THREE DISCOURSE ELEMENTS IN BOAS' KWAKW'ALA TEXTS

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In this paper I would like to examine the relationship between three recurrent elements in the Kwakw'ala texts published by Franz Boas: the particle /wɛ/ "well, go on"; the deictic and adverbial auxiliaries; and the quotative suffix /-ła/ "they say, it is said." The primary significance of each of these elements taken in isolation appears to be on the level of discourse. The significance of some of their combinations may extend beyond the text, involving issues of genre and performance.

These are not rare or minor elements. In many texts they occur together in every sentence. Yet Boas failed to explain their occurrence, let alone their frequency. We will first examine what Boas had to say about each of these elements, and about the paradigmatic sets to which he thought they belonged; then turn to the texts to see how they were used.

1. /wɛ/ "well, go on"

Boas glosses /wɛ/ as "go on! well!" (1921:1396), and as "go ahead" (1947:266). These glosses and the accompanying exclamation marks appear to derive from the use of this element in imperative constructions. According to Boas, the simplest Kwakw'ala imperative is formed from the 'infinitive' of the verb, which may be preceded by /wɛ/ as an 'introductory'

particle: /wɛ, dexwʔid, Kixinit!/ "jump, Kixinit!"; /dexw-/ to jump, /-xʔid/ inchoative suffix (ibid.). The suffix /-gaʔ/ is used on verbs with the inchoative suffix to express an imperative demanding "the immediate starting of an action": /duxwʔidagaʔ/ "look!"; /duxw-/ to look, /-xʔid/ inchoative, /-gaʔ/ imperative. This imperative suffix is also commonly suffixed to /wɛ/: /wɛgaʔ axʔidquʔ/ "take this!"; /-quʔ/ pronominal demonstrative ("this near you") (ibid.).

The particle /wɛ/ is not the only element used in this way. As a matter of fact, Boas states that "in most cases the imperative is introduced by imperative forms of /wɛ/ go ahead; /ha/ (Koskimo /ga/) go; /gi/ come; /gwa/ finish (for imperative negative)" (ibid.). The contrast between most of these forms is evident. But the difference between /wɛ/ "go ahead" and /ha/ "go" is hard to see.

Like /wɛ/, /ha/ is commonly used with the imperative suffix /-gaʔ/: /hagaʔ naxʔida laq/ "go and drink of it"; /naq-/ to drink, /-xʔid/ inchoative, /laq/ indirect object. There are several other suffixes used in imperative constructions: /-la/ imperative of continued action and /-dzo/ emphatic among them. One minor distinction between /wɛ/ and /ha/ is that /wɛ/ does not (except in Koskimo Kwakw'ala) take the imperative continuative suffix.

/Ha/ is described in Boas' 1921 glossary as an "exclamation" (1921:1397). It is not difficult to find exclamations in Boas' texts which begin with or contain /ha/. Some of

these are ceremonial "cries": e.g. /haya haya ha/ "fool dancer's cry" (ibid.). In the genre of discourse called by Boas "wail" in English (Kw. noun /lagwalemas/ [op. cit.:891.40], verb /qw'asa/ [op. cit.:860.44] or /lagwaɬal/ [op. cit.:1433], "to wail, to shout, to call"), which appears to be a kind of formal recitation of one's genealogy, various sequences like /haha hahani/ or /hana hana hi/ are used to mark the sections of the discourse, alternating "refrains" and "genealogy."

Perhaps most importantly for this discussion, /ha/ was used in oratory. Although there is no example of formal oratory in Boas' texts (the speech described by Hunt [op. cit.: 788-793] is not a transription of a particular performance, but a generalized description of what happens in such performances), Boas has described its characteristics:

In formal addresses made by a chief, his speaker stands next to him, holding in his hands the "speaking staff," a pole about six feet long...Some of the staffs were hollow and contained a handful of pebbles, so that they rattled when struck against the floor. In a low voice, the chief tells the speaker what he wishes to say, and the speaker puts it in oratorical form and delivers the speech. He stands quietly, resting the staff on the floor. At the end of an emphatic sentence he strikes the floor with his staff and bands his knees with an energetic movement. Most speakers begin every sentence or pause with the short syllable "ha"...In small assemblies with less formality, a person may rise from his seat and speak without using a staff, but whenever the speaker stands in the middle of the circle of his audience, the staff is as indispensable as the blanket of the dancer...Thus, in a speech welcoming guests... "Ha, you have come. Ha, welcome, tribes! Ha, welcome to you as you have come! Ha, you have come, you have come. Ha, be comfortable in the house, in the large house" (1966:352-3, my emphasis).

This use of /ha/ in oratory parallels /wɛ/ as it is used in other forms of discourse, chiefly narrative. Although we will

leave more detailed discussion of /wɛ/ in narrative until a later point in the paper, it is helpful to give an example here:

1. wɛ, laemˡawisida   babagwemi qelxwʔida.   5
     "well, and so now,   boy   fell ill.
       they say, this
     wɛ, laˡai k'is   gaiɬexs,   6
     "well, now, they
     say, it wasn't   long
       lai   wik'exʔida.   7
      "now (before)   he died.
     wɛ, laˡai   ẃenemt'itseẃa babagwemxdi.   8
     "well, now, they
      say,   was buried   the dead boy."
     wɛ, hiemˡawis aɬis gaX nɛńakwida ẃenemtaxdi   9
     "well, and so then,
     they say, just come   return   the buriers
       lai   hiudi ɬaẃenemxdɛs Hadaẃa.   10
      "now (when)   faint   husband of Hadaẃa.

(from "Mink and the Sun," Boas and Hunt 1906:80-88; see appendix, lines 5-10).

In many, but not all, narratives, /wɛ/ precedes every main clause (clauses 7 and 10 are subordinate clauses). The form of each line is: /wɛ/, followed by one or more auxiliaries (AUX) and the various suffixes AUX takes (all printed on the left-hand side) followed by the subject noun, main verb, object, possessor, and so on (printed on the right-hand side): /wɛ/, AUX-S-V-O.

While Boas' brief example of Kwakw'ala oratory is in English, one infers from his comments that /ha/ introduces

sections of discourse, also strongly marked by paralinguistic features of pause and intonation, that are often natural syntactic units, sentences. Boas never discusses performance of narrative, and tape recordings of traditional narratives are · not available at this writing. In the example of narrative quoted above, the particle /wɛ/ does introduce each sentence. It might be tentatively suggested that the sequences introduced by /wɛ/ might be similarly or at least analogously marked by pause and intonation. /Ha/ is the discourse particle of oratory; /wɛ/ of narrative.

It would seem reasonable that the generic distinction in discourse use of /ha/ and /wɛ/ would be paralleled in some fashion by a distinction in their use in imperatives. Again, Boas is silent as to what such a distinction might be. While investigation of their use in dialogue in texts would most likely give some clue, work with living informants might be mo re useful.

2. Auxiliaries.

Boas did not group together all the elements which fill the syntactic role of auxiliary. He distinguished between verbal auxiliaries like /la-/ "to go, now," and /gax-/ to come, now," "intransitive" or "adverbial" verbs like /k'is-/ "not" and /o-/ "only, just" (1947:257-9, 281), and "emphatic verbal pronouns" like /hi-/ "that, then" (third person outside speech event) and /yu-/ "this, then" (third person near second, within speech event) (op. cit.:157-9). In fact, all these forms fill the same slot in the texts. A simple sentence, for instance the first one in an extended discourse, takes the form Verb-Subject-Object-Oblique, although one or more of these slots typically are not filled (pronominal elements follow a similar order). But, as Boas noted, the main clause in "connected discourse" requires a "coordinate construction" (op. cit.:281). The main verb requires one or more auxiliary verbal forms preceding it; so the orded is AUX-S-V-OBJ-OBL. Subordinate clauses, using the sobordinating suffixes /-xs... -ai/, typically contain auxiliaries in this same slot. It seems useful to collapse Boas' three categores of auxiliaries into two: "deictic" auxiliaries, including /la-/ "to go, now," /gax-/ "to come, now," /hi-/ "that, then," the three most common auxiliaries; and "adverbial" auxiliaries like /k'is-/ "not" nad /o-/ "just, only." The contrasts between the deictic auxiliaries appear to involve distinctions of focus and topic and the sequentiality versus co-occurence of events in a narrative (Berman 1982). What interests us here, however, is not the distinctions within the auxiliary paradigm, but the presence in discourse of the auxiliaries as a group. For a section of narrative with auxiliaries, see example 1 above.

Auxiliaries are obligatory in connected discourse; it is their absence rather then their presence which must be explained. While the narratives in Boas' texts often lack /wɛ/ or the quotative, the two other elements we are examining, there is no text in all those recorded by Boas and George Hunt, by any

narrator, which lacks AUX. This is not to say, however, that
every main or subordinate clause contains an auxiliary. Among
those texts which consistently lack /wɛ/, there are main clauses
whic consist of verbs without auxiliaries. In some cases,
this occurs at what are obviously expresively elaborated
moments in the narrative (see appendix, "Xugwemga," clauses
53-63, for an example).

Auxiliaries are stems which take a variety of suffixes.
Only rarely is an auxiliary stem found in a clause-initial
position in a discourse without any suffix at all. Thefour
most common classes of suffixes found on AUX are tense and
aspect suffixes, connective suffixes, deictic suffixes, and
evidential suffixes. And in most of the narratives in Boas'
texts, the most common suffix by far is the evidential suffix,
/-la/ quotative.

3. /-la/ "they say, it is said"

The most common suffix on AUX is the quotative, and
the quotative rarely occurs anywhere else but on the
the first auxiliary of the main clause. It is almost never
found in subordinate clauses. In those rare main clauses
which lack AUX (see appendix, "Xugwemga," clauses 43, 54-5,
etc.), the quotative is found in the verb instead. The only
other kind of word on which it appears to occur is the stem
/qa-/ used in causal subordinate clauses ("Xugwemga," clause
73); no example has yet been found in which it occurs more

than once in a clause. In most narratives in which it occurs,
it is used in every or nearly every primary auxiliary (the
first of the main clause). The problem of its wholesale
presence in or absence from a narrative is one that will be
considered later.

Boas placed the quotative (Q) in a class "denoting the
source of information" (1911:496; 1947:245). Between his
1911 sketch of Kwakw'ala and his 1947 grammar he altered the
list of suffixes he included in this class. In 1911 he included
four suffixes, one of which was /-la/, the quotative:

/-la/	lalai	"now, it is said" (/la-/ "to go, now")
/-emskw/	gaxemskw	"he has come - as you ought to know, since I told you before" (/gax-/ "to come")
/-enga/	laenga	"in a dream it was seen that he went" (/la-/ "to go, now")
/-xent/	k'isxent	"evidently not" (/k'is-/ "not")
		(from Boas 1911:496)

In 1947 Boas removed the suffix /-emskw/ from this list; it
is also absent from the glossary of suffixes. The examples
provided in the later grammar are considerably more extensive
(1947:377, 372, 305).

Whether these evidential suffixes number three or four,
they do not form a class in the sense that there are func-
tional parallels among them. The only one of these suffixes
which has even a remote functional analogy to /-la/ quotative
is /-enga/ "in a dream." The other suffix(es) appear only
occasionally in a text; but /-enga/ like /-la/ can be found

recurring in every main clause in some texts. In the 1925
volume of texts, Boas published a series of 68 narratives
about dreams collected by Hunt, comprising 21 pages of Kwa-
kw'ala text. In the parts of these texts directly describing
the events of the dream, every auxiliary contains the suffix
/-enga/. There are, in fact, only four exceptions to this in
the 21 pages. Two of these are very similar. The dreamer
is returning to home or canoe when he or she awakes; the AUX
of the clause describing the returning as well as that des-
cribing the awakening lacksthe evidential (1925:6.19; 34.26).
There are other cases in which the AUX of returning <u>contains</u>
the evidential (op. cit.:8.22-3).

In the third exception, the auxiliary apparently lacks
an evidential because it refers to a real state that holds
true outside the dream: a man gets lost in the fog in a dream,
and /wɛ, lap'elx̱daxsema/ "well, now I did not know the rocks"
(op. cit.:10.5).

Finally, in one main clause the evidential suffix is
replaced by a suffix Boas did not include in the evidential
class: /-xdli/ "miserable, pitiful" (1947:374). Grizzly bears
are pursuing the dreamer; he shoots one, but then

2. wɛ, laengen hanlʔidx̱a n̓emxdɛs   "well, now I shot the other one (in a dream).
  wɛ, laxdlin̓i udzegaatleli hantlaẙas   "well, now unfortunately my shot missed.
  wɛ, gax̱ʔengan̓i dax̱ʔid gax̱ʔengen   "well, now it took hold of me (in a dream)"
    (Boas 1921:2.19-21)

Like Q, the dream evidential /-enga/ is found on all
primary auxiliaries, and on the verb of the main clause when
the auxiliary is missing. It is also found, however, in many
other environments. First, it is found in auxiliaries which
introduce clauses of temporal subordination, and on the ele-
ment /qa-/ which introduces clauses of causal subordination
(we noted one example of Q occurring on /qa-/ above). It is
also found in the elements which introduce indirect objects
(formed from the same stems /la-/ and /gax̱-/ that are also
used as auxiliaries). It is found on the conjunction stem
/dluʔ-/ "and." It is found on attributive words (/ix̱ʔengɛ/
"good-in-a-dream" [1925:2.6]) and on nouns (/yekwilʔengɛ/
"dream-twins" [op.cit.:14.19]). Some of the narrators of these
dreams simply seem to like using the suffix, and use it con-
stantly, on auxiliaries, verbs, nouns, attributes, throughout
the narrative, perhaps to emphasize the dream-like quality of
the narrated events.

Another factor which distinguishes the dream evidential
from Q is that the former really is only found in clauses which
describe events experienced in dreams. The gloss of Q by "it
is said," or, "by hearsay" (Boas 1947:234), implies the idea of
information received from others; but there are narratives of
events known only at second-hand which do not contain Q at all
(e.g. "Murder after the death of a Gwats'enux̱w child," Boas
1921:1381-85). In other such narratives, Q is found only a
few times. We can only conclude that Q is not, strictly

speaking, an evidential: that is, its presence in a text is due to other considerations than the source of the information. We will return to this point later.

4. Measured verse and rhetorical patterning in Kwakw'ala narrative.

To better illustrate the function of these three elements, /wɛ/, AUX, and Q, within a single discourse, two texts are included in an appendix.

Let us look first at the first of these texts, "Mink and the Sun" (from Boas and Hunt 1906:80-88). In the appendix, each main clause beginning with /wɛ/ is printed beginning at the far left. Every other clause containing a verb and/or an auxiliary is printed beginning four spaces in. Each of these clauses has been given a number.

The arrangement of these clauses into the groups marked with roman numerals and letters becomes clear if we look at the ideas these clauses are expressing.

Each of the lower-case roman numerals marks a shift in setting (time and place) and by changes in the coherence and the pace of the flow of the action. Within these units ("scenes") a stylized pattern of events can be seen, in which the event-unit is the ˄set of clauses headed by the particle

clause or

/wɛ/ plus AUX plus Q. In the first two numbered clauses, both independent event-units, the topic is the names of the characters - and there is a repetition of the stem /ʎlig-/ "to call, name." In the next four /wɛ/-units (labelled B) the

action follows the stylized pattern: in the first /wɛ/-unit, clause 3, we are told the setting; in the second (clause 4) we are introduced to the main topic, the boy; in the third (clause 5) the crucial event, his illness; and in the fourth (clauses 6 and 7) we learn the outcome - the boy dies. Again, in C, the first unit (clause 8) tells us the "setting" - the situation within which the rest of the action occurs - the dead boy has been buried. In the next /wɛ/-unit (clauses 9 and 10) we are given our introduction to the action: the husband faints. In the third (clause 11) we are told the crucial event, his death. And in the fourth (clause 12) we learn the outcome - they went _again_ to bury. We can follow this same stylized sequence in the last group (D): in the first, the setting, or situation; in the second, the introduction to the action of this group of clauses; in the third, the climax, crux, or furthest extension of the action; and in the last, the outcome. This is not an automatic parcelling of action into clauses, but a matter of dramatic highlighting by the narrator.

We might call these patterned groups of clauses labelled here with upper-case roman letters "verses," following Hymes (1981; see especially ch. 4-6). Within each scene, verses appear to follow a similar four-part pattern: verse A - setting; B - introduction to action; verse C - climax; verse D - outcome. Within the verse can be seen another level of structure, perhaps less clearly defined, which might be termed the "coup-

let." Each pair of sentences marked with a lower-case roman
numeral falls together, in patterns of situation-event, setting-
action, cause-effect. While the second and third sentences in
a verse are closely related in topic, and belong to the same
sequence of events, they often lack any direct causal relation-
ship.

There is much more which could be said about rhetorical
patterning in Kwakw'ala narratives. What is germane here is
the fact that in thie text, these event-units, these /wɛ/-
marked groups of clauses, are structural units at the level
of the rhetorical organization of the discourse. There is
a further point which is crucial to this discussion: in the
example above, syntactic units, sentences, coincide with
rhetorical units, but there is no necessary reason why this
should be so. Consider, for instance, clauses 129-32 in
this same narrative. In this example, there are three full
sentences. Two, the first and the third, begin with the
particle /wɛ/. The second, the sentence which lacks /wɛ/,
is actually a re-phrasing, an elaboration of the information
provided in the preceding sentence. The fact that is lacks
/wɛ/ gives weight to the possibility that it is not a sep-
arate rhetorical unit, but belongs, so to speak, to the pre-
vious /wɛ/. There are other examples which could be examined
in detail; but we can adopt, at least as a working hypothesis,
that in this narrative, /wɛ/ is the linguistic indicator of
the smallest rhetorical unit. We might call this unit, on

the analogy of "verse," a "line."

In "Mink and the Sun," the following cooccurrence rules
govern the behavior of /wɛ/, AUX, and Q:

I. (a) /wɛ/ is always followed by an independent clause;
(b) /wɛ/ obligatorily co-occurs with AUX and Q. (There
are actually several exceptions to this in the narrative
[clauses 2, 115, 123, 125, 233, 234, and 263]; the first
one and the last three are obvious metanarrative comments
by the narrator and the other three mark a flashback.)
Dialogue, of course, is excepted.
(c) A few independent clauses are not preceded by /wɛ/.
In these clauses an initial AUX with Q is obligatory.
(d) Subordinate clauses and other dependent verbal con-
structions invariably lack /wɛ/ and Q, though they often
contain AUX.
(e) The verb /ñik-/ "to say" is regularly appended to
dialogue without AUX, with Q (e.g. clause 43).
(f) Dialogue, the performed speech of characters, invar-
lacks Q; most clauses contain AUX; and some, according
to rhetorical accenting, have /wɛ/.

Let us look at a rather different text, "X̱ugwemga,"
collected by Boas some 30 years after "Mink and the Sun"
(from Boas 1935-1943:69-71), second in the appendix.

In this narrative, the following situation exists:

(a) /wɛ/ occurs only once in this narrative (clause 75).
It is, in this single instance, followed by an indep-
endent clause, and co-occurs with AUX, but not Q.
(b) Many, but not all, main clauses begin with AUX.
Only some of these AUX co-occur with Q (5 with Q, 4 without).
(c) Many, but not all, main clauses which occur without
AUX do co-occur with Q (e.g. cla se 54 with Q, 51 without).
(d) There are two cases in which Q occurs in subordinate

clauses. In one of these Q is suffixed to an AUX; in
the other, it is suffixed to the stem /qa-/ expressing
purpose (clause 63 with AUX, 73 with /qa-/.

This is a radical departure from the use of these elements
in the previous text. Many of the observations made about
rhetorical form in "Mink and the Sun" continue to be true
here, however. What is different is the relations of these
linguistic elements to rhetorical structure.

If we look at these relations the following facts become
apparent:

(a) The linguistic feature which invariebly marks a
minimal rhetorical unit in this text is Q. Q does
not invariably co-occur with either /wɛ/ or AUX.
(b) AUX are still important. In contrast to the first
text, in which nearly every separate action, nearly
every independent clause, was treated as a separate
rhetorical unit with /wɛ/, it is common in this text
for several independent clauses, each with AUX, to
occur in a single rhetorical unit. Often these are
parallelisms (clauses 2-4), but sometimes they contain
new information (clauses 11, 12). What could be thought
of as poetic "lines" in the first text have become little
"versicles."
(c) Rhetorical units ("lines" or "versicles") without
AUX are only found verse-medial or verse-final. The
seem to occur at expressively highlighted moments.
(d) If we look at "anomalous" features - the single
occurrence of /wɛ/ and the two instances of Q in other
then the initial clauses of versicles - we see that they
come right before the end of the first "move" of this
story, the sequence of action involving X̱ugwemga and
the dzunuqw'a.

These two texts do not contain the whole range of var-
iation in the cooccurrence of these three elements. To dis-
cover this, it is necessary to consider a large number of
texts.

i. Kwakiutl texts (1905) and Kwakiutl texts, second series
1906). The 1905 volume of texts was recorded by George Hunt
for Boas between 1895 and 1900, and contains approximately
210 pages of Kwakw'ala in some 52 texts. About 36 pages of
this are texts which completely lack the particle /wɛ/.
About 96 pages contain at least an occasional /wɛ/. The
remaining 78 pages of texts are in the style of "Mink and
the Sun," with consistently co-occurring /wɛ/, AUX, and Q
in nearly every independent clause. (In some texts otherwise
lacking /wɛ/, the particle is found in dialogue.)

The 1906 volume of Kwakw'ala material comprises texts
collected by Hunt between 1900 and 1903. All of the approx-
imately 123 pages of Kwakw'ala in this volume are in the
style of "Mink and the Sun," with co-occurring /wɛ/, AUX, and
Q. The single exception is the last text in the volume,
'Q'aniqiɬakw meets Mouth-body' (1906:249-254). Here the form
/wai/ exactly replaces /wɛ/ in all main clauses except the
last, which begins with /wɛ/.

It is assumed without detailed study of the rhetorical
form of these texts that the occasional occurrences of /wɛ/
in the 96 pages in the 1905 volume has some expressive purpose.
For instance, in some of these texts, the placement of /wɛ/

appears to correspond to that in "X̲ugwemga" in the appendix:
it comes at the end of a story of of a move or major episode
within the story. In "Kw'ikw'axawi (Great-Inventor)" (1905:
271-278), for example, the last main clause before the ends
of both the first and second move begins with /wɛ/. Like
"X̲ugwemga" above, AUX in these clauses does not co-occur
with Q.

There is variation in placement and frequency of "occa-
sional /wɛ/" within a text, and, apparently, a corresponding
a corresponding difference in the cooccurrence rules that
apply. For instance, in "Hamalakawaʔi (op. cit.:133-64),
there are, outside of dialogue, 47 occurrences of /wɛ/, or,
on the average, one /wɛ/ every 7.5 independent clauses. The
occurrences of /wɛ/ are not evenly distributed throughout the
text, but cluster at particular points. In this text, AUX
sometimes co-occurs with Q, sometimes not. On the other hand,
in "Bekw'es" (op. cit.:249-70), there are, outside of dialogue,
two occurrences of /wɛ/ in the last four sentences before the
end of the first move and three occurrences in the last five
sentences before the end of the narrative, including the for-
mulaic ending /wɛ, laem laba/ "well, and now it has gone to
the end." This is an average of one occurrencs every 50 main
clauses. And in "Bekw'es" /wɛ/ co-occurs with AUX but never
with Q.

We can now list a second set of cooccurrence rules for
/wɛ/, AUX, and Q:

II.(a) /wɛ/ is infrequent, and is clustered right before
major narrative breaks.
(b) /wɛ/ co-occurs obligatorily with an independent clause
with AUX.
(c) /wɛ/ never co-occurs with Q.

We also know of the existence of a third set of rules ("Hamala-
kawaʔiˑ), but the information is yet lacking to specify them.

Other kinds of marking may occur, though they are very
rare in the material Boas published. In "Wauxuts'axsemálaga"
(1905:318-21) /wɛ/ is used consistently in nearly every sen-
tence, according to our first set of rules; but often the for-
mulaic introduction of dialogue (/Laʔlai ñika../ "now, they say,
he said...") lacks /wɛ/.

There is some indication that differing styles, that is,
use of different sets of cooccurrence rules for these three
elements, has a basis in individual usage. For inst ce,
all of the "Traditions of the Denaxdaʔxw" (op. cit.:94-121)
but one and all of the "Traditions of the Tl'asqenuxw" (op.
cit.:354-74) completely lack /wɛ/; it is probable that Hunt
obtained these from a single narrator in each case. It is
not likely that this is due to local variation (e.g. Denaxdaʔxw
vs. Tl'asqenuxw vs. Kwaguɬ) because in most cases each style
occurs across "tribal" and dialectal boundaries.

ii. Kwakiutl tales (1910) was the next volume of texts to be
published. Some of these texts were, again, recorded by Hunt,
but 120 pages of Kwakw'ala text were collected by Boas from

other Kwaguɬ narrators, in 1893, 1897, and 1900 (1910:v et
passim).

In this volume an interesting pattern begins to emerge.
The last 200 pages (100 pates of Kwakw'ala) contain the
material recorded by Hunt, and here /wε/ is found in nearly
every sentence, co-occurring with AUX and Q. In those texts
collected by Boas, /wε/ is either lacking altogether, or
occurs only once or twice per page. In Boas' material, /wε/
is sometimes with, sometimes without Q ("Hamalakawaʔi,"[1910:9-39]
another version), but usually is invariably lacking it
("Kunosila," [op. cit.:82-95]). Boas himself noted that all
the texts collected by Hunt "present a certain uniformity of
diction" (op. cit.:v).

Some of the same myths and tales that are found in the
1905 and 1906 volumes replete with /wε/ occur here, told
by a different narrator, lacking /wε/ altogether: e.g.
another version of "Mink and the Sun (op. cit.:122-127).

In this volume, there is more complete information about
the original narrators, and some more definitive statements
about individual style could be made. For instance, Yagudlas,
a Nemgis, eschews /wε/, uses a great deal of dialogue, and
sometimes drops Q for the last few lines of a narrative (e.g.
op. cit.:142-7).

iii. Ethnology of the Kwakiutl (1921, 2 vols.) and Contri-
butions to the Ethnology of the Kwakiutl (1925). The texts
in the first volume of Ethnology of the Kwakiutl are mostly

non-narrative forms of discourse, although there are some
narrative segments (for instance "Twins" 1921:673). The
second volume, on the other hand, contains a great deal of
narrative material: formal genealogies of several chiefly
descent lines, and several historical texts containing des-
criptions of incidents of inheritance, blood revenge, and
the like. The 1925 collection of texts is exclusively
narrative: a series of dreams, a so-called "family history,"
and a life history abouth the "acquisition of names" by a
particular young man.

The material in these three volumes was collected over
a more than 17-year period by George Hunt, and was revised
by Boas only to standardize Hunt's transcrption practices
(1921:1467-8; cf. 1925:v). The rhetorical style of these
texts, even those which did not originate from Hunt, shows
great consistency. The non-narratie meterials use the par-
ticle /wε/ with AUX at the beginning of each sentence, but
lack Q. The narrative materials can be divided according to
the presence or absence of Q. The formal genealogies, narra-
tives describing the mythical origin of a descent line and
its subsequent fortunes down to the present, consistently
use /wε/, AUX, and Q together. (The so-called family his-
toey in the 1925 volume is not a traditional narrative of this
sort, but a narrative of events some of which were witnessed
by Hunt personally.) Material personally witnessed by Hunt
lacks Q. So too, however, does material heard from others

that is of a "historical" rather than a "traditional" nature, for example, the dream texts and "blood revenge" stories.

This is unusual if we expect that the quotative indicates, as Boas thought, the source of information - information heard from another rather than personally witnessed (no evidential suffix) or seen in a dream (the evidential /-enga/.) We will return to this problem soon.

There is a third volume of this series, <u>Religion of the Kwakiutl</u> (1930) which also contains material collected by Hunt. This volume was not examined.

iv. The last volumes of texts Boas published were the <u>Kwakiutl tales second series</u> (1935-1943). The majority of these texts were collected by Boas in the winter of 1930-31 at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay, although some (from Boas' assistants Dan Cranmer and Geroge Hunt) were added later, between the publication of the English translations (1935) and the original texts (1943).

The patter noted before, of consistent differences in style in those texts collected by Hunt versus those collected by Boas, is continued here. To begin with, every text recorded by Hunt uses the first set of cooccurrence rules, with /wɛ/, AUX, and Q invariably co-occurring at the beginning of almost every sentence. Now, some of the narrators Hunt recorded were also approached by Boas. Giqalas, a Gwawainuxw, <u>never</u> uses /wɛ/ in any of his narratives recorded by Boas, and, often, AUX in main clauses lack Q (e.g. 1943:109-110).

In the narrative of Giqalas recorded by Hunt (op. cit.:144-8), /wɛ/ always co-occurs with Q, and is found in nearly every main clause. It appears, then, that Hunt altered the material that Boas presented as faithfully transcribed, to conform to his <u>own</u> narrative style. There is a comment in this narrative of Giqalas which refers obliquely to this: /laxa q'aɟulɛsgen lax waɫdema.../ "according to the word of the one who told me the tale," i.e. Giqalas (1935:148; 1943:147). This kind of comment is lacking in most traditional narratives.

If we look at the material in this volume <u>not</u> supplied by Hunt, there are examples using each set of cooccurrence rules so far abstracted. One text recorded by Boas uses /wɛ/ plus AUX plus Q every sentence, a la Hunt (1943:24-29). Most, however, lack /wɛ/ altogether. A set of texts written by Dan Cranmer has occasional /wɛ/: in some of these, /wɛ/ co-occurs with Q; in others, it does not (op. cit:42-3 with; 32-33 without).

There are also several texts which lack Q completely. Two of these were collected from the same man, Tlabid, and are explicitly termed "tale" (/q'aɟuɫ/) as opposed to "myth" (/nuyem/) (op. cit.:117-21, 121-23). A myth text from this same narrator has Q (op. cit.:24-29). A third text, recorded by Hunt from Tl'aliɫ (and this is the only text from him), is titled by Boas, or Hunt, a "myth," but lacks Q (op. cit.:84-90). The fourth text lacking Q was written down by Hunt, "A Nimkish Ghost Story" (op. cit.:104-9), and the events in it are presented

as having happened to character known to Hunt. Interestingly,
an addition to this very story written by Cranmer contains
Q (op. cit.:109-110).

In brief, within any particular text, these three elements,
the particle /wɛ/, the auxiliaries, and the quotative suffix
/-ʾla/, mark major formal rhetorical features. There is a
"rhetorical hierarchy" which lies behind the rules governing
their cooccurrence: subordinate clause, main clause, sentence,
"versicle," verse, scene, move, etc. Let us first review
our <u>second</u> set of cooccurrence rules from this point of view:

(a) AUX marks the smallest segments, subordinate and
main clauses.
(b) Q usually appears in every main clause, that is,
it marks the rhetorical units we might call "lines" or
"versicles."
(c) Verse-initial lines (or versicles) obligatorily
carry AUX plus Q; verse-medial and verse-final lines
<u>may</u> sometimes appear without AUX but, again, must have
Q.
(d) Main clauses with /wɛ/ <u>without</u> Q mark the approaching
end of a larger segment of discourse, at the discretion
of the narrator.
(e) Q may be found in subordinate clauses at these points
in the discourse.

Choice of this set of cooccurrence rules appears to be the
most prevalent in the Kwakw'ala texts recorded by Boas and
Hunt. However, in some narratives, the markers used here to
indicate the separate levels of clause-sentence-line-verse-

episode are collapsed, resulting in the following situation
(our first set of rules):

(a) AUX is used more often, so that every main and most
subordinate clauses are marked.
(b) Every main clause, no matter what its status in
rhetorical structure, is marked with Q.
(c) Q never occurs in subordinate clauses.
(d) rhetorical "lines" or "versicles" are marked by /wɛ/.
(e) Lines and sentences coincide in most cases, so that
/wɛ/, AUX, and Q cooccur in most main clauses.
(f) Larger narrative units like verses, scenes, and
episodes tend not to be linguistically marked.

While most of the textual material in actual numbers of pages
is in this more heavily marked style, it seems probable that
this is due to the fact that so much of it passed through
Hunt's hands.

5. Cooccurrence rules, performance, and genre.
Hard-and-fast rules about use of these elements cannot
yet be formulated. Detailed rhetorical analysis has only
been performed on a very few of the thousands of pages of
Kwakw'ala text published by Boas, and it is obvious that there
is variation in narrative style from individual to individual.
Nevertheless, it is suggested that the basic meaning of
these elements remains constant for all Kwaguł narrators;
it is rather the way in which these meanings are made use of
that varies. Much of this is probably impossible to recover
from the texts. But there are several approaches that might

yield some insight.

As was noted before, the particle that supplies the closest analogy to /wɛ/ is /ha/. Both are used in nearly identical circumstances in imperative constructions, and were glossed by Boas as "go!" or "go on!" Although Boas' glosses indicate semantic distinctions among the other imperative introductory words, none is given for these two. However, when used in discourse, a distinction appears: /ha/ was used in the formal oratory witnessed by Boas, /wɛ/ in narrative.

Irvine isolates four variables of formality in speech events, one of which is "increased code structuring," that is 'the addition of extra rules or conventions to the codes that organize behavior in a social setting" (1979:776). It is hypothesized that obligatory cooccurrence of /wɛ/, AUX, and Q in main clauses expresses greater formality than less redundant marking. We can guess that the same is true of the particle /ha/: although Boas is not explicit, it would seem that the speaker's staff and the formal rhetorical style go together, and that /ha/ disappears when a group is addressed informally (see above, p. 3). Furthermore, and this has yet to be fully investigated, narratives with /wɛ/, AUX, and Q every sentence appear to have a more regular and perfectly realized rhetorical patterning than those with occarional or sporadic /wɛ/, where Q defines rhetorical units. "Mink and the Sun" in the appendix has four or eight verses per scene, eight scenes in the narrative, and, typically, four or eight

lines per verse. While patterns of four can be seen in "X̱u-gwemga" (four scenes per move, four verses in most scenes), their occurrence is not nearly as predictable. This kind of increased structuring we might call "rhetorical formalization."

Thus, we might be able to account for Hunt's insistence in his later material on using the more rigidly structured style by looking at the texts he sent to Boas as a series of communicative events. In fact, some of the non-narrative texts contain references to Boas' letters to Hunt and to specific inquiries by Boas. Such comments are less common in narrative material recorded by Hunt, although one such was noted above (p. 21). Hunt refers to these texts with the auxiliary form /yu-/ third person near addressee, "this near you" (for example Boas 1930,2:257). Each text was composed or recorded with a particular audience, Franz Boas, in mind.

In the very first narrative texts supplied by Hunt, all recorded before 1900 (Boas and Hunt 1905), we have a mixture of styles - only a little more than a third of the material appears with the obligatory coocurrence of /wɛ/, AUX, and Q nearly every sentence. Thereafter, all material that passed through Hunt's hands appears in this style. This is the very same point in time in which Hunt began to radically alter his style of self-presentation to Boas in other ways (see Boas 1966:121-5). This suggests that Hunt began by transcribing what he heard, but as his relationship to Boas became more

important, and, perhaps, more crucial to his sense of identity, he began to recast all his material in the more elaborately structured style he felt was more appropriate.

It might also be, though, that this more elaborate, rigidly structured style was actually recorded by Hunt, and is only brought out in certain social situations, in a certain kind of performance, which Boas' transcribing sessions rarely produced. It may be that Hunt's place in the community made it more likely that he would hear it, and increasingly so as he grew older.

Some of the force of this may have been felt by Boas when he included those versions of stories told in the more elaborate style in Kwakiutl texts, while those in less elaborate style were placed in Kwakiutl tales. This terminology may have been a preference of the publisher ("texts" published by Stechert [1905, 1906], "tales" by Columbia University Press [1910, 1935-1943]). There is, however, no ethnogeneric distinction reflected in the contents of these volumes: each contains both "myths" (/nuyem/, verb /nus-/ "to tell a myth") and "tales" (/q'aɟuɬ/, verb /q'aɟolagil/ "to tell a tale") (Boas 1943:21, 121, 105, 148, etc.).

There does appear to be something like a generic distinction at work in the use of the quotative. This may vary from narrator to narrator; let us first look at Hunt's use of it.

As noted before, all of Hunt's material, and the material

that passed through his hands, can be divided into two categories. One the one side are those narratives that can be called "traditional" (this is not claimed as an ethno-generic term): "myths" (/nuyem/) and "tales" (q'aɟuɬ/). Some other narrative genres, such as traditional genealogies, similarly use Q. Narrative of events personally witnessed never contains Q.

Falling in between are narratives of events of recent history - most seem to be of people personally known to Hunt - in which the narrative is usually absent, but appears in some narratives for brief segments of discourse.

One of the dream-texts collected by Hunt (number 43) is actually a narrative of a shamanic initiation that took place in post-contact times, when "many chiefs of all the tribes died of the great epidemic, influenza" (Boas 1925:29). The first part of the narrative, describing the setting of the initiation, lacks any evidential in the AUX. Then, the sentences framing the shamanic dream take on Q:

3. wɛ, laɬi ts'ek'aɬelasuxs   "well, and now he was
                                      informed (that)
        leɬai q'eyukwi   and now many people
        lɛ wik'ex²ida.   now they died.

    wɛ, laɬi adlebup'emxwaś qelgiɬa   "well, and now for seven
               yex Qw'elɛdi.   days he was in bed, this
                                       Qw'elɛd.
    wɛ, lɛ yawas²id mix²ida.   "well, now he fell asleep
                                      for a short while.
    wɛ, laɬai mixelosa atlanem   "well, now, they say, he
                                       dreamt of a wolf (that)
        gax gaxi lax gukwas.   now came into his house.

wε, laʔai ɦika atlanemaq...   "well, now, they say, the
                                 wolf said ·to him..."
           (from Boas 1925:28)

The wolf's speech is quoted directly, without evidentials of
any kind. Then, the next line contains both quotative and
dream evidential:

4.   ɦixʔengeʔaida atlaɦemʔengεex Qw'elεd,
     wε, laɦen bowida atlaɦemi.

        ·[thus], they say, the dream-wolf said-in-a-dream to
                                              Qw'elεd,
     "Well, and now the wolf left."

The rest of the story is without evidentials.

     In another narrative, "War against the Sanetch" (Boas
1921:1363-80), Hunt writes about an incident in which a man
wishes to revenge the death of his relatives. The events
took place in 1865, and were partly witnessed by Hunt when a
boy, though much he could only have learned about through the
accounts of others. The text, however, does not discriminate
with the quotative between what Hunt personally witnessed and
what is hearsay. In fact, the text lacks Q for most of its
17 pages. The quotative only appears in two places, each time
at the height of the action, after a long suspensful buildup.
In the first instance, Hunt describes at length the pre-battle
ritual and battle plan. Then, the warriors sail from Fort
Rupert. After four days without seeing a soul, they arrive
at the coast of the Sanetch. Late at night they spy a campfire.
From this point, all auxiliaries carry Q, through the night-

time sneak attack, to the actual killing of the Sanetch
family. Then the quotative is dropped and does not reappear
until a similar point in the next episode of the narrative,
when a nother man is about to be killed.

     From these examples it seems that Hunt uses the quotative
in these ·historical" narratives to highlight the most dramatic
moments. Not all of Hunt's historical narratives use the
quotative in any place, however.

     It should be emphasized that all these genres of narrative,
from myth to personal narrative, were still regarded by many in
Boas time as narratives of _real_ events (Boas 1943:105); to tell
invented stories is /kot'ala/ (ibid.; 1935:105). Absence of
presence of the quotative does not signify assured, personally
witnessed reality versus the dubious existence of events
learned of by hearsay. Instead, it seems to express an exper-
iential intensity, a heightened validity. Personal narratives
are not of events known of intersubjectively, they are there-
fore less valid, less important than myths. Events of recent
history, known of by many, may at times achieve the same kind
of intensity, thus meriting the quotative.

     It is difficult to compare Hunt's use of Q with that of
an body else, since almost all of this "historical" material
was supplied by him. There are two texts written by Dan Cran-
mer that have similar content. One of these is a story of
murder, revenge, theft and rivalry, apparently about histor-
ically known characters (but perhaps not known personally to

Cranmer?). It is explicitly titled /Q'aɟuɫ qa Uxsem/ "The
tale of Uxsem," and, like most of the material that passed
through Hunt's hands called /q'aɟuɫ/ "tale" uses Q consistently.
The other is an addition to a text of Hunt's, "A Nimkish Ghost
Story" (1943:104-9; Cranmer's addition pp. 109-11). Hunt
presents his story explicitly as real, as happening to real
people that he seems to have known personally; his version
lacks the quotative. In Cranmer's addition, the story is
more stylized -characters do things four times, quartz is
used by a ghost, and the main character meets an entirely
different end on the back of a fabulous sea-monster - all
more "mythical" elements. The same incidents are being retold
by Cranmer as traditional tale, rather than remembered his-
torical event.

There are three other texts in which the quotative is
absent. Two of these, termed /q'aɟuɫ/ "tale" were collected
from the same man, Tlabid (op. cit.:117-21, 121-23). A "myth"
/nuyem/ collected from this same man does have Q. The third
of these texts, collected from a Tl'aliɫ, is titled "myth"
(1943:64-60)
by either Boas or Hunt. There is no other material from this
narrator, making it difficult to evaluate this text, but it
appears that the relationship between presence/absence of Q
and the boundaries of various genres was different for
different narrators.

6. Summary.

This paper examined three recurrent elements in Boas'

Kwakw'ala texts - the particle /wε/, auxiliaries, and the
quotative suffix /-ʔa/ - from the standpoint of (a) the para-
digmatic sets to which they were supposed by Boas to belong,
(b) their role in marking the rhetorical structure of narra-
tives, (c) the different sets of rules governing the cooccur-
rence of these elements, (d) the non-linguistic circumstances
which might be responsible for bringing one or other sets
into manifestation at a particular moment, and (f) the rela-
tionship of the presence or absence of the quotative to
generic or other similar distinctions.

FOOTNOTES

1. The orthography used is relatively straightforward
except for the following: /e/ for [ə], /o/ for [ɔ] (Boas
[ε] and [ɑ]; the uvular series is indicated by sub-posed
line (/x̱/, /g̱/, etc.) except for /q/ (/ḵ/); postglottal-
ization is indicated by following apostrophe (/t'/); the
resonants that are preglottalized except in word-final
position have a super-posed apostrophe (/m̓/). The lateral
affricates are represented by /tl/ and /dl/.

2. The term "move" is used here as it was first applied to
narrative by the Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp (1968),
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APPENDIX

(Told by Alewas, a Fort Rupert Kwaguł, to George Hunt, between 1900 and 1903, in Boas and Hunt 1906, Kwakiutl texts, second series, pp. 80-88.)

(Told by Kwaxsi?stala, a Fort Rupert Kwaguł, to Franz Boas in the winter of 1930-31, in Boas 1935-1943, Kwakiutl tales, second series, pp. 69-71 both volumes.)

1. "Mink and the Sun"

(I. Introduction)
 (i. Hádawa's story)

A.a. Dlígadlalda ts'edáqas Hádawa. 1
     Wɛ, len k'is q'ótlelax dlígemas láwenemas. 2

B.a. Wɛ, lálai hi gúkweli Qáluqwisi. 3
     Wɛ, lálai Hádawa xwéngwatsa bábagwemi. 4

  b. Wɛ, laemláwisida bábagwemi qélxw'lda. 5
     Wɛ, lálai k'is galíexs 6
        lál wík'ex'ida. 7

C.a. Wɛ, lálai wenémt'itsewa bábagwemxdi. 8
     Wɛ, híemlawis áiis gax nɛnakwida wenémtaxdi. 9
        lál híudi láwenemxdes Hádawa. 10

  b. Wɛ, laáí hígilisamasa. 11
     Wɛ, laemlaxai la ít'id wenémtalaida gálɛ núxniáisa. 12

D.a. Wɛ, laémlai k'iós la láwenemxdi Hádawa. 13
     Wɛ, hímenalaemláwis lágwa'li Hádawa qais láwenemxdi 14
                                    dlewis xwenúxdi.
  b. Wɛ, lálai géla la letí láwenemxdes dlewis xwenúxdi. 15
     Wɛ, laémlai tl'élgemx'idi Hádaweq. 16

(ii. Mink's birth and youth)

A.a. Wɛ, lálai hímenalaem k'etáxa líwa'i. 17
     Wɛ, laémlai kw'alí 18
        qaé k'etéxa líwa'i. 19

B.a. Wɛ, lálai q'ígeltsw'ola laxens nálaxanwa'i. 20
     Wɛ, lánaxwalai sepsóida Tl'ísela. 21
        qaé líel sepsó lax sélɛs gúkwas Hádawa. 22

  b. Wɛ, lálai sep'átlelael lax awáguxdlayas Hádawa. 23
     Wɛ, híx'idaemláwisi bewíxw'idi Hádawa láxeq. 24

C.a. Wɛ, híx'idaemlai gwal láxela 25
        qaxs gwáq'aláí níqwamasa. 26
     Wɛ, lálai géla bewíkweqs 27
        lál máyul'idi Hádawa. 28

  b. Wɛ, laáíai bábagwemi máyudlemas. 29
     Wɛ, híx'idaemláwisi Hádawa dlíx'ides Tl'íselagila 30
                                    laq
        qaxs q'ótlelaáai Hádaweqexs 31
        híaai bewíxw'idamasa Tl'íselaq. 32

D.a. Wɛ, laémlai íki nóqayas Hádawa 33
        qaxs leáí xwéngwatsa bábagwemi. 34
     Wɛ, laémlai hímenalaái Hádawa kwésaxis xwenúkwi 35
                                    laxa wedaáta áap.
  b. Wɛ, híemlawis xéntlela háláguátomasex Tl'íselagila 36
     Wɛ, laémlai híl'ax'ida. 37

(II. Preparation)
 (i. Mink's bow and arrows)

A.a. Wɛ, lálai yáq'ega'li Tl'íselagila. 38
     Wɛ, lálai níka 39
        "ya, Hádo?, lekwílalaá qaén," 40
        níxlaexes Hádawa. 41
     "Wɛ, híáis múts'aqa háanatl'ema," 42
        níxlai. 43

B.a. Wɛ, híx'idaemláwisi Hádawa ax'ídxa tl'enákasa 44
                                    qw'áx'asi
        qaé xúxw'idiq. 45
     Wɛ, lálai k'áxw'ideq. 46

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1. "Mink and the Sun"

(I. Introduction)
 (ii. Hádawa's story)

1 A.a. They say there was a woman named Hádawa.
2   Well, now, I don't know the name of her husband.

3 B.a. Well, now then, they say, they lived at Crooked Beach.
4   Well, now, they say, Hádawa had a child, a little boy.

5   b. Well, and so now, they say, this boy fell ill.
6   Well, now, they say, it wasn't long
7   now (before) he died.

8 C.a. Well, now, they say, the dead boy was buried.
9   Well, and so then, they say, the mourners had just ret
                                    returned home,
10   now (when) Hádawa's husband suddenly fainted.

11 b. Well, and now something inside killed him.
12   Well, and now, they say, the myth people went again to
                                    bury him.

13 D.a. Well, and now, they say, Hádawa's husband was no more.
14   Well, and so then, they say, Hádawa was always wailing
                                    for her dead husband and dead child.

15 b. Well, now, they say, her husband and his child had been
                                    dead a long time.
16   Well, and now, they say, Hádawa pushed away their faces.

  (ii. Mink's birth and youth)

17 A.a. Well, now then always, they say, was she weaving mats.
18   Well, and now, they say, she was kneeling on the floor
                                    of her house
19   so she could weave mats.

20 B.a. Well, now, they say, there were many clouds in our sky.
21   Well, now sometimes, they say, the Sun would send a ray
                                    of light through the clouds,
22   so he could shine through the roof into Hádawa's house.

23 b. Well, now, they say, he suddenly sent a sunbeam into her
                                    womb.
24   Well, and so then at once, they say, Hádawa got pregnant
                                    from it.

25 C.a. Well, and then at once, they say, she quit her work
26   so she wouldn't hurt her unborn child.
27   Well, now, they say, Hádawa was pregnant a long time
28   now (before) she gave birth.

29 b. Well, now, they say, she gave birth to a little boy.
30   Well, and so then at once, they say, Hádawa gave him the
                                    name Sun-maker,
31   since Hádawa knew
32   then the Sun had got her pregnant.

33 D.a. Well, and now, they say, Hádawa's mind was good,
34   because she had a little boy.
35   Well, and then, they say, Hádawa was always bathing her
                                    child in cold water.

36 b. Well, and so then, they say, he grew very quickly.
37   Well, and now, they say, he became a young man.

(II. Preparation)
 (i. Mink's bow and arrows)

38 A.a. Well, now, they say, Sun-maker began to speak.
39   Well, now, they say, he said
40   "Oh, Mother, make a bow for me,"
41   they say he said to Hádawa.
42   "Well, and so then four arrows,"
43   they say he said.

44 B.a. Well, and so then at once, they say, Hádawa took a hem-
                                    lock branch,
45   so she could split it.
46   Well, now, they say, she shaved it.

b. Wε, láłaí gwáła łókw'isí. 47
Wε, laεmłaí múp'enk láxens bátłax, yεx tεśgεłasasa łókw'isí. 48

C.a. Wε, láłaí ax?ídxa k'elxíwakwi 49
qaś bex?ídiq 50
qaś łókw'ls?ídis laxa łókw'isí. 51

b. Wε, gέl?emłáwisi gwáła 52
láí ít'id ax?ídxa muts'aqi háanatl'ema. 53
Wε, gέl?emłáwisi gwáła 54
láí śéns?ídi Tl'íselagiłεsis łókw'isí. 55

D.a. Wε, laέmłaí hántlaxa ts'esqwána. 56
Wε, híx?ídaemłáwisi q'ápaq. 57

b. Wε, láłaí q'ínemi la hándlanemε ts'esqwánε dleśa
tεúp'ałí 58
Wε, láłaí Hádałε sápaq 59
qaś q'énq'egwedáłiq 60
qa ńexw?enεś Tl'íselagiła. 61

(ii. Mink tells his mother)

A.a. Wε, láłaí t'ix?áliłí Tl'íselagiła. 62
Wε, yáq'íga?ła. 63

b. Wε, láłaí ńíka "Ya, Hádzo?,[1] 64
Wε, laíxedzen ósenítsasxen úmptsasa látsasxa íts'ε," 65
ńíxłaí láxis abémpi. 66

B.a. Wε, híx?ídaemłáwisi yáq'íga?łi Hádała. 67
Wε, láłaí ńíka 68
qaś wíx?ídaas lágusto láxa ík'ε awíńagwisa, 69
ńíxłaí Hádałεx Tl'íselagiła. 70

1. "Ya, Hádo?, wε, laíxeden óseníkasxen úmpkasa lákasxa ík'ε."

47 b. Well, now, they say, she finished the bow.
48 Well, and now, they say, four of our ordinary armspans,
the length of this bow.

49 C.a. Well, now, they say, she took a big piece of rawhide
50 so she could cut it
51 into a bowstring for the bow.

52 b. Well; and so, they say, as soon as she finished this,
53 now she also made the four arrows.
54 Well, and so, they say, as soon as she finished these,
55 Sun-maker tried out his bow.

56 D.a. Well, and now, they say, he shot at a golden-crowned
sparrow.
57 Well, and so then at once, they say, he hit his mark.

58 b. Well, now, they say, he shot many sparrows and thrushes.
59 Well, now, they say, Hádała skinned them
60 so she could sew the skins
61 into a robe for Sun-maker.

(ii. Mink tells his mother)

62 A.a. Well, now, they say, Sun-maker was lying on his back.
63 Well, now, they say, he began to speak.

64 b. Well, now, they say, he said "Oh, Muvver,
65 Well, now I want to do to thee my favver above,"[1]
66 they say he said to his mother.

67 B.a. Well, and so then at once, they say, Hádała began to
speak.
68 Well, now, they say, she said
69 he wasn't able to go up to the shores of the sky;
70 they say Hádała said (that) to Sun-maker.

1. Mink speaks like a child.

C.a. Wε, óemławisi dáł?idi Tl'íselagiłεs wáłdemasis
abémpi 71
Wε, láłaí ńíka 72
"Laśén látsex sénstsa,"[2] 73
ńíxłaí. 74

D.a. Wε, óemławisi la yálagiga?ł Hádałεxis xwenúkwi. 75

(III. Departure)
(i. Mink makes the arrow rope)

A.a. Wε, láłaí ńáx?ídxa gaáłεxs 76
láí dláxw?ídi Tl'íselagiła. 77
Wε, láłaí gwέx?ídxis abémpi 78
qa dláxw?ídis. 79

b. Wε, láłaí ńíka 80
"Wígitsasla dzáxw?ídzex, Hadzú?, 81
qaś ax?ítsasaos qatsásen híyasilatsasi 82
qentsu yátsasta látsustotsu,"[3] 83
ńíxłaí. 84
Wε, híx?ídaemłáwisi Hádałεs ax?íd 85
qa haśέs. 86

B.a. Wε, gέl?emłáwisi gwał híyaselaxs 87
láí dláxweliłi Tl'íselagiła 88
qaś łε láwela láxis gúkwi. 89
Wε, laέmłaí dálaxis łókw'isí dlewis háanatl'emi. 90

b. Wε, laέmłaí tlíłalaxis abémpi 91
qa łεś lásgemiq. 92
Wε, gέl?emłáwisi dláxw?els lax tl'ásanoyasis gúkwi 93
láí qat?ídxis łókw'isí. 94

2. "Laśén látlex łénstla."
3. "Wígiłasla dláxw?ideq, Hádu?, qaś ax?ídkasaos qakásen
híyaselakasi qentlu łał láguśtotlu."

71 C.a. Well, and so, they say, Sun-maker just laughed at the
words of his mother.
72 Well, now, they say, he said
73 "And now I'w do tomowwow,"
74 they say he said.

75 D.a. Well, and so, they say, Hádała just told her son to go
ahead.

(III. Departure)
(i. Mink makes the arrow rope)

76 A.a. Well, now, they say, the morning light came;
77 now Sun-maker arose.
78 Well, now, they say, he wakened his mother
79 so she would get up.

80 b. Well, now, they say, he said
81 "Det up, Muvver,
82 demme thome bweathfuth,
83 tho now I will do up,"
84 they say he said.
85 Well, and so then at once, they say, Hádała arose,
86 so she could make him some food.

87 B.a. Well, and so, they say, as soon as Sun-maker finished
his breakfast,
88 now he stood up
89 now to go out of the house.
90 Well, and now, they say, he had his bow and arrows in
his hand.

91 b. Well, and now, they say, he called to his mother
92 now so she would follow him.
93 Well, and so, they say, as soon as she arose and came
out to the front of the house,
94 now he strung his bow.

C.a. Wɛ, laḷai Tl'íselagiḷa handledzúdxens ík'ɛx ḥala. 95
Wɛ, laḷai ít'ḷtsa ḥemts'aqi hanatl'ema. 96
Wɛ, laḷai ít'ḷtsa ḥémtsaqi. 97
Wɛ, laémiai wíḷida múts'aqi hánatléma. 98

b. Wɛ, k'íslat'a gɛ́ḷa ík'egemaḷi Tl'íselagiḷɛxs 99
gáxais hánatl'emí k'aqoḷa 100
qaḷ tl'émxw?elsi. 101
Wɛ, laémiai ts'ḷe?ida. 102
Wɛ, laḷai dúx?idi Tl'íselagiḷɛq 103
qaḷ náḷiḷḷela?idiq. 104
Wɛ, laémiai denémx?ida. 105

D.a. Wɛ, laḷai Tl'íselagiḷa yáq'iga?ḷxis abémpi. 106
Wɛ, laḷai ńíka "Ya, Ḥádzu?, 107
dzélemdzek gwáḷdzis nedzéladzada dzenémts 108
qasu ládzasts níx?ídtseqts."[4] 109

X.a. Wɛ, híemí lágiḷas ńíki Tl'íselagiḷa 110
qaḷ li láxa ík'i awíńagwisexs 111
xúmaḷelai dlewa géngenanemi. 112
Wɛ, laḷai ńíxsuxs 113
k'íosai úmpa. 114

b. Wɛ, híḥis lágiḷas la qw'adzíḷtlela láxis gúkwi. 115
Wɛ, laḷai néḷaxis abémpi, yes wáḷdemasa
géngenanemi. 116

Y.a. Wɛ, híx?idaemḷáwisi abémpas ńíka "Ya, xwenúkw, 117
k'ísai q'óḷelaḥenixwa géngenanemaxs 118
híḥaix umpi Látuselagilesi, 119

4. "Ya, Ḥádu?, gél?emḷaxik gwáḷkas neḷéḷaḷgada denémk
qasu ḷákasḷ níx?ídḷeqik."

95 C.a. Well, now, they say, he let an arrow fly toward the sky
overhead.
96 Well, now, they say, he shot another arrow.
97 Well, now, they say, he shot another.
98 Well, and now, they say, he had shot all four arrows.

b. Well, but Sun-maker, they say, had not been watching
99 long,
100 now the arrows stretched out and came back down
sticking one into another,
101 to strike the ground.
102 Well, and now, they say, they became taut.
103 Well, now, they say, Sun-maker took them in his hand
104 to shake them.
105 Well, and now, they say, they became a rope.

106 D.a. Well, now, they say, Sun-maker began to speak to his
mother.
107 Well, now, they say, he said "Oh, Muvver,
108 and ath thoon ath dith wope thaith,
109 puw on it."

110 X.a. Well, and then, they say, (this) is why Sun-maker
said
111 he would go up to the shores of the sky:
112 he had quarrelled, they say, with the other
children.
113 Well, now, they say, it was said
114 he had no father.
115 b. Well, and so then (this) was the reason he had gone
crying to his house.
116 Well, now, they say, he told his mother the words
of the children.

117 Y.a. Well, and so then at once, they say, his mother said
"Oh, my child,
118 the little children do not know
119 then your father is Látuselagiles,

yex Tólagilesi, 120
yex Dúxsemigiletsu?i," 121
ńíxḷai Ḥádatɛx Tl'íselagiḷa. 122

b. Wɛ, híḥis la ńígats 123
qaḷ lɛ ík'ista. 124

D.b. Wɛ, laḥi Tl'íselagiḷa haxwel?eḥdxa la denéma. 125
Wɛ, laémiai Ḥádatɛ dáḷax úbaɟasa denémi 126
qa k'ísis neḷéḷaxs 127
lai haxwel?éna?is xwenúkwaq. 128

(ii. Mink in the house of the Sun)

A.a. Wɛ, láḷai lágai Tl'íselagiḷa láxa kwoxsu. 129
Híx?idaemḷáwisi la láxsoi Tl'íselagiḷa 130
láxa híḥalaxudl t'íxoḷɛsa ík'e awíńagwisa 131
Wɛ, láḷai dúxw?atlelaxa gúkwi. 132

b. Wɛ, láḷai qaḷ?id 133
qaḷ li kw'áxsigilsaq. 134
Wɛ, wíḷaxwdziḷai giḷ kw'ásexs 135
gáxaalasa ts'ídaqi láwels lax gúkwas Látusela-
giles 136

B.a. Wɛ, gél?emḷáwisi dúxw?atlelax Tl'íselagiḷɛxs 137
lai yáq'iga?ḷa. 138
Wɛ, láḷai ńíka 139
"Ábidaḥa, wídzos gáyaḥákweli, wis?" 140
ńíxḷaiq. 141

b. Wɛ, hix?idaemḷáwisi ugwaqa yaq'iga?ḷi Tl'íselagiḷa 142
"Asnikasen laxen umpaq'ix Latuselagilesax," 143
ńíxḷai.

120 he is the Walker-of-the-world,
121 he is the Round-one-looked-upon-by-the-world,"
122 they say Hádatɛ said to Sun-maker.
123 b. Well, and so then now he said
124 now he would go up.

125 D.b. Well, and now Sun-maker climbed up the rope.
126 Well, and now, they say, Hádatɛ held the rope,
127 so it would not shake
128 now (while) her son climbed.

(ii. Mink in the house of the Sun)

129 A.a. Well, now, they say, Sun-maker reached the hole.
130 And so then at once, they say, Sun-maker passed through
131 then behold! the door to the sky-world.
132 Well, now, they say, he discovered a house.
133 b. Well, now, they say, he walked toward it
134 now to sit down outside.
135 Well, he hadn't, they say, been sitting there long,
136 now a woman came out of the house of Látuselagiles

137 B.a. Well, and so, they say, as soon as she discovered Sun-
maker
138 now she began to speak.
139 Well, now, they say, she said
140 "Little one, where did you come from, baby?"
141 they say she said to him.
142 b. Well, and so then at once, they say, Sun-maker began to
speak too.
143 Well, now, they say, he said
144 "I came to see my father here, Látuselagiles,"
145 they say he said.

C.a. Wε, híx'idaemɬáwisi ts'edáqi la ɩ́dɩtɩ léxa gúkwɩ. 146

Wε, láɩaɩ néɩa lax Látuselagilesi. 147

b. Wε, láɩaɩ níka 148

"Ia, gígamɩ', Látuselagiles, 149

gáxaix kw'aɬá genánemix láxwa uxsigaɟaxsens
gúkwɩx 150

"Wε, lux níkexs 151

osenáɟaix lutl, gígamɩ'." 152

níxɩaɩ. 153

D.a. Wε, híx'idaemɬáwisi yáq'iga'ɬida gígama'i. 154

Wε, láɩaɩ níka 155

"Ia, óɩaɬuɩen sebáxsolɩɩanemaqu lax abémpasu. 156

b. "Wε, hága tɩɩ́ɩitɩaqu 157

qa gáxisu gáxetɩ láxens gúkwex," 158

níxɩaɩ Látuselagilesi. 159

Wε, híx'idaemɬáwisi la ɩ́tawelsida ts'edáqi 160

qaɬ li tɩɩ́ɩitɩaq. 161

E.a. Wε, gáxɩaɩ Tl'íselagiɩa 162

qaɬ kw'ágaɩiɩi. 163

F.a. Wε, láɩaɩ yáq'iga'ɬida gígama'i, yex Látuselagiles. 164

Wε, láɩaɩ níka 165

b. "Wε, gíɩakasɩa, xwenúkw, 166

qaxgen laáɩk wáyats'uxw'ɩd 167

qaxgen hímenaɩaɬek láɩabaɩigeɩa láxens nálaxux
nínalax. 168

Wε, laáɩits tl'áyuxsidzendtl gáxen, xwenúkw," 169

níxɩaɩ Látuselagilesax Tl'íselagiɩa. 170

E.a. Wε, láɩaɩ axk'áɩi Látuselagilesi 171
cont.

qa haɱgíɩaso'ɩs Tl'íselagiɩa. 172

E.b. Wε, laémɩaɩ qéɩki Látuselagilesi 173

k'íɩiɩas la qáɬaxa nála 174

qaxs hímaɩ xúɬ'idaaɩts Látuselagilesaxs 175

q'íɩgeɩts'oɩaens náɩexa ánwa'i. 176

Wε, laemɩáwisi gwaɬ haɬápi Tl'íselagiɩa. 177

G.a. Wε, láɩeɩ ɩ́t'id yáq'iga'ɬida gígama'i. 178

Wε, láɩaɩ níka "Ia, xwenúkw, 179

wígiɩɩa yátl'otlex 180

qaɬ wigíɩlus qw'áɩax'ɩdtlaxwa dzáqwax. 181

yesgen ɩ́s'akiwik 182

qaɬ láɩagitlus ɬéns'idel qás'idtlex gaáɩatla." 183

b. "Wε, látlis k'ɩ́stɩ yáɟanaɬ qáɬatɩutl. 184

"Wε, k'ɩ́s'eɬxaas ɩoɬtsilaɬ 185

qaso xíkwaɬux ɩanɩsaq'ux án'anwegcx 186

átlux ɩáɩaweɩ'id láxa líɩqwalatlaɟaxsens bíbaɬa-
gawaɩɩsax awíɩagwisa," 187

níxɩaɩxs 188

lɩ́i axúdalaxis xúgwemxdi ɩ́xts'ema 189

qaɬ la as'ax'udes lax Tl'íselagiɩa. 190

H.a. Wε, laémɩaɩ qw'áɩenkwi Tl'íselagiɩa. 191

(IV. Return)
(i. Mink and the Sun-mask)

A.a. Wε, láɩaɩ náx'idxa gaáɩexs 192

lái yáɩagens Tl'íselagiɩa 193

qaɬ láɩagi qás'ida. 194

Láɩaɩ ɩ́dzaqwa yáq'ɩ́ɩida gígama'i. 195

Wε, láɩaɩ níka "Ia, xwenúkw, 196

gwáɩa ɩoɬtsilax 197

qáɬaix dluxe xíkwaix, 198

átɩas ɟelkwamasxens bíbaɬagawaɩisax líɩqwala-
tlaɟa," 199

níxɩaɩ. 200

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146 C.a. Well, and so then at once, they say, the woman went back
into the house.

147 Well, now, they say, she told Látuselagiles about it.

148 b. Well, now, they say, she said

149 "Oh, lord, Látuselagiles,

150 now a child has come and sits outside our house.

151 "Well, now he says

152 he has come to see his father - you, lord."

153 they say she said.

154 D.a. Well, and so then at once, they say, the lord began to
speak.

155 Well, now, they say, he said

156 "Oh, that is true, I got him by shining down into his
mother's womb;

157 b. "Well, go invite him

158 now to come into the house."

159 they say he said.

160 Well, and so then at once, they say, the woman went out

161 to invite him in.

162 E.a. Well, now, they say, Sun-maker (came in)

163 to sit down.

164 F.a. Well, now, they say, Lord Látuselagiles began to speak.

165 Well, now, they say, he said

166 b. "Well, welcome, my child,

167 for I am growing too weak

168 to always be going and going from one end of day to
the other.

169 "Well, and now you will take my place, my child,"

170 they say Látuselagiles said to Sun-maker.

171 E.a. Well, now, they say, Látuselagiles asked
172 cont. that Sun-maker be fed.

173 E.b. Well, and now, they say, Látuselagiles was tired,

174 now (that) is why he was not walking that day;

175 for that is when Látuselagiles is at rest,

176 (when) there are many clouds in our sky.

177 Well, and so now, they say, Sun-maker finished eating.

178 G.a. Well, now, they say, the lord began to speak again.

179 Well, now, they say, he said "Oh, my child,

180 be careful

181 to dress this evening,

182 in these, my abelone earrings,

183 to try to walk in the morning.

184 b. "Well, now, do not try to go too fast;

185 "Well, and also do not be too quick

186 to sweep away your aunts, the cloud women,

187 or else it will go hard on the villages on the shores
beneath us,"

188 they say he said.

189 Now he took his earrings of abelone shell

190 now to put them in the ears of Sun-maker.

191 H.a. Well, and now, they say, Sun-maker was dressed like a
chief.

(IV. Return)
(i. Mink with the Sun-mask)

192 A.a. Well, now, they say, the morning light came;

193 now Sun-maker was sent

194 to go walking.

195 Now, they say, the chief began to speak again.

196 Well, now, they say, he said "Oh, my child,

197 don't be too quick

198 to walk and sweep,

199 else the villages below us will be hurt,"

200 they say he said.

41

42

B.a. Wε, lálai qás°idi Tl'íselagila. 201
     Wε, laémlai nánagigix wáldemas Látuselagilesaq. 202

C.a. Wε, laémlai íxbiduem qeñákwela. 203
     Wε, lálai elaq neqélaxs 204
        lái wísq'añákwela. 205

  b. Wε, laémlai yáq'endeto°i Tl'íselagila. 206
     Wε, lálai ñíka 207
        "Ya, sísel, 208
        hádsadso qwíqwits'ex 209
        dzáxitsix q'ídzetsemi dzaxen,"⁵ 210
        ñíxlaixs 211
        lái xíkwaxa ánwa°i. 212

D.a. Wε, lálai dzólxw°ida. 213
     Wε, laémlaux ts'élxw°iduxda ñálεqens. 214

  b. Wε, híais ts'et'édaatsa xi°xóx laxwa ñaóñgεx. 215
     Wε, hlεrxaáwis la legekwémgiltsa lilógekw'ax laxwa
                                       ñáxwax awíñagwisa. 216

E.a. Wε, híx°idaemláwisi Látuselagilesi yáq'iga°la. 217
     Wε, lálai ñíka 218
        "Hága qáqayoxa ísa náxsεla 219
        qaxs lemáxentsi olt'ex°ída. 220
        Híx°idaema axúdex xúgwemasi 221
        qaá tseqáxudausasa," 222
        ñíx°laida gígamayaxa gáyula láxis bíbegwanemi. 223

F.a. Wε, laémlaida begwánemi qaqix°ideq. 224
     Wε, lálai hlíts'axtlεq. 225

  b. Wε, híx°idaemláwisi axúdalasεta xúgwemxdεs dleéta
                                        ts°akiwixdεs. 226
     Wε, lálai ts'exεsfui Tl'íselagila láxa ñéml t'ixí-
                                        lεsens ík'i ñála. 227

5. "Ya, llíel, hágadzo qwíqwesdex gáxaix q'ísgitlemlá gáxen."

G.a. Wε, laái údzaxi Tl'íselagila 228
        qax lemái elaq medélxw°iduxda démsxi, 229
        dluxs hálselaámi k'is lílelá lílqwalatla°ix láxwa
                                        bañíx awíñagwisa. 230
     Wε, híais lágilasux tl'itlúbelxetuxda denámεsix. 231
     Wε, híais ts'óngwema Látuselagiles lax Tl'íselagila. 232

H.a. Wε, laái ts'eqáxuñusa begwánemi. 233
     Wε, la ñíkida waúkwi bíbegwanemaqixs 234
        híái Látuselagilesi ts'eqáxudex Tl'íselagila. 235

(ii. Mink returns home)

A.a. Wε, laemláwisi dláxwat'alaida múkwi ts'édaqa. 236
     Wε, lálai dúxw°atlelida ts'ídaqaxa pexóla lax áwagalasa
                                        áélxa wáwadε. 237

B.a. Wε, lálai ñíkida ñemúkwi 238
        "Gwéstalas láxa lísεlentlaxa gíwεla," 239
        ñíxlai. 240
     Wε, gól°emláwisi gwεáta láqixs 241
        lái ámlt'ígnatlélaqixs 242
        híái Tl'íselagili. 243

  b. Wε, lálai ñíka 244
        "A ídzolígadens gígami° Tl'íselagilaga," 245
        ñíxlai. 246
        Laemláwisi wax ñíkida ts'ídaqi 247
        qaá dáxsiqixs 248
        lái ts'ix°íd 249
        qaá sεlbexw°ídi. 250

C.a. Wε, lálai ñíka 251
        "Gíwεlatsas dzewítsa míxatsasdsε,"⁶ 252
        ñíxlai. 253

6. "Gíwεlakas duwísta míxakasdé."

201 B.a. Well, now, they say, Sun-maker set off.
202   Well, and now, they say, he obeyed Látuselagiles' words
              to him.

203 C.a. Well, and now, they say, the good little one was walking
              along.
204   Well, now, they say, it was nearly noon,
205   now he was growing restless.

206   b. Well, and now, they say, Sun-maker began to speak as he
              walked along.
207   Well, now, they say, he said
208   "oh, damn you,
209   do 'way,
210   now (doo) many aw' awound me."
211   they say he said,
212   now (as) he swept away the clouds.

213 D.a. Well, now, they say, he began to run.
214   Well, and now, they say, our sky grew hot with it.

215   b. Well, and so then the cracks appeared in these mountains.
216   Well, and so then too now these rocks covering the beaches
              were burnt.

217 E.a. Well, and so then at once, they say, Látuselagiles began
              to speak.
218   Well, now, they say, he said
219   "Go, follow this ignoble one,
220   for and now he must be running fast.
221   And then at once take away his ornaments,
222   to throw him down."
223   they say the lord said to one of his men.

224 F.a. Well, and now, they say, the man went after him.
225   Well, now, they say, he caught up to him.

226   b. Well, and so then at once, they say, he seized the orna-
              ments and earrings of abelone.
227   Well, now, they say, Sun-maker was thrown out of one door
              of the sky above.

228 G.a. Well, and now Sun-maker had done wrong,
229   for the sea here was almost boiling
230   and the villages on these lower shores had nearly been
                 destroyed.
231   Well, and so then this is why the tops of these red
              cedars are dead.
232   Well, and so then this was the cause of Látuselagiles'
              fury toward Sun-maker.

233 H.a. Well, and now he was thrown down by the man.
234   Well, now some people say
235   Látuselagiles threw down Sun-maker.

   (ii. Mink returns home)

236 A.a. Well, and so now, they say, four women went out to dig
              clams.
237   Well, now, they say, the women discovered something floating
              among the drifting kelp.

238 B.a. Well, now, they say, one of them said
239   "Let's go over to that thing I see drifting there,"
240   they say she said.
241   Well, and so, they say, as soon as they came near to it
242   now they recognized
243   then it was Sun-maker.

244   b. Well, now, they say, they said
245   "This is our lord, Sun-maker,"
246   they say they said.
247·   And so now although the women said
248   they would take him into the canoe
249   now he awoke
250   to splutter.

251 C.a. Well, now, they say, he said
252   "I've been athleep on the watew a wong time,"
253   they say he said.

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Wᴇ, laᴏꞛꞽai gélxᴇᵓa	254
qaꞽ lᴇ néꞒaxw láxis gúkwi.	255

D.a. Wᴇ, híxᵓidaᴏꞛꞽáwisꞽ Hádaꞛa yáq'igaᵓꞽa. 256
Wᴇ, láꞽaꞽ Ꞓíka "Ya, xᴡenúkw, 257
gᴡaꞒú ꞽt'idꞽax laꞽxᴇdexᵓíd lax óꞱa; 258
laᴏꞽms eꞽáq ꞽꞽꞽeꞽámaxᴇns gúkwelutꞽx," 259
Ꞓíxꞽaꞽ Hádaꞛᴇq, 260
"qaxᴇ yᴇ́giꞽꞛataᴏqus lax aᴇ́xsilᴇx ꞽꞽxᴡᴇ́mꞽas óꞱa," 261
Ꞓíxꞽaꞽ. 262

Laᴇꞛ lába. 263

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254 Well, and now, they say, he swam ashore
255 and went into his house.

256 D.a. Well, and so then at once, they say, Hádaꞛa began to speak.
257 Well, now, they say, she said "Oh, my child,
258 don't you ever go to your father again;
259 now you nearly destroyed our village,"
260 they say Hádaꞛa said to him,
261 "for you don't know how to use the mask of your father,"
262 they say she said.
263 And now it has gone to the end.

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2. "Xúgᴡᴇmga"

(Introduction)

Wíwaaꞽsela lax Q'awákas.	1
Híᵓem gúgwades	2
laxdi kw'aꞽꞽatsa genánem.	3
Híᵓem guxwa Xúgᴡᴇmga.	4

(I. Xúgᴡᴇmga's story)
(1. She discovers missing fish)

A.a. Laᵓémꞽaꞽ Xúgᴡᴇmga díqwaxis tꞽáwayu lax tl'emáꞽsasis gukw. 5
Lúᵓxa kweládziꞽaꞽ lax tl'emáꞽsas gúkwas Xúgᴡᴇmga. 6

B.a. Láꞽaꞽ kw'éꞽsanaxwaxis máꞽis. 7
Lánaxwaꞽaꞽ xᴡáꞽidxis mᴇts'onáxwa. 8

C.a. Láꞽaꞽ gíxwᵓidenáxwa 9
qaꞽ xeꞽᵓídᵓx láxis gᴡígiꞽaꞽte'ꞽmasaxa k'útela 10
Laꞽí q'ꞽnemi lémxwaꞽas. 11
Iaᵓém Ꞓégwets'ewí gúkwas. 12
Láꞽaꞽ q'áq'ᴇxela. 13
Laꞽí q'áyaxaxa 14
laꞽ dúxwᵓatlelaxis lémxwaꞽi 15
laꞽ óᵓem húꞽaꞽᵓidenáxwa. 16

D.a. Láꞽaꞽ it'id lénts'is 17
qaꞽ kw'éꞽsᵓidᵓ ꞽt'idxis máꞽisi. 18
Láꞽaxaa xᴡáꞽidexa k'útela 19
qaꞽ gáxwᵓidᵓxaꞽq. 20
Laᵓém q'áq'alqela nóqaꞽasis gᴡíxgᴡiᵓgaꞽasis gáxwiꞒaxwa. 21
Óꞛaꞽ húꞽaꞽᵓidenáxwaxa la Ꞓáxᵓidenaxwa. 22

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2. "Xúgᴡᴇmga"

(Introduction)
1 She was fishing on the river at Q'awákas.
2 And then she had a house
3 now where she had had a child sitting on the floor.
4 And then it was the house of Xúgᴡᴇmga.

(I. Xúgᴡᴇmga's story)
(1. She discovers the missing fish)
5 A.a. And now, they say, Xúgᴡᴇmga pounded with her pile-driver on the beach of her house.
6 Now this large one lay, they say, on the beach of the house of Xúgᴡᴇmga.

7 B.a. Now, they say, she was taking fish out of her salmon-weir.
8 Now from time to time, they say, she was fileting her fish.

9 C.a. Now, they say, she was hanging them up
10 to dry where this is done to salmon.
11 And now there were many dried (fish).
12 And now she put them in a small box in her house.
13 Now, they say, she watched.
14 And now she was surprised
15 now to discover the dried fish,
16 now they were just becoming few.

17 D.a. Now, they say, she went down to the beach again
18 to take them out of her salmon-weir again.
19 Now too, they say, she fileted her salmon
20 to hang them up.
21 And now she wondered what happened to the fish she was hanging up;
22 and they were just becoming few when dawn would come.

(ii. The fake man)

A.a. Lá¹aɫ nóqiɫuxwʔidax̱   23
    qaɬ g̱ẉíxʔidaas.   24
    Lá¹aɫ begẉánemg̱ilax̱ʔida   25
      qaɬ lɛʔ dlóʔx̱sdentsis ax̱áɟi láx̱is m̓ális.   26
      laʔm̓ nánax̱ts'eẉax̱is bekw'ínaɟi q'úx̱ts'utsis wóx̱so láx̱is ax̱áɟi.   27

B.a. lá¹ax̱aa tɫetémseɛis tɫetémɫ laq.   28
    laʔm̓ g̱ẉáɫi ax̱áɟas.   29
    ŭʔemɫáwis la ẉens láx̱is gukw.   30
    laʔm̓ q'áq'aɫálaq   31
    qaɬ q'óʔaɫleliʔx̱ yáɫɛx̱is wáɫisaɟi.   32

(iii. The dzúnuqw'a)

A.a. laʔémɫaɫ dzág̱ẉeɫákwela.   33

B.a. G̱áx̱ix̱dɛ¹asa líť'idex̱ ŭʔxdlɛk'uɫstoɟasa gukw.   34
    Laʔémɫaɫ dúxwʔatlelax̱   35

C.a. Híʔeɫ g̱álemx̱suɟusis dzáái láx̱gada tság̱emg̱asgada gukwx̱.   36
    Laʔémɫaɫ ť'ekwémx̱sola dzáás.   37

D.a. G̱áx̱ʔemɫaɫ gúgẉemaɟas lákso.   38
    Laɬí híx̱ʔidaɛmɫaɫ bénbaɫig̱ẉiɫaɫ áɟasós láx̱a gukw.   39
    Laʔm̓ ax̱ʔídex̱a x̱aɫás láx̱is lex̱ígaɟi.   40

(iv. Shooting the dzúnuqw'a)

A.a. Lá¹aɫ ɬax̱ʔidi X̱úgẉemga.   41
    ɫekwíɫax̱ʔidaʔ.   42

Q'ómg̱embélaɫaɫ ɫánatl'emas.   43
Híʔem q'ómg̱embálax̱eláseéɫ g̱ẉɛ¹aasasa ɫánatl'em yex̱a x̱áqasa g̱ílgaumas.   44

b. Laʔémɫaɫ íť'aɫisax̱is bekwíɫix̱di dlóx̱sdelisas láx̱is m̓ális.   45
    Laʔm̓ dloxsdelisasex̱a la g̱ánuɫʔida.   46
    G̱áx̱ʔemɫaida dzúnuqw'a.   47

B.a. Híʔemɫax̱aáwis g̱émaqis g̱áyag̱asdi.   48
    Híʔemɫax̱aáwis g̱álemksoɟosis dzáái.   49

b. Lá¹aɫ X̱úgẉemga ɫáni¹ideq.   50
    ɫániɫsemdex̱ dzáás.   51
    Lá¹aɫ íť'idex̱ apsúť'aboɟas dzáái.   52

C.a. Laʔémɫaɫ líx̱elsida dzúnuqw'a.   53
    Qẉeg̱ẉáɫtsɛʔel.   54
    Aúxwsɛʔel.   55
    ẉeɫém̓ʔel yáɬix̱a láx̱is ɫántlaɟi.   56

b. ẉax̱ʔel láɫaweɟax̱a ɫánatlʔem.   57
    K'iɟóʔsɛaɫadlaɫ g̱ẉíwaɟasa.   58
    Híx̱aʔem̓ʔel lódlaɫemida ɫániɫpʔiqas.   59
    ɫáasɫadlas ɫákw'ag̱áɟida q'ómxwbaɟas.   60

D.a. Laʔémɫaɫ lág̱aa láx̱is gukw, yex̱a dzúnuqw'a.   61
    óɫaaʔél ɫígaiɫ¹ʔem yáx̱wʔaliɫa   62
      qax̱s leɫáaɫaɫ X̱úgẉemga hiɫʔoxtlíɫax̱   63
      qax̱s ax̱ʔíx̱sdai   64
      qaɬ q'óɫleliʔx̱ gúkwas.   65
    Laʔm̓ dúxwʔatlelax̱ dídaɫaɫɛs.   66
    O dídaɫaɫɛs.   67
    K'iɟós wíwaɫaasa láx̱ẉa ɫáx̱wa g̱ílgaumasx̱s   68
    lá¹ lemúkwa ax̱áɟas   69

(ii. The fake man)

23 A.a. And now, they say, she made up her mind
24   what to do.
25 Now, they say, she made a man.
26   now to stand her creation at the mouth of her salmon-trap.
27   And now she imitated the form of a man and dressed her creation with a cape.

28 B.a. Now, they say, she also put a hat on it.
29   And now her creation was finished.
30   And so, they say, now she just hid on the floor in her house.
31   And now she watched it,
32   to learn what happened to her fish taken from the river.

(iii. The dzúnuqw'a)

33 A.a. And now, they say, evening was coming on.

34 B.a. Now, they say, something had come uncovering an opening in the rear wall of the house.
35   And now, they say, she saw it.

36 C.a. Then, they say, first came breasts through the sideboards of the house.
37   And now, they say, its breasts poked through like huge fingers.

38 D.a. And now, they say, a face also came through.
39   And now, and then at once, they say, its hands came down into the corner of the house.
40   And now it took the dried salmon (and put it) into its basket.

(iv. Shooting the dzúnuqw'a)

41 A.a. Now, they say, X̱úgẉemga set to work.
42   She made a bow.

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43   Each arrow, they say, was barbed at the points.
44   And these arrows were thus barbed points, the bones of four-footed animals.

45 b. And now, they say, she stood the man she had made on the beach at salmon-weir.
46   And now she stood him on the beach at nightfall.
47   And now, they say, (came) the dzúnuqw'a.

48 B.a. And so then again, they say, it came from the place it had come from before.
49   And so then again, they say, its breasts poked through the boards.

50 b. Now, they say, X̱úgẉemga shot it.
51   She shot its breast.
52 Now, they say, again under the breast of the other side.

53 C.a. And now, they say, the dzúnuqw'a rolled down outside.
54   It groaned, they say.
55   It shouted for pain, they say.
56   And in vain, they say, it shook the arrows.

57 b. It tried, they say, to pull them out.
58   But not at all, they say, could it do so.
59   And then, they say, only the arrow shafts were obtained.
60   But now, they say, the biting barbed points remained inside.

61 D.a. And now, they say, it arrived at its house, that dzúnuqw'a.
62   And, they say, it was just lying dead in its house
63   (when) and now, they say, X̱úgẉemga pursued it
64   for she wished
65   to know (where) the house (was).
66   And now she discovered the property.
67   Just property!
68   No food was there from the river among all (the meat of) these four-footed animals
69   now which had been dried

qaɬ hiˀ tlílayu.   70
Laˀɬ X̱úgwemga qáxˀideχ χawíxwdɛsa dzúnuqwˀa.   71
Gáx̱ˀem úx̱tloɬtˀálaχ láɬaas láχis gukw   72
qaˀél kwédzatsˀigilatlis   73
qaɬs x̱wenúxwtla.   74

b. Wɛ, laˀém aídaaqa X̱úgwemga laχ gúx̱wdɛsa dzúnuqwˀa.   75
qaɬ lɛˀ úx̱tlexˀideχ didamalaxdesχa   76
kˀiyósa wíwaˀimas   77
qaɬ gwíxdzasa.   78
Laˀém wíluɬtˀamasɛχ.   79
Híemlaχaa gúkwelida dzúnuqwˀida Katólq̱ xdɛ̀a.   80

(II. Láxwˀenála's story)
(i. His birth and youth)

A.a. Lálai X̱úgwemga máyuɬˀida.   81

Híˀem láwenems X̱úgwemgɛ Qˀúmgila.   82
B.a. Híemláwisdla la úxwsiwayas Hánwadi.   83
Qˀáq̱ˀaláláɬaɬχis wa   84
kˀíɬai nix   85
qaɬ ɬínemkwíɬaχ.   86
Kˀíɬiɬaɬas gáyanolaχis genémaχs   87
lái máyuɬida.   88

A.a. Laˀém ax̱ˀídi X̱úgwemga xúmsdɛsa dzúnuqwˀa   89
cont. qaɬ kwɛsˀidiˀχis máyudlem laχ   90
Laˀém génɬelaχ Láxwˀenála.   91
Áwabalɛláwisa núyema.   92

b. Lálai ax̱káll Láxwˀenálaχis abémp   93
qaɬ ɬekwíliɬ qaɬs x̱wenúkw.   94
Híxˀidaemláwis X̱úgwemga ɬekwílaxˀida.   95
Lálaida genánem hánatlaχa tsˀesqwánaɬeníx̱wi.   96

(ii. Journey upriver)
A.a. Lálai qásˀidida genánem hánatlˀa   97
Hánɬˀidχa tlˀáyi laχ ɬáladzilisases gúkwelas.   98
Lálai ɬeɬámas láχa tlˀáyi.   99
  100
B.a. Lálai ítˀid qásˀid.   101
Laɬí ítˀid hánatlˀa.   102
Lálai dúx̱wˀatlelaχa gelá.
b. Lálaχaa hánɬˀideq.   103
Laˀémχaɬ ɬeɬámas láχa gelá.   104
C.a. Lálai ítˀid qásˀidi Láxwˀenála.   105
Nálulelaˀél laχa gúkwɛgisaɬi ax̱ás Qˀawákas.   106
b. Lálaχaa hánɬˀideχa ɬélxdlu.   107
óˀemlai hántlustudeχ.   108
Laˀém qˀápaq.   109
D.a. Lálai óˀem malígigendes   110
qaɬ lɛˀ lágaas láχis abémp.   111
Laˀémlai gwaɬ hántlasis ɬekwˀís.   112

(iii. Conversation about the river)
A.a. Laˀémlai wetleláχis abémp   113
lái gwágwixsˀala X̱úgwemga láχis wɛgigilitseɬi   114
yequχs yáxɬaɬaúɬaɬaida wa.   115
Kˀiyóswɛɬˀelˀeɬ gwíxdzats yágemuɬas ɬasgemgitalasasa wa.   116
b. Lálai wátliɬɛlaxˀidχis abémp   117
"Qaxgén laɬígen ɧink'íq̱ala   118
qen lálagiˀén dáduxwˀatlelaaχus gwɛyóqus yáxseɬa."   119

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70   for its means of inviting.
71   And now X̱úgwemga severed the head of the dead dzúnuqwˀa.
72   And now she (came) carrying it on her back out of the woods to her house.
73   to be, they say, made into a washbasin
74   for her future child.
75   b. Well, and now X̱úgwemga returned to the former house of the dzúnuqwˀa
76   now to carry off its property (that was)
77   none of it river-stuff,
78   because it was indeed this way.
79   And now she brought everything out of the woods.
80   And then also, they say, the dzúnuqwˀa lived at Katóli?

(II. Láxwˀenála's story)
(i. His birth and youth)
81   A.a. Now, they say, X̱úgwemga gave birth.
82   And then the husband of X̱úgwemga was Qˀúmgila.
83   B.a. And so then, they say, now he for his part was at the mouth of Hánwadi river.
84   He watched his river
85   (so) none of his catch
86   would be robbed,
87   This is the reason of his not knowing, they say, about his wife (that)
88   now she was giving birth.
89   A.a. And now X̱úgwemga took the severed head of the dzúnuqwˀa
90   cont. to wash her newborn infant in it.
91   And now her child was Láxwˀenála.
92   So, they say, he was the mythical ancestor.
93   b. Now, they say, Láxwˀenála asked his mother
94   for a bow for her child.
95   And so then at once, they say, X̱úgwemga made a bow.
96   Now, they say, the child hunted the little sparrows.

(ii. Journey upriver)
97   A.a. Now, they say, the child set off to hunt.
98   He shot at a black bear upriver from his dwelling place.
99   Now, they say, he killed the black bear.
100   B.a. Now, they say, he set off again.
101   And now he hunted again.
102   Now, they say, he discovered a grizzly.
103   b. Now again, they say, he shot at it.
104   And now again, they say, he killed the grizzly
105   C.a. Now, they say, Láxwˀenála set off again.
106   He was going upriver, they say, to the river-bank house at Qˀawákas.
107   b. Now again, they say, he shot at the white-haired (mountain goat).
108   And, they say, he just shot up at it.
109   And now he hit it.
110   D.a. Now, they say, he just turned boack
111   now to reach his mother.
112   And now, they say, he finished hunting with his bow.

(iii. Conversation about the river)
113   A.a. And now, they say, he listened to his mother;
114   now X̱úgwemga talked about the river,
115   why the river was bad.
116   Not at all free of water-monsters was the length of the river.
117   b. Now, they say, he asked his mother about different things,
118   "For and now I think
119   I will go explore these bad things you mentioned."

B.a.   "Gwála gwenú? híx laxú?,"   120
    híxlat'a X̱úgwemgexis x̱wenúkwi Láxw?enála.   121
    "K'íêuх hîádekelasa."   122

b.   "Lálaga?xen,"   123
    híxlat'a ó?emxis abémp.   124

(iv. Journey downriver)

A.a. Lálai ts'áqalilemsis abémp,   125
    "Hágexsála la adε,   126
    ó?emtles yátluxw?idtleх,"   127
    híxsulaisis abémp.   128
    Laáí ó?em ts'áts'emxsilaхis x̱wenúkw,   129
    "Gél?emtles lágaał láхuх Gwágemlis,   130
    Látles dúx̱w'atlelał láхuх gwábalisaq'es Gwá-
                     gemlis."   131
    La?óm lágaa laх.   132

b.   Lálai dúx̱w?atlelaх jágemas gwejósis abémp.   133

B.a.   Ḱílaqwilíai gaís dláwis   134
    gaáх̱aida haqústo tl'έdzikaslai   135
    Lálai aqála lálaa laх Láxw?enála.   136

b.   Ó?emláwis k'egenákwela?el.   137
    Lálai dáх?idexes х̱egwánemxdi lúelхsem t'ísema.   138

c.   Lálai nep'ída laq.   139
    Nánage_tl'exawa laq   140
    qiхa gáx̱ai aqála gweyúłela laq.   141
    La?émlai lełída jágemxdi.   142

d.   Lálai hixsolalai nep'ídayosex laх amáp'ayasa
                   tl'áĵi.   143
    La?él tíх?alis laх apsúdisasa wa.   144

C.a.   Hétusela?emláwis Láxw?enála láхa wa.   145
    Gáх̱lai gáх?atlela láх̱wa X̱ex̱wstálitsejída.   146

b.   Lálai dúx̱w?atlelaхa mígwat.   147
    Hí?emlaхat' jágem mígwati.   148

c.   La?émlaхaa gweyúłela laq aqála laх Láxw?enála.   149
    la?óm q'áq'ak'aх.   150
    Lálaхaa nep'ítsa t'ísem laх atítl'exawajasa mígwat. 151
    La?émхaa lełí.   152

d.   Dáх?ida?emlaхaхis t'ísem, yeхis nep'ídayuх̱wdεх̱.   153
    La?émхaa qás?id gwágwaaqa.   154
    Qás?id.   155
    Laáí láksiud láх̱a úxwsiwaji.   156

D.a.   Lálaхaa dúx̱w?atlelaхa jágem.   157
    Lád̄zikas?emlai p'óqawl ajasósateqw'á.   158
    Ḱílaslau? t'ísemuхda teqw'ádsε?х laх úxwsiwajasa
                    wa laх Hánwadi.   159

b.   Lálai nep'ídeх   160
    qaхs lemáí aláх̱ hałaхsémtsejta yesa teqw'á.   161
    La?émlaхaa lełí.   162
    Lełámaхa teqw'á.   163

    La?óm ḱitułámasaх jágemxdεsa wa.   164

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120 B.a. "Stop! Don't ever mention this again!
121   they say X̱úgwemga on her part said to her child
                                   Láxwenála.
122   "This won't come out well."

123   b. "Let me go,"
124   and they say he on his part just said to his mother.

    (iv. Journey downriver)

125 A.a. Now, they say, he was informed by his mother,
126   "Go aboard now, dear,
127   and just be careful,"
128   he was told, they say, by his mother.
129   And now, and she just informed her child,
130   "First you will arrive at Gwágemlis,
131   now you will see the point downriver from Gwágemlis."
132   And now he arrived there.

133   b. Now, they say, he discovered the monster his mother had
                         referred to.

134 B.a. Not long, they say, was he standing on the beach,
135   then a really huge bear (came) standing upright.
136   Now, they say, its mouth was wide open (as) it came
                         toward Láxw?enála.

137   b. And so, they say, he just met it.
138   Now, they say, he took a round stone he had picked up.

139   c. Now, they say, he threw it.
140   It went straight into its mouth
141   now (as) it came with wide-open mouth toward him.
142   And now, they say, the monster was dead.

143   d. Now, they say, he threw (the stone) right through the
                         neck of the bear.
144   Now, they say, it fell down on the other side of the
                         river.

145 C.a. And so then, they say, Láxw?enála went down the river.
146   Now, they say, he came suddenly to X̱ex̱wstálitsu?.

147   b. Now, they say, he discovered a seal.
148   And then again, they say, it was on its part a monstrous
                         seal.

149   c. And now again, they say, it came this way, with wide-
                        open mouth toward Láxw?enála.
150   And now its jaws snapped at him.
151   Now again, they say, he threw a stone into the throat
                        of the seal.
152   And now again it was dead.

153   d. And again he picked up the stone, they say, the one he
                        had thrown with.
154   And so again he set off down river.
155   He set off.
156   And now he went to the mouth of the river.

157 D.a. Now again, they say, he discovered a water-monster.
158   And now indeed, they say, really wide was the space between
                        the arms of the octopus.
159   Great, they say, is the stone of this octopus at the
                        mouth of Hánwadi river.

160   b. Now, they say, he threw (his stone) at it,
161   for now he was almost swallowed by this octopus.
162   And now again, they say, it was dead.
163   He killed the octopus.

164   And now all the monsters of the river (were) dead.