XIth INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

ON

SALISHAN LANGUAGES

The Whaler

An analyzed Nitinaht text

Bernice Touchie

Nitinaht Lake

and

The University of Victoria

\bigcirc

1976

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The literature of the Nitinaht, a Wakashan people of southwestern Vancouver Island, has always been an oral tradition, locked in the minds of native speakers. In this paper prepared by Bernice Touchie, a young speaker of Nitinaht, one small portion of this literature emerges in writing--a story about an unsuccessful whaler who attempts to change his luck by undergoing a test of strength.

The Whaler has literary value. But it is important for other reasons as well. As the author battled her way through an analysis of it, attempting to understand the structure of her native language, the story served as a teaching machine. As it is presented in this paper, it serves as a vehicle to show what she has learned.

To break down the polysynthetic Nitinaht words, built of roots and a multitude of possible suffixes, it was necessary for her to generate a large corpus of additional forms. The additional material raised more questions, which required more examples. Elders were frequently consulted, and because the linguist-informant relationship involved native speakers, explanations were

often highly detailed. Eventually, as notebook upon notebook was filled, the text was dwarfed by the analysis.

<u>The Whaler</u> begins with a line by line presentation of the story as it was initially told by Charlie Jones Sr. of Port Renfrew, and transcribed by the author. These lines are given Arabic numbers. Each word has a literal English gloss given below it. Beneath each gloss is a morpheme by morpheme break-down of the Nitinaht word. Finally, each constituent morpheme is glossed. If a word has been previously analyzed, the line number where it first occurs is given.

The analysis is the author's own product, and although there are many things that she does not yet understand about Nitinaht, her overall grasp of the structure is impressive and her insights are unique. Using the principles of structural linguistics she has segmented words and developed glosses for the parts on her own. In a few instances I have suggested (after long discussion) stock Wakashanist glosses for frequently occurring grammatical elements.

A separate English translation follows the Nitinaht text. The author has tried to retain the style of the original story, while making the English flow more freely. Roman numbers key to sections of the Nitinaht

text. Footnotes are used to clarify and expand upon various portions of the story.

With few exceptions, linguistic (and anthropological) research in the Northwest has been controlled by investigators who do not speak the languages of the people they study. This does not need to be interpreted as a conspiracy of exclusion. But the failure to encourage native speakers to seek linguistic training must be considered a policy of neglect. For Nitinaht and a number of other Northwest languages there are now native speakers who can function as linguists. Research efforts in the Northwest will benefit greatly from their contributions.

ABBREVIATIONS

art.	article
cause	causative
cond.	conditional
dem.	demonstrative root
dur.	durative aspect
fut.	future
imper.	imperative
incept.	inceptive
indef.	indefinite
loc.	locative root
mom.	momentaneous aspect
pass.	passive
poss.	possessive
quot.	quotative mode
sub.	subordinate
_'	indicates a suffix which adds a
	glottalic component to certain
	preceding sounds.
[L]	indicates a suffix accompanied
	by root vowel lengthening
[R]	indicates a suffix accompanied
	by root reduplication

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[?]u[?]utxubtaq

The one who once whaled¹

1. I. ?axki ?uyxabsaq ?uyackwa this information it comes from ?ax-ki ?u-(y)ax-(a)bs-'aq ?u-(y)ackw-'a dem.-particular, it-inform-thing-art. it-comes-it here from

2.	hu?e•y?uy,	wiki•txa• \	ta•q
	long ago	no persons	exactly
	hu?e•y-?uy	wik-'i·t-x-'a· \	ta•q
	long ago-that time	no-existing-while-now	exact

- 3. ka·batp q^wa·btuwisi, ?a·dsa·h knowing how it used to be now only ka·bat-'ap q^wa·-bt-uwisi ?a·d-s-'a·h know-cause way-past-quot. only-doing-now
- 4. ka·batp yałaxibtquy tapsčił.
 knowing where one had dived
 3 yał-ax-(i)bt-quy taps-(č)ił
 that -where-past-cond. dive-mom.
 place

5. I	I. k ^w i•sasi l ax	?uyu q
	trying to change	particularly
	k"is-as-il-ax[L]	⁹ u-(y)uq
	other-reach-happening,-tryin doing	g it-with reference to

u	v	-	**	9		

- 6. q^waquy wi kabi kqa yubuł the way he was because he is unlucky unable q^wa-quy wik-ap-'i k-qa yub-uł way-cond. not-cause.-tendency-sub. undesirable-dur. to
- 7. hideyp citapk^w. III. du·ba·k
 to catch whale both had
 hid-eyp cit-(')ap-uk du·b-a·k
 loc.-find on edge-standing-dur. all-had
- 8. ?aàa·kaq qa·qia·tk^w qa·xsa·p his two younger brothers killing ?aà-a·k-'aq qax-s-a·p two-has-art. kill-doing-cause²
- 9. ?uyuq citapk yuwa ?a dsa ?a dsa ? particularly whale then being the only 5 7 yuw-'a A 3 same, then-then

		7
10.	wikiyu, wi•ka	bik. IV. yuwa∙à [?] udxa•à
	not yet unluc.	ky then looking for
	wik-iyu 6	9 ?u-i•du _x -'a•λ
	not-yet finished	it-look for-th
11.	q ^w a [?] uk ^w at q ^w a [?]	ukta•wakuwis k ^w isa•si l
	the means the	means he has to change
	q ^w a-'uk ^w at q ^w a-'uk	Wat-a·w-ak-uwis 5
	way-manages to way-m	anages to-should-has-quot.
12.	°udu k yuq [™] a•bax	sa•qa q ^w aquy
	because he also w	ants to be the way
	?u-du λ yuq ^w a•-ba	xsa·-qa 6
	it-reason also-want	-sub.
13.	qa•qlatk",	du•bak [?] u [?] utx.
	the younger brothers	both of his hunters
		du•b-a•k [?] u?u-atax [R]
		both-have them-go after
14.	V. yuwa•Atuw	dupisa•ca•λ
	then	was all over
	yuw-'a·\-bt-uw	dupi-sa·c-'a·A
	same,-then-past-q then	uot. all-place-then
15.	yalaxa wquy	Aikis'akidk",
	where he might	praying
	yal-ax-a°w-quy	didis-'a•wk-iduk ^w
	that place-where-shou	ld cond. light-day-together color

с , <u>,</u>

16. hi·dač q^wa[?]ukta•wakuwisi k^wisa•sil. ask in prayer the means he has to change hid-ač [L] 11 5 loc.-be in state of čitapk^waq. ?uyuq VI. 17. hideyp yuwa•\ find particularly whale then 5 7 9 hid-eyp loc.-catch, find q^waču•xa•λ 18. [?]axci ha?u while having done that that again q^wa-ču·-x-'a·^λ [?]ax-ci way-state of having-while-now dem.-that finished hida•čia, [?]u[?]utxa·A, 19. wi•k go out to sea whale hunting not [?]u[?]u-atax[R]-'a·A hid-a·či-ia loc.-extend on-mom. them-pursue-then water či•xuksa•p 20. [?]uyuq having success at getting particularly či•x-uk-s-a•p 5 change in state-dur-doing-cause of affairs

21.	Čiťapk ^w aq. VII	. qi•xča•da•λ	
	the whale	after a long tim	e
	7	qi•-x-č-ad-'a•x	
		long-while-mom time	toward-now,then
22.	tapatši l	[?] u [?] ukx.	VIII. [?] iyax [?] a
	he thought	on his own	there
	tapat-(š)iz	[?] u [?] u-k[R]-x	[?] iy-ax -' a
	think-mom.	the one(?ux)-do[R]	at-there-it
23.	ča ⁹ ak	?uk^waqi łk ^w id	ibitqa•
	stream,river	we call it	bubble,whirl
	ča-' ak	°u-k [™] aqi l -ak-id	bit-qa
	flowing-dur. water	it-named-have-we	water coming-dur. to surface
24.	ča•kaq	?iyax. IX. w	ayaqstill
	the river	at g	ot the desire to
	ča-'ak-'aq	22 wa-	(y)aqst-ix-'ax
	flowing-durar water	t. say	-going -momthen inside
25.	tapsči•kqa.	"?adiyuws _x :	iyiš
	that he will di	ve. maybe the	n it will
	taps-č-i·k-qa	?ad-iy-uws	-x(i)-iš
	dive-mom-futs	ub. only-that-ma time	aybe-possibly-indef.

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26.	k ^w isa•si l	hi•de•yipš ∖	či ťapk ^w aq
	change	begin catching	the whale
	5	hid-eyip-(š)ia	7
		locfind-mom.	
27.	[,] uyuq	[?] uy q ^w isqus."	X. "tapsči•ks
	particularly	when if I do th	at I will dive
	5	q ^w is-quy-s	taps-č-i•k-s
		happen-cond.	-I dive-momfu:I
28.	ya l ?aq ya	dašk ^w aq	ča?ak." XI. yuwa•λ
	where that	t the strong	river then
	yal-'aq	daš-uk-'aq	23 9
	that-art. place	strong-durart.	
29.	wa•z qa	•qla•tkaq	"wik! wik!
	saying the	e younger brothers	don't do it
	wa-'a· \		wik-'i
	say-then		not-imper.
30.	?ušibaqaqxiš		
	it must be d	angerous	
	?uš-(i)b-aqa	q-x(i)-iš	
	troublesome-	thing-has characte	eristic of-must-indef. be

31.	te•wk ^w a	ca•kaq	dašuk iš.	
	it is heavy	the waters	it must be str	ong
	tey-uk-'a	ča-'ak-'aq	daš-uk- _x -iš	
	heavy-dur-it	water-dur-art	strong-durmu b	st-indef. e
32.	lipxa•	q ^w adu• Auv	vis b itx^wa	•
	force sucking	g in why it do	oes spin	
	lipx-a.	q [₩] a-du•λ-	•uwis bitx ^w -	a•
	draw in-dur.	way-reas wh <u>i</u>	on-quot. spin-d turn	ur.
33.	[?] iyax ca	kaq, wikxis	ſ	
	at the	river I gues	ss it is not	·
	22 2	23 wik- _x -	·iš	
		not-m	st be-indef.	
34.	čačabaxuws	q ʻ	'aqu•suk."	
	may be proper	r i	f that is what y	ou do
	čačab-(a)x-uv	vs q'	'a-quy-suk	
		te of-maybe wa eing	ay-cond-you	
35.	XII. yuwa•ku	uw Aa?ut	oitšid wa,	
	then he	e had aga	ain sai	đ
,	yuw-'a	• A-uw Aa ⁹ u-	·bit-(š)iλ	
	9	-quot. again	n-past-mom.	

36.	qixča•da [?] uk̇̀i						
	for a lon	g time					
	qi-x-č-a·d-a-uk-'a l						
	long-whil (time)	e-momtime-repdu ? ? ?	urthen				
37.	XIII. !a	ci•dukš)	tapšiabaxsa,				
	be	came anxious, determined	wanting to dive				
	, a	ci•d-uk-(š)i≯	taps-(č)ix-baxsa·				
	de	etermined-durmom.	dive-momwant to				
38.	ka•?ak,	?uq [₩] i•yuq	wiyxa				
	shy	caused by,becaus	e he never				
	ka ·- 'ak	?u-q [₩] i•-(y)uq	wiy - x-'a				
	shy-dur.	it-do (to)-with . t	ref. never-while-he o				
39.	hideyp,	wikqa	q ^w aws				
	catches	he is not	like that				
	7	wik-qa	q ^w a-uwis				
		not-because he, (sub.)	way-quot.				
40.	q ^w aquy	qa•q l atk,	[?] ayibitšiłł				
	way one might be	younger bros.	had many times				
	q ^w a-quy		[?] ayi-bit-(š)iλ-'aλ				
	way-cond.	,	many-times-momthen				

41.	?u·ba·č	?u? uk " idk"	qa•qla•tukquy,
	talk about it	with (them)	younger brothers
	[?] u-ba·c	?u?u−(k")iduk	
	it-talk about	them-with	
42	du•bey,	"wik: wik:	[?] ušibaqka,"
	all the time	don't do it	it is dangerous
	du•b-ey	29	30
	all-time		
43.	wa [?] a.tquyuw.	XIV. yuwa k	[?] uk [™] abaqλiya•λ
	he would be to	ld then	after 🛼
	wa-'al-'it-quy	-uw 9	°u-ķ"ab-aq≯-iy-'a·≯
	say-then-pass.	-condquot. it	-rear-behind-at-now that time
44.	wa• ¹ , "šu,	aci duks	waya•qs l
	saying alri	ght I am anxious	think
	wa-'a·ì	37	wa-(y)a•qst-iλ
	say-then		say-going-mom. inside
45.	tapsčiλqu·s."	XV. wał	e•ke•kid,
	I may dive	we	will go
	taps-(č)i ^l -quy	-s wał	-e•k-e•k-id
	dive-momcond	I go-	durfutwe

46.	da ⁹ uk kasuwičis	3	?u•ksička		
	you will come	with me	you (pl.) carry		
	da?uk-i [,] a-su	wič -is	?u-i•k	is -' ička	
	accompany-mom.	-3d-you(pl pers.)-me it-car	ry-imper. pl.	
47.	subuqa•d 1 ."	XVI.	⁹ ux ⁹ a	?uk [∨] aq 1	
	whaling rope		it is that	called	
	sup-uq-a·d1		[?] ux-'a	?u-k [™] aqi l	
	wind-has on-ou sur	ter face	the one-it	it-named	
48.	subuqa•d 1	č istu•paq	qo ⁹ a	ci•čaq	
	whaling rope	the rope	Ind	ian's	
	47	čis-tu•p-	'aq qo?a	s-i·c-'aq	
		rope-thin like	ng-art Indi	an-possart.	
49.	hawłiy	čistu•p.	XVII. "?	o, šu,	
	ready made	rope	0	h, alright	
	hawi l- iy	45			
	complete-dur.				
50.	q ^w abaxsa•kaši•	,	qe•Xas		
	that's what he doe	really s want	you will	for a long time	
	q ^w a-baxsa•-ak-	a-ši•	qi•-ix-'a	S	
	way-want-have-	he-actual1	ly long (tim	e)-momyou	

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51.	wa,	ku•wa	le ka	.s . "	XVIII.	wałe	e·kλ,
	say	уои ж	ill j as w			gc	2
		ku•wa	ł−e •k	-'as		wał-	·e·k-'al
		just .	as we go		-you	go- a	durseq.
52.	hidi	•ksi l		qa•q 1 a	•takquy,	•	čawa?akz
	taki.	ng alo	ng	his yo	unger bi	cos.	one
	hid-	i•kis-	i λ				čawa•k-'ar
	100.	-take- with	mom.				one-then
53.	hidi	•ks	č ist	upaq,	subuqa	ndlaq.	,
	taki.	ng	the	rope	the wl	naling	g rope
	52		4	8	47	7	
54.	?iya:	хuw,		šuča	S		[?] uk ^w aq 1
	ther	e is		tre	es		called
	°iy-	a x- uw		šuč-	'as		?u-k [₩] aqi 1
	at-t.	here-q	uot.	stan ?	-	groun	nd it-called
55.	hata	pt		yaqiyu	?a•kaq		
	yewo	od	tha	t which	he has	made	
	hat-	apt		yaq-iy	u-a•k-'a	aq	
	hard	-made	of	that-d	one,fini	ished-	has-art.

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56.	di• x uwadu•λ		di•x ^w sa•b l			
	wound around		winding			
	di•x ^w -awad-u•p	o-'a·z	di•x ^w -s-a	·p-'ad		
	wrap-middle-ca	ause-then	wrap-doing	g-cause-then		
57.	qaqača•bičk	dix ^w	šið	čistu•paq.		
	three times	wind	ing	the rope		
	qaqač-a•p-iči;	dix"	-šik	48		
	three-cause -:	incep. wrap	-mom.			
58.	XX. yuwa• λ	čiyita•b λ				
	then	laid the r on ground				
	9	čis-'it-a·	p-'ar			
		rope-lay s like on g	omething- round	cause-then		
59.	tala samp	čistu•pa	q,	yuwad		
	have straight on ground	the rop	e	then		
	taq-'a·s-'ax-	ap 48		9		
	straight-grou	nd-now-caus	e			
60.	susšiin	ya	tapščiko	e'saq.		
	then swam	that one	the one	who was going to dive		
			taps-(č)ik- e·s-'aq		
	swim-mom-then		dive-mo	dive-momgoing to-art.		
-	then swam sus-(š)ik-'ak	•	the one	who was going t dive)iλ- e•s-'aq		

61.	ba <i>k</i> iyuxa•k,		haw l i	ya• 1	[?] uyuq		
	while tied		now r	eady	for		
	bax-iyu-x-'a·	,	hawi ł	-iy-'a-	λ 5		
	tie-done-whil finished	e-now	ready	-durno	⊃₩		
62.	q ^w isi•Xaq		hida	se•kquy			
	that which he	when he reaches					
	q″is-i•λ-'aq		hid-	as-e•k-o	lu à		
	happen-futa	rt.	loc.	-reach-:	futcond.		
63.	?ada∙či•d 1 aba	xsa•quy.	x	XII. yı	uwad		
	as deep as he		then				
	[?] ad-a•či-a•d 1	-baxsa-q	uy	9	9		
	so much-deep-	all alon	g-want	to-con	đ.		
64.	[?] uxa•x	qala•tk	₩aq	[?] u [?] awa	Łk ^w čis	tupaq,	
	it was he	the you	her	lookeđ	after th	e rope	
	[?] ux-'a·h	qa l a•tk		[?] u-awa	Ł-uk	48	
	the one-then	-	. •	it-ten	t-tending-dur		
		younger-art. brother					
65.	čawa•kλ	[?] u [?] uwa	ŧk₩	bada	ayuykaq.		
	now one	lookin	g afte	r tha	t which he	has for	
	čawa•k-'ад 64 опе-по м				tying	7	
				ban	bax-ayu-eyak-'a		
					-done-used inished	for-art.	

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66.	XXIII.	ciqšikkuw,	-	uŗ	ya	[?] u [?] aw	a1k ^w aq
		he then spol	ke ti	he one	e tha		one cending
		ciq-(š)ix-'a	a-a-uw			6	4
		speak-mom	then-q	uot.			
67.	<u>čistu</u> pa	q. "hišu, A	adi•wi	ya•pa	3:		
	the rop	e alright	stop	it			
	48	i	ad-i.v	viy-a	•p-'a	ad-'i	
		motion		beco beco		cause	-now-imper.
68.	ba l š?a i	1 m •	wa•7	°u?	awa 1]	k ^w aq	[?] u•yuq
	tie it		said	the o	one	tendin	ng (ref.to)
	bax-š-'	ad-'i	29		64		5
	tie-mom	now-imper.					
69.	ya b	a≯apčeyk [™] aq				?uk™a	·• 1
	that t	hat he has t	ied up			on	
	Ъ	ax-ap-čey-a·l	k -' aq			?u-(k	x♥)a• 1
	tie-up	right-result. condit.	-	ve-ar	t.	it-or	n surface
70.	šučsaq.	či•?i \	1i1ib :	i•wiy	a•p		
	the tre	e pull	make .	it ti	ghte	r	
	54	či•-i)	111ib	-i•wi	y-a•	р	
		pull-mom	. tigh		beco fere		15 e

?a·di·siła či·?ia. tucqši^λ. 71. he had just done pull it broke ?a·di·si₁-'a tucq-(š)ia 70 only,-happened-he fiber breaks-mom. just čistu paq 72. caqi · ciłuw caqi · ci łuw it was twenty fathoms was twenty fathoms the rope 72 caqi·c-il-uw 48 twenty-fathoms,-quot. lengths 73. ?atuwiš tucqšiλ [?]abxta•wadxadibtquy. it snapped that which was halfway yet just the same ?ab-xt-a.wad-xad-(i)bt-quy ?at-uw-iš middle-part-halfway-made-past-cond. yet-quot.-indef. *extending* of Aakišidduw "šu." 74. ya alright he stood up that one λakiš-(š)iλ-'aλ-uw standing-mom.-then-quot. cistupawałuktaq. 75. the one tending rope cis-tup-awal-uk-bt-'aq rope-thing-tending-dur.past-art. like for

76.	"šu	q″isiXa				q ^w abaxsa•btaq.		
	alright	it has ha	ppene	đ	that	which he wanted		
		q ^w is-i [,]	ax-'a	q ^w a-bax		baxsa•-b t-'aq		
		happen-mc	omno	w-it	way-	want-past-aŕt.		
77.	wiktaqši	•kid		⁷ axc	i	λa ^γ ubt		
	we will	not (agair	1)	that	pers	on again		
	wik-taq-	š-i•k=id		?ax-	ci	λa ^γ u-bt		
	not-leav	e-momfut	∶we		-that perso			
78.	dačo•1,"	wa•≯	a qa	• 1 a•ti	uk,	hidi•ksi🎝		
	see	said			ng er	taking		
	dač-o• 1	29	D	rothe:	r h	id-i•kis-iλ-'aλ		
	perceive	-see			1	occarry,-momthen take		
79.	čistu• pa	iq. XXVI.	hida	sia		ye•taxquya l		
	the rope	?	reac	hing	W	here they lived		
	48		hid-	hid-as-i l		(home may be)		
			loc.	locreac		ye-atax-quy-at		
					at-to-condthey ce live at			
80.	yadi•xa•	À	°ub	a.c.				
	right away		tal	talking about it		t it		
	yadi• x-'	ar	?u-	·ba·č				
	right am	vay-then	it-	-talk	abou	£		

wale ka [?]uyxabs XXVII. 81. [?]uwiy the news went to went wał-e·k-'ał $^{9}u-(y)ax-(a)bs$ [?]u-iy go-dur.-then it-inform-matter it-go to about 82. $yu \cdot 1^{2}u \cdot 1a \cdot tx$, čiša•tx. hu aya tx. Ucluelet Port Alberni Bamfield yu1-?u1-a·tax sheltered-place-people bay who live at 83. XXVIII. čapxada•kuw 1uč[?]u•pquya1 she had a husband their sister čapx-(d)a·k-uw łuč?u•p-quy-ał husband-has-quot. sister-cond.-their/ they yal?iya·laq 84. ?usa·c hupačkt, somewhere island where he went yal-'iy-'a·l-'aq hup-ačkt [?]u-sa·c it-place dome-in water that-go-then-art. place shaped (where) 85. ?uya·w?e·s ?uya•w?e•s. hidasia going for that purpose reaching going for the purpose [?]u-(y)a·w-'e·s 79 85 it-do for-going to that

86.	XXVIX.	yalquy		ya	xa•	da•kaq	
		where m	ay be	that	the	e lady	
		ya l- quy			xa •	da•k-'a	ıq
		that-co place	nd.		lad	ly-art.	
87.	čapxada	•k	l uč?u	•pquy	ya	qaxšia	ıq.
	having	hushand	his s	ister		that d	lied
	83		83	5	one	qa x- (š	5)i -' aq
						die-mo	om.art.
88.	XXX. hid	awiżż	yuw	a•z	[?] u•yay	çuk A	
	arr	ived	the	n	then g	gave new	15
	hid	-awiλ-'a	y 3)	[?] u-(y)	ax-uk-'	'a l
	100	incept	ther	2	it-te:	ll-dur-t	then
89.	"qaxšia	,	x ačibi	siqsa	•kti•k	, II)	wa•7
	he died	,	the br	other	that y	you had	saying
	qax-(š)	i l -'a	x ačibi	.siqs-a	a•k-bt·	·i·k	29
	die-mom	he	the bi	other [.]	-had-pa	ast-you	
90.	? uyuq	xa•da•k	aq,	"qaxš	ka,	pawałš	la."
	to	the lad	'y	he di	ed	he is 1	lost
	5	86		89		pawa ł' ((š)i \-' a
						lost-mo	omhe
91.	XXXI.	yuwa• \	°a	•diwe•	sapsuw		
		then	sh	e only	let h	im say	that much
		9	°a	•di-we	•s-ap-	s-uw	
			<i>s 0</i>	much-	going	for-cau	se-?-quot

92.	xa•da•kaa	ą, yuwa•	d iaxa	bšill.	
	the lady	then	burs	t out cryin	ng
	86	9	ax-	ab-(š)ia-'a	1 A
			cry-	cause-mom	-then
93.	XXXII.	'ka•batps,	k a• b	atps, qaxe	<i>ii</i> da
	د	I know	I kn	ow that	t he has died
]	(a· bat-'ap-	S	qax·	·(š)iλ-qa
	J	know-cause-	I	die-	-momsub.
94.	hide•yib;	Aid,	?iyaxa∙⊀	a [?] axki,	," wa•2.
	we have a	found him	he is no	w here	she said
	hid-e•yi _l	o-'ax-id	°iy−ax្-'	a·2-'a 1	29
	locfind	d-now-we	at-there	-now-he	
95.	XXXIII.	wa•scu•tid	aš	[?] axci	L.
		which one	(I) wonde	r	
		wa•s-cu•t-	idaš	18	
		where-one	or other-	wonder	
96.	hupačkt	yalaxibt	uwis	q ^w i	sił?
	island	where it	hađ	haj	ppened
	84	yal-ax-(i)b t-uwis	q ^w i	is-i l
		that pla	ce-at-pas	t-quot. hag	open-doing
97.	?uyuqa•h	s	[?] axc	haya•k.	
	I refer	to	that	do not .	know
	?u-(y)uq	-'a• \ -s	18	haya•-al	k
	it-relat. to	ive-now-I		not know	wing-dur.

98.	šašada•kuw	hupačkt	ya l taqo	ła•≯quy
	it has a name, it is said	an islar	d where o	one could see
	šaš-(d)a•k-uw	84		q)0•±-'a• ³ -quy
	name-have-quot.		that-past place	-see-seqcond.
99.,	hu?a•bi	ba l ayu,	tuo	cqiyu
	still the same	tied	to	rn
	hu-a•bi	ba l -ayu	tu	cq-iyu
	same-manner, ty <u>p</u> e	tied-fini do	shed, to: one	rn-finished, done
100.	čistu•paq.	[°] axc [°] u	b a• ks	ka batp.
	the rope		ar as I	know
	48	18	ave b-a•k-s	93

far-have-I

Translation

This story originates from long ago, no persons I. being exactly sure how it actually occurred, only knowing where he had dived. II. Trying to change his condition because he was unsuccessful in catching whale. III. Both his younger brothers were killing whales and he being the only one not having done so as yet, an unfortunate. IV. Then looking for a means which he might have of changing because he also wanted to be like his younger brothers, both being whale hunters. V. Then he was everywhere where he should pray, to ask the great one for strength for whatever means he might have to change, to catch whale.³ VI. Then while in that state he again went out to sea, began whaling, but still no success with the whales. VII. After much time an idea occurred to him. VIII. There is a flowing of water which we call a whirlpool at the river. IX. Getting the desire that he would like to dive. "Maybe then it will change I will begin catching whales if I should do that." "I will dive where the strong flowing waters are." х. Then the younger brothers said, "Don't! Don't! It XI. must be hard to do the water is strong. There must be a strong suction perhaps that is why it spins at the waters,

it must not be proper if you should do that." XII. Then he would say it again, doing so for a long time. XIII. He became anxious in his desire to dive, shy, because he hever had success in the catch, because he is not like his younger brothers, having many times talked about it with those who were his younger brothers, all the time (saying), "Don't do it! Don't do it! It is dangerous to do," they would say to him. XIV. Then he would say right after, "Alright, I am anxious that I might dive." XV. "We will go, you two will come with me, you two carry the whaling rope." XVI. That which is called subuga'di is the Indian's prepared rope. 4 XVII. "Oh, alright, that is what you really want, you will say that for a long time, you might as well do it." XVIII. He then went, taking his younger brothers, one taking the rope, the whaling rope. XIX. There is it is said, a tree called λ atapt⁵ which he has used to wrap around (the tree) winding the rope three times. XX. Then placing the rope on the ground straight he then swam, the one who was going to dive. XXI. Already tied, ready for that which he was going to do when he reaches the depth that he wanted to go.⁶ XXII. Now it was the younger brother who was tending the rope, then one tending that which was for tying. XXIII. He then spoke,

the one (brother) tending the rope. "Alright, stop it! Tie it!" said the one tending (the rope) referring to that (rope) which he had tied on the tree. Pulling it to make it tighter he (the other brother) had just begun to pull and it broke. XXIV. The rope was twenty fathoms deep yet it still broke halfway along the rope. XXV. "Alright." He stood up the one who was tending the rope. "Alright he (the one who dove) has done that which he wanted. We will never again see him again," said the younger brother, taking the rope.

XXVI. Reaching wherever they lived they immediately began talking about it. XXVII. The news then went to Ucluelet, Port Alberni, and Bamfield.⁷ XXVIII. Their sister had a husband it was said, (she lived) somewhere on an island, where they then went to tell the news. XXVIX. Wherever the married lady was, the sister of he who had just died. XXX. Having then arrived then told the news. "He died, the brother that you had," they said to the lady, "He has died, he is now lost." XXXI. The lady let him say only that much, then she burst out crying. XXXII. "I know, I know, that he has died, we have found him, he is now here," she said.⁸

XXXIII. I wonder which island that is where that happened? It is that particular thing I do not know. It is said there is an island with a name where one sees the rope still tied, torn. That is as far as I know.

GLOSSARY

ROOTS ?ab, ?ap middle ?abxtača break in half ?a(•)d(i) only, so much ?adiyuq do to only that ?an two ?adicq two o'clock ?at yet ?atubtiš yet it had ?ax demonstrative root ?ayi many ?aya's many on the table bad tie balšil to tie bitx^w turn, spin bitxšik to turn around once caqi c twenty ciq speak ci·qci·q to be speaking ca flowing water calat water spilling downward

čawa•k one

čawa?akd one did then

čis rope-like, stringy

či·sap hanging lines, telephone wires

čab correct, proper

čabacpa right hand

čap husband, male

čakup hushand

či• pull

či•kis to be pulling

ča water

ča?ak water

čiša•tx people of Port Alberni

čit flat object on edge

či•**x** change in state of affairs (not due to a person's own control)

ci•xukš* whole situation turns for the better with signs forecasting success

ci·x wats to become afraid

či•x^wa? monster

da?uk accompany

da?uk?a. You go with:

dač perceive

da?a hear

dašuk strong

dašk^wiża it will be strong di•x^w wrap

ar y wrap

di•x^wcib diaper

du[•]b, du[•]p all, both

du baxawa 1 using all

hawii ready, complete

hawiłčił to be ready

haya k not knowing

haya[•]aks I don't know.

hi(')d, hi(')t locative root

hišu, šu alright

hu same

hu?e.y long ago

hu?e·yack^W from a long time ago hup dome-shaped hupabł bent, crippled

hupa·sib pot

hu aya tx people of Bamfield

?iy at (there)

?iyax?a It is there.

ka·batps I know. ku· just as well ku·wałika Go ahead just the same! k^wis other, different k^wistu·p of a different kind ka· shy ka·?aks I'm shy. łib tight łiłiba·pika Make it tight! łipx draw in łipxšił inhale łuč?u·p sister (man's) ła?u again, other ła?u?aq the other one

ka(•)bat know

Aad motionless

Aade 1 stay home

Aaki standing

Aakišpil standing on floor

hat hard

Lis light of color

kislak daylight

?o oh: pawał lost qaqač three qala tk younger brother qa.qla.tk younger brothers qax die qaxk^wača all died qe, qi long time qe k a l gone for a long time qi čit for a long time qo?as, qo?ac man, Indian q^wa(·) way q^wa?aq the way it is q^Wis happen q^wisià to do sub, sup to wind (?) supsiyat cedar boughs supšia to wind rope SUS swim susa to swim šaš name šašitaq it's name

šu, hišu alright šučas tree(s) te•y heavy te•yuk heavy tucq tear tucqšia to tear tapat suddenly think of taps dive tapsčik to dive ta•q exact, straight ta•qabika Make it straight! [?]u he, she, it ?uwiy?e·sid da·kaq We are going to the moon. ?ub far ?uš troublesome ?ušibsidak to have troubles ^{9}ux the one, the situation ($^{9}u+-x$ being) ?uxa·lak Is that you? [?]uy when, if or wa• say wa kas you will say wał go wałšił to go home

wass where wa•subti Where was it? wik not, no wike t not existing wiy never wiyubta he, it never did xa·da·k lady xačibisiqs older brother (woman's) xačičy brother or sister ya that yadix right away yal that place yaiubtaq place where it was yaq that which yaqxtid that which was used ye. that place yub improper, unable, bad yube?iy bad person yul sheltered bay yuq^wa· also (prob. yuw same, q^wa· way) then yuq wa ka he will also yuq^wa · baxsa to want to do also yuw same, then yuwe ka then it will

ac determined

acik skilled

axa cry

a·x?i·k cry easily

ibit water coming to surface

ibitqa water bubbling, whirlpool

(

SUFFIXES

-a· durative

huksa to count

-'a third person singular indicative

Indicative Paradigm

-s I -id we -'as you -'asu' you (pl.) -'a he, she, it -'al they lix^wa·s I am laughing. lix^wa[,]as You are laughing. kix"a.?a He is laughing. ix^wa d We are laughing. Aix^wa[,]asu[,] You folks are laughing. lix^wa·?al They are laughing. -ab causative cf. -ap -a bi manner, type, condition k^wi·sa·bi of different manner, type -(y)ack^w comes from ?uck^wi[,]?a he comes from (?u it) -ač [L] be in state of wi dač to be scared -a·či extend on the water, depth hida·čik go out to sea (hid loc.)

-ačià inceptive cf. -awià, -ičià

This suffix sometimes changes certain preceding fricatives to glides.

?i·wači to get big (?i·x big)

Auyačia to get better (Aul good)

-ačkat on the water

hidačkat something on the water (hid loc.)

-a.d toward

-a(·)d1 all along, outer surface

Au·la·dl smooth (Aul good)

-'ak durative

qačak needle

-(d)a(•)k possessing, having

?ušibsidak he has trouble (?ušibs trouble)
-'al third person plural indicative cf. -?a
-(k^w)a(.)l on surface

Aula·l clean (Aul good)

 $-a(\cdot)\lambda$ now, then

-(')ap standing, upright (?) citapk^w whale

-'a(')p, -a(')p, ab causative qaqača'p to allow three times (qaqač three) -apt made of

wika wapt bad person or thing, made out of bad (wika w bad)

-'aq article

 $\lambda a^{2}u^{2}aq$ the other one

-aqaq has the characteristic of being, very ?ušibaqaqxiš it is too hard to do (?ušib

trouble)

-a(') $q\lambda$ (has) under, behind, within

[?]u[?]a·q¹ inside ([?]u it)

-(y)aqst (going) inside

hitaqstup putting in (hit loc.)

-'as you (sg.) indicative Cf, -'a

-'as on the ground

tila's sit on the ground (tiq^w sit) -a(')s reach

hidas reaching... (hid loc.)

-a·tax([R]) go after, pursue

ha?uba•tx to fish, go fishing (ha?ub fish) -a•tax to live at

di·ti·da·tx people of Nitinaht ¬(y)a·w should, do for that

q^wisa^wa way it should happen (q^wis happen)

-a(•) wad middle or center from ends tapa wadib a belt (tap tied around) -awal taking care of, tending ca?awałk^w fisheries officer (ca- flowing water) -awia inceptive cf. -ičia, -ačia -(y)ax tell, inform ?uyaxuk to inform (?u it) -ax where (location) -ax [L] trying hi de yibx trying to catch find -ayu, iyu finished, done badiyu, badayu tied (bad tie) -ba·c talk about baqaba·čik What are you talking about? (baq what) -baxsa to want or wish for tapsčkabaxsa • wanting to dive (taps dive) -(i,u)bit past, times 'iyaxubt were there ('iyax there) ?adibt twice, two times (?ad two) -(i,a)bs, (i)b bunch, thing pacabs foam subcibs gravel, sand -ci(•) that person, thing, way (there)

-cu[•]t one or the other

?ucu t (toward) that side (?u it) -č momentaneous cf. (č,š,k^W)ik -čey to be in resulting condition kiak"čey broken up (kia break) -Ču (having gotten) in that state daqču drunk (daq drink) -dua reason, because q^waduk that reason why (q^wa way) -e k future -i·k -e(·)k durative wałe k to go -(')e's going (intending) to do Aix^wa[,]e[,]sak Are you going to laugh? -ey (at that) time see -iy -eyak use for ha?uba txeyk for fishing -eyip catch, find wikeyips I didn't catch anything. (wik no, not) -i C possessive, belonging to xadaki c the woman's, that which belongs to the woman -'i(ka) imperative singular wik, wikika Don't do it: -'ič(ka) imperative plural wikička Don't (you folks) do it:

-ičia inceptive cf. -ačia, -awia tila·lich to get wet (til wet) -id first person plural indicative cf. - a -idaš wonder ?ačk^waqlidaš (I) wonder what it is called -(k^w)iduk together, accompanying, with ?u·k^widuk^w to be with, accompany (?u he,she) -i dux" look for $^{9}u \cdot dux^{W}$ to look for, search for (^{9}u it) -i·k, -e·k future wiktaqši•kid we will not again yuwe * kid then we will -'i(')k given to, tendancy to ?ax?i.k cry baby (?ax cry) -i·kis take with, carry či•kis dragging, trolling (či• pull) -il fathom, length λ axil ten fathoms (λ ax ten) -il happen, doing hitxsuwił go downstream (hitxsu downstream) -(č,š,k^w)i¹, č, š momentaneous -i·> future dačo·li·lid we will see

-is first person singular object ha?uka psuwičis you folks fed me -iš indefinite q^wabtuwiš the way it was -i t existing, having Auli ta hidadl He has a good personality. (Aul good) -'it lay something on the ground 'yax'ita b -'it passive we?ita someone told him -i'w(iy) to become different [?]uxi·wiyap to make it one way rather than another ([?]ux the one, situation) -iy, [?]uy, [?]ey (at that) time lax?uy now [?]uyiy that time wiktstey wrong time -iy durative hawliy ready, finished -(')iy go to yal?iyaq that place where he went (yal that place) -iyu, ayu finished, done

Aušiyu dried (Auš dry)

-k [R] do

-ki here, particular

-k^wab rear

Aiča·k^wab stern of canoe

-k^waqił named

?ačk∀aqłik What is your name? (?ač how)

-(q)o(·)1 see

?uqo·1 to see it (?u it)

-qa subordinate, because

wikqas because I'm not (wik no, not)

wikxsuk because you're not

wikqa because he's not

wikxid because we're not

wikqasu because you folks are not

wikqal because they're not

-qa durative

čixqa• pouring out

-quy conditional

ci·šiảdqu·s when I sweep
ci·šiảdqu·suk when you sweep
ci·šiảdquy when he sweeps
ci·šiảdquyid when we sweep
ci·šiảdquyaksu when you folks sweep
ci·šiảdquyał when they sweep

-q^wi• do

baq^wi yuqik What are you referring to?

- -S first person singular indicative/conditional/ subordinate cf. - a, -quy, -qa
- -S doing (?)

xuqsa p spilling

-sa·c place

[?]usa[•]c someplace ([?]u it)

-sit happened cf. -it

baqsili what happened. (baq what)

-Suk second person singular conditional/ subordinate cf. -quy, -qa

-Suwič second person plural

ha[?]uka • psuwičis you folks fed me

-Š momentaneous cf. (Č,Š,k^W)iA

-Ši• actually, really

dašukaši• it really is strong (dašuka it is strong)

-taq leave

wiktaqšia left without doing (Wik no,not) wa•staqšaik Where do you come from? (wa•s where)

-tup kind, type, thing made of

huktup bird (huk fly)

-uk, k(") durative te•yuk heavy -'uk"at manage to ba'uk^witi• by what means would one manage to? (baq what) -ul durative čabuł able -'ul place -u(')p causative cf. -ap hitaqstup putting in -uq has on (?) ?uqa·d1 has on surface (?u it) $-(y)uq^{W}$ do to or with reference to [?]uyuqika Give it to! Do it to! Say it to! Cause it to! etc... ([?]u it) -uw(is(i)) quotative, 'it was said' ?uk^wi•1ubtuw it used to be made (?uk^wi·lubta it was made) -u(•)WS maybe, might kiAsa•puwsas you might break it -?uy at that time see -iy -wał go do ku·walika You go ahead and do! (ku• just as well)

(te[?]ił *sick*)

-xad made of

-xt part extending

?abxtači to break halfway (?ab middle) -.'a.wk day

Ris'a wk daytime (Ris light (of color)

FOOTNOTES

My Nitinaht language research is supported by a grant from the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund, Whatcom Museum of History and Art, Bellingham, Washington. The analysis that I have presented here could not have been accomplished without the help of elders for information or without the technical assistance of Dr. Barry F. Carlson, of the University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia. I would like to thank especially, Charlie Jones Sr. of Port Renfrew, British Columbia, my parents Robert (Sr.) and Edith Joseph of Nitinaht Lake, British Columbia, and my grandmother Ida Jones of Port Renfrew.

2

1

Sometimes, lengthening of a root/stem vowel indicates a change in aspect. It seems to show that something is <u>being done</u> (or perhaps initiated), is <u>in process</u>, or is actually occurring, although perhaps gradually.

qa•xsa•p	to be killing (now)
qaxsa•p	did kill
? u•yaxk	to begin telling
?uya xuk	to inform

There are other alternations involving vowel length which are not completely understood at this time.

Much preparation took place before the actual hunt for the whale. The people took part in whaling songs $(\frac{\dot{c}i\cdot tapi\cdot dk^{W}})$ and dances while the hunter sought strength from a great spirit, doing so in isolation, fasting and cleansing himself for months.

qičiža,	[?] usibč,	dašiw l	ti• \ tiy
then for a long time	ritual of preparation	getting stronger	bathing and rubbing
hidaqias	wiy A	awe [,] iy,	^{?u?i} ł
in the woods	never g	oing n ear	living with
yaqcaxquy	qi•čiλ	čawa:ča;	çčλ.
his mate	for a long time	for as .	long as one year

4

3

badiyod	°uxtida∙λ	l uk ^w idpaq	[?] uck ^w iy
now tied	made out of	sinew	from
hitape taq	čitapk ^w aq.	ya•qk ″ i• 1	ubtaq hisi subtaq,
the back of	the whale	that whic used t	

dudu · kx, [?]uda · kaduk.

while singing it has a song

(The following song was sung by Ida Jones)

49

ι

[?]uxa•ksiš ?a•ha ?o•ho• hi•da•deqs ?i?i·x?aq cu·ya 2020 'iyayiwa ya ha **?e**•yiwa•yaha ?uxa·ksiš hida·deqs 2020 ?i?i·x?aq du·či·yu 2020 [?]eyiwiya•ha ?iyayiwa•ya•ha aca ksiš hi da deqs 2020 kaca·ksiš hida·deqs 2020 **?eyiwaya**•ha **?iy**ayiwa•ha ?u

yuq^wa [?]uxtid čistu·paq tasa•dł ?išići•płaq also made of the rope has rubbed that which was pitch on či•stupi•1it hiyoxquy čitka [?]uscukubtuw, when finished winding making rope it used to be hard ?uk^wi·łi·t. ?o·diłtuwik ?išičiyp wik<u>x</u>ax хa, making it used to have on pitch so as not to that ?išičiyp, tasa·dła·Aqiyuw bakšike·saAquyuw caxišia, the pitch it would be rubbed when it was to unravel be tied on

lilibi wa.

it became tight

The eldest brother chose a yew(wood) to anchor the rope. The ropemanship planned here was probably quite commonplace for anchoring canoes or moving heavy objects (whales, logs). The use of the tree as a leverage point could be primarily intended for the return haul as well as the quick anchoring.

51

It was the diver's intention to pull on the rope when he wished to return.

7 Any news, expecially news of deaths or marriages, travelled very quickly up and down the coast, as relatives were widespread. A chief might have many wives from various regions of the coast.

8

6

Apparently the whirlpool extended downward and spilled out at another island where he was found drowned with the rope still on his waist.