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[Materials and Research Notes]

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) hił nałs k^w nał a q'ayahitagił tił in t^ə q'waq'wəəm'.
- (2) lut čx^w θu θiqnač higa małamk^wumax^w.
- (3) nił čx^w ga θičəm x^wux^w.
- (4) nił čx^w małamk^wum.
- (5) lut x^wał, liy θiθiqnač čx^w.
- (6) lut x^wał, liy t'at'ałəm čx^w.
- (7) hu čx^w ga.
- (8) nił čx^w k^w x^wux^w, pał a... pał a t'əuk'w.
- (9) q^wəl čax^w q'wit k^w s_u nanatəms.
- (10) t'əiyit čx^w k^wə θ_u qəm'qəm.
- (11) lujaš čax^w k^wə θ_u qəm'qəm.
- (12) huy ga tan'...
- (13) huy liy nał a təsit k^wə θ_u q^wəl' q'wit.
- (14) hujuθut čx^w k^wə θ_u q^wəl' q'wit.
- (15) ma~mat čax^w θ_u čač aław.
- (16) jašt čx^w, huy šəypat čx^w tə θ_u qəm'qəm.
- (17) hihiw' k'wa łə nał a hay's qaymix^w.
- (18) liy laławt k'wa k^w pipał a hay's qaymix^w.
- (19) huy hihiw' čx^w ga tił i.
- (20) ga čəyčuy'as qayawmix^w k^wə θ_u qəm'qəm,
- (21) hihiw' čx^w.
- (22) təs ga k^wə θ_u x^wit hułitmut k^wə θ_u q^wəl' q'wit,
- (23) huy q'iyatawł čx^w.
- (24) hi k^w hihiw' nił k'wał a q'iyat łə θ_u qix^wtigən.
- (25) pay'aθut ga k^w pipał a q'iyatas qix^wtigəns.
- (26) hanəm čx^w lut nam' tan' hu təs k^w laławtmut.
- (27) huy ga liy q'iyathim.
- (28) q'iyat čx^w k^wə θ_u qix^wtigan'ul.

² The phonemic inventory of Sliammon includes the following: *p, t^ə, t, λ, č, k, k^w, q, q^w, l, p', t'^ə, t', λ', č', k', k^w, q', q^w, j, g, j', g', θ, s, ł, 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 ł ~ y ~ w and ł ~ y' ~ w' ~ l, 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 = tɬ, č = tʃ, j = dʒ, š = ʃ, x = χ.

- (29) huy q'iyathim kwə_θ_ qixʷtigən.
- (30) nanaθim.
- (31) qʷəl' q'wit. "qʷəl_aga, hu_št_hiyt q'wit!"
- (32) "hu_št_ju?", hut_čxʷ_k'wa_kʷan'.
- (33) nanat_čxʷ_kwə_θ_ qixʷtigən.
- (34) ʔut_čxʷ_k'wa_xʷaʔ_ʔəxtiysxʷaxʷ, niʔ_k'wa_kwə_θ_ qaymixʷanan_ʔəxʷi_kʷ_θičəm.
- (35) xʷa_čamas_k'wa_ʔiy_ʔ'əč't_čaxʷ_kʷ_s_nats.
- (36) payaʔ_čxʷ_k'wut_naʔa_yaxət_kwə_θ_niʔuʔ.
- (37) nam'_čxʷ_č'a_kʷ_k'wičiyigan.
- (38) ʔaw'əxʷaxʷ_kwə_θ_ qaymixʷanən_kʷ_θičəm.
- (39) ʔuwk'ʷ_tam_niʔ_ʔaʔq'it_kwə_θ_ qaymixʷanən.
- (40) ʔuwk'ʷ_tam_naʔa_ʔəx_titačumixʷ_niʔ_ʔiʔimit_kwə_θ_niʔ_ʔiʔimašuʔ.
- (41) hi_k'wa_ga_xʷ_ʔəxtiystəgit_q'iyathim.
- (42) q'iyathut_čxʷ_kwə_θ_qʷəl' q'wit.
- (43) q'iyatawʔ_hi_kʷan'_ʔaʔju.
- (44) q'iyatawʔ.
- (45) huy_ga_kwə_θ_yay'aθut,qʷəl_čaxʷ_ga_q'wit.
- (46) q'iyat_čaxʷ_ʔuwk'ʷ_θ_qəm'qəm.
- (47) qʷəl_čaxʷ_ga_q'wit.
- (48) qʷəl_čaxʷ_titsit_kwə_θ_ʔayaʔ_naʔa.
- (49) x̣in_ʔiy_qʷəl'.
- (50) payaʔ_čxʷ_ga_ʔəθ_ɣaʔ'as.
- (51) xʷaʔs_niʔaxʷ_ʔaw'əxʷ_kʷ_θičəm_kwə_θ_ qaymixʷanən.
- (52) hiʔ_tan'namtuwumituʔ_sx̣ʷux̣ʷuʔ.
- (53) ʔut_št_hu_maʔamkʷum_ʔəxtiystuwəm_təʔat.
- (54) hihiw'tə_ʔ'axʔ'axay'.
- (55) čəčxʷit_št_ga_nimuʔ.
- (56) huy_hat_ga_q'iyatuwəm
- (57) nanaθim.q'iyathim.
- (58) q'iyatəm_kʷ_skʷaq.
- (59) huy_qʷəl_čat_ga_q'witiw.
- (60) xʷukʷt_tam,miya_čxʷ_ʔut_maʔamkʷum,
- (61) ʔiy_nam'ʔut_ʔaʔju.
- (62) təsit_kwə_θ_qʷəl' q'wit,
- (63) q'iyatawʔ...q'iyatawʔ_št_ga.
- (64) huys_kwə_ms_maʔamkʷum.
- (65) hiʔ_tan'nam's_kʷ_naʔa_q'ayahitagit.
- (66) naʔs_kʷ_nam's_kʷ_sx̣ʷux̣ʷuʔ.
- (67) kwə_θ_xʷaʔ_ʔaw'əxʷaxʷ_kwə_θ_ qaymixʷanən_niʔ_kʷ_θičəm.

- (68) qʷəqʷəl ɡut qʷaqʷatʰit ʔə nəgi kʷə θ qʷəlʼ ʃuʔ.
 (69) hiʔ naʔs kʷ naʔa qʷayahitagiʔ kʷanʼ qʷaqʷəθəmʼ.

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) [hɛʔ náʔs kʷna: q'áyeɬetaːgɪʔ tɛʔen tʰq'wáq'wθəm']
 hiʔ naʔ-s kʷ naʔa q'aya-h-i-t-ag<i>ʔ tiʔin
 hiL naʔ-s kʷ naʔa q'aya-h-i-t-agʔ<i> tin'
 it's possess-3POSS DET_{CL} R.FILLER holler-EPEN-STV-CTR-RCP<STV> DEM
 tʰ q'waq'wθəm'.
 tʰ q'waq'wθəm'
 1SG.POSS_{CL} story
 'It is about calling for each other that I'm going to talk about.' (MG-WOODS.001)
- (2) [ʔóčxʷ θó θéqnaʔ hégʌ máʔamkʷuːmàxʷ]
 ʔut čxʷ θu θiq-nač higa maʔamkʷu-m-axʷ.⁴
 ʔut čxʷ θu θiq-nač higa maʔamkʷu-Vm-axʷ
 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::čxʷga θíːčum xʷoxʷ]
 niʔ čxʷ ga θičəm xʷuxʷ.
 niʔ čxʷ ga θičəm xʷuxʷ
 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: ˌ = 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 transitivity, 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 transitivity, 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 (čxʷ) after the auxiliary ʔut 'if', as expected. In the second clause, the predicate is marked with the Conjunctive Subject (-axʷ), 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 máʔamk^wum]
 niʔ ʃx^w maʔamk^wu-m.
 niʔ ʃx^w maʔamk^wu-Vm
 be.there 2SG.INDC.SBJ pick.berries-MDL
 ‘You are there picking berries.’ (MG-WOODS.004)
- (5) [ʔótx^wáʔ ʔi· θéθeqnλččx^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·t’əmčx^w]
 ʔut x^waʔ, ʔiy t’a~t’aʔəm⁵ ʃx^w.
 ʔut x^waʔ ʔiy CV~t’aʔəm ʃx^w
 if NEG and IMPF~cedar.stick 2SG.INDC.SBJ
 ‘If not, you are getting cedar sticks.’ (MG-WOODS.006)
- (7) [hó::čx^wga]
 hu ʃx^w ga.
 hu ʃx^w ga
 go 2SG.INDC.SBJ MTG
 ‘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^wsnán’a:təms]
 q^wəl ʃax^w q’^wit k^w s_~ nanat-əm-s.
 q^wəl ʃax^w q’^wit k^w s_~ 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’aʔəm refers to a ‘cedar slat’, usually referred to as a ‘cedar stick’; these are used in making baskets.

(10) [tʰə́yɪčxʷ kʷʊθqálmʰqálm]

tʰə́y-i-t čxʷ kʷə θ qəmʰqəm.
 tʰə́y-V-t čxʷ kʷə θ qəmʰqəm
 search-LV-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ DET 2SG.POSS relatives
 ‘You look for your group.’ (MG-WOODS.010)

(11) [ʔóʔěščéxʷ kʷʊθqálmʰqálm]

ʔuj-aš čaxʷ kʷə θ qəmʰqəm.
 ʔuj-Vš čaxʷ kʷə θ qəmʰqəm
 gather-TR 2SG.INDC.SBJ DET 2SG.POSS relatives
 ‘Gather your group together.’ (MG-WOODS.011)

(12) [hóyga tánʰ]

huy ga tánʰ...
 huy ga tánʰ
 then MTG DEM
 ‘And then...’ (MG-WOODS.012)

(13) [hó:y ʔiːna: tásət kʷʊθqʷəlʰ qʷít]

huy ʔiy naʔa təs-it kʷə θ qʷəlʰ qʷít.
 huy ʔiy naʔa təs-it kʷə θ qʷəlʰ qʷít
 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) [hóʃuθə́tčxʷ kʷʊθqʷəlʰ qʷít]

huʃ-u-θut čxʷ kʷə θ qʷəlʰ qʷít.
 huʃ-V-θut čxʷ kʷə θ qʷəlʰ qʷít
 finish-LV-CTR+RFL 2SG.INDC.SBJ DET 2SG.POSS come beach
 ‘You get ready to come down.’ (MG-WOODS.014)

(15) [mámːa:čéxʷ θčéčéʔaw]

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 qʷəlʰ qʷít, meaning ‘come down towards the beach from higher grounds where there are woods and bushes.’

(16) [jěščx^w hoy ší:pačx^w t₁θq₁m'q₁m]

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'w_a t₁l ná?a háy's qáymix^w]

hihiw'	k'w _a	t ₁	na?a	hay's	qaymix ^w .
hihig'	k'w _a	t ₁	na?a	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' ʔá?awt k'w_a k^wpé:pà?a háy's qáymix^w]

ʔiy	ʔa~ʔawt	k'w _a	k ^w	pi~pa?a	hay's	qaymix ^w .
ʔiy	CV~ʔagt	k'w _a	k ^w	Ci~pa?a	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	hihiw'	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:čùʔyes qáyəwmix^w k^wθ q₁m'q₁m]

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 *ʋčuj'* 'child, baby'. *j'* is realized as *j'* before a vowel ([ʔʏV]), 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) [tásga k^wuθ x^wet hó·jì·tmòt k^wuθ q^wól’q^wèt]

təs ga k^wə θ x^wit huǰ-it-mut

təs ga k^wə θ x^wit huǰ-it-mut

reach MTG 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’éyetàwłčx^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’ né? k^wá?ə q’éyet łəθ qéx^wtè·gə̀n]

hi k^w hihiw’ ni? k^wá?ə q’iya-t

hiL k^w hihig’ ni? k^wá?ə q’iya-t

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

łə θ qix^w-t-igə̀n.¹⁰

łə 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)

qə̀m’qə̀m]_{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) [páʔyeθot gɛkʷ pé·pàʔa q'é·ye·tɛs qéxʷte·gə̀ns]
 pay'aθut ɟa kʷ pi~paʔa q'iya-t-as
 pay'aθut ɟa kʷ Ci~paʔa q'iya-t-as
 next/again MTG DET PERS~one holler-CTR-3ERG
 qixʷ-t-igə̀n-s.
 qixʷ-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:nəmčxʷʔot nám' tán' ho tɛs kʷʔáʔawtmòt]
 han-əm ɟxʷ ʔut nam' tán' hu tɛs kʷ ʔa~ʔawt-mut.
 han-Vm ɟxʷ ʔut nam' tán' hu tɛs kʷ CV~ʔagt-mut
 excess-MDL 2SG.INDC.SBJ CLT similar DEM go reach DET RDPL~behind-very
 'You just keep on doing that to the last one.' (MG-WOODS.026)
- (27) [hóyga ʔi· q'é·ye·θəm]
 huy ɟa ʔiy q'iya-θi-m.
 huy ɟa ʔiy q'iya-θi-əm
 then MTG and holler-CTR+2SG.OBJ-PASS
 'Then they call you.' (MG-WOODS.027)
- (28) [q'éyečxʷga kʷʊθ qéxʷte·gaʔnəʔ]
 q'iya-t ɟxʷ kʷə ʈ qixʷ-t-igan'-uʔ.
 q'iya-t ɟxʷ kʷə ʈ qixʷ-t-igan'-ʔuL
 holler-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ DET 2SG.POSS beside-??-side.of.body/feeling-PAST
 'You call the person beside you.' (MG-WOODS.028)
- (29) [hoy q'éyeθəm kʷʊθ qéxʷtè·gə̀n]
 huy q'iya-θi-m kʷə ʈ qixʷ-t-igə̀n.
 huy q'iya-θi-əm kʷə ʈ qixʷ-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·θəm]
 nan-a-θi-m.
 nan-V-θi-əm
 name-LV-CTR+2SG.OBJ-PASS
 'Your name is called.' (MG-WOODS.030)

- (31) [qʷəl'q'wét qʷələ:ga hóštʰi:t q'wét]

qʷəl' q'wit. “qʷəl aga, hu ʃt hiyt q'wit!”
 qʷəl' q'wit qʷəl 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 júʔ hóčxʷkʷa kʷánʔ]

“hu ʃt júʔ,” hut čxʷ kʷa kʷánʔ.
 hu ʃt júʔ hut čxʷ kʷa kʷánʔ
 go 1PL.INDC.SBJ home say 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT DEM
 “‘We are going home,’ you say that.’ (MG-WOODS.032)

- (33) [ná·načxʷ kʷuθ qéxʷtè·gən]

nan-a-t čxʷ kʷə θ qixʷ-t-igən.
 nan-V-t čxʷ kʷə θ qixʷ-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) [ʔóčxʷ kʷa xʷaʔáxti:sxʷàxʷ nɛʔkʷa kʷuθ qáymi:xʷànan ʔáxʷi: kʷθí·čim]

ʔut čxʷ kʷa xʷaʔ ʔəxtiy-sxʷ-axʷ,
 ʔut čxʷ kʷa xʷaʔ ʔəxtiy-stg-axʷ
 if 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT NEG similar-CAU-2SG.CNJ.SBJ
 niʔ kʷa kʷə θ qaymixʷanan
 niʔ kʷa kʷə θ qaymixʷanan
 be.there QUOT DET 2SG.POSS spirit
 ʔəxʷi kʷ θičəm.
 ʔəxʷʃ kʷ 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) [xʷΛčémʌs kʷa ʔi: ʔíč'čexʷ kʷsnáts]

xʷa čam-as kʷa¹² ʔiy ʔəč't čaxʷ
 xʷaʔ čəm'-as kʷa ʔiy ʔəč't čaxʷ
 NEG why/how-3CNJ.SBJ QUOT and sleep 2SG.INDC.SBJ

¹² Note the position of the Quotative clitic *kʷa*, 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 *xʷaʔ* and *čam-as* into one chunk. MH confirmed that in careful speech, this would be *xʷaʔkʷa čəm'-as*.

kʷ s nat-s.
 kʷ s nat-s
 DET NMLZ night-3POSS
 ‘You would not be able to sleep at night.’ (MG-WOODS.035)

- (36) [páyčxʷ kʷut náʔa yá:xàt kʷʊθ néʔot]
- | | | | | |
|--------|--------------|---------------|----------|---------------------|
| payaʔ | čxʷ | kʷut | naʔa | yax-à-t |
| payaʔ | čxʷ | kʷut | naʔa | yax-Ŷ-t |
| always | 2SG.INDC.SBJ | CLT | R.FILLER | remember-LV+STV-CTR |
| kʷə | θ | niʔ-uʔ. | | |
| kʷə | θ | niʔ-ʔuL | | |
| DET | 2SG.POSS | be.there-PAST | | |
- ‘You would always remember where you were.’ (MG-WOODS.036)

- (37) [nám'čxʷ č'è kʷ k'wíči'yìgən]
- | | | | | |
|---------|--------------|-----|-----|-----------------------------|
| nam' | čxʷ | č'a | kʷ | k'wíči-y-igan. |
| nam' | čxʷ | č'a | kʷ | k'wíči-y-igan |
| similar | 2SG.INDC.SBJ | CJR | DET | bother-side.of.body/feeling |
- ‘It would be like you had a disturbed feeling.’ (MG-WOODS.037)

- (38) [ʔáʔwùxʷaxʷ kʷʊθ qáymi:xʷànən kʷθ'čim]
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|----------|-------------|-----|------------|
| ʔaw'-əxʷ-axʷ | kʷə | θ | qaymixʷanən | kʷ | θičəm. |
| ʔaw-ng-axʷ | kʷə | θ | qaymixʷanən | kʷ | θičəm |
| leave-NTR-2SG.ERG | DET | 2SG.POSS | spirit | DET | back.woods |
- ‘You’ve left your inner spirit in the back woods.’ (MG-WOODS.038)

- (39) [ʔú:kʷtám néʔ ʔáq'et kʷʊθqáymi:xʷànən]
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|----------|----------|-----|----------|--------------|
| ʔuwkʷ | tam | niʔ | ʔaq'-it | kʷə | θ | qaymixʷanən. |
| ʔuwkʷ | tam | niʔ | ʔaq'-it | kʷə | θ | qaymixʷanən |
| all | what | be.there | wait-STV | DET | 2SG.POSS | spirit |
- ‘Everything would be hanging around your spirit.’ (MG-WOODS.039)

- (40) [ʔú:kʷtám na: ʔáχ tačtaču:mixʷ néʔεʔemet kʷʊθ néʔ ʔéʔema:šðt]¹³
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|----------|-----|------------|----------|-----------------------|
| ʔuwkʷ | tam | naʔa | ʔəχ | titačumixʷ | niʔ | ʔi-ʔim-i-t |
| ʔuwkʷ | tam | naʔa | ʔəχ | titačumixʷ | niʔ | CV-ʔim-i-t |
| all | what | R.FILLER | bad | animal | be.there | IMPF~step/walk-LV-CTR |

¹³ [tačtaču:mixʷ] appears to be a mispronunciation of [titaču:mixʷ].

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'éyεθem]
 hi kʷa ga xʷ ʔəxtiy-stəg-it q'iy-a-θi-m.
 hiL kʷa ga xʷ ʔəxtiy-stg-it q'iy-a-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'éyε:θðčxʷ kʷuθ qʷól' q'wét]
 q'iy-a-θut čxʷ kʷə θ qʷəl' q'wit.
 q'iy-a-θut čxʷ 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'éyεtawʔ hékʷanʔaʔjú]
 q'iy-a-t-awʔ hi kʷanʔ ʔaʔju.¹⁵
 q'iy-a-t-agʔ hiL kʷanʔ ʔaʔju
 holler-CTR-RCP it's DEM CLT
 ‘Call each other. It's what it's about.’ (MG-WOODS.043)

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

- (45) [hóy ga kʷuθ yéʔyεθòt qʷvlčexʷgaqʷét]
 huy ga kʷə θ ya-y'a-θut,
 huʃ ga 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 ʃax^w ga q^wit.
q^wəl ʃax^w ga q^wit
come 2SG.INDC.SBJ MTG beach

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

- (46) [q’έγεçex^w ʔú·k^w θqám’qám (stumble)]

q’iya-t ʃax^w ʔuwk^w θ_↓ qəm’qəm.
q’iya-t ʃax^w ʔuwk^w θ_↓ qəm’qəm
holler-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ all 2SG.POSS_↓ relatives

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

- (47) [q^wólçε:x^wgaq^wét]

q^wəl ʃax^w ga q^wit.
q^wəl ʃax^w ga q^wit
come 2SG.INDC.SBJ MTG beach

‘You come down.’ (MG-WOODS.047)

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

q^wəl ʃax^w ti-ts-it k^wə_↓ θ_↓ ʔayaʔ naʔa.
q^wəl ʃax^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’]

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

‘You are close.’¹⁶ (MG-WOODS.049)

- (50) [páyεʔçx^w gaʔΛθxáʔas]

payaʔ ʃx^w ga_↓ ʔəθ_↓ xax’-as.
payaʔ ʃx^w ga_↓ θ_↓ xax’-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 xín ga q^wəl’.

- (51) [xʷʌsneʔʌxʷ ʔáʔʷuxʷ kʷθíčim kʷθqáymixʷànən]

xʷaʔ-s niʔ-axʷ ʔaw'-əxʷ kʷ θičəm
xʷaʔ-s niʔ-axʷ ʔaw'-ng kʷ θičəm
NEG-3POSS be.there-2SG.CNJ.SBJ leave-NTR DET back.woods
kʷə θ qaymixʷanan.
kʷə θ qaymixʷanan
DET 2SG.POSS spirit

‘So that you do not leave your spirit in the back woods.’ (MG-WOODS.051)

- (52) [héʔ tán' námту·wumètəʔ sɣʷóɣʷot]

hiʔ tán' nam-t-uwum-it-uʔ sɣʷuxʷuʔ.
hiL tán' nam'-t-uwum-it-ʔuL sɣʷuxʷuʔ
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 máʔʌmkʷùm ʔʌxti·stùwum táʔt]

ʔut ʃt hu maʔʌmkʷu-m ʔəxtiy-st-uw-əm taʔat.
ʔut ʃt hu maʔʌmkʷu-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) [hé:hèw' tə ʔ'áɣʔ'a'ɣà]

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) [čičxʷètštga né'mot]

čə~čxʷ-it ʃt ɣa nimuʔ.
CV~čəxʷ-it ʃt ɣa nimuʔ
PL~middle-STV 1PL.INDC.SBJ 1MTG 1PL.INDP

‘We would be in the middle.’ (MG-WOODS.055)

- (56) [ho:y hátga q'éyetùwum]

huy hat ɣa q'iya-t-uw-əm.
huy hat ɣa q'iya-t-uw-əm
then do.with.full.force 1MTG holler-CTR-1PL.OBJ-PASS

‘Then they would start calling us.’ (MG-WOODS.056)

- (57) [náːnaːθɛ̀m q'ɛ̀yɛθɛ̀m]
 nan-a-θi-m. q'ɛ̀ya-θi-m.
 nan-V-θi-ə̀m q'ɛ̀ya-θi-ə̀m
 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'ɛ̀yɛtə̀m kʷ skʷáq]
 q'ɛ̀ya-t-ə̀m kʷ skʷaq.
 q'ɛ̀ya-t-ə̀m kʷ skʷaq
 holler-CTR-PASS DET remaining
 'They would call out the others.' (MG-WOODS.058)

- (59) [hoy qʷúlçitgʌ q'wétɛw]
 huy qʷəl çat ga q'wit-iw.
 huy qʷəl çat ga q'wit-ʔVg
 then come 1PL.INDC.SBJ MTG beach-PL
 'Then we would come down.' (MG-WOODS.059)

- (60) [xʷúkʷta:m mí:čxʷʔut máʔʌmkʷùm]
 xʷukʷt tam, miya çxʷ ʔut maʔʌmkʷu-m,¹⁷
 xʷukʷt tam miya çxʷ ʔut maʔʌmkʷu-Vm
 NEG what even 2SG.INDC.SBJ CLT pick.berries-MDL
 'Anything... Even if you were picking berries,' (MG-WOODS.060)

- (61) [ʔi: náːm'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) [tʌset kʷʊθqʷúl'q'wɛt]
 tʌs-it kʷə θ qʷəl' q'wit,
 tʌs-it kʷə θ qʷəl' 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 *xʷukʷt tam*.

(63) [q'éyetawł q'éyetawłštga]

q'íya-t-awł... q'íya-t-awł št ga.
 q'íya-t-agł q'íya-t-agł št ga
 holler-CTR-RCP holler-CTR-RCP 1PL.INDC.SBJ MTG
 ‘Then we would call each other.’ (MG-WOODS.063)

(64) [hóys kwoms má?amkwùm]

huy-s kwə ms ma?amkwu-m.
 huɣ-s kwə ms ma?amkwu-Vm
 finish-3POSS DET 1PL.POSS pick.berries-MDL
 ‘When we finished picking berries.’ (MG-WOODS.064)

(65) [héł tán' nám's kw na: q'áyehtëta:gìł]

hił tán' nám'-s kw na?a q'aya-h-i-t-ag<i>ł.
 hiL tán' nám'-s kw na?a q'aya-h-i-t-agł<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) [ná?s kw nám's kw sɣwóɣwot]

na?-s kw nám'-s kw sɣwuxwut.
 na?-s kw nám'-s kw sɣwuxwut
 possess-3POSS DET similar-3POSS DET long.time.ago
 ‘That was the way a long time ago.’ (MG-WOODS.066)

(67) [kwəθ xwá? łá?wuxwaxw kwəθ qáymi-xwànən né?kwθí'čim]

kwə θ xwá? ław'-əxw-axw kwə θ qaymixwanan
 kwə θ xwá? ław-ng-axw kwə θ qaymixwanan
 DET 2SG.POSS NEG leave-NTR-2SG.CNJ.SBJ DET 2SG.POSS spirit
 ni? kw θičəm.
 ni? kw θičəm
 be.there DET back.woods
 ‘So you wouldn't leave your spirit in the back woods.’ (MG-WOODS.067)

(68) [q'wəq'wəlgut q'áq'at'ə̀t ?a nígi kwəθ q'wól' jú?]

q'wə~q'wəl gut q'a~q'at'ə-it ?ə nəgi
 CV~q'wəl gut CV~q'at'ə-it ?ə nəgiL
 IMPF~come CLT IMPF~gather-STV OBL 2SG.INDP

kʷə ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ qʷəl' ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣
 kʷə ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ qʷəl' ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣
 DET ̣ ̣ 2SG.POSS ̣ ̣ come home

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

(69) [hɛʔ náʔs kʷna: q'áyeɬeta:giʔ kʷan' q'wáq'wəðəm']

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 DET ̣ ̣ R.FILLER holler-EPEN-STV-CTR-RCP<STV>
 kʷan' q'wáq'wəðəm'.
 kʷan' q'wáq'wəðəm'
 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・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なら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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