

An Upriver Halkomelem Mink Story
Ethnopoetics and Discourse Analysis

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1. Introduction. This paper will take a look at a traditional Upriver Halkomelem story (a /sx'ox'iyém/). Most sx'ox'iyém are set in a distant past before or during the time when the Transformers walked the earth. This was a time when most living creatures were people but many of them had the odd habits of creatures. The Transformers in Halkomelem stories were originally two daughters of black bears, whose mother was killed by Grizzly Bear, and who wandered to the land beyond the edge of the world and gained great powers. When they returned they travelled the Pacific Northwest, sometimes together, but usually singly, noticing the habits of people and turning them into animals which we know today; sometimes they turned people and already changed animals into stone (usually because of some mischief they got into in confrontations with the Transformers in these legends, stones which are named for the people or animals they were originally).

The story given and analyzed here, is set in such a time, when Mink and Pitch were a man and a woman, respectively, but had some of the habits and characteristics of the real animal and of real pitch. The story was told May 3, 1978 on tape, in the Chilliwack subdialect of Halkomelem, by Mrs. Susan (Malloway) Jimmy, originally of Sardis, B.C. Susan was the wife of Sindick Jimmy, the last fluent speaker of the Nooksack language. Her daughter, Mrs. Maria (Jimmy) Villanueva, had heard the story from her mother and offered to tape record it for me. Both were members of the Halkomelem Workshop of the Nooksack tribe and living in Washington state at the time. On the tape, Maria occasionally chuckles in anticipation of certain parts of the story, and this reflects the authentic nature of the performance and the audience. Usually these stories were told many times to children as bedtime stories, and the children would also know and anticipate humorous parts.

The story is about Mink and Miss Pitch (Susan Jimmy's English name for the story; she did not give it a title in Halkomelem). In Halkomelem legends, as well as legends of a number of other Salish languages (for ex. Nooksack), Mink is a notorious and inept womanizer. He usually gets caught in stupid and embarrassing situations, often of a sexual nature.

On hearing this story I knew it was wonderfully told, with excellent humor, characterizations, and plot details. When I transcribed it with Mrs. Edna Bobb and Mrs. Amelia Douglas (of Seabird Island and Cheam Reserves, respectively) in 1978-1979, and, later, when I analyzed it using the ethnopoetic approach of Dell and Virginia Hymes, I saw that it was also an excellent example of sophisticated use of discourse conjunctions, timing, and repetition for humorous effect, all within a traditional style of story-telling. Dell's book, In Vain I Tried to Tell You (1981), the papers I have heard, first-hand at Salish conferences and the Conference on American Indian Languages, and discussions with Dell and Virginia, have proved very fruitful to me and to Salishanists, linguists and others studying oral literature. This is my first foray into this type of analysis. In the near future I also intend to use some other features of discourse analysis, such as semantic roles (agent, patient, experiencer, etc.) and alloemes, semantic environments, and sememes, where appropriate, to complete the analysis of this story.

Probably the best approach is to read the story first (section 2), enjoy it, and then read the analysis (section 3). I've presented the

story in Hymesian fashion, with acts, scenes, verses, stanzas, and lines on the left side. While I use the terms ethnopoetics, verses and stanzas, I do not believe the story is actually poetry, but the terms are very useful and the structure is in fact very skillful traditional storytelling. As is frequent in oral literatures, there are no rhymes or tight meters, and there is no feeling of poetry here, but close study reveals artistry and tradition and helps to bring the story more authentically alive in translation than by adding storytelling techniques from English which are not present in the Halkomelem.

One additional word about content here. This is a humorous story told by a mother to her daughter; both participants enjoyed the story immensely, as can be heard on the tape. Mink, in his lust, makes a real fool of himself, as usual. Toward the end, Mink punches and kicks his "wife", but he is kept stuck all night long and throughout the first half of the next day, with Miss Pitch telling him off. So a subtheme of the plot is that wife-battering doesn't pay. I have not attempted in this paper to discuss this further, nor to deal with to what extent the behaviour shown reflects accepted cultural practice. But, since Mink usually violates at least one cultural practice in each story, this may be a case of that, as well as of his usual stupidity, obsession, and other character flaws.

Derivational affixes are shown with -, inflectional affixes with - (tense, voice, mood, aspect, person, number inflections); infixes are shown within square brackets and hyphens within the morpheme in which they are inserted, and their gloss is shown after the gloss of the morpheme in which they are inserted, ro[-infix-jot 'see[-continuative-]'; in the literal translation lines, parentheses enclose translations of words, within the parentheses morpheme-by-morpheme translations are separated by hyphens; some words have derived meanings which are not the sum of the glosses of each morpheme, and some such examples show the resultant meaning after a > sign ("becomes"); in some cases this is shown the first several times then only the resultant gloss is given. Sentences in Halkomelem are punctuated with a period only if the Halkomelem syntax indicates sentence end and sentence beginning; in cases where this is ambiguous the Halkomelem line lacks a period, though the ethnopoetic structure indicates a new line, and thus the English sentence may have a period. A Halkomelem line may also end in a comma, since the next line may be in syntactic apposition, while the English translation may be a separate sentence with parenthesized subject supplied for English fluency and ethnopoetic line structure.

Abbreviations used:

1 (first person), 2 (second person), 3 (third person), aug(mentative), aux(iliary), caus(ative control transitivizer), cont(inuative aspect), dim(inutive), dispos(itional aspect), dur(ative aspect), emph(atic), evid(ential), fem(ale), imper(ative), fut(ure tense), incep(tive aspect), indir(ect), nom(inalizer), obj(ect), ord(inal), partic(iple), pass(ive), pl(ural), poss(essive), prep(ositional), pres(ent), reflex(ive), reportv(reportive), result(ative), sg(singular), stat(ive aspect), subj(ect), subjunct(ive), subord(inate), vis(ible), (non-continuative aspect is to be assumed for verbs when no other aspect is present and is almost always the same as the base form.

2. The Story.

The Story of Mink and Miss Pitch

as told May 3, 1978 by Mrs. Susan (Malloway) Jimmy
to her daughter Mrs. Maria (Jimmy) Villanueva

(no translation of title was given by Mrs. Jimmy
but the translation would be:
te sɣ'ox'iyɛms tɛ sqɛqɛxiys qes θə k'ix')

Transcribed and translated by Brent Galloway, Mrs. Edna Bobb, and Mrs.
Amelia Douglas, 1978-1979.

Act I

scene 1
stanza A
verse a

Aa 1 yi-ɣɛ·y θə tɛ s-qɛ[-qɛ]=x'iye.
(travelling-going along)(it is said/so they say/they (impersonal)
say/reportive)(male present visible)(nom-mink[-dim-]-dim)
Mink is going along, they say.

2 ɣiy-ɛ·mɛx' s-wiq=ɐ
((he is) good-looking)(nom-man-person)
(He is) a handsome man.

3 yi-ɣɛ[-]-m-ɛx'
(along/travelling-step[-cont-]-upright)
(He is) walking along/travelling on foot.

4 yi-iɣɛ tɛ ɣil-iyθɛl-s tɛ s-tɛ·lo.
((he is) travelling-by way of/via)(the)(edge-of)(the)(nom-river
middle)
(He is going) along the edge of the river.

b 5 qɛ ɣ[-ɛ·-]mɛt θə qɛ·mi.
(and)(sit[-cont-])(female present visible)(adolescent virgin girl)
And a girl is sitting.

6 lɪ tɛ ci=f·qel k'w-s ɣ[-ɛ·-]mɛt-s θə ɣiy-ɛ·mɛx' s-iɛlɪ.
(it is on)(a/the pres vis)(hill)(that-3subord)(sit[-cont-]-3sbj)
(the female pres vis)(good-looking)(woman)
It is on a hill that the beautiful woman is sitting.

c 7 ɣə-s-ɛs-u ɣim-ɛx' tɪ-Xə s-wiweles s-qɛ[-qɛ]=x'iye.
(aux past-so-3sbj-so)(step-upright>walk)(male-that)
(nom-young man)(nom-Mink[-dim-]-little)
So that young man, Mink, walks.

(Note: {ɣə} 'aux past' is more often translated as past tense,
but is often translated as present tense instead; it is optionally
past. Another indication of its optionality is the fact that -i
'past tense' (not optional) can be added to it, as in ɣesesui below.
Here I leave the tenses as translated by elders Edna Bobb and Amelia
Douglas in each case.)

8 ɣɛ·-s-u ɣim-ɛx'-s lɪ tɛ θɛ.
(just-emph-so)(walk-3sbj)(at)(the pres vis)(that/there)
So: he just walks there.

9 iɪx' s-wɛy-ɛl k'w-s ɣim-ɛx'-s.
(it is three)(nom-day-get/incep>day)(that-subord)(walk-3sbj)
It is for three days that he walks.

10 s-qɛθ-ɛwɪc k'w-s yi-ɣim-ɛx'-s.
(stative-crossed hands-on the back)(as-subord)(along-walk-3sbj)
He has his hands behind his back as he walks along.

d 11 ɣɛ-s-u lɛ tɛs tɛ s-xɛɣɛθɛl s-wɛy-ɛl.
(just-so)(go,past tense)(get up to/approach)(the)(ord-four)(day)
So it got to the fourth day.

12 qɛ-s-u θt-fwɛl, "o ɣɛy tɛw k'w-ɛl-s lɛ k'wɛc=ɛt θə qɛ·mi."
(and-so)(say-in the mind/inside)(oh)(it is good)(would,evidently,
might)(that-I-subord)(look/see-someone purposely)(the fem)(girl)
And so he thought to himself, "Oh, it would be good if I go see the
girl."

13 lɛ q'ɛl-st-ɛx', xɛtə θə tɪ-Xə s-qɛ[-qɛ]=x'iye.
(3sbj is going to)(speak/talk-caus-3obj),(says)(reportv/they say)
(male-that)(Little Mink)
He's going to talk to her, they say, that Mink says.

Ba 14 ɣɛ·-s-u lɛ-m-θ k'wɪy-ɛqel.
(just-emph-so)(goes/is going (to)-middle voice-3sbj)(climb-throat/
hill)
So: he goes/is going to climb the hill.

15 s-u lɛ x'w-lɪ-ls-ɛs θə qɛ·mi.
(so)(3sbj went to, past)(become-there-manage to do to s-o-3sbj)(the
fem pres vis)(girl)
So he reached the girl there.

16 lɛ tɛs tɛ sɣw-lɪ-s θə qɛ·mi.
(3 sbj go to + past)(get near)(the pres vis)(nom-be there-3sbj)
>where he/she is)(the fem pres vis)(girl)
He got to the place where the girl was.

Ca 17 s-u θɛt-st-ɛx'-ɛs, "o. ɔɔɔɔl-cx' wo-ɣiy-ɛmɛx'.
(so)(say-caus-to 3obj-3sbj), "(oh)(are very-2sgsbj)(aug-good-looking)
So he says to her, "Oh, you are very pretty.

18 ɣɛy t-ɛ? s-ɣiθə-m.
(be good)(the pres vis-your (2sg))(nom-get dressed>clothes)
Your clothes are good/nice.

19 Xə-k'w-sɛlɔɔm-s ɣə-s-u ɣɔwə-i tu ɣim-ɛx'.
(why?)(your sg-so)(not-past>never)(a little)(walk)
Why don't you ever walk a little?

20 ɣu-ɣ[-ɛ·-]mɛt-cx'-ɛ lɪ tɛ θɛ mɔk'w s-wɛy-ɛl.
(aug-sit-you-just)(at)(there)(every/all)(day)
You always just sit there every day."

- 21 ʔə-s=u θət θɪʔa q̥ɛ-mi. "o ká-l sxʷ=t-ɛʔɛ.
(past-so)(says)(that fem)(girl), (oh)(that's-my)(nom-is like)
So the girl says, "Oh that's the way I am/what I'm like."
- 22 ká-l sxʷ=t-ɛʔɛ kʷ-əl-s ʔ[-á-]met mókʷ s-wəy=əl.
(that's-my)(the way s-o is)(that-I-subord)(am sitting)(every)(day)
That's the way I am, sitting every day.
- 23 kə-l=s-u ʔ[-á-]met ʔa ʔi-kʷə=lā.
(that's my-so)(sitting)(just)(here)
So I'm just sitting here."
- b 24 kə-s=u θət tɪ-kə, "o dɛdɛl-cxʷ ʔuw-ʔiy=áməxʷ.
(that's-so)(said)(he/male-that), (oh)(are very-you)(aug-good-looking)
So he said, "Oh, you're very good-looking/pretty."
- 25 o ʔ[-á-]met-cxʷ-ā.
(oh)(be sitting-you/imper sg-just)
Oh just stay sitting."
- 26 "ʔɛ; ká-l sxʷ=t-ɛʔɛ mókʷ s-wəy=əl.
(yes)(that's-my)(way)(every)(day)
"Yes, that's the way I am every day."
- c 27 "ʔɛy tʷə kʷ-əl-s tɛ-kʷ.
(it's good)(must be)(that-I-subord)(get home)
"I'd better get home."
- 28 wəi lə lét.
(already)(it's going)(night)
It's already getting night/dark."
- Da 29 ʔa-s=u kəp-q-ɛ-l-əm tɪ-kə.
(just-so)(down-hill-go-middle voice)(male-that)
So he goes down the hill.
- 30 ʔa-s=u lɛm kʷə kɪp-ɪyɛqel.
(just-so)(he goes to)(the distant/not vis)(down-on the flat)
So he goes down on the flat.
- 31 lə tɛs tɛ ʔil-iyəθəl-s tɛ s-tá-lo kʷ-s-u ʔim-əxʷ-s.
(he past go)(get to/reach)(the)(water edge-its/of)(the)(river)
(that-so)(walks-he subord)
He got to the edge of the river so he walks.
- 32 ʔim-əxʷ lɪ tɛ θɛ.
(he walks)(there)(the)(place)
He walks there.
- 11Aa 33 wəy=əl qə lə ʔa-wi yɪ-ʔi[---]m-əxʷ.
(daylight-gets/incep)(and)(he past go)(just-already>again)(travelling walk[-cont-])
It gets daylight and he was already walking again.

- 34 ʔa-wi yə-iʔɛ tɛ ʔil-iyəθəl-s tɛ s-tá-lo kʷ-s yɪ-ʔim-əxʷ-s.
(just-already>again)(travelling-via)(the)(edge-its/of)(the)(river)
(that-he)(travelling-walks-he subord)
Again he's travelling by the edge of the river as he walks.
- 35 ʔiy=áməxʷ s-wíq=ə tu-kə s-qeyəx-iye.
(he's good-looking)(man)(male-that)(Mink)
He's a handsome man, that Mink.
- 36 ʔá-s=u ʔa-wi θt-ɪwɛl, "ʔɛy tʷə kʷ-əl-s lə kʷɛc-ət θə q̥ɛ-mi.
kʷɛc-ət ʔi-s s-xʷəʔɪt.
(ju:st-so)(just-already>again)(he says-inside)(it's good)(must/would)
(that-I-subord)(go,past)(see(visit)-s-o)(the fem)(girl),(see-s-th)
(aux-she)(what doing)
So: he thought to himself again, "It would be good if I went to see the girl, see whatever she is doing."
- Ba 37 ʔa-s-ɛs=u ʔa-wi kʷɪy-ɛqel.
(just-he-so)(just-already>again)(he climbs-hill)
So again he climbs the hill.
- 38 lə xʷ-lɪ-ls-əs θə q̥ɛ-mi.
(go,past)(he reached her there)(the)(girl)
He reached the girl there.
- Ca 39 ʔə-s=u θət st-əxʷ-əs, "o dɛdɛl ʔɛy t-ɛʔ s-ʔiθ-əm.
(past?-so)(say-caus-to her-he), (oh)(it's very)(good)(the present vis-your)(clothes)
So he said to her, "Oh, your clothes are very good/really nice."
- 40 ʔiy=áməxʷ-cəxʷ.
(are good-looking-you)
You are pretty.
- 41 kə-kʷə=sɛlcɪm ʔɛ-s ʔɔwə-i ʔim-əxʷ lɛ tɛ ʔil-iyəθəl-s tɛ s-tá-loʔ.
(why)(your-nom)(not-past>never)(walk)(go to)(the)(edge-of)(the)(river)
Why don't you ever walk to the edge of the river?"
- 42 "o ká-l sxʷ=t-ɛʔɛ kʷ-əl-s sxʷ=t-ɛʔɛ tɛ θɛ.
(oh)(that's-my)(way, what s-o is like)(that-I-subord)(am like)(that)
"Oh, that's the way I am; I'm like that."
- 43 ʔ[-á-]met ʔð wi-yáθ.
(sitting)(just)(always)
Just always sitting.
- 44 q̥ɛx l s-yá-ys kʷ-əl-s ʔ[-á-]met ʔi-kʷə=lā.
(it's lots)(my)(work)(as-I-subord)(am sitting)(here)
I've got lots of work as/so I'm sitting here."
- b 45 ʔá-s=u kə-sə-s ʔa hɪqʷ-t-əs tu-kə.
(ju:st-so)(then-he)(just)(coaxes-her-he)(male-that)
So: then he just coaxes her.

46 "ʔɛy kʷ-s lə-ct ʔim=exʷ."
(it's good)(that-subord)(go-we)(walk)
"It's good that we go walk."

47 "ʔɔwə.
(no)
"No."

48 ʔa-ce-s-u mɪ-s-ā pələkʷ ʔe s-yá-qʷəm kʷ-əl-s-úi yáqʷ-əm.
(that's-fut-so)(start/come-it-just)(appear)(the fem)(sun)(then-I-
already)(sweat)
The sun will just start, so, to appear, that I sweat already.

49 ʔa-s-u ʔqʷ-əm tɛ-l s-yá-qʷ-əm.
(that's-so)(drip-middle voice-it)(the-my)(sweat)
So my sweat drips.

50 s-u ʔqʷ-əm-s tɛ-l s-yá-qʷ-əm qə-ʔa-ʔe-s-ʔ-s-u lə tɛs tɛ tɛmexʷ.
(so)(drip-middle voice-it)(the-my)(sweat)(and-that's/it's-they say-it-
so)(it goes, past)(reaches)(the)(ground)
So my sweat drips until they say it reaches the ground.

51 ʔa-s-ʔ-s-u ʔa sɛ-l mɛ-mələ.
(just-so[-3sbj-])(that is)(the female near-my)(pl-child)
So that is my daughters.

mə dɪs-əm tɛ-l s-yáqʷ-əm lɪ tɛ tɛmexʷ.
(coming/starting to)(grow)(the-my)(sweat)(on)(the)(ground)
my sweat starting to grow on the ground."

c 52 su ʔɛt tu-ʔa, "ʔa-kʷ-sɛlɪf-m-s ʔe-s-u c-sɛ-mələ ʔa
qə ʔɔwə-t-ɛ? s-wɛq=əθ?
(so)(says)(male-that) (why)(you-so)(have children)(just)(and)
(have no-you)(husband)
So he says, "Why do you just have children and no husband?"

53 sɛlɪf-m wə-ʔɛxʷ-əmə-θ-ɛxʷ-əxʷ?
(how is it?)(if-pity-for (happen/manage to indir effect obj)-me-you)
How is it/Why don't you pity me?

54 xʷɛɪ-ʔmə-θ-amɛ-cəl.
(take care-of (happen/manage to indir effect obj)-you-I)
I('ll) take care of you.

55 ʔaxʷəs-θ-amɛ-cəl kʷə mokʷ-sɛm kʷ-ɛ-s ʔ[-f-]ɪtɛl
(give-on purpose-you-I)(some)(all-what>everything)(that-you
(2sgsubj)-subord)(eat[-cont-])
I('ll) give you everything that you're eating.

56 sɛm-əs wə-təm-ɛxʷ-əxʷ kʷ-ɛ-s ʔɛɪtɛl kʷ-əl-s ʔaxʷəs-θ-əmə.
(whatever)(if, subjunct-wish-for s-th-you)(that-you-subord)(eat)
(which-I-subord)(give-you)
Whatever you might wish for to eat I('ll) give you."

57 "ʔɔwə," ʔu-ʔa s-ɪɛɪf, ʔɛt ʔu-ʔa qɛ-mɪ.
(No)(female-that)(woman)(says)(female-that)(girl)
"No," [says] that woman, says that girl.

58 "s-kʷɛ-y tʷe.
(it's impossible)(must/would be)
"It would be impossible.

59 ʔa-s-úi lə mə-s kʷás-θet ʔe kʷə-l-s-úi yá-qʷ-əm.
(it's that-3sbj-already>because it)(it went)(starts/comes to-it
subord)(hot-gets/incep)(just)(when-I-already)(sweat)
Because it just starts to get hot when I sweat already.

60 ʔowɛ-tɛ kʷə-wɛt tɛs-ɛt
(it's not-the/something>it's none/nothing/nobody)(some-who)
(gets near-it on purpose (3obj))
Nobody gets near it.

61 ʔə-s-u lə-s yɪ-lɛ-[-l-]t
(past-so)(go-it)(gets late at night)
So it gets late at night.

(62) qə-s-u ʔxʷ-əθet tɛ-l s-lɛxʷ-ɪws.
(and-so)(hard-gets/incep)(the-my)(body)
and so my body gets hard/hardens up.

63 kʷɛ-y tʷe ʔowɛ-tɛ kʷə-wɛt tɛs-əθ-ɛxʷ kʷ-s ʔxʷ-s tɛ-l
s-lɛxʷ-ɪws.
(it's impossible)(would be/I guess/evidently/must be)(it's none)
(some-who) (gets near-on purpose-to me)(when-subord)(is hard-3sbj)
(the-my)(body)
I guess it's impossible for anybody to get near me when my body is
hard."

d 64 "ʔo ʔawɛ-tɛ sɪxʷ-lɪ-s.
(oh)(it is nothing)(nom-there-it)
"Oh, it's no matter.

65 ʔɛy kʷ-ɛ-s sɪxʷ=ʔɛɪq=əθ-axʷ."
(it's good)(that-you-subord)(accept-me)
You better accept me."

66 "ʔɔwə," ʔu-ʔa.
(no) (female-that/she)
"No," she [said].

Da 67 ʔá-s-u ʔim=exʷ tu-ʔa ʔákʷ.
(ju:st-so)(walks)(male-that)(homeward)
So: he walks home.

111A 68 wɛy-əl lɛt-əɪ.
(daylight-gets/incep)(night-past>morning)
Morning comes.

69 ʔa-wɪ wɛy-əl.
(just-already>again)(daylight-gets/incep)
Again it gets daylight.

70 ʔa-wɪ yɪ-ʔf[---]m=exʷ.
(just-already>again)(he's travelling by-walking)
Again he's walking.

- B 71 ʔá-s-u ʔa-wi mə xʷə=ʔí.
(just-so)(just-already>again)(he comes to)(arrive, get here)
So again he came to arrive.
- 72 ʔa-wi mə kʷéc-t-əs ʔə qé-mí.
(just-already>again)(he comes to)(see-her-he)(the female present vis)
(girl)
Again he comes to see the girl.
- C 73 qaw ʔést-st-əm ʔə s-kʷé-y tʷə.
(repeatedly)(say-caus-he obj pass)(just)(it's impossible)(would be)
He was just told repeatedly it would be impossible.
- 74 ʔá-s-u lí-s tə ʔé
(ju:st-so)(is there-she)(the)(place)
So: she's just there.
- ivA 75 lí tə xəʔáʔəl s-wéy-əl.
(it is on)(the)(four(th))(day)
(It is) on the fourth day
- (76) qə-s-u ʔt-fwəl tu-xa s-qé[=qé=x-iyə, "ʔéy tʷə kʷ-əl-s
qé-l-əm.
(and-so)(he says-inside)(that)(Mink)(it's good)(would be)(that-I
subord)(camp)
and so that Mink thinks to himself, "It would be good if I camp/I'd
better camp.
- 77 Xa-cə-l-s-u qʷəmc-fwə-t ʔu-xa qé-mí."
(then-I-so)(hug-body-her)(female-that)(girl)
Then I'm going to hug that girl."
- B 78 ʔá-s-u lə kʷíy-əqəl tu-xa.
(ju:st-so)(he went to)(climb-hill)(male-that one)
So: he climbed up the hill.
- Ca 79 pʷíyəd lí ʔə qé-mí.
(he lays down beside)(at)(the female)(girl)
He lays down beside the girl.
- 80 l-uí lə tu ʔə-ʔést-əl kʷ-s-u kʷí-t-əs tə tʷélw-s kʷə-ʔəs-u
qʷəmc-fw-ət-əs.
(it was-already)(going)(a little)(cont-be dark-get/incep)(that-subord
-emph>when)(takes-it purposely-he)(the)(arm-her)(and-he-so)(hug-body
-her purposely-he)
It was just getting dark when he takes her arm and so he hugs her.
- 81 ʔá-s-u s-t-əʔé t(ə) ʔé qə mə wéy-əl.
(ju:st-so)(he's like)(the)(that)(and,until)(comes to)(daylight-get)
So: he stays like that until it comes to be day.
- b 82 mə wéy-əl qə Xíq
(it comes to/starts to)(day-get)(and)(he's stuck)
It starts to be day and he's stuck.

- 83 Xíq lí ʔə qé-mí.
(he's stuck)(on)(the female)(girl)
He's stuck on the girl.
- 84 ʔówə lí-s wə-ʔá-l-wə Xáxʷ kʷ-əs Xíq wə-mə-mé-l-əmət.
(it's not)(aux-it)(too)(hard)(that-he)(is struck)(subjunct/when/if-
come off/get loose-manage to-reflex(himself))
He isn't stuck too hard since he manages to get himself loose.
- Da 85 ʔá-s-əs-u ʔa-wi tákʷ.
(ju:st-so-he)(just-already>again)(go home/homeward)
So: he goes home again.
- 86 lə-m tákʷ.
(he goes)(homeward)
He goes home.
- 87 lé-m kʷə lí-s ʔələce kʷə lələm-s.
(he goes)(the distant/not vis) (is there-it)(is where?)(the distant)
(house-his)
He goes to wherever his house is.
- IIiAa 88 mə qéyl-t ʔa-wi yí-ʔí[---]m-əxʷ.
(it comes)(later in the morning)(just-already>again)(he's travelling-
walking)
Later in the morning he's walking again.
- 89 ʔíy-á-məxʷ tu-xa s-wíq-ə, tu-xa s-qé[=qé=yx-iyə.
(he's good-looking)(that)(man), (that)(Mink)
That man is handsome, that Mink.
- Ba 90 ʔá-s-u-í lə kʷíy-əqəl.
(ju:st-so-past)(he went)(climbs-the hill)
So: he climbed the hill.
- 91 su lə xʷ-lí-ls-əs ʔə qé-mí.
(so)(he went)(reach-manages-her-he)(the)(girl)
So he reached the girl.
- Ca 92 ʔə-s-əs-a(o?)í s-cəxʷ-mət-əs.
(past-so-he-past/already)(proposes-to-her-he)
So he proposed to her.
- 93 ʔə-s-u "ʔówə," ʔu-xa qé-mí.
(past-so)(no), (female-that)(girl)
So "No," that girl [said].
- 94 "s-kʷé-y tʷə
(it is impossible, it can't be)(evid/would be/must be)
"It can't be.
- 95 qə ʔowé-ts kʷə-wét tēs-əθ-əxʷ íf-s mə kʷás-əθet
Xə-l-s-uí yá-qʷ-əm."
(and)(it's none)(some-who)(gets near-to-me)(when-it)(starts to)
(hot-get/incep)(because-I)(sweat)
And nobody gets near to me when it starts to get hot because I sweat."

- Da 96 ʔá·s-s-és=u ət=íwél tu=ʔa, "ʔo ʔéy tʔe kʔe-l-s qʔemc=íwél=t."
(ju:st-so-he)(he says-inside)(male-that)(oh)(it's good)(would be)
(that-I-subord)(hug-body-her)
So: he thinks to himself, "Oh, it would be good if I/I'd better hug her."
- b 97 ʔá·s=u qʔem=c-íwél=t-és ʔə qé·mi.
(ju:st-so)(hug-body-her-he)(the)(girl)
So: he hugs the girl.
- 98 ʔə=s=u s=təʔé· t(ə) ʔé.
(past-so)(he is like/stays-emph/dur/really/a long time)(the)(that)
So he stayed like that a long time.
- 99 ʔui ley lé·[-l-]t.
(already)(it was past getting)(night[-cont-])
It was already getting night.
- c 100 ʔa=wí lə ʔxʔ=éʔet ʔu=ʔa qé·mi.
(again)(she past went to)(hard-get/incep)(female-that)(girl)
Again that girl got hard.
- 101 ʔa=wí lə píw-ətəm.
(again)(she past went)(freeze-stative)
Again she got frozen.
- 102 ʔə=s=u ʔi·q tu=ʔa.
(past-so)(gets stuck)(male-that)
So he got stuck.
- 103 s=kʔéy kʔ-əs mé-l-ámət-s.
(it can't be/it's impossible)(that-he)(gets loose/off-manages-himself-he)
He can't get himself loose/off.
- d 104 ʔá·s=u lə s=t-éʔé=wél, "ʔo cəl xʔə s-cé-cə-xʔ.
(ju:st-so)(he past went)(like that-inside>thinks)(oh) (I past)
(become)(got wife/married)
So: he thought, "Oh I've gotten a wife/gotten married.
- 105 sʔxʔ=ʔélq=əʔ-áxʔ-əs ʔə qé·mi."
(accepted-purposely-me-she)(the female)(girl)
The girl accepted me."
- 106 s=u s=təʔé· t(ə) ʔé.
(so)(he stays like-really/a long time)(the)(that)
So he stays like that a long time.
- 11Aa 107 mə qəlét wəy-əl q=aw kʔás=əʔet.
(it comes/starts)(again)(daylight-get)(and again)(hot-gets)
It starts to get light again and again it gets hot.
- 108 l=ui mə kʔás=əʔet.
(past-it already)(starts)(hot-to get)
It already started to get hot.

- b 109 ʔa=su mə-mé tú=ʔá.
(just-so)(came off, came loose)(male-that)
So he came loose.
- c 110 ʔá·s=u ʔéʔ, "ʔa-cə kʔe-l-s=u ʔéléxʔ s=qá ʔə-ləwə
kʔə ʔí·-cəl-cə kʔə-lá."
(ju:st-so)(he says)(it is-fut)(that-I-so)(stay, live)(together with)(prep-you)(that)(be here-I will)(place-this)
So: he says, "I'll stay together with you; I'll stay here."
- 111 ʔə=s=u ʔé[-]xəʔ-s lí tə kʔəʔ=íqəl lí tə s=pəlíqʔ-s ʔu=ʔa qé·mi.
(past-so)(lay[-cont-]-he)(on)(the)(back)(at)(the)(right beside-3poss(her))(female-that)(girl)
So he lays on his back right beside that girl.
- [Note: Due to anaphora we know that the 3rd person inflections in lines 112-114 refer to Mink (the only one on his back; the lit. transl. could show merely 3subj or 3poss but may as well reflect the anaphora here. I've followed a similar policy when anaphora indicates that 3sbj or 3obj or 3 poss refers to the girl (Miss Pitch), by translating instead with she or her.]
- d 112 kʔəʔ=í·-qəl lí tə ʔé lí tə kʔá=kʔə-s s-yáqʔem.
(he's on his back-a long time)(at)(the)(there)(in)(the)(hot)(sun)
He's on his back a long time there in the hot sun.
- 111 113 ʔá·s=u lí tə ʔé kʔíʔ s=wəy-əl kʔ-s lí-s kʔəʔ=íqəl-s.
(ju:st-so)(he's at)(the)(there)(how many?)(day)(that-he)(is there-he)(that-he)(is on back-his)
So: he's there I don't know how many days on his back.
- 111Aa 114 ʔá·s=u t'éyəq.
(ju:st-so)(he gets mad)
So: he gets mad.
- b 115 "təl-l-əxʔ-əs-cə.
(find out/learn how it feels-manage-it-she-will)
"She'll learn how it feelsx
- 116 ʔi-ét-cəl-cə.
(hurt-her on purpose-I-will)
I'll beat her up.
- 117 kʔé·y kʔ-s ʔəwə-s xʔəl=íwél-məʔ-áxʔ-əs."
(it's impossible/it can't be)(that-she)(not-she)(pay attention-to happen/manage to have indir effect on-me-she)
She can't do that, not pay any attention to mex"
- c 118 ʔá·s=u xʔ=ʔíqʔ=əs=t-əs ʔə stá·ləs-s.
(ju:st so)(head-punch-in face-her-he)(the female)(wife-his)
So: he punched his wife in the face.
- 119 l=ui xʔə s-cé[-cə-]xʔ tu=ʔa.
(he past-already)(become)(gotten a wife,"enwifed")(male-that,he)
He had already gotten a wife (he felt).

- 120 s=u x^w=θfɔ^w=es=t-es.
(so)(on head-punch-in face-her-he)
So he punched her in the face.
- d 121 qe=s=u xē.l tē cēlɔx^w-s li tē s=ʔəθes-s θ-u-xā qē.mi.
(and-so)(stuck)(the pres vis)(hand-his)(in)(the)(face-her)
(that fem)(adolescent virgin girl)
And so his hand stuck in the face of that girl.
- 122 ʔā.=s=u s=t=əʔē tē θē tu=xā.
(ju:st-so)(is like)(the)(that)(that one, he)
So: he stayed like that.
- Ba 123 ta-t=f.l=θ-et, "x^wəʔft-ix^w-cəl-ce.
(understand[-cont-]-purposely-reflex>ponder,wonder)(what will
do/happen?-I-will)
He's wondering, "I wonder what shall I do?"
- b 124 ʔo tēl=l-ex^w-es-ce.
(oh)(find out/learn how it feels-she-will)
Oh she'll learn how it feels.
- 125 yei-ce
(it is now-fut)
It'll be now.
- 126 yei-ce s-xēi-s tla=qē.ys.
(not-fut)(stat/result-hurt-she)(this-time/moment)
Now she be hurt this time."
- c 127 ʔe=s=u θik^wə=ʔf-ws-əm θfɔ^w=es=t-es.
(past-so)(left-in body-middle voice>left-handedly)(punch-
in face-her-he)
So he punched her in the face left-handed.
- d 128 ʔā.=s=u xē.l.
(ju:st-so)(he sticks)
So: he sticks.
- 129 s=u x^wə s-xē[-xə-]l.
(so)(he becomes/gets)(stative-stick[-resultative-])
So he gets really stuck.
- 130 s=u s=t=əʔē=. tē θē tu=xā.
(so)(like-aug/lots)(the)(that)(he)
So he stayed like that a long time.
- 131 l-uī le tu p[[-pə-]w-ətem θū=xā s=iēlf.
(past-already)(going)(a little)(freeze[-cont-]-her-stative)
(fem-that)(woman)
The woman was already getting a little frozen.
- Ca 132 ʔā.=s=u θt-fwəl, "tēl=l-ex^w-es-ce.
(ju:st-so)(he said-inside)(find out-happen/manage to-it(obj)-she-fut)
So: he thought/said to himself, "She'll see how it feels this time.

- b 133 ləmf.=t-cəl-ce.
(kick-her on purpose-I-will)
I'll kick her.
- 134 li-ce tē k^wēle-s k^wə-l-s ləmf.=t.
(it is in-will)(the)(stomach-her)(that-I-subord)(kick-her purposely)
It'll be in her stomach that I kick her."
- c 135 ʔe=s=u ləmf.=t-es.
(past-so)(kick-her purposely-he)
So he kicked her.
- d 136 ʔā.=s=u xīq.
(ju:st so)(he gets stuck(wedged,caught))
So: he gets stuck.
- 137 xīq tē s-xēl-ə-s li tē k^wēle-s θe stā.les-s.
(it's stuck/caught)(the pres vis)(foot-his)(in)(the)(stomach-her)
(the fem)(wife-his)
His foot is stuck in the stomach of his wife.
- 138 ʔā.=s=u ʔ[-ā.-]met li tē θē.
(ju:st so)(he's sitting)(at)(the)(there)
So: he's sitting there
- 139 s-xē[-xə-]l.
(stat-stick[-result-]>he's stuck)
(He's) stuck.
- 140 s-k^wgy k^w-s mē=l-āmət-s.
(it's impossible/it can't be)(that-he)(come off-manage to-himself-he)
He can't (manage to) get himself loose/off.
- Da 141 ʔa=s=u θt-fwəl, "ʔo yei-ce s-xēi-s.
(just-so/then-so)(he says-inside)(oh)(it's now-fut)(partic-hurt-she)
So he thinks/says to himself, "Oh now she'll get hurt.
- 142 yei-ce s-xēi-s tla=qē.ys.
(it's now-fut)(stat/result/partic-hurt-she)(this-moment/time)
Now she'll get hurt this time.
- b 143 θō.w=t-cəl-ce.
(beat to a pulp-her purposely-I-fut/wil)
I'll beat her to a pulp.
- 144 θō.w=t-cəl-ce tē s-ləx^w-fws-s.
(beat to a pulp-her purposely-I-will)(the)(body-her)
I'll beat her body to a pulp."
- c 145 ʔe=s=u θik^wə=x^w-il-əm-θ.
(past-so)(left-foot-get/go-middle voice-he)
So he used his left foot.
- 146 ləmf.=t-es.
(kicks-her purposely-he)
He kicks her.

- 147 ʔo tɪm=əθət kʷ-s ləmé·t-s kʷ=s-u lə xʷə Kʰəp.
(really)(do hard-purposely-reflex)(that-he)(kick-her purposely-he)
(that-so>until)(it goes)(becomes)(deep)
It's really hard that he kicks her until/so it goes deep.
- d 148 lə Xíq̄ tə s=xəl·ə-s.
(it past)(sticks)(the)(foot-his)
His foot stuck.
- 149 ʔá·s-u xʷə lɪ tə θé.
(ju:st-so)(he gets/becomes/stays)(at)(the)(there)
So: he stays (becomes) there.
- 150 s-u xʷə s=qʷəm-qʷəm[-á-]xʷ.
(so)(he gets/becomes)(stative-lump/double up-dispositional[durative-]
-round>all doubled up)(or perhaps stative-plural-lump/double up
[-dur-]-round>all doubled up)
So he gets all doubled up.
- 151 qʷəm-qʷəm[-á-]xʷ.
(he's all doubled up)
He's all doubled up.
- 152 s=kʷéy kʷ-s mé-l-ámət-s.
(it's impossible/it can't be) (that-he)(come loose/off-manage/happen
to-reflex-he)
He can't (manage to) get loose.
- 153 ʔá·s-u s=té tə θé tú=Xá.
(ju:st so)(he's like)(the)(that)(that one,he)
So: he stays like that.
- Ea 154 ta[-tɪ·-]l-t-əs, "xʷəʔt-ixʷ-cəl kʷə-l-s kʷíyɣ=θ-et.
(is thinking/pondering-it-he),(what to do-I)(that-I-subord)
(move-purposely-reflex/self)
He's thinking/pondering, "What will I do so I can move?"
- 155 yəi-el-s xəl=l-éxʷ.
(it's now-I-subord)(hurt-manage to-her)
Now I'll hurt her.
- b 156 ʔo ʔéy tʷə kʷə-l-s s=xʷ=tém=əs-əm."
(oh)(it's good)(would be/evid/must be)(that-I-subord)(head-butt-face
-middle voice (do to one's own body))
Oh I'd better/it'll be good if I butt (her) with my face."
- c 157 s-u xʷ=tém=əs-əm lɪ-m tə s=qʷéməl-s θə stá·ləs-s.
(so)(head-butt-with face-middle voice)(go to)(the)(forehead-her)
(the fem)(wife-his)
So his wife got butted on her forehead.
- d 158 ʔə=s-u Xíq̄ tə s=qʷéməl-s lə θə stá·ləs-s.
(past-so)(sticks)(the)(forehead-his)(on)(the fem)(wife-his)
So his forehead stuck on his wife.

- 159 qə=s-u lɪ tə θé s-qʷəm-qʷəm[-á-]xʷ.
(and-so)(he's at)(the)(there)(all doubled over)
And so he's there, all doubled over.
- 160 mó·kʷ kʷə θé s=lét kʷ-s s-qʷəm-qʷəm[-á-]xʷ-s.
(it's all)(the distant)(that)(night)(that-he)(is all doubled over-he)
All that night he's all doubled over.
- 161 s=kʷéy kʷ-s mé-l-ámət-s.
(it's impossible/it can't be)(that-he)(come loose-manages to-himself
-he)
He can't get himself loose.
- ivAa 162 mə wéy=əl.
(it starts/inceptive)(daylight-get/inceptive)
It started to get daylight.
- 163 s-u-i mə wéy=əl.
(so already)(started)(day-to get)
Then it got day.
- 164 s-u-i mə pəlákʷ tə s=yáqʷəm.
(so-already)(started/come to)(appear)(the)(sun)
Then the sun appeared.
- 165 ʔ[-á-]mət.
(sit[-continuative-]>he's sitting)
He's sitting.
- 166 tu qayá·əθət tə tál-tələw.
(a little)(loosened up-get/incep)(the)(plural-arm)
(His) arms got loosened up a little.
- b 167 "cəl-cə mé=l-ámət."
(I-will)(get loose-manage to-myself)
"I'll (manage to) get myself loose"
- c 168 ʔá·s-əs-u ʔiyálew=əθ-ət tu=Xá.
(ju:st-so-he)(he tries hard)(male-that,he)
So: he tries hard.
- d 169 s-u mə mé tə lq=əlɛxəl-s.
(so)(came-loose)(the)(one side-arm-his)
So his arm on one side came loose.
- B 170 ʔówə lɪ-s yə-híθ kʷə-s mə mé tə lq=əlɛxəl-s.
(it is not)(subord-it)(long)(until-it)(came)(loose)(the)
(one side-arm-his)
It isn't long until his other arm came loose.
- Ca 171 ʔui mə kʷás=θət.
(already)(came/started to)(hot-get)
It already started to get hot.
- b 172 ʔá·s-u mə mé tə s=xələ-s.
(ju:st-so)(came)(loose)(the)(foot-his)
So: his feet/foot came loose.

- c 173 qe-s=u we-dəx le te təməx.
(and-so)(suddenly-he drops)(on/goes to)(the)(ground)
And so suddenly he drops to the ground.
- d 174 s=u lf- te təməx s=kʷəʔiqəl-s,
(so)(he's there on-aug)(the ground)(be on one's back-his)
So he's there on his back on the ground for a long time.
- 175 s-xi[-xə-]q te təl-təlōw-s,
(stative-stuck[-resultative-])(the)(plural-arm-his)
His arms are stuck.
- 176 xi[-xə-]q te s-xələ-s,
(stick[-result-])(the)(leg(s)-his)
His legs get stuck.
- 177 s=u s-qʷəm-qʷəm[-ā-]xʷ-s lf te θé.
(so)(all doubled over-he)(at)(the)(there)
So he's all doubled over there.
- Da 178 ʔa-s=u θət-s θu-xa s-iəlf, "lə-cxʷ kʷə təl-l-əxʷ.
(just-so)(says-she)(fem-that)(woman), (past went-you)(until)
(found out how it feels-manage to-it)
Just so the woman says, "You went until you found out (how it feels).
- 179 lə-cəl xətə-sə-əmə kʷə-l-s qəl.
(past went-I)(said-caus-to you)(that-I-subord)(am bad)
I told you that I am bad.
- 180 kʷéy kʷə-l-s ʔim-əxʷ.
(It's impossible)(that-I-subord)(walk)
I can't walk.
- 181 wə-láy ʔəl sxʷ-t-ə kʷə-l-s ʔ[-ā-]mət ʔf-kʷə-la.
(only)(just)(what-like)(that-I-subord)(sit[-cont-])(here)
It's just the way I am like, sitting here.
- 182 məkʷ s-wéy-əl, məkʷ s-lét kʷə-l-s ʔ[-ā-]mət ʔf-kʷə-la.
(it's all)(day)(all)(night)(that-I-subord)(sit[-cont-])(here)
It's all day, all night that I'm sitting here.
- 183 qe-s=u mə-s kʷəs=θət xə-l-s=ui mə yáqʷ-əm.
(and-so)(it start-it)(hot-get)(then-I-already)(start to)(sweat)
And so when it starts to get hot then I (already) start to sweat.
- 184 s=u i-i-s lét qe-s=u pfw-ət-əm.
(so)(when-it)(gets dark)(and-so)(freeze-stative)
So when it gets dark and so it gets frozen."
- b 185 ʔə-s-əs[-u] ʔəwə-tə kʷə-s s-kʷifx=θ-ət tū-xa s-qé[-qe-]yx-iys.
(past-it-so)(there's nothing)(that-he)(could do)(male-that)(Mink)
So there was nothing that Mink could do.

3. Discourse patterns in the story of Mink and Miss Pitch

Hymes 1981 found that many traditional oral stories, such as the present one, can be shown to have structures such as acts, scenes, stanzas, and verses, as well as lines, each a subdivision of the preceding type. Hymes demonstrated that patterns of setting, action, repetition, and morphemes with discourse structuring functions can lead us to these structures.

In studying these elements in the story of Mink and Miss Pitch, I found they did indeed lead me to find such narrative structure patterns. I do not believe there is necessarily one, and only one, correct structure that can be proposed for this story. I have tried several and find that they each shed different light on the story. The one I discuss in this paper is the most consistent and illuminating one I have found so far. First I looked at content patterns, more a matter of semantics than morphology or syntax. These can be seen more easily using a synopsis with the English translation in table 1, below. Next I looked at some patterns in morphology and syntax, i.e. patterns in the use of conjunctions as discourse structuring in their repetition and placement. I wanted to see if they confirm the semantic/content patterns. Table 1 also shows all the Halkomelem conjunctions found in the story. Those that are line-initial are shown above the English translation of the whole line; those that are medial in a line are shown preceded by three periods.

In the story of Mink and Miss Pitch, the plot takes place over several days, so it would seem that these might correlate with scene changes; in most cases, the action remains static during the night and new action takes place in the morning, especially since Mink either goes home at night or is stuck to Miss Pitch at night. So the action confirms this division in scenes. In some cases there is no change or new action over several days, so it seems that such a group of days would fall within the same scene. Many scenes come to a conclusion of some sort as well (Mink going home, or being stuck overnight to the lovely Miss Pitch). So I made tentative divisions into scenes first.

The action overall seems to have two main parts, Mink's courtship of Miss Pitch and his "married life" with her, i.e., the period when he ceases to go home and thinks to himself that he's married. This is the largest division in the story and probably constitutes two acts: act I lines 1-87 and act II lines 88-185. Act I has four scenes, as does act II.

Within the scenes I looked for a consistent pattern of actions, processes, and/or states that was repeated. Early scenes began with Mink walking in the morning, visiting Miss Pitch, exchanging dialogue with her, then going home as it starts to get dark (act I, scenes i, ii, and iii). (With scene iii, going down the hill to home (normally stanza D), is not overtly stated, but it must have occurred, since in scene iv, Mink has to climb the hill again to see the girl.) So these make useful stanzas, subdividing the scenes, most often into these four parts. Before the interaction begins Mink also walks for four days before approaching Pitch on the fourth day. Since four is the sacred or ritual number among the Stó:lo, the speakers of Upriver Halkomelem, the sequences of four probably are not accidental. They provide a symmetry that is familiar and satisfying. Another case of this begins act II. In scene i of act II, Mink is walking (stanza A), he climbs the hill (stanza B), he proposes to Miss Pitch and she refuses (stanza C), then he hugs her anyway, gets stuck to her, and figures she accepted him (stanza D).

Table 1. The Story of Mink and Miss Pitch: structural outline

- Act I
scene 1
stanza A
verse a
(Underlines show morphemes not translated (or, rarely, mistranslated) in the original translation but more faithfully included in this revised translation. Conjunctions (and one repeated word, 'awi' 'again') which begin almost half of all lines (88/185) and four non-initial ones, are shown below also. This version also tries translating all the optional past 'e' examples in the past tense and tries to use the improved translations of the other conjunctions from table 3, as well.)
- IiAa 1 Little Mink (male, present, visible) is travelling, going along, they say,
2 (He is) a handsome man.
3 (He is) travelling on foot/walking along.
4 (He is) travelling along the edge of the river.
(Lines 1-4 could be one sentence, with 2 (NP), 3 (VP), and 4 (VP) each in apposition as in the initial translation, but 3 appositions in a row is unusual; it is more likely these are separate VPs and sentences; as in the original translation, past tense is used only when overtly shown by a morpheme.)
- b 5 qe
And a(n adolescent virgin) girl is sitting (present and visible).
6 It is on a hill that the beautiful woman is sitting.
- c 7 ?e-s-es-u
So that young man, Little Mink, walked.
8 ?a--s-u
So: he just walks there.
9 It is for three days that he walks.
10 He has his hands behind his back as he walks along.
- d 11 ?a-s-u
So it just got to the fourth day.
12 qe-s-u
And so he thinks to himself, "Oh, it might be good if I go see the girl."
13 He's going to talk to her, they say, that Little Mink says.
- Ba 14 ?a--s-u
So: he just goes/is going to climb the hill.
15 s-u
So he managed to reach/reached the girl there.
16 He got near/went up to the place where the girl was.
- Ca 17 s-u
So he says to her, "Oh, you are really very beautiful/pretty/good-looking.
18 Your clothes are good/nice.
19 Kε-k'-sεlcm-s ?e-s-u
So why don't you ever walk a little?
20 You always just sit there every day."
21 ?e-s-u
So the girl said, "Oh that's the way I am/what I'm like.
22 That's the way I am, sitting every day.
23 Kε-l-s-u
So it is that I'm just sitting here."
- b 24 Ka-s-u
So it is that he said, "Oh, you're very good-looking/pretty/beautiful.
25 Oh just stay sitting."

- 26 "Yes, that's the way I am every day."
c 27 "I'd better get home.
28 It's already getting night/dark."
- Da 29 ?a-s-u
So he just goes down the hill.
30 ?a-s-u
So he just goes down on the flat (distant/not visible).
31 He got to the edge of the river so he walks.
32 He walks there.
- IiAa 33 ...?awi...
It gets daylight and he was already walking again.
34 ?a-wi
Again he's travelling by the edge of the river as he walks.
35 He's a handsome man, that Mink.
36 ?a--s-u ?a-wi
So: he just thinks to himself again, "It would be good if I went to see the girl, see whatever she is doing."
- Ba 37 ?a-s-es-u ?a-wi
So again he just climbs the hill.
38 He reached the girl there.
- Ca 39 ?e-s-u
So he said to her, "Oh, your clothes are very good/really nice.
40 You are beautiful/good-looking/pretty.
41 Why don't you ever walk to the edge of the river?"
42 "Oh, that's the way I am; I'm like that.
43 Just always sitting.
44 I've got lots of work as/so I'm sitting here."
- b 45 ?a--s-u Ka-sε-s ?a
So: then it is that he just coaxes her.
46 "It's good that we go walk."
47 "No.
48 Ka-ce-s-u mī-s-ā
So it is that the sun will just start to appear, when I sweat already.
49 Ka-s-u
So Then it is that my sweat drips.
50 s-u
So my sweat drips until they say it reaches the ground.
51 ?a-s-es-u
So that is just my daughters,
my sweat starting to grow on the ground."
- c 52 su
So he says, "So why do you just have children and no husband?
53 How is it/Why don't you pity me?
54 I('ll) take care of you.
55 I('ll) give you everything that you're eating.
56 Whatever you might wish for to eat I('ll) give you."
57 "No," [says] that woman, says that girl.
58 "It would be impossible.
59 Kε-s-u
Because/so it is already that it just starts to get hot when I sweat already.
60 Nobody gets near it.
61 ?e-s-u lε-s
So it got late at night.
(62) qe-s-u
and so my body gets hard/hardens up.

63 I guess it's impossible for anybody to get near me when my body is hard."
 d 64 "Oh, it's no matter.
 65 You better accept me."
 66 "No," she [said].
 Da 67 ?á-s-u
 So: he just walks home.
 111A 68 Morning comes.
 69 ?a-wi
 Again it gets daylight.
 70 ?a-wi
 Again he's walking.
 B 71 ?á-s-u ?a-wi
 So again he just came to arrive.
 72 ?a-wi
 Again he comes to see the girl.
 C 73 (qaw
 He was just told repeatedly it would be impossible.
 74 ?á-s-u
 So: she's just there.
 1vA 75 (It is) on the fourth day
 (76) qe-s-u
 and so that Mink thinks to himself, "It would be good if I camp/I'd better camp.
 77 Xa-ce-l-s-u
 Then it is that I'm going to hug that girl."
 B 78 ?á-s-u
 So: he just climbed up the hill.
 Ca 79 He lays down beside the girl.
 80 ...k'-s-u...k'-s-u...
 It was just getting dark a little when he takes her arm and so he hugged her.
 81 ?á-s-u
 So: he just stays like that until it comes to be day.
 b 82 It starts to be day and he's stuck.
 83 He's stuck on the girl.
 84 He isn't stuck too hard since he manages to get himself loose.
 Da 85 ?á-s-és-u ?a-wi
 So: he just goes home again.
 86 He goes home.
 87 He goes to wherever (distant/not vis) his house is.
 111Aa 88 ...?a-wi...
 Later in the morning he's walking again.
 89 That man is handsome, that Mink.
 B 90 ?á-s-u-i
 So: he just climbed the hill.
 91 su
 So he reached the girl.
 Ca 92 ?e-s-és-a(o?)i
 So he proposed to her.
 93 ?e-s-u
 So "No," that girl [said].
 94 "It can't be.
 95 qe
 And nobody gets near to me when it starts to get hot because I sweat."

Da 96 ?á-s-és-u
 So: he just thinks to himself, "Oh, it would be good if I/I'd better hug her."
 b 97 ?á-s-u
 So: he just hugs the girl.
 98 ?e-s-u
 So he stayed like that a long time.
 99 (?ui
 It was already getting night.
 c 100 ?a-wi
 Again that girl got hard.
 101 ?a-wi
 Again she got frozen.
 102 ?e-s-u
 So he got stuck.
 103 He can't get himself loose/off.
 d 104 ?á-s-u
 So: he just thought, "Oh I've gotten a wife/gotten married.
 105 The girl accepted me."
 106 s-u
 So he stays like that a long time.
 11Aa 107 It starts to get light again and again it gets hot.
 108 It already started to get hot.
 b 109 ?a-su
 So he just came loose.
 c 110 ?á-s-u 0st, "Xa-ce k'-l-s-u
 So: he just says, "So it will be that I'll stay together with you; I'll stay here."
 111 ?e-s-u
 So he laid on his back right beside that girl.
 d 112 He's on his back a long time there in the hot sun.
 113 ?á-s-u
 So: he's just there I don't know how many days on his back.
 111Aa 114 ?á-s-u
 So: he just gets mad.
 b 115 "She'll learn how it feelsx
 116 I'll beat her up.
 117 She can't do that, not pay any attention to mex"
 c 118 ?á-s-u
 So: he just punched his wife in the face.
 119 He had already gotten a wife (he felt).
 120 s-u
 So he punched her in the face.
 d 121 qe-s-u
 And so his hand stuck in the face of that girl.
 122 ?á-s-u
 So: he just stays like that.
 Ba 123 He's wondering, "I wonder what shall I do?
 b 124 Oh she'll learn how it feels.
 125 It'll be now.
 126 Now she be hurt this time."
 c 127 ?e-s-u
 So he punched her in the face left-handed.
 d 128 ?á-s-u
 So: he just sticks.
 129 s-u
 So he gets really stuck.

130 s=u
 So he's/stayed like that a long time.
 131 The woman was already getting a little frozen.
 Ca 132 ?a'-s=u
 So: he just thinks to himself, "She'll see how it feels."
 b 133 I'll kick her.
 134 It'll be in her stomach that I kick her."
 c 135 ?e-s=u
 So he kicked her.
 d 136 ?a'-s=u
 So: he just gets stuck.
 137 His foot is stuck in the stomach of his wife.
 138 ?a'-s=u
 So: he's just sitting there
 139 (He's) stuck.
 140 He can't (manage to) get himself loose/off.
 Da 141 ?a-s=u
 So he just thinks/says to himself, "Oh now she'll get hurt."
 142 Now she'll get hurt this time.
 b 143 I'll beat her to a pulp.
 144 I'll beat her body to a pulp."
 c 145 ?e-s=u
 So he used his left foot.
 146 He kicks her.
 147 It's really hard that he kicks her until/so it goes deep.
 d 148 His foot stuck.
 149 ?a'-s=u
 So: he just stays (becomes) there.
 150 s=u
 So he gets all doubled up.
 151 He's all doubled up.
 152 He can't (manage to) get loose.
 153 ?a'-s=u
 So: he just stays like that.
 Ea 154 He's thinking/pondering, "What will I do so I can move?"
 155 Now I'll hurt her.
 b 156 Oh I'd better/it'll be good if I butt (her) with my face."
 c 157 s=u
 So his wife got butted on her forehead.
 d 158 ?e-s=u
 So his forehead stuck on his wife.
 159 ?e-s=u
 And so he's there, all doubled over.
 160 All that night he's all doubled over.
 161 He can't get himself loose.
 ivAa 162 It started to get daylight.
 163 s=u-i
 Then it got day.
 164 s=u-i
 Then the sun appeared.
 165 He's sitting.
 166 (His) arms got loosened up a little.
 b 167 "I'll (manage to) get myself loosex"
 c 168 ?a'-s-es=u
 So: he just tries hard.
 d 169 s=u
 So his arm on one side came loose.

B 170 It isn't long until his other arm came loose.
 Ca 171 (?u)
 It already started to get hot.
 b 172 ?a'-s=u
 So: his feet/foot just came loose.
 c 173 ?e-s=u
 And so suddenly he drops to the ground.
 d 174 s=u
 So he's there on his back o_n the ground for a long time.
 175 His arms are stuck.
 176 His legs get stuck.
 177 s=u
 So he's all doubled over there.
 Da 178 ?a-s=u
 So the woman just says, "You went until you found out (how it feels)."
 179 I told you that I am bad.
 180 I can't walk.
 181 It's just the way I am like, sitting here.
 182 It's all day, all night that I'm sitting here.
 183 ?e-s=u m-e-s
 And so when it starts to get hot then I (already) start to sweat.
 184 s=u i-i-s
 So when it gets dark and then it gets frozen."
 b 185 ?e-s-es[-u]
 So there was nothing that Mink could do.

The story-teller is not restricted to patterns of four, but when they are broken there is usually a significant reason. For example, in act II, scene iii, Mink gets mad, and punches Miss Pitch right-handed and his hand sticks to her (stanza A); then he punches her left-handed and sticks (B), then he kicks her with his right foot and sticks (C), then his left foot which sticks (D), and finally butts her with his head which sticks (E). In the next and final scene (iv), she hardens as it gets dark, and all night he's doubled over, and all the next morning, and he doesn't get free till it gets real hot. Even at that, once he's loose, his arms either stick to each other or to the ground, and the same is true of his legs, and she lectures him. It is more likely that he fails because of his stupidity, stubbornness, and violence, than because he violates the number four in his violent acts. However, note that he does hit her five times, not four. His other repetitions with four at least secured him his trial "marriage".

On a smaller scale, within a number of stanzas, Mink thinks about how he feels, decides what he will do, does it, and suffers the consequences (sticks to Miss Pitch)(thus in act II scenes 1 stanza D, IIIi stanzas A, B, C, D, and E, and scene iv, stanza A). Thus these stanzas divide into four verses each, another use of four. In another stanza there are four exchanges of dialogue, four pairs of Mink saying something and Miss Pitch replying. Such exchanges could be grouped in other ways or left ungrouped in a single stanza, but considering the parallelism with fours elsewhere it seems reasonable to group them into four pairs (IiiC). In the preceding scene, stanza B, IiB, there's only three pairs, perhaps because Mink is just meeting Miss Pitch and just getting warmed up. In IiiiC in the next scene, it moves the action along faster by just stating that Mink was repeatedly told the relationship would be impossible. (This is also the only place where the passive is used. And there is also no D stanza for his going home, though we know he does go home since he has to climb the hill again in the next scene.)

As mentioned, the parallelism is not rigid; there are a number of scenes which do not have four stanzas, one has 5, five have 4, one has 3, and one has 1 (see table 2). But in those with less than 4, less new or significant things are happening. For example, act I, scene iii is just another repeat of Mink visiting, being told repeatedly it wouldn't work; each repetition is not given, going up hill and going home are not even mentioned, and he is told it wouldn't work in the passive voice. In act II, scene ii, Mink comes unstuck after hugging Miss Pitch, decides to stay with her, and just lies on his back in the hot sun for days. What is important is what is not there: no dialogue, no action, Pitch ignores him. But she didn't speak to him when he hugged her in the previous stanza, and there too she ignored him. So again, nothing new happens, except Mink lying there passively for days. It seems then, at this level at least, the numbers of stanzas per scene may be content-determined to some degree.

Table 2

scenes/act: I 4, II 4
stanzas/scene: Ii 4, ii 4, iii 3, iv 4; Iii 4, ii 1, iii 5, iv 4.
verses/stanza: Ii A 4, B 1, C 3, D 1; ii A 1, B 1, C 4, D 1; iii A 1, B 1, C 1; iv A 1, B 1, C 2, D 1. Iii A 1, B 1, C 1, D 4; ii A 4; iii A 4, B 4, C 4, D 4, E 4; iv A 4, B 1, C 4, D 2.
lines/verse: a4 b2 c4 d3, a3, a7 b3 c2, a4; a4, a2, a6 b7 c12 d3, a1; a3, a2, a2; a3, a1, a3 b3, a3. a2, a2, a4, a1 b3 c4 d3; a2 b1 c2 d2; a1 b3 c3 d2, a1 b3 c1 d4, a1 b2 c1 d5, a2 b3 c3 d6, a2 b1 c1 d4; a5 b1 c1 d1, a1, a1 b1 c1 d4, a7 b1.

I have already discussed the patterning of fours in the number of verses per stanza; there are eleven cases of it. Table 2 shows there are no cases of more than 4 verses/stanza, only one case of 3 verses/stanza, two cases of 2 verses/stanza, and the rest (15 cases) are cases of one verse/stanza. I have already discussed the case of 3 verses/stanza, which I believe is less full because Mink talks to Miss Pitch here for the first time, is just getting warmed up and is a bit shy (well, as shy as he ever gets in these stories, anyway).

The cases of 2 verses/stanza both occur at the end of each act. The first, act I, scene iv, stanza C, is important but may be shorter because it includes no dialogue. Mink lays down beside Miss Pitch, hugs her, gets stuck as she hardens at night, but gets loose in the morning. This is his first nonverbal advance, his first overnight with her, and his first getting stuck. So it is important. There is no clear explanation why it is shorter. The second case of 2 verses/stanza is also very significant; it is the last stanza in the story, act II, scene iv, the fourth stanza. Miss Pitch scolds Mink, who has come loose from her but is still stuck to himself and still all doubled over in the hot sun. She tells him she told him so. The second verse just concludes, there was nothing Mink could do (one line). They may be shorter to give each act a snappy finish, or there may be no significance at all to their length.

The cases of 1 verse/stanza are most common. The B stanza of the first five scenes has only one similar verse each time because it is one simple action, Mink climbs the hill where Pitch is, and nothing ever happens during the climb. Similarly, the D stanzas of each scene in act I (except iii, as discussed already) are probably each just one verse because they too are simple, just reporting Mink's return home as it gets dark. In act II he doesn't return home, so the D stanzas are more full. Similarly, the A stanzas in the first five scenes consist of the same repeated material too, morning comes and Mink is walking again along the river edge. The first A stanza of act I, scene i is more detailed

since it introduces both characters and describes how Mink is walking (with both hands behind his back). After scene i of act II, the stanzas are all mostly 4 verses each. The only one not discussed so far is scene iv, stanza B. It just mentions that it was not long before Mink's second arm came loose. The reason it came loose has already been given. In the next stanza more happens: once his legs come loose, he drops to the ground, and his limbs get stuck together doubled over again. His momentary relief is short-lived. So again, the reason for the shortness of stanza B is probably that the reasons for the action have already been explained, the action is a near repeat of what just happened, and no new consequences need to be reported.

On the smallest scale, lines/verse, table 2 gives the statistics. There are 66 verses. Only six have 4 lines, so here the pattern of four is not used. Only eight have more than 4 lines; fifty have less than 4 lines/verse. The same principle seems to apply here, as above, that is, longer verses have more information or more repetition. Act I, scene ii, stanza C is a good case in point. Verse a has 6 lines, b has 7, c has 12, and d has 3. This stanza is the longest because it has 8 turns of speaking, many of them containing the most detailed explanation of Mink's proposal, and Pitch's reasons for refusal. The number of lines in each exchange is as follows: M 3, P 3, M 1, P 5, M 5, P 7, M 2, P 1. Mink presses her and she gives increasingly detailed reasons for her refusal. When he stupidly persists in following scenes, she offers a 3 line refusal, then simply says nothing till the final stanza. On the level of lines it seems to be conjunctions that provide more of the fine tuning of structure.

Conjunctions begin over 47 percent of the lines. What follows each conjunction is a complete sentence. Most conjunctions are overtly translated by the elders in the same way, 'so'. Early in my study of Halkomelem I wondered why there are so many variant forms, if they do actually mean the same thing. In Galloway 1977 I thought they vary in many cases just to give variety. After I read Hymes 1981 I realized that the variation and repeats may be serving to show discourse structure. The synopsis above shows the placement and variety of conjunctions in the story, along with an ethnopoetic structure proposed based solely on semantics (plot, actions, etc.). This semantic text structure showed a number of patterns based on the ritual number four. I did not start out looking for patterns of four; they thrust themselves upon the listener or reader. In perhaps two cases I chose patterns involving four, rather than another equally possible organization because the patterns of four were already so pervasive.

In Table 3, below, I looked at the morpheme-by-morpheme meanings in all the conjunctions to see if glosses could be suggested which included these meanings in a consistent way. The 'improved' glosses reflect the subtle morphological differences between the forms but make a fluent translation more pedantic and less fluent. I tried the same approach on the rest of the words in the story which the elders had not translated in their fluent translations, and I have underlined those in the synopsis in table 1, above. Another approach, which I rejected, was to translate them with phrases more found in English stories ('and so it came to pass that'), but the only ones that fit the actual conjunctions found are those like, 'and so', 'and then', 'and so it was that'. The synopsis tries some of these, but only because they accurately translate the Halkomelem morphemes.

Table 3. Improved translations of conjunctions in Mink and Miss Pitch (underlined):

Halkomelem, literal meaning> improved fluent translation, translation in text (worked out with elders Edna Bobb and Amelia Douglas in 1978-79); translations given in Galloway 1993:363-368.
(The improved translation is left blank if adequate ones are already listed and are underlined. The conjunctions are arranged in order of increasing morphological complexity to show how they are built up, by adding or varying a small set of morphemes. The morphemic structure and meaning of each component morpheme is shown first in the table (as well as in the complete story at the beginning of the paper, with literal and fluent translations). After the "becomes" sign (>) come the suggested improved translations. Then follows the translations, in some cases with immediate semantic contexts set off after a single left parenthesis.)

| | |
|-------------|---|
| su | so, (less often) then, so (he/she/it past/pres; <u>so, then</u> (prob. s=u with an old {-sw} 'emphatic', the meaning of s is less clear) |
| su-i | so-past> <u>then past, so past</u> , then it past; so (already) (su-i is shown to be su+i [rather than su-ui for wei 'already'] in several examples where the 'already' translation is not possible, but 'past' is and the -i provides the only morpheme that indicates past in those examples) |
| ʔe-su | 2sgsbj-so> <u>you then</u> , why do/don't) you |
| q-aw | and-really>repeatedly, <u>repeatedly</u> |
| qe-su | and-(subord-)> <u>so and so, and then</u> , and so he/it pres/past; and so, and then |
| | (for the deletion of -s 'subord' see discussion under ʔa-su, below) |
| ʔe-su | aux-(subord-)> <u>so</u> , <u>so he/she/it past (usu.)/pres</u> 3x; (and) so (ʔe is an aux that is an optional past - pres as is shown by this ex. and the next three examples, esp. with the one with -i past suffix) |
| ʔe-s-es | aux-subord-3sbj>(so) <u>3sbj usu. past</u> , so (there was |
| ʔe-s-e-su | aux-subord-3sbj-so> <u>so/then 3sbj usu. past</u> , so he pres; then it/he past |
| | (since the sequence /ss/ > /s/, the only trace of 3sbj -es before su is -e) |
| ʔa-s-e-su-i | aux-subord-3sbj-past> <u>so/then 3sbj past</u> , so he past |
| ʔa-su | just-(subord-)> <u>so just</u> , so he/she/it pres |
| ʔa--su | just-emph-(subord-)> <u>so: just</u> , so: he/she/they (pres/past' (here it is subord -s, if anything that is deleted since line 8 shows the 3sbj is suffixed to the next word ʔim=ex'-s; other examples show it more often absent from that position after ʔa-su; however, since the forms with remnant -e for 3sbj -es are also found, it seems unlikely that the first s after a- is 3sbj; since the deletion of one s adjacent to another is an obligatory phonological rule, the presence or absence of 3sbj -es, and its placement, are either free variation or I believe are exploited for discourse functions) |
| ʔa-s-e-su | just-subord-3sbj-so> <u>so 3sbj just</u> , so he/they pres' |
| ʔa--s-e-su | just-emph-subord-3sbj-so> <u>so: 3sbj just</u> , so: he pres |
| ʔa--su-i | just-emph-(subord-)> <u>so: just past</u> , so: he past |
| (ʔa-wi | just-already>again |
| ʔa-su ʔa-wi | just-(subord-)> <u>so just-already</u> >just so again, so again he (past > <u>so again just</u> |
| ʔa-su | that is-(subord-)> <u>then it is that/so it is that</u> , so it pres; and, and so, then |
| ʔe-l-su | that is-1sgsbj-(subord-)> <u>so it is that I</u> , so I'm pres; so/then I |

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| (ʔe-l-su-i in quotes | that is-1sgsbj-(subord-)> <u>so-past</u> , because it pres, -l- sic anticipating k'welsui 'when I already' later in sentence, prob. ʔelsui is sic for 'because it' ʔak'wes; so I past, then I past > <u>so it was that I, then it was that I</u> |
| (ʔa-ce-su in quotes | that is-fut-(subord-)> <u>so then it will be that</u> , then it will; then he will, so it will be him that |
| (ʔa-ce-l-su in quotes | that is-fut-1sgsbj-(subord-)> <u>so then it will be that I</u> , then I'm going to |
| (ʔa-ce k'w-e-l-su in quotes | that is-fut dist/abstr-1sgsbj-so> <u>then it will be that I</u> , I'll pres |
| (ʔa--su ʔa-s-es ʔa | so then he just pres> <u>so: then it is that 3sbj just</u> |
| (qe-ʔa-ʔe-s-e-su in quotes | and-that is-they say-subord-3sbj-so> , until they say it pres; and then they say he, and so it is said he/she/it/they > <u>and then they say (it is that) 3sbj, until they say 3sbj</u> |

The placement and variation of these conjunctions in the story show several things of interest. Table 4 shows how they correlate with the ethnopoetic structures I found based on content. While there is no rigid correlation there are some general tendencies:

1. The lexeme su is present in almost every conjunction variant (there are only two which lack it: ʔesēs 'so (there was', line 185, and qaw 'repeatedly', line 73, out of well over a hundred instances). In most of these cases, the su seems to be used when one action/process/state follows from another, perhaps 'consequently' or 'thus' might be a better translation if they didn't sound so pedantic.

2. No matter which morpheme begins the conjunction, ʔa, ʔe, ʔa/ʔe, or qe, there are variants with -es added. While I believe I have been able to identify this morpheme as 3sbj inflection, and the following verb has a third person subject, there is no reason, semantic, syntactic, morphological, or phonological, that I have been able to find, for using one rather than the other. The -es is not required by what follows. So I must conclude that the choice is mainly variety or the hierarchy of alternation mentioned below.

3. There seems to be a hierarchy of emphasis among conjunctions: ʔa-su, ʔasu/qesu, ʔasu, su. Infix vowel length is a morpheme of emphasis in both Halkomelem and English, and I have indicated it in the English translation by a colon after the first vowel of a word glossing the conjunction. So ʔa-su generally shows the most emphasis, ʔasu or qesu, the next most emphasis, etc.

4. There also seem to be cycles of alternation of these conjunctions, often in roughly the sequence just mentioned. More about this below.

5. No single form of conjunction uniformly marks acts, scenes, stanzas, verses, or lines. The presence of a given form, by itself, does not show which level of structure is begun.

6. However, acts and scenes are more marked by absence of conjunctions at their start than are other units. No act begins with a conjunction. Only one of the 8 scenes begins with a conjunction (act II, scene iii), and looking at table 4 below, there appears to be a reason for that. All the other scenes begin with Mink walking or the morning (or both), except act II, scene iii (line 114), which begins with Mink getting mad after lying on his back in the hot sun for a number of days and being totally ignored by his "wife". This scene is the climactic scene of the story and perhaps this alone is why it is marked with the most emphatic conjunction, ʔa-su. It also lacks the content elements of Mink walking and/or daybreak, confirming its distinctiveness.

7. Stanzas begin with conjunctions 76% of the time and seem to feature alternation of conjunctions in a structured way. Notice ?a-su or ?asu (or variants ?asəsu and ?a-sui) at the start of stanzas B and D in act I, scenes 1, 11, 1v, act II scenes 1, 111 (C and D) and 1v (D only). Notice that stanzas A lack conjunctions in all but one case, and that stanzas C avoid ?asu forms in all but one case (11C has su, 11C ?əsu, 111C qaw, 1vC none, 111C ?əsəsu, 11C doesn't exist, 1vC none).

8. 70% of verses also usually begin with conjunctions. No firm pattern in choice of conjunctions appears for verses, except that they generally follow a cycle of alternation something like the one mentioned above.

9. Only 34% of the remaining lines begin with conjunctions, so it seems that conjunctions are clearly used to mark such structures as stanzas and verses.

10. Since there is a kind of alternation of conjunctions on the levels of stanzas and verses, notice that this allows the same conjunctions to be used in consecutive lines in places (lines 23-24, 29-30, 113-114, 129-130, 163-164). I wondered if there was any special significance to such consecutive sets. There are no sequences of more than two in a row. 23 ends one verse and 24 begins another; 29 and 30 are within the same verse but 30 adds additional descriptive detail not in 29; 113 ends act II scene 11 and 114 starts climactic scene 111; 129 and 130 are within the same verse, but I can see no reason for that repetition of su; 163 and 164 are also within the same verse, and 164 either adds further detail or repeats the same detail to add to the length of time Mink suffers. I don't believe such repetition of conjunctions is anything more than either correction, or chance, in places where such repetition does not violate the sequence of alternation of conjunctions.

11. Looking at the hierarchy of alternation proposed in 3 above, ?a-su, ?asu/qəsu, ?əsu, su, I notice that the conjunction using root Ka 'it's that, that's 3sbj' is absent from this alternation. It is used only once at the beginning of a verse; 11Cb (line 24) begins with Ka-s-u. It occurs only after dialogue by Miss Pitch which consists of three sentences each beginning with Ka. I noticed this when checking if the hierarchy of alternation also worked within dialogue. I found that conjunctions with Ka (and allomorph Kə) appear mainly in dialogue, especially with Miss Pitch (6 times), less with Mink (twice, excluding cases of interrogative 'why' which also uses Ka but is not a conjunction). There are stretches of dialogue by Miss Pitch in which almost every sentence begins with or contains either demonstrative Ka or Ka in a conjunction (lines 21-23, 26, 42, 48-51, 95). Only in 59-62 and 178-184 is there an alternation of conjunctions (59 Kəsu, 60 none, 61 ?əsu, 62 qəsu; 178-182 none, 183 qəsu ... Kəsu, 184 su ... qəsu). I doubt there are enough examples of dialogue here to conclude that conjunctions with Ka are usually omitted from the hierarchy of alternation or that they are mainly found in dialogue, but those are things to check in analysis of further stories.

12. Looking at the presence and absence of conjunctions with su, there is another observation that can be made. Lack of su moves action along faster, and the use of conjunctions with su slows down the narration for comic effect (especially when the length infix is used for emphasis). su conjunctions also can slow the narrative for dramatic effect, and they also unite the story more into a unit.

13. While ?awī is not a conjunction, repetitions of ?awī 'again' elaborate the stupid persistence of Mink for comic effect in a number of places (33-34, 36-37, 69-72, 85, 88, 100-101). I have shown them in some of the tables above since they often begin lines but may also occur later in lines. They are purposely made prominent because they are almost always used in sets of adjacent lines.

Table 4. The Story of Mink and Miss Pitch: structural outline and conjunction patterns (English only indicates that no Halkomelem conjunction is used.)

no markers for beginnings of acts:

11Aa 1 Mink is going along, they say.
111Aa 88 Later in the morning he's walking again.

no markers for beginnings of scenes except for act II, scene 111:

11Aa 1 Mink is going along, they say.
11Aa 33 It gets daylight and he was already walking again.
111A 68 Morning comes.
1vA 75 (It is) on the fourth day
111Aa 88 Later in the morning he's walking again.
11Aa 107 It starts to get light again and again it gets hot.
111Aa 114 ?ā-s-u (So: he gets mad.)
1vAa 162 It started to get daylight.

markers for beginnings of stanzas, excluding those for acts and scenes (:

Note: all have markers, conjunctions, except those at start of scenes and 1vC (line 79), 1111B (line 123), 111E (line 154), 1vB (line 170), and 1vC (line 171); excluding those at start of scenes, 16 out of 21 (76%) have conjunctions, but then, so do many verses which do not begin stanzas.

(11Aa 1 Mink is going along, they say.
Ba 14 ?ā-s-u
Ca 17 s-u
Da 29 ?a-s-u
(11Aa 33 ...?awī...
Ba 37 ?a-s-əs-u ?a-wī
Ca 39 ?ə-s-u
Da 67 ?ā-s-u
(111A 68 Morning comes.
B 71 ?ā-s-u ?a-wī
C 73 (qaw
(1vA 75 (It is) on the fourth day
B 78 ?ā-s-u
Ca 79 He lays down beside the girl.
Da 85 ?ā-s-əs-u ?a-wī
(111Aa 88 ...?a-wī...
B 90 ?ā-s-u-i
Ca 92 ?ə-s-əs-a(o?)i
Da 96 ?ā-s-əs-u
(11Aa 107 It starts to get light again and again it gets hot.
(111Aa 114 ?ā-s-u
Ba 123 He's wondering, "I wonder what shall I do?
Ca 132 ?ā-s-u
Da 141 ?a-s-u
Ea 154 He's thinking/pondering, "What will I do so I can move?
(1vAa 162 It started to get daylight.
B 170 It isn't long until his other arm came loose.
Ca 171 (?ui
Da 178 ?a-s-u

markers for verses, excl. those for acts, scenes, and stanzas:

most verses begin with conjunctions, 26/37 (70%), 11 do not.

b 5 qə
c 7 ?ə=s-əs=u
d 11 ?á=s=u
b 24 Xa-s=u
c 27 "I'd better get home.
b 45 ?á.=s=u Xa=sə-s ?a
c 52 su
d 64 "Oh, it's no matter.
b 82 It starts to be day and he's stuck.
b 97 ?á.=s=u
c 100 (?a=wí
d 104 ?á.=s=u
b 109 ?a=su
c 110 ?á.=s=u ət, "Xa-ce K'ə-l-s=u
d 112 He's on his back a lo:ng time there in the hot sun.
b 115 "She'll learn how it feelsx
c 118 ?á.=s=u
d 121 qə=s=u
b 124 Oh she'll learn how it feels.
c 127 ?ə=s=u
d 128 ?á.=s=u
b 133 I'll kick her.
c 135 ?ə=s=u
d 136 ?á.=s=u
b 143 I'll beat her to a pulp.
c 145 ?ə=s=u
d 148 His foot stuck.
b 156 Oh I'd better/it'll be good if I butt (her) with my face."
c 157 s=u
d 158 ?ə=s=u
b 167 "I'll (manage to) get myself loosex"
c 168 ?á.=s-əs=u
d 169 s=u
b 172 ?á.=s=u
c 173 qə=s=u
d 174 s=u
b 185 ?ə=s-əs[=u]

markers for lines, excluding those for verses, stanzas, scenes, and acts:

see synopsis, table 1; 40/119 (34%) have conjunctions marking them

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