

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

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

1. Introduction

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

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

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

aimed at a scholarly audience, includes a detailed commentary on linguistic aspects of the text and more extensive endnotes.

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

2. The story

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

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

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

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

Teit's criticism of Hill-Tout appeared a year after Hill-Tout's *Report*. However, Hill-Tout seems to have been aware that doubt would be cast on the authenticity of his St'át'imcets material, as evidenced by the following passage:

The story is not a new one, but the SlatlumH version differs in many interesting particulars from that I collected from the StsEélis. It also rightly belongs here, being a SlatlumH myth. [Hill-Tout 1905: 185]

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

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

Many Upper St'át'imc speakers would of course take issue with the latter claim, which is rather typical of Hill-Tout's late Victorian tendency to assess languages, cultures, and races according to some arbitrary standard of "purity". (It may also possibly be an indirect jab at Teit, who worked primarily with Interior Salish peoples, including the Upper St'át'imc.) However, it is worth pointing out that Hill-Tout is by no means alone in his obsession with ethnological authenticity: the same concerns inform many of his contemporaries, including Teit. Moreover, dubious though his ethnological claims may be, Hill-Tout's confidence in his linguistic material turns out to be fully justified by comparison with modern St'át'imcets. In particular, there is no trace of Halkomelem admixture in either the grammar or the lexicon of Captain Paul's St'át'imcets, which is, exactly as Hill-Tout claims, identifiably from the Lower or *lil'wat7úl* dialect. So while contemporary opinion usually rates Teit as a pioneer of modern ethnological research and Hill-Tout as a bumbling Victorian amateur, in this particular debate, Hill-Tout clearly emerges as the winner.

3 The text

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

The chief problems in reconstruction concern Hill-Tout's inability to distinguish between uvular and velar plain stops, ejectives, fricatives, and resonants.¹ Since these distinctions carry a very high functional load in

¹ Acknowledgements. The first half of the text was retranscribed jointly by myself and Lisa Matthewson, whose contribution (and formatting help) I hereby gratefully acknowledge. I would also like to thank: Rachel Wojdak, who undertook the onerous job of typing in the original Hill-Tout text; Dale Kinkade and Bill Seaburg, who provided valuable data on pattern numbers; two anonymous reviewers; Gertrude Ned and Beverley Frank, who went over the St'át'imcets text with me; and Jan van Eijk for giving his blessing to the completion of the project. *Ama lhts'íl.has*.

¹ In fact, Hill-Tout did recognize the existence of ejectives, but he thought they were clicks: he identifies a [k] as "a strongly palatalized or 'clicked' k". Hill-Tout's phonetic deficiencies are all the more surprising since he carried out work with eleven

St'át'imcets, as in Salish generally, the results can be confusing.² To give an idea of the variability of Hill-Tout's transcription practices, I give a chart of consonant and vowel correspondences in Appendix III, together with Hill-Tout's own explanation of his transcription system.

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

4 Narrative structure

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

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

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

different Salish languages and dialects over the course of more than ten years of primary fieldwork.

² There are other phonetic problems in the original transcription which are not quite as serious from the point of view of intelligibility. These include an almost complete failure to distinguish between glottalized and non-glottalized resonants, and an apparent ignorance of the existence of a phonemic glottal stop. Hill-Tout also had problems with vowels - though here perhaps his confusion is more forgivable, particularly in light of modern debates concerning the number of underlying vowels in Salish. In particular, he could not distinguish between extrinsic and phonemic schwa, nor did he understand the pervasive Salish process of vowel retraction in the vicinity of uvular consonants (not surprisingly, since he could not distinguish uvulars from velars). This led him to posit many more vowels than are actually present in St'át'imcets, an error compounded by his mistaken assumption that vowel length is phonemic. Paradoxically, all this is useful for the modern Salishanist in that it gives a rather accurate picture of the phonetic (as opposed to phonemic) values of the vowels in question. It is less easy to be charitable about Hill-Tout's treatment of stress, which does not correspond in any systematic fashion to the modern St'át'imcets stress system, and is thus unfortunately useless in aiding the task of reconstructing the text. For the most part, I have been obliged to ignore the original stress marks in the reconstruction.

Charlie Mack Seymour (Bouchard and Kennedy 1977).³ *Kayám* provides further striking evidence for the significance of the number four in St'át'imcets. To start with there are four episodes in the narrative: Kayám's creation of her grandchildren; her staged death and resurrection as a man, culminating in her incestuous affair with both sisters, her death by tickling and reburial in the lake; the girls' departure and kidnapping of a baby, their pursuit by the child's grandparents, and the creation of a replacement "diaper-child" by his mother; and the final episode in which the brothers meet, the two girls and their ill-begotten children are changed into animals, and the brothers return finally to their mother's house. Within this episodic structure, there are further temporal groupings of four. In the second episode, for example, Kayám announces her death in four days; after she dies, the rest of the action - including the whole of the second and third episodes, up to the creation of the diaper baby - occupies exactly four more days. The final episode - which begins years after the end of the third - occupies a further four days.

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

5 Presentation of the text

I have divided the narrative into four episodes, for reasons given in section 4 above. The text is given in 158 lines, following Hill-Tout's own sentence divisions except in two circumstances. The first circumstance is where Hill-Tout's original punctuation reflects an obvious misanalysis, as for example in line 77, where a period is inserted between the predicate *tsukw* 'to finish' and its complement clause, or in line 80, where part of the narrative is mistakenly included in the speech of one of the characters. The second circumstance is where direct speech is reported: here I have inserted line breaks at the beginning of each speech. It is by no means clear that Hill-Tout's original punctuation is any more accurate than his phonetic transcription, and sometimes it appears definitely arbitrary (for example, with respect to clauses introduced by the linking combination *nilh t'u7*, which are sometimes treated as part of the same sentence as the preceding clause, and sometimes treated as separate sentences); however, in the absence of any other clues as to the original line breaks, I have stuck to the original transcription except where it is obviously mistaken.

³ In the Northern Plateau cultural area, both four and five have been attested as pattern numbers: their distribution roughly follows a southwest to northeast cline, with the number five dominant in Chinookan and Sahaptian as well as in Moses Columbia Salish and the immediately adjacent (Sans Poil and Nespelem) dialects of Okanagan, and the number four dominant in the rest of Interior Salish. (Dale Kinkade and Bill Seaburg: personal communication 2000.)

Each entry in the text consists of four lines. The first line is a facsimile of the original Hill-Tout transcription, including his word-divisions and punctuation.

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

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

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

The text follows immediately below.

EPISODE I

- 1 Kaiyám wā cEécitkEn, né-tlōs wāác,
 Kayám wa7 s7ístken, nilh t'u7 swa7s,
 Kayám PROG STAT-pit.house FOC=so NOM=PROG=3POSS
- Ec-tcíŭQ kw'c Kaiyám.
 eststcw kws Kayám.
 STAT-house DET=NOM=Kayám

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

- 2 Rap aítl, né-tlōs ro-itc, né-tlōs
 Gap aylh, nilh t'u7 sguy't.s, nilh t'u7
 evening then FOC=so NOM=sleep=3POSS FOC=so

kwElēkwilauqc nē-tlōs tēQEc
 skw7ikwl'acws, nilh t'u7 stsicws
 NOM=dream=3POSS FOC=so NOM=went=3POSS

Étē kōa.
 éti qú7a.
 to=DET=water=EXIS

One night she went to sleep and dreamed that she went down to the water.

3 P'cīl aītl nē-tlōs QákEc, nē-tlōs
 Psil' aylh, nilh t'u7 scwaks, nilh t'u7
 early.morning then FOC=so NOM=wake=3POSS FOC=so

mētcahc, nē-tlōs tátliEliHc, nē-tlōs
 smítsa7qs, nilh t'u7 stálhlecs, nilh t'u7
 NOM=sit=3POSS FOC=so NOM=stand-AUT=3POSS FOC=so

aītl mātukc, 'ntcētEm auk'·u kō kōa,
 s7aylh matqs nts'fitem' áku7 ku qú7a,
 NOM=then walk=3POSS towards over.there DET=water=EXIS

nē-tlōs tēQEc auk'·u kō kōa,
 nilh t'u7 stsicws áku7 ku qú7a,
 FOC=so NOM=reach=3POSS over.there DET=water=EXIS

nē-tlōs mētcahc En tī cícaktca.
 nilh t'u7 smítsa7qs nti sísxetsa.
 FOC=so NOM=sit=3POSS on=DET=shore=EXIS

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

4 Tcēlacac tē skwEēkwilauqca, nē-tlōs
 Ts'fīlasas ti skw7ikwīlacwsa, nilh t'u7
 similar-CAUS-3TRNS DET=NOM-dream-3POSS=EXIS FOC=so

átsuqEnac tē stzōkwāza 'nkwōnam
 s7áts'xenas ti sts'úqwaoz'a, nk'ún7am
 NOM=see-DIR-3TRNS DET=NOM-fish=EXIS fish.egg-MID

stzōkwāza.
 {ti} sts'úqwaoz'a.
 {DET=}NOM-fish=EXIS

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

- 5 Nē-tlōs kálāqcaca
 Nilh t'u7 ska-láxsasa
 FOC=so NOM=OOC=recall-CAUS-3TRNS=OOC

ni skw7íkwlacwsa.
 nē skwEékwilauqa.
 ABS.DET=NOM-dream-3POSS=EXIS

Then she recalled her dream.

- 6 Nē-tlōs kwánac tē wík'EtEnca,
 Nilh t'u7 skwánas ti cwík'tensa
 FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS DET=cut-INST-3POSS=EXIS

nē-tlōs tcerániknac, nē-tlōs
 nilh t'u7 stsgán'knas, nilh t'u7
 FOC=so NOM=tear-belly-DIR-3TRNS FOC=so

kwánac tē tzaqēláca
 skwánas ti zac-fl[x-s]=a
 NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS DET=long-AUT-3POSS=EXIS

tē kwóna, nē-tlōs tzāwánac,
 ti k'ún7a, nilh t'u7 sts'aw'áanas,
 DET=fish.egg=EXIS FOC=so NOM=wash-DIR-3TRNS

nákEnac skūkuméit, nē-tlōs
 nák'enas sk'úk'wm'it, nilh t'u7
 change-DIR-3TRNS NOM-child FOC=so

tcúnac kw'c élalc.
 stsúnas kws flals.
 NOM=tell(DIR)-3TRNS DET=NOM=cry=3POSS

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

- 7 Nē-tlōs tcūnamtcanac
 Nilh t'u7 stsunám'tsan'as:
 FOC=so NOM=teach-mouth-DIR-3TRNS

Then she taught it to speak:

- 8 "n'kókwa" tcūn.
 "Nkúkwa7", tsun."
 1SG.POSS-grandmother say(DIR)

"Say: 'My grandmother.'"

- 9 Nē-tlōs tcūts tē skūkumēta
 Nilh t'u7 stsutsti sk'úk'wm'ita
 FOC=so NOM=say=3POSS DET=NOM-child=EXIS

"n'kókwa."

"Nkúkwa7."

1SG.POSS-grandmother

Then the child said "My grandmother."

- 10 Nē-tlōs mōlāc kwánac
 Nilh t'u7 smúta7s kwánas
 FOC=so NOM=again=3POSS take(DIR)-3TRNS

tē slāk'ēk'alāā IEI kē kwóna,
 ti slhq'íq'al' {qw}a lhélki k'ún7a,
 DET=STAT-long.object=EXIS from=PL.DET=fish.egg=EXIS

nē-tlōs tzāwánac, nē-tlōs
 nilh t'u7 sts'aw'ánas, nilh t'u7
 FOC=so NOM=wash-DIR-3TRNS FOC=so

skūkumēil wéyliHs.
 ssk'uk'wm'itwíl'cs.
 NOM=NOM-child-become=3POSS

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

- 11 Nē-tlōs tūkEnac, kílā áma
 Nilh t'u7 steqenás, kéla7 áma
 FOC=so NOM=touch-DIR-3TRNS first good

tc'p'ténōcimca.
 t{i} sptínusemsa.
 DET=NOM-think-MID-3POSS=EXIS

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

- 12 Nē-tlōs tátlEliHs, stúkcEc
 Nilh t'u7 stálhlecs, steqsás,
 FOC=so NOM=stand-AUT=3POSS STAT=touch-CAUS-3TRN

túacakamínes ē umématsca.
 tiwasaka7mínas i em7ímatssa.
 both-hand-RED-3TRNS PL.DET=grandchild(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

Then she stood up, holding her grandchildren in both arms.

- 13 Nē-tlō aitol cnācitc Éti tcīūQca,
 Nilh t'u7 aylh snasts éti tsítcwsa,
 FOC=so then NOM=go=3POSS to=DET=house-3POSS=EXIS

nē-tlōs kētcēnac, ámac
 nilh t'u7 skítsin'as, áma[s]
 FOC=so NOM=lie.down-DIR-3TRNS good[?]

skwākūkca.
 {ti} scwákwekwsa.
 {DET=}NOM-heart-3POSS=EXIS

Then she went to her house and laid them down; her heart was content.

- 14 Ne-tlōs ámac kwácEc
 Nilh t'u7 s7ámas kwas
 FOC=so NOM=good=3POSS DET=PROG=3POSS

átsuqcEc.
 s7áts'xsas.
 STAT-see-CAUS-3TRNS

Then she looked after them well.

EPISODE II

- 15 Nē-tlō aitol lāltamī
 Nilh t'u7 aylh lalf'lemi
 FOC=so then grow.up=3PL.POSS

ématsca Skaiyám.
 {i} ímatssa sKayám.
 {PL.DET=}grandchild-3POSS=EXIS NOM=Kayám

Kayám's grandchildren grew up.

- 16 Nē-tlōs álsEmc, nētlōs kwālūtEc
 Nilh t'u7 s7áo|gvms, nilh t'u7 sqwal'út.s
 FOC=so NOM=sick=3POSS FOC=so NOM=speak=3POSS

Skaiyam kwālūtEc
 sKayám, qwal'út.sas
 NOM=Kayám speak-CAUS-3TRNS

ē umématsca :
 i em7ímatssa:
 PL.DET=grandchild(RELUP)-3POSS=EXIS

Then she became sick, so she spoke to her grandchildren:

17 Etl-zók^uan nacHeckÉlEp
 ‘Lhzúqwan, nascitskál’ap
 when=die=1SG.CONJ go-IND-1SG.OBJ=2PL.SUBJ

tEn zótcEmina,
 ti nzúts’mena,
 DET=1SG.POSS-red.paint=EXIS

móta tEn Qéaukca,
 múta7 ti nq’wíx{u}sa,
 and DET=1SG.POSS-black-face=EXIS

móta tEn tōtlkīca,
 múta7 ti ntúlhkisa,
 and DET=1SG.POSS-stone.hammer=EXIS

móta tEn qoéta,
 múta7 ti nxw7ita,
 and DET=1SG.POSS-wedge=EXIS

móta tEn tcēÉkutEna,
 múta7 ti ntsíqtena,
 and DET=1SG.POSS-stab-INST=EXIS

móta tEn hōmita,
 múta7 ti nxúm’ta,
 and DET=1SG.POSS-paddle=EXIS

móta tEn k’láza,
 múta7 ti nt’láoz’a,
 and DET=1SG.POSS-canoe=EXIS

móta tEn lúkwa,
 múta7 ti nléqw7a,
 and DET=1SG.POSS-cedar.bark.basket=EXIS

móta tEn nEwanékEna.
 múta7 ti nwaníken’a.
 and DET=1SG.POSS-fisher=EXIS

*“When I die, bring me my red paint, my black paint, my stone hammer,
 my wedge, my spear, my paddle, my canoe, my cedar bark basket, and my
 fisher skin head dress.*

18 Etl-zók^uan EtEó
 [E]lhzúqwan, et7ú
 when=die=1SG.CONJ over.there

Elt-nāctamkÉlEp
 lhnastum'ckál'ap
 then=go[CAUS]-1SG.OBJ=2PL.SUBJ

fi stcélukca ; q'ócin kEtl
 ti stsílqsa; xw7útsin kelh
 DET=NOM-point.of.land=EXIS four=FUT

eskaít nē-tlōs nE-zōk.
 [e]sq'it nilh t'u7 snzuqw."
 day FOC=so NOM=1SG.POSS=die

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

- 19 QEócin nác-kut nē-tlōs zók'úEc.
 Xw7utsinásq'et, nilh t'u7 szuqws.
 four-day FOC=so NOM=die=3POSS

Four days passed, and then she died.

- 20 Nē-tlōs kwánEm
 Nilh t'u7 skwánem
 FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-PASS

ē umématsca
 i em7ímatssa,
 PL.DET=grandchild(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

nē-tlōs 'ntlamánEm
 nilh t'u7 snlham'ánem
 FOC=so NOM=put.in-DIR-PASS

En tē k'lázca, nē-tlō aiti
 nti t'láo'z'sa, nilh t'u7 aylh
 in=DET=canoe-3POSS=EXIS FOC=so then

nác-tam Éfi qatlmēnáca.
 nástum' éti xat'mín'ása.
 go-(CAUS)-PASS to=DET=want-RED-3TRNS=EXIS

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

- 21 Nē-tlō aiti tceúks-tom
 Nilh t'u7 aylh tsícwstum'
 FOC=so then went-CAUS-PASS

Ékē umématsca
 éki em7imatssa
 by=PL.DET=grandchild(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

tákum ē stEm-tÉtEmca.
 tákem i stemtétem'sa.
 all PL.DET=NOM-belongings(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

Then her grandchildren brought all her belongings.

- 22 Nē-tlō aiti qéfenEm EntlEmtlam
 Nilh t'u7 ayih q'flin'em nlhem'lhám'
 FOC=so then put-DIR-PASS LOC-put.in(REDUP)

En te k'lázca Skaiyam.
 nti t'láo'z'sa sKayám.
 in=DET=canoe-3POSS=EXIS NOM=Kayám

Then they were all placed in Kayám's canoe.

- 23 Tcūq aiti kw'c k'Ék'ainEm
 Tsukw ayih kws [q'e{1}q'i{1'f}n'em],
 finish then DET=NOM=[laid.down(REDUP)-DIR-PASS]

nē-tlō aiti tl'wélnEm
 nilh t'u7 ayih lhwálnem
 FOC=so then leave-DIR-PASS

Ékē umématsca.
 éki em7imatssa.
 by=PL.DET=grandchildren(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

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

- 24 Kamatlákū sk'úmpa ;
 K'ámalh láku7 sqémpa;
 APPAR=ADHORT there NOM-hot-INC=EXIS

ÓqweI-wēt aiti.
 úxwal'wit ayih.
 go.home=3PL.INTR then

Anyhow, it was a warm day; so they went home.

- 25 Nē-tlō aiti ÓqweI-ē, tCEOq-wEt aiti
 Nilh t'u7 ayih úxwal'i; tsfcwwit ayih
 FOC=so then go.home=3PL.POSS went=3PL.INTR then

tē	tcitūQ-éha ;	tē	tcitūQ-éha
ti	tsítciwiha,	ti	tsítciwiha
DET=house-3PL.POSS=EXIS		DET=house-3PL.POSS=EXIS	

cécitkEn.
s7ístken.
NOM-pit.house

They went home to their house, their pithouse.

26	Nē-tlōs	éla1-ē ;	nē-tlōs
	Nilh=t'u7	s7ílali;	nilh t'u7
	FOC=so	NOM=cry=3PL.POSS	FOC=so

rōit-ē.
sgúy'ti.
NOM=sleep=3PL.POSS

So then they wept, and then they slept.

27	P'cīl	aitl	nē-tlōs	métcak,
	Psil'	aylh,	nilh t'u7	smítsa7q{i},
	early.morning	then	FOC=so	NOM=sit{=3PL.POSS}

nē-tlōs	ótska	snúkuma,
nilh t'u7	s7úts'qa7{s}	{ti} snéqwema,
FOC=so	NOM=go.outside{=3POSS}	{det=}NOM-sun=EXIS

nē-tlōs	k'umps,	nē-tlōs
nilh t'u7	sqemps,	nilh t'u7
FOC=so	NOM=hot-INC=3POSS	FOC=so

ótskac	tē	skilāmqa.
s7úts'qa7s	ti	skel7ámca.
NOM=go.outside=POSS	DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS	

When it was morning, they got up; the sun came up and it got warm, so the older one went outside.

28	Nē-tlōs	tcéqEs	aúk ^u áltzuka,
	Nilh t'u7	stsicws	áku7 ált's'q7a,
	FOC=so	NOM=went=3POSS	there outside=EXIS

nē-tlōs	métcaks,	kamatlákū
nilh t'u7	smítsa7qs,	k'ámalh láku7
FOC=so	NOM=sit=3POSS	APPAR=ADHORT there

sk'umpa, nē-tlōs kanēmEc
sqémpa, nilh t'u7 sqan'fms
NOM-hot-INC=EXIS FOC=so NOM=hear=3POSS

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

nē-tlōs kanēmEc, nē-tlas kō
nilh t'u7 sqan'fms, nilhas ku7
FOC=so NOM=hear=3POSS FOC=3CONJ=QUOT

tē kwókwaca wanhEnhEm.
ti kúkwa7sa wa7 naheném.
DET=grandmother-3POSS=EXIS PROG name-DIR-PASS

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

29 Nē-tlō aitol skwálnEc
Nilh t'u7 aylh sqwál'nas
FOC=so then tell-DIR-3TRNS

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

So then she (Kayám) asked the younger sister:

30 "Ti Qōnauq-ha-tlo zōkc Skáiyam ?"
"Ti7 wenácw ha t'u7 {s}zuqws sKayám?"
that true=YNQ=so {NOM=}die=3POSS NOM=Kayám

"Is it really true that Kayám is dead?"

31 "Qonauq-tlō zōk.
"Wenácw t'u7 zuqw.
true=so die

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

32 Qōnauq-tlō zōk sEálukc."
Wenácw t'u7 zuqw, s7al'qs."
true=so die NOM-dear.person

"She's dead, dear sir."

33 Nē-tlō aiti HátEliH ; nē-tlōs qélenEc
 Nilh t'u7 aylh cátl'ec; nilh t'u7 sq'ílin'as
 FOC=so then get.out-AUT FOC=so NOM=put-DIR-3TRNS

tē k'lāzca ; nē-tlō aiti s'tcEcaits,
 ti t'lāoz'sa; nilh t'u7 aylh sts7asts,
 DET=canoe-3POSS=EXIS FOC=so then NOM=come=3POSS

nē-tlōs ótluqs tē síyuktca,
 nilh t'u7 s7ulhcws ti syáqts7a,
 FOC=so NOM=go.inside=3POSS DET=NOM-woman=EXIS

nē-tlōs kwánac tē slauwéna,
 nilh t'u7 skwánas ti slawína,
 FOC=so NOM=take-3TRNS DET=NOM-mat=EXIS

nē-tlōs tcákwanac.
 nilh t'u7 stsákwan'as.
 FOC=so NOM=lay-DIR-3TRNS

So then she (Kayám) got out of the canoe, hauled it up, and came up to the house, and then the woman went inside, took a mat and laid it out.

34 S'tcEác aiti ótluq utc écilkená ;
 Sts7as aylh, ulhcw ét{i} s7ístkena;
 STAT-come then go.in to=DET=NOM-pit.house=EXIS

ne-tlo aiti métcakc En tc' slauwéna.
 nilh t'u7 aylh mítsa7qs nt{i} slawína.
 FOC=so then sit=3POSS on=DET=NOM-mat=EXIS

Having arrived, (Kayám) went into the s7ístken and sat down on the mat.

35 Nē-tlōs kwánac tē HEláka,
 Nilh t'u7 skwánas ti xlák7a,
 FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS DET=water.basket=EXIS

nē-tlōs nácitc 'nzaúQom
 nilh t'u7 snasts nzáw'em
 FOC=so NOM=go=3POSS LOC-draw.water-MID

tē skilámqa ; nē-tlōs
 ti skel7ámca; nilh t'u7
 DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS FOC=so

k'cnānac, nē-tlōs tcūnac :
 skesnānas, nilh t'u7 stsūnas:
 NOM=send-DIR-3TRNS FOC=so NOM=tell(DIR)-3TRNS

Then the older sister took the water basket, and went for water, and then she sent (the younger one) on an errand; she told her:

- 36 “nac kwām kw'c p'āmic Ekō-ālsEkā.”
 “Nas kwam ku sp'ams áku7 ált's'q7a.”
 go get(MID) DET=NOM-firewood there outside=EXIS

“Go get some firewood outside.”

- 37 Nē-tlōs k'léEkEc,
 Nilh t'u7 st'iqsas,
 FOC=so NOM=arrive-CAUS-3TRNS

stukcāc ē spāmica.
 steqsās i sp'āmsa.
 STAT=touch-CAUS-3TRNS PL.DET=NOM-firewood=EXIS

She came back, carrying the firewood.

- 38 Nē-tlōs tcūnEm
 Nilh t'u7 stsūnem
 FOC=so NOM=tell(DIR)-PASS

Étē kEqkEqca
 éti kéckecsa:
 by=DET=older.sibling-3POSS=EXIS

Her older sister said to her:

- 39 “pām'cEm atl! kaowōkmatl !”
 “P'āmsem [m]alh! [K'ao7qw] malh !”
 make.fire-MID=ADHORT [put.rock.on]=ADHORT

“Build a fire! Put the cooking rock on!”

- 40 Nē-tlō aiti kwānac tē skīlamqa
 Nilh t'u7 aylh kwānas ti skel7āmca
 FOC=so then take(DIR)-3TRNS DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS

tē nōkwātEna, nē-tlōs 'ntlākwanac,
 ti [néqwater]a, nilh t'u7 snt'ák'wan'as,
 DET=[warm-?-INST]=EXIS FOC=so NOM=LOC-pour-DIR-3TRNS

nē-tlō aiti tēQāim.
 nilh t'u7 aylh [ts'ixwim'].
 FOC=so then boil-MID

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

41 K'wol aiti.
 Q'wel aylh.
 cooked then

Presently, it was ready.

42 Nē-tlōs kwānāc, nē-tlōs
 Nilh t'u7 skwānas, nilh t'u7
 FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS FOC=so

EnkētcānEkEnac, nē-tlō aiti
 s[e]nkitsān'knas, nilh t'u7 aylh
 NOM=LOC-put.down-belly-DIR-3TRNS FOC=so then

tlōmic tē skā'Egwa
 lhum's ti sqāycwa.
 eat.soup=3POSS DET=NOM-man=EXIS

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

43 Qōāz kwācka ēcaucāca
 Cw7aoz kwas ka-7isaw'sāsa
 NEG DET=PROG=3SG.POSS OOC=chew-CAUS-3TRNS=OOC

ē skām'ca ; wā-tlō-eslāúwa
 i sk'ām'tsa; wa7 t'u7 [eslégw]
 PL.DET=NOM-root=EXIS PROG=so [STAT-hide]

Etl-wiclākwoncEc
 [e]lh[wá7as] lháxwensas
 when=[PROG=3CONJ] spit.out-DIR-3TRNS

ē skām'tca.
 i sk'ām'tsa.
 PL.DET=NOM-root=EXIS

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

44 Tcūk'walitc aiti tē skā'Egwa ; nē-tlōs
 Tsúkwā'ls aylh ti sqāycwa; nilh t'u7
 finish-food then DET=NOM-man=EXIS FOC=so

tátIliH, nē-tlōs kwiskwíciŋs ;
 stálhlec{s}, nilh t'u7 skweskwíŋs;
 NOM=stand-AUT{=3POSS} FOC=so NOM=fall(REDUP)=3POSS

nē-tlōs ōtskac-tō
 nilh t'u7 s7úts'qa7s tu7.
 FOC=so NOM=go.outside=3POSS=CMPL

The man finished eating and stood up, so (the roots) dropped; and then he went outside.

- 45 Nē-tlōs atsuqEnac
 Nilh t'u7 s7áts'xenas
 FOC=so NOM=see-DIR-3TRNS

tē tcE lílina ē skám'tca ;
 ti s7alélen7a i sk'ám'tsa;
 DET=NOM-youngest(REDUP)=EXIS PL.DET=NOM-root=EXIS

nē-tlōs tcūts :
 nilh t'u7 stsut.s:
 FOC=so NOM=say=3POSS

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

- 46 “wā-kánEn ke Qoāz kwac
 “Wa7 kánem [kws] cw7aoz kwas
 PROG why [DET=NOM=] NEG DET=PROG=3POSS

sákwanac ē skam'tca ?”
 ts'áqwan'as i sk'ám'tsa?”
 eat-DIR-3TRNS PL.DET=NOM-root=EXIS

“Why didn't he eat the roots?”

- 47 Nē-tlōs tcūts tē skílāmqa :
 Nilh t'u7 stsut.s ti skel7ámca:
 FOC=so NOM=say=3POSS DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS

Then the older one said:

- 48 “ KE-wic-kánEn.”
 “[...] kws kánem.”
 [...] DET=NOM=why

“(I don't know) why.”

- 49 CnEmpmok' kō ā tē nūwanékEna
 Snem'qw ku7 áti7 nwaníken'a
 STAT-headband-head=QUOT there fisher=EXIS
- tē skáiEqwa, Ec-mEtcóc
 ti sqáycwa, esmetsús
 DET=NOM-man=EXIS STAT-write-face
- Étē zótsEmina, móta tē QéEqca tcE
 áti7 zúts'mena, múta7 ti q'wíx{u}sa ts7a
 there red.paint=EXIS and DET=black-face=EXIS here
- mEtcóctca,
 metsústsa.
 mark-face-3POSS=EXIS

The man had a fisher-skin bound around his head, his face was marked with red paint and also with black paint.

- 50 Ec-tlūk'ēin, enzúcak ko tē skáiEqwa,
 Eslhecwqín, nzúseqw ku7 ti sqáycwa,
 STAT-dress-head LOC-tie-head=QUOT DET=NOM-man=EXIS
- tē tífEka skáiEqwa
 ti t'íqa sqáycw[a]
 DET=arrive=EXIS NOM-man[=EXIS]
- Ékē k'umk'amaza.
 éki q'emq'amáoza.
 to=PL.DET=teenage.girl(RELUP)=EXIS

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

- 51 Rap aiti.
 Gap aylh.
 evening then

Evening came.

- 52 Nē-tlō aiti áqētc-ē, EskwutāmEtcūwēt
 Nilh t'u7 aylh exítsi, eskwtámtswit,
 FOC=so then lie.down=3PL.POSS STAT-husband=3PL.INTR
- tē skílamqa áqētc
 ti skel7ámca exíts
 DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS lie.down

'nzáEtlnéwEtcE tē skáiEqwa,
 nzehalhniw't.sa ti sqáycwa,
 LOC-right-side=3POSS=EXIS DET=NOM-man=EXIS

áqētc tē tcElána
 exíts ti s7alán7a
 lie.down DET=NOM-younger=EXIS

tē 'ntcEk·'uátlnéwEtcE tē skáiEqwa.
 ti nts'ekw7alhníw't.sa ti sqáycwa.
 DET=LOC-left-side-3POSS=EXIS DET=NOM-man=EXIS

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

53 Nē-tlōs tcēmōcmínac
 Nilh t'u7 sts'i{te}m'usmínas
 FOC=so NOM=toward-face-RED-3TRNS

tē skílamqa cimámic.
 ti skel7ámca sem7áms.
 DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS wife-3POSS

Then he turned to face his older wife.

54 Nē-tlōs k'lókónac, nē-tlōs
 Nilh t'u7 st'úk'un'as, nilh t'u7
 FOC=so NOM=hug-DIR-3TRNS FOC=so

nōkménac aiti tcimám'ca.
 s[nuxwa7]mínas aylh ti sem7ámsa.
 NOM=[female]-RED-3TRNS then DET=wife-3POSS=EXIS

Then he hugged her, and then he had sex with his wife.

55 Tcúk·'ucEc tē skílamqa cimámic,
 Tsúkwsas ti skel7ámca sem7áms,
 finish-CAUS=3TRNS DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS wife-3POSS

p'ElkócEm aiti Etē tcEalána
 p'elk'úsem aylh éti s7alán7a
 turn-face-MID then to=DET=NOM-younger=EXIS

cimámic ; nōkménac aiti
 sem7áms; [nuxwa7]mínas aylh
 wife-3POSS [female]-RED-3TRNS then

tcE lāna cimāmic.
 t{i} s7alān7a sem7āms.
 DET=NOM-younger=EXIS wife-3POSS

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

- 56 Tcūk^u aitl, Ensk'am-malēoqcEm,
 Tsukw aylh, [nsq7amemalfw'sem],
 finish then [LOC-STAT-breast(REDUP)-body-MID]

roīt-to-wēt aitl.
 gúy't tu7 wit aylh.
 sleep=CMPL=3PL.INTR then

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

- 57 P'cīl aitl, nē-tlōs métcak-ē nē-tlōs
 Psil' aylh, nilh t'u7 smítsa7qi, nilh t'u7
 morning then FOC=so NOM=sit=3PL.POSS FOC=so

ótsk-ē tákum-wēt-tlō, tcēoq-wet.
 s7úts'qa7i, takemwít t'u7, tsícwwit.
 NOM=go.outside=3PL.POSS all=3PL.INTR=so went=3PL.INTR

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

- 58 Nē-tlōs nácitc skáíEqwa
 Nilh t'u7 snásts {ti} sqáycwa
 FOC=so NOM=go=3POSS {DET=}NOM-man=DET

EtEó kEkaúa.
 et7ú kekáw'a.
 over.there far=EXIS

Then the man went far away.

- 59 Nē-tlōs kwālútEc
 Nilh t'u7 sqwal'út.s
 FOC=so NOM=speak=3SG.POSS

tcE lílina ; nē-tlōs
 t{i} s7alélen7a; nilh t'u7
 DET=NOM-youngest(REDUP)=EXIS FOC=so

kwālútEc tē kÉqkEqca ;
 sqwal'út.sas ti kéckecsa:
 NOM=speak=CAUS=3TRNS DET=older.sister-3POSS=EXIS

Then the youngest one spoke; she said to her older sister:

- 60 “Pūpaú-tlkan.”
 “Pewpáwlhkan.”
 swollen(REDUP)=1SG.SUBJ
 “I am all swollen.”
- 61 “K’ailEm-tlkan-tlō t̄lēt, pūpaú-tlkan-tlō t̄lēt,”
 “Xilemlhkán t’u7 t’it, pewpáwlhkan t’u7 t’it,”
 do-MID=1SG.SUBJ=so also swollen(REDUP)=1SG.SUBJ=so also

tcūt aiti tē skilāmqa ;
 tsut aylh ti skel7ámca.
 say then DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS

“I am the same, I am all swollen too,” said the older.

- 62 “Etl-rápEc kitl móta cétict
 “[E]lhgápas kelh múta7 sit.st
 when=evening=3CONJ=FUT and night

hōz-n’kúk’EzanÉkEnEm,
 huz’ nq’eq’zán’kenem,
 going.to tickle(REDUP)-DIR-PASS(1PL.SUBJ)

nē tlōs zwotnEm kitl.”
 nilh t’u7 szwateném kelh.”
 FOC=so NOM=know-DIR-PASS/1PL.SUBJ=FUT

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

- 63 “Nētl tcūwāca Ecmīcic
 “Nilh t.swá7sa esmésts
 FOC DET=NOM=be=3POSS=EXIS STAT-close-mouth

tlō-áic-nEk’uk’zánEk,” tcūt aiti
 t’u7 [aylh] [s]nqeqz’án’k,” tsut aylh
 so [then] [NOM=]LOC-tickle(REDUP)-belly say then

tcE lílina.
 t{i} s7alélen7a.
 DET=NOM-youngest(REDUP)=EXIS

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

- 64 Nē-tlōs tcūtEc tcE skilāmqa :
 Nilh t'u7 stsut.s t{i} skel7āmca:
 FOC=so NOM=say=3POSS DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS

Then the older one said:

- 65 “āma.”
 “Āma.”
 good

“Good.”

- 66 Rap aith ; nē-tlōs áqētc-ē aith ;
 Gap aylh; nilh t'u7 s7exitsi aylh;
 evening then FOC=so NOM=lie.down=3PL.POSS then

nē-tlō aith nEk'uk'zánEk'n-ētāc.
 nilh t'u7 aylh nq'eq'zán'knítas.
 FOC=so then tickle(REDUP)-belly-DIR-3PL.TRNS

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

- 67 NEk'uk'zánEk aith tcūwāc mícitc,
 Ngeqz'án'k aylh t.swá smests,
 tickle(REDUP)-belly then DET=NOM=be=3POSS STAT-close-mouth

nEk'uk'zánEk aith, cákEm aith, tcūt aith :
 ngeqz'án'k aylh, sáq'em aylh, tsut aylh:
 tickle(REDUP)-belly then open.mouth-MID then say then

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

- 68 “ha ! ha ! ha ! ha !”
 “Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!”
 ha ha ha ha

“Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!”

- 69 Nē-tlō móta tcūts :
 Nilh t'u7 múta7 tsut.s:
 FOC=so again say=3POSS

Then he said:

- 70 “Tcūk'ustōmHÉfi, s'ÉntcEm
 “Tsukwstum'cáli, s7énts[em]
 finish-CAUS-1SG.OBJ-PL.IMP me[-MID?]

nē-kwókwa-lápa.”
 ni kukwa7lápa.”
 ABS.DET=grandmother-2PL.POSS=EXIS

“Lay off me, it's me, your old grandmother.”

- 71 “Qoāz kwāc kÉnkan ; Qoāz
 “Cw7aoz kwas kenkán; cw7aoz
 NEG DET=PROG=3POSS how.much NEG

k'wāc tcūk 'ustómEna,”
 kwas {ka-}tsukwstúmima,”
 DET=PROG=3POSS {OOC=}finish-CAUS-PASS/1PL.SUBJ=OOC

tcūt aiti tcE skilāmqa.
 tsut aylh t{i} skel7ámca.
 say then DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS

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

- 72 Zók aiti Skaíyam.
 Zuqwa aylh sKayám.
 die then NOM=Kayám

Then Kayám died.

- 73 P'cīl aiti, kwānac aiti
 Psil' aylh, kwānas aylh
 early.morning then take(DIR)-3TRNS then

skilāmqa k''tláliqEn,
 {ti} skel7ámca {ku} q'alh7ál'cen,
 {DET}=NOM-first-person=EXIS {DET=}braid-tube

āzēmEn-étac Eck'wúmk'wum
 nzanemnítas esqwémqwem,
 LOC-round-DIR-3PL.TRNS STAT-pile(REDUP)

nē-tlō aiti túkEn-étac, qātEn-étac,
 nilh t'u7 aylh teqenítas, catan'ítas,
 FOC=so then touch-DIR-3PL.TRNS lift-DIR-3PL.TRNS

mátuk 'n tcétEm
 matq nts'ítem' [...]
 walk LOC-towards

When it was morning the older one took some rope and they tied her up with her knees drawn up, and then they took her, lifted her up, walked towards (the water).

74 tčéq̣wēt aitol; nē-tlō 'nslāmān-ētac
 tsfcwwit aylh; nilh t'u7 nslham'ánitas
 arrive=3PL.INTR then FOC=so LOC=NOM=put-DIR-3PL.TRNS

tē k'lāzca tē k'lāza
 ti t'láo'z'sa, ti t'láo'z'a,
 DET=canoe-3POSS=EXIS DET=canoe=EXIS

stcíma skwátcitca.
 sTsíma {ti} skwátsits{s}a.
 NOM=Tsíma {DET=}NOM-name{-3POSS}=EXIS

Then they got there, and then they put her in her canoe, which was called "Tsíma".

75 Nē-tlō 'nkauwanétac nEmkál-wēt,
 Nilh t'u7 nkawanítas, nem'cálwit,
 FOC=so LOC=far-DIR-3PL.TRNS paddle-ACT=3PL.INTR

tčéq̣-wēt, aitol tEkokaūa
 tsfcwwit aylh ti kekáw'a,
 went=3PL.INTR then DET=far=EXIS

nē-tlōs tukEn-étac,
 nilh t'u7 steqenítas,
 FOC=so NOM=touch-DIR-3PL.TRNS

'nkumkwan-étac, nē-tlō
 nk'emq'wán'itas, nilh t'u7
 LOC=put.under.water-DIR-3PL.TRNS FOC=so

'n'máactE, nē-tlōs ōwÉlim'c;
 nmá7sts, nilh t'u7 sgwel'íms;
 LOC=sink(INC)=3POSS FOC=so NOM=bubble=3POSS

klelk'lolackōhEm aitol, EckwÉl.
 t'elt'ulas kú7 hem' aylh, eskwél'.
 still.water(REDUP)=3CONJ=QUOT=but then STAT=sunshine

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

EPISODE III

76 Óqwel-wēt aitol, tčéq̣-wēt
 Úxwal'wit aylh, tsfcwwit
 go.home=3PL.INTR then went=3PL.INTR

Etc' écitkEn-ēha, nē-tlō
 ét(i) s7istkenfha, nilh t'u7
 to=DET=NOM-pithouse-3PL.POSS=EXIS FOC=so

hōzā-ē,
 huzá7i.
 get.ready=3PL.POSS

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

77 tcúk'wēt aitol. K's-hōzā-ē
 Tsúkwit aylh kws huzá7i,
 finish=3PL.INTR then DET=NOM=get.ready=3PL.POSS

nē-tlō ótsk-e, nē-tlō
 nilh t'u7 {s}7úts'qa7i, nilh t'u7
 FOC=so {NOM=}go.out=3PL.POSS FOC=so

mátuk-ē 'ntcétEm kw inkumkēna
 {s}mátqi nts'fitem' ku nk'em'qín'a
 {NOM=}walk=3PL.POSS LOC-towards DET=place.name=EXIS

stūaúqqa.
 stswáw'c[a].
 NOM-creek[=EXIS]

When they were ready they went out, and walked towards Nk'em'qín ("Head of the Lake") Creek.

78 Tcēoq-wēt aitol. éwā-Ec-tcítūQ,
 Tsícwīt aylh i wa7 estsítcw,
 went=3PL.INTR then PL.DET=PROG STAT-house

ófluq-wēt aitol ; wā
 úlhcwīt aylh ; wa7
 go.inside=3PL.INTR then PROG

skūkuméta, cÉékwal, móta
 {ti} sk'úk'wm'ita, s7ícwalh, múta7
 {DET=}NOM-child=EXIS NOM-baby and

tē kutLmÉmina ; Ec-nÉmEnEm
 ti qelhmémen'a; esném'nem
 DET=old.person(REDUP)=EXIS STAT-blind(REDUP)

tē kutLmÉmina.
 ti qelhmémen'a.
 DET=old.person(RELUP)=EXIS

They arrived where there was a house, and went inside; there was a child there, a baby, and an old woman; the old woman was blind.

79 Wā-élal tē skūkuméta.
 Wa7 filal ti sk'úk'wm'ita.
 PROG cry DET=NOM-child=EXIS

The baby was crying.

80 Nē-tlō tcūts tē k'āmaza,
 Nilh t'u7 {s}tsut.s ti q'āmaoz'a,
 FOC=so {NOM=}say=3POSS DET=girl=EXIS

tē skīlāmqa :
 ti skel7āmca,
 DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS

"Tcūnac tē kutLmÉmina,
 tsúnas ti qelhmémen'a:
 say(DIR)-3TRNS DET=old.person(RELUP)=EXIS

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

81 cauQEnskauqka !"
 "Sacwenskácw ka!"
 bathe-DIR=2SG.SUBJ=should

"You should bathe it!"

82 "Qoāz kwEndj ka qīltca."
 "Cw7aoz kwens ka-xīlhtsa."
 NEG DET=1SG.POSS=NOM OOC=do-CAUS=OOC

"I can't do it."

83 "Ama, cauQ'nēmEtl, rōit-kitl."
 "Ama, sacwném, elh gúy't kelh."
 good bathe-DIR-PASS/1PL.SUBJ then=sleep=FUT

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

84 "Áma."
 "Áma."
 good

"Good."

85 Tē skilāmqa nē-tlōs tātEliHs,
Ti skel7ámca nilh t'u7 stálhlecs,
DET=NOM-first-person=DET FOC=so NOM=stand-AUT=3POSS

nē-tlōs túkEnac k'ilkwánac,
nilh t'u7 steqenás, q'il'qwán'as,
FOC=so NOM=touch-DIR-3TRNS put-head-DIR-3TRNS

nē-tlōs kēanác,
nilh t'u7 sk'fhenas,
FOC=so NOM=put.on.lap-DIR-3TRNS

nē-tlōs métcakcEc.
nilh t'u7 smítsa7qsas.
FOC=so NOM=sit-CAUS-3TRNS

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

86 Nē-tlōs kwánac tē kóa,
Nilh t'u7 skwán-as ti qú7a,
FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS DET=water=DET

nē-tlō 'nklaukwánac,
nilh t'u7 nt'ák'wan'as,
FOC=so LOC-NOM-pour-DIR-3TRNS

nē-tlōs kép'enEs tē k'umpál'tca,
nilh t'u7 sk'íp'in'as ti qempál'tsa,
FOC=so NOM=tong-DIR-3TRNS DET=hot-INC-stone=EXIS

nē-tlōs tciPEnac,
nilh t'u7 stsípanas;
FOC=so NOM=heat-DIR-3TRNS

nē-tlōs kwánac tē kútla,
nilh t'u7 skwánas ti k'ét'ha,
FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS DET=rock=EXIS

nē-tlōs kíEnac tē kútla,
nilh t'u7 skelhenás ti k'ét'ha,
FOC=so NOM=take.out-DIR-3TRNS DET=rock=EXIS

etl-cauQEnac aiti.
elh sácwenas aylh.
then=bathe-DIR-3TRNS then

Then she took the water, poured it, and then she took a hot stone in the tongs, and heated it; then she took out the stone and put it down, and bathed (the child).

- 87 Nē-tlōs tcūnac
 Nilh t'u7 stsúnas
 FOC=so NOM=say(DIR)-3TRNS

tē cickwōzca :
 ti sésq'wez'sa:
 DET=younger.sibling(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

Then she told her younger sister:

- 88 "Nac kwām kō zōkwóz."
 "Nas kwam ku zu7q'wáoz'."
 go get(MID) DET=rotten(INC)-tree

"Go and get some rotten wood."

- 89 Nē-tlōs náctic kwām kō zōkwóz.
 Nilh t'u7 snasts kwam ku zu7q'wáoz'.
 FOC=so NOM=go=3POSS get(MID) DET=rotten(INC)-tree

So she went to get a piece of rotten wood.

- 90 Qoāz k's-Hīnic nē-tlōs
 Cw7aoz kws cin's, nilh t'u7
 NEG DET=NOM=long.time=3POSS FOC=so
 tlēEkcEc tē zōkwóza.
 st'íqsas ti zu7q'wáoz'a.
 NOM=arrive-CAUS-3TRNS DET=rotten(INC)-tree=EXIS

She brought a rotten log back soon afterwards.

- 91 Nē-tlōs wētckētEc
 Nilh t'u7 scwíts'citas
 FOC=so NOM=hand-IND-3TRNS

tē cickwōzca
 ti sk'úk'wm'ita.
 DET=younger.sibling(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

tē skūkuméta.
 ti sésq'wez'sa
 DET=NOM-child=EXIS

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

- 92 Nē-tlōs QomEntcūtEc s'niłl aiti.
 Nilh t'u7 sxwementsút.s snilh aylh.
 FOC=so NOM=fast-DIR-REFL=3POSS 3SG.EMPH then

Then she (the younger sister) hurried off.

- 93 Tē skilāmqa 'n-āqētcEc.
 Ti skel7āmca n7exīts{s}as.
 DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS LOC-lie.down{-CAUS}-3TRNS

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

- 94 Tcūk'u aiti, nē-tlōs lauwonEc,
 Tsukw aylh, nilh t'u7 sláwan'as,
 finish now FOC=so NOM=hang-DIR-3TRNS

nē-tlōs QētcHétac
 nilh t'u7 scwíts'citas
 FOC=so NOM=hand-IND-3TRNS

tē kutLmÉmina tē cíla, nē-tlōs
 ti qelhmémen'a ti séla, nilh t'u7
 DET=old.person(RELUP)=EXIS DET=string=EXIS FOC=so

tcúnac :
 stsúnas:
 NOM=tell(DIR)-3TRNS

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

- 95 "Qoāz-kwac-ōkwótcin plan róit."
 "Cw7aoz kwásu qwétsen, plan guy't."
 NEG DET=PROG=2SG.POSS move-DIR already sleep

"Don't you move him, he's already sleeping."

- 96 Nē-tlō aiti ótskac nē-tlōs
 Nilh t'u7 aylh úts'qa7s, nilh t'u7
 FOC=so then go.outside=3POSS FOC=so

QomEntcūtEc, p'zánac
 sxwementsút.s, pzánas
 NOM=fast-DIR-REFL=3POSS meet(DIR)-3TRNS

tē cíkwōzca, nē-tlōs
 ti sésq'wez'sa, nilh t'u7
 DET=younger.sibling(RELUP)-3POSS=EXIS FOC=so

kwánac tē skukuméta
 skwánas ti sk'úk'wm'ita,
 NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS DET=NOM-child=EXIS

skúkaiyūq.
 sqéqy'ecw.
 NOM-boy(REDUP)

Then she went out in a hurry, met her younger sister, and took the baby, a boy.

97 Nē-tlō aitol k'IEák-ē mátuk kakaúa ;
 Nilh t'u7 aylh t'áki matq kekáw'a;
 FOC=so then go=3PL.POSS walk far=EXIS

téóqwēt aitol tē kakaúa, téóqwēt aitol
 tsícwwit aylh ti kekáw'a, tsícwwit aylh
 get=3PL.INTR then DET=far=EXIS get=3PL.INTR then

tē kakaúa, máil-towēt tē tcítūQa, nē-tlō
 ti kekáw'a, máytwit ti tsítcwa, nilh t'u7
 DET=far=EXIS build=3PL.INTR DET=house=EXIS FOC=so

aitl cEwá-ē.
 aylh swá7i.
 then NOM=be=3PL.POSS

Then they travelled far, and when they were a long, long way away, they built a house, and lived there.

98 Nē-tlōs pEtenōsEm-ē Etl-stám-ac kálwEt
 Nilh t'u7 sptínusemi [e]lhstám'as kál'wat
 FOC=so NOM=think-MID=3PL.POSS if=what=3CONJ medicine

kōQom rēyEp-stáfi, kwāné-tac
 ku xwem ri7pstáli, kwánitas
 DET=quick grow(INC)-CAUS-TOP take(DIR)-3PL.TRNS

tē kálwEta nētl aitol wā-cauQEn-étac,
 ti kál'wata, nilh aylh wa7 sacwenítas,
 DET=medicine=EXIS FOC then PROG bathe-DIR-3PL.TRNS

nētl kō-klō aitol QōmEc kw'c réEps ;
 nilh ku7 t'u7 aylh xwems kws ri7ps;
 FOC=QUOT=so then fast=3POSS DET=NOM=grow(INC)=3POSS

nē-tlō aiti lēEltEmp'c ; nē-tlō aiti Ec-pēakEm.
 nilh t'u7 aylh līl'tems; nilh t'u7 aylh spíxem'.
 FOC=so then adult=3POSS FOC=so then STAT-hunt-MID

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

99 Nē-tlās-tō-kauk'mÉtca
 Nīlhas tu7 káwkem ets7á
 FOC=3CONJ=CMPL far(REDUP)-MID to=here

ē nanwáca yukiyáktca,
 i n7án'wasa yeqyáqtsa7,
 PL.DET=two.people=EXIS woman(REDUP)

klō-Hén-kō kw'c Qōaic
 t'u7 cin' ku7 kws cw7ays
 but long.time=QUOT DET=NOM=NEG=3POSS

kwāc élal.
 kwas ílal.
 DET=PROG=3POSS cry

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

100 Rap aiti, tē kutLmÉmEna nē-tlōs
 Gap aylh, ti qelhmémen'a nilh t'u7
 evening then DET=old.person(REDUP)=EXIS FOC=so
 tátlEliHs tcācānac klō, zōkwóz.
 stálhlecs, tsāsan'as, t'u7 zu7q'wáoz'.
 NOM=stand-AUT=3POSS feel-DIR-3TRNS but rotten(INC)-tree

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

101 Nē-tlōs Qaaúnac tē kw'támitca :
 Nilh t'u7 swe7áwenas ti kwtámts{s}a:
 FOC=so NOM=shout-DIR-3TRNS DET=husband{-3POSS}=EXIS

So then she yelled at her husband:

102 "Skwā---skwā---sEt pla---ne---kEnEn
 "sKwá---sKwa---set, pla---n ná---k'ennem
 NOM=Kwáskwaset already change-DIR-PASS

tē---é---ma---tsa ka---tla''!
 ti i7---ma---ts[a]ká---lha!"
 DET=grandchild-1PL.POSS=EXIS

"sKwá---skwa---set, our gra---ndchi---ld has been tra---nsformed!"

- 103 SkwāskwāsEt kElámEc tlō-wic-énwEt
 sKwāskwaset k'al'án's t'u7 wi7 s7ínwat
 NOM=Kwāskwaset listen=3POSS but=EMPH NOM=say.what
- kwa wEaú, nē-tlōs sákEnEc
 kwa we7áw, nilh t'u7 sts'áqan'as
 DET=PROG shout FOC=so NOM=pluck-DIR-3TRNS
- tē 'nwópqEnca, nē-tlōs
 ti nwépcensa, nilh t'u7
 DET=LOC-hair-leg-3POSS=EXIS FOC=so
- nEkitchménac nē-tlōs écaunEc,
 sn[kets]mínas, nilh t'u7 s7ísawenas,
 NOM=LOC-[jaw]-RED-3TRNS FOC=so NOM=chew-DIR-3TRNS
- nē-tlōs p'téEkwuncEc Étē tōá réqup.
 nilh t'u7 sptíxwensas áti7 ti wa7 [gexp].
 FOC=so NOM=spit-DIR-3TRNS there DET=PROG [rustle-INC]

Kwāskwaset listened, but he couldn't make out what the yelling was about, so he pulled out a hair from his leg, put into his mouth and chewed it, and then spat it out into the rapids.

- 104 Nē-tlōs tcuk's, nē-tlōs móta
 Nilh t'u7 stsukws, nilh t'u7 smúta7
 FOC=so NOM=finish=3POSS FOC=so NOM=and
- kElámEc Etl-kāném aiti tlō-wicénwEt
 k'al'án's elh qan'ím aylh t'u7 wi7 s7ínwat
 listen=3POSS then=hear then but=EMPH NOM=say.what
- cimám'ca, kaném aiti, nē-tlōs
 {ti} sem7ámsa; qan'ím aylh nilh t'u7
 {DET=}wife-3POSS=EXIS hear then FOC=so
- zōwátEnEc aiti.
 szwátenas aylh.
 NOM=know-DIR-TRNS then

Then it (the sound of the water) stopped, and he listened again to what he had heard his wife saying before; by and by he heard it, and then he knew (what had happened).

- 105 Nē-tlōs k'ētlēliHc, t'cēoq aitl
 Nilh t'u7 sq'flhils, tsicw aylh
 FOC=so NOM=run=3POSS reach then
- tē t'cītūQca, nē-tlōs skwālmin
 ti tsītcwsa, nilh t'u7 ssqwāl'min{em}
 DET=house-3POSS=EXIS FOC=so NOM=tell-RED{-PASS}

cimām'ca :
 {éti} sem7ámsa:
 {by=DET=} wife-3POSS=EXIS

So then off he ran, got to his house, and was told by his wife:

- 106 "nákEnEm tē ématc-kátla
 "Nák'enem ti imatskálha
 change-DIR-PASS DET=grandchild-1PL.POSS=EXIS

zōkwōz."
 {ku} zu7q'wáoz'."
 {DET=} rotten(INC)-tree

"Our grandchild has been changed into a log."

- 107 SkwāskwāsEt nē-tlōs t'cūnac
 sKwāskwaset nilh t'u7 stsūnas
 NOM=Kwāskwaset FOC=so NOM=tell(DIR)-3TRNS

cimām'ca :
 {ti=} sem7ámsa:
 {DET=} wife-3POSS=EXIS

Then Kwāskwaset said to his wife:

- 108 "KánEmc Oōaic kwācū
 "Kánem scw7ays kwāsu
 Why NOM=NEG=3POSS DET=PROG=2SG.POSS

áma kwācū
 áma kwāsu
 good DET=PROG=2SG.POSS

cEātsuqc tē ématc-kátla " ?
 s7ats'xs ti imatskálha?"
 STAT-see-CAUS DET=grandchild-1PL.POSS=EXIS

"Why didn't you look after our grandchild properly?"

- 109 “Hōimatl-zāqEntctōmeH.”
 “Huy’ malh zācenstumc.”
 go.on=ADHORT put.on.back-CAUS-1SG.OBJ

“Go ahead and put me on your back!”

- 110 ZāqEncEc aitol nē-tlōs nāc-ē ;
 Zācensas aylh, nilh t’u7 snási;
 put.on.back-CAUS-3TRNS then FOC=so NOM=go=3PL.POSS

tcēoqwēt aitol kō ālsEka ;
 tsfcwwit aylh ku āl’ts’q7a;
 get=3PL.INTR then DET=outside=EXIS

nē-tlōs ētlum’c tcE yākEtca :
 nilh t’u7 s7it’ems t{i} syáqts7a:
 FOC=so NOM=sing-MID=3POSS DET=NOM-woman=EXIS

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

- 111 “Ríma, ríma, ríma, ríma, n’ēmatc.”
 “Gíma, gíma, gíma, gíma, n7ímats.”
 shorten shorten shorten shorten 1SG.POSS-grandchild

“Shorten, shorten, shorten, shorten, my grandchild.”

- 112 Nē-tlōs rímalihc, kanēmEncEc
 Nilh t’u7 sgímlecs, qan’ímensas
 FOC=so NOM=shrink-AUT=3POSS hear-DIR-3TRNS

tē ēmatc-ēha kéEta tlas
 ti imatsíha k’í{k’}ta7 lhas
 DET=grandchild-3PL.POSS=EXIS close where=3CONJ

ēlals.
 ílal[s].
 cry[=3POSS]

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

- 113 Nē-tlōs kētcīnac cimām’ca ;
 Nilh t’u7 skítsin’as, {ti} sem7ámsa;
 FOC=so NOM=líe-DIR-3TRNS {DET=}wife-3POSS=EXIS

nē-tlōs k’ētfēlc uk’u Ecwāca
 nilh t’u7 sq’ílhils áku7 [e]swá7sa
 FOC=so NOM=run=3POSS there NOM=PROG=3POSS=EXIS

kwa é⁴lals.
 kwa flal[s].
 DET=PROG cry[=3POSS]

So then he put down his wife, and he ran over to where the crying was.

- 114 TcíQulmin kō klō, nē---tlōs mōtac
 Tsícwalmen kú7 t'u7, ni---lh t'u7 smúta7s
 get.there-almost=QUOT=so FOC=so NOM=again=3POSS

kaúaliHc tcEaís-kō é⁴lal kō kakaú⁴a.
 káwlecs, ts7as ku7 flal ku kekáw'a.
 far-AUT=3POSS come=QUOT cry DET=far=EXIS

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

- 115 SkwāskwāsEt kElé⁴l aitol ; p'anEt aitol
 sKwāskwaset qlil aylh; p'an't aylh
 NOM=Kwāskwaset angry then return then

tléEkmēnac cimám'ca, nē-tlōs
 t'iqmin'as {ti} sem7ámsa, nilh t'u7
 arrive-RED-3TRNS {DET=}wife-3POSS=EXIS FOC=so

túkEnac cimám'ca,
 steqenás {ti} sem7ámsa,
 NOM=touch-DIR-3TRNS {DET=}wife-3POSS=EXIS

nē-tlōs k'ō-tlukcánac.
 nilh t'u7 sq'ut'leqsán'as.
 FOC=so NOM=jam-nose-DIR-3TRNS

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

- 116 Tcūk'u aitol kwEc k'ōtlukcánac
 Tsukw aylh kws q'ut'leqsán'as
 finish then DET=NOM=jam-nose-DIR-3TRNS

 cimám'ca Etl-tcúnac aitol :
 {ti} sem7ámsa, elh tsúnas aylh:
 {DET=}wife-3POSS=EXIS then=tell(DIR)-3TRNS then

When he had finished jamming his wife's nose, he told her:

- 117 "Etl-réEp-kauq-matl tsúkwa,
 "Elh ri7pkácw malh, 'ts'ékwa7'
 then=grow(INC)=2SG.SUBJ=ADHORT 'ts'ékwa7'
- skwátctū kōauit-kitl
 skwátsitssu ku aw't kelh
 NOM-name-2SG.POSS DET=after=will
- óqwElmīuq, tsúkwa kitl kwā
 {ku} úcwalmicw, 'ts'ékwa7' kelh kwas
 {DET=}people 'ts'ékwa7'=FUT DET=PROG=3POSS
- snáhEntcéhacwēt, wa-kitl
 nahentsíhaswit, wa7 kelh
 call-DIR-2SG.OBJ-3PL.TRNS PROG=FUT
- tzákwan-tcéhacwēt."
 ts'aqwan'tsíhaswit."
 eat-DIR-2SG.OBJ-3PL.TRNS
- "From now on you will grow as a plant, and your name will be
 'ts'ékwa7' amongst the people; they will call you 'ts'ékwa7', and they
 will eat you."*

- 118 SkwāskwāsEt óqwEl aitol, tcéq
 sKwáskwaset úxwal' aylh, tsicw
 NOM=Kwáskwaset go.home then get.to
- tē tcitūQca, nē-tlōs wāac."
 ti tsítcwsa, nilh t'u7 swa7s.
 DET=house-3POSS=EXIS FOC=so NOM=PROG=3POSS
- Then Kwáskwaset set off home, got to his house, and stayed there.*

- 119 Kíék' aitol tcE skózaca ;
 T'iq aylh ts7a skúza7sa:
 arrive then this NOM-offspring-3POSS=EXIS
- nē-tlōs skwálnac.
 nilh t'u7 ssqwál'nas:
 FOC=so NOM=tell-DIR-3TRNS
- Then his daughter arrived, so he told her:*

- 120 "Nē-ckózacūwa Ec-nák'u-tō
 "Ni skúza7swa [e]snáq'w tu7
 ABS.DET=NOM-offspring-2SG.POSS=EXIS NOM-steal=CMPL

nEnánwac cyukīyáktca."
 {i} n7án'was{a} syeqyáqtsa7."
 {PL.DET=}two{=EXIS} NOM-women(REDUP)

"Your son has been stolen by two women."

- 121 " 'Nkátōzam nē-tcipalēnca " ?
 " Nka7 tu7 zam' ni tsepalínsa?"
 where=CMPL well ABS.DET=baby.basket-3POSS=EXIS

"Well, where's his baby basket?"

- 122 " Untoō.
 " Nt7u."
 over.there

"Over there."

- 123 " Āma."
 " Áma."
 good

"Good."

- 124 Nē-tlōs kwánac, nē-tlōs
 Nilh t'u7 skwánas, nilh t'u7
 FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS FOC=so

 kētcinac, nē-tlōs kwánac
 skítsin'as, nilh t'u7 skwánas
 NOM=lie-DIR-3TRNS FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS

 tē qEláka, nē-tlōs nácitc
 ti xlák7a, nilh t'u7 snasts
 DET=bucket=EXIS FOC=so NOM=go=3POSS

'nzauōm.
 nzáw'em.
 LOC-draw.water-MID

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

- 125 " 'Nká-tō nē-kutla " ?
 " Nka7 tu7 ni k'ét'ha?"
 where=CMPL ABS.DET=stone=EXIS

"Where's the heating stone?"

- 126 "Untoó."
 "Nt7u."
 over.there
 "Over there."
- 127 "'Nká-tō nē-'ncaúQEmic" ?
 "Nka7 tu7 ni nsácw{men}s{a}?"
 where=CMPL ABS.DET=LOC-bathe{-INST}-3POSS{=EXIS}
 "Where's his wash tub?"
- 128 "Untoó."
 "Nt7u."
 over.there
 "Over there."
- 129 "'Nká-tō nē-kwisqÉna" ?
 "Nka7 tu7 ni k'wescín'a?"
 where=CMPL ABS.DET=tongs=EXIS
 "Where are the tongs?"
- 130 "Untoó."
 "Nt7u."
 over.there
 "Over there."
- 131 'Nlaúkwānac aiti tē 'ncaúQEminca ;
 Nt'ák'wan'as aylh ti nsácwmena;
 LOC-pour-DIR-3TRNS then DET=LOC-bathe-INST-3POSS=EXIS
 nē-tlōs túkEnac tē kwisqÉna,
 nilh t'u7 steqenás ti k'wescín'a,
 FOC so NOM=touch-DIR-3TRNS DET=tongs=EXIS
 k'ēpēnac tē k'umpálitca, nē-tlōs
 k'fp'in'as ti qempáltsa, nilh t'u7
 squeeze-DIR-3TRNS DET=hot-INC-rock=EXIS FOC=so
 pōtlōnac tē 'ncaúQEminca;
 spúlhun'as ti nsácwmena;
 NOM=boil-DIR-3TRNS DET=LOC-bathe-INST-3POSS=EXIS
 kwānac aiti EntcáktEnca,
 kwānas aylh {ti} ntsákwtena;
 take(DIR)-3TRNS then {DET=}LOC-spread-INST-3POSS=EXIS

nē-tlōs mólōnac, nē-tlōs
 nilh t'u7 smúlunas, nilh t'u7
 FOC=so NOM=immerse-DIR-3TRNS FOC=so

 k'lopōnac, nē-tlōs wóqvac,
 st'úpun'as, nilh t'u7 sweq'ws,
 NOM=twist-DIR-3TRNS FOC=so NOM=drip=3POSS

 nē-tlōs élals, nē-tlōs
 nilh t'u7 s7lals, nilh t'u7
 FOC=so NOM=cry=3POSS FOC=so

 túkEnac skūkuméta,
 steqenás {ti} sk'úk'wm'ita,
 NOM=touch-DIR-3TRNS {DET=}NOM-child=EXIS

 nē-tlōs caúQEnac skúkaiyuq,
 nilh t'u7 ssácwenas; sqéqy'ecw,
 FOC=so NOM=bathe-DIR-3TRNS NOM-boy(REDup)

 nē-tlōs nEaqétcEc, nē-tlōs
 nilh t'u7 sn7exits{s}as, nilh t'u7
 FOC=so NOM=LOC-lie.down{-CAUS}-3TRNS FOC=so

 laúwanac, nē-tlō aiti cE-ámac
 sláwan'as, nilh t'u7 aylh s7ámas
 NOM=hang-DIR-3TRNS FOC=so then NOM=good=3POSS

 kwācÉc-atsucEc.
 kwas s7áts'xsas.
 DET=PROG=3POSS STAT=see-CAUS-3TRNS

Then she poured water into the wash tub, took the tongs, grabbed the hot rock, and boiled the water in his wash tub; next she took the wash cloth, dipped it in the water, and wrung it out, and then it dripped, and then it cried, and then she picked up a child, and washed the little boy; then she laid him down and hung him up (in the cradle), and cared for him well.

- 132 Nē-tlō aiti lélitumpc.
 Nilh t'u7 aylh lalíl'tems.
 FOC=so then adult=3POSS

So then he grew to adulthood.

EPISODE IV

- 133 Nē-tlō aiti nácitc péEkEm ; tčeoq péEkEm ;
 Nilh t'u7 aylh nasts píxem'; tsicw píxem';
 FOC=so then go=3POSS hunt-MID went hunt-MID

kléEk óqwEl.
 t'iq úxwal'.
 came home

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

- 134 P'cil nac móta péEkEm ; álsuqEnac tlō móta ;
 Psil', nas múta7 píxem'; ats'xenás t'u7 múta7;
 morning go again hunt-MID see-DIR-3TRNS=so again

kléEk óqwEl, skúmsatl skwátcitca.
 t'iq úxwal'; sQ'em'sálh {ti} skwátsitssa.
 came home NOM=Q'ém'sálh {DET=}NOM-name-3POSS=EXIS

In the morning, he went hunting again; he saw him again, and came home; Q'ém'sálh was his name.

- 135 Skwálnac aiti tc' skéqōzaca :
 Sqwál'nas aylh t{i} skícza7sa:
 tell-DIR-3TRNS then DET=NOM-mother-3POSS=EXIS

Then he told his mother:

- 136 "p'zantlkan-tlo móta."
 "Pzánlhkan t'u7 múta7."
 meet(DIR)=1SG.SUBJ=so again

"I met him again."

- 137 "O n'ckōza nauk'-ménEm-tō
 "O nskúza7, naq'wminém tu7
 oh 1SG.POSS-NOM-offspring steal-RED-PASS=CMPL

nē-kátcikcúwa, Enán'wic
 ni qátskswa, n7án'was
 ABS.DET=older.brother-2SG.POSS=EXIS two.human

cyukiyáktca nē-nauk'-mén-talī-ha-tō
 syeqyáqtsa7 ni naq'wmintalihá tu7
 NOM-women(REDUP) ABS.DET=steal-RED-TOP=EXIS=CMPL

nē-kátcikcúwá,
ni qátskswa,
ABS.DET=older.brother-2SG.POSS=EXIS

nē-kátcikcúwá
ni qátskswa
ABS.DET=older.brother-2SG.POSS=EXIS

EsmEmEtcáz ; En tī kōzápilca
esmém'tsaoz'; nti k'wzápel'sa
STAT-mark(RE DUP)-LEX on=DET=cheek-3POSS=EXIS

tē smEmEtcázca."
ti smém'tsaoz'sa."
DET=NOM-mark(RE DUP)-LEX-3POSS=EXIS

*"Oh my son, your older brother was stolen away, it was two women
who stole your older brother, your older brother who has a birthmark;
his birthmark is on his cheek."*

138 P'cīl-mōta nac mōta péEkEm nētl aiti
Psil' mūta7, nas mūta7 píxem', nilh aylh
early.morning again go again hunt-MID FOC then

nEsQēnac ; kánēmcEc
nscwí{l'}nas; qan'ím{en}sas
LOC=NOM=seek-DIR-3TRNS hear-CAUS-3TRNS

tē wāamEēminEm skwílāten, nē-tlō
ti wa7 emímnem skwlāten, nilh t'u7
DET=PROG animal.noise-MID NOM=woodpecker FOC=so

aitl nāc-mēnac, nē-tlōs tēoq-mēn-ac ;
aylh násmin'as, nilh t'u7 stsfcwmin'as;
then go-RED-3TRNS FOC=so NOM=go-RED-3TRNS

nē-tlōs mētcak-ē ; nē-tlōs
nilh t'u7 smítsa7qi, nilh t'u7[s]
FOC=so NOM=sit=3PL.POSS FOC=so

skwālūtEc Skúmsatl.
sqwal'út.s sQ'em'sálh.
NOM=speak=3POSS NOM=Q'em'sálh

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

- 139 Nē-tlōs tcūnac :
 Nilh t'u7 stsúnas:
 FOC=so NOM=tell(DIR)-3TRNS

So then he told him:

- 140 Snúwa-ka kwEn-kátcik,
 "Snúwa k'a ku nqatsk,
 2SG.EMPH=APPAR DET=1SG.POSS-older.brother

nauk'-ménEm-kō-tō kwEn-kátcik
 naq'wminém ku7 tu7 ku nqatsk.
 steal-RED-PASS=QUOT=CMPL DET=1SG.POSS-older.brother

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

- 141 Enánūwac-kō-ē nauk'-mén-talī-ha, auk'Eō
 N7án'was ku7 i naq'wmin'tal'fha, ekw7ú tu7
 two.human=QUOT PL.DET=steal-RED-TOP=EXIS to.there=CMPL

tō-Etl-tlakstōmac."
 [e]lht'ákstum'as."
 where=go-CAUS-PASS=3CONJ

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

- 142 "Wonaúq cEéntcEm.
 "Wenácw, s7énts[em].
 true NOM-1SG.EMPH[-MID?]

"It's true, that's me.

- 143 Náac-kauq-tlō óqwEl, tcEáckau tlō móta
 Náskacw t'u7 úxwal', ts7áskacw t'u7 múta7
 go=2SG.SUBJ=so home come=2SG.SUBJ=so again

nátūQ ; náac-kan óqwEl, klēEk-kan kitl tlō
 natcw; náskan úxwal', t'iqkan kélh t'u7
 tomorrow go=1SG.SUBJ home come=1SG.SUBJ=FUT=so

móta Etcá Etlkan-rípaca nátūQ ;
 múta7 ets7á [e]lhka-nrépasa natcw;
 again to=here when=OOC=LOC-erect=3CONJ=OOC tomorrow

snúwa klēEk-kauq Etcá nátūQ nētl kitl tlō
 snúwa, t'iqkacw ets7á natcw, nilh kelh t'u7
 you come=2SG.SUBJ to=here tomorrow FOC=FUT=so

Ens-nāc ēūwa Ecnūwa.”
 nsnas í7wa7 esnúwa.
 1SG.POSS=NOM=go together to=2SG.EMPH

Go home, and come again tomorrow; I'm going home, I'll come here again at noon tomorrow; you come here tomorrow and I'll go with you.”

- 144 ÓqweI aiti tē pápEla, ÓqweI móta
 Úxwal' aylh ti pápel7a, úxwal' múta7
 home then DET=one.human=EXIS home also

tē pápEla.
 ti pápel7a.
 DET=one.human=EXIS

Then one went home, and then the other.

- 145 ÓqweI-wēt aiti.
 Úxwal'wit aylh.
 home=3PL.INTR then

They went home.

- 146 Tcéoq Éti tciūQca móta
 Tsicw éti tsítcwsa múta7
 went to=DET=house-3POSS=EXIS then
- tē tcE lílína, ÓqweI aiti, klēEk
 ti s7alélen7a, úxwal' aylh, t'iq
 DET=NOM-younger(REDUP)=EXIS home then came

aiti Éti tciūQca, skwál' nac
 aylh éti tsítcwsa, sqwál' nas
 then to=DET=house-3POSS=EXIS tell-DIR-3TRNS

skēqōzaca :
 {ti} skícza7sa:
 {DET=}NOM-mother-3POSS=EXIS

So the youngest went to his house, he set off home, he arrived at his house, and he told his mother:

- 147 “Wonaúq nētl skōzacū
 “Wenácw, nilh skúza7su
 true FOC NOM-offspring-2SG.POSS

nē-wā-átsuqEn-En,
 ni wa7 áts' xenan,
 ABS.DET=PROG see-DIR-1SG.TRNS

wā-tcūntcas. kwEndj-nac tľō
 wa7 tsúntsas kwens nas t'u7
 PROG tell(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3TRNS DET=1SG.POSS=NOM=go=so

móta náťuQ."
 múta7 natcw."
 again tomorrow

"It's true, it was your son that I saw, he told me to go again tomorrow."

148 Aqétc-wét aitol k'lo Qoáz kwāc
 Exits=wit aylh t'u7 cw7aoz kwas
 lie.down=3PL.INTR then but NEG DET=PROG=3POSS

róit-tō-wét
 guy't tu7 wit.
 sleep=CMPL=3PL.INTR

They lay down but they couldn't get to sleep.

149 P'cīl aitol, nē-tľōs mētcakc, nē-tľōs
 Psil' aylh, nilh t'u7 smítsa7qs, nilh t'u7
 early.morning then FOC=so NOM=sit=3POSS FOC=so

hózac, tcūk's hózac ;
 shuzá7s, tsukw shuzá7s;
 NOM=get.ready=3POSS finish NOM=get.ready=3POSS

nē-tľō aitol náćitc, nē-tľōs tćioqac
 nilh t'u7 aylh nasts, nilh t'u7 stsicws
 FOC=so then go=3POSS FOC=so NOM=arrive=3POSS

En-swā-ēha-tō é-náťuQac ;
 nswa7ihá tu7 ináćwas;
 LOC=NOM=be=3PL.POSS=EXIS=CMPL when.PAST=day=3CONJ

nē-tľōs átsuqEmps EtEó, nē-tľōs
 nilh t'u7 s7áts'xems et7ú, nilh t'u7
 FOC=so NOM=see-MID=3POSS over.there FOC=so

átsuqEnac c'pElókwa, nē-tľōs
 s7áts'xenas {ti} spl'úkwa, nilh t'u7
 NOM=see-DIR-3TRNS {DET=}NOM-smoke=EXIS FOC=so

wāc lā tā ; Ec-métcak.
 swa7s láta7; esmítsa7q.
 NOM=be=3POSS there STAT-sit

The next morning, he got up, and he got ready, and when he had finished getting ready, he set off, and arrived at the place where they had been the previous day; then he looked over yonder and saw smoke, so he sat down there and waited.

- 150 TcE snauk'ʰE-tōā tcēoq
 Ts7a snáq'w tú7a tsicw
 here NOM-steal=CMPL=EXIS come
- Étī tcítuQca nē-tlōs āqétcEc
 éti tsítcwsa, nilh t'u7 s7exítss,
 to=DET=house-3POSS=EXIS FOC=so NOM=lie.down=3POSS
- nē-tlōs p'ténōcEm auk'ʰ Etl-kácEc
 nilh t'u7 sptínusem áku7 [e]lhkásas
 FOC=so NOM=think-MID there whether=how=3CONJ
- ē tcEmál'tca ; nē-tlōs
 i tsmál't.sa; nilh t'u7
 PL.DET=children=3POSS=EXIS FOC=so
- pónac auk'ʰ Etl-kácEc kitl.
 spúnas áku7 [e]lhkásas kelh.
 NOM=find(DIR)=3TRNS there whether=how=3CONJ=FUT

(Meanwhile) the one that had been stolen went back to his house, and lay down and thought about how to deal with his children; then he figured out what to do.

- 151 Nē-tlō aiti nácitc k'ólEm kō kwéauH ;
 Nilh t'u7 aylh nasts k'úl'em' ku k'wi7cw;
 FOC=so then go=3POSS make-MID DET=pitch.wood
- pónac aiti ē kwéauHa,
 pún-as aylh i k'wí7cw=a,
 find(DIR)=3TRNS then PL.DET=pitch.wood=EXIS
- kwánac aiti, óqweI aiti,
 kwánas aylh, úxwal' aylh,
 take(DIR)=3TRNS then go.home then
- tcēoqcEc aiti, suksúkEnac ;
 tsícwsas aylh, seqseqnás;
 get.there-CAUS-3TRNS then split(REDUP)-DIR-3TRNS

tcūk'u suksúkEnac, nē-tlōs
 tsukw {s}seqseqnás, nilh t'u7
 finish {NOM=}split(REDUP)-DIR-3TRNS FOC=so

 ótlūqcEc, nē-tlōs kákanac;
 s7úlhcsas, nilh t'u7 sk'ácan'as;
 NOM=enter-CAUS-3TRNS FOC=so NOM=dry-DIR-3TRNS

 tcūk'u kw'c qaiEms atí; nē-tlō aiti
 tsukw kws xilems áti7, nilh t'u7 aylh
 finish DET=NOM=do-MID=3POSS that FOC=so then

 āqétc, Qoāz tlō aiti rōitc.
 exits, cw7áoz t'u7 aylh {kws} guy't.s.
 lie.down NEG=so then {DET=NOM=}sleep=3POSS

So then he went out to fix some pitch wood; presently, he found some pitch wood, took it home, and split it into pieces; and when he had finished splitting it, he took it inside and dried it; and when he had finished doing that, he lay down, but he didn't sleep.

- 152 P'cílac nánatūQ, nē-tlōs
 {Lh}psíl'as nán'atcw, nilh t'u7
 {when=}early.morning=3CONJ morning FOC=so

 métcakc, nē-tlōs kwānac
 smítsa7qs, nilh=t'u7 skwānas
 NOM=sit=3POSS FOC=so NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS

 tē skílāmqa cimāmic, nē-tlōs
 ti skel7ámca sem7áms, nilh t'u7
 DET=NOM-first-person=EXIS wife-3POSS FOC=so

 k' 'ménac, nē-tlōs
 sq'mín{n}as, Nilh t'u7
 NOM=throw.down{-DIR}-3TRNS FOC=so

 mātukc nákelihc s'tlātálEm.
 smatqs, nák'lecs st'alhálam.
 NOM=walk=3POSS change-AUT=3POSS NOM=grizzly.bear

He got up early the next morning, took his older wife, threw her on the ground, and then she walked off, changed into a grizzly bear.

- 153 QaiúlcEc tlō móta tē tcElílina
 Xílhtsas t'u7 múta7 ti s7alélen7a
 do-CAUS-3TRNS=so also DET=NOM-younger(REDUP)=EXIS

cimámamic, ná⁴kEnac tlō móta méqatl.
 sem7áms, nak'enás t'u7 múta7 mixelh.
 wife-3POSS change-DIR-3TRNS=so also black.bear

He did the same with his younger wife, but this time he changed her into a black bear.

154 Tcūk'u kw'c qaitlcEc átī
 Tsukw kws xflhtsas áti7
 finish DET=NOM-do-CAUS-3TRNS that

ē c'mámam'ca, kwánac aiti
 i sem7ámsa, kwánas aylh
 PL.DET=wife-3POSS=EXIS take(DIR)-3TRNS then

ē-tc'-málitca, nē-tlōs pónac,
 i tsmál't.sa, nilh t'u7 spú{cu}n'as,
 PL.DET=children-3POSS=EXIS FOC=so NOM=blow-DIR-3TRNS

nē-tlōs caúk'uEc c'p'Épāzōza wéliH.
 nilh t'u7 ssaq'ws, spepzuza7wíl'c.
 FOC=so NOM=fly=3POSS NOM-birds(REDUP)-become

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

155 Tcūk'u aiti kw'c qaitlcEc átī
 Tsukw aylh kws xflhtsas áti7
 finish then DET=NOM-do-CAUS-3TRNS that

ē-tc'-málitca nē-tlōs
 i tsmál't.sa, nilh t'u7
 PL.DET=children-3POSS=EXIS FOC=so

kwánac e kwéauHa,
 skwánas i k'wí7cwa,
 NOM=take(DIR)-3TRNS PL.DET=pitch.wood=EXIS

rólnac.
 gwelnás.
 burn-DIR-3TRNS

When he had finished dealing thus with his children, he took the pitch-wood and burnt it.

156 Nē-tlō aiti tcEáitc, tléuk aiti
 Nilh t'u7 aylh ts7asts, t'iq aylh
 FOC=so then come=3POSS arrived then

En-tcūwāca
 nt.swá7sa
 at=DET=NOM=PROG=3POSS=EXIS

tē cickwōzca.
 ti sésq'wez'sa.
 DET=younger.sibling(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

Then he came to where his younger brother was.

- 157 Pónac tē cickwōzca.
 Púnas ti sésq'wez'sa.
 find(DIR)=3TRNS DET=younger.sibling(REDUP)-3POSS=EXIS

He found his younger brother.

- 158 ÓqwEl-wēt aiti ; tceq-wet
 Úxwal'wit aylh; tsícwwit
 home=3PL.INTR then get.there=3PL.INTR

tē tcitūq-éha, nē-tlōs
 ti tsítciwiha, nilh t'u7
 DET=house-3PL.POSS=EXIS FOC=so

wā-é En tī tcitūq-éha.
 swá7i nti tsítciwiha.
 NOM=PROG=3PL.POSS at=DET=house-3PL.POSS=EXIS

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

Appendix I

This appendix contains all abbreviations employed in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, together with equivalent terms from van Eijk (1997), who does not give morpheme-by-morpheme glosses for his examples. For the most part, the abbreviations here follow van Eijk's analyses, though following Davis (1999a), I treat the following elements as clitics rather than affixes: first and second person indicative subject pronouns; all conjunctive and possessive subject pronouns; and the nominalizer, when used to introduce clausal complements as opposed to nominals.

abbr.	gloss	van Eijk (1997)
ABS.DET:	absent determiner	'absent, known, singular article'
ACT:	active intransitivizer	'xal-intransitivizer'
ADHORT:	adhortative enclitic	
APPAR:	modal enclitic ('apparently')	'possibility, surmise'
AUT:	autonomous intransitivizer	'body (lexical suffix)'
CAUS:	causative transitivizer	's-transitivizer'
CMPL:	completive enclitic	'definite past'
CON:	connective	
CONJ:	conjunctive subject enclitic	'subjunctive subject suffix'
DET:	(present, unmarked) determiner	'present, known, singular article'
DIR:	directive (control) transitivizer	'n-transitivizer'
EMPH:	emphatic	
EXIS:	existential enclitic	'reinforcement'
FOC:	focus predicate	'anticipatory pronoun'
FUT:	future enclitic	'remote future, possibility'
IMP:	imperative	
INC:	inchoative infix/suffix	
IND:	indirective transitivizer	
INST:	instrumental (lexical) suffix	
INTR:	intransitive subject clitic	'subject suffix'
LEX:	lexical suffix	
LOC:	locative prefix/proclitic	
MID:	middle intransitivizer	'm-intransitivizer'
NEG:	negative predicate	
NOM:	nominalizer	
OBJ:	object suffix	
OOC:	out-of-control	'resultative combination'
PASS:	passive suffix	
PL:	plural	
POSS:	possessive	
PROG:	progressive	
QUOT:	quotative enclitic	
RED:	redirective transitivizer	'relational/indirect transitivizer'
REDUP:	reduplication	
REFL:	reflexive	
SG:	singular	
STAT:	stative prefix	
SUBJ:	indicative subject clitic	'indicative subject suffix'
TOP:	non-topical subject marker	
TRNS:	transitive ('ergative') subject	'indicative subject suffix'
YNQ:	yes-no question enclitic	'interrogative'

Appendix II

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

orthography	phonemic	orthography	phonemic
p	p	x	ǰ
p'	p̌	xw	ǰ ^w
m	m	r	ɹ
m'	m̌	r'	ɹ̌
t	t	g	ɣ
ts	č, c	g'	ɣ̌
ts'	č̌	gw	ɣ ^w
s	š, s	g'w	ɣ ^w ̌
n	n	h	h
n'	ň	w	w
t'	ǰ	w'	w̌
lh	ɬ	y	y
l	l	y'	y̌
l'	ɬ̌	z	z
k	k	z'	ž
k'	ǩ	ʔ	ʔ
kw	k ^w	a	æ
k'w	ǩ ^w	ao	ɑ
c	x	e	ə
cw	x ^w	v	ʌ
q	q	i	i
q'	q̌	ii	e
qw	q ^w	u	u
q'w	q̌ ^w	o	o

Appendix III

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

Vowels

a as in English <i>hat</i> .	i as in English <i>pin</i> .
ā as in English <i>father</i> .	ī as in English <i>pique</i> .
â as in English <i>all</i> .	o as in English <i>pond</i> .
ä as in English <i>gnat</i> .	ō as in English <i>tone</i> .
e as in English <i>pen</i> .	u as in English <i>but</i> .
ē as in English <i>they</i> .	ū as in English <i>boot</i> .

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

Diphthongs.

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

Consonants.

b as in English.

k as in English.

h as in English.

k' a strongly palatalised or "clicked" *k*.

ķ intermediate between our *k* and *g*.

tl an explosive palatalized *l*.

L the same but shorter, approximating to the sound of the final *-tle* in the word *cattle*.

l as is English mostly, but interchanging with *n* in the speech of some Indians.

m as in English.

p as in English.

p' no English equivalent, semi-mute semi-sonant.

r the sound this letter stands for is not our *r*, but something midway between it and *l*.

t as in English mostly, sometimes intermediate between our *t* and *d*.

t' a palatalized or "clicked" *t*, scarcely distinguishable from the "clicked" *k*, but nevertheless a distinct sound.

w as in English.

y as in English.

q as in *loch* in broad Scotch.

Q approximately as *wh* is uttered in North Britain.

H as the German in *ich*.

c as in English *sh*.

tc, as *ch* in the word *church*.

ts, as in English.

dj, as in *j* in English *juice*.

kw, as *qu* in the word *quantity*.

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

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

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

HILL-TOUT	PHONEMIC	PRACTICAL
p	p, p̣	p, p'
p'	p, p̣	p, p'
m	m, ṃ, ṇ	m, m', n'
m'	ṃ	m'
t	t, l, ṭ, č	t, l, lh, ts
tl	č, ṭ	t', lh
tL	ṭ	lh
th	ṭ	lh
l	l, ḷ, ṭ, ?	l, l', lh, ʔ
n	n, ṇ, ṃ	n, n', m
n'	ṇ	n
ts	č	ts'
tz	č	ts'
tc	č, č̣	ts, ts'
s	s, č̣, ẓ	s, ts', z
z	z, ẓ	z, z'
c	č, s, č̣	ts, s, ts'
dj	(n)s	(n)s
y	y, ỵ, ?	y, y', ʔ
k	k, ḳ, ḳ̣, ḳ̣̣, q, q̣, q̣̣, x, x̣̣̣, č̣̣̣, č̣̣̣̣	k, k', kw, k'w, q, q', qw, c, cw, x, xw, w'
k'	k, ḳ, ḳ̣, q, q̣	k, k', kw, q, q'
kw	ḳ̣̣, ḳ̣̣̣, x̣̣̣̣, q̣̣̣̣, q̣̣̣̣̣, č̣̣̣̣̣	kw, k'w, cw, qw, q'w, xw
kw'	ḳ̣̣̣̣	kw

HILL-TOUT	PHONEMIC	PRACTICAL
k ^u	k ^w , q ^w	kw, q'w
kl	ḵ	t'
k'	k ^w , k̥, k̥ ^w , q, q ^w , q̥, q̥ ^w , ḵ	kw, k', k'w, q, qw, q', q'w, x
k''	q̥	q'
k'w	k ^w , q ^w , q̥ ^w	kw, qw, q'w
k ^u	k ^w , q̥ ^w	kw, q'w
k'l	ḵ	t'
h	ḵ, ḵ ^w , h, z	x, xw, h, z
H	x, x ^w , ḵ	c, cw, x
r	ɣ, ɣ ^w , ɣ ^w	r, g, gw
q	k ^w , x, x ^w , q̥, ḵ, ḵ ^w	kw, c, cw, q', x, xw
qw	q̥ ^w , x ^w , ḵ ^w	q'w, cw, xw
Q	x ^w , q̥ ^w , ḵ ^w , w, w̥	cw, q'w, xw, w, w'
w	x ^w , w, w̥, ɣ ^w	cw, w, w', gw
a	a, a, ə, ə̃, ʔ	a, ao, e, (Ø), ʔ
ā	a, ʌ	a, v
ä	a	a
â	a, a	a, ao
e	a, ə, ə̃, i	a, e, (Ø), i
ē	ə, i	e, i
E	a, ə, i, ʔ	a, e, i, ʔ
i	ə, ə̃, i, ʔ	e, (Ø), i, ʔ
ī	ə, i	e, i
o	a, ə, ə̃, u	a, e, (Ø), u
ō	ə, u	e, u
u	a, ə, ə̃, ʌ	a, e, (Ø), v
ū	ə, u	e, u

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