

Introduction

The following text is based on a recording made by Ch. Hill Tout¹⁾: the author of the present contribution would read the text as recorded by Hill Tout sentence for sentence to his informant, Mrs. Cecilia August of Sechelt, B.C. The informant would repeat every sentence for recording, with changes and additions wherever she thought that necessary. The taped text was then transcribed and the transcribed text was checked several times until this final version remained. It is given with inter-linear translation, comments and a free translation at the end.

In the comments every element is explained just once; for possessive-, subject- and object-suffixes not mentioned in the comments, for more information on transitivizers and for paradigms see "Sechelt verb forms", Dutch contributions to the 8th international conference on Salish languages 1973.

Transcription

The Sechelt phonemes are the following:

p p' t t' c c' č č' ɬ' k k' k^w k^w' q q' q^w q^w'
 s š ɬ x x^w ʃ ʃ^w
 m m' n n' l l'
 w w' y y' h ʔ
 E a u i.

Of these, k k' and x are very rare. ɬ stands for the lateral fricative, ɬ' for the glottalized lateral affricate, ʃ for the uvular fricative and ʃ^w for its labialized counterpart.

Note that in "Sechelt verb forms", D.C., ɬ, ɬ' and E were transcribed λ, λ' and ə respectively. ¹⁹⁷³

A proclitic consisting of a single consonant /C/ is pronounced with schwa: [CE].

Abbreviations and symbols

C = consonant	sg. = singular
cf. = compare	tr. = transitive
e.g. = for instance	V = vowel
etc. = etcetera	- separates morphemes
itr. = intransitive	- connects clitics and full words
pl. = plural	ɬ indicates junctural glottalization
smb. = somebody	() in the phonemic transcription:
smt. = something	vowel or consonant elided

¹⁾ Hill Tout, Ch., "Report on the Ethnology of the Siciatl of British Columbia, a Coast Division of the Salish Stock", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 34 (1904) pp. 20-91.

- 1 ±_7ásx^W 7i t_s-k^W'Etú7
the seal and the raven
- 2 t_s-k^W'Etú7 ní ±_7áliš 7ásx^W
the raven there is the cousin seal
- 3 t'i_cu_7úl-u± t_s-k^W'Etú7 7E t_s-nEx^Wíł-s
he went go aboard the raven into the canoe-his
- 4 t'i_cu_tÉs 7E t_s-ní-s ±_7áliš-s
he went arrive at the abode-her the cousin-his
- 5 t'i_nE7-(7)Émt-m 7E t_s-7íłtn-s
he was made for concerning the food-his
- 6 t'i_t'Ep-t'Ep-nač-úy(a)am, ±_7ásx^W qEm t'i_cátiš t_s-š^WÉs
she back-hand-roasted the seal and it dripped the fat
- 7 t'i_7íłtn t_s-k^W'Etú7
he ate the raven
- 8 t'i_húy-ucin qEm t'i_±'um_s-q^Wál-s:
he mouth-finished and it happened speaking-his:
- 9 "n-s-šá±' k^W_n-s-cú-st-x^W š_tulá
"my wishing (is) the my causing her to go the one
7E t'_tÉwix^Wal"
of the your family"
- 10 t'i_±'um_s-q^Wál-s ±_7ásx^W: "ní±_sk^Wa
it happened speaking-her the seal: "that will be the one
±_qíqti 7iy cú-st-x^W-ax^W"
the youngest that you cause her to go"
- 11 t'i_±'um_s-cu_s _____ čáw t_s-k^W'Etú7 7úl-u±
it happened going-his to the beach the raven go aboard
7E t_s-nEx^Wíł-(s) s-q'ac'-ít 7E ±_s-c'ílix^W-s
into the canoe-his together with the niece-his
- 12 t'i_cu_yl-yl-šín; t'i_cu_7un-iwán qEm t'i_wál-at-as
they went return; they went halfway and he asked her
±_s-c'ílix^W-s:
the niece-his:
- 13 "x^Wa_č-x^W q^Wu-q^W(u)am-ax^W?" t'i_q^Wál ±_míman:
not you are drink-wishing?" she spoke the child:
"q^Wu-q^W(u)am_č-n!"
"drink-wishing I am!"
- 14 t'i_±'um_s-šál-iš-s t_s-k^W'Etú7; t'i_t'ík^Wum
it happened going ashore-his the raven; he jumped out of the
canoe
- 15 t'i_q'l-ús-m ±_míman qEm
she face-wetted the child and
ti'_±'um____(s)-sEp'-íq^Wa(n)-t-m ±'_s-k^W'Etú7
it happened (the) being clubbed on the head by Raven

- 16 t'i_q^w'úy-n-um t'_s-k^w'Etú7
 she was managed to be killed by Raven
- 17 t'i₇úl-uł-st-x^w-as 7E t_s-nEx^wíł-s qEm t'i_{cu}yú
 he caused her to go aboard into the canoe-his and he went go home
- 18 t'i_{cu}7m'íwt; t'i_ł'E7ápn 7E t_s-c'ílix^w-s-uł
 he went get home; he potlatched on the niece-his-deceased
- 19 t'i₇úk^w' š^wáy-at-as t_x^w-c'ílix^w-tn-s 7upan-áli
 he all killed them the nephews-and-nieces-his ten-people
 7i š_t'mgn-áli
 and the two-people
- 20 t'i₇úk^w' š^way-n-Ex^w-as t_x^w-c'ílix^w-tn-s-uł
 he all managed to kill them the nephews-and-nieces-his-deceased
 qEm t'i_{cú}-mit-as t₇áliš-s
 and he went to her the cousin-his
- 21 š_{ál}'-s_ł'al k^w_s-q^w'úy-ut-s qEm t'i_x^wa_q^w'uy-n-Ex^w-as
 wishing-his too the killing-his and he not managed to kill her
- 22 t'i_x^wítim 7E t_s-7íwuc; t'i₇úl-uł 7E t_s-nEx^wíł-s
 she jumped into the water; he went aboard into the canoe-his
 qEm t'i_{cu}yú
 and he went go home
- 23 máy s-túmiš t_s-k^w'Etú7: čl-čl'úł qEm
 he is bad a man the raven: he is stealing and
 k^w'u-k^w'uq^w-áls, qš-íwan
 he is clubbing, he is much-hearted
- 24 qš-áli t_s-yá-la-qcEw-s
 they are many the wives-his
- 25 t'i_t'ayaq'-mít-m 7E t_wášals qEm t'i₇áy-iwa(n)-t-m
 he was been angry with by the Transformer and he was body-changed
- 26 t'i_q^wEł'_tEš^w šiy'áls 7i t_s-yá-qcEw
 he became real rock and the wife-his
- 27 huy!
 it is finished!

Comments

- 1 ɛ feminine article, absolutive case (for the relative case see 3); 7i and, coordinates relata, not verbs (for the coordination of verbs see 6); t_ masculine article, absolutive case; s-k^W'Etú7: s- almost certainly the nominalizer, though this word has no verbal counterpart.
- 2 ní be there, at that place; in constructions of the type t_A ní t_B: have (A has/had B).
- 3 t'i_ clitic indicating that the action took place in the past; cu_ clitic indicating that the action took place in a direction away from the (imaginary) point of view of the speaker (for the indication of the opposite see q^WEɛ' in 26); for cu_ cf. the full verb cú go; 7úl-uɛ go aboard a canoe itr.: √7ul/7uɛ enter, cf. 7úl-tx^W enter a house itr. (-tx^W house); -uɛ reduction of -wíɛ canoe; 7E relative case marker, to be translated according to circumstances, here indicating that the noun following is the logical object of the action expressed in the grammatically intransitive verb 7úl-uɛ (for the absolutive case see 1); s-nEx^Wíɛ-s: s- nominalizer, cf. nEx^Wíɛ-má/nEx^Wíɛ-má travel by canoe (-má intransitive ending: X-má travel by X); -s possessive 3sg.
- 4 t'És get close, arrive; s-ní-s: cf. ní in 2 and s-nEx^Wíɛ-s in 3.
- 5 nE7-(7)Émt-m: √nE7 make; -7Emt transitivizer indicating that the action is performed in favor of the grammatical object; -m passive 3sg.; s-7íɛtn-s: 7íɛtn eat itr.
- 6 t'Ep-t'Ep-nač-úy(a)-am: √t'Ep barbecue, roast; -nač hind end; -uya hand, arm; -am intransitive ending, here indicating that subject and object of the action are identical (cf. -m in 15); the glottalization is a result of contraction: <^x-uya-am, cf. 13; total reduplication indicates that the action is in the process of being performed, and/or indicates plurality and/or intensity of the action; qEm and, coordinates verbs, not relata (for the coordination of relata see 1); s-x^WÉs with nominal meaning was recorded without the nominalizer as well.
- 7 7íɛtn: see 5.
- 8 húy-ucin: húy finish itr.; -ucin mouth; ɛ'um_ clitic which can be followed only by a factual (my, your, etc., X-ing (him, me, etc.,)) and which indicates a sudden shift of the speaker's attention to the action expressed in the factual; s-q^Wál-s (factual): q^Wál speak itr.

- 9 n-s-ǰáɫ' (factual): n- possessive 1sg.; $\sqrt{\text{ǰáɫ'}}$ wish, like, love; k^w clitic which can only precede factuais and which indicates a close relationship between the factual following it and the preceding factual or verb; n-s-cú-st- x^w (factual): cú go; -st-causative transitivizer (cú-st- cause to go, take along tr.); - x^w object-suffix 3sg./pl. with transitivizers -st- and -n- (for -n- see 16); \check{s} masculine article with hypothetical nouns (here it is not at all certain whether Raven will be allowed to take a niece with him); tulá one (more usual is pála id.); t' tÉwix^wal: t' contraction of t and 7- (possessive 2sg.).
- 10 $t'i$ \check{s} 'um_s- q^w ál-s: see 8; níɫ_ssk^wa: níɫ that is (the one); \check{s} sk^w a future clitic; qíqti the youngest child of the family (reduplicated full-vowel form of qÉti id.); 7iy introduces certain subordinate expressions, e.g. after verbs of commanding, cf. nát_{la} 7iy k^wnám-(t)-c-as *tell him that he helps me → tell him to help me (nát order tr.; la imperative clitic; k^wnám-t help tr.; -as subject-suffix 3sg. with object 1sg./pl. and 3sg./pl.).
- 11 $t'i$ \check{s} 'um_s-cu-s čáw: čáw go to the beach; note that in the factual s-cu-s čáw it is the clitic cu (see 3) that has been nominalized and provided with the possessive 3sg. -s; 7úl-uɫ (see 3); not only čáw, but 7ul-uɫ too depends on the nominalized clitic; s- q^w ac'-ít: $\sqrt{q^wac'}$ together; s-X-it be X, cf. s-piw-ít be frozen, (\sqrt{piw} freeze), s-tEs-ít be close by (for tEs see 4), s-lElq'-ít be right ($\sqrt{lEq'}$ hit (the target)); 7E see 3.
- 12 yl-yl-šín: \sqrt{yEl} turn; -šn/-šín foot, leg; 7un-iwán 1 middle between two points, 2 reach the middle between two points: $\sqrt{7un}$ middle; -iwán heart, mind, inside, body; wál-at-as: \sqrt{wal} ask; -at transitivizer; -as see 10; (s-)c'ílix^w nephew, niece.
- 13 x^w a_č-x^w q^w u-q^w(u)ám-ax^w: x^w a_ negative clitic; č clitic functioning as a suffix-carrier for 1sg./pl. and 2sg./pl. subject-suffixes; - x^w subject-suffix 2sg.; q^w ú-q^wu drink itr. (cf. q^w u get water itr.); -am be wishing to (q^w u-q^w(u)ám *be wishing to drink → be thirsty); the glottalization is a result of contraction: \check{s}^w q^w u-q^wu-ám, cf. 6; -ax^w full-vowel form of - x^w , here due to the occurrence of x^w a_; note that this sentence is not formally an interrogative one, although interpreted as such. The interrogative form would have been x^w (a)ám_č-x^w etc.; q^w u-q^w(u)ám_č-n: -n subject-suffix 1sg.

- 14 łál-iš go ashore itr., cf. łál-t beach, shore (-t unique constituent); -iš intransitive ending limited to verbs of motion, cf. k^w'E7-iš arise, xEłk^w'-iš get down, 7aq^w'-iš go down the river, q'Ec'-iš go underneath smt. itr.
- 15 q'l-ús-m: V^wq'El wet; -us face; -m intransitive ending (cf. -am in 6); (s)-sEp'-íq^wa(n)-t-m (factual): V^wsEp'/sap' slap, strike; -íq^wan head; -t transitivizer; note that -m (see 5) suffices to indicate which person is involved; ł' article with proper names and personal pronouns. It cannot be preceded by the relative case marker, so that it stands both for absolute and relative case. In this sentence s-k^w'Etú7 is treated as a proper name.
- 16 q^w'úy-n-um: V^wq^w'uy dead, -n- non-purpose transitivizer, indicating that the action is performed not on purpose or, more rarely, succeeds after some difficulty ("... finally ...", "... manage(d) to ..."); -um passive 3sg. with transitivizers -st- and -n- (for -st- see 9).
- 17 yú go home.
- 18 7m'íwt get home; ł'E7ášn give a potlatch; -uł not real, here: deceased.
- 19 7uk^w' everything, all; x^w'áy-at-as: V^wx^w'ay dead, paralyzed, -at transitivizer; x^w-STEM-tn collectivizer; 7upan-áli: 7úpan ten; -áli suffix for counting people; 7i see 1; š_t'mšn-áli: š_ here used because reference is made to deceased relatives (see 9); t'mšn (t'Emšn/t'mšĕn when followed by a suffix) two.
- 20 x^w'ay-n-Ex^w-as: for -n- see 16; for -as see 10; t_x^w-c'ílix^w-tn-s-uł: -uł see 18; note the use of the article t_ in stead of š_ (see 19 and 9), -uł (see 18) sufficing to indicate that reference is made to deceased relatives; cf. Halkomelem where nouns, provided with the suffix /-Eł/ past time, may be preceded by articles expressing "near and invisible" in stead of by articles expressing "remote or non-existent or hypothetical"¹); cú-mit: -mit transitivizer indicating that the object is only indirectly involved in the action.
- 21 xál'-s (factual): a sentence-initial nominalizer is sometimes dropped in Sechelt (one would expect x^ws-xál'-s); ł'al still, again, too; k^w_ see 9; s-q^w'úy-ut-s (factual): V^wq^w'uy see 16; -ut transitivizer; x^wa_ see 13.

¹) Elmendorf, W. and Suttles, W., "Pattern and Change in Halkomelem Salish Dialects", Anthropological Linguistics, Oct. 1960: 1-32

- 23 čl-čl'úł: čl'úł steal itr.; for the reduplication see 6;
k^w'u-k^w'uq^w-áls: V k^w'uq^w beat, club; -als intransitive ending;
qEč (qč when followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel) be many, much; -áli see 19; -iwan see 12.
- 24 s-yá-la-qcEw-s: s-yá-qcEw wife; the suffix -la for expressing plurality is very rare in Sechelt. There is only one other example: s-wá-qac husband, s-wá-la-qac id. pl.; for the element -qcEw in s-yá-qcEw cf. the element -qac in s-wá-qac.
- 25 t'ayaq'-mít-m: t'áyaq' be angry, mad, t'ayaq'-mít be angry with smb. (for -mit see 12); 7áy-iwa(n)-t-m: V 7ay change.
- 26 q^wEł' clitic indicating that the action takes place in a direction toward the speaker's (imaginary) point of view (for the indication of the opposite see cu_ in 3); V tEč^w correct, real, certain.

Free translation

1 Seal and Raven. 2 Raven had a cousin, Seal. 3 Raven boarded his canoe. 4 He arrived at he abode of his cousin. 5 She prepared food for him: 6 Seal roasted her back-hands and fat dripped off them. 7 Raven ate. 8 He finished eating and then he said: 9 "I want to take along one of your family." 10 Then Seal said: "You can take the youngest along." 11 Then Raven went to the beach and boarded his canoe. 12 They returned (to his abode); they had got halfway when he asked his niece: 13 "Are you not thirsty?" The child said: "(Yes,) I am thirsty." 14 Then Raven went ashore; he jumped out of the canoe. 15 The child wetted her face (and stooped in the action) and then she got clubbed on the head by Raven. 16 Raven managed to kill her. 17 He put her into his canoe and he went home. 18 He got home; he gave a potlatch on (using as food) his niece's dead body. 19 He killed all his nephews and nieces, the twelve of them. 20 He managed to kill all his nephews and nieces and he went to his cousin. 21 He wanted to kill her too and (but) he did not manage to kill her. 22 She jumped into the water. He boarded his canoe and he went home. 23 Raven is a bad man: he steals and kills, he is a bully. 24 He has many wives. 25 Transformer got angry with him and he was transformed. 26 He became a real rock and so did his wife. 27 The end.