

Ṭsits̱akaḻames Ruby  
*Ruby's stories*

by Ruby Dawson Cranmer

*Transcribed and edited by*  
Jonathan Janzen and Katie Sardinha

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Back cover image: Ruby Dawson Cranmer hugging her mother's button blanket, courtesy of Jonathan Janzen.

Front cover image: Ruby Dawson Cranmer's great-grandmother Hi'lu's, courtesy of Ruby Dawson Cranmer.

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Most importantly, Ḡilakas'la to Ruby, for sharing her language and her stories with us.

# Editors' Introduction

## Jonathan Janzen and Katie Sardinha

We are very happy to present this volume of stories told by Ruby Dawson Cranmer of the Musḱamakw Dzawada'enu'xw in her native language, Kwakwala. At the time of writing, Ruby is one of an estimated 150 or fewer fluent speakers of Kwakwala (FPCC 2018), and a speaker of the central ('Kwakwala') dialect (Anonby 1997). In addition to being a master speaker, Ruby is an accomplished teacher of the language. We, the editors, have had the privilege of being her students since 2009.

Some of the stories in this volume have been told to us many times over since we started working together. The final versions presented here were recorded during the years 2016–2018. With the exception of Galabe' ('Foreword'), the stories were recorded first in Kwakwala and then translated into English. Transcription and grammatical analysis of each Kwakwala story was then carried out by Jonathan Janzen and Katie Sardinha. We, the editors, accept responsibility for any errors which remain in the texts presented below.

The story Galabe' ('Foreword') provides an introduction to the stories from Ruby. In the remainder of this editors'

introduction, we discuss various technical aspects of the volume. In particular, we discuss the production of the audio recordings on which the written stories are based (Audio recordings), the overall organization of the volume (Organization), and the conventions we have adopted to represent written Kwakwala (Conventions).

### **Audio recordings**

Each of the stories in this volume were created and refined using the same method. Ruby's best mode of storytelling is oral. Therefore, the written stories in this volume are all derived from original unedited audio recordings which were obtained, transcribed, and analysed by the editors. Each story was then re-told in Kwakwala to Ruby line-by-line, giving her the opportunity to correct, polish, and clarify the stories in the way she wanted. In this way, Ruby is truly the author of this volume. Lastly, Ruby re-recorded the final polished version of each story. A few of these recordings were subsequently edited, on Ruby's request, to remove reference to particular individuals.

The final recordings of Ruby's stories are available online for download from <https://lingpapers.sites.olt.ubc.ca/opl-volumes/tsitsakalames-rubys-stories/>.

### **Organization**

Each of Ruby's stories is presented in three written versions: a Kwakwala version, an English version, and a grammatical analysis. The stories are also accompanied by notes from the editors. The content of each of these sections is described below.



### **Kwakwala version**

The Kwakwala version of each story consists of a transcription that corresponds with Ruby's recorded audio. This means that for each of Ruby's stories, the reader can listen along to the Kwakwala story as they are reading it. English words and phrases, where they appear in the Kwakwala version, are indicated in *italics*. We have not italicized non-Kwakwala names or words that are pronounced with a strong Kwakwala accent. Speech errors are omitted from the transcription in this section.

### **English version**

The English version of each story consists of a loose translation of the Kwakwala version. The sentences in the English version are based on line-by-line translations obtained in collaboration with Ruby. We have made only slight changes to the line-by-line translations in order to make the sentences flow together smoothly here. The story Galabe' ('Foreword') is different from the other stories, as it is the only story accompanied by recorded audio in both English and Kwakwala. The English version of this story consists of a direct transcription of the recorded audio, with speech errors left untranscribed.

### **Grammatical Analysis**

The grammatical analysis gives a line-by-line breakdown of each Kwakwala sentence. Sentences or phrases which form coherent chunks are numbered in sequence and analyzed into five lines. A sentence from the story Dzunuḱwa ('Dzunukwa') is provided in (1) as an example of how this is done.

(1) N̄amukwi da ḡanan̄am, K̄ugigaxt̄la.

n̄amukwi            da            ḡanan̄am

n̄am -ukw =i = da ḡanan̄am  
 one -person=D3 =DET young

K̄ugigaxt̄la

K̄ugiga -(x)t̄la  
 Hunchback-be.called

‘There was one child, called Hunchback.’

The first line of this example contains the line number (here (1))<sup>1</sup> followed by the sentence as it appears in the Kwakwala version of the story. There is one difference between this line and the Kwakwala version above: if the audio recording of the Kwakwala sentence in question contains any speech errors, they will be represented in this line of the grammatical analysis inside square brackets ([...]). The line shown above does not contain any speech errors, and so there are no square brackets. The remaining four lines of the example are aligned word-by-word in order to facilitate comparison across lines.

The second line contains another copy of the sentence from the Kwakwala version, this time with speech errors omitted.

The third line is referred to as the **parse line**. This line provides a morphological breakdown of each Kwakwala word into roots, suffixes (‘-’), clitics (‘=’), and reduplicants (‘~’), and gives each morpheme’s underlying representation (see section Underlying Representations below for further discussion). The presence of round brackets ‘( )’ in the parse line is used to indicate segments which sometimes surface and sometimes do not. For instance, in the word (k̄)i’s ‘to be not, NEG’, the consonant ‘k̄’ is placed inside round brackets because

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<sup>1</sup>In the original Dzunuḱwa (‘Dzunukwa’) text, this line is number (8).

it is often deleted in natural speech, while in the suffix *-(g)ila* ‘make/do’, the consonant ‘g’ is placed inside round brackets because it is omitted in certain phonological environments. Clitics and clitic sequences which prosodically resemble independent words are treated specially here: in particular, they are represented as clitics in the parse line (that is, with ‘=’), but are written as separate orthographic words in the first and second line of the grammatical analysis.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth line is referred to as the gloss line. This line provides a gloss for each root, suffix, and clitic that reflects its meaning and/or grammatical function (the abbreviations used in glosses are discussed below).

The fifth line contains an approximate English rendering of the whole sentence. The translations in this line were developed in collaboration with Ruby.

A schema that summarizes how sentences are analyzed in the grammatical analysis section is provided in (2).

- (2) Line from Kwakwala version [any recorded speech errors in square brackets]

Line from Kwakwala version  
Parse line  
Gloss line  
‘English translation.’

Sentences which are too long to fit strictly onto five lines are spaced out in the manner shown in (3), where lines 2–4 are

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<sup>2</sup>Clitics and clitic sequences with this property include the connective =*x*a, the determiner =*da*, and object-marking forms containing at least one full vowel or syllabic resonant, such as =*sa*, =*san*, =*xu*x, and =*xi*’s. See Janzen (2015) and Anderson (2005) for discussion of the prosodic properties of clitics and clitic sequences in Kwakwala.



## Editors' Note

Editors' notes are provided for each of Ruby's stories. These notes provide background information that is relevant for interpreting the stories. Some of this information comes from conversations we've had with Ruby, while some of it comes from outside sources. The notes also highlight particularly noteworthy features of the stories or describe the context in which they were told.

## Conventions

In order to provide a written representation of Ruby's oral Kwakwala stories, a number of decisions had to be made regarding orthography, the form of underlying representations, and the abbreviations used in glossing. The conventions we've adopted are described in this section.

## Orthography

The orthography used to represent Kwakwala in Ruby's stories is shown given in Table 1 and Table 2.

This orthography is based on the U'mista orthography, with a few minor deviations:

- In representing glottalized resonants, the apostrophe is placed above the letter rather than before it. Thus where standard U'mista has 'm, 'n, 'l, 'y, 'w, we have used  $\overset{\cdot}{m}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{n}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{l}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{y}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{w}$  instead.
- In representing the ejective segments that are written as digraphs in U'mista, the apostrophe is located on top of the first character, rather than in-between the two characters. Thus where standard U'mista has k'w, k'w, t's, t'ł, we have used  $\overset{\cdot}{k}w$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{k}w$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{t}s$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{t}\text{ł}$  instead.

Table 1: Kwakwala Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Lateral	Palatalized Velar	Labialized Velar	Uvular	Labialized Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p b	t d		k g	kw gw	<u>k</u> g	<u>kw</u> gw	'
Ejectives	p̣	ṭ		ḳ	kẉ	<u>ḳ</u>	<u>kẉ</u>	
Affricates		ts dz	tʃ dʃ					
Ejective affricates		ṭs	ṭʃ					
Fricatives		s	ʃ	x	xw	<u>x</u>	<u>xw</u>	h
Sonorants	m	n	l	y	w			
Glottalized sonorants	ṃ	ṇ	ḷ	ỵ	ẉ			

- We have systematically omitted the ‘w’ in the following word-final sequences where it is phonetically redundant (except in proper names): ux(w), ux(w), ox(w), ox(w).

### Underlying representations

The following conventions have been adopted in order to present underlying representations (‘UR’s) of morphemes.

- Linguists have argued that schwa in Kwakwala is either always epenthetic (Grubb 1977:236–241) or at least sometimes epenthetic (Littell 2016:429–433), and therefore not present in underlying forms. Nevertheless,

Table 2: Kwakwala Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

Kwakwaka'wakw community members are used to seeing schwa ('ə' in U'mista script) in written Kwakwala. In our representation of underlying forms we have compromised between these two perspectives: we omit schwas that are epenthetic at boundaries between roots and affixes or clitics, but include schwas that are internal to roots, stems, and pronouns (e.g. =ən '1').

- In the parse line, for most morphemes we have provided a single underlying representation (UR). For instance, the suffix -x'id 'BEC' is provided as the underlying representation for this morpheme, even though this suffix is realized variably as -x'id, -'id, -'i, -x'i, -d, -nd, or -ud, depending on its morphophonological environment (Boas 1947:365). However, for morphemes that are realized by two or more allomorphs in free variation, neither allomorph is assumed to be underlying and each may be found in the parse line. For instance, the diminutive suffix forms -bido and -bidu are each represented in the parse line wherever they occur. In other words, if we have transcribed Ruby as saying -bido in a particular instance, the underlying representation of that

morpheme is given as -bido in the parse line for that instance (and likewise for -bidu).

- In the grammatical analysis of nominal forms, we have followed speaker intuitions in treating certain common word forms like kwan<sub>1</sub>kw as simple words ('bread') rather than compositionally (kwans-kw 'make.bread-PART'). Verbal forms and less common nominal forms, on the other hand, are generally decomposed as much as possible.
- We have not parsed out or glossed zero morphemes. For instance, we don't indicate the zero transitivizer (-∅) or the third-person distal visible marker (= ∅ 'v3').

## Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in the gloss line of the grammatical analysis of Ruby's stories are summarized in Table 3. The linguistic analysis implicit in this set of glosses is a work in progress which presents a compromise between the analytical biases of the editors and other published researchers' views on the correct analysis of Kwakwala grammar. The columns in Table 3 can be described as follows:

- The **Gloss** column lists the abbreviations used in the gloss line of the grammatical analysis of the stories.
- The **Morph(s)** column lists all of the forms encountered in Ruby's stories that are associated with each gloss. The lists of morphemes in this column are of three types:
  - A single morpheme may be listed. This morpheme is the only one encountered in the stories. For instance, there is only one 1.OBJ form, gax<sub>1</sub>an.



- A set of allomorphs of a single morpheme may be listed. In such cases, if one allomorph is assumed to be the underlying form, it is indicated with the abbreviation '(UR)' beside it. For instance, two v1 forms are listed, with the form = (i)k (UR) taken to be the underlying form, and = (i)x taken to be an allomorph. Only underlying forms are listed in the parse line of the grammatical analysis section of the stories; additional forms are provided in Table 3 below only to aid in their recognition within the Kwakwala version. If a set of allomorphs is listed in which no single allomorph is assumed to be the underlying form, none will be indicated with '(UR)'. For instance, the diminutive morpheme is realized as two allomorphs in free variation, -bido and -bidu.
- A set of formally unrelated morphemes which receive the same gloss may be listed together. For instance, six distinct morphemes (=i', =aý, -am, -ał, -anam, -'ima) receive the gloss 'NMLZ' because all six morphemes share the function of nominalizing verbal forms.
- The **Notes** column provides a short explanation of each abbreviation. In some cases we have also provided notes related to the phonological conditioning of allomorphy, notes related to phonological effects triggered by particular morphemes, or references to relevant linguistic research.

Table 3: Glosses used in the grammatical analysis

Gloss	Morphs	Notes
-		affix boundary
=		clitic boundary
~		reduplicant boundary
1	= <u>an</u>	first person singular
1.EXCL	= <u>anu'xw</u>	first person plural exclusive (“we and not you”)
1.EXCL.OBJ	<u>gaxanu'xw</u>	first person plural exclusive object, instrumental or accusative case (“us and not you”, “to us and not you”, “from us and not you”, “of us and not you”)
1.EXCL.POSS	= <u>anu'xw</u>	possessed by first person plural exclusive
1.INCL	= <u>an's</u>	first person plural inclusive (“we including you”)
1.INCL.OBJ	<u>gaxan's</u>	first person plural inclusive object, instrumental or accusative case (“us including you”, “to us including you”, “from us including you”, “of us including you”)
1.INCL.POSS	= <u>an's</u>	possessed by first person plural inclusive
1.OBJ	<u>gaxan</u>	first person singular object, instrumental or accusative case (“me”, “to me”, “from me”, “of me”)
1.POSS	= <u>an</u>	possessed by first person
2	= s	second person
2.OBJ	lotł (UR), lotł	second person object, instrumental or accusative case; the final consonant frequently spirantizes in natural speech
2.POSS	= u's, = us	possessed by second person

3.POSS	= s	possessed by third person
3.REFL.POSS	= (i)'s	possessed by third person who is coreferent with the sentential subject or topic; =i's is used with distal (D3) referents
3.REFL.POSS(D2)	= (u)'s	possessed by third person who is coreferent with the sentential subject or topic; =u's is used with medial (D2) referents
A	-a, = a	the suffix is a default stem-final vowel, corresponding in many instances with Greene's (2013) 'final vowel', but which may have other functions as well; the clitic is epenthetic (Littell 2016:546–8)
ABIL	weł	ability modal, "can"
ACC	= x	accusative case
ACC.PASS	-saŵ (UR), -su'	accusative passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that are marked with accusative case in active clauses; realized as -saŵ when followed by a vowel and as -su' elsewhere (Littell 2016:519) <sup>3</sup>
ADD.FOC	= xa	additive focus (Littell 2016)
APPOS	y@	appositive
AUG	-dzi	augmentative
AUX	la	auxiliary verb, historically related to the verb la- 'to go'
be.1	nugwa	first person copula (Littell 2016)
be.2	su	second person copula (Littell 2016)
be.D1	ga	third person proximal copula (Littell 2016)

<sup>3</sup>The same phonological rule applies for the realization of dłaŵ (UR)/dłu', a conjunctive predicate which is glossed as 'with', 'and', or 'or' (as appropriate given the context) in Ruby's stories

## Editors' Introduction

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be.D2	yu	third person medial copula (Littell 2016)
be.D3	he	third person distal copula (Littell 2016)
BEC	-x'id (UR), -x'i, -'i, -'id, -d, -nd, -ud	become operator, momentaneous aspect, inchoative; marks transition predicates (Greene 2013, Sardinha 2018); the allomorphy of this suffix is discussed in Boas (1947:365)
C	(various)	consonant
CAUS	-mas	causative (Sardinha 2015)
CONN	=x̣a	connector; appears as a host for enclitics following the first-person enclitic; some speakers, including Ruby, consistently use =x̣a for this purpose, while some other Kwakwala speakers use =ṭa in the same position for the same purpose
CONT	-al	continuative aspect; marks process predicates (Greene 2013; Sardinha 2018)
D1	=ga	third person proximal deictic determiner ("this, right here") (Nicholsen and Werle 2009)
D2	=ux̣, =w	third person medial deictic determiner ("this, close by") (Nicholsen and Werle 2009). The =w morph is realized in some third person medial DPs in the accusative case
D3	=i	third person distal deictic determiner ("that, over there") (Nicholsen and Werle 2009)
D4	=a	existential deictic determiner (Black 2011)
DET	=da, =d	determiner, ostensive marker (Black 2011); the distribution of =d is unique from =da and is restricted to copular clauses (Littell 2016:111–112)

DIM	-bido, -bidu	diminutive; the two variants are in free variation
DIM.PL	-’manixw	diminutive plural
DIST.PST	= wa’ɬ	distant past tense
do	ax	dummy verbal root
EMB	= a	embedding vowel (Littell 2016:604–606)
EMPH	-dzo	emphatic
EXCLAM	o	exclamatory (“Oh!”); the tongue root is back and low compared with the English exclamation “Oh!”
FUT	= tɬ	future
GER	-’inayi	gerund
GR.ADV	-’nakwəl	a gradual advancement; indicates progression towards a telos
group	= (x)da’xw	indicates plurality, but is not itself a pronoun
HYP	= u’, = lax	hypothetical, uncertain; these clitics appear in conditional and modal clauses, but their precise semantics is not well understood
I3	= e’, = a’	third person distal invisible
IMP	= ga	imperative
INDEF	gwi	indefinite root (“do thusly”)
INST	= s	instrumental case (Sardinha 2017)
INST.PASS	-ayu	instrumental passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that are marked with instrumental case in active clauses
INTENS	= kas	intensifier
LOC	-al	locative lexical suffix (“on”)
LOC.PASS	-’as	locative passive, a voice suffix targeting arguments that occur in prepositional (la-) phrases in active clauses

## Editors' Introduction

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make.noise.CONT	-(k)'ala	continuative aspect; form used for describing events involving emissions of sound
MOD	= xant, wax	modal; = xant is an epistemic modal; wax is glossed as 'try' in contexts where this meaning is apparent and as MOD elsewhere
NEG	(k)i's	negation
NEG.EXIST	kayos	negative existential ("there is no", "there are no")
NMLZ	= i', = ay', -am, -aɬ, -anam, -'ima	nominalizer; -am, -aɬ, and -anam weaken (lenite) a preceding consonant, while -'ima hardens (glottalizes) a preceding consonant
PEJ	-o'ɬ	pejorative
PL	Ci	plural
PART	-kw	participle, result nominalizer
PREP	la, k̄a	preposition; la- is a preposition that introduces locative arguments ("at", "to", "from", etc.), while k̄a is a preposition that introduces causes, reasons, and purposes ("because", "for", "in order to")
PRSNTV	= as	presentative (Littell 2016:263)
QUES	= a	question
REC.PST	= xd	recent past tense
RECIP	= aḅ	reciprocal ("each other", "one another"); triggers vowel lengthening in the stem
REPORT	= i̇	reportative evidential
so	o	"so", "just"; used to signal object or VP focus (Littell 2016)
sound.BEC	-ga'ɬ	become operator, momentaneous aspect, inchoative; used for describing events involving emissions of sound
STAT	-aɬa	stativizer (Sardinha 2018)

VER	= 'm	verum focus (Littell 2016)
VOC	g <u>an</u>	vocative; g <u>an</u> refers specifically to an infant girl
V1	= (i)k (UR), = (i)x	third person proximal visible; the final consonant often spirantizes word-finally
v2	= (i) <u>x</u>	third person medial visible
WH	w <u>i</u>	generic wh-element

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# Galabe’

## Foreword

### 0.1 Galabe’<sup>1</sup>

Ax’exsdan kan niŋe’ xa naxwa kan gwigilaswa’ŋe’ le’ax kwax’i xa gayuŋwa’ŋe’. Omanu’xw niŋaxwala dŋawan wiwaŋwa dŋawan tsitsatsaya dŋawanu’xw giga’olnukw, o’am i’axalaxda’xw. Lamisan umpwa’ŋe’ dŋawan dŋidŋaxwame’ i’axala laxa didanyas. Olakalanu’xw a’axsilasu’ laxanu’xw gayulas. Niŋasu’ sa tsitsakalam xanu’xw gwigwigilaswa’ŋe’. Ayaxpasnaxwa’amxa’anu’xw ugwaka.

Lakso laxanu’xw kakutŋa’as, nikan umpwa’ŋe’ le’idax gananamota’. Niŋasawan kan laksude’ xan kakutŋa’as kan le’ŋan kakatimiŋ. Laksoŋan xan kakutŋa’as, la’am yax’idan

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<sup>1</sup>Galabe’ (‘Foreword’) is different from all of the other stories in the volume in that it was recorded first in English and then translated line-by-line into Kwakwala, while the remainder of the stories in the volume were recorded first in Kwakwala and then translated line-by-line into English (more information on how this was done is provided in the Editors’ Note below). Galabe’ is also the only story in the volume which is accompanied by audio in both English and Kwak’wala; the remaining stories are accompanied only by audio in Kwakwala. Several lines of Galabe’ are present only in the Kwakwala version; these added lines are noted in the grammatical analysis below.

ump hiwaxa duxwatla gaxan le'k laksowa'. La'amxe ugwakan tsitsatsaya lakso laxi's kikaku'tla'as. Namukwi da la lax UBC yudaxw'anxila.

Onaxwamanu'xw hayulis ayaxpas lax Gwayi. Kayosanu'xw *electricity* kanu'xw kwagile', lamis o'am axala sa batalis ka's kwikwakale' sa Kismis t'ali'. Wiwaladzinaxwanu'xw Kismis kwax, thume' walasanu'xw gukw. O'am hayulis walas kinami da dhidhidladhola laxanu'xw gukw. Ki'sanu'xw kot'ala xa turkey-xtle', omanu'xw hayulis kutalage'. Walasanu'xw ayaxpas. Lamisanu'xw dhidhaxwame' wiwalasnaxwa ayaxpas le' thuxw'idi da wa. La'am gayudlax xa skates laxa Sears Roebuck-xtla. O'am hayulis ayaxpas le'e thuxw'idi da wa. Le'kanu'xw gananamota, lamhanu'xw axila xa gukw laxa ne', gwigilase' sa Eskimo. Kinami da ne' lax gayutwa'le', ki's he gwixsux da nalax, ki's ola'am kinama.

Kinamanu'xw dhidhidladhola. Olakanu'xw hi'axe's le'kanu'xw gigagampnukwanu'xw dlawi da namukw hilu's, kikaku'tlamas gaxanu'xw xa ninuyam dlawi da gwigilasas gayu'twale'. He'am ik kakutlamasas gigagas dlawan hilu's. Walasi hi'axi da naxwa, kikaku'tlamatsu' laxi's gigagas, dlawi's hihilu's. Lanaxwan nila xan kikaku'tlamatsu' le'e ikas he'e gigagas kwax'idamasax. "Kot'ala kas ax'at'lasu's laxu's kangaxtola, ku's kot'alas gwigilase's gayutwa'le'." Hemanu'xw gigagas kot'ala xanu'xw gwigilas. O'am i'axalan abamp dlawan wiwakwa lax cannery lax Gayuxw. Lamisanu'xw umpwa'le' la lax Awikinuxw ka's le' kitla. Lamisanu'xw higa'am a'axsila xa gigangananam le'e i'axalan abamp dlawan wiwakwa laxa cannery, lax Gayuxw. Omanu'xw hayulis ayaxpasa. La'edaman nilus lanaxwe'kanu'xw hamsa dlawi da naxwa. Olakal kinami da i'ixpa'omas, lanaxwan abamp dzamgila. Axtsus laxa dzaksam. Ki'san kot'alas, madzi kayos'ide's jars laxa gayu'ide'. Lamhanu'xw nampana axala sa dlawbam kanu'xw axstude' xa da

dzaksam̄sola ixpa'omas. Oṃanu'xw wīla naḱe' xa dzus laxa dzaksam. La'am watłalan abamp gaxanu'xw, la'am o'am axstu xa da dzaksam. Lam̄anu'xw o'am hamx'i xa da ixpa'omas. Ki's tłaka gaxanu'xw o'am wos gaxanu'xw le'kanu'xw gananamō'la'. Lam̄is gaxi da yudaxw bibabagwam, lam̄isanu'xw abamp łaxwamala.

Higam̄an tsaxalasawi le'kanu'xw laxa da *Residential School* yax'idamas xanu'xw naxwa gwigilas. O'am la galabandux giga'oṃnukw naka, kayose' la a'axsilasawe'. Le'e yax'idan abamp, lam̄ni om̄i da yudaxw bibabagwam la laxa *Residential School*. Walas łalawałala lax. Lam̄isan gax laxux Vancouver kan gwale' xan kakatim̄it kakutłas.

Olekanu'xw hił'axa yudaxwanu'xw gukw: nam lax Gwayi, nam lax Gwayasdam̄s, nam lax Gayuxw. Walasanu'xw ayaxpas lalilela laxa wap. Le'kanu'xw lala'a lax Gayuxw gaxmi da gwayam awaboje' sanu'xw bo't. Walasan kał'ida, o'am la kwasa, lam̄isan ump nik gaxan kan se' kwasa, "Yum̄an's d̄id̄ad̄olux, gan! Gwa kałala sux." Gayutłan umpwa'le' laxa gwayam, olaḱalan kayaxa. Ki'san ayu'salax wadame's, am̄an le'x kwaxan̄akwala le'x kotłala xanu'xw gayulase' san abamp. Lax Gwayi gayutłanu'xw laxa uligan. Le'kan's yax'ida la'ams gax edaka uliganx'id, olaḱal kayaxa. Am̄e'kan la kotłalatłan le'k n̄iksu' laxan kwali' d̄aw̄i's xwanukw, le'e yax'i laxa da wa. Lam̄is dukwalasu' laxa da atle', d̄axwali da walas uligan d̄aw̄i da am̄abidu, he'am̄an kwali'wa'le' d̄aw̄i's xwanukw. He gwiksi da gwayam. Kinami da ax'anugwade' sa crest.

Gwigilase' sa gayutwa'le' olaḱal awila. Ki'san weł xasamas xan Kwakwala'inuxw, kan abampwa'le' ki's weł mam̄alaḱala. Herne'kan lagit kakutłamas xan Kwakwala'inuxw laxux da nalax. Hedan i'axala UBC. Kakutłatłan laksuł xa 80 d̄aw̄i da 90!

La'am!

Eman!

## 0.2 Foreword

I would like people to know, from what I've experienced in my life, what happened in the olden days. It was so—nuclear families, they were all together and they worked. My dad and my brothers all worked in the logging camp, and we were protected very well on the reserve. And the stories will tell you some of what happened there. And there was some, a lot of fun and some, you know.

Education is a must. That's what my dad instilled in me when I was young. He said I had to go through school, become a secretary. I did go through school and graduated, but my dad was already gone, so he didn't realize his dreams for me. But my other brothers went through school too, and one even went to UBC for three years.

We had a lot of fun in Kingcome. We had no electricity, but they, they used batteries for lights.<sup>2</sup> We even had big Christmas trees, cuz we had a big house. And, you know, family'd get-together, we had no, we didn't know what turkey was. Probably had fish. But we had fun, *wálas ayaxpás!* And my brothers during some winter time, when the river was frozen, they'd go skating—they'd ordered for skates through Sears Roebuck I guess. I don't know—that was the catalogue in those days. They were real good skaters on the ice up the river. And us young girls, we used to make igloos out of snow—a lot of snow in those days. Not, not like right now, there's hardly any.

But we had a lot of relatives, we had—luckily we had grandma and grandpa and great-granny. Who told us things like legends and about our culture—that we should follow it. That was a good teaching from grandparents. Everybody was lucky to get that kind of teaching. I always told my students

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<sup>2</sup>Christmas lights, specifically.

at—if you’re brought up by your grandparents you’re lucky. I said, “You’ll know what your crest is, then. Some culture if you have it,” yeah. But our grandparents really told—showed us what to do, and things like that. Of course—my mom and my sisters went to the cannery in Knights Inlet and my dad went to Rivers Inlet for fishing. When I was stuck looking after the kids in Knights Inlet, of course we had a lot of fun. I told already about our picking berries and all that. Oh, there was lots of berries, mom used to make jam out of it. She used to put them in cans. I don’t know what happened, there was no jars in those days. So I got a nail and punched a hole in one of the canned fruit, and sucked all the juice out of it. Mom heard us, then she opened it for us. You know, it was like that. There was no hitting us or that when we were little. And the boys came along. She had a hard time, with them.

And my only regret is the residential school, it really ruined our lives. Because—mom and dad started drinking, cuz they had nobody to look after anymore. And when, when she died—all my little, three little brothers went to residential school too. And of course I came to Vancouver for my post-secondary.

I told you we had three homes: one in Kingcome, one in Gilford, and one in Knights Inlet. It was so fun, we used to ride up and down the waters. The story about the whale that went under our boats... I was screaming my head off, and my dad told me, “Gwa k̄wasa! Yum̄as d̄did̄ad̄olux̄!” ‘Don’t cry, these are our relatives!’ he said. Cuz he was from the Whale clan, and I was so amazed. And, you know, I didn’t really understand that until—until later on in life. Especially in Kingcome, we’re from the Wolf clan, and when we die we come—we, we come back as a wolf, which is so interesting to hear. Same as the killer whale. And a lot of people have different crests, but—I think we only got the two.

Culture is very important. I never lost my language. When they tried to do that to me in residential school, cuz my mom

Galabe'

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couldn't speak English, I had to keep it. That's why I'm teaching right now. I'll be teaching until I'm 80 or 90 [laughs].

La'am!

### 0.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1)  $\text{Ax'exsdan kan nile' xa naxwa kan gwigilaswa'le' le'ax kwax'i xa gayulwa'le'}$ .<sup>3</sup>

$\text{ax'exsdan kan nile' xa}$   
 $\text{ax -'exsd = an ka = an nil = a = i' = x = a}$   
 do -want = 1 PREP1.POSS tell = EMB = NMLZ = ACC = D4

$\text{naxwa kan}$   
 $\text{naxwa ka = an}$   
 every PREP = 1.POSS

$\text{gwigilaswa'le'}$   
 $\text{gwi -(g)ila -'as = wa't = a = i'}$   
 INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS = DIST.PST = EMB = NMLZ

$\text{le'ax}$   
 $\text{la = a = i' = (i)k}$   
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1

$\text{kwax'i xa gayulwa'le'}$   
 $\text{kwax -x'id = x = a gayulwa'le'}$   
 grow -BEC = ACC = D4 long.time.ago

'I would like people to know, from what I've experienced in my life, what happened in the olden days.'

<sup>3</sup>The Kwakwala sentences analyzed in this section were volunteered as translations for the English sentences given. In some cases, the Kwakwala contains more or less information than the original English. Where the difference is substantial, a more literal translation of the Kwakwala sentence is provided as a footnote. See the Editors' Note for more information.

- (2) Omanu'xw ninaxwala dlawan wiwakwa dlawan  
 tsitsatsaya dlawanu'xw giga'olnukw, o'am  
 i'axalaxda'xw.

omanu'xwninaxwalao = 'm = anu'xw  
so = VER = 1.EXCLCi~ naxw -ala  
PL~ near -STATdlawanwiwakwadlawandlaw = an

with = 1.POSS

Ci~ wakwa

PL~ older.sibling

dlaw = an

and.with = 1.POSS

tsitsatsaya

dlawanu'xw

Ci~ tsatsaya

PL~ younger.sibling.PL

dlaw = anu'xw

and.with = 1.EXCL.POSS

giga'olnukw

o'am

i'axalaxda'xw

giga'olnukw  
parentso = 'm  
so = VERi'axala = (x)da'xw  
work = group

'It was so—nuclear families, they were all together and they worked.'



- (3) lamisan umpa'le' dawan didilaxwame' i'axala laxa  
didanyas.

<u>la</u> <u>mi</u> <u>sa</u> <u>n</u>	<u>um</u> <u>pa</u> ' <u>le</u> '
<u>la</u> = 'm = (w)is = an	<u>um</u> = wa'ł = e'
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS	father = DIST.PST = I3

<u>da</u> <u>w</u> <u>a</u> <u>n</u>	<u>di</u> <u>di</u> <u>la</u> <u>x</u> <u>w</u> <u>a</u> <u>m</u> <u>e</u> '
<u>da</u> <u>w</u> = an	Ci~ <u>di</u> <u>la</u> <u>x</u> <u>w</u> <u>a</u> <u>m</u> <u>e</u> '
and = 1.POSS	PL~ brother

<u>i</u> ' <u>a</u> <u>x</u> <u>a</u> <u>la</u>	<u>la</u> <u>x</u> <u>a</u>	<u>di</u> <u>da</u> <u>n</u> <u>y</u> <u>a</u> <u>s</u>
<u>i</u> ' <u>a</u> <u>x</u> <u>a</u> <u>la</u>	<u>la</u> = x = a	Ci~ <u>da</u> <u>n</u> <u>y</u> <u>a</u> <u>s</u>
work	PREP = ACC = D4	PL~ logging.camp

'My dad and my brothers all worked in the logging camp.'

- (4) olakalanu'xw a'axsilasa laxanu'xw gayulas.

<u>ola</u> <u>ka</u> <u>la</u> <u>nu</u> ' <u>xw</u>	<u>a</u> ' <u>a</u> <u>x</u> <u>s</u> <u>i</u> <u>la</u> <u>s</u> <u>a</u>
<u>ola</u> <u>ka</u> <u>la</u> = <u>anu</u> ' <u>xw</u>	<u>a</u> ' <u>a</u> <u>x</u> <u>s</u> <u>i</u> <u>la</u> - <u>sa</u> <u>w</u>
really = 1.EXCL	take.care.of-ACC.PASS

<u>la</u> <u>x</u> <u>a</u> <u>nu</u> ' <u>xw</u>	<u>ga</u> <u>y</u> <u>u</u> <u>la</u> <u>s</u>
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<u>la</u> = x = <u>anu</u> ' <u>xw</u>	<u>ga</u> <u>y</u> - <u>utł</u> -'as
PREP = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS	originate-from-LOC.PASS

'And we were protected very well on the reserve.'

- (5) Ni<sup>h</sup>asu' sa ts<sup>h</sup>its<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>alam x<sup>h</sup>anu'x<sup>h</sup>w gwigwigilaswa'le'.

ni<sup>h</sup>asu'                      sa

ni<sup>h</sup> -a -sa<sup>h</sup>w                = s                = a  
 tell -A -ACC.PASS        = 3.POSS = D4

ts<sup>h</sup>its<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>alam                x<sup>h</sup>anu'x<sup>h</sup>w

Ci~ ts<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>alam                = x                = anu'x<sup>h</sup>w  
 PL~ story                      = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS

gwigwigilaswa'le'

Ci~ gwi -(g)ila -'as        = wa'f            = e'  
 PL~ INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS = DIST.PST = I3

'And the stories will tell you some of what happened there.'

- (6) A<sup>h</sup>yax<sup>h</sup>pasnaxwa'am<sup>h</sup>xa'an<sup>h</sup>u'x<sup>h</sup>w ugwaka.

a<sup>h</sup>yax<sup>h</sup>pasnaxwa'am<sup>h</sup>xa'an<sup>h</sup>u'x<sup>h</sup>w

a<sup>h</sup>yax<sup>h</sup>pas = naxwa            = 'm            = xa                = anu'x<sup>h</sup>w  
 have.fun = sometimes = VER = ADD.FOC = 1.EXCL

ugwaka

ugwaka

also

'And there was some, a lot of fun and some, you know.'

- (7) Lakso laxanu'xw kaku'tla'as, nikan umpwa'le' le'idax ganamo'ta'.

lakso                    laxanu'xw

la -ksu    -a    la    = x    = anu'xw  
 go-through-A    PREP = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS

kaku'tla'as

kaku'tla -'as  
 learn    -LOC.PASS

nikan                    umpwa'le'

nik = an                ump = wa't        = e'  
 say = 1.POSS            father = DIST.PST = I3

le'idax

la = a = i'    -x'id = (i)k  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ-BEC = V1

ganamo'ta'

gananam = wa't        = a'  
 young        = DIST.PST = I3

'Education is a must, that's what my dad instilled in me when I was young.'

- (8) Niḥasawān kan laksude' xan kakutla'as kan le'ttan  
 kakatimiḥ.

niḥasawān

kanniḥ -a -saḥ = an  
tell -A -ACC.PASS = 1ka = an  
PREP = 1.POSS

laksude'

xanla -ksu -x'id = a = i' = x = an  
go -through-BEC = EMB = NMLZ = ACC = 1.POSSkakutla'askankakutl -a -'as ka = an  
learn -A -LOC.PASS PREP = 1.POSS

le'ttan

kakatimiḥla = a = i' = tḥ = an kakatimiḥ  
AUX = EMB = NMLZ = FUT = 1 secretary

'He said I had to go through school and become a secretary.'

- (9) Laksomaḥan xan kakutla'as,

laksomaḥan

la -ksu -a = 'm = an  
go -through-A = VER = 1xankakutla'as= x = an kakutl -a -'as  
= ACC = 1.POSS learn -A -LOC.PASS

'I did go through school and graduated,'

- (10)  $l\grave{a}'am$   $\acute{y}ax'id\grave{a}n$   $ump$   $hiwax\grave{a}$   $duxwat\grave{a}$   $gax\grave{a}n$   $le'k$   
 laksowa'.

$l\grave{a}$ 'am                   $\acute{y}ax'id\grave{a}n$   
 $l\grave{a}$  = 'm               $\acute{y}ak$  -x'id =  $\grave{a}n$   
 AUX=VER            dead-BEC = 1.POSS

$ump$      $hiwax\grave{a}$      $duxwat\grave{a}$      $gax\grave{a}n$   
 $ump$      $hiwax\grave{a}$      $duxwat\grave{a}$  -a     $gax\grave{a}n$   
 father    never            see            -A    1.OBJ

$le'k$                                        $laksowa'$   
 $l\grave{a}$  = a = i' = (i)k     $la$  -ksu    -a = a'  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1    go-through-A = I3

'But my dad was already gone so he didn't realize his dreams for me.'

- (11)  $La'amxe$   $ugwak\grave{a}n$   $\acute{t}s\acute{a}t\acute{s}a\acute{s}a\acute{y}a$   $lakso$   $laxi's$   $k\acute{i}k\acute{a}k\acute{u}t\grave{a}'as$ .

$l\grave{a}'amxe$                                        $ugwak\grave{a}n$   
 $l\grave{a}$  = 'm =  $\acute{x}a$                       = i                       $ugwak$  =  $\acute{a}n$   
 AUX=VER = ADD.FOC = D3            also                      = 1.POSS

$\acute{t}s\acute{a}t\acute{s}a\acute{s}a\acute{y}a$                                        $lakso$   
 Ci~  $\acute{t}s\acute{a}t\acute{s}a\acute{y}a$                                        $la$  -ksu    -a  
 PL~ younger.sibling.PL                      go-through-A

$laxi's$      $k\acute{i}k\acute{a}k\acute{u}t\grave{a}'as$   
 $la$  =  $\acute{x}$  = (i)'s                      Ci~  $k\acute{a}k\acute{u}t\grave{a}$  -a -'as  
 PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS    PL~ learn    -A -LOC.PASS

'But my brothers went through school too.'

(12) N̄amukwi da la lax UBC yudaxw'anxila.

n̄amukwi		da		
n̄am -ukw =i		= da		
one -person =D3		= DET		
la lax		UBC	yudaxw'anxila	
la la =x		UBC	yudaxw-'anx -(g)ila	
go PREP=ACC		UBC	three -season-make/do	

'One even went to UBC for three years.'

(13) Onaxwamanu'xw hayulis ayaxpas lax Gwayi.

onaxwamanu'xw		hayulis	ayaxpas
o =naxwa = 'm =anu'xw		hayulis	ayaxpas
so = sometimes = VER = 1.EXCL		continuously	have.fun
lax		Gwayi	
la =x		Gwayi	
PREP=ACC		Kingcome	

'We had a lot of fun in Kingcome.'

- (14)  $\acute{K}ayosanu'xw$  *electricity*  $\underline{k}anu'xw$   $\acute{k}wagile'$ ,  $\underline{l}amis$   $o'am$   
 $\underline{ax}ala$  sa  $\underline{batalis}$   $\underline{k}a's$   $\acute{k}wikwakale'$  sa  $\underline{K}ismis$   $\underline{t}ali'$ .

$\acute{k}ayosanu'xw$	<i>electricity</i>		
$\acute{k}ayos$ = $\underline{anu'xw}$	<i>electricity</i>		
NEG.EXIST = 1.EXCL	electricity		
$\underline{k}anu'xw$	$\acute{k}wagile'$		
$\underline{k}a$ = $\underline{anu'xw}$	$\acute{k}wak$ - $\underline{i}$	= a	= i'
PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS	alight -in.house	= EMB	= NMLZ
$\underline{l}amis$	$o'am$	$\underline{ax}ala$	
$\underline{l}a$ = 'm = (w)is	$o$ = 'm	$\underline{ax}$ - $\underline{al}$ -a	
AUX = VER = and.so	so = VER	do -CONT-A	
sa	$\underline{batalis}$	$\underline{k}a's$	
= s	= a $\underline{batalis}$	$\underline{k}a$ = (i)'s	
= INST = D4	batteries	PREP = 3.REFL.POSS	
	$\acute{k}wikwakale'$		
	Ci~ $\acute{k}wak$ - $\underline{al}$	= a	= i'
	PL~ alight -CONT	= EMB	= NMLZ
	sa	$\underline{K}ismis$	$\underline{t}ali'$
	= s	= a $\underline{K}ismis$	$\underline{t}ali'$
	= 3.POSS = D4	Christmas	tree

'We had no electricity but they used batteries for (Christmas) lights.'

(15) Wíwáladzinaxwánu'x̄w Kismis k̄wax̄, t̄hume'  
 wálas̄anu'x̄w gukw.

wíwáladzinaxwánu'x̄w

Kismis

Ci~ wálas -dzi = naxwa = anu'x̄w Kismis  
 PL~ big/very-AUG = sometimes = 1.EXCL.POSS Christmas

k̄wax̄ t̄hume'

wálas̄anu'x̄w

k̄wax̄ t̄hum = a = i' wálas = anu'x̄w  
 tree really = EMB = NMLZ big/very = 1.EXCL.POSS

gukw

gukw  
 house

'We even had big Christmas trees because we had a big house.'



- (16) O'am hayulis w'alas k'ina<sup>1</sup>mi da d'idi<sup>1</sup>d'ad'ola laxanu'xw gukw. Ki'sanu'xw kot'ala xa turkey-xtle', omanu'xw hayulis kutalage'.

o'am	hayulis	w'alas	k'ina <sup>1</sup> mi	da
o = 'm so = VER	hayulis continuously	w'alas big/very	k'inam = i many = D3	= da = DET
	d'idi <sup>1</sup> d'ad'ola	laxanu'xw		gukw
Ci~ PL~	d'idi <sup>1</sup> d'ad'ola relative.PL	la = x PREP = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS	= anu'xw = 1.EXCL.POSS	gukw house
	ki'sanu'xw	kot'ala	xa	
(k'i)s NEG	= anu'xw = 1.EXCL	kot' -al know-CONT-A	-a = x = a = ACC = D4	
	turkey-xtle'	omanu'xw		
	turkey -(x)tla turkey -be.called = I3	= e'	o = 'm so = VER = 1.EXCL	= anu'xw
	hayulis	kutalage'		
	hayulis continuously	kutala -ga fish -eat = I3	= e'	

'And, you know, family'd get-together, we had no, we didn't know what turkey was. Probably had fish.'<sup>4</sup>

- (17) W'alsanu'xw ayaxpas.

w'alsanu'xw	ayaxpas
w'alas = anu'xw big/very = 1.EXCL	ayaxpas have.fun
'But we had fun.'	

<sup>4</sup>Omanu'xw hayulis kutalage' literally translates as 'We always ate fish'.

- (18) Lamisanu'xw d*h*idlaxwame' wiwalasnaxwa ayaxpas le'  
tuxw'idi da wa.

lamisanu'xw                                  d*h*idlaxwame'  
la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw          Ci~ dlaxwame'  
AUX=VER=and.so=1.EXCL.POSS      PL~ brother  
  
wiwalasnaxwa                                  ayaxpas  
Ci~ walas = naxwa                          ayaxpas  
PL~ big/very=sometimes                have.fun  
  
le'    tuxw'idi                  da          wa  
la = a = i'                                  tuxw -x'id = i          = da wa  
AUX=EMB=NMLZ                              frozen -BEC =D3              =DET river

'And my brothers during some winter time, when the river was frozen, they'd go skating.'<sup>5</sup>

- (19) La'am gayudlaxa skates laxa Sears Roebuck-xtla.

la'am          gayudlax                                  = xa          skates  
la = 'm          gay          -u -x'id = lax          = x          = a          skates  
AUX=VER          originate-off-BEC =HYP          =ACC=D4          skates  
  
laxa                                  Sears          Roebuck-xtla  
la = x          = a          Sears          Roebuck -(x)tla  
PREP=ACC=D4          Sears          Roebuck -be.called

'—they'd ordered for skates through Sears Roebuck I guess. [I don't know—that was the catalogue in those days]<sup>6</sup>.'

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<sup>5</sup>A more literal translation of the Kwakwala in line (18) is: 'And our brothers would have a lot of fun when the river froze.'

<sup>6</sup>Here and throughout the grammatical analysis of Galabe', square brackets '[' ]' in the English translation line indicate parts of the English which Ruby left out of her Kwakwala translations.

(20) O'am hayulis ayaxpas le'e tuxw'idi da wa.

o'am hayulis ayaxpas

o = 'm hayulis ayaxpas  
so = VER continuously have.fun

le'e

la = a = i' = i  
AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3

tuxw'idi da wa

tuxw -x'id = i = da wa  
frozen -BEC = D3 = DET river

'They were real good skaters on the ice up the river.'<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>A more literal translation of the Kwakwala in line (20) is: 'They always had fun when the river froze.'

- (21) Le'kanu'xw gananamo'la, lamānu'xw axila xa gukw laxa ne', gwigilase' sa Eskimo.

le'kanu'xw

la = a = i' = (i)k = anu'xw  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.EXCL

gananamo'la

gananam = wa'ɬ = a'  
 young = DIST.PST = I3

lamānu'xw

la = 'm = anu'xw  
 AUX = VER = 1.EXCL

axila

ax -(g)ila = x = a  
 do -make/do = ACC = D4

xa

gukw

gukw

house

laxa

la = x = a

PREP = ACC = D4

ne'

na'yi

snow.on.ground

gwigilase'

gwi -(g)ila -'as = a = i'  
 INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS = EMB = NMLZ

sa

= s

= 3.POSS = D4

Eskimo

Eskimo

Eskimo

'And us young girls, we used to make igloos out of snow.'<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>A more literal translation of the Kwakwala in line (21) is: 'When we were young we made houses out of snow, like the Eskimo.'

- (22) Ḳināmi da ne' laḵ gayuḵwa'le', ḱi's he gwixsuḵ da ḵalax,  
ḱi's ola'am ḱināma.

ḱināmi            da        ne'  
ḱinām = i        = da    naḵi  
many = D3       = DET   snow.on.ground

laḵ                            gayuḵwa'le'  
la = ḵ                        gayuḵwa'le'  
PREP = ACC                long.time.ago

ḱi's        he        gwixsuḵ                            da  
(ḱ)i's        he        gwi -ks        = uḵ        = da  
NEG        be.D3        INDEF-manner = D2        = DET

ḵalax        ḱi's        ola'am        ḱināma  
ḵala = ḵ        (ḱ)i's        ola = 'm        ḱinām = a  
day = V2        NEG        truly = VER        many = A

'There was a lot of snow in those days, not like right now,  
there's hardly any.'

- (23) Ḳināmanu'ḵw dḵidḵidḵadḵola.

ḱināmanu'ḵw                        dḵidḵidḵadḵola  
ḱinām = anu'ḵw                        Ci~ dḵidḵadḵola  
many = 1.EXCL.POSS                        PL~ relative.PL

'But we had a lot of relatives.'

- (24) Olak<sub>1</sub>anu'xw hił'axe's le'kanu'xw gigagampnukwanu'xw  
dław<sub>1</sub>i da n<sub>1</sub>amukw hiłu's.

olak<sub>1</sub>anu'xw

hił'axe's

olak<sub>1</sub>kala = anu'xw  
really = 1.EXCL

hił'a<sub>1</sub>xa = i' = s  
lucky = NMLZ = INST

le'kanu'xw

la = a = i' = (i)k = anu'xw  
AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS

gigagampnukwanu'xw

dław<sub>1</sub>i

Ci~ gagamp -nukw = anu'xw      dław<sub>1</sub> = i  
PL~ grandparent-have = 1.EXCL      and = D3

da      n<sub>1</sub>amukw      hiłu's

= da      n<sub>1</sub>am -uk      hiłu's  
= DET one -person great.grandparent

'Luckily we had grandma and grandpa and great granny,'

- (25)  $\text{kikakut\u026amas gaxanu'xw xa ninuyam d\u026awi da}$   
 $\text{gwigilasas gayu\u026a'le.}$

$\text{kikakut\u026amas}$                        $\text{gaxanu'xw}$      $\text{xa}$   
 Ci~  $\text{kakut\u026}$  -a -mas     $\text{gaxanu'xw}$     =  $\text{x}$     = a  
 PL~ learn -A -CAUS    1.EXCL.OBJ    = ACC = D4

$\text{ninuyam}$                        $\text{d\u026awi}$                       da  
 Ci~  $\text{nuyam}$                        $\text{d\u026aw} = \text{i}$                       = da  
 PL~ legend                      and = D3                      = DET

$\text{gwigilasas}$      $\text{gayu\u026a'le'}$   
 $\text{gwi}$  -(g)ila -'as                      =s                       $\text{gayu\u026a'le'}$   
 INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS=3.POSS    long.time.ago

'Who told us things like legends and about our culture  
 [—that we should follow it].'

- (26)  $\text{He'am ik kakut\u026amasas gigagas d\u026awan hilu'}$ .

$\text{he'am}$                       ik                       $\text{kakut\u026amasas}$   
 he = 'm ik                       $\text{kakut\u026}$  -a -mas =s  
 be.D3=VER good teach -A -CAUS=3.POSS

$\text{gigagas}$                        $\text{d\u026awan}$                        $\text{hilu's}$   
 Ci~  $\text{gagas}$                        $\text{d\u026aw} = \text{an}$                        $\text{hilu's}$   
 PL~ grandparent<sup>9</sup> and = 1.POSS great.grandparent

'That was a good teaching from grandparents.'

<sup>9</sup>The word *gagas* is often translated as 'grandma'. In lines (26), (27), (28), and (30), however, it indicates grandparents in general and is glossed accordingly.

- (27) W̄alasi hił'a<sub>x</sub>i da n̄axwa, k̄ik̄ak̄ut̄amatsu' laxi's gigagas, d̄ławi's hihilu'.

w̄alasi		hił'a <sub>x</sub> i	
w̄alas =i		hił'a <sub>x</sub> =i	
big/very =D3		lucky =D3	
da	n̄axwa	k̄ik̄ak̄ut̄amatsu'	
=da	n̄axwa	Ci~ k̄ak̄ut̄ -a -mas -saw	
=DET	every	PL~ learn -A -CAUS-ACC.PASS	
	laxi's		gigagas
la = <sub>x</sub> = (i)'s			Ci~ gagas
PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS			PL~ grandparent
	d̄ławi's		hihilu's
d̄ław = (i)'s			Ci~ hihu's
and = 3.REFL.POSS			PL~ great.grandparent

'Everybody was lucky to get that kind of teaching.'



- (28) Lanaxwān niła xān kíkākūtłamatsu' le'e ikas he'e gigagas  
k̄wax'idamasax̄.

lanaxwān	niła	xān	
lā = naxwa = an AUX = sometimes = 1	nił -a tell -A	= x̄ = an = ACC = 1.POSS	
	kíkākūtłamatsu'	le'e	
	Ci~ kākūtł -a -mas -saw̄ PL~ learn -A -CAUS-ACC.PASS	lā = a = i' = i AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3	
	ikas	he'e	
	ik -a = s good-A = INST	he = a = i' = i be.D3 = EMB = NMLZ = D3	
	gigagas	k̄wax'idamasax̄	
	Ci~ gagas PL~ grandparent	k̄wax̄ -x'id -a -mas = x̄ grow -BEC -A -CAUS = ACC	

'I always told my students that if you were brought up  
by your grandparents you're lucky.'

- (29) “Kotʔala kas ax’atʔalasu’s laxu’s kangaxtola, [tʰu] ku’s  
kotʔalas gwigilase’s gayulwa’le’.”

kotʔala            kas

kotʔ -al    -a    ka    =u’s  
 know-CONT-A    PREP = 2.POSS

ax’atʔalasu’s

ax -’atʔ -al    -a -saw    =u’s  
 do -on -CONT-A -ACC.PASS = 2.POSS

laxu’s

kangaxtola

la    =x    =u’s            kangaxtola  
 PREP = ACC = 2POSS        button.blanket

ku’s

kotʔalas

ka    =u’    =u’s            kotʔ -al    -a =s  
 PREP = HYP = 2.POSS    know-CONT-A = INST

gwigilase’s

gwi -(g)ila -’as            =e’ =s  
 INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS = I3 = 3.POSS

gayulwa’le’

gayulwa’le’  
 long.time.ago

‘(I said,) “You’ll know what your crest is and some culture if you have it”.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup>A more literal translation of the Kwakwala in line (29) is: ‘You’ll know what to put on your button blanket if you know the ways of doing things from the past’.

(30) Heṃanu'xw gigagas k'otłala xanu'xw gwigilas.

heṃanu'xw

he = 'm = anu'xw  
be.D3 = VER = 1.EXCL.POSS

gigagas

k'otłala

Ci~ gagas

PL~ grandparent

k'otł -al -a

know-CONT-A

xanu'xw

gwigilas

= x = anu'xw

= ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS

gwi -(g)ila -'as

INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS

'But our grandparents really showed us what to do, and things like that.' <sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>A more literal translation of the Kwakwala in line (30) is: 'It was our grandparents who knew what we were to do.'

- (31) O'am i'axalan abamp dławan wiwakwa lax cannery lax  
Gayuxw.

o'am      i'axalan              abamp      dławan  
 o = 'm      i'axal = an      abamp      dław = an  
 so = VER    work = 1.POSS    mother    and = 1.POSS  
  
 wiwakwa              lax              cannery    lax  
 Ci~ wakwa            la = x      cannery    la = x  
 PL~ older.sibling    PREP = ACC    cannery    PREP = ACC  
  
 Gayuxw  
  
 Gayuxw  
 Knights.Inlet

'My mom and my sisters went to<sup>12</sup> the cannery in Knights  
Inlet.'

- (32) Lamisanu'xw umpwa'le' la lax Awikinu'xw ka's le' kitla.

lamisanu'xw                              umpwa'le'  
 la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw      ump = wa'ł = e'  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL.POSS    father = DIST.PST = I3  
  
 la    lax              Awikinu'xw      ka's  
 la    la = x      Awikinu'xw      ka = (i)'s  
 go    PREP = ACC    Rivers.Inlet      PREP = 3.REFL.POSS  
  
 le'                      kitla  
  
 la = a = i'      kitł      -a  
 go = EMB = NMLZ    fish.with.net-A

'...and my dad went to Rivers Inlet for fishing.'

<sup>12</sup>Literally, 'worked at'.

- (33) *l̄amisanu'x̄w higa'am a'axsila xa gigangananam le'e i'axalan abamp dławan wiwakwa laxa cannery, lax Gayuxw.*

*l̄amisanu'x̄w*

*l̄a* = 'm = (w)is = *anu'x̄w*  
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL

*higa'am*      *a'axsila*      *xa*

*higa* = 'm      *a'axsila*      = *x̄* = a  
alone = VER      take.care.of      = ACC = D4

*gigangananam*      *le'e*

*Ci~ gangananam*      *l̄a* = a = i' = i  
*PL~ children*      AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3

*i'axalan*      *abamp*      *dławan*

*i'axal* = *an*      *abamp*      *dław* = *an*  
work = 1.POSS      mother      and = 1.POSS

*wiwakwa*      *laxa*

*Ci~ wakwa*      *la* = *x̄* = a  
*PL~ older.sibling*      PREP = ACC = D4

*cannery*      *lax*      *Gayuxw*

*cannery*      *la* = *x̄*      *Gayuxw*  
*cannery*      PREP = ACC      *Gayuxw*

'When I was stuck looking after the kids in Knights Inlet,'

- (34) *oṃanu'x̄w hayulis ayaxpasa.*

*oṃanu'x̄w*      *hayulis*      *ayaxpasa*  
*o* = 'm = *anu'x̄w*      *hayulis*      *ayaxpas* -a  
*so* = VER = 1.EXCL      continuously      have.fun -A

'...of course we had a lot of fun.'

- (35) *la'edaṃaṇ niḥus lanaxwe'kaṇu'xw ḥamsa dḷa'wi da ṅaxwa.*

*la'edaṃaṇ*                      *niḥus*  
*la* -x'id -a = 'm = *aṇ*    *niḥ* -x'id = s  
 AUX-BEC -A = VER = 1    tell-BEC = INST

*lanaxwe'kaṇu'xw*  
*la* = *naxwa* = a = i' = (i)k = *aṇu'xw*  
 AUX = sometimes = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS

*ḥamsa*                      *dḷa'wi*                      *da*                      *ṅaxwa*  
*ḥams*                      -a *dḷa'w* = i                      = da                      *ṅaxwa*  
 pick.berries-A                      and = D3                      = DET                      every

'I told already about our picking berries and all that.'

- (36) *olaḳal kiṇami da i'ixpa'omas, lanaxwan abamp dzamgila.*

*olaḳal*                      *kiṇami*                      *da*                      *i'ixpa'omas*  
*olaḳal*                      *kiṇam* = i                      = da                      Ci~ *ixpa'omas*  
 really                      many = D3                      = DET                      PL~ fruit

*lanaxwan*                      *abamp*                      *dzamgila*  
*la* = *naxwa* = *aṇ*                      *abamp*                      *dzam* -(g)ila  
 AUX = sometimes = 1.POSS                      mother                      jam -make/do

'Oh, there was lots of berries, mom used to make jam out of it.'

(37) *Ax̄tsus laxa dzaksam.*

*ax̄tsus*                      *laxa*                      *dzaksam*

*ax̄* -*tsu* =s      *la* =*x̄* =a      *dzaksam*  
*dō* -inside=INST    PREP=ACC=D4    metal.can

‘She used to put them in cans.’

(38) *Ki’san kōt̄alas, mādzi kayos’ide’s jars laxa gayu’ide’.*

*ki’san*                      *kōt̄alas*

(*k*)i’s =*an*                      *kōt̄* -*al*    -a =s  
 NEG =1                      know-CONT-A =INST

*mādzi*                      *kayos’ide’s*

*mās* -*dzi*                      *kayos*    -*x’id* =e’ =s  
 what-AUG                      NEG.EXIST-BEC =I3 =3.POSS

*jars*    *laxa*                      *gayu’ide’*

*jars*    *la* =*x̄* =a    *gay*    -*ut̄* -*x’id* =e’  
*jars*    PREP=ACC=D4    originate-from-BEC =I3

‘I don’t know what happened, there were no jars in those days.’

- (39) Laṃanu'xw ṇāpāna axala sa dḷa'bam kanu'xw axstude'  
 xa da dzaksamtsola ixpa'omas.

laṃanu'xw	ṇāpāna	axala
la = 'm = anu'xw AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	ṇam -pān one -occurrence-A	-a ax -al -a do -CONT-A
sa	dḷa'bam	kanu'xw
=s = a = INST = D4	dḷa'bam nail	ka = anu'xw PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS
axstude'		xa
ax -stu -x'id = a = i' do -open-BEC = EMB = NMLZ		= x = a = ACC = D4
da	dzaksamtsola	ixpa'omas
= da	dzaksam -tsu -al -a = DET metal.can -inside-CONT-A	ixpa'omas fruit

'So we got a nail and punched a hole in one of the canned fruit.'

- (40) Oṃanu'xw wila nake' xa dzus laxa dzaksam.

oṃanu'xw	wila	nake'	xa	dzus
o = 'm = anu'xw so = VER = 1.EXCL	wila	nak = e' all drink = I3	= x = a = ACC = D4	dzus juice
	laxa	dzaksam		
la = x = a PREP = ACC = D4	dzaksam metal.can			

'We sucked all the juice out of it.'



- (41) La'am watfalan abamp gaxanu'xw, la'am o'am axstu xa da dzaksam.

la'am	watfalan	abamp	gaxanu'xw		
la = 'm	watfal = an	abamp	gaxanu'xw		
AUX=VER	hear = 1.POSS	mother	1.EXCL.OBJ		
la'am	o'am	axstu	xa	da	
la = 'm	o = 'm	ax -stu	= x = a	= da	
AUX=VER	so=ver	do -open	= ACC=D4	= det	
dzaksam					
dzaksam					
metal.can					

'Mom heard us so she opened it for us.'

- (42) Lamānu'xw o'am hamx'i xa da ixpa'omas.

lamānu'xw	o'am	hamx'i	xa		
la = 'm = anu'xw	o = 'm	ham -x'id	= x = a		
AUX=VER = 1.EXCL	so=VER	eat -BEC	= ACC=D4		
da ixpa'omas					
= da ixpa'omas					
= DET fruit					

'Then we just ate the fruit.'<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>This line exists only in the Kwakwala version.

- (43) *ki's t̩aḱa gaxanu'xw o'am wos gaxanu'xw [la'e da] le'kanu'xw gananamota'.*

*ki's t̩aḱa gaxanu'xw o'am wos*  
 (k)i's t̩aḱ -a gaxanu'xw o = 'm wos  
 NEG slap -A 1.EXCL.OBJ so = VER feel.sorry.for<sup>14</sup>  
*gaxanu'xw le'kanu'xw*  
*gaxanu'xw la = a = i' = (i)k = anu'xw*  
 1.EXCL.OBJ AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.EXCL  
*gananamota'*  
*gananam = wa't̩ = a'*  
 young = DIST.PST = I3

'You know it was like that, there was no hitting us or that when we were little.'

- (44) *lamis gaxi da yudaxw bibabagwam, lamisanu'xw abamp laxwamala.*

*lamis gaxi da yudaxw*  
*la = 'm = (w)is gax = i = da yudaxw*  
 AUX = VER = and.so come = D3 = DET three  
*bibabagwam lamisanu'xw*  
*Ci~ babagwam la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw*  
 PL~ little.boy AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL.POSS  
*abamp laxwamala*  
*abamp laxwamal -a*  
 mother have.difficulty-A

'And the (three) boys came along, and she had a hard time with them.'

<sup>14</sup>The root *wos-* can be translated in various ways, including 'to feel sad', 'to feel sorry for' and 'to pity'.

- (45) Higam̄an tsaxalasaw̄i le'kanu'xw laxa da Residential School yax'idamas xanu'xw naxwa gwigilas.

higam̄an                      tsaxalasaw̄i  
 higa = 'm = an              tsax -al -a -saw̄ = i  
 only = VER = 1.POSS      hurt -CONT-A -ACC.PASS = D3

le'kanu'xw  
 la = a = i' = (i)k = anu'xw  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS

laxa                      da              Residential      School  
 la = x = a = da      Residential      School  
 PREP = ACC = D4 = DET      Residential      School

yax'idamas                      xanu'xw  
 yak -x'id -a -mas = x = anu'xw  
 bad -BEC -A -CAUS = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS

naxwa gwigilas  
 naxwa gwi -(g)ila -'as  
 every INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS

'And my only regret is the residential school, it really ruined our lives.'

- (46) O'am la galabandux giga'olnukw naḵa, k'ayose' la a'axsilasaḵe'.

o'am la galabandux

o = 'm la galaband = ux  
 so = VER AUX start = D2

giga'olnukw naḵa k'ayose'

giga'olnukw naḵ -a k'ayos = a = i'  
 parents drink-A NEG.EXIST = EMB = NMLZ

la a'axsilasaḵe'

la a'axsila -saḵ = e'  
 AUX take.care.of-ACC.PASS = I3

'Because, —mom and dad started drinking, cuz they had nobody to look after anymore.

- (47) Le'e y'ax'idan abamp, lam'i om'i da yudaxw bibabagwam la laxa Residential School.

le'e y'ax'idan abamp  
 la = a = i' = i y'ak -x'id = an abamp  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3 dead-BEC = 1.POSS mother

lam'i om'i da yudaxw  
 la = 'm = i o = 'm = i = da yudaxw  
 AUX = VER = D3 so = VER = D3 = DET three

bibabagwam la laxa Residential  
 Ci~ babagwam la la = x = a Residential  
 PL~ little.boy go PREP = ACC = D4 Residential  
 School  
 School  
 School

'And when my mom died my three little brothers went to residential school too.'

(48) W̄alas łalawałala lax.

w̄alas łalawałala lax  
 w̄alas łalawał -al -a la =x  
 big/very have.trouble-CONT-A PREP=ACC

‘They had a really hard time there.’<sup>15</sup>

(49) L̄amisaṅ gaṅ laxux Vancouver kaṅ gwał’ xan kakatimił  
 kaṅkułta’as.

l̄amisaṅ gaṅ laxux  
 la =’m = (w)is = an gaṅ la =x =ux  
 AUX=VER=and.so=1 come PREP=ACC=D2

Vancouver kaṅ gwał’

Vancouver ka =an gwał =a =i’  
 Vancouver PREP=1.POSS stop/finish=EMB=NMLZ

xan kakatimił kaṅkułta’as

=x =an kakatimił kaṅkuł -a -’as  
 =ACC=1.POSS secretary learn -A -LOC.PASS

‘And of course I came to Vancouver for my  
 post-secondary.’

<sup>15</sup>This line exists only in the Kwakwala version.

- (50) Olekanu'xw hil'axa yudaxwanu'xw gukw: nam lax  
 Gwayi, nam lax Gwayasdams, nam lax Gayuxw.

olekanu'xw hil'axa yudaxwanu'xw gukw  
 olek = anu'xw hil'axa yudaxw = anu'xw gukw  
 truly = 1.EXCL lucky three = 1.EXCL.POSS house

nam lax Gwayi nam lax  
nam la = x Gwayi nam la = x  
 one PREP = ACC Kingcome one PREP = ACC

Gwayasdams nam lax Gayuxw  
 Gwayasdams nam la = x Gayuxw  
 Gilford.Island one PREP = ACC Knights.Inlet

'I told you we had three homes: one in Kingcome, one in Gilford, and one in Knights Inlet.'

- (51) Walasanu'xw ayaxpas lalilela laxa wap.

walasanu'xw ayaxpas  
 walas = anu'xw ayaxpas  
 big/very = 1.EXCL have.fun

lalilela laxa wap  
 la -ile -la la = x = a wap  
 go-all.around-CONT PREP = ACC = D4 water

'It was so fun, we used to ride up and down the waters.'

- (52) Le'kanu'xw lala'a lax Gayuxw gaxmi da gwayam  
 awaboye' sanu'xw bo't.

le'kanu'xw

la = a = i' = (i)k = anu'xw  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.EXCL

lala'a                      lax  
 Ca~ la -a                la = x  
 RED~go-try              PREP = ACC

Gayuxw                gaxmi                      da                gwayam  
 Gayuxw                gax = 'm = i            = da                gwayam  
 Knights.Inlet        come = VER = D3        = DET            killer.whale

awaboye'                sanu'xw                      bo't  
 awaboyi = a'            = s                      = anu'xw                bo't  
 underside = I3        = 3.POSS = 1.EXCL.POSS    boat

'The story about the whales that went under the  
 boats...'<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup>A more literal translation of the Kwakwala in line (52) is: 'When we were trying to go to Knights Inlet, whales came up under our boat.'

- (53) Walasan kal'ida, o'am la k'wasa, lamisan ump nik gaxan  
kan se' k'wasa.

walasan      kal'ida      o'am      la      k'wasa  
 walas = an    kal' -x'id -a    o = 'm    la      k'was -a  
 big/very = 1    scared-BEC -A    so = VER    AUX    cry    -A  
 lamisan                      ump      nik      gaxan  
 la = 'm = (w)is = an      ump      nik      gaxan  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS    father    say    1.OBJ  
 kan                      se'                      k'wasa  
 ka = an                      = s      = a      = i'      k'was -a  
 PREP = 1.POSS                      = INST = EMB = NMLZ    cry    -A

'I was screaming my head off, and my dad told me,'

- (54) “Yuman's d*h*id*l*ad*l*olux, gan! Gwa kalala sux.

yuman's                      d*h*id*l*ad*l*olux  
 yu = 'm = an's              d*h*id*l*ad*l*ola = ux  
 be.D2 = VER = 1.INCL.POSS    relative                      = D2  
 gan                      gwa      kalala                      sux  
 gan                      gwa      kal -al -a      = s      = ux  
 infant.girl.VOC    do.not    scared-CONT-A                      = INST = D2

“Don't cry! These are our relatives!” he said.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup>A more literal translation of the Kwakwala in line (54) is: “These are our relatives, little one! Don't be afraid of them!”



(55) Gayutłan umpwə'le' laxa gwayam, olakalan kayaxa.

gayutłan

gay -utł = an  
originate-from = 1.POSS

umpwə'le'

laxa

ump = wa'ł = e'  
father = DIST.PST = I3

la = x = a  
PREP = ACC = D4

gwayam

olakalan

kayaxa

gwayam  
killer.whale

okakala = an  
really = 1

kayax -a  
amazed-A

'Cuz he was from the whale clan, and I was so amazed.'

- (56) Kí'san ayú'salax waɔdame's, [aɫ] aɫman le'x  
 kwaxanakwala le'x kotɫala xanu'xw gayulase' san  
 abamp.

kí'san ayú'salax

(k)i's = an ayú's -al -a = x  
 NEG = 1 understand-CONT-A = ACC

waɔdame's

aɫman

waɔdam = e' = s aɫ = 'm = an  
 word = I3 = 3.POSS late = VER = 1

le'x

kwaxanakwala

la = a = i' = (i)k kwax -nakwala  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1 grow -GR.ADV

le'x

la = a = i' = (i)k  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1

kotɫala

xanu'xw

kotɫ -al -a = x = anu'xw  
 know-CONT-A = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS

gayulase'

gay -utɫ -'as = e'  
 originate-from-LOC.PASS = I3

san

abamp

= s = an abamp  
 = 3.POSS = 1.POSS mother

'And, you know, I didn't really understand that until—  
 until later on in life.'<sup>18</sup>

(57) Lax̣ Gwaỵi gayuṭlanu'x̣w lax̣a uḷigaṇ.

lax̣                      Gwaỵi  
 la = x̣                      Gwaỵi  
 PREP = ACC                Kingcome  
 gayuṭlanu'x̣w                      lax̣a                      uḷigaṇ  
 gay -uṭḷ = anu'x̣w    la = x̣ = a    uḷigaṇ  
 originate-from = 1.EXCL    PREP = ACC = D4    wolf  
 'Especially in Kingcome, we're from the Wolf clan,'

(58) Le'kan'ṣ ỵax'ida la'amṣ gax̣ edakạ uḷiganx'id, olaḱaḷ ḱaỵax̣a.

le'kan'ṣ  
 la = a = i' = (i)k = an'ṣ  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.INCL  
 ỵax'ida                      la'amṣ                      gax̣  
 ỵak -x'id -a                      la = 'm = s                      gax̣  
 dead-BEC -A                      AUX = VER = 2                      come  
 edakạ                      uḷiganx'id                      olaḱaḷ                      ḱaỵax̣a  
 edaḳ -a                      uḷigan -x'id                      olaḱaḷ                      ḱaỵax̣ -a  
 return-A                      wolf -BEC                      really                      amazing-A

'And when we die we come back as a wolf, which is so interesting to hear.'<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>A more literal translation of the Kwakwala in line (56) is: 'I didn't understand his words until when I was growing up, when I learned about where my mother came from.'

<sup>19</sup>Ruby's use of the inclusive first-person pronoun (= an'ṣ 'we, including addressee') is unexpected here. It is possible that the first clause of (58) is intended as quoted speech, in which case = an'ṣ would not be unexpected. In that case, the literal translation of (58) would be: "When we die, you come back as a wolf," it's really amazing.'

- (59) *Ałme'kan la k'otłalatłan le'k n'iksu' [le'e, le'an] laxan k'wali' dławı's xwanukw, le'e yax'i laxa da wa.*

*ałme'kan*

*la*

*ał = 'm = a = (i)k = an la*  
late = VER = EMB = V1 = 1 AUX

*k'otłalatłan*

*le'k*

*k'otł -al -a = tł = an la = a = i' = (i)k*  
know-CONT-A = FUT = 1 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1

*n'iksu'*

*n'ik -saw*  
say -ACC.PASS

*laxan*

*k'wali'*

*la = x = an k'wali'*  
PREP = ACC = 1.POSS uncle

*dławı's*

*xwanukw*

*dław = (i)'s xwanukw*  
and = 3.REFL.POSS child

*le'e*

*yax'i*

*la = a = i' = i yax -x'id*  
AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3 dead-BEC

*laxa*

*da*

*wa*

*la = x = a = da wa*  
PREP = ACC = D4 = DET river

'I wouldn't learn about this until I was told about my uncle and his (two) children, when they died in the river.'<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Lines (59) and (60) exist only in the Kwakwala version.

- (60) *Laṃis dukwālasu' laxa da aṭṭe', dḷaxwāli da wālas uliḡan dḷāwi da aṃabidu,<sup>21</sup> he'aṃaṃan k'wāli'wā'ṭe' dḷāwi's xwānukw.*

*laṃis dukwālasu'*

*la* = 'm = (w)is    *dukw* -al    -a -sāw  
AUX = VER = and.so    see    -CONT-A -ACC.PASS

*laxa da aṭṭe'*

*la* = x = a = da    *aṭṭi* = a'  
PREP = ACC = D4    = DET    forest = I3

*dḷaxwāli*

*dḷaxw* -aṭa = i  
stand -STAT = D3

*da wālas uliḡan dḷāwi*

= da    *wālas*    *uliḡan*    *dḷāw* = i  
= DET    big/very    wolf    with = D3

*da aṃabidu he'aṃaṃan*

= da    *aṃa* -bidu    *he* = 'm = an  
= DET    small-DIM    be.D3 = VER = 1.POSS

*k'wāli'wā'ṭe'*

*k'wāli'* = *wā'ṭ* = e'  
uncle = DIST.PST = I3

*dḷāwi's xwānukw*

*dḷāw* = (i)'s    *xwānukw*  
and = 3.REFL.POSS    child

'Afterward they were seen in the forest, a big wolf standing there together with small ones, it was my uncle with his children.'

<sup>21</sup>There are sounds following this word in the recording but as they are not clear, they are left untranscribed. lxxv

(61) He gwiksi da gwaỵam.

he gwiksi da gwaỵam  
 he gwi -ks =i =da gwaỵam  
 be.D3 INDEF-manner=D3 =DET killer.whale

'Same as the killer whale.'

(62) Ḳinami da ax̣'anugwade' sa crest.

ḳinami da ax̣'anugwade' sa  
 ḳinam =i =da ax̣ -nukw -ad =e' =s =a  
 many =D3 =DET do -have -own=I3 =3.POSS=D4  
 crest  
 crest  
 crest

'A lot of people have different crests, [but—I think we only got the two].'

(63) Gwigilase' sa gayuṭwa'ṭe' olaḱal awila.

gwigilase' sa  
 gwi -(g)ila -'as =e' =s =a  
 INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS=I3 =3.POSS=D4  
 gayuṭwa'ṭe' olaḱal awila  
 gayuṭwa'ṭe' olaḱal awil -a  
 long.time.ago really important-A

'Culture is very important.'

(64)  $\acute{K}i'san$   $we\acute{t}$   $xasamas$   $xan$   $Kwakwala'inu\acute{x}w$ .

$\acute{k}i'san$                        $we\acute{t}$

$(\acute{k})i's = an$                $we\acute{t}$   
NEG = I                      ABIL

$xasamas$                $xan$                        $Kwakwala'inu\acute{x}w$

$xas -a -mas = x = an$        $Kwakwala -'inu\acute{x}w$   
lose-A -CAUS = ACC = I.POSS       $Kwakwala -expertise$

'I never lost my language [when they tried to do that to me in Residential School],'

(65)  $kan$   $abampwa'le'$   $\acute{k}i's$   $we\acute{t}$   $mama\acute{t}akal$ .

$kan$                        $abampwa'le'$                        $\acute{k}i's$        $we\acute{t}$

$ka = an$                $abamp = wa'l = e'$        $(\acute{k})i's$        $we\acute{t}$   
PREP = I.POSS      mother = DIST.PST = I3      NEG      ABIL

$mama\acute{t}akala$

$mama\acute{t}a -(\acute{k})'ala$   
white.person-make.noise.CONT

'Cuz my mom couldn't speak English, [I had to keep it].'

- (66) Heme'kan lagił kakułamas xan Kwakwala'inuxw laxux  
da nalax.

heme'kan

he = 'm = a = i' = (i)k = an  
be.D3 = VER = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1

lagił kakułamas

la -gił kakuł -a -mas  
AUX-reason learn -A -CAUS

xan Kwakwala'inuxw

= x = an Kwakwala = 'inuxw  
= ACC = 1.POSS Kwakwala = expertise

laxux da nalax

la = x = ux = da nalax = x  
PREP = ACC = D2 = DET (to)day = V2

That's why I'm teaching right now.

- (67) Hedan i'axala UBC.

hedan i'axala UBC

he = d = an i'axal -a UBC  
be.D3 = DET = 1 work -A UBC

'My work is at UBC.'<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup>This line exists only in the Kwakwala version.



(68)  $\dot{\text{K}}\text{a}\dot{\text{k}}\text{u}\dot{\text{t}}\text{a}\dot{\text{t}}\text{a}\dot{\text{n}}$   $\text{laksu}\dot{\text{t}}$   $\text{x}\text{a}$  80  $\text{d}\dot{\text{l}}\text{a}\dot{\text{w}}\text{i}$   $\text{da}$  90.

$\dot{\text{K}}\text{a}\dot{\text{k}}\text{u}\dot{\text{t}}\text{a}\dot{\text{t}}\text{a}\dot{\text{n}}$                        $\text{laksu}\dot{\text{t}}$                        $\text{x}\text{a}$                       80

$\dot{\text{K}}\text{a}\dot{\text{k}}\text{u}\dot{\text{t}}$  -a = t\dot{\text{t}} = a\dot{\text{n}}

teach -A = FUT = 1                      la -ksu                      = t\dot{\text{t}}                      = x                      = a                      80

go-through = FUT                      = ACC = D4                      80

$\text{d}\dot{\text{l}}\text{a}\dot{\text{w}}\text{i}$                       da                      90

$\text{d}\dot{\text{l}}\text{a}\dot{\text{w}}$  = i                      = da                      90

or                      = D3                      = DET                      90

‘I’ll be teaching until I’m 80 or 90!’

(69)  $\text{L}\text{a}'\text{a}\text{m}$ .

$\text{l}\text{a}'\text{a}\text{m}$

$\text{l}\text{a}$  = 'm

AUX = VER

‘That’s it!’

(70)  $\text{E}\text{m}\text{a}\text{n}$ .

$\text{e}\text{m}\text{a}\text{n}$

$\text{e}\text{m}\text{a}\text{n}$

amen

‘Amen!’<sup>23</sup>

## 0.4 Editors’ Note

Galabe’ (‘Foreword’) is the only story in the volume that was recorded first in English, then translated line-by-line into Kwakwala. The other stories were recorded first in Kwakwala, then translated line-by-line into English. Galabe’ (‘Foreword’)

<sup>23</sup>This line exists only in the Kwakwala version.

is also the only narrative which is accompanied by an audio recording in both languages. The following steps were used to record and analyze Galabe' ('Foreword'):

1. Ruby told Galabe' ('Foreword') in English, and it was recorded. The transcription of this English version is provided above.
2. The English version of Galabe' ('Foreword') was read back to Ruby, line-by-line, so that she could volunteer a Kwakwala translation for each sentence.
3. We recorded a final, more polished version of the Kwakwala translations obtained previously. Ruby's Kwakwala translations were read back to her, line-by-line, and Ruby was recorded saying each of the lines back (in Kwakwala). During this step, Ruby made some small changes to her Kwakwala translations and added a few new sentences to the Kwakwala version. These revisions are noted in the grammatical analysis above.
4. The Kwakwala audio recorded in the third step was edited to remove pauses and unrelated dialogue with Jonathan Janzen.
5. The Kwakwala audio derived in the previous step was transcribed and analyzed. A full transcription of this recording is provided above, and each sentence from the recording is analyzed in the Grammatical Analysis section, also above.

Readers will notice that Ruby's Kwakwala translations vary in terms of how literal they are in capturing the meaning of the original English. In some cases, where the difference between

the English prompt and the volunteered Kwakwala translation is substantial, a more literal translation of the Kwakwala has been provided in a footnote (translations by Katie Sardinha). In the majority of cases, however, it is left up to the reader to study the differences in translation between the Kwakwala and English versions.



## CHAPTER 1

# Bakwas Wild Man of the Woods

### 1.1 Bakwas

Gayuwa'le' la'e da bibibagwanam la kitla laxi's bo't. Nañampāna ki's hi'ili bo'to's, o'am la wala. Omis la axal'idi da tlama'is, kwisala laxa naxwa. Kayos weł la'as sa bibibagwanam.

Lamis he gwix'idi Bakwas, kayosawis la'asas. Omis la gukwala laxa makola. La'am kwalis'am o'am gukwila ka's kwalas. Omis la hamap xa da i'ixpa'oma laxa da makola, lanaxwa dzika ka's hame'. La xwa kitla xa kikutala ka's hame' ugwaka. Geła laxa makola. O'am la kinami saye's laxi's awikine'. Kinamux. Lanaxwanis la laxa tlama'is ka's le' dzika ka's hame'. Lamis la edaka le'i's gukw.

Gaxmisi da bo't lax ax'ase's. Hanatli da bibibagwanam. Gaxmisi da umpa' si's xwanukw. Lamis nik xi's xwanukw, "Gwano bo lax gaxan. Atlas lodlanam sa Bakwas." Ki'sta hutili da gananam. La'am ale xa naxwa laxa da makola. Lamisi da

umpe's dławí's wíwá'oxw hantła x̄a giwas. Lamisi da ḡananam duxwatłalax Bakwas. La'am kał'idas. Lamisi Bakwas nika, "Gwa kałala gaxan, ḡananam. Gila's!" Lamis lax Bakwas. "Ix'amtłas." La'am o'am gwali umpe's alex. Lamis o'am neńakwi umpe's dławí's n̄inamukw. Kí'si weł ka xi's xwanukw.

Lamisi da ḡananam o'am a'axsilasu's Bakwas, hamgilasu'. Lamis axila x̄a kwalas.

I'se'e yudaxwpańxwa's he le'i da makola, gaxe edaki umpe's. Lamisi da ḡananam duxwatłala xi's ump. Lamis watła xi's ump, "Wełne Bakwas gaxtł, wełne gax neńakwtł dławan'se'?" "Kí! Kí! Kí!" niki Bakwas. "Kí'san weł la neńakw dhu's. O'amtlan hayuła lax makola kan axsila x̄a gigangananam so' gwixsu's xasa. Haga dławu's umpu's, ix'amtlan." Lamisi da ḡananam edaka dławí's ump.

Omisa Bakwas, o'am gukwalaxtse'am lax makola. Hemis la a'axsila x̄a naxwa i's hi'ila edaka laxi's gukwalas. Hemis laťsimasas hutlila xu's giga'ońmukwu's. Gwano yaksamu's gwix'ida'as naxwu's, hutlilala o'am.

Eman.

## 1.2 Wild Man of the Woods

A long time ago, when the men used to go out fishing in their boats, once in a while their boats wouldn't work—they would just stop. They would end up on the beach, far away from anywhere. The men would have no place to go.

That's what happened to the Wild Man of the Woods. He had no place to go. He ended up living on an island. He made a house there for himself to sleep in, he ate the fruits there on the island, and he would sometimes dig for his food. He went fishing to eat, also. He was there on the island a long time, and he grew a lot of hair on his body. There was a lot of it. He

would often go down to the beach to dig for his food, then he'd go back up to his house.

There was a boat that came to that place of his. The men (in the boat) were out hunting. A father brought his son along. Then he (the father) said to his son, "Don't leave my side. You might get taken by the Wild Man of the Woods." But the child didn't listen. He went off searching for everything on the island. Meanwhile his father and the others went out hunting deer. Soon the child saw the Wild Man of the Woods, and got scared of him. Then the Wild Man of the Woods said, "Don't be afraid of me, child. Come here!" And so he went to the Wild Man of the Woods. "You're going to be fine" (the Wild Man of the Woods said). Meanwhile, his father stopped searching for him, and returned home with his companions. He couldn't find his son.

And so the child was taken care of by the Wild Man of the Woods. He was fed, and he (the Wild Man of the Woods) made him a place to sleep.

Before three days had passed on the island, the boy's father came back. Then the child saw his father. Then he asked his father, "Can the Wild Man of the Woods come, can he come home with us?" "No! No! No!" said the Wild Man of the Woods. "I can't go back home with you. I will stay here on the island to protect the children who get lost just like you did. Go away with your father, I'll be okay." So the child went back with his father.

As for the Wild Man of the Woods, he is still living there on the island. He stays there to look after everyone who can't get back to where they live. That's why you should listen to your parents. If you listen, bad things won't happen to you.

Amen.

### 1.3 Grammatical Analysis

(1) Gayuŋwa'le' la'e da bibibagwanam la kitla laxi's bo't,

gayuŋwa'le'	la'e	da
gayuŋ = wa'ŋ	= e'	la = i = da
early = DIST.PST = I3	AUX = D3	= DET

bibibagwanam	la
Ci~ Ci~ bagwanam	la
PL~ PL~ man	go

kitla	laxi's	bo't
kitŋ	-a la = x = (i)'s	bo't
fish.with.nets-A	PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS	boat

'A long time ago, when the men used to go out fishing in their boats.'

(2) naŋnaŋpana ki's hi'ili bo'to's, o'am la wala.

naŋnaŋpana	ki's	hi'ili	bo'to's
naŋnaŋpana	(k)i's	hi'il = i	bo't = a' = s
sometimes	NEG	function = D3	boat = I3 = 3.POSS
o'am	la	wala	
o = 'm	la	wal -a	
so = VER	go	stop -A	

'Once in a while their boats wouldn't work, they would just stop.'



- (3) Omis la axal'idi da ṭama'is, kwisala laxa naxwa.

omis	la	axal'idi	da	ṭama'is
o = 'm = (w)is so = ver = and.so	la	ax -al -x'id = i do -LOC-BEC = D3	= da	ṭama'is beach
	kwisala	laxa		naxwa
	kwis -ala distant-STAT	la = x = a PREP = ACC = D4		naxwa every

'They would end up on the beach, far away from anywhere.'

- (4) Kayos weł [axa] la'as sa bibibagwanam.

kayos	weł		
kayos NEG.EXIST	weł ABIL		
la'as	sa		bibibagwanam
la -'as go-LOC.PASS	= s = a = 3.POSS = D4		Ci~ Ci~ bagwanam PL~ PL~ man

'The men had no place to go.'

- (5) Lamis he gwix'idi Bakwas, kayosawis la'asas.

lamis he gwix'idi Bakwas  
 la = 'm = (w)is he gwi -x'id = i Bakwas  
 AUX = VER = and.so be.D3 INDEF-BEC = D3 Bakwas  
 kayosawis la'asas  
 kayos = (w)is la -'as = s  
 NEG.EXIST = and.so go-LOC.PASS = 3.POSS

'And that's what happened to the Wild Man of the Woods, he had no place to go.'

- (6) Omis la gukwala laxa makola.

omis la gukwala laxa  
 o = 'm = (w)is la gukw -al -a la = x = a  
 so = VER = and.so go house -CONT-A PREP = ACC = D4  
 makola  
 makola  
 island

'He just lived on an island.'

- (7) La'am kwalis'am o'am gukwila ka's kwalas.<sup>1</sup>

la'am kwalis'am o'am gukwila  
 la = 'm kwalis'am o = 'm gukw -(g)ila  
 AUX = VER do.oneself so = VER house -make/do  
 ka's kwalas  
 ka = (i)'s kwal -'as  
 PREP = 3.REFL.POSS lying.down-LOC.PASS

'He made a house for himself to sleep in.'

- (8) O<sub>m</sub>is la ha<sub>m</sub>ap xa da i'ixpa'oma laxa da ma<sub>k</sub>ola, lanaxwa dzika ka's ha<sub>m</sub>e'.

o <sub>m</sub> is	la	ha <sub>m</sub> ap	xa	da
o = 'm = (w)is	la	ha <sub>m</sub> ap	= x = a	= da
so = VER = and.so	go	eat	= ACC = D4	= DET
i'ixpa'oma	laxa	da	ma <sub>k</sub> ola	
Ci~ ixpa'oma	la = x = a	= da	ma <sub>k</sub> ola	
PL~ sweet.thing	PREP = ACC = D4	= DET	island	
lanaxwa	dzika	ka's		
la = naxwa	dzik -a	ka = (i)'s		
go = sometimes	dig -A	PREP = 3.REFL.POSS		
ha <sub>m</sub> e'				
ha <sub>m</sub> = a = i'				
eat = EMB = NMLZ				

'He just ate the fruits there on the island, and would sometimes dig for his food.'

<sup>1</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby suggested rewording this sentence as follows: O'am k'walis'am gukwila ka's kwalas.

(9) La xwa kitla xa kikutala ka's hame' ugwaka.

la xwa kitla xa  
 la = x = ux = a kitl -a = x = a  
 go = ACC = D2 = D4 fish.with.nets-A = ACC = D4  
 kikutala ka's hame'  
 Ci~ kutala ka = (i)'s ham = a = i'  
 PL~ fish PREP = 3.REFL.POSS eat = EMB = NMLZ  
 ugwaka  
 ugwaka  
 also

'He went fishing to eat, also.'

(10) Geła laxa makola.

geła laxa makola  
 geła la = x = a makola  
 long.time PREP = ACC = D4 island

'He was on the island a long time.'

(11) O'am la kinami saye's laxi's awikine'.

o'am la kinami saye's  
 o = 'm la kinam = i saye = e' = s  
 so = VER go many = D3 hair = I3 = 3.POSS  
 laxi's awikine'  
 la = x = (i)'s awikine'  
 PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS body.surface

'He grew a lot of hair on his body.'

(12) Ķinamux.

Ķinamux

Ķinam = ux  
many = D2

‘There was a lot of it.’

(13) Lanaxwa<sup>̇</sup>mis la la<sup>̇</sup>x a t<sup>̇</sup>ama<sup>̇</sup>’is ka’s le’ dzika ka’s ha<sup>̇</sup>me’.

lanaxwa<sup>̇</sup>mis

la la<sup>̇</sup>x a

la = naxwa = ’m = (w)is    la    la = x = a  
AUX = sometimes = VER = and.so    go    PREP = ACC = D4

t<sup>̇</sup>ama<sup>̇</sup>’is    ka’s    le’

t<sup>̇</sup>ama<sup>̇</sup>’is    ka = (i)’s    la = a = i’  
beach    PREP = 3.REFL.POSS    go = EMB = NMLZ

dzika    ka’s    ha<sup>̇</sup>me’

dzik -a    ka = (i)’s    ha<sup>̇</sup>m = a = i’  
dig -A    PREP = 3.REFL.POSS    eat = EMB = NMLZ

‘He would often go down to the beach to dig for his food.’

(14) La<sup>̇</sup>mis la’eda<sup>̇</sup>ka le’i’s gukw.

la<sup>̇</sup>mis

la eda<sup>̇</sup>ka le’i’s

la = ’m = (w)is    la    a’eda<sup>̇</sup>ka    la = (i)’s  
AUX = VER = and.so    go    return    PREP = 3.REFL.POSS

gukw

gukw

house

‘Then he’d go back to his house.’

- (15) Gax̣misi da bo't lax̣ ax̣'ase's.

gax̣misi                      da        bo't    lax̣  
 gax̣ = 'm = (w)is = i        = da    bo't    la       = x̣  
 come = VER = and.so = D3    = DET   boat   PREP = ACC

ax̣'ase's  
 ax̣ -'as                      = e' = s  
 do -LOC.PASS = I3        = 3.POSS

'Then a boat came to that place of his.'

- (16) [Hai] Hanaṭti da bibibagwanaṃ.

hanaṭti        da        bibibagwanaṃ  
 hanaṭṭ = i        = da    Ci~ Ci~ bagwanaṃ  
 hunt        = D3        = DET   PL~ PL~ man

'The men (in the boat) were out hunting.'

- (17) Gax̣misi da umpa' si's xwanukw.

gax̣misi  
 gax̣ = 'm = (w)is = i  
 come = VER = and.so = D3

da        umpa'        si's                      xwanukw  
 = da    ump = a'        = s        = (i)'s              xwanukw  
 = DET   father = I3        = INST = 3.REFL.POSS    child

'A father brought his son along.'

(18) Lámis ník x̄i's xwanukw, “Gwano bo lax gaxan. Atlas lodlanam [las] sa Bakwas.”

a. lámis ník x̄i's xwanukw  
 la = 'm = (w)is ník = x̄ = (i)'s xwanukw  
 AUX = VER = and.so say = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS child

‘Then he (the father) said to his son,’

b. gwano bo lax gaxan  
 gwano bo la = x̄ gaxan  
 do.not leave PREP = ACC 1.OBJ

‘Don’t leave my side.’

c. atlas lodlanam sa Bakwas  
 atł = s lotł -anam = s = a Bakwas  
 else = 2 obtain-NMLZ = 3.POSS = D4 Bakwas

‘You might get taken by the Wild Man of the Woods.’

(19) Kí'sta hutli da gananam.

kí'sta hutli da gananam  
 (k̄)i's = ta hutli = i = da gananam  
 NEG = but listen = D3 = DET young

‘But the child didn’t listen.’

(20) La'am ale xa naxwa laxa da [ma'] makola.

la'am	ale	xa	naxwa	laxa
la = 'm	ale	= x = a	naxwa	la = x = a
AUX = VER	seek	= ACC = D4	every	PREP = ACC = D4
	da	makola		
	= da	makola		
	= DET	island		

'He went off searching for everything on the island.'

(21) Lamisi da umpe's dlawi's wiwa'oxw hantla xa giwas.

lamisi	da	umpe's	
la = 'm = (w)is = i	= da	ump = e' = s	
AUX = VER = and.so = D3	= DET	father = I3 = 3.POSS	
dlawi's	wiwa'oxw	hantla	
dlaw = (i)'s	Ci ~ wa'okw	hantl -a	
with = 3.REFL.POSS	PL ~ other	hunt.with.gun-A	
	xa	giwas	
	= x = a	giwas	
	= ACC = D4	deer	

'Meanwhile his father and the others went out hunting deer.'



(22) Lámisi da gánanám duxwatłax Bákwas.

lámisi da gánanám

la = 'm = (w)is = i = da gánanám  
AUX = VER = and.so = D3 = DET young

duxwatłax Bákwas

dukwatł -al -a = x Bákwas  
see -CONT-A = ACC Bákwas

'Then the child saw the Wild Man of the Woods.'

(23) La'am ka'idás.

la'am ka'idás

la = 'm kał -x'id = s  
AUX = VER scared-BEC = INST

'And he got scared of him.'

(24) Lámisi Bákwas nika, "Gwa kałala gaxan, gánanám. Gila's!"

a. lámisi Bákwas nika

la = 'm = (w)is = i Bákwas ník -a  
AUX = VER = and.so = D3 Bákwas say -A

'Then the Wild Man of the Woods said,'

b. gwa kałala gaxan gánanám

gwa kał -al -a gaxan gánanám  
do.not scared-CONT-A 1.OBJ young

"Don't be afraid of me, child."

c. gila's

gila =s  
welcome = 2

“Come here!”

(25) Lamis lax Bakwas.

lamis                      lax                      Bakwas

la = 'm = (w)is    la = x    Bakwas  
AUX = VER = and.so    PREP = ACC    Bakwas

‘Then we went to the Wild Man of the Woods.’

(26) “Ix'amtlas.”

ix'amtlas

ik = 'm = tɬ = s  
good = VER = FUT = 2

“You’re going to be fine.” (the Wild Man of the Woods said)

(27) La'am o'am gwali umpe's alex.

la'am              o'am              gwali                      umpe's  
la = 'm    o = 'm    gwal              = i    ump = e' = s  
AUX = VER    so = VER    stop/finish = D3    father = I3 = 3.POSS

alex

ale = x  
seek = ACC

‘His father eventually stopped searching for him.’

(28) Łam̄is o'am neńakwi umpe's dław̄i's ńińamukw.

łam̄is                      o'am      neńakwi  
 la = 'm = (w)is      o = 'm      neńakw = i  
 AUX = VER = and.so      so = VER      home      = D3

umpe's                      dław̄i's  
 ump = e' = s              dław̄ = (i)'s  
 father = I3 = 3.POSS      with = 3.REFL.POSS

ńińamukw  
 Ci~ ńamukw  
 PL~ friend

'And his father just returned home with his companions.'

(29) K̄i'si weł k̄a x̄i's xwanukw.

k̄i'si              weł      k̄a      x̄i's                      xwanukw  
 (k̄)i's = i      weł      k̄a      = x̄ = i's              xwanukw  
 NEG = D3      ABIL      find      = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS      child

'He couldn't find his son.'

- (30) Lamisi da gananam o'am a'axsilasu's Bakwas, hamgilasu'.

lamisi

da

la = 'm = (w)is = i = da  
 AUX = VER = and.so = D3 = DET

gananam o'am a'axsilasu's

gananam o = 'm a'axsil -a -saw = s  
 young so = VER take.care.of-A -ACC.PASS = 3.POSS

Bakwas hamgilasu'

Bakwas ham -(g)ila -saw  
 Bakwas eat -make/do-ACC.PASS

'And so the child was taken care of by the Wild Man of the Woods, he was fed.'

- (31) Lamis axila xa kwalas.

lamis

la = 'm = (w)is  
 AUX = VER = and.so

axila xa kwalas  
 ax -(g)ila = x = a kwal -'as  
 do -make/do = ACC = D4 lying.down-LOC.PASS

'So he made him a place to sleep.'

- (32) I'se'e yudaxwṗanxwa's he le'i da maḱola, gaḁe edaki umpe's.

i'se'e                          yudaxwṗanxwa's  
 (k)i's = a = i' = i    yudaxw -ṗan      -xwa's  
 NEG   = EMB = NMLZ = D3   three      -occurrence-day  
 he      le'i                                  da      maḱola  
 he      la = a = i' = i      = da      maḱola  
 be.D3   AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3   = DET   island  
 gaḁe      edaki                  ump'e's  
 gaḁ = i    a'edak = i      ump = e' = s  
 come = D3   return = D3   father = 13 = 3.POSS

'Before three days had passed on the island, his father came back.'

- (33) Lamisi da gananam duxwatłala xi's ump.

lamisi                          da                  gananam  
 la = 'm = (w)is = i                  = da          gananam  
 AUX = VER = and.so = D3          = DET          young  
 duxwatłala                  xi's                  ump  
 duxwatł -al -a                  = x          = (i)'s          ump  
 see                  -CONT-A                  = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS      father

'Then the child saw his father.'

- (34) Lamis wātł xi's ump, "Weḱne Baḱwas gaḁtł, weḱne gaḁ neḱakwtł dławān'se'?"

a. lamis                          wātł      xi's                  ump  
 la = 'm = (w)is    wātł -a      = x          = (i)'s          ump  
 AUX = VER = and.so    ask -A          = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS      father

'Then he asked his father,'

b. wełme

weł = 'm = a = i  
 abil = VER = QUES = D3

Bakwas	gaxtł	wełme
Bakwas	gax = tł	weł = 'm = a = i
Bakwas	come = FUT	ABIL = VER = ques = D3
gax	neńakwtł	dławan'se'
gax	neńakw = tł	dław = an's = e'
come	home = FUT	with = 1.INCL = I3

“Can the Wild Man of the Woods come, can he come home with us?”

(35) “Ki! Ki! Ki!” niki Bakwas.

a. ki ki ki

ki ki ki  
 no no no

“No! No! No!”

b. niki Bakwas

nik = i Bakwas  
 say = D3 Bakwas

said the Wild Man of the Woods.

(36) “Ki'san weł la neńakw dłu's.

ki'san	weł	la	neńakw	dłu's
(k)i's = an	weł	la	neńakw	dław = s
NEG = 1	ABIL	go	home	with = 2

“I can't go back home with you.”

- (37) “O’amtłan hayuła lax mākola kan axsila xa  
gigangananam so’ gwiksu’s xasa.”

o’amtłan                      hayuła    lax  
o = ’m = tł = an    hayuła    la    = x  
so = VER = FUT = 1    continue    PREP = ACC

mākola              kan  
mākola              ka    = an  
island                      PREP = 1.POSS

axsila                      xa                      gigangananam  
axsila                      = x    = a    Ci~ ganganam  
take.care.of    = ACC = D4    PL~ young.PL

so’                      gwiksu’s                      xasa  
su = a                      gwi -ks                      = u’s    xas -a  
be.2 = A                      INDEF-manner = 2.POSS    lost -A

“I will stay here on the island to protect the children who  
get lost just like you did.”

- (38) “Haga dławu’s umpu’s, ix’amtłan.”

haga              dławu’s              umpu’s  
ha = ga    dław    = u’s    ump    = u’s  
go = IMP    with    = 2.POSS    father = 2.POSS

ix’amtłan  
ik    = ’m = tł = an  
good = VER = FUT = 1

“Go away with your father, I’ll be okay.”

(39) Lamisi da gananam edaka dlawi's ump.

lamisi	da	gananam	edaka
la = 'm = (w)is = i	= da	gananam	a'edak -a
AUX = VER = and.so = D3	= DET	young	return -A
dlawi's	ump		
dlaw = (i)'s	ump		
with = 3.REFL.POSS	father		

'So the child went back with his father.'

(40) Omisa Bakwas, o'am gukwalaxtse'am lax makola.

omisa	Bakwas	o'am
o = 'm = (w)is = a	Bakwas	o = 'm
so = VER = and.so = D4	Bakwas	so = VER
gukwalaxtse'am	lax	makola
gukw -al -a -xtse = 'm	la = x	makola
house -CONT-A -still = VER	PREP = ACC	island

'As for the Wild Man of the Woods, he is still living there on the island.'



(41) He<sup>m</sup>is la a'axsila xa naxwa i's hi'ila edaka [xi's] laxi's  
 gukwa<sup>l</sup>as.

he <sup>m</sup> is	la	a'axsila			
= 'm = (w)is be.D3 = VER = and.so	la	a'axsila			
	AUX	take.care.of			
<u>xa</u>	naxwa	i's	hi'ila	edaka	
= x = a = ACC = D4	naxwa	(k'i)s NEG	hi'il -a function-A	a'edaka return	
				laxi's	
				gukwa <sup>l</sup> as	
	la = x = (i)s PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS		gukw -al -'as house -CONT-LOC.PASS		

‘So now he looks after everyone who can't get back to where they live.’

(42) He<sup>m</sup>is latsimasas hut<sup>l</sup>ila xu's giga'o<sup>l</sup>nukwu's.

he <sup>m</sup> is	latsimasas				
= 'm = (w)is be.D3 = VER = and.so	la	-tsimas = s AUX-should = 2			
	hut <sup>l</sup> ila	xu's	giga'o <sup>l</sup> nukwu's		
	hut <sup>l</sup> il -a listen -A	= x = u's = ACC = 2.POSS	giga'o <sup>l</sup> nukw = u's parents	= 2.POSS	

‘That's why you should listen to your parents.’

(43) Gwano yaksamu's gwix'ida'as naxwu's, huttilala o'am.

gwano	yaksamu's		gwix'ida'as
gwano	yaksam = u's		gwi -x'id -a -'as
do.not	bad = 2.POSS		INDEF-BEC -A -LOC.PASS

naxwu's	huttilala		o'am
naxwa = u's	huttil -al -a		o = 'm
every = 2.POSS	listen -CONT-A		so=VER

'If you listen, bad things won't happen to you.'

(44) Eman.

eman  
eman  
amen

'Amen.'

## 1.4 Editors' Note

Bakwas is a traditional Kwakwaka'wakw legend of a man-gone-wild away from community. Some stories have him as a malevolent force, as is typical of his female counterpart Dzunukwa, but others have him as an unlikely hero. This story is of the latter type, where Bakwas saves the lost boy, in contrast to the fears of the boy's father about the nature of the wild man. This story was passed down to Ruby by her elders at an early age, as well as through printed retellings, and remains essentially here as it was conveyed to her.





Figure 1.1: A Dzunukwa mask, owned by Ruby Dawson Cranmer

Photo courtesy of Jonathan Janzen and Ruby Dawson Cranmer

## CHAPTER 2

# Dzunukwa Dzunukwa

### 2.1 Dzunukwa<sup>1</sup>

Mixi Dzunukwa xwa nalax. A'am tsax'i le' gwaŋi da dzaƙwaxstala. Kayos i's la'asas laxanu'xw gayulas. La'am ƙasa ale xa gigangananam. Axali da laxe' laxi's awiga'yi. Axtsudi xasa gigangananam lax.

Lamisān hi'lu'swā'le' niŋa sa nuyam gaxan. Namukwi da gananam, Kugigaxtla. He'am galaband axtsudsu's Dzunukwa laxi's laxe'. Lamis ax'ix wiwiwa'oxw gigangananam, ka's axtsude's laxi's laxe'. (Waladzixanti laxeyas!) "Lamis gwaŋa." niŋe'kali Dzunukwa. Lamisi da kugige' gananam kawayunukw. Lamis Kugige' tus'i xa baŋaye' sa laxe'. Lamisi da gigangananam tixtso<sup>2</sup> laxa laxe'. Kayos gigangananam lax

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<sup>1</sup>An alternate translation for the title of this story, Dzunukwa, is 'Wild-woman of the woods'.

<sup>2</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby noted that the word tixwaŋtso would be more natural here than tixtso.

laxeyas Dzunukwa. Lamisi da gigangananam dzalxw'ida. Ki's weł dzalxwi Kugiga. Lamis hamdikalasawa'. Lamis o'am neñakwi Dzunukwa puska. Kayos gigangananam laxi's laxe'.  
Eman.

## 2.2 Dzunukwa

Dzunukwa sleeps in the day. She finally wakes up when supper is over. There is nowhere she doesn't go wandering in our homeland, wandering looking for children. There's a basket attached to her back, and she puts children inside it.

My late great grandmother told me this legend. There was one child, called Hunchback. He was the first that Dzunukwa took into her basket. After him, she went and got the rest of the children and put them into her basket too. (She must have had a really big basket!) "All finished," thought Dzunukwa. But the hunchbacked child had a knife, and cut the bottom of the basket. The children fell out of the basket, and there were no children in Dzunukwa's basket anymore. The children started to run, but Hunchback couldn't run. So he was given a piggyback. Dzunukwa had to go back home hungry, since there were no children in her basket.

Amen.

## 2.3 Grammatical Analysis

(1) Mixi Dzunukwa xwa nalax.

mixi	Dzunukwa	xwa	nalax
mix = i	Dzunukwa	= x = ux = a	nala = (i)x
sleep = D3	Dzunukwa	= ACC = D2 = D4	day = v2

'Dzunukwa sleeps in the day.'

- (2) Ał'am tsax'i le' gwali da dzakwaxstala.

ał'am      tsax'i      le'                      gwali  
ał = 'm      tsak -x'id      la = a = i'      gwał = i  
late = VER      awake-BEC      AUX = EMB = NMLZ      stop/finish = D3  
da      dzakwaxstala  
= da      dzakwaxstala  
= DET      eat.supper

'She finally wakes up when supper is over.'

- (3) K'ayos i's la'asas laxanu'xw gayulas.

k'ayos      i's      la'asas  
k'ayos      (k)i's      la -'as = s  
NEG.EXIST      NEG      AUX-LOC.PASS = 3.POSS  
laxanu'xw                      gayulas  
la = x = anu'xw      gay -utł -'as  
PREP = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS      originate-from-LOC.PASS

'There is nowhere she doesn't wander in our homeland.'

- (4) La'am kasa ale xa giganganam.

la'am      kasa      ale      xa  
la = 'm      kas -a      ale = x = a  
AUX = VER      walk-A      seek = ACC = D4  
giganganam  
Ci~ gangananam  
PL~ young.PL

'She wanders looking for children.'

- (5) Axali da laxe' laxi's awigayi.

axali                      da            laxe'  
ax -ala = i            = da    laxe'  
do -STAT = D3       = DET   basket

laxi's    awigayi  
la = x = (i)'s                              awigayi  
PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS              back

'A basket is attached to her back.'

- (6) Axtsudi xasa gigangananam lax.

axtsudi                                      xasa  
ax -tso -x'id = i            = xa    = s    = a  
do -inside-BEC = D3       = CONN = INST = D4

gigangananam                      lax  
Ci~ gangananam            la = x  
PL~ young.PL                      PREP = ACC

'She puts children inside it.'

- (7) Lamisan hi'lu'swa'te' ni<sup>la</sup> sa nuyam gaxan.

lamisan  
la = 'm = (w)is = an  
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS

hi'lu'swa'te'  
hi'lu's                                      = wa't            = e'  
great.grandmother = DIST.PST = I3

ni<sup>la</sup>    sa                                      nuyam    gaxan  
ni<sup>l</sup> -a    = s    = a    nuyam    gaxan  
tell -A    = INST = D4    legend    1.OBJ

'My late great grandmother told me this legend.'



(8)  $\acute{N}\acute{a}mukwi$  da  $g\acute{a}n\acute{a}n\acute{a}m$ ,  $\acute{K}\acute{u}gigaxt\acute{t}\acute{a}$ .

$\acute{n}\acute{a}mukwi$             da         $g\acute{a}n\acute{a}n\acute{a}m$

$\acute{n}\acute{a}m$  -ukw =i     =da      $g\acute{a}n\acute{a}n\acute{a}m$   
 one -person=D3   =DET   young

$\acute{K}\acute{u}gigaxt\acute{t}\acute{a}$

$\acute{K}\acute{u}giga$  -(x)t\acute{t}\acute{a}  
 Hunchback-be.called

‘There was one child, called Hunchback.’

(9) He’am galaband  $\acute{a}x\acute{t}sudsu$ ’s Dzunukwa laxi’s  $\acute{l}\acute{a}x\acute{e}$ ’.

he’am            galaband

he     =’m     galaband  
 be.D3=VER   first.at.end

$\acute{a}x\acute{t}sudsu$ ’s

$\acute{a}x$  -tso    -x’id -s\acute{a}w            =s  
 do -inside-BEC -ACC.PASS=3.POSS

Dzunukwa    laxi’s                             $\acute{l}\acute{a}x\acute{e}$ ’

Dzunukwa    la     =x     =(i)’s             $\acute{l}\acute{a}x\acute{e}$ ’  
 Dzunukwa    PREP=ACC=3.REFL.POSS    basket

‘He was the first that Dzunukwa took into her basket.’

- (10) Lamis ax'ix wiwiwa'oxw gigangananam, ka's axtsude's laxi's laxe'.

lamis	ax'ix	wiwiwa'oxw
la = 'm = (w)is AUX = VER = and.so	ax -x'id = x do -BEC = ACC	Ci~ Ci~ wa'okw PL~ PL~ other
gigananam		ka's
Ci~ ganganam PL~ young.PL	ka = (i)'s PREP = 3.REFL.POSS	
axtsude's		
ax -tso -x'id = a = i' = s do -inside-BEC = EMB = NMLZ = INST		
laxi's		laxe'
la = x = (i)'s PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS		laxe' basket

'Then she got the rest of the children, to put them into her basket.'

- (11) (Waladzixanti laxeyas!)

waladzixanti	laxeyas
walas -dzi = xant = i big/very-AUG = MOD = D3	laxe' = s basket = 3.POSS

(She must have had a really big basket!')

(12) a. “L̄amis gwała,” n̄ike’k̄ali Dzunuk̄wa.

l̄amis                      gwała  
 l̄a = ’m = (w)is      gwał      -a  
 AUX = VER = and.so   stop/finish-A

‘All finished,’

b. n̄ike’k̄ali                      Dzunuk̄wa

n̄ik -’ek̄      -al̄ = i      Dzunuk̄wa  
 say -in.mind-CONT = D3   Dzunukwa

‘thought Dzunukwa.’

(13) L̄amisi da k̄ugige’ gananam̄ kawayunukw.

l̄amisi                      da      k̄ugige’  
 l̄a = ’m = (w)is = i      = da      k̄ugiga      = e’  
 AUX = VER = and.so = D3   = DET   hunchback = I3

gananam̄      k̄awayunukw

gananam̄      k̄awayu -nukw  
 young      knife      -have

‘But the hunchbacked child had a knife.’

(14) Lam<sup>1</sup>is K<sup>1</sup>ugige' tus'i xa ba<sup>1</sup>nye' sa lax<sup>1</sup>e'.

lam <sup>1</sup> is	K <sup>1</sup> ugige'	tus'i	xa
la = 'm = (w)is AUX = VER = and.so	K <sup>1</sup> ugiga = e' K <sup>1</sup> ugiga = I3	tus -x'id cut -BEC	= x = a = ACC = D4
ba <sup>1</sup> nye'	sa	lax <sup>1</sup> e'	
ba <sup>1</sup> n = ay' = e' bottom = NMLZ = I3	= s = a = 3.POSS = D4	lax <sup>1</sup> e' basket	

'So Hunchback cut the bottom of the basket.'

(15) Lam<sup>1</sup>isi da gigangananam tix<sup>1</sup>so laxa lax<sup>1</sup>e'.

lam <sup>1</sup> isi	da	gigangananam	
la = 'm = (w)is = i AUX = VER = and.so = D3	= da = DET	Ci~ gang <sup>1</sup> ananam PL~ young.PL	
tix <sup>1</sup> so	laxa	lax <sup>1</sup> e'	
tik -tso fall -inside	la = x = a PREP = ACC = D4	lax <sup>1</sup> e' basket	

'And the children fell out of the basket.'

(16) K<sup>1</sup>ayos [la<sup>1</sup>] gigangananam lax lax<sup>1</sup>e'yas Dzunuk<sup>1</sup>wa.

k <sup>1</sup> ayos	gigangananam	lax	lax <sup>1</sup> e'yas
k <sup>1</sup> ayos NEG.EXIST	Ci~ gang <sup>1</sup> ananam PL~ young.PL	la = x PREP = ACC	lax <sup>1</sup> e' = s basket = 3.POSS
Dzunuk <sup>1</sup> wa			
Dzunuk <sup>1</sup> wa			
Dzunukwa			

'There were no children in Dzunukwa's basket anymore.'

- (17) L̄am̄isi da gigangananam̄ dzalxw'ida, k̄i's weł dzalxw'i  
 K̄ugiga.

l̄am̄isi                              da        gigangananam̄  
 l̄ā = 'm = (w)is = i        = da    Ci~ gangananam̄  
 AUX=VER=and.so=D3      =DET   PL~ young.PL

dzalxw'ida                      k̄i's        weł  
 dzalxw -x'id -a      (k̄)i's        weł  
 run            -BEC -A      NEG        ABIL

dzalxwi                      K̄ugiga  
 dzalxw =i        K̄ugiga  
 run            =D3      Hunchback

'Then the children ran, but Hunchback couldn't run.'

- (18) L̄am̄is hamdik̄alasawa'.

l̄am̄is                              hamdik̄alasawa'  
 l̄ā = 'm = (w)is      hamdik    -al    -a -saŵ        =a'  
 AUX=VER=and.so    piggy.back-CONT-A -ACC.PASS=I3

'So a piggy-back was given.'

(19) Laṁis o'am neṅakwi Dzunukwa puska.

laṁis                      o'am      neṅakwi  
 la = 'm = (w)is    o = 'm    neṅakw = i  
 AUX = VER = and.so    so = VER    home      = D3

Dzunukwa    puska  
 Dzunukwa    puska  
 Dzunukwa    hungry

'So Dzunukwa just had to go back home hungry.'

(20) K̄ayos gigangananam laxi's laxe'.

k̄ayos              gigangananam      laxi's  
 k̄ayos      Ci~ gangananam    la = x̄ = (i)'s  
 NEG.EXIST    PL~ young.PL      PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS

laxe'  
 laxe'  
 basket

'No children were in her basket.'

(21) Eṁan.

eṁan  
 eṁan  
 amen  
 'Amen.'

## 2.4 Editors' Note

Dzunukwa is perhaps the most well known Kwakwaka'wakw legend. There are many Dzunukwa stories, some of which are morality tales like this one, warning children to obey their parents and not to wander off into the woods at night. This particular story has two notable additions relative to other versions. The first is in line (11), where Ruby remarks that Dzunukwa must have had a very big basket to be able to hold so many children. The other is when the children are running away from Dzunukwa, and the Hunchback child gets a piggyback.





## CHAPTER 3

# Wina War

### 3.1 Wina

Wina, wina, winalagalis!<sup>1</sup>

Laman tsakalalax gwix'ida'ase' sa Balxwala lax Gwayasdam's, xanu'xw wa'okw gayulasa'. Gax le'e wina xa *mid eighteen hundreds*<sup>2</sup>. O'am ganaman hilu'swa'le' gaxe'e winasu' sa Balxwala. Gananam o'am ma'lagi'unxila. Pasaxanti da axi lax Gwayasdam's. La'am kinami da ninaxwane' hi'lukwala laxa tasanoyi, sa gukwdzi. He'am gwigilasa galo'le'. O'am axtsu sanu'xw yiyakwima laxa tasanoyi. I'axali dhidhidlagame's axanugwadtsimase's.

Lamis gaxi da Balxwala winax Gwayasdam's. Ni le'e xas galu'ide'axa madzis lax gayulwa'le'. Hemis lagi gaxa'. Lamis kinami's lodaname's kilax'idsawa'. Gaxmisanu'xw hilu'swa'le'

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<sup>1</sup>This line is sung.

<sup>2</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby offered the Kwakwala phrase *nagu'yu ma'lgwanał lakand* for the English phrase here.

duxwatłalax gwigilase's. T̄samx'i san ninaxwane' laxa da Bibalxwala bibibagwanam. Lamisi da Bibalxwala dzalxw'i laxa ninaxwane'. Hilu's he dzalxw'i ka's le' wanx'ida. Lamis lagił kwala ka la gwix'ida'as. Ki'slaxanu'xw yulax lox xu yax'idalax.

Kayaxanu'xw xasa waladzi tangis lax Gwayasdam's. Lanaxwanu'xw lukwaxa lax le'e kwisa. Omanu'xw hayulis he gwigila xa tsawax, ayaxpas lax. Ahmisanu'xw kotatłala heme'kanu'xw d̄id̄id̄ad̄ole' kilax'idsu' sa Balxwala lax gayu'twa'le'. Walasanu'xw tsaxalakws lanaxwe'kanu'xw amla lax. Gaxmi da bagwanam, mamala, lax Gwayasdam's. La'am ax'i sa bagwanam, gaxe's dzix'is, waladzi *back hoe*, lax amłalasnaxwa. Ga'am ni'idi da xixaxdzikas. La'am ka xa kikinamdzikas xixak. Xanu'xw d̄id̄id̄ad̄ole'x'ide'x gayud lax Gwayasdam's. Kinamdzikas. Omis la axilasawi da kayagidzas, omanu'xw la kayagidzasila sux. I'ax'exsda sa xixak. La'am ta'olsu' laxux da UBC-xtla. Ax'exsdan kan le' duxw'idax. Ki'san kotłala xu hextse'am lax le'.

Hiwaxa kasawan hilwawa'le'.<sup>3</sup> Olakal kotłala ka's wane'. Hiwaxanu'xw wata widi wana. Ki'slaxanu'xw hayulalax lux xu kilax'idsu'lax, xanu'xw hilu'swa'le'.

Eman.

### 3.2 War

War, war, making war all around!

I'm gonna tell the story of what the Nuxalk did at Gilford, the other place we come from. They came in the mid eighteen hundreds to make war. My great-grandmother was just a child when they were attacked by the Nuxalk. She was only twelve years old. Someone must have been giving a potlatch at Gilford. There were a lot of blankets lying in piles outside of

<sup>3</sup>Ruby probably intended to say hilu'swa'le' 'great-grandmother' here.

the bighouse. That's what they did in the olden days. We just put our gifts down outside. The names of who they should belong to were on them.

And so the Nuxalk came to make war on Gilford. They (the Nuxalk) said that they (people at Gilford) had stolen the Hamatsa whistle a long time ago. That's why they came. Many lives were taken. Our great-grandmother saw what they were doing. She pointed out the blankets to the Nuxalk men. Then the Nuxalk ran to the blankets. Great-grandmother ran away and hid. That's the reason she's alive, because she did that. We wouldn't be here if she had died.

We wondered about that big hill on Gilford. We used to sled down there sometimes when it was snowing. We always did that in the winter, had fun there. Later on we learned that it was our ancestors who were killed by the Nuxalk there a long time ago. We felt really bad that we used to play there. A man came, a white person, to Gilford. They got a man to come and dig it out, with a big back hoe, where we used to play. Lots of bones were found there. They found lots and lots of big bones. It was our ancestors who were from Gilford. There were a lot. A soccer field was made, we just made a soccer field out of it. They wanted to work with the bones, so they were brought to UBC. I want to go see them. I don't know if they're still there now.

They didn't find my great-grandmother. She really knew how to hide. We never asked where she hid. We wouldn't be here if she was killed there, our great-grandmother.

Amen.

### 3.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Wina, wina, winalagalis.

wina wina winalagalis  
wina wina wina -la -gał -is  
war<sup>4</sup> war war -CONT-move.around-outdoors  
‘War, war, making war all around!’

- (2) Laman tsakatalax gwix’ida’ase’ sa Balxwala lax  
Gwayasdam’s, xanu’xw wa’okw gayulasa’.

laman tsakatalax  
la =’m =an tsakal -al -a =tł =x  
AUX=VER=1 tell.story-CONT-A =FUT=ACC  
gwix’ida’ase’  
gwi -x’id -a -’as =e’  
INDEF-BEC -A -LOC.PASS=I3  
sa Balxwala lax  
=s =a Balxwala la =x  
=3.POSS=DET Nuxalk PREP=ACC  
Gwayasdam’s xanu’xw  
Gwayasdam’s =x =anu’xw  
Gilford =ACC=1.EXCL.POSS  
wa’okw gayulasa  
wa’okw gay -utł -’as =a’  
other originate-from-LOC.PASS=I3

‘I’m gonna tell the story of what the Nuxalk did at  
Gilford, the other place we come from.’

<sup>4</sup>Wina also means ‘to bowl someone out,’ at least to modern speakers.

- (3) Gax le'e wina xa *mid eighteen hundreds.*

ga <u>x</u>	le'e		wina	<u>x</u> a	<i>mid</i>
ga <u>x</u>	la	= a = i'	= i	wina	= <u>x</u> = a <i>mid</i>
come	AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3		war	= ACC = D4	mid

*eighteen hundreds*  
*eighteen hundreds*  
 eighteen hundreds

'They came in the mid eighteen hundreds to make war.'

- (4) O'am gananaman hilu'swa'le' gaxe'e winasu' sa Balxwala.

o'am gananaman

o = 'm gananaman = an  
 so = VER young = 1.POSS

hilu'swa'le'

hilu's = wa'le' = e'  
 great.grandmother = DIST.PST = I3

gaxe'e

gax = a = i' = i  
 come = EMB = NMLZ = D3

winasu' sa Balxwala

wina -saw = s = a Balxwala  
 war -ACC.PASS = 3.POSS = D4 Nuxalk

'My great-grandmother was just a child when they were attacked by the Nuxalk.'

- (5) Gananam o'am ma'łagi'unxila.

gananam o'am ma'łagi'unxila  
 gananam o = 'm ma'łagi'u -nxila  
 young so = VER twelve -aged

'She was only twelve years old.'

- (6) Pařaxanti da axi lax Gwayasdam's.

pařaxanti da axi lax  
 pařa = xant = i = da ax = i la = x  
 potlatch = MOD = D3 = DET do = D3 PREP = ACC

Gwayasdam's  
 Gwayasdam's  
 Gilford

'Someone must have been giving a potlatch at Gilford.'

- (7) La'am kinami da ninaxwane' hi'lukwala laxa łasanoyi, sa gukwdzi.

la'am kinami da  
 la = 'm kinam = i = da  
 AUX = VER many = D3 = DET

ninaxwane' hi'lukwala laxa  
 Ci~ naxwane' hi'lukw -ala la = x = a  
 PL~ blanket added -STAT PREP = ACC = D4

łasanoyi sa gukwdzi  
 łasanoyi = s = a gukwdzi  
 outside = 3.POSS = D4 bighouse

'There were a lot of blankets lying in piles outside of the bighouse.'

- (8) He'am gwigilasa galo'le'.

he'am gwigilasa galo'le'  
 he = 'm gwi -(g)ila -'as -a galo'le'  
 be.D3=VER INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS-A olden.days

'That's what they did in the olden days.'

- (9) O'am [o'am axtsos] axtsu sanu'xw yiyakwima laxa  
 łasanoyi.

o'am axtsu sanu'xw  
 o = 'm ax -tsu =s =anu'xw  
 so=VER do -inside =INST=1.EXCL.POSS  
 yiyakwima laxa łasanoyi  
 Ci~ yakw -'ima la =x =a łasanoyi  
 PL~ give.gift-NMLZ PREP=ACC=D4 outside

'We just put our gifts down outside.'

- (10) I'axali dħidħidłagame's axanugwadłsimase's.

i'axali dħidħidłagame's  
 Ci~ ax -ala =i Ci~ Ci~ dħigam =e' =s  
 PL~ do -STAT=D3 PL~ PL~ name =I3 =3.POSS  
 axanugwadłsimase's  
 ax -nukw -ad =łsimas =e' =s  
 do -have -have=should =I3 =3.POSS

'The names of who they should belong to were on them.'

- (11) Lámis gaxi da Bálxwala winax Gwayásdam's.

lámis		gaxi	
la = 'm = (w)is		gax = i	
AUX = VER = and.so		come = D3	
da	Bálxwala	winax	Gwayásdam's
= da	Bálxwala	wina = x	Gwayásdam's
= DET	Nuxalk	war = ACC	Gilford

'And so the Nuxalk came to make war on Gilford.'

- (12) Nił le'e xas galu'ide'axa madzis lax gayu'wa'le'.

nił	le'e		xas
nił	la = a = i' = i		= xa = s
show	AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3		= CONN = INST
	galu'ide'axa		madzis
	galutł -x'id = a = i' = x = a		madzis
	steal -BEC = EMB = NMLZ = ACC = D4		Hamatsa.whistle
	lax	gayu'wa'le'	
	la = x	gayu' = wa'ł = e'	
	PREP = ACC	long.time = DIST.PST = I3	

'They (the Nuxalk) said that they (people at Gilford) had stolen the Hamatsa whistle a long time ago.'

- (13) Hemis lagił gaxa'.

hemis	lagił	gaxa'
he = 'm = (w)is	la -gił	gax = a'
be.D3 = VER = and.so	AUX-reason	come = I3

'That's why they came.'



- (14) Lamis kinami's lodlaname's kilax'idsawa'.

lamis                      kinami's  
 la = 'm = (w)is      kinam = (i)'s  
 AUX=VER=and.so    many = 3.REFL.POSS  
 lodlaname's                      kilax'idsawa'  
 lotł -anam = e' = s      kilak -x'id -saw = a'  
 obtain-NMLZ = I3 = 3.POSS    beat -BEC -ACC.PASS = I3

'And many lives were taken.'

- (15) Gaxmisanu'xw [he'] hilu'swa'le' duxwatlalax  
 gwigilase's.

gaxmisanu'xw  
 gax = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw  
 come = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL.POSS  
 hilu'swa'le'  
 hilu's                      = wa'ł = e'  
 great.grandmother = DIST.PST = I3

duxwatlalax  
 dukwat -al -a = x  
 see -CONT-A = ACC

gwigilase's  
 gwi -(g)ila -'as = e' = s  
 INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS = I3 = 3.POSS

'Our great-grandmother saw what they were doing.'

- (16) ṭs̄amx'i san ninaxwane' laxa da Bibalxwala  
bibibagwanam.

ṭs̄amx'i san

ṭs̄am -x'id = i = s = an  
point -BEC = D3 = INST = 1.POSS

ninaxwane' laxa

Ci~ naxwane' la = x̄ = a  
PL~ blanket PREP = ACC = D4

da Bibalxwala bibibagwanam

= da Ci~ Balxwala Ci~ Ci~ bagwanam  
= DET PL~ Nuxalk PL~ PL~ man

'She pointed out the blankets to the Nuxalk men.'

- (17) Lamisi da Bibalxwala dzalxw'i laxa ninaxwane'.

lamisi da Bibalxwala

la = 'm = (w)is = i = da Ci~ Balxwala  
AUX = VER = and.so = D3 = DET PL~ Nuxalk

dzalxw'i laxa ninaxwane'

dzalxw -x'id la = x̄ = a Ci~ naxwane'  
run -BEC PREP = ACC = D4 PL~ blanket

'Then the Nuxalk ran to the blankets.'

(18) Hilu's he dzalxw'i ka's le' wanx'ida.

hilu's he dzalxw'i

hilu's he dzalxw -x'id  
great.grandmother be.D3 run -BEC

ka's le' wanx'ida

ka = (i)'s la = a = i' wan -x'id -a  
PREP = 3.REFL.POSS go = EMB = NMLZ hide.self-BEC -A

'Great-grandmother ran away and hid.'

(19) Lamis lagił kwala ka la gwix'ida'as.

lamis lagił kwala ka la

la = 'm = (w)is la -gił kwala -a ka la  
AUX = VER = and.so AUX-reason alive -A PREP AUX

gwix'ida'as

gwi -x'id -a -'as  
INDEF-BEC -A -LOC.PASS

'That's the reason she's alive, because she did that.'

(20) Ķi'slaxanu'xw yulax lox xu ɣax'idalax.

<u>Ķi'slaxanu'xw</u>	<u>yulax</u>	<u>lox</u>	<u>xu</u>
(k)i's = lax = anu'xw NEG = HYP = 1.EXCL	yu = lax be.D2 = HYP	la = ux AUX = D2	xu if
<u>ɣax'idalax</u>			
<u>ɣak -x'id -a = lax</u> dead-BEC -A = HYP			

'We wouldn't be here if she had died.'<sup>5</sup>

(21) Ķayaxanu'xw xasa waladzi tangis lax Gwayasdam's.

<u>Ķayaxanu'xw</u>	<u>xasa</u>	<u>waladzi</u>
<u>Ķayax</u> = anu'xw wonder = 1.EXCL	= xa = s = a = CONN = INST = D4	walas -dzi big/very-AUG
<u>tangis</u>	<u>lax</u>	<u>Gwayasdam's</u>
<u>tank -is</u> bump-on.land	la = x PREP = ACC	<u>Gwayasdam's</u> Gilford

'We wondered about that big hill on Gilford.'

---

<sup>5</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby suggested adding to the sentence here as follows: Ķi'slaxanu'xw yulax lox xu ɣax'idalax xanu'xw hi'lu's. 'We wouldn't be here if our great-grandmother had died.'

(22) Lanaxw̄anu'x̄w h̄ukwax̄a lax̄ le'e k̄wisa.

lanaxw̄anu'x̄w		h̄ukwax̄a		lax̄
l̄a = naxwa	= anu'x̄w	h̄ukw -ax̄	-a	la = x̄
AUX = sometimes	= 1.EXCL	slide -down-A		PREP = ACC
le'e		k̄wisa		
l̄a = a	= i'	= i	k̄wis -a	
AUX = EMB	= NMLZ = D3		snow -A	

'We used to sled down there sometimes when it was snowing.'

(23) Om̄anu'x̄w hayulis he gwigila x̄a ts̄aw̄anx̄, ayax̄p̄as lax̄.

om̄anu'x̄w		hayulis		
o = 'm	= anu'x̄w	hayulis		
so = VER = 1.EXCL		continuously		
he	gwigila	x̄a		ts̄aw̄anx̄
he	gwi -(g)ila	= x̄ = a		ts̄aw̄anx̄
be.D3	INDEF-make/do	= ACC = D4		wintertime
	ayax̄p̄as	lax̄		
	ayax̄p̄as	la = x̄		
	have.fun	PREP = ACC		

'We always did that in the winter, had fun there.'

(24) Ałmisanu'xw k'olatłala heme'kanı'xw dđidđadłole'  
 kilax'idsu' sa Balxwala lax gayu'wa'le'.

<p>ałmisanu'xw</p> <p>ał = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw          late = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL</p> <p>heme'kanı'xw</p> <p>he = 'm = a = (i)k = anu'xw          be.D3 = VER = EMB = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS</p> <p>dđidđadłole'</p> <p>Ci~ dđidđadłola = e'          PL~ relative = I3</p> <p>sa</p> <p>=s = a          = 3.POSS = D4</p> <p>lax</p> <p>la = x          PREP = ACC</p>	<p>k'olatłala</p> <p>k'otłatł -al -a          know -CONT-A</p> <p>kilax'idsu'</p> <p>kilak -x'id -saŵ          beat/kill-BEC -ACC.PASS</p> <p>Balxwala</p> <p>Balxwala          Nuxalk</p> <p>gayu'wa'le'</p> <p>gayuł = wa'ł = e'          long.time = DIST.PST = I3</p>
--	---

'Later on we learned that it was our ancestors who were  
 killed by the Nuxalk there a long time ago.'

(25) W̄alas̄anu'x̄w ts̄ax̄alak̄ws lanaxwe'kanu'x̄w am̄la lax̄.

w̄alas̄anu'x̄w                      ts̄ax̄alak̄ws  
 w̄alas̄ = anu'x̄w              ts̄ax̄ala -kw = s  
 big/very = 1.EXCL          pain       -PART = INST

lanaxwe'kanu'x̄w

l̄a = naxwa = a = (i)k = anu'x̄w  
 AUX = sometimes = EMB = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS

am̄la lax̄

am̄la la = x̄  
 play    PREP = ACC

'We felt really bad that we used to play there.'

(26) Gax̄mi da bagwan̄am, m̄amāla, lax̄ Gwaȳasdam's.

gax̄mi                      da              bagwan̄am      m̄amāla  
 gax̄ = 'm = i              = da      bagwan̄am      m̄amāla  
 come = VER = D3        = DET      man              white.person

lax̄                      Gwaȳasdam's

la = x̄              Gwaȳasdam's  
 PREP = ACC      Gilford

'A man came, a white person, to Gilford.'

- (27) La'am ax'i sa bagwanam, gaxe's dzix'is, wladzi back hoe, lax amlasnaxwa.

la'am        ax'i        sa        bagwanam  
 la = 'm    ax -x'id    =s    =a    bagwanam  
 AUX=VER   do -BEC    =INST=D4    man

gaxe's                          dzix'is  
 gax = a    =i'        =s        dzik -x'id =s  
 come=EMB=NMLZ=3.POSS    dig -BEC =INST

wladzi            back    hoe  
 wlas -dzi        back    hoe  
 big    -AUG        back    hoe

lax                  amlasnaxwa  
 la = x        aml -al    -'as        =naxwa  
 PREP=ACC    play -CONT-LOC.PASS =sometimes

'They got a man to come and dig it out, with a big back hoe, where we used to play.'

- (28) Ga'am ni'idi da xixaxdzikas.

ga'am            ni'idi            da  
 ga = 'm    nił -x'id =i        =da  
 be.D1=VER   show-BEC    =D3        =DET

xixaxdzikas  
 Ci~ xak =dzi =kas  
 PL~ bone =AUG=INTENS

'Lots of bones were found there.'



(29) La'am k̑a xa k̑ik̑inamdzikas x̑ixak̑.

la'am k̑a xa

la = 'm k̑a = x̑ = a  
AUX=VER find =ACC=D4

k̑ik̑inamdzikas x̑ixak̑

Ci~ k̑inam = dzi = kas Ci~ x̑ak̑  
PL~ many = AUG=INTENS PL~ bone

'They found lots and lots of big bones.'

(30) X̑anu'x̑w d̑id̑id̑ad̑ole'x'ide'x̑ gayud lax̑ G̑wayasdam's.

x̑anu'x̑w

= x̑ = anu'x̑w  
= ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS

d̑id̑id̑ad̑ole'x'ide'x̑

Ci~ d̑id̑ad̑ola = e' -x'id = a = i' = x̑  
PL~ relative = I3 -BEC = EMB = NMLZ = ACC

gayud lax̑ G̑wayasdam's  
gay -u -x'id la = x̑ G̑wayasdam's  
originate-off-BEC PREP=ACC Gilford

'It was our ancestors who were from Gilford.'

(31) K̑inamdzikas.

k̑inamdzikas

k̑inam = dzi = kas  
many = AUG=INTENS

'There were a lot.'

- (32) Omis la axilasawi da kayagidzas, omanu'xw la kayagidzasila sux.

omis                      la              axilasawi  
o = 'm = (w)is      la      ax -(g)ila      -saw      = i  
so = VER = and.so      AUX      do -make/do-ACC.PASS = D3  
da              kayagidzas      omanu'xw  
= da              kayagidzas      o = 'm = anu'xw  
= DET              soccer.field      so = VER = 1.EXCL  
la              kayagidzasila              sux  
la              kayagidzas -(g)ila              = s      = ux  
AUX              soccer.field -make/do              = INST = D2

'A soccer field was made, we just made a soccer field out of it.'

- (33) I'ax'exsda sa xixak.

i'ax'exsda              sa              xixak  
Ci~ ax -'exsd -a      = s      = a      Ci~ xak  
PL~ do -want -A      = INST = D4      PL~ bone

'They wanted to work with the bones.'

- (34) La'am ta'ofsu' laxux da UBC-xtla.

la'am              ta'ofsu'              laxux              da  
la = 'm      ta'of -saw              la = x      = ux      = da  
AUX = VER      bring-ACC.PASS      PREP = ACC = D2      = DET

UBC-xtla  
UBC -(x)tla  
UBC -be.called

'They were brought to UBC.'

(35) Ax'exsdan kan le' duxw'idax.

ax'exsdan      kan  
ax -'exsd = an    ka = an  
do -want = 1      PREP = 1.POSS

le'  
la = a = i'      duxw-x'id = x  
AUX = EMB = NMLZ    see -BEC = ACC

'I want to go see them.'

(36) Ki'san kotłala xu hextse'am lax le'.

ki'san      kotłala      xu    hextse'am  
(k)i's = an    kotł -al -a    xu    he = x'tse = 'm  
NEG = 1      know-CONT-A    if      be.D3 = still = VER

lax<sup>6</sup>      le'  
la = x    la = a = i'  
PREP = ACC    AUX = EMB = NMLZ

'I don't know if they're still there now.'

(37) Hiwaxa kasawan [hiłwa't] hiłwałwa'te'.

hiwaxa      kasawan  
hiwaxa      ka -saw = an  
never      find-ACC.PASS = 1.POSS

hiłwałwa'te'  
hiłwa't      = wa't = e'  
great.grandmother = DIST.PST = I3

'They didn't find my great-grandmother.'

<sup>6</sup>Alternatively, this could be =lax 'HYP'.

(38) Olakal kotłala ka's wane'.

olakal kotłala

olakal kotł -al -a  
truly know-CONT-A

ka's wane'

ka = (i)'s wan = a = i'  
PREP = 3.REFL.POSS hide.self = EMB = NMLZ

'She really knew how to hide.'

(39) Hiwaxanu'xw watła widi wana.

hiwaxanu'xw watła widi wana

hiwax = anu'xw watł -a wi(d) = i wan -a  
never = 1.EXCL ask -A where = D3 hide.self-A

'We never asked where she hid.'

- (40)  $\acute{K}i'slax\underline{a}nu'xw$   $hayu\underline{l}alax$   $lux$   $xu$   $\acute{k}ilax'id\underline{s}u'lax$ ,  $\underline{x}anu'xw$   
 $hilu'swa'le'$ .

$\acute{k}i'slax\underline{a}nu'xw$                        $hayu\underline{l}alax$                        $lux$                        $xu$   
 $(\acute{k})i's = lax = \underline{a}nu'xw$      $hayu\underline{l} = lax$      $la = ux$      $xu$   
 NEG = HYP = 1.EXCL    continue = HYP    AUX = D2    if  
 $\acute{k}ilax'id\underline{s}u'lax$      $\underline{x}anu'xw$   
 $\acute{k}ilak -x'id -sa\underline{w} = lax = x = \underline{a}nu'xw$   
 beat/kill-BEC -ACC.PASS = HYP    = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS  
 $hilu'swa'le'$   
 $hilu's = wa'le = e'$   
 great.grandmother = DIST.PST = I3

'We wouldn't be here if she was killed there, our great-grandmother.'

- (41)  $Eman$ .

$eman$   
 $eman$   
 amen  
 'Amen.'

### 3.4 Editors' Note

This story recounts one of the last inter-First Nation wars of the post-contact era. Ruby's great-grandmother, who features in several other stories in this volume, was one of the conflict's few survivors. The same event is recounted independently in another resource: Alfred, A., Reid, M. J., & Sewid-Smith, D. (2004). *Paddling to where I stand: Agnes Alfred, Qwiqwasutinuxw noblewoman*. Vancouver: UBC Press.



## CHAPTER 4

# Tṣakago Bo't Chicago Boat

### 4.1 Tṣakago Bo't

Olanaxwa'am hayulisan umpwa'te' kakadaxwsila xa kalamas, waxme kwal'yakwi da kalamas oxse'am kakadaxwsilax. Lam̄i n̄amp̄ana la lax hiła xi's bo't laxa pawela lax Gwayasdam's. Lam̄is dukwala xa waladzi bo't gax laxa pawela. Lam̄i da bagwanam laxa walas bo'tdziya' n̄api sa danam laxan ump. Lam̄isan ump dadala xa danam. Lam̄isan ump watlax: "Widas gayutda'xwi?" Lam̄isi da bagwanam nika: "Tṣakago, gayutlanu'xw lax Tṣakago." Lam̄isan umpwa'te' o'am edaka sa danam, o'mis la tṣaka xa laxa d̄amsxi. "K̄ikilaxp̄axda'xwas! K̄ikilaxp̄axda'xwas!<sup>1</sup> Haga kwidax!" O'am la kayaxi da bagwanam, la edaki da danam lax. O'man umpwa'te' edaka laxi's bo't.

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<sup>1</sup>Both of the 'k' segments in this word are pronounced as a glottal stop.

## 4.2 Chicago Boat

My father used to always read the newspaper; even when it was old he still read it. So one time he went to the wharf to work on his boat on Gilford Island. He saw a big boat coming in to the wharf. A man in that huge yacht threw my father a rope. My father caught the rope. And then my father asked him, "Where are you guys from?" Then the man said, "Chicago, we're from Chicago." Then my father just let go of the rope, he just threw it away into the ocean. "Murderers! Murderers! Get away from here!" he said. The guy was so surprised when the rope came back to him. Then my father just went back to his boat.



### 4.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Olanaxwa'am hayulisan umpwa'te' kakadaɁwsila xa kalamas, waxme kɁwalyakwi da kalamas oxse'am kakadaɁwsilax.

olanaxwa'am

hayulisan

ola = naxwa = 'm  
true = sometimes = VER

hayulis = an  
continuously = 1.POSS

umpwa'te'

kakadaɁwsila

ump = wa't = e'  
father = DIST.PST = I3

kakadaɁwsila  
read

xa

kalamas

waxme

= x = a  
= ACC = D4

kalamas  
newspaper

wax = 'm = a = i  
MOD = VER = EMB = D3

kɁwalyakwi

da

kalamas

kɁwalyakw = i  
elderly = D3

= da  
= DET

kalamas  
newspaper

oxse'am

kakadaɁwsilax

oxse = 'm  
still = VER

kakadaɁwsila = x  
read = ACC

'My father used to always read the newspaper, even when it was old he still read it.'

- (2) Lami nampana la lax hiła xi's bo't laxa pawela lax Gwayasdam's.

lami	nampana	la	lax	
la = 'm = i	nam -pan	-a	la	la = x
AUX = VER = D3	one -occurrence-A		go	PREP = ACC
hiła	xi's	bo't	laxa	
hił -a	= x = (i)'s	bo't	la = x = a	
repair-A	= ACC = 3.REFL.POSS	boat	PREP = ACC = D4	
pawela	lax	Gwayasdam's		
pawela	la = x	Gwayasdam's		
wharf	PREP = ACC	Gilford.Island		

'So one time he went to the wharf to work on his boat on Gilford Island.'

- (3) Lamis dukwala xa waladzi bo't gax laxa pawela.

lamis	dukwala	xa		
la = 'm = (w)is	dukw -al	-a	= x = a	
AUX = VER = and.so	see -CONT-A		= ACC = D4	
waladzi	bo't	gax	laxa	pawela
walas -dzi	bo't	gax	la = x = a	pawela
big -AUG	boat	come	PREP = ACC = D4	wharf

'He saw a big boat coming in to the wharf.'

- (4) Lami da bagwanam laxa walas bo'tdziya' napi sa danam  
laxan ump.

lami da bagwanam laxa  
la = 'm = i = da bagwanam la = x = a  
AUX = VER = D3 = DET man PREP = ACC = D4

walas bo'tdziya'  
walas bo't -dzi = a'  
big/very boat -AUG = I3

napi sa  
nap -x'id = s = a  
throw-BEC = INST = DET

danam laxan ump  
danam la = x = an ump  
rope PREP = ACC = 1.POSS father

'A man in that huge yacht threw my father a rope.'

- (5) Lamisan ump dadala xa danam.

lamisan ump  
la = 'm = (w)is = an ump  
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS father

dadala xa danam  
dada -la = x = a danam  
catch -CONT = ACC = D4 rope

'My father caught the rope.'

(6) Lámisan ump watłax, "Widas gayu'lda'xwi?"

- a. lámisan                      ump    watłax  
lá = 'm = (w)is = an      ump    watł -a = x  
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS    father    ask    -A = ACC

'And then my father asked him,'

- b. widas                      gayu'lda'xwi  
wí = d    = s    gayutł    = (x)da'xw = i  
WH = DET = 2    originate = group      = D3

"Where are you guys from?"

(7) Lámisi da bagwanam nika: "Tsakago, gayutłanu'xw lax Tsakago."

- a. lámisi                      da      bagwanam      níka  
lá = 'm = (w)is = i      = da    bagwanam      ník -a  
AUX = VER = and.so = D3    = DET    man                      say -A

'Then the man said,'

- b. Tsakago      gayu'lda'xwi                      lax  
Tsakago      gay      -utł    -(x)da'xw = i      la    = x  
Chicago      originate-from = group      = D3    PREP = ACC

Tsakago  
Tsakago  
Chicago

"Chicago, we're from Chicago."

- (8)  $\text{Lámisan umpwá'le' o'am edaka sa danam, o'mis la tsaka xa laxa damsxi.}$

$\text{lámisan}$		$\text{umpwá'le'}$	
$\text{lá} = 'm = (w)is = an$ AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS		$\text{ump} = \text{wá'í} = e'$ father = DIST.PST = I3	
$\text{o'am}$	$\text{edaka}$	$\text{sa}$	
$\text{o} = 'm$ so = VER	$\text{edak} -a$ return-A	$= s = a$ = INST = DET	
$\text{danam}$	$\text{o'mis}$	$\text{la}$	$\text{tsaka}$
$\text{danam}$ rope	$\text{o} = 'm = (w)is$ so = VER = and.so	$\text{lá}$ AUX	$\text{tsak} -a$ throw.away-A
$\text{xa}$	$\text{laxa}$	$\text{damsxi}$	
$= \underline{x} = a$ = ACC = D4	$\text{la} = \underline{x} = a$ PREP = ACC = D4	$\text{damsxi}$ ocean	

'Then my father just let go of the rope, he just threw it away into the ocean.'

- (9) “ $\text{Kikilaxpaxda'xwas!}$ ”

$\text{kikilaxpaxda'xwas}$
$\text{Ci} \sim \text{kilak} -\text{pa} = (\text{x})\text{da'xw} = \text{s}$ $\text{PL} \sim \text{beat.up/kill-RECIP} = \text{group} = 2$
“Murderers!”

(10) “Kikilaxpaxda'xwas!”

kikilaxpaxda'xwas

Ci~ kilak -pa = (x)da'xw = s  
 PL~ beat.up/kill-RECIP = group = 2

“Murderers!”

(11) “Haga kwidax!”

haga kwidax

ha = ga kwidax  
 go = IMP scam

“Get away from here!”

(12) O'am la kayaxi da bagwanam, la edaki da danam lax.

o'am la kayaxi da bagwanam la

o = 'm la kayax = i = da bagwanam la  
 so = VER AUX surprised = D3 = DET man AUX

edaki da danam lax

edak = i = da danam la = x  
 return = D3 = DET rope PREP = ACC

‘The guy was so surprised when the rope came back to him.’

(13) Oṃaṇ umpwa'ṭe' edaka laxi's bo't.

oṃaṇ		umpwa'ṭe'	
o = 'm = an		ump = wa'ṭ = e'	
so = VER = 1.POSS		father = DIST.PST = I3	
edaka	laxi's		bo't
edaka	la = x = (i)'s		bo't
return	PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS		boat

'Then my father just went back to his boat.'

#### 4.4 Editors' Note

Chicago Boat is intended to be a hilarious anecdote, told to Ruby by those who knew her father fondly. In order to understand the humour of the story, one needs to understand its historical context. The story takes place in 1930s, when the newspaper headlines were full of stories of Al Capone and the violence plaguing the United States during the prohibition. Stating that Ruby's father read all the newspapers in the first line of the story is meant to highlight this context as a central theme of this story. When people on a yacht arrive in the tiny fishing village of Gilford Island to greet Ruby's father, claiming to be from that same Chicago the newspapers keep talking about, he reacts as if the newcomers must be mixed up with the bootlegging and gangs of the time. This is why Ruby's dad yells "Murderers!". The humour of the story is fully evident in its last line, where Ruby's dad simply returns to what he was doing as if the stunned folk on the yacht had never existed. This leaves the reader to wonder if he truly believed they were gangsters and didn't want to take any chances, or if he was just messing with some hapless foreigners. Whatever the case, this

## Tsakago Bo't

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story is recounted to highlight the wily personality of a man who was fondly loved.







Figure 4.1: Ruby and family in front of their green house in Kingcome  
Photo courtesy of Jonathan Janzen and Ruby Dawson Cranmer

## CHAPTER 5

# Gukwałas

## Living Places

### 5.1 Gukwałas

Hemānu'xw olākāl gukwad axilax lax Gwayi. Hemānu'xw umpwa'le' dławī's tsitsatsaya axila xa wāladzi gukwa', łanxstu. La'am axilaxda'xw xa gukw ke'es tsaya laxanu'xw atłanoyi. Hemānu'xw gukw nami.

Lanaxwanu'xw lax Gwayasdam's nałnapana. Gukwnukwańxa'anu'xw lax tłuma da kwalyakwa'. Lanaxwana laxda'xw tikaxa. He'am ax'ase' san gigagampwa'le' lanaxwa'amānu'xw dukwax. Wālasanu'xw ayaxpasanu'xw naxwa dławān gigagamp dławān hilu's, Wayutła.

He'amdłan ax'exsda kan yakantamase' xan lax Gayuxw lanaxwe'kanu'xw la xa da hi'anx. Gukwnuxwa'amxa'anu'xw lax, Dzapestła. Lanaxwe'axan gukw ax'asa' Dzapani lanaxwe'idi kala xa cannery. Hemisan mayudłami Dzapēs dławān tsaya. Higałanu'xw mayudłam lax. Wālasnaxwanu'xw ayaxpas lax Gayuxw, Gayuxwtła.

Lanaxwamānu'xw duxw'i xan wakwa. He<sup>1</sup> kwixisadi ax'ase's, heka xa da ax'ase' sa Tsitsanina, kasadzu. Lanaxwanu'xw la kasadzu kanu'xw la duxw'idax, duxw'i xan anis, i'anis dlawan hilu's, dlawan kwal'axwagawe'<sup>2</sup> wakwa. Walasanu'xw la ayaxpas le'kanu'xw kasa laxa da kasadzu. Kinami da wap laxa bahe'. Naxwanu'xw o'am dukwalax gwigilase' sa wap.

I'axalanaxwanu'xw abamp dlawi's wiwakwa laxa cannery. Gayulanu'xw wiwakwa, lanaxwaxda'am 12 years old le' i'axala lax. Tlumadlan gananam kan i'axale'. Omanu'xw hatala dlawan wakwas, wiwakwas.<sup>3</sup>

Gukola'amxa'anu'xw ax'i kalxwan wakwa ke'es li-logging. Kinami da li-logging camp i'ax'asda'xwas, lanaxwamis omi da gukw lasgame'xda'xwux. Lanaxwan wakwa la ugwaka dlawi ka's heme'e hamksila ke'e. Walasanu'xw ix'ak xa da gukola. Lanaxwaman dlawla'gas lax tlumadla hatalkwa. Nampana le', xa didanam, laxa da titisam, dlawi da kwax. La'am bo. Lami da gukw la xatlagila laxa wap bo sa ax'astsimase's. Walas kaf'idan wakwa. Higa'am dlawan tsaya, tsayagawe'. Hil'axas gaxe'e da bibagwanam, la'am edakas laxi's ax'astsimas. Muwanu'xw gukw: Kingcome, Gilford, Gayuxw dlawi da gukola.

## 5.2 Living Places

Our main house they built in Kingcome. It was my father and his brothers who built that big house, the green one. They also built a lean-to for his younger brother in the back. That was one of our houses.

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<sup>1</sup>This word is spoken very quietly.

<sup>2</sup>At the end of this word there is a ts sound which seems to be excrescent.

<sup>3</sup>Ruby laughs while saying this line.

Once in a while we'd go to Gilford Island. We had a house there too that was really old. They [the houses on Gilford] were just about falling down. That's where my grandparents lived, we used to go see them. We all had lots of fun with my grandparents and my great-granny, who was called Wáyuł.

But I'd like to talk about the cannery at Knight Inlet, about when we used to go there in the summertime. We also had a house there, in the place they called Dzapes. My house was in the area that had been Japanese, from when they were kicked out of the cannery. Dzapes was where I was born, as well as my younger brother. We were the only ones who were born there. We had a lot of fun at the cannery in Knight Inlet, Gayuxw as it was called.

We used to go and see my older sister there. Her place was far away, past the place where the Chinese lived, the boardwalk. We used to go there on the boardwalk to see them, see my aunt, aunts and my great-granny and oldest sister. We had a lot of fun when we walked on the boardwalk. There was a lot of water underneath. We'd all just watch what the water was doing.

Our mother worked with her siblings at the cannery. Our older siblings were there a long time, they were 12 years old when they were working there. But I was too young to work. We just disobeyed my older sister, older sisters.

We also got a houseboat, which my older brother bought to go logging. There were lots of logging camps for them to work at, so the house would just follow them. My older sister went along also to cook for them. We really liked the houseboat. But sometimes my niece there was really bratty. One time when—it was the ropes—there on the rocks, or there on a tree, they came loose. And the house drifted out a little into the water and away from where it was supposed to be. My older sister got really scared. She was there alone with my youngest sister. It was lucky that the men came and brought it back to where it belonged.

So, we had four houses: Kingome, Gilford, Knight's Inlet, and the houseboat.

### 5.3 Grammatical Analysis

(1) Herḡanu'xw olákal gukwad axilax lax Gwayi.

herḡanu'xw		olákal		gukwad
he = 'm = anu'xw		olákal		gukw -ad
be.D3 = VER = 1.EXCL.POSS		truly		house -have
		axilax		lax
				Gwayi
ax -(g)ila = x		la = x		Gwayi
do -make/do = ACC		PREP = ACC		Kingcome

'Our main house they built in Kingcome.'

- (2) Heṃṃanu'xw umpwa'le' dłaṃwi's tsitsatsaya axila xa  
 wladzi gukwa', łanxstu.

heṃṃanu'xw

he = 'm = anu'xw  
 be.D3 = VER = 1.EXCL.POSS

umpwa'le'

ump = wa'ł = e'  
 father = DIST.PST = I3

dłaṃwi's

dłaṃ = (i)'s  
 with = 3.REFL.POSS

tsitsatsaya

Ci~ tsatsaya  
 PL~ younger.sibling.PL

axila

ax -(g)ila  
 do -make/do

xa

= x = a  
 = ACC = D4

wladzi

walas -dzi  
 big/very-AUG

gukwa'

gukw = a'  
 house = I3

łanxstu

łanxstu  
 green

'It was my father and his brothers who built that big house, the green one.'

- (3) La'am axilaxda'xw xa gukw ke'es tsaya laxanu'xw atfano'yi.

la'am	axilaxda'xw	xa
la = 'm AUX=VER	ax -(g)ila = (x)da'xw do -make/do = group	= x = a = ACC = D4
gukw	ke'es	tsaya
gukw house	ka = (i)'s PREP = 3.REFL.POSS	tsaya younger.sibling
	laxanu'xw	atfano'yi
	la = x = anu'xw PREP = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS	atfano'yi back.of.house

'They also built a lean-to for his younger brother in the back.'

- (4) Hermanu'xw gukw nam'i.

hermanu'xw	gukw	nam'i
he = 'm = anu'xw be.D3 = VER = 1.EXCL.POSS	gukw house	nam = i one = D3

'That was one of our houses.'

- (5) Lanaxwanu'xw lax Gwayasdām's nahnampāna.

lanaxwanu'xw	lax	Gwayasdām's
la = naxwa = anu'xw go = sometimes = 1.EXCL	la = x PREP = ACC	Gwayasdām's Gilford.Island
	nahnampāna	
	nahnampāna	
	sometimes	

'Once in a while we'd go to Gilford Island.'



(6) Gukwnukwa<sub>m̄</sub>x̄a'anu'x̄w lax̄ t̄uma da k̄wa<sub>l̄</sub>ȳakwa'.

gukwnukwa<sub>m̄</sub>x̄a'anu'x̄w

lax̄

gukw -nukw = 'm = x̄a = anu'x̄w

house -have = VER = ADD.FOC = 1.EXCL

la = x̄  
PREP = ACC

t̄uma da k̄wa<sub>l̄</sub>ȳakwa'

t̄uma = da k̄wa<sub>l̄</sub>ȳakw = a'  
really = DET grown.old = I3

'We had a house there too that was really old.'

(7) Lanaxwama<sub>l̄</sub>x̄da'x̄w tik̄ax̄a.<sup>4</sup>

lanaxwama<sub>l̄</sub>x̄da'x̄w

la = naxwa = 'm = 1̄ = a = (x)da'x̄w  
go = sometimes = VER = REPORT = A = group

tik̄ax̄a

tik̄ -ax̄ -a  
fall -down-A

'They [the houses on Gilford] were just about falling down.'

<sup>4</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby suggested modifying this line as follows: Lanaxwama'as o'am tik̄ax̄a. 'They were just just about falling down.'

- (8) He'am ax'ase' san gigagampwa'te' lanaxwa'amanu'xw dukwax.

he'am	ax'ase'		
he = 'm	ax -'as	= e'	
be.D3 = VER	do -LOC.PASS = I3		
san		gigagampwa'te'	
= s	= an	Ci~ gagamp	= wa't = e'
= 3.POSS	= 1.POSS	PL~ grandparent	= DIST.PST = I3
lanaxwa'amanu'xw		dukwax	
la = naxwa	= 'm = anu'xw	dukw -a = x	
go = sometimes = VER = 1.EXCL		see -A = ACC	

'That's where my grandparents lived, we used to go see them.'

- (9) Walasanu'xw ayaxpasanu'xw naxwa dławan gigagamp dławan hilu's, Wayutła.

walasanu'xw	ayaxpasanu'xw	naxwa
walas = anu'xw	ayaxpas = anu'xw	naxwa
big/very = 1.EXCL	have.fun = 1.EXCL	every
dławan	gigagamp	dławan
dław = an	Ci~ gagamp	dław = an
with = 1.POSS	PL~ grandparent	with = 1.POSS
hilu's	Wayutła	
hilu's	Wayut -(x)tła	
great.grandmother	Wayut -be.called	

'We all had lots of fun with my grandparents and my great-granny, who was called Wayut.'

- (10) He'amdłan ax'exsda kan yakantamase' xan lax Gayuxw lanaxwe'kanu'xw la xa da hi'anx.

he'amdłan                      ax'exsda              kan  
 he = 'm = dła = an      ax -'exsd -a      ka = an  
 be.D3=VER=but =1      do -want -A      PREP=1.POSS

yakantamase'                      xan  
 yakantamas = a = i'              = x = an  
 speak.about = EMB=NMLZ      = ACC=1.POSS

lax                      Gayuxw  
 la = x              Gayuxw  
 PREP=ACC      cannery.at.Knight.Inlet

lanaxwe'kanu'xw  
 la = naxwa = a = (i)k = anu'xw  
 AUX=sometimes=EMB=V1 =1.EXCL.POSS

la xa                      da              hi'anx  
 la = x = a = da      hi'anx  
 go =ACC=D4 =DET summertime

'But I'd like to talk about the cannery at Knight Inlet, about when we used to go there in the summertime.'

- (11) Gukwnuxwa'amxa'anu'xw lax, Dzapestła.

gukwnuxwa'amxa'anu'xw                      lax  
 gukw -nukw -a = 'm = xa              = anu'xw      la = x  
 house -have -A =VER=ADD.FOC=1.EXCL      PREP=ACC

Dzapestła  
 Dzapes -(x)tła  
 Dzapes -be.called

'We also had a house there, in the place they called Dzapes.'

- (12) Lanaxwe'axan gukw ax'asa' Dzapani lanaxwe'idi kala xa  
*cannery.*

lanaxwe'axan

la = naxwa = xa = an  
 AUX = sometimes = ADD.FOC = 1.POSS

gukw	ax'asa'		Dzapani
gukw	ax -'as	= a'	Dzapani
house	do -LOC.PASS = I3		Japanese

lanaxwe'idi

la = naxwa = a = i' -x'id = i  
 AUX = sometimes = EMB = NMLZ-BEC = D3

kala		xa	cannery
ka	-la	= x = a	cannery
kicked.out(?) <sup>5</sup>	-CONT	= ACC = D4	cannery

'My house was in the area that had been Japanese, from  
 when they were kicked out of the cannery.'

---

<sup>5</sup>When this line was read back to Ruby several months after the story was recorded, the word kala was unfamiliar. It's translation is unknown but is guessed at here based on the meaning of the sentence as a whole. Ruby also offered the following alternative phrase to describe this part of the story: Lax'ida Dzidzabani ki's weł edaka ka'e da xumala. Omisanu'xw la lołax gigukwas. 'The Japanese couldn't go back there because of the conflict. So we just got their houses.'



(16) Lanaxwamānu'xw duḵw'i xan wakwa.

lanaxwamānu'xw

la = naxwa = 'm = anu'xw  
 go = sometimes = VER = 1.EXCL

duḵw'i xan wakwa

duḵw -x'id = x = an wakwa  
 see -BEC = ACC = 1.POSS older.sibling

'We used to go and see my older sister.'

(17) He kwixisadi ax'ase's, heka xa da ax'ase' sa Tsitsanina, kasadzu.

he kwixisadi ax'ase's  
 he kwixisad<sup>6</sup> = i ax -'as = e' = s  
 be.D3 far.away = D3 do -LOC.PASS = I3 = 3.POSS

heka xa da ax'ase'  
 hek -a = x = a = da ax -'as = e'  
 pass -A = ACC = D4 = DET do -LOC.PASS = I3

sa Tsitsanina kasadzu  
 = s = a Ci~ Tsanina kasadzu  
 = 3.POSS = D4 PL~ Chinese boardwalk

'Her place was far away, past the place where the Chinese lived, the boardwalk.'

---

<sup>6</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby suggested replacing kwixisad with kwisala 'far away'.

- (18) Lanaxw<sub>an</sub>u'xw la kasadzu kanu'xw la duxw'idax, duxw'i xan anis, i'anis dławan hilu's, dławan kwal'axwagawe' wakwa.

lanaxw<sub>an</sub>u'xw

la = naxwa = anu'xw  
 AUX = sometimes = 1.EXCL

la kasadzu kanu'xw la

la kasadzu ka = anu'xw la  
 go boardwalk PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS go

duxw'idax duxw'i xan

duk<sub>w</sub> -x'id = x duk<sub>w</sub> -x'id = x = an  
 see -BEC = ACC see -BEC = ACC = 1.POSS

anis i'anis dławan

anis Ci~ anis dław = an  
 aunt PL~ aunt with = 1.POSS

hilu's dławan

hilu's dław = an  
 great.grandmother with = 1.POSS

kwal'axwagawe' wakwa

kwal'akw -gawe' wakwa  
 grown.old -most older.sibling

'We used to go there on the boardwalk to see them, see my aunt, aunts and my great-granny and oldest sister.'

- (19) Wálasanu'xw la ayaxpas le'kanu'xw kasa laxa da kasadzu.

wálasanu'xw      la      ayaxpas  
wálas = anu'xw      la      ayaxpas  
big/very = 1.EXCL      AUX      have.fun

le'kanu'xw  
la = a = (i)k = anu'xw  
AUX = EMB = V1      = 1.EXCL.POSS

kasa      laxa      da      kasadzu  
kas -a      la      = x      = a      = da      kasadzu  
walk-A      PREP = ACC = D4      = DET      boardwalk

'We had a lot of fun when we walked on the boardwalk.'

- (20) Kinami da wap laxa bañe'.

kinami      da      wap      laxa      bañe'  
kinam = i      = da      wap      la      = x      = a      bañ = e'  
many = D3      = DET      water      PREP = ACC = D4      under = I3

'There was a lot of water underneath.'

- (21) Naxwanu'xw o'am dukwax gwigilase' sa wap.

naxwanu'xw      o'am      dukwax  
naxwa = anu'xw      o = 'm      dukw -ała = x  
every = 1.EXCL      so = VER      see      -STAT = ACC

gwigilase'      sa      wap  
gwi -(g)ila -'as      = e'      = s      = a      wap  
INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS = I3      = 3.POSS = D4      water

'We'd all just watch what the water was doing.'



- (22) I'axalanaxwānu'xw abamp dławī's [sis, dławānu'xw tsitsa] wiwakwa laxa cannery.

i'axalanaxwānu'xw

i'axala = naxwa = anu'xw  
work = sometimes = 1.EXCL.POSS

abamp dławī's

abamp dław = (i)'s  
mother with = 3.REFL.POSS

wiwakwa laxa cannery

Ci~ wakwa la = x = a cannery  
PL~ older.sibling PREP = ACC = D4 cannery

'Our mother worked with her siblings at the cannery.'

- (23) Gayuḷānu'xw wiwakwa, lanaxwaxda'am 12 years old le' i'axala lax.

gayuḷānu'xw

gayuḷ = anu'xw  
long.time = 1.EXCL.POSS

wiwakwa

Ci~ wakwa  
PL~ older.sibling

lanaxwaxda'am 12 years

la = naxwa = xd = 'm 12 years  
AUX = sometimes = REC.PST = VER 12 years

old le' i'axala lax

old la = a = i' i'axala la = x  
old AUX = EMB = NMLZ work PREP = ACC

'Our older siblings were there a long time, they were 12 years old when they were working there.'

(24) Tłumadłan gananam kan i'axale'.

tłumadłan	gananam	kan
tłuma = dła = an	gananam	ka = an
really = but = 1	young	PREP = 1.POSS

i'axale'  
 i'axal = a = i'  
 work = EMB = NMLZ

'But I was too young to work.'

(25) Omanu'xw hatała dławwan wakwas, wiwakwas.

omanu'xw	hatała	
o = 'm = anu'xw	hatal -a	
so = VER = 1.EXCL	disobey-A	
dławwan	wakwas	wiwakwas
dław = an	wakwa	Ci~ wakwa
with = 1.POSS	older.sibling	PL~ older.sibling

'We just disobeyed my older sister, older sisters.'

- (26) Gukola'amxa'anuxw ax'i kalxwan wakwa ke'es  
li-logging.

gukola'amxa'anuxw

gukola = 'm = xa = anuxw  
house.boat = VER = ADD.FOC1.EXCL.POSS

ax'i kalxwan

ax -x'id kalxw = an  
do -BEC buy = 1.POSS

wakwa ke'es li-logging

wakwa ka = (i)'s Ci~ logging  
older.sibling PREP = 3.REFL.POSS PL~ logging

'We also got a houseboat, my older brother bought it to go logging.'

- (27) *K*inami da li-logging camp i'ax'asda'xwas, lanaxwamis  
omi da gukw lasgame'xda'xwux.

<i>k</i> inami	da	li-logging
<i>k</i> inam = i	= da	Ci~ logging
many = D3	= DET	PL~ logging
camp i'ax'asda'xwas		
camp	i'ax -'as	= (x)da'xw = s
camp	work-LOC.PASS = group	= 3.POSS
lanaxwamis		omi
la	= naxwa	= 'm = (w)is
AUX = sometimes	= VER = and.so	so = VER = D3
da	gukw	lasgame'xda'xwux
= da	gukw	lasgame' = (x)da'xw = ux
= DET	house	follow = group = D2

'There were lots of logging camps for them to work at,  
so the house would just follow them.'

- (28) Lanaxw<sub>an</sub> w<sub>a</sub>k<sub>w</sub>a la ugwa<sub>ka</sub> d<sub>l</sub>w<sub>i</sub> k<sub>a</sub>'s h<sub>e</sub>m<sub>e</sub>'e [h<sub>a</sub>m<sub>k</sub>si, h<sub>a</sub>m, h<sub>a</sub>m<sub>a</sub>p] h<sub>a</sub>m<sub>k</sub>sila k<sub>e</sub>'e.

lanaxw<sub>an</sub> w<sub>a</sub>k<sub>w</sub>a la

l<sub>a</sub> = naxwa = an w<sub>a</sub>k<sub>w</sub>a la  
AUX = sometimes = 1.POSS older.sibling go

ugwa<sub>ka</sub> d<sub>l</sub>w<sub>i</sub> k<sub>a</sub>'s

ugwa<sub>ka</sub> d<sub>l</sub>w<sub>i</sub> = i k<sub>a</sub> = (i)'s  
also with = D3 PREP = 3.REFL.POSS

h<sub>e</sub>m<sub>e</sub>'e

h<sub>e</sub> = 'm = a' = i' = i  
be.D3 = VER = EMB = NMLZ = D3

h<sub>a</sub>m<sub>k</sub>sila k<sub>e</sub>'e

h<sub>a</sub>m<sub>k</sub>sila k<sub>a</sub> = i  
make.food PREP = D3

'My older sister went along also to cook for them.'

- (29) W<sub>a</sub>las<sub>anu</sub>'x<sub>w</sub> ix'ak x<sub>a</sub> da gukola.

w<sub>a</sub>las<sub>anu</sub>'x<sub>w</sub> ix'ak x<sub>a</sub> da gukola

w<sub>a</sub>las = anu'x<sub>w</sub> ix'ak = x = a = da gukola  
big/very = 1.EXCL like = ACC = D4 = DET house.boat

'We really liked the houseboat.'

(30) Lanaxwamān [dław] dławła'gas lax tľumadła haťalkwa.

lanaxwamān	dławła'gas	lax
lā = naxwa AUX = sometimes = VER = 1.POSS	= 'm = an neice	dławła'gas PREP = ACC
tľumadła	haťalkwa	
tľuma = dła really = but	haťalkw -a bratty -A	

'But sometimes my neice there was really bratty.'

(31) Ņamḅana le', xa didanam, laxa da tiťisam, dławi da kwax.

ńamḅana	le'	xa
ńam -ḅan one -occurrence = A	-a AUX = EMB = NMLZ	lā = a = i' = x = a = ACC = D4
didanam	laxa	da tiťisam
Ci~ danam PL~ rope	la = x = a PREP = ACC = D4	= da = DET
		Ci~ tiťisam PL~ rock
dławi	da	kwax
dław = i with = D3	= da = DET	kwax tree

'One time when—it was the ropes—there on the rocks, or there on a tree.'

(32) La'am bo.

la'am	bo
lā = 'm AUX = VER	bo leave

'They came loose.'

(33) Lami da gukw la xatlagila laxa wap bo sa ax'astsimase's.

lami	da	gukw		
la = 'm = i AUX = VER = D3	= da = DET	gukw house		
la	xatlagila	laxa	wap	bo
la go	xatlagila small.amount	la = x = a PREP = ACC = D4	wap water	bo leave
sa	ax'astsimase's			
= s = INST = D4	= a do	ax -'as -LOC.PASS-should	-tsimas = e' = s = I3 = 3.POSS	

'And the house drifted out a little into the water and away from where it was supposed to be.'

(34) Walas ka'idan wakwa.

walas	ka'idan	wakwa
walas big/very	ka' -x'id = an scared-BEC = 1.POSS	wakwa older.sibling

'My older sister got really scared.'

(35) Higa'am dławan tsaya, tsayagawe'.

higa'am	dławan	
higa = 'm	dław = an	
only = VER	with = 1.POSS	
tsaya	tsayagawe'	
tsaya	tsaya	-gawe'
younger.sibling	younger.sibling	-most

'She was there alone with my youngest sister.'

(36) Hił'axas gaxe'e da bibagwanam, la'am edakas laxi's  
ax'astsimas.

hił'axas	gaxe'e		
hił'axa = s	gax = a	= i'	= i
suffice = INST	come = EMB = NMLZ = D3		
da	bibagwanam	la'am	edakas
= da	Ci~ bagwanam	la = 'm	edak -a = s
= DET	PL~ man	AUX = VER	return-A = INST
	laxi's	ax'astsimas	
	la = x = (i)'s	ax -'as	-tsimas
	PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS	do -LOC.PASS-should	

'It was lucky that the men came and brought it back to where it belonged.'



- (37) Muwanu'xw gukw: Kingcome, Gilford, Gayuxw dławida gukola.

muw <u>anu</u> ' <u>xw</u>	gukw	Kingcome	Gilford
mu = <u>anu</u> ' <u>xw</u>	gukw	Kingcome	Gilford
four = 1.EXCL.POSS	house	Kingcome	Gilford
Gayu <u>xw</u>	d <u>ław</u> i	da	gukola
Gayu <u>xw</u>	d <u>ław</u> = i	= da	gukola
Knight.Inlet.cannery	with = D3	= DET	house.boat

'So, we had four houses: Kingcome, Gilford, Knight Inlet, and the houseboat.'

## 5.4 Editors' Note

In a follow-up discussion about this story after it was recorded, Ruby provided the following additional context in her language concerning her house in Knight Inlet: Lanaxwa'amanu'xw gukwala lax gukwalase'sa Dzapani le'kanu'xw lax Gayuxw. 'We lived in the houses that the Japanese lived in when we were in Knight Inlet.'



## CHAPTER 6

# Lagu Strawberry

### 6.1 Lagu

Ñampana ganutł. Wati dławła'gas gaxan kanu'xw le' ax'ixa lagu lax tasanoyas gukwes Anitsa. Axali xasa kidłam ka kayose's la yawixa xi's lagu. Kinamdzikasi laguwe's. Lamānu'xw wālas masalax.

Lami dławła'gas niła kan ikiste' xa kidłam ka dax'ide'saxa lagudzikas. Lamis dax'i xa lilagu. Ki's geles gaxe' Anitsa: "Angwaxda'xwas?! Wigilaxda'xwas?! Haga kwidax!" nik gaxanu'xw. Walasānu'xw kał'ida. Omānu'xw tľaliwe' gaxe'e da ławis wātsi, Wooly-xtła, kaka. Wālasānu'xw kał'ida. Lamisānu'xw dzalxw'ida, lanu'xw<sup>1</sup> neñakwe'. Lamisan dławła'gas dala xa kinam lilagu. Lamis tikamas xa wiwā'okw lilagu.

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<sup>1</sup>Most of this word is inaudible in the recording.

Lamisanu'xw laga'a laxanu'xw gukw, ki's kwisisux lax gukwes Anitsa. Lamānu'xw o'am hamx'idax, le'kanu'xw laga'a. Ki'sanu'xw niła xanu'xw abamp kanu'xw gwigilas. Lamānu'xw o'am da'łale hamapax. Kotłalamānu'xw xas niłasa'we'tlanu'xw abamp xa łanstle' ke Anitsa kanu'xw gwix'ida'as.

## 6.2 Strawberry

One night, my niece asked me to go with her to get some strawberries from the front of Anitsa's house. The strawberries were guarded by a net so that no one could mess around with them. She had lots of great big strawberries. We wanted them so badly.

My niece told me to lift up the net so she could take the great big strawberries, and we took them. It wasn't long before Anitsa came out and said: "Who are you?! What are you doing?! Go away!" We got really scared. We had also forgotten that there was an angry dog named Wooly, who bites. We got really scared, so we ran home. My niece was carrying a lot of strawberries, and she dropped some of them on the way.

We reached our house which wasn't far from Anitsa's house, and we ate the strawberries when we got there. We didn't tell our mom about what we did. We laughed while we ate them. We knew that our mom was going to find out tomorrow from Anitsa what we had done.

### 6.3 Grammatical Analysis

(1) N̄am̄p̄ana ganuṭ.

n̄am̄p̄ana                      ganuṭ  
 n̄am -p̄an                    -a ganuṭ  
 one occurrence-A        night

‘One night.’

(2) Wati d̄aw̄la’gas gaxan kanu’xw le’ ax’ixa lagu lax  
 ṭasanoyas gukwes Anitsa.

wati                      d̄aw̄la’gas      gaxan              kanu’xw  
 wat̄ = i                  d̄aw̄la’gas      gaxan              ka = anu’xw  
 ask = D3                niece                      1.OBJ                PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS  
 le’                                      ax’i                      xa                      lagu  
 la = a                      = i’                      ax -x’id              = x                      = a                      lagu  
 go = EMB = NMLZ      do BEC                      = ACC = D4              strawberry  
 lax                                      ṭasanoyas                      gukwes  
 la = x                      ṭasanoȳ = s                      gukw = s  
 PREP = ACC              front = 3.POSS              house = 3.POSS  
 Anitsa  
 Anitsa  
 Anitsa

‘My niece asked me to go with her to get some strawberries from the front of Anitsa’s house.’

- (3) Axali xasa kidlam ka kayose's la yawixa xi's lagu.

<u>axali</u>	<u>xasa</u>	<u>kidlam</u>	<u>ka</u>
<u>ax</u> -al =i	= <u>x</u> a =s =a	<u>kidlam</u>	<u>ka</u>
do -CONT = D3	= CONN = INST = D4	net	PREP
<u>kayose's</u>		<u>la</u>	<u>yawixa</u>
<u>kayos</u> =a =i' =s		<u>la</u>	<u>yawix</u> -a
NEG.EXIST = EMB = NMLZ = 3.POSS		go	touch -A
<u>xi's</u>	<u>lagu</u>		
= <u>x</u> = (i)'s	<u>lagu</u>		
= ACC = 3.REFL.POSS	strawberry		

'She put out a net so that no one could mess around with her strawberries.'

- (4) Kinamdzikasi laguwe's.

<u>kinamdzikasi</u>	<u>laguwe's</u>
<u>kinam</u> -dzi =kas =i	<u>lagu</u> =e' =s
many -AUG = INTENS = D3	strawberry = I3 = 3.POSS

'She had lots of great big strawberries.'

- (5) Lamanu'xw walas masalax.

<u>lamanu'xw</u>	<u>walas</u>	<u>masalax</u>
<u>la</u> = 'm =anu'xw	<u>walas</u>	<u>mas</u> -al -a = <u>x</u>
AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	big/very	desire-CONT-A = ACC

'And we really wanted them so badly.'

- (6)  $\text{Lami d\dot{a}w\dot{a}l\dot{a}'gas ni\dot{a} \underline{k\dot{a}n} i\dot{k}iste' \underline{x\dot{a}} \underline{kid\dot{l}\dot{a}m} \underline{k\dot{a}}$   
 $\text{dax'ide'sax\dot{a} \underline{\dot{l}agudzikas}.$

$\text{lami} \quad \text{d\dot{a}w\dot{a}l\dot{a}'gas} \quad \text{ni\dot{a}} \quad \underline{k\dot{a}n}$   
 $\underline{\dot{l}a} = 'm = i \quad \text{d\dot{a}w\dot{a}l\dot{a}'gas} \quad \text{ni\dot{l} -a} \quad \underline{k\dot{a}} = \underline{an}$   
 AUX=VER=D3 niece tell-A PREP=1.POSS

$\text{i\dot{k}iste'}$                        $\underline{x\dot{a}}$                        $\text{kid\dot{l}\dot{a}m} \quad \underline{k\dot{a}}$   
 $\text{i\dot{k}ist} = a = i' \quad = \underline{x} = a \quad \text{kid\dot{l}\dot{a}m} \quad \underline{k\dot{a}}$   
 lift = EMB=NMLZ = ACC=D4 net PREP

$\text{dax'ide'sax\dot{a}}$

$\text{da} \quad \text{-x'id} = a = i' \quad = s \quad = \underline{x} = a$   
 take.in.hand-BEC = EMB=NMLZ=3.POSS=ACC=D4

$\underline{\dot{l}agudzikas}$

$\underline{\dot{l}agu} \quad \text{-dzi} = \text{kas}$   
 strawberry-AUG=INTENS

‘So my niece told me to lift up the net so she could take the great big strawberries.’

- (7)  $\text{Lamis dax'i \underline{x\dot{a}} \underline{\dot{l}ilagu}.$

$\text{lamis}$   
 $\underline{\dot{l}a} = 'm = (w)is$   
 AUX=VER=and.so

$\text{dax'i}$                        $\underline{x\dot{a}}$                        $\underline{\dot{l}ilagu}$   
 $\text{da} \quad \text{-x'id} = x = a \quad \text{Ci} \sim \underline{\dot{l}agu}$   
 take.in.hand-BEC = ACC=D4 PL~ strawberry

‘Then we took the strawberries.’

(8) Ķi's geles gaxe' Aniṡsax: "Angwaxda'xwas?!  
Wigilaxda'xwas?! Haga kwidax!" ṡix gaxanu'xw.

a. Ķi's geles gaxe'  
 (Ķ)i's geḷa =s gax =a =i'  
 NEG long.time = INST come = EMB = NMLZ

Aniṡsax

Aniṡsa = (i)x  
Aniṡsa = v2

'It wasn't long before Anitsa came.'

b. angwaxda'xwas  
angwa = (x)da'xw =s  
 who = group = 2

"Who are you?!"

c. wigilaxda'xwas  
wi -(g)ila = (x)da'xw =s  
 WH-make/do = group = 2

"What are you doing?!"

d. haga kwidax  
 ha = ga kwidax  
 go = IMP scam

"Go away!"

e. ṡik gaxanu'xw  
ṡik gaxanu'xw  
 say 1.EXCL.OBJ

'She told us.'



(9) W̄alas̄anu'x̄w kał'ida.

w̄alas̄anu'x̄w      kał'ida  
 w̄alas = anu'x̄w    kał    -x'id -a  
 big/very = 1.EXCL    scared-BEC -A

'We got really scared.'

(10) Ōmanu'x̄w t̄aliwe' gaxe'e da ławis w̄atsi, Wooly-xtła, k̄aka.

Ōmanu'x̄w      t̄aliwe'    gaxe'e  
 o = 'm = anu'x̄w    t̄aliwe'    gax = a    =i'    =i  
 so = VER = 1.EXCL    forget      come = EMB = NMLZ = D3

da      ławis    w̄atsi    Wooly-xtła      k̄aka

= da    ławis    w̄atsi    Wooly -(x)tła    k̄ak -a  
 = DET    angry    dog      Wooly -be.called    bite -A

'But we forgot there was an angry dog named Wooly who bites.'

(11) W̄alas̄anu'x̄w kał'ida.

w̄alas̄anu'x̄w      kał'ida  
 w̄alas = anu'x̄w    kał    -x'id -a  
 big/very = 1.EXCL    scared-BEC -A

'We got really scared.'

- (12) L̄amisanu'x̄w dzalxw'ida, lanu'x̄w neñakwe'.

l̄amisanu'x̄w

l̄a = 'm = (w)is = anu'x̄w  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL

dzalxw'ida	lanu'x̄w	neñakwe'
dzalxw -x'id -a	l̄a = anu'x̄w	neñakw = e'
run -BEC -A	AUX = 1.EXCL	home = I3

'So we ran home.'

- (13) L̄amisan d̄aw̄l̄a'gas dala xa k̄inam lilagu.

l̄amisan

l̄a = 'm = (w)is = an  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS

d̄aw̄l̄a'gas	dala	
d̄aw̄l̄a'gas	da	-la
niece	take.in.hand	CONT
xa	k̄inam	lilagu
= x = a	k̄inam	Ci~ lagu
= ACC = D4	many	PL~ strawberry

'My niece was carrying lots of strawberries.'

(14) lam̄is tikamas xa wiwá'okw lilágu.

<u>l</u> am̄is	<u>t</u> ikamas
<u>l</u> a = 'm = (w)is	<u>t</u> ik -a -mas
AUX=VER=and.so	fall -A -CAUS

<u>x</u> a	<u>w</u> i <u>w</u> á'okw	<u>l</u> ilágu
= <u>x</u> = a	Ci~ <u>w</u> á'okw	Ci~ lágu
=ACC=D4	PL~ other	PL~ strawberry

'Then she dropped some of the strawberries.'

(15) lam̄isanu'xw lagá'a laxanu'xw gukw, ki's kwisisux lax gukwes Anítsa.

lam̄isanu'xw

<u>l</u> a = 'm = (w)is = <u>an</u> u' <u>x</u> w
AUX=VER=and.so=1.EXCL

<u>l</u> agá'a	<u>l</u> ax <u>an</u> u' <u>x</u> w
<u>l</u> a -gá'a	<u>l</u> a = <u>x</u> = <u>an</u> u' <u>x</u> w
go-arrive	PREP=ACC=1.EXCL.POSS

<u>g</u> ukw	<u>k</u> i's	<u>k</u> wisis <u>u</u> x
<u>g</u> ukw	( <u>k</u> )i's	<u>k</u> wis -is = <u>u</u> x
house	NEG	far -on.ground=D2

<u>l</u> ax	<u>g</u> ukwes	<u>A</u> nítsa
<u>l</u> a = <u>x</u>	<u>g</u> ukw =s	<u>A</u> nítsa
PREP=ACC	house =3.POSS	<u>A</u> nítsa

'We reached our house, which wasn't far from Anitsa's house.'

- (16) Laṃṃanu'xw o'am haṃx'idax, le'kanu'xw laga'a.

laṃṃanu'xw	o'am	haṃx'idax
la = 'm = ʔanu'xw	o = 'm	haṃ -x'id = x
AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	so = VER	eat -BEC = ACC
le'kanu'xw		laga'a
la = a = (i)k = ʔanu'xw		la -ga'a
AUX = EMB = V1	= 1.EXCL.POSS	go-arrive

'We just ate them when we got there.'

- (17) Ki'sanu'xw niṭa xanu'xw ʔabamp kanu'xw gwigilas.

ki'sanu'xw	niṭa	xanu'xw	ʔabamp
(k)i's = ʔanu'xw	niṭ -a	= x = ʔanu'xw	ʔabamp
NEG = 1.EXCL	tell -A	= ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS	mother
kanu'xw		gwigilas	
ka = ʔanu'xw		gwi -(g)ila -'as	
PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS		INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS	

'We didn't tell our mom about what we did.'

- (18) Laṃṃanu'xw o'am da'ṭale haṃapax.

laṃṃanu'xw	o'am	da'ṭale
la = 'm = ʔanu'xw	o = 'm	da'ṭ -al = a = i'
AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	so = VER	laugh-CONT = EMB = NMLZ

'We laughed while we ate them.'

- (19)  $\dot{\text{K}}\text{ot}\dot{\text{l}}\text{a}\text{m}\text{a}\text{nu}'\text{xw}$   $\text{xas}$   $\text{ni}\text{las}\text{a}\text{w}\text{e}'\text{t}\dot{\text{l}}\text{a}\text{nu}'\text{xw}$   $\text{a}\text{b}\text{a}\text{mp}$   $\text{x}\text{a}$   $\text{l}\text{a}\text{n}\text{st}\dot{\text{l}}\text{e}'$   
 ke Anitsa  $\text{k}\text{a}\text{nu}'\text{xw}$  gwix'ida'as.

$\text{k}\dot{\text{o}}\text{t}\dot{\text{l}}\text{a}\text{m}\text{a}\text{nu}'\text{xw}$                        $\text{x}\text{as}$   
 $\text{k}\dot{\text{o}}\text{t}\dot{\text{l}}$  -a -a = 'm =  $\text{a}\text{nu}'\text{xw}$       =  $\text{x}\text{a}$  = s  
 know-CONT-A = VER = 1.EXCL          = CONN = INST

$\text{ni}\text{las}\text{a}\text{w}\text{e}'\text{t}\dot{\text{l}}\text{a}\text{nu}'\text{xw}$   
 $\text{ni}\dot{\text{l}}$  -a - $\text{sa}\text{w}$       = a = i'      =  $\text{t}\dot{\text{l}}$  =  $\text{a}\text{nu}'\text{xw}$   
 tell-A -ACC.PASS = EMB = NMLZ = FUT = 1.EXCL.POSS

$\text{a}\text{b}\text{a}\text{mp}$        $\text{x}\text{a}$                        $\text{l}\text{a}\text{n}\text{st}\dot{\text{l}}\text{e}'$   
 $\text{a}\text{b}\text{a}\text{mp}$       =  $\text{x}$  = a       $\text{l}\text{a}\text{n}\text{st}\dot{\text{l}}\text{e}'$   
 mother      = D4 = ACC      tomorrow

ke              Anitsa       $\text{k}\text{a}\text{nu}'\text{xw}$   
 $\text{k}\text{a}$  = i      Anitsa       $\text{k}\text{a}$  =  $\text{a}\text{nu}'\text{xw}$   
 PREP = D3      Anitsa      PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS

gwix'ida'as  
 $\text{g}\text{wi}$  -x'id -a -'as  
 INDEF-BEC -A -LOC.PASS

'We knew that our mom was going to find out tomorrow  
 from Anitsa what we did.'

## 6.4 Editors' Note

Perhaps the most comical thing about this story is that Ruby's use of  $\text{k}\text{i}'\text{s}$  kwis  $\text{a}\text{w}$  'not far (on the ground)' in line (15) is a gross understatement. In reality, Ruby's house and Anitsa's house backed onto each other, so they were neighbours!



## CHAPTER 7

# Ƙwali’ Uncle

### 7.1 Ƙwali’

Lax’ide’kanu’xw gukwala lax Gwayi. Gaxan nula *Baby*-dzi dax’i gaxan ka’s le’ kasa dlawan. Lax’ixantan sakaxanxila. Lamis dax’i xan aya’su kanu’xw le’ kasa. Kayosanu’xw i’s la’asa, kinamanu’xw dididladtola duxw’idsawa’.

Lamisani’xw laga’a lax gukwe’ sanu’xw kwali’. Kawaka xa lakwa. Lamis wata xa nula, *Baby*-dzi, “Angwaxtu’s tsayax ye?”

Niki xax, “Lubitsanagaxtan tsayax ye!”

Lamis nika: “Ki’sme’kanu’xw kas’ida nifasawanu’xw kanu’xw ki’se’ kwisagila.”<sup>1</sup>

Hemani’xw wali gukwe’ sanu’xw kwali’. Ki’sanu’xw kotala lagila’anu’xw ki’s hikolam heka gukwe’ sanu’xw kwali’. Lamisani’xw o’am kwaga’als humola xanu’xw kwali’, le’e

<sup>1</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby offered an alternative, more specific, version of this line: Lamis nika: “Ki’sme’kanu’x kas’ida nifasawanu’xw kanu’xw ki’se’ hekalax gukwa’s kwali’.” Then he said: “Before we left we were told not to pass by uncle’s house.”

ḲāwāḲa Ḳa laḲwa. Ḳi'sanu'xw geḲa, lamisanu'xw o'am edaḲa neḲakwa. Ḳayosanu'xw i'sme la'asa. ḲinaḲamanu'xw gigiga'ohukw.

Lamisanu'xw la xanu'xw gukw. Watlamisan abamp: "Wixda'xwas le'?" Niki Ḳa *Baby-dzi*: "Laxdanu'xw duxw'ix Ḳwālī's. La'amxdan yayakantamax Ḳwālī' ki'sme' gaḲ edaḲa san tsaya."

Eman.

## 7.2 Uncle

When we went to live in Kingcome, my older brother Babydzi came to pick me up, to go for a walk with me. I must have been five years old at the time. He took my hand to go walk. We went all over the place together, we had lots of relatives to see.

We arrived at our uncle's house, and he was chopping firewood. He asked my older brother Babydzi: "Who's your little sister, friend?"

Babydzi replied, "Ruby (holding my hand) is my little sister, friend."

Then he (Babydzi) said, "Before we left we were told not to go too far."

That's why we stopped at our uncle's house. We didn't know why we weren't allowed to go past our uncle's house. So we just sat down there and watched our uncle while he was chopping firewood. We didn't stay long. Then we just returned home. We went all over the place together. We had lots of family.

Then we went to our house. My mom asked, "Where did you go?" Babydzi said, "We went to see uncle. Then we talked to uncle before I brought my little sister home."

Amen.



### 7.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Lax'ide'kanu'xw gukwala lax Gwayi.

Lax'ide'kanu'xw	gukwala
la -x'id = a = (i)k = anu'xw	gukw -al -a
go-BEC = EMB = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS	house -CONT-A
lax	Gwayi
la = x	Gwayi
PREP = ACC	Kingcome

'When we went to live in Kingcome.'

- (2) Ga<sup>x</sup>an nula Baby-dzi dax'i ga<sup>x</sup>an ka's le' kasa dlaw<sup>w</sup>an.

ga <sup>x</sup> an	nula	Baby-dzi	dax'i
ga <sup>x</sup> = an	nula	Baby -dzi	da -x'id
come = 1.POSS	older.sibling	Baby -AUG	take.in.hand-BEC
ga <sup>x</sup> an	ka's	le'	kasa
ga <sup>x</sup> an	ka = (i)'s	la = a = i'	kas -a
1.OBJ	PREP = 3.REFL.POSS	go = EMB = NMLZ	walk-A
dlaw <sup>w</sup> an			
dlaw <sup>w</sup> = an			
with = 1			

'My older brother Babydzi came to pick me up to go for a walk with me.'

- (3) Lax'ixantan sakaxanxila.

lax'ixantan	sakaxanxila
la -x'id = xant = an	saka -(x')anx -(g)ila
AUX-BEC = MOD = 1	five -time.period-make/do

'I must have been five years old at the time.'

(4) Lamis dax'i xan aya'su kanu'xw le' kasa.

<u>la</u>	= 'm = (w)is	<u>dax</u> 'i	<u>da</u>	<u>-x'id</u>	= <u>x</u>	= <u>an</u>
AUX = VER = and.so		take.in.hand-BEC			= ACC = 1.POSS	
<u>aya</u> 'su	<u>kanu</u> ' <u>xw</u>				<u>le</u> '	
<u>aya</u> 'su	<u>ka</u>	= <u>anu</u> ' <u>xw</u>			<u>la</u>	= a = i'
hand/arm	PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS				go = EMB = NMLZ	
	<u>ka</u> sa					
	<u>ka</u> s -a					
	walk-A					

'He took my hand to go walk.'

(5) Kayosanu'xw i's la'asa, kinamanu'xw dhididiladlola duxw'idsawa'.

<u>kayo</u> sa <u>nu</u> ' <u>xw</u>	i's	<u>la</u> 'asa
<u>kayo</u> s	= <u>anu</u> ' <u>xw</u>	( <u>k</u> )i's
NEG.EXIST = 1.EXCL.POSS	NEG	<u>la</u> -'as -a
		AUX-LOC.PASS-a
<u>kinama</u> nu' <u>xw</u>	<u>d</u> h <u>i</u> d <u>i</u> d <u>i</u> l <u>a</u> dl <u>o</u> la	
<u>kinam</u>	= <u>anu</u> ' <u>xw</u>	Ci~ <u>d</u> h <u>i</u> d <u>i</u> l <u>a</u> dl <u>o</u> la
many = 1.EXCL.POSS	PL~ relative	
<u>du</u> x <u>w</u> 'i <u>d</u> sa <u>wa</u> '		
<u>du</u> k <u>w</u> -x'id -sa <u>w</u>	= a'	
see -BEC -ACC.PASS = I3		

'We went all over the place, we had lots of relatives to see.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Literally: 'There was no place we didn't go, we had lots of relatives to see'.

(6) Lámisanu'xw laga'a lax gukwe' sanu'xw k'wali'.

lámisanu'xw	laga'a	lax
la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw	la -ga'a	la = x
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	go-arrive	PREP = ACC
gukwe'	sanu'xw	k'wali'
gukw = e' = s = anu'xw		k'wali'
house = I3 = 3.POSS = 1.EXCL.POSS		uncle

'We arrived at our uncle's house.'

(7) K'awaka xa lakwa.

k'awaka	xa	lakwa
k'awak -a = x = a		lakwa
chop -A = ACC = D4		firewood

'He was chopping firewood.'

(8) Lámis watla xa n'ula, Baby-dzi, "Angwaxthu's tsaya'x ye'?"

a. lámis	watla	xa	n'ula
la = 'm = (w)is	watł -a	= x = a	n'ula
AUX = VER = and.so	ask -A	= ACC = D4	older.sibling

Baby-dzi  
 Baby -dzi  
 Baby -AUG

'He asked my older brother, Babydzi,'

- b. Angwaxtlu's  
angwa -(x)tla = u's  
 who -be.called = 2.POSS  
 tsayax ye'  
 tsaya = (i)x ye'  
 younger.sibling = v2 friend(masc.)  
 "Who's your little sister, friend?"

(9) Niki xax, "Lubitsanagaxtlan tsaya ye'!"

- a. niki xax  
 nik = i = xa = x  
 say = D3 = CONN = ACC  
 'Then he (Babydzi) said to him,'

- b. Lubitsanagaxtlan  
 Lubi -tsana -ga -(x)tla = an  
 Ruby -on.hand/arm-woman-be.called = 1.POSS  
 tsayax ye'  
 tsaya = (i)x ye'  
 younger.sibling = v2 friend(masc.)  
 "Ruby (holding my hand) is my little sister, friend!"

(10) Lamis nika: "Ki'sme'kanu'xw kas'ida nilasawanu'xw kanu'xw kise' kwisagila."

- a. lamis nika  
 la = 'm = (w)is nik -a  
 AUX = VER = and.so say -A  
 'Then he (Babydzi) said,'

- b.  $\acute{K}i's\acute{m}e'kanu'xw$   $kas'ida$   
 $(k)i's = 'm = a = (i)k = \underline{anu'xw}$   $\underline{kas} -x'id -a$   
 NEG = VER = EMB = V1 = 1.EXCL walk-BEC -A  
 $ni\acute{f}asaw\acute{a}nu'xw$   $\underline{kanu'xw}$   
 $ni\acute{f} -a -saw = \underline{anu'xw}$   $\underline{ka} = \underline{anu'xw}$   
 tell -A -ACC.PASS = 1.EXCL PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS  
 $kise'$   $\underline{k}wisagila$   
 $(k)i's = a = i'$   $\underline{k}wis -a -(g)ila$   
 NEG = EMB = NMLZ far -A -make/do

“Before we left we were told not to go too far.”

- (11)  $He\acute{m}anu'xw \acute{w}ali\acute{g}ukwe' s\acute{a}nu'xw \acute{k}wali'$ .

$he\acute{m}anu'xw$   $\acute{w}ali$   
 $he = 'm = \underline{anu'xw}$   $\acute{w}al' = i$   
 be.D3 = VER = 1.EXCL.POSS stop = D3  
 $gukwe'$   $s\acute{a}nu'xw$   $\acute{k}wali'$   
 $gukw = e' = s = \underline{anu'xw}$   $\acute{k}wali'$   
 house = 13 = 3.POSS = 1.EXCL.POSS uncle

‘That’s why we stopped at our uncle’s house.’

- (12) ki'sanu'xw kotłala lagiła'anu'xw ki's hiłkolam heka  
 gukwe' sanu'xw kwali'.

ki'sanu'xw            kotłala

(k)i's = anu'xw    kotł -al    -a  
 NEG = 1.EXCL    know-CONT-A

lagiła'anu'x                            ki's    hiłkolam

la -giła = anu'xw            (k)i's    hiłkol -am  
 AUX-reason = 1.EXCL.POSS    NEG    allowed-NMLZ

heka            gukwe'            sanu'xw

hek -a    gukw = e'    = s            = anu'xw  
 pass.by-A    house = I3    = 3.POSS = 1.EXCL.POSS

kwali'

kwali'  
 uncle

'We didn't know why we weren't allowed to go past our  
 uncle's house.'

- (13) lamisanu'xw o'am kwaga'als humoła xanu'xw kwali'.

lamisanu'xw                            o'am    kwaga'als

la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw    o = 'm    kwax -ga'als  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL    so = VER    sit    -on.ground

humoła            xanu'xw                            kwali'

humo -ala    = x = anu'xw            kwali'  
 watch -STAT    = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS    uncle

'So we just sat down (outside) and watched our uncle.'

(14) le'e káwaka xa lakwa.

le'e                                      káwaka      xa                      lakwa  
 la = a = i' = i      káwak -a = x = a      lakwa  
 AUX=EMB=NMLZ=D3 chop -A =ACC=D4 firewood  
 'while he was chopping firewood.'

(15) Kí'sanu'xw geła, lamisanu'xw o'am edaka neńakwa.

kí'sanu'xw              geła              lamisanu'xw  
 (k)i's = anu'xw      geła              la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw  
 NEG = 1.EXCL      long.time      AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL  
 o'am      edaka      neńakwa  
 o = 'm      edaka      neńakw -a  
 so = VER      return      home      -A  
 'We didn't stay long, and we just returned home.'

(16) Káyosanu'xw i'sme la'asa.

káyosanu'xw  
 káyos      = anu'xw  
 NEG.EXIST = 1.EXCL.POSS  
 i'sme                                      la'asa  
 (k)i's = 'm = a = i'      la -'as      -a  
 NEG = VER = EMB = NMLZ      AUX-LOC.PASS-A  
 'We went all over the place.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Literally, this probably means something like: 'There was nowhere we didn't go.'

(17) Ḳinamanu'xw gigiga'olnukw.

Ḳinamanu'xw                      gigiga'olnukw

Ḳinam = anu'xw              Ci~ gigiga'olnukw  
 many = 1.EXCL.POSS      PL~ parents

'We had lots of family.'

(18) Lamisanu'xw la xanu'xw gukw.

lamisanu'xw                      la      xanu'xw  
 la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw      la = x = anu'xw  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL      go = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS

gukw  
 gukw  
 house

'Then we went to our house.'

(19) Watlamisan abamp, "Wixda'xwas le'?"

a. watlamisan                      abamp  
 watl -a = 'm = (w)is = an      abamp  
 ask -A = VER = and.so = 1.POSS      mother

'My mom asked:.'

b. wixda'xwas                      le'  
 wi = (x)da'xw = s      la = i'  
 WH = group              = 2      go = NMLZ

"Where did you go?"



(20) Niki xa *Baby-dzi*, “Laxdanu’xw du<sub>x</sub>w’ix kwali’s.  
La’amxdan yayakantamax kwali’ ki’sme’ ga<sub>x</sub> edaka san  
tsaya.”

a. niki xa *Baby-dzi*  
nik = i = x = a *Baby -dzi*  
say = D3 = ACC = DET *Baby -AUG*  
‘Babydzi, he said,’

b. laxdanu’xw  
la = xd = anu’xw  
go = REC.PST = 1.EXCL  
du<sub>x</sub>w’ix kwali’s  
du<sub>x</sub>w -x’id = x kwali’ = s  
see -BEC = ACC uncle = 3.POSS  
“We went to see uncle.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>The third-person possessive here seems to refer to Ruby (literally: ‘We went to see her uncle’). In a follow-up discussion, Ruby suggested removing the possessive.

c. “Lā'amxdan yayakantamax Ḳwālī' kī'smē gax edaka san tsaya.”

<p>lā'amxdan</p> <p>lā = 'm = xd = an AUX = VER = REC.PST = 1</p> <p>Ḳwālī'      kī'smē'</p> <p>Ḳwālī'      (k)i's = 'm = a = i' uncle        NEG = VER = EMB = NMLZ</p> <p>gax edaka san</p> <p>gax edaka = s = an tsaya come return = INST = 1.POSS younger.sibling</p>	<p>yayakantamax</p> <p>yayakant<sup>5</sup> = 'm = x speak = VER = ACC</p>
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“Then I talked to uncle before I brought my little sister home.”

(21) Emaṇ.

emaṇ  
emaṇ  
amen  
'Amen.'

## 7.4 Editors' Note

Although relatively small communities like Kingcome Inlet were very interconnected, with many relatives living in close proximity, such communities were not without some deep social divisions. The strict boundary of not going beyond their

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<sup>5</sup>It's unclear to us whether the extra ya- syllable at the beginning of this word is verbal reduplication or a false start.

Uncle's house to the houses beyond is juxtaposed in this story by the total freedom that Ruby and her older sibling had in wandering everywhere else. The significance of this boundary is reinforced by the mother's questioning at the story's end about where Ruby and Babydzi had been.



## CHAPTER 8

# Lilolinux Ghosts

### 8.1 Lilolinux

Ṭsuxwan abampwa'le' sanband xwa n'alax. La'am ganu'ida oxtse'am tsuxwa, lamis nagige'yas le' gwa'a. Lamis wata gaxan kan gawale' kapi xa taka wap, laxi's tsuwine'. Lamis kutax'i xa tsotsi. I's tuma kuta, tuma gwantalax.

Lamisanu'xw lala'a laxa t'ama'is kanu'xw le' kapidax. Lamān kayaxa sa ma'luxw kwalskwalyakw tsitsadak, dala xa da t'axwstu nigwatsi, galabe' gaxanu'xw.<sup>1</sup> Lamān duxw'i xan abamp. "Angwux?" nikan xax.

"Gwano ka'alalax, omux gawala gaxan's kan's kot'ale' xan's la'astleyan's. Thumux padakux da ganuthiyax."

Lamisanu'xw laga'a laxa t'ama'is, lanu'xw kapi sa wap laxa t'ama'is. Lamānu'xw edaka. Lamānu'xw la'etla laxa gukw. Lamisan abamp nik gaxan, "O'am gawali da kwalskwalyakw

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<sup>1</sup>The voice heard here and again a few lines later is Jonathan Janzen's.

gaxan's le'e dala xi's t̄axwstu nigwaṣi, le'e t̄uma p̄adaki da ganut̄.”

Amen.

## 8.2 Ghosts

My mother spent all day doing laundry. When night came she was still washing, and it was midnight by the time she finished. She asked me to help her pour the dirty water out of her washtub. She had filled up the washtub. It wasn't too full though, because then it would have been too heavy.

So we set off for the beach to go and pour the dirty water out. To my amazement, there were two old women there, carrying red lanterns ahead of us. I looked at my mother and asked, “Who's that?”

“Don't be afraid”, she said. “They're just helping us to know where we're going. It's too dark out tonight.”

Then we got to the beach and we poured the water out onto it. Then we went back and we entered the house. There my mother said to me: “The old ones were just helping us, they carry their red lanterns when it's too dark out at night.”

Amen.

### 8.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1)  $\dot{\text{T}}\text{sux}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}$   $\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{b}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{p}}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}\text{'le'}$   $\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{b}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{d}}$   $\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}$   $\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{x}}$ .

$\dot{\text{T}}\text{sux}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}$	$\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{b}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{p}}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}\text{'le'}$	$\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{b}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{d}}$
$\dot{\text{T}}\text{sux}\underline{\text{w}}$ = $\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}$	$\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{b}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{m}}$ = $\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}\text{'l}$ = $\text{e'}$	$\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{b}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{d}}$
wash = 1.POSS	mother = DIST.PST = I3	through.til.end
$\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}$	$\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{x}}$	
= $\underline{\text{x}}$ = $\underline{\text{u}}\underline{\text{x}}$ = $\text{a}$	$\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}$ = $(\text{i})\underline{\text{x}}$	
= ACC = D2 = D4	day = V2	

'My mother spent all day doing laundry.'

- (2)  $\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}\text{'am}$   $\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}\text{'ida}$   $\underline{\text{o}}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{t}}\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{e}}\text{'am}$   $\dot{\text{T}}\text{sux}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}$ ,  $\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{i}}\underline{\text{s}}$   $\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{i}}\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{e}}\underline{\text{y}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{s}}$   $\text{le'}$   
 $\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}$ .

$\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}\text{'am}$	$\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}\text{'ida}$	$\underline{\text{o}}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{t}}\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{e}}\text{'am}$
$\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}$ = 'm	$\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}\text{'id}$ -x'id -a	$\underline{\text{o}}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{t}}\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{e}}$ = 'm
AUX = VER	night -BEC -A	still = VER
$\dot{\text{T}}\text{sux}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}$	$\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{i}}\underline{\text{s}}$	$\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{i}}\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{e}}\underline{\text{y}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{s}}$
$\dot{\text{T}}\text{sux}\underline{\text{w}}$ -a	$\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}$ = 'm = (w)is	$\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{i}}\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{e}}\text{'}$ = s
wash -A	AUX = VER = and.so	midnight = 3.POSS
$\text{le'}$	$\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}$	
$\underline{\text{l}}\underline{\text{a}}$ = a = i'	$\underline{\text{g}}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{l}}$ -a	
AUX = EMB = NMLZ	stop/finish-A	

'When night came she was still washing, and it was midnight by the time she finished.'

- (3) L<sub>a</sub>m<sub>i</sub>s w<sub>a</sub>t<sub>l</sub>a g<sub>a</sub>x<sub>a</sub>n k<sub>a</sub>n g<sub>a</sub>w<sub>a</sub>l<sub>e</sub>' k<sub>a</sub>p<sub>i</sub> x<sub>a</sub> t<sub>a</sub>k<sub>a</sub> w<sub>a</sub>p, l<sub>a</sub>x<sub>i</sub>'s t<sub>s</sub>w<sub>i</sub>n<sub>e</sub>'.

l<sub>a</sub>m<sub>i</sub>s                      w<sub>a</sub>t<sub>l</sub>a      g<sub>a</sub>x<sub>a</sub>n

l<sub>a</sub> = 'm = (w)is      w<sub>a</sub>t<sub>l</sub> -a      g<sub>a</sub>x<sub>a</sub>n  
 AUX = VER = and.so      ask -A      1.OBJ

k<sub>a</sub>n                      g<sub>a</sub>w<sub>a</sub>l<sub>e</sub>'

k<sub>a</sub> = a<sub>n</sub>                      g<sub>a</sub>w<sub>a</sub>l = a = i'  
 PREP = 1.POSS              help = EMB = NMLZ

k<sub>a</sub>p<sub>i</sub>                                      x<sub>a</sub>                      t<sub>a</sub>k<sub>a</sub>      w<sub>a</sub>p

k<sub>a</sub>p                                      -x'id      = x = a      t<sub>a</sub>k<sub>a</sub>      w<sub>a</sub>p  
 overturn.container-BEC      = ACC = D4      dirty      water

l<sub>a</sub>x<sub>i</sub>'s                                      t<sub>s</sub>w<sub>i</sub>n<sub>e</sub>'

l<sub>a</sub> = x = (i)'s                      t<sub>s</sub>w<sub>i</sub>n<sub>e</sub>' -'inay<sub>i</sub>  
 PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS      wash -GER

'She asked me to help pour the dirty water out of her washtub.'

- (4) L<sub>a</sub>m<sub>i</sub>s k<sub>u</sub>t<sub>a</sub>x'i x<sub>a</sub> t<sub>s</sub>otsi.

l<sub>a</sub>m<sub>i</sub>s                      k<sub>u</sub>t<sub>a</sub>x'i      x<sub>a</sub>                      t<sub>s</sub>otsi

l<sub>a</sub> = 'm = (w)is      k<sub>u</sub>t<sub>a</sub> -x'id      = x = a      t<sub>s</sub>otsi  
 AUX = VER = and.so      full -BEC      = ACC = D4      washtub

'She had filled up the washtub.'



(5) I's tuma kuta, tuma gwantalax.

i's tuma kuta tuma gwantalax

(k)i's tuma kuta tuma gwanta = lax  
 NEG really full really heavy = HYP

'It wasn't too full though, because then it would have been too heavy.'

(6) Lamisanu'xw la la'a laxa t'ama'is kanu'xw le' kapidax.

lamisanu'xw

lala'a

laxa

la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw Ca~ la -'a la = x = a  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL try~ go-try PREP = ACC = D4

t'ama'is kanu'xw

le'

t'ama'is ka = anu'xw la = a = i'  
 beach PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS go = EMB = NMLZ

kapidax

kap -x'id = x  
 overturn.container-BEC = ACC

'So we set off for the beach to go and pour it out.'

- (7) Laman̄ kayaxa sa ma'luxw kwalskwalyakw tsitsadak, dala xa da tlawwstu nigwatsi, galabe' gaxanu'xw.

laman̄	kayaxa	sa	ma'luxw
la = 'm = an	kayax -a	= s = a	ma'ɬ -ukw
AUX=VER=1	amazed-A	=INST=D4	two -human
kwalskwalyakw	tsitsadak	dala	
kwalskwalyakw	Ci~ tsadak	da	-la
old.people	PL~ woman	take.in.hand-CONT	
xa	da	tlawwstu	nigwatsi
= x = a	= da	tlawwstu	nigwatsi
=ACC=D4	=DET	red	light.container
galabe'	gaxanu'xw		
galabe'	gaxanu'xw		
first.at.end	1.EXCL.OBJ		

'To my amazement there were two old women there, carrying red lanterns ahead of us.'

- (8) Laman̄ duxw'i xan abamp.

laman̄	duxw'i	xan	abamp
la = 'm = an	duk -x'id	= x = an	abamp
AUX=VER=1	see -BEC	=ACC=1.POSS	mother

'I looked at my mother.'

- (9) "Angwux?" nikan xax.

- a. angwux  
 angwa = ux  
 who = D2  
 "Who's that?"

- b.  $\dot{n}i\dot{k}an$      $\underline{xax}$   
 $\dot{n}i\dot{k} = \underline{an}$      $= \underline{xa}$      $= \underline{x}$   
 say = 1    = CONN = ACC

‘I said to her.’

- (10) “ $\underline{Gwano}$   $\underline{ka\dot{l}alax}$ ,  $\underline{omux}$   $\underline{ga\dot{w}ala}$   $\underline{gaxan's}$   $\underline{kan's}$   $\underline{kot\dot{f}ale'}$   
 $\underline{xan's}$   $\underline{la'ast\dot{f}eyan's}$ .”

$\underline{gwano}$      $\underline{ka\dot{l}alax}$      $\underline{omux}$   
 $\underline{gwano}$      $\underline{ka\dot{l}}$   $\underline{-al}$      $\underline{-a} = \underline{lax}$      $\underline{o} = \underline{'m} = \underline{ux}$   
 do.not    afraid-CONT-A = HYP    so = VER = D2

$\underline{ga\dot{w}ala}$      $\underline{gaxan's}$      $\underline{kan's}$

$\underline{ga\dot{w}ala}$      $\underline{gaxan's}$      $\underline{ka} = \underline{an's}$   
 help    1.INCL.OBJ    PREP = 1.INCL.POSS

$\underline{kot\dot{f}ale'}$      $\underline{xan's}$

$\underline{kot\dot{f}}$   $\underline{-al}$      $= \underline{a}$      $= \underline{i'}$      $= \underline{x}$      $= \underline{an's}$   
 know-CONT = EMB = NMLZ    = ACC = 1.INCL.POSS

$\underline{la'ast\dot{f}eyan's}$

$\underline{la}$   $\underline{-'as}$      $= \underline{t\dot{f}}$      $= \underline{e'}$      $= \underline{an's}$   
 AUX-LOC.PASS = FUT = I3 = 1.INCL.POSS

“Don’t be afraid, they’re just helping us to know where we’re going.”

- (11) “T̄umux̄ p̄adakux̄ da ganuthiȳax̄.”

t̄umux̄      p̄adakux̄      da  
 t̄uma = ux̄    p̄adak = ux̄    = da  
 really = D2   dark    = D2    = DET

ganuthiȳax̄  
 ganut̄i = i'      = (i)x̄  
 night    = NMLZ = V2

‘It’s too dark out tonight.’

- (12) L̄amisanu'x̄w laga'a laxa t̄ama'is, lanu'x̄w k̄api sa w̄ap  
 laxa t̄ama'is.

l̄amisanu'x̄w                      laga'a      laxa  
 l̄a = 'm = (w)is = anu'x̄w    la -ga'a    la = x̄ = a  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL    go -arrive    PREP = ACC = D4  
 t̄ama'is    lanu'x̄w              k̄api  
 t̄ama'is    l̄a = anu'x̄w              k̄ap                      -x'id  
 beach      AUX = 1.EXCL              overturn.container-BEC  
 sa                      w̄ap    laxa                      t̄ama'is  
 = s    = a    w̄ap    la = x̄ = a    t̄ama'is  
 = INST = D4    water    PREP = ACC = D4    beach

‘Then we got to the beach, and we poured the water out onto the beach.’

- (13) L̄amanu'x̄w edaka.

l̄amanu'x̄w                      edaka  
 l̄a = 'm = anu'x̄w    edak -a  
 AUX = VER = 1.EXCL    return-a

‘Then we went back.’

(14) Lamanu'xw la'etla laxa gukw.

<u>la</u> ma <u>nu</u> ' <u>xw</u>	<u>la</u> 'e <u>tla</u>	<u>la</u> <u>x</u> a	<u>gukw</u>
<u>la</u> = 'm = a <u>nu</u> ' <u>xw</u>	<u>la</u> -e <u>tla</u>	<u>la</u> = <u>x</u> = a	<u>gukw</u>
AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	AUX-enter	PREP = ACC = D4	house

'Then we entered the house.'

(15) Lamisan abamp nik gaxan, "O'am gawali da kwalskwalyakw gaxan's le'e da xi's tlaxwstu nigwatsi,  
le'e thuma padaki da ganutl."

a. <u>la</u> mi <u>sa</u> n	<u>a</u> b <u>a</u> mp	<u>n</u> i <u>k</u>	<u>ga</u> <u>x</u> a <u>n</u>
<u>la</u> = 'm = (w)is = a <u>n</u>	<u>a</u> b <u>a</u> mp	<u>n</u> i <u>k</u>	<u>ga</u> <u>x</u> a <u>n</u>
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS	mother	say	1.OBJ

'Then my mom said to me,'

b. o'am gawali da kwalskwal'akw

o = 'm gawala = i = da kwalskwal'akw  
 so = VER help = D3 = DET old.people

gaxan's le'e

gaxan's la = a = i' = i  
 1.INCL.OBJ AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3

dala xi's

da -la = x = (i)'s  
 take.in.hand-CONT = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS

taxwstu nigwatsi

taxwstu nigwatsi  
 red light.container

le'e

la = a = i' = i  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3

tuma padaki da ganut

tuma padak = i = da ganut  
 really dark = D3 = DET night

“The old ones were just helping us, they carry their red lanterns when it’s too dark out at night.”

(16) Ema<sub>n</sub>.

ema<sub>n</sub>  
 ema<sub>n</sub>  
 amen

‘Amen.’

## 8.4 Editors' Note

Lilolinux 'Ghosts' is a story about one of Ruby's childhood memories. In addition to providing a picture of daily chores and the realities of having no indoor plumbing, the spirituality of Ruby's people is prominent here. Ruby explained that the two spirit women in the story were probably ancestors watching out for Ruby and her mom. They likely had pity on the two for having to stay up so late to get the household laundry done!





## CHAPTER 9

# Wátsi Dog

### 9.1 Wátsi<sup>1</sup>

Malkwala'am xan lax Gayuxw. Lamānu'xw higa'it le' gigangananam le'kanu'xw le' i'axalan abamp dāwan wiwakwa laxa da cannery. Omanu'xw higa'it lax gukw. Hiwaxanu'xw la amłalsa.

Tłuma ýago'fi da gananam laxa łlasanoyi, wátsinukw. La'am axnaxwa ka's wátsi ka gaxe's kax'i gaxanu'xw. Lamisanu'xw dlanix'i xan łaxala, dlanix'i xanu'xw wando. Gaxmisi da wátsi daxw'id laxanu'xw wando. O'am he gwigila xa łaxala. Walasanu'xw ka'ida. Lamisanu'xw kanu'xw wanx'ide', waxa. He'axanti bagwanam<sup>2</sup> bowa. Walas ýago'f bagwanama'. Ýaksami wátsiye's.

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<sup>1</sup>At the beginning of the recording, Ruby can be heard saying in English: "I don't know why I remember this."

<sup>2</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby noted that the word bagwanam 'man' used here and in the remainder of the story should be replaced with the word hił'a 'youth', since the person being referred to was a teenager.

Lámisanu'xw niła xanu'xw giga'olnukw gaxe'e neńakwa,  
gwigilase' sa bagwanam ka'an.<sup>3</sup> Ka's dławı's wátsi. Lámis  
la'amxant yakantamasawa' ka's hiwaxe' itı he gwix'idi.  
Eman.<sup>4</sup>

## 9.2 Dog

I remember that I was in Glendale Cove. We were left alone in the house as children when my mother and my older sisters went to work in the cannery. We were just alone in the house, we never went outside to play.

There was a really bad kid outside, who had a dog. Sometimes he would get his dog to come and bite at us. We locked my door, locked our windows. Then the dog came and jumped at our window, and he did the same thing to the door. We got really scared, so we went and tried to hide. The man must have left. He was a really horrible man. His dog was bad.

We told our parents when they came home about what the man did, to me. About him and his dog. Someone must have told him to never do it again.

Amen.

---

<sup>3</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby said that this should be ka'anu'xw 'to us (EXCL)'.  
<sup>4</sup>At the end of the recording, Ruby can be heard saying in English: "But he was mean."

### 9.3 Grammatical Analysis

(1) Malkwala'am xan lax Gayuxw.

malkwala'am

malkwala = 'm

remember = VER

xan                      lax                      Gayuxw

ka = an              la = x              Gayuxw

PREP = 1.POSS    PREP = ACC    Glendale.Cove

'I remember that I was in Glendale Cove.'

- (2) Lam̄anu'xw higa'it le' gigangananam le'kanu'xw le' i'axalan abamp dławwan wiwakwa laxa da cannery.

lam̄anu'xw	higa'it	le'	
la = 'm = anu'xw AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	higa -it alone-indoors	la = a = i' AUX = EMB = NMLZ	
gigananam	le'kanu'xw		
Ci~ ganganam PL~ young.PL	la = a = (i)k = anu'xw AUX = EMB = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS		
le'	i'axalan		
la = a = i' go = EMB = NMLZ	i'axal = an work = 1.POSS		
abamp	dławwan	wiwakwa	
abamp mother	dław = an with = 1.POSS	Ci~ wakwa PL~ older.sibling	
	laxa	da	cannery
	la = x = a PREP = ACC = D4	= da = DET	cannery cannery

'We were left alone in the house as children when my mother and my older sisters went to work in the cannery.'

- (3) Om̄anu'xw higa'it lax gukw.

om̄anu'xw	higa'it	lax	gukw
o = 'm = anu'xw so = VER = 1.EXCL	higa -it alone-indoors	la = x PREP = ACC	gukw house

'We were just alone in the house.'

- (4) Hiwaxanu'xw la amłals̄a.

hiwaxanu'xw la amłals̄a

hiwaxa = anu'xw la amł -als̄ -a  
never = 1.EXCL go play -outside-A

'We never went outside to play.'

- (5) Tłuma ýago'li da gananam laxa łasanoyi, watsinukw.

tłuma ýago'li da gananam laxa

tłuma ýak -o'ł = i = da gananam la = x = a  
really bad -PEJ = D3 = DET young PREP = ACC = D4

łasanoyi watsinukw

łasanoyi watsi -nukw  
outside dog -have

'There was a really bad kid outside, who had a dog.'

- (6) La'am axnaxwa ka's watsi ka gaxe's kax'i gaxanu'xw.

la'am axnaxwa ka's

la = 'm ax = naxwa -a ka = (i)'s  
AUX = VER do = sometimes-A PREP = 3.REFL.POSS

watsi ka gaxe's

watsi ka gax = a = i' = s  
dog PREP come = EMB = NMLZ = 3.POSS

kax'i gaxanu'xw

kak -x'id gaxanu'xw  
bite -BEC 1.EXCL.OBJ

'Sometimes he would get his dog to come and bite at us.'

- (7) Lámisanu'xw dɛ́nix'i xan t'axála, dɛ́nix'i xanu'xw wándo.

lámisanu'xw                      dɛ́nix'i              xan  
 la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw    dɛ́ni -x'id    = x = an  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL    lock -BEC    = ACC = 1.POSS

t'axála    dɛ́nix'i              xanu'xw                      wándo  
 t'axála    dɛ́ni -x'id            = x = anu'xw              wándo  
 door        lock -BEC            = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS    window

'We locked my door, locked our windows.'

- (8) Gaxmisi da wátsi [ax, dzax] daxw'id laxanu'xw wándo.

gaxmisi                              da              wátsi      daxw'id  
 gax = 'm = (w)is = i            = da      wátsi      daxw -x'id  
 come = VER = and.so = D3    = DET    dog        jump -BEC

laxanu'xw                              wándo  
 la = x = anu'xw                      wándo  
 PREP = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS    wándo

'Then the dog came and jumped at our window.'

- (9) O'am he gwigila xa [tak] t'axála.

o'am      he              gwigila              xa              t'axála  
 o = 'm    he              gwi -(g)ila            = x = a      t'axála  
 so = VER    be.D3    INDEF-make/do    = ACC = D4    door

'He did the same thing to the door.'

- (10) W̄alasa
- nu
- 'x̄w ka
- l
- 'ida.

w̄alasanu'x̄w      kal'ida  
 w̄alas = anu'x̄w    kal -x'id -a  
 big/very = 1.EXCL    scared-BEC -A

'We got really scared.'

- (11) La
- misa
- nu'x̄w ka
- nu
- 'x̄w w̄a
- n
- x'ide', waxa.

lamisanu'x̄w                      kanu'x̄w  
 la = 'm = (w)is = anu'x̄w    ka = anu'x̄w  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL    PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS

w̄anx'ide'                      waxa  
 w̄an -x'id = a = i'      wax -a  
 hide -BEC = EMB = NMLZ    try -A

'So we went and tried to hide.'

- (12) He'a
- xanti
- ba
- gwan
- a
- m
- bowa.

he'axanti                      bagwanam    bowa  
 he = xant = i    bagwanam    bo -a  
 be.D3 = MOD = D3    man            leave-A

'The man must have left.'

- (13) W̄alas ȳago'ɫ ba
- gwan
- a
- ma
- '.

w̄alas    ȳago'ɫ    bagwanama'  
 w̄alas    ȳak -o'ɫ    bagwanam = a'  
 big/very    bad -PEJ    man            = I3

'He was a really horrible man.'

- (14) Yáksami wátsiye's.

yáksami      wátsiye's  
yáksam̄ = i      wátsi = e' = s  
bad      =D3      dog      =I3 = 3.POSS  
'His dog was bad.'

- (15) Lamísanu'xw niła xanu'xw giga'ohnukw gaxe'e neńakwa,  
gwigilase' sa bagwanam ka'an.

lamísanu'xw	niła	xanu'xw	
la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw	nił -a = x = anu'xw		
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	tell -A = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS		
giga'ohnukw	gaxe'e		neńakwa
giga'ohnukw	gax = a = i' = i		neńakw -a
parents	come = EMB = NMLZ = D3		home -A
gwigilase'		sa	
gwi -(g)ila -'as = e' = s = a			
INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS = I3			
bagwanam	ka'an		
bagwanam	ka = an		
man	PREP = 1		

'We told our parents when they came home about what the man did, to me.'

- (16) Ka's dławi's wátsi.

ka's	dławi's	wátsi
ka = (i)'s	dław = (i)'s	wátsi
PREP = 3.REFL.POSS	and = 3.REFL.POSS	dog

'About him and his dog.'



- (17) Lamis la'amxant yakantamasawa' ka's hiwaxe' iti he gwix'idi.

lamis

la'amxant

la = 'm = (w)is    la = 'm = xant  
AUX = VER = and.so    go = VER = MOD

yakantamasawa'

yakantam -a -saw' = a'  
speak        -A -ACC.PASS = I3

ka's

hiwaxe'

ka = (i)'s        hiwaxa = a = i'  
PREP = 3.REFL.POSS    never = EMB = NMLZ

iti    he    gwix'idi

itid    he    gwi -x'id = i  
again    be.D3    INDEF-BEC = D3

'Someone must have told him to never do it again.'

- (18) Eman.

eman

eman

amen

'Amen.'

## 9.4 Editors' Note

The dog story is part of a series of short, insightful childhood anecdotes which give a glimpse into life in the 1940s on BC's small town coast. In this story, the realities of working life are reflected in the children needing to look after each other while

the adults and older children went to work at the cannery. A sense of the community's dynamic can be seen in this story as well, in the way that the dog and its owner do not return after the children tell their parents about how they were frightened. Although the children were left alone in the house, community members were always around looking out for one another.





Figure 9.1: Ruby's father "Binats"

Photo courtesy of Jonathan Janzen and Ruby Dawson Cranmer

## CHAPTER 10

# Dzapes Japanese Camp

### 10.1 Dzapes

Lax'idux laxa Dzapes gananamwa'le'x. Hedanu'xw geñakwali Gwayasdam's. Lamānu'xw latso lax bo'te' san umpwa'le'. Kinamanu'xw gigangananam. Lamānu'xw laga'a lax Gayuxw. Lamisanu'xw ni'asu's witlanu'xw gukwalati. Lamisanu'xw duxw'i xa gukw. Olakal iki da gukw.

Lamisan dlawān tsatsaya didukwalagalila. Lamānu'xw dukwala xa ikatsi, axstohi da ikatsi. Lamisan nam tsaya ikista. La'am ka xa i'axalasayu sa Dzidzabani ka's le' kitla. Ki'san kotlax dligame's. Paxolamas xa kidlam. O'am wila dhidasanu'xw kasu', naxwamanu'xw la amlas. Lamānu'xw wila bani'stax he'e gwiksi da ball. Lamisanu'xw ni'asu' ma'lo'lanu'xw gukw. Hemānu'xw kwalisi da dlawi's ganam dlawi's sisasam. Hemānu'xw dhidhidladlola gayul lax Gwayi. *Play with those balls*, lamisanu'xw amlanaxwas dlawān tsitsatsaya dlu' hemānu'xw dhidhidladlola.

Lanaxwam̄anu'x̄w dzalxw'i laxa pawela diduxw'i xa bibo't gax edaka laxi kitla. Gax'am edakan umpwa'le' gaxi da ka's le'e kitla laxa Awikinoxw. Walsanu'x̄w ayaxpas lañaxe'kanu'x̄w dukwala xa kinam i'ixpa'omas lax bo'te' san ump. Lam̄anu'x̄w dax'i kanu'x̄w le's laxa gukw lax Dzap̄es,<sup>1</sup> hamx'i xanu'x̄w ax'exsdasu' laxa i'ixpa'omas. Dzamgilatlan abampwa'le' xa wa'okw. Higañanu'x̄w o'am wilasu' hamx'idsawi da *watermelon*-xtla. Was iki da *watermelon*.

Lam̄anu'x̄w ayaxpas wila lax Gayuxw. Kinamanu'x̄w ax'as kanu'x̄w amla'as. Lanaxwanu'x̄w laxa ukwsiwe'. Was kinami da ixpa'omas ka ugwaka dzamgilasu' san abampwa'le'. Kinamanu'x̄w dzam laxwe' laxa dzaksam. Kayos xan jax laxa 1940's.

Nampanan dlawan dlawla'gas axstu xa dzaksam axala sa dlabam. Kisanu'x̄w wel axstudaxw. Lam̄anu'x̄w o'am naka xa dzuse' sa ixpa'oma. Lamisanu'x̄w abamp gax duxw'i xanu'x̄w gwigilas. Ki'sta lawisa, o'am axstu xa dzaksam kanu'x̄w hamx'ide' xa ixpa'omas.

Eman.

## 10.2 Japanese Camp

They went to Dzapes (Japanese Camp) when I was a little kid. We were coming from Gilford Island, and we travelled inside my father's boat. A lot of our young people were there. Then we reached Glendale Cove (Knight Inlet). We were told where we were going to live there, then we saw the house. It was a really nice house.

Then me and my younger siblings went looking all around it. We saw the upstairs, there was an opening on the ceiling. One of my younger siblings went upstairs, and he found things that

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<sup>1</sup>There is a blip in the recording here and Jonathan Janzen's voice can be heard helping Ruby to remember the next part of the story.

the Japanese used for fishing. I don't know what they call them. They make the nets float. What we found were all made of glass. We all played with them. When we brought them all down, they were just like balls. We were told that there were two houses. Our uncle was there together with his wife and their children. They were our relatives from Kingcome. Play with those balls, we used to play with them together with my younger siblings and also with our relatives.

Sometimes we'd run to the wharf to watch the boats come in from fishing. My father would return, coming back from fishing in River's Inlet. We had so much fun looking over all the fruit in father's boat. We took it back to the house in Dzapes (Japanese Camp) so we could eat whatever we wanted from the fruit. My mother was going to make jam with the rest. We only ate what is called watermelon. The watermelon was really good.

We all had a lot of fun in Knight Inlet. There were lots of places for us to play. We all used to go to the mouth of the river. There was also a lot of fruit for my mother to make into jam. A lot of our jam was kept in cans. There weren't any of my jars in the 1940's.

One time I, together with my niece, was opening a can using a nail. We couldn't open it. So we just drank the juice from the fruit. Mom came and saw what we were doing. She wasn't angry though, she just opened the can so we could eat the fruit.

Amen.

### 10.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Lax'idux laxa Dzəpəs gənanəmwa'le'x.

lax'idux	laxa		
la -x'id = ux	la = x = a		
go-BEC = D2	PREP = ACC = D4		
Dzəpəs	gənanəmwa'le'x		
Dzəpəs	gənanəm = wa'ɬ = a = (i)k		
Japanese.Camp	young = DIST.PST = EMB = V1		

'They went to Dzəpəs (Japanese Camp) when I was a little kid.'

- (2) Hedənu'xw geŋəkwəli Gwayəsdəm's.

hedənu'xw	geŋəkwəli
he = d = ənu'xw	gay -ŋəkwəl = i
be.D3 = DET = 1.EXCL	originate-GR.ADV = D3
Gwayəsdəm's	
Gwayəsdəm's	
Gilford.Island	

'We were coming from Gilford Island.'

- (3) Ləmənu'xw latso lax bo'te' sən umpwə'le'

ləmənu'xw	latso	lax	bo'te'
lə = 'm = ənu'xw	la -tso	la = x	bo't = e'
AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	go-inside	PREP = ACC	boat = I3
sən	umpwə'le'		
= s = ən	ump = wa'ɬ = e'		
= 3.POSS = 1.POSS	father = DIST.PST = I3		

'We travelled inside my father's boat.'



- (4) Kinamanu'xw gigangananam.

kinamanu'xw                      gigangananam  
kinam = anu'xw              Ci~ ganananam  
 many = 1.EXCL.POSS    PL~ young.PL

'A lot of our young people were there.'

- (5) Lamanu'xw laga'a lax Gayuxw.

lamanu'xw                      laga'a              lax                      Gayuxw  
 la = 'm = anu'xw    la -ga'a              la = x              Gayuxw  
 AUX=VER=1.EXCL    go-arrive    PREP=ACC    Knight.Inlet

'Then we reached Glendale Cove (Knight Inlet).'

- (6) Lamisanu'xw nifasu's witlanu'xw gukwalati.

lamisanu'xw                      nifasu's  
 la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw    nif -a -saw              = s  
 AUX=VER=and.so = 1.EXCL    tell -A -ACC.PASS = 3.POSS

witlanu'xw                      gukwalati  
 wi = tf = anu'xw    gukwal -a = tf = i  
 WH=FUT=1.EXCL    dwell -A =FUT=D3

'We were told where we were going to live.'

- (7) Lamisanu'xw duxw'i xa gukw.

lamisanu'xw                      duxw'i                      xa  
 la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw    dukw -x'id              = x = a  
 AUX=VER=and.so = 1.EXCL    see -BEC              = ACC=D4

gukw  
 gukw  
 house

'Then we saw the house.'

(8) Olakal iki da gukw.

olakal iki da gukw

olakal ik =i =da gukw  
truly good=D3 =DET house

‘It was a really nice house.’

(9) Lamisan dlawan tsatsaya didukwalagalala.

lamisan dlawan

la =’m =(w)is =an dlaw =an  
AUX=VER=and.so=1 with =1.POSS

tsatsaya

tsatsaya  
younger.sibling.PL

didukwalagalala

Ci~ dukw -al -a -(g)al -it -al -a  
PL~ see -CONT-A -move.about-indoors-CONT-A

‘Then me and my younger siblings went looking all around it.’

- (10) lamanu'xw dukwala xa ika'tsi, axstohi da ika'tsi.

lamanu'xw                      dukwala                      xa  
 la = 'm = anu'xw      dukw -al      -a      =x      = a  
 AUX=VER=1.EXCL      see      -CONT-A      =ACC=D4  
 ika'tsi              axstohi                      da              ika'tsi  
 ika'tsi              ax -stu -ala =i      =da      ika'tsi  
 high.place      do -open-STAT=D3      =DET      high.place

'We saw the upstairs, there was an opening on the ceiling.'

- (11) lamisan nam tsa'ya ikista.

lamisan                                      nam      tsa'ya                      ikista  
 la = 'm = (w)is = an      nam      tsa'ya                      ikista  
 AUX=VER=and.so=1.POSS      one      younger.sibling      ascend

'One of my younger siblings went upstairs.'

(12) La'am k̄a xa i'ax̄alasayu sa Dzidzabani k̄a's le' kit̄la.

la'am      k̄a    xa                    i'ax̄alasayu  
 la = 'm    k̄a    = x̄    = a    Ci~ ax̄ -al    -a -ayu  
 AUX=VER   find    =ACC=D4   PL~ do -CONT-A -INST.PASS  
 sa                    Dzidzabani      k̄a's  
 =s            =a    Ci~ Dzabani    k̄a    =(i)'s  
 =3.POSS=D4   PL~ Japanese    PREP=3.REFL.POSS  
 le'                    kit̄la  
 la = a    =i'      kit̄            -a  
 go = EMB=NMLZ   fish.with.net-A

'He found things that the Japanese used for fishing.'

(13) K̄i'san k̄ot̄lax̄ d̄higame's.

k̄i'san      k̄ot̄lax̄  
 (k̄)i's = an    k̄ot̄ -al    -a = x̄  
 NEG = 1    know-CONT-A = ACC  
 d̄higame's  
 d̄hik̄ -am    = e' = s  
 call -NMLZ=I3 = 3.POSS

'I don't know what they call them.'

(14) Paxolamas xa kid̄lam.

paxolamas                    xa                    kid̄lam  
 paxw -ola    -mas    = x̄    = a    kid̄lam  
 float -on.water-CAUS    = ACC=D4   net

'They make the nets float.'

(15) O'am wıla dđidłasanu'xw k̄kasu'.

o'am wıla dđidłasanu'xw k̄kasu'  
 o = 'm wıla Ci~ dłas = anu'xw k̄ka -saw  
 so = VER all PL~ glass = 1.EXCL.POSS find-ACC.PASS  
 'What we found were all glass.'

(16) Naxwam̄anu'xw la am̄łas.

naxwam̄anu'xw la am̄łas  
 naxwa = 'm = anu'xw la am̄łas -a = s  
 every = VER = 1.EXCL AUX play -A = INST  
 'We all played with them.'

(17) Lam̄anu'xw wıla bañi'stax he'e gwiksi da ball.

lam̄anu'xw wıla bañi'stax  
 la = 'm = anu'xw wıla bañi'st -a = x  
 AUX = VER = 1.EXCL all descend-A = ACC  
 he'e gwiksi da ball  
 he = a = i gwi -ks = i = da ball  
 be.D3 = EMB = D3 INDEF-manner = D3 = DET ball

'When we brought them all down, they were just like balls.'

- (18) Lamisanu'xw nilasu' ma'lo'lanu'xw gukw.

<u>la</u>	= 'm = (w)is = <u>anu'xw</u>	<u>ni</u> lasu'
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL		tell -A -ACC.PASS

ma'lo'lanu'xw	gukw
ma'ł = wa'ł = <u>anu'xw</u>	gukw
two = DIST.PST = 1.EXCL.POSS	house

'We were told that there were two houses.'

- (19) Hemanu'xw kwalisi da dławi's ganam dławi's sisasam.

he	= 'm = <u>anu'xw</u>	<u>k</u> walisi = i
be.D3 = VER = 1.EXCL.POSS		uncle = D3

da	d <u>ła</u> wi's
= da	d <u>ła</u> w = (i)'s
= DET	with = 3.REFL.POSS

<u>ga</u> na <u>m</u>	d <u>ła</u> wi's	si <u>sa</u> sam
<u>ga</u> na <u>m</u>	d <u>ła</u> w = (i)'s	Ci ~ sasam
wife	with = 3.REFL.POSS	PL ~ children

'Our uncle was there together with his wife and their children.'

(20) Heḿanu'xw dḥidḥidḥadḥola gayuḥ lax Gwayi.

heḿanu'xw		dḥidḥidḥadḥola
he = 'm = anu'xw		Ci~ dḥidḥadḥola
be.D3 = VER = 1.EXCL.POSS		PL~ relative
gayuḥ	lax	Gwayi
gay -utḥ	la = x	Gwayi
originate-from	PREP = ACC	Kingcome.Inlet

'They were our relatives from Kingcome.'

(21) *Play with those balls*, lamisanu'xw amlanaxwas dḥawḥan  
[tsits] tsitsatsaya dḥu' heḿanu'xw dḥidḥidḥadḥola.

*play with those balls* lamisanu'xw

<i>play with those balls</i>	la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw
play with those balls	AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL

amlanaxwas

amḥ -a = naxwa	= s
play -A = sometimes	= INST

dḥawḥan	tsitsatsaya	dḥu'
---------	-------------	------

dḥawḥ = an	Ci~ tsatsaya	dḥawḥ
with = 1.POSS	PL~ younger.sibling.PL	and

heḿanu'xw	dḥidḥidḥadḥola
-----------	----------------

he = 'm = anu'xw	Ci~ dḥidḥadḥola
be.D3 = VER = 1.EXCL.POSS	PL~ relative

'Play with those balls, we used to play with them together with my younger siblings and also with our relatives.'

- (22) Lanaxwaṃanu'xw dzəlxw'i laxa pawela diduxw'i xa  
 bibo't gaṣ edaka laxi kitla.

lanaxwaṃanu'xw

la = naxwa = 'm = anu'xw

go = sometimes = VER = 1.EXCL

dzəlxw'i	laxa	pawela	
dzəlxw -x'id	la = x = a	pawela	
run -BEC	PREP = ACC = D4	wharf	
diduxw'i	xa	bibo't	gaṣ
Ci~ dukw -x'id	= x = a	Ci~ bo't	gaṣ
PL~ see -BEC	= ACC = D4	PL~ boat	come
edaka	laxi	kitla	
edak -a	la = x = i	kitl	-a
return-A	PREP = ACC = D3	fish.with.net-A	

'Sometimes we'd run to the wharf to watch the boats  
 come in from fishing.'



(23) Gax'am edakan umpwa'le' gaxi da ka's le'e kitla laxa  
Awikinoxw.

gax'am      edakan      umpwa'le'

gax = 'm    edak = an    ump = wa't    = e'  
come = VER    return = 1.POSS    father = DIST.PST = I3

gaxi      da      ka's

gax = i    = da    ka = (i)'s  
come = D3    = DET    PREP = 3.REFL.POSS

le'e                      kitla

la = a    = i'    = i    kitl            -a  
go = EMB = NMLZ = D3    fish.with.net-A

laxa                      Awikinoxw

la = x    = a    Awikinoxw  
PREP = ACC = D4    River's.Inlet

'My father would return, he came back from fishing in  
River's Inlet.'

- (24) W̄alas̄anu'x̄w āyax̄p̄as lānaxe'kanu'x̄w duk̄wała xa k̄in̄am  
i'ix̄p̄a'omas lax̄ bo'te' san̄ ump.

walas̄anu'x̄w      āyax̄p̄as

w̄alas      = anu'x̄w      āyax̄p̄as  
big/very = 1.EXCL      have.fun

lānaxe'kanu'x̄w

la -n̄akw(a) = a      = (i)k = anu'x̄w  
go-GR.ADV      = EMB = V1      = 1.EXCL.POSS

duk̄wała      x̄a

duk̄w -ała      = x̄      = a  
see      -STAT      = ACC = D4

k̄in̄am      i'ix̄p̄a'omas      lax̄

k̄in̄am      Ci~ ix̄p̄a'omas      la = x̄  
many      PL~ fruit      PREP = ACC

bo'te'      san̄      ump

bo't = e'      = s      = an      ump  
boat = I3      = 3.POSS = 1.POSS      father

'We had so much fun looking over all the fruit in father's  
boat.'

- (25)  $\text{la}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}'\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{w}}$   $\text{dax}'\underline{\text{i}}$   $\underline{\text{k}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}'\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{w}}$   $\text{le}'\text{s}$   $\text{la}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{a}}$   $\text{gukw}$   $\text{la}\underline{\text{x}}$   $\text{Dz}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{p}}\underline{\text{e}}\underline{\text{s}}$ ,  
 $\text{ha}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{x}}'\underline{\text{i}}$   $\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}'\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{w}}$   $\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{x}}'\underline{\text{e}}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{d}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{u}}'$   $\text{la}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{a}}$   $\text{i}'\underline{\text{i}}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{p}}\underline{\text{a}}'\underline{\text{o}}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{s}}$ .

$\text{la}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}'\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{w}}$

$\text{la}$  = 'm =  $\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}'\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{w}}$   
 AUX = VER = 1.EXCL

$\text{dax}'\underline{\text{i}}$

$\text{da}$  -x'id  
 take.in.hand-BEC

$\underline{\text{k}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}'\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{w}}$

$\underline{\text{k}}\underline{\text{a}}$  =  $\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}'\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{w}}$   
 PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS

$\text{le}'\text{s}$

$\text{la}$  = a = i' = s  
 go = EMB = NMLZ = INST

$\text{la}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{a}}$

$\text{la}$  =  $\underline{\text{x}}$  = a  
 PREP = ACC = D4

$\text{gukw}$

$\text{gukw}$   
 house

$\text{la}\underline{\text{x}}$

$\text{la}$  =  $\underline{\text{x}}$   
 PREP = ACC

$\text{Dz}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{p}}\underline{\text{e}}\underline{\text{s}}$

$\text{Dz}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{p}}\underline{\text{e}}\underline{\text{s}}$   
 Japanese.Camp

$\text{ha}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{x}}'\underline{\text{i}}$

$\text{ha}\underline{\text{m}}$  -x'id  
 eat -BEC

$\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}'\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{w}}$

=  $\underline{\text{x}}$  =  $\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{n}}\underline{\text{u}}'\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{w}}$   
 = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS

$\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{x}}'\underline{\text{e}}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{d}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{s}}\underline{\text{u}}'$

$\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{x}}$  -'exsd -a -saw  
 do -want -A -ACC.PASS

$\text{la}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{a}}$

$\text{la}$  =  $\underline{\text{x}}$  = a  
 PREP = ACC = D4

$\text{i}'\underline{\text{i}}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{p}}\underline{\text{a}}'\underline{\text{o}}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{s}}$

Ci ~  $\underline{\text{i}}\underline{\text{x}}\underline{\text{p}}\underline{\text{a}}'\underline{\text{o}}\underline{\text{m}}\underline{\text{a}}\underline{\text{s}}$   
 PL ~ fruit

'We took it back to the house in Dzapes (Japanese Camp)  
 so we could eat whatever we wanted from the fruit.'

- (26) Dzamgilat̄an abampwā'le' xa wā'okw.

dzamgilat̄an                      abampwā'le'  
 dzam -(g)ila    =t̄    =an      abamp = wa'ł    =e'  
 jam    -make/do = FUT = 1.POSS    mother = DIST.PST = I3

xa                      wā'okw  
 =x    =a    wā'okw  
 =ACC=D4    other

'My mother was going to make jam with the rest.'

- (27) Higam̄anu'xw o'am wīlasu' ham̄x'idsaw̄i da watermelon-xt̄la.

higam̄anu'xw                      o'am  
 higa = 'm = anu'xw    o = 'm  
 only = VER = 1.EXCL    so = VER

wīlasu'                      ham̄x'idsaw̄i                      da  
 wīla -saw̄                      ham̄ -x'id -saw̄                      =i                      =da  
 all -ACC.PASS                      eat -BEC -ACC.PASS = D3                      =DET

watermelon-xt̄la

watermelon -(x)t̄la  
 watermelon -be.called

'We only ate what is called watermelon.'

- (28) W̄alas iki da watermelon.

w̄alas    iki                      da    watermelon  
 w̄alas    ik    =i    =da    watermelon  
 big/very    good = D3    =DET    watermelon

'The watermelon was really good.'

(29) La<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>nu'xw ayaxpas wila lax Gayuxw.

la <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> nu'xw	ayaxpas	wila	lax
la = 'm = anu'xw AUX=VER=1.EXCL	ayaxpas have.fun	wila all	la = x PREP=ACC

Gayuxw

Gayuxw  
Knight.Inlet

'We all had a lot of fun in Knight Inlet.'

(30) Kinamanu'xw ax'as kanu'xw amla'as.

kinamanu'xw	ax'as	kanu'xw
kinam = anu'xw many = 1.EXCL.POSS	ax -'as do -LOC.PASS	ka = anu'xw PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS

amla'as

aml -a -'as  
play -A -LOC.PASS

'There were lots of places for us to play.'

(31) Lanaxwanu'xw laxa ukwsiwe'.

lanaxwanu'xw	laxa	ukwsiwe'
la = naxwa = anu'xw go = sometimes = 1.EXCL	la = x = a PREP = ACC = D4	ukwsiwe' river.mouth

'We all used to go to the mouth of the river.'

- (32) W̄alas k̄inami da ixpa'omas [kanu'xw] ka ugwaḱa dzamgilasu' san abampwa'le'.

w̄alas k̄inami da ixpa'omas ka  
w̄alas k̄inam = i = da ixpa'omas ka  
big/very many = D3 = DET fruit PREP  
ugwaḱa dzamgilasu' san  
ugwaḱa dzam -(g)ila -saḱ = s = an  
also jam -make/do-ACC.PASS = 3.POSS = 1.POSS  
abampwa'le'  
abamp = wa'ḱ = e'  
mother = DIST.PST = I3

'There was also a lot of fruit for my mother to make into jam.'

- (33) K̄inamanu'xw dzam laxwe' laxa dzaksam.

k̄inamanu'xw dzam  
k̄inam = anu'xw dzam  
many = 1.EXCL jam  
laxwe' laxa dzaksam  
laxw = a = i' la = x = a dzaksam  
contain = EMB = NMLZ PREP = ACC = D4 metal.can

'A lof of our jam was kept in cans.'

(34) *Ķayos x̄an jars laxa 1940's.*

*Ķayos x̄an jars laxa 1940's*

*Ķayos = x̄ = an jars la = x̄ = a 1940's*  
 NEG.EXIST = ACC = 1.POSS jars PREP = ACC = D4 1940's

'There weren't any of my jars in the 1940's.'

(35) *Ńamṗanan dław̄an dław̄lā'gas ax̄stu xa dzaksam ax̄ala sa dław̄bam.*

*Ńamṗanan dław̄an dław̄lā'gas*  
*Ńam -ṗan -a = an dław̄ = an dław̄lā'gas*  
 one -occurrence-A = 1 with = 1.POSS niece

*ax̄stu xa dzaksam ax̄ala*  
*ax̄ -stu = x̄ = a dzaksam ax̄ -al -a*  
 do -open = ACC = D4 metal.can do -CONT-A

*sa dław̄bam*  
*= s = a dław̄bam*  
 = INST = D4 nail

'One time I, together with my niece, was opening a can using a nail.'

(36) *Ķi'sanu'x̄w weł ax̄studax̄w.*

*Ķi'sanu'x̄w weł ax̄studax̄w*

*(Ķ)i's = anu'x̄w weł ax̄ -stu -x'id = x̄w*  
 NEG = 1.EXCL ABIL do -open-BEC = ACC.D2

'We couldn't open it.'

(37) L̄am̄anu'x̄w o'am̄ nākā x̄a dzuse' sa ix̄p̄a'oma.

l̄am̄anu'x̄w	o'am̄	nākā	x̄a
l̄a = 'm = anu'x̄w	o = 'm	nāk -a	= x̄ = a
AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	so = VER	drink-A	= ACC = D4
dzuse'	sa	ix̄p̄a'oma	
dzus = e'	= s	= a	ix̄p̄a'oma
juice = I3	= 3.POSS = D4	fruit	

'So we just drank the juice from the fruit.'

(38) L̄am̄isanu'x̄w ab̄amp̄ gāx̄ dūx̄w'i x̄anu'x̄w gwigilas.

l̄am̄isanu'x̄w		
l̄a = 'm = (w)is = anu'x̄w		
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL.POSS		
ab̄amp̄	gāx̄	dūx̄w'i
ab̄amp̄	gāx̄	dūk̄w -x'id
mother	come	see -BEC
x̄anu'x̄w	gwigilas	
= x̄ = anu'x̄w	gwi -(g)ila -'as	
= ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS	INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS	

'Mom came and saw what we were doing.'



- (39) Ki'sta lawisa, o'am axstu xa dzaksam kanu'xw hamx'ide'  
xa ixpa'omas.

<u>ki's</u> ta	<u>lawisa</u>	<u>o'am</u>		
(k)i's = ta	lawis -a	o = 'm		
NEG = but	angry -A	so = VER		
<u>ax</u> stu	<u>xa</u>	<u>dzaksam</u>	<u>kanu'xw</u>	
<u>ax</u> -stu	= <u>x</u> = a	<u>dzaksam</u>	<u>ka</u> = <u>anu'xw</u>	
do -open	= ACC = D4	metal.can	PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS	
<u>hamx'ide'</u>		<u>xa</u>	<u>ixpa'omas</u>	
<u>ham</u> -x'id = a	= i'	= <u>x</u> = a	<u>ixpa'omas</u>	
eat -BEC = EMB = NMLZ		= ACC = D4	fruit	

'She wasn't angry though, she just opened the can so we could eat the fruit.'

- (40) Eman.

eman  
 amen  
 amen  
 'Amen.'

## 10.4 Editors' Note

Dzapes is another in the series of early childhood anecdotes which describe Ruby's upbringing in different places along BC's coast. To understand this story, some historical context is necessary. The houses which Ruby's family move into were previously lived in by Japanese people who, in 1942 during WWII, were evacuated from their homes in coastal British Columbia and sent to internment camps by order of the

Canadian government. In Dzape, this harsh reality is juxtaposed against Ruby's lived reality wherein her and her siblings find a beautiful place to live, Japanese fishing balls to play with, and the opportunity to enjoy a carefree childhood.

## CHAPTER 11

# Hilú'swá'le' Great-grandmother

### 11.1 Hilú'swá'le'

Gwagwixstalátlan laxan hilú'swá'le'. Ola ikan noke' le'ax kotłala xan hilú'swá'le'. Tłumwá'hi ik tsadaqa', nogadwá'ł tsadaqa'. Gukwala lax gukwa' si's xwanukw, xan gagampwá'le'.

He'am gukwala laxa amabido' kwalilas. La'am watłalasu's le'e xumałala dławı da lolinox. Lanaxwa waldas hadzaxstali da kwalıyakwbido', ame'sgamalabidu. La'am le' waldas xumałala. La'am watłalasu' san wiwakwa, lo's gwigilase's, napalagalił xa lolinox. Dax'i xa *spirit*-tła ka's napalagaliłe'. La'am hadzaxstala kayudi da kwalıakwwá'le' xa lolinox. He'am gwigilase's waldasxanti nogada. La'am kotłala xi's paxala'inayi, xan hilú'swá'le'. Kayos i'sa weł i'kila'akw. He'mi da bibibagwanam dławı tsitsitsadak ix'idamatsu's.

La'e nampnan abampwá'le' walsi da pantsa lax kukuñe's. Lamisan hilú'swá'le' tus'i xa pantsala. Ki'sanu'xw kotłala xa da

*cancer* lax̄ gayu'łwa'le', k̄ayos k̄odłala'. Lamis kwamti xa da pantsa lax̄ kukuñe' san abampwa'le'. La'am wila lawe xa da yaksam̄. La'am kwis'i xa yaksam̄. Ki's gełas le' ix'idan abamwa'le'. He gwix'idi da kwalyakwwu'le', kayos i's k̄odłala'. Kayos i's k̄odłal sa kwalyakwwa'le' paxala.

Eman! *Hallelujah!*

## 11.2 Great-grandmother

I'm going to talk about my late great-grandmother. I was so happy to know my late great-grandmother. She was a very good woman, a wise woman. She lived in the house of her son, my late grandfather.

It was in a tiny bedroom that she lived. They heard her there fighting with the ghosts. Sometimes the old woman was really loud, that tiny little woman. They were having a big fight. My older brothers heard what she was doing, throwing the ghosts around. She grabbed the spirit to throw it around the room. The old woman shouted at the ghost. She must have been so wise to have done that. She knew her shaman ways, my great-grandmother. There was nothing that she couldn't heal. Men and women were healed by her.

One time my mother had a big lump on her neck. So my great-grandmother cut the lump. Nobody knew about cancer in the old days, nothing was known. She then sucked on the lump on my mother's neck, and all of the bad stuff came out. Then she spat out the bad stuff. It wasn't long before my late mother got better. That's what that old lady did, there was nothing she didn't know. There was nothing she didn't know, the old lady shaman.

Amen! *Hallelujah!*

### 11.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Gwagwixstalatṭan laxan hilu'swa'e'.

gwagwixstalatṭan                      laxan  
 gwagwixstal -a = tḥ = an    la    = x    = an  
 talk.about    -A = FUT = 1    PREP = ACC = 1.POSS

hilu'swa'e'

hilu's                      = wa'ṭ    = e'  
 great.grandparent = DIST.PST = I3

'I'm going to talk about my late great-grandmother.'

- (2) Ola ikan noke' le'ax kotḥala xan hilu'swa'e'.

ola    ikan                      noke'  
 ola    ik    = an              noke'  
 truly    good = 1.POSS    heart/mind

le'ax                      kotḥala                      xan  
 la    = a    = (i)k              kotḥ -aḥ -a              = x    = an  
 AUX = EMB = V1              know-CONT-A              = ACC = 1.POSS

hilu'swa'e'

hilu's                      = wa'ṭ    = e'  
 great.grandparent = DIST.PST = I3

'I was so happy to know my late great-grandmother.'

- (3) Tlumwa'hi ik tsadaka', nogadwa'ł tsadaka'.

tlumwa'hi		ik	tsadaka'
tluma = wa'ł	=i	ik	tsadak = a'
really = DIST.PST = D3		good	woman = I3
nogadwa'ł		tsadaka'	
nogad = wa'ł		tsadak = a'	
wise = DIST.PST		woman = I3	

'She was a very good woman, a wise woman.'

- (4) Gukwala lax gukwa' si's xwanukw, xan gagampwa'le'.

gukwala		lax	
gukw -al -a		la	= x
house -CONT-A		PREP = ACC	
gukwa'	si's		xwanukw
gukw = a'	= s	= (i)'s	xwanukw
house = I3	= 3.POSS = 3.REFL.POSS		child
xan		gagampwa'le'	
= x	= an	gagamp	= wa'ł = e'
= ACC = 1.POSS		grandfather = DIST.PST = I3	

'She lived in the house of her son, my late grandfather.'

- (5) He'am gukwala laxa amabido' kwalilas.

he'am	gukwala	laxa	
he = 'm	gukw -al -a	la	= x = a
be.D3 = VER	house -CONT-A	PREP = ACC = D4	
amabido'	kwalilas		
ama -bidu = a'	kwāl -ił	- 'as	
small-DIM = I3	lay	-indoors-LOC.PASS	

'It was in a tiny bedroom that she lived.'

(6) La'am waṭṭaṭasu's le'e xumaṭaṭa dḷa'wi da lolinox.

la'am            waṭṭaṭasu's

la = 'm        waṭṭ -aṭ    -a -sa'w        =s  
AUX=VER    hear -CONT-A -ACC.PASS = 3.POSS

le'e

la = a        =i'        =i  
AUX=EMB=NMLZ=D3

xumaṭaṭa            dḷa'wi            da        lolinox

xumaṭ -aṭ    -a    dḷa'w =i        =da    lolinox  
fight -CONT-A    with =D3        =DET    ghost

'They heard her there fighting with the ghosts.'

(7) Lanaxwa wālas hadzaṭxstali da k'waṭyākwbido',  
ame'sgamalabidu.

lanaxwa            wālas            hadzaṭxstali            da

la = naxwa        wālas            hadzaṭxstal =i        =da  
AUX=sometimes    big/very        loud                =D3        =DET

k'waṭyākwbido'            ame'sgamalabidu

k'waṭyāk -bidu =e'        ame'sgamala -bidu  
old.person -DIM =I3        small.build        -DIM

'Sometimes the old woman was really loud, that tiny  
little woman (small build).'

(8) La'am le' wálas xumáala.

la'am le'  
 la = 'm la = a = i'  
 AUX = VER AUX = EMB = NMLZ

wálas xumáala  
 wálas xumał -al -a  
 big/very fight -CONT-A

'They were having a big fight.'

(9) La'am watálasu' san wiwákwa, lo's gwigilase's,  
 napalagalił xa lolinox.

la'am watálasu' san  
 la = 'm watł -al -a -saw = s = an  
 AUX = VER hear -CONT-A -ACC.PASS = 3.POSS = 1.POSS

wiwákwa lo's

Ci~ wákwa la = i's  
 PL~ older.sibling AUX = 3.REFL.POSS

gwigilase's

gwi -(g)ila -'as = e' = s  
 INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS = I3 = INST

napalagalił

nap -al -a -(g)al -ił  
 throw-CONT-A -move.about-indoors

xa lolinox

= x = a lolinox  
 = ACC = D4 ghost

'My older brothers heard it, what she was doing with them, throwing the ghosts around.'



- (10) Dax'i x̄a
- spirit*
- t̄la k̄a's napalagalīe'.

dax'i                      x̄a  
 da                      -x'id    = x̄    = a  
 take.in.hand-BEC    = ACC = D4

*spirit*-t̄la              k̄a's  
*spirit* -(x)t̄la        k̄a    = (i)'s  
 spirit -be.called    PREP = 3.REFL.POSS

napalagalīe'  
 nap -al -a -(g)at̄      -it̄      = a    = i'  
 throw-CONT-A -move.about-indoors = EMB = NMLZ

'She grabbed the spirit to throw it around the room.'

- (11) La'am hadzaxstala k̄ayudi da k̄wal'yakwwa'le' x̄a lolinox.

la'am              hadzaxstala              k̄ayudi              da  
 lā = 'm    hadzaxstal -a    k̄ayud = i    = da  
 AUX = VER    loud              -A    talk    = D3    = DET  
 k̄wal'yakwwa'le'              x̄a              lolinox  
 k̄wal'yakw = wa'l̄    = e'    = x̄    = a    lolinox  
 old.person    = DIST.PST = I3    = ACC = D4    ghost

'The old woman shouted at the ghost.'

- (12) He'am gwigilase's wálasxanti nogada.

he'am            gwigilase's  
 he = 'm        gwi -(g)ila    -'as        = e' = s  
 be.D3 = VER    INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS = I3 = 3.POSS

wálasxanti            nogada  
 wálas = xant = i    nogad -a  
 big/very = MOD = D3    wise    -A

'She must have been so wise to have done that.'

- (13) La'am kótlala xi's paxala'inayi, xan hilú'swa'le'.

la'am            kótlala            xi's  
 la = 'm        kótl -al    -a        = x    = (i)'s  
 AUX = VER    know-CONT-A    = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS

paxala'inayi        xan  
 paxala -'inayi    = x    = an  
 shaman-GER        = ACC = 1.POSS

hilú'swa'le'

hilú's                    = wa'ł        = e'  
 great.grandparent = DIST.PST = I3

'She knew her shaman ways, my great-grandmother.'

- (14) Kayos i'sa weł i'kila'akw.

kayos            i'sa            weł    i'kila'akw  
 kayos        (k)i's = a'    weł    i'kila    -(a)kw  
 NEG.EXIST    NEG = I3    ABIL    heal/bless-PART

'There was nothing that she couldn't heal.'

- (15) Hemi da bibibagwanam dlawi tsitsitsadak ix'idamatsu's.

hemi                      da        bibibagwanam  
 he    = 'm = i        = da    Ci~ Ci~ bagwanam  
 be.D3=VER=D3    =DET    PL~ PL~ man  
  
 dlawi                      tsitsitsadak  
 dlaw = i                Ci~ Ci~ tsadak  
 with =D3                PL~ PL~ woman  
  
 ix'idamatsu's  
 ik -x'id -a -mas -saw        =s  
 good-BEC -A -CAUS-ACC.PASS=3.POSS

'Men and women were healed by her.'

- (16) La'e nampanan abampwa'le' walasi da pantsa lax kukune's.

la'e                      nampanan  
 la = i        nam -pan                = an  
 AUX=D3    one -occurrence=1.POSS  
  
 abampwa'le'                      walasi                      da  
 abamp = wa'ɬ        =e'        wawas = i        = da  
 mother =DIST.PST=I3    big/very=D3        =DET  
  
 pantsa                      lax                      kukune's  
 pantsa                      la = x        kukuna = e' =s  
 lump.on.skin    PREP=ACC    neck        =I3 =3.POSS

'One time my mother had a big lump on her neck.'

(17) Lamísan hilú'swá'le' tús'i xa pantsála.

lamísan

la = 'm = (w)is = an  
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS

hilú'swá'le'

hilú's = wá't = e'  
great.grandparent = DIST.PST = I3

tús'i xa pantsála

tús -x'id = x = a pantsa -al -a  
cut -BEC = ACC = D4 lump.on.skin-CONT-A

'So my great-grandmother cut the lump.'

(18) Kí'sanu'xw kótłala xa da cancer laxa gayu'twa'le', kayos kótłala'.

kí'sanu'xw kótłala xa da

(k)i's = anu'xw kótł -al -a = x = a = da  
NEG = 1.EXCL know-CONT-A = ACC = D4 = DET

cancer laxa gayu'twa'le'

cancer la = x = a gayu't = wá't = e'  
cancer PREP = ACC = D4 early = DIST.PST = I3

kayos kótłala'

kayos kótł -al = a'  
NEG.EXIST know-NMLZ = I3

'Nobody knew about cancer in the old days, nothing was known.'

(19) L̄amis kw̄am̄ti xa da p̄antsa lax̄ k̄uk̄uñe' san̄ ab̄ampw̄a'le'.

l̄amis	kw̄am̄ti	xa		
l̄a = 'm = (w)is AUX = VER = and.so	kw̄amt -x'id suck -BEC	= x̄ = a = ACC = D4		
da	p̄antsa	lax̄	k̄uk̄uñe'	
= da = DET	p̄antsa lump.on.skin	la = x̄ PREP = ACC	k̄uk̄uña = e' neck = I3	
san̄	ab̄ampw̄a'le'			
= s = 3.POSS	= an̄ = 1.POSS	ab̄amp = wa'ł mother = DIST.PST	= e' = I3	

'Then she sucked on the lump on my mother's neck.'

(20) L̄a'am̄ w̄ila lawe xa da ýaksam̄.

l̄a'am̄	w̄ila	lawe	xa	da	ýaksam̄
l̄a = 'm AUX = VER	w̄ila all	lawe come.out	= x̄ = a = ACC = D4	= da = DET	ýaksam̄ bad

'Then all of the bad stuff came out.'

(21) L̄a'am̄ kwis'i xa ýaksam̄.

l̄a'am̄	kwis'i	xa	ýaksam̄
l̄a = 'm AUX = VER	kwis -x'id spit -BEC	= x̄ = a = ACC = D4	ýaksam̄ bad

'Then she spat out the bad stuff.'

(22) Kí's gela le' ix'idan abamwa'le'.

kí's            gela                            le'  
 (k)i's        gela        =s                    la    =a    =i'  
 NEG        long.time=3.POSS    AUX=EMB=NMLZ  
 ix'idan                            abamwa'le'  
 ik    -x'id =an        abamp =wa'ł        =e'  
 good-BEC =1.POSS    mother =DIST.PST=I3

'It wasn't long before my late mother got better.'

(23) He gwix'idi da k'walyakwwu'le', kayos i's kodłala'.

he            gwix'idi                            da  
 he            gwi    -x'id =i                    =da  
 be.D3    INDEF-BEC =D3                    =DET  
 k'walyakwwu'le'  
 k'walyakw =wa'ł                    =e'  
 old.person =DIST.PST=I3  
 kayos            i's            kodłala'  
 kayos            (k)i's        kotł -ał        =a'  
 NEG.EXIST    NEG            know-NMLZ=I3

'That's what that old lady did, there was nothing she didn't know.'

(24) K̄ayos i's k̄odł̄ał sa k̄walyakwwa'le' pax̄ala.

k̄ayos            i's            k̄odł̄ał

k̄ayos            (k̄)i's            k̄otł̄ -ał  
 NEG.EXIST      NEG            know-NMLZ

sa                      k̄walyakwwa'le'                      pax̄ala

=s            =a    k̄walyakw =wa'ł            =e'    pax̄ala  
 =3.POSS =D4    old.person   =DIST.PST =I3    shaman

'There was nothing she didn't know, the old lady shaman.'

(25) Emañ! *Hallelujah!*

emañ    *Hallelujah*

emañ    *Hallelujah*

amen    hallelujah

'Amen! Hallelujah!'

## 11.4 Editors' Note

As the title suggests, this story is about Ruby's great-grandmother, who was a highly respected elder, medicine woman, and shaman in her time. She is also the central character in the Wina 'War' story provided in this volume; both stories take place at Gilford Island. As a child, Ruby was an eager listener to her stories and traditions. Ruby credits a lot of her knowledge and personal strength to the relationship she had with her great-grandmother.





## CHAPTER 12

# Pentlakan Pentlican

### 12.1 Pentlakan

Le'kanu'xw gukwala lax Gwayi, lanaxwanu'xw laxa tsama xa ganu. Nami da gukw he'amxant gwayula sa mamała "Pentecost". Hemanu'xw tsamasi da *Anglican* waxa, ke'e da kwalskwalyakw kakutamas gaxanu'xw kanu'xw danxale' Kwakwala.

Lamis gaxanu'xw dladlola wakwa watax dawla'gas dawwan kanu'xw le' lax Pentecost. Tuma kinami i'ix hame', ke'gaszikas! Lamis watan tsitsaya gigangananam ka's gaxe' dawwanu'xw. Lamisanu'xw la laxa Pentecost.

Lamisanu'xw danxala lax. Lamisi da ki'san kotlala ka Kwakwale' dhigams, le'e loł xa *Holy Spirit*. Lamisi da wiwa'okw yiyakantala ugwakala. Lamisi da gigangananam liloxwalagalił lax awina'gwite'sa gukw. He'am lagitse gangananam la lax ka's lotle' xa *marbles*, tigwaltsu laxi's bagat le' loxwalitlala. Hemis la dax'idsu' san tsitsaya. Kinami da

gigangananam o'amxant ax'exsda xa mi'marbles, lagile's laxa tsama. Lamis obula'am gwaŋ loxwalagaliŋ, le' loŋ xa marbles.<sup>1</sup> Lame'kanu'xw la humoŋa le'e gwigilagaliŋ. Lamisanu'xw hamx'i xa wlas i'ix kike'gas. Lamisanu'xw neŋakwa.

Lamisanu'xw abamp watle', "Wiksi da tsamax ganuŋ?" "Oŋakal ika, ix'am." nikanu'xw, oma. Ki'sanu'xw kotŋalax gaxe'tŋawi da kwalyakw Tsamaga watŋaŋ xan abamp, "Masi ki'sile's gaxe'e da kikaŋyala laxa tsamax ganuŋ?" Lamisanu'xw wlas lawitsawa'. Lame'kanu'xw o'am niŋa le'kanu'xw laxa Pentecostal tsama. Lamisi da kwalyakw o'am "Pentlakan"x'ala gaxanu'xw.

Eman.<sup>2</sup>

## 12.2 Pentlican

When we lived in Kingcome, we went to church at night. There was one house there, it must have been called "Pentecost" by white people. But we were supposed to go to the Anglican church, so that the old folks could teach us to sing in Kwakwala.

Our relative, an older sibling, came and asked my niece and I to go to the Pentecostals. There was lots of good food there, and lots of cakes! My younger brothers asked to come with us. So we went to the Pentecostals.

We sang there. Now, I don't know what you call it in Kwakwala when you get the Holy Spirit, but some of the people there were speaking in tongues. The kids started rolling around on the floor of the house. That's why kids went there to retrieve marbles, because they fell out of other kids' pockets while they were rolling around. That's why they were taken by

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<sup>1</sup>Ruby laughs while saying this line.

<sup>2</sup>Ruby breaks out in laughter right after saying this line.

my younger brothers. That must have been why the boys went to church, they wanted to get marbles. They stopped pretending to roll around when they finished getting the marbles. We just watched them while they were doing that. Then we ate some really good cakes and went home.

Then our mother asked, “How was church last night?” “Really good, it was good.” was all we said. We didn’t know that old Tsamaga was going to come and ask my mom, “Why didn’t the girls come to church last night?” She (our mother) got really angry at us. Then we told her that we had gone to the Pentecostal church. Then the old folks called us “Pentlicans” from then on.

Amen.

### 12.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Le'kanu'xw gukwala lax Gwayi, lanaxwanu'xw laxa tsama xa ganuʔ.

le'kanu'xw		gukwala	
la = a = (i)k = anu'xw AUX = EMB = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS		gukw -al -a house -CONT-A	
lax	Gwayi	lanaxwanu'xw	
la = x PREP = ACC	Gwayi Kingcome	la = naxwa = anu'xw go = sometimes = 1.EXCL	
laxa	tsama	xa	ganuʔ
la = x = a PREP = ACC = D4	tsama church	= x = a = ACC = D4	ganuʔ night

‘When we lived in Kingcome, we went to church at night.’

(2) Nami da gukw he'amxant gwayula sa mamala  
 "Pentecost".

nami da gukw he'amxant  
 nam = i = da gukw he = 'm = xant  
 one = D3 = DET house be.D3 = VER = MOD

gwayula sa  
 gwayu -la = s = a  
 refer -CONT = INST = D4

mamala Pentecost  
 mamala Pentecost  
 white.person Pentecostal

'There was one house, it must have been called "Pentecost" by white people.

- (3) Heṃṃanu'xw tsamasi da Anglican waxa, ke'e da kwalskwalyakw kakutamas gaxanu'xw kanu'xw danxale' Kwakwala.

heṃṃanu'xw	tsamasi	da	Anglican
he = 'm = anu'xw be.D3 = VER = 1.EXCL	tsamas = i church = D3	= da = DET	Anglican Anglican
waxa	ke'e	da	kwalskwalyakw
wax -a MOD -A	k(a) = i PREP = D3	= da = DET	kwalskwalyakw elderly.people
kakutamas	gaxanu'xw	kanu'xw	
kakut -a -mas learn -A -CAUS	gaxanu'xw 1.EXCL.OBJ	k(a) = anu'xw PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS	
danxale'			Kwakwala
danx -al sing -CONT	= a = i' = EMB = NMLZ		Kwakwala Kwakwala

'We were supposed to go to the Anglican church so that the old folks could teach us to sing in Kwakwala.'

- (4) L<sub>1</sub>amis gaxanu'xw d<sub>1</sub>didładłola w<sub>1</sub>kwa w<sub>1</sub>tłax d<sub>1</sub>ławła'gas  
 d<sub>1</sub>ław<sub>1</sub>an k<sub>1</sub>anu'xw le' lax *Pentecostal*.

l <sub>1</sub> amis	gaxanu'xw	d <sub>1</sub> didładłola	
la = 'm = (w)is AUX = VER = and.so	gax = anu'xw come = 1.EXCL.POSS	d <sub>1</sub> didładłola relative	
w <sub>1</sub> kwa	w <sub>1</sub> tłax	d <sub>1</sub> ławła'gas	d <sub>1</sub> ław <sub>1</sub> an
w <sub>1</sub> kwa older.sibling	watł -a = x ask -A = ACC	d <sub>1</sub> ławła'gas niece	d <sub>1</sub> ław = an and = 1
k <sub>1</sub> anu'xw	le'	lax	
k(a) = anu'xw PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS	la = a = i' go = EMB = NMLZ	la = x PREP = ACC	
<i>Pentecostal</i>			
<i>Pentecostal</i>			
Pentecostal			

'Our relative, an older sibling, came and asked my niece  
and I to go to the Pentecostals.'

- (5) Tłuma k<sub>1</sub>inami i'ix h<sub>1</sub>ame', ke'gasdzikas.

tłuma	k <sub>1</sub> inami	
tłuma really	k <sub>1</sub> inam = i many = D3	
i'ix	h <sub>1</sub> ame'	ke'gasdzikas
Ci <sup>3</sup> ik PL <sup>~</sup> good	ham = e' eat = I3	ke'gas -dzi = kas cake -AUG = INTENS

'There was really a lot of good food there, and lots of  
cakes!'

- (6) *Laṃis watḥan ṭsiṭsaṃa gigangananam ka's gaxe' dḥawānu'xw.*

<i>laṃis</i>	<i>watḥan</i>	<i>ṭsiṭsaṃa</i>
<i>la</i> = 'm = (w)is AUX=VER=and.so	<i>watḥ</i> = an ask = 1	Ci~ ṭsaṃa PL~ younger.sibling
<i>gigangananam</i>	<i>ka's</i>	
Ci~ <i>gangananam</i> PL~ young.PL	<i>k(a)</i> = (i)'s PREP = 3.REFL.POSS	
<i>gaxe'</i>	<i>dḥawānu'xw</i>	
<i>gax</i> = a = i' come = EMB = NMLZ	<i>dḥaw</i> = <i>anu'xw</i> with = 1.EXCL	

'My younger brothers asked to come with us.'

- (7) *Laṃisaṃnu'xw la laxa Pentecost.*

<i>laṃisaṃnu'xw</i>	
<i>la</i> = 'm = (w)is = <i>anu'xw</i> AUX=VER=and.so = 1.EXCL	
<i>la laxa</i>	<i>Pentecost</i>
<i>la la</i> = <i>x</i> = a go PREP=ACC=D4	<i>Pentecost</i> Pentecostals

'So we went to the Pentecostals.'

<sup>3</sup>The consonant that is reduplicated here is an initial glottal stop (?). By convention, word-initial glottal stops are omitted when using the U'mista orthography.

(8) Lamisanu'xw danxala lax.

lamisanu'xw	danxala	lax
la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw	danx -al -a	la = x
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	sing -CONT-A	PREP = ACC

'Then we sang there.'

(9) Lamisi da ki'san kotlala ka Kwakwale' dhigams, le'e lot xa Holy Spirit.

lamisi	da	ki'san
la = 'm = (w)is = i	= da	(k)i's = an
AUX = VER = and.so = D3	= DET	NEG = 1
kotlala	ka	Kwakwale'
kotl -al -a	k(a)	Kwakwal = a = i'
know-CONT-A	PREP	Kwakwala = EMB = NMLZ
dhigams	le'e	
dhik -am = s	la = a = i' = i	
call -NMLZ = INST	AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3	
lot	xa	Holy Spirit
lotl = x = a	Holy Spirit	
obtain = ACC = D4	Holy Spirit	

'Now, I don't know what you call it in Kwakwala when you get the Holy Spirit.'



(10) Lamisi da wiwa'okw yiyakantala ugwaxkala.

lamisi

da

la = 'm = (w)is = i = da  
AUX = VER = and.so = D3 = DET

wiwa'okw

yiyakantala

Ci~ wa'okw  
PL~ other

Ci~ yakant -(k)'ala  
PL~ speak -make.noise.CONT

ugwaxkala

ugwax -(k)'ala  
different-make.noise.CONT

'Some were speaking in tongues.'

(11) Lamisi da gigangananam liloxwalagalit lax  
awina'gwie'sa gukw.

lamisi

da

gigananam

la = 'm = (w)is = i = da Ci~ gigananam  
AUX = VER = and.so = D3 = DET PL~ young.PL

liloxwalagalit

lax

Ci~ loxw -al -a -(g)al -it la = x  
PL~ roll -CONT-A -move.about-indoors PREP = ACC

awina'gwie'

sa

gukw

awina'gwit = e' = s = a gukw  
floor.indoors = I3 = 3.POSS = D4 house

'Then the kids started rolling around on the floor of the house.'

- (12) He'am lagitse gangananam la lax kas lotle' xa marbles, tigwaltso laxi's bagat le' loxwalitlala.

he'am lagitse gangananam la

he = 'm la -gił = s = i gangananam la  
 be.D3 = VER go-reason = 3.POSS = D3 young.PL go

lax ka's

la = x k(a) = (i)'s  
 PREP = ACC PREP = 3.REFL.POSS

lotle' xa

lotł = a = i' = x = a  
 obtain = EMB = NMLZ = ACC = D4

marbles tigwaltso

marbles tik -wał -tso  
 marbles fall-out.from-inside

laxi's bagat

la = x = (i)'s bagat  
 PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS pocket

le'

la = a = i'  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ

loxwalitlala

loxw -(g)al -il -al -a  
 roll -move.about-indoors-CONT-A

'That's why the kids went there to retrieve marbles, because they fell out of their pockets when they were rolling around.'

- (13) Hémis la dax'idsu' s̄an tsítsa'ya.

hémis                      la      dax'idsu'  
 he = 'm = (w)is      l̄a      da                      -x'id -s̄aw'  
 be.D3 = VER = and.so      AUX      take.in.hand-BEC -ACC.PASS  
  
 s̄an                              tsítsa'ya  
 = s                      = ān      Ci~ ts̄a'ya  
 = 3.POSS = 1.POSS      PL~ younger.sibling

'That's why they were taken by my younger brothers.'

- (14) K̄inami da gigangananam [o'am'om] o'amx̄ant ax'exsda xa mi'marbles, lagite's laxa ts̄ama.

k̄inami                      da                      gigangananam  
 k̄inam = i                      = da                      Ci~ gangananam  
 many = D3                      = DET                      PL~ young.PL  
  
 o'amx̄ant                      ax'exsda                      xa  
 o = 'm = x̄ant                      ax' -'exsd -a                      = x̄ = a  
 so = VER = MOD                      do -want -A                      = ACC = D4  
  
 mi'marbles                      lagite's  
 Ci~ marbles                      la -giła = i'                      = s  
 PL~ marbles                      go-reason = NMLZ = 3.POSS  
  
 laxa                              ts̄ama  
 la = x̄ = a                      ts̄ama  
 PREP = ACC = D4                      church

'That must have been the reason the boys went to church, they wanted to get marbles.'

- (15) Lamis obula'am gwaŋi loxwalagaliŋ, le' loŋ xa marbles.

lamis	obula'am	gwaŋi
la = 'm = (w)is	o = buŋa = 'm	gwaŋ = i
AUX = VER = and.so	so = pretend = VER	stop/finish = D3
loxwalagaliŋ	le'	
loxw -al -a -(g)aŋ -iŋ	la = a = i'	
roll -CONT-A -move.about-indoors	AUX = EMB = NMLZ	
loŋ xa marbles		
loŋ = x = a marbles		
obtain = ACC = D4 marbles		

'They stopped pretending to roll around when they finished getting the marbles.'

- (16) Lame'kanu'xw la humoŋa le'e gwigilagaliŋ.

lame'kanu'xw		
la = 'm = a = (i)k = anu'xw		
AUX = VER = EMB = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS		
la humoŋa le'e		
la humo -aŋa la = a = i' = i		
go look -STAT AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3		
gwigilagaliŋ		
gwi -(g)ila -(g)aŋ -iŋ		
INDEF-make/do-move.about-indoors		

'We just watched them while they were doing it.'

(17)  $\text{Lamisa\u0304nu'xw hamx'i xa w\u0304alas i'ix kike'gas.}$

$\text{lamisa\u0304nu'xw}$	$\text{hamx'i}$	$\text{x\u0304a}$
$\text{la} = 'm = (w)is = \text{anu'xw}$	$\text{ham} -x'id$	$= \text{x} = a$
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	eat -BEC	= ACC = D4
$\text{w\u0304alas}$	$\text{i'ix}$	$\text{kike'gas}$
$\text{w\u0304alas}$	$\text{Ci} \sim \text{ik}$	$\text{Ci} \sim \text{ke'gas}$
big/very	PL ~ good	PL ~ cake

'We ate some really good cakes.'

(18)  $\text{Lamisa\u0304nu'xw ne\u0304akwa.}$

$\text{lamisa\u0304nu'xw}$	$\text{ne\u0304akwa}$
$\text{la} = 'm = (w)is = \text{anu'xw}$	$\text{ne\u0304akw} -a$
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	home -A

'Then we went home.'

(19)  $\text{Lamisa\u0304nu'xw abamp wat\u0304le', "Wiksi da tsama\u0304x ganu\u0304?"}$

a. $\text{lamisa\u0304nu'xw}$	$\text{abamp}$	$\text{wat\u0304le'}$
$\text{la} = 'm = (w)is = \text{anu'xw}$	$\text{abamp}$	$\text{wat\u0304} = e'$
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL.POSS	mother	ask = I3

'Then our mother asked,'

b. $\text{wiksi}$	$\text{da}$	$\text{tsama\u0304x}$	$\text{ganu\u0304}$
$\text{wiks} = i$	$= da$	$\text{tsama} = \text{x}$	$\text{ganu\u0304}$
how = D3	= DET	church = ACC	night

'How was church last night?'

(20) “Ola<sup>h</sup>ka<sup>h</sup>l ika, ix’am.” ñika<sup>h</sup>nu’xw, o<sup>h</sup>ma.

a. ola<sup>h</sup>ka<sup>h</sup>l ika, ix’am  
 ola<sup>h</sup>ka<sup>h</sup>l ik -a ik =’m  
 truly good-A good=VER  
 “Really good, it was good.”

b. ñika<sup>h</sup>nu’xw o<sup>h</sup>ma  
 ñik = anu’xw o =’m =a  
 ñik = 1.EXCL so = VER = A  
 ‘Was all we said.’

(21) Kí’sanu’xw k<sup>h</sup>otłalax gaxe’tławi da k<sup>h</sup>wal<sup>h</sup>yakw T<sup>h</sup>samaga  
 wa<sup>h</sup>tłat xan abamp, “Masi ki’sile’s gaxe’e da kíkayala laxa  
 tsam<sup>h</sup>ax ganu<sup>h</sup>?”

a. kí’sanu’xw k<sup>h</sup>otłalax gaxe’tławi  
 (k<sup>h</sup>)i’s = anu’xw k<sup>h</sup>otł -al -a = x gaxetłalud = i  
 NEG = 1.EXCL know-CONT-A = ACC to.have.come<sup>4</sup> = D3  
 da k<sup>h</sup>wal<sup>h</sup>yakw T<sup>h</sup>samaga wa<sup>h</sup>tłat  
 = da k<sup>h</sup>wal<sup>h</sup>yakw T<sup>h</sup>samaga wa<sup>h</sup>tł -a = tł  
 = DET old T<sup>h</sup>samaga ask -A = FUT  
 xan abamp  
 = x = an abamp  
 = ACC = 1.POSS mother

‘We didn’t know that old T<sup>h</sup>samaga was going to come  
 and ask my mom,’

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<sup>4</sup>Boas 1947: pg. 350.

- b.  $\dot{m}asi$                        $\dot{k}i'si\dot{e}'s$
- $\dot{m}as = i$                        $(k)i's -gi\dot{t}a = e' = s$   
 what = D3                      NEG -reason = I3 = 3.POSS
- $gax\dot{e}'e$                                        $da$                        $\dot{k}ik\dot{a}yala$
- $gax = a = i' = i = da$                        $\dot{k}ik\dot{a}yala$   
 come = EMB = NMLZ = D3                      = DET                      young.girl<sup>5</sup>
- $laxa$                                        $\dot{t}sa\dot{m}ax$                        $ganu\dot{t}$
- $la = x = a$                        $\dot{t}sa\dot{m}a = x$                        $ganu\dot{t}$   
 PREP = ACC = D4                      church = ACC                      night
- “Why didn’t the girls come to church last night?”

- (22)  $\dot{L}amisa\dot{n}u'xw \dot{w}alas \dot{l}awitsa\dot{w}a'$ .

$\dot{l}amisa\dot{n}u'xw$

$\dot{l}a = 'm = (w)is = \dot{a}nu'xw$   
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL

$\dot{w}alas \dot{l}awitsa\dot{w}a'$

$\dot{w}alas \dot{l}awis -sa\dot{w} = a'$   
 big/very angry -ACC.PASS = I3

‘She got really angry at us.’

<sup>5</sup>This word is translated in Boas (1948) and First Voices (2009) as ‘virgin’, though here Ruby’s translation suggests that it is being used more simply to refer to young girls.

- (23) Lamé'kanu'xw o'am niła le'kanu'xw laxa *Pentecostal* tsama.

lamé'kanu'xw		o'am	niła
la = 'm = a = (i)k = anu'xw		o = 'm	nił -a
AUX = VER = EMB = V1	= 1.EXCL.POSS	so = VER	tell -A
le'kanu'xw		laxa	
la = a = (i)k = anu'xw		la = x = a	
AUX = EMB = V1	= 1.EXCL.POSS	PREP = ACC = D4	
		<i>Pentecostal</i>	tsama
		<i>Pentecostal</i>	tsama
		Pentecostal	church

'Then we told her that we had just gone to the Pentecostal church.'

- (24) Lamisi da kwalyakw o'am "Pentlakan"x'ala gaxanu'xw.

lamisi	da	kwalyakw	o'am
la = 'm = (w)is = i = da		kwalyakw	o = 'm
AUX = VER = and.so = D3	= DET	elderly.person	so = VER
Pentlakanx'ala		gaxanu'x	
Pentlakan -(k)'ala		gaxanu'xw	
Pentlican -make.noise.CONT		1.EXCL.OBJ	

'Then the old folks called us "Pentlicans" from then on.'

- (25) Emañ.

emañ  
emañ  
amen  
'Amen.'



## **12.4 Editors' Note**

Ruby grew up in a family that was very involved with the local Anglican church. Her father volunteered a lot of his time behind the scenes to serve the church in practical ways. This means that for Ruby and her siblings, going to a Pentecostal meeting was viewed as a slight betrayal by her elders, giving rise to the teasing portmanteau “Pentlican” (Pentecostal + Anglican).



Figure 12.1: St. Michael's School, prior to its destruction in 2015

Photo courtesy of Jonathan Janzen

## CHAPTER 13

# Dax'idsu' kanu'xw le' laxa Yaksam Gukwdzi

Taken to go to the  
Bad Big House

### 13.1 Dax'idsu' kanu'xw le' laxa Yaksam Gukwdzi

Kas lan abamp kinami's gwilgwela axtsusu' kan layu lax Yalis.  
Nike'kale'kan o'amtanu'xw lat nampanxwa'stt lax Yalis  
duxw'itt xan wakwa dlawan dlawla'gas. Lamisanu'xw lax bo'te'  
sa kwalskwalyaxw. Tiwe'tan xa digame's, o'am

bibakwamxtle' dfigame's. Lamis gax ugwakan wakwa<sup>1</sup> dlawanu'xw.

Ornanu'xw hekalax Yalis lamnanu'xw lax Sointula. Lamisan ump dax'i kanu'xw le' laxa hama'elas. Ki'san nampna hamap xa mamala hame'. Ki'san malkwala xa da hame', malkwalaman xanu'xw ixpa'omasanu'xw ax'idsawa', *pineapples*, wlas ika. Lamisan wakwa dlawi da kwalskwalayakw hamsa xa da dusdakwa lax Sointula. Kinami lodtaname's. Lamisanu'xw edaka lax bo'te' sa kwalskwalayaxw. Lamisi da kwalayakw axila xa da dusdakwa ka'anu'xw. Ax'i sa da sugwa dlawi da malk, wlas ika.

Lamisanu'xw la lax Yalis. Lamnanu'xw wala laxa pawela naxwala laxa kalwilas, *Bing Toy*-xtli da kalwilas. Kinami da ixpa'omas lax, kayos i's gwigwiksdam. Lamisan ump axtsus laxa da yudaxw. "Masi lagite' sa yudaxwa?" nikan xaxan ump. Higamastli wakwa dlu' dlawla'gas laxa da skul. "O—o'am nike'kalas xu's ax'exsdlak ku's ugwako's hamapux."

Lamisanu'xw laxa da *St. Michael's School*, lamnanu'xw la'etl lax. Lamis tilalasa'wi dlawla'gas dlu' wakwa, gax'am duxw'i gaxanu'xw. Lamux kwagali' kanu'xw yakantame'anu'xw. O'am Kwakwala, ki'sanu'xw wet, i, ki'san wet mamalakala. Kotlalam da wakwa dlu' dlawla'gas ka's mamalakale'.

Lamis nikan ump xa dlawla'gas ka le's dax'i gaxan kan le' duxw'i xa da kwalilasda'xwe's. Lamisanu'xw laxa yudaxwi da kwikwalilas: *junior*, *intermediate*, dlawi da *senior*, *dorm*-xtla. Lamisanu'xw wila duxw'ix, kayosanu'xw ki's la'as, wlas ayaxpas dukwa xa naxwa.

Lamisanu'xw kapanaxa. Lamisan duxwatlala kayose'an ump. Lamisan watlax wakwa, "Widi Binats, widi Binats?!"

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<sup>1</sup>The word wakwa 'older sibling' can refer to a male or a female. The wakwa referred to here and in the next paragraph is a different older sibling from the one referred to earlier (and later) in the story. This is clear in the English translation of the story, where the gender of the sibling is specified.

Lamis o'am kapi gaxan, "lami edaka", nixa. "Mas? Masi isale'an edaka?" nikan xaxan wakwa. "O, latlas kakutlomas<sup>2</sup> laxw." "He'amge', heinas gaxili, madzos lagite's thikwala gaxan?" nikan xax. Laxda'axwtlan edaka lax Gwayasdam's. Lamis omi dlawla'gas dlawwan wakwa edaka laxi's ax'as.

Lamisi da tsadax gax dax'i gaxan ka's le' laxa da infirmariy-xtla. Kapidsawan say'a. La'am ax'atla sa coil oil-xtla, yaxa da axala ke'e da tlaxwstu nigwatsiya'. Walas yaxpala. La, la'stu laxan gayagas, ki'san wel dukwala le' axalas laxan say'a. Nike'kala xan axe' xa da u'ustla. Kayosan u'usa! Omi hayulisan dukwasawan saye' san abampwa'le'. Lamis lawe, lawe wila xan gwiłgwela. O'am la lusa, lusanala dlawil. Walas maxisa, dlawil laxa nurse's station. Ax'atla sa da he pajamas gaxan kan le' kwax'i laxa da junior dorm-xtla. Lamisan lax.

Oman sandband kwasa xa ganuthi, ki'san wel mixa kike'kalas, masi lagite' san ump bo gaxan. Lamise'e da gaxi da tsadak nik kan le' la ikatsi kan le' kwalił dlawwan wakwa. Ola ikan noke' le'ax duxwatlalax. Ugwakalame' axase's dlawla'gas hedi da intermediate-tla. Lamis o'am hayulis mixa dlawwan wakwa.

Nampanan gax naxamanu'xw half day skula'. Lamisanu'xw gwalnaxwa xa nakela. Lamisan laxa banadzi ale xan wakwa, kayos lax. Lamisi da tsadak o'am nik gaxans, "Yax'ide'e, tikaxe' laxa locker. Kinam le'e da alkwa laxa da awina'gwił," niks yax'ide'e. Lamisan kwasa itida. Lamisan o'am edaka laxa junior dorm-xtla. Amisan kol'atlas, i'se' yax'idan wakwax le'ax neñaxw xa da hi'anx. Nikan abampes le'e laxa da TB tsaxka'atsi lax Nanaimo.

Hedan leda skul xa ma'lpaganila. I'san ix'ak, walanu'xw yaxsamanu'xw hame' lax, oma la hayulis kilakasawa'. Olakale'kanu'xw ix'akanu'xw le'kanu'xw neñaxw xa da Kismis

<sup>2</sup>In the recording, Ruby makes a speech error here, saying kikutlomas.

dł̄aw̄i da hi'an̄x̄, lanaxwa le'k̄anu'x̄w neñakwa. Al̄man la'edaḱa  
lax̄ le'x̄ laxa *grade 10*.

Eman.

## 13.2 Taken to go to the Bad Big House

My mother packed a lot of clothes for me to bring to Alert Bay. I just thought we were gonna go to Alert Bay for one day to see my older sister and my niece. We went there on some old folks' boat. I'm gonna forget their names, they only had Native names. My oldest brother came with us too.

At first we passed by Alert Bay on the way to Sointula. My father took me to a cafe there. I had never eaten white-people food before that. I don't remember what we ate, but I do remember the dessert we had—really good pineapples. My brother and the old folks went to pick blackberries on Sointula. They gathered lots. After that, we returned to the old folks' boat, and an old lady made blackberry dessert for us. She put sugar and milk in it, it was delicious.

After that we went to Alert Bay. We stopped at the wharf right near a store—Bing Toy it was called. There was lots of fruit there, there was no kind they didn't have. My father bought some and put it into three [grocery bags]. “Why are there three [bags]?” I said to my father. After all, only my older sister and niece are going to be there at the school. “Oh—you think that you might want to eat some too.”

Then we went over to St. Michael's School, and we went inside. My niece and older sister were summoned to see us. They came and sat down so we could all talk to each other. Just in Kwakwala, we couldn't—no, I couldn't speak English. My older sister and niece knew how to speak English.

Then my father told my niece to go and take me to see where they slept. We went to see three dorms: junior, intermediate,

and senior dorms is what they were called. We went and saw everything, we went everywhere, and we had a lot of fun looking around at everything.

When we went downstairs, I saw that my father wasn't there! And I asked my older sister, "Where is Binats, where is Binats?!" She just hugged me and told me that he had gone back. "What? What am I waiting to go back for?" I said to my older sister. "Oh, you're gonna go to school here." "That must be why he brought me here, why did he lie to me?!" I said to her. I was going to go back to Gilford Island with them. At that point, my niece and older sister went back to their places at the school.

The nurse came then and took me to go to the infirmary. My hair got cut, and she put coil oil on me—it's the stuff they used in the red lanterns. It really stank. It went into my eyes, so that I couldn't see what they were doing to my hair. They thought I must have had lice. But I didn't have lice! My hair was always looked after by my late mother. Then the nurse took off all my clothes, and I was just naked standing there. I was really ashamed, standing there in the nurse's station. She put pajamas on me, so that I could go and sleep in the junior dorm. Then I went there.

I cried all night, I just couldn't sleep, thinking about why my father had left me there. Then in came a lady who told me to go upstairs so I could sleep there with my sister. It did my heart good to see her. My niece was in a different place, the intermediate dorm. So I always slept with my older sister.

One day I came from just a half day of school—we were finished at lunchtime. I went downstairs to look for my sister, but she wasn't there. A lady came to me and told us, "She died when she fell down off of a locker. There was a lot of blood on the floor there." She said that she had died. Then I cried again. After that, I went back to the junior dorm. It wasn't until I went home for summer that I found out that my older sister actually

hadn't died. My mother told me that she went to a TB hospital in Nanaimo.

I went to the school for two years. I didn't like it—there was really bad food there, and we were always getting beaten. What we really liked is when we went home for Christmas and summer, whenever we went home. I didn't go back there until my grade 10.

Amen.

### 13.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Kas lan abamp kinami's gwiłgwela axtsudsu' kan layu lax Yalis.

<u>kas</u>	<u>lan</u>	<u>abamp</u>	<u>kinami's</u>
<u>ka</u> = s PREP = INST	<u>la</u> = an AUX = 1.POSS	<u>abamp</u> mother	<u>kinam</u> = (i)'s many = 3.REFL.POSS
<u>gwiłgwela</u>	<u>axtsudsu'</u>	<u>kan</u>	
<u>gwiłgwela</u> clothes	<u>ax</u> -tsu -x'id -saw do -inside-BEC -ACC.PASS	<u>ka</u> = an PREP = 1.POSS	
<u>layu</u>	<u>lax</u>	<u>Yalis</u>	
<u>la</u> -ayu go -INST.PASS	<u>la</u> = x PREP = ACC	<u>Yalis</u> Alert.Bay	

'My mother, she packed a lot of clothes for me to bring to Alert Bay.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>This sentence might translate more literally as: 'It was by my mother, a lot of clothes were packed by her for my bringing them to Alert Bay.'



- (2) Nike'kale'kan o'amtlanu'xw lał [namp̄an]  
 namp̄anxwa'stł lax Ýalis duxw'itł xan wakwa dław̄an  
 dław̄la'gas.

nike'kale'kan

nik -'ek -al = a = (i)k = an  
 say -in.mind-CONT = EMB = V1 = 1

o'amtlanu'xw lał

o = 'm = tł = anu'xw la = tł  
 so = VER = FUT = 1.EXCL go = FUT

namp̄anxwa'stł lax

n̄am -p̄an -xwa's = tł la = x  
 one -occurrence-day = FUT -PREP = ACC

Ýalis duxw'itł xan

Ýalis dukw -x'id = tł = x = an  
 Alert.Bay see -BEC = FUT = ACC = 1.POSS

wakwa dław̄an dław̄la'gas

wakwa dław̄ = an dław̄la'gas  
 older.sibling and = 1.POSS niece

'I just thought we were gonna go to Alert Bay for one day to see my older sister and my niece.'

(3) lamisanu'xw lax bo'te' sa kwalskwal'axw.

lamisanu'xw                      lax                      bo'te'  
la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw    la = x    bo't = e'  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL    PREP = ACC    boat = I3  
       sa                      kwalskwal'axw  
       = s                      = a kwalskwal'yakw  
       = 3.POSS = D4    elderly.people  
 'We went on some old folks' boat.'

(4) tiwe'tlan xa dligame's, o'am bibakwamxtle' dligame's.

tiwe'tlan                      xa                      dligame's  
tiwe' = tł = an    = x    = a    dlik -am = e' = s  
 forget = FUT = 1            = ACC = D4    call -NMLZ = I3 = 3.POSS  
       o'am                      bibakwamxtle'  
       o = 'm                      Ci~ bakwam -(x)tla = e'  
       so = VER                      PL~ native            -be.called = I3  
       dligame's  
       dlik -am = e' = s  
       call -NMLZ = I3 = 3.POSS  
 'I'm gonna forget their names, they only had Native names.'

(5) *Laṃis gaḅ ugwaḅan waḅwa dḅawānu'ḅw.*

laṃis                      gaḅ    ugwaḅan              waḅwa  
 la = 'm = (w)is    gaḅ    ugwaḅa = an    waḅwa  
 AUX=VER=and.so    come    also            = 1.POSS    older.sibling  
 dḅawānu'ḅw  
 dḅaw = anu'ḅw  
 with = 1.EXCL

'My oldest brother came with us too.'

(6) *Oṃanu'ḅw heḅalaḅ Ḃalis laṃanu'ḅw laḅ Sointula.*

oṃanu'ḅw                      heḅalaḅ  
 o = 'm = anu'ḅw              heḅal -a = ḅ  
 so = VER = 1.EXCL            pass -A = ACC  
 Ḃalis            laṃanu'ḅw                      laḅ              Sointula  
 Ḃalis            la = 'm = anu'ḅw            la = ḅ            Sointula  
 Alert.Bay    AUX=VER=1.EXCL            PREP=ACC    Sointula

'We passed by Alert Bay on the way to Sointula.'

(7) Lamisan ump dax'i kanu'xw le' laxa hamā'elas.

lamisan	ump	dax'i	
la = 'm = (w)is = an	ump	da	-x'id
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS	father	take.in.hand	-BEC
<u>ka</u> nu'xw	le'		laxa
ka = anu'xw	la = a = i'	la = x = a	
PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS	go = EMB = NMLZ	PREP = ACC = D4	
	hamā'elas		
	hamā'elas		
	eating.place		

'And my father took me to a cafe.'

(8) Ki'san nampāna hamap xa mamāla hamē'.

ki'san	nampāna	hamap	xa
(k)i's = an	nam -pan	-a	hamap = x = a
NEG = 1	one -occurrence-A	eat	= ACC = D4
	mamāla	hamē'	
	mamāla	ham = e'	
	white.person	eat = I3	

'I had never before eaten white-people food.'

- (9) *Ķi'san małkwala xa da haṃe' małkwalaṃan xanu'xw*  
 [x̄an] *ixpa'omasanu'xw ax'idsawa', pineapples, walas*  
*ika.*

<i>Ķi'san</i>	<i>małkwala</i>	<i>xa</i>
(k)i's = an NEG = 1	małkw -al -a remember-CONT-A	= x̄ = a = ACC = D4
<i>da</i>	<i>haṃe'</i>	<i>małkwalaṃan</i>
= da = DET	haṃ = e' = I3	małkw -al -a = 'm = an remember-CONT-A = VER = 1
= x̄anu'xw		ixpa'omasanu'xw
= x̄ = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS	= anu'xw fruit	ixpa'omas = anu'xw = 1.EXCL.POSS
<i>ax'idsawa'</i>		
<i>ax</i> -x'id -saṃ		= a' do -BEC -ACC.PASS = I3
<i>pineapples</i>	<i>walas</i>	<i>ika</i>
<i>pineapples</i> pineapples	<i>walas</i> big/very	<i>ik -a</i> good-A

'I don't remember what we ate, but I do remember the  
 dessert we had, really good pineapples.'

- (10) [Lamisanu'xw] Lamisa...san wakwa dlawi da kwalskwal'akw hamsa xa da dusdakwa lax Sointula.

lamisan	wakwa	dlawi	
la = 'm = (w)is = an AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS	wakwa older.sibling	dlaw = i and = D3	
da	kwalskwal'akw	hamsa	xa
= da = DET	kwalskwal'akw elderly.people	hams -a pick.berries-A	= x = a = ACC = D4
da	dusdakwa	lax	Sointula
= da = DET	dusdakwa blackberry	la = x PREP = ACC	Sointula

'So my brother and the old folks went to pick blackberries on Sointula.'

- (11) Kinami lodlaname's.

kinami	lodlaname's
kinam = i many = D3	lotl -anam = e' = s obtain-NMLZ = I3 = 3.POSS

'They gathered lots.'

(12) Lamisanu'xw edaka lax bo'te' sa k'walsk'walyaxw.

lamisanu'xw

edaka lax

la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw  
AUX=VER=and.so=1.EXCL

edaka la = x  
return PREP=ACC

bo'te' sa

k'walsk'walyaxw

bo't = e' = s = a k'walsk'walyakw  
boat = I3 = 3.POSS = D4 elderly.person

'Then we returned to the old folks' boat.'

(13) Lamis[d]i da k'walyakw [axa] axila xa da dusdakwa ka'anu'xw

lamisi

da k'walyakw

la = 'm = (w)is = i = da  
AUX=VER=and.so=D3 = DET

k'walyakw  
elderly.person

axila

xa

da

ax -(g)ila = x = a = da  
do -make/do = ACC=D4 = DET

dusdakwa ka'anu'xw

dusdakwa ka = anu'xw  
blackberry prep=1.EXCL

'Then the old lady made blackberry dessert for us.'

- (14) [A<sub>x</sub>'ts] A<sub>x</sub>'i sa da sugwa d̄ławi da ma<sub>l</sub>k, w̄alas ika.

a <sub>x</sub> 'i	sa	da	sugwa	d̄ławi	da	
a <sub>x</sub> -x'id	=s	=a	=da	sugwa	d̄ław̄ =i	=da
do -BEC	= INST	= D4	= DET	sugar	and = D3	= DET
	ma <sub>l</sub> k	w̄alas	ika			
	ma <sub>l</sub> k	w̄alas	ik -a			
	milk	big/very	good-A			

'She put sugar and milk in it, it was really delicious.'

- (15) Łamisa<sub>n</sub>u'xw la lax Ýalis.

łamisa <sub>n</sub> u'xw	la	lax	Ýalis
ła = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw	la	la = x	Ýalis
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	go	PREP = ACC	Alert.Bay

'Then we went to Alert Bay.'

- (16) Łama<sub>n</sub>u'xw w̄ala laxa pawela ñaxwala laxa ka<sub>l</sub>wilas,  
*Bing Toy*-xt̄i da ka<sub>l</sub>wilas.

łama <sub>n</sub> u'xw	w̄ala	laxa	
ła = 'm = anu'xw	w̄ala	la = x = a	
AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	stop	PREP = ACC = D4	
	pawela	ñaxwala	laxa
	pawela	ñaxwala	la = x = a
	wharf	near	PREP = ACC = D4
			ka <sub>l</sub> wilas
			ka <sub>l</sub> wilas
	<i>Bing Toy</i> -xt̄i	da	ka <sub>l</sub> wilas
	<i>Bing Toy</i> -(x)t̄la	=i	=da
	<i>Bing Toy</i> -be.called = D3	= DET	store

'We stopped at the wharf right near a store—Bing Toy it was called.'



- (17)  $\acute{K}inami$  da  $ixpa'omas$   $lax$ ,  $kayos$   $i's$   $gwigwiksdam$ .

$\acute{k}inami$       da       $ixpa'omas$      $lax$                $\acute{k}ayos$   
 $\acute{k}inam = i$     = da     $ixpa'omas$      $la = x$        $\acute{k}ayos$   
 many = D3    = DET    fruit            PREP = ACC    NEG.EXIST  
                    $i's$        $gwigwiksdam$   
                   (k) $i's$      $Ci \sim gwiksdam$   
                   NEG      PL ~ kind

'There was lots of fruit there, there was no kind they didn't have.'

- (18)  $lamisan$   $ump$   $axtsus$   $laxa$  da  $yudaxw$ .

$lamisan$                                        $ump$      $axtsus$   
 $la = 'm = (w)is = an$        $ump$      $ax -tsu = s$   
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.POSS    father    do -inside = INST  
                    $laxa$                       da       $yudaxw$   
                    $la = x = a = da$        $yudaxw$   
                   PREP = ACC = D4    = DET    three

'So my father put them into three [grocery bags].'

- (19) [ $Masan$ ] " $Masi$   $lagile'$  sa  $yudaxwa$ ?"  $nikan$   $xaxan$   $ump$ .

a.  $masi$        $lagile'$                       sa                       $yudaxwa$   
 $mas = i$        $la -gila = e'$     = s                      = a       $yudaxw -a$   
 what = D3    AUX-reason = I3    = 3.POSS = D4    three      -A

'Why are there three [bags]?'

b.  $nikan$        $xaxan$                                        $ump$   
 $nik = an = xa = x = an$        $ump$   
 say = 1      = CONN = ACC = 1.POSS    father

'I said to my father.'

(20) Higamasthi wakwa dlu' dlawla'gas laxa da skul.

higamasthi		wakwa	dlu'
higa = 'm = as	= tʃ = i	wakwa	dlaw
only = VER = PRSNTV = FUT = D3		older.sibling	and
dlawla'gas	laxa	da	skul
dlawla'gas	la = x = a	= da	skul
niece	PREP = ACC = D4	= DET	school

'After all, only my older sister and niece are going to be there at the school.'

(21) "O—o'am nika'kalas xu's ax'exsdlak ku's ugwako's hamapux."

o	o'am	nika'kalas	
o	o = 'm	nik -'ek	-al -a = s
EXCLAM	so = VER	say -in.mind-CONT-A	= 2
xu's		ax'exsdlak	
ka = u' = s		ax -'exsd = lax	
PREP = HYP = 2		do -want = HYP	
ku's	ugwako's	hamapux	
ka = u' = s	ugwaka = u's	hamap = ux	
PREP = HYP = 2	also = 2.POSS	eat = D2	

"Oh—you think that you might want to eat some too."

- (22) *laṃisaṃanu'xw laxa da St. Michael's School, laṃanu'xw la'etł lax.*

<i>laṃisaṃanu'xw</i>	<i>laxa</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>St.</i>
<i>la</i> = 'm = (w)is = <i>anu'xw</i>	<i>la</i> = <i>x</i> = a	= da	<i>St.</i>
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	PREP = ACC = D4	= DET	St.
<i>Michael's School</i>	<i>laṃanu'xw</i>	<i>la'etł</i>	
<i>Michael's School</i>	<i>la</i> = 'm = <i>anu'xw</i>	<i>la -etł</i>	
Michael's School	AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	go-enter	
	<i>lax</i>		
	<i>la</i> = <i>x</i>		
	PREP = ACC		

'Then we went to St. Michael's School, and we went inside.'

- (23) *laṃis tḥilalasawḥi dḥawḥa'gas dḥu' wakwa, gax'am duxw'i gaxanu'xw.*

<i>laṃis</i>	<i>tḥilalasawḥi</i>		
<i>la</i> = 'm = (w)is	<i>tḥilal</i> -a - <i>sawḥ</i> = i		
AUX = VER = and.so	summon-A -ACC.PASS = D3		
<i>dḥawḥa'gas</i>	<i>dḥu'</i>	<i>wakwa</i>	
<i>dḥawḥa'gas</i>	<i>dḥaw</i>	<i>wakwa</i>	
niece	and	older.sibling	
<i>gax'am</i>	<i>duxw'i</i>	<i>gaxanu'xw</i>	
<i>gax</i> = 'm	<i>dukw</i> -x'id	<i>gaxanu'xw</i>	
come = VER	see -BEC	1.EXCL.OBJ	

'Then my niece and older sister were summoned, so they came to see us.'

(24) lamux kwagalit kanu'xw yakantame'anu'xw.

lamux                      kwagalit  
la = 'm = ux      kwa -(g)at      -it  
 AUX = VER = D2      sit      -move.about-indoors

kanu'xw

ka = anu'xw  
 PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS

yakantame'anu'xw

yakant -a = 'm = a = i' = anu'xw  
 speak -A = VER = EMB = NMLZ = 1.EXCL.POSS

'Then they sat down so we could speak to each other.'

(25) O'am Kwakwala, ki'sanu'xw wet, i, ki'san wet  
mamałakala.

o'am      Kwakwala              ki'sanu'xw              wet      i  
o = 'm      Kwakwala              (k)i's = anu'xw      wet      ki  
 so = VER      speak.Kwakwala      NEG = 1.EXCL      ABIL      no

ki'san              wet      mamałakala

(k)i's = an      wet      mamałala      -(k)'ala  
 NEG = 1      ABIL      white.person-make.noise.CONT

'Just in Kwakwala, we couldn't, no, I couldn't speak English.'

(26)  $\acute{K}ot\acute{t}ala\acute{m}i$  da  $w\acute{a}kwa$   $d\acute{t}u'$   $d\acute{t}aw\acute{t}la'gas$   $ka's$   $m\acute{a}ma\acute{t}akale'$ .

$\acute{K}ot\acute{t}ala\acute{m}i$

da

$\acute{K}ot\acute{t}$  - $\acute{a}l$  - $a$  = 'm = i  
know-CONT-A = VER = D3

= da  
= DET

$w\acute{a}kwa$   $d\acute{t}u'$   $d\acute{t}aw\acute{t}la'gas$   $ka's$

$w\acute{a}kwa$   $d\acute{t}aw$   $d\acute{t}aw\acute{t}la'gas$   $ka$  = (i)'s  
older.sibling and niece PREP = 3.REFL.POSS

$m\acute{a}ma\acute{t}akale'$

$m\acute{a}ma\acute{t}a$  -(k)'ala = a = i'  
white.person-make.noise.CONT = EMB = NMLZ

'My older sister and niece knew how to speak English.'

(27) Lamis nikan ump xa dlawla'gas [ka le's] ka le's dax'i  
 gaxan kan le' duxw'i xa da kwalilasda'xwe's.

lamis	nikan	ump	xa
la = 'm = (w)is	nik = an	ump = x = a	
AUX = VER = and.so	say = 1.POSS	father = ACC = D4	

dlawla'gas	ka	le's
dlawla'gas	ka	la = a = i' = s
niece	PREP	go = EMB = NMLZ = 3.POSS

dax'i	gaxan	kan
da	-x'id	gaxan ka = an
take.in.hand-BEC	1.OBJ	PREP = 1.POSS

le'	duxw'i
la = a = i'	dukw -x'id
go = EMB = NMLZ	see -BEC

xa	da	kwalilasda'xwe's
= x = a	= da	kw <sup>al</sup> -i <sup>l</sup> -'as
= ACC = D4	= DET	lay -indoors-LOC.PASS

= (x)da'xw = e' = s  
 = group = I3 = 3.POSS

'Then my father told my niece to go and take me to see  
 where they slept.'

- (28) *l̄amisanu'x̄w laxa yudaxwi da kwikwałilas: junior, intermediate, dłaŵi da senior, dorm-xtła.*

<i>l̄amisanu'x̄w</i>		<i>laxa</i>
<i>l̄a</i> = 'm = (w)is = <i>anu'x̄w</i>		<i>la</i> = <i>x̄</i> = a
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL		PREP = ACC = D4

<i>yudaxwi</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>kwikwałilas</i>	
<i>yudaxw</i> = i	= da	Ci~ <i>kw̄al</i> -ił	'as
three = D3	= DET	PL~ lay	-indoors-LOC.PASS

<i>junior</i>	<i>intermediate</i>
<i>junior</i>	<i>intermediate</i>
<i>junior</i>	<i>intermediate</i>

<i>dłaŵi</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>senior</i>	<i>dorm-xtła</i>
<i>dłaŵ</i> = i	= da	<i>senior</i>	<i>dorm</i> -(x)tła
and = D3	= DET	<i>senior</i>	dorm -be.called

'We went to see three dorms: junior, intermediate, and senior dorms (they were called).'

- (29) Lamisānu'xw wila duxw'ix, kayosānu'xw ki's la'as, walas ayaxpas dukwa xa naxwa.

<u>lamisānu'xw</u>	<u>wila</u>	<u>duxw'ix</u>		
<u>la</u> = 'm = (w)is = <u>anu'xw</u>	<u>wila</u>	<u>dukw</u> -x'id = <u>x</u>		
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	all	see -BEC = ACC		
<u>kayosānu'xw</u>	<u>ki's</u>	<u>la'as</u>		
<u>kayos</u> = <u>anu'xw</u>	(k)i's	<u>la</u> -'as		
NEG.EXIST = 1.EXCL.POSS	NEG	AUX-LOC.PASS		
<u>walas</u>	<u>ayaxpas</u>	<u>dukwa</u>	<u>xa</u>	
<u>walas</u>	<u>ayaxpas</u>	<u>dukw</u> -a = <u>x</u> = a		
big/very	enjoy	see -A = ACC = D4		
<u>naxwa</u>				
<u>naxwa</u>				
every				

'We went and saw everything, there wasn't anywhere we didn't go, and we had fun looking around at everything.'

- (30) Lamisānu'xw kaḅanaxa.

<u>lamisānu'xw</u>	<u>kaḅanaxa</u>
<u>la</u> = 'm = (w)is = <u>anu'xw</u>	<u>kaḅ</u> -(k)'an -ax -a
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	hug -body -down-A

'Then we went downstairs (in embrace).'



(31) lamisan duxwatlala kayose'an ump.

lamisan

duxwatlala

la = 'm = (w)is = an  
AUX = VER = and.so = 1

duxwatl -al -a  
see -CONT-A

kayose'an

ump

kayos = a = i' = an ump  
NEG.EXIST = EMB = NMLZ = 1.POSS father

'Then I saw that my father wasn't there!'

(32) lamisan watlax wakwa, "Widi Binats, widi Binats?!"

a. lamisan

watlax

wakwa

la = 'm = (w)is = an  
AUX = VER = and.so = 1

watl -a = x  
ask -A = ACC

wakwa  
older.sibling

'And I asked my older sister,'

b. widi Binats widi Binats

wid = i Binats wid = i Binats  
where = D3 Binats where = D3 Binats

"Where is Binats, where is Binats?!"

(33) L̄amis o'am̄ k̄ap̄i gax̄an, “[l̄ami ne'<sup>4</sup>] l̄ami edak̄a”, ñixa.

a. l̄amis                      o'am̄      k̄ap̄i              gax̄an

l̄a = 'm = (w)is      o = 'm      k̄ap̄ -x'id      gax̄an  
 AUX = VER = and.so      so = VER      hug -BEC      1.OBJ

'She just hugged me',

b. l̄ami                      edak̄a

l̄a = 'm = i      edak̄ -a  
 AUX = VER = D3      return-A

"He went back",

c. ñixa

ñik -a  
 say -A

'she said.'

(34) "Mas? Masi isafe'an̄ edak̄ał?" ñikan̄ x̄ax̄an̄ wak̄wa.

a. mas

m̄as  
 what

"What?"

b. m̄asi              isafe'an̄                      edak̄ał

m̄as = i      is -ała = i'      = an̄      edak̄a = ł  
 what = D3      wait-STAT = NMLZ = 1.POSS      return = FUT

"What am I waiting to go back for?"

c. ñikan̄              x̄ax̄an̄                      wak̄wa

ñik = an̄      = xa      = x̄      = an̄      wak̄wa  
 say = 1      = CONN = ACC = 1.POSS      older.sibling

'I said to my older sister.'

---

<sup>4</sup>Ruby is probably starting to say neñakwa 'home' here.

(35) “O, lat̩as k̩ak̩ut̩amas lax̩w.”

o lat̩as k̩ak̩ut̩amas lax̩w

o la = t̩ = s k̩ak̩ut̩amas la = x̩w  
EXCLAM go = FUT = 2 study PREP = ACC.D2

“O, you’re gonna go to school here.”

(36) “He’ame’, he̩mas gax̩i̩, ma̩dzos la̩gi̩e’s t̩ik̩wala gax̩an?”  
n̩ika̩n x̩ax̩.

a. he’ame’ he̩mas  
he = ’m = ga = a = i’ he = ’m = as  
be.D3 = VER = D1 = EMB = NMLZ be.D3 = VER = PRSNTV

gax̩i̩ ma̩dzos la̩gi̩e’s  
gax̩ -i̩ = i ma̩dzos la -gi̩a = e’ = s  
come-indoors = D3 what! AUX-reason = I3 = 3.POSS

t̩ik̩wala gax̩an  
t̩ik̩w -(k)’ala gax̩an  
wrong-make.noise.CONT 1.OBJ

“That must be why he brought me here, why did he lie to me?!”

b. n̩ika̩n x̩ax̩  
n̩ik = an = xa = x̩  
say = 1 = CONN = ACC

‘I said to her.’

(37) Laxda'axwtlan edaka lax Gwayasdams.

laxda'axwtlan                      edaka  
 la = (x)da'xw = tɬ = an      edaka  
 go = group                      = FUT = 1      return

lax                      Gwayasdams  
 la = x              Gwayasdams  
 PREP = ACC      Gilford.Island

'I was going to go back to Gilford Island with them.'

(38) Lamis omi dlawla'gas dlawan wakwa edaka laxi's ax'as.

lamis                                      omi  
 la = 'm = (w)is              o = 'm = i  
 AUX = VER = and.so              so = VER = D3

dlawla'gas              dlawan                      wakwa  
 dlawla'gas              dlaw = an                      wakwa  
 niece                      and = 1.POSS              older.sibling

edaka laxi's                                      ax'as

edaka la = x = (i)'s                      ax -'as  
 return      PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS      do -LOC.PASS

'Then my niece and older sibling went back to their places.'



- (41) La'am ax'at̄ala sa coil oil-xt̄la, yaxa da axala ke'e da t̄laxwstu nigwatsi'ya'.

la'am	ax'at̄ala	sa	coil
la = 'm AUX=VER	ax -'at̄ -al -a do -on -CONT-A	=s =a =INST=D4	coil coil
oil-xt̄la	yaxa	da	axala
oil -(x)t̄la oil -be.called	ya =x =a APPOS=ACC=D4	=da =DET	ax -al -a do -CONT-A
ke'e	da	t̄laxwstu	nigwatsi'ya'
ka =i PREP=D3	=da =DET	t̄laxwstu red	nigwatsi =a' light.container=I3

'Then she put coil oil (it's called) on me, it's what they use for the red lanterns.'

- (42) W̄alas Ȳaxp̄ala.

w̄alas	Ȳaxp̄ala
w̄alas	Ȳak -p̄ala
big/very	bad -smell

'It really stank.'

- (43) La,<sup>5</sup> la'stu laxan gayagas, ki'san weł dukwala le' axalas  
laxan saya.

la	la'stu		laxan			
la	la	-(x)stu	la	=x	=an	
go	AUX-eye		PREP	=ACC	=1.POSS	
	gayagas		ki'san			
	gayagas		(k)i's	=an		
	eye		NEG	=1		
	weł	dukwala		le'		
	weł	dukw	-al	-a	la = a = i'	
	ABIL	see	-CONT-A		AUX = EMB = NMLZ	
	axalas		laxan		saya	
	ax	-al	-a	=s	la =x =an	saya
	do	-CONT-A	=INST		PREP = ACC = 1.POSS	hair

'It went into my eyes, I couldn't see what they were doing to my hair.'

- (44) Nike'kala xan axe' xa da u'ustla.

nike'kala		xan		axe'	
nik	'ek	-al	-a	ka =an	ax = a = i'
say	-in.mind	-CONT-A		PREP = 1.POSS	do = EMB = NMLZ
	xa	da	u'ustla		
	=x	=a	=da	u'us	-(x)tla
	=ACC = D4	=DET	lice	-be.called	

'They thought I must have had lice.'

<sup>5</sup>It's unclear whether the initial "La" here is a false start or not.

(45) Kayosan u'usa!

kayosan                      u'usa  
kayos    = an              u'us -a  
 NEG.EXIST = 1.POSS    lice -A

'I didn't have lice!'

(46) Omi hayulisan dukwasawan saye' san abampwa'le'.

omi                              hayulisan  
 o = 'm = i                      hayulis = an  
 so = VER = D3                  always = 1.POSS

dukwasawan                      saye'  
dukw -a -saw                      = an                      saye = e'  
 see    -A -ACC.PASS = 1.POSS    hair = I3

san                              abampwa'le'  
 = s                      = an                      abamp = wa'f                      = e'  
 = 3.POSS = 1.POSS    mother = DIST.PST = I3

'My hair was always looked after by my late mother.'

(47) Lamis lawe, lawe wila xan gwiłgwela.

lamis                              lawe                      wila                      xan  
la = 'm = (w)is                      lawe                      wila                      = x = an  
 AUX = VER = and.so    take.off    all                      = ACC = 1.POSS

gwiłgwela

gwiłgwela  
 clothes

'Then she took off all my clothes.'



(48) O'am la lusa, lusaṇała dławił.

o'am la lusa

o = 'm la lus -a  
so = VER AUX naked-A

lusaṇała dławił

lus -(k)an -ała dław -ił  
naked-body -STAT stand -indoors

'I was just naked standing there.'

(49) Włas maṅṅsa, dławił laṅa *nurse's station*.

włas maṅṅsa dławił laṅa

włas maṅṅsa dław -ił la = x = a  
big/very ashamed stand -indoors PREP = ACC = D4

*nurse's station*

*nurse's station*  
nurse's station

'I was really ashamed, standing there in the nurse's station.'

- (50) Ax'atalu sa da he pajamas gaxan kan le' kwax'i laxa da junior dorm-xtla.

<u>ax'</u>	<u>at</u>	<u>al</u>	<u>-x'id</u>	=s	=a	
do	-on	-CONT-BEC		=INST	=D4	
da	he	<i>pajamas</i>	<u>gaxan</u>	<u>kan</u>		
=da	he	<i>pajamas</i>	<u>gaxan</u>	<u>ka</u>	= <u>an</u>	
=DET	be.D3	<i>pajamas</i>	1.OBJ	PREP	=1.POSS	
	le'		<u>kwax'i</u>	<u>laxa</u>		
	la	=a	=i'	<u>kwax'</u>	<u>-x'id</u>	la = <u>x</u> =a
	go	=EMB	=NMLZ	lay.down-BEC		PREP = ACC = D4
	da	<i>junior</i>	<i>dorm-xtla</i>			
	=da	<i>junior</i>	<i>dorm</i>	<i>-(x)tla</i>		
	=DET	<i>junior</i>	<i>dorm</i>	<i>-be.called</i>		

'She put, it was pajamas on me, so that I could go sleep in the junior dorm (it's called).'

- (51) Lamisax lax.

<u>lamisax</u>		<u>lax</u>
<u>la</u>	= 'm = (w)is = <u>an</u>	<u>la</u> = <u>x</u>
AUX = VER = and.so = 1		PREP = ACC

'And so I went there.'

- (52) Oman sanband kwasa xa ganuthi, ki'san wet mixa  
kike'kalas, masi lagite' san ump bo gaxan.

o <u>m</u> an	s <u>a</u> nb <u>a</u> nd	<u>k</u> was <u>a</u>		
o = 'm = <u>a</u> n	s <u>a</u> nb <u>a</u> nd	<u>k</u> was -a		
so = VER = 1	through.til.end	cry -A		
<u>x</u> a	ganu <u>t</u> hi	<u>k</u> i's <u>a</u> n	we <u>t</u>	mi <u>x</u> a
= <u>x</u> = a	ganu <u>t</u> hi = i	( <u>k</u> )i's = <u>a</u> n	we <u>t</u>	mi <u>x</u> -a
= ACC = D4	night = I3	NEG = 1	ABIL	sleep-A
<u>k</u> i <u>k</u> e' <u>k</u> al <u>a</u> s	m <u>a</u> si	lag <u>i</u> te'		
<u>k</u> i <u>k</u> e' <u>k</u> -a <u>l</u>	-a = s	m <u>a</u> s = i	la -g <u>i</u> la = e'	
worry -CONT-A	= INST	what = D3	AUX-reason = I3	
s <u>a</u> n	ump	bo	gax <u>a</u> n	
= s	= <u>a</u> n	ump	bo	gax <u>a</u> n
= 3.POSS = 1.POSS	father	leave	1.OBJ	

'I just cried all night, I couldn't sleep, wondering why my father had left me.'

- (53) Lamise'e da gaxi da tsada<sup>k</sup> nik kan le' la ikatsi kan le'  
 kwal<sup>i</sup>ł dlawan [nu'<sup>6</sup>] wakwa.

lamise'e

la = 'm = (w)is = a = i' = i  
 AUX = VER = and.so = EMB = NMLZ = D3

da	<u>ga</u> xi	da	<u>tsa</u> da <sup>k</sup>	<u>ni</u> k
= da	<u>ga</u> x = i	= da	<u>tsa</u> da <sup>k</sup>	<u>ni</u> k
= DET	come = D3	= DET	woman	say
<u>ka</u> n	le'	la	<u>ika</u> tsi	
<u>ka</u> = an	<u>la</u> = a = i'	la	<u>ika</u> tsi	
PREP = 1.POSS	AUX = EMB = NMLZ	go	upstairs	
<u>ka</u> n	le'	<u>ka</u> wal <sup>i</sup> ł		
<u>ka</u> = an	la = e'	<u>ka</u> wal -ił		
PREP = 1.POSS	go = I3	lay.down-indoors		
<u>dla</u> wan	<u>wak</u> wa			
<u>dla</u> w = an	<u>wak</u> wa			
with = 1.POSS	older.sibling			

'When in came this lady who told me to go upstairs so I  
 could sleep there with my sister.'

---

<sup>6</sup>Ruby starts to say the word nula 'older sibling' here, but then corrects herself.

(54) Ola ika<sub>n</sub> noke' le'a<sub>x</sub> du<sub>x</sub>wa<sub>t</sub>la<sub>x</sub>.

ola ika<sub>n</sub> noke'  
 ola ik = an noke'  
 truly good = 1.POSS heart/mind

le'a<sub>x</sub> du<sub>x</sub>wa<sub>t</sub>la<sub>x</sub>  
 la = a = (i)x du<sub>x</sub>wa<sub>t</sub> -al -a = x  
 AUX = EMB = V2 see -cont-A = ACC

'It did my heart good to see her.'

(55) Ugwa<sub>k</sub>ala<sub>m</sub>e' a<sub>x</sub>ase's d<sub>l</sub>aw<sub>l</sub>a'gas hedi da *intermediate*-t<sub>l</sub>a.

ugwa<sub>k</sub>ala<sub>m</sub>e'  
 ugwa<sub>k</sub> -al -a = 'm = a = i'  
 different-CONT-A = VER = EMB = NMLZ

a<sub>x</sub>ase's d<sub>l</sub>aw<sub>l</sub>a'gas  
 a<sub>x</sub> -'as = e' = s d<sub>l</sub>aw<sub>l</sub>a'gas  
 do -LOC.PASS = I3 = 3.POSS niece

hedi da *intermediate*-t<sub>l</sub>a  
 he = d = i = da *intermediate* -(x)t<sub>l</sub>a  
 be.D3 = DET = D3 = DET intermediate -be.called

'My niece was in a different place, the one called intermediate.'

(56) Lamis o'am hayulis mixa dławan wakwa.

lamis

o'am

la = 'm = (w)is  
AUX = VER = and.so

o = 'm  
so = VER

hayulis mixa dławan wakwa

hayulis mix -a dław = an wakwa  
always sleep-A with 1.POSS older.sibling

'So I always slept with my older sister.'

(57) Ńampanan gax naxamanu'xw *half* skula'.

Ńampanan

gax

naxamanu'xw

*half*

Ńam -pan = an  
one -occurrence = 1

gax nax = 'm = anu'xw  
come half = VER = 1.EXCL

*half*  
half

*day* skula'

*day* skul = a'

*day* school = I3

'One day I came from just a half day of school.'

(58) Lamisānu'xw gwałnaxwa xa nakela.

lamisānu'xw

gwałnaxwa

la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw  
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL

gwał = naxwa  
stop/finish = sometimes

xa nakela

= x = a nakela

= ACC = D4 midday

'We were finished at lunchtime.'

- (59) Lámisan laxa bañadzi ale xan waḵwa, káyos lax.

lámisan                                      laxa                                      bañadzi      ale  
 la = 'm = (w)is = an      la = x = a      bañadzi      ale  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1      PREP = ACC = D4      downstairs      seek  
 xan                                      waḵwa                                      káyos                                      lax  
 = x = an                                      waḵwa                                      káyos                                      la = x  
 = ACC = 1.POSS      older.sibling      NEG.EXIST      PREP = ACC

'I went downstairs to look for my older sister, but she wasn't there.'

- (60) Lámisi da tsadak o'am ník gaxans, "Yax'ide'e, tikaxe' laxa locker. [Kiname'ad... yax'ida] kinam le'e da alkwa laxa da awina'gwil" níks yax'ide'e.

a. lámisi                                      da                                      tsadak      o'am                                      ník  
 la = 'm = (w)is = i                                      = da                                      tsadak      o = 'm                                      ník  
 AUX = VER = and.so = D3                                      = DET      woman                                      so = VER                                      say  
 gaxans  
 gaxan = s  
 I.OBJ = INST

'A lady came to me and said,'

b. yax'ide'e                                      tikaxe'  
 yak -x'id = a = i'                                      = i                                      tik -ax                                      = a = i'  
 dead-BEC = EMB = NMLZ = D3                                      fall -down = EMB = NMLZ  
 laxa                                      locker  
 la = x = a                                      locker  
 PREP = ACC = D4                                      locker

"She died, when she fell down off of a locker."

c. kinam le'e

kinam      la = a = i' = i  
 many            AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3

da      alkwa      la<sub>x</sub>a                      da      awiña'gwił

= da      alkwa      la = x = a = da      awiña'gwił  
 = DET      blood      PREP = ACC = D4      = DET      floor.indoors

“There was a lot of blood on the floor there.”

d. niks              yax'ide'e

nik = s      yak -x'id = a = i' = i  
 say = INST      dead-BEC = EMB = NMLZ = D3

‘She said that she had died.’

(61) lamisa<sub>n</sub> kwasa itida.

lamisa<sub>n</sub>                              kwasa      itida

la = 'm = (w)is = an      kwasa -a      itida -a  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1      cry -A      again-A

‘Then I cried again.’

(62) lamisa<sub>n</sub> o'am edaka la<sub>x</sub>a *junior dorm*-xtła.

lamisa<sub>n</sub>                              o'am      edaka      la<sub>x</sub>a

la = 'm = (w)is = an      o = 'm      edaka      la = x = a  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1      so = VER      return      PREP = ACC = D4

*junior dorm*-xtła

*junior dorm* -(x)tła

*junior dorm* -be.called

‘Then I returned to the junior dorm.’



- (63)  $\text{Ałmisa}\underline{n}$   $\text{k}\acute{o}\text{ł}'\text{atł}\underline{a}\text{las}$ ,  $\text{i}'\text{se}'$   $\text{y}\acute{x}\text{'id}\underline{a}\text{n}$  [ $\text{t}\acute{s}\text{a}^7$ ]  $\text{w}\acute{a}\text{k}\underline{w}\text{ax}$   $\text{le}'\underline{\text{a}}\underline{x}$   
 $\text{ne}\acute{n}\text{axw}$   $\underline{x}\text{a}$   $\text{da}$   $\text{hi}'\underline{\text{a}}\underline{n}\underline{x}$ .

<p><math>\text{ałmisa}\underline{n}</math></p> <p><math>\text{ał} = \text{'m} = (\text{w})\text{is} = \underline{\text{a}}\underline{n}</math>          late = VER = and.so = 1</p> <p><math>\text{i}'\text{se}'</math></p> <p><math>(\text{k})\text{i}'\text{s} = \text{a} = \text{i}'</math>          NEG = EMB = NMLZ</p> <p><math>\text{w}\acute{a}\text{k}\underline{w}\text{ax}</math></p> <p><math>\text{w}\acute{a}\text{k}\underline{w}\text{a} = (\text{i})\text{k}</math>          older.sibling = V1</p> <p><math>\text{ne}\acute{n}\text{axw}</math> <math>\underline{x}\text{a}</math></p> <p><math>\text{ne}\acute{n}\text{akw} = \underline{x} = \text{a} = \text{da}</math>          go.home = ACC = D4 = DET</p>	<p><math>\text{k}\acute{o}\text{ł}'\text{atł}\underline{a}\text{las}</math></p> <p><math>\text{k}\acute{o}\text{ł}'\text{atł} - \underline{\text{a}}\text{l} - \text{a} = \text{s}</math>          discover-CONT-A = INST</p> <p><math>\text{y}\acute{x}\text{'id}\underline{a}\text{n}</math></p> <p><math>\text{y}\acute{x}\text{ak} - \text{x}'\text{id} = \underline{\text{a}}\underline{n}</math>          dead-BEC = 1.POSS</p> <p><math>\text{le}'\underline{\text{a}}\underline{x}</math></p> <p><math>\text{la} = \text{a} = (\text{i})\underline{\text{x}}</math>          AUX = EMB = V2</p> <p><math>\text{da}</math> <math>\text{hi}'\underline{\text{a}}\underline{n}\underline{x}</math></p> <p><math>\text{da}</math> <math>\text{hi}'\underline{\text{a}}\underline{n}\underline{x}</math>          = DET summertime</p>
--	---

'It wasn't until I went home for summer that I found out that my older sister didn't die.'

<sup>7</sup>Ruby starts to say the word  $\text{t}\acute{s}\text{a}^7$  'younger sibling' here, but then corrects herself.

(64) Nikan abampes le'e la<sub>x</sub> da *TB* tsaxka'atsi la<sub>x</sub> *Nanaimo*.

nikan            abampes            le'e  
 nik = an      abamp = e' = s      la = a = i' = i  
 say = 1.POSS   mother = I3 = INST   AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3  
la<sub>x</sub>                      da      *TB*      tsaxka'atsi      la<sub>x</sub>  
 la = x = a = da      *TB*      tsaxka'atsi      la = x  
 PREP = ACC = D4      = DET      *TB*      hospital      PREP = ACC  
*Nanaimo*  
*Nanaimo*  
 Nanaimo

'My mother said that she went to a TB hospital in Nanaimo.'

(65) Hedan leda skul xa ma'p'anagila.

hedan                      leda  
 he = d = an      la = a = i = da  
 be.D3 = DET = 1      PREP = EMB = D3 = DET  
skul      xa                      ma'p'anagila  
 skul = x = a      ma'p'an      -a -(g)ila  
 school = ACC = D4      two      -occurrence-A -make/do

'I went to the school for two years.'

- (66) I'san ix'ak, w<sup>l</sup>alas<sup>an</sup>u'xw y<sup>axs</sup>a<sup>m</sup>anu'xw ha<sup>m</sup>e' lax, o<sup>m</sup>a  
la ha<sup>y</sup>ulis ki<sup>l</sup>akas<sup>a</sup>w<sup>a</sup>'.

i'san ix'ak w<sup>l</sup>alas<sup>an</sup>u'xw

(k)i's = an ix'ak w<sup>l</sup>alas = anu'xw  
NEG = 1 like big/very = 1.EXCL.POSS

y<sup>axs</sup>a<sup>m</sup>anu'xw ha<sup>m</sup>e'

y<sup>axs</sup>a<sup>m</sup> = anu'xw ha<sup>m</sup> = e'  
bad = 1.EXCL.POSS eat = I3

lax o<sup>m</sup>a

la = x o = 'm = a  
PREP = ACC so = VER = A

la ha<sup>y</sup>ulis ki<sup>l</sup>akas<sup>a</sup>w<sup>a</sup>'

la ha<sup>y</sup>ulis ki<sup>l</sup>ak -a -saw = a'  
AUX always beat -A -ACC.PASS = I3

'I didn't like it, there was really bad food there, and we  
were always getting beaten.'

(67) Olakale'kanu'xw ix'akanu'xw le'kanu'xw neñaxw xa da  
 Kismis dławida hi'anx, lanaxwa le'kanu'xw neñakwa.

olakale'kanu'xw		ix'akanu'xw	
olakala = a = (i)k = anu'xw		ix'ak = anu'xw	
truly.said = EMB = v1 = 1.EXCL.POSS		like = 1.EXCL	
le'kanu'xw		neñaxw	
la = a = (i)k = anu'xw		neñakw	
go = EMB = v1 = 1.EXCL.POSS		go.home	
xa	da	Kismis	dławida
= x = a = ACC = D4	= da = DET	Kismis Christmas	dław = i and = D3
da	hi'anx	lanaxwa	
= da = DET	hi'anx summertime	la = naxwa go = sometimes	
	le'kanu'xw		
	la = a = (i)k = anu'xw		
	AUX = EMB = v1 = 1.EXCL.POSS		
	neñakwa		
	neñakw -a		
	go.home -A		

'We really liked it when we went home for Christmas and summer, whenever we went home.'

(68) [Ał'am] Ałmān la'edakā lax le'x laxa *grade 10*.

ałmān	la'edakā	lax	le'x
ał = 'm = an	la -edakā	la = x	la = a = (i)k
late = VER = 1	go -return	PREP = ACC	AUX = EMB = V1
laxa		<i>grade</i>	<i>10</i>
la = x = a		<i>grade</i>	<i>10</i>
PREP = ACC = D4		<i>grade</i>	<i>10</i>

'I didn't go back there until my grade 10.'

(69) Emañ.

emañ  
emañ  
Amen

'Amen.'

### 13.4 Editors' Note

This a hard story about a residential school survivor, and we are very fortunate and honoured to be able to present it. Ruby did not rehearse this story when it was recorded—it just flowed out naturally when she was ready to share it. This story is a testament to Ruby's masterful story telling ability, and to her great skill as a speaker.

On Ruby's request, three names have been edited out of this recording and replaced with the terms dławłā'gas 'niece' and waḵwa 'older sibling'. The reader should note that due to the difficulty of editing into the recording the first-person possessive marker (=an 1.POSS), this morpheme is missing from lines 20, 23, 26, 32, and 55. Normally, we expect this morpheme to the immediate left of dławłā'gas and waḵwa.



## CHAPTER 14

# Alberni Port Alberni

### 14.1 Alberni

Le'kanu'xw lax Alberni. Lamisanu'xw latso laxa da stimbo'ts. Gaxnaxwalux xux Vancouver. Lamānu'xw lołtso laxa stimbo't. I'sanu'xw kotłala kanu'xw la'as. La'am bowi dđidładłola gaxanu'xw. Lamānu'xw a'axsilax wāladzi *suitcases*. I'sanu'xw kotłala kanu'xw la'as. Lamisanu'xw la o'am kasa, kinamanu'xw galdas. Heṃan dławla'gas dławwan ugwaķa dđidładłola, yudaxwanu'xw. La'am bowi dđidładłola gaxanu'xw, tso si's galdas kanu'xw a'axsila. Kayosanu'xw kotłala kanu'xw la'as. Lamānu'xw o'am laxa da *skid row-xtła*. Kalanu'xw xaxga hedan wakwa lax dławwi's wā'okw. Lamānu'xw kax, omis niks kayose'e dala. Kayos'amxa'anu'xw dala. Ki'sanu'xw kotłala kanu'xw gwigilas. I'san kotłala gaxe'kanu'xw dax'idsu' o'am kotłala le'kanu'xw sixw'i, sixwa lax Vancouver Island. Higaman kodłafi. Ki'san kotłalas le'kanu'xw bo sux Vancouver.

Lamānu'xw laga'a laxa da skul. Ugwalamānu'xw gukwa'las. Gukwalux laxa dorm. O'am la gukwala dlawi da bibibagwanam. Kwālisnaxwa'amānu'xw o'am hamgila<sup>1</sup> xax le' wile'kanu'xw. Nampanan kati xan umpwa'le', nikas kwālismanu'xw hamiksila ka'ux le' kinam le'kanu'xw, bibagwanam dlawi tsitsadak. Lamisan niła xan ump, i's getas le'e gaxi da galdaszi. Kinami da hihame' lax. Ki'sanu'xw weł kanu'xw axe'x, o higami da peanut butter ax'idsawa' kanu'xw baskat. Lo'naxwanu'xw xa baskat xa 4 o'clock<sup>2</sup> xa nala. Le'kan loł xanu'xw baskat, olakala ix dlawi da peanut butter. Lamisan kati xan umpwa'le' niks i'se'e weł iti halaxs xa da hame' gaxanu'xw.

Eman.

## 14.2 Port Alberni

We were on our way to Port Alberni. We got into a steamboat. Apparently it went to Vancouver. We got off of the steamboat, and didn't know where we were. Then our relative left us, and we had to mind his big suit cases. We didn't know where we were. So we just started walking around, carrying lots of suitcases. It was my neice with me along with another relative, there were three of us. And our relative left us, giving us his suitcase to look after. No one knew where we were, and we ended up at what's called skid row. We heard that my older brother was there with his girlfriend. We found him, and he said that he had no money. We didn't have any money either. We didn't know what we could do. I don't know when we were

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<sup>1</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby noted that the word hamgila 'feed' can imply direct feeding, as when a parent feeds an infant. As this is not the intended meaning here, she suggested replacing the word hamgila with hamiksila 'cook (for)'.

<sup>2</sup>In a follow-up discussion of the recording, Ruby offered muisakila 'four o'clock' as the Kwakwala translation for this phrase.



taken, I just know that we left on a boat, a boat going to Vancouver Island. That's all I know. I don't know when we left Vancouver.

Later we arrived at the school. The place we lived in there was different. People there lived in dorms, just lived there together with the men. On our own, we each took turns feeding them when we were all together. One time I wrote to my late father, and told him that we were cooking meals by ourselves for lots of people, men and women. So I told my father and before long, a big box arrived. There was a lot of food in it. We weren't able to use it, only the peanut butter got used for our biscuits. We would get biscuits at four o'clock every day. When I got our biscuits, they were really good with the peanut butter. Then I wrote to my late father and told him he couldn't send us any more food.

Amen.

### 14.3 Grammatical Analysis

(1) Le'kanu'xw lax Alberni.<sup>3</sup>

le'kanu'xw

la = a = i' = (i)k = anu'xw

go = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS

lax Alberni

la = x Alberni

PREP = ACC Alberni

'We were on our way to Port Alberni.'

<sup>3</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby recommended adding an ending to this sentence as follows: Le'kanu'xw lax Alberni kanu'xw le' grade 9. 'We were on our way to Alberni to do our grade 9 (1954).'

- (2) Lámisanu'xw látso laxa da stimbo'ts.

lámisanu'xw                      látso  
 la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw    la -'tsu -a  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL    go-inside-A

laxa                      da      stimbo'ts  
 la = x = a = da    stimbo'ts  
 PREP = ACC = D4 = DET    steamboat

'We got into a steamboat.'

- (3) Gaxnaxwalux xux Vancouver.

gaxnaxwalux                      xux                      Vancouver  
 gax = naxwa = la = ux = x = ux    Vancouver  
 come = sometimes = REPORT = D2 = ACC = D2    Vancouver

'Apparently it went to Vancouver.'

- (4) Lamanu'xw lo'tso laxa stimbo't.

lamanu'xw                      lo'tso                      laxa  
 la = 'm = anu'xw    la -utł -'tsu -a    la = x = a  
 AUX = VER = 1.EXCL    go-from-inside-A    PREP = ACC = D4

stimbo't  
 stimbo't  
 steamboat

'We got off of the steamboat.'

(5) I'sanu'xw k'otłala kanu'xw la'as.

i'sanu'xw            k'otłala            kanu'xw  
 (k'i)s = anu'xw    k'otł -al    -a    ka = anu'xw  
 NEG = 1.EXCL    know-CONT-A    PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS

la'as

la -'as  
 AUX-LOC.PASS

'We didn't know where we were.'

(6) La'am bowi d'idładłola gaxanu'xw, lamānu'xw [a']  
 a'axsilax w'aladzi suitcases.

la'am            bowi            d'idładłola  
 la = 'm    bo = i    d'idładłola  
 AUX=VER    leave=D3    relative

gaxanu'xw            lamānu'xw  
 gaxanu'xw            la = 'm = anu'xw  
 1.EXCL.OBJ            AUX=VER=1.EXCL

a'axsilax            w'aladzi            suitcases  
 a'axsil    -a = x    w'alas -dzi    suitcases  
 take.care.of-A = ACC    big/very-AUG    suitcases

'Then our relative left us, and we had to mind his big suit cases.'

(7) I'sanu'xw k'otłala kanu'xw la'as.

i'sanu'xw            k'otłala            kanu'xw  
 (k)i's = anu'xw    k'otł -al    -a    ka = anu'xw  
 NEG = 1.EXCL    know-CONT-A    PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS  
 la'as  
 la -'as  
 AUX-LOC.PASS

'We didn't know where we were.'

(8) [Lamānu'xw o'am] Lamisanu'xw la o'am kasa,  
 kināmanu'xw galdas.

lamisanu'xw                            la    o'am            kasa  
 la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw    la    o = 'm    kas -a  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL    go    so = VER    walk-A  
 kināmanu'xw                            galdas  
 kinām = anu'xw            galdas  
 many = 1.EXCL.POSS    box

'So we just started walking around, carrying lots of suit-cases.'

- (9) Heḿan dławła'gas dławwan ugwaḵa dḥidḥadḥola,  
yudaxwanu'xw.

heḿan dławła'gas dławwan ugwaḵa  
 he = 'm = an dławła'gas dław = an ugwaḵa  
 be.D3 = VER = 1.POSS neice with = 1 also

dḥidḥadḥola yudaxwanu'xw  
 dḥidḥadḥola yudaxw = anu'xw  
 relative three = 1.EXCL

'It was my neice with me along with another relative,  
 there were three of us.'

- (10) la'am bowi dḥidḥadḥola gaxanu'xw, tso si's galdas  
 kanu'xw a'axsila.

la'am bowi dḥidḥadḥola  
 la = 'm bo = i dḥidḥadḥola  
 AUX = VER leave = D3 relative

gaxanu'xw tso si's galdas  
 gaxanu'xw tso = s = (i)'s galdas  
 1.EXCL.OBJ give = INST = 3.REFL.POSS box  
 kanu'xw a'axsila  
 ka = anu'xw a'axsila  
 PREP = 1.EXCL take.care.of

'And our relative left us, giving us his suitcase to look  
 after.'

(11) K̑ayosanu'xw k̑otłala kanu'xw la'as.

k̑ayosanu'xw                      k̑otłala  
 k̑ayos = anu'xw                      k̑otł -al -a  
 NEG.EXIST = 1.EXCL.POSS      know-CONT-A

kanu'xw                      la'as  
 ka = anu'xw                      la -'as  
 PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS      AUX-LOC.PASS

'No one knew where we were.'

(12) Lam̑anu'xw o'am laxa da skid row-xtła.

lam̑anu'xw                      o'am                      laxa                      da  
 la = 'm = anu'xw                      o = 'm                      la = x = a                      = da  
 AUX = VER = 1.EXCL                      so = VER                      PREP = ACC = D4                      = DET

skid row-xtła  
 skid row -(x)tła  
 skid row -be.called

'So we ended up at what's called skid row.'

- (13) Kálanu'xw xaxga hedan wakwa lax dlawi's wa'okw.

Kálanu'xw xaxga

kála = anu'xw xa = x = ga  
 hear = 1.EXCL CONN = ACC = D1

hedan wakwa

he = d = an wakwa  
 be.D3 = DET = 1.POSS older.sibling

lax dlawi's wa'okw

la = x dlaw = (i)'s wa'okw  
 PREP = ACC with = 3.REFL.POSS companion

'We heard that my older brother was there with his girlfriend.'

- (14) lamanu'xw kax, omis niks kayose'e dala.

lamanu'xw kax omis

la = 'm = anu'xw ka = x o = 'm = (w)is  
 AUX = VER = 1.EXCL find = ACC so = VER = and.so

niks kayose'e dala

nik = s kayos = a = i' = i dala  
 say = INST NEG.EXIST = EMB = NMLZ = D3 money

'We found him, and he said that he had no money.'

(15) Kayos'amxa'anu'xw dala.

kayos'amxa'anu'xw dala

kayos = 'm = xa = anu'xw dala  
 NEG.EXIST = VER = ADD.FOC = 1.EXCL.POSS money

'We didn't have any money either.'

(16) Ki'sanu'xw kotłala kanu'xw gwigilas.

ki'sanu'xw kotłala kanu'xw

(k)i's = anu'xw kotł -al -a ka = anu'xw  
 NEG = 1.EXCL know-CONT-A PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS

gwigilas

gwi -(g)ila -'as  
 INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS

'We didn't know what we could do.'



- (17) I'san k'otłala[l] gax̣e'kanu'x̣w dax'idsu' o'am k'otłala  
 le'kanu'x̣w sixw'i, sixwa lax̣ Vancouver Island.

i'san

k'otłala

(k)i's = an  
 NEG = 1

k'otł -al -a  
 know-CONT-A

gax̣e'kanu'x̣w

gax̣ = a = i' = (i)k = anu'x̣w  
 come = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS

dax'idsu'

da -x'id -saẉ  
 take.in.hand-BEC -ACC.PASS

o'am k'otłala

o = 'm k'otł -al -a  
 so = VER know-CONT-A

le'kanu'x̣w

la = a = i' = (i)k = anu'x̣w  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS

sixw'i

sixwa

sixw -x'id  
 go.on.boat-BEC

sixw -a  
 go.on.boat-A

lax̣

Vancouver Island

la = x̣ Vancouver Island  
 PREP = ACC Vancouver Island

'I don't know when we were taken, I just know that we left on a boat, a boat going to Vancouver Island.'

(18) Higam̄an k̄odłahi.

higam̄an                      k̄odłahi  
 higa = 'm = an      k̄otł -ał = i  
 only = VER = 1.POSS    know-NMLZ = D3  
 'That's all I know.'

(19) K̄i'san k̄otłalas le'kanu'xw bo sux Vancouver.

k̄i'san                      k̄otłalas  
 (k̄)i's = an              k̄otł -al -a = s  
 NEG = 1                know-CONT-A = INST  
 le'kanu'xw  
 la = a = i' = (i)k = anu'xw  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = v1 = 1.EXCL.POSS  
 bo      sux                      Vancouver  
 bo = s = ux Vancouver  
 leave = INST = D2      Vancouver

'I don't know when we left Vancouver.'

(20) Lam̄anu'xw laga'a laxa da skul.

lam̄anu'xw                      laga'a      laxa                      da  
 la = 'm = anu'xw      la -ga'a      la = x = a = da  
 AUX = VER = 1.EXCL    go-arrive    PREP = ACC = D4    = DET  
 skul  
 skul  
 school

'We arrived at the school.'

(21) Ugwalamānu'xw gukwālas.

ugwalamānu'xw	gukwālas
ugwala = 'm = anu'xw	gukw -al -'as
different = VER = 1.EXCL.POSS	house -CONT-LOC.PASS

'The place we lived in there was different.'

(22) Gukwāluxe laxa dorm.

gukwāluxe	laxa	dorm
gukw -al = ux	la = x = a	dorm
house -CONT=D2	PREP=ACC=D4	dorm

'People there lived in dorms.'

(23) O'am la gukwala dlawi da bibibagwanam.

o'am	la	gukwala	dlawi	da
o = 'm	la	gukw -al -a	dlaw = i	= da
so = VER	AUX	house -CONT-A	with = D3	= DET

bibibagwanam

Ci~ Ci~ bagwanam

PL~ PL~ man

'Just lived there together with the men.'

(24) Ḵwālisnaxwa'amanu'xw o'am haḡgila xax le'  
 wile'kanu'xw.

Ḵwālisnaxwa'amanu'xw o'am

Ḵwālis = naxwa = 'm = anu'xw o = 'm  
 by.onself = sometimes = VER = 1.EXCL so = VER

haḡgila xax le'

haḡ -(g)ila xa = x la = a = i'  
 eat -make/do CONN = ACC AUX = EMB = NMLZ

wile'kanu'xw

wil' = a = i' = (i)k = anu'xw  
 all = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS

'On our own, we each took turns feeding them when we  
 were all together.'

- (25) N̄am̄p̄an̄an̄ k̄ati x̄an umpw̄a'le', n̄ikas k̄walis̄manu'x̄w  
 ham̄iksila k̄a'ux̄ le' k̄in̄am̄ le'kanu'x̄w, bibagwan̄am  
 d̄l̄aw̄i ts̄its̄adāk̄.

n̄am̄p̄an̄an̄

k̄ati

n̄am̄ -p̄an̄ = an̄  
 one -occurrence = 1k̄at -x'id  
 write-BEC

x̄an

umpw̄a'le'

n̄ikas

= x̄ = an̄

= ACC = 1.POSS

ump = wa'ł

father = DIST.PST = I3

= e'

n̄ik -a = s

say -A = INST

k̄walis̄manu'x̄w

ham̄iksila

k̄walis̄ = 'm̄ = anu'x̄w  
 by.oneself = VER = 1.EXCLham̄iksila  
 make.food

k̄a'ux̄

le'

k̄in̄am̄

k̄a = ux̄

PREP = D2

l̄a = a

AUX = EMB = NMLZ

= i'

k̄in̄am̄

many

le'kanu'x̄w

l̄a = a = i' = (i)k = anu'x̄w

AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS

bibagwan̄am

Ci~ bagwan̄am

PL~ man

d̄l̄aw̄i

ts̄its̄adāk̄

d̄l̄aw̄ = i

with = D3

Ci~ ts̄adāk̄

PL~ woman

'One time I wrote to my late father, and told him that we  
 were cooking meals by ourselves for lots of people, men  
 and women.'

(26) lamisan nila xan ump, i's gelas le'e gaxi da galdasdzi.

lamisan                      nila              xan                      ump  
la = 'm = (w)is = an    nil -a = x = an              ump  
aux = ver = and.so = I    show-A              = ACC = I.POSS    father  
i's              gelas                      le'e  
(k)i's              gela              = s              la = a = i' = i  
NEG              long.time = INST    AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3  
gaxi              da              galdasdzi  
gax = i              = da              galdas -dzi  
come = D3              = DET    box              -AUG

'So I told my father and before long, a big box arrived.'

(27) kinami da hihame' lax.

kinami              da              hihame'              lax  
kinam = i              = da              Ci~ ham = e'              la              = x  
many = D3              = DET    PL~ eat              = I3              PREP = ACC

'There was a lot of food in it.'

- (28) *Ki'sanu'xw weł kanu'xw axe'x, o higami da peanut butter ax'idsawa' kanu'xw baskat.*

ki'sanu'xw	weł	kanu'xw
(k)i's = anu'xw NEG = 1.EXCL	weł ABIL	ka = anu'xw PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS
axe'x	o	higami
ax = a = i' = x do = EMB = NMLZ = ACC	o so	higa = 'm = i only = VER = D3
da	peanut butter	ax'idsawa'
= da = DET	peanut butter	ax -x'id -saw' = a' do -BEC -ACC.PASS = I3
kanu'xw	baskat	
ka = anu'xw PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS	baskat biscuit	

'We weren't able to use it, only the peanut butter got used for our biscuits.'

- (29) *Lołmaxwanu'xw xa baskat xa 4 o'clock xa nala.*

lołmaxwanu'xw	xa
lotł = naxwa = anu'xw obtain = sometimes = 1.EXCL	= x = a = ACC = D4
baskat xa	4 o'clock xa nala
baskat = x = a	4 o'clock = x = a nala
biscuit = ACC = D4	4 o'clock = ACC = D4 day

'We would get biscuits at four o'clock every day.'

(30) Le'kən loł xanu'xw baskat, ola'kala ix dła'wi da *peanut butter*.

le'kən

la = a = i' = (i)k = an  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = V1 = 1.POSS

loł xanu'xw baskat ola'kala

loł = x = anu'xw baskat ola'kala  
 obtain = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS biscuit truly

ix dła'wi da *peanut butter*

ik dła'w = i = da *peanut butter*  
 good with = D3 = DET peanut butter

'When I got our biscuits, they were really good with the peanut butter.'



- (31) L̄am̄is̄an̄ k̄at̄i x̄an umpw̄a'le' n̄iks i'se'e weł it̄i hałax̄s x̄a  
da hāme' gaḡanu'x̄w.

l̄am̄is̄an̄		k̄at̄i
l̄a = 'm = (w)is = an AUX = VER = and.so = 1		k̄at -x'id write-BEC
x̄an	umpw̄a'le'	n̄iks
= x̄ = an = ACC = 1.POSS	ump = wa'ł = e' father = DIST.PST = I3	n̄ik = s say = INST
i'se'e	weł	it̄i hałax̄s
(k̄)i's = a = i' = i NEG = EMB = NMLZ = D3	weł ABIL	it̄id hałax̄s again send
x̄a	da	hāme' gaḡanu'x̄w
= x̄ = a = da = ACC = D4 = DET	hām̄ = e' eat = I3	gaḡanu'x̄w 1.EXCL.OBJ

'Then I wrote to my late father and told him he couldn't send us any more food.'

- (32) Emaḡan.

emaḡan  
emaḡan  
amen  
'Amen.'

## 14.4 Editors' Note

This is a story about Ruby and some of her close relatives being sent to the more senior grades of residential school, away from St. Michael's in Alert Bay to a different school in Port Alberni.

They were put on a boat from the North (of Vancouver) Island to the city of Vancouver, then expected to find another boat back to Vancouver Island and on to Port Alberni. One thing that is striking about this story is the apparent lack of instruction given by the residential school leadership for the safe arrival of these children to the school, and the chancy success of Ruby and her peers in arriving there.

On Ruby's request, a name was edited out of the recording and replaced with *d̥id̥l̥ad̥l̥ola* 'relative' in lines (6) and (10). As we were not able to effectively put in the appropriate possessive morphology (= *anu'xw* '1.EXCL.POSS'), it is missing from these lines. Literally, the phrase =*i d̥id̥l̥ad̥l̥ola* in these lines translates as 'the relative'.

## CHAPTER 15

# Yaxwa Danceland

### 15.1 Yaxwa

La'idix gwał skul lax Yális, lamán umpwá'le' níkas gaxe'tłax lax Vancouver kan kakatimile'. La'am yax'idan umpwá'le', ki'sme'ax gax laxux Vancouver-ax, hedan abamp ga duxw'i le'ax latso laxa wáladzi bo'ta'. Stimbo'ttla.

Lamisanu'xw gax laxux Vancouver, September 1957. Lamisan gukwala dlawi da kwalyakw tsadak dlawi's lawanam. Kinamanu'xw gayud lax Gwayi, la gukwala lax.

Lamanu'xw lanaxwa laxa kakutla'as ke'e da kakatimil dlawan dladlola. La'am lanaxwanu'xw latso laxa da bas. Hulaloxwadi da bas, oxdawidami fifteen-cents kanu'xw latsowe' lax. Thumanaxwanu'xw yaksam le'kanu'xw niku' kanu'xw, xa bakwam, ka le's laxa atleye' sa da bas. Walasanu'xw xwinatas he gwikali da bagwanam gaxanu'xw. O'am hayulis he gwikala xa ga'ala le'kanu'xw laxe laxa da bas. Omisanu'xw la kasanaxwa laxa Cambie Bridge kanu'xw laga'a laxanu'xw

ƙaƙuƙta'as. Henaxwanu'xw gwigila xa giga'alak. Ƙi'sanaxwanu'xw weƙ'am la baƙsola.

Lamisanu'xw, xa da wikend. Tumanaxwanu'xw ayaxpas xa wikend. Lanaxwanu'xw laxa yaxwa'elas, *Danceland*-ta. Xu's lalax laxa da yaxwa'elas, ki'sme' nanamatsakila ki'sas haka. Xu's a'idlax, lamisas haka sa da naxs'oyi. Wasnaxwanu'xw ayaxpas le'kanu'xw yaxwa lax. Higamanu'xw gwigili, kayos naka, kayos kwamta, kayos yaksam gwigilas. Omanu'xw ayaxpas o'am hayulisa. Lanaxwamisanu'xw kayos i'say yaxwagil dawwan namukw. He gelanu'xw he gwigili.

Lamanu'xw gwal xanu'xw gwigilas laxa da ƙaƙuƙta'elas. Lamisanu'xw o'am ax'i xa da *apartment*. Was hulaloƙw laxa 1957. Tumux la kayu'xw la. O'am *seventy-five dollars* xa namsamgila, was hulaloƙwa'. He le' da guƙwala dawwan namukw. Omisanu'xw hayulis la laxa *Danceland*-xta, ki'sme'e nanamatsakila.

La'am tams'idsawan guƙwala'as. La'am niks letle'k la patla lax Yalis, yayakan abamp. Lamisan laga'a lax Yalis. Gaxmisan wakwa, dax'i gaxan laxa padhilas. La'am niks le' yax'idan abamp, olekan a'ida, niki. La'am aƙ, la'am la yax'idan abamp xa ga'ala. Amisan laga'a lax Yalise xa da nakelaxda'xwi. Lamisan gwalmas xan gwigilas laxux *Vancouver*. O'am la neƙakw lax Gwayasdam's, kan axsila xan tsitsatsiya, ki'sme'e la laxa da skul lax *St. Michael's School*.

Eman.

## 15.2 Danceland

When I finished school in Alert Bay, my father said that I was going to Vancouver to become a secretary. But he died before I went off to Vancouver, so my mother saw me off on the big boat. A “steamboat”, it was called.

So we came to Vancouver in September 1957. I lived there with an old woman and her husband. There were lots of us from Kingcome who lived there.

We used to go to secretary-school, me and my relatives. Sometimes we would get on the bus. The bus was cheap in those days, it only cost us fifteen cents to get on. But it was really bad when they'd tell us to go to the back of the bus because we were Native. We were really irked when the bus driver said that to us. He always said that in the morning when we got on the bus. So we started just walking across the Cambie Bridge to get to our school. We did that most mornings. We sometimes couldn't take it getting on the bus.

And then there was the weekend. We really had fun on weekends. We often went to a dance hall, Danceland it was called. If you went to the dance hall before 9 o'clock, you didn't have to pay. If you were later than that though, you paid 50 cents. We had a lot of fun dancing there. That's all we did, there was no drinking, no smoking, no bad behaviour. We just had fun all the time. There's no one we didn't dance with there, me and my friends. We did that for a long time.

We finished what we were doing at the school. So then we just got an apartment. It was really cheap in 1957. It's really expensive now. It was just seventy-five dollars for one month, really cheap. I lived there with my friend. We always used to go dancing at Danceland, before 9 o'clock.

Then I got a phone call from back home. They said to go on a plane to Alert Bay, my mother was dying. So I arrived in Alert Bay. My older brother Kay came to pick me up from the airport. He said that my mother had died, that I was too late. Too late, my mother had died that morning. I had arrived in Alert Bay around lunchtime.

So I finished what I was doing in Vancouver, and I moved home to Gilford Island, to take care of my younger siblings there before they went off to St. Michael's School.

Amen.

### 15.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1) La'idix gwał skul lax Ýalis, laṃan umpwa'le' níkaş  
gaxe'tłax lax Vancouver kaṃ kakatiṃiṃe'.

la'idix                      gwał                      skul                      lax  
 la -x'id = (i)k                      gwał                      skul                      la = x  
 AUX-BEC = V1                      stop/finish                      school                      PREP = ACC

Ýalis                      laṃan  
 Ýalis                      la = 'm = an  
 Alert.Bay                      AUX = VER = 1.POSS

umpwa'le'                      níkaş  
 ump = wa't                      = e'                      ník = s  
 father = DIST.PST = I3                      say = INST

gaxe'tłax  
 gaṃ = a                      = i'                      = tł                      = (i)k  
 come = EMB = NMLZ = FUT = V1

lax                      Vancouver                      kaṃ  
 la = x                      Vancouver                      ka = an  
 PREP = ACC                      Vancouver                      PREP = 1.POSS

kakatiṃiṃe'  
 kakatiṃiṃ = a                      = i'  
 secretary = EMB = NMLZ

'When I finished school in Alert Bay, my father said that I was going to Vancouver to become a secretary.'

- (2) *La'am* *ɣax'idan* *umpwə'le'*, *ki'sme'ax* *gax* *laxux*  
*Vancouver-ax*, *hedan* *abamp* *ga* *duxw'i* *le'ax* [lats] *latso*  
*laxa* *waladzi* *bo'ta'*.

*la'am*            *ɣax'idan*                            *umpwə'le'*  
*la* = 'm    *ɣak* -x'id = an            *ump* = wa't    = e'  
 AUX=VER    dead-BEC = 1.POSS    father=DIST.PST=I3

*ki'sme'ax*    *gax*    *laxux*  
 (k)i's = 'm = a    = (i)k    *gax*    *la* = x    = ux  
 NEG = VER=EMB=V1    come    PREP=ACC=D2

*Vancouver-ax*            *hedan*    *abamp*  
*Vancouver* = (i)x    *he* = d = an            *abamp*  
*Vancouver* = V2    be.D3=DET=1.POSS    mother

*ga*            *duxw'i*    *le'ax*  
 = ga    *dukw* -x'id    *la* = a    = (i)k  
 = D1    see    -BEC    AUX=EMB=V1

*latso*    *laxa*  
*la* -tsu -a    *la* = x    = a  
 go-inside-A    PREP=ACC=D4

*waladzi*    *bo'ta'*  
*walas* -dzi    *bo't* = a'  
 big/very-AUG    boat = I3

'But my father died before I came to Vancouver, so my mother saw me off on the big boat.'

- (3) Stimbo'ttła.

stimbo'ttła  
 stimbo't -(x)tła  
 steamboat-be.called

'A "steamboat", it was called.'

- (4) Lamisanu'xw gax [laxux Van] laxux Vancouver,  
 September 1957.

lamisanu'xw	gax	laxux
la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw	gax	la = x = ux
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	come	PREP = ACC = D3

Vancouver September 1957  
 Vancouver September 1957  
 Vancouver September 1957

'So we came to Vancouver in September 1957.'

- (5) Lamisan gukwala dlawi da kwalyakw tsadak dlawi's  
 lawanam.

lamisan	gukwala	dlawi
la = 'm = (w)is = an	gukw -al -a	dlaw = i
AUX = VER = and.so = 1	house -CONT-A	with = D3

da	kwalyakw	tsadak	dlawi's
= da	kwalyakw	tsadak	dlaw = (i)'s
= DET	elderly	woman	with = 3.REFL.POSS

lawanam  
 lawanam  
 husband

'I lived with an an old woman and her husband.'



- (6)
- K
- in
- a
- manu'
- x
- w gayud lax Gwayi, la gukw
- a
- la lax.

kinamanu'xw      gayud      lax  
kinam = anu'xw      gay      -u -x'id      la      = x  
 many = 1.EXCL      originate-off-BEC      PREP = ACC

Gwayi      la      gukwala      lax

Gwayi      la      gukw -al      -a      la      = x  
 Kingcome      AUX      house -CONT-A      PREP = ACC

'There were lots of us from Kingcome who lived there.'

- (7)
- L
- a
- m
- anu'
- x
- w lanaxwa laxa
- k
- aku
- t
- la'as ke'e da
- k
- akati
- m
- it d
- l
- aw
- a
- n d
- h
- id
- l
- ad
- l
- ola.

lamanu'xw      lanaxwa      laxa  
la = 'm = anu'xw      la = naxwa      la = x = a  
 AUX = VER = 1.EXCL      go = sometimes      PREP = ACC = D4

kakutla'as      ke'e      da      kakatimit

kakutl -a -'as      ka = i      = da      kakatimit  
 learn -A -LOC.PASS      PREP = D3      = DET      secretary

dlawan      dhidladlola

dlaw = an      dhidladlola  
 with = 1.POSS      relative

'We used to go to secretary-school, me and my relatives.'

- (8) La'am lanaxwanu'xw la'tso laxa da bas.

la'am            lanaxwanu'xw  
 la = 'm        la = naxwa    = anu'xw  
 AUX = VER    go = sometimes = 1.EXCL  
 la'tso        laxa            da        bas  
 la -tsu -a    la = x        = a        = da    bas  
 go -inside-A    PREP = ACC = D4    = DET    bus

'Sometimes we would get on the bus.'

- (9) Hula'oxwafi da bas, oxdawidami fifteen-cents kanu'xw la'tsowe' lax.

hula'oxwafi            da        bas  
 hula'oxw -afa        = i        = da    bas  
 cheap        -STAT = D3    = DET    bus  
 oxdawidami  
 oxdawida<sup>1</sup> = 'm = i  
 cost            = VER = D3  
 fifteen-cents        kanu'xw  
 fifteen-cents        ka        = anu'xw  
                               PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS  
 la'tsowe'                    lax  
 la -tsu        = a        = i'        la = x  
 go -inside = EMB = NMLZ    PREP = ACC

'The bus was cheap, it only cost us fifteen cents to get on.'

- (10) Tłumanaxwānu'xw ýaksam̄ le'kanu'xw n̄iksu' kanu'xw,  
 xa bakwam̄, ka le's laxa atłeye' sa da bas.

tłumanaxwānu'xw

tłuma = naxwa = anu'xw  
 really = sometimes = 1.EXCL

ýaksam̄ le'kanu'xw

ýaksam̄ la = a = (i)k = anu'xw  
 bad AUX = EMB = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS

n̄iksu' kanu'xw xa

n̄ik -saw̄ ka = anu'xw = x = a  
 say -ACC.PASS PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS = ACC = D4

bakwam̄ ka le's

bakwam̄ ka la = a = i' = s  
 Native.person PREP go = EMB = NMLZ = 3.POSS

laxa atłeye'

la = x = a atła = i' = e'  
 PREP = ACC = D4 back = NMLZ = I3

sa da bas

= s = a = da bas  
 = 3.POSS = D4 = DET bus

'But it was really bad when they'd tell us, Natives, to go  
 to the back of the bus.'

<sup>1</sup>The internal breakdown of this word is unknown.

- (11) W̄alas̄anu'x̄w x̄winatas̄ he gwíkali da bagwan̄am  
gax̄anu'x̄w.

w̄alas̄anu'x̄w            x̄winatas̄  
w̄alas    = anu'x̄w    x̄winat = s  
big/very = 1.EXCL    irked    = INST

he            gwíkali  
he            gwi -(k)'ala            = i  
be.D3        INDEF-make.noise.CONT = D3

da            bagwan̄am    gax̄anu'x̄w  
= da    bagwan̄am    gax̄anu'x̄w  
= DET   man            1.EXCL.OBJ

'We were really irked when the man said that to us.'

- (12) O'am̄ hayulis̄ he gwíkala xa ga'ala le'kanu'x̄w lax̄s lax̄a  
da bas̄.

o'am̄        hayulis̄        he            gwíkala  
o = 'm    hayulis̄        he            gwi -(k)'ala  
so = VER   continuously   be.D3    INDEF-make.noise.CONT

x̄a            ga'ala        le'kanu'x̄w  
= x̄    = a    ga'ala        la    = a    = (i)k    = anu'x̄w  
= ACC = D4   morning    AUX = EMB = V1    = 1.EXCL.POSS

lax̄s        lax̄a                    da        bas̄  
lax̄s        la    = x̄    = a    = da    bas̄  
embark    PREP = ACC = D4    = DET   bus

'He always said that in the morning when we got on the  
bus.'

- (13) Omisanu'xw la kasanaxwa laxa Cambie Bridge kanu'xw  
laga'a laxanu'xw kakutla'as.

omisanu'xw

o = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw  
so = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL

la kasanaxwa laxa

la kas -a = naxwa la = x = a  
go walk-A = sometimes PREP = ACC = D4

Cambie Bridge kanu'xw laga'a

Cambie Bridge ka = anu'xw la -ga'a  
Cambie Bridge PREP = 1.EXCL.POSS go-arrive

laxanu'xw kakutla'as

la = x = anu'xw kakutla -a -'as  
PREP = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS learn -A -LOC.PASS

'So we just walked across the Cambie Bridge to get to  
our school.'

- (14) Henaxwanu'xw gwigila xa giga'alak.

henaxwanu'xw

he = naxwa = anu'xw  
be.D3 = sometimes = 1.EXCL

gwigila

gwi -(g)ila = x = a  
INDEF-make/do = ACC = D4

xa

giga'alak

Ci~ ga'ala = (i)k  
PL~ morning = V1

'We did that most mornings.'

(15) Kí'sanaxwānu'xw weł'am la baṣṣola.

kí'sanaxwānu'xw

(k)i's = naxwa = anu'xw  
 NEG = sometimes = 1.EXCL

weł'am la baṣṣola

weł = 'm la baṣ -ṣsu -al -a  
 ABIL = VER go bus -inside-CONT-A

'We sometimes couldn't take it getting on the bus.'

(16) Lamisanu'xw, xa da wikend.

lamisanu'xw xa da wikend

la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw = x = a = da wikend  
 AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL = ACC = D4 = DET weekend

'And then there was the weekend.'

(17) Tḥumanaxwānu'xw ayaxpas xa wikend.

tḥumanaxwānu'xw

tḥuma = naxwa = anu'xw  
 really = ever = 1.EXCL

ayaxpas xa wikend

ayaxpas = x = a wikend  
 have.fun = ACC = D4 weekend

'We really had fun on weekends.'

- (18) Lanaxwānu'xw laxa [yaxwa'i] yaxwa'elas, Danceland-tla.

lanaxwānu'xw		laxa	
la = naxwa	= anu'xw	la = x	= a
go = sometimes = 1.EXCL		PREP = ACC = D4	
yaxwa'elas		Danceland-tla	
yaxw -a -ił	-'as	Danceland -(x)tla	
dance -A -indoors-LOC.PASS		Danceland -be.called	

'We often went to a dance hall, Danceland it was called.'

- (19) Xu's lalax laxa da yaxwa'elas ki'sme' nañamatsakila ki'sas hałak.

xu's	lalax	laxa	da
ka = u' = s	la = lax	la = x = a	= da
PREP = HYP = 2	go = HYP	PREP = ACC = D4	= DET
yaxwa'elas		ki'sme'	
yaxwa -ił	-'as	(k)i's = 'm = a = i'	
dance -indoors-LOC.PASS		NEG = VER = EMB = NMLZ	
ñañamatsakila	ki'sas	hałak	
ñañamatsakila	(k)i's = s	hałak -a	
nine.o.clock	NEG = 2	pay -A	

'If you went to the dance hall before 9 o'clock, you didn't pay.'

(20) Xu's a'idlax, lamisas halaka sa da naxs'o'yi.

xu's                      a'idlax                      lamisas  
ka = u' = s    ał -x'id = lax    la = 'm = (w)is = s  
PREP = HYP = 2    late-BEC = HYP    AUX = VER = and.so = 2

halaka    sa                      da    naxs'o'yi  
halak -a    = s    = a    = da    naxs'o'yi  
pay    -A    = INST = D4    = DET    half.dollar

'If you were later than that, you paid 50 cents.'

(21) Walasnaxwanu'xw ayaxpas le'kanu'xw yaxwa lax.

walasnaxwanu'xw                      ayaxpas  
walas = naxwa = anu'xw                      ayaxpas  
big/very = sometimes = 1.EXCL                      have.fun  
le'kanu'xw                      yaxwa    lax  
la = a = (i)k = anu'xw                      yaxw -a    la = x  
AUX = EMB = V1    = 1.EXCL.POSS    dance -A    PREP = ACC

'We had a lot of fun dancing there.'



- (22) Higam̄anu'xw gwigili, k̄ayos naka, k̄ayos kwamta, k̄ayos yaksam̄ gwigilas.

higam̄anu'xw	gwigili	k̄ayos		
higa = 'm = anu'xw only = VER = 1.EXCL	gwi -(g)ila = i INDEF-make/do = D3		k̄ayos	NEG.EXIST
naka	k̄ayos	kwamta	k̄ayos	yaksam
nak -a drink-A	k̄ayos NEG.EXIST	kwamt -a smoke -A	k̄ayos NEG.EXIST	yaksam̄ bad
gwigilas				
gwi -(g)ila -'as INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS				

'That's all we did, there was no drinking, no smoking, no bad behaviour.'

- (23) Om̄anu'xw ayaxpas̄ o'am̄ hayulisa.

om̄anu'xw	ayaxpas̄	o'am̄	hayulisa	
o = 'm = anu'xw so = VER = 1.EXCL	ayaxpas̄ have.fun	o = 'm so = VER	hayulis	-a continuously-A

'We just had fun all the time.'

- (24) Lanaxwamisanu'xw k̄ayos i'saȳ yaxwagił dław̄an  
 ñamukw.

lanaxwamisanu'xw

la = naxwa = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw  
 AUX = sometimes = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL

k̄ayos i'saȳ yaxwagił

k̄ayos (k)i's = aȳ yaxwa -(g)ał -ił  
 NEG.EXIST NEG = NMLZ dance -move.about-indoors

dław̄an ñamukw

dław̄ = an ñamukw  
 with = 1.POSS friend

'There's no one we didn't dance with there, me and my friends.'

- (25) He gelanu'xw he gwigili.

he gelanu'xw he gwigili  
 he geła = anu'xw he gwi -(g)ila = i  
 be.D3 long.time = 1.EXCL be.D3 INDEF-make/do = D3

'We did that for a long time.'

- (26) *Laṃaṃanu'xw gwał xanu'xw gwigilas laxa da kaḱuṭṭa'ełas.*

laṃaṃanu'xw	gwał	xanu'xw	
la = 'm = aṃu'xw AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	gwał stop/finish	= x = aṃu'xw = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS	
gwigilas	laxa	da	
gwi -(g)ila -'as INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS	la = x = a = da PREP = ACC = D4 = DET		
kaḱuṭṭa'ełas			
kaḱuṭṭa -ił -'as learn -indoors-LOC.PASS			

'We finished what we were doing at the school.'

- (27) *Laṃisaṃanu'xw o'am ax'i xa da apartment.*

laṃisaṃanu'xw	o'am	
la = 'm = (w)is = aṃu'xw AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	o = 'm so = VER	
ax'i	xa	da apartment
ax -x'id do -BEC	= x = a = da = ACC = D4 = DET	apartment apartment

'So then we just got an apartment.'

- (28) *Walas hulaloḱw laxa 1957.*

walas	hulaloḱw	laxa	1957
walas big/very	hulaloḱw cheap	la = x = a PREP = ACC = D4	1957 1957

'It was really cheap in 1957.'

(29) Tłumux la káy'u'xw la.

tłumux la káy'u'xw la  
 tłuma = ux la káy'u'xw la  
 really = D2 AUX expensive AUX  
 'It's really expensive now.'

(30) O'am seventy-five dollars xa namsamgila, walas hulalo<sub>x</sub>wa'.

o'am seventy-five dollars xa  
 o = 'm seventy-five dollars = x = a  
 so = VER seventy-five dollars = ACC = D4  
 namsamgila walas hulalo<sub>x</sub>wa'  
 nam -s(g)am -(g)ila walas hulalo<sub>x</sub>w = a'  
 one -round.thing-make/do big/very cheap = I3  
 'It was just seventy-five dollars for one month, really cheap.'

(31) He le' da gukwala dławan namukw.

he le' da gukwala  
 he la = a = i' = da gukw -al -a  
 be.D3 PREP = EMB = NMLZ = DET house -CONT-A  
 dławan namukw  
 dław = an namukw  
 with = 1.POSS friend  
 'I lived there with my friend.'



(34) La'am niks letle'k la patla lax Yalis, yayakan abamp.

la'am	niks	letle'k	la
la = 'm AUX=VER	nik = s say = INST	la = tʃ = a = (i)k AUX=FUT=EMB=V1	la go
patla	lax	Yalis	yayakan
patʃ -a fly -A	la = x PREP=ACC	Yalis Alert.Bay	yayak = an dying = 1.POSS
abamp			
abamp mother			

'They said to go on a plane to Alert Bay, my mother was dying.'

(35) Lamisan laga'a lax Yalis.

lamisan	laga'a	lax	Yalis
la = 'm = (wis) = an AUX=VER=and.so=1	la -ga'a go-arrive	la = x PREP=ACC	Yalis Alert.Bay

'So I arrived in Alert Bay.'



(38) La'am ał, la'am la yax'idan abamp xa ga'ala.

la'am        ał        la'am        la        yax'idan  
 la = 'm    ał    la = 'm    la    yak -x'id = an  
 AUX=VER   late   AUX=VER   AUX   dead-BEC = 1.POSS  
  
 abamp    xa                ga'ala  
 abamp    = x    = a    ga'ala  
 mother    = ACC=D4   morning

'Too late, my mother had died that morning.'

(39) Ałmisañ laga'a lax Yalise xa da nakelaxda'xwi.

ałmisañ                                laga'a        lax  
 ał = 'm = (w)is = an    la -ga'a    la = x  
 late = VER = and.so = 1    go-arrive    PREP = ACC  
  
 Yalise                xa                da  
 Yalis        = e'        = x        = a        = da  
 Alert.Bay = I3        = ACC = D4        = DET

nakelaxda'xwi

nakela = (x)da'xw = i  
 noon = group = I3

'I had arrived in Alert Bay around lunchtime.'



(40) L̄am̄isan̄ gwałmas̄ x̄an̄ gwigilas̄ lax̄ux̄ Vancouver.

l̄am̄isan̄	gwałmas̄
l̄a = 'm = (w)is = an	gwał -mas
AUX=VER=and.so=1	stop/finish-CAUS

x̄an̄	gwigilas̄
= x̄ = an̄	gwi -(g)ila -'as
= ACC = 1.POSS	INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS

lax̄ux̄	Vancouver
la = x̄ = ux̄	Vancouver
PREP = ACC = D2	Vancouver

'So I finished what I was doing in Vancouver.'

- (41) O'am la neñakw lax Gwayasdām's, kan axsila xan  
 tsitsatsiya ki'sme'e la laxa da skul lax St. Michael's  
 School.

o'am	la	neñakw	lax	Gwayasdām's
o = 'm	la	neñakw	la = x	Gwayasdām's
so = VER	go	home	PREP = ACC	Gilford.Island
kan	axsila	xan		
ka = an	axsila	= x = an		
PREP = 1.POSS	take.care.of	= ACC = 1.POSS		
tsitsatsiya	ki'sme'e			
tsitsatsiya	(k)i's = 'm = a = i' = i			
younger.sibling.PL	NEG = VER = EMB = NMLZ = D3			
la	laxa	da	skul	
la	la = x = a = da	skul		
go	PREP = ACC = D4	= DET	skul	
lax	St. Michael's	School		
la = x	St. Michael's	School		
PREP = ACC	St. Michael's	School		

‘And I moved home to Gilford Island, to take care of my younger siblings there before they went off to St. Michael’s School.’

- (42) Emañ.

emañ  
 emañ  
 amen  
 ‘Amen.’

## 15.4 Editors' Note

Danceland gives the reader a sense of what life was like for a young Native woman in the 1950s. There are joys, like finding community and places to live, as well as a safe and fun (and cheap) way to spend free time. There was also hardship, as shown in the open racism of the bus drivers, which made day-to-day life harder for Ruby than for other young women. There was also a strong sense of responsibility shown by Ruby in how seriously she took her school, and then leaving everything she'd worked towards to raise her younger siblings. And then there is the sorrow of losing her mother and not being able to say goodbye before she passed. This story gives a multifaceted and honest picture of Ruby's life in 1950s Vancouver.



## CHAPTER 16

# Galabe' I'ax'ine' lax Bankuba Starting Work in Vancouver

### 16.1 Galabe' I'ax'ine' lax Bankuba

Galabe' i'ax'ine' la'ex gwał kakutła kan kakatimile' lax Bankuba. Lamān duxw'i xa tsadak i'axala laxa UIC.<sup>1</sup> He'am a'axsila gaxan. La'am nix kan gaxe' xa gayuł ga'ala kan yakantame' xa gigame' bagwanam. Hedi da i'axala laxa *unemployment office*-tła.

Walasan kałala xa ganuł, watła, “wigilatlan xa lanste’?” Thuman nanulu.<sup>2</sup> Kinaman galsame' ki'sme'ax la laxa da UIC-xtła, nike'kala hetsimas gwehi. Kinaman galsame' laxan gugame'. Galtan saya. Ix'amdlan saya, hedan gugame' walas yaksama.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This is an acronym for the Unemployment Insurance Commission.

<sup>2</sup>Ruby laughs while saying this line.

<sup>3</sup>Ruby giggles after saying this line.

Lamisaṅ la'eł lax. Lamı da tsadaḱ dukwatłala gaxan. “Lubi, ha tsuxw'i xu's gugame'x! Madzos?!? Ki'stsimasas he gwełi. Kinamdzikasas galsame'.” Lamis gawala gaxan. Lamanu'xw laxa laxlagas, tsutsaxwama gaxan ka's lawe' wila xan galsame'.

Lołmisaṅ xa i'ax'ine'. Olakal ik!

## 16.2 Starting Work in Vancouver

It was my first job, when I finished studying to be a secretary in Vancouver. I went to see the woman who worked at UIC. She looked after me. She told me to come in early in the morning to talk to the boss. It was for a job in the unemployment office.

I was really scared that night, asking, “What will I do tomorrow?” I was really stupid. I put on a lot of makeup before going to the UIC, thinking I was supposed to look like that. There was a lot of makeup on my face. My hair was long. My hair was nice, it was my face that was really bad.

So I went in there. The woman saw me. “Ruby, go wash your face! What's wrong with you! You're not supposed to look like that. You've got on way too much makeup.” So then she helped me. We went to the bathroom and washed my face to get all of the makeup off.

I got the job! That was really good!

### 16.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Galabe' i'ax'ine' la'ex gwał k'akutła kan k'akatimile' lax Bankuba.

galabe'	i'ax'ine'	la'ex	gwał
galabe'	i'ax -'inayi	la = a = (i)k	gwał
first	work-GER	AUX = EMB = V1	stop/finish
k'akutła	kan	k'akatimile'	
k'akutł -a	ka = an	k'akatimil = a = i'	
study -A	PREP = 1.POSS	secretary = EMB = NMLZ	
lax	Bankuba		
la = x	Bankuba		
PREP = ACC	Vancouver		

'It was my first job, when I finished studying to be a secretary in Vancouver.'

- (2) Lamān duḡw'i xa tsadək i'axala laxa UIC.

lamān	duḡw'i	xa	tsadək
la = 'm = an	duḡw -x'id	= x = a	tsadək
AUX = VER = 1	see -BEC	= ACC = D4	woman
i'axala	laxa	UIC	
i'ax -al -a	la = x = a	UIC	
work-CONT-A	PREP = ACC = D4	UIC	

'I went to see the woman who worked at UIC.'

(3) He'am a'axsila gaxan.

he'am            a'axsila            gaxan  
 he = 'm    a'axsil -a    gaxan  
 be.D3=ver   look.after-A   1.OBJ

'She looked after me.'

(4) La'am nix kan gaxe' xa gayul ga'ala kan yakantame' xa  
 gigame' bagwanam.

la'am            nix    kan  
 la = 'm    nik    ka = an  
 AUX=VER   say    PREP=1.POSS

gaxe'	xa	gayul
gax = a = i'	= x = a	gayul
come=EMB=NMLZ	=ACC=D4	early
ga'ala    kan	yakantame'	
ga'ala    ka = an	yakantam = a = i'	
morning    PREP=1.POSS	speak            =EMB=NMLZ	
xa	gigame'    bagwanam	
= x = a	gigame'    bagwanam	
=ACC=D4	chief        man	

'She told me to come in early in the morning to talk to the boss.'



(5) Hedi da i'axala laxa *unemployment office*-tla.

hedī                      da            i'axala                      laxa  
 he =d =i =da    i'ax -al -a    la =x =a  
 be.D3=DET=D3    =DET    work-CONT-A    PREP=ACC=D4  
  
*unemployment office*-tla  
*unemployment office* -(x)tla  
 unemployment office -be.called

'It was a job in the unemployment office.'

(6) Walaṣan kaḷala xa ganuḷ, waṭla, "wiḡilatḷan xa ḷanṣṭle'?"

a. walaṣan                      kaḷala                      xa                      ganuḷ  
 walaṣ =an    kaḷ -al -a    =x =a    ganuḷt  
 big/very=1    scared-CONT-A    =ACC=D4    night  
  
 waṭla  
 waṭt -a  
 ask -A

'I was really scared that night, asking,

b. wiḡilatḷan                      xa                      ḷanṣṭle'  
 wi -(g)ila =tḷ =an    =x =a    ḷanṣṭle'  
 WH-make/do=FUT=1    =ACC=D4    tomorrow

"What will I do tomorrow?"

(7) ṭhumaṇ naṇuḷu.

ṭhumaṇ                      naṇuḷu  
  
 ṭhuma =an    naṇuḷu  
 really =1    stupid

'I was really stupid.'

- (8) *Kinaman galsame' ki'sme'ax la laxa da UIC-xtla, nike'kala hetsimas gwehi.*

<i>kinaman</i>	<i>galsame'</i>	
<i>kinam</i> = an many = 1	<i>gals</i> -(g)am = e' paint-face = I3	
<i>ki'sme'ax</i>	<i>la laxa</i>	
(k)i's = 'm = a = (i)k NEG = VER = EMB = V1	<i>la la</i> = x = a go PREP = ACC = D4	
<i>da UIC-xtla</i>	<i>nike'kala</i>	
= da UIC -(x)tla = DET UIC -be.called	<i>nik -'ek -al -a</i> say -in.mind-CONT-A	
<i>hetsimas</i>	<i>gwehi</i>	
<i>he -tsimas</i> be.D3-should	<i>gwi -ala = i</i> INDEF-STAT = D3	

'I put on a lot of makeup before going to the UIC, thinking I was supposed to look like that.'

- (9) *Kinaman galsame' laxan gugame'.*

<i>kinaman</i>	<i>galsame'</i>	<i>laxan</i>
<i>kinam</i> = an many = 1	<i>gals</i> -(g)am = e' paint-face = I3	<i>la</i> = x = an PREP = ACC = 1.POSS
<i>gugame'</i>		
<i>gugame'</i> face		

'There was a lot of makeup on my face.'



(13) Lami da tsadak dukwatłala gaxan.

lami	da	tsadak	dukwatłala
la = 'm = i AUX = VER = D3	= da = DET	tsadak woman	dukwatł -al -a see -CONT-A
gaxan			
gaxan 1.OBJ			

'The woman saw me.'

(14) "Lubi, ha tsuxw'i xu's gugame'x!"

Lubi	ha	tsuxw'i	xu's
Lubi	ha	tsuxw -x'id	= x = u's
Ruby	go	wash -BEC	= ACC = 2.POSS
gugame'x			
gugame' = (i)x face = v2			

"Ruby, go wash your face!"

(15) "Madzos?!?"

madzos
mas -dzo = s
what-EMPH = 2

"What's wrong with you!"

(16) “Ki’tsimasas he gweli.”

ki’tsimasas he gweli  
 (k)i’s -tsimas =s he gwi -ala =i  
 NEG -should =2 be.D3 INDEF-STAT=D3

“You’re not supposed to look like that.”

(17) “Kinamdzikasas galsame’.”

kinamdzikasas galsame’  
kinam = dzi =kas =s gals -(g)am =e’  
 many =AUG=INTENS=2 paint-face =I3

“You’ve got on way too much makeup.”

(18) Lamis gawala gaxan.

lamis gawala gaxan  
 la =’m =(w)is gawal -a gaxan  
 AUX=VER=and.so help -A 1.OBJ

‘So then she helped me.’

- (19) Lamānu'xw laxa laxlagas, tsutsaxwama gaxan ka's [wí']  
lawe' wila xan galsame'.

lamānu'xw	laxa	laxlagas
la = 'm = anu'xw AUX = VER = 1.EXCL	la = x = a PREP = ACC = D4	laxlagas bathroom
tsutsaxwama	gaxan	
tsutsaxwam -a wash.face -A	gaxan 1.OBJ	
ka's	lawe'	
ka = (i)'s PREP = 3.REFL.POSS	lawe = a = i' come.off = EMB = NMLZ	
wila xan	galsame'	
wila = x = an all = ACC = 1.POSS	gals -(g)am = e' paint-face = I3	

'We went to the bathroom and washed my face to get all of the makeup off.'

- (20) Loḥmisan xa i'ax'ine'.

loḥmisan	xa	i'ax'ine'
lotł = 'm = (w)is = an obtain = VER = and.so = 1	= x = a = ACC = D4	i'ax -'inaŋi work-GER

'I got the job!'

(21) Olakal ik!

olakal	ik
olak -(k)'ala	ik
truly -make.noise.CONT	good

'That was really good!'

## 16.4 Editors' Note

This story recounts Ruby's first job after attending secretary school. It was always her late father's wish that Ruby get a good education and become a secretary, and one that Ruby was proud to fulfill.





## CHAPTER 17

# Ķangax̄tola Button Blanket

### 17.1 Ķangax̄tola

Ķi'sma x̄u's ax̄ila x̄u's Ķangax̄tola la'ams m̄ans'idsawa'. La'ams ba'i ku's m̄ans'idsawe' su's *the width*.<sup>1</sup> La'amx̄os m̄ans'i x̄u's Ķukuña lax̄u's x̄ax̄agane'nukwe'.<sup>2</sup> Lamisas m̄ans'idsu' ku's Ķangax̄tolatlo'o's.

Lamisas k̄api xa da Ķangax̄tola. Lamisas k̄apidax̄ ka hił'e's loł. La'amx̄awis he gwix'i xa da łax̄wstu. La'amx̄as ugwaka m̄ansa ka hił'e's lax̄a da awanxe' ke su's Ķangax̄tola dław̄i da kwax̄alastu. Lamisas m̄ans'idax̄, lamis dław̄i da awape', ax̄'ase' sa da kwax̄ala<sup>3</sup> lax̄a gukwdzi. La'am k̄andzi'atłaludaš lax̄a da Ķangax̄to'l.

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<sup>1</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby noted that the Kwakwala word for 'width' is watsu.

<sup>2</sup>Ruby laughs while saying this word and as a result, it sounds like x̄ax̄abafane'nukwe'. This has been replaced in the transcription with Ruby's intended word.

<sup>3</sup>Jonathan Janzen is heard in the recording here ("kwax̄ala, ah").

Alak xu's gwał he gwix'idi, lamisas kike'kalatł matsahu's ax'atłaludtłe'u's laxu's kangaxtola. Gayułtsimasmi laxu's gayulasu's, yaxu's ax'atłalatła laxu's kangaxola. Henaxwan axali da u'ligan dławı da gwayam laxan kangaxtola. Hetsimas'amxas gwigiliḡ, xu's gayudlasu's, la'ams ax'atłalus laxu's kangaxtoli's. Lamisas ax'atłalu su's ax'exsdasawo's ka axala lax awigaye' su's kangaxtolu's. Lamisas kapidax naxwa laxa ax'exsdasawo's ko's kangaxtola. Kapi xa da gigayagas dławı naxwa axala lax.<sup>4</sup> La'ams ax'atłalus laxu's kangaxtolu's. Lamisas kanyatłus lax. Wełams kansax. Henaxwan axali da *sewing machine*.

Eman!<sup>5</sup>

## 17.2 Button Blanket

Before you make your button blanket you get measured. Then you lay your fabric out to measure what your width is gonna be. After that, you measure from your neck to your ankle. Then you're measured for your future button blanket.

Next you cut out the button blanket. You cut it to fit you. Then you do the same thing to the red (fabric). You measure it also so that the edges of your button blanket will fit together, including at the smokehole. You measure it at the back of the neck, which is like the place where smoke leaves the bighouse. Then you sew it onto the button blanket.

If you're almost finished doing that, then you worry about what you're going to put on your button blanket. It has to be from where you come from, the design that you're going to put on your button blanket. I usually use a wolf or a killer whale

---

<sup>4</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby recommended adding the following line to the story here: La'ams ax'atłalus kwadayu laxu's kangaxtolu's. 'Then you put glue on your button blanket'.

<sup>5</sup>Ruby breaks out in laughter after saying this line.

on my button blanket. That's what you're supposed to do to it: according to where you're from, you put it on your button blanket. Then you put down what you'd like to be on the back of your button blanket. After that, you cut out everything how you want it for your button blanket. Cut out the eyes and everything that's there. Then you put it all on your button blanket, and you're gonna sew it on. You can sew it by hand. I sometimes use a sewing machine.

Amen!

### 17.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Kí'sma xu's axila xu's k̄angax̄tola la'ams [m̄ans'id] m̄ans'idsawa'.

kí'sma	xu's	axila
kí's = 'm = a	k̄a = u' = s	ax̄ -(g)ila
NEG = VER = A	PREP = HYP = 2	do -make/do

xu's	k̄angax̄tola
= x̄ = u's	k̄angax̄tola
= ACC = 2.POSS	button.blanket

la'ams	m̄ans'idsawa'
la = 'm = s	m̄ans -x'id -saw = a'
AUX = VER = 2	measure-BEC -ACC.PASS = I3

'Before you make your button blanket you get measured.'

(2) La'ams ba'i ku's mans'idsawe' su's *the width*.

la'ams	ba'i				
la = 'm = s	bał			-x'id	
AUX = VER = 2	measure.by.blanket.width-BEC				
ku's		mans'idsawe'			
ka = u's		mans -x'id -saw		= a = i'	
PREP = 2.POSS		measure-BEC -ACC.PASS = EMB = NMLZ			
su's		<i>the width</i>			
= s = u's		<i>the width</i>			
= INST = 2.POSS		the width			

'Then you lay it out to measure your width.'

(3) La'amxos mans'i xu's kukuna laxu's xaxagane'nukwe'.

la'amxos		mans'i		xu's	
la = 'm = xa	= s	mans -x'id	= x = u's		
AUX = VER = ADD.FOC = 2		measure-BEC	= ACC = 2.POSS		
kukuna		laxu's		xaxagane'nukwe'	
kukuna	la = x = u's	xaxagane'nukw = e'			
neck	PREP = ACC = 2.POSS	ankle		= I3	

'Then you measure from your neck to your ankle.'

- (4) L̄am̄is̄as m̄ans'idsu' k̄u's k̄angax̄tolat̄lo'o's.

l̄am̄is̄as                      m̄ans'idsu'  
 l̄a = 'm = (w)is = s      m̄ans -x'id -saw̄  
 AUX=VER=and.so=2      measure-BEC -ACC.PASS  
 k̄u's                      k̄angax̄tolat̄lo'o's  
 k̄a = u's      k̄angax̄tola = t̄l̄ = a' = u's  
 PREP = 2.POSS      button.blanket = FUT = I3 = 2.POSS

'And then you're measured for your future button blanket.'

- (5) L̄am̄is̄as k̄ap̄i x̄a da k̄angax̄tola.

l̄am̄is̄as                      k̄ap̄i              x̄a              da  
 l̄a = 'm = (w)is = s      k̄ap -x'id      = x̄      = a      = da  
 AUX=VER=and.so=2      snip -BEC      = ACC = D4      = DET  
 k̄angax̄tola  
 k̄angax̄tola  
 button.blanket

'Next you cut out the button blanket.'

- (6) L̄am̄is̄as k̄ap̄idax̄ k̄a [hił] hił'e's loł.

l̄am̄is̄as                      k̄ap̄idax̄  
 l̄a = 'm = (w)is = s      k̄ap -x'id = x̄  
 AUX=VER=and.so=2      snip -BEC = ACC  
 k̄a      hił'e's                      loł  
 k̄a      hił'      = a      = i'      = s      loł  
 PREP      suffice = EMB = NMLZ = 3.POSS      2.OBJ

'You cut it to fit you.'

(7) La'amxawis he gwix'i xa da t'axwstu.

la'amxawis he

la = 'm = xa = (w)is he  
AUX = VER = ADD.FOC = and.so be.D3

gwix'i xa da t'axwstu

gwi -x'id = x = a = da t'axwstu  
INDEF-BEC = ACC=D4 = DET red

'Then you do the same thing to the red (fabric).'

- (8) La'amxas ugwa<sub>ka</sub> ma<sub>n</sub>sa ka hi'e's laxa da awanxe' ke  
 su's kangax<sub>t</sub>ola d<sub>l</sub>awi da kwaxa<sub>l</sub>astu.

la'amxas

ugwa<sub>ka</sub>

la = 'm = xa = s  
 AUX = VER = ADD.FOC = 2

ugwa<sub>ka</sub>  
 also

ma<sub>n</sub>sa ka hi'e's

ma<sub>n</sub>s -a ka hi'e' = a = i' = s  
 measure-A PREP suffice = EMB = NMLZ = 3.POSS

laxa da awanxe'

la = x = a = da awanxe'  
 PREP = ACC = D4 = DET edge

ke su's kangax<sub>t</sub>ola

ka = i = s = u's kangax<sub>t</sub>ola  
 PREP = D3 = INST = 2.POSS button.blanket

d<sub>l</sub>awi da kwaxa<sub>l</sub>astu

d<sub>l</sub>aw = i = da kwaxa<sub>l</sub>astu  
 with = D3 = DET smokehole

'You measure it also so that it'll fit at the edges of your  
 button blanket together, including at the smokehole.'

- (9) L̄amis̄as m̄ans'idax̄, l̄amis̄ d̄ławi da awap̄e', ax̄'ase' sa da kwax̄ala lax̄a gukw̄dzi.

<p>l̄amis̄as l̄a = 'm = (w)is = s AUX = VER = and.so = 2</p>	<p>m̄ans'idax̄ m̄ans -x'id = x̄ measure-BEC = ACC</p>	
<p>l̄amis̄ l̄a = 'm = (w)is AUX = VER = and.so</p>	<p>d̄ławi d̄ław̄ = i with = D3</p>	<p>da = da = DET</p>
<p>ax̄'ase' ax̄ -'as = e' do -LOC.PASS = I3</p>	<p>sa = s = 3.POSS = D4</p>	<p>da = da = DET</p>
<p>kwax̄ala kwax̄ -al -a smoke-CONT-A</p>	<p>lax̄a la = x̄ = a PREP = ACC = D4</p>	<p>gukw̄dzi gukw̄dzi bighouse</p>

'You measure it also at the back of the neck, the place where smoke goes in the bighouse.'<sup>6</sup>

- (10) La'am̄ Ḳandzi'at̄łaludas lax̄a da Ḳangax̄to'l.

<p>la'am̄ l̄a = 'm AUX = VER</p>	<p>Ḳandzi'at̄łaludas Ḳan -dzu -'at̄ -al -x'id = s sew -flat -on -CONT-BEC = INST</p>	
<p>lax̄a la = x̄ = a PREP = ACC = D4</p>	<p>da = da = DET</p>	<p>Ḳangax̄to'l Ḳangax̄tola button.blanket</p>

'Then you sew it onto the button blanket.'

<sup>6</sup>In a follow-up discussion, Ruby recommended rephrasing this and the previous line to go as follows: La'am̄x̄as ugwaḲa m̄ansa Ḳa hi'u's lax̄a da awan̄x̄eyasu's Ḳangax̄tola, d̄ławi da ugwis lax̄a awap̄e' he gwiksi da kwax̄ala lax̄a gukw̄dzi. 'You also measure so that it'll fit on the edges of your button blanket, together with the smokehole [ugwis] at the back of the neck, just like how the smoke is in the bighouse'.



- (11) Alak xu's gwał he gwix'idi, laṃisaṣ kike'kalatł maṣaṣu's  
ax'atłaludtłe'u's laxu's kangaxtola.

<u>alak</u>	<u>xu's</u>	<u>gwał</u>
<u>alak</u> almost	<u>ka</u> = u' = s PREP = HYP = 2	<u>gwał</u> stop/finish
he	<u>gwix'idi</u>	<u>laṃisaṣ</u>
he be.D3	<u>gwi</u> -x'id = i INDEF-BEC = D3	<u>la</u> = 'm = (w)is = s AUX = VER = and.so = 2
	<u>kike'kalatł</u>	<u>maṣaṣu's</u>
	<u>kike'k</u> -al -a = tł worry -CONT-A = FUT	<u>maṣaṣ</u> = u's what = 2.POSS
	<u>ax'atłaludtłe'u's</u>	
	<u>ax</u> -'atł -al -x'id = tł = e' = u's do -on -CONT-BEC = FUT = I3 = 2.POSS	
	<u>laxu's</u>	<u>kangaxtola</u>
	<u>la</u> = x = u's PREP = ACC = 2.POSS	<u>kangaxtola</u> button.blanket

'If you're almost finished doing that, then you worry about what you're going to put on your button blanket.'

- (12) Gayu<sup>l</sup>tsimas<sup>m</sup>i laxu's gayu<sup>l</sup>asu's, yaxu's [ax'at<sup>l</sup>alad]  
ax'at<sup>l</sup>alat<sup>l</sup>a laxu's kangaxola.

gayu<sup>l</sup>tsimas<sup>m</sup>i

laxu's

gay -ut<sup>l</sup> -tsimas = 'm = i    la = x = u's  
originate-from-should = VER = D3    PREP = ACC = 2.POSS

gayu<sup>l</sup>asu's

yaxu's

gay -ut<sup>l</sup> -'as = u's    ya = x = u's  
originate-from-LOC.PASS = 2.POSS    APPOS = ACC = 2.POSS

ax'at<sup>l</sup>alat<sup>l</sup>a

laxu's

ax -'at<sup>l</sup> -al -a = t<sup>l</sup> = a    la = x = u's  
do -on -CONT-A = FUT = A    PREP = ACC = 2.POSS

kangaxola

kangaxtola  
button.blanket

'It has to be from where you come from, the design that  
you're going to put on your button blanket.'

- (13) Henaxwan axali da u'ligan dlawi da gwayam laxan kangaxtola.

henaxwan		axali		da		u'ligan
he =naxwa =an		ax -al =i		=da		u'ligan
be.D3=sometimes=1		do -CONT=D3		=DET		wolf
		dlawi		da		gwayam
		dlaw =i		=da		gwayam
		or =D3		=DET		killer.whale
						la =x =an
						PREP=ACC=1.POSS
						kangaxtola
						kangaxtola
						button.blanket

'I usually use a wolf or a killer whale on my button blanket.'

- (14) Hetsimas'amxas gwigilix, xu's gayudlasu's, la'ams  
ax'atɬalus laxu's kangaxtoli's.

hetsimas'amxas

he -tsimas = 'm = xa = s  
be.D3-should = VER = ADD.FOC = 2

gwigilix xu's

gwi -(g)ila = i = x ka = u's  
INDEF-make/do = D3 = ACC PREP = 2.POSS

gayudlasu's la'ams

gay -x'id -'as = u's la = 'm = s  
originate-BEC -LOC.PASS = 2.POSS AUX = VER = 2

ax'atɬalus laxu's

ax -'atɬ -al -x'id = s la = x = u's  
do -on -CONT-BEC = INST PREP = ACC = 2.POSS

kangaxtoli's

kangaxtola = u's  
button.blanket = 2.POSS

'That's what you're supposed to do to it, according to  
where you're from, you put it on your button blanket.'

- (15) lamisas ax'atlalu su's ax'exsdasawo's ka [axa] axala lax  
awigaye' su's kangaxtolu's.

lamisas

ax'atlalu

la = 'm = (w)is = s  
 AUX=VER = and.so = 2

ax -'atl -al -x'id  
 do -on -CONT-BEC

su's

ax'exsdasawo's

=s =u's ax -'exsd -a -saw =a' =u's  
 =INST=2.POSS do -want -A -ACC.PASS=I3 =2.POSS

ka axala lax awigaye'

ka ax -ala la =x awigaye'  
 PREP do -STAT PREP=ACC back

su's

kangaxtolu's

=s =u's kangaxtola =u's  
 =3.POSS=2.POSS button.blanket =2.POSS

'Then you put down what you'd like to be on the back of  
 your button blanket.'

Kangaxtola

---

- (16) lamisas kapidax naxwa laxa ax'exsdasawo's ko's  
kangaxtola.

lamisas                      kapidax                      naxwa  
la = 'm = (w)is = s      kap -x'id = x      naxwa  
 AUX=VER=and.so=2      snip -BEC =ACC      every  
  
laxa                      ax'exsdasawo's  
lax = x = a      ax' -'exsd -a -saw' = a' = u's  
 PREP=ACC=D4      do -want -A -ACC.PASS=I3 =2.POSS  
  
ko's                      kangaxtola  
ka = u's      kangaxtola  
 PREP=2.POSS      button.blanket

'Then you cut out everything to what you want for your button blanket.'

- (17) Kapi xa da gigayagas dlawi naxwa axala lax.

kapi              xa              da              gigayagas              dlawi  
kap -x'id = x = a = da      Ci~ gayagas      dlaw' = i  
 snip -BEC = ACC=D4 =DET      PL~ eye              and =D3  
  
naxwa      axala      lax  
naxwa      ax -ala      la = x  
 every      do -STAT      PREP=ACC

'Cut out the eyes and everything that's there.'

- (18) La'ams ax'atłalus laxu's k'angaxtolu's.

la'ams

ax'atłalus

la = 'm = s  
AUX = VER = 2

ax -'atł -al -x'id = s  
do -on -CONT-BEC = INST

laxu's

k'angaxtolu's

la = x = u's  
PREP = ACC = 2.POSS

k'angaxtola = u's  
button.blanket = 2.POSS

'Then you put it on your button blanket.'

- (19) Lamisas k'anyatlus lax.

lamisas

k'anyatlus

la = 'm = (w)is = s  
AUX = VER = and.so = 2

k'ans -'atł -x'id = s  
sew.by.hand-on -BEC = INST

lax

la = x  
PREP = ACC

'Then you sew it on by hand.'

- (20) Wel'ams k'ansax.

wel'ams

k'ansax

wel = 'm = s  
ABIL = VER = 2

k'ans -a = x  
sew.by.hand-A = ACC

'You can sew it by hand.'

(21) Henaxwan axali da *sewing machine*.

henaxwan		axali		da	<i>sewing</i>	
he	=naxwa	=an	ax -al	=i	=da	<i>sewing</i>
be.D3	=sometimes	=1	do -CONT	=D3	=DET	sewing

*machine*  
*machine*  
machine

‘I sometimes use a sewing machine.’

(22) Eman!

eman  
eman  
amen  
‘Amen!’

## 17.4 Editors’ Note

Kangaxtola is an instructional (or hortatory) text. Here, Ruby is explaining the procedure of creating a button blanket, as well as some of the important aspects of blanket design and symbolism. It is important to study this kind of text, in addition to traditional legends and personal anecdotes, in order to better understand different ways that the Kwakwala language can be used.







Figure 17.1: Ruby's youngest child Jessie receiving her high school diploma

Photo courtesy of Jonathan Janzen and Ruby Dawson Cranmer

## CHAPTER 18

# Wikilá'oga Jessie

### 18.1 Wikilá'oga

Wikilá'oga.

He'am gananamgawe' Jessie xe's níñula. Lá'amlaxdi heka musgamgusto. Lax'idan mayutlax Jessie lax Yális. Lamán duxw'i xa dagwada, o kíkà'ekali da dagwada. Kí's weł ik yawixa sa naxwa. Lamis duxw'idax. Lamis niła gaxan i'se' iki łakwe's Jessie. Kí'stli laga'a laxa yudaxwagayu. Olaka tlikwalalo'hi da dagwada. Lamis yudaxwsamgusto le'e yax'ida. Gayaxa laxa dagwadolo'ł sa gigi la tso sa *Tylenol* yudaxwa lax. Kí's hi'axa dlawi's pipatayu, wa'okwas. Kí's iki da *Tylenol* yudaxw. Lamis yax'i xa ga'ala lamán wax tsax'idamasax.

Lamán a'axsilax lax Yális. Lamis ma'łtsamgilaxd la níki da dagwada kan gaxe's laxux *Vancouver*, ka le's laxa da ik skul ka kakutle's. Heda galabe' la'ase' si da *UBC*. Hexsta'akw ma'łpanxila lax *UBC*. Lanaxwaman dukwax lax, walas iki ax'ase's. Kotłala'am kakutlasu' ka's kase', dlawi's kwalis'am

hamapa. Kí'san malkwálas gaxe' lawáls lax UBC. Káyos i's la'ase's gaxe'e lawálsa. Kákuťlamatsu' ka's hamape' dławí's le' laxa laxlagas.

Walsnaxwanu'xw ayaxpas dławí Jessie laxanu'xw gukw. Ku' ix'ak loť, la'am watfa ku's kwagaliť naxwála lax. Ku' ki's ix'ak loť, o he'am gwikali da "Ngaah!" Tłuma i'ix'ak naxwa sa gangananama'. Yákganam lanaxwe' ipid dlu' nisa. Olaxwa'am kotłala xatłagila *sign language*. Heris gwigila laxanu'xw gukw. Kotłala ka's waxe', ka's gawalasawe', kotłalas laxa *sign language*. Lanaxwame'ka neńakwi daxwame'as laxi's i'axalas. Lamí Jessie dzalxw'i laxa taxala ka's dax'ide'axi's, xi's tibayu. La'am ax'atłus lax galdas lax kwalilase's. Walasi kotłala xi's naxwa gwigilasa'. Tłuma'am nogada'.

Onaxwamas la "retard"-su' laxa bas. Walsnaxwan xwinata ławis, ławid xa gigangananam he gwigilax.

Tłuma kotłala xa naxwa, lanaxwa gaxe'e da a'axsila laxa taxala. Lanaxwa'am ale xan galdas dławwan gabu, lanaxwa'am tlaw'id gaxan laxa taxala. Le'kan la i'axala gaxmisi da a'axsile'x, anis Geegee-xalanu'xw xax. Onaxwa'am da'łali Jessie la'anuu'xw le'kanu'xw "anis Geegee" xax. Tłuma ik tsadaqa'. Gaxand xa December 6, la'e da yax'idi Jessie. O'am hayulis tamsa gaxan ke'e.

Olakalas iki la'ase's kakuťla'as. Káyos i's kotłala'. La'am loť xa namukw ganambidu tsanina. Lamisanu'xw nikať Jessie, "wayas Jessie, waya!" O, da'łala! Lamisanu'xw nampana dukwala xa gananam katamakwe's laxa TV. La le'e wans'idi bo'te' naxwála laxa ferry. Olamí Jessie hanaxw'id kwe'ga'ła le'e dukwalax Martin laxa TV. O'amxant kotłalas yax'ide'e. Tłuma nogadi Jessie. Geła i's ixi le' yax'idi Martin.

Káyos i's gwigilase's onaxwa'amxe' ax'atłu laxa gudan, káyos i's la'as. Ławisnaxwan la'e niksi' la laxa rollercoaster. Ławisnaxwan xa a'axsilax, ax'atłalus laxa roller coaster, tłume' kałalas. Tłuma li ix'aki Jessieyas, o hiwaxa kałala, o'am da'łala.

Hem̄is la xa skul lax *Templeton*. He'am wili da bibibagwanam sasam lakso lax *Templeton*. He'am gwix'idi Jessie lax, laksu. La'am lakso lax *Templeton* le' *seventeen-a'*. Lamisanu'xw wila la laxa laksu laxa *Orpheum Theatre*-xtla. Hem̄i Bill, Sean, Will, Betty, Dawn, dlawan!<sup>1</sup> Lam̄an duxwatlala laxa *stage*. La'am dlawalili da *Grade 12* bagwanam. Wilam̄is dlawalili da ninaxwa. Walasanu'xw kwikwastola: Betty, Dawn, dlawan. Le'kanu'xw dukwalax Jessie dzalxw'i kan lotle' xi's *diploma*-xtla. Walasanu'xw kwasa le'kanu'xw dukwalax. Lam̄is dzalxwi edaka laxi's kakutamasex laxi's ax'as. Olekanu'xw tamkas gwix'ida'ase's.

Eman.<sup>2</sup>

## 18.2 Jessie

Jessie was the youngest of her siblings. We've been here over forty years. I gave birth to Jessie in Alert Bay. I saw the doctor and oh, the doctor was worried. She couldn't move like others. Then I looked at her, and he told me that Jessie's brain wasn't working right and that she wouldn't reach thirteen. That stupid doctor really lied. She was thirty when she died. It was the stupid dentist's fault, who gave her Tylenol 3's. They didn't agree with her other medicine. Tylenol 3's aren't good. So she died in the morning when I tried to wake her up.

I was looking after her in Alert Bay. Then when she turned two years old, the doctor told me to come to Vancouver, so that she could go to a good school to learn. In the beginning she went to UBC. She was at UBC for about two years. I used to go see her there, she really liked where she was. I know that she was taught to walk, and how to eat by herself. I don't remember when she came out of UBC. There was nowhere she didn't go

<sup>1</sup>Ruby laughs after saying this line.

<sup>2</sup>Ruby chuckles after saying this line

once she came out. She was taught how to eat and how to go to the bathroom.

We had a lot of fun with Jessie in our house. If she likes you, then she asks you to sit down next to her. If she doesn't like you, she'd say "Ngaah!" She really liked all the children. It probably wasn't good though when she pinched and pulled their hair. She just knew a little sign language. That's what she did in our home. She knew how to request, how to get help, she knew it in sign language. Sometimes her oldest brother would come home from work. Then Jessie would run to the door to take his boots. She would put them on a box in his bedroom. She really knew what to do, she was really wise.

Sometimes you got called "retard" on the bus. I was really irked and angry, angry at the children who would do that.

She knew everything, especially when the care-giver came to the door. Sometimes she'd look for my bag and my jacket, and then she'd push me out the door. When I went to work and the care-giver came, Auntie Geegee we'd call her. Jessie would just laugh when we called her "Auntie Geegee". She was a really good woman. On December 6, that was when Jessie died, she always phones me about her.

The place where she went to learn was really good. She knew everyone. She got a little Chinese kid friend. So we said to Jessie, "boyfriend Jessie, boyfriend!" Oh, we laughed. Then one day we saw the child pictured on TV. It was when a boat sank next to the ferry. Jessie started crying suddenly when she saw Martin on TV. She must have known that he had died. Jessie was really wise. She wasn't well for a long time after Martin died.

There was nothing she didn't do, she even rode on a horse all over the place. I was angry when I heard she went on a rollercoaster. I was angry at the care-giver, that she put her on a roller coaster, really scared of it. Jessie really liked it though, she never got scared, she just laughed.

She went to Templeton School. That's where all the boy children graduated, at Templeton. That's what Jessie did there, went through and graduated. She graduated from Templeton when she was 17. We all went to the graduation at the Orpheum Theatre. There was Bill, Sean, Will, Betty, Dawn, and me! I watched the stage. Then the Grade 12 man stood up. Then everyone stood up. We really had tears in our eyes: Betty, Dawn, and I, when we saw Jessie run so I could get her diploma. We really cried when we saw that. After that she ran back to her teacher in her place. We were really proud of what she did there. Amen.

### 18.3 Grammatical Analysis

- (1) He'am [ge'] gananamgawe' Jessie xe's ninula.

he'am	gananamgawe'		
he = 'm	gananam	-gawe'	
be.D3=VER	young.PL	-most	
Jessie	xe's		ninula
Jessie	ka = (i)'s		Ci~ nula
Jessie	PREP=3.REFL.POSS		PL~ older.sibling

'Jessie was the youngest of her siblings.'

- (2) La'am laxdi heka musgamgusto.

la'am	laxdi		
la = 'm	la = xd	= i	
AUX=VER	AUX=REC.PST = d3		

heka	musgamgusto
hek -a	mu -s(g)am -gusto
pass -A	four-round.thing-up

'We've been here over forty years.'

- (3) Lax'idan mayutłax Jessie lax Ýalis.

lax'idan            mayutłax            Jessie    lax  
 la -x'id = an    mayutł = x    Jessie    la = x  
 AUX-BEC = 1    give.birth = ACC    Jessie    PREP = ACC  
 Ýalis  
 Ýalis  
 Alert.Bay

'I gave birth to Jessie in Alert Bay.'

- (4) Lamān dułw'i xa dagwada, o kika'ekali da dagwada.

lamān            dułw'i            xa            dagwada    o  
 la = 'm = an    dułw -x'id    = x    = a    dagwada    o  
 AUX = VER = 1    see    -BEC    = ACC = D4    doctor    so  
 kika'ekali            da    dagwada  
 kika -'ek    -al    = i    = da    dagwada  
 worry-in.mind-CONT = D3    = DET    doctor

'I saw the doctor and oh, the doctor was worried.'

- (5) Ki's weł ik yawixa sa naxwa.

ki's    weł    ik    yawixa    sa            naxwa  
 (k)i's    weł    ik    yawix -a    = s    = a    naxwa  
 NEG    ABIL    good    move -A    = INST = D4    every

'She couldn't move like others.'



(6) L̄amis duxw'idax̄.

l̄amis                      duxw'idax̄  
 lā = 'm = (w)is      dukw -x'id = x̄  
 AUX=VER=and.so    see    -BEC = ACC

'Then I looked at her.'

(7) L̄amis niła gax̄an i'se' iki łakwe's Jessie.

l̄amis                      niła              gax̄an      i'se'  
 lā = 'm = (w)is      nił -a      gax̄an      (k̄)i's = a = i'  
 AUX=VER=and.so    show-A    1.OBJ      NEG = EMB = NMLZ  
 iki                      łakwe's                      Jessie  
 ik = i      łakwa = e' = s              Jessie  
 good = D3    brain = I3 = 3.POSS    Jessie

'He told me that Jessie's brain wasn't working right.'

(8) K̄i'st̄hi laga'a lax̄a yudaxwagayu.

k̄i'st̄hi                      laga'a              lax̄a  
 (k̄)i's = t̄h = i      la -ga'a      la = x̄ = a  
 NEG = FUT = D3    go-arrive    PREP = ACC = D4

yudaxwagayu

yudaxwagayu  
 thirteen

'She wouldn't reach thirteen.'

- (9) Oláka t̄ikwalalo'ti da dagwada.

oláka t̄ikwalalo'ti da dagwada

oláka t̄ikwala -al -o'ł = i = da dagwada  
 truly lie -CONT-PEJ = D3 = DET doctor

'That stupid doctor really lied.'

- (10) Lamis yudaxwsamgusto le'e ýax'ida.

lamis yudaxwsamgusto  
 la = 'm = (w)is yudaxw -s(g)am -gusto  
 AUX = VER = and.so three -round.thing-up

le'e ýax'ida  
 la = a = i' = i ýak -x'id -a  
 AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3 dead-BEC -A

'She was thirty when she died.'

- (11) Gayaxa laxa dagwadolo'ł sa gigi la t̄so sa Tylenol yudaxwa lax.

gayaxa laxa dagwadolo'ł  
 gay -xa -a la = x = a dagwada -o'ł  
 originate-down = A PREP = ACC = D4 doctor -PEJ

sa gigi la t̄so sa Tylenol  
 = s = a gigi la t̄so = s = a Tylenol  
 = INST = D4 teeth AUX give = INST = D4 Tylenol

yudaxwa lax  
 yudaxw -a la = x  
 three -A PREP = ACC

'It was the stupid dentist's fault, who gave her Tylenol 3's.'

(12) *Ķi's hił'axa dławı's pipatayu, wā'okwas.*

$\dot{\kappa}i's$      $hił'axa$      $dławı's$      $pipatayu$   
 $(\dot{\kappa})i's$      $hił'ax$  -a     $dław$  = (i)'s     $Ci \sim pa\dot{t}ayu$   
 NEG    fit    -A    with = 3.REFL.POSS    PL~ medicine  
  
 $wā'okwas$   
 $wā'okw$  = s  
 other    = 3.POSS

'They didn't agree with her other medicine.'

(13) *Ķi's iki da Tylenol yudaxw.*

$\dot{\kappa}i's$      $iki$      $da$     *Tylenol*     $yudaxw$   
 $(\dot{\kappa})i's$      $ik$  = i    = da    *Tylenol*     $yudaxw$   
 NEG    good = D3    = DET    Tylenol    three

'Tylenol 3's aren't good.'

(14) *Lamıs yax'i xa ga'ala lamın wax tsax'idamasax.*

$lāmıs$      $yax'i$      $xā$      $gā'ala$   
 $lā$  = 'm = (w)is     $yak$  -x'id    =  $x$  = a     $gā'ala$   
 AUX = VER = and.so    dead-BEC    = ACC = D4    morning  
  
 $lāmın$      $wax$      $tsax'idamasax$   
 $lā$  = 'm = an     $wax$      $tsak$  -x'id -a -mas =  $x$   
 AUX = VER = 1    try    awake-BEC -A -CAUS = ACC

'So she died in the morning when I tried to wake her up.'



(17) ka le's laxa da ik skul ka kaku<sup>h</sup>te's.

ka le's laxa da  
ka la = a = i' = s la = x = a = da  
 PREP go = EMB = NMLZ = 3.POSS PREP = ACC = D4 = DET  
 ik skul ka kaku<sup>h</sup>te's  
 ik skul ka kaku<sup>h</sup>ta = a = i' = s  
 good school PREP learn = EMB = NMLZ = 3.POSS  
 'so that she could go to a good school to learn.'

(18) Heda galabe' la'ase' si da UBC.

heda galabe'  
 he = d = a galabe'  
 be.D3 = DET = D4 beginning  
 la'ase' si = da UBC  
 la -'as = e' = s = i = da UBC  
 AUX-LOC.PASS = I3 = 3.POSS = D3 = DET UBC  
 'In the beginning she went to UBC.'

(19) Hexsta'akw ma'p<sup>h</sup>anxila lax UBC.

hexsta'akw ma'p<sup>h</sup>anxila  
 he = xsta'akw ma't -pan -x -(g)ila  
 be.D3 = seem two -occurrence-year-make/do  
 lax UBC  
 la = x UBC  
 PREP = ACC UBC  
 'She was at UBC for about two years.'

- (20) Lanaxwamaṅ dukwax lax, wálas iki [ax] ax'ase's.

lanaxwamaṅ                      dukwax                      lax  
 la = naxwa    = 'm = an    dukw -a = x    la    = x  
 go = sometimes = VER = 1    see    -A = ACC    PREP = ACC

wálas    iki                      ax'ase's  
 wálas    ik    = i    ax -'as                      = e' = s  
 big/very    good = D3    do -LOC.PASS = I3 = 3.POSS

'I used to go see her there, she really liked where she was.'

- (21) Kótłala'am kakuṭlasu' ka's kase', dławis' kwalis'am hamapa.

kótłala'am                      kakuṭlasu'  
 kótł -al    -a = 'm                      kakuṭł -a -saw  
 know-CONT-A = VER                      learn    -A -ACC.PASS

ka's                                      kase'  
 ka    = (i)'s                                      kas = a    = i'  
 PREP = 3.REFL.POSS                                      walk = EMB = NMLZ

dławis'                                      kwalis'am    hamapa  
 dław    = (i)'s                                      kwalis'am    hamap -a  
 and    = 3.REFL.POSS                                      do.oneself    eat    -a

'I know that she was taught to walk, and how to eat by herself.'

(22) Kí'san malkwálas gaxe' lawáls lax UBC.

kí'san            malkwálas                            gaxe'  
 (k)i's =an    malkw    -al    -a =s    gax =a    =i'  
 NEG =1    remember-CONT-A =INST    come = EMB = NMLZ  
 lawáls            lax                            UBC  
 la -(w)áls    la    =x    UBC  
 go-outside    PREP = ACC    UBC

'I don't remember when she came out of UBC.'

(23) Káyos i's la'ase's gaxe'e lawálsa.

káyos            i's            la'ase's  
 káyos            (k)i's        la    -'as            =e' =s  
 NEG.EXIST    NEG            AUX-LOC.PASS = I3 = 3.POSS  
 gaxe'e    lawálsa  
 gax =a    =i'    =i    la -(w)áls -a  
 come = EMB = NMLZ = D3    go-outside -A

'There was nowhere she didn't go once she came out.'

- (24) Ķakutłamatsu' ka's hamape' dłáwi's [le'] le' laxa  
laxlagas.

<u>Ķ</u> ak <u>u</u> t <u>ł</u> amatsu'	<u>ka</u> 's		
<u>Ķ</u> ak <u>u</u> t <u>ł</u> -a -mas -s <u>a</u> w	<u>ka</u> = (i)'s		
learn -A -CAUS-ACC.PASS	PREP = 3.REFL.POSS		
<u>ha</u> m <u>a</u> pe'	<u>dł</u> á <u>wi</u> 's		
<u>ha</u> m <u>a</u> p = a = i'	<u>dł</u> á <u>w</u> = (i)'s		
eat = EMB = NMLZ	and = 3.REFL.POSS		
le'	<u>la</u> <u>x</u> a	<u>la</u> <u>x</u> lagas	
<u>la</u> = a = i'	<u>la</u> = <u>x</u> = a	<u>la</u> <u>x</u> lagas	
go = EMB = NMLZ	PREP = ACC = D4	bathroom	

'She was taught how to eat and how to go to the bathroom.'

- (25) Walasnaxwanu'xw ayaxpas dłáwi Jessie laxanu'xw  
gukw.

<u>w</u> alasnax <u>w</u> anu' <u>x</u> w	<u>ay</u> ax <u>p</u> as	<u>dł</u> á <u>wi</u>
<u>w</u> alas = naxwa = <u>anu</u> ' <u>x</u> w	<u>ay</u> ax <u>p</u> as	<u>dł</u> á <u>w</u> = i
big/very = sometimes = 1.EXCL	have.fun	with = D3
Jessie <u>la</u> <u>x</u> anu' <u>x</u> w		gukw
Jessie <u>la</u> = <u>x</u> = <u>anu</u> ' <u>x</u> w		gukw
Jessie PREP = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS		house

'We had a lot of fun with Jessie in our house.'



(26) Ku' ix'ak loł, la'am waṭṭa ku's kwagalił ṅaxwała lax.

ku' ix'ak loł la'am

ka =u' ix'ak lołṭ la = 'm  
PREP=HYP like 2.OBJ AUX=VER

waṭṭa ku's kwagalił

waṭṭ -a ka =u' =s kwa -(g)at -ił  
ask -A PREP=HYP=2 sit -move.about-indoors

ṅaxwała lax

ṅaxw -ała la =x  
near -STAT PREP=ACC

'If she likes you, then she asks you to sit down next to her.'

(27) Ku' ki's ix'ak loł, o he'am gwikali da "Ngaaah!"

ku' ki's ix'ak loł o he'am

ka =u' (k)i's ix'ak lołṭ o he = 'm  
PREP=HYP NEG like 2.OBJ so be.D3=VER

gwikali = da Ngaaah

gwi -(k)'ala =i = da Ngaaah  
INDEF-make.noise.CONT=D3 =DET Ngaaah

'If she doesn't like you, she'd say "Ngaaah!"

(28) Tłuma i'ix'ak naxwa sa gangananama'.

tłuma i'ix'ak naxwa sa  
 tłuma Ci~ ix'ak naxwa =s =a  
 really PL~ like every =INST=D4

gangananama  
 gangananam =a'  
 young.PL =I3

'She really liked all the children.'

(29) Yákganam lanaxwe' ipid dłu' nisa.

yákganam lanaxwe'  
 yákg = ganam lą = naxwa = a = i'  
 bad = probably AUX = sometimes = EMB = NMLZ

ipid dłu' nisa  
 ip -x'id dław nis -a  
 pinch-BEC and pull.hair-A

'It was probably bad though when she pinched and pulled their hair.'

(30) Olaxwa'am kotala [ka'e] xatlagila *sign language*.

olaxwa'am kotala xatlagila sign  
 olaxwa = 'm kotł -al -a xatlagila sign  
 just = VER know-CONT-A small.amount sign

*language*

*language*  
 language

'She just knew a little sign language.'

- (31) Hemis gwigila laxanu'xw gukw.

hemis                      gwigila  
 he = 'm = (w)is      gwi -(g)ila  
 be.D3 = VER = and.so    INDEF-make/do

laxanu'xw                      gukw  
 la = x = anu'xw      gukw  
 PREP = ACC = 1.EXCL.POSS    house

'That's what she did in our home.'

- (32) K'otłala ka's waxe', ka's gawalasawe', k'otłalas laxa sign language.

k'otłala              ka's                      waxe'  
 k'otł -al -a    ka = (i)'s              wax = a = i'  
 know-CONT-A    PREP = 3.REFL.POSS    request = EMB = NMLZ

ka's                      gawalasawe'  
 ka = (i)'s              gawala -saw = a = i'  
 PREP = 3.REFL.POSS    help -ACC.PASS = EMB = NMLZ

k'otłalas                      laxa                      sign

k'otł -al -a = s      la = x = a      sign  
 know-CONT-A = INST    PREP = ACC = D4    sign

*language*

*language*  
 language

'She knew how to request, how to get help, she knew it in sign language.'



(35) La'am ax'athus lax galdas lax kwalilase's.

la'am      ax'athus      lax      galdas  
 la = 'm    ax -'atf -x'id = s    la = x    galdas  
 AUX=VER    do -on -BEC =INST    PREP=ACC    box

lax      kwalilase's  
 la = x    kwal -it    -'as    = e' = s  
 PREP=ACC    lying -indoors-LOC.PASS=I3 = 3.POSS

'She would put them on a box in his bedroom.'

(36) Walasi kotlala xi's naxwa gwigilasa', tuma'am nogada'.

walasi      kotlala      xi's  
 walas = i    kotl -al -a    = x    = (i)'s  
 big/very=D3    know-CONT-A    = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS

naxwa      gwigilasa'  
 naxwa      gwi -(g)ila -'as    = a'  
 every      INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS = I3

tuma'am      nogada'

tuma = 'm    nogad = a'  
 really = VER    wise = I3

'She really knew what to do, she was really wise.'

(37) Onaxwamas la “retard”-su' laxa bas.

onaxwamas		la	retard	-su'
o = naxwa	= 'm = s	la	retard	-saw
so = sometimes	= VER = 2	AUX	retard	-ACC.PASS
		laxa		bas
		la	= x = a	bas
		PREP = ACC = D4		bus

‘Sometimes you got called “retard” on the bus.’

(38) Walasnaxwan xwinata lawis, lawid xa gigangananam he gwigilax.

walasnaxwan		xwinata	lawis	
walas	= naxwa = an	xwinat -a	lawis	
big/very	= sometimes = 1	irked -A	angry	
		lawid	xa	gigangananam
		lawis	= x = a	Ci~ gangananam
		angry	= ACC = D4	PL~ young.PL
				he
				he
				be.D3
				gwigilax
				gwi -(g)ila = x
				INDEF-make/do = ACC

‘I was really irked and angry, angry at the children who would do that.’

- (39) Tłuma k'otłala xa naxwa, lanaxwa gaxe'e da a'axsila laxa taxala.

tłuma	k'otłala	xa		
tłuma	k'otł -al -a	=x =a		
really	know-CONT-A	=ACC=D4		
naxwa	lanaxwa	gaxe'e		
naxwa	la =naxwa	gax =a =i' =i		
every	AUX=sometimes	come=EMB=NMLZ=D3		
da	a'axsila	laxa		taxala
=da	a'axsila	la =x =a		taxala
=DET	take.care	PREP=ACC=D4		door

'She knew everything, especially when the care-giver came to the door.'

- (40) Lanaxwa'am ale xan galdas dławan gabu.

lanaxwa'am	ale	xan		galdas
la =naxwa = 'm	ale	=x =an		galdas
AUX=sometimes=VER	seek	=ACC=1.POSS		bag
dławan	gabu			
dław =an	gabu			
and =1.POSS	jacket			

'Sometimes she'd look for my bag and my jacket,'

(41) Lanaxwa'am t̄axw'id gax̄an laxa t̄axala.

lanaxwa'am                      t̄axw'id              gax̄an

l̄a = naxwa = 'm      t̄axw -x'id      gax̄an  
 AUX = sometimes = VER      push -BEC      1.OBJ

laxa                      t̄axala

la = x̄ = a      t̄axala  
 PREP = ACC = D4      door

'and then she'd push me out the door.'

(42) Le'kan la i'axala gax̄misi da a'axsile'x̄, anis  
 Geegee-x̄alanu'x̄w x̄ax̄.

le'kan                      la i'axala

l̄a = a = (i)k = an      la i'axal -a  
 AUX = EMB = V1 = 1      go work -A

gax̄misi

gax̄ = 'm = (w)is = i  
 come = VER = and.so = D3

da                      a'axsile'x̄  
 = da                      a'axsila = i'              = (i)x̄  
 = DET                      take.care = NMLZ = V2

anis      Geegee-x̄alanu'x̄w

anis      Geegee = x̄a              -al              = anu'x̄w  
 aunt      Geegee = ADD.FOC = CONT = 1.EXCL

x̄ax̄

= x̄a              = x̄  
 = CONN = ACC

'When I went to work and the care-giver came, Auntie  
 Geegee we'd call her.'



- (43) Onaxwa'am da'łali Jessie la'anuxw le'kanuxw "anis  
Gegee" xax.

onaxwa'am                      da'łali                      Jessie  
o = naxwa = 'm      da'ł -al      = i      Jessie  
so = sometimes = VER      laugh-CONT = D3      Jessie

la'anuxw                      le'kanuxw  
la = anuxw      la = a = (i)k = anuxw  
AUX = 1.EXCL      AUX = EMB = V1      = 1.EXCL.POSS

anis      Gegee      xax  
anis      Gegee      = xa      = x  
aunt      Gegee      = CONN = ACC

'Jessie would just laugh when we called her "Auntie  
Gegee".

- (44) Tuma ik tsadaqa'.

tuma      ik      tsadaqa'  
tuma      ik      tsadak = a'  
really      good      woman = I3

'She was a really good woman.'

- (45) Gax̄and xa December 6, la'e da yax'idi Jessie, o'am hayulis tamsa gaxan ke'e.

gax̄and xa December 6 la'e da  
 gax̄ -x'id =x =a December 6 la =i =da  
 come-BEC =ACC=D4 December 6 AUX=D3 =DET  
 yax'idi Jessie o'am hayulis  
 yak -x'id =i Jessie o = 'm hayulis  
 dead-BEC =D3 Jessie so=VER continuously  
 tamsa gaxan ke'e  
 tams -a gaxan ka =i  
 phone-A 1.OBJ PREP=D3

'On December 6, that was when Jessie died, she always phones me about her.'

- (46) Olakalas iki la'ase's kakutla'as.

olakalas<sup>3</sup> iki la'ase's  
 olakala ik =i la -'as =e' =s  
 truly good=D3 AUX-LOC.PASS=I3 =3.POSS  
 kakutla'as  
 kakutl -a -'as  
 learn -A -LOC.PASS

'The place where she went to learn was really good.'

<sup>3</sup>The analysis of the 's' here is unknown.

(47)  $\acute{K}$ ayos i's  $\acute{k}$ odłala'.

$\acute{k}$ ayos i's  $\acute{k}$ odłala'.

$\acute{k}$ ayos (k)i's  $\acute{k}$ otł -ał = a'  
NEG.EXIST NEG know-NMLZ = I3

'She knew everyone.'

(48)  $\acute{L}$ a'am loł  $\acute{x}$ a  $\acute{n}$ amukw  $\acute{g}$ ananambidu tsanina.

$\acute{L}$ a'am loł  $\acute{x}$ a

$\acute{L}$ a = 'm lołł =  $\acute{x}$  = a  
AUX=VER obtain = ACC=D4

$\acute{n}$ amukw  $\acute{g}$ ananambidu tsanina

$\acute{n}$ amukw  $\acute{g}$ ananam -bidu tsanina  
friend young -DIM Chinese

'She got a little Chinese kid friend.'

(49)  $\acute{L}$ amisanu'xw  $\acute{n}$ ikax Jessie, "w $\acute{w}$ ayas Jessie, w $\acute{w}$ aya!" O,  $\acute{d}$ a'łala.

$\acute{L}$ amisanu'xw  $\acute{n}$ ikax Jessie

$\acute{L}$ a = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw  $\acute{n}$ ik -a =  $\acute{x}$  Jessie  
AUX=VER = and.so = 1.EXCL say -A = ACC Jessie

w $\acute{w}$ ayas Jessie w $\acute{w}$ aya o  $\acute{d}$ a'łala

w $\acute{w}$ ayas Jessie w $\acute{w}$ ayas o  $\acute{d}$ a'ł -ał -a  
sweetheart Jessie sweetheart so laugh-CONT-A

'So we said to Jessie, "boyfriend Jessie, boyfriend!" Oh, we laughed.'

- (50) Lámisanu'xw nampána dukwála xa gananam [tá']  
 katamakwe's laxa TV.

lámisanu'xw	nampána
lá = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	nám -pán -a one -occurrence-A
dukwála	xa gananam
dukw -al -a =x =a see -CONT-A = ACC = D4	gananam young
katamakwe's	laxa TV
katamakw = e' = s picture = I3 = 3.POSS	la =x =a TV PREP = ACC = D4 TV

'Then one day we saw the child pictured on TV.'

- (51) La le'e wans'idi bo'te' naxwála laxa ferry.

la le'e	wans'idi	bo'te'
lá lá = a = i' = i AUX AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3	wans -x'id = i sink -BEC = D3	bo't = e' boat = I3
naxwála	laxa	ferry
naxw -ála	la =x =a	ferry
near -STAT	PREP = ACC = D4	ferry

'It was when a boat sank next to the ferry.'

- (52) Olaṃi Jessie haṅaxw'id k̄we'ga'ła le'e dukw̄alax Martin  
laxa TV.

olaṃi Jessie haṅaxw'id

o -la = 'm = i Jessie haṅaxw -x'id  
so-CONT = VER = D3 Jessie rapid -BEC

k̄we'ga'ła le'e

k̄was -ga'ł -a la = a = i' = i  
cry -sound.BEC-A AUX = EMB = NMLZ = D3

dukw̄alax Martin laxa

dukw̄ -al -a = x̄ Martin la = x̄ = a  
see -CONT-A = ACC Martin PREP = ACC = D4

TV

TV  
TV

'Jessie started crying suddenly when she saw Martin on TV.'

- (53) O'amx̄ant k̄ot̄alas ýax'ide'e.

o'amx̄ant k̄ot̄alas

o = 'm = x̄ant k̄ot̄ -al -a = s  
so = VER = MOD know-CONT-A = INST

ýax'ide'e

ýak -x'id = a = i' = i  
dead-BEC = EMB = NMLZ = D3

'She must have known that he had died.'

(54) Tłuma nogadi Jessie.

tłuma	nogadi	Jessie
tłuma	nogad =i	Jessie
really	wise =D3	Jessie

‘Jessie was really wise.’

(55) Gęła i's ixi le' ýax'idi Martin.

gęła	i's	ixi	
gęła	(k')i's	ik =i	
long.time	NEG	good=D3	
le'		ýax'idi	Martin
l̥a =a =i'		ýak -x'id =i	Martin
AUX=EMB=NMLZ		dead-BEC =D3	Martin

‘She wasn't well for a long time after Martin died.’

- (56)  $\acute{K}ayos$  i's  $gwigilase's$   $onaxwa'amxe'$   $ax'atlu$   $laxa$   $gudan$   
 $\acute{k}ayos$  i's  $la'as$ .

$\acute{k}ayos$  i's  $gwigilase's$   
 $\acute{k}ayos$  (k)i's  $gwi$  -(g)ila -'as = e' = s  
 NEG.EXIST NEG INDEF-make/do-LOC.PASS = I3 = 3.POSS

$onaxwa'amxe'$   $ax'atlu$   
 o =  $naxwa$  = 'm =  $xa$  = e'  $ax$  -'atł -x'id  
 so = sometimes = VER = ADD.FOC = I3 do -on -BEC

$laxa$   $gudan$   $\acute{k}ayos$  i's  
 la =  $x$  = a  $gudan$   $\acute{k}ayos$  (k)is  
 PREP = ACC = D4 horse NEG.EXIST NEG

$la'as$

$la$  -'as  
 AUX-LOC.PASS

'There was nothing she didn't do, she even rode on a horse all over the place'

- (57)  $\acute{L}awisnaxwan$   $la'e$   $\acute{n}iksu'$   $la$   $laxa$  *roller coaster*.

$\acute{L}awisnaxwan$   $la'e$   $\acute{n}iksu'$   $la$   
 $\acute{L}awis$  =  $naxwa$  =  $an$   $la$  = i  $\acute{n}ik$  - $saw$   $la$   
 angry = sometimes = I AUX = D3 say -ACC.PASS go

$laxa$  *roller coaster*  
 la =  $x$  = a *roller coaster*  
 PREP = ACC = D4 roller coaster

'I was angry when I heard she went on a roller coaster.'

- (58) Ławisnaxwān x̄a a'axsilax, ax'atłalus laxa roller coaster, tume' kałalas.

ławisnaxwān	x̄a	a'axsilax
ławis = naxwa = an = x̄ = a	a'axsil -a = x̄	
angry = sometimes = 1	= ACC = D4	take.care-A = ACC
ax'atłalus	laxa	roller
ax -'atł -al -x'id = s	la = x̄ = a	roller
do -on -CONT-BEC = INST	PREP = ACC = D4	roller
coaster tume'	kałalas	
coaster tuma = a = i'	kałala = s	
coaster really = EMB = NMLZ	scared = INST	

'I was angry at the care-giver, that she put her on a roller coaster, really scared of it.'

- (59) Tuma li ix'aki Jessieyas, o hiwaxa kałala, o'am da'łala.

tuma li	ix'aki	Jessieyas	o hiwaxa
tuma la = i	ix'ak = i	Jessie = s	o hiwaxa
really AUX = D3	like = D3	Jessie = INST	so never
kałala	o'am	da'łala	
kał -al -a	o = 'm	da'ł -al -a	
scared-CONT-A	so = VER	laugh-CONT-A	

'Jessie really liked it though, she never got scared, she just laughed.'



(60) He<sub>m</sub>is la x̄a skul lax̄ *Templeton*.

he <sub>m</sub> is	la	x̄a	skul	lax̄
he = 'm = (w)is	la = x̄ = a	skul	la = x̄	
be.D3 = VER = and.so	go = ACC = D4	school	PREP = ACC	

*Templeton*

*Templeton*

Templeton

'She went to Templeton School.'

(61) He'<sub>a</sub>m w̄ili da bibibagwanam sasam lakso lax̄ *Templeton*.

he' <sub>a</sub> m	w̄ili	da	bibibagwanam
he = 'm	w̄ila = i	= da	Ci~ Ci~ bagwanam
be.D3 = VER	all = D3	= DET	PL~ PL~ man

sasam lakso lax̄ *Templeton*

sasam	la -ksu	-a	la = x̄	<i>Templeton</i>
children	go-through-A		PREP = ACC	Templeton

'That's where all the boy children graduated, at Templeton.'

(62) He'<sub>a</sub>m gwix'idi Jessie lax̄, laksu.

he' <sub>a</sub> m	gwix'idi	Jessie	lax̄
he = 'm	gwi -x'id = i	Jessie	la = x̄
be.D3 = VER	INDEF-BEC = D3	Jessie	PREP = ACC

laksu

la -ksu

go-through

'That's what Jessie did there, went through and graduated.'

(63) La'am lakso lax *Templeton* le' *seventeen-a'*.

la'am	lakso	lax	<i>Templeton</i>
la = 'm	la -ksu -a	la = x	<i>Templeton</i>
AUX = VER	go-through-A	PREP = ACC	<i>Templeton</i>
le'		<i>seventeen-a'</i>	
la = a = i'		<i>seventeen = a'</i>	
AUX = EMB = NMLZ		seventeen = I3	

'She graduated from Templeton when she was 17.'

(64) Lamisanu'xw wila la laxa laksu laxa *Orpheum Theatre-xtla*.

lamisanu'xw	wila	la
la = 'm = (w)is = anu'xw	wila	la
AUX = VER = and.so = 1.EXCL	all	go
laxa	laksu	
la = x = a	la -ksu	
PREP = ACC = D4	go-through	
laxa	<i>Orpheum Theatre-xtla</i>	
la = x = a	<i>Orpheum Theatre -(x)tla</i>	
PREP = ACC = D4	<i>Orpheum Theatre -be.called</i>	

'We all went to the graduation at the Orpheum Theatre.'

(65) Hemi Bill, Sean, Will, Betty, Dawn, dław<sub>an</sub>.

hemi	Bill	Sean	Will	Betty	Dawn
he = 'm = i	Bill	Sean	Will	Betty	Dawn
be.D3 = VER = D3	Bill	Sean	Will	Betty	Dawn

dław<sub>an</sub>

dław = an

and = 1

'There was Bill, Sean, Will, Betty, Dawn, and me!'

(66) Laman duxwatłala laxa stage.

laman	duxwatłala	laxa
la = 'm = an	duxwatł -al -a	la = x = a
AUX = VER = 1	see -CONT-A	PREP = ACC = D4

stage

stage

stage

'I watched the stage.'

(67) La'am dławxwalili da Grade 12 bagwanam.

la'am	dławxwalili	da	Grade 12
la = 'm	dławxw -al -il = i	= da	Grade 12
AUX = VER	stand -CONT-indoors = D3	= DET	Grade 12

bagwanam

bagwanam

man

'Then the Grade 12 man stood up.'

(68) Wílámis d̄idłaxwálihi da níñaxwa.

wílámis

d̄idłaxwálihi

wíla = 'm = (w)is    Ci~ d̄łaxw -al -ił    = i  
 all = VER = and.so    PL~ stand -CONT-indoors = D3

da níñaxwa

= da    Ci~ níaxwa  
 = DET    PL~ every

'Then everyone stood up.'

(69) Wálasanu'xw k̄wik̄wástola: Betty, Dawn, d̄łáw̄an.

wálasanu'xw

k̄wik̄wástola

Betty Dawn

wálas = anu'xw    Ci~ k̄was -'sto -la    Betty Dawn  
 big/very = 1.EXCL    PL~ cry -eye -CONT    Betty Dawn

d̄łáw̄an

d̄łáw̄ = an  
 and = 1

'We really had tears in our eyes: Betty, Dawn, and I.'

- (70) Le'kanu'xw dukwalax Jessie dzalxw'i kan lotle' xi's  
*diploma-xtla*.

le'kanu'xw dukwalax  
 la = a = (i)k = anu'xw dukw -al -a = x  
 AUX = EMB = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS see -CONT-A = ACC

Jessie dzalxw'i kan  
 Jessie dzalxw -x'id ka = an  
 Jessie run -BEC PREP = 1.POSS

lotle' xi's  
 lotl = a = i' = x = (i)'s  
 obtain = EMB = NMLZ = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS

*diploma-xtla*  
*diploma* -(x)tla  
*diploma* -be.called

'When we saw Jessie run so I could get her diploma.'

- (71) Walasanu'xw kwasa le'kanu'xw dukwalax.

walasanu'xw kwasa  
 walas = anu'xw kwas -a  
 big/very = 1.EXCL cry -A

le'kanu'xw dukwalax  
 la = a = (i)k = anu'xw dukw -al -a = x  
 AUX = EMB = V1 = 1.EXCL.POSS see -CONT-A = ACC

'We really cried when we saw that.'

(72) Lámis dzálxwi edaka laxi's kákutłamasex laxi's ax'as.

lámis	dzálxwi	edaka
la = 'm = (w)is AUX = VER = and.so	dzálxw = i run = D3	edaka return
laxi's	kákutłamasex	
la = x = (i)'s PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS	kákutł -a -mas = x learn -A -CAUS = ACC	
laxi's	ax'as	
la = x = (i)'s PREP = ACC = 3.REFL.POSS	ax -'as do -LOC.PASS	

'Then she ran back to her teacher in her place.'

(73) Olekanu'xw tlamkas gwix'ida'ase's.

olekanu'xw	tlamkas
olek = anu'xw truly = 1.EXCL	tlamk -a = s proud -A = INST
gwix'ida'ase's	
gwi -x'id -a -'as INDEF-BEC -A -LOC.PASS = I3	= e' = s = 3.POSS

'We were really proud of what she did there.'

(74) Eman.

eman  
eman  
amen  
'Amen.'

## 18.4 Editors' Note

Jessie was Ruby's youngest child. She had a severe learning disability and died at age 30, after a life of intimate care from her mother. Wikila'oga, the story's title, is Jessie's Kwakwala name.





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