

An Oral Tradition from Sack^w

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Abstract: A Sack^w tale (*Wawalis*) is examined in this paper: I present morphonemic reconstructions, morphosyntactic analyses, and updated translations. Sack^w speech was in essence identical to the language used by my late consultants. The *Wawalis* story as such has a North Wakashan origin.

Keywords: Salish, Bella Coola (Nuxalk), oral traditions, regional unity and diversity, diachrony

1 Introduction

Franz Boas recorded seven narratives in the village of Sack^w (on Dean Inlet, BC) in the winter of 1886–87; of these, *Wawalis* (1895:33–39) is the topic of this paper. The Sack^w speech variant barely differed from Bella Coola (Nuxalk) as remembered (or on record) today. In Section 2, screen shots of the *Wawalis* text and Boas’ free translation are displayed. Line numbering is my own.

I assess the *Wawalis* account in light of fickle transcriptions and various errata. Boas’ phonetic skills and resources were, as expected, insufficient. In the *Wawalis* text, he rendered both /l/ and /ɫ/ as <L>, and he did not distinguish palatal-velar-uvular consonants in a consistent manner, e.g., <q> = /q, q^w, k^w/, <x> = /ç, ç^w, x/, <x·> = /x, x^w, k/, <xo> and <xu> = /x^w, ç^w/. Apparently, Boas was not always able to abide by his own orthographic standards as outlined in Figure 1 (where he disregarded rounding altogether).

l, dorsal l, similar to tl.
q, velar k.
k, English k.
k', anterior k, similar to ky.
x, velar, as ch in German *Bach*.
x', as ch in German *ich*.

Figure 1: Bella Coola lateral and back consonants as per Boas (1895:31)

Also, vowel length as marked by Boas was not always distinctive; I suspect that more often than not, the narrator would slow her speech so as to alleviate Boas’ recording efforts. Boas might then construe “lento vowels” as “long”: <Lālas> ‘canoe’ = *lalas*, <pōl> ‘come’ = *puł*, <lēpsut> ‘return’ = *lip’cut*. Occasionally — possibly also as the result of overpronunciation by the narrator — he even wrote <u> or <ô> ([ɔ]) for [ə]: <wulxla> = *włçla* ‘to limp, be lame’, <L’umsta> = *ł’msta* ‘person’ <staltômx·> = *staltmx* ‘chief’. It didn’t help that he was tone-deaf as well (cf. Nater 1984:28).

Boas’ spelling inconsistencies and faulty or incomplete translations may confuse the reader. In Section 3, poorly transcribed sequences are amended, pertinent morphosyntactic sequences are analyzed, and glosses are revised. Reduplication is marked with the period; / separates sentences; √ separates clitics from other sentence constituents; — separates morphemes; ˘ = intervocalic morpheme juncture; ENCS = enclitic string (for such strings, see Nater 2023:359–362).

I have identified one Sack^w word that is not found as such in Bella Coola as it is/was spoken in

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other times and places, to wit *nut'aχ^w* (tr.) ‘to bathe’ (but cf. Bella Coola *t'aaχ^w* (tr.) ‘to lick’). Two slightly archaic forms are *x₁wa₂...* ‘PREP₁ART₂...’ (more recent *x₁a₂*) and ‘*anu'ayk* ‘to want’ (more recent ‘*anayk*’).

Boas did not translate *psliwata* (line 64). Does this term refer to ‘fate’ or ‘history’? Likewise, no gloss other than <Sk. 'āmsk> is given for *Sk'amck* (lines 70–71). That word may derive from */s-k'am-ck/: note the resemblance to Upper Chehalis *čámčš* ‘salmontrout’ and *čám̄t* ‘silver salmon’ (Kinkade 1991). Nater (1990) lists <sk'amtsk a mythical fish-like monster>.

The *Wawalis* narrative certainly evolved in North Wakashan territory. The name *Wawalis* itself has a North Wakashan look, however a precise etymology cannot be established with certainty. In 1928, Boas presented a considerably more elaborate saga (*Wā'walis*, recorded in Rivers Inlet in 1897) where *Wawalis*' second wife is named <Xa^εnyō 'SEMēga> (Boas 1928:99).¹ The highlighted portion of this name was copied as <s nux.ēmā'x> (line 100) which looks like /s-nuxim-aay/ ‘growling (at the) bottom’.

[χ a ? n j o · s ə m ε · g a] → [s n o ç e m a · χ]

Figure 2: Phonetic and structural tweaking of copied name

2 Original text and translation

1	ALi'skuil il x'nas Wā'walis aL tu sōLstx wa sx'L mnā'naq ta qē'qtē	She was inside the wife of Wā'walis in the house and her child the little one.
2	X'Liā'iamis il x'nas Wā'walis x'te ix'ā'aLs ti asx'. X'sxa'nskuil	She wished to eat the wife of Wā'walis the feet of the seal. Her sweetheart
3	il x'nas Wā'walis x'ta satsi'sx. X'snāx enax'ē'q Wā'walis ti	the wife of Wā'walis one of his men. His slave Wā'walis the
4	imilimi'lk' ti wix'koelō'ok'atx ti pā'axLs wō sti tk'ak'aias. Lapsqtō'o	boy the one there sitting he steered and he shot. He went
5	Wā'walis k'a numpā'ix's sk'a anoai'k's ala k'a asx' k'a slax.	Wā'walis and he went in his canoe and he desired the seals the many.
6	Tk'atisq Wā'walis tsi qē'qtē tsi aa'sx'ui. Lapak'inisqtō'o Wā'walis skya	He shot Wā'walis a small a young seal. He intended Wā'walis and
7	istō'xis il a'sx'uil sk'a q'atī'x'tsis Qōxi'sqtōo x'tō stxumtx.	he cut it the seal and he boiled it with stones. He covered it with a mat.
8	Ts'ōsemqtō'o. Walisqtō'o tu sōoLlistx, xō'lisq ta Lā'lastx	It grew dark. He landed at the house, he pushed into the the canoe
9	sk'a anai'x'sqts sx'a q'ōplix'is il x'nas il ul ta sxānstx.	and he wished to he watched her the wife at her sweetheart.
10	Nuk'alik' tō ti snL stsk'tūs Wā'walis ō'la asā'nk's ta apsōLtx.	In the middle the night he arrived Wā'walis at the beach the town.
11	Taiā'mkitstōo Wā'walis sk'aiastā'mkis ta mē'lastx ul apsō'Ltx.	He pointed it Wā'walis he pointed the baton to the town.
12	Tsitō'mēlx'sqtōo ta apsō'Ltx. Axtsqqō ta sati'x's Wā'walis	They slept the town. He slept with her the man Wā'walis
13	aL ta sōLs ta mānstx. L'apsqtō'otx Wā'walis ul tu qūLē'ixs	at the house of the father. He went Wā'walis to the head part of
14	tu sxētstanau'tx. Aiak'sqtō'o Wā'walis ats. Lk'imskoiL il x'nas	the her bed. He scratched Wā'walis he. She said the wife of

¹ See the appendix for the translation of this text. This name (*χaniusmiga*, as per John C. Rath, personal communication) may be analyzable as /√χhn³/ ‘naked, without titles’ + /-%yws/ ‘to keep on, always engaged in’ + /-%m/ (diverse glosses) + /-#yrh/ ‘woman, animate, creature’ (Rath 2021:251, Rath 2024:191,29,231).

15 Wā'walis : "K'ixōlix' ta tsk'tsōlk's Wā'walis." Sx'lik'tstō'o
 Wā'walis : "I wish it would gnaw the stomach of Wā'walis." He grew angry
 16 Wā'walis sk'a tai'exoisq x'ti tsitō'ma il x'nasil. Tsitō'milx'sqt
 Wā'walis and he threw (his baton) and she slept the woman. They slept
 17 il x'nas il en ti sxānstx. Pōlsqtōo Wā'walis sk'a ōstxs
 the woman and her sweetheart. He came Wā'walis and he entered
 18 ul tu sōlstx sk'a nik'a'psmis ta sati'x'stx. L'apsqtō'o
 at the house and he cut off the head the man. He left
 19 Wā'walis usqa sk'a anux'ulē'ēxuis ta t'E'naqs ta sati'x'lstx.
 Wā'walis outside and he took the head the head of the man.
 20 L'apsqtō'o Wā'walis ō'la ē'k'li sk'a nūlpis to q'aitx
 He left Wā'walis to far and he put into it the basket
 21 x'wa alix'lix' wa a'sx'ul.
 boiled meat of seal.
 22 Koanatsqtō'o ta mnais Wā'walis. Slaxs tu six'ts al tu sxētsta
 It cried the child of Wā'walis. Much the blood in the bed
 23 mna Wā'walis to plē'eqtuya ta sxāns ul x'nas Wā'walis.
 child of Wā'walis the beheaded one the sweetheart of the wife of Wā'walis.
 24 Qōtsisqtō'o il x'nas Wā'walis ta mnai'nautx sk'a nut'a'xois
 She cleaned it the wife of Wā'walis the child and she washed it
 25 ta mnai'nautx, qōts'is tu sxētstanau'tx. Tsitō'mēlx'sqtāo ta
 the child, she washed the bed. It slept the
 26 mnai'naul Wā'walis. Aq'oliagtōo il x'nas Wā'walis ta
 child of Wā'walis. She wrapped him up the wife of Wā'walis the
 27 sxanstx sk'a Laptus ōsqa ul tu sxētstastx ul tu asqat'atx.
 sweetheart and she carried him out of at her bed at the outside.
 28 Qoqxē'exuisqtō'o.
 She covered him.
 29 P'alx'aktō'o tu stanē'mts tu tsaatstē'tx. Iaxoē'mqtau sk'a
 She rose the mother of the young man. They shall awake him and
 30 alps x'tu susqoē'mtsq. "Alatsixō'p'elk's ax qiō'osip?" Lapsktō'o
 eat the the younger brothers. "Why don't you uncover him?" He went
 31 ta Lqu'lax'ilix'itx sk'a qiā'osis. Nusq'ā'axēmsqtōo : "AL
 the almost grown up and he uncovered him. He cried : "Now
 32 tiplē'exts'ēntx qamā'tsaia !" Koanatsqtō'o tu tsaatstē'tx. Lētxumsqtō'o
 he has no head my dear !" He cried the youth. They assembled
 33 ta sta apsō'lautx. "Wa stō plē'ex ta sati'x'ls Wā'walis." Tsai-
 the of the town. "No head the man of Wā'walis."
 34 liuatsktō'o sk'a alī'txums sta apsō'lautx. Pō'lsqtōo Wā'walis sk'a
 Now all were assembled of the town. He came Wā'walis and
 35 isū'ts. "Nuqēnkī'laxsai'k'anix Wā'walis! wa stu plē'ex ta
 paddled. "Put into the water your paddles, Wā'walis! for without head the
 36 sati'x'lnō sxēms wa sō'nxuats." Tsk'tutsktō'o Wā'walis
 your man when the sun rose the sun." He arrived Wā'walis
 37 nulqāmē'exuisqtō'o ta q'aitx sk'a nuq'lā'nkis il x'nas il :
 he carried it the basket and he brought her food his wife :
 38 "L'akyanī'x noō'mik'tux atu'xtsi sk'ē'natix wa smatē'mx'nuts."
 "Go on! take out that and feed your people."
 39 Nuōmik'tusqtō'il to q'aitx. "Tix'ēt'ai'x?" "Ā'xkō, qēnkyē'tix'
 She took it out of the basket. "Is it that?" "No, it is below
 40 taiā'mix." K'isqtō'o ta q'omnēq'ōls ta sxā'nistx. "Tsix'sā'mats'ai
 what you like." She saw the skull of the sweetheart. "Why

41 tsi nusq'ā'axem aL atustē'ix?' Ē'p'isqtōo Wā'walis ta mnai'natx.
do you cry at that?' He took Wā'walis his child.

42 Ē'p'isqtuts ta Lā'liatx En ta s'aloqoala'stx; nupaix'aqtō'o.
He took it the copper and the shamanistic implements; he went into the canoe.

43 Aulē'mqtōo Wā'walis x'ta sta apsō'lstx sk'a wuntsi'maxlō
They pursued him Wā'walis those of the town and they wanted to fight him

44 k'a pākunix'ī'm. Alaualemqtō'o Wā'walis nuix'ayaqētōmkoalō'q
and they overtook him. They pursued Wā'walis they were near him,

45 iasta'mkisqq ta s'aloqoalastx. Atemanagqō'o to alau'lalutx.
he pointed at them his shamanistic implements. They were dead these pursuers.

46 S'ix'ltse'squts Wā'walis ala nutsix'sē'exē ala sōlū't.
He paddled on the fjord Wā'walis on fjords to the sea.

47 Tsālix'luamē'mqtōo Wā'walis.
They did not reach him Wā'walis.

48 K'lx'isqtō'o Wā'walis ta apsō'ltx q'ōpemsqtō'o wa smā'ol wa
He saw Wā'walis a town smoking the one the

49 sōl. Nuk'sā'axisqtōo Wā'walis ta lala'stx sk'e ēxnusā'kias
town. He landed Wā'walis the canoe and he went into all the houses

50 aL ta sōlō'k'stx. Axkō elō'k'. Ti k'ik'lx'is ti k'e L'u'msta.
in the houses. No one was there. He saw a man.

51 Anoi'x'sqts Wā'walis sk'a talau's ul il mena's ta Lqulx'tx
He wished Wā'walis and to marry his daughter of the old man

52 ta auk'au'altx. Ē'poisq Wā'walis tu stō'tsēmstx Lqulx'tx.
the blind one. He took Wā'walis the boiled dried salmon of the old one.

53 Tsax'lioamisqtō'o ta Lqulx'tx tu slumē'istx tu stō'tsē'mtx.
He did not find it the old one the boiled salmon the dried salmon.

54 Lk'emsqtō'o ta Lq'ulx'tx ul ilmnas'īl: "Qamai'ts, nuk'x'alēxē'mtx
He said the old man to his daughter: "My dear, look back

55 qamai'ts ul ti aixmi'tstski aL ta s nu'kyakilstx'ū'tsmilts
my dear, to the playing with the boiled food

56 ul ti aixē'mtstski al ta sta apsō'lts tsu tama't'aix'" tu
to the playing with those of the town ? " he

57 alalal'ōts. "Tssnā'ō, alai'ōtslnō, qamai'ts!" Nuk'x'alaxē'mq
always said so. "Stop! do not talk, my dear!" She looked back

58 aL qoalax'ā'lx'. "Tsxto'tsnō. L'u'msta ta Lī'tx'al inō."
to the old man. "You speak the truth. A man he is near you."

59 Aiō'tsqtōo q'oalax'a'lx' Wā'walis: "Anoi'k'ts sk'a talau'sts ul
He said to the old one Wā'walis: "I wish to and marry to

60 tsi mna'nō ts'aix'." "Anoi'k' tsā'miluk k'lx'ailaix'tō'mx'
the your daughter this." "I will who restores my eyesight

61 ti x'to ti k'a ai'tōms ti k'a k'lx'ailai'x'tōms ti k'a tā'laus ul tsi
that one he ? he restores my eyesight he marries to the

62 mnats ts'ai'x'." "Talauststō'oltsx' anoi'kx'ts aL ti
my daughter this." "I want to marry her I will at the

63 manuts t'aix. Ustā'm ali'lk's ta sta apsō'lnō Lqamai'ts?"
your daughter there. Where are those of the your town my dear?"

64 "Lkoanā'ats wa psluā'tas ta sta apsō'lts qaaxlā'nauaLō'q
"Once I cried (?) those of the town they went for water

65 ta sta apsō'lts. K'nix'tē'mq ta as'akyai'ōtsemto'ls t'aix'
those of the town. He devoured them the all of them that

66 al ti qxla t'aix; qamai'ts. Lōkoa/lats'inō?" "Slōkoalanō/toox"
in the water this, my dear. Are you a shaman?" "I am a shaman"

67 Ens." "L'ak'anax k'ix'ailaix'tō'mx." "K'ix'ailaix'tō'minotō."
I." "Go on! restore my eyesight." "I shall restore your eyesight."

68 K'ix'ailaix'sqtō'o ta Lq'ulx'tx. Semqlasqtō'o ta qēqtē'tx.
He restored his eyesight the old one. He wanted to have water the little one.

69 L'apsqtō'o ta snax'ENaxē'tx sk'a qā'axlas. K'nix'ē'mqtōo x'ta
He went the slave and fetched water. He devoured him the

70 Sk'āmsk'tx. L'apsqtō'o Wā'walis sk'a iastā'mkis ta s'alokoa'lastx.
Sk'āmsk'. He went Wā'walis and he pointed the shaman's imple-
ments.

71 Atemasqtō'o ta Sk'āmsk'tx. Nusq'itsqtō'o Wā'walis: "LaLani'x!
He died the Sk'āmsk'. He cut him open Wā'walis: "Come!

72 qamai'ts, k'ix'tix' wa smatemx'nutsx'. Anoi'k'ts sk'a nitsmau
my dear, see the your people. I wish he and make alive

73 wa smate'mx'nutsx.'" "Ā'xkō aLk'pau sk'a smate'mx'ts. Axtxoaiō'tsnō
the your people." "No they all and my people. Be silent

74 k'a temsnā'axlnōmats k'a temsiaiōLmalnō'mats."
and they will be your slaves and they will be your servants."

75 L'apak'imtisqtō'o Wā'walis k'a nuta'xtis. Wulxlā'akq'ō ti
He healed them Wā'walis and he washed them. He limped the

76 nōmā'ō. Patsālakimi'tsklut Wā'walis ta snā'axstx nut'ā'xois.
one. First he healed him Wā'walis the slave he washed him.

77 Nut'axtisqtō'o to aik'em to alatemā'tx sk'a snaaxa'qts
Then he washed them those long ago the dead ones and they became slaves

78 aL iL x'nas Wā'walis. Tsaiak-imsqtō'o sk'a mōsanmak'sqts
of the wife of Wā'walis. He finished and four times

79 Wā'walis sk'a tskis wa mō'sūL wa sōL wa Lix'likō'ool wa
Wā'walis and he made the four the houses the large the

80 sō'lōk's sk'a staltō'mx'sts Wā'walis sk'a Lqoana'tsts Wā'walis
houses and he was a chief Wā'walis and he became great Wā'walis

81 sk'a staltō'mx's.
and chief.

82 L'apsqtō'o iL x'nas Wā'walis sk'a nūx'ā'p'is tu tsī'maL aL
She went his wife Wā'walis and she washed the intestines of

83 tu asx'tx. Stsaisqluq wa sk'nix'is iL x'nas Wā'walis.
the seal. She likes only one kind of food the wife Wā'walis.

84 PōL'aktōo tu siū'ttx sk'a isutau'; nmpēmqtō'o iL
It came the killer whale and paddled; he took her into his canoe the

85 x'nas Wā'walis. "Wā'walis! nmpē'm iL x'nasLnō x'tu
wife of Wā'walis. "Wā'walis! he took her into his the your wife the
canoe

86 siū'tax." Oqxisqtō'o Wā'walis ta snax'e'nx'istx: "L'alī'x
killer whale." He said Wā'walis to his slave: "Come!

87 aultit'ā'x k'mā'nx'its iL ta x'nasts." Isō'tsqtōo Wā'walis sk'a
we will follow her recover the my wife." He paddled Wā'walis and

88 aL'aultis to siū'ttx. Aianmō'otskuē'lōts'ik' Wā'walis.
he followed it the killer whale. He stopped Wā'walis.

89 AL'ēpiskoē'lōts'ik' Wā'walis ta q'e'lx'sutx; s'alipōLoosisqts ta
He took it Wā'walis the rope; he let him down the

90 snēx'ituxē'stx. L'apsqtō'o Wā'walis sk'a mō'lems sk'a
slave. He went Wā'walis and he jumped into the water and

- 91 alā'ulis il x'naš il. Qenqetxē'k'oē'lk' xēmsqtō'o wa sō'nx'uats.
he followed the wife. Almost below it got day the sun.
- 92 Tsk'tsqitō'o Wā'walis ul ta kōxlō'lēm'x'tx. K'lx'isqtō'o Wā'walis
He arrived Wā'walis at the country. He saw Wā'walis
- 93 ta qmō'olank'tx ti k'tsā'tsaiis ta isumkumlē'tx ta Lu
the stout one the one who chopped wood the one who gathered fuel the
- 94 qu'lx'ēt'x. Ōsēk'a/msqtōo Wā'walis ul ta stntx. Qat'olō'osakisqq
old one. He entered Wā'walis in the tree. He broke off
- 95 Wā'walis to tsī'ētx. Koana'tsqq ta x'q'ulx'tx: ananā'!
Wā'walis the wedge. He cried the old one: ananā'!
- 96 K'exl'ē'ts'ama ta Lqmō'olanx' ala tsī'ētxsau'a. "Q'ulaix'a'lx'
He grew angry the stout one at his wedge there. "Old one!
- 97 tsaiō'tsx sk'ē koana'tnō. Anoi'k'noa sk'a aik'ēk'mi'ts atu'xtsi
stop and cry. Do you wish and I repair that one
- 98 sk'a k'stuts. Axoā'kō alx'uē'nēmōlnō ul tsī k'a x'naš tsī k'a
and I do it. Not do you know about her the woman her
- 99 ā'nopmit k'a i'sut, qamai'ts?" "Tsix'ma tsi alkuni't
he carried her into and he paddled, my dear?" "That one her he carried her
his canoe into
- 100 ta i sōl tsix'mā'tō tsis nux'ēmā'xtsx' ala sōls ti staltō'mx'tx'.
the house that one she sits near the fire in the house of the chief.
- 101 Ti x'lō'otx' ti iskulalō'sits k'a qā'axlatsmastu'ts k'a ēxsulā'nix'its
? the I carry fuel and I carry water and I make fire at
- 102 wa sōls ti staltō'mx'tx', k'a alī'tsma al ti nulqta'tx' sk'a
the house of the chief, and stay at the post and
- 103 al'ile'mts. Wix'i'tsik'ats sk'a wulā'axits wa qxla'ts.
stand upright. She is there and I pour out the water.
- 104 Wix'i'tsik'ats sk'a L'apnō sk'a ē'pix' tsi x'nasnutsx'." Lapsqtōo.
She is there and you go and take her your wife." He went
- 105 Wā'walis sk'a ē'pis il x'naš il. "L'ak'ē'it, LE'mnō ē'nsts'en ta
Wā'walis and took the woman. "Come! rise I am the
- 106 Wā'walis." Lemsqtō'o il x'naš il. Tēātsqoā'Lemsqtōo qmō'olā'nk'tx
Wā'walis." She arose the woman. He lay down the stout one
- 107 al to anuka'lalis tu sōltx. Lapsqtō'o Wā'walis sk'a alēpis il
on the threshold of the house. He went Wā'walis and he carried her
- 108 x'naš il sk'a lē'psutau ul to kōxlō'lēm'x'au'tx. Patsāl kuē'lōts'ik'
his wife and they returned to the their country. First
- 109 Wā'walis ōnk'snēmūts al ta q'elx'tx. Q'ātsatisqtō'o Wā'walis ta
Wā'walis climbed up at the rope. He shook it Wā'walis the
- 110 q'elx'utx. Pōlsqtōo il x'naš il ul ta lā'las Wā'walis. Tu
rope. She came the woman into the canoe Wā'walis. He
- 111 tsaplktuya ta snax'e'naxis Wā'walis. Lepak'misqtō'o Wā'walis
only bones the slave of Wā'walis. He wanted to heal him Wā'walis
- 112 sk'a nitse'mtus ta snax'enaxi'stx. L'apsqtō'o Wā'walis sk'a
and he made him alive the slave. He went Wā'walis and
- 113 isō'ts ul ta kōxlōlē'mx'autx. Lēt'x'umsqtō'o ta sta apsō'ls
he paddled to the their country. They assembled those of the town
- 114 smaqumaqō'ts snuk'lu'ts smaqtō'o ti s'āml, sk'a Lqoanā'ats
one winter one the summer and he became great
- 115 Wā'walis sk'a stā'ltōmx's ala ta kōxlō'lēm'x's il x'naš il.
Wā'walis and a chief at the her country the woman.

The wife of Wā'walis and her child were staying in the house. She desired to have seal flippers to eat. One of Wā'walis' men was her lover. Wā'walis went hunting and his young slave steered his canoe. He went to shoot many seals. He shot a young seal, which he cut up and boiled and covered with a mat. When it was dark he landed near his house. He pushed his canoe into the water. He wanted to watch his wife and her lover. At midnight he arrived at the beach in front of the town. He pointed his baton towards the town. Then the people fell asleep. Wā'walis' man slept with her in the house of her father. Wā'walis went to the head part of her bed and scratched at the wall. His wife said : "I wish (that mouse) would gnaw Wā'walis' stomach." Wā'walis grew angry. He stretched out his baton and the woman fell asleep. She slept with her lover. Then Wā'walis came and entered the house. He cut off the head of the man. Then he went out of the house and took the head of the man along. He went far away and put the head into a basket. He covered it with seal meat.

Wā'walis' child cried. The bed of the child was full of the blood of the beheaded lover of Wā'walis' wife. She washed the child and the bed and the child went to sleep again. Then she wrapped up her lover and carried him out of her bed and out of the house. She covered him.

(On the next morning) the mother of the young man arose (and told) his younger brothers to wake him. (They called him, but he did not stir.) "Why don't you uncover him?" The oldest one went and uncovered him. He cried : "O, my dear, he has no head!" The youth cried and the people assembled. "Oh, Wā'walis' man has no head." Now all the people of the town had assembled. Then Wā'walis came paddling. (They cried :) "Put your paddles down, Wā'walis! One of your men was (found) without head when the sun rose this morning." Wā'walis arrived, carrying the basket, in which he brought food for his wife. "Come! take the basket (and feed our people" (he said). She took the basket : "Is it this (what you want to give me?" she asked). "No, what you like to have is below." Then she saw the head of her lover. "Why do you cry on seeing this?" Wā'walis took his child. He took his copper and his baton and went into his canoe. The people of the town pursued him. They wanted to kill him. They came nearer. When they were near him he pointed his baton at them and his pursuers were dead. He paddled on the fjord towards the sea. They did not reach Wā'walis.

(Soon) Wā'walis discovered a town. Smoke was rising from one of the houses only. Nobody was to be seen. He saw a man. Wā'walis wished to marry the daughter of this old, blind man. He took the boiled dried salmon of the old man. The latter could not find his salmon and said to his daughter : "Look back, my dear, somebody must be in the town and is playing with my food." He always said so, and she replied : "Stop! do not talk, my dear!" But then she looked back towards the

old man. (She saw the stranger and said :) "You spoke the truth ; a man is near you." Wā'walis said to the old man : "I wish to marry your daughter." "I will give her to him who restores my eyesight." "I want to marry her" (replied Wā'walis). "Where are all the people of your town, my dear?" "When they went to fetch water, that being in the water devoured them, my dear. Are you a shaman?" "Yes, I am a shaman." "Then restore my eyesight." "I shall restore your eyesight." He did so. Then Wā'walis' child wished to have water. He sent his slave after water. Then (the monster) Skyamsky devoured him. Wā'walis went out, pointed his baton at it, and Skyamsky died. He opened its belly (and said): "Come, my dear, and look at your people. I wish to resuscitate them." (The old man said :) "They are not my people. Don't say anything, they will be your slaves. They will be your servants." Wā'walis washed them and healed them. One of them limped (because one of his bones was lost). Wā'walis first washed his slave and healed him. Then he washed those who had been dead long ago. They became slaves of Wā'walis' wife. After he had finished, Wā'walis built four times large houses, and he became a great chief.

Once upon a time Wā'walis' wife went to wash the intestines of a seal. She liked only one kind of food. Then the killer whale came paddling and took her in his canoe. "Wā'walis ! the killer whale took your wife in his canoe." Then Wā'walis said to his slave : "Come, we will follow him and recover my wife." Wā'walis went in his canoe and pursued the killer whale. He stopped. Then he took a rope and the slave let him down. Wā'walis jumped into the water and followed his wife. When he almost reached the bottom of the sea it grew light, and the sun was shining. Wā'walis arrived in a country and saw a stout old man who chopped a tree for fuel. Wā'walis hid in the tree and broke off the point of the (slave's) wedge. The old man cried : ananah. He became angry on account of his wedge. (Wā'walis said :) "Old man, stop crying. If you so desire, I will repair your wedge. Don't you know about a woman whom a man carried away in his canoe, my dear?" "He carried her into the house, where she is sitting near the fire, in the house of the chief. I am going to carry fuel and water into the house. I shall make a fire. You stay behind the post of the house and wait. She will be right there. Then I shall pour the water into the fire. At that time you must go and take your wife." Wā'walis went and took the woman. "Come, rise. I am Wā'walis." She arose (and they went out). The stout man lay down on the threshold of the house (and made himself so big that the killer whale could not leave the house). Wā'walis took his wife along and they returned to their country. Wā'walis was the first to climb up the rope. He shook it and then the woman climbed into the canoe. Only the bones of the slave (whom Wā'walis had left in the canoe) remained. Wā'walis healed him and revived him. Then Wā'walis paddled to their country. They had been away one winter and one summer. The people assembled and he became a great chief in the country of his wife.

3 Reconstructed text, analysis, updated translation

- (1) **'ali-s_k'il, 'il_{xnas-s} Wawalis, 'al_{tu_{sul-s}tx^w wa_{s-xl-mna-na_k} ta_{qigt-ii} /}**
 reside-3SG.ITR_{QUOT} she, ART_{wife-3SG.POSS} Wawalis, PREP_{ART_{house-}}
 3SG.POSS_{ART.DEF} ART_{NMZ-have-offspring-3PL.POSS_{QUOT}} ART_{small-DIM} /
Wawalis' wife was living at her house with their little son.
- (2) **xl_{ya.ya-m-i-s}'il_{xnas-s} Wawalis x_{ti}'ixaa-l-s ti_{'asx^w / xl_{syan-s_k}'il,}**
 have-good.RDP-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_{wife-3SG.POSS} Wawalis PREP_{ART_{lower}}
 leg-separated-3SG.POSS ART_{seal} / have-lover-3SG.SUBJ_{QUOT} she
Wawalis' wife liked to eat seal flippers. She had a lover
- (3) **'il_{xnas-s} Wawalis, x_{ta_{satix-s}} / xl_{snax.naa_{ii}k^w} Wawalis x_{ti}**
 ART_{wife-3SG.POSS} Wawalis, PREP_{ART_{partner-3SG.POSS}} / have-slave.RDP-DIM_{QUOT}
 Wawalis PREP_{ART}
who was Wawalis' partner. Wawalis had a young slave,
- (4) **'iml.mlk-i / tix_{k^w}'i_{lu_{ka} tx_{ti}paaxl-s} wa_{sti-tka.ka^a-s} / λ'ap-s_{k^w} tuu**
 male.RDP-DIM / be him_{ENCS} DEM ART_{be at the stern-3SG.POSS} ART_{opposite-}
 shoot.RDP-APASS-3SG.SUBJ / go-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS}
a boy who always manned the stern of the boat, while he (Wawalis) was shooting.
- (5) **Wawalis s-ka_{nmp-ayx-s} s-ka_{'anu'ayk-s} 'al_{a_{ka}'asx^w} Ø_{ka_{sláx}} /**
 Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_{occupy-CMPL-3SG.SUBJ} NMZ-HYP.POT_{want-3SG.SUBJ}
 PREP_{ART_{seal}} ART_{HYP.POT_{many}} /
Wawalis boarded his canoe, as he wanted many seals.
- (6) **tka-t-i-s_{k^w} Wawalis ci_{qigt-ii} ci_{'aasx^w-i} / λ'ap-ak-m-i-s_{k^w} tuu Wawalis s-ka**
 shoot-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{QUOT} Wawalis art_{small-DIM} ART_{seal-DIM} / start-manual-
 APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT
Wawalis went, he shot a young cow seal, and then proceeded to
- (7) **'istux-i-s 'il_{'asx^w}'il s-ka_{q'atixc-i-s} / q^wu_{x-i-s_{k^w}} tuu x_{tu_{st'x^wm_{tx^w}} /}**
 butcher-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_{seal_{ART.DEF}} NMZ-HYP.POT_{steam-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ} /
 cover-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} PREP_{ART_{mats_{ART.DEF}}} /
butcher and steam-cook the seal. He covered it with mats.
- (8) **c'usm_{k^w} tuu / wal-i-s_{k^w} tuu tu_{suul.sl-i-s_{tx^w}} / χ^wul-i-s_{k^w} ta_{lalas-s_{tx}}**
 dusk_{ENCS} / leave-3SGOBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{house.RDP-DIM-3SG.POSS_{ART.DEF}} /
 launch-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{QUOT} ART_{boat-3SG.POSS_{ART.DEF}}
It was dusk. Now he left his hut and launched his canoe,

- (9) **s-ka_’anayk-s_’k^w_’c’ s-ka_’k^w_’uplx-i-s_’il_xnas-s_’il_’ul_ta_syan-s_tχ /**
 NMZ-HYP.POT_want-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS NMZ-HYP.POT_stalk-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_wife-
 3SG.POSS_ART.DEF PREP_ART_lover-3SG.POSS_ART.DEF /
as he wanted to stalk his wife on her way to her lover.
- (10) **nukalik_tu ti_snλ’ s-c’kt-us Wawalis_’ul_a_’asank-s ta_’apsul_tχ^w /**
 middle_CERT ART_night NMZ-arrive-front Wawalis PREP_ART_front-3SG.POSS
 ART_village_ART.DEF /
It was midnight when Wawalis arrived at the front (beach) of the village.
- (11) **tayamk-i-s_tuu Wawalis s-ka_ya-s s-tayamk-i-s ta_mila-s_tχ_’ul_ta_’apsul_tχ^w /**
 cast-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_PREC Wawalis NMZ_HYP.POT_good-3SG.SUBJ NMZ_cast -
 3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_wand-3SG.POSS_ART.DEF PREP_ART_village_ART.DEF /
Wawalis swung his cane towards the village, and he swung it hard.
- (12) **citum-lx-s_’k^w_tuu ta_’apsul_tχ^w / ’aχc_’k^w_’k^w_u ta_satix-s Wawalis**
 sleep-INCH-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS ART_village_ART.DEF / lay down_ENCS ART_partner-
 3SG.POSS Wasalis
The whole village fell asleep. Wawalis’ partner always slept
- (13) **’al_ta_sul-s ta_man-s_tχ / λ’ap-s_’k^w_tuu tχ Wawalis_’ul_tu_’k^w_uliix^w-s**
 PREP_ART_house-3SG.POSS ART_father-3SG.POSS_ART.DEF / go-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS DEM
 Wawalis PREP_ART_head-3SG.POSS
in his father’s house. Wawalis now went to the head
- (14) **tu_sχicta-naw_tχ^w / ’ayak-s_’k^w_tuu Wawalis_’ac / lk’m-s_’k^w_’il_’il_xnas-s**
 ART_bed-3PL.POSS_ART.DEF / do sth.-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS Wawalis DEM / speak-
 3SG.SUBJ_QUOT DEM ART_wife-3SG.POSS
of their bed. He was doing something there. Then she spoke, the wife of
- (15) **Wawalis: “k’ix^w-ul-i-x^w ta_skculk-s Wawalis” / sxlikt-s_tuu**
 Wawalis: gnaw-abdomen-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ ART_heart-3sg.poss Wawalis / angry-
 3SG.SUBJ_PREC
Wawalis: “You gnaw Wawalis’ heart”. And he got so mad
- (16) **Wawalis s-ka_tayχ^w-i-s_’k^w x_ti_s-cituma_’il_xnas-s_’il / citum-lx-s_’k^w_’c’**
 Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_cast-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_QUOT PREP_ART_NMZ-sleep ART_wife-
 3SG.POSS_ART.DEF / sleep-INCH-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS
that he cast a sleeping spell on his wife. She now fell asleep,
- (17) **’il_xnas-s_’il_’in ta_syan-s_tχ / puλ’-s_’k^w_tuu Wawalis s-ka_’ustx^w-s**
 ART_woman-3sg.poss_ART.DEF and ART_lover-3SG.POSS_ART.DEF / come-
 3SG.SUBJ_ENCS Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_enter-3SG.SUBJ
his wife went to sleep, as did her lover. Wawalis now came and entered

- (18) **'ul_{tu}sul-s_{tx} s-ka_{nik}'-ap_{sm}-i-s ta_{satix}-s_{tx} / λ'ap-s_{k^w}tu_{uu}**
 PREP_{ART} house-3SG.POSS_{ART}.DEF NMZ-HYP.POT_{cut}-nape-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ
 ART_{partner}-3SG.POSS_{ART}.DEF / go-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS}
the house, and he decapitated his partner. He left,
- (19) **Wawalis 'usqa s-ka_{'anu}-χ^wul-iiχ^w-i-s ta_{t'nχ^w}-s ta_{satix}-l-s_{tx} /**
 Wawalis DIR.outside NMZ-HYP.POT_{through}-roll-head-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_{partner}-
 late-3SG.POSS_{ART}.DEF /
Wawalis went outside and rolled the man's head out of the house.
- (20) **λ'ap-s_{k^w}tu_{uu} Wawalis 'ul_a'iikl-i s-ka_{nulp}-i-s tu_{q'}ay_{tx}^w**
 go-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} Wawalis PREP_{ART} nearby-DIM NMZ-HYP.POT_{fill}-3SG.OBJ-3SG
 .SUBJ ART_{basket}_{ART}.DEF
He went a short distance, and filled a basket
- (21) **x_{wa}'al-lixlix wa_{'asx^w}-ul /**
 PREP_{ART} STAT-cooked ART_{seal}-meat /
with cooked seal meat.
- (22) **k^wanat-s_{k^w}tu_{uu} ta_{mna}-y-s Wawalis / sláχ-s tu_{six}'c' 'al_{tu}sχicta-s ta**
 cry-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{offspring}-DIM-3SG.POSS Wawalis / much-3SG.SUBJ
 ART_{blood} now PREP_{ART} bed-3SG.POSS ART
Wawalis' young son was crying. There was now blood all over his bed,
- (23) **mna-s Wawalis ta_{pliiχ^w}tu_{ya} ta_{sχan}-s 'il_{xnas}-s Wawalis /**
 offspring-3SG.POSS Wawalis ART_{headless} ENLCSTR ART_{sweetheart}-SG.POSS
 ART_{wife}-3SG.POSS Wawalis /
Wawalis' son's bed, from the headless lover of Wawalis' wife.
- (24) **q^wuc'-i-s_{k^w}tu_{uu} 'il_{xnas}-s Wawalis ta_{mna}-y-naw_{tx} s-ka_{nut}'aχ^w-i-s**
 wash-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{wife}-3SG.POSS Wawalis ART_{offspring}-DIM-
 3PL.POSS_{ART}.DEF NMZ-HYP.POT_{bathe}-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ
Wawalis' wife washed their young son and bathed him,
- (25) **ta_{mna}-y-naw_{tx}, q^wuc'-i-s tu_{sχicta}-naw_{tx}^w / citum-lx-s_{k^w}tu_{uu} ta**
 ART_{offspring}-DIM-3PL.POSS_{ART}.DEF, wash-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_{bed}-
 3PL.POSS_{ART}.DEF / sleep-INCH-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART
their son, she washed their bed. He then fell asleep,
- (26) **mna-y-naw l-Wawalis / 'aq^wul-i-s_{k^w}tu_{uu} 'il_{xnas}-s Wawalis ta**
 offspring-DIM-3PL.POSS COM-Wawalis / wrap up-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{wife}-
 3SG.POSS Wawalis ART
the young son that she had with Wawalis. Wawalis' wife wrapped up

- (27) **sy_{an}-s_{tx} s-ka_λ'ap-tu-Ø-s 'usqa 'ul_{tu}syicta-s_{tx}' 'ul_{tu}'asqa_t'aw_{tx}' /**
lover-3SG.POSS_{ART}.DEF NMZ-HYP.POT_{go}-CAUS-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ outside.DIR PREP
{ART}bed-3SG.POSS{ART}.DEF PREP_{ART}outside_{DEM}_{ART}.DEF /
her lover, and took him outside towards his own bed.
- (28) **q^wu_x.q_x-ii_x'-i-s_k'_{tuu} /**
cover.RDP-top-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} /
She covered him up all the way.
- (29) **p'alx-a_k'_{tuu} tu_{stan}-mc-s ta_{caa}.ct-ii_{tx} / yax^w-im_k'_{tuu} s-ka_u**
wake up-3PL.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{mother}-KIN-3SG.POSS ART_{young}.RDP-DIM_{ART}.DEF /
rouse-3SG.PASS_{ENCS} NOM-HYP.POT_u
Now the young man's female elders woke up, they were going to rouse him so that his
- (30) **'alps-s x_{tu}su.sq^wi-mc_{tx}' / "alacix^w-ap_u'lks s-'ax^w q^wy-uus-i-p?" / λ'ap-s_k'_{tuu}**
eat-3SG.SUBJ PREP_{ART}younger sibling.RDP-DIM-CLOSE_{ART}.DEF / why-2PL.SUBJ
{WHQ}.UNSPEC NMZ-not open-cover-3SG.OBJ-2PL.SUBJ / go-3SG.SUBJ{ENCS}
brothers could feed him. "Why don't you uncover him?" The oldest one then started
- (31) **ta_{lk}'lx.lx-i_{tx} s-ka_q'y-uus-i-s / nusq'aaxm-s_k'_{tuu} / "al_u**
ART_{oldest}.DIM_{ART}.DEF NMZ-HYP.POT_{open}-cover-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ / scream-3SG
{SUBJ}{ENCS} / PREP_u
to uncover him. He screamed:
- (32) **ti_{plii}'_x'c'n_{tx} qama-c-aya!" / k^wanat-s_k'_{tuu} ta_{caa}.ct-ii_{tx} / litx^wm-s_k'_{tuu}**
ART_{headless}_{PNC}_{ART}.DEF dear-1SG.POSS-VOC / cry-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{young} .RDP-
DIM_{ART}.DEF / assemble-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS}
"Oh my, he has no head!" The young man cried. They now gathered,
- (33) **ta_{sta}-apsul-aw_{tx}' / "wastu_{plii}'_x ta_{satix}-l-s Wawalis" / cay(-liwa)**
ART_{fellow-villagers}-3PL.POSS_{ART}.DEF / EVID_{headless} ART_{partner-late}-3SG.POSS
Wawalis / all(-SMBL)
their community members. "For sure, Wawalis' man is headless."
- (34) **(...-liwa)_{ck}'_{tuu} s-ka_u'al-litx^wm-s ta_{sta}-apsul-aw_{tx}' / puλ'-s_k'_{tuu} Wawalis s-ka_u**
(SMBL)_{ENCS} NMZ-HYP.POT_{STAT}-assemble-3SG.SUBJ ART_{fellow-villagers}-3PL.POSS
{ART}.DEF / come-3SG.SUBJ{ENCS} Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_u
The entire village was gathering there. Then Wawalis came
- (35) **'isut-s / "nu-qnk-ll_{ysayk}-ani-_x Wawalis! / wastu_{plii}'_x ta_u**
paddle-3SG.SUBJ / in water-low-oars-formative-IMP Wawalis / EVID_{headless} ART_u
paddling. "Lower your paddles, Wawalis! Indeed, your man was found without his

- (36) **satix-l-nu s-χim-s wa_sunx^w’ac” / c’kt-uc_k^w’tuu Wawalis /**
 partner-late-2SG.POSS NMZ-dawn-3SG.SUBJ ART_DAY_ART.DEF / arrive-beach_ENC
 Wawalis /
head this morning. ” Wawalis arrived,
- (37) **nulq’miix^w-i-s_k^w’tuu ta_q’ay_tχ s-ka_nuk^w’l-ank-i-s ’il_xnas-s’iil /**
 hold by handle-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_ENC ART_basket_ART.DEF NMZ-HYP.POT_fill-
 stomach-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_wife-3SG.POSS_ART.DEF /
carrying the basket that he was going to feed his wife from:
- (38) **“λ’akan-i-χ nu’umik-tu-Ø-x^w Ø’atux^w’ci s-ka’ina-ti-x^w wa_smatmx-nu_c” /**
 hurry-DIM-IMP be removed-CAUS-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ ART_DEM_ART.DEF NMZ-HYP
 .POT_give-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ ART_friend-2SG.POSS_ART.DEF /
“Come, unload these things and give them to your friends. ”
- (39) **nu’umik-tu-Ø-s_k^w’tu ’il ta_q’ay_tχ / “tix_a t’ayx?” / “Ax_k^wu, qnk-ii tix**
 be removed-CAUS-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_ENC DEM ART_basket_ART.DEF / be it_QM DEM /
 not_ASSUM low-DIM DEM
She unloaded the basket. “Is this it?” “No, I’m sure it is a bit lower,
- (40) **ta_ya.ya-m-i-x^w” / k’x-i-s_k^w’tuu ta_q’umniq^w-ul-s ta_sχan-i-s_tχ / “cix-s_a_ma**
c’ay(x)
 ART_good.RDP-APPL-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ / see-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_encs ART_skull-round-
 3SG.POSS ART_lover-DIM-3SG.POSS_ART.DEF / be her-3SG.SUBJ_ENC DEM
what you crave. ” Now she saw the head of her lover. “Can it really be her
- (41) **ci_nusq’aaxm ’al_(t)’atus_tix?” / ’ip’-i-s_k^w’tuu Wawalis ta_mna-y-na(w)_tχ /**
 ART_scream PREP_DEM_ART.DEF.INTERR / grab-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_ENC Wawalis ART_
 offspring-DIM-3PL.POSS_ART /
who’s screaming at this?” Wawalis then took their young son.
- (42) **’ip’-i-s_k^w’tu_c’ ta_lalya_tχ ’n ta_s-’a-luk^wala-s_tχ / nmp-ayx-a_k^w’tuu /**
 grab-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_ENC ART_copper_ART.DEF and ART_NMZ-STAT-supernatural
 power-3SG.POSS_ART / occupy-CMPL-3PL.SUBJ_ENC /
He took the copper and his magic tool; then they boarded the canoe.
- (43) **’awl-im_k^w’tuu Wawalis x_tasta-’apsul-s_tχ^w s-ka_wnc’-im_alu**
 follow-3SG.PASS_ENC Wawalis PREP_ART_fellow-villagers-3SG.POSS_ART.DEF NOM-
 HYP.POT_kill-3SG.PASS_IRR
The villagers pursued Wawalis, trying to kill him,
- (44) **ka_pak^wnix-im / ’al-’awl-im_k^w’tuu Wawalis / nu-’ixa’y-alqi-tu-m_k^w’alu_k^w’ /**
 HYP.POT_catch up with-3SG.PASS / PROG-follow-3SG.PASS_ENC Wawalis / within-be
 near-nape-CAUS-3SG.PASS_ENC /
to catch up with him. They chased him, and almost reached him (“neck and neck”).

- (45) **ya-s s-tayamk-i-s_k k^w ta_s-’aluk^wala-s_tχ / ’atma-na_k k^w u tu_’al-’awl-t_{al}u_tχ^w**
 well-3SG.SUBJ NMZ-swing-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENC} ART_{ENC} NMZ-supernatural power-3SG
 .POSS_{ART}.DEF / die-3PL.SUBJ_{ENC} ART_{ENC} PROG-follow-PL.PART_{HYP}.INAB_{ART}.DEF
Then he swung his magic tool repeatedly, and his pursuers died one after the other.
- (46) **s-(’i)xl-’aci-s_k u_c’ Wawalis ’al_a nu-cix.ciiχ-i ’al_a sulut /**
 NMZ-have-canoe-3SG.SUBJ_{ENC} Wawalis PREP_{ART} within-dig.RDP-DIM PREP_{ART}
 sea /
Wawalis used his canoe to travel the fjords near the sea.
- (47) **calx-liwa-m-im_k tuu Wawalis /**
 fail-SMBL-APPL-3SG.PASS_{ENC} Wawalis /
Nobody succeeded in reaching Wawalis.
- (48) **k’x-i-s_k tuu Wawalis ta_’apsul_tχ^w / q^wupm-s_k tuu wa_smaw-(u)l wa_’**
 see-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENC} Wawalis ART_{ENC} village_{ART}.DEF / smoking-3SG.SUBJ_{ENC}
 ART_{ENC} one-house ART_{ENC}
Wawalis then saw a village, with smoke coming from one of the
- (49) **sul / nuksaax-i-s_k tuu Wawalis ta_’alalas_tχ ska_’ix-nusak’a-s**
 house / pull back-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENC} Wawalis ART_{ENC} canoe_{ART}.DEF NMZ-HYP.POT
_{DISTR}-search-3SG.SUBJ
houses. He pulled his canoe ashore, and went through all
- (50) **’al_’ta_{sul}-uks_tχ^w / ’ax_k i_’lu_k ti_{ka} k’x-i-s ti_{ka} λ’ msta /**
 PREP_{ART} house-PL_{ART}.DEF / not_{ENC} ART_{HYP}.POT_{ENC} see-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_{HYP}
 .POT_{ENC} person /
the houses. But nobody could be seen.
- (51) **’anu’ayk-s_k c’ Wawalis s-ka_’talaws-s ’ul_’il_’mna-s ta_’lk^wlx_tχ**
 want-3SG.SUBJ_{ENC} Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_{ENC} marry-3SG.SUBJ PREP_{ART} offspring-3SG
 .POSS_{ART} old_{ART}.DEF
Wawalis wanted to marry the daughter of an old man,
- (52) **ta_’awk’awal_tχ / ’ipw-i-s_k Wawalis tu_’stucm-s_tχ^w ta_’lk^wlx_tχ /**
 ART_{ENC} blind_{ART}.DEF / hide-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENC} QUOT Wawalis ART_{ENC} dried salmon-3SG
 .POSS_{ART}.DEF ART_{ENC} old_{ART}.DEF /
a blind man. He hid the old man’s boiled dried salmon.
- (53) **calx-liwa-m-i-s_k tuu ta_’lk^wlx_tχ tu_’slum-i-s_tχ^w tu_’stucm_tχ^w /**
 fail-SMBL-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENC} ART_{ENC} old_{ART}.DEF ART_{ENC} boil down-3SG.OBJ-
 3SG.SUBJ_{ENC} ART_{ENC} dried salmon_{ART}.DEF /
Then the old man could not find his boiled dried salmon.

- (54) **lk'm-s_k^w tuu ta_{lk}^wlx_{tx} 'ul_i 'il_{mna-s} 'il** / “qama-y-c, nu-k'x-alyi-m-t-χ
 speak-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{old} ART_{DEF} PREP_{ART} OFFSPRING-3SG.POSS_{ART} DEF /
 dear-DIM/VOC-1SG.POSS within-see-nape-APPL-3SG.PART-IMP
The old man said to his daughter: “Dear, look back,
- (55) **qama-y-c / 'ul_{ti} 'ayak-m-i_c 'cki 'al_{ta} snukak.lstx^w uucm-i-l-c**
 dear-DIM/VOC-1SG.POSS / PREP_{ART} do something-APPL-DIM_{ENCS} PREP_{ART} preserves
 -DIM-late-1SG.POSS
see if you can find the one who is doing things with my preserves,
- (56) **'ul_{ti} 'ayak-m_c 'cki 'al_{ta} sta-'apsul-c” / cut_{ma} t'ayx / (tu_i)**
 PREP_{ART} do something-APPL_{ENCS} PREP_{ART} fellow-villagers-1SG.POSS / say_{POSB}
 DEM / (ART_i)
it must be somebody from the village”, that’s what he must have said,
- (57) **'al-'al'ay-uc / “cay-nu 'al'ay-uc(-l)-nu, qama-y-c!” / nu-k'x-alyi-m_k^w**
 REP-be thus-mouth / stop-2SG.SUBJ be thus-mouth(-late)-2SG.SUBJ, dear-DIM/VOC-1SG
 .POSS / within-see-nape-APPL_{QUOT}
he kept saying this. And she said: “Stop talking, dear!” He looked back,
- (58) **ta_q 'alq^w alayxalx / “c'χl-uc-nu / λ^w msta ti_i 'ali_{tx} al_i 'inu” /**
 ART_{mature} / true-speech-2SG.SUBJ / person ART_{be there} ART_{DEF} PREP_{PRO} 2SG /
the old man did. Then she said: “You were right. There is a man near you.”
- (59) **'ay-uc_k^w tuu 'ul_{ta} q^w alayxalx Wawalis / “anu'ayk-c s-ka_{talaws-c} 'ul_i**
 be thus-mouth_{ENCS} PREP_{ART} mature Wawalis / want-1SG.SUBJ NMZ_{HYP}.POT_{marry}-
 1SG.SUBJ PREP_i
Then Wawalis said to the old man: “I want to marry
- (60) **ci_{mna-nu} c'ayx” / “anu'ayk-c_m i_{lu} k (s-ka_i) k'x-aylayx-tu-m-x^w /**
 ART_{offspring}-2SG.POSS_{DEM} / want-1SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} (NMZ-HYP.POT_{see-able}-CAUS-
 1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ /
your daughter.” “But first I want you to restore my eyesight;
- (61) **tix_{tu} ti_{ka} 'ay-tu-m-s ti_{ka} k'x-aylayx-tu-m-s ti_{ka} talaws 'ul_{ci}**
 be him_{CERT} ART_{HYP}.POT_{be thus}-CAUS-1SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_{HYP}.POT_{see-able}-
 CAUS-1SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_{HYP}.POT_{marry} PREP_{ART}
the one who will restore my eyesight will be the one to marry
- (62) **mna-c_i c'ayx” / “talaws-c_{tu} 'ul_{cx} 'anu'ayk-c 'al_{ci}**
 offspring-1SG.POSS_{DEM} / marry-1SG.SUBJ_{CERT} PREP_{DEM} WANT-1SG.SUBJ PREP_{ART}
my daughter.” “I will marry her, I want

- (63) **mna-nu_c'ayx / 'ustam-a_l'ks ta_sta-'apsul-nu, l-qama-y-c?" /**
 offspring-2SG.POSS DEM / where to-motion WHQ.UNSPEC ART fellow-villagers-2SG
 .POSS, COM-dear-DIM/VOC-1SG.POSS /
your daughter. Where have the people of your village gone, friend?"
- (64) **"lk"-anaac wa_ps-liwa-ta-s ta_sta-'apsul-c / qaayla-naw_alu_k"**
 big-SUP ART shape-essence-means-3SG.POSS ART fellow-villagers-1SG.POSS / get
 water-3PL.SUBJ_ENCS
"The <psliwata> (?) of my people is legendary. Whenever they went to get water,
- (65) **ta_sta-'apsul-c / knix-tim_k" ta_'a-sak'a^uc-m-tul-s t'ayx**
 ART fellow-villagers-1SG.POSS / eat-3PL.PASS QUOT ART PROG-go straight-mouth-
 APPL-1PL.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ DEM ał-
they were devoured, as it was chasing after us
- (66) **'a_l'ti_qla_t'ayx, qama-y-c / luk^wala_c' 'inu?" / "s-luk^wala-nu_tuu x_**
 PREP ART water DEM, friend-DIM/VOC-1SG.POSS / shaman PNC PRON.2SG / NMZ-power
 -2SG.SUBJ PREC PREP
through the water, my friend. Are you a healer?" "You can be healed by
- (67) **'nc" / "ł'akana-χ k'x-aylayx-tu-m-x" / "k'x-aylayx-tu-minu_tu" /**
 PRON.1SG / go ahead-IMP see-able-CAUS-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ / see-able-CAUS-
 2SG.OBJ.1SG .SUBJ CERT /
me." "Go ahead then, restore my eyesight." "I will restore your eyesight for sure."
- (68) **k'x-aylayx-s_k" tuu ta_lk^"lx_tχ / smqla-s_k" tuu ta_qiqt-ii_tχ /**
 see-able-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS ART old ART.DEF / thirsty-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS ART small-DIM
 ART.DEF /
Then the old man could indeed see again. Then the child wanted water.
- (69) **ł'ap-s_k" tuu ta_snaχ-naay-ii_tχ s-ka_qaayla-s / knix-im_k" tuu x_tu_**
 go-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS ART slave.RDP-DIM ART.DEF NMZ-HYP.POT drink-3SG.SUBJ / eat-
 3SG.PASS_ENCS PREP ART
And the young slave went to get the water. But he was eaten by the
- (70) **Sk'amck_tχ / λ'ap-s_k" tuu Wawalis s-ka_ya-s s-tayamk-i-s ta_s-'aluk^wala-s_tχ /**
 Sk'amck ART.DEF / go (ahead)-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT good-3SG.SUBJ
 NMZ-swing-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART NMZ-supernatural power-3SG.POSS ART.DEF /
Sk'amck. Wawalis then really swung his magic tool at it.
- (71) **'atma-s_k" tuu ta_Sk'amck_tχ / nu-sq'-i-s_k" tuu Wawalis: "ł'alan-i-χ!**
 die-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS ART Sk'amck ART.DEF / inside-cut open-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS
 Wawalis: hurry-DIM-IMP
And the Sk'amck died. Wawalis cut him open (and said): "Come!

- (72) **qama-y-c, k'x-ti-x^w wa_smatmx-nu_c / 'anu'ayk-c ska_nicm-aw**
 dear-VOC.DIM-1SG.POSS, see-3PL.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ ART_friend-2SG.POSS_ART.DEF / want-
 1SG.SUBJ NMZ_HYP.POT_alive-3PL.SUBJ
Friend, look at your people. I want them to come back to life,
- (73) **wa_smatmx-nu_c** / “**ax^wk^wu 'alkp-aw Ø_ka_smatmx-c / 'ax^w-tx^w 'ay-uc-nu**
 ART_friend-2SG.POSS_ART.DEF / not_ASSUM all-3PL.SUBJ ART_HYP.POT_friend-1SG.POSS
 / not-CAUS.IMP be thus-mouth-2SG.SUBJ
your people.” “Not all of them are my people. Don't say anything,
- (74) **Ø_ka_tm-snaax-l-nu_ma_c Ø_ka_tm-si'ayulma-l-nu_ma_c** /
 ART_HYP.POT_just-slave-separated-2SG.POSS_POSB_ART.DEF ART_HYP.POT_just-servant-
 separated-2SG.POSS_POSB_ART.DEF /
and they will just be your slaves and servants.”
- (75) **ʔap-ak-m-ti-s_{k^w}tuu Wawalis s-ka_nut'ax^w-ti-s / wɣla_{k^w}k^w'u ti**
 start-hand-APPL-3PL.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_bathe-3PL.OBJ-3SG
 .SUBJ / lame_ENCS ART
Wawalis laid his hands on them and bathed them. One of them had a limp.
- (76) **numaw / pacal-ak-m-i-s_{k^w}lu_c' Wawalis ta_snaax-s_{tx} s-nut'ax^w-i-s /**
 human.one / first-hand-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS Wawalis ART_slave-3SG.POSS
 ART.DEF NMZ-bathe-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ /
Wawalis first treated his slave and bathed him.
- (77) **nut'ax^w-ti-s_{k^w}tuu tu_ayk'm tu_'al'atma_{tx^w} ska_snaax-a_{k^w}c'**
 bathe-3PL.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS ART_long ago ART_dead_ART.DEF NMZ-HYP.POT_slave-
 3PL .SUBJ_ENCS
Then he bathed the ones who had been dead a long time, and they became slaves
- (78) **'al'il_xnas-s Wawalis / cay-ak-m-s_{k^w}tuu s-ka_mús-anm-aak-s_{k^w}c'**
 PREP_ART_wife-3SG.POSS Wawalis / finish-hand-APPL-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS NMZ-HYP.POT-
 four-timed-hand-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS
to his wife. When Wawalis had finished, he built four structures,
- (79) **Wawalis s-ka_c'k-i-s wa_mús-ul wa_sul wa_lix.lik^w-uul wa**
 Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_fix-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_four-house ART_house
 ART_big.RDP-house ART
he fixed four houses, large
- (80) **sul-uks s-ka_staltmx-s_c' Wawalis s-ka_{lk^w}'-anaac-s_c' Wawalis**
 house-PL NMZ-HYP.POT_chief-3SG.SUBJ_PNC Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_big-SUP-3SG.SUBJ
 PNC Wawalis
houses, and Wawalis was now going to be a chief, a great

- (81) **s-ka_{staltmx-s}** /
 NMZ-HYP.POT_{chief-3SG.SUBJ} /
chief.
- (82) **ʔap-s_{k^w}tuu ʔil_{xnas-s} Wawalis ska_{nu-xapʔ-i-s} tu_{cʔima-l ʔal}**
 go-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{wife-3SG.POSS} Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_{inside-clean out-3SG}
 .OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_{intestines-separated} PREP
Once, Wawalis' wife went to clean out the intestines of
- (83) **tu_{ʔasx^w}t_{x^w}s-cay-s_{k^w}lu_{k^w} wa_{sn.knix-i-s ʔil_{xnas-s} Wawalis}** /
 ART_{seal} ART.DEF NMZ-all-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{NMZ.RDP-eat-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ} ART_{wife-3SG.POSS} Wawalis /
a few seals. That is the only kind of food that Wawalis' wife ate.
- (84) **puʔ^w-a_{k^w}tuu tu_{syut_{t_{x^w}}s-ka_{ʔisut-aw} / nmp-im_{k^w}tuu ʔil}**
 come-3PL.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{killer whale} ART.DEF NMZ-HYP.POT_{paddle-3PL.SUBJ} / take
 aboard-3SG.PASS_{ENCS} ART
Then the killer whales came paddling, and she was taken aboard their canoe,
- (85) **xnas-s Wawalis / “Wawalis! / nmp-im ʔil_{xnas-l-nu x_{tu}}**
 wife-3SG.POSS Wawalis / Wawalis / take aboard-3SG.PASS ART_{wife-separated-2SG}
 .POSS PREP_{ART}
Wawalis' wife. “Wawalis! Your wife has been abducted by
- (86) **syut_{tʔax^w}” / ʔuqʔ_{x-i-s_{k^w}tuu Wawalis ta_{snax.naa_{x-i-s_{t_x}}} / “ʔal-i-_x}**
 killer whale_{DEM} / call-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} Wawalis ART_{slave.RDP-DIM-3SG.POSS}
 ART.DEF / come-DIM-IMP
the killer whales!” Wawalis called his slave: “Come,
- (87) **ʔawl-ti-l tʔax^w, kanx^w-i-c ʔil_{xnas-c}” / ʔisut-s_{k^w}tuu Wawalis s-ka**
 follow-3PL.OBJ-1PL.SUBJ_{DEM} worry about-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ ART_{wife-1SG.POSS} /
 paddle-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT
“we will follow them, I'm worried about my wife.” Wawalis started paddling,
- (88) **ʔal-ʔawl-ti-s tu_{syut_{t_{x^w}} / ʔay-anm-uuc_{k^w}ʔi_{lu_{cʔi_k} Wawalis}}** /
 CONT-follow-3PL.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_{killer whale} ART.DEF / be thus-timed-sea_{ENCS}
 Wawalis /
pursuing the killer whales. Wawalis only travelled a short distance.
- (89) **ʔal-ʔipʔ-i-s_{k^w}ʔi_{lu_{cʔi_k} Wawalis ta_{qʔlsx^w}su_{t_x}s-ʔal-ʔipʔ-uluus-i-s_{k^w}cʔ ta}**
 PROG-grab-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} Wawalis ART_{rope} CNTREXP_{ART.DEF} NMZ-PROG-
 grab-connection-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART
Wawalis then grabbed a rope (for his slave) to hold (and lowered him),

- (90) **snax.naaχ-ii-s_{TX} / λ'ap-s_{KW}-tuu Wawalis s-ka_{ULM}-s ska_{UL}**
 slave.RDP-DIM-3SG.POSS_{ART}.DEF / go-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_{DIVE}-
 3SG.SUBJ NMZ-HYP.POT_{DIVE}
the young slave. Wawalis dove into the water and
- (91) **'al-'awl-i-s 'il_{XNAS}-s'il / qnk-lx-i_{KW}'i_{LUK} s-χim-s_{KW}-tuu wa_{SUNXW}'ac /**
 PROG-follow-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_{WIFE}-3SG.POSS_{ART}.DEF / down-INCH-DIM_{ENCS}
 NMZ-dawn-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{WORLD}.DEF /
followed his wife. Just before he reached the bottom, daylight broke.
- (92) **c'kt-s_{KW}-tuu Wawalis 'ul_{TA}-k_{ULULMX}-tχ / k'x-i-s_{KW}-tuu Wawalis**
 arrive-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} Wawalis PREP_{ART}.ART_{COUNTRY}.DEF / see-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS}
 Wawalis
Wawalis arrived in this (new, unknown) country. He saw
- (93) **ta_{KWM}-ulank_{TX} ti_Kca.ca-yi-s ta_{'IS}-m.k_{ML}-i_{TX} ta_{LL}...**
 ART_{THICK-ABDOMEN}.ART_{DEF} ART_{CHOP}.RDP-DIM-3SG.SUBJ ART_{GATHER-FIREWOOD}.RDP-
 DIM_{ART}.DEF ART_{CHOP}
a stout man who was chopping firewood, an old man.
- (94) **...k_{WLX}-tχ / 'usik-am-s_{KW}-tuu Wawalis 'ul_{TA}-stn_{TX} / qat'-uluusak-i-s_{KW}-k_{WL}'**
 ...old_{ART}.DEF / DIR.middle-become-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} Wawalis PREP_{ART}.ART_{TREE}.ART_{DEF}
 / pull-joint.branch-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS}
Wawalis went into the tree, and as he pulled himself up, he snapped
- (95) **Wawalis tu_{CIIXW}-t_{TXW} / k_{WANAT}-s_{KW}-k_{WL}' ta_{JKW}'lx_{TX}: 'anana! /**
 Wawalis ART_{WEDGES}.ART_{DEF} / cry-3SG.SUBJ_{ENCS} ART_{OLD}.ART_{DEF} / 'anana! /
the wedges (steps). Now the old man cried: "Anana!"
- (96) **ka_{χλ}'lic'-a_{MA} ta_L-k_{WM}-ulank 'al_A-ci_{IXW}-t_C 'awa / "q_W'alayxalx,**
 HYP.POT_{CRITICAL}-3PL.SUBJ_{POSB} ART_{COMPANY-THICK-ABDOMEN} PREP_{ART}.ART_{WEDGES}.ART_{DEF}
 here / old one
The stout one's household would likely be unhappy about these wedges. "Old one,
- (97) **cay-uc-χ s-ka_Kanat-nu / 'anu'ayk-nu a s-ka_{'AYK}'-ak-m-i-c Ø_{'ATUXW}-ci**
 stop-mouth-IMP NMZ-HYP.POT_{CRY}-2SG.SUBJ / want-2SG.SUBJ_{QM} NMZ-HYP.POT_{LONG}
 time-work-APPL-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ ART_{DEM}.ART_{DEF}
stop crying! Do you want me to waste time on these things,
- (98) **s-ka_{KS}-tu-Ø-c? / 'aχ_W-a_{KWU} 'al-x_{IN}-nimut-l-nu 'ul_{CI}-ka_{XNAS} ci_{KA}**
 NMZ-HYP.POT_{EFFECTIVE}-CAUS-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ / not_{ENCS} PROG-be aware of-
 CAUS.NONDELIB.REFL-past-2SG.SUBJ PREP_{ART}.HYP.POT_{WOMAN}.ART_{HYP}.POT_{DIVE}
repairing them? Have you perchance not seen a woman

- (99) **'a-nmp-i-t Ø_ka_ 'isut, qama-y-c?** / **"cix_ma ci_ 'al-k"n-i-t**
 PROG-occupy-3SG.OBJ-3PL.SUBJ ART_HYP.POT_paddler, friend-DIM-1SG.POSS / be her
 _POSB ART_PROG-take-1SG.OBJ-3PL.SUBJ
taken in a canoe by some paddlers, my friend?" "She must be the one they took,
- (100) **ta_ 'isut-l / cix_ma tu ci_ Snuximaax_cx 'al_a_sul-s ti_staltmx_tx /**
 ART-paddle-past / be her_ENCS ART_Snuximaax_ART.DEF PREP_ART_ house-3SG.POSS
 ART_chief_ART.DEF /
the paddlers, she must be (this) Snuximaax in the chief's house.
- (101) **tix_luu tx ti_ 'is-k"ml-alus-i-c / ka_qaaxla-c_mas tu_c' s-ka_ 'iiχ"sul-a(y)nix-i-c**
 be him_HAB he ART_gather-firewood-for fire-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ / HYP.POT_(have/
 provide) water-1SG.SUBJ_ENCS NMZ-HYP.POT_build fire-CMPL-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ
It is for him that I always carry firewood. I will bring water as usual and build a fire
- (102) **wa_sul-s ti_staltmx_tx / ka_ 'ali-c_ma 'al_ti_nulx"ta_tx s-ka_**
 ART_house-3SG.POSS ART_chief_ART.DEF / HYP.POT_be there-1SG.SUBJ_POSB PREP_ART_
 partition_ART.DEF NMZ-HYP.POT_
in the chief's house. I will probably be located behind the partition,
- (103) **'al'ilm-c / wix_ 'i_c' i_ka c s-ka_wlaax-i-c wa_qla_c /**
 standing-1SG.SUBJ / be then_ENCS DEM NMZ-HYP.POT_pour liquid-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ
 ART_water_ART.DEF /
standing up. That's when I'll be pouring out the water (to extinguish the fire).
- (104) **wix_ 'i_c' i_ka c s-ka_χ'ap-nu s-ka_ 'ip'-i-x" ci_xnas-nu_cx" / χ'ap-s_k" tuu**
 be then_ENCS DEM NMZ-HYP.POT_go-2SG.SUBJ NMZ-HYP.POT_grab-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ
 ART_wife-2SG.POSS_ART.DEF / go-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS
And that's when you will go and take hold of your wife." And he did go,
- (105) **Wawalis s-ka_ 'ip'-i-s 'il_xnas-s_ 'il / "χ'aki_ 'it, lṃ-nu, 'nc_c'n ta_**
 Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_grab-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_wife-3SG.POSS_ART.DEF / come
 _IMP get up-2SG.SUBJ / PRON.1SG_PNC ART_
Wawalis, and took hold of his wife. "Come, get up, I am
- (106) **Wawalis" / lṃ-s_k" tuu 'il_xnas-s_ 'il / ca.ck"-almx-s_k" tuu ta_k"m-ulank_tχ**
 Wawalis / get up-3SG.SUBJ_ENCS ART_wife-3sg.poss_ART.DEF / long.RDP-breast-3SG
 .SUBJ_ENCS ART_thick-abdomen_ART.DEF
Wawalis." And his wife did get up. And the stout one stretched his chest
- (107) **'al_tu_ 'anu-kal-al-i-s tu_sul_tχ" / χ'ap-s_k" tuu Wawalis s-ka_ 'al-'ip'-i-s 'il_**
 PREP_ART_through-straight-walk-DIM-3SG.POSS ART_house_ART.DEF / go-3SG.SUBJ
 _ENCS Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_PROG-grab-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART_
across the threshold of the house. And Wawalis went and took

- (108) **xnas-s_v'il s-ka_vlip'cut-aw 'ul_vtu_vk^wululmx-aw_vtɣ^w / pacal_vk^w'i_vlu_vc'i_vk**
 wife-3SG.POSS_vART.DEF NMZ-HYP.POT_vreturn-3PL.SUBJ PREP_vART_vcountry-3PL.POSS_v
_vART.DEF / first_vENCs
his wife with him for them to return to their country. He was first
- (109) **Wawalis s-'un-ks-nimut-s 'al_vta_vq'lsx^w_vtɣ / k^w'aca-ti-s_vk^w_vtuu Wawalis ta_v**
 Wawalis NMZ-middle-pull- CAUS.NONDELIB.REFL-3SG.SUBJ PREP_vART_vrope_vART.DEF /
 shake-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ_vENCs Wawalis ART_v
to hoist himself up the rope. Then Wawalis shook
- (110) **q'lsx^w_vtɣ / puλ[?]-s_vk^w_vtuu 'il_vxnas-s_v'il 'ul_vta_vlalas-s Wawalis / tu_v**
 rope_vART.DEF / come-3SG.SUBJ_vENCs ART_vwife-3SG.POSS_vART.DEF PREP_vART_vcanoe-
 3SG.POSS Wawalis / ART_v
the rope, and his wife, too, approached his canoe.
- (111) **cap-l_vk^w_vtu_vya ta_vsnax.naax-i-s Wawalis / λ'ap-ak-m-i-s_vk^w_vtuu Wawalis**
 bone-separated_vENCs ACT_vslave.RDP-DIM-3SG.POSS Wawalis / go-hand-APPL-3SG.OBJ-
 3SG.SUBJ_vENCs Wawalis
The bones of his young slave (were there). Wawalis put his hands
- (112) **s-ka_vnicm-tu-Ø-s ta_vsnax.naax-i-s_vtɣ / λ'ap-s_vk^w_vtuu Wawalis s-ka_v**
 NMZ-HYP.POT_valive-caus-3sg.obj-3sg.subj art_vslave.RDP-DIM-3SG.POSS_vART.DEF / start-
 3SG.SUBJ_vENCs Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_v
on the young slave and revived him. Wawalis then started
- (113) **'isut-s 'ul_vta_vk^wululmx-aw_vtɣ^w / litx^wm-s_vk^w_vtuu ta_vsta-'apsul-s /**
 paddle-3SG.SUBJ PREP_vART_vcountry-3PL.POSS_vART.DEF / assemble-3SG.SUBJ_vENCs ART_v
 fellow-villagers-3SG.POSS /
to paddle to their country. The community members got together:
- (114) **smaw_vk^w_vma_vk^w_vu_vc' s-nu-sk'l-uc-s / smaw_vk^w_vtuu ti_vs'aml s-ka_vlk^w'-anaac-s**
 one_vENCs NMZ-inside-cold-weather-3SG.SUBJ / one_vENCs ART_vsummer NMZ-HYP.POT_v
 big-SUP-3SG.SUBJ
it had been one cold season and one summer (that he had been away),
- (115) **Wawalis s-ka_vstaltmx-s 'al_va_vk^wululmx-s 'il_vxnas-s_v'il**
 Wawalis NMZ-HYP.POT_vchief-3SG.SUBJ PREP_vART_vcountry-3SG.POSS ART_vwife-3SG
 .POSS_vART.DEF
and Wawalis was now a great chief in his wife's country.

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Appendix: Translation of Wā'walis (Rivers Inlet version) presented in Boas (1928)

91

Wā'walis

Wā'walis lived at Bē'ts!es. Bē'ts!es is a pretty place./
At each end lived a chief of the tribe. At one end/ was the
house of Wā'walis. At the other end was the house of Mē'-
q!ūnts./ Wā'walis went sea hunting. When he went (5) his son,
Gā'tsidālak was crying. Then Wā'walis went spearing/ and caught
seals. He made a fire and/ singed (the seals). He put stones
on the fire,/ butchered (the seals) and put the seal meat on the
stones. Thus/ overnight it remained on the stones. When morning
came the seal meat was done. (10) He took it from the stones
and put it into baskets. Then/ he put into a separate one what
his wife liked best./ His wife liked the hind feet best. Then
he went./ He arrived at the house. Then he carried up the seal
meat./ He took it from the canoe up the beach to his house.
"Go on," said (15) Wā'walis, "Call our tribe. Let them come
and/ eat what we got." Then his slave went. "Come,/ tribe."
They came into the house of Wā'walis. His tribe came in./ Then
all were in the house of Wā'walis they were given/ seal meat and
his tribe ate. (20) He gave to his wife what she liked best.
Then he finished./ The tribe went out. When it was new moon/
the wife of Wā'walis went out./ The wife of Wā'walis was men-
struating./ Then the wife of Wā'walis came back. Then the
child of Wā'walis was crying./ Gā'tsidālak wanted to eat again.
(25) "Let us go spearing again," said he to/ his slave. Then
it was morning but they did not start. "This is a good/ day,
Wā'walis," he was told by his wife. (1) "You lost this good

day, Wā'walis," he was told by his/ wife. Then his slave would not go and he struck/ his slave and the little one cried, "Why don't you strike your wife's lover?/ Why do you strike me?"—"Don't say that, my dear," said (5) Wā'walis. Then Wā'walis did not sleep at all./ In the morning they started. Now he was waiting for it to be night. Then he asked/ his slave, "Who is my wife's lover, my dear?"—"G·I'ūēē/ is your wife's lover." Then he went near and waited for it to be night./ Then he said he would go back. He went to the beach of (10) his house and Wā'walis stepped out of the canoe. He went to the back of the house straight/ to the head end of her bed. Then Wā'walis sat on the ground./ He listened to hear whether his wife would speak. He had not been sitting on the ground long/ before his wife spoke with her lover./ His wife had G·I'ūēē, the son of Mē'q!unts for her lover. Mē'q!unts had four children/ (15) Then Wā'walis made a noise of gnawing. "Nnnn," said/ his wife, "You bad one! Gnaw the heart of Wā'walis." /Wā'walis heard his wife say this. Then there was again the sound of speaking/ of the wife of Wā'walis. Again he made a noise of gnawing. Then/ the wife of Wā'walis spoke again. "Nnnn," she said again, "you bad one. Why don't you gnaw (20) the heart of Wā'walis?" Then he waited again and again he/ made a noise of gnawing. Now the wife of Wā'walis did not speak./ Again he made the noise of gnawing. Now his wife was asleep./ Again he made a noise of gnawing. Now the wife of Wā'walis was sleeping./ He entered and came to the bed of his wife. (25) He felt of his wife. Then his wife had her arm under the neck of her lover./ Then she and her lover were asleep. Wā'walis cut off the head of/ his wife's lover. Then Wā'walis went out with the head of/ his wife's lover. As soon as he had it he paddled away/ in the night time. Then his wife awoke. Her child

cried very much. "What is the matter?" — "He soiled the bed." She carried out on her back/ the headless body of her lover. She went to his summer seat and/ laid the body down on the summer seat. He had for his summer seat a flat stone. (5) She put it down in the summer seat as if he was basking in the sun. Now/ the lover of Wā'walis' wife had no head. In the morning Mē'q!unts made breakfast/ and invited his tribe and the friends of his son/ for breakfast. Then breakfast was ready. "Go to/ your elder brother," thus the youngest brother was told. Then (10) he started. "Awaken, G·īlā! breakfast is ready."/ He did not awake. Then he was left by his youngest brother./ The youngest brother arrived at the house of his father. "He did not/ wake up," said he. "Go again and take off his blanket/ if he doesn't awake." Now he took off his blanket. Then (15) his brother had no head. Then cried/ the child . He cried as he was walking along to the house of his father,/ "G·īlā has no head!" said he. He came/ to his father, Mē'q!unts. "Don't say that, my dear. How should your eldest brother be that way?"/ said Mē'q!unts. They/ (20) started to look and indeed he had no head there in his summer seat./

Wā'walis was away spearing seals./ Then the headless body was brought. "Go on, take (the body) aboard. Take it to the/ head of the inlet called Wanuk. Never will die out these/ many tribes. Even if they should disappear (25) it will be good that they in number will be replaced, for/ my dead son shall lie in a deep cave." They brought him/ to the head of Wanuk.

Now Wā'walis had again obtained many seals./ Again he took them off the stones. They were cooked and Wā'walis took them out./ Then Wā'walis went home. He came in sight at the point of the village. (30) Then Wā'walis paddled strongly. He raised his paddles high. (1) He was seen by his tribe. "Do not raise

your paddles, Wā'walis./ The child of Mē'q!unts is gone." Wā'walis did not obey and raised/ his paddles. He arrived at the beach and carried up/ the seal meat and his seal meat was done. Then he arrived (5) in his house. At once his slave walked through/ the village and the whole tribe came into the house of/ Wā'walis. They were given meat. His tribe ate/ seal meat. Then he took up again his wife's basket./ In it was what his wife liked best. She took it out. (10) "Is this what I like best?" thus the wife of Wā'walis would say./ "There is something else which you like best," he would say to his wife. Then/ she arrived at the bottom and behold, there she saw the head of the dead lover/ of Wā'walis' wife. "Ananai'," said the wife of Wā'walis/ when she saw the head of her dead lover. Wā'walis took (15) what his wife liked best. "You cry on account of what you like best,"/ said Wā'walis, and he struck his wife between the legs/ with the head of her dead lover. He did not/ strike his wife a long time before she was dead. As soon as she had been killed he went aboard his canoe/ when his wife had been killed and his tribe ran out of the house. Then (20) Wā'walis cut up his wife. He cut out the heart of/ his wife and hung the heart of his wife over the doorway./ He never believed her when she lied and said that/ she was menstruating. Behold, whenever it is new moon/ drops fall down from the heart of (25) his dead wife when it was hanging above the doorway/ of the house of Wā'walis. Then he was pursued by his tribe. They tried/ to attack the house of Wā'walis, but they could not enter/ Wā'walis' house. Now they tried to do too much and his tribe left.

As soon as his tribe was reached/ by the warriors he ran from his house (30) starting away and going to the head of the place of Wanuk. He did not (1) see any person and he walked

up the river/ Then he tried to look around. There was no man to be seen./ He arrived at Ogwiwa and saw a small house./ There was no smoke in the small house. There was just one (5) little house with smoke. He went there/ and went to the door of the house at the end down river. He peeped in and there was nobody/ in the house. He went out again and went to another/ house. There was nobody sitting in the other house and / (10) he went out again and again he peeped into another house./ There was nobody sitting in the other house/. He went out again and peeped into another house. There was nobody/ sitting in the house. He went out again and he peeped into another/ house. Then he saw a little fire (15) in the one house. He went in and/ a great old man was lying on the floor on one side of a little fire. He could not see. Behold, the great old man was blind./ 'The old man had the great name Wanuk. He was the only one in the house./ Then he spoke and questioned him, "Is my princess sitting/ (20) in her room here? Go on! go into the room of my princess/ Xa-^εnyō's. Xa^εnyō'samēga is the name of my princess." Wā'walis started and went into the room of Wanuk's princess. "What is the matter with/ your tribe, Xa^εnyō's?" —/ "My father's tribe has been killed off./ Inland (25) from where we live the lake monster is the one who killed off/ our tribe." — "Does your father not see?" — (30) "No he cannot see." — "Come, come out of your room/ that I may cure your father. We are going to marry, Xa^εyō's." Then/ Xa^εyō's came out. "Now cure my father and/ we will marry." — "Do you know who I am? I am Wā'walis./ We shall be married. Now go on, let (1) your

father turn his head this way that I may cure him with my water of life." Then Wa'nuk turned his face. Wa'nuk was the name of the great chief. Wā'walis blew his water of life on him. He did so again and blew on his face. "Are you not beginning to see?" -- "Yes indeed." Once more (5) Wā'walis blew on him with his water of life. Then Wa'nuk saw. He was able to see well. "What has destroyed your tribe?" -- "The lake monster made the tribe disappear. It is there inland." -- "Go and try to go to the beach, (10) Xa^onyō'sr^omōga," said he, "that I may try to kill it with my death bringer." He sent his wife and she started. His wife went ahead. His wife waded in the water and the big lake monster opened its mouth. As soon as it opened its mouth he turned over (15) the death bringing end of his staff. Then the sea monster opened and shut its mouth. Once more he struck it with his death bringer. Four times he struck it with his death bringer and the big lake monster vomited out the tribe. (20) The tribe came and lay heaped on the beach. "Now gather together the bones on the beach that I may try my water of life." The bones of the tribe were gathered and when all was ready Wā'walis sprinkled (25) his water of life over them. Four times he sprinkled them with his water of life and the tribe of his wife came to life. The tribe of his wife raised their faces and they came to life. Then they entered the houses. They were well and went from the beach to the houses. "You will have us to work for you." (30) Then they were a big village and Xa^onyō's/ the princess of Wanuk was married to Wā'walis.

(1) It happened that the wife of Wā'walis went out at night. It was full/ moon. Then the moon came down and carried away/ the wife of Wā'walis./ Xa^{nyō}'semēga was taken up. Then there was no way for (5) Wā'walis to get back his wife. Then she was married to the/ Moon. After four days Xa^{nyō}'semēga was with child./ Quickly she gave birth to a/ boy. Quickly acquired sense/the child of the moon. Then he made a plan that he would cry. (10) He was crying. He made the plan because he wanted to come down to his grandfather./ Then the Moon made up his mind to take down his wife and/ his child. Then Spider was called on account of/ her rope. It was brought and they let/ Xa^{nyō}'-semēga down. With abalone shells was set (15) her blanket. She carried her/ child. Then they were let down by the rope of/ Spider. They came right down at/ Red-Rocks. (The boy) was planning to have a sling./ Then he carried his sling. He came (20) to the beach at the place Wanuk. Then he tried/ to throw a sling stone. He threw across and made a hole/ where his sling stone struck on the other side. Then he did the same again. He made a hole/ where his sling stone struck the other side of Awī'ē-is./ That was the name of the toy. Now (25) Sling the child was named after/ his own toy, the sling. Then he walked and/ he came to Ōbis. There were many birds./ Sling was standing on the beach. He threw a stone and they flew away. When he shot/ birds fell down. "Someone is walking (30) on the beach at Ōbis. He makes the birds fall down," said the tribe of his mother; / they made a stir about it. "It is he," said his tribe, (1) "Go and look." They

went/ to look what it might be. It was Xa'nyō's./ She came and entered the house of her father Wanuk. Then/ Sling entered the house of his grandfather Wanuk.

He moved to another (5) tribe and married among the tribe./ Wā'walis had a wife. He went hunting sea otters/ and Wā'walis came home. He came with a beautiful sea otter./ Then he skinned the sea otter and the fur was bloody./ He had several sea otters. Then he sent his wife. "Go and (10) wash the fur of the sea otters. They are bloody." Then/ his wife went. She went to the beach and carried the sea otters on a rope. To the beach went/ the wife of Wā'walis. She put her sea otters into the water. She was going to wash them/ at the beach in front of the house. Then she went into the water. Then/ his wife went up the beach to urinate. She urinated a long time.(15) Then what she was going to wash was floating away and what she was going to wash drifted out./ Then her urine was at an end. "Go out to what you are washing,"/she was told by several of her tribe./ Wā'walis' wife started and waded into the water. When she waded into the water/ a killer whale came up outside of the sea otter skins. (20) Wā'walis' wife was wading, as the sea otter skins drifted seaward/ she waded after them. Again the killer whale came up./ Then he took the wife of Wā'walis. She was sitting on his back/ in front of the dorsal fin of the killer whale./ He started and went out to sea with her. Then Wā'walis was told, (25) "Wā'walis, your wife has been taken away." — "Who took her away?"/ said Wā'walis. "The Killer Whale took your wife."/ Wā'walis went. He was going after his wife./Wā'walis went to the beach and he just lifted the sea on the land side./ He went under the water and walked along under the sea. (30) He reached the Crow and asked her, "Did you not see/ my wife?" — "Go on run, he just passed with (1) your wife." Then

Wā'walis went along. He came to the halibut/ and he asked him also, "Did you not see my wife?"/ — "Go on, run Wā'walis. He just passed along with your wife."/ Then he ran on again. He reached the codfish. (5) "Did you not see my wife?" — "Run along. He just/ passed with your wife." Thus he was told again. Then/ he came to the house of the Killer Whale. He went near the house of/ the Killer Whale. Then Wā'walis saw that one was getting firewood./ He went to the place where Big-Belly was wedging. (10) Behold it was he, the attendant of the chief of the Killer Whales. Then/ Wā'walis bit off the point of the wedge of the wedger. Then he cried,/ "Heē'. I am going to be scolded. He will be angry with me, the Big-Belly chief."/ Then Wā'walis came out. He had been inside what was being wedged by/ the fuel cutter. Then he asked him, "Why are you crying?" — "I have spoiled (15) the wedge of the great chief." — "For whom are you getting firewood?" —/ "For the chief of the Killer Whales." — "Have you not seen my/ wife?" — "She is the one for whom I am making the fire." — "Give me/ your wedge," said Wā'walis. It was given to him./ Then Wā'walis put the wedge into his mouth, and he made the wedge whole again. (20) "Now I am going to help you, if you should try to get your wife./ I shall be asked at once to start a fire, as soon as I/ arrive with this my firewood. Then I shall make a fire/ and when I have finished making a fire I am going to be sent to bring water./ Then follow me. Just stand in the doorway. (25) As soon as I shall go to the fire in the house of the chief I shall/ fall down and I will pour the water into the fire in the house. Then run,/ take up your wife. Then pass me and/ my spines will grow up. They cannot pass me in the doorway/ of the house of the chief. Then you can get away with (30) your wife."/

(1) He was waiting for his children. He had four children who had sense./ The youngest one was Gā'tsidā'laḥ. His children walked/ along. They were waiting for/ their father. They were walking along in the woods. They walked about without caring where they went. (5) Then they came to a river. Then they cried on account of the/ youngest one. "How can we get across? Yeē. How may Gā'tsidā'laḥ get across?"/--"Why should I not get across? Can I not jump across?"/ Then the eldest one jumped across. Then the four girls jumped across./ Then they were all across the river. They walked (10) along again. Again they walked a long distance. Again they reached/ a river. It was a little wider. Then they said the same as before./ Again they cried. The reason for this was their youngest sister./ "Can I not jump across?" Then they all jumped across again./ Then they were walking along again. Again they walked and came again (15) to a river. Again they were in trouble, in case their /youngest sister had no way to go across. Then they jumped across again/ and they were all across again. Again they went and they came to/ a large river. The river was very large. Then / they began to cry. They cried, "Heē'. How shall Gā'tsidā'laḥ get across. (20) The eldest one went across. She climbed/ a tree on the other side of the big river. She threw down a tree/ on the other side of the river. Then the tree lay across/ the other side of the big river. The younger sisters stepped on it/ and they all came across. Thus they passed four rivers and (25) again they walked along. Then they heard the noise of making a canoe. They walked along/ and came near, going to the place where the canoe was being made. Then they saw/ a woman making a canoe. They arrived in the woods where the canoe was being made. Behold, it was a big woman./ The child of the canoe maker was in the cradle. Then they arrived and/ Gā'tsidā'laḥ pinched the legs/

(1) of the child. "Don't do that Gā'tsidā'laʔ, else it will cry."/ She took her breast and threw her big breast back./ It reached the child. Then the child finished sucking./ Gā'tsidā'laʔ pinched it again. "Don't do that, Gā'tsidā'laʔ," (5) she said, although she did not look. She was the big Adzi./ Then she did it again. She pinched it strongly./ "Don't do that, Gā'tsidā'laʔ. It shall be yours." Then she did so again./ She pinched it again. Again she pinched it strongly./ "Ah-ah-ah-ah-ah!" said the little child. "Do not do that (10) Gā'tsidā'laʔ. This canoe which I am making shall be yours." Almost finished/ was the canoe that the woman was making. "Wi!" cried on each side the big canoe/ that the woman was making. Young sawbill ducks were sitting on each side of the big canoe she was making./ Their mother was sitting in the bow. The mother of the young sawbill ducks was making a Chinook canoe./ Feathers were between the young sawbill ducks. (15) They were sticking on the sides between the young sawbill ducks. They were sticking on their heads./ Between the young sawbill ducks were spirits (?)./ Then she did so again. She pinched the hand of the/ child. "Do not do that, Gā'tsidā'laʔ. Yours shall be/ my big apron. My big apron is a fire maker. My big apron burns up everything. (20) So go ahead to your canoe. Gā'tsidā'laʔ."/ Then she said, "Go ahead," and indeed the future canoe of Gā'tsidā'laʔ started on the ground./ Speaking-Sides was the name of her canoe. "You will just sit down in the bottom./ Just say to your canoe, 'Go ahead,' Gā'tsidā'laʔ." She launched it/ and Gā'tsidā'laʔ went aboard. She tried to say, "Go ahead," and the canoe paddled (25) and started on the water. It began to move./ She said, "Go on, paddle," and nobody was seen. Then there was a noise of many people who said,/ "Go on," and the big canoe went along on the water. It returned/ and went where it had started from. She instructed her again.

(1) "I shall make war. I shall go and fight those who made war against Wā'walis." — "Go on, dress your eldest sister. Now/ you will try on her the mother of the young sawbill ducks." Then the eldest one was dressed/ with the mother of the young sea birds. Then it did not fit her. (5) Then her place was taken by her younger sister. They put on her again the mother of/ the young sawbill ducks. Then she cut through the water and fluttered. It almost/ seemed right. Then they changed again and again they put it on (the next younger one)./ Then she cut through the water. It almost fitted her,/ when she cut through the water. Then her place was taken again by the youngest one. (10) Gā'tsi-dā'laḥ was dressed. Then she cut through the water and she also fluttered./ She imitated the young sawbill ducks rightly. Now the last one/ did rightly. Now they agreed that she did rightly. At last she did rightly (?). Then she was instructed/ by the big Adzi what she should do to those against whom she was going to make war to take revenge./ She was going to make war against those who had been married to her father. Then she arrived (15) on the other side of the point of the village. Then she put on the/ mother of young sea birds and she went into the water in front of the/ big village. She used as a decoy the young sawbill ducks./ She came out at the point of the big village. Then she swam through the water. They saw her/ and a great noise was made, the noise of canoes being put into the water by the great tribe. (20) They were all on the water in their canoes. Then the young sawbill ducks turned back./ They turned and paddled after them. All went out to sea./ They came paddling. Then she said, "Go ahead, Big-Canoe-That-Says-'Wi',/ paddle." No one was seen paddling on either side of the big canoe. The young sawbill ducks went through the water but it was only (25) Ga'tsidā'laḥ dressed as the mother of the young sawbill ducks./ Then they all gathered on the

water. She took up in the canoe the apron. Then (1) she struck out with it. She struck out with her fire making apron. Then/ they caught fire and all those who paddled after the young sawbill ducks were burned./ Then she threw it upward. They arrived at the village. Behold/ Wā'walis had come back. Behold he had returned. (5) (He) had gone after his wife. Then the whole village was burned./