

Three Gitksan texts*

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Abstract: This paper presents three stories told in Gitksan by three speakers from different villages. These are Barbara Sennott's *Gitksan Barbie's Scandinavian Series*, Vince Gogag's *Kitwancool Reserve Surveyed*, and Hector Hill's *Bet'l'a Bet'l'*. It is one of the first published collections of Gitksan texts with accompanying full interlinear gloss, and allows for comparison of some dialect differences. Texts are presented first in Gitksan and English. The interlinear gloss includes 1) a line of unbroken orthography, 2) a line of morpheme-broken orthography with morphophonological processes undone, 3) a phonemic line, 4) a line of morpheme gloss, and 5) a free translation. These stories are a small sample of the text-collection work done by the UBC Gitksan Lab since 2010.

Keywords: Gitksan, Tsimshianic, texts, narratives

1 Introduction

One of the major undertakings of the UBC Gitksan Research Laboratory since its inception in 2010 has been the transcription, translation, and analysis of textual material. The reason is simple: though many Gitksan recordings have been made over the years, there is little fully transcribed material currently available in the language, and almost none of it has been analyzed.² A corpus of transcribed,

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² We employ the term 'Gitksan' for the entire dialect continuum from Kispiox in the east to Gitanyow in the west (excluding Nisga'a). For community members as well as linguists, this appears to be the least contentious cover term for the language, and does not preclude the use of local pronunciations and alternative language names (e.g., Gyaanimx̄ for the language spoken at Gitanyow). In the headings for the Gitksan versions of the stories, we have retained the speakers' preferred pronunciations/names for their own dialects.

analyzed texts is important for linguistic, cultural, and pedagogical reasons. For linguistic analysis, it serves not only as a spontaneously generated database which can be used to check on hypotheses based on directly elicited examples, but also as a source of new and unexpected lexical items and grammatical structures. For Gitksan culture, it serves to preserve an oral heritage which includes not only traditional narratives and their meanings (*adaawk*), but history, genealogy, and protocol (*ayook*). And for language pedagogy, which is becoming an increasingly important component of work on Gitksan as the language transitions from a first to a second language, texts serve as an indispensable resource for curriculum development.

We have recorded a substantial number of texts over the last several years, including historical narratives and personal recollections as well as fairly extensive conversational data, both with our consultants in Vancouver and those in Gitksan territory in northern British Columbia. The process of transcription and analysis is a lengthy one, however, not least because as yet there is no widely accepted, conventionalized procedure for morpheme breakdown, but also because of questions that inevitably arise when we are dealing with a language whose surface phonetics is relatively distant from the underlying forms of its component morphemes.

We have chosen to publish these three stories as a kind of trial balloon for a larger text collection, precisely in order to test our working assumptions about transcription and analysis. We give each story in three parts: a Gitksan-only version using a variant of the Hindle-Rigsby orthography in widespread (though not necessarily uniform) use across Gitksan territory;³ an English translation; and an interlinearized gloss. The three-part presentation (modeled on the format employed in e.g., Callahan et al. 2016) seeks to address the needs of three overlapping readerships: the Gitksan-only text is designed for speakers and students of Gitksan, the English-only text for casual (non-Gitksan speaking) readers, and the fully interlinearized text for linguists, curriculum developers, and others interested in the fine structure of the language.

For the interlinear sections, we have adopted a five-line format. The first line matches the Gitksan orthographic representation in the Gitksan-only section. (For a conversion chart from the Hindle-Rigsby orthography to the APA, see Appendix A.)

The second line is a partially analyzed orthographic representation which includes morpheme boundaries and undoes boundary-sensitive phonological rules. For example, an epenthesis schwa – realized variably as *i*, *a*, or *u* in the orthography – is phonetically present between a stem-final consonant and a following resonant-initial suffix: the latter includes several very common inflectional morphemes, most notably the Series II pronouns -'y '1st person singular', -n '2nd person singular', and -'m '1st person plural'. There is also a *non*-epenthetic schwa (glossed TR for 'transitive') which is present in a subset of the

³ The main difference between our version and the original system as employed in e.g., Hindle and Rigsby (1973) is that (following common practice in Gitksan territory) we write prevelar stops before back vowels with a *y*: thus we write *gyat/gyet* as opposed to *gat/get* for 'man, person'. See also Appendix A.

epenthesis environments – namely, in independent clauses and object-centred relative clauses between the stem and the Series II pronoun. However, this underlying TR schwa also shows up between a stem-final consonant and a non-resonant pronominal suffix (e.g. *-t*, ‘3rd person Series II’), where epenthesis is *not* triggered. Sorting out these phonetically identical but morphologically distinct schwas is very tricky for e.g., a language learner, but comparing lines 1 and 2 of the interlinear gloss provides the relevant information: the epenthetic schwa is present in the first line, but not the second.⁴

In inserting morpheme boundaries, we have assumed a conventional three way-distinction between affixes (marked by a dash -), clitics (marked by an equals sign =), and reduplicants (marked by a tilde ~). This is almost certainly an oversimplification, since even within the class of clitics, Gitksan shows a wide diversity of morphophonological behavior. For example, the common noun connective clitic *=hl* is unselective as to host, but systematic in its phonological behavior, invariably attaching to the prosodic word immediately to its left. In contrast, the proper noun clitic *t* is ‘ambidirectional’ – as a stray consonant, it needs a host, but it can either encliticize (usually) or procliticize (occasionally) to any available host. When we look further afield to other elements that have been termed ‘clitics’ in the Tsimshianic literature, the problem becomes even more acute: for example, we have so far been unable to find a consistent way to represent the relation between the elements known as ‘preverbals’ and ‘prenominals’ in the literature and the stems to which they attach, probably because they do not act as a uniform class, either syntactically or semantically. More work is obviously needed in this area.

The third line is a full phonemic representation, employing the ‘northwestern’ version of the Americanist Phonetic Alphabet (APA) in standard use by linguists working on languages of the region (including Rigsby 1986 and Tarpent 1987 in their grammars of Gitksan and Nisga’a, respectively).⁵ Allophonic rules whose output is reflected in the Gitksan orthography, such as the pervasive process of prevocalic stop voicing, are fully undone in the phonemic representation, whereas in the second (orthographic) line they are only resolved where an alternation surfaces.

The fourth line is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss: see Appendix B for abbreviations. By and large, we have based our glossing conventions on those in Rigsby (1986), though sometimes we adopt those of Tarpent (1987) (e.g., we follow her use of ‘T’ for the mysterious ‘big T’ morpheme which shows up on certain transitive verbs, and has allomorphs [t], [d], and [ə]). In addition, some of our glosses reflect our own recent analyses of e.g., extraction morphology (Davis and Brown 2011), tense and aspect (Matthewson 2013), and the connective system (Davis and Forbes 2015), as well as ongoing work on discourse particles, agreement, and other areas of the grammar.

⁴ It is notable in this respect that fluent, literate speakers often waver between writing e.g., *wil’y* and *wil’y* for ‘I do’.

⁵ However, we employ the IPA symbol [χ] for the voiceless uvular fricative, as opposed to [x], as used by Rigsby and Tarpent; we find the underdot in the latter is rather too easily lost in retranscription and copying.

Of course, a glossing system always embodies a set of working hypotheses about a language, and as such is inevitably provisional. Though the system used here builds on an increasingly rich descriptive and theoretical literature on Tsimshianic, and embodies our current thinking about Gitksan grammar, there are certainly areas where further revision will be necessary. For example, we have followed Rigsby (1986) in glossing the valency suffix *-txw* as ‘passive’, but there are clearly cases where that label is inadequate, since *-txw* yields an active transitive verb. A case in point is in line 18 of Vince Gogag’s story: the verb *sga-sgi-txw-i-’m*, which we have glossed *block.way-lie-PASS-TR-1PL.II* is clearly transitive, as evidenced by the ‘transitive’ schwa and the following Series II first person plural suffix, which marks a transitive subject in an independent clause. ‘Passive’ is therefore clearly an inadequate label in this case, and more generally, our understanding of valency-marking is in obvious need of an overhaul.

The three stories follow, each preceded by brief biographical notes about the speaker, together with details of when, where, and by whom the story was recorded.

2 Gitksan Barbie’s Scandinavian Series, by Barbara Sennott (Harris)

This story tells about an incident that happened to Barbara while she was traveling in Sweden when she was younger. It was elicited January 16, 2012 at UBC, by Clarissa Forbes, Michael Schwan, Andrei Angelescu, and Jesse Lawrence. Editors include Clarissa Forbes and Henry Davis.

Barbara was raised in Ansbayaxw (Kispiox) by her grandparents. Her dialect is representative of the Eastern variety described by Hindle and Rigsby (1973), particularly with regard to the vowel space. Some consonants are more lenis compared to the other speakers in this paper, with some former plain dorsal stops having shifted to fricatives (e.g. *kw* to *xw*), and some former glottalized dorsal stops debuccalizing (e.g. *kʼ* reducing to a simple glottal stop).

2.1 Gitxsanimx

'Nakwhl hlidaa 'wihl wili'y goohl wagayt andoosda wil jokhl amxsiwaa. Ii na'wahl anhahla'lst goohl *Stockholm* sawatdiit. Ii hahla'lsdi'y goohl *IBM*.

Ii hlaa k'i'ylh k'uuhl ii na sdilhl ansiip'insxwi'y ganhl nakst goohl wagayt *Spain* 'wayi'm. Ii hlaa guxws luu yaltxu'm ii basaxxu'm goohl *Denmark*. Ii na yuxwhl *train* loo'y ii yee'y goohl *Stockholm*. Ii hlaa bagu'm goohl *Stockholm* ii ha'wi'y. Ii 'nakwhl 'wihl wili'm, gwila'lhlganuutxw, gan wihl needii lax'nisxwi'y goohl Gigeenix.

Ii yee'y goohl anhahla'lsdi'y. Ap yukwhl ha'niisgwaa'ytxw. Ii neediit naa dim 'witxwit. Ii yee'y loot nii dokhl *mail*'y. Ii hlagook dim ha'wi'y ii ky'aa isxwi'y goohl wilp xseek.

Ii daayimaahl wili'y gan wina sgat'akwhl aats'ip. Ii hlaa yukwhl dim xsawi'y ii needii 'nim k'akhl aats'ip. Ii xsi hlguxwsxwi'y ii lip ligi agwihl baga'y ii ap neet. Ii k'aa 'nii giihli'y lax ha'niiwan. Akhl ligi 'wihl he'y.

Ii 'nii yatshl *pipe*—nii gya'a wil sgihl *pipe* aloohl ha'niiyo'oxsxw. Nii xhlii guut iin yatshl *pole* loot, upja ligi 'wihl wihl ligit naa. Ii neediit naa ji 'witxwit. Agwiyukwhl ha'niisgwaa'ytxwhl gan wihl neediit naa ji hahla'ljit.

Ii hehl t'ilxootxwi'y, “Dim aam dim wili'y, yukwhl baxhl aks. Ii akhl ligi 'wihl baaxi'y goosun.” Ii giihli'y, ii si'ix woksi'y. Ii ap neet, gan wina guuhl hlgu *pipe* gi nii yatshl aats'ip loot. Ii hlaa aamhl ga'nagwit iin gya'ahl gadaaxhl wilp xseek. Nii japhl 'wii luu no'o dim xsi yuwi'y, ii 'nithl wili'y. Hlaa xsa'akxwi'y 'nii gayoo ts'imil t'aahlhl jabi'y goohl ts'im wilp xseek.

Hlaa yukwhl hahla'lsdi'm ii ha'niigoodi'y wihl ii'uxwt ganwila 'nii yuxwdiithl *office*'y. Ii hediit, “Oo, 'nit *Canadanska flika* tun ant kw'asinhil wilp xseek.”

2.2 English

A long time ago, I lived overseas where the white people lived. And I found work in Stockholm, that's what they call it. And I worked for IBM.

After one year, my friend and her husband and I traveled all the way to Spain. And on the way back we separated in Denmark. And I took the train and I went to Stockholm. And we arrived in Stockholm and I went home. And we were away a long time, three weeks, and that's why I didn't hear from Gigeenix.⁶

And I went to my work, but it was Sunday, and no one would be there.

And I went there and I got my mail. And before I went home I had a short pee in the bathroom.

And I don't know why I locked the door. And I was going to go out but the door didn't want to open. And I couldn't get out, and I tried everything but I couldn't get out.

And I laid on the floor for a while. I didn't know what to think.

And I hit the pipe—I saw there was a pipe on the sink. And I took it apart, and I hit the pole with the pipe in case anybody was around. But no one came. Because it was Sunday, no one was at work.

And my thoughts said, “I will be alright because there is running water. And there is nothing for me to fear here.” And I laid down, and tried to sleep. But it wasn't to be. That's why I took the little pipe and I hit the door with it. And after a while I was able to see the outside of the bathroom. I made a big hole to go through, and that's what I did. When I made it out, then I put the evidence of what I had done back in the bathroom.

We went back to work and I wondered why the men kept coming into my office. And they said, “Oh, this is the *Canadanska flika* who broke the toilet.”

⁶ *Gigeenix* ‘upstream, east’ references the Kispiox area, or “back home”.

2.3 Interlinear gloss

- (1) 'Nakw^whl hlidaa 'wihl wili'y goohl
 'nakw=hl hli-daa 'wihl- wil-'y goo=hl
 ñak^w=ł łə-ta: wəł- wil-ý qo:=ł
 long=CN PART-SPT around- LVB-1SG.II LOC[-3.II]=CN
 wagayt andoosda wil j^okhl amxsiwaa.
 wagayt an-doosda wil j^ok=hl amxsiwaa
 waqəyt ?ən-to:sta wəl cuq=ł ?əmxsəwa:
 completely NMLZ-across COMP live[-3.II]=CN white.person
 'A long time ago, I lived overseas where the white people lived.'
- (2) Ii na 'wahl anhahla'lst goohl *Stockholm*
 ii n= 'wa=hl an-hahla'lst goo=hl Stockholm
 ?i: n= wə=ł ?ən-həłalst qo:=ł Stockholm
 CCNJ 1.I= find[-3.II]=CN NMLZ-work LOC[-3.II]=CN Stockholm
 sawatdiit.
 si-wa-t-dii⁷
 sə-wa-t-ti:t
 CAUS1-name-T-3PL.II
 'And I found work in Stockholm, that's what they call it.'
- (3) Ii hahla'lsdi'y goohl *IBM.*
 ii hahla'lst-'y goo=hl IBM
 ?i: həłalst-ý qo:=ł IBM
 CCNJ work-1SG.II LOC[-3.II]=CN IBM
 'And I worked for IBM.'

⁷ This is a headless relative clause focusing the oblique 'specified complement', *Stockholm* (Tarpent 1987: 283).

(4)	Ii	hlaa	k'i'yhl	k'uuhl	ii	na
	ii	hlaa	k'i'y=hl	k'uuhl	ii	n=
	ʔi:	ła:	kiy=ł	k ^w u:ł	ʔi:	n=
	CCNJ	INCEP	one[-3.II]=CN	year	CCNJ	1.I=
		sdilhl	ansiip'insxwi'y			ganhl
		sdil=hl	an-siip'-in-sxw-'y			gan=hl
		stil=ł	ʔən-si:ḗ-ən-sx ^w -y			qən=ł
		accompany[-3.II]=CN	NMLZ-like-CAUS2-ANTIP-1SG.II	PCNJ[-3.II]=CN		
		nakst	goohl	wagayt		Spain
		naks-t	goo=hl	wagayt		Spain
		naks-t	qo:=ł	waqəyt		Spain
		spouse-3.II	LOC[-3.II]=CN	completely		Spain
		'wayi'm.				
		'wa-i-'m				
		wa-ə-m̄				
		reach-TR-1PL.II				

‘After one year, my friend and her husband and I traveled all the way to Spain.’

(5)	Ii	hlaa	guxws	luu	yaltxu'm	
	ii	hlaa	guxws-	luu-	yalt-xw-'m	
	ʔi:	ła:	k ^w ux ^w s-	lu:-	yalt-x ^w -m̄	
	CCNJ	INCEP	back-	in-	return-PASS-1PL.II	
		ii	basaxxu'm		goohl	Denmark.
		ii	basax-xw-'m		goo=hl	Denmark
		ʔi:	pasəχ-x ^w -m̄		qo:=ł	Denmark
		CCNJ	separate-PASS-1PL.II	LOC[-3.II]=CN		Denmark

‘And on the way back we separated in Denmark.’

(6)	Ii	na	yuxwhl		train	
	ii	n=	yuxw=hl		train	
	ʔi:	n=	yux ^w =ł		train	
	CCNJ	1.I=	follow[-3.II]=CN		train	
		ii	yee'y		goohl	Stockholm.
		ii	yee-'y		goo=hl	Stockholm
		ʔi:	ye:-y		qo:=ł	Stockholm
		CCNJ	go-1SG.II	LOC[-3.II]=CN		Stockholm

‘And I took the train and I went to Stockholm.’

(7)	Ii	hlaa	bagu'm	goohl	<i>Stockholm</i>
	ii	hlaa	bakw-'m	goo=hl	Stockholm
	?i:	ła:	pak ^w -m̄	qo:=ł	Stockholm
	CCNJ	INCEP	arrive.PL-1PL.II	LOC[-3.II]=CN	Stockholm
	ii		ha'wi'y.		
	ii		ha'w-'y		
	?i:		haw-ý		
	CCNJ		go.home-1SG.II		

'And we arrived in Stockholm and I went home.'

(8)	Ii	'nakwhl	'wihl	wili'm,	gwila'lhl	ganuutxw,
	ii	'nakw=hl	'wihl-	wil-'m	gwila'l=hl	ganuutxw
	?i:	nak ^w =ł	wəl-	wil-m̄	k ^w əlal=ł	qənu:tx ^w
	CCNJ	long[-3.II]=CN	around-	LVB-1PL.II	three=CN	week
	gan	wihl	needii	lax'nisxwi'y		goohl
	gan	wil=hl	nee=dii	lax'ni-sxw-'y		goo=hl
	qən	wəl=ł	ne:=ti:	ləχni-sxw-ý		qo:=ł
	REAS	COMP=CN	NEG=FOC	hear-ANTIP-1SG.II		LOC=CN

Gigeenix.

gi-geenix

kə-ke:nəx

place-upriver

'And we were away a long time, three weeks, and that's why I didn't hear from Gigeenix.'

(9)	Ii	yee'y	goohl	anhahla'lsdi'y.
	ii	yee-'y	goo=hl	an-hahla'lst-'y
	?i:	ye:-ý	qo:=ł	?ən-həlałst-ý
	CCNJ	go-1SG.II	LOC[-3.II]=CN	NMLZ-work-1SG.II

'And I went to my work.'

(10)	Ap	yukwhl	ha'nii sgwaa'ytxw.
	ap	yukw=hl	ha-'nii-sgwaa'ytxw
	?əp	yuk ^w =ł	hə-ni:-sk ^w a:ýtx ^w
	VER	IPFV=CN	INS-on-rest

'But it was Sunday.'

(11)	Ii	neediit	naa	dim	'witxwit.
	ii	nee=dii=t	naa	dim	'witxw-it
	?i:	ne:=ti:=t	na:	təm	witx ^w -ət
	CCNJ	NEG=FOC=DM	who	PROSP	come-SX

'And no one would be there.'

- (12) Ii yee'y loot nii dokhl mail'y.
ii yee-'y loo-t n=ii dok=hl mail
ʔi: ye:-ẏ lo:-t n=ʔi: tuq=t̄ mail
CCNJ go-1SG.II OBL-3.II 1.I=CCNJ take.PL[-3.II]=CN mail
‘And I went there and I got my mail.’
- (13) Ii hlagook dim ha'wi'y ii
ii hla-gook dim ha'w-'y ii
ʔi: læ-qo:q t̄əm haŵ-ẏ ʔi:
CCNJ PART-first PROSP go.home-1SG.II CCNJ
ky'aa isxwi'y goohl wilp xseek.
ky'aa- isxw-'y goo=hl wilp- xseek
ka:- ʔisx^w-ẏ qo:=t̄ wilp- xse:q
short.prepare- pee-1SG.II LOC[-3.II]=CN house- go.out.PL
‘And before I went home I had a short pee in the bathroom.’
- (14) Ii daayimaahl wili'y gan wina
ii daa=imaa=hl wil-'y gan wil=ni
ʔi: ta:=əma:=t̄ wil-ẏ qəŋ wəl=nə
CCNJ SPT=EPIS=CN LVB-1SG.II REAS COMP=1.I
sgat'akwhl aats'ip.
sga-t'akw=hl aats'ip
sqə-tak^w=t̄ ʔa:çəp
block.way-turn[-3.II]=CN door
‘And I don't know why I locked the door.’
- (15) Ii hlaa yukwhl dim xsawi'y
ii hlaa yukw=hl dim xsaxw-'y
ʔi: læ: yuk^w=t̄ t̄əm xsax^w-ẏ
CCNJ INCEP IPFV=CN PROSP go.out-1SG.II
ii needii 'nim k'akhl aats'ip.
ii nee=dii 'nim- k'ak=hl aats'ip
ʔi: ne:=ti: n̄əm- çaq=t̄ ʔa:çəp
CCNJ NEG=FOC DES- open[-3.II]=CN door
‘And I was going to go out but the door didn't want to open.’

- (16) Ii xsi hlguxwsxwi'y
 ii xsi hlguxws-xw-'y
 ?i: xsə ʔk^wux^ws-x^w-ỵ
 CCNJ out unable.to-PASS-1SG.II
 ii lip ligi agwihl baga'y
 ii lip ligi agwi=hl bak-a-'y
 ?i: ləp likə ʔək^wi=ɬ paq-ə-ỵ
 CCNJ SELF DWID what=CN try-TR-1SG.II
 ii ap neet.
 ii ap nee-t
 ?i: ʔəp ne:-t
 CCNJ VER not.so-3.II

‘And I couldn’t get out, and whatever I tried I couldn’t get out.’

- (17) Ii k^laa 'nii giikli'y lax ha'niiwan.
 ii k^laa 'nii- giikli-'y lax- ha-'nii-wan
 ?i: qa: ni:- ki:ɬ-ỵ ləχ- hə-ni:-wan
 CCNJ short.time on- lay-1SG.II on- INS-on-sit.PL
 ‘And I laid on the floor for a while.’

- (18) Akhl ligi 'wihl he'y.
 ak=hl ligi 'wihl- he-'y
 ʔaq=ɬ likə wəl- hi-ỵ
 lack=CN DWID around- say-1SG.II
 ‘I didn’t know what to think.’

- (19) Ii 'nii yatshl pipe, nii gya'a wil
 ii 'nii- yats=hl pipe n=ii gya'a wil
 ?i: ni:- yac=ɬ pipe n=?i: kaʔ wəl
 CCNJ on- hit[-3.II]=CN pipe l.I=CCNJ see COMP
 sgihl pipe aloohl ha'niiyo'oxsxw.
 sgi=hl pipe a-loo=hl ha-'nii-yo'oxs-xw
 ski=ɬ pipe ʔə-lo:=ɬ hə-ni:-yuʔxs-x^w
 lie.on[-3.II]=CN pipe PREP-OBL[-3.II]=CN INS-on-wash-PASS
 ‘And I hit the pipe – I saw there was a pipe on the sink.’

- (24) “*Ii akhl ligi 'wihl baasxi'y*
ii ak=hl ligi 'wihl- baasx-i-'y
ʔi: ʔaq=ɬ likə wəl- pa:sx-ə-ý
 CCNJ lack[-3.II]=CN DWID around- fear-TR-1SG.II
 goosun.”
 goo=s=xwin
 qo:=s=xʷən
 LOC[-3.II]=PN=DEM.PROX
 ‘And there is nothing for me to fear here.’

- (25) *Ii giikli'y, ii si'ix woksi'y.*
ii giikh-'y ii si'ix- wok-s-'y
ʔi: ki:ɬ-ý ʔi: si'yx- wuq-s-ý
 CCNJ lay-1SG.II CCNJ try- sleep-PASS-1SG.II
 ‘And I laid down, and tried to sleep.’

- (26) *Ii ap neet, gan wina guuhl*
ii ap nee-t gan wil=na guu=hl
ʔi: ʔəp ne:-t qən wəl=nə kʷu:=ɬ
 CCNJ VER not.so-3.II REAS COMP=1.I take[-T-3.II]=CN
hlgu pipe gi nii yatshl aats'ip loot.
hlgu- pipe gi n=ii yats=hl aats'ip loo-t
ɬkʷu- pipe kə n=ʔi: yac=ɬ ʔa:çəp lo:-t
 small- pipe PR.EVID 1.I=CCNJ hit[-3.II]=CN door OBL-3.II
 ‘But no, that’s why I took the little pipe and I hit the door with it.’

- (27) *Ii hlaa aamhl ga'nagwit*
ii hlaa aam=hl ga-'nakw-it
ʔi: ɬa: ʔa:m=ɬ qə-ɬakʷ-ət
 CCNJ INCEP good[-3.II]=CN DISTR-long-SX
iin gya'ahl gadaaxhl wilp xseek.
ii=n gya'a=hl gadaax=hl wilp- xseek
ʔi:=n kaʔ=ɬ qəda:x=ɬ wilp- xse:q
 CCNJ=1.I see[-3.II]=CN perimeter[-3.II]=CN house go.out.PL
 ‘And after a while I was able to see the outside of the bathroom.’

- (28) *Nii japhl 'wii luu no'o dim xsi*
n=ii jap=hl 'wii- luu- no'o dim xsi-
n=ʔi: cap=ɬ wí:- lu:- nuʔ təm xsə-
 1.I=CCNJ make[-3.II]=CN big- in- hole PROSP out-
yuwi'y, ii 'nithl wili'y.
yuxw-i-'y ii 'nit=hl wil-'y
yuxʷ-ə-ý ʔi: ɬit=ɬ wil-ý
 follow-TR-1SG.II CCNJ 3.III=CN LVB-1SG.II
 ‘I made a big hole to go through, and that’s what I did.’

- (29) Hlaa xsa'akxwi'y 'nii gayoo ts'imil
 hlaa xsi-akxw-'y n=ii gay-hoo ts'imil-
 ła: xsə-ʔaqxw-ý n=ʔi: qəy-ho: čəmwəl-
 INCEP out-able-1SG.II 1.I=CCNJ CNTR-again inside-
 t'aahlíhl jabi'y goohl
 t'aahl-i=hl jap-i-'y goo=hl
 ła:ł-ə=ł cap-ə-ý qo:=ł
 pick-T[-3.II]=CN make-TR-1SG.II LOC[-3.II]=CN
 ts'im wilp xseek.
 ts'im- wilp xseek
 čəm- wilp xse:q
 in- house go.out.PL
 'When I made it out, then I put what I had done (the rubble) back in the bathroom.'
- (30) Hlaa yukwhl hahla'lsdi'm ii ha'nii'goodi'y wíhl
 hlaa yukw=hl hahla'lst-'m ii ha-'nii-goot-'y wíł=hl
 ła: yukw=ł həłalst-m̄ ʔi: hə-ńi:-qo:t-ý wəl=ł
 INCEP IPFV=CN work-1PL.II CCNJ INS-on-heart-1SG.II COMP=CN
 ii'uxwt ganwílat 'nii yuxwdiíthl office'y.
 ii'uxwt gani-wíla=t 'nii- yuxw-díit=hl office-'y
 ʔi:wxt qənə-wəla=t ńi:- yuxw-ti:t=ł office-ý
 man.PL continually-MANR=3.I on- follow-3PL.II=CN office-1SG.II
 'We went back to work and I wondered why the men kept coming into my office.'

- (31) Ii hediit, "Oo, 'nit *Canadanska flika* tun
 ii he-díit oo 'nit canadanska flika t=xwín
 ʔi: hi-ti:t ʔo: ńit canadanska flika t=xwəń
 CCNJ say-3PL.II oh 3.III Canadian girl DM=DEM.PROX
 ant kw'asínhl wilp xseek."
 an=t kw'as-in=hl wilp- xseek
 ʔən=t kw'as-ən=ł wilp- xse:q
 AX=3.I break-CAUS2[-3.II]=CN house- go.out.PL
 'And they said, "Oh, this is the Canadian girl who broke the toilet.'"

3 Kitwancool Reserve Surveyed, by Vincent Gogag

This story is about the time when the current Kitwancool (Gitanyow) reserve was marked out, and the resistance that the surveyors met from the inhabitants of the village. Vince notes that people who know this story laughingly call Kitwancool 'The Oakalla Reserve', after the prison of the same name (now closed) where many villagers were imprisoned as a result of their resistance. The story was recorded at UBC on January 29, 2014 by Aidan Pine. Editors include Aidan Pine, Clarissa Forbes, and Henry Davis.

Vince was born and raised in Gitanyow. His dialect is considered Western, and shares occasional properties with the language of the Nass region. While

vowels in this dialect are somewhat shifted from those of the East region, this is most prominent with long back vowels. A shift between short *a* and *e* is present, but less pronounced in careful speech, where it remains more *a*-like.

3.1 Gyaanimx

Dim mehldi'y wila wilhl win ksi hogwin bakwhl mismaxwsxum gyet go'ohl ts'ebi'm Gitwinhlguu'l gik'uuhl.

Ha'ondii 'nakw hlidaa bakwhl gyet dipun, ii sagaytgoodindiithl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu'l. Hasakdiit dim mehldiit win hlaa dim sii ha'niijokt go'ohl win t'aahl galts'ephl Gitwinhlguu'l. 'Nit sagootxwhl *government* siwetdiit, ii dim 'nii wenhl dim jokhl aluugigyet go'ohl lax *reserve* siwetdiit.

Ii sagaytgoodihl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu'l ii nax'nidiit win dim wihl ligi... needimdii aam dim wila wil ji gi'namihl – hasakhl k'amksiwaa dim gi'namdiithl – ii laxyip ehl Gitwinhlguu'l.

“Gu ganwilt,” diyehl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu'l, “ehl 'nii jogo'm go'ohl laxyibi'm go'osun.”

Ii nax'nidiit win dim bakwhl siwetdiit ehl *surveyors*. Way dimdii depdiithl ga'nagwihl 'naajeja'a dim win daa'whl *reserve* siwetxwist.⁹ Ii aam win ky'ax hehl Gitwinhlguu'l dim 'wiit'is, dim wagayt jogo daa'whl go'ohl k'i'yhl sga'nist, dim ii lok'on daa'whl go'ohl k'i'yhl aks, go'ohl Ksen, 'nii ga'wayit k'ali daa'whl go'ohl Meji'aadin. 'Nithl hasakdiithl *reserve*.

Way ii needii hehl *Indian Agent*-ima'a, siwetxwit ehl *Indian Agent*, ent sagaytgoodinhl gyet, sagaytwendiit. Ii 'nii win hehl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu'l, “Jidaa neeja wilsim, way ii needimdii hasaga'm ehl k'am hlguts'uusxhl laxyiphl dim ksi jebisi'm.”

Way ts'ax wildiithl hehl Gitwinhlguu'l ii needii hasakdiit ehl *reserve*. “Needii hasaga'm dim dip suwii gi'namhl laxyibi'm,” diida. Ii hediitgat ehl *Indian Agent* dimt ha'widinhl *surveyors*, dim suwii huudindiithl *surveyors*.

Way, ts'ax wildiithl hehl Gitwinhlguu'l ii needii hasakdiithl *reserve*, ii hets'imox bakwtgathl *surveyors*. Ii sit'aa'mam depdiithl hlidaaxhl hlgu lax ha'niijok. Ii al'algaltgathl gyet hlis hediit ehl *surveyors*, “Neemdii hogyax dim wilsim jidaa sit'aa'masi'm.”

Ii k'ap ganiwila yukwhl *surveyors*.

Way ii sagaytgoodinhl ky'ulhl sim'oogit hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu'l, ii hediit, “Dim sgasitxu'm, dim suwii huudini'm 'nidiit. Ii hasaga'm dim hogwin litxwhl k'ay limxsim gyet dim ent hlimoo'm.”

Way 'nithl wildiit. Iit hapdiithl *surveyors*.¹⁰ Iit dokdiithl andeba'a, *tape* dip siwedit. Dokdiithl anooya'a, *surveyors equipment* siwedihl anooya'ahl *surveyors*. Iit sim kwihli hisyetsdiit ehl luuhliyootxw. Iit huudindiithl *surveyors*.

⁹ Vince notes that the boundary perimeter was called 'naajeja'a *gadaax* (plural: 'naahisyaja'a *gadaax*) and that it describes the way the surveyors blazed trees around the perimeter of the reserve.

¹⁰ Vince notes: “*Tk'esxw* [plural seen in text: *hap*] is to approach with great aggression. When a grizzly bear approaches you to kill you, we call that *tk'esxw*. Just the approaching, not the actual violence.”

Needii 'nakwt ii bakwhl *police*. Gididok̄diithl naahl gay ha'niigootdiit huksxwit ehl win sim kwhlii gatgoodindiithl anooya'ahl *surveyors*. Iit luuwendiit.

Hlist disekshl *police*hl gyet ent sim kwhlii hisyetshl anooya'ahl *surveyors*, ii gani 'nihl hehl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu'l. "K̄'ap dim sgasgitxu'm." Ii luuwenhl ligi gwilunima'ahl simgigyet go'ohl *Oakalla Prison* siwetxwist. Ligi t'imisima'hl k'uuhl luuwendiit.

Way ii yukwhl luuwenhl simgigyet dipun, ii hets'imox̄ bakwhl *surveyors*. Way ii sim dit'e'lt iit depdiithl hlguts'uusxhl lax̄ ha'niiyip gi'namihl *Indian Agent* tun ehl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu'l. "One mile by one mile," diphiiida 'nuu'm.

Gasgoohl lax̄bits'iixwhl *surveyors*, ii k'ap 'nihl ganwihl hehl Gitwinhlguu'l gyuu'n, needii sgidimdii k'uhl t'aadihl *surveyor's reserve*. Needii gu ji t'amdiit, diyehh het.

'Nihl gabit.

3.2 English

I will tell about when the white men first came to Kitwancool long ago.

Not long after these people arrived, they gathered together the people of Kitwancool. They wanted to tell about the new place where the village of Kitwancool is to be. The plan of the so-called government was that they will have Indian people live on a so-called reserve.

The people of Kitwancool gathered, and they immediately heard that this will not be a good plan for the villagers, if the white people gave what they wanted to give – which was the Kitwancool's own land.

"Why?" the people of Kitwancool asked. "We live on our land, here."

They heard that the workers – called surveyors – were coming. They would measure out the distance/length and circumference of what is called the reserve. The people agreed that they wanted a big reserve which would encompass mountains starting from the Skeena all the way up to Meji'aadin. They wanted that for a reserve.

The Indian Agent disagreed, the so-called Indian Agent who gathered the people together for the meeting. And the people of the village Kitwancool said, "If you don't do that, then we don't want you to carve out a very small reserve."

And now even though the people of Kitwancool said they did not want the little reserve – "We don't want to give away our land," they said. And they told the Indian Agent to stop the surveyors, they will chase away the surveyors.

Even though Kitwancool said they did not want the reserve, the surveyors apparently came back. They started measuring out the little settlement. So they stood by and watched after they told the surveyors, "It will not not be right that you start."

The surveyors continued.

One chief gathered together some people of the village, and they said, "We will oppose them and we will chase them away. We will want young men to help us."

And that's what they did. They mobbed the surveyors. They took the measuring tape. They took the surveyors' other equipment. And they completely chopped it up with axes. And they chased away the surveyors.

Not long after, the police came. They arrested people who they thought were around there when they destroyed the surveyors' tools. And they jailed them.

After the police took away the men who destroyed the surveyors' tools¹¹ the Kitwancool people still objected. "We will absolutely oppose it." And there were maybe three chiefs who were jailed at what was known as Oakalla Prison.¹² It wasn't recorded how many years they were incarcerated.

While these chiefs were in prison, the surveyors returned. They hurriedly measured out the tiny reserve that the Indian Agent gave Kitwancool. It's one mile by one mile, we said.

Because the surveyors were so afraid, the villagers say today that they should not have made a surveyor's reserve. They never signed anything, they said.

That's it.

3.3 Interlinear

- (1) Dim mehldi'y wila wilhl win ksi
 dim mehl-d-i-'y wila wil=hl win ksi-
 təm meł-t-ə-ŷ wəla wil=ł wən ksə-
 PROSP tell-T-TR-1SG.II MANR LVB[-3.II]=CN COMP in-
 hogwin bakwhl mismaaxwsxum gyet
 hogwin- bakw=hl mis~maaxwsxw-m gyet
 huk^wən- pak^w=ł məs~ma:x^wsx^w- ket
 toward- come.PL[-3.II]=CN PL~white-ATTR person
 ɡo'ohl ts'ebi'm Gitwinhlguu'l gik'uuhl.
 ɡo'o=hl ts'ep-'m gitwinhlguu'l gik'uuhl
 quʔ=ł čep-m̄ kətwənk^w:l kək^w:ł
 LOC[-3.II]=CN inhabitants-1PL.II Kitwancool long.ago
 'I will tell about when the white men first came to Kitwancool long ago.'

¹¹ Vince emphasizes that the people who were taken away were those who were *alleged* to have taken part in destroying the tools.

¹² Oakalla Prison, located in Burnaby, was closed in 1991.

(2)	Ha'ondii	'nakw	hlidaa	bakwhl		gyet
	ha'wen=dii	'nakw	hli-daa	bakw=hl		gyet
	hawen-ti:	nak ^w	hlə-ta:	pak ^w =ł		ket
	not.yet=FOC	long	PART-SPT	come.PL[-3.II]=CN		person
	dipun,		ii	sagaytgoodindiithl		
	dip=xwin		ii	sagayt-goot-in-dii=hl		
	təp-x ^w in		ʔi:	saqəyt-qo:t-ən-ti:t=ł		
	ASSOC=DEM.PROX	CCNJ		together-heart-CAUS2-3PL.II=CN		
	hli	gyedihl		Gitwinhlguu'l.		
	hli	gyet-i=hl		gitwinhlguu'l		
	lə	ket-ə=ł		kətwənk ^w u:l		
	PART	person-T=CN		Kitwancool		

‘Not long after these people arrived, they gathered together the people of Kitwancool.’

(3)	Hasak _k diit	dim	mehldiit	win	hlaa	dim	sii
	hasak _k -diit	dim	mehl-diiit	win	hlaa	dim	sii-
	həsaq-ti:t	təm	mel-ti:t	wən	ła:	təm	si:-
	want-3PL.II	PROSP	tell-3PL.II	COMP	INCEP	PROSP	new-
	ha'niijokt		gə'o'ohl	win	t'aahl		
	ha-'nii-jok-t		gə'o=hl	win	t'aa=hl		
	hə-ni:-cuq-t		quʔ=ł	wən	ta:=ł		
	INS-on-live-3.II		LOC[-3.II]=CN	COMP	sit[-3.II]=CN		
	galts'eph		Gitwinhlguu'l.				
	galts'ep=hl		gitwinhlguu'l				
	qəlčep=ł		kətwənk ^w u:l				
	village[-3.II]=CN		Kitwancool				

‘They wanted to tell about the new place where the village of Kitwancool is to be.’

(4)	'Nit	sagootxwhl		government	siwetdiit,
	'nit	sa-goot-xw=hl		government	si-we-t-diiit
	nit	sə-qo:t-x ^w =ł		government	sə-we-t-ti:t
	3.III	CAUS1-heart-PASS[-3.II]=CN		government	CAUS1-name-T-3PL.II
	ii	dim	'nii	wenhl	dim jokhl
	ii	dim	'nii-	wen=hl	dim jok=hl
	ʔi:	təm	ni:-	wen=ł	təm cuq=ł
	CCNJ	PROSP	on-	sit.PL[-3.II]=CN	PROSP live[-3.II]=CN
		aluugigyet		g _o 'ohl	la _x reserve
		aluu-gi~gyet		g _o 'o=hl	la _x - reserve
		ʔəlu:-kə~ket		quʔ=ł	lə _x - reserve
		plainly-PL~person		LOC[-3.II]=CN	on- reserve
		siwetdiit.			
		si-we-t-diiit			
		sə-we-t-ti:t			
		CAUS1-name-T-3PL.II			

'The plan of the so-called government was that they will have Indian people live on a so-called reserve.'

(5)	Ii	sagaytgoodihl		hli	gyedihl
	ii	sagayt-goot-i=hl		hli	gyet-i=hl
	ʔi:	saqəyt-qo:t-ə=ł		lə	ket-ə=ł
	CCNJ	together-heart-T[-3.II]=CN	PART	person-T=CN	
	Gitwinhlguu'l	ii	nax'nidiit	win	dim
	gitwinhlguu'l	ii	nax'ni-diiit	win	dim
	kətwənlk ^{wu:l}	ʔi:	nə _x ni-ti:t	wən	təm
	Kitwancool	CCNJ	hear-3PL.II	COMP	PROSP
	wihl		ligi...	needimdii	aam dim
	wil=hl		ligi	nee=dim=dii	aam dim
	wil=ł		likə	ne:=təm=ti:	ʔa:m təm
	LVB[-3.II]=CN	DWID	NEG=PROSP=FOC	good	PROSP
	wila	wil	ji	gi'namihl	hasakhl
	wila	wil	ji	gi'nam-i=hl	hasakhl
	wəla	wil	cə	kənam-ə=ł	həsaq=ł
	MANR	LVB[-3.II]	IRR	give-T[-3.II]=CN	want[-3.II]=CN
		k'amksiwaa	dim	gi'namdiithl –	ii
		k'amksiwaa	dim	gi'nam-diiit=hl	ii
		qəmksəwa:	təm	kənam-ti:t=ł	ʔi:
		white.person	PROSP	give-3PL.II=CN	CCNJ
		laxyip	ehl		Gitwinhlguu'l.
		laxyip	e=hl		gitwinhlguu'l
		ləxyip	ʔə=ł		kətwənlk ^{wu:l}
		land	PREP[-3.II]=CN		Kitwancool

'The people of Kitwancool gathered, and they heard that this will not be a good plan (for the villagers), if the white people gave what they wanted to give – which was the Kitwancool's own land.'

- (6) “Gu ganwilt,” diyehl hli gyedihl
 gu gan-wil-t diyeh=hl hli gyet-i=hl
 k^{wi} qən-wil-t təye=ł ɬə ket-ə=ł
 what REAS-LVB-3.II QUOT.3SG=CN PART- person-T=CN
 Gitwinhlguu'ł “ehl 'nii jogo'm
 gitwinhlguu'ł e=hl 'nii- jok-'m
 kətwənk^{wu}:ł ʔə=ł ni:- cuq-m̄
 Kitwancool PREP[-3.II]=CN on- live-1PL.II
 go'ohl laxyibi'm go'osun.”
 go'o=hl laxyip-'m go'o=s=xwin
 quʔ=ł ləxyip-m̄ quʔ=s=x^win
 LOC[-3.II]=CN land-1PL.II LOC[-3.II]=PN=DEM.PROX
 “‘Why?’ the people of Kitwancool asked. ‘We live on our land, here.’”
- (7) Ii na_x'nidit win dim bakwhl siwetdiit
 ii na_x'ni-dit win dim bakw=hl si-we-t-diit
 ʔi: nə_xni-ti:t wən təm bak^w=ł sə-we-t-ti:t
 CCNJ hear-3PL.II COMP PROSP come.PL=CN CAUS1-name-T-3PL.II
 ehl surveyors.
 e=hl surveyors
 ʔə=ł surveyors
 PREP[-3.II]=CN surveyors
 ‘They heard that what they call surveyors were coming.’
- (8) Way dimdii depdiithl ga'nagwihl
 way dim=dii dep-dit=hl ga-'nakw-it=hl
 way təm=ti: tep-ti:t=ł qə-ⁿak^w-ət=ł
 so PROSP=FOC measure[-TR]-3PL.II=CN DISTR-long-SX=CN
 'naayeja'a¹³ dim win daa'whl reserve
 'naa-yets-a'a dim win daa'whl=hl reserve
 na:-yec-aʔ təm wən ta:wł=ł reserve
 perimeter PROSP COMP leave=CN reserve
 siwetxwist.
 si-we-txw=ist
 sə-we-tx^w=əst
 CAUS1-name-PASS=QUDD
 ‘They will measure out the length of the perimeter of what is called the reserve.’

¹³ Glottal stops in Gitksan are typically followed by an ‘echo vowel’ of similar or reduced quality to the vowel preceding the stop. In Vince and Hector’s dialects, these echo vowels tend to surface as devoiced in word-final position where not followed by a glottal-initial word. Similarly, preglottalized sonorants at the end of words (such as the /m/ in ‘*nuu'm*’) are rarely voiced after the glottal closure; they are ‘swallowed’.

(9)	Ii	aam	win	ky'ax	hehl	Gitwinhlguu'l
	ii	aam	win	ḳy'ax	he=hl	gitwinhlguu'l
	ʔi:	ʔa:m	wən	kəχ	hi=ł	kətwənłk ^{wu} :ł
	CCNJ	good	COMP	unanimously say[-3.II]=CN		Kitwancool
	dim	'wiit'is,	dim	wagayt	jogə	daa'whl
	dim	'wii-t'is	dim	wagayt	jogə-	daa'whl
	təm	wi:-tis	təm	waqəyt	cuqə-	ta:wł
	PROSP	big-large	PROSP	completely	across-	leave
		gə'ohl		k'i'yhl	sga'nist,	dim ii
		gə'o=hl		k'i'y=hl	sga'nist	dim ii
		quʔ=ł		kiy=ł	sqənist	təm ʔi:
	LOC[-3.II]=CN		one=CN	mountain	PROSP	CCNJ
		lok'on		daa'whl	gə'ohl	k'i'yhl aks,
		lok'on-		daa'whl	gə'o=hl	k'i'y=hl aks
		luqən-		ta:wł	quʔ=ł	kiy=ł ʔaks
		into.low.plane-	leave	LOC[-3.II]=CN	one=CN	river
		gə'ohl	Ksen,	'nii	ga'wayit	k'ali
		gə'o=hl	ksen	'nii-	ga-'wa-it	k'ali-
		quʔ=ł	ksen	'ni:-	qə-wa-ət	qali-
	LOC=CN	Skeena	on-	DISTR-find-SX		upstream-
		daa'whl	gə'ohl	Meji'aadin.	'Nithl	
		daa'whl	gə'o=hl	meji'aadin	'nit=hl	
		da:wł	quʔ=ł	meciʔa:tən	nit=ł	
		leave	LOC[-3.II]=CN	Mejiaadin	3.III=CN	
		hasakdiithl		reserve.		
		hasak-diit=hl		reserve		
		həsaq-ti:t=ł		reserve		
		want-3PL.II=CN		reserve		

'The people agreed that they wanted a big reserve which would encompass mountains starting from the Skeena all the way up to Meji'aadin. They wanted that for a reserve.'

(10)	Way	ii	needii	hehl	Indian	Agent-ima'a,
	way	ii	nee=dii	he=hl	Indian	Agent=ima'a
	way	ʔi:	ne:=ti:	hi=ł	Indian	Agent=imaʔ
	so	CCNJ	NEG=FOC	say[-3.II]=CN	Indian	Agent=EPIS
		siwetxwit		ehl	Indian Agent,	ent
		si-we-txw-it		e=hl	Indian Agent	en=t
		sə-we-tx ^w -ət		ʔə=ł	Indian Agent	ʔən=t
	CAUS1-name-PASS-SX		PREP[-3.II]=CN	Indian Agent	AX=3.I	
		sagaytgəodinhł		gyet,	sagaytwendiit.	
		sagayt-gəod-in=hl		gyet	sagayt-wen-diit	
		saqəyt-qə:t-ən=ł		ket	saqəyt-wen-ti:t	
	together-heart-CAUS2[-3.II]=CN			people	together-sit.PL-3PL.II	

'The Indian Agent disagreed, the so-called Indian Agent who gathered the people together for the meeting.'

(11)	Ii	'nii win ¹⁴	hehl	hli	gyedihl	
	ii	'nii win	he=hl	hli	gyet-i=hl	
	ʔi:	ñii wən	hi=ł	łə	ket-ə=ł	
	CCNJ	on COMP	say[-3.II]=CN	PART	person-T=CN	
		Gitwinhlguu'l,	“Jidaa neeja	wilsi'm,	way	ii
		gitwinhlguu'l	ji=daa nee=ji	wil-si'm	way	ii
		kətwənłk ^w u:l	cə=ta: ne:=cə	wil-səm	way	ʔi:
		Kitwancool	IRR=SPT NEG=IRR	LVB-2PL.II	so	CCNJ
		needimdi	hasaga'm	ehl	ł'əm	
		nee=dim=di	hasak-'m	e=hl	ł'əm	
		ne:=təm=ti:	həsaq-m̄	ʔə=ł	qəm	
		NEG=PROSP=FOC	want-1PL.II	PREP=CN	only	
		hlguts'uusxhl	laxyiphl	dim	ksi	
		hlgu-ts'uusx=hl	laxyip=hl	dim	ksi-	
		łk ^w u-čū:sx=ł	ləxyip=ł	təm	ksə-	
		small-little=CN	land=CN	PROSP	in-	
		jebisi'm.”				
		jep-i-si'm				
		cep-ə=səm				
		make-TR-2PL.II				

‘And the people of the village Kitwancool said, “If you don't do that, then we don't want you to carve out a very small reserve.”’

(12)	Way	ts'ax	wildi	hehl	Gitwinhlguu'l	
	way	ts'ax	wil-t-ii=hl	he=hl	gitwinhlguu'l	
	way	čəχ	wil-t-i:=ł	hi=ł	kəwənłk ^w u:l	
	so	though	LVB-3.II-like=CN	say[-3.II]=CN	Kitwancool	
	ii	needii	hasakdiit	ehl	reserve.	
	ii	nee=di	hasak-diit	e=hl	reserve	
	ʔi:	ne:=ti:	həsaq-ti:t	ʔə=ł	reserve	
	CCNJ	NEG=FOC	want-3PL.II	PREP[-3.II]=CN	reserve	
		“Needii	hasaga'm	dim	dip	suwii
		nee=di	hasak-'m	dim	dip	suwii-
		ne:=ti:	həsaq-m̄	təm	təp	suwi:-
		NEG=FOC	want-1PL.II	PROSP	1PL.I	away-
		gi'namhl	laxyibi'm,”		dihiiida.	
		gi'nam=hl	laxyip-'m		dihiiida	
		kənam=ł	ləxyip-m̄		təhi:ta	
		give[-3.II]=CN	territory-1PL.II	QUOT.3PL		

‘And now even though the people of Kitwancool said they did not want the little reserve; “We don't want to give away our land,” they said.’

¹⁴ The construction 'nii win ‘thus, thereupon’, literally involving a preverb meaning ‘on’, is used in discourse by both Vince and Hector.

- (13) Ii hediiḡat ehl *Indian Agent*
 ii he-diiḡ=gat e=hl *Indian Agent*
 ʔi: hi-ti:t=qəṭ ʔə=ɬ *Indian Agent*
 CCNJ say-3PL.II=REPORT PREP[-3.II]=CN *Indian Agent*
 dimt ha'widinhl *surveyors*, dim suwii
 dim=t ha'wit-in=hl *surveyors* dim suwii-
 təm=t ha'wət-ən=ɬ *surveyors* təm suwi:-
 PROSP=3.I stop-CAUS2[-3.II]=CN *surveyors* PROSP away-
 huudindiithl *surveyors*.
 huut-in-diiḡ=hl *surveyors*
 hu:t-ən-ti:t=ɬ *surveyors*
 flee-CAUS2-3PL.II=CN *surveyors*
 ‘And they told the Indian Agent to stop the surveyors; they will chase away the surveyors.’

- (14) Way, ts'aḡ wildiihl hehl *Gitwinhlguu'l*
 way ts'aḡ wil-t-ii=hl he=hl *gitwinhlguu'l*
 way çəḡ wil-t-i:=ɬ hi=ɬ *kətwənkʷu:l*
 so though LVB-3.II-like=CN say[-3.II]=CN *Kitwancool*
 ii needii hasak̄diiḡhl *reserve*,
 ii nee=dii hasak̄-diiḡ=hl *reserve*
 ʔi: ne:=ti: həsaq-ti:t=ɬ *reserve*
 CCNJ NEG=FOC want-3PL.II=CN *reserve*
 ii hets'imox̄ bakwtgathl *surveyors*.
 ii hets'im-hox̄ bakw-t=gat=hl *surveyors*
 ʔi: heçəm-huḡ pakʷ-t=qəṭ=ɬ *surveyors*
 CCNJ just=again come.PL-3.II=REPORT=CN *surveyors*
 ‘Even though Kitwancool said they did not want the reserve, the surveyors (apparently) came back.’

- (15) Ii sit'aa'mam depdiiḡhl
 ii si-t'aa-'ma-m dep-diiḡ=hl
 ʔi: sə-ta:-mə-m tep-ti:t=ɬ
 CCNJ CAUS1-sit-DETR-ATTR measure-3PL.II=CN
 hlidaaxhl hlgu lax̄ ha'niijok̄.
 hlidaax=hl hlgu- lax̄- ha-'nii-jok̄
 ləta:x=ɬ kʷu- ləḡ- hə-ñi:-cuq
 circumference[-3.II]=CN little- on- INS-on-live
 ‘They started measuring out the little settlement.’

- (16) Ii al'algalgathl gyet hlis hediit
 ii al~'algal-t=gat=hl gyet hlis he-diit
 ?i: ?əl~?əlqəl-t=qət=ł ket hlis hi-ti:t
 CCNJ PL~watch-3.II=REPORT=CN person PFV say-3PL.II
 ehl *surveyors*, “Neemdii hogyax dim
 e=hl *surveyors* nee=m=dii hogyax dim
 ?ə=ł *surveyors* ne:=m=ti: hukəχ təm
 PREP[-3.II]=CN *surveyors* NEG=2.I=FOC right PROSP
 wilsim jidaa sit'aa'masi'm.”
 wil-sim ji=daa si-t'aa-'ma-sim
 wil-səm cə=ta: sə-ta:-mə-səm
 LVB-2PL.II IRR=SPT CAUS1-sit-DETR-2PL.II
 ‘So they stood by and watched after they told the surveyors, “It will not be right that you start.”’

- (17) Ii k'ap ganiwila yukwhl *surveyors*.
 ii k'ap gani-wila yukw=hl *surveyors*
 ?i: qəp qəni-wəla yuk^w=ł *surveyors*
 CCNJ VER continually-MANR do[-3.II]=CN *surveyors*
 ‘But the surveyors continued.’

- (18) Way ii sagaytgoodinhl kyulhl
 way ii sagayt-goot-in=hl k'yl=hl
 way ?i: saqəyt-qo:t-ən=ł kul=hl'
 so CCNJ together-heart-CAUS2[-3.II]=CN one.HUM[-3.II]=CN
 sim'oogit hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu'l,
 sim'oogit hli gyet-i=hl gitwinhlguu'l
 səm?o:kɪt łə ket-ə=ł kətwənk^wu:l
 chief PART person-T=CN Kitwancool
 ii hediit, “Dim sgasgitxu'm,
 ii he-diit dim sga-sgi-txw-i-'m
 ?i: hi-ti:t təm sqə-ski-tx^w-ə-m
 CCNJ say-3PL.II PROSP block.way-lie-PASS-TR-1PL.II
 dim suwii huudini'm 'nidiit.”
 dim suwii- huut-in-'m 'nidiit
 təm suwi:- hu:t-ən-m niti:t
 PROSP away- run.away-CAUS2[-TR]-1PL.II 3PL.III
 ‘One chief gathered together some people of the village, and they said “We will oppose (them) and we will chase them away.”’

- (19) “Ii hasaga'm dim hogwin litxwhl k'ay
 ii hasak-'m dim hogwin lit-xw=hl k'ay-
 ʔi: həsaq-m̄ təm huk^wən lit-x^w=ł q̄əy-
 CCNJ want-1PL.II PROSP near stand-PASS[-3.II]=CN still-
 limx̄sim gyet dim ent hlimoo'm.”
 limx̄s-m gyet dim en=t hlimoo-'m
 limx̄s-m ket təm ʔən=t ləmoo-m
 grow-ATTR man PROSP AX=3.I help-1PL.II
 “‘We will want the support of young men to help us.’”
- (20) Way 'nithl wildiit.
 way 'nit=hl wil-diit
 way nit=ł wil-ti:t
 so 3.III=CN LVB-3PL.II
 ‘And that’s what they did.’
- (21) Iit hapdiithl *surveyors*.
 ii=t hap-diiit=hl surveyors
 ʔi:=t hap-ti:t=ł surveyors
 CCNJ=3.I swarm-3PL.II=CN surveyors
 ‘They mobbed the surveyors.’
- (22) Iit dok̄diithl andeba'a *tape*
 ii=t dok̄-diiit=hl an-dep-a'a *tape*
 ʔi:=t tuq-ti:t=ł ʔən-tep-aʔ *tape*
 CCNJ=3.I take.PL-3PL.II=CN NMLZ-measure-DETR *tape*
 dip siwedit.
 dip si-we-di-t
 təp sə-we-tə-t
 1PL.I CAUS1-name-T-3.II
 ‘They took the measuring tape (what we call *tape* in English).’
- (23) Dok̄diithl anooya'a *surveyors* *equipment*
 dok̄-diiit=hl an-hoox-a'a surveyors *equipment*
 tuq-ti:t=ł ʔən-ho:x-aʔ surveyors *equipment*
 take.PL-3PL.II=CN NMLZ-use-DETR surveyors *equipment*
 siwedihl anooya'ahl *surveyors*.
 si-we-di=hl an-hooy-a'a=hl surveyors
 sə-we-tə=ł ʔən-ho:x-aʔ=ł surveyors
 CAUS1-name-T[-3.II]=CN NMLZ-use-DETR[-3.II]=CN surveyors
 ‘They took the tools, surveyors’ equipment, what the surveyors’ tools were called.’

- (24) Iit sim kwhlii hisyetsdiit
ii=t sim- kwhlii- his~yets-diiit
ʔi:=t səm- k^whi:- həs~yec-ti:t
CCNJ=3.I truly- all.over- PL~chop-3PL.II
ehl luuhligyootxw.
e=hl luu-hli-gyoo-txw
ʔə=ł lu:-łə-ko:-tx^w
PREP[-3.II]=CN axe
‘And they completely chopped it up with axes.’
- (25) Iit huudindiithl *surveyors.*
ii=t huut-in-diiit=hl surveyors
ʔi:=t hu:t-ən-ti:t=ł surveyors
CCNJ=3.I run.away-CAUS2-3PL.II=CN surveyors
‘And they chased away the surveyors.’
- (26) Needii 'nakwt ii bakwhl *police.*
nee=dii 'nakw-t ii bakw=hl police
ne:=ti: nək^w-t ʔi: pak^w=ł police
NEG=FOC long-3.II CCNJ come.PL[-3.II]=CN police
‘Not long after, the police came.’
- (27) Gididok̄diiithl naahl gay ha'niigootdiit
gidi-dok̄-diiit=hl naa=hl gay ha'niigoot-diiit
kiti-tuq-ti:t=ł na:=ł qəy hañi:qo:t-ti:t
stop.in.motion-take.PL[-TR]-3PL.II=CN who=CN CNTR thought-3PL.II
hukxwit ehl win sim kwhlii
huk-sxw-it e=hl win sim- kwhlii-
huk-sx^w-ət ʔə=ł wən səm- k^whi:-
accompany-ANTIP-SX PREP[-3.II]=CN COMP truly- all.over-
gatgoodindiithl anooya'ahl
gat~goo-din-diiit=hl an-hoox-a'a=hl
qət-qo:-tən-ti:t=ł ʔən-ho:x-aʔ=ł
PL~empty-CAUS2-3PL.II=CN NMLZ-use-DETR[-3.II]=CN
surveyors.
surveyors
surveyors
surveyors
‘They arrested people who they thought were around there when they destroyed the surveyors’ tools.’
- (28) Iit luuwendindiit.
ii=t luu-wen-din-diiit
ʔi:=t lu:-wen-tən-ti:t
CCNJ=3.I in-sit.PL-CAUS2-3PL.II
‘And they jailed them.’

(29)	Hlist	disekshl		<i>police</i> hl	gyet	ent
	hlis=t	di-seks=hl		police=hl	gyet	en=t
	lis=t	tə-seks=ł		police=ł	ket	ʔən=t
	PFV=3.I	COM-leave.PL[-3.II]=CN		police=CN	people	AX=3.I
	sim	kwhlii	hisyetshl		anooya'ahl	
	sim-	kwhlii-	his~yets=hl		an-hoox-a'=hl	
	səm-	k ^w li:-	həs~yec=ł		ʔən-ho:x-aʔ=ł	
	truly-	completely-	PL~chop[-3.II]=CN		NMLZ-use-DETR[-3.II]=CN	
	<i>surveyors</i> ,	ii	gani	'nihil	hehl	
	surveyors	ii	gani	'nit=hl	he=hl	
	surveyors	ʔi:	qəni	n̄it=ł	hi=ł	
	surveyors	CCNJ	continually	3.III=CN	SAY[-3.II]=CN	
	hli	gyedihl		Gitwinhlguu'l.		
	hli	gyet-i=hl		gitwinhlguuł		
	lə	ket-ə=ł		kətwənłk ^w u:ł		
	PART	person-T=CN		Kitwancool		

‘After the police took away the men who destroyed the surveyors’ tools, the Kitwancool people still objected.’

(30)	“ <u>K</u> 'ap	dim	sgasgitxu'm.”
	<u>k</u> 'ap	dim	sga-sgi-txw-i-'m
	qəp	təm	sqə-ski-tx ^w -ə-m̄
	VER	PROSP	block-lie.on-PASS-TR-1PL.II
	“‘We will absolutely oppose it.’”		

(31)	li	luuwenhl	ligi	gwilunima'ahl
	ii	luu-wen=hl	ligi	gwilun=ima'a=hl
	ʔi:	lu:-wen=ł	likə	k ^w ilun=əmaʔ=ł
	CCNJ	in-sit.PL[-3.II]=CN	DWID	three.HUM=EPIS=CN
	simgyet	go'ohl		<i>Oakalla Prison</i>
	simgyet	go'o=hl		Oakalla Prison
	səm-kə~ket	quʔ=ł		Oakalla Prison
	true-PL~person	LOC[-3.II]=CN		Oakalla Prison
	siwetxwist.			
	si-we-txw=ist			
	sə-we-tx ^w =əst			
	CAUS1-name-PASS=QUDD			

‘And there were maybe three chiefs who were jailed at what was known as Oakalla Prison.’

- (32) Ligi t'imisima'hl k'uuhl luuwendiit.
 ligi t'am-is=ima'=hl¹⁵ k'uuhl luu-wen-diit
 likə tam-is=əmaʔ=ł k^wu:ł lu:-wen-ti:t
 DWID write=EPIS=CN year in-sit.PL-3PL.II
 'It wasn't recorded how many years they were incarcerated.'
- (33) Way ii yukwhl luuwenhl simgigyet
 way ii yukw=hl luu-wen=hl sim-gi~gyet
 way ʔi: yuk^w=ł lu:-wen=ł səm-ki~ket
 so CCNJ IPFV=CN in-sit.PL[-3.II]=CN true-PL~person
 dipun, ii hets'imo_x
 dip=xwin ii hets'im-ho_x
 təp=x^win ʔi: hecəm-hu_x
 ASSOC=DEM.PROX CCNJ just=again
 bakwhl *surveyors*.
 bakw=hl surveyors
 pak^w=ł surveyors
 come.PL[-3.II]=CN surveyors
 'While these chiefs were in prison, the surveyors returned.'
- (34) Way ii sim dit'e'lt iit
 way ii sim- di-t'e'l-t ii=t
 way ʔi: səm- tə-tel-t ʔi:=t
 so CCNJ truly- DUR-hurry-3.II CCNJ=3.I
 depdiithl hlguts'uusxhl la_x ha'niiyip
 dep-diit=hl hlgu-ts'uusx=hl la_x- ha-'nii-yip
 tep-ti:t=ł k^wu-čū:sx=ł lə_x- hə-ñi:-yip
 measure-3PL.II=CN small-little=CN on- INS-on-earth
 gi'namihl *Indian Agent* tun
 gi'nam-i=hl *Indian Agent* t=xwin
 kəñam-ə=ł *Indian Agent* t=x^win
 give-TR[-3.II]=CN *Indian Agent* DM=DEM.PROX
 ehl hli gyedihl Gitwinhlguu'l.
 e=hl hli gyet-i=hl gitwinhlguu'l
 ʔə=ł lə ket-ə=ł kətwəñk^wu:ł
 PREP[-3.II]=CN PART person-T=CN Kitwancool
 'They hurriedly measured out the tiny reserve that the Indian Agent gave Kitwancool.'

¹⁵ The word *t'imis* 'write' is one of the few instances where an affix *-is* (precise meaning unknown) attracts stress away from the root. Here, the vowel in the root *t'am* /tam/ undergoes vowel reduction in unstressed position, shifting to [təm].

- (35) “One mile by one mile,” diphiiida 'nuu'm.
 one mile by one mile diphiiida 'nuu'm
 one mile by one mile təphi:ta ɲu:m̄
 one mile by one mile QUOT.1PL 1PL.III
 ‘‘It’s one mile by one mile,’’ we said.’

- (36) Gasgoohl laɣbits'iixwhl *surveyors*,
 gasgoo=hl laɣbits'iixw=hl surveyors
 qəsqo:=ɬ ləɣpəci:xw=ɬ surveyors
 MS.AMT=CN afraid.PL[-3.II]=CN surveyors
 ii k'ap 'nihl ganwihl hehl
 ii k'ap 'nit=hl gan-wil=hl he=hl
 ʔi: qəp ɲit=ɬ qən-wəl=ɬ hi=ɬ
 CCNJ VER 3.III=CN REAS-COMP=CN say[-3.II]=CN
 Gitwinhlguu'l gyuu'n, needii sgidimdii
 gitwinhlguu'l gyuu'n nee=dii sgi=dim=dii
 kətwan̄k^{wu}:ɬ ku:ɲ ne:=ti: ski=təm=ti:
 Kitwancool now NEG=FOC CIRC.NECESS=PROSP=FOC
 k'uhl t'aadihl *surveyor's* *reserve*.
 k'uhl t'aa-ti=hl surveyors *reserve*
 k^{wu}ɬ ta:-tə=ɬ surveyors *reserve*
 around sit-T[-3.II]=CN surveyors *reserve*
 ‘Because the surveyors were so afraid, the villagers say today that they
 should not have made a surveyor’s reserve.’

- (37) Needii gu ji t'amdiit, diyehl het.
 nee=dii gu ji t'am-diit diye=hl he-t
 ne:=ti: k^{wu} cə t'am-ti:t təye=ɬ hi-t
 NEG=FOC what IRR mark-3PL.II QUOT.3SG=CN say-3.II
 ‘They never signed anything, they said.’

- (38) 'Nihl gabit.
 'nit=hl gabi-t
 ɲit=ɬ qəpi-t
 3.III=CN CNT.AMT-3.II
 ‘That's it.’

4 Betl'a Betl' (The Name Story), by Hector Hill

This story is about Hector’s youth, and how he received the name Betl'a Betl'. It was recorded on March 9, 2012 by Michael Schwan and Clarissa Forbes. Editors include Mark Egelhoff, Clarissa Forbes, and Henry Davis.

Hector was born and raised in Gitsegukla. His father was from the west, where Coast Tsimshian (Sm'algyax) is spoken. His dialect is considered Western, and has the most dramatic vowel shift difference from the variety discussed by Hindle and Rigsby (1973); the *a*-*e* vowel is notably *e*-like. More dorsal stops are

retained compared to the other speakers in this paper (the $k' \sim ʔ$ alternation retains k' , and the $kw' \sim 'w$ alternation retains kw').

4.1 Gitxsenimx

K' ay yukwhl guts'uusgi'y, k' ay guts'uusgi'y dis wihl hogwin kw'itxwhl hla gu'm aloohl ga'ahl Gijigyukwhla'a. K' ay yukwhl jogo'm ga'ahl ts'im wilps noxo'm gan nigwoodi'm. Ii hogwin kw'itxws *Manhl* wat, *Man*, hogwin kw'itxw *Jacob Brown*. Ii hasakt dimt mehlihl wila wilt win yukwhl silinasxwt.

Ii hlaa yukw dim saa yeet, iit dokhl walk'a 'nithl gabihihl dim hooyit, dim wila da'akhlxw silinasxwt. Ii hasakt dimt mehlihl loo'm wila wilt. Iit wendi'm, t'aatdit 'nuu'm, 'nii'y ganhl gasdik'eekwsi'y. Ii 'nii win het, “Dim mehldi'y tun loon.

“Yukwhl yee'y dim silinasxwi'y, ii t'aahl bisde'y, sga t'aahl bisde'y,” diye 'nit. “Ii na gya'ahl xadaa. Yukwhl hasaga'y dim an txooganhl galts'ebi'y. Ii jida hlentxwi'y,” diya, “dim ii gipaykwhl bisde'y dim ii huuthl xadaa hasaga'y.”

Ii 'nii win needii xsdeltxws *Man*. Disim t'aa 'nit... gya'at 'nuu'm... gya'at wila jepdi'm... gya'at wila wili'y.

Iin dip gida x guhl wilt. “Guhl gay guxwin, bisde'y ji ligi xadaa?”

Ii 'nii win t'aat, ii het: “Jida na guxw bisde'y... jida na guxw bisde'y, mi k' am ky'ulhl 'nii'y dim yookxwit. Ii jida gibee'esxwi'y waayt dim an suwi yeehl bisde'y, dim iin da'akhlxw dim hogwin yee ga'ahl, ts'uusgim hogwin dulbinsxwi'y ga'ahl xadaa. Dim iin da'akhlxw dim an guxwt dim ii txookxwhl walk'a 'nihl gyet.”

Ii 'nii win hliisxwt mehlihl loo'm ii daa'whl ha'wt. Ii hlaa gilbil sa hlisit saa daa'whlit dis wihl na heksimox gya'at. Ii hogwin baxa'y go'ot ii 'nii win he'y loot, “Neema da'akhlxw dima mehlihl wila wihl bisde'y gi?”

Ii 'nii win het, “Dim hogwin kw'itxw 'nii'y ga'ahl wilps noxon dim iin mehlihl loon.”

Ii gukws ha'wi'y ii na gibee'esxwi'y loot iit mehla wila wihl bisde'y. Ii yukwt mehlihl ii 'nii win het, “Yukwhl silinasxwi'y ii hasaga'm aloohl xadaa. Ii hasaga'm dim txoogan 'walk'a 'nihl gyet ii sga t'aahl bisde'y. Ii jida hlentxwi'y dim ii gipaykw bisde'y.” Ii 'nii win hes *Man*, “betl'a betl'a betl'a betl',” diya, dim wila gipaykwhl bisde'y.

“Sim 'nii win hlentxwi'y,” diya, “sim 'nii win hlentxwi'y kw'esini'ylh gan. Ii ts'eekxwhl windiit liipaykwhl bisde'y, ii 'nii win gipaykwdiit iima xa'nit – betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'a betl' gi. Ii needii hasaga'y dim an hlentxwi'y dim wila huuthl xadaa, silinasxwi'y, win sga t'aahl bisde'y.”

Wina k'uxw gya'as *Man*, *Jacob Brown*, ii na hox gidaxt, “Neem da'akhlxw dima mehlihl wila wihl betl'a betl' loo'maa?” Ii 'nii win sit'aa'mam siwetdi'yt *Man* Betl'a Betl'. 'Nii gan wihl we'y gyuu'n as Betl'a Betl'.

Gabihihl he'y.

4.2 English

When I was young our relative came over that lives in Gitsegyukla. I was still living at my mom and dad's house. And Man came over, he was called *Man*. Jacob Brown came over. He wanted to tell the story of when he was hunting.

Before he went, he gathered everything to use so he could catch what he was hunting. And he wanted to tell us how he would do it. And he made us sit down, he sat us down, me and my brothers and sisters. And then he said, “I will tell you this.

“I was going hunting, and a grouse was there, a grouse was in the way,” he said. “And I saw the moose. I wanted to feed my village. And if I moved,” he said, “the grouse would fly away, and the moose that I wanted would run away.”¹⁶

And Man didn’t make a sound. He sat still, he looked at us, he looked at what we were doing, he looked at how we were.

And we asked what he did. “What did you shoot, a grouse or a moose?”

And then he sat down, and he said “If I shot the grouse... If I shot the grouse, I would be the only one to eat. And if I waited until the grouse walked away, then I would be able to walk real close to the moose. And then I would be able to shoot it and then all the people would eat.”

After he finished telling us, he went home. And then after two days I seen him again. And I ran toward him and I said to him, “Can you tell what happened about the grouse?”

And then he said, “I will be over at your mom’s house and I will tell you.”

And I went home and waited for him and then he told me about the grouse. And when he was telling it, he said, “I was hunting and we wanted to get the moose. And we wanted to feed all the people but the grouse was in the way. If I moved, the grouse would fly.” Man said that the grouse started to fly and made the sound *betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'*.

“As soon as I moved,” he said, “as soon as I moved, I broke a stick. It’s noisy when the grouse flies, and you can hear them when they fly – *betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'*. So I didn’t want to move, so that the moose would not run away because of the grouse.”

Every time I saw Man I asked him to tell us the story about *betl'a betl'*. This was when Man named me *Betl'a Betl'*. That’s why I am named *Betl'a Betl'* now.¹⁷

¹⁶ There are some issues with the translation in this portion; plural marking on the Gitksan verb suggests that Hector is talking generally about animals fleeing when they hear a noise, but the use of the English *the* in the translation indicates the specific grouse and moose that Man was confronted with.

¹⁷ Gitksan is a morphologically tenseless language. The tense of this English translation has been made consistently past for ease of reading. Hector’s original translation, which is often in the present tense, is preserved below in the interlinear gloss.

4.3 Interlinear

- (1)

K'ay	yukwhl	guts'uusgi'y,	k'ay	guts'uusgi'y
k'ay	yukw=hl	hlgu-ts'uusk-'y	k'ay	hlgu-ts'uusk-'y
qəy	yuk ^w =ł	łk ^w u-čũ:sk-ŷ	qəy	łk ^w u-čũ:sk-ŷ
still	IPFV=CN	small-little-1SG.II	still	small-little-1SG.II
dis	wihl	hogwin kw'itxwhl	hla	gu'm
dis	wil=hl	hogwin- kw'itxw=hl	hli	gu'm
təs	wəl=ł	huk ^w ən- k ^w itx ^w =ł	łə	k ^w um
time	COMP=CN	toward- come[-3.II]=CN	PART	relative
	aloohl	ga'ahl		Gijigyukwhla'a.
	a-loo=hl	ga'a=hl		Gijigyukwhla'a
	ʔə-lo:=ł	qaʔ=ł		kətəkuk ^w łəʔ
	PREP-OBL[-3.II]=CN	LOC[-3.II]=CN		Gitseyukla

‘When I was young our relative came over that lives in Gitseyukla.’

- (2)

K'ay	yukwhl	jogo'm	ga'ahl	ts'im
k'ay	yukw=hl	jok-'m	ga'a=hl	ts'im-
qəy	yuk ^w =ł	cuq-ṁ	qaʔ=ł	čəm-
still	IPFV=CN	live-1PL.II	LOC[-3.II]=CN	in-
	wilps	noxo'm	gan	nigwoodi'm.
	wilp=s	nox-'m	gan	nigwoot-'m
	wilp=s	nuχ-ṁ	qən	nək ^w o:t-ṁ
	house[-3.II]=PN	mother-1SG.II	PCNJ	father-1SG.II

‘We were still living at our mom and dad’s house.’

- (3)

Ii	hogwin	kw'itxws	Manhl	wat,	Man,
ii	hogwin-	kw'itxw=s	Man=hl	wa-t	Man
ʔi:	huk ^w ən-	k ^w itx ^w =s	Man=ł	wa-t	Man
CCNJ	toward-	come[-3.II]=PN	Man=CN	name-3.II	Man
	hogwin	kw'itxw	Jacob Brown.		
	hogwin-	kw'itxw	Jacob Brown		
	huk ^w ən-	k ^w itx ^w	Jacob Brown		
	toward-	arrive	Jacob Brown		

‘And Man came over, he was called “Man”. Jacob Brown came over.’

- (4)

Ii	hasakt	dimt	mehlihl	wila	wilt
ii	hasak-t	dim=t	mehl-i=hl	wila	wil-t
ʔi:	həsaq-t	təm=t	meł-ə=ł	wəla	wil-t
CCNJ	want-3.II	PROSP=3.I	tell-T[-3.II]=CN	MANR	LVB-3.II
	win	yukwhl	silinasxwt.		
	win	yukw=hl	silin-asxw-t		
	wən	yuk ^w =ł	səlin-asx ^w -t		
	COMP	IPFV=CN	hunt-ANTIP-3.II		

‘He wants to tell the story of when he was hunting.’

- (5) Ii hlaa yukw dim saa yeet.
 ii hlaa yukw dim saa yee-t
 ʔi: ła: yuk^w təm sa: ye:-t
 CCNJ INCEP IPFV PROSP away go-3.II
 ‘And before he goes.’
- (6) Iit dokhl walk'a 'nithl ɡabiuhl dim
 ii=t dok=hl walk'a 'nit=hl ɡabii=hl dim
 ʔi:=t tuq=ł walqə nət=ł qəbi:=ł təm
 CCNJ=3.I take.PL[-3.II]=CN all 3.III=CN CNT.AMT=CN PROSP
 hooyit, dim wila da'akhlxw silinasxwt.
 hoox-i-t dim wila da'akhlxw silin-asxw-t
 ho:x-ə-t təm wəla təʔaqɬ^w səlin-asx^w-t
 use-TR-3.II PROSP MANR CIRC.PSBL hunt-ANTIP-3.II
 ‘And he gathers everything to use so he can catch (what he’s hunting).’
- (7) Ii hasakt dimt mehlit loo'm
 ii hasak-t dim=t mehl-i-t loo-'m
 ʔi: həsaq-t təm=t meł-ə-t lo:-m̄
 CCNJ want-3.II PROSP=3.I tell-T-3.II OBL-1PL.II
 wila wilt.
 wila wil-t
 wəla wil-t
 MANR LVB-3.II
 ‘And he wants to tell us how he would do it.’
- (8) Iit wendi'm, t'aatdit 'nuu'm, 'nii'y ɡanhl
 ii=t wen-di-'m t'aa-t-i-t¹⁸ 'nuu'm 'nii'y ɡan=hl
 ʔi:=t wen-tə-m̄ ta:-t-ə-t n̄u:m̄ n̄i:ȳ qən=ł
 CCNJ=3.I sit.PL-T-1PL.II sit-T-TR-3.II 1PL.III 1SG.III PCNJ=CN
 ɡasdik'eekwsi'y.
 ɡa-sdik'eekw-s-'y
 PL-sibling-PASS-1SG.II
 qə-stəke:k^w-s-ȳ
 ‘And he made us sit down, he sat us down, me and my brothers and sisters.’

¹⁸ The morpheme glossed as T has the peculiar property of surfacing as an onset /t~/[d] in independent clauses, but also epenthesizing a second [t] when suffixed to a vowel-final stem with no existing coda. This is seen in forms like *t'aatdit* above, and *siwaidit*, *ɡuuidit*, etc.

- (9) Ii 'nii win het, “Dim mehldi'y tun
 ii 'nii win he-t dim mehl-d-i-'y t=xwin
 ʔi: ɲi: wən hi-t təm mel-t-ə-ý t=x^win
 CCNJ on COMP say-3.II PROSP tell-T-TR-1SG.II DM=DEM.PROX
 loon.”
 loo-n
 lo:-n
 OBL-2SG.II

‘And then he said, “I will tell you this.”’

- (10) “Yukwhl yee'y dim silinasxwi'y, ii
 yukw=hl yee-'y dim silin-asxw-'y ii
 yuk^w=ł ye:-ý təm səlin-asx^w-ý ʔi:
 IPFV=CN go-1SG.II PROSP hunt-ANTIP-1SG.II CCNJ
 t'aahl bisde'y, sga t'aahl bisde'y,”
 t'aa=hl bisde'y sga- t'aa=hl bisde'y
 ta:=ł pəstəy sqə- ta:=ł pəstəy
 sit[-3.II]=CN grouse block.way- sit=CN grouse
 diye 'nit.
 diye 'nit
 təye ɲit
 QUOT.3SG 3.III

‘‘I’m going to hunt, and a grouse was there, a grouse was in the way,’’ he said.’

- (11) “Ii na gya'ahl xadaa.”
 ii n= gya'a=hl xadaa
 ʔi: n= kaʔ=ł χəda:
 CCNJ 1.I= see[-3.II]=CN moose
 “‘‘And I saw the moose.”’

- (12) “Yukwhl hasaga'y dim an t̘ooganhl
 yukw=hl hasak-'y dim =n t̘ook-in=hl
 yuk^w=ł həsaq-ý təm =n t̘o:q-ən=ł
 IPFV=CN want-1SG.II PROSP =1.I eat-CAUS2[-3.II]=CN
 galts'ebi'y.”
 gal-ts'ep-'y
 qəl-çep-ý
 contain-village.people-1SG.II
 “‘‘I want to feed my village.”’

- (13) “Ii jida hlentxi'y,” diya,
 ii ji-da hlen-txw-'y diya
 ʔi: cə-ta len-tx^w-ý təya
 CCNJ IRR-SPT move-PASS-1SG.II QUOT.3SG
 “‘‘And if I move,’’ he said,’

- (14) “Dim ii gipaykwhl bisde'y dim ii huuthl
 dim ii gipaykw=hl bisde'y dim ii huut=hl
 təm ʔi: kəphayk^w=ł pəsteý təm ʔi: hu:t=ł
 PROSP CCNJ fly[-3.II]=CN grouse PROSP CCNJ flee.PL[-3.II]=CN
 xadaa hasaga'y.”
 xadaa hasak-'y¹⁹
 χəta: həsaq-y
 moose want-1SG.II
 “‘The grouse will fly away, and the moose that I want will run away.’”

- (15) li 'nii win needii xsdeltxws
 ii 'nii win nee=dii xs-del-txw=s
 ʔi: ni: wən ne:=ti: χs-tel-tx^w=s
 CCNJ on COMP NEG=FOC SUPER-make.noise-PASS-[-3.II]=PN
 Man.
 Man
 Man
 Man
 ‘And Man didn’t make a sound.’

- (16) Disim t'aa 'nit... gya'at 'nuu'm... gya'at wila
 disim- t'aa 'nit gya'a-t 'nuu'm gya'a-t wila
 tisəm- ta: nit kaʔ-t nu:m kaʔ-t wəla
 keep.on- sit 3.III see[-TR]-3.II 1PL.III see[-TR]-3.II MANR
 jepdi'm... gya'at wila wili'y.
 jep-t-i-'m gya'a-t wila wil-'y
 cep-t-ə-m kaʔ-t wəla wil-ý
 make-T-TR-1PL.II see[-TR]-3.II MANR LVB-1SG.II
 ‘He had to sit still, he looked at us, he looked at what we were doing, he looked at how we were.’

- (17) lin dip gidax guhl wilt.
 ii=n dip gidax gu=hl wil-t
 ʔi:=n təp kidəχ k^wu=ł wil-t
 CCNJ=1.I 1PL.I ask what=CN LVB-3.II
 ‘And we asked what he did.’

- (18) “Guhl gay guxwin, bisde'y ji ligi xadaa?”
 gu=hl gay guxw-i-n bisde'y ji ligi xadaa
 k^wu=ł qəy k^wux^w-ə-n pəsteý cə ləki: χəta:
 what=CN CONTR shoot-TR-2SG.II grouse IRR DWID moose
 “‘What did you shoot, a grouse or a moose?’”

¹⁹ In contrast to the translation, which involves an object-centered relative clause, the construction *xadaa hasaga'y* is based on the noun *hasak* ‘desire’, making ‘the moose of my wanting’ a more literal translation.

- (19) Ii 'nii win t'aat,
 ii 'nii win t'aa-t
 ʔi: ɳi: wən ta:-t
 CCNJ on COMP sit-3.II
 'And then he sat down.'
- (20) Ii het: "Jida na guxw bisde'y,"
 ii he-t ji-da n= guxw bisde'y
 ʔi: hi-t cə-ta n= k^wux^w pəste'y
 CCNJ say-3.II IRR-SPT 1.I= shoot[-3.II] grouse
 'And he said "If I shoot the grouse,"'
- (21) "Jida na guxw bisde'y dim ii k'am
 ji-da n= guxw bisde'y dim ii k'am
 cə-ta n= k^wux^w pəste'y dəm ʔi: qəm
 IRR-SPT 1.I= shoot[-3.II=CN] grouse PROSP CCNJ only
 ky'ul 'nii'y dim yookxwit."
 k^y'ul 'nii'y dim yook-xw-it
 kul ɳi:y təm yo:q-x^w-ət
 one.HUM 1SG.III PROSP eat-PASS-SX
 "If I shoot the grouse, I will be the only one to eat."
- (22) "Ii jida gibee'esxwi'y waayt dim an
 ii ji-da gibe-'esxw-'y wagayt dim an²⁰
 ʔi: cə-ta gəbe-ʔsx^w-y waqəyt təm ʔən
 CCNJ IRR-SPT wait-ANTIP-1SG.II completely PROSP NMLZ
 suwi yeehl bisde'y,"
 suwi- yee=hl bisde'y
 suwi- ye:=ł pəste'y
 away- go[-3.II]=CN grouse
 "And if I wait until the grouse walks away,"

²⁰ This marker *an* in is most likely a nominalizer; this suggests the interpretation of this line is most literally 'And if I wait until the going away of the grouse...'

(23) “Dim iin da'akhlxw dim hogwin yee ga'ahl,
dim ii=n da'akhlxw dim hogwin- yee ga'a=hl
təm ʔi:=n təʔaqłxʷ təm hukʷən- ye: qaʔ=ł
PROSP CCNJ=1.I CIRC.PSBL PROSP toward- go LOC[-3.II]=CN
ts'uusgim hogwin dulbinsxwi'y ga'ahl
ts'uusk-m hogwin- dulp-in-sxw-'y ga'a=hl
çu:sk-m hukʷən- tulp-ən-sxʷ-ý qaʔ=ł
little-ATTR toward- close-CAUS2-ANTIP-1SG.II LOC[-3.II]=CN
xadaa.”
xadaa
çəta:
moose

““Then I'll be able to walk right to, to get real close to the moose.””

(24) “Dim iin da'akhlxw dim an guxwt dim
dim ii=n da'akhlxw dim =n guxw-t dim
təm ʔi:=n təʔaqłxʷ təm =n kʷuxʷ-t təm
PROSP CCNJ=1.I CIRC.PSBL PROSP =1.I shoot-3.II PROSP
ii tʰookxwhl walk'a 'nihl gyet.”
ii tʰook-xw=hl walk'a 'nit=hl gyet
ʔi: tʰo:q-xʷ=ł walqə nət=ł ket
CCNJ eat.PL-PASS[-3.II]=CN all 3.III=CN people

““And then I will be able to shoot it and then all the people will eat.””

(25) li 'nii win hlixwt mehlit loo'm
ii 'nii win hlis-xw-t mehl-i-t loo-'m
ʔi: ni: wən lis-xʷ-t meł-ə-t lo:-m
CCNJ on COMP finish-PASS-3.II tell-T-3.II OBL-1PL.II
ii daa'whl ha'wt.
ii daa'whl ha'w-t
ʔi: ta:wł haw-t
CCNJ leave go.home-3.II

‘After he finished telling (it to) us, he went home.’

(26) li hlaa gilbil sa hlisit saa daa'whlit dis
ii hlaa gilbil sa hlis-it saa- daa'whl-it dis
ʔi: ła: kilpəl sa lis-ət sa:- ta:wł-ət təs
CCNJ INCEP two day finish-SX away- leave-SX time
wihl na heksimox gya'at.
wil=hl n= heksim-hox gya'a-t
wəl=ł n= heksəm-huç kaʔ-t
COMP=CN 1.I= just-again see-3.II

‘And then after two days (had passed) I seen him again.’

- (27) Ii hogwin baxa'y go'ot ii 'nii win he'y
 ii hugwin- bax-'y go'o-t ii 'nii win he-'y
 ?i: huk^{wən}- paχ-ý quʔ-t ?i: ñi: wən hi-ý
 CCNJ toward- run-1SG.II LOC-3.II CCNJ on COMP say-1SG.II
 loot:
 loo-t
 lo:-t
 OBL-3.II

‘And I ran toward him and I said to him:’

- (28) “Neema da'akhlxw dima mehlihl wila
 nee=ma da'akhlxw dim=ma mehl-i=hl wila
 ne:=mə təʔaqłx^w təm=mə meł-ə=ł wəla
 NEG=2.I CIRC.PSBL PROSP=2.I tell-T[-3.II]=CN MANR
 wihl bisde'y gi'?”
 wil=hl bisde'y =gi
 wil=ł pəsteý =ki
 LVB[-3.II]=CN grouse =PR.EVID

“‘Can you tell what happened about the grouse?’”

- (29) Ii 'nii win het: “Dim hogwin kw'itxw 'nii'y
 ii 'nii win he-t dim hogwin- kw'itxw 'nii'y
 ?i: ñi: wən hi-t təm huk^{wən}- k'itx^w ñi:ý
 CCNJ on COMP say-3.II PROSP toward- arrive 1SG.III
 ga'ahl wilps noxon dim iin
 ga'a=hl wilp=s nox-n dim ii=n
 qaʔ=ł wilp=s noχ-n təm ?i:=n
 LOC[-3.II]=CN house[-3.II]=PN mother-2SG.II PROSP CCNJ=1.I
 mehlit loon.”
 mehl-i-t loo-n
 meł-ə-t lo:-n
 tell-T-3.II OBL-2.II

‘And then he said: “I will be over at your mom’s house and I will tell you.”’

- (30) Ii gukws ha'wi'y ii na gibee'esxwi'y
ii gukws- ha'w-'y ii n=²¹ gibe-'esxw-'y
ʔi: k^wuk^ws- ha^w-ỵ ʔi: n= gəbe-ʔsx^w-ỵ
CCNJ back- go.home-1SG.II CCNJ 1.I= wait-ANTIP-1SG.II
loot iit mehlihl wila wihl
loo-t ii=t mehl-i=hl wila wil=hl
lo:-t ʔi:=t meł-ə=ł wəla wəl=ł
OBL-3.II CCNJ=3.I tell-TR[-3.II]=CN MANR LVB[-3.II]=CN
 bilde'y.
 bilde'y
 pəste'y
 grouse

‘And I went home and waited for him and then he told me about the grouse.’

- (31) Ii yukwt mehlit ii 'nii win het:
ii yukw=t mehl-i-t ii 'nii win he-t
ʔi: yuk^w=t meł-ə-t ʔi: ni: wən hi-t
CCNJ IPFV=3.I tell-T-3.II CCNJ on COMP say-3.II
‘And when he was telling it (the story), and then he says.’

- (32) “Yukwhl silinasxwi'y ii hasaga'm
yukw=hl silin-asxw-'y ii hasak-'m
yuk^w=ł səlin-asx^w-ỵ ʔi: həsaq-m̄
IPFV=CN hunt-ANTIP-1SG.II CCNJ want-1PL.II
 alohl xadaa.”
 a-loo=hl xadaa
 ʔə-lo:=ł χəta:
 PREP-OBL[-3.II]=CN moose

“‘I was hunting and we wanted to get the moose.’”

²¹ The appearance of *na* in this sentence, if it is indeed a Series I 1SG marker, is unexpected, as it results in anomalous doubling of Series I and II morphemes for a first person (*na gibee'esxwi'y*). An alternate possibility is that it is an aspectual marker more characteristic of Coast Tsimshian (cf. *na(h)* ‘PAST’). Hector comments that it emphasizes the fact that he actually waited.

- (33) “Ii hasaga'm dim t̥xoogan²² 'walk'a 'nihl
 ii hasak-'m dim t̥xook-in 'walk'a 'nit=hl
 ʔi: həsaq-m̄ təm t̥xo:q-ən w̄alqə n̄ət=ł
 CCNJ want-1PL.II PROSP eat-CAUS2[-3.II=CN] all 3.III=CN
 gyet ii sga t'aahl bisde'y.”
 gyet ii sga- t'aa=hl bisde'y
 ket ʔi: sqə- ta:=ł pəstey
 people CCNJ block.way- sit[-3.II]=CN grouse
 “And we wanted to feed all the people but the grouse was in the way.””

- (34) “Ii jida hlentxi'y dim ii gipaykw
 ii ji-da hlen-txw-'y dim ii gipaykw
 ʔi: cə-ta len-txw-ý təm ʔi: kəphaykw
 CCNJ IRR-SPT move-PASS-1SG.II PROSP CCNJ fly[-3.I=CN]
 bisde'y.”
 bisde'y
 pəstey
 grouse
 “If I moved, the grouse would fly.””

- (35) Ii 'nii win hes Man, “Betl'a betl'a betl'a
 ii 'nii win he=s Man betl'a betl'a betl'a
 ʔi: ñi: wən hi=s Man peʔa peʔa peʔa
 CCNJ on COMP say[-3.II]=PN Man flap flap flap
 betl',” diya, dim wila gipaykwhl bisde'y.
 betl' diya dim wila gipaykw=hl bisde'y
 peʔ təya təm wəla kəphaykw=ł pəstey
 flap QUOT.3SG PROSP MANR fly[-3.II]=CN grouse
 ‘Man said that the grouse started to fly and made the sound *betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'a*.’”

- (36) “Sim 'nii win hlentxi'y,” diya, “sim 'nii
 sim 'nii win hlen-txw-'y diya sim 'nii
 səm ñi: wən len-txw-ý təya səm ñi:
 true on COMP move-PASS-1SG.II QUOT.3SG true on
 win hlentxi'y kw'esini'yhl gan.”
 win hlen-txw-'y kw'es-in-'y=hl gan
 wən len-txw-ý kw'es-ən-ý=ł qən
 COMP move-PASS-1SG.II break-CAUS2-1SG.II=CN stick
 “As soon as I moved,” he said, “as soon as I moved, I broke a stick.””

²² The lower clause in this sentence is missing its subject; this is unusual in Gitksan, which generally lacks subject control constructions. Further investigation is warranted.

- (37) “Ii ts'eekxwhl windiit liipaykwhl bisde'y,
ii ts'eekxw=hl win=dii=t²³ liipaykw=hl bisde'y
ʔi: ċe:qx^w=ł wən=ti:=t li:phayk^w=ł pəstey
CCNJ noisy[-3.II]=CN COMP=FOC=3.I fly.PL[-3.II]=CN grouse
ii 'nii win gipaykwdiit iima xa'nit –
ii 'nii win gipaykw-diit ii=ma xa'ni-t
ʔi: 'ni: wən kəphayk^w-ti:t ʔi:=mə χəni-t
CCNJ on COMP fly-3PL.II CCNJ=2.I hear-3.II
betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'a betl' gi.”
betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'a betl' =gi
peλa peλa peλa peλa peλ =kə
flap flap flap flap flap =PR.EVID
“‘It's noisy when the grouse flies, and you can hear them when they fly –
betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'a betl'.””

- (38) “Ii needii hasaga'y dim an hlentxwi'y
ii nee=dii hasak^l-y dim an- hlen-txw-'y
ʔi: ne:=ti: həsaq-ý təm ʔən- lən-tx^w-ý
CCNJ NEG=FOC want-1SG.II PROSP NMLZ- move-PASS-1SG.II
dim wila huuthl xadaa, silinasxwi'y,
dim wila huut=hl xadaa silin-asxw-'y
təm wəla hu:t=ł χəta: səlin-asx^w-ý
PROSP MANR flee.PL[-3.II]=CN moose hunt-ANTIP-1SG.II
win sga t'aahl bisde'y.”
win sga- t'aa=hl bisde'y
wən sqə- ta:=ł pəstey
COMP block.way- sit[-3.II]=CN grouse
“‘So I didn't want to move, so that the moose, (my game,) will not run
away because of the grouse being there.””

²³ There are two possible interpretations of the form *windiit* – as above, with the complementizer *win*, focal =*dii* and Series I clitic =*t*, or one where it is broken as *win-diit*, based on the light verb *wil* with Series II third plural suffix *-diit*. Both analyses are somewhat anomalous: the first version has an ergative clitic appearing in an intransitive clause, where one would not be expected. Under the second hypothesis, the light verb would be expected to surface as *wildiit* – *win* typically only appears as the Western dialect variant of the complementizer. Furthermore, the stress pattern recorded here for this combination is characteristic of preverbal material, not a main verb.

- (39) Wina k'uxw gya'as Man, Jacob Brown, ii na
win=na k'uxw gya'a=s Man Jacob Brown, ii n=
wən=nə k^wux^w kaʔ=s Man Jacob Brown ʔi: n=
COMP=1.I HAB see[-3.II]=PN Man Jacob Brown CCNJ 1.I=
ho_x gidaxt, “Neem da'akhlxw dima mehlihl
ho_x gidax-t nee=m da'akhlxw dim=ma mehli-i=hl
hu_x kitəχ-t ne:=m təʔaqtx^w təm=mə mel-ə=ł
again ask-3.II NEG=2.I CIRC.PSBL PROSP=2.I tell-T[-3.II]=CN
wila wihl betl'a betl' loo'maaʔʔ
wila wil=hl betl'a betl' loo-'m=aa
wəla wil=ł peʔa peʔ lo:-m=a:
MANR LVB[-3.II]=CN flap flap OBL-1PL.II=Q
‘Every time I see Man I ask him, “Will you tell us the story about *betl'a betl'*?”’

- (40) Ii 'nii win sit'aa'mam siwetdi'yt
ii 'nii win si-t'aa-'ma-m si-we-t-i-'y=t
ʔi: ni: wən sə-ta:-mə-m sə-we-t-ə-ý=t
CCNJ on COMP CAUS1-sit-DETR-ATTR CAUS1-name-T-TR-1SG.II=DM
Man Betl'a Betl'.
Man betl'a betl'
Man peʔa peʔ
Man Betl'a Betl'
‘This is when Man named me Betl'a Betl'.’

- (41) 'Nii gan wihl we'y gyuu'n as
'nii gan wil=hl we-'y gyuu'n a=s
ni: qən wəl=ł we-ý ku:n ʔə=s
on REAS COMP=CN name-1SG.II now PREP[-3.II]=PN
Betl'a Betl'.
Betl'a Betl'
peʔa peʔ
Betl'a Betl'
‘That’s why I am named Betl'a Betl' now.’

- (42) Gabiihl he'y.
gabii=hl he-'y
qəpi:=ł hi-ý
CNT.AMT=CN say-1SG.II
‘That’s as much as I have to say.’

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Appendix A: Orthography

In the following table we present a key to our phonemic representation in the Americanist Phonetic Alphabet, linked to our variant of Hindle and Rigsby’s (1973) orthography. A third column presents an IPA version of those symbols where the APA and IPA do not match. Note that, following Rigsby (1986), the phonemes /kʷ/ & /xʷ/ in the APA have been simplified in notation to /k/ and /x/, respectively.

Orth.	APA	(IPA)	Orth.	APA	(IPA)	Orth.	APA	(IPA)
a	a		<u>k</u>	q		t'	ṭ	
aa	a:		<u>k'</u>	q̣		tl'	ʃ̣	(tʃ)
b	p		kw	k ^w		ts	c	(ts)
d	t		kw'	k ^w		ts'	c̣	(ts')
e	e		l	l		u	u	
ee	e:		'l	ḷ		uu	u:	
g, gy	k	k ^j , c	m	m		w	w	
g	q		'm	ṃ		'w	ẉ	
gw	k ^w		n	n		x	x	x ^j , ç
h	h		'n	ṇ		<u>x</u>	ç	
hl	ɬ		o	o		xw	x ^w	
i	i		oo	o:		y	y	j
ii	i:		p	p		'y	ỵ	j̣
j	c	(ts)	p'	p̣		a, i, u	ə	
k, ky	k	k ^j , c	s	s		' , -	?	
k', ky'	k'	k ^j ', c'	t	t				

Table 1: Key to orthographic and phonemic representations

Appendix B: Abbreviations

The linguistic abbreviations used in the interlinearization are as follows:

1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, I = Series I pronoun, II = Series II pronoun, III = Series III pronoun, AMT = amount, ANTIP = antipassive, ASSOC = associative, ATTR = attributive, AX = agent (A) extraction, CAUS = causative, CCNJ = clausal conjunction, CIRC = circumstantial, CN = common noun (connective), CNT = count, CNTR = contrastive, COM = comitative, COMP = complementizer, DEM = demonstrative, DES = desiderative, DETR = detransitivizer, DIST = distal, DISTR = distributive, DM = determinate noun (connective), DUR = durative, DWID = domain widener, EPIS = epistemic modal, HAB = habitual, HUM = human, INCEP = inceptive, INS = instrument, IPFV = imperfective, IRR = irrealis, LOC = locative, LVB = light verb, MANR = manner, MS = mass, NECESS = necessity, NMLZ = nominalizer, OBL = oblique, PART = partitive, PASS = passive, PCNJ = phrasal conjunction, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, PN = proper noun (connective), PR.EVID = prior evidence, PREP = preposition, PROSP = prospective, PROX = proximal, PSBL = possibility, Q = yes/no question, QUDD = question under discussion downdate, QUOT = quotative, REAS = reason, REPORT = reportative, SG = singular, SPT = spatiotemporal, SUPER = superlative, SX = subject (S) extraction, T = 'big T', TR = transitive, VER = verum focus, WH = WH-word