

## Mary George Personal Narratives

John Hamilton Davis  
Bellingham, Washington

**Abstract:** The following are some of the personal narratives told by Mary George from 1969 through 1980. After Mary George's narratives there is a Mink story told by Noel George Harry and the basket ogre told by Tommy Paul as well as a personal experience of this author.

**Keywords:** Mainland Comox, personal narrative, dialogue, translation

### 1 Introduction

In 1965 Thom Hess visited Sliammon village, working with consultant Bill Galligos. In 1969 Thom Hess, then a professor of linguistics at the University of Victoria, assigned me to go to Sliammon village and contact Bill Galligos. That summer, in order to meet more speakers in the community, I obtained a movie projector and borrowed Canada Film Board films from the public library in Powell River to present shows in the community hall in Sliammon. The second evening of movies, Mrs Mary George approached my wife and offered to help me in studying the language and help my wife meet other members of the community for the study she was doing.

### 2 Mary George talks in April 1978 about being in hospital

1217

In April 1978 Mary George was in hospital in Powell River and longed to be released. I visited her several times to cheer her up. After several weeks, she was able to return home, when she resumed teaching me her language. This narrative was not elicited and contains sentences that I might not have thought to elicit.

- (1) *hihiw ch lhaxaxswh tez nesh*  
[hɛhɛʊ č ʔaxaxsɥ<sup>w</sup> tət<sup>h</sup> niš]  
'I'm really starting to dislike being here.'
- (2) *hanem qex tl'axtl'axaymot*  
[hanəm qʌχ ʔaxʔaxaymot]  
'Too many really old people.'
- (3) *ʔey haw.higan qwel' ʔolhtumithayem*  
[ʔiɪ haʊhɛgʌn q<sup>w</sup>ɔlʔ ʔɔltumɛθʌyɪm]  
'And a demented one came in toward me.'

---

Notes for *Mary George talks in April 1978 about being in hospital* (Section 2)

line (1) -V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> = inceptive || ʔəχ 'bad'; ʔəχsɥ<sup>w</sup> 'dislike' || ʔax = ə ⇒ a for emphasis

line (2) C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>- = plural

line (3) ʔolhtwh = 'enter' || ʔolhtu- 'enter'; -mi- 'toward'; -thay- 'me' || qwel' = 'come'

---

*Papers for the International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages* 56.

D. K. E. Reisinger, Hannah Green, Laura Griffin, Marianne Huijsmans, Gloria Mellesmoen, and Bailey Trotter (eds.). Vancouver, BC: UBCWPL, 2021.

- (4) *she pipaʔa tl'atl'xay tumesh*  
[ʃɪ pɛpaʔa ʎaʎxaj tumiʃ]  
'One little old man.'
- (5) *jiaqaʔ k'wiʔesh eyt ʔe tez shiaʔtigans t'olhalh*  
[jʲæqaʔ kʷɛʔiʃ iɪt ʔə tətʰ ʃʲɛʔtɛgʌns tətʌtʰ]  
'He stood over my bed.'
- (6) *chia'nawh ch'ia qwel'*  
[čʲɛʳnʌçʷ čʲɛ qʷɔlʔ]  
'He came three times.'
- (7) *hoy ʔey q'agem chian ʔe tintin.s te kwekwtemawtwh*  
[hoi ʔi qagəm čʲɛn ʔə tintins tə kʷokʷtəmʌotçʷ]  
'So I rang the hospital bell.'
- (8) *qwel' jiaʔatl' she nurses*  
[qʷɔlʔ jʲaʔaʎ ʃɪ nurses]  
'Several nurses came running.'
- (9) *maʔtem ku she tumesh*  
[maʔtəm kʷu ʃɪ tumiʃ]  
'They took the man.'
- (10) *hostom ku ʔe naʔs room*  
[hostom kʷu ʔə naʔs room]  
'They took him to his own room.'
- (11) *hi ga z hihiw lhaxaxswh tez nesh*  
[hɛ gʌ tʰ hɛhɛʊ ʎaxaxsçʷ tətʰ niʃ]  
'That's why I'm starting to dislike being here.'
- (12) *hiw ch jiajew'am*  
[hɛʊ č jʲɛjuʔam]  
'I really want to go home.'

- 
- line (4) C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = diminutive || *tl'axay* = 'elderly' || *pipaʔa* = 'one human being'  
 line (5) *jiaqaʔ* = 'unexpectedly' || probably *hey*t, possibly *ʔey*t  
 line (6) *ch'ia* = 'apparently'  
 line (8) *jiaʔatl'* = 'several people run' || *qwel'* = come || *she* = ART  
 line (9) *ku* = past change/action, not recent  
 line (10) *naʔs* = one's own  
 line (11) *te* = ART || *z* = 'my; I' || *nesh* = 'here'  
 line (12) *-am* = desiderative || C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = imperfective || *jew'* = 'go home' || *ch, chian* = 'I'

### 3 Mary George tells about Christine falling down

1267

- (1) *thoholh ʔe kw wachawtwh*  
 [θohot ʔə k<sup>w</sup> wΛčΛotç<sup>w</sup>]  
 ‘(Christine Harry) went to the toilet.’
- (2) *ʔey ch'ia niʔ jiaq'*  
 [ʔi č<sup>y</sup>ε nεʔ j<sup>y</sup>εq̄]  
 ‘And she must have fallen down there.’
- (3) *xaxeyastîwh sht s whekwts*  
 [χaxiyεstεç<sup>w</sup> št s ç<sup>w</sup>ok<sup>w</sup>ts]  
 ‘We were wondering that (why) she was gone.’
- (4) *hotigan sht ga kwenas ho jew'*  
 [hotεgΛn št gΛ k<sup>w</sup>inΛs ho juoʔ]  
 ‘We thought she might have gone home.’
- (5) *ho ga lhe pipaʔa salhtwh ʔe kw wachawtwh*  
 [ho gΛ tə pεpaʔa saftç<sup>w</sup> ʔə k<sup>w</sup> wΛčΛotç<sup>w</sup>]  
 ‘Another woman went to the toilet.’
- (6) *k'wenewhas Chestina jiaqaʔ kw niʔ jiaq'it*  
 [k<sup>w</sup>onotç<sup>w</sup>Λs čistinΛ j<sup>y</sup>εqΛʔ k<sup>w</sup> nεʔ j<sup>y</sup>æq'εt]  
 ‘She saw Christine there fallen down.’
- (7) *maʔtem hostom ʔe she ʔaxîthawtwhs takta*  
 [ma<sup>a</sup>təm hostom ʔə ši ʔaxεθΛotç<sup>w</sup>s taktΛ]  
 ‘They took her to the doctor’s resting room.’
- (8) *whe k'we texwnomota'solh*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>o k<sup>w</sup>ə tɔχ<sup>w</sup>nomota<sup>a</sup>soʔ]  
 ‘She wasn’t conscious.’
- (9) *xoxwmot ʔey qwel' pechem*  
 [χ<sup>w</sup>oχ<sup>w</sup>mot ʔi q<sup>w</sup>əlʔ pičim]  
 ‘A long time and she came awake.’

---

#### Notes for *Mary George tells about Christine falling down* (Section 3)

- line (1) *kw* = ART  
 line (2) *ch'ia* = ‘apparently’  
 line (3) *xaxaya.swh* ‘find it strange’ || *xaxaya.stîwh* = ‘finding it strange’ || *s* ‘that’ + *whekw* ‘absent’ + *-s* ‘she’  
 line (5) *lhe* = ART || *pipaʔa* = ‘one/another person’  
 line (6) *jiaqaʔ* = ‘unexpectedly’ || *jiaq'* = ‘(standing object) fall (over)’ || *jiaq'it* = ‘fallen’  
 line (7) *ʔaxîth* = ‘lying down’; *ʔaxeth* = ‘lie down’  
 line (8) *-olh* ‘past’ laryngealizes a preceding *-s* or *-m* or *-n* || *k'we* = ‘reportedly’

- (10) *ni?olh ?ot lhaq'atem ?e she takta hi ga she nurse*  
 [nɛʔotʔ ʔot ʔaʔatəm ʔə ʃi takta hɛ ga ʃi nurse]  
 'There waiting for her were the doctor as well as the nurse.'
- (11) *qwel' ga ma?ta'molh ?e she na?s kwekwtem ?atnopil*  
 [qʷɔlʔ ga maʔtaʰmɔʔ ʔə ʃi naʔs kʷokʷtəm ʔatnopɛl]  
 'An ambulance came and took her.' ("the belonging to being sick automobile")
- (12) *hostom ga ?e kw kwekwtemawtwh*  
 [hostom ga ʔə kʷ kʷokʷtəmawtʃʷ]  
 'They took her to the hospital.'
- (13) *?ey' k'we g.ut s.nanatolh ~ ?ey' k'we ot snanatolh*  
 [ʔiʔ kʷə gut snanatɔʔ] ~ [ʔiʔ kʷə ot snanatɔʔ]  
 'She was better yesterday evening.'
- (14) *ho k'we k'weta'molh ?e lhew Elsie*  
 [ho kʷə kʷɔtaʰmɔʔ ʔə ʔuʊ Elsie]  
 'Elsie (Paul and friends) went to see her.'
- (15) *hihiw sht haj.igan.mot*  
 [hɛhɛʊ ʃt hajɛganmɔt]  
 'We were so worried!'
- (16) *qelhas chiam' kw yathot.s*  
 [qʷʌʔʌs ʃʷɛmʔ kʷ iɛθɔts]  
 'What might happen to her?'
- (17) *qwayigan tuw.ayin ot lhaxayin.eyt.olh*  
 [qʷayɛgan tuwaym ot ʔʌxayiniɔʔ]  
 'I think she was already feeling sick.'
- (18) *hilh yathot.ow.s chestina sjiasolh*  
 [hɛʔ iʌθɔtɔʊs ʃɪstina ʃjʷɛsɔʔ]  
 'That's what Christine did yesterday.'

---

line (12) *kwekwtem* = 'being sick' || *-awtwh* = 'house; room'

line (13) *ga + ot* ⇒ *g.ut* (contraction) || *s-* 'stative' + *C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1-</sub>* + *nat* 'night' + 'past'

line (14) *lhew* = any group of people characterized by one named individual; this varies by context; some people pronounce this as *lhaw* [ʎʌʊ]

line (15) *sht, chiat* = 'we, us'

line (17) *lhax* = 'bad' || *-eyt* = completed action/state || *tuwa* = 'from'; *-ayin* = 'beginning'

line (18) *s-* = stative || compare Sechelt *yas-* 'day of the week' || *-olh+-s* ⇒ *-ow.s* 'his/her past tense'; *-olh+-it* ⇒ *-ow.it* 'their past tense'; *-olh+-ap* ⇒ *-ow.ap* 'your (pl.) past tense'

- (1) *qex.aya shez qem.qam.olh*  
[qáχayε šit<sup>0</sup> qámqamo†]  
'I was with a lot (of other kids).'
- (2) *ho sht maʔemkum*  
[ho št maʔəmk<sup>w</sup>um]  
'We went berry picking.'
- (3) *ni...ʔ sht maʔemkum niʔs te ʔimin*  
[nε...ʔ št maʔəmk<sup>w</sup>um nεʔs tə ʔεmɪn]  
'There we were berry picking along the path.'
- (4) *whekw.t.olh ʔe kw ʔimin ʔe kw sheʔen*  
[ç<sup>w</sup>ok<sup>w</sup>to† ʔə k<sup>w</sup> ʔεmɪn ʔə k<sup>w</sup> šiʔɪn]  
'There was no highway in those days.'
- (5) *ho... sht maʔemkum*  
[ho... št maʔəmk<sup>w</sup>um]  
'We went (for a long time) berry picking.'
- (6) *hoy ʔey hoho ch shiashiaʔ naʔa ʔe she jiajia*  
[hoi ʔiɪ hoho č šʔεšʔεʔ naʔa ʔə ši jʔεjʔε]  
'Then I was going quietly (on top of) a log.'
- (7) *hoho ch ʔimash ʔe she sayayin.s*  
[hoho č ʔεmɪš ʔə ši sayɪɪms]  
'I was walking to the end of (the log).'
- (8) *ni...ʔ ʔot z qemqam ʔe te neyjia*  
[nε...ʔ ʔot t<sup>0</sup> qámqam ʔə tə niɪjʔε]  
'My companions were there in the distance.'
- (9) *hoho ch ʔimash*  
[hoho č ʔεmɪš]  
'I was going walking (by myself).'

---

Notes for *Mary George tells about seeing a good luck lizard* (Section 4)

- line (1) C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub>- = plural || *qam* = 'companion' || *she* = ART || *z* = 'my' || *qexaya* = 'many people'
- line (3) *ʔimin* = 'path, road, highway, door'
- line (4) *whaʔ + kw* ⇒ *whekw* = 'absent' || compare *whe chia'mas* [ç<sup>w</sup>o čʔεmɪs] = 'no way, no how' || compare Sechelt *wha.kwt.am* 'almost nothing' || the desiderative *-am* also means 'almost'
- line (6) *naʔa* = rhetorical filler || *shiasem* = 'sneak'
- line (7) compare Sechelt *sal-* = 'location' || Comox *-ayin* = 'end; extremity' || compare *saylhalh* = 'throat' || compare *sayqin* = 'inside of mouth'

- (10) *hoho ch tes ʔe te sayayins she jiajia*  
 [hoho č tás ʔə tə sayayins ši jʲɛjʲɛ]  
 ‘I was going right up to the end of the log.’
- (11) *kʷet chian she naʔa xaʹynach*  
 [kʷət čʲɛn ši naʔa xaʔɪnɔč]  
 ‘I looked at the stump.’
- (12) *jiaqaʔ niʔ she nemʔ ʔe kw seswhalh*  
 [jʲæqɔʔ nɛʔ ši námʔ ʔə kʷ sɪsçʷɔt]  
 ‘There was something just like a lizard.’
- (13) *mos she jesh.jeshen.s ʔey sop.nahâch*  
 [mos ši jɪʃjɪʃɪns ʔi sopnahač]  
 ‘It had four legs and a tail.’ (“four its legs and with a tail”)
- (14) *kʷet chian ʔey naʔa jiaqaʔ kʷatwhem she sayqins*  
 [kʷət čʲɛn ʔi naʔa jʲæqɔʔ kʷatçʷom ši saiqɛns]  
 ‘I looked and its mouth was aflame.’
- (15) *kʷatwhem ʔaʹjuwmi...shmot, nemʹ kw naʔa machs*  
 [kʷatçʷom ʔaʹjuomi...šmot námʔ kʷ naʔa mɔčs]  
 ‘A really beautiful flame, just like a match.’
- (16) *papkwat ch, xaxayastîwh ch*  
 [papkʷɔt č xaxayɛstɪçʷ č]  
 ‘I was staring (surveilling), I was wondering.’
- (17) *hoy ʔey xapey chian tho*  
 [hoi ʔi xapii čʲɛn θo]  
 ‘Then I went back.’
- (18) *thoho ch xapey*  
 [θoho č xapii]  
 ‘I was going back (to the others).’
- (19) *hoy ʔey tawt chian she qemqam*  
 [hoi ʔi taot čʲɛn ši qɔmqam]  
 ‘Then I told the companions.’

---

line (11) {kʷə(n) + t} ⇒ /kʷət/ ‘look’  
 line (13) *sopnach* ‘tail’ + attributive || *sopnahâch* = ‘having a tail’  
 line (14) *jiaqaʔ* = ‘unexpectedly’  
 line (15) *naʔa* = rhetorical filler  
 line (16) *xaxayaswh* = ‘find it strange’ || *xaxayastîwh* = ‘finding it strange’

- (20) *taw.t chian qwel' k'we.t.as.iw*  
 [taot čʸɛn qʷɔlʔ kʷɔtʌsɛɔ]  
 'I told them to come see it (look at it).'
- (21) *hoho sht k'wet*  
 [hoho št kʷɔt]  
 'We were going to look.'
- (22) *hoy ʔey whekwt, whekwt ku*  
 [hoi ʔi ɕʷɔkʷt ɕʷɔkʷt kʷu]  
 'But it wasn't there, it was (already) gone.'
- (23) *hoy ʔey hoho sht jew'*  
 [hoi ʔi hoho št juɔʔ]  
 'Then we were going home.'
- (24) *tawt chian shez kwekwpəʔolh*  
 [taot čʸɛn šitʰ kʷɔkʷpaʔot]  
 'I told my grandfather.' (my past tense grandfather)
- (25) *lhelhxanch.em.mithayem chia'mas ʔez whaʔ hahan tawtolh*  
 [hɛχančimmɛθayim čʸɛʰmas ʔətʰ ɕʷʌʔ hahan taotot]  
 'He was angry at me because I didn't go tell him (immediately).'
- (26) *qwayigan hilh k'we niʔitet ʔeytet*  
 [qʷayɛɣʌn hɛt kʷə nɛʔɛtɛt ʔiitɛt]  
 'I think that's what they say is good luck.' (good fortune)
- (27) *ʔeytet ʔe kw qaymiwh taʔat*  
 [ʔiitɛt ʔə kʷ qaimiɕʷ taʔat]  
 'Good luck for a person usually.'
- (28) *kwen.as k'we hilh ʔaxtey kw tit.hiyalach*  
 [kʷɔnʌs kʷə hɛt ʔaxti kʷ titheyʌlɛč]  
 'He said that's what a tit.hiyalach was like.'
- (29) *niʔitas kwaʔan qway.mithayem*  
 [nɛʔɛtʌs kʷaʔʌn qʷaimɛθayim]  
 'He said that (as) he gave me a talking to.' (scolded me)

---

line (20) {kʷə(n) + t} ⇒ /kʷət/

line (22) *ku* = past change/action, not recent

line (26) *ʔeytem* = 'good fortune' || *ʔeytem + s* ⇒ *ʔeytet* || *niʔitem + s* ⇒ *niʔitet* || 772: *lhextem* 'bad luck/fortune'; *lhexthim* 'bad luck/fortune for you' || 771: *ʔeythim* 'your good luck/fortune'; *ʔeythayem* 'my good luck/fortune'

line (27) *taʔat* = 'usually, always, reliably'

- (30) *lhelhxanchem.mithay.em chia'mas ʔez whaʔ hahan tawtolh*  
 [ħʰʰançimməθayim ʧʰε̄mΛs ʔəθ̰ ʧʰΛʔ hahan taotoʔ]  
 'He was angry at me because I didn't go tell him (immediately).'
- (31) *whaʔ k'weneget ʔe shez qemqam*  
 [ʧʰΛʔ kʰwɔnəɣit ʔə ʃit̰ qʌmqam]  
 'My companions didn't see it.' ('It wasn't seen by my companions.')
- (32) *hoy ʔot chianiy ʔe k'wenewh*  
 [hoi ʔot ʧʰɛ̄niɪ ʔə kʰwɔnoʧʰw]  
 'I was the only one who saw it.'
- (33) *xaxayastom ʔe z qemqam kwenas chiam' whaʔs k'wenewhas*  
 [χaxayistom ʔə t̰ qʌmqam kʰwɔnΛs ʧʰɛ̄mʔ ʧʰaʔs kʰwɔnoʧʰΛs]  
 'My friends wondered why they didn't see it.'
- (34) *nem' ʔe kw seswhalh, nem' ʔot ʔe kw seswhalh*  
 [nʌmʔ ʔə kʰ sɪsʧʰΛʔ nʌmʔ ʔot ʔə kʰ sɪsʧʰΛʔ]  
 'Like a lizard, just like a lizard.'

**5 Mary George tells about seeing a frog with a shell**

977

- (1) *ho ga she paʔa k'wenewha'nolh ʔaju shez chuʔjolph ʔe thichem.axan.s ʔayaʔ.ow.s z*  
 [ho gʌ ʃi paʔa kʰwɔnoʧʰaʰnoʔ ʔaju ʃit̰ ʧuʔjoʔ ʔə θiçimɔxans ʔayeʔoʊs t̰  
*tl'axtl'axolh*  
*ʎaxʎaxoʔ*]  
 'Something else I saw too when I was a child behind my parents' (past) house.'
- (2) *hoho ch kukum maʔemkum she hi'gan*  
 [hoho ʧ kʰukʰum maʔəmkʰum ʃi hɛʔgʌn]  
 'I was going uphill picking strawberries.'
- (3) *q'aq'tlemolh ʔe she thichemtigans ʔayaʔs z tl'axtl'ax*  
 [qʌqʌmoʔ ʔə ʃi θiçimɛgʌns ʔayeʔs t̰ ʎaxʎax]  
 'It was bushy behind my parents' house.'
- (4) *chuʔjolph chian ʔe sheʔen*  
 [ʧuʔjoʔ ʧʰɛ̄n ʔə ʃiʔɪn]  
 'I was a child then.'

---

line (31) *k'wenom + -as* ⇒ *k'weneget* || *k'wenewh + -em* ⇒ *k'wenom*  
 line (32) *chianilh ~ chianiy* = 'I, me'  
 line (33) *xaxaya* 'strange' + *-swh* 'cause' = "find it strange" + *-em* ⇒ *xaxayastom* (passive)

Notes for *Mary George tells about seeing a frog with a shell* (Section 5)

line (2) C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- + *kum* 'go uphill'  
 line (3) *thichemtigans* = 'forest side of' || *thichemaxans* = 'forest side of'



- (5) *whe ch texwnîwhan kwenas k'winolh kwez qomay*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>ɔ̃ č tɔχ<sup>w</sup>nɛç<sup>w</sup>an k<sup>w</sup>ɔnɔs k<sup>w</sup>ɛnoɫ k<sup>w</sup>it<sup>θ</sup> q<sup>w</sup>ɔmai]  
 'I don't know how old I was.'
- (6) *hoho ch kukum*  
 [hoho č k<sup>w</sup>uk<sup>w</sup>um]  
 'I was going uphill.'
- (7) *ʔiʔilhten ch ʔe she naʔa hi'gan*  
 [ʔɛʔɛttən č ʔə ʃi naʔɔ hɛʔɡɔn]  
 'I was eating strawberries.'
- (8) *maʔemkum chian ʔe kw hi'gan*  
 [maʔəm<sup>w</sup>um č<sup>y</sup>ɛn ʔə k<sup>w</sup> hɛʔɡɔn]  
 'I was picking strawberries.'
- (9) *jiaqaʔ xasem kw ch'ey.ewh.an niʔs te tagakwayen*  
 [j<sup>y</sup>æqɔʔ χasəm k<sup>w</sup> čiyiç<sup>w</sup>ɔn nɛʔs tɔ tagak<sup>w</sup>ɔym]  
 'Suddenly a rustle (is what) I heard there in the ferns.'
- (10) *xa...sem*  
 [χa...səm]  
 'A lot of rustling.'
- (11) *k'wet chian ʔaxteyswh taʔa, jiaqaʔ tih.mot naʔa walth nepamihîn*  
 [k<sup>w</sup>ɔt č<sup>y</sup>ɛn ʔaxtiisç<sup>w</sup> taʔa j<sup>y</sup>æqɔʔ tihmot naʔɔ wɔlθ nɔpɔmɛhɛn]  
 'I looked (to see what) was doing that there, a huge bullfrog with a shell.'
- (12) *ti...hmot hihiw*  
 [ti...hmot hɛhɛɔ]  
 'Extremely big.'
- (13) *k'wa...q't ch, xapey tho*  
 [k<sup>w</sup>a...qt č χapii θo]  
 'I screamed and went back.'
- (14) *ho ch jetl' tawt z tan ʔey z man*  
 [ho č jɪɫ̃ taɔt t<sup>θ</sup> tan ʔiɪ t<sup>θ</sup> man]  
 'I went running to tell my mother and my father.'

---

line (5) *qomay* = 'snow on ground'; 'age' || *k'win* = 'how much/many?'

line (9) *jiaqaʔ* = 'unexpectedly'

line (11) *nepamihîn* = 'with a shell' || *nepamin* = 'shell' || compare *xaʔa* 'butter clam'; *xaʔamin* 'butter clam shell'

- (15) *ho ch k'wenstanaq ʔe te niʔ.ow.s*  
 [ho č kʷonstanaq ʔə tə nɛʔous]  
 'I went to show them where it had been (its past location).'
- (16) *ho k'wet.as.iw ʔey whekwt*  
 [ho kʷotaseu ʔiɪ çʷokʷt]  
 'They went to look, but there was nothing.'
- (17) *hoy ʔey naʔa tawt chian shez kwekwpaʔolh*  
 [hoi ʔiɪ naʔa tawt čʷɛn šitʰ kʷokʷpaʔot]  
 'Then I told my grandfather.'
- (18) *lhelhxanchem.mithay.em ʔe shez kwekwpaʔolh*  
 [ħɬχančimɛθayim ʔə šitʰ kʷokʷpaʔot]  
 'My grandfather was angry with me, ...'
- (19) *chia'mas ʔez whaʔ maʔta'nolh*  
 [čʷɛmas ʔətʰ çʷaʔ maʔtaʔnot]  
 'because I didn't take it, ...'
- (20) *chia'mas ʔez whaʔ naʔa yalhat.a'n.olh ho*  
 [čʷɛmas ʔətʰ çʷaʔ naʔa yaʔataʔnot ho]  
 'because I didn't go call (summon) him.'
- (21) *whaʔ texwniwhas kwenas tam, kwenas ʔey.thay.et ʔaju t sheʔen*  
 [çʷaʔ tɔχʷnɛçʷas kʷonas tam kʷonas ʔiθayit ʔaju t šiʔim]  
 'He didn't know what it was, whether it was good luck (good fortune) for me.'
- (22) *xoxw ga sheʔen ʔey p'ap'i'molh shez man niʔ ʔe kw thichem thichemtigans te*  
 [χʷoχʷ ga šiʔim ʔiɪ pʰapʰɛmoʔ šitʰ man nɛʔ ʔə kʷ θičim θičimɛgans tɛ  
 t'eshiusem  
 tɛšʷusəm]  
 'A long time after that my father was working in the forest behind Sliammon village.'
- (23) *p'ap'im niʔ ʔe kw sheʔen ch'ech'tem ʔe kw q'way'x*  
 [pʰapʰɛm nɛʔ ʔə kʷ šiʔim čičtəm ʔə kʷ qʷaɪʔχ]  
 'He was working there cutting firewood.'
- (24) *qajey k'we ʔot ch'ech'tem ʔey naʔa ch'eyewhas kw xasem*  
 [qajɪi kʷə ʔot čičtəm ʔiɪ naʔa čiyiçʷas kʷ χasəm]  
 'As he was cutting he heard a rustle.'

---

line (15) *-olh + -s* ⇒ *-ows* [-ous] || *-olh + -it* ⇒ *-owit* [-owit] || *(-olh + -ap* ⇒ *-owap* [-owap])  
 line (21) *ʔeythayem* = 'my good luck'

- (25) *ho k'wetās*  
[ho kʷotās]  
'He went to look.'
- (26) *jiaqa? k'we thilh na?a walth k'wenewha'nolh*  
[jʷæqʷ? kʷə θɛt na?ʷ ʷʌlθ kʷonʷɔʷaʷnoʷtʷ]  
'It was the very same bullfrog that I had seen.'
- (27) *nem' kw walth nepamihîn k'we ?aju*  
[nʌmʷ kʷ ʷʌlθ nʌpʌmɛhɛn kʷə ?aju]  
'Like a frog with a shell, too.'
- (28) *tho k'wenewhas, jiaqa? kw thotho ?i?imash*  
[θo kʷonʷɔʷas jʷæqʷ? kʷ θoθo ?ɛ?ɛmʌʃ]  
'He went and he saw it.'
- (29) *qiqiwhtigans ni?s p'ap'im*  
[qɛqɛʷtɛʷgʌns nɛ?s pʷapʷim]  
'Right beside where he was working.'
- (30) *papkʷatas k'we kw thoho ?e kw ?ay?igan na?a kwayemot*  
[pʌpʷatʌs kʷə kʷ θoho ?ə kʷ ?ay?ɛʷgʌn na?ʷ kʷayɪmot]  
'He watched (observed) it go into the bush to hide.'
- (31) *qwel' q'wit ?ey na?a q'waq'wthem*  
[qʷɔlʷ qʷɛt ?i na?ʷ qʷaʷqʷθəm]  
'He came down and told (about it).'
- (32) *?ey xwit ?ot na'm ?ot she?en she k'wenewha'nolh chianilh*  
[?i χʷɛt ?ot naʷm ?ot ši?im ši kʷonʷɔʷaʷnoʷtʷ ʧʷɛnɪʷtʷ]  
'And it was exactly like the one I saw myself.'
- (33) *wha k'we ga texnîwhas kwenas ?ot thilh kwenas tam she?en ?aju*  
[çʷaʷ kʷə ɡʌ tɔχʷnɛçʷʌs kʷonʌs ?ot θɛt kʷonʌs tam ši?im ?aju]  
'He didn't know whether it was the same one or some other one, too.'
- (34) *tihmot qway.mi.thay.em ?e shez kwekʷpa?olh chia'mas ?ez wha? tawt.an.olh*  
[tihmot qʷaɪmɛθayɪm ?ə ʃɪtʰ kʷokʷpaʷoʷlʰ ʧʷiəʷmas ?ɛz ʰwʰaʷ tawtʌnʌlʰ]  
'I got a great talking-to by my grandfather because I didn't tell him.'

---

line (26) *na?a* = rhetorical filler

line (27) *nepamin* = 'shell'; *nepamihîn* = 'with a shell' || *nepît* = 'inside (of)'; *nepesh* = 'put into' || *k'we* = 'he said' reported speech

line (29) C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = diminutive || *qiwhtigan* = 'beside'

line (31) *q'wit* = 'beach; (downhill) toward the beach' || *q'waq'wthem* = 'to narrate'

line (32) *xwit* = emphasis

- (35) *kwenas k'we ʔeythayetolh sheʔen, niʔitas, kwenas ʔot chiam' ʔaju*  
 [kʷɔnʌs kʷə ʔiθayitoʃ šiʔim nɛʔɛtʌs kʷɔnʌs ʔot čʲɛmʔ ʔaju]  
 'Maybe it was my good luck (fortune), he said, maybe it was something else, too.'

**6 Mary George tells about seeing a dead snake**

July 1973

983

- (1) *ho sht kwa ʔe she whewhjemaya*  
 [ho št kʷa ʔə ši ɕʷuɕʷjumayʌ]  
 'We went there to the little store.'
- (2) *sisaʔa cheychuy' shez qam*  
 [sɛsəʔa čiičuiʔ šitʰ qam]  
 'Two (other) children were with me.'
- (3) *ʔey yaqat ch kw ...*  
 [ʔi yɛqʌt č kʷ ... ]  
 'And I (was going to) buy ...'
- (4) *tho naʔa maʔem ʔe kw saplin ʔe she whuwghjumaya*  
 [θo naʔʌ maʔəm ʔə kʷ saplɛn ʔə ši ɕʷuɕʷjumayʌ]  
 '(I was) going to get bread at the little store.'
- (5) *hoho sht ga ʔiʔim.ig.ash*  
 [hoho št gʌ ʔɛʔɛmɪgʌš]  
 'We were going walking together.'
- (6) *ho sht tes ʔe she whuwghjumaya*  
 [ho št tʌs ʔə ši ɕʷuɕʷjumayʌ]  
 'We got to the little store.'
- (7) *qwel' chiat xapxapey*  
 [qʷɔlʔ čʲɛt χapχapii]  
 'We came back.'
- (8) *hahays sht ga ʔiʔimash*  
 [hahais št gʌ ʔɛʔɛmʌš]  
 'We were walking slowly.'

---

Notes for *Mary George tells about seeing a dead snake* (Section 6)

- line (1) C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = diminutive || *whajesh* [ɕʷajš] = 'sell it' || *whejem* [ɕʷujum] = 'sell something'
- line (2) *sisaʔa* = 'two people' || *she* = ART || *z* = 'my' || *qam* = 'companion'
- line (5) *-ig-* = *-iw* = plural || *ʔilhten* 'to eat'; *ʔilhiwten* 'they eat together'
- line (7) *chiat* ~ *sht* ~ *-at* = 'we'

- (9) *ʔeymot z'ok'w*  
 [ʔimot tʰokʷ]  
 'It was a good day.'
- (10) *chiaʔat heyt tho ʔe te t'eshiusem*  
 [čʲɛʔɛt hiit θo ʔə tə t̪ɛʃʲusəm]  
 '(We) soon got to Sliammon village.'
- (11) *qakwem te cheychuy' z qam*  
 [qakʷom tə čiičuiʔ tʰ qam]  
 'The children with me stopped.'
- (12) *qakwem ʔey naʔa xaxapey*  
 [qakʷom ʔii naʔa χaxapii]  
 'They stopped and were turning back.'
- (13) *hoy ʔey hoθo ch ʔot chianilh*  
 [hoi ʔii hoθo č ʔot čʲɛniɬ]  
 'Then I'm (the only one) going on (by myself).'
- (14) *hoy ʔey q'iyath.as.iw*  
 [hoi ʔii q̪ɛyɛθasɛʊ]  
 'Then they (both) holler at me.'
- (15) *qwa gi xapey niʔithasiw*  
 [qʷa gi χapii nɛʔɛθasɛʊ]  
 "'Come back!'", they say to me (together).'
- (16) *hoho ch xapey*  
 [hoho č χapii]  
 'I'm going back.'
- (17) *chiam' chiap? niʔit ch*  
 [čʲɛmʔ čʲɛp nɛʔɛt č]  
 "'What's (the matter) with you guys?'," I say.'
- (18) *niʔ teyta te qaqaqay' ʔolhqay hoθot*  
 [nɛʔ tiɾɿ tə qaqaɪʔ ʔoɬqai hoθot]  
 "'There's a dead snake", they say.'

---

line (10) *hey*t = recent/immediate past || *chiaʔat* = 'short time'

line (13) Mary George often added a full pronoun at the end of a sentence.

line (17) *chiap* = 'you guys'

- (19) *ku ʔewk'w sht ku tlexwt ʔeyt nimolh, hothot kwaʔan*  
 [k<sup>w</sup>u ʔuok<sup>w</sup> št k<sup>w</sup>u λɔχ<sup>w</sup>t ʔiit nɛmoʔ hoθot k<sup>w</sup>aʔan]  
 ‘“We’ve all got to spit!”, they say.’
- (20) *xaxayastíwh ch, niʔitas s tlexwt.eyt.s*  
 [χaxayestɛç<sup>w</sup> č nɛʔɛtas s λɔχ<sup>w</sup>tiits]  
 ‘I was finding it strange (wondering why) they were saying to spit.’
- (21) *qwa ga tlexwt, nathasiw kwaʔan*  
 [q<sup>w</sup>a g<sup>λ</sup> λɔχ<sup>w</sup>t naθasɛʊ k<sup>w</sup>aʔan]  
 ‘“Come on, spit!”, they said that to me.’
- (22) *nesh.am.swh ʔe taʔa kweth tlexwt*  
 [nišamsç<sup>w</sup> ʔə taʔa k<sup>w</sup>iθ λɔχ<sup>w</sup>t]  
 ‘“You spit on this side!” (“Let it be here that you spit!”)
- (23) *hot kwaʔan she cheychuy’*  
 [hot k<sup>w</sup>aʔan ši čiičuiʔ]  
 ‘The children said that.’
- (24) *ʔot chwh ga whaʔ ʔaxtiy.swh.awh kwaʔan ʔey lhɛx k'we*  
 [ʔot čç<sup>w</sup> g<sup>λ</sup> ç<sup>w</sup>aʔ ʔaxtɛiç<sup>w</sup>ʌç<sup>w</sup> kwaʔan ʔi ʔλχ k<sup>w</sup>ə]  
 ‘If you don’t do that it’s bad (luck), they say.’
- (25) *niʔitem kwaʔan ʔə shems tl'axtl'ax, hothot*  
 [nɛʔɛtəm kwaʔan ʔə šims λaxλax hoθot]  
 ‘“That’s what our parents say”, they said.’
- (26) *whaʔ ch ʔot chianilh*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>aʔ č ʔot č<sup>y</sup>ɛniʔ]  
 ‘I didn’t (believe it) myself.’
- (27) *hoy ʔot z qesqesem*  
 [hoi ʔot t<sup>θ</sup> qʌsqəsəm]  
 ‘I was just laughing.’ (grinning)
- (28) *whe ch texwnîwha'nolh chianilh kw nem' kwaʔan*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>ʊ č tɔχ<sup>w</sup>nɛç<sup>w</sup>a<sup>a</sup>noʔ č<sup>y</sup>ɛniʔ k<sup>w</sup> nʌmʔ k<sup>w</sup>aʔan]  
 ‘I didn’t know it was that way (when you see a dead snake).’

---

line (19) /ʔəwk<sup>w</sup>/ = [ʔuok<sup>w</sup>] || ʔeyt = ‘definitely’; compare *ho ch ʔeyt* = ‘I’m going (now)’  
 line (22) *nesh* ‘here’ + *-am* ‘location’ + *-swh* ‘causative’ || *kw* = ART || *th* = ‘your’ || *tlexwt* = ‘spit’  
 line (23) C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub>- = plural  
 line (24) *ʔaxtiy* = ‘thus, the same’ || *-swh* = cause; *-awh* = ‘you’  
 line (25) *she* = ART || *ms* = ‘our’  
 line (28) *nem’* = ‘like that’

- (29) *tl'aya.th.as.iw, xwaxwaha.th.as ga tlexw.t.an*  
 [ʎayʌθʌsɛʊ χʷaxʷahaθʌs ɡʌ ʎɔχʷtʌn]  
 'They held me (on both sides) telling me to spit.'
- (30) *hi kw s neshams ʔe kw naʔa hos whewht'em kw t'egem ʔeth tlexwt*  
 [hɛ kʷ s niʂams ʔə kʷ naʔʌ hos çʷɔçʷtəm kʷ t'ɛɡəm ʔəθ ʎɔχʷt]  
 'To this side where the sun sets (is where) you spit.'
- (31) *jiaqaʔ ch ʔeyt tlexwt*  
 [jʷæqʌʔ č ʔiit ʎɔχʷt]  
 'So I did spit.'
- (32) *chiaʔat ga ʔa'jia qwayigans she chychuy' ʔey hohtotiw ʔe kwaʔan*  
 [çʷɛʔet ɡʌ ʔaʷjʷɛ qʷayɛɡʌns ʂi čiiçuiʔ ʔii hoθotɛʊ ʔə kʷaʔʌn]  
 'The children were immediately happy and they were saying this.'
- (33) *nem' sem ʔe kw ʔeythim ʔe te naʔa ʔolhqay, ga axtiyawh kwiʔin, niʔithasiw*  
 [nʌmʔ səm ʔə kʷ ʔiiθɛm ʔə tɛ naʔʌ ʔotqai ɡʌ ʔaxtiyʌçʷ kʷɛʔɛn nɛʔɛθʌsɛʊ]  
 "'Like that it will be good luck for you (from) the snake if you do that", they told me.'
- (34) *tlexwt chian ga, hoy ʔey naʔa lhawsh sht te ʔolhqay*  
 [ʎɔχʷt çʷɛn ɡʌ hoi ʔii naʔʌ ʎʌʊʂ ʂt tɛ ʔotqai]  
 'I spit, then we left the snake.'
- (35) *ho sht ga, ʔiʔimigash ga*  
 [ho ʂt ɡʌ ʔɛʔɛmɪɡʌʂ ɡʌ]  
 'We walked along together.'
- (36) *gagayat ch she cheychuy' kwenas chiam' kw naʔ.s ʔewh na'm.it ʔe sheʔen*  
 [ɡagayɛt č ʂi čiiçuiʔ kʷɔnʌs çʷɛmʔ kʷ naʔs ʔʌçʷ naʷmit ʔə ʂiʔɪm]  
 'I was asking the children why they are like this.'
- (37) *q'waq'wthem ga ʔe she cheychuy' ʔe kw naʔs taʔaw ʔe kw naʔs tl'axtl'ax*  
 [qʷaqʷθəm ɡʌ ʔə ʂi čiiçuiʔ ʔə kʷ naʔs taʔʌʊ ʔə kʷ naʔs ʎʌχʎʌχ]  
 'The children told about the teachings of *their* (own) parents.'
- (38) *kw s ʔey.t.et k'we ga ʔaxtiy.swh.awh kwiʔin kw ʔolhqay*  
 [kʷɪs ʔiitɛt kʷə ɡʌ ʔaxtɛysçʷʌçʷ kʷɛʔɛn kʷ ʔotqai]  
 'That it's good luck (good fortune) for you if you do that to/for a snake.'

---

line (29) *tl'ayat* = 'to hold' || *xwahat* = 'to order/command'

line (30) C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- + *what'em* 'fall'

line (31) *jiaqaʔ* = 'I wasn't planning to'; 'reluctantly'? || *ʔeyt* = 'definitely'

line (36) *-it* = 'their' || *ʔewh na'mit* = "their being thus"

line (37) *taʔaw* = 'teachings'

- (39) *ʔey xaxnathis ʔe sheʔen she ʔolhqay*  
 [ʔiɪ χaxnathɛs ʔə šiʔin ši ʔotqai]  
 ‘And the snake is offering you that.’
- (40) *ga whaʔawh ʔaxtiy.swh.awh ʔe sheʔen she ʔolhqay*  
 [gʌ çʷaʔaçʷ ʔaxtɛɪsçʷʌçʷ ʔə šiʔin ši ʔotqai]  
 ‘If you don’t do that (to/for) the snake.’
- (41) *taʔat ch ʔot ch’eyetolh kw nem’*  
 [taʔat č ʔot čiyitoł kʷ nʌmʔ]  
 ‘I used to hear it like that.’
- (42) *whe ch q’aq’aymita’nolh*  
 [çʷo č qaqamɛtaʷnoł]  
 ‘I didn’t believe it.’
- (43) *hihiw ch ga q’aymit qwel’*  
 [hɛhɛu č gʌ qamɛt qʷəlʔ]  
 ‘I’ve come to really believe it.’
- (44) *ʔey qwel’ chian ʔiʔaytenstîwh ʔaju*  
 [ʔiɪ qʷəlʔ čʷɛn ʔɛʔaitɛnstiçʷ ʔaju]  
 ‘And I’ve come to find it comfortable, too.’

## 7 Mary George tells about meeting an owl

August 1973  
990

- (1) *hoholh chiat taʔat ʔe kw show sxoxolh*  
 [hohoł čʷɛt taʔat ʔə kʷ show sçʷoxʷoł]  
 ‘We used to go to the movies in the old days.’
- (2) *xwit ch heyt z tl’axtl’axajolh ʔe sheʔen*  
 [çʷɛt č hiit tʰ ʔaxłaxajoloł ʔə šiʔin]  
 ‘I was a little older (more grown up) then.’
- (3) *hoho sht ga taʔat ʔe kw show*  
 [hoho št gʌ taʔat ʔə kʷ show]  
 ‘We used to go to the show.’

---

line (41) *taʔat* = ‘usually, often’  
 line (43) *q’aymit* = ‘believe it’

Notes for *Mary George tells about meeting an owl* (Section 7)

line (1) *taʔat* = ‘usually, often’ || *s-* = stative  
 line (2) *xwit* = emphasis || *heyt* = recent/immediate past



- (4) *pal a night kw nan.ow.s sheʔen show*  
 [pal a night k<sup>w</sup> nanous šiʔim show]  
 ‘pal-a-night was the name of that show.’
- (5) *sisaʔa chiap kʼwe ʔey ʔolhteg.eyt chiap ʔe kw kwata*  
 [sɛsaʔa ʕ<sup>y</sup>ɛp k<sup>w</sup>ə ʔiɪ ʔoʔtigit ʕ<sup>y</sup>ɛp ʔə k<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>atɔ]  
 ‘Let’s say you are two people, and (then) you go inside for a quarter.’
- (6) *qaxayamot sht ga hihiw*  
 [qaxayɔmot št gɔ hɛhɛu]  
 ‘There were a lot of us.’
- (7) *ʔewkʼw ku xway shez qemqaʼmolh hilh*  
 [ʔuok<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>u χ<sup>w</sup>ai šit<sup>0</sup> qɔmqa<sup>a</sup>moʔ hɛʔ]  
 ‘All of my companions have died.’
- (8) *hoholh sht ʔimash.ma*  
 [hohoʔ št ʔɛmɔšma]  
 ‘We went by walking.’
- (9) *ho sht tes ʔe kw tihskʼwat*  
 [ho št tɔs ʔə k<sup>w</sup> tihsk<sup>w</sup>at]  
 ‘We went (all the way) to Powell River.’
- (10) *hoy ga te naʔa picture show hoy ʔey ʔimashma sht xapey*  
 [hoi gɔ tə naʔɔ picture show hoɪ ʔiɪ ʔɛmɔšma št χapiɪ]  
 ‘The picture show was over, then we walked back.’
- (11) *ʔeymot nat, tachim kw naʔa tʼegem, tachim kw kusen*  
 [ʔiimot nat taçim k<sup>w</sup> naʔɔ tɔgɔm taçim k<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>usən]  
 ‘It was a very good night, the moon was out, the stars were out.’
- (12) *qwelʼ chiaʔat jiajewʼ*  
 [q<sup>w</sup>ɔlʔ ʕ<sup>y</sup>ɛʔɛt j<sup>y</sup>ɛjuoʔ]  
 ‘We were coming almost home.’
- (13) *hahays sht ʔiʔimash.ma*  
 [hahais št ʔɛʔɛmɔšma]  
 ‘We were walking slowly.’

- 
- line (4) *nan* = ‘name’ + *-ow-* ‘past’ + *-s* ‘its’  
 line (5) *-eyt* = completed action || Tommy Paul also used *kʼwe* to mean ‘let’s say’ for hypotheticals  
 line (7) *ku* = past change/action, not recent || *xway* = ‘several die’  
 line (8) *ʔimash* = ‘walk’; *-ma* = ‘by means of’  
 line (11) *tachim* = ‘visible’  
 line (12) C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = imperfective  
 line (13) *hahays* = ‘slowly’ | *sht* = ‘we’

- (14) *qwaqway kw xixniq'*  
 [q<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>ai k<sup>w</sup> χεχνεḡ]  
 'The (great horned) owls were talking.'
- (15) *chek'wtigans te ʔemʔimin*  
 [čök<sup>w</sup>tεgΛns tə ʔΛmʔεmin]  
 'On both sides of the roads.'
- (16) *seysaystomolhas ga*  
 [sɪsɪstomotΛs gΛ]  
 'They were scaring us.'
- (17) *ho sht tes ʔe she naʔa t'eshiusem*  
 [ho št tΛs ʔə ši naʔΛ tʰsʰusəm]  
 'We came to Sliammon.' (to the Sliammon area)
- (18) *tihmotolh she jiajia niʔolh ʔe she naʔa she q'witayin ʔimin ʔeschiaʔat*  
 [tihmotoʔ ši jʰεjʰε nεʔot ʔə ši naʔΛ ši q̣<sup>w</sup>εtayɪn ʔεmin ʔəsč<sup>y</sup>εʔεt]  
 'There was a big tree where the road is going down now.'
- (19) *tihmotolh she niʔolhʔe sheʔen jiajia*  
 [tihmotoʔ ši nεʔot ʔə šiʔɪn jʰεjʰε]  
 'The tree that was there was really big.'
- (20) *k'wenʔem shez noʔotolh ʔe chianiy naʔa jiajia ʔe xixniq' ʔe niʔ kwamit shiaʔt*  
 [k<sup>w</sup>ɔnʔəm šɪt<sup>θ</sup> noʔotoʔ ʔə č<sup>y</sup>eniɪ naʔΛ jʰεjʰε ʔə χεχνεḡ ʔə nεʔ k<sup>w</sup>amɛt š<sup>y</sup>εʔt  
*tihwsmot hihw*  
*tiεusmot hεhεu]*  
 'My own relative saw in the tree an owl there perched up high, really big-bodied.'
- (21) *z'ez'q'at chian, ʔa'jia? niʔithas ʔe kwaʔan*  
 [t<sup>θ</sup>ɪ<sup>θ</sup>qat č<sup>y</sup>en ʔa<sup>a</sup>jʰε nεʔεθΛs ʔə k<sup>w</sup>aʔΛn]  
 "'I'm gonna throw at him, okay?'" he said this to me.'
- (22) *qwayigan z'ayz'ojus chw ʔeth z'ez'q'at naʔa xixniq', nat chian ʔe kwaʔan*  
 [q<sup>w</sup>ayεgΛn t<sup>θ</sup>ait<sup>θ</sup>ojuɪ čç<sup>w</sup> ʔəθ t<sup>θ</sup>ɪ<sup>θ</sup>qat naʔΛ χεχνεḡ nat č<sup>y</sup>en ʔə k<sup>w</sup>aʔΛn]  
 "'I think you're crazy to throw (rocks) at an owl," I said this.'
- (23) *whaʔ ʔot*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>aʔ ʔot]  
 'He disagreed.'

---

line (14) *xixniq'* = 'owl'

line (15) compare *chek'w.wum* [čök<sup>w</sup>wum] = 'both sides of the body'

line (16) *seysay* + *stwh* 'cause' + *-omolh* 'us' + *-as* '3rd person agent'

line (17) *ho tes* = 'come to; arrive at' || *she* = ART || inexact location

- (24) *z'ez'q'atas te xixniq'*  
 [tʰɪtʰqatʌs tə χεχνεḡ]  
 'He was throwing at the owl.'
- (25) *hoy ?ot s tix.ayin.s she xixniq' ta?at*  
 [hoi ?ot s tɛχayɪns ši χεχνεḡ ta?at]  
 'The owl would only spread its wings (repeatedly/each time).'
- (26) *z'ez'qa...tas qajey*  
 [tʰɪtʰqata...s qʌʃiɪ]  
 'He kept on throwing.'
- (27) *hoy ?ot s tix.ayin.s she na?a xixniq'*  
 [hoi ?ot s tɛχayɪns ši na?ʌ χεχνεḡ]  
 'The owl only spread its wings.'
- (28) *tihmot she xixniq'*  
 [tihmot ši χεχνεḡ]  
 'It was a big owl.'
- (29) *papkwatolh ch*  
 [papkʷatoʈ č]  
 'I was staring at it.'
- (30) *k'weni...t ch te shia?t*  
 [kʷɒnɛ...t č tə šʷɛʔt]  
 'I was looking up.'
- (31) *what'em jiaqa? qwel' she xeyxa'jeys*  
 [çʷatəm jʷæqʌʔ qʷəlʔ ši χειχαʷjiɪs]  
 'The rocks came falling (from up there).'
- (32) *ho sht kwey'kwey't ?e te kwa'jiamin*  
 [ho št kʷiɪʔkʷiɪʔt ?ə tə kʷaʷjɪɛmɪn]  
 'We flashed around with the flashlight.'
- (33) *jiaqa? xa'jeys ganawh ni? ?e te peyt tuwa ?e kw shia?t*  
 [jʷæqʌʔ χaʷjiɪs ɢʌnʌçʷ nɛʔ ?ə tə piɪt tuwʌ ?ə kʷ šʷɛʔt]  
 'There really was a rock down there from up above.'

---

line (27) *tix-* [tɛχ] = 'spread' || *-ayin* = 'end; extremity'

line (31) *jiaqa?* = 'unexpectedly'

line (32) *kwey'* + *-amin* = "flash instrument"

- (34) *tawt chian shez naʔa jiajiaʔolh*  
 [taot čʲɛn šɪtʰ naʔa jʲɛjʲɛʔotʰ]  
 ‘I told my cousin.’
- (35) *xaxayamot hihiw th naʔa qaqsimmit te xixniqʼ ʔey naʔa xaxaya s niʔs tam ʔe te*  
 [χaxayamot hɛhɛʊ θ naʔa qaqsɛmmɛt tɔ χɛχnɛq̣ ʔiɪ naʔa χaxaya s nɛʔs tam ʔɔ tɔ  
*xaʼjeys*  
*χaʰjiɪs*  
 “‘It’s strange that you poke fun at the owl and it’s strange that there are some rocks there’”  
 (“... that there (location) is/are some(thing) of the rocks”)
- (36) *niʔit ch kwaʔan*  
 [nɛʔɛt č kʷaʔan]  
 ‘I said that.’ (“That’s what I said.”)
- (37) *whaʔ ʔot*  
 [çʷaʔ ʔot]  
 ‘He didn’t pay attention.’
- (38) *paʼyatas ʔot naʔa zʼezʼqatas qajey*  
 [paʰyɛtʌs ʔot naʔa tʰɪtʰqʰatʌs qʌjiɪ]  
 ‘He kept on throwing at (the owl).’
- (39) *qajey ch ʔot niʔ naʔa papkwat shiaʔt*  
 [qʌjiɪ č ʔot nɛʔ naʔa papkʷat šʲɛʔt]  
 ‘I was still there staring (surveilling) up there.’
- (40) *te paʔa xaʼjeys*  
 [tɔ paʔa χaʰjiɪs]  
 ‘Another rock.’
- (41) *xwit ʔot ʔems qiwhtigan.mot*  
 [χʷɛt ʔot ʔɛms qɛçʷtɛgʌnmot]  
 ‘Right beside us.’
- (42) *xwit sht ʔot kʼwenit qwelʼ whatʼem*  
 [χʷɛt št ʔot kʷɔnɛt qʷɔlʔ çʷatɛm]  
 ‘We really saw it fall (from above).’
- (43) *kwenas chiamʼ naʼm.stiget.olh ʔe she xixniqʼ she xeyxaʼjeys*  
 [kʷɔnʌs čʲɛmʔ naʰmstigitotʰ ʔɔ šɪ χɛχnɛq̣ šɪ χɛɪχaʰjiɪs]  
 ‘We wondered what the owl was doing with the rocks.’

---

line (41) *xwit* = emphasis

line (43) *nemʼswh* = ‘do thus’ || *nemʼstwh* = ‘doing thus’ || *nemʼstom* = passive || *nemʼstom* + -s ⇒ *nemʼsteget* || (/ə/ ⇒ /a/ for emphasis

- (44) *kwenas tl'atl'ayatas*  
 [kʷɔnʌs ʎaʎayatas]  
 'Maybe he was holding them?'
- (45) *kwenas tl'ayatas na'mswhas ʔe kwishi*  
 [kʷɔnʌs ʎayatas naʰmsçʷʌs ʔə kʷiʃi]  
 'Maybe he held them like this?'
- (46) *kwenas ʔot chiam' ʔaju ʔot she xeyxa'jeys*  
 [kʷɔnʌs ʔot čʷemʔ ʔaju ʔot ši χειχαʰjiis]  
 'Maybe something else also with the rocks?'
- (47) *kwenas ʔey.t.uw.em ʔeyt*  
 [kʷɔnʌs ʔituwum ʔit]  
 'Whether he meant us good...'
- (48) *kwenas lhex.t.uw.em ʔeyt ʔaju sheʔen*  
 [kʷɔnʌs ʎaxtuwum ʔit ʔaju šiʔin]  
 '(or) whether he meant us bad...'
- (49) *ʔey texwñwh chwʰ ʔot nam' s te xixniq' niʔitet s lhexas*  
 [ʔi təχʷnɛçʷ čçʷ ʔot namʔ s tə χeχneq̣ nɛʔetɛt s ʎaxs]  
 'And you know that the owl is called bad (luck).'
- (50) *lhex k'we te xixniq' qaqsemmitawh niʔituwemolh taʔat*  
 [ʎax kʷə tə χeχneq̣ qaqsemmetʌçʷ nɛʔetuwumot̚ taʔat]  
 'It's bad (luck) if you poke fun at (ridicule) an owl they used to tell us.'
- (51) *ʔey ku ʔewk'w xway skwaq shez qemqa'molh*  
 [ʔi kʷu ʔuokʷ χʷai skʷaq ʃit̚ qʌmqaʰmot̚]  
 'And all the rest of my companions are dead.'
- (52) *ʔey qajey ʔot hoy chianiy ʔe k'wak'wîm*  
 [ʔi qʌji ʔot hoɪ čʷeni ʔə kʷakʷim]  
 'And only I am still alive.'
- (53) *ʔey hihiw ch saysaymitolh taʔat te xixniq' sxoxolh*  
 [ʔi heheʊ č saisaimeot̚ taʔat tə χeχneq̣ sçʷoxʷot̚]  
 'I was always scared of owls in the old days.'

---

line (47) *ʔeytuwem* = 'our good luck/fortune'

line (48) *lhextuwem* = 'our bad luck/fortune'

line (53) *s-* = stative; *xoxw* = 'long time'

- (54) *whe ch ?ot xwit.an saysaymit ?eschia?at*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>o č ?ot χ<sup>w</sup>εtΛn saisaimeɪ ?əsç<sup>y</sup>ε?εɪ]  
 ‘I’m not so scared of them now.’

## 8 Hitchhiker

June 1970

The Sliammon villagers taught one taxi driver from Powell River a number of expressions, such as ‘where are you going?’ This served as an inspiration for Mary George to work with me to put together a series of sentences in the context of giving a hitchhiker a ride. 474

- (1) *?o?owulham*  
 [?o?owuɬam]  
 ‘hitchhiker (one who desires to get aboard)’
- (2) *ch’iagilhataɬ te ?atnopil*  
 [č<sup>y</sup>εgiɬΛtΛs tə ?atnopeɪ]  
 ‘He’s driving the car.’
- (3) *ga’z’ap*  
 [ga<sup>ʔ</sup>ɬap]  
 ‘driver’
- (4) *?ey?awulh.swh.as*  
 [?iɪ?awuɬsç<sup>w</sup>Λs]  
 ‘passenger (one who is caused to be aboard)’
- (5) *?owulh ga*  
 [?owuɬ ga]  
 ‘Get aboard!’
- (6) *ni?it ?e te ?o?owulham ?e ta?a*  
 [ne?εɪ ?ə tə ?o?owuɬam ?ə ta?a]  
 ‘There’s a hitchhiker there.’
- (7) *?owulhswh shtem*  
 [?owuɬsç<sup>w</sup> štəm]  
 ‘We’ll put him aboard.’

---

line (54) *xwit* = emphasis || *saysay* ‘scared’ + *-mit* ‘toward’

Notes for *Hitchhiker* (Section 8)

line (1) *-am* = desiderative || C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = imperfective || *?owulh* = ‘get aboard’

line (4) *?ey?awulh* = ‘to be aboard’

line (6) *ni?* = there; *-it* = stative/durative || homophonous with *ni?it* ‘say’ || Bill Galligos: *ni?it chwh* ‘you’re in the way!’

- (8) *ʔiymot*  
[ʔɛimot]  
'Okay.'
- (9a) *qekwemstom ʔe te ga'z'ap te ʔatnopil*  
[qákwʷomstom ʔə tə gaʔtʰap tə ʔatnopɛl]  
'The driver stops the car...'
- (9b) *niʔs te ʔowulhswhas*  
[nɛʔs tə ʔowʊtsɕʷas]  
'where the one is that he (intends to) put aboard.'
- (10) *geq'.shaw.t.as k'we ʔe te niʔs ʔeyʔawulh*  
[gáqʃəʊtʌs kʷə ʔə tə nɛʔs ʔiʔawʊtʃ]  
'He opens the door next to the passenger (one who is aboard).'
- (11) *ʔowulhstíwhas*  
[ʔowʊstɪɕʷas]  
'He's/they're putting him aboard.'
- (12) *chiachiamshen chwh*  
[çʷɛçʷɛmʃin ççʷ]  
'Where are you going?'
- (13) *hotho ch ʔe kw t'eshiusem*  
[hoθo ç ʔə kʷ tʃʃʷusəm]  
'I'm going to Sliammon village.' ("the place where herring spawn")
- (14) *hilh ʔez niʔ*  
[hɛtʃ ʔətʰ nɛʔ]  
'That's where I live.'
- (15) *hi kw chia ʔeth tutuwa*  
[hɛ kʷ çʷɛ ʔəθ tutuwʌ]  
'Where are you coming from?'
- (16) *hi kw nishialholh ʔez tutuwa*  
[hɛ kʷ niʃʷɛtʃ ʔətʰ tutuwʌ]  
'I'm coming from Sechelt.'

- 
- line (9a) *qekwem* = 'stop (intransitive)' || *-s(t)wh* 'cause' + *-em* 'passive' ⇒ *-stom*  
 line (9b) *niʔ* = 'there'; *-s* 'his'  
 line (10) *geq'* = 'open'; *-shaw(lh)*- = 'door'  
 line (11) *ʔowulh* = 'to board'; *-swh* = cause; *-stíwh* = causing  
 line (13) *t'eshius* 'milky look'  
 line (14) *niʔ* = 'stay', 'reside', 'there', 'exist' || *ʔez* ~ *z* = 'my'  
 line (15) *tuwa* = 'from'; *C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>-* = imperfective || *ʔeth* ~ *th* = 'your (singular)'

- (17) *hihiw neɣjamot kw th tutuwa*  
 [hɛhɛθ niɰ<sup>y</sup>ɛmot k<sup>w</sup> θ tutuwa]
   
‘You’re coming from far (away).’
- (18) *ʔee?*  
 [ʔæ:ʔ]  
 ‘Yes.’
- (19) *wha? neɣjiaʔas ʔowulh s tuwa.may.et.olh she hihigolh*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>aʔ niɰ<sup>y</sup>ɛʔas ʔowʊt s tuwaɰmayitoʔ ši hɛhɛgoʔ]  
 ‘Not far on the ride previous (to this one)...’
- (20) *titsît s t'ikw.thay.et.olh*  
 [titsɛt s tɛk<sup>w</sup>θayitoʔ]  
 ‘they let me out close by (here).’ (“It’s close (to here) that they let me out.”)
- (21) *hotho sht ʔe kw tihsk'wat*  
 [hoθo št ʔə k<sup>w</sup> tihsk<sup>w</sup>ʌt]  
 ‘We’re going to Powell River.’ (“big river”)
- (22) *hotho sht ʔownewh shtem t ʔe kw tihsk'wat*  
 [hoθo št ʔounʊç<sup>w</sup> štəm t ʔə k<sup>w</sup> tihsk<sup>w</sup>ʌt]  
 ‘We can help (as far as) Powell River.’
- (23) *ʔey' ot kwaʔan*  
 [ʔiɰʔ ot k<sup>w</sup>aʔʌn]  
 ‘That’s good.’
- (24) *chegetem ch kweyt tho hiwt*  
 [çigɛtəm č k<sup>w</sup>iɪt θo hɛʊt]  
 ‘Then I’ll be almost back (home).’
- (25) *ʔimashma sem ʔeyt kwez jew' tuwa tiʔi*  
 [ʔɛmaʃma sɛm iɪt k<sup>w</sup>it<sup>θ</sup> juʊʔ tuwa tɛʔɛ]  
 ‘I can walk home from there.’

---

line (18) From 1969 to 1980, the usual and expected answer to *ʔa'jia chwh ot* [ʔa<sup>ʔy</sup>ɛ çç<sup>w</sup> ʊt] ‘are you well?’ was *ʔee?* [ʔæ:ʔ] ‘yes’.

line (20) *t'ikwem* = ‘dismount’ || C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = diminutive; *tesît* = ‘near’ || compare *testhot* ‘get close’

line (22) *shtem t* = ‘we’ + future + certainty || compare Sechelt *ʔúl.út.awlh* ‘do a favor’; *ʔúl.út.tsut* ‘ask for a favor/assistance’; *ʔúl.néwh* ‘help someone’; *ʔul* ‘grateful, thankful’

line (24) *chegetem* = ‘almost’ || *kweyt* = ‘already’

line (25) *ʔimash* = ‘walk’; *-ma* ‘by doing’ || *tuwa tiʔi* = ‘from there’



- (26) *ʔiʔinat chwh*  
 [ʔεʔεnʌt čçʷ]  
 ‘What did you say?’
- (27) *whaʔ ch ch'eye.thi.n kwen.awh ʔiʔinat*  
 [çʷaʔ č čiyiθεn kʷonʌçʷ ʔεʔεnʌt]  
 ‘I didn’t hear what(ever it was) you said.’
- (28) *hothotolh ch ʔe kwaʔa tihsk'wat tesît kw t'eshiusem*  
 [hoθotoʔ č ʔə kʷaʔʌ tihskʷʌt tʌsɛt kʷ tʰiʃyusəm]  
 ‘I said that Powell River is close to Sliammon.’
- (29) *hi kw sheʔen niʔs z ʔayaʔ*  
 [hε kʷ ši:ʔm nεʔs tʰ ʔayεʔ]  
 ‘That’s where my house is.’
- (30) *ʔimash zem eyt kwez tiʔi kweyt sem chianilh*  
 [ʔεmʌʃ tʰəm iit kʷitʰ tεʔε kʷiit səm čʷɛnɪʔ]  
 ‘I can walk (and) I’ll be almost there.’
- (31) *taʔata chwh wawax.wax ~ wax.wax*  
 [taʔata čç wʌwʌχwʌχ ~ wʌχwʌχ]  
 ‘Do you smoke?’
- (32) *ʔeth xatl'a kw (± eth) waxwax*  
 [ʔəθ χaʎʌ kʷ wʌχwʌχ]  
 ‘Do you want a smoke?’
- (33) *xaxnathi ch ʔe kw ʔawakw*  
 [χʌχnʌθɪ č ʔə kʷ ʔawʌkʷ]  
 ‘I’m offering you tobacco.’
- (34) *whaʔ ch wawx.wax.an*  
 [çʷʌʔ č wʌʊχwʌχʌn]  
 ‘I don’t smoke.’ (‘I’m not smoking.’)
- (35) *ʔiymot ʔot*  
 [ʔεimot ʔot]  
 ‘Okay.’

---

line (27) *kwen-* = ‘whether’; *-awh* = ‘you (sg.)’

line (31) *taʔat* = ‘usually, habitually’ || *ʔa'jia chwh ot* [ʔaʔjʲε čçʷ ʊt] ‘Are you well/good?’ || *taʔata ch ga lhax* [taʔata č gʌ ʎʌχ] ‘Am I usually bad?’ || *whaʔa ch ʔa'jian wiwlos* [çʷaʔʌ č ʔaʔjʲɛn wiʊlos] ‘Am I not a good boy?’

line (34) C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = imperfective || C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- + *wax.wax* ⇒ *wawx.wax* + *-an* ‘I’ || compare C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- + *xanat* ‘give/offer’ ⇒ *xaxnat* // here stem /a/ is deleted as if it were root /ə/, even though it’s not deleted in line 31 above

- (36) *naʎs te ga'z'ap: tiʎi!*  
 [naʎs tə ga<sup>t̪</sup>ʎp: tɛʎɛ]  
 'To the driver: here!' (offering him a cigarette)
- (37) *whaʎ k'we xatl'.s.as te wax.wax*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>ʎʎ k<sup>w</sup>ə χaʎsʎs tə wʎχwʎχ]  
 'He says he doesn't want to smoke.'
- (38) *whe ch wax.wax.an ʎeschiaʎat*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>ʊ ç wʎχwʎχʎn ʎɛsç<sup>y</sup>ɛʎɛt]  
 'I won't smoke right now.'
- (39) *niʎa kweth machs*  
 [nɛʎa k<sup>w</sup>ʊθ mʎçs]  
 'Do you have a match?'
- (40) *z'eyʎem k'we ʎe kw machs ʎe te q'wajiam.aya.s*  
 [t̪<sup>h</sup>iʎɛm k<sup>w</sup>ə ʎə k<sup>w</sup> mʎçs ʎə tə q̪<sup>w</sup>aʎ<sup>y</sup>ɛmʎɛs]  
 'He looks for a match in his pocket.'
- (41) *whekwt ʎez machs*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>ʊk<sup>w</sup>t ʎɛt̪<sup>h</sup> mʎçs]  
 'I don't have a match.'
- (42) *xanat ga ʎe te machs*  
 [χʎʎt gʎ ʎə tə mʎçs]  
 'He gives him a match.'
- (43) *ʎiy mot*  
 [ʎɛimot]  
 'Thank you!'
- (44) *hi sem teyʎen ʎez xapey*  
 [hɛ sɛm tɛiʎɛn ʎɛt̪<sup>h</sup> χʎpiɪ]  
 'I turn here.'
- (45) *hi sem ʎewk'w shtem t xapxapey ʎe tiʎi*  
 [hɛ sɛm ʎʊk<sup>w</sup> štɛm t χʎpχʎpiɪ ʎə tɛʎɛ]  
 'Here is where we'll all turn.'

---

line (37) *k'we* = 'he says'

line (38) (*ʎe*)s- = stative; *chiaʎat* = 'short time'

line (43) *ʎiy mot* ~ *ʎeymot* no change in meaning || Ron Galligos said that *ʎeymot teth yath* [ʎimot təθ iæθ] 'What you did for me was good' also means 'Thank you'.

- (46) *hi sem tiʔi ʔems xapxapey*  
 [hɛ səm tɛʔɛ ʔəms χʌχʌpiɪ]  
 ‘We turn here.’
- (47) *hi sem teyʔen ʔems xapxapey*  
 [hɛ səm tiɪʔɪn ʔəms χʌχʌpiɪ]  
 ‘We turn here.’
- (48) *ʔeymot, hi sem taʔa ʔez t'ikwem*  
 [ʔimot hɛ səm taʔa ʔətʰ tɛkʷom]  
 ‘Okay, I’ll get out here.’
- (49) *ga'z'ap qekwem.swh.as te ʔatnopil*  
 [gaʰtʰap qʌkʷomsɕʷʌs tɔ ʔatnopɛl]  
 ‘The driver stops the car.’
- (50) *t'ikwem zem niʔs te q'witayin ʔimin*  
 [tɛkʷom tʰəm nɛʔs tɔ qʷɛtayɪn ʔɛmɪn]  
 ‘I’ll get off where the road goes down.’
- (51) *t'ikw.th chwh*  
 [tɛkʷθ ɕɕʷ]  
 ‘Let me out!’ (“Unload me!”)
- (52) *geq'tas k'we te ʔimin*  
 [gʌqʰtas kʷə tɔ ʔɛmɪn]  
 ‘He opens the door.’
- (53) *geq't te ʔimin*  
 [gʌqʰt tɔ ʔɛmɪn]  
 ‘Open the door!’
- (54) *ʔiy t'ikwem (± k'we)*  
 [ʔɛɪ tɛkʷom kʷə]  
 ‘And gets out.’
- (55) *ʔiymot ʔeth ʔowulhstomsh*  
 [ʔɛimot ʔəθ ʔowʊstomʃ]  
 ‘Thank you (sg.) for putting me aboard.’

---

line (47) see 25b in the next narrative  
 line (48) *t'ikwem* = ‘dismount’  
 line (51) *t'it'ikwtas te jenjianwh* ‘(s)he’s unloading the fish’  
 line (54) *ʔiy* [ʔɛɪ] ~ *ʔey* [ʔɪɪ] = ‘and’  
 line (55) *-stomsh* = ‘cause me’

- (56) *ʔiymot s ʔowulhstomshap nuwap*  
 [ʔɛimot s ʔowʉstomsʂʲɛp nuwʌp]  
 ‘Thank you (pl.) for putting me aboard.’

## 9 Fire on the Island

June 1970

Early in our collaboration, Mary George was more comfortable thinking in terms of stories rather than just answering elicitations. This story of a fictional fire is one example. This is not a straightforward narrative, but takes detours from the main story line to gather more language data.

500

- (1) *ch'eyetolh ch kwa s q'etwhs ʔe te qayaqwan*  
 [č̣iyitoł č̣ kʷa s q̣áɬɕʷs ʔə tə qayɛqʷʌn]  
 ‘I heard there’s a fire on Savary Island.’
- (2) *hi ga kw chia ʔe te kwethays*  
 [hɛ gʌ kʷ č̣ʲɛ ʔə tə kʷθʌɪs]  
 ‘Where on the island?’
- (3) *qiwhtigans k'we ʔe kw tl'aʔamin*  
 [qɛɕʷtɛgʌns kʷə ʔə kʷ ʎaʔamin]  
 ‘(On the end) next to Lund.’
- (4) *neysam k'we ʔe kw tl'aʔamin*  
 [niisam kʷə ʔə kʷ ʎaʔamin]  
 ‘(On the end) away from Lund.’
- (5) *mahay.s k'we kw ch'iaʔ*  
 [mahʌɪs kʷə kʷ č̣ʲɛʔ]  
 ‘Halfway of (toward) the open water (away from the mainland).’
- (6) *chiam' k'we xoxolh ʔelh q'eq'twhas*  
 [č̣ʲɛmʔ kʷə χʷoχʷoł ʔəł q̣áɬɕʷʌs]  
 ‘How long has it been burning?’
- (7) *mahaychen k'we kwey z'ok'w*  
 [mahʌɪč̣m kʷə kʷɛi tʰokʷ]  
 ‘Half a day already.’

---

line (56) *nuwap* is unnecessary here

### Notes for *Fire on the Island* (Section 9)

- line (1) *kwa* refers to personal observation, not to reported news; it is homophonous with ‘to place’ as in *kwanachem* ‘to sit down’ and *kwamit* ‘perched/landed’
- line (3) *k'we* refers to reported news
- line (4) *neyjia* = ‘far away’ || *-am* = ‘location’ || *gejia* [gɛjʲɛ] = ‘land, ground, place’

- (8) *tihmot k'we kwey q'etwh*  
 [tihmot k<sup>wə</sup> k<sup>wi</sup> qáɬç<sup>w</sup>]  
 'It's already a very large fire.'
- (9) *xoxwmot k'we sem ʔems p'ap'im kwes tl'ak'wats sem*  
 [x<sup>w</sup>oχ<sup>w</sup>mot k<sup>wə</sup> səm ʔəms p<sup>a</sup>p<sup>ə</sup>m k<sup>w</sup>ɪs ʎak<sup>w</sup>ats səm]  
 'Our work will be long until it's extinguished.'
- (10) *qexmot k'we sem ʔems p'ap'im*  
 [qáχmot k<sup>wə</sup> səm ʔəms p<sup>a</sup>p<sup>ə</sup>m]  
 'We'll have a lot of work.'
- (11) *qex qaymiwh kw hothot "ch'elhas xwet, ʔigatas ch'iaw.nomolh.as"*  
 [qáχ qaimiç<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup> hoθot čɪɬas χ<sup>w</sup>ət ʔegatas č<sup>y</sup>ɛnomotɬas]  
 'Lots of people wish it would rain to help us.'
- (12) *qwayigan ch'elh sem qajey*  
 [q<sup>w</sup>ayɛɣan čɪɬ səm qajɪi]  
 'I think it will rain again.'
- (13) *whe chia'mas ʔey ch'elh*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>ɔ č<sup>y</sup>ɛ<sup>m</sup>as ʔiɪ čɪɬ]  
 'It won't rain.'
- (14) *wha? ot ch'ech'lhamosas*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>a? ot čɪčɬamosas]  
 'It's not looking like rain.'
- (15) *hanem yew te geja*  
 [hanəm yuɔ tə gɪj<sup>y</sup>ɛ]  
 'The ground is too dry.'
- (16) *hanem yew te z'ok'w*  
 [hanəm yuɔ tə t<sup>θ</sup>ok<sup>w</sup>]  
 'The day is too dry.'
- (17) *qwayin whe chia'mas ʔot ʔey ch'elh*  
 [q<sup>w</sup>ayɪn ç<sup>w</sup>ɔ č<sup>y</sup>ɛ<sup>m</sup>as ʔot ʔiɪ čɪɬ]  
 'Of course it won't rain.'

---

line (9) *tl'ak'weyesh* [ʎak<sup>w</sup>ɪyɪš] 'the fire went out'

line (10) {-nW} + *-omolh* 'us' ⇒ *-nomolh* // *ʔigatas* 'so it would' // *ʔigatan* 'so I could' 528 // *ʔigatawh* 'so you could' 737

line (14) C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = imperfective // *ch'elhamos* 'it looks like rain' // *-am* = desiderative; almost; about to // *-os* = 'head, face, appearance, round object'

- (18) *ʔot sem ch'elh ʔiy tl'ak'w sem te q'eq'twh*  
 [ʔot səm č̣ɪʔ ʔɛi ʔaḳ˦ w səm tə q̣ɪq̣ɪṭ˦]  
 'If it were to rain, then the fire would go out.'
- (19) *hihiw ʔeymot kwez qwayigan s whaʔs qelh q'etwhas ʔe taʔa ʔe te ʔa'gayqsin*  
 [hɛhɛʊ ʔimot k˦woṭ˦ q˦wajɛɡan s ɕ˦waʔs qɪʔ q̣ɪṭ˦wɪs ʔə taʔa ʔə tə ʔa˦ɡajqsɪn]  
 'I'm very happy that there was no fire there on Harwood.'
- (20) *qexmotelh temtumesɬ tl'ak'watolh she q'etwholh ʔe te ʔa'gayqsin she hihiw*  
 [qɪχmotoʔ tɪmtumiš ʔaḳ˦watoʔ ši q̣ɪṭ˦woṭ˦ ʔə tə ʔa˦ɡajqsɪn ši hɛhɛʊ  
*kwetesholh*  
 k˦wotišoṭ˦]  
 '(It took) many men to extinguish that fire on Harwood the previous year.'
- (21) *yaxat ch sheʔen q'etwholh*  
 [yaxat č̣ šiʔɪn q̣ɪṭ˦woṭ˦]  
 'I remember that fire.'
- (22) *ʔot sht qelh whaʔ tl'ak'wat.at, qelh q'etwh ʔewk'w te kwethays*  
 [ʔot šʔ qɪʔ č̣˦waʔ ʔaḳ˦watoʔ qɪʔ q̣ɪṭ˦w ʔuoḳ˦ tə k˦woṭ˦aɪs]  
 'If we had not extinguished it, the whole island would have burned.'
- (23a) *ʔot qelh q'etwh, qelh whekwt ʔe kw qigath ʔe niʔ*  
 [ʔot qɪʔ q̣ɪṭ˦w qɪʔ ɕ˦wuk˦t ʔə k˦w qɛɡɪθ ʔə nɛʔ]  
 'If it had burned, there would be no deer there.'
- (23b) *qelh ga whekwt ʔe kw tho ʔiʔaʔamash ʔe taʔa ʔeschiaʔat*  
 [qɪʔ ɡɪ ɕ˦wuk˦t ʔə k˦w θo ʔɛʔaʔamaš ʔə taʔa ʔəsc̣˦ɛʔɛt]  
 'There would be no going hunting there now.'
- (24) *q'etwholh ch'ia ʔe te ch'iaʔ*  
 [q̣ɪṭ˦woṭ˦ č̣˦ɛ ʔə tə č̣˦ɛʔ]  
 'There was a fire in the open water (id est, on an island).'
- (25a) *tiʔin* (25b) *teyʔin*  
 [tɛʔɪn] [tɪʔɪn]  
 'there, that one' 'right there, that very one'
- (26a) *sheʔen* (26b) *shiaʔan*  
 [šiʔɪn] [š˦ɛʔɪn]  
 'that one' 'that very one'

---

line (26) an example of /ə / ~ /a/

This story is an illustration of the method that Mary George and I worked out together. I would tell her a very short story that contained a grammatical point and she would retell that story in Sliammon. She did not translate sentence by sentence, but told the story as a whole.

This story was a result of Mary asking me about my trip to Victoria and back to Powell River. After I told her, I asked her to tell me that same story back in Sliammon. 1260

- (1) *hi Steve ʔez ʔowulh.olh tez tho.holh ʔe kw tawn*  
 [hɛ Steve ʔətʰ ʔowʊtʊt tətʰ θohʊt ʔə kʷ tʌʊn]  
 ‘I rode (got aboard) with Steve (Harry) when I went to Vancouver.’
- (2) *ʔowulholh ch ga ʔe she bus, ho ch tesolh ʔe kw Matoley*  
 [ʔowʊtʊt č ɡʌ ʔə ši bʌs ho č tʌsʊt ʔə kʷ matoliɪ]  
 ‘(Then) I got on the bus, (and) went to Victoria.’
- (3) *hoy ʔey niʔ.olh chian ʔe kw sheʔen*  
 [hoɪ ʔiɪ nɛʔʊt čʲɛn ʔə kʷ šiʔɪn]  
 ‘Then I stayed there.’
- (4) *hoy ʔey xapeje.shen.ma.holh ch qwel’ ʔe kw tawn*  
 [hoɪ ʔiɪ χapijɪʃɪnʌhoʊt č qʷɔɪʔ ʔə kʷ tʌʊn]  
 ‘Then I returned on foot to Vancouver.’
- (5) *hoy ʔey ʔimash.ma ch xapey ʔey qwel’ chian hiwt*  
 [hoɪ ʔiɪ ʔɛmʌʃmʌ č χapiɪ ʔiɪ qʷɔɪʔ čʲɛn hɛʊt]  
 ‘Then I walked back and returned.’

The word *hiwt* is often used to mean ‘home(ward)’ but the unambiguous word is *jew*’ [juʊʔ]. In this sentence, Mary used *hiwt* to refer to my returning to where I started out: Sliammon village. It would have been inaccurate to say *qwel’ chian jew*’ because it was not my home.

- (6) *hilh z xwawiqojia yeyq’eshian*  
 [hɛt tʰ χʷawiqʊjʲɛ yɪqɪʃʲɛn]  
 ‘I used my finger (thumb).’
- (7) *ʔowulh.ste.no.may.em ga ʔe te ʔatnopil*  
 [ʔowʊtʰstɛnomayɪm ɡʌ ʔə tɛ ʔatnɔpɛɪ]  
 ‘(And) they (did) put me aboard the automobile.’

The word *ʔowulhsténomayem* in line (7) shows result, which would be opposed to *ʔowulstomayem* ‘(intend) to put me aboard’ whether or not there was a resultant boarding.

---

Notes for *Mary George retells a story told to her by John Davis* (Section 10)

line (3) *niʔ* = ‘stay, reside, there, exist’

line (4) I actually rode the bus.

## 11 Mink Marries Eagle

In stories told by the Coast Salish peoples, Mink is the trickster, the joker, who is always trying to have sex with anything and everything. Mink's myth name in Comox is *Qayx* but the name for today's animal is *mes* [mʌs] or *mensch'o'm* [mʌmsç'o'm] (C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = diminutive). This story was told by Noel George Harry (father-in-law of Bill Galligos) to John Davis in the summer of 1969.

- (1) *hoooo qayx!*  
[ho... qarχ]  
'Ooooh Mink!'

Line (1) introduces the story and prepares the listener for what follows. Listeners would have known the nature of the story they were about to hear. Line (2) tells which target of Mink's lust they'll hear about in this story and prepares them for the type of failure they'll hear this time.

- (2) *salhtigammitas lh q'aykw.*  
[saʔtigammɛtʌs † qʌikʷ]  
'He wants to marry Eagle.'

Lines (2) and (3) contain the word *salhtigammitas*. This can be analyzed as *salhtiw* 'wife' plus the suffix *-am* 'wanting to' or 'tending to' followed by the suffix *-mit* 'toward' plus the agentive suffix *-as*. Its English translation is 'wants to get married (to a specific woman)'.

- (3) *salhtigammitas.*  
[saʔtigammɛtʌs]  
'He wants to marry her.'

- (4) *ʔanqitem lh q'aykw.*  
[ʔanqɛtəm † qʌikʷ]  
'Eagle consents.'

- (5) *"chiam' chwh sa'ga?" niʔitem k'we.*  
[çʷɛmʔ çʷ saʰgʌ nɛʔɛtəm kʷə]  
'She says, "But how will you?"'

The expression *sa'ga* [saʰgʌ] refers to the larger conversational context, similar to English 'then' in a question such as "How will you, then?"

- (6) *"shiaʔtmot z ʔayaʔ."*  
[ʃʷɛʔtmot tʰ ʔayɛʔ]  
'My house is really high.'

Comparing lines (7), (8), and (11) with line (6), the word *shiaʔ* indicates direction and the word *shiaʔt* indicates location. The suffix *-mot* means 'very' or 'really'.



- (7) *“ho zem shiaʔ,” hot kʷe.*  
 [ho tʰəm šʷɛʔ hot kʷə]  
 ‘He says, “I’ll go up.”’
- (8) *ho kʷe sem shiaʔ taʔat ʔelh tlʼitlʼiqʼigas.*  
 [ho kʷə səm šʷɛʔ taʔat ʔət ʎɛʎæqɛɣʌs]  
 ‘(Mink) will go up (as usual) as dark is approaching.’
- (9) *tlʼitlʼiqiw.*  
 [ʎɛʎæqɛw]  
 ‘It’s getting dark.’
- (10) *tho… shiaʔ.*  
 [θo… šʷɛʔ]  
 ‘He goes up.’
- (11) *shiaʔ tho.*  
 [šʷɛʔ θo ]  
 ‘Up he goes.’
- (12) *whaʔ kʷe yāthots.*  
 [çʷaʔ kʷə íæθots]  
 ‘He can’t do anything.’

Line (12) ends with the word *yāthots* [íæθots] which can be analyzed as *yat-* ‘do something for someone’ plus the reflexive suffix *-hot* (historically {-\*Sut}) plus the possessive suffix *-s* ‘his’. The imperfective of the verb is *yayathot* [yɛyɛθot]. See *yanomot* story 12, line (40).

- (13) *whē chiaʼmas ʔey ʔolhteg.eyt qayx ʔe te ʔayaʔs lh qʼaykw.*  
 [çʷo čʷɛʳmas ʔiɪ ʔoʔtɪgɪt qarɣ ʔə tə ʔayɛʔs † qʰaɪkw]  
 ‘Mink can’t enter Eagle’s house.’
- (14) *peyesh qwelʼ.*  
 [piyɪš qwəlʔ]  
 ‘He comes down.’
- (15) *lhelhxanchem.*  
 [ʎɛʎxančɪm]  
 ‘He is angry.’
- (16) *“whaʔstomi ch,” niʔitem kʷe.*  
 [çʷaʔstomɪ č nɛʔɛtəm kʷə]  
 Mink says, “I divorce you.”

---

line (8) C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = imperfective

line (13) *ʔolhtwh* = ‘enter’ || *-eyt* = success or completed action

- (17) *ho ʔot k'we te qayx.*  
 [ho ʔot kʷə tə qayx]  
 'Mink leaves.'

The focus particle *ʔot* appears in line (17) to emphasize the verb *ho* 'go'.

- (18) *whaʔswhas.*  
 [çʷaʔsçʷʌs]  
 'He divorces her.'

The word *whaʔ* is seen above in Mary George's narratives with the pragmatic meaning of 'refuse' or 'deny'. When it is combined with the causative suffix *-swh* it becomes the standard word for 'to divorce'. Other forms of this word include *whaʔstomayem* '(s)he divorced me' and *whaʔstenwhigas* 'they divorced each other, they got divorced'.

- (19) *lhawshas.*  
 [ʰʌʊʂʷʌs]  
 'He leaves her.'

- (20) *hi s whes chia'mas ʔey tho ʔaxîth.eyt.*  
 [hɛ s çʷʊs çʷɛʷmʌs ʔiθo ʔaxɛθiɪt]  
 'That's because he can't go to be lying (with her).'

The word *whes* 'not' is a rapid speech form of *whaʔ* 'no, not'.

**12 Tommy Paul tells the story of the basket ogre** (transcribed with Mrs Mary George) 1972  
 836

- (1) *niʔ ʔeyt kw nokwaymiwh tl'emîs*  
 [nɛʔ ʔiɪt kʷ nokʷaɪmiçʷ ʎəmɛs]  
 'The people have houses there.'
- (2) *pa'ya ʔot lhaxlhax.t.ana.thot kw cheychuy'*  
 [paʷyɛ ʔot ʰaxʰaxtanʌθot kʷ çiiçuiʔ]  
 'The children are always goofing off.'
- (3) *xixigitem ʔe kw tans mans ʔiy kw gat*  
 [çɛçɛgɪtəm ʔə kʷ tans mans ʔɛi kʷ gat]  
 'They are warned by their mother, their father, anybody.'

— Mary George adds these illustrative sentences:

<i>xixiwʔem</i>	'telling/advising/warning someone' (e.g. stop fighting)
<i>xixigitem</i>	'they were being warned/advised'
<i>ʔot chiap sem whaʔ xigap</i>	'if you won't heed' (take the advice/listen/obey)
<i>ga whaʔap xigap</i>	'if you don't heed' (take the advice/listen/obey)

---

line (20) *-eyt* = success

line (2) {C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>-ʰax.t.ana(n).θot} || *lhax* 'bad' + *-anan* 'characteristic' || C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>- = iterative

*qwel' sem t q'wit kw t'al* 'T'al will definitely (*sem t*) come down' (*qwel' q'wit*)  
*ʔey maʔtanapim sem,* 'and grab you (pl.)',  
*hostanapim sem ʔe kw niʔs* 'take you (pl.) to his place'

— Elsewhere on the coast the legend is of a basket ogress, but for the Mainland Comox Tommy Paul and Noel George Harry said that T'al is a basket ogre, a man.

(4) *ho whe chia'mas ʔiy xiw kw cheychuy'*  
 [ho ɕʷʊ ʔʷɛɛmas ʔɛi χɛʊ kʷ ʕiɪɕurʔ]  
 'Well, the children won't listen (take heed/be advised).'

(5) *ʔewk'w chia kw hos kwishi thichem*  
 [ʔʷokʷ ʕʷɛ kʷ hos kʷiʃi θiɕim]  
 'They go everywhere in the forest.' ('Everywhere is their going.')

(6) *ho... kw paʔa z'ok'w*  
 [ho... kʷ paʔa ʔʰokʷ]  
 'Then one day...'

(7) *whaʔ xoxwas*  
 [ɕʷʌʔ χʷoxʷas]  
 'It isn't long (until)...'

(8) *qweqwel' jiaqaʔ kw t'al*  
 [qʷɔqʷɔlʔ ʃʷɛqɛʔ kʷ ʔal]  
 'T'al is (unexpectedly) coming.'

(9) *qwel' yaxahây, tihmot yaxay*  
 [qʷɔlʔ yaxahʌi tihmot yaxʌi]  
 'He comes with a basket, a very big basket.'

(10) *yaxay kw naʔs*  
 [yaxʌi kʷ naʔs]  
 'He has a basket.'

(11) *jiashitas*  
 [ʃʷɛʃitʌs]  
 'He carries it on his back.'

— Mary George adds these illustrative sentences:

*jiashithi zem kwems tho sem jew'* 'I'll carry you on my back as we go home'  
*jiashithi zem tho ʔe teth ʔayaʔ* 'I'll carry you on my back to your house' (*tho* = 'to')

(12) *qwe...l' kw q'wit*  
 [qʷɔ...lʔ kʷ qʷɛt]  
 'He comes down.'

---

line (12) *q'wit* = 'beach'; 'toward the beach'

- (13) *hay mamaʔtem kw cheychuy'*  
 [hʌɪ mama<sup>a</sup>təm k<sup>w</sup> čiičuiʔ]  
 'And he is grabbing the children.'
- (14) *nepeshias ʔe kw yaxays*  
 [nʌpiš<sup>y</sup>ɛs ʔə k<sup>w</sup> yaxʌɪs]  
 'He puts them into his basket.'
- (15) *ʔewk'w qexmot cheychuy'*  
 [ʔuok<sup>w</sup> qʌχmot čiičuiʔ]  
 'All (the) many children.'
- (16) *hoy ʔey thoswhas ʔe kw thichem ʔewh niʔs kw naʔs ʔayaʔs*  
 [hoi ʔi θosɕ<sup>w</sup>ʌs ʔə k<sup>w</sup> θiçim ʔəɕ<sup>w</sup> nɛʔs k<sup>w</sup> naʔs ʔayɛʔs]  
 'Then he takes them to the forest where his own house is.'
- (17) *ho tes*  
 [ho tʌs]  
 'He arrives.'
- (18) *hoy ʔey xatl's kwes ch'iaxats kw cheychuy'*  
 [hoi ʔi χaʌs k<sup>w</sup>ɪs č<sup>y</sup>ɛχʌts k<sup>w</sup> čiičuiʔ]  
 'Then he intends to cook the children.'
- (19) *xatl's kwes ch'iaxats ʔiy meq'wts*  
 [χaʌs k<sup>w</sup>ɪs č<sup>y</sup>ɛχʌts ʔɛi məq<sup>w</sup>ts]  
 'He intends to cook and swallow (eat) them.'
- (20) *hoy maʔtem, ʔewk'w maʔtas kw cheychuy'*  
 [hoi ma<sup>a</sup>təm ʔuok<sup>w</sup> ma<sup>a</sup>tʌs k<sup>w</sup> čiičuiʔ]  
 'Then he takes them, he takes all the children.'
- (21) *ʔey niʔ ch'ia kw ʔey's tl'itl'ixtl'axay*  
 [ʔi nɛʔ č<sup>y</sup>ɛ k<sup>w</sup> ʔiʔs ʌɛʌɛχʌχʌɪ]  
 'And there must be some good ones in there, a little older kids.'
- (22) *hoy ʔey wuwuwuʔem*  
 [hoi ʔi wuwuwuʔəm]  
 'Then he is singing.'
- (23) *q'ap'k'wayni...sem kw cheychuy', q'ap'k'wayni...sem kw cheychuy'*  
 [qʌp<sup>k</sup>ʌɪnɛ...səm k<sup>w</sup> čiičuiʔ qʌp<sup>k</sup>ʌɪnɛ...səm k<sup>w</sup> čiičuiʔ]  
 'The children crunch in the teeth, the children crunch in the teeth.'

---

line (22) *wuwuʔem* = 'sing for pleasure' || C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = imperfective

(24) *hi kw wuwuʔemtens te cheychuy' kwaʔan*  
 [hɛ kʷ wuwuʔəmtəns tə ʧiɰʦuɪʔ kʷaʔʌn]  
 'That's the song about the children, that one.'

(25) *hoy ʔey qway qajey kw.ot gat tl'atl'xay ʔe taʔa*  
 [hoi ʔi qʷaɪ qʌʃi kʷot gʌt ʎaʎʎʌɪ ʔə taʔʌ]  
 'Then the older ones say this back.'

(26) *ho... st'al, ho... st'al, hiweleshiawh st'al, hiweleshiawh st'al*  
 [ho... stʌl ho... stʌl hɛwiliʃʷɛʧʷ stʌl hɛwiliʃʷɛʧʷ stʌl]  
 '(Singing) oh, T'al, oh T'al, you're going into the fire.'

— In today's language this is *higeyeshiawh* [hɛgiyiʃʷɛʧʷ] (information from Marion Harry)  
*higat* = 'put into the fire'; *-eyesh* = 'involuntarily'; *-awh* = 'you'  
 When the children sing this *jegen* [jɪgɪn] 'spirit dance song', it forces T'al to dance.

(27) *hoy ʔey maʔtem te tl'aqt xapay, qaqaqay*  
 [hoi ʔi maʔtəm tə ʎaqt xʌpʌɪ qʌqʌɪ]  
 'Then they take the long sticks, poles.'

(28) *chechlhem ga kw t'al*  
 [ʧiɰtəm gʌ kʷ tʌl]  
 'T'al is dancing.'

(29) *haw.higanstom ʔe kw cheychuy'*  
 [hʌʊhɛgʌnstom ʔə kʷ ʧiɰʦuɪʔ]  
 'The children fool him (make him foolish/demented).' (the *jegen* is controlling him)

(30) *maʔtem te qaqaqay*  
 [maʔtəm tə qʌqʌɪ]  
 'They take the poles.' (to push him into the fire)

(31) *thohoseyesh ʔe te q'way'x*  
 [θohosiʃ ʔə tə qʷaɪʔx]  
 'He is going involuntarily into the fire.'

(32) *maʔtem juthotem ʔe kw cheychuy'*  
 [maʔtəm juθotəm ʔə kʷ ʧiɰʦuɪʔ]  
 'The children take him and push him.'

---

line (24) *wuwuʔemten* = 'song'

line (27) *qaqaqay* = "a bigger, round stick" || Noel George Harry said that these are poles used around a fire

line (28) C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = imperfective || *chelhem* [ʧiɰtəm] = 'to dance'

- (33) *tl'iz'item ʔe te q'way'x*  
 [ʔelʰetəm ʔə tə qʷaɪʔχ]  
 'They press him down onto the fire.'
- (34) *ku ni...ʔ tl'iz'item, q'atwh*  
 [kʷu nɛ...ʔ ʔelʰetəm qatçʷ]  
 'They have there pressed him, he burns.'
- (35) *ʔewk'w k'we q'atwh t'al, q'atwh ʔewk'w*  
 [ʔuokʷ kʷə qatçʷ təl qatçʷ ʔuokʷ]  
 'T'al burns all up, burns entirely.'
- (36) *ʔiy qexmot kw lhuk'wstom q'wa'jiakup*  
 [ʔei qalχmot kʷ tʊkʷstom qʷaʲyɛkʷup]  
 'And many are the embers that are let fly up (and become mosquitoes).'
- (37) *hi k'we ga ʔewh qexs ʔe tiʔi lhalhayit*  
 [hɛ kʷə gɬ ʔəçʷ qalχs ʔə tɛʔɛ tətɬayit]  
 'They say that's why there's lots along this coast.'
- (38) *ʔe kw yaqomin, ʔe kw xwemalhku, kw.ot ʔewk'w chia yaqomin*  
 [ʔə kʷ yəqʷomɪn ʔə kʷ χʷomətʰkʷu kʷot ʔuokʷ çʷɛ yəqʷomɪn]  
 'In Toba Inlet, in Homalco, everywhere in Toba.'
- (39) *ʔe kw naʔa z'ach'os*  
 [ʔə kʷ naʔɬ tʰačʰos]  
 'Mosquitoes.'
- (40) *xwit ʔot whekwt tam ʔeth yanomot*  
 [χʷɛt ʔot çʷukʷt tam ʔəθ yənomot]  
 'There's really nothing you can do (about it).'
- (41) *ʔelh thahawh ʔe kw xwemalhku, ʔe kw thewhin ʔe kw sheʔen*  
 [ʔət θahaçʷ ʔə kʷ χʷomətʰkʷu ʔə kʷ θoçʷɛn ʔə kʷ šiʔɪn]  
 'When you go to Homalco about this time, ...'
- (42) *q'aq'ach'thim ʔe kw z'ach'os*  
 [qəqəçʰɛm ʔə kʷ tʰačʰos]  
 'you're being bitten by mosquitoes.'

---

line (36) *lhuk'wstom* = 'be made/allowed to fly'; *lhuk'w* = 'fly' || *q'wa'y(x)* + *akup* 'fire' ⇒ 'embers' || *q'wa'yx* = 'wood, firewood, fire'

line (40) *ya-* 'do for'; {-nW-} result transitive; *-mot* 'reflexive' || see *yayathot* story 11, line (12) note

- (43) *hi kw q'atwhmins kw t'al*  
 [hɛ k<sup>w</sup> qatç<sup>w</sup>mins k<sup>w</sup> ʔal]  
 'That's the ashes of T'al.'
- (44) *hi ʔewh nem's*  
 [hɛ ʔəç<sup>w</sup> nɔlmʔs]  
 'That's why they're like that.'
- (45) *t'al niʔitawh*  
 [ʔal nɛʔɛtɔç<sup>w</sup>]  
 'You call him T'al.'
- (46) *ti...h tumesh*  
 [ti...h tumiʃ]  
 'A big man.'
- (47) *qopos ʔeyt, maqin ʔeyt*  
 [q<sup>w</sup>opos ʔiit maqɛn ʔiit]  
 '(Really) hairy face for sure, (lots of) head hair for sure.'
- (48) *ʔewk'w tihynis*  
 [ʔuok<sup>w</sup> tihɛnis]  
 'All big teeth.'
- (49) *xaxalh, ti...h tumesh*  
 [χaxaʔ ti...h tumiʃ]  
 'Tall, big man.'
- (50) *whaʔa ga kwenas t'axam peyt*  
 [ç<sup>w</sup>aʔa ga k<sup>w</sup>ɔnɔs ʔaxam piit]  
 'Maybe six feet (tall).' ('Is he not *kwenas* six feet?')
- (51) *hoys*  
 [hois]  
 'That's the end of it.'

**13 Tommy Paul tells the difference between T'al and sasquatch**  
 (transcribed with the assistance of Mrs Mary George)

1972  
 854

- (1) *nach' ʔot ʔe kw t'al kw mayʔalʔalh*  
 [naç ʔot ʔə k<sup>w</sup> ʔal k<sup>w</sup> maiʔalʔaʔ]  
 'Sasquatch is different from T'al.'

---

line (43) *q'atwh* 'burn' + *-min* ⇒ 'ashes' || compare *jeshen* 'foot' + *-min* ⇒ 'footprint'  
 line (46) /ə/ = [i] next to a palatal consonant  
 line (50) rhetorical use of negative question

- (2) *tihmot xaxalh*  
[tihmot χαχα†]  
'Really tall.'
- (3) *thewhins s xaxalhs*  
[θoç<sup>w</sup>ins s χαχα†s]  
'That's how tall he is.' (pointing upwards)
- (4) *thewhins s tihtihs jeshjeshens*  
[θoç<sup>w</sup>ins s tihtihs j̥s̥j̥s̥ins]  
'That's how big his feet are.' (holding his hands out)
- (5) *ʔey whaʔ ʔot ʔawk'was chia ʔewh niʔs*  
[ʔi ç<sup>w</sup>aʔ ʔot ʔaok<sup>w</sup>as ç<sup>y</sup>ε ʔəç<sup>w</sup> nεʔs]  
'But he's not everywhere.'
- (6) *qwayin hoy ʔot kw yaqwomin*  
[q<sup>w</sup>ayin hoi ʔot k<sup>w</sup> yəq<sup>w</sup>omin]  
'I think only in Toba Inlet.'
- (7) *yeqyaqwomin hoy ʔot ʔewh niʔs kw mayʔalʔalh*  
[yiq<sup>w</sup>yəq<sup>w</sup>omin hoi ʔot ʔəç<sup>w</sup> nεʔs kw maiʔalʔal†]  
'The sasquatch's place is only around Toba Inlet.'
- (8) *whekwt ʔot qelh gat ʔe te chiaʔat qaymiwh ʔe k'wenewhas*  
[ç<sup>w</sup>ok<sup>w</sup>t ʔot qal† gat ʔə tə ç<sup>y</sup>εʔet qaimiç<sup>w</sup> ʔə k<sup>w</sup>onuças]  
'Nobody of the today people ever saw him.'
- (9) *hoy ʔot kw sxo...xolh; xo...xo...lhmot*  
[hoy ʔot k<sup>w</sup> sç<sup>w</sup>o...ç<sup>w</sup>o† ç<sup>w</sup>o...ç<sup>w</sup>o...†mot]  
'Only long ago; long, long ago.'
- (10) *tuwa kwems kwekwaʔolh, kwems ch'iamiqwolh*  
[tuwa k<sup>w</sup>oms k<sup>w</sup>ok<sup>w</sup>paʔo† k<sup>w</sup>oms ç<sup>y</sup>εmεç<sup>w</sup>o†]  
'Since our grandfather(s), our great grandparent(s).'
- (11) *hi ʔe qwaqwthem qwel' kwaʔan, naʔs kw mayʔalʔalh*  
[hi ʔə q<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>θəm q<sup>w</sup>əlʔ k<sup>w</sup>aʔan naʔs k<sup>w</sup> maiʔalʔal†]  
'That's where this story comes from, about (belonging to) sasquatch.'

---

Notes for *Tommy Paul tells the difference between T'al and sasquatch* (Section 13)

line (5) /ʔəwk<sup>w</sup>/ ⇒ /ʔawk<sup>w</sup>/ for emphasis

line (7) C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub>- plural of the place name



- (12) *ʔewk'w gat saysaymit, saysaymitem ʔe kw ʔewk'w gat qaymiwh, nem' ʔot ga kw t'al*  
 [ʔuok<sup>w</sup> gAT saISAIMet saISAIMetəm ʔə k<sup>w</sup> ʔuok<sup>w</sup> gAT qaimiç<sup>w</sup> nÁmʔ ʔot gΛ k<sup>w</sup> tál]  
 'Everybody's scared of him, all the people fear him, just like (they fear) T'al.'
- (13) *ʔa·wk'w niʔswhas kw ot tam*  
 [ʔΛ·ok<sup>w</sup> nEʔsç<sup>w</sup>ΛS k<sup>w</sup>ot tam]  
 'He has everything.'
- (14) *ʔot chwh k'we tho ʔe kw k'watem*  
 [ʔot čç<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ə θo ʔə k<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>atəm]  
 'If you, let's say, go to the river...'
- (15) *ga thahawh ʔe kw k'watem*  
 [gΛ θahaç<sup>w</sup> ʔə k<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>atəm]  
 'If you go to the river...'
- (16) *ʔiy niʔ kw naʔa mayʔalʔalh*  
 [ʔEi nEʔ k<sup>w</sup> naʔΛ maɪʔalʔalɬ]  
 'and there's a sasquatch there...'
- (17) *ho chwh ʔe kw k'watem k'wet'*  
 [ho čç<sup>w</sup> ʔə k<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>atəm k<sup>w</sup>ət̚]  
 '(If) you go upstream...'
- (18) *tam jianwh mamaʔtas, z'az'agatas ʔe kw qiwhams kw k'watem*  
 [tam j<sup>y</sup>enç<sup>w</sup> mama<sup>a</sup>tΛS t̚<sup>θ</sup>at̚<sup>θ</sup>agΛtΛS ʔə k<sup>w</sup> qEç<sup>w</sup>Λms k<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>atəm]  
 'He is taking any kind of fish, putting it out of the water to beside the river.'
- (19) *nem' kw ot tam qigath*  
 [nÁmʔ k<sup>w</sup>ot tam qEgΛθ]  
 '(He does) the same with any deer.'
- (20) *ʔewk'w ot chia ʔewh niʔs*  
 [ʔuok<sup>w</sup> ot č<sup>y</sup>ε ʔəç<sup>w</sup> nEʔs]  
 'He's everywhere.'
- (21) *tam qaqaɣtas*  
 [tam qaqaɣtΛS]  
 'He's killing anything (whatever he wants).'

---

line (14) Mary George used *k'we* as 'let's say' in hypotheticals || see line (5) in story 7 above, about seeing an owl

line (17) use of imperative as conditional

line (18) *z'agatolh ch te newhilh* = 'I pulled the boat ashore'

line (21) C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- = imperfective

- (22) *hihiw kw s tumesh.s, tl'alhsem*  
 [hɛhɛʊ k<sup>w</sup> s tumiʃs ʎaʦsəm]  
 'He's very much a hunter, strong.'
- (23) *ʔiy whe ch qelh k'wenewhan chianilh kw mayʔalʔalh*  
 [ʔɛi ɕ<sup>w</sup>ʊ ɕ qɔʎ k<sup>w</sup>ʊnʊɕ<sup>w</sup>ʌn ɕ<sup>y</sup>ɛniʎ k<sup>w</sup> maiʔʌʎʔʌʎ]  
 'But I've never seen a sasquatch, myself.'
- (24) *whekwt gat k'we ʔe k'wenewh ʔe kw chiaʔat cheychuy'*  
 [ɕ<sup>w</sup>ʊk<sup>w</sup>t ɡʌt k<sup>w</sup>ə ʔə k<sup>w</sup>ʊnʊɕ<sup>w</sup> ʔə k<sup>w</sup> ɕ<sup>y</sup>ɛʔɛt ɕiiɕuiʔ]  
 'Nobody has seen him of today's children.'
- (25) *kwey kwetam kw te.siʔich qomay ʔe kwaʔan time*  
 [k<sup>w</sup>iɪ k<sup>w</sup>ʊtam k<sup>w</sup> təsɛʔɛɕ q<sup>w</sup>ʊmʌi ʔə k<sup>w</sup>aʔʌn time]  
 'It's already more than 100 years since that time.'
- (26) *sem te.siʔich hiy kw theyachalhshiaʔ qomay*  
 [səm təsɛʔɛɕ hɛi k<sup>w</sup> θiyɛɕʎʦ<sup>y</sup>ɛʔ q<sup>w</sup>ʊmʌi]  
 'About (that will be) 150 years ago.'
- (27) *ʔiy whekwt qelh gat k'wank'wenewh ʔeschiaʔat*  
 [ʔɛi ɕ<sup>w</sup>ʊk<sup>w</sup>t qɔʎ ɡʌt k<sup>w</sup>ʌnk<sup>w</sup>ʊnʊɕ<sup>w</sup> ʔəɕ<sup>y</sup>ɛʔɛt]  
 'And nobody sees him now.'
- (28) *whekwt, whekwt qelh gat k'wenewh*  
 [ɕ<sup>w</sup>ʊk<sup>w</sup>t ɕ<sup>w</sup>ʊk<sup>w</sup>t qɔʎ ɡʌt k<sup>w</sup>ʊnʊɕ<sup>w</sup>]  
 'Nobody sees him.'
- (29) *hoy ʔot k̄wa neyjia*  
 [hoi ʔot kúʌ niɪ<sup>y</sup>ɛ]  
 'Only in the distance.'
- (30) *hoy ʔot ʔewh niʔs*  
 [hoi ʔot ʔəɕ<sup>w</sup> nɛʔs]  
 'That's the only place he is.'
- (31) *ʔiy hoy ʔot whaʔ mayʔalʔalhas kwaʔan*  
 [ʔɛi hoi ʔot ɕ<sup>w</sup>aʔ maiʔʌʎʔʌʎʌs k<sup>w</sup>aʔʌn]  
 'But it's not a sasquatch.'
- (32) *qaymiwh ʔot*  
 [qaimiɕ<sup>w</sup> ʔot]  
 'It's (just) a man.'

---

line (22) *tumesh* = 'grown man; hunter'

line (25) *kwet.am* = 'go over'

line (27) C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>- = iterative

- (33) *ʔiy whaʔ ot tihtihʌs temtumesh*  
 [ʔei hoɪ ʔot tihtihʌs tɪmtumiʃ]  
 ‘Men aren’t as big.’
- (34) *qex ʔe kw puyalap*  
 [qɔχ ʔə kʷ puyæɪɫp]  
 ‘(There are) many in the States.’
- (35) *qex kʷe ʔe kw sheʔen*  
 [qɔχ kʷə ʔə kʷ šiʔɪn]  
 ‘They say there’s lots over there.’
- (36) *ʔiy whe chiaʼmas ʔiy testem kw mayʔalʔalh*  
 [ʔei ɕʷo ɕʷɛʼmʌs ʔei tɪstəm kʷ maiʔɔɫɔɫ]  
 ‘But they cannot approach a sasquatch (in size).’
- (37) *tihmot kw mayʔalʔalh, xaxalh*  
 [tihmot kʷ maiʔɔɫɔɫ χaxɔɫ]  
 ‘The sasquatch is really big, tall.’
- (38) *kwenas niʔ kw chiaʼmas zʼoʼches, taʔaches peyt*  
 [kʷɔnʌs nɛʔ kʷ ɕʷɛʼmʌs tʰoʰɕis tɔɫɔɕis piɪt]  
 ‘About seven or eight feet.’
- (39) *hoy ʔot whaʔ tihowmishas, tikʼtikʼ*  
 [hoɪ ʔot ɕʷaʔ tihoʊmiʃʌs tɪktɪkʼ]  
 ‘But he’s not stout, he’s skinny.’
- (40) *hi mayʔalʔalh kwaʔan*  
 [hɛ maiʔɔɫɔɫ kʷaʔɔn]  
 ‘That’s the sasquatch.’

— John Davis asks *niʔ ʔot kw ʔayaʔs kw mayʔalʔalh* ‘Does the sasquatch have a house?’

- (41) *niʔ kw ʔayaʔs ʔe kw thichem*  
 [nɛʔ kʷ ʔayɛʔs ʔə kʷ θiɕɪm]  
 ‘His house is in the forest.’
- (42) *chiaʼnawh kw thichem ʔot tʼaqʼt*  
 [ɕʷɛʼnʌɕʷ kʷ θiɕɪm ʔot tʼɑqʼt]  
 ‘Three times (as far as) that forested mountain.’

---

line (34) Tommy Paul referred to the US as *puyalap* several times

(43) *ti...h t'apas kw ʔayaʔs*  
 [ti...h tʰapʌs kʷ ʔayɛʔs]  
 'His house is a big cave.'

(44) *hi ʔewh niʔs*  
 [hɛ ʔəçʷ nɛʔs]  
 'That's where he is.'

— John Davis asks *tam kw ʔilhtens kw mayʔalʔalh* 'What's food for the sasquatch?'

(45) *ʔewk'w ʔeyt tam jianwh, qigath, xwitl'ay*  
 [ʔuokʷ it tam jʷɛnçʷ qɛgʌθ χʷʌiʔʌi (χʷɛʔʌi)]  
 'Any kind of fish, deer, mountain goat.'

#### 14 A morning in 1970

The following is a description of one of my experiences decades ago.

Early on a Sunday morning,  
 walking through Sliammon village,  
 frost on the grass,  
 woodsmoke coming from the houses.  
 A man steps out of one house and offers coffee.  
 I enter and sit down at a long table with perhaps eight other men.  
 We drink coffee.  
 They ask me how I'm writing their language.  
 They ask me how to write individual words.  
 We drink coffee and talk.  
 A knock comes at the door, the host answers.  
 Two white men enter, wearing going-to-church clothes.  
 Everyone falls silent.  
 I choose a knothole on the wall opposite, stare intently there.  
 The two missionaries start their spiel.  
 Everyone remains silent.  
 The two missionaries grow nervous.  
 In my peripheral vision, I see that they are now addressing their appeal to me,  
 the lone white man there.  
 I stare intently at the knothole.  
 The missionaries grow more nervous, then say they must be going.  
 The host says "yeah" and opens the door for them.  
 The first comment after they leave is, "Now, how do you spell our word for 'fly'?"  
 The missionaries were never there.

*xwaxwajuʔ*  
 [χʷaχʷaʃuʔ]  
 'housefly'

*xwaxwajuʔam*  
 [χʷaχʷaʃuʔam]  
 'houseflies'

*ʔamashiajuʔ*  
 [ʔamašʷɛjuʔ]  
 'ant' (Sliammon dialect)

*ʔamahyajuʔ*  
 [ʔamaçʷɛjuʔ]  
 'ant' (Homalco dialect)