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A Sliammon Text: “When Coming Out of the Woods”, as told by Mary George*

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1. Introduction

1.1. About Sliammon

“Sliammon” refers to the people of the Tla’amin (Sliammon) First Nation, which is situated just north of the city of Powell River in British Columbia, Canada. In this paper, Sliammon is also used to refer to their traditional language.¹

1.2. About this text

This text was narrated by the late Mrs. Mary George (1924–2009) on August 28, 1997. It was recorded by me, Honoré Watanabe; I was the only other person present in the room. The duration of the text is 4’18”. It was subsequently transcribed and translated with the help of the late Mrs. Marion Harry on August 12–13, 2010 and checked again with her in the summer of 2019. The linguistic analyses (phonological and grammatical) were all done by me.

In this text, Mrs. Mary George talks about the traditional practice of what people used to do after spending time in the woods to gather wood or pick berries. The text is not easy to follow in some parts; however, Mrs. Marion Harry explained this tradition as follows. When people went to the woods, before coming out from there, they lined up,

* My deepest gratitude goes, first and foremost, to the late Mrs. Mary George for sharing this story with me and to the late Mrs. Marion Harry for working through this text with me. Marion passed away on Sept. 7, 2019, only a few weeks after we worked on this text. I dedicate the present work to her. I am thankful to the Tla’amin (Sliammon) community and to my other language teachers for sharing their knowledge with me: the late Mrs. Agnes McGee, the late Mrs. Annie Dominick, and Mrs. Elsie Paul. I also thank the two anonymous reviewers for their comments. Thanks also to Allison Silver Adelman for editorial assistance. My research on Sliammon has been supported by various agencies, most recently by JSPS (KAKENHI, Grant Numbers 16K02660, 16H05672, and 19H01253) and also by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture (funding given to ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies for the “Linguistic Dynamics Science Project”). Needless to say, I assume full responsibility of my analyses and any errors in the data.

¹ Sliammon belongs to the Coast (or Central) branch of the Salishan language family. The most detailed description of the language to date is Watanabe (2003).

often in two lines, with the younger members of the group between the first and last ones. The older members took the first and last positions. When the group started to come out of the woods, each person would call the name of the person next to them, starting from the first ones in the lines. If this was not done properly, one's spirit would be left behind in the woods. Then animals could step on the spirit, and this would cause unsettling feelings for the owner of the spirit. Mrs. Mary George talked about not being able to sleep as an undesired consequence in this text. Mrs. Elsie Paul has explained this tradition likewise and also added that it was practiced even when the person was alone. Someone returning from the woods alone still called their own name out loud, so the spirit would come along. She also explained that one's spirit wants to stay in the woods, because of the enjoyable time spent in that beautiful place.

The audio file, along with this text, will be available on the following website: <http://honorewatanabe.com>

1.3. The format

The text is presented in §2, first in Sliammon only (§2.1, in phonemic representation), second in its English translation (§2.2), and third with morphological analysis (§2.3). The line numbers, from 1 to 69 in parentheses, all correspond between these three subsections. In §2.3, each line of the text is presented in a five-line format. The five lines respectively present the following:

1. The phonetic transcription in square brackets ([...]).
2. The phonemic representation with segmentation of morphemes.
3. The morphophonemic representation.
4. The gloss for each morpheme.
5. The free translation in English. (This is followed by the line ID in my original data.)

The phonetic transcription (i.e., the first line) is usually not included in presenting a text of this kind; however, it is included here because the 'orthography' used in the Sliammon community basically corresponds to the phonetic level, rather than the phonemic one.

The footnotes in §2.3 provide further notes and observations. Mrs. Marion Harry (MH) and Mrs. Mary George (MG) are identified by their initials in the footnotes.

2. The text

2.1. The text in Sliammon²

- (1) hiʔ naʔs k^w naʔa q'ayahitagıʔ tiʔin t^θ q'waq'wθəm'.
- (2) ʔut ʧx^w θu θiqnač higa maʔamk^wumax^w.
- (3) niʔ ʧx^w ɟa θičəm x^wux^w.
- (4) niʔ ʧx^w maʔamk^wum.
- (5) ʔut x^waʔ, ʔiy θiθiqnač ʧx^w.
- (6) ʔut x^waʔ, ʔiy t'at'aʔəm ʧx^w.
- (7) hu ʧx^w ɟa.
- (8) niʔ ʧx^w k^w x^wux^w, paʔa... paʔa t'θuk^w.
- (9) q^wəl ʧax^w q'wit k^w s_u nanatəms.
- (10) t'θiyit ʧx^w k^wə θ_u qəm'qəm.
- (11) ʔuʃaš ʧax^w k^wə θ_u qəm'qəm.
- (12) huy ɟa tan'...
- (13) huy ʔiy naʔa təsit k^wə θ_u q^wəl' q'wit.
- (14) huʃuθut ʧx^w k^wə θ_u q^wəl' q'wit.
- (15) ma~mat ʧax^w θ_u čačaʔaw.
- (16) ʃašt ʧx^w, huy šəypat ʧx^w tə θ_u qəm'qəm.
- (17) hihiw' k'wa ʔə naʔa hay's qaymix^w.
- (18) ʔiy ʔaʔawt k'wa k^w pipaʔa hay's qaymix^w.
- (19) huy hihiw' ʧx^w ɟa tiʔi.
- (20) ɟa ʧəyčuy'as qayawmix^w k^wə θ_u qəm'qəm,
- (21) hihiw' ʧx^w.
- (22) təs ɟa k^wə θ_u x^wit huʃitmut k^wə θ_u q^wəl' q'wit,
- (23) huy q'iyatawʔ ʧx^w.
- (24) hi k^w hihiw' niʔ k^waʔa q'iyat ʔə θ_u qix^wtigən.
- (25) pay'aθut ɟa k^w pipaʔa q'iyatas qix^wtigəns.
- (26) hanəm ʧx^w ʔut nam' tan' hu təs k^w ʔaʔawtmut.
- (27) huy ɟa ʔiy q'iyathim.
- (28) q'iyat ʧx^w k^wə θ_u qix^wtigan'uʔ.

² The phonemic inventory of Sliammon includes the following: *p, t^θ, t, λ, č, k, k^w, q, q^w, ʔ, p', t'^θ, t', λ', č', k', k^w, q', q^w, ʃ, ɟ, ʃ', ɟ', θ, s, ʔ, š, x^w, x, x^w, h, m, n, l, y, w, m', n', l', y', w', i, u, a, ə*. In addition, two morphophonemes //L// and //L'/ need to be posited. They are realized, depending on the environment, as *ʔ ~ y ~ w* and *ʔ ~ y' ~ w' ~ ʔ*, respectively. The primary stress generally falls on the first vowel of the word. The secondary stress (and/or high pitch) is distinctive, and when it does not follow the basic trochaic pattern, it needs to be marked. However, much remains to be investigated in terms of the prosody of Sliammon. See Watanabe (2000) and references cited therein for details. The Americanist phonetic symbols are used in this paper. Where they differ, the IPA equivalents are as follows: *λ = tʃ̥, č = tʃ̥̄, ʃ = dʒ̥, š = ʃ, x = χ*.

- (29) huy q'iyathim k'wə_θ_ qix'wtigən.
- (30) nanaθim.
- (31) q'wəl' q'wit. "q'wəl_aga, hu_št_hiyt q'wit!"
- (32) "hu_št_ju?", hut_čx'w_ k'wa k'wan'.
- (33) nanat_čx'w k'wə_θ_ qix'wtigən.
- (34) ?ut_čx'w_ k'wa x'wa? ?əxtiysx'wax'w, ni?_ k'wa k'wə_θ_ qaymix'wanan ?əx'wi k'w_ θičəm.
- (35) x'wa čamas_ k'wa ?iy_ x'əč't_ čax'w_ s_ nats.
- (36) paya?_ čx'w_ k'wut na?a yaxət k'wə_θ_ ni?uʃ.
- (37) nam' _čx'w_ č'a k'w_ k'wičiyigan.
- (38) ?aw'əx'wax'w k'wə_θ_ qaymix'wanən k'w_ θičəm.
- (39) ?uwk'w_ tam ni?_ ?a? q'it k'wə_θ_ qaymix'wanən.
- (40) ?uwk'w_ tam na?a ?əx_ titačumix'w ni?_ ?i?imit k'wə_θ_ ni?_ ?i?imašuf.
- (41) hi_ k'wa_ ga_ x'w_ ?əxtiystəgit q'iyathim.
- (42) q'iyathut_ čx'w_ k'wə_θ_ q'wəl' q'wit.
- (43) q'iyatawʃ hi k'wan' _?aju.
- (44) q'iyatawʃ.
- (45) huy_ ga_ k'wə_θ_ yay'aθut, q'wəl_ čax'w_ ga_ q'wit.
- (46) q'iyat_ čax'w_ ?uwk'w_ θ_ qəm'qəm.
- (47) q'wəl_ čax'w_ ga_ q'wit.
- (48) q'wəl_ čax'w_ titsit k'wə_θ_ ?aya? na?a.
- (49) x'in ?iy q'wəl'.
- (50) paya?_ čx'w_ ga_ ?əθ_ x'aλ'as.
- (51) x'wa?s ni?ax'w_ ?aw'əx'w_ k'w_ θičəm k'wə_θ_ qaymix'wanən.
- (52) hiʃ tan' namtuwumituʃ s'x'wux'wuf.
- (53) ?ut_ št_ hu_ ma?amk'wum ?əxtiystuwəm ta?at.
- (54) hihiw' tə_ x'aλ'axay'.
- (55) čəčx'wit_ št_ ga_ nimuf.
- (56) huy hat_ ga_ q'iyatuwəm
- (57) nanaθim. q'iyathim.
- (58) q'iyatəm k'w_ sk'waq.
- (59) huy q'wəl_ čat_ ga_ q'witiw.
- (60) x'wuk'wt_ tam, miya_ čx'w_ ?ut_ ma?amk'wum,
- (61) ?iy_ nam' _?ut_ ?aju.
- (62) təsit k'wə_θ_ q'wəl' q'wit,
- (63) q'iyatawʃ... q'iyatawʃ_ št_ ga.
- (64) huys k'wə_ ms_ ma?amk'wum.
- (65) hiʃ tan' nam's k'w_ na?a q'ayahitagif.
- (66) na?s k'w_ nam's k'w_ s'x'wux'wuf.
- (67) k'wə_θ_ x'wa?_ ?aw'əx'wax'w k'wə_θ_ qaymix'wanən ni?_ k'w_ θičəm.

- (68) q^wəq^wəl ɡut q^ʼaq^ʼat^ʼit ʔə nəgi k^wə θ q^wəl ʔuʔ.
(69) hiʔ naʔs k^w naʔa q^ʼayahitagit k^wan^ʼ q^ʼwaq^ʼwəəm^ʼ.

2.2. The text in English translation

- (1) 'It is about calling for each other that I'm going to talk about.'
(2) 'If you go digging roots, or if you are picking berries'
(3) 'You are way up in the back woods for a long time.'
(4) 'You are there picking berries.'
(5) 'If not, you are digging roots.'
(6) 'If not, you are getting cedar sticks.'
(7) 'You go along your way.'
(8) 'You stay there for a long time, for one... one whole day.'
(9) 'Then you come down in early evening.'
(10) 'You look for your group.'
(11) 'Gather your group together.'
(12) 'And then...'
(13) 'Then it is close to the time to come down.'
(14) 'You get ready to come down.'
(15) 'You take your tools.'
(16) 'You pack them on your back, then you have your group line up.'
(17) 'The first one in front is a respected woman.'
(18) 'And there is one respected person at the back.'
(19) 'Then you go in the front (after the first person).'
(20) 'If your group is all young,'
(21) 'You are at the front.'
(22) 'And when you are all ready to come down,'
(23) 'Then you holler for each other.'
(24) 'Whoever is at the front calls the person beside them.'
(25) 'Then another one (the next in line) calls the name of the person beside her.'
(26) 'You just keep on doing that to the last one.'
(27) 'Then they call you.'
(28) 'You call the person beside you.'
(29) 'Then the person beside you calls you.'
(30) 'Your name is called.'
(31) 'They start going down. "Come! We are going down!"'
(32) "'We are going home," you say that.'
(33) 'You say the name of the person next to you.'
(34) 'If you didn't do that then your spirit would be left up there in the back woods.'
(35) 'You would not be able to sleep at night.'

- (36) 'You would always remember where you were.'
- (37) 'It would be like you had a disturbed feeling.'
- (38) 'You've left your inner spirit in the back woods.'
- (39) 'Everything would be hanging around your spirit.'
- (40) 'All the bad animals would be stepping on where you were walking.'
- (41) 'That is why they call your name.'
- (42) 'You call yourself when you come down.'
- (43) 'Call each other. It's what it's about.'
- (44) 'They call each other.'
- (45) 'You finish what you are doing, and you come down.'
- (46) 'Call for each one in your group.'
- (47) 'You come down.'
- (48) 'You get close to your house.'
- (49) 'You are close.'
- (50) 'You do it again if you want.'
- (51) 'So that you do not leave your spirit in the back woods.'
- (52) 'That's what they did to us a long time ago.'
- (53) 'If we went to pick berries, they would do that to us.'
- (54) 'The elders would go first.'
- (55) 'We would be in the middle.'
- (56) 'Then they would start calling us.'
- (57) 'They would call out your name. They would holler for you.'
- (58) 'They would call out the others.'
- (59) 'Then we would come down.'
- (60) 'Anything... Even if you were picking berries.'
- (61) 'It would be the same. (You would do the same thing.)'
- (62) 'When it was close to the time to come down.'
- (63) 'Then we would call each other.'
- (64) 'When we finished picking berries.'
- (65) 'That is the way we called each other.'
- (66) 'That was the way a long time ago.'
- (67) 'So you wouldn't leave your spirit in the back woods.'
- (68) 'Then it (your spirit) would come with you when you came home.'
- (69) 'That is the story about calling each other.'

2.3. The text with analysis³

- (1) [hét náʔs k^wna: q'áyeheta:gìt téʔen t^oq'wáq'wθəm']
 hiʔ naʔ-s k^w naʔa q'aya-h-i-t-ag<i>ʔ tiʔin
 hiL naʔ-s k^w naʔa q'aya-h-i-t-agʔ<i> tin'
 it's possess-3POSS DET_~ R.FILLER holler-EPEN-STV-CTR-RCP<STV> DEM
 t^o q'wáq'wθəm'.
 t^o q'wáq'wθəm'
 1SG.POSS_~ story

‘It is about calling for each other that I’m going to talk about.’ (MG-WOODS.001)

- (2) [ʔóčx^w θó θéqnač hégla máʔamk^wu·màx^w]
 ʔut čx^w θu θiq-nač higa maʔamk^wu-m-ax^w.⁴
 ʔut čx^w θu θiq-nač higa maʔamk^wu-Vm-ax^w
 if 2SG.INDC.SBJ go dig-bottom and pick.berries-MDL-2SG.CNJ.SBJ
 ‘If you go digging roots or if you are picking berries,’ (MG-WOODS.002)

- (3) [né::čx^wgla θí·čim x^wox^w]
 niʔ čx^w ga θičəm x^wux^w.
 niʔ čx^w ga θičəm x^wux^w
 be.there 2SG.INDC.SBJ MTG back.woods long.time
 ‘You are way up in the back woods for a long time.’ (MG-WOODS.003)

³ Symbols and abbreviations used are: _~ = clitic boundary, _~ = reduplication boundary, <> = infix boundaries, 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, CAU = causative, CJR = conjectural, CLT = clitic, CNJ = conjunctive, CTR = control transitivizer, DEM = demonstrative, DET = determiner, DIM = diminutive, EPEN = epenthesis, ERG = ergative, R.FILLER = rhetorical filler, IMP = imperative, IMPF = imperfective, INDC = indicative, INDP = independent form, INTR = intransitive, LV = link vowel, MDL = middle, MTG = mitigator, NEG = negative, NMLZ = nominalizer, NTR = noncontrol transitivizer, OBJ = object, OBL = oblique, PASS = passive, PAST = past, PERS = person, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, QUOT = quotative, RCP = reciprocal, RDPL = reduplication, RFL = reflexive, SBJ = subject, SBR.PASS = subordinate passive, SG = singular, STV = stative, TR = transitive. + is used to connect glosses of morphemes that are merged as a single morph.

⁴ Note that in the first clause, the predicate takes the Indicative Subject marker (čx^w) after the auxiliary ʔut ‘if’, as expected. In the second clause, the predicate is marked with the Conjunctive Subject (-ax^w), which indicates that it is a conditional clause. I suspect that the proclitic ga ‘if’ was omitted before this second predicate. Alternatively, higa could be the combination of hiy’ ‘and’ and ga ‘if’.

- (4) [néʔčx^w máʔʌmk^wùm]
 niʔ ʃx^w maʔʌmk^wu-m.
 niʔ ʃx^w maʔʌmk^wu-Vm
 be.there 2SG.INDC.SBJ pick.berries-MDL
 ‘You are there picking berries.’ (MG-WOODS.004)
- (5) [ʔótx^wáʔ ʔi· θéθeqnʌččx^w]
 ʔut x^waʔ, ʔiy θi~θiq-nač ʃx^w.
 ʔut x^waʔ ʔiy CV~θiq-nač ʃx^w
 if NEG and IMPF~dig-bottom 2SG.INDC.SBJ
 ‘If not, you are digging roots.’ (MG-WOODS.005)
- (6) [ʔótx^wáʔ ʔi· t’á·t’á·ʔʌmčx^w]
 ʔut x^waʔ, ʔiy t’á·t’á·ʔʌm⁵ ʃx^w.
 ʔut x^waʔ ʔiy CV~t’á·ʔʌm ʃx^w
 if NEG and IMPF~cedar.stick 2SG.INDC.SBJ
 ‘If not, you are getting cedar sticks.’ (MG-WOODS.006)
- (7) [hó::čx^wgʌ]
 hu ʃx^w ʒa.
 hu ʃx^w ʒa
 go 2SG.INDC.SBJ ʒMTG
 ‘You go along your way.’ (MG-WOODS.007)
- (8) [néʔčx^w k^wx^wóx^w páʔa ... páʔa t’^θók’^w]
 niʔ ʃx^w k^w x^wux^w, paʔa... paʔa t’^θuk’^w.
 niʔ ʃx^w k^w x^wux^w paʔa paʔa t’^θuk’^w
 be.there 2SG.INDC.SBJ DET long.time one one day
 ‘You stay there for a long time, for one... one whole day.’ (MG-WOODS.008)
- (9) [q^wólčéx^w q’wét k^ws^wnán’a:təms]
 q^wəl ʃčax^w q’wít k^w s_ɔ nanat-əm-s.
 q^wəl ʃčax^w q’wít k^w s_ɔ nanat-Vm-s
 come 2SG.INDC.SBJ beach DET NMLZ evening-MDL-3POSS
 ‘Then you come down in early evening.’ (MG-WOODS.009)

⁵ t’á·ʔʌm refers to a ‘cedar slat’, usually referred to as a ‘cedar stick’; these are used in making baskets.

(10) [tʰə́yɪčxʷ kʷʊθqámʹqám]

tʰə́y-i-t	čxʷ	kʷə	θ	qəmʹqəm.
tʰə́y-V-t	čxʷ	kʷə	θ	qəmʹqəm
search-LV-CTR	2SG.INDC.SBJ	DET	2SG.POSS	relatives

‘You look for your group.’ (MG-WOODS.010)

(11) [ʔóːjəščéxʷ kʷʊθ qámʹqám]

ʔuj-aš	čaxʷ	kʷə	θ	qəmʹqəm.
ʔuj-Vš	čaxʷ	kʷə	θ	qəmʹqəm
gather-TR	2SG.INDC.SBJ	DET	2SG.POSS	relatives

‘Gather your group together.’ (MG-WOODS.011)

(12) [hóyga tánʹ]

huy	ga	tanʹ...
huy	ga	tanʹ
then	MTG	DEM

‘And then...’ (MG-WOODS.012)

(13) [hó:y ʔiːna: tásət kʷʊθqʷólʹ qʷét]

huy	ʔiy	naʔa	təs-it	kʷə	θ	qʷəlʹ	qʷit.
huy	ʔiy	naʔa	təs-it	kʷə	θ	qʷəlʹ	qʷit
then	and	R.FILLER	reach-STV	DET	2SG.POSS	come	beach

‘Then it is close to the time to come down.’⁶ (MG-WOODS.013)

(14) [hójuθətčéxʷ kʷʊθqʷólʹ qʷét]

huʔ-u-θut	čxʷ	kʷə	θ	qʷəlʹ	qʷit.
huʔ-V-θut	čxʷ	kʷə	θ	qʷəlʹ	qʷit
finish-LV-CTR+RFL	2SG.INDC.SBJ	DET	2SG.POSS	come	beach

‘You get ready to come down.’ (MG-WOODS.014)

(15) [mámʹa:čéxʷ θčéčèʔaw]

ma~ma-t	čaxʷ	θ	ča~čaʔaw.
CV~maʔ-t	čaxʷ	θ	CV~čaʔag
RDPL~obtain-CTR	2SG.INDC.SBJ	2SG.POSS	DIM~belonging

‘You take your tools.’ (MG-WOODS.015)

⁶ The houses of the Sliammon people are built close to the beach, and the woods and bushes are on higher ground. Hence, ‘coming home’ is expressed as qʷəlʹ qʷit, meaning ‘come down towards the beach from higher grounds where there are woods and bushes.’

- (16) [jěščx^w hoy ší:pačx^w tλθqám'qám]
- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|------|----------------|-----------------|
| jaš-t | čx ^w , | huy | šəyp-a-t | čx ^w |
| jašn-t | čx ^w | huy | šəyp-V-t | čx ^w |
| pack.on.back-CTR | 2SG.INDC.SBJ | then | line.up-LV-CTR | 2SG.INDC.SBJ |
| tə | θ | | qəm'qəm. | |
| tə | θ | | qəm'qəm | |
| DET | 2SG.POSS | | relatives | |
- ‘You pack them on your back, then you have your group line up.’ (MG-WOODS.016)

- (17) [héhèw'k'wa tλ náʔa háy's qáymix^w]
- | | | | | | |
|--------|------|-----|----------|-----------|-----------------------|
| hihìw' | k'wa | tə | naʔa | hay's | qaymix ^w . |
| hihig' | k'wa | tə | naʔa | hay's | qaymix ^w |
| first | QUOT | DET | R.FILLER | respected | Native.person |
- ‘The first one in front is a respected woman.’ (MG-WOODS.017)

- (18) [ʔi: ʔáʔawt k'wa k^wpé:pàʔa háy's qáymix^w]
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|------|----------------|----------|-----------|-----------------------|
| ʔiy | ʔa~ʔawt | k'wa | k ^w | pi~paʔa | hay's | qaymix ^w . |
| ʔiy | CV~ʔagt | k'wa | k ^w | Ci~paʔa | hay's | qaymix ^w |
| and | RDPL~behind | QUOT | DET | PERS~one | respected | Native.person |
- ‘And there is one respected person at the back.’ (MG-WOODS.018)

- (19) [hoy héhèw'čx^w ga téʔε]
- | | | | | |
|------|--------|-----------------|-----|-------|
| huy | hihìw' | čx ^w | ga | tiʔi. |
| huy | hihig' | čx ^w | ga | tiʔi |
| then | first | 2SG.INDC.SBJ | MTG | DEM |
- ‘Then you go in the front (after the first person).’ (MG-WOODS.019)

- (20) [gačí:cùʔyes qáyəwmix^w k^wθ qám'qám]
- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|----------|-----------|
| ga | čəy~čuy'-as ⁷ | qay<aw>mix ^{w8} | k ^w ə | θ | qəm'qəm, |
| ga | CəC~čuj'-as | qaymix ^w <ʔVg> | k ^w ə | θ | qəm'qəm |
| if | PL~child-3CNJ.SBJ | Native.person<PL> | DET | 2SG.POSS | relatives |

⁷ The underlying root form is *včuj'* ‘child, baby’. *j'* is realized as *j'* before a vowel ([ʔʔV]), but it alternates with *y'* before a consonant or a word boundary ([y'C] or [y'#]). In careful speech, this word is pronounced as *čəyčuj'as*, as expected, since *j'* is followed by a vowel. In the actual pronunciation in this line, the vowel after *j'* is hardly audible or even omitted entirely. It sounds more like [...y's] or [...ys], where the consonant (s) comes directly after the segment in question (*j'*).

⁸ This is a ‘complex nominal predicate’ construction, and *čuy'* here means ‘young’, modifying the following *qaymix^w*. The third-person Conjunctive Subject *-as* attaches to the first word of a complex predicate. The construction of this *if*-clause is: *ga* [čəyčuy'as qayawmix^w]_{PREDICATE} [k^wə θ

‘If your group is all young,’ (MG-WOODS.020)

(21) [hé·hèw’čx^w]

hihiw’ čx^w.⁹

hihig’ čx^w

first 2SG.INDC.SBJ

‘You are at the front.’ (MG-WOODS.021)

(22) [tʌsgʌ k^wʊθ x^wɛt hóʝi·tmòt k^wʊθ q^wól’q^wèt]

təs ɟa k^wə θ x^wit huʝ-it-mut

təs ɟa k^wə θ x^wit huʝ-it-mut

reach 2SG.DET 2SG.POSS really finish-STV-very

k^wə θ q^wəl’ q^wit,

k^wə θ q^wəl’ q^wit

DET 2SG.POSS come beach

‘And when you are all ready to come down,’ (MG-WOODS.022)

(23) [hoy q’éyɛtəwłčx^w]

huy q’iya-t-awł čx^w.

huy q’iya-t-agł čx^w

then holler-CTR-RCP 2SG.INDC.SBJ

‘Then you holler for each other.’ (MG-WOODS.023)

(24) [hékw’hé·hèw’ néʔ k^wáʔa q’éyɛt ʔʌθ qéx^wtè·gə̀n]

hi k^w hihiw’ niʔ k^waʔa q’iya-t

hiL k^w hihig’ niʔ k^waʔa q’iya-t

it’s DET first be.there DEM holler-CTR

ʔə θ qix^w-t-igə̀n.¹⁰

ʔə θ qix^w-t-igan

DET 2SG.POSS beside-??-side.of.body/feeling

‘Whoever is at the front calls the person beside them¹¹.’ (MG-WOODS.024)

qəm’qəm]_{SBJ}.

⁹ MH suggests that the first word might be *hihiw’-s(x^w)* with the Causative suffix. This would make the sentence mean ‘you put them in front’, which would make more sense, after the immediately preceding clause.

¹⁰ Note *qix^w-am* ‘beside (s.t.)’ (with the Middle *-Vm*). I cannot offer an explanation for the *-t* in *qix^w-t-igə̀n*.

¹¹ Although the literal translation is ‘the person beside *you*’, from the context, it seems that MG meant to say ‘the person beside him/her’.

- (25) [páʎyeθot ɣak^w pé·pàʎa q'é·ye·tás qéx^wte·gə̀ns]
- pay'aθut ɣa k^w pi~paʎa q'iya-t-as
 pay'aθut ɣa k^w Ci~paʎa q'iya-t-as
 next/again ʎMTG DET PERS~one holler-CTR-3ERG
 qix^w-t-igə̀n-s.
 qix^w-t-igan-s
 beside-??-side.of.body/feeling-3POSS
 'Then another one (the next in line) calls the name of the person beside her.' (MG-WOODS.025)
- (26) [(há:nəmʔot hot...)] há·nəmčx^wʔot nám' tán' ho tás k^wʔáʎawtmòt]
- han-əm čx^w ʎut nam' tan' hu təs k^w ʎa~ʎawt-mut.
 han-Vm čx^w ʎut nam' tan' hu təs k^w CV~ʎagt-mut
 excess-MDL ʎSG.INDC.SBJ ʎCLT similar DEM go reach DET RDPL~behind-very
 'You just keep on doing that to the last one.' (MG-WOODS.026)
- (27) [hóyɣʌ ʎi· q'é·ye·θè̃m]
- huy ɣa ʎiy q'iya-θi-m.
 huy ɣa ʎiy q'iya-θi-əm
 then ʎMTG and holler-CTR+2SG.OBJ-PASS
 'Then they call you.' (MG-WOODS.027)
- (28) [q'éyečx^wɣʌ k^wʊθ qéx^wte·gʌʎnə́t]
- q'iya-t čx^w k^wə ʈ qix^w-t-igan'-uʌ.
 q'iya-t čx^w k^wə ʈ qix^w-t-igan'-ʎuL
 holler-CTR ʎSG.INDC.SBJ DET 2SG.POSS beside-??-side.of.body/feeling-PAST
 'You call the person beside you.' (MG-WOODS.028)
- (29) [hoy q'éyeθè̃m k^wʊθ qéx^wte·gə̀n]
- huy q'iya-θi-m k^wə ʈ qix^w-t-igə̀n.
 huy q'iya-θi-əm k^wə ʈ qix^w-t-igan
 then holler-CTR+2SG.OBJ-PASS DET 2SG.POSS beside-??-side.of.body/feeling
 'Then the person beside you calls you.' (MG-WOODS.029)
- (30) [nán·a·θè̃m]
- nan-a-θi-m.
 nan-V-θi-əm
 name-LV-CTR+2SG.OBJ-PASS
 'Your name is called.' (MG-WOODS.030)

- (31) [q^wól'q^wét q^wvlá:ga hóšt^hi:t q^wét]
 q^wəl' q^wit. “q^wəl aga, hu ʃt hiyt q^wit!”
 q^wəl' q^wit q^wəl aga hu ʃt hiyt q^wit
 come beach come IMP go 1PL.INDC.SBJ CLT beach
 ‘They start going down. “Come! We are going down!”’ (MG-WOODS.031)
- (32) [hóšt jú? hóčx^wk^wa k^wán’]
 “hu ʃt ju?,” hut čx^w k^wa k^wan’.
 hu ʃt ju? hut čx^w k^wa k^wan’
 go 1PL.INDC.SBJ home say 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT DEM
 ‘“We are going home,” you say that.’ (MG-WOODS.032)
- (33) [ná:načx^w k^wuθ qéx^wtè:gə̀n]
 nan-a-t čx^w k^wə θ qix^w-t-igə̀n.
 nan-V-t čx^w k^wə θ qix^w-t-igan
 name-LV-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ DET 2SG.POSS beside-??-side.of.body/feeling
 ‘You say the name of the person next to you.’ (MG-WOODS.033)
- (34) [ʔóčx^w k^wa x^waʔáχti:sx^wàx^w nɛʔk^wa k^wuθ qáy^wmi:x^wànan ʔáχ^wi: k^wθí'čim]
 ʔut čx^w k^wa x^waʔ ʔəχtiy-sx^w-ax^w,
 ʔut čx^w k^wa x^waʔ ʔəχtiy-stg-ax^w
 if 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT NEG similar-CAU-2SG.CNJ.SBJ
 niʔ k^wa k^wə θ qaymix^wanan
 niʔ k^wa k^wə θ qaymix^wanan
 be.there QUOT DET 2SG.POSS spirit
 ʔəx^wi k^w θičəm.
 ʔəx^wʃ k^w θičəm
 remaining DET back.woods
 ‘If you didn’t do that then your spirit would be left up there in the back woods.’ (MG-WOODS.034)
- (35) [x^wáčém^{as} k^wa ʔi: ʔí'č'čex^w k^wsnáts]
 x^wa čam-as k^wa¹² ʔiy ʔəč't čax^w
 x^waʔ čəm'-as k^wa ʔiy ʔəč't čax^w
 NEG why/how-3CNJ.SBJ QUOT and sleep 2SG.INDC.SBJ

¹² Note the position of the Quotative clitic *k^wa*, which usually occurs following the first word of a clause. I suspect that this positioning of the clitic occurred here because of the reduction of the words *x^waʔ* and *čam-as* into one chunk. MH confirmed that in careful speech, this would be *x^waʔk^wa čam'-as*.

k^w s nat-s.
 k^w s nat-s
 DET₂ NMLZ₃ night-3POSS
 ‘You would not be able to sleep at night.’ (MG-WOODS.035)

(36) [páyčx^w k^wut náʔa yá:ɣàt k^wθ néʔoʔ]

payaʔ	čx ^w	k ^w ut	naʔa	yax-à-t
payaʔ	čx ^w	k ^w ut	naʔa	yax-ŵ-t
always	2SG.INDC.SBJ	CLT	R.FILLER	remember-LV+STV-CTR
k ^w ə	θ	niʔ-uʔ.		
k ^w ə	θ	niʔ-ʔuL		
DET ₂	2SG.POSS ₂	be.there-PAST		

‘You would always remember where you were.’ (MG-WOODS.036)

(37) [nám'čx^w č'è k^w k^wičiyiğən]

nam'	čx ^w	č'a	k ^w	k ^w ičiy-igan.
nam'	čx ^w	č'a	k ^w	k ^w ičiy-igan
similar	2SG.INDC.SBJ	CJR	DET ₂	bother-side.of.body/feeling

‘It would be like you had a disturbed feeling.’ (MG-WOODS.037)

(38) [ʔáʔwùx^wax^w k^wθ qáyimi:x^wənən k^wθ'čim]

ʔaw'-əx ^w -ax ^w	k ^w ə	θ	qaymix ^w ənən	k ^w	θičəm.
ʔaw-ng-ax ^w	k ^w ə	θ	qaymix ^w ənən	k ^w	θičəm
leave-NTR-2SG.ERG	DET ₂	2SG.POSS ₂	spirit	DET ₂	back.woods

‘You’ve left your inner spirit in the back woods.’ (MG-WOODS.038)

(39) [ʔú'k^wtám néʔ ʔáq'et k^wθqáyimi:x^wənən]

ʔuwk ^w	tam	niʔ	ʔaʔq'-it	k ^w ə	θ	qaymix ^w ənən.
ʔuwk ^w	tam	niʔ	ʔəq'-it	k ^w ə	θ	qaymix ^w ənən
all	what	be.there	wait-STV	DET ₂	2SG.POSS ₂	spirit

‘Everything would be hanging around your spirit.’ (MG-WOODS.039)

(40) [ʔú'k^wtám na: ʔax tačtaču'mix^w néʔεʔemet k^wθ néʔ ʔéʔema:šð]¹³

ʔuwk ^w	tam	naʔa	ʔəx	titačumix ^w	niʔ	ʔi-ʔim-i-t
ʔuwk ^w	tam	naʔa	ʔəx	titačumix ^w	niʔ	CV~ʔim-i-t
all	what	R.FILLER	bad	animal	be.there	IMPF~step/walk-LV-CTR

¹³ [tačtaču'mix^w] appears to be a mispronunciation of [titaču'mix^w].

kʷə_ θ_ niʔ ʔi~ʔim-aš-uʔ.
 kʷə_ θ_ niʔ CV~ʔim-Vš-ʔuL
 DET_ 2SG.POSS_ be.there IMPF~step/walk-INTR-PAST
 ‘All the bad animals would be stepping on where you were walking.’ (MG-WOODS.040)

(41) [hékʷagaxʷʔáxti:stìgt q'ýεθem]
 hi ʔkʷa ʔga xʷ_ ʔəxtiy-stəg-it q'iya-θi-m.
 hiL ʔkʷa ʔga xʷ_ ʔəxtiy-stg-it q'iya-θi-əm
 it's QUOT MTG NMLZ_ similar-CAU-SBR.PASS holler-CTR+2SG.OBJ-PASS
 ‘That is why they call your name.’ (MG-WOODS.041)

(42) [q'ýε·θòčxʷ kʷuθ qʷól' q'wét]
 q'iya-θut ʔčxʷ kʷə_ θ_ qʷəl' q'wit.
 q'iya-θut ʔčxʷ kʷə_ θ_ qʷəl' q'wit
 holler-CTR+RFL 2SG.INDC.SBJ DET_ 2SG.POSS_ come beach
 ‘You call yourself when you come down.’¹⁴ (MG-WOODS.042)

(43) [q'ýεtawʔ hékʷanʔaʔjú]
 q'iya-t-awʔ hi kʷanʔ ʔaʔju.¹⁵
 q'iya-t-agʔ hiL kʷanʔ ʔaʔju
 holler-CTR-RCP it's DEM ʔCLT
 ‘Call each other. It’s what it’s about.’ (MG-WOODS.043)

(44) [q'ýεtawʔ]
 q'iya-t-awʔ.
 q'iya-t-agʔ
 holler-CTR-RCP
 ‘They call each other.’ (MG-WOODS.044)

(45) [hóy ga kʷuθ yéʔyeθòt qʷólčexʷgaqʷét]
 huy ʔga kʷə_ θ_ ya-y'a-θut,
 huʔ ʔga kʷə_ θ_ CV~yaʔ-θut
 finish MTG DET_ 2SG.POSS_ IMPF~do-CTR+RFL

¹⁴ Although MG used the singular second person subject, it would make more sense if she meant ‘you all call yourselves...’

¹⁵ This line is problematic. It could be two separate sentences, but there is no pause in between. [hε] is almost inaudible, and MH suggested that it is perhaps ʔə kʷanʔ instead, although that did not make much sense to her either.

q^wəl ǰčax^w ǰga q^wit.
 q^wəl ǰčax^w ǰga q^wit
 come 2SG.INDC.SBJ 2MTG beach

‘You finish what you are doing, and you come down.’ (MG-WOODS.045)

(46) [q^wéyεčəx^w ʔú·k^w θqám^wqám (stumble)]

q^wiya-t ǰčax^w ʔuwk^w θ ǰqəm^wqəm.
 q^wiya-t ǰčax^w ʔuwk^w θ ǰqəm^wqəm
 holler-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ all 2SG.POSS relatives

‘Call for each one in your group.’ (MG-WOODS.046)

(47) [q^wólčə:x^wglaq^wét]

q^wəl ǰčax^w ǰga q^wit.
 q^wəl ǰčax^w ǰga q^wit
 come 2SG.INDC.SBJ 2MTG beach

‘You come down.’ (MG-WOODS.047)

(48) [q^wólčəx^w tí·tsèt k^wθ ʔa:yéʔ na:]

q^wəl ǰčax^w tí~ts-it k^wə θ ʔayaʔ naʔa.
 q^wəl ǰčax^w Ci~təs-it k^wə θ ʔayaʔ naʔa
 come 2SG.INDC.SBJ DIM~reach-STV DET 2SG.POSS house R.FILLER

‘You get close to your house.’ (MG-WOODS.048)

(49) [xén ʔi: q^wól’]

xin ʔiy q^wəl’.
 xin ʔiy q^wəl’
 close/almost and come

‘You are close.’¹⁶ (MG-WOODS.049)

(50) [páyεʔčəx^w glaʔaθxáʔ’as]

payaʔ ǰčəx^w ga ʔəθ xáʔ’-as.
 pagaʔ ǰčəx^w ga θ xáʔ’-as
 always 2SG.INDC.SBJ if 2SG.POSS want-3CNJ.SBJ

‘You do it again if you want.’ (MG-WOODS.050)

¹⁶ Incidentally, MH commented that this line would be more natural if it were *xin ǰga q^wəl’*.

- (51) [x^wʌsneʔʌx^w ʔáʔ^wux^w k^wθiːčim k^wθqáymix^wʌnən]
- | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------|------------|
| x ^w aʔ-s | niʔ-ax ^w | ʔaw'-əx ^w | k ^w | θičəm |
| x ^w aʔ-s | niʔ-ax ^w | ʔaw'-ng | k ^w | θičəm |
| NEG-3POSS | be.there-2SG.CNJ.SBJ | leave-NTR | DET | back.woods |
| k ^w ə | θ | qaymix ^w anan. | | |
| k ^w ə | θ | qaymix ^w anan | | |
| DET | 2SG.POSS | spirit | | |
- ‘So that you do not leave your spirit in the back woods.’ (MG-WOODS.051)
- (52) [hɛʔ tán' nám^wtumwumətoʔ sɣ^wóx^woʔ]
- | | | | |
|------|------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| hiʔ | tan' | nam-t-uwum-it-uʔ | sɣ ^w ux ^w uʔ. |
| hiL | tan' | nam'-t-uwum-it-ʔuL | sɣ ^w ux ^w uʔ |
| it's | DEM | similar-CTR-1PL.OBJ-SBR.PASS-PAST | long.time.ago |
- ‘That’s what they did to us a long time ago.’ (MG-WOODS.052)
- (53) [ʔóšt ho máʔʌmk^wum ʔʌxtiːstuwum táʔt]
- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|----|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------|
| ʔut | ʃt | hu | maʔʌmk ^w u-m | ʔəxtiy-st-uw-əm | taʔat. |
| ʔut | ʃt | hu | maʔʌmk ^w u-Vm | ʔəxtiy-stg-uw-əm | taʔat |
| if | 1PL.INDC.SBJ | go | pick.berries-MDL | similar-CAU-1PL.OBJ-PASS | DEM |
- ‘If we went to pick berries, they would do that to us.’ (MG-WOODS.053)
- (54) [hɛ:hèw' tə ʔ'áxʔ'áːxày]
- | | | |
|--------|-----|---------------------|
| hihiw' | tə | ʔ'ax~ʔ'axay'. |
| hihig' | tə | CVC~ʔ'axaj' |
| first | DET | RDPL~elderly.person |
- ‘The elders would go first.’ (MG-WOODS.054)
- (55) [čičx^wətštga néːmoʔ]
- | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----|----------|
| čə~čx ^w -it | ʃt | ga | nimuʔ. |
| CV~čəx ^w -it | ʃt | ga | nimuʔ |
| PL~middle-STV | 1PL.INDC.SBJ | MTG | 1PL.INDP |
- ‘We would be in the middle.’ (MG-WOODS.055)
- (56) [ho:y hátga q'éyetuwum]
- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-----|-------------------------|
| huy | hat | ga | q'iya-t-uw-əm. |
| huy | hat | ga | q'iya-t-uw-əm |
| then | do.with.full.force | MTG | holler-CTR-1PL.OBJ-PASS |
- ‘Then they would start calling us.’ (MG-WOODS.056)

(57) [náːnaːθèm q'ýeθèm]
 nan-a-θi-m. q'íya-θi-m.
 nan-V-θi-əm q'íya-θi-əm
 name-LV-CTR+2SG.OBJ-PASS holler-CTR+2SG.OBJ-PASS
 'They would call out your name. They would holler for you.' (MG-WOODS.057)

(58) [q'ýeθəm k^w sk^wáq]
 q'íya-t-əm k^w sk^waq.
 q'íya-t-əm k^w sk^waq
 holler-CTR-PASS DET remaining
 'They would call out the others.' (MG-WOODS.058)

(59) [hoy q^wólçitgΛ q^wétew]
 huy q^wəl çat ga q^wit-íw.
 huy q^wəl çat ga q^wit-ʔVg
 then come 1PL.INDC.SBJ MTG beach-PL
 'Then we would come down.' (MG-WOODS.059)

(60) [x^wúk^wta:m mí:čx^wʔut máʔΛmk^wùm]
 x^wuk^wt tam, miya čx^w ʔut maʔamk^wu-m,¹⁷
 x^wuk^wt tam miya čx^w ʔut maʔamk^wu-Vm
 NEG what even 2SG.INDC.SBJ CLT pick.berries-MDL
 'Anything... Even if you were picking berries,' (MG-WOODS.060)

(61) [ʔi: nám'ʔot ʔaʔjú]
 ʔiy nam' ʔut ʔaʔju.
 ʔiy nam' ʔut ʔaʔju
 and similar CLT CLT
 'It would be the same. (You would do the same thing.)' (MG-WOODS.061)

(62) [tΛset k^wυθq^wól'q^wet]
 təs-it k^wə θ q^wəl' q^wit,
 təs-it k^wə θ q^wəl' q^wit
 reach-STV DET 2SG.POSS come beach
 'When it was close to the time to come down,' (MG-WOODS.062)

¹⁷ This line is problematic, and MH had trouble figuring it out. The analysis adopted here is that MG restarted the sentence after *x^wuk^wt tam*.

- (63) [q'áyetawł̥ q'áyetawł̥štga]
 q'íya-t-awł̥... q'íya-t-awł̥ ʃt ɡa.
 q'íya-t-agł̥ q'íya-t-agł̥ ʃt ɡa
 holler-CTR-RCP holler-CTR-RCP 1PL.INDC.SBJ MTG
 ‘Then we would call each other.’ (MG-WOODS.063)
- (64) [hóys kʷoms máʔamkʷùm]
 huy-s kʷə ms maʔamkʷu-m.
 huɣ-s kʷə ms maʔamkʷu-Vm
 finish-3POSS DET 1PL.POSS pick.berries-MDL
 ‘When we finished picking berries.’ (MG-WOODS.064)
- (65) [héł̥ tán' nám's kʷ na: q'áychèta'gìł̥]
 hił̥ tán' nám'-s kʷ naʔa q'aya-h-i-t-ag<i>ł̥.
 hiL tán' nám'-s kʷ naʔa q'aya-h-i-t-agł̥<i>
 it's DEM similar-3POSS DET R.FILLER holler-EPEN-STV-CTR-RCP<STV>
 ‘That is the way we called each other.’ (MG-WOODS.065)
- (66) [náʔs kʷnám's kʷsɣwóɣwot̥]
 naʔ-s kʷ nám'-s kʷ sɣwuxwut̥.
 naʔ-s kʷ nám'-s kʷ sɣwuxwut̥
 possess-3POSS DET similar-3POSS DET long.time.ago
 ‘That was the way a long time ago.’ (MG-WOODS.066)
- (67) [kʷəθ xʷáʔ ʔáʔwùxʷaxʷ kʷəθ qáyimi·xʷànən néʔkʷθí'čim]
 kʷə θ xʷaʔ ʔaw'-əxʷ-axʷ kʷə θ qaymixʷanan
 kʷə θ xʷaʔ ʔaw-ng-axʷ kʷə θ qaymixʷanan
 DET 2SG.POSS NEG leave-NTR-2SG.CNJ.SBJ DET 2SG.POSS spirit
 niʔ kʷ θičəm.
 niʔ kʷ θičəm
 be.there DET back.woods
 ‘So you wouldn't leave your spirit in the back woods.’ (MG-WOODS.067)
- (68) [qʷóqʷɔlgùt q'áq'at'θèt ʔa nígi kʷəθ qʷól' júʔ]
 qʷə-qʷəl ɡut q'a-q'at'θ-it ʔə nəgi
 CV~qʷəl ɡut CV~q'at'θ-it ʔə nəgiL
 IMPF~come CLT IMPF~gather-STV OBL 2SG.INDP

kʷə̀ θ̣ qʷəl' ʃuʔ.
kʷə̀ θ̣ qʷəl' ʃuʔ
DEṬ 2SG.POSṢ come home

‘Then it (your spirit) would come with you when you came home.’ (MG-WOODS.068)

(69) [hɛ́t náʔs kʷna: q'áyeɬeta:giʔ kʷan' q'wáq'wθəm']

hiʔ naʔ-s kʷ naʔa q'aya-h-i-t-ag<i>ʔ
hiL naʔ-s kʷ naʔa q'aya-h-i-t-agʔ<i>
it's possess-3POSS DEṬ R.FILLER holler-EPEN-STV-CTR-RCP<STV>
kʷan' q'wáq'wθəm'.
kʷan' q'wáq'wθəm'
DEM story

‘That is the story about calling each other.’ (MG-WOODS.069)

Reference

Watanabe, Honoré. 2003. *A Morphological Description of Sliammon, Mainland Comox Salish, with a Sketch of Syntax*. Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim Publication Series A2-040. Osaka: Osaka Gakuin University.

スライアモン語テキスト：メアリー・ジョージによる「森から出てくる時」

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本稿は、スライアモン語（北米先住民諸語、セイリッシュ語族）のテキストに、原語、形態素分析とグロス、そして英訳を付けたものである。このテキストは、メアリー・ジョージ氏（故人）によって語られたもので、長さは4分18秒である。内容は、何人かで森に入って木を集めたり、ベリー摘みをしたあと、その森から出てくる時には列を作り、順々に隣に並んだひとの名前を呼ばなくてはいけないという伝統的な慣習について語ったものである。

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