Introduction

The following text is based on a recording made by Ch. Hill Tout 1): 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:

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E a u i.

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

Note that in "Sechelt verb forms", D.C., ǂ, ǂ' and E were transcribed λ, λ^{w} and ø respectively.

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 | ǂ indicates junctural glottalization |
| smb. = somebody | () in the phonemic transcription: vowel or consonant elided |
| smt. = something |

the seal and the raven

the raven there is the cousin seal

he went go aboard the raven into the canoe-his

he went arrive at the abode-her the cousin-his

he was made for concerning the food-his

she back-hand-roasted the seal and it dripped the fat

he ate the raven

he mouth-finished and it happened speaking-his:

"my wishing (is) the my causing her to go the one

of the your family"

it happened speaking-her the seal: "that will be the one

the youngest that you cause her to go"

it happened going-his to the beach the raven go aboard

into the canoe-his together with the niece-his

they went return; they went halfways and he asked her

the niece-his:

not you are drink-wishing?" she spoke the child:

"drink-wishing I am!"

it happened going ashore-his the raven; he jumped out of the canoe

she face-wetted the child and

it happened (the) being clubbed on the head by Raven
she was managed to be killed by Raven

he caused her to go aboard into the canoe-his and he went go home

he went get home; he potlatched on the niece-his-deceased

he all killed them the nephews-and-nieces-his ten-people

and the two-people

he all managed to kill them the nephews-and-nieces-his-deceased

and he went to her the cousin-his

wishing-his too the killing-his and he not managed to kill her

she jumped into the water; he went aboard into the canoe-his

and he went go home

he is bad a man the raven: he is stealing and

he is clubbing, he is much-hearted

they are many the wives-his

he was been angry with by the Transformer and he was body-changed

he became real rock and the wife-his

it is finished!
Comments

1. 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;

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;

4. s-ní-s: cf. ní in 2 and s-nExwi-s in 3.

5. nE7-(7)Emt-m: √nE7 make; -7Emt transitivizer indicating that the action is performed in favor of the grammatical object;

6. t'Ep-t'Ep-nač-uy(a)-am: √t'Ep barbecue, roast; -nač hind end;

7. 7ítn: see 5.

8. huy-ucin: huy finish itr.; -ucin mouth; 7'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-qW'al-s (factual): qW'al speak itr.
9 n-s-\(\text{s}\)á\(\text{I}\) (factual): n- possessive 1sg.; \(\sqrt{\text{xa}}\) wish, like, love; \(\text{k}^\text{w}\) clitic which can only precede factuals and which indicates a close relationship between the factual following it and the preceding factual or verb; n-s-\(\text{cu}-\text{st-}\text{x}^\text{w}\) (factual): \(\text{cu} \) go; -\(\text{st-}\) causative transitivizer (\(\text{cu}-\text{st-}\) cause to go, take along tr.); -\(\text{x}^\text{w}\) object-suffix 3sg./pl. with transitivizers -\(\text{st-}\) and -\(\text{n-}\) (for -\(\text{n-}\) see 16); ŧ 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\(\text{t}^\text{-twix}\)w ál: t\(\text{t}^\) contraction of t_ and 7- (possessive 2sg.).

10 t\(\text{t}^\)i 7\(\text{um}_\text{s-}\)q\(\text{w}^\text{al-}\)s: see 8; ni\(\text{f}^\text{sk}_\text{a}\): ni\(\text{f}\) that is (the one); _\text{sk}_\text{a} future clitic; q\(\text{títi}\) the youngest child of the family (re-duplicated full-vowel form of q\(\text{tí}^\text{ti}\) id_); 7\(\text{iy}\) introduces certain subordinate expressions, e.g. after verbs of commanding, cf. nát_\text{la} 7\(\text{iy}\) \(\text{k}^\text{w}^\text{nám}(\text{-t})^\text{-c-as}\) \\(\text{tell}^\) him that he helps me \\(\rightarrow\) \\(\text{tell}^\) him to help me (nát order tr.;_\text{la} imperative clitic; \(\text{k}^\text{w}^\text{nám-t}\) help tr.; -\(\text{as}\) subject-suffix 3sg. with object 1sg./pl. and 3sg./pl.).

11 t\(\text{t}^\)i 7\(\text{um}_\text{s-}\)\(\text{cu}-\text{s}_\text{çáw}\): çáw go to the beach; note that in the factual s-\(\text{cu}-\text{s}_\text{çáw}\) it is the clitic cu_ (see 3) that has been nominalized and provided with the possessive 3sg. -\(\text{s}\); 7\(\text{ul}_\text{-u}\) (see 3); not only çáw, but 7\(\text{ul}-\text{u}\) too depends on the nominalized clitic; s-\(\text{q}^\text{ac'}-\text{it}\): \(\sqrt{\text{q}^\text{ac'}}\) together; s-\(\text{X}-\text{it}\) be X, cf. s-\(\text{piw}-\text{it}\) be frozen, (\(\sqrt{\text{piw}\) freeze}), s-t\(\text{Es}-\text{it}\) be close by (for t\(\text{Es}\) see 4), s-\(\text{lElq'}-\text{it}\) be right (\(\sqrt{\text{lElq'}}\) hit (the target)); \(\text{T}\) see 3.

12 y\(\text{l}-\text{yI-šin}\): \(\sqrt{\text{yEl}\) turn; -\(\text{šn/-šin}\) foot, leg; 7\(\text{un-}\)\(\text{iwán}\) 1 middle between two points, 2 reach the middle between two points: \(\sqrt{\text{7un}}\) middle; -\(\text{iwán}\) heart, mind, inside, body; w\(\text{al-}\)\(\text{at-as}\): \(\sqrt{\text{wal}\) ask; -\(\text{at}\) transitivizer; -\(\text{as}\) see 10; (s-)\(\text{c}^\text{fílix}\)w nephew, niece.

13 \(\text{x}^\text{w}_\text{a}_\text{ý-x}^\text{w}\) \(\text{q}^\text{w}\cdot\text{u}-\text{q}^\text{w}(\text{u})\)\(\text{ám-ax}\): \(\text{x}^\text{w}_\text{a}\) negative clitic; \(\text{ý}\) clitic functioning as a suffix-carrier for 1sg./pl. and 2sg./pl. subject-suffixes; -\(\text{x}^\text{w}\) subject-suffix 2sg.; \(\text{q}^\text{w}_\text{u}\)\(\text{q}^\text{w}\) drink itr. (cf. \(\text{q}^\text{w}\) get water itr.); -\(\text{am}\) be wishing to (\(\text{q}^\text{w}_\text{u}\)\(\text{q}^\text{w}(\text{u})\)\(\text{ám}\) \(\text{x}\) be wishing to drink \\(\rightarrow\) be thirsty\)); the glottalization is a result of contraction: \(\text{q}^\text{w}_\text{u}\)\(\text{q}^\text{w}\)\(\text{u}\)\(\text{ám}\), cf. 6; -\(\text{ax}\) full-vowel form of -\(\text{x}\), here due to the occurrence of \(\text{x}^\text{w}_\text{a}\); note that this sentence is not formally an interrogative one, although interpreted as such. The interrogative form would have been \(\text{x}^\text{w}(\text{a})\)\(\text{a}_\text{ý-x}^\text{w}\) etc.; \(\text{q}^\text{w}_\text{u}\)\(\text{q}^\text{w}(\text{u})\)\(\text{ám}_\text{ý-n}\): n subject-suffix 1sg.
-15-

14  Giáo go ashore itr., cf.  Giáo-t beach, shore (t unique constituent);  Giáo intransitive ending limited to verbs of motion, cf.  Giáo-arise, Giáo-get down, Giáo go down the river, Giáo go underneath smt. itr.

15 Giáo-m:  Giáo埃尔 wet;  Giáo face;  Giáo intransitive ending (cf.  Giáo in 6); (s)- Giáo(a)n-t-m (factual):  Giáo slap, strike;  Giáo an head;  Giáo transitivizer; note that  Giáo (see 5) suffices to indicate which person is involved; Giáo article with proper names and personal pronouns. It cannot be preceded by the relative case marker, so that it stands both for absolutive and relative case. In this sentence GiáoEtú7 is treated as a proper name.

16  Giáodead,  Giáo non-purpose transitivizer, indicating that the action is performed not on purpose or, more rarely, succeeds after some difficulty ("... finally ...", "... manage(d) to ...");  Giáo passive 3sg. with transitivizers  Giáo and  Giáo (for  Giáo see 9).

17  Giáo home.

18  Giáo get home; Giáo�ażn give a potlatch;  Giáo not real, here: deceased.

19  Giáo everything, all;  Giáo dead, paralyzed,  Giáo transitivizer;  Giáo collectivizer;  Giáo 7upan-ali; 7upan ten;  Giáo suffix for counting people; 7i see 1;  Giáo here used because reference is made to deceased relatives (see 9); 7i see 1;  Giáo when followed by a suffix) two.

20  Giáo-as: for  Giáo see 16; for  Giáo see 10;  Giáo-c'lix-tn-s-úk: úk see 18; note the use of the article  úk in stead of  úk (see 19 and 9),  úk (see 18) sufficing to indicate that reference is made to deceased relatives; cf. Halkomelem where nouns, provided with the suffix /-E:/ past time, may be preceded by articles expressing "near and invisible" in stead of by articles expressing "remote or non-existent or hypothetical";  úk:  úk transitivizer indicating that the object is only indirectly involved in the action.

21  Giáo (factual): a sentence-initial nominalizer is sometimes dropped in Sechelt (one would expect  Giáo-úk:úk);  úk still, again, too;  Giáo see 9;  Giáo (factual):  Giáo see 16;  úk transitivizer;  Giáo see 13.

23 ƛł-ƛłƛł: ƛłƛł steal itr.; for the reduplication see 6; k'w'u-k'w'uq.w-đls: √k'w'uq. beat, club; -als intransitive ending; qEצ (qצ when followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel) be many, much; -đł see 19; -iwən 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-qæc husband, s-wá-la-qæc id., pl.; for the element -qcEw in s-yá-qcEw cf. the element -qæc in s-wá-qæc.

25 t'ayaq'-mit-m: t'ayaq' be angry, mad, t'ayaq'-mit be angry with smb. (for -mit see 12); 7ay-iwa(n)-t-m: √7ay change.

26 qEצ 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); √tEצ 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: "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 halfways 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.