

Two *syəyəhub* from Harry Moses

David Beck and Thom Hess

It may seem odd that someone would appear in the by-line of a contribution to a Festschrift in their own honour, but it seems to me that there is no more fitting way to pay tribute to Thom Hess than through the presentation of a Lushootseed text—and no way in good conscience that one could acknowledge Thom’s contribution in the collection, transcription, and translation of any Lushootseed text other than through coauthorship. Much of Thom’s academic career has been dedicated to the preparation of texts, and most of what we know about Lushootseed is based on the materials he has collected. In spite of this, in all his years of compiling texts for pedagogical readers and other formats suitable for use by the Lushootseed community, there has only been one full length interlinearized story published for an academic audience (Hilbert and Hess 1977). Presented here is another interlinearized text, part of a larger collection of analyzed texts Thom and I began work on in the fall of 2006, which includes all of the stories published in the *Lushootseed Readers* (Hess 1995, 1998, 2006), as well as a number of additional texts, most unpublished, from Thom’s archives, including several recorded in the 1950s by Leon Metcalf and transcribed by the late Vi Taq^wšəblu Hilbert.

The texts prepared for this volume are two stories told by Harry Moses, a speaker of the Skagit dialect, recorded by Leon Metcalf in the 1950s. The presentation here closely follows the orthographic conventions established in the *Lushootseed Readers*, although I have departed from the practices in the earlier version in two respects. In the first place, I have modified some of the spelling conventions introduced to make parsing easier for students (such as writing both consonants in morphologically-created homorganic clusters) in favour of a more phonemically accurate spelling. I have also eliminated the final orthographic /h/ in words like *?ah* ‘be there’ and *qah* ‘many’, which is part of traditional spelling (in order to maintain a consistent CVC root pattern), but which might be misleading to those interested in the phonological and phonotactic patterns of the language.

Words in the first line of text enclosed in square brackets ([]) are editorial amendments agreed upon by Thom and Vi Hilbert as

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they worked with these transcriptions. I have removed from the text lines misspeakings and hesitations which are heard in the recording. The interlinear parses and glosses are mine, based the grammatical analysis under development in Beck (in progress). The English translations are, for the most part, Thom's, in his inimitable style, striking the just the right balance between the structure of the Lushootseed sentence and the narrative flavour of Lushootseed story-telling.¹

How daylight was stolen

Recorded by Leon Metcalf, 1 November 1952 (Metcalf tape 23), with Harry Moses, a speaker of the Upper Skagit dialect; transcribed by Vi Taq^wšəblu Hilbert (9 May 1976). Published, with interlinear analysis, in substantially different form as Hilbert and Hess (1977).

- (1) ?al k^wi tuha?k^w g^wəl x^wi? g^wətusləx̄il
 ?al k^wi tu=ha?k^w g^wəl x^wi? g^wə=tu=sləx̄il
 at REM PAST=long.time CONJ NEG SBJ=PAST=daylight
 ‘In the distant past, there was no daylight.’
- (2) ti?ə? swatix^wtəd g^wəl tasbəsad ?al k^wi tuha?k^w
 ti?ə? swatix^wtəd g^wəl tu=?as-bəsad ?al k^wi
 PROX land CONJ PAST=STAT-dark at REM
 tu=ha?k^w
 PAST=long.time
 ‘The land, it was dark in the distant past.’
- (3) tudx^wadhadəx^w ti?ə? ?aciɬtalbix^w
 tu=d^wx^w-had-had=əx^w ti?ə? ?aciɬtalbix^w
 PAST=CTD-DSTR-discuss=now PROX people
 ‘The people talked it over.’
- (4) ?əsčaləx^w k^wi g^wədəx^wk^wəd^w čəɬ?
 ?əs-čal=əx^w k^wi g^wə=dəx^w=k^wəd-d^w čəɬ
 STAT-how=now REM SBJ=ADNM=taken-DC 1PL.PO
 ‘‘How can we manage to obtain it?’’

¹ The abbreviations used here are given at the end of the texts.

- (5) ?a? k^wi sləx̄il ?al k^wi q^xwul^gwədx^w g^wəl ?əsčal k^wi
g^wədəx^wk^wədx^w čəł
?a? k^wi sləx̄il ?al k^wi q^xw•ul^gwədx^w g^wəl
be.there REM daylight at REM upstream•land SCONJ
?əs–čal k^wi g^wə=dəx^w=k^wəd–dx^w čəł
STAT–how REM SBJ=ADNM=taken–DC 1PL.PO
“Daylight is up there in the upriver country but how can we
manage to get it?”
- (6) tuhuyucutəx^w ti?ə? səsali? ləg^wləg^wəb
tu=huyu–t–sut=əx^w ti?ə? səsali? ləg^w–ləg^wəb
PAST=made–ICS–REFL=now PROX two:HMN DSTR–youth
‘These two youths prepared themselves.’
- (7) tuc’ag^wacutəx^w
tu=c’ag^wa–t–sut=əx^w
PAST=washed–ICS–REFL=now
‘They bathed.’
- (8) tuhuyucut həlg^wə? dx^w?al sx^wəx^wa?x^wə?s g^wəsutələwils əlg^wə?
tu=huyu–t–sut həlg^wə? dx^w–?al s=x^wəx^wa?x^wə?=s
PAST=made–ICS–REFL PL CNTRPT–at NM=swift=3PO
g^wə=s=?u–tələwil=s əlg^wə?
SBJ=NM=PFV–run=3PO PL
‘They prepared themselves in order to be swift as they run.’
- (9) ti?ə? qawq’s ?i ti?ə? bibščəb k^wi tuhuyucut
ti?ə? qawq’s ?i ti?ə? bi–bəščəb k^wi tu=huyu–t–sut
PROX raven CONJ PROX ATTN–mink REM PAST=made–ICS–REFL
‘The ones who prepared themselves were Raven and Little Mink.’
- (10) tut’ədalg^wił əlg^wə?
tu=t’əd•al•g^wił əlg^wə?
PAST=lined.up•CNN•canoe PL
‘They lined up the canoes.’

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- (11) tu?a? dʒəf ti ʔəlay? gʷəl tuχʷ xʷi? u?xʷ gʷəsəsaxʷəbabacs
ʔal kʷi sxʷəʔa?xʷəʔils

tu=?a? dʒəf ti ʔəlay? gʷəl tuχʷ xʷi? u?xʷ
PAST=be.there PTCL SPEC canoe CONJ just NEG PTCL
gʷə=s=lə=saxʷəb•abac=s ʔal kʷi s=xʷəʔa?xʷəʔ-ıl=s
SBJ=NM=PROG=jump•body=3PO at REM NM=swift-INCH=3PO

‘There must have been some shovel-nosed canoes but they could not yet jump over them to become swift.’

- (12) ləcəbagʷiɦil ti?əʔ ʔəsχəkʷtxʷ əlgʷəʔ ʔəlay?

lə=cəb•a•gʷiɦ-ıl ti?əʔ ʔəs-χəkʷ-txʷ əlgʷəʔ
PROG=two•CNN•canoe-INCH PROX STAT=overturned-ECS PL
ʔəlay?
canoe

‘They had two canoes overturned.’

- (13) cəbagʷiɦəxʷ kʷi ʔudəxʷsaxʷəbabacəds əlgʷəʔ

cəb•a•gʷiɦ=əxʷ kʷi ʔu=dəxʷ=saxʷəb•abac-d=s əlgʷəʔ
two•CNN•canoe=now REM HAB=ADNM=jump•body-ICS=3PO PL

‘Now what they would jump over were two canoes.’

- (14) tuha?kʷ tuhuyucut əlgʷəʔ dxʷʔal kʷi gʷədəxʷxʷəʔa?xʷəʔils
lətəlawil

tu=ha?kʷ tu=huyu-t-sut əlgʷəʔ dxʷ-ʔal kʷi
PAST=long.time PAST=made-ICS-REFL PL CNTRPT-at REM
gʷə=dəxʷ=xʷəʔa?xʷəʔ-ıl=s lə=təlawil
SBJ=ADNM=swift-INCH=3PO PROG=run

‘For a long time they trained to become swift as they run.’

- (15) ləɦixʷalgʷiɦil ti?əʔ tasχəkʷtxʷ həlgʷəʔ ʔəlay?
dəxʷəsaxʷəbabacs əlgʷəʔ

lə=ɦixʷ•al•gʷiɦ-ıl ti?əʔ tu=?as-χəkʷ-txʷ
PROG=three•CNN•canoe-INCH PROX PAST=STAT=overturned-ECS
həlgʷəʔ ʔəlay? dəxʷ=lə=saxʷəb•abac=s əlgʷəʔ
PL canoe ADNM=PROG=jump•body=3PO PL

‘It came to where they had three canoes overturned which they were jumping.’

- (16) ?aləx^w k^{wi} tubuusalg^{wi}fił k^{wi} tuasxək^w λ'əlay? g^{wəl}
tusax^wəbabacəd ti?ə? buusalg^{wi}fił λ'əlay? g^{wəl} tu?ahəx^w

?al=əx^w k^{wi} tu=buus•al•g^{wi}fił-ıl k^{wi}
at=now REM PAST=four•CNN•canoe-INCH REM
tu=?as-xək^w λ'əlay? g^{wəl} tu=sax^wəb•abac-d
PAST=STAT-overtaken canoe SCONJ PAST=jump•body-ICS
ti?ə? buus•al•g^{wi}fił λ'əlay? g^{wəl} tu=?a=əx^w
PROX four•CNN•canoe canoe SCONJ PAST=be.there=now

‘When it became four canoes and they jumped over these four, then it was there.’

- (17) g^{wəl} tudx^wcutəb həlg^{wə}?

g^{wəl} tu=dx^w-cut-əb həlg^{wə}?
SCONJ PAST=CTD-speak-DSD PL

‘And then they thought,’

- (18) ?u x^{wi}?əx^w k^{wi} ?ahəx^w g^{wə}čaldubuł

?u x^{wi}?=əx^w k^{wi} ?a=əx^w g^{wə}=čal-dx^w-buł
INTJ NEG=now REM be.there=now SBJ=chased-DC-1PL.OBJ

‘“Oh, now there is nothing that can catch us.”’

- (19) si?əx^w čəł λ'ubəx^w dx^w?al k^{wi} g^{wə}səu?uχ^wc čəł k^{wi} sləxil ?al
k^{wi} dəx^w?acəc

si?əx^w čəł λ'ub=əx^w dx^w-?al k^{wi}
here=now 1PL.SUB well=now CNTRPT-at REM
g^{wə}=s=?u-?uχ^w-c čəł k^{wi} sləxil ?al k^{wi}
SBJ=NAM=PFV-go-ALTV 1PL.PO REM daylight at REM
dəx^w=?acəc
ADNM=be.in.place

‘“We are good enough to go after daylight where it is.”’

- (20) tu?ulułəx^w ti?ə? di?ə? bibščəb ?i ti?ə? qaw'qs

tu=?uluł=əx^w ti?ə? di?ə? bi-bəščəb ?i
PAST=travel.by.water=now PROX here ATTN-mink CONJ
ti?ə? qaw'qs
PROX raven

‘Now Little Mink and Raven set out by canoe.’

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(21) tug^wəč'ədax^w əlg^wə? k^{wi} sləxil dx^w?al k^{wi} dx^wq'x^wul'g^wədx^w
 tu=g^wəč'-d=ax^w əlg^wə? k^{wi} sləxil dx^w-?al
 PAST=search-ICS=now PL REM daylight CNTRPT-at
 k^{wi} dx^w-q'x^w•ul'g^wədx^w
 REM CNTRPT-upstream•land

'They sought for daylight in the land upstream.'

(22) x^wul'əx^w əlg^wə? tuləč'itil dx^w?al ti?ə? dəx^w?a ?ə k^{wi} sləxil
 x^wul'əx^w əlg^wə? tuləč'itil dx^w?al ti?ə?
 only=now PL PAST=PROG=near-INCH CNTRPT-at PROX

dəx^w?a ?ə k^{wi} sləxil
 ADNM=be.there PR REM daylight

x^wul'əx^w əlg^wə?
 HAB=light-INCH•covering=now PL

'As they drew near this place of daylight, light enveloped them.'

(23) x^wuhag^wəx^w k^{wi} x^wusləxils g^wəl x^wubələbəsad

x^wuhag^wəx^w k^{wi} x^wu=s=ləx-il=s g^wəl
 HAB=long.time=now REM HAB=NM=light-INCH=3PO SCONJ

x^wu=bə=lə=bəsad
 HAB=ADD=PROG=dark

'For a long time it would be day then it would again be dark.'

(24) di# tudəx^wəshaydx^wsəx^w əlg^wə?

di# tu=dəx^w=?əs-hay-dx^w=s=səx^w əlg^wə?
 FOC PAST=ADNM=STAT-known-DC=3PO=now PL

'That is how they knew.'

(25) ləč'itiləx^w čə#

ləč'it-il=səx^w čə#
 PROG=near-INCH=now 1PL.SUB

“‘We are getting near.’”

- (26) g^wəl tu^ləg^wɬ əlg^wə? ti?ə? q'il'bid-s g^wəl tug^waḥ^w
 g^wəl tu=ɬəg^wɬ əlg^wə? ti?ə? q'il'bid-s g^wəl tu=g^waḥ^w
 SCONJ PAST=leave PL PROX canoe-3PO SCONJ PAST=walk
 ‘Then they left their canoe and walked.’
- (27) tug^waḥ^wəx^w əlg^wə? g^wəl tu^lčil dx^w?al ti?ə? di?ə? ?aciɬtalbix^w
 ?əsɬaɬlil dəx^w?a ?ə ti?ə? sləḥil
 tu=g^waḥ^w=əx^w əlg^wə? g^wəl tu=ɬčil dx^w-?al ti?ə?
 PAST=walk=now PL SCONJ PAST=arrive CNTRPT-at PROX
 di?ə? ?aciɬtalbix^w ?əs-ɬaɬlil dəx^w=?a ?ə ti?ə?
 here people STAT-live ADNM=be.there PR PROX
 sləḥil
 daylight
 ‘They walked now and arrived at these people who dwelled
 at the place of light.’
- (28) ɬudx^w?iwədəx^w əlg^wə?
 ɬu=dx^w-?iwəd=əx^w əlg^wə?
 IRR=CTD-decide=now PL
 ‘They will decide.’
- (29) g^watəx^w ?ə dibəɬ k^wi ɬu?uḥ^wtx^w k^wi sləḥil
 g^wat=əx^w ?ə dibəɬ k^wi ɬu=?uḥ^w-tx^w k^wi sləḥil
 who=now PR we REM IRR=go-ECS REM daylight
 ‘“Which of us will take the light?”’
- (30) g^wəsduk^w g^wəbək^w?w^waɬi g^wə?uḥ^w
 g^wə=s=duk^w g^wə=bək^w?w^waɬi g^wə=?uḥ^w
 SBJ=NM=anormal SBJ=all=1PL.SBJ SBJ=go
 ‘“It would be bad if we both were to go.”’
- (31) yəḥi čəɬ g^wəhaydub lə?uḥ^wc čəɬ ti?ə? sləḥil
 yəḥi čəɬ g^wə=hay-dx^w-b lə=?uḥ^w-c
 because 1PL.SUB SBJ=known-DC-PASS PROG=go-ALT
 čəɬ ti?ə? sləḥil
 1PL.SUB PROX daylight
 ‘“Because we would be known to be going after this light.”’

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- (32) ʃuqadabid čəʃ ʔal kʷi ʃudəxʷʔacəc
 ʃu=qada-bi-d čəʃ ʔal kʷi ʃu=dəxʷ=ʔacəc
 IRR=steal-SS-ICS 1PL.SUB at REM IRR=ADNM=be.in.place
 “‘We will steal it from where it is.’”
- (33) tucutəxʷ tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ bi-bəščəb
 tu=cut=əxʷ tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ bi-bəščəb
 PAST=say=now PROX here ATTN-mink
 ‘Little Mink said,’
- (34) ʔəca kʷi ʃuhədʔiwʔb
 ʔəca kʷi ʃu=hədʔiwʔ-b
 I REM IRR=indoors-PASS
 “‘I am the one who will enter the building.’”
- (35) kayiʔ čəd ʃuləluluʃ ʃasqʷəlubus, ʃasxʷalʔ
 kayiʔ čəd ʃu=lə=lu-luʃ ʃu=ʔas-qʷəlub•us
 pretend 1SG.SUB IRR=PROG=ATTN-old IRR=STAT-grey.hair•head
 ʃu=ʔas-xʷalʔ
 IRR=STAT-fail
 “‘I will pretend to be old and grey and feeble.’”
- (36) ʃasckʷusəd ʃuhədʔiwʔbəd
 ʃu=ʔas-ckʷusəd ʃu=hədʔiwʔ-b=əd
 IRR=STAT-walking.stick IRR=indoors-MD=1SG.SBJ
 “‘Using a cane I will go in.’”
- (37) ʃuləʔuʃxʷ čəd dxʷʔal kʷi siʔab ʔabsləxʃil
 ʃu=lə=ʔuʃxʷ čəd dxʷ-ʔal kʷi siʔab ʔas-bəs-sləxʃil
 IRR=PROG=go 1SG.SUB CNTRPT-at REM noble STAT-PROP-daylight
 “‘I will go to the nobleman who has the daylight.’”
- (38) dəxʷʔaʔ kʷi ʃudsʔaʔ
 dəxʷ=ʔaʔ kʷi ʃu=d=s=ʔaʔ
 ADNM=be.there REM IRR=1SG.PO=NM=be.there
 “‘There is where I will be.’”

- (39) cuuc tiʔəʔ qawʔqs
 cut-c tiʔəʔ qawʔqs
 say-ALTV PROX raven
 ‘Raven said to him,’
- (40) ʔuʔal tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ kʷi ʔudsʔacəc
 ʔuʔal tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ kʷi ʔu=d=s=ʔacəc
 IRR=at PROX here REM IRR=1SG.PO=NM=be.in.place
 ‘‘I will be at this place here.’’
- (41) ʔasʔaciʔ čəd dxʷʔal kʷi ʔadsʔəʔtxʷ
 ʔuʔas-ʔaciʔ čəd dxʷ-ʔal kʷi
 IRR=STAT-pause 1SG.SUB CNTRPT-at REM
 ʔuʔad=s=ʔəʔtxʷ
 IRR=2SG.PO=NM=come-ECS
 ‘‘I will wait for you to bring it.’’
- (42) siʔ ʔʷub ʔadsəsʔipʔaʔəd čəxʷa ʔuʔčil dxʷdiʔaʔ gʷəl
 ʔəcahəxʷ kʷi ʔubəkʷədad, ʔukʷədadxʷaxʷ
 siʔ ʔʷub ʔuʔad=s=ʔəs-ʔipʔaʔ-at-d
 right.there well IRR=2SG.PO=NM=STAT-squeeze-INCRP-ICS
 čəxʷa ʔuʔčil dxʷ-diʔaʔ gʷəl ʔəca=əxʷ
 2SG.COORD IRR=arrive CNTRPT-PROX.DMA SCONJ I=now
 kʷi ʔuʔbə=kʷəda-d ʔuʔkʷəda-dxʷ=axʷ
 REM IRR=ADD=taken-ICS IRR=taken-DC=now
 ‘‘Just so will you be clutching it and you will arrive here,
 and I am the one who will take it anew.’’
- (43) tutəlawiləxʷ
 tuʔtəlawil=əxʷ
 PAST=run=now
 ‘(Little Mink) ran.’
- (44) tuʔuʔxʷəxʷ tiʔəʔ biʔščəb gʷəl tuʔčil dxʷʔal tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ siʔab
 ʔabsləʔil
 tuʔuʔxʷ=əxʷ tiʔəʔ biʔ-bəščəb gʷəl tuʔčil dxʷ-ʔal
 PAST=go=now PROX ATTN-mink SCONJ PAST=arrive CNTRPT-at

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tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ siʔab ʔas-bəs-sləx̄il
 PROX here noble STAT-PROP-daylight

‘Little Mink went and he came to the nobleman who had daylight.’

(45) ləluʔ ʔəs-qʷəlubus ləsckʷusəd

lə=luʔ ʔəs-qʷəlub•us ləs-ckʷusəd
 PROG=old STAT-grey.hair•head PROG.STAT-use.walking.stick

‘He was old with grey hair and used a cane.’

(46) šudub ʔə tiʔəʔ ʔaciʔtabixʷ

šut-dxʷ-b ʔə tiʔəʔ ʔaciʔtabixʷ
 see-DC-PASS PR PROX people

‘He was seen by these people.’

(47) ʔu dčʷaʔkʷbixʷ ʔaciʔtalbixʷ tiʔəʔ ʔuʔčil

ʔu dčʷaʔkʷbixʷ ʔaciʔtalbixʷ tiʔəʔ ʔu-ʔčil
 INTJ different.tribe people PROX PFV-arrive

‘‘‘Oh, a person of a different tribe has arrived.’’’

(48) cutəxʷ bibščəb

cut=əxʷ bi-bəščəb
 say=now ATTN-mink

‘Little Mink said.’

(49) ʔu sʔušəbabdxʷ čəd

ʔu sʔušəbabdxʷ čəd
 INTJ poor.guy 1SG.SUB

‘‘‘Oh, I am poor.’’’

(50) xʷiʔ kʷi stab gʷubəqʷəd čəd gʷəʔəʔəd

xʷiʔ kʷi stab gʷəʔəʔəʔ-d čəd
 NEG REM what SBJ=PFV-have.in.mouth-ICS 1SG.SUB
 gʷəʔəʔəd
 SBJ=feed.on

‘‘‘I have nothing to put in my mouth to eat.’’’

- (51) x^wi?əx^w k^wi g^watəx^w ?al cəx^w?a? g^wəλ'ashuyuc ha?ʔ, čəda
lə?əλ' ləg^wəč'alik^w dx^w?al k^wi si?ab ?absləxil

x^wi?əx^w k^wi g^watəx^w ?al d=dəx^w?a?
NEG=now REM who=now at 1SG.PO=ADNM=be.there

g^wə=λ'u=?as-huyu-t-s ha?ʔ čəda
SBJ=HAB=STAT-made-ICS-1SG.OBJ good 1SG.COORD

lə=?əλ' lə=g^wəč'-alik^w dx^w?al k^wi si?ab
PROG=come PROG=search-ACT CNTRPT-at REM noble

?as-bəs-sləxil
STAT-PROP-daylight

“‘There is no one where I am who treats me well, so I am coming, looking for the nobleman who possesses daylight.’”

- (52) ?a? k^wi ʔudsəsʔaq' g^wəl ʔuha?ʔ k^wi g^wədsəshuy

?a? k^wi ʔu=d=s=?əs-ʔaq' g^wəl ʔu=ha?ʔ
be.there REM IRR=1SG.PO=NM=STAT-fallen SCONJ IRR=good

k^wi g^wə=d=s=?əs-huy
REM SBJ=1SG.PO=NM=STAT-made

“‘There I will lie down and I will be treated well.’”

- (53) tuk^wədatəbəx^w ?ə ti?ə? si?ab ti?ə? di?ə? luλ' g^wəl tucutəb

tu=k^wəda-t-b=əx^w ?ə ti?ə? si?ab ti?ə? di?ə?
PAST=taken-ICS-PASS=now PR PROX noble PROX here

luλ' g^wəl tu=cut-t-b
old SCONJ PAST=say-ICS-PASS

‘The old man was taken by the nobleman and spoken to,’

- (54) ʔu?al tudi? ?alq'^w k^wi ʔadsəstəd'ıl ʔadsʔag^wid

ʔu=?al tudi? ?alq'^w k^wi
IRR=at DIST.DMA away.from.fire REM

ʔu=ad=s=?əs-təd'ıl ʔu=ad-sʔag^wid
IRR=2SG.PO=NM=STAT-lie.in.bed IRR=2SG.PO-sleeping.mat

“‘There at the back you will lie down, you will have your mat.’”

- (55) tucutəx^w

tu=cut=əx^w
PAST=say=now

‘(Little Mink) spoke,’

12 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

(56) x^wi?, λ^ušišəd^zal čəd ?al ti ɬaχ

x^wi? λ^u=ši-šəd^zal čəd ?al ti ɬaχ
 NEG HAB=ATTN-go.outdoors 1SG.SUB at SPEC dark

‘‘No, I need to go outside a bit during the night.’

(57) λ^uub ləq^uafucid k^wi ɬuds?a?

λ^uub ləq^uafucid k^wi ɬu=d=s=?a?
 well be.in.right.place•mouth REM IRR=1SG.PO=NM=be.there

‘‘It is better that I be by the door.’’

(58) tuhuyutəbəx^w ?ə ti?ə? dəx^wəsɬaq^u’s ləq^uafucid

tu=huyu-t-b=əx^w ?ə ti?ə? dəx^w=?əs-ɬaq^u=s
 PAST=made-ICS-PASS=now PR PROX ADNM=STAT-fallen=3PO

ləq^uafucid
 be.in.right.place•mouth

‘His place was made by the door.’

(59) λ^u’u?a? x^wul’ λ^u’aswačbid ti?iɬ λ^u’ashuyutid

λ^u’u=?a? x^wul’ λ^u’u=?as-wač-bi-d ti?iɬ
 HAB=be.there only HAB=STAT-watch-MAP-ICS DIST

λ^u’u=?as-huyu-t-id
 HAB=STAT-made-ICS-PASS.SBRD

‘He would be there just watching what was done with it.’

(60) x^wul’ ?əswačbid

x^wul’ ?əs-wač-bi-d
 only STAT-watch-MAP-ICS

‘He just watched it.’

(61) x^wul’ λ^u’ulədi?i?il ti?iɬ ɬuk^waɬ g^wəl λ^u’uləλ^u’ip’usitəb ti?ə? sləχil

x^wul’ λ^u’u=lə=di?-i?-il ti?iɬ ɬuk^waɬ g^wəl
 only HAB=PROG=EXC-other.side-INCH DIST sun SCONJ

λ^u’u=lə=λ^u’ip’us-i-t-b ti?ə? sləχil
 HAB=PROG=squeeze•face-SS-ICS-PASS PROX daylight

‘As the sun would move to the other side, then the daylight would gradually get its face squeezed shut.’

(62) diṭ səṭa·x̃il

diṭ s=lə=ṭaṣ̃-il
FOC NM=PROG=dark-INCH

‘It gradually became night.’

(63) Ḳ’uləḲ’uc’usitəb

Ḳ’u=lə=Ḳ’uc’·us-i-t-b
HAB=PROG=tied.in.bunch·face-SS-ICS-PASS

‘It would gradually get its face tied shut.’

(64) diṭ sbəsads

diṭ s=bəsad=s
FOC NM=dark=3PO

‘It was then that it was dark.’

(65) ʔəswačbitəb ʔə bibščəb

ʔəs-wač-bi-t-b ʔə bi-bəščəb
STAT-watch-MAP-ICS-PASS PR ATTN-mink

‘It was watched by Little Mink.’

(66) ʔaləx^w sṭix^wəṭdacuts k^wi sʔaʔs bibščəb g^wəl ʔuḳ^wc tiʔəʔ sləx̃il

ʔal=əx^w s=ṭix^w·əṭ·dat-t-sut=s k^wi s=ʔaʔ=s
at=now NM=three·CLS·day-ICS-REFL=3PO REM NM=be.there=3PO
bi-bəščəb g^wəl ʔuḳ^w-c tiʔəʔ sləx̃il
ATTN-mink CONJ go-ALTV PROX daylight

‘When it was three days that Little Mink was there, then he went after the daylight.’

(67) x^wiʔ uʔx^w g^wəsṭaʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ čaləs

x^wiʔ uʔx^w g^wə=sṭaʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ čaləs-s
NEG PTCL SBJ=NM=arrive PR PROX hand-3PO

‘He can not reach it with his hand.’

(68) Ḳ’al’ lil g^wəl ləḳ̃

Ḳ’al’ lil g^wəl ləḳ̃
also far CONJ light

‘It was still far away when it lit up.’

14 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

(69) tiləb ?usax^{wəb} bibščəb g^{wəl} təd^{zil} ?al ti?i? dəx^{wəstəd^zils}
 tiləb ?u–sax^{wəb} bi–bəščəb g^{wəl} təd^{zil} ?al
 immediately PFV–jump ATTN–mink SCONJ lie.in.bed at
 ti?i? dəx^{wəstəd^zils}
 DIST ADNM=STAT–lie.in.bed=3PO
 ‘Quickly Little Mink jumped back and lay where he lay down.’

(70) ?əstəd^zilič ?ə di? q^{wə}afčup
 ?əs–təd^zil•ič ?ə di? q^{wə}afčup
 STAT–lie.in.bed•covering PR other.side ash•fire
 ‘He went to bed covered by fine ash powder.’

(71) pu?ud ti?ə? q^{wə}afčup g^{wəl} pədič
 pu?u–d ti?ə? q^{wə}afčup g^{wəl} pədič
 blow–ICS PROX ash•fire SCONJ buried•covering
 ‘He blew on this fine ash powder and is buried.’

(72) dəb k^{wə}ədi? ?i?lilal?tx^w k^{wi} ?u?a?ad
 dəb k^{wə}ədi? ?i?–lil•al?tx^w k^{wi} ?u–?a?a–d
 instead REM.DMA PRTV–far•room REM PFV–notice–ICS
 ‘The others at the far part of the house noticed it.’

(73) bu?əxidəx^w k^{wi} [s]ləxil k^{wi} dəx^wwəq^{wə}q^{wə}s
 bə=?u–?əxid=əx^w k^{wi} sləxil k^{wi}
 ADD=PFV–what.happen=now REM daylight REM
 dəx^wwəq^{wə}q^{wə}s
 ADNM=DSTR–blink=3PO
 ‘“Why is the daylight blinking?”’

(74) ?əšucəb ?ə ti lu? ?əsbəč ləq^{wə}afčucid ?əspədpədič ?ə ti q^{wə}afčup
 ?əs–šuf–c–b ?ə ti lu? ?əs–bəč ləq^{wə}afčucid
 STAT–see–ALTV–PASS PR SPEC old STAT–fall in.place•mouth
 ?əs–pədpədič ?ə ti q^{wə}afčup
 STAT–DSTR–buried•covering PR SPEC ash•fire
 ‘The old fellow lying by the door covered in fine ash watched it.’

- (75) ?al bəʎ'utəx gʷəl bəʎutxʷcəb ?ə bibščəb
 ?al bəʎ'utəx gʷəl bəʎ=ʎutxʷ-c-b ?ə bi-bəščəb
 at ADD=HAB=dark CONJ ADD=go-ALTV-PASS PR ATTN-mink
 'When it would again be night, Little Mink went after it again.'
- (76) buusəʎdat kʷi suʎutxʷcs tiʎəʎ sləxil gʷəl tuʎaʎačiʎbid
 buus•əʎ•dat kʷi s=ʎu-ʎutxʷ-c=s tiʎəʎ sləxil
 four•CLS•day REM NM=PFV-go-ALTV=3PO PROX daylight
 gʷəl tu=ʎaʎ•ačiʎ-bi-d
 CONJ PAST=arrive•hand-MAP-ICS
 'For four days he went after the daylight, then his hand reached it.'
- (77) diʎ tuspəkʷibids tiʎəʎ sləxil gʷəl tusaxʷəbtxʷ
 diʎ tu=s•pəkʷib-bi-d=s tiʎəʎ sləxil gʷəl
 FOC PAST=NM=snatch-MAP-ICS=3PO PROX daylight CONJ
 tu=saxʷəb-txʷ
 PAST=jump-ECS
 'He snatched the daylight and ran off with it.'
- (78) tučalatəb bibščəb
 tu=čala-t-b bi-bəščəb
 PAST=chased-ICS-PASS ATTN-mink
 'Little Mink was chased.'
- (79) tudiʎ ʎ'uləgʷədabac ?ə ti qʷəʎqʷəʎayʎ tiʎiʎ səšulagʷils
 tudiʎ ʎ'u=lə=gʷəd•abac ?ə ti qʷəʎ-qʷəʎayʎ
 DIST.DMA HAB=PROG=down•body PR SPEC DSTR-log
 tiʎiʎ s=lə=šul-agʷil=s
 DIST NM=PROG=go.under-AUTO=3PO
 'He kept below the logs he was going beneath over there.'
- (80) xʷiʎ gʷəsucəls yəxi huy xʷəxʷaʎxʷəʎ
 xʷiʎ gʷə=s=ʎu-čal=s yəxi huy xʷəxʷaʎxʷəʎ
 NEG SBJ=NM=PFV-chased=3PO because CONJ swift
 'He was not overtaken because he is swift.'

16 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

(81) ləsax^wəbabac ?ə ti?ə? q^wɬa?y dx^w?al ti?iɬ sɬčis ti?ə? ?a?yəds
qaw'qs

lə=sax^wəb•abac ?ə ti?ə? q^wɬa?y dx^w-?al ti?iɬ
PROG=jump•body PR PROX log CNTRPT-at DIST
s=ɬčil-s=s ti?ə? ?a?yəd-s qaw'qs
NM=arrive-ALTV=3PO PROX companion-3PO raven

'He jumped over the logs until he arrived at his friend, Raven.'

(82) g^wəl tu?iɬ^wyid ?ə ti?ə? sləx̃il

g^wəl tu=?iɬ^w-yi-d ?ə ti?ə? sləx̃il
SCONJ PAST=thrown.at-DAT-ICS PR PROX daylight

'And he threw him the daylight.'

(83) k^wədətəb ?ə qaw'qs

k^wədə-t-b ?ə qaw'qs
taken-ICS-PASS PR raven

'It was taken by Raven.'

(84) tudi? liɬšəq ti?iɬ ləč'əlč'əlp ?ə qaw'qs

tudi? liɬ-šəq ti?iɬ lə=č'əl-č'əlp ?ə qaw'qs
DIST.DMA PRLV-high DIST PROG=DSTR-turned PR raven

'Way up high Raven was twisting and turning.'

(85) q^wa?! q^wa?! q^wa?! q^wa?!

“‘Caw! Caw! Caw! Caw!’”

(86) x^wi? k^wi g^wat g^wuk^wədx^w yəxi huy x^wəx^wa?x^wə?

x^wi? k^wi g^wat g^wə=?u-k^wəd-dx^w yəxi huy x^wəx^wa?x^wə?
NEG REM who SBJ=PFV-taken-DC because SCONJ swift

'There was no one who could catch him because he is swift.'

(87) q^wiq^w

q^wiq^w
strong

'He is strong.'

- (88) ti?ə? liʔal ti?ə? swatix^wtəd ʔ'udəx^wusax^wəbs
 ti?ə? liʔ-ʔal ti?ə? swatix^wtəd ʔ'u=dəx^w=ʔu-sax^wəb=s
 PROX PRLV-at PROX land HAB=NM=PFV-jump=3PO
 'Here on the ground was where (Little Mink) ran.'
- (89) tudi? liʔəq dəx^wusaq^ws
 tudi? liʔ-əq dəx^w=ʔu-saq^w=s
 DIST.DMA PRLV-high NM=PFV-fly=3PO
 'Way up high was where (Raven) flew.'
- (90) x^wi? k^wi g^wat g^wələk^wədx^w ti?ə? qaw^wqs
 x^wi? k^wi g^wat g^wə=lə=k^wəd-dx^w ti?ə? qaw^wqs
 NEG REM who SBJ=PROG=taken-DC PROX raven
 'There was no one who could manage to catch Raven.'
- (91) ʔ^wul' ʔ'u=lə=q^wəʔəb g^wəl lə?iʔ^wyid ti?ə? ʔay^wəds
 ʔ^wul' ʔ'u=lə=q^wəʔəb g^wəl lə=?iʔ^w-yi-d ti?ə?
 only HAB=PROG=tired SCONJ PROG=thrown.at-DAT-ICS PROX
 ʔay^wəds-s
 companion-3PO
 'When he would tire, he would throw it to his friend.'
- (92) čalatəb bibščəb
 čala-t-b bi-bəščəb
 chased-ICS-PASS ATTN-mink
 'Little Mink as chased.'
- (93) tudi? lil g^wədabac ʔə ti q^wəʔq^wʔay?
 tudi? lil g^wəd•abac ʔə ti q^wəʔ-q^wʔay?
 DIST.DMA far down•body PR SPEC DSTR-log
 'He was way over there beneath the logs.'
- (94) tudi? lə sax^wəbabac ʔə ti šqabac ti?iʔ sətəlawlil ʔə bibščəb
 tudi? lə=sax^wəb•abac ʔə ti šq•abac ti?iʔ
 DIST.DMA PROG=jump•body PR SPEC high•body DIST

18 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

s=lə=təlawil ?ə bi-bəščəb
 NM=PROG=run PR ATTN-mink

‘Little Mink was way over there jumping over the high mass where he was running.’

(95) x^wi? k^wi stab g^wələčaldx^w ti?ə? x^wəx^wa?x^wə? titčul’bix^w

x^wi? k^wi stab g^wə=lə=čal-dx^w ti?ə? x^wəx^wa?x^wə?
 NEG REM what SBJ=PROG=chased-DC PROX swift
 titčul’bix^w
 small.animal

‘Therewasis nothing able to overtake this swift little animal.’

(96) stiqayu?, swəwa? tučalad

stiqayu? swəwa? tu=čala-d
 wolf cougar PAST=chased-ICS

‘It was Wolf and Cougar who chased him.’

(97) x^wi? k^wi g^wat g^wučaladx^w ti bibščəb yəxi huy x^wəx^wa?x^wə?

x^wi? k^wi g^wat g^wə=?u-čala-dx^w ti bi-bəščəb
 NEG REM who SBJ=PFV=chased-DC SPEC ATTN-mink
 yəxi huy x^wəx^wa?x^wə?
 because SCONJ swift

‘No one could overtake Little Mink because he is swift.’

(98) dx^w?al tustčils əlg^wə? dx^w?al ti?ə? q’il’bids əlg^wə? g^wəl
 tuq’ilag^wil g^wəl tu?uluʃ

dx^w-?al tu=s=4čil=s əlg^wə? dx^w-?al ti?ə?
 CNTRPT-at PAST=NM=arrive=3PO PL CNTRPT-at PROX
 q’il’bid-s əlg^wə? g^wəl tu=q’il-ag^wil g^wəl
 canoe-3PO PL SCONJ PAST=aboard-AUTO SCONJ
 tu=ʔuluʃ
 PAST=travel.by.water

‘When they got to their canoe, they got in and set off.’

(99) ʃ^wul’əx^w tu?uluʃ əlg^wə? g^wəl tuq^wšabəx^w

ʃ^wul’əx^w tu=ʔuluʃ əlg^wə? g^wəl tu=q^wšab=əx^w
 only=now PAST=travel.by.water PL SCONJ PAST=foggy=now

‘Just as they set out it became foggy.’

(100) cutəx^w ?ə ti?ə? bibščəb

cut=əx^w ?ə ti?ə? bi-bəščəb
say=now PR PROX ATTN-mink

‘Little Mink said.’

(101) ?a? ti?i? d-sqəlalitut ʔula? čəd g^wəl ʔuq^wšab ti?ə? swatix^wtəd

?a? ti?i? d-sqəlalitut ʔu=la? čəd
be.there DIST 1SG.PO-spirit.power IRR=localize 1SG.SUB
g^wəl ʔu=q^wšab ti?ə? swatix^wtəd
SCONJ IRR=foggy PROX land

‘‘I have a spirit power that I’ll locate and the land will be foggy.’’

(102) tuq^wšabičəx^w əlg^wə? g^wəl tuχ^wilχ^wiləx^w ti?ə? ?aciʔtalbix^w
tuləčalad həlg^wə?

tu=q^wšab•ič=əx^w əlg^wə? g^wəl tu=χ^wil-χ^wil=əx^w
PAST=foggy•covering=now PL SCONJ PAST=DSTR-lost=now
ti?ə? ?aciʔtalbix^w tu=lə=čala-d həlg^wə?
PROX people PAST=PROG=chased-ICS PL

‘The fog covered them and the people who chased them got lost.’

(103) g^wəl tuʔuχ^wəx^w

g^wəl tu=ʔuχ^w=əx^w
SCONJ PAST=go=now

‘And they went.’

(104) tut^ʔuk^{ʔw}tx^wəx^w ti?ə? sləχil

tu=t^ʔuk^{ʔw}-tx^w=əx^w ti?ə? sləχil
PAST=go.home-ECS=now PROX daylight

‘They took this daylight home.’

(105) χ^wul^ʔəx^w əlg^wə? tuləʔčildx^w ti?ə?

χ^wul^ʔ=əx^w əlg^wə? tu=lə=ʔčil-dx^w ti?ə?
only=now PL PAST=PROG=arrive-DC PROX

‘They were just managing to arrive with it.’

(106) tuləč^ʔitil dx^w?al ti?ə? swatix^wtəd dəx^wtul^ʔa?ə? əlg^wə?

tu=lə=ʔčil-dx^w ti?ə? tu=lə=č^ʔit-il dx^w-?al
PAST=PROG=arrive-DC PROX PAST=PROG=near-INCH CNTRPT-at

20 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

tiʔəʔ swatix^wtəd dəx^w=tul'–ʔaʔ=s əlg^wəʔ
 PROX land ADN^M=CNTRFG–be.there=3PO PL

‘They were drawing near to this land where they were from.’

(107) g^wəl diʔəx^w k^wi λ'ug^wəqilič ʔə tiʔəʔ ʔaciʔtalbix^w

g^wəl diʔəx^w k^wi λ'u=g^wəq–il•ič ʔə tiʔəʔ
 SCONJ FOC=now REM HAB=bright–INCH•covering PR PROX

ʔaciʔtalbix^w
 people

‘And sunshine would envelope the people.’

(108) tucut

tu=cut
 PAST=say

‘They said,’

(109) ʔu, ʔuʔəλ'ax^w ti stububš tug^wəč'əd tiʔiʔ sləxil

ʔu ʔu–ʔəλ'=ax^w ti stub–ubš tu=g^wəč'–d
 INTJ PFV–come=now SPEC PL–man PAST=search–ICS

tiʔiʔ sləxil
 DIST daylight

‘‘Oh, the men who sought the daylight have come.’’

(110) ʔiʔč'itəx^w

ʔiʔ–č'it=əx^w
 PRTV–near=now

‘‘They are coming nearer.’’

(111) ləxilicəx^w čəʔ

ləx–il•ič=əx^w čəʔ
 light–INCH•covering=now 1PL.SUB

‘‘Light is covering us.’’

(112) tuʔəλ'tx^w əlg^wəʔ tiʔəʔ sləxil g^wəl tuʔčil dx^w?al tiʔəʔ

swatix^wtəd dəx^wtul'ʔaʔs əlg^wəʔ

tu=ʔəλ'–tx^w əlg^wəʔ tiʔəʔ sləxil g^wəl tu=ʔčil
 PAST=come–ECS PL PROX daylight SCONJ PAST=arrive

dx^w-ʔal tiʔəʔ swatix^wtəd dəx^w=tulʔ-ʔaʔ=s
 CNTRPT-at PROX land ADNMCNTRFG-be.there=3PO
 əlg^wəʔ
 PL

‘They brought the daylight and came to the land they were from.’

(113) g^wəl qawʔqs k^wi dʔix^w tuk^wədad tiʔəʔ sləx̃il

g^wəl qawʔqs k^wi dʔix^w tu=k^wəda-d tiʔəʔ sləx̃il
 SCONJ raven REM first PAST=taken-ICS PROX daylight

‘And Raven took the daylight first.’

(114) cədiʔ k^wi tuwačbid

cədiʔ k^wi tu=wač-bi-d
 s/he REM PAST=watch-MAP-ICS

‘The one who watched it was he.’

(115) daʔx^w ʔʼuləʔax̃il g^wəl bələx̃il

daʔx^w ʔʼu=lə=ʔax̃-il g^wəl bə=ləx̃-il
 just.now HAB=PROG=dark-INCH SCONJ ADD=light-INCH

‘No sooner it would become night than it became light again.’

(116) ʔəsʔəx̃idəx^w k^wi ʔaciʔalbix^w g^wasʔitutəs

ʔəs-ʔəx̃id=əx^w k^wi ʔaciʔalbix^w
 STAT-what.happen=now REM people

g^wəʔ=ʔas-ʔitut=əs
 SBJ=STAT-sleep=3SBJ

‘Why were the people asleep?’

(117) ʔʼalʔ uʔx^w bələx̃il

ʔʼalʔ uʔx^w bə=ləx̃-il
 also PTCL ADD=light-INCH

‘It had also become light again.’

(118) ʔ^wulʔ ʔaʔ

ʔ^wulʔ ʔaʔ
 only fast

‘It was too fast.’

22 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

(119) ?abyitəb bibščəb g^wəl ha?k^w ti?i?i? ʔʔuləʔaχils g^wəl ʔʔusləχil
 ?ə k^wi ta?təbac

?ab-yi-t-b bi-bəščəb g^wəl ha?k^w ti?i?i?
 extend-DAT-ICS-PASS ATTN-mink SCONJ long.time DIST
 ʔʔu=lə=ʔaχ-il-s g^wəl ʔʔu=s=ləχ-il
 HAB=PROG=dark-INCH-3PO SCONJ HAB=NM=light-INCH
 ?ə k^wi ta?təbac
 PR REM slow

‘It was given to Little Mink and for a long time it would be
 night and grow light slowly.’

(120) huy ?əsaydx^w tašəʔyači?bid ti?i?i? suhuyuds

huy ?əs-hay-dx^w tu=?as-šəʔ•y•ači?-bi-d
 SCONJ STAT-known-DC PAST=STAT-make•CNN•hand-MAP-ICS
 ti?i?i? s=?u-huyu-d=s
 DIST NM=PFV-made-ICS=3PO

‘Because he knew how it is done with the hands.’

(121) g^wəl qaw’qs g^wəl ʔʔul’ ?aʔ

g^wəl qaw’qs g^wəl ʔʔul’ ?aʔ
 SCONJ raven SCONJ only fast

‘But Raven, he was too fast.’

(122) ʔʔul’ ?a? ti?i?i? sʔaχils g^wəl bələχil

ʔʔul’ ?a? ti?i?i? s=ʔaχ-il=s g^wəl
 only be.there DIST NM=dark-INCH=3PO SCONJ
 bə=ləχ-il
 ADD=light-INCH

‘Just when it became night then it became day again.’

(123) ?əs-?əχidəx^w k^wi ?aciʔtalbix^w g^wastəʔiləs g^wəl ʔʔal’ u?x^w basləχil

?əs-?əχid=əx^w k^wi ?aciʔtalbix^w
 STAT-what.happen=now REM people
 g^wə=?as-təʔil=əs g^wəl ʔʔal’ u?x^w
 SBJ=STAT-lic.in.bed=3SBJ SCONJ also PTCL
 bə=?as-ləχ-il
 ADD=STAT-light-INCH

‘Why were the people in bed when it had become light again?’

(124) šac'əx^w ti?iɬ dsg^wəg^wadg^wəd

šac'=əx^w ti?iɬ d=s=g^wəg^wadg^wəd
finished=now DIST 1SG.PO=NM=converse

'My talking is finished now.'

(125) dəč'u? ha?ɬ syəyəhub

dəč'u? ha?ɬ syəyəhub
one good legend

'It is a good story.'

Star Child

Recorded by Leon Metcalf (Metcalf tape 32), 28 November 1952, with Harry Moses, a speaker of the Skagit dialect; transcribed by Vi Taq^wšəblu Hilbert and edited by Vi Hilbert and Thom Hess.

(1) ti?ə? di?ə? diič'u? sɬadəy?

ti?ə? di?ə? diič'u? sɬadəy?
PROX here one:HMN woman

'There was this one woman.'

(2) tasɬəɬlil

tu=?as-ɬəɬlil
PAST=STAT-live

'She dwelled there.'

(3) g^wəl tabsbibəda? ?ə ti?ə? stutubš

g^wəl tu=?as-bəs-bi-bəda? ?ə ti?ə? stu-tubš
SCONJ PAST=STAT-PROP-ATTN-offspring PR PROX ATTN-man

'And she had a little boy.'

(4) tasxičəq

tu=?as-či-čəq
PAST=STAT-ATTN-wrapped

'He was swaddled.'

24 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

(5) syəyəhub

syəyəhub
legend

‘It is traditional story.’

(6) g^wəl ?a tsi?ə? ki?s

g^wəl ?a tsi?ə? kia?-s
SCONJ be.there PROX:FEM grandmother-3PO

‘And his grandmother was there.’

(7) ʔas?aldʔ[iʔ]tɬx^w ?əs?ibəšəs g^wəčʔaɬdalbəs ?ə k^wi stəb
g^wəsʊ?əɬəds əlg^wəʔ, k^wi suciq^ws, sug^wəčʔəds k^wi sq^wəɬəɬəd

ʔu=?as-?aldʔ•iʔ-tɬx^w ?əs-?ibəšəs
HAB=STAT-care.for•child-ECS STAT-travel=3SBJ
g^wəčʔaɬdal-b=əs ?ə k^wi stəb
SBJ=forage-CSMD=3SBJ PR REM what
g^wə=s=?u-?əɬəd=s əlg^wəʔ k^wi
SBJ=NM=PFV-fced.on=3PO PL REM
s=?u-ciq^w=s s=?u-g^wəčʔ-d=s k^wi
NM=PFV-dig.roots=3PO NM=PFV-search-ICS=3PO REM
sq^wəɬəɬəd
berry

‘She would babysit when (the mother) foraged for what they ate, when she went root-digging, looking for berries.’

(8) g^wəl ʔu?a tsi?ə? ki?s ʔu?al ?al?al

g^wəl ʔu=?a tsi?ə? kia?-s
SCONJ HAB=be.there PROX:FEM grandmother-3PO
ʔu=?al ?al?al
HAB=at house

‘And his grandmother would be there in the house.’

(9) ʔasxiiid ti?ə? bibəda?s ?əsxičəq

ʔu=?as-xii-d ti?ə? bi-bəda?-s
HAB=STAT-catch.on-ICS PROX ATTN-offspring-3PO
?əs-xi-čəq
STAT-ATTN-wrapped

‘She would take care of her little child who was swaddled.’

- (10) $\lambda^{\text{ast}}\text{ag}^{\text{wtx}} \text{?al ti?}\text{?} \text{d}^{\text{zak}}\text{t}\text{?d}$
 $\lambda^{\text{u}}=\text{?as-t}^{\text{ag}^{\text{wt}}-\text{tx}^{\text{w}}} \text{?al ti?}\text{?} \text{d}^{\text{zak}}\text{w-t}\text{?d}$
 HAB=STAT-on.top-ECS at PROX rock-INSTR
 ‘She would have him up in a rocker.’
- (11) $\text{g}^{\text{w}\text{?l}} \lambda^{\text{ud}}\text{zak}^{\text{wat}\text{?b}} \text{?}\text{?} \text{tsi?}\text{?} \text{lu}\lambda^{\text{?}} \text{ti?}\text{?} \text{?ibacs}$
 $\text{g}^{\text{w}\text{?l}} \lambda^{\text{u}}=\text{?u-d}^{\text{zak}}\text{wa-t-b} \text{?}\text{?} \text{tsi?}\text{?} \text{lu}\lambda^{\text{?}} \text{ti?}\text{?}$
 SCONJ HAB=PFV-rock-ICS-PASS PR PROX:FEM old PROX
 ?ibac-s
 grandchild-3PO
 ‘And this old woman would rock her grandson.’
- (12) $\text{g}^{\text{w}\text{?l}} \text{tucut}\text{?b} \text{?}\text{?} \text{tsi?}\text{?} \text{di?}\text{?} \text{b}\text{?da?}\text{s}$
 $\text{g}^{\text{w}\text{?l}} \text{tu}=\text{cut-t-b} \text{?}\text{?} \text{tsi?}\text{?} \text{di?}\text{?} \text{b}\text{?da?}\text{-s}$
 SCONJ PAST=say-ICS-PASS PR PROX:FEM here offspring-3PO
 ‘And her daughter said to her.’
- (13) $\text{x}^{\text{wi}}\text{?} \text{k}^{\text{wi}} \text{?adstubs}\text{?lucidbid ti?}\text{?} \text{ad?ibac}$
 $\text{x}^{\text{wi}}\text{?} \text{k}^{\text{wi}} \text{?u}=\text{ad-s=tubs}\text{?l}\text{?ucid-bi-d} \text{ti?}\text{?}$
 NEG REM IRR=2SG.PO=NM=man•CNN•mouth-MAP-ICS PROX
 ad-?ibac
 2SG.PO-grandchild
 ‘‘Do not address your grandson as a male.’’
- (14) $\check{\text{x}}^{\text{ul}}\text{?} \check{\text{c}}\text{x}^{\text{w}} \text{?u}\text{?ad}\text{?y?lucidbid}$
 $\check{\text{x}}^{\text{ul}}\text{?} \check{\text{c}}\text{x}^{\text{w}} \text{?u}=\text{?ad}\text{?y?l}\text{?ucid-bi-d}$
 only 2SG.SUB IRR=woman•CNN•mouth-MAP-ICS
 ‘‘You will just speak to him as female.’’
- (15) $[\text{?}\text{?}]\text{?id dx}^{\text{w}}\text{?al k}^{\text{wi}} \text{g}^{\text{w}}\text{?sk}^{\text{w}}\text{?dyitid} \text{?}\text{?} \text{ti?}\text{?} \text{di?}\text{?} \text{g}^{\text{w}}\text{?stubs}\text{?}\text{?s}$
 $\text{?}\text{?} \text{ti?}\text{?} \text{stubs} \text{?}\text{?} \text{ti?}\text{?} \text{?ibacs}$
 $\text{?}\text{?}\text{?id} \text{dx}^{\text{w}}\text{-?al} \text{k}^{\text{wi}} \text{g}^{\text{w}}\text{?s}=\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{?d-yi-t-id}$
 what.happen CNTRPT-at REM SBJ=NM=taken-DAT-ICS-PASS:SBRD
 $\text{?}\text{?} \text{ti?}\text{?} \text{di?}\text{?} \text{g}^{\text{w}}\text{?s}=\text{stubs}=\text{?}\text{?s} \text{?}\text{?} \text{ti?}\text{?} \text{stubs} \text{?}\text{?}$
 PR PROX here SBJ=man=3SBJ PR PROX man PR

26 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

tiʔəʔ ʔibac-s
 PROX grandchild-3PO

“He might be taken as he is male, if their grandchild is male.”

(16) tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ dəx^wəscuucs

tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ dəx^w=ʔəs-cut-c=s
 PROX here ADN^M=STAT-say-ALTV=3PO

‘This is why she was told.’

(17) ʔub ʔ^wulʔ ʔusʔadəyʔ

ʔub ʔ^wulʔ ʔu=sʔadəyʔ
 well only IRR=woman

‘He should just be (referred to as) female.’

(18) g^wəl ck^waqid ʔ^waslaχdub ʔə tsiʔəʔ luʔ tiʔəʔ tucuucid ʔə tsiʔəʔ bədaʔs

g^wəl ck^waqid ʔ^wu=ʔas-laχ-dx^w-b ʔə tsiʔəʔ
 SCONJ always HAB=STAT-remember-DC-PASS PR PROX:FEM
 luʔ tiʔəʔ tu=cut-c-id ʔə tsiʔəʔ
 old PROX PAST=say-ALTV-PASS:SBRD PR PROX:FEM
 bədaʔ-s
 offspring-3PO

‘And always this old woman would remember what her daughter had told her.’

(19) ʔ^wulʔ ʔ^wuʔadəyʔlucidbid tiʔəʔ ʔibacs ʔaabəs

ʔ^wulʔ ʔ^wu=ʔadəyʔ•lucid-bi-d tiʔəʔ
 only HAB=woman•CNN•mouth-MAP-ICS PROX
 ʔibac-s ʔaab=əs
 grandchild-3PO cry=3SBJ

‘She would only sing female lullabys to her son when he cries.’

(20) ʔ^wubil tsi cəx^wstudəq

ʔ^wubil tsi d=dəx^w=studəq
 quiet SPEC:FEM 1SG.PO=ADNM=slave

“Be still my little pet!”

(21) x^wi? k^w(i) adsu^xaaab

x^wi? k^wi ad=s=?u-^xaaab
 NEG REM 2SG.PO=NM=PFV-cry

‘‘Don’t cry!’’

(22) di^tax^w k^wi sbaliics

di^t=ax^w k^wi s=balii-c=s
 FOC=now REM NM=bc.forgetful-ALTV=3PO

‘Then she forgot.’

(23) g^wəl bəlayucid

g^wəl bəl•ay•ucid
 CONJ forget•CNN•mouth

‘And she misspoke.’

(24) g^wəl cut ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?

g^wəl cut ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 CONJ say PR PROX here

‘And she said this.’

(25) x^wubil cəx^wstudəq, x^wubil

x^wubil d=dəx^w=studəq x^wubil
 quiet 1SG.PO=ADNM=slave quiet

‘‘Be still, my pet! Be still!’’

(26) g^wəl ?ahəx^w ti?ə? səsa?li? s^tə^tadəy? ləqaladi(?)bid

g^wəl ?a=əx^w ti?ə? səsa?li? s^tə-^tadəy?
 CONJ be.there=now PROX two:HMN PL-woman
 ləq•al•adi?-bi-d
 listen•CNN•car-MAP-ICS

‘And there were two women who heard it.’

(27) ?əsləqəd ti?ə? di?ə? tsi?ə? lu^x

?əsləq-d ti?ə? di?ə? tsi?ə? lu^x
 STAT-listen-ICS PROX here PROX:FEM old

‘They heard this old woman.’

28 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

- (28) *ḥʷulʷ ʔəxʷsaydubəb ʔə tiʔəʔ sʔəʔadəyʔ gʷəstabəb, gʷəstabəb tiʔəʔ ʔəsxiʔəq čʷačʷas ʔal tiʔəʔ skəkiʔ*

ḥʷulʷ ʔəs-dxʷs-hay-dxʷ-b-əb ʔə tiʔəʔ sʔə-ʔadəyʔ
only STAT-CTD-known-DC-PASS-DSD PR PROX PL-woman
gʷə=stab=əs gʷə=stab=əs tiʔəʔ ʔəs-xi-xəq
SBJ=what=3SBJ SBJ=what=3SBJ PROX STAT-ATTN-wrapped
čʷačʷas ʔal tiʔəʔ skəkiʔ
child at PROX cradleboard

‘The women wanted to know what it is, what the child swaddled in the cradleboard was.’

- (29) *ʔuḥʷcəbəxʷ tsiʔəʔ luḥʷ ʔə tiʔəʔ sʔəʔadəyʔ*

ʔuḥʷ-c-b=əxʷ tsiʔəʔ luḥʷ ʔə tiʔəʔ sʔə-ʔadəyʔ
go-ALTV-PASS=now PROX:FEM old PR PROX PL-woman

‘These women approached the old woman.’

- (30) *gʷəl cutəb ʔə tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ*

gʷəl cut-t-b ʔə tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ
SCONJ say-ICS-PASS PR PROX here

‘And they said,’

- (31) *ʔəḥʷtxʷ*

ʔəḥʷ-txʷ
come-ECS

‘‘Bring it here!’’

- (32) *ʔuʂuuc čəʔ*

ʔu-ʂuʔ-c čəʔ
PFV-see-ALTV 1PL.SUB

‘‘We (will) look at it.’’

- (33) *ʔəḥʷtxʷ*

ʔəḥʷ-txʷ
come-ECS

‘‘Bring it (here)!’’

- (34) k^wədatəbəx^w tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ čʔačʔas
 k^wəda-t-b=əx^w tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ čʔačʔas
 taken-ICS-PASS=now PROX here child
 ‘They took this child.’
- (35) g^wəl g^wəχ^wabactəbəx^w ʔə tiʔəʔ s^wəʔadəyʔ
 g^wəl g^wəχ^w•abac-t-b=əx^w ʔə tiʔəʔ s^wəʔadəyʔ
 SCONJ untied•body-ICS-PASS=now PR PROX PL-woman
 ‘And these women unwrapped his body.’
- (36) hay, šudx^wəx^w əlg^wəʔ
 hay šuʔ-dx^w=əx^w əlg^wəʔ
 SCONJ see-DC=now PL
 ‘So they saw him.’
- (37) stubš
 stubš
 man
 ‘He was male.’
- (38) k^wədadəx^w əlg^wəʔ
 k^wəda-d=əx^w əlg^wəʔ
 taken-ICS=now PL
 ‘They took him.’
- (39) g^wəl lild tulʔʔal tiʔəʔ skəkiʔ tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ čʔačʔas
 g^wəl lil-d tulʔ-ʔal tiʔəʔ skəkiʔ tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ
 SCONJ far-ICS CNTRFG-at PROX cradleboard PROX here
 čʔačʔas
 child
 ‘They removed this boy from the cradleboard.’
- (40) g^wəl lild əlg^wəʔ
 g^wəl lil-d əlg^wəʔ
 SCONJ far-ICS PL
 ‘They removed him.’

30 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

- (41) k^wədadəx^w tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ p'q'ac
 k^wəda-d=əx^w tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ p'q'ac
 taken-ICS=now PROX here rotten.wood
 'They took rotten wood.'
- (42) g^wəl ʔəqəd ʔal tiʔəʔ skəkiʔ
 g^wəl ʔəq-d ʔal tiʔəʔ skəkiʔ
 CONJ wrapped-ICS at PROX cradleboard
 'And they bound it in the cradleboard.'
- (43) ʔqabacəd
 ʔq•abac-d
 wrapped•body-ICS
 'They wrapped it.'
- (44) t'ag^wtəd ʔal tiʔəʔ d^zak^wtəd
 t'ag^wt-d ʔal tiʔəʔ d^zak^w-təd
 on.top-ICS at PROX rock-INSTR
 'They placed it up in the rocker.'
- (45) g^wəl ʔabyid tsiʔəʔ luʔ tiʔəʔ dəx^wud^zak^wads tiʔəʔ ʔibacs
 g^wəl ʔab-yi-d tsiʔəʔ luʔ tiʔəʔ
 CONJ extend-DAT-ICS PROX:FEM old PROX
 dəx^w=ʔu-d^zak^wa-d=s tiʔəʔ ʔibac-s
 ADN=PFV-rock-ICS=3PO PROX grandchild-3PO
 'And they gave it to the old woman so she could rock her grandson.'
- (46) ʔa tsiʔəʔ luʔ ʔ'asg^wədil
 ʔa tsiʔəʔ luʔ ʔ'u=ʔas-g^wəd-il
 be.there PROX:FEM old HAB=STAT-down-INCH
 'The old woman sat there.'
- (47) ʔuʔitut tiʔəʔ ʔibacs
 ʔu-ʔitut tiʔəʔ ʔibac-s
 PFV-sleep PROX grandchild-3PO
 'Her grandson was asleep.'

- (48) x^wi?əx^w g^wəs̘aabs dx^w?al s̘čil ?ə tsi?ə? bəda?s
 x^wi?=əx^w g^wə=s=̘aab=s dx^w-?al s=̘čil ?ə
 NEG=now SBJ=NM=cry=3PO CNTRPT-at NM=arrive PR
 tsi?ə? bəda?-s
 PROX:FEM offspring-3PO
 ‘He didn’t cry when her daughter arrives.’
- (49) g^wəl ̘čil
 g^wəl ̘čil
 SCONJ arrive
 ‘And she arrived.’
- (50) g^wəl lək^wədad ti?ə? di?ə? skəki?
 g^wəl lə=k^wəda-d ti?ə? di?ə? skəki?
 SCONJ PROG=taken-ICS PROX here cradleboard
 ‘And she took the cradleboard.’
- (51) basduk^wəx^w
 bə=?as-duk^w=əx^w
 ADD=STAT-anormal=now
 ‘Something was wrong.’
- (52) p’q’ad^zəx^w ti?ə? ?əx^w̘qabac
 p’q’ad^z=əx^w ti?ə? ?əs-dx^w-̘q•abac
 rotten.wood=now PROX STAT-CTD-wrapped•body
 ‘What was wrapped up in it was a rotten log.’
- (53) cuucəx^w tsi?ə? di?ə? kia?s
 cut-c=əx^w tsi?ə? di?ə? kia?-s
 say-ALTV=now PROX:FEM here grandmother-3PO
 ‘She spoke to his grandmother.’
- (54) x^wi? ?u g^wu̘čisbici
 x^wi? ?u g^wə=?u-̘čil-s-bici
 NEG INT SBJ=PFV-arrive-ALTV-2SG.OBJ
 ‘“Were you not approached?”’

32 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

(55) ʔi, ʔuʔçisəb čəd ʔə ti səsəʔli? sʔəʔadəy?

ʔi ʔu-ʔçil-s-b čəd ʔə ti səsəʔli?
 INTJ PFV-arrive-ALTV-PASS 1SG.SUB PR SPEC two:HMN
 sʔə-ʔadəy?
 PL-woman

“Yes. Two women came to me.”

(56) gʷəl ʔuʔucubicid čəd, xʷi? kʷ(i) adstubsʔlucidbid tiʔiʔ adʔibac

gʷəl ʔu=cut-c-bicid čəd xʷi? kʷi
 SCONJ HAB=say-ALTV-2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB NEG REM
 ad=s=tubš•l•ucid-bi-d tiʔiʔ
 2SG.PO=NM=man•CNN•mouth-MAP-ICS DIST
 ad-ʔibac
 2SG.PO-grandchild

“But I’d tell you not to sing a boy’s lullaby to your grandson.”

(57) xʷiʔtubəxʷ

xʷiʔ-txʷ-b=əxʷ
 NEG-ECS-PASS=now

“He’s gone.”

(58) sdukʷəxʷ pʔqʔac tiʔə? diʔə? ʔəskʷədad čəxʷ

s=dukʷ=əxʷ pʔqʔac tiʔə? diʔə? ʔəs-kʷəda-d
 NM=anormal=now rotten.wood PROX here STAT-taken-ICS
 čəxʷ
 2SG.SUB

“What you are holding is worthless, rotten wood.”

(59) diʔəxʷ sʔaab ʔə tsiʔə? sʔadəy? ʔusaxʷəbitəb ʔə tiʔə? tubədaʔs

diʔəxʷ s=ʔaab ʔə tsiʔə? sʔadəy?
 FOC=now NM=cry PR PROX:FEM woman
 ʔu-saxʷəb-bi-t-b ʔə tiʔə? tu=bədaʔ-s
 PFV-jump-MAP-ICS-PASS PR PROX PAST=offspring-3PO

‘That is why this woman whose son was run away with cried.’

(60) kʷədad tiʔə? diʔə? tucəcikʷ ʔə tiʔə? tubədaʔs

kʷəda-d tiʔə? diʔə? tu=cəcikʷ ʔə tiʔə?
 taken-ICS PROX here PAST=diaper PR PROX

tu=bədaʔ-s
 PAST=offspring-3PO

‘She took the diaper of her son.’

(61) g^wəl ʔuχ^wtx^w dx^wčaʔk^w

g^wəl ʔuχ^w-tx^w dx^w-čaʔk^w
 SCONJ go-ECS CNTRPT-seaward

‘And she took it down to the water.’

(62) g^wəl cʔag^wad

g^wəl cʔag^wa-d
 SCONJ washed-ICS

‘And she washed it.’

(63) ləcuχaab

ləcu-χaab
 CONT-cry

‘She was crying.’

(64) cʔag^wadəx^w tiʔəʔ tucəcik^w ʔə tiʔəʔ tubədaʔs ʔal tə q^wuʔ, stulək^w

cʔag^wa-d=əx^w tiʔəʔ tu=cəcik^w ʔə tiʔəʔ
 washed-ICS=now PROX PAST=diaper PR PROX

tu=bədaʔ-s ʔal tə q^wuʔ stulək^w
 PAST=offspring-3PO at NSPEC water river

‘She washed the diaper of her son in the water, the river.’

(65) k^wədadəx^w g^wəl pʔicʔid

k^wəda-d=əx^w g^wəl pʔicʔi-d
 taken-ICS=now SCONJ wrung-ICS

‘She took it and wrung it out.’

(66) χ^wulʔ buusaʔ k^wi spʔicʔids

χ^wulʔ buus•aʔ k^wi s=pʔicʔi-d=s
 only four•CLS REM NM=wrung-ICS=3PO

‘Just four times she wrung it out.’

34 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

(67) g^wəl g^wəč'iq'əd

g^wəl g^wə=č'iq'əd
 SCONJ SBJ=scream

‘And it cried out loudly.’

(68) ʔ'al' bastubš sqaqag^wəʔ ʔə k^wi shuys

ʔ'al' bə=ʔas-tubš sqaqag^wəʔ ʔə k^wi s=huy=s
 also ADD=STAT-man young.noble PR REM NM=made=3PO

‘Another noble son was made.’

(69) ʔ^wul'əx^w ʔuk^wəd^x tiʔə? diʔə? bəčəʔs bəda? tul'ʔal tiʔə?
 tuscəcik^w ʔup'ic'id

ʔ^wul'=əx^w ʔu-k^wəd-dx^w tiʔə? diʔə? bə=čəʔ=s
 only=now PFV-taken-DC PROX here ADD=make=3PO
 bəda? tul'-ʔal tiʔə? tu=scəcik^w ʔu-p'ic'i-d
 offspring CNTRFG-at PROX PAST=diaper PFV-wrung-ICS

‘She took this child made from the wrung out diaper.’

(70) g^wəl daʔad tiʔə? bibədaʔs ʔə k^wi sp'ip'ic'ik^w

g^wəl daʔa-d tiʔə? bi-bədaʔ-s ʔə k^wi
 SCONJ named-ICS PROX ATTN-offspring-3PO PR REM
 sp'i-p'ic'ik^w
 ATTN-Sp'its'ikw

‘And she named this little child Little Sp'ip'itsikw.’

(71) [s]p'ip'ic'ik^w tə sdaʔ ʔə tiʔə? bibədaʔs

sp'i-p'ic'ik^w tə sdaʔ ʔə tiʔə? bi-bədaʔ-s
 ATTN-Sp'its'ikw NSPEC name PR PROX ATTN-offspring-3PO

‘Little Sp'its'ikw was the name of her little child.’

(72) tuʔaʔ tiʔə? stubš tuk^wədabitəb ʔə tiʔə? səsaʔliʔ sʔəʔadəyʔ

tu=ʔa tiʔə? stubš tu=k^wəda-bi-t-b ʔə
 PAST=be.there PROX man PAST=taken-MAP-ICS-PASS PR
 tiʔə? səsaʔliʔ sʔə-ʔadəyʔ
 PROX two:HMN PL-woman

‘This male who was captured by these two women was there.’

(73) g^wəl luλ' il

g^wəl luλ'-il
 CONJ old-INCH

‘And he grew up.’

(74) luλ' il g^wəl λ' utuləx^wi? x^wi?

luλ'-il g^wəl λ'u=tu=lə=x^wi? x^wi?
 old-INCH CONJ HAB=PAST=PROG=hunt

‘He grew up and he would hunt.’

(75) λ' u? ušayil

λ'u=?u-šayil
 HAB=PFV-hunt

‘He would hunt.’

(76) ?uχ^w dx^w?al ti sbadil

?uχ^w dx^w-?al ti sbadil
 go CNTRPT-at SPEC mountain

‘He would go toward the mountains.’

(77) g^wəl ?ušayil

g^wəl ?u-šayil
 CONJ PFV-hunt

‘And he hunted.’

(78) ?uχ^wi? x^wi? ck^waqid

?u-χ^wi? x^wi? ck^waqid
 PFV-hunt always

‘Always he hunted.’

(79) bək^w sləχil ?al k^wi sluλ' ils

bək^w sləχ-il ?al k^wi s=luλ'-il=s
 all daylight-INCH at REM NM=old-INCH=3PO

‘Every day as he grew.’

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(80) *tucutəb ?ə tsi?ə? sləfadəy?*

tu=cut-t-b ?ə tsi?ə? slə-fadəy?
 PAST=say-ICS-PASS PR PROX:FEM PL-woman

‘These women told him.’

(81) *ḡa?ḡa? kʷi fads?uḡʷ dxʷ?ista?ulgʷədxʷ*

ḡa?ḡa? kʷi fu=ad=s=?uḡʷ dxʷ-?ista?•ulgʷədxʷ
 taboo REM IRR=2SG.PO=NM=go CNTRPT-be.like•land

‘‘It is forbidden that you go in this direction.’

(82) *yəḡi ḡa?ḡa? kʷi ?ista?ulgʷədxʷ gʷə?uḡʷəxʷ*

yəḡi ḡa?ḡa? kʷi ?ista?•ulgʷədxʷ gʷə=?uḡʷəxʷ
 because taboo REM be.like•land SBJ=go=2SG.SBJ

‘‘Because that area is forbidden for you to go.’’

(83) *gʷəl luḡʷ-il stubš*

gʷəl luḡʷ-il stubš
 SCONJ old-INCH man

‘And he grew to manhood.’

(84) *gʷəl cut ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?*

gʷəl cut ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 SCONJ say PR PROX here

‘And he said,’

(85) *?əs?əḡid əw’ə ti?if ḡ’udsəsəqəldub ?ə ti?if cəxʷ?acəc
 sləfadəy? dxʷ?al kʷi gʷəds?uḡʷ dxʷ?ista?ulgʷədxʷ gʷəšayiləd*

?əs-?əḡid əw’ə ti?if ḡ’u=d=s=?əs-qəl-dxʷ-b
 STAT-what.happen PTCL DIST IRR=1SG.PO=NM=STAT-bad-DC-PASS
 ?ə ti?if d=dəxʷ=?acəc slə-fadəy?
 PR DIST 1SG.PO=ADNM=be.in.place PL-woman
 dxʷ-?al kʷi gʷə=d=s=?uḡʷ dxʷ-?ista?•ulgʷədxʷ
 CNTRPT-at REM SBJ=1SG.PO=NM=go CNTRPT-be.like•land
 gʷə=šayil=əd
 SBJ=hunt=1SG.SBJ

‘‘Why am I restricted by these women where I am from going in this direction when I hunt in the mountains?’’

- (86) g^wəl ?aləx^w bəs?uχ^ws bəšayils
 g^wəl ?al=əx^w bə=s=?uχ^wā^w=s bə=s=šayil=s
 SCONJ at=now ADD=NM=go=3PO ADD=NM=hunt=3PO
 ‘And when he went hunting in the high country again.’
- (87) g^wəl [dx^ws]cutəb ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 g^wəl dx^w-cut-əb ?ə ti?ə? di?ə?
 SCONJ CTD-say-DSD PR PROX here
 ‘He thought like this.’
- (88) λ’ubəx^w čəd ?u?uχ^w dx^w?ista?ulg^wədx^w
 λ’ub=əx^w čəd ?u-?uχ^w dx^w-?ista?ulg^wədx^w
 well=now 1SG.SUB PFV-go CNTRPT-be.like•land
 ‘‘I should go in this direction.’’
- (89) ?əx^wsaydx^wəb stab əw’ə ti?i? dəx^wəsχa?χa?χa?əds əlg^wə?
 g^wələcu?uχ^wəs dx^w?istə?ulg^wədx^w g^wələcu?əč’əd k^wi
 tatačulbix^w
 ?əs-dx^ws-hay-dx^w-əb stab əw’ə ti?i?
 STAT-CTD-known-DC-DSD what PTCL DIST ADNM=STAT
 dəx^w=?əs-χa?-χa?χa?-d=s əlg^wə? g^wə=ləcu-?uχ^w=əs
 DSTR-taboo-ICS=3PO PL SBJ=CONT-go=3SBJ
 dx^w-?istə?ulg^wədx^w g^wə=ləcu-g^wəč’-d k^wi
 CNTRPT-be.like•land SBJ=CONT-search-ICS REM
 tatačulbix^w
 big.game.animal
 ‘He wanted to know what the reason was that they forbid
 him from going in this direction when he sought game.’
- (90) huy, tu?ibəš ti?ə? stubš.
 huy tu=?ibəš ti?ə? stubš
 SCONJ PAST=travel PROX man
 ‘So the man travelled.’
- (91) tuluλ’iləx^w ti?ə? sp’ic’ik^w
 tu=luλ’-il=əx^w ti?ə? sp’ic’ik^w
 PAST=old-INCH=now PROX Sp’its’ikw
 ‘Sp’its’ikw had grown up.’

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(92) tuχ^wəx^w tuscəcik^ws

tuχ^w=əx^w tu=scəcik^w-s
just=now PAST=diaper-3PO

‘He was only a diaper.’

(93) luλ’iləx^w

luλ’-il=əx^w
old-INCH=now

‘He grew up.’

(94) λ’uλ’aλ’čup

λ’u=λ’a-λ’•čup
HAB=DSTR-go•fire

‘He would fetch firewood.’

(95) λ’u?uluł

λ’u=?uluł
HAB=travel.by.water

‘He would go by water.’

(96) λ’uq’iq’əla?k^wčup ?al ti?ə? dəx^w?acəc əlg^wə?

λ’u=q’i-q’əla?k^w•čup ?al ti?ə? dəx^w=?acəc əlg^wə?
HAB=ATTN- aboard•group•fire at PROX ADNM=in.place PL

‘He would load the firewood bit by bit there where they were.’

(97) yəxi tashuyutəbəx^w əlg^wə? studəq ?ə ti?ə? qaw’qs

yəxi tu=?as-huyu-t-b=əx^w əlg^wə? studəq ?ə
because PAST=STAT-made-ICS-PASS=now PL slave PR
ti?ə? qaw’qs
PROX raven

‘Because they had been made slaves of Raven.’

(98) tuχ^w tashuyutəbəx^w čəg^was tsi?ə? di?ə? sk^wuy ?ə ti?ə?
di?ə? sp’ic’ik^w

tuχ^w tu=?as-huyu-t-b=əx^w čəg^was tsi?ə?
just PAST=STAT-made-ICS-PASS=now wife PROX:FEM

diʔəʔ skʷuy ʔə tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ sp'ic'ikw
 here mother PR PROX here Sp'its'ikw

'The mother of Sp'its'ikw had been made (Raven's) wife.'

- (99) gʷəl tuləshuyudəxʷ stətudəq tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ səsaʔliʔ təlixʷ
 biʔbədəʔ tiʔəʔ qaw'qs

gʷəl tu=ləs-huyu-d=əxʷ stə-tudəq tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ
 SCONJ PAST=PROG.STAT-made-ICS=now PL-slave PROX here
 səsaʔliʔ təlixʷ biʔ-bədəʔ tiʔəʔ qaw'qs
 two:HMN blood.brothers ATTN-offspring PROX raven

'And Raven has made slaves of these two small brothers.'

- (100) ʔ'uləq'iq'əla[ʔ]kʷčup

ʔ'u=lə=q'i-q'əlaʔkʷ•čup
 HAB=PROG=ATTN-aboard•group•fire

'He would put the firewood on board bit by bit.'

- (101) ʔuʔuʔxʷ

ʔu=ʔuʔxʷ
 IRR=go

'He will go.'

- (102) gʷəl ʔ'ulət'ut'c'il [ʔə]ʔxid ʔəbsq'čic

gʷəl ʔ'u=lə=t'u-t'c'-il ʔəʔxid ʔəs-bəs-q'čic
 SCONJ HAB=PROG=ATTN-shot-INCH what.happen STAT-PROP-bow

'And he would shoot because he had a bow.'

- (103) ʔaləxʷ sbuusaʔdatils kʷi suq'ila[ʔ]kʷčups sp'ip'ic'ikw

ʔal=əxʷ s=buus•aʔ•dat-il=s kʷi
 at=now NM=four•times•day-INCH=3PO REM
 s=ʔu-q'il•aʔkʷ•čup=s sp'i-p'ic'ikw
 NM=PFV-aboard•group•fire=3PO ATTN-Sp'ip'itsikw

'On the fourth day that Little Sp'its'ikw was loading firewood.'

- (104) ʔ'il'alcbid tiʔəʔ t'isəds ʔut'uc'ildxʷ

ʔ'il'alc-bi-d tiʔəʔ t'isəd-s ʔu-t'uc'-il-dxʷ
 lost•arm-MAP-ICS PROX arrow-3PO PFV-shot-INCH-DC

'He lost an arrow he had shot.'

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(105) ?ug^wəč'əd ti?ə? t'isəds g^wəsu?əy'dx^ws

?u-g^wəč'-d ti?ə? t'isəd-s g^wə=s=?u-?əy'-dx^w=s
 PFV-search-ICS PROX arrow-3PO SBJ=NM=PFV-find-DC=3PO

'He looked for his arrow in order to find it.'

(106) tug^wəč'əd

tu=g^wəč'-d
 PAST=search-ICS

'He looked for it.'

(107) ?əšuuč ?əsčal ti tusłaq's

?əs-šuu-c ?əs-čal ti tu=s=łaq'=s
 STAT-see-ALTV STAT-how SPEC PAST=NM=fallen=3PO

'He had seen how it fell.'

(108) g^wəl x^wi? g^wəsu?əy'dx^ws

g^wəl x^wi? g^wə=s=?u-?əy'-dx^w=s
 SCONJ NEG SBJ=NM=PFV-find-DC=3PO

'But he couldn't find it.'

(109) di[?]təx^w k^wi šudx^ws ti?ə? stubš ?əsg^wədil ?al ti?ə?

tudəx^wt'uc'ils, ?al ti?ə? di?ə? dəx^wt'uc'ils ?ə ti?ə? t'it'səds

di?t=əx^w k^wi s=šut-dx^w=s ti?ə? stubš
 suddenly=now REM NM=sec-DC=3PO PROX man
 ?əs-g^wəd-il ?al ti?ə? tu=dəx^w=t'uc'-il=s
 STAT-down-INCH at PROX PAST=ADNM=shot-INCH=3PO
 ?al ti?ə? di?ə? dəx^w=t'uc'-il=s ?ə ti?ə?
 at PROX here ADNM=shot-INCH=3PO PR PROX
 t'i-t'səd-s
 ATTN-arrow-3PO

'Suddenly he saw a man sitting where he had shot, where he had shot his arrow.'

(110) cick^w ?əsgəqil stubš

cick^w ?əs-gəq-il stubš
 very STAT-bright-INCH man

'This man was shining very brightly.'

(111) x^wi? g^wəsušudx^ws

x^wi? g^wə=s=?u-šut-dx^w=s
NEG SBJ=NM=PFV-sec-DC=3PO

‘He could not look at him.’

(112) g^wəl ?uχ^wcəbəx^w ?ə ti?ə? stubš

g^wəl ?uχ^w-c-b=əx^w ?ə ti?ə? stubš
SCONJ go-ALTV-PASS=now PR PROX man

‘This man approached him.’

(113) g^wəl cutəb

g^wəl cut-t-b
SCONJ say-ICS-PASS

‘And he said (to Sp’its’ikw).’

(114) x^wi? k^w(i) adsχəc

x^wi? k^wi ad=s=χəč
NEG REM 2SG.PO=NM=afraid

‘‘Don’t be afraid.’

(115) ʃuwiliq^wicid čəd dəbət čəx^w g^wat

ʃu=wiliq^wi-t-sid čəd dəbət čəx^w g^wat
IRR=ask-ICS-2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB be.of.bloodline 2SG.SUB who

‘‘I will ask you if you are the descendent of someone.’

(116) g^wat k^wi sda? ?ə k^ws(i) adsk^wuy, k^w(i) adyəl’yəlab

g^wat k^wi sda? ?ə k^wsi ad-sk^wuy k^wi
who REM name PR REM:FEM 2SG.PO-mother REM
ad-yəl’yəlab
2SG.PO-DSTR-elder

‘‘What is the name of your mother, your forebearers?’’

(117) yəcəbtx^wax^w ti?ə? stubš ?ə ti sda? ?ə tsi?ə?

yəc-b-tx^w=ax^w ti?ə? stubš ?ə ti sda? ?ə
report-MD-ECS=now PROX man PR SPEC name PR

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tsi?ə?
PROX:FEM

‘He told the man her name.’

(118) g^wəl ?əsɔdʒaλ^w’bid g^wat k^wi sda? ?ə tsi?ə? sɫadəy?

g^wəl ?əs-dʒaλ^w-bi-d g^wat k^wi sda? ?ə
SCONJ STAT-confused-MAP-ICS who REM name PR
tsi?ə? sɫadəy?
PROX:FEM woman

‘But he was confused about what this woman’s name was.’

(119) yəcəbtɔx^wəx^w ?əsčal k^wi dəx^wəshuys

yəc-b-tɔx^w=əx^w ?əs-čal k^wi dəx^w=?əs-huy=s
report-MD-ECS=now STAT-how REM ADNM=STAT-made=3PO

‘He told him how he had been made.’

(120) λ^w’uda?atəb čəd ?ə tsi dsk^w’uy ?ə k^wi sp’ip’ic’ik^w

λ^w’u=da?a-t-b čəd ?ə tsi d-sk^w’uy
HAB=named-ICS-PASS 1SG.SUB PR SPEC:FEM 1SG.PO-mother
?ə k^wi sp’i-p’ic’ik^w
PR REM ATTN-Sp’ip’itsikw

‘‘I am called Little Sp’its’ikw by my mother.’

(121) yəxi λ^w’ucuucəbš ?ə k^wi dsqa tuk^wədabyitəb ?ə k^wi səsə?li?
sɫəɫadəy?

yəxi λ^w’u=cut-c-bš ?ə k^wi d-sqa
because HAB=say-ALTV-1SG.OBJ PR REM 1SG.PO-older.brother
tu=k^wəda-b-yi-t-b ?ə k^wi səsə?li? sɫə-ɫadəy?
PAST=taken-MD-DAT-ICS-PASS PR REM TWO:HMN PL-woman

‘‘And she told me my older brother was taken by two women.’

(122) g^wəl tuχ^wəx^w tusp’əc’ik^wəx^w čəd

g^wəl tuχ^w=əx^w tu=s=p’əc’ik^w=əx^w čəd
SCONJ just=now PAST=NM=defecate•shirt=now 1SG.SUB

‘‘But I am only what was left from a wrung out diaper.’

(123) *tup'ic'ic*

tu=p'ic'i-t-s
 PAST=wrung-ICS-1SG.OBJ

‘‘She wrung me out.’’

(124) *g^wəl tubəhuyil čəd č'ač'as dəx^wəbsda?tubšš ?ə k^wi sp'ip'ic'ik^w*

g^wəl tu=bə=huy-il čəd č'ač'as
 SCONJ PAST=ADD=made-INCH 1SG.SUB child
dəx^w=?əs-bəs-sda?-tx^w-bš=s ?ə k^wi
 ADN=STAT-PROP-name-ECS-1SG.OBJ=3PO PR REM
sp'i-p'ic'ik^w
Sp'ip'itsikw

‘‘And I became a child so I have the name Little Sp'its'ikw.’’

(125) *tiləbəx^w ?ucut ti?ə? stubš*

tiləb=əx^w ?u-cut ti?ə? stubš
 immediately=now PFV-say PROX man

‘Right away this man said,’

(126) *?əca! ?əca t(i) adsqa*

?əca ?əca ti ad-sqa
 I I SPEC 2SG.PO-older.brother

‘‘It is I! I am the one who is your older brother.’’

(127) *tuk^wədabyitəb čəd*

tu=k^wəda-b-yi-t-b čəd
 PAST=taken-MD-DAT-ICS-PASS 1SG.SUB

‘‘I was captured.’’

(128) *g^wəl ?al dsluχ'il čəda χ'uləsχa?χa?χa?təb g^wu?əχ'a tə cəx^w?əχ' čəda ?əy'dubicid*

g^wəl ?al d=s=luχ'-il čəda
 SCONJ at 1SG.PO=NM=old-INCH 1SG.COORD
χ'u=ləs-χa?-χa?χa?-t-b g^wə=?u-?əχ'a
 HAB=PROG.STAT-DSTR-taboo-ICS-PASS SBJ=PFV-come.to

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tə d=dəx^w=ʔəλ' čəda ʔəy'-dx^w-bicid
 NSPEC 1SG.PO=ADNM=come 1SG.COORD find-DC-2SG.OBJ

“And as I grew up, I was forbidden to come to where I came, so I found you.”

(129) k^wax^watəbəx^w ʔə tiʔəʔ sqas

k^wax^wa-t-b=əx^w ʔə tiʔəʔ sqas-s
 help-ICS-PASS=now PR PROX older.brother-3PO

‘(Sp’its’ikw’s) older brother helped him.’

(130) q’ilyitəbəx^w ʔə tiʔəʔ hud

q’il-yi-t-b=əx^w ʔə tiʔəʔ hud
 aboard-DAT-ICS-PASS=now PR PROX burn

‘He put the firewood on board for him.’

(131) g^wəl cutəb

g^wəl cut-t-b
 SCONJ say-ICS-PASS

‘And he said,’

(132) ʔut’uk’^w čəx^w

ʔu=t’uk’^w čəx^w
 IRR=go.home 2SG.SUB

“Go home.’

(133) ʔucuuc čəx^w k^ws(i) adsk’^wuy ʔuhaʔlidəs k^wədiʔ dəx^w?as,
 dəx^w?aləp

ʔu=cut-c čəx^w k^wsi ad-sk’^wuy
 IRR=speak-ALTV 2SG.SUB REM:FEM 2SG.PO-mother
 ʔu=haʔl-i-d=əs k^wədiʔ dəx^w=ʔa=s
 IRR=good-SS-ICS=3SBJ REM.DMA ADNM=be.there=3PO
 dəx^w=ʔa=ləp
 ADNM=be.there=2PL.PO

“You will tell your mother that she will make it nice there where you guys are.’

(134) ʔutʔukʷ čəd

ʔu=tʔukʷ čəd
IRR=go.home 1SG.SUB

‘‘I am coming home.’’

(135) ʔuʔuʔxʷ [s]pʔipʔicʔikʷ ʔal [də]čʔaxʷdat

ʔu=ʔu-ʔuʔxʷ spʔi-pʔicʔikʷ ʔal dəčʔaxʷ•dat
HAB=PFV-go ATTN-Spʔitsʔikʷ at once•day

‘Little Spʔitsʔikʷ would go for one day.’

(136) gʷəl ʔʔubəqahəxʷ kʷi huds

gʷəl ʔʔu=bə=qa=əxʷ kʷi hud-s
SCONJ HAB=ADD=many=now REM burn-3PO

‘He would have a lot of firewood.’

(137) qʷiqʷʷiləxʷ

qʷiqʷʷil=əxʷ
strong-INCH=now

‘He became strong.’

(138) lələlilʔil [s]pʔicʔikʷ

ləl=ləlilʔ-il spʔicʔikʷ
PROG=different-INCH Diaper.Child

‘Spʔitsʔikʷ was changing.’

(139) ʔʷulʔ ʔaʔ

ʔʷulʔ ʔaʔ
only fast

‘It was really fast.’

(140) cutəxʷ ti qawʔqs ʔə tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ

cut=əxʷ ti qawʔqs ʔə tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ
say=now SPEC raven PR PROX here

‘Raven said of him,’

(141) ʔuʔəx̣idəx^w ti sp'ip'ic'ik^w k^{wi} dəx^wqaʔils k^{wi} huds

ʔuʔəx̣idəx^w ti sp'i-p'ic'ik^w k^{wi}
 HAB=what.happen=now SPEC ATTN-Sp'its'ikw REM
 dəx^w=qaʔ-il=s k^{wi} hud-s
 ADN=many-INCH=3PO REM burn-3PO

“What has happened to Little Sp'its'ikw that his firewood has become so much?”

(142) q^{wiq}'wiləx^w sp'ip'ic'ik^w

q^{wiq}'w-il=əx^w sp'i-p'ic'ik^w
 strong-INCH=now ATTN-Sp'its'ikw

“Little Sp'its'ikw has become strong.”

(143) cutəb ʔə tsiʔəʔ diʔəʔ sk^{wuy} ʔə sp'ip'ic'ik^w tiʔəʔ qaw'qs

cut-t-b ʔə tsiʔəʔ diʔəʔ sk^{wuy} ʔə
 say-ICS-PASS PR PROX:FEM here mother PR
 sp'i-p'ic'ik^w tiʔəʔ qaw'qs
 ATTN-Sp'its'ikw PROX raven

‘Little Sp'its'ikw's mother said to Raven,’

(144) ləq^{wiq}'wiləx^w

lə=q^{wiq}'w-il=əx^w
 PROG=strong-INCH=now

“He's getting strong now.”

(145) ləluʔ'iləx^w tə sʔuʂəbabdx^w stutədəq

lə=luʔ-il=əx^w tə sʔuʂəbabdx^w stu-tədəq
 PROG=old-INCH=now NSPEC poor.guy ATTN-slave

“The poor little slave is growing up.”

(146) ləq^{wiq}'wıldubutəx^w dəx^wuk^wədads k^{wi} qa hud

lə=q^{wiq}'w-il-dx^w-but=əx^w dəx^w=ʔu-k^wəda-d=s
 PROG=strong-INCH-DC-REFL=now ADN=PFV-taken-ICS=3PO
 k^{wi} qa hud
 REM many burn

“He is strengthening himself so he can get lots of firewood.”

(147) bəʔuχ^w sləχiləs tiʔəʔ sp'ip'ic'ik^w ʔal sbuusaʔdalicuts

bəʔuχ^w sləχ-il=əs tiʔəʔ sp'i-p'ic'ik^w ʔal
 ADD=go daylight-INCH=3SBJ PROX ATTN-Sp'its'ikw at
 s=buus•aʔ-dalicut=s
 NM=four•CLS-ʔʔ=3PO

‘When it was daylight, Little Sp’its’ikw went again on the fourth day for him.’

(148) g^wəl ʔuχ^wəx^w

g^wəl ʔuχ^w=əx^w
 SCONJ go=now

‘And he went.’

(149) q'ilag^wiləx^w tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ sqas.

q'il-ag^wil=əx^w tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ sqas-s
 aboard-AUTO=now PROX here older.brother-3PO

‘His older brother embarked.’

(150) q^wic əlg^wəʔ

q^wic əlg^wəʔ
 go.downstream PL

‘They went downstream.’

(151) ʔuχ^w dx^wʔal tiʔəʔ dəx^wʔa ʔə tsiʔəʔ sk^wuys

ʔuχ^w dx^w-ʔal tiʔəʔ dəx^w=ʔa ʔə tsiʔəʔ
 go CNTRPT-at PROX ADN=be.there PR PROX:FEM
 sk^wuy-s
 mother-3PO

‘They went to where their mother was.’

(152) ʔu, tuləsləχ

ʔu tu=ləs-ləχ
 INTJ PAST=PROG.STAT-light

‘Oh, he was shining.’

(153) x̣ʷul' ləq'algʷəs ?ə tudi? sʷukʷat ti?iʔ səshuy ?ə ti?ə? stubš
ləsq'iltub ?ə ti?ə? sp'ip'ic'ikʷ

x̣ʷul' ləq'at•gʷəs ?ə tudi? sʷukʷat ti?iʔ
only be.in.right.place•pair PR DIST.DMA sun DIST
s=?əs-huy ?ə ti?ə? stubš ləs-q'il-txʷ-b
NM=STAT-made PR PROX man PROG.STAT- aboard-ECS-PASS
?ə ti?ə? sp'i-p'ic'ikʷ
PR PROX ATTN-Sp'its'ikw

'What the man being taken in the canoe by Little Sp'its'ikw
had become was just on a par with the sun.'

(154) ləli? sp'ip'ic'ikʷ

ləli? sp'i-p'ic'ikʷ
different ATTN-Sp'its'ikw

'Little Sp'itsi'kw was different.'

(155) ʰ'al' bələsgəqiləxʷ ?al ti?ə? di?ə? sə?uluʷs əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə?
?ay'əds

ʰ'al' bə=ləs-gəq-il=əxʷ ?al ti?ə? di?ə?
also ADD=PROG.STAT-bright-INCH=now at PROX here
s=lə=?uluʷs əlgʷə? ?ə ti?ə?
NM=PROG=travel.by.water=3PO PL PR PROX
?ay'əd-s
companion-3PO

'He too was dazzling as he jourmies by water with his companion.'

(156) gʷəl ʔčil dxʷ?al ti?ə? dəxʷ?a ?ə tsi?ə? skʷuys əlgʷə?

gʷəl ʔčil dxʷ-?al ti?ə? dəxʷ=?a ?ə
SCONJ arrive CNTRPT-at PROX ADNM=be.there PR
tsi?ə? skʷuy-s əlgʷə?
PROX:FEM mother-3PO PL

'And they arrived there where their mother was.'

(157) ʰ'u?ahəxʷ sp'ip'ic'ikʷ ?i?abiləxʷ stubš

ʰ'u=?a=əxʷ sp'i-p'ic'ikʷ ?i?ab-il=əxʷ stubš
HAB=be.there=now ATTN-Sp'its'ikw noble-INCH=now man

'Little Sp'its'ikw was there now having become a noble man.'

- (158) *tuhu[y]huyucutəx^w əlg^wə? ?i ti?ə? di?ə? suq^wa?s*
 tu=huy-huyu-t-sut=əx^w əlg^wə? ?i ti?ə? di?ə?
 PAST=DSTR-made-ICS-REFL=now PL CONJ PROX here
 suq^wa?^s
 younger.sibling-3PO
 ‘(The hunter) had prepared himself and his younger brother.’

- (159) *ti?ə? stubš g^wəl tucutəb*
 ti?ə? stubš g^wəl tu=cut-t-b
 PROX man SCONJ PAST=say-ICS-PASS
 ‘As for this man, he said.’

- (160) *λ’ub čəf ʔuhuyucutəx^w ʔuk^waʔ*
 λ’ub čəf ʔu=huyu-t-sut=əx^w ʔuk^waʔ
 well 1PL.SUB IRR=made-ICS-REFL=now sun
 ‘‘We should make ourselves the sun.’’

- (161) *yəxi tut’əs swatix^wtəd ʔal k^wi tudifəʔ*
 yəxi tu=t’əs swatix^wtəd ʔal k^wi tu=diʔ•aʔ
 because PAST=cold land at REM PAST=FOC•CLS
 ‘Because the world was cold at that time.’

- (162) *tudəx^wuhuyucuts əlg^wə?*
 tu=dəx^w=ʔu-huyu-t-sut=s əlg^wə?
 PAST=ADNM=PFV-made-ICS-REFL=3PO PL
 ‘That is why they made themselves (the sun).’

- (163) *tuʔuχ^wəx^w ti?ə? ʔiʔluλ’ stubš*
 tu=ʔuχ^w=əx^w ti?ə? ʔiʔ-luλ’ stubš
 PAST=go=now PROX PRTV-old man
 ‘The older man went.’

- (164) *g^wəl tuhuyucut ʔuk^waʔ*
 g^wəl tu=huyu-t-sut ʔuk^waʔ
 SCONJ PAST=made-ICS-REFL sun
 ‘And he made himself (into the) sun.’

50 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

(165) x̣ʷul' tuləʂqil

x̣ʷul' tu=lə=ʂq-il
only PAST=PROG=high-INCH

'He just rose up.'

(166) tuləʔəʂ'

tu=lə=ʔəʂ'
PAST=PROG=come

'He was coming.'

(167) x̣ʷiʔ ləlil g̣ʷəl tuləhud tiʔəʔ swatixʷtəd

x̣ʷiʔ lə=lil g̣ʷəl tu=lə=hud tiʔəʔ swatixʷtəd
NEG NEGP=far CONJ PAST=PROG=burn PROX land

'He was not far and the land was burning up.'

(168) hiʔab tudxʷsqʷəʂ

hiʔab tu=dxʷs-qʷəʂ
excessively PAST=PROC-cooked

'It was too hot.'

(169) g̣ʷəl tuʔay'waʔscutəxʷ əlg̣ʷəʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ suqʷaʔs

g̣ʷəl tu=ʔay'•waʔs-t-sut=əxʷ əlg̣ʷəʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ
SCONJ PAST=change•pair-ICS-REFL=now PL PR PROX

suqʷaʔ-s
younger.sibling-3PO

'And he changed (places) with his younger brother.'

(170) tucuucəxʷ tiʔəʔ susuqʷaʔs, sp'ip'ic'ikʷ

tu=cut-c=əxʷ tiʔəʔ susuqʷaʔ-s
PAST=say-ALTV=now PROX younger.sibling-3PO

sp'i-p'ic'ikʷ
ATTN-Sp'ip'its'ikw

'He said to his little younger brother, Little Sp'its'ikw.'

(171) hiwil, ?uχ^w dæg^{wi}

hiwil ?uχ^w dæg^{wi}
go.ahead go you

‘‘Go ahead! You be the one to go!’

(172) ?əsčal k^{wi} g^wad?alalus

?əs-čal k^{wi} g^wə=ad=s=?alalus
STAT-how REM SBJ=2SG.PO=NM=happen

‘‘How (will) your way of doing it be?’

(173) dæg^{wi} k^wəda? k^{wi} g^wəχ^wub g^wəshuy[s]əχ^w ʔuk^waʔ

dæg^{wi} k^wəda? k^{wi} g^wə=χ^wub g^wə=s=huy=s=əχ^w
you PTCL REM SBJ=well SBJ=NM=made=3PO=2SG.SBJ
ʔuk^waʔ
sun

‘‘Perhaps you are the one who ought to be the sun.’’

(174) tu?uχ^wəχ^w sp’ip’ic’ik^w

tu=?uχ^w=əχ^w sp’i-p’ic’ik^w
PAST=go=now ATTN-Sp’ip’its’ikw

‘Little Sp’its’ikw went.’

(175) si diʔ ti?ə? χ^wusəshuyəχ^w ?al ti?ə? di?ə?

si diʔ ti?ə? χ^wu=s=?əs-huy=əχ^w ?al
right.there FOC PROX HAB=NM=STAT-made=now at
ti?ə? di?ə?
PROX here

‘That is exactly what was done at this place.’

(176) si t’at’ag^wt

si t’a-t’ag^wt
right.there ATTN-on.top

‘He was right smack on top.’

(177) g^wəl s’iχ^wub ti səshədq^wəb ?ə ti?ə? swatix^wtəd

g^wəl s’iχ^wub ti s=?əs-hədq^w-b ?ə ti?ə?
SCONJ just.right SPEC NM=STAT-warm-MD PR PROX

52 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

swatix^wtəd
land

‘And the warmth in the world was exactly right.’

(178) g^wəl ləʔa^wχil

g^wəl lə=ʔaχ–il
SCONJ PROG=dark–INCH

‘And gradually it became night.’

(179) ləč^ʔəlp

lə=č^ʔəlp
PROG=turned

‘It turned.’

(180) diʔ λ^ʔub haʔʔ sʔuk^waʔ

diʔ λ^ʔub haʔʔ sʔuk^waʔ
FOC well good sun

‘That was a very nice sun.’

(181) g^wəl tuʔuχ^wəx^w tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ sqas

g^wəl tu=ʔuχ^w=əx^w tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ sqas–s
SCONJ PAST=go=now PROX here older.brother–3PO

‘And his older brother went.’

(182) tuhuyucutəx^w sʔuk^walb

tu=huyu–t–sut=əx^w sʔuk^walb
PAST=made–ICS–REFL=now moon

‘He made himself the moon.’

(183) ʔaləx^w sʔaχ^w k^wi tusʔəʔs tiʔəʔ shuysəx^w sʔuk^walb

ʔal=əx^w sʔaχ^w k^wi tu=s=ʔəʔ=s tiʔəʔ
at=now darkness REM PAST=NM=come=3PO PROX
s=huy=s=əx^w sʔuk^walb
NM=made=3PO=now moon

‘The one who became the moon comes at night.’

(184) yəxi tuʔəbsčəgʷasəxʷ ʔə tsiʔəʔ diʔəʔ, tsiʔəʔ

ʔʷuʷawʷəqʷwəqʷ kʷsi tučəgʷass

yəxi tu=ʔəs-bəs-čəgʷas=əxʷ ʔə tsiʔəʔ diʔəʔ
because PAST=STAT-PROP-wife=now PR PROX:FEM here

tsiʔəʔ ʔʷu=wa-wʷəqʷwəqʷ kʷsi tu=čəgʷas-s
PROX:FEM HAB=ATTN-frog REM:FEM PAST=wife-3PO

‘Because he had her, Little Green Frog, as his wife.’

(185) gʷəl ʔʷulʷəxʷ tuʔuʔxʷ tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ stubš

gʷəl ʔʷulʷəxʷ tu=ʔuʔxʷ tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ stubš
SCONJ only=now PAST=go PROX here man

‘And this man just went.’

(186) tuhuyucut sʔukʷalb

tu=huyu-t-sut sʔukʷalb
PAST=made-ICS-REFL moon

‘He turned himself into the moon.’

(187) tuʔibəš

tu=ʔibəš
PAST=travel

‘He travelled.’

(188) gʷəl tusaxʷəb tsiʔəʔ čəgʷass

gʷəl tu=saxʷəb tsiʔəʔ čəgʷas-s
SCONJ PAST=jump PROX:FEM wife-3PO

‘And his wife jumped.’

(189) gʷəl tuʔʷiqʷ ʔal tiʔəʔ sʔilidgʷass

gʷəl tu=ʔʷiqʷ ʔal tiʔəʔ sʔilidgʷas-s
SCONJ PAST=sticky at PROX chest-3PO

‘And she stuck on his chest.’

(190) tuʔʷiqʷ ʔə tsiʔəʔ čəgʷass tə dəxʷəšuucləp tə sʔayʷus ʔə
ʔaciʔtalbixʷ ʔal tudiʔ sʔukʷalb

tu=ʔʷiqʷ ʔə tsiʔəʔ čəgʷas-s tə
PAST=sticky PR PROX:FEM wife-3PO NSPEC

54 *Two syəyəhub from Harry Moses*

dəx^w=ʔəs-šut-c=ləp tə sʰay'us ʔə
 ADN^M=STAT-sec-ALTV=2PL.PO NSPEC head PR
 ʔacitʰalbix^w ʔal tudi? sʰuk^walb
 people at DIST.DMA moon

‘His wife stuck which is why you guys see the head of a person on the moon.’

(191) g^wəl ʔa čələp ʰaʰsuuc wəli? sʰadəy? ʔəsq'ədʒu?

g^wəl ʔa čələp ʰaʰu=ʔas-šut-c wəli?
 CONJ be.there 2PL.SUB HAB=STAT-sec-ALTV decisively
 sʰadəy? ʔəs-q'ədʒu?
 woman STAT-have.hair

‘And thus you guys plainly see a woman with hair.’

(192) ʰaʰsuuc čəd ti qəl'qəluʔbs tsiʔə? sʰadəy? tučəg^was ʔə tiʔə?
 stubš ʔəshuyucut sʰuk^walb

ʰaʰu=ʔas-šut-c čəd ti qəl'-qəluʔb-s tsiʔə?
 HAB=STAT-sec-ALTV 1SG.SUB SPEC DSTR-eye-3PO PROX:FEM
 sʰadəy? tu=čəg^was ʔə tiʔə? stubš ʔəs-huyu-t-sut
 woman PAST=wife PR PROX man STAT-made-ICS-REFL
 sʰuk^walb
 moon

‘I used to see the eyes of this woman, the former wife of the man who turned himself into the moon.’

(193) huy

huy
 CONJ

‘It is finished.’

(194) diʰ šac' tiʔə? diʔə? dsuyəyəhub, suyəyəhub

diʰ šac' tiʔə? diʔə? d=s=ʔu-yəyəhub
 FOC finished PROX here 1SG.PO=NM=PFV-tell.story
 s=ʔu-yəyəhub
 NM=PFV-tell.story

‘That’s the end of my traditional story-telling, story-telling.’

Abbreviations

· = emphatic lengthening	INTNS = intensivity
= = clitic boundary	IRR = irrealis
– = affix boundary	MAP = middle applicative
• = lexical suffix boundary	MD = middle
1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person	NEG = negative
ACT = activity	NEGP = negative proclitic
ADD = additive	NM = nominalizer
ADNM = adjunctive nominalizer	NSPEC = non-specific
ALTV = allative applicative	OBJ = object
ASSC = associative	PASS = passive
ATTN = attenuative	PFV = perfective
AUTO = autonomous	PL = plural
CNN = connective	PO = possessive
CNTRPT = centripetal	Pr = preposition
COORD = coordinative	PROC = proclitic
CTD = contained	PROG = progressive
DAT = dative applicative	PROP = propriative
DC = diminished control	PROX = proximal
DIM.EFF = diminished effectiveness	PRTV = partitive
DIST = distal	PTCL = particle
DMA = demonstrative adverbial	QTV = quotative
DSD = desiderative	RCP = reciprocal
DSTR = distributive	REFL = reflexive
ECS = external causative	REM = remote/hypothetical
FEM = feminine	RLNL = relational
FOC = focus	SBJ = subjunctive
HAB = habitual	SBRD = subordinate
HMN = human	SCONJ = sentential conjunction
ICS = internal causative	SG = singular
IMPF = imperfective	SPEC = specific
INCH = inchoative	SS = secondary suffix
INCRP = incorporative	STAT = stative
INT = interrogative	SUB = subject
INTJ = interjection	UNQ = unique

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