRep ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su  
 when your youngest brother left me," he said.

190. ʔ[ʔɑnugʔɑ] ʔi wɑlɪsɪʔɪnɑ  
 lɑ ʔnugʔɑ ʔi w -ɑlɑ -is -lɑ ʔ(?)ina  
 now ʔ1SgSu feel -upstream -near water -Cont ʔPerf  
 As I was feeling my way upstream

191. qɑuʔlɑʔina ɕɑlɑ. yɑ ʔhs ʔqi miɑ. yɑ ʔlɑ ʔqi ʔhɑlɑkʔɑ ʔxi.  
 qɑuʔ -ɑlɑ ʔ(?)ina ɕɑ -ɑlɑ ʔ(y)ɑ hs qi miɑ ʔ(y)ɑ ʔxi  
 hear -sound ʔPerf splash -sound ʔPD<sup>3</sup> Gen De<sup>3</sup> salmon ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔSD<sup>3</sup>  
 lɑ qi ʔhɑlɑ -kʔ ʔɑ ʔxi  
 Loc De<sup>3</sup> upstream -F ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔSD<sup>3</sup>  
 I heard the sound of salmon splashing at the upstream part of the river.

192. Dũdɑʔasiqi ʔɑnsλɑd.s. ʔ ʔix. ʔi.  
 duʔd|ɑʔ -ɑ ʔsi ʔqi ʔɑns ʔλ ʔɑ ʔd.s ʔix ʔ(.)lɑ ʔi  
 look[PI] -F ʔImp ʔ3<sup>3</sup>O one day from now ʔFut ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔInv say ʔRep ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su  
 Go and see it tomorrow," he said.

193. Lɑlɪ ʔgʔɑʔina ʔqi ʔpɑuʔasi.  
 lɑ ʔlɑ ʔi ʔgʔɑʔ ʔ(?)ina qi ʔpɑ-u-i ʔ(?)ɑ ʔsi  
 now ʔRep ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su finish ʔPerf De<sup>3</sup> task ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔ3<sup>3</sup>G  
 He had now completed his task,

194. wɑxɪlɪmʔɑqi ʔhs. Bɑxʔbɑkʔɑlɑnusi wɑ. yɑ ʔxi  
 wɑ -x -ul -m ʔ(h)ɑ ʔqi  
 go ahead -say -substance -Med ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔ3<sup>3</sup>O  
 hs [bɑxʔ]bɑkʔ-ɑlɑ-nu-si wɑ ʔ(y)ɑ ʔxi  
 Gen Bɑxʔbɑkʔɑlɑnusi wɑ ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔSD<sup>3</sup>  
 the things Bɑxʔbɑkʔɑlɑnusi wɑ asked him to do

195. qɑ ʔgʔi wɑkʔ ʔqi miɑ. yɑ ʔxi.  
 qɑ ʔgʔi -wɑkʔ qi miɑ ʔ(y)ɑ ʔxi  
 Purp how -appear? De<sup>3</sup> fish ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔSD<sup>3</sup>  
 in regard to what the fish should be like.

196. Ksʔɪnɑ kɑkʔɑ ʔxi ʔbɑkʔɑ ʔxi.  
 ks ʔ(?)ina kɑkʔɑ -ɑ [xi]ʔɑ-b-kʔ ʔɑ ʔxi  
 not ʔPerf sleep[PI] -F youngsters ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔSD<sup>3</sup>  
 The youngsters did not sleep.

197. Gɑlɪ ʔnɑqʔɑ  
 gɑlɑ -m ʔnɑqʔ -ɑ  
 first -at a particular moment daylight -F  
 At first daylight

198. ʔgi ʔdʔɑkɪsɪ.  
 g ʔi ʔdʔɑk -l -s -lɑ  
 when ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su stand -motion -on ground outside -Cont  
 they got up one after the other.

199. ʔxʔina ʔhʔ ʔsu ʔqi ʔdʔɑsλɑ. yɑ ʔxi.  
 ʔxʔ ʔ(?)ina hu -xʔ -lɑ ʔsu qi ʔdʔɑs-λɑ ʔ(y)ɑ ʔxi  
 in vain ʔPerf hoo -say -Cont ʔPass De<sup>3</sup> youngest ʔPD<sup>3</sup> ʔSD<sup>3</sup>  
 But in vain they called the youngest [for checking the river as the  
 father had ordered].

200. ʔhɑu, dɑpɪuʔnugʔɑ ʔhɑupgɑ, ʔ ʔix. ʔi.  
 hɑu dɑ -pɪu ʔλ ʔnugʔɑ ʔhɑup ʔgɑ ʔix ʔ(.)lɑ ʔi  
 Oh take -along ʔFut ʔ1SgSu father ʔPD<sup>3</sup> say ʔRep ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su  
 "Oh, I am going to pull father here along with me," he said,

201. ʔmɑλ ʔlɑ ʔλ ʔnugʔɑ ʔqu lɑ -ɑlɑ.  
 mɑλ -lɑ ʔλ ʔnugʔɑ ʔqu lɑ -ɑlɑ.  
 take by hand -Cont ʔFut ʔ1SgSu ʔ3<sup>2</sup>O go -upstream  
 "I am going to lead him by the hand in the upstream direction.

202. Wɪʔhɑkʔsiλɑ.  
 wɪ -t ʔhɑ ʔkʔ ʔsi ʔλɑ  
 go ahead -F ʔEmph ʔ? ʔImp ʔcontrary to mind set  
 Go ahead all the same."

203. Wɑ ʔli ʔlɑ mi ʔgɑxɕi ʔina.  
 wɑ lɑ ʔi lɑ -ɑmɑ -yɑxɕi ʔ(?)ina  
 NT now ʔ3<sup>3</sup>Su go -PI -depart ʔPerf  
 They [the other brothers] started off.

204. Làa+a?ina ~qi\_+k'ani?axi, ġnmhàd.ssi;

la -ata \*(?)ina qi +k' -ani \*(?)a \*xi ġn-m \*(h)a \*d.s \*si  
go -along \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> old -F \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup> female? \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
The old woman, his [the father's] wife, went along;

205. làma+a?ina ~qi\_mùuk"s sàsmsi.

la -am -ata \*(?)ina qi muu -uk" \*s sas-m \*si  
go -PI -along with others \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> four -item \*LM offspring? \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
she went along with her four children.

206. Skàuk'id.s du\_qi\_ġnmhàsi.

ska -uk" \*i \*d.s du qi ġn-m \*(h)a \*si  
four -item \*3<sup>3</sup>Su \*Inv Conj De<sup>3</sup> female? \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
There were five of them including his [the father's] wife.  
[contradicts 1-12]

207. Wà\_laìh\_wàlàxli?ina ~du\_~qi\_čàyasla.yas x'ùk"si.

wa la \*ig \*i wàl-(a)xli-1 \*(?)ina  
NT now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su at rear? \*Perf  
du qi čay-as-la \*(y)a \*s x'ùk" \*si  
Conj De<sup>3</sup> youngest child? \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*LM child \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
He [father] was at the rear along with his youngest child.

208. Wà\_laìh\_wàx'ridàina nuàqla.yaxi, làmiyaxci

wa la \*ig \*i wa-x' -(?)id \*(d)ina nu-aq-la \*(y)a \*xi  
NT now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su order? -Mom \*Perf elder? \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
la -ama -yaxci  
go -PI -leave  
The old man ordered him, as the group was leaving,

209. dùx'rid - čàyasla.yas x'ùk"si.

dux' -(?)id čay-as-la \*(y)a \*s x'ùk" \*si  
look -Mom youngest child? \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*LM child \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
to take a look - his youngest child [was ordered] that is.

210. Làmake?ina làtms ~qi\_mia.yaxi, miagilàk"asi.

la -ama -ka \*(?)ina la \*tms \*s qi mia \*(y)a \*xi  
go -PI -towards \*Perf Loc \*there are \*ESSu\*\* De<sup>3</sup> fish \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>

mia -(g)ila -k" \*a \*si  
fish -make -LPass \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G

They reached the place where the fish were, the fish he created.

211. Làli\_dùq"la?ina

la \*ig \*i duq" -la \*(?)ina  
now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su see -Cont \*Perf  
They saw it [the fish]

212. wa\_lid.s.yàx'alis?inà\_qi,

wa la \*i \*d.s ya-x' -ala -is \*(?)ina qi  
NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su \*Inv ? -F -upstream -near water \*Perf De<sup>3</sup>  
and moved around in the upstream area,

213. yayačà?ina ~qi\_mia.yaxi.

[yay]lač -a \*(?)ina qi mia \*(y)a \*xi  
[Con]strike with stick -F \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> fish \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
clubbing the fish.

214. Làl'x'āla?inà hùk"asiqi.

la \*ig \*i x'āla -a \*(?)ina hù-uk" \*a \*si \*qi  
now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su clean fish -F \*Perf mother? \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G \*3<sup>3</sup>O  
Their mother cleaned it.

215. Làl'q'āx'p'iu?ina ~qi\_nuàqla.yaxi;

la \*ig \*i q'āx' -p'iu \*(?)ina qi nu-aq-la \*(y)a \*xi  
now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su shout -after \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> elder? \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
The old man hollered after them;

216. x'āq'iasdanà.u, x'āq'iasdanà.u,

x'āq' -i -as \*dang \*au x'āq' -i -as \*dang \*au  
red -F -plant \*suffer from \*Voc (idem)  
"Victims of the older! Victims of the older!"

217. mùupnzaX'.li wàtqi.

muu -pn -zaX' \*(.)ig \*i wat \*qi  
four -times -perform verbally \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su thus speaks \*3<sup>3</sup>O  
he sang four times.

218. Gi\_dùdX'ridla ~qi\_sàsmsi,

g \*i du(d)ʔ -(?id \*(.)la qi sas-m \*a \*si  
and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su take a look[PI] -Mom \*Rep De<sup>3</sup> children<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
According to the story the children took a look,

219. duq<sup>o</sup>-atus, niki, duq<sup>o</sup>-atus la<sub>qi</sub>-waa.yaʔxi  
duq<sup>o</sup>-atus nik \*i duq<sup>o</sup>-atus la qi wa-a \*(y)a \*xi  
look -downstream say \*3<sup>3</sup>Su look -downstream Loc De<sup>3</sup> river<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
looked downstream, it is said, looked down the river

220. gi<sub>i</sub>tismitdala.  
g \*i i(i)ls -m -isda \*ia.  
and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su stone[PI] -F -turn around \*Rep  
and turned to stone.

221. wa<sub>la</sub>i<sub>p</sub>au<sup>o</sup> ~hs<sub>qi</sub>-Bax<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa.yaʔxi<sub>qi</sub>  
wa la \*la \*i p<sup>o</sup>-u-i hs qi [bak<sup>o</sup>]bak<sup>o</sup>-ala-nu-siwa \*(y)a \*xi  
NT now \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su doing<sup>†</sup> Gen De<sup>3</sup> Bax<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
qi  
De<sup>3</sup>  
That was Bax<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa's doing

222. haumhisi ~qi<sub>haupasi</sub>.  
h[olul] -m \*(h)i \*si qi haup \*a \*si  
play -Med \*Fact \*3<sup>3</sup>G De<sup>3</sup> father<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
because they had made fun of their father.

223. Li<sub>nikamə</sub>?ina ~qi<sub>haupasi</sub> ~hs<sub>qi</sub>.  
la \*i nik -a \*ma \*(?)ina qi haup \*a \*si hs qi  
now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su revenge -F \*Occ \*Perf De<sup>3</sup> father<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G Gen De<sup>3</sup>  
Their father now had revenge on them.

224. Hidali ʔa ʔa<sup>o</sup>zugi<sup>o</sup>s ~qu<sub>zuna</sub>ʔu  
hi \*da \*la \*i ʔa[ʔa]la<sup>o</sup>-zu \*git \*s  
the one in point \*Emph \*Rep \*?\*\*\* red[PI] -[lat] \*reason \*ESSu  
qu zu-n \*aʔ \*ʔu\*\*  
De<sup>2</sup> coho<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>2</sup> \*SD<sup>2</sup>  
This is the reason why these coho are red

225. gu<sub>hnt</sub>a la<sub>qi</sub>-waa.yaʔxi,

g \*u hnt -a la qi wa-a \*(y)a \*xi  
when \*3<sup>2</sup>Su play -F Loc De<sup>3</sup> river<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
when they play in the river,

226. hidali.s ʔa ʔa<sup>o</sup>laesgutid.su.  
hi \*da \*id \*s ʔa ʔa<sup>o</sup>laes \*gu<sup>o</sup>\*\*\* \*id \*su  
the one in point \*Emph \*Fact \*ESSu alder<sup>†</sup> \*NR \*Fact \*3<sup>2</sup>G  
namely the fact that they are alder in substance.

227. wəsgmit ~qi<sub>nuy</sub>hnd.s ~qi<sub>hu</sub>ʔa  
wa -sgm -it qi nuy-m \*(h)a \*nd.s  
at limit -length -in mental containment De<sup>3</sup> story<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*1SgG  
qi huʔa  
De<sup>3</sup>\*\*\* likewise  
This is the extent of my version of the story

228. ~hs<sub>qi</sub>-Bax<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa.yaʔxi,  
hs qi [bak<sup>o</sup>]bak<sup>o</sup>-ala-nu-siwa \*(y)a \*xi  
of De<sup>3</sup> Bax<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
of Bax<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa,

229. hauk<sup>o</sup>s ʔa<sup>o</sup>iləs ~hs<sub>Bax</sub><sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa.yaʔxi.  
haw-uk<sup>o</sup> \*s ʔa<sup>o</sup>[ol]a<sup>o</sup> -a<sup>o</sup>la<sup>o</sup>-as  
one<sup>†</sup> \*LM how -Cont -way  
hs [bak<sup>o</sup>]bak<sup>o</sup>-ala-nu-siwa \*(y)a \*xi  
Gen Bax<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
one tradition about Bax<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa.

230. Qimn ~qid.s ʔi ʔi<sup>o</sup>isdaləsad.s ~hs<sub>Bax</sub><sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa.yaʔxi  
qi-nm qi \*d.s ʔi ʔi<sup>o</sup>isdaləs \*a \*d.s  
many<sup>†</sup> De<sup>3</sup> \*Inv deeds<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv  
hs [bak<sup>o</sup>]bak<sup>o</sup>-ala-nu-siwa \*(y)a \*xi  
Gen Bax<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa<sup>†</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
There were many Bax<sup>o</sup>bak<sup>o</sup>alanusiwa adventures

231. lid.s Gəla.yad.s Bg<sup>o</sup>anmxi.  
la \*id \*s gəla \*(y)a \*d.s bg<sup>o</sup>-an-m \*xi  
Loc \*Fact \*ESSu first \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv people<sup>†</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
when the First People lived.

232. x<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>x<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>ta ... ñik snàlòyú ...  
 [x<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>x<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup> -a ñik sn -a)la -yú  
 [fire burns]fire burns -iterative say mention -Cont -Med  
 Spreading fire ... they say with reference to

233. ~q<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>iksuk<sup>3</sup>lòsossid.s gi\_wina.  
 q<sup>1</sup> g<sup>1</sup>i-(k)suk<sup>3</sup>-lò-as a s s<sup>1</sup> s<sup>1</sup>d.s g i wina  
 3<sup>3</sup>O speed<sup>3</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*Inv \*3<sup>3</sup>G \*Inv and \*3<sup>3</sup>Su attack  
 its speed when it attacks.

234. x<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>x<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>i  
 [x<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>x<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>-a i<sup>3</sup> i<sup>3</sup>  
 spreading fire<sup>3</sup> \*Rep \*3<sup>3</sup>Su  
 They say it is spreading fire

235. wà<sup>3</sup>li<sup>3</sup>g<sup>1</sup>àilò?inò còp]x<sup>3</sup>lòlas x<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup>dk<sup>3</sup>.  
 wà<sup>3</sup> l<sup>3</sup> i<sup>3</sup> g<sup>1</sup>[a]y[à/a]-(a)lò \*(?)ina còp -l -x<sup>3</sup>l -a)lò s  
 NT now \*3<sup>3</sup>Su like<sup>3</sup> \*Perf to trail -move -behind -Cont \*LM  
 x<sup>3</sup>l<sup>3</sup> -k<sup>3</sup>  
 fire burns -LPass  
 and is like a trailing fire.

236. Nàuk<sup>3</sup>s nùymhnd.s\_qi  
 nàuk<sup>3</sup> -uk<sup>3</sup> s nuy-m \*(h)g<sup>1</sup> nd.s q<sup>1</sup>  
 one<sup>3</sup> \*LM story<sup>3</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*1SgG De<sup>3</sup>  
 This is one story told to me.

237. Lanug<sup>3</sup>a\_nùsali+?ina ~qik\_á<sup>3</sup>ñksiwaga<sup>3</sup>  
 la \*nug<sup>3</sup>a nus -al -it \*(?)ina qik\*\*  
 now \*1SgSu history -F -contained in mind \*Perf De<sup>3</sup>  
 á<sup>3</sup>m-(k)siwa \*ga \*x[gà]\*\*  
 white people \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup>  
 I now tell to these white people here with me

238. ~hs\_~qik\_nùymga<sup>3</sup>ga la\_qik\_tape-gasi.  
 hs qik nuy-m \*ga \*xga la qik tape \*ga \*si  
 of De<sup>3</sup> story<sup>3</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*SD<sup>3</sup> Loc De<sup>3</sup> tape \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*3<sup>3</sup>G  
 the story, on this their tape.

239. Wàsǵmit lã.ya.qàatnd.s ~hs\_~qi.

wà-sǵm-it la \*(y)a qà-(a)t \*g<sup>1</sup> \*nd.s hs q<sup>1</sup>  
 extent<sup>3</sup> now \*PD<sup>3</sup> knowledge<sup>3</sup> \*PD<sup>3</sup> \*1SgG Gen De<sup>3</sup>  
 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 /lid/ is assumed to be the counterpart to the Heiltsuk and Oowekyala proclitic /li/ 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 bk<sup>3</sup>- "human, person", the reduplicated form could mean "ever more human" or "human from time to time".
- 6 Meaning and grammatical function of /da/ and /i/ are unclear - /i/ cannot be 3<sup>3</sup>Su because not substitutable by 3<sup>1</sup>Su or 3<sup>2</sup>Su.
- 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 hàiklò in Lincoln and Roth 1985. It is an unpredictable two-stage contraction: [hò]hiklò → [hò]yoklò → hàiklò.
- 28 Analysis of this word is uncertain and based partly on the occurrence of a proclitic /li/ in Heiltsuk and Oowekyala 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 38ff.

- 32 The sequence \*a\*xi frequently contracts into /i/ as here.
- 35 The subordinate clause is anaphoric, /hida/ being the anaphoric reference.
- 37 taw-(a)k\*... contracts into /tawk\*.../
- 38 See lines 28-30.
- 40 Lincoln and Rath 1985 has hug\*iwals.
- 41 The identity of this hard stone is not yet known.
- 47 1. In locative clauses, the enclitic /tm/ functions as exponent of the subordinate predicate instead of the "factualizing" enclitic /i(d)/. 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").
- 57 1. See line 3.  
2. This item is bimorphemic but involves morphophonemic fusion of either h(a)w(a)- or h(a)w(a)- "father" with either -ap or -up "kin".
- 59 1. See line 47.  
2. When having locative-directional or oblique 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 /xi/) are formally identical to secondary deictics. For more information, see the entry "la" in Lincoln and Rath, 1985.
- 62 Note merger of /q/ and /x/ into /x/.
- 64 Cf. huk\* "chewing tobacco".
- 70 Lincoln and Rath 1985 has hu(h)a instead of nu(h)a.
- 71 Lincoln and Rath 1985 has qqap(a).

- 78 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 proclitic /la/.
- 86 This is an example of an anaphoric sentence in the second connective mood.
- 91 ...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/.
- 92 /Nug\*a/ is an anaphoric reference to the 1st person: "I (as opposed to you or whoever) am the one in question".
- 96 ...aq\*xu → /...axu/.
- 108 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.
- 112 This /i/ may not be an enclitic at all but a euphonic element facilitating phonetic transition to /g/.
- 114 This word is a "false start" and the narrator replaces it by the pluralized stem /bib(a)-/ of the next word.
- 128 See note to line 91.
- 129 Because /hibamas/ 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 /hibamas/ being contaminated with the intransitive meaning "getting killed instantly"; see the meanings of the Occasionative clitic /mas/ in the list of abbreviations and technical terms.
- 138 Uncertain if /i/ is (1) the factualizing clitic or (2) the last clitic but one that occurs in the assertive main clause hi\*dà\*i\*qi "3<sup>rd</sup> 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/ "3<sup>rd</sup>Su", for example.

- 144 After some polymorphemic stems -ilap is used instead of -id.
- 147 ʔaw-(a)kʷ... contracts into /ʔaukʷ.../.
- 149 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 /dùqʷja/ "see" (line 148). This centre also has two left-hand adjuncts, the root allomorph /g/ and the word /ʔùja/. 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 liking), /dùqʷja/ normally does take a grammatical object.
- 152 ...aqʷxu → /...aʃxu/.
- 157 ...aqʷxu → /...aʃxu/.
- 173 See note to line 138.
- 175 Probably red cedar is only mentioned as an afterthought at the end of the sentence because the narrator also wants to say that not only does yellow cedar give the wrong "fish" (167, 171), but so does any kind of cedar. The right wood is mentioned on the next line.
- 177 Probably literally: "Well, he (/qi/) created salmon (/miagʷlà/) with it (/si/). This clause follows the preceding one after a long pause.
- 178 See first note to 108.
- 189 1. ...aqʷus → ...aqʷs, see line 91.  
2. It is assumed that ʷs in laʷiʷs is actually elliptic for ʷsi "3<sup>rd</sup>G". Ellipsis of /i/ from the 3rd person enclitics /qi/ and /si/ occurs frequently also in Heiltsuk and Oowekyala conversation.
- 210 The grammatical subject of the clause is /ʷs qi\_miaʷ.yaʷʃi/, the predicate /laʷtm/. In a locative clause, ʷtm takes the place of the factualizing clitic ʷi, see note 1 to line 47.
- 224 1. On ʷi see note to line 138.

2. ...aqʷxu → /...aʃxu/.

- 226 This (compound) clitic could here mean both 1) "not too recently" and 2) "by nature, falling under the definition of". In this particular case, it is hard to decide which meaning should dominate in the translation.
- 227 This demonstrative has the same kind of right-hand adjunct introducing function as in, for example,  
bgʷànɲʷ(h)aʷʃi qi\_pàla  
person ʷPDʷ ʷSDʷ who works.
- 237 1. /ga/ is frequently elided from the secondary deictic /ʃga/, as in this line.  
2. The constructional centre of this sentence's predicate, that is /nùsaliʔina/, is di-transitive. Therefore the Haisla object to this predicate refers to the beneficiary of the action. See note to line 2.

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