



FIRST
NATIONS
LANGUAGE
READERS

LILLOOET

Nilh Izá Sptákwlhkahl

niɬ ʔizá spták^wɬkaɬ

These Are Our
Legends

Narrated by
Lillooet Elders

Transcribed
and translated by
Jan van Eijk

Illustrated by
Marie Abraham

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FIRST NATIONS
UNIVERSITY
OF CANADA



University of Regina Press

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Foreword

I am very happy to be able to include this volume in our First Nations Language Readers series. When this series was first conceived, for the publisher then known as the Canadian Plains Research Center, the scope of the series was to be restricted to the northern Great Plains. With the evolution to the University of Regina Press, this series was able to take on new life and new directions. Still, with previous volumes in Saulteaux (Ojibwe), Blackfoot, and western dialects of Cree, the old boundaries had not yet been crossed, nor had we yet had the opportunity to present texts outside of the Algonquian family of languages. With this volume of ancient stories from the Lillooet (Salish) people of interior British Columbia, our new declared promise and scope is made manifest.

I am even happier to be able to include this volume in our series for another reason. I have had the privilege of working with my friend Jan van Eijk for over twenty years at SIFC/First Nations University. I know of his dedication to the Lillooet people: the Elders with whom he has worked and the youth for whom we work to ensure a future that includes their language. I am especially pleased to play some small part in helping him to present this collection of Lillooet legends in a new format, perhaps for a larger audience, but still first and foremost for the Lillooet people.

As we do step beyond the Plains in our quest to make this a truly national collection of texts, I hope the larger audience

Foreword

continues to find the value inherent in these volumes and calls for more: more stories from your own communities, more stories from the story keepers and the story makers, more stories from those allies who have worked and continue to work with the Elders to record and preserve their wisdom and the knowledge that must be passed down to the younger generations. This is a call to be answered with many voices.

Arok Wolvengrey
sqapts, 2015

Hú'lhkan ptakwlh

“I am about to tell a *sptakwlh*.” This is the way in which Martina LaRochelle opens her story “The Girl and the Owl” that is included in this collection, and it is indeed the traditional opening line of a Lillooet Elder when starting a *sptakwlh*, a word that has been translated as ‘legend’ or ‘myth’, but that is better translated as ‘ancient story forever’. Typically, *sptakwlh* relate events that happened long ago, when the world was young, humans and animals interacted frequently and could take each other’s shape, and when powerful beings (often referred to as “Transformers,” “Culture Heroes” or “Tricksters”) roamed the earth, performing deeds that were powerful and impressive, testifying to their courage, cunning and compassion, or on the other hand engaging in actions that were foolish or otherwise reprehensible (and getting their just deserts), thereby teaching us important moral lessons about proper behaviour and its rewards or about improper behaviour and its consequences. As such, these ancient stories contain lessons that are relevant forever, as our translation of *sptakwlh* indicates.

A major character in Lillooet *sptakwlh* is Coyote, a Trickster whose character spans the entire gamut of human qualities, from very good to very bad. For example, in this collection’s first story, we see the intelligence of Coyote revealed in his sly word play with the other Coyote (making this first story also a great illustration of Lillooet verbal humour). The following two stories, however, go on to show Coyote becoming the victim of

his own foolishness, laziness, and carelessness. In many ways, Coyote makes us look into a mirror where we can see both our desirable and our less desirable character traits.

Aside from being exciting and entertaining, and containing moral lessons, these stories also often explain how animals, plants or the landscape acquired their present shape (as in “The Girl and the Owl,” where we learn how the great horned owl got his big eyes and the lines under his eyes). Thus, *sptakwlh* function on many levels and they deserve our abiding respect, reflected in the fact that in olden days they could only be told during wintertime and after sundown and were subject to other protocols, such as the fact that the storyteller could not be interrupted, except by a hearty *i ay!*, roughly translatable as ‘come on, tell us more!’, and indicating that the audience definitely had not fallen asleep yet.

(There is also another line of Lillooet storytelling, called *sqwéqweí*, which deal with more recent events and are not subject to the restrictions that *sptakwlh* were subject to. The publication of a selection of *sptakwlh* here, and in Van Eijk and Williams (1981), where they first appeared, is not meant to disrespect the ancient protocols, but to allow as wide an audience as is possible to share in the wisdom of these stories.)

The entertaining part of *sptakwlh* often derives from their delicious and subtle sense of humour, and examples of this abound in the collection presented here, whether that be the gullibility of one of the protagonists in Bill Edwards’ “The Two Coyotes,” who easily falls for a verbal trap set by his fellow coyote, or Coyote’s greed and laziness (both duly punished) in Rosie Joseph’s “Coyote Drowns.” Typically, the fun and sense of humour are here blended with moral lessons, underscoring the holistic nature of traditional First Nations teachings. We see that same blending in Bill Edwards’ “Coyote and Chickadee,” where Coyote’s mocking questioning of Chickadee’s hunting skills and marksmanship are quickly punished by one well-aimed arrow fired by Chickadee (something Coyote could have avoided had he not been so scatterbrained as to go mouse-hunting when his life is in acute danger), and where, having been revived by his comrade, he thinks he has just fallen asleep after he has

laid dead for so long (an entire winter) that his hide has come off rotting! In Rosie Joseph's "Coyote and Owl," it is Coyote's dissatisfaction with his own talents and his desire for having Owl's night vision that leads him to be smartly outwitted by Owl. Grizzly Bear's behaviour in Adelina Williams' "Grizzly Bear and Black Bear's Children" can be best described as purely psychotic, and her punishment is appropriately gruesome (and hilarious at the same time in that mighty Grizzly is no match for a bunch of determined ants who resent Grizzly's invasion of their real estate and invade Grizzly in return!).

Martina LaRochelle's "The Girl and the Owl" and Bill Edwards' "The Man Who Stayed with the Bear" are more serious in that the girl in Martina's story learns to grow up and not draw unwarranted attention to herself, while the unsuccessful hunter in Bill's story faces the heartrending scene when, returning from yet another unsuccessful hunt, he overhears his wife telling their hungry children that their father will soon bring home lots of food. To protect his family from starvation, the man must acquire great hunting skills, and he does so, paradoxically, by sparing the life of a black bear—making this story also a fine illustration of the close relationship between the Lillooet and the other creatures with whom they share this earth.

However, both "The Girl and the Owl" and "The Man Who Stayed with the Bear" contain strong elements of humour as well, for example in the girl's disgust at the awful fare that Owl brings home for her to prepare as their shared meal, or the bear's deadpan, "Say, my friend, I am glad that you did not shoot me," when the man decides not to try his (hitherto very questionable) hunting luck on the bear. (A detail in Bill's story that is only accessible to speakers of Lillooet is the pun contained in the man's desperate cry *zuqwcenlhkán kelh tú zúqwkán* 'I will go without food till I die' playing on *zuqw* 'to die' that occurs twice in this sentence.) In several ways, these last two stories, like the ones that precede them in the collection, demonstrate the profound literary qualities that are inherent in Lillooet oral literature, including the delightful language play and punning, that can only be captured imperfectly in translation.

Other details include the importance of the number “four” in Lillooet culture (and many other First Nations cultures), as evidenced by the four times that Coyote is jumped over by his comrade as part of the revival ritual performed by the latter in “Coyote and Chickadee,” or the four arrows that are magically fixed by the bear in “The Man Who Stayed with the Bear.” Also, the matter-of-fact references in this latter story to defecation and urination when the man is about to hibernate with the bear demonstrate the healthy attitude of First Nations culture towards bodily matters, avoiding both false shame and vulgarity, both of which are unfortunately too common in white oral culture.

I can think of no better summary of the above, and of no better introduction to these stories, than what my friend and colleague Lorna Williams wrote in the introduction to the 1981 collection where they were first published:

The education of the young was the responsibility of all adults in the community. The practical day to day skills were taught through observation and practice: observation of adults performing the task, then practice by the young. The *sqwéqweǎl* was used mainly to pass along information that was of a more historical nature and to tell of personal life experiences. The third way was the use of the *sptakwǎh*. These stories were told by the elders in the family, usually in the evening. The *sptakwǎh* was the way in which the rules of conduct were taught.

Wenácw tú7!

Collecting the stories

The *sptakwǎh* in this collection relate directly or indirectly to my field work on Lillooet, which was carried out between 1972 and 1984 (including my full-time employment at the Mount Currie Curriculum Centre, 1978–1984). The texts were collected (tape-recorded) by various persons in the years 1972–

1979, and transcribed and translated by me. The transcriptions and translations were then checked by me with the consultants from whom the stories were recorded. The *sptakwlh* told by Rosie Joseph were taped by Dr. Gordon Turner, while “Grizzly Bear and Black Bear’s Children,” told by Adelina Williams, was taped by Dr. Lorna Williams. The *sptakwlh* told by Bill Edwards were taped by the late Dr. Aert Kuipers. “The Girl and the Owl” was told by Martina LaRochelle and was taped by me, and I wish there was a way to capture on paper the magnificent way she told it, her voice a stirring sequence of perfectly timed cadenzas. There was also a slight hesitation before her opening line, for she had been told the story was pagan, which might explain her partial disclaimer at the end (*cw7aoz hem ti7 kwas wenácw, sptakwlh ti7* ‘this is not true, it is a sptakwlh’). Yet, this concluding statement detracts nothing from the value of this story or the magnificent way she tells it.

During my stay in Mount Currie, when I could not consult Martina LaRochelle or Bill Edwards, who lived in Lillooet and Pavilion respectively, I checked or re-checked a number of these stories with the help of Mrs. Marie Leo of Mount Currie, who carried out her task with exemplary thoroughness and deep respect for the storytellers.

As is mentioned above, the stories included here were originally published in 1981, as *Cuystwi Malh Ucwalmícwts (Lillooet Legends and Stories)*. The few typos in that volume are quietly corrected here, and I have also made some minor changes to the original translations, to reflect my deepened understanding of the language. There are also a few words and small sentence fragments that are audible on tape, including a cassette tape of the stories in the 1981 edition that was compiled by the Mount Currie Cultural Centre (and will hopefully be converted to digital format soon), but that for some reason do not appear in the 1981 edition and have been restored here. As is to be expected in stories that are told off-the-cuff and not read from a written text, the tape also contains a few false starts, and repetitions or hesitations where the speaker temporarily has to collect her or his thoughts. (These minor slips are here edited to reflect the form intended by the speakers.) Also, due to the

fact that the stories were not collected under ideal (i.e., studio) conditions, and the speakers' voices fall and rise according to the natural rhythm of the language, the reader of these texts should be alert to the fact that some words and minor fragments are difficult to hear on the tape. (There is a very brief fragment in "Coyote and Chickadee" that I still cannot understand and that is indicated with [...] in this volume.)

Also, on page 64 (second last paragraph), Bill Edwards says on the tape *Nilh ǎu7 stsúnas* 'and he told him', and on page 66 (first paragraph) he says *Nilh ǎu7 smaysnás iz* 'and he fixed them', the versions given here, but the 1981 edition has *Nilh ǎu7 stsúnem* 'and he told him' (literally, 'and then he was told'), and *nilh ǎu7 smayscítém* 'and he fixed them for him' (literally, 'and then they were fixed for him'), which, for complex grammatical reasons that fall outside this volume, I would expect and which probably result from my original editing of the text. Bill Edwards' phrases are restored here out of respect for this outstanding story teller.

Acknowledgements

This project would not have been possible without the profound knowledge and tireless assistance of the four Lillooet speakers who so kindly introduced me to the fascinating world of their rich cultural heritage. I am also deeply grateful for their patience during the checking sessions, in which they fielded my never-ending questions with great insight into the complexities and subtleties of their language, and with a delightful sense of humour. A special word of thanks is in order for Mrs. Marie Leo, whose conscientious treatment of these texts is credited above and gladly repeated here. The sadness I feel at the passing of these great teachers is tempered by the fond memories I have of them and the joy I feel every time I read these stories.

Gordon Turner, Lorna Williams, and Aert Kuipers also deserve my abiding gratitude for their extremely important contributions to this project. Marie Abraham's artistic talents deserve to be credited for the wonderful way in which they have added to the overall appearance of this volume.

My academic career would have ground to a complete halt had it not been for First Nations University of Canada (formerly Saskatchewan Indian Federated College), which hired me in 1989 and thus can take justified pride in helping to make this volume (and all my other linguistic contributions since 1989) possible. Above all, I wish to express my gratitude to Arok Wolvengrey for his groundbreaking work on, and ongoing oversight of, the First Nations Language Readers series that is being produced by the University of Regina Press. The present volume, and those that have already appeared in this series, would not have been possible without Arok's tireless dedication to this project (and his appropriately pitiless pursuit of me when I threatened to fall behind on my instalments to this volume—one could not wish for a better Slothhunter Pursuivant when attention to a project, once started, begins to slacken).

As always, I remain deeply grateful to my wife, Sonja, for her love, support and encouragement during times good and bad, and to my sons, Jesse and Mark, whose growth from little rascals into fine young men with very successful careers has added so much joy to my life.

On the Language of the Lillooet

Lillooet is an Interior Salish language spoken in an area about 160 to 300 kilometres north by northeast from Vancouver. The language falls into two closely related and largely mutually intelligible dialects: a northern one, spoken in an area containing the communities of Pavilion, Fountain, Bridge River, Lillooet, and Cayoose Creek, and a southern one, spoken in Mount Currie, Samahquam, Skookumchuck and Port Douglas. The central communities of Seton Lake and Anderson Lake (D'Arcy) probably represent a mix of both dialects, but that is an issue I have not been able to explore in any detail. Long-established patterns of mutual contacts and intermarriage between the two main dialect areas have led to a further blending of the various dialects. A map of the Lillooet-speaking area is provided in Van Eijk (1997) and Van Eijk (2013), and a slightly more detailed version in Davis and Van Eijk (2014).

The language went into steep decline in the twentieth century (mostly as a result of the disastrous residential school policy), but it has seen a revival in recent years, with active language classes and the ongoing output of a large number of curriculum materials in and about the language. (See www.USLCES.org for a catalogue of curriculum materials produced by the Upper St'át'imc Language, Culture and Education Society.)

Phonology

Lillooet vowels are given in Table 1 below, while consonants are given in Table 2 on the following page. Phonemes marked with subscript dot are retracted (i.e., retracted tongue-root with simultaneous tensing of the tongue muscles). Phonetic details are provided in Van Eijk (1997) and Van Eijk (2013). There are two borrowed phonemes, the vowel **au** and the consonant **t̚**, which occur only in a few words, and not in any of the texts included here.

	Front	Central	Back	
High	i		u	basic
	i̠		u̠	retracted
Mid		ə		basic
		ə̠		retracted
Low		a		basic
		a̠		retracted

Table 1. Lillooet Vowel Phonemes

Lillooet employs dynamic stress (marked with the acute), which is phonemic, as in **máqa?** ‘snow’ vs. **maqá?** ‘Death Camas’ (“poison onion”). Stress is also mobile, as in **cún-as** ‘he (-as) tells (cun) him’ > **cun-tumúʔ-as** ‘he tells us (-tumúʔ).’

As for phonotactics, the language allows fairly complex consonant clusters, as in **?alkst** ‘to work’ (northern dialect), but not as complex as in, for example, Nuxalk (Bella Coola), for which see Nater (1979 and 1984).

			Place of Articulation								
			bilabial	dental	lateral	palatal	velar	labio-velar	uvular	labio-uvular	glottal
Manner of Articulation											
Obstruents	Stops	-vd	p	t			k	k ^w	q	q ^w	
		+glot	p̣				ḳ	ḳ ^w	q̣	q̣ ^w	ʔ
	Affricates	-vd				c ç					
		+glot		č	č̣						
	Fricatives	-vd			ɬ	s ʂ	x	x ^w	χ	χ ^w	h
		+glot									
Sonorants	Nasals	+vd	m	n							
		+glot	ṃ	ṇ							
	Laterals	+vd			l ɭ						
		+glot			ḷ ɭ̣						
	Glides	+vd	w	z		y	ɣ		ʕ	ʕ ^w	
		+glot	ẉ	ẓ		ỵ	ɣ̣		ʕ̣	ʕ̣ ^w	

Table 2. Lillooet Consonant Phonemes

Lillooet morphophonemics are relatively simple and include: (a) deletion (indicated with square brackets, as in *cúɬ-xit* ‘to point (*cuɬ*) s.t. out to (-*xit*) s.o.’ > *cúɬ-xi[t]-c-as* ‘he (-*as*) points it out to me (-*c*)’); (b) insertion of *h* between vowels, as in *-ci*

‘you (object)’ > -**cih** in **cuᄋ-xi[t]-cíh-as** ‘he points it out to you’; (c) the change of -**s** (homophonous marker for one of several transitivity suffixes and the third person possessive) to -**c** after **ᄋ** or **s**, as in **kʷis** ‘to drop, get dropped’ > **kʷis-c** ‘to drop s.t.’ (cf. **qaᄋnt** ‘to get hit’ > **qaᄋnt-s** ‘to hit s.o., s.t.’), **xiᄋ** ‘to be done in a certain way’ > **xiᄋ-c** ‘to do s.t. in a certain way, to treat s.o. in a certain way’; (d) phoneme harmony, in that a root with plain (non-retracted) phonemes will require non-retracted phonemes in a suffix, while retracted phonemes in a root require retracted phonemes in a suffix, as in **ʔáma** ‘good’ > **ʔama-wílx** ‘to get better, to recover from an illness’ vs. **qəł** ‘bad’ > **qəł-wílx** ‘to get spoiled, break down’; (e) the change (non-optional in some cases, optional in others) of **z** **ẓ** to **y** **ỵ** before a coronal consonant, as in **huᄋ** ‘to be about to do s.t.’ > **húy-ᄋkan** (**húᄋ-ᄋkan**) ‘I am about to do s.t.’; (f) the change of -**kan** ‘I’, -**kaxʷ** ‘you (sing.)’, -**kaᄋ** ‘we/our’, -**kalap** ‘you (pl.)’ to -**ᄋkan**, -**ᄋkaxʷ**, -**ᄋkaᄋ**, -**ᄋkalap** after resonants and vowels (non-optional) and (optional, though rare) after obstruents; (g) the change of -**su** ‘your (sing.)’ to -**sw** before vowels (and -**cw** after **ᄋ** or **s** and before a vowel), as in **páqʷuᄋ** ‘cache’ > **ta_páqʷuᄋ-cw_a** ‘your cache’ (see the section on morphology below for the use of the underloop ()); and (h) glottalization of resonants as resulting from certain suffixes or from interior reduplication (for which see the section on morphology below), as in **ᄋzum** ‘big’ > **ᄋzum-qʷ** ‘big animal’ (-**qʷ** ‘head; animal’), or **twit** ‘good hunter’ > **twi<ẉ>t** ‘boy’ (i.e., ‘little hunter’, see the morphology section below for the angular brackets).

The status of schwa (a cover term for both **ə** and **ə̣**) is somewhat unstable, in that schwa may be deleted in some cases and inserted in others, as in **pəq** ‘white’ > **pq-us** ‘bald eagle’ (-**us** ‘head, face’), but **ʔʷuýt** ‘to sleep’ > **ʔʷúýt-əqʷ** (**n.ʔʷúýt-əqʷ**) ‘sleepy-head (dull, dumb)’ (-**qʷ** ‘head’). The vowel **a** alternates with **h** under the same circumstances as where **əC** alternates with **C**, as in **ʔáma** ‘good’ > **ʔámh-us** ‘beautiful’ (-**us** ‘face’). We see a similar pattern with **aʔ** and **ʔ**, as in **pálaʔ** ‘one’ > **palʔ-úlməxʷ** ‘one area’ (-**úlməxʷ**), but **s.pzuʔ** ‘(wild) animal’ > **s.pzú<za>ʔ** ‘bird’ (the latter with interior [diminutive] reduplication, as detailed

in the morphology section below). Remaining morphophonemic changes are minor and do not warrant a detailed discussion here.

In addition to the Amerindianist orthography that is in use for the language (as in the examples used so far in this introduction), there is also a practical orthography that was developed in the 1970s by Van Eijk with input from members of the Mount Currie community and that relies solely on the letters of the Latin alphabet. The correspondence between the two systems is as follows (Amerindianist/Practical): p/p, t/t, c/ts, ɕ/ts, k/k, kʷ/kw, q/q, qʷ/qw; p̣/p̣, ɕ̣/tṣ, ʰ̣/ṭ, ḳ/ḳ, ḳʷ/ḳw, ɕ̣̣/ɕ̣̣w; s/s ʃ/s, ɬ/lh, x/c, xʷ/cw, ʃ̣/x̣, ʃ̣ʷ/x̣w; m/m, ṃ/ṃ, n/n, ṇ/ṇ, l/l, ḷ/ḷ, ḷ̣/ḷ̣, ʎ/r, ʎ̣/ṛ, ʎ̣̣/ṛ̣, ʎ̣̣̣/ṛ̣̣, ʎ̣̣̣̣/ṛ̣̣̣, ʎ̣̣̣̣̣/ṛ̣̣̣̣, w/w, ẉ/ẉ, y/y, ʏ/ʏ, z/z, ʒ/ʒ; h/h, ʔ/ʔ; a/a, ạ/ao, i/i, ị/ii, u/u, ụ/o, ə/e, ə̣/v. Since the practical orthography writes c kʷ qʷ (Amerindianist) as ts kw qw, the combinations ts kw qw (Amerindianist) are written t.s k.w q.w in the practical orthography. The glottal stop is not written word-initially in the practical orthography (as in ʔáç̣x̣ə̣n/áṭṣx̣en ‘to see s.o., s.t.’) but is written when a glottal stop-initial word or root receives a prefix (indicated with the period (.) in the Amerindianist transcription), as in s.ʔáç̣x̣-s/s7aṭṣxs ‘to watch over s.o., s.t.’ Instead of the superscript apostrophe to mark glottalization, both the practical orthography and the Amerindianist transcription also allow an apostrophe following the letter, as in p' instead of p̣. Next to ao, ii, o, and v, the phonemes elsewhere represented as ts, s, l, ḷ are written ts, s, l, ḷ.

The alphabetical order in the glossary (pp. 71–89), which lists the words in the practical orthography, is as follows: a, ao, c, cw, e, g, ġ, gw, ġw, h, i, ii, k, ḳ, kw, ḳw, l, ḷ, ḷ̣, ḷ̣̣, lh, m, ṃ, n, ṇ, o, p, p̣, q, q̣, qw, q̣w, r, ṛ, s, s, t, ṭ, ts, ṭs, ts, u, v, w, ẉ, x, xw, y, ʏ, z, ʒ, ʔ. Note that the glossary does not have examples of words starting in certain symbols (e.g., there are no words listed here that start in o or v).

Morphology

Lillooet words fall into full words and clitics. Full words are either invariable (i.e., not allowing bound morphology) or variable, allowing any of the following morphological operations:

prefixation, suffixation (far more common than prefixation), various types of reduplication, one infix, compounding, and apophony (unproductive, except in one form of reduplication).

Prefixation is indicated with a period following the prefix when presented as part of a word, but with a following hyphen when quoted in isolation, as in *n.citx^w* ‘my (n-) house (*citx^w*)’.

Suffixation is indicated with a hyphen preceding the suffix, both in a suffixed form and when quoted in isolation, as in *citx^w-s* ‘his/her (-s) house’.

Interior reduplication, which signals the diminutive, repeats the consonant before the stressed vowel and places the copy after the stressed vowel, the copy written between angular brackets, as in *√k^wis* (*√* = root) ‘small’ > *k^wi<k^w>s* ‘small’, or *naǰ^wít* ‘snake’ > *naǰ^wá<ǰ^w>t* ‘worm’ (with a change *a* > *ə* that accompanies diminutive reduplication in a number of cases). In a number of cases there is a vowel that follows the consonant copy as a morphophonemic by-product and is also written between the angular brackets, as in *hu?* ‘(a bit) more’ > *hú<hu>?* ‘a little bit more’, *s.pzu?* ‘(wild) animal’ > *s.pzú<za>?* ‘bird’.

Augmentive reduplication (labelled “total” reduplication in a number of my other works on Lillooet) repeats the first CVC of the root and signals the augmentive, mostly plural or collective in nouns, and a repeated or intensified action in verbs. The CVC augment (which is stressed in some forms and unstressed in others, according to rules described in Van Eijk (1997)) is indicated with a following colon (:), as in *s.núk^wa?* ‘friend, relative’ > *s.nək^w:núk^wa?* ‘friends, relatives’, *s.qayx^w* ‘man’ > *s.qáy:qyæx^w* (via underlying *s.qáy:qəyx^w*, with deletion of *ə* before *y* and insertion after *y*) ‘men’, *məc-xál* ‘to write’ > *məc:məc-xál* ‘to write a lot’.

Final reduplication repeats the consonant after the stressed vowel. It signals a telic process (i.e., a process going towards a certain goal), often with the notion that the process is not entirely controlled by the entity involved in it. It is indicated with the equal-sign (=) at the end of a morpheme, and with angular brackets plus the equal-sign inside a morpheme, as in *√puʔ* ‘to get boiled’ > *púʔ=əʔ* ‘to boil, be boiling’, *ǰq^w-áw<=wə>s* ‘to get together’ (cf. *s.ǰq^w-awš* ‘(to be) together’).

Infixation (indicated with swing brackets, {..}) is limited to the inchoative (ingressive) marker ʔ, as in √nuqʷ ‘warm (atmosphere)’ > nu{ʔ}qʷ ‘to warm up, to get warmer’.

Apophony, as said above, is rare, except when it accompanies certain forms with interior reduplication, as in naǰʷít ‘snake’ > naǰʷǎǰʷít ‘worm’. Outside those formations we have an example in ʔǎp-ən ‘to stand s.t. up’, s.ʔap ‘tree’, ʔi{ʔ}p ‘to grow, grow up’.

Compounding consists of the linking of two roots, usually with a connecting element aʔ, and represented in writing with the plus-symbol (+), as in lǎp+aʔ+kʷúnaʔ ‘buried (lǎp) salmon roe (kʷúnaʔ)’ or qǎl+aʔ+tmíxʷ ‘storm’ (qǎl ‘bad,’ tmíxʷ ‘land, earth, world, cosmos, weather’).

Morphological operations may be combined in one form, as in √xiw ‘raw’ > ǰí{ʔ}<ǰǎ>w ‘raw (but s.t. that should have been cooked)’, or s.núkʷaʔ ‘friend, relative’ > s.nǎkʷ:núkʷaʔ ‘friends, relatives’. Multiple applications of the same type of reduplication are also possible, as in ka.mul:mul:múl_a ‘to stay in the water all the time’ (√mul ‘dipped in, put in water’), or twǎ<w><wǎ>t ‘(young) boy’ (twi<w>t ‘boy’ < twit ‘good hunter’).

In transitive verbs, which combine object suffixes and subject suffixes, the former precede the latter, as in cun-tumúʔ-as ‘he (-as) tells (cun) us (-tumúʔ)’.

Enclitics are indicated with a loop (◌) that follows proclitics and precedes enclitics, as in ta◌cítxʷ◌a ‘the (ta◌) house’ (with the ‘reinforcing’ element ◌a that is required by ta◌ and a number of other articles).

Syntax

Aside from a few adverbial or conjunctive markers, Lillooet is predicate-initial, as in ǰák ti◌n.kýap◌a ‘the coyote (n.kýap) goes (ǰák)’, núkʷʔ-an-c-as ti◌s.qáyxʷ◌a ‘the man (s.qáyxʷ) helps (núkʷʔ-an) me’. Both the predicate and complement position can be taken by a form based on either a noun or a verb, as in n.kýap ti◌ǰák◌a ‘the one who goes is a coyote’, s.qáyxʷ ti◌nukʷʔ-án-c-as◌a ‘the one who helps me is a man’. The overlap between the categories ‘noun’ and ‘verb’ in this respect, and the feasibility

of distinguishing them at all, is discussed in Kuipers (1968), Kinkade (1983), and Van Eijk and Hess (1986). In transitive constructions with both an object and a subject complement, the former generally precede the latter in the northern dialect, as in *n.ǰíǰ-c-ań-as ta_s.kám-c_a ta_s.kʷú<kʷ>mít_a* ‘the child (*s.kʷú<kʷ>mít*) closed (*n.ǰíǰ-c-ań*) the door (*s.kám-c*)’, while in the southern dialect the subject complement generally precedes the object complement, as in *pəl-p-s-ás_tu? ni_n.s.kʷúzʔ_a ni_kapúh-s_a* ‘my son (*s.kʷúzaʔ*) lost (*pəl-p-s*) his (-s) coat (*kapúh*)’. The dialect-based distinction between these constituent orders is not strict, as is shown by *pám-an-ás_tu? ta_s.kix-əzʔ-íh_a nəʔ_qəǰʔ-íćʔ-í_a* ‘their (-ih) mother (*s.kix-zaʔ*) had thrown their dog skins (*qəǰʔ-íćaʔ*) into the fire’ (*pám-an* ‘to throw s.t. into the fire’), which was recorded from Martina LaRochelle, a speaker of the northern dialect. For further details on this issue see Van Eijk (1995 and 2001).

Further comments on Lillooet syntax are given in the next section.

Concluding comments

A full analysis of the texts in this volume is not feasible because of space limitations, but a few aspects of the texts warrant a brief discussion. In the first place, the kataphoric pronoun *niʔ* often functions as a conjunction ‘and then, and so’ (in which case it usually combines with the discourse enclitic *ǰ_uʔ*). It then also requires a factualized construction (signalled with the nominalizer *s-*) in which the subject of an intransitive verb is marked with possessive affixes (as in *níʔ_ǰ_uʔ s.waʔ-s puʔ_yaxʷ-ám* ‘and then he (-s ‘his) was hunting mice’) and the subject of a transitive verb is marked with transitive subject suffixes (as in *níʔ_ǰ_uʔ_tuʔ s.ʔáp-n-as* ‘and then he forgot [what he was doing]’). (The examples in this paragraph, and the next, are all taken from “Coyote and Chickadee,” included in this volume.)

In addition to the factual paradigm (limited to dependent clauses), Lillooet also employs an indicative paradigm (used in main clauses), as in *ǰák_kʷuʔ* ‘he was going’, or *ʔaćǰ-n-ás_kʷuʔ* ‘he saw him’, and a subjunctive paradigm (used in both

main and dependent clauses, and usually introduced with ɬ in the latter, as in *l.cʔá_ka núkʷuń ɬ_ʷúýt-an* ‘I must have slept here’). All three paradigms (which largely overlap in their transitive sub-paradigms) allow auxiliary constructions, which are fully stressed and usually based on *waʔ* ‘to be (busy)’ in the indicative paradigm, as in *wáʔ-ɬkan píxə́m* ‘I am hunting’, but a proclitic construction in the other paradigms, as in *xʷʔaz lá.tiʔ kʷasu_zúqʷ-s kʷu_s.tám* ‘you won’t kill anything with that’ (*kʷasu_* ‘that you’).

Natural Lillooet discourse and story telling are impossible without the use of a large number of discourse particles (either full words or enclitics), such as *ʃ_uʔ*, a general discourse marker broadly translatable as ‘well, but, so, for sure’, etc., or reportative *ʃ_kʷuʔ*, which indicates that one is relating something that one has not witnessed oneself but that one has been informed about by others. For that reason, *ʃ_kʷuʔ* is prevalent in *sptakwlh*, as these refer to events that took place in a distant past.

Of the seven *sptakwlh* in this volume, four (“The Two Coyotes,” “Coyote and Chickadee,” “The Girl and the Owl,” and “The Man Who Stayed with the Bear”) are told by speakers of the northern (Fountain) dialect, while the other three (“Coyote Drowns,” “Coyote and Owl,” and “Grizzly Bear and Black Bear’s Children”) are told by speakers of the southern (Mount Currie) dialect. The only difference worth noticing here is that the northern dialect uses *ta_* and *na_* for respectively the ‘present/known’ and ‘absent/known’ articles, while the southern dialect has *ti_* and *ni_* instead. (The 1981 edition standardizes these articles to *ti* and *ni* for all four speakers, but *ta_ ta* and *na_ na* have been restored here in Bill Edwards’ and Martina LaRochelle’s texts.)

With regard to the Lillooet lexicon, there is also a somewhat melancholy meta-message in “The Girl and the Owl,” in that Martina LaRochelle reflects on two words (*mekilólyaʔ*, approximately ‘sticky matter’, and *skiǵw*, approximately ‘kept woman’ or perhaps ‘trophy wife’) of which she admits that she does not know the precise meaning, but which were used in the version of the story told to her by her grandmother. Sadly, one almost sees old words fading away before one’s eyes here, a

fate that has befallen too many words in too many First Nations languages. The ongoing efforts, by both linguists and the Lillooet themselves, to preserve and revive the Lillooet language is therefore to be applauded even more.

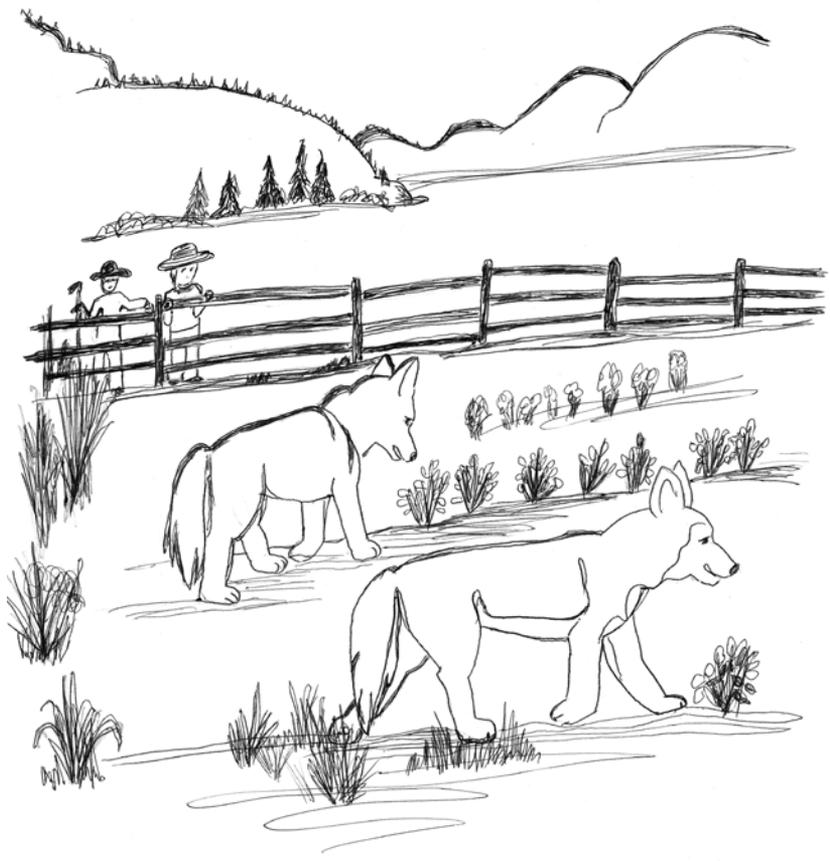
Finally, the name “Lillooet” is derived from *Lil'wat*, the ancestral name of the southernmost Lillooet-speaking bands (Teit 1906: 196). Instead of Lillooet, the term *Słáitimcets* (originally only referring to the language of the northernmost bands) is increasingly used in linguistic literature, and *Ucwalmícwts* (literally ‘the language of the people’ or ‘the Indian language’) in a number of curriculum materials.

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niŕ ŕizá spták^wŕkaŕ



(1) ʔi.ʔá<ʔə>ńwas_a n.kýap

ǎák_kʷu? ká.ti? ʔi_n.kýáp_a, ʔá<ʔə>ńwas. níʔ_kʷu?_ǎu?
s.cut-s ta_pé<pə>lʔ_a ʔlák_ʔiʔ: “n.kýáp-ʔkan, tákəm_ǎu?
s.wat wa? zəwat-ən-cál-it-as kʷənswa_n.kýáp, ká_maʔ
xʷʔaz s.núwa kʷasu_n.kýáp, pə<p>laʔ-ʔkákʷ.”

“xʷʔaz ká.ti?, n.kýáp-kan_ǎu? ǎit,” cúť_kʷu?

“xʷʔaz ká.ti?, pə<p>laʔ-ʔkákʷ. xʷúy_maʔ zań, húy-
ʔkaxʷ zəwát-ən ʔkʷún-s_a. húy-ʔkan ǎaʔ l.cʔá-wna
l_ta_n.ləp-xál-tń_a, kálań-miń-ʔkákʷ_ǎu? ʔi_ʔuxʷalmíxʷ_a.”

ǎáq_kʷu? ʔayʔ, ǎáq_kʷu? ʔá.ti?, ʔac̣x̣-n-əm_kʷu?
ʔə_ki_ʔuxʷalmíxʷ_a. “tay, ǎak kən.tʔú ta_n.kýáp_a, nkýap
ká.ti? ta_ǎák_a.” ǎák_kʷu?, ka.xim_a_kʷúʔ_tu?

qʷacác_kʷu? ʔayʔ ʔəl.kʷʔú ni? na_núkʷ_a,
ka.ʔəx̣ʷ_a_kʷúʔ_ǎu?, qʷaʔt-min-it-ás_kʷu?

“ǎak múta? ká.ti? ta_pé<pə>lʔ_a, pə<p>laʔ ká.ti?
ta_ǎák_a múta?”

ǎák_kʷu?, cíxʷ_kʷu? ʔayʔ, pʔán-as_kʷu? na_s.núkʷaʔ-s_a.

“ʔáʔhan-cu,” cún-əm_kʷu?, “ʔáʔhan-cu, qańim-ən-s-wít-
kaxʷ_ha? n.kýáp-ʔkan, pə<p>laʔ-ʔkákʷ s.núwa.”

(2) wəqʷ ti_n.kýáp_a

húy-ʔkan ʔayʔ ʔuxʷalmíxʷ-c-miń l.cʔá-wna ti_n.kýáp_a.
s.təxʷ.tiʔ s.xə<xə>ń. ʔák_kʷuʔ ká.taʔ, xáʔ-s_a ʔə.tʔú-na
ti_qʷúʔ_a. súxʷast, ʔúqʷaʔ, ʔak mútaʔ xáʔ-əm.

wáʔ_ʔuʔ ʔá.tiʔ xíl-əm, níʔ_ʔuʔ s.kí{ʔ}<kə>ǀ-s kʷas_xáʔ-əm.
níʔ_ʔuʔ mútaʔ s.ʔá.taʔ-s xaw:xaw:xáwń_a ʔ_ʔák-
as ʔaʔ-s_a_ʔúʔ_a ti_qʷúʔ_a; ʔák_kʷuʔ ká.tiʔ. plan mútaʔ
ʔúqʷaʔ, plan mútaʔ.

cáma_ʔuʔ, níʔ_ʔuʔ s.xʷʔay-s kʷ_s.xáʔ-ləx-s. ʔak ʔayʔ
l_tiqʷúʔ_a. cúkʷ_ʔuʔ ʔi_s.ǰʷáxt-s_a waʔ s.mul.

ʔák_ʔuʔ, lan mútaʔ ʔúqʷaʔ. cáma_ʔuʔ, níʔ_ʔuʔ s.lán-
s_ʔuʔ mútaʔ waʔ ʔak qəm-p ti_s.ǰít_a, níʔ_ʔuʔ mútaʔ
s.kə<k>{ʔa}w-s ʔá.taʔ ti_s.ʔák-s_a.

ʔá.tiʔ ʔayʔ ʔʷəlín-s_a ʔwas_ka.mul:mul:múl_a l_tiqʷúʔ_a,
ʔʷəlín-s_a. plan mútaʔ ʔúqʷaʔ.

ʔák_ʔuʔ, níʔ_ʔuʔ s.əl.cʔá-s kʷʔ-ús-c_a ʔ_cíxʷ-almən-
as ti_qʷúʔ_a. kʷí<kʷ>s_ʔuʔ ʔayʔ lá.tiʔ kʷas_múl-c-am, lan
ʔúqʷaʔ, ʔúqʷaʔ.

wáʔ_ʔúʔ ʔá.tiʔ xíl-əm ʔu wəqʷ_tuʔ_ʔuʔ, niʔ_ka_túʔ_ʔuʔ
s.zuqʷ-s.



(3) ta_n.kýáp_a múta? ta_ćúq^wum_a

n.kýáp_ti? múta? c7á-wna k^wu_s.pták^w4. zách-t_ti?
séna?_đu?, 4qíqat_đu? ta_wa?_zəwát-n-an.

łák_k^wu? ká.ti? ta_n.kýáp_a, 7acx-n-ás_k^wu?
ta_ćúq^wum_a wa? ká.ti?. “wá?-4kax^w kán-əm?”, cún-as_k^wu?
ta_ćúq^wum_a.

“7u, wá?-4kan píxəm.”

7acx-xít-as_k^wu? ta_təx^w7ac-s_a. “7u,” cún-as_k^wu?,
“s.tam_k4 lá.ti? k^wa_zúq^w-s-ax^w l_ta_təx^w7ac-sw_a? k^wi<k^w>s-
7úl, k^wi<k^w>s-7úl! x^w7az lá.ti? k^wasu_zúq^w-s k^wu_s.tám.”

“x^wuy_qa?_zám, nas 7ə.t7ú-na x7í4_a 7á.ti? l_ta_n.ləp-
xál-t_n_a, x^wəm_đu? lá.ti? k^w_s.qam_t-s-túmi-n 4əl.c7á.”

“x^wuy,” cút_k^wu? ta_n.kýáp_a, ní4_k^wu? s.łak-s 7á.ta?,
cíx^w_k^wu? 7á.ta? x7í4_a. ní4_đu?_tu? s.4áp-n-as 4was_kán-
əm, ní4_đu? ká.ti? s.wa?-s pu7yax^w-ám.

k^wił-q_s-xít-əm_k^wu? 7ay4 4əl_t7ú
4əl_ta_ćúq^wum_a, k4-aka?-xít-əm_k^wu? 7á.ti?,
pút_đu? qám_t-s-tum; qmín-n-əm_k^wu? lá.ti?,
ní4 s.zuq^w-s.

ní4_k^wu? lá.ti?_ti? s.kic-s, tákəm
ta_sútik_a, qapc. [..]

łák_k^wu? ká.ti? ta_s.núk^wa?-s_a. “tay,
s.tám-as_ka núk^wu^w k^wu_s.záy-tən-su.



x^w?áz_həmə́_ǵu? k^w.s.x^w?ay-s k^w.s.záy-tən-ʔkax^w k^wasu_wá?
lá.ti? s.kic.”

qəlx-an?-an-ə́m_k^wu?, qəlx-an?-an-ə́m_k^wu?, ʃ^w?úcin
k^w.s.qəlx-án?-an-ə́m.

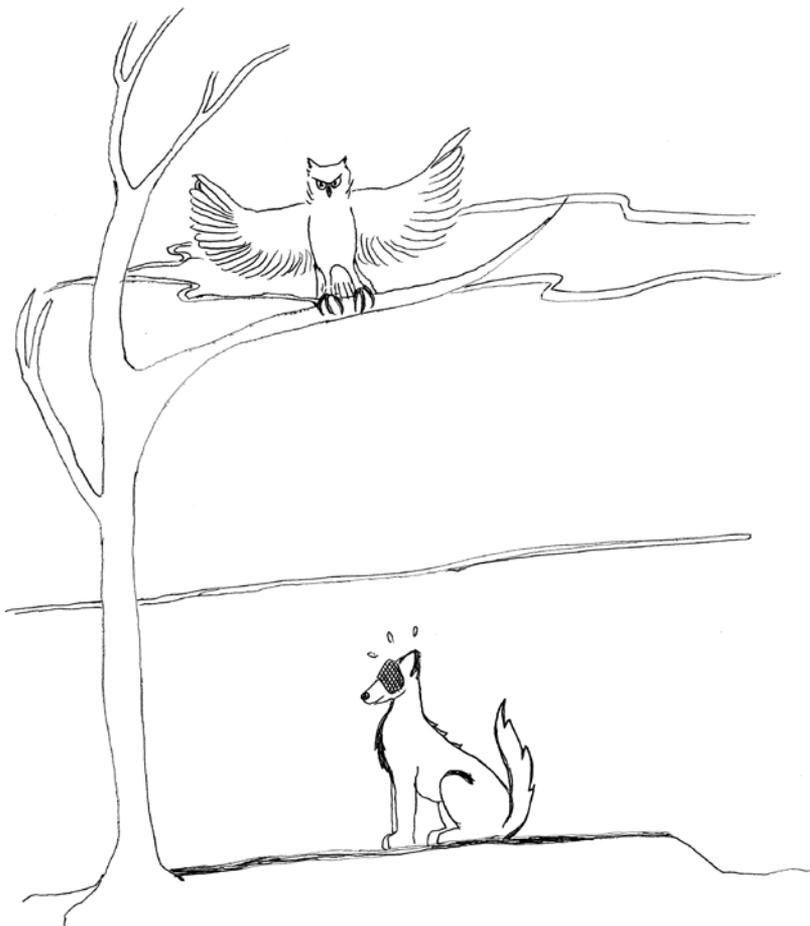
tx^w-ús-ə́m_k^wu?, ǵík-ləx_k^wu? ?ayʔ. “?u, l.c?á_ka núk^wuń
ʔ_ǵ^wúýt-an,” cúť_k^wu?. plán_k^wu? wa? ka.ʔmə́k_a ?i_ǵámin-
s_a. “l.c?á_ka ʔ_ǵ^wúýt-an,” cúť_k^wu?.

hú<hu>? múta? sána? ʔəl.c?á-wna, zách-t_t^wi? c?a
k^wu_s.pták^wʔ_ǵu?. cúk^w_ǵu? ta_wa?_zəwát-n-an.

(4) ti_n.kýáp_a múta? ti_s.kalú<l>?_a

wá?k^wu? l.c?a ti_n.kýáp_a. wa? xáĭ-miñ-as
k^was_ka.7ácĭ-m_a 4as_sítst. plán_k^wu? 7ay4 wa? ǵáp-almən;
wa? 7əm:7imn-əm ti_s.kalú<l>?_a. ní4_ĭu? s.cún-as: “tay,
s.kalú<l>?, kán-əm səs_ǵzúm 7i_n.k^wĭ-ús-təñ-sw_a?”

ní4_ĭu? s.cut-s ti_s.kalú<l>?_a: “ni4 k^wənswa_ka.7ácĭ-m_a
4as_sítst,” cút_k^wu?. “7u,” cút_k^wu? ti_n.kýáp_a, “wá?-4kan
ĭit xáĭ-miñ k^wənswa_ka.7ácĭ-m_a 4as_sítst, ǵíl-əm s.núwa.
wá?-4kax^w kas-c, ní4_ĭu? səs_ǵzúm 7i_n.k^wĭ-ús-təñ-sw_a?”



“ʔu,” cút_kʷu? ti_s.kalú<l>ʔ_a, “ɬ_ǎǎ-miñ-axʷ
 kʷas_ǎzúm ʔi_n.kʷǎ-ús-təñ-sw_a, níɬ_ǎu? s.nás-cu kʷam
 kʷu_qʷalíf. wáʔ-ɬkaxʷ_ǎu? zəwát-ən ʔi_qʷalíf_a, kəla? qíǎ.
 məqʷ-ən-s-káxʷ, níɬ_ǎu? s.qi<q>ć-mín-axʷ. qi<q>ć-mín-
 ɬkaxʷ lá.ti? ǎu plán_ǎu? wa? li<l>q kʷas_ka.cəs_a. ʔalas-
 káxʷ_ǎu? qí<q>ć-min, níɬ_ǎu? s.ʔama-s, níɬ_ǎu? s.ćəmǎ-
 án-axʷ, níɬ_ǎu? s.ćəǎ-p-án-axʷ l_t_i_n.kʷǎ-ús-təñ-sw_a
 ti_núkʷ_a, ćíla ti_núkʷ_a, níɬ_ǎu? s.ćíla-s_ǎu? ʔá.ti? kəɬ-ən-
 ɬkáxʷ, plan_kɬ ǎzum ʔi_n.kʷǎ-ús-təñ-sw_a.”

“xʷuy nas,” cut, níɬ_kʷu?_ǎu? s.ǎak-s ti_n.kyáp_a. ǎak,
 kʷám_kʷu? ʔi_qʷalíf_a, qí<q>ć-əm_kʷu? ʔayɬ lá.ti? ǎu
 plán_ǎu? ʔayɬ wa? li<l>q kʷas_ka.cəs_a lá.t? ti_s.qí<q>ć-s_a.
 ćəmǎ-án-as_kʷu? ʔayɬ, níɬ_ǎu? s.ɬúm-un-as l_t_i_n.kʷǎ-ús-
 təñ-s_a, ćəǎ-p-án-as. wáʔ_kʷu? ʔayɬ lá.ti? s.təq-s-ás ǎu
 ka.ǎuýt_á_ǎu?.

My, s.təǎʷ_ǎu? qəɬ ti_s.ǎíl-əm-s_a. kan-m-ás_ka;
 xʷʔáy_ǎu? kʷ_s.zəwát-n-an ćílh-as n.ka? kʷ_s.xiñ-s
 kʷ_s.ǎuýt-s. xʷak, lan kax ti_s.qí<q>ć-s_a. níɬ_ǎu? s.waʔ-s
 lá.ti? kəɬ-n-ás, cáma kəɬ-n-ás, xʷʔáy_ǎu? kʷas_ka.ǎíf_a,
 plán_ǎu? wa? kax.

qañim-ən-s-ás_kʷu? ʔayɬ ti_s.kalú<l>ʔ_a, lán-s_a ʔayɬ
 múta? wa? ǎáp-almən. “kalú<l>ʔ,” cún-as, “kán-əm
 su_ǎíf[-s]-tumx ʔə.cʔá? ʔáćǎ-ən, ćəǎ-p ʔayɬ ʔi_qʷalíf_a
 l_t_i_n.kʷǎ-ús-tñ_a.”

“ʔu,” cút_kʷu? ti_s.kalú<l>ʔ_a, “cuwaʔ-sú_ǎu? s.záy-tən.
 kán-əm múta? saxʷ_ǎuýt?”

“xʷʔáz_qa? səna? kʷənswa_ǎuýt, məs-kán_ǎu?
 ka.ǎuýt_á_ǎu?”

“ʔáʔhan, cuwaʔ-sú_ǎu? s.záy-tən!,” cún-əm, “ɬ_xʷʔáz-
 as_ka kʷ_s.ǎuýt-su, lán_ka_tu? wa? ǎzum ʔi_n.kʷǎ-ús-təñ-
 sw_a. ʔáʔhan, ćíla-wílx ʔayɬ múta? ʔi_n.kʷǎ-ús-təñ-sw_a,
 wáʔ_ǎu? qʷi<qʷ>s.”

cúkʷ_ti?_ǎu?

(5) ti_s.ǵaǵálam_a múta? ʔi_s.cm-áit-s_a ʔi_míǵaǵ_a

wa? kǵm-ǵm ʔi_míǵaǵ_a, ti_s.qac-ǵz?-íh_a múta?
ti_s.kix-ǵz?-íh_a, níǵ sǵs_húǵ. ǵwal-n-ít-as ʔi_s.cm-áit-íh_a
l_tj_s.ǵǵǵc-ǵq-s_a ti_s.yǵp_a.

wá?_k^wu? ká.ti? ti_s.ǵaǵálam_a, pún-as
ʔi_s.k^wǵm:k^wú<k^w>mit_a, níǵ_ǵu? s.xǵǵ-an-cút-s k^was_húǵ
ǵáik^w-iǵ.

wa? ʔayǵ lǵ.ti? ǵáik^w-iǵ, ǵíq_k^wu? ʔi_míǵaǵ_a.

cút_k^wu?: “wǵǵ-ǵkan l.c?a ʔalk-ǵn-tánih-an
wi_s.cǵ<cǵ>w-ǵíń-kst. ʔáma, ʔáma tsalapa_wǵ? ká.k^wu?
ǵǵl-ílx, nas-kalǵp_ǵu? múta?. ʔalk^w-iǵ-kán_kǵ, k^wuk^w-xi[t]-
tumǵǵ-kán_kǵ.”

q^wacac_k^wu?_ká_tu? ʔi_wa?_ʔǵ[s].s.cm-áit, níǵ_ǵu?
s.lan-s k^wǵn-as, n.ǵam-ǵn-as_k^wu? ʔǵ_tj_n.cq-ús-tn_a
ʔi_ǵǵǵǵǵǵǵwas_a s.k^wǵm:k^wú<k^w>mit, k^wú_k^w-uń-as. ǵíq_k^wu?
ʔi_wa?_ʔǵs.cúwa?, húǵ_k^wu? cut: “plán-ǵkan ǵǵǵl-s lǵ.ti?
ʔi_húǵ_a s.ʔíǵǵn-lap. wǵǵ_maǵ wǵǵ-wi, wǵǵ_maǵ wǵǵ-wi!”

níǵ_k^wu?_ǵu? lǵ.ti? s.ca{?}x^w-s ʔi_míǵaǵ_a, t_s.lán-
s_a wa? ǵǵǵl ʔi_húǵ_a s.ʔíǵn-i, níǵ_k^wu? s.cut-s: “wa?
ǵkan_hǵm_kǵ_ǵu? l.c?a, wǵǵ_maǵ wǵǵ-wi!”

níǵ_k^wu? ʔayǵ kǵla[ʔ]-ǵúl n.ǵam-xal ti_s.qǵc-ǵz?_a
míǵaǵ, wa? ǵíǵ-c-as ʔǵ.cǵǵ, níǵ-as_k^wu? ti_s.k^wǵ<k^w>za?-s_a
cǵ<cǵ>w-ǵíń-kst.

“ʔu, k^w_s.wǵta?”, cun-it-ǵs_k^wu?, níǵ_a_x^wíǵ_kǵ
ʔi_s.cm-áit-kǵǵ_a s.ǵǵǵl-xi[t]-túmǵǵ-as.” k^wan-it-ǵs_k^wu? lǵ.ti?
ʔi_wa?_s.k^wíǵ s.k^wǵz:k^wǵ<k^w>z?-i, níǵ_k^wu?_ǵu? s.q^wacǵc-i.

c_ǵs_k^wu? ʔayǵ kál-im ti_s.ǵaǵálam_a qǵl:qǵl-cíń
k^w_s.x^w_ʔay-s k^was_ǵwál. ʔá.k^wu? cíx^w-wit_k^wu? ʔǵ_tj_s.yǵp_a,
níǵ_ǵu? s.ǵǵíw-lǵx-i. wǵǵ_k^wu? lǵ.ti? s.q^wǵm ʔi_s.x^wú<x^w>ǵ_a
l_tj_s.ǵǵǵc-ǵq-s_ǵ_ti? ti_s.yǵp_a.



x^wʔáz_k^wuʔ_ǎuʔ ʔayʔ k^w_s.xiń-s, ǎíq_k^wuʔ ʔayʔ
 ti_s.ǎaʔ_álam_a. “x^wúy_maʔ x^wuy ʔlá.k^wuʔ, ćáq-miń-i
 k^w_s.cə<cə>w-qíń-kst, ka.təq-s-kan_á_kʔ l.cʔa ǎáwń_a.”

“ʔu, ka.ǎil_a_ǎúʔ_a kaʔʔ, ka.ǎíl_a,” cún-əmə_k^wuʔ, mícaʔq
 lá.tiʔ l_ti_s.q^wóm_a. lá.tiʔ ʔ_ʔucz-íl-x-ax^w, niʔ_kʔ ʔá.taʔ s.ćáq-
 miń-xí[t]-ci-m k^w_s.cə<cə>w-qíń-kst. ʔucz-íl-x-kax^w, n.piń^w-q-
 ám-ʔkax^w.”