

ELEMENTS OF LUSHOOTSEED GRAMMAR IN DISCOURSE PERSPECTIVE

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics

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Title: Elements of Lushootseed Grammar in Discourse Perspective

Previous analyses have made insightful progress on how Lushootseed functions primarily based upon elicitation work and morphosyntactic observations. Much of this work is based upon a structural linguistic analysis. For years, this form of analysis has been the primary way Lushootseed has been presented and these insights have been helpful in understanding how Lushootseed functions. Indeed, much of what has been said about Lushootseed on this level is the basis for my analysis in this dissertation.

However, there are elements of Lushootseed that do not fit well within this more traditional framework and are not fully understood through just a structural linguistic analysis. This includes morphological elements, such as: the functions of *s-* ‘nominalizer’; *ʔu-*, previously analyzed as a perfective marker; and *=axʷ*, previously analyzed as marking a change of state. In addition, previous analyses of the diachronic Salish passive construction as a synchronic passive does not hold among four Central Salish languages. The methodology in this dissertation examines natural speech patterns

and leans towards analyzing morphosyntactic elements in terms of focus and discourse marking. When certain Lushootseed constructions are analyzed using this approach, their distributions have promising results.

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Hilbert, Vi. Miller, Jay. Zahir, Zalmal. 2001. sdaʔdaʔ g^wəl dibəl ləšucid ʔacaciłtalbix^w
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I INTRODUCTION¹

1.1 A natural speech analysis approach to language examination

Previous analyses have made insightful progress on how Lushootseed morphosyntax functions primarily based upon elicitation work and morphosyntactic observations. Much of this work is based upon a structural linguistic analysis. For years, this form of analysis has been the primary way Lushootseed has been presented and these insights have been helpful in understanding how Lushootseed morphosyntax functions. Such analyses have formed our understanding of word order patterns, word boundaries and much of our morphological understanding, and forms the basis for my analysis in this dissertation.

However, there are elements of Lushootseed that do not fit well within this more traditional framework and are not fully understood through just a structural linguistic analysis. This includes functions of morphological elements such as: the *s-* ‘nominalizer’; *ʔu-*, previously analyzed as a perfective marker; and *=axʷ*, previously analyzed as marking a change of state. In addition, what has been analyzed as a historical Salish passive construction does not function as a synchronic passive in four Central Salish languages.

Previous works have provided us with abundant text to work with that documents natural speech patterns (Beck & Hess, 2010, 2014, 2015; Bierwert, 1996; Hess, 1995, 1998, 2006b; Hilbert, 1995, n.d.; Hilbert & Bierwert, 2001; Hilbert & Miller, 2005;

¹ For abbreviations and symbols, see Appenix A.

Snyder, 1968b). These works are in addition to the texts I have transcribed to use for much of my analysis in this dissertation (see Lushootseed Texts below). Given this large corpus of work, it is not surprising that analyses have begun based on natural speech patterns (Barthmaier, 2000; Bates, 1997, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2005; Beck, 2000b; Beck & Bennett, 2007). Similar to these approaches, my methodology examines natural speech patterns and leans towards analyzing certain morphosyntactic elements in terms of focus and discourse marking. This dissertation addresses only a few of these issues with the following chapters:

The rest of Chapter 1 presents the rest of my introduction to Lushootseed. Section 1.2 briefly discusses my Lushootseed background. Section 1.2 discusses the data I use for this dissertation. Section 1.3 discusses Lushootseed and the Salish language family. Section 1.4 presents a brief overview of the many scholars who have contributed to the field of Lushootseed. Section 1.5 presents the Lushootseed orthography. Section 1.6 presents the Lushootseed phonemic inventory. Section 1.7 presents an overview of Lushootseed dialect differences.

Chapter 2 presents a brief discussion on Lushootseed morphosyntax.

Chapter 3 discusses my analysis of argument alignment. Lushootseed, Squamish, Halkomelem and Klallam all belong to the Central Salish branch of the Salish language family. All four languages have several different types of transitive constructions that distribute within a hierarchy based on person, including speech act participant (SAP) acting on another SAP; SAP acting on 3rd person; 3rd person acting on 3rd person; and 3rd person acting on SAP. Using all

four languages, Chapter presents a historical syntax analysis of how this hierarchy has developed.

Chapter 4 discusses my analysis of the function of nominalization and dependent clauses. Analysis of natural speech shows that clausal nominalization is used for information that is presuppositional, expected, anticipated or is less importance. I posit that the *s-* nominalizer is an oppositional component to unmarked finite clauses that express information that is suppositional, unexpected, unanticipated or important. This opposition is a strategy for marking contrastive focus.

Chapter 5 presents my analysis of the verbal prefix *ʔu-*. This prefix aligns with information that occurs within a new mental space. As such, this verbal prefix is examined as a mental space-builder.

Chapter 6 discusses the clitic *=axʷ*. This clitic aligns with information that provides preconditional information for a subsequent situation or event.

I now turn to the remainder of the introduction.

1.2 Lushootseed background with data

I come from a diverse ancestral and cultural background. My mother was of Nakota Sioux ancestry on her father's side, my father was Afghan, and my step-father was Puyallup. I was taught to appreciate my Afghan heritage, but I was raised by my

mother's and step-father's traditions. As a result, my step-father's culture became a part of my own identity. From a young age, my family and several community members impressed upon me the importance of language and culture. They taught me that knowing and speaking language is essential to understanding a culture. Having a strong appreciation for indigenous traditions and practices, this view motivated me to learn and speak Lushootseed.

Because of this, I have studied Lushootseed with speakers from several Western Washington tribes who were very generous with their knowledge (see section 1.3 for a list of tribes that speak Lushootseed). Below, I discuss a brief history of those whom I had the pleasure of working with, and how my work with Lushootseed has motivated me to work on language revitalization with my community.

I was introduced to Lushootseed by my step-father, Donald ("Don") McPherson Matheson, in 1974 when I was eleven years old. My step-father was a Puyallup tribal member who had heard Lushootseed as he was growing up. In the early 1970s, he studied it with Thom Hess and Vi Hilbert while they were teaching Lushootseed at the University of Washington. He introduced me to Lushootseed using the pedagogical materials developed by Hess and Hilbert. Even at this novice level of Lushootseed understanding, my step-father introduced me to Lushootseed vocabulary and speaking conventions that did not exist in English. This began my understanding of the interrelationship between language and culture. At this point, I began understanding that there are concepts in Lushootseed language culture that are not well framed in English.

I also learned Lushootseed from Eva Jerry, a Muckleshoot tribal elder, while I lived on the Muckleshoot Reservation and was a sophomore at Auburn High School.

Jerry utilized some of the same pedagogical materials my step-father used to further my study of Lushootseed. Like my step-father, Jerry advanced my understanding that there are elements of Lushootseed culture that are not well expressed in English.

I took three quarters of Lushootseed from Vi Hilbert, an Upper Skagit tribal elder, while I was a sophomore at the University of Washington. It was through Hilbert that I was first exposed to recordings of elders telling traditional narratives. Hilbert taught me how to study the culture and traditional values through these narratives. This included transcribing and translating some of these narratives, which have become the basis for my natural speech analysis in this dissertation.

It was through Hilbert that I was introduced to Dr. Thom Hess, a Linguist from the University of Victoria who made major contributions to field of Lushootseed studies (see section 1.4). I did not take formal classes with Hess, however he became a dear friend and mentor who gave me instruction on Lushootseed pedagogy and grammar. Hess, too, impressed upon me the connection between Lushootseed language, traditional narratives and the culture. He once suggested that traditional narratives told in Lushootseed are the only thing left one could access the culture that had not been affected by Western contact.

After undergraduate school, I began teaching Lushootseed classes to several of the Puget Sound area tribal communities. This is when I began attempting to achieve regular Lushootseed use for myself, as well as helping others speak it beyond class instruction.

I also had the fortune of working with a few other 1st language speakers as a Lushootseed learner, including: Lawrence Webster and Ethel Sam, Suquamish tribal elders; Earnest Barr and Ellen Williams, Snoqualmie tribal elders; Art Williams and Herald Moses, Muckleshoot tribal elders; Charlie Sneatlum, a Tulalip tribal elder; Nellie Remeriz, a Squaxin Island tribal elder; and Mary Jack, a Tulalip tribal elder. I also continued to work with Vi Hilbert. I was able to record all of these speakers, but the majority of natural speech I gathered was from Vi Hilbert and Earnest Barr.

Even though I was able to gather natural speech from a few of the last 1st language speakers of Lushootseed, my work in this dissertation is mostly based upon speakers recorded before the mid-1950s. In general, these speakers use more complex morphosyntactic constructions with a larger vocabulary, which I depend upon for my discourse analysis approach.

The speakers whose speech is used for my analysis include Annie Daniels, Betsy Lozier, Jerry Meeker, Harry Moses, Lillian Ortiz, and Eva Jerry.

Annie Daniels and Betsy Lozier were recorded by Leon Metcalf in the early 1950s. I have transcribed over 2 hours of Annie Daniels' speech. She was of Duwamish descent and lived on the Muckleshoot Reservation. Although she could speak English, she was clearly more comfortable in Lushootseed (see and compare 'Mink and the Questing Boy (Lushootseed)' and 'Mink and the Questing Boy (English)' in Lushootseed Text section). Most of her recordings were traditional narratives. However, three short messages were recorded from her to be delivered to other elders that Metcalf worked with, and she sang two songs. Betsy Lozier was Muckleshoot. The discourse I use by her is a historical account of how her mother was lost in the mountains as a little girl.

Lillian Ortiz was Muckleshoot. She was recorded in the early 1970s when she was sixty-five years old, by her daughter, Verna Bartlett. Ortiz provided an autobiography that includes a description of being raised by her grandparents on the Muckleshoot Reservation.

Jerry Meeker was Puyallup. He was recorded by Marian Smith in the 1950s, telling the traditional narrative, ‘The Contest Between the Northerners and Southerners’.

Harry Moses was Sauk-Suiattle. He was recorded by Leon Metcalf in the 1950s, telling a story about Coyote. This material was shared with me under contract with the Sauk-Suiattle tribe, who have requested that I not use it. As such, his story is used for analysis only but is not part of the literature shared in the Lushootseed Texts section.

Eva Jerry was Muckleshoot. She was recorded in the 1980s, telling traditional narratives.

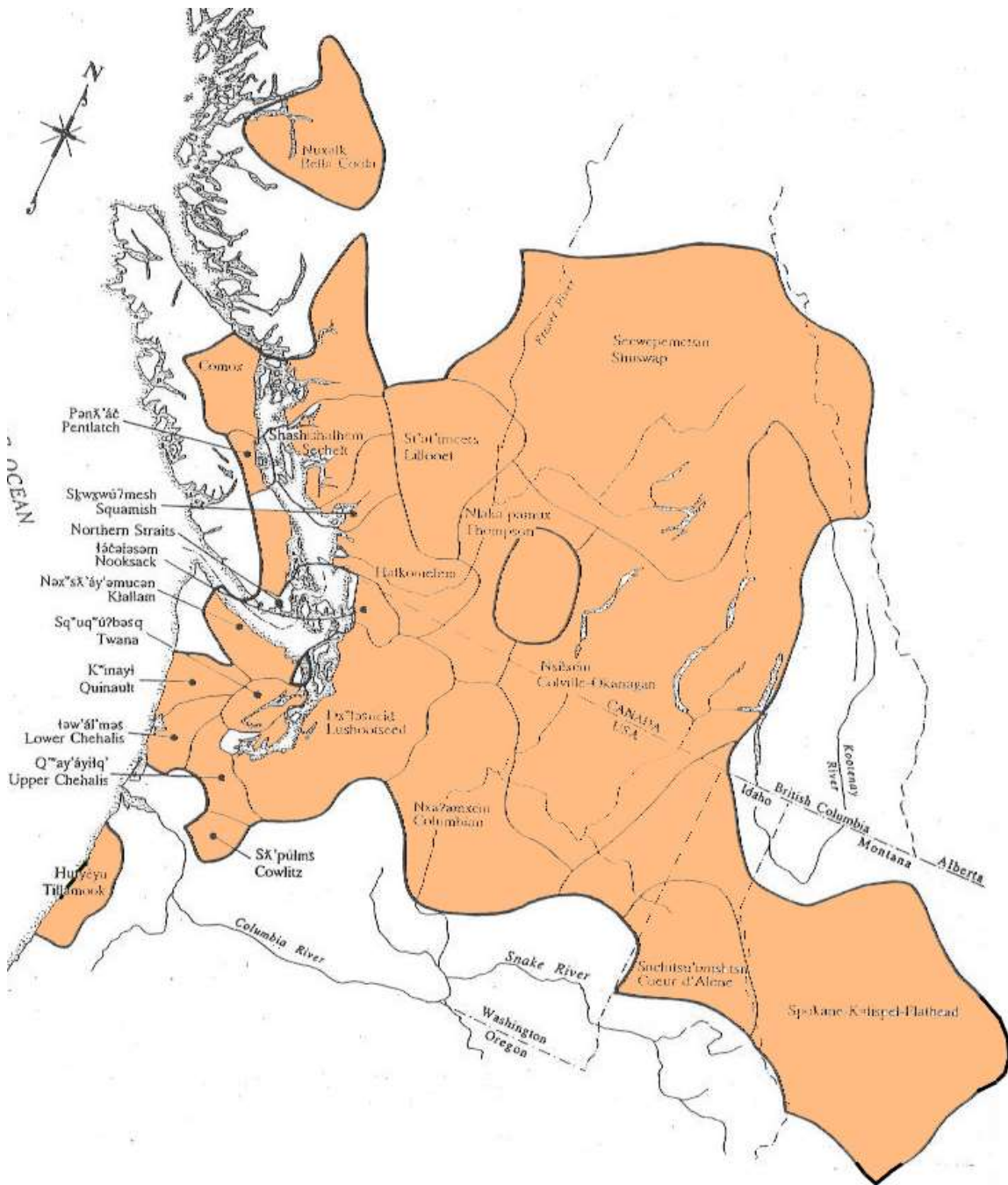
In addition to these sources of Lushootseed data, in Chapter 0 I use data from three other Central Salish languages based on work by the following scholars: Peter Jacobs for Squamish; Donna Gerdtz for Halkomelem; and Timothy Montler for Klallam.

1.3 Lushootseed and the Salish family

Lushootseed is a member of the Salish language family. The Salish language family is comprised of 23 North American languages that extend from Canada to Oregon and from the Pacific Ocean east into Montana (

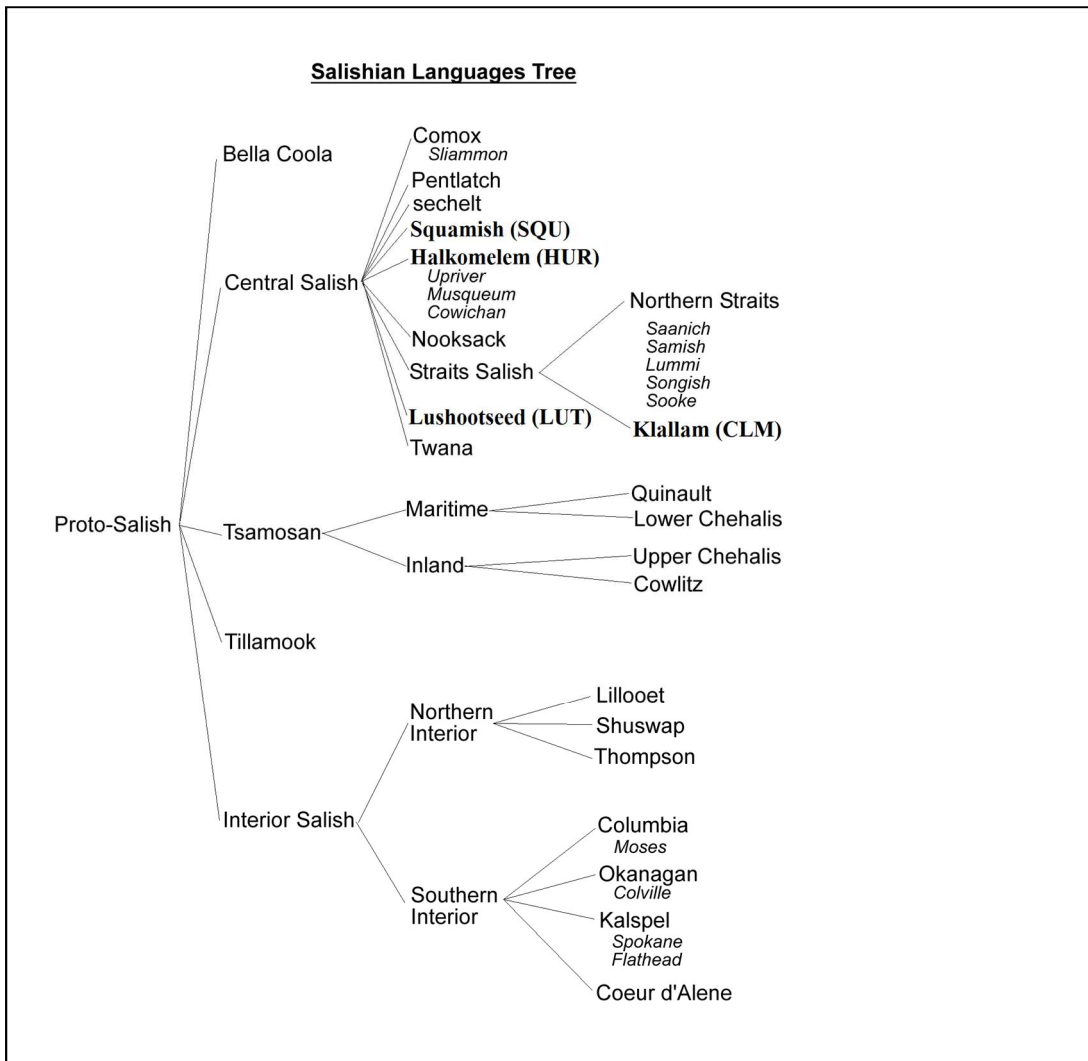
Figure 1).

Figure 1: Map of Salish languages (Hess, 2006a, p. 3)



Although the exact division of linguistic sub-groups within the Salish language family varies across linguistic publications, here I use Kroeber's (Kroeber, 1999, p. 3) classification (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Salish languages tree. Major dialects are listed in italics under the language name. The four languages discussed in this dissertation are in bold.



Proto-Salish breaks into five groups: Bella Coola, Central Salish, Tsamosan, Tillamook and Interior Salish. Bella Coola, Central Salish, Tsamosan and Tillamook are on the west side of the Cascade Mountain Range, which runs from Southern British Columbia, Canada, to Northern California. Interior Salish is on the east side of the Cascade Mountain Range and breaks into 2 subdivisions, Northern and Southern Interior Salish. Northern Interior has 3 languages spoken in British Columbia. Southern Interior has 4 languages spoken in British Columbia and Washington.

Lushootseed is classified as a Central Salish language. It is spoken within the Puget Sound region of Washington, including all of its river tributaries, the east side of Kitsap Peninsula, Whidbey Island, and the Skagit Valley (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Map of Lushootseed

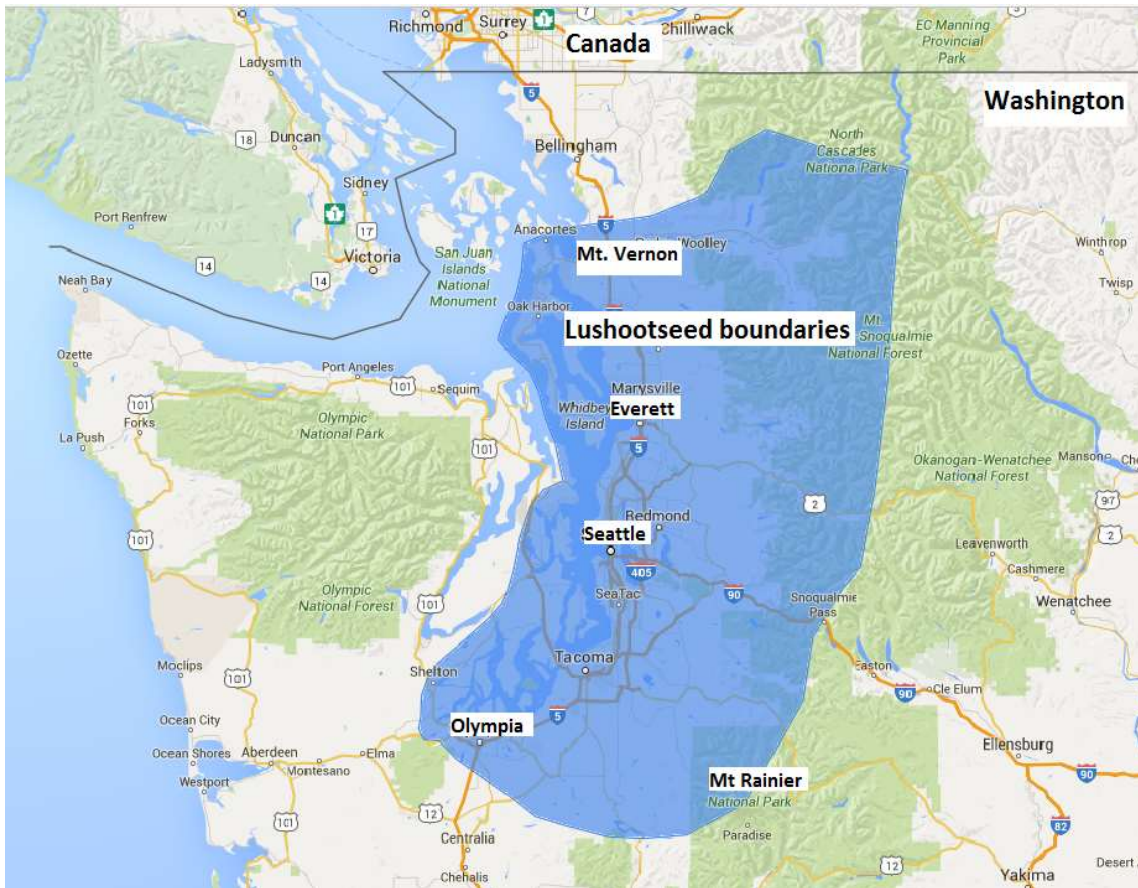
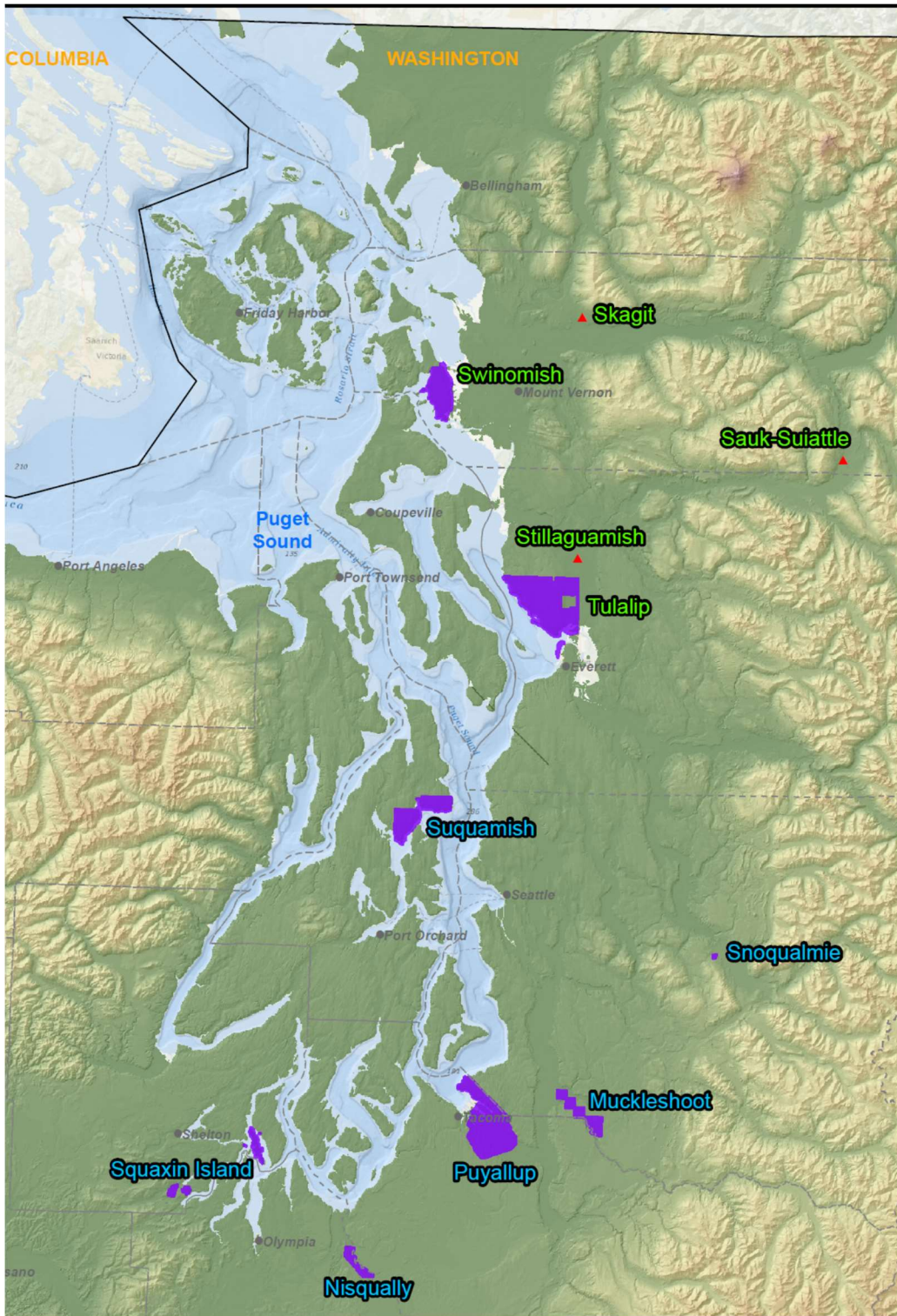


Figure 4: Map of Lushootseed speaking tribes (“Puget Sound Area Tribes,” n.d.)



Lushootseed is the native language of eleven Federally recognized tribes. They are Upper Skagit (Skagit), Swinomish, Tulalip, Sauk-Suiattle, Stillaguamish, Snoqualmie, Suquamish, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Nisqually and Squaxin Island (Figure 4).² As of 2018, these tribes make up a population of over twenty thousand. Conventionally, Lushootseed has been recognized as consisting of two dialects. These are Northern and Southern Lushootseed; the border between them lies approximately at the Snohomish-King County line, which is just north of Seattle.

The name for Lushootseed varies within the language community. *dx^wləšucid* is the term used by the Tulalip/Snohomish and all other Lushootseed tribes north of the Tulalip Reservation. This includes the Swinomish, Skagit, Sauk-Suiattle and Stillaguamish. Variants for this word are *x^wəlšucid*, used by the Muckleshoot and Snoqualmie tribes, and *tx^wəlšucid* for all other tribes. This includes Suquamish, Duwamish, Puyallup, Nisqually and Squaxin Island tribes. Some individuals do not use these names. Rather, they just used the name of the tribe, e.g., *suq^wabš-ucid* ‘Suquamish-language’ or *sduk^walbix^w-ucid* ‘Snoqualmie-language’. Others just referred to it as ‘Indian’ (1).

- (1) ʔu-χud-χud čəd ʔə tə ʔaciłtalbix^w.
 SB-REDUP-speak 1SG OBL DET Indian
 ‘I am speaking Indian.’

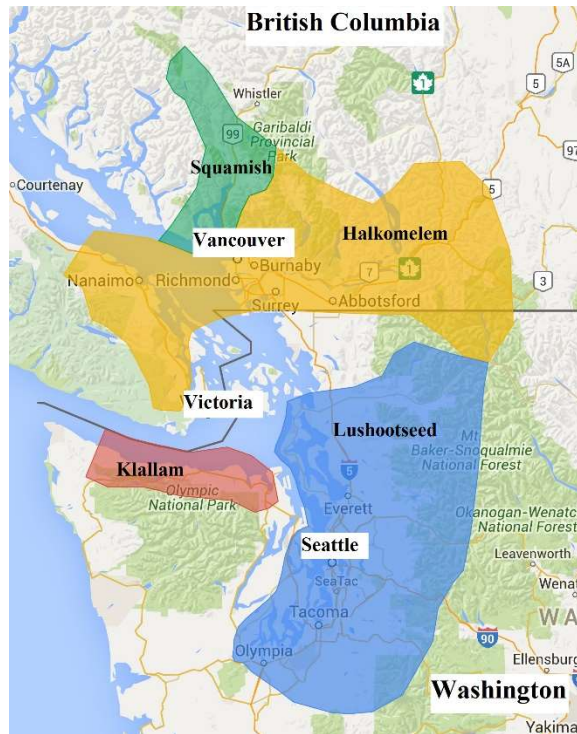
² In addition there are Federally unrecognized Lushootseed tribes including the Duwamish and Snohomish.

The term “Lushootseed” was coined by Thom Hess. It is from the name *dx^wləšucid*. The *dx^w*- prefix was removed to make it easier for non-Lushootseed speakers to pronounce. This is the most accepted name in the linguistics community. Other known terms for Lushootseed are Puget Salish and Puget Sound Salish.

Lushootseed shares its borders with the following languages: Halkomelem, Nooksack and Strait Salish to the north; Klallam, Twana and Satsop to the west; Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz to the south; Thompson, Columbian and Sahaptin to the east.

In chapter 3, I use data from three other Central Salish languages. They are Squamish spoken in British Columbia, Halkomelem in British Columbia and part of Washington, and Klallam in Washington (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Map of Squamish, Halkomelem, Klallam and Lushootseed



The Central Salish languages will be represented by CS and from henceforth, the term “4 CS languages” will refer to these four Central Salish languages. The International Organization for Standardization (ISO) codes for the 4 CS languages are: Squamish (SQU), Halkomelem (HUR), Klallam (a.k.a., Clallam) (CLM), and Lushootseed (LUT).³

1.4 Contributions to the field of Lushootseed linguistics

There have been several contributions to the field of Lushootseed linguistics. What I list in this section is just an attempt to acknowledge the many scholars that have made these invaluable contributions.

George Gibbs began gathering Lushootseed word lists in the early 1800s. His collection of Lushootseed vocabulary and some sentences and phrases culminated in a dictionary published by the Smithsonian in 1877 (Gibbs, 1877). Although his orthography was inadequate for documenting non-English Lushootseed sounds, his material is the oldest known written record of Lushootseed. In addition, the dictionary

³ The ISO mistakenly represents Lushootseed and Southern Puget Sound Salish (SLH) as two different languages. **This is not correct.** Lushootseed consists of two primary dialects, Northern Lushootseed and Southern Lushootseed that are well documented as clearly mutually intelligible (Hess 1974), and I will therefore only use LUT to represent both dialects as one language, Lushootseed.

has vocabulary that is not attested elsewhere. I have reformatted the data from this document into a dictionary with the current orthography (Zahir, Forth coming).

Father Eugene C. Chirouse was the Catholic priest on the Tulalip Reservation in the 1800s (“Chirouse, Father Eugene Casimir (1821-1892),” n.d.). He authored a book on prayers and a catechism in Lushootseed (1879). This is the first publication that attempts to use an orthography that captures the non-English sounds.

The Smithsonian Institution published a paper on vocabulary to be elicited on American native languages and included instructions on eliciting and recording the data (Powell, 1877, p. 3). Two ethnographers, Myron Eells and Samuel R. Mcleary, utilized this list for obtaining vocabulary in the 1800s.

Hermann Haeberlin was an ethnologist who did research in and around Puget Sound after the turn of the 20th century. His field research is recorded in 42 handwritten journals archived at the Smithsonian Collections in Maryland. Haeberlin co-authored a paper with Erna Gunther in 1924 that was published in a book entitled, *The Indians of Puget Sound* (Haeberlin & Gunther, 1930).

John Peabody Harrington did research on Lushootseed in 1910 while residing in Seattle to teach at the University of Washington (“Record John Peabody Harrington papers: Duwamish, 1910 | Collections Search Center, Smithsonian Institution,” n.d.). He studied Lushootseed with Chief William Rogers of the Suquamish Tribe. Harrington gathered invaluable vocabulary for various subjects, including astronomy and place names.

Thomas Talbot Waterman conducted field research on many Northwest languages, including Lushootseed, from 1918 to 1920 (Hilbert, Miller, & Zahir, 2000, p. 2). His fields notes and other manuscripts are available through Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley. His field notes include ethnographic recordings of Lushootseed language and culture, and contain invaluable vocabulary, several hundred place names, a few short stories, and insights into the Lushootseed culture. His work culminated in books on Lushootseed culture with some Lushootseed vocabulary (Waterman, 1973; Waterman & Coffin, 1920; Waterman & Greiner, 1921). Waterman's greatest contribution to Lushootseed studies was his unpublished manuscript on Lushootseed place names in and around Puget Sound. This document was republished by Vi Hilbert, Jay Miller and Zalmai Zahir with the addition of an updated orthography and maps (2000).

Erna Gunther authored a book on Ethnobotany of Western Washington that incorporates plant names from several Western Washington languages including Lushootseed (1981).

Arthur Ballard lived in Auburn, Washington, next to the Muckleshoot Reservation where he was introduced to and studied the Lushootseed language and culture. His research was published in two articles on traditional narratives in English with some Lushootseed vocabulary (1927, 1929). *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound* (1929) was republished with additional commentary by Kenneth G. (Greg) Watson (1999). Other articles by Ballard captured Lushootseed vocabulary on kinship terms (1935), seasonal calendric terms (1950), and the fish weir (1957).

Colin Tweddell authored a publication that includes Lushootseed phonetics, phonology and grammar (1950). He focused on the southern dialect, specifically the Snoqualmie dialect.

Marian Smith authored a book on the Puyallup-Nisqually culture (1969). Her book is extensive, covering a large range of topics. The text is mostly English but each section has Lushootseed vocabulary insertions.

George V. Gerkoff elicited word lists and phrases in the Skagit dialect between 1964 and 1967. There are five note books by Gerkoff archived at the Linguistics Department, University of California at Berkeley.

Thom Hess made the largest contribution to Lushootseed documentation and linguistics in a career spanning five decades. His dissertation (1967a) covers Lushootseed grammar, morphophonemics and morphosyntax. He wrote the first comprehensive modern dictionary of Lushootseed (Hess, 1976). He authored and co-authored several pedagogical materials (Hess, 1995, 1998, 2006a, 2006b, n.d.-a, n.d.-b; Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, 1978b). Hess also contributed insights into Lushootseed morphosyntax through his numerous papers (Hess, 1967b, 1968, 1969, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1993; Hess & Bates, 1998; Hess & van Eijk, 1985; Hilbert & Hess, 1975).

Vi taq^wšəblu Hilbert was a Skagit elder who also made a substantial contribution to the study of Lushootseed. Besides being an author and co-author on several publications about Lushootseed, Hilbert was a teacher and lecturer on Lushootseed language and culture, representing her community for several years (Yoder, 1992). Much of her work focused on transcriptions and translations of speakers telling traditional

narratives, history and cultural practices (Hilbert, 1995, n.d.; Hilbert & Bierwert, 2001; Hilbert & Miller, 2005).

Jay Miller has authored materials that provide insights into Lushootseed culture and include some language (Miller, 1999, 2005, 2014).

Warren Snyder authored two books on Southern Lushootseed. The first covers Lushootseed phonology and morphology (Snyder, 1968a) and his second book has several texts of traditional narratives, an autobiography, a transcription of a short conversation, and place names in and around Suquamish, Washington (Snyder, 1968b).

Harriet Turner (1976) authored a book on ethnozoology of the Snoqualmie Tribe. This book is an invaluable source for animal names and zoology.

In his paper “Pronominal Arguments and Syntax of Lushootseed Transitives,” Robert Hagiwara (1989) analyzes the Lushootseed transitive construction. He includes analysis of zero marked arguments, pronominal clitics, and full nouns.

Paul T. Barthmaier (2000) discusses clause participants in terms of informational discourse flow in Lushootseed. Using analysis of natural speech, he suggests that the contrast between zero marked arguments and those expressed in an oblique marks the relevance of the participant to the discourse being constructed.

Dawn Bates made an invaluable contribution to Lushootseed with the second edition of the Lushootseed Dictionary (Bates, Hess, & Hilbert, 1994a). In collaboration with Thom Hess and Vi Hilbert, Bates compiled and combined the information from Hess’ (1976) Puget Salish Dictionary with research done by Hilbert. This publication is now available as an online resource (“Lushootseed Dictionary Online,” n.d.).

Bates is also author and co-author of several conference papers in which she discusses Lushootseed morphosyntax. Several of her analyses include natural speech in traditional narratives (Bates, 1997, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2005; Bates & Hess, 2001, 2003).

Crisca Bierwert has been a scholar of Lushootseed for many years and has made invaluable contributions with her work. She is the editor of the book *Lushootseed Texts: An Introduction to Puget Salish Narrative Aesthetics* (1996). Authors include Thom Hess, Vi Hilbert, Crisca Bierwert, and Toby C. S. Langen.

David Beck has made tremendous contributions to understanding Lushootseed grammar and several other languages through his numerous articles and publications. Beck gives insightful analyses of verbal morphology and syntax, and discusses semantic and grammatical roles. His work also presents insightful analyses of clausal and paragraph prosody (Beck, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000b, 2000a, 2007, 2013; Beck & Bennett, 2007). Beck has also studied Lushootseed texts (Beck & Hess, 2010, 2014, 2015).

Paul D. Krober gives an overview of Salish syntax in his book *The Salish Language Family: Reconstructing Syntax* (1999). This book includes diachronic analysis and morphosyntactic analyses for all of the Salish languages, including Lushootseed.

1.5 Lushootseed orthography

As far back as 1950, the American International Phonetic Alphabet (AIPA) was used to represent Lushootseed phonetics (Tweddell, 1950). By the 1960s, the Lushootseed orthography based in this system was refined to a set of 43 letters that are still used today. The only change from the 1960's to today's form is in the representation

of the uvular voiceless fricatives; the previous symbols x and x^w are now replaced by x̣ and x̣^w , respectively. The letters used to represent the phonemic sounds of Lushootseed are:

ʔ, a, b, c, c', č, č', d, dʰ, ə, g, g^w, h, i, j, k, k', k^w, k'^w, l, l', ł, λ̣, m, n, p, p',
q, q', q^w, q'^w, s, š, t, t', u, w, w', x^w, x̣, x̣^w, y, y'

There are no capital letters used in the writing system. Other symbols complement the orthography to mark elision or elongation of a phoneme. The open and closed parentheses () are used in tandem to represent a phoneme that has been elided at the surface representation but exists in the underlying form. Three mid-level periods (···) mark an elongated vowel, which usually communicates emphasis.

Punctuation is similar to English. The inventory includes the period (.), comma (,), colon (:), semi-colon (;), exclamation (!), and double (“”) and single (‘ ’) quotation marks. Unlike English, Lushootseed does not use the question mark (?). Interrogative sentences are understood by interrogative marking or context and they can be punctuated with a period or an exclamation mark.

This orthography has been used in pedagogical language materials since the 1970s. It was the orthography my tribal language teachers used with me when I began learning the language at age 11, and it is widely accepted by the Lushootseed language community, including programs that are attempting to revitalize the language.

In Chapter three, I use data from three other Central Salish languages, Squamish, Halkomelem and Klallam. The orthography for Halkomelem and Klallam is consistent

with that used for Lushootseed. However, for Squamish I honor the orthography used by Peter Jacobs and the Squamish Nation. Squamish uses diagraphs /sh/ and /ch/ where the other three CS languages use /š/ and /č/ for IPA [ʃ] and [tʃ], respectively. Squamish also uses the symbols /7/ and /e/ where the other CS languages use /ʔ/ and /ə/ for IPA [ʔ] and [ə].

1.6 Lushootseed phonemic inventory

Lushootseed's phonemic inventory includes stops, nasals, fricatives, affricates, approximates, vowels and diphthongs. Of the 43 letters within the orthography, 39 are consonants and 4 are vowels.

1.6.1 Consonants

The places of articulation for consonants are bilabial, alveolar, alveopalatal, velar, uvular and glottal. The manner contrasts for consonants are voiceless, voiced, ejective, glottalized, affricate, nasal, and approximate. The consonant inventory is listed in Table 1 (The AIPA is listed first followed by the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in brackets ([])).

Table 1: Inventory of Lushootseed Consonants - AIPA/[IPA]

Articulation	bilabial	alveolar	alveo-palatal	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stops							
voiceless	p[p]	t			k[k] k ^w [kw]	q[q] q ^w [qw]	ʔ[ʔ]
voiced	b[b]	d			g[g] g ^w [gw]		
ejective	p'[p']	t'			k'[k'] k' ^w [kw']	q'[q'] q' ^w [qw']	
nasal	m[m]	n[n]					
fricatives							
voiceless	x ^w [ɸ]	s [s] ʃ[ʃ]	š[sh]			χ[χ] χ ^w [χw]	h[h]
affricate							
voiceless		c[ts]	č[tʃ]				
voiced		d ^z [dz]	ǰ [dʒ]				
ejective		c'[ts'] č'[tʃ']	č'[tʃ']				
approximant							
plain	w[w]	l[l]		y[j]			
glottalized	w'[wʔ]	l'[lʔ]		y'[jʔ]			

The bilabial position has 7 phonemes: 1 voiceless, 1 voiced and 1 ejective stop; 1 nasal; 1 voiceless fricative; and 1 plain and 1 glottalized approximants. Labialization occurs with the voiceless fricative, and the plain and glottalized approximates.

The alveolar position has the largest inventory with 12 phonemes: 1 voiceless, 1 voiced and 1 ejective stop; 1 nasal; 2 voiceless fricatives; 1 voiceless, 1 voiced and 2 ejective affricates; and 1 plain and 1 glottalized approximants. No alveolar phonemes occur with labialization.

The alveopalatal position has 4 phonemes; 1 voiceless fricative; and 1 voiceless, 1 voiced and 1 ejective affricate. None of these phonemes are stops or occur with labialization.

The palatal position has 2 phonemes: 1 plain and 1 glottalized approximant.

In contrast to the alveopalatal position, the inventory for the velar position only has stops. Here, there are 6 phonemes: 1 pair of voiceless, 1 pair of voiced and 1 pair of ejective stops. All three pairs contrast between labialization and non-labialization.

This labialization contrast continues in the uvular position for both stops and fricatives. There is a total of 6 phonemes in the uvular position: 1 pair of voiceless and 1 pair of ejective stops; and 1 pair of voiceless fricatives.

The inventory for the glottal position has 2 phonemes: a glottal stop and a voiceless fricative.

1.6.2 Vowels

There are four vowels represented in the conventional AIPA writing system for Lushootseed, three of which can be lengthened (Table 2). Two of these phonemes represent a range that is between high and mid vowels. The AIPA /i/ includes a range from the high front vowel [i] to the mid front vowel [e]. The AIPA /u/ includes a range from the high back vowel [u] to the mid back vowel [o].

Table 2: Inventory of Lushootseed Vowels - AIPA/[AIPA]

short	long
i [i e]	ii [ii, ee]
u [u, o]	uu [uu, oo]
ə [e, ʌ]	–
a	aa [aa]

The AIPA /a/ primarily represents the back lower vowel [ɑ], although within some dialects of southern Lushootseed this phoneme is fronted to [æ] for a very small words (see below for a more detailed discussion on dialects).

There are also 3 diphthongs (Table 3), in which /a/, /ə/ and /u/ are followed by a palatal /y/. When including the lengthened vowels, and the varying phonemes, there are a total of 10 vowels: /a/, /aa/, /ay/, /i/, /ii/, /u/, /uu/, /uy/, /ə/, and /əy/.

Table 3: Inventory of Lushootseed Diphthongs - AIPA/[AIPA]

ay [ay]
əy [əy]
uy [uy, oy]

1.6.3 Sound shifts

Lushootseed is one of only two Salish languages that went through a phonetic evolution of denasalization, where the bilabial nasal /m/ became bilabial voiced /b/, and the alveolar nasal /n/ became the alveolar voiced /d/ (Kroeber, 1999, p. 8). The other language that went through this change is Twana. Ethnographic documentation shows

that Lushootseed was going through this change in pronunciation as early as the mid-1840s (Gibbs, 1877). Before contact with English, it is believed that the Lushootseed phoneme inventory did not have /b/ and /d/ (Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, p. 33). This phonetic evolution began after contact with English. However, the /m/ and /n/ phonemes still exist in some limited environments in Lushootseed. The /m/ and /n/ are attested occasionally within my transcriptions. Examples are *ma-t'ilib* 'ADD-sing' and *k^wag^{wi}čən* 'elk'. In addition, some speakers used a prenasalized form of the /b/ and /d/ where nasalization occurs within the onset of the stop, i.e., /b/ is pronounced as [mb] and /d/ is pronounced as [nd]. Examples are nasalization of the /b/ in the word *bədə?* 'one's own child' pronounced as *mbədə?* and the /d/ in the word *dil* 'deictic' pronounced as *ndil*. Up into the 1970s, the /m/ and /n/ nasals were attested as still occurring within specific types of speech, including prayer, talking endearingly to children, and quoting the speech of animals and supernatural beings (Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, p. 34). Modern forms of Lushootseed still use these nasals with a limited number of words, traditional names for people, and quotes by animals within traditional narratives.

1.7 Lushootseed dialects

As I was learning Lushootseed, many 1st language speakers said that each group had their own way of speaking. By the way someone spoke, you could recognize where they were from. Therefore, these speakers acknowledged dialectal differences as part of a person's cultural identity. Regardless of how people spoke, beloved elders of Lushootseed insisted that all dialects of Lushootseed were mutually intelligible and they were all part of the same language. Furthermore, these elders felt strongly that all

dialects of Lushootseed were to be honored, regardless of where the speaker was from. This view of honor and respect is regarded as a valued virtue by many within the Lushootseed community.

Conventionally, Lushootseed has been recognized as consisting of two dialects. These are Northern Lushootseed (NL) and Southern Lushootseed (SL), the border between them lying approximately at the Snohomish-King County line, which is just north of Seattle.

The primary phonetic differences between Northern and Southern Lushootseed involve the pronunciation of the vowels /i/ and /u/: Northern Lushootseed tends to say the high vowels [i] for /i/ and [u] for /u/ whereas Southern Lushootseed tends to say the mid-level vowels [e] for /i/ and [o] for /u/ more often than Northern Lushootseed. However, these are tendencies, and not absolute. For example, the Snoqualmie and Muckleshoot dialects (*xʷəlšucid*) prefer the high front pronunciation [i] for the word *ʔi* ‘yes’, where the rest of Southern Lushootseed speakers prefer the mid-level front vowel [e]. For Northern Lushootseed, the high back vowel [u] is preferred for the word *stubš* ‘man’ by a few, while others prefer the mid back vowel [o].

In terms of the lexicon, there are differences in determiners. There are two neuter distal determiners in the Southern Lushootseed dialect, *tiʔil* and *tiil*. *tiʔil* is used for equational non-verbal constructions (2), and in all other forms, *tiil* is preferred.

- (2) sʔələd tiʔil.
food that
‘That is food.’

In contrast, Northern Lushootseed rarely uses *tiil*, with *tiʔil* used almost exclusively for the distal determiner. This difference also occurs for the feminine distal determiner, where Southern Lushootseed employs both *tsiʔil* and *tsiil*, but the Northern dialect primarily uses *tsiʔil*.

In addition to the differences in the distal determiners, there is contrast with the approximal determiner: Northern Lushootseed employs both *ti* and *tiʔəʔ* where Southern Lushootseed only uses *ti*. Like the distal determiners, this difference extends to the feminine proximal determiner, where Northern Lushootseed employs both *tsi* and *tsiʔəʔ* but Southern Lushootseed only uses *tsi*.

Stress placement differs between the two dialects as well, in that Northern Lushootseed tends to stress the second syllable of word and Southern Lushootseed tends to stress the first syllable of a word (3). Note that unstressed vowels sometimes reduce to /ə/, as in (3a-b, e).

(3) Northern and Southern Lushootseed contrast in stress

	Northern	Southern	Gloss
(a)	bədáʔ	bádəʔ	‘one’s own child’
(b)	sqʷəbáyʔ	sqʷábayʔ/sqʷúbayʔ	‘dog’
(c)	dəč’uʔ	dáč’uʔ	‘one’
(d)	kʷədád	kʷódəd	‘take, catch’
(e)	ʔəcá	ʔácə	‘I’
(f)	dəgʷí	dógʷí	‘you’

There are also words that have a slightly different pronunciation between the dialects. These differences vary depending upon the word (4).

(4) Slight differences in pronunciation between Northern and Southern Lushootseed

	Northern	Southern	Gloss
(a)	č'áč'as	č'áč'aš	'child'
(b)	q'íq'x̣wuʔ	q'éq'x̣wuʔ	'short'
(c)	kiáʔ	káyəʔ	'grandmother'
(d)	biác	báyac	'meat'
(e)	dʒak ^w	dʒač ^w	'shake, rock'
(f)	ləx̣'úb	ləx̣úb	'hunt'

In some words, phonemes are elided in Southern Lushootseed (5). In (a) and (b), the initial /ə/ is elided. In (c-e), the final /l/ can be elided; however, this is not obligatory.

(5) Examples of elided phonemes in Southern Lushootseed

	Northern	Southern	Gloss
(a)	ʔəpús	pus	'aunt'
(b)	ʔəxid	xid	'how'
(c)	sləx̣íl	sləx̣i(l)	'day, light'
(d)	sləx̣il	sləx̣i(l)	'night'
(e)	ləcíl	ləci(l)	'arrive'

A number of words are just different between Northern and Southern Lushootseed. Such words appear to have different diachronic origins (6).

(6) Word differences between Northern and Southern Lushootseed

	Northern	Southern	Gloss
(a)	sʔuládx ^w	sčədádx ^w	'salmon'
(b)	yələʔc	d'ələčiʔ	'six'

(c)	yúbəč	sác'əb	'king salmon'
(d)	bəščəb	c'bəlqid	'mink'
(e)	c'əbəb	k ^w il	'pick berries'
(f)	q ^w əłáyʔ	st'ək ^w əb	'stick, log'
(g)	saʔ	qələb	'bad'

Although the two primary dialects are Northern and Southern Lushootseed, it is also recognized that there are minor dialectal differences among groups within Northern Lushootseed. In Northern Lushootseed, there are differences in vocabulary (7). Some words seem to derive from the same cognate (b and f) while others appear to have different diachronic origins (a, c, d(?), e).

(7) Word differences within the northern dialect

	Northern	Variant (tribe)	Gloss
(a)	sčətx ^w əd	spaʔc (Skagit)	'black bear'
(b)	stəg ^w ád	dʔətg ^w ád (Skagit)	'salmonberry'
(c)	sk ^w x ^w íc	sq'əčqs (Skagit)	'silver salmon'
(d)	k ^w íč'id	q ^w əč ^w əd (Skagit)	'butcher'
(e)	ləč ^w úb	šáyil (Skagit, Sauk-Suiattle)	'hunt'
(f)	dəč'úʔ	č'uʔ (some dialects of Tulalip)	'one'

The same is true for Southern Lushootseed language groups where there are variations in vocabulary (8). In (8a), there appear to be two words with different diachronic origins, where in (8b-d) there are variations of the same cognate.

(8) Words differences within the Southern Dialect

	Southern	Variant (group)	Gloss
(a)	sác'əb	yúbəč (Suquamish)	
(b)	hísk'wu?	hík'wu? (Suquamish)	'thank you' to a female
(c)	híšəba?	híma (Suquamish)	'thank you' to a male
(d)	ʔaʔútʃs	sʔútʃs (Muckleshoot) ʔutʃs (Squxin Is.)	'Nootka style of canoe'

These are just a few examples of the vast diversity that can be appreciated in Lushootseed. There are several other differences that include grammar, rate of speech, and even sentence structure, but this is not the venue to pursue these things further.

This concludes my initial discussion to the contents of this dissertation and Lushootseed. In this chapter, I have presented an overview on the natural speech analysis approach; my background with Lushootseed and the data I use for my analysis; where Lushootseed is spoken geographically and its relation to the Salish language family; scholarly contributions to Lushootseed; the Lushootseed phonemic inventory; and Lushootseed dialects.

I continue my presentation of Lushootseed in Chapter 2, where I give an overview of Lushootseed morphosyntax, including: intransitive and transitive constructions; and morphology.

II LUSHOOTSEED MORPHOSYNTAX

2.1 The noun phrase

Following Croft (2001:136, 164), I categorize the semantic participants of a situation using the symbols S, A and P, where S indicates the single core argument of a one-participant situation clause (whether actor or undergoer), A indicates the agent or experiencer of a two-participant situation, and P indicates the other participant (patient or stimulus) of a two-participant situation.

Lushootseed has pronominal clitics for 1st and 2nd person, singular and plural, and 3rd person plural. 3rd person singular is zero marked (Table 4). These pronouns (and their cognates in other Salish languages) are often referred to as enclitics because they rarely receive stress. However for Lushootseed, they are always written as a separate word.

Table 4: Pronominal enclitics

	Singular	Plural
1st person	čəd	čəl
2nd person	čəx ^w	čələp
3rd person	∅	həlg ^{wə} ʔ

Noun phrases can consist of one of the pronominal clitics in Table 4, or a full noun. Full nouns are all nouns that are not pronominal clitics. Full noun phrases can

occur with or without a determiner, e.g., *sčətxʷəd* ‘bear’ or *tiil sčətxʷəd* ‘that bear’. In addition, full noun phrases can be preceded by an oblique marker *ʔə*, e.g., *ʔə tiil sčətxʷəd*. In transitive clauses, this oblique serves as an ergative or accusative marker, depending upon the construction. I will discuss the oblique marker in more detail in section 2.3.

Full noun arguments usually occur with a determiner. In (9), a full noun with a determiner is the S of an intransitive clause (the determiner is underlined for clarity).

- (9) ʔu-ʔibəš tiil s-gʷəlub.
 SB-walk DET NMZR-pheasant
 ‘Pheasant walked.’

However, a determiner is not obligatory. In (10), the S of an intransitive is expressed as a full noun without a determiner.

- (10) ʃayəb-... s-kaykay.
 laugh-EMPHAT NMZR-Steller.blue.jay
 ‘Blue Jay laughed hard.’

2.2 Intransitive clause

Lushootseed has verb-subject-object word order. When the S of an intransitive clause is 1st or 2nd person, or is a 3rd person plural pronoun, it is expressed as an enclitic. In (11), 1st person singular is the S of an intransitive (the S is in bold for clarity).

- (11) ɬu-ʔuɣ̃^w-əx^w ɕəd.
 FUT-go-PI 1SG
 ‘I will go.’

In (12), 3rd person plural is the S of an intransitive.

- (12) bə-ʔuɣ̃^w hilg^wəʔ
 ADD-go 3PL
 ‘They went again.’

Zero mention of the S usually marks 3rd person singular. In (13), the zero marked S of an intransitive marks 3rd person singular.

- (13) ʔuy ʃub-əx^w Ø_s
 CONJ disappear-PI 3SG
 ‘Then **he** disappeared.’

However, zero mention of the S can also indicate 3rd person plural when 3rd person plural is understood. In (14b), the zero mentioned S is understood to be 3rd person plural of an intransitive (previous lines from the narrative are provided in (a) in English only for simplicity).

- (14) (a) *Crow and her favorite little daughter lived there. That Raven and her mean and stingy daughters (cicix^wəd) live there, too.*
- (b) tu-wadač-əx^w g^wə-lə-ʔuɣ̃^w-əx^w Ø_s ʔax^wuʔ-iluʔ-əx^w
 PST-ebb.tide-PI SUBJ-REP-go-PI 3PRS clam-go.in.order.to-PI
 ‘When the tide went out, **they** would go clam digging.’

Equational non-verbal sentences have a noun that is the predicate followed by the S. In (15), the S of an equational non-verbal sentence is expressed as a pronominal clitic (the predicate is in bold and the S is underlined for clarity).

- (15) **ʔaciltalbi^w** čəd.
 Native.American 1SG
 ‘I am Native American.’

When the non-verbal predicate is only followed by a determiner, I analyze such constructions as the determiner expressing the S as 3rd person (16).

- (16) **ʔalʔal** tiʔił.
house 3PRS
 ‘That is a **house**.’

Although not obligatory, it is possible to use *huy* ‘do’ as the predicate. In such cases, I analyze *huy* as a copula. In (17), the S, owl woman, is equated to being a ‘monster’ and *huy* is the predicate.

- (17) tu-**huy** dʒəg^{wəʔ} tsiil tk^wlus s-ładayʔ.
 PST-COP monster DET owl NMZR-woman
 ‘Owl Woman had **been** a monster.’

2.3 Transitive clause

For transitive clauses, participants are expressed in two forms. The first is expressed with a noun phrase, and the second is a noun phrase that is preceded by the oblique preposition *ʔə*. I refer to participants within a noun phrase as core arguments and those within an oblique as marked participants. Which form is used is conditioned by the verb type and verbal suffixation. In addition, there are four sets of object markers that can occur at the end of the verb.

There are several different transitive constructions that can be discussed in various ways. I will present these transitive constructions in terms of eight different patterns as follows: verbs that have two core arguments (V(2core)); agent oriented verbs (V(A)); patient oriented verbs (V(P)); verbs suffixed with the middle (V-M); verbs suffixed with a valence-increasing suffix (V-VI); the V-VI construction suffixed with the middle (V-VI-M); the V-VI construction suffixed with an object marker (V-VI-OM); and verbs suffixed with continuous marker (V-CONT).

Lushootseed transitive clauses allow for different constructions based upon person. This hierarchy is grounded in four different combinations of A and P (where \rightarrow is defined as ‘acts on’). These combinations are: speech act participant (SAP) \rightarrow SAP; SAP \rightarrow 3rd person (3); 3 \rightarrow 3; and 3 \rightarrow SAP. I will be using this symbology to discuss the distribution of Lushootseed transitive clauses.

2.3.1 Verbs with two core arguments

For the V(2core) construction, there are two core arguments. In this construction, there are no restrictions on the A but the P can only be 3rd person. In (18), both the A and P are core arguments. The A is a pronominal clitic and the P is a full noun.

	V	A	P	
(18)	ʔu-ləg ^w l	čəł	ti	ki-ka-w-ič
	SB-leave	1PL	DET	DIM-hunch-EPTH-spine
	‘We left little Hunchback behind.’ (Beck, 2007, p. 36)			

In (19), both participants are core arguments and are both full nouns.

	V	A	_P			
(19)	huy-...	wiχ ^w -əx ^w	tiił	χayuχ ^w a?	tiił	bədaʔ-s
	CONJ-EMPHAT	lost-PI	DET	fly	DET	one's.child-3.POS
	‘Then Fly lost his child!’					

This transitive construction is only allowed for SAP → 3 and the 3 → 3 speech acts.

2.3.2 Agent oriented verbs

There are transitive verb stems where the A is the core argument and the P is expressed in an oblique (V(A)). This set of verbs is referred to as agent oriented verbs (Beck, 2007, p. 35; Hess, 1995, p. 14). In (20), the A is the 1st person plural pronoun expressed as a core argument and the P is in an oblique.

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|--|----------|----------------|--------------------------|
| | V | | A | | P |
| (20) | ʔu-k ^w il-əx ^w | | čəl ʔə | tiʔiɬ | s-q ^w əl-ałəd |
| | SB-pick.berries-PI 1PL | | OBL DET | NMZR-ripe-food | |
| | ‘We are picking berries.’ (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 126) | | | | |

In (21), the A is a core argument expressing a full noun, and the P is in an oblique.

- | | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------|---|
| | V | | A |
| (21) | hay hay-il-əx ^w | tsiɬ | tu-d-s-k ^w uy |
| | CONJ know-INCH-PI | DET | PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother |
| | | P | |
| | ʔə | tiɬ | tu-s-k ^w əd-du-b-s-əx ^w . |
| | OBL DET | PST-NMZR-take-LC-M-3.POS-PI | |
| | ‘Then, my deceased mother became aware of what had taken her.’ | | |

In terms of speech acts, the agent oriented verb stem construction has restrictions. The pronominal clitics listed in Table 4 only occur as core arguments. They cannot occur within an oblique. This enables the A to be an SAP or 3rd person, but limits the oblique P to only be 3rd person. Therefore, the agent oriented verb construction is only allowed for SAP → 3 and 3 → 3.

2.3.3 Patient oriented verbs

Verb root stems where the A is in an oblique phrase but the P is a core argument are termed patient oriented verbs (V(P)) (Beck, 2007, p. 34). In (22), the P is a core argument expressing 1st person singular, and the A is a full noun in an oblique phrase.

Note the change in the preferred VSO word order when the P is a pronominal clitic.

Pronominal clitics prefer second position within a clause.

- | | V | P | | | A | |
|------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------------------|
| (22) | huy | ʔəs-k ^w əd | čəd | ʔə | tə | d-cəl-ədəl |
| | CONJ | STAT-take | 1SG | OBL | DET | 1SG.POS-blead-breath |
| | ‘Now I am taken by my breath.’ | | | | | |

In (23), the core argument P is a full noun and the A is in an oblique phrase.

- | | V | | | | A | |
|------|--|------------------------|------|------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| (23) | ʔu-k ^w əd-əx ^w | ʔə | tiil | tul’ | q’ix ^w | ʔaciltəlbix ^w |
| | SB-take-PI | OBL | DET | from | upstream | people |
| | P | | | | | |
| | tiil | liłq ^w əb . | | | | |
| | DET | woodpecker | | | | |
| | ‘The Northerners selected Wood Pecker [to compete].’ | | | | | |

Like the agent oriented verbs, there is a restriction on how the patient oriented verb stems are used. Because pronominal clitics do not occur within an oblique phrase, the oblique marked A cannot be an SAP. It can only be 3rd person. Therefore, patient oriented verb stems only occur in 3 → 3 and 3 → SAP situations.

2.3.4 Verbs suffixed with the middle

The next construction to address is a verb suffixed with the middle marker *-b/~əb* (V-M). In this construction, the A is a core argument and the P is expressed in an oblique. In (24), the A is 3rd person plural and P is a full noun.

	V	A		P		
(24)	huy	q ^w əl-b-əx ^w	həlg ^w ə?	ʔə	tiʔə?	buʔq ^w
	CONJ	cook-M-PI	3PL	OBL	DET	duck
	‘Well then they cooked these ducks.’ (Hess, 2006b, p. 65)					

In (25), the V-M is used in a time adverbial clause. The zero mentioned A refers to 1st person plural, and the P is in an oblique.

	V		A	_P			
(25)	g ^w əl	ʔal	ʔaʔ-ʔ-əb-əx ^w	∅	ʔə	tiił	time
	CONJ	LOC	notice-DIM-M-PI	1PL	OBL	DET	time
	‘When (we) noticed it was time...’						

Like agent oriented verbs, there are no restrictions on the A, but the P can only be 3rd person. Therefore, this construction is only used for SAP → 3 and 3 → 3 speech acts.

This cognate occurs as *-m* for both Squamish and Halkomelem and *-ŋ* for Klallam. This cognate in these other three Central Salish languages has similar functions to Lushootseed. I will present a more detailed, diachronic analysis of the evolution of the Proto-Salish middle in section 3.2.2.

2.3.5 Verbs suffixed with a valence-increaser

There are four verbal suffixes that occur with two core arguments where the A is restricted to zero mention of 3rd person or a pronominal clitic (Table 4). The P is restricted to zero mention of 3rd person, the 3rd person plural pronoun, or a full noun. These suffixes include one that expresses control, one that expresses lack of control, a causative, and an applicative.

2.3.5.1. Control suffix *-d/~t*

The most common suffix of these four morphemes is *-d/~t* (Beck, 2007, p. 38). This suffix expresses that the A has control over the event. The A does the action with care and deliberateness. In addition, when this suffix is used with a transitive verb, the marked participant that would otherwise be expressed in an oblique is expressed as a core argument. In (26), the A is 1st person singular and the P is expressed in an oblique in (26a). In (26b), the verb is suffixed with *-d* (-CTL) and the P is expressed as a core argument. (The verb, A and P are labeled in bold above each word as **V**, **A** and **P** for clarity).

	V		A		P
(26)	(a)	ʔu-k ^w il-əx ^w	čəł	ʔə	tiʔil s-q ^w əl-ałəd
		SB-pick.berries-PI	1PL	OBL	DET NMZR-ripe-food
		‘We are picking berries.’ (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 126)			
	(b)	tu-ʔu ^č w-əx ^w	čəł	dx ^w -ʔal	Yakima
		PST-go-PI	1PL	PERV-LOC	Yakima
		A		V	
		čəł-ə		k ^w il-i-d	tə
		1PL-CONJ		pick.berries-LV-CTL	DET
					P
					haps
					hops

‘We use to go to Yakima and we’d pick hops.’

In (27), (a) is a patient oriented verb where the A is expressed in an oblique and the A is a core argument. When it is suffixed with *-d* in (b), the A is expressed as a core argument.

		V	P		A
(27)	(a)	huy ʔəs-kʷəd	čəd ʔə	tə	d-cəł-ədəł.
		CONJ STAT-take	1SG OBL	DET	1SG.POS-blead-breath
		‘Now I am taken by my breath.’			
		V	A	P	
	(b)	kʷəd-ə-d	čələp kʷi	səpləl.	
		take-LV -CTL	2PL DET	bread	
		‘You folks get bread.’			

Intransitive verb roots suffixed with *-d* add a core argument participant and transform an intransitive into a transitive. In (28), the intransitive in (a) is transformed into a transitive in (b) with the addition of the *-d* suffix.

		V	S		
(28)	(a)	tu-ʔa-əxʷ	čəd		
		PST-LOC-PI	1SG		
		‘I was there.’			
		A	V	P	
	(b)	čəł ʔa-a-d-əxʷ	Ø ʔal	tił	baskets
		1PL	put-LV-CTL-PI	3PRS LOC	DET baskets
		‘... we put them into baskets.’			

In (26) through (28), two core arguments occur when the *-d* is suffixed to the verb. When the *-d* is suffixed to the verb: the oblique expressed P in (26a) is expressed as a core argument in (26b); the oblique expressed A in (27a) is expressed as a core argument in (27b); and an intransitive clause in (28a) has an added core argument in (28b), transforming an intransitive into a transitive. These same phenomena occur when the *-dx^w* ‘limited control’ (-LC) is suffixed to a verb (discussed below). Traditionally, these Lushootseed suffixes and their Salish cognates have been termed transitivizers. However, as in examples (26) and (27) indicate, these suffixes can occur with verb stems that are already transitive. In such transitive clauses, an existing argument that is expressed as an oblique changes to a core argument when the *-d* or the *-dx^w* is added. This occurrence has also been recognized by Hess (1993, pp. 116–117). Therefore, the commonality between (26) through (28) does not address transitivity but rather, when these suffixes occur, there is an increase in the number of core arguments. Because of this, I will call these two morphemes, *-d/~t* and *-dx^w/~du*, valence-increasing suffixes (-VI) in line with Beck’s terminology (Beck, 2007, p. 28).

The control suffix *-d/~t* can combine with the suffix *-bi* ‘relativizer’ (REL) to form the construction verb-relativizer-control (V-REL-CTL). Like the verb-control (V-CTL) construction, the A can be zero mentioned or a pronominal clitic and the P can be zero mentioned, 3rd person plural pronoun or a full noun. In (29), the A is zero marked and the P is expressed as a core argument.

	V	A	P
(29)	hiq ^w -ab-bi-d-əx ^w	Ø	tsiil s-čətx ^w əd
	fall.for-DERV-REL-CTL-PI	3PRS	DET NMZR-black.bear
	‘He got stuck on Bear.’		

In terms of argument structure and combining with different suffixes to create other transitive forms, this construction has the same syntactic properties as the verb-valence-increasing (V-VI) construction. I will therefore include it as a V-VI construction and will not discuss it separately beyond this point.

2.3.5.2. Limited control *-dx^w/~du*

In contrast to the control suffix *-d/~t*, the *-dx^w/~du* suffix expresses that the A has limited control (LC). When this valence-increasing suffix occurs, it expresses that the A manages to, or accidentally does the event. In (30), the A ‘manages to’ know elders. The use of *-dx^w* with this cognition verb suggests that Lushootseed views that A as not always in full control of memory.

	V	A		P
(30)	tu-ʔəs-hay-dx ^w	čəd	ti	lu ^ł -lu ^ł .
	PST-STAT-CONJ-LC	1SG	DET	DISTR-elder
	‘I use to (manage to) know elders.’			

This limited control perception is expressed again in (31) where the A is zero mentioned and the P is expressed with the 3rd person plural pronoun.

	V	A	P		
(31)	łəčil-dx ^w	Ø	hilg ^{wəʔ}	dx ^w -ʔaltiit	
	arrive-LC	3PRS	3PL	PERV-LOC	DET
	‘It was able to bring them there.’				

The control and limited control valence-increasing cognates also exist in Squamish, Halkomelem and Klallam (Table 5). These cognates condition constructions that are the same as in Lushootseed. I will discuss these cognates in more detail in section 3.2.1 with a diachronic analysis that includes the Proto-Salish forms.

Table 5: Valence increasing suffixes for Squamish, Halkomelem and Klallam

Language	Control	Not-control
SQU	<i>-n ~ -t</i>	<i>-nəx^w</i>
HUR	<i>-t</i>	<i>-nəx^w</i>
CLM	<i>-t</i>	<i>-nəx^w</i>

2.3.5.3. Transitive suffix *-tx^w/~tu*

When the *-tx^w/~tu* suffix is added to a verb, the A causes the P to do the event and therefore, is a causative (CS). In almost all cases within the data, this suffix adds a participant as a core argument. In (32), the verb ‘go home’ in (a), is changed to a transitive event ‘cause to go home’ in (b) when *-tx^w* occurs. The transitive form can figuratively be perceived as ‘take someone/something home’.

	V		S		
(32)	(a)	ʔu-t'uk' ^w -əx ^w	čəd		
		SB-go.home-PI	1SG		
		‘I went home.’			
		V	A	P	
	(b)	huy t'uk' ^w -tx ^w -əx ^w	Ø	tił	s-x ^w iʔx ^w iʔ-s
		CONJ go.home-CS-PI	3PRS	DET	NMZR-forage-3.POS

s-q^wəl-əx^w
 NMZR-cook-PI
 ‘Then he took his cooked catch home.’

In (33), the intransitive ‘go’ in (a) is changed to the transitive form ‘cause to go’ or ‘take someone/something’ when *-tx^w* is used (b).

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|--|----------|------------|------------------------|----------|---------------|
| | V | | S | | | | |
| (33) | (a) | ʔuχ ^w | tsiil | s-laday? | | | |
| | | go | DET | NMZR-woman | | | |
| | | ‘The women went.’ | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | V | | A | | p | |
| | (b) | ʔuχ ^w -tx ^w -əx ^w | Ø | tsiil | čəg ^w əš ʔə | ti _ | lup |
| | | go-CS-PI | 3PRS | DET | wife OBL | DET | early.morning |
| | | ‘He took his wife early in the morning.’ | | | | | |

Because the suffix adds a core argument to a clause, this suffix is also a valence-increasing suffix.

2.3.5.4. Applicative suffix *-c/~s*

The *-c/~s* morpheme is also a valence-increasing suffix where the added participant can usually be perceived as a goal (Hess, 1995, p. 15; Beck, 2007, p. 66). For Lushootseed, the goal can be thought of as a sub-type of P (Hess, 1995, pp. 15–16). The *-s* form is used when the verb ends with /l/ where phonologically, the /l/ is elided and replaced with /s/. In (34), the verb in (a) occurs with *-s* (b) where the addition of a core argument expresses the goal (P).

- | | | | | |
|------|-----|------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| | | V | | S |
| (34) | (a) | tu-təlawil | tiil s-kaykay | |
| | | PST-run | DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay | |
| | | | ‘Blue Jay had ran.’ | |
| | | V | A | GOAL |
| | (b) | təlawil-s | Ø | c’əbəlqid . |
| | | run-APPL | 3PRS | mink |
| | | | | ‘They run after Mink.’ |

The *-c* form occurs in all other phonological environments. In (35), the intransitive verb in (a) is changed to have a goal expressed in a core argument in (b).

- | | | | | |
|------|-----|-------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| | | V | | S |
| (35) | (a) | ʔu-lčil-əx ^w | čəd. | |
| | | SB-arrive-PI | 1SG | |
| | | | ‘I arrived.’ (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 143) | |
| | | V | A | GOAL |
| | (b) | bə-ləčil-s | hilg ^{wə} ? | tsiil s-ladəy? |
| | | ADD-arrive-APPL | 3PL | DET NMZR-woman |
| | | | | ‘They came again for that woman.’ |

Because this suffix adds a core argument, it is referred to as an applicative (APPL).

When a verb is suffixed with a valence-increasing suffix (V-VI), there are restrictions upon the participants. The A cannot be expressed as a full noun. It can only be zero marked or a pronominal clitic (Table 4). The P cannot be expressed as 1st or 2nd person pronominal clitic. It can only be zero marked, 3rd person plural pronoun or a full noun. Therefore, the V-VI construction is limited to SAP → 3 and 3 → 3. For 3 → 3, the A is limited to zero marked 3rd person or the 3rd person plural pronoun.

2.3.6 Verbs combined with a valence-increaser and the middle

The next construction involves the combination of the -VI and the -M construction to form a verb suffixed with a valence-increasing suffix and the middle marker (V-VI-M). In this construction, the A is expressed in an oblique and the P is a core argument. In (36), the A is a full noun expressed in an oblique and the P /goal is a full noun expressed as a core argument.

	V			A	
(36)	ʔuχ ^w -c-əb-əχ ^w	ʔə	tsi	ci-ciχ ^w -əd	ti
	go-APP-M-PI	OBL	DET	DIM-stingy-DERV	DET
	P				
	su-suq ^w a?				
	DIM-younger.cousin				
	‘The mean and stingy Raven daughter went to get her little cousin.’				

In (37), the P is a pronominal clitic and the A is expressed in an oblique.

	V		P			A
(37)	g ^w ə-qag ^w -ə-t-əb		čəd	ʔə	š(ə)	ad-bad
	SUBJ-scold-LV-CTL-M		1SG	OBL	DET	2SG.POS-father
	‘Your father would scold me.’					

In this construction, the A is restricted in that it cannot be expressed as a pronominal clitic. It can only be 3rd person zero marked or expressed in an oblique. However, there are no restrictions on the P. The P can be zero marked, a pronominal clitic or a full noun. Therefore, the V-VI-M construction is limited to acts of speech where 3 → 3 and 3 → SAP.

Similarly, Squamish, Halkomelem and Klallam also have the V-VI-M constructions. This construction is used for 3 → 3 and 3 → SAP in all three languages. I will discuss this construction in more detail in section 3.2.3.

2.3.7 Verbs combined with a valence-increaser and an object marker

The last construction involving the valence-increasing suffixes includes an object marker (V-VI-OM). In this construction, the P can only be expressed via an object suffix on the verb. It cannot be overtly expressed in a noun phrase. The object markers differ, depending upon the valence-increasing suffix. Table 6 lists all of the object markers for 1st and 2nd person and the valence-increasing suffix they align with. The valence-increasing suffix that occurs with the object marker is included for each object marker (-VI-OM).

Table 6: 1st and 2nd person pronominal object markers

	CTL (-d/~t)	LC (-dx^w/~tu)	CAUS (-tx^w/~tu)	APPL (-c/~s)
1SG	-t-s ⁴	-du-bš	-tu-bš	-c/~s-əbš
1PL	-t-ubuł	-du-buł	-tu-buł	-c/~s-əbuł
2SG	-t-ubicid	-du-bicid	-tu-bicid	-c/~s-əbicid
2PL	-t-ubułəd	-du-bułəd	-tu-bułəd	-c/~s-əbułəd

⁴ The *-t-s* transcribed as *-c* in surface form

In (38), the A is 1st person singular acting upon 2nd person singular. The verb is suffixed with the control valence-increaser (the object marker is in bold and the A is underlined for clarity).

- | | P | A |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| (38) | ʔəs-haʔɪ-bi-t- sid | <u>čəd.</u> |
| | STAT-good-REL-CTL- 2SG | <u>1SG</u> |
| | ‘I am good to you .’ | |

In (39), 2nd person singular acts upon 1st person singular. The limited control suffix is followed by the 1st person singular object marker.

- | | P | A |
|------|--|----------------------------|
| (39) | ʔəs-laχ-du- bš | <u>čəx^w</u> ʔu. |
| | stat-rewmember-LC- 1SG | <u>2SG</u> INTROG |
| | ‘Do <u>you</u> remember me ?’ (Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, p. 119) | |

In (40), the P is expressed as a 1st person singular suffix and the A is a full noun expressed as a core argument.

- | | P | A |
|------|---|---|
| (40) | ʔəs-χaλ-tu- bš | d-bədəʔ dx ^w -ʔal ti |
| | STAT-desire-CS- 1SG | 1SG.POS-one's.child PERV-LOC DET |
| | s-yəc-əb, ti dišəʔ. | |
| | NMZR-tell-M DET here | |
| | ‘My daughter wants me for this information, she/it is right here.’ | |

For this construction where the P is expressed as a 1st or 2nd person object marker, there are no restrictions on the A. It can be zero marked, a pronominal clitic or full noun.

Therefore, the V-VI-OM construction occurs where SAP → SAP and 3 → SAP.

Object markers also occur in Squamish, Halkomelem and Klallam (Table 7).

Table 7: Object pronominal suffixes for Squamish, Halkomelem and Klallam (*Kiyosawa & Gerds, 2010, p. 33*)

	TR	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL
SQU	CTL	-s	-si	-umuł	-umi-(y)ap
	LT	-msh	-mi	-muł	-umi-(y)ap
HUR	CTL	-θamš	-(ʔ)al'x ^w	-θamə	-alə
	LC	-am'š	-(ʔ)al'x ^w	-amə	-alə
CLM	CTL	-s	-s	-uŋł	-s
	LC	-uŋəs	-uŋə	-uŋł	-uŋə

However, there are differences between Lushootseed and the three other Central Salish languages. Lushootseed has a robust list of object markers that is not easily confused for person or number. In contrast, the other three languages have object markers that can be confusing. For example, in Squamish the 1st person control object markers for both singular and plural are similar. For Halkomelem, the 1st person singular object markers resemble the 2nd person singular markers. For Klallam, the control object markers for 1st person singular and plural and the 2nd person plural are identical. In addition, the limited control 1st person plural and 2nd person plural object markers are also identical. These ambiguities within these three languages has conditioned limitations on 3 → SAP. I will present a more detailed analysis of these object markers in section 3.2.1.

2.3.8 The continuative marker *-alik^w*

The next construction suffixes *-alik^w* to a verb root. It expresses an event that is continuous over a period of time and therefore, I will refer to it as a continuous marker (-CONT). Like the V-M construction, the A is a core argument and the P is expressed in an oblique. The V-CONT construction only occurs where SAP → 3 and 3 → 3. In (41), the P is expressed in a core argument as 2nd person singular and the P is a full noun expressed in an oblique.

	V	A			P
(41)	ʔu-ʔab-alik ^w	čəx ^w	ʔə	k ^w i ʔił-d ^z ix ^w	ʔad-s-yayus.
	HAB-give-CONT	2SG	OBL	DET PART-first	2SG.POS-NMZR-work
	'you give the first things that you are able to do.'				

In (42), the A is 3rd person singular expressed as zero mention and the P is expressed in an oblique.

	V	A		P
(42)	ʔu-k ^w əd-alik ^w	Ø	ʔə	tiił s-čədadx ^w
	SB-take-CONT	3PRS	OBL	DET NMZR-salmon
	'He took the salmon with him.'			

Although the verbs are transitive in (41) and (42), the continuative suffix does not always express transitivity. For some verbs, *-alik^w* derives an intransitive. Examples are *d^zub* 'kick', *d^zubalik^w* 'dance'; and *c'əl-* 'win, prevail' (a bound root), *c'əlalik^w* 'win'.

2.3.9 Four functional interactional domains

With this plethora of constructions to choose from, it is understandable that there is a variety of analyses and interpretation in terms of voice, transitivity and focus. My analysis involves forms of speech acts based on person. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, there is a hierarchy of transitive construction that is grounded in four different types of interactions. These are: $SAP \rightarrow SAP$; $SAP \rightarrow 3$; $3 \rightarrow 3$; and $3 \rightarrow SAP$. Following the terminology of Gildea & Zúñiga (to appear), first developed in the tradition of Algonquian studies, these four interactions can be broken into four functional domain quadrants that are termed LOCAL, DIRECT, NON-LOCAL and INVERSE (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Four functional domains (not syntactic or morphological forms)

	SAP P	3P
SAP A	LOCAL	DIRECT
3A	INVERSE	NONLOCAL

If we distribute the eight transitive constructions mentioned above in these four functional domains, we can see somewhat of a hierarchy based on person (Figure 7). V-VI-OM is restricted to the local and inverse domains; V(2core), V(A), V-M and V-VI are restricted to the direct and non-local domains; and V(P) and V-VI-M are limited to the non-local and the inverse domains. With these restrictions on the transitive construction, a speaker is constrained to certain forms based on person. In Chapter 0, I will further my discussion as to the function of these constructions, and I will widen my analysis to

include three other Salish languages as a foundation for a diachronic analysis of the proto-Salish middle.

Figure 7: Distribution of transitives within functional domains

	SAP P	3P
SAP A	LOCAL V-VI-OM	DIRECT V(2core) V(A) V-M V-VI V-CONT
3A	INVERSE V(P) V-VI-OM V-VI-M	NONLOCAL V(2core) V(A) V(P) V-M V-VI V-VI-M V-CONT

A distribution of transitive constructions among the four functional domains also occurs for Squamish, Halkomelem and Klallam. I will cover this distribution for these languages in more detail in section 3.3.

2.4 Ditransitive

Ditransitive constructions use *-ši-* (SL) / *-yi-* (NL) affixed to the end of a verb root. Although *-ši-/yi-* can be used as a benefactive for the recipient, it can also be used to recipient's detriment. I will use the term in line with Beck and refer to this affix as

‘dative’ (2007, p. 69). Usually, the dative is followed by the control suffix *-d/~t*. Like the V-CTL construction discussed above, the A in this ditransitive construction is limited to zero marked 3rd person or a pronominal clitic. The A and recipient are expressed in a core argument and the object is expressed in an oblique (43) (recipient (R) and object (O) is labeled for clarity).

	V		A		R		O
(43)	ʔu-ʔab-yi-d		čəd	ti	č’ač’aš	ʔə	ti s-q ^w əbayʔ.
	SB-give-DAT-CTL		1SG	DET	child	OBL	DET NMZR-dog
	‘I gave the dog to the boy.’ (Hess, 1995, p. 36)						

Like the V-CTL construction, V-DAT-CTL can combine with the middle, V-DAT-CTL-M. In this construction, the A is expressed in an oblique, the recipient is a core argument and the object is in an oblique (44).

	V		R		
(44)	ʔab-ši-t-əb-əx ^w		tsiif	č’ač’aš	ʔə tsiif
	give-DAT-CTL-M-PI		DET	child	OBL DET
	A		O		
	kayəʔ-s	ʔə	tiif	t’əq ^w -al-šəd	
	grandmother-3.POS	OBL	DET	break-LOC-foot	
	‘Her grandmother gave the girl a tumpline.’				

The V-DAT-CTL construction can also combine with the CTL object markers, V-DAT-CTL-OM. The A is expressed in a core argument, the recipient is expressed with an object marker and the object is in an oblique (45).

- (45) tuʔabyicid ʔu ti adbad ʔə tiʔiʔ q'əčic
 'Did your father give you that bow?' (Hess & Hilbert, 1978b, p. 28)

The examples so far show the dative expressing a benefit for the recipient. As mentioned before, the dative does not always benefit the A. In (46), the action is done to the detriment of the P (46).

	A	V	R	O
(46)	ci-əx ^w	čəʔ	g ^w ə-k ^w əd-ši-d	Ø
	very-PI	1PL	SUBJ-take-DAT-CTL	3PRS
	'We should really take her from him.'			

There is one example in the data where the dative combines with the middle, V-DAT-M. In (47), the construction is within a finite complement clause of a negative. The A is expressed as a 1st person plural object marker and the object is in an oblique. This example is from a traditional narrative said by Blue Jay's grandmother during an argument where Blue Jay wants to exact revenge on the person stealing fish from his fish trap.

object is left dislocated followed by a nominalize complement clause. The dislocated object functions as the predicate of the main clause. The subject is expressed as 1st person singular with a possessive prefix.

- (50) “tiif [ɦu-d-s-t’uc’-u-d ∅_o kʷi dəč’u?
 3PRS [FUT-1SG.POS-NMZR-**shoot**-CONN-CTL 3PRS] DET one
- ʔə tiif čəd gʷə-huy-cut.
 OBL DET 1SG SUBJ-fix-CTL.REFLX
 “That is [what I will **shoot**], one of which I will use to fix myself with.”

In (51), a nominalized complement clause follows the interrogative *xid* ‘why’. Here, the interrogative functions as the main clause predicate. The subject is expressed as 2nd person singular with a possessive prefix.

- (51) “*xid* həw’ə [ʔu-ad-s-ʔu-yi?-yabuk’^w-tx^w
why EMPHAT [HAB-2SG.POS-NMZR-SB-DIM-**fight**-CAUS
- tiif ad-s-č’istx^w]
 DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-husband]
 “*Why*, indeed, [do you always **fight a little** with your husband]?”

In (52), a nominalized complement clause follows a negative. Here, the negative functions as the predicate of the main clause. The complement subject is expressed in an oblique genitive form.

- (52) x^{wi}? [s-**laʔb**-du-b-əx^w ʔə tiɪt k^wil-il-ay-qs Ø_s]
 NEG [NMZR-**see**-LC-M-PI OBL DET name 3PRS]
 ‘k^wililayqs was not able to **see** anything.’
 (literally, ‘Not was [k^wililayqs able to **see** anything.]’)

The final type of dependent clause I will cover where nominalization occurs is with relative clauses. In (53), a nominalized relative clause follows the head noun *dx^wʔac* ‘place used’. The relative subject is expressed in an oblique genitive form.

- (53) təlawil-əx^w dx^w-ʔal dx^w-ʔəc [tiɪt
 to. run-PI PERV-LOC place-use [DET
 λu-s-lə-ʔəλ ʔə tə łuk^wał Ø_{LOC}].
 HAB-NMZR-PROG-**come** OBL DET sun 3PRS]
 ‘He ran towards the place used [where the sun **comes**].’

In all of these dependent clause examples, nominalization is not obligatory and the clause predicates can be finite. In Chapter 4, I will present evidence that the *s*-morpheme marks contrastive focus. Nominalization occurs with information that is presuppositional, expected, or less significant.

2.5.2 The verbal prefix *ʔu*-

The *ʔu*- prefix can occur with predicates that express a variety of types of information. It can be the only morphological inflection or it can combine with other

morphemes including tense and mode markers. In (54), *ʔu-* is the only inflection prefixed on the verb stem.

(54) Examples from Hess (1967a, pp. 25–26)

- (a) **ʔu-q^w(ə)š-a-b**
ʔu-fog-DERV-M
'fog came in'
- (b) **ʔu-tug^w-iy-a-qid**
ʔu-immersed-INF-DERV-head
'water went over his head'
- (c) **ʔu-kiis**
ʔu-stand
'stood up'

In (55), *ʔu-* combines with the *tu-* 'past', *lu-* 'future' and *ʕu-* 'habitual'.

(55) Combinations of *ʔu-* with *tu-* 'past', *lu-* 'future' and *ʕu-* 'habitual' (Tweddell, 1950, p. 34)

- (a) **tu-ʔu-šəł.**
PST-ʔu-sick
'He got sick.' (maybe over it now)
- (b) **lu-ʔu-t'uk'^w.**
FUT-ʔu-go.home
'He will have gone home.'
- (c) **ʕu-ʔu-šəł.**
HAB-ʔu-sick
'He still gets sick habitually.'

In addition to these inflectional prefixes, *ʔu-* can combine with imperfective making (56).

(56) Examples of *ʔu-* cooccurring with imperfective marking

- (a) Habitual marker *ʔu-*

“x^wiʔ s-tab-^{···}
 NEG NMZR-what-EMPHAT

ʔu-s-ʔu-k^wax^w-ə-du-b-s”
HAB-NMZR-SB-help-EPTH-LC-M-3.POS
 “There isn’t a thing he does that helps.”

- (b) Progressive marker *lə-*

ʔu-^{···}čal-a-t-əb-əx^w
 EMPHAT-EMPHATchase-LV-CTL-M-PI

lə-ʔu-g^wəlal-t-əb
PROG-SB-kill-CTL-M
 ‘Oh! He chased after the thing he was killing.’

Past analysis of the *ʔu-* morpheme has discussed it as a perfective marker. In Chapter 5, I will present evidence that this morpheme is a discourse marker that functions as a mental space-builder.

2.5.3 The clitic =əx^w

The morpheme =əx^w is an enclitic that usually affixes to the predicate (57) (=əx^w is in bold for clarity).

- (57) huy šub=**əx^w**.
 CONJ disappear=**əx^w**
 ‘Then he disappeared.’

In (58), =əx^w suffixes to a predicate modifier that functions as the predicate of the main clause (see section 2.5.1).

- (58) tiləb=**əx^w** [ti s-ʔu-ǰud-ǰud-s həlg^wəʔ]
 suddenly=**əx^w** [DET NMZR-SB-DISTR-speak-3.POS 3PL]
 ‘Suddenly, [they began talking].’

=əx^w does not suffix to nouns unless the noun is left dislocated and as mentioned above, functions as the predicate (section 2.5.1). In (59), the clitic suffixes to *g^wəlapu* ‘2nd person plural’.

- (59) g^wəlapu=**əx^w** k^wi ʔu-ta-tab-əb.
 2PL.EMPH=**əx^w** DET SB-DISTR-what-M
 ‘You folks talk.’ (1968b, pp. 124–125)

Interrogative words can also be suffixed with =əx^w when the interrogative functions as the predicate (60).

- (60) ʔəs-čal=**əx^w** čəx^w.

STAT-how=**əx^w** 2SG
 ‘How are you now?’ (Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, p. 42)

Likewise, =**əx^w** can suffix to a negative that functions as a predicate of the main clause (61).

- (61) x^wi?**əx^w** [stab [?u-huy-dx^w Ø_S Ø_O]₂]₁
 NEG=**əx^w** [what [SB-do-LC 3PRS 3PRS]₂]₁
 ‘He could not manage to do a thing.’

=**əx^w** can also affix to a preposition. In (62), this clitic suffixes to the locative preposition at the beginning of the sentence (In this example, it also occurs in two other verbs that follow).

- (62) ?al=**əx^w** cəlac s-ləǰ-il g^wələ six^w ?uǰ^w=**əx^w**
 LOC=**əx^w** five NMZR-day.light-INCH CONJ usual go=**əx^w**
 la?b-ə-d=**əx^w**
 see-LV-CTL-PI
 ‘On the fifth day, as expected, he went to look at him.’

In (63), =**əx^w** suffixes to the directional preposition dx^w-?al ‘to’ (in this example, it also suffixes to the main clause predicate in initial position).

- (63) ?u-da?-t-əb=**əx^w** ti Normandy.Park dx^w-?al=**əx^w**
 SB-name-CTL-M=**əx^w** DET name PERV-LOC=**əx^w**
 Three.Tree.Point.

name

It is the name of Normandy Park to Three Tree Point.

Previous analyses claim that =əx^w marks a situation that has changed (Bates, 1999, p. 1; Hess, 1967a, pp. 57–58). In Chapter 0, I will present evidence that =əx^w aligns with information that provides preconditional information to a subsequent situation or event.

2.5.4 Other morphology

Other verbal affixes express tense, aspect, mode and discourse marking. The tense prefix is *tu-* ‘past’. The imperfective affixes include: *ɔəs-* ‘stative’, *ʔu-* ‘habitual’, *lə-* ‘progressive’, *bə-* ‘additive’ and *-il* ‘inchoative’. There is a future marker *lu-*. The prefix *g^wə-* expresses the subjunctive mode. Some of these affixes can combine on the same predicate, resulting in sequences such as: *tu-ɔəs-* ‘past stative’, *lu-ɔəs-* ‘future stative’, *tu-lə-* ‘past progressive’, *ʔu-lə-* ‘habitual progressive’, *g^wə-lu-* ‘subjunctive future’ and so forth. These inflectional morphemes are not obligatory. Clauses can occur both with and without any of these affixes.

For a more complete overview of Lushootseed grammar, see Hess(1967a, 1995, 2006b) and Hess and Hilbert (1978a, 1978b).

III INCIPIENT HIERARCHICAL ALIGNMENT IN FOUR CENTRAL SALISH LANGUAGES FROM THE PROTO-SALISH MIDDLE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a historical and synchronic analysis of the syntactic distribution of three constructions in four Central Salish languages: Squamish, Halkomelem, Klallam and Lushootseed. The constructions are defined by the occurrence of modern reflexes of the Proto-Salish middle marker **-m* ‘MIDDLE (M)’ and one of two valence-increasers (VI), **-t* ‘CONTROL (CTR)’ and **-nəw* ‘LIMITED CONTROL (LC)’ (reconstructed in Gerdtz & Hukari 2006:44). Each of the three constructions conditions a different argument structure: V-VI conditions two unmarked (core) arguments, V-M conditions an unmarked (core) A with an oblique P, and V-VI-M conditions an unmarked (core) P with an oblique A. Previous analyses of these constructions differ as to the transitivity status of the V-M and V-VI-M constructions. Gerdtz and Hukari (2006) present V-M as an antipassive and V-VI-M as a passive in Halkomelem, and Montler (2010) proposes that the Klallam V-VI-M is a passive. Text counts in Lushootseed support the position that V-M functions as an antipassive, but Hess (1993, p. 115) argues that V-VI-M is not a passive, but rather, an active clause type that promotes the patient over the A, but is nonetheless transitive.

This chapter does not dispute the antipassive function of V-M. However, when we consider how the V-VI-M construction is distributed in discourse, and particularly when different persons of A and patient interact with each other, its function does not match that of traditional passive voice. This is especially prominent in Klallam, where the

V-VI-M is the only construction available for coding interactions in which the third person A acts on first or second person patient ($3 \rightarrow \text{SAP}$). For both Squamish and Halkomelem in the $3 \rightarrow \text{SAP}$ situation, V-VI-M is the only construction that can occur without restrictions. In Lushootseed it is more frequent than would be expected if it were a passive. Given that the V-VI-M construction is the preferred way of expressing $3 \rightarrow \text{SAP}$, these languages are well on the way to creating a person-based hierarchical system, an analysis inspired by Mithun (2006, 2012). Furthermore, this dominance of the V-VI-M construction in $3 \rightarrow \text{SAP}$ situations for all four Coast Salish languages has led to the reanalysis of an original passive as active voice.

In the data presented in the following sections, I use the asterisk symbol (*) preceding phonemes and morphemes to indicate forms reconstructed to Proto-Salish. To indicate when a construction cannot occur with a given combination of participants I use two asterisks (**). To indicate that a construction is not attested with a given combination of participants, I use a dash (-). When there is simply no data regarding a particular combination, I indicate this with a question mark (?). Following Croft (2001:136, 164), I categorize the semantic participants of a situation using the symbols S, A and P, where S indicates the single core argument of a one-participant situation clause (whether actor or undergoer), A indicates the agent or experiencer of a two-participant situation, and P indicates the other participant (patient or stimulus) of a two-participant situation. I do not address ditransitive situations. I use an arrow (\rightarrow) to indicate ‘acts on’. For example, $\text{SAP} \rightarrow 3$ is to be read ‘a speech act participant A acts on a 3rd-person P’.

Regarding the grammatical realization of the various participants, the grammar of these languages makes a distinction between pronominal enclitics, which can be used to

express either S, A or P, depending upon the syntactic construction, and noun phrases, which can be either a noun or a noun preceded by a determiner. An unmarked noun phrase can express a core argument S, A, or P. A noun phrase can also be preceded by an oblique preposition, which must be used to mark the P of the V-M construction, illustrated in (64a), or the A of the V-VI-M construction, illustrated in (64b), both from Lushootseed.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|---|----------|----------|----------------------|--------------|
| | V | | A | | P | |
| (64) | (a) | ʔu-q'wəl-b | tsi | sładayʔ | ʔə | tə bayac. |
| | | SB-bake-M | DET | woman | OBL | DET meat |
| | | ‘The woman baked the meat.’ (LUT) | | | | |
| | | V | | A | | P |
| | (b) | lək'w-t-əb-əx ^w | ʔə | tiił | d'əg ^w əʔ | tiił s-ʔələd |
| | | eat.up-CTL-M-PI | OBL | DET | monster | DET NMZR-eat |
| | | ‘The monster ate up the food.’ (LUT) (Zahir, 2000, p. 37) | | | | |

For this chapter, I first illustrate the grammar of each construction in all four languages (section 3.2). Then I lay out the synchronic distribution of these three main clause constructions in terms of the different combinations of A and P (section 3.3). Following the terminology used by Gildea & Zúñiga (to appear), first developed in the tradition of Algonquian studies, we separate the argument combinations into four functional domains: in the LOCAL domain, both A and P are speech act participants (SAP); in the DIRECT domain, SAP → 3; in the INVERSE domain, 3 → SAP; and in the NONLOCAL domain, 3 → 3. In section 3.4, I present my conclusions, including future research that is motivated by these findings.

3.2 Introducing and reconstructing the three distinct constructions

3.2.1 The Valence-increasing (VI) Construction

There are 2 verbal suffixes that are valence-increasers in Central Salish; *-*t* ‘CTR’ and *-*nx^w* ‘LC’. They contrast in manner: *-*t* expresses an action done with CONTROL (CTL) by the A, and *-*nx^w* expresses LIMITED CONTROL (LC) by the A. The control valence-increaser indicates that A does the event with care and deliberateness, while the limited-control expresses ability of A to complete the situation in question with difficulty, or that the event is not done intentionally. The valence-increasers, along with their cognates and variants, are listed in Table 8.

Table 8: Valence increasing suffixes

Language	Control	Limited control
Proto-Salish	<i>-*t</i>	<i>-*nx^w</i>
SQU	<i>-n ~ -t</i>	<i>-nəx^w</i>
HUR	<i>-t</i>	<i>-nəx^w</i>
CLM	<i>-t</i>	<i>-nəx^w</i>
LUT	<i>-d ~ -t</i>	<i>-dx^w ~ -du</i>

For V-VI, the SAP A may be expressed via a pronominal clitic (or a pronominal possessive prefix as in 49b, or a suffix as in 49e), or an unmarked free pronoun (65a, c, d, f, g). A third person P can be an unmarked full-noun (65a-c, e-h) or an anaphoric zero (65d).

(65) V-VI: Control (CTL) versus Limited-Control (LC)

(a) Squamish (CTL)

A	V		P		
chen	ts'u7-n	ta	ts'isten	tina7	t-ta s7ay'an
1SG	pull-CTL	DET	nail	from	OBL-DET wall

'I pulled the nail out from the wall.' (Jacobs, 1994, p. 131)

(b) Squamish (LC)

A		V		P
7n-s-na		mn	k'wach-nexw-an	kwetsi mixalh
1SG.POS-NMZR-AUX		PRT	see-LC-1SG	DET bear

'Then I saw a bear.' (Kroeber, 1999, p. 66)

(c) Halkomelem (CTL)

	A	V		P
ʔi	cən	wəł	č'ək ^w č-t	t ^ə sməyəə.
AUX	1SG	now	fry.IMPf-CTL	DET deer

'I am frying the deer meat.' (Gerdtts & Hukari, 2006, p. 65)

(d) Halkomelem (LC)

		A	V	P	
ni	ʔə	čx ^w	k ^w e-k ^w əc-nəx ^w	Ø	ʔəł
AUX	INTROG	2S.SUB	IMPf-see-LC	3PRS	whenever

m'i-s tecəl
come-3.CJ arrive
'Do you see him when he comes?' (Kroeber, 1999, p. 150)

(e) Klallam (CTL)

V	A	P
saʔ-ət	caʔ-n	cə nə-snəx ^w ł
lift-CTL	FUT-1SG	DET 1SG.POS-canoe

(Montler, 2005b, p. sect 8.2)
'I'm going to lift my canoe.'

(f) Klallam (LC)

V	A	P
k ^w ənəŋə-nəx ^w	u	cə ʔən'-sčəʔčaʔ
help-LC	INTROG	2SG DET 1SG.POS-friend

‘Did you help your friend?’ (Montler, 2005b, p. sect 7.2)

(g) Lushootseed (CTL)

V	A		P
ʔu-q'wəl-d	čəd	ti	sčədadx ^w
SB-bake-CTL	1SG	DET	salmon
‘I cooked the salmon.’			

(h)

V	A		P
ʔəyʔ-dx ^w -əx ^w	Ø	tiił	yidad
find-LC-PI	3PRS	DET	fish.trap
‘He finds the fish trap.’			

When P is a SAP, the 4 CS languages employ a set of pronominal object markers (OM) that suffix on to the verb after the valence-increaser. There is a distinct set of object markers for each valence-increaser (see Table 9), a subset of which is illustrated in full sentence examples in (66).⁵ Note that the object marker is a true pronoun as indicated by the absence of a separate free pronoun P in these examples. As seen in all the examples in (65a-h), the absence of an object marker on the verb indicates that the P is third person.

Table 9: Object pronominal suffixes (*Kiyosawa & Gerds, 2010, p. 33*)

	TR	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL
SQU	CTL	-s	-si	-umuł	-umi-(y)ap
	LT	-msh	-mi	-muł	-umi-(y)ap
HUR	CTL	-θamš	-(ʔ)al'x ^w	-θamə	-alə
	LC	-am'š	-(ʔ)al'x ^w	-amə	-alə
CLM	CTL	-s	-s	-uŋł	-s
	LC	-uŋəs	-uŋə	-uŋł	-uŋə
LUT	CTL	-s	-sid	-ubuł	-ubułəd

⁵ I did not encounter full sentence examples of either form in Squamish, nor of the LC form in Halkomelem.

	CL	bš	-bicid	-buł	-bułəd
--	----	----	--------	------	--------

(66) V-VI-OBJ

(a) Halkomelem (CTL)

V	A	
c'ew-ət- alə	ct	ceʔ.
help-CTL-2PL.OBJ	1PL	FUT

‘We will help you (PL).’ (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, 2010, p. 35)

(b) Klallam (CTL)

V	A
kʷənaŋə- t-s	cxʷ.
help-CTL-1SG.OBJ	2SG

‘You help me.’ (Montler, 2005b, p. sect 7.1)

(c) Klallam (LC)

V	A
kʷənaŋə-n-uŋəs	cxʷ.
help-LC-1SG.OBJ	2SG

‘You helped me.’ (Montler, 2005b, p. sect 7.2)

(d) Lushootseed (LC)

V	A
ʔəs-ləq- t-sid	čəd.
STAT-hear-CTL-2SG.OBJ	1SG

‘I hear you.’ (Hess, 1972, p. 129)

(e) Lushootseed (CTL)

V	A	
ʔəs-laχ- du-bš	čəxʷ	ʔu.
STAT-remember-LC-1SG.OBJ	2SG	INTROG

‘Do you remember me?’ (Hess, 1972, p. 119)

Uniquely when 3→3, all of the 4 CS languages have a construction in which a third-person subject marker is suffixed to the verb: *-s*, *-əs* or *-as* ‘SM’. This construction allows both A and P to be core arguments: both can occur as unmarked nouns, but when

the identity of either A or P is obvious from context, it is more common for A and P to be absent (i.e., anaphoric zeros). In all but Squamish, the preferred word order is VAP, but other orders are also possible (Kroeber, 1999, p. 40). Without restriction on word order, ambiguity sometimes occurs in deciphering which participant is A and which is P.

For Squamish (Jacobs, 1994, p. 123), when two unmarked nouns follow the verb marked with the subject marker (V-SM), the interpretation is always VAP (67) in order to disambiguate the A and P. However, it is rare for both A and P to occur as full nouns. More commonly, A is a continuing topic, and so is indicated only by the subject marker (68).

	V		A		P
(67)	na ch'em'-t-as	ta	Tam	ta	Pita
	RL bite-CTL-SM	DET	Tom	DET	Peter
	'Tom bit Peter.' (SQU) (Jacobs, 1994, p. 123)				

	V		A		P
(68)	na wa tsiyl'sen-t-as	Ø	kwetsi	shaw'	
	RL DR sharpen-CTL-SM	3PRS	DET	bone	
	'He was sharpening a bone.' (SQU) (Jacobs, 1994, p. 123)				

In Halkomelem (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, 2010, p. 34), only an animate participant can be the A (69); an inanimate A is not allowed.

	V		A		P
(69)	ni? c'ew-ət-əs	θə	słeni?	t ^θ ə	swəy'qe?
	AUX help-CTL-SM	DET	woman	DET	man
	'The woman helped the man.' (HUR)(Kiyosawa, et al 2010:34)				

For Klallam (Montler, 2001, pp. 240–241), word order is restricted to VAP when both arguments are equal in animacy (70a), except when A possesses P, in which case the order is VPA. In (70b), P (the father) is suffixed with the 3SG.POS morpheme *-s*. P is then followed by A. This construction denotes that P is the father of A, in which case the boy possess the father.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------|--|--------------------|------------|--------------------|
| | V | | A | | P |
| (70) | (a) | k'wən-t-s | cə | swew'əw'əs | cə cət-s |
| | | look.at-VI-SM | DET boy | | DET father-3SG.POS |
| | | 'The boy saw his father.' (CLA) Montler 2001:240). | | | |
| | | V | P | A | |
| | (b) | k'wən-t-s | cə cət-s | cə | swew'əw'əs |
| | | look.at-VI-SM | DET father-3SG.POS | DET boy | |
| | | 'The boy saw his father.' (CLA) Montler 2001:241). | | | |

In Lushootseed, the V-SM construction is limited to subordinate clause constructions (71) and is not possible in main clause predicates.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|------|---------------------------|----------------------|--|
| | V | | P | | |
| (71) | tu-g ^w ag ^w -ə-d | tiə? | s-hay-dx ^w -əs | həlg ^w ə? | |
| | PST-talk-LV-CTL | DET | NMZR-know-LC-SM | 3PL | |
| | 'They talked about what they knew.' | | | | |

The 4 CS languages have a causative and other applicatives that have the same argument structure as these two valence increasers: the causative and each applicative has its own set of object markers and they each can be followed by the subject marker suffix. Their functions do not conflict with the discussion of this chapter and therefore will not be discussed beyond this point.

3.2.2 The Reflexive > Middle > Antipassive (M) Construction

This section begins the discussion of the Proto-Salish *-*m* morpheme, which has the modern reflexes *-m ~ -əm* for Squamish and Halkomelem, *-ŋ ~ -əŋ* for Klallam, and *-b ~ -əb* for Lushootseed. Based on Gerdtz & Hukari (2006:44), I refer to this morpheme as MIDDLE (M). It is typologically common for a middle marker to have as its source a reflexive (Kemmer, 1993), which I believe to be the case for Salish as well (section 3.2.2.1). Once a middle is well-established (section 3.2.2.2), it radiates out from there into different functions, one of which is an antipassive. While the focus of this chapter is on the development of the Salish middle marker through an antipassive into a possible new active voice alignment construction, I begin with its development into an antipassive.

3.2.2.1. Reflexive M

I begin with a brief discussion of the semantic similarity and differences between the reflexive and the middle voice. The reflexive is the situation where there is typically an A and P, but the same referent takes both roles (Kemmer, 1993, p. 42). While the middle typically also may have this interpretation, a middle also occurs in many cases where the two semantic participant roles themselves are conflated into one and their distinction is less discernable. In this case, it is more like an intransitive than a transitive construction. In terms of the 4 CS languages of this chapter, I use the term middle-voice

Table 10: M-reflexive contrasted with the transitive form

Language	Reflexive	Transitive
SQU	shukw'u- m bathe- M 'bathe self'	shukw'u- t bathe- CTL 'bathe him/her' (Squamish Nation Education Department, 2011, p. 162)
HUR	šak' ^w - əm bathe- M 'bathe (self)'	šak' ^w - ət bathe- CTL 'bathe him/her' (Gerds & Hukari, 2006, p. 59)
CLA	(a) λəm-əŋ cn. bump- M 1.SG 'I bumped (myself).'	λəmə- t cn bump- CTL 1.SG 'I bumped it.' (Montler, 2012, p. 240)
LUT	hədiw'- b inside.house- M 'bring self inside a house/building'	hədiw'- d inside.house- CTL 'bring someone/something inside a house/building' (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 108)

Clothing nouns can also be used as verbs when suffixed with either a valence-increaser or M, changing the word-class from noun to verb. In both cases, the verbal form communicates the act of donning an article of clothing (Table 11). The difference is, again, that with the valence-increaser the A and P are distinct participants (i.e., A puts clothing on P), whereas with the M suffix, A puts the clothing on him or herself.

These cases of a reflexive reading for the middle suffix are not prototypical, but they do demonstrate that the middle still has this function (despite the existence of an independent reflexive construction), which I take to be evidence of the etymological meaning of M.

Language	Noun	Reflexive	Transitive
SQU	kapu	kapu7- m	kapu7- n

	‘coat’	coat- M ‘put on one’s coat’	coat- VI ‘put coat on him/her’ (Squamish Nation Education Department, 2011, p. 75)
HUR	kəpu ‘coat’	kəpuʔ-ə m ~kepu:- m coat- M ‘put on one’s coat’	kəpuʔ-ə t ~kepu:- t coat- VI ‘put coat on him/her’ (Gerds & Hukari, 2006, p. 59)
CLA	kapu ‘coat’	kapu- həŋ coat- M ‘put on one’s coat’ (Montler, 2012, p. 166)	—
LUT	kəpu ‘coat’	kəpuu- b coat- M ‘put on one’s coat’ (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 119)	kəpuu- d coat- VI ‘put coat on him/her’

Table 11: M-reflexive and TR as transitivizers

3.2.2.2. Middle-voice M

The M middle-voice also appears in some verbs that lack a corresponding root without M (Table 12). Verbs of this type are called **DEPONENT** (Kemmer, 1993, p. 22). These verbs have fossilized into middle verb forms, which are grammatically active but which only occur in the middle-voice form. The type of deponent varies in the lexicons between the 4 CS languages, showing that this is a lexicalization process that is happening independently in each language. For example, in Halkomelem, the middle

form is used for *qewə-m* ‘rest’, but in Lushootseed, there is a different, non-deponent root, *qaʔkʷ* ‘rest’.

Table 12: Fossilized M middle-voice with deponents

Language	M middle-voice
SQU	<i>xwiti-m</i> <i>xwiti-M</i> ‘jump’ (Squamish Nation Education Department, 2011, p. 204)
HUR	<i>nəqə-m</i> <i>nəqə-M</i> ‘dive’ (Gerds & Hukari, 2006, p. 45)(Gerds & Hukari 2006:45)
CLA	<i>xʷitə-ŋ</i> cn. <i>jump-M</i> 1.SG ‘I jump.’ (Montler, 2005b, p. sect 26.2)
LUT	<i>saxʷə-b</i> <i>saxʷə-M</i> ‘jump’ (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 200)

In all four languages there are multiple examples of nonagentive verbs that always use the M middle-voice. See the examples from Halkomelem in

Table 13 (Gerds & Hukari, 2006, p. 90), from Klallam in Table 14 (Montler, 2012), from Squamish in Table 15 (Squamish Nation Education Department, 2011), and from Lushootseed in Table 16.

Table 13: Halkomelem -M for nonagentive verbs

Body processes

c'ən-əm c'ən-M	'tremble'
hes-əm hes-M	'sneeze'
Motion verbs	
p'il-əm p'il- M	'overflow'
λepəχ-əm λepəχ- M	'scatter'
Change of state	
p'eq'-əm p'eq'- M	'bloom'
liq ^w -əm liq ^w -M	'get calm (water, weather)'
Verbs of emission	
pk' ^w -əm pk' ^w -M	'emit a cloud of dust or a (very fine) splash of water'
λeyəq'-əm λeyəq'-M	'smoke'

Table 14: Klallam -M for nonagentive verbs

Body processes	
č'ən-əŋ č'ən-M	'tremble'
hes-əŋ hes-M	'sneeze'
Motion verbs	
p'uχ ^w -əŋ p'uχ ^w -M	'overflow'
Change of state	
paq'-əŋ paq'-M	'bloom'
Verbs of emission	
pk' ^w -əŋ pk' ^w -M	'smoke'

Table 15: Squamish -M for nonagentive verbs

Body processes	
lhetx-em lhetx-M	'tremble (from fear or cold)'
Motion verbs	
p'ip'iy'-em p'ip'iy'-M	'overflow'
Change of state	
paPk'-am paPk'-M	'bloom'
Verbs of emission	
pePk' ^w -am pePk' ^w -M	'smoke'

Table 16: Lushootseed -M for nonagentive verbs

Body processes	
č'əd-əb č'əd-M	'shiver (from cold or fear)'
has-əb has-M	'sneeze'
Verbs of natural phenomena	
ǰ'wɪq'adiʔ-b thunder-M	'thunder (verb)'
ǰəbǰ'wɪlaʔ-b hail-M	'hail (verb)'
p'il-əb flat-M	'high tide (verb)'
šəx ^w -əb swell-M	'wind blows'
<du>~d(u)k ^w - əb <DIM>~bad-M	'bad weather'

Finally, the verbalizing function of M is also attested with a middle reading in Halkomelem and Lushootseed, as seen in the examples in Table 17.

Table 17: M middle-voice verbalizer

Language	Noun	Verb
SQU	–	–
HUR	wəkən 'wagon'	wəkən-əb wagon-M 'go by wagon' (Gerdts & Hukari 2006:46)
CLA	–	–
LUT	stəqiw' 'horse'	təqiw'-əb horse-M 'to ride horseback' (Zahir forthcoming)

This range of meanings is an important part of what motivates Gerdts & Hukari (2006) to consider the -M suffix to be a middle voice marker in Halkomelem; by extension, we are justified in using the same category label in the other three CS languages, where the cognate marker shows corresponding meanings.

3.2.2.3. Antipassive M

Finally, in all four CS languages, M marks the verb in a semantically transitive construction, but with a single unmarked (core) argument, which is the A, and expressing P as an oblique. There are no person restrictions on A in this construction, that is, A may be either a SAP or third person. However, the verb cannot bear an object marker or the subject marker; P can only be expressed via a full noun marked with the oblique (OBL) preposition, which as seen in (72), has as its modern reflexes *t-* (Squamish), *ʔə* (Halkomelem and Lushootseed), and *ʔəʔ* (Klallam).⁶ This construction is defined as an ANTIPASSIVE by Gerdts & Hukari (2006, p. 44) and Kroeber (1999, pp. 31–32).

⁶ Based on the resemblance in Halkomelem, Lushootseed and Klallam, the oblique preposition seems clearly cognate, but the connection to the Squamish oblique is not as clear. More diachronic research is needed on the development of the Squamish oblique to substantiate that this element of the V-M construction derives from the same source construction in Squamish, too.

3.3 and 3.4, after we examine the third construction, in which a valence-increaser and the middle marker co-occur.

3.2.3 The Valence-increaser-Reflexive > Passive (-VI-M) Construction

The third construction of interest for this chapter has as its nucleus a verb followed by a valence-increaser, which is in turn followed by the middle marker. The construction is semantically transitive, in that there must be an A who is doing the action (whether with greater or lesser control), plus a P. However, in this construction it is the P that occurs as the unmarked noun, whereas the A, if it occurs at all, must be marked with the same oblique preposition that we saw marking the oblique P in the antipassive construction (72). The examples in (73) have third person referents in both A and P roles, whereas the examples in (74) have an oblique third person A acting on a SAP P; and the P is indicated by a free pronoun instead of via the object suffixes seen in section 3.2.1.

(73) V-VI-M, 3 → 3

		V		A		P
(a)	s-es	men	l ^h ich'- it-em	tl'a	T'it'ki7tsten	kwetsi siten
	NOM-GEN	just	cut-CTL-M	OBL/DET	T. (name)	DET basket
	'Then T. cut the basket.' (SQU) (Jacobs, 1994, p. 124)					

	V		A		P
(b)	niʔ	pas- ət-əm	ʔə	t ^ə	swəy'qeʔ t ^ə speʔə
	AUX	hit-CTL-M	OBL	DET	man DET bear
	'The man hit the bear.' (HUR) (Gerds & Hukari, 2006, p. 63)				

		V		P		A
(c)	ʔənʔa	yaʔ	k' ^w ən- t-əŋ	cə	snəx ^w ɪ	ʔaʔ
	come	PST	look.at-CTL-M	DET	canoe	OBL DET man
	'The man came to look at the canoe.' (CLA) (Montler, 2005a, p. 128)					

- (d)

V	ʔə	A	P
lək ^w - t-əb -əx ^w	tiil	dʒəg ^w əʔ	tiil s-ʔələd
eat.up-CTL-M-PI	OBL DET	monster	DET NMZR-eat

 ‘The monster ate up the food’ (LUT) (Zahir, 2000, p. 37)

(74) V-VI-M, 3 → SAP

- (a)

P	V	A
chexw	ch’aw- at-em t-ta	a-men’
2SG	help-CTL-M OBL-DET	2SG.POS-son

 ‘Your son helped you.’ ‘You were helped by your son.’ (SQU) (Jacobs, 1994, p. 127)

- (b) – (HUR)

- (c)

V	P	A
k ^w ənəŋə- t-əŋ u	cx^w ʔaʔ cə	ʔən’-sčəʔčəʔ.
help-CTL-M INTROG	2SG OBL DET	2SG.POS-friend

 ‘Did your friend help you?’ (CLA) (Montler, 2005b, p. sect. 8.1)

- (d)

V	P	A
g ^w ə-qag ^w -ə- t-əb	čəd	ʔə š(ə) ad-bad
SUBJ-scold-LV-CTL-M	1SG	OBL DET 2SG.POS-father

 ‘Your father would scold me.’ (LUT)

This construction is defined as a PASSIVE in Halkomelem by Gerdts & Hukari (2006) and in Klallam by Montler (2010) (an analysis implicitly endorsed by Mithun(2006)), an INVERSE in Squamish (Jacobs, 1994), and in Lushootseed as an active clause type that promotes the patient over the agent (Hess, 1993). I postpone discussion of the latter two analyses for the moment, in order to focus on the reason that a transitivizer plus a middle marker should result in a passive construction. First, the evolution of reflexive through a middle phase to a passive is even better-attested than the change to antipassive seen in section 3.2.2: the claim is found in typological studies like

Kemmer (1993), Haspelmath (1990, 2003), Givón (2001a, 2009, p. 46), Heine (2002), Creissels (2006), and De Schene (2010). However, these studies show that the middle source usually gives rise to a passive that cannot express the agent-phrase as an oblique, at least until quite late in the evolutionary sequence (Givón, 2009, pp. 54–56; Heine, 2002, pp. 88–89), and in any event, the CS languages middle has already become an antipassive, as seen in section 3.2.2. Since all four CS languages can (and often do) express the agent in the oblique phrase, this suggests either that the construction has already passed through the agentless stage in all four languages, or perhaps that it already had the option of using an agent phrase in its earliest stages.

In considering why the V-VI-M construction became a passive, I note that the two crucial differences between the V-M and the V-VI-M constructions. The first is the selection of which argument is unmarked. For V-M, A is unmarked, and for V-VI-M, P is unmarked. The second difference between the two constructions is the V-VI-M construction has an extra morpheme, the valence-increaser. It is also interesting to note that the V-VI construction has the same argument structure properties as both V-causative and V-applicative verbs in CS languages (mentioned in passing at the end of section 3.2.1), and that the likely origin of the middle suffix is a reflexive (as argued in section 3.2.2). The combination of reflexive morphology with causative morphology is attested as a source of passives that have an oblique agent phrase right from the beginning: Haspelmath (1990, p. 36) mentions Modern Greek and Inuit, Givón (2009, p. 46) cites the case of the English GET-passive, and Gildea (2014) mentions Cariban languages Ye'kwana and Bakairi. If we think of the V-VI as a kind of causative morpheme and the middle as a kind of a reflexive morpheme, this opens a new possibility for the evolution

of the passive reading in the V-VI-M construction, namely: V-CAUSATIVE-REFLEXIVE > V-PASSIVE.

Now that we have seen each construction in its own terms, and traced the history of the two constructions that have been analyzed as antipassive and passive voice, we are ready to see how the three interact to express different types of transitive constructions in the four CS languages.

3.3 Towards creating the hierarchy: the synchronic distribution of the three constructions

In this section, I characterize the distribution of each construction in terms of the person of A and P. In studies of hierarchical systems, it is usual to divide the types of interactions into four quadrants, called LOCAL, NONLOCAL, DIRECT, and INVERSE. As summarized in Figure 9, in the LOCAL, a SAP A acts on a SAP P (SAP → SAP); in the NON-LOCAL, a 3rd person A acts on a 3rd person P (3 → 3); in the DIRECT, a SAP A acts on a 3rd person P (SAP → 3); and in the INVERSE, a 3rd person A acts on a SAP P (3 → SAP).

Figure 9: Four functional domains (not syntactic or morphological forms)

	SAP P	3P
SAP A	LOCAL	DIRECT
3A	INVERSE	NONLOCAL

I begin by observing that in most languages typologically, even though there may be stylistic preferences that lead to different frequencies of use, voice constructions are

acceptable in any of the four quadrants. For example, in English, it is possible to use either an active or a passive clause to express a situation from any of the four domains: in the LOCAL quadrant, one could say either *I saw you* or *you were seen by me*; in the NONLOCAL domain, *John saw the thief* or *the thief was seen by John*; in the DIRECT domain, *I saw John* or *John was seen by me*, and in the INVERSE domain, *John saw me* or *I was seen by John*. This kind of productivity is one of the properties of a voice construction, so we would expect that in the CS languages, the active (V-VI), passive (V-VI-M), and antipassive (V-M) constructions would all three be acceptable in all four quadrants (as argued in Gildea & Zúñiga to appear). However, this is not the case in these four CS languages, as I show in the following sections. I begin with the LOCAL quadrant, which has the most restricted choices.

In the LOCAL quadrant, where $SAP \rightarrow SAP$, only the V-VI construction is allowed — neither the V-VI-M construction nor the V-M construction can occur. This is documented for Squamish in the Squamish-English Dictionary (2011, p. 12), for Klallam in Montler (2005b, p. sect 7.1) (cf. also Mithun (2006)), for Lushootseed in Hess and Hilbert (1978a, pp. 119–137), and for all Salish languages in Kiyosawa and Gerdtts (2010, pp. 31–34). Those who defend the voice analyses might argue that the absence of voice constructions in the LOCAL domain is an incidental effect of a more general restriction, namely that SAP participants cannot occur in the oblique role in either voice construction. However, this sort of prohibition is not characteristic of typical voice constructions, so it does raise questions.

Turning to the INVERSE quadrant, where a third person A acts on a SAP P, the (antipassive) V-M construction is completely unacceptable, providing further evidence for

the general prohibition on putting an SAP argument into the oblique role. The two expected constructions would then be the (active) V-VI construction, which marks the SAP P via the pronominal object markers and has an unmarked A (section 3.2.1), and the (passive) V-VI-M construction, where the P is the sole unmarked argument and the A occurs in the oblique phrase. In an ordinary opposition between an active and a passive clause, we would expect the active to be the unmarked construction, pragmatically more neutral and occurring with higher frequency in text. In Lushootseed, V-VI is the pragmatically unmarked construction given that it is higher in frequency. However, a text count of the corpus presents that the use of V-VI-M is over 30%. Its use is more frequent than what would be expected than a passive and is on its way to an active voice. Indeed, in some elicitation forms, it is preferred. In contrast to Lushootseed, for Squamish and Halkomelem, V-VI is marked and its occurrence is restricted, and in Klallam it is no longer allowed at all. Where the V-VI construction is losing ground, the V-VI-M construction is emerging in its place. Although the V-VI-M construction arose diachronically from a passive, its use in these four languages is no longer consistent with the function of a passive: it is the pragmatically unmarked way to express INVERSE situations in three of the four CS languages, in Squamish and Halkomelem it is obligatory when 3 → 2, and in Klallam it is obligatory in all INVERSE situations.

Beginning with Lushootseed, we find the expected lack of restrictions for 3 → SAP. (75a) and (75b) show the V-VI for 1st and 2nd-person P, and (75c) and (75d) shows V-VI-M for for 1st and 2nd-person P.

ʔu-t'uc'-u-t-s ti səbəd.
 SB-shoot-LV-CTL-1SG DET bee
 'The bee stung me.' (LUT) (Barr. 1992)

In both Halkomelem (Gerds, 1997, p. 317; Mithun, 2006, p. 19) and Squamish (Jacobs, 1994, p. 127), the V-VI construction can only occur when $3 \rightarrow 1$, but not when $3 \rightarrow 2$. When $3 \rightarrow 1$ the valence-increaser is followed by the first person object marker and the subject marker, *-əs* (see section 3.2.1); in this configuration, the 3A can occur as an unmarked free noun or pronoun (77a). In Squamish, the 3PLA pronoun *-wit* cliticizes to the end of the verb, as in (77b).

(77) V-VI, ($3 \rightarrow 1$)

	V	A
(a)	niʔ q'waq ^w -ət-θamš-əs	Ø
	AUX club-CTR-1SG-SM	3PRS
	'He clubbed me.' (HUR) (Gerds, 1997, p. 317)	

	V	A
(b)	na ch'aw-at-umulh-as-wit	
	RL help-CTL-1PL-SM-3PL	
	'They helped us.' (SQA) (Jacobs, 1994, p. 127)	

(78a-b) are examples of $3 \rightarrow 2$ where 2P is restricted to V-VI-M when A is 3rd person (note, A does not occur explicitly, and if it did, it would be in an oblique phrase). This restriction is also attested in Halkomelem (Gerds, 2014).

(78) V-VI-M, ($3 \rightarrow 2$)

	P	V	A
(a)	chexw	kw'ach-t-em	Ø.

2SG look.at-CTL-M 3PRS
 ‘Someone/something looked at you.’ (SQA) (Squamish Nation Education Department, 2011, p. 20)

- (b)

P	V	A
chap	kw’ach-t-em	Ø.
2PL	look.at-CTL-M	3PRS

 ‘Someone/something looked at you folks.’ (SQA) (Squamish Nation Education Department, 2011, p. 20)

For Klallam, V-VI is not allowed at all for 3 → SAP (Montler, 2010, p. 118), leaving V-VI-M as the only possible construction to code an inverse situation (79a-b).

- (79) (a)

V	P	A
kʷənəŋə-t-əŋ	cn	ʔaʔ cə nə-tan.
help-CTL-M	1SG OBL	DET 1SG.POS-mother

 ‘My mother helped me.’ (CLA) (Montler, 2005b, p. sect 27.1)

- (b)

V	P	A
kʷənəŋə-t-əŋ	u	cxʷ ʔaʔ cə ʔən’-sčəʔčəʔ.
help-CTL-M	INTROG	2SG OBL DET 2SG.POS-friend

 ‘Did your friend help you?’ (CLA) (Montler, 2005b, p. sect 8.1)

These patterns show that there is a trend towards restricting the use of the V-VI construction when 3 → SAP. This trend is modeled in Figure 10, which shows that Lushootseed has no restrictions, Halkomelem and Squamish now prohibit V-VI from 3 → 2, and Klallam prohibits V-VI from the entire INVERSE quadrant.

Figure 10: Distribution of V-VI-M in the INVERSE quadrant

Language	3A1P	3A2P
LUT	V-VI V-VI-M	V-VI V-VI-M
HUR	V-VI V-VI-M	———— V-VI-M
SQU	V-VI V-VI-M	———— V-VI-M
CLA	———— V-VI-M	———— V-VI-M

Alongside the reduction in the use of the V-VI construction, the distinctiveness of the object markers is also eroding (see Table 9 repeated below). In Lushootseed, there is still a robust contrast between all the object markers following both of the valence-increasers (CTL, LC), but in the other three languages, there has been a reduction in the number of distinctions coded in the object markers. In Klallam, three of the four control object markers have the same form, *-s* ‘1SG/1PL/2PL’, and two of the limited control object markers are the same form, *-uŋə* ‘1PL/2PL’. Squamish and Halkomelem show a similar proclivity, although not as severe: for Squamish, the control object markers *-s* ‘1SG’ and *-si* ‘1PL’ are becoming more similar, and for Halkomelem, the control and limited control markers are no longer distinct for 1PL (both *-(ʔ)al’xʷ*) and 2PL (both *-alə*). The conflation of object markers in these languages creates ambiguity in identifying the person for P. In contrast, when SAP → SAP, there is no question as to the person for P because the person and number of A is clearly marked by a free pronoun, thereby eliminating at least one of the possible referents.

	TR	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL
SQU	CTL	-s	-si	-umuł	-umi-(y)ap
	LT	-msh	-mi	-muł	-umi-(y)ap
HUR	CTL	-θamš	-(?)al'x ^w	-θamə	-alə
	LC	-am'š	-(?)al'x ^w	-amə	-alə
CLM	CTL	-s	-s	-uŋł	-s
	LC	-uŋəs	-uŋə	-uŋł	-uŋə
LUT	CTL	-s	-sid	-ubuł	-ubułəd
	CL	bš	-bicid	-buł	-bułəd

These reductions in the semantic distinctiveness of the object markers further minimize the communicative effectiveness of the V-VI construction. At this point, it is not clear whether these changes are linked to the lowered frequency of the V-VI construction, whether either has caused the other, but it is clear that both indicate changes in the same direction. Although V-VI is not completely gone from the INVERSE quadrant of functional domains, V-VI-M is clearly emerging as the dominant construction for 3 → SAP.

Looking now at the DIRECT quadrant, where a SAP A acts on a 3P, the (passive) V-VI-M construction is completely unacceptable, serving as the final piece of evidence for the general prohibition on putting an SAP argument into the oblique role. The two expected constructions would then be the (active) V-VI construction and the (antipassive) V-M construction: in both, the SAP A is expressed as an unmarked pronoun (sometimes cliticized to other elements in the clause), but in the V-VI construction, the 3P is an unmarked noun or pronoun (if overt) and in the V-M construction, a 3P must occur in the oblique phrase. In an ordinary opposition between an active and an antipassive clause, we would expect the active to be the unmarked construction, pragmatically more neutral and occurring with higher frequency in text.

In Lushootseed, the contrast is more as described by Hess (Hess, 1993): for both, the SAP A is the primary participant, but the V-VI construction, where A is a pronominal clitic or suffix, promotes the 3P, while the V-M demotes the P in an oblique phrase. This contrast allows for the alternating focuses between A and P. In contrast to Hess, V-M is defined as an antipassive in Halkomelem by Gerdts & Hukari (2006, p. 45), and in general for all Salish languages by Kroeber (1999, p. 31) because of the oblique role that P plays. Unlike the INVERSE domain where V-VI-M is pragmatically unmarked, there is no evidence yet that V-M is the unmarked construction in the DIRECT domain where V-VI still occurs without restriction. Therefore, looking at this construction purely on its distribution within the four functional domains does not tell us whether V-M has made the transition to a transitive. Initial research indicates that V-M construction is infrequent and that V-M behaves more as an antipassive for both Lushootseed and Halkomelem than as a marked transitive, and this is supported with research on Squamish by Jacobs (1994, p. 136). With frequency of only 3-5% in all three languages, the voice of V-M has yet to become active and its function still resembles an antipassive.

Finally, in the NONLOCAL quadrant when $3 \rightarrow 3$, all three constructions are available. This means that the NONLOCAL quadrant is the most robust functional domain as far as giving speakers the option of choosing between the different constructions for their own communicative purposes. One would expect that here, the default construction would be the V-VI, with its two unmarked arguments, whereas the V-M construction would be used when P is relatively less topical and the V-VI-M construction when the A is relatively less topical. However, even in this domain, the V-VI has restrictions, such as the limitation that it can only occur when the A is animate in Halkomelem (leaving V-VI-

M as the construction available when A is inanimate) and VAP word order in Squamish and Klallam. Initial text analysis for Lushootseed and Halkomelem, as well as research by Jacobs for Squamish (1994, p. 136) shows that the V-VI construction is still dominant, but shares the quadrant with the other two constructions, which allow the speaker to be oriented towards a single core argument, whether A or P.

3.4 Discussion

In looking at typological studies of voice (e.g. Givón (1994)), the prototype active, passive, and antipassive clauses should be able to occur freely in all quadrants of interaction between different persons of A and P, but the prototype active clause should be pragmatically neutral, the expected construction for just talking about ongoing sequences of events. In contrast, the prototype passive and antipassive clauses should be relatively rare (15% and 5% respectively in Givón's (1994) summary of the text counts in his collection), and their primary function should be to draw the listener's attention to the relative importance of the patient vis-à-vis the agent: a passive construction is used when the agent is nontopical, and its grammar generally removes the agent altogether (or demotes it to a peripheral grammatical role), leaving the patient as the grammatical subject; an antipassive construction is used when the patient is nontopical, and its grammar generally removes the patient altogether (or demotes it to a peripheral role). Key to a prototypical voice construction is that the grammar and the function work in harmony. As such, we expect the agent of a passive to be relatively infrequent (a maximum of 20% in Givón's (1994) counts), and the same should arguably be true of the patient of an antipassive.

However, in looking at studies of grammatical change, we know that speakers can extend the functions of passive constructions, so that they are used even in situations when the agent is higher in topicality continuity through discourse. Such “extended” passives begin to occur in contexts where the prior active clause would have been used, creating a kind of competition for expression of those situations. In some cases, this competition results in the former passive voice replacing the active altogether in some domains, becoming active main clauses with ergative alignment (Givón, 1994, pp. 32–34). While this competition often is limited to the domain of aspect and tense, resulting in tense-aspect-based split ergativity (Gildea, 1997, 2004), in some cases the competition takes place in the domain of interactions between different persons. In this latter case, the former passive voice becomes the only construction allowed when $3 \rightarrow \text{SAP}$ (i.e., in the INVERSE quadrant), thereby creating a hierarchical system of alignment (Gildea & Zúñiga, In Press; Mithun, 2006, 2012). This process of change has already happened in Klallam, and appears to be well underway in the other three CS languages studied here.

Similarly, we know that speakers can extend the functions of antipassive constructions, so that they are used even in situations when the patient is higher in topicality. Such “extended antipassives” begin to compete with simple active clauses in the tense-aspect domain, ending up as a new active imperfective clause type with accusative alignment. In the case of the CS languages studied here, the competition appears to be taking place in the domain of interactions between different persons, which could logically lead to a situation where the antipassive becomes the favored construction when $\text{SAP} \rightarrow 3$. To my knowledge, there are no studies in the typological literature where an antipassive has taken over the DIRECT quadrant to create (or reinforce) a

hierarchical alignment system, and this has not happened (yet) in any of the CS languages.

Although such a change has not happened in the CS languages, it is worth exploring what such a change would look like were the V-M construction to become obligatory in the DIRECT quadrant alongside the V-VI-M construction in the INVERSE quadrant. The first result would be that the four quadrants would each have different choices available: in the LOCAL, only the V-VI construction would be available, with both SAP participants expressed as core arguments; in the INVERSE, only the V-VI-M construction would be available, with the SAP P unmarked and the 3A expressed as an oblique; in the DIRECT, only the V-M construction would be available, with the SAP A unmarked and the 3P expressed as an oblique, but crucially, as the same oblique used for the 3A in the INVERSE quadrant. The result would be a three-way split in the grammar of main clauses, such that the SAP would always be the grammatically unmarked, like the PROXIMATE argument in a prototype inverse system, and the third person interacting with the SAP would always be expressed as the same oblique argument, like the OBVIATIVE argument in a prototype inverse system. None of these constructions would be truly intransitive, and we would need to adjust our definition of “core argument” to include the oblique-marked third person argument.

To complete this hypothetical scenario, the NONLOCAL quadrant would also be unique among the four quadrants, not because it has its own dedicated construction, but rather because it would allow speakers a choice between all three of the prior constructions. In this domain, the V-VI-M and the V-M constructions would potentially still look like intransitive voice constructions in opposition to the clearly transitive V-VI

construction. However, it does create something of an analytical problem (at least for linguists), because it is not automatic to have two different analyses for the same construction in the two different functional domains. That is, the identical construction would be clearly used to code active transitive interactions in the INVERSE and DIRECT quadrants, but intransitive voice constructions in the NONLOCAL domain.

At the moment, this scenario remains hypothetical, and given the dire social situation of each language,⁷ it is possible that changes currently in progress might continue to evolve in unpredictable ways. However, the reasoning is already applicable to the V-VI-M construction in three of these languages: in Klallam, it is the only way to express an INVERSE situation, and in Halkomelem and Squamish, it is the only way to express a subset of the INVERSE situations, namely 3 → 2. This creates a situation in which an erstwhile passive construction is obligatory for coding certain clearly transitive speech situations. Within the Salish linguistic tradition, the most common approach has been to continue to use the label “passive” for every use of the construction, which puts the linguist in the unenviable position of claiming that these languages simply have some transitive situations where speakers must use an “obligatory passive”. This is the approach taken by Gerdts & Hukari (2006) for Halkomelem, by Montler (2010) for Klallam, and it is the analysis used by Mithun (2006) when she describes this sort of functional shift as the areal spread of the obligatory use of passive in certain speech situations.

⁷ All four of these languages are highly endangered, as they stopped being transmitted to children as a first language in the home some decades ago. However, there are active language education programs in all four, and at least some members of each speech community are deeply committed to revitalization activities that may result in their reintroduction in the home.

In contrast, for Squamish, Jacobs (1994) explores the discourse distribution of the V-VI-M construction, and then carefully does not make a commitment as to whether the V-VI-M construction (which he calls the “de-transitive(DT) clause”) is better analyzed as an (intransitive) passive or as a (transitive) inverse: “If the DT-clause in Squamish is to be considered an inverse, as functionally it clearly seems to be, it is typologically a **promotional inverse**, in which the patient assumes more grammatical subject properties [...] By the central tendencies, the DT clause of Squamish is functionally very *compatible* with a patient-promoting inverse, *much less* compatible with an agent-demoting passive.” (Jacobs, 1994, pp. 141–142). It is worth pointing out that this conclusion follows from the Givónian text counting methodology, which explicitly excludes all clauses with a speech act participant as either agent or patient, and so it speaks only to the use of these constructions in the NONLOCAL quadrant, the domain where I argue that the functional shift of the former voice constructions is likely to be the least advanced.

For Lushootseed, in the midst of his brilliant analysis of verbs stems, Hess (1993, pp. 115–117) adds two relevant comments in footnotes. Referring to what I here call the V-VI-M construction, Hess (note 4, p. 115) observes “In most descriptions this cognate sequence, /-t-m/, etc., is called a PASSIVE construction. In Lushootseed it is not passive.” After some exposition in which he contrasts the referential functions of the V-VI construction and the V-VI-M construction, he adds (p. 117) “...it makes little sense to talk about transitivity.” He expands on this thought in footnote 5, which he concludes by asserting that “For Lushootseed it is more meaningful to speak of verbs that are either patient oriented [V-VI-M] or agent oriented [V-VI].”

It is not the purpose of this chapter to resolve questions of synchronic analysis in the individual CS languages for either the V-VI-M construction or for the V-M construction. But given the findings of Jacobs' (1994) analysis of Squamish discourse, and given the categorical statements by Hess (1993) — which also match my intuitions as a speaker — about the irrelevance of “transitivity” to these constructions in Lushootseed, there is certainly a need to do further analysis of actual speech patterns by native speakers using these languages as a tool of communication. To further understand the distribution of the alignment structures, we conducted initial text counts on short discourses in Halkomelem and Lushootseed. The most tokens were gathered from Lushootseed texts for a total of 1043 tokens. 910 tokens were analyzed from traditional narratives, 45 were from audio messages between speakers, 19 were from a recorded conversation between three speakers, and 69 were from discourse on history.⁸ These tokens were distributed between the four functional domains (see Table 18). 21 were of the LOCAL domain, 152 were of the DIRECT, 822 were of the NONLOCAL, and 48 were of the INVERSE. The data includes two constructions, V(A), V(P) and V(2core), that have not been mentioned in this chapter. They are core verbs, meaning they are not inflected with VI or M. For V(A),

⁸ Similar data was gathered for Klallam, but the lack of texts available for text counts limited the text analysis to only 25 tokens, which are not enough to establish any existence of syntactical construction distribution patterns and, therefore, will not be part of this discussion. No text counts were collected for Squamish.

A is core, and P has the oblique preposition. For V(P), P is core and A has oblique preposition. For V(2core), both A and P are core. These constructions are lexically driven, meaning which argument is core depends upon the lexicon. These are small counts, but their distribution aligns with one of the precepts of this chapter, namely, V(A), where A is core distributes within the DIRECT and NONLOCAL domains, and V(P) distributes within the INVERSE and NONLOCAL domains. V(2core) distributes within the DIRECT and NONLOCAL domains.

Table 18: Functional domain distribution of Lushootseed text count tokens

Total tokens = 1043					
Local	Total	% of local	Direct	Total	% of direct
V-VI	21	100%	V-VI	123	81%
V-VI-M	0	0%	V-VI-M	0	0%
V-M	0	0%	V-M	4	3%
V (A)	0	0%	V (A)	16	11%
V (P)	0	0%	V (P)	0	0%
V (2core)	0	0%	V (2core)	9	6%
Total	21		Total	152	
% of tokens	2%		% of tokens	15%	
Inverse	Total	% of inverse	Nonlocal	Total	% of nonlocal
V-VI	27	56%	V-VI	476	58%
V-VI-M	19	40%	V-VI-M	232	28%
V-M	0	0%	V-M	22	3%
V (A)	0	0%	V (A)	49	6%
V (P)	2	4%	V (P)	14	2%
V (2core)	0	0%	V (2core)	29	4%
Total	48		Total	822	
% of tokens	5%		% of tokens	79%	

In this analysis, V-VI dominates all four quadrants. As predicted, V-VI is the only available construction in the LOCAL domain.

For the DIRECT domain, V-VI-M does not occur as predicted, given that a pronoun cannot occur within an oblique phrase. 123 tokens are V-VI, 4 are V-M, 16 are V(A), and 9 are V(2core).

The NONLOCAL domain contains the most tokens. V-VI dominates with a 476 tokens, followed by V-VI-M at 232. V-M has 22 tokens, V(A) has 49 tokens, V(P) has 14, and V(2core) has 29.

V-VI is the most frequent construction in the INVERSE with 27 tokens, followed by V-VI-M with 19, and V(P) with 2. As predicted V-M does not occur because a pronoun cannot occur within an oblique phrase.

These counts in Lushootseed support our position for the V-VI-M construction. Its high frequency in the NONLOCAL (28%) and INVERSE (40%) domains verifies that this historically passive construction has moved to an active voice. For V-VI-M, the function of the oblique preposition for the A has become an ergative case marking. Conversely, where one might expect the same progression for the oblique marker to become an accusative case marking for the P within the historically antipassive V-M construction, this transition has yet to occur. V-M occurs only 3% of the time within the NONLOCAL and the DIRECT. Its very low frequency and use with limited predicate forms means its voice is inactive and still functions as an antipassive.

99 tokens were gathered from one text story for Halkomelem (see Table 19). The distributions of V-VI, V-M and V-VI-M were similar to Lushootseed,

where V-VI is dominant except in the NONLOCAL domain. In this case, the V-VI-M is more dominant for Halkomelem than Lushootseed with 43 (65%) tokens. Only 19 are V-VI (29%), 3 are V-M (5%) and 1 is V(A) (2%). In the INVERSE, there are 4 V-VI tokens and no V-VI-M tokens. This lack of distribution of V-VI-M within the INVERSE domain is most likely due to the low text count of tokens gathered and the nature of a story discourse where most transitive events mentioned are 3 → 3.

Table 19: Halkomelem data

Total tokens = 99

Local	Total	% of local	Direct	Total	% of direct
V-VI	9	100%	V-VI	20	100%
V-VI-M	0	0%	V-VI-M	0	0%
V-M	0	0%	V-M	0	0%
V (A)	0	0%	V (A)	0	0%
V (P)	0	0%	V (P)	0	0%
V (2core)	0	0%	V (2core)	0	0%
Total	9		Total	20	
% of tokens	9%		% of tokens	20%	

Inverse	Total	% of inverse	Nonlocal	Total	% of nonlocal
V-VI	4	100%	V-VI	19	29%
V-VI-M	0	0%	V-VI-M	43	65%
V-M	0	0%	V-M	3	5%
V (A)	0	0%	V (A)	1	2%
V (P)	0	0%	V (P)	0	0%
V (2core)	0	0%	V (2core)	0	0%
Total	4		Total	66	
% of tokens	4%		% of tokens	67%	

Even more so with Halkomelem than Lushootseed, the high frequency of V-VI-M within the NONLOCAL domain indicates that its voice is even more active, again supporting our claim that this historically passive voice has become active. Just as in the Lushootseed data, though, the V-M construction occurs only 5% of the time within the NONLOCAL, and is therefore, still functioning as an antipassive.

These initial text counts establish two important points: the first is the high frequency of V-VI-M within the NONLOCAL and INVERSE domains supports that its passive voice has transitioned to an active voice. Indeed, for the Halkomelem data, it dominates the NONLOCAL quadrant. Secondly, the infrequent use of V-M in the DIRECT and NONLOCAL domains, suggests that its function has yet to transition to an active voice, and therefore still functions as an antipassive voice.

We still need to study the distribution of these constructions in more discourse data, ideally in at least narrative texts and recorded conversations. Further, future studies need to go beyond the text counting methodology in Givón (1994), which excludes SAP participants, as the most striking patterns in the CS languages are actually found precisely in the interactions between SAP and third person participants. Even in those languages where it is still possible to use the V-VI construction in INVERSE situations, other than Lushootseed, I predict that they will be quite rare, and that instead the vast majority of these situations will be expressed using the V-VI-M construction. In contrast, I cannot make a similarly strong prediction about how speakers will express DIRECT situations — V-M does not dominate V-VI, nor is there any evidence that this trend is occurring, but further text counts analysis will confirm this initial finding for V-M.

In conclusion, I have argued that the CS languages have taken important steps towards creating a hierarchical argument marking system, using the Proto-Salish V-VI-M passive construction disproportionately in INVERSE situations, and possibly the Proto-Salish V-M antipassive construction moving towards a transitive voice in DIRECT situations. The shift from passive to inverse (already identified in Mithun 2006) is more advanced: in Klallam, the former passive is now the only construction allowed to express INVERSE situations, in both Halkomelem and Squamish, it is the only construction allowed to express 3 → 2 situations, and even in the INVERSE situations where it is not obligatory (that is, the 3 → 1 situations in Halkomelem and Squamish, and both 3 → 1 and 3 → 2 in Lushootseed), it is the default construction that speakers turn to unless the A is the discourse topic. The possibility of a shift from antipassive to direct has not been discussed before in the typological literature, and if such a shift is actually in progress in the CS languages, it has not yet resulted in any situation where the V-M construction has become grammatically obligatory. If such a functional shift is underway, it will only be detected by careful analysis of text data, which I believe is an urgent consideration for future research.

IV FUNCTION OF NOMINALIZATION IN LUSHOOTSEED

4.1 Introduction to nominalization

Previous analysis by Salish linguists have well established that the *s-* prefix marks nominalization in Salish languages (Kroeber, 1999, p. 11). It occurs in various constructions for various reasons depending upon the language. In Lushootseed, there are two types of construction involving nominalization. The first is a lexical derivation where the *s-* prefixed on a verb derives a noun, e.g., *ʔələd* ‘eat’ with the *s-* nominalizer derives *sʔələd* ‘food’ (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 11). This form of change of speech is referred to as lexical nominalization (Thompson, 2012, p. 1).

The second type of nominalization construction still involves a predicate, but the nominalizer does not change word’s part of speech. The nominalized form remains a predicate. This type of nominalization occurs with dependent clauses, including complement and relative clauses. This function of nominalization is referred to as clausal nominalization (Thompson, 2012, p. 1).

Previous structural linguistic work on Lushootseed has laid out an insightful analysis of how nominalization aligns with certain morphosyntactic constructions (Hess, 1995, pp. 85, 97, 103–106, 109–113). Hess defines Lushootseed syntax in terms of direct complement, oblique complements, augments and adjuncts (section 4.2). In his analyses, complement clauses are nominalized. Adverbial clauses that express augmented information in a prepositional phrase are also nominalized. Relative clauses are finite when the head noun is a direct complement or oblique complement of the relative clause,

while all other types of head nouns generate a nominalized dependent clause. Any variation from these structures is not analyzed as a dependent clause or is explained as an occurrence of rapid or relaxed speech and does not have a linguistic function (Hess, 1995, p. 104). There have been analyses that posit that the function of the nominalizer is related to focus. These analyses are confined to contrastive focus between elements within a sentence, and have been confined to adverbial predicate constructions and negated clauses ((Bates, 1997, p. 11), (Hess, 1995, p. 96)). In addition, Beck posits that clausal nominalization reifies an event (Beck, 2000b, p. 122)

The objective of this chapter is to posit a different analysis that builds upon these previous analyses. It expands the definition of dependent clauses to include finite forms that were previously not considered dependent clauses, and it includes clauses that were discounted as rapid or relaxed speech. I will also show that there is a third form of dependent clause where the predicate is finite but the subject argument is demoted to a genitive form. In addition, I will show how nominalization has a discourse marking function. I will show how the *s*- nominalizer occurs with information that is suppositional, unexpected, or more significant. I will then show by example with the first part of a traditional narrative how these dependent clause forms align with my hypothesis. This will be supported with a numerical and statistical analysis of the corpus data.

In in section 4.2, I will begin with a review of previous works on dependent clauses. I will then layout my analysis of dependent clause constructions. My discussion will include complement clauses (section 4.3); adverbial predicates, adverbial clauses and adverbs (section 4.4); left dislocation (section 4.5); interrogatives (section 4.6); negation

(section 4.7); and relative clauses (section 4.8). In section 4.9, I will present my hypothesis that nominalization marks presuppositional information with an analysis of a traditional narrative and an analysis of the corpus data. I will then present a brief discussion on demoted clauses in section 4.10. I summarize the chapter in section 4.11.

4.2 Previous work on dependent clauses

Hess analyzes Lushootseed sentences in terms of a predicate and its participants. Participants are expressed as direct complements, oblique complements, augments, and adjuncts (1995, pp. 81–85). These participants occur in different forms. Direct complements are core arguments. Direct complements can express a S of an intransitive; the A of a verb suffixed by the middle (V-M); the P of a verb suffixed with a valence-increaser (V-VI); or the P of a verb suffixed with a valence-increaser and a middle (V-VI-M). In (80), the predicate is supplemented with a direct complement and the direct complement expresses the S (The direct complement is underlined and the S is labeled above ‘S’ for clarity).

S

- (80) tu-s-ʔiʔab ti tu-d-s-č’istx^v.
 PST-NMZR-successful DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-husband
 ‘My former husband was a man of rank. (Hess, 1995a, p. 81)

In (81), the verb is suffixed with the middle and the direct complement expresses the A of a transitive (The middle suffix is in bold, and the A and P are labeled ‘A’ and ‘P’ above for clarity).

		A		P
(81)	ʔu-q ^w əl- b	tsi	<u>č’ač’as</u>	Ø
	SB-roast- M	DET	<u>child</u>	3PRS
	‘The <u>girl</u> roasted something.’ (Hess, 1995, p. 9)			

In (82), the verb is suffixed with a valence-increaser and the direct complement expresses the P.

		A		P
(82)	ʔu-g ^w əč’-ə- d	Ø	tsi	<u>č’ač’as</u>
	SB-search-LV- CTL	3PRS	DET	<u>child</u>
	‘Someone looked for the <u>girl</u> .’ (Hess, 1995, p. 9)			

In (83), the verb is suffixed with a valence-increaser and middle, and the direct complement expresses the P.

			A		P
(83)	ʔu-k ^w əd-a- t-əb	ʔə	tiʔəʔ	pišpiš	ti
	SB-take-LV- CTL-M	OBL	DET	cat	DET
					NMZR- <u>salmon</u>
	‘The cat took the <u>salmon</u> .’ (Hess, 1995, p. 82)				

Oblique complements occur when a noun phrase takes an oblique preposition. They express an A of a transitive predicate when the predicate is suffixed with a valence-increaser: control (-*t*), limited control (-*du*), the causative (-*tu*), or the applicative (-*c/~-s*) followed by the middle marker (-*b/~-əb*). Example (83) is rewritten in (84), but now the A is underlined to highlight the oblique complement.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|-----|----------|---------------|----------|-------------------------|
| | | | A | | P | |
| (84) | ʔu-k ^w əd-a-t-əb | ʔə | tiʔəʔ | <u>pišpiš</u> | ti | s-ʔuladx ^w . |
| | SB-take-CON.AFF-CTL-M | OBL | DET | <u>cat</u> | DET | NMZR-salmon |
| | ‘The <u>cat</u> took the salmon.’ (Hess, 1995, p. 82) | | | | | |

Augments are single words that express locative or temporal notions (85) (the augment is underlined for clarity)

- | | | | | |
|------|---|-------|--------|--------------------------------|
| (85) | tu-lə-ʔibəš | tiʔił | bəščəb | <u>lił-ʔilg^wił.</u> |
| | PST-PROG-travel.by.land | DET | mink | <u>by.way.of-shore</u> |
| | ‘Mink was traveling <u>along the shore</u> .’ (Hess, 1995, p. 82) | | | |

Everything else expressed in an utterance is an adjunct. Adjuncts are expressed within a preposition. In example (86) the locative *ʔal* expresses where the event occurs (The adjunct is underlined for clarity).

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|----------------------|------------|-----|-------|
| (86) | ʔu-ʔəł-əd | həlg ^w əʔ | <u>ʔal</u> | tə | tibu. |
| | SB-eat-DERV | 3PL | <u>LOC</u> | DET | table |

- (91) stab k^{wi} ʔu-ʔəy'-du-b ʔə ti s-q^{wə}bayʔ.
what DET SB-**find**-LC-M OBL DET NMZR-dog
 'What did the dog **find**?' (Hess, 1995, p. 99)

In (92), the interrogative inquires about the oblique complement.

- (92) g^{wat} k^{wi} ʔu-ʔəy'-dx^w ti s-q^{wə}bayʔ.
who DET SB-**find**-LC DET NMZR-dog
 'Who **found** the dog?' (Hess, 1995, p. 100)

In contrast to these finite forms, nominalized forms are used when the dislocated information or interrogative refers to adjunct or augmented information. Predicate nominalization is achieved by prefixing the *s-* 'nominalizer' or *dəx^w-* 'reason for' (predominately *səx^w-* 'by means of' in Southern Lushootseed). When this occurs, the subject is demoted to a genitive form. In (93), the adjunct information is the instrument used ('stick'). the verb is prefixed with *dəx^w-* and the subject is expressed in a genitive form as 3rd person (the nominalizing element, *dəx^w-*, is in italics and the subject is underlined for clarity).

- (93) q^w-q^włayʔ tiʔil *dəx^w-ʔu-čal-a-d-s*
 DSTR-stick DET *reason.for*-SB-**chase**-CON.AFF-CTL-3PRS.POS
 ti s-q^{wə}bayʔ.
 DET NMZR-dog
 'With sticks they **chased** the dog.' (Hess, 1995, p. 103)

In (94), the left dislocated adjunct information is the object which is normally expressed in an oblique. The *s-* ‘nominalizer’ prefixes to the predicate and the subject is expressed in an oblique genitive construction.

- (94) *s-ʔuladx^w* *tiʔəʔ* *s-u-ʔəl-əd* *ʔə* *tiʔiʔ* *pišpiš*.
 NMZR-salmon DET NMZR-SB-**eat**-DERV OBL DET cat
 ‘A salmon is what a cat ate.’ (Hess, 1995, p. 103)

In (95), the interrogative inquires about augmented information, namely why an event occurs. The predicate is prefixed with *dəx^w-* and the subject expressed in an oblique, genitive form.

- (95) *ʔəs-ʔəʔid* *k^{wi}* *dəx^w-ʔəs-**tag^{wəx^w}*** *ʔə* *tiʔəʔ* *qaw’qs*.
 STAT-why DET *reason.for*-STAT-**hungry** OBL DET raven
 ‘Why is Raven hungry.’ (Hess, 1995, p. 105)

In (96), the interrogative inquires about augmented information, namely when an event will occur. The predicate is prefixed with the *s-* ‘nominalizer’ and the subject is expressed in an oblique genitive form.

- (96) *ʔal-əx^w* *k^{wid}* *k^{wi}* *s-**t’uk^w*** *ʔə* *tsiʔəʔ* *luʔ.*
 LOC-PI when DET NMZR-**go.home** OBL DET elder
 ‘When is the old woman going home?’ (Hess, 1995, p. 105)

Relative clauses can display a finite versus nominalized contrast. Finite relative clauses signal that the head noun references a direct or an oblique complement of the relative clause verb, and nominalized relative clauses signal that the head noun references an adjunct participant of the relative clause.

In (97), the head noun references the direct complement of the relative predicate. In this instance, the relative predicate is finite and the relative direct complement is zero mentioned (the zero mentioned complement of the relative clause is expressed as \emptyset_{DC} for clarity).

- (97) ʔəs-hay-dx^w čəd tsi s-ladəyʔ [ʔəs-**lallil** \emptyset_{DC}
 STAT-know-LC 1SG DET NMZR-woman [STAT-**live** 3PRS
- ʔal tiʔiɪ].
 LOC 3PRS]
 ‘I know the woman [who **lives** there].’ (Hess, 1995, p. 113)

In (98), the relative clause modifies the object of a ditransitive. In the benefactive construction below, the object of a ditransitive is in expressed in an oblique, therefore, making it an adjunct participant. The relative predicate is nominalized and the subject is expressed as 3rd person in a genitive form (underlined in 98 for clarity; the zero mention of the relative object is written as $\emptyset_{Adjunct}$ for clarity).

- (98) ʔu-pač-a-d tiʔił s-tab-ig^ws
 SB-lay.out-CON.AFF-CTL DET NMZR-thing-possession
- [s-ʔab-yi-d-s Ø_{Adjunct}].
 [NMZR-give-BEN-CTL-3.POS 3PRS]
 ‘He displayed the goods [he was **giving** (to Boulder)].’ (Hess, 1995, p. 113)

Complement clauses do not have a finite versus nominalized contrast. They are always nominalized regardless of their function. They can express the direct complement, adjunct or augmented information (Hess has no examples of a complement clause expressing an oblique). In (99), the complement clause expresses the object. The complement predicate is nominalized and the complement subject is expressed in an oblique genitive form (the complement is in bracketed parenthesis for clarity.)

- (99) ʔu-lač-dx^w-əx^w Ø [tiʔił tu-s-huy ʔə tiʔił c'ixc'ix].
 SB-remember-LC-PI 3PRS [DET PST-NMZR-do OBL DET fish.hawk]
 ‘He remembered [what Fish Hawk had **done**].’ (Hess, 1995, p. 111)

In (100), the complement clause expresses adjunct information within an oblique. The complement verb is nominalized and the subject is expressed in a genitive form as 3rd person.

- (100) yəc-əb-əx^w ti luł [ʔə tiʔił
 report-M-PI DET elder [OBL DET
 s-lalil-tu-b-s-əx^w].
 NMZR-come.ashore-CS-M-3PRS.POS-PI]

‘The old man told (the villagers) [about (someone’s) being brought **ashore**].’ (Hess, 1995, p. 112)

In (101), augmented information is expressed in a complement clause. This augmented information expresses the reason for event expressed in the main clause. The complement predicate is nominalized and the 1st person plural subject is expressed in a genitive form.

(101) ləcu-ʔab-yi-d čəł tiʔəʔ č’λaʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ
 CONT-give-BEN-CTL 1PL DET rock OBL _DET

s-tab-ig^ws-čəł [tiʔəʔ lu-s-ʔibəš-čəł].
 NMZR-things-possessions [DET FUT-NMZR-travel.by.land-1PL.POS]
 ‘We are giving our possessions to this boulder [because we are **going on a trip**].’
 (Hess, 1995, p. 112)

The last construction is the negative. Negation that involves a predicate can occur in both finite and nominalized forms. When the predicate is finite, a *x^{wi}ʔ lə-* construction is employed. *x^{wi}ʔ* is the ‘negative’. *lə-* is a proclitic that attaches to the negated predicate. Outside of this negative construction, *lə-* is defined as ‘progressive’. However, Hess is adamant that it does not function as a progressive with this negated form. In (102), the predicate is finite and the subject is not demoted to a genitive form.

(102) x^{wi}ʔ čəx^w six^w lə-bak^wł
 NEG 2SG usual *PROCLITIC-hurt*

‘don’t (you) get **hurt**.’ (Hess, 1995, p. 97)

The negated form in (102) is not considered to have a dependent clause. On the contrary, the whole utterance is considered a main clause.

In contrast, when the predicate in a negated construction is nominalized, *x^{wi}?* is defined as an adverb followed by a complement clause. In this form, the predicate is never finite. In (103), the predicate is within a complement clause and it is nominalized. The subject is expressed as 2nd person singular in a genitive form.

- (103) *x^{wi}?* [k^{wi} g^{wə}-ad-s-?ʔ^{əl}-əd].
NEG [DET SUBJ-2SG.POS-NMZR-SB-eat-DERV]
‘You did not **eat**.’ (Hess, 1995, p. 97)
(literally, ‘Not [your eating].’)

Hess explains that this contrast for negative constructions between a finite (102) and nominalized (103) form has a function of focus. When the event is paramount in the speaker’s mind, the predicate is finite, but when the predicate is nominalized, the speaker is bringing focus to the negation over the importance of the event (Hess, 1995, p. 96). This is the only mention by Hess that a finite and nominalized contrast expresses focus. I will discuss the significance of this analysis later in section 4.9.

This covers the constructions discussed by Hess that employ nominalization. It includes: left dislocation; interrogatives; relative clauses; complement clauses; and negatives. Nominalization is marked with the *s-* ‘nominalizer’ or the *dax^{w-}* ‘reason for’ (*sax^{w-}* ‘by means of’ for southern dialect) prefix. Except for complement clauses, the nominalized forms contrast with a finite a form. For left dislocation, interrogatives and

relative clauses, finite forms reference the direct or indirect complement. Nominalized forms reference adjunct or augmented information. Complement clauses are always nominalized. Negative constructions can be finite or nominalized depending upon focus. When the predicate is finite, focus is on the predicate. When the predicate is nominalized, focus is on the negation.

In regards to his structural analysis, Hess states that the constructions that should be finite never occur with the *s*- ‘nominalizer’. However, the *s*- ‘nominalizer’ can be dropped from the forms that should be nominalized during rapid or relaxed speech. If this is an accurate analysis, then it is reasonable to expect that there are very few or no occurrences of nominalization occurring where the analysis predicts a finite form. In addition, there should be minimal occurrences of finite forms occurring where we would expect nominalized constructions.

These finite and nominalized constructions along with their percentage breakdown within my corpus are listed in Table 20. The first column is a description of the linguistic construction, followed by the finite, nominalized and the total percentages of each construction. Except for complement clauses, there are two sub-columns under each construction: one for what should be finite and the other for what should be nominalized. The percentages that represent what form are predicted by Hess to be a finite or nominalized are in bold for clarity.

Table 20: Corpus data versus Hess' hypotheses about finite versus nominalized constructions

Construction	Finite	Nominalized	Total
1. Left dislocation			
a. <u>Should be finite:</u> direct or oblique	89%	11%	100%
b. <u>Should be Nominalized:</u> augmented or adjunct	37%	63%	100%
2. Interrogatives			
a. <u>Should be finite:</u> direct or oblique	71%	29%	100%
b. <u>Should be Nominalized:</u> augmented or adjunct	37%	63%	100%
3. Relative clause			
a. <u>Should be finite:</u> direct or oblique	83%	17%	100%
b. <u>Should be Nominalized:</u> augmented or adjunct	42%	58%	100%
4. Negatives			
a. <u>Should be finite:</u> Main clause	100%	0%	100%
b. <u>Should be Nominalized:</u> Complement clause	22%	78%	100%
5. Complement clause			
<u>All should be nominalized:</u>	51%	49%	100%

percentages tends to support Hess' claims, especially within the finite column. The percentages that represent constructions that are predicted by him to be finite are larger than their nominalized counterparts. However, the size of the percentages in the nominalized column are not reassuring for Hess' claims. Indeed, complement clauses, which are claimed to only occur in nominalized form, have almost an even distribution (Table 20, row 5), and relative clauses that are predicted to be nominalized have only a 16 point spread with the finite counterpart (Table 20, row 3b). Therefore, a different analysis that is better supported by the data seems warranted.

Beck presents a different analysis from Hess' for the *s*- nominalizer in both Bella Coola and Lushootseed (2000a). Lushootseed uses *s*- to create a participial clause where the subject is realized as a possessor (Beck, 2000a, p. 124). This form of clausal nominalization is used to reify an event. It delimits a region of conceptual space and construes a process atemporally as an object or thing (Beck, 2000a, p. 141). This analysis provides insight about the function of nominalization as something more than just a grammatical form.

In line with the perception that the *s*- function is more than a grammatical form, I shall now introduce a pragmatic discourse analysis that expands upon Hess' and Beck's insightful analyses. In my presentation, I present dependent clause structure as including both finite and nominalized forms, and I will show how nominalization is part of a strategy for marking focus.

I now turn my attention to exploring dependent clause constructions, building upon Hess' analysis.

4.3 Complement clauses

I begin my presentation with complement clauses because they are frequently used in dependent clause constructions. Complement clauses can occur in both finite and nominalized forms. In (104), the complement clause is finite and expresses the object of the main clause. The complement subject follows the first verb in a determiner phrase (The complement clause is in brackets ([]) and the complement verb is in bold for clarity).

- (104) g^wi-i-d-əx^w Ø_{SUBJ} [**lu-ʔəʔ-əx^w** tiil d^zəg^wəʔ] g^wəl
 invite-LV-CTL-PI 3PRS [**FUT-come-PI** DET monster] CONJ
- g^wə-lu-ǰ^wul' ʔəʔ-əx^w Ø_{SUBJ}
 SUBJ-FUT-just eat-PI 3PRS
 'It invited [the monsters to **come**] so they can just eat.'

Even within a determiner phrase, complement clauses can remain finite. In (105), a complement clause is preceded by the distal determiner *tiil*. The complement clause expresses the object of the main clause.

- (105) huy ʔa-a-d-əx^w Ø_S [tiil ʔu-**či-čəǰ** Ø_S].
 CONJ locate-LV-CTL-PI 3PRS [DET SB-**DIM-split** 3PRS]
 'Then it put a crack there.' (literally, 'It put there [the it **cracked**].')

Like their finite counterparts, nominalized complement clauses can also occur with and without a determiner. When the predicate is nominalized, its subject is demoted to a genitive form. In (106), the complement predicate is nominalized and the subject is 1st person plural expressed in a genitive form (the nominalizer is in italics and the subject is underlined for clarity).

- (106) “ǰaǰ-tx^w čəd [g^wə-s-ʔuǰ^w-čəʔ dx^w-ʔal tiil
 desire-CS 1SG [SUBJ-*NMZR-go-1PL.POS* PERV-LOC DET
 s-k^wat-k^watač]
 NMZR-DISTR-mountain]

“I would like us to go to the mountains.” (literally, ‘I would like [our going to the mountains].’)

Example (107) presents another nominalized complement clause preceded by a determiner. The 3rd person subject is expressed in a genitive form.

- (107) $\check{x}a\lambda\text{-}tx^w$ $\check{c}ad$ [k^wi $g^w\check{a}\text{-}s\text{-}\check{s}albix^w\text{-}s$] .
 to.desire-CS 1SG [DET SUBJ-NMZR-**outside-3.POS**]
 ‘I want [him outside].’ (literally, ‘I want [the his outside].’)

Complement clauses can occur with a subject marker suffixed to the complement predicate. The subject markers for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person are listed in Table 21. They are diachronically related to a Salish main clause construction which still occurs in other Salish languages but for Lushootseed, these subject suffixes only occur with dependent clauses (see section 3.2.1).

Table 21: Suffix subject markers (Hess, 1995, p. 69)

	Singular	Plural
1st person	-ad/~əd	-aʔi/~əʔi/~aʔ/~əʔ
2nd person	-ax ^w /~əx ^w	-aləp/~ələp
3rd person	-as/~əs	

In (108), the complement subject is expressed with the subject marker as 3rd person and there is no demotion in the relationship between the predicate and its subject (the subject marker is in italics for clarity).

- (108) ʔu... x^{wi}? g^{wə}-s-ʔəs-cut-t-əb-s⁹
 INTERJ-EMPHAT NEG SUBJ-NMZR-STAT-say-CTL-M-3.POS
- [tu-ʔus-il-əs Ø_S]
 [FUT-dive-INCH-3.S 3PRS]
 ‘Oh, they did not tell him [that he **would dive**].’

Complement clauses with the subject marker can also be nominalized. In (109), the complement follows a determiner and the 3rd person subject marker suffixes the complement predicate. However, unlike the nominalized constructions listed above, the subject is not demoted to a genitive form.

- (109) tu-g^{wa}-g^{wəd} Ø_S [tiə s-**hay**-dx^{wə}-əs
 PST-DISTR-accompany 3PRS [DET NMZR-**know**-CONJ-LC-3.S
- həlg^{wə}? Ø_O].
 3PL 3PRS]
 ‘They spoke [what they **knew**].’

⁹ Complements that are part of a negative construction will be presented and discussed below.

Finite complement predicates can occur with a demoted subject in a genitive form. In (110), the complement predicate is finite, but its ‘3rd person plural’ subject is expressed in a genitive form.

(110) $\check{x}a\lambda$ -tu-b \emptyset_s [$\text{ʔəs-k}^w\text{əd-dx}^w$ -s $h\text{ilg}^w\text{əʔ}$
 desire-CS-M 3PRS [STAT-**take**-LC-3.POS 3.PL

tsiil s-ładayʔ]

DET NMZR-woman]

‘He wanted [them to **take** the woman].’ (literally, ‘He wanted [their **taking** the woman].’)

I will refer to these types of clauses as ‘demoted’.

In summary, complement clauses can occur in finite, nominalized and demoted constructions. They can also occur with a subject marker suffixed to the complement predicate. Even in this construction, the complement can be finite or nominalized. This completes my presentation on complement clause constructions. I now turn my attention to adverbial constructions.

4.4 Adverbial clauses

Lushootseed employs a few different clausal constructions that modify a main clause event. One of these constructions was mentioned under my review of Hess’ analysis of dependent clauses (section 4.2). This construction has an adverb in initial position followed by the predicate it modifies. In Hess’ analysis, when the predicate

being modified is finite, it is the main clause predicate and the adverb is part of the main clause. When the predicate being modified is nominalized, it is a complement clause predicate. The adverb is the main clause predicate and precedes the complement clause. I take this same approach for the nominalized form, however, I diverge from Hess' analysis for the finite form. In my analysis, when the event being modified is expressed in a finite form, the modified event is still a complement clause and the adverb is the main clause predicate (111) (the adverb is in italics for clarity).

(111) *tiləb-əx^w* [ʔu-**cut**-əx^w tiɪ s-biaw], “ʔu!”
suddenly-PI [SB-**say**-PI DET NMZR-coyote] “Oh!”
 ‘*Suddenly*, [Coyote **said**], “Oh!”

When the complement predicate is nominalized, the same construction as (111) ensues. The only difference is a genitive expression of the subject (112).

(112) *tiləb-əx^w* [ti s-ʔu-**ǰud-ǰud**-s həlg^{wə}ʔ]
suddenly-PI [DET NMZR-SB-DISTR-speak-3.POS 3PL]
 ‘*Suddenly*, [they began **talking**].’

When the adverb is in the predicate position, I call this type of predicate an ‘adverbial predicate’. The adverbial predicate construction can employ? additional adverbial predicates including *tiləx^w* ‘eventually’, *ǰ^wul* ‘just, merely’, *day* ‘only’ and *ck’aqid* ‘always’. In all cases, the complement predicate can be finite or nominalized. To illustrate this point, I provide two more examples using *ǰ^wul*’ and *day*’. In (113), a finite complement clause follows *ǰ^wul*’.

- (116) *ʔil-dʔix^w* [tu-s-qəl-s]₁
PART-first [PST-NMZR-wake.up-3.POS]₁
- g^wələ tiləb* [ʔu-**cut**-s]₂,
 CONJ *suddenly* [SB-**say**-3.POS]₂
- “ʔu-qəlalitut čəd tu-saq^w čəd dx^w-ʔal __ tiit
 SB-dream 1SG PST-to.fly 1SG PERV-LOC __ DET
- s-qig^wəc čəd g^wəlal-d.”
 NMZR-deer 1SG kill-CTL
 ‘He was the *first* [to **awake**]₁, and *right away* [he **said**]₂, “I dreamt I flew to deer and killed him.”

It is worth mentioning that when we discuss the left dislocation, interrogatives and negation constructions below, they will seem very similar to this adverbial predicate construction. This is because they are the same basic construction where a main clause predicate is followed by a complement clause. The reason I am separating these constructions into different sections is only to highlight their different functions.

Adverbial clauses can occur in an oblique clause. In this form, the clause predicate can be finite or nominalized. In (117), the intensifier *ci* ‘very’ is the predicate of the main clause (This construction is discussed below in more detail.). It is complemented by clause 1. Clause 2 is embedded within clause 1 and is an adverbial clause. Clause 2 begins with an oblique, and the adverbial expresses the reason for the complement predicate in clause 1.

- (117) *ci-əx^w* [haʔl Ø [ʔə tiit ʔu-**ləčil**-s]₂]₁
 very-PI good 3PRS [OBL DET SB-**arrive**-APPL]₂]₁
 ‘It was very [good [that he **arrived** for them]₂]₁.’

- (119) x^wəlšucid [ʔal tiɪ ʔu-ʔiq' Ø_s]
 Lushootseed [LOC DET **SB-adhere** 3PRS]

ʔal ɬaχ-il

LOC night-INCH

‘Say it in Lushootseed [while it is recorded], tonight.’ (literally, ‘Say it in Lushootseed [while it gets adhered on to it], tonight.’)

In (120), *ʔal* occurs again with the adverbial clause, but now the clause predicate is nominalized and its subject, 1st person singular, is expressed in a genitive form. The adverbial clause expresses a simultaneous event.

- (120) g^wəl tu-cut-t-əb-əx^w čəd ʔə tiɪ
 CONJ PST-say-CTL-M-PI 1SG OBL DET

tu-d-s-k^wuy

[ʔal ti tu-d-s-ʔitut]

PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother

[LOC DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-sleep]

Free And my mother use to say to me [as I slept].

Finite and nominalized adverbial clauses can also occur without a preposition. In (121), the adverbial clause begins with the predicate followed by its constituents and a quote. The syntactic position and structure of the adverbial clause resembles a relative clause. It follows the noun ‘boy’ which is the referent to the clause subject. However, if it were a relative clause, it would modify the boy. This is not the case in this instance. Instead, the clause is adverbial in that it expresses the manner in which the boy runs.

- (121) huy təlawil-əx^w ti č’ač’aš [lə-wiliq^w-i-d
 do run-PI DET child [**PROG-ask.question-LV-CTL**

Ø_s tiɪ č’əʔəʔ, “ʔu-χid čəx^w ʔal _k^wi

3PRS DET rock HAB-how 2SG LOC_DET

ʔu-ad-s-hud].”

HAB-2SG.POS-NMZR-burn]

‘Then the boy ran, [**asking** the rock, “How are you when you get burned?”]’

In (122), the adverbial clause is nominalized and the clause subject is 3rd person expressed in a genitive form. Again, the adverbial clause expresses the manner of the event within the main clause.

- (122) “huy čəx^w [ʔu-s-**q’wuʔ-s**]
do 2SG [FUT-NMZR-**together**-3.POS]
‘You will [Ø_{2SG} **keep it together**].’ (literally, ‘You do [its **togetherness**].’)’

The adverbial clause constructions presented thus far can occur in both finite and nominalized form. In addition, there are two examples where these constructions also occur in a demoted form where the subject is expressed in a genitive construction. In (123), there are two dependent clauses. Both clause predicates are finite but their subjects are expressed in a genitive form. Clause 1 is a complement to the deictic which is a left dislocated participant (see section 5.5). The second is an adverbial clause within a prepositional phrase. The subject is expressed within an oblique genitive construction.

- (123) diʔ [ʔəs-šədʔil-s]₁ g^wəl təlawil-… [dx^w-ʔal
DEICT [STAT-go.outside-3.POS]₁ CONJ run-EMPHAT [PERV-LOC
tiʔ ʔəs-**siqʔ** ʔə tiʔ šəg^wʔ]₂
DET STAT-**branched** OBL DET path]₂

‘This is when [he went outside]₁ and ran [to where the path forked]₂!’

Example (124) has three dependent clauses. Clause 1 is a complement, and clauses 2 and 3 are adverbial. Complement clause 1 expresses a left dislocated subject (see section 4.5) followed by the main clause predicate. Clause 2 has a nominalized predicate and a zero mentioned subject. Clause 3 has a finite predicate and its subject is 3rd person plural and demoted to a genitive form.

- (124) g^wəl [ʔa-ha tiɪ bək^w həlg^wəʔ]₁ tu-pig^wəd
 CONJ [locate-DERV DET all 3PL]₁ PST-spirit.dance
- [ʔal tiɪ g^wə-s-ʔa]₂ [ʔal tiɪ pig^wəd-s
 [LOC DET SUBJ-NMZR-locate]₂ [LOC DET **spirit.dance-3.POS**
- həlg^wəʔ]₃.
3PL₃
 ‘And [all of them there]₁ had spirit danced, [right there]₂, [where they spirit danced]₃.’

The final example of an adverbial clause construction is one that uses the subject markers mentioned under the complement clause in section 4.3. In (125), the dependent clause expresses a conditional situation where the 3rd person subject marker is suffixed to the clause predicate. The clause predicate is finite.

- (125) “g^wə-huy čəx^w s-ʔušəb-ab-dx^w [g^wə-t’ilib-əh]”
 SUBJ-do 2SG NMZR-pity-DERV-LC [**SUBJ-sing -1PL.S**]
 “You could have misfortune [if we sing].”

Example (126) is a complex sentence with four dependent clauses, however for simplicity, I will only discuss two. Clause 1 is the important part of this sentence where the clause predicate is nominalized and is suffixed with the 3rd person subject marker. The subject of clause 1 is expressed again with the headless noun modified by relative clause 2, which is embedded within clause 1. The clause 1 subject is expressed in an oblique genitive form. Clause 1 expresses a time when the main event will occur.

- (126) “dił-əx^w ʔu-day’ ɦu-ad-s-ʔu-ʔəł-əd Ø
 DEICT-PI SB-only FUT-2SG.POS-NMZR-SB-eat-DERV 3PRS
- [s-ʔu-**šiabac-əs** ʔə tiil Ø_{head noun}
 [NMZR-SB-**come.out.in.spring-3.S** 3PRS OBL DET 3PRS
- [ʔu-duk^w-tx^w čəx^w Ø_o]₂]₁”
 [SB-bad-CS 2SG 3PRS]₂]₁
 “This is just what you will eat [when what [you have ruined]₂ **comes out in the spring**]₁.”

This covers all of the adverbial constructions that can occur in both finite and nominalized form. In addition, some of these constructions can also occur with a demoted clause. However, there are a few more adverbial constructions that only occur in the finite form. The nominalized and demoted forms where the subject is expressed in a genitive construction are not attested.

To begin with, modifiers that intensify the event are only attested in the finite form. Two such modifiers exist: *cick*^w (~cay, ~ci) and *put*. Both of these intensifiers and their variants have a gloss similar to ‘very’. These modifiers only occur as adverbial

predicates such as those presented above. They take initial position followed by a complement. As an example, the main predicate in (127) is *cay* and is followed by a finite complement clause.

- (127) *cay-ax^w* [**ʔəs-ʕuʔ-ʕuʔ-il** Ø_s]
 very-PI [STAT-DISTR-be.skinny-INCH 3PRS]
 ‘He was very [**skinny**].’ (literally, ‘Very [was he **skinny**].’)

Certain modifiers can occur as an adverbial predicate, as well as occur in an adverbial clause that begins with an oblique. In these adverbial clauses, the modifier expresses the clause predicate. These types of modifiers include lexicon such as *haʔl* ‘good, nice’, *hik^w* ‘big’ and *hiqab* ‘excessively too’. In the adverbial clause construction, these modifiers only occur as finite.

An adverbial predicate example is given in (128) where *haʔl* is followed by a finite complement clause (the subject is expressed with the 3rd person plural and the grandmother to mean, ‘he and his grandmother’).

- (128) *hu...* *haʔl-ax^w* [hiŋ^{wəʔ} **ʔəs-lalli(l)** *yəx^w*]
 EMPHAT *good-PI* [3PL **STAT-live** CONJ]
tsiif *kayəʔ-s*]
 DET grandmother-3.POS]
 ‘Oh! [He and his grandmother **lived**] *well*.’

Another adverbial predicate that only has a complement clause that is attested as being finite is the substitutive *daʔb* ‘instead’ (131).

- (131) *daʔb-əx^w* [tsiil tiil ʔu-ǰid Ø_s] g^wələ q^waq^w-əx^w
instead-PI [3PRS DET **SB-do** 3PRS] CONJ cut.open-PI
- g^wəl tuǰ^w-tuǰ^w-u-d tiil q^wəd^zəǰ.
 CONJ DISTR-to.pull-LV-CTL DET intestines
 ‘*Instead*, [he **did it** to a female] and he cut her open and pulled out the guts.’

There are constructions where a main clause is followed by a conjunction which is followed by another clause. The conjunction and the clause that follows it functions as an adverbial. These types of adverbial clauses are only attested as being finite. In (132), the conjunction *g^wəl* ‘and’ is followed by a finite clause to express ‘until’.

- (132) ʔu-ʔuk^wuk^w ʔə tə tib, g^wəl [lə-lǰǰ-il].
 SB-play OBL DET hard CONJ [**PROG-night-INCH**]
 ‘She played hard *and* [evening came].’
 ‘She played hard (all day).’ (Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, p. 50)

Another conjunction is *g^wəti* ‘because’ that is used to express a ‘reason’ adverbial. In (133), the adverbial clause follows the conjunction *g^wəti* (Adverbial clause 1 has an adverbial predicate construction (clause 2) embedded within it).

- (133) ǰu-x^wiʔ s-ǰaǰ-du-b-s ʔə tsiil s-ladəyʔ
 HAB-NEG NMZR-like-LC-M-3.POS OBL DET _NMZR-woman
- ti s-tub-ub-tubǰ g^wəti [hiqab-əx^w
 DET NMZR-DISTR-DIM-be.man *because* [too-PI

[t'əs Øs]2]1.
 cold.weather 3PRS].
 'The woman didn't like the young men *because* [it was too [**cold**]₂]₁.'

I will refer to the adverbial construction presented in (132) and (133) as a conjunction adverbial clause.

In my analysis thus far, adverbial modification is achieved through an adverbial predicate, an adverbial clause predicate or a conjunction adverbial. These modifying constructions cannot be analyzed as adverbs. However, this does not mean that adverbs do not occur in Lushootseed. There is a small set of words that can be better explained as adverbs (see Table 22). Their positions occur as part of the main clause and are often used to express the opinion of the speaker (Hess, 1995, p. 88).

Table 22: Adverbs

Adverb	Gloss
uʔx ^w	still
d'əł	must be
k'wəł	they say
həw'ə/~əw'ə	mild surprise
six ^w	as usual (mild disgust, sarcasm)

As an example of how this small class of words work, in (134) the adverb expresses the sarcasm felt by the speaker.

- (134) ʔəs-ǰəl six^w tsiʔəʔ k'aʔk'aʔ
STAT-sick *as.usual* DET crow
Crow is sick as *usual!* (mild disgust and/or sarcasm) (Hess, 1995, p. 88)

In (135), the adverb *uʔx^w* 'still' (often written as an enclitic) is used in an interrogative to express the speaker's questioning assumption that the interlocutor is 'still sick'.

- (135) ʔəs-ǰəl uʔx^w čəx^w ʔu.
STAT-sick *still* 2SG INTEROG
'Are you *still* sick?' (Hess, 1995, p. 88)

Members of this small set of adverbs do not prompt a dependent clause construction and are not part of the finite versus nominalized opposition.

In this section I have presented several different adverbial constructions that modify a situation. These constructions include adverbials that have adverbial predicates and adverbial clauses. Several of these constructions can occur as finite or nominalized. In addition, there are also examples where these constructions occur in a demoted subject form. However, nominalization does not occur in all constructions. Such constructions are only attested in the finite form. In addition to these dependent clause constructions, there is also a small class of adverbs that only occur as part of the main clause.

As with adverbial predicates discussed above (section 4.4), I analyze (136) and (137) as having a complement clause (rewritten in (138) and (139)). The left dislocated constituent is a non-verbal predicate of a main clause followed by a complement clause, which is the exact same construction for adverbial predicates discussed above (section 4.4). The dislocated constituent is referencing a zero marked complement participant (underlined for clarity). In (138), the left dislocated argument references the complement subject.

- (138) g^wəlapu-əx^w [k^wi ʔu-**ta-tab-əb** Ø_S].
 2PL.EMPH-PI [DET SB-DISTR-what-M 3PRS]
 ‘You folks talk.’ (literally, ‘You folks [who **talk**].’)

In (139), the left dislocated constituent references the complement object.

- (139) “tiił [ɦu-d-s-t’uc’-u-d Ø_O] k^wi dəc’u?
 3PRS [FUT-1SG.POS-NMZR-**shoot**-LV-CTL 3PRS] DET one
 ʔə tiił čəd g^wə-huy-cut.
 OBL 3PRS 1SG SUBJ-fix-CTL.REFLX
 ‘That is [what I will **shoot**], one of which I will use to fix myself with.’”

In this dislocation construction, a conjunction can be inserted between the dislocated constituent and the complement clause. The conjunction brings focus to the dislocated argument (Hess, 1995, p. 122). When this occurs, I will gloss the conjunction

as a focus marker (FM). In (140), the dislocated argument expresses the subject (the focus marker is in italics for clarity).

- (140) ʔəs-wələx̃^w *stab* *g^wələ* [**k^wədad** Ø_S tiɪ wələx̃^w ʔi]
 STAT-strong thing *FM* [**take** 3PRS DET strong yes]
 ‘It was some strong thing, [*it took* (her) strength, indeed]!’

In (141), the left dislocated constituent expresses the object, followed by the focus marker.

- (141) tiɪ *g^wə-diɪ* *g^wəl* [k^wəd-alik^w Ø_S Ø_O].
 DET SUBJ-DEICT *FM* [get-CONT 3PRS 3PRS]
 ‘‘That could be him [that he **got**].’’

There is a strong correlation between finiteness and the content of the dislocated construction. When the left dislocated constituent expresses the S, or when the dislocated constituent is followed by the focus marker, the complement clause is almost always finite. There is only one example in the data where the dislocated subject has a nominalized complement, which incidentally, also has the focus marker (142). In this example, the subject is followed by the focus marker and then the nominalized complement clause 1 (clause 2 is a relative clause that is embedded within clause 1).

- (142) diɪ tu-pa-pa-pastəd *g^wəl*

DEICT PST-DISTR-DIM-Caucasian FM

[tu-s-g^wəlal-t-əb-əx^w hilg^wəʔ Ø_s
 [FUT-NMZR-kill-CTL-M-PI 3PL 3PRS

[tu-g^wəlal-t-əb-s Ø_s]₂]₁ ʔal tiɪ war
 [PST-kill-CTL-M-3.POS 3PRS]₂]₁ LOC DET war

ʔal tu-s-waax^wix^wtx^wəd tu-slaughter ti ___ Auburn
 LOC PST-NMZR-land PST-Slaughter DET _ Auburn
 ‘These are the children [whom were going to be **killed** by those [who had killed others]₂]₁ during the war on the land that use to be called Slaughter, which is (now) Auburn.’

In contrast, when the left dislocated constituent is not the subject and the focus marker does not occur, the complement clause can be nominalized or finite. In (143), the dislocated constituent references the object, followed by a finite complement predicate.

(143) ti sac’əb [tu-k^wəd-a-d čəl Ø_o] yəx^w tiɪ
 DET king.salmon [PST-**take**-LV-CTL 1PL 3PRS] CONJ DET

s-čədadx^w tu-təlawil ʔal tə tulək^w.
 NMZR-salmon PST-run LOC DET river

‘King salmon is [what we **used to get**] along with the salmon that use to run on the river.’

In (144), the clause is nominalized and the complement subject is expressed in the genitive form ‘1st person singular’. In this example, the left dislocated constituent does not involve an argument. The dislocated noun, *Yakima*, references the place the event occurs. (The location is in italics for clarity).

(144) Yakima [tiɪ tu-s-ʔax^w-s Ø_{LOC}] g^wəl tu-ʔəʔ

place.name [DET PST-NMZR-**grow**-3.POS] 3PRS] CONJ PST-come

dišəʔ-əx^w g^wəl tu-bəli .

here-PI CONJ PST-marry

‘Yakima is [where she had **grown up**] and she had come here to marry.’

The left dislocated construction can also have a modifying function. In (145), the dislocated constituents ‘Art and me’ express a reason why the event occurs, and the complement is finite.

(145) tiɪl *Art* and *me* [tiɪl **tu-ʔa-tx^w** Ø_S
 DET *name* and *me* [DET **PST-locate-CS** 3PRS

tiɪl bus].

DET bus].

‘Art and me [are the reason the bus **had been put there** (i.e., ‘Art and me is [why the bus **stopped there**].)’.’

In (146), the instrument is expressed in a left dislocated noun phrase. The complement predicate is inflected with the prefix *səx^w*- ‘by means of’ (in italics for clarity).

(146) bək^w-... stab [*səx^w-***ǰaɺ²-ač**-ə-d
 all-EMPHAT what [*by.means.of*-**hit-head**-LV-CTL

Ø_S Ø_O Ø_{INSTR}].

3PRS 3PRS 3PRS]

‘There were all sorts of objects [to **hit** someone **in the head** with].’

In summary, the dislocated constituent references a constituent that belongs to the complement clause. This construction may occur with or without a focus marker that is inserted between the dislocated constituent and the complement clause. The use of nominalization is restrictive. Nominalization is rarely attested when the dislocated constituent references the subject or when a focus marker is used. However, in all other cases, nominalization occurs frequently.

This concludes my discussion on left dislocation. I now turn to interrogative constructions where we will see the same construction: a predicate followed by a complement clause.

4.6 Interrogatives

Lushootseed has seven words that are used for interrogatives (Table 23).

Table 23: Interrogative words

Interrogative word	Gloss
stab	what
g ^w at	who
čad	where
ʔəsχid	how, why
pə(d)tab	when
tul'čad	where from
ʔilčadg ^w əs/~čadg ^w əs/ ~čadəb	which

In a non-verbal construction, the interrogative word is in initial position followed by a noun phrase. In (147), *čad* ‘where’ inquires about a location (the interrogative is underlined for clarity).

- (147) čad k^{wi} s-k^{wuy}-ləp.
 where DET NMZR-mother-2PL.POS
 ‘Where is your mother?’

In the (148), *g^{wat}* ‘who’ is used to inquire about the identity of the person in the noun phrase.

- (148) g^{wat} əw’ə tiʔiʔ s-tubš ʔal tudiʔ.
 who EMPHAT DET NMZR-man LOC over.there
 ‘Who is that man over there?’ (Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, p. 10)

The non-verbal forms in (147) and (148) are the same for the rest of the interrogatives presented in Table 23. The interrogative is in first position followed by a noun phrase.

Interrogatives that inquire about an event have the same basic construction, except the interrogatives are followed by a complement clause. The complement clause can occur in both finite and nominalized form. Note that this is the same construction discussed for adverbial predicates (Section 4.4) and left dislocation (Section 4.5). In this case, the interrogative is the main clause predicate followed by a complement clause. The interrogative inquires about a constituent, manner, or location in time or space

related to the complement event. In (149), the interrogative inquires about the complement object and complement is finite.

- (149) s-tab-əx^w [k^wi ɬu-k^wəd-ə-d čəx^w Ø_o]
NMZR-what-PI [DET FUT-**get**-LV-CTL 2SG 3PRS]
 “What [will you **get**]?”

In (150), the interrogative inquires again about the complement object, but now the complement is nominalized.

- (150) g^wat [tiɪɬ s-ʔu-k^wəd-dx^w Ø_s Ø_o [six^w ʃiʃq’]₂
who [DET NMZR-SB-**get**-LC 3PRS 3PRS [usual compete]₂
 [ti ʔa g^wat]₃]₁.
 [DET locate 3PRS]₃]₁
 ‘Who [would they be able to **get** [who usually competes]₂ (and) [is someone there]₃]₁?’

In (151), *ʃid* ‘how, why’ inquires about the manner, and complement clause is finite.

- (151) “*ʃid* həw’ə [tu-**t’uc’**-u-d-əx^w Ø_s
how EMPHAT [PST-**shoot**-LV-CTL-PI 2SG
 ʃə d-s-x^wi?x^wi?] ”
 DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-forage]
 “*How*, indeed, ‘did you **shoot** my game]?’”

In (152), the same interrogative *ǰid* is used again, but now the complement clause is nominalized. The complement subject is expressed in the genitive form as ‘2nd person singular’. The interrogative inquires as to why the complement event occurs.

- (152) “*ǰid* həw’ə [ǰu-ad-s-ǰu-**yi?**-yabuk’^w-tx^w
why EMPHAT [HAB-2SG.POS-NMZR-SB-DIM-**fight**-CS
tiil ad-s-č’istx^w]
 DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-husband]
 “*Why*, indeed, [do you always **fight a little** with your husband]?”

The other interrogatives incorporate complement clauses in the same manner, and the complement predicate can be finite or nominalized. There is no restriction attested on the use of the finite or the nominalized forms.

This concludes my analysis on the interrogative construction, and I now turn my discussion to how dependent clauses are used with negation.

4.7 Negation

The non-verbal Lushootseed negative construction has the ‘negative’ *x^{wi?}* in the initial position followed by what is negated. In (153), a negative is followed by a noun phrase that has a determiner (the negative is in italics and the noun phrase is in brackets for clarity).

- (153) dx^w-ʔa-h-aš qəlǎ
 PERV-locate-LV-CTL salmon.eggs
- g^wəl x^{wi}ʔ [k^{wi} s-tab]
 CONJ NEG [DET NMZR-3PRS]
 ‘The salmon eggs were there but (there was) *not* [a thing].’

Hess analyzes the negative in (153) as a predicate and the noun phrase that follows as a complement. Negatives of this nature are ‘negatives of existence’ (Hess, 1995, p. 95).

Such negatives can occur with a complement clause in place of the noun phrase. The complement clause can be finite or nominalized. Note that this is the same construction as mentioned for adverbial predicates (section 4.4), left dislocation (section 4.5) and interrogatives (section 4.6). In this case, the negative is the main clause predicate. In (154), the negative is followed by a finite complement clause.

- (154) x^{wi}ʔ-... [ɬčil-s Ø_s Ø_o].
 NEG-EMPHAT [arrive-APPL 3PRS 3PRS]
 ‘He did *not* **come for** it.’ (literally, ‘Did *not* [he **come** for it].’)

In (155), the complement clause is nominalized.

- (155) x^{wi}ʔ [s-laʔb-du-b-əx^w ʔə tiɪł k^{wi}il-il-ay-qs Ø_s]
 NEG [NMZR-see-LC-M-PI OBL DET name 3PRS]
 ‘k^{wi}ililayqs was *not* able to see anything.’
 (literally, ‘*Not* was [k^{wi}ililayqs able to **see** anything.]’)

This construction is also attested with a demoted clause. In (156), the predicate is finite, but the subject is demoted to a genitive form as ‘3rd person plural’.

- (156) $x^{wi}?$ [k^wəd-dx^w-s hilg^wə? tsiil s-ładəy?].
 NEG [take-LC-3.POS 3PL DET NMZR-woman]
 ‘They were not able to **take** that woman.’ (literally, ‘Not [they took the woman].’)

Negatives can also occur with the morpheme *lə-*. Such negatives express ‘is not’. In (157), the noun that is negated is prefixed with *lə-*.

- (157) $x^{wi}?$ *lə-pišpiš* *ti?il*.
 NEG *lə-cat* DET
 ‘That’s *not* a cat.’ (Hess, 1995, p. 94)
 (Literally, ‘Is *not* that is a cat.’)

Hess calls negatives with the $x^{wi}?$ *lə-* construction ‘negatives of identity’, and argues that the negative acts as an adverb followed by a non-verbal complement. Hess states that the *lə-* prefix should not be confused with the progressive, rather, $x^{wi}?$ *lə-* is a construction where *lə-* is a proclitic that attaches to the head word of the complement (Hess, 1995, p. 95). However, I am going to suggest that the *lə-* is the progressive. In effect, (157) can be perceived as expressing the imperfective aspect of ‘Is not [that a cat]’. In this analysis, the negative $x^{wi}?$ functions as a predicate just as it does in (153) through (156). The only difference is that the complement predicate is inflected with the progressive.

The complement predicate is not limited to nouns. In (158), complement predicate is the verb *ʔəl-əd* ‘eat’.

- (158) *hag^w-əx^w x^wiʔ* [*lə-ʔəl-əd* *tsiil* *tu-d-s-k^wuy*]
 ago-PI *NEG* [PROG-**eat**-DERV DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother]
 ‘For a long time, my deceased mother had *not eaten*.’
 (literally, ‘For a long time, *not* [my deceased mother **ate**].’)’

The construction that utilizes the progressive is limited to the finite form. There is no example in the data where the complement predicate is nominalized.

When an adverbial predicate is negated, there are two dependent clauses where clause 2 is embedded in clause 1. In (159), the negative is followed by clause 1 where the adverbial is the clause predicate. This adverbial predicate in clause 1 modifies the event in clause 2.

- (159) *x^wiʔ* [*lə-lil* [*tu-ʔac* \emptyset_s *ʔə* *ti*]₂]₁
NEG [PROG-far [PST-**specifically.there** 3PRS OBL 3PRS]₂]₁

g^wəl *ʔus-il-s* *tib.*
 CONJ dive-INCH-APPL physical.effort
 ‘*Not [far [he was **located** from him]₂]₁, he dove deep into the water.*’

When an adverbial predicate is negated (e.g., *lil* ‘far’ in (159)), it is only attested as occurring in finite form prefixed with the progressive. However, the embedded complement clause that follows the adverbial predicated (e.g., clause 2 of (159)) can be finite or nominalized. In contrast to (159), the embedded complement in (160) (clause 2)

in nominalized. The adverbial predicate in clause 1 expresses a time when the event occurred in clause 2.

- (160) $x^{wi}?$ [lə-haʔk^w [ti tu-d-s-ʔal
 NEG [*PROG*-ago [DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-LOC
 tə Saint Georges]₂]₁.
 DET name]₂]₁
 ‘It was *not* [long [that I had been **at** Saint Georges]₂]₁.’

Complement predicates of a negative can also be the head noun of relative clause. The relative clause that follows the head noun can be either finite or nominalized. In (161), the head noun *stab* ‘thing’ is the predicate in clause 1. The embedded relative clause is finite (clause 2). The head noun references the zero mentioned object of the relative clause (the head noun and its referent are underlined for clarity).

- (161) $x^{wi}?$ -əx^w [stab [ʔu-**huy**-dx^w Ø_s Ø_o]₂]₁
 NEG-PI [what [SB-do-LC 3PRS 3PRS]₂]₁
 ‘He could *not* manage to **do** a thing.’
 (literally, ‘*Not* a [thing [that he managed to **do**]₂]₁.)’

In (162), the head noun *čad* ‘where’ is the non-verbal predicate in clause 1. It references the zero marked location of the event expressed in the embedded relative clause (clause 2), and the relative clause predicate is nominalized (Relative clauses will be discussed further below under Section 4.8.).

- (162) $x^w i^p$ [$k^w i$ d-čad [$g^w ə$ -d-s- $ʔu\check{x}^w$ \emptyset_{LOC}]₂]₁
 NEG [DET 1SG.POS-anywhere [SUBJ-1SG.POS-NMZR-**go** 3PRS]₂]₁
 ‘There is *no* [(my) place [that I could **go**]₂]₁.’

Since the predicate of clause 1 in both (161) and (162) is non-verbal, the issue of finiteness does not apply.

I posit that the examples given so far represent only one general structure for negatives. This construction contains a negative that operates as the predicate in initial position followed by a complement clause. The complement clause can be verbal or non-verbal. All verbal complement predicates can occur as finite. However, there is a restriction on when the complement predicate can be nominalized. When the complement predicate is inflected with the progressive *lə-*, the predicate is always finite. It is not attested as occurring with nominalization. Although, this does not restrict the use of nominalization in embedded clauses. When the complement predicate is an adverbial, which is always inflected with *lə-*, the embedded complement clause to the adverbial can be finite or nominalized. This is also the case for non-verbal negatives when the complement predicate is a head noun of a relative clause. Even though finiteness does not apply to the head noun, the embedded relative clause can occur as finite or nominalized.

Another dependent clause construction that deviates from the construction discussed above occurs when the causative *-tx^w* is suffixed to the negative. Like above, the negative still operates as the predicate of the main clause. However, now the negative becomes a transitive where the subject negates the object from doing or experiencing a

situation. This negated situation is expressed in a complement clause. Example (163) is an imperative. The object of the main clause is 3rd person singular, which is zero mentioned. It references the zero mentioned subject of the complement clause (The causative is in italics, and the object of the main clause and its reference within the complement clause is underlined for clarity.).

- (163) x^{wi?}-tx^w li Ø_O [lə-sax^{wəb}-tu-b Ø_S Ø_O.]
 NEGS-CS 3PL 3PRS [PROG-**kidnap**-CS-M 3PRS 3PRS]
 ‘Don’t you folks let [him be **kidnapped**].’ (Hess & Hilbert, 1978b, p. 128)
 (literally, ‘You folks *cause* him not [he is **kidnapped**].’)

Another imperative is given in (164). The object of the main clause is suffixed to the negative in the main clause as an object marker as ‘1st person singular’. It references the zero mentioned subject within the complement clause.

- (164) x^{wi?}-tu-bš li [lə-bak^wl Ø_S]
 NEG-CS-1SG 3PL [PROG-**hurt** 1SG]
 ‘Don’t you folks (try to) [get me **hurt**].’ (Hess & Hilbert, 1978b, p. 129)
 (literally, ‘You folks *cause* me not [I get **hurt**].’)

One more imperative is given in (165). The zero mention of the main clause object references the complement clause subject ‘son’, and g^{wəl} is used as a focus marker.

- (165) x^{wi?}-tx^w Ø_S Ø_O g^{wəl} [ʔəs-tag^{wəx} ti

NEG-CS 2PRS 3PRS FOC [STAT-**hungry** DET

ad-bədaʔ]

2SG.POS-one's.child]

'Do not let [your son (**go**) **hungry**].' (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 252)
(literally, 'You *cause* him not [your son is **hungry**].')

There are only a few examples of this negative construction, and there are none within the corpus data. Examples (163) and (164) are from pedagogical materials and (165) is from the dictionary. The complement clauses in all of these examples are finite and there are no examples with a nominalized complement clause. This suggests that the complement clause is restricted to a finite form within this construction, but more data needs to be gathered before this assumption can be confirmed.

I have covered two constructions for negatives. For both constructions, the negative operates as the main clause predicate and there is a dependent clause. In the first construction the negative predicate is followed by a dependent clause. The clause can be finite or nominalized, although there are restrictions on the nominalized form. The second construction differs from the first in that the negative is inflected with the causative, and the main clause has a subject and object. In addition, the dependent clause is only attested in the finite form. The first construction expresses the negation of a situation, whereas the second construction causes the negation of someone or something from doing or experiencing a situation.

This concludes my discussion on negative constructions. I now turn my discussion to relative clauses.

In (168), the head noun references the clause object and the clause predicate is finite.

(168) ʔal ti s-ʔus-il həlgʷəʔ gʷəl tu-təlawil
 LOC DET NMZR-dive-INCH 3.PL CONJ PST-to. run
 tiɪ s-kaykay dxʷ-ʔal tiɪ ʔabuɫ
 DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay PERV-LOC DET canoe.mat

[ʔu-ʔiɣʷ-i-d Ø_S Ø_O tul'-ʔal
 [SB-throw.down-LV-CTL 3PRS 3PRS from-LOC

tiɪ q'il'-bi-d].
 DET vehicle-REL-CTL]
 'When they dove into the water, Blue Jay ran over to the canoe mat [that he had **threw down** from the canoe].'

In (169), the complement clause 2 is embedded with the relative clause 1. The predicate of clause 1 is the head noun that references the zero marked object in clause 2. The relative predicate in clause 2 is nominalized and its subject is demoted to a genitive '3rd person' form. In this negative construction, clause 1 is negated.

(169) xʷiʔ [kʷi stab [gʷə-s-ʔu-ʔəl-əd-s Ø_O]₂]₁.
 NEG [DET what [SUBJ-NMZR-SB-eat-DERV-3.POS 3PRS]₂]₁
 'There was not [a thing [that he **ate**]₂]₁.'

Head nouns can also express a relative clause location. In such cases, the relative clause can be finite or nominalized. In (170), the head noun references the location of the relative event, and the clause predicate is finite.

Ø_{head noun} [lə-ʔəs-x^wak^w-il-əx^w Ø_s].
3PRS [PROG-STAT-**tired**-INCH-PI 3PRS]
 ‘He went fast for this, and the one [who was going along **tired**], got there.’

In (173), the zero marked head noun references the relative subject again, but the relative clause is nominalized.

(173) huy-ucid g^wəl t^wuk^w-tx^w tiil Ø_{head noun}
 finish-mouth CONJ go.home-CS DET 3PRS

[s-k^wad-əx^w Ø_s]
 [NMZR-**dip.out**-PI 3PRS]
 ‘He finished eating and took home [what was **dipped out** from the water].’

In (174), the zero marked head noun references the relative object and the relative clause is finite.

(174) ʔu-… huy čəd ʃa^l šə Ø_{head noun}
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT CONJ 1SG like DET 3PRS

[t^wilib-ləp Ø_o]
 [**sing**-2PL.POS 3PRS]
 ‘Oh! I like [what you folks are **singing**].’

In (175), the zero marked headless noun references the relative object again, but the relative clause is nominalized.

- (175) ʔu-lək^w-t-əb-əx^w tiɪł Ø_{head noun}
 SB-eat.up-CTL-M-PI DET 3PRS
- [s-ʔəs-x^wiʔx^wiʔ-s Ø_o]
 [NMZR-STAT-**forage**-3.POS 3PRS]
 ‘It ate up what [she **foraged**].’

The relative clause constructions discussed so far can also occur in a demoted form where the subject is expressed in a genitive construction. In (176), there are three clauses. Clause 1 is a complement to the fronted participant that functions as the main clause predicate. Clauses 2 and 3 are relative clauses that modify the same zero mentioned head noun. In both clauses, the head noun references the subject. The predicates in both clauses are finite. In clause 2, the subject is zero mentioned, but in clause 3, the subject is demoted to a genitive form as ‘3rd person’.

- (176) padac ti šəg^w-šəg^wɪ [laʔb-ə-d-tx^w-əx^w Ø_{head noun}
 ten DET DISTR-door [see-LV-CTL-CS-PI 3PRS
- [ʔəλ^w-əx^w Ø_s]₂ [tu-tay-t-əb-s Ø_o]₃]₁.
 [come-PI 3PRS]₂ [PST-**come.raid**-CTL-M-3.POS 3PRS]₃]₁
 ‘There were ten doors [to see [him come]₂, [the one they had **declared war** on]₃]₁.’

The head noun does not always precede the relative clause. It can occur embedded within the relative clause. In this case, the noun phrase is the relative clause. In (177), the subject of the main clause is the relative clause, but the head of the relative clause (underlined for clarity) is embedded within the relative clause. The relative predicate is finite.

- (177) ʔəs-g^wədil-əx^w [ʔabs-ʔibac tsiit lu-lu^λ ʔə tsiit
 STAT-sit-PI [**have-grandchild** DET DERV-elder OBL DET
- haʔt s-ladayʔ]
 good NMZR-woman]
 ‘Sitting was [an old woman (who) **had a granddaughter** (who was) a beautiful woman].’

This is the only example in the data where the head noun is embedded within the relative clause, and it is not known if this construction can occur in a nominalized form.

The other construction that is limited within the data occurs when the relative clause is external to the noun phrase that contains the head noun. This construction is called an ‘external relative clause’ (Andrew, 2007, p. 208). In (178), there are four dependent clauses. Clause 1 is an adverbial clause that expresses a spatial direction towards where the subject went. This location is represented with the determiner *ti* acting as a pronoun, which is the head noun of relative clause in clause 3. Clause 2 follows clause 1 and is an adverbial that expresses how the subject went. Clause 3 is a relative clause that modifies the head noun in clause 1. Clause 4 is a complement clause to clause 3. Complement clause 4 is nominalized.

- (178) ʔuχ^w-əχ^w Ø_S [dx^w-ʔal ti]₁ [tələwil-əχ^w]₂ [čad
 go-PI 3PRS [PERV-LOC 3PRS]₁[run-PI] _ [where
 [s-ʔu-ləg^w-l Ø_S tsiil čəg^wəš]₄]₃.
 [NMZR-SB-leave-INFLCT 3PRS DET wife]]
 ‘He went [to the place]₁, [running]₂ [to where [he **left** the wife]₄]₃.’

Although very complex, (178) is an example of an external relative clause.

Clause 2 separates the relative clause 3 from its head noun in clause 1 effectively making the relative clause external to the noun phrase.

Relative clauses can also employ the set of subject markers used in complement clauses discussed in section 4.3. This form of relative clause can be finite or nominalized. In (179), clause 1 is a complement of a negative predicate. Clause 2 is a relative embedded within clause 1. The head noun of the relative clause 2 is zero marked and references the relative object. The relative clause predicate is suffixed with the 2nd person singular subject marker and is finite (the subject marker is in italics for clarity).

- (179) bə-cu-u-d “huy x^{wi}? [k^{wi} d-s-ʔu-ʔay-dx^w
 again-say-LV-CTL CONJ NEG [DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-SB-find-LC
 Ø_{head noun} [ʔu-ʔuχ^w-c-əχ^w Ø_O]₂]₁.
 3PRS [SB-go-APP-2SG.S 3PRS]₂]₁
 ‘She told him again, “I could not find what *you went* for.” (literally, ‘She told him again, “Not [my finding [what *you went* for]₂]₁.”)

In (180), the zero mentioned head noun references the zero mentioned relative object. The relative predicate is suffixed with the 3rd person subject marker and is nominalized.

- (180) tu-g^wa-g^wəd tiə Ø_{head noun}
 PST-DISTR-speak DET 3PRS
- [s-**hay**-dx^w-əs həlg^wəʔ Ø_O].
 [NMZR-know-LC-3.S 3PL 3PL 3PRS]
 ‘They spoke [what *they* **knew**].’

In the corpus data, there are a limited number of relative clauses that use the subject marker in the data, and there are no examples of these forms occurring when the head noun references the relative subject.

There can be more than one relative clause that modifies the same head noun. In such cases, the relative clauses can be finite or nominalized. In (181), clause 1 is a complement to an adverbial predicate. Two relative clauses, clause 2 and 3, are embedded within clause 1. The complement predicate of clause 1 is the head noun for both of the relative clauses and the head noun references the zero marked relative subject in both clauses. Both relative clauses are finite.

- (181) day'-əx^w [tu-dəč'uʔ [tiil tu-ʔa Ø_S]₂
 only-PI [PST-one [DET PST-locate 3PRS]₂
- [ʔəs-g^wədil Ø_S]₃]₁.
 [STAT-sit 3PRS]₃]₁
 ‘There had been just one that was **located** there, that was **sitting**].’ (literally, ‘Just [one [that was **located** there]₂, [that was **sitting**]₃]₁.’)

In (182), the head noun is modified by two relative clauses, 1 and 2. The referent modified by relative clause 1 is the subject of clause 1 and the referent modified by clause 2 is the object of clause 2. Clause 1 is finite and clause 2 is nominalized.

- (182) ʔu-... haʔt ti č'ač'aš [ʔəs-ǰəq Ø_S]₁
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT good DET child STAT-wrap 3PRS]₁
- [s-ʔəs-qəl-bi-d Ø_O]₂ ʔal tiit ǰaλ-dup
 [NMZR-STAT-discard-REL-CTL 3PRS]₂ LOC DET bush-ground
 'Oh! It was a nice boy [who was **wrapped up**]₁, [**discarded**]₂ in the bushes.'

In summary, relative clauses have head nouns that reference a participant. In these cases, the relative clause is embedded in the noun phrase headed by the modified noun. The head noun usually precedes the relative clause. When it does not, the head noun is zero mentioned in a headless relative clause construction, or the head noun is embedded within the relative clause, or the relative clause is external to the noun phrase. When the head noun is embedded within the relative clause, the relative clause is the noun phrase. Embedded relative clauses can also employ subject markers. When the relative clause is embedded within the noun phrase, it can be finite or nominalized. They can also occur in a demoted form when the subject markers are not used. The relative predicate is finite but its subject is expressed in a genitive form.

This concludes my discussion on dependent clause constructions. In the next section, I will present my hypothesis on the function of nominalization with dependent

clauses. I will then substantiate my position with an analysis of a traditional narrative and an analytical presentation of the corpus data.

4.9 The function of nominalization

So far, I have yet to present the function of clausal nominalization. I have only discussed different kinds of dependent clauses and how they occur in both finite and nominalized forms. This discussion covered previous analyses of dependent clauses by others in section 4.2, as well as my analysis in sections 4.3 through 4.8. In my analysis of dependent clauses, I include finite dependent clauses that were previously analyzed as main clause constructions (sections 4.4, 4.5 and 4.7). I included finite clauses that were previously discounted as forms of rapid or relaxed speech, and I also included a third type of clause where the subject is demoted to a genitive form.

My theory on dependent clauses builds upon the insightful work previously done by others. In particular, my position focuses on the opposition between finiteness and nominalization. As I have shown in my analysis thus far, the distribution of this opposition does not clearly fall within the boundaries set forth by previous analyses (section 4.2). All dependent clause types have both a finite and a nominalized form, and the type of referent for a relative clause does not affect its finiteness. Therefore, I posit that there is a different purpose for this contrast that extends beyond the sentential boundaries to a pragmatic discourse function. My hypothesis is that the dichotomy between finite and nominalized dependent clauses expresses contrastive focus. In

In contrast, when the event is still paramount in the speaker's mind the event is not nominalized as in (185).

(185) x^{wi}? čəx^w six^w lə-baʔk^wl.
NEG 2SG as.usual PROG-hurt
'Don't get hurt again.' (Hess, 1995, p. 97)

It is with these insights that I will now expand the idea of focus to a level of discourse marking where focus highlights information beyond just a sentential expression.

Contrastive marking can be used to bring focus to a desired situation or element within a discourse. This type of focus includes bringing attention to information that is suppositional, unexpected, or more significant (Givón, 2001b, pp. 222–224). In Lushootseed, this expression of contrasting focus is achieved with the dichotomy discussed above between finiteness and nominalization. When a dependent clause is finite, it expresses information that suppositional, unexpected, unanticipated or significant. In contrast, when a dependent clause is nominalized, it expresses information that is presuppositional, expected, anticipated, or less significant. In order to demonstrate how this contrastive focus strategy functions, I will use a traditional narrative and show how finiteness and nominalization align with these functions.

The traditional narrative I will use to demonstrate my hypothesis is about a war that occurred between North Wind and South Wind. I have chosen this rather lengthy narrative (100 dependent clauses) in order to demonstrate the distribution of a substantial number of finite and nominalized clauses. The war discussed in this narrative is said to

have taken place at a location in the Duwamish River Valley located to the south of Seattle, Washington (Hilbert et al., 2000, pp. 118, 120–121). In this narrative, both North and the South Wind wish to court the same woman. North Wind is rejected by the woman because he is too cold, but she accepts and marries South Wind. While she is living with the South Wind people, the woman becomes pregnant. North Wind is so angered by her rejection and jealous of South Wind that he goes to war and annihilates all of the South Wind people, except for their grandmother whom he holds captive. The woman escapes back home to her parents where she soon gives birth to a boy who is raised without the knowledge of who his paternal ancestry. He discovers that his grandmother is being held captive and what had happened to his father and his people. He, along with his grandmother, then seek and get revenge upon the North Wind people. This traditional narrative can be perceived as having 14 episodes as follows:

- Episode 1: North Wind and South Wind court the nice woman.
- Episode 2: North Wind goes to war against South Wind.
- Episode 3: The nice woman and her parents raise her son.
- Episode 4: The boy finds his grandmother.
- Episode 5: The boy helps his grandmother.
- Episode 6: The grandmother prepares for revenge.
- Episode 7: The boy confronts his family.
- Episode 8: The boy returns to his grandmother.
- Episode 9: The boy intimidates the Northwind.
- Episode 10: The boy brings his mother to his grandmother.
- Episode 11: North Wind tries to placate the boy.
- Episode 12: The boy, his mother and grandmother live well.
- Episode 13: They jab Raven in the butt.
- Episode 14: Northwind is washed away to the north.

Because of the length of this narrative, I will only present and analyze the dependent clauses within the first two episodes. In addition, since I am not able to

decipher what information might be considered presuppositional by a character within the narrative, I will discount dependent clauses used within quotes. It is also important to note that it is not possible to access the inner thoughts of the speaker who told this narrative. It is reasonable to expect that there are distributions of dependent clauses that do not align with my hypothesis. Therefore, I will not try to justify every instance of finiteness and dependent clauses. I will also table my discussion on demoted clauses until section 4.10, and just focus on finite and nominalized dependent clauses. For simplicity, only propositions with finite or nominalized dependent clauses outside of quotes will be presented in both Lushootseed and English. All other sentences will only be written in English. I now begin my analysis of the narrative that describes the war between North and South Wind to demonstrate the alignment of nominalized dependent clauses with presuppositional information.

The first part of Episode 1 begins the courting of the woman by North Wind (186a-e). There are two dependent clauses (186b and d), both of which are finite. These finite clauses align with information that express suppositional information to the narrative. They express information that is new to the listener (dependent clauses are in square brackets and the clause verb is in bold for clarity).

(186) Episode 1: North Wind and South Wind court the nice woman.

(a) There lived South Wind. There lived North Wind located downriver from him.

(b) g^wələ ʔa tsiif s-ladəy?
 CONJ exist DET NMZR-woman
 [x̣a^hḷ-x̣a^hḷ-tx^w hilg^wəʔ Ø_o]

[**DISTR-desire-CS** 3PL 3PRS]
 ‘And then there was a woman [whom they **liked**].’
 or
 ‘... whom they wanted.’

(c) And North Wind habitually went. He wanted them to have that woman. She was a nice woman.

(d) g^wələ ʃu-ləčil hilg^wəʔ dx^w-ʔal _tiil ʔalʔəl ʔə
 CONJ HAB-arrive 3PL PERV-LOC DET house OBL

tsiil s-ladəyʔ [g^wə-lə-**cut**-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiil
 DET NMZR-woman [SUBJ-REP-**say**-CTL-M-PI OBL DET

bad-s “xəd-ači-bi-d-s d-bədəʔ
 father-3.POS push-hand-REL-CTL-3.POS 1SG.POS-one's.child

tə s-tubš ”

DET NMZR-man

And they'd arrive to that woman's house [when her father would repeatedly **say**], “Push the man (away) with your hands, my daughter.”

(e) “I am cold.”

The rejection of North Wind is described in (187). There are two dependent clauses in sentence (187a). Clause 1 is a negative expression that is nominalized while clause 2 is finite (nominalized dependent clauses are underlined for clarity).

(187) Episode 1 continued

(a) ʃu-x^wiʔ [s-xəʃ-du-b-s ʔə tsiil
 HAB-NEG [NMZR-**like**-LC-M-3.POS OBL DET

s-ladəyʔ ti s-tub-ub-tubš]₁ g^wəti
 NMZR-woman DET NMZR-DISTR-DIM-man]₁ because

hiqab-əx^w [t’əs Ø_s]₂
 too-PI [**cold.weather** 3PRS]₂

‘That woman habitually didn’t’ **like** these young men because the weather was too **cold** (literally, ‘Habitually not [that woman **liked** these young men]₁ because too much was [the **cold weather**]₂.’).

(b) Her very old father and mother were cold. They’d go home!

There are two elements of focus occurring within (187a). The first has to do with information that is anticipated or expected, and the second has to do with contrasting information to highlight an event. In the first case, clause 1 is nominalized even though this information is new to the discourse. Prior to (187a), there is no mention as to how the woman feels about North Wind. In the corpus of data, this nominalized form is frequent with negative constructions even when the information reported is suppositional to discourse. A distributional pattern in information type arises, though, when these negative nominalized forms are compared with finite forms. Negated information expressed with nominalization can be perceived as expected or anticipated even when the information is new to discourse. When the negated information is in a finite construction, the information expressed can be seen as what might be perceived as unusual or unexpected. Although the information in clause 1 of (187a) is new, it can also be perceived as not unusual and even expected. It was previously reported that the woman’s father wanted her to push North Wind away because he was cold. Since it seems appropriate for a child to want to protect and obey their parents, it is reasonable to expect the woman did not like North Wind.

In comparison, a negative construction that is finite occurs in (188f). Example (188) describes Episode 7. The boy confronts his mother and her parents about the

killing of his South Wind father and his people, and the captivity of his paternal grandmother (all but the last two lines of the episode are in English only for simplicity).

(188) Episode 7: The boy confronts his family

- (a) He was in a hurry to get home when he shot some old thing. He shot a pheasant, and it was still alive as he took it. He arrived to his grandfather and he threw the pheasant that was still alive at him.
- (b) “Ah! This is bad. You claimed me as a son. I am habitually becoming to see that you are not my father. You are a bad, very old man, but my mom is very good!”
- (c) “Ah! Grandmother. I merely entertain you. You habitually have come to claim me as a son.”
- (d) “Your father had died.”
- (e) “And you folks tried to persuade me (by saying), ‘You don’t go to that place.’ Oh, my goodness! That is where my grandmother is!”
- (f) x^wiʔ-əx^w [lə-ʔidg^wət tsiil s-k^wuy-s]
 NEG-PI [PROG-**what.say** DET NMZR-mother-3.POS]
 ‘His mother didn’t **say** a thing.’ (literally, ‘Not [his mother **say** anything].’)
- (g) ʃ^wul’-əx^w [ʔəs-g^wədil].
 just-PI [STAT-**sit**]
 ‘She just **sat** there.’ (literally, ‘Just [she **sat**].’)

Like clause 1 in (187a), the information reported in a negative in (188f) is new to the discourse. However, here the complement is finite. It can be perceived that this finite form aligns with information that is unanticipated. In Episode 7, the boy is upset because he has been lied to by his mother and her parents. Not only has he not been told about his father and his father’s people, but his own paternal grandmother is being held captive. In

defense of her family and to calm the child, it would seem predictable that the mother would try to explain the situation. However, she does not. This expression of her silence within a finite form can be perceived as expressing a situation that she thinks is contrary to what the listener is expecting.

The finite clause form in (188g) aligns with information that I perceive as expected and not really suppositional to discourse. The character referred to is North Wind, which is expectedly cold in the Northwest, and it was just reported that the woman's father was cold in (187). This alignment of a finite form with presuppositional information is contrary to my position that finite clauses align with new information in discourse. One explanation is that this clause 2 is an adverbial that only occurs in a finite form. However, one could argue that there are other ways to express similar information that can be nominalized. Another phenomenon that occurs frequently in sentences that have multiple clauses is that one of the clauses will be finite and the other(s) will be nominalized regardless of whether the information they report is suppositional, expected or anticipated. In such cases, it is possible to perceive the motivation for the speaker's choice is to highlight the significance of the information in the finite form over information reported in a nominalized clause. I will return to this subject below under Episode 2 where there is another example of a single sentence with three dependent clauses.

In (189), there are three dependent clauses. There are two clauses in (189a) where clause 2 is embedded within clause 1. Since clause 1 is non-verbal, the issue of finiteness does not apply, but clause 2 is finite. The clause in (189b) is nominalized. The information expressed in the finite form in (189a) aligns with new information that

expresses North Wind’s return to the woman to try to win her over. However, the information in (189b) with the nominalized form expresses expected information that mirrors the rejection by the woman described in (187).

(189) Episode 1 continued

- (a) put-… [tiləb [g^wə-bə-ʔu^x]₂]₁
 very-EMPHAT [suddenly [SUBJ-ADD-go]₂]₁
 ‘Immediately, [they would go again]!’ (literally, ‘Very [suddenly [they would go again!]₂]₁)
 i.e., he left.
- (b) bə-p’aaʔ-cut [dx^w-ʔal g^wə-s-k^wəd-dx^w-s
 ADD-try-CTL.REFLX [PERV-LOC SUBJ-NMZR-take-LC-3.POS
 hilg^wəʔ tiɪ s-lədəyʔ]
 3PL DET NMZR-woman]
 ‘They tried again [to take that woman].’

There is one clause in (190) in line (a) that is finite. Although worded differently, it expresses information that can be perceived as previously provided in (186) and (187). Here, the finite form of the clause does not align with suppositional information, or a situation that can be perceived as unanticipated. Nor does it contrast with less important information expressed in a nominalized clause. However, this is the only occurrence in the narrative where a dependent clause that expresses presuppositional information is expressed in a finite form.

(190) Episode 1 continued

- (a) g^wəl hədiw’ hilg^wəʔ [g^wə-lə-q’ax^w-əx^w
 CONJ go.inside.house 3PL [SUBJ-REP-freeze-PI
 tiɪ lu-lu^ˈλ-s]

DET DERV-old-3.POS]

‘And they came inside [when her very old elders would **freeze**].’

- (b) He would tell his daughter, “Push them away with your hands. I don’t like them.” They went outside again! They went home again for the second time.

There is only one dependent clause in (191) in line (b). It is nominalized and expresses expected information that mirrors the information given above where North Wind leaves without the woman each time in (187) and (190).

(191) Episode 1 continued

- (a) They went again. They came again for that woman.

- (b) x^{wi}?-... [g^{wə}-s-k^{wəd}-dx^w-s hilg^{wə}? Ø_o]
NEG-EMPHAT [SUBJ-NMZR-**take**-LC-3.POS 3PL 3PRS]
They were not able to have her! (Not [their taking her].)

- (c) Then, South Wind tried. South Wind went and came to that woman, and her father told her, “My daughter, feel the man. I am warm.” So, that South Wind man was able to take that woman. Then he took her home. He took that woman home to his house.

- (d) Oh! North Wind was mad! They weren’t able to have that woman.

Episode 2 begins with (192). It describes what the woman does with food given to her by elders in (192a-c). There is a finite dependent clause in (192b) and three clauses in (192c) where clauses 1 and 3 are nominalized and clause 2 is finite.

(192) Episode 2: The North Wind wars against South Wind

- (a) This is how that woman was.

- (b) ǰ^{wul}? [λu-gəq’-a-d Ø_o tiil].
simply [HAB-**open**-LV-CTL 3PRS DET]

She would simply open that. (Simply [she **opened** it].)

- (c) \check{x}^wul' [s-ʔəs-**lag^w-ič-əd** \emptyset_s \emptyset_o]₁
 just [NMZR-STAT-**lay.out.mat-spine-DERV** 3PRS 3PRS]₁
- [g^wə-lə-**šay'**-id \emptyset_s
 [SUBJ-REP-**reveal-DERV** 3PRS
- tiil [s-lə-**ʔəł**-tx^w-ši-t-əb-s ʔə tiil
 DET NMZR-PROG-**come-CS-DAT-CTL-M-3.POS** OBL DET
- lu^ł-lu^ł s-ʔəł-əd bək^w stab]₃₂
DISTR-elder NMZR-eat-DERV all thing]₃₂
 She would just [**have a sleeping mat laid out**]₁ [so that she could **reveal**
 the foods of all kinds [**that the elders were bringing** for her]₃]₂.

The finite dependent clause in (192b) aligns with suppositional information that is new to the discourse. The information reported in (192c) is an extension of the information given in (192b) and can be perceived as suppositional as well. In this case, the two nominalized clauses 1 and 3 do not support my position that new information aligns with finite clauses. However, the purpose of nominalization can be perceived as a contrasting strategy to highlight significant information, as was suggested above for the two clauses in (187a). Clauses 1 and 3 are nominalized to highlight the more significant information expressed in finite clause 2.

Episode 2 continues in (193). There are two finite clauses in (193a and b) that express the same information. Both are finite.

(193) Episode 2 continued

- (a) ʔa-h-əx^w tsiil s-ladəy? [g^wəl **d'idiʔ-əx^w**
 locate-EPTH-PI DET NMZR-woman [CONJ **pregnant-PI**
- tsiil s-ladəy?]

DET NMZR-woman]

While that woman was there, that woman became pregnant. (That woman was there [when that woman was **pregnant**].)

(b) hay-...-du-b-əx^w ʔə tiil s-tubləʔ
know-EMPHAT-LC-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-Northwind

[dʔidʔiʔ-əx^w tsiil s-ladəyʔ] g^wəl cu-u-d-əx^w
[**pregnant**-PI DET NMZR-woman] CONJ tell-LV-CTL-PI

tiil šə ʔiisəd-s “λub-əx^w čəl ɦu-ʔuχ^w čəl
DET DET one's.people-3.POS fine-PI 1PL FUT-go 1PL

g^wəlal-d tiil s-təg^waq^w čəl-ə k^wəd-ə-d
kill-CTL DET NMZR-southwind 1PL-CONJ get-LV-CTL

tsiil s-ladəyʔ
DET NMZR-woman

North Wind knew [the woman was **pregnant**] and he told his people, “It is fine that we go kill South Wind and get that woman.”

(c) “She’s too nice.” They went!

The finiteness in the first clause in (193a) marks it as new information. Even though this information in the second clause in (193b) has just been reported in the previous line, I still consider this information as new. The first report of the woman being pregnant is extended into the second mention, thereby continuing to mark suppositional information with a finite clause.

Episode 2 continues in (194) where North Wind kills all of the South Wind people except for their grandmother. There is one finite clause in line (a) that expresses new information, and there are two dependent clauses in line (c). Clause 2 is imbedded in clause 1, and the predicate of clause 1 is non-verbal and therefore the issue of nominalization does not apply. Clause 2 is finite and aligns with new information.

(194) Episode 2 continued

(a) huy g^wəl g^wəl-g^wəlal-d hilg^wəʔ tiɪʔ
 CONJ CONJ DISTR-kill-CTL 3PL DET

[tu-ʔəs-ʔa-**lalli**(l) bək^w Øs]
 [PST-STAT-DISTR-**live** all 3PRS]

And then they killed all of them [who had been **living** there].

(b) They said, “They are the ones who have done it who are living here.”

(c) day'-...-əx^w [tsiɪʔ lu-lu^l s-k^wuy-s
 only-EMPHAT-PI [DET DERV-old NMZR-**mother**-3.POS

hilg^wəʔ [tiɪʔʔu-**ʔəl**-t-əb]₂]₁ ʔal tiɪʔ
 3PL [DET SB-**leave**.alone-CTL-M]₂]₁ LOC DET

tu-ʔal-ʔalʔal-s hilg^wəʔ
 PST-DISTR-house-3.POS 3PL

It was just [their very old **mother** [who was **left alone**]₂]₁, in their houses.

The information in (195) describes the nice woman’s escape. There is one dependent clause in line (b) and one in line (c) and both are nominalized.

(195) Theme 2 continues

(a) That woman ran hard.

(b) gəq'-a-d-əx^w tiɪʔ [ʔu-səx^w-ʔu-**ʔid**-s-əb-s
 open-LV-CTL-PI DET [SB-by.means.of-SB-**do**-APPL-M-3.POS

ʔə tiɪʔ lu^l-lu^l] g^wəl sax^wəb-əx^w
 OBL DET DISTR-elder] CONJ run.hard-PI

She opened up [what the elders had **prepared** for her] and ran hard.

(c) x^wiʔ [s-k^wəd-du-b-s tsiɪʔ s-ʔadəyʔ]
 NEG [NMZR-**get**-LC-M-3.POS DET NMZR-woman]
 They weren’t [able to **get** that woman].

(d) That woman went! She arrived to her elders. (All of this happened) while she was pregnant.

of finite and dependent clauses in terms of new and old information reported. 44 out of 45 instances of information that is new, unanticipated or highlighted is reported in dependent clauses that are finite (98%). 15 out 16 instances of information that is presuppositional, expected or that contrasts with highlighted information is reported in a nominalized clause (94%).

Table 24: Distribution of finite and nominalized dependent clauses

	New information	Old information
Finite clauses	44	1
Nominalized clauses	1	15
Total=	45	16

These numbers show a promising correlation between finiteness and the type of information reported; however, a larger sample is needed to support this position. Turning to the data in the corpus, we get 571 tokens of dependent clauses outside of quotes (Table 25). According to my subjective analysis, 434 report information that is new, unexpected or highlighted. Of these 434 tokens, 404 are finite (93%). 137 clauses express information that is presuppositional, expected or unhighlighted. Of these 137 clauses, 119 are nominalized (87%).

Table 25: Distribution of finite and nominalized dependent clauses within the corpus

	New	Old	Total
Finite	404	18	422
Nominalized	30	119	149
Total	434	137	571

These percentages are consistent with my hypothesis. Finite clauses align with information that can be perceived as new, unexpected or highlighted. Nominalized clauses align with information that is old, expected or not highlighted. To see if these numbers are accurate I apply the chi-square statistical analysis. The null hypothesis is that that dichotomy between finite and nominalized clauses does not mark information that is presuppositional, unexpected or non-focus. The chi-square is calculated with the observed results in Table 25 using an online chi-square calculator (“Easy Chi-Square Calculator,” n.d.). With a significance level of 0.05, $\chi^2=345.1218$ and $p=0.00001$. This p -value is much smaller than the 0.05 significance level, strongly suggesting that the null hypothesis is unlikely. Therefore, this statistical analysis supports my analysis.

4.10 Demoted clauses

The final topic to address concerning dependent clauses is the issue of demoted clauses. In this form, the clause predicate is finite but its subject is demoted to a genitive form. This form is rare in the corpus. There are only 21 tokens, all of which tend to align with information that is presuppositional, unexpected or unhighlighted (17 out 21). Revisiting Episode 1 of the narrative discussed above about the war between North Wind and South Wind, we can see an example of where the demoted clause can be interpreted as aligning with expected information (197). The first 4 sentences of Episode 1 are presented again in (197a). In line (b), the demoted clause can be perceived as aligning with expected information.

(197) Episode 1 of the War Between North Wind and South Wind, demoted clause

(a) There lived South Wind. There lived North Wind located downriver from him. And then there was a woman whom they all liked. And North Wind habitually went.

(b) $\check{x}\acute{a}\lambda$ -tu-b [ʔəs-**k**^wəd-dx^w-s hilg^wəʔ tsiif
 desire-CS-M [STAT-**take**-LC-3.POS 3PL DET

s-ladayʔ]
 NMZR-woman]
 ‘He wanted [them to **have** that woman].’

An excerpt from Episode 4 of the same story is given in (198). The boy who was raised by the nice woman and her parents was told not to go to the bad smelling place, where his paternal grandmother was secretly being held captive. There are three dependent clauses in (198b). Clauses 2 and 3 are embedded in clause 1. Clause 1 is demoted, clause 2 is non-verbal and clause 3 is finite. It can be perceived that the demoted clause 1 aligns with information that contrasts with finite clause to highlighted the information in clause 3.

(198) Excerpt from Episode 4 of the War Between North Wind and South Wind, demoted clause

(a) He was habitually told, “Don’t you go over there to where it smells bad. No.”

(b) k’aqid [ʔu-**p**’ad-a-t-əb-s [x^wiʔ-əx^w [lə-ʔu^x^w
 SB-**try.to.persuade**-LV-CTL-M-3.POS NEG-PI PROG-**go**

dx^w-ʔal tiif]₃]₂]₁.
 PERV-LOC 3PRS]₃]₂]₁

‘They always tried to persuade him not to go to that place.’ (literally,
 ‘Always, [they **tried to persuade** him [not [he **go** to that place]₃]₂]₁.’)

However, demoted clauses do not always align with information that is presuppositional. There is a demoted clause in the first line of a traditional narrative is given in (199). This narrative is about a contest between people that live in the north and people that live in the south. The relationship between the clause predicate and its subject is expressed in an oblique genitive form. Since this is the first line of the narrative, all of the information provided is suppositional.

(199) ti ʔalalus s-yəc-əb [tu-**xi̯x̯q**’ ʔə ti
 DET happen NMZR-tell-M [PST-**compete** _OBL DET

ʔaci̯təlbix^w tul’-ʔal q’ix^w yəx^w tul’-ʔal
 person from-LOC upstream CONJ from-LOC

ʔaɬx̯əd].

be.downstream]

‘This is an account of what happened [in the **competition** of the people from the north and from the south].’

Except for a few examples like (199), the distribution of demoted clauses occur with the same type of information that nominalized clauses occur with. It is possible that the speaker chooses to use this demoted form to minimize the information it is expressing but not to minimize its importance to the same level as information expressed by a nominalized clause. In essence, the demoted form marks a status of information that is between what is expressed in a finite clause and a nominalized clause. Because the

number of demoted clause tokens is minimal, it is difficult to form a hypothesis on this, and at this time, its function is only a hypothesis. More tokens need to be analyzed with many more narratives before a pattern of distribution can be adequately deduced.

4.11 Summary of findings

This chapter has presented an in depth analysis of dependent clauses and an investigation into the function of clausal nominalization. Previous analyses limited discussion of dependent clause constructions in excluding some finite forms that were explained as main clauses. I have expanded my view of dependent clauses to include these finite forms. In particular, I have incorporated a finite form of the adverbial predicate construction where its syntax is the same as its nominalized counterpart. In both forms, the adverbial is the main clause predicate, and it is followed by a complement clause. The only differences between the two forms are the nominalization of nominalized clauses and the expression of the nominalized clause subject to a genitive form.

This change in view, where the adverbial is viewed as a main clause predicate and not as an adverb, prompts the question whether or not there is an adverbial part of speech in Lushootseed. The answer is yes, although this small class only includes five words and is limited to expressing the opinion of the speaker about a situation (Table 22, section 4.4).

This new view of the adverbial predicate construction also applies to other dependent clauses that have different functions. This new view occurs in left dislocation, interrogatives and negatives. As with adverbials, the main clause predicated is followed by a complement clause, which can be finite or nominalized. The only difference is in the main clause predicate, which expresses the dislocated participant; question word; or negative, depending upon the function of the construction.

By unifying these different constructions as one, I have simplified what was previously viewed as several different constructions, explained in several different ways. Together they can now be viewed as just one construction which only allows a contrast between a finite and nominalized form.

I have also reanalyzed forms that were examined as nominalized but where the *s-* ‘nominalizer’ was claimed to be omitted due to rapid or relaxed speech. I do not consider these forms as nominalized. To the contrary, clauses without the *s-* are finite.

This reanalysis of these as finite forms creates a clearer picture that suggests there is a functioning contrast between finiteness and nominalization. Because I am not able to access the mind of a living 1st language speaker of Lushootseed, it is not possible for me to understand every finite or nominalized instance. In these cases, it is possible the speaker is making a contrast based upon a cultural understanding or some other knowledge that is assumed to be known by the listener. It can also be, although I believe unlikely, that the speaker made a mistake where one form was used when the other was intended. However, I respectfully acknowledge that, even though I was fortunate enough to work with a few 1st language speakers, I do not have full access to the broad knowledge that they had about Lushootseed.

Acknowledging the limitations of my insights, a rigorous examination of the corpus data and statistical analysis has nevertheless produced results that support my hypothesis. Evidence supports a distribution that is based upon contrastive focus. On a sentential level, nominalization is used when there is more than one dependent clause. The nominalized form contrasts with a finite form to highlight information that is marked in a finite clause. When clausal nominalization is viewed in terms of discourse marking, a similar contrastive focus also occurs. However, in this case, finite dependent clauses mark information that is suppositional, unexpected or unanticipated. Nominalized clauses express the opposite. They convey information that is presuppositional, expected or anticipated.

My analysis of dependent clause constructions has also identified a finite dependent clause with a subject that is demoted to a genitive form. I call these forms demoted clauses. Most of the time, demoted clauses align with information that is usually expressed in a nominalized form. The low count of these demoted clauses in the corpus limits my ability to make a strong claim as to its function. However, one can hypothesize that its function might be to mark the status of the information expressed in a demoted clause between the importance of highlighted information in a finite clause and the lower status of the information expressed in a nominalized clause. More data needs to be gathered before a definitive position can be made.

In terms of lexical nominalization, it is possible that there is a similar dynamic occurring related to focus. Within traditional narratives, many of the animal names occur with and without nominalization. For words like *s-biaw* ‘NMZR-coyote’, the nominalizer always occurs when speaking about the animal. In this case, when the finite

form is used, it is a verb that expresses a person who ‘acts smart’ or ‘pretends first to know then that he doesn’t’ (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 39). However, there are examples of both nominalized and finite forms used for other animals. One speaker, Annie Daniels, uses the finite form *kʷagʷičəd* ‘elk’ when it is a primary character in a narrative (200) (elk is highlighted for clarity).

- (200) *λu-ləχub* *tił* ***kʷagʷičəd*** *λu-ləχub*
 HAB-hunt.in.forest/mtns DET **elk** HAB-hunt.in.forest/mtns
- ʔu-ləχub* *gʷələ* *ʔibəš-əxʷ* *dxʷ-ʔal* _ *tił* *č’it*
 SB-hunt.in.forest/mtns CONJ walk-PI PERV-LOC DET close
- ʔə* *tił* *s-paʔłχad*
 OBL DET NMZR-swamp
 ‘**Elk** hunted and hunted for big game. He was hunting when he walked up close to a swamp.’

In another narrative, Daniels references elk as a source of food, and it is not a primary character. In this instance, the animal name is nominalized (201).

- (201) *lił* *čəd* *λu-gʷələl-d* *tə* ***s-kʷagʷičəd*** *tə*
 by.what.means 1SG HAB-kill-CTL DET **NMZR-elk** DET
- s-qigʷəc* *tə* *bəkʷ* *s-tab*
 NMZR-deer DET all NMZR-what
 Free “That is from me killing **elk**, deer and everything.”

This contrast might suggest that the finite form marks a more active participant and the nominalized form marks a more backgroundish participant. Daniels uses similar finite forms for primary characters, such as *kʷaqʷ* ‘raven’ and *čatqłəb* ‘grizzly bear’ that

are also attested in the nominalized form by other sources ((Zahir, Forth coming, p. 87) and (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 61), respectively). However, Daniels does not use a finite form for all animals that are primary characters. This includes animals such as *sčətxʷəd* ‘bear’ and *sqədič* ‘muskrat’. These forms are only attested in the nominalized form by Daniels. Therefore, if there is a contrastive focus function in lexical nominalization, it is not pervasive in all situations. More research is needed in this area of lexical nominalization to substantiate a position on its distribution. This research also needs to expand to other lexica that are not animals.

Given that the *s-* nominalizer is attested for all Salish languages, it can be assumed that it is diachronically an old morpheme. The Lushootseed analysis that nominalization is part of strategy to mark contrastive focus has implications for these other Salish languages. These languages might also show a similar function for clausal nominalization. More research into this matter is necessary.

This concludes my presentation on dependent clause constructions and function of finite and nominalized clauses.

V A REANALYSIS OF THE PREDICATE PREFIX *ʔu-* AS A SPACE-BUILDER

5.1 Introduction to *ʔu-*

In this chapter, I will present evidence based upon natural speech analysis that the *ʔu-* verbal prefix is a space-builder used to highlight a mental space or a mental space element when compared to other spaces and their elements. *ʔu-* is not obligatory for

marking all spaces. Rather, $\lambda u-$ is used to mark a higher degree of focus of a space or an element over unmarked spaces and elements. The reasons for marking a higher degree of focus includes: the distinctiveness of an event; the centrality of the event in relation to the discourse; or to mark an emphatic expression by the speaker.

Various analyses have theorized different functions of $\lambda u-$. They include theories that suggest that it marks a declarative, completive aspect, or perfectivity (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 9; Hess, 1967a, p. 25, 1995, pp. 49–54; Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, pp. 101–102, 1978b, p. 102; Snyder, 1968b, p. 14; Tweddell, 1950, pp. 18–19, 33–34). Evidence from the text corpus, though, suggests that the distribution of $\lambda u-$ does not fall neatly within any of these categories. Therefore, a reanalysis of the function of $\lambda u-$ is warranted. Using the text corpus outlined in this dissertation, I will do a natural speech analysis to show how the occurrence of $\lambda u-$ aligns with my hypothesis that it is a space-builder.

The rest of this chapter will be organized as follows: in section 5.2, I will discuss previous analysis of $\lambda u-$ and show how the data seems to contradict these analyses; in section 5.3, I will define terminology for mental spaces; in section 5.4, will present an alternate analysis for the function of $\lambda u-$; and in section 5.5, I will summarize my findings.

5.2 Previous analyses of $\lambda u-$

The Lushootseed Dictionary defines $\lambda u-$ as a perfective aspect marker (Bates, Hess, & Hilbert, 1994b, p. 19). In his doctoral dissertation, Hess analyzes the function of

ʔu- as a completive marker, meaning that a change has been affected and is now complete (Hess, 1967a, p. 25). Example (202) lists three examples he provides for his analysis (*ʔu-* is in bold for clarity.).

(202) Examples from Hess (1967a, pp. 25–26)

- (d) **ʔu-q^w(ə)š-a-b**
ʔu-fog-DERV-M
 ‘fog came in’
- (e) **ʔu-tug^w-iy-a-qid**
ʔu-immersed-INF-DERV-head
 ‘water went over his head’
- (f) **ʔu-kiis**
ʔu-stand
 ‘stood up’

In their pedagogical books, Hess and Hilbert define the function of *ʔu-* as marking an action or state that is pinpointed, circumscribed and finite (1978a, pp. 101–102, 1978b, p. 102). They state that *ʔu-* does not co-occur with the imperfective markers *ʔas-* ‘stative’, *lə-* ‘progressive’ and *ləcu-* ‘regular repetition’. Although, *ʔu-* can replace these imperfective prefixes when the state or action is completed. Hess and Hilbert provide three examples (Table 26) that contrast between what they refer to as current and completed aspect. Although the term current aspect is not explained, its examples align with current tense. The third example shows that *ʔu-* does occur in both current and completed aspect, and therefore, does not mark the past tense. Hess and Hilbert explain that *ʔu-* is perceived as marking a completed aspect even in the current aspect because once the present moment has occurred. In Table 26, predicate prefixes are in bold for

clarity.

Table 26: Contrast between current and completed events (*Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, p. 102*)

	Current	Completed
1.	ʔəs-itut STAT-sleep 'asleep/sleeping'	ʔu-ʔitut ʔu-sleep 'slept'
2.	lə-ʔuḥ^w PROG-go 'going'	ʔu-ʔuḥ^w ʔu-go 'went'
3.	ʔu-yayus ʔu-work 'working'	ʔu-yayus ʔu-work 'worked'

I assume that Hess & Hilbert's idea of "completive aspect" is the same as Comrie's definition of an event being 'complete' rather than 'completed' (1976, p. 18). In effect, the event may not be completed, but it is presented as a whole with a beginning, middle and an end. Comrie uses this perception as part of his discussion and definition of perfectivity.

This corresponds to a later pedagogical publication where Hess changes his wording to state that *ʔu-* marks 'perfective aspect' (1995, pp. 49–54). *ʔu-* can occur with events that occur in the past, present and sometimes in the future. It can be omitted when the context clearly establishes the event as perfective. Like Comrie (1976, p. 18), Hess defines perfective events as being seen as a whole in their entirety.

The analysis that *ʔu-* marks perfectivity can be somewhat supported by the corpus data due to minimal cooccurrences of *ʔu-* with other imperfective markers. It does not

cooccur with the stative prefix *ʔas-*. However, *ʔu-* does occur with events marked with other imperfective markers. Although rare, it can occur with the habitual prefix *ʔu-* (3 out of 85 occurrences of *ʔu-*, 3.5%), and the progressive prefix *lə-* (1 out of 139 occurrences of *lə-*, 0.7%) (203).

(203) Examples of *ʔu-* cooccurring with imperfective marking

- (a) Habitual marker *ʔu-*. Excerpt from “Blue Jay and his Grandmother”

x^{wi}? s-tab-...
NEG NMZR-what-EMPHAT

ʔu-s-ʔu-k^wax^w-ə-du-b-s
HAB-NMZR-SB-help-EPTH-LC-M-3.POS
‘There isn’t a thing he does that helps.’

- (b) Progressive marker *lə-*. Excerpt from “Raven and His In-Laws 2”

ʔu-...čal-a-t-əb-əx^w
EMPHAT-EMPHATchase-LV-CTL-M-PI

lə-ʔu-g^wəlal-t-əb
PROG-SB-kill-CTL-M
‘Oh! He chased after the thing he was killing.’

ʔu- can also occur with situations that are not marked imperfective, but they are difficult to perceive as perfective. Example (204) is an excerpt from the ‘Raven and His In-laws Version 1’ traditional narrative. It describes Pheasant bringing home a pack of elk meat. Even though his pack was very heavy, he was instructed not to put down the pack until he got home. Lines (204) both describe the pack as ‘heavy’. In (204a), the heaviness of the pack is marked inchoative, while in (204b), the pack is described as being ‘very heavy’. Given the description of the situation, it is hard to perceive the

heaviness described in (204b) as perfective. Rather, it more resembles a stative state of the pack of being heavy as Pheasant is heading home.

(204) Excerpt from ‘Raven and His In-laws Version 1’

- (a) lə-č’it-il-əx^w tiɪt ʔa-ʔalʔal g^wəl ʃəb-il-əx^w
 PROG-near-INCH-PI DET DIM-house CONJ heavy-INCH-PI
- tiɪt s-čəbaʔ-s.
 DET NMZR-backpack-3.POS
 ‘As he was getting closer to his little house his pack was getting heavy.’
- (b) ʔu-… cayck^w ʔu-ʃəb.
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT very ʔu-heavy
 ‘Oh! It was very heavy.’
- (c) ʔaɬ-ši-t-əb-əx^w g^wələ ləčil-əx^w lə-ʔəs-x^wak^w-il-əx^w.
 fast-DAT-CTL-M-PI CONJ arrive-PI PROG-STAT-tired-INCH-P
 ‘He went fast for this, and the one who was tired as he was going along, arrived.’

Tweddell (1950, p. 19) defines the function of ʔu- as marking ‘declarative aspect’. Tweddell states that actions marked with ʔu- begin in the recent past, and the state of the activity continues in both past and present. He continues by stating that this is why English translations of events marked with ʔu- are both in past and present forms. He says that the declarative aspect communicated by ʔu- is equivalent to the English infinitive. What he means by this is not explained. Example (205) lists Tweddell’s examples.

(205) Examples of ʔu- (1950, p. 18)

- (a) ʔu-huy-əx^w čəd.

ʔu-finish-FOC 1SG
'I quit (finished) doing something.'

- (b) **ʔu**-talǎ-ə-d
ʔu-use-LV-CTL
'He is using it.'
- (c) **ʔu**-təq^w-us-t-əb.
ʔu-tight-face-CTL-M
'He is being blinded.'
- (d) **ʔu**-saǎ-a-d čəx^w.
ʔu-scrape-LV-CTL 2SG
'You are scraping it.' 'You scraped it.'

Tweddell contrasts the use of *ʔu*- with *ʔəs*- 'stative' and *tu*- 'past' (1950, p. 33) (206). In explaining the declarative meaning, he states that when *ʔu*- is used, the action has usually ceased but the state is continuing. I take this to mean that the state that results from an action marked with *ʔu*- continues to the point of reference of speech by the speaker.

(206) Contrast of *ʔu*- with *ʔəs*- and *tu*-

- (a) **ʔu**-bak^wǎ.
ʔu-hurt
'He got hurt.' (just now)
- (b) *ʔəs*-bak^wǎ.
STAT-hurt
'He is hurt.'
- (c) *tu*-bak^wǎ.
PST-hurt
'He was hurt.' (and is now better)

Returning again to the data, we can see examples where *ʔu-* occurs with interrogatives and are not limited to declaratives (207). Therefore, *ʔu-* is not relegated just to declaratives.

(207) Excerpt from ‘The Ravens and Crows Catch a Seal’

ʔu-cut čəx^w ʔu ti-təs x^w-ap-ə-d.
ʔu-say 2SG INTROG DIM-hit.with.fist PERV-bottom-CON-CTL
 ‘Did you not say to pat her bottom?’

Tweddell continues with his analysis of *ʔu-* by showing how it can combine with *tu-* ‘past’, *lu-* ‘future’ and *ʕu-* ‘habitual’ (208). The combination of *tu-ʔu-* marks ‘past completive’, but there is a possibility that the state continues, and *ʔu-tu-* marks ‘past completive’. The combination with *lu-* ‘future’ marks ‘future perfect’, and combination with *ʕu-* ‘future’ marks ‘habitual continuative’.

(208) Combinations of *ʔu-* with *tu-* ‘past’, *lu-* ‘future’ and *ʕu-* ‘habitual’ (Tweddell, 1950, p. 34)

- (a) tu-**ʔu**-čəł.
 PST-**ʔu**-sick
 ‘He got sick.’ (maybe over it now)
- (b) tu-**ʔu**-t’uk’^w.
 PST-**ʔu**-go.home
 ‘He had gone home.’ (is still there)
- (c) **ʔu**-tu-t’uk’^w.
ʔu-PST-go.home
 ‘He has gone home.’
- (d) tu-**ʔu**-yal’-šəd.
 PST-**ʔu**-envelope-foot
 ‘He has worn moccasins.’

- (e) tu-**ɣu**-təs-ə-d.
PST-**ɣu**-hit-LV-CTL
'He had hit him already.'
- (f) lu-**ɣu**-t'uk'^w.
FUT-**ɣu**-go.home
'He will have gone home.'
- (g) ʎu-**ɣu**-xəɬ.
HAB-**ɣu**-sick
'He still gets sick habitually.'

These elicitations provide interesting hypotheses as to the function of *ɣu*-, but the meanings are not exactly clear. When *ɣu*- occurs with *tu*- 'past', what is meant by 'past completive', versus 'past', versus 'completive'? Furthermore, the data has examples where the *ɣu*- occurs with *lu*- 'future' where a future perfect meaning is difficult to perceive. Example (209) is an imperative use of *ɣu*- cooccurring with the *lu*- 'future' marker, and cannot be perceived as marking 'future perfect'. The excerpt is from the 'The War Between South Wind and North Wind' traditional narrative. Both *lu*- and *ɣu*- are in bold for clarity.

(209) Excerpt from 'The War Between South Wind and North Wind'

x^wiʔ-... k^wi **lu**-ad-s-**ɣu**-x^wəb-ə-d
NEG-EMPHAT DET **FUT**-2SG.POS-NMZR-**ɣu**-throw-LV-CTL

ti šədʒəl.
DET go.outside
'Do not discard anything outside!'

Snyder does some morphological analysis on words extracted from text he recorded, transcribed and translated (1968b, pp. 4–51). He glosses *ʔu-* as a marker for ‘general declarative’ (1968b, p. 14). Examples of his analysis are listed in (210).

(210) Examples of Snyder’s analysis of *ʔu-*

- (a) *g^wələ ʔacəc tiil dx^w-ʔu-ʔuləχ-ə-d*
 CONJ specific.there DET LOC-**ʔu**-gather-LV-CTL
- tiil s-ʔəł-əd-s ʔu-ʔal-il tiil*
 DET NMZR-eat-DERV-3.POS HAB-LOC-INCH DET
- ʔu-ʔəs-q^wəl-s*
 HAB-STAT-ripe-3.POS
 ‘Well, there was that food gathering place of theirs they would be coming [sic] when things were ripe.’
- (b) *ʔubčəl ʔu-ʔuχ^w ʔu-ʔuləχ ʔə tiil __s-ʔəł-əd.*
 okay 1.PL **ʔu**-go ʔu-gather OBL DET NMZR-eat-DERV
 ‘Alright, we go out to gather some food.’ (‘It’s okay for us to go gather food.’)

As mentioned above, *ʔu-* occurs with non-declarative utterances, such as interrogatives, so the function of *ʔu-* is not limited to declaratives.

Although Tweddell and Snyder provide some interesting examples and theories on the function of *ʔu-*, their analyses lacks in depth explanation. Corpus data also suggests that *ʔu-* may have an alternate function. Hess’ analysis is more in depth, and the minimal cooccurrence of *ʔu-* with imperfective markers suggests that *ʔu-* has some relationship to perfectivity. However, the question still remains, if it does mark perfectivity, what is the reason for perfective marking in Lushootseed? Marked incidences do not seem to correlate with some of the more broadly described uses of

perfectivity marking, such as Aorist, ingressive or a completed situation (Comrie, 1976, p. 19). This lack of a complete understanding of the function of $\lambda u-$ warrants further in depth analysis.

This concludes my discussion on previous analyses of $\lambda u-$ as a type of aspect marker or a declarative marker. I now turn my discussion to my hypothesis that $\lambda u-$ functions as a space-builder that distinguishes significant mental spaces and mental space elements.

5.3 Defining terminology for mental spaces

Before I discuss the function of $\lambda u-$, it is helpful to introduce some terminology related to discourse marking that can highlight mental constructs. Such constructs help the speaker relay information that is added to the knowledge the hearer already knows (Schulze, 2004, p. 551). This exchange of information between the speaker and the hearer can occur when there is shared knowledge and a shared linguistic strategy for communication (Schulze, 2004, p. 547).

In terms of linguistic communication strategies, the first term to discuss is the notion of mental spaces. Mental spaces are constructs that are distinct from linguistic constructions but are built up from discourse according to the guidelines from the linguistic expression (Fauconnier, 1985, p. 16). Mental spaces have domains that include long term knowledge, personal experiences, and propositions made during discourse. Using ‘Mink and the Questing Boy’ narrative (see Lushootseed Texts) as an example, the

first line of the narrative establishes two main characters within the world of discourse (presented in English only for simplicity):

There lived Mink and his grandmother...

This first proposition can be perceived as establishing a mental space where a character named Mink and his grandmother are living. In addition, without prior explanation, the speaker is relying on the assumed shared knowledge that the listener knows what a mink and a grandmother are.

Mental spaces can be characterized as either a base space or a focus space (Cutrer, 1994, pp. 71–75). A focus space is the most current space which the current utterance relates to or expresses, and is the space which the utterance is about. The base space is the initial space within the hierarchy of mental spaces. It contains the initial focus space. For example, the second proposition in the ‘Mink and the Questing Boy’ narrative follows:

...and he made a fish trap by a creek.

The pronoun ‘he’ is an anaphoric reference to the mink mentioned in the initial mental space which is the base space. Mink’s building a fish trap by the creek is the suppositional information that is contained in the focus space. This second proposition

creates a different mental space where a character described in the base space is the A in a new event in a different space. This idea of building spaces, one upon another, can be used as to analyze how information within a narrative is relayed to the listener.

Mental spaces have incremental elements with relationships that exist between these elements. When elements are part of a mental space, it can be said that these elements are ‘framed’ by the space (Fauconnier, 1985, p. 6). If we reexamine the proposition *and he made a fish trap by a creek*, we can perceive that there are actually two different mental constructs: Mink made a fish trap; and this event occurred by a creek. These two mental constructs are not separate events. Rather, *by a creek* is an element that is framed within the mental space where Mink made a fish trap.

A focus space can have varying degrees of importance (Cutrer, 1994, pp. 71–72). The degree of focus of a mental space is motivated by various factors. I posit that for Lushootseed, these motivations include: the distinctiveness of an event; the centrality of the event in relation to the discourse; or to mark an emphatic expression by the speaker. As an example, we can contrast the degree of focus of the next two propositions in the ‘Mink and the Questing Boy’. The next proposition adds background, informing the listener that Mink and his grandmother will eat what the fish trap catches.

What was inside of it was what they were going to eat, ...

I interpret this information as reasonable and is an expected outcome based upon the mental spaces established thus far. However, the next proposition builds a mental space that is not based in any previous spaces.

...but then there was this one's child questing for š(x^w)x^wayʔx^wayəm.

This proposition is central to the narrative and it is unexpected information unrelated to previous propositions. Based upon these conditions, I infer that this new mental space has a higher degree of focus in the mind of the speaker. Spaces that have a higher degree of focus can be marked by morphemes called space-builders (Fauconnier, 1985, p. 17). For the rest of this chapter, I will present evidence that the verbal prefix *ʔu-* is a space-builder used to mark this type of higher degree of focus.

5.4 Mental space types that occur with *ʔu-*

I hypothesize that *ʔu-* is a space-builder used to distinguish a mental space or a mental space element when compared to other spaces and their elements. *ʔu-* is not obligatory for marking all spaces. Rather, *ʔu-* is used to mark a higher degree of focus of a space or an element compared to unmarked spaces and elements. The reasons for marking a higher degree of focus include: the distinctiveness of an event; the centrality of the event in relation to the discourse; or to mark an emphatic expression by the speaker.

Because the appropriateness of the degree of focus of a mental space is in the mind of the speaker, its perception is subjective and depends on the stylistic expression by the speaker. For this reason, it is not possible to ascertain the meaning of every use of *ʔu-*, or lack of it, for every instance. However, an inventory of when *ʔu-* occurs within a natural speech environment should provide insight into its function. In order to argue my hypothesis, I will primarily focus my attention on mental spaces and their elements that are marked with *ʔu-*. In regards to unmarked mental spaces, I will only address those that are within the environment of marked spaces and elements to explain the use of *ʔu-* in terms of contrast. In doing so, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the function of *ʔu-*.

ʔu- can occur with most propositions. This includes declaratives, interrogatives and negatives, but it does not occur with imperatives. It appears with past, present and future events, and can combine with the past prefix *tu-* and the future prefix *lu-*.

ʔu- frequently occurs with complement clause predicates, but it does not occur with predicates that are subparts of macroevents or cyclic events that occur during peak periods of a traditional narrative.

ʔu- is not limited with modal events and can cooccur with the subjunctive prefix *g^{wə}ə-*. It can also be used with events that express ‘should’ or ‘must’ modality.

To illustrate such distributions of *ʔu-* and my hypothesis that *ʔu-* is a space-builder, I will present and discuss its occurrence in two short traditional narratives told by Annie Daniels. The first narrative is “The Elk Who Married a Bear”, and the second narrative is “Blue Jay and His Grandmother” (see Lushootseed Texts). With these two

stories, I will demonstrate how I perceive mental spaces as distinct, central and/or emphatic. I will then demonstrate how ρ_u - distributes within these three space types. I will use these concepts and distributions of ρ_u - to support my position that ρ_u - functions as a space-builder.

I begin my presentation with the typology of the first narrative. The “The Elk Who Married a Bear” has 47 clauses. I consider sentences with conjunctions as having multiple clauses except in the case where the clause introduced by a conjunction acts as a dependent clause (section 4.4). Of the 47 clauses within the narrative, ρ_u - occurs once with 6 clauses, and 4 times within 1 clause, for a total of 10 tokens.

The “The Elk Who Married a Bear” narrative can be characterized as being composed of 10 themes. I use the term “theme” to refer to both background and episodic information that frame mental spaces and their elements. The themes for the narrative are listed below as they are presented chronologically along the plot line:

1. Elk marries Bear.
2. Elk is a habitual hunter.
3. Elk finds skunk cabbage growing.
4. Elk instructs Bear on how to gather the skunk cabbage.
5. Bear gathers and ruins the skunk cabbage.
6. Elk discovers Bear is missing.
7. Elk returns to the skunk cabbage patch.
8. Elk assaults and berates Bear.
9. Elk goes home.
10. Conclusion.

I will now present the narrative line-by-line to show how I infer mental spaces and their elements that have a higher degree of focus occur with ρ_u -. For simplicity, I will only present the English translation for clauses that do not occur with ρ_u -.

Example (211) contains the information in theme 1. It expresses initial background information and creates a base space for the rest of the narrative. It places the two animate characters, Elk and Bear, into the world of discourse. $\lambda u-$ does not occur in this excerpt.

(211) Theme 1 of “The Elk Who Married a Bear”

- (a) There lived an elk that got stuck on Bear and he took her [as a companion].
- (b) He lived with Bear as his wife.

Information in theme 2 adds to the background that Elk is a habitual hunter (212). Theme 2 creates a mental space from which theme 3 is extracted. Again, $\lambda u-$ does not occur in (212).

(212) Theme 2 of “The Elk Who Married a Bear”

Elk hunted and hunted for big game.

We note that $\lambda u-$ does not occur in any of the background information propositions presented in themes 1 and 2 ((211) and (212)).

In theme 3, Elk is hunting when he finds skunk cabbage growing in a swamp (213). This is the first time $\lambda u-$ occurs in the narrative (213a).

(213) Theme 3 of “The Elk Who Married a Bear”

(a) ʔu-ləxub g^wələ ʔibəš-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tił č'it ʔə
ʔu-hunt CONJ walk-PI PERV-LOC DET near OBL

tił s-paʔlxad
DET NMZR-swamp

‘He was hunting when he walked up close to a swamp.’

(b) Oh! Skunk cabbage was growing!

Line (213a) is central to the plot line of the story. It is the first event on the main event line (MEL), and constitutes an inciting moment (see section 1). Line (213a) describes the point at which Elk discovers skunk cabbage, which plays a key role in the rest of the story.

In theme 4, Elk instructs Bear on how to gather and prepare the skunk cabbage for consumption and takes her to the skunk cabbage patch (214). His instructions involve cutting off the skunk cabbage leaves, bringing them home, and cooking them on hot rocks. Other than the quotative in (214a) and the proposition in (214d), all of (214) consists of quotes by Elk and ʔu- does not occur in any of the information reported in theme 4.

(214) Theme 4 of “The Elk Who Married a Bear”

(a) He told the wife, “Oh! You’re gonna go.”

(b) “You’re gonna gather skunk cabbage by cutting off their tops.”

(c) “Whack them.”

- (d) He takes his wife early in the morning.
- (e) He said to this one as they went along, “You’re gonna gather it, and you’re gonna bring it home and we’ll steam it on the rocks and eat it.”
- (f) “It’s good.”

In theme 5, Bear gathers the skunk cabbage (215). After piling the leaves, Bear tears the leaves into small pieces with her claws, ruining her harvest. Again, $\lambda u-$ does not occur in any of the information reported in theme 5.

(215) Theme 5 of “The Elk Who Married a Bear”

- (a) Bear gathered it by cutting off the tops.
- (b) She gathered and gathered and gathered until it was in a big pile, and sat
- (c) down.
- (d) She said, “What you put together will go home.”
- (e) She put it together and there she is.
- (f) She wondered, “How is this?”
- (g) Then she scratched it and looked at it.
- (h) It was just small leaves.
- (i) So she smashed them and smashed them as they piled up.

The lack of $\lambda u-$ in (215) is curious. There is no significance to Bear gathering skunk cabbage given that it is the expected behavior after Elk’s instructions in (214). However, the scratching and smashing of the leaves begins the development of a conflict within the plot line, and therefore it is central to the narrative. Even though the

development of conflicting events may be central, not all significant events occur with *ʔu-*. This strategy can be understood as allowing other marked central or significant events to be even more intensified by contrasting them with unmarked spaces.

In theme 6, Elk returns home and discovers that Bear is missing (216a). He assumes that she has been injured, expressed in (216b) which occurs with *ʔu-*. Line (216a) is a quote in the form of an interrogative, and (216b) is another quote that expresses Elk’s assumption.

(216) Theme 6 of “The Elk Who Married a Bear”

- (a) The hunter, Elk, arrived, and “Oh! She’s not here?”
- (b) “k^waʔ ʔu-bak^wl.”
SUBJ ʔu-hurt
“She must’ve gotten hurt.”

In (216b), where *ʔu-* occurs, I infer that this is an emphatic expression by Elk conveying a heightened level of concern for his wife’s wellbeing.

The information in theme 7 describes how Elk runs back to the swamp where he left Bear (217). While still far from the swamp, he can hear Bear singing a song (217c-d). *ʔu-* occurs twice in theme 7 (217a and c). In (217a), *ʔu-* occurs in an adverbial clause that describes where Elk ran to. In (217c), it occurs with the main clause verb.

(217) Theme 7 of “The Elk Who Married a Bear”

- (a) ʔuχ^w-əχ^w dx^w-ʔal ti təlawil-əχ^w čad

go-PI PERV-LOC DET run-PI where

s-**ɣu**-lɛg^{wɪ} tsiil ʧəg^{wəʃ}

NMZR-**ɣu**-leave DET wife

‘He went there, running to where the wife was left.’

- (b) He was still far away when he heard her.
- (c) **ɣu**-t’ilib.
ɣu-sing
‘She was singing.’
- (d) “What kind duyə duyə duyə food kə duyə duyə duyə of food is elk’s kə duyə duyə duyə?”
- (e) She sang AGAIN.

The mental space of ‘Elk going’ in (217a) has three elements: 1) Elk is going; 2) Elk is going by running; and 3) Elk goes to where he left his wife. Element 3 is the only event marked with *ɣu*-. I infer that the function of *ɣu*- with element 3 is to mark this event as distinct. It is distant in space and time when compared to elements 1 and 2. Elements 1 and 2 occur at the same time and in the same place where element 2 describes how element 1 occurs. However, element 3 expresses a separate event, which is referential to where Elk had left his wife at a different time and place than when and where elements 1 and 2 occur.

ɣu- occurs again in (217c), which expresses Bear’s singing. This activity is a different event type than the previously mentioned events, and is in a distant location from where Elk is running, described in (217a and b). Therefore, I infer that *ɣu*- occurs with this event to mark its distinctiveness.

The information in theme 8 constitutes the peak of the narrative (218). During this episode, Elk comes to the swamp to see that Bear has ruined the skunk cabbage. He

dependent clauses occur with *ʔu-*. In addition to Elk's strong emotion, (218h) expresses central information to the narrative. It expresses what Bear will eat in the spring from now on, which explains why bears eat skunk cabbage in the spring. Indeed, this is when bears are noted for eating large patches of skunk cabbage (National Wildlife Federation <http://www.nwf.org/Wildlife/Wildlife-Library/Plants/Skunk-Cabbage.aspx>).

Line (218g) expresses a mental space with two elements in chained clauses: 1) Bear walked; and 2) she went home. *ʔu-* only occurs in the first clause. These two elements describe the same event that occurs at the same time and location. Element 2 simply adds more description to where Bear walked. However, I infer that the act of her going is a distinct event type that is not related to any previously mentioned event.

Although theme 8 contains the events that express the climax of the plot line, not all of the events are marked with *ʔu-*. Lines (218c-f) contain elements of Elk's assault on Bear by slapping her rear and her reaction. Rather than the use of *ʔu-*, I surmise that the speaker uses two other strategies to mark these events as climatic: she repeats the information that Bear was hit on her rear more than once; and she noticeably slows her rate of speech during (218c-f). This change in strategies contrasts with the other devices used to delimit other mental spaces that are marked with *ʔu-*. This provides a more colorful and rich expression of the events during the story's climax.

In theme 9, Elk goes home (219). This line expresses the resolution to the narrative. Here, I perceive that the resolution is anti-climactic and therefore does not occur with *ʔu-*.

(219) Theme 9 of "The Elk Who Married a Bear"

Elk went home.

In theme 10, the narrative is concluded by the speaker in English only (220). This serves no other function than to conclude the narrative.

(220) Theme 10 of “The Elk Who Married a Bear”

Now, that’s the end.

To summarize, in the narrative ‘The Elk Who Married a Bear’, $\lambda u-$ occurs with both mental spaces and space elements. These marked spaces express the distinctiveness of an event, the centrality of an event in relation to the plot line, and emphatic emotion.

To see if these distributions of $\lambda u-$ are idiosyncratic to this one short narrative or not, we will now analyze the next short narrative told by Annie Daniels, entitled ‘Blue Jay and his Grandmother’. In this narrative, there are 62 clauses with 15 occurrences of $\lambda u-$. $\lambda u-$ occurs twice in 2 clauses, and once in 11 clauses. There are 6 themes in the narrative. They are:

1. Blue Jay and his grandmother are living.
2. Blue Jay goes walking on a journey.
3. Blue Jay meets a woman and her granddaughter.
4. The granddaughter journeys home with Blue Jay.
5. Blue Jay and the granddaughter come to his house.
6. The granddaughter goes home.

Theme 1 is the initial background of the narrative (221). It places both Blue Jay and his grandmother into the world of discourse.

(221) Theme 1 of “Blue Jay and His Grandmother”

- (a) There lived Blue Jay and his grandmother.
- (b) That’s how he and his grandmother were.

As in the first narrative, the first few lines contain background information that is unmarked by *ʔu-*. It places two characters into the world of discourse, and creates a mental space in which the narrative unfolds.

In theme 2, Blue Jay steals some fat from his grandmother and goes on a journey (222). On his journey, he sees some smoke and goes there. Lines (222a-c) express that Blue Jay had stolen animal fat from his grandmother and began his journey. Line (222d) is the first mention of Blue Jay seeing something smoking where *ʔu-* occurs twice. *ʔu-* occurs again in (222e) which expresses that the smoke was in the distance. Blue Jay continues his journey in (222f).

(222) Theme 2 of “Blue Jay and His Grandmother”

- (a) [Blue Jay] had been walking. He had stolen some *sx^wiyəqs* (type of animal fat) from his grandmother.
- (b) And he walked.
- (c) ‘He walked a long, long ways,’
- (d) *g^wəl ləčil-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiɪł*
CONJ arrive-PI PERV-LOC DET
- (e) *ʔu-laʔb-tx^w-əx^w tiɪł ʔu-t’iq^w-il.*
ʔu-see-CS -PI DET ʔu-smoke-INCH
and he came to where he saw something smoking.’

(f) λu -t'iq^w-il tudi?
 λu -smoke-INCH over.there
'It was smoking over there.'

(g) He went!

Recall that in the previous narrative, the first MEL event was marked with λu - to distinguish it from previously mentioned background information as distinct and central to the plot line. Unlike the first narrative, the first MEL event in (222a) does not occur with λu -. Instead, the speaker introduces the mental space of Blue Jay walking (with stolen animal fat) in a past perfect construction (222a). I infer that this is a stylistic choice by the speaker. This information is reported in a past perfect form without the occurrence λu - to signal that this information is not as central to the plot line as other MEL events.

I interpret the mental space expressed in (222d) as having three elements: 1) Blue Jay's arrival; 2) his seeing; and 3) something smoking. Elements 2 and 3 are two dependent clauses which are marked with λu -. Element 2 is a locative adverbial that expresses where Blue Jay arrived. Element 3 is an object complement clause that is coupled within element 2. I infer that Blue Jay's 'arriving' in element 1 is an outcome of his walking previously mentioned and therefore, is not a distinct event. However, Blue Jay's 'seeing' in element 2 is not related to walking or arriving and hence is a distinct event. The smoke described in element 3 is also a different event type and is consequently also distinct.

λu - occurs again in (222e), where the speaker expresses that the smoke is in the distance. This mental space has its base-space within the previously mentioned element

in (222d), where it was mentioned that something was smoking; but it is distant from where previous events have occurred. Hence, it has a distinct location.

Theme 3 is the meeting between Blue Jay, an elderly woman and her granddaughter (223). In this theme, Blue Jay is invited into a house (223a and b) where the elderly woman and her beautiful granddaughter are (223c). Blue Jay commands that the animal fat he brought be exposed and given to the puppies (223d-f). The elderly woman asks to see the fat (223g-h). They give the woman the fat (223i), at which time Blue Jay brags about his great hunting abilities from which the animal fat supposedly came from (223j-l). Impressed, the woman convinces her granddaughter to be a companion to Blue Jay so that they can eat well (223m-o). *ʔu-* occurs once in (223a) and again in (223o).

(223) Theme 3 of “Blue Jay and His Grandmother”

- (a) **ʔu-cut-əb**, “hədiw’.”
ʔu-say-M inside.house
‘Someone told him, “Come inside.”
- (b) “Come inside.”
- (c) This old woman had a granddaughter, sitting there, who was a beautiful woman.
- (d) He arrived and said something to them.
- (e) He told them, “Take out the belly fat.”
- (f) “I just throw the fat down on the ground for the puppies.”
- (g) The elder told them, “Oh! Don’t throw it down for them.”
- (h) “Bring it here to me.”
- (i) They gave it to the elder.

- (j) He told the elder, “Oh! I am a great hunter.”
- (k) “There is an incredible amount of animal hides of which is merely from what becomes this fat and (other) dried meat.”
- (l) “That is from me killing elk, deer and everything.”
- (m) cut-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tsiiflu-lu^l tsiifʔibac,
say-CTL-M-PIOBL DET DERV-old DET grand.child
‘The elderly woman told her granddaughter,
- (n) “^lλub čəx^w lu-ʔuləχ-ə-cut tx^wəl ti č’ač’aš
fine 2SG FUT-gather-LV-CTL.REFLX to DET child

dx^w-s-x^wiʔx^wiʔ
PERV-NMZR-forage
“You should put yourself together for this boy who is a hunter,
- (o) 1PL FUT-eat-DERV OBL DET good
čəl lu-ʔəl-əd ʔə k^wi haʔl

^lu-x^wiʔx^wiʔ-əl
^lu-forage-1PL.SUBR
and we will eat well with what we forage.”

ʔu- occurs in (223a) with an event that is not framed within any previously mentioned mental spaces. It follows the last event of the previous theme, namely that Blue Jay went after seeing smoke in the distance. There is no mention of anyone other than Blue Jay nor the arrival to a home that he could come into. Therefore, someone talking to Blue Jay in (223a) is a distinct event from previously-expressed events or situations.

Line (223o) is part of a quote that has two elements: 1) we will eat well; and 2) we will forage. Element 2 contains *ʔu-* in a dependent clause construction. This dependent clause acts as a relative clause that expresses how what is eaten will be good.

I infer that element 2 is a distinct event in relation to element 1 because element 2 describes a situation that is different in event type, and distant in time and space.

Theme 4 is the episode where Blue Jay and his new wife return to his home (224). The grandmother gives her granddaughter a tumpline and something to put dried meat into (224a), and then Blue Jay and the granddaughter make the journey back to his house (224b-d). *ʔu-* is used twice in (224a).

(224) Theme 4 of “Blue Jay and His Grandmother”

- (a) ʔab-ši-t-əb-əx^w tsiif č’ač’aš ʔə tsiif
to.give-DAT-CTL-M-PI DET child OBL DET
- kayəʔ-s ʔə tiif t’əq^w-al-šəd yəx^w tiif
grandmother-3.POS OBL DET snap-LOC-foot CONJ DET
- ʔu-səx^w-ə-dəg^w-əš** tiif bayac
ʔu-by.means.of-EPTH-inside-CTL DET meat
- ʔu-g^wi-i-d** ʔəs-šab
ʔu-request-LV-CTL STAT-dry
‘Her grandmother gave the girl a tumpline and a container to put the dry meat into that she’s asking for.’
- (b) They went a long, long ways.
- (c) They were getting close to Blue Jay’s house.
- (d) Then Blue Jay ran.

Line (224a) has three elements: 1) the woman gives her granddaughter a tumpline and a container to put meat into; 2) meat will be put inside something; and 3) meat will be requested. Elements 2 and 3 occur with *ʔu-* in dependent clause constructions.

Element 2 is an object dependent clause and element 3 is a relative clause embedded

within element 2. I infer that elements 2 and 3 express events that are different from each other and from event 1 because of event type and location in time.

Theme 5 is the climax of the narrative (225). Blue Jay runs home and goes under his sleeping mat and laughs (225a-d). His grandmother asks him what’s wrong with him and he just laughs (225e-g). The Blue Jay’s new wife arrives at the house in (225h, i). The grandmother goes outside and tells her to go home. She explains to the young woman that she has been fooled by Blue Jay. He does nothing to help her, and that he had stolen the animal fat from her and left (225j-u). *ʔu-* occurs 6 times, the most of any other part of the narrative (225f, n, q-t). All occurrences are within quotes made by the grandmother.

(225) Theme 5 of “Blue Jay and His Grandmother”

- (a) [Blue Jay] ran
- (b) and went into the house
- (c) and got under his little sleeping mat
- (d) and laughed and laughed and laughed.
- (e) cut-t-əb ʔə tsiil kayəʔ-s,
say-CTL-M OBL DET grandmother-3.POS
‘His grandmother said to him,
- (f) “ʔu-ʔid-əx^w čəx^v.”
ʔu-how-PI 2SG
“What’s wrong with you?”
- (g) Blue Jay really laughed.
- (h) Then the one he’d married arrived.
- (i) She was standing outside.

The occurrence of λu - in (226b) in a dependent clause highlights an element within a mental space. Specifically, it is the element of ‘eating’ when they find an accomplished hunter (not Blue Jay!). λu - occurs with the second verb in (226d), highlighting Blue Jay’s ‘laughing’ as he lies down in a house that is smaller than the young woman’s. In both occurrences’ of λu -, I infer that these propositions express the woman’s anger about being deceived by Blue Jay, and maybe even anger towards her grandmother for convincing her to go with Blue Jay. She even throws the tumpline at her grandmother (226a). Therefore, λu - is being used again to mark emphatic emotion.

The narrative is concluded in theme 7 with two lines (227). First, the speaker ends the narrative in Lushootseed (227a) and then reiterates the end in English (227b).

(227) Theme 7 of “Blue Jay and His Grandmother”

- (a) Now, that’s the end.
- (b) That’s the end. (English)

Similar to the previous narrative, in the ‘Blue Jay and His Grandmother’ narrative, λu - occurs with mental spaces that are distinct from other events and/or express emphatic emotion. However, there are no occurrences of λu - with mental spaces that are central to the plot line. This is not a problem, given the low count of the total tokens within the narrative.

If all of the occurrences of λu - in the two narratives are tabulated together, we get 25 tokens. All 25 tokens of λu - occur with mental space or space element that are distinct, central and/or express emphatic emotion. Of these space types, 10 are distinct

events in relation to other events, 1 is central to the plot line, and 14 express an emphatic emotion (see Table 27). Although some of these tokens occur with mental spaces that have more than one of these characteristics, each occurrence of $\rho u-$ is assigned to only one category. This allows the summation of $\rho u-$ across all the categories to equal the total number of tokens.

Table 27: Summation of $\rho u-$ in ‘The Elk Who Married a Bear’ and ‘Blue Jay and His Grandmother’

Narrative	Distinct	Central	Emphatic	Total
Elk & Bear	3	1	6	10
Blue Jay & Grandmother	7		8	15
Total	10	1	14	25

Comparing these results to the total corpus provides similar results. There is a total of 267 tokens of $\rho u-$ (minus occurrences in songs). Of the total, 174 (65.17%) occur with distinct mental spaces or space elements; 54 (20.22%) occur with central mental spaces or space elements; 36 (13.48%) align with mental spaces that express emphatic emotion; and 3 (1.13%) do not distribute within these mental space types. This gives 264 tokens of $\rho u-$ that are accounted for and 3 that are not. Applying a binomial test calculation where $N = 267$, $K = 264$ and $p = 0.50$, we get a probability of exactly, or fewer than, 264 (K) out of 267 (n) is $p > .99999999$ (“Easy Binomial Test Calculator,” n.d.). This is a 99% probability that $\rho u-$ aligns with mental spaces or their elements that have a higher degree of focus. This is encouraging This is encouraging support for my hypothesis. It is important to note that the statistical analysis only includes marked

mental spaces and elements, and does not include unmarked spaces or elements. In essence, the hypothesis is based on why mental spaces are marked, not why they are unmarked. In addition, I am not inferring that the analysis by the high probability result is objective. Rather, these high probability results infer that the findings are statistically significant.

In section 5.5, I will now summarize these findings and my hypothesis is that ρ_u -functions as a space-builder.

5.5 Summary of findings

I have presented and discussed encouraging evidence that ρ_u - occurs with mental spaces and space elements that can be perceived as having a higher degree of focus. This correlation supports my position that ρ_u - functions as a space-builder that distinguishes mental spaces and space elements that are distinct, central or express emphatic emotion.

Distinct mental spaces and space elements are based upon event type, or location in time and space. ρ_u - occurs when these events have one or more of these attributes that are not framed within its base-space. This function of a space-builder is similarly attested in Ut-Ma'in (Paterson, 2015).

Central mental spaces and mental elements express events that are central to the plot line. For example, marked central spaces or elements can signal an event that is part of an inciting moment.

Marked emphatic emotional propositions can express several cognitive states including: anger, exacerbation, worry and surprise. These mental spaces and elements have higher levels of focus when compared to other mental spaces or elements.

Marked mental spaces and space elements can have more than one of these qualities. For example, a mental space can be distinct as well as central, and emphatic emotional propositions can also be distinct.

However, not all mental spaces that are distinct, central or emphatic are marked with $\lambda u-$. In these cases, the speaker elects to choose alternate morpheme marking or use a bare verb form. I theorize that this is a stylistic strategy by the speaker to contrast the level of focus between mental spaces. This allows a speaker to stratify the significance of mental spaces when compared between each other.

Two primary forms of discourse are part of the data for the analysis of $\lambda u-$. They include traditional narratives and dialog. The dialog used consists of a transcribed conversation (Snyder, 1968b, pp. 124–127), as well as, quotes extracted from the traditional narratives. The emphatic occurrences of $\lambda u-$ from the data all occur within quotes. However, mental spaces and elements within the quotes can also be distinct and central. Given that are similar motivations for mental space marking between traditional narratives and conversation, it was unnecessary to analyze these discourses separately.

This chapter has provided evidence that some morphemes do not always conform to the frameworks we often try to impose upon them. In such cases, it can be helpful to change our analysis approach beyond the comforts of conventional tactics. Where more conventional linguistic analysis methods can provide an initial understanding on which to

build our analysis, the incorporation of natural speech analysis for such subjects, such as the concept of “distinct mental space” can provide a more thorough understanding of a morphosyntac function.

VI DISTRIBUTION AND FUNCTION OF =əx^w IN LUSHOOTSEED TRADITIONAL NARRATIVES AND CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE

6.1 Introduction

The Lushootseed clitic =əx^w occurs quite frequently with various grammatical constructions and forms of information. =əx^w is not limited by, nor is it obligatory with any of Lushootseed's tense or aspectual morphology.

Previous analyses claim that =əx^w marks a situation that has changed (Bates, 1999, p. 1; Hess, 1967a, pp. 57–58). Its function is described as marking a current action or state that is different from a former condition. Rephrasing, =əx^w marks 'a change of situation'. Upon closer look, these analyses begin to unravel, though, for two reasons. First, =əx^w occurs with situations that have not changed from a former condition. Second, changes of situation can occur without =əx^w. The fact that =əx^w is not required to mark all situations that change, and that =əx^w also occurs with propositions that do not express a change of situation, suggests that its function is different than what was previously posited.

Rather than a marker of a change of situation, this chapter argues that =əx^w is polyfunctional. In narrative discourse, propositions marked with =əx^w report an important precondition for a subsequent outcome or result. In conversational discourse, =əx^w marks a stronger statement in terms of counter focus, i.e. it marks information that the speaker assumes is counter to what the hearer believes or knows. In both uses, it

presents a relationship between two propositions, but not necessarily involving a change of state.

The rest of this chapter presents and discusses evidence that support these two functions. This chapter has the following sections. The remainder of this section introduces key theoretical concepts and definitions, and describes the data for this study. Section 6.2 discusses previous literature on $=ax^w$. Section 6.3 posits how $=ax^w$ functions for both narrative and conversational discourse. Section 6.4 summarizes the findings.

6.1.1 Theoretical concepts and definitions

In order to present a clear analysis in this chapter, it is necessary to define certain concepts and terminology related to discourse. Throughout this section, I will use English translations of excerpts from the corpus to help explain the concepts.

The phrase *Universe of Discourse* refers to a mental or conceptual model of complex states of affairs, sets of participants, temporal relationships, locations, etc., and their interrelationships. I use this term in the same sense as *Situation Model* (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, pp. 336–346).

Defining elements of narrative discourse are useful for discussing types of events and situations. The term *plot* refers to certain conceptual elements that make up a narrative discourse (Longacre, 1976, pp. 213–217). In particular, plot includes events, situations or groups of events/situations that exposit the background, present the inciting moment for conflict, develop conflict, climactic events, denouement or resolution, may perhaps draw out final suspense, and conclude the narrative. I briefly explain these subparts of plot.

Exposition provides background information about the participants, a location in the narrative, a time during or of the narrative, etc. Using the opening lines from ‘The Elk Who Married a Bear’ story (in English translation) as an example, the main characters and their relationship to one another are introduced:

There lived an elk who got stuck on (i.e., got infatuated with) Bear and he took her [as his companion]. He lived with Bear as his wife.

An *inciting moment* is a key event or situation that leads to conflict or begins to create suspense. An inciting moment occurs when what is predictable is changed in some manner. After the characters from the example above are introduced and Bear becomes Elk’s wife, the narrative reports that Elk is a hunter. Hunting is his normal routine. But during one of his hunting expeditions, he discovers a patch of skunk cabbage. Elk going home and brings his wife to the swamp to harvest the skunk cabbage. The discovery of the skunk cabbage is an inciting moment, because it is a change in Elk’s predictable routine of hunting.

Elk habitually hunted and hunted for big game. Elk was hunting when he walked up close to a swamp. Oh! Skunk cabbage was growing!

He took his wife early in the morning. He told her as they were going along, “You’re gonna gather this here, and you’re gonna bring it home and we’ll steam it on the rocks and eat it. It’s good.”

Events that *develop conflict* intensify a narrative. In ‘The Elk Who Married a Bear’, after gathering a large pile of skunk cabbage leaves, Bear wonders what to do with it. Because of her naivety, she smashes the skunk cabbage leaves into small pieces, which ruins them for consumption. The expectation was that she would gather the skunk cabbage leaves, and bring them home for her and Elk to cook and eat. Ruining skunk cabbage leaves is counter to what was expected, thereby developing a conflict in the plot.

She put the skunk cabbage together and there she was. She wondered, “What do I do with this?” Then she scratched it and looked at it. It was just small leaves! So she smashed them and smashed them as they piled up.

A *climax* is a culmination of events, particularly when the developing-conflict events evolve into an overt conflict. When Elk discovers Bear mishandled her foraged goods, the story erupts with Elk scolding and slapping Bear:

Finally Elk came and he said, “Oh! You bad woman! (You are) just doing it again!” He assaulted his wife. He slapped her on the rump.

A *resolution* is an event or set of events that provide a solution or outcome. The climax event of Elk’s scolding and assault ends or resolves when Elk goes home. This

event does not provide a solution for the ruined skunk cabbage or Elk's outburst, but this event is the outcome of a series of events that culminated into the climax.

For *final suspense*, there is no example in 'The Elk Who Married Bear' story, but Longacre characterizes it as the point where the resolving details are worked out. The final suspense extends the resolution portion of the plot line as any other unresolved issues are worked out.

The *conclusion* is the end of the story. The last line of 'The Elk Who Married Bear' story ends as follows:

Now, that's the end.

Certain events can be conceptualized as occurring chronologically in the universe of discourse: event A occurs first before event B, followed by event C, and so forth. In 'The Elk Who Married Bear' story, Bear gathers and piles the skunk cabbage leaves (event A) before she sits and wonders what to do with them (event B), and scratches the skunk cabbage into small leaves (event C). This 'string of events' can be thought of as comprising a *main event line* (MEL). MEL events have two properties (Payne, 1992, p. 379):

- (a) They are reported as actually occurring in the universe of discourse. They cannot be hypothetical. States, which are nonevents by definition, are excluded.
- (b) The MEL events must chronologically advance the action of the narrative.

Some events can be conceptualized as being tightly interconnected and are subparts of a single event referred to as a *macro event* (Payne, 1992, p. 376). In the

‘Mink and the Questing Boy’ story, Mink discovers a boy who is stealing fish from Mink’s fish trap. After discovering the boy’s thievery, Mink gathers materials and makes weaponry in order to retaliate. Below, the first line expresses the macro event of Mink making battle gear, and the last three lines express subparts of this larger event. These subparts elaborate on what types of weapon paraphernalia Mink made (the lines that describe subparts of the macro event are indented for clarity).

He (Mink) made gear to battle with.
 He made arrows.
 He made a quiver.
 He made a bow.

Even though these three subparts can be conceptualized as activities that could occur separately, conceivably even one after another, in this context there is no expression of sequentiality. As part of a macro event, these activities have an interconnectedness that can be perceived of as tighter than the relationship between MEL Events.

If A and B are two separate events that occur chronologically, one after the other, it can be conceptualized that there is some type of change between A and B. The nature of the event or situation of the participant(s) during A may be different from the event or situation of the participants(s) during B. In the story, ‘The Ravens and Crows Catch a Seal’, the Ravens and Crows cook the seal (event A) and distribute the seal meat (event B). There is a change in the type of event between A and B. To describe such a change, I use the term *change of situation*, adopted from Bates’ *change of state* (1968, pp. 1, 6).

However, a change of situation does not have to be limited to a change in event type. For this chapter, change of situation also includes: a change in time; change in location; and change in participants. A change in time is where the activity during an

event B happens after the activity of an event A. Both may be the same activity, but they occur at different times. For example, ‘Bear sang (event A) and then she sang again (event B)’

A change in location means the location for event A is geographically different than the location for event B. ‘She looked for her at the swing (event A). She looked for her in the house (event B)’. Event A and B are the same type of activity, but they happen at two separate geographical locations (and sequential times).

A Change of participants is a change in the number, person or referent of the A or P, as, for example, in ‘The ravens dug clams (event A), and the crows dug clams (event B)’. Both events A and B have the same activity at the same place, but the agents are different.

Precondition information is information that facilitates or enables a subsequent outcome or result. If there are two situations, A and B, and A reports information that facilitates or enables situation B, then A is considered a precondition for B. In order to test whether this condition holds between two propositions, I have devised a simple test. If one could fill in the English phrase, “as a result” between lines A and B, and make sense of the narrative, line A reports precondition information for line B.

To illustrate how this precondition information test works, the first three lines of the ‘Elk Who Married Bear’ story are listed below. To see if line A has precondition information for line B, and line B has precondition information for line C, I have inserted the test phrase, “as a result” between the lines.

Line A: There lived an Elk who was infatuated with Bear, and

as a result ← (test phrase)

Line B: He took her, and

as a result ← (test phrase)

Line C: He lived with Bear as his wife.

The overtly asserted information makes sense with the test phrase inserted between the lines of information. Therefore, line A reports a precondition for B, and line B reports a precondition for C.

Contrast this with information that does not describe a precondition for subsequent situations. Below are the beginning lines of the ‘Mink and Questing Boy’.

The lines in italics summarize the beginning of the story.

There lives Mink and his grandmother, and he makes a fish trap down by the creek. Indeed! There is always trout of all kinds inside of it. They will eat what is inside of [the fish trap], but then there is this boy questing for š(x^w)x^way?x^wayəm (name of a spiritual power).

Line A: He was still questing while going around and

Line B: just stealing food.

Line C: He went along, helped himself, stole and

Line D: went home again.

as a result ← (test phrase)

Line E: Eventually, he found the fish trap!

Lines A through D describe the questing boy’s poor behavior of stealing while questing for power. Line E reports the boy’s discovery of Mink’s fish trap. When the test phrase is inserted between D and E, the lines of information do not make sense.

Therefore, D does not have information that is a precondition for E. The boy returning

home in D is not an essential or facilitate a precondition for the boy to find that fish trap in E.

Conversational discourse consists of two basic features: 1) one party speaks at a time, and 2) a change in speakers recurs (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 293). Each utterance or set of utterances expressed without interruption is a *turn*. Conversations can have *adjacency pairs*, which are two fairly conventionalized utterance combination types that are adjacent within the conversation. The first utterance is the *first pair part*, and the second utterance is the *second pair part*. Different speakers produce each utterance. Examples of adjacency pairs are: a question followed by an answer; a greeting followed by another greeting; or a proposal followed by an acceptance or rejection.

Presuppositions are propositions with presupposed information which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 6), or that the hearer will accept without challenge (Givón, 2005, p. 151). *Assertions* are propositions which can partially contain presupposed information, as well as information that the speaker assumes the hearer does not know. *Focus* is an assertion minus presupposed information (Lambrecht, 1994, pp. 206–207). For example, in the question: *How many people are going on the trip?* the presupposed information is that someone is going on a trip. The answer *Everyone is going* includes the presupposition that there will be a trip, but it also includes the number of people referenced with the pronoun *everyone*. *Everyone* is the focus because it is the assertion minus the presupposed information. This type of focus is often noncontrastive (Givón, 2001b, pp. 223–224). It provides information that the hearer does not know. *Noncontrastive focus* simply provides information that speaker assumes the hearer is ignorant of or does not know. *Contrastive focus* is a stronger assertion. The

speaker assumes that the information is contrary to the hearer's beliefs, knowledge or expectation. The hearer is assumed to hold a strong contrary belief. For example, the question *How was the game?* presupposes that the speaker thinks that the hearer watched or participated in a game. The answer, *I did not see the game*, asserts that the first speaker's presupposition is incorrect. The answer contrasts with and is contrary to the first speaker's presupposition.¹⁰

6.1.2 A description of the data

The primary source of data for this study consists of five of the traditional narratives in Appendix B. Three were told by Annie Daniels: 'The Elk Who Marries Bear', 'Mink and the Questing Boy', and 'The Ravens and Crows Catch a Seal'. The second storyteller was Jerry Meeker who tells the story of 'The North Versus the South Contest'. The third storyteller was Harry Moses who tells the story of 'Coyote and Fox'. As requested by the Sauk-Suiattle Tribe, this story remains unpublished.

6.1.3 The structure of this chapter

In these five narratives, there are 262 tokens of $=ax^w$ and 289 instances of propositions expressing a change of situation. Previous analyses (Bates, 1999, p. 1; Hess,

¹⁰ There are various other subtypes of marked focus, but for the purposes of this chapter, contrasting focus will be the only type covered here.

1967a, pp. 57–58; Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, p. 45) posit that $=ax^w$ marks a change of situation. However, I found that only 167 $=ax^w$ tokens mark a change of situation. This leaves 95 tokens of $=ax^w$ occurring with propositions that do not express a change of situation and 122 instances of propositions expressing a change of situation that are unmarked.

In section 6.3, I present my hypothesis: that $=ax^w$ marks precondition information in traditional narratives. I found 292 propositions in the five-text corpus containing precondition information, of which 198 occur with $=ax^w$ and 94 do not (section 6.3.1). In section 6.3.2, I explain confounding interacting factors that account for the 94 “residue” propositions, and conclude that the hypothesis that $=ax^w$ marks propositions with precondition information is nevertheless supported.

In 6.3.3, I examine the function of $=ax^w$ in conversational discourse. I hypothesize that this clitic marks focus. For declaratives and imperatives, it marks contrastive focus. For interrogatives, it marks completive focus. Data was drawn from a conversation recorded in 1954 by Warren A. Snyder, an anthropologist from the University of Washington. The conversation was between three Southern Lushootseed speakers: Amelia Sneatlum and her two children, Charlie and Mary Sneatlum. The conversation is published in Snyder (1968b, pp. 124–127), ‘Southern Puget Sound Salish: Texts, Place Names, and Dictionary’. The data on $=ax^w$ in conversation was gathered from retranscribed text only, as no audio recording of the conversation is known to exist. In the conversational data, there are 59 sentences within 37 conversational turns: 44 declaratives, 11 interrogatives and 4 imperatives. There were 18 tokens of $=ax^w$, 10 with declaratives, 4 with questions and 2 with imperatives.

Finally, section 6.4 summarizes the findings of this chapter. It covers the polysememous functions of $=ax^w$ and then compares its traditional narrative function to other cross-linguistic discourse markers.

6.2 Previous analyses of $=ax^w$

In previous works, $=ax^w$ has been analyzed as a marker of change of situation. The Lushootseed Dictionary (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 30) defines $=ax^w$ as ‘now, at the particular time’, and states that it is an aspectual clitic that contrasts an action or state with a former condition.

Similarly, Hess’ dissertation on Snohomish Grammatical Structure (1967a, pp. 57–58) glosses $=ax^w$ as ‘change effected’, meaning that it contrasts an action or state with a former condition. Hess briefly discusses the use of $=ax^w$ in traditional narratives for marking new events that were not true before. He notes that $=ax^w$ occurs on several word classes, including verbs, substantives, auxiliaries and personal pronouns. He includes no mention of propositions that express a change of situation without $=ax^w$, nor the occurrence of $=ax^w$ with information that does not express a change of situation.

In Hess and Hilbert’s (1978a, p. 45) pedagogical materials, they often define $=ax^w$ as ‘now’¹¹, saying that it means that the action or situation is different from what it was. In their oral repetition lesson plans, they gives simple dialog examples between two speakers. Although the dialog is hypothetical, Hess and Hilbert worked closely with several first language speakers in developing his pedagogical materials. Example (228)

¹¹ The English translation for $=ax^w$ as ‘now’ can create a conundrum, given that *now* in English has multiple functions and interpretations (Stubbs, 1983, pp. 68–70).

has two brief turns of dialog consisting of a question and answer. The first question (228a) occurs without =əx^w, and the second question (228c) occurs with it. In the example, =əx^w is in bold and the word that =əx^w is on is underlined in the English translation for clarity.

(228) Conversational excerpt from *Lushootseed 1*, examples 2 and 3 (Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, p. 42)

(a) Question: Speaker A
 ʔəs-čal čəx^w.
 STAT-how 2SG
 ‘How are you?’

(b) Answer: Speaker B
 ʔəs-ʔub-il čəd.
 STAT-fine-INCH 1SG
 ‘I am fine.’

cick^w čəd ʔəs-ʔub-il.
 very 1SG STAT-fine-INCH
 ‘I am very well.’

(c) Question: Speaker A
 ʔəs-čal=**əx^w** čəx^w.
 STAT-how=**əx^w** 2SG
 ‘How are you **now**?’

(d) Answer: Speaker B
 ʔəs-tag^wəx^w čəd.
 STAT-hungry 1SG
 ‘I am hungry.’¹²

cick^w čəd ʔəs-tag^wəx^w.
 very 1SG STAT-hungry
 ‘I am very hungry.’

¹² The əx^w in tag^wəx^w is not the clitic =əx^w. It is part of the root of the word for ‘hungry’.

The translation for =əxʷ as ‘now’ in (228c) is compelling because Hess and Hilbert’s translations are based upon their elicitation with first language speakers who had the benefit of speaker intuition. Hess and Hilbert’s translation is further supported by Snyder’s (1968b) translation of a recorded conversation (section 6.1.3), given in (229).¹³

(229) Lines 4 from Snyder (1968b, pp. 124–125)

ʔabil’	gʷə-ʔa=əxʷ	kʷi	s-ʃal .
perhaps	SUBJ-exist=əxʷ	DET	NMZR-write
	‘Perhaps the mail <u>is here</u> now .’		

The translation of =əxʷ as ‘now’ for these examples seems idiomatic in English, but later I will present conversational examples where the semantic meaning of ‘now’ does not seem to be a good fit.

Bates (Bates, 1999, p. 1) analyzes =əxʷ within an aspectual framework where she takes situation aspect as separate from aspectual viewpoint. In her framework there are five situation aspects: state, accomplishment, achievement, activity, and semelfactive. Aspectual viewpoints are perfective, where an event or situation is viewed as a whole; imperfective, where the event or situation is viewed as ongoing; and neutral, where the viewpoint is neither perfective nor imperfective. The neutral viewpoint only gives information about the initial starting point of an event or situation. In Bates’ analysis, =əxʷ signals a change in either situation aspect or aspectual viewpoint.

¹³ In a footnote, Snyder defines =əxʷ as marking ‘momentaneous aspect’ (1968b, p. 14), but he does not provide any explanation for his definition.

Bates' analysis is based on data from one traditional narrative about a pheasant and raven. Example (230) reports the first event of the story after the primary characters have been introduced in the initial exposition section of the story.

(230) huy, ibəš=**əx**^w tiʔəʔ sq^wəlub.
 CONJ walk=**əx**^w DET pheasant
 'And so Pheasant walked.' (Bates, 1999, p. 5)

In her analysis of (230), Bates suggests that =əx^w signals a change of situation aspect from stative to active, and also signals a change of aspectual viewpoint from 'neutral' to 'perfective', although she provides no evidence that (230) is perfective other than stating that =əx^w marks a perfective viewpoint. Bates also describes the function of =əx^w as signaling that the narrative time of the story has moved forward.

These previous analyses miss some key distributions concerning =əx^w. These include propositions that express a change of situation but do not carry =əx^w, and propositions with =əx^w that do not express a change of situation. For example, (231) presents four propositions that report changes of situation but that are not marked with =əx^w. It is an excerpt from the traditional narrative 'The Ravens and Crows Catch a Seal'. All four events move the narrative chronologically forward and are on the main event line. In (231), the events that precede and follow the glossed lines are translated in English only, for simplicity, and are in italics. Events are labeled and numbered in bold above the Lushootseed line.

(231) Excerpt from 'The Ravens and Crows Catch a Seal'

The seal rolls real close to them and when he turns himself over, he's smacked in the head. They smack him in the head and push him a couple of times and he's

dead. They put the seal inside the clam basket at the very bottom and put the clams on top. Then, they packed the seal on their backs, taking it home.

EVENT₁

ləčil-dx^w dx^w-ʔa ʔalʔal g^wəl
 arrive-LC PERV-LOC house CONJ
 ‘They managed to get it to the house and’

EVENT₂

hud-əbəc-ə-d g^wəl
 burn-solid.obj-EPTH-CTL CONJ
 heat it up and’

EVENT₃

k^wič’-i-d g^wəl q’əls-ə-d
 butcher-LV-CTL CONJ cook.on.rocks-LV-CTL
 ‘butcher it, steam it on hot rocks,’

EVENT₄

...and then they distributed it.

In contrast with (231), (232) presents a proposition marked with =əx^w that is not a new event expressing a change of situation. Rather, the proposition with =əx^w describes the manner of how Elk hurt his wife, already mentioned in the previously clause.

(232) Excerpt from ‘The Elk Who Marries Bear’

Finally Elk comes and he says, “Oh! You bad woman! You are just doing it again!” Now he hurts his wife.

t’əq’-ap-ə-d=əx^w
 slap-bottom-LV-CTL=əx^w
 ‘He slaps her on the rump.’

Bear stands, going with a slapped rump. Her rump was hit hard. She walks home.

The conversational discourse data for this study also does not support the previous analyses for =əxʷ. The characterization that =əxʷ can be translated as ‘now’, meaning that the action or situation is different from what it was (see (228)), does not account for all utterances in dialogue. For example, (233) is an excerpt from a dialog between Amelia and her daughter, Mary. After Amelia suggests that Warren Snyder might take her to the store, Mary asks what she wants from the store. Mary’s utterance is marked with =əxʷ, yet the sense of ‘now’ or ‘change of situation’ does not quite fit. (The speakers Amelia (AM) and Mary (M) are indicated in the English translation for clarity).

(233) Lines 24-28 from Snyder (1968b, pp. 126–127)

(AM) *Bull Head (nickname for Snyder) might have compassion for you regarding the store.*

s-tab=əxʷ kʷi ɬu-kʷəd-ə-d čəxʷ.
 NMZR-what=əxʷ DET FUT-take-LV-CTL 2.SG

(M) ‘What will you take?’ (i.e., ‘What do you want from the store?’)

versus

(M) ‘What will you take now?’ (Semantically, this does not quite make sense. – [author])

(AM) *You folks get bread.*

We now want to see if statistical analysis can show a pattern between the clitic =əxʷ and a change of situation. The nature of human language is influenced from diachronic factors that affect language evolution that are often difficult to measure and/or detect. Therefore, results that may be below conventional statistic standards need not be discounted, but rather explained through the effects of these nuisance variables (Gries & Ellis, 2015, pp. 9–10; Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2003, p. 210).

As mentioned in section 6.1.3, only 58% of the 289 propositions expressing change of situation occur with $=\partial x^w$ and 42% do not. Furthermore, of the 262 total tokens of $=\partial x^w$, only 64% are used with a change of situation and 36% do not. For propositions that express a change of situation, 167 occur with $=\partial x^w$ and 122 do not. For propositions that do not express a change of situation, 95 occur with $=\partial x^w$ and 100 do not. The observed results are tabulated in Table 28.

Table 28 Observed correlation of $=\partial x^w$ with ‘change of situation’ propositions

	Change of sit	No change of sit	Total
$=\partial x^w$	167	95	262
no $=\partial x^w$	122	100	222
Total	289	195	484

For the chi-square test, the null hypothesis is that $=\partial x^w$ does not mark a change of situation, meaning that the proportion of ‘change of situation’ is the same regardless of the presence of $=\partial x^w$. Using an online chi-square calculator (“Easy Chi-Square Calculator,” n.d.), chi-square is calculated with the observed results in Table 28. With a significance level of 0.05, $\chi^2=3.8557$ and $p=0.049578$. This p -value indicates that the null hypothesis is unlikely, meaning that statistical analysis does not preclude the notion that $=\partial x^w$ marks a change of situation. Nevertheless, the considerable attestation of propositions with $=\partial x^w$ that do not mark a change of situation, and change of situation propositions without $=\partial x^w$ in Table 28 makes us question whether an alternative hypothesis other than “marking change of situation” might fit the data even better.

Given that examples like (231) through (233) and even the raw numbers in Table 28 show that previous analyses do not account for all occurrences of $=\partial x^w$, I am

motivated to seek a better understanding of this clitic. Furthermore, if the distribution of $=ax^w$ cannot be explained by just one principle or function, then we must consider whether its role is polysemous.

The next section of this chapter concludes that $=ax^w$ is a polyfunctional marker. In narrative discourse, propositions marked with $=ax^w$ report an important precondition that facilitates or enables a subsequent outcome or result. In terms of conversational discourse, $=ax^w$ marks focus. Declaratives and imperatives with $=ax^w$ communicate contrastive focus. It marks information that the speaker assumes is counter to what the hearer believes or knows. Interrogatives with $=ax^w$ marks a type of contrastive focus. It occurs with follow up requests for more complete information.

6.3 $=ax^w$ in narrative and conversational discourse

I present the analysis of $=ax^w$ in two sections: the function of $=ax^w$ in traditional narratives (section 6.3.1), and its role in conversational discourse (section 6.3.2).

6.3.1 Separating narrative from conversational narratives

Before I can begin my analysis of narrative data, I extract dialogue exchanges from the traditional narrative corpus. There are 262 tokens of $=ax^w$, 41 of which are within quotations. Subtracting these 41 leaves 221 tokens of $=ax^w$.

One more adjustment is made for a repetitious use of $=ax^w$. Lushootseed uses a periphrastic construction with repetition of the same verb to relay an ongoing, sometimes arduous situation. When the repeated situation has precondition information, each utterance of the verb is marked with $=ax^w$ (234).

Periphrastic repetitions with =əx ^w	-17
Total minus quotation and periphrastic repetition uses	204

To see if these adjusted numbers significantly affect the notion that =əx^w marks a change of situation, let's reexamine these previous analyses considering the adjusted numbers from Table 29. Of the 41 =əx^w occurrences within quotes, 2 express a change of situation and 39 do not. This leaves a total of 165 tokens that express a change of situation and 56 that do not. If the 17 periphrastic repetitions of =əx^w are subtracted from the 56, we even get a lower number of 39 occurrences of =əx^w that do not express a change of situation. Furthermore, within the quotes, there are 2 occurrences without =əx^w that express a change of situation and 35 that do not. This leaves 120 instances without =əx^w that express a change of situation and 65 do not. The observed results are tabulated in Table 30.

Table 30: Observed correlation of =əx^w with 'change of situation' propositions with adjusted numbers.

	Change of sit	No change of sit	Total
=əx ^w	165	39	204
no =əx ^w	120	65	185
Total	285	104	389

As before, the null hypothesis is that =əx^w does not mark a change of situation, meaning that the proportion of 'change of situation' is the same regardless of the presence of =əx^w. The chi-square is calculated with the observed results in Table 3 using

an online chi-square calculator (“Easy Chi-Square Calculator,” n.d.). With a significance level of 0.05, $\chi^2=12.7076$ and $p=0.000364$. This p -value is much smaller than before, and is a stronger indication that the null hypothesis is unlikely, meaning that statistical analysis does not preclude the notion that $=ax^w$ marks a change of situation.

Nevertheless, let’s continue with another analysis that might fit the data even better.

With the adjustments to the data mentioned in Table 29, I now begin our examination of the function of $=ax^w$ in straightforward narrative data.

6.3.2 Towards a better analysis of $=ax^w$ in traditional narratives

My hypothesis is that when $=ax^w$ is used with a narrative proposition, it marks a precondition for a subsequent event. This precondition does not cause an event to occur, but rather facilitates or enables the occurrence of a situation. For example, (235) has five events in a row that are marked with $=ax^w$. Each event occurs chronologically along the storyline. As discussed in section 1, I have inserted the test phrase ‘as a result’ between each proposition to test for precondition information.

(235) Excerpt from ‘Mink and the Questing Boy’

... and there was a boy questing for power. He was still questing when he’d go, just stealing food. He’d repeatedly go taking the things that he stole (and) going home. Eventually, he found out about the fish trap!

EVENT₁
 (a) $\text{ʔəyʔ-dx}^w=\text{əx}^w$ tiɪ yidad, $\text{g}^w\text{əl}$ huy
 find-LC= əx^w DET fish.trap CONJ CONJ
 ‘He found the fish trap, and then’

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT₂

ʔu-qadaʔ=**əx^w** ʔə tiɪ.
 SB-steal=**əx^w** OBL DET
 ‘he stole those [fish].’

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT₃

(b) ʔuǰ^w-tx^w=**əx^w** tx^wəl tiɪ
 go-CS =**əx^w** to DET

səx^w-g^wə-q’əls-ə-d¹⁴
 by.means.of-SUBJ-cook.on.rocks-LV-CTL
 ‘He took it to a pit for cooking on rocks’

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT₄

ʔu-q’wəl-d=**əx^w**
 SB-cook-CTL=**əx^w**
 ‘he baked it’

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT₅

lu-lək’^w-ə-d=**əx^w**.
 FUT-eat.up-LV-CTL=**əx^w**
 ‘He was going to eat it up.’

as a result ← (test phrase)

(c) x^wiʔ=**əx^w** s-ʔu-t’it’əb-s.
 NEG=**əx^w** NMZR-SB-bathe-3.POS
 ‘He wasn’t bathing.’

The storyline is clear and logical with the test phrase inserted between each event.

Indeed, we can see that each event marked with =**əx^w** expresses a precondition that enables the next subsequent event.

¹⁴ The word səx^w-g^wə-q’əls-ə-d ‘by means of where you could cook on hot rocks’ might appear to express an event, but does not. The prefix səx^w- ‘by means of’ works somewhat like an instrumental and often changes the verb to a noun. In this context, it refers to a place where there is a pit that has hot rocks where food is cooked.

Storyline examples like (235) report information as a series of propositions where each is a facilitating precondition for the immediately subsequent event. However, not all propositions with =əxʷ mark a facilitating precondition for immediate subsequent situations. The excerpt in (236) is from ‘The North Versus the South Contest’ story. In (236), people from the south have just arrived by canoe to compete with people from the north. Preparations for a contest begin to see who can hold their breath under water the longest. Before joining the conversation, Stellar’s blue jay (Blue Jay) throws a cedar bark mat into the water. Events 2 and 3 are marked with -əxʷ. Event 2 describes an event which facilitates event 3 to occur, but when the test phrase ‘as a result’ is inserted between events 3 and 4, the test arguably fails, i.e., it is not clear how a cedar mat in the water (event 3) facilitates or enables a discussion about who will compete in the diving contest (event 4).

(236) Excerpt from ‘The North versus the South Contest’

- EVENT₁**
 (a) gʷəl ʔuχʷ tiɪł skaykay
 CONJ to.go DET Steller.blue.jay
 ‘Blue Jay went’
- dxʷ-ʔal tiɪł q’il-bi-d-s həlgʷəʔ gʷələ
 PERV-LOC DET to.ride-REL-CTL-3.POS 3PL CONJ
 ‘to their canoe and’
- EVENT₂**
 kʷəd-ə-d-əxʷ tiɪł ʔabuł gʷəl
 take-LV-CTL-əxʷ DET canoe.mat CONJ
 ‘took a cedar mat and’
- as a result ← (test phrase)
- EVENT₃**
 ʔiχʷ-i-d-əxʷ dxʷ-ʔal tiɪł ʔalacut

throw.away-LV-CTL-əx^w PERV-LOC DET be.alone
 ‘threw it [in the water] all by itself’

ʔə tiɪł ʃ^wəlč ʔəs-puk^wəb.
 OBL DET saltwater STAT-pile
 ‘piled up in the saltwater.’

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT₄

(b) tu-ʔil-əx^w tiɪł s-ta-tab-əb
 PST-start-əx^w DET NMZR-DISTR-what-M
 ‘A discussion had started as’

g^wat tiɪł lu-ʃiʃq’.
 who DET FUT-to.compete
 ‘to who was going to compete.’

However, event 3 of (236) does express a precondition that enables a later situation. If we look several lines beyond (236), we discover that Blue Jay uses the cedar mat to hide his nose so that he can breathe under the water and not get caught during the contest (237).

(237) Excerpt from ‘The North versus the South Contest’ ([author] 2012b)

(a) ʔal ti s-ʔus-il həlg^wəʔ g^wəl
 LOC DET NMZR-dive-INCH 3PL CONJ
 ‘When they dove into the water,’

EVENT₁

tu-təlawil tiɪł skaykay
 PST-to.run DET Steller.blue.jay
 ‘Blue Jay ran’

dx^w-ʔal tiɪł ʃabuł
 PERV-LOC DET canoe.mat
 ‘over to the canoe mat’

ʔu-ʔiʃ^w-i-d tul’ ʔal tiɪł q’il’-bi-d.

SB-throw.away-LV-CTL from LOC DET to.ride-REL-CTL
 ‘that he had tossed from the canoe.’

EVENT₂

- (b) lə-ʔa-h-ə-d
 PROG-locate-EPH-LV-CTL
 ‘He had positioned it there’

liʔ ši-šul ti qədx^w-s g^wələ
 by.what.means DIM-insert DET mouth-3.POS CONJ
 ‘so he could just put his mouth under it and’

EVENT₃

cəldal-b-uʔx^w.
 breath-M-still
 ‘still breathe.’

If we insert the test phrase ‘as a result’ between (236) and (237), the test phrase is successful; see (238). (In (238), only the English translations are written for simplicity.)

(238) English translations of (236) and (237)

(236) *Blue Jay went to their canoe, took a cedar mat, and threw it all by itself piled up in the saltwater.*

as a result ← (test phrase)

(237) *When they dove into the water, Blue Jay ran over to the canoe mat that he had tossed from the canoe. He had positioned it there so he could just put his mouth under it and still breathe.*

The proposition in (236) can be conceptualized as facilitating and enabling the situation in (237). However, to maintain a rigorous analysis for the hypothesis that =ax^w marks precondition information, we need to constrain how far “downstream” in the text we can seek a second event for which the marked event is a precondition. Since any

number greater than 1 would be arbitrarily chosen, I will only count instances where $=ax^w$ marks a precondition for the immediately subsequent event. Because several other events come between the putative precondition event in (236) and the resultant event in (237), I count the event in (236) as an example in which $=ax^w$ occurs without marking a precondition for the immediately subsequent event. While this methodological decision will force me to exclude some cases where I might tell a story relating a marked event to some subsequent event (and will thereby reduce the significance of any correlations I identify), it will also save me from the temptation of looking farther and farther from the marked event, trying to tell stories that would make the data conform to my analysis.

Even with this restrictive methodology, when we apply the ‘as a result’ test phrase after each proposition with $=ax^w$ in the narrative data, the quantitative findings are encouraging. Of the 204 tokens of $=ax^w$ in the data discussed in section 6.3.1, 187 can be conceptualized as marking a precondition for the immediate subsequent situation. This accounts for 92% of the adjusted instances of $=ax^w$ within the narrative sub-corpus.

6.3.2.1. Precondition information reported without $=ax^w$

Although I’ve accounted for 92% of the adjusted occurrences of $=ax^w$ in the narrative subcorpus, this is only half of the analysis. I have yet to account for any instances of precondition propositions that occur without $=ax^w$. A total of 292 propositions contain precondition information in the narrative data. The 198 instances that occur with $=ax^w$ are just 68% of these precondition propositions, leaving 94 propositions (32%) that do not occur with $=ax^w$.

Two Lushootseed constructions account for this discrepancy, that is. they mark precondition information without using =əxʷ. The first construction involves subpart events of macro events. Recall that subpart events of a macro event are those that can be perceived as being more tightly integrated than regular events (section 1). None of the subpart events that I have identified in Lushootseed occur with =əxʷ. Example (239) is an excerpt from ‘The Ravens and Crows Catch a Seal’ story which describes the activities of the ravens and crows bringing a seal home, preparing the meat for consumption, and distributing it. These events may be viewed as subparts of the macro event in which seal meat is prepared. Events 1 through 4 pass the test for having precondition information, but are unmarked.

(239) Excerpt from ‘The Ravens and Crows Catch a Seal’

Then, they packed the seal on their backs, taking it home.

EVENT₁

ləčil-dxʷ	dxʷ-ʔal	ʔalʔal	gʷəl
arrive-LC	PERV-LOC	house	CONJ

‘They managed to get it to the house and’

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT₂

hud-əbəc-ə-d	gʷəl
burn-solid.obj-EPTH-CTL	CONJ

‘heat it up and’

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT₃

kʷičʷ-i-d	gʷəl
butcher-LV-CTL	CONJ

‘butcher it and’

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT₄

q'əls-ə-d	g ^w əl	huy
cook.on.rocks-CONJ-CTL	CONJ	CONJ
'steam it on hot rocks and then'		

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT₅

wəš-əb-əx^w
 distribute-M-əx^w
 'distribute it.'

In the corpus, there are 57 event propositions with precondition information that are subpart events of macro events. If these 57 propositions are subtracted from the 94 precondition events that are not marked with =əx^w, it leaves 37.

The second construction that accounts for precondition information propositions without =əx^w are iterative events that occur in a cyclic construction used during peak episodes of a story. The cyclic construction has events that are subparts of an iterative cycle.¹⁵ This cyclic construction can be schematized in a hypothetical discourse where there are three events, A, B and C (Figure 11). These events occur in a repeating pattern within the iterations. The number of the iteration can be overtly reported by the speaker, but this is not obligatory.

Figure 11: Cyclic construction used during peak events

Iteration 1:

Event A

Event B

Event C

Iteration 2:

Event A

¹⁵ In the Southern Lushootseed dialect, these iterative cycles usually occur five times in the peak of a story, while in the Northern dialect, they occur four times (Hilbert 1985:xiii).

Event B
Event C
Iteration 3:
Event A
Event B
Event C
etc...

In example (240), an excerpt from ‘The Ravens and Crows Catch a Seal’ story, we see the cyclic construction. For this peak episode, the developing conflict begins when Mother Crow’s daughter is sleeping. Mother Crow tells the protagonist of the story, *cicixʷəd*, to lightly spank her daughter to make her behave upon waking. When *cicixʷəd* spanks her, the crow daughter dies, and *cicixʷəd* hides her body. Example (240) begins the peak episode with a series of cyclic events that move the plot line along until there is resolution. This excerpt describes events where *cicixʷəd* attempts to delay telling the mother crow about the death of her child. After the fifth iteration is completed (240p), *cicixʷəd* confesses her deeds and is told to go retrieve Mother Crows’ daughter, at which time, the mother crow revives her daughter. Each iteration in (240) has three events involving Mother Crow and *cicixʷəd*. For all but the last iteration, where event B is only implied, the pattern is the same: **EVENT A**: *cicixʷəd* reports where the crow daughter must be; **EVENT B**: Mother Crow goes there; and **EVENT C**: the daughter is not there. Each iteration is numbered above the Lushootseed text in bold, as well as each event A, B and C. In addition, for clarity the character speaking, *cicixʷəd* (C), is labeled in the English translation of event A.

(240) Excerpt from ‘The Ravens and Crows catch a Seal’

Did the mean and stingy Raven daughter [cici^ɣwəd] kill her little cousin? She is told, “When your younger cousin wakes up, you just pat her on the bottom to get her to start preparing food for the people. That will make her be good.”

Oh! The girl wakes up and the mean and stingy Raven daughter spanks her and she dies.

[Crow’s] mother shows up and she asks, “Where is your little cousin?”

ITERATION₁

EVENT A

- (a) “ʔu x^wuʔələ g^wə-yəy’du?”
 EMPHAT maybe SUBJ-to.swing
 (C) “Oh, she could be swinging.”

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT B

- (b) ʔu^ɣw.
 go
 ‘She went there.’

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT C

- (C) x^wiʔ
 NEG
 ‘Nope.’ (i.e. the child is not there)

as a result ← (test phrase)

ITERATION₂

EVENT A

- (d) “ʔu x^wuʔələ g^wə-bəbi?”
 INTROG maybe SUBJ-to.play.hoop.game
 (C) “Oh, she could be playing the hoop game.”

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT B

- (d) ʔu^ɣw.
 go
 ‘She went there.’

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT C

- (f) x^wiʔ

NEG
'Nope.' (i.e. the child is not there)

as a result ← (test phrase)

ITERATION₃

EVENT A

- (g) "x^wuʔələ k^wədaʔ=əx^w ʔu-hədiw'=əx^w"
maybe DEM=əx^w SB-be.inside.house=əx^w
(C) "[I] guess maybe she's inside."

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT B

- (h) ʔuχ^w
go
'So, she went there.'

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT C

- (4) x^wiʔ
NEG
'Nope.' (i.e. she is not there)

- (j) x^wiʔ lə-ʔa tsi suq^waʔ-s
NEG PROG-be.located DET younger.sibling-3.POS
'Her little cousin cannot be found.'

as a result ← (test phrase)

ITERATION₄

EVENT A

- (k) "ʔu g^wə-ʔa k^wədi ləhal"
EMPHAT SUBJ-be.located DEM to.bonegame
(C) "Oh, she could be there playing bone game."

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT B

- (l) ʔuχ^w
go
'She went there.'

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT C

- (m) x^{wi}?
NEG
'Nope.' (i.e. she is not there)

as a result ← (test phrase)

- (n) x^{wi}? g^{wə}-ʔa
NEG SUBJ-be.located
'She wasn't there.'

as a result ← (test phrase)

ITERATION₅

EVENT A

- (o) “ʔu^{xw} dx^w-ʔal tiɪ ʔu-bitalə”
go PERV-LOC DET SB-play.disk.game
(C) “She went to the disk game.”

as a result ← (test phrase)

EVENT C

- (p) x^{wi}? k^{wi} suq^{'wa}?-s
NEG DET younger.sibling-3.POS
'Her little cousin was not there.'

as a result ← (test phrase)

[Crow's mother] could not find her. After a long while, she said, "Oh dear one, did you not say to pat her bottom? Well I hit her on the bottom, she died, and I tossed her into the bushes. That is where she lies."

"Go get your little cousin! Go get her!"

There are slight variations between the iterations in (240), but the cyclic pattern persists. *cicix^{wəd}* tells the crow mother where her daughter is (event A). The mother then goes to find her daughter (event B) only to discover she is not there (event C). This cyclic pattern occurs five times until *cicix^{wəd}* confesses her deeds at the end of the cyclic construction. If we apply the 'as a result' test phrase after each event A, B and C in all

five iterations, we can conceptualize each event as having precondition information for the next subsequent event. Yet, none of these events occur with $=ax^w$.

In the corpus, there are 22 propositions that express iterative events within this cyclic construction during peak episodes that do not occur with $=ax^w$. If we additionally subtract this number from total precondition information propositions without $=ax^w$, it leaves only 15 instances of precondition information without $=ax^w$ (Table 31). I have no hypothesis that unifies these examples into a distinct construction of their own.

Table 31: Unmarked propositions with precondition information minus subpart and peak cyclic events.

Description	Totals
Precondition information without $=ax^w$	94
Macro subparts without $=ax^w$	-57
Cyclic events without $=ax^w$	-22
Adjusted precondition information without $=ax^w$	15

In sum, of the 292 propositions that express precondition information, 198 (95%) are marked with $=ax^w$, and only 15 (5%) are now unaccounted for (Table 32). These results are more significant and are a better fit with the data than the earlier analysis. I thus conclude that, once the special macro-event and cyclic peak constructions have been extracted out, ‘precondition information’ provides a better fit or explanation of the function of $=ax^w$.

Table 32: Adjusted precondition information with and without $=ax^w$.

	Adjusted Precondition information
with =ax^w	198
without =ax^w	15

The next section now turns to an examination of the function of =ax^w in conversational discourse.

6.3.3 The function of =ax^w in conversational discourse

There is very little conversational discourse recorded for Lushootseed, and there are no known first language Lushootseed speakers that can generate more data. With the small amount of data available, it is difficult to construct a theory about conversational discourse that is testable and is not circular. As a result, the function of =ax^w in conversational discourse that I present in this section must be taken as a hypothesis, only.

The data for this section relies solely on the conversation recorded by Snyder. As mentioned before, the conversation was between Amelia Sneatlum (Am) and her two children, Charlie (Ch) and Mary (M) Sneatlum (section 6.1.3). The chronological order of the topics is as follows: initiating the conversation; a man named Edward; the mail; going to the store; the mail again; Charlie's shoes; the weather; people going on a trip; alcohol; trying to get the speakers to converse some more; going to the store again; a cat; a falling box; and a gathering attended by Amelia.

As stated in section 6.1.3, the conversational data consisted of 59 sentences with 37 conversational turns. 44 sentences were declaratives, 11 were interrogatives and 4 were imperatives. There were 18 tokens of =ax^w, of which, =ax^w occurred with 10 declaratives, 4 questions and 2 imperatives.

Although =ax^w occurs with declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives, it is not obligatory in any type of utterance. The option to mark or not mark these utterances creates a dichotomy that suggests that =ax^w plays a role in marking information that contrasts with unmarked statements. I hypothesize that the function of =ax^w in conversational discourse is to mark a stronger statement in relation to focus. Unmarked utterances correlate with noncontrastive focus. Noncontrastive focus has new information that the speaker assumes the hearer did not know, but it does not contradict what the hearer is assumed to believe or know. Utterances marked with =ax^w are stronger expressions. These utterances align with statements that express a contrastive focus. The focus contains information that contrasts with what the hearer is thought to believe or know.

6.3.3.1. =ax^w and declaratives

Information in unmarked conversational declaratives can express presupposed and other noncontrastive focus types of information. The speaker assumes that the information does not contradict what the hearer believes or knows. For example, in (241) Mary and Amelia have a dialog about a man named Edward. They discuss the ethnicity of Edward's spouse, the death of his children, and family ancestry. In this excerpt, none of the propositions occur with =ax^w. Each proposition can be argued to express

information that the speaker assumes the hearer either already knows or will accept as undisputable; so for my hypothesis the absence of =əx^w is expected.

(241) Lines 2-3 from Snyder (1968b, pp. 124–125)

(a) ʔabs-čəg^wəš tiil ʔədwa ʔə tiil pastəd.
to.have-wife DET Edward OBL DET Caucasian
(M) ‘Edward has a Caucasian wife.’

(b) diil-ił tsiil pastəd čəg^wəš ʔə ʔədwa .
DIECT-DERV DET Caucasian wife OBL Edward
(Am) ‘That is the Caucasian wife of Edward.’

(c) ʔəx^w-laʔb-tx^w-əb čəd tiil ʔədwa dx^w-ʔal
PRCLVTY-see-CS -M 1SG DET Edward PERV-LOC
(Am) ‘I want to see Edward about’

tiil tu-s-ʔatəbəd ʔə tiil bəd-bədəʔ-s .
DET PST-NMZR-die OBL DET DISTR-one's.child-3.POS
‘the death of his children.’

(d) ti ʔədwa g^wələ s-tudəq tiil
DET Edward CONJ NMZR-slave DET

s-capəʔ-s
NMZR-grandfather-3.POS
(Am) ‘Edward, his grandfather is a slave’

tul’ lil s-k^wuy-s .
from far NMZR-mother-3.POS
‘from his mother’s (side).’

(e) bad ʔə tə ʔədwa g^wələ tul’ ʔal siʔal .
father OBL DET Edward CONJ from LOC Seattle
(Am) ‘The father of Edward, he is from (Chief) Seattle.’

(f) g^wələ ʔax^w-cut-əb-bi-t-əb čəl bək^w čəl
CONJ PRCLVTY-say-M-REL-CTL-M 1PL all 1PL

s-tudəq
NMZR-slave
(Am) ‘And it is thought of us that we are all slaves,’

dibəl tul’ ʔal sbəlatx^w.

2PL from LOC NAME
 ‘us who are from sbəlatxʷ.’

In contrast to unmarked declaratives, conversational declaratives that occur with =əxʷ signal an assertion with contrastive focus, i.e. they express the speaker’s assumption that the focused information is contrary to what the hearer believes or knows. Example (242) is an excerpt of Amelia discussing a tribal gathering she attended on the Swinomish Reservation in Washington. Lines (242a-c) occur without =əxʷ. These lines discuss a traditional gambling game, called bone game, which is commonly played at such tribal gatherings. What is more, tribal communities from British Columbia are known as formidable competitors who often win. =əxʷ occurs in line (242d) where Amelia asserts that the bone game was *only* seen by someone named *yaličid*.

(242) Line 37 from Snyder (1968b, pp. 126–127)

(a) tu-ləhal tiil BC
 PST-play.bonegame DET British.Columbia

yəxʷ tiil dxʷliləp-abš.
 CONJ DET Tulalip-people.of
 (Am) ‘British Columbia Indians and Tulalips¹⁶ had played bone game.’

(b) gʷələ ʔu-c’əl-alikʷ ti BC .
 CONJ SB-win-CONT DET British.Columbia
 (Am) ‘And British Columbia Indians won.’

(c) ʔu-c’əl-t-əb ti dxʷ-lil-əp-abš .
 SB-win-CTL-M DET PERV-far-bottom-people.of
 (Am) ‘They beat the Tulalips.’

(d) day’-ay’ tiil yaličid tiil ʔu-laʔb-ə-d-əxʷ
 only~<REDUP> DET Name DET SB-see-LV-CTL-əxʷ
 (Am) ‘Only yaličid saw’

¹⁶ People from the Tulalip Reservation in Washington.

tiil bək'w stab .
 DET all what
 'everything.'

The absence of =əx^w in lines (242a-c) suggests that the speaker presents these propositions as information which does not contradict what the hearer would anticipate, believe or know. In contrast, the occurrence of =əx^w in line (242d) suggests that the speaker is making a stronger assertion about something which she does not expect the hearer already knows, anticipates, or will likely take for granted. In this line, Amelia indirectly conveys the fact that she, herself, did **not** witness the bone game by saying that **only** *yaličid* saw it. Up until line (242d), there is no evidence to suggest that Amelia herself did not witness the bone game. Therefore, the use of =əx^w in line (242d) expresses (some degree of) contrastive focus information. It asserts information that the speaker believes the hearer was not aware of, and that the information is contrary to what the speaker thinks the hearer may know, assume, or believe.

6.3.3.2. =əx^w and interrogatives

I have just suggested that the function of =əx^w with conversational declaratives is to make a strong assertion which may be counter to what the speaker believes the hearer holds true (section 6.3.3.1). With this idea in mind, we now change our focus to interrogatives that occur with =əx^w.

An initial inquiry made by a speaker A is not marked with =əx^w. If the initial response by speaker B is not satisfactory to speaker A, a follow up inquiry is marked with =əx^w. For example, (243) consists of two questions and answers between Mary and

Amelia about going to the store. After Amelia’s initial response that she does not want to go the store (243b), Mary makes a second inquiry as to when Amelia would like to go to the store. This second inquiry is marked with =ax^w (243c).

(243) Lines 8-11 from Snyder (1968b, pp. 124–125)

- (a) ɦu-ʔəł̥ čəx^w ʔu x^wuyub-alʔtx^w .
 FUT-come 2.SG INTEROG sell-house
 (M) ‘Are you coming to the store?’
- (b) x^wiʔ k^wi g^wə-d-s-ʔəł̥ x^wuyub-alʔtx^w
 NEG DET SUBJ-1SG.POS-NMZR-come sell-house
- ʔal ti s-ləx̣-il
 LOC DET NMZR-day.light-INCH
 (Am) ‘I am not coming to the store today.’
- (c) pəd-tab=**əx^w** čəł g^wə-ʔəł̥=**əx^w** x^wuyub-alʔtx^w .
 time.of.what=**əx^w** make SUBJ-come=**əx^w** sell-house
 (M) ‘When do you want to come to the store?’
- (d) dadatu čəł g^wə-ʔəł̥=**əx^w** x^wuyub-alʔtx^w .
 tomorrow 1.PL SUBJ-come=**əx^w** sell-house
 (Am) ‘Tomorrow, we can come to the store.’

Completive focus is declaratives that fill in gaps of information for the addressee (Dick et al., 1981, p. 60). If speaker A asks a question, the new information in the answer by speaker B is the completive focus. Both answers in (243b and d) can be perceived as providing completive focus. Since =ax^w is absent from the initial inquiry in (243a), its interrogative function cannot be solely to mark completive focus, although, it can be perceived that there is a relationship.

Inquiries that follow a declarative asking for additional information are also marked with =ax^w. For example, the excerpt in (244) is from the second discussion

between Amelia and Mary about going to the store. Line (244a) contains a proposal by Amelia followed by an inquiry by Mary (244b), which occurs with =əx^w.

(244) Lines 24-28 from Snyder (1968b, pp. 126–127)

Initial proposal:

(a) g^wə-ʔušəb-bi-t-əb čəx^w dx^w-ʔal k^wi x^wuyub-alʔtx^w
 SUBJ-pity-REL-CTL-M 2.SG PERV-LOC DET sell-house

ʔə ti ʃ^wədi? .
 OBL DET bull.head

(Am) ‘Bull Head (nickname for Snyder) might have compassion for you, regarding the store.’ (implies that “Bull Head might take you to the store”)

Inquiry for more information:

(b) s-tab=**əx^w** k^wi lu-k^wəd-ə-d čəx^w.
 NMZR-what=**əx^w** DET FUT-take-LV-CTL 2.SG

(M) ‘What will you take?’ (i.e. what do you want ??)

In (244b), Mary is expressing Amelia’s initial proposal did not provide adequate information. She uses =əx^w with the inquiry because she thinks that her desire for more information contradicts Amelia’s belief that she provided enough information. This, too, may be perceived as related to completive focus, although, there does need to be an initial declarative made by a speaker A before the inquiry made by speaker B is marked with =əx^w.

In line with viewing =əx^w as marking a contrasting focus, speaker B may be expressing an assertion that is contrary to what B assumes speaker A believes. If speaker A believes that their initial declarative expresses adequate information, then the request or inquiry for additional information by speaker B can be interpreted as (somewhat) challenging what speaker A might believe about B’s state of mind at that point in the conversation. In effect, in using =əx^w, speaker B may be communicating, “You (A) may

take it for granted that [I think] you have expressed everything clearly, but you have not; I need more information.”

6.3.3.3. =ax^w and imperatives

Continuing with our suggestion that the function of =ax^w is to make a strong assertion that the speaker assumes may contradict what the hearer believes, we now turn our attention to imperatives. Though the data is sparse, unmarked imperatives are conceivably used when the speaker believes that the hearer will not have any hesitation or unwillingness to respond favorably. The speaker thinks that the request is not unreasonable or unexpected to the hearer. For example, (245) is an excerpt from the dialog about a box that is going to fall, and the imperative is not marked with the clitic.

(245) Lines 33-34 from Snyder (1968b, pp. 124–125)

(Am) *‘The box is going to fall.’*

x^wiʔ-tx^w lə-təč tiil wəq’əb.
NEG-CS PROG-fall DET box

(Am) *‘Don’t let the box fall.’*

It is conceivable that (245) is not marked with =ax^w because the requested response of “not letting it fall” is perceived by the speaker as being reasonable. It is an expected action to prevent a nearly-falling box from falling. It is not perceived as a request that is out of the ordinary.

In contrast with unmarked imperatives, imperatives with =ax^w occur when the speaker believes there will be hesitation or unwillingness within the mind of the hearer.

The speaker might expect the hearer will even find the request unreasonable or out of the ordinary. It contradicts what the hearer would expect or hold true. Example (246) is an imperative that occurs with =əxʷ. This is the first line in the conversation. Amelia utters this imperative in order to get her children speaking.

(246) Line 1 from Snyder (1968b, pp. 124–125)

gʷəlapu=əxʷ kʷi ʔu-ta-tab-əb .
 2PL=əxʷ DET SB-DISTR-what-M
 (Am) ‘You folks will be who talk.’

Conceivably, =əxʷ occurs in (246) because Amelia senses hesitation or unwillingness by her children to converse in the given situation. The conversation is being recorded, and it is done so by someone outside of their community. Therefore, Amelia may have used =əxʷ on her request for her children to participate in this unusual and perhaps somewhat uncomfortable situation because it out of ordinary and is counter to what her children expect.

We have now presented evidence that =əxʷ is a focus marker for declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. This concludes the discussion on the function of =əxʷ in conversational discourse. I now summarize our findings in Section 6.4.

6.4 Summation of findings of =əxʷ and cross-linguistic comparisons

I began our discussion of =əxʷ in section 6.2 by briefly reviewing previous analyses. These posited that =əxʷ is a marker of a ‘change of situation’. Although these analyses may have seemed compelling at first glance, this analysis is not supported by the

totality of the corpus data gathered for this study. In contradiction to this previous position, ‘change of situation’ propositions occur frequently without =əx^w, and conversely, propositions with =əx^w often fail to express a change of situation.

Rather than marking a ‘change of situation’, data for this study support the analysis that =əx^w is a polysemous discourse marker. In (traditional) narratives, our hypothesis is that =əx^w marks precondition information for subsequent events. Precondition information expresses a facilitating or enabling situation for a subsequent event or condition to occur. To test this hypothesis, the (English) phrase *as a result* was inserted between a proposition with =əx^w and a subsequent situation. If the narrative made sense with the test phrase inserted, then the marked proposition was considered to be precondition information for that subsequent situation.

Recall that there are two Lushootseed constructions that do express precondition information but where =əx^w does not occur. The first involves subpart events of macro events. Subpart events of a macro event are those that can be perceived as being more tightly interrelated than regular events. These subpart events do not occur with =əx^w. The second construction that does not occur with =əx^w are events that are part of an iterative construction that occurs during peak episodes of the discourse. This complex discourse construction involves a set of events that occur repetitively, for a set number of iterations, until there is a resolution. Even when these cyclic events can be perceived as reporting precondition information, they do not occur with =əx^w.

As mentioned in Section 1, narrative discourse can be conceptualized as necessarily involving events and situations that exist along a plot line. The major elements of the plot line typically include exposition, inciting moment, developing

conflict, climatic events, denouement, resolution, final suspense and conclusion. The main event line (MEL) of the plot moves the narrative forward chronologically in time (though not all eventive propositions move things forward chronologically). Macro events on the main event line contain subparts that are tightly interconnected.

Other languages that are reported as having markers that signal different elements or informational statuses along the plot line include Lachixio Zapotec, Cajonos Zapotec, Kickapoo, Totonac, Aguacatec, Rabinal Achf (Jones & Jones, 1979, pp. 9–18) and Yagua (Payne, 1992, p. 387). Lachixio and Cajonos Zapotec have formal grammar that differentiates between background information, MEL events, and climatic events. Kickapoo, Totonac and Aguacatec have a binary marking system that distinguishes between ordinary and more important information, within both MEL events and background information. Rabinal Achf utilizes constructions to distinguish between background information and MEL events. In Yagua, there is a morpheme that marks ordinary MEL events (as well as some types of contrastive information). The marked ordinary events contrast with unmarked peak MEL events and unmarked subevents of macro events. All of these systems employ morphosyntactic devices to convey types of information along the plot.

Against such findings for other languages, one may question whether $=ax^w$ plays a similar role in terms of distinguishing types of conceptual elements along the plot line. We have seen that $=ax^w$ does not occur within subparts of macro events, nor does it occur with repetitive peak events. It can occur with all other types of MEL events, but not if the MEL event is void of precondition information. It can also be used with information that does not advance the narrative chronologically forward. Therefore, $=ax^w$ cannot be

analyzed as a marker for distinguishing between types of MEL events. However, $=ax^w$ does play a role in distinguishing between different types of information in discourse. It marks propositions with precondition information, as long as those are not part of a macro event or iterative peak event. In this sense, Lushootseed is very much like other languages that have systems for marking different types of conceptual elements that make up a narrative.

With minimal data for conversational discourse and lack of first language speakers to generate more data, I have no robust method for testing our hypotheses about the function of $=ax^w$ in dialog. Therefore, my position can only be presented as a tentative hypothesis. Nevertheless, the hypothesis is that in conversation, utterances marked with $=ax^w$ are stronger assertions. These utterances align with statements that express a contrastive focus. The focus contains information that contrasts with what the hearer is thought to believe or know. In conversation, declaratives marked with $=ax^w$ are statements with information that is contrary to what the speaker thinks the hearer believes or knows. Interrogatives occur with $=ax^w$ when speaker B desires more information than what was provided in a preceding statement by a speaker A. Speaker B arguably uses $=ax^w$ because they think that speaker A believes they had provided enough information, but the request for more information contradicts this presupposition. Imperatives occur with $=ax^w$ when the speaker assumes that the request will be perceived as unusual or out of the ordinary.

How $=ax^w$ developed diachronically to code these two distinct functions is unclear. The aspect of focus and precondition information can be perceived as related. As discourse marker, precondition information brings ‘focus’ to propositions that provide

essential information for subsequent events. Cross linguistically, there are many languages that attest to having a morpheme that marks focus. Conversely, I could not find any other language with a morpheme described as marking precondition information. Thus, it is likely that the initial function of $=\partial x^w$ was limited to focus, and then this function evolved into marking precondition information in narrative. Discovering the mechanism by which a single morpheme could extend its meaning from some flavor of focus to ‘strong (counter-expectation) statement’ in dialog, but to ‘precondition information’ in narrative must await further study.

VII CONCLUDING REMARKS

7.1 Importance of natural speech analysis

Natural speech analysis is not the only methodology needed for linguistic analysis, but by the contents of this dissertation, it has shown to be invaluable. My initial intention was not to use any one particular methodology. My focus in beginning this body of work was to gain a better understanding as the function of key Lushootseed elements. The reason I utilized a natural speech analysis approach is simple: previous analyses using more conventional methods produced results that were often in conflict with data obtained from discourse. Previous works were well founded on data obtained from elicitation, as well as examples extracted from texts. However, by examining the data in isolation, their conclusions did not always consider the discourse environment in which they occurred in. Nor did they take into account the patterns of which these constructions distributed within discourse. This is why natural speech analysis is necessary. It provides data from actual communication, and it does not rely on just a speaker's intuition.

I am not discounting the value of elicitation and other more conventional methods for forming an initial understanding about a language. These methodologies utilize the speaker's knowledge of vocabulary and word order, and their intuition on the function of some grammatical constructions that are valuable. However, speaker intuition is often limited. Data from actual communication often suggests that the function of certain morphosyntactical constructions are beyond the speaker's understanding. This does not mean that speakers do not know or understand how constructions are used. On the

contrary, their fluency of the language can be excellent. They can know exactly when and how to use a construction to express complex forms of communication. What is often lacking is their full ability to explain why a construction is utilized. Because this occurs, data from actual communication provides more reliable information not obtainable through elicitation.

The process of using a natural speech analysis involves examining where the element in question occurs within discourse. The next step is to evaluate the status of propositions that do occur relative to the discourse. In other words, analyze why the speaker said the proposition in its specific way, at the precise time in relation to discourse. From there, a hypothesis can be formulated. Based upon the hypothesis, actual text counts can be tabulated that provide data for a quantitative analysis. As this dissertation has shown, the results of this process are revealing. Although my hypotheses are subjective in nature and cannot account for all accounts of morphosyntactical construction, the quantitative results support insights not obtainable through more conventional methods.

7.2 Summation of findings

This dissertation examined some key elements in Lushootseed using a natural speech analysis approach. This methodology of analyzing data obtained from actual communication has revealed important information as to the function of these elements that was previously not fully understood.

In Chapter 3, I presented a historical and synchronic analysis of the distribution of three constructions in four Central Salish (CS) languages: Squamish, Halkomelem, Klallam and Lushootseed. These constructions are defined by the occurrence of modern reflexes of the Proto-Salish middle marker **-m* ‘MIDDLE (M)’ and one of two valence-increasers (VI), **-t* ‘CONTROL (CTR)’ and **-nəw* ‘LIMITED CONTROL (LC)’ (reconstructed in Gerdtz & Hukari 2006:44). The three constructions each conditioned a different argument structure: V-VI conditioned two unmarked (core) arguments, V-M conditioned an unmarked (core) A with an oblique P, and V-VI-M conditioned an unmarked (core) P with an oblique A. Previous analyses of these constructions differed as to the transitivity status of the V-M and V-VI-M constructions. Gerdtz and Hukari (2006) presented V-M as an antipassive and V-VI-M as a passive in Halkomelem, and Montler (2010) proposed that the Klallam V-VI-M is a passive. Text counts in Lushootseed supported the position that V-M functioned as an antipassive, but the V-VI-M construction is distributed in discourse, and particularly when different persons of A and P interact with each other, their function did not match that of traditional passive voice. This is especially prominent in Klallam, where the V-VI-M was the only construction available for coding interactions in which third person agents act on first or second person patients ($3 \rightarrow \text{SAP}$). For both Squamish and Halkomelem $3 \rightarrow \text{SAP}$ V-VI-M was the only construction that could occur without restrictions and in Lushootseed it was more frequent than would be expected if its voice were passive. Given that the V-VI-M construction was the preferred way of expressing $3 \rightarrow \text{SAP}$, it could be perceived that these languages are well on the way to creating a person-based hierarchical system, an analysis inspired by Mithun (2006, 2012).

Furthermore, this dominance of the V-VI-M construction in 3→SAP for all four Coast Salish languages has conditioned the diachronic passive into an active voice.

In Chapter 4, I present an in depth analysis on dependent clause constructions, and clausal nominalization. Previous structural linguistic work on Lushootseed had laid out an insightful analysis of how nominalization has a morphosyntactic function (Hess, 1995, pp. 85, 97, 103–106, 109–113). In these analyses, complement clauses were always nominalized. Adverbial clauses that express augmented information in a prepositional phrase were also always nominalized. Relative clauses that modify a head noun of a clause core or oblique argument were finite, while all other types of head nouns generated a nominalized dependent clause. Any variation from these structures was not analyzed as a dependent clause or it was explained as an occurrence of rapid or relaxed speech and did not have a linguistic function (Hess, 1995, p. 104). There had been analyses that posit that the function of the nominalizer was related to focus. These analyses were confined to contrastive focus between elements within a sentence, and have been confined to adverbial predicate constructions and negated clauses ((Bates, 1997, p. 11), (Hess, 1995, p. 96)). In addition, Beck posited that clausal nominalization reifies an event (Beck, 2000b, p. 122)

Chapter 4 posited a different analysis that built upon these previous analyses. It expanded the definition of dependent clauses to include finite forms that were previously not considered dependent clauses, and it included clauses that were discounted as rapid or relaxed speech. It also showed that there is a third form of dependent clause where the predicate is finite but the S argument is demoted to a genitive form. In addition, Chapter

4 redefine the focus function of nominalization within a sentence and expanded its role to include focus in terms of discourse marking.

In Chapter 5, I presented evidence that the *ɔu-* verbal prefix is a space-builder used to distinguish a mental space or a mental space element when compared to other spaces and their elements. Various analyses have theorized different functions of *ɔu-*. They include theories that suggest that it marks a declarative, completive aspect, or perfectivity (Bates et al., 1994a, p. 9; Hess, 1967a, p. 25, 1995, pp. 49–54; Hess & Hilbert, 1978a, pp. 101–102, 1978b, p. 102; Snyder, 1968b, p. 14; Tweddell, 1950, pp. 18–19, 33–34). Evidence from the text corpus, though, suggested that the distribution of *ɔu-* does not fall neatly within any of these categories. However, when *ɔu-* is analyzed as a space-builder the results were promising. *ɔu-* is not obligatory for marking all spaces. Rather, *ɔu-* is used to mark a higher degree of focus of a mental space or an element over unmarked spaces and elements. The reasons for marking a higher degree of focus include: the distinctiveness of an event; the centrality of the event in relation to the discourse; or to mark an emphatic expression by the speaker.

In Chapter 6, I examined the function of the *=ax^w* clitic. This clitic occurs quite frequently with various grammatical constructions and forms of information. *=ax^w* is not limited by, nor is it obligatory with any of Lushootseed's tense or aspectual morphology. Previous analyses claim that *=ax^w* marks a situation that has changed (Bates, 1999, p. 1; Hess, 1967a, pp. 57–58). Its function was perceived as marking a current action or state that is different from a former condition. Rephrasing, *=ax^w* marked 'a change of situation'. Upon closer look, these analyses began to unravel, though, for two reasons. First, *=ax^w* occurred with situations that have not changed from a former condition.

Second, changes of situation occurred without =ax^w. The fact that =ax^w was not required to mark all situations that change, and that =ax^w also occurs with propositions that do not express a change of situation, suggests that its function is different than what was previously posited.

Rather than a marker of a change of situation, Chapter 6 provided evidence that =ax^w is polyfunctional. In narrative discourse, propositions marked with =ax^w reported an important precondition for a subsequent outcome or result. In conversational discourse, =ax^w marked a stronger statement in terms of counter focus, i.e. it marked information that the speaker assumes is counter to what the hearer believes or knows.

7.3 Future research

This body of work does not address all of the many Lushootseed morphosyntactic structures that play a role in discourse. For example, there are constructions with uninflected bare verbs. Their functions within macroevents and cyclic patterns during peaks events were covered in Chapter 0. However, they occur in other discourse environments that were not covered.

There is also a conjunction that has been analyzed as *g^wəł* plus the progressive *lə-* that attaches to a following word. I use Snyder's (1968b) approach and analyze this as a separate conjunction *g^wəłə*. This conjunction is different than the conjunction *g^wəł*, and natural speech patterns of what environments these two conjunctions are used in should reveal why one is used over the other.

In addition, two conjunction constructions occur that contrast: *g^wəl huy* ‘and then’ versus *huy g^wəl* ‘then and’. Previous analysis has not resolved the function of these two constructions. Like *g^wəl* and *g^wələ*, a natural speech analysis should reveal the functions of these two constructions.

In terms of phonology, initial research on intonation patterns has indicated that there is a contrast between two forms of noun phrase stress: primary stress can occur upon the determiner; or primary stress can occur upon the noun. Natural speech analysis should provide insight as to the function of these two contrasting stress patterns.

Although exploration of the many different complexities of Lushootseed is incomplete, this body of work provides strong evidence that a natural speech analysis approach does work. this methodology reveals insights needed to understand how a language functions. Indeed, not only does this dissertation provide a process for evaluation of elements of Lushootseed, it can also serve as a guide for analysis of morphosyntactical constructions within other languages.

APPENDIX A: ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Symbol/ Abbreviation	Gloss	Symbol/ Abbreviation	Gloss
*	Proto-Salish	CLM	Klallam
**	ungrammatical	CONJ	conjunction
?	unknown	CONN	connector
–	unattested	COS	change of situation
X → Y	X acting on Y	CS LANGUAGES	Central Salish languages
=	clitic	CS	causative
~◇, ◇~	reduplication	CTL	control transitive
◇	infix	DEM	demonstrative
()	silent phoneme	DET	determiner
1PL	1 st person plural	DIM	diminutive
1SG	1 st person singular	DR	dur
2PL	2 nd person plural	DT	de-transitive
2SG	2 nd person singular	EMPHAT	emphatic
3PL	3 rd person plural	EPTH	epenthetic
3PRS	3 rd person	FUT	future
3SG	3 rd person singular	GEN	genitive
3A	3 rd person agent	HUR	Halkomelem
3P	3 rd person patient	IMPF	imperfective
A	agent or experiencer of a 2 participant situation	INCH	inchoative
AGG.MOD	aggravated mode	INTROG	interrogative
AUX	auxiliary	LC	limited control transitive
BEN	benefactive	LOC	locative

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS (continued)

Symbol/ Abbreviation	Gloss	Symbol/ Abbreviation	Gloss
LUT	Lushootseed	S	single core argument of a one participant situation (actor or under goer)
LV	linking vowel	SAP	Speech Act Participant
M	middle	SB	space builder
MEL	main event line	SG	singular
NEG	negative	SL	Southern Lushootseed
NL	Northern Lushootseed	SM	subject marker
NMZR	nominalizer	SQU	Squamish
OBJ	object	STAT	stative
OBL	oblique	SUBJ	subjunctive
OM	object marker	V	verb
P	patient or stimulus of a 2 participant situation	VI	valence-increaser
PERV	pervasive		
PL	plural		
PI	precondition information		
RL	realis		
REFLX	reflexive		
POS	possessive		
PRO	pronoun		
PST	past		

APPENDIX B: LUSHOOTSEED TEXTS

The Elk Who Married a Bear

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded in the 1950s

At (location unknown), Washington

- (1) ʔəsłali(l) < tiil > tiil kʷagʷiçəd gʷəl hiqʷabidəxʷ tsiil sčətxʷəd gʷəl kʷəddaddəxʷ.

ʔəs-łali(l) <tiil> tiil kʷagʷiçəd gʷəl
STAT-live <DET> DET elk CONJ

hiqʷ-ab-bi-d-əxʷ tsiil s-čətxʷəd gʷəl
fall.for-DERV-REL-CTL-PI DET NMZR-black.bear CONJ

kʷəd-ad-əxʷ
take-DERV-PI

‘There lived an elk that got stuck on Bear and he took her (as a companion).’

- (2) łałliləxʷ ʔə tsi sčətxʷəd čəgʷəšs.

łałlil-əxʷ ʔə tsi s-čətxʷəd čəgʷəš-s
live-PI OBL DET NMZR-black.bear wife-3.POS

‘He lived with Bear as his wife.’

- (3) ʔu-ləxub tiil kʷagʷiçəd ʔu-ləxub ʔu-ləxub gʷələ ʔibəšəxʷ txʷəl tił čʷit ʔə tił spaʔłxad

ʔu-ləxub tiil kʷagʷiçəd ʔu-ləxub
HAB-hunt.in.forest/mtns DET elk HAB-hunt.in.forest/mtns

ʔu-ləxub gʷələ ʔibəš-əxʷ dxʷ-ʔal tił čʷit
SB-hunt.in.forest/mtns CONJ walk-PI PERV-LOC DET close

ʔə tił s-paʔłxad
OBL DET NMZR-swamp

‘Elk hunted and hunted for big game. He was hunting when he walked up close to a swamp.’

- (4) ʔu... ʔəsłaxʷəxʷ tiil qʷilt.

ʔu-... ʔəs-ʔaχ^w-əχ^w tiil q'ilt
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT STAT-grow-PI DET skunk.cabbage
 'Oh! The skunk cabbage was growing!'

- (5) cuudəχ^w tsiil čəg^wəš, "ʔu-... ɦuʔuχ^wəχ^w čəχ^w, čəχ^w ɦuʔuləχ^w ɦuɦič'ib ʔə tiil q'ilt."

cu-u-d-əχ^w tsiil čəg^wəš ʔu-... ɦu-ʔuχ^w-əχ^w
 tell-LV-CTL-PI DET wife EMPHAT-EMPHAT FUT-go-PI

čəχ^w čəχ^w ɦu-ʔuləχ^w ɦu-ɦič'-ib ʔə _tiil q'ilt
 2SG 2SG FUT-gather FUT-cut-DERV OBL _DET skunk.cabbage
 'He told the wife, "Oh! You're gonna go. You're gonna gather skunk cabbage by cutting off their tops."

- (6) ʔaʔadəχ^w.

ʔaʔ-a-d-əχ^w
 cut.off-LV-CTL-PI
 'Cut them off.'

- (7) ʔuχ^wtx^wəχ^w tsiil čəg^wəš ʔə ti ɦup.

ʔuχ^w-tx^w-əχ^w tsiilčəg^wəš ʔə ti ɦup
 go-CS-PI DET wife OBL DET early.morning
 'He took his wife early in the morning.'

- (8) ləcuud ti dišəʔ, "ɦuʔuləχ^wəd čəχ^w ti čəχ^wə t'uk^wtx^w čələ q'əlsəd čələ ʔələd.

lə-cu-u-d ti dišəʔ ɦu-ʔuləχ^w-ə-d
 PROG-tell-LV-CTL DET this.one FUT-gather-LV-CTL

čəχ^w ti čəχ^w-ə t'uk^w-tx^w čələ-ə
 2SG DET 2SG-CONJ go.home-CS 1PL-CONJ

q'əls-ə-d čələ-ə ʔələd
 cook.on.rocks-CONJ-CTL 1PL-CONJ eat-DERV

'As they went along, he told this one, "You're going to gather it, and you're gonna bring it home and we'll cook it on hot rocks and eat it."

- (9) ɦaʔł ti.

ɦaʔł ti

good DET
“It’s good.”

- (10) ʔulə́xəx^w tsiil̩ sčətx^wəd hič’ibəx^w.

ʔulə́x-əx^w tsiil̩ s-čətx^wəd hič’-ib-əx^w
gather-PI DET NMZR-black.bear cut-DERV-PI
‘Bear gathered it by cutting off the tops.’

- (11) ʔulə́xəx^w ʔulə́xəx^w ʔulə́xəx^w g^wələ pu···k^wab g^wələ g^wədiləx^w.

ʔulə́x-əx^w ʔulə́x-əx^w ʔulə́x-əx^w g^wələ -·-·-puk^wab _ g^wələ g^wədil-əx^w
gather-PI gather-PI gather-PI CONJ -EMPHAT-pile CONJ sit-PI
‘She gathered and gathered and gathered it into a big pile, and she sat down.’

- (12) cutəx^w, “ɦut’uk’^w g^wələq’^wu(ʔ)ədəx^w.”

cut-əx^w ɦu-t’uk’^w g^wələ-q’^wuʔ-ə-d-əx^w
say-PI FUT-go.home SUBJ-REP-together-LV-CTL-2SG.S
‘She said, “What you are able to put together will go home.”

- (13) q’^wu(ʔ)ədəx^w g^wələ huy.

q’^wuʔ-ə-d-əx^w g^wələ huy
together-LV-CTL-PI CONJ do
‘She put it together and (then) she did this.’

- (14) cutəbidəx^w, “ʔəsχid šə g^w(ə)səshuys.”

cut-ə-bi-d-əx^w ʔəs-χid šə
say-EPH-REL-CTL-PI STAT-how DET

g^wə-s-ʔəs-huy-s
SUBJ-NMZR-STAT-COP-3.POS
‘She wondered, “What is this like?”

- (15) huy c’əbiq’idəx^w g^wəl laʔbtx^wəx^w.

huy c’əbiq’-i-d-əx^w g^wəl laʔb-tx^w-əx^w
CONJ scratch-LV-CTL-PI CONJ see-CS-PI
‘Then she scratched it to see.’

(16) ǰʷu···l' ʔəsč'uč'(u)laʔ.

ǰʷul'-···- ʔəs-č'u-č'ułaʔ
just-EMPHAT- STAT-DIM-leaf
'It was just small leaves.'

(17) bił'idəxʷ gʷələ bił'idəxʷ gʷələ pukʷab.

bił-i-d-əxʷ gʷələ bił-i-d-əxʷ gʷələ pukʷab
smash-LV-CTL-PI CONJ smash-LV-CTL-PICONJ pile
'So, she smashed and smashed them into a pile.'

(18) ləčiləxʷ tił kʷaagʷičəd dəxʷ-ləxub gʷəl, "ʔu··· xʷi(?) (ʔ)u s(?)al ti."

ləčil-əxʷ tił kʷaagʷičəd dəxʷ-ləxub gʷəl
arrive-PI DET elk reason.for-hunt.in.forest/mtns CONJ
ʔu··· xʷiʔ ʔu s-ʔal ti
EMPHAT-EMPHAT NEG INTEROG NMZR-LÖC 3PRS
'Elk arrived from hunting and "Oh! Is she not here?"'

(19) kʷaʔ ʔubakʷł.

kʷaʔ ʔu-bakʷł
SUBJ SB-hurt
'She must've gotten hurt.'

(20) ʔuxʷəxʷ txʷəl ti təlawiləxʷ čad sułəgʷł tsiil čəgʷəš.

ʔuxʷ-əxʷ dxʷ-ʔal ti təlawil-əxʷ čad
go-PI PERV-LOC 3PRS run-PI where
s-ʔu-ləgʷ-l tsiil čəgʷəš
NMZR-SB-leave-INFLCT DET wife
'He went there, running to where the wife was left.'

(21) liluʔxʷ gʷələ luud.

lil-uʔxʷ gʷələ lu-u-d
far-still CONJ hear-LV-CTL
'He was still far away when he heard her.'

(22) ʔut'ilib.

ʔu-t'ilib

SB-sing

'She was singing.'

(23) “stab(a)ʔ kə duyə duyə duyə kʷi sʔəʔəd kə duyə duyə duyə ʔə šə kʷagʷiçəd kə duyə duyə duyə.”

s-tab-aʔ kə duyə duyə duyə
NMZR-what-CLASS.MEM song.vocals

kʷi s-ʔəʔəd kə duyə duyə duyə ʔə šə kʷagʷiçəd
DET NMZR-eat-DERV song.vocals OBL DET elk

kə duyə duyə duyə
song.vocals

“What kind of duyə duyə duyə food is this kə duyə duyə duyə of Elk kə duyə duyə duyə?”

(24) kʷ(i) stab(a)ʔ kə duyə duyə duyə kʷi sʔəʔəd ʔə šə kʷagʷiçəd kə duyə duyə duyə.

kʷi s-tab-aʔ kə duyə duyə duyə kʷi
DET NMZR-what-CLASS.MEM song.vocals _ DET

s-ʔəʔəd ʔə šə kʷagʷiçəd kə duyə duyə duyə
NMZR-eat-DERV OBL DET elk song.vocals

“What kind of duyə duyə duyə food is this of elk kə duyə duyə duyə?”

(25) hayə!”

hayə!”

INTERJ

'hayə! (interjection)'

(26) ma···t'ilib tsiil.

ma···-t'ilib tsiil
ADD-EMPHAT-sing DET

'Again! She sang.'

- (27) tiləx^w sl(əʔ)əʔ ʔə tiʔ k^waag^wič g^wələ cut(t)əb ʔə ti, “ʔa… tsi qəl:əb.
 tiləx^w s-lə-ʔəʔ ʔə tiʔ k^waag^wič _g^wələ cut-t-əb
 finally NMZR-PROG-come OBL DET elk __ CONJ say-CTL-M
 ʔə ti ʔa… tsi qəl-əb
 OBL DET EMPHAT-EMPHAT DET bad-M
 ‘Finally Elk came and he said to her, “Ah! You bad woman!”
- (28) “x̣^wul’əx^w <ʔusəbu- > b(ə)uχiχəd.”
 x̣^wul’-əx^w <ʔusəbu> bə-ʔu-x̣iχəd
 just-PI <FALSE> ADD-SB-do.AGG.MOD
 ‘Just doing something (wrong) again!’
- (29) habu
 habu
 INTERJ
 ‘habu.’
- (30) g^wələldəx^w tsiil čəg^wəšs.
 g^wələl-d-əx^w tsiil čəg^wəš-s
 injure-CTL-PI DET wife-3.POS
 ‘He assaulted his wife.’
- (31) t’(ə)q’apədəx^w.
 təq’-ap-ə-d-əx^w
 slap-bottom-LV-CTL-PI
 ‘He slapped her on her rump.’
- (32) l(ə)χiilč tsi sšət^wəd lə(ʔ)uχ^wəx^w <ləs- > ləšx^wt’əq’ap.
 ləχ-ilč tsi s-čət^wəd lə-ʔuχ^w-əx^w __ <ləs>
 stiff-knee DET NMZR-black.bear PROG-go-PI_ <FALSE>
 lə-šx^w-təq’-ap
 PROG-PER V-slap-bottom
 ‘Bear stood up, going with a slapped rump.’

(33) tib tutx^wpu:sap.

tib tu-tx^w-pus-ap
physical.effort PST-PERV-throw-bottom
'She had a rump that had been hit hard.'

(34) ʔuʔibəš t'uk^w.

ʔu-ʔibəš t'uk^w
SB-walk go.home
'She walked home.'

(35) “ndil(ə)x^w (ʔ)udaay' l(u)adsʔuʔələd sušiabacəs ʔə tił ʔuduk^wtx^w čəx^w.”

dił-əx^w ʔu-day' lu-ad-s-ʔu-ʔələd
DEICT-PI SB-only FUT-2SG.POS-NMZR-SB-eat-DERV

s-ʔu-ši-abac-əs ʔə tił ʔu-duk^w-tx^w čəx^w
NMZR-SB-emerge-solid.obj-3.S OBL DET SB-ruin-CS 2SG

“This is just what you will eat when what you have ruined emerges in the spring.”

(36) t'uuk^w tiil k^waag^wičəd.

t'uuk^w tiil k^waag^wičəd
go.home DET elk
'Elk went home.'

(37) Now, that's the end.

Blue Jay and His Grandmother

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded in the 1950s

At (location unknown), Washington

- (1) ʔəsłalli(1) tiɪł kaykay yəx^w tsi kayəʔs.

ʔəs-łalli(1) tiɪł kaykay yəx^w tsi kayəʔ-s
STAT-live DET Steller.blue.jay CONJ DET grandmother-3.POS
There lived Blue Jay and his grandmother.

- (2) ʔi···stəb hilg^{wəʔ} yəx^w tsiɪł kayəʔs.

ʔistəʔ-···-b hilg^{wəʔ} yəx^w tsiɪł kayəʔ-s
happen-EMPHAT-M 3PL CONJ DET grandmother-3.POS
This is about what happened to him and his grandmother.

- (3) tuʔibəšəx^w tiɪł tuqadadidəx^w tsiɪł kayəʔs ʔə ti s-x^wiyəqs.

tu-ʔibəš-əx^w tiɪł tu-qada-did-əx^w tsiɪł kayəʔ-s
PST-walk-PI DET PST-steal-CTL-PI DET grandmother-3.POS

ʔə ti s-x^wiyəq-s
OBL DET NMZR-abdomen.fat-3.POS
He, who had stolen some abdomen animal fat from his grandmother, had been walking.

- (4) g^{wə}lə ʔibəšəx^w.

g^{wə}lə ʔibəš-əx^w
CONJ walk-PI
And he walked.

- (5) ʔi···bəšəx^w g^{wə}l ləčiləx^w tx^{wə}l tiɪł ʔulaʔb^wtx^{wə}x^w tiɪł ʔut'iq^wi(1).

ʔibəš-···-əx^w g^{wə}l ləčil-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiɪł
walk-EMPHAT-PI CONJ arrive-PI PERV-LOC DET

ʔu-laʔb-tx^w-əx^w tiɪł ʔu-t'iq^w-il
SB-see-CS-PI DET SB-smoke-INCH
He walked a long, long ways until he came to a place where he could see smoke.

- (6) habu.

- habu
INTERJ
Habu.
- (7) ʔut'iq'wi(1) tudi?
ʔu-t'iq'w-il tudi?
SB-smoke-INCH over.there
Something was smoking over there.
- (8) ʔu...ǰʷ.
ʔuǰʷ-...
go-EMPHAT
He went!
- (9) ʔucutəb, “hədiw’.”
ʔu-cut-əb hədiw’
SB-tell-M inside.house
He was told, “Come inside.”
- (10) “hədiw’əxʷ.”
hədiw’-əxʷ
inside.house-PI
“Come inside.”
- (11) ʔəsgʷədiləxʷ ʔəbsʔibac tsiil luluǰ ʔə tsiil haʔl sɫaday?
ʔəS-gʷədil-əxʷ ʔabs-ʔibac tsiil lu-luǰ ʔə tsiil
STAT-sit-PI have-grand.child DET DERV-elder OBL DET
haʔl s-ɫaday?
good NMZR-woman
An old woman was sitting there who had a granddaughter who was a beautiful woman.
- (12) ʔu.
ʔu
INTERJ
Oh!
- (13) ɫəçiləxʷ gʷəl cuudəxʷ.
ɫəçil-əxʷ gʷəl cu-u-d-əxʷ
arrive-PI CONJ tell-LV-CTL-PI

(20) cuudəx^w tsiif lulu^λ, “ʔu… cayck^w čəd sʔubədiʔ.”

cu-u-d-əx^w tsiif lu-lu^λ ʔu-… cayck^w
 tell-LV-CTL-PI DET DERV-elder INTERJ-EMPHAT very

čəd s-ʔubədiʔ
 1SG NMZR-big.game.hunter
 ‘He told the elder, “Oh! I am a great hunter.”’

(21) “š^wul’-…-ul’ sk^wasəb tiif dawil liif ti sš^wəs yəx^w ti šəbəlč’iʔ.”

š^wul’-…-ul’ s-k^wasəb tiif daw-il liif
 just-EMPHAT-DERV NMZR-hide DET just.now-INCH by.what.means

ti s-š^wəs yəx^w ti šab-əlč’iʔ
 DET NMZR-fat CONJ DET dry-meat
 “There are just an incredible amount of animal hides right now, (and) from these there is fat and dried meat.”

(22) həbu.

həbu
 INTERJ
 Habu.

(23) liif čəd λug^wəlald tə sk^wag^wič(əd), tə sqig^wəc, tə bək^w stab.”

liif čəd λu-g^wəlald tə s-k^wag^wičəd tə
 by.what.means 1SG HAB-kill-CTL DET NMZR-elk DET

s-qig^wəc tə bək^w s-tab
 NMZR-deer DET all NMZR-thing
 “They are from me killing elk, deer and everything.”

- (24) cutəbəx^w ʔə tsiil lulu^l tsiil ʔibac, “^lub čəx^w luʔulə^lcut tx^wəl ti č’əč’aš dx^wsx^wiʔx^wiʔ čəl luʔələd ʔə k^w(i) haʔl, ʔux^wiʔx^wiʔəl.”

cut-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tsiil lu-lu^l tsiil ʔibac ^lub
 tell-CTL-M-PI OBL DET DERV-elder DET grand.child fine

čəx^w lu-ʔulə^l-ə-cut dx^w-ʔal ti č’əč’aš
 2SG FUT-gather-LV-CTL.REFLX PERV-LOC DET child

dx^w-s-x^wiʔx^wiʔ čəl lu-ʔələd ʔə k^wi haʔl
 PERV-NMZR-forage 1PL FUT-eat-DERV OBL DET good

ʔu-x^wiʔx^wiʔ-əl
 SB-forage-1PL.S

The elderly woman told her granddaughter, “You should put yourself together for this boy who is a hunter, and we will eat well with what we forage.”

- (25) lə^liləx^w g^wələ t’uk’^wəx^w ti skaykay.

lə^l-il-əx^w g^wələ t’uk’^w-əx^w ti s-kaykay
 light-INCH-PI CONJ go.home-PI DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay
 The next day, Blue Jay went home.

- (26) g^wahəx^w tsi s^wadəyʔ.

g^wa-h-əx^w tsi s-^wadəyʔ
 accompany-LV-PI DET NMZR-woman
 The woman went with him.

- (27) ʔabšitəbəx^w tsiil č’əč’aš ʔə tsiil kayəʔs ʔə tiil t’(ə)q’^walšəd yəx^w tiil ʔusəx^wədəg^wəš tiil bayac ʔug^wiid ʔə(s)šab.

ʔab-ši-t-əb-əx^w tsiil č’əč’aš ʔə tsiil kayəʔ-s
 give-DAT-CTL-M-PI DET child OBL DET grandmother-3.POS

ʔə tiil t’əq’^w-al-šəd yəx^w tiil
 OBL DET break-LOC-foot CONJ DET

ʔu-səx^w-ə-dəg^w-əš tiil bayac ʔu-g^wi-i-d
 SB-by.means.of-EPTH-inside-CTL DET meat SB-request-LV-CTL

ʔəs-šab
 STAT-dry

Her grandmother gave the girl a tumpline and something to package any requested, dry meat.

(28) həbu.

həbu
INTERJ
hebu.

(29) ʔu...x̣ʷəx̣ʷ gʷi...

ʔu x̣ʷ-...-əx̣ʷ gʷi...
go-EMPHAT-PI INTERJ
They went a long, long ways.

(30) č'iti(l) tx̣ʷəl ti ʔalʔal ʔə ti skaykay.

č'it-il dx̣ʷ-ʔal ti ʔalʔal ʔə ti
near-INCH PERV-LOC DET house OBL DET

s-kaykay
NMZR-Steller.blue.jay
They were getting close to Blue Jay's house.

(31) huy, təlawiləx̣ʷ ti skaykay.

huy təlawil-əx̣ʷ ti s-kaykay
CONJ run-PI DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay
Then Blue Jay ran.

(32) təlawil gʷələ hədiw' gʷələ ʔ(ə)pagʷil ʔal ti ʔaʔ(a)gʷids gʷələ ʔayəm gʷələ ʔayəm gʷəl ʔayəm.

təlawil gʷələ hədiw' gʷələ ʔəp-agʷil ʔal ti
run CONJ inside.house CONJ underneath-put.self.in.action LOC DET

ʔa-ʔagʷid-s gʷələ ʔayəm gʷələ ʔayəm gʷəl ʔayəm
DIM-sleeping.mat-3.POS CONJ laugh CONJ laugh _CONJ laugh
He ran and went into the house and got under his little sleeping mat and laughed and laughed and laughed.

(33) cutəb ʔə tsiif kayəʔs, “ʔu x̣idəx̣ʷ čəx̣ʷ.”

cut-t-əb ʔə tsiif kayəʔ-s ʔu-x̣id-əx̣ʷ čəx̣ʷ
say-CTL-M OBL DET grandmother-3.POS SB-how-PI 2SG
His grandmother said to him, “What's wrong with you?”

(34) ǰa···yəb skaykay.

ǰayəb-··· s-kaykay
laugh-EMPHAT NMZR-Steller.blue.jay
Blue Jay laughed hard.

(35) hay, ǰəciləx^w tsiif čəg^wəšis.

hayǰəcil-əx^w tsiif čəg^wəš-il-s
CONJ arrive-PI DET wife-INCH-APPL
Then the one who had become his wife in order to be with him, arrived.

(36) ǰxilč šalbix^w.

ǰxilč šalbix^w
stand outside
'She was standing outside.'

(37) cutəbəx^w ʔə tsiif luluǰ, "ǰəxid g^w(ə)adsləʔəǰ."

cut-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tsiif lu-luǰ ǰə-xid
say-CTL-M-PI OBL DET DERV-elder PROG-why

g^wə-ad-s-lə-ʔəǰ
SUBJ-2SG.POS-NMZR-PROG-come
The old lady said to her, "Why are you coming here?"

(38) "ǰəxid."

ǰə-xid
PROG-why
"Why?"

(39) "hiwi(l) t'uk^w."

hiwil t'uk^w
go.ahead go.home
"Go on home."

(40) "ǰuyubi(l) čəx^w."

ǰu-yub-il čəx^w
FUT-starve-INCH 2SG
"You are going to starve."

(41) "ʔuq'albid čəx^w ʔə tə stab qələb sbədc̣."

ʔu-q'al-bi-d čəx^w ʔə tə stab _qəl-əb s-bədc̣
SB-deceive-REL-CTL 2SG OBL DET thing _bad-M NMZR-lie

“He deceived you with those no-good lies.”

- (42) “x^wiʔ k^wi stab səx^w(h)aʔɿ.”

x^wiʔ k^wi stab səx^w-haʔɿ
NEG DET thing by.means.of-good
“There is not a thing that makes him good.”

- (43) “diɿ səshuys tiɿ.”

diɿ s-ʔəs-huy-s tiɿ
DEICT NMZR-STAT-COP-3.POS 3PRS
“That is how he is.”

- (44) “ǰ^wul’ ʔuǰayəb ʔək’ik’(ə)q.”

ǰ^wul’ ʔu-ǰayəb ʔəs-k’i-k’əq
just SB-laugh STAT-DIM-lie.on.back
“He just laughs as he lies around on his back.”

- (45) “x^wiʔ k^wi sʔuǰiǰəds.”

x^wiʔ k^wi s-ʔu-ǰiǰəd-s
NEG DET NMZR-SB-do.AGG.MOD-3.POS
“He doesn’t do a thing.”

- (46) həbu.

həbu
INTERJ
‘həbu.’

- (47) x^wiʔ sta···b ʔusuk^wax^wədubs.

x^wiʔ s-tab-··· ʔu-s-ʔu-k^wax^w-ə-du-b-s
NEG NMZR-thing-EMPHAT HAB-NMZR-SB-help-EPTH--LC-M-3.POS
“There is not a thing that helps him.”

(48) ʔuqadaditəb ʔə šə sduk^w sǰ^wiyəqs g^wələ ʔibəšəx^w g^wəl təl ʔayucut tx^wəl ʔa čad.”

ʔu-qada-di-t-əb ʔə šə s-duk^w
SB-steal-INFLECT-CTL-M OBL DET NMZR-bad

s-ǰ^wiyəq-s g^wələ ʔibəš-əx^w g^wəl _ təl
NMZR-abdomen.fat-3.POS CONJ walk-PI CONJ true

ʔay-u-cut dx^w-ʔal ʔa čad
??-LV-CTL.REFLX PERV-LOC LOC where

“He stole some sǰ^wiyəqs and walked way off into the distance by himself somewhere.”

(49) t^u···k^wəx^w tsi č^uəč^uəš g^wələ pusud tsi kayəʔs ʔə tiil tust^uəq^walšədtubs.

t^u·uk^w····əx^w tsi č^uəč^uəš g^wələ pus-u-d tsi
go.home-EMPHAT-PI DET child CONJ throw-LV-CTL DET

kayəʔ-s ʔə tiil
grandmother-3.POS OBL DET

tu-s-t^uəq^w-al-šəd-tu-b-s
PST-NMZR-break-LOC-foot-CS-M-3.POS

The girl went right home and threw the tumpline that was made for her at her grandmother.

(50) “ʔuʔaydx^w k^wi sʔubədiʔ diləx^w səx^w(h)aʔl huy səx^wuʔələd.”

ʔu-ʔay-dx^w k^wi s-ʔubədiʔ dilə-əx^w səx^w-haʔl
FUT-find-LC DET NMZR-big.game.hunter DEICT-PI by.means.of-good

huy səx^w-ʔu-ʔələd
CONJ by.means.of-SB-eat-DERV

“(We)’ll find a hunter. That’s how it’s gonna be good and how (we)’ll eat.”

(51) “kay^ukay əw^uə š(ə) ʔal ti.”

kay^ukay əw^uə š(ə) ʔal ti
Steller.blue.jay EXCL DET LOC DET

“That one, indeed, is a big talker who is there.”

- (52) “ʔəskʰəqəxʷ ʔuχayəb ʔal tiɪ ʔalʔals hilgʷ(əʔ) (ʔ)ɪmimuʔan tulʰ ti sgʷaʔčəl.”
 ʔəs-kʰəq-əxʷ ʔu-χayəb ʔal tiɪ ʔalʔal-s hilgʷəʔ
 STAT-lie.on.back-PI SB-laugh LOC DET house-3.POS 3PL
 ʔɪl-mimuʔan tulʰ ti s-gʷaʔ-čəl
 PART-small from DET NMZR-one's.own-1PL.POS
 “He lays on his back, laughing at their house, which was smaller than our own.”

- (53) habu.

habu
 INTERJ
 habu.

- (54) hay, huyəxʷ taʔ.

hay huy-əxʷ taʔ
 CONJ finish-PI DEICT
 ‘Now, that’s the end.’

- (55) That’s the end.

Mink and the Questing Boy

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded in the 1950s

At (location unknown), Washington

- (1) ʔəsləʔli(1) tiʔ c'əbəlqid yəx^w tsil kayəʔs g^wəl čələx^w (y)iidaad č'it ʔə tiʔ stut(u)lək^w.
 ʔəs-ləʔli(1) tiʔ c'əbəlqid yəx^w tsil kayəʔ-s g^wəl
 STAT-live DET mink CONJ DET grandmother-3.POS CONJ

čələ-x^w yiidaad č'it ʔə tiʔ s-tu-tulək^w
 make-PI fish.trap near OBL DET NMZR-DIM-river
 There lived Mink and his grandmother, and he made a fish trap by the creek.

- (2) cqa...qid ʔudag^waal ʔə tiʔ k^wəʔps ʔə tiʔ bək^w stab.
 cqaqid-... ʔu-dag^w-aal ʔə tiʔ k^wəʔps ʔə tiʔ
 always-EMPHAT SB-inside-? OBL DET trout OBL DET

bək^w s-tab
 all NMZR-thing
 There was always trout of all kinds inside of it.

- (3) ʔudək^w tiʔ luʔələdəx^w huy g^wəl ʔuk^wəd^zədupəx^w tiʔ bədəʔ ʔə ti
 š(x^w)x^wayʔx^wayəm.
 ʔu-dək^w tiʔ lu-ʔələ-dəx^w huy g^wəl ʔu-k^wəd^z-ədup-əx^w
 SB-inside DET FUT-eat-DERV-PI CONJ CONJ SB-quest-ground-PI

tiʔ bədəʔ ʔə ti š(x^w)-x^wayʔx^wayəm.
 DET one's.child OBL DET PERV-type.of.spirit.power??
 What was inside of it was what they were going to eat, but then there was this one's
 child questing for š(x^w)x^wayʔx^wayəm.

- (4) ʔuk^wəd^zədupuʔx^w ʔuχ^w χ^wul' tuqada ʔə tiʔ sʔələd.
 ʔu-k^wəd^z-ədup-uʔx^w ʔuχ^w χ^wul' tu-qada ʔə tiʔ s-ʔələ-d
 SB-quest-ground-still go just PST-steal OBL DET NMZR-eat-DERV
 He was still questing when he'd go, just stealing food.

- (5) lələʔuχ^w g^wələba...k^wud tiʔ g^wələsqada g^wələ < bə-...> bət'uk^w.
 lə-lə-ʔuχ^w g^wələ-lə-bək^w-...-u-d
 REP-PROG-go SUBJ-REP-take.what.one.finds-EMPHAT-LV-CTL

tiʔ g^wələ-lə-s-qada g^wələ-lə-bə-bə-t'uk^w
 DET SUBJ-REP-NMZR-steal SUBJ-REP-ADD-ADD-go.home
 He would repeatedly go and take the things that he stole (and) going home.

- (6) ti···ləx^w (?ə)sʔəyʔdx^ws tiif yidad.
 tiələx^w-··· ʔəs-ʔəyʔ-dx^w-s tiif yidad
 finally-EMPHAT STAT-find-LC-3.POS DET fish.trap
 Eventually, he found out about the fish trap!
- (7) ʔəyʔdx^wəx^w tiif yidad , g^wəl huy ʔuqadaʔəx^w ʔə tiif.
 ʔəyʔ-dx^w-əx^w tiif yidad g^wəl huy ʔu-qadaʔ-əx^w ʔə tiif
 find-LC-PI DET fish.trap CONJ CONJ SB-steal-PI OBL DET
 He found the fish trap, and then he stole those [fish].
- (8) ʔuḥ^wtx^wəx^w tx^wəl tiif səx^wg^wəq^wəlsəd ʔuq^wəldəx^w lələk^wədəx^w.
 ʔuḥ^w-tx^w-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiif
 go-CS-PI PERV-LOC DET
 səx^w-g^wə-q^wəls-ə-d ʔu-q^wəld-əx^w
 by.means.of-SUBJ-cook.on.rocks-LV-CTL SB-cook-CTL-PI
 lə-lək^w-ə-d-əx^w
 FUT-eat.up-LV-CTL-PI
 He took it to where he could cook it on rocks in a covered pit to cook what he was going to eat up.
- (9) x^wi(?)əx^w sut^wit^wəbs.
 x^wiʔ-əx^w s-ʔu-t^wit^wəb-s
 NEG-PI NMZR-SB-bathe-3.POS
 He wasn't bathing.
- (10) ʔu··· ʔələdiləb.
 ʔu-··· ʔələ-əd-il-əb
 INTERJ-EMPHAT eat-DERV-INCH-M
 Oh! He broke his fast.
- (11) ʔuy šubəx^w.
 ʔuy šub-əx^w
 CONJ disappear-PI
 Then he disappeared.
- (12) x^wi···ʔ ləčis.
 x^wiʔ-··· ləčil-s
 NEG-EMPHAT arrive-APPL
 He didn't come for them.
- (13) x^wiʔ.
 x^wiʔ
 NEG

No he didn't.

- (14) x^wa... < cut cut cutəb > cutəb ʔə tiil c'əbəlqid tsiil kayəʔs, “ʔu kayəʔ.
x^wa... <cut cut cut-əb> cut-t-əb ʔə tiil c'əbəlqid tsiil
EMPHAT <FALSE> say-CTL-M OBL DET mink DET

kayəʔ-s ʔu kayəʔ
grandmother-3.POS INTERJ grandmother
Enthusiastically, Mink told his grandmother, “Oh, grandma.”
- (15) ʔulaʔbdx^wəx^w čəd tiil yidad stab əw'ə tiil ʔuqadadid.”
ʔu-laʔb-dx^w-əx^w čəd tiil yidad stab əw'ə tiil ʔu-qada-did
FUT-see-LC-PI 1SG DET fish.trap what EXCL DET SB-steal-CTL
“I'm going to try to look at the fish trap and see what damned thing is stealing from
it.”
- (16) “ʔa... x^wiʔ g^w(ə)adshuyi(l) g^wəsʔistəʔ.”
ʔa... x^wiʔ g^wə-ad-s-huy-il
INTERJ-EMPHAT NEG SUBJ-2SG.POS-NMZR-COP-INCH

g^wə-s-ʔistəʔ
SUBJ-NMZR-like
“Ahhh! Don't you become like that!”
- (17) tuʃ^w ʔ(u)ascuucg^wəs.
tuʃ^w ʔu-ʔəs-cut-c-g^wəs
just HAB-STAT-say-APP-pair
They just always talked back and forth about this.
- (18) “ʔuk^wədʔədupuʔx^w g^wəl huy diʔ t'uk^w ʔuk^wədalik^w ʔə tiil sčədadx^w.”
ʔu-k^wədʔ-ədup-uʔx^w g^wəl huy diʔ t'uk^w ʔu-k^wəd-alik^w
SB-quest-ground-still CONJ CONJ DEICT go.home SB-take-CONT

ʔə tiil s-čədadx^w
OBL DET NMZR-salmon
“There is someone still questing for power and this is the one who goes home,
taking the salmon with him.”
- (19) “ʔa... ʔəs-dʔaʔus, kiyəʔ,
ʔa... ʔəs-dʔaʔ-us kiyəʔ
INTERJ-EMPHAT STAT-confuse appearance grandmother
“Ah! He is doing wrong, grandma!”
- (20) hag^wəx^w č(ə)x^w ʔuyubi(l).
hag^w-əx^w čəx^w ʔu-yub-il
ago-PI 2SG FUT-starve-INCH

“You’ll be hungry for a long time.”

- (21) x^w(i?)ax^w k^w(i) ɬ(u)adsuʔəłəd.”
x^wiʔ-əx^w k^wi ɬu-ad-s-ʔu-ʔəł-əd
NEG-PI DET FUT-2SG.POS-NMZR-SB-eat-DERV
“You won’t eat.”
- (22) ʔald.
ʔal-d
leave.alone-CTL
“Leave him alone.”
- (23) ʔald.
ʔal-d
ignore-CTL
“Ignore him.”
- (24) x^wiʔ l(əʔ)ug^wəlalšibəł ʔə k^wə bədəʔ.
x^wiʔ lə-ʔu-g^wəlal-š-i-b-əł ʔə k^wə bədəʔ
NEG PROG-SB-kill-DAT-M-A.INTERST OBL DET one's.child
“You don’t kill someone’s son for your own selfish purposes.”
- (25) x^wiʔ l(əʔ)ug^wəlaldšibəł.”
x^wiʔ lə-ʔu-g^wəlal-d-š-i-b-əł
NEG PROG-SB-kill-CTL-DAT-M-A.INTERST
“You don’t kill him for your own selfish purposes.”
- (26) “ʔa… d^zaʔus kiyəʔ.
ʔa… d^zaʔ-us kiyəʔ
INTERJ-EMPHAT confuse-appearance grandmother
“Ah! He’s doing wrong, grandma!”
- (27) ʔutag^wəx^wuʔx^w čəd.”
ʔu-tag^wəx^w-uʔx^w čəd
SB-hungry-still 1SG
“I am still hungry.”
- (28.1) ʔa…
ʔa…
INTERJ-EMPHAT
Ah!
- (28.2) hu… wačbidəx^w.
hu… wač-bi-d-əx^w
INTERJ-EMPHAT watch-REL-CTL-PI
Oh, he watched for him!

- (29) laʔbədəx^w ʔuχidtx^{wəs}.
 laʔb-ə-d-əx^w ʔu-χid-tx^w-əs
 look-LV-CTL-PI SB-do-CS-3.S
 He looked to see what he was going to do to it.
- (30) ʔug^{wədiləx^w} c'əbəlqid tiif sulaʔbədəx^w ti···ləx^w suʔəʔ.
 ʔu-g^{wədil-əx^w} c'əbəlqid tiif s-ʔu-laʔb-ə-d-əx^w
 SB-sit-PI mink DET NMZR-SB-watch-LV-CTL-PI
 tiləx^w··· s-ʔu-ʔəʔ
 finally-EMPHAT NMZR-SB-come
 Mink sat there, watching until finally he came.
- (31) ʔəʔtx^{wəx^w} ta.
 ʔəʔ-tx^w-əx^w ta
 come-CS-PI 3PRS
 He brought something.
- (32) ʔa···ʔ g^{wələ} g^{wəci}(l) g^{wələ} dəg^{wəš} ʔal tiif šx^{wi}ʔaχ^wads tiif k^{wə}ʔps huy g^{wəl}
 t'uk^wtx^w ʔuχ^wtx^w.
 ʔəʔ··· g^{wələ} g^{wəc}-il g^{wələ} dəg^w-əš ʔal tiif
 come-EMPHAT CONJ wade-INCH CONJ inside-CTL LOC DET
 šx^w-ʔi-ʔaχ^wad-s tiif k^{wə}ʔps huy g^{wəl} t'uk^w-tx^w
 PERV-DIM-basket-3.POS DET trout CONJ CONJ go.home-CS
 ʔuχ^w-tx^w
 go-CS
 He exuberantly came and waded into that water, put the trout into his little basket,
 and then brought what he was taking back to where he was staying.
- (33) ʔuq^{wəldəx^w} ʔal k^{wə}di? čad səx^whaʔ.
 ʔu-q^{wəl-d-əx^w} ʔal k^{wə}di? čad səx^w-haʔ
 SB-cook-CTL-PI LOC DEM where by.means.of-nice
 He cooked it at some place used to make it nice.
- (34) ʔa , χ^wul'əx^w k^{wə}d^zəʔəds!
 ʔa χ^wul'-əx^w k^{wə}d^z-əʔəd-s
 INTERJ just-PI quest-food-3.POS
 Ah! He was just questing for food!
- (35) ʔuləχ tiif c'əbəlqid ti c'əχəbid.
 ʔuləχ tiif c'əbəlqid ti c'əχəbid
 gather DET mink DET yew
 Mink gathered yew wood.

- (36) čəł tayisəd.
 čəł tay-il-s-əd
 make come.raid-INCH-APPL-INSTR
 He made implements to go after him to fight with him.
- (37) čəł t'isəd.
 čəł t'isəd
 make arrow
 He made arrows.
- (38) huyud tiif dəg^wic.
 huy-u-d tiif dəg^w-ic
 make-LV-CTL DET inside-spine
 He made a quiver.
- (39) huyud tiif c'ac'us.
 huy-u-d tiif c'ac'us
 make-LV-CTL DET bow
 He made a bow.
- (40) hnu... huy wačbidəx^w.
 hnu... huy wač-bi-d-əx^w
 INTERJ-EMPHAT CONJ watch-REL-CTL-PI
 Oh! Then he watched for him!
- (41) hay, ʔəłəx^w six^w.
 hay ʔəł-əx^w six^w
 CONJ come-PI usual
 Then he came, as usual.
- (42) ʔəłəx^w six^w.
 ʔəł-əx^w six^w
 come-PI usual
 He came as usual.
- (43) ʔa...ł tiif g^wəl ləčis.
 ʔəł... tiif g^wəl ləčil-s
 come-EMPHAT DET CONJ arrive-APPL
 He exuberantly came and arrived to get it!
- (44) ləči(l) g^wələ t'uc'udəx^w.
 ləčil g^wələ t'uc'-u-d-əx^w
 arrive CONJ shoot-LV-CTL-PI
 He arrived and he shot him.

- (45) t'uk'wtxwəxw g'wəl k'wič'idəxw.
 t'uk'w-txw-əxw g'wəl k'wič'-i-d-əxw
 go.home-CS-PI CONJ butcher-LV-CTL-PI
 'He took him home and butchered him up.'
- (46) ščulidxw.
 šč-ali-dxw
 ?-DERV-LC
 He managed to ____ ('stretch it' ??).
- (47) šu···b ti č'ač'aš.
 šub-··· ti č'ač'aš
 disappear-EMPHAT DET child
 The boy vanished!
- (48) šubəxw.
 šub-əxw
 disappear-PI
 He disappeared.
- (49) x'wi?əxw k'w(i) ləč'i(l).
 x'wi?-əxw k'wi ləč'il
 NEG-PI DET arrive
 He did not arrive.
- (50) g'wəč'təbəxw g'wəl g'wəč'təbəxw g'wəl g'wəč'təbəxw g'wəl g'wəč'əd.
 g'wəč'-t-əb-əxw g'wəl g'wəč'-t-əb-əxw g'wəl g'wəč'-t-əb-əxw
 search-CTL-M-PI CONJ search-CTL-M-PI CONJ search-CTL-M-PI
 g'wəl g'wəč'-ə-d
 CONJ search-LV-CTL
 They searched and searched and searched and searched for him.
- (51) ?u duli.
 ?u duli
 INTERJ ?
 Oh! ____.
- (52) ?əsščulcib šə c'bəlqid ?ə šə sk'wak'w(a)səb ?al šə š(ə)qalatxw.
 ?əs-šč-alc-ib šə c'bəlqid ?ə šə s-k'wa-k'wasəb
 STAT-?-MV-DERV DET mink OBL DET NMZR-DIM-hide
 ?al šə šəq-alatxw
 LOC DET above-house
 Mink _____ a small skin into the roof of the house.

- (53) g^wədil k^wəda?
g^wə-dil k^wəda?
SUBJ-DEICT DEM
‘‘That could be him.’’
- (54) tiil g^wədil g^wəl k^wədalik^w.
tiil g^wə-dil g^wəl k^wəd-alik^w
DET SUBJ-DEICT FM get-CONT
‘‘That could be him that he got.’’
- (55) ʔu^x ti c’əbəlqid !
ʔu^x ti c’əbəlqid
go DET mink
Mink went!
- (56) ‘‘ʔu ʔəs^xid k^wi g^wəsəx^w(h)aydx^wčəł.’’
ʔu ʔəs-^xid k^wi g^wə-səx^w-hay-dx^w-čəł
INTERJ STAT-how DET SUBJ-by.means.of-know-LC-1PL.POS
‘‘Oh! How can we find out about him?’’
- (57) ‘‘ʔu... ^xwul’ huy čəł ʔalʔal čəx^wə g^wig^wi čəx^wə g^wiid.
ʔu-... ^xwul’ huy čəł ʔalʔal čəx^w-ə g^wi-g^wi
INTERJ-EMPHAT just do make house 2SG-CONJ DISTR-invite
čəx^w-ə g^wi-i-d
2SG-CONJ invite-LV-CTL
‘‘Oh! Just build a house, and you have a potlatch and you invite him.’’
- (58) <tiə gu-ti > tiil g^wəl ʔəydx^w haydx^w k^w(i) shuys.’’
<tiə gu-ti> tiil g^wəl ʔəy-dx^w hay-dx^w k^wi s-huy-s
<FALSE> 3PRS CONJ find-LC know-LC DET NMZR-do-3.POS
‘‘That is a way to find him to learn what he does.’’
- (59) tələx^w (ʔ)əsʔistə?
təl-əx^w ʔəs-ʔistə?
true-PI STAT-like
That is truly what they did.
- (60) q^wuʔəx^w tiil ʔaciltəlbix^w.
q^wuʔ-əx^w tiil ʔaciltəlbix^w
gather-PI DET person
The people got together.

- (61) qa < ti ... > tiil c'ac'us , < tiil ... > tiil ləbəč tiil duu(k^w)q^wid < tiil ... > tiil š(ə)qayəčid.
 qa <ti...> tiil c'ac'us <tiil...> tiil lə-bəč tiil
 many <FALSE> DET bow <FALSE> DET PROG-put DET
 duuk^w-q^wid <tiil...> tiil šəq-ay-ačič-d
 knife-head <FALSE> DET above-LNK-hand-INSTR
 There were lots of bows; objects to put arrow heads on; implements held high in the hand.
- (62) ba...k^w stab səx^wχaλəčəd.
 bək^w-... stab səx^w-χaλ-ač-ə-d
 all-EMPHAT thing by.means.of-cut.off-head-LV-CTL
 There were all sorts of objects to hit someone in the head with.
- (63) q^wu? tiil.
 q^wu? tiil
 put.together DET
 They were put together.
- (64) cutəbəx^w , “g^wiitəb čəx^w lu?uχ^wəx^w k^w(i) adsq^wu?q^wu?”
 cut-əb-əx^w g^wi-i-t-əb čəx^w lu-?uχ^w-əx^w k^wi
 tell-M-PI invite-LV-CTL-M 2SG FUT-go-PI DET
 ad-s-q^wu?-q^wu?
 2SG.POS-NMZR-DISTR-companion
 They told him, “You are invited to go with your companions.”
- (65) q^wu?təb ?ə ti c'əbəlqid ti k'adayu? ti sg^wig^widəq , <ti...> ti sqaac/sk'/qaac/d^z ti t'ilq'čiči? tiil lup'ulabtəbəx^w tiil swatix^wtəd g^wəl g^wəx^w(i?)aax^w g^wəstələwiləx^w ?ə ti sučalad tiil c'əbəlqid.
 q^wu?-t-əb ?ə ti c'əbəlqid ti k'adayu? ti
 gather-CTL-M OBL DET mink DET rat DET
 s-g^wi-g^wi-d-əq <ti...> ti sqaac/sk'/qaac/d^z ti
 NMZR-DISTR-invite-CTL-DERV <FALSE> DET ? DET
 t'ilq'čiči? tiil lu-p'ul-ab-t-əb-əx^w tiil s-watix^wtəd g^wəl
 mole DET FUT-trise-DERV-CTL-M-PI DET NMZR-land CONJ
 g^wə-x^wi?-əx^w g^wə-s-tələwil-əx^w ?ə ti
 SUBJ-NEG-PI SUBJ-NMZR-run-PI OBL DET
 s-?u-čal-a-d tiil c'əbəlqid
 NMZR-SB-chase-LV-CTL DET mink
 Mink gathered the rats who were part of the invitation, _____ the moles who were

going to soften the ground so that the people who were going to chase Mink won't be able to run.

- (66) ʔaabəx^w.
 ʔa-əb-əx^w
 exist-M-PI
 There they were.
- (67) ʃ^wul'əx^w ʔudidəb ʔubibəč hilg^wəʔ.
 ʃ^wul'-əx^w ʔu-diʔ-diʔ-əb ʔu-bi-bəč hilg^wəʔ
 just-PI SB-DERV-other.side-M SB-DIM-put 3PL
 They were just over there, kind of falling down.
- (68) x^wi...ʔ ʔu...ʃ^w təlawis c'əbəlqid.
 x^wiʔ-... ʔuʃ^w-... təlawil-s c'əbəlqid
 NEG-EMPHAT go-EMPHAT run-APPL mink
 They cannot go run after Mink.
- (69) diʔ tuspig^wəds səx^whuy.
 diʔ tu-s-pig^wəd-s səx^w-huy
 DEICT PST-NMZR-spirit.dance-3.POS by.means.of-do
 This is what he had spirit danced and sung that enabled him to do things.
- (70) tupig^wədəx^w ʔə <ti> tiʔ dx^wsʔiyalqəbsəx^w.
 tu-pig^wəd-əx^w ʔə <ti> tiʔ dx^w-s-ʔiyalqəb-s-əx^w
 PST-spirit.dance-PI OBL <FALSE> DET PERV-NMZR-monster-3.POS-PI
 He sung a power song that possessed him with a warrior spirit.
- (71) “ʔut'uc'əbəx^w təč ləla...y šəbad ʔə ʔa š(ə) x^wayʔx^wayʔəli.
 ʔu-t'uc'-əb-əx^w təč ləliʔ-... šəbad ʔə ʔa
 SB-shoot-M-PI because.of foreign-EMPHAT enemy OBL LOC
 šə x^wayʔ-x^wayʔ-əli
 DET DISTR-hat-place.of
 “They shoot, because they are foreign enemies, where the hats are placed.”
- (72) g^waʔutəč'əd ta... šəbad ʔə ʔa š(ə) x^wayʔx^wayʔəli.
 g^wə-ʔu-təč'-əd ta... šəbad ʔə ʔa šə
 SUBJ-SB-point-LV-CTL 3PRS-EMPHAT enemy OBL LOC DET
 x^wayʔ-x^wayʔ-əli
 DISTR-hat-place.of
 “You can point them there, enemy, where the hats are placed.”

- (73) ʔut'uc'əbəx^w təč ləla...y šəbad ʔə ʔa š(ə) x^wayʔx^wayʔəli."
 ʔu-t'uc'-əb-əx^w təč ləliʔ-... šəbad ʔə ʔa šə
 SB-shoot-M-PI because.of foreign-EMPHAT enemy OBL LOC DET

x^wayʔ-x^wayʔ-əli

DISTR-hat-place.of

"They shoot, because they are foreign enemies, where the hats are placed."

- (74) hi lu^ˈli(1).
 hi lu^ˈil
 yes old-INCH
 He became much older.

- (75) hi lu^ˈli(1) tə qələb tiif ʔug^wəlg^wəlald šə sqaqag^wəl.
 hi lu^ˈil tə qəl-əb tiif ʔu-g^wəl-g^wəlald-d šə
 yes old-INCH DET bad-M DET SB-DISTR-kill-CTL DET

s-qaqag^wəl

NMZR-high.class.child

The bad thing that was killing off the high class children became much older.

- (76) huy ʔalšəx^w tiif tusʔic'əb ʔə tiif tuč'ač'əš.
 huy ʔal-š-əx^w tiif tu-s-ʔic'əb ʔə tiif tu-č'ač'əš
 CONJ don-CTL-PI DET PST-NMZR-blanket OBL DET PST-child
 Then he donned the blanket of the deceased boy.

- (77) x^wayʔsbiid.
 x^wayʔs-bi-d
 hat-REL-CTL
 He made a hat with it.

- (78) ʔa^ˈləčtəb tiif c'əbəlqid.
 ʔa^ˈləč-t-əb tiif c'əbəlqid
 cut.off-head-CTL-M DET mink
 Mink was hit in the head.

- (79) ʔu^ˈx^w sax^wəb.
 ʔu^ˈx^w sax^w-əb
 go run.hard-M
 He went dashing off.

- (80) x^wiʔ k^w(i) sk^wədubs.
 x^wiʔ k^wi s-k^wəd-du-b-s
 NEG DET NMZR-catch-LC-M-3.POS
 He could not be caught.

- (81) ʔuʂubutəbəx^w tiil swaq'waq'.
 ʔu-ʂub-u-t-əb-əx^w tiil s-waq'waq'
 SB-disappear-LV-CTL-M-PI DET NMZR-frog
 They made the frogs disappear.
- (82) ʔu saʔsax^wəb tx^wəl q^wuʔ.
 ʔu saʔ-sax^w-əb dx^w-ʔal q^wuʔ
 INTERJ DIM-run.hard-M PERV-LOC water
 Oh. They hopped to the water.
- (83) x^wiʔ k^wi dəč'uʔ č'ax^wadub.
 x^wiʔ k^wi dəč'uʔ č'ax^w-a-dx^w-b
 NEG DET one club-LV-LC-M
 Not one of them was clubbed.
- (84) bə...k^w həliʔ tiil ʔalʔalš ʔə ti c'əbəlqid.
 bək^w-... həliʔ tiil ʔal-ʔalš ʔə ti c'əbəlqid
 all-EMPHAT alive DET DISTR-cross.sex.sibling OBL DET mink
 Every single one of Mink's sisters were alive.
- (85) hay ləg^wiltx^w.
 hay ləg^w-il-tx^w
 CONJ leave-INCH-CS
 But they were forced to leave.
- (86) tuʔi...ʔistəbəx^w.
 tu-ʔi-...-ʔistəʔ-b-əx^w
 PST-DISTR-EMPHAT-happen-M-PI
 That is what had happened to them.
- (87) huy g^wəl tučələx^w (ʔ)alʔal luhuy ləg^wəlaltəb.
 huy g^wəl tu-čələ-əx^w ʔalʔal lu-huy lu-g^wəlal-t-əb
 CONJ CONJ PST-make-PI house FUT-do FUT-kill-CTL-M
 And then they had built themselves a house so they could the kill him.
- (88) čələx^w (ʔ)alʔal g^wəl huyudəx^w tiil q'əbus.
 čələ-əx^w ʔalʔal g^wəl huy-u-d-əx^w tiil q'əb-us
 make-PI house CONJ make-LV-CTL-PI DET threaten-appearance
 They made a house, and they made it appear threatening.
- (89) huyudəx^w tiil səx^wuyabuk^wtx^w.
 huy-u-d-əx^w tiil səx^w-ʔu-yabuk^w-tx^w
 make-LV-CTL-PI DET by.means.of-SB-fight-CS
 They made it so that they could fight him.

- (90) padac ti šəg^wšəg^wl laʔbədtx^wəx^w ʔəʎəx^w tutaytəbš.
 padac ti šəg^w-šəg^wl laʔb-ə-d-tx^w-əx^w ʔəʎ-əx^w
 ten DET DISTR-door see-LV-CTL-CS -PI come-PI
 tu-tay-t-əb-s
 PST-come.raid-CTL-M-3.POS
 There were ten doors to see him coming, he whom they had come to do battle with.
- (91) ʔuk^wil ʔəs^wədəd tiil.
 ʔu-k^wil ʔəs-k^wəd-ə-d tiil
 SB-peek STAT-grasp-LV-CTL DET
 Those that had hold of things were peering out.
- (92) ʔucutcut , “tul’aħad tiil k^wədalcəd.”
 ʔu-cut-cut tul'-aħad tiil k^wəd-alc-ə-d
 SB-DISTR-say from-side.appendage DET take-arm-LV-CTL
 They said, “From his sides, take hold of him by the arms.”
- (93) huy g^wələ hədiw’.
 huy g^wələ hədiw’
 CONJ CONJ inside.house
 And then he came inside.
- (94) sax^wəb tx^wəl tiil dəč’u? šəg^wl.
 sax^w-əb dx^w-ʔal tiil dəč’u? šəg^wl
 run.hard-M PERV-LOC DET one path
 He dashed off to one door.
- (95) ləli?
 ləli?
 different
 He was different.
- (96) ʔayiʔləx^w ʔuyəcəbtx^w k^wədiʔi.
 ʔayiʔləx^w ʔu-yəc-əb-tx^w k^wədi-ʔi
 pretend-PI SB-tell-M-CS DEM-DERV
 His pretensions were informing them that he was some sort of thing.
- (97) g^wələ k^wil tiil.
 g^wələ k^wil tiil
 CONJ peek DET
 And they peered at him.

- (98) ləliʔəx^w tiil bəsx^wayʔs ʔə ti c'əbəlqid.
 ləliʔ-əx^w tiil bə-s-x^wayʔs ʔə ti c'əbəlqid
 different-PI DET ADD-NMZR-hat OBL DET mink
 Mink put on a hat that was different.
- (99) hiq(a)bustx^w.
 hiqab-us-tx^w
 too-appearance-CS
 It made him appear too big.
- (100) bəhədiw'.
 bə-hədiw'
 ADD-inside.house
 He came inside the house again.
- (101) bəʔuχ^w g^wəl bəʔaləš tiil dəc'uʔ cuł tx^wəl tiil dəc'uʔ fix^wiləx^w.
 bə-ʔuχ^w g^wəl bə-ʔal-š tiil dəc'uʔ cuł dx^w-ʔal
 ADD-go CONJ ADD-don-CTL DET one ? PERV-LOC
 tiil dəc'uʔ fix^w-il-əx^w
 DET one three-INCH-PI
 Again, he went and again donned one _____ for (another) one, for the third time.
- (102) laʔb.
 laʔb
 look
 They looked at him.
- (103) ʃ^wul'əx^w ʔəs-laʔbtəb ʔə tiil tug^wəlaldilul.
 ʃ^wul'-əx^w ʔəs-laʔb-t-əb ʔə tiil tu-g^wəlal-d-ilul
 just-PI STAT-look-CTL-M OBL DET PST-kill-CTL-go.in.order.to
 Those who had come to kill him just looked at him.
- (104) ʔuχ^w.
 ʔuχ^w
 go
 He went.
- (105) ləči(l).
 ləčil
 arrive
 He arrived.

- (106) ʎəci(l) tiɪ bədəč'u? šəgʷɪ.
 ʎəciɪl tiɪ bə-dəč'u? šəgʷɪ
 arrive DET ADD-one path
 He got to another door.
- (107) ʎu... ʎəciɪləxʷ tɪxʷəl tiɪ dəč'u? šəgʷɪ.
 ʎu-... ʎəciɪl-əxʷ dxʷ-ʎal tiɪ dəč'u? šəgʷɪ
 INTERJ-EMPHAT arrive-PI PERV-LOC DET one door
 Oh! He came to this one door.
- (108) ʎu <...> ʎaluʎxʷ qa ti qələb.
 ʎu ʎal-uʎxʷ qa ti qəl-əb
 INTERJ LOC-still many DET bad-M
 Oh. There was still a lot of those bad ones there.
- (109) qaʎuʎxʷ əw'ə ti səxʷ(?)aas.
 qa-uʎxʷ əw'ə ti səxʷ-ʎa-a-s
 many-still EXCL DET by.means.of-exist-LV-3.POS
 Indeed! They were there because there were still a lot of them.
- (110) “xʷiʎəxʷ gʷəsgʷəlaldčəʎ.
 xʷiʎ-əxʷ gʷə-s-gʷəlald-d-čəʎ
 NEG-PI SUBJ-NMZR-kill-CTL-1PL.POS
 “We can't kill them.”
- (111) ʎu tuχʷ ʎubəxʷ ʎəsʎistəʎ šə staləʎləp.
 ʎu tuχʷ ʎub-əxʷ ʎəs-ʎistəʎ šə s-taləʎ-ləp
 INTERJ just fine-PI STAT-like DET NMZR-nephew-2PL.POS
 ‘Oh! It's just fine that your nephew is as such.’
- (112) ʎaad t'ət'əxʷ.”
 ʎa-a-d t'ət'əxʷ
 put-LV-CTL ?
 _____.
- (113) “χʷuləxʷ ʎ(u)alš ʎistəʎ ʎə kʷi liʎlaq ʎuʎaciɪtalbixʷ.
 χʷul-əxʷ ʎu-ʎal-š ʎistəʎ ʎə kʷi liʎ-laq ʎu-ʎaciɪtalbixʷ
 just-PI FUT-LOC-CTL like OBL DET by.way.of-last FUT-person
 “They will just be put here like the future generations.”
- (114) xʷiʎ kʷ(i) ʎusugʷəlaltəbs gʷəʎuhuyač(i)?
 xʷiʎ kʷi ʎu-s-ʎu-gʷəlald-t-əb-s gʷə-ʎu-huy-ač(i)?
 NEG DET FUT-NMZR-SB-harm-CTL-M-3.POS SUBJ-FUT-do-hand
 “They will not be harmed if they do there work.”

(115) day'əx^w ʃ^wul' luʔatəbəd.”
day'-əx^w ʃ^wul' lu-ʔatəbəd
certainly-PI just FUT-die
“They will certainly just die later.”

(116) hay, bək^wiləx^w ta.
hay bək^w-il-əx^w ta
CONJ all.gone-INCH-PI 3PRS
Now, that's all for that one.

Mink and the Questing Boy (English)

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded in the 1950s

At (location unknown), Washington

(Leon Metcalf): The story of the boy going after the tōmanōwus and the _____. What's the English? How do you say it in English?

(Annie Daniels): He's lookin' for that tōmanōwus and stay ten days and go home again. Ten days and go home. And after that she find the trap. Mink's trap. Trap the salmon. Little fish trap. Oh she find that, and can't go home. She just eat. Take that fresh fish and cook it and eat.

Mink tells his grandma, "Oh grandma somebody stole our fish. ____ starve. I can't stand it. I guess I think I watch him and I kill him."

The old lady told him, "Oh no. You don't want to kill the boy who stole the salmon.

No. Mink, she make that arrow, and she make that ... what you call it? Yew wood I guess. (Leon Metcalf: Yew wood. bow). Make that bow.

Oh she watch that boy. Now she come with a little basket. Oh she's going and take all that fish.

Now she's going, "Oh I found out that thing she stole my fish."

Mink waits. she just watch him in that ____ way. And after that she make that _____ and tells his grandma, "I found out now. That boy, she stole my fish from my little trap."

šǎwǐ?amǎwǎč in our language.

____ and go.

Now he's coming again. Mink, she shoot that boy and dies. Take it and skin it and make it and put it on top of the house. That boy _____.

And all the folks look. Past that which come home all the time. ten days. Boy not come. Just there and people look, look, look. She found where she's camping. can't find him. The people look for that body. Oh. Mink she's got the skin on top of his house. I guess that boy she kill that boy.

Oh. She's sad. The dad of that boy he said he's going to build a big house. Invite all the people. Kill that mink. Mink she kill.

Mink she's too strong. She's going getting that people. And after that all the people just put in that. She got all the all that all that what they kill the people each other long time ago. Mink she call that. She calls all the cousin. She calls all the mice and moles. There are two kinds of the moles for that in the ground. ____ and call the name for that.

And call the frogs to help him. The sound. The frogs just scream, just scream help, help that big sound.

Now she take a big canoe. Big. Oh Mink she's coming.

She had a cap. Thing that hides. Different cap. Nice looking. She got her cap.

Now she's coming they making a place where she sit down. And that just No! Just mink and frog they come to the house. All the rats and moles ____ She's going under that house. Make holes. Make it when they going to. Make holes under. Make holes all over. And chew all the strings that tie that what they try to kill that with. The string for the arrow.

the string for the what she shoot. String for ____ you call it. All chewed. Nothing.

Now lot coming to mink. Well, all done. All done. We can't kill you. Your life is just going. We have a song that you song. Mink song.

ʔutəč bətəč ləliʔ tə bad ʔə ʔa šx^wayʔx^wayʔali.

g^wəʔutəč ʔə ta... tə bad ʔə ʔa šx^wayʔx^wayʔali

He songs that now. People try to get all what they could just drop that and drop everything and run and just _____. Mink she just run. Can't catch him. She runs so fast. All that _____ all over the place. Mice and everything. _____ She just turn back

(Leon Metcalf): ʔaciłtalbix^w.

(Annie Daniels:) mmm. dəg^wi ti haʔłtubš. This is kind of long.

(Leon Metcalf:) That's alright.

(Annie Daniels:) Yeah I guess

(Leon Metcalf:) ʔəsłəlil ti...

(Annie Daniels:) She watch that and after that mink she hear something. That people she kill sometime. She kill the mink. And she make house. _____ house and she make Mink she _____ and make that she's cap different, different, different she make the door, ten.

Now the people come try to kill him. And Mink just look for the door and different hat and go back and take off that what and run for the one and look again. Different again. All different sorts for the all the doors she hang. She just pull it down. Put in cap. Put it this arrow and different and what you call it çacûs. All different.

All the people oh. He's alive. I guess I can't kill it. He's alive. Let's let him go. All people let him go. When behind people dying. They use to kill the behind people. She die _____ something.

Now, that's the end of that.

Ravens and Crows Catch a Seal

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded in the 1950s

At (location unknown), Washington

- (1) huyəx^w ʔu.
 huy-əx^w ʔu
 prepare-PI INTEROG
 Is it ready?
- (2) habu.
 habu
 INTERJ
 habu.
- (3) ʔəsłalli(1) tiil qa··· ʔaciłtalbix^w.
 ʔəs-łalli(1) tiil qa··· ʔaciłtalbix^w
 STAT-live DET many-EMPHAT person
 There were a lot of people living.
- (4) ʔəsłalli(1) tiil k'aʔk'aʔ yəx^w tsiil biʔb(ə)dəʔs.
 ʔəs-łalli(1) tiil k'aʔk'aʔ yəx^w tsiil biʔ-bədəʔ-s
 STAT-live DET crow CONJ DET DIM-one's.child-3.POS
 Crow and her favorite little daughter lived there.
- (5) ʔəsłallil tiil k^waq^w yəx^w tsiil bədəb(ə)dəʔs, ciciḥ^wəd.
 ʔəs-łallil tiil k^waq^w yəx^w tsiil bəd-ə-bədəʔ-s
 STAT-live DET raven CONJ DET DISTR-EPTH-one's.child-3.POS

 ci-ciḥ^w-əd
 DIM-stingy-DERV
 That Raven and her mean and stingy daughters (cicix^wəd) live there, too.
- (6) tuwadačəx^w g^wələʔuḥ^wəx^w ʔaḥ^wuʔiluləx^w.
 tu-wadač-əx^w g^wəl-ə-ʔuḥ^w-əx^w ʔaḥ^wuʔ-ilul-əx^w
 PST-ebb.tide-PI SUBJ-REP-go-PI clam-go.in.order.to-PI
 When the tide went out, they would go clam digging.
- (7) ʔaḥ^wuʔuʔx^w g^wələləʔaḥ^wuʔuʔx^w g^wələləʔiḥ^widəx^w tiil k^wuḥ^wdiʔ.
 ʔaḥ^wuʔ-uʔx^w g^wəl-ələ-lə-ʔaḥ^wuʔ-uʔx^w
 clam-still SUBJ-REP-PROG-clam-still

little scavenging on the shore at the place where they are clamming.”

- (13) ʔəʎəx^w tiif ʔasx^w.
 ʔəʎ-əx^w tiif ʔasx^w
 come-PI DET seal
 That seal came.
- (14) ʃ^wul' lət'aq'ti(l) g^wələ t'aq'ti(l) g^wələ ʃə <...> ləč'iti(l) huy ʔaliləx^w tiif qa
 ləʔiʃ^witəb ʔə tsiif.
 ʃ^wul' lə-t'aq't-il g^wələ t'aq't-il g^wələ ʃə
 just PROG-landward-INCH CONJ landward-INCH CONJ DET
 lə-č'it-il huy ʔal-il-əx^w tiif qa
 PROG-near-INCH CONJ come.to-INCH-PI DET many
 lə-ʔiʃ^w-i-t-əb ʔə tsiif
 PROG-throw.away-LV-CTL-M OBL 3PRS.FEM
 Little by little he just inched his way on up the shore and he got closer to where
 they were throwing a lot of clams away.
- (15) huy ʔələdəx^w tiif ʔasx^w.
 huy ʔəl-əd-əx^w tiif ʔasx^w
 CONJ eat-DERV-PI DET seal
 Then, that seal ate them.
- (16) dʒalq č'i...ʔč'(i)təbids həlg^wəʔ dʒalqcut g^wəl ʃəʎəčəd.
 dʒalq č'i...-č'it-ə-bi-d-s həlg^wəʔ
 turn.over DIM-EMPHAT-near-EPTH-REL-CTL-3.PŌS 3PL
 dʒalq-cut g^wəl ʃəʎə-əč-ə-d
 turn.over-CTL.REFLX CONJ cut.off-head-EPTH-CTL
 He turned over reeeal close to them and when he turned himself over, he was
 smacked in the head.
- (17) ʃəʎəčəd g^wəl cəbabəx^w ʃədbid g^wəl ʔatəbəd.
 ʃəʎə-əč-ə-d g^wəl cəb-ab-əx^w ʃəd-bi-d g^wəl
 cut.off-head-EPTH-CTL CONJ two-DERV-PI push-REL-CTL CONJ
 ʔatəbəd
 die
 They smacked him in the head and pushed him a couple of times and he was dead.
- (18) dəg^wəʃəx^w tiif ʔasx^w ʔilʎəp g^wəl dəg^wəʃəx^w tiif sʔaʃ^wu? ʃəqalabac.
 dəg^w-ə-ʃ-əx^w tiif ʔasx^w ʔil-ʎəp g^wəl dəg^w-ə-ʃ-əx^w
 inside-EPTH-CTL-PI DET seal PART-below CONJ inside-EPTH-CTL-PI

tiif s-ʔaxʷuʔ šəq-al-abac
 DET NMZR-clam above-LOC-solid.obj
 They put the seal at the very bottom (of the clam basket) and put the clams on top.

- (19) huy čəbaʔdəxʷ tiif ʔasxʷ tʰukʷtxʷəxʷ.
 huy čəbaʔ-d-əxʷ tiif ʔasxʷ tʰukʷ-txʷ-əxʷ
 CONJ backpack-CTL-PI DET seal go.home-CS-PI
 Then, they packed the seal home.

- (20) (lə)čildxʷ txʷəl ʔalʔal gʷəl hudəbəcəd gʷəl kʷičʰid gʷəl qʰəlsəd gʷəl huy
 wəšəbəxʷ.
 ləčil-dxʷ dxʷ-ʔal ʔalʔal gʷəl hud-əbəc-ə-d gʷəl
 arrive-LC PERV-LOC house CONJ burn-solid.obj-LV-CTL CONJ
 kʷičʰ-i-d gʷəl qʰəls-ə-d gʷəl huy
 butcher-LV-CTL CONJ cook.on.rocks-CONJ-CTL CONJ CONJ

wəš-əb-əxʷ
 distribute-M-PI
 They managed to get [the seal] home, and they heated it up, butchered it, steamed it on hot rocks, and then distributed it.

- (21) tugʷəlaltəb ʔu ʔə tsiif cicišʷəd tsi susuqʷaʔs.
 tu-gʷəlal-t-əb ʔu ʔə tsiif ci-cišʷ-əd tsi
 PST-kill-CTL-M INTEROG OBL DET DIM-stingy-DERV DET

su-suqʷaʔ-s
 DIM-younger.cousin-3.POS
 Had the mean and stingy Raven daughter [cicišʷəd] kill her little cousin?

- (22) cutəbid, “luqəl tə susuqʷaʔ čəxʷ šʷulʰ tiʔt(ə)s xʷapəd gʷələʔələdəq.
 cut-ə-bi-d lu-qəl tə su-suqʷaʔ čəxʷ šʷulʰ
 say-EPH-REL-CTL FUT-wake.up DET DIM-younger.cousin 2SG just

tiʔ-təs xʷ-ap-ə-d gʷəl-ələ-ʔələ-əd-əq
 DIM-hit.with.fist PERV-bottom-LV-CTL SUBJ-REP-eat-DERV-DERV
 She is told, “When your younger cousin wakes up, you just pat her on the bottom so she can gobble her food.”

- (23) cicə(xʷ) haʔitxʷ.
 cickʷ-əxʷ haʔi-txʷ
 very-PI good-CS

“This makes her be very good.”

- (24) ʔu <...> qəłəx^w tsi č’ac’as̃ g^wəl tx^waptəbəx^w ʔə tiif ciciχ^wəd g^wəl ʔatəbədəx^w.
ʔu qəł-əx^w tsi č’ac’as̃ g^wəl tx^w-ap-t-əb-əx^w
INTERJ wake.up-PI DET child CONJ PERV-bottom-CTL-M-PI

ʔə tiif ci-ciχ^w-əd g^wəl ʔatəbəd-əx^w
OBL DET DIM-stingy-DERV CONJ die-PI
Oh! The girl wakes up and the mean and stingy Raven daughter spansks her and she dies.

- (25) ʔəciłəx^w tsiif sk^wuys g^wəl wiliq^w, “čad s(ə) adsuq^waʔ.”
ʔəcił-əx^w tsiif s-k^wuy-s g^wəl wiliq^w čad sə
arrive-PI DET NMZR-mother-3.POS CONJ ask.question where DET

ad-suq^waʔ
2SG.POS-younger.cousin
[Crow's] mother shows up and she asks, “Where is your little cousin?”

- (26) “ʔu x^wuʔələ g^wəyəy^w duʔ.”
ʔu x^wuʔələ g^wə-yəy^w duʔ
INTERJ maybe SUBJ-swing
“Oh, maybe she could be swinging.”

- (27) ʔuχ^w.
ʔuχ^w
go
She went there.

- (28) x^wiʔ.
x^wiʔ
NEG
Nope.

- (29) “ʔu x^wuʔələ g^wəbəbiʔ.”
ʔu x^wuʔələ g^wə-bəbiʔ
INTERJ maybe SUBJ-play.hoops
“Oh, maybe she could be playing the hoop game.”

- (30) ʔuχ^w.
ʔuχ^w

- go
She went there.
- (31) x^wiʔ.
x^wiʔ
NEG
Nope.
- (32) “x^wuʔələ k^wədəʔəx^w ʔuhədiw’əx^w.”
x^wuʔələ k^wədəʔ-əx^w ʔu-hədiw’-əx^w
maybe DEM-PI SB-inside.house-PI
“Maybe she is inside the house somewhere.”
- (33) ʔuχ^w.
ʔuχ^w
go
She went there.
- (34) x^wiʔ.
x^wiʔ
NEG
Nope.
- (35) x^wiʔ l(ə)ay’ tsi suq’waʔs.
x^wiʔ lə-ʔay’ tsi suq’waʔ-s
NEG PROG-find DET younger.cousin-3.POS
Her little cousin was not found.
- (36) “ ʔu g^wəʔa k^wədi ləhal.”
ʔu g^wə-ʔa k^wədi ləhal
INTERJ SUBJ-locate DEM play.bonegame
“Oh, maybe she could be there playing bone game.”
- (37) ʔuχ^w.
ʔuχ^w
go
She went there.
- (38) x^wiʔ.
x^wiʔ
NEG
Nope.
- (39) x^wiʔ g^wəʔa.
x^wiʔ g^wə-ʔa
NEG SUBJ-exist

She could not be there.

- (40) “ʔuχ^w tx^wəl tiił ʔubitalə.”
 ʔuχ^w dx^w-ʔal tiił ʔu-bitalə
 go PERV-LOC DET SB-play.disk.game
 “She went to where they play the disk game.”
- (41) x^wiʔ k^wi suq^waʔs.
 x^wiʔ k^wi suq^waʔ-s
 NEG DET younger.cousin-3.POS
 Her little cousin was no where.
- (42) x^wiʔəx^w k^w(i) sʔaydx^ws.
 x^wiʔ-əx^w k^wi s-ʔay-dx^w-s
 NEG-PI DET NMZR-find-LC-3.POS
 (Crow’s mother) could not find her.
- (43) hag^wəx^w, g^wəl cutəx^w, “ʔu , k^wuʔ, ʔucut čəx^w ʔu t(i)t(ə)s x^wabəd.”
 hag^w-əx^w g^wəl cut-əx^w ʔu k^wuʔ ʔu-cut čəx^w ʔu
 ago-PI FM say-PI INTERJ mom SB-say 2SG INTEROG
 ti-təs x^w-ap-ə-d
 DIM-hit.with.fist PERV-bottom-LV-CTL
 After a long while, she said, “Oh dear one, did you not say to pat her bottom?”
- (44) “hay čəd tut(ə)s x^wapədəx^w g^wəl ʔatəbəd čədə tux^wəbəd tx^wəl ta ʔaλ.”
 hay čəd tu-təs x^w-ap-ə-d-əx^w g^wəl
 CONJ 1SG PST-hit.with.fist PERV-bottom-LV-CTL-PI CONJ
 ʔatəbəd čəd-ə tu-x^wəb-ə-d dx^w-ʔal ta ʔaλ
 die 1SG-CONJ PST-throw-LV-CTL PERV-LOC 3PRS bush
 “Well I hit her on the bottom, she died, and I tossed her in those bushes.”
- (45) “ʔa tiił səsəbəč(ə)š(ə)x^w .”
 ʔa tiił s-ʔəs-bəč-əš-əx^w
 locate DET NMZR-STAT-put-CTL-PI
 “That is where she is put.”
- (46) " ʔuχ^wc adsuq^waʔ.
 ʔuχ^w-c ad-suq^waʔ
 go-APP 2SG.POS-younger.cousin
 “Go get your little cousin.”
- (47) ʔuχ^wcəx^w tsiil suq^waʔs < tsiil ... tsi... >
 ʔuχ^w-c-əx^w tsiil suq^waʔ-s <tsiil tsi-...->
 go-APP-PI DET younger.cousin-3.POS <FALSE>

She went to get her little cousin.

- (48) ʔuχ^wcəbəx^w ʔə tsi ciciχ^wəd ti susuq^waʔ
ʔuχ^w-c-əb-əx^w ʔə tsi ci-ciχ^w-əd ti su-suq^waʔ
go-APP-M-PI OBL DET DIM-stingy-DERV DET DIM-younger.cousin
The mean and stingy Raven daughter went to get her little cousin.

- (49) šiltx^wəx^w.
šil-tx^w-əx^w
dig.out.from.under-CS-PI
She had her dig her out.

- (50) huy pig^wədəx^w tsi sk^wuys tx^wdaʔab.
huy pig^wəd-əx^w tsi s-k^wuy-s tx^w-daʔ-ab
CONJ spirit.song-PI DET NMZR-mother-3.POS PERV-shaman-DERV
Then her mother, who was a shaman, began to sing her spirit song.

- (51) “bədab ʔə k^wi c^wiyuuq^w k^wi dsuk^wax^wad sə dbiʔbədəʔ.
bədəʔ-b ʔə k^wi c^wiyuuq^w k^wi
one's.child-M OBL DET wart DET

d-s-ʔu-k^wax^w-a-d sə d-biʔ-bədəʔ
1SG.POS-NMZR-SB-help-LV-CTL DET 1SG.POS-DIM-one's.child
“The wart is given birth which is what I help my darling child with.”

- (52) məməʔ kiya qəqa
məməʔ kiya qəqa
song.vocals
“məməʔ kiya qəqa.”

- (53) “bədab ʔə k^wi c^wiyuuq^w k^wi dsuk^wax^wad sə dbiʔbədəʔ.
bədəʔ-b ʔə k^wi c^wiyuuq^w k^wi
one's.child-M OBL DET wart DET

d-s-ʔu-k^wax^w-a-d sə d-biʔ-bədəʔ
SG.POS-NMZR-SB-help-LV-CTL DET 1SG.POS-DIM-one's.child
“The wart is given birth which is what I help my darling child with.”

- (54) məməʔ kiya qəqa
məməʔ kiya qəqa
song.vocals
“məməʔ kiya qəqa.”

- (55) bədab ʔə k^wi ...”
bədəʔ-b ʔə k^wi
one's.child-M OBL DET

“The wart is given birth which is...”

- (56) huy p’ali(l)əx^w tsi bədəʔs.
 huy p’al-il-əx^w tsi bədəʔ-s
 CONJ revive-INCH-PI DET one’s.child-3.POS
 Then her child was revived.
- (57) həli...dub ʔə tsi.
 həliʔ-...-dx^w-b ʔə tsi
 alive-EMPHAT-LC-M OBL 3PRS
 She was able to bring her back to life.
- (58) həlidub ʔə tsiil.
 həliʔ-dx^w-b ʔə tsiil
 alive-LC-M OBL 3PRS.FEM
 She was able to bring her back to life.
- (59) bə...k’aʔk’aʔ tsiil biʔbədəʔs t(u)asʔatəbəd.
 bə-k’aʔk’aʔ tsiil biʔ-bədəʔ-s tu-ʔəs-ʔatəbəd
 ADD-crow DET DIM-one’s.child-3.POS PST-STAT-die
 Her darling daughter, who had died, was Crow again.
- (60) hu...y... q’wələx^w tiil ʔasx^w g^wəl hil’hili(d)g^wədəx^w tsiil.
 huy-... q’wəl-əx^w tiil ʔasx^w g^wəl
 CONJ-EMPHAT cook-PI DET seal CONJ
 hil’-hil-idg^wəd-əx^w tsiil
 DISTR-give.food-mental.process-PI DET
 Then the seal was cooked, and she compassionately gave it away.
- (61) hil’hilig^wədəx^w tsiil luλəx^w.
 hil’-hil-idg^wəd-əx^w tsiil luλ-əx^w
 DISTR-give.food/drink mental.process-PI DET old-PI
 The woman who was old gave the food away, compassionately.
- (62) ʃ^wul’ ləliʔli < tsi ...> tsi ciciʃ^wəd lələbəq’əd tiil.
 ʃ^wul’ ləliʔ-li <tsi> tsi ci-ciʃ^w-əd
 merely different-DISTR <FALSE> DET DIM-stingy-DERV
 lə-lə-bəq’-ə-d tiil
 REP-PROG-swallow-LV-CTL 3PRS
 ciciʃ^wəd, the mean and stingy Raven daughter, merely did it differently, going along, repeatedly putting it in his mouth and swallowing it.’
- (63) ʃ^wu...l’ ʔəsʔistəʔ.

- ǰwul'-... ʔəs-ʔistəʔ
 just-EMPHAT STAT-like
 That is how she did it.
- (64) ʔulək'wəd ti sufiligwəds.
 ʔu-lək'w-ə-d ti s-ʔu-hil-idg'wəd-s
 SB-eat.up-LV-CTL DET NMZR-SB-give.food mental.process-3.POS
 She ate up all the food that [the mother crow] was compassionately giving away.
- (65) g'wələ k'wəʔtəbəx'w tsiil k'aʔk'aʔ tx'wəl tsiil pus.
 g'wələ k'wəʔ-t-əb-əx'w tsiil k'aʔk'aʔ dx'w-ʔal tsiil pus
 CONJ send-CTL-M-PI DET crow PERV-LOC DET aunt
 And Crow was sent to her aunt.
- (66) “ʔuǰ'wtx'wšidəx'w ts(i) adpus ʔə ti.”
 ʔuǰ'w-tx'w-ši-d-əx'w tsi ad-pus ʔə ti
 go-CS-DAT-CTL-PI DET 2SG.POS-aunt OBL 3PRS
 “take this over to your aunt.”
- (67) ʔuǰ'wəx'w tsiil č'ač'aš ʔəsk'wədəd tiil k'wəluʔ ʔə tiil ʔasx'w.
 ʔuǰ'w-əx'w tsiil č'ač'aš ʔəs-k'wəd-ə-d tiil
 go-PI DET child STAT-carry.in.the.hand-LV-CTL DET

 k'wəluʔ ʔə tiil ʔasx'w
 hide OBL DET seal
 The girl goes with the seal hide in hand.
- (68) hay ʔul(ə)čildx'wšid.
 hay ʔu-ləčil-dx'w-ši-d
 CONJ SB-arrive-LC-DAT-CTL
 Then she brought it to her.
- (69) “t(u)asxid əw'ə s(ə) adsk'wuy .”
 tu-ʔəs-xid əw'ə sə ad-s-k'wuy
 PST-STAT-how EXCL DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-mother
 “How, indeed, has your mother been?”
- (70.1) “ʔu... hag'wəx'w tufiltubułəd tə bə...k'w .
 ʔu-... hag'w-əx'w tu-hil-tx'w-bułəd tə
 INTERJ-EMPHAT ago-PI PST-give.food-CS-2PL DET

 bək'w-...
 all-EMPHAT

“Oh! Everyone have been giving out food to you folks for a while.”

(70.2) ʔuχ^w tx^wəl ʔəsɫəlli(l) .

ʔuχ^w dx^w-ʔal ʔəs-ɫəlli(l)
go PERV-LOC STAT-live

“They went to those who are living here.”

(70.3) šəd^zis čəx^w ʔu.”

šəd^zil-s čəx^w ʔu
go.outside-APPL 2SG INTEROG

“Did you come outside to get any?”

(71) “x^wiʔ dsk^wuʔ.”

x^wiʔ d-s-k^wuʔ
NEG 1SG.POS-NMZR-female

“No, my dear.”

(72) “x^wiʔ g^wəl(ə)əʔ ʔuɫəči(l).”

x^wiʔ g^wə-lə-ʔəʔ ʔu-ɫəčil
NEG SUBJ-PROG-come SB-arrive

“No one came here.”

(73) “ʔu… χ^wul^wul ʔulək^wəd.”

ʔu… χ^wul^w-ul ʔu-lək^w-ə-d
INTERJ-EMPHAT just-DERV SB-eat.up-LV-CTL

“Oh, she did nothing but ate it all up.”

(74) t^wuk^wəx^w tsi č^wəč^wəš g^wəl cuudəx^w tsiil pus, “diɫ day^w six^w.”

t^wuk^w-əx^w tsi č^wəč^wəš g^wəl cu-u-d-əx^w tsiil pus
go.home-PI DET child CONJ tell-LV-CTL-PI DET aunt

diɫ day^w six^w
DEICT only usual

The girl went to her house and told her aunt, “Wouldn’t you know, that’s all of it.”

(75) diɫ səsbək^wi(l) six^w.

diɫ s-ʔəs-bək^w-il six^w
DEICT NMZR-STAT-all-INCH usual

“It’s all gone, as usual.”

(76) six^w (ʔ)əslilɫəqəx^w čəx^w dəg^wi.”

six^w ʔəs-lil-ɫəq-əx^w čəx^w dəg^wi
usual STAT-by.way.of-last-PI 2SG 2SG.EMPH

“As usual, it is you who is last.”

(77) “ʔu k^wuʔ.”

ʔu k'wuʔ
 INTEROG female
 "Oh dear."

- (78) ʔatəbəd tiif.
 ʔatəbəd tiif
 die 3PRS
 That one [the mean and stingy Raven daughter] dies.
- (79) ʔi...stəbəx^w g^{wəl} ləx̃iləx^w.
 ʔistəʔ-b-əx^w-... g^{wəl} ləx̃-il-əx^w
 like-M-PI-EMPHAT CONJ day.light-INCH-PI
 'This is what happened the next day.'
- (80) cutəbəx^w ʔə tiif k^{waq^w} tiif staləls, "ʔubəx^w čəx^w ʔuʔəʔəx^w."
 cut-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiif k^{waq^w} tiif s-taləł-s
 say-CTL-M-PI OBL DET raven DET NMZR-nephew-3.POS
 ʔub-əx^w čəx^w ʔu-ʔəʔəx^w
 fine-PI 2SG SB-come-PI
 Raven tells his little cousin, "It is fine for you to come."
- (81) "ʔug^wa^{x̃} čəł dx^wdiʔiʔ."
 ʔu-g^wa^{x̃} čəł dx^w-diʔ-iʔ
 SB-stroll 1PL PERV-other.side-DERV
 "We will walk over there."
- (82) ʔu...x̃wəx^w huy g^{wəl} ʔibəšəx^w g^{wəl} huy ... k^{wədətəbəx^w} ʔə tiif k^{waq^w} tiif staləls huy
 g^{wəl} k^wič[']idəx^w g^{wəl} lək^{'w}šidəx^w ʔə tiif tulək^{'w}s.
 ʔux̃^w-...-əx^w huy g^{wəl} ʔibəš-əx^w g^{wəl} huy
 go-EMPHAT-PI CONJ CONJ walk-PI CONJ CONJ
 k^{wəd}-ə-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiif k^{waq^w} tiif s-taləł-s
 take-LV-CTL-M-PI OBL DET raven DET NMZR-niece-3.POS
 huy g^{wəl} k^wič[']-i-d-əx^w g^{wəl} lək^{'w}-ši-d-əx^w ʔə
 CONJ CONJ butcher-LV-CTL-PI CONJ eat.up-DAT-CTL-PI OBL
 tiif tu-lək^{'w}-s
 DET PST-eat.up-3.POS
 They went and walked, and Raven takes his little cousin, and then he cuts her open
 and eats from her what she had eaten.
- (83) bəčəx^w tiif cici^{x̃}wəd g^{wəl} ləʔax̃i(l).
 bəč-əx^w tiif ci-ci^{x̃}-wəd g^{wəl} lə-ʔax̃-il
 put-PI DET DIM-stingy-DERV CONJ PROG-night-INCH

The mean and stingy Raven daughter was laying there as it bame dark.

- (84) ʔucutcutəx^w tiil ciciχ^wəd, “x^wiʔəx^w ti č’ułaʔ ləʔi…”
 ʔu-cut-cut-əx^w tiil ci-ciχ^w-əd x^wiʔ-əx^w ti č’ułaʔ
 SB-DISTR-say-PI DET DIM-stingy-DERV NEG-PI DET leaf

ləʔi-…

song.vocals

Repeatedly, the mean and stingy Raven daughter says, “There are no leaves, eee.”

- (85) “ʔut’(ə)q’waʔq’watəb čəd ʔə tə k^waq^w ʔi…”
 ʔu-t’əq’waʔq’w-a-t-əb čəd ʔə tə k^waq^w ʔi-…
 SB-cut.open-LV-CTL-M 1SG OBL DET raven_sing.vocals
 “I was wounded by Raven, eee.”

- (86) “x^wiʔəx^w tiil.”
 x^wiʔ-əx^w tiil
 NEG-PI 3PRS
 “There are none.”

- (87) “x^wiʔəx^w ti sč’ułaʔ ʔi tx^wəl ti dk’wiyəx^w.”
 x^wiʔ-əx^w ti s-č’ułaʔ ʔi dx^w-ʔal ti
 NEG-PI DET NMZR-leaf song.vocals PERV-LOC DET

d-k’wiyəx^w

1SG.POS-stomach

“There are no leaves for my belly.”

- (88) “ʔut’(ə)q’waʔq’watəb čəd ʔə ti k^waq^w ʔi…”
 ʔu-t’əq’waʔq’w-a-t-əb čəd ʔə ti k^waq^w ʔi-…
 SB-cut.open-LV-CTL-M 1SG OBL DET raven song.vocals
 “I was wounded by Raven, eee.”

- (89) x^wit’iləx^w tiil sč’ułaʔ tx^wəl ti k’wiyəx^w ʔə tiil k^waq^w g^wəl huy ʔatəbədəx^w.
 x^wit’il-əx^w tiil s-č’ułaʔ dx^w-ʔal ti k’wiyəx^w ʔə
 fall-INCH-PI DET NMZR-leaf PERV-LOC DET stomach OBL

tiil k^waq^w g^wəl huy ʔatəbəd-əx^w

DET raven CONJ CONJ die-PI

The leaves fell for Raven's belly and then she died.

- (90) p'aliləx^w tiil g^wəl ʔuχ^wəx^w.
 p'al-il-əx^w tiil g^wəl ʔuχ^w-əx^w
 revive-INCH-PI 3PRS CONJ go-PI
 She revived and went on her way.

- (91) t'uk^wəx^w.
t'uk^w-əx^w
go.home-PI
She went home.
- (92) t'uk^wəx^w.
t'uk^w-əx^w
go.home-PI
She went home.
- (93) ʔa ʔəsʔatəbəd.
ʔa ʔəs-ʔatəbəd
locate STAT-die
There she was with what had killed her.
- (94) cutəbəx^w, “mmm .”
cut-t-əb-əx^w mmm
say-CTL-M-PI mmm
‘They say to her, “mmm.”’
- (95) ʔəciləx^w tx^wəl tsiil sk^wuys g^wəl cutəbəx^w ʔə tsiil sk^wuys, “tuχiχədəx^w čəx^w.”
ʔəcil-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tsiil s-k^wuy-s g^wəl
arrive-PI PERV-LOC DET NMZR-mother-3.POS CONJ

cut-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tsiil s-k^wuy-s
say-CTL-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-mother-3.POS

tu-χiχəd-əx^w čəx^w
PST-do.AGG.MOD-PI 2SG
‘She arrived to her mother, and her mother said to her, “What have you been up to?”’
- (96) “< tu-... > ʔu tuʔibəštub čəd ʔə šə dsqa g^wəl t'(ə)q^waʔq^wəd ti k^wiyəx^w g^wəl
tulək^wəd tə tudlək^w.”
<tu-...> ʔu tu-ʔibəš-tx^w-b čəd ʔə šə
<FALSE> INTERJ PST-walk-CS-M 1SG OBL DET

d-s-qa g^wəl t'əq^waʔq^w-ə-d ti k^wiyəx^w
1SG.POS-NMZR-older.cousin CONJ cut.open-LV-CTL DET stomach

g^wəl tu-lək^w-ə-d tə tu-d-lək^w
CONJ PST-eat.up-LV-CTL DET PST-1SG.POS-eat.up
‘Oh, my older cousin took me for a walk, and he cut open my belly and ate what I had eaten.’
- (97) “ʔa...čədə dił š(ə) (ʔ)ascəq^w ʔə tə staləl.”

-...-ʔəčəðə dił šə ʔəs-cəq^w ʔə tə
 -EMPHAT-EXCL DEICT DET STAT-greedy OBL DET

s-taləł
 NMZR-niece
 “Indeed, that one is greedy for his niece.”

(98) “ʔuχiχ(əd)tx^wəx^w.”
 ʔu-χiχəd-tx^w-əx^w
 SB-do.AGG.MOD-CS-PI
 “That’s what he does to others.”

(99) p'aalil tiil ciciχ^wəd.
 p'al-il tiil ci-ciχ^w-əd
 revive-INCH DET DIM-stingy-DERV
 The mean and stingy Raven daughter, ciciχ^wəd, revives.

(100) That’s all of that little story.

(101) šac’.
 šac’
 end
 That’s the end.

The War Between North Wind and South Wind

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded in the 1950s

At (location unknown), Washington

- (1) ʔəsłali(1) tiil stəg^waqʔ.
 ʔəs-łali(1) tiil s-təg^waq^w
 STAT-live DET NMZR-southwind
 There lived South Wind.
- (2) ʔəsłali(1) tiil stublaʔ ʔalʔadbids.
 ʔəs-łali(1) tiil s-tublaʔ ʔalʔad-bi-d-s
 STAT-live DET NMZR-Northwind downriver-REL-CTL-3.POS
 There lived North Wind located downriver from him.
- (3) g^wələ ʔa tsiil s-ladəyʔ ʔaʔaʔtx^w (h)ilg^wəʔ.
 g^wələ ʔa tsiil s-ladəyʔ ʔaʔaʔ-tx^w hilg^wəʔ
 CONJ exist DET NMZR-woman DISTR-desire-CS 3PL
 And then there was a woman whom they all liked.
- (4) g^(w)əl ʔuʔuʔ^w tiil stubləʔ.
 g^wəl ʔu-ʔuʔ^w tiil s-tubləʔ
 CONJ HAB-go DET NMZR-Northwind
 And North Wind habitually went.
- (5) ʔaʔtub ʔəsk^wədx^ws (h)ilg^wəʔ tsiil s-ladayʔ.
 ʔaʔ-tu-b ʔəs-k^wəd-dx^w-s hilg^wəʔ tsiil s-ladayʔ
 desire-CS -M STAT-take-LC-3.POS 3PL DET NMZR-woman
 He wanted them to have that woman.
- (6) haʔł s-ladayʔ.
 haʔł s-ladayʔ
 nice NMZR-woman
 She was a nice woman.
- (7.1) g^wələ <ʔu-> ʔuʔəçil (h)ilg^wəʔ tx^wəl tiil ʔalʔəl ʔə tsiil s-ladəyʔ g^wələcutəbəx^w ʔə tiil
 bads, “ʔədaçibids dbədəʔ də stubš.”
 g^wələ <ʔu-> ʔu-ʔəçil hilg^wəʔ dx^w-ʔal _ tiil ʔalʔəl
 CONJ <FALSE> HAB-arrive 3PL PERV-LOC DET house
 ʔə tsiil s-ladəyʔ g^wələ-ʔə-cut-t-əb-əx^w _ ʔə tiil
 OBL DET NMZR-woman SUBJ-REP-say-CTL-M-PI OBL DET

bad-s ǰəd-ači-bi-d-s d-bədə? tə
 father-3.POS push-hand-REL-CTL-3.POS 1SG.POS-one's.child DET

s-tubš
 NMZR-man

- (7.2) ǰuǰux^{wə}(l) čəd."
 ǰu-ǰux^w-il čəd
 SB-cold-INCH 1SG
 And they'd arrive to that woman's house when her father would repeatedly say,
 "Push the man (away) with your hands, my daughter. I am cold."

- (8) ǰux^{wi}? sǰaǰdubs ǰə tsiil sǰadəy? ti stububtubš g^{wə}ti hiqabəx^w t'əs.
 ǰu-x^{wi}? s-ǰaǰ-du-b-s ǰə tsiil s-ǰadəy?
 HAB-NEG NMZR-like-LC-M-3.POS OBL DET NMZR-woman
 ti s-tub-ub-tubš g^{wə}ti hiqab-əx^w t'əs
 DET NMZR-DISTR-DIM-man because too-PI cold.weather
 That woman habitually didn't like these young men because the weather was too cold.

- (9) ǰuǰaǰ^w tiil luluǰ bads... tsi sk^wuys.
 ǰu-ǰaǰ^w tiil lu-luǰ bad-s _tsi
 SB-cold.person DET DERV-old father-3.POS _DET

s-k^wuy-s
 NMZR-mother-3.POS
 Her very old father and mother were cold.

- (10) ǰubət'u...k^w (h)ilg^{wə}?
 ǰu-bət-t'uk^w-... hilg^{wə}?
 HAB-ADD-go.home-EMPHAT 3PL
 They'd go home!

- (11) pu...t tiləb g^{wə}bəǰuǰ^w.
 put-... tiləb g^{wə}bə-ǰuǰ^w
 very-EMPHAT suddenly SUBJ-ADD-go
 Immediately, they would go again!

- (12) bəp'aaǰcut tx^wəl g^{wə}sk^{wəd}(d)x^ws (h)ilg^{wə}? tiil sǰadəy?
 bə-p'aaǰ-cut dx^w-ǰal g^{wə}s-k^{wəd}-dx^w-s hilg^{wə}?
 ADD-try-CTL.REFLX PERV-LOC SUBJ-NMZR-take-LC-3.POS 3PL
 tiil s-ǰadəy?

DET NMZR-woman
They tried again to take that woman.

- (13) g^wəl hədiw(ʔ) (h)ilg^wəʔ g^wələqʔax^wəx^w tiil lulu^ls.
g^wəl hədiwʔ hilg^wəʔ g^wə-lə-qʔax^w-əx^w tiil
CONJ go.inside.house 3PL SUBJ-REP-freeze-PI DET

lu-lu^l-s
DERV-old-3.POS
And they came inside when her very old elders would freeze.

- (14) ʔucu(u)dəx^w tsiil bədəʔs, “ ʔədəčibid .”
ʔu-cu-u-d-əx^w tsiil bədəʔ-s ʔəd-ači-bi-d
SB-say-LV-CTL-PI DET one’s.child-3.POS push-hand-REL-CTL
He would tell his daughter, “Push them away with your hands.”

- (15) “ x^wiʔ k^w(i) ʔa^ltx^w .”
x^wiʔ k^wi ʔa^l-tx^w
NEG DET like-CS
“I don’t like them.”

- (16) ʔu...ʔ^w ləbəšad^zils.
ʔuʔ^w-... lə-bə-šad^zil-s
go-EMPHAT REP-ADD-go.outside-3.POS
They went outside again! (Their repeated going outside went.)

- (17) bətʔukʔ^wəx^w cəbabəx^w.
bə-tʔukʔ^w-əx^w cəb-ab-əx^w
ADD-go.home-PI twice-DERV-PI
They went home again for the second time.

- (18) bəʔuʔ^w.
bə-ʔuʔ^w
ADD-go
They went again.

- (19) bələčis (h)ilg^wəʔ tsiil s-ladəyʔ.
bə-ləčil-s hilg^wəʔ tsiil s-ladəyʔ
ADD-arrive-APPL 3PL DET NMZR-woman
They came again for that woman.

- (20) x^wi... g^wəsk^wəd^ws (h)ilg^wəʔ.
x^wiʔ-... g^wə-s-k^wəd-dx^w-s hilg^wəʔ

NEG-EMPHAT SUBJ-NMZR-take-LC-3.POS 3PL
 They were not able to have her!

- (21) huy, p'aʔcutəx^w tiil stəg^waq'^w.
 huy p'aʔ-cut-əx^w tiil s-təg^waq'^w
 CONJ try-CTL.REFLX-PI DET NMZR-southwind
 Then, South Wind tried.
- (22) ʔux^w tiil stəg^waq'^w g^wəl ləči(1) tx^wəl tsiil sɫadəyʔ, g^wəl cutəb ʔə tiil bads, “baʔəds
 dbədəʔ tə stubš.”
 ʔux^w tiil s-təg^waq'^w g^wəl ləčil dx^w-ʔal tsiil
 go DET NMZR-southwind CONJ arrive PERV-LOC DET
 s-ɫadəyʔ g^wəl cut-t-əb ʔə tiil _bad-s
 NMZR-woman CONJ say-CTL-M OBL DET _father-3.POS
 baʔ-ə-d-s d-bədəʔ tə s-tubš
 touch-LV-CTL-3.POS 1SG.POS-one's.child DET NMZR-man
 South Wind went and came to that woman, and her father told her, “My daughter,
 feel the man.”
- (23) “ʔuhədq^wəb čəd.”
 ʔu-hədq^w-əb čəd
 SB-warm/hot-M 1SG
 “I am warm.”
- (24) hay, k^wəddub ʔə tiil stəg^waq'^w stubš tsiil sɫadəyʔ.
 hay k^wəd-du-b ʔə tiil s-təg^waq'^w _ s-tubš
 CONJ take-LC-M OBL DET NMZR-southwind NMZR-man
 tsiil s-ɫadəyʔ
 DET NMZR-woman
 So, that South Wind man was able to take that woman.
- (25) ʔ(h)uy t'uk^wtx^wəx^w.
 huy t'uk^w-tx^w-əx^w
 CONJ go.home-CS-PI
 Then he took her home.
- (26) t'uk^wtx^wəx^w tx^wəl tiil ʔaʔəl tsiil sɫadəyʔ.
 t'uk^w-tx^w-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiil ʔa-ʔal tsiil
 go.home-CS -PI PERV-LOC DET DIM-LOC DET

s-ladəy?
 NMZR-woman
 He took that woman home to his house.

(27) ʔu···, ʔiciləx^w < tiif > tiif stubləʔ.
 ʔu-··· ʔicil-əx^w <tiif> tiif s-tubləʔ
 INTERJ-EMPHAT angry-PI <FALSE> DET NMZR-Northwind
 Oh! North Wind was mad!

(28) x^wiʔ k^wəd(d)x^ws (h)ilg^wəʔ tsiif s-ladəyʔ.
 x^wiʔ k^wəd-dx^w-s hilg^wəʔ tsiif s-ladəyʔ
 NEG take-LC-3.POS 3PL DET NMZR-woman
 They weren't able to have that woman.

(29) ʔi···stəbəx^w tsiif s-ladəyʔ.
 ʔistəʔ-b-əx^w-··· tsiif s-ladəyʔ
 like-M-PI-EMPHAT DET NMZR-woman
 This is how that woman was.

(30.1) ʔ^wul' ʔugəq'ad tiif .
 ʔ^wul' ʔu-gəq'-a-d tiif
 simply HAB-open-LV-CTL DET
 She would simply open that.

(30.2) ʔ^wul' səsləg^wičəd g^wələšay'id tiif sl(ə)al^wtx^wšitəbs ʔə tiif lu^wlu^w sʔələd bək'^w stab.
 ʔ^wul' s-ʔəs-ləg^w-ič-əd g^wələ-šay'-id
 just NMZR-STAT-lay.out.mat-spine-DERV SUBJ-REP-reveal-DERV

tiif s-lə-ʔəʔ-tx^w-ši-t-əb-s ʔə tiif
 DET NMZR-PROG-come-CS-DAT-CTL-M-3.POS OBL DET

lu^w-lu^w s-ʔələ-əd bək'^w stab
 DISTR-elder NMZR-eat-DERV all thing

She would just have a sleeping mat laid out so that she could reveal the foods of all kinds that the elders were bringing for her.

(31) k'ahəx^w tsiif s-ladəyʔ g^wəl d^wid^wiʔəx^w tsiif s-ladəyʔ.
 ʔa-h-əx^w tsiif s-ladəyʔ g^wəl d^wid^wiʔ-əx^w tsiif
 locate EPNTH-PI DET NMZR-woman CONJ pregnant-PI DET

s-ladəyʔ
 NMZR-woman
 While that woman was there, that woman became pregnant.

- (32) Һа···yԥubəx^w Դə tiif stubləʔ dʒidʒiʔəx^w tsiif slədəyʔ g^wəl cuudəx^w tiif š(ə) Դiışəds, “
 Լubəx^w čəl ҺuԴuχ^w čəl g^wəlald tiif stəg^waq^w, čələ k^wədəd tsiif slədəyʔ.”
 hay-···-du-b-əx^w Դə tiif s-tubləʔ __ dʒidʒiʔ-əx^w
 know-EMPHAT-LC-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-Northwind pregnant-PI

tsiif s-lədəyʔ g^wəl cu-u-d-əx^w tiif šə
 DET NMZR-woman CONJ tell-LV-CTL-PI DET DET

Դiışəd-s Լub-əx^w čəl Һu-Դuχ^w čəl g^wəlald-d tiif
 one's.people-3.POS fine-PI 1PL FUT-go 1PL kill-CTL DET

s-təg^waq^w čəl-ə k^wəd-ə-d tsiif s-lədəyʔ
 NMZR-southwind 1PL-CONJ get-LV-CTL DET NMZR-woman
 North Wind knew the woman was pregnant and he told his people, “It is fine that
 we go kill South Wind and get that woman.”

- (33) “hiqabəx^w (h)aʔl.”
 hiqab-əx^w haʔl
 too-PI nice
 “She’s too nice.”

- (34) Դu···χ^wəx^w.
 Դuχ^w-···-əx^w
 go-EMPHAT-PI
 They went!

- (35) Һuy g^wəl g^w(ə)lg^wəlald (h)ilg^wəʔ tiif t(u)asłəfəlli(l) bək^w.
 Һuy g^wəl g^wəl-g^wəlald-d hilg^wəʔ tiif tu-Դəs-łə-fəlli(l)
 CONJ CONJ DISTR-kill-CTL 3PL DET PST-STAT-DISTR-live

bək^w
 all

And then they killed all of them who had been living there.

- (36) cutəx^w, “χids (h)ilg^wəʔ tiif Դəsłəfəlli(l).”
 cut-əx^w χid-s hilg^wəʔ tiif Դəs-łə-fəlli(l)
 say-PI do-3.POS 3PL DET STAT-DISTR-live
 They said, “They are the ones who have done it who are living here.”

(37) da···y'əx^w tsiif lulu^l sk'^wuys (h)ilg^{wə?} tiif ʔu^ləltəb, ʔal tiif tuʔalʔalʔals (h)ilg^{wə?}.
 day'·-··-əx^w tsiif lu-lu^l s-k'^wuy-s hilg^{wə?}
 only-EMPHAT-PI DET DERV-old NMZR-mother-3.POS 3PL

tiif ʔu-^ləl-t-əb ʔal tiif tu-ʔal-ʔalʔal-s
 DET SB-leavel.alone-CTL-M LOC DET PST-DISTR-house-3.POS

hilg^{wə?}
 3PL

It was just their very old mother who was left alone, in their houses.

(38) haabu.
 haabu
 INTERJ
 Habu.

(39) sax^{wəbəx^w} tsiif s^ladəyʔ.
 sax^{wəb-əx^w} tsiif s-^ladəyʔ
 run.hard-PI DET NMZR-woman
 That woman ran hard.

(40) gəq'adəx^w tiif ʔusəx^wu^xidsəbs ʔə tiif lu^llu^l g^{wəl} sax^{wəbəx^w}.
 gəq'-a-d-əx^w tiif ʔu-səx^w-ʔu-^xid-s-əb-s ʔə
 open-LV-CTL-PI DET SB-by.means.of-SB-do-APPL-M-3.POS OBL

tiif lu^l-lu^l g^{wəl} sax^{wəb-əx^w}
 DET DISTR-elder CONJ run.hard-PI

She opened up what the elders had prepared for her and ran hard.

(41) x^{wii?} sk^{wədubs} tsiif s^ladəyʔ.
 x^{wi?} s-k^{wəd-du-b-s} tsiif s-^ladəyʔ
 NEG NMZR-get-LC-M-3.POS DET NMZR-woman
 They weren't able to get that woman.

(42) ləhabu ʔa ʔukawič čəx^w.
 lə-habu ʔa ʔu-ka-wič čəx^w
 PROG-INTERJ exist FUT-hunched-spine 2SG
 Say habu, you'll be there, hunched back.

(43) həbu.
 həbu

INTERJ

Habu.

(44) haabu.
haabu
INTERJ
Habu!

(45) ʔu···x̣ʷ tsiif s-ladəyʔ.
ʔu x̣ʷ-··· tsiif s-ladəyʔ
go-EMPHAT DET NMZR-woman
That woman went!

(46) ləči(l) txʷəl tiif luλluλs.
ləčil dxʷ-ʔal tiif luλ-luλ-s
arrive PERV-LOC DET DISTR-elder-3.POS
She arrived to her elders.

(47) l(ə)əs dʔidʔiʔ .
lə-ʔəs-dʔidʔiʔ
PROG-STAT-pregnant
(All of this happened) while she was pregnant.

(48) ʔucutəbəxʷ ʔə tsiif skʷuys, yəcəbəxʷ, “ ʔušubutəb bə···kʷ tiif stəgʷagʷaqʷ.”
ʔu-cut-t-əb-əxʷ ʔə tsiif s-kʷuy-s yəc-əb-əxʷ
SB-say-CTL-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-mother-3.POS report-M-PI

ʔu-šub-u-t-əb bəkʷ-··· tiif s-gʷa-təgʷaqʷ
SB-kill.several-LV-CTL-M all-EMPHAT DET NMZR-DISTR-southwind
Her mother told her, she reported, “All of the South Wind people have been killed!”

(49) “dədčʷuʔ həliʔ.”
dədčʷuʔ həliʔ
one.person alive
“One person is alive.”

(50) “dayʷəxʷ tsiif tuskʷuys (h)ilgʷəʔ tiif ʔa.”
dayʷ-əxʷ tsiif tu-s-kʷuy-s hilgʷəʔ tiif ʔa
only-PI DET PST-NMZR-mother-3.POS 3PL DET exist
“There was only their former mother who is left.”

(51) ʔi···stəbəxʷ tsiif s-ladəyʔ gʷəl kʷəd(d)xʷəxʷ tiif bədəʔ stubš.
ʔi-stəʔ-b-əxʷ-··· tsiif s-ladəyʔ gʷəl _kʷəd-dxʷ-əxʷ tiif

- like-M-PI-EMPHAT DET NMZR-woman CONJ get-LC-PI DET
- bədəʔ s-tubš
one's.child NMZR-man
That is what happened to that woman and she had a male child.
- (52) ʔuy λax̣^wadəx^w.
ʔuy λax̣^w-a-d-əx^w
CONJ raise-LV-CTL-PI
Then she raised him.
- (53) lu···λi(1) tiɪ bədəʔs.
luλ···-il tiɪ bədəʔ-s
old-EMPHAT-INCH DET one's.child-3.POS
Her son became older!
- (54) haabu tsi kayʔ(kawič) .
haabu tsi kayʔ-ka-wič
INTERJ DET DIM-hunched-spine
Habu little hunch(ed back).
- (55) luλiləx^w tiɪ č'ac'aš.
luλ-il-əx^w tiɪ č'ac'aš
old-INCH-PI DET child
The boy became older.
- (56) luλiləx^w g^wəl huyšitəbəx^w ʔə tiɪ c'ac'us tiɪ capa(ʔ)s.
luλ-il-əx^w g^wəl huy-ši-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiɪ c'ac'us
old-INCH-PI CONJ make-DAT-CTL-M-PI OBL _DET bow

tiɪ capaʔ-s
DET grandfather-3.POS
He became older and his grandfather made a bow for him.
- (57) g^wəl < lu-> ləg^wət'uc'.
g^wəl lu-lə-g^wət'uc'
CONJ FUT-REP-SUBJ-shoot
And he could shoot.
- (58) ləwələx̣^wi(1) tiɪ č'ac'aš g^wələ < lə-> ləhig^wəd tiɪ c'ac'us.
lə-wələx̣^w-il tiɪ č'ac'aš g^wələ <lə->
PROG-strong-INCH DET child CONJ <FALSE>

lə-hig^w-ə-d tiɪ c'ac'us
PROG-big-LV-CTL DET bow
As the boy got stronger, he would increase the size of the bow.

- (59) ləhig^{wi}(l) k'aqidəx^w tiil ləlu^li(l).
 lə-hig^w-il k'aqid-əx^w tiil lə-lu^l-il
 PROG-big-INCH always-PI DET PROG-old-INCH
 It continued getting bigger as he was always getting older.
- (60) haabu.
 haabu
 INTERJ
 Habu.
- (61) tut'u···c'udəx^w tiil sg^wəlub.
 tu-t'uc'-···-u-d-əx^w tiil s-g^wəlub
 PST-shoot-EMPHAT-LV-CTL-PI DET NMZR-pheasant
 He had shot a pheasant.
- (62) lu(ə)čiltx^w tx^wəl tsiil sk^wuy^s.
 lu-ləčil-tx^w dx^w-ʔal tsiil s-k^wuy-s
 FUT-arrive-CS PERV-LOC DET NMZR-mother-3.POS
 He was going to bring it to his mother.
- (63) ʔucutəbəx^w, “ x^{wi}···ʔ k^w(i) adsuʔu^x tx^wəl tudi? sq^way^xəb.”
 ʔu-cut-t-əb-əx^w x^{wi}ʔ-··· k^{wi} ad-s-ʔu-ʔu^x
 HAB-tell-CTL-M-PI NEG-EMPHAT DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-SB-go
 dx^w-ʔal tudi? s-q^way^x-əb
 PERV-LOC over.there NMZR-strong.unpleasant.smell-M
 He was habitually told, “Don't you go over there to where it smells bad (?!)”
- (64) “ x^{wi}ʔ. ”
 x^{wi}ʔ
 NEG
 “No.”
- (65) k'aqid ʔup'adatəbs x^w(i)ax^w ləʔu^x tx^wəl tiil.
 k'aqid ʔu-p'ad-a-t-əb-s x^{wi}ʔ-əx^w
 always SB-try.to.persuade-LV-CTL-M-3.POS NEG-PI
 lə-ʔu^x dx^w-ʔal tiil
 PROG-go PERV-LOC 3PRS
 They always tried to persuade him not to go to that place.
- (66) du··· lu···ʔiləx^w.
 du··· lu^l-···-il-əx^w
 hey-EMPHAT old-EMPHAT-INCH-PI
 Hey! He was really getting older!

(67) haabu.
 haabu
 INTERJ
 Habu.

(68.1) cutəbəx^w, “ ʔu.
 cut-əb-əx^w ʔu
 say-M-PI INTERJ

(68.2) ʔubəx^w čəd ʔuʔuχ^w tx^wəl tiif səsq^wayχ^wəb.”
 ʔub-əx^w čəd ʔu-ʔuχ^w dx^w-ʔal tiif
 fine-PI 1SG SB-go PERV-LOC DET

s-ʔəs-q^wayχ^w-əb
 NMZR-STAT-strong.unpleasant.smell-M
 He said, “Oh, it would be fine for me to go over there to where it smells bad (??)”

(69) “stab əw’ə tiif cəx^wup’adatəb.”
 stab əw’ə tiif d-dəx^w-ʔu-p’ad-a-t-əb
 what EXCL DET 1SG.POS-reason.for-SB-try.to.persuade-LV-CTL-M
 “What indeed could it be that causes them to try to persuade me [from going there]?”

(70) huy ʔibəšəx^w.
 huy ʔibəš-əx^w
 CONJ walk-PI
 Then he walked.

(71) ʔibəšəx^w ʔi… g^wələ t’ilib ti g^wələ luudəx^w tsiif lulu^λ ʔuχəχəb.
 ʔibəš-əx^w ʔi… g^wələ t’ilib ti _g^wələ
 walk-PI EMPHAT-EMPHAT CONJ sing DET CONJ

lu-u-d-əx^w tsiif lu-lu^λ ʔu-χəχəb
 hear-LV-CTL-PI DET DERV-elder SB-cry
 He walked a long way until there was singing and he heard a very old woman who was crying.

(72) ʔuχəχəb tsiif lulu^λ.
 ʔu-χəχəb tsiif lu-lu^λ
 SB-cry DET DERV-elder
 That very old woman was crying.

(73) cuucəx^w, “ da… tuʔaliləx^w da…”
 cu-u-c-əx^w da… tu-ʔal-il-əx^w

say-LV-APP-PI DEICT-EMPHAT PST-LOC-INCH-PI

da-...

DEICT-EMPHAT

She said to him, "There! They were there!"

- (74) š(ə) t'uc'i(l) šubali g^wələ ʔibaš.
šə t'uc'-il šub-ali g^wələ ʔibəš
DET shoot-INCH kill.several-DERV CONJ travel.by.land
The ones who were shooting killed them all off and then they traveled.

- (75) kaya...x^wəd ʔal ti šə bəlk^ws ʔi...
kayəʔ-...-x^w-əd ʔal ti šə bəlk^w-s
grandmother-EMPHAT-EPH-1SG.S LOC 3PRS _DET return-3.POS

ʔi-...

EMPHAT-EMPHAT

"I am the grandmother (??) of this one here who has returned, yes!"

- (76) ʔu... tuʔaləx^w tiil g^w(ə)l(ə)t(u)bədədəʔs g^wələ ʔibəš.
ʔu... tu-ʔal-əx^w tiil
INTERJ-EMPHAT PST-LOC-PI DET

g^wə-lə-tu-bədəʔ-dəʔ-s g^wələ ʔibəš
SUBJ-REP-PST-one's.child-DISTR-3.POS CONJ travel.by.land

All of those who would have been her children had been here when they traveled.

- (77) d^zaš^wəqs g^w(ə)l(ə)šx^wbəčqs.
d^zaš^w-ə-qs g^wə-lə-šx^w-bəč-qs
thaw-EPH-nose SUBJ-REP-PERV-put-nose
What was on her nose that thawed fell from her nose.

- (78) haabu.
haabu
INTERJ
habu.

- (79) cuud, ʔuš^wəx^w ʔi...
cu-u-d ʔuš^w-əx^w ʔi...
say-LV-CTL go-PI EMPHAT-EMPHAT
He told her that he went far!

- (80) ləčisəx^w k^wilidəx^w.
ləčil-s-əx^w k^wil-i-d-əx^w
arrive-3.POS-PI peer-LV-CTL-PI
He arrived there to see what was there.

- (81) ʔuʎaag^wəb tsiif luuluʎ.
 ʔu-ʎaag^w-əb tsiif luu-luʎ
 SB-make.mats-M DET DERV-elder
 That very old woman was making a cattail mat.
- (82) ʔuhuudčup ʔə tiif sč'əbəlqiʔ.
 ʔu-hud-čup ʔə tiif s-č'əbəlqiʔ
 SB-burn campfire OBL DET NMZR-cattail.flower
 She made a camp fire with cattail tops.
- (83) sqit ʔə tiif ʔulʔal.
 s-qit ʔə tiif ʔulʔal
 NMZR-top.of.plant OBL DET cattail
 Those are the tops of the cattail plant.
- (84) diif huds.
 diif hud-s
 DEICT fire-3.POS
 This was her firewood.
- (85) ʎ(ə)ʃilčəsəb g^wəslaʔb(ə)dəx^w.
 ʎəʃ-ilč-ə-s-əb g^wə-s-laʔb-ə-d-əx^w
 stiff-knee-EPTH-APPL-M SUBJ-NMZR-see-LV-CTL-PI
 He stood so that he could see her.
- (86) cuudəx^w, “ ʔu… g^wədəg^wi x^wdək^w tubədəʔ ʔə tiif tudbədəʔ .
 cu-u-d-əx^w ʔu-… g^wə-dəg^wi
 say-LV-CTL-PI INTERJ-EMPHAT SUBJ-2SG.EMPH
 x^w-dək^w tu-bədəʔ ʔə tiif tu-d-bədəʔ
 PERV-inside PST-one's.child OBL DET PST-1SG.POS-one's.child
 She told him, “Oh! You, who are inside, could be the son of my deceased son.”
- (87) tug^wəlaltəb ʔə tiif stublaʔ.
 tu-g^wəlal-t-əb ʔə tiif s-tublaʔ
 PST-kill-CTL-M OBL DET NMZR-Northwind
 “North Wind had killed him.”
- (88) dʔibəc čəx^w.
 d-ʔibəc čəx^w
 1SG.POS-grand.child 2SG
 “You are my grandson.”
- (89) dʔibəc č(ə)x^w. ”
 d-ʔibəc čəx^w

1SG.POS-grand.child 2SG
 “You are my grandson.”

(90.1) ʔu...
 ʔu-...

INTERJ-EMPHAT

(90.2) ǰəłəǰəč ti č’ač’əš.
 ǰəł-əł-ǰəč ti č’ač’əš
 sick CONJ mind DET child
 Oh! The boy was sad.

(91) haabu.
 haabu
 INTERJ
 Habu.

(92) ʔušədʒil (h)ilgʷəʔ kʷədədəxʷ tiil qʷəǰʷəbiʔ.
 ʔu-šədʒil hilgʷəʔ kʷəd-ə-d-əxʷ tiil qʷəǰʷəbiʔ
 SB-go.outside 3PL take-LV-CTL-PI DET tree
 They went outside to get some trees.

(93) kʷədagʷəb xʷ(ə)bəd gʷələ ʔuǰʷtxʷ gʷəl bəčəš səsaaliʔ.
 kʷəd-agʷəb xʷəb-ə-d gʷələ ʔuǰʷ-txʷ gʷəl bəč-əš
 take base.of.tree throw-LV-CTL CONJ go-CS CONJ put-CTL

sə-saliʔ
 DIM-two

He took the trees by their base to throw them down and he took them and put down two small ones.

(94) “ʔəbil’əxʷ čəxʷ ʔuc’əǰʷ čəxʷ ʔuhiqitəb ʔə tsə luluǰ čəxʷə ʔuxʷaaxʷaʔi(l) gʷəl
 ʔuxʷa...xʷaʔ(ə)xʷ čəxʷ.”

ʔəbil’-əxʷ čəxʷ ʔu-c’əǰʷ čəxʷ ʔu-hiq-i-t-əb ʔə
 if-PI 2SG FUT-worn.out 2SG SB-push-LV-CTL-M OBL

tsə lu-luǰ čəxʷ-ə ʔu-xʷaxʷaʔ-il gʷəl
 DET DERV-elder 2SG-CONJ FUT-light.weight-INCH CONJ

ʔu-xʷaxʷaʔ-...-əxʷ čəxʷ
 FUT-light.weight-EMPHAT-PI 2SG

“If you get weak (when burning in the fire), the old woman will push you and you will become light until you are very light.”

- (95) huy ʔəshiił.
 huy ʔəs-hiił
 CONJ STAT-happy
 Now she was happy.
- (96) hiił ʔuhuyud tsiil luluł.
 hiił ʔu-huy-u-d tsiil lu-luł
 happy SB-make-LV-CTL DET DERV-elder
 This made the very old woman happy.
- (97) ʔuhiqidəx^w < tiił...> tiił huds.
 ʔu-hiq-i-d-əx^w <tiił> tiił hud-s
 SB-push-LV-CTL-PI <FALSE> DET firewood-3.POS
 She pushed her firewood.
- (98) ʔuq^wuʔ ʔə tiił šx^w(ʔ)əx^waʔ ɬusəx^wtəd^začiʔs.
 ʔu-q^wuʔ ʔə tiił šx^w-ʔəx^waʔ
 SB-gather OBL DET PERV-basket

 ɬu-səx^w-təd^z-ačiʔ-s
 FUT-by.means.of-get.back.at-hand-3.POS
 She gathered baskets to get back at them.
- (99) ʔa tiił ləx̣ tiił ʔəs-q^wuʔ.
 ʔa tiił ləx̣ tiił ʔəs-q^wuʔ
 exist DET loose DET STAT-gather
 There were loosely (woven) ones that were gathered.
- (100) ɬuʔa tiił ɬəč.
 ɬu-ʔa tiił ɬəč
 HAB-exist DET tight
 There were habitually those that were tightly (woven).
- (101) ʔa tiił h(ə)li... ɬiɬ(ə)c ɬiɬ(ə)c tx^wəl tiił spahəb.
 ʔa tiił həli... ɬi-ɬəc ɬi-ɬəc dx^w-ʔal
 exist DET EMPHAT-EMPHAT DIM-tight DIM-tight PERV-LOC

 tiił s-pah-əb
 DET NMZR-hazy-M
 There were those that were kind of tight for hazy weather.
- (102) tiił qəlbəx^w tiił ʔuləx̣s.
 tiił qəlb-əx^w tiił ʔuləx̣-s
 DET rain-PI DET gather-3.POS
 That which was raining was gathered by her.

- (103) ha···y bət'uʔk'wəx^w.
 hay-··· bə-t'uʔk'w-əx^w
 CONJ-EMPHAT ADD-go.home-PI
 Then he went home again.
- (104) haabu.
 haabu
 INTERJ
 Habu.
- (105) ʔaʔəx^w ti st'uk'ws g^wəl t'uc'udəx^w tiʔ stəb.
 ʔaʔ-əx^w ti s-t'uk'w-s g^wəl t'uc'-u-d-əx^w
 fast-PI DET NMZR-go.home-3.POS CONJ shoot-LV-CTL-PI
 tiʔ s-təb
 DET NMZR-3.SG
 He was in a hurry to get home when he shot some old thing.
- (106) t'uc'udəx^w tiʔ sg^wəlub g^wəl həliʔ tiʔ ləsk^wədads.
 t'uc'-u-d-əx^w tiʔ s-g^wəlub g^wəl __ həliʔ tiʔ
 shoot-LV-CTL-PI DET NMZR-pheasant CONJ alive DET
 lə-s-k^wəd-a-d-s
 PROG-NMZR-take-LV-CTL-3.POS
 He shot a pheasant, and it was still alive as he took it.
- (107) ʔəcisəx^w tiʔ scapa(?)s g^wələ pusudəx^w tiʔ sg^wəlub həliʔ(?).
 ʔəçil-s-əx^w tiʔ s-capaʔ-s _g^wələ
 arrive-APPL-PI DET NMZR-grandfather-3.POS _CONJ
 pus-u-d-əx^w tiʔ s-g^wəlub həliʔ
 throw-LV-CTL-PI DET NMZR-pheasant alive
 He arrived to his grandfather and he threw the pheasant that was still alive at him.
- (108) “ ʔa··· ti qələb.”
 ʔa··· ti qəl-əb
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT DET bad-M
 “Ah! This one is bad.”
- (109) “ ʔuc'ək'wəc ʔə ti bədəʔ.”
 ʔu-c'ək'w-ə-t-s ʔə ti bədəʔ
 HAB-claim-LV-CTL-1SG OBL DET one's.child
 “You claimed me as a son.”
- (110) habu.

habu
 INTERJ
 Habu.

(111) “ $\lambda(u)$ aslalabi(l) čəd x^{wi}? čəx^w lədbad.”
 λ u-ʔəs-la-lab-il čəd x^{wi}? čəx^w _lə-d-bad
 HAB-STAT-DISTR-see-INCH 1SG NEG 2SG _PROG-1SG.POS-father
 “I am habitually becoming to see that you are not my father.”

(112) “qələbəx^w čəx^w lulu λ g^{wəl} haaʔt sə dk^{wu}?”
 qəl-əb-əx^w čəx^w lu-lu λ g^{wəl} haʔt sə _d-k^{wu}?
 bad-M-PI 2SG DERV-elder CONJ good DET 1SG.POS-mom
 You are a bad, very old man, but my mom is very good!”

(113) “ʔaa kayəʔ.”
 ʔaa kayəʔ
 INTERJ grandmother
 “Ah! Grandmother.”

(114) tu \check{x} ^w čəd $\lambda(u)$ asbap^uscid.”
 tu \check{x} ^w čəd λ u-ʔəs-bap-us-t-sid
 merely 1SG HAB-STAT-busy-face-CTL-2SG
 “I merely entertain you.”

(115) čəx^w λ u^c’ək^{wi}(l) čəd ʔə tə bədəʔ.
 čəx^w λ u-c’ək^w-il čəd ʔə tə bədəʔ
 2SG HAB-claim-INCH 1SG OBL DET one’s.child
 “You habitually have come to claim me as a son.”

(116) “tuʔatəbəd tiif t(u)adbad.”
 tu-ʔatəbəd tiif tu-ad-bad
 PST-die DET PST-2SG.POS-father
 “Your father had died.”

(117) “čələpə λ up’adac sx^{wi}? k^w(i) adsləʔu \check{x} ^w tx^{wəl} tiʔif.”
 čələp-ə λ u-p’ad-a-t-s
 2PL-CONJ HAB-try.to.persuade-LV-CTL-1SG

 s-x^{wi}? k^{wi} ad-s-lə-ʔu \check{x} ^w dx^w-ʔal tiʔif
 NMZR-NEG DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-PROG-go PERV-LOC 3PRS
 “And you folks tried to persuade me (by saying), “You don’t go to that place.”

(118) ʔu həw’ə ʔa tsiif dkayəʔ.”
 ʔu həw’ə ʔa tsiif d-kayəʔ
 INTERJ EMPHAT exist DET 1SG.POS-grandmother

"Oh my goodness! That is where my grandmother is!"

- (119) x^w(i?)aax^w ləʔidg^wət tsiil sk^wuys.
 x^wiʔ-əx^w lə-ʔidg^wət tsiil s-k^wuy-s
 NEG-PI PROG-what.say DET NMZR-mother-3.POS
 His mother didn't say a thing.
- (120) ʃ^wul'əx^w ʔəs-g^wədil(l).
 ʃ^wul'-əx^w ʔəs-g^wədil
 just-PI STAT-sit
 She just sat there.
- (121) ʔu... ləčisəx^w tsiil kayəʔ.
 ʔu... ləčil-s-əx^w tsiil kayəʔ
 INTERJ-EMPHAT arrive-APPL-PI DET grandmother
 Oh! He arrived to his grandmother.
- (122) bəʔu... ʃ^wəx^w g^wəl cuudəx^w tsiil kayəʔs, " luʔiq^wid čəx^w tiil.
 bə-ʔuʃ^w-...-əx^w g^wəl cu-u-d-əx^w tsiil
 ADD-go-EMPHAT-PI CONJ tell-LV-CTL-PI DET
 kayəʔ-s lu-ʔiq^w-i-d čəx^w tiil
 grandmother-3.POS FUT-clean-LV-CTL 2SG 3PRS
 He went again, and he told his grandmother, "You will clean that place."
- (123) luhaaʔlid čəx^w ti šaalbix^w.
 lu-haʔl-id čəx^w ti šalbix^w
 FUT-good-CTL 2SG DET outside
 "You will clean the outside."
- (124) luʔiq^wid čəx^w.
 lu-ʔiq^w-i-d čəx^w
 FUT-clean-LV-CTL 2SG
 You will clean it.
- (125) x^wi...ʔ k^w(i) l(u)adsux^wəbəd ti šədʒəl.
 x^wiʔ-... k^wi lu-ad-s-ʔu-x^wəb-ə-d
 NEG-EMPHAT DET FUT-2SG.POS-NMZR-SB-throw-LV-CTL
 ti šədʒəl
 DET go.outside
 "Do not discard anything taken outside!"

- (126) haabu.
 haabu
 INTERJ
 Habu.
- (127) “ huy č(ə)x^w ʎusq^wʎuʎs.”
 huy čəx^w ʎu-s-q^wʎuʎ-s
 do 2SG FUT-NMZR-together-3.POS
 “You will do it so that it will be together.”
- (128) ʎiq^wʎitəbəx^w ʎə tsiif lulu^ʎ tiif swaatix^wtəd.
 ʎiq^w-i-t-əb-əx^w ʎə tsiif lu-lu^ʎ tiif s-watix^wtəd
 clean-LV-CTL-M-PI OBL DET DERV-elder DET NMZR-land
 The very old woman cleaned the land.
- (129) haaʎlidəx^w.
 haʎl-id-əx^w
 good-CTL-PI
 She cleaned it.
- (130) hu···ytx^wəx^w ti saliʎqs.
 huy-···-tx^w-əx^w ti saliʎ-qs
 finish-EMPHAT-CS-PI DET two-point
 He finished two things with points on the ends.
- (131) k^wədədəx^w tiif dəč^wʎuʎ ʎə tiif sq^wəx^wʎiʎ g^wəl x^wəbəd tx^wəl tiif q^wʎuʎ.
 k^wəd-ə-d-əx^w tiif dəč^wʎuʎ ʎə tiif s-q^wəx^wʎiʎ g^wəl
 take-LV-CTL-PI DET one OBL DET NMZR-tree CONJ
 x^wəb-ə-d dx^w-ʎal tiif q^wʎuʎ
 throw.down-LV-CTL PERV-LOC DET water
 He took one of these trees and he threw it towards the water.
- (132) haabu.
 haabu
 INTERJ
 Habu.
- (133) p^wəq^wəx^w tiif q^wəx^wʎiʎ g^wəl p^wədiləx^w tx^wəl tiif c^walūsəd.
 p^wəq^w-əx^w tiif q^wəx^wʎiʎ g^wəl p^wəd-il-əx^w dx^w-ʎal
 drift-PI DET tree CONJ drift.onto-INCH-PI PERV-LOC
 tiif c^wal-us-əd
 DET obstruct.view-surface-DERV
 The tree drifted and floated up towards the fish weir.

- (134) huy (?)aadəx^w tiil ʔučiičəǰ.
 huy ʔa-a-d-əx^w tiil ʔu-či-čəǰ
 CONJ exist-LV-CTL-PI DET SB-DIM-split
 Then it put a crack there.
- (135) ʔu...
 ʔu-...
 INTERJ-EMPHAT
 Oh!
- (136) ʔuuǰəx^w ʔibəš g^wəl ʔəs(ə)ǰilč.
 ʔuǰ^w-əx^w ʔibəš g^wəl ʔəs-ləǰ-ilč
 go-PI walk CONJ STAT-stiff-knee
 He went walking and stood there.
- (137) ʔušəqtəb tiil sq^wəǰ^wbiʔ.
 ʔu-šəq-t-əb tiil s-q^wəǰ^wbiʔ
 HAB-raise-CTL-M DET NMZR-tree
 The trees were habitually raised (out of the water).
- (138) x^wi...ʔ g^wəshuydubs.
 x^wiʔ-... g^wə-s-huy-du-b-s
 NEG-EMPHAT SUBJ-NMZR-do-LC-M-3.POS
 It could not be done!
- (139) laʔbdubəx^w g^wəl cutəbəx^w, “ ʔu... siʔab.”
 laʔb-du-b-əx^w g^wəl cut-əb-əx^w ʔu-... _s-ʔiʔab
 see-LC-M-PI CONJ say-M-PI INTERJ-EMPHAT NMZR-honorable.person
 They were able to see him and they said, “Oh! Honorable one.”
- (140) “ g^wədəg^wi k^wədə.”
 g^wə-dəg^wi k^wədə
 SUBJ-2SG.EMPH get.hold
 “You could get it.”
- (141) ʔub čəx^w ʔuk^wədad <...> čəx^w huy x^wəbəd.”
 ʔub čəx^w ʔu-k^wəd-a-d čəx^w huy x^wəb-ə-d
 fine 2SG SB-get-LV-CTL 2SG COP discard-LV-CTL
 “It is fine for you to get it, you be the one to discard it.”
- (142) ʔuǰ^w g^wələ k^wiʔk^wədad ʔal tiil sč'aʔč'(a)šəds g^wələ x^wəbəd.
 ʔuǰ^w g^wələ k^wiʔ-k^wəd-a-d ʔal tiil
 go CONJ DIM-get.hold-LV-CTL LOC DET
 s-č'aʔ-č'ašəd-s g^wələ x^wəb-ə-d
 NMZR-DIM-branch-3.POS CONJ discard-LV-CTL

He went and casually took hold of its branch and discarded it.

- (143) x^{wi}?x^{wa}···?x^{wəb} tiɪ stəb.
x^{wi}?-x^{wa}?x^{wa}?-···-əb tiɪ s-təb
DIM-light.weight-EMPHAT-M DET NMZR-3.SG
The old thing was really kind of light.
- (144) x^{wix}^{wax}^w(a?) ?ə ti st'ək'^{wəb}.
x^{wi}-x^{wax}^wa? ?ə ti s-t'ək'^{wəb}
DIM-light.weight OBL DET NMZR-log
The log was kind of light.
- (145) haabu.
haabu
INTERJ
Habu.
- (146) haa?ɪ ti c'əlusəd.
ha?ɪ ti c'al-us-əd
good DET obstruct.view-face-DERV
The fish weir was good!
- (147) x^{wi}? k^w(i) < s-...> sp'əq'^{ws}.
x^{wi}? k^{wi} s-s-p'əq'^{w-s}
NEG DET NMZR-NMZR-drift-3.POS
It didn't drift away.
- (148) ?uǎ^w.
?uǎ^w
go
He went.
- (149) huy bət'uuk'^{wəx}^w.
huy bə-t'uk'^w-əx^w
CONJ ADD-go.home-PI
Then he went home again!
- (150) bət'uk'^{wəx}^w.
bə-t'uk'^w-əx^w
ADD-go.home-PI
He went home again.
- (151) g^{wəl} ləč*i*(l) t*x*^{wəl} ti?iɪ.

g^wəl ləčil dx^w-ʔal tiʔiɪ
 CONJ arrive PERV-LOC 3PRS
 And arrived to that place.

- (152) tuʔuχ^wtx^wəx^w tsiɪ sk^ʔuys < tx^wəl tiɪ > tx^wəl tiɪ kayəʔ.
 tu-ʔuχ^w-tx^w-əx^w tsiɪ s-k^ʔuy-s dx^w-ʔal tiɪ
 PST-go-CS-PI DET NMZR-mother-3.POS PERV-LOC DET

dx^w-ʔal tiɪ kayəʔ
 PERV-LOC DET grandmother
 He had brought his mother to the grandmother.

- (153) haabu.
 haabu
 INTERJ
 Habu.

- (154) l(ə)čiltx^wəx^w g^wəl cuudəx^w, cuudəx^w, “ ʔuləčiləx^w tiɪ.
 ləčil-tx^w-əx^w g^wəl cu-u-d-əx^w cu-u-d-əx^w
 arrive-CS-PI CONJ tell-LV-CTL-PI tell-LV-CTL-PI

ʔu-ləčil-əx^w tiɪ
 SB-arrive-PI 3PRS
 He brought her there, and he told her, he told her, “That one has arrived.”

- (155) ʔu... ʃaɫildubəx^w tiɪ stubš ʔə tiɪ stublaʔ.
 ʔu-... ʃaɫ-il-du-b-əx^w tiɪ s-tubš ʔə tiɪ
 INTERJ-EMPHAT like-INCH-LC-M-PI DET NMZR-man OBL DET

s-tublaʔ
 NMZR-Northwind
 Oh! North Wind liked that man.

- (156) ʔuʔabšitəx^w ʔə tsiɪ sɫadəyʔ.
 ʔu-ʔab-ši-t-əx^w ʔə tsiɪ s-ɫadəyʔ
 SB-give-DAT-CTL-PI OBL DET NMZR-woman
 He gave him a woman.

- (157) ʃ^wul^ʔəx^w ɫ(u)q^waɫad.
 ʃ^wul^ʔ-əx^w ɫu-q^waɫ-a-d
 just-PI HAB-drive.off-LV-CTL
 He just habitually drove her away.

- (158) haabu.
 haabu

INTERJ

Habu.

- (159) x^wiʔ k^w(i) sǰaλtx^w.
x^wiʔ k^wi s-ǰaλ-tx^w
NEG DET NMZR-want-CS
He didn't want her.
- (160) “λu-ləq^wədup tə d(?)al(?)al.
λu-ləq^w-ədup tə d-ʔalʔal
HAB-wet-floor DET 1SG.POS-house
“The floor of my home is habitually wet.”
- (161) huy λush(ə)diw'ləp sə bədəʔləp.”
huy λu-s-hədiw'-ləp sə bədəʔ-ləp
do HAB-NMZR-go.inside.house-2PL.POS DET one's.child-2PL.POS
“(So that) your habitual bringing of your child inside happens.”
- (162) cu··· cayi haʔł.
cu··· cay haʔł
EMPHAT-EMPHAT very good
Oh! It is very nice.
- (163) tiil k^wədiicut tsiil s-lədəyʔ.
tiil k^wədi-i-cut tsiil s-lədəyʔ
3PRS pray-LV-CTL.REFLX DET NMZR-woman
That is what that woman prayed for.
- (164) λusq^wəl'ilə(x^w) g^wələd^wax^wəx^w g^wələbiʔəx^w sq'ax^w.
λu-s-q^wəl-il-əx^w g^wəl-ə-d^wax^w-əx^w
HAB-NMZR-warm-INCH-PI SUBJ-REP-thaw-PI

g^wəl-ə-biʔ-əx^w s-q'ax^w
SUBJ-REP-fall.from.above-PI NMZR-freeze
The warm weather made it such that the ice could thaw and fall down from above.
- (165) huy ʔəsʔistə.
huy ʔəs-ʔistəʔ
do STAT-like
It happened like that.
- (166) < ha···y g^wələ tu->
<hay··· g^wələ tu->
<FALSE>

false start

- (167) dǎč'u(?), sali(?) ʔal t(u)dsbaliicəx^w.
dǎč'uʔ saliʔ ʔal tu-d-s-bali-i-c-əx^w
one two LOC PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-forget-LV-APP-PI
There are one, two things on which I forgot.
- (168) tu(a)bstudəq tiif bads ʔə tiif k^waq^w yəx^w tiif sqap g^wələ diləx^w t(u)aslaʔbəd tsiif
kayəʔs sk^wuys (h)ilg^wəʔ.
tu-ʔabs-tudəq tiif bad-s ʔə tiif _k^waq^w yəx^w tiif
PST-have-slave DET father-3.POS OBL DET raven CONJ DET
s-qap g^wələ diləx^w tu-ʔəs-laʔb-ə-d
NMZR-older.sibling CONJ DEICT-PI PST-STAT-watch-LV-CTL
tsiif kayəʔ-s s-k^wuy-s _hilg^wəʔ
DET grandmother-3.POS NMZR-mother-3.POS _3PL
His father had slaves that were Raven and his older brother, and these are the ones
that had been watching his grandmother, their mother.
- (169) tuʔiltəbəx^w ʔə tiif sqa tsiif lulu^λ ʔə tiif sʔələd.
tu-ʔil-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiif s-qa tsiif
PST-give.food/drink-CTL-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-older.sibling DET
lu-lu^λ ʔə tiif s-ʔələd
DERV-elder OBL DET NMZR-eat-DERV
The older brother had been serving the very old woman food.
- (170) g^wələx^wul'əx^w ləʔu^x tiif qələb k^waq^w g^wələtx^wc'ələsəb tsiif lulu^λ.
g^wələ-x^wul'-əx^w lə-ʔu^x tiif qələ-əb k^waq^w _
SUBJ-REP-just-PI PROG-go DET bad-M raven
g^wələ-tx^w-c'ələ-us-əb tsiif lu-lu^λ
SUBJ-REP-PERV-obstruct.view-face-M DET DERV-elder
Whenever the bad raven just went, the very old woman would cover her face.
- (171) <g^wəl ʔu->
<g^wəl ʔu->
<FALSE>
false start
- (172) g^wəl tucuudəx^w, " ʔəbil'əx^w ʔubisitəb čid čəx^w dx^wcaq'apəd.
g^wəl tu-cu-u-d-əx^w ʔəbil'-əx^w ʔu-bis-i-t-əb

CONJ PST-tell-LV-CTL-PI if-PI FUT-choose-LV-CTL-M

čid čəx^w dx^w-caq'-ap-ə-d
1SG 2SG PERV-jab-bottom-LV-CTL
He told her, "If he chooses me, stab him in the butt."

(173) habu.
habu
INTERJ
Habu.

(174.1) tələx^w tuʔistəbtub ʔə tsiil lulu^l g^wəl sax^wəbəx^w tiil sk^waq^w g^wələ cut, "
q^wənənənənənənən.
təl-əx^w tu-ʔistəʔ-b-tu-b ʔə tsiil lu-lu^l g^wəl
true-PI PST-happen-M-CS-M OBL DET DERV-old CONJ
sax^wəb-əx^w tiil s-k^waq^w g^wələ cut q^wənənənənənənən
run.hard-PI DET NMZR-raven CONJ say ouch

(174.2) q^wənənənənənənənən.
q^wənənənənənənənən
ouch

(174.3) q^wənənənənənənənən."
q^wənənənənənənənən
ouch
Truly, the very old woman caused this to happen to him, and Raven jumped and said, "Ouch! Ouch! Ouch!"

(175.1) q^wic' l(ə)čisəbəx^w.
q^wic' ləčil-s-əb-əx^w
lopsided arrive-3.POS-M-PI

(175.2) dił ʔuq'əd čalad tsiil kuʔkayəʔs.
dił ʔuq'-ə-d čal-a-d tsiil
DEICT unplug-LV-CTL chase-LV-CTL DET
kuʔ-kayəʔ-s
DIM-grandmother-3.POS
Wobbling, he arrived to her, so that she (could) pull it out is why he chased after his sort of grandmother.

(176) " q^wənənənənənənənən."

qʷənənənənənənənən
ouch
“Ouch!”

(177) tʷuukʷ txʷəl tiil siiʔabs gʷəl ʔəčʰšitəb ʔə tiil stqawd sixʷcaqʰaptub.
tʷukʷ dxʷ-ʔal tiil s-ʔi-ʔiʔab-s gʷəl
go.home PERV-LOC DET NMZR-DISTR-chief-3.POS CONJ

ʔəčʰ-ši-t-əb ʔə tiil s-tqawd
pull.out-DAT-CTL-M OBL DET NMZR-awl

sixʷ-caqʰ-ap-tu-b
serving.as-jab-bottom-CS-M

He went home to his chiefs and they extracted the awl that had been used to jab him in the butt.

(178) habu.
habu
INTERJ
Habu.

(179) tuʔa···liləxʷ tiil ʰəč, gʷəl tuʔuʰəxʷ txʷəl ti qʰixʷ, gʷəl tudʒubudəxʷ ti təqʷuʔbəd.
tu-ʔal-···-il-əxʷ tiil ʰəč gʷəl tu-ʔuʰəxʷ
PST-come.to-EMPHAT-INCH-PI DET cognition CONJ PST-go-PI

dxʷ-ʔal ti qʰixʷ gʷəl tu-dʒub-u-d-əxʷ
PERV-LOC DET upstream CONJ PST-kick-LV-CTL-PI

ti təqʷuʔbəd
DET Mt.Rainier

They had come to a decision, and they went upriver, and they kicked Mount Rainier.

(180) tuhuy gʷəl tuqəlbəxʷ gʷəl tuqəlbəxʷ gʷəl tuqəlbəxʷ gʷəl hikʷ(h)ikʷ kʷi maman.
tu-huy gʷəl tu-qəlb-əxʷ gʷəl tu-qəlb-əxʷ _gʷəl tu-qəlb-əxʷ
PST-make CONJ PST-rain-PI CONJ PST-rain-PI _CONJ PST-rain-PI

gʷəl hikʷ-hikʷ kʷi maman
belong.to DISTR-big DET small

They had done this and it had rained and rained and rained of what was of large [as well as] small.

- (181) huy g^wəl <tu-> tup'əq'^wəx^w tiil c'əlusəd g^wəl tup'əq'^wəx^w ti stublə? g^wəl
 tučalčaladəx^w bə...k'^w čads.
 huy g^wəl <tu-> tu-p'əq'^w-əx^w tiil c'əl-us-əd
 CONJ CONJ <FALSE> PST-drift-PI DET obstruct.view-face-DERV
- g^wəl tu-p'əq'^w-əx^w ti s-tublə? g^wəl
 CONJ PST-drift-PI DET NMZR-Northwind CONJ
- tu-čal-čal-a-d-əx^w bək'^w-... čad-s
 PST-DISTR-chase-LV-CTL-PI all-EMPHAT where-3.POS
 And then the fish weir had floated away, and the North Wind people had floated
 away and they were chased all over the place.
- (182) g^wəl tu?uχ^wəx^w tx^wəl k^wədi lil ?aχ^wad swaatix^wtəd.
 g^wəl tu-?uχ^w-əx^w dx^w-?al k^wədi lil ?aχ^wad s-watix^wtəd
 CONJ PST-go-PI PERV-LOC DEM far north _NMZR-land
 And they went far away to a distant northern land.
- (183) səx^wax^wəx^w k^wə s(h)ik^w sq'ax^w.
 səx^w-?a-x^w-əx^w k^wə s-hik^w s-q'ax^w
 by.means.of-locate-EPTH-PI DET NMZR-big NMZR-freeze
 That is the reason there is a lot of ice there.
- (184) habu.
 habu
 INTERJ
 Habu.
- (185) diil stublə?
 diil-ıl s-tublə?
 DEICT-DERV NMZR-Northwind
 That is the North Wind.
- (186) diləx^w shuysəx^w ti?il.
 diil-əx^w s-huy-s-əx^w ti?il
 DEICT-PI NMZR-COP-3.POS-PI 3PRS
 That is what happened to him.
- (187) That's the end.

Raven and His In-laws (Version 1)

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded June 29th, 195**

At Muckleshoot Reservation, Washington

- (1) ɭaɭli(l) tiɭ kʷaqʷ yəxʷ tiɭ qʷilχʷs, sgʷəlub.
 ɭaɭli tiɭ kʷaqʷ yəxʷ tiɭ qʷilχʷ-s s-gʷəlub
 live DET raven CONJ DET in-law-3.POS NMZR-pheasant
 There lived Raven and his in-law Pheasant.
- (2) ɭuxʷiʔxʷiʔ tiɭ sgʷəlub.
 ɭu-xʷiʔxʷiʔ tiɭ s-gʷəlub
 HAB-forage DET NMZR-pheasant
 Pheasant habitually foraged for things.
- (3) ʔuxʷiiʔxʷiʔ gʷəl(ə)uʔuχʷəxʷ tiɭ tiɭ kʷaqʷ gʷəl(ə)uwiliqʷ, “ ʔuχʷiχʷəd čəxʷ.”
 ʔu-xʷiʔxʷiʔ gʷəl-ə-ʔu-ʔuχʷ-əxʷ tiɭ tiɭ kʷaqʷ
 SB-forage SUBJ-REP-SB-go-PI DET DET raven

 gʷəl-ə-ʔu-wiliqʷ ʔu-χʷiχʷəd čəxʷ
 SUBJ-REP-SB-ask.question SB-do.AGG.MOD 2SG
 He foraged for things and that is when that thing Raven would go and ask, “How did you do that?”
- (4) ʔuʔiibəš tiɭ sgʷəlub gʷəl < ʔu- ...> ʔučəl stʰəlub ʔə ti sčəbid.
 ʔu-ʔiibəš tiɭ s-gʷəlub gʷəl ʔu-čəl
 SB-walk DET NMZR-pheasant CONJ SB-make

 s-tʰəlub ʔə ti s-čəbid
 NMZR-dried.king.salmon OBL DET NMZR-fir.bark
 Pheasant walked somewhere where he made dried king salmon out of fir bark.
- (5) ʔucaqʷad tiɭ sčəbid gʷəl ʔuxʷixʷitʰi(l) tʰəlub.
 ʔu-caqʷ-a-d tiɭ s-čəbid gʷəl ʔu-xʷi-xʷitʰi-l
 SB-jab-LV-CTL DET NMZR-fir.bark CONJ SB-DISTR-fall-INCH

 tʰəlub
 dried.king.salmon
 He jabbed the fir bar and dried king salmon fell and fell.
- (6.1) gʷəl cut, “ tʰəlub.

g^wəl cut t'əlub
 CONJ say dried.king.salmon

(6.2) t'əlub.

t'əlub
 dried.king.salmon

(6.3) t'əlub ,” g^wələbiʔəx^w t'əlub.

t'əlub g^wə-lə-biʔ-əx^w t'əlub
 dried.king.salmon SUBJ-REP-fall.from.above-PIdried.king.salmon
 And he said, “Dried king salmon. Dried king salmon. Dried king salmon,” until
 dried king salmon would repeatedly fall down from above.

(7) < ʔu > g^wəl čəʔ (ʔ)ə(s)šab.

g^wəl čəʔ ʔəs-šab
 CONJ make STAT-dry
 And he made it dry.

(8) x^wi(ʔ) k^w(i) sə(s)šabs.

x^wiʔ k^wi s-ʔəs-šab-s
 NEG DET NMZR-STAT-dry-3.POS
 It was not dry.

(9) t'u...k^wtx^wəx^w g^wəl ləčiləx^w g^wəl ʔayʔayəbəx^w tiil bəd(ə)d(əʔ) (ʔ)ə tiil
 sg^wəlub.

t'uk^w-...-tx^w-əx^w g^wəl ləčil-əx^w g^wəl ʔay-ʔayəb-əx^w
 go.home-EMPHAT-CS-PI CONJ arrive-PI CONJ DISTR-laugh-PI

tiil bədəʔ-dəʔ ʔə tiil s-g^wəlub
 DET one's.child-DISTR OBL DET NMZR-pheasant
 He brought it all home, and when he arrived, those children of Pheasant laughed
 and laughed.

(10) ʔuʔəʔəd ʔə tiil sx^wiʔx^wiʔs st'əlubs.

ʔu-ʔəʔ-ad ʔə tiil s-x^wiʔx^wiʔ-s
 SB-eat-DERV OBL DET NMZR-forage-3.POS

s-t'əlub-s
 NMZR-dried.king.salmon-3.POS
 They ate his catch of dried king salmon.

(11) ʔələbutəx^w tiil k^waq^w g^wəl cuud tiil bədəʔs, “ k^wililayqs.

ʔəl-al-but-əx^w tiil k^waq^w g^wəl cu-u-d tiil

still-LOC-REFLX-PI DET raven CONJ tell-LV-CTL DET

bədəʔ-s kʷil-il-ay-qs
one's.child-3.POS peek-INCH-CONN-nose
Raven understood this and he told his son, “kʷililayqs (nose peeker).”

- (12) ʔuχʷə(xʷ) laʔb.
ʔuχʷ-əxʷ laʔb
go-PI look
“Go look.”

- (13) xʷiiʔ slaʔbdubəxʷ ʔə tiif kʷil(i)layqs.
xʷiiʔ s-laʔb-du-b-əxʷ ʔə tiif kʷil-il-ay-qs
NEG NMZR-see-LC-M-PI OBL DET peek-INCH-CONN-nose
kʷililayqs was not able to see anything.

- (14) cuud tiif dədəčʷuʔ, “kʷiliʔ .
cu-u-d tiif dədəčʷuʔ kʷil-i-d
tell-LV-CTL DET one peek-LV-CTL
He told one person, “Look in on them.”

- (15) kʷəlkʷilb ləʔuχʷə(xʷ) laʔb.
kʷəl-kʷil-b lə-ʔuχʷ-əxʷ laʔb
DISTR-peek-M PROG-go-PI look
“kʷəlkʷilb go along looking.”

- (16) ʔuuχʷ tiif kʷəlkʷilblub gʷələ laʔb.
ʔuχʷ tiif kʷəl-kʷil-b-lub gʷələ laʔb
go DET DISTR-peek-M-*** CONJ look
kʷəlkʷilblub went and looked.

- (17) gʷələ cuud tsiif čəgʷəš, “ʔəʕšic kʷə ləχʷəlulč < ʔə tə ds-> ʔə tiif cʷicʷəb.”
gʷələ cu-u-d tsiif čəgʷəš ʔəʕšic-t-s kʷə
CONJ tell-LV-CTL DET wife come-DAT-CTL-1SG DET

ləχʷ-əl-ulč ʔə tiif cʷicʷəb
come.down.on-LOC-stomach OBL DET blanket
And he told his wife, “Get it for me, my blanket I cover my belly with.”

- (18.1) “ ʔuʔicʷəb čəd.
ʔu-ʔicʷəb čəd
SB-don.blanket 1SG

- (18.2) ləʔuχ^w čəd ʔə tə sg^wəlub .”
 lə-ʔuχ^w čəd ʔə tə s-g^wəlub
 PROG-go 1SG OBL DET NMZR-pheasant
 “I will put my blanket on to go to Pheasant.”
- (19) ʔaabšitəb ʔə tsiil čəg^wəš g^wəl ʔic’əb ʔə tiil sʔic’əbs g^wəl ʔuχ^w g^wəl ləčil.
 ʔab-ši-t-əb ʔə tsiil čəg^wəš g^wəl ʔic’əb ʔə
 give-DAT-CTL-M OBL DET wife CONJ don.blanket OBL

 tiil s-ʔic’əb-s g^wəl ʔuχ^w g^wəl ləčil
 DET NMZR-blanket-3.POS CONJ go CONJ arrive
 His wife gave it to him and he put his blanket on and he went and arrived there.
- (20) q^walsšitəb ʔə tiil t’əlub g^wəl ʔəldub.
 q^wals-ši-t-əb ʔə tiil t’əlub g^wəl ʔət-du-b
 boil-DAT-CTL-M OBL DET dried.king.salmon CONJ eat-LC-M
 He boiled the dried king salmon for him and managed to feed him.
- (21) ʔiiltəbəx^w.
 ʔil-t-əb-əx^w
 give.food/drink-CTL-M-PI
 He served him the food.
- (22) wiliq^wəx^w, “ ʔuu , ʔiχədtx^w čəx^w.”
 wiliq^w-əx^w ʔu ʔiχəd-tx^w čəx^w
 ask.question-PI INTERJ do.AGG.MOD-CS 2SG
 He asked, “Oh. How did you do that?”
- (23.1) “ ʔuu.
 ʔu
 INTERJ
 “Oh!”
- (23.2) ʔuləči(1) čəd tiil haac sčəbiʔdac čədə ʔidtx^w tiil sčəbid čədə cuud, ‘ t’əlub.
 ʔu-ləčil čəd tiil haac s-čəbid-ac čəd-ə
 SB-arrive 1SG DET tall NMZR-Douglas.fir-tree 1SG-CONJ

 ʔid-tx^w tiil s-čəbid čəd-ə cu-u-d
 do-CS DET NMZR-fir.bark 1SG-CONJ tell-LV-CTL

 t’əlub
 dried.king.salmon

- (23.3) t'əlub.
t'əlub
dried.king.salmon
- (23.4) t'əlub .”
t'əlub
dried.king.salmon
“I came to a tall fir tree, and I did it to the bark by telling it, ‘dried salmon. dried salmon. dried salmon.’”
- (24) “ x^wix^wit'i(l) t'əlub.”
x^wi-x^wit'-il t'əlub
DISTR-fall-INCH dried.king.salmon
“Dried king salmon fell and fell.”
- (25) “ qa··· čəd čəbaʔdəx^w čəd ʔaλtx^wəx^w.”
qa··· čəd čəbaʔ-d-əx^w čəd ʔəλ-tx^w-əx^w
many-EMPHAT 1SG backpack-CTL-PI 1SG come-CS-PI
“I packed a lot of it on my back and brought it here.”
- (26) huy, hiiltəbəx^w g^wələ ʔuχ^wəx^w.
huy hiil-t-əb-əx^w g^wələ ʔuχ^w-əx^w
CONJ give.food/drink-CTL-M-PI CONJ go-PI
Then he gave him some food and he went.
- (27) t'uk^wəx^w g^wəl ʔəttx^wəx^w tiil bəd(ə)dəʔs.
t'uk^w-əx^w g^wəl ʔət-tx^w-əx^w tiil bədəʔ-dəʔ-s
go.home-PI CONJ eat-CS-PI DET one's.child-DISTR-3.POS
He went home and he fed his children.
- (28) ʔa ti ʔa tiil.
ʔa ti ʔa tiil
locate DET locate DET
He was there with this.
- (29) ʔəčisəx^w tsiil cuudəx^w tsiil čəg^wəšs, " ʔu··· ʔuʔuχ^w čəd dadəta k^w(i) ʔup.
ʔəčil-s-əx^w tsiil cu-u-d-əx^w tsiil čəg^wəš-s
arrive-3.POS-PI DET tell-LV-CTL-PI DET wife-3.POS
ʔu··· ʔu-ʔuχ^w čəd dadəta k^wi ʔup
INTERJ-EMPHAT FUT-go 1SG tomorrow DET early.morning
He came for her and told his wife, “Oh. I will go tomorrow early in the morning.”

- (30) ʔuɣ̃wəx^w g^wəl ləčis tiil sčəbidac dx^whuyud tiil səscutəbs ʔə tiil sg^wəlub .
 ʔuɣ̃wəx^w g^wəl ləčil-s tiil s-čəbid-ac
 go-PI CONJ arrive-APPL DET NMZR-fir.bark-tree

dəx^w-huy-u-d tiil s-ʔəs-cut-əb-s ʔə
 reason.for-do-LV-CTL DET NMZR-STAT-tell-M-3.POS OBL

tiil s-g^wəlub
 DET NMZR-pheasant
 He went and came for the fir tree to make what Pheasant told him about.

- (31) k^wədtx^w tiil k^wid.
 k^wəd-tx^w tiil k^wid
 take-CS DET few
 He took a few.

- (32) ʔuk^wədəd tiil hudčup g^wəl k^wałəd tiil g^wələ lək^wəd.
 ʔu-k^wəd-ə-d tiil hud-čup g^wəl
 SB-get-LV-CTL DET firewood-cooking.fire CONJ

k^wał-ə-d tiil g^wələ lək^w-ə-d
 examine-LV-CTL DET CONJ eat.up-LV-CTL
 He got some firewood and examined it and ate it up.

- (33) huyucid.
 huy-ucid
 finish mouth
 He finished eating.

- (34) cutəbs, “cayəx^w luqa k^w(i) lʊsx^wiʔx^wiʔs.”
 cut-əb-s cay-əx^w lu-qa k^wi lʊ-s-x^wiʔx^wiʔ-s
 say-M-3.POS very-PI FUT-many DET FUT-NMZR-forage-3.POS
 He thought, “This will be a lot of catch.”

- (35) ʔuɣ̃wəx^w qqit(t)x^wəx^w.
 ʔuɣ̃wəx^w q-qit-tx^w-əx^w
 go-PI DIM-circle.around.something-CS-PI
 He went circling around it a bit.

- (36) putəx^w tubəxidtx^w.
 put-əx^w tu-bə-ǰid-tx^w
 very-PI PST-ADD-do-CS
 He worked hard at doing it again.

- (37) ǰ^wu···l'ǰx^w sčǰbid tiil ʔux^wix^wit'i(l).
ǰ^wul'-···-ǰx^w s-čǰbid tiil ʔu-x^wi-x^wit'-il
just-EMPHAT-PI NMZR-fir.bark DET SB-DISTR-fall-INCH
Only fir bark fell and fell.
- (38) ǰicilǰx^w g^wǰl t'uk'^wǰx^w.
ǰicil-ǰx^w g^wǰl t'uk'^w-ǰx^w
angry-PI CONJ go.home-PI
He got angry and went home.
- (39) x^wiʔ k^w(ǰ) lǰčis.
x^wiʔ k^wǰ lǰčil-s
NEG DET arrive-APPL
He did not come to it.
- (40) hay, bǰʔibǰšǰx^w tiil sg^wǰlub .
hay bǰ-ʔibǰš-ǰx^w tiil s-g^wǰlub
CONJ ADD-walk-PI DET NMZR-pheasant
Then Pheasant walked again.
- (41) ǰaadǰx^w.
ǰa-a-d-ǰx^w
stalk-LV-CTL-PI
He stalked someone.
- (42) čǰlǰ t'isǰd g^wǰl čǰlǰ c'ac'uc g^wǰl ǰaadǰx^w tiil sʔubdiʔ.
čǰlǰ t'isǰd g^wǰl čǰlǰ c'ac'uc g^wǰl ǰa-a-d-ǰx^w
make arrow CONJ make bow CONJ lie.in.wait-LV-CTL-PI
tiil s-ʔubdiʔ
DET NMZR-hunter
He made arrows and he made a bow and he stalked a hunter.
- (43) tiilǰx^w lǰʔaǰ tiil k^wag^wičǰd.
tilǰx^w lǰ-ʔaǰ tiil k^wag^wičǰd
eventually PROG-come DET elk
Eventually, there was an elk coming.
- (44) t'uc'utǰb ʔǰ tiil sg^wǰlub g^wǰl ʔaatǰbǰd.
t'uc'-u-t-ǰb ʔǰ tiil s-g^wǰlub g^wǰl ʔatǰbǰd
shoot-LV-CTL-M OBL DET NMZR-pheasant CONJ die
Pheasant shot it and it died.
- (45) tiilǰx^w lǰʔaǰ tiil stubš < lǰ(a)bšc'aa > lǰ(a)bšc'ac'us lǰ(a)bst'ist'isǰn.

tiləx^w lə-ʔəʎ̌ tiil s-tubš lə-ʔabs-c'ac'us
 eventually PROG-come DET NMZR-man PROG-have-bow

lə-ʔabs-c'ac'us lə-ʔabs-t'ist'isən
 PROG-have-bow PROG-have-arrow
 Eventually, a man was coming with a bow and arrows.

- (46) ʔa tiil g^wəl ləčis g^wəl cuud, “ya… sg^wəlubšəd ʃ^wul' ʔihiltx^w k^wi sx^wiʔx^wiʔ.
 ʔa tiil g^wəl ləčil-s g^wəl cu-u-d
 locate DET CONJ arrive-APPL CONJ say-LV-CTL

ya… s-g^wəlub-šəd ʃ^wul' ʔihil-tx^w k^wi
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT NMZR-pheasant-foot just stink-CS DET

s-x^wiʔx^wiʔ
 NMZR-forage
 There he was and he came to say to him, “Ah! Pheasant tracks are sticking up my game.”

- (47) “ʔaačəš siʔab.”
 ʔaačəš s-ʔiʔab
 *** NMZR-honorable.person
 “Oh my! honorable one.”

- (48) “tuʔil t(i) adšəg^wl.”
 tu-ʔil ti ad-šəg^wl
 PST-start DET 2SG.POS-path
 “This had started out to be your path.”

- (49) tuyuʔbiləx^w š(ə) adstaltaləl čədə ləqəliʔad.
 tu-yubil-əx^w šə ad-s-tal-taləl čəd-ə
 PST-starve-PI DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-DISTR-nephew/niece 1SG-CONJ

ləqəliʔad
 ***-DERV
 “Your nephews and nieces are famished and I was worried.”

- (50) “ʔa…š x^wiʔ lə(h)aʔl.”
 ʔaš… x^wiʔ lə-haʔl
 INTERJ-EMPHAT NEG PROG-good
 “Indeed, that’s not good.”

- (51) “ʔaaš x^wiʔ lə(h)aʔl.”
 ʔaš x^wiʔ lə-haʔl
 INTERJ NEG PROG-good
 “Indeed, that’s not good.”

- (52) kʷiičʰitəb ʔə tiɪ stubs tiɪ skʷagʷičəd gʷələ ʃʷəʃʷ(a)q(a)c(i)gʷəd gʷələ
 ʃʷəʃʷq(a)c(i)gʷəd gʷəl qʷaalsədəxʷ tiɪ.
 kʷičʰ-i-t-əb ʔə tiɪ s-tubš tiɪ
 butcher-LV-CTL-M OBL DET NMZR-man DET
 s-kʷagʷičəd gʷələ ʃʷə-ʃʷaq-ac-igʷəd gʷələ
 NMZR-elk CONJ DISTR-bind-center-inside.animal.body CONJ
 ʃʷə-ʃʷaq-ac-igʷəd gʷəl qʷals-ə-d-əxʷ tiɪ
 DISTR-bind-center-inside.animal.body CONJ boil-LV-CTL-PI DET
 The man butchered the elk and twisted, squeezed and compressed the intestines to
 clean them; and then he boiled them.
- (53) čələ səxʷqʷal ʔə tiɪ hikʷ qʰədʒəʃ.
 čələ səxʷ-qʷal ʔə tiɪ hikʷ qʰədʒəʃ
 make by.means.of-boil OBL DET big intestines
 He made something to boil the plentiful intestines.
- (54) huy ʔəɫxʷəxʷ tiɪ luʃ.
 huy ʔəɫ-txʷ-əxʷ tiɪ luʃ
 CONJ eat-CS-PI DET old
 Then he fed the old one.
- (55) kʷədədəxʷ gʷəl ʃəkʷudəxʷ tiɪ bayəc gʷəl mimu...ʔanʰəxʷ tiɪ dəčʰuʔ hikʷ
 kʷagʷičəd.
 kʷəd-ə-d-əxʷ gʷəl ʃəkʷ-u-d-əxʷ tiɪ bayəc gʷəl
 take-LV-CTL-PI CONJ chop-LV-CTL-PI DET meat CONJ
 mimuʔanʰ-...-əxʷ tiɪ dəčʰuʔ hikʷ kʷagʷičəd
 small-EMPHAT-PI DET one big elk
 He took and cut up the meat and made the one big elk extremely small.
- (56) cutəxʷ tiɪ.
 cut-əxʷ tiɪ
 say-PI 3PRS
 He said.
- (57) cuudəxʷ tiɪ sgʷəlub, “ ɫučəbaʔ čəxʷ ɫuʔiibəš.”
 cu-u-d-əxʷ tiɪ s-gʷəlub ɫu-čəbaʔ _ čəxʷ ɫu-ʔiibəš
 tell-LV-CTL-PI DET NMZR-pheasant FUT-backpack 2SG FUT-walk
 He told Pheasant, “You will pack it on your back as you walk.”
- (58) “ xʷi...ʔ kʷ(i)ɫ(u)adsdʒaalqus.”
 xʷiʔ-... kʷi ɫu-ad-s-dʒalq-us

NEG-EMPHAT DET FUT-2SG.POS-NMZR-turn.around-face
“You are not to turn around.”

- (59) x^{wi}? k^{w(i)} l(u)adsd^zaalqus.
x^{wi}? k^{wi} lu-ad-s-d^zalq-us
NEG DET FUT-2SG.POS-NMZR-turn.around-face
“You are not to turn around.”

- (60) huuy čəx^w ləʔibəš.
huyčəx^w lə-ʔibəš
do 2SG PROG-walk
“You will just walk.”

- (61) “ ti…ləbəx^w … k^{wi} l(u)adsšəd^zil ʔa čəx^w k^{w(i)} adšəg^wl čəx^w lələd^zaalqus čəx^w
lələbəčəš tiil adsčəba? .”

tiləb-…-əx^w k^{wi} lu-ad-s-šəd^zil
suddenly-EMPHAT-PI DET FUT-2SG.POS-NMZR-go.outside

ʔa čəx^w k^{wi} ad-šəg^wl čəx^w lu-lə-d^zalq-us
locate 2SG DET 2SG.POS-door 2SG FUT-PROG-turn.over-face

čəx^w lu-lə-bəč-əš tiil ad-s-čəba?
2SG FUT-PROG-put-CTL DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-backpack

“As soon as you are outside the house, with you at your door, you will turn around
and put down your pack on your back.”

- (62) ʔuuχ^w ti sg^wəlub ʔi…
ʔuχ^w ti s-g^wəlub ʔi…
go DET NMZR-pheasant EMPHAT-EMPHAT
Pheasant went a very long way.

- (63) ləč^ʔiitiləx^w tiil ʔaʔəlʔals g^wəl ʔəbiləx^w tiil sčəbaʔs.
lə-č^ʔit-il-əx^w tiil ʔa-ʔəlʔal g^wəl ʔəb-il-əx^w
PROG-near-INCH-PI DET DIM-house CONJ heavy-INCH-PI

tiil s-čəbaʔ-s
DET NMZR-backpack-3.POS

As he was getting closer to his little house his pack was getting heavy.

- (64) ʔu… cayck^{ʔw} ʔuχəb.
ʔu… cayck^{ʔw} ʔu-χəb
INTERJ-EMPHAT very SB-heavy
Oh! It was very heavy.

- (65) ʔaalışitəbəx^w g^wələ ləčiləx^w l(ə)əsx^waak^{ʔw}iləx^w .

peek-INCH-CONN-nose

Then Raven understood this, and he told him, “kʷiliayqs (Nose Peeker), go.”

(73) “kʷil. ”

kʷil

peek

“Look in on them.”

(74) ʔuχʷ tiil kʷililayqs.

ʔuχʷ tiil kʷil-il-ay-qs

go DET peek-INCH-CONN-nose

kʷililayqs (nose peeker) went.

(75) kʷil.

kʷil

peek

He looked in on them.

(76) ʔal tułəči(l), ... ʔuu ʔupusutəb ʔə tə bədədəʔ tə kʷaqʷ ʔə tə bayəc.

ʔal tu-ləčiil ʔu ʔu-pus-u-t-əb ʔə tə

LOC PST-arrive INTERJ SB-throw-LV-CTL-M OBL DET

bədəʔ-dəʔ tə kʷaqʷ ʔə tə bayəc

one's.child-DISTR DET raven OBL DET meat

When he got there, oh, the children threw meat at Raven.

(77) bayəc ti səxʷpusutagʷils.

bayəc ti səxʷ-pus-u-tagʷil-s

meat DET by.means.of-throw-LV-RECIP-3.POS

Meat was what they were using to throw at each other.

(78) ʔuu.

ʔu

INTERJ

Oh!

(79) ʔuχʷ gʷiid ti sʔicʷəbs gʷəl ʔicʷəb gʷəl ʔuχʷ gʷələ wiliqʷ, “ ʔuu , t(u)asχid ti səxʷugʷələld tiil skʷagʷiçəd.”

ʔuχʷ gʷi-i-d ti s-ʔicʷəb-s gʷəl ʔicʷəb
go request-LV-CTL DET NMZR-blanket-3.POS CONJ blanket

gʷəl ʔuχʷ gʷələ wiliqʷ ʔu tu-ʔəs-χid ti
CONJ go CONJ ask.question INTERJ PST-STAT-how DET

səxʷ-ʔu-gʷələld tiil s-kʷagʷiçəd

by.means.of-SB-kill-CTL DET NMZR-elk
 He went to ask for his blanket and he put it on and went and asked, “Oh. How did you kill that elk?”

- (80) “ʔuu x^{wi}? k^{w(i)} tudsg^{wə}laald.”
 ʔu x^{wi}? k^{wi} tu-d-s-g^{wə}lal-d
 INTERJ NEG DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-kill-CTL
 “Oh. I did not kill it.”
- (81) “tu^xw čəd ʔu^laad tiil sʔubdiʔ, <...> g^{wəl} ləʔə^l tiil sk^{wag}wičəd.”
 tu^xw čəd ʔu-^la-a-d tiil s-ʔubdiʔ _ g^{wəl}
 merely 1SG SB-stalk-LV-CTL DET NMZR-hunter CONJ
 lə-ʔə^l tiil s-k^{wag}wičəd
 PROG-come DET NMZR-elk
 “I just stalked a hunter when an elk was coming.”
- (82) čəd t’uc’ud g^{wəl} bəč g^{wəl} ləčiləx^w g^{wəl} cutəbs, “ʔu, ʔuʔi(h)ilšəd č(ə)x^w ʔə k^{w(i)} šəg^wl.”
 čəd t’uc’-u-d g^{wəl} bəč g^{wəl} ləčil-əx^w g^{wəl}
 1SG shoot-LV-CTL CONJ fall.down CONJ arrive-PI CONJ
 cut-əb-s ʔu ʔu-ʔihil-šəd čəx^w ʔə _k^{wi} šəg^wl
 say-M-3.POS INTERJ SB-stink-foot 2SG OBL DET path
 I shot it and it fell and he arrived and said, “Oh, your tracks are stinking up the path.”
- (83) “ʔu... x^{wi}ʔ.”
 ʔu-... x^{wi}ʔ
 INTERJ-EMPHAT NEG
 “Oh. No.”
- (84) “tu^xw čəd cick^w ʔuhuy yuʔbi(l) čəd ʔa ləʔə^l.”
 tu^xw čəd cick^w ʔu-huy yuʔb-il čəd _ʔa lə-ʔə^l
 merely 1SG very SB-COP starve-INCH 1SG _locate PROG-come
 “I was just very famished is why I was coming there.”
- (85) “ʔuu š(ə) x^{wi}(?) l(əh)aʔl.”
 ʔu šə x^{wi}? lə-haʔl
 INTERJ DET NEG PROG-good
 “Oh, that’s not good.”
- (86) k^wiic’idəx^w ʔuq^waalsədəx^w g^{wəl} hay ʔə^ttubšəx^w.”
 k^wič’-i-d-əx^w ʔu-q^wals-ə-d-əx^w g^{wəl} hay ʔə^t-tu-bš-əx^w
 butcher-LV-CTL-PI SB-boil-LV-CTL-PI CONJ CONJ eat-CS-1SG-PI

“He butchered it, boiled it and then fed me.”

- (87) “huy ʎəkʷšitəbčəd čəbaʔdəxʷ čəd ʔaʎtxʷəxʷ.”
huy ʎəkʷ-ši-t-əb čəd čəbaʔ-d-əxʷ _čəd ʔaʎ-txʷ-əxʷ
CONJ chop-DAT-CTL-M 1SG backpack-CTL-PI 1SG come-CS-PI
“Then he chopped it up for me and I packed it on my back and brought it.”
- (88) bəqʷaalšitəb tiif qʷilxʷs gʷəl ʔətxʷəxʷ.
bə-qʷal-ši-t-əb tiif qʷilxʷ-s gʷəl _ʔə-txʷ-əxʷ
ADD-boil-DAT-CTL-M DET in-law-3.POS CONJ eat-CS-PI
He boiled some for his in-law and fed him.
- (89) ʔətxʷəxʷ tiif qʷiilxʷs.
ʔə-txʷ-əxʷ tiif qʷiilxʷ-s
eat-CS-PI DET in-law-3.POS
He fed his in-law.
- (90) huyəxʷ gʷəl hildxʷ ʔə sə(xʷ)tʷukʷəxʷ < tiif ...> tiif kʷaqʷ txʷəl tiif sgʷaʔs ʔalʔal.
huy-əxʷ gʷəl hild-dxʷ ʔə səxʷ-tʷukʷ-əxʷ
finish-PI CONJ give.food/drink-LC OBL by.means.of-go.home-PI

tiif tiif kʷaqʷ dxʷ-ʔal tiif s-gʷaʔ-s _ ʔalʔal
DET DET raven PERV-LOC DET NMZR-one's.own-3.POS house
He finished and he gave him some food so that Raven would go home to his own house.
- (91) gʷəl šədʔəl gʷəl ʔuləxʷəd tiif čəʔ cʷacʷuc gʷəl čəʔ tʷisəd gʷəl cuud tsiif čəgʷəš,
“ʔuu luʔuʎʷ čəd txʷəl kʷi šəgʷʔ ʔə kʷi sʔubdiʔ.”
gʷəl šədʔəl gʷəl ʔuləxʷ-ə-d tiif čəʔ cʷacʷuc gʷəl
CONJ go.outside CONJ gather-LV-CTL DET make bow CONJ

čəʔ tʷisəd gʷəl cu-u-d tsiif čəgʷəš ʔu lu-ʔuʎʷ
make arrow CONJ tell-LV-CTL DET wife INTERJ FUT-go

čəd dxʷ-ʔal kʷi šəgʷʔ ʔə kʷi s-ʔubdiʔ
1SG PERV-LOC DET path OBL DET NMZR-hunter
And he went outside and gathered something to make a bow and make arrows and he told his wife, “Oh, I am going to go to the path of a hunter.”
- (92) huy ʔuʎʷəxʷ.
huy ʔuʎʷ-əxʷ
CONJ go-PI
Then he went.
- (93) ləxʷiləxʷ gʷəl ʔuʎʷəxʷ lə(a)bscʷacʷuc lə(a)bstʷisəd.

ləx̣-il-əx̣^w g^wəl ʔuχ̣^w-əx̣^w lə-ʔabs-c'ac'uc lə-ʔabs-t'isəd
 day.light-INCH-PI CONJ go-PI PROG-have-bow PROG-have-arrow
 The next day he went with a bow and arrows.

- (94) tiiləx^w ləʔəλ̣ tiil k^wag^wičəd.
 tiiləx^w lə-ʔəλ̣ tiil k^wag^wičəd
 eventually PROG-come DET elk
 Eventually, an elk came.
- (95) t'uuc'utəb ʔə tiil k^waq^w g^wəl bəč.
 t'uuc'-u-t-əb ʔə tiil k^waq^w g^wəl bəč
 shoot-LV-CTL-M OBL DET raven CONJ fall.down
 Raven shot it and it fell.
- (96.1) g^wələ x^wiʔ ləhaʔk^w ləʔəλ̣ tiil stubš, g^wələ cut, “ ʔa... , tə k^waq^wšəd g^wəl ʔihil.
 g^wələ x^wiʔ lə-haʔk^w lə-ʔəλ̣ tiil s-tubš g^wələ
 CONJ NEG PROG-ago PROG-come DET NMZR-man CONJ

 cut ʔa-... tə k^waq^w-šəd g^wəl _ ʔihil
 say EMPHAT-EMPHAT DET raven-foot FM _ stink
 And it was not long before a man was coming and he said, “Ah! There’s a smell of raven feet.
- (96.2) ʔihild k^wi dšəg^wł.”
 ʔihil-d k^wi d-šəg^wł
 stink-CTL DET 1SG.POS-path
 It’s stinking up my path.”
- (97) “ʔu... x̣id əw'ə) g^w(ə)adsucut(t)ubš.”
 ʔu-...-x̣id əw'ə g^wə-ad-s-ʔu-cut-tu-bš
 INTERJ-EMPHAT-why EXCL SUBJ-2SG.POS-NMZR-SB-say-CS-1SG
 “Oh. Why in the world did you say that to me?”
- (98) “tuqa cut ʔə tiil.”
 tu-qa cut ʔə tiil
 PST-many say OBL 3PRS
 “Many have said that.”
- (99) x^wiʔ k^w(i) suʔihil.
 x^wiʔ k^wi s-ʔu-ʔihil
 NEG DET NMZR-SB-stink
 “They don’t stink.”
- (100) x^wiʔ k^w(i) suʔihil _____ g^wəl ʔihil t(i) adšəg^wł.
 x^wiʔ k^wi s-ʔu-ʔihil g^wəl ʔihil ti ad-šəg^wł

NEG DET NMZR-SB-stink CONJ stink DET 2SG.POS-path
 They don't stink____, and they didn't stink up your path.”

- (101) cut(t)əb ʔə tiif, “ ʔuu. ”
 cut-t-əb ʔə tiif ʔu
 say-CTL-M OBL 3PRS INTERJ
 That one said to him, “Oh.”

- (102.1) “ ʔuu.
 ʔu
 INTERJ

- (102.2) tuχ^w čəd ləʔaλ¹ tx^wəl g^w(ə)adslilc ʔə tiif adχəč g^wəl liʔliləš čəd ʔə t'uc'ud.”
 tuχ^w čəd lə-ʔəλ dx^w-ʔal
 just 1SG PROG-come PERV-LOC

g^wə-ad-s-lil-t-s ʔə tiif
 SUBJ-2SG.POS-NMZR-give.food/drink-CTL-1SG OBL DET

ad-χəč g^wəl liʔ-lil-əš čəd ʔə t'uc'-u-d
 2SG.POS-thoughts CONJ DIM-far-CTL 1SG OBL shoot-LV-CTL
 “Oh. I just came for what food you want to give me and I will take away a little bit of what was shot.”

- (103) ʔuu š(ə) x^wi(ʔ) l(əh)aʔl.
 ʔu šə x^wiʔ lə-haʔl
 INTERJ DET NEG PROG-good
 Oh. That's not good.

- (104) k'iic'itəb tiif sk^wag^wičəd g^wələ ... k^wa(ʔə)x^w sq^wutəb g^wəl q^walsšitəb ʔə tiif
 sq'əd'əχ hik^w.

k^wič'-i-t-əb tiif s-k^wag^wičəd g^wələ k^waʔ-əx^w
 butcher-LV-CTL-M DET NMZR-elk CONJ leave.alone-PI

s-q^wutəb g^wəl q^wals-ši-t-əb ʔə tiif
 NMZR-disease CONJ boil-DAT-CTL-M OBL DET

s-q'əd'əχ hik^w
 NMZR-intestines big
 He butchered the elk and removed the diseased part and boiled abundant intestines.

- (105) ʔəltubəx^w tiif k^waq^w g^wəl ʔələdəx^w g^wəl ʔələdəx^w g^wəl ʔələdəx^w.
 ʔə-tu-b-əx^w tiif k^waq^w g^wəl ʔə-əx^w g^wəl ʔə-əx^w
 eat-CS-M-PI DET raven CONJ eat-DERV-PI CONJ eat-DERV-PI

g^wəl ʔəl-əd-əx^w
 CONJ eat-DERV-PI
 He fed Raven and he ate and ate and ate.

- (106) huy, ʔək^wʂitəb huy g^wəl cut(t)əbəx^w, “ ʔut^wuk^w čəx^w x^wi…ʔ k^w(i) ʔ(u)adsd^zaalqus.”
 huy ʔək^w-ʂi-t-əb huy g^wəl cut-t-əb-əx^w ʔu-t^wuk^w
 CONJ chop-DAT-CTL-M CONJ CONJ tell-CTL-M-PI FUT-go.home
 čəx^w x^wiʔ-… k^wi ʔu-ad-s-d^zalq-us
 2SG NEG-EMPHAT DET FUT-2SG.POS-NMZR-turn.around-face
 Then he cut it up for him and told him, “You will go home and you are not to turn around.”

- (107) “ huy čəx^w ləʔuχ^w q^waqid.”
 huyčəx^w lə-ʔuχ^w q^waqid
 do 2SG PROG-go always
 “You will just continue going, always.”

- (108) “lələk^wədəx^w tiif sq^wəl.”
 lə-lək^w-ə-d-əx^w tiif s-q^wəl
 PROG-eat.up-LV-CTL-PI DET NMZR-cook
 “Eat what was cooked as you go along.”

- (109) tucutəbs, <...> “ ʔəbil^w čəx^w g^wəcəwəl čəx^w ʔulək^wəd tə q^wəl.”
 tu-cut-t-əb-s ʔəbil^w čəx^w g^wə-cəwəl čəx^w
 PST-tell-CTL-M-3.POS if 2SG SUBJ-hungry 2SG
 ʔu-lək^w-ə-d tə q^wəl
 FUT-eat.up-LV-CTL DET cook
 He had told him, “If you get hungry, eat what’s cooked.”

- (110) g^wəl ʔuχ^wəx^w tiif k^waq^w ʔi… g^wəl ʔəči(l).
 g^wəl ʔuχ^w-əx^w tiif k^waq^w ʔi… g^wəl ʔəčil
 CONJ go-PI DET raven EMPHAT-EMPHAT CONJ arrive
 And Raven went a long ways and he arrived.

- (111) ʔ^wuul^w ləč^witiləx^w tiif ʔaʔals g^wələ bəčəš tiif sčəba(ʔ)s.
 ʔ^wul^w lə-č^wit-il-əx^w tiif ʔa-ʔal-s g^wələ bəč-əš
 just PROG-near-INCH-PI DET DIM-LOC-3.POS CONJ put-CTL
 tiif s-čəbaʔ-s
 DET NMZR-backpack-3.POS
 He was just getting close to his little house when he put down his pack on his back.

- (112) ʔuχʷ gʷəl cuud tsiil čəgʷəšs, “ʔuχʷc qʷilχʷ ʔuluucəšic sxʷiʔxʷiʔ ʔal tudiʔ ʔəsχəqič.”
 ʔuχʷ gʷəl cu-u-d tsiil čəgʷəš-s ʔuχʷ-c qʷilχʷ
 go CONJ tell-LV-CTL DET wife-3.POS go-APP in-law
 ʔu-lu-u-c-ə--ši-s s-xʷiʔxʷiʔ ʔal tudiʔ
 SB-hear-LV-APP-EPTH--DAT-1SG NMZR-forage LOC over.there
 ʔəs-χəq-ič
 STAT-wrap.around-back
 He went and told his wife, “Go get the game that in-law listened to me about that is over there all wrapped up in a pack.”
- (113) “xʷakʷiləxʷ čəd š(ə) tə bəčəš.”
 xʷakʷ-il-əxʷ čəd šə tə bəč-əš
 tired-INCH-PI 1SG DET DET put-CTL
 “I got tired, so I put it down.”
- (114) ʔuχʷ tsiil sɫadayʔ.
 ʔuχʷ tsiil s-ɫadayʔ
 go DET NMZR-woman
 The women went.
- (115) ɫəčis gʷəl kʷədəd.
 ɫəčil-s gʷəl kʷəd-ə-d
 arrive-APPL CONJ take-LV-CTL
 She arrived to where it was and took it.
- (116) dayʔ ti pʔəqʔac tiil ʔəsbəč.
 dayʔ ti pʔəqʔ-ac tiil ʔəs-bəč
 only DET rotten.wood-tree DET STAT-lay
 It was just rotten wood laying there.
- (117) ʔəsχəqič.
 ʔəs-χəq-ič
 STAT-bind-spine
 It was wrapped up in a pack.
- (118) tʔuukʷ, gʷəl cuud, “xʷiiʔ kʷə dsʔaydxʷ kʷi dəčʔuʔ.”
 tʔukʷ gʷəl cu-u-d xʷiʔ kʷə d-s-ʔay-dxʷ
 go.home CONJ tell-LV-CTL NEG DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-find-LC
 kʷi dəčʔuʔ
 DET one

She went home and she told him, “I didn’t find one.”

- (119) “ ʔa… ʔuχ^w ____ ʔaɬ.”
ʔa… ʔuχ^w ʔaɬ
EMPHAT-EMPHAT go fast
“Ah. Go ____ fast.”
- (120) “ ʔəsχəqič.”
ʔəs-χəq-ič
STAT-wrap.around-back
“It’s wrapped in a pack.”
- (121) “ x^{wi}? ləʔal tudi? di?i.”
x^{wi}? lə-ʔal tudi? di?-i
NEG PROG-LOC over.there other.side-DERV
“It is not over there.”
- (122) ʔuχ^w bəlk^w tsiil sɬadəy? g^{wəl} ʔuχ^w g^{wəl} ləčis.
ʔuχ^w bəlk^w tsiil s-ɬadəy? g^{wəl} ʔuχ^w _g^{wəl} ləčil-s
go return DET NMZR-woman CONJ go CONJ arrive-APPL
The woman went to return and went to where it was.
- (123) daay’ ti ʔa.
day’ ti ʔa
only DET exist
That’s all that was there.
- (124) huy tubəʔuχ^w.
huy tu-bə-ʔuχ^w
CONJ PST-ADD-go
Then she’d gone again.
- (125) bəcuud, “ huy x^{wi}? k^w(i) dsuʔaydx^w ʔuʔuχ^wcəx^w.”
bə-cu-u-d huy x^{wi}? k^wi d-s-ʔu-ʔay-dx^w
ADD-tell-LV-CTL COP NEG DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-SB-find-LC

ʔu-ʔuχ^w-c-əx^w
SB-go-APP-2SG.S
She told him again, “It is such that I couldn’t find what you went for.”
- (126) “ʔuu x^{wi}? ʔu huy ʔəsχəqič.”
ʔu x^{wi}? ʔu huy ʔəs-χəq-ič
INTERJ NEG INTEROG COP STAT-wrap.around-back
“Oh. Is it not there wrapped up in a pack?”

(127) ʔuuχ^w buusali(l) g^wəl cutəbəx^w ʔə tsiif sɫadəyʔ, “ʔuu, ... day’ šə p’əq’ac š(ə) asχəqič ʔal š(ə) al tudiʔ.”

ʔuχ^w buus-aɫ-il g^wəl cut-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tsiif
 go four-times-INCH CONJ tell-CTL-M-PI OBL DET

s-ɫadəyʔ ʔu day’ šə p’əq’-ac šə
 NMZR-woman INTERJ only DET rotten.wood-tree DET

ʔəs-χəq-ič ʔal šə ʔal tudiʔ
 STAT-bind-back LOC DET LOC over.there

She went the fourth time and the woman told him, “Oh, the wrapped pack is just rotten wood over there.”

(128) “ʔəʎəx^w čəx^w huy č(ə)x^w (ʔ)ulaʔbəd ʔal ti suɫafis.”

ʔəʎ-əx^w čəx^w huy čəx^w ʔu-laʔb-ə-d ʔal ti
 come-PI 2SG CONJ 2SG SB-look-LV-CTL LOC DET

s-ʔu-ɫaʔ-ɫ-il-s
 NMZR-SB-arrive.there-DERV-INCH-3.POS

“You come and look at it at the place where you arrive to get it.”

(129) ʔuχ^wəx^w tiif k^waq^w g^wəl laʔb.

ʔuχ^w-əx^w tiif k^waq^w g^wəl laʔb
 go-PI DET raven CONJ look
 Raven went and looked.

(130) “ʔuu bədiɫ tudsčəbaʔ tuhuy p’əq’ac st’ək’wəbəx^w.”

ʔu bə-diɫ tu-d-s-čəbaʔ
 INTERJ ADD-DEICT PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-backpack

tu-huy p’əq’-ac s-t’ək’wəb-əx^w
 PST-COP rotten.wood-tree NMZR-wood-PI

“Oh. This is still my pack that had become rotten wood.”

(131) wiiχ^w ti k^waq^w ʔə tə bayəc.

wiχ^w ti k^waq^w ʔə tə bayəc
 lose DET raven OBL DET meat
 Raven lost his meat.

(132) t’uuk’^w (h)ilg^wəʔ.

t’uk’^w hilg^wəʔ
 go.home 3PL
 They went home.

- (133) $\check{x}icil\acute{x}^w$ $g^w\acute{a}l$ $\check{?}u\check{x}^w\acute{x}^w$ $tx^w\acute{a}l$ $stul\acute{o}k^w$ $g^w\acute{a}l$ $huyud\acute{x}^w$ $ti\check{i}l$ $pi\check{s}$ $\langle\dots\rangle$ $ti\check{i}l$ $yid\acute{a}d$.
 $\check{x}icil\text{-}\acute{x}^w$ $g^w\acute{a}l$ $\check{?}u\check{x}^w\text{-}\acute{x}^w$ $dx^w\text{-}\check{?}al$ $s\text{-}tul\acute{o}k^w$ $_$ $g^w\acute{a}l$
angry-PI CONJ go-PI PERV-LOC NMZR-river CONJ
- $huy\text{-}u\text{-}d\text{-}\acute{x}^w$ $ti\check{i}l$ $pi\check{s}$ $ti\check{i}l$ $yid\acute{a}d$
make-LV-CTL-PI DET fish DET fish.trap
He was angry and he went to the river and he made fish... a fish trip.
- (134) $\check{c}\acute{a}l\acute{o}$ $c^{\prime}\acute{a}l\acute{u}s\acute{a}d\acute{s}$.
 $\check{c}\acute{a}l\acute{o}$ $c^{\prime}\acute{a}l\text{-}us\text{-}\acute{a}d\text{-}s$
make obstruct.view-face-INSTR-3.POS
He made his fish weir.
- (135) huy $g^w\acute{a}lald\acute{x}^w$ $ti\check{i}l$ $salmon$ $ti\check{i}l$ $b\acute{a}k^{\prime}w$ $stab$, $s\check{c}\acute{a}dad\acute{x}^w\acute{x}^w$.
 $huyg^w\acute{a}lal\text{-}d\text{-}\acute{x}^w$ $ti\check{i}l$ $salmon$ $ti\check{i}l$ $b\acute{a}k^{\prime}w$ $s\text{-}tab$
CONJ kill-CTL-PI DET salmon DET all NMZR-what
- $s\text{-}\check{c}\acute{a}dad\acute{x}^w\text{-}\acute{x}^w$
NMZR-salmon-PI
Then he killed salmon of all kinds, salmon.
- (136) $q^{\prime}wu(?)h\acute{x}^w$ $stab$ $su\check{?}ul\acute{o}\check{x}\acute{a}d\acute{x}^w$.
 $q^{\prime}wu\check{?}\text{-}h\text{-}\acute{x}^w$ $s\text{-}tab$ $s\text{-}\check{?}u\text{-}\check{?}ul\acute{o}\check{x}\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}d\text{-}\acute{x}^w$
gather-EPTH-PI NMZR-what NMZR-SB-gather-LV-CTL-PI
He put the things that he gathered together.
- (137) $\check{?}aah\acute{x}^w$.
 $\check{?}a\text{-}h\text{-}\acute{x}^w$
locate-EPTH-PI
There he was.
- (138) $huuy$, $\langle\dots\rangle$ $\check{?}ah\acute{x}^w$ ti $q^w\acute{i}l\check{x}^w$ $sg^w\acute{a}lub$.
 huy $\check{?}a\text{-}h\text{-}\acute{x}^w$ ti $q^w\acute{i}l\check{x}^w$ $s\text{-}g^w\acute{a}lub$
CONJ exist-EPTH-PI DET in-law NMZR-pheasant
Then there was in-law Pheasant.
- (139) $huuy$, $\langle\dots\rangle$ $g^w\acute{i}\check{?}lubtx^w\acute{x}^w$ tsi $b\acute{e}d\acute{a}\check{?}s$ $tx^w\acute{a}l$ $ti\check{i}l$ $\langle\dots\rangle$ $sk^{\prime}a\check{?}a\check{\lambda}$.
 huy $g^w\acute{i}\check{?}lub\text{-}tx^w\text{-}\acute{x}^w$ tsi $b\acute{e}d\acute{a}\check{?}\text{-}s$ $dx^w\text{-}\check{?}al$ $ti\check{i}l$
CONJ pheasant-CS-PI DET one's.child-3.POS PERV-LOC DET
- $s\text{-}k^{\prime}a\check{?}a\check{\lambda}$
NMZR-river.otter
His daughter had been made a little pheasant for River Otter.

- (140) ʔuuḵ^wtx^w tiif bədəʔs q^wilḵ^w .
 ʔuḵ^w-tx^w tiif bədəʔ-sq^wilḵ^w
 go-CS DET one's.child-3.POS in-law
 He took to the issue of the in-law of his daughter.
- (141) “biʔaa dq^wilḵ^w.”
 bi-ʔa d-q^wilḵ^w
 ADD-exist 1SG.POS-in-law
 “This is also my in-law.”
- (142) “ləčisbucid čəd.”
 ləčil-s-bi-t-sid čəd
 arrive-3.POS-REL-CTL-2SG 1SG
 “I have arrived to see you.”
- (143) ʔuḵ^w tiif sk'aʔaḷ^ˈ g^wəl g^wəlald tiif sčədadx^w g^wəl q'^wəlšitəb g^wəl ʔəltub g^wəl
 huuyucid g^wəl t'uk'^w.
 ʔuḵ^w tiif s-k'aʔaḷ^ˈ g^wəl g^wəlald-d tiif s-čədadx^w
 go DET NMZR-river.otter CONJ kill-CTL DET NMZR-salmon
 g^wəl q'^wəl-ši-t-əb g^wəl ʔəl-tu-b g^wəl _huy-ucid g^wəl
 CONJ cook-DAT-CTL-M CONJ eat-CS-M CONJ finish-mouth CONJ
 t'uk'^w
 go.home
 River Otter went and killed a salmon and baked it for him and fed him and he
 finished eating and he went home.
- (144) ʔuu ləsg^wək^wədalaq čəx^w dq^wilḵ^w.
 ʔu lə-ʔəs-g^wək^wəd-al-aq čəx^w d-q^wilḵ^w
 INTERJ PROG-STAT-SUBJ-take-LOC-DERV 2SG 1SG.POS-in-law
 “Oh, you can come to get some(?), my in-law.”
- (145) < cut tiif ... cut tiif ... cut >
 cut tiif cut tiif cut
 say DET say DET say
 <He said... He said... He said >
- (146) < də ... > ʔuuḵ^w tiif sk'aʔaḷ^ˈ tx^wəl tiif.
 ʔuḵ^w tiif s-k'aʔaḷ^ˈ dx^w-ʔal tiif
 go DET NMZR-river.otter PERV-LOC 3PRS
 River Otter went to him.
- (147) ʔuḵ^w k'^wit' tx^wəl tiif stulək^w g^wəl huy sas(a)x^wəb šəq.

ʔuχ^w k^wit^ʔ dx^w-ʔal tiif s-tulək^w g^wəl huy
 go go.toward.water PERV-LOC DET NMZR-river CONJ CONJ

sa-sax^wəb šəq
 DIM-jump above

He went down to the river and fluttered around above.

(148) x^wiʔ k^w(i) sʔusis.

x^wiʔ k^wi s-ʔus-il-s
 NEG DET NMZR-dive-INCH-APPL
 He didn't dive for it.

(149) x^wiʔ g^wəsg^wəlalds tiif sčədadx^w.

x^wiʔ g^wə-s-g^wəlal-d-s tiif s-čədadx^w
 NEG SUBJ-NMZR-kill-CTL-3.POS DET NMZR-salmon
 He couldn't kill a salmon.

(150) huy tułəq^w tiif stabs k^w(i) ləbəx^wəb š(ə) šig^wag^wi(l).

huy tu-łəq^w tiif s-tab-s k^wi __ lə-bə-x^wəb šə
 CONJ PST-wet DET NMZR-thing-3.POS DET _REP-ADD-throw DET

šig^w-ag^wil
 emerge-put.self.in.action

His things had just gotten wet, that is what the one who was getting out of the water discarded.

(151) ʔuuχ^w.

ʔuχ^w
 go
 He went.

(152) “ʔuu dq^wilχ^w.”

ʔu d-q^wilχ^w
 INTERJ 1SG.POS-in-law
 “Oh, my in-law.”

(153) < ʔub čəx^wə (ʔə)s- ... >

ʔub čəx^w-ə ʔəs-
 fine 2SG-CONJ STAT-
 <“You can...”>

(154) ʔuχ^wəx^w < tiif ... > tiif sk'aʔaλ tx^wəl tiif ʔaʔal.

ʔuχ^w-əx^w tiif tiif s-k'aʔaλ dx^w-ʔal tiif ʔaʔal
 go-PI DET DET NMZR-river.otter PERV-LOC DET house
 River Otter went to the house.

- (155) ʔaa šədʔəl tiil skʔaaʔ gʷəl ʔuləxšitəb ʔə tiil sčədadxʷ gʷəl ʔəgʷil.
 ʔaa šədʔəl tiil s-kʔaaʔ gʷəl ʔuləx-ši-t-əb
 INTERJ go.outside DET NMZR-river.otter CONJ gather-DAT-CTL-M
 ʔə tiil s-čədadxʷ gʷəl ʔəgʷ-il
 OBL DET NMZR-salmon CONJ leave-INCH
 Ah, River Otter went outside and gathered some salmon for him and left him.
- (156) ʔəxi(l) gʷələ ʔuxʷ txʷəl tiil sxʷəlqʷ.
 ʔəx-il gʷələ ʔuxʷ dxʷ-ʔal tiil s-xʷəlqʷ
 day.light-INCH CONJ go PERV-LOC DET NMZR-water.osel
 The next day, he went to Water Osel.
- (157) ʔuu <...> šədʔil ti sxʷəlqʷ qʷilxʷ gʷələ kʷədəd tiil šxʷiʔaxʷad gʷəl ʔuxʷ gʷəl
 ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l) gʷəl ʔaaʔtxʷ qəlx̃.
 ʔu šədʔil ti s-xʷəlqʷ qʷilxʷ gʷələ kʷəd-ə-d
 INTERJ go.outside DET NMZR-water.osel in-law CONJ take-LV-CTL
 tiil šxʷ-ʔi-ʔaxʷad gʷəl ʔuxʷ gʷəl ʔuʔs-il ʔuʔs-il
 DET PERV-DIM-basket CONJ go CONJ dive-INCH dive-INCH
 ʔuʔs-il gʷəl ʔəʔ-txʷ qəlx̃
 dive-INCH CONJ come-CS salmon.eggs
 Oh, in-law Water Osel went outside and he took a basket and went and dove and dove and dove and brought some salmon eggs.
- (158) qʷaalsšid tiil qʷilxʷs.
 qʷals-ši-d tiil qʷilxʷ-s
 boil-DAT-CTL DET in-law-3.POS
 His in-law boiled them for him.
- (159) ʔəbayusšid gʷələ ʔubtxʷ.
 ʔəb-ay-us-ši-d gʷələ ʔub-txʷ
 ***-LV-face-DAT-CTL CONJ feed.soup-CS
 He made fish egg soup and fed him.
- (160) huuyucid gʷəl tʔukʷtxʷ tiil skʷaadəxʷ.
 huy-ucid gʷəl tʔukʷ-txʷ tiil s-kʷad-əxʷ
 finish-mouth CONJ go.home-CS DET NMZR-dip.out-PI
 He finished eating and took home what was dipped out from the water.
- (161) < ʔəxi(l) gʷələ ... >
 ʔəx-il gʷələ
 day.light-INCH CONJ

<The next day ...>

- (162) ləxi(l) g^wəl bəʔu^xw tx^wəl tiɪl dədč'uʔ q^wilx^ws.
ləx-il g^wəl bə-ʔu^xw dx^w-ʔal tiɪl dədč'uʔ
day.light-INCH CONJ ADD-go PERV-LOC DET one.person
q^wilx^w-s
in-law-3.POS
The next day, he also went to his one in-law.
- (163) ləčis.
ləčil-s
arrive-APPL
He came to see him.
- (164) tucuudəx^w g^wiid ti q^wilx^ws, “λub čəx^w ʔuʔəλ^ˈ chíshəmɸ (YAK).
tu-cu-u-d-əx^w g^wi-i-d ti q^wilx^w-s λub
PST-tell-LV-CTL-PI request-LV-CTL DET in-law-3.POS fine
čəx^w ʔu-ʔəλ^ˈ chíshəmɸ
2SG SB-come ***
He said to him, he invited his in-law, “You can come. Here it is.”
- (165) “λub čəx^w ʔuʔəλ^ˈ.”
λub čəx^w ʔu-ʔəλ^ˈ
fine 2SG SB-come
“You can come.”
- (166) ʔu^xw tiɪl q^wilx^ws g^wəl ləči(l) <...> g^wəl cutəb ʔə tiɪl.
ʔu^xw tiɪl q^wilx^w-s g^wəl ləčil g^wəl cut-t-əb ʔə tiɪl
go DET in-law-3.POS CONJ arrive CONJ tell-CTL-M OBL 3PRS
His in-law went and arrived and he told him.
- (167) ləči(l) tiɪl q^wilx^ws g^wəl k^wədəd tiɪl šx^wiʔa^xwad g^wəl ʔu^xw.
ləčil tiɪl q^wilx^w-s g^wəl k^wəd-ə-d tiɪl
arrive DET in-law-3.POS CONJ take-LV-CTL DET
šx^w-ʔi-ʔa^xwad g^wəl ʔu^xw
PERV-DIM-basket CONJ go
His in-law arrived and he took a basket and went.
- (168) ʔu^xw g^wəl k^wit' tiɪl k^waq^w g^wəl ʔuləxəd tiɪl qəl^x.
ʔu^xw g^wəl k^wit' tiɪl k^waq^w g^wəl ʔuləx-ə-d
go CONJ go.toward.water DET raven CONJ gather-LV-CTL

- tiif qəłx̃
DET salmon.eggs
He went and Raven gathered some salmon eggs.
- (169) x^wiif k^w(i) sx^wi?x^wi?s g^wəl t'uk^w.
x^wi? k^wi s-x^wi?x^wi?-s g^wəl t'uk^w
NEG DET NMZR-forage-3.POS CONJ go.home
He didn't have any catch and he went home.
- (170) k^wədəd tiif q^wilx̃^ws tiif šx^wi?a^wx̃^wəd g^wəl ?uləx̃sitəb ?ə tiif qəłx̃ g^wəl ləg^wil.
k^wəd-ə-d tiif q^wilx̃^w-s tiif šx^w-?i-?a^wx̃^wəd g^wəl
take-LV-CTL DET in-law-3.POS DET PERV-DIM-basket CONJ

?uləx̃-ši-t-əb ?ə tiif qəłx̃ g^wəl ləg^w-il
gather-DAT-CTL-M OBL DET salmon.eggs CONJ leave-INCH
His in-law took the basket and gathered salmon eggs for him and left him.
- (171) šəg^wil.
šəq-il
raise-INCH
He honored him.
- (172) haay, ?istəb g^wəl bə?u^wx̃^w tx^wəl tiif sčətx^wəd.
hay ?istə?-b g^wəl bə-?u^wx̃^w dx^w-?al tiif s-čətx^wəd
CONJ like-M CONJ ADD-go PERV-LOC DET NMZR-black.bear
So, that's what happened and he went to Bear.
- (173) ləči(l) tx^wəl tiif sčətx^wəd q^wilx̃^ws, g^wələ cut, “?aa dq^wilx̃^w ?uləči(l) čəd.”
ləčil dx^w-?al tiif s-čətx^wəd q^wilx̃^w-s g^wələ cut
arrive PERV-LOC DET NMZR-black.bear in-law-3.POS CONJ say

?aa d-q^wilx̃^w ?u-ləčil čəd
INTERJ 1SG.POS-in-law SB-arrive 1SG
He came to his bear in-law, and he said, “Ah my in-law, I have arrived.”
- (174) c'ag^wačib tiif <...> q^wilx̃^ws.
c'ag^w-ači-b tiif q^wilx̃^w-s
wash-hand-M DET in-law-3.POS
His in-law washed his hands.
- (175) c'ag^wačib g^wəl k^wədəd tiif ləq^wəy? g^wəl ?istəb tx^wəl tiif tiif.
c'ag^w-ači-b g^wəl k^wəd-ə-d tiif ləq^wəy? g^wəl ?istə?-b
wash-hand-M CONJ take-LV-CTL DET platter CONJ happen-M

dx^w-?al tiif tiif

PERV-LOC DET DET

He washed his hands, took a platter, and he positioned them for it.

- (176) hədəd tiıl čaləš ʔal tiıl hud.
həd-ə-d tiıl čaləš ʔal tiıl hud
warm/hot-LV-CTL DET hand LOC DET fire
He warmed his hands on the fire.
- (177) k'wəłəx^w tiıl s'x^wəs.
k'wəł-əx^w tiıl s-x^wəs
pour-PI DET NMZR-grease
The grease poured.
- (178) qa··· s'x^wəs ləč' tiıl.
qa··· s-x^wəs ləč' tiıl
many-EMPHAT NMZR-grease fill 3PRS
There was a lot of grease that filled it.
- (179) q^wuʔq^waʔdid.
q^wuʔq^waʔ-did
drink-CTL
It drank it up.
- (180) ʔəłtubəx^w.
ʔəł-tu-b-əx^w
eat-CS-M-PI
He fed him.
- (181) c'ibtubəx^w < tiıl ... tiıl ... > tiıl k^waq^w.
c'ib-tu-b-əx^w tiıl tiıl tiıl k^waq^w
dip.into-CS-M-PI DET DET DET raven
It was for Raven to dip it in that.
- (182) ʔəłədəq.
ʔəł-əd-əq
eat-DERV-DERV
He gobbled it up.
- (183) huuy g^wəl ʔu^x^w.
huy g^wəl ʔu^x^w
CONJ CONJ go
And then he left.
- (184) t'uk^{'w}.
t'uk^{'w}

go.home
He went home.

- (185) “ʔuu ʔusg^wabic č(ə)x^w dq^wilx^w ʔusk^wədalaq č(ə)x^w.”
 ʔu ʔu-s-g^wa-bi-t-s čəx^w d-q^wilx^w
 INTERJ FUT-NMZR-accompany-REL-CTL-1SG 2SG 1SG.POS-in-law
 ʔu-s-k^wəd-al-aq čəx^w
 FUT-NMZR-take-LOC-DERV 2SG
 “Oh, you will join me, my in-law, to come get some.”

- (186) ʔistəb < tə ...> ti sčətx^wəd g^wəl cut, “ʔuu tug^wiitəb čəd ʔə šə dq^wilx^w.”
 ʔistəʔ-b tə ti s-čətx^wəd g^wəl cut ʔu
 happen-M DET DET NMZR-black.bear CONJ say INTERJ
 tu-g^wi-i-t-əb čəd ʔə šə d-q^wilx^w
 PST-invite-LV-CTL-M 1SG OBL DET 1SG.POS-in-law
 That’s what Bear did, and he said, “Oh, you had invited me, my in-law.”

- (187) hay ʔu^xəx^w.
 hay ʔu^x-əx^w
 CONJ go-PI
 So, he went.

- (188) ʔəči(l) < tiil ...> tiil sčətx^wəd tx^wəl tiil q^wilx^s g^wəl c’ag^wačib tiil q^wilx^s g^wəl
 təst(ə)sačib.
 ʔəčil tiil tiil s-čətx^wəd dx^w-ʔal tiil
 arrive DET DET NMZR-black.bear PERV-LOC DET
 q^wilx^w-s g^wəl c’ag^w-ači-b tiil q^wilx^w-s g^wəl
 in-law-3.POS CONJ wash-hand-M DET in-law-3.POS CONJ
 təs-təs-ači-b
 DISTR-do.with.hand-hand-M
 Bear got there to his in-law and he washed his hands and his in-law held his hands
 up.

- (189) t’ət’(ə)q’əbəx^w tiil čaləš g^wəl k’əqəx^w.
 t’ə-t’əq’-əb-əx^w tiil čaləš g^wəl k’əq-əx^w
 DISTR-crack-M-PI DET hand CONJ fall.on.back-PI
 His hands cracked and he fell on his back.

- (190) c’ag^wačib ti sčətx^wəd g^wəl c’ixc’ixəčib g^wəl la···č’ tiil qa tiil ʔəq’wəy? ʔə tiil q^wilx^w
 g^wəl ʔəg^wʔ.

c'ag^w-ači-b ti s-čətx^wəd g^wəl c'ix-c'ix-ači-b g^wəl
 wash-hand-M DET NMZR-black.bear CONJ DISTR-fry-hand-M CONJ

ləč'-... tiil qa tiil ləq^wəy? ʔə tiil q^wilx^w g^wəl
 fill-EMPHAT DET a.lot DET platter OBL DET in-law CONJ

ləg^wl

leave

Bear washed his hands and fried his hands and filled his in-law's platter full and left him.

(191) laag^wl.

ləg^wl

leave

He left him!

(192) ʔux^wəx^w tx^wəl tiil <...> sč'ətš, ti dəč'u? q^wilx^ws.

ʔux^w-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiil s-č'ətš ti dəč'u?
 go-PI PERV-LOC DET NMZR-king.fisher DET one

q^wilx^w-s

in-law-3.POS

He went to King Fisher who was one of his in-laws.

(193) ləčis tiil sč'ətš g^wəl cuud, “yaa dq^wilx^w, ləčisbicid čəd.”

ləčil-s tiil s-č'ətš g^wəl cu-u-d ya
 arrive-APPL DET NMZR-king.fisher CONJ tell-LV-CTL EMPHAT

d-q^wilx^w

ləčil-s-bi-t-sid

čəd

1SG.POS-in-law arrive-APPL-REL-CTL-2SG 1SG

He arrived to King Fisher and told him, “Ah, my in-law, I have arrived to see you.”

(194) k^wit' tiil sč'ətš g^wələ <...> ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l) ʔi... g^wəl k^wədtx^w tiil
 sčədadx^w.

k^wit' tiil s-č'ətš g^wələ ʔuʔs-il
 go.toward.water DET NMZR-king.fisher CONJ dive-INCH

ʔuʔs-il

ʔuʔs-il

ʔi...

g^wəl k^wəd-tx^w

tiil

dive-INCH

dive-INCH

EMPHAT-EMPHAT

CONJ take-CS

DET

s-čədadx^w

NMZR-salmon

King Fisher went down to the water and dove and dove and dove for a long time and got some salmon.

(195) q^wəlšd tiil q^wilx^ws g^wələ ʔəltx^w.

- q'wəl-š tiil q'wilǎw-s g'wələ ʔət-tx^w
 cook-CTL DET in-law-3.POS CONJ eat-CS
 He baked it for him and fed him.
- (196) ʔətx^w tiil q'wilǎws.
 ʔət-tx^w tiil q'wilǎw-s
 eat-CS DET in-law-3.POS
 He fed his in-law.
- (197) huuy g'wəl t'uk'w g'wəl cutəli, “ʔəsk'wədalaq čəx^w dq'wilǎw.”
 huy g'wəl t'uk'w g'wəl cut-əli ʔəs-k'wəd-al-aq
 CONJ CONJ go.home CONJ say *** STAT-take-LOC-DERV
 čəx^w d-q'wilǎw
 2SG 1SG.POS-in-law
 And then he went home, saying, “You will come get some(?), my in-law.”
- (198) ʔuuǎw tiil q'wilǎws.
 ʔuǎw tiil q'wilǎw-s
 go DET in-law-3.POS
 His in-law went.
- (199) ʔəči(l) tiil q'wilǎws g'wəl cuud, “ʔuʔəčiləx^w čəx^w dq'wilǎw ʔə stab g'wiic.”
 ʔəčil tiil q'wilǎw-s g'wəl cu-u-d ʔu-ʔəčil-əx^w čəx^w
 arrive DET in-law-3.POS CONJ tell-LV-CTL SB-arrive-PI 2SG
 d-q'wilǎw ʔə s-tab g'wi-i-t-s
 1SG.POS-in-law OBL NMZR-what invite-LV-CTL-1SG
 His in-law arrived and told him, “You have arrived, my in-law, for what you ask of me.”
- (200) šədzil tiil k'waq^w g'wəl ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l).
 šədzil tiil k'waq^w g'wəl ʔuʔs-il ʔuʔs-il
 go.outside DET raven CONJ dive-INCH dive-INCH
 Raven went outside and dove and dove.
- (201) x'wi? g'wək'wəd(d)x^w sčədadx^w.
 x'wi? g'wə-k'wəd-dx^w s-čədadx^w
 NEG SUBJ-take-LC NMZR-salmon
 He couldn't catch a salmon.
- (202) ʔic'iləx^w tiil sč'ətǎ g'wəl k'wit' g'wəl ʔuləǎd tiil sčədadx^w g'wəl t'uk'wtx^wšid tiil
 q'wilǎs.

šic'-il-əx^w tiil s-č'ətš g^wəl k'wit'
ashamed-INCH-PI DET NMZR-king.fisher CONJ go.toward.water

g^wəl ʔuləš-ə-d tiil s-čədadx^w g^wəl
CONJ gather-LV-CTL DET NMZR-salmon CONJ

t'uk'^w-tx^w-ši-d tiil q^wilš^w-s
go.home-CS-DAT-CTL DET in-law-3.POS

King Fisher felt ashamed and went down to the river and gathered some salmon and brought it home for his in-law.

(203) ləəg^wl.

ləəg^wl

leave

He left him!

(204) ʔux^w-c tiil dəč'u? q^wilš^w-s g^wəl cuut, "ʔaa dq^wilš^w, ʔuləči(1) čəx^w."

ʔux^w-c tiil dəč'u? q^wilš^w-s g^wəl cut ʔaa
go-APP DET one in-law-3.POS CONJ say INTERJ

d-q^wilš^w ʔu-ləčil čəx^w
1SG.POS-in-law SB-arrive 2SG

He went to go see one of his in-laws and said, "Ah, my in-law, you have arrive."

(205) šəd'il tiil q^wilš^w-s g^wəl čəč(ə)šəd tiil <...> č'ax^wədup^w-tx^w ti yusawi? g^wəl q'^wi-...-əb k^wawəl'.

šəd'il t iil q^wilš^w-s g^wəl čə-čəš-ə-d _ tiil
go.outside DET in-law-3.POS CONJ DISTR-split-LV-CTL 3PRS

č'ax^w-ədup-tx^w ti yusawi? g^wəl q'^wi-...-əb k^wawəl'
club-ground-CS DET alder CONJ spear-EMPHAT-M steel.head
His in-law went outside and cracked some alder by hitting it on the ground and speared a lot of steel head.

(206) q'^w(u) š(ə) wəš(š)id tiil q^wilš^w-s huy g^wəl ʔəłtx^w g^wəl huuy g^wəčəba?tx^w g^wəl t'uk'^w.

q'^wu? šə wəš-ši-d tiil q^wilš^w-s huy g^wəl
put.together DET distribute-DAT-CTL DET in-law-3.POS CONJ CONJ

ʔəł-tx^w g^wəl huy g^wə-čəba?-tx^w g^wəl t'uk'^w
eat-CS CONJ CONJ SUBJ-backpack-CS CONJ go.home

He put together what he distributed to his in-law and fed him and then he could have him pack it on his back and he went home.

(207) cuudəx^w tii q^wilš^w-s, "ləub čəx^w < ʔu- ...>"

cu-u-d-əx^w ti q^wilš^w-s ləub čəx^w ʔu-

- tell-LV-CTL-PI DET in-law-3.POS fine 2SG SB-
He told his in-law, “You can...”
- (208) “^ˈλub čəx^w ɫusg^wabic.”
λub čəx^w ɫu-ʔəs-g^wa-bi-t-s
fine 2SG FUT-STAT-accompany-REL-CTL-1SG
“You can join me.”
- (209) “l(ə)əsk^wədalaq čəx^w dq^wilx̃^w.”
lə-ʔəs-k^wəd-al-aq čəx^w d-q^wilx̃^w
PROG-STAT-take-LOC-DERV 2SG 1SG.POS-in-law
“Come get some, my in-law.”
- (210) < nə > cutəb ʔə tiɪ.
cut-t-əb ʔə tiɪ
tell-CTL-M OBL 3PRS
That one told him this.
- (211) ʔux̃^w tx^wəl tiɪ q^wilx̃^ws g^wəl cuud tiɪ q^wilx̃^ws.
ʔux̃^w dx^w-ʔal tiɪ q^wilx̃^w-s g^wəl cu-u-d tiɪ
go PERV-LOC DET in-law-3.POS CONJ tell-LV-CTL DET
q^wilx̃^w-s
in-law-3.POS
He went to his in-law, and told his in-law.
- (212) ʔu.
ʔu
INTERJ
Oh.
- (213) šədʒil tiɪ k^waq^w g^wəl cəqʹcəd < tiɪ ... > tiɪ yusawiʔ.
šədʒil tiɪ k^waq^w g^wəl cəqʹ-c-ə-d tiɪ tiɪ yusawiʔ
go.outside DET raven CONJ jab-DISTR-LV-CTL DET DET alder
Raven went outside and kind of jabbed around with a piece of alder.
- (214) x^wi...(?). x̃^wulʹ ʔučəč(ə)x̃ yusawiʔ.
x^wiʔ-... x̃^wulʹ ʔu-čə-čəx̃ yusawiʔ
NEG-EMPHAT just SB-DISTR-split alder
Nothing! He just shattered the alder.
- (215) šədʒil tiɪ q^wilx̃^ws g^wəl cəqʹc tiɪ yusawi.
šədʒil tiɪ q^wilx̃^w-s g^wəl cəqʹ-c tiɪ yusawi
go.outside DET in-law-3.POS CONJ jab-DISTR DET alder
His in-law went outside and he jabbed the alder.

(216) q^wi···λəb sk^wawəl'.
q^wiλ···-əb s-k^wawəl'
spear-EMPHAT-M NMZR-steel.head
He speared a lot of steel head.

(217) hay ləg^wiləb.
hay ləg^w-il-əb
CONJ leave-INCH-M
Then he left him.

(218) huyəx^w.
huy-əx^w
finish-PI
That's all.

(219) That' the end.
(English)

Raven and His In-Laws (version 2)

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded December 26th 1952

At (location unknown), Washington

- (1) ʔəsłalli(1) tiil sg^wəlub yəx^w tiil q^wilx̃^ws.
 ʔəs-łalli(1) tiil s-g^wəlub yəx^w tiil q^wilx̃^w-s
 STAT-live DET NMZR-pheasant CONJ DET in-law-3.POS
 There lived Pheasant and his in-law.
- (2) λux^wi(?)x^wi(?)ax^w tiil sg^wəlub.
 λu-x^wi?x^wi?-ax^w tiil s-g^wəlub
 HAB-forage-PI DET NMZR-pheasant
 Pheasant foraged for food.
- (3) g^wəlu-<...>luutəbəx^w ʔə tiil k^waq^w g^w(ə)l g^wəluk^waadəx^w tiil bəd(ə)dəʔs.
 g^wə-lu-lu-u-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiil k^waq^w g^wəl
 SUBJ-FUT-hear-LV-CTL-M-PI OBL DET raven CONJ
 g^wə-lu-k^waʔ-a-d-əx^w tiil bədəʔ-dəʔ-s
 SUBJ-FUT-send-LV-CTL-PI DET one's.child-DISTR-3.POS
 Of which, Raven was going to hear about and was going to send his children.
- (4) “hiwi(1) hi.”
 hiwil hi
 go.ahead 2PL
 “Go on, you folks.”
- (5.1) “hiwil k^wililayqs.
 hiwil k^wil-il-ay-qs
 go.ahead peek-INCH-CONN-nose
- (5.2) k^wilid < tə k^waq^w ...> tə sq^wəlub.”
 k^wil-i-d tə k^waq^w tə s-g^wəlub
 peek-LV-CTL DET raven DET NMZR-pheasant _
 “Go on k^wililayqs (nose pecker). Look in on the pheasant.”
- (6) luʔuu^{x̃} tiil k^wil(i)layqs.
 lu-ʔu^{x̃} tiil k^wil-il-ay-qs
 FUT-go DET peek-INCH-CONN-nose
 k^wililayqs (nose pecker) will go.

- (7) x^wiʔ stab ʔulaʔbəd^w.
 x^wiʔ s-tab ʔu-laʔb-ə-dx^w
 NEG NMZR-thing HAB-see-EPTH-LC
 He never sees a thing.
- (8) ʔu-ləči(1) g^wəl g^w(ə)ʔ(ə)wiliq^wid.
 ʔu-ləči 1 g^wəl g^wə-lə-wiliq^w-i-d
 SB-arrive CONJ SUBJ-REP-ask.question-LV-CTL
 He will arrive (back home) and was queried.
- (9) “x^wiʔ stab ʔulaʔb čəd.”
 x^wiʔ s-tab ʔu-laʔb čəd
 NEG NMZR-what SB-see 1SG
 “I didn’t see a thing.”
- (10) huy ʔuχ^wəx^w k^wəl’k^wiləblub.
 huy ʔuχ^w-əx^w k^wəl-k^wil-əb-lub
 CONJ go-PI DISTR-peek-M-***
 Then k^wəl’k^wiləblub (Peek Peeker) will go.
- (11) ʔuχ^w tiil k^wəl’k^wiləblub labdx^w ʔuu.
 ʔuχ^w tiil k^wəl-k^wil-əb-lub lab-dx^w ʔu
 go DET DISTR-peek-M-*** look-LC INTERJ
 k^wəl’k^wiləblub (peek peeker) will go to look, oh.
- (12) ʔuʔələd tiil bəd(ə)dəʔ ʔə k^waq^w ʔə tiil < sis... > ʔə tiil sʔələd <...> t’əlub.
 ʔu-ʔələ-ad tiil bədəʔ-dəʔ ʔə k^waq^w ʔə tiil
 SB-eat-DERV DET one’s.child-DISTR OBL raven OBL DET
 <sis...> ʔə tiil s-ʔələ-d t’əlub
 FALSE OBL DET NMZR-eat-DERV dried.king.salmon
 The children of Raven (Pheasant?) will be eating a meal of dried king salmon.
- (13) tuʔibəš tiil sg^wəlub g^wəl tu-ləčis tiil haa...c sčəbidac <...> g^wəl tuk^wədəd tiil
 st’ək^wəb g^wəl caq^wad g^wəl x^wit’i(l).
 tu-ʔibəš tiil s-g^wəlub g^wəl tu-ləčil-s tiil
 PST-walk DET NMZR-pheasant CONJ PST-arrive-APPL DET
 haac... s-čəbid-ac g^wəl tu-k^wəd-ə-d tiil
 tall-EMPHAT NMZR-Douglas.fir-tree CONJ PST-take-LV-CTL DET
 s-t’ək^wəb g^wəl caq^w-a-d g^wəl x^wit’-il
 NMZR-stick CONJ jab-LV-CTL CONJ fall-INCH
 Pheasant had walked and arrived to a very tall Douglas fir tree, and he took a stick
 and jabbed it and it fell.

- (14.1) t'əlub.
t'əlub
dried.king.salmon
- (14.2) t'əlub.
t'əlub
dried.king.salmon
- (14.3) t'əlub.
t'əlub
dried.king.salmon
Dried king salmon. Dried king salmon. Dried king salmon.
- (15) x^wit'i(l) tiif st'əlub.
x^wit'-il tiif s-t'əlub
fall-INCH DET NMZR-dried.king.salmon
Dried king salmon fell.
- (16) < tə bəx^w...> bəcaq'ad.
<tə bəx^w...> bə-caq'-a-d
FALSE ADD-jab-LV-CTL
He jabbed it again.
- (17) bəx^wit'i(l) tiif st'əlub.
bə-x^wit'-il tiif s-t'əlub
ADD-fall-INCH DET NMZR-dried.king.salmon
Dried king salmon fell again.
- (18) huy lux^wusdəx^w tiif st'ək^wəb.
huy lux^wus-d-əx^w tiif s-t'ək^wəb
CONJ pry.bark.off-CTL-PI DET NMZR-tree
Then he pried the bark from the tree.
- (19) λug^wiid tiif st'əlub.
λu-g^wi-i-d tiif s-t'əlub
HAB-request-LV-CTL DET NMZR-dried.king.salmon
He always asked for dried king salmon.
- (20) λubi?əx^w tiif st'əlub.
λu-bi?-əx^w tiif s-t'əlub
HAB-fall.from.above-PI DET NMZR-dried.king.salmon
Dried king salmon always fell from above.

- (21) qa... < tiil > tiil sx^{wi}?x^{wi}? st'əlub g^{wəl} bayəc t(i) q'^{wu}?dəx^w g^{wəl} < čx^w >
 ǰ(ə)qijədəx^w g^{wəl} čəba?dəx^w g^{wəl} t'^{wuk}?tx^{wəx}.
 qa-... <tiil> tiil s-x^{wi}?x^{wi}? s-t'əlub
 many-EMPHAT FALSE DET NMZR-forage NMZR-dried.king.salmon
- g^{wəl} bayəc ti q'^{wu}?-d-əx^w g^{wəl} čx^w
 CONJ meat DET put.together-CTL-PI CONJ give.up
- ǰəq-ij-ə-d-əx^w g^{wəl} čəba?-d-əx^w g^{wəl} t'^{wuk}?-tx^w-əx^w
 bind-spine-EPTH-CTL-PI CONJ backpack-CTL-PI CONJ go.home-CS-PI
 There was a great deal of dried king salmon catch and meat that he put together and made it into a pack and put it on his back and took it home.
- (22) ?u... hiiləx^w tiil bədədə?s g^{wəl} ?əltx^{wəx} tiil bədədə?s.
 ?u-... hiil-əx^w tiil bədə?-də?-s g^{wəl}
 INTERJ-EMPHAT happy-PI DET one's.child-DISTR-3.POS CONJ
- ?əl-tx^w-əx^w tiil bədə?-də?-s
 eat-CS-PI DET one's.child-DISTR-3.POS
 Oh! His children where happy and he fed his children.
- (23.1) luutəbəx^w ?ə tiil k^{waq} g^{wəl} cuudəx^w tiil bədədə?s, “hiwi(l) .
 lu-u-t-əb-əx^w ?ə tiil k^{waq} g^{wəl} cu-u-d-əx^w tiil
 hear-LV-CTL-M-PI OBL DET raven CONJ tell-LV-CTL-PI DET
- bədə?-də?-s hiwil
 one's.child-DISTR-3.POS go.ahead
- (23.2) hiwil < k'^{wəl}k'^{wili}?- ... > k'^{wil}ilayqs.
 hiwil <k'^{wəl}k'^{wili}?-> k'^{wil}-il-ay-qs
 go.ahead FALSE peek-INCH-CONN-nose
- (23.3) la?b.
 la?b
 look
 Raven heard about this and he told his son, “Go on k'^{wil}ilayqs (nose peeker).
 Look.”
- (24) lə?uǰ^w tiil k'^{wil}ilayqs.
 lə-?uǰ^w tiil k'^{wil}-il-ay-qs
 PROG-go DET peek-INCH-CONN-nose
 k'^{wil}ilayqs (nose peeker) went.
- (25) x^{wi}? k^w(i) s<...>la?bdx^w.

- x^{wi}? k^{wi} s-laʔb-dx^w
 NEG DET NMZR-see-LC
 He was not able to see a thing.
- (26) ʔuǰ^w tiil k^wəl'k^wiləblub g^wəl laʔb.
 ʔuǰ^w tiil k^wəl-k^wil-əb-lub g^wəl laʔb
 go DET DISTR-peek-M-*** CONJ look
 k^wəl'k^wiləblub (peek pecker) went and looked.
- (27) ʔuu.
 ʔu
 INTERJ
 Oh.
- (28) ʔupusutəb ʔə bədədə(?) ʔə k^waq^w ʔə tə t'əlub.
 ʔu-pus-u-t-əb ʔə bədəʔ-dəʔ ʔə k^waq^w ʔə
 SB-throw-LV-CTL-M OBL one's.child-DISTR OBL raven OBL
 tə t'əlub
 DET dried.king.salmon
 Raven's (Pheasant's) children were throwing the dried king salmon.
- (29) ʔuʔuǰ^w tiil.
 ʔu-ʔuǰ^w tiil
 SB-go 3PRS
 He went.
- (30) t'ix^witəb ʔə tiil k^waq^w tiil stulidg^wəs g^wələ ʔuǰ^w.
 t'ix^w-i-t-əb ʔə tiil k^waq^w tiil s-tul-idg^wəs
 brush.off-LV-CTL-M OBL DET raven DET NMZR-from-torso
 g^wələ ʔuǰ^w
 CONJ go
 Raven brushed something off his chest and went.
- (31) < k^wədəd tiil ...>
 <k^wəd-ə-d tiil>
 take-LV-CTL DET
 FALSE START
- (32) k^wədəd tiil sg^wəlub tiil dx^wx^wiʔx^wiʔ g^wəl ʔəltx^w tiil q^wilǰ^ws.
 k^wəd-ə-d tiil s-g^wəlub tiil dx^w-x^wiʔx^wiʔ g^wəl
 take-LV-CTL DET NMZR-pheasant DET PERV-forage CONJ
 ʔəl-tx^w tiil q^wilǰ^w-s
 eat-CS DET in-law-3.POS

Pheasant took what he'd foraged and fed his in-law.

- (33) ʔuwiliq^w, “ʔuu, ʔiχ(əd)tx^w čəx^w ta.”
 ʔu-wiliq^w ʔu ʔiχəd-tx^w čəx^w ta
 SB-ask.question INTERJ do.AGG.MOD-CS 2SG 3PRS
 He asked, “Oh, how did you do this?”

- (34.1) " ʔuu, čəł čəd səx^wulux^wus čəd ʔug^wiid.
 ʔu čəł čəd səx^w-ʔu-lux^wus čəd
 INTERJ make 1SG by.means.of-SB-pry.bark.off_ 1SG

ʔu-g^wi-i-d
 SB-request-LV-CTL
 Oh! I made something to pry the bark with, (and) I requested it.

- (34.2) “t’əlub.
 t’əlub
 dried.king.salmon

- (34.3) t’əlub.
 t’əlub
 dried.king.salmon

- (34.4) t’əlub.
 t’əlub
 dried.king.salmon

- (34.5) t’əlub.”
 t’əlub
 dried.king.salmon
 “Dried king salmon. Dried king salmon. Dried king salmon. Dried king salmon.”

- (35) “hay <...> huuy čədə <...> k^wədəd čədə ʔəłtx^w.”
 hay huy čəd-ə k^wəd-ə-d čəd-ə ʔəł-tx^w
 CONJ CONJ 1SG-CONJ take-LV-CTL 1SG-CONJ come-CS
 “Then I took it and brought it.”

- (36) ʔu... , ləχi(1) g^wələ ʔuχ^w < tiil sg^wəlub g^wəl > tiil k^waq^w g^wəl huy ʔəsʔistəʔ.
 ʔu-... ləχ-il g^wələ ʔuχ^w _tiil
 INTERJ-EMPHAT day.light-INCH CONJ go _ DET

s-g^wəlub g^wəl tiil k^waq^w g^wəl huy ʔəs-ʔistəʔ
 NMZR-pheasant CONJ DET raven CONJ CONJ STAT-like
 Oh! The next day, Raven went and did the same thing.

- (37) k^wəd(d)x^w tiɪ t'əlub g^wəl k^wədəd g^wəl lək^wəd g^wəl <...> g^wələ ʃidtx^wəx^w < tiɪ...>
 tiɪ <...> sčəbidac.
 k^wəd-dx^w tiɪ t'əlub g^wəl k^wəd-ə-d g^wəl
 take-LC DET dried.king.salmon CONJ take-LV-CTL CONJ
 lək^w-ə-d g^wəl g^wələ ʃid-tx^w-əx^w tiɪ tiɪ
 eat.up-LV-CTL CONJ CONJ do-CS-PI DET DET
 s-čəbid-ac
 NMZR-Douglas.fir-tree
 He was able to get some dried king salmon and took it and ate it up. And he did it to the Douglas fir tree.
- (38) x^wia(x^w) g^wəs<...>x^wit'is.
 x^wiʔ-əx^w g^wə-s-x^wit'-il-s
 NEG-PI SUBJ-NMZR-fall-INCH-APPL
 It would not fall for him.
- (39) ʃ^wul'əx^w sčəbid tiɪ ləx^wit'is.
 ʃ^wul'-əx^w s-čəbid tiɪ lə-x^wit'-il-s
 just-PI NMZR-fir.bark DET PROG-fall-INCH-APPL
 Just bark was falling for him.
- (40) čx^wa...liɡ^wəd g^wələ t'uk^w.
 čx^w-...-al-ig^wəd g^wələ t'uk^w
 give.up-EMPHAT-LOC-inside.animal.body CONJ go.home
 He gave up and went home.
- (41) x^wii(ʔ)əx^w stab ʔuhuydx^w.
 x^wiʔ-əx^w s-tab ʔu-huy-dx^w
 NEG-PI NMZR-thing SB-do-LC
 He was not able to do a thing.
- (42) ʔuuʃ^w.
 ʔuʃ^w
 go
 He went.
- (43) x^w(iʔ)əx^w g^wəbəʃu(y) < ʔə tiɪ...> ʔə tiɪ sg^wəlub.
 x^wiʔ-əx^w g^wə-bə-s-huy ʔə tiɪ ʔə tiɪ
 NEG-PI SUBJ-ADD-NMZR-do OBL DET OBL DET
 s-g^wəlub
 NMZR-pheasant
 He could not duplicate what Pheasant had done.
- (44) g^wələ ʔuʃ^wəx^w tiɪ sg^wəlub g^wəl ʎəlaʔd^zad ʔəsidəx^w < tiɪ...> tiɪ st'(ə)qəx^w.

g^wələ ʔuχ^w-əx^w tiif s-g^wəlub g^wəl ʔəl-adzad
 CONJ go-PI DET NMZR-pheasant CONJ stranded-***

ʔa-ši-d-əx^w <tiif> tiif s-t'əq-əx^w
 put-DAT-CTL-PI FALSE DET NMZR-thick-***
 Pheasant went and trapped, putting it there for beaver.

(45) habuu.
 habu
 INTERJ
 Habu.

(46) ʔəlaʔdzadšid tiif st'(ə)qəx^w g^wələ <...> hu...y tiif ʔəladzads g^wəl <...> ʔuχ^wcəx^w tiif
 st'(ə)qəx^w g^wəl č'ax^wadəx^w tiif hiik^w luλ.

ʔəl-adzad-ši-d tiif s-t'əq-əx^w g^wələ huy-...
 stranded-***-DAT-CTL DET NMZR-thick-*** CONJ do-EMPHAT

tiif ʔəl-adzad-s g^wəl ʔuχ^w-c-əx^w tiif s-t'əq-əx^w
 DET stranded-***-3.POS CONJ go-APP-PI DET NMZR-thick-***

g^wəl č'ax^w-a-d-əx^w tiif hik^w luλ
 CONJ club-LV-CTL-PI DET big old

He went trapping for beaver and he was doing his trapping when he went after a beaver and clubbed a big old one.

(47) ʔatəb dəw g^wəl təlawiləx^w ʔusax^wəb(a)lij (ʔ)ə tiif sʔəlaʔdzəds.

ʔa-t-əb dəw g^wəl təlawil-əx^w ʔu-sax^wəb-al-iʔ ʔə
 put-CTL-M inside CONJ run-PI SB-jump-LOC-back OBL

tiif s-ʔəl-adzəd-s
 DET NMZR-stranded-***-3.POS

When one was put there inside, he would run to jump on top of his trap.

(48) ʔu... čalatəbəx^w l(əʔ)ug^wəlaaltəb.

ʔu-... čal-a-t-əb-əx^w lə-ʔu-g^wəlal-t-əb
 INTERJ-EMPHAT chase-LV-CTL-M-PI PROG-SB-kill-CTL-M
 Oh! He chased after them, killing them as he went.

(49) ʔug^wəlatub.

ʔu-g^wəlal-tu-b
 FUT-kill-CS-M

He was going to kill them.

(50) k^wəd(d)ub ʔəsləχəpičəx^w tiif ʔəlaʔdzad tiif st'(ə)qəx^w g^wəl bə...k^w g^w(ə)šubəli.

k^wəd-du-b ʔəs-ləχ-ap-ič-əx^w tiif ʔəl-adzad tiif
 get-LC-M STAT-cover-bottom-spine-PI DET stranded-*** DET

s-t'əq-əx^w g^wəl bək^w... g^wə-šub-əli
 NMZR-thick-*** CONJ all-EMPHAT SUBJ-disappear-DERV
 He managed to get them by coming down on the tails of the beavers with the trap
 so that all of them could be killed off.

(51) huuy g^wəl g^wiidəx^w tiil č'it tiil tug^wəlald d'ix^w.
 huy g^wəl g^wi-i-d-əx^w tiil č'it tiil tu-g^wəlald-d d'ix^w
 CONJ CONJ invite-LV-CTL-PI DET near DET PST-kill-CTL first
 And then they asked for the ones that were close that he had killed first.

(52) g^wiidəx^w g^wəl <...> k^wədədəx^w tiil bək^w sx^wi(?)x^wi?s g^wəl q^wu?dəx^w g^wəl
 čəba?dəx^w g^wəl k^wwič'idəx^w g^wəl q^walsədəx^w.
 g^wi-i-d-əx^w g^wəl k^wəd-ə-d-əx^w tiil bək^w
 invite-LV-CTL-PI CONJ take-LV-CTL-PI DET all

s-x^wi?x^wi?-s g^wəl q^wu?-d-əx^w g^wəl čəba?-d-əx^w
 NMZR-forage-3.POS CONJ put.together-CTL-PI CONJ backpack-CTL-PI

g^wəl k^wwič'-i-d-əx^w g^wəl q^wals-ə-d-əx^w
 CONJ butcher-LV-CTL-PI CONJ boil-LV-CTL-PI

They asked for them and he got all of his catch and put it together and put it on his
 back and butchered it and cooked it on hot rocks in a pit.

(53) huuy t'uk^wtx^wəx^w tiil <...> sx^wi?x^wi?s sq^wələx^w.
 huy t'uk^w-tx^w-əx^w tiil s-x^wi?x^wi?-s s-q^wəl-əx^w
 CONJ go.home-CS-PI DET NMZR-forage-3.POS NMZR-roast-PI
 Then he took his cooked catch home.

(54) l(ə)čilšid tiil bədədə?s g^wəl ?ələd.
 ləčil-ši-d tiil bədə?-d-ə? s g^wəl ?ələd
 arrive-DAT-CTL DET one's.child-DISTR-3.POS CONJ eat-DERV
 He arrived for his children and they ate.

(55) ?u... λuju?iləx^w tiil bədədə? ?ə ti sg^wəlub.
 ?u... λu-ju?-il-əx^w tiil bədə?-d-ə?
 INTERJ-EMPHAT HAB-joyful-INCH-PI DET one's.child-DISTR

?ə ti s-g^wəlub
 OBL DET NMZR-pheasant
 Oh! Pheasant's children were always happy.

(56) huy, λələbut tiil k^waq^w g^wəl k^waad tiil.
 huy λələbut tiil k^waq^w g^wəl k^wa?-a-d _ tiil
 CONJ understand DET raven CONJ send-LV-CTL DET
 Then, Raven understood and sent him.

- (57) “hiwil <k’wəlk’wil’ > k’wililayqs.”
 hiwil <k’wəlk’wil’> k’wil-il-ay-qs
 go.ahead FALSE peek-INCH-CONN-nose
 “Go on k’wililayqs (nose peeker).”
- (58) “laʔbəd <tiil...> tiil sgʷaʔ ʔə tiil sgʷəlub ʔut’uk’wtxʷšid tiil bədədəʔs.”
 laʔb-ə-d tiil tiil s-gʷaʔ ʔə tiil
 look-LV-CTL DET DET NMZR-one's.own OBL DET

 s-gʷəlub ʔu-t’uk’w-txʷ-ši-d tiil bədəʔ-dəʔ-s
 NMZR-pheasant SB-go.home-CS-DAT-CTL DET one's.child-DISTR-3.POS
 “See what Pheasant has that he brought home for his children.”
- (59) “ʔuhiił .”
 ʔu-hiił
 SB-happy
 “They are happy.”
- (60) ʔuuχʷ.
 ʔuχʷ
 go
 He went.
- (61) xʷiʔ kʷ(i) slaʔbədχʷs.
 xʷiʔ kʷi s-laʔb-ə-dχʷ-s
 NEG DET NMZR-see-LV-LC-3.POS
 He was not able to see anything.
- (62) ʔuχʷ tiil k’wəl’k’wiləblub gʷələ laʔbəd.
 ʔuχʷ tiil k’wəl-k’wil-əb-lub gʷələ laʔb-ə-d
 go DET DISTR-peek-M-*** CONJ look-LV-CTL
 k’wəl’k’wiləblub (peek peeker) went and saw it.
- (63) ʔu... ʔupustəgʷil tiil bədədəʔ ʔə sgʷəlub ʔə tə bayəç.
 ʔu-... ʔu-pus-təgʷil tiil bədəʔ-dəʔ
 INTERJ-EMPHAT SB-throw-RECIP DET one's.child-DISTR

 ʔə s-gʷəlub ʔə tə bayəç
 OBL NMZR-pheasant OBL DET meat
 Oh! Pheasant’s children were throwing meat at each other.
- (64) ʔuuχʷ<...> laaʔbəd.
 ʔuχʷ laʔb-ə-d
 go see-LV-CTL
 He went to see it.

(65) ləci(l) ... < ləci(l) tx^wəl > ləci(l) tx^wəl tiif bads g^wəl “ʔupusutəg^wil tiif bədədəʔ ʔə tə sg^wəl(ub) ʔə tə bayəc.”

ləcił <ləcił tx^w-ʔal> ləcił dx^w-ʔal tiif bad-s g^wəl
 arrive <FALSE> arrive PERV-LOC DET father-3.POS CONJ

ʔu-pus-u-təg^wil tiif bədəʔ-dəʔ ʔə tə
 SB-throw-LV-RECIP DET one's.child-DISTR OBL DET

s-g^wəlub ʔə tə bayəc
 NMZR-pheasant OBL DET meat

He arrived. He arrived to his father and, “Pheasant’s children are throwing meat at each other.”

(66) ʔuuḥ^w tiif.

ʔuḥ^w tiif
 go DET

That one went.

(67) k’ix^witəb ʔə tiif k^waq^w tiif stəbs g^wələ ʔuḥ^w g^wəl ləci(l).

k’ix^w-i-t-əb ʔə tiif k^waq^w tiif s-təb-s
 ***-LV-CTL-M OBL DET raven DET NMZR-3SG-3.POS

g^wələ ʔuḥ^w g^wəl ləcił
 CONJ go CONJ arrive

Raven ____ his things and went and arrived.

(68) wiliq^wid tiif.

wiliq^w-i-d tiif
 ask.question-LV-CTL DET

He asked him.

(69) k^wədəd tiif sg^wəlub tiif sʔələd tiif bayəc g^wəl ʔəltx^w tiif q^wilḥ^ws g^wəl ʔuḥildəx^w ʔut’uk^wtx^wəx^w.

k^wəd-ə-d tiif s-g^wəlub tiif s-ʔəl-əd tiif
 take-LV-CTL DET NMZR-pheasant DET NMZR-eat-DERV DET

bayəc g^wəl ʔəl-tx^w tiif q^wilḥ^w-s g^wəl ʔu-ḥil-d-əx^w
 meat CONJ eat-CS DET in-law-3.POS CONJ SB-give.food/drink-CTL-PI

ʔu-t’uk^w-tx^w-əx^w
 SB-go.home-CS-PI

Pheasant took some of the food, the meat, and he fed his in-law and he gave him food to take home.

(70) ləciis.

ləčil-s
arrive-APPL
He came for some.

(71) ləčis tiil.

ləčil-s tiil
arrive-APPL 3PRS
He came for some of that.

(72) ləxi(l) g^wələ ʔuχ^w tiil k^waq^w.

ləx-il g^wələ ʔuχ^w tiil k^waq^w
day.light-INCH CONJ go DET raven
The next day, Raven went.

(73) ʔələdzəd g^wəl ʔələdzəd g^wəl ʔələdzəd g^wəl hu···y g^wəl ʔuχ^w g^wəl ʔələdʒəd ti hik^w.

ʔəl-adzəd g^wəl ʔəl-adzəd g^wəl ʔəl-adzəd g^wəl huy-···
stranded-*** CONJ stranded-*** CONJ stranded-*** CONJ do-EMPHAT

g^wəl ʔuχ^w g^wəl ʔələ-ə-ə-d ti hik^w
CONJ go CONJ cut.off-head-EPTH-CTL DET big

He trapped and trapped and trapped, and while he was doing this, he clubbed a big one in the head.

(Metcalf changes the tape in the tape recorder)

(74.1) hawa kayəʔ.

hawa kayəʔ
proceed grandmother

(74.2) habu.

habu
INTERJ
Proceed grandmother. Habu. (Leon Metcalf)

(75) ʔuχ^w tiil k^waq^w g^wəl ʔələdzəd hi···k^w ʔal.

ʔuχ^w tiil k^waq^w g^wəl ʔələdzəd hik^w··· ʔal
go DET raven CONJ stranded-*** big-EMPHAT come.to

Raven went on, trapping a big one that he came upon.

(76) huuy g^wəl ʔuχ^w g^wəl ʔələdʒəd tiil hig^w ʔal tiil st'(ə)qəx^w g^wələ sax^wəbdub ʔə ʔədʒəl
g^wəl təlawil tx^wəl ti ʔələdzəds g^wəl šul'ag^wiləx^w liłləp.

huy g^wəl ʔuχ^w g^wəl ʔələ-ə-ə-d tiil hig^w ʔal
CONJ CONJ go CONJ cut.off-head-EPTH-CTL DET big LOC

tiil s-t'əq-əx^w g^wələ sax^wəb-du-b ʔə ʔədʒəl g^wəl təlawil

DET NMZR-thick-*** CONJ jump-LC-M OBL go.outside CONJ run

dx^w-ʔal ti ʕəl-adʔəd-s g^wəl ʕul-ag^wil-əx^w
PERV-LOC DET stranded-***-3.POS CONJ insert-put.self.in.action-PI

lił-ʕəp

by.way.of-underneath

And then he went and he clubbed in the head a big one as he came upon a beaver and jumped after him outside and he ran towards the trap and went underneath.

(77) daʔbəx^w tsiil tiil ʔuχid g^wələ q^waq^wəx^w g^wəl tuχ^wtuχ^wud tiil q^wədʔəχ.

daʔb-əx^w tsiil tiil ʔu-χid g^wələ q^waq^w-əx^w _g^wəl
instead-PI DET DET SB-do CONJ cut.open-PI _CONJ

tuχ^w-tuχ^w-u-d tiil q^wədʔəχ
DISTR-pull-LV-CTL DET intestines

A female did it instead and she cut him open and pulled out the guts.

(78) huuy, laʔbdubəx^w ʔə tiil st'(ə)qəx^w g^wəl ʕayəb(b)itəbəx^w.

huy laʔb-du-b-əx^w ʔə tiil s-t'əq-əx^w g^wəl
CONJ look-LC-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-thick-*** CONJ

ʕayəb-bi-t-əb-əx^w
laugh-REL-CTL-M-PI

Then, the beaver looked at him and laughed at him.

(79) ʔatəb də š (hə)diw' ʕəladʔads.

ʔa-t-əb tə šə hədiw' ʕəl-adʔad-s
put-CTL-M DET DET inside.house stranded-***-3.POS

He was put there somewhat inside the trap.

(80) hu...y g^wəl haaʔk^w g^wəl g^wiličtəbəx^w g^wələ g^wədi(l) g^wəl ʔuləχəd tiil q^wədʔəχ.

huy-... g^wəl haʔk^w g^wəl g^wil-ič-t-əb-əx^w g^wələ
CONJ-EMPHAT CONJ ago CONJ dig.up-spine-CTL-M-PI CONJ

g^wədil g^wəl ʔuləχ-ə-d tiil q^wədʔəχ
sit CONJ gather-LV-CTL DET intestines

And then after a long time, he dug a way from underneath and sat down and gathered his guts.

(81) d'ix^w tx^wp'ic'id g^wəl tx^wp'ic'id g^wəl hudčup g^wələ hələcəd.

d'ix^w tx^w-p'ic'-i-d g^wəl tx^w-p'ic'-i-d
first PERV-wring.out-LV-CTL CONJ PERV-wring.out-LV-CTL

g^wəl hud-čup g^wələ hələcəd
CONJ fire cooking.fire CONJ ***

First he wrung them out and wrung them out and he made a fire and he _____.

- (82) hay, t'uk^wtx^wəx^w tx^wəl tiil bədədə(?).
hay t'uk^w-tx^w-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiil bədəʔ-dəʔ
CONJ go.home-CS-PI PERV-LOC DET one's.child-DISTR
Then he took them home to his children.

- (83) ʔələdəx^w tiil bədədəʔs g^wəl huy ʃələx^w d^zu^ʃwatəb.
ʔəl-əd-əx^w tiil bədəʔ-dəʔ-s g^wəl huy
eat-DERV-PI DET one's.child-DISTR-3.POS CONJ CONJ

ʃələ-əx^w d^zu^ʃw-a-t-əb
sick-PI vomit-LV-CTL-M
His children ate them and then got sick, throwing them up.

- (84.1) x^wi...ʔ.
x^wiʔ-...
NEG-EMPHAT

- (84.2) dišə(?) ləqəp tə k^waq^w.
dišəʔ lə-qəp tə k^waq^w
here PROG-foolish DET raven
No! This is the foolishness of Raven.

- (85.1) x^wi...ʔ.
x^wiʔ-...
NEG-EMPHAT

- (85.2) dišə(?) ləqəp tə k^waq^w.
dišəʔ lə-qəp tə k^waq^w
here PROG-foolish DET raven
No! This is the foolishness of Raven.

- (86) huuy, ʃx^waʔlig^wəd tx^wəl tiil.
huy ʃx^w-al-ig^wəd dx^w-ʔal tiil
CONJ give.up-LOC-inside.animal.body PERV-LOC 3PRS
Then he gave up on that.

- (87) g^wəl ʃələ x^w(y)idad.
g^wəl ʃələ x^w-yidad
CONJ make PERV-fish.trap
And he made a fish trap.

- (88) ʃələ x^w(y)idad < ti ...> ti k^waq^w g^wəl ʃuʃididəx^w.

čələ x^w-yidax ti ti k^waq^w g^wəl _
 make PERV-fish.trap DET DET raven CONJ

ʃu-šid-i-d-əx^w

HAB-come.to.water.surface-LV-CTL-PI

Raven made a fish trap, which he always put at the surface of the water.

(89) tuʔuləxədəx^w tiil k^wəspax^w tiil bək^w stab sčədadax^w.

tu-ʔuləx-ə-d-əx^w tiil k^wəspax^w tiil bək^w s-tab
 PST-gather-LV-CTL-PI DET trout DET all NMZR-thing

s-čədadax^w

NMZR-salmon

He had gathered trout, (and) all kinds of salmon.

(90) tuhu...y həlicutəx^w.

tu-huy-... həliʔ-cut-əx^w
 PST-COP-EMPHAT alive-CTL.REFLX-PI

He had made himself healthy.

(91) hu...yəx^w tiil g^wələ...

huy-...-əx^w tiil g^wələ
 finish-EMPHAT-PI DET CONJ

He finished that and then...

(92) huy < q^wilx^wəbəx^w tx^wəl tiil... >

huy < q^wilx^w-əb-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiil >
 CONJ <FALSE>

Then, <FALSE START...>

(93) q^wilx^wəbəx^w tx^wəl tiil <...> st'(ə)qəx^w g^wiʔlubtx^wəx^w tiil bədəʔ.

q^wilx^w-əb-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiil s-t'əq-əx^w g^wiʔlub-tx^w-əx^w
 in-law-M-PI PERV-LOC DET NMZR-thick-*** pheasant-CS-PI

tiil bədəʔ

DET one's.child

He was in-law to Beaver for whom (his) child had been made a little pheasant.

(94) ʔu...x^w tiil st'(ə)qəx^w g^wəl x̃i(d)tx^w tiil sʔələds g^wəl ʔəltx^w tiil k^waq^w.

ʔux^w-... tiil s-t'əq-əx^w g^wəl x̃id-tx^w tiil
 go-EMPHAT DET NMZR-thick-*** CONJ do-CS DET

s-ʔəl-əd-s

NMZR-eat-DERV-3.POS

g^wəl

belong.to

ʔəl-tx^w

eat-CS

tiil

DET

k^waq^w

raven

Beaver went and prepared his food and fed Raven.

- (95) cuud tiif q^{wilx}ws, “ʔask^wədalaq čəx^w dq^{wilx}ʔw.”
 cu-u-d tiif q^{wilx}w-s ʔəs-k^wəd-al-aq čəx^w d-q^{wilx}ʔw
 tell-LV-CTL DET in-law-3.POS STAT-take-LOC-DERV 2SG
 1SG.POS-in-law
 He told his in-law, “You come for some, my in-law.”
- (96) huy ʔučaalatəbəx^w ʔə tiif q^{wilx}ws luʔəltuli.
 huy ʔu-čal-a-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiif q^{wilx}w-s
 CONJ SB-chase-LV-CTL-M-PI OBL DET in-law-3.POS

 lu-ʔəl-tu-əli
 FUT-eat-CS-DERV
 Then he followed his in-law to eat.
- (97) huyucut x^wəlab ʔə tiif shuy ʔə tiif st'(ə)qəx^w.
 huy-u-cut x^wəlab ʔə tiif s-huy ʔə tiif
 do-LV-CTL.REFLX like OBL DET NMZR-do OBL DET

 s-t'əq-əx^w
 NMZR-thick-***
 He did with himself just as Beaver had done.
- (98) x^wiʔ.
 x^wiʔ
 NEG
 No.
- (99) ʔušəbitəb ʔə tiif st'(ə)qəx^w g^wəl x^widətəb g^wəl huyšitəb ʔə tiif sʔələd g^wəl ʔaaltx^w
 t'uk^w.
 ʔušəb-bi-t-əb ʔə tiif s-t'əq-əx^w g^wəl x^wid-t-əb
 pity-REL-CTL-M OBL DET NMZR-thick-*** CONJ do-CTL-M

 g^wəl huy-ši-t-əb ʔə tiif s-ʔəl-əd g^wəl ʔəl-tx^w
 CONJ do-DAT-CTL-M OBL DET NMZR-eat-DERV CONJ eat-CS

 t'uk^w
 go.home
 Beaver took pity on him and prepared something and made some food for him and
 fed him (and) went home.
- (100) huy bəʔu^x tx^wəl tiif sx^wəlq^w.
 huy bə-ʔu^x dx^w-ʔal tiif s-x^wəlq^w
 CONJ ADD-go PERV-LOC DET NMZR-water.osel
 Then he went to Water Osel.

- (101) bəkʷədəd tiif sxʷəlqʷ tiif šxʷiaʔǰʷads gʷəl kʷitʷ gʷəl ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l)
ʔuʔsi(l).

bə-kʷəd-ə-d tiif s-xʷəlqʷ tiif
ADD-take-LV-CTL DET NMZR-water.osel DET

šxʷ-ʔi-ʔaǰʷad-s gʷəl kʷitʷ gʷəl ʔuʔs-il
PERV-DISTR-basket-3.POS CONJ go.toward.water CONJ dive-INCH

ʔuʔs-il ʔuʔs-il ʔuʔs-il
dive-INCH dive-INCH dive-INCH

Water Osel took his little basket and went down to the water and the little thing
dove and dove and dove and dove.

- (102) la...čʷ <tiif...> tiif šxʷiaʔǰʷad <ʔə tiif...> ʔə tiif qəlǰ gʷəl tʷukʷtxʷ gʷəl
ʔubayusid gʷəl ʔub tiif qʷilǰʷs.

ləčʷ-... <tiif> tiif šxʷ-ʔi-ʔaǰʷad ʔə tiif
fill-EMPHAT FALSE DET PERV-DISTR-basket OBL DET

ʔə tiif qəlǰ gʷəl tʷukʷtxʷ gʷəl
OBL DET salmon.eggs CONJ go.home-CS CONJ

ʔubayus-ši-d gʷəl ʔub tiif qʷilǰʷs
make.salmon.egg.soup-DAT-CTL CONJ feed.soup_DET in-law-3.POS

The little basket was full of salmon eggs and he took it home and made salmon egg
soup for him and served soup to his in-law.

- (103) huyəxʷ gʷəl cuud tiif qʷilǰʷs, " ʔu, ʔəskʷədalaq čəxʷ dqʷilǰʷ."ʷ

huy-əxʷ gʷəl cu-u-d tiif qʷilǰʷ-s ʔu
finish-PI CONJ tell-LV-CTL DET in-law-3.POS INTERJ

ʔəs-kʷəd-al-aq čəxʷ d-qʷilǰʷ
STAT-take-LOC-DERV 2SG 1SG.POS-in-law

He finished and he told his in-law, "You come get some, my in-law."

- (104) "tʷukʷ čəxʷ txʷəl šə dʔaʔal."

tʷukʷ čəxʷ dxʷ-ʔal šə d-ʔaʔal
go.home 2SG PERV-LOC DET 1SG.POS-house

"You come home to my house."

- (105) ʔuuǰʷ <tiif...> tiif sxʷəlqʷ.

ʔuǰʷ <tiif> tiif s-xʷəlqʷ
go FALSE DET NMZR-water.osel

Water Osel went.

- (106) ʔəčis tiif kʷaqʷ gʷəl ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l).

ʔəčil-s tiif kʷaqʷ gʷəl ʔuʔs-il ʔuʔs-il ʔuʔs-il

arrive-APPL DET raven CONJ dive-INCH dive-INCH dive-INCH
 He arrived for Raven and the little thing dove and dove and dove.

- (107) dx^wahaš qəłǰ g^wəl x^wi? k^wi stab.
 dx^w-ʔa-h-aš qəłǰ g^wəl x^wi? _k^wi s-tab
 PERV-locate-EPTH-CTL salmon.eggs CONJ NEG DET NMZR-thing
 The salmon eggs were there but he had nothing.
- (108) huy g^wəl bəčəš tiil <...> šx^wiaʔǰ^wad .
 huy g^wəl bəč-əš tiil šx^w-ʔi-ʔaǰ^wad
 CONJ CONJ put-CTL DET PERV-DISTR-basket
 So then he put down his little basket.
- (109) Íwa tsaana .
 í-wa ts'aa-na
 3PRS-COP near-PST
 It was close.
- (110) huuy g^wəl k^wədəd tiil sx^wəlq^w tiil.
 huy g^wəl k^wəd-ə-d tiil s-x^wəlq^w tiil
 CONJ CONJ take-LV-CTL DET NMZR-water.osel DET
 So then Water Osel took it.
- (111) hiwil ʔə tiil k^waq^w g^wəl ʔuǰ^w g^wəl ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l) ʔuʔsi(l).
 hiwil ʔə tiil k^waq^w g^wəl ʔuǰ^w g^wəl ʔuʔs-il
 go.ahead OBL DET raven CONJ go CONJ dive-INCH
 ʔuʔs-il ʔuʔs-il ʔuʔs-il
 dive-INCH dive-INCH dive-INCH
 He went ahead of Raven, and he went and the little thing dove and dove and dove
 and dove.
- (112) huuy g^wəl <...> ʔəg^wilšid tiil q^wilǰ^ws.
 huy g^wəl ʔəg^w-il-šid tiil q^wilǰ^w-s
 CONJ CONJ leave-INCH-DAT-CTL DET in-law-3.POS
 And then he left it for his in-law.
- (113) ʔəči(l) tiil.
 ʔəčil tiil
 arrive DET
 He arrived.
- (114) huy <bə- ...> bəq^wiʔl(ǰ^w)əbəx^w tx^wəl tiil <...> sčətx^wəd.
 huy <bə-> bə-q^wilǰ^w-əb-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiil s-čətx^wəd
 CONJ FALSE ADD-in-law-M-PI PERV-LOC DET NMZR-black.bear
 He was also in-law to Bear.

- (115) bəq^wil(ǰ^w)əb tx^wəl tiil sčətx^wəd.
 bə-q^wilǰ^w-əb dx^w-ʔal tiil s-čətx^wəd
 ADD-in-law-M PERV-LOC DET NMZR-black.bear
 He was also in-law to Bear.
- (116) bələčis.
 bə-ləčil-s
 ADD-arrive-APPL
 He came to him, too.
- (117) k^wədəd dx^wc'ag^wačib tiil sčətx^wəd g^wəl tiǰtəǰid ti čaləš ʔal tiil hud.
 k^wəd-ə-d dx^w-c'ag^w-ači-b tiil s-čətx^wəd g^wəl
 take-LV-CTL PERV-wash-hand-M DET NMZR-black.bear CONJ
 tiǰ-təǰ-i-d ti čaləš ʔal tiil hud
 spread-DISTR-LV-CTL DET hand LOC DET fire
 Bear took to wash his hands and spreading his hands to the fire.
- (118) hu... g^wiid tiil ǰ^wəs g^wəl ləč' ʔal tiil q^wu? g^wəl ʔuǰ^wc < tiil...> ʔuǰ^wc tiil stəb g^wəl
 <...> c'iibt^w tiil q^wilǰ^ws g^wəl ləg^wilšid .
 hu... g^wi-i-d tiil ǰ^wəs g^wəl ləč' ʔal
 INTERJ-EMPHAT request-LV-CTL DET grease CONJ fill LOC
 tiil q^wu? g^wəl ʔuǰ^w-c tiil ʔuǰ^w-c tiil s-təb g^wəl
 DET water CONJ go-APP DET go-APP DET NMZR-3SG CONJ
 c'ib-tx^w tiil q^wilǰ^w-s g^wəl ləg^w-il-ši-d
 dip.into-CS DET in-law-3.POS CONJ leave-INCH-DAT-CTL
 Oh! He asked for grease and it filled with liquid and he went for it and went to get
 something so that his in-law could dipped it and he left it for him.
- (119) huy g^wəl t'uk^w tiil q^wilǰ^ws.
 huy g^wəl t'uk^w tiil q^wilǰ^w-s
 CONJ CONJ go.home DET in-law-3.POS
 And then his in-law went home.
- (120) t'uk^w tiil k^waq^w.
 t'uk^w tiil k^waq^w
 go.home DET raven
 Raven went home.
- (121) “ʔu ʔəsk^wədalaq čəx^w dq^wilǰ^w.”
 ʔu ʔəs-k^wəd-al-aq čəx^w d-q^wilǰ^w
 INTEROG STAT-take-LOC-DERV 2SG 1SG.POS-in-law
 “Oh. You come get some, my in-law.”

- (122) haaystəb g^wəl ʔu^xw < tiil ... > tiil sčətx^wəd.
 ʔahayst-əb g^wəl ʔu^xw tiil tiil s-čətx^wəd
 go.for.reason-M CONJ go DET DET NMZR-black.bear
 Going to him for this reason, Bear went.
- (123) c'ag^wačib tiil k^waq^w g^wəl ti^xti^xačib.
 c'ag^w-ači-b tiil k^waq^w g^wəl ti^x-ti^x-ači-b
 wash-hand-M DET raven CONJ spread-DISTR-hand-M
 Raven washed his hands and held his hands up.
- (124) ku... ʔu^lə^xwəb tiil čaləš.
 ku... ʔu-^lə^xw-əb tiil čaləš
 EMPHAT SB-pop-M DET hand
 Oh! His hands popped.
- (125) x^wi? k^wi s-c'i^x-əb ʔə k^wi s^xwəs.
 x^wi? k^wi s-c'i^x-əb ʔə k^wi s-^xwəs
 NEG DET NMZR-fry-M OBL DET NMZR-grease
 He did not fry the grease out.
- (126) ʔuc'i^x-c'i^xačib.
 ʔu-c'i^x-c'i^x-ači-b
 SB-DISTR-fry-hand-M
 He fried his hands.
- (127) ci... tiil s^xwəs g^wəl ləč' tiil <... səx^w-... səx^w-... > səx^wč^wals.
 ci-... tiil s-^xwəs g^wəl ləč' tiil
 very-EMPHAT DET NMZR-grease CONJ fill DET

 səx^w-səx^w-səx^w-č^wal-s
 by.means.of-by.means.of-by.means.of-lack.control-3.POS
 There was a lot of grease and it was filled with what he was unable to do.
- (128) ʔaag^wilšid tiil q^wil^xws.
 ʔəg^w-il-ši-d tiil q^wil^x-s
 leave-INCH-DAT-CTL DET in-law-3.POS
 He left it for his in-law.

Sparrow Washes His Face

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded May 1st, 1954

At Muckleshoot Reservation, Washington

- (1) ʔuʔaačup tiil spicx̃^w.
 ʔu-ʔa-čup tiil s-picx̃^w
 SB-go.to.place firewood DET NMZR-sparrow
 Sparrow gathered firewood.
- (2) cqaqid ʔuʔaačup ʔə tiil x̃pay ʔəshudəbəc.
 cqaqid ʔu-ʔa-čup ʔə tiil x̃pay
 always SB-go.to.place cooking.fire OBL DET western.red.cedar
 ʔəs-hud-əbəc
 STAT-burn-solid.obj
 He was always gathering cedar that was burned.
- (3) ʔ(u)asč'ašusəx̃^w.
 ʔu-ʔəs-č'aš-us-əx̃^w
 HAB-STAT-spread-face-PI
 It was habitually smeared on his face.
- (4) x̃^wul'əx̃^w ʔuʔələd ʔəsč'iq'wilači? ʔəsč'iq'wil.
 x̃^wul'-əx̃^w ʔu-ʔəl-ad ʔəs-č'iq'w-il-ači? ʔəs-č'iq'w-il
 just-PI SB-eat-DERV STAT-dirty-INCH-hand STAT-dirty-INCH
 He just ate with dirty hands that were dirty.
- (5) ʔucucutəbəx̃^w < ʔə ti ... > ʔə tiil x̃əltəds, “ʔu... ʔub c'ag^wačibəx̃^w, siʔab čəx̃^wə ʔələd ʔə k^w(i) haʔl.”
 ʔu-cu-cut-t-əb-əx̃^w ʔə ti ʔə tiil
 HAB-DISTR-tell-CTL-M-PI OBL DET OBL DET
 x̃əltəd-s ʔu-... ʔub c'ag^w-ači-b-əx̃^w
 man's.brother-in-law-3.POS INTERJ-EMPHAT fine wash-hand-M-PI
 s-ʔiʔab čəx̃^w-ə ʔəl-əd ʔə k^wi haʔl
 NMZR-wealth 2SG-CONJ eat-DERV OBL DET well
 His brother in-laws habitually told him, “Oh, it isd fine for you to wash your hands, honorable one, so that you eat well.”
- (6) “ʔulək^wədəx̃^w čəx̃^w tiil ʔəsč'iq'wi(l) l(ə)adsəsč'ašč'ašači(?)”

- $\dot{\lambda}$ u-lək^w-ə-d-əx^w čəx^w tiif ʔəs-č'iq^w-il
 HAB-eat.up-LV-CTL-PI 2SG DET STAT-dirty-INCH
 lə-ad-s-ʔəs-č'aš-č'aš-ačiʔ
 PROG-2SG.POS-NMZR-STAT-DISTR-spread-hand
 "You are habitually eating the dirt that's smeared on your hands."
- (7)
 $\dot{\lambda}$ ucuudəx^w tiif ǰəltəds, "ʔuu , cuud t(i) adsqatəd g^wəl x^wiʔ k^w(i) ʔusǰəčs hilg^wəʔ ʔudsc'ag^wusəb."
 $\dot{\lambda}$ u-cu-u-d-əx^w tiif ǰəltəd-s ʔu
 HAB-tell-LV-CTL-PI DET man's.brother-in-law-3.POS INTERJ
 cu-u-d ti ad-s-qa-təd g^wəl x^wiʔ k^wi
 tell-LV-CTL DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-older.sibling-*** CONJ NEG DET
 ʔu-s-ǰəč-s hilg^wəʔ ʔu-d-s-c'ag^w-us-əb
 FUT-NMZR-advise-3.POS 3PL FUT-1SG.POS-NMZR-wash-face-M
 He habitually told his brother in-law, "Oh, tell your older brothers not to tell me to wash my face."
- (8) "dəg^w(i)ax^w čəx^w g^wəhuy sʔušəbabət^w."
 dəg^wi-əx^w čəx^w g^wə-huy s-ʔušəb-ab-tx^w
 2SG.EMPH-PI 2SG SUBJ-make NMZR-poor-DERV-CS
 "It will be you that could make things unfortunate."
- (9) "g^wəhuuy čəx^w s(ʔ)ušəbabət^w."
 g^wə-huy čəx^w s-ʔušəb-ab-tx^w
 SUBJ-do 2SG NMZR-pity-DERV-CS
 "You could have misfortune."
- (10) ʔi... ǰ^wul' ʔuǰəčtəb.
 ʔi... ǰ^wul' ʔu-ǰəč-t-əb
 yes-EMPHAT just SB-advise-CTL-M
 Yes! They just advised him to do it.
- (11) ʔu... ci ʔistəb tiif.
 ʔu... ci ʔistəʔ-b tiif
 INTERJ-EMPHAT very happen-M 3PRS
 Oh! This is what really happened to him.
- (12) bəcuutəbəx^w tsiif sʔadəyʔ tx^wəl tiif dəč'uʔ bəsdəč'uʔ ǰəltəds hilg^wəʔ.
 bə-cu-u-t-əb-əx^w tsiif s-ʔadəyʔ dx^w-ʔal tiif dəč'uʔ
 ADD-tell-LV-CTL-M-PI DET NMZR-woman PERV-LOC DET one
 bəs-dəč'uʔ ǰəltəd-s hilg^wəʔ
 have-one man's.brother-in-law-3.POS 3PL

He also told the woman about the one, who was their one brother in-law.

- (13) ʔuχ^wəx^w tiil χəltəds g^wələ laʔbd ʔalil .
 ʔuχ^w-əx^w tiil χəltəd-s g^wələ laʔb-d ʔal-il
 go-PI DET man's.brother-in-law-3.POS CONJ see-CTL come.to-INCH
 His brother in-law went and looked where he went to.

- (14) di···ʔəslaʔbd ʔalis g^wələ x^wit'i(l).
 diʔ-··· ʔəs-laʔb-d ʔal-il-s g^wələ x^wit'-il
 DEICT-EMPHAT STAT-see-CTL come.to-INCH-APPL CONJ fall-INCH
 This is who saw where he had gone to get it where it fell.

- (15) ʔaatəbəd tiil qqa.
 ʔatəbəd tiil q-qa
 die DET DISTR-many
 Many died.

- (16) daay'iləx^w tiil spicχ^w.
 day'-il-əx^w tiil s-picχ^w
 only-INCH-PI DET NMZR-sparrow
 There was just Sparrow.

- (17) ʔuχəçtəbəx^w tiil spicχ^w, “λ(u)b ç(ə)x^w dx^wc'ag^wusəbəx^w.”
 ʔu-χəç-t-əb-əx^w tiil s-picχ^w λub çəx^w
 SB-advise-CTL-M-PI DET NMZR-sparrow fine 2SG

dx^w-c'ag^w-us-əb-əx^w
 PERV-wash-face-M-PI
 He advised Sparrow, “It is fine for you to wash your face.”

- (18) “λub çəx^w ʔudx^wc'ag^wusəb.”
 λub çəx^w ʔu-dx^w-c'ag^w-us-əb
 fine 2SG SB-PERV-wash-face-M
 “It is fine for you to wash your face.”

- (19) x^wi···ʔ g^wəsc'ag^wusəbs.
 x^wiʔ-··· g^wə-s-c'ag^w-us-əb-s
 NEG-EMPHAT SUBJ-NMZR-wash-face-M-3.POS
 He would not wash his face.

- (20) ti···ləx^w ti sx^wak^wilbids tiil χəltəds g^wəl k^wit'əx^w tx^wəl tiil stulək^w g^wəl
 c'ag^wusəbəx^w ti ʔup.
 tiləx^w-··· ti s-x^wak^w-il-bi-d-s tiil
 finally-EMPHAT DET NMZR-tired-INCH-REL-CTL-3.POS DET

χəltəd-s g^wəl k^wit'-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiil

man's.brother-in-law-3.POS CONJ go.toward.water-PI PERV-LOC DET

s-tulək^w g^wəl c'ag^w-us-əb-əx^w ti lup
NMZR-river CONJ wash-face-M-PI DET early.morning
Finally, he was tired of he brother in-laws and he went down the river and washed his face in the early morning dawn.

(21) g^wələ t'ilibəx^w.
g^wələ t'ilib-əx^w
CONJ sing-PI
And he sang,

(22) “bu···lə bu···lə š(ə) dǰa···təd ʔi···.”
bulə bulə šə d-ǰəttəd ʔi
VOCALS VOCALS DET 1SG.POS-man's.brother-in-law EMPHAT
“bulə bulə my brother in-laws, aaay.”

(23) “dawəx^w čəd ʔuyəqəqyəqusəbəd yəyəlab sq'(i)ǰ^wulg^wədx^w ʔi···”
daw'-əx^w čəd ʔu-yəq-əq-yəq-us-əb-əd
just.now-PI 1SG FUT-wash-DISTR-DISTR-face-M-1SG.S

yə-yəlab s-q'ix^w-ulg^wədx^w ʔi
DISTR-uncle NMZR-upriver-land EMPHAT
“I will just washed my face, uncles from the land in the south, aaay.”

(24) “bu···lə bu···lə š(ə) dǰa···təd ʔi···.”
bulə bulə šə d-ǰəttəd ʔi
VOCALS VOCALS DET 1SG.POS-man's.brother-in-law EMPHAT
“bulə bulə my brother in-laws, aaay.”

(25) “dawəx^w čəd ʔuyəqəqyəqusəbəd š(ə) dǰa···təd ʔi···.”
daw'-əx^w čəd ʔu-yəq-əq-yəq-us-əb-əd šə
just.now-PI 1SG FUT-wash-DERV-DISTR-face-M-1SG.S DET

d-ǰəttəd ʔi
1SG.POS-man's.brother-in-law EMPHAT
“I will just wash my face my brother in-laws, yes.”

(26) huuy g^wəl qəlbəx^w g^wələ qəlbəx^w g^wələ qəlbəx^w g^wələ qəlbəx^w g^wələ qəlbəx^w .
huy g^wəl qəlb-əx^w g^wələ qəlb-əx^w g^wələ qəlb-əx^w g^wələ qəlb-əx^w
CONJ CONJ rain-PI CONJ rain-PI CONJ rain-PI CONJ rain-PI

g^wələ qəlb-əx^w
CONJ rain-PI
And then it rained and rained and rained and rained and rained.

- (27) huy g^wəl jač'əx^w.
 huy g^wəl jač'-əx^w
 CONJ CONJ flood-PI
 And then it flooded.
- (28) jaač'əx^w ti swatix^wtəd.
 jač'-əx^w ti s-watix^wtəd
 flood-PI DET NMZR-land
 The land flooded.
- (29) huy g^wəl p'əq'^wəx^w tiil tuχəltəd < ?ə tiil ...> ?ə tiil spicχ^w.
 huy g^wəl p'əq'^w-əx^w tiil tu-χəltəd _____ <?ə
 CONJ CONJ drift-PI DET PST-man's.brother-in-law FALSE

tiil> ?ə tiil s-picχ^w
 FALSE OBL DET NMZR-sparrow
 And then Sparrow's former brother in-laws drifted away.

- (30) q'^wiļəbəx^w ti swatix^wtəd.
 q'^wiļ-əb-əx^w ti s-watix^wtəd
 overflow-M-PI DET NMZR-land
 The land overflowed.
- (31) x^w(i?)ax^w g^wəsta···b g^wəšik^w.
 x^wi?-əx^w g^wə-s-tab-··· g^wə-šik^w
 NEG-PI SUBJ-NMZR-thing-EMPHAT SUBJ-emerge
 Not a thing emerged from the surface of the water.
- (32) da···y'əx^w ti ti.
 day'-···-əx^w ti ti
 only-EMPHAT-PI DET DET
 It was just like this.
- (33) huuyəx^w.
 huy-əx^w
 finish-PI
 He was finished.
- (34) q'^wiļəbəx^w tiil swatix^wtəd g^wəl saq'^wəx^w q'(i)χ^wulg^wədx^w tiil spicχ^w.
 q'^wiļ-əb-əx^w tiil s-watix^wtəd g^wəl saq'^w-əx^w q'ix^w-ulg^wədx^w
 overflow-M-PI DET NMZR-land CONJ fly-PI_ upriver-land
- tiil s-picχ^w
 DET NMZR-sparrow
 The land overflowed and Snow Bird flew to the land in the south.

- (35) ʔu...x̃ʷ.
 ʔu x̃ʷ-...
 go-EMPHAT
 He went.
- (36) ʔəgʷɪ ʔuhuy ti tučəgʷ(ə)š.
 ʔəgʷɪ ʔu-huy ti tu-čəgʷəš
 leave SB-COP DET PST-wife
 He left the one whom he had made his wife.
- (37) huy p'əq'wəxʷ tiɪ ʔaciɪtalmi(xʷ) .
 huy p'əq'w-əxʷ tiɪ ʔaciɪtalmi(xʷ)
 CONJ drift-PI DET people
 Then the people drifted away.
- (38) huy q'wuʔq'wuʔəxʷ tiɪ ʔaciɪtalbixʷ.
 huy q'wuʔ-q'wuʔ-əxʷ tiɪ ʔaciɪtalbixʷ
 CONJ DISTR-gather-PI DET people
 Then the people gathered.
- (39) šigʷicutəxʷ hilgʷəʔ.
 šigʷ-i-cut-əxʷ hilgʷəʔ
 emerge-LV-CTL.REFLX-PI 3PL
 They emerged from the water.
- (40) tuhuy x̃ʷul'əxʷ š(ə)qabəc ʔə kʷi st'ət'(ə)k'wəb .
 tu-huy x̃ʷul'-əxʷ šəq-abac ʔə kʷi s-t'ə-t'ək'wəb
 PST-do just-PI above-solid.obj OBL DET NMZR-DISTR-wood
 They had done this by just being on top of wood.
- (41) xʷ(iʔ)axʷ gʷəshudčups (h)ilgʷ(əʔ).
 xʷiʔ-əxʷ gʷə-s-hud-čup-s hilgʷəʔ
 NEG-PI SUBJ-NMZR-burn-campfire-3.POS 3PL
 They could not build a fire.
- (42) huy ʔuq'wiłəb ti swatixʷtəd.
 huy ʔu-q'wił-əb ti s-watixʷtəd
 COP SB-overflow-M DET NMZR-land
 Because the land flowed over with water.
- (43) ʔuʔu x̃ʷəxʷ tiɪ.
 ʔu-ʔu x̃ʷ-əxʷ tiɪ
 HAB-go-PI DET
 They habitually went.

- (44) $\dot{\lambda}u\dot{\gamma}usiləx^w$ tiil stab.
 $\lambda u-\dot{\gamma}us-il-əx^w$ tiil s-tab
 HAB-dive-INCH-PI DET NMZR-thing
 Something was habitually diving into the water.
- (45) $\dot{\gamma}əsłə\check{x}təbəx^w$ tiil $\check{s}x^w(?)iq^w$.
 $\dot{\gamma}əs-lə\check{x}-t-əb-əx^w$ tiil $\check{s}x^w-?iq^w$
 STAT-spread-CTL-M-PI DET PERV-wipe
 The things that were swept up (by the water) were spread out (by the flooding).
- (46) $\dot{\gamma}əsłə\check{x}təbəx^w$ $\dot{\lambda}ux^{wt}əqətəbs$ $g^wəs\dot{w}atix^w$ $\check{s}ə$ $\dot{w}atix^{wt}əd$.
 $\dot{\gamma}əs-lə\check{x}-t-əb-əx^w$ $\dot{\lambda}u-x^{wt}-t'əq-ə-t-əb-s$
 STAT-spread-CTL-M-PI FUT-PERV-adhere-LV-CTL-M-3.POS
 $g^wə-s-watix^w$ $\check{s}ə$ $s-watix^{wt}əd$
 SUBJ-NMZR-*** DET NMZR-world
 The things where they were going to pat down (dirt) so land could be created for the world was spread out.
- (47) $\dot{\lambda}u\dot{\gamma}uusi(l)$ ti $\check{s}x^w(?)iq^w$.
 $\dot{\lambda}u-\dot{\gamma}us-il$ ti $\check{s}x^w-?iq^w$
 FUT-dive-INCH DET PERV-wipe
 Those that had been swept up were going to dive into the water.
- (48) $\dot{\gamma}a\cdots$ $\dot{\gamma}əs\dot{g}^wədil(l)$ tiil muskrat, $s\dot{q}ədix$.
 $\dot{\gamma}a\cdots$ $\dot{\gamma}əs-g^wədil$ tiil muskrat $s-qədix$
 locate-EMPHAT STAT-sit DET muskrat NMZR-muskrat
 Muskrat was there, sitting.
- (49) $\dot{\gamma}aas$ $\dot{\gamma}u\dot{g}^wədil(l)$ $\dot{\gamma}uha\dot{\gamma}k^w$.
 $\dot{\gamma}a-s$ $\dot{\gamma}u-g^wədil$ $\dot{\gamma}u-ha\dot{\gamma}k^w$
 locate-3.POS SB-sit SB-ago
 He was there, sitting for a long time.
- (50) $\dot{\gamma}əst'ix^wi(l)$.
 $\dot{\gamma}əs-t'ix^w-il$
 STAT-shake.off-INCH
 He was shaken off (the water).
- (51) $\dot{\gamma}əs\dot{\lambda}uu\check{x}^wi(l)$.
 $\dot{\gamma}əs-\dot{\lambda}u\check{x}^w-il$
 STAT-cold-INCH
 He was cold.
- (52) $\dot{\gamma}ut'iix^w$.
 $\dot{\gamma}u-t'ix^w$

SB-shake.off
He shook it off.

- (53) ʔu... x^{wi}? g^{wə}səscutəbs luʔusiləs.
ʔu-... x^{wi}? g^{wə}s-ʔəs-cut-t-əb-s
INTERJ-EMPHAT NEG SUBJ-NMZR-STAT-tell-CTL-M-3.POS

lu-ʔus-il-əs
FUT-dive-INCH-3.S
Oh, they would not tell him that he would dive.

- (54) cutəbəx^w, “ʔu... ʔəsʔidəx^w ʔu g^{wə}səx^wk^{wəd}(d)x^wčəł k^{wi} swatix^wtəd g^{wə}ləx^w(i?)ax^w
ʔx^wul’ ʔuʔusi(l).”
cut-əb-əx^w ʔu-... ʔəs-ʔid-əx^w ʔu
say-M-PI INTERJ-EMPHAT STAT-how-PI INTEROG

g^{wə}s-əx^w-k^{wəd}-dx^w-čəł k^{wi} s-watix^wtəd
SUBJ-by.means.of-get-LC-1PL.POS DET NMZR-land

g^{wə}-lə-x^{wi}?-əx^w ʔx^wul’ ʔu-ʔus-il
SUBJ-REP-NEG-PI just SB-dive-INCH

They said to him, “Oh, How can we get the land so that we will not just be diving.”

- (55) huuy sax^{wə}bəx^w tx^{wəl} tiil q^{wu}?
huy sax^{wə}b-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiil q^{wu}?
CONJ run.hard-PI PERV-LOC DET water
Then he jumped into the water.

- (56) ʔusiləx^w.
ʔus-il-əx^w
dive-INCH-PI
He dove into the water.

- (57) šu...b tiil muskrat.
šub-... tiil muskrat
disappear-EMPHAT DET muskrat
Muskrat disappeared.

- (58) hiik^w sləʔiq’tx^w.
hik^w s-lə-ʔiq’-tx^w
big NMZR-PROG-scratch-CS
He was scratching up a lot.

- (59) ʔəłtx^w tiil sč’iq’wi(l).
ʔəł-tx^w tiil s-č’iq’-il
come-CS DET NMZR-dirty-INCH

He brought some dirt.

- (60) huy t'əqəšəx^w ʔal tiil stab šx^w(ʔ)iq^{'w} .
huyt'əq-əš-əx^w ʔal tiil s-tab šx^w-ʔiq^{'w}
CONJ adhere-CTL-PILOC DET NMZR-thing PERV-wipe
Then he patted the on the things that were swept up (in the flood).
- (61) ʔinúu šx^w(ʔ)iq^{'w} k^wag^wičən tə k^wag^wičəd haydx^w.
ʔi-núu šx^w-ʔiq^{'w} k^wag^wičən tə k^wag^wičəd hay-dx^w
3SG-say PERV-wipe elk DET elk know-LC
He said about the swept up elk, the elk he knew.
- (62) k^wag^wičəd.
k^wag^wičəd
elk
Elk.
- (63) k^wag^wičəd haydx^w huh? (Leon Metcalf)
k^wag^wičəd hay-dx^w huh?
elk know-LC INTERROG
Elk is who he knew, huh?
- (64) That make the ground.
- (65) What they that...
- (66) That's the muskrat ... (Listener)
- (67.1) Yeah.
- (67.2) They grabbed the... grabbed the dirt from the this land and she put the land.
- (68) Just five times and finish all the make the land.
- (69) hu...y k^wəd(d)x^w hilg^wəʔ tiil swatix^wtəd.
huy-... k^wəd-dx^w hilg^wəʔ tiil s-watix^wtəd
CONJ-EMPHAT get-LC 3PL DET NMZR-land
Then they got the land.
- (70) bək^{'w}ub stab tuʔusi(l).
bək^{'w}-u-b s-tab tu-ʔus-il
take.what.one.finds-LV-M NMZR-thing PST-dive-INCH
They took what was found when they had dove.
- (71) bək^{'w} stab.
bək^{'w} s-tab

all NMZR-thing
All kind of things.

- (72) x^wiʔ g^wəsk^wəd(d)x^ws hilg^wəʔ tiɪl sč^ʔiq^wi(l).
x^wiʔ g^wə-s-k^wəd-dx^w-s hilg^wəʔ tiɪl s-č^ʔiq^w-il
NEG SUBJ-NMZR-get-LC-3.POS 3PL DET NMZR-dirty-INCH
They weren't able to get the dirt.
- (73) daay' tiɪl sqədič tx^wk^wəd(d)x^w tiɪl sč^ʔiq^wi(l).
day' tiɪl s-qədič tx^w-k^wəd-dx^w tiɪl s-č^ʔiq^w-il
only DET NMZR-muskrat PERV-get-LC DET NMZR-dirty-INCH
Only muskrat got the dirt.
- (74) huuy tuyayus ʔə tiɪl haʔ.
huytu-yayus ʔə tiɪl haʔ
CONJ PST-work OBL DET good
Then they had done good work.
- (75) hu...y bəʔaʔaʔliləx^w tiɪl ʔaciʔalbix^w.
huy-... bə-ʔa-ʔaʔlil-əx^w tiɪl ʔaciʔalbix^w
CONJ-EMPHAT ADD-DISTR-live-PI DET people
Then the people lived there again.
- (76) I think that story's long.

Grandmother Raccoon

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded May 1st, 1954

At Muckleshoot Reservation, Washington

- (1) ya··· (?əsləʔli(l) tiil qa··· bəlups .
ya-··· ʔəs-ləʔli tiil qa-··· bəlups
EMPHAT-EMPHAT STAT-live DET many-EMPHAT raccoon
There lived a whole lot of raccoons.
- (2) ʰucəwələx^w (h)ilg^{wəʔ} g^{wəl} ʰ(uʔ)uχ^{wəx^w} huy g^{wəl} ʰuʰilt^ʔiac^{ʔəx^w} ti sk^{wəʔ}ps g^{wəl} ti
ʰəčuʔ.
ʰu-cəwələ-x^w hilg^{wəʔ} g^{wəl} ʰu-ʔuχ^w-əx^w huy g^{wəl}
FUT-hungry-PI 3PL CONJ HAB-go-PI CONJ CONJ
ʰu-ʰilt^ʔiac^ʔ-əx^w ti s-k^{wəʔ}ps g^{wəl} ti ʰəčuʔ
HAB-pole.line.fish-PI DET NMZR-trout belong.to DET lake
When they were going to get hungry is when they were going to go and then fish
for trout at the lake with a line and pole.
- (3) ʔuʔuləχ^{əd} ti g^{wə}qa···
ʔu-ʔuləχ^ə-d ti g^{wə}-qa···
SB-gather-LV-CTL DET SUBJ-many-EMPHAT
They gathered a whole lot.
- (4) g^{wə}ʰəčag^wcəbəx^w hilg^{wəʔ} ti sčads k^w(i) ʰəb(ə)g^{wə}ʰulək^wtubəx^w hilg^{wəʔ}.
g^{wə}-ʰə-čaʔk^w-c-əb-əx^w hilg^{wəʔ} ti
SUBJ-REP-come.down.to.water-APP-M-PI 3PL DET
s-čad-s k^wi ʰə-bə-g^{wə}-ʰu-lək^w-tu-b-əx^w hilg^{wəʔ}
NMZR-where-3.POS DET REP-ADD-SUBJ-FUT-eat.up-CS-M-PI 3PL
This is when repeatedly something would come down to the water for them and eat
them.
- (5) x^wi···ʔəx^w k^wi dəč^ʔuʔ ʰusq^wadcil .
x^wiʔ-···-əx^w k^wi dəč^ʔuʔ ʰu-s-q^wadc-il _
NEG-EMPHAT-PI DET one HAB-NMZR-left.existing-INCH
There was not one that was left.
- (6) ləχⁱ(l) bəʔuχ^w tiil ʔiik^{wə}lq.
ləχⁱ-il bə-ʔuχ^w tiil ʔiik^{wə}lq
day.light-INCH ADD-go DET PART-other

- (14) buusaafiləx^w .
 buus-ał-il-əx^w
 four-times-INCH-PI
 It was the fourth time.
- (15) bəʔuχ^w hilg^{wəʔ}.
 bə-ʔuχ^w hilg^{wəʔ}
 ADD-go 3PL
 They went again.
- (16) bələk^wtəb tiil ʔaciltəlbix^w (ʔ)ə tiil d^zəg^{wəʔ}.
 bə-lək^w-t-əb tiil ʔaciltəlbix^w ʔə tiil d^zəg^{wəʔ}
 ADD-eat.up-CTL-M DET people OBL DET monster
 The monster ate those people, too.
- (17) ʔi...stəb.
 ʔistəʔ-...-b
 happen-EMPHAT-M
 That is what happened to them.
- (18) ləçiləx^w tx^wəl tiil day'iləx^w tsiil s-ladəyʔ ʔəs-d^zid^ziʔ.
 ləçil-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiil day'-il-əx^w tsiil s-ladəyʔ
 arrive-PI PERV-LOC DET only-INCH-PI DET NMZR-woman
 ʔəs-d^zid^ziʔ
 STAT-pregnant
 Now it comes to just this woman who was pregnant.
- (19) ʔu... ʔux^waacəb ʔə tsiil kayəʔs.
 ʔu-... ʔux-x^waa-c-əb ʔə tsiil kayəʔ-s
 INTERJ-EMPHAT HAB-reluctant-APP-M OBL DET grandmother-
 3.POS
 Oh! Her grandmother did not want her to go.
- (20) x^wiʔ g^wəsbəlčs.
 x^wiʔ g^wə-s-bəlč-s
 NEG SUBJ-NMZR-obey-3.POS
 She would not obey.
- (21) ʔəsx^waacəb ʔə tsiil kayəʔs.
 ʔəs-x^waa-c-əb ʔə tsiil kayəʔ-s
 STAT-reluctant-APP-M OBL DET grandmother-3.POS
 Her grandmother did not want her to go.
- (22) x^wiʔ g^wəsbəlčs.

- x^wiʔ g^{wə}-s-bəlč-s
 NEG SUBJ-NMZR-obey-3.POS
 She would not obey.
- (23) ti···ləx^w ʔiw^ˈsəx^w.
 tiləx^w-··· ʔiw^ˈ-s-əx^w
 finally-EMPHAT escape-3.POS-PI
 Eventually, she escaped.
- (24) ʔuχ^wəx^w g^{wəl} hilt^ˈiac^ˈəx^w.
 ʔuχ^w-əx^w g^{wəl} hilt^ˈiac^ˈ-əx^w
 go-PI CONJ pole.line.fish-PI
 She went and fished with a line and pole.
- (25) qa···əx^w tiil sx^wi(ʔ)x^wi(ʔ) g^{wəl} čag^wcəbəx^w ʔə tsiil d^zəg^wəʔ.
 qa···-əx^w tiil s-x^wiʔx^wiʔ g^{wəl}
 many-EMPHAT-PI DET NMZR-forage CONJ
 čaʔk^w-c-əb-əx^w ʔə tsiil d^zəg^wəʔ
 come.down.to.water-APP-M-PI OBL DET monster
 There was a great deal of catch when the monster came down to the water for her.
- (26) ʔulək^ˈwtəbəx^w tiil səsx^wiʔx^wiʔs.
 ʔu-lək^ˈw-t-əb-əx^w tiil s-ʔəs-x^wiʔx^wiʔ-s
 SB-eat.up-CTL-M-PI DET NMZR-STAT-forage-3.POS
 It ate up she had caught.
- (27) huy lək^ˈwtəbəx^w g^{wəl} day^ˈəx^w tsiil ʔəsd^ˈid^ˈiʔs tiil ʔuʔəltəb.
 huy lək^ˈw-t-əb-əx^w g^{wəl} day^ˈəx^w tsiil ʔəs-d^ˈid^ˈiʔ-s
 CONJ eat.up-CTL-M-PI CONJ only-PI DET STAT-pregnant-3.POS
 tiil ʔu-ʔəl-t-əb
 DET SB-leavel.alone-CTL-M
 Then it ate her up, and only (the baby) she was pregnant with was left alone.
- (28) ʔa···.
 ʔa···
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT
 Ah!
- (29) haydubəx^w ʔə tsiil kayəʔs ʔuʔatəb(ə)d g^{wəl} ʔuχ^wəx^w.
 hay-du-b-əx^w ʔə tsiil kayəʔ-s ʔu-ʔatəbəd g^{wəl}
 know-LC-M-PI OBL DET grandmother-3.POS SB-die CONJ
 ʔuχ^w-əx^w

go-PI
Her grandmother knew she had died and she went.

- (30) ʔu... ʔa ti ʔibəc ʔəsbəč.
ʔu-... ʔa ti ʔibəc ʔəsbəč
INTERJ-EMPHAT locate DET grand.child STAT-lay
Oh! There was the grandson, laying there.
- (31) kʷədədəxʷ gʷəl t'uk'wtxʷ .
kʷəd-ə-d-əxʷ gʷəl t'uk'w-txʷ
get-LV-CTL-PI CONJ go.home-CS
She got him and took him home.
- (32) huy tuʔəltxʷəxʷ ʔə kʷi stab gʷəl tuləxi(l) gʷəl ləluʔi(l) gʷəl ləluʔi(l) <tiil> tiil
bibəlups.
huy tu-ʔəlt-txʷ-əxʷ ʔə kʷi stab gʷəl tu-ləxʷ-il
CONJ PST-eat-CS-PI OBL DET thing CONJ PST-day.light-INCH

gʷəl lə-luʔ-il gʷəl lə-luʔ-il <tiil> tiil
CONJ PROG-old-INCH CONJ PROG-old-INCH FALSE DET

bi-bəlups
DIM-raccoon
When she had fed him something, the next day, the baby raccoon got older and older.
- (33) ʔi...stəb ʔi...
ʔistəʔ-...-b ʔi-...
happen-EMPHAT-M EMPHAT-EMPHAT
That is what happened to him!
- (34) lu...ʔiləxʷ.
luʔ-...-il-əxʷ
old-EMPHAT-INCH-PI
He became much older!
- (35) ʔucuudəxʷ tsiil kayəʔs, “luʔuʔxʷəxʷ čəd.”
ʔu-cu-u-d-əxʷ tsiil kayəʔ-s lu-ʔuʔxʷ-əxʷ čəd
SB-say-LV-CTL-PI DET grandmother-3.POS FUT-go-PI 1SG
His grandmother told him, “I will go.”
- (36) čəd hihiłt'iac' gʷələʔəʔ tsi dʒəgʷəʔ.
čəd hi-hiłt'iac' gʷə-lə-ʔəʔ tsi dʒəgʷəʔ
1SG DISTR-pole.line.fish SUBJ-REP-come DET monster
“I will fish while the monster comes around.”

(37) ʔuuχ^wəχ^w g^wəl hilt'iac' g^wəl ʔu... χ^wul' tiil sx^wi(?)x^wi(?)s g^wələ six^w ʔučaʔk^w tsi dʒəg^wəʔ.
 ʔuχ^w-əχ^w g^wəl hilt'iac' g^wəl ʔu... χ^wul' tiil
 go-PI CONJ pole.line.fish CONJ INTERJ-EMPHAT just DET
 s-x^wiʔx^wiʔ-s g^wələ six^w ʔu-čaʔk^w tsi dʒəg^wəʔ
 NMZR-forage-3.POS CONJ usual SB-come.down.to.water DET monster
 She went and fished until she had a lot of catch and, as expected, the monster came down to the water.

(38.1) " ʔu...
 ʔu-...
 INTERJ-EMPHAT

(38.2) kayəʔ qəhalqəχ^w čəx^w ʔu."
 kayəʔ qəhalqəχ^w čəx^w ʔu
 grandmother have.lot.of.what's.gathered 2SG INTEROG
 "Oh grandmother, do you have a lot?"

(39.1) "ʔi .
 ʔi
 yes

(39.2) qalqəχ^w čəd dal lək^w'əd čəx^w."
 qəhalqəχ^w čəd dal lək^w'-ə-d čəx^w
 have.lot.of.what's.gathered 1SG *** eat.up-LV-CTL 2SG
 "Yes. I have a lot which you should eat it up."

(40) "ʔub čəx^w ʔulək^w'əd."
 ʔub čəx^w ʔu-lək^w'-ə-d
 fine 2SG SB-eat.up-LV-CTL
 "It is fine for you to eat it up."

(41) lək^w'təbəχ^w ʔə tsiil dʒəg^wəʔ tiil sʔələd g^wəl huy ʔatəbədəχ^w.
 lək^w'-t-əb-əχ^w ʔə tsiil dʒəg^wəʔ tiil s-ʔələd
 eat.up-CTL-M-PI OBL DET monster DET NMZR-eat-DERV CONJ
 g^wəl huyʔatəbəd-əχ^w
 CONJ die-PI
 The monster ate up the food and then it died.

(42) huy k^w'ič'idəχ^w g^wəl huyudəχ^w shuy.

huy k'wɨč'-i-d-əx^w g^wəl huy-u-d-əx^w s-huy
 CONJ butcher-LV-CTL-PI CONJ do-LV-CTL-PI NMZR-do
 Then she butchered it and she did the activity.

(43) ʃilidəx^w g^wəl huyutx^w g^wəl ʔəsliq' idəx^w.
 ʃil-i-d-əx^w g^wəl huy-u-d-tx^w g^wəl ʔəs-liq'-i-d-əx^w
 ***-LV-CTL-PI CONJ do-LV-CTL-CS CONJ STAT-paint.red-LV-CTL-PI
 She ___ it and she made it do what it does and she painted it red.

(44) g^wiidəx^w huʔəʎəx^w tiif dzəg^wəʔ g^wəl g^wəluʃ^wul' ʔələx^w.
 g^wi-i-d-əx^w hu-ʔəʎ-əx^w tiif dzəg^wəʔ g^wəl g^wə-lu-ʃ^wul'
 invite-LV-CTL-PI FUT-come-PI DET monster CONJ SUBJ-FUT-just

ʔələx^w
 eat-PI
 It invited the monster(s) to come and just eat.

(45) cəq^wəlšəd g^w(ə)ʎ(ə)ʃubali.
 cəq^wəl-šəd g^wə-ʎə-ʃub-ali
 on.end-foot SUBJ-REP-kill.several-DERV
 She stood it up so that it could kill them off.

(46) tələx^w ʔəsʔist(əʔ) ʔə tsiif kayəʔ.
 tələx^w ʔəs-ʔistəʔ ʔə tsiif kayəʔ
 true-PI STAT-like OBL DET grandmother
 This is truly like the grandmother.

(47) šəd^waaltx^wəx^w tiif shuy.
 šəd^wal-tx^w-əx^w tiif s-huy
 go.outside-CS-PI DET NMZR-do
 She took what she was doing outside.

(48) cəq^wələšəx^w g^wəl huuy ʃubal(i)əx^w tiif dzəg^wəʔ g^wələʔəʎ ləg^wəlald tulil g^wəl tsi
 kayəʔs.
 cəq^wəl-ə-š-əx^w g^wəl huy ʃub-ali-əx^w tiif dzəg^wəʔ
 on.end-EPTH-CTL-PI CONJ CONJ kill.several-DERV-PI DET monster

g^wə-lə-ʔəʎ lə-g^wəlald tul' lil g^wəl tsi
 SUBJ-PROG-come PROG-kill-CTL from far belong.to DET

kayəʔ-s
 grandmother-3.POS
 She stood it on end and then the monsters died off, those that were coming. What belonged to the grandmother will killing them off.

- (49) bə...k'wətəbtx^w huy k'wič'idəx^w g^wəl k'wič'idəx^w g^wəl k'wič'idəx^w g^wəl ...
q'it(t)x^wəx^w.
bək^w-...-ə-t-əb-tx^w huy k'wič'-i-d-əx^w g^wəl
all.gone-EMPHAT-LV-CTL-M-CS CONJ butcher-LV-CTL-PI CONJ
k'wič'-i-d-əx^w g^wəl k'wič'-i-d-əx^w g^wəl q'it-tx^w-əx^w
butcher-LV-CTL-PI CONJ butcher-LV-CTL-PI CONJ store.food-CS-PI
She finished them all off, and she butchered and butchered and butchered them, and
put them away as food.
- (50) qa... ʔəsliʔ g^wəl sʔələds.
qa... ʔəs-liʔ g^wəl s-ʔələ-əd-s
many-EMPHAT STAT-by.what.means belong.to NMZR-eat-DERV-3.POS
There was a lot by which was their very own food.
- (51) ʔəildx^w (h)ilg^wəʔ tx^wəl tiil.
ʔəčil-dx^w hilg^wəʔ dx^w-ʔəl tiil
arrive-LC 3PL PERV-LOC 3PRS
It was able to bring them there.
- (52) ʔistəbəx^w tiil č'ač'əš ... yəx^w tsiil kayəʔs.
ʔistəʔ-b-əx^w tiil č'ač'əš yəx^w tsiil kayəʔ-s
happen-M-PI DET child CONJ DET grandmother-3.POS
That is what happened to the boy and his grandmother.
- (53) hu... haʔləx^w (h)ilg^wəʔ ʔəsʔəlli(l) yəx^w tsiil kayəʔs.
hu... haʔlə-əx^w hilg^wəʔ ʔəs-ʔəlli(l) yəx^w tsiil
INTERJ-EMPHAT good-PI 3PL STAT-live CONJ DET
kayəʔ-s
grandmother-3.POS
Oh! He and his grandmother lived well.
- (54) ʔəʔliil (h)ilg^wəʔ.
ʔəʔliil hilg^wəʔ
live 3PL
They lived.
- (55) huy šubali(ə)x^w tiil <tus- ...> tušəbads (h)ilg^wəʔ.
huy šub-ali-əx^w tiil <tu-s-> tu-šəbad-s
CONJ kill.several-DERV-PI DET <FALSE> PST-enemy-3.POS
hilg^wəʔ
3PL
Their enemy was killed off.

- (56) ʔəsq^wuʔq^wuʔ tubəɫups tuʔəsɫali(l).
 ʔəs-q^wuʔ-q^wuʔ tu-bəɫups tu-ʔəs-ɫaliɫ
 STAT-DISTR-gather PST-raccoon PST-STAT-live
 There had been a lot of raccoons living together.
- (57) bək^wi(l).
 bək^w-il
 all.gone-INCH
 They were finished off.
- (58) bək^wiləx^w.
 bək^w-il-əx^w
 all.gone-INCH-PI
 That's all.
- (59) I guess that's all.

Fly

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded November 14th, 1952

At Puyallup, Washington

- (1) t(u)asłallil tiil ǰayuǰwa? g^wəl ʔuludx^wəx^w tiil ʔəsłal(il) ʔəsq^wuʔq^wuʔ g^wəl ʔuǰ^wəx^w.
- tu-as-łallil tiil ǰayuǰwa? g^wəl ʔu-lu-dx^w-əx^w tiil ʔəs-łallil
 PST-STAT-live DET fly CONJ SB-hear-LC-PI DET STAT-live

ʔəs-q^wuʔ-q^wuʔ g^wəl ʔuǰ^w-əx^w
 STAT-DISTR-together CONJ go-PI
 There lived a fly and he heard about those who were living together and he went.

- (2) ʔuǰ^wəx^w ʔululəx^w.
 ʔuǰ^w-əx^w ʔulul-əx^w
 go-PI travel.by.water-PI
 He went by water.

- (3) čaləš tiil səx^wʔuʔilšx^w.
 čaləš tiil səx^w-ʔu-ʔilšx^w
 hand DET by.means.of-SB-paddle
 Using his hand to paddle.

- (4) huy ʔaydubəx^w ʔə tiil tuləduk^walik^w g^wələ cutəbəx^w, “ʔaaš x^wiʔ l(əʔ)al.”
 huyʔay-du-b-əx^w ʔə tiil tu-lə-duk^w-alik^w g^wələ
 CONJ find-LC-M-PI OBL DET PST-PROG-transform-CONT CONJ
- cut-əb-əx^w ʔaš x^wiʔ lə-ʔal
 say-M-PI INTERJ NEG PROG-fast
 When the one who hand been going along, changing things, found him, and he said to him, “Goodness! that’s not fast.”

- (5) “ləǰiǰəd čəx^w.”
 lə-ǰiǰəd čəx^w
 PROG-do.AGG.MOD 2SG
 “What are you doing!?”

- (6) “ʔu… siʔab.”
 ʔu… s-ʔiʔab
 INTERJ-EMPHAT NMZR-wealth
 Oh! Honorable one.”

- (7) “ʔəbil’əx^w čəd g^wək^wədəd k^w(i) st’ək’wəb g^wəl g^wəč’ax^wč’ax^wac.”
 ʔəbil’-əx^w čəd g^wə-k^wəd-ə-d k^wi s-t’ək’wəb g^wəl
 if-PI 1SG SUBJ-take-LV-CTL DET NMZR-stick CONJ
 g^wə-č’ax^w-č’ax^w-a-t-s
 SUBJ-DISTR-club-LV-CLT-1SG
 “If I took a stick, it would club me, over and over again.”
- (8) “ʔa...š x^wiʔ ləʔaɫx^w.”
 ʔaš-... x^wiʔ lə-ʔaɫ-x^w
 INTERJ-EMPHAT NEG PROG-fast-CS
 “Goodness! That does not make it go fast.”
- (9) pətidge^wəsbitəb ʔə tiɫ ləduk^walik^w tiɫ ʃ^wubt g^wələ k^wəd(d)ub ʔə tiɫ ʃayu^wʃaʔ tiɫ
 ʃ^wubt.
 pət-idg^wəs-bi-t-əb ʔə tiɫ lə-duk^w-alik^w tiɫ ʃ^wubt
 ***-torso-REL-CTL-M OBL DET PROG-transform-CONT DET paddle
 g^wələ k^wəd-du-b ʔə tiɫ ʃayu^wʃaʔ tiɫ ʃ^wubt
 CONJ take-LC-M OBL DET fly DET paddle
 The one going along, changing things, used his thoughts to created a paddle, and
 Fly was able to take the paddle.
- (10) huy ʔiɫš(x^w)əx^w (h)ilg^wəʔ.
 huy ʔiɫšx^w-əx^w hilg^wəʔ
 CONJ paddle-PI 3PL
 Then they paddled.
- (11) č’ax^wg^wəstəb tiɫ st’ək’wəb g^wəl ʔatəbəd.
 č’ax^w-g^wəs-t-əb tiɫ s-t’ək’wəb g^wəl ʔatəbəd
 club-pair-CTL-M DET NMZR-stick CONJ die
 He hit the sticks together and they died.
- (12) ɫuk^wədəx^w ʔə k^w(i) liɫlaq ɫuʔaciɫtalbix^w.
 ɫu-k^wəd-əx^w ʔə k^wi liɫ-laq ɫu-ʔaciɫtalbix^w
 FUT-take-PI OBL DET by.way.of-behind FUT-people
 Future people who are coming later will take this.
- (13) x^wi(ʔ)əx^w ɫuč’ax^walik^ws.
 x^wiʔ-əx^w ɫu-č’ax^w-alik^w-s
 NEG-PI FUT-club-CONT-3.POS
 It will not club them.
- (14) <cutəb >cutəb ʔə tiɫ ʃayu^wʃaʔ, “ʔa...s(ʔ)ušəbabdx^w čəd.”
 <cut-əb> cut-əb ʔə tiɫ ʃayu^wʃaʔ ʔa-...

<FALSE> tell-M OBL DET fly EMPHAT-EMPHAT

s-ʔuʂəb-ab-dx^w čəd
NMZR-pty-DERV-LC 1SG
Fly told him, “Ah! I am pitiful.”

- (15) “g^wələ tu^x čəd ʔuludx^w k^wədi ʔuq^wuʔq^wuʔ tiif cəx^wləʔu^x.”
g^wələ tu^x čəd ʔu-lu-dx^w k^wədi ʔu-q^wuʔ-q^wuʔ tiif
CONJ merely 1SG SB-hear-LC DEM SB-DISTR-gather DET

d-dəx^w-lə-ʔu^x
1SG.POS-reason.for-PROG-go
“And I merely heard about some sort of gathering which is why I am going.”

- (16) habuu.
habu
INTERJ
habu.

- (17) ʔu...^x tiif ʂayu^x(aʔ) ʔi...
ʔu^x-... tiif ʂayu^xaʔ ʔi...
go-EMPHAT DET fly EMPHAT-EMPHAT
Fly went a long, long ways.

- (18) ʔəčiləx^w tx^wəl tiif qaa ʔaciɬalbix^w ʔəsɬaɬali(l).
ʔəčil-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiif qa ʔaciɬalbix^w ʔəs-ɬa-ɬalil
arrive-PI PERV-LOC DET many people _STAT-DISTR-live
He came to a place where many people were living.

- (19) huy čəłə x^waalal’ ʔiila^xad.
huy čəł-ə ʔalʔal ʔil-a^xad
CONJ 1PL-CONJ house side-side
Then he made himself a small house next to them.

- (20) cu... ciəx^w qa tiif ʂə^xpayəc.
cu... ci-əx^w qa tiif ʂə-^xpay-əc
EMPHAT-EMPHAT very-PI many DET DISTR-western.red.cedar-tree
Oh! There were many cedar trees.

- (21) lələb təʔ ʔuu.
la-lab təʔ ʔu
DISTR-look true INTERJ
He truly looked at them, oh!.

- (22) huy ʂiɬəpəx^w tiif ʂayu^xaʔ g^wəl g^wəti huy tuk^wədtx^w tiif səx^wʔug^wəlalds tiif
st’ək^wəb.

- huy ǰiǰ-ǰp-ǰx^w tiif ǰayux^wa? g^wǰl _g^wǰti huy
 CONJ fall.tree-bottom-PI DET fly CONJ for.reason do
- tu-k^wǰd-tx^w tiif sǰx^w-ǰu-g^wǰlal-d-s _tiif s-t'ǰk'^wǰb
 PST-take-CS DET by.means.of-SB-kill-CTL-3.POS DET NMZR-tree
 Then Fly cut down a tree and this is why he had taken something to kill this tree.
- (23) ǰiǰǰǰǰ^w.
 ǰiǰ-ǰp-ǰx^w
 fall.tree-bottom-PI
 He cut the tree down.
- (24.1) d^za...q'dub.
 d^zaq'-...-du-b
 fall-EMPHAT-LC-M
 He knocked it down!
- (24.2) huy ǰǰǰǰ^w p'ayǰǰǰ^w.
 huy ǰǰ-ǰx^w p'ayǰǰ-ǰx^w
 CONJ make-PI hew-PI
 Then he made something hewed out.
- (25) ǰǰǰ ǰǰǰǰ?
 ǰǰǰ ǰǰǰǰ?
 make shovel.nosed.canoe
 He made a shovel-nosed canoe.
- (26) ǰi... ǰistǰb ǰuǰǰǰ ǰǰǰǰ?
 ǰi... ǰistǰb ǰu-ǰǰǰ ǰǰǰǰ?
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT happen-M SB-make shovel.nosed.canoe
 Indeed! This is what was happening, him making himself a shovel-nosed canoe.
- (27) huuy luudǰǰ^w tiif ǰ'aǰ'aš ǰuǰǰǰǰǰ.
 huy lu-u-d-ǰx^w tiif ǰ'aǰ'aš ǰu-ǰǰǰǰǰ
 CONJ hear-LV-CTL-PI DET child SB-cry
 When he heard a child crying.
- (28) ǰuǰǰa...ǰǰǰ tiif ǰ'aǰ'aš g^wǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ^w-ad.
 ǰu-ǰǰǰǰǰǰ... tiif ǰ'aǰ'aš g^wǰ-ǰǰ-bǰ-g^wǰ-ǰǰǰǰǰǰ^w-ad
 SB-cry-EMPHAT DET child SUBJ-REP-ADD-SUBJ-***-DERV
 The child cried for a while until it would stop again.
- (29) bǰǰǰǰa...ǰǰǰ, g^wǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ^w-ad.
 bǰ-ǰǰǰǰǰ... g^wǰ-ǰǰ-bǰ-g^wǰ-ǰǰǰǰǰǰ^w-ad
 ADD-cry-EMPHAT SUBJ-REP-ADD-SUBJ-***-DERV
 It cried again for a while until it would stop again.

- (30) huy <tu->tučad^zib ʔə tsiif sk^wuys tiif č^ʼac^ʼaš, baby, ʔəs^ʰəq ʔal tiif s^ʰaltəd.
 huy <tu-> tu-čad^z-ib ʔə tsiif s-k^wuy-s
 CONJ <FALSE> PST-hide-DERV OBL DET NMZR-mother-3.POS
- tiif č^ʼac^ʼaš baby, ʔəs-^ʰəq ʔal tiif
 DET child baby STAT-bind LOC DET
- s-^ʰal-təd
 NMZR-cover.with.board-INSTR
 His mother had hid the boy, a baby, in the bushes, wrapped in a cradle board so that
 no one would know about him.
- (31) ʔiistəbəx^w.
 ʔistəʔ-b-əx^w
 happen-M-PI
 That is what happened.
- (32) g^wəl hag^wəx^w ʔaləx^w cəlac slə^ʰxi(1) g^wələ six^w ʔu^ʰx^wəx^w laʔbədəx^w.
 g^wəl hag^w-əx^w ʔal-əx^w cəlac s-lə^ʰ-il g^wələ six^w
 CONJ ago-PI come.to-PI five NMZR-day.light-INCH FM usual
- ʔu^ʰx^w-əx^w laʔb-ə-d-əx^w
 go-PI look-LV-CTL-PI
 And after a while, upon the fifth day, as expected, he went to look at him.
- (33) ʔu... haaʔ ti č^ʼac^ʼaš ʔəs^ʰəq səsqəlbid ʔal tiif ʰa^ʰdup.
 ʔu... haʔ ti č^ʼac^ʼaš ʔəs-^ʰəq
 INTERJ-EMPHAT nice DET child STAT-wrap.around
- s-ʔəs-qəl-bi-d ʔal tiif ʰa^ʰ-dup
 NMZR-STAT-bad-REL-CTL LOC DET bush-ground
 Oh! It was a nice boy, wrapped up, discarded in the bushes.
- (34.1) ʔucuud.
 ʔu-cu-u-d
 SB-tell-LV-CTL
- (34.2) t^ʰuk^wəx^w g^wəl cuudəx^w tsiif čəg^wəš, “ʔuu ʔayif čəx^w g^wək^wəd(d)x^w k^wi č^ʼac^ʼaš
 g^wəbək^wudəli tiif č^ʼac^ʼaš <ʔəs^ʰəq ʔəs->ʔəs^ʰəq ʔal tə s^ʰaltəd.”
 t^ʰuk^w-əx^w g^wəl cu-u-d-əx^w tsiif čəg^wəš ʔu ʔayif
 go.home-PI CONJ tell-LV-CTL-PI DET wife INTERJ pretend
- čəx^w g^wə-k^wəd-dx^w k^wi č^ʼac^ʼaš
 2SG SUBJ-take-LC DET child

The next day, others were going around, saying, “Oh! They say that Fly’s wife had a child who is very old. He is old.”

- (41) huuy laʔbtəbəx^w.
 huuy laʔb-t-əb-əx^w
 CONJ see-CTL-M-PI
 Then they saw him.
- (42) ʔu... tiləb luλ̇ tiil̇ bədəʔ ʔə tsiil̇ sɫadəyʔ.
 ʔu-... tiləb luλ̇ tiil̇ bədəʔ ʔə tsiil̇
 INTERJ-EMPHAT suddenly old DET one's.child OBL DET
 s-ɫadəyʔ
 NMZR-woman
 Oh! The child of that woman was already old.
- (43) tiləb luλ̇.
 tiləb luλ̇
 already old
 He was already old.
- (44) ʔəbsbədəʔ <tiil̇> ʔayux^waʔ tsiil̇ q^wəc^xaʔ.
 ʔəbs-bədəʔ tiil̇ tiil̇ ʔayux^waʔ tsiil̇ q^wəc^xaʔ
 have-one's.child DET DET fly DET meadowlark
 Fly had a daughter who was Meadowlark.
- (45) ʔa...ɫ̇ tiil̇ ləluλ̇i(l) ʔə tiil̇ č'ac'aš.
 ʔaɫ̇-... tiil̇ lə-luλ̇-il ʔə tiil̇ č'ac'aš
 fast-EMPHAT DET PROG-old-INCH OBL DET child
 The child got older very fast.
- (46) ʔaɫ̇.
 ʔaɫ̇
 fast
 It was fast.
- (47) ʔu... luλ̇i(l) g^wəl̇ ləluλ̇i(l).
 ʔu-... luλ̇-il g^wəl̇ lə-luλ̇-il
 INTERJ-EMPHAT old-INCH CONJ PROG-old-INCH
 Oh! He became older and older.
- (48) čəɫbitəbəx^w c'ac'uc ʔə tiil̇ ʔayux^waʔ tiil̇ biib(ə)daʔs.
 čəɫ-bi-t-əb-əx^w c'ac'uc ʔə tiil̇ ʔayux^waʔ tiil̇
 maker-REL-CTL-M-PI bow OBL DET fly DET
 bi-bədəʔ-s

DIM-one's.child-3.POS
 Fly made his favorite child a bow.

- (49) čəlbidəx^w t'isid.
 čəł-bi-d-əx^w t'isid
 make-REL-CTL-PI arrow
 He made him arrows.
- (50) ʃuč'aax^w ʃut'uuc'əx^w.
 ʃu-č'ax^w ʃu-t'uuc'-əx^w
 HAB-club HAB-shoot-PI
 What he shot hit its mark.
- (51) g^wabitəbəx^w ʔə tsiil sqaa q^wəc^xʔa?
 g^wa-bi-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tsiil s-qa q^wəc^xʔa?
 accompany-REL-CTL-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-older.sibling meadowlark
 The older sister Meadowlark went with him.
- (52) g^wələ cutəbəx^w, “t'uc'uc čəx^w g^wəlald tə dčaləš.”
 g^wələ cut-əb-əx^w t'uc'-u-s čəx^w g^wəlald-d tə d-čaləš
 CONJ tell-M-PI shoot-LV-1SG 2SG harm-CTL DET 1SG.POS-hand
 And she told him, “Shoot me, hurt my hand.”
- (53.1) “ʔuu x^wi?
 ʔu x^wi?
 INTERJ NEG
- (53.2) g^wəxəł čəx^w.
 g^wə-xəł čəx^w
 SUBJ-sick 2SG
 “Oh! No. You could get hurt.”
- (54) “ʔuu t'uc'uc ʔal tə dčaləš.”
 ʔu t'uc'-u-s ʔal tə d-čaləš
 INTERJ shoot-LV-1SG LOC DET 1SG.POS-hand
 “Oh! Shoot me in the hand.”
- (55) “ʔu... g^wəxəł čəx^w.
 ʔu... g^wə-xəł čəx^w
 INTERJ-EMPHAT SUBJ-sick 2SG
 “Oh! You could get hurt.”
- (56) “x^wi? k^wə dst'uc'ucid.”
 x^wi? k^wə d-s-t'uc'-u-t-sid
 NEG DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-shoot-LV-CTL-2SG

“I will not shoot you.”

- (57) “g^wəqag^wətəb čəd š(ə) adbad.”
g^wə-qag^w-ə-t-əb čəd šə ad-bad
SUBJ-scold-LV-CTL-M 1SG DET 2SG.POS-father
“Your father would scold me.”
- (58) “ʔuu x^wiʔ.”
ʔu x^wiʔ
INTERJ NEG
“Oh! No.”
- (59) “t^ʔuc^ʔuc ʔal ti dčaləš.”
t^ʔuc^ʔ-u-s ʔal ti d-čaləš
shoot-LV-1SG LOC DET 1SG.POS-hand
“Shoot me in my hand.”
- (60) ʔix^waʔiləx^w.
ʔix^w-aʔ-il-əx^w
three-times-INCH-PI
It was the third time.
- (61) “ʔuu x^wiʔ k^wə dst^ʔuc^ʔucid.”
ʔu x^wiʔ k^wə d-s-t^ʔuc^ʔ-u-t-sid
INTERJ NEG DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-shoot-LV-CTL-2SG
“Oh! I won’t shoot you.”
- (62) ʔal cələcali(1) g^wəl t^ʔuc^ʔudəx^w ʔal tiʔ čaləš.
ʔal cələc-aʔ-il g^wəl t^ʔuc^ʔ-u-d-əx^w ʔal tiʔ čaləš
LOC five-times-INCH CONJ shoot-LV-CTL-PI LOC DET hand
On the fifth time, he shot her in the hand.
- (63) huuy čix^wicutəx^w tsiʔ q^wəc^wəʔ, sqaas,
huy čix^w-i-cut-əx^w tsiʔ q^wəc^wəʔ –
CONJ ***-LV-CTL.REFLX-PI DET meadowlark
s-qa-s
NMZR-older.sibling-3.POS
Then Meadowlark, his older sister, screamed.
- (64.1) “ʔənənənənənə !
ʔənənənənənə
ouch
- (64.2) t^ʔuc^ʔutəb čəd ʔə dəg^wi sbək^wiʔ! g^wəl sbək^wiʔ!”

- t'uc'-u-t-əb čəd ʔə dəg^wi s-bək'^w-iʔɪ
shoot-LV-CTL-M 1SG OBL 2SG.EMPH NMZR-take.what.one.finds-child
- g^wəl s-bək'^w-iʔɪ
belong.to NMZR-take.what.one.finds-child
“Ouch! I was shot by you, rescue-child, who is of a child who was rescued.”
- (65) “g^wəl ʔayiʔɪ tuχ^w čəx^w tubək'^wədup k^wə šə bəʔal tə ʃaλ^wədup ʔəλ.”
g^wəl ʔayiʔɪ tuχ^w čəx^w tu-bək'^w-ədup k^wə
belong.to pretend merely 2SG PST-take.what.one.finds-ground DET
- šə bə-ʔal tə ʃaλ^w-ədup ʔəλ
DET ADD-LOC DET bush-ground come
“Who’s of a sham, but you were merely saved from the wild, who was also in a bush from where you came.”
- (66) luutəbəx^w ʔə tsiil sk'^wuys.
lu-u-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tsiil s-k'^wuy-s
hear-LV-CTL-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-mother-3.POS
Her mother heard her.
- (67) “ʔa··· tsə ʃ^wul' qədx^w.”
ʔa··· tsə ʃ^wul' qədx^w
EMPHAT-EMPHAT DET just mouth
“Ah! You who are just mouth!”
- (68) “ʔəlcuχiχədəx^w tiil t(i) adsuq'^wa? k^w(i) ads(ə)x^wuyabuk'^wtx^w.”
ʔəlcu-χiχəd-əx^w tiil ti ad-suq'^wa? _ k^wi
CONT-do.AGG.MOD-PI DET DET 2SG.POS-younger.sibling DET
- ad-səx^w-ʔu-yabuk'^w-tx^w
2SG.POS-by.means.of-SB-fight-CS
“What does your little brother do that causes you to fight with him?”
- (69) luuλ^wəx^w tiil č'ač'aš tusbək'^wədup.
luλ^w-əx^w tiil č'ač'aš tu-s-bək'^w-ədup
old-PI DET child PST-NMZR-take.what.one.finds-ground
The boy who had been saved from the wild, was older.
- (70) huy ʃaχəbəx^w g^wəl taχag^wil.
huy ʃaχəb-əx^w g^wəl taχ-ag^wil
CONJ cry-PI CONJ fall.forward-put.self.in.action
Then he cried as he lay on his belly.
- (71) ʃ^wul'əx^w g^wəl ʃaabəx^w g^wəl ʃaabəx^w g^wəl ʃaabəx^w g^wəl ʃaabəx^w.
ʃ^wul'-əx^w g^wəl ʃaab-əx^w g^wəl ʃaab-əx^w g^wəl _ ʃaab-əx^w g^wəl

- just-PI CONJ cry-PI CONJ cry-PI CONJ cry-PI CONJ
- ḡaab-əx^w
cry-PI
He just did this as he cried and cried and cried and cried.
- (72) ḡug^wiidəx^w.
ḡu-g^wi-i-d-əx^w
HAB-call.for-LV-CTL-PI
Habitually, they called for him.
- (73) x^wiʔ.
x^wiʔ
NEG
No.
- (74) ḡug^wiitəb ʔə tsiil sk^wuys.
ḡu-g^wi-i-t-əb ʔə tsiil s-k^wuy-s
HAB-call.for-LV-CTL-M OBL DET NMZR-mother-3.POS
Habitually, his mother called for him.
- (75) x^w(iʔ)ax^w g^wəst^wuk^wʔs.
x^wiʔ-əx^w g^wə-s-t^wuk^w-s
NEG-PI SUBJ-NMZR-go.home-3.POS
He would not come home.
- (76) ḡ^wul^wəx^w <ʔəs-... ʔəs-...> ʔuḡaxəb.
ḡ^wul^w-əx^w <STAT- STAT-> ʔu-ḡaxəb
just-PI <FALSE> SB-cry
He just cried.
- (77) g^wəl baliitəbəx^w g^wəl huy k(ə)ḡilčəx^w g^wəl huy təlawil.
g^wəl bali-i-t-əb-əx^w g^wəl huy ləḡ-ilč-əx^w g^wəl huy təlawil
CONJ forget-LV-CTL-M-PI CONJ CONJ stiff-knee-PI CONJ CONJ run
And they forgot about him, and then he stood up and then he ran.
- (78) təlawiləx^w tx^wəl dx^wʔəc tiil ḡusl(əʔ)al^w ʔə tə hək^wal.
təlawil-əx^w dx^w-ʔal dx^w-ʔəc tiil ḡu-s-lə-ʔal^w
run-PI PERV-LOC PERV-use DET HAB-NMZR-PROG-come

ʔə tə hək^wal
OBL DET sun
He ran towards the place used for the coming sun.
- (79) təlawiləx^w ʔi...
təlawil-əx^w ʔi-...

run-PI EMPHAT-EMPHAT
He ran a long ways!

- (80) hu...y wiḵ^wəx^w tiil ḵayuḵ^wa? tiil bəda?s.
huy-... wiḵ^w-əx^w tiil ḵayuḵ^wa? tiil _ bəda?-s
CONJ-EMPHAT lose-PI DET fly DET one's.child-3.POS
Then Fly lost his child!
- (81) wiḵ^w tiil ḵayuḵ^wa?
wiḵ^w tiil ḵayuḵ^wa?
lose DET fly
Fly lost him.
- (82) x^wi...? k^wə s?ay?dx^ws (h)ilg^wə?
x^wi?-... k^wə s-?ay?-dx^w-s _ hilg^wə?
NEG-EMPHAT DET NMZR-change-LC-3.POS _ 3PL
They did not find him anywhere!
- (83) ?iistəbəx^w tiil č'ač'aš g^wələ luudəx^w <tiil ?u-> tiil lət'ilib.
?istə?-b-əx^w tiil č'ač'aš g^wələ lu-u-d-əx^w _ <tiil ?u-> tiil
happen-M-PI DET child CONJ hear-LV-CTL-PI <FALSE> DET

lət'ilib
PROG-sing
This is what happened to the boy when he heard someone singing.
- (84) ?u... day'(ə)x^w (h)a?l tiil lət'ilib ?ə tsiil sładəy?
?u-... day'-əx^w ha?l tiil lət'ilib ?ə tsiil
INTERJ-EMPHAT only-PI good DET PROG-sing OBL DET

s-ładəy?
NMZR-woman
Oh! It was very nice singing by a woman.
- (85) tiiləx^w b(ə)asł(ə)ḵilčəsəb ?ə tsiil sa?li? sładəy?
tiiləx^w bə-?əs-ləḵ-ilč-ə-s-əb ?ə _ tsiil sa?li?
finally ADD-STAT-stiff-knee-EPTH-APPL-M OBL DET two

s-ładəy?
NMZR-woman
Eventually, there were two woman standing there for him.
- (86) ha?l lab.
ha?l lab
nice look
They were nice looking.

- (87) g^wələ cuud, “ya… pus.”
g^wələ cu-u-d ya-… pus
CONJ say-LV-CTL EMPHAT-EMPHAT aunt
And he told them, “Ya! My aunties.”
- (88) “ǰaǰ čəd g^wədsluud čəl ʔut’ilib.”
ǰaǰ čəd g^wə-d-s-lu-u-d čəl ʔu-t’ilib
want 1SG SUBJ-1SG.POS-NMZR-hear-LV-CTL make SB-sing
“I want to hear (you) make music.”
- (89) “ʔu… x^wiʔ.”
ʔu-… x^wiʔ
INTERJ-EMPHAT NEG
“Oh! No.”
- (90) g^wəhuy čəx^w s(ʔ)ušəbābdx^w g^wət’ilibəli(l).”
g^wə-huy čəx^w s-ʔušəb-ab-dx^w g^wə-t’ilib-əl-il
SUBJ-do 2SG NMZR-pity-DERV-LC SUBJ-sing-1PL.S-INCH
“You could have misfortune if we sing.”
- (91) “ʔu… huy čəd ǰaǰ šə t’ilibləp.”
ʔu-… huy čəd ǰaǰ šə t’ilib-ləp
INTERJ-EMPHAT COP 1SG want DET sing-2PL.POS
“Oh! I like what you folks were singing.”
- (92) “ʔu… x^wiʔ.”
ʔu-… x^wiʔ
INTERJ-EMPHAT NEG
“Oh! No.”
- (93) “g^wəhuy čəx^w s(ʔ)ušəbābdx^w g^wət’ilibəli(l).”
g^wə-huy čəx^w s-ʔušəb-ab-dx^w g^wə-t’ilib-əli
SUBJ-COP 2SG NMZR-pity-DERV-LC SUBJ-sing 1PL.S
“You could have misfortune if we sing.”
- (94) ǰik’widəx^w tiil s-ladəyʔ tx^wəl tiil st’ilib.
ǰik’w-i-d-əx^w tiil s-ladəyʔ dx^w-ʔal tiil
encourage-LV-CTL-PI DET NMZR-woman PERV-LOC DET
s-t’ilib
NMZR-sing
He encouraged the women for the song.
- (95) haag^wəx^w ʔaliləx^w tiil cələcahis g^wəl cutəbəx^w ʔə tsiil ʔilt’isu tsiil sqas, “ʔi t’ilibəx^w
g^wələbəlił huy s(ʔ)ušəbābdx^w t(i) adstalət.”

hag^w-əx^w ʔal-il-əx^w tiif cəlac-ał-il-s g^wəl
 ago-PI come.to-INCH-PI DET five-times-INCH-APPL CONJ

cut-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tsiif ʔiif-t'isu tsiif
 tell-CTL-M-PI OBL DET PART-younger.relative DET

s-qa-s ʔi t'ilib-əx^w
 NMZR-older.sibling-3.POS yes sing-PI

g^wə-lə-bə-liif-łu-huy s-ʔuʂəb-ab-dx^w ti
 SUBJ-REP-ADD-by.way.of-FUT-COP NMZR-poor-DERV-LC DET

ad-s-taləł

2SG.POS-NMZR-nephew

After a while, it came upon the fifth time, and the younger sister told her older sister,
 “Yes, sing (the song) from which your nephew will have misfortune.”

(96) ʂaadəx^w tsiif ʂadəyʔ.

ʂa-a-d-əx^w tsiif s-ładəyʔ
 comply-LV-CTL-PI DET NMZR-woman
 The woman complied.

(97) tiləbəx^w ʔuqəpad.

tiləb-əx^w ʔu-qəp-ad
 suddenly-PI SB-crazy-DERV
 All of sudden, he lost his senses.

(98) “dibaał čəł sədsəd.”

dibəł čəł səd-səd
 1PL.EMPH 1PL DISTR-heat
 “We belong to the heat.”

(99) “dibaał čəł sədsəd.”

dibəł čəł səd-səd
 1PL.EMPH 1PL DISTR-heat
 “We belong to the heat.”

(100) hu...y huudəx^w tiif swatix^wtəd.

huy-... hud-əx^w tiif s-watix^wtəd
 CONJ-EMPHAT burn-PI DET NMZR-land
 Then the land burned!

(101) huuy, təlawiləx^w ti č'ač'aš ləwiliq^wid tiif č'əłəʔ, “łuxid čəx^w ʔal k^wi ʔ(u)adshud.”

huy təlawil-əx^w ti č'ač'aš lə-wiliq^w-i-d tiif č'əłəʔ
 CONJ run-PI DET child PROG-ask.question-LV-CTL DET rock

- $\dot{\lambda}u$ - $\check{x}id$ $\check{c}\check{x}^w$?al k^wi $\dot{\lambda}u$ -ad-s-hud
 HAB-how 2SG LOC DET HAB-2SG.POS-NMZR-burn
 The boy ran, asking the rock as he went, “How are you when you get burned?”
- (102) “ $\text{?u}\cdots \dot{\lambda}ut'$ ət'(ə)q^wəb čəd.”
 $\text{?u}\cdots$ $\dot{\lambda}u$ -t'ə-t'əq^w-əb čəd
 INTERJ-EMPHAT HAB-DISTR-crackle-M 1SG
 “Oh! I crack a little.”
- (103) wiliq'^wid tiif q^wu?, “ $\dot{\lambda}u$ $\check{x}id$ $\check{c}\check{x}^w$?al k^wi $\dot{\lambda}(u)$ adsq'^wəl'i(l).”
 wiliq'^w-i-d tiif q^wu? $\dot{\lambda}u$ - $\check{x}id$ $\check{c}\check{x}^w$?al k^wi
 ask.question-LV-CTL DET water HAB-how 2SG ?al DET
 $\dot{\lambda}u$ -ad-s-q'^wəl-il
 HAB-2SG.POS-NMZR-warm-INCH
 He asked the water, “How are you when you get hot?”
- (104) “ $\text{?u}\cdots, \dot{\lambda}upəl\check{x}cut$ čəd.”
 $\text{?u}\cdots$ $\dot{\lambda}u$ -pəl \check{x} -cut čəd
 INTERJ-EMPHAT HAB-boil-CTL.REFLX 1SG
 “Oh! I boil myself.”
- (105) wiliq'^wid tiif šəg^wł.
 wiliq'^w-i-d tiif šəg^wł
 ask.question-LV-CTL DET road
 He ask the road.
- (106) “ ?uu huy čəd $\dot{\lambda}ut$ (ə) \check{x}^wu ?t(ə) $\check{x}^wudig^wəd$.”
 ?u huy čəd $\dot{\lambda}u$ -tə \check{x}^wu ?-tə \check{x}^wu -dig^wəd
 INTERJ do 1SG HAB-DISTR-pull-insides
 “Oh, I pull myself apart.”
- (107) ləwiliq'^wid tiif bək'^w stab $\text{?əs}\check{x}id$.
 lə-wiliq'^w-i-d tiif bək'^w s-tab $\text{?əs}\check{x}id$
 PROG-ask.question-LV-CTL DET all NMZR-thing STAT-how
 He went around asking everything how they were.
- (108) ləčisə \check{x}^w tiif sčəbidac g^wəl wiliq'^widə \check{x}^w .
 ləčil-s-ə \check{x}^w tiif s-čəbid-ac g^wəl wiliq'^w-i-d-ə \check{x}^w
 arrive-APPL-PI DET NMZR-tree-tree CONJ ask.question-LV-CTL-PI
 He came to see a fir tree and asked it.
- (109) “ $\dot{\lambda}u$ $\check{x}id$ $\check{c}\check{x}^w$?al k^wi $\dot{\lambda}(u)$ adshud.”
 $\dot{\lambda}u$ - $\check{x}id$ $\check{c}\check{x}^w$?al k^wi $\dot{\lambda}u$ -ad-s-hud
 HAB-how 2SG LOC DET HAB-2SG.POS-NMZR-burn
 “How are you when you get burned?”

- (110) “ʔuhuy čəd ʔuhuʔhudaləp.”
 ʔu-huy čəd ʔu-huʔ-hud-alap
 SB-do 1SG HAB-DIM-burn-tree.base
 “I do burn a little bit at the base.”
- (111) huuy k^watačəx^w (ʔ)al tiil sčəbidac ʔi···, g^wəl ləči(l) dx^w(ʔ)ilqs.
 huy k^watač-əx^w ʔal tiil s-čəbid-ac ʔi··· g^wəl
 CONJ climb-PI LOC DET NMZR-tree-tree EMPHAT-EMPHAT CONJ
 ləčil dx^w-ʔil-qs
 arrive PERV-end-point
 Then he climbed way up the tree until he came to the end.
- (112) g^wəl huy t’əčədəx^w tiil t’isəds.
 g^wəl huy t’əč-ə-d-əx^w tiil t’isəd-s
 CONJ CONJ put.on.extension-LV-CTL-PI DET arrow-3.POS
 And then he extended his arrows.
- (113) cəlac tiil t’isəds.
 cəlac tiil t’isəd-s
 five DET arrow-3.POS
 He had five arrows.
- (114) č’i···təx^w tx^wəl t(i) šəq swatix^wtəd <g^wələ>g^wəl q’cabid tiil t’isəds.
 č’it-···-əx^w dx^w-ʔal ti šəq s-watix^wtəd g^wələ g^wəl
 near-EMPHAT-PI PERV-LOC DET above NMZR-world CONJ CONJ
 q’ca-bi-d tiil t’isəd-s
 insufficient-REL-CTL DET arrow-3.POS
 He was very close to the above world and the arrows were incapable of reaching it.
- (115) huy ʔaadəx^w tiil c’ac’uc g^wəl ləčiləx^w g^wəl č’aʔadəx^w tiil swatix^wtəd g^wəl pətqəx^w
 tx^wəl tiil šəq swatix^wtəd.
 huy ʔa-a-d-əx^w tiil c’ac’uc g^wəl ləčil-əx^w g^wəl
 CONJ put-LV-CTL-PI DET bow CONJ arrive-PI CONJ
 č’aʔ-a-d-əx^w tiil s-watix^wtəd g^wəl pətq-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiil
 dig-LV-CTL-PI DET NMZR-land CONJ pierce-PI PERV-LOC DET
 šəq s-watix^wtəd
 above NMZR-world
 Then he put his bow there and arrived, and he dug the land and went through into
 the above world.
- (116) təx^wudəx^w tiil c’ac’uc yəx^w tiil t’isəds g^wəl pədiʔədəx^w tiil tuluʔud g^wəl huy

ʔibəšəx^w.
 təx^wu-d-əx^w tiif c'ac'uc yəx^w tiif t'isəd-s g^wəl
 pull-CTL-PI DET bow CONJ DET arrow-3.POS CONJ

pəd-ij-ə-d-əx^w tiif tu-luʔ-u-d g^wəl huy
 bury-be.fallen.with-EPTH-CTL-PI DET PST-hole-LV-CTL CONJ CONJ

ʔibəš-əx^w
 walk-PI

He pulled his bow and arrows and covered the hole he had made and then he walked.

- (117) ʔibəšəx^w ʔi···.
 ʔibəš-əx^w ʔi···
 walk-PI EMPHAT-EMPHAT
 He walked a long ways.

- (118) x^wiʔ k^wi stab g^wəsʊʔələds.
 x^wiʔ k^wi s-tab g^wə-s-ʔu-ʔəl-əd-s
 NEG DET NMZR-thing SUBJ-NMZR-SB-eat-DERV-3.POS
 There was not a thing he would eat.

- (119) x^wiʔ k^wi shiq^wabids tiif sq^wələləd huy put ʔəsq^waag^wəb ʔəsq^wələx^w <tiif ʔəs->tiif
 šəg^wʔ.
 x^wiʔ k^wi s-hiq^w-ab-bi-d-s _tiif s-q^wəl-ələd
 NEG DET NMZR-desire-DERV-REL-CTL-3.POS _DET NMZR-cook-food
 huy put ʔəs-q^wag^wəb ʔəs-q^wəl-əx^w <tiif ʔəs-> tiif šəg^wʔ
 COP very STAT-sweet STAT-ripe-PI <FALSE> DET path
 He was not allured by the berries that sweetly ripenned the path.

- (120) ʃ^wul' ʔəslaʔlabəd.
 ʃ^wul' ʔəs-laʔ-lab-ə-d
 just STAT-DISTR-look-LV-CTL
 He just looked at them.

- (121) ti···ləx^w sulaʔbdx^ws tiif k^wag^wičəd ləʔəʃ.
 tiləx^w-··· s-ʔu-laʔb-dx^w-s tiif k^wag^wičəd
 eventually-EMPHAT NMZR-SB-see-LC-3.POS DET elk

lə-ʔəʃ

PROG-come

Eventually, he saw an elk coming.

- (122) ʔu··· putəx^w cayəx^w ʃuləx^w tiif swatix^wtəd.
 ʔu··· put-əx^w cay-əx^w ʃu-ləx^w _ tiif

- INTERJ-EMPHAT very-PI very-PI HAB-day.light DET
 s-watix^wtəd
 NMZR-land
 Oh! The land was habitually extremely very well lit.
- (123) gəqil.
 gəq-il
 bright-INCH
 It was bright.
- (124) bəlx̄təbəx^w ʔə tiil k^wag^wičəd.
 bəlx̄-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiil k^wag^wičəd
 go.by-CTL-M-PI OBL DET elk
 The elk went by him.
- (125) gaqšədidi g^wəl ʔuχ^w.
 gaq-šəd-id g^wəl ʔuχ^w
 ***-foot-DERV CONJ go
 He stepped to the side of it, and it went.
- (126.1) li···l.
 lil-···
 far-EMPHAT
- (126.2) da···yəx^w ʔuliləx^w t(i) swatix^wtəd.
 day-···-əx^w ʔu-lil-əx^w ti s-watix^wtəd
 certainly-EMPHAT-PI HAB-far-PI DET NMZR-land
 It was very far. The world was certainly habitually far.
- (127) tiləb sulaʔbdx^ws ʔəʔəx^w.
 tiləb s-ʔu-laʔb-dx^w-s ʔəʔəx^w
 suddenly NMZR-SB-see-LC-3.POS come-PI
 Suddenly, he saw someone coming.
- (128) ʔəʔəx^w tiil stubš ʔučalad tiil k^wag^wičəd.
 ʔəʔəx^w tiil s-tubš ʔu-čal-a-d _tiil k^wag^wičəd
 come-PI DET NMZR-man SB-chase-LV-CTL _DET elk
 A man who was chasing the elk came.
- (129.1) ləčiləx^w.
 ləčil-əx^w
 arrive-PI

(129.2) ǎčǐ(l) ʔadʔqəduli gʷələ cuud, “ya… dǎǎǎ?”
 ǎčǐl ʔadʔq-ə-d-ali gʷələ cu-u-d _ya-…
 arrive meet-LV-CTL-DERV CONJ say-LV-CTL EMPHAT-EMPHAT

d-ǎǎǎ?
 1SG.POS-in-law
 He arrived. He arrived, he met him and said, “Yah! my in-law.”

(130) “ǎid (h)əw’(ə) gʷ(ə)tut’uc’udəxʷ šə dsxʷiʔxʷiʔ.”
 ǎid həw’ə gʷə-tu-t’uc’-u-d-əxʷ šə
 how EMPHAT SUBJ-PST-shoot-LV-CTL-PI DET

d-s-xʷiʔxʷiʔ
 1SG.POS-NMZR-forage
 “Why, indeed, would have you shoot my game?”

(131.1) “ʔuu.
 ʔu
 INTERJ

(131.2) č’ič’(i)tuʔxʷ šə sləʔuǎʷs.”
 č’i-č’it-uʔxʷ šə s-lə-ʔuǎʷ-s
 DIM-near-still DET NMZR-PROG-go-3.POS
 “Oh! That which is going is still kind of close.”

(132) huy ʔəʔtubəxʷ ʔə tiil bayəc ʔə tiil ǎǎǎʔs ʔə tiil sləǎi(l).
 huy ʔəʔ-tu-b-əxʷ ʔə tiil bayəc ʔə tiil ǎǎǎʔ-s ʔə
 CONJ eat-CS-M-PI OBL DET meat OBL DET in-law-3.POS OBL

tiil s-ləǎ-il
 DET NMZR-day-INCH
 Then his in-law, Day, fed him some meat.

(133) sləǎi(l) ʔal tiil tiil ʔuʔayʔduli.
 s-ləǎ-il ʔal tiil tiil ʔu-ʔayʔ-du-ali
 NMZR-day-INCH LOC DET DET SB-change-LC-DERV
 It was Day who was there to find him.

(134) “cələlac šə dbədədəʔ diʔ bək’w š(ə) adčaagʷəš.”
 cələlac šə d-bədəʔ-dəʔ diʔ bək’w šə
 five.people DET 1SG.POS-one's.child-DISTR DEICT all DET

ad-čaagʷəš
 2SG.POS-wife
 “I have five children of which all are your wives.”

- (135) ʔi... ʔistəb.
 ʔi... ʔistəʔ-b
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT happen-M
 That is exactly what he said!
- (136) g^wələ huy g^wəl ʔu^x^w.
 g^wələ huy g^wəl ʔu^x^w
 CONJ finish CONJ go
 And he finished and went.
- (137) hiwi(l).
 hiwil
 go.ahead
 He went on ahead.
- (138) čalatəbəx^w ʔə tiil stubš ʔə tiil sləxi(l) tiil k^wag^wičəd ləg^wəʔ ləčalad.
 čal-a-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiil s-tubš ʔə tiil
 chase-LV-CTL-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-man OBL DET

 s-ləx-il tiil k^wag^wičəd lə-g^waʔ _ lə-čal-a-d
 NMZR-day-INCH DET elk PROG-one's.own PROG-chase-LV-CTL
 The man, Day, chased the elk which belonged to the one who was chasing it.
- (139) ləči(l)əx^w.
 ləčil-əx^w
 arrive-PI
 He came upon something.
- (140) tiiləx^w sulaʔbdx^ws ti ʔuhuy ləxiləx^w tuc'iləx^w.
 tiləx^w s-ʔu-laʔb-dx^w-s ti ʔu-huy
 eventually NMZR-SB-see-LC-3.POS DET SB-make

 ləx-il-əx^w tuc'il-əx^w
 night-INCH-PI black-INCH-PI
 Eventually, he was able to see that something made the night dark.
- (141) tiiləb sulaʔbdx^ws ti sləʔəʔ ʔuləʔiibəš ləš(ə)qig^wəd ʔə tiil slag^wac.
 tiləb s-ʔu-laʔb-dx^w-s ti s-lə-ʔəʔ
 suddenly NMZR-SB-see-LC-3.POS DET NMZR-PROG-come

 ʔu-lə-ʔiibəš lə-šəq-ig^wəd ʔə tiil _s-lag^wac
 HAB-PROG-walk PROG-above-insides OBL DET NMZR-inner.cedar.bark
 Suddenly, he saw that someone was coming, honoring the cedar bark.
- (142) hu...y tu(ə)sʔuʔʔuʔi(l) tiil ʔaciləlbix^w ləʔiibəš.

- huy-... tu-ʔəs-λuʔ-λuʔ-il _tiif ʔaciɬalbiɣ^w
 COP-EMPHAT PST-STAT-DISTR-skinny-INCH _DET person
- lə-ʔibəš
 PROG-walk
 He was a very skinny person who was walking along.
- (143) ʔaadʔətx^w.
 ʔadʔə-tx^w
 meet-EPH-CS
 He met him.
- (144) gaqšədid g^wəl bəlɬ^wtuli.
 gaq-šəd-id g^wəl bəlɬ^w-tu-ali
 ***-foot-DERV CONJ pass-CS-DERV
 He stepped to the side of him and he passed him.
- (145) ʔu...hu... cayəx^w bətuc'i(l) tiif šəg^wɬ c'əlag^wəpəx^w ti sɬaxiləx^w.
 ʔuhu-...-... cay-əx^w bə-tuc'-il tiif
 agree.strongly-EMPHAT-EMPHAT very-PI ADD-black-INCH DET
- šəg^wɬ c'əlag^w-əp-əx^w ti s-ɬax-il-əx^w
 path dark-bottom-PI DET NMZR-night-INCH-PI
 Yes indeed! The path was very dark again, the night was dark.
- (146) ʔəλ[?] tx^w(ʔ)a.
 ʔəλ tx^w-ʔa
 come PERV-locate
 It came there.
- (147) gig(ə)qiilig^wəd g^wəl bəʔiibəš.
 gi-gəq-il-ig^wəd g^wəl bə-ʔibəš
 DIM-bright-INCH-insides CONJ ADD-walk
 When it became a little bright, he walked again.
- (148) t(uh)u...y bətuc'ilič.
 tu-huy-... bə-tuc'-il-ič
 PST-make-EMPHAT ADD-black-INCH be.fallen.with
 Something had made darkness befall him again.
- (149) ti...ləb gəqi(l).
 ti-ləb-... gəq-il
 suddenly-EMPHAT bright-INCH
 Suddenly, it was bright.
- (150) ti...ləbəx^w sʔadʔəqədubs ʔə tiif sɬaxiləx^w.

tiləb-...-əx^w s-ʔad^zq-ə-du-b-s ʔə tiif
 suddenly-EMPHAT-PI NMZR-meet-EPTH-LC-M-3.POS OBL DET

s-ləx̃-il-əx^w
 NMZR-night-INCH-PI
 Suddenly, Night met him.

(151.1) g^wələ cuʔtəb, “yaa d̃x̃ãaʔ.

g^wələ cut-t-əb ya d-ḥ̃ãaʔ
 CONJ tell-CTL-M EMPHAT 1SG.POS-in-law

(151.2) ḥ̃id (h)əw’(ə) g^wətut’uc’udəx^w š(ə) dsx^wiʔx^wiʔ.”

ḥ̃id həw’ə g^wə-tu-t’uc’-u-d-əx^w šə
 why EMPHAT SUBJ-PST-shoot-LV-CTL-PI DET

d-s-x^wiʔx^wiʔ
 1SG.POS-NMZR-forage
 And he told him, “Yah! my in-law. Why, indeed, would you have shot my game?”

(152.1) “ʔuu day’ šə ʔaciftalbi^w šə ləʔuḥ̃.”

ʔu day’ šə ʔaciftalbi^w šə lə-ʔuḥ̃^w
 INTERJ only DET person DET PROG-go

(152.2) cayəx^w ʔəs-ḥ̃uʔ-ḥ̃uʔi(l).”

cay-əx^w ʔəs-ḥ̃uʔ-ḥ̃uʔ-il
 very-PI STAT-DISTR-skinny-INCH
 “Oh! There was only this person who was going along. He was very skinny.”

(153) “ʔuu diif dsx^wiʔx^wiʔ š(ə) (ʔ)al tiʔiif.”

ʔu diif d-s-x^wiʔx^wiʔ šə ʔal tiʔiif
 INTERJ DEICT 1SG.POS-NMZR-forage DET LOC DET
 “Oh! That was my game that was there.”

(154) huuy, k^wədəd tiif stubš g^wəl ʔəltu(a)l(i)əx^w tiif bayəc g^wəl skayu.

huy k^wəd-ə-d tiif s-tubš g^wəl ʔəlt-tu-ali-əx^w tiif
 CONJ take-LV-CTL DET NMZR-man CONJ eat-CS-DERV-PI DET

bayəc g^wəl s-kayu
 meat belong.to NMZR-corpse
 Then, he took the man and fed him some meat of the dead.

(155) ʔuu x^wiʔ g^wəsłək’wəds tiif bayəc.

ʔu x^wiʔ g^wə-s-lək’w-ə-d-s tiif bayəc
 INTERJ NEG SUBJ-NMZR-eat.up-LV-CTL-3.POS DET meat

Oh. He would not eat that meat.

- (156) day' tiil šč'ədu? tiil ʔulək'wəd.
 day' tiil šč'ədu? tiil ʔu-lək'w-ə-d
 only DET *** DET SB-eat.up-LV-CTL
 He just ate ____.

- (157) ʔaayʔgʷas təlaxʷ ʔə tiil c'ac'uc t'isəds ʔə tiil gʷəl skayu t'isəd.
 ʔayʔ-gʷas təlaxʷ ʔə tiil c'ac'uc t'isəd-s ʔə tiil
 change-pair *** OBL DET bow arrow-3.POS OBL DET

 gʷəl s-kayu t'isəd
 belong.to NMZR-corpse arrow
 He traded the ____ (quiver??) of his bow and arrows for the arrows that belonged to the dead.

- (158) huuyucid.
 huy-ucid
 finish-mouth
 He finished eating.

- (159) “xʷi...ʔ kʷi l(u)adsʔuχʷtxʷ dxʷšiš st'əwiq'wi(l) šəgʷl.”
 xʷiʔ-... kʷi lu-ad-s-ʔuχʷ-txʷ dxʷ-ši-šə
 NEG-EMPHAT DET FUT-2SG.POS-NMZR-go-CS PERV-DIM-DET

 s-t'əwiq'w-il šəgʷl
 NMZR-***-INCH path
 “Don't take the ____ path.”

- (160) “daay' šiš ʔəsliq' ti suʔuχʷtxʷ ti šəgʷl kʷi š(ə) astuʔtuli(l).”
 day' ši-šə ʔəs-liq' ti s-ʔu-ʔuχʷ-txʷ ti
 only DIM-DET STAT-dirt.falling.down DET NMZR-SB-go-CS DET

 šəgʷl kʷi šə ʔəs-tuʔ-tul-il
 path DET DET STAT-DIM-cross.over.water-INCH
 “Only take the path that has dirt falling down and goes over a little bit of water.”

- (161) “ʔəstuʔt(u)li(l) šə (ʔa)l l(ə)q'ayucid gʷəl ʔəsliq' šə (ʔ)al l(ə)q'ayucid.”
 ʔəs-tuʔ-tul-il šə ʔal ləq'-ay-ucid gʷəl
 STAT-DIM-cross.over.water-INCH DET LOC a.side-CONN-path CONJ

 ʔəs-liq' šə ʔal ləq'-ay-ucid
 STAT-dirt.falling.down DET LOC a.side-CONN opening
 “It goes over a little bit of water on one side and has dirt falling down on one side.”

- (162) “xʷiʔ kʷ(i) adsʔuχʷtxʷ tiil ʔəst'əwiq'w šəgʷl.”

- x^{wi}? k^{wi} ad-s-ʔu^{xw}-tx^w tiif ʔəs-t'əwiq^w šəg^wʔ
 NEG DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-go-CS DET STAT-*** path
 “Do not take the ____ path.”
- (163) ʔu^{xw} ʔi-...
 ʔu^{xw} ʔi-...
 go EMPHAT-EMPHAT
 He went a long ways.
- (164) hay həçisəx^w tiif šəg^wʔ ʔə(s)siq'əg^wəs.
 hay həçil-s-əx^w tiif šəg^wʔ ʔəs-siq'-ə-g^wəs
 CONJ arrive-3.POS-PI DET door STAT-branched-LV-pair
 Then he came upon the path where it was branched.
- (165) ʔu^wʔu^{xw} ʔal tiif d^zix^w tusəx^w(?)ug^wustəbs həbəbəl^wk^w.
 ʔu-ʔu^{xw} ʔal tiif d^zix^w tu-səx^w-ʔug^wus-t-əb-s
 HAB-go LOC DET first PST-by.means.of-advise-CTL-M-3.POS
 həb-ə-bəl^wk^w
 REP-ADD-return
 He habitually went on the first one of which he was advised about until he returned.
- (166) g^wələbəʔu^{xw} tx^wəl tiif ʔaw't səx^wʔug^wustəbs, liiləx^w həbəbəl^wk^w.
 g^wə-lə-bə-ʔu^{xw} dx^w-ʔal tiif ʔaw't
 SUBJ-REP-ADD-go PERV-LOC DET new
 səx^w-ʔug^wus-t-əb-s lil-əx^w həb-ə-bəl^wk^w
 by.means.of-advise-CTL-M-3.POS far-PI REP-ADD-return
 At which time, he would repeatedly go to the new one he was advised about, a long
 ways, until he returned again.
- (167) ʔubəl^wk^w tx^wəl tiif dəc'ʔu? g^wələbəʔu^{xw}, g^wələbəbəl^wk^w.
 ʔu-bəl^wk^w dx^w-ʔal tiif dəc'ʔu? g^wə-lə-bə-ʔu^{xw}
 SB-return PERV-LOC DET one SUBJ-REP-ADD-go
 g^wə-lə-bə-bəl^wk^w
 SUBJ-REP-ADD-return
 He returned to the one, at which time he would take again.
- (168) ʔu-...x^w ti.
 ʔu^{xw}-... ti
 go-EMPHAT 3PRS
 He went a long ways.
- (169) hiif.
 hiif

happy
He was happy.

- (170) haay g^wəl čaladəx^w tiil ʔəsliq' šəg^wɫ.
hay g^wəl čal-a-d-əx^w tiil ʔəs-liq' šəg^wɫ
CONJ CONJ chase-LV-CTL-PI DET STAT-dirt.falling.down path
And then he followed the path that had dirt falling down the hill.
- (171) čaladəx^w.
čal-a-d-əx^w
follow-LV-CTL-PI
He followed it.
- (172) ɫəčisəx^w, ʔahaystax^w ʔə tiil šəqalatx^w tx^wəl tiil sɫadəyʔ.
ɫəčil-s-əx^w ʔahayst-ax^w ʔə tiil šəq-alatx^w dx^w-ʔal
arrive-APPL-PI go.for.reason-PI OBL DET above-house PERV-LOC
tiil s-ɫadəyʔ
DET NMZR-woman
He came to be with them, coming to be at the top of a house for the women.
- (173) hay g^wəl g^wək^wiləx^w tsiil dəd(č'u?) tsiil t'isu g^wələ cuud tsi sqa, “ʔuu, ɫəčiləx^w š(ə)
adsč'istx^w.”
hay g^wəl g^wə-k^wil-əx^w tsiil dədč'u? tsiil t'isu
CONJ CONJ SUBJ-peek-PI DET one DET younger.relative
g^wələ cu-u-d tsi s-qa ʔu ɫəčil-əx^w šə
CONJ tell-LV-CTL DET NMZR-older.sibling INTERJ arrive-PI DET
ad-s-č'istx^w
2SG.POS-NMZR-husband
And then one woman who was the youngest would peer out and told her older sister, “Oh, your husband has arrived.”
- (174) šəd'is (h)ilg^wə? huy g^wəl
šəd'il-s hilg^wə? huy g^wəl
go.outside-APPL 3PL CONJ CONJ
They went out to get him and then
- (175) k^wədəd (h)ilg^wə? g^wələ
k^wəd-ə-d hilg^wə? g^wələ
take-LV-CTL 3PL CONJ
They took him and
- (176) t'(ə)q^wəlbšid (h)ilg^wə? tiil q^wu? g^wəl t't'əbtx^w (h)ilg^wə? g^wəl ʔiq^wid (h)ilg^wə? huy
g^wəl səx^wud (h)ilg^wə? ʔə tiil g^wəl skayu s^xwəs.

t'əq'wəl-b-ši-d hilg'wə? tiif q'wu? g'wəl t'it'əb-tx'w hilg'wə?
 heat.water-M-DAT-CTL 3PL DET water CONJ bathe-CS 3PL

g'wəl ʔiq'w-i-d hilg'wə? huy g'wəl səx'w-u-d hilg'wə?
 CONJ wash-LV-CTL 3PL CONJ CONJ oil-LV-CTL 3PL

ʔə tiif g'wəl s-kayu s-ǰ'wəs
 OBL DET belong.to NMZR-corpse NMZR-grease

They heated some water for him and they had him bathe and they washed him and then they rubbed oil on him that belonged to the dead.

(177) ʔu... putəx'w ʔuʔi(h)il tiif stubš.

ʔu... put-əx'w ʔu-ʔihil tiif s-tubš
 INTERJ-EMPHAT very-PI SB-stink DET NMZR-man

Oh! That man smelled extremely bad.

(178) təč tiif ʔuʔihil sǰ'wəs g'wəl skayu.

təč tiif ʔu-ʔihils-ǰ'wəs g'wəl s-kayu
 on.account.of DET SB-stink NMZR-grease belong.to NMZR-corpse

It was on account of the smelly oil that belonged to the dead.

(179) ʔəltub ʔə tiif bayəc.

ʔəlt-tu-b ʔə tiif bayəc
 eat-CS-M OBL DET meat

They fed him meat.

(180) x'wi? g'wəslək'wəds.

x'wi? g'wə-s-lək'w-ə-d-s
 NEG SUBJ-NMZR-eat.up-LV-CTL-3.POS

He would not eat it.

(181) daay' tiif sč'ədu? tiif ʔulək'wəd.

day' tiif s-č'ədu? tiif ʔu-lək'w-ə-d
 only DET NMZR-*** DET SB-eat.up-LV-CTL

He only ate ____.

(182) huuyucid.

huy-ucid
 finish-mouth
 He finished eating.

(183) ʔi... ʔistəbəx'w tiif.

ʔi... ʔistə?b-əx'w tiif
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT happen-M-PI DET

This is really what happened to him.

- (184) $\dot{\lambda}ux^{wi}\dot{\lambda}x^{wi}\dot{\lambda}x^{w}$ tiif sladəy? g^wəl ʔəsbəbuʔs g^wəl ʔa tsiif ʔəsdək^w ʔal tiif (w)uq'əb.
 $\dot{\lambda}u-x^{wi}\dot{\lambda}x^{wi}\dot{\lambda}x^{w}$ tiif s-ladəy? g^wəl ʔəs-bəbuʔs g^wəl ʔa
HAB-forage-PI DET NMZR-woman FM STAT-four CONJ LOC

tsiif ʔəs-dək^w ʔal tiif wuq'əb
DET STAT-inside LOC DET box
There were women, four of them, that hunted, and there was a female inside a box.
- (185) diif k^{wi} scutəbids, “ $\dot{\lambda}ubəx^{w}$ čəd ʔəq^wucidid tsiif sladəy? č(ə)ʔ(ə) luč'aʔa.
diif k^{wi} s-cut-ə-bi-d-s $\dot{\lambda}ub-əx^{w}$ čəd
DEICT DET NMZR-say-EPTH-REL-CTL-3.POS fine-PI 1SG

ʔəq^w-ucid-id tsiif s-ladəy? čət-ə lu-č'aʔa
open-opening-CTL DET NMZR-woman 1PL-CONJ FUT-play
This is who he thought about, “It’s fine for me to open the box and we will play.”
- (186) ʔəq^wucididəx^w tsiif sladəy?
ʔəq^w-ucid-id-əx^w tsiif s-ladəy?
open-opening-CTL-PI DET NMZR-woman
He opened it up for the woman.
- (187) ʔu... ʔayʔayəb hilg^wə(?) st'u...g^wud č'itid tsiif š ʔa(d)təb ʔə tsiif lədəg^wəš
g^wələ<lək>ləkəlihəd.
ʔu... ʔay-ʔayəb hilg^wə?
INTERJ-EMPHAT DISTR-laugh 3PL

s-t'ug^w-...-u-d č'it-i-d tsiif šə ʔad-t-əb
NMZR-calculate-EMPHAT-LV-CTL near-LV-CTL DET DET push-CTL-M

ʔə tsiif lə-dəg^w-əš g^wəl-ə-ləkəli ləkəli-h-ə-d
OBL DET REP-inside-CTL SUBJ-REP-key key-EPTH-LV-CTL
Oh! They laughed and laughed until he calculated how close to get to her to push
her inside and lock her in.
- (188) ʔ^wul'əx^w ʔəsʔistəb tsiif sladəy?
ʔ^wul'-əx^w ʔəs-ʔistəʔ-b tsiif s-ladəy?
just-PI STAT-like-M DET NMZR-woman
That is just what he did to the woman.
- (189) cutəbəx^w ʔə tiif.
cut-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiif
say-CTL-M-PI OBL DET
He said to them.
- (190) ləčiləx^w tiif sləxi(l) g^wələ wiliq^wid tiif bəd(ə)dəʔs, “tułəčiləx^w šə sč'istx^wləp.”
ləčil-əx^w tiif s-ləx-il g^wələ wiliq^w-i-d tiif

arrive-PI DET NMZR-day.light-INCH CONJ ask.question-LV-CTL DET

bədə?-də?-s tu-łəčil-əx^w šə s-č'istx^w-ləp
one's.child-DISTR-3.POS PST-arrive-PI DET NMZR-husband-2PL.POS
Day arrived and he asked his daughters, "Has your husband arrived?"

(191) "x^wi?"
x^wi?
NEG
"No."

(192) "ʔuu x^wuʔələ tuʔu^x tx^wəl tiil bədədə? sła^xi(l)."
ʔu x^wuʔələ tu-ʔu^x dx^w-ʔal tiil bədə?-də? s-łax-il
INTERJ maybe PST-go PERV-LOC DET one's.child-DISTR
NMZR-night-INCH
"Oh, he must have gone to the Night daughters."

(193) huu.
ʔu
INTERJ
Oh.

(194) huy,... xic^xiciləx^w tsiil sładəy? g^wəl taytəbəx^w <tiil >tiil bədədə? sła^xi(l).
huy xic-xic-il-əx^w tsiil s-ładəy? g^wəl
CONJ DISTR-angry-INCH-PI DET NMZR-woman CONJ

tay-t-əb-əx^w tiil tiil bədə?-də? s-łax-il
come.raid-CTL-M-PI DET DET one's.child-DISTR NMZR-night-INCH
Then, the women got angry and went on the warpath against the Night daughters.

(195) təqucidəb tiil bəd(ə)də? sła^xi(l).
təq-ucid-əb tiil bədə?-də? s-łax-il
block-door-M DET one's.child-DISTR NMZR-night-INCH
They blocked the door of the Night daughters.

(196) x^wul'əx^w ʔupəl^xcut tsiil sładəy? šalbix^w.
x^wul'-əx^w ʔu-pəl^x-cut tsiil s-ładəy? šalbix^w
just-PI SB-boil-CTL.REFLX DET NMZR-woman outside
The woman were just boiling with anger outside.

(197) laʔbəd^xwəx^w.
laʔb-ə-dx^w-əx^w
see-EPTH-LC-PI
He looked at them.

(198) "ʔu... tiil ʔu tə haha?ł sładəy? cəx^wʔug^wustəb."

- ʔu-... tiif ʔu tə ha-haʔf
 INTERJ-EMPHAT DET INTEROG DET DISTR-good
- s-ladəyʔ d-dəx^w-ʔug^wus-t-əb
 NMZR-woman 1SG.POS-reason.for-advise-CTL-M
 “Oh! Are those the nice women for which I was advised?”
- (199) “day’əb ʔə tsə gəqqi(l).”
 day’-əb ʔə tsə gəq-q-q-il
 especially-M OBL DET bright-DISTR-DISTR-INCH
 “It is special that they are so bright.”
- (200) ha...y, ʔu^xw.
 hay-... ʔu^xw
 CONJ-EMPHAT go
 Then they went!
- (201) t’uk^w tiif sladəyʔ.
 t’uk^w tiif s-ladəyʔ
 go.home DET NMZR-woman
 The women went home.
- (202) ʔistəbəx^w hilg^wəʔ g^w(ə)l(ə)ʔələʔəʔəč tiif stubš.
 ʔistəʔ-b-əx^w hilg^wəʔ g^wə-lə-ʔə-lə-ʔə-ʔəč tiif s-tubš
 happen-M-PI 3PL SUBJ-REP-sick-CONJ-mind DET NMZR-man
 That is what they did which the man was depressed about.
- (203) ha...ʔk^w cəlac sləxi(l) g^wəl cuudəx^w tsiif tsiif čəg^wəš dəc’uʔ.
 haʔk^w-... cəlac s-ləx-il g^wəl cu-u-d-əx^w
 ago-EMPHAT five NMZR-day.light-INCH CONJ tell-LV-CTL-PI
 tsiif tsiif čəg^wəš dəc’uʔ
 DET DET wife one
 After five days had past, he told one of the wives.
- (204) “ʔubəx^w čəd ʔə tiif ʔušədzil čədə ʔahaystəb.”
 ʔub-əx^w čəd ʔə tiif ʔu-šədzil čəd-ə ʔahayst-əb
 fine-PI 1SG OBL DET SB-go.outside 1SG-CONJ go.for.reason-M
 “It is fine for me to go outside for there is something I have to go do.”
- (205) “x^wiʔ g^w(ə)adsəsəxəc.”
 x^wiʔ g^wə-ad-s-ʔəs-əxəc
 NEG SUBJ-2SG.POS-NMZR-STAT-afraid
 “Do not be afraid.”
- (206) “x^wiʔ k^w(i) dčad g^wədsʔu^xw.”

- x^wiʔ k^wi d-čad g^wə-d-s-ʔuχ^w
 NEG DET 1SG.POS-anywhere SUBJ-1SG.POS-NMZR-go
 “There is no place that I would go.”
- (207) diʔ ʔəsšədʔils g^wəl təla···wil tx^wəl tiʔ ʔəssiʔ ʔə tiʔ šəg^wʔ.
 diʔ ʔəs-šədʔil-s g^wəl təlawil··· dx^w-ʔal tiʔ
 DEICT STAT-go.outside-3.POS CONJ run-EMPHAT PERV-LOC DET
 ʔəs-siqʔ ʔə tiʔ šəg^wʔ
 STAT-branched OBL DET path
 This is when he went outside and ran vigorously to where the path forked.
- (208) ʔa ti g^wəl təlawil ti šəg^wʔ ʔi···.
 ʔa ti g^wəl təlawil ti šəg^wʔ ʔi···
 locate DET CONJ run DET path EMPHAT-EMPHAT
 It was there that he ran on a path for a long ways.
- (209) g^wəl ʔahaystəb tiʔ səx^w(ʔ)a tiʔ bəd(ə)dəʔ sləχi(l).
 g^wəl ʔahayst-əb tiʔ səx^w-ʔa tiʔ bədəʔ-dəʔ
 CONJ go.for.reason-M DET by.means.of-locate DET one's.child-DISTR
 s-ləχ-il
 NMZR-day-INCH
 And he went there so that he could be at the place where the Day daughters were.
- (210) ʔəq^wucidtəbəx^w tsiʔ slədəyʔ g^wəl laʔbdubəx^w.
 ʔəq^w-ucid-t-əb-əx^w tsiʔ s-lədəyʔ g^wəl laʔb-du-b-əx^w
 open-door-CTL-M-PI DET NMZR-woman CONJ look-LC-M-PI
 He opened the door for the women so that they could see him.
- (211) ʔuu <...>ləlaʔbdil.
 ʔu lə-laʔb-d-il
 INTERJ PROG-see-CTL-INCH
 Oh, they were staring at him.
- (212) k^wədəx^w.
 k^wəd-əx^w
 take-PI
 They took him.
- (213) “ʔu··· ləčiləx^w tiʔ sč'istx^w-ləp.”
 ʔu··· ləčil-əx^w tiʔ s-č'istx^w-ləp
 INTERJ-EMPHAT arrive-PI DET NMZR-husband-2PL.POS
 “Oh! Your folks’ husband has arrived.”
- (214) q^wəlbšitəb ʔə tiʔ q^wuʔ g^wəl c'ag^watəb g^wəl c'ag^watəb g^wəl šg^wabactəb ʔə tiʔ putəx^w

q^waag^wəb.
 q^wəl-b-ši-t-əb ʔə tiil q^wuʔ g^wəl c'ag^w-a-t-əb g^wəl
 cook-M-DAT-CTL-M OBL DET water CONJ wash-LV-CTL-M CONJ

c'ag^w-a-t-əb g^wəl šg^w-abac-t-əb ʔə tiil put-əx^w
 wash-LV-CTL-M CONJ anoint-solid.obj-CTL-M OBL DET very-PI

q^waag^wəb
 sweet

They heated up water for him and they washed him and washed him and anointed him with something very sweet.

- (215) hu...y <...>šg^wačtəb ʔə tiil putəx^w q^waag^wəb.
 huy-... šg^w-ač-t-əb ʔə tiil put-əx^w q^waag^wəb
 CONJ-EMPHAT anoint-head-CTL-M OBL DET very-PI sweet
 Then they anointed his hair with something very sweet.

- (216) hu... k^wəd(d)x^wəx^w tiil.
 hu-... k^wəd-dx^w-əx^w tiil
 INTERJ-EMPHAT get-LC-PI DET
 Oh! They managed to get him.

- (217) huuy, ləčiləx^w tiil.
 huy ləčil-əx^w tiil
 CONJ arrive-PI 3PRS
 Now, he arrived.

- (218) ʔistəbəx^w g^wəl ləčiləx^w tiil s-ladəyʔ d^zix^w tučaaag^wəšləb g^wələ čalatuli.
 ʔistəʔ-b-əx^w g^wəl ləčil-əx^w tiil s-ladəyʔ d^zix^w
 happen-M-PI CONJ arrive-PI DET NMZR-woman first

tu-čaaag^wəš-il-əb g^wələ čal-a-t-uli
 PST-wife-INCH-M CONJ chase-LV-CTL-DERV

That is was happened when the women that he was first married to arrived and chased after him.

- (219) t(ə)q^wucidəb tsiil s-ladəyʔ.
 təq-ucid-əb tsiil s-ladəyʔ
 block-opening-M DET NMZR-woman
 They blocked the women's door.

- (220) ʃ^wuul' ʔupəlʃ^wcut tiil bəd(ə)dəʔ s-laxi(l) ʔəsk^wədalc (h)ilg^wəʔ tiil skuyšəd ʔə tiil
 jəšədšəd ʔə tiil skayu.
 ʃ^wuul' ʔu-pəlʃ^w-cut tiil bədəʔ-dəʔ s-lax-il
 just SB-boil-CTL.REFLX DET one's.child-DISTR NMZR-night-INCH

ʔəs-kʷəd-alc hilgʷəʔ tiif s-kuyšəd ʔə tiif
 STAT-takeMV 3PL DET NMZR-deer.hooves OBL DET

ʔəšəd-šəd ʔə tiif s-kayu
 foot-DISTR OBL DET NMZR-corpse

The Night daughters just boiled with anger with deer hooves in their hands that were made from the feet of the dead.

- (221) ʔiistəb (h)əlgʷəʔ.
 ʔistəʔ-b həlgʷəʔ
 like-M 3PL
 That is what they did.

- (222) ʔu... xʷ(iʔ)axʷ gʷəsʔuχʷ txʷəl qəlqələb.
 ʔu-... xʷiʔ-əxʷ gʷə-s-ʔuχʷ dxʷ-ʔal qəl-qəl-əb
 INTERJ-EMPHAT NEG-PI SUBJ-NMZR-go PERV-LOC DISTR-bad-M
 Oh! He did not go to these bad ones.

- (223) hu...
 hu-...
 INTERJ-EMPHAT
 Oh!

- (224) ciəxʷ (h)aʔʔ ʔə tiif ʔuləčis.
 ci-əxʷ haʔʔ ʔə tiif ʔu-ləčil-s
 very-PI good OBL DET SB-arrive-APPL
 It was very good that he arrived for them.

- (225) ləčiləxʷ tiif ʃaxʷaʔs l(ə)čildxʷəxʷ tiif kʷagʷičəd.
 ləčil-əxʷ tiif ʃaxʷaʔ-s ləčil-dxʷ-əxʷ tiif kʷagʷičəd
 arrive-PI DET in-law-3.POS arrive-LC-PI DET elk
 His father in-law who brought an elk arrived.

- (226) “ʔu... tuləčiləxʷ t(i) adʃaxʷaʔ.”
 ʔu-... tu-ləčil-əxʷ ti ad-ʃaxʷaʔ
 INTERJ-EMPHAT PST-arrive-PI DET 2SG.POS-in-law
 ““Oh! Your son in-law has arrived!”

- (227) ʔi... ʔistəbəxʷ ʔi... gʷəl dʒidʒiʔəxʷ tsiif sʔadəyʔ, čəgʷəšs wa...ʔ ʔiʔtʰisu.
 ʔi-... ʔistəʔ-b-əxʷ ʔi-... gʷəl dʒidʒiʔ-əxʷ
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT happen-M-PI EMPHAT-EMPHAT CONJ pregnant-PI

tsiif s-ʔadəyʔ čəgʷəšs-s waʔ-...
 DET NMZR-woman wife-3.POS SUP-EMPHAT

ʔiʔ-tʰisu

PART-younger.relative

This is exactly what happened when one of the woman became pregnant, the very youngest wife.

- (228) cutəbəx^w, g^wələ gək'atəbəx^w ?ə tsiil s-lədəy? tuχ^w luč'a?a?as (h)ilgə?.
- cut-əb-əx^w g^wələ gək'-a-t-əb-əx^w ?ə tsiil s-lədəy?
- tell-M-PI CONJ look.for.lice-LV-CTL-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-woman

tuχ^w lu-č'a?a-a-s hilg^wə?

just FUT-play-DISTR-3.POS 3PL

She told them and the woman looked in his hair for lice, for they will just play.

- (229) ?ug^wəč'təbəx^w g^wə?iistəb bəšč'əd tiil stubš.
- ?u-g^wəč'-t-əb-əx^w g^wə-?iistə?-b bəšč'əd tiil s-tubš
- SB-search-CTL-M-PI SUBJ-happen-M lice DET NMZR-man
- They looked to see if it was such that the man had lice.

- (230) χiq'idəx^w tiil swaatix^wtəd g^wələ luhu dx^wλa.
- χiq'-i-d-əx^w tiil s-watix^wtəd g^wələ luhu dx^w-λa
- scratch-LV-CTL-PI DET NMZR-land CONJ hole PERV-go.to.place
- He scratched the land and made a hole at the place where he had gone to.

- (231) la?bdx^wəx^w tsiil sk^wuys.
- la?b-dx^w-əx^w tsiil s-k^wuy-s
- see-LC-PI DET NMZR-mother-3.POS
- He was able to see his mother.

- (232) tu?ə...λəx^w s?ušəbabdx^w tx^wəl x^wəb susuq^wa? tiil bə?a.
- tu-?əλ-...-əx^w s-?ušəb-ab-dx^w dx^w-?al x^wəb
- PST-come-EMPHAT-PI NMZR-poor-DERV-LC PERV-LOC throw
- su-suq^wa? tiil bə-?a
- DIM-younger.sibling DET ADD-exist
- She had become so very poor that his little brother, who was there now too, was neglected.

- (233) λ(u)asg^wəduuk^wədəx^w ?əsχələχəč.
- λu-?əs-g^wə-duk^w-əd-əx^w ?əs-χələ-ələ-χəč
- HAB-STAT-SUBJ-not.right-DERV-PI STAT-sick CONJ mind
- He was habitually disappointed, unsatisfied with sadness about this.

- (234) ?ul(ə)čis bəlχ tiil buus sləxi(1) g^wəl cutəbəx^w ?ə tsiil sqatəd tsiil č'ač'aš s-lədəy?,
 “χid həw'(ə) λ(u)adshuyiy'(a)buk^wtx^w tiil adsč'istx^w.”
- ?u-ləčil-s bəlχ tiil buus s-ləχ-il g^wəl
- SB-arrive-APPL pass DET four NMZR-day.light-INCH CONJ

cut-t-əb-əx^w ?ə tsiil s-qa-təd tsiil č'ač'aš
 tell-CTL-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-older.sibling-DERV DET child

s-ladəy? ǰid həw'ə λu-ad-s-?u-yi?-yabuk'^w-tx^w
 NMZR-woman why EMPHAT HAB-2SG.POS-NMZR-SB-DIM-fight-CS

tiil ad-s-č'istx^w
 DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-husband

Upon the arrival of the passing of four days, the older sisters said to the young woman, “Why, indeed, do you bicker with your husband?”

- (235) “stab həw'ə λ(u)adshuyiy'(a)buk'^wtx^w.”
 s-tab həw'ə λu-ad-s-?u-yi?-yabuk'^w-tx^w
 NMZR-what EMPHAT HAB-2SG.POS-NMZR-SB-DIM-fight-CS
 “What, indeed, are you habitually bickering with him about?”

- (236) “?u... x^wi? k^w(i) dshuyiy'(a)buk'^wtx^w.”
 ?u... x^wi? k^wi d-s-?u-yi?-yabuk'^w-tx^w
 INTERJ-EMPHAT NEG DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-SB-DIM-fight-CS
 “Oh! I don't bicker with him.”

- (237) <tuǰ^w >tuǰ^w (?ə)sg^wəduk^wad.”
 tuǰ^w tuǰ^w ?əsg^wə-duk^w-ad
 merely just STAT-SUBJ-change-DERV
 “He is just disappointed.”

- (238) tuǰ^w λ(u)asg^wəduk^wad.”
 tuǰ^w λu-?əsg^wə-duk^w-ad
 just HAB-STAT-SUBJ-not.right-DERV
 “He is just habitually disappointed.”

- (239) “λ(u)asǰəłǰəč.”
 λu-?əsg^wə-ǰəł ǰəč
 HAB-STAT-sick mind
 “He is habitually sad and depressed.”

- (240) cutəbəx^w ?ə tiil.
 cut-t-əb-əx^w ?ə tiil
 tell-CTL-M-PI OBL 3PRS
 He told them.

- (241) haag^wəx^w bəg^wəǰ^wəx^w six^w tsiil sladəy? sqatəds bəbu?s.
 hag^w-əx^w bə-g^wəǰ^w-əx^w six^w tsiil s-ladəy?
 ago-PI ADD-stroll-PI usual DET NMZR-woman

 s-qa-təd-s bəbu?s

NMZR-older.sibling-DERV-3.POS four
 For a while the four older sisters walked as usual.

(242) cayəx^w huy, “stab ʔu t(i) ads(ə)x^wuqag^watəb š(ə) adsqatəd.”

cay-əx^w huy s-tab ʔu ti
 very-PI do NMZR-what INTEROG DET

ad-səx^w-ʔu-qag^w-a-t-əb šə
 2SG.POS-by.means.of-SB-scold-LV-CTL-M DET

ad-s-qa-təd

2SG.POS-NMZR-older.sibling-DERV

They really did this (saying), “Was there something your older siblings admonished you for?”

(243) “tuχ^w tulu ti swatix^wtəd tulaʔbəd dx^wšə baʔ yəx^w sk^wuy yəx^w tsə sqa čədə ʔab(s)susuq^waʔ tiil stutubš.”

tuχ^w tu-luʔ ti s-watix^wtəd tu-laʔb-ə-d dx^w-šə
 just PST-hole DET NMZR-land PST-see-LV-CTL PERV-DET

baʔ yəx^w s-k^wuy yəx^w tsə s-qa
 dad CONJ NMZR-mother CONJ DET NMZR-older.sibling

čəd-ə ʔabs-su-suq^waʔ tiil s-tu-tubš
 1SG-CONJ have-DISTR-younger.sibling DET NMZR-DIM-man

“There is just a hole in the land where (I) saw my dad, my mother and older sister, and I have a little brother who is a boy.”

(244.1) “ʔu….

ʔu-…
 INTERJ-EMPHAT

(244.2) g^wəχid (h)əw^w(ə) tuyəcəbəx^w.”

g^wə-χid həw^wə tu-yəc-əb-əx^w
 SUBJ-how EMPHAT PST-tell-M-PI

“Oh! Why, indeed, have (you not) told (us)?”

(245) “č(ə)lə g^wəʔabaqtəb ʔə tiil dbad.”

čəł-ə g^wə-ʔab-aq-t-əb ʔə tiil d-bad
 1PL-CONJ SUBJ-give-DERV-CTL-M OBL DET 1SG.POS-father

“And my father would have returned us.”

(246) ʔəčiləx^w tiil bads g^wəl yəcəbtubəx^w.

ʔəčil-əx^w tiil bad-s g^wəl yəc-əb-tu-b-əx^w
 arrive-PI DET father-3.POS CONJ inform-M-CS-M-PI

Her father arrived and they told him.

- (247) cutəbəx^w, “ʔu… g^wət’uk’^w čəx^w, ʃ^wul’ (ʔ)əsʔaʔ.”
 cut-əb-əx^w ʔu-… g^wət-t’uk’^w čəx^w ʃ^wul’ ʔəs-ʔaʔ
 tell-M-PI INTERJ-EMPHAT SUBJ-go.home 2SG just STAT-fast
 He told him, “Oh! You can go home, just quickly.”
- (248) “g^wət’uk’^w čəx^w.”
 g^wət-t’uk’^w čəx^w
 SUBJ-go.home 2SG
 “You can go home.”
- (249) ʔuu, t’uk’^wtubəx^w tiil stubš.
 ʔu t’uk’^w-tu-b-əx^w tiil s-tubš
 INTERJ go.home-CS-M-PI DET NMZR-man
 Oh, he had the man go home.
- (250) ʃək’^wutəbəx^w tiil q’^wasdalic’əʔ.
 ʃək’^w-u-t-əb-əx^w tiil q’^wasdalic’əʔ
 chop-LV-CTL-M-PI DET mt.goat.blanket
 They cut up a mountain goat blanket.
- (251) tiil sʔuləʃ.
 tiil s-ʔuləʃ
 DET NMZR-dentalia
 There was dentalia.
- (252) tiil sʔələd.
 tiil s-ʔələd
 DET NMZR-eat-DERV
 There was food.
- (253) tiil bayəc.
 tiil bayəc
 DET meat
 There was meat.
- (254) hu…yu-munu ʃ^wul’ ʔəsk^wik^wik^wəd.
 huyumunu-… ʃ^wul’ ʔəs-k^wi-k^wi-k^wəd
 goodies-EMPHAT just STAT-DIM-DIM-grasp
 All these goodies were held on to.
- (255) huy g^wəl ʃəlštəbəx^w tiil səx^wk^watač dx^wʃəp.
 huyg^wəl ʃəlš-t-əb-əx^w tiil səx^w-k^watač dx^w-ʃəp
 CONJ CONJ hang.down-CTL-M-PIDET by.means.of-climb PERV-below
 And then they lowered a ladder to a place below.

- (256) ʔu...x̣ʷ txʷəl tiil səxʷuyaλəb ʔə tiil ʔaciɬalbixʷ tiil pləqʷ qʷuʔ.
 ʔuʰx̣ʷ-... dxʷ-ʔal tiil səxʷ-ʔu-yaλ-əb ʔə
 go-EMPHAT PERV-LOC DET by.means.of-SB-dip.out.water-M OBL
 tiil ʔaciɬalbixʷ tiil pləqʷ qʷuʔ
 DET people DET water.spring water
 They went to where the people dip for spring water.
- (257) ʔəs-qʷuʔ səxʷuyaλəb.
 ʔəs-qʷuʔ səxʷ-ʔu-yaλ-əb
 STAT-gather by.means.of-SB-dip.out.water-M
 They were together to get water.
- (258) gʷaad(il) (h)ilgʷəʔ.
 gʷaadil hilgʷəʔ
 sit.DISTR 3PL
 They were sitting.
- (259) gʷahadil (h)ilgʷəʔ.
 gʷahadil hilgʷəʔ
 sit.DISTR 3PL
 They were sitting.
- (260) tiləxʷ ləʔaλ̣ ṭi susuqʷaʔs.
 tiləxʷ lə-ʔəλ̣ ṭi su-suqʷaʔ-s
 finally PROG-come DET DIM-younger.cousin-3.POS
 Eventually, his little brother was coming.
- (261) gʷəl ʔucutəli.
 gʷəl ʔu-cut-əli
 CONJ SB-say-DERV
 And he said,
- (262) ʔucuud, <...>“ʔu ʔəλ̣əxʷ kʷədəačic.”
 ʔu-cu-u-d ʔu ʔəλ̣-əxʷ kʷəd-ači-t-s
 SB-tell-LV-CTL INTERJ come-PI take-hand-CTL-1SG
 He told him, “Oh, come take my hand.”
- (263) “ʔəcə š(ə) adsqa tuʔibəš ʔə tə ha...gʷəxʷ.”
 ʔəcə šə ad-s-qa tu-ʔibəš ʔə tə
 1SG.EMPH DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-older.sibling PST-walk OBL DET
 haḡʷ-...-əxʷ
 ago-EMPHAT-PI
 “I am your brother who has been traveling for a long time.”

- (264) “cuud čəx^w ts(i) adsk^wuy g^wəłəʔiq^wwid k^wi ʔalʔal.”
 cu-u-d čəx^w tsi ad-s-k^wuy
 tell-LV-CTL 2SG DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-mother
 g^wə-łə-ʔiq^w-i-d k^wi ʔalʔal
 SUBJ-REP-clean-LV-CTL DET house
 “You tell your mother so that she can clean the house.”
- (265) cutəbəx^w, “ʔuhu.”
 cut-əb-əx^w ʔuhu
 tell-M-PI agree.strongly
 He told him, “Ah yes.”
- (266) t^wuk^w tiił č^wac^waš tx^wəl tsi sk^wuʔ.
 t^wuk^w tiił č^wac^waš dx^w-ʔal tsi s-k^wuʔ
 go.home DET child PERV-LOC DET NMZR-mom
 The boy went home to his mom.
- (267) “ʔu… sqaq, sk^wuy, š(ə) ʔal tə ʔal tə.”
 ʔu… s-qaq s-k^wuy šə ʔal
 INTERJ-EMPHAT NMZR-older.sibling NMZR-mother DET LOC
 tə ʔal tə
 DET LOC 3PRS
 “Oh! my older brother, mother, he is there, right there.”
- (268) “ʔəbsčəg^wəš ʔə tsi ha… ʔl təł ləgəqi(l) sładəyʔ.”
 ʔəbs-čəg^wəš ʔə tsi haʔl… təł lə-gəq-il
 have-wife OBL DET nice-EMPHAT true PROG-bright-INCH
 s-ładəyʔ
 NMZR-woman
 “His wife is a woman who is very nice and truly bright with light.”
- (269) “łəčiləx^w tx^w(ʔ)a.”
 łəčil-əx^w tx^w-ʔa
 arrive-PI PERV-locate
 “They have arrived there.”
- (270) ʔa… š^wul^w ʔuč^wax^wč^wax^watəb ti č^wac^wəš g^wəl bəʔuχ^w g^wəl cut, “ʔəs^wac^wdubš six^w sə
 dsk^wuʔ.”
 ʔa… š^wul^w ʔu-č^wax^w-č^wax^w-a-t-əb ti č^wac^wəš
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT just SB-DISTR-club-LV-CTL-M DET child
 g^wəl bə-ʔuχ^w g^wəl cut ʔəs-q^wac-bš six^w sə

CONJ ADD-go CONJ say STAT-doubt-1SG usual DET

d-s-k'wu?

1SG.POS-NMZR-female

Ah! She just beat the boy and he went again and said, “My mom doubts me, as usual.”

- (271) cutəbəx^w ʔə tsiil č'əbəš, “ʔəʎəx^w” p'əʎa(d).
cut-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tsiil č'əbəš ʔəʎəx^w p'əʎ-a-d
tell-CTL-M-PI OBL DET sister.in-law come-PI feel-LV-CTL
His sister in-law told him, “Come here.” She felt him.

- (272) g^wəl ʔəsk'wiʔk'wiʔəx^wg^wəs tiil č'ač'aš.
g^wəl ʔəs-k'wiʔ-k'wiʔəx^w-g^wəs tiil č'ač'aš
CONJ STAT-DISTR-stomach-pair DET child
And the boy had a pot belly.

- (273) k^waadəd tiil č'əbəš g^wəl tašatəb lu...ʎ, luʎ.
k^wəd-ə-d tiil č'əbəš g^wəl taš-a-t-əb
take-LV-CTL DET brother.in-law CONJ stroke.lighty-LV-CTL-M

luʎ-... luʎ
old-EMPHAT old

She took her brother in-law and lightly stroked him as he became much older (and) older.

- (274) ʔuu day' haʔl skinny little boy.
ʔu day' haʔl skinny little boy
INTERJ especially nice skinny little boy
Oh, his was an especially nice, skinny little boy.

- (275) ʔiistəb ʔəʎ.
ʔistəʔ-b ʔəʎ
like-M come
That is what happened to him when he came.

- (276) ʎəčiləx^w tiil.
ʎəčil-əx^w tiil
arrive-PI 3PRS
He arrived.

- (277) huy tubəg^wəlald putəx^w bəʔuχ^w.
huy tu-bə-g^wəlald put-əx^w bə-ʔuχ^w
CONJ PST-ADD-injure-CTL very-PI ADD-go
Then the one who she had hurt again really went.

- (278) g^wələ cuud tsiil sk^wuys, “hilaʔ tudshuyutəb ʔə tsi sq^wuʔ.”
g^wələ cu-u-d tsiil s-k^wuy-s hilaʔ
CONJ tell-LV-CTL DET NMZR-mother-3.POS look.IMP

tu-d-s-huy-u-t-əb ʔə tsi s-q^wuʔ
PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-do-LV-CTL-M OBL DET NMZR-companion
And he told his mother, “Look what his companion has done to me.”
- (279) ʔu.
ʔu
INTERJ
Oh.
- (280) x^wiʔ.
x^wiʔ
NEG
No.
- (281) ʃ^wul^ʔ bəg^wəlaltəb g^wəl bəʔuʃ^w.
ʃ^wul^ʔ bə-g^wəlal-t-əb g^wəl bə-ʔuʃ^w
just ADD-injure-CTL-M CONJ ADD-go
She just hurt him again and he went again.
- (282.1) bələčis g^wəl bəcuud, “ʔuu ʃ^wul^ʔ ʔug^wəlalc six^w g^wədsq^wacdubš.
bə-ləčil-s g^wəl bə-cu-u-d ʔu ʃ^wul^ʔ
ADD-arrive-APPL CONJ ADD-tell-LV-CTL INTERJ just

ʔu-g^wəlal-t-s six^w g^wə-d-s-q^wac-bš
SB-kill-CTL-3.POS usual SUBJ-1SG.POS-NMZR-doubt-1SG
- (282.2) ʃ^w(u)l^ʔ č(ə)x^w ʔuč^ʔaʔabic.”
ʃ^wul^ʔ čəx^w ʔu-č^ʔaʔa-bi-t-s
just 2SG SB-play-REL-CTL-1SG
He arrived to them again and told them again, “Oh, she just hurt me because as usual, she doubted me. You are just teasing me.”
- (283) “tuʔatəbəd k^w(ə)l^ʔ tiil tudsqa.”
tu-ʔatəbəd k^wəl^ʔ tiil tu-d-s-qa
PST-die it.is.said DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-older.sibling
“My older brother, they say, has died.”
- (284) “ʔuu x^wiʔ.”
ʔu x^wiʔ
INTERJ NEG
“Oh, no.”

- (285) “ʔəcə čəd.”
 ʔəcə čəd
 1SG.EMPH 1SG
 “I an me.”
- (286) “tuʔibəš čəd.”
 tu-ʔibəš čəd
 PST-walk 1SG
 “I have been walking.”
- (287) “tuχ^w čəd tułəči(l) tx^wəl ti tsi bad ʔə tsi dišəʔ.”
 tuχ^w čəd tu-łəčil dx^w-ʔal ti tsi bad ʔə tsi
 just 1SG PST-arrive PERV-LOC DET DET father OBL DET
 dišəʔ
 this.one
 “I had just arrived to this one’s father.”
- (288) “tuʔayʔdub čədə t’uk^w dx^wʔug^wus čad k^wi ʔalʔals.”
 tu-ʔayʔ-du-b čəd-ə t’uk^w dx^w-ʔug^wus čad k^wi
 PST-change-LC-M 1SG-CONJ go.home PERV-instruct where DET
 ʔalʔal-s
 house-3.POS
 “He found me and I went to where I was instructed where his house was.”
- (289.1) ʔuu, bətašatəb ʔə tsiil č’əbəš.
 ʔu bə-taš-a-t-əb ʔə tsiil č’əbəš
 INTERJ ADD-stroke.lighty-LV-CTL-M OBL DET sister.in-law
- (289.2) lu····λəx^w.
 luλ····-əx^w
 old-EMPHAT-PI
 Oh, his sister in-law lightly stroked him again. He became much older.
- (290) haacəc tiil sq’ədʔuʔs.
 haac-əc tiil s-q’ədʔuʔ-s
 long-DISTR DET NMZR-hair-3.POS
 His hair was long.
- (291) huy tubəʔuχ^w.
 huy tu-bə-ʔuχ^w
 CONJ PST-ADD-go
 Then he had gone again.

- (292) ʔuu g^wəlaltəb.
 ʔu g^wəlal-t-əb
 INTERJ injure-CTL-M
 Oh, she hurt him again.
- (293) buusafiləx^w.
 buus-ał-il-əx^w
 four-times-INCH-PI
 This was the fourth time.
- (294.1) bəʔuuǰ^w.
 bə-ʔuǰ^w
 ADD-go
- (294.2) bəłəči(1) tx^wəl tiil sqas, qa.
 bə-łəčil dx^w-ʔal tiil s-qa-s qa
 ADD-arrive PERV-LOC DET NMZR-older.sibling-3.POS a.lot
 He went again, he arrived again to his brother, there was a lot.??
- (295) ləcutali, “ʔuu ǰ^wul’ ʔug^wəlalcəx^w tsi dsk^wuy.”
 lə-cut-ali ʔu ǰ^wul’ ʔu-g^wəlal-t-s-əx^w tsi
 PROG-say-DERV INTERJ just SB-injure-CTL-1SG-PI DET
 d-s-k^wuy
 1SG.POS-NMZR-mother
 He said, “Oh, my mother just hurt me, as usual.”
- (296) “tuǰ^w čəx^w luč’aʔabic.”
 tuǰ^w čəx^w lu-č’aʔa-bi-t-s
 just 2SG FUT-play-REL-CTL-1SG
 “You are going to just tease me.”
- (297) k^wədəx^w ʔə tsiil č’əbəš g^wəl tašətəbəx^w tiil sq’ədzuʔs.
 k^wəd-əx^w ʔə tsiil č’əbəš g^wəl taš-ə-t-əb-əx^w
 take-PI OBL DET sister.in-law CONJ stroke.lighty-LV-CTL-M-PI
 tiil s-q’ədzuʔ-s
 DET NMZR-hair-3.POS
 His sister in-law took him and lightly stroked his hair.
- (298) s(ə)x^wačtəbəx^w ʔə tiil ʔuq^wag^wəb sǰ^wəs yəx^w təq’təbəx^w g^wəl haa···c stubš haʔ
 q^w(i)q^wiʔis č’ač’aš stubš.
 səx^w-ač-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiil ʔu-q^wag^wəb s-ǰ^wəs yəx^w
 oil-head-CTL-M-PI OBL DET SB-sweet NMZR-grease CONJ

təq'-t-əb-əx^w g^wəl haac-... s-tubš haʔl q^wi q^wi ʔis č'ac'aš
 slap-CTL-M-PI CONJ tall-EMPHAT NMZR-man nice slender child

s-tubš

NMZR-man

She oiled his hair with some sweet oil and she slapped him and he was a very tall man, a nice, skinny, young man.

- (299) putəx^w ʔuq^wag^wəb.
 put-əx^w ʔu-q^wag^wəb
 very-PI SB-sweet
 He was very sweet smelling.

- (300) ʔalabəctəbəx^w ʔə tiil haʔal g^wəl,
 ʔal-abad-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiil haʔal g^wəl
 don-solid.obj-CTL-M-PI OBL DET nice CONJ
 She clothed him nicely, and

- (301.1) cuudəx^w, “ʔuʔuš^w čəx^w tx^wəl ts(i) adsk^wʔuy g^wəl ʔucuud čəx^w ‘hilaʔ tə dshuyutəb ʔə tsi dč'əbəš.

cu-u-d-əx^w ʔu-ʔuš^w čəx^w dx^w-ʔal tsi
 tell-LV-CTL-PI FUT-go 2SG PERV-LOC DET

ad-s-k^wuy g^wəl ʔu-cu-u-d čəx^w hilaʔ tə
 2SG.POS-NMZR-mother CONJ FUT-tell-LV-CTL 2SG look.IMP DET

d-s-huy-u-t-əb ʔə tsi d-č'əbəš
 1SG.POS-NMZR-do-LV-CTL-M OBL DET 1SG.POS-sister.in-law

She told him, “You will go to your mother and you tell her, ‘Look at what my sister in-law did to me.’”

- (302) ʔəcišəx^w g^wəl tucuudəx^w, “hilaʔ ti dshuyuc sə dč'əbəš.”
 ʔəciš-s-əx^w g^wəl tu-cu-u-d-əx^w hilaʔ ti
 arrive-3.POS-PI CONJ PST-tell-LV-CTL-PI look.IMP DET

d-s-huy-u-s sə d-č'əbəš
 1SG.POS-NMZR-do-LV-1SG DET 1SG.POS-sister.in-law

He arrived to her and he told her, “Look at what my sister in-law did to me.”

- (303) ʔalabəctəb ti haʔl ʔə tə stəq' ha...ʔcəc ti sq'əd^wʔs.
 ʔal-abad-t-əb ti haʔl ʔə tə s-təq'
 don-solid.obj-CTL-M DET nice OBL DET NMZR-slap

haac-əc-... ti s-q'əd^wʔ-s
 long-DISTR-EMPHAT DET NMZR-hair-3.POS

He was dressed well with it slapped on him, his hair was very long.

- (304) hay, q'aləx^w tsiil luł g^wəl ʔiq^wi dəx^w tiil ʔalʔals g^wəl pədi jədəx^w ʔə tiil k^wik^wilc^ʔ
g^wəl pədi jədəx^w tiil šəg^wl tx^wəl tiil q^wuʔəd.

hay q'al-əx^w tsiil luł g^wəl ʔiq^w-i-d-əx^w tiil
CONJ convince-PI DET elder CONJ clean-LV-CTL-PI DET

ʔalʔal-s g^wəl pəd-i j-ə-d-əx^w ʔə tiil
house-3.POS CONJ bury-be.fallen.with-EPTH-CTL-PI OBL DET

k^wik^wilc^ʔ g^wəl pəd-i j-ə-d-əx^w tiil šəg^wl
eiderdown CONJ bury-be.fallen.with-EPTH-CTL-PI DET door

dx^w-ʔal tiil q^wuʔ-əd
PERV-LOC DET gather-DERV

Then, the old woman was convinced and she cleaned her house and covered it with
down feathers and covered the doorway for a gathering.

- (305) huy ləči(l) laʔbtx^wəx^w tiil bədəʔs.
huy ləčil laʔb-tx^w-əx^w tiil bədəʔ-s
CONJ arrive see-CS-PI DET one's.child-3.POS
Then he arrived so she could see her son.

- (306) cu...
cu-...
EMPHAT-EMPHAT
Oh!

- (307) cutəl(i)əx^w, “(ʔ)əcə tuʔibəš k^wuʔ.”
cut-əli-əx^w ʔəcə tu-ʔibəš k^wuʔ
say-DERV-PI 1SG.EMPH PST-walk female
He said, “It is me who has been traveling, mom.”

- (308) “tuχ^w čəd tuʔibəš ʔə tudshuyabuk^wtub ʔə tsiil dsqa.”
tuχ^w čəd tu-ʔibəš ʔə tu-d-s-ʔu-yabuk^w-tu-b ʔə
merely 1SG PST-walk OBL PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-SB-fight-CS-M OBL

tsiil d-s-qa
DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-older.sibling

“I have just been traveling since my older sister fought with me.”

- (309) hu... ləčiləx^w (h)ilg^wəʔ.
hu-... ləčil-əx^w hilg^wəʔ
INTERJ-EMPHAT arrive-PI 3PL
Oh! They arrived.

- (310) ʔi... ʔistəbəx^w g^wəl k^wədubəx^w ʔə tsiil čəg^wəš tiil <...>baby.
 ʔi-... ʔistəʔ-b-əx^w g^wəl k^wəd-u-b-əx^w ʔə tsiil čəg^wəš
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT happen-M-PI CONJ get-LV-M-PI OBL DET wife
 tiil baby
 DET baby
 Indeed! This is what happened and his wife had a baby.
- (311) daʔbəx^w ʔə tiil saʔliʔs.
 daʔb-əx^w ʔə tiil saʔliʔ-s
 instead-PI OBL DET two-3.POS
 Contrary to what was expected, he was two.
- (312) saʔliʔs dəx^wəsʔiq'əg^wəs.
 saʔliʔ-s dəx^w-ʔəs-ʔiq'-ə-g^wəs
 two-3.POS reason.for-STAT-adhere-EPTH-pair
 He was two joined together.
- (313) g^wələ...
 g^wələ
 CONJ
 And ...
- (314) ʔa...t tiil ləluʔluʔi(1) ʔə tiil wiw'su.
 ʔa-... tiil lə-luʔ-luʔ-il ʔə tiil wiw'su
 fast-EMPHAT DET PROG-DISTR-old-INCH OBL DET children
 The children were getting much older rapidly.
- (315) čəʔbitəbəx^w c'ac'uc.
 čəʔ-bi-t-əb-əx^w c'ac'uc
 1PL-REL-CTL-M-PI bow
 They made a bow for them.
- (316) g^wəl ʔahəx^w tsiil luluʔ ʔucuud (h)ilg^wəʔ, skaykay.
 g^wəl ʔa-h-əx^w tsiil lu-luʔ ʔu-cu-u-d hilg^wəʔ
 CONJ exist-EPTH-PI DET DERV-elder SB-tell-LV-CTL 3PL
 s-kaykay
 NMZR-Steller.blue.jay
 And there was a very old woman that told them, she was Blue Jay.
- (317) ʔutitələwil ʔiq'əg^wəs tiil wiw'su.
 ʔu-ti-tələwil ʔiq'-ə-g^wəs tiil wiw'su
 SB-DIM-run adhere-EPTH-pair DET children
 These children ran around stuck together.

- (318) ʔucut tsiil skaykay, “g^wəx^wəcg^wəg^wastəb tiil wiw’su x^wi? g^wəsali?”
 ʔu-cut tsiilskaykay g^wə-x^wəc g^wə--g^was-t-əb tiil wiw’su x^wi? g^wə-sali?
 SB-say DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay SUBJ-remove DIM--pair-CTL-MDET
 children NEG SUBJ-two
 Blue Jay said, “If the children were removed from each other, they would not be two.”
- (319) hu··· tuč’əd’ədəx^w tiil wiw’su.
 hu··· tu-č’əd’-ə-d-əx^w tiil wiw’su
 INTERJ-EMPHAT PST-sneak.up-LV-CTL-PI DET children
 Oh! They snuck up on the children.
- (320) tx^wəl g^wəsx^wəcg^wəg^wasəbs.
 dx^w-ʔal g^wə-s-x^wəc-g^wə-g^was-əb-s
 PERV-LOC SUBJ-NMZR-remove-DIM-pair-M-3.POS
 So they could remove them from each other.
- (321) čaladəx^w g^wəl x^wəcg^wəl g^wasədəx^w tiil wiw’su g^wəl ʔaatəbəd.
 čal-a-d-əx^w g^wəl x^wəc-g^wə-g^was-ə-d-əx^w tiil
 chase-LV-CTL-PI CONJ remove-DIM-pair-EPTH-CTL-PI DET
 wiw’su g^wəl ʔatəbəd
 children CONJ die
 They chased them and removed the children from each other and they died.
- (322) ʔu··· qəlqəl tiil stubš ʔə tiil bədədəʔs.
 ʔu··· qəl-qəl tiil s-tubš ʔə tiil bədəʔ-dəʔ-s
 INTERJ-EMPHAT DISTR-bad DET NMZR-man OBL DET
 one’s.child-DISTR-3.POS
 Oh! That man had bad luck with his children.
- (323) ǰiciləx^w tsiil čəg^wəš g^wəl təq’ədəx^w tiil six^wsiyayʔyəʔs g^wəl huyəx^w tiil ʔayʔalqəb
 səsaq^wəx^w.
 ǰicil-əx^w tsiil čəg^wəš g^wəl təq’-ə-d-əx^w tiil
 angry-PI DET wife CONJ slap-LV-CTL-PI DET
 six^w-s-yayʔyəʔ-s g^wəl huy-əx^w tiil ʔayʔalqəb
 ***-NMZR-family-3.POS CONJ make-PI DET small.animal
 sə-saq^w-əx^w
 DISTR-fly-PI
 His wife was angry and slapped her in-laws and they became little monsters that flew.
- (324) ʔux^w tsiil sladəyʔ g^wələ təx^wud tiil t’əbiłəds g^wələ šəlš(š)itəb (h)ilg^wəʔ tiil
 səx^wk^watač g^wəl k^watač (h)ilg^wəʔ dx^wšəq.

ʔux^w tsiif s-ladəyʔ g^wələ təx^w-u-d __ tiif t'əbiłəd-s
 go DET NMZR-woman CONJ pull-LV-CTL DET rope-3.POS

g^wələ šəlš-ši-t-əb hilg^wəʔ tiif səx^w-k^watač g^wəl
 CONJ hang.down-DAT-CTL-M 3PL DET by.means.of-climb CONJ

k^watač hilg^wəʔ dx^w-šəq
 climb 3PL PERV-above

The woman went and pulled on her roped and they lowered a ladder for them and they climbed up.

- (325) hay, bək^wiləx^w.
 hay bək^w-il-əx^w
 CONJ all.gone-INCH-PI
 Now, that is all.

- (326) t'(ə)q^wabəx^w tiif šg^waʔac.
 t'əq^w-ab-əx^w tiif šg^waʔ-ac
 come.out-DERV-PI DET ***-shrub
 The salmonberry sprouts were out.

(327.1) That's all.

(327.2) I guess that's one.

The Man

Told by Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded November 14th, 1952

At Puyallup, Washington

Lushootseed transcription and translation by Zalmai ʔəswəli Zahir

Ichishkiin transcription and translation by Virginia Tuxamshish Beavert and Joana Jansen

- (1) That's dił stubš.

That-is dił s-tubš
that-is DEICT NMZR-man
That's this man.

- (2) I start now.

- (3) ʔəslali(1) tiil stubš ʔəbsčəgʷəš ʔə tsiil haʔl s-ladəyʔ.

ʔə-s-lali(1) tiil s-tubš ʔabs-čəgʷəš ʔə tsiil haʔl
STAT-live DET NMZR-man have-wife OBL DET good

s-ladəyʔ

NMZR-woman

There lived a man who had a good woman as his wife.

- (4) gʷələ ʔəb(s)suqʷsuqʷaʔ tiil cəl(ə)lac.

gʷələ ʔəbs-suqʷ-suqʷaʔ tiil cələlac
CONJ have-DISTR-younger.sibling DET five
And he had five younger siblings.

- (5) gʷəl λucutəxʷ tiil suqʷsuqʷaʔs, “ʔa... hiqəbəxʷ (h)aʔl tsi čəgʷəš ʔə tə qələb.

gʷəl λu-cut-əxʷ tiil suqʷ-suqʷaʔ-s
CONJ HAB-say-PI DET DISTR-younger.sibling-3.POS

ʔa... hiqəb-əxʷ haʔl tsi čəgʷəš ʔə tə qəl-əb
EMPHAT-EMPHAT too-PI good DET wife OBL DET bad-M

And his younger brothers would say, “Ah! This wife is too good for that bad man.”

- (6) ciəxʷ čəl gʷəkʷədšid.”

ci-əxʷ čəl gʷə-kʷəd-ši-d
very-PI 1PL SUBJ-take-DAT-CTL

We should really take her from him.”

- (7) gʷələ dʔuləxʷ tsiil s-ladəyʔ gʷəl hudčupəxʷ šalbixʷ.

gʷələ dʔul-əxʷ tsiil s-ladəyʔ gʷəl hud-čup-əxʷ
CONJ menstruate-PI DET NMZR-woman CONJ burn-campfire-PI

šalbixʷ

outside

And when the woman menstruated, she made a fire outside.

- (8) q'aqid ʔuʔuχ^w tiɪ sč'istx^{ws}.
q'aqid ʔu-ʔuχ^w tiɪ s-č'istx^{w-s}
always SB-go DET NMZR-husband-3.POS
The husband was always gone.
- (9) qaqid ʔuʔuχ^w.
q'aqid ʔu-ʔuχ^w
always SB-go
He was always gone.
- (10) čatqłəb ti sč'istx^{ws}.
čatqłəb ti s-č'istx^{w-s}
grizzly.bear DET NMZR-husband-3.POS
Her husband was Grizzly Bear.
- (11) <cut, cuudəx^w> ləχiləx^w g^wəl cuudəx^w, “ʔuc'ubadčəb čəd.”
<cut cu-u-d-əx^w> ləχ-il-əx^w g^wəl cu-u-d-əx^w
<FALSE> day-INCH-PI CONJ say-LV-CTL-PI

ʔu-c'ub-ad-c-əb čəd
SB-***-DERV-APP-M 1SG
The next day, someone said, “Someone’s making sucking noises at me.”
- (12) “ʔu ʔəcə tiɪ ʔuc'ubadčəbicid.”
ʔu ʔəcə tiɪ ʔu-c'ub-ad-bi-t-sid
INTERJ 1SG.EMPH DET SB-***-DERV-REL-CTL-2SG
“Oh! It is me who is making sucking noises at you.”
- (13) ʔəcə.”
ʔəcə
1SG.EMPH
“Me.”
- (14) huy, c'ubad huyə:
huy c'ub-ad huyə
CONJ ***-DERV ***
Then he made sucking noises like this:
- (15) (sucking noise)
- (16) ʔu... ləli? ti səsc'ubad.
ʔu... ləli? ti s-ʔəs-c'ub-ad
INTERJ-EMPHAT different DET NMZR-STAT-***-DERV

Oh! That's a different sucking noise.

(17) dəg^wi g^wəc'ubad.

dəg^wi g^wə-c'ub-ad
2SG.EMPH SUBJ-***-DERV
You could make sucking noises.

(18) c'ubad čəd tiif haʔt:

c'ub-ad čəd tiif haʔt
***-DERV 1SG DET good
I make good sucking noises:

(19) (sucking noise)

(20.1) ʔa.

ʔa
EMPHAT

(20.2) ləliʔ š(ə) (ʔ)al tiʔiif.

ləliʔ šə ʔal tiʔiif
different DET LOC DET
Ah! That was a one different one there!

(21) haʔt c'ubad.

haʔt c'ub-ad
good ***-DERV
That was a good sucking noise.

(22) huy c'ubad huyə:

huy c'ub-ad huyə
CONJ ***-DERV ***
Then, he made sucking noises like this:

(23) (sucking noise)

(24) ʔuq^wi g^wəsc'ubadubəx^w ʔə tə tiif sč'istx^w ʔə k^wi haʔt.

ʔu-q^wiʔ g^wə-s-c'ub-ad-du-b-əx^w ʔə tə tiif
SB-call.out SUBJ-NMZR-***-DERV-LC-M-PI OBL DET DET

s-č'istx^w ʔə k^wi haʔt
NMZR-husband OBL DET good

The husband called out to them by managing to make nice sucking noises at them.

(25) hay bət'uuk^wəx^w.

hay bə-t'uuk^w-əx^w

- CONJ ADD-go.home-PI
Then he went home again.
- (26) ɬəci(l).
ɬəcił
arrive
He arrived.
- (27) x^wiʔ ləhak^w g^wəl bəʔuɣ^w.
x^wiʔ lə-haʔk^w g^wəl bə-ʔuɣ^w
NEG PROG-ago CONJ ADD-go
It wasn't long before he went again.
- (28) ʔu... ɬəciłəx^w tiil suq^wsuq^waʔs g^wəl k^wədəx^w tsiil čəg^wəš.
ʔu... ɬəcił-əx^w tiil suq^w-suq^waʔ-s g^wəl
INTERJ-EMPHAT arrive-PI DET DISTR-younger.sibling-3.POS CONJ

k^wəd-əx^w tsiil čəg^wəš
take-PI DET wife
Oh! His younger siblings arrived and took the wife.
- (29) licik^witəb tiil huds g^wəl ɬa...č^w.
lə-cik^w-i-t-əb tiil hud-s g^wəl
PROG-poke.with.stick-LV-CTL-M DET fire-3.POS CONJ

ɬač^w-...
extinguish-EMPHAT
They poked the fire with a stick until it went out!
- (30) ɬəciłəx^w.
ɬəcił-əx^w
arrive-PI
He arrived.
- (31) x^wiʔ tsiil čəg^wəšs.
x^wiʔ tsiil čəg^wəš-s
NEG DET wife-3.POS
His wife was not there.
- (32) habu.
habu
INTERJ
habu.
- (33) ʔaa t^wuk^w g^wəl ɬalš tiil ɬalabəc g^wəl k^wədəd ti stabs g^wəl ʔuɣ^w čalaqəx^w ti dił
sləʔuɣ^wtub sə čəg^wəš.

ʔaa t'uk'w gʷəl ʕal-š tiif ʕal-abəc gʷəl kʷəd-ə-d
 INTERJ go.home CONJ don-CTL DET don-body CONJ take-LV-CTL

ti s-tab-s gʷəl ʔuχʷ čal-aq-əxʷ ti diif
 DET NMZR-what-3.POS CONJ go chase-DERV-PI DET DEICT

s-lə-ʔuχʷ-tu-b sə čəgʷəš
 NMZR-PROG-go-CS-M DET wife

Ah, he went home to put his clothes on and took his things, and he went chasing after those who took his wife.

- (34) ʔa... ʔa šə (ʔə)bsčəgʷašəb šə sxiχibus ʔə kʷi bəčəgʷəš.
 ʔa... ʔa šə ʔəbs-čəgʷaš-əb šə
 EMPHAT-EMPHAT locate DET have-obtain.wife-M DET

s-xiχiʔ-b-us ʔə kʷi bə-čəgʷəš
 NMZR-shameful-M-appearance OBL DET ADD-wife

Ah! The shameful looking character who had intentions of marrying another wife was there.

- (35) putəxʷ gʷat čəgʷašəb.
 put-əxʷ gʷat čəgʷaš-əb
 very-PI 3PRS obtain.wife-M
 There was definately someone whom he was going to marry.

- (36) “I’áyatpaash íxwi i’áyatyaw k’shák’sha áchaas wa iiiiii...”
 i-áyat-pa-ash íxwi i’áyat-yaw k’sha-k’sha
 ***-woman-LOC-1SG still ***-woman-for squint-REDUP

áchaas wa iiiiii...
 eye COP INTERJ

“I’m looking around, squinting my eyes around for a woman (I’m lusting for a woman).”

- (37) “I’áyatpaash íxwi i’áyatyaw k’shák’sha áchaas wa iiiiii...”
 i-áyat-pa-ash íxwi i’áyat-yaw k’sha-k’sha
 ***-woman-LOC-1SG still ***-woman-for squint-REDUP

áchaas wa iiiiii...
 eye COP INTERJ

“ I’m looking around, squinting my eyes around for a woman (I’m lusting for a woman).”

- (38) “I’áyatpaash íxwi i’áyatyaw k’shák’sha áchaas wa iiiiii...”
 i-áyat-pa-ash íxwi i’áyat-yaw k’sha-k’sha
 ***-woman-LOC-1SG still ***-woman-for squint-RERDUP

- áchaas wa iii....
 eye COP INTERJ
 "I'm looking around, squinting my eyes around for a woman (I'm lusting for a woman)."
- (39) Aa ináxti túwituwit'áya ináxti.
 aa i-náxti túwi-tuwit'áya i-náxti
 INTERJ 3SG-cry REDUP-Grizzly.Bear 3SG-cry
 Ah, Tuwit'aya (Grizzly Bear) cried.
- (40.1) ʔuǰʷ.
 ʔuǰʷ
 go
- (40.2) ʔuǰʷ.
 ʔuǰʷ
 go
 He went on and on.
- (41) cutəbəxʷ ti suqʷaʔs, "ʔubəxʷ čəd ʔuʔaʔad tiil tuwit'áya."
 cut-t-əb-əxʷ ti suqʷaʔ-s ʔub-əxʷ čəd
 say-CTL-M-PI DET younger.sibling-3.POS fine-PI 1SG
 ʔu-ʔaʔ-a-d tiil tuwit'áya
 SB-lie.in.wait-LV-CTL DET Grizzly.Bear
 [One of the brothers] told his younger brother, "I'd better stalk Grizzly Bear (Tuwit'aya)."
- (42) hay, lǰilčəxʷ ti stubš gʷəl ʔəʔəxʷ tiil ləxǰəb.
 hay lǰǰ-ilč-əxʷ ti s-tubš gʷəl ʔəʔ-əxʷ tiil lə-xǰəb
 CONJ stiff-knee-PI DET NMZR-man CONJ come-PI DET PROG-cry
 Then the man stood when someone who was crying came.
- (43) "Mish nam nuu, Tuwit'áya?"
 mish nam nuu, Tuwit'áya
 INTEROG 2SG say Grizzly.Bear
 "What are you saying, Tuwit'aya?"
- (44) "Aa áwtik'ash wíimayksha, Náka."
 aa áwtik'a-sh wíimayk-sha náka
 INTERJ only-1SG ***-PROG man's.younger.brother
 "I am just sleeping, younger brother."
- (45) "Chaw nam wíimayksha."

chaw nam wíimayk-sha
NEG 2SG *** -PROG
“You’re not sleeping.”

- (46) “Naḵti mná?”
naḵti mná
cry where.LOC
“You’re crying, aren’t you?”

- (47) “Aa , chaw nash náḵti, aw nash wíwyatya palyúutiyaw áḵmikan.”
aa chaw nash náḵti, aw nash wí-wya-tya
INTERJ NEG 1SG cry now 1SG go-while.going-rather

palyúu-t-yaw
play.bone.game-NMZR-to

áḵmi-kan
inland-toward
“Ah, I’m not crying, I’m on my way upriver to the bone game.”

- (48) habu.
habu
INTERJ
habu.

- (49) ʔil tiil.
ʔil tiil
vocalize DET
He made some sounds.

- (50) ʔil ti ti t’uwit’áya:
ʔil ti ti t’uwit’áya
say DET DET Grizzly.Bear
Grizzly Bear said this:

- (51.1) “piyəx^w hilə.
piyəx^w hilə
vocals vocals

- (51.2) piyəx^w hilə.
piyəx^w hilə
vocals vocals

- (51.3) piyəx^w hilə.
piyəx^w hilə
vocals vocals

- (51.4) piyəx^w hilə.
 piyəx^w hilə
 vocals vocals
- (51.5) piyəx^w hilə.
 piyəx^w hilə
 vocals vocals
- (51.6) piyəx^w hilə.”
 piyəx^w hilə
 vocals vocals
 “Piyəx^w hilə. piyəx^w hilə. piyəx^w hilə. piyəx^w hilə. piyəx^w hilə. piyəx^w hilə.”
- (52) “A , túnxnam íkw’ak núusha.”
 a túnx-nam íkw’ak núu-sha
 INTERJ different-2SG that say-PROG
 “Oh, you’re saying that all wrong.”
- (53) “Inátxanashaam ‘I’áyatpaash íxwi i’áyatyaw k’sha k’sha áchaash <m...>.”
 i-nátxana-sha-am i-áyat-pa-ash íxwi i-áyat-yaw
 3SG-pronounce-PROG-2SG ***-woman-LOC-1SG _still ***-woman-for
 k’sha-k’sha áchaash <m...>
 squint-REDUP eye <FALSE>
 “You are saying ‘I’m lusting after a woman.’”
- (54) “Aa , chaw nash núucha náka.”
 aa chaw nash núu-cha náka
 INTERJ NEG 1SG say-PST man’s.younger.brother
 “I wasn’t saying that, younger brother.”
- (55) “Chaw nash núucha íkush.”
 chaw nash núucha íkush
 NEG 1SG say-PST thus
 “I wasn’t saying it like that.”
- (56) “Áwtikash palyúuta.”
 áwtik-ash palyúu-ta
 ***-1SG play.stick.game-FUT
 “I’m just playing stick game.”
- (57) “Palyúushaash.”
 palyúu-sha-ash
 play.bone.game-PROG-1SG
 “I’m playing bone game.”

- (58) “Aa, chaw nam palyúusha.”
aa chaw nam palyúu-sha
INTERJ NEG 1SF play.bone.game-PROG
“Oh, you’re not playing bone game.”
- (59) ?a···təb tiif ?ayiləx^w bələli?
?al···-t-əb tiif ?ayil-əx^w bə-ləli?
fast-EMPHAT-CTL-M DET pretend-PI ADD-different
He moved quickly upon the one who was pretending to be different again.
- (60) ?istəb tiif.
?istə?-b tiif
like-M DET
This is what he did to him.
- (61) huy g^wəlaltəbəx^w.
huy g^wəlal-t-əb-əx^w
CONJ kill-CTL-M-PI
Then he injured him.
- (62) habu.
habu
INTERJ
habu.
- (63) g^wəlaltəbəx^w ti, ti t’uwit’áya.
g^wəlal-t-əb-əx^w ti ti t’uwit’áya
kill-CTL-M-PI DET DET Grizzly.Bear
He injured this Grizzly Bear.
- (64) g^wəlaltəbəx^w g^wəl ?atəb(ə)dəx^w g^wəl hilič’təbəx^w g^wəl ?iχ^witəbəx^w tiif stəb.
g^wəlal-t-əb-əx^w g^wəl ?atəbəd-əx^w g^wəl li-lič’-t-əb-əx^w g^wəl
kill-CTL-M-PI CONJ die-PI CONJ DIM-cut-CTL-M-PI CONJ
?iχ^w-i-t-əb-əx^w tiif s-təb
throw.away-LV-CTL-M-PI DET NMZR-3SG
He wounded him and he died, and he sort of cut him all up and threw that old thing away.
- (65) x^wəbtubəx^w tiif sc’ali? tx^wəl tiif bəqəlšul.
x^wəb-tu-b-əx^w tiif s-c’ali? dx^w-?al tiif bəqəlšul
throw-CS-M-PI DET NMZR-heart PERV-LOC__DET Muckleshoot
He threw his heart down over to Muckleshoot.
- (66) ?u cutəx^w tsiif sladəy?, “g^wəlaltəbəx^w š(ə) adsqa.

ʔu cut-əx^w tsiif s-ladəyʔ g^wəlal-t-əb-əx^w šə
 INTEROG say-PI DET NMZR-woman kill-CTL-M-PI DET

ad-s-qa
 2SG.POS-NMZR-older.sibling
 Oh, the woman said, “Your older brother has been killed.”

(67) ʔatəbədəx^w.
 ʔatəbəd-əx^w
 die-PI
 “He died.”

(68) g^wəl di...t sləʔuχ^wis čəd ʔələʔatəbəd.”
 g^wəl di...t s-lə-ʔuχ^w-il-s čəd
 CONJ DEICT-EMPHAT NMZR-PROG-cold-INCH-APPL 1SG

ʔələ-ʔatəbəd
 ***-PROG-die
 “And this is why I am cold with death.”

(69) huy, (ʔə)sk^wəd čəd ʔə tə d-cələdət.
 huy ʔəs-k^wəd čəd ʔə tə d-cələdət
 CONJ STAT-take 1SG OBL DET 1SG.POS-blead-breath
 “Now I am taken by my breath.”

(70) ʔatəbdəx^w tsiif sladəyʔ.
 ʔatəbəd-əx^w tsiifs-ladəyʔ
 die-PI DET NMZR-woman
 The woman died.

(71) ʔ^wul’əx^w ʔuyubi(l).
 ʔ^wul’-əx^w ʔu-yubil
 just-PI SB-die
 She just died (wasted away??).

(72) habu.
 habu
 INTERJ
 habu.

(73) That’s end.

Message 1: to Martha LaMont

Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded in the 1950s

At (location unknown), Washington

(1) ʔəsluud čəd tsə Martha LaMon(t) ʔə ti suχ^{wi}ʔabs yəx^w ti sutⁱilibs ʔal ti łaχⁱ(l).
 ʔəs-lu-u-d čəd tsə Martha LaMont ʔə ti
 STAT-hear-LV-CTL 1SG DET name name OBL DET

s-ʔu-χ^{wi}ʔab-s yəx^w ti s-ʔu-tⁱilib-s ʔal
 NMZR-SB-tell.story-3.POS CONJ DET NMZR-SB-sing-3.POS LOC

ti łaχⁱ-il
 DET night-INCH

I heard Marth LaMont telling traditional stories and singing tonight.

(2) What else I going ...

(3) ʔu... cay čəd ʔuhiiłəq suluud suχ^{wi}ʔabs yəx^w sutⁱilibs ʔə k^w(i) sʔasuʔx^w həw^a ti
 swatix^wtəds dišəʔ ʔasuʔx^w.

ʔu... cay čəd ʔu-hiił-əq s-ʔu-lu-u-d
 INTERJ-EMPHAT very 1SG SB-happy-DERV NMZR-SB-hear-LV-CTL

s-ʔu-χ^{wi}ʔab-s yəx^w s-ʔu-tⁱilib-s ʔə k^wi
 NMZR-SB-tell.story-3.POS CONJ NMZR-SB-sing-3.POS OBL DET

s-ʔa-s-uʔx^w həw^a ti s-watix^wtəd-s dišəʔ
 NMZR-locate-3.POS-still EMPHAT DET NMZR-land-3.POS here

ʔa-s-uʔx^w
 locate-3.POS-still

Oh! I am so happy to hear her stories and her singing of the one who is still here, indeed, in her land, right here, she is still here.

(4) ʔəcə Annie Daniels.

ʔəcə Annie Daniels
 1SG.EMPH name name

I am Annie Daniels.

Message 2

Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded in the 1950s

At (location unknown), Washington

- (1) ʔu...
ʔu-...-
INTERJ-EMPHAT-
Oh!
- (2) hik^w čəd ʔuhiił ʔə k^w(i) slaʔbəd^{xw} tił tusyayus ʔə k^w(i) tulułluł ti suk^wəłəds ʔə
k^w(i) tuhaʔk^w.
hik^w čəd ʔu-hiił ʔə k^wi s-laʔb-ə-dx^w tił
big 1SG SB-happy OBL DET NMZR-see-EPTH-LC DET

tu-s-yayus ʔə k^wi tu-luł-luł _ti
PST-NMZR-work OBL DET PST-DISTR-old DET

s-ʔu-k^wəł-ə-d-s ʔə k^wi tu-haʔk^w
NMZR-SB-pour-LV-CTL-3.POS OBL DET PST-ago
I am very happy to see someone is pouring the work of the deceased elders from a
long time ago.
- (3) ʔəcə g^wələ bədəʔ ʔə t(u)Jack stəq.
ʔəcə g^wələ bədəʔ ʔə tu-Jack _s-təq
1SG.EMPH CONJ one's.child OBL PST-name _NMZR-block
I am the daughter of Jack Stuck.
- (4) tudx^wduʔabš čəd ʔəsłəliləx^w ʔal ti bəqəlšul.
tu-dx^w-duʔ-abš čəd ʔəs-łəlil-əx^w ʔal ti
PST-PERV-Duwamish-people.of 1SG STAT-live-PI LOC DET

bəqəlšul
Muckleshoot
I was a Duwamish that lives in Muckleshoot.
- (5) g^wəl Annie Danielsəx^w tsə sdaʔ ʔal ti čad səx^w(ʔ)a.
g^wəl Annie Daniels tsə s-daʔ ʔal _ti čad
CONJ name name DET NMZR-name LOC DET where

səx^w-ʔa
by.means.of-locate

And it is the name, Annie Daniels, that this is here (this recording), somewhere.

- (6) g^wəl ci čəd ʔəsjuʔil ʔə k^wə dsluud ti sg^wa(ʔ)ləp syəyihubləp ʔuʔaʔucidbucid čəd ʔə k^w(i) adsxudxud.

g^wəl ci čəd ʔəs-juʔ-il ʔə k^wə
CONJ very 1SG STAT-joyful-INCH OBL DET

d-s-lu-u-d ti s-g^waʔ-ləp
1SG.POS-NMZR-hear-LV-CTL DET NMZR-one's.own-2PL.POS

s-yə-yihub-ləp ʔu-ʔa-ucid-bi-t-sid čəd
NMZR-DISTR-tell.story-2PL.POS SB-locate-opening-REL-CTL-2SG 1SG

ʔə k^wi ad-s-xud-xud
OBL DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-DISTR-speak

And I am very joyful to hear your folks' own stories that I put my voice here for you about your words.

- (7) huy č(ə)x^wa luud ti dsʔiidəg^wət < k^wi > k^wi dsg^waʔ k^wi dsuxudxud g^wəti huy bə(də)č'aʔk^wbix^w ʔə ti dišəʔ.

huy čəx^w-ə lu-u-d ti d-s-ʔidg^wət
CONJ 2SG-CONJ hear-LV-CTL DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-what.say

<k^wi> k^wi d-s-g^waʔ k^wi
<FALSE> DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-one's.own DET

d-s-ʔu-xud-xud g^wəti huy _ bə-dəč'uʔ-aʔk^wbix^w
1SG.POS-NMZR-SB-DISTR-speak because do _ADD-one-people

ʔə ti dišəʔ
OBL DET here

And then, you hear what I say, my own words because of what this other person here does.

- (8) g^wəl tiil tustabəx^w tulu^llu^l g^wəl diil tsiil səx^wjuʔiləx^w ʔə k^w(i) slaʔbdx^w.

g^wəl tiil tu-s-tab-əx^w tu-lu^l-lu^l _g^wəl diil tsiil
CONJ DET PST-NMZR-thing-PI PST-DISTR-old FM DEICT DET

səx^w-juʔ-il-əx^w ʔə k^wi s-laʔb-dx^w
by.means.of-joyful-INCH-PI OBL DET NMZR-see-LC

And these things of the elders, this is the reason I am joyful to be able to see this.

- (9) ʔəsg^wəlaʔbdub ʔə tiil ʔug^wəč'əd tiil haaʔl s^wxudxud tx^wəl g^wəlapu, dʔiisəd.

ʔəs-g^wə-laʔb-du-b ʔə tiil ʔu-g^wəč'-ə-d tiil haʔl
STAT-SUBJ-see-LC-M OBL DET HAB-search-LV-CTL DET good

s-ǰud-ǰud dx^w-ʔal g^wəlapu d-ʔiišəd
 NMZR-DISTR-speak PERV-LOC 2PL.EMPH 1SG.POS-one's.people
 Those that look for these good words about you folks can see this, my people.

- (10) tuqaq tuʔiišəd ʔə k^w(i) tudbad g^wəl tux^w(iʔ)ax^w tushayhay tx^wəl tiłəx^w.
 tu-qaq tu-ʔiišəd ʔə k^wi tu-d-bad g^wəl
 PST-older.sibling PST-one's.people OBL DET PST-1SG.POS-father CONJ

tu-x^wiʔ-ax^w tu-s-hay-hay dx^w-ʔal tił-əx^w
 PST-NEG-PI PST-NMZR-DISTR-know PERV-LOC 3PRS-PI
 One of these people was my father's older siblings but could not figure out how this is.

- (11) g^wələ haaʔ k^w(i) slaʔbəd tił stab səx^wuwələd tił ləq^wayʔ səx^wələdəx^w tuluʔluʔ
 ʔal ti swaatix^wtəd.

g^wələ haʔ k^wi s-laʔb-ə-d tił stab
 CONJ good DET NMZR-see-LV-CTL DET thing

səx^w-ʔu-ʔəl-əd tił ləq^wayʔ s-ʔəs-ʔəl-əd-əx^w
 by.means.of-SB-eat-DERV DET platter NMZR-STAT-eat-DERV-PI

tu-luʔ-luʔ ʔal ti s-watix^wtəd
 PST-DISTR-old LOC DET NMZR-land

And it is good to see the things to eat, the plate of food of the ancestors on this land.

Thankfulness and Lucy William's song
 (song is omitted from the text to honor sacred content)

Annie Daniels to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded in the 1950s

At (location unknown), Washington

- (1) ʔu... day'əxw čəd ʔ(u)asʔist(əʔ) gʷəl masi ʔal čad səxwʔa.
 ʔu... day'əxw čəd ʔu-ʔəs-ʔistəʔ _ gʷəl masi
 INTERJ-EMPHAT only-PI 1SG HAB-STAT-like CONJ thank.you

ʔal čad səxw-ʔa
 LOC where by.means.of-locate
 Oh! Just the way that I am, I am thankful where ever I am at.

- (2.1) hikw čad ʔ(u)asʔuʔiləqs tiif, diif tiif səxwuwələxw ʔal ti swatixwtəd gʷəl ʔəcə
 q'acədxw ti cəxw'xəl.
 hikw čad ʔu-ʔəs-juʔ-il-əq-s tiif diif tiif
 big 1SG HAB-STAT-joyful-INCH-DERV-3.POS 3PRS DEICT DET

səxw-ʔu-wələxw ʔal ti s-watixwtəd _gʷəl ʔəcə
 by.means.of-SB-strong LOC DET NMZR-land _CONJ 1SG.EMPH

q'ac-ə-dxw ti d-dəxw-xəl
 strike-EPTH-LC DET 1SG.POS-reason.for-sick
 I am always very joyful for this, this right here is what is strength in this world and
 I have an injury that is the reason for my illness.

- (2.2) xw(iʔ)axw gʷədsʔubil.
 xwiʔ-əxw gʷə-d-s-ʔub-il
 NEG-PI SUBJ-1SG.POS-NMZR-fine-INCH
 I am not well.

- (3) gʷəl ʔal tudsluud kw(ə) <s-> sgʷaʔ sʔudxud ci tuhiifbid ʔə ʔədsludxw.
 gʷəl ʔal tu-d-s-lu-u-d _kwə <s->
 CONJ LOC PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-hear-LV-CTL _DET <FALSE>

s-gʷaʔ s-xud-xud ci tu-hiif-bi-d ʔə
 NMZR-one's.own NMZR-DISTR-speak very PST-happy-REL-CTL OBL

ʔu-d-s-lu-dxw

HAB-1SG.POS-NMZR-hear-LC

And when I heard one's own words, I was so happy about what I habitually am able to hear.

- (4) $\dot{\lambda}$ udsluud $\text{ʔads}\dot{\chi}$ ud $\dot{\chi}$ udəd.
 $\dot{\lambda}$ u-d-s-lu-u-d
HAB-1SG.POS-NMZR-hear-LV-CTL

ad-s- $\dot{\chi}$ ud- $\dot{\chi}$ ud-ə-d
2SG.POS-NMZR-DISTR-speak-LV-CTL
I habitually hear what you talk about.
- (5) masi.
masi
thank.you
Thank you.
- (6) ci čəd $\dot{\lambda}$ (u)ashuy hiiłbid k^w(i) sju ʔi (l) ʔə tə ju ʔi (l) ʔə tə t'ilibs.
ci čəd $\dot{\lambda}$ u- ʔəs -huy hiił-bi-d k^wi s-ju ʔi -il
very 1SG HAB-STAT-make happy-REL-CTL DET NMZR-joyful-INCH

 ʔə tə ju ʔi -il ʔə tə t'ilib-s
OBL DET joyful-INCH OBL DET sing-3.POS
I am always made very happy about the joy of the joyfulness of her singing.
- (7) ʔal k^{wə} dəc'u ʔ slə $\dot{\chi}$ i(l) g^{wəl} tuwiliq'^wtubəx^w ʔə Lucy Williams ʔəs čadəbəs $\dot{\chi}$ ud
t'ilibs.
 ʔal k^{wə} dəc'u ʔ s-lə $\dot{\chi}$ -il g^{wəl}
LOC DET one NMZR-day.light-INCH CONJ

tu-wiliq'^w-tu-b-əx^w ʔə Lucy Williams ʔəs -čad-əb-əs
PST-ask.question-CS-M-PI OBL name name ʔə STAT-where-M-3.S

 $\dot{\chi}$ ud t'ilib-s s
peak sing-3.POS
One day, Lucy Williams asked about which where the words to her song.
- (8) cuud, “ ʔu ʔəs baličut čəd st'ilibs.”
cu-u-d ʔu ʔəs -bali-cut ʔə čəd
say-LV-CTL INTERJ STAT-forget-CTL.REFLX 1SG

s-t'ilib-s
NMZR-sing-3.POS
(I) said, “Oh! I forget myself about her song.”
- (9) g^{wəl} ʔal ti slə $\dot{\chi}$ i(l), $\dot{\chi}$ ə $\dot{\chi}$ a ʔ slə $\dot{\chi}$ i(l), g^{wəl}ə maasi.

- g^wəl ʔal ti s-ləx-il ʔaxaʔ_s-ləx-il
 CONJ LOC DET NMZR-day.light-INCH sacred NMZR-day.light-INCH
- g^wələ masi
 CONJ thank.you
 And on this day, this sacred day, and thank you.
- (10) ʔaxaʔ šəq siʔab lə(ʔə)sk^wax^watubuʔ.
 ʔaxaʔ šəq s-ʔiʔab lə-ʔəs-k^wax^w-a-buʔ
 in-law above NMZR-wealth PROG-STAT-help-LV-1PL
 Sacred, above chief who helps us.
- (11) g^wələ lə(ʔə)sk^wax^watuli g^wəl ʔəsʔistə(ʔ) k^wi g^wəsʔistəbs g^wəl səx^wəshuys
 səx^wwələx^w ʔal bək^w sləxi(l).
 g^wələ lə-ʔəs-k^wax^w-a-t-uli g^wəl ʔəs-ʔistəʔ k^wi
 CONJ PROG-STAT-help-LV-CTL-DERV CONJ STAT-like DET
- g^wə-s-ʔistəʔ-b-s g^wəl səx^w-ʔəs-huy-s
 SUBJ-NMZR-like-M-3.POS CONJ by.means.of-STAT-COP-3.POS
- səx^w-wələx^w ʔal bək^w s-ləx-il
 by.means.of-strong LOC all NMZR-day.light-INCH
 And he helps us and this is why this is the way it is and why we are made strong
 every day.
- (12) diiʔ g^wələ haaʔi.
 diʔ g^wələ haʔi
 DEICT CONJ good
 This is why is good.
- (13) Aget pus ʔə tiʔ ʔa.
 Aget pus ʔə tiʔ ʔa
 name(??) aunt OBL DET exist
 Agate(??) is the aunt of those here.(??)
- (14) tə čəg^wəš ʔə k^w(i) tudqəsiʔ.
 tə čəg^wəš ʔə k^wi tu-d-qəsiʔ
 DET wife OBL DET PST-1SG.POS-uncle
 She is the wife of my deceased uncle.
- (15) g^wəl diʔəx^w t(i) səx^wʔistə(əʔ).
 g^wəl diʔ-əx^w ti səx^w-ʔistəʔ
 CONJ DEICT-PI DET by.means.of-like
 And this is why it is like that.
- (16) ʔal bək^w sləxi(l) tx^wəl cədiʔ.

ʔal bək'w s-ləx̣-il dx^w-ʔal cədiŋ
 LOC all NMZR-day.light-INCH PERV-LOC 3SG.EMPH
 Everyday is for this one.

- (17) ʔay' cədə ʔulaʔbtx^w x̣udx̣udəs ʔəl ti sux̣ud dx^wč'aʔad pipa.
 ʔay' cəd-ə ʔu-laʔb-tx^w x̣ud-x̣ud-əs ʔal ti
 find 1SG-CONJ HAB-see-CS DISTR-speak-3.S̄ LOC DET

s-ʔu-x̣ud dx^w-č'aʔ-a-d pipa
 NMZR-SB-speak PERV-***-LV-CTL paper
 I was found which allowed me to see what he spoke in the Spoken Word in the Bible. (??)

- (18) Now,

- (19) ʔušubud š(ə) adsqa.
 ʔu-šub-u-d šə ad-s-qa
 SB-disappear-LV-CTL DET 2SG.POS-NMZR-older.sibling
 Your older brother disappeared. (reference to someone who just left the room.)

(Annie Daniels sings the song)

- (20) hay, masi.
 hay masi
 CONJ thank.you
 Thank you.

- (21) hay, hay.
 hay hay
 INTERJ INTERJ

- (22) ʔu yəx^w ti sləʔu^{x̣}.
 ʔu yəx^w ti s-lə-ʔu^{x̣}
 INTERJ CONJ DET NMZR-PROG-go
 Oh! and so it goes.

The girl who was lost in the mountains

Betsy Lozier to Leon Metcalf,

Recorded in the 1950s

At (location unknown), Washington

(1) My mother, she was lost for two months over to the mountain.

(2) And her grandma, “Oh, I guess she... the grandma died now.”

(3) “She gone too long time now.”

(4) She can’t eat nothing, for this time now.

(5) About two months...

(6) x^wəlšucid ʔal tiil ʔu^lliq’ ʔal ła^hi(l).
x^wəlšucid ʔal tiil ʔu-^lliq’ ʔal ła^h-il
Lushootseed LOC DET SB-adhere LOC night-INCH
(Annie Daniels) Say it in Lushootseed on the thing that sticks (tape), tonight.

(7) ła^hiləx^w tiil tudsk’^wuy ʔal tiil g^wəl ʔu^hčəx^w c’q’abac.
ła^hil-əx^w tiil tu-d-s-k’^wuy ʔal tiil g^wəl
arrive-PI DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother LOC 3PRS CONJ

ʔu^hč-^wc-əx^w c’q’ab-ac
go-APP-PI gooseberry-bush
My deceased mother arrived there, where they went for gooseberries.

(8) c’q’abac.
c’q’ab-ac
gooseberry-bush
It was gooseberries.

(9) g^wəl ʔəsg^wədiləx^w ʔal tiil c’q’abac.
g^wəl ʔəs-g^wədil-əx^w ʔal tiil c’q’ab-ac
CONJ STAT-sit-PI LOC DET gooseberry-bush
And she sat in the gooseberries.

(10) g^wəl ʔulaʔbdubəx^w ʔə tiil kayəʔs hilg^wəʔ.
g^wəl ʔu-laʔb-du-b-əx^w ʔə tiil kayəʔ-s hilg^wəʔ
CONJ SB-see-LC-M-PI OBL DET grandmother-3.POS 3PL
And their grandmother was watching them.

- (11.1) g^wəl cutəb ʔə < ti ti tiil ʔə > tiil kayəʔs hilg^wəʔ, “ʔu !
g^wəl cut-əb ʔə <ti ti tiil ʔə> tiil kayəʔ-s hilg^wəʔ
CONJ say-M OBL <FALSE> DET grandmother-3.POS 3PL
ʔu
INTERJ
- (11.2) hag^wəx^w.
hag^w-əx^w
ago-PI
- (11.3) x^wuʔələ tuʔatəbəd.”
x^wuʔələ tu-ʔatəbəd
must.be.so PST-die
And their grandmother told them, “Oh! It’s been a long time. She must have died.”
- (12) “hag^wəx^w tuʔatəb < tiil...> tiil t(u)adpus.”
hag^w-əx^w tu-ʔa-t-əb <tiil> tiil tu-ad-pus
ago-PI PST-locate-CTL-M <FALSE> DET PST-2SG.POS-throw
Your aunt has been put there for a long time.
- (13) “hiiqab ʔuhag^wəx^w tuwiḥ^w.”
hiqab ʔu-haʔk^w-əx^w tu-wiḥ^w
too SB-ago-PI PST-lost
She’s been lost for too long.
- (14) Up the mountain.
- (15) hag^wəx^w tuʔuḥ^w.
hag^w-əx^w tu-ʔuḥ^w
ago-PI PST-go
She has been gone a long time.
- (16) Two months now, she was gone.
- (17) saliʔəx^w s^wluk^walb tiil suʔuḥ^w ʔə tsiil tudsk^wuy ʔə tiil sk^watk^watač.
saliʔ-əx^w s-luk^walb tiil s-ʔu-ʔuḥ^w ʔə _ tsiil
two-PI NMZR-month DET NMZR-SB-go OBL _ DET
tu-d-s-k^wuy ʔə tiil s-k^wat-k^watač
PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother OBL DET NMZR-DISTR-mountain
For two months, my deceased mother had been gone in the mountains.

- (18) hay ʔux^wəx^w t(i)ax^w.
 hay ʔux^w-əx^w ti-ax^w
 CONJ go-PI 3PRS-PI
 So, this one man went.
- (19) stab t(u)ask^wəč ʔə tsiil tudsk^wuy t(u)as(ə)x^w(h)ayiləx^w.
 stab tu-ʔəs-k^wəč ʔə tsiil tu-d-s-k^wuy
 thing PST-STAT-wild OBL DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother

 tu-səx^w-hay-il-əx^w
 PST-by.means.of-know-INCH-PI
 What had made my deceased mother wild is what he became aware of.
- (20) stab t(u)ask^wəči(l).
 stab tu-ʔəs-k^wəč-il
 thing PST-STAT-wild-INCH
 That thing that was wild.
- (21) g^wəl ʔux^wəx^w tiil tiil <tu-...> tusuq^waʔs.
 g^wəl ʔux^w-əx^w tiil tiil <tu-> tu-suq^waʔ-s
 CONJ go-PI DET DET <FALSE> PST-younger.sibling-3.POS
 And her younger bother/cousin went.
- (22) tusuq^waʔs John Hayden.
 tu-suq^waʔ-s John Hayden
 PST-younger.sibling-3.POS name name
 Her little brother/cousin, John Hayden.
- (23) g^wələ k^wədətəbəx^w g^wələ t^wuk^wtubəx^w.
 g^wələ k^wəd-a-t-əb-əx^w g^wələ t^wuk^w-tu-b-əx^w
 CONJ take-LV-CTL-M-PI CONJ go.home-CS-M-PI
 And he got her, and he brought her home.
- (24) ʔəs-wələx^w stab g^wələ k^wədad tiil wələx^w...
 ʔəs-wələx^w stab g^wələ k^wəd-a-d tiil wələx^w
 STAT-strong thing FM take-LV-CTL DET strong
 Some strong is what took her strength, indeed!
- (25) ʔii.
 ʔi
 yes
- (26) g^wələ k^wədətəbəx^w ʔə tiil suʔsuq^waʔs, John Hayden.
 g^wələ k^wəd-a-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiil suʔ-suq^waʔ-s John
 CONJ take-LV-CTL-M-PI OBL DET DIM-younger.sibling-3.POS name

Hayden
name

And her dear younger brother/cousin, John Hayden, got her.

- (27) l(ə)čiltubəx^w tx^wəl k^wə ʔalʔal.
ləčil-tu-b-əx^w dx^w-ʔal k^wə ʔalʔal
arrive-CS-M-PI PERV-LOC DET house
He brought her to the house.
- (28) g^wəl ciiltəbəx^w ʔə tiil sʔələd.
g^wəl cil-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiil s-ʔələd
CONJ dish.up-CTL-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-eat-DERV
And she was fed some food.
- (29) x^w(iʔ)ax^w g^wəsbaq'əds.
x^wiʔ-əx^w g^wə-s-bəq'-ə-d-s
NEG-PI SUBJ-NMZR-swallow-LV-CTL-3.POS
She didn't swallow it.
- (30) She too different now.
- (31) Never eat for long time.
- (32) hag^wəx^w x^wiʔ ləʔələd tsiil tudsk^wuy.
hag^w-əx^w x^wiʔ lə-ʔələd tsiil tu-d-s-k^wuy
ago-PI NEG PROG-eat-DERV DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother
My deceased mother had not eaten for a long time.
- (33) hay, hayiləx^w tsiil tudsk^wuy ʔə tiil tusk^wəd(d)ubsəx^w.
hay hay-il-əx^w tsiil tu-d-s-k^wuy ʔə tiil
CONJ know-INCH-PI DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother OBL DET
tu-s-k^wəd-du-b-s-əx^w
PST-NMZR-take-LC-M-3.POS-PI
Then, my deceased mother became aware of what had taken her.
- (34) tuhuy ʔəsduk^w.
tu-huy ʔəs-duk^w
PST-make STAT-not.right
It had made her not right.
- (35) tuhuy ʔəsduk^w ʔə ti sdaʔs g^wələ daʔatəb ʔialəb ʔal tiil hik^w ʔačuʔ.
tu-huy ʔəs-duk^w ʔə ti s-daʔ-s g^wələ
PST-make STAT-not.right OBL DET NMZR-name-3.POS CONJ

- daʔ-a-t-əb ʕialəb ʔal tiif hik^w ʕačuʔ
name-LV-CTL-M name.of.malevolent.being LOC DET big lake
It had made her not right, by the name of what they call ʕialəb at a big lake.
- (36) hik^w ʕačuʔ.
hik^w ʕačuʔ
big lake
A big lake.
- (37) tiif tə ʔuʕ^wc.
tiif tə ʔuʕ^w-c
3PRS DET go-APP
That is what went for her.
- (38) tə sk^wəči(l).
tə s-k^wəč-il
DET NMZR-wild-INCH
(Annie Daniels) A wild thing.
- (39.1) ʔi.
ʔi
yes
- (39.2) tiif sk^wəči(l).
tiif s-k^wəč-il
DET NMZR-wild-INCH
Yes. A wild thing.
- (40) hay, tiʕtəbəx^w tiif tudsk^wuy ʔə tiif ʔu... haʔhaʔ stəqtəqiwʔ.
hay tiʕ-t-əb-əx^w tiif tu-d-s-k^wuy ʔə tiif
CONJ spread-CTL-M-PI DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother OBL DET

ʔu... haʔ-haʔ s-təq-təqiwʔ
INTERJ-EMPHAT DISTR-good NMZR-DISTR-horse
Then, my mother was protected by, Oh, very good horses.
- (41) buus.
buus
four
There were four.
- (42) tudiʔ horses.
tudiʔ horses
over.there horses
The horses were over there.

(43) Got the rings on.

(44) lətidecut tiif tidtid ʔal tiif stəqtəqiw' ʔal tiif.
lə-tid-cut tiif tid-tid ʔal tiif
PROG-ring-CTL.REFLX DET DISTR-bell LOC DET

s-təq-təqiw' ʔal tiif
NMZR-DISTR-horse LOC 3PRS
The bells were ringing on the horses that were on them.

(45) mmm.
mmm
mmm
(Annie Daniels) Mmm.

(46) tiləx^w ti s̘id̘təbs tiif tudsk^wuy ʔə tiif tə sdaʔ < k^wub > k^wuti.
tiləx^w ti s-̘id-t-əb-s tiif
finally DET NMZR-do-CTL-M-3.POS DET

tu-d-s-k^wuy ʔə tiif tə _s-daʔ <k^wub>
PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother OBL DET DET NMZR-name <FALSE>

k^wuti
man's.name
Eventually, something was done to my deceased mother by one named k^wuti.

(47) bad ʔə hinən.
bad ʔə hinən
father OBL name.Hayden
He was the father of Hayden.

(48) g^wəl šuubəx^w tusəs̘id̘tx^w tsiif tudsk^wuy.
g^wəl šub-əx^w tu-s-ʔəs-̘id-tx^w tsiif
CONJ disappear-PI PST-NMZR-STAT-do-CS DET

tu-d-s-k^wuy
PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother
And what had been done to my deceased mother disappeared.

(49.1) ʔu...
ʔu...
INTERJ-EMPHAT

(49.2) k^waʔšid.

- k^waʔ-ši-d
 send-DAT-CTL
 (Annie Daniels) Oh! (Annie Daniels inaudible) (Betsy Lozier) He sent it away for her.
- (50) ʔi.
 ʔi
 yes
 Yes.
- (51) k^waʔšid.
 k^waʔ-ši-d
 send-DAT-CTL
 He sent it away for her.
- (52) k^waʔšitəbəx^w.
 k^waʔ-ši-t-əb-əx^w
 send-DAT-CTL-M-PI
 He sent it away for her.
- (53) haaʔi tiil tusuhuytəbs tsiil tudsk^wuy ʔəsʔistəʔ.
 haʔi tiil tu-s-ʔu-huy-t-əb-s tsiil
 good DET PST-NMZR-SB-do-CTL-M-3.POS DET

 tu-d-s-k^wuy ʔəs-ʔistəʔ
 PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother STAT-like
 It was good what he did to mother like that.
- (54) diʔəx^w səx^wbəq^ʔilsəx^w.
 diʔ-əx^w səx^w-bəq^ʔ-il-s-əx^w
 DEICT-PI by.means.of-swallow-INCH-3.POS-PI ___
 That was why she could swallow.
- (55) ti.
 ti
 3PRS
 That was it.
- (56) That's all.

The contest between the Northerners and Southerners

told by Jerry Meeker, Puyallup

August 17th, 1951

Recorded by Melville Jacobs, Marian Smith and George Herzog

at Brown's Point, Tacoma Washington

Transcribed and translated by Zalmai ʔəswəli Zahir, February 12th, 2016

- (1) ti ʔalalus syəcəb tuʔiʔq' ʔə ti ʔaciʔtəlbix^w tul'al q'ix^w yəx^w tul'al ʔaʔxəd.
 ti ʔalalus s-yəc-əb tu-ʔiʔq' ʔə ti ʔaciʔtəlbix^w
 DET happen NMZR-tell-M PST-compete OBL DET people
 tul'-ʔal q'ix^w yəx^w tul'-ʔal ʔaʔxəd
 from-LOC north CONJ from-LOC south
 'This is an account of what happened in competition of the people from the north
 and from the south.'
- (2) tiʔ tul'q'ix^w ʔaciʔtəlbix^w g^wələ ti ʔax^ws, q^wsyuʔ, bək^w til' səbstabig^{ws} ʔaciʔtəlbix^w.
 tiʔ tul'-q'ix^w ʔaciʔtəlbix^w g^wələ ti ʔax^ws q^wsyuʔ bək^w
 DET from-north people FM DET seal porpoise all
 til' s-ʔabs-tab-ig^{ws} ʔaciʔtəlbix^w
 might NMZR-have-what-belongings people
 'The Northerners were the seal, porpoise and perhaps included all other kinds of
 people.'
- (3) g^wəl tiʔ tul'aʔxəd g^wələ ʔəsbal g^wəl ʔiʔʔəʔalqəb yəx^w k^wə bətatačəlbix^w.
 g^wəl tiʔ tul'-ʔaʔxəd g^wələ ʔəsbal g^wəl ʔiʔʔəʔalqəb yəx^w
 CONJ DET from-south FM STAT-mix CONJ bird(s) CONJ
 k^wə bə-tatačəlbix^w
 DET ADD-large.animal
 'And the Southerners were a mixture of birds and other kinds of large animals.'
- (4) ʔutay həlg^wəʔ.
 ʔu-tay həlg^wəʔ
 FUT-come.raid 3PL
 'They [the Southerners] were going to attack.'
- (5) ʔuxiliʔ ʔə k^wi hik^w ʔiʔq'.
 ʔu-ʔiliʔ ʔə k^wi hik^w ʔiʔq'
 FUT-battle OBL DET big compete
 'They were going to fight over a very difficult contest.'

- (6) g^wəl tiɪl tul'al q'ix^w ʔaciɪtəlbix^w tuq^wibicutəx^w həlg^wəʔ g^wələ tuq^wib ʔaciɪtəlbix^w.
 g^wəl tiɪl tul'-ʔal q'ix^w ʔaciɪtəlbix^w tu-q^wib-i-cut-əx^w
 CONJ DET from-LOC north people PST-ready-LV-CTL.REFLX-PI

həlg^wəʔ g^wələ tu-q^wib ʔaciɪtəlbix^w
 3PL CONJ PST-prepare people

‘And so the people from the north began preparing themselves until they were primed.’

- (7) ʔupig^wəd həlg^wəʔ bək^{'w} sləxi(l) tx^wələx^w tusq^wibtx^w həlg^wəʔ lutayəx^w.
 ʔu-pig^wəd həlg^wəʔ bək^{'w} s-ləxi-il dx^w-ʔal-əx^w
 HAB-spirit.dance 3PL all NMZR-day.light-INCH PERV-LOC-PI

tu-s-q^wib-tx^w həlg^wəʔ lu-tay-əx^w
 PST-NMZR-ready-CS 3PL FUT-come.raid-PI

‘They [strengthened themselves] by singing and dancing their power songs every day until it made them ready to go to war.’

- (8) tuʔux^wəx^w tiɪl ʔaciɪtəlbix^w tul'al ʔaɪxəd tx^wəl tiɪl q'ix^w ʔaciɪtəlbix^w.
 tu-ʔux^w-əx^w tiɪl ʔaciɪtəlbix^w tul'-ʔal ʔaɪxəd dx^w-ʔal tiɪl
 PST-go-PI DET people from-LOC south PERV-LOC DET

q'ix^w ʔaciɪtəlbix^w
 north people

‘Then the people from the south began going to the Northerners.’

- (9) g^wəl ʔal tusləʔux^ws həlg^wəʔ g^wələ cick^{'w} ti qa sq'ax^w.
 g^wəl ʔal tu-s-lə-ʔux^w-s həlg^wəʔ g^wələ cick^{'w} ti
 CONJ LOC PST-NMZR-PROG-go-3.POS 3PL CONJ very DET

qa sq'ax^w
 a.lot NMZR-ice

‘As they were going along they came upon a lot of ice.’

- (10) ʔəs-q'ax^w tiɪl q^wuʔ g^wələ xəp'ud həlg^wəʔ tiɪl sq'ax^w ʔal tiɪl sləʔux^ws.
 ʔəs-q'ax^w tiɪl q^wuʔ g^wələ xəp'-u-d həlg^wəʔ tiɪl
 STAT-freeze DET water CONJ shatter-LV-CTL 3PL DET

s-q'ax^w ʔal tiɪl s-lə-ʔux^w-s
 NMZR-ice LOC DET NMZR-PROG-go-3.POS

‘Because the water was frozen, they had to break the ice as they went along.’

- (11) x^wiʔəx^w g^wəsʔut'əs həlg^wəʔ
 x^wiʔ-əx^w g^wə-s-ʔu-t'əs-s həlg^wəʔ
 NEG-PI SUBJ-NMZR-SB-cold.weather-3.POS 3PL

‘They were not cold weather people.’

- (12) tayəx^w həlg^{wə?} tx^{wəl} tiif dx^{w?}ʔa ʔə tiif tul'q'ix^w ʔacitəlbix^w.
 tay-əx^w həlg^{wə?} dx^w-ʔal tiif dx^w-ʔa ʔə tiif
 come.raid-PI 3PL PERV-LOC DET PERV-locate OBL DET
 tul'-q'ix^w ʔacitəlbix^w
 from-north people
 'They were on their way to the territory of the Northerners to do battle.'
- (13) g^{wəl}ə tuq^wibicutəx^w həlg^{wə?} ʔal k^{wədi} tuč'ič'əd ʔə tiif ʔacitəlbix^w tul'q'ix^w g^{wəl}
 tuʔilitəbəx^w ʔə tiif sqəlalitut g^{wəl}ə pig^{wəd}əx^w həlg^{wə?}.
 g^{wəl}ə tu-q^wib-i-cut-əx^w həlg^{wə?} ʔal k^{wədi}
 CONJ PST-ready-LV-CTL.REFLX-PI 3PL LOC DEM
 tu-č'ič'əd ʔə tiif ʔacitəlbix^w tul'-q'ix^w g^{wəl}
 PST-get.closser OBL DET people from-north CONJ
 tu-ʔil-i-t-əb-əx^w ʔə tiif s-qəlalitut _ g^{wəl}ə
 PST-sing-LV-CTL-M-PI OBL DET NMZR-spirit.power CONJ
 pig^w-əd-əx^w həlg^{wə?}
 spirit.dance-DERV-PI 3PL
 'They started preparing themselves as they were getting closer and closer to the people from the north, singing their power songs and dancing.'
- (14) tu(ʔ)ilitəb ʔə tiif dədč'uʔ stubš diʔal(y)alus g^{wəl}ə huy ləbəd^wčəʔk^w g^{wəl}ə ʔubəʔils.
 tu-ʔil-i-t-əb ʔə tiif dədč'uʔ s-tubš
 PST-sing-LV-CTL-M OBL DET one.person NMZR-man
 diʔ-al-yalus g^{wəl}ə huy lə-bə-dx^w-čəʔk^w g^{wəl}
 other.side-LOC-end CONJ CONJ REP-ADD-PERV-on.water CONJ
 ʔu-bə-ʔil-s
 HAB-ADD-sing-3.POS
 'One man at one end of the canoe sang, and as they continued going out into the water, he continued singing.'
- (15) g^{wəl}ə ʔaha tiif bək'^w həlg^{wə?} tupig^{wəd} ʔal tiif g^{wəs}(ʔ)ə ʔal tiif pig^{wəds} həlg^{wə?}.
 g^{wəl}ə ʔa-ha tiif bək'^w həlg^{wə?} tu-pig^w-əd ʔal
 CONJ locate-DERV DET all 3PL PST-spirit.dance-DERV LOC
 tiif g^{wə}-s-ʔa ʔal tiif pig^w-əd-s _ həlg^{wə?}
 DET SUBJ-NMZR-locate LOC DET spirit.dance-DERV-3.POS 3PL
 'And all of them there had spirit danced, right there, where they spirit danced.'
- (16) tuʔaliləx^w tiif skaykay g^{wəl}ə tucudəx^w həlg^{wə?}, "hay skaykay.

- tu-ʔal-il-əx^w tiif s-kaykay _g^wəl tu-cu-d-əx^w
PST-LOC-INCH-PI DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay _CONJ PST-say-CTL-PI
- həlg^wəʔ hay s-kaykay
3PL CONJ NMZR-Steller.blue.jay
‘Now they got to Blue Jay, and they told him, "Now, Blue Jay.’
- (17) q^wibicutəx^w.
q^wib-i-cut-əx^w
ready-LV-CTL.REFLX-PI
‘Get ready.’
- (18) luʔilid čəx^w tiif g^wəl dəg^wi sqəlalitut.
lu-ʔil-i-d čəx^w tiif g^wəl dəg^wi _
FUT-sing-LV-CTL 2SG DET belong.to 2SG.EMPH
- s-qəlalitut
NMZR-spirit.power
‘You will sing the power that belongs to you.’
- (19) huy čəx^w g^wəl g^waʔ ʔə tiif diʔal(y)alus dəx^whuyucid.”
huy čəx^w g^wəl g^waʔ ʔə tiif diʔ-al-yalus
CONJ 2SG belong.to one's.own OBL DET other.side-LOC-end
- dx^w-huy-ucid
PERV-finish-mouth
‘You will do this when the spirit song that belongs to the one at the other end of the canoe is done.’
- (20) q^wibicut tiif skaykay g^wələ hig^wiləpsəb g^wəl tudʒalalqcut g^wəl ʔilidəx^w tiif
sqəlalituts:
q^wib-i-cut tiif s-kaykay _ g^wələ
ready-LV-CTL.REFLX DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay CONJ
- hik^w-il-apsəb g^wəl tu-dʒal-alq-cut g^wəl
big-INCH throat CONJ PST-turn.around-DERV-CTL.REFLX CONJ
- ʔil-i-d-əx^w tiif s-qəlalitut-s
sing-LV-CTL-PI DET NMZR-spirit.power-3.POS
‘Blue Jay got ready, made his voice strong, turned in circles and sang his power song.’
- (21.1) “ləcuya…”
ləcuya…
VOCALS
song vocals

- (21.2) ha !
 ha
 VOCALS
 song vocals
- (22) ?anaya... ?anaya...
 ?anaya... ?anaya...
 VOCALS VOCALS
 song vocals
- (23.1) hənə q^wi q^wa...n.
 hənə q^wi-q^wan-...
 VOCALS DIM-***-EMPHAT
 song
- (23.2) hənə q^wi q^wa?
 hənə q^wi-q^wa?
 VOCALS DIM-***
 song
- (24) huy!”
 huy
 finish
 ‘Finish!’
- (25) hay, tułaliləx^w həlg^wə? ?ə tiil dx^w(?)a ?ə tiil tul’q’ix^w ?acitəlbix^w g^wəl
 tuq^wibicutəx^w həlg^wə?
 hay tu-łalil-əx^w həlg^wə? ?ə tiil dx^w-?a ?ə tiil
 CONJ PST-go.ashore-PI 3PL OBL DET PERV-locate OBL DET
 tul’-q’ix^w ?acitəlbix^w g^wəl tu-q^wib-i-cut-əx^w həlg^wə?
 from-north people CONJ PST-ready-LV-CTL.REFLX-PI 3PL
 ‘When they came to ashore to where the Northerners were, they were prepared.’
- (26) tu?atətəb.
 tu-?a-?ə-t-əb
 PST-put-LV-CTL-M
 ‘They were put [to shore].’
- (27) tuq^wibicutəx^w tiil ?iisəds.
 tu-q^wib-i-cut-əx^w tiil ?iisəd-s
 PST-ready-LV-CTL.REFLX-PI DET one’s.people-3.POS
 ‘The [Southerners] were ready now.’
- (28) g^wəl ?u^x tiil skaykay tx^wəl tiil q’il’bids həlg^wə? g^wələ k^wədədəx^w tiil λabuł g^wəl

ʔixʷidəxʷ txʷəl tiif ʔəlacut ʔə tiif ʃʷəlč ʔəspukʷəb.

gʷəl ʔuxʷ tiif s-kaykay dxʷ-ʔal tiif
CONJ go DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay PERV-LOC DET

qʷil-bi-d-s həlgʷəʔ gʷələ kʷəd-ə-d-əxʷ tiif ʃʷabuʔ
ride-REL-CTL-3.POS 3PL CONJ take-LV-CTL-PI DET canoe.mat

gʷəl ʔixʷ-i-d-əxʷ dxʷ-ʔal tiif _ ʔalacut ʔə tiif
CONJ throw.away-LV-CTL-PI PERV-LOC DET _ alone OBL DET

ʃʷəlč ʔəs-pukʷəb
saltwater STAT-pile

‘Blue Jay went to their canoe, took a cedar mat, and threw it into a pile all by itself in the saltwater.’

(29) tuʔiləxʷ tiif statabəb gʷat tiif ʁuxʷixqʷ.

tu-ʔil-əxʷ tiif s-ta-tab-əb gʷat _ tiif ʁu-ʃixqʷ
PST-start-PI DET NMZR-DISTR-what-M 3PRS DET FUT-compete

‘A discussion had already started as to who was going to compete.’

(30) gʷat tiif sukʷədxʷ sixʷ ʃixqʷ ti ʔa gʷat.

gʷat tiif s-ʔu-kʷəd-dxʷ sixʷ ʃixqʷ _ ti ʔa gʷat
who DET NMZR-SB-take-LC usual compete DET locate 3PRS

Who could they have who usually competes against who is there?

(31) tukʷədub ʔə tiif tulʷqʷixʷ ʔaciʔəlbixʷ ti ʔaxʷs.

tu-kʷəd-du-b ʔə tiif tulʷ-qʷixʷ ʔaciʔəlbixʷ ti ʔaxʷs
PST-take-LC-M OBL DET from-north people DET seal

‘The Northerners were able to get Seal.’

(32) gʷəl tuqʷibicutəxʷ tiif tulʷʔalʃəd ʔaciʔəlbixʷ gʷat kʷi ʁuxʷixqʷ ti ʔaxʷs.

gʷəl tu-qʷib-i-cut-əxʷ tiif tulʷ-ʔalʃəd ʔaciʔəlbixʷ
CONJ PST-ready-LV-CTL.REFLX-PI DET from-south people

gʷat kʷi ʁu-ʃixqʷ ti ʔaxʷs
3PRS DET FUT-compete DET seal

‘And then the Southerners had prepared themselves with who was going to compete against Seal.’

(33) xʷiʔəxʷ kʷi gʷat gʷəʃubad.

xʷiʔ-əxʷ kʷi gʷat gʷə-ʃub-ad
NEG-PI DET 3PRS SUBJ-agree-DERV

‘No one could agree on who could do it.’

(34) xʷiʔ kʷi gʷəscutcut gʷəʃixqʷ ti ta.

xʷiʔ kʷi gʷə-s-cut-cut gʷə-ʃixqʷ _ ti ta

- NEG DET SUBJ-NMZR-DISTR-say SUBJ-compete DET DEICT
 ‘They could not say who could take on [Seal].’
- (35) huy ʔux^wəx^w tiif skaykay g^wələ cut, “ʔəcə čəd k^{wi} ʔux^wixq^ʔəx^w tiif ʔax^{ws}.”
 huy ʔux^w-əx^w tiif s-kaykay g^wələ cut ʔəcə
 CONJ go-PI DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay CONJ say 1SG.EMPH
 čəd k^{wi} ʔu-x^wixq^ʔ-əx^w tiif ʔax^{ws}
 1SG DET FUT-compete-PI DET seal
 ‘Then Blue Jay went and said, "I'll compete against Seal."’
- (36) cuudəx^w tiif ʔiifšəds, “ʔu, x^{wi}ʔ k^{wi} l(u)adsc^ʔəld tiif ʔax^{ws} g^wələ ʔad^ʔad^ʔus.”
 cu-u-d-əx^w tiif ʔiifšəd-s ʔu x^{wi}ʔ k^{wi}
 tell-LV-CTL-PI DET one's.people-3.POS INTERJ NEG DET
 ʔu-ad-s-c^ʔəl-d tiif ʔax^{ws} g^wələ
 FUT-2SG.POS-NMZR-prevail-CTL DET seal CONJ
 ʔad^ʔ-ʔad^ʔ-us
 DISTR-appear.good-face
 ‘They told their friend, "Oh, you can't beat Seal who is skilled."’
- (37) “ləʔux^w čəd ʔə ti sq^{wi}ibaxəd.
 lə-ʔux^w čəd ʔə ti s-q^{wi}b-a^xəd
 PROG-go 1SG OBL DET NMZR-prepare-side.appendage
 ‘I'm going with my arms ready.’
- (38) x^{wi}ʔ g^wədshil(i)k^wəlap.
 x^{wi}ʔ g^wə-d-s-ʔi-ʔik^w-al-ap
 NEG SUBJ-1SG.POS-NMZR-DIM-hook-LOC-bottom
 ‘My tail end won't get snagged.’
- (39) ʔu, ʔutu^x čəd p^ʔaʔad.
 ʔu ʔu-tu^x čəd p^ʔaʔ-a-d
 INTERJ FUT-merely 1SG try-LV-CTL
 ‘Oh, I'll just try it.’
- (40) ʔux^wixq^ʔ čəd ʔup^ʔaʔad čəd.
 ʔu-x^wixq^ʔ čəd ʔu-p^ʔaʔ-a-d čəd
 FUT-compete 1SG FUT-try-LV-CTL 1SG
 ‘I'll give the contest a try.’
- (41) ʔubəx^w čəd g^wətibid.”
 ʔub-əx^w čəd g^wə-tib-bi-d
 fine-PI 1SG SUBJ-physical.effort-REL-CTL
 ‘It's a good idea for me to try this.’

- (42) " λub ta dæg^wi g^wəʔu^xw g^wələ ʃi^xq'."

λub ta dæg^wi g^wə-ʔu^xw g^wələ ʃi^xq'

fine DEICT 2SG.EMPH SUBJ-go CONJ compete

‘Okay, you can go ahead and compete.’
- (43) ʔu^xwəx^w həlg^wəʔ g^wələ g^wəciləx^w həlg^wəʔ.

ʔu^xw-əx^w həlg^wəʔ g^wələ g^wəc-il-əx^w həlg^wəʔ

go-PI 3PL CONJ wade-INCH-PI 3PL

‘So they went wading out into the water.’
- (44) hay, ʔusiləx^w həlg^wəʔ.

hay ʔus-il-əx^w həlg^wəʔ

CONJ dive-INCH-PI 3PL

‘Then they dove in.’
- (45) ʔəs^xəčtəb ʔə tiif skaykay čad k^wi sʔusil ʔə tiif ʔax^ws.

ʔəs-šəč-t-əb ʔə tiif s-kaykay _ čad k^wi

STAT-calculate-CTL-M OBL DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay where DET

s-ʔus-il ʔə tiif ʔax^ws

NMZR-dive-INCH OBL DET seal

‘Blue Jay calculated where Seal dove.’
- (46) x^wiʔ ləlil tu(ʔ)ac ʔə ti g^wəl ʔusis tib.

x^wiʔ lə-lil tu-ʔac ʔə ti g^wəl

NEG PROG-far PST-specifically.there OBL DET CONJ

ʔus-il-s tib

dive-INCH-APPL physical.effort

‘Not far from him, he dove deep into the water.’
- (47) ʔal ti sʔusi(l) həlg^wəʔ g^wəl tutələwil tiif skaykay tx^wəl tiif λabuʔ ʔuʔi^xwid tul'al tiif

q'il'bid.

ʔal ti s-ʔus-il həlg^wəʔ g^wəl _tu-tələwil tiif

LOC DET NMZR-dive-INCH 3PL CONJ PST-run DET

s-kaykay dx^w-ʔal tiif λabuʔ

NMZR-Steller.blue.jay PERV-LOC DET canoe.mat

ʔu-ʔi^xw-i-d tul'-ʔal tiif q'il'-bi-d

SB-throw.away-LV-CTL from-LOC DET ride-REL-CTL

‘When they dove into the water, Blue Jay ran over to the canoe mat that he had

tossed from the canoe.’
- (48) ləʔahəd liʔ šiʃul ti qədx^ws g^wələ cəldalbuʔx^w.

- lə-ʔa-h-ə-d liʃ ʃi-ʃul ti
 PROG-locate-EPH-LV-CTL by.what.means DIM-insert DET
- qədx^w-s g^wələ cəldal-b-uʔx^w
 mouth-3.POS CONJ breath-M-still
 ‘He had positioned it there so he could just put his mouth under it and still breathe.’
- (49) x^wi(ʔ)əx^w tiif cqaqid k^wi sʔas həlg^wəʔ.
 x^wiʔ-əx^w tiif cqaqid k^wi s-ʔa-s _ həlg^wəʔ
 NEG-PI DET always DET NMZR-locate-3.POS 3PL
 ‘They weren’t going to be there forever.’
- (50) huy ʔistəbəx^w (ʔ)acəc ʔə tə haʔk^w ʔəst’aqšəd.
 huy ʔistəʔ-b-əx^w ʔacəc ʔə tə _haʔk^w ʔəst-t’aq-šəd
 CONJ like-M-PI specifically.there OBL DET _ago STAT-***-foot
 ‘But they were there for a long time, waiting.’
- (51) g^wəl (ʔ)əx^wcutəbəx^w, “ʔu, cick^w ʔuhag^wəx^w ti sʔusil ʔə tiif ʔax^ws g^wələ x^wiʔ
 ləʔuʃayʔ.
 g^wəl ʔəx^w-cut-əb-əx^w ʔu cick^w ʔu-haʔk^w-əx^w ti
 CONJ PRCLVTYsay-M-PI INTERJ very SB-ago-PI DET
- s-ʔus-il ʔə tiif ʔax^ws g^wələ x^wiʔ lə-ʔu-ʃayʔ
 NMZR-dive-INCH OBL DET seal CONJ NEG PROG-SB-appear
 ‘Then [Blue Jay] thought, “Oh, that seal’s been under the water for a long time, and he hasn’t surfaced yet.’
- (52) ləx^wak^wʔiləx^w čəd.
 lə-x^wak^wʔil-əx^w čəd
 PROG-tired-INCH-PI 1SG
 ‘I’m getting tired.’
- (53) hiqəb ʔuhaʔk^w tiif səsusis.
 hiqəb ʔu-haʔk^w tiif s-ʔəs-ʔus-il-s
 too SB-ago DET NMZR-STAT-dive-INCH-APPL
 ‘He’s been under the water way too long.’
- (54) ʔistəbuʔx^w tiif skaykay.
 ʔistəʔ-b-uʔx^w tiif s-kaykay
 like-M-still DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay
 ‘Blue Jay was still there, [hiding under the mat].’
- (55) huy ʃuʔuʃ^w, “ʃuʔuʃ^w čəd g^wəlald.”
 huy ʃu-ʔuʃ^w ʃu-ʔuʃ^w čəd g^wəlald-d
 CONJ HAB-go FUT-go 1SG kill-CTL
 ‘Then, as he always does, [he said], “I’m going to go kill him.”’

- (56) hay, ʔux^wəx^w təlawi(l) tx^wəl tiil sʔusi(l) ʔə tiil ʔax^{ws}.
 hay ʔux^w-əx^w təlawil dx^w-ʔal tiil s-ʔus-il ʔə
 CONJ go-PI run PERV-LOC DET NMZR-dive-INCH OBL
 tiil ʔax^{ws}
 DET seal
 ‘So he ran over to where Seal dove under the water.’
- (57) tuk^wədəd tiil t’əlabut g^wələ č’ax^wačəd.
 tu-k^wəd-ə-d tiil t’əlabut g^wələ č’ax^w-ač-ə-d
 PST-take-LV-CTL DET *club CONJ club-head-LV-CTL
 ‘He took a war club(??) and hit him over the head with it.’
- (58) ʔusəb tiil ʔax^{ws} ləsʔatəbəd.
 ʔus-əb tiil ʔax^{ws} lə-s-ʔatəbəd
 dive-M DET seal PROG-NMZR-die
 ‘Seal was under the water, dead.’
- (59) hay, šig^wag^wil tiil skaykay g^wələ šig^witəb g^wəl ʔux^w g^wələ cut, “c’əlalik^w čəd ʔu.”
 hay šig^w-ag^wil tiil s-kaykay _ g^wələ
 CONJ emerge-put.self.in.action DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay CONJ
 šig^w-i-t-əb g^wəl ʔux^w g^wələ cut c’əl-alik^w čəd
 emerge-LV-CTL-M CONJ go CONJ say win-CONT 1SG
 ʔu
 INTEROG
 ‘So then Blue Jay emerged and was carried out of the water, and he said, “Did I win?”’
- (60) “ʔu, c’əld čəx^w ʔuʔatəbəd.”
 ʔu c’əl-d čəx^w ʔu-ʔatəbəd
 INTERJ win-CTL 2SG SB-die
 ‘“Oh, you beat him [all right]. He’s dead.”’
- (61) hay, tiil ʔubəq^wibid six^w həlg^wəʔ.
 hay tiil ʔu-bə-q^wib-i-d six^w həlg^wəʔ
 CONJ DET FUT-ADD-prepare-LV-CTL usual 3PL
 ‘So then, of course, they organized another event.’
- (62) bəhuyud (h)əlg^wəʔ tiil dəč’uʔ bəsxičq’.
 bə-huy-u-d həlg^wəʔ tiil dəč’uʔ bə-s-xičq’
 ADD-make-LV-CTL 3PL DET one ADD-NMZR-compete
 ‘They held another contest.’

- (63) ʔukʷədəxʷ ʔə tiil tul'q'ixʷ ʔaciɬəlbixʷ tiil ɬiɬqʷəb.
 ʔu-kʷəd-əxʷ ʔə tiil tul'-q'ixʷ ʔaciɬəlbixʷ tiil ɬiɬqʷəb
 SB-take-PI OBL DET from-north people _ DET woodpecker
 'The Northerners selected Wood Pecker [to compete].'
- (64) cay tiləb bək'ʷ gʷat ʔəshaydxʷ tiil ɬiɬqʷəb gʷəsʔuɣʷ.
 cay tiləb bək'ʷ gʷat ʔəs-hay-dxʷ tiil ɬiɬqʷəb
 very suddenly all 3PRS STAT-CONJ-LC DET woodpecker
 gʷə-s-ʔuɣʷ
 SUBJ-NMZR-go
 'Everyone knew right away that Woodpecker would go.'
- (65) tušəqdxʷəxʷ (h)əlgʷəʔ tiil st'ək'ʷəb šəq ʔi... huy gʷələ tudʒələləxʷ cqaqid gʷəl
 lədzidʒələləxʷ huy gʷəl dʒidʒidʒələləxʷ.
 tu-šəq-dxʷ-əxʷ həlgʷəʔ tiil s-t'ək'ʷəb šəq ʔi...
 PST-raise-LC-PI 3PL DET NMZR-log above EMPHAT-EMPHAT
 huy gʷələ tu-dʒəl-al-əxʷ cqaqid gʷəl
 CONJ CONJ PST-transverse-DERV-PI always CONJ
 lə-dʒi-dʒəl-al-əxʷ huy gʷəl
 PROG-DIM-transverse-DERV-PI CONJ CONJ
 dʒi-dʒi-dʒəl-al-əxʷ
 DIM-DIM-transverse-DERV-PI
 'So they raised an enormously tall tree, and he spiraled around and around, always
 poking along, slowly spiraling.'
- (66) ləkʷatəč.
 lə-kʷatəč
 PROG-climb
 'He was climbing on up [the tree].'
- (67) huy ʔuɣʷəxʷ tiil skaykay ləsaq'ʷ txʷəl dəč'uʔ sč'ašəd txʷəl bəč'ašəd.
 huy ʔuɣʷ-əxʷ tiil s-kaykay lə-saq'ʷ dxʷ-ʔal
 CONJ go-PI DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay PROG-fly PERV-LOC
 dəč'uʔ s-č'ašəd dxʷ-ʔal bə-č'ašəd
 one NMZR-branch PERV-LOC ADD-branch _
 'Then Blue Jay went, flying from one branch to the next.'
- (68) ʔal bələtudʒələlətəb tiil st'ək'ʷəb huy gʷəl kʷatəčdubut.
 ʔal bə-lə-tu-dʒəl-al-t-əb _ tiil s-t'ək'ʷəb
 also ADD-PROG-PST-transverse-DERV-CTL-M _DET NMZR-log

- huy g^wəl k^watač-du-but
 CONJ CONJ climb-LC-REFLX
 ‘He, too, spiraled around the tree, pulling himself upward.’
- (69) huyəx^w huy g^wəl d^zəlaχəd ʔal k^wədi… šəq.
 huy-əx^w huy g^wəl d^zəl-aχəd ʔal k^wədi… šəq
 finish-PI CONJ CONJ transverse-side LOC DEM-EMPHAT above
 He stopped somewhere way up high and went around to the other side.
- (70) lililəx^w šəq.
 lil-il-əx^w šəq
 far-INCH-PI above
 ‘He was way up there.’
- (71) bək^wədtəb ʔə tiil skaykay (ʔ)a… tiil bədəč^ʔuʔ g^wəl ti dišə(ʔ) <ds- ...> hɪlq^wəb.
 bə-k^wəd-t-əb ʔə tiil s-kaykay ʔa-…
 ADD-take-CTL-M OBL DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay locate-EMPHAT
 tiil bə-dəč^ʔuʔ g^wəl ti dišəʔ <ds-> hɪlq^wəb
 DET ADD-one belong.to DET this.one <FALSE> woodpecker
 ‘Indeed, again Blue Jay was taking yet another [contest], which belonged to Woodpecker.’
- (72) “l(əʔ)əλ^ʔ ʔu.
 lə-ʔəλ^ʔ ʔu
 PROG-come INTEROG
 ‘Is he coming?’
- (73) lək^watač ʔu.
 lə-k^watač ʔu
 PROG-climb INTEROG
 ‘Is he climbing?’
- (74) l(əʔ)əλ^ʔ ʔu.
 lə-ʔəλ^ʔ ʔu
 PROG-come INTEROG
 ‘Is he coming?’
- (75) day’ čəd hək^wədtx^wəx^w tx^wəl tudi? šəq ʔal tə yaχəd.”
 day’ čəd hək^wəd-tx^w-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tudi? šəq ʔal tə
 only 1SG FUT-take-CS-PI PERV-LOC over.there above LOC DET
 y-aχəd
 PERV-side
 ‘I’ll just take something up above on top [of the tree].’

- (76) hay, tuʔuχ^wəx^w tiɪl skaykay.
 hay tu-ʔuχ^w-əx^w tiɪl s-kaykay
 CONJ PST-go-PI DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay
 ‘So Blue Jay went on.’
- (77) tuʔuχ^wəx^w tx^wəl tiɪl dəč’uʔ sč’ašəd tiɪl ʔutalχ ti dx^wχ^waχ^wəd^zəl čəšəds hič’ahusəd.
 tu-ʔuχ^w-əx^w dx^w-ʔal tiɪl dəč’uʔ s-č’ašəd tiɪl
 PST-go-PI PERV-LOC DET one NMZR-branch DET
 ʔu-talχ ti dx^w-χ^wa-χ^wəd^z-əl čəš-əd-s
 SB-use DET PERV-DIM-annihilate-A.INTERST_ribal-DERV-3.POS
 hič’-ah-us-ə-d
 cut-LOC-face-EPTH-CTL
 ‘He was going to a branch that he was going to use to annihilate his rival with by splitting his head open.’
- (78) ʔuχ^wəx^w g^wələ ʔuχ^wəx^w g^wələ k^watačəx^w.
 ʔuχ^w-əx^w g^wələ ʔuχ^w-əx^w g^wələ k^watač-əx^w
 go-PI CONJ go-PI CONJ climb-PI
 ‘He went on and on, climbing upwards.’
- (79) hay ʔaliləx^w ʔə ti dəč’uʔ sč’ašəd g^wəl huy ʔaadəx^w (ʔ)a.
 hay ʔal-il-əx^w ʔə ti dəč’uʔ s-č’ašəd g^wəl huy
 CONJ LOC-INCH-PI OBL DET one NMZR-branch CONJ CONJ
 ʔa-a-d-əx^w ʔa
 lie.in.wait-LV-CTL-PI locate
 ‘Then he got to the place where this one branch was, and he lay in wait for him right there.’
- (80) ʔaadəx^w g^wəl l(əʔ)aλəx^w tiɪl hiq^wəb.
 ʔa-a-d-əx^w g^wəl lə-ʔaλ-əx^w tiɪl hiq^wəb
 lie.in.wait-LV-CTL-PI CONJ PROG-come-PI DET woodpecker
 ‘He was laying in wait for him when Woodpecker came.’
- (81) ʔilalik^w tiɪl ləχ^wad^z g^wələ č’ax^wad g^wəl ʔux^wit’il ʔəsʔatəbəd.
 ʔil-alik^w tiɪl lə-χ^wad^z g^wələ č’ax^w-a-d g^wəl
 vocalize-CONT DET PROG-annihilate CONJ club-LV-CTL CONJ
 ʔu-x^wit’-il ʔəs-ʔatəbəd
 SB-fall-INCH STAT-die
 ‘The annihilator was calculating (interpreting) and he clubbed him with the stick and [Woodpecker] fell to his death.’
- (82) təlawil tiɪl skaykay tx^wəl tiɪl pədab.

- təlawil tiif s-kaykay dx^w-ʔal tiif pəd-ab
run DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay PERV-LOC DET earth-DERV
'Blue Jay ran down to the ground.'
- (83) špag^wil tiif skaykay g^wələ d^zix^wəd həlg^wəʔ tiif.
šp-ag^wil tiif s-kaykay – g^wələ
climb.down-put.self.in.action DET NMZR-Steller.blue.jay CONJ

d^zix^w-ə-d həlg^wəʔ tiif
first-LV-CTL 3PL 3PRS
'Blue Jay climbed down, and they declared him as number one.'
- (84) lahəx^w həlg^wəʔ hay tuhuyəx^w tiif ləxⁱx^q's həlg^wəʔ.
laʔ-h-əx^w həlg^wəʔ hay tu-huy-əx^w tiif
point.out-EPTH-PI 3PL CONJ PST-finish-PI DET

lə-xⁱx^q'-s həlg^wəʔ
PROG-compete-3.POS 3PL
'[The Southerners] were singled out [as the winners], for they were done competing.'
- (85) q^wibicut (h)əlg^wəʔ tx^wəl k^wi d^zək^{'w}əx^w bət'uk^{'w}s həlg^wəʔ.
q^wib-i-cut həlg^wəʔ dx^w-ʔal k^wi d^zək^{'w}-əx^w
ready-LV-CTL.REFLX 3PL PERV-LOC DET travel-PI

bə-t'uk^{'w}-s həlg^wəʔ
ADD-go.home-3.POS 3PL
'They got ready to make another trip back home.'
- (86) ʔupig^wəg^wəd tiif tul'q'ix^w ʔaciltəlbix^w g^wəl huy ʔəst'əsəb tiif sq'ix^w ʔaciltəlbix^w
g^wəl huy tu(ə)st'əs.
ʔu-pig^w-əg^w-əd tiif tul'q'ix^w ʔaciltəlbix^wg^wəl huyʔəs-t'əs-əb tiif s-q'ix^w
ʔaciltəlbix^wg^wəl huytu-ʔəs-t'əs
SB-spirit.sing-DISTR-DERV DET from north person CONJ CONJ STAT-
cold.weather-M DET NMZR-north person CONJ CONJ PST-STAT-
cold.weather
'The Northerners sang and danced their spirit songs to make the weather cold for the Northerners, and it did get cold.'
- (87) tuč'əd^zəl g^wəl ʔud^za^xw^{əx} tiif st'əs tul'ʔa^xəd.
tu-č'əd^z-əl g^wəl ʔu-d^za^xw^{əx} tiif s-t'əs
PST-sneak.up-A.INTERST CONJ SB-thaw-PI DET NMZR-cold.weather

tul'-ʔa^xəd
from-south
'The [Southerners] snuck away and the freezing weather began to melt away from

the south.’

(88) Well then,

(89) tuʔililəx^w tiil tujəctx^w həlg^{wə?} tut’uk’^{wəx}.
tu-ʔil-il-əx^w tiil tu-ʔəc-tx^w həlg^{wə?} _tu-t’uk’^w-əx^w
PST-sing-INCH-PI DET PST-use-CS 3PL _PST-go.home-PI
‘By using their songs, they were able to get home.’

(90) tud^zax^{wəx} tiil swatix^wtəd.
tu-d^zax^w-əx^w tiil s-watix^wtəd
PST-thaw-PI DET NMZR-land
‘The land was melting.’

(91) d^zax^{wəx} tiil sq’ax^w.
d^zax^w-əx^w tiil s-q’ax^w
thaw-PI DET NMZR-ice
‘The ice was melting.’

(92) g^wax^w tubəxəp’ud həlg^{wə?} tuləʔəʔ g^wəl tubəl^xwəx^w həlg^{wə?}.
g^wax^w tu-bə-xəp’-u-d həlg^{wə?} tu-lə-ʔəʔ g^wəl
stroll PST-ADD-shatter-LV-CTL 3PL PST-PROG-come CONJ

tu-bəl^xw-əx^w həlg^{wə?}
PST-pass-PI 3PL
‘They went along breaking [the ice] as they proceeded, so they could return [home].’

(93) tułəçil həlg^{wə?} tx^wəl tiil swatix^wtəds g^wəl huy tuhaʔiləx^w tiil watix^wtəd.
tu-łəçil həlg^{wə?} dx^w-ʔal tiil s-watix^wtəd-s g^wəl
PST-arrive 3PL PERV-LOC DET NMZR-land-3.POS CONJ

huy tu-haʔil-il-əx^w tiil watix^wtəd
CONJ PST-good-INCH-PI DET land
‘They made it back to their territory and [because they won the contest against the cold weather people] the weather became warm.’

(94) tubəčəš tiil hik^w sg^waq’^w g^wəl d^zax^wədəx^w k^wi bək’^w g^wəl sq’ax^w swatix^wtəd.
tu-bəč-əš tiil hik^w s-g^waq’^w g^wəl d^zax^w-ə-d-əx^w k^wi
PST-put-CTL DET big NMZR-open CONJ thaw-LV-CTL-PI DET

bək’^w g^wəl s-q’ax^w s-watix^wtəd
all belong.to NMZR-ice NMZR-land
‘This created a big clearing, causing everything that the ice had claimed to melt.’

(95) huy g^wəl haʔil x^w(?)alig^{wəx} tiil xəd^zxəd^zayač*i*ʔ.

huy g^wəl haʔt-il x^w-ʔalig^w-əx^w tiif ʃəd^z-ʃəd^z-ay-ačiʔ
 CONJ CONJ good-INCH PERV-***-PI DET DISTR-extract-LNK-hand
 ‘They were able to pull food from the ground with their hands [harvesting food
 from the land] because of the warm weather.’

(96) g^wəl huy sq^wəliləx^w tiif swatix^wtəd g^wəl ʔaliləx^w tutayəx^w g^wəl tubək^wud ʔə tiif
 cayəx^w ʔəsjuʔil.

g^wəl huy s-q^wəl-il-əx^w tiif s-watix^wtəd g^wəl
 CONJ CONJ NMZR-cook-INCH-PI DET NMZR-land CONJ

ʔal-il-əx^w tu-tay-əx^w g^wəl tu-bək^w-u-d
 come.to-INCH-PI PST-come.raid-PI CONJ PST-take.what.one.finds-LV-CTL

ʔə tiif cay-əx^w ʔəs-juʔ-il
 OBL DET very-PI STAT-joyful-INCH

‘And when the land ripened, the war raiders were there to gather [food] with great
 joy.’

(97) hay, diʔ huys ti syəcəb.

hay diʔ huy-s ti s-yəc-əb
 CONJ DEICT finish-3.POS DET NMZR-tell-M

‘Now that concludes this information.’

Lillian Ortez autobiography

- (1) <tu-> tu^lax^w čəd ʔal ti bəqəlšul swaatx^{wix}tx^{wəd}.
 <tu-> tu-^lax^w čəd ʔal ti bəqəlšul s-waatx^{wix}tx^{wəd}
 <FALSE> PST-grow 1SG LOC DET Muckleshoot NMZR-land
 I had grown up on Muckleshoot territory.
- (2) tuwəliʔi(l) čəd ʔal ti <...> sd^zaladub 1907, <...> December 23rd, <...> on Green River.
 tu-wəliʔ-il čəd ʔal ti s-d^zaladub
 PST-born-INCH 1SG LOC DET NMZR-year
 I was born in the year 1907, December 23rd, on Green River.
- (3) ʃax^ldubš ʔə ti dsyəcəb ʔə tsi dbədəʔ ʔə k^{wi} g^{w(ə)}ʔ ʔaciɬtalbix^w s^xud^xud, g^{wəl} ʔup^ʔaʔcut čəd.
 ʃax^l-du-bš ʔə ti d-s-yəc-əb ʔə tsi
 desire-LC-1SG OBL DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-report-M OBL DET
 d-bədəʔ ʔə k^{wi} g^{wəl} ʔaciɬtalbix^w
 1SG.POS-one's.child OBL DET belong.to First.People
 s-^xud-^xud g^{wəl} ʔup^ʔaʔ-cut čəd
 NMZR-DISTR-speak CONJ FUT-try-CTL.REFLX 1SG
 My daughter wants my information in the language that belongs to the First People,
 and I am going to try my best.
- (4) tuʔal ti tud <s...> sd^zəla^xad ʔal ti swatix^wtəd, ʃ^wul^ʔ čəl tuhaʔ ʔaciɬtalbix^w.
 tu-ʔal ti tu-d- <s-> s-d^zəl-a^xad ʔal
 PST-LOC DET PST-1SG.POS- <FALSE> NMZR-transverse-side LOC
 ti s-watix^wtəd ʃ^wul^ʔ čəl tu-haʔ ʔaciɬtalbix^w
 DET NMZR-land just 1PL PST-good person
 When I used to visit on this land, we were just good people.
- (5) g^{wəl} <tu-> tuʔux^w čəd tx^{wəl} skuul tudi? Saint Georges ʔal t(i) tudsč^ʔač^ʔaš.
 g^{wəl} tu-tu-ʔux^w čəd dx^w-ʔal skuul tudi? Saint
 CONJ PST-PST-go 1SG PERV-LOC school over.there name
 Georges ʔal ti tu-d-s-č^ʔač^ʔaš
 name LOC DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-young
 And I used to go to school over there at Saint Georges when I was young.
- (6) tuʔatəbəd tuds^k^{wuy} ʔal tudsč^ʔač^ʔaš.
 tu-ʔatəbəd tu-d-s-k^{wuy} ʔal
 PST-die PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-mother LOC

tu-d-s-č'ac'aš
 PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-young
 My mother had passed away when I was young.

- (7) tu^lax^watəb čəd ti tudscapa? yəx^w ti dkayə?
 tu-^lax^w-a-t-əb čəd ti tu-d-s-capa?
 PST-raise-LV-CTL-M 1SG DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather
 yəx^w ti d-kayə?
 CONJ DET 1SG.POS-grandmother
 I was raised by my grandfather and grandmother.

- (8) tusda? ʔə tudscapa? liu^libəs.
 tu-s-da? ʔə tu-d-s-capa? liu^libəs
 PST-NMZR-name OBL PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather name
 The name of my grandfather was liu^libəs.

- (9) ʔal pastəd, Joseph Bill yəx^w tsi dkayə? yistəlt, Lucy Bill ʔəsʔabšitəb hilg^{wə}? tubəli
 (h)ilg^{wə}? tu <lə...> ləpli.
 ʔal pastəd Joseph Bill yəx^w tsi d-kayə?
 LOC Caucasian name name CONJ DET 1SG.POS-grandmother
 yistəlt Lucy Bill ʔəs-ʔab-ši-t-əb hilg^{wə}? tu-bəli
 name name name STAT-give-DAT-CTL-M 3PL PST-marry
 hilg^{wə}? tu- <lə> ləpli
 3PL PST- <FALSE> priest
 In English, he was Joseph Bill, and my grandmother yistəlt, was Lucy Bill, which
 were given to them (when ??) they got married by a priest.

- (10) tu^lax^w (h)ilg^{wə}? ʔal sk^wədicut tx^wəl ʔaciɬalbix^w, Catholic.
 tu-^lax^w hilg^{wə}? ʔal s-k^wədi-cut dx^w-ʔal
 PST-grow 3PL LOC NMZR-pray-CTL.REFLX PERV-LOC
 ʔaciɬalbix^w Catholic
 First.People name
 They had grown up in the religion that was for the First People, (which was)
 Catholic.

- (11) diɬ čəd day' tuashaydx^w ti sk^wədicut ʔal tudsc'ac'aš.
 diɬ čəd day' tu-ʔəs-hay-dx^w ti s-k^wədi-cut
 DEICT 1SG only PST-STAT-know-LC DET NMZR-pray-CTL.REFLX
 ʔal tu-d-s-č'ac'aš
 LOC PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-young
 This was the only religion I knew when I was young.

- (12) g^wəl tu^ləčiləx^w ti šikas.
g^wəl tu-^ləčil-əx^w ti šikas
CONJ PST-arrive-PI DET Shakers
And the Shakers had arrived.
- (13) ^ləčiləx^w ti^l g^wəl ^ʔəl bək^ʔwəx^w g^wat <tu-...> tu^ʔu^šw tx^wəl ti^l shake ti t(u)dscapa^ʔ
y(ə)x^w tsi^l tudkayə^ʔ g^wəl tubəbək^w hilg^wə^ʔ tx^wəl ti Catholic sk^ʔwədicut^s hilg^wə^ʔ
^ʔəl ti^l Saint George^ʔs.
^ləčil-əx^w ti^l g^wəl ^ʔəl bək^ʔw-əx^w g^wat <tu-> tu-^ʔu^šw
arrive-PI 3PRS CONJ LOC all-PI 3PRS <FALSE> PST-go
- dx^w-^ʔəl ti^l shake ti tu-d-s-capa^ʔ yəx^w
PERV-LOC DET shake DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather CONJ
- tsi^l tu-d-kayə^ʔ g^wəl tu-bə-bək^w hilg^wə^ʔ
DET PST-1SG.POS-grandmother CONJ PST-ADD-return 3PL
- dx^w-^ʔəl ti Catholic s-k^ʔwədi-cut-s hilg^wə^ʔ
PERV-LOC DET name NMZR-pray-CTL.REFLX-3.POS 3PL
- ^ʔəl ti^l Saint George^ʔs
LOC DET name name
They arrived, and it was on everyone to go to the Shake, my grandfather and
grandmother, and they returned to their Catholic religion at Saint George^ʔs.
- (14) g^wəl ^ʔəs^ʔistə^ʔ ti tud^sl^əax^w g^wələ lu^ləx^w čəd ^ʔəl t(i) slə^ši(l)^ʔs.
g^wəl ^ʔəs-^ʔistə^ʔ ti tu-d-s-^lax^w g^wələ lu^l-əx^w
CONJ STAT-like DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grow CONJ old-PI
- čəd ^ʔəl ti s-lə^š-il-s
1SG LOC DET NMZR-day.light-INCH-3.POS
And this is how I grew up, and now I am old.
- (15) d^zəlači^ʔači^ʔəx^w čəd yəx^w ti <cəlac> cəlac ^ʔəslu^ləbəx^w.
d^zəl-ači^ʔ-ači^ʔ-əx^w čəd yəx^w ti <cəlac> cəlac
transverse-hand-hand-PI 1SG CONJ DET <FALSE> five
- ^ʔəs-lu^l-əb-əx^w
STAT-old-M-PI
I am sixty-five (years) old.
- (16) ^ʔəshaydx^w čəd ti <tusu-...> tusuk^wədadčəl ti^l s^ʔələd tx^wəl ti dišə^ʔ stulək^w da^ʔatəb
Green River tx^wəl tudi^ʔdi ti Flaming Geyser.
^ʔəs-hay-dx^w čəd ti <tusu->
STAT-know-LC 1SG DET <FALSE>

tu-lə-ʔəʎ tu-s-ʔu-ʔuχ^w-tu-b ʔə tiif
PST-PROG-come PST-NMZR-SB-go-CS-M OBL DET

d-s-capaʔ tiif s-čədadx^w
1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather DET NMZR-salmon

dx^w-ʔal-... ti dišəʔ Neely's Bridge ʔal ti
PERV-LOC-EMPHAT DET here name name LOC DET

Green River
name name

As he came, my grandfather use to bring salmon all the way to right here at Neely's Bridge on the Green River.

- (21) ʔaəx^w k^wi sdaʔs.
ʔa-əx^w k^wi s-daʔ-s
locate-PI DET NMZR-name-3.POS
There is a name.

- (22) χ^wul'əx^w g^wəʔ pastəd.
χ^wul'-əx^w g^wəʔ pastəd
just-PI made.with Caucasian
That is just (the name) that was created by Caucasians.

- (23) x^w(i)ax^w səshaydx^w.
x^wiʔ-əx^w s-ʔəs-hay-dx^w
NEG-PI NMZR-STAT-know-LC
It (the Lushootseed name) is not known.

- (24) ti sac'əb tuk^wədad čəʔ <yəx^w tiif...> yəx^w tiif sčədadx^w tutələwil <ʔal ti...> ʔal <...>
t(ə) tulək^w.
ti sac'əb tu-k^wəd-a-d čəʔ yəx^w tiif yəx^w tiif
DET king.salmon PST-take-LV-CTL 1PL CONJ DET CONJ DET

s-čədadx^w tu-tələwil ʔal ti ʔal tə tulək^w
NMZR-salmon PST-run LOC DET LOC DET river
King salmon is what we used to get along with the salmon that use to run on the river.

- (25) x^wiʔ g^wədsəscut, jack salmon, dog salmon.
x^wiʔ g^wə-d-s-ʔəs-cut jack salmon dog salmon
NEG SUBJ-1SG.POS-NMZR-STAT-say jack salmon dog salmon
I can't say (in Lushootseed), jack salmon, dog salmon.

- (26) tušabatəb ʔə ti tuʔaciɬtalbix^w.
tu-šab-a-t-əb ʔə ti tu-ʔaciɬtalbix^w

PST-dry-LV-CTL-M OBL DET PST-First.People
The First People use to dry them.

- (27) qa··· tušabadəx^w g^wəl x^wi? ləx^wul' dəč'u?
 qa-··· tu-šab-a-d-əx^w g^wəl x^wi? lə-x^wul' dəč'u?
 many-EMPHAT PST-dry-LV-CTL-PI CONJ NEG PROG-just one
 There were many (kinds) that were dried, not just one.

- (28) tu?a λuk^wədəd (h)ilg^wə? tul'al λlay? g^wəl tuhuy ?aadub ?ə tiil səx^wuk^wədəds
 hilg^wə? ti x^w(i)ax^w k^w(ə) dshaydx^w ?əsxid sə da?təb fish net.
 tu-?a λu-k^wəd-ə-d hilg^wə? tul'-?al λlay?
 PST-locate HAB-take-LV-CTL 3PL from-LOC shovel.nosed.canoe

g^wəl tu-huy ?a-a-du-b ?ə tiil
 CONJ PST-make put-LV-LC-M OBL DET

səx^w-?u-k^wəd-ə-d-s hilg^wə? ti x^wi?-əx^w k^wə
 by.means.of-SB-take-LV-CTL-3.POS 3PL DET NEG-PI DET

d-s-hay-dx^w ?əs-xid sə da?-t-əb fish net
 1SG.POS-NMZR-CONJ-LC STAT-how DET name-CTL-M fish net
 There had been something they used to take them from the canoe (i.e., 'while being in the canoe') and they would manage to get them there by what they used to catch them with, that which I don't know how it is called, fish net.

- (29) tu?uχ^w čəl <?al tə...> ?al tə stəqiw' ?al tə buggyčəl tx^wəl tudi?di Flaming Geyser
 čəl tu?itut ?acəc g^wəl tuk^wədub ti dscapa? tiil sac'əb.

tu-?uχ^w čəl ?al tə ?al tə s-təqiw' ?al tə
 PST-go 1PL LOC DET LOC DET NMZR-horse LOC DET

buggy-čəl dx^w-?al tudi?-di? buggy-čəl tu-?itut
 buggy-1PL.POS PERV-LOC over.there-DISTR buggy-1PL PST-sleep

?acəc g^wəl tu-k^wəd-du-b ti d-s-capə?
 specifically.there CONJ PST-get-LC-M DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather

tiil sac'əb
 DET king.salmon

We use to go with the horse on our buggy way over there to Flaming Geyser where we would sleep at a specific place, and my grandfather use to get king salmon.

- (30) tut'uk^wtx^wəx^w čəl g^wəl huy tuhuyutəb ?ə tsi tudkayə?
 tu-t'uk^w-tx^w-əx^w čəl g^wəl huy tu-huy-u-t-əb ?ə
 PST-go.home-CS-PI 1PL CONJ CONJ PST-prepare-LV-CTL-M OBL

tsi tu-d-kayə?
 DET PST-1SG.POS-grandmother
 We use to take it home and then my grandmother use to prepare them.

(31) t(u)šabatəb.
 tu-šab-a-t-əb
 PST-dry-LV-CTL-M
 She used to dry them.

(32) ʁuhiqid čəl tiil šab sčədadx^w tx^wəl tudi? ʁaciɬtalbix^w tudi? t'aq't.
 ʁu-hiq-i-d čəl tiil šab s-čədadx^w dx^w-ʁal
 FUT-push-LV-CTL 1PL DET dry NMZR-salmon PERV-LOC

tudi? ʁaciɬtalbix^w tudi? t'aq't
 over.there person over.there other.side.of.mountains
 We would push these dried salmon to the people over there, over there on the
 otherside of the mountains.

(33) g^wəl tubəlk^wtx^w hilg^wə? ti sʁic'əb <ʁə ti s...> ʁə ti piyəxi? yəx^w ti ʁaawš liš sʁələd
 bək'^w tul'čad cikayəwə? yəx^w tiil ləšaal ti beaded bagsəx^w.
 g^wəl tu-bəlk^w-tx^w hilg^wə? ti s-ʁic'əb <ʁə
 CONJ PST-return-CS 3PL DET NMZR-blanket <FALSE

ti s-> ʁə ti piyəxi? yəx^w ti ʁaawš
 FALSE FALSE> OBL DET bitter.root CONJ DET biscuit.root

liš s-ʁələ-əd bək'^w tul'-čad *** yəx^w
 by.what.means NMZR-eat-DERV all from-where *** CONJ

tiil ləšaal ti beaded bags-əx^w
 DET shawl DET beaded bags-PI

And they used to bring back blankets of bitter root and biscuit root, from foods
 from all over cikayəwə? (?), and shawls, beaded bags.

(34) g^wəl <ʁal ti d'ix^w> ʁal ti July 4th of July čəl tuʁuɣ^w tx^wəl tudi?di s(h)ig^waliču.
 g^wəl ʁal ti d'ix^w ʁal ti July 4th of July čəl
 CONJ LOC DET first LOC DET July 4th of July 1PL

tu-ʁuɣ^w dx^w-ʁal tudi?-di? s-hig^w-aliču
 PST-go PERV-LOC over.there-DISTR NMZR-big-***

And on the 4th of July, we use to go way over there to s(h)ig^waliču.

(35) ʁudaʁtəbəx^w ti Normandy Park tx^wələx^w Three Tree Point.
 ʁu-daʁ-t-əb-əx^w ti Normandy Park dx^w-ʁal-əx^w
 SB-name-CTL-M-PI DET name name PERV-LOC-PI

Three Tree Point
 name name name

It is the name of Normandy Park to Three Tree Point.

- (36) ʔa čəł ʔəsłəllil tə saliʔ ʔəxəʔ.
 ʔa čəł ʔəs-łəllil tə saliʔ ʔəxəʔ
 LOC 1PL STAT-live DET two week
 We were there, living, for two weeks.
- (37) tušabad čəł <tiil...> tiil sʔələd.
 tu-šab-a-d čəł <tiil> tiil s-ʔələ-əd
 PST-dry-LV-CTL 1PL <FALSE> DET NMZR-eat-DERV
 We use to dry the food.
- (38) tuhuyutub ʔə tiil tudscapaʔ.
 tu-huy-u-tu-b ʔə tiil tu-d-s-capaʔ
 PST-prepare-LV-CS-M OBL DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather
 My grandfather used to prepare it.
- (39) łałli(l) ti qaʔa ʔaciłtalbix^w ʔal tiil s(h)ig^waliču yəx^w ti State Park.
 łałlil ti qa-a ʔaciłtalbix^w ʔal tiil s-hig^w-aliču
 live DET a.lot-DISTR person LOC DET NMZR-big-***

 yəx^w ti State Park
 CONJ DET name name
 There was a lot of people at s(h)ig^waliču and State Park (prob. Saltwater State Park).
- (40) tuʔuχ^w čəł tx^wələx^w ti State Park.
 tu-ʔuχ^w čəł dx^w-ʔal-ələx^w ti State Park
 PST-go 1PL PERV-LOC-PI DET name name
 We use to go to State Park.
- (41) ʔal ti sləχi(l) g^wəl x^wiʔ k^wi sʔələd.
 ʔal ti s-ləχ-il g^wəl x^wiʔ k^wi s-ʔələ-əd
 LOC DET NMZR-day.light-INCH CONJ NEG DET NMZR-eat-DERV
 Now, there is no more food.
- (42) haʔləx^w ʔ^wul'əx^w ʔalʔal tiʔiʔ ʔal tiil tuNormandy Park.
 haʔ-ələx^w ʔ^wul'-ələx^w ʔalʔal tiʔiʔ ʔal tiil tu-Normandy Park
 good-PI just-PI house DET LOC DET PST-name name
 There are just nice houses at Normandy Park.
- (43) Three Tree Point ti sdaʔ <ʔə tə...> ʔə tə paspastəd.
 Three Tree Point ti s-daʔ ʔə tə ʔə tə
 name name name DET NMZR-name OBL DET OBL DET

pas-pastəd
 DISTR-Caucasian
 Three Tree Point is the name of the Caucasians.

(44) Three Tree Point.

(45) č'it tx^wəl ti d^zi-d^zəl-al-ič.
 č'it dx^w-ʔal ti d^zi-d^zəl-al-ič
 near PERV-LOC DET DIM-transverse-LOC-ridge
 It is near Seattle.

(46) ʔa tiil tusʔu^xw səx^wušabadsəx^w tiil sʔələd.
 ʔa tiil tu-s-ʔu^xw səx^w-ʔu-šab-a-d-s-əx^w tiil
 LOC DET PST-NMZR-go by.means.of-SB-dry-LV-CTL-3.POS-PI DET

s-ʔələ-əd
 NMZR-eat-DERV
 This is the place they use to go to, that they used to dry food.

(47) diləx^w tiil <ʔal...> ʔal flower sack tiil səx^wʔaadəx^w ʔə tiil səx^whuyəx^w tiil šab.
 dił-əx^w tiil ʔal ʔal flower sack tiil
 DEICT-PI DET LOC LOC flower sack DET

səx^w-ʔa-a-d-əx^w ʔə tiil səx^w-huy-əx^w tiil šab
 by.means.of-put-LV-CTL-PI OBL DET by.means.of-finish-PI DET dry
 There were these flower sacks that was used to put it (in) so that it would finish drying.

(48) g^wələ tiəx^w diləx^w səx^whuyčəl ʔal ti d^zix^wbi-d ʔə ti sʔu^xwčəl tx^wəl tə ʔa ʔal tə
 səsk^wilčəl ʔə tə haps.

g^wələ ti-əx^w dił-əx^w səx^w-huy-čəl ʔal ti
 CONJ 3PRS-PI DEICT-PI by.means.of-prepare-1PL.POS LOC DET

d^zix^w-bi-d ʔə ti s-ʔu^xw-čəl dx^w-ʔal tə
 first-REL-CTL OBL DET NMZR-go-1PL.POS PERV-LOC DET

ʔa ʔal tə s-ʔəs-k^wil-čəl ʔə tə haps
 LOC LOC DET NMZR-STAT-pick.berries-1PL.POS OBL DET hops
 And this is what we used to prepare it with before we went to the location where we picked hops.

(49) ʔal tu...didi ləsk^wədad čəl tə wədaʔ^x.
 ʔal tudiʔ-...-diʔ lə-s-k^wəd-a-d čəl tə
 LOC over.there-EMPHAT-DISTR PROG-NMZR-get-LV-CTL 1PL DET

wədaʔ^x

blueberries

Way over there is where we were getting blueberries.

(50) ʔaəx^w tə sʔuχ^wčəł ɬup.

ʔa-əx^w tə s-ʔuχ^w-čəł ɬup
LOC-PI DET NMZR-go-1PL.POS early.morning
There is a place where we use to go early in the morning.

(51) ti ɬup čəł ʔu <...> q^wibcut ʔə tiil buggy g^wəl ʔa tiil tusg^{wa}? ʔə stəqiw’.

ti ɬup čəł ʔu-q^wib-cut ʔə tiil buggy
DET early.morning 1PL SB-prepare-CTL.REFLX OBL DET buggy

g^wəl ʔa tiil tu-s-g^{wa}? ʔə _s-təqiw’
CONJ exist DET PST-NMZR-one's.own OBL NMZR-horse

Early in the morning, we would get ourselves ready with the buggy, and there use to be the belongings of the horse.

(52) čəł tuʔuχ^wəx^w.

čəł tu-ʔuχ^w-əx^w
1PL PST-go-PI
We used to go.

(53) ʔuq’alš tiil stəqiw’.

ʔu-q’al-š tiil s-təqiw’
SB-convince-CTL DET NMZR-horse
The horse was convinced.

(54) g^wəl ʔal tiil buggy ti dkaya? ti dscapa?, yəx^w tuBig Betsy, Betsy x^{wa}λqəb <...>
yəx^w ti tuʔiišəds tudkayə? tusisters, Betsy <...> Betsy James yəx^w Jill James <...>
yəx^w ti Jack Stillman tuʔuχ^wəx^w čəł yəx^w tu <...> ɬəlliləx^w.

g^wəl ʔal tiil buggy ti d-kayə? ti
CONJ LOC DET buggy DET 1SG.POS-grandmother DET

d-s-capa? yəx^w tu-Big Betsy x^{wa}λqəb <...>
1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather CONJ PST-big name prop.name <PAUSE>

yəx^w ti tu-ʔiišəd-s tu-d-kayə? tu-sisters
CONJ DET PST-one's.people-3.POS PST-1SG.POS-grandmother PST-sisters

Betsy <...> Betsy James yəx^w ti _Jill James <...>
name <PAUSE> name name CONJ DET name name <PAUSE>

tu-ʔuχ^w-əx^w čəł yəx^w <...> tu-ɬəllil-əx^w
PST-go-PI 1PL CONJ <PAUSE> PST-live-PI

And on that buggy was my grandmother, my grandfather, and Big Betsy - Betsy
Whatcom- and my grandmother’s people - her sisters, Betsy James and Jill James -

and Jack Stillman, me and those who were living then went.

- (55) tuʔuχ^w čəł tx^wəl tu···diʔdis čəłə q'əlbəx^w č'it ʔə tiil sbaalq^wuʔ, White River
ʔəsdaʔatəb.

tu-ʔuχ^w čəł dx^w-ʔal tudiʔ-···-diʔ-s _ čəł-ə
PST-go 1PL PERV-LOC over.there-EMPHAT-DISTR-3.POS 1PL-CONJ

q'əlb-əx^w č'it ʔə tiil s-bal-q^wuʔ _ White River
camp-PI near OBL DET NMZR-mix-water _ name name

ʔəs-daʔ-a-t-əb

STAT-name-LV-CTL-M

We use to go way over there and we camped near sbalq^wuʔ, White River it is named.

- (56) g^wəl ʔaəx^w tiil səsʔuχ^wčəł tuʔitʔitut čəł tug^wədiləx^w ʔup <...> čəł ʔuk^watačəx^w.

g^wəl ʔa-əx^w tiil s-ʔəs-ʔuχ^w-čəł _ tu-ʔit-ʔitut čəł
CONJ LOC-PI DET NMZR-STAT-go-1PL.POS _ PST-DISTR-sleep 1PL

tu-g^wədil-əx^w ʔup čəł ʔu-k^watač-əx^w
PST-get.up-PI early.morning 1PL SB-climb-PI

And there was a place where we'd go where we'd all sleep, get up early in the morning and climb up into the mountains.

- (57) ʔaləx^w stəqiw' ləg^wləg^w čəł ti stabčəł g^wəʔaldx^w tudiʔ ʔəp.

ʔal-əx^w s-təqiw' ləg^w-ləg^w čəł ti _ s-tab čəł
LOC-PI NMZR-horse DISTR-leave 1PL DET NMZR-thing 1PL

g^wə-ʔal-dx^w tudiʔ ʔəp
SUBJ-leave.alone-LC over.there below

With the horse we'd leave all of our things that would be left alone down below.

- (58) x^wiʔ k^wi g^wa···t ʔubother ʔə k^widi stabčəł, harness.

x^wiʔ k^wi g^wat-··· ʔu-bother ʔə k^widi s-tab čəł
NEG DET who-EMPHAT SB-bother OBL *** NMZR-thing 1PL

harness

harness

There was no one that bothered our things, the harness.

- (59) qaha k^w(i) stab.

qaha k^wi s-tab
a.lot DET NMZR-thing

There was a lot of things.

- (60) x^wi k^wi g^wat x^wiʔ tushaydx^wčəł tusqada ʔal tiil spəd(t)ab ti tudsč'ač'aš.

x^{wi}? k^{wi} g^{wat} x^{wi}? tu-s-hay-dx^w-čəł̄ tu-s-qada
 NEG DET who NEG PST-NMZR-know-LC-1PL.POS PST-NMZR-steal

ʔal̄ tiil̄ s-pəd-tab ti tu-d-s-č'ač'aš
 LOC DET NMZR-time.ofwhat DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-young
 There was no one we had known who use to steal at the time when I had been young.

- (61) hay čəł̄ tuk^{wiləx} <tiil̄...> tiil̄ sʔəł̄əd ʔal̄ tiil̄ šəq^{us}.

hay čəł̄ tu-k^{wil-əx} <tiil̄...> tiil̄ s-ʔəł̄-əd
 CONJ 1PL PST-pick.berries-PI <FALSE> DET _NMZR-eat-DERV

ʔal̄ tiil̄ šəq^{us}
 LOC DET above-surface
 Then we use to berrypick the food up the hill.

- (62) šabatəbəx^w čəł̄ <ʔuʔaadəx^w ʔal̄ ti...> ʔaadəx^w ʔal̄ tiil̄ baskets luʔəł̄-tx^w tx^{wəl} saliʔ
 ʃaxaʔ.

šab-a-t-əb-əx^w čəł̄ <ʔu-ʔa-a-d-əx^w ʔal̄ ti...>
 dry-LV-CTL-M-PI 1PL <FALSE>

ʔa-a-d-əx^w ʔal̄ tiil̄ baskets lu-ʔəł̄-tx^w dx^w-ʔal̄
 put-LV-CTL-PI LOC DET baskets FUT-come-CS PERV-LOC

saliʔ ʃaxaʔ
 two week
 We dried them, putting them into baskets that (we) were going to take, for two weeks.

- (63) ʃ^{wul}'əx^w tusc'ikc'ik ʔiistəb čəł̄ ʔa šabəx^w tiil̄ sʔəł̄əd čəł̄ luʔ(u)asʔəł̄əd dx^wʔ(ə)palq
 čəł̄ə t'uk'^w.

ʃ^{wul}'-əx^w tu-s-c'ikc'ik ʔistəʔ-b čəł̄ ʔa šab-əx^w tiil̄
 just-PI PST-NMZR-wagon like-M make LOC dry-PI DET

s-ʔəł̄-əd čəł̄ lu-ʔ(u)-ʔəs-ʔəł̄-əd dx^w-ʔ(ə)palq
 NMZR-eat-DERV 1PL FUT-HAB-STAT-eat-1SG.S PERV-below-DERV

čəł̄-ə t'uk'^w
 1PL-CONJ go.home
 This is how the wagon was, made up with the dried food on it that we were going to eat below, and then we went home.

- (64) hay č(ə)ł̄ ʔuʃ^{wəx} tx^{wəl} haps.

hay čəł̄ ʔuʃ^{w-əx} dx^w-ʔal̄ haps
 CONJ 1PL go-PI PERV-LOC hops

Then, we went for hops.

- (65) diłəx^w čəł tiil <ʔəh...> tuʔabš cədił <...> huckleberries.
 dił-əx^w čəł tiil <ʔəh> tu-ʔab-š cədił
 DEICT-PI 1PL DET <FALSE> PST-give-CTL̄ 3SG.EMPH
 huckleberries
 huckleberries
 This is where we use to give those huckleberries.
- (66) wədaʔǰ.
 wədaʔǰ
 huckleberries
 huckleberries.
- (67) Now comes to mind.
- (68) wədaʔǰ.
 wədaʔǰ
 huckleberries
 Huckleberries.
- (69) dił tuʔabšəx^w š(ə) tx^wəl tiil g^wəsʔəłədčəł čələ ʔabšəx^w tx^wəl tiil q^wuʔəčəd ʔə tiil
 stab sʔəłəd.
 dił tu-ʔab-š-əx^w šə dx^w-ʔal tiil
 DEICT PST-give-CTL-PI DET PERV-LOC DET
 g^wə-s-ʔəł-əd-čəł čəł-ə ʔab-š-əx^w dx^w-ʔal
 SUBJ-NMZR-eat-DERV-1PL.POS 1PL-CONJ give-CTL-PI PERV-LOC
 tiil q^wuʔ-əč-ə-d ʔə tiil stab s-ʔəł-əd
 DET gather-head-LV-CTL OBL DET thing NMZR-eat-DERV
 This is where we gave it for what we could eat, and we gave it for bundled (??)
 items of food.
- (70) ʔəbil' sʔic'ab, ʔəbil' stab, x^wiʔ ləǰ^wul' sʔəłəd stab.
 ʔəbil' s-ʔicab ʔəbil' s-tab x^wiʔ lə-ǰ^wul'
 perhaps NMZR-blanket perhaps NMZR-thing NEG PROG-just
 s-ʔəł-əd s-tab
 NMZR-eat-DERV NMZR-thing
 Or blankets or objects. Not just food items.
- (71) Trade.
- (72) Indian trade ʔudaʔtəb ʔə t(i) paspastəd.
 Indian trade ʔu-daʔ-t-əb ʔə ti pas-pastəd

Indian trade SB-name-CTL-M OBL DET DISTR-Caucasian
 Indian Trade is what the Caucasians call it.

(73) tuk^wiləx^w č(ə)ł tił haps.

tu-k^wil-əx^w čəł tił haps
 PST-pick.berries-PI 1PL DET hops
 We use to pick hops.

(74) diłəx^w taʔləčəł <tx^wəl tus...> ti səx^włalš skuul.

dił-əx^w taʔlə-čəł dx^w-ʔal <tu-s-> ti
 DEICT-PI little.money-1PL.POS PERV-LOC <FALSE> DET

səx^w-łal-š skuul
 by.means.of-don-CTL school

That was sort of our money for school wear. (Explained in the English portion that clothes were acquired through trade, not bought.)

(75) g^wəl tuł(u)askuul ʔal ti tudsč'əč'aš.

g^wəl tu-łu-ʔəs-skuul ʔal ti
 CONJ PST-HAB-STAT-attend.school LOC DET

tu-d-s-č'əč'aš
 PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-young
 And I use attend school when I was young.

(76) x^wiʔ ləhaʔk^w ti tudsʔal t(ə) Saint Georges.

x^wiʔ lə-haʔk^w ti tu-d-s-ʔal tə Saint
 NEG PROG-ago DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-LOC DET name

Georges
 name

It was not long that I had been at Saint Georges.

(77) g^wəl ʔaləx^w ti Auburn ti tudsʔuχ^w tx^wəl skuul.

g^wəl ʔal-əx^w ti Auburn ti tu-d-s-ʔuχ^w
 CONJ LOC-PI DET name DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-go

dx^w-ʔal skuul
 PERV-LOC school

And (then) at Auburn is where I use to go to school.

(78) g^wəl ʔal suhuyutəb ʔə tsi dkayəʔ tił stakəd, tuk^wax^wad čəł tił t(u)stakəds.

g^wəl ʔal s-ʔu-huy-u-t-əb ʔə tsi
 CONJ LOC NMZR-SB-make-LV-CTL-M OBL DET

d-kayəʔ tił stakəd tu-k^wax^w-a-d čəł tił

1SG.POS-grandmother DET sock(s) PST-help-LV-CTL 1PL DET

tu-stakəd-s

PST-sock(s)-3.POS

And when my grandmother made socks, we use to help her with her socks.

- (79) t(u)huyud c(ə)dił... yarn.
tu-huy-u-d cədił yarn
PST-do-LV-CTL 3SG.EMPH yarn
(We) use to make that stuff, yarn.

- (80) <yəx^w tił...> diłəx^w ʔutrade g^wəl tuk^wəd(d)x^w čəl tił ʔaʔʔaʔbəc.
<yəx^w tił...> dił-əx^w ʔu-trade g^wəl tu-k^wəd-dx^w čəl tił
<FALSE> DEICT-PI SB-trade CONJ PST-take-LC 1PL DET

ʔaʔ-ʔaʔ-abəc

DIM-don-solid.obj

This was used for trade and then we managed to get a few clothes.

- (81) ʔal tuhuyʔ ʔal tsi tudpus tił sʔalabəc ʔə tsił tus... čəg^wəš ʔə š(ə) tudqəsiʔ.
ʔal tu-huyʔ ʔal tsi tu-d-pus tił
LOC PST-do LOC DET PST-1SG.POS-throw DET

s-ʔal-abəc ʔə tsił tu-s-čəg^wəš ʔə šə
NMZR-don-solid.obj OBL DET PST-NMZR-wife OBL DET

tu-d-qəsiʔ

PST-1SG.POS-uncle

When they were finished, the clothes were with my aunt who was the wife of my uncle.

- (82) x^wiʔ pə(d)tab k^wə dshaydx^w k^wi sʔalabəc ʔutag^wš čəd.
x^wiʔ pəd-tab k^wə d-s-hay-dx^w k^wi
NEG time.of what DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-CONJ-LC DET

s-ʔal-abəc ʔu-tag^w-š čəd
NMZR-don-solid.obj SB-buy-CTL 1SG

There was not a time that I know of when there were clothes that I bought.

- (83) huy tə k^wi <...> ʔa k^wi ʔacəc.
huytə k^wi ʔa k^wi ʔacəc
do DET DET LOC DET specifically.there_
That is what they did, those that were there at that specific time and place.

- (84) ʔ^wul' ʔuhuy ʔə ti tudsʔalabəc.
ʔ^wul' ʔu-huy ʔə ti tu-d-s-ʔal-abəc

- just HAB-make OBL DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-don-solid.obj
My clothes were just made.
- (85) g^wəl ʔa ti summer time g^wəl ʔa ti overalls tiʃ tushuyutəbs tsi tudkayəʔ ʃ^wul' ti d
<...> ʃ^wətʃ^wət st'(ə)k^wabʃəd <...> moccasins.
g^wəl ʔa ti summer time g^wəl ʔa ti overalls tiʃ
CONJ LOC DET summer time CONJ LOC DET overalls DET
- tu-s-huy-u-t-əb-s tsi tu-d-kayəʔ
PST-NMZR-make-LV-CTL-M-3.POS DET PST-1SG.POS-grandmother
- ʃ^wul' ti d-ʃ^wət-ʃ^wət s-t'ək^wəb-ʃəd moccasins
just DET 1SG.POS-DISTR-rip NMZR-stick-foot moccasins
And during summer time, there were overalls that my grandmother made, (and) my
torn up shoes, moccasins.
- (86) g^wələ ck'a(qid) čəl ci sʔušəbabbdx^w.
g^wələ ck'aqid čəl ci s-ʔušəb-ab-dx^w
CONJ always 1PL very NMZR-poor-DERV-LC
And we were always poor.
- (87) g^wələ <tu...> tuʔa tuhuyutəb ti tudscapaʔ tuʃaʃ^w ʔə tiʃ spiq^wulc.
g^wəl-lə-tu-tu-ʔa tu-huy-u-t-əb ti
SUBJ-REP-PST-PST-locate PST-prepare-LV-CTL-M DET
- tu-d-s-capaʔ tu-ʃaʃ^w ʔə tiʃ s-piq^wulc
PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather PST-grow OBL DET NMZR-potato
And there use to be a place that my grandfather would prepare for growing
potatoes.
- (88) ʃutrade ʔə k^w(i) stab tx^wəl ti ʃuk^wədad tiʃ hud g^wəl t'uk^w.
ʃu-trade ʔə k^wi stab dx^w-ʔal ti ʃu-k^wəd-a-d tiʃ hudg^wəl t'uk^w
FUT-*** OBL DET thing PERV-LOC DET _FUT-take-LV-CTL
DET fire CONJ go.home
He was going to trade for anything with the firewood he was going to take, and
(then) come home.
- (89) huyutx^w c(əl)əcilc tə dəč'uʔ cord.
huy-u-tx^w cəlac-ilc tə dəč'uʔ cord
make-LV-CS five-round.obj DET one cord
He made five dollars for one cord.
- (90) tutəʃ^wud <ʔal tiʃ...> ʔə tiʃ wagon tx^wəl ti Auburn.
tu-təʃ^w-u-d ʔal tiʃ ʔə tiʃ wagon dx^w-ʔal
PST-pull-LV-CTL LOC DET OBL DET wagon PERV-LOC

- ti Auburn
 DET Auburn
 He would pull it with a wagon to Auburn.
- (91) wiyaw' tuhaʔ.
 wiyaw' tu-haʔ
 have.to PST-good
 It had to be good.
- (92) Had to sorted out.
- (93) No knots.
- (94) That was a lot of money those days.
- (95) And my uh...
- (96) tudiləx^w k^(w)ə skuul... tuʔuχ^w čəd tx^w(ə)l t(ə) x^wλəp ʔal tił Green River.
 tu-dil-əx^w k^wə skuul tu-ʔuχ^w čəd dx^w-ʔal tə
 PST-DEICT-PI DET school PST-go 1SG PERV-LOC DET
 x^w-λəp ʔal tił Green River
 PERV-below LOC DET name name
 There use to be a school I went to, below, on the Green River.
- (97) g^wəl ʔa tiil <tu...> tu(ə)sk^wədətəbš ʔə tiil bus.
 g^wəl ʔa tiil tu-tu-ʔəs-k^wəd-ə-t-əb-s ʔə tiil
 CONJ LOC DET PST-PST-STAT-take-LV-CTL-M-3.POS OBL DET
 bus
 bus
 And there is where I use to be taken by the bus.
- (98) tiil Art and me tiil tuʔatx^w tiil <ʔə...> bus.
 tiil Art and me tiil tu-ʔa-tx^w tiil ʔə bus
 DET Art and me DET PST-locate-CS DET OBL bus
 Art and me is the reason the bus had been put there (i.e., ‘Art and me is why the bus stopped there’).
- (99) ʔutəʔuʔx^w ti cold tiil bus.
 ʔu-təʔ-uʔx^w ti cold tiil bus
 FUT-true-still DET cold DET bus
 That bus was going to still be truly cold.
- (100) huyiləx^w tə hud.
 huy-il-əx^w tə hud

make-INCH-PI DET firewood

It changed to (a vehicle for) firewood (when the children were not being transported. Explained in the English part of the audio.).

- (101) g^wəl ʔal ʔaʔəbəx^w ʔə tiif time g^wəl <ʔus...> ʔusʔa ʔal tə hix^w x^wul'əx^w g^wəl
 tuk^wədtx^w hix^w ʔal tə afternoon g^wəl tuk^wədədəx^w tiif <...> bus g^wəl tuq^wibidəx^w
 tuʔaadəx^w tiif <...> tiif <ʔəh...> diifəx^w (ʔ)əs-g^wədil(1) čəl, saliʔ.
 g^wəl ʔal ʔaʔəb-əx^w ʔə tiif time g^wəl
 CONJ LOC notice-DIM-M-PI OBL DET time _CONJ

ʔu-s-ʔu-s-ʔa ʔal tə hix^w x^wul'əx^w g^wəl
 HAB-NMZR-HAB-NMZR-locate LOC DET three just-PI CONJ

tu-k^wəd-tx^w hix^w ʔal tə afternoon g^wəl _tu-k^wəd-ə-d-əx^w
 PST-take-CS three LOC DET afternoon CONJ PST-take-LV-CTL-PI

tiif <...> g^wəl tu-q^wib-i-d-əx^w tu-ʔa-a-d-əx^w tiif
 DET <PAUSE> CONJ PST-fix-LV-CTL-PI PST-put-LV-CTL-PI DET

tiif <ʔəh> diif-əx^w ʔəs-g^wədil čəl saliʔ
 DET <FALSE> DEICT-PI STAT-sit 1PL two

And when the time was noticed and it was at just three, three in the afternoon had been taken, then (we) use to take the bus, and it had been fixed, put there such that we sat (on) two (benches that were put along the length of the truck when the children were being transported. Explained in the English portion of the audio.).

- (102) g^wəl tudifəx^w tuq'ilag^wiləx^w čəl ʔal tiif steps q'ilag^wiləx^w čəl g^wəl diifəx^w.
 g^wəl tu-dif-əx^w tu-q'il-ag^wil-əx^w čəl ʔal tiif
 CONJ PST-DEICT-PI PST-ride-put.self.in.action-PI 1PL LOC DET

steps q'il-ag^wil-əx^w čəl g^wəl diif-əx^w
 steps ride-put.self.in.action-PI 1PL CONJ DEICT-PI

And that is what we use to board by the steps, we'd get onboard and that was that.

- (103) ʔuyabuk^wtəb čəd tiif tupaʔpapstəd.
 ʔu-yabuk^w-t-əb čəd tiif tu-paʔ-pastəd-p
 SB-fight-CTL-M 1SG DET PST-DISTR-Caucasian-DIM
 The Caucasian children fought with me.

- (104) tuhuyuc hilg^wəʔ sʔušəbabdx^w sʔacus.
 tu-huy-u-t-s hilg^wəʔ s-ʔušəb-ab-dx^w s-ʔacus
 PST-do-LV-CTL-1SG 3PL NMZR-pitiful-DERV-LC NMZR-face
 They would make me a pitiful face.

- (105) q'aḥac hilg^wə k^wəd.
 q'aḥ-a-c hilg^wəʔ k^wəd

insult-LV-APP 3PL have.fit
They'd have fits of insulting me.

- (106) ?aciɬtalbix^w čəd <...> yəx^w tiɪl <ə... lu...> luhiɡ^wəx^w čəl luyabuk^{'w}.
 ?aciɬtalbix^w čəd yəx^w tiɪl <ə...lu-...> lu-hiɡ^w-əx^w čəl
 person 1SG CONJ DET <FALSE> FUT-big-PI 1PL

lu-yabuk^{'w}
FUT-fight

I and they were people, (and) we would have big fights.

- (107) q'x̄at(a)ɡ^wiləx^w čəl.
 q'aḫ-a-tag^wil-əx^w čəl
 insult-LV-RECIP-PI 1PL
 We insulted each other.

- (108) q'aḫac hilɡ^wə? tiɪl x̄ac q'aḫac.
 q'aḫ-a-c hilɡ^wə? tiɪl x̄ac q'aḫ-a-c
 insult-LV-APP 3PL DET prickly insult-LV-APP
 That insulted me with prickly insults towards me.

- (109) x^wi? ləbək^{'w} hilɡ^wə? t(u)as?istə? ɡ^wələ <ti ti ?ə...> ti bəd(ə)da ti tulu^llu^l paspastəd
 ɡ^wələ tuha?ɬ hilɡ^wə? tx^wəl dibəl tx^wəl tiɪl lu?ə^l.
 x^wi? lə-bək^{'w} hilɡ^wə? tu-?əs-?istə? ɡ^wələ_ <ti ti ?ə> ti
 NEG PROG-all 3PL PST-STAT-like CONJ <FALSE> DET

bədə?-da? ti tu-lu^l-lu^l pas-pastəd ɡ^wələ
 one's.child-DISTR DET PST-DISTR-old DISTR-Caucasian CONJ

tu-ha?ɬ hilɡ^wə? dx^w-?al dibəl dx^w-?al tiɪl
 PST-good 3PL PERV-LOC 1PL.EMPH PERV-LOC DET

lu-?ə^l
FUT-come

Not all of them were like that, for there were children who were old Caucasians that had been nice to us about coming.

- (110) paspastəd ɡ^wəl cay (h)ilɡ^wə? t'uk^{'w} q'aḫad tə ?aciɬtalbix^w ?ə tə x̄a^l.
 pas-pastəd ɡ^wəl cay hilɡ^wə? t'uk^{'w}_ q'aḫ-a-d
 DISTR-Caucasian CONJ very 3PL go.home insult-LV-CTL

tə ?aciɬtalbix^w ?ə tə x̄a^l
 DET First.People OBL DET difficult

Those Caucasians, while going home, they would truly make difficult insults at the First People.

- (111) huyiltub hilg^{wə?} tiil s[?]ušəb^wabdx^w.
 huy-il-tu-b hilg^{wə?} tiil s-[?]ušəb-ab-dx^w
 do-INCH-CS-M 3PL DET NMZR-poor-DERV-LC
 They caused them to become pitiful.
- (112) well, tx^wələx^w tiil g^wəl <tu... tu[?]u[?]> tuba^wfix^w x^wul'^wəx^w sd^waladub tiil tus[?]u^x^w tx^wəl
 tiil skul bus tx^wəl ti [?]al tiil ča[?]k^w <...> ti Green River.
 well dx^w-[?]al-əx^w tiil g^wəl tu-tu-[?]u-tu-ba-fix^w
 well PERV-LOC-PI DET CONJ PST-PST-SB-PST-ADD-three
 x^wul'-əx^w s-d^waladub tiil tu-s-[?]u^x^w dx^w-[?]al tiil skul
 just-PI NMZR-year DET PST-NMZR-go PERV-LOC DET school
 dx^w-[?]al ti [?]al tiil ča[?]k^w _ ti Green
 PERV-LOC DET LOC DET come.down.to.water DET name
 River
 name
 Well, it was for that that it was just another three years I went on that school bus
 there, to here, on the shores of the Green River.
- (113) g^wəl tuhuyudəx^w ti šəg^wl [?]al ti dišə[?] səx^w[?]u^x^wəx^w tx^wəl Enumclaw.
 g^wəl tu-huy-u-d-əx^w ti šəg^wl [?]al ti dišə[?]
 CONJ PST-make-LV-CTL-PI DET path LOC _DET here
 səx^w-[?]u^x^w-əx^w dx^w-[?]al Enumclaw
 by.means.of-go-PI PERV-LOC name
 Then they had made a road right here to go to Enumclaw.
- (114) g^wəl [?]aəx^w g^wəsk^wədədčə^l ti bus <[?]aləx^w ti...> [?]aləx^w ti <ə...> č'it [?]ə ti Piggly
 Wigglyəx^w.
 g^wəl [?]a-əx^w g^wə-s-k^wəd-ə-d-čə^l _ ti bus
 CONJ LOC-PI SUBJ-NMZR-take-LV-CTL-1PL.POS DET bus
 <[?]al-əx^w ti> [?]al-əx^w ti <ə> _ č'it [?]ə ti
 <FALSE FALSE> LOC-PI DET <FALSE> _near OBL DET
 Piggly Wiggly--əx^w
 name name-PI
 And there was a place where we could take the bus there near Piggly Wiggly
 (grocery store).
- (115) Between Piggly Wiggly yəx^w tiil Red Rooster.
 Between Piggly Wiggly yəx^w tiil Red Rooster
 CONJ DET

Between Piggly Wiggly and the Red Rooster (former tavern).

(116) dił tušəgʷɪ ʔə tiil tudscapaʔ.

dił tu-šəgʷɪ ʔə tiil tu-d-s-capaʔ
 DEICT PST-road OBL DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather
 That was (where) the road to my grandfather's use to be.

(117) gʷəl ʔaəxʷ ʔə tiil <ə...> qahaʔ dxʷšəgʷɪ tiil tuhuyutəb ʔə ti pastəd ʔal ti 30s gʷəl ʔaəxʷ tiil sukʷədədč(ə)ł tiil bus there.

gʷəl ʔa-əxʷ ʔə tiil <ə> qaha dxʷ-šəgʷɪ tiil
 CONJ put-PI OBL DET <FALSE> many PERV-road DET

tu-huy-u-t-əb ʔə ti pastəd ʔal ti 30s
 PST-make-LV-CTL-M OBL DET Caucasian LOC DET 30s

gʷəl ʔa-əxʷ tiil s-ʔu-kʷəd-ə-d-čəl tiil bus there
 CONJ LOC-PI DET NMZR-SB-take-LV-CTL-1PL.POS DET bus there
 And a lot of places for roads were put in that the Caucasians made in the 30s and there is where we caught the bus.

(118) txʷələxʷ ti gʷəl tuʔatəb ʔə tiil tudqəsiʔ <gʷəl tu...> gʷələ tuʔuχʷəxʷ čəl <txʷəl...> txʷəl Yakima čələ kʷilid tə haps ʔal tə haps picking time.

dxʷ-ʔal-əxʷ ti gʷəl tu-ʔa-t-əb ʔə tiil
 PERV-LOC-PI DET CONJ PST-locate-CTL-M OBL DET

tu-d-qəsiʔ gʷəl tu-gʷələ tu-ʔuχʷ-əxʷ čəl dxʷ-ʔal
 PST-1SG.POS-uncle CONJ PST-CONJ PST-go-PI 1PL PERV-LOC

dxʷ-ʔal Yakima čəl-ə kʷil-i-d tə haps
 PERV-LOC Yakima 1PL-CONJ pick.berries-LV-CTL DET hops

ʔal tə haps picking time
 LOC DET hops picking time

It was for this that my uncle had put it in, and we use to go to Yakima and we'd pick hops during hops picking time.

(119) tuʔaəxʷ čəd tuʔuχʷ txʷəl skuul tudiʔ tuliləp.

tu-ʔa-əxʷ čəd tu-ʔuχʷ dxʷ-ʔal skuul tudiʔ tuliləp
 PST-LOC-PI 1SG PST-go PERV-LOC school over.there name

I was there where I use to go to school over there at Tulalip.

(120) gʷəl tuʔaəxʷ čəd tə <buus> buus sdʒaladub yəxʷ tiil <...> tuhard skuul.

gʷəl tu-ʔa-əxʷ čəd tə <buus> buus s-dʒaladub yəxʷ
 CONJ PST-LOC-PI 1SG DET <FALSE> four NMZR-year CONJ

tiif tu-hard skuul
 DET PST-hard school
 And I had been there for four years and ... That had been a hard school.

- (121) cayəx^w qa tiif qələb ?atubs.
 cay-əx^w qa tiif qəl-əb ?a-tu-b-s
 very-PI many DET bad-M put-CS-M-3.POS
 There were many bad ones put there.

- (122) g^wəl ?a...l ?al ti dišə? g^wəl tuqələb ?ə ti sucutəx^w λax^w čəd ?al tiif g^wəl ?aciłtalbix^w,
 Christian ?aciłtalbix^w.

g^wəl ?al... ?al ti dišə? g^wəl _tu-qəl-əb ?ə
 CONJ LOC-EMPHAT LOC DET here CONJ PST-bad-M OBL

ti s-?u-cut-əx^w λax^w čəd ?al tiif g^wəl ?aciłtalbix^w

DET NMZR-SB-tell-PI grow 1SG LOC DET belong.to First.People

Chirstian ?aciłtalbix^w

Chirstian First.People

And it was right here I was told about what use to be bad, raised in what belonged the First People, the Christian First People.

- (123) ləpli tiif tuħudħud ?ə tiif ?aciłtalbix^w ?ə dsč'ac'aš Father DeDecker.
 ləpli tiif tu-ħud-ħud ?ə tiif ?aciłtalbix^w ?ə
 priest DET PST-DISTR-speak OBL DET First.People OBL

d-s-č'ac'aš Father DeDecker

1SG.POS-NMZR-young Father DeDecker

It was a priest that use to speak to First People when I was young, Father DeDecker.

- (124) g^wəl dił tu?abšic ?ə ti dsda.
 g^wəl dił tu-?ab-ši-t-s ?ə _ti
 CONJ DEICT PST-give-DAT-CTL-1SG OBL _DET

d-s-da?

1SG.POS-NMZR-name

And this is who had given me my name.

- (125) g^wəl tu?ab ti dsda ?al tudi? Saint James Cathedral.
 g^wəl tu-?ab ti d-s-da? ?al tudi?
 CONJ PST-give DET 1SG.POS-NMZR-name LOC over.there

Saint James Cathedral

Saint James Cathedral

And he had given my name over there at Saint James Cathedral

- (126) diłəx^w suk^wəd^w tiil social security.
 dił-əx^w s-ʔu-k^wəd-dx^w tiil social security
 DEICT-PI NMZR-SB-get-LC DET social security
 That is where social security was gotten.
- (127) ʔəbil' x^wiʔ tiʔił g^wəl cay čəd haʔ.
 ʔəbil' x^wiʔ tiʔił g^wəl cay čəd haʔ
 perhaps NEG DET CONJ very 1SG good
 If there was nothing, then I would have done very well. (??)
- (128) x^wiʔ k^wi tudshaydx^w.
 x^wiʔ k^wi tu-d-s-hay-dx^w
 NEG DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-know-LC
 I had not been aware of it.
- (129) ǰ^wul'əx^w <čad g^wətuds...> čad g^wətudswəliʔi(l).
 ǰ^wul'-əx^w čad g^wə-tu-d-s čad
 just-PI where SUBJ-PST-1SG.POS-3.POS where

 g^wə-tu-d-s-wəliʔ-il
 SUBJ-PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-appear-INCH
 I could have just been born anywhere.
- (130) huy ʔəstəqiləx^w tuʔidx^w.
 huy ʔəs-təq-il-əx^w tu-ʔi-dx^w
 CONJ STAT-block-INCH-PI PST-find-LC
 But finding out about this had been blocked.
- (131) diłəx^w tushuys ʔal tiil tuds^lax^w.
 dił-əx^w tu-s-huy-s ʔal tiil tu-d-s-^lax^w
 DEICT-PI PST-NMZR-COP-3.POS LOC DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grow
 This is how it had been when I was growing up.
- (132) g^wəl ʔaləx^w dišəʔ <...> g^wələ <...> lu^ləx^w čəd.
 g^wəl ʔal-əx^w dišəʔ g^wələ lu^l-əx^w čəd
 CONJ LOC-PI here CONJ old-PI 1SG
 And here now, I am old.
- (133) qa t(u)ashuʔi(l) ʔəx^wscutəb čəd.
 qa tu-ʔəs-ʔuʔ-il ʔəx^w-s-cut-əb _ čəd
 a.lot PST-STAT-***-INCH PRCLVTYNMZR-say-M 1SG
 There had been a lot that had been taken away, I think. (??)
- (134) huy ʔəsʔistəʔ ʔə ti shuy ʔə š(ə) ti lu^llu^l.

huy ʔəs-ʔistəʔ ʔə ti s-huy ʔə _šə ti luł-luł
 CONJ STAT-like OBL DET NMZR-do OBL DET DET DISTR-old
 This is how the elders do things.

(135) qa ti sʔəłədcəł.
 qa ti s-ʔəł-əd-čəł
 a.lot DET NMZR-eat-DERV-1PL.POS
 We have a lot of food.

(136) <xʷiʔ kʷi stab...> xʷiʔ kʷi stab gʷəstab sʔəłəd ʃałtxʷ čəł.
 <xʷiʔ kʷi stab> xʷiʔ kʷi stab __gʷə-s-tab
 <FALSE FALSE FALSE> NEG DET thing _SUBJ-NMZR-thing
 s-ʔəł-əd ʃał-txʷ čəł
 NMZR-eat-DERV desire-CS 1PL
 There is not a thing that could be food that we want. (i.e., There is not a food that we cannot have.)

(137) ʔułaxʷ ʔal ti, <...> sʔabšitəbs ti ʔaciłtalbixʷ ʔə ti swaatxʷixʷtxʷəd <ʔə ti...> ʔə
 kʷədiʔi tuhuyud tił swatixʷtəd.
 ʔu-łaxʷ ʔal ti s-ʔab-ši-t-əb-s ti
 SB-grow LOC 3PRS NMZR-give-DAT-CTL-M-3.POS DET
 ʔaciłtalbixʷ ʔə ti s-waatxʷixʷtxʷəd ʔə ti ʔə
 First.People OBL DET NMZR-land OBL DET OBL
 kʷədi-ʔi tu-huy-u-d tił s-watixʷtəd
 DEM-DERV PST-make-LV-CTL DET NMZR-land
 It grows here, the land that was given to the First People by the one who had made the world.

(138) ʔəsʃałtubš dbədəʔ txʷəl ti syəcəb, ti diša.
 ʔəs-ʃał-tu-bš d-bədəʔ dxʷ-ʔal ti
 STAT-desire-CS-1SG 1SG.POS-one's.child PERV-LOC DET
 s-yəc-əb ti dišəʔ
 NMZR-tell-M DET here
 My daughter wants me for this information, she/it is right here.

(139) tuʔaləxʷ tił tudshuyatxʷ tuʔuʃʷəxʷ <txʷəl tił...> txʷələxʷ tił tudshuy ʔə tə skuul
 gʷəl tuhuyatxʷ čəd gʷəʔuʃʷəxʷ txʷəl ti <...> tuxʷtubšədad swaatxʷixʷtxʷəd.
 tu-ʔal-əxʷ tił tu-d-s-huy-a-txʷ tu-ʔuʃʷ-əxʷ
 PST-LOC-PI DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-do-LV-CS PST-go-PI
 <dxʷ-ʔal tił> dxʷ-ʔal-əxʷ tił tu-d-s-huy
 <FALSE FALSE> PERV-LOC-PI DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-do

ʔə tə skuul gʷəl tu-huy-a-txʷ čəd _gʷə-ʔuχʷ-əxʷ
 OBL DET school CONJ PST-do-LV-CS 1SG _SUBJ-go-PI

dxʷ-ʔal ti tu-xʷ-tubš ədad-s-waatxʷixʷtxʷəd
 PERV-LOC DET PST-PERV-man 2SG.POS-NMZR-land
 When I had pleaded my case for me doing school, I pleaded to go to Yakama's territory.

- (140) čəd ʔaəxʷ tuds <...> luλluλ čəd ʔacac.
 čəd ʔa-əxʷ tu-d-s-luλ-luλ _čəd ʔa-cac
 1SG LOC-PI PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-DISTR-old _1SG locate-DERV
 I was put right there by my elders, at that specific place.

- (141) tubəlč čəd dišəʔ tulaʔbəd ti dʔiišəd xʷ(i)axʷ gʷəqa t(u)asbəkʷiltəb hilgʷəʔ,
 ʔatəbəd.
 tu-bəlč čəd dišəʔ tu-laʔb-ə-d ti _d-ʔiišəd
 PST-answer 1SG here PST-see-LV-CTL DET _1SG.POS-one's.people
 xʷiʔ-əxʷ gʷə-qa tu-ʔəs-bəkʷil-t-əb _hilgʷəʔ ʔatəbəd
 NEG-PI SUBJ-many PST-STAT-all.gone-CTL-M_3PL die
 I had returned to here to see there was not many of my relatives, for they had gone, they died.

- (142) gʷələ <...> tʷukʷ.
 gʷələ tʷukʷ
 CONJ go.home
 And they went home. (??)

- (143) t(u)ashaydxʷ čəd ti luλluλ χʷəlab ʔə ti tusutayəqəb.
 tu-ʔəs-hay-dxʷ čəd ti luλ-luλ _χʷəlab ʔə
 PST-STAT-CONJ-LC 1SG DET DISTR-elder like OBL
 ti tu-sutayəqəb
 DET PST-prop.name
 I use to know elders, such as sutayəqəb.

- (144) ti tutiił, John.
 ti tu-tiił John
 DET PST-3PRS name
 Him, John.

- (145) ti tuJohn Seattle, sdidaʔ.
 ti tu-John Seattle s-di-daʔ
 DET PST-name name NMZR-DIM-name
 John Seattle was his nickname.

- (146) x^wi? tuləsyayə ?ə tiif Chief Seattle tiif tusudida?
 x^wi? tu-lə-s-yayə? ?ə tiif Chief Seattle tiif
 NEG PST-PROG-NMZR-family OBL DET chief name DET
- tu-s-?u-di-da?
 PST-NMZR-SB-DIM-name
 He had not been related to Chief Seattle, that was what he had been nicknamed.
- (147) tulil (h)ilg^wə?
 tu-lil hilg^wə?
 PST-far 3PL
 They had been far away (via family relations??).
- (148) g^wəl <diif tiif tuds...> diif tudscapa? tu-λ^haχ^wac g^wələ qəsi?s diif tusudida?
 g^wəl diif tiif tu-d-s-diif
 CONJ DEICT DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-DEICT
- tu-d-s-capā? tu-λ^haχ^w-a-t-s g^wələ
 PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather PST-raise-LV-CTL-3.POS CONJ
- qəsi?-s diif tu-s-?u-di-da?
 uncle-3.POS DEICT PST-NMZR-SB-DIM-name
 And there was my grandfather who had raised me and it was his uncle who had been nicknamed.
- (149) <tu- ə...> tusuq^wa? ?ə tubad ?ə tiif tudscapa?
 <tu-ə> tu-suq^wa? ?ə tu-bad ?ə tiif
 <FALSE> PST-younger.sibling OBL PST-father OBL DET
- tu-d-s-capā?
 PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather
 He was the younger brother of the father of my grandfather.
- (150) g^wəl łalłali(l) ?al ti Green River tiif <tu-...> g^wəl tuasbəli tx^wəl tsiif tu <ə...> Mary
 Seattle, sk'inpam.
 g^wəl łal-łalli(l) ?al ti Green River tiif
 CONJ DISTR-live LOC DET Green River DET
- tu-g^wəl tu-?əs-bəli dx^w-?al tsiif tu-<ə>
 PST-CONJ PST-STAT-marry PERV-LOC DET PST-<FALSE>
- Mary Seattle sk'inpam
 name name prop.name
 And they all lived on the Green River and he had been married to Mary Seattle, sk'inpam.

- (151) sk'inpam tiil tuʔaciɬtalbix^w sdaʔs tul' tudiʔ diʔi.
 sk'inpam tiil tu-ʔaciɬtalbix^w s-daʔ-s _tul' tudiʔ
 prop.name DET PST-person NMZR-name-3.POS from over.there
 diʔ-i
 over.there-DERV
 sk'inpam was her Indian name from way over there.
- (152) Yakima tiil tusɬaɬ^ws g^wəl tuʔəɬ dišəʔəx^w g^wəl tubəli.
 Yakima tiil tu-s-ɬaɬ^w-s g^wəl tu-ʔəɬ dišəʔ-əx^w
 Yakima DET PST-NMZR-grow-3.POS CONJ PST-come here-PI
 g^wəl tu-bəli
 CONJ PST-marry
 Yakima is where she had grown up and she had come here to marry.
- (153) ʔal tud^zix^w čəg^wəš ʔə tiil tuJohn Seattle tiil, tsiil <tu-, tuʔ, tu- ə... tu- ə...> tuɬix^wix^w
 ti didišəʔ.
 ʔal tu-d^zix^w čəg^wəš ʔə tiil tu-John Seattle tiil tsiil
 LOC PST-first wife OBL DET PST-John Seattle DET DET
 <tu-tuʔ tu-ə tu-ə> tu-ɬix^wix^w ti di-dišəʔ
 <FALSE FALSE FALSE> PST-*** DET DIM-here
 The first wife of John Seattle had been ɬix^wix^w who was here for a short while. (??)
- (154) tup'aʔ čəd tuyəcəbtub ʔə tsi tiʔtu ti dišəʔ ʔə tə tu <...> wələčtəd, Tom wələčtəd.
 tu-p'aʔ čəd tu-yəc-əb-tu-b ʔə tsi tiʔtu ti dišəʔ
 PST-try 1SG PST-tell-M-CS-M OBL DET prop.name DET here
 ʔə tə tu-wələčtəd Tom wələčtəd
 OBL DET PST-prop.name name prop.name
 tiʔtu who was here tried to tell me about wələčtəd, Tom wələčtəd.
- (155) yəx^w tsiil tutsiil sdaʔ tsi Big Betsy.
 yəx^w tsiil tu-tsiil s-daʔ tsi Big Betsy
 CONJ DET PST-3PRS.FEM NMZR-name DET name name
 And there was a woman named Big Betsy.
- (156) yəx^w tsi tu- <ʔə...> Angeline.
 yəx^w tsi tu-ʔə Angeline
 CONJ DET PST-<FALSE> name
 And Angeline.

- (157) dił tug^walitub ʔə tiil tUSDidaʔ g^wəl t(u)absbədəʔ (h)ilg^wəʔ tiil Mathew Seattle.
 dił tu-g^wəli-tu-b ʔə tiil tu-s-di-daʔ g^wəl
 DEICT PST-***-CS-M OBL DET PST-NMZR-DIM-name CONJ
 tu-ʔabs-bədəʔ hilg^wəʔ tiil Mathew Seattle
 PST-have-one's.child 3PL DET name name
 This is who had been ?? by the one with the nickname and they had a son name
 Mathew Seattle.
- (158) g^wəl ʔuʔatəbəd ʔal Haskell.
 g^wəl ʔu-ʔatəbəd ʔal Haskell
 CONJ SB-die LOC Haskell
 And he died at Haskell.
- (159) x^wiʔ tudg^w(ə)shaydx^w tsiil Angeline.
 x^wiʔ tu-d-g^wə-s-hay-dx^w tsiil _Angeline
 NEG PST-1SG.POS-SUBJ-NMZR-CONJ-LC DET name
 I had not known Angeline.
- (160) tuʔatəbəd tsiil d^zix^wbid ʔə tiil tuds^zla^x^w.
 tu-ʔatəbəd tsiil d^zix^w-bi-d ʔə tiil tu-d-s-^zla^x^w
 PST-die DET first-REL-CTL OBL DET PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grow
 She had died before I grew up.
- (161) yəx^w tsiil <tu- ə...> tuTressa.
 yəx^w tsiil <tu-ə> tu-Tressa
 CONJ DET <FALE> PST-name
 And Tressa.
- (162) diłəx^w <tuʔ-, tu- ə...> tusk^wuy ʔə tiil <tuʔ-> tudscapaʔ tsiil tuTressa.
 dił-əx^w <tuʔ-tu-ə> tu-s-k^wuy ʔə tiil
 DEICT-PI <FALSE> PST-NMZR-mother OBL DET
 <tuʔ-> tu-d-s-capaʔ tsiil tu-Tressa
 <FALSE> PST-1SG.POS-NMZR-grandfather DET PST-name
 This is who was the mother of my grandfather, Tressa.
- (163) ʔəsʔistəʔ ʔə ti čəd lu^zla^xədx^w ti tulu^zlu^z.
 ʔəs-ʔistəʔ ʔə ti čəd lu-la^x-dx^w ti tu-lu^z-lu^z
 STAT-like OBL DET 1SG FUT-remember-LC DET PST-DISTR-old
 It is as such that I remember the elders.
- (164) g^wəl tiil tuwələčtəd.
 g^wəl tiil tu-wələčtəd
 CONJ DET PST-prop.name
 And that wələčtəd.

- (165) g^wəl dił tuk^wax^wad tiil papap(a)stəd yəx^w tsiil tusəyi?sda?
 g^wəl dił tu-k^wax^w-a-d tiil pa-pa-pastəd yəx^w
 CONJ DEICT PST-help-LV-CTL DET DISTR-DIM-Caucasian CONJ

tsiil tu-səyi?sda?

DET PST-prop.name

And this is who had helped the Caucasian children, and tusəyi?sda? (helped too).

- (166) dił tupapap(a)stəd g^wəl hɯsg^wəlaltəbəx^w hilg^wə? tug^wəlaltəbs ʔal tiil war ʔal
 tuswatx^wix^wtx^wəd tuslaughter ti Auburn.
 dił tu-pa-pa-pastəd g^wəl hɯ-s-g^wəlal-t-əb-əx^w
 DEICT PST-DISTR-DIM-Caucasian FM FUT-NMZR-kill-CTL-M-PI

hilg^wə? tu-g^wəlal-t-əb-s ʔal tiil war ʔal
 3PL PST-kill-CTL-M-3.POS LOC DET war LOC

tu-s-waatx^wix^wtx^wəd tu-slaughter ti Auburn

PST-NMZR-land PST-slaughter DET Auburn

These are the children whom were going to be killed by those who had killed others during the war on the land that use to be called Slaughter, which is (now) Auburn.

- (167) g^wəl tuʔuχ^w həlg^wə? tx^wəl tiil č'it ʔə tiil d^zid^zəlalič <ʔal tə...> ʔal t(ə) ʔlay?
 g^wəl tu-ʔuχ^w həlg^wə? dx^w-ʔal tiil č'it ʔə tiil
 CONJ PST-go 3PL PERV-LOC DET near OBL DET

d^zi-d^zəl-al-ič ʔal tə ʔal tə ʔlay?
 DIM-transverse-LOC-ridge LOC DET LOC DET shovel.nosed.canoe

And they went to a place near Seattle in a shovel-nosed canoe.

- (168) g^wəl diłəx^w tuscutəb ʔə ti dišə? ʔə ti g^watg^wat hɯχicig^wəd ʔə tə g^watg^wat.
 g^wəl dił-əx^w tu-s-cut-t-əb ʔə ti dišə? ʔə ti
 CONJ DEICT-PI PST-NMZR-say-CTL-M OBL DET here OBL DET

g^wat-g^wat hɯ-χic-ig^wəd ʔə _tə g^wat-g^wat
 DISTR-who FUT-angry-inside.human.body OBL _DET DISTR-who

And this is what those who were here had said about the several who were going to be strongly angry at many others.

- (169) cutəb ʔə ti dišə?
 cut-t-əb ʔə ti dišə?
 say-CTL-M OBL DET here
 That is what is said here.

(170) huyəx^w qələb tiif tushuy ʔə tiif tustubš tiif tuwələçtəd yəx^w tsiif tusəyiʔsdaʔ.
 huy-əx^w qəl-əb tiif tu-s-huy ʔə tiif tu-s-tubš
 finish-PI bad-M DET PST-NMZR-do OBL DET PST-NMZR-man

tiif tu-wələçtəd yəx^w tsiif tu-səyiʔsdaʔ__
 DET PST-prop.name CONJ DET PST-prop.name
 wələçtəd and səyiʔsdaʔ stopped the bad conduct of the man (men ??).

(171) ʔuxəx^w tiif <... tiif ə...> papap(a)stəd tx^wəl tiif <...> (inaudible) č'it ʔə tiif Black River.

ʔux-əx^w tiif <tiif ə> pa-pa-pastəd dx^w-ʔal tiif
 go-PI DET <FALSE> DISTR-DIM-Caucasian PERV-LOC DET

č'it ʔə tiif Black River
 near OBL DET Black River

The Caucasian children went to (inaudible. Poss: 'survive') near Black River.

(172.1) x^wiʔ g^wədsəshaydx^w.

x^wiʔ g^wə-d-s-ʔəs-hay-dx^w
 NEG SUBJ-1SG.POS-NMZR-STAT-CONJ-LC
 I don't know it.

(172.2) There's a bridge there now.

(173) Near South Park.

(174) That's where they did it with these white folks.

(175) But, the way səyiʔsdaʔ told me that they're taught by the priest now to forgive.

(176) The armistice was signed.

(177) And it's wrong for them to sinful to do any more killing.

(178) (inaudible)

(179) diif səshuy ʔə tiif soldiers.

diif s-ʔəs-huy ʔə tiif soldiers
 DEICT NMZR-STAT-COP OBL DET soldiers
 That is how the soldiers were.

(180) Well I can go on and on with my stories.

(181) This say are.

(182) This will be all for this time.

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