Kayám: an early St'át'ímcets text
(practical orthography version)

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This paper presents a reconstruction in the Van Eijk practical orthography of Hill-Tout's (1905) original phonetic transcription of Kayám, the earliest St'át'ímcets (Lillooet Salish) text of any length to be recorded in written form. This version is intended particularly for St'át'ímcets speakers; a fuller version in standard Americanist phonemic alphabet, with detailed notes and commentary, appears in Anthropological Linguistics 43(3).

1. Introduction

In recent years, the extensive linguistic output of the ethnologist Charles Hill-Tout has been undergoing reevaluation by contemporary scholars of the Salish languages which he documented. In particular, Timothy Montler's (1996) reconstruction of a lengthy Songish (Northern Straits Salish) text showed that in spite of Hill-Tout's notoriously erratic phonetic transcriptions, much of the material that he recorded is eminently recoverable by linguists familiar with the languages he worked on. Since early textual material is scarcely available for many Salish languages, Hill-Tout's work - hitherto frequently dismissed as unusable - has the potential to provide Salishan linguistics with a very valuable textual corpus, which in the case of many languages predates all other available linguistic material.

The present article - following in Montler's footsteps - is a reconstruction of Hill-Tout's original transcription of a fairly lengthy myth in St'át'ímcets (Lillooet), one of the three languages of the Northern Interior subdivision of the Salish family. This myth (sptakwlh), known as Kayám, was recorded around 1904-5, first published in Hill-Tout (1905), and subsequently reprinted (in an abridged version omitting the original St'át'ímcets) in Maxil (1978). It is of considerable significance, since it is by far the earliest St'át'ímcets text of any length to be recorded and transcribed. (James Teit, who reported on the St'át'ímc around the same time (Teit 1906), unfortunately failed to record any sizable linguistic samples.)

The current version is a complete reconstruction of Hill-Tout's original phonetic transcription in the Van Eijk Practical Orthography which has now been adopted throughout St'át'ímcets territory. As such, this version is aimed primarily at speakers, teachers, and learners of St'át'ímcets (though it must be remarked that the lurid nature of the subject matter makes it highly unsuitable for a school curriculum). Another version, in standard Americanist Phonemic alphabet, is to appear in Anthropological Linguistics 43(3). The latter version,
aimed at a scholarly audience, includes a detailed commentary on linguistic aspects of the text and more extensive endnotes.

In deciphering the original, I have relied on my own knowledge of St'át'ímcets as well as published and unpublished linguistic material on the language collected from the 1970's on by Bouchard (n.d.) and particularly van Eijk (van Eijk 1986, 1997, van Eijk and Williams 1981). The reconstructed text has been read back to two native speakers of St'át'ímcets, who have further refined the analysis presented here.

2. The story

Hill-Tout recorded Kayám from his chief St'át'ímc consultant, “Captain Paul”. Captain Paul was from Port Douglas (Xáxtsa7), at the southern extremity of Lower St'át'ímc territory, and is likely to have been influenced by (Upriver) Halkomelem, whose territory lies immediately to the south and which prior to the gold rushes of the 1860’s extended north past the head of Harrison Lake and included Port Douglas. Hill-Tout himself notes Captain Paul’s “affiliation to both Halkomelem and Lillooet divisions” and “his personal knowledge of both tongues” (Maud 1978: 101). In addition, Captain Paul evidently had relatives from Yale, well to the east of Port Douglas on the border of Halkomelem and nteʔképmx (Thompson) territories, which suggests he might also have been familiar with the language and traditions of the nteʔképmx.

In this light, it is significant that Hill-Tout had previously recorded another version of the same story from the Chehalis branch of Upriver Halkomelem, and Teit later published still another from the nteʔképmx. It seems clear that the story of Kayám was widely diffused in and around the Upper Fraser Valley region, an important transition zone between coastal and interior Salish cultures. In fact, it is possible that Kayám may not have been an indigenous St'át'ímc sptakwlh at all, but was actually borrowed from either Halkomelem or nteʔképmxčín, or both. The fact that Kayám was not known to the Lower St'át'ímc story tellers who worked with Randy Bouchard in the 60's and 70's (Maud 1978: 17, note 14) may be significant in this respect.

Certainly, as far as James Teit was concerned, Captain Paul’s mixed provenance made him a very poor authority on St'át'ímc language and culture:

Since Captain Paul, the informant of Mr. Hill-Tout, was of mixed descent, belonging partly to the Fraser River Delta, partly to the Lillooet, it seems probable that much of the information that he gave was characteristic of the mixed families of Douglas. This would be similar to the conditions prevailing among the Lower Thompson Indians, and described by Mr. Teit (Publications of the Jesup N.P. Expedition, Vol. 1. p.389). For this reason, Douglas is as little a favorable place to obtain information among the Lillooet as the villages at the foot of Harrison Lake are a favorable place for collecting information of the typical tribes of Fraser River Delta. [Teit 1906: 292]

Teit’s criticism of Hill-Tout appeared a year after Hill-Tout’s Report. However, Hill-Tout seems to have been aware that doubt would be cast on the authenticity of his St'át'ímcets material, as evidenced by the following passage:
The story is not a new one, but the StlalumH version differs in many interesting particulars from that I collected from the StsEélís. It also rightly belongs here, being a StlalumH myth. [Hill-Tout 1905: 185]

Hill-Tout also takes pains to defend the purity of his linguistic material:

My grammatical data have all been drawn from the Middle Stlalumh, from the Liluetol or Liloet proper. I consider this the purest form of the Lilooet speech. [Hill-Tout 1905: 158]

Many Upper Stát'ímc speakers would of course take issue with the latter claim, which is rather typical of Hill-Tout’s late Victorian tendency to assess languages, cultures, and races according to some arbitrary standard of “purity”. (It may also possibly be an indirect jab at Teit, who worked primarily with Interior Salish peoples, including the Upper Stát’ímc.) However, it is worth pointing out that Hill-Tout is by no means alone in his obsession with ethnological authenticity: the same concerns inform many of his contemporaries, including Teit. Moreover, dubious though his ethnological claims may be, Hill-Tout’s confidence in his linguistic material turns out to be fully justified by comparison with modern Stát’ímcets. In particular, there is no trace of Halkomelem admixture in either the grammar or the lexicon of Captain Paul’s Stát’ímcets, which is, exactly as Hill-Tout claims, identifiably from the Lower or lil’wat7 ál dialect. So while contemporary opinion usually rates Teit as a pioneer of modern ethnological research and Hill-Tout as a bumbling Victorian amateur, in this particular debate, Hill-Tout clearly emerges as the winner.

3 The text

Kayám is part of a collection of eight Stát’ímcets texts that Hill-Tout included in his 1905 Report. It is the only text with the original Stát’ímcets fully transcribed, and in addition it has an interlinear gloss, which though not always entirely accurate, furnishes valuable clues to Hill-Tout’s (sometimes mystifying) phonetic transcription.

The chief problems in reconstruction concern Hill-Tout’s inability to distinguish between uvular and velar plain stops, ejectives, fricatives, and resonants. Since these distinctions carry a very high functional load in

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1 In fact, Hill-Tout did recognize the existence of ejectives, but he thought they were clicks: he identifies a [k] as “a strongly palatalized or ‘clicked’ k”. Hill-Tout’s phonetic deficiencies are all the more surprising since he carried out work with eleven
St'át'imcets, as in Salish generally, the results can be confusing. To give an idea of the variability of Hill-Tout's transcription practices, I give a chart of consonant and vowel correspondences in Appendix III, together with Hill-Tout's own explanation of his transcription system.

In spite of these phonetic problems - and the occasional typographical error - I have been able to reconstruct nearly all of the original text with some confidence. This testifies to the close correspondence between contemporary St'át'imcets and the language as spoken a century ago, an issue to which we now turn.

4 Narrative structure
I confine myself here to brief comments on the narrative structure of Kaydn; for more extensive discussion, including its status as "literature", see Maud (1978).

Perhaps the most striking aspect of narrative structure in Kaydn is the distortion of temporal structure evident throughout the text. At some points years flash past in a single line, while at others the narrative seems almost suspended in time. The overall effect is dream-like, or perhaps more accurately cinematic, with sudden shifts of spatio-temporal location and orientation.

However, it turns out that the episodic structure of Kaydn is anything but random. A closer look shows us that it is structured rigidly around the number four. This is the "pattern number" for St'át'imcets, as evidenced by its use in various ritual and narrative contexts. One reliable diagnostic for the pattern number in Salish is the number of times that the trickster character Coyote must be jumped over to revivify him on the frequent occasion of his death. In St'át'imcets, this is always four, as exemplified in (amongst many other places) the narrative of Coyote and Chickadee told by Bill Edwards (van Eijk and Williams 1981) and in the story of The Copper Hoop as recounted by different Salish languages and dialects over the course of more than ten years of primary fieldwork.

There are other phonetic problems in the original transcription which are not quite as serious from the point of view of intelligibility. These include an almost complete failure to distinguish between glottalized and non-glottalized resonants, and an apparent ignorance of the existence of a phonemic glottal stop. Hill-Tout also had problems with vowels - though here perhaps his confusion is more forgivable, particularly in light of modern debates concerning the number of underlying vowels in Salish. In particular, he could not distinguish between excrescent and phonemic schwa, nor did he understand the pervasive Salish process of vowel retraction in the vicinity of uvular consonants (not surprisingly, since he could not distinguish uvulars from velars). This led him to posit many more vowels than are actually present in St'át'imcets, an error compounded by his mistaken assumption that vowel length is phonemic. Paradoxically, all this is useful for the modern Salishanist in that it gives a rather accurate picture of the phonetic (as opposed to phonemic) values of the vowels in question. It is less easy to be charitable about Hill-Tout's treatment of stress, which does not correspond in any systematic fashion to the modern St'át'imcets stress system, and is thus unfortunately useless in aiding the task of reconstructing the text. For the most part, I have been obliged to ignore the original stress marks in the reconstruction.
Charlie Mack Seymour (Bouchard and Kennedy 1977). Kayám provides further striking evidence for the significance of the number four in St’àt’imcets. To start with there are four episodes in the narrative: Kayám’s creation of her grandchildren; her staged death and resurrection as a man, culminating in her incestuous affair with both sisters, her death by tickling and reburial in the lake; the girls’ departure and kidnapping of a baby, their pursuit by the child’s grandparents, and the creation of a replacement “diaper-child” by his mother; and the final episode in which the brothers meet, the two girls and their ill-begotten children are changed into animals, and the brothers return finally to their mother’s house. Within this episodic structure, there are further temporal groupings of four. In the second episode, for example, Kayám announces her death in four days; after she dies, the rest of the action - including the whole of the second and third episodes, up to the creation of the diaper baby - occupies exactly four more days. The final episode - which begins years after the end of the third - occupies a further four days.

Thus to a considerable extent, the hallucinatory expansion and contraction of time which characterizes Kayám is the result not of random fluctuation but of a tightly controlled numerical structure. There is much more to be said to be here, including the use of rhetorical devices for slowing and speeding the narrative, and the interesting use of parallel narrative structure in the third and fourth episodes of the story, where one half of the narrative is “suspended” while the other half catches up. These devices merit more study, but are beyond the scope of the present discussion.

5 Presentation of the text

I have divided the narrative into four episodes, for reasons given in section 4 above. The text is given in 158 lines, following Hill-Tout’s own sentence divisions except in two circumstances. The first circumstance is where Hill-Tout’s original punctuation reflects an obvious misanalysis, as for example in line 77, where a period is inserted between the predicate tsukw ‘to finish’ and its complement clause, or in line 80, where part of the narrative is mistakenly included in the speech of one of the characters. The second circumstance is where direct speech is reported: here I have inserted line breaks at the beginning of each speech. It is by no means clear that Hill-Tout’s original punctuation is any more accurate than his phonetic transcription, and sometimes it appears definitely arbitrary (for example, with respect to clauses introduced by the linking combination nilh t’a7, which are sometimes treated as part of the same sentence as the preceding clause, and sometimes treated as separate sentences); however, in the absence of any other clues as to the original line breaks, I have stuck to the original transcription except where it is obviously mistaken.

3 In the Northern Plateau cultural area, both four and five have been attested as pattern numbers: their distribution roughly follows a southwest to northeast cline, with the number five dominant in Chinookan and Sahaptian as well as in Moses Columbia Salish and the immediately adjacent (Sans Poil and Nespelem) dialects of Okanagan, and the number four dominant in the rest of Interior Salish. (Dale Kinkade and Bill Seaburg: personal communication 2000.)
Each entry in the text consists of four lines. The first line is a facsimile of the original Hill-Tout transcription, including his word-divisions and punctuation.

The second line is a retranscription in the van Eijk practical orthography. A key to the orthography is given in Appendix II. Since it is precisely equivalent to a broad phonemic transcription - which is all that is reliably recoverable from the original Hill-Tout transcription - the van Eijk orthography is more than adequate to the task at hand, and has the additional advantage of making the text accessible to contemporary readers of Stát'mcuets. However, word divisions in the orthographic line do not necessarily reflect morphophonology accurately or consistently. For example, proclitic determiners are written as separate words, while the existential ‘reinforcing’ enclitic which co-occurs with most of them is written as part of the word to which it attaches. Sections in brackets [...] indicate uninterpretable or uncertain transcriptions; sections in curly brackets {...} indicate interpolated material, including punctuation. I have only interpolated material which I am reasonably certain has been omitted through transcription error, for example where a determiner is absent in an environment where it is normally obligatory and an accompanying existential enclitic is present.

The third line is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of the second. For a list of abbreviations, see Appendix I. Where a gloss is given in parentheses (...) it indicates that two morphemes are not easily linearly separable, as in the case of portmanteau forms (for example, where a transitivizer is fused with the root), phonologically modified forms (where a morpheme has been reduced or deleted), or non-concatenative morphological operations (reduplication and infixation). In the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss affix boundaries are marked by a dash (-), and clitic boundaries are marked by an equals sign (=).

The fourth line is an English translation (in italics). I have abandoned Hill-Tout’s “stately Victorian prose” (the description is Ralph Maud’s) in favour of a more direct translation which I think does greater justice to the peculiarly vivid and dream-like quality of the narrative, with its odd mixture of the bizarre and the prosaic, and hallucinatory compression and expansion of time.

The text follows immediately below.

**EPISODE I**

1. Kaiyám wá čecitkEn, né-tlōs wálc,
   Kayám wa7 s7istken, nilh t'u7 swa7s,
   Kayám PROG STAT-pit.house FOC=so NOM=PROG=3POSS
   Ec-tcf̓uQ kw̓c Kaiyám.
   estšícw kws Kayám.
   STAT-house DET=NOM=Kayám

   **Kayám had a pit-house, and that was where she lived, she had a house.**

2. Rap aitl, né-tlōs ro-ite, né-tlōs
   Gap aylh, nilh t'u7 sguyt.s, nilh t'u7
   evening then FOC=so NOM=sleep=3POSS FOC=so
One night she went to sleep and dreamed that she went down to the water.

When it was morning, she woke up, got up, walked towards the water, got to the water, and sat down on the bank.

She did as in her dream, and then she saw a fish, a female with eggs.
Then she recalled her dream.

So she took her knife, and gutted the fish; then she took the long roe, and washed it, and changed it into a child; and then she told it to cry.

Then she taught it to speak:

"Say: 'My grandmother.'"
Then the child said "My grandmother."

Then she took the short roe, washed it, and it became a child.

Then she picked it up; her thoughts were very happy.

Then she stood up, holding her grandchildren in both arms.
Then she went to her house and laid them down; her heart was content.

Then she looked after them well.

**EPISODE II**

Kayam’s grandchildren grew up.

Then she became sick, so she spoke to her grandchildren:
When I die, bring me my red paint, my black paint, my stone hammer, my wedge, my spear, my paddle, my canoe, my cedar bark basket, and my fisher skin head dress.
Elt-näctamkÉlEp
lnhastum’cká1’ap
then=go[CAUS]-1SG.OBJ=2PL.SUBJ

fi stciáIkca ;
q’ócIn kEl
then=CAUS-1SG

ti stsińqsa;
xw7útsin kElh
DET=NOM-point.of.land=EXIS four=FUT

eská’ nè-tlōs
nE-zōk.
[es]q’it nilh t’u7
FOC=so NOM=1SG.POSS=die

When I die, take me over there to that point; four days will pass, and then I will die.”

19 QÉócIn náć-kut
nè-tlōs
zōk’uEc.
Xw7utsinásq’et, nilh t’u7
FOC=so NOM=die=3POSS
szuqws.
four-day

Four days passed, and then she died.

20 Nè-tlōs
kwánEm
Nilh t’u7
FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-PASS
skwáNem

ë umématscă
i
em7imatssa,
PL.DET=grandchild(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

nè-tlōs
’ntłmanEm
nilh t’u7
FOC=so NOM=put.in-DIR-PASS
snhlam’änem

En tē
k’lázca,
Nè-tlō aitl
nti
t’lász’än,
nilh t’u7
in=DET=canoe-3POSS=EXIS

náctam
Éfi
gatıménáca.
nástum’
éti
xat’mínsa.
go-(CAUS)-PASS

Then she was taken by her grandchildren, put in her canoe, and then brought to where she had wanted.

21 Nè-tlō
aitl
tcëuks-tom
Nilh t’u7
FOC=so then went-CAUS-PASS
aylh
tsícwstum’
Then her grandchildren brought all her belongings.

Then they were all placed in Kayám’s canoe.

When they had finished putting them in, her grandchildren left her behind.

Anyhow, it was a warm day; so they went home.
They went home to their house, their pithouse.

So then they wept, and then they slept.

When it was morning, they got up; the sun came up and it got warm, so the older one went outside.
Sk'umpa, nē-tlōs kane'mEč
sqēmpa, nilh t'u7 sqan'ıms
NOM-hot-INC=EXIS FOC=so NOM=hear=3POSS

kwāwEau, nē-tlōs kala'nEč
kwa we7áw, nilh t'u7 sk'al'án's,
DET=PROG shout FOC=so NOM=listen=3POSS

Nē-tlōs kane'mEč, nē-tlas kō
nilh t'u7 sqan'ıms, nilhas ku7
FOC=so NOM=hear=3POSS FOC=3CONJ=QUOT

Te kwōkwaca wanHEnhEm.
ti kūkwa7sa wa7 naheném.
DET=grandmother-3POSS=EXIS PROG name-DIR-PASS

She got outside and then she sat down, since it was warm out there, and then she heard someone shouting, so she listened, and then she heard; it was as though her grandmother was calling her.

Nē-tlō aitl skwáInEč
Nilh t'u7 aylh sqwā'nas
FOC=so then tell-DIR-3TRNS

Te cickwōza:
ti sésq'wez'a:
DET=younger.sibling(REDUP)=EXIS

So then she (Kayám) asked the younger sister:

"Ti Qōnaug-ha-tlo zōk. Skā'yam?"
"Ti7 wenācw ha t'u7 {s}zuqw sKayám?"
that true=YNQ=so {NOM=}die=3POSS NOM=Kayám

"Is it really true that Kayám is dead?"

"Qōnaug-tlō zōk."
"Wenācw t'u7 zuqw. true=so die"

"It's true, she's dead."

"Qōnaug-tlō zōk sEľtukc."
Wenācw t'u7 zuqw, s7al'qs.
true=so die NOM-dear.person

"She's dead, dear sir."
So then she (Kayam) got out of the canoe, hauled it up, and came up
to the house, and then the woman went inside, took a mat and laid it out.

Having arrived, (Kayám) went into the s7ístken and sat down on the
mat.
Then the older sister took the water basket, and went for water, and then she sent (the younger one) on an errand; she told her:

"Nac kwám kw'c p'ámic Ekő-álsEká."
"Nas kwam ku sp'ams áku7 álts'q7a."

"Go get some firewood outside."

Ne-tlós Nilh t'u7 st'qasas,
FOC=so NOM=arrive-CAUS-3TRNS

She came back, carrying the firewood.

Her older sister said to her:

"P'amcEm atl! kaowókmatl!"
"P'amsem [m]alh! [K'ao7qw] malh!"

"Build a fire! Put the cooking rock on!"

Në-tlō aitl kwánac té skílamqá
Nilh t'u7 ayih kwánas ti skel7ámca
FOC=so then take(DIR)-3TRNS DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS

té nökwa'tEna, në-tlós 'ntlákwánac,
ti [néqwaten]a, nilh t'u7 sn'ták'wan'as,
DET=[warm-?-INST]=EXIS FOC=so NOM=LOC-pour-DIR-3TRNS
The older one took the cooking basket and poured in (the soup), and boiled it.

Presently, it was ready.

She took it, placed it before the man (Kayám), and he ate the soup.

He couldn't chew the roots; they were hidden when he spat them out.

The older one took the cooking basket and poured in (the soup), and boiled it.

Presently, it was ready.

She took it, placed it before the man (Kayám), and he ate the soup.

He couldn't chew the roots; they were hidden when he spat them out.
The man finished eating and stood up, so (the roots) dropped; and then he went outside.

The younger one saw the roots; so then she said:

"Why didn't he eat the roots?"

Then the older one said:

"(I don't know) why."
The man had a fisher-skin bound around his head, his face was marked with red paint and also with black paint.

He had a headress tied round his head, the man who came to the young women.

Evening came.
Then they lay down and took him as their husband, the older one lying on the right side of the man, the younger one lying on his left side.

Then he turned to face his older wife.

Then he hugged her, and then he had sex with his wife.
He finished with his older wife, and then he turned to the younger wife and had sex with her.

When they had finished, they lay breast upwards and they slept.

Morning came, they got up, and then they went outside, all of them, and got outside.

Then the man went far away.
Then the youngest one spoke; she said to her older sister:

"Pūpaú-tlkăn."
"Fewpawiwlkan."
swollen(REDUP)=1SG.SUBJ

"I am all swollen."

"KʾailEm-tlkăn-tlō tilet, pūpaú-tlkăn-tlō tilet;"
"Xilemlhkan t’u7 t’it, pewpawiwlkan t’u7 t’it;"
do-MID=1SG.SUBJ=so also swollen(REDUP)=1SG.SUBJ=so also
tcūt aitl tē skłamqa ;
tsut ayih ti skel7ămca.
say then DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS

"I am the same, I am all swollen too," said the older.

"Etl-rápEc kitl móta cētict"
"[E]lhgapas kelh múta7 sit.st
when=evening=3CONJ=FUT and night
hōz-n’kúk’EzanEkEnEm,
huz’ nq’eq’zán’kenem,
going.to tickle(REDUP)-DIR-PASS(1PL.SUBJ)
nē tlōs zwotnEm kitl."
nilh t’u7 zwatenêm kelh."
FOC=so NOM=know-DIR-PASS/1PL.SUBJ=FUT

“When it’s night again, we’ll tickle him a bit and then we’ll find out.”

"Nētl tcūwača Ecmūcitc"
"Nilh t.swā7sa esmēsts
FOC DET=NOM=be=3POSS=EXIS STAT-close-mouth

tlō-āic-nEk’uk’zánEk,"
tcūt aitl
t’u7 [ayih] [s]neqz’ān’k,”
tsut ayih
so [then] [NOM=]LOC-tickle(REDUP)-belly say then
tcE līlina.
t{ī} s7alēlen7a.
DET=NOM-youngest(REDUP)=EXIS

“He kept his mouth closed, so he’ll get tickled,” said the youngest.
Then the older one said:

"Ama."
"Ama."
good

"Good."

It was evening, so then he lay down; then they tickled him.

He was tickled with his mouth closed, he was tickled again, and then he opened his mouth wide and said:

"Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!"
"Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!"
ha ha ha

"Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!"
"Lay off me, it's me, your old grandmother."

71 "Qoaz kwac k'Enkan; Qoaz
"Cw7aoz kwas kenkán; cw7aoz
NEG DET=PROG=3POSS how.much NEG

k'wac tcük-ustómena;" kwas {ka-}tsukwstúmima;" DET=PROG=3POSS {OOC=}finish-CAUS-PASS/1PL.SUBJ=OOC

tcük aitl tcE skíllamqa.
tsut ayih t{i} skel7ámca.
say then DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS

"No way; we can't lay off you," said the elder.

72 Zók aitl Skáiynam.
Zuqw ayih skYám.
die then NOM=Kayám

Then Kayám died.

73 P'cíl aitl, kwánac aitl
Psil' ayih, kwánaš aiyih
early.morning then take(DIR)-3TRNS then

skíllamqa k'tlalíqEn,
{ti} skel7ámca {ku} q'alh7ál'cEn,
{DET=}NOM-first-person=EXIS {DET=}braid-tube

ážemEn-étac Eck'wúmk'wum
nzanemnítas esqwémqwem,
LOC-round-DIR-3PL.TRNS STAT-pile(REDUP)
né-tlō aitl úkEn-étac,
nilh t'u7 ayih teqenítas,
FOC=so then touch-DIR-3PL.TRNS lift-DIR-3PL.TRNS

mátku 'n tcélEm
matq nts'item'[...]
wakd LOC-towards

When it was morning the older one took some rope and they tied her up with her knees drawn up, and then they took her, lifted her up, walked towards (the water).
te k'łączca
ti t'łaoz'sa,
DET=canoe-3POSS=EXIS

TI

Then they got there, and then they put her in her canoe, which was called “Tsim’a”.

Then they took her far from the shore, paddling, and when they arrived far out they took her and put her under the water, and then she sank, and bubbles appeared; presently the water became still, and it was sunny.

EPISODE III
They went home, they arrived at their pithouse, and they got ready for a journey.

When they were ready they went out, and walked towards Nk'em'qfn ("Head of the Lake") Creek.
They arrived where there was a house, and went inside; there was a child there, a baby, and an old woman; the old woman was blind.

The baby was crying.

Then the maiden spoke, the older one; she told the old woman:

"You should bathe it!"

"I can't do it."

"Alright, we'll bathe it, then it will sleep."

"Ama."
The older one stood up, took it, laid its head down, and then put it on her lap and sat it up.

"Good."

85 Tē skīłamqa nē-tlōs tātEliHs,
Ti skel7ámca nilh ṭu'7 stálhlecs,
DET=NOM-first-person=DET FOC=so NOM=stand-AUT=3POSS

nē-tlōs ūkEnac k'ilkwānac,
ilh ṭu'7 steqenás, q'īl'qwān'as,
FOC=so NOM=touch-DIR-3TRNS put-head-DIR-3TRNS

nē-tlōs kēanāc,
ilh ṭu'7 sk'henas,
FOC=so NOM=put.on.lap-DIR-3TRNS

nē-tlōs métcakEc.
ilh ṭu'7 smītsqasas.
FOC=so NOM=sit-CAUS-3TRNS

The older one stood up, took it, laid its head down, and then put it on her lap and sat it up.

86 Nē-tlōs kwānac tē koā,
Nilh ṭu'7 skwānas ti qō7a,
FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS DET=water=DET

nē-tlōs 'nklaúkwānac,
ilh ṭu'7 n'tāk'wan'as,
FOC=so LOC-NOM-pour-DIR-3TRNS

nē-tlōs kēp'enEs tē k'umpāl'tca,
ilh ṭu'7 sk'fūp'īn'as ti qempāl'tsa,
FOC=so NOM=tong-DIR-3TRNS DET=hot-INC-stone=EXIS

nē-tlōs čēipEnac,
ilh ṭu'7 stsi̓p̓̄n̓̄as;
FOC=so NOM=heat-DIR-3TRNS

nē-tlōs kwānac tē kūtla,
ilh ṭu'7 skwānas ti k'ēt'ha,
FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS DET=rock=EXIS

nē-tlōs kn̓̑Enac tē kūtla,
ilh ṭu'7 skelhenás ti k'ēt'ha,
FOC=so NOM=take.out-DIR-3TRNS DET=rock=EXIS

etl-caùQEnac  aitl.
elh sācwenas aylh.
then=bathe-DIR-3TRNS then
Then she took the water, poured it, and then she took a hot stone in the tongs, and heated it; then she took out the stone and put it down, and bathed (the child).

Then she told her younger sister:

"Nac kwam kō zōkwóz."
"Nas kwam ku zu7q'wáoz'."

"Go and get some rotten wood."

So she went to get a piece of rotten wood.

She brought a rotten log back soon afterwards.

Then she (the older sister) handed the baby to her younger sister.
Then she (the younger sister) hurried off.

The older sister laid (the wood) down (in the cradle).

Having finished, she hung the cradle up, gave the old woman the string, and told her:

"Don't you move him, he's already sleeping."
Then she went out in a hurry, met her younger sister, and took the baby, a boy.

Then they travelled far, and when they were a long, long way away, they built a house, and lived there.
Then they thought about what kind of medicine would make him (the child) grow fast, and then they took the medicine and bathed him in it, so he grew quickly; by and by he was an adult, and then he used to go hunting.

By then the two women were far away, and the baby hadn’t cried for a long time.

It was evening now, so the old woman stood up and felt around, but there was only a rotten log.

So then she yelled at her husband:

So they thought about what kind of medicine would make him (the child) grow fast, and then they took the medicine and bathed him in it, so he grew quickly; by and by he was an adult, and then he used to go hunting.

By then the two women were far away, and the baby hadn’t cried for a long time.

It was evening now, so the old woman stood up and felt around, but there was only a rotten log.

So then she yelled at her husband:
Kwaskwaset listened, but he couldn’t make out what the yelling was about, so he pulled out a hair from his leg, put into his mouth and chewed it, and then spat it out into the rapids.

Then it (the sound of the water) stopped, and he listened again to what he had heard his wife saying before; by and by he heard it, and then he knew (what had happened).
So then off he ran, got to his house, and was told by his wife:

"Our grandchild has been changed into a log."

Then Kwáskwaset said to his wife:

"Why didn't you look after our grandchild properly?"
Go ahead and put me on your back!

So he put her on his back and off they went; they got outside; and then the woman sang:

"Ríma, ríma, ríma, nèmeatec."

"Gíma, gíma, gíma, gíma, n'ímatec."

shorten shorten shorten 1SG.POSS-grandchild

"Shorten, shorten, shorten, my grandchild."

Then the path grew shorter, and they heard their grandchild crying nearby.

"Hóimatl-záqEntcómêH."

"Huy' malh zácensumec."

"Go ahead and put me on your back!"
So then he put down his wife, and he ran over to where the crying was.

He almost got there, but then it receded into the distance again, and the crying came to him from far away.

Now Kwaskwaset was angry; he went back for his wife, and then he took her and jammed her nose (into a log).

When he had finished jamming his wife's nose, he told her:
"From now on you will grow as a plant, and your name will be 'ts'ekwa7' amongst the people; they will call you 'ts'ekwa7', and they will eat you."

"Then Kwaskwaset set off home, got to his house, and stayed there."

"Then his daughter arrived, so he told her:"
"Your son has been stolen by two women."

"Well, where's his baby basket?"

"Over there."

"Good."

Then she took it and laid it down, and then she took the water-basket, and went to draw water.

"Where's the heating stone?"
126 “Unto-.”
“Nt7u.”
over.there

“Over there.”

127 “Nká-tō nē-’ncaúQEmic”?
“Nka7 tu7 ni nsácw{men}s{a}?”
where=CMPL ABS.DET=LOC-bathe{-INST}-3POSS(=EXIS)

“Where’s his wash tub?”

128 “Unto-.”
“Nt7u.”
over.there

“Over there.”

129 “Nká-tō nē-kwisqána”?
“Nka7 tu7 ni k’wescfn’a?”
where=CMPL ABS.DET=tongs=EXIS

“Where are the tongs?”

130 “Unto-.”
“Nt7u.”
over.there

“Over there.”

131 ‘Nlāukwānac aitl tē ’ncaúQEminca;
Nit’ákw’an’as aylḥ ti nsácwmensa;
LOC-pour-DIR-3TRNS then DET=LOC-bathe-INST-3POSS=EXIS
nē-tlōs tūkEnac tē kwisqána,
nihl t’u7 steqenās ti k’wescfn’a,
FOC so NOM=touch-DIR-3TRNS DET=tongs=EXIS
k’ēpenac tē k’umpálitca, nē-tlōs
k’ip’in’as ti qempáltsa, nihl t’u7
squeeze-DIR-3TRNS DET=hot-INC-rock=EXIS FOC=so
potlōnac tē ’ncaúQEninca;
spūlyn’as ti nsácwmensa;
NOM=boil-DIR-3TRNS DET=LOC-bathe-INST-3POSS=EXIS
kwánac aitl EntcāktEnca,
kwánas aylh {ti} ntsákwtensa;
take(DIR)-3TRNS then {DET=}LOC-spread-INST-3POSS=EXIS
Then she poured water into the wash tub, took the tongs, grabbed the hot rock, and boiled the water in his wash tub; next she took the wash cloth, dipped it in the water, and wrung it out, and then it dripped, and then it cried, and then she picked up a child, and washed the little boy; then she laid him down and hung him up (in the cradle), and cared for him well.

Then she grew to adulthood.

So then he grew to adulthood.
EPISODE IV

Well, so then he decided to go hunting; he went off hunting; and he came home.

In the morning, he went hunting again; he saw him again, and came home; Q’emsálh was his name.

Then he told his mother:

“I met him again.”

"O n’ckózə nauk’-ménEm-tō
  "O nskózə7, naq’wminém tu7
  oh 1SG.POSS-NOM-offspring steal-RED-PASS=CMPL
  Enán’wic
  n7án’was
  ABS.DET=older.brother-2SG.POSS=EXIS two.human

 NOM-women(REDUP) ABS.DET=steal-RED-TOP=EXIS=CMPL
"Oh my son, your older brother was stolen away, it was two women who stole your older brother, your older brother who has a birthmark; his birthmark is on his cheek."

The next morning, he set off hunting again, and searched for him; he heard a woodpecker calling, and he went towards it; then he came upon him; then they sat down, and Q'emsálh spoke.
So then he told him:

"You must be my older brother, it is said that an older brother of mine was stolen away.

It is said that two people stole him; over yonder is where they took him."

"It's true, that's me.

snúwa kľE-kauq tlo snúwa, t'iqkacw ets7a natcw, nih kelh t'u7 you come=2SG.SUBJ to=here tomorrow FOC=FUT=so
Go home, and come again tomorrow; I'm going home, I'll come here again at noon tomorrow; you come here tomorrow and I'll go with you."

Then one went home, and then the other.

They went home.

So the youngest went to his house, he set off home, he arrived at his house, and he told his mother:
It's true, it was your son that I saw, he told me to go again tomorrow.

They lay down but they couldn't get to sleep.
The next morning, he got up, and he got ready, and when he had finished getting ready, he set off, and arrived at the place where they had been the previous day; then he looked over yonder and saw smoke, so he sat down there and waited.
So then he went out to fix some pitch wood; presently, he found some pitch wood, took it home, and split it into pieces; and when he had finished splitting it, he took it inside and dried it; and when he had finished doing that, he lay down, but he didn't sleep.

He got up early the next morning, took his older wife, threw her on the ground, and then she walked off, changed into a grizzly bear.
He did the same with his younger wife, but this time he changed her into a black bear.

When he had finished dealing thus with his wives, he took his children, and blew upon them, for they had become birds.

When he had finished dealing thus with his children, he took the pitch-wood and burnt it.
En-tcuíwáca
nt.swá7sa
at=DET=NOM=PROG=3POSS=EXIS
tè cickwózcá.
ti sésq’wez’sa.
DET=younger.sibling(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

Then he came to where his younger brother was.

157 Pónac tè cickwózcá.
Púnas ti sésq’wez’sa.
find(DIR)=3TRNS DET=younger.sibling(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

He found his younger brother.

158 ÒqwEl-wét aitl ; tcéeq-wét
Úxwal’wit ‘aylh; tsícwéwit
home=3PL.INTR then get.there=3PL.INTR
tè tcÍuíq-éha, nè-tlōs
ti tsícwéha, nilh t’u7
DET=house-3PL.POSS=EXIS FOC=so

wá-é En tì tcÍuíq-éha.
wá7i ti tsícwéha.
NOM=PROG=3PL.POSS at=DET=house-3PL.POSS=EXIS

They went home, got to their house, and then stayed in their house.

Appendix I

This appendix contains all abbreviations employed in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, together with equivalent terms from van Eijk (1997), who does not give morpheme-by-morpheme glosses for his examples. For the most part, the abbreviations here follow van Eijk’s analyses, though following Davis (1999a), I treat the following elements as clitics rather than affixes: first and second person indicative subject pronouns; all conjunctive and possessive subject pronouns; and the nominalizer, when used to introduce clausal complements as opposed to nominals.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>abbr.</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>van Eijk (1997)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS.DET</td>
<td>absent determiner</td>
<td>'absent, known, singular article'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>active intransitivizer</td>
<td>'xal-intransitivizer'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADHORT</td>
<td>adhortative enclitic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPAR</td>
<td>modal enclitic ('apparently')</td>
<td>'possibility, surmise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUT</td>
<td>autonomous intransitivizer</td>
<td>'body (lexical suffix)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative intransitivizer</td>
<td>'s-transitivizer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>completive enclitic</td>
<td>'definite past'</td>
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<tr>
<td>CON</td>
<td>connective</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunctive subject enclitic</td>
<td>'subjunctive subject suffix'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>(present, unmarked) determiner</td>
<td>'present, known, singular article'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directive (control) intransitivizer</td>
<td>'n-transitivizer'</td>
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<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td></td>
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<td>EXIS</td>
<td>existential enclitic</td>
<td>'reinforcement'</td>
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<td>FOC</td>
<td>focus predicate</td>
<td>'anticipatory pronoun'</td>
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<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future enclitic</td>
<td>'remote future, possibility'</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>inchoative infix/suffix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>indirective intransitivizer</td>
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<td>instrumental (lexical) suffix</td>
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<td>intransitive subject clitic</td>
<td>'subject suffix'</td>
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<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative prefix/proclitic</td>
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<td>MID</td>
<td>middle intransitivizer</td>
<td>'m-intransitivizer'</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative predicate</td>
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<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object suffix</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>OOC</td>
<td>out-of-control</td>
<td>'resultative combination'</td>
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<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive suffix</td>
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<td>possessive</td>
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<td>progressive</td>
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<td>quotative enclitic</td>
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<tr>
<td>RED</td>
<td>redirecive intransitivizer</td>
<td>'relational/indirect transitivizer'</td>
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<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
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<td>REPL</td>
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<td>SG</td>
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<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>stative prefix</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>indicative subject clitic</td>
<td>'indicative subject suffix'</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>non-topical subject marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRNS</td>
<td>transitive ('ergative') subject</td>
<td>'indicative subject suffix'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YNQ</td>
<td>yes-no question enclitic</td>
<td>'interrogative'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix II

Conversion chart for American Phonemic and van Eijk St'át’imcets Practical Orthography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
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<td>p</td>
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<tr>
<td>p’</td>
<td>ʰ</td>
<td>xw</td>
<td>ʰw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m’</td>
<td>ʰm</td>
<td>r’</td>
<td>ʰy</td>
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<td>t</td>
<td>g</td>
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<td>ts</td>
<td>č, c</td>
<td>g’</td>
<td>ʰ</td>
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<td>ʰč</td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>ʰw</td>
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<tr>
<td>q’w</td>
<td>ʰq’w</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ʰo</td>
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</table>
Appendix III

(i) Hill-Tout’s explanation of his orthographic system (Hill-Tout 1905: 158-60).

**Vowels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>English Sound</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>as in English <em>hat</em></td>
<td>i as in English <em>pin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>as in English <em>father</em></td>
<td>ī as in English <em>pike</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä</td>
<td>as in English <em>all</em></td>
<td>ò as in English <em>pond</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ã</td>
<td>as in English <em>gnat</em></td>
<td>õ as in English <em>tone</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>as in English <em>pen</em></td>
<td>u as in English <em>but</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>as in English <em>they</em></td>
<td>ū as in English <em>boot</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E, obscure vowel as in English *flower*; û written above the line, a vowel sound which mostly follows the palatalized k and is only partially articulated.

**Diphthongs.**

ai, as in *aisle*; au, as in *cow*; oi, as in *boil*.

**Consonants.**

b as in English.
k as in English.
h as in English.
k’ a strongly palatalised or “clicked” k.
k̠ intermediate between our k and g.
tl an explosive palatalized l.
L the same but shorter, approximating to the sound of the final -tle in the word *cattle*.

l as is English mostly, but interchanging with n in the speech of some Indians.
m as in English.
p as in English.
p’ no English equivalent, semi-mute semi-sonant.
r the sound this letter stands for is not our r, but something midway between it and l.
t as in English mostly, sometimes intermediate between our t and d.
t’ a palatalized or “klicked” t, scarcely distinguishable from the “klicked” k, but nevertheless a distinct sound.
w as in English.
y as in English.
q as in *loch* in broad Scotch.
Q approximately as wh is uttered in North Britain.
H as the German in *ich*.
c as in English *sh*.
tc, as *ch* in the word *church*.
ts, as in English.
dj, as in *j* in English *juice*. 
kw, as *qu* in the word *quantity*.

The comma sign ‐, written above the line, means a pause or hiatus, usually caused by the elision of a vowel. When placed before the letter *n* thus 'n, it marks the absence of the initial *e* sound. This *n* is a characteristic initial sound of many “proper” names in StlatlumH. The same feature is found in a still more marked degree in the neighbouring N’tlakápmuQ.

(ii) Correspondences between Hill-Tout’s phonetic values as used in *Kayám* and the St’át’ímcets sound system (represented both in the American Phonemic Alphabet and the van Eijk Practical Orthography).

(Note that there are no instances in the text of *b*, *k* or *t’, indicating that the transcription system Hill-Tout used for *Kayám* was not developed especially for St’át’ímcets, but was a general purpose system based on his previous work on other Salish languages.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HILL-TOUT</th>
<th>PHONEMIC</th>
<th>PRACTICAL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p, ʰp</td>
<td>p, ʰp</td>
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<tr>
<td>p’</td>
<td>p, ʰp</td>
<td>p, ʰp</td>
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<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m, m̃, ŋ</td>
<td>m, m’, n’</td>
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<td>m’</td>
<td>m̃</td>
<td>m’</td>
</tr>
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<td>t, l, t̃, č</td>
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<td>tl</td>
<td>ť, ť̃</td>
<td>t’, lh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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