

Gwisgaayn's punctuation

John A. Dunn
University of Oklahoma

0. Introduction

1. Gwisgaayn's upper case and period
2. Gwisgaayn's acute accent
3. Gwisgaayn's comma and Sm'algyax line tags
4. Beynon manuscript number 60: Adawga k'átk'adée ná t'in náksa fguwáalksik
5. Linguistic description
6. Poetics description
7. Summary
8. Appendix: lexicon

0. Introduction. The Coast Tsimshian linguist William Beynon, born in the 1880s, the eldest son of a Tsimshian mother and a Welsh father, was raised by his mother to be her brother's heir. She taught him the Sm'algyax (Coast Tsimshian) language. He developed a reputation as an adept linguist while he was still quite young. When not yet thirty he became the royal high chief of the Laxgibuu (Wolf Phratry) among the Gitlan Tsimshian at Laxfgu'alaams (Port Simpson, BC), taking at this time the name Gwisgaayn. Throughout his forty year career as a linguist, he worked with virtually all of the contemporary linguist and anthropologist experts in the study of the North Pacific Coast. His work with Franz Boas was especially fruitful. In the late 1930s, Franz Boas sent to him one of his own students, Amelia Susman. Gwisgaayn and Dr. Susman worked together through the late 1930s, retranscribing the texts Gwisgaayn had already collected and collecting new texts. They sent these to Franz Boas. Eventually (1980) the Columbia University Library published a microfilm facsimile of these handwritten texts under the title "The Beynon Manuscripts."

In these texts Gwisgaayn used punctuation marks in a decidedly heterodox manner. This paper explores his use of four punctuation devices: upper case letters, commas, periods, and the acute accent. Part one considers his use of upper case letters and the period, not to set off sentences, but to tie together groups of poetic lines into stanzas. Part two looks at his use of the acute accent and suggests that these mark not word level stress but rather dramatic prominence in performance. Part three interprets his comma as a poetic line tag and also considers the other line tags of the Sm'algyax language. Part four is a presentation of a particular text in its entirety to illustrate Gwisgaayn's punctuation. Part five is a linguistic description of this text. Part six is a poetics description of the same. Finally there is a lexicon appendix.

1. Gwisgaayn's upper case and period. Gwisgaayn used upper case letters and periods in his texts. These punctuation devices, however, did not separate sentences. They rather tied together groups of poetic lines. He used line tags, e.g. ada, to divide the material between upper case--period boundaries. The following passage illustrates this system.

Ada bax yáasga 'yuuta a gilháwli
ada sa t'áat
adat níisda haná'axga wil si ts'u'u'tsit
ada 'níisga k'átk'adáa gwá'a.

The man walked up into the woods
she suddenly sat down
she saw that he had become a bird
a salt water loon

Such groups of lines are coherent units in terms of narrative. I call them stanzas. It is my belief that Gwisgaayn used the upper case--period device to identify these narrative units.

2. Gwisgaayn's acute accent. Gwisgaayn's use of the acute accent is likewise heterodox in the sense that it cannot simply be an indication of word level metrical prominence. Many times syllables with word level stress carry no acute accent in his manuscripts. Occasionally syllables without word level stress do carry the acute accent. He marked the same word in different ways at different places in a text. Consider the different markings for several words in his text number 60.

nephew	fgwíslíis-is fgwislíis-is	text 60, page 3, line 3 (60.3.5) 60.4.3
woman	háná'ax-ga haná'ax-ga hana'ax-ga	60.1.2 60.5.6 60.12.3
prince	fguwaalksik fguwáalksik	60.15.3 60.3.4

Consider further these lines from text 60. Version A would be the ordinary metrical pattern, version B the Gwisgaayn markings.

- A. asta gik'óf ndaa dzaxdzóga gyét a Maxfakxáafa
B. ásda gik'of ndáa dzáxdzóga gyét á Maxfakxáafa (60.1.3)
years ago when the people lived at Metlakatla
- A. awilt s'mgal síi'pnt adat s'mgal líift
B. áwilt smgál síi'pnt adat smgál líift (60.1.7)
because they loved her dearly they kept a close watch

- A. adat 'nii wil háaytga amap'ásm 'yúuta a gáayim awáat
 B. adat 'nii wil háaytga amap'ásm 'yúuta á gáayim awáat (60.5.4)
 there stood a beautiful man next to her

If one assumes that Gwisgaayn's acute accent marks indicate dramatic, performance prominence, one can approximate a performance style analogous to that heard in later audio recordings of text performance.

3. Gwisgaayn's commas and line tags. Gwisgaayn used commas only rarely. They seem to mark line ends and thus fall in the category of line tags. The primary line tags are [ada] or [da] 'and then,' and [a-], the general preposition and subordinate clause conjunction. Consider these stanzas.

(60.5.2-5)
 Wái fa nóogisga fguwáalksik
 a k'úülda áatk,
 ada fa 'nága ndaa xstóox
 ada sa gáksat
 adat 'nii wil háaytga amap'ásm 'yúuta
 á gáayim awáat.

The princess was sleeping
 one night
 after she had been asleep a long time
 she suddenly awoke
 and there stood a beautiful man
 close beside her

(60.13.7-60.14.3)
 Wái ál fáwila líifksa 'yuuta
 gu fgwitxa'óosga fguwáalksitga k'wáatgat,
 adat níisga
 wil gwíl gipáayga amap'asim k'áfċ'adáa
 a txa gyéeka galts'ap,
 ádat gáasga na hawáalt dif na hakwdákt
 ádat gúut.

The man always watched
 the one who was the cousin of the lost princess
 and he saw
 where a beautiful sea loon flew
 just below the village
 he took his arrow and bow
 and he shot it

60.14.4-6
 Wai sm 'nii wil waaldit,
 da ált giyélukstga hana'axga
 fa ástiwaalsga náksm k'áfċ'adáat,
 ádat wudi wiláay
 áfċa dm gik yéltga nákst.

Just as he did this

the woman felt
 that her sea loon husband had been harmed
 and she knew
 that her husband would not return again

4. Beynon manuscript number 60: Adawga k'átċ'adée ná t'in náksa fguwáalksik. I here illustrate Gwisgaayn's punctuation system with text number 60 of the Beynon manuscripts. It is entitled "Adawga k'átċ'adée naa t'in náksa fguwáalksigm háná'axga," i.e., "The myth of the sea loon who married a princess." Mrs. Eliza Ross, of Laxfgu'alaams, performed this story for Gwisgaayn no later than the late 1930s; she was well over seventy years of age at the time of this performance. The text appears here in its entirety. Following the ethnopoetic principles established by Dell Hymes, I have divided it into stanzas and poetic lines as I conceive them to be. There is a stanza by stanza translation. I have kept the upper case letters, commas, periods, and acute accents intact as they appear in the original handwritten manuscript. But I have retranscribed the text, using the writing system in common use and my own translation. The orthographic conventions are those of the IPA with these exceptions: ii = i:, ee = e:, uu = u:, oo = o:, aa = æ:, a = æ, a before or after g, k, x, ' = short low back vowel, a = short low back vowel, unstressed a at the ends of words = schwa, üü = high back long tense unrounded vowel, ü = barred i, f = voiceless lateal fricative, g = G, k = q, x = X.

Adawga k'átċ'adée
 naa t'in náksa fguwáalksigm háná'axga
 The ancient story of the salt water loon
 who married a princess

Ásda gik'óf
 ndáa dzáxdzóga gyét
 á Maxfakxáafa
 ada níisga wíl di dzóxsaga sm'óogit dif nákst
 ádat habóolsga fgúfgm háná'axt a awáat.

Long years ago
 when the people lived
 at Metlakatla
 there was a certain chief and his wife who lived there
 and they had a daughter they kept with them

Wai smgál háwsga sm'óogit dif nákstga fgúufgit
 áwílt smgál síi'pnt
 adat smgál líift.

The chief and his wife were very protective of their child
 and because they loved her dearly
 they watched her closely

fa húu'pl
 ádat 'li nóogansga fguwáalksik
 ásga lax'o di wil léefgat.

At night
 the princess slept up above
 over the place where her parents slept

Dzábitga wudi lax'w'üüs
 ada 'nii di wil lukwfí léefgitsga na nagyétgisga fguwaalksik.
 They made a sort of platform
 and it was under this that the princess' parents slept

Ádat k'ap sgafúuditga gan wáaldit,
 áfga gwin áaxfgis ligítnaa
 a awáasga sup'ásim hana'axga,
 áwilt smgált líifda dipnóotga.

they watched her closely
 so that no one might come close
 to the young woman
 her parents kept a close guard on her

Wai smgál ámap'ása fguwáalksigm haná'ax
 a txa'nii sila gabawáalksikt,
 ada hiúút
 á txa'nii galdzípdzápga.

The princess was the most beautiful
 among all her companion princesses
 and word of her beauty
 spread to all the tribes

Ada hélda gabawáalksigm 'yúuta
 hasáagatga dm t'in náksat.

There were many princes
 who wanted to marry her

Ádat sgáawdit dipnóot txa'níit.

But her parents rejected them all

Wai ál hasáaxs nagwáda fguwáalksit
 dmt náksatga fgúfgatga na fgwítaxa'óot
 'níisga na lip fgwíslíisis nagwát.

The princess' father wanted
 his child to marry her cousin
 her father's own nephew

Ada áfga di anóogasga hana'ax
 a háws dipnóot.

But the woman would not agree
 to what her parents asked

Áwil di lip síi'pnda
 k'ólda fguwáalksigm 'yúuta.

She loved
 a prince of her own choosing

Wai sm t'óoxfga goots nagwát
 fa áfga hasáaxsga fgufgm haná'axt
 ásga dmt náksga na lip fgwíslíisis 'níitga.

Her father was broken hearted
 because his daughter
 would not marry his own nephew

Ada smgál txalyáat líift
 áfgat anóolt dzi dím gwif yáat
 ada áfgat da'áxfga
 dmt txalwáas ligitnáa.

So he watched her even more closely
 he did not even allow her to walk about
 she was not able
 to meet anyone

Ada áfga gó
 dzi háwsga fguwáalksigm haná'ax
 át wiláagwidit dipnóot.

Not one thing
 did the princess say
 about how her parents treated her

Ada ál fáwila hasáaxsga góotga
 dmt txalwáasga
 át di hasáaxda a k'ólda 'yúuta.

But her heart ached
 to meet
 with the man she wanted

Ada sm txalyáa wáals dipnóot
 at líift.

Yet her parents watched her
 ever more closely

Wái fa nóogisga fguwáalksik
 a k'üülda áatk,
 ada fa 'nága ndaa xstóox
 ada sa gáksat
 adat 'nii wil háaytga ámap'ásm 'yúuta
 á gáayim awáat.

Now the princess was sleeping
 one night
 and she had been asleep for a long time
 when suddenly she awoke

and saw standing there a beautiful man
close by her

Gu gwáalksa hoyásga 'yuuta
ada fát níisda haná'axga
wil háaytgat
ada báast.

He was clothed in light
and when the woman saw him
standing there
she was frightened

Wai txa'níi húu'pl
wáalsga 'yúuta
a góydikst
ádat silnóoksga haná'axga.

Every night
he came
and slept with the woman

Ada txa'níi ganfáak
á nagóga dím dzíiwst
fa gík háldm báasga sup'ásm 'yúuta
ádat ksi yáaka wil na gága na amúu wálp
a gáaym awáasga wil nóoga sup'ásm haná'ax
ada 'nii wil sadzíipt.

And every morning
before it was light
the young man arose
and went out of a hole in the corner of the house
near where the young woman slept
And then he disappeared

Áfgat wiláayda haná'ax
ndáaf wila wáaldit gan sadzíipt.

The woman did not know
how he disappeared

Ada 'nii wila wáalt
a 'naga wáaldit.

He did this
for a long time

Wái fa k'üülda áatk
da háwga 'yúuta a sup'ásim haná'axga
áwil fát k'ap sii'pntga haná'axgat 'níitga.

One night
the man spoke to the young woman
for she had come to love him dearly

"Áf mi dm stúulu
á díp dm góosga awáasga na dzápu.

Will you come with me
to my village

fa 'nákf ndaa níi wila wáan
áda gagóodu á gwán."

For a long time I have seen what they do to you
my heart goes out to you

"Dm wáalu"
dáyaga hana'ax
"ndm stúulin."

I will
said the woman
I will go with you

Gan dáwila háldm k'óft
ádat 'yága waalkst a gyéeka
ádat góo na xsóosga 'yuuta
ada saantgat
ada luwáaydit
at kwtáxsa
na galts'áps nagwáda fguwáalksigm haná'ax.

Immediately they arose
and went down to the beach
they went to the man's canoe
and got aboard
and they paddled away
that they might quit
the village of the princess' father

Áfga 'nákf luwáaydit
ádat wutwáasga k'üülda likst'áa
ada háwsga 'yuuta.

They had not paddled long
before they came to an island
and the man spoke

"Wai fa ni'nii
gwá'a na galts'áput."

This place
this is my village

Ada úks k'oft
ada sm 'nii wil wáalt
ada sadziiba xsóo naa hóyt.

They got out
and as soon as they did
the canoe they had used disappeared

Ada bax yáasga 'yuuta a gilháwli
 ada sa t'áat
 adat níisda haná'axga wil si ts'u'u'tsit
 ada 'níisga k'átk'adáa gwá'a.

The man walked up into the woods
 but she suddenly sat down
 the woman saw that he had become a bird
 he was a sea loon

Wai fat wiláayda haná'axga
 wil fa liksgyéda wáaldit
 ada fa naxnógm ts'u'u'ts
 t'in gáat
 ada smgál dzóoxat.

The woman now understood
 the strange thing that had befallen her
 it was a spirit bird
 who had taken her
 and she was very ashamed

Ada wáaldit
 fawila t'áat
 a spagáyt gángán a gwif y'üt
 ada áfga hasáaxda dmt níisdit ligitnáa
 áwilt wiláaysga dmt halagiyáxda txa'níi gyet.

This is what she did
 she always sat
 hiding among the trees
 for she did not want anyone to see her
 she knew that everyone would ridicule her

Ts'u'al galéelda wil gwif gaxsóo gyét
 ada áfga gwin níisgat.

Even though she saw the people out in their canoes
 she would not show herself

Ada waals dipnagwát
 at gwif güg'üüls 'níitga
 ada ts'u'ál 'nax'núuysga sup'ásim hana'axga amhaws dipnagwát
 ada áfga díilmxgat
 áwil smgal hadzóoxda
 na náksm k'átk'adáat.

Her parents were
 out searching for her
 even though the young woman heard the cries of her parents
 she would not answer
 for she was very ashamed
 that she had a sea loon husband

Txa'níi ndáa
 güg'üülsga nts'áps nagwát
 ádat 'nax'nuutga haná'axga wil háháwsga
 t'in güg'üült
 ada áfga nisagóotksit.

Everywhere
 her father's tribed searched for her
 the woman heard the cries
 of those searching for her
 but she ignored them

Ádat góodit dipnóota haláayt
 ada háwsga haláayt ás dip'níit.

Her parents went to a shaman
 and the shaman told them

"Liksgyédm ts'ú'u'ts
 t'in gáat
 ádat 'li di t'áat
 a k'üülda likst'áa
 a gí'mas gwá'a."

It is a strange bird
 who has taken her
 he has taken her
 to an island
 nearby

Wai txalyáa waals dipnagwát
 at güg'üülsga txa'níi likswuwán
 a kwtúunsga galts'ápt
 a gwif wi ámhawtga a háwdit.

Now her parents set out
 to search every island
 near their village
 and they cried out to her saying

"Áf móotgini fgúfgi? áf móotgini fgufgi?"
 Are you safe, my child? are you safe, little one?

Adat sadibáay txa'níi likswuwán
 a háwdit á gwá'a.

And they went to all the islands
 crying this out to each one

Wai sm sa luk'ága góotsga na fgwitxa'óosga fguwaalksigm haná'axga
 wila wáalsga ts'u'u'ts fawila ksi gipáaygat a amúusga wálp
 txa'niisga dm wil di ts'iins 'niitga
 a na wálp nibíipt.

Then suddenly the princess' cousin rememberd
 how a bird always flew out of a corner of the house
 every time he went in
 to his uncle's place

Adat wiláay 'nii ts'ú'u'tsa
 gwa'a k'atk'adáa
 ada fa 'níit
 t'in wiláagwasga hana'axga
 ada wil wáaldit
 át líifa wil lipáayga ts'ú'u'ts
 a dmt báalsga
 dmt nii k'atk'adáa.

And he knew this bird
 this salt water loon
 was the one
 who had taken the woman
 and he decided
 to watch where the birds flew
 trying to catch sight
 of the sea loon

Wai txá'nii ganfáak
 fa gik dáwfa náksm k'afk'adáa haná'ax
 da ál úks t'áasga hana'ax a ts'uwaanxf
 ada 'nii wil t'áam wiháwtgat
 a gilks áwtgat a fa wila waaldit
 fa libágayt wáaldit.

Every morning
 her sea loon husband left his wife
 then she would go out to the point
 and sit there weeping
 grieving for what had befallen her
 beside herself with grief

Ada ált fáwilat 'nax'núusga ga'amháwsga
 t'in gwil g'úutksit ás 'níit.

And she always heard the voices
 of those searching for her

Gam á'am sga'nágaf
 wáalsga náksm ts'ú'u'tst fa gik yéltgat
 at di góydiksa dm gábat
 fa gik dáwft
 ada gwil gipáaykt
 a txanáawsga galts'áps nagwada haná'axga.

In a little while
 her bird husband would return
 bringing something for her to eat
 and when he left again
 he would fly around
 in front of the woman's father's village

Wái ál fáwila líifksa 'yuuta
 gu fgwitxa'óosga fguwáalksitga k'wáatgat,

adat níisga
 wil gwil gipáayga amap'asim k'áf'adáa
 a txa gyéeka galts'ap,
 ádat gáasga na hawáalt dif na hakwdákt
 ádat gúut.

The man was always watching
 the one who was the lost princess' cousin
 and when he saw
 where a beautiful sea loon flew
 across below the village
 he took his arrow and bow
 and shot it

Wai sm 'nii wil waaldit,
 da ált giyélukstga hana'axga
 fa ástiwaalsga náksm k'áf'adáat,
 ádat wudi wiláay
 áfga dm gik yéltga nákst.

Just as he did this
 the woman felt
 that harm had come to her sea loon husband
 and she knew
 that her husband would not return again

'Nii gan wáaldit góosga ts'uwaanxf
 ada sm sagáaw di t'áat
 dmt wilt níisda gyet
 t'in gwif güg'üült.

Then she went out to the point
 and sat in such a way
 as to be seen
 by those who were searching for her

Adat 'nax'núu
 wil góydiksa amháws nagwát
 a háwt.

She heard
 the voice of her father coming
 saying

"Af mootgini fgufgi?"

Are you safe, child

Ada sm t'áasga fguwaalksik
 ásga dmt wilt níisdit nagwát.

The princess sat
 where her father would see her

Ada wáaldit sm hi dzagátgu góydiksa na xsóos dipnagwát
 ada ál sa gwáantga ts'ált

a wil t'áasga fgúfgat
 adat góot
 adat lógom gáat
 a na xsóot
 adat di goodit
 a na wáípt.

As soon as her parents' canoe came around (the point)
 they caught sight
 of where their child sat
 and they went to her
 and took her aboard
 their canoe
 and took her
 to their house

Ada sm 'nii wil lamdzaxt
 a wáíps nagwát
 gakstáne wuwáalsga fgwitxa'óot
 yáagwat gwíldm ga'wáansga na gúusim k'áfċ'adáat
 át sáksnt a dmt dzámt

As they entered
 her father's house
 behold! there was her cousin
 preparing the sea loon he had shot
 cleaning it in order to cook it

Wai da ál gik háws nagwát
 ásga fgufgat.

Her father spoke again
 to his child

"Wai fgufgi,
 fa aam dm waalin
 mi dm náksga fgwisliisu gyá'awin."

Well, child
 it would be good of you
 if you would now marry my nephew

Ada háwsga hana'axga,
 "Aayn áfga dm wáalu,
 áfga hasáagai as 'niit."

But the woman said
 No, I will not
 I don't want him

Ada sm dzóoxsga fgwitxa'óosga haná'axga
 a wíla háwtga
 gan wáaldit
 gáaditga na sámisga na gúusim k'áfċ'adáa
 ada fa gwáankst
 adat sg'úút a ha'tsáxfga haná'axga,

fgwitxa'óot
 ada háwt,
 "Gába gwá'a."

The woman's cousin was very shamed
 by what she said
 that is why
 he took the flesh of the slain salt water loon
 and cooked it
 and put it in front of the woman
 his cousin
 and said
 eat this

Ada wáalsga
 haná'axga sm kwdiit
 adat gábada giinda fgwitxa'óot
 ada sm 'nii wil gadzáafisgat
 da ált wiláaysga 'nii
 gwá'a na sámi nákst.

It happened
 that she was very hungry
 and she ate what her cousin had given her
 but as soon as she swallowed it
 she knew
 that this was the flesh of her husband

Ada háwtgasga fgwitxa'óot.

And she spoke to her cousin

"Gof wíla sámiyu gwá'a
 gu gabu?"

What flesh is this
 that I have eaten

Ada wil hawsga 'yuuta.

The man spoke

"Oo, áa'iynf mi wiláay
 wil áaga na sámi náksm k'áfċ'adáa?
 Áa'iynf ts'm'áatgadi na sámít?"

Oh don't you know
 the taste of your sea loon husband's meat
 doesn't his flesh taste sweet

Gáwdi háwt
 dáwila ks'úút
 ada wiháwtga fguwáalksik
 ada waals dipnóot
 a smgal gadzóoxst.

After he said this
 he went out
 then the princess wept
 as did her parents
 for they were very ashamed

Gáwdi bóokit
dáwila háws dipnóot
ásga fguwáalksik.

When they had finished weeping
then her parents spoke
to the princess

"Ndó'o
góof náaf hasáagn
áf mi dm náksat
áwil wiléeksa waan
mi k'inamt as k'am dm dzóogm.

Go on
go to the one you want
marry him
it is a terrible thing you have done
to bring such shame on us

Ada 'níisga
wáalsga haná'axga.

And this is what
the woman did

Gan áfga áamf
wáalsga na nagyétgisga
ligi k'ólda haná'ax
at ligidiháwt,
áwil sgwaay dzi háwt
da díim sa góydiksa 'yé'tsisk
a dm t'in náksa naa ál 'wáafgat.

Therefore it is not good
for the parents
of any woman
to be too particular
for if they continue to do so
then an animal might suddenly come
and seduce the forbidden one

Ada dmt di didáwft
a 'wah gagóont
ada dm yagái k'wáatga
naa ál ligidihawtga.

And he might take her away
to an unknown place
where she will be lost
to those who are too protective

5. Linguistic description. This section contains a quadrilinear text analysis of the adawx presented in part 4. The four lines in each system are a) the text, b) the text with some, mostly inflectional, morphemic identification, c) English glosses for (b), and d) a free English translation. The number at the beginning of each system indicates text number, page, and line from the original

handwritten manuscript. Grammatical morphemes include 1) ABSNT, a mood marker for the adawx, ancient history, meaning something like "long ago and far away," 2) IMPER, imperative particle, 3) INTERR, interrogative particle, 4) NEG, negative, 5) POSS, a determiner head indicating that the relationship in the possessive construction is disjunct, i.e., not a part to whole relationship, 6) PRPR, a suffix indicating that the following noun is a particular name, i.e. a proper name, independent pronoun, or kinship term.

60.1.1,2 Adáwga k'átk'adáa naa t'in náksa fguwáalksigm haná'axga
adáwga k'átk'adáa naa t'in náksa fguwáalksigm haná'ax-ga
myth sea loon who who marry prince woman
The myth of the sea loon who married a princess

60.1.3 Ásda gik'of ndáa dzáxdzóga gyét á Maxfakxáafa
Ásda gik'of ndáa dzáxdzóga gyét á Maxfakxáafa
from years ago when live people at Metlakatla
Long years ago when the people lived at Metlakatla

60.1.4 ada níisga wíl di dzóxska sm'óogit dif nákst
ada níi-sga wíl di dzóx-sga sm'óogit dif náks-t
and this-ABSNT where also live-ABSNT chief and wife-his
this is where a chief and his wife lived

60.1.5 ádat habóolska fgúfgm haná'axt a awáat.
áda-t habóol-ska fgúfgm haná'axt a awáa-t
and-they cared for-ABSNT child woman with near-them
and they kept a daughter with them.

60.1.5,6 Wai smgál háada háwska sm'óogit dif nákstga fgúufgit
Wai smgál háada háw-ska sm'óogit dif náks-t-ga fgúufg-it
well very particular-ABSNT chief and wife-his-ABSNT child-their
The chief and his wife were very particular about their daughter

60.1.7 áwilt smgál síi'pnt adat smgál liift.
áwil-t smgál síi'pn-t adat smgál liif-t
because-they very much love-her and-they very much watch-her
because they loved her dearly and [therefore] guarded her carefully

60.1.8 fa húu'pl ádat 'li nóoganska fguwáalksik
fa húu'pl áda-t 'li nóogan-ska fguwáalksik
when night and-she on sleep-ABSNT princess

60.1.8-60.2.1 ásga lax'o di wil léefgat.
ásga lax'o di wil léefg-at
at on top also where sleep-they
At night the princess slept above the place where they also slept.

60.2.1 Dzábi-t-ga wudi lax'w'úús
 Dzábi-t-ga wudi lax'w'úús
 build-they-ABSNT like platform
 The built something like a platform

60.2.1,2 ada 'nii di wil lukwfí
 ada 'nii di wil lukwfí
 and this also where under
 and it was under this also

60.2.2,3 léefgitsga na nagyétgisga fguwaalksik.
 léefg-it-sga na nagyét-gisga fguwaalksik
 sleep-they-ABSNT POSS parents-ABSNT princess
 that the princess' parents slept

60.2.3 Ádat k'ap sgafúuditga gan wáaldit,
 áda-t k'ap sgafúud-it-ga gan wáald-it
 and-they really so much cared for-her-ABSNT why do so-they
 they did so because they cared for her so much

60.2.3,4,5 áfga gwin áaxfgis ligítnaa a awáasga sup'ásim hana'axga,
 áfga gwin áaxfg-is ligítnaa a awáa-sga sup'ásim hana'axga
 not to reach-PRPR anyone to by-ABSNT young woman
 no one came near the young woman

60.2.5 áwilt smgált líifda dipnóotga.
 áwil-t smgál-t líif-da dipnóo-t-ga
 because-they really-they watch-her parents-her-absent
 because her parents kept a strict watch on her

60.2.6 Wai smgál ámap'ása fguwáalksigm haná'ax
 Wai smgál ámap'ása fguwáalksigm haná'ax
 well very lovely prince woman
 The princess was very lovely

60.2.7 a txa'nii sila gabawáalksikt,
 a txa'nii sila gabawáalksik-t
 among all companion princessess-her
 among all her companion princessess

60.2.7-60.3.1 ada hidúut á txa'nii galdzípdpzápga.
 ada hidúu-t á txa'nii galdzípdpzáp-ga
 and famous-she among all tribes-ABSNT
 she was famous among all the tribes

60.3.1,2 Ada hélda gabawáalksigm 'yúuta hasáagatga dm t'ín nákskat.
 Ada hélda gabawáalksigm 'yúuta hasáaga-t-ga dm t'ín nákska-t
 and many princes men want-they-ABSNT to who marry-her
 there were many princes who wanted to be the one to marry her

60.3.2,3 Ádat sgáawdit dipnóot txa'níit.
 áda-t sgáaw-di-t dipnóo-t txa'níi-t
 and-they refused-them-PRPR parents-her all-them
 her parents refused them all

60.3.3,4 Wai ál hasáaxs nagwáda fguwáalksik
 wai ál hasáax-s nagwáda fguwáalksik
 well however want-PRPR father princess
 The princess' father however wanted

60.3.4 dmt nákskatga fgúfgatga na fgwítxa'óot
 dm-t nákska-t-ga fgúfg-at-ga na fgwítxa'óo-t
 to-her marry-him-ABSNT child-his-ABSNT POSS cousin-her
 his child to marry her cousin

60.3.5 'níisga naa lip fgwíslíisis nagwát.
 'nii-sga naa lip fgwíslíis-is nagwát-t
 he-ABSNT who own nephew-PRPR father-her
 who was her father's own nephew

60.3.5,6 Ada áfga di anóogasga hana'ax a háws dipnóot.
 Ada áfgadi anóoga-sga hana'ax a háw-s dipnóo-t
 and not agree-ABSNT woman to say-PRPR parents-her
 but the woman did not agree to what her parents said

60.3.6,7 Áwil di lip sii'pnda k'ólda fguwáalksigm 'yúuta.
 áwil di lip sii'pn-da k'ólda fguwáalksigm 'yúuta
 because also herself love-she one prince man
 Because she herself loved a(nother) prince

60.4.1 Wai sm t'óoxfga goots nagwát
 wai sm t'óoxfga goot-s nagwát
 well very sad heart-PRPR father
 (her) father's heart was very sad

60.4.1,2 fa áfga hasáaxsga fgufgm haná'axt
 fa áfga hasáax-sga fgufgm haná'axt
 now not want-ABSNT child woman-his
 (that) his daughter did not want

60.4.2,3 ásga dmt nákska na lip fgwíslíisis 'níitga.
 ásga dm-t náks-ga na lip fgwíslíis-is 'níit-ga
 to will-she marry-ABSNT POSS own nephew-PRPR his-ABSNT
 to marry his own nephew

60.4.3 Ada smgál txalyáat líift
 ada smgál txalyáa-t líif-t
 and very much increase-they watch-her
 and they watched her even more closely

60.4.4 áfgat anóolt dzi dím gwif yáat
 áfga-t anóol-t dzi dím gwif yáa-t
 not-they allow-her if will about walk-she
 they did not allow her to walk about

60.4.4,5 ada áfgat da'áxfga dmt txalwáas ligitnáa.
 ada áfga-t da'áxfga dm-t txalwáa-s ligitnáa
 and not-she able to-she meet-PRPR anyone
 and she was not able to meet anyone

60.4.5,6 Ada áfga gó dzi háwsga fguwáalksigm haná'ax
 ada áfga gó dzi háw-sga fguwáalksigm haná'ax
 and not thing if say-ABSNT prince woman
 The princess said nothing

60.4.6,7 at wiláagwidit dipnóot.
 a-t wiláagwid-it dipnóo-t
 that-they did to-her parents-her
 about what her parents did to her

60.4.7-60.5.1 Ada ál fáwila hasáaxsga góotga dmt txalwáasga
 Ada ál fáwila hasáax-sga góotga dm-t txalwáa-sga
 and but always want-ABSNT heart-ABSNT to-she meet-ABSNT
 but her heart always wanted to meet

60.5.1 át di hasáaxda a k'ólda 'yuuta.
 á-t di hasáax-da a k'ólda 'yuuta
 that-she also want-him to one man
 a man that she wanted

60.5.1,2 Ada sm txalyáa wáals dipnóot at líift.
 ada sm txalyáa wáal-s dipnóo-t a-t líift-t
 and very increase do-PRPR parents-her that-they watch-her
 Her parents watched her even more closely

60.5.2,3 Wái fa nóogisga fguwáalksik a k'üülda áatk,
 Wái fa nóogi-sga fguwáalksik a k'üülda áatk
 well now sleep-ABSNT princess on one night
 One night the princess was asleep

60.5.3,4 ada fa 'nága ndaa xstóoxt ada sa gáksgat
 ada fa 'nága ndaa xstóox-t ada sa gáksg-at
 and now long since sleep-she and suddenly awoke-she
 when she had been asleep a long time she suddenly awoke

60.5.4,5 adat 'nii wil háaytga ámap'ásm 'yúuta á gáayim awáat.
 ada-t 'nii wil háaytga ámap'ásm 'yúuta á gáayim awáat
 and-she see where stand beautiful man to near by-her
 She saw a beautiful man standing near her

60.5.5,6 Gu gwáalksa hoyásga 'yuuta
 Gu gwáalksa hoyá-sga 'yuuta
 which bright dress-ABSNT man
 he was brightly dressed

60.5.6,7 ada fát níisda haná'axga wil háaytgat ada báast.
 ada fá-t níis-da haná'ax-ga wil háaytg-at ada báas-t
 and when-she saw-him woman-ABSNT where stood-he and afraid-she
 When the woman saw the man standing there she was frightened

60.5.7-60.6.1 Wai txa'nii húu'pl wáalsga 'yúuta a góydikst
 Wai txa'nii húu'pl wáal-sga 'yúuta a góydiks-t
 well every night do-ABSNT man that come-he
 Every night the man came

60.6.1 ádat silnóoksga haná'axga.
 áda-t silnóok-sga haná'axga
 and-he sleep with-ABSNT woman
 and he slept with the woman

60.6.1,2 Ada txa'nii ganfáak á nagóga dm dzíiwst
 ada txa'nii ganfáak á nagóga dm dzíiwst
 and every morning at before will daylight
 Every morning before daylight

60.6.2,3 fa gík háldm báasga sup'ásm 'yúuta
 fa gík háldmbáa-sga sup'ásm 'yúuta
 now again arise-ABSNT young man
 the young man would get up again

60.6.3,4 ádat ksi yáaka wil na gága na amúu wálp
 áda-t ksi yáaka wil na gága na amúu wálp
 and-he out go where POSS hole POSS corner house
 and he went out of a hole in a corner of the house

60.6.4,5 a gáaym awáasga wil nóoga sup'ásm haná'ax
 a gáaym awáa-sga wil nóoga sup'ásm haná'ax
 at near there-ABSNT where sleep young woman
 near where the young woman slept

60.6.5 ada 'nii wil sadzíipt.
 ada 'nii wil sadzíip-t
 and this then disappear-he
 then he disappeared

60.6.5,6 Áfgat wiláayda haná'ax ndáaf wila wáaldit gan sadzíipt.
 Áfga-t wiláay-da haná'ax ndáa-f wila wáal-dit gan sadzíip-t
 not-she know-it woman how-NEG then do-it why disappear-he
 The woman did not know how he disappeared

60.6.7 Ada 'nii wila wáalt a 'naga wáaldit.
 Ada 'nii wila wáal-t a 'naga wáal-dit
 and this then do-he for long while do-it
 He did this for a long while

60.6.7-60.7.1 Wái fa k' 'üülda áatk
 Wái fa k' 'üülda áatk
 well now one night
 One night

60.7.1 da háwga 'yúuta a sup'ásim haná'axga
 da háwga 'yúuta a sup'ásim haná'ax-ga
 then speak-ABSNT man to young woman-ABSNT
 the man spoke to the young woman

60.7.1,2 áwil fát k'ap sii'pntga haná'axgat 'níitga.
 áwil fát k'ap sii'pn-t-ga haná'ax-ga-t 'níit-ga
 because now-she really loved-him-ABSNT woman-ABSNT-PRPR him-ABSNT
 because the woman now really loved him

60.7.2 "Áf mi dm stúulu
 áf mi dm stúul-u
 INTERR you will accompany-me
 will you come with me

60.7.3 á díp dm góosga awáasga na dzápu.
 á díp dm góo-sga awáa-sga na dzáp-u
 that we will go to-ABSNT there-ABSNT POSS village-my
 to go to my village

60.7.3,4 fa 'nákf ndaa nii wila wáan áda gagóodu á gwán."
 fa 'nákf ndaa nii wila wáa-n áda gagóod-u á gwán
 now long since see what done to-you and pity-I to you
 It is a long time since I have seen what is being done to you, and
 I pity you

60.7.4,5 "Dm wáalu" dáyaga hana'ax, "ndm stúulin."
 Dm wáal-u dáyaga hana'ax n-dm stúul-in.
 will do-I say woman I-will go with-you
 "I will," said the woman. "I will go with you."

60.7.5,6 Gan dáwila háldm k'óft adat 'yága waalxst a gyéeka
 Gan dáwila háldm k'óft-t ada-t 'yága waalxs-t a gyéeka
 why at one get up-they and-they down go to-it to beach
 Right away they got up and went down to the beach

60.7.6,7 ádat góo na xsóosga 'yuuta
 áda-t góo na xsóo-sga 'yuuta
 and-they went to POSS canoe-ABSNT man
 They went to the man's canoe

60.7.7 ada saantgat ada luwáay-dit
 ada saantg-at ada luwáay-dit
 and get on board-they and paddle-they
 they got on board and paddled (away)

60.8.1 at kwtáxsa na galts'áps nagwáda fguwáalksigm haná'ax.
 a-t kwtáxsa na galts'áp-s nagwáda fguwáalksigm haná'ax
 that-they leave POSS village-PRPR father prince woman
 in order to leave the village of the princess' father

60.8.2 Áfga 'nakf luwáaydit ádat wutwáasga k' 'üülda likst'áa
 áfga 'nak-f luwáay-dit áda-t wutwáa-sga k' 'üülda likst'áa
 not long-NEG paddle-they and-they comt to-ABSNT one island
 They had not paddled long before they came to an island

60.8.3 ada háwsga 'yuuta. "Wai fa ni'nii gwá'a na galts'áput."
 ada háw-sga 'yuuta. Wai fa ni'nii gwá'a na galts'áp-ut
 and spoke-ABSNT man well now this here POSS village-my
 and the man spoke. "This is my village."

60.8.4 Ada úks k'oft ada sm 'nii wil wáalt
 Ada úks k'of-t ada sm 'nii wil wáal-t
 and out go-they and really this when do-they
 They got out and as soon as they did so

60.8.4,5 ada sadziiba xsoo naa hóyt.
 ada sadziiba xsoo naa hóy-t
 and disappear canoe which use-they
 the canoe they had used disappeared

60.8.5,6 Ada bax yáasga 'yuuta a gilháwli ada sa t'áat
 Ada bax yáa-sga 'yuuta a gilháwli ada sa t'áa-t
 and up walk-ABSNT man to woods and suddenly sat-[s]he
 The man walked up to the woods and [she] suddenly sat down

60.8.6 adat níisda haná'axga wil si ts'u'u'tsit
 ada-t níisda haná'ax-ga wil si ts'u'u'ts-it
 and-she see woman-ABSNT where become bird-he
 Then the woman saw that he had become a bird

60.8.7 ada 'níisga k'átk'adáa gwá'a.
 ada 'nii-sga k'átk'adáa gwá'a
 and he-ABSNT sea loong this
 he was a sea loon

60.8.7-60.9.1 Wai fat wiláayda haná'axga wil fa liksgyéda wáaldit
 Wai fa-t wiláay-da haná'ax-ga wil fa liksgyéda wáal-dit
 well now-she know-it woman-ABSNT where now strange happen to-her
 Now the woman knew something strange had happened to her

60.9.1,2 ada fa naxnógm ts'u'u'ts t'in gáat ada smgál dzóox-t.
 ada fa naxnógm ts'u'u'ts t'in gáa-t ada smgál dzóox-t
 and now supernatural bird who take-her and very shamed-she
 A supernatural bird had taken her, and she was very ashamed

60.9.2,3 Ada wáaldit fawila t'áat a spagáyt gángán a gwif y'üüt
 ada wáal-dit fawila t'áa-t a spagáyt gángán a gwif y'üüt-t
 and do-she always sit-she in among trees that about hide-she
 Then she always sat in among the trees, hiding

60.9.3,4 ada áfga hasáaxda dmt níisdit ligitnáa
 ada áfga hasáax-da dm-t níisd-it ligitnáa
 and not want-she will-they see-her anyone
 She did not want anyone to see her

60.9.4,5 áwilt wiláaysga dmt halagiyáxda txa'níi gyet.
 áwilt wiláay-sga dm-t halagiyáx-da txa'níi gyet
 because-she know-ABSNT will-they ridicule-her all people
 because she knew everyone would ridicule her

60.9.5,6 Ts'u'al galáalda wil gwif gaxsóo gyét
 Ts'u'al galéel-da wil gwif gaxsóo gyét
 although saw-she where about canoes people
 Although she saw the people's canoes [going] about

60.9.6 ada áfga gwin níisgat.
 ada áfga gwiníisga-t
 and not show oneself-she
 she would not show herself

60.9.6,7 Ada waals dipnagwát at gwif güg'üüls 'níitga
 ada waal-s dipnagwát a-t gwif güg'üül-s 'níit-ga
 and do-PRPR parents that-they about search for-PRPR her-ABSNT
 Her parents searched for her

60.9.7-10.2 ada ts'u'ál 'nax'núuysga sup'ásim hana'axga amhaws
 dipnagwát
 ada ts'u'ál 'nax'núuy-sga sup'ásim hana'axga amhaws dipnagwát
 and although hear-ABSNT young woman voice parents
 Although the young woman heard the cries of her parents

60.10.2 ada áfga díilmxgat
 ada áfga díilmxga-t
 and not answer-she
 but she did not answer

60.10.2,3 áwil smgal hadzóoxda na náksm k'atk'adáat.
 áwil smgal hadzóox-da na náksm k'atk'adáat
 because very ashamed of-she POSS husband sea loon
 because she was ashamed of her sea loon husband

60.10.3,4 Txa'níi ndáa güg'üüls nts'áps nagwát
 Txa'níi ndáa güg'üül-sga n-ts'áps nagwát
 every where search-ABSNT POSS-tribe father
 Her father's tribe searched everywhere

60.10.4,5 ádat 'nax'nuutga haná'axga wil háhawsa t'in güg'üült
 áda-t 'nax'nuu-t-ga haná'ax-ga wil háhaw-sga t'in güg'üül-t
 and-she hear-them-ABSNT woman-ABSNT when calls-ABSNT who search-her
 The woman heard the calls of those searching for her

60.10.5 ada áfga nisagóotksit.
 ada áfga nisagóotks-it
 and not pay attention-she
 but she paid no attention [to them]

60.10.5,6 Ádat góodit dipnóot a haláayt
 áda-t góo-dit dipnóo-ta haláayt
 and-they go to-him parents-her shaman
 Her parents went to a shaman

60.10.6 ada háwsga haláayt ás dip'níit.
 ada háw-sga haláayt á-s dip'níit
 and speak-ABSNT shaman to-PRPR them
 and the shaman spoke to them

60.10.7 "Liksgyédm ts'ú'u'ts t'in gáat
 liksgyédm ts'ú'u'ts t'in gáa-t
 strange bird who take-her
 It is a strange bird who has taken her

60.10.7-60.11.1 ádat 'li di t'áat a k'üülda likst'áa a gí'mas
 gwá'a."
 áda-t 'li dit'áa-t a k'üülda likst'áa a gí'mas gwá'a
 and-he on lure-her to one island at near here
 he has lured her onto an island nearby

60.11.1,2 Wai txalyáa waals dipnagwát
 Wai txalyáa waal-s dipnagwát
 well increase do-PRPR parents

60.11.2 at güg'üüls txa'níi likswuwan
 a-t güg'üül-sga txa'níi likswuwan
 that-they search-ABSNT every island
 Her parents increased their efforts to search every island

60.11.2,3 a kwtúungsga galts'ápt
 a kwtúun-sga galts'áp-t
 at around-ABSNT village-their
 around their village

60.11.3 a gwif wi ámhawtga a háwdit.
a gwif wi ámhaw-t-ga a háw-dit
at about great voice-they-ABSNT that cry-they
shouting out and saying

60.11.4 "Áf móotgini fgúfgi? áf móotgini fgúfgi?"
áf móotg-in-i fgúfg-i?
INTERR safe-you-INTERR child-my
Are you safe, my child? Are you safe, my child?

60.11.4,5 Adat sadibáay txa'níi likswuwán a háwdit á gwá'a.
ada-t sadibáay txa'níi likswuwán a háw-dit á gwá'a
and-they finish all islands that call out-they to these
They finished searching all the islands calling out to each of them

60.11.6 Wai sm sa luk'á gagóotsga
Wai sm sa luk'á gagóot-sga
well really suddenly remember-ABSNT

60.11.6,7 na fgwitxa'óosga fguwaalksigm haná'axga
na fgwitxa'óo-sga fguwaalksigm haná'ax-ga
POSS cousin princess woman
The princess' cousin suddenly remembered

60.11.7-60.12.1 wila wáalsga ts'u'u'ts fawila ksi gipáaygat
wila wáal-sga ts'u'u'ts fawila ksi gipáayg-at
how do-ABSNT bird always out fly-he
how a bird always flew out

60.12.1,2 a amúusga wálp txa'niisga dm wil di ts'iins 'niitga
a amúu-sga wálp txa'nii-sga dm wil dits'iin-s 'niit-ga
from corner-ABSNT house every-ABSNT will when enter-PRPR he-ABSNT
from the corner of the house every [time] he entered

60.12.2 a na wálp-s nibíipt.
a na wálp-s nibíip-t
in POSS house-PRPR uncle-his
into his uncle's house

60.12.2,3 Adat wiláay 'nii ts'ú'u'tsa gwa'a k'atk'adáa
ada-t wiláay 'nii ts'ú'u'tsa gwa'a k'atk'adáa
and-he knew this bird this sea loon
and he knew this was the bird, this sea loon

60.12.3 ada fa 'níit t'in wiláagwasga hana'axga
ada fa 'níit t'in wiláagwa-sga hana'ax-ga
and now he who take away-ABSNT woman-ABSNT
and it was he who had taken away the woman

60.12.4 ada wil wáaldit át líifa wil lipáayga ts'u'u'ts
ada wil wáal-dit á-t líifa wil lipáayga ts'u'u'ts
and then do-he that-he watch where fly bird
and he watched where the bird flew

60.12.5 a dmt báalsga dmt nii k'atk'adáa.
a dm-t báal-sga dm-t nii k'atk'adáa
that will-he try-ABSNT will-he see sea loon
to try to see the sea loon

60.12.6,7 Wai txá'nii ganfáak fa gik dáfwa náksm k'afk'adáa haná'ax
Wai txá'nii ganfáak fa gik dáfwa náksm k'afk'adáa haná'ax
well every morning now again leave husband sea loon woman
Every morning the woman's sea loon husband would leave

60.12.7 da ál úks t'áasga hana'ax a ts'uwaanxf
da ál úks t'áa-sga hana'ax a ts'uwaanxf
then but out sat-ABSNT woman to point
but the woman sat out on the point

60.13.1 ada 'nii wil t'áam wiháwtgat a gilks áwtgat
ada 'nii wil t'áam wiháwtg-at a gilks áwtg-at
and there where sit weep-she that self grieve-she
there she would sit giving herself to grief

60.13.1,2 a fa wila waaldit fa libágayt wáaldit.
a fa wila waal-dit fa libágayt wáald-it
at now what happen to-her now out of control do-she
because of what had happened to her, she was beside herself

60.13.2,3 Ada ált fáwilat 'nax'núusga ga'amháwsga
Ada ált fáwila-t 'nax'núu-sga ga'amháw-sga
and but-she always-she hear-ABSNT voices-ABSNT
she always heard the voices

60.13.3 t'in gwil g'üütksit ás 'níit.
t'in gwil g'üütks-it á-s 'níit
who about search for-her to-PRPR her
of the ones out searching for her

60.13.4 Gam áám sga'nágaf wáalsga náksm ts'ú'u'tst
Gam áám sga'nága-f wáal-sga náksm ts'ú'u'ts-t
only good while-NEG do-ABSNT husband bird-her
After some time her bird husband

60.13.4,5 fa gik yéltgat at di góydiksa dm gábat
fa gik yélt-ga-t a-t digóydiksa dm gába-t
now again return-ABSNT-he that-he bring to eat-she
returned again to bring her something to eat

60.13.5,6 fa gik dáwft ada gwil gipáaykt
fa gik dáwft-t ada gwil gipáayk-t
now again leave-he and about fly-he
then he left again and flew about

60.13.6,7 a txanáawsga galts'áps nagwada haná'axga.
a txanáaw-sga galts'áp-s nagwada haná'ax-ga
in front-ABSNT village-PRPR father woman-ABSNT
in front of her father's village

60.13.7 Wái ál fáwila líifksa 'yuuta
Wái ál fáwila líifksa 'yuuta
well however always watch man

60.13.7-60.14.1 gu fgwitxa'óosga fguwáalksitga k'wáatgat,
gu fgwitxa'óo-sga fguwáalksik-ga k'wáatg-at
who cousin-ABSNT princess-ABNST lost-their
Now the cousin of their lost princess was always watching

60.14.1,2 adat níisga wil gwil gipáayga amap'asim k'áfK'adáa
ada-t níi-sga wil gwil gipáayga amap'asim k'áfK'adáa
and-he see-ABSNT where about fly beautiful sea loon
and he saw where a beautiful sea loon flew about

60.14.2 a txa gyéeka galts'ap,
a txagyéeka galts'ap
to below village
down below the village

60.14.2,3 ádat gáasga na hawáalt dif na hakwdákt ádat gúut.
áda-t gáa-sga na hawáalt-t dif na hakwdákt-t áda-t gúu-t
and-he take-ABSNT POSS arrow-his and POSS bow-his and-he shoot-it
He took his arrow and bow and shot it

60.14.4 Wai sm 'nii wil waaldit,
wai sm 'nii wil waal-dit,
well really this when do-he
as soon as he had done this

60.14.4 da ált giyélukstga hana'axga
da ált-t giyéluks-t-ga hana'ax-ga
then but-she feel-it-ABSNT woman-ABSNT
the woman felt

60.14.5 fa ástiwaalsga náksm k'áfK'adeet,
fa ástiwaal-sga náksm k'áfK'adáa-t
now harm-ABSNT husband sea loon-her
that some harm had come to her sea loon husband

60.14.5,6 ádat wudi wiláay áfga dm gik yéltga nákst.
áda-t wudi wiláay áfga dm gik yél-t-ga náks-t
and-she seem know not will again return-he-ABSNT husband-her
she knew that her husband would not return again

60.14.6,7 'Nii gan wáaldit góosga ts'uwáanxf
'Nii gan wáal-dit góo-sga ts'uwáanxf
This why do-she go to-ABSNT point
That's why she went out to the point

60.14.7 ada sm sagáaw di t'áat
ada sm sagáaw dit'áa-t
and very openly sat-she
she sat out openly

60.14.7-60.15.1 dmt wilt níisda gyet t'in gwif güg'üült.
dm-t wilt níis-da gyet t'in gwif güg'üül-t
will-they where-they see-her people who about search for-her
where the people who were searching for her would see her

60.15.1,2 Adat 'nax'núu wil góydiksa amháws nagwát a háwt.
ada-t 'nax'núu wil góydiksa amháws nagwát a háw-t
and-she hear where come voice father that say-he
She heard the voice of her father coming saying

60.15.2 "Af mootgini fgufgi?"
af mootg-in-i fgufg-i
INTERR safe-you-INTERR child-my
"Are you safe, my child?"

60.15.2,3 Ada sm t'áasga fguwaalksik
Ada sm t'áa-sga fguwaalksik
and very sit-ABSNT princess
and the princess sat

60.15.3 ásga dmt wilt níistit nagwát.
ásga dm-t wilt níist-it nagwát
to will-he where-he see-her father
where her father would see her

60.15.4,5 Ada wáaldit sm hi dzagátgu góydiksa na xsóos dipnagwát
Ada wáal-dit sm hi dzagátgu góydiksa na xsóo-s dipnagwát
and do-they very first around come POSS canoe-PRPR parents
and as soon as her parents' canoe came around

60.15.5,6 ada ál sa gwáantga ts'ált a wil t'áasga fgúfgat
ada ál sa gwáantga ts'ál-t a wil t'áa-sga fgúfg-at
and then suddenly touch eyes-their to where sit-ABSNT child-their
suddenly they turned their eyes to where their child sat

60.15.6 adat góot adat lógom gáat a na xsóot
 ada-t góo-t ada-t lógom gáa-t a na xsóo-t
 and-they go to-her and-they into take-her to POSS canoe-their
 they went to her and took her into their canoe

60.15.7 adat di goodit a na wálp-t.
 ada-t digoo-dit a na wálp-t
 and-they take-her to POSS house-their
 and they took her to their house

60.15.7-60.16.1 Ada sm 'nii wil lamdzaxt a wálps nagwát
 ada sm 'nii wil lamdzaxt a walp-s nagwát
 and really this when enter-they into house-PRPR father
 Just as they entered her father's house

60.16.1 gakstáne! wuwáalsga fgutxa'óot
 gakstáne! wuwáal-sga fgutxa'óo-t
 behold do-ABSNT cousin-her
 Behold! There was her cousin

60.16.1,2 yáagwat gwildm ga'wáansga na gúusim k'áf-k'adát
 yáagwa-t gwildm ga'wáan-sga na gúusim k'áf-k'adát
 do-he make ready-ABSNT POSS shot sea loon-his
 preparing his slain sea loon

60.16.2,3 át sáksnt a dmt dzámt.
 á-t sáksn-t a dm-t dzám-t
 that-he clean-it that will-he cook-it
 to clean and cook it

60.16.3,4 Wai da ál gik háws nagwát ásga fgufgat.
 wai da ál gik háw-s nagwát ásga fgufg-at
 well and then again speak-PRPR father to child-his
 Then her father spoke again to his child

60.16.4 "Wai fgufgi, fa aam dm waalin
 wai fgufg-i fa aam dm waal-in
 well child-my now good to do-you
 "Well, my child, it will now be good

60.16.4,5 mi dm nákska fgwislíisu gyá'awin."
 mi dm ná-k-sga fgwislíis-u gyá'awin
 you will marry-ABSNT nephew-my now
 for you to marry my nephew."

60.16.5,6 Ada háwsga hana'axga, "Aayn áfga dm wáalu,
 ada háw-sga hana'ax-ga aayn áfga dm wáal-u
 and say-ABSNT woman-ABSNT no not wil do-I
 and the woman said, "No, I won't do it."

60.16.6 áfga hasáagai as 'niit."
 áfga hasáaga-i a-s 'niit
 not want-I to-PRPR him
 "I don't want him."

60.16.6,7 Ada sm dzóoxsga fgwitxa'óosga haná'axga
 ada sm dzóox-sga fgwitxa'óo-sga haná'ax-ga
 and very ashamed-ABSNT cousin-ABSNT woman-ABSNT
 The woman's cousin was very ashamed

60.16.7 a wila háwtga
 a wila háw-t-ga
 at how speak-she-ABSNT
 by what she said

60.16.7-60.17.1 gan wáaldit gáaditga na sámisga na gúusim
 k'áf-k'adáa
 gan wáal-dit gáa-dit-ga na sámi-sga na gúusim k'át-k'adáa
 why do-he take-ti-ABSNT POSS meat-ABSNT POSS shot sea loon
 that is why he took the meat of the slain sea loon

60.17.1 ada fa gwáankst
 ada fa gwáanks-t
 and no cook-it
 and cooked it

60.17.2 adat sg'üüt a ha'tsáxfga haná'axga, fgwitxa'óot
 ada-t sg'üü-t a ha'tsáxfga haná'ax-ga fgwitxa'óo-t
 and-he put-it in front woman-ABSNT cousin-his
 and put it in front of his cousin

60.17.2,3 ada háwt, "Gába gwá'a."
 ada háw-t gába gwá'a
 and say-he eat this
 and he said, "Eat this."

60.17.3 Ada wáalsga haná'axga sm kwdíit
 ada wáal-sga haná'ax-ga sm kwdíi-t
 and do-ABSNT woman-ABSNT very hungry-she
 The woman was very hungry

60.17.4 adat gábada giinda fgwitxa'óot
 ada-t gába-da giin-da fgwitxa'óo-t
 and-she eat-it given-her cousin-her
 and she ate [the food] her cousin gave her

60.17.4,5 ada sm 'nii wil gadz'áafisgat
 ada sm 'nii wil gadzáafisg-at
 and very this when swallow-she
 and as soon as she swallowed

60.17.5,6 da ált wiláaysga 'nii gwá'a na sámi nákst.
da ált-t wiláay-sga 'nii gwá'a na sámi náks-t
and then-she know-ABSNT this this POSS flesh husband-her
she knew it was the flesh of her husband

60.17.6 Ada háwtgasga fgwitxa'óot.
ada háw-t-gasga fgwitxa'óo-t
and speak-she-to cousin-her
She spoke to her cousin.

60.17.6,7
"Gof wilá sámiyu gwá'a gu gabu"
Gof wilá sámi-yu gwá'a gu gab-u
what kind meat-INTERR this that eat-I
"What kind of meat am I eating?"

60.17.7 Ada wil hawsga 'yuuta.
ada wil haw-sga 'yuuta
and then speak-ABSNT man
Then the man spoke.

60.18.1 "Oo, áay'inf mi wiláay
Oo áay'in-f mi wiláay
Oh no-INTERR you know
"Oh, don't you know

60.18.1,2 wil áaga na sámi náksm k'áf k'adáa?
wil áaga na sámi náksm k'áf k'adáa
how taste POSS flesh husband sea loon
what (your) sea loon husband's flesh tastes like?"

60.18.2 Áay'inf ts'm'áatgadi na sámit?
áay'in-f ts'm'áatga-di na sámi-t
no-INTERR sweet-INTERR POSS flesh-his
"Isn't his flesh sweet?"

60.18.2,3 Gáwdi háwt dáwila ks'üüt ada wiháwtga fguwáalksik
gáwdi háw-t dáwila ks'üü-t ada wiháw-t-ga fguwáalksik
finish speak-he then go out-he and weep-she-ABSNT princess
After he said this, he left, and the princess wept

60.18.3,4 ada waals dipnóot a smgal gadzóox-t.
ada waal-s dipnóo-t a smgal gadzóox-t
and do so-PRPR parents-her that very ashamed-they
her parent [wept] as well for they were very ashamed

60.18.4,5 Gáwdi bóokit dáwila háws dipnóot ásga fguwáalksik.
Gáwdi bóok-it dáwila háw-s dipnóo-t ásga fguwáalksik
finish weep-they then speak-PRPR parents-her to princess
When they had finished weeping, her parents spoke to the princess

60.18.5,6 "Ndó'o góof náaf hasáagn
ndó'o góo-f náaf hasáag-n
go on go to-IMPER who-IMPER want-you
"Go on! Go to the one you want!"

60.18.6 áf mi dm náks-gat
áf mi dm náks-ga-t
that-IMPER you will marry-ABSNT-him
to marry him

60.18.6,7 áwil wiléeksa waan mi k'inamt as k'am dm dzóogm.
áwil wiléeksa waa-n mi k'inam-t a-s k'am dm dzóog-m
because great do-you you give-it to-PRPR us to shame-us
because you have brought us great shame."

60.19.1 Ada 'níisga wáalsga haná'axga.
ada 'nii-sga wáal-sga haná'ax-ga
and this-ABSNT do-ABSNT woman-ABSNT
and this is what the woman did.

60.19.1,2 Gan áfga áamf wáalsga na nagyétgisga ligi k'ólda haná'ax
Gan áfga áam-f wáal-sga na nagyét-gisga ligi k'ólda haná'ax
why not good-NEG do-ABSNT POSS parents-ABSNT any one woman
This is why it is not good for the parents of a woman

60.19.2,3 at ligidiháwt, áwil sgwaay dzi háwt
a-t ligidiháw-t áwil sgwaay dzi háw-t
that-they be too particular-they because continue if say-they
to be too particular, for if they persist

60.19.3 da dm sa góydiksa 'yé'tsisk
da dm sa góydiksa 'yé'tsisk
then will suddenly come animal
then an animal will suddenly come

60.19.4 a dm t'in náks-ga naa ál 'wáafgat.
a dm t'in náks-ga naa ál 'wáafg-at
to will who marry-ABSNT who however forbidden-one
and marry the one who has been forbidden

60.19.4,5 Ada dmt di didáwft a 'wah gagóont
ada dm-t di didáwft a 'wah gagóon-t
and will-he take away-her to not known-it
and he will take her away to an unknown place

60.19.5,6 ada dm yagái k'wáatga naa ál ligi di hawtga.
ada dm yagái k'wáat-ga naa ál ligidihaw-t-ga
and will there be lost to-ABSNT who however particular-they-ABSNT
and she will be lost to those who were too particular.

6. Poetics description. In this section I show the distribution of syllables with dramatic prominence in stanzas and groups of stanzas that comprise larger episodic units. There is a characteristic distribution pattern: the prominent syllables occur at first primarily at the ends of poetic lines. In successive lines they "spread" so that they fill more and more of the line. Eventually they fill a whole line or most of a line, typically coinciding with some narrative climax. From there they gradually, through successive lines, recede again until they occur only at some line's end as at the beginning. This pattern more or less defines larger episodic units, groups of stanzas that are sometimes, but not always, separate scenes. Each of these larger narrative units tends to have a hallmark sound, i.e., a sound often repeated and that tends to occur in the episode's key words. Hallmark sounds give their unit a particular auditory character: some hum, some hiss, others clatter, or drone. John Robert Ross has noted this phenomenon in English and Spanish poetry; he calls it sound weaving. In Sm'algyax adawx texts the distribution of the hallmark sounds in these larger narrative units is the same as the distribution of prominent syllables. Prominent syllables and hallmark sounds are complements in the same pattern. This pattern, a part of the story teller's art, creates a grand rhythm that leads from climax to climax. The hallmark sounds in this Sm'algyax text often overlap, i.e., as one hallmark wanes in its unit, the hallmark for the next unit appears and begins to wax, continuing to build in the next, its own, unit.

In this section I have organized Gwisgaayn's text number 60 into larger units, indicated with Roman numerals, that are defined in terms of hallmark sound and prominence distribution pattern as described above. The figures to the right of each of the lines of the text below represent the line's syllables right-justified. Dashes are syllables. Dots represent syllables with prominent stress. Letters represent syllables containing the unit's hallmark sound. Larger letters represent syllables that are both prominent and contain the hallmark sound. At the end of each unit there is a key, showing the sound hallmark. Where there is an overlap in hallmark sounds at the ends of units, I have repeated the part of the unit where overlapping occurs, describing it twice, once for each of its hallmark sounds. Finally, in the English translation I have underlined the words whose equivalents carry the hallmark sound.

I

Adáwga k'átk'adáa	..QQQ.
naa t'ín náksa fguwáalksigm háná'axga.	-----Q-
Ásda gik'óf
ndáa dzáxdzóga gyét	..QQQ.
á Maxfakxáafa	..Q-Q-
ada níisga wíl di dzóxsaga sm'óogit dif nákst	-----Q-----
ádat habóolsga fgúfgm haná'axt a awáat.	-----Q---
Wai smgál háadaháwsga sm'óogit dif nákstga fgúufgit--	Q-----
áwilt smgál síi'pnt	---Q.-
adat smgál liift.	---Q-

uvulars: Q = {g,k',x}

The ancient story of the salt water loon
who married a princess

Long years ago
when the people lived
at Metlakatla
there was a certain chief and his wife who lived there
and they had a daughter they kept with them

The chief and his wife were very protective of their child
and because they loved her dearly
they watched her closely

II

fa húu'pl	L·L
ádat 'li nóogansga fguwáalksik	..L---LL-
ásga lax'o di wíl léefgat.	..L---LLL
Dzábitga wudi lax'w'üüsL-
ada 'nii di wil lukwí	----LLLLL-----LL-
léefgitsga na nagyétgisga fguwaalksik.	
Ádat k'ap sgafúuditga gan wáaldit,	----L---L-
áfga gwin áaxfgis ligítnaa	L--L-L.-
a awáasga sup'ásim hana'axga,	-----
áwilt smgált líifda dipnóotga.	..L-LLL--
Wai smgál ámap'ása fguwáalksigm haná'ax	--L---LL-----
a txa'níi sila gabawáalksikt,	---L---L-
ada hidúut	---
á txa'níi galdzípdpzágga.	..L---

laterals: $L = \{1, f\}$

At night
the princess slept up above
over the place where her parents slept

They made a sort of platform
and it was under this that the princess' parents slept

they watched her closely
so that no one might come close
to the young woman
her parents kept a close guard on her

The princess was the most beautiful
among all her companion princesses
and word of her beauty
spread to all the tribes

Wai smgál ámap'ása fguwáalksigm haná'ax
a txa'níi sila gabawáalksikt,
ada hidúut
á txa'níi galdzípdzápga.

[illegible]

III

Ada hélða gabawáalksigm 'yúuta
hasáagatga dm t'in náks gat.
Ádat sgáawdit dipnóot txa'níit.
Wai ál hasáaxs nagwáda fguwáalksit
dmt náks gatga fkúfgatga na fgwítxa'óot
'níisga na lip fgwíslíisis nagwát.
Ada áfga di anóogasca hana'ax
a háws dipnóot.

[illegible]

alveolar stops $T = \{d, t\}$

The princess was the most beautiful
among all her companion princesses
and word of her beauty
spread to all the tribes

There were many princes
who wanted to marry her

But her parents refused them all

The princess' father wanted
his child to marry her cousin
her father's own nephew

But the woman would not agree

to what her parents asked

IV

Áwil di lip sí'pnda
k'ólða fguwáalksigm 'yúuta.
Wai sm t'óoxfga goots nagwát
fa áfga hasáaxsga fgufgm haná'axt
ásga dmt náksa na lip fgwislflisis 'níitga.
Ada smgál txalyáat líift
áf gat anóolt dzi dím gwif yáat
ada áfgat da'áxfga
dmt txalwáas ligitnáa.
laterals: L = {l, ɬ}

$$\begin{array}{c}
\bullet L - L - \bullet - \\
L - L L - \bullet - \\
- - \bullet L - \bullet - \\
L L - \bullet - \bullet L L - \bullet - \\
\bullet - \bullet - \bullet L L L - \bullet - \\
- - L L L - L \\
L L - L - \bullet L \\
- - L L - L - \\
- L \bullet L - \bullet
\end{array}$$

She loved
a prince of her own choosing

Her father was broken hearted
because his daughter
would not marry his own nephew

So he watched her even more closely
he did not even allow her to walk about
she was not able
to meet anyone

V

Ada áfga gó
dzi háwsga fguwáalksigm haná'ax
át wiláagwidit dipnóot.
Ada ál fáwila hasáaxsga góotga
dmt txalwáasga
át di hasáaxda a k'ólda 'yuuta.
Ada sm txalyáa wáals dipnóot
at líift.
alveolar spirants: S = {s, f

--S-
--SS.S--
 .-.-.
--.S---Ss.-
 --S-
 .--S-.-.-
 --s-.S-
 -S

Not one thing
did the princess say
about how her parents treated her

But her heart ached
to meet
with the man she wanted

Yet her parents watched her

VI

ever more closely

Wái fa nóogisga fguwáalksik
 a k' 'üülda áatk,
 ada fa 'nága ndaa xstóox
 ada sa gáksat
 adat 'nii wil háaytga ámap'ásm 'yúuta
 á gáayim awáat.
 Gu gwáalksa hoyásga 'yuuta
 ada fát níisda haná'axga
 wil háaytga
 ada báast.
 velars: K = {g,k}

..-KKKKK
 -K-K

 ---KK
 ----K-----

 KKK--K--
 -----K
 --K

Now the princess was sleeping
one night
 and she had been asleep for a long time
 when suddenly she awoke
 and saw standing there a beautiful man
 close by her

the man was clothed in light
 and when the woman saw him
standing there
 she was frightened

VII

Wai txa'nii húu'pl
 wáalsga 'yúuta
 a góydikst
 ádat silnóoksga haná'axga.
 Ada txa'nii ganfáak
 á nagóga díim dziíwst
 fa gík háldm báasga sup'ásm 'yúuta
 ádat ksi yáaka wil na gága na amúu wálp
 a gáaym awáasga wil nóoga su'pásm haná'ax
 ada 'nii wil sadzípt.
 Áfgat wiláayda haná'ax
 ndáaf wila wáaldit gan sadzípt.
 Ada 'nii wila wáalt
 a 'naga wáaldit.
 labial stops: M = {m,b,p}

---M

 ---M.
 ---MM--MM--
MM
 --M-----MM--
 ---M

 ---M

Every night
 the man came
 and slept with the woman

And every morning
before it was light
 the young man arose
 and went out of a hole in the corner of the house
near where the young woman slept
 And then he disappeared

The woman did not know
 how he disappeared

He did this
 for a long time

VIII

Wái fa k' 'üülda áatk
 da háwga 'yúuta a sup'ásim haná'axga
 áwil fát k'ap sii'pntga haná'axgat 'níitga.
 "Áf mi dm stúulu
 á díp dm góosga awáasga na dzápu.
 fa 'nákf ndaa nii wila wáan
 áda gagóodu á gwán."
 "Dm wáalu"
 dáyaga hana'ax
 "ndm stúulin."
 alveolar nasal: N = {n, 'n}

.....
 ---N--
 ----N--N--N--

 -NN-N--N
 ----N

 ----N-
 N--N

One night
 the man spoke to the young woman
 for she had come to love him dearly.

Will you come with me
 to my village

For a long time I have seen what they do to you
 my heart goes out to you

I will
 said the woman
I will go with you

"Dm wáalu"
 dáyaga hana'ax
 "ndm stúulin."

IX

Gan dáwila háldm k'óft
 adat 'yága waalxst a gyéeka
 ádat góo na xsóosga 'yuuta
 ada saantgat
 ada luwáaydit
 at kwtáxsa
 na galts'áps nagwáda fguwáalksigm haná'ax.
 Áfga 'nakf luwáaydit
 ádat wutwáasga k'úülda likst'áa
 ada háwsga 'yuuta.
 "Wai fa ni'nii
 gwá'a na galts'áput."
 alveolars: T = {t,d,dz,ts}

T.-

T-----

-T-T-

-T--TT

TT--T--

TT--T--T

T-TT

T--TT

TT-

--T-T-----

----TT

TTT--T-T

T--T

----TT

I will
 said the woman
 I will go with you

Immediately they arose
and went down to the beach
they went to the man's canoe
and got aboard
and they paddled away
that they might quit
the village of the princess' father

They had not paddled long
before they came to an island
 and the man spoke

This place
 this is my village

X

Ada úks k'óft
 ada sm 'nii wil wáalt
 ada sadziiba xsoo naa hóyt.
 Ada bax yáasga 'yuuta a gilháwli
 ada sa t'áat
 adat níisda haná'axga wil si ts'u'u'tsit
 ada 'níisga k'átk'adáa gwá'a.
 Wai fat wiláayda haná'axga
 wil fa liksgyéda wáaldit
 ada fa naxmógm ts'u'u'ts
 t'in gáat
 ada smgál dzóox.
 alveolar spirants: S = {s,f,dz,ts}

--SS

--S--

--SS-S-

---S-----

--S-

--S-----SS-S

--S-----

-S-----

--S-----

--S--SS

-

--S-S

They got out
 and as soon as they did
 the canoe they had used disappeared

The man walked up into the woods
 but she suddenly sat down
 the woman saw that he had become a bird
 he was a sea loon

The woman now understood
 the strange thing that had befallen her
 it was a spirit bird
 who had taken her
 and she was very ashamed

XI

Ada wáaldit
 fawila t'áat
 a spagáyt gángán a gwif y'üüt
 ada áfga hasáaxda dmt níisdit ligitnáa
 áwilt wiláaysga dmt halagiyáaxda txa'níi gyet.
 Ts'u'al galéelda wil gwif gaxsóo gyét
 ada áfga gwin níisgat.
 laterals: L = {l,f}

-L--

LL--

-----L-

--L-----L--

-L-L--L-----

-L-LLLL--

--L---

This is what she did
 she always sat
 hiding about among the trees
 for she did not want anyone to see her
 she knew that everyone would ridicule her

Even though she saw the people out in their canoes

to his uncle's place

Adat wiláay 'nii ts'ú'u'tsa
 gwa'a k'atk'adáa
 ada fa 'níit
 t'in wiláagwasga hana'axga
 ada wil wáaldit
 át líifa wil lipáayga ts'ú'u'ts
 a dmt báalsga
 dmt nii k'atk'adáa.
 laterals: L = {l, f}

---L---
 ----.
 --L.
 --L-----
 --LL-
 .LLLL--
 --L-
 ----.

And he knew this bird
 this salt water loon
 was the one
 who had taken the woman
 and he decided
 to watch where the birds flew
trying to catch sight
 of the sea loon

Wai txá'nii ganfáak
 fa gik dáwfa náksm k'afk'adáa haná'ax
 da ál úks t'áasga hana'ax a ts'uwaanxf
 ada 'nii wil t'áam wiháwtgat
 a gilks áwtgat a fa wila waaldit
 fa libágayt wáaldit.
 Ada ált fáwilat 'nax'núusga ga'amháwsga
 t'in gwil g'úütksit ás 'níit.
 laterals: L = {l, f}

---L
 --L--L---
 -L-----L
 --L---
 -L--LL-L-
 LL--L-
 --LLL---
 -L---

Every morning
 her sea loon husband left his wife
then she would go out to the point
 and sit there weeping
 grieving for what had befallen her
beside herself with grief

And she always heard the voices
 of those out searching for her

Gam á'am sga'nágaf
 wáalsga náksm ts'ú'u'tst fa gik yéltgat
 at di góydiksa dm gábat
 fa gik dáwft
 ada gwil gipáaykt
 a txanáawsga galts'áps nagwada haná'axga.
 Wái ál fáwila líifksa 'yuuta
 gu fgwitxa'óosga fguwáalksitga k'wáatgat,
 ádat níisga
 wil gwil gipáayga amap'asim k'áf k'adáa
 a txa gyéeka galts'ap,
 ádat gáasga na hawáalt dif na hakwdákt
 ádat gúut.
 uvulars: Q = {q, x, k'}

Q..QQ-

 --Q---

 -Q--Q-----Q-

 --Q-----

 -----Q.Q.
 ---Q--

In a little while
 her bird husband would return
bringing something for her to eat
 and when he left again
 he would fly around
in front of the woman's father's village

The man was always watching
 the one who was the lost princess' cousin
 and when he saw
 where a beautiful sea loon flew
across below the village
 he took his arrow and bow
 and shot it

Wai sm 'nii wil waaldit,
 da ált giyélukstga hana'axga
 fa ástiwaalsga náksm k'áf k'adáat,
 ádat wudi wiláay
 áfga dm gik yéltga nákst.
 'Nii gan wáaldit góosga ts'uwaanxf
 ada sm sagáaw di t'áat
 dmt wilt níisda gyet
 t'in gwif güg'úült.

---LL-
 -L-L-----
 L--L--L--
 ----L
 L---L-
 --L---L

 -L--
 -L-L

laterals: L = {l, ʃ}

Just as he did this
the woman felt
that harm had come to her sea loon husband
and she knew
that her husband would not return again

Then she went out to the point
and sat in such a way
as to be seen
by those who were out searching for her

XIX

Adat 'nax'núu
wil góydiksa amháws nagwát
a háwt.
"Af mootgini fgufgi?"
Ada sm t'áasga fguwaalksik
ásga dmt wilt níisdit nagwát.
Ada wáaldit sm hi dzagátgu góydiksa
na xsóos dipnagwát
ada ál sa gwáantga ts'ált
a wil t'áasga fgúfgat
adat góot
adat lógom gáat
a na xsóot
adat di goodit
a na wálpt.
alveolar stops: T = {d, t}

TT..
-T---T
-T
-T---
T--T---
.-TTT-T-T
T-.T---T-.T-.T-T
T--T-T
--T-.T
TTT
TT-T
--T
TTTT
--T

She heard
the voice of her father coming
saying

Are you safe, child

The princess sat
where her father would see her

As soon as her parents' canoe came around (the point)
they caught sight
of where their child sat
and they went to her
and took her aboard
their canoe
and brought her

XX

Ada sm 'nii wil lamdzaxt
a wálps nagwát
gakstáne wuwáalsga fgwitxa'óot
yáagwat gwildm ga'wáansga
na gúusim k'áf_k'adáat
át sáksnt a dmt dzámt.
Wai da ál gik háws nagwát
ásga fgufgat.

alveolar stridents: S = {s, ʃ, dz}

to their house

--S-S--
-S--
-S--S-S--
.....S--S-S--
.SS--S
---S--
S-SS

As they entered
her father's house
behold! there was her cousin
preparing the sea loon he had shot
cleaning it in order to cook it

Her father spoke again
to his child

XXI

"Wai fgufgi,
fa aam dm waalin
mi dm náksa fgwisliisu gyá'awin."
Ada háwsa hana'axga,
"Aayn áfga dm wáalu,
áfga hasáagai as 'niit."
Ada sm dzóoxsga fgwitxa'óosga haná'axga
a wila háwtga
gan wáaldit
gáaditga na sámisga na gúusim k'áf_k'adáa
ada fa gwáankst
adat sg'üüt a ha'tsáxfga haná'axga,
fgwitxa'óot
ada háwt
"Gába gwá'a."
velars: K = {g, gw}

-KK

--KKK.-K--
---K---K
-K-.-
•K-
---KK-•K-•K
---K
--
K-K-•-K-K-
---K
--K---K-•-K
K-•
--
K-K-

Well, child
it would be good of you
if you would now marry my nephew

But the woman said
No, I will not
I don't want him

The woman's cousin was very shamed
by what she said
that is why
he took the flesh of the slain salt water loon
and cooked it
and put it in front of the woman
his cousin
and said
Eat this

XXII

Ada wáalsga
haná'axga sm kwdíit
adat gábada gíinda fgwitxa'óot
ada sm 'nii wil gadzáafisgat
da ált wiláaysga 'nii
gwá'a na sámi nákst.
Ada háwtgasga fgwitxa'óot.
"Gof wilá sámíyu gwá'a
gu gabu?"
velars: K = {g,kw,gw,k}

--•K
--•K-K
--K--K-K-
-----K
---•K-
K---K
---KKK-
K----K-
KK-

It happened
that she was very hungry
and she ate what her cousin had given her
but as soon as she swallowed it
she knew
that this was the flesh of her husband

And she spoke to her cousin

What flesh is this
that I have eaten

XXIII

Ada wil hawsga 'yuuta.
"Oo, áay'inf mi wiláay
wil áaga na sámi náksm k'áf'adáa?
Áay'inf ts'm'áatgadi na sámít?"
alveolar stridents: S = {s,f}

---S---
--S---
----S-S-S-
•SS----S-

The man spoke

Oh don't you know
the taste of your sea loon husband's meat
doesn't his flesh taste sweet

XXIV

Gáwdi háwt
dáwila ks'üt
ada wiháwtga fguwáalksik
ada waals dipnóot
a smgal gadzóox.
Gáwdi bóokit
dáwila háws dipnóot
ásga fguwáalksik.
labial glide: W = [w]

W-W
•W-
--wW--W-
--W-

W--
•w-W-
---W-

After he said this
he went out
then the princess wept
as did her parents
for they were very ashamed
When they had finished weeping
then her parents spoke
to the princess

"Ndó'o
 góof náaf hasáagn
 áf mi dm náksat
 áwil wiléeksa waan
 mi k'inamt as k'am dm dzóogm.
 Ada 'níisga
 wáalsga haná'axga.
 alveolar nasal: N = [n]

XXVI

Gan áfga áamf
 wáalsga na nagyétgisga
 ligi k'ólda haná'ax
 at ligidiháwt,
 áwil sgwaay dzi háwt
 da díim sa góydiksa 'yé'tsisk
 a dm t'in náksa naa ál 'wáafgat.
 Ada dmt di didáwft
 a 'wah gagóont
 ada dm yagái k'wáatga
 naa ál ligidihawtga.
 alveolar obstruents: T = {t,d,dz,ts}

Therefore it is not good
 for the parents
 of any woman
 to be too particular
 for if they continue to do so
 then an animal might suddenly come
 and seduce the forbidden one
 And he might take her away
 to an unknown place
 where she will be lost
 to those who are too protective

The stanzas that participate in more than one hallmark sound system tend to be transitional in terms of scene structure. The stanza that tells of the princess' fame for her great beauty stands between an [L] unit (II), telling how overprotective her parents were, and a [T] unit (III), describing the many royal men who wanted to marry her. In this transitional stanza the [L] sound is waning and the [T] sound is waxing. Likewise the princess uses [n] and [t] to answer her secret lover's proposal. Her assent stands between his proposal, an [N] unit (VIII), and their elopment, a [T] unit (IX).

At the beginning of the adawx, the word for sea loon is k'atk'adáa. But in unit XVI, an {s,f} unit, it becomes k'afk'adáa, the first [t] changing to [f], the unit's hallmark. In unit XXIII, also an {s,f} unit, it occurs again in its altered form, this time with the syllable containing the hallmark given prominence: k'áfk'adáa.

This latter unit, XXIII, is especially salient. It is her cousin's declaration of the revenge he has taken on the princess. It is filled with the venom of envy and resentment: {s,f}.

7. Summary. The Coast Tsimshian linguist Gwisgaayn used punctuation devices in a heterodox and probably most creative fashion. He apparently used upper case letters and periods to define poetic stanzas. He evidently used the acute accent to mark performance prominence. If these interpretations of his punctuation are correct, they allow us to recover from his manuscripts the poetry and drama of Sm'algyax literature. They make it possible for us to see the ebb and flow of complex alliterative structures and performance emphasis running through the stanzas and scenes of Sm'algyax narrative. They help us to understand the art of the traditional Tsimshian story teller.

8. Appendix: lexicon. This section contains an alphabetical list of the words found in this text with all their variants. It also includes some derivational morphological analysis.

A

a, á, a-s, á-s, á-sda, á-sga,
 a-t, á-t
 ada, áda, ada-t, áda-t,
 adáwga
 áma-p'ás-a, áma-p'ás-m, ama-p'as-im

general preposition;
 subordinate conjunction
 and, and then
 ancient history
 beautiful
 ama- good, well
 p'as grow

am-haw-s, am-haw-s
ga-'am-haw-sga
há-haw-sga

amúu, amúu-sga
anóo
anóo-ga-sga
anóo-l-t
ál, ál-t
hand (indicates a
af, áf
áfga, áfga-t
ástiwáal-sga
awáa-sga, awáa-t
áwil, áwil-t
áwtg-at

aam, á'am, áam-f
áag-a
áatk
áaxfg-is
aayn, áayn-f

baa
háldm baa-sga

báal-sga
báas-t
bax

bóok-it

da
da'áxfg-a
dáwila
dáwf-a, dáwf-t
di-dáwf-t
dáyaga
di
di-dáwf-t
dip-'níi-t

dip-nagwát

158

voice
voices
voices, calling
ga- plural
am- instrument
haw speak
corner
agree
allow
but, however, on the other
contrastive statement)
interrogative particle
not
harm
next to
because
grieve

AA

good
tase
night
come near, reach
no

B

get up
háldm up
attempt, try
be afraid, fear
up (motion from the beach
along the ground)
weep

D

and, then
be able
at once, then
leave
take away
say
also; causative particle
take away
they
dip- plural
parents
dip- plural
nagwát father

51

159

dip-nóo-t, dip-nóo-t-a, dip-nóo-t-ga
parents
dip- plural
noo mother
and
answer
will, to
dip we

dzagátgu
dzáb-it-ga
dzám-t
dzáp-u
dzáx-dzóg-a
dzi

dziíwst
dzóog-m, dzóox-sga, dzóox-t
ga-dzóox-t
ha-dzóox-da
dzóx-sga
dzáx-dzóg-a

gáa-dit-ga, gáa-sga, gáa-t
gaba-wáalksig-m, gaba-wáalksik-t
gaba-wáalksig-m 'yúuta

gáb-a, gáb-ada, gáb-at, gab-u
gakstáne
ga'wáan-sga
gwíldm ga'wáan-sga

gíin-da
gík, gík
gík'óf
gilháwli
gilks
gí'mas
gipáayg-a, gipáayg-at, gipáayk-t
lipáayg-a
giyélukstga
go-f, gó
gu
gúu-s-im, gúu-t
güg'üül-s, güg'üül-sga, güg'üül-t
g'üütksit
gwa'a, gwá'a

DZ

around
build
cook
my village
live (plural)
if, (weakens force of a
statement; used in
polite address, e.g., in
a polite request)
daylight
be ashamed
be ashamed (plural)
ga- plural
be ashamed
live
live (plural)

G

take
princes
princes
gaba- plural
eat
behold
ready
prepare, make ready
given
again
years ago
woods, forest
self
near
fly (singular)
fly (plural)
feel
what, thing
which, who
shoot
search for
searching
this

52

gwáalks-a gwáanks-t gwáan-t-ga gáks-g-at gwán gwíl, gwin, gwíf, gwíf gwíldm ga'wáan-sga gwin, gwíf, gwíf, gwíl gwin níis-ga-t gwíf, gwíf, gwíl, gwin gyá'awin gyéeka gyet, gyét	160	shining, bright cook touch awaken you about, around prepare, make ready about, around show about, around now beach, down below people
gáayim, gáaym ga-'am-háv-sga	G	near voices ga- plural am- instrument haw speak swallow be ashamed (plural) have pity an unknown place hole tribes see tribe, village tribes only why forest, trees morning finish, be finished canoes ga- plural heart remember have pity be sad, broken hearted
gadzáafisg-at ga-dzóox-t ga-góod-u gagóont 'wah gagóont gága gal-dzíp-dzáp-ga galéelda galts'ap, galts'áp-s, galts'áp-t, galts'áp-ut gal-dzíp-dzáp-ga gam gan gángán ganfáak gawdi, gáwdi ga-xsóo goot-ga, goot-s, góosga, góotga, góotsga luk'á gagóot-sga ga-góod-u t'óoxfg-a goot-s góo, góo-f, goo-dit, góo-dit, góo-sga, góo-t góydi-k-a, góydi-k-t		go to come
háada háwsga háaytg-a, háaytg-at	H	be particular, be protective stand

habóol-sga hadzóoxda hakwdákt halagiyáxda haláayt háldm háldm báa-sga hana'ax, haná'ax, hana'ax-ga, haná'ax-ga, haná'ax-ga, haná'ax-ga-t, haná'ax-t, hasáag-ai, hasáag-at-ga, hasáag-n, hasáax-da, hasáax-s, hasáax-sga ha'tsáxfga hawáalt háháwsga háv-dit, háv-ga, háv-s, haw-sga, háv-sga, háv-t, háv-t-ga, háv-t-gasga háada háwsga hélda hi hidúut hoyásga hóy-t húu'pl	161	care for, keep be ashamed bow (archery) ridicule shaman up get up woman want in front of arrow voices, calling say, speak be particular, be protective many first famous wear use night
ksi ks'üü-t kwíi-t kwtáxsa kwtúunsga	K	out go out be hungry leave around, the space around
k'am k'inam-t k'ólda k'úülda k'wáatg-a, k'wáatg-at	K'	us give one one be lost
k'ap k'áf'adáa, k'afk'adáa, k'áf'adáa-t, k'atk'adáa, k'át'adáa, k'át'adáa-t, k'of-t, k'óf-t	K'	really, very sea loon go (plural)

L

lamdzax-t
lax'o
lax'w'ütüs
léefg-at, léefg-it-sga
libágayt
ligi
ligidiháw-t, ligidihaw-t-ga
ligitnáa, ligítnaa
líif-a, líif-da, líif-ksa, líif-t,
líif-t
liksgyéd-a, liksgyéd-m
likst'áa

likswuwan, likswuwán

lip
lipáayga
lógom
luk'á gagóot-sga
lukwfi

lu-wáay-dit

'11

fa, fa-t, fá-t
fa-wila, fá-wila, fá-wila-t
fguwaalksig-m, fguwáalksig-m,
fguwaalksik, fguwáalksik,
fguwaalksi-t, fguwáalksi-t-ga
fguwáalksig-m haná'ax
fgufga-t, fgúfga-t, fgufg-i, fgúfg-i,
fgúufg-it, fgúf-at-ga, fgufg-m,
fgúfg-m
fgwislíis-is, fgwislíisis
fgwislíis-u
fgwitxa'óo-sga, fgwitxa'óo-t,
fgwítxa'óo-t

Maxfakxáafa
mi
mootg-in-i, móotg-in-i

enter
top
platform
sleep
out of control
any
be overprotective
anyone

watch
different, strange
island

liks-	different
t'aa	sit

islands
liks- different
wan sit (plural)

own, self
fly (plural)
into
remember
under

paddle

'L

on

£

now
always

prince
princess

child

nephew

cousin

M

Metlakatla
you
be safe

N

na

naa, náa-f
nagóga
nagwad-a, nagwád-a, nagwát
nagyétg-iswa
naxnógm ts'u'u'ts
náks-a, náks-ga, náks-ga-t,
 náks-ga-t-ga, náks-m, náks-t,
 náks-t-ga
ndaa, ndáa, ndáa-f
n-ǵm
ndó'o
ni'nii
nibiip-t
nii, níi, níis-d-a, níis-dit,
 níis-dit, níis-ga, níi-t
nisagóotksit
nóoga, nóogansga, nóogisga
n-ts'áp-s

POSS: possessive determiner
head, indicating a
disjunct relationship
between possessor and
possessed

who
before (time)
father
parents
supernatural bird

husband, wife
since, when
I-will
Go on! Go ahead!
this
uncle

see
pay attention
sleep
tribe

n- = na (POSS)

'N

'nag-a, 'nág-a, 'nak-f, 'nák-f
'nák'núu, 'nax'núu-sga, 'nák'nuu-t-ga,
'nax'núuy-sga
'nii, 'níi, 'níi-sga, 'nii-t, 'níi-t,
'nii-t-ga, 'níi-t-ga

long time
hear
this

S

sa
saantg-at
sadibáay
sadziib-a, sadziip-t
sagáaw
sáks-n-t

suddenly
go aboard
finish
disappear
openly, in full view
clean
saks be clean
-n causative

sámi, sámi-sga, sámi-yu
sgáaw-dit
sg'üü-t
sgwaay
sga-fúu-dit-ga

flesh
refuse, reject
put
continue
care very much for
sga- across

sga-'nága-f	164	a while (time)
si		sga- across
síi'p-n-da, síi'p-n-t, sii'p-n-t-ga		'nak long time
		make
		love
		siip suffer
		-n causative
silá		companion, with
sil-nóok-sga		sleep with
sm		really, very
sm-gal, sm-gál, sm-gál-t		really, very
sm'óogit		chief
spagáyt		among
stúul-in, stúul-u		accompany
sup'ás-im, sup'ás-m		young
		su- new
		p'as grow
	T'	sit
t'áa-m, t'áa-sga, t'áa-t		who, the one who
t'in, t'ín		be sad, broken hearted
t'óoxfg-a goot-s		
	TS'	face
ts'ál-t		enter
ts'iin-s		sweet
ts'm'áatg-adi		although
ts'u'al, ts'u'ál		
ts'u'u'ts, ts'ú'u'ts, ts'ú'u'ts-a,		bird
ts'u'u'ts-it, ts'ú'u'ts-t		point (of land)
ts'uwaanxf, ts'uwaanxf		
	TX	facing, across from
txa		meet
txal-wáa-s, txal-wáa-sga		txal-
		waa come across, find
		increase
txal-yáa, txal-yáa-t		txal-
		yaa go, walk
txa-'nii, txá-'nii, txa-'nii-t,		
txa-'nii-sga		all, every
txa-náaw-sga		in front of, area in front of
	U	out
úks		

	165	
	W	
waal-dit, wáal-dit, waal-in, waal-s,		
wáal-s, wáal-sga, wáal-t, wáal-u,		do, happen, happen to
waa-n, wáa-n		be there
wu-wáal-sga		go (plural)
waalxs-t		an unknown place
'wah gagóon-t		well
wai, wái		house
wálp, wálp-s, wálp-t		cry out, shout
wi ámhaw-t-ga		weep
wi-háw-t-ga, wi-háw-t-ga-t		how, then, when, where
wil, wíl, wila, wilá, wilt		take away
wiláagwa-sga, wiláagwi-dit		know
wiláay, wiláay-da, wiláay-sga		great, large
wiléeksa		like (appear to be), seem
wudi		come to (plural)
wut-wáa-sga		waa come to, arrive
		be there
wu-wáal-sga		waal do
	'W	forbidden one
'wáafga-t		without, not
'wah		
	X	canoe
xsoo, xsóo-s, xsóo-sga, xsóo-t		sleep
xstóox-t		
	Y	do
yáagwa-t		leave, go
yáaka		go, walk
yáa-sga, yáa-t		there
yagái		return
yél-t-ga, yél-t-ga-t		hide
y'üü-t		
	'Y	down
'yága		animal
'yé'tsisk		man
'yuuta, 'yúuta		