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A VISIT TO THE OTHER WORLD, A NITINAT TEXT

(With Translation and Grammatical Analysis)

BY MARY HAAS SWADESH AND MORRIS SWADESH

The following text was recorded by Morris Swadesh in the summer of 1931 from the dictation of Peter (*Batli-sqawa* "Towing along around a rocky point") and was interpreted by Jasper (*Hi-diyuq^wsa*), Peter's son. Peter and Jasper belong to the Pachena tribe of Indians who live at Port San Juan on the West Coast of Vancouver Island and who speak the Nitinat language. This language is closely related to Nootka and resembles it to a considerable extent. Outwardly there is a certain lack of resemblance between the two languages because of the special internal *sandhi* of Nitinat which gives it an entirely different cast. Furthermore, there is divergence in several points of phonetics, the most obvious of which are that Nitinat *b*, *d*, and *x* correspond to Nootka *m*, *n*, and *h* respectively¹. Published material on Nootka which may be used for comparison with Nitinat is "The Rival Whalers, a Nitinat Story" (Nootka Text with Translation and Grammatical Analysis) by Edward Sapir, pp. 76—102, International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 3, No. 1. The phonetic system used in this paper is the same as that used by Dr. Sapir in his Nootka text with the exception that labialized gutturals and velars in all positions are written with a following superscript *w*: *k^w*, *q^w*, *x^w*, *x^w*, etc.

This paper employs concepts and terminology developed by Dr. Boas in his Kwakiutl symbols and terminology used by Dr. Sapir in his Nootka work. At Dr. Sapir's suggestion, too, are employed the breve (˘) and

¹ This corresponds to the substitution of *b* and *d* for *m* and *n* among the neighboring tribes of Puget Sound. — Ed.

the subscript circle (◌) to indicate insertion and loss of vowels. The paper has profited throughout by Dr. Sapir's criticism.

The text below does not comprise a complete story but is only the first part of a much longer story.

TEXT AND INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION

'u·'usibä·ykw^w
Had so and so (each other) as chums, it is said,
tlul² la·xu'k^w.³ qä·'tl⁴
good-looking youths. A long time, now,
'u·'usibä·yk^w.⁵ du·buw⁶ wik⁷
had so and so as chums. Both, it is said, (were) not
butcida·k⁸ du·b.⁹ 'uwiya'tt¹⁰ tla'◌'q¹¹
married, both. Went now to so and so the other
ba'as¹² k^wissa·'tx.¹³ 'uwiy¹⁴ tsawa·'k¹⁵
tribe, different village. Went to so and so one
la·xu'k^w. tlädä·'la'tt¹⁶ tsawa·'k.
youth. Stayed at home, now, one.
tsawa·'kt¹⁷ 'uwiy tla'◌'q ba'tax.¹⁸
One, now, went to so and so the other village.
wikw¹⁹ qi·k^wa·l.²⁰ walctuw²¹
Not, it is said, a long time away. Went home, it
yä·'txaq.²² hida·wl.²³
is said, yonder where they dwelt. Arrived.
'wa·sa'ttic²⁴ ya·yaqsibä·ykaqs?'²⁵
"Where, now, might be the one whom I have as
wa·w.²⁶
chum?" said, it is said.
'ta·di·d.²⁷ wa·'tl²⁸ 'ab'ä·qsaq.²⁹
"We have not seen (him)," said, now, the mother.
'at³⁰ qa·xctlaq.³¹
But he was the dead one.

*qi·tcthuw*³² *'a'a·t*³³
It got to be a long time, it is said, asking
*wiki·tə*³⁴ *'u·ya·xk*^{w.35}
while nobody told (him) so and so.
*tsawa·akxa'thuw*³⁶ *'u·ya·xk*^{w.}
Finally one, now, it is said, told (him) so and so.
*'qaxctla*³⁷ *ya·yaqsi·y·yikibi·k*³⁸
"He died the one whom you used to have as chum;
qaxctla," *wa·thuw*³⁹
he died," said, now, it is said.
*"wa·sa'thic pitsksi'?"*⁴⁰ *wa·thuw*.
"Where, now, is (the) grave?" said, now, it is said.
'u·ya·xuk^{w.thuw} *tsawa·ak-*
Told him so and so, now, it is said, finally one,
*xə'tl*⁴¹ *'u·ya·xk*^{w.} *haci·tcthuw*⁴² *yal-*
now, told (him). Learned, it is said, where
*quy*⁴³ *pitsksi'.*
might be (the) grave.
*walä·kuw*⁴⁴ *la·xw'kwaq*⁴⁵ *da·tcuk*^{wctl.46}
Went, it is said, the boy, started looking
*hidä·ypuw*⁴⁷ *'iya·x'i·thuwxa'*⁴⁸
(for it). Found it, it is said. Thereupon got to be
*'iya·xa'sa'thuw*⁴⁹
there on the ground, it is said. Stayed there on the
*ti·a·sa'tl*⁵⁰
ground, now, it is said, sat on the ground, now.
*'uya'tlquyuw*⁵¹ *'atx·itciltlquy*⁵²
When would now, it is said, night would fall, now,
*wä'tciltl*⁵³ *hi·ta's*⁵⁴
went to sleep together (with him) on the ground.
*qakatstci·tuw*⁵⁵ *'iya·xa's*⁵⁶
Three nights, it is said, stayed there on the ground.
wikuw *ha'uk*^{w.57} *hidasthuw*⁵⁸ *bu·59*
Did not, it is said, eat. Reached four
*tli·s·a'·k*⁶⁰ *bu·x^watlkuw*⁶¹ *tli·s·a'·k,* *'iya·x*⁶²
days. Four, it is said, days, then
*'atx·itciltl*⁶³ *suk^wiltlquy*⁶⁴
night fell, now. Would grab (him), now.
*"kuduk^wc'atl!"*⁶⁵ *wa·tlquyuw*⁶⁶
"Wake up, now!" he would say, now, it is said.
*'udu·thuwic*⁶⁷ *laxti·yp*⁶⁸
It turned out, it is said, that just as soon as

*'atx·itciltl*⁶⁹ *qi·tskid*⁷⁰ *'atxi·y*⁷¹ *qa·yaqctl*⁷²
night fell, a little later (at) night, (someone) cried
*'ada'thuw*⁷³ *'ha···,*⁷⁴ *wa·w.*
out. Only, now, it is said, "Ha···," said, it is said.
*"ti·xaktlidä·"*⁷⁵ *wa·lciltlid,*⁷⁶
"We are paddling, now. We are going home, now,"
wa·w. *qa·yaqctl* *'iya·xtqäytl*⁷⁷ *hita·-*
said, it is said. Cried out from there on the
*'di·saq*⁷⁸ *'atli·bitpuw*⁷⁹ *qa·yaqctl*.
beach. Twice caused, it is said, to cry out.
*kuduk^wi·tltl*⁸⁰ *la·xw'kwaq* *ti·i·-*
Woke up on the ground, now, the boy sat up
*thuw*⁸¹ *(cä·k.)*⁸²
on the ground, it is said. (Gosh!)
*"kuduk^wtlak?*⁸³ *qä·tlibt·sitsx*⁸⁴
"Are you awake, now? A long time, now, I have
*'kuduk^wciltl!*⁸⁵ *wa·,*⁸⁶ *wa·thuw.*
to you 'Wake up!' said," said, now, it is said.
*"o."*⁸⁷
"Oh."
*"da·u·k^wi·tli,*⁸⁸ *wa·w.* *"hid'a·*
"I'm going along," said, it is said. "There
*wi'saq*⁸⁹ *yubulsitsx*⁹⁰
are) the (ones) waiting on the beach. I can't you
*hidi·ks,*⁹¹ *wa·w.* *"yubulsitsx,"*
carry along," said, it is said. "I can't you,"
wa·w. *"x^wissa·tsa·bxsitsx,"*⁹²
said, it is said. "I am unable to make place for you,"
wa·w.
said, it is said.
*"i.⁹³ hä,"*⁹⁴ *wa·thuw,* *"da·u·k^wa-*
"Oh," said, now, it is said, "I want to
*baxsa·s,*⁹⁵ *wa·w.* *'ux^wa'tl,*⁹⁶
go along (with you)," said, it is said. It was he, now,
wa· *wik'aq*⁹⁷ *qaxak.*⁹⁸ *(hiy!)*⁹⁹
(who) spoke the (one) not dead. (Gee!)
"x^wissa·tsa·bxsitsx *su·*¹⁰⁰
"I am unable to make place for you hold (you).
'o," *wa·thuw,* *"ba·duk^wi·yhs.*¹⁰¹
Oh," said, now, it is said, "I will try.
*hatsä·'iyi'!*¹⁰² *wa·thuw.* *"pi·sati-*
Come here!" said, now, it is said. "We will

*duk^wci·dittlid.*¹⁰³ *ba·duk^{wi}·kis*¹⁰⁴
run together repeatedly. Try (to do so to) me

*hi·tagsti·xisis.*¹⁰⁵ *pi·satak^w·ä·yaxtaqci·dittlid,*¹⁰⁶
to get into. We will run repeatedly from

*waxi·duk^wcti.*¹⁰⁷
(separate) points, bump (together)."

*suk^wtluw.*¹⁰⁸ *'atli'btuw*¹⁰⁹
Took (it up), it is said. Twice, it is said,

*wi·ksiya·x.*¹¹⁰ *qakatsi'btuw*¹¹¹
(did) not succeed. Three times, it is said,

wi·ksiya·x *bu'bitxuw*¹¹²
(did) not succeed. It was the fourth time, it is said,

*hitagstittli.*¹¹³ *tsawa·'akquy*¹¹⁴
when got inside, now. Just like one (person)

*ta·da·'qatitl.*¹¹⁵ "cu,¹¹⁶ *tcatacaba·xa'tlid,*¹¹⁷
telescoped in, now. "Very well, we are ready, now,"

wa'·tluw, *qaxcittlaq.*¹¹⁸
said, now, it is said, the (one who) had died.

*hita·'distluw.*¹¹⁹ (cä·k.)
Got to be on the beach, it is said. (Gosh!)

*ya·latckat·suwi*¹²⁰
Behold, there was on the water at the beach, it is

*'i·x*¹²¹ *tca·puk^w.*¹²² *'ayistuw.*¹²³
said, big canoe. Many in canoe, it is said.

*hitqsu·'btuw.*¹²⁴ *'apa'wadqsa·-*
Was put in canoe, it is said. Was kept in middle
*'btuw.*¹²⁵

*tli·xctluw,*¹²⁶
of canoe, it is said. Paddled off, it is said,

*tli·xctitl*¹²⁷ *tcitcka·wa'sa'tx.*¹²⁸ *tli·xctluw,*
paddled off dog salmon band. Paddled off, it is

*walcitl.*¹²⁹ *haya·'aktuw*¹³⁰
said, went home. Was not known, it is said,

*ta·da·'qattq'a.*¹³¹ *tli·xak,*¹³²
that he had (someone) telescoped within. Paddling,

tli·xak. *du·k^{wi}·ks.*^{*133}
paddling. Singing a canoe-song as they went.

*'a·tltcitu'kw.*¹³⁴ *datco·'la'tluw,*¹³⁵
Two days on the way, it is said. Saw, now, it is said,

*tli·daga.*¹³⁶ *datco·'luw*¹³⁷ *tli·xstuw*¹³⁸ *tli·daga.*
smoke. Saw, it is said, red, it is said, smoke,

* A canoe-song belongs with the story at this point. The informant, however, had forgotten the song.

*tli·xstit.*¹³⁹ *'otax*¹⁴⁰ *bi·'a·t*¹⁴¹
red. Lived at so and so sockeye salmon

*tli·daga·'aq.*¹⁴² *hitapquw*¹⁴³
(where was) the smoke. Went past, it is said,

bi·'a·t *'u·yuq^w.*¹⁴⁴
sockeye salmon with respect to so and so.

*datco·'luw tla'u.*¹⁴⁵ *ba'as. tli·ssit*¹⁴⁶ *tli·daga.*
Saw, it is said, another house. White smoke.

*hadi'd.*¹⁴⁷ *hitapquw.*
Humpback salmon. Went past, it is said.

tli·xstuw tla'u, *'u·cuw*¹⁴⁸ *tli·ssit.*
Red, it is said, again, somewhat, it is said, white.

*tsa·wil*¹⁴⁹ *'ux^wa'tl.* *hita'p*¹⁵⁰ *tsa·wil.*
Spring salmon it was, now. Went past spring

tla'u· datco·'l ba'as. *tli·xstuw*
salmon. Again saw house. Red (smoke), it is

*tla'u, wik xaxada'l.*¹⁵¹ *tsu·wit*¹⁵²
said, again, not very bright (red). Cohoe salmon

*'ux^wa'tluw.*¹⁵³ *hidastluw tla'u.*
it was, now, it is said. Got to, it is said, another

ba'as. *ya·tuwits*¹⁵⁴ *tcalatcti·'wad*¹⁵⁵
house. Behold, there, it is said, stripe-colored

tli·daga. *'ux^wa'tl,* *ya·ttsa'kaq.*¹⁵⁶
smoke. It was, now, the (place) where (they
were (going).

TRANSLATION

Two handsome youths were chums. They had been chums for a long time and were both unmarried. One day one of them went to live with another tribe at a different village, but the other one remained at home. Only one went to the other village.

He had not been away very long when he returned home. Arriving there he asked, "Where is my chum?"

"We have not seen him," said his chum's mother. But the fact was his chum was dead.

He asked for him for a long time, but nobody told him.

Finally someone told him. "Your chum is dead," he said. "He is dead."

Then the youth asked, "Where is his grave?"

Someone told him where the grave was. He learned where it might be found.

Then the youth went and started to look for it. When he found it, he took his place on the ground and remained sitting there. When night fell he would sleep on the ground beside his chum. For three days and nights he remained there with his chum. He didn't eat. The fourth day came. When night fell on the fourth day, he grabbed his chum repeatedly. "Wake up!" he kept saying. It turned out that just a little after nightfall some people cried out. Just "Ha . . .," they cried out. "We are paddling now. We are going home," they said. They cried out from on the beach. Twice they cried out. Then the boy awoke and sat up.

"Are you awake now? I have been saying 'Wake up!' to you for a long time," said his chum.

"Oh."

"I'm going along with you," said the first boy.

"They are waiting for me on the beach. I can't take you with me," said the other boy. "I can't do it," he said. "I can't make a place for you."

"Oh, I want to go along with you." The one who spoke now was the one who had not died.

"I can't make a place for you, I can't hold you," was the answer. "Well, I will try. Come here!" he said. "We will run together repeatedly and you will try to get into me. We will repeatedly run toward each other and bump together."

They started in. The first two times they did not succeed, nor did they succeed the third time; but the fourth time the one boy got inside of the other. They were now just like one person, telescoped together. "Very well, we are ready now," said the one who had died.

He went to the beach. Behold, there on the water was a big canoe with many people in it.

They put him in the canoe and had him stay in the middle. Then they paddled off. The dog salmon band paddled off and went home. It was not known that he had someone telescoped within. They paddled and paddled, singing a canoe-song as they went. They were two days on the way. Then they saw smoke. It was red smoke; this was where the sockeye salmon lived. They went past the sockeye salmon. They saw another house. This one had white smoke; it was the home of the humpback salmon. They went past. They saw red smoke again, this time somewhat white. It was the spring salmon. They went past the spring salmon. Again they saw a house. It had red smoke also, this time not very bright red. It was the coho salmon. They then got to another house. Behold, there was stripe-colored smoke. This time it was the place to which they were going.

GENERAL REMARKS PRELIMINARY TO GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

MORPHOLOGIC STRUCTURE

Nitinat is, like Nootka, a strictly suffixing language. Every word consists of a stem and one or more suffixes. Some stems may appear without any suffixes; their word form is identical with their combining form. Other stems require a suffix, whether a derivational suffix or one whose function is essentially to complete the word. Similarly derivational suffixes are of two kinds; one kind may be followed by other derivational suffixes or itself close the word; the other must always be followed by some other suffix. All suffixes that may be added to bare stems and to suffixes of non-final type are called stem-suffixes. But there is another class of suffixes that may be added only to formally complete words; these are called word-suffixes. Stem-suffixes include derivational suffixes and aspect suffixes. Word-suffixes include several formal modal para-

digms, but also include a number of other elements expressing temporal notions, the passive, etc.

The syntactic relation of stem and suffix is implicit in the particular suffix. Some suffixes govern the stem, some are dependent on it. The syntax of governing suffixes is indicated in the definitions by means of the symbol . . . (which may be read "so and so") which is employed to show in what manner the meaning of the stem fits in with the meaning of the suffix. For example: $-(i, a)da(\cdot)k$ "possessing . . ." when attached to the stem *lutc-* "woman" means "possessing a woman," i. e., "being married (of a man)." The symbol ". . ." is not generally used in definitions of dependent suffixes.

Every formally complete word, unless it is a connective particle, has an aspect. Aspects that occur in the above text are durative, momentaneous, inceptive, gradulative, and momentaneous iterative. The durative expresses a continued existence, state or activity; thus duratives are translatable by English nouns, adjectives, and verbs expressing states and continued activities. The momentaneous expresses momentary occurrences, including transitions into states and states of activity (these are generally translated "to start doing . . ."). The inceptive expresses transitions into existences, states and states of activity; it is generally translated "to become . . .; to get to be . . .ing, to start . . .ing." (It will be seen that the territory of the momentaneous crosses into that of the inceptive.) The gradulative expresses a linear or protracted occurrence of that which is expressed by the momentaneous. The momentaneous iterative expresses an iteration of that which is expressed by the momentaneous. The aspect is usually contained in the last element of the formally complete word, whether this is a stem or stem-suffix of the type that may appear finally, or actually a completive suffix whose function is only to indicate the aspect and thus complete the word.

PHONETIC PROCESSES

Inorganic vowels occur before voiced and, except in word-suffixes, before glottalized consonants. The inorganic vowel usually alternates between *i* and *a*, *i* after *i* or *u* in the preceding syllable and *a* after *a* in the preceding syllable. But in a number of cases, the inorganic vowel is unchanging, being always *a*, *i*, or *u* (notably in the quotative word-suffix $-(u)w$). In the grammatical analysis below, inorganic vowels are indicated by being placed in parentheses, e. g. $-(i)'bit$ "...times". In those cases where it is either *i* or *a*, it is indicated by (i, a) , e. g. $-(i, a)da(\cdot)k$ "possessing . . ." The inorganic vowel occurs only after consonants and does not count as a syllable in the rule regarding vowels of variable length given in the next paragraph.

The length of certain suffix vowels is variable. Such vowels are long when occurring in the second syllable of the word; otherwise, they are short and subject to syncope (see rules of *sandhi* given below). However, as was stated above, an inorganic vowel does not count as a syllable in this connection; thus, the variable length *a* of $-(i, a)da(\cdot)k$ "possessing . . ." in the word *lutcida·k* "possessing a woman" is long because it is technically in the second syllable of the word, the preceding *i* being inorganic. Vowels of variable length are indicated by placing parentheses around the length sign following the vowel, e. g. $a(\cdot)$.

Although most short suffix vowels are subject to syncope, there are certain ones which are never syncopated. Such vowels are indicated by having a dot placed beneath them, e. g. *a*.

Certain suffixes have the effect of converting a preceding *c*, *s*, *l* to *y* or *w*. These are known as softening suffixes and are symbolized thus: $,-$. An initial vowel of a softening suffix does not contract with a preceding vowel but interposes a glottal stop. This fact is indicated by $-(\cdot)$, e. g. $-(\cdot)is$ "on the beach."

Certain suffixes beginning with a glottal stop have the effect of glottalizing a preceding *y*, *w*, *l* or stop or affricative consonant. Such suffixes are called semi-hardening and are indicated by writing the glottal stop before the hyphen, thus: ʔ-. The glottalized forms of *y*, *w*, and *l* are written ʔ*y*, ʔ*w*, and ʔ*l* and those of *b* and *d*, ʔ*b* and ʔ*d*. The glottalized forms of all voiceless stops except the velar are indicated thus: ʔ*p*, ʔ*t*, ʔ*s*, etc. The velar voiceless stops, *q* and *qw* plus glottalization become the laryngeal glottal stop which is written ʔ.

Certain other suffixes beginning in a glottal stop have the effect not only of glottalizing a preceding *y*, *w*, *l*, or stop or affricative consonant but also of converting a preceding *c*, *s*, or *l* to *y* or *w* and then glottalizing that *y* or *w*. Such suffixes are called hardening suffixes and are symbolized thus: ʔ-.

In addition to altering the form of a preceding consonant, suffixes may also alter the form of the stem. They may cause the lengthening of the stem vowel, the shortening of the stem vowel, the reduplication of the first consonant and the first vowel of the stem, and in addition various combinations of these processes. In order to indicate these processes in the most convenient manner possible, *v*... , *cvcv*... , *cv·cv*... , *cvcv*... , etc. are placed before suffixes as needed. For example, *v*... *-api* "erect; up, up above" indicates that this suffix has the effect of lengthening its stem vowel; *cvcv*... *-daʔl* "very" indicates that this suffix has the effect of reduplicating the first consonant and the first vowel of its stem; and *cv·cv*... *-sibä·yik* "have... as chum" indicates that this suffix has the effect of reduplicating the first consonant and the first vowel of its stem with the lengthening of the vowel in the first part of the reduplication.

Back of the various forms that a given element may take due to *sandhi*, there is a certain theoretical basic form. Such a theoretical form is indicated, in the grammatical analysis below, by being italicized.

In Nitinat, *sandhi* is a very complex process. The material that has been worked out up to the present time does not furnish sufficient evidence to formulate the rules of *sandhi* with anything like finality. Certain processes have been noted, however, and on the basis of these, tentative rules have been formulated and are presented below.

Rules of Sandhi as They Apply to Stems and Stem-suffixes

1. Labialization

When preceded by the vowel *u* the gutturals and velars *k*, *kʷ*, *q*, *qʷ*, *x*, and *xʷ* become *kʷ*, *kʷʷ*, *qʷ*, *qʷʷ*, *xʷ*, and *xʷʷ* respectively.

The labial element of these secondarily labialized gutturals and that of original labio-gutturals and labio-velars is lost before the *u* vowel.

2. Assimilation

When two vowels are juxtaposed with a glottal stop between, the first vowel sometimes assimilates to the second. Thus:

- a. *a*, *aʔ* becomes *ä*, *äʔ* before *i* under all circumstances.
- b. *i* becomes *ä* before *a* except in stem syllables.
- c. *u* becomes *ɔ* before *a* except in stem syllables.

When two vowels of different quality are juxtaposed with a glottal stop between and the second is lost by syncope, the first vowel assimilates to it as follows:

- a. *a*, *aʔ* before *i* becomes *ä*, *äʔ*.
- b. *a*, *aʔ* before *u* remains unchanged.
- c. *i* before *a* becomes *a*; *i* before *a* becomes *ä* (even in stem syllables).
- d. *i*, *iʔ* before *u* becomes (?)
- e. *u*, *uʔ* before *a* becomes *ɔ*, *ɔʔ* (even in stem syllables).
- f. *u*, *uʔ* before *i* remains unchanged.

Before *y* or ʔ*y*, *a*, *aʔ* becomes *ä*, *äʔ* except in stem syllables.

3. Contraction

Two vowels coming together without a glottal stop between are contracted. If the vowels are of unlike quality, the results are as follows, so far as known, in stem syllables:

- a. *a* plus *i* gives *ä*.
- b. *i* plus *a* gives *ä*.
- c. *u* plus *a* gives *ɔ*.

In any other than the stem syllable the results are the same if the resultant vowel is long, but not necessarily otherwise. For one thing, when a short vowel results from *i* + *a*, its quality is *a*.

The quantity of the resultant vowel is long in the stem syllable or when one or both of the component vowels is long, otherwise it is short.

4. Apocope

All short stem-suffix vowels are lost in final position.

5. Syncope

Non-final short stem-suffix vowels are syncopated when followed by a single consonant or original consonant group a) in final position b) before a word-suffix c) before a short stem-suffix vowel; but if the consonant be a glottal stop (ʔ), syncope takes place regardless of whether the following vowel is long or short.

It is to be noted that original consonant groups permit syncope before them. Non-original consonant groups, i. e. such as are formed by placing a suffix beginning in a consonant after a suffix ending in a consonant or by the syncope of a vowel between two consonants, do not permit syncope before them.

There are a few short stem-suffix vowels that are never syncopated. Such vowels are indicated in the analysis by a dot placed beneath them.

Inorganic vowels are never lost in syncope.

6. Insertion

Insertion is of two types:

A. Insertion due to stem-suffixes

- (1) When a stem-suffix ending in a consonant group comes to stand before another stem-suffix beginning in a consonant or a long vowel, a short vowel (the determination of whose quality is not known) is inserted between the last two consonants of the first suffix.
- (2) A consonant in post-consonantal position glottalized by a following stem-suffix has a vowel inserted before it. The vowel is either a reinsertion of a syncopated vowel or is a new vowel, the determination of whose quality is not understood.
- (3) The syncope of a vowel after a glottal stop requires the retention of an immediately preceding vowel (with assimilation to the syncopated vowel: cf. assimilation above), but if a consonant precedes, a vowel, of the same quality as that of the vowel syncopated after the glottal stop, is inserted.

B. Insertion before the end of a word and before word-suffixes

Before the last consonant of the last stem-suffix in the word, a vowel is inserted a) when that consonant stands before a word-suffix beginning in a consonant, b) when that consonant becomes glottalized by imperative ʔ-*i*, and c) when the word would otherwise be a monosyllable ending in a consonant cluster. The inserted vowel has the quality of any original vowel that may have been syncopated, or is a completely new vowel, the determination of whose quality is not yet understood.

Insertion due to stem-suffixes affects the syncope or non-syncope of preceding vowels;

insertion before the end of a word and before word-suffixes does not.

Inasmuch as apocope, syncope, and insertion are dependent on what follows rather than what precedes, the processes are to be conceived as working from the end of the word backwards.

Sandhi of Word-suffixes

The rules of *sandhi* applying to word-suffixes are not attempted here. In some things they are the same as the rules for stem-suffixes but there are evidently many exceptions.

GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

Words are given as they appear in the text except that two diacritical marks are employed, a small circle below the line (◌) to show where a vowel has been lost by syncope or by apocope, and a breve (◌) to indicate inserted vowels and inorganic vowels. Thus the first word of the text is written *'u·'usibā·y_◌kūw* to show that a vowel (*i*) has been syncopated between the *y* and the *k* and that the *u* in the last syllable is inorganic.

After each word, the analysis is indicated in terms of the theoretical basic forms (italicized) of the stem and suffixes. Special facts concerning each element are indicated by symbols already mentioned in the discussion above. These are as follows:

- '- hardening suffix
- semi-hardening suffix
- ,- softening suffix
- v... lengthening influence exerted by a suffix upon stems
- cvcv..., cv·cv..., etc. various types of reduplicating influence of suffixes
- (◌) (after a vowel) variable length
- (◌) the initial glottal element of the post-vocalic form of some suffixes, especially of softening suffixes
- (a, i), (i), (u) inorganic vowels
- (under a vowel) permanent short vowel, not subject to syncope or apocope

In definitions, the following abbreviations are used:

- dur. durative aspect
- mom. momentaneous aspect
- ... "so and so"

- ¹ *'u·'usibā·y_◌kūw* "had so and so as chums, it is said"
 - 'u-* + *cv·cv...-sibā·yik* dur. "have...as chum" + *-(u)w* word-suffix, quotative "it is said"
 - 'u-* is an "empty" stem which serves to hold the place of the word, phrase, or clause which completes the meaning of the suffix (or suffix complex) which follows the *'u-*. The given word, phrase, or clause for which *'u-* serves as a placeholder usually follows the *'u-* form but is sometimes left unexpressed
 - ² *tlul* "good-looking"
 - tlul* dur. "good, good-looking, clean, etc."
 - ³ *la·x'u'k^w* "youths"
 - The plural is implicit from the context only.
 - la·x'u'uk^w* dur. "youth, boy"
 - ⁴ *qä·'◌tł* "a long time, now"
 - qi·* dur. "a long time, for a long time" + *'-atl* word-suffix "now, then," a very frequent but almost colorless suffix
 - ⁵ *'u·'usibā·y_◌k* "had so and so as chums"
 - 'u-* + *cv·cv...-sibā·yik* (see 1)
 - ⁶ *du·buw* "both, it is said"
 - du·b, du·ba* dur. "all (including 'both'), everybody" + *-(u)w*
 - ⁷ *wik* "(were) not"
 - wik* dur. "not, nothing"
 - ⁸ *hucēda·k* "married"
 - huc-* "woman" + *-(i, a)da(◌)k* dur. "possessing..."
 - ⁹ *du·b* "both"
 - du·b, du·ba* (see 6)
 - ¹⁰ *'uwiyā'◌tł* "went now to so and so"
 - 'uwiy* (possibly *'u-* + *-wiy*) mom. "to go to..., to get to be at..." + *'-atl*
- In connection with the possible analysis of *'uwiy*, cf. *'iy* in *hatssā·'iy* "to come up to," *tlawā·'iy* "to go close, to get close," and *ḡayā·'iy* "to go far, to get to be far."

- 11 *tlá'ó'q* (read: *tlá'ó'aq*) "the other"
tlá'u dur. "another, again" + ²*aq*, *-aq*,
²*aq*, word-suffix, definite article. The
 idea of definite indication with added
 pronominal notion is expressed by the
 following paradigm:

Paradigm of ²*aq*

² <i>aq</i> s	² <i>aqad</i>
<i>-i</i> <i>k</i>	<i>-i</i> <i>ksu</i> '
² <i>aq</i>	² <i>aq(at)</i>

- 12 *ba'as* "tribe"
ba'as dur. "house, tribe" (prob. *ba-* "to
 dwell" + **-as* for modern *'-a(·)s* "on
 the ground")
- 13 *k^wissa'ṭx* "different village"
k^wis-, *k^wist-* "different" + *-sa(·)'ṭx* dur.
 "...village, ...tribe, ...people" (cf.
²*atx* "...tribe, ...village, ...people;
 to dwell at...")
- 14 *'uwi*y "went to so and so"
²*uwi*y (see 10)
- 15 *ṭsawa'k* "one"
ṭsawa- "one" + *-(·)ak* durative
- 16 *ṭladä'lä'ṭl* "stayed at home, now"
ṭlada- "stay, remain" + *-(·)il* dur. "in
 the house" + ²*atl*
- 17 *ṭsawa'ktl* (read: *ṭsawa'akṭl* (?) "one,
 now"
ṭsawa- + *-(·)ak* (see 15) + ²*atl*
- 18 *ba'ṭāx* "village"
ba- "to dwell" + ²*atx* dur. "...tribe,
 ...village, ...people; to dwell at..."
- 19 *wikūw* "not, it is said"
wik dur. "not, nothing" + *-(u)w*
- 20 *qi'k^wa'ṭ* "a long time away"
qi' "a long time" + *-k^wa(·)ṭ* dur. "to be
 absent"
- 21 *walc'ṭhūw* "went home, it is said"
wal- "go home" + *-cittl* momentaneous
 + *-(u)w*
- 22 *yä'ṭxaq* "yonder where they dwelt"
yi' "yonder" + ²*atx* + ²*aq*, *-aq*, ²*aq*
- 23 *hida-w'ṭl* "arrived"
hida- + *-a-wittl* mom. "to get there"
hida- is an empty stem whose only
 function seems to be to serve as an
 element to which suffixes may be added,

a function also served by another stem,
hita-. Although the two stems are not
 interchangeable, the differentiation is
 not as yet clear.

- 24 *wa'sa'ṭhic* "where, now, might be"
wa-s- dur. "where? when? which?" +
²*atl* + *-ic* modal notion of some kind
- 25 *ya'yaqsibä'y₂kaqs* "the one whom I had
 as chum"
yaq- "the one who(m), the place where,
 the time when" + *cv·cv...-sibä'yik*
 + ²*aq*s, *-aq*s, ²*aq*s first person singular
 of ²*aq* paradigm (see 11)
- 26 *wa-w* "said, it is said"
wa mom. "say" + *-(u)w*
- 27 *ṭca-di-d* "we have not seen (him)"
ṭca-di- durative of *ṭca-d-aq-* "not to see,
 to be blind" + *-id* first person plural
 (see indicative paradigm below)

Indicative Paradigm

<i>-s</i>	<i>-id</i>
² <i>qs</i>	² <i>asu</i> '
² <i>q</i>	² <i>q(ṭ)</i>

- 28 *wa'ṭl* "said, now"
wa dur. "say" + ²*atl*
- 29 *'ab'ä'qsaq* "the mother"
²*ab'ä-qs* dur. "mother" (prob. ²*ab'a-* +
-iqs "...relative") + ²*aq*, *-aq*, ²*aq*
- 30 *'at* "but he was"
²*at* "but"
- 31 *qaṅc'ṭlaq* "the dead one"
²*qaṅ-* "to be dead" + *-cittl* mom. + ²*aq*,
-aq, ²*aq*
- 32 *qi'ṭc'ṭhūw* "it got to be a long time, it is said"
²*qi'* + *-cittl* mom. + *-(u)w*
- 33 *'a'a't* "asking"
²*a'a't* dur. "to ask"
- 34 *wiki'ṭx* "while nobody"
wik + ²*i't*, ²*i't* dur. "to be existent"
 + *-x* "while"
- 35 *'u'yaṅk^w* "told (him) so and so"
²*u-* + *v...-(i, a)'yaṅ* "tell, indicate"
 + *-uk^w* dur.
- 36 *ṭsawa'akṅa'ṭhūw* "finally one, now, it
 is said"
ṭsawa- + *-(·)ak* + *-xa'* "thereupon, and
 now, finally" + ²*atl* + *-(u)w*

- 37 qaxc₃ʔla "he died"
qax- + -*citl* + 'a third person singular
indicative (see 27)
- 38 ya·yaqsibä·y₃kibtī·k "the one whom you
used to have as chum"
yaq- + cv·cv...sibä·yik + -*ibt*, -*t* past
time + -i·k second person singular of
'-aq (see 11)
- 39 wa·'t₃hūw "said, now, it is said"
wa· + 'at₃l + -(u)w
- 40 pitsksi' "(the) grave"
pitsksi' dur. "grave, graveyard"
- 41 tsawa·'akxa' t₃l "finally one, now"
tsawa·- + -(³)ak + -xa' + 'at₃l
- 42 haci·t₃c₃hūw "learned, it is said"
hacit "to learn, know" + -*tcitl* + -(u)w
-i· < -iy- < -il + ,-
- 43 ya₃quy "where might be"
ya₃l, ya·t dur. "there" + -*quy* "might,
would, when, if, as if" third person
singular
- Paradigm of -*quy*
- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| - <i>quys</i> , - <i>qu·s</i> | - <i>quyid</i> |
| - <i>qu·suk^w</i> | - <i>qu·su^w</i> |
| - <i>quy</i> | - <i>quy(al)</i> |
- 44 walä·kūw "went, it is said"
walī·- mom. "to go" + -*ak* dur. + -(u)w
- 45 la·xu'k^waq "the boy"
la·xu^wuk^w + 'aq, -aq, 'aq
- 46 da·tcuk^wc₃t₃l "started looking (for it)"
datc- "to see, look for" + v...-uk^w dur.
+ -*citl*.
-*citl* added to the durative gives the
inceptive.
- 47 hidä·'y₃pūw "found it, it is said"
hida- + -a·'yip mom. "to get, catch,
find" + -(u)w
- 48 'iyax'i·t₃hūwxa' "thereupon got to be
there on the ground, it is said"
'iyax "there, then" + '-i·t₃l (mom. to
'-a(·)s "on the ground") + -(u)w
+ -xa' "thereupon, and now, finally"
- 49 'iyaxä' sā' t₃hūw "stayed there on the
ground, now, it is said"
'iyax + '-a(·)s + 'at₃l + -(u)w
- 50 ti·'a·sā' t₃l "sat on the ground, now"
tiq^w- "to sit" + '-a(·)s + 'at₃l

- 51 'uyä' t₃quyūw "when would, now, it is
said"
'uy "when, if" (generally used with -*quy*
following in the next word, see 52
'atxiteit₃l t₃quy) + 'at₃l + -*quy* + -(u)w
- 52 'atxiteit₃l t₃quy "night would fall, now"
'atxiteit₃l "night falls" (inceptive to dur.
'atxiy "night") + 'at₃l + -*quy*
- 53 wä' t₃cit₃l "went to sleep"
wä'it₃cit₃l "to fall asleep" (mom. of wä'it₃
"to sleep") The rules of syncope as
stated would require wä'it₃cit₃l. Perhaps
the i of -it₃l is not subject to syncope.
- 54 hi·ta' s "together (with him) on the
ground"
prob. hi·ta- (< *hihita- distributive of
hita-) + '-a(·)s
- 55 qakä't₃st₃c₃hūw "three nights, it is said"
qak(a)ts "three" + -*tc₃(·)l* dur. "days,
nights, i. e., periods of 24 hrs." + -(u)w
- 56 'iyaxä' s "stayed there on the ground"
'iyax + '-a(·)s (see 49)
- 57 ha'uk^w "eat"
ha'uk^w dur. "to eat" (possibly ha'u + -k)
- 58 hidas t₃hūw "reached"
hida- (see 23) + -sit₃l "to get to, reach"
(mom. of -s) + -(u)w
- 59 bu· "four"
bu· dur. "four"
- 60 t₃his·a' k "days"
t₃his·a·- "day" (possibly t₃his- "white" +
a suffix -'a·-) + -(³)ak
- 61 bu·x^wat₃lkūw "four, it is said"
bu· "four" + -xat₃lk dur. (?) (meaning
unknown) + -(u)w
- 62 'iyax "then"
'iyax dur. "there, then"
- 63 'atxiteit₃l t₃l "night fell, now"
'atxiteit₃l (see 52) + 'at₃l
- 64 suk^wit₃l t₃quy "would grab (him), now"
su- "to grab, seize, take hold" + -k^wit₃l
mom. + 'at₃l + -*quy*
- 65 kuduk^wc₃at₃l "wake up, now!"
kuduk^w "to be awake" + -*citl* + 'at₃l
+ 'i imperative. -c'at₃l takes the place of
-cit₃l under certain circumstances,
as in this case before 'i.

- 66 wa·'tlquyūw "he would say, now"
wa· + 'atl + -quy + -(u)w
- 67 'udu·tluwic "it turned out, it is said, that"
This word seems to be formally analyzable into 'udu·tl "because" + -(u)w + modal -ic (see 24), but this analysis scarcely seems to explain the meaning of the word as a whole.
- 68 laḫti·'yp "just as soon as"
laḫ- "now" + -ti·'yp (meaning unknown)
- 69 'atḫitc·tl "night fell"
'atḫitc·tl (inceptive to dur. 'atḫiy, see 52)
- 70 qi·tskid "a little later"
qi· "a long time" + -tskid "a little..., slightly..."
- 71 'atḫiy "(at) night"
'atḫiy dur. "to be night"
- 72 qa·yaqc·tl "(someone) cried out"
qa·yaq- "to yell, cry out" + -citl
- 73 'ada·tḫūw "only, now, it is said"
'ada- "just, only" + 'atl + -(u)w
- 74 ha... (exclamation)
- 75 th·ḫak·tḫidä· "we are paddling, now"
th·x- "to paddle" + -ak dur. + 'atl + -id "we" + -ä· a suffix or a reinstated and modified vowel connected with vocatives and shouted forms. -ä· may be suffixed, or, more likely, -id is really -idi or -ida with the final vowel never appearing except when it is lengthened and unlauded in vocative forms.
- 76 wa·lcitl·tḫid "we are going home now"
wa·lcitl (graduative of wal- "to go home") + 'atl + -id "we". The graduative is regularly formed from the momentaneous by lengthening of the stem vowel.
- 77 'iyax·tqäytl "from there"
'iyax + -tqäytl (possibly -taq "to come from..." + an unknown suffix -äytl)
- 78 hita·'di·saq "on the beach"
hita- (see 23) + -a(·)'dil, -a(·)'di- "along..." + -(·)'is dur. "on the beach" + 'aq, -aq, 'aq.
-a(·)'di- occurs before hardening or softening suffixes.
,-(·)'is means "on level ground or sand,

on the beach"; -a·'di's means "on the level sand along (the sea)" and is therefore a more specific way of saying "on the beach."

- 79 'atli·bit·pūw "twice caused, it is said"
'atla-, 'atli-, 'atl "two" + -(i)'bit dur. "...times" + 'ap causative + -(u)w
- 80 kuduk^{wi}·tḫitl "woke up on the ground, now"
kuduk^w "to be awake" + '-i·tl (mom. of '-a(·)'s "on the ground") + 'atl
- 81 tli·i·tḫūw "sat up on the ground, it is said"
tḫiq^w- "to sit" + '-i·tl (mom. of '-a(·)'s "on the ground") + -(u)w
- 82 cä·k (exclamation of wonder or admiration interpolated by the narrator)
- 83 kuduk^w·tḫak "are you awake, now?"
kuduk^w + 'atl + -ak second person singular interrogative (see interrogative paradigm below)

Interrogative Paradigm

-aks	-akid
-ak	-aksu·
-a·	-at

This paradigm also occurs with the vowel *i* instead of *a*. Just when the *i* forms occur is not known as yet.

- 84 qä·'tḫibt·sitsḫ "a long time, now, I have to you"
qi· + 'atl + -ibt, -t past time + -s first person singular indicative + -itsḫ a pronominal objective suffix, here meaning "you" singular. -itsḫ when following a first personal pronominal suffix (singular or plural, i. e. -s or -id) denotes a second person singular object. To denote a second person plural object the form -u·witsḫ, -u·witsḫ is used likewise after -s or -id. However, there are in addition certain usages of -itsḫ which are not as yet clear.
- 85 kuduk^w·citl "wake up!"
kuduk^w + -citl + 'i imperative
- 86 wa· "said"
wa· mom. "to say"
- 87 'o (exclamation indicating that one has

- heard what was said or that one has taken notice of something)
- 88 da'u·k^{wi}·tš "I'm going along"
da'u·- "to go along" + -k dur. + -i(·)tl future time + -s "I"
- 89 hid^o·'a·wī^o·saq "the (ones) waiting on the beach"
hida- + 'a·w dur. "to wait" + -(·)is + 'aq, -aq, 'aq
- 90 yubulsitsx "I can't you"
yubul dur. "to be unable" + -s "I" + -itsx (see 84)
- 91 hidi·ks "carry along"
hida- + -i·ks dur. "to carry along"
- 92 x^wissa·tša·'bxsitsx "I am unable to make place for you"
x^{wi}·-, x^{wis}·-(...·x) "to be unable" + -sa·tsu dur. "place" + 'ap causative + 'x irrealis + -s + -itsx
The form '·p (syncopated from causative '·ap) hardens to '·b. When a vowel precedes, the first glottal stop is lost with lengthening of that vowel, that is, *-a"b > -a"b.
- 93 'i· (exclamation)
- 94 hä· (exclamation)
- 95 da'u·k^wabaḡsa·s "I want to go along (with you)"
da'u·- "to go along" + -k dur. + -(a)baḡsa "to want to..." + -s "I"
- 96 'uḡ^{wä}·tš "it was he, now"
'uḡ^w dur. "it is he, it, etc." + '·atl
- 97 wik^o·aq "the (one) not"
wik + 'aq, -aq, 'aq
- 98 qaḡak "dead"
qaḡ- "to be dead" + -ak dur.
- 99 hiy (exclamation of admiration interpolated by the narrator)
- 100 su· "hold (you)"
dur. of stem su-
- 101 ba·duk^{wi}·yks "I will try"
prob. ba·duk^w dur. "to try" + -i·yk, -i·k (possibly a suffix denoting future time) + -s "I"
- 102 hatssä·'iyī^o "come here!"
hatssa·- (connected with hatss- "this way (with it), give it here") + -iy dur. "to go, come to..." + '·i imperative
- 103 pi·satiduk^{wci}·dił·tšid "we will run together repeatedly"
pisat- "to run" + -i(·)duk^w + v...·-ci·dił momentaneous iterative + -i(·)tl future time + id "we"
- 104 ba·duk^{wi}·kis "try (to do so to) me"
prob. ba·duk^w dur. "to try" + -i·k (seems to alternate with -i·yk, see 101) + '·i·s (imperative plus first person object)
- 105 hi·taqsti·ḡsis "to get into"
hita- + -qsti·x (for -qstitł + '·x irrealis; '·aqstitł, of which -qstitł is the post-vocalic form, is mom. of '·aqtl, -qtl "inside") + -sis (meaning unknown). The lengthening of the stem vowel is either "conative" lengthening or is due to the suffix -sis.
- 106 pi·sat^k·wä·yaḡtaqci·dił·tšid "we will run repeatedly from (separate) points"
pisat- "to run" + -uk^w dur. + -a'yaḡtaq "to do...from (separate) points" (with nominal stems it means "from...") + v...·-ci·dił mom. iterative + -i(·)tl + -id "we"
- 107 waḡi·duk^{wc}·tš "bump (together)"
waḡ- "to throw away, discard; fall" + -i(·)duk^w "together" + -citł
- 108 suk^w·tšüw "took (it up), it is said"
su- + -k^{witł} + -(u)w
- 109 'atli^b·tšüw "twice, it is said"
'atla·-, 'atli·-, 'atl "two" + -(i)'bit dur. "...times" + -(u)w
- 110 wi·ksiya·x " (did) not succeed"
wik "not" + v...·-siya·x (possibly means "succeed")
- 111 qakäts^p·b·tšüw "three times, it is said"
qak(a)ts- "three" + -(i)'bit dur. "...times" + -(u)w
- 112 bu·'bitxüw "it was the fourth time, it is said, when"
bu· "four" + -(i)'bit dur. "...times" + -x "while, when" + -(u)w
- 113 hitaqstitł^l·tš "got inside, now"
hita- + -qstitł, post-consonantal '·aqstitł (mom. of '·aqtl, -qtl "inside") + '·atl
- 114 tsawa·'akquy "just like one (person)"
tsawa·- "one" + -(·)ak + -quy

- 115 *t'a-da.ḡqätłtł* "telescoped in, now"
ta-daḡ- "to be telescoped, doubled up"
 + *'-aqtl + 'atł*
- 116 *cu* "very well"
- 117 *teatcabaxäḡtłid* "we are ready, now"
tcaba- "to be satisfactory, proper" +
cvev...-ax (*teatcabax* means "to be
 ready") + *'-atł + -id* "we"
- 118 *qaxcitłtaq* "the one who had died"
qax- + *citł* + *-t, -ibt* past time + *'-aq,*
-aq, 'aq
- 119 *hita.ḡdisḡtłw* "got to be on the beach,
 it is said"
hita- + *-a.ḡdi(ḡ)-* "along..." + *-sitł* mom.
 of *,-(ḡ)is* "on the beach" (see 78) +
-(u)w
- 120 *ya.ḡlatc.ḡkät.süwḡ* "behold, there was on
 the water at the beach, it is said"
yal-, ya-t- "there" + *-atci(ḡ)kt* "on the
 water" + *,-(ḡ)is* dur. "on the beach"
 + *-(u)w* + *'i* imperative (used as a
 device for calling attention to some fact
 or situation in the story and therefore
 roughly equivalent to English "be-
 hold")
- 121 *'i-x* "big"
'i-x dur. "big"
- 122 *t'ca-puk^w* "canoe" (referring to a canoe
 as a means of conveyance, i. e., in
 motion or manned and ready for use)
tcap- "canoe" + *v...-uk^w* dur.
- 123 *'ayistw* "many in canoe, it is said"
'aya- "many" + *-ist* dur. "in a canoe"
 + *-(u)w*
- 124 *hit.ḡqsu.ḡbḡtłw* "was put in canoe, it is
 said"
hita- + *-qs-uḡp*, post-consonantal *'-a(ḡ)xs-*
uḡp (momentaneous causative of *-qs,*
'-a(ḡ)xs "in a box, in a canoe") + *'-it*
 passive + *-(u)w*
 For *-u.ḡb < -uḡp + ',-*, see 92
- 125 *'apaḡwadqsa.ḡbḡtłw* "was kept in middle
 of canoe, it is said"
'ap- "a place" + *-(a,i)ḡwad* + *-qs*, post-
 consonantal *'-a(ḡ)xs*, dur. "in a canoe"
 + *'-ap* caus. + *'-it + -(u)w*. For *-qsa.ḡb-*
< -qsaḡp + ',-, see 92
- 126 *ḡli-xc.ḡtłw* "paddled off, it is said"
ḡli-x "paddle" + *-citł* + *-(u)w*
- 127 *ḡli-xcitł* "paddled off"
ḡli-x- + *-citł*
- 128 *teitcka-wa'säḡtḡ* "dog salmon band"
teitcka-wa's "dog salmon" + *'-atx* dur.
 "...tribe; to dwell at..."
- 129 *walciḡtł* "went home"
wal- "to go home" + *-citł*
- 130 *haya.ḡakḡtłw* "was not known, it is
 said"
haya- "not to know" + *-(ḡ)ak* + *'-it*
 + *-(u)w*
- 131 *t'a-da.ḡqätłq'a* "that he had (someone)
 telescoped within"
ta-daḡ- "to be telescoped" + *'-aqtl, -qtl*
 dur. "inside" + *-q'a* "that, as, for"
 subordinating suffix
- 132 *ḡli-xak* "paddling"
ḡli-x- + *-ak*
- 133 *du.k^{wi}.ks* "singing a canoe-song as they
 went"
du.k^w "song" (*du-* "to sing" + *-uk^w*) +
-i.ks dur. "to carry along"
- 134 *'a.tłtcilḡkḡw* (read *'a.tłtci-huḡkḡw* (?))
 "two days on the way, it is said"
'atla-, 'atli-, 'atł "two" + *-tci(ḡ)ł* dur.
 "...days" + *v...-u'uk^w* dur. "on the
 way" + *-(u)w*
- 135 *datcḡḡläḡtłw* "saw, now, it is said"
datc- "to see, look" + *-ḡḡat* mom. "see"
 + *'-atł + -(u)w*
- 136 *ḡli-daḡa.* "smoke"
 dur. of *ḡli-daḡ-* "smoke, blue"
- 137 *datcḡḡlüw* "saw, it is said"
datc- + *-ḡḡat* + *-(u)w*
- 138 *ḡli-xḡtłw* "red, it is said"
ḡlix- "red" + *v...-sit* dur. "fluid
 substance (including smoke and flame
 as well as ordinary liquids and gases)"
 + *-(u)w*
- 139 *ḡli-xḡsit* "red"
ḡlix- + *v...-sit* (see 138)
- 140 *'ḡḡtäx* "lived at so and so"
'u- + *'-atx*
- 141 *bi.ḡa.t* "sockeye salmon"
bi.ḡa.t "sockeye salmon"

- 142 *tli·daqa·ʔaq* "the smoke"
same as 136 + *-ʔaq, -aq, ʔ-aaq*
- 143 *hitap̣qūw* "went past, it is said"
hita- + *-paq* dur. "to pass, go past" + *-(u)w*
- 144 *ʔu·yuq^w* "with respect to so and so"
ʔu- + *v...yuq^w* dur. "with respect to"
- 145 *tlaʔu·* "another"
tlaʔu· dur. "another, again" (see 11)
- 146 *tli·ssit* "white"
tli- "white" + *v...-sit*
- 147 *hadiʔd* "humpback salmon"
hadiʔd dur. "humpback salmon"
- 148 *ʔu·cūw* "somewhat, it is said"
ʔu·c dur. "some, something" + *-(u)w*
- 149 *ṭsa·wił* "spring salmon"
ṭsa·wił dur. "spring salmon"
- 150 *hitap̣q* "went past"
hita- + *-paq* (see 143)
- 151 *ḡaxadaʔl* "very bright"
ḡa- "much" + *cvcv...-daʔl* dur. "very"
- 152 *tsu·wit* "coho salmon"
tsu·wit dur. "coho salmon"
- 153 *ʔux̣wǎʔṭfūw* "it was, now, it is said"
same as 96 + *-(u)w*
- 154 *ya·lūwits* "behold, there, it is said"
yał-, *ya·ł-* + *-(u)w* + *-its* unknown, but
it seems to be used like the imperative
form *ʔ-i* (see 120)
- 155 *ṭcalaṭcti·ʔwad* "stripe-colored"
ṭcalaṭcti- (unknown) + *-(i, a)ʔwad* dur.
"in the middle"
- 156 *ya·łtsaʔkaq* "the (place) where (they
were) going"
yał-, *ya·ł-* + *-tsaʔak* dur. "going to" +
-ʔaq, -aq, ʔ-aaq