

Franz Boas, Chinuk Wawa myths from a Metlakatla Tsimshian man in Victoria, 1886

*THIRD STORY: Tsimshian story #15 "Tsag-atilá'o"*¹

Transcribed by David Douglas Robertson, PhD
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[PAGES MISSING BEFORE OUR TEXT STARTS: ¶Once upon a time there was a chief who had a beautiful daughter. In autumn, when the time to gather berries had arrived, she used to go with the other young girls into the forest to pick berries. One day she had thus gone out with her companions and they soon arrived at a spot where there were a lot of bear droppings. The chief's daughter tried to put her foot on a clean spot, but since it was dirty all over, she became cross and scolded the bears. Then the girls went on and found many berries. When it grew dark they went home with full baskets. On the way the straps on the basket of the chief's daughter broke and her berries fell on the ground. The other girls waited until she had collected the berries and had fixed her basket. But the straps broke again in a short time. Again the girls waited for her. They hadn't gone far when the straps broke a third time. But when it happened for the fourth time, the chief's daughter said, "Don't wait or me. It's almost dark. Rather go on home and ask my brothers to bring me another basket." So the girls went home and left her by herself in the forest. They went to the chief and said, "We've been waiting for your daughter for a long time. The straps of her basket are broken and she is unable to carry home her berries. Send your sons into the forest with a new basket to help her." At this the chief sent out his sons at once. ¶While the girl was waiting for her brothers in the forest, two handsome young men came to her and promised to guide her home. They carried her basket and walked rapidly on. It was very dark and they conducted the girl, without her noticing it, to the house of the bear chief. For the young men were the sons of the bear chief. He had heard her words when she was scolding the bears and had decided to get her in his power. He had caused the straps of her basket to break and then had sent out his sons to fetch her. When the bears saw them coming they reported it to the chief. He was glad and said, "She shall become the wife of my son." ¶Meanwhile the brothers searched the forest in vain for their sister and at last returned sadly home. The old chief sent out all the people to look for his daughter but they didn't find her. Then when it became winter, the brothers ate magic herbs for two months and paid strict attention to the rules governing their use so that they might be successful. They remained in their seclusion and consequently the herbs had the desired effect. Had they gone out amongst people they would have lost their mind. ¶The girl meanwhile lived amongst the bears.]

1 See Bouchard et al. (2002:581-589) for the English rendition of this tale, the first three paragraphs plus one sentence of the fourth of which represent material missing from this Chinuk Wawa version. For reference, I reproduce that scene-setting text, just as I show the obviously missing text later in the story.

[Image_0902.jpg]
[right page]

tenas cold alta ikt tena's mouse yeke tsā'ko [Ø] yeke
DIM-cold now one.certain small mouse 3 to.come [PREP] 3
'At the start of winter, then, a little mouse crawled up'
When winter had come, Mouse came to her one day and

back* okok clotsmen. Clos* mika iskam mika q'qla'n
back* DEM woman IMPER 2.SG to.take 2.SG ear [sic]
'this woman's back. "Take your earrings...'
whispered to her, "Throw your earrings

(earring) mash [Ø] kopa fire. | Pi wagt tenas ikta
(earring) to.throw [3.OBJ] PREP fire CONJ also little thing
'...(and) throw them into the fire, and also (any) little valuables...'
into the fire." She complied. Then Mouse told her to throw all her other ornaments

yeke mitlait | mika ~~mika~~ mash [Ø] kopa fire. Yeke ma-
3 to.have 2.SG 2.SG to.throw [3.OBJ] PREP fire 3 to.do
'...that there may be, throw them into the fire." She did'
into the fire and the chief's daughter

muk kā'koa. Alta okok mouse yeke ma'muk ku'mtuks [Ø]
thus now DEM mouse 3 CAUS to.know [3.OBJ]
'so. Then that mouse informed her'
obeyed. Then that Mouse told

tlaksta iskom [Ø]. Mouse wawa. "Bear" yekke tyee
who? to.take [3.OBJ] mouse to.say bear 3 chief
'who had taken her. The mouse said, "The chief of the bears...'
her that the son of the bear chief

okok tenas man yekke iskum mika." Alta delate
DEM DIM man 3 to.take you now really
'...is that young man who has taken you." Now'
was going to marry her and impressed upon her

trouble okok klō'tsmen. Spose muk'am* coley outside.
trouble DEM woman IRR* 2.SG* to.run outside
'that woman was very troubled. "If you* step outside,...'
not to have intercourse with any other man under any circumstances

Mika los na'nits. qa mika mash [Ø]. Okok misa'-
2.SG well to.look where 2.SG to.throw [3.OBJ] DEM evil
'...you should be careful where you put* (things/your feet*). That bad...'
because he was so jealous.

tsi. Yakex okok yeke iskam mika. Mika mamuk
3 DEM 3 to.take 2.SG 2.SG CAUS
'...one, he's the one who took you. You...'
And what Mouse had foretold, happened.

kaltas t̥aska musā'tsi. Kā'koa [Ø] sik tu'mtum.
worthless 3.PL evil thus hurt heart
'...insulted their badness, so (they) were angry”'

Alta okok klotsmen yekke delate kumtuks klaksta
now DEM woman 3 really to.know who?
'Now that woman truly understood who'

iskum yā'aka. Tena's ^{salmon} s̥on kanowy man yekke
to.take 3 small ^{salmon} day all man 3
'had taken her. At the start of day, all the men'
¶*In the daytime the bears*

coley kē'kule yakke ^{tiki} ɽ'skum [Ø]. Okok klotsmen
to.run under 3 ^{to.want} to.take DEM woman
'left, (going) down to try catching (salmon). That woman'
used to go to the river to catch salmon. The chief's son went as well and ordered his new wife to have a big fire, by which he would be able to dry himself, ready in the evening. So the woman

yekke coley klaghani. Yeke iskum hyas t̥ōsh
3 to.run outside 3 to.take INTENS good
'went outside. She got some very nice'
collected good

dry stick. Yeke mamuk fire kopa yekke husband.
dry wood 3 to.make fire PREP 3 husband
'dry wood. She built a fire for her husband.'
dry wood and had a bright fire ready for her husband

Alta pō'lakli kony man kje'lapai (come back).
now night all man to.return (come back)
'Then in the evening all the men returned.'
when he arrived back from fishing.

Konay clotsmen yekke nanij* kopa fire. Okok men
'All the women had taken care of the fires. Those men[PL]*'
all woman 3 to.see PREP fire DEM man[.N.PL????]

yekke tsā'ko kopa yeke house. Yeke iskum
3 to.come PREP 3 house 3 to.take
'came to their houses[PL]*. They took'
When the bears came back, they took off

yekke skin (of bear) yekke pā'tl (full) kopa chuck.
3 skin (of bear) 3 full (full) PREP water
'their (bear)skins that were wet.'
their wet capes

Okok klotsmen yeke clesh yekke fire yekke hyas
'The women who were good, their fires were big.'
DEM woman 3 good 3 fire 3 big
and shook them out into the fires. While all the other fires only flamed higher,

alta okok man yake lōlo yeke skin, pi yekke
now DEM man 3 to.bring 3 skin CONJ 3
'Now this man brought his skin, and he'

mamuk (_____). Kany chuck yekke
to.make* (_____) all water 3
'___. All the water'

coley kopa fire alta fire memalust. Okok
to.run PREP fire now fire to.die DEM
'ran onto the fire so that the fire died. That'
that of the chief's son's wife went out. So her

man yekke sō'lleks (bear) pe ya'ka clōtsmen's*
man 3 angry (bear) CONJ 3 woman-POSV*
'man was angry (the bear was), and [he asked] his woman,'
husband grew angry and said,

ikta mamuk? halo mika iskum yaka clos
what? to.do NEG.CLAU 2.SG to.take 3 good
'''Why is this? Didn't you take his/its* good...'
"You pretend to know everything but you don't know a thing. Can't you find any better

fire? Pi okok clotsmen halo wawa.
fire CONJ DEM woman NEG.CLAU to.speak
'...fire(wood)?' And that woman didn't answer.'
wood?"

[IMG_0903.jpg]
[right page]

Bear klaksta [*sic*] wawa [Ø]. Mika iskum hyas clos fire.
bear 3.PL to.speak [3.OBJ] 2.SG to.take INTENS good fire
'The bears told (her), "You'll get excellent fire*...!'

spose mika lō'lō [Ø]. Konay clotsmen kopa okok
IRR* 2.SG to.bring [3.OBJ] all woman PREP DEM
'...if you bring (it)."' All the women in that'

house yeke lō'lō hyas t̥lōs fire. Konay yeke men
house 3 to.carry INTENS good fire all 3 man
'house carried excellent fire(wood). All of their men'

yeke māsh^{hyas*} yeke skin yeke kopa fire. Yeke t̥lap
3 to.throw^{big*} 3 skin 3 PREP fire 3 to.get
'would throw (their) skins onto the fires. (When) it got'

chuck yeke chako klos fire. Alta yekke bear
water 3 to.come good fire now 3 bear
'wet it would become a good fire. Now their bear'

clotsmen klakska wawa yekke: Mika iskum
woman 3.PL to.speak 3 2.SG to.take
'women told her: "You (need to) collect...!'

When the bears had gone out again to catch salmon the following day, the women told the newcomer that she had to make the fire with

stick kopa ke'kule chuck, halo mika iskum
wood PREP below water NEG.CLAU 2.SG to.take
'...wood from underwater, don't you collect...'
wet wood which had been in the river for a long time,

dry stick wagt. **WE GOT THIS FAR ON 01.22.2022** Spose mika iskum dry stick
dry wood also IRR 2.SG to.take dry wood
'...dry wood anymore. If you get dry wood...'

mika okok man t̥šā'ko yeke mamuk okok*
2.SG DEM man to.come 3 to.make DEM
'...that man of yours will come (and) he'll put that...'

kopa fire at^lki wagt me'malust." Alta yeke
PREP fire eventually* also to.die now 3
'onto the fire (and) (it's) going to die out again. Now she'
then the flames would not go out when her husband shook out his fur. She

kumtuks ikt sun kony man bear yekke coley
to.know one.certain day all man bear 3 to.run
'understood. One day all the man bears went'
followed their advice

iskum salmon. Yekke tsā'ko polakli yeke ke'lapai
to.take salmon 3 INCH night 3 to.return
'to catch salmon. (When) it got to be evening, they returned'
and in the evening

konaway. Yeke clotsmen yeke husband alta yeke
all 3 woman 3 husband now 3
'all (together). His woman's husband now'
when her husband

tsa'ko. Mash yeke skin kopa fire, alta fire
to.come to.throw 3 skin PREP fire now fire
'came (and) threw his skin onto the fire, (and) now the fire'
shook out his cape, her fire, too,

tsāko closh. Okok bear okok klos tumtum.
INCH good DEM bear DEM good heart
'grew. That bear, that (one), was happy.'
blazed up high. ¶

Mouse yeke tsā'ko pe wawa: Mika nā'nits okok
mouse 3 to.come CONJ to.speak 2.SG to.look DEM
'Mouse came and said, "Do you see that...'
¶*One day Mouse came to the woman again and said, "Do you see that*

mountain? Okok mika papa ē'lehi. ~~Yeke~~ tenas iaua
mountain DEM 2.SG father land 3 little there
'...mountain? That's your father's place. Just a ways there...'
mountain? Your father's home is behind it. But know, if you want to escape, that you'll find

kopa mountain. yeke mitlait lake. yeke mitlait
PREP mountain 3 COPEX* lake 3 COPEX
'...along the mountain, there's a lake. There's...'
a large lake on this side of the mountain. On the lake there lives

ikt man kopa okok lake. Yeke mitlait tenas
one.certain man PREP DEM lake 3 to.have small
'...a man at that lake, who has a small...'
a man

kanī'm, yeke name Tsaxatilā'o. Yekke kum[-]
canoe 3 name Tsag·atilā'o 3 to.know
'...canoe; he's named Tsag·atilā'o.'" She understood'
called Tsag·atilā'o who will possibly take you across." When the young woman heard

tuks a'lta okok klotsmen. Yeke tiki koley.
now DEM woman 3 to.want to.run
'now, this woman. She wanted to run away.'
this, she wished to escape,

Wake qada yeke coley. Yeke moxt tenas klōts-
NEG.PHRA how? 3 to.run 3 two DIM woman
'(But) she couldn't run off. Her* two girls'
but didn't know how to go about it because the two sisters

men kwanse [sic] yeke watch qa yeke coley.
always 3 to.watch where? 3 to.run
'kept watching where she went.'
of her husband were watching her constantly. So she thought up a ruse.

Yeke okok bear sister ōkok moxt tenas clotsmen.
3 DEM bear sister DEM two DIM woman
'Those were the bear('s)* sisters', those two girls.'

Ikt san okok klotsmen yeke coley kopa delate
'One day that woman went out very'
one.certain day DEM woman 3 to.run PREP really

siah yeke iskum stick kunamoxt moxt tenas
'far collecting wood with the two girls.'
far 3 to.take wood with two DIM

klotsmen. Yeke mamuk bundle kopa back*
woman 3 to.make bundle PREP back
'She made bundles on (their backs),'
¶*One day she went out with her two sisters-in-law to get firewood. They collected great bundles and propped them up against a tree. Then the woman said to the girls, "I will help you to load." The girls sat down in front of the bundles in order to have them tied to their backs.*

[IMG_0904.jpg]
[right page]

yeke mamuk [Ø] kopa [sic] kunamoxt tree*. Yeke kapet*
3 to.make [3.OBJ] PREP with tree 3 to.finish
'she put (them) up against a tree. She got'
But the woman tied the two girls to the tree without them noticing.

klaska kow okok klotsmen wawa kopa moxt
3.PL binds* DEM woman to.speak PREP two
'them tied up. That woman said to the two'
Then she said to them,

tenas klotsmen. Halo mika* mesika hyax coley
DIM woman NEG.CLAU 2.SG 2.PL quickly to.run
'girls, "Don't you come running.'

clos mika wait nika. Nika tiki coley kopa
IMPER 2.SG to.wait 1.SG 1.SG to.want to.run PREP
'Wait for me. I want to go a'
"Wait for a little while. I still want to

tenas siah yeke mitlait hyiu stick. Alta
little far 3 COP.EX much wood now
'little ways; there's a lot of wood (there).'" Now'
get more wood."

okok tenas klotsmen yeke answer. Yes I will.
DEM DIM woman 3 answer yes I will
'those girls answered, "All right. We will."
The girls promised to wait

Okok klotsmen yeke coley run away. Alta wake
DEM woman 3 to.run run away now NEG.PHRA
'That woman left, (and) ran away. Now it was near'
and then the woman ran away as fast as she could. When

siah sitkum sun. Alta okok tenas sister hyas
far half day now DEM DIM* sister INTENS*
'the middle of the day. Now those younger sisters were'
she didn't come back, her sister-in-laws [sic]

yeke tumtum run away. Yeke tiki coley, halo.
3 to.think run away 3 to.want to.run NEG.CLAU
'surprised to realize (she had) run away. They wanted to go, (but) no.'
realized that they had been tricked. They wanted to run after her but were unable to get up.

Yeke skukm kaw, and they cry. Yeke skukum
3 strongly tied and they cry 3 strongly
'They were firmly tied up, and they cried out. They shouted'
They shouted

cry qada bear, yeke cly. Konay clotsmen yeke
to.cry how? bear 3 to.cry all woman 3
'how bears cry out. All the women's'
at the top of their voices and, when the Bear Wives

bear yeke kumtuks [Ø] yeke coley. alta yeke nā'nits.
bear 3 to.hear [3.OBJ] 3 to.run now 3 to.see
'bears heard it (and) ran (there). Now they saw'
arrived, they told them what had happened.

skukum kow kopa stick yeke bite it through.
strongly tied PREP tree 3 bit it through
'the strong bindings [sic] to the tree (and) they bit through them.'
The Bear wives freed the girls by biting through the ropes with which they were tied up.

Ikt klotsmen hyack koley tiki call okok klots-
one.certain woman quickly to.run to.want call DEM woman
'One woman ran right off in order to call that'
Then all of them ran back to the village, called their

men yeke husband. Yeke tsā'ko okok bear yeke
3 husband. 3 to.come DEM bear 3
'woman's husband. He came, that bear, (and) he'
husbands and they all

kla'towa tiki iskum [Ø]. Yeke wife tlap okok lake. **WE GOT THIS FAR 2.5.22**
to.go to.want to.take [3.OBJ] 3 wife to.find DEM lake
'went to try catching her. His wife reached that lake.'
pursued the fleeing woman.

Yeke nā'nits kanim mitlait. Weqt* qada coley
3 to.see canoe COPEX NEG.PHRA how? to.run
'She saw that a canoe was there. There was no way to travel'
¶ *She had arrived at the lake in the meantime and saw Tsag-atilâ'o on it in a copper canoe. The lake was so large that she was unable*

iawa ↻ [“clockwise top semicircle arrow” Unicode symbol--DDR]² Alta* klaska kumtuks yeke men
there now 3.PL to.know 3 man[.N.PL*]
'that way. Now it was obvious* her man'
to go around it and she could already hear the bears

tsako tiki iskum yeke. ***** Konaway bear kunamoxt*
to.come to.want to.take 3 all bear together
'was coming to get her. Every last one of the bears'
coming from afar.

klaska mesa'tsi tumtum. Alta okok klots-
3.PL evil heart now DEM woman
'was enraged. Now that woman'

men iaka tsā'ko delate trouble. Yeke wawa kopa
3 INCH really trouble[d] 3 to.speak PREP
'became really worried. She said to'
She called,

Tsaxatila'o*. Mitlait kopa canim klos
Tsag·atilâ'o COPEX PREP canoe IMPER
'Tsag·atilâ'o standing in the canoe, “Please...'
“Oh, Tsag·atilâ'o

mika mamuk klahauje (zu Gefallen*) nika.
2.SG CAUS pity zu Gefallen* 1.SG
'...take pity on me...'
take pity on me.

Konay okok nika papa yeke tsikami'n
all DEM 1.SG father 3 money
'...All of that father of mine's money...'
Take me into your canoe. You shall have all my father's treasures.”

(Geld) atlki yeke potlits mika. Spose
Geld eventually 3 to.give 2.SG IRR*
'...he will give to you, if...'

mika iskum nika kopa mika canim. Okok
2.SG to.take 1.SG PREP 2.SG canoe DEM
'...you take me in your canoe.” That'
But

2 This notation by Boas invaluablely documents a hand gesture by the speaker – a feature often reported to accompany Chinuk Wawa speech, but not documented in any detail by other researchers.

man halo wawa. Yeke kwanse* nanits kekule
man NEG.CLAU to.speak 3 always to.look below
'man did not speak. He kept looking into'
he didn't answer and only looked down

[IMG_0905.jpg]
[right page]

kopa chuck. Alta okok klotsmen hyiu wawa.
PREP water now DEM woman much* to.speak
'the water. Now that woman persisted:'
into the water. The bears came closer and the woman called again,

Mamuk klahauja nika! ~~Ma~~ (Pity me!!) *****
CAUS pity 1.SG ?? pity me
'''Have pity on me!'''
“Oh, Tsag-atilá'o, take pity on me.”

Alta okok bear wake siah tlap iaka. Alta
now DEM bear NEG.PHRA far to.get 3 now
'By now that bear had nearly caught her. Now'
But he did not answer. Then she heard the bears very close. So

okok klotsmen hyiu cly. Yeke kumtuks spose
DEM woman much* to.cry 3 to.know IRR
'that woman cried and cried. She knew that if'
she wept in fear

yeke man tsako, pi* atlki yeke mukamuk
3 man to.come and eventually 3 to.eat
'her man came, he would eat'

iā'ka. Kunawy yek ikta klaska wawa okok* hyas* klots-
3 all 3 what? 3.PL to.say DEM big woman
'her. She said all (kinds of) things, that woman,'

men kopa okok man Yeke hyiu cly. Mamuk
PREP DEM man 3 much* to.cry CAUS
'to that man, crying and crying, “Have...'
and said,

klahauja nika!! Kany* nika uncle* money
pity 1.SG all 1.SG uncle money
'...pity on me! All my uncles'[PL]* money,...'
“Take me into your canoe; you shall have all the treasures of my uncle, too.”

mika [sic] potlats mika.

Okok man mitlait
2.SG to.give 2.SG DEM man COP.EX
'I'll give to you.' That man standing'

kopa Canoe. Halo wawa. Alta okok bear wake
PREP canoe NEG.CLAU to.speak now DEM bear NEG.PHRA
'in the canoe said nothing. Now that bear had nearly'
Still he did not reply and looked down into the water without moving. The bears could already be seen approaching

siah tlap [Ø]. Alta okk* clotsmen wawa kopa yeke
far to.get [3.OBJ] now DEM* woman to.say PREP 3
'reached (her). Now that woman said to'
so the woman called,

canim okok men. Tsaxatilō'o* mamuk
canoe DEM man Tsag·atilâ'o CAUS
'that man's canoe, "Tsag·atilâ'o, have...'
"Oh, Tsag·atilâ'o, take

klahauja nika! Mika iskum nika kopa mika
pity 1.SG 2.SG to.take 1.SG PREP 2.SG
'...pity on me! You (should) take me in your...'
pity on me. Take me into your

canim. Atlki nika marry mika. Alta okok
canoe eventually 1.SG to.marry 2.SG now DEM
'...canoe. I will marry you.' Then that'
canoe and I will become your wife.' Thereupon

man yeke clos tumtum. Okok iskum. his* club*
man 3 good heart DEM to.take his club
'man was happy. That one took his club'
Tsag·atilâ'o was glad. He dipped his club

~~alta maska~~ and he put it into the water. yeke
now to.throw* and he put it into the water 3
'and he put it into the water. He*'
into the water

tlap qa mitlait okok klütsman*. ***** WE GOT THIS FAR 03.05.2022 yeke iskum [Ø]
to.get where? COP.EX DEM woman 3 to.take [3.OBJ]
'reached where that woman was. He took her'
and at once the canoe went all by itself to the spot where the woman was standing. He took her

kopa yeke canoe. Tsaxatilō'o yeke kloš tumtum*
PREP 3 canoe Tsag·atilâ'o 3 good heart
'into his canoe. Tsag·atilâ'o was happy.'
into the canoe and pushed off again from the shore.

yeke iskum tskie* klotsman and he is happy
3 to.take new woman and he is happy
'He had gotten a new woman and he was happy'

in the canoe. Ye Kony yeke tsā'ko okok bear
in the canoe 3 all 3 to.come DEM bear
'in the canoe. All of them came, those bears.'

Bear nanits yeke klotsmen kunamoxt tsaxati[-]
bear to.see 3 woman with Tsag·atilâ'o
'The bears saw his woman with Tsag·atilâ'o.'
The bears had arrived at the lake by then, and when they saw Tsag·atilâ'o and the woman together in the canoe,

lō'o*. Yeke skugum şolleks kopa tsaxatilō'o*
3 strongly angry PREP Tsag·atilâ'o
'They were furious at Tsag·atilâ'o.'
they grew angry.

Bear wawa. Ts. potlaš nika klōtsmen! Spos halo
bear to.say Tsag·atilâ'o to.give 1.SG woman IRR NEG.CLAU
'The bear said, "Tsag·atilâ'o, give (me) my woman! If...'
The chief's son called, "Tsag·atilâ'o, give me my wife back, or else

mika potlatsh nika klotsmen, alxa* nika mamuk
2.SG to.give 1.SG woman eventually 1.SG CAUS
'...you don't give my woman, I will...'
I will

memalus mika. Ikta mamuk mika kapsü*
dead 2.SG what? to.make 2.SG to.steal
'...kill you. Why are you stealing...'
kill you."

ala nika klotsmen. Ts* and* yeke okok klotsmen
'...my woman? Tsag·atilâ'o and that woman of his'
1.SG woman Tsag·atilâ'o and 3 DEM woman

[IMG_0906.jpg]
[right page]

yeke klos tumtum kunamoxt yeke clotsmen
3 good heart with 3 woman
'were happy together, his woman'

tski mallied. Okok Klotsmen halo tiki
newly married DEM woman NEG.CLAU to.want
'who (he had) just married. That woman did not want'

ēlip husband. Halo yeke clos tumtum Alta
new husband NEG.CLAU 3 good heart now
'the first husband. He was not good-hearted. Now'

yeke tlap ski man (new man) kopa yeke hus-
3 to.find new man new man PREP 3 husband
'she had gotten a new man for her husband.'

band. Kunamoxt clos tumtum kopa canim. Alta
together/RECIP* good heart PREP canoe now
'They [*sic*] were happy with each other in the canoe. Now'

kony bear tsako. yeke wawa klos mika
all bear to.come 3 to.say IMPER 2.SG
'all of the bears came. They said, "You had better...'

mamuk kje'lapai kopa okok man yeke wife.
CAUS to.return PREP DEM man 3 wife
'..return this man's wife to him...'

Spouse halo mika potlatst [Ø] kopa yeke alxa nesika
IRR NEG.CLAU 2.SG to.give [3.OBJ] PREP 3 eventually 1.PL
'...If you don't give her to him we will...'

mamuk memaloš mika. Halo wawa Tsaxati.
CAUS to.die 2.SG NEG.CLAU to.speak Tsag·atilâ'o
'...kill you.'" Tsag·atilâ'o said nothing.
Tsag·atilâ'o gave no reply, but he

weght klotsmen yeke klos tumtum hyiu play
also woman 3 good heart much play
'The woman was happy too, (and) was playing'
and his wife were happy together

kop* canêim. Alta okok bear yeke men tsako
PREP canoe now DEM bear 3 man[.N.PL*] INCH
'in the canoe. Now those bears' men got'
in the canoe. The bears

skukum sko'leks [sic]. jump into the water. swim
strongly angry jump into the water swim
'enraged, (and) jumped into the water, swimming.'

yeke tiki mamuk memalos Tsax. Bear klaska wawa.
3 to.want CAUS to.die Tsag·atilâ'o bear 3.PL to.say
'They intended to kill Tsag·atilâ'o. The bears said'

Kopa yeke telexum. Klose mesika swim kunamoxt
PREP 3 people IMPER 2.PL to.swim with
'to their relatives, "Swim with...'

nika. nesika mamuk memalost okok cultus
1.SG 1.PL CAUS to.die DEM worthless
'...me! We'll kill that no-good...'

*threatened once more and, when Tsag·atilâ'o still paid no attention to them, they jumped into the water
in order to attack the*

men. Kany bear swim weqt siah yeke tlap qa
man[.N.PL*] all bear to.swim NEG.PHRA 3 to.get where?
'...man." All of the bears swam. They had nearly gotten where'
canoe.

mitlait Tsax. and* waght yeke tsi klotsmen.
COP.EX Tsag·atilâ'o and also 3 new woman
'Tsag·atilâ'o and also his new woman were.'

Alta Tsax. yeke iskum tenas club and put into
now Tsag·atilâ'o 3 to.take small club and put into
'Now Tsag·atilâ'o took the little club and put it into'
Thereupon Tsag·atilâ'o threw his club into the water;

water **WE GOT THIS FAR ON 03.26.2022** yeke coley kopa chuck, yeke tlap ikt bear
water 3 to.run PREP water 3 to.find one.certain bear
'the water. It traveled through the water. It got to one bear,'
it became alive, swam towards the bears

okok klotsmen ankati husband yeke mamuk me-
DEM woman previous husband 3 CAUS to.die
'that woman's previous husband, (and) it killed'

malust [Ø]. Yeke bite yeke throat. Waght yekke
[3.OBJ] 3 to.bite 3 throat also 3
'him. It bit his throat. It also'
and bit through the throats of

coli kopa xiloiim bear mk* memaloš konay
to.run PREP other bear CAUS to.die all
'traveled to the other bears, killing all'
all of them

bear. Kopet moxt yeke kje'lapai ikt* klots-
bear only two 3 to.return one.certain woman
'the bears. Only two got back (to shore), one woman'
except two who fled in time.

men pe ikt man. Tsax. klos tumtum
CONJ one.certain man Tsag·atilâ'o good heart
'and one man. Tsag·atilâ'o was happy.'
At this Tsag·atilâ'o rejoiced.

halo klaksta meša'tsi yeke a'lta.³ kopa* yeke
NEG.CLAU who? evil 3 now PREP 3
'No one would be evil to him now, (nor) to his'

klotsmen. Tsax. yeke mitlait yeke old wife⁴
woman Tsag·atilâ'o 3 to.have* 3 old wife
'woman. Tsag·atilâ'o had his old wife,'
¶ *He returned home in the evening. But he already had a wife*

3 The standard proofreading symbol for “transpose” indicates a reordering of Boas' initial recording as <a'lta. yeke>.

4 The standard proofreading symbol for “transpose” indicates a reordering of Boas' initial recording as <wife old>.

yeke old. Yeke Tsax. anqati yeke wife yeke nanits
3 old 3 Tsag·atilâ'o previous 3 wife 3 to.see
'she was old. She was Tsag·atilâ'o's previous wife. She saw'
called KSEMná'osō (Female Mountain Lion). When she heard

[IMG_0907.jpg]
[right page]

yeke man iskum xaloim klōtsmen. Halo yeke
3 man to.take other woman NEG.CLAU 3
'that her man had taken a different woman. She was not'
that her husband had taken a second wife,

šoleks yeke mitlait tumtum ikt polakli
angry 3 to.have* thought one night
'angry; she had* the thought*, "One night,...'
she thought, "I'll soon

alxa nika try* mamuk memaloš yeke. Tsax.
eventually 1.SG try CAUS to.die 3 Tsag·atilâ'o
'...I'm going to try killing her." Tsag·atilâ'o'
kill her." But Tsag·atilâ'o,

yeke wawa kopa anqati klotsmen. Mika klos
3 to.say PREP previous woman 2.SG well*
'told the previous wife, "You...'
who knew his first wife's evil heart, said to her, "I love the wife I brought home with me today and I don't

nanitsh halo mika mamuk memalust nika Klots-
to.look NEG.CLAU 2.SG CAUS to.die 1.SG woman
'...be careful; don't you kill my woman...'
want you to do her any harm."

men. Delate nika love yeke. Ts. anqat [sic] klotsmen.
really 1.SG to.love 3 Tsag·atilâ'o previous woman
'...I really love her." Tsag·atilâ'o's previous woman'

yeke wawa. Nautka. Alxa nika kloše nanitš.
3 to.say yes eventually 1.SG well* to.look
'said "All right, I'll take care of...'
"Certainly," replied she,

Nika au [sic]. Tsx. klatska* wawa: kopet [sic] tski*
1.SG sibling* Tsag·atilâ'o ?? to.say PREP new
'...my sibling.' Tsag·atilâ'o told [that] new'
"she shall be my sister." Then Tsag·atilâ'o warned his new

yak ka [sic] klotsmen. Mika klos nanits kopa old
3 woman 2.SG well to.look PREP old
'woman of his, "You watch out for the old...'
wife of KSEMnâ'osō;

woman delate mesā'tsi. Klō'nas qanseh 100
woman really evil maybe* how.many? 100
'...woman, [she's] really evil. I reckon about a hundred...'

nika klotsmen yeka mamuk me'melust nika
1.SG woman 3 CAUS to.die 1.SG
'...of my women she's killed, my...'

klotsmen. Mike delate klos nanits nika mamuk
woman 2.SG really well to.look 1.SG CAUS
'...woman has. You be really careful. I'm letting...'

kumtuks mika kanay qa nika coley nika
to.know 2.SG all where? 1.SG to.run 1.SG
'...you know that I travel all around, I...'
he said, "In the daytime I

iskam seal, bear, mountain goat. yeke okok
to.take seal bear mountain goat 3 DEM
'...catch seals, bears, (and) mountain goats. These are...'
catch seals, mountain goats and bears. In the evening I bring my catch

kopa old klotsmen yeke mukamuk kopa pola-
PREP old woman 3 to.eat PREP night
'...for the old woman's dinner...'
home and then KSEMnâ'osō

kli. Spos mika kumtuks yeke mukamuk
IRR 2.SG to.know 3 to.eat
'...If you hear her eating...'
eats everything. When you notice her eating,

halo mika open mika eye. Okok klotsmen wawa
NEG.CLAU 2.SG to.open 2.SG eye DEM woman to.say
'...don't you open your eyes.' That woman'
make sure that you close your eyes and don't look at her.' The woman promised

nautka*, Tsax. wawa kopa tskī' jeke klō'tsmen
yes Tsag·atilâ'o to.say PREP new 3 woman
'agreed. Tsag·atilâ'o told (that) new woman of his'
to obey.

Alxa nika klatawa kopa salt chuck nika
eventually 1.SG to.go PREP salt water 1.SG
'I'll be going to the sea; I...'

iskum hyiu seals kopa nika old klotsmen
to.take many seal-N.PL PREP 1.SG old woman
'...will catch a lot of seals for* my old woman...'

atłki mukamuk. Ts. yeke klatowa [Ø] okok
eventually to.eat Tsag·atilâ'o 3 to.go [PREP] DEM
'...to* eat later.' Tsag·atilâ'o got into that'
So Tsag·atilâ'o embarked in his

canim yeke klatowa kopa kjē'kule okok
canoe 3 to.go PREP below DEM
'canoe; he went down to the bottom (of) that'
canoe, which at once sank into the lake

lake. Yeke tsako kopa salt chuk. Yeke mamuk
lake 3 to.come PREP salt water 3 CAUS
'lake. He came to the sea. He'
and re-emerged again in the ocean, where he

memaloŝ konoway seal, yeke patł (full) kopa
to.die all seal 3 full full PREP
'killed all the seals, it was filled-up in'
killed many seals and completely filled

yeke canoe. Weqt siah tsako shan* (daylight)
3 canoe NEG.PHRA far INCH* day daylight
'his canoe. Near sunrise'
his canoe. When the morning dawned

yeke kjē'lapai. Ao* jaka mitlait. Yeke old
3 to.return sibling* 3 COP.EX 3 old
'he went back. The sibling* was there. His old'
he returned, and KSEMná'osō

klotsmen hyas klos yeke tumtum. Kany seal
woman INTENS good 3 heart all seal
'woman was very happy. All the seals,'
was glad. He gave all the seals

[IMG_0908.jpg]
[right page]

Tsax. yeke potlats yeke. Halo ikta yeke potlats
Tsag·atilá'o 3 to.give 3 NEG.CLAU what? 3 to.give
'Tsag·atilá'o gave to her. Not a thing did he give'

kopa tski wife. Kapet jeke love yeke. Ts. halo
PREP new wife only 3 to.love 3 Tsag·atilá'o NEG.CLAU
'to the new wife. He just loved her. Tsag·atilá'o did not have any'

yeke love kopa old klotsmen. Kapet yeke seal
3 love[NOUN*] PREP old woman only 3 seal
'love for the old woman. Only his seals'

yeke potlas yeke. N'q'ošet yeke okok* klotsman
3 to.give 3 N'q'ošet 3 DEM* woman
'did he give to her. N'q'ošet,* his old* woman,'
to her. He didn't love her and gave her all his catch. But he loved his new wife and gave her nothing.

yeke hyas klos tumtum tsa* wake sia polakli
3 INTENS good heart ?? NEG.PHRA far night
'was very happy. Near nightfall,'
When it grew dark,

Tsax. wawa kopa yeke ski klotsmen, Atlki waqt
Tsag·atilá'o to.say PREP 3 new woman eventually again
'Tsag·atilá'o told his new woman, "Once again...'
Tsag·atilá'o went out again. Before he left, he impressed once more on his wife

nika coley. Mika clos nanits okok old woman
1.SG to.run 2.SG well to.watch DEM old woman
'...I'm leaving. You be careful of that old woman...'
not to watch when the old woman

Spos mika kumtuks hyiu mu'kamuk kopa pōlaki*
IRR 2.SG to.perceive much* eating* PREP night
'...If you hear a lot of eating during the night...'
was eating,

halo mika open mika eye. Okok klotsmen yeke
NEG.CLAU 2.SG to.open 2.SG eye DEM woman 3
'...don't you open your eyes.'" This woman'

wawa: Nautka. Tsax̣. wax̣t yeke klataua*. **WE GOT THIS FAR 4.9.2022** Pe*
to.say yes Tsag·atilâ'o again 3 to.go CONJ
'agreed. Tsag·atilâ'o again went. And'
and she promised to obey.

tsako* pōlakli old klotsman yeke git up yeke
to.come/happen* night old woman 3 to.rise 3
'come night, the old woman got up, she'
When it was quite dark she heard Ksemnâ'osō

hyiu mukamuk seal. Okok Tsax̣. stki [sic] klotsman
much* to.eat seal DEM Tsag·atilâ'o new woman
'ate and ate seals. That new woman of Tsag·atilâ'o's'
eating. She

halo sleep kwansm yeke hyiu kumtuks yeke
NEG.CLAU to.sleep always 3 much* to.perceive 3
'was awake, (and) she kept hearing his'

old woman hyiu mukamuk. Alta okok tenas
old woman much* to.eat now DEM DIM
'old woman eating and eating. Then that young'

klōtsmen yeke tiki kumtuks, tlonas ēkta
woman 3 to.want to.know maybe* something*
'woman was curious whether some kind of'
was unable to resist the temptation

hyas chago* mukamuk. Yeka tenas open yeke
big to.come* to.eat 3 little to.open 3
'big thing had come* to* eat. She barely opened her'
and opened one

eyes. yekke old woman yeke kumtuks konawy
eye-N.PL 3 old woman 3 to.know all
'eyes. His old woman, she found, was'
eye a tiny bit. She saw that the other woman had a whole seal in her hand

yeke mukamuk. Halo klatowa kopa kekuli,
3 to.eat* NEG.CLAU to.go PREP below
'eating everything; it didn't go down'
and was full up to her neck.

konwy leska* patl kopa yekke throat*. Old*
all 3.PL* full PREP 3 throat old
'(but) all stayed filling up her neck. The old'

Klotsm yeke delate solleks yeke coley qa yeke*
woman 3 really angry 3 to.run where? 3
'woman was really angry; she ran to where she'
The old woman knew at once that she was being watched, and she became incensed, jumped at her

sleep okok tenas klotsmen yeke bite [Ø]* kopa neck. Yeke
to.sleep DEM DIM woman 3 to.bite [3.OBJ]* PREP neck 3
'slept, that young woman, (and) she bit her on the neck. She'
and bit through her throat.

memaloš. Wegt sia tsako shan Tsax. kje'lapai.
to.die NEG.PHRA to.come/happen* day Tsag·atilâ'o to.return
'died. As day approached, Tsag·atilâ'o returned'
¶ *When day dawned Tsag·atilâ'o came back from hunting.*

[Ø]* Ts* yeke house* pi jeke ask yeke old klotsman Qata* nika
[PREP]* Tsag·atilâ'o 3 house* CONJ 3 to.ask 3 old woman how? 1.SG
'to Tsag·atilâ'o's house and he asked his old woman, "How is my...'
He asked for his new

klotsman. yeke old klotsman answer. O yeke klōš
woman 3 old woman to.answer oh 3 good
'...woman?" His old woman answered, "Oh, she's fine...'
wife immediately upon his return. KSEMŋâ'osō replied, "She

Yeke sleep. Okok nika au yeke wawa. Taχ.
3 to.sleep DEM 1.SG sibling* 3 to.say Tsag·atilâ'o
'...She's sleeping, that sibling of mine is," she said. Tsag·atilâ'o'
is in bed, sleeping." Tsag·atilâ'o

yeke kumtuks yeke mamuk memaloš [Ø]. Tsax.
3 to.know 3 CAUS to.die [3.OBJ] Tsag·atilâ'o
'knew she had killed her. Tsag·atilâ'o'
knew at once that she had killed her. When he

coley qa mitlait kopa* okok tski klotsmen
to.run where? COP.LOC PREP DEM new woman
'ran to where that new woman was.'
found the body

[IMG_0909.jpg]
[right page]

Yeke tlap yeke memaloš. Tsax. yake delate
3 to.find 3 dead Tsag·atilâ'o 3 really
'He found her dead. Tsag·atilâ'o was really'
he became

siek* shik* tumtum, yeke cly alta. Yeke wawa.
~~hurt~~ hurt heart 3 to.cry now 3 to.say
'sad, (and) he cried now. He said'
sad and started to weep. He said

Kopa angati yeke klōtsmen. Halo nika iskum
PREP previous 3 woman NEG.CLAU 1.SG to.get
'to (that) previous woman of his, "I'm not going to get...'
to Ksemnâ'osō, "You won't get

konawy seal, otter*, kopa mika mukamuk. Nika
all seal otter PREP 2.SG food* 1.SG
'...any seals (or) otters for your food. I'm'
any more meat from me."

kapet alta. Yek* tsā'ko pō'lakli yeke klatowa sleep.
to.finish now 3 to.come/happen* night 3 to.go to.sleep
'...done now." Come night, they* went to bed.'
When it had grown dark, the old woman lay down to sleep,

Okok anqati klotsmen yeke skukum sleep. Fire
DEM previous woman 3 strongly to.sleep fire
'That previous woman slept soundly. It caught fire,'
and, when she was fast asleep, fire

yeke tsako yeke la boose*. Waght yeke eye. Tsax.
3 to.come 3 mouth also 3 eye Tsag·atilâ'o
'her mouth, (and) also her eyes. Tsag·atilâ'o'
flashed from her mouth and eyes. Thereupon Tsag·atilâ'o

yeke kumtuks, yek sɣuxm sleep. Yeke coley kunamoxt
3 to.know 3 strongly to.sleep 3 to.run with
'could tell she was sound asleep. He charged with'

okok club yeke delate mash* [Ø] kopa okok old
DEM club 3 really to.throw [3.OBJ] PREP DEM old
'that club (and) he really hurled it at that old'
sent his club and had it bite through the old woman's

klotsmen yek throat. delate kakshit [Ø], just a few
woman 3 throat really to.break [3.OBJ] just a few
'woman's throat, really smashing it, (but) in just a few'
throat. The club bit right through the neck so that the head fell to the ground. But after a very short

minutes and come* together again. Tax. yeke potlats.
minutes and come together again Tsag·atilâ'o 3 to.put
'minutes it came together again. Tsag·atilâ'o put'
time the severed parts flew together again. So Tsag·atilâ'o

hyiu lemetzin. hyas lele yeke mamuk kopa
much medicine INTENS long.time 3 to.work PREP
'a lot of medicine (on it); for a long time he worked on'
*had the club tear off her head again and then he placed magic herbs on the wound which prevented the
head and trunk from growing together again.*

yeke klotsmen. ~~okok~~* mamuk memalost [Ø]. Alta yeke*
3 woman ~~DEM~~ CAUS to.die [3.OBJ] now 3
'that woman, killing her. Now she'
Then he

delate memaloŝ. Tsax. yeke delate cut on the
really dead Tsag·atilâ'o 3 really cut on the
'was actually dead. Tsag·atilâ'o cut right on her'
cut her

belly and lo”ng* wait*. Yeke iskum yeke tumtum
belly and long wait 3 to.take 3 heart
'belly and waited a very long time. He took her heart'
open full length, took out her heart and

yake kopit yeke iskum yeke tumtum yeke
3 only 3 to.take 3 heart 3
'that had stopped, he took her heart (and) he'

coley kopa qa mitlait tski klotsman memaloš.
to.run PREP where? COP.EX new woman dead
'ran to where the new woman lay dead,'
carried it to the corpse of his wife.

Okok* yekke old klotsmen yeke tumtum and* 4* ____
DEM 3 old woman 3 heart and 4* ____
'the heart of that old woman of his, four ____'
He swung it over the corpse four times

_____. Alta okok* klotsmen yeke
_____ now DEM woman 3
'_____. Then that woman'
and the young woman

git up, kakoa sleep. Tsax. yeke kloš tumtum.
to.rise like to.sleep Tsag·atilâ'o 3 good heart
'woke up, as if from sleep. Tsag·atilâ'o was happy.'
stood up and rubbed her eyes as if she had been asleep. At this Tsag·atilâ'o's heart became glad.

O. Klotsmen kunamuxt yeke man yeke mamuk
DEM* woman with 3 man 3 CAUS
'That* woman, together with her man, they'
Then they dismembered the old woman's body and

ipsut ok.* old woman yeke body kopa* ilehi ikt
to.hide DEM old woman 3 body PREP ground ~~one.certain~~
'buried that old woman's body in the ground,'
buried the parts in

yeke letē't yeke mash kopa ikt elehi jeke hand*
3 head 3 to.throw PREP one.certain place 3 hand
'her head they put in one place, her hands'
different locations.

mash kopa ikt elehi, wgt* ikt kopa siah, kjel-
to.throw PREP one.certain place also one.certain PREP far to.return
'(they) put in another place, still other (piece)s far away, turning'

pie [Ø] delete* siah. Halo tlaksta* mamuk trouble
[3.OBJ] really far NEG.CLAU who?/anyone to.make trouble
'them under* really deep*. There was no one to cause trouble'

kopa okok Tsax. tumtum kopa* yeke tski klots[-]
PREP DEM Tsag·atilâ'o heart PREP 3 new woman
'for that Tsag·atilâ'o's heart (or for) his new woman.'
Then Tsag·atilâ'o and his wife had no more worries.

mn. Yeke klosh* tumtm kopa kony men.
3 good heart PREP all man[.N.PL.]
'He was friendly towards everyone.'

[IMG_0910.jpg]
[right page]

Alta okok nq̄'oşegyik* tsako konawy*. Yeke tiki
now DEM nq̄'oşegy*-ik* to.come all 3 to.want
'(But) then the wolverines*-again* all came. They wanted'
But soon the mountain lions, the children of KSEMná'osō, came

nanitsh* yeke mama. Yeke tlap qa Tsax.
to.see 3 mother 3 to.find where? Tsag·atilâ'o
'to visit their mother. They found where Tsag·atilâ'o'
to see their mother. They

mitlait yeke ask yeke: qa nika mama? Tsax wawa.
COP.LOC 3 to.ask 3 where? 1.SG mother Tsag·atilâ'o to.say
'was (and) they asked him, "Where is our mother?" Tsag·atilâ'o said,'
asked Tsag·atilâ'o, "Where is our mother?" He replied,

Halo nika kumtuks, qa jeke koley. Alta okok
NEG.CLAU 1.SG to.know where? 3 to.run now DEM
'"I don't know where she has gone off to." Now those'
"I don't know where she has gone." Then the

nq̄-oseg jeke kumtuks yeke mama memaloş. **WE GOT THIS FAR ON 04.23.22**
nq̄-oseg 3 to.know 3 mother dead
'wolverines* realized that their mother was dead,'
mountain lions knew at once that she was dead.

Pi* yeke coley kopa elehi yeke tiki tlap [Ø]. Alta tlasaka
CONJ 3 to.run PREP land 3 to.want to.find [3.OBJ] now 3.PL
'and they traveled about the country; they wanted to find her. Then they'
They searched for her body,

tlap yekke iskum konawy yeke body. yekke lōlo [Ø]
to.find 3 to.take all 3 body 3 to.carry [3.OBJ]
'found her (and) took all of her body; they carried it'
carried the parts

kopa yeke elehi. hyiu cry kanamoxt jeke body
PREP 3 place much* to.cry with 3 body
'to their country, crying next to the body of'
back to their home and wept together over the corpse

yeke mama. Tenas lele yek tsāko solleks, tiki mamuk*
3 mother DIM long.time 3 INCH angry to.want CAUS
'their mother. After a while they became angry, wanting to'
of their mother. Then they resolved to avenge their mother's death and

memaloš okok* Tsaxatilloo. Ts. hyax coley kopa jeke
to.die DEM Tsag·atilâ'o Tsag·atilâ'o quickly to.run PREP 3
'kill that Tsag·atilâ'o. Tsag·atilâ'o hurried to his'
wanted to kill Tsag·atilâ'o. But he took refuge in his

canoe*. Wegt qata eskum [Ø]. (no catch* him) Yeke
canoe NEG.PHRA to.get [3.OBJ] no catch him 3
'canoe. He couldn't be caught.'

Kony nq'oseg kje'lapai kopa jeke elehi. Ts. pi*
all nq'oseg to.return PREP 3 place Tsag·atilâ'o CONJ
'All of the wolverines* went back to their country. Tsag·atilâ'o and [sic]'
canoe and the animals had to turn back unsuccessfully. ¶

yeke kloš tumtum. Kunamt* yeke tski klotsmen
3 good heart with 3 new woman
'he was happy together with his new woman.'

Tenas lēlē okok klōtsmen jeke tlap yeke tenas
DIM long.time DEM woman 3 to.get 3 DIM
'After some time that woman had his baby'
After some time the woman gave birth to a

men. Ts* yeke Tsax. yeke potlats yeke nem*.
man Tsag·atilâ'o 3 Tsag·atilâ'o 3 to.give 3 name
'boy. Tsag·atilâ'o gave him the name'
son who was called

~~Kunax~~ Kuñǎχñēšamkja't*. Elip* klaska
Kuñǎχñēšamkja't* first 3.PL
'Kuñǎχñēšamkja't*. The first thing when he was'
Gunaqanē'semgyet. As soon as he had been

tlap [Ø] Tsax. yeke iškum yeke baby. yeke mash [Ø]
to.get [3.OBJ] Kuñǎχñēšamkja't* 3 to.take 3 baby 3 to.put [3.OBJ]
'born, Tsag·atilâ'o took his baby (and) he put him'
born, Tsag·atilâ'o carried him down to the water and

kopa tshuck* yeke mamuk wash [Ø]. Yeke kapet wash [Ø]
PREP water 3 CAUS to.wash [3.OBJ] 3 to.finish to.wash [3.OBJ]
'into the water and washed him. He finished washing him'
bathed him. Then

yekke mamuk hyas [Ø] (pull him long) wagt
3 CAUS tall [3.OBJ] pull him long also
'(and) he stretched him (long); he was also'
he lengthened him by pulling four times at his head and feet

klaska mamuk kjĕkule (_____)
3.PL CAUS short _____
'made short again _____'

and mill* it with ____). Ski klaska haul* [Ø] pi yeke
and mill* it with ____ as.soon.as 3.PL to.pull [3.OBJ] 3
'and ____ with ____'. He had just been pulled on, and he'
and then pressed him together again. In this way the child

tlap kakoa tenas man pe* klaska kapat*!
to.reach like DIM man ?? 3.PL to.finish
'got to be like a young man and was finished.'
became as big as a young man.

Tsax. delate kloš tumtum. Yeke tlap yeke
Tsag·atilâ'o really good heart 3 to.get 3
'Tsag·atilâ'o was quite happy. He had gotten his'

tenas. Kwanssem klaska teach* yake klaska
child always 3.PL to.teach 3 3.PL
'son. They always taught him their'
He taught

mamuk hunting and kony ikta. Kwansem
CAUS* hunting and all thing always
'ways, hunting and all kinds of things.'
hunting and fishing to him and

jeke kunamoxt qa* yeke baby*.
3 together where? 3 baby
'They were always together wherever his baby was.'
the two of them always went out together.

[IMG_0911.jpg]
[left page]

Yeke tsako hyas man, yeke Mama kumtuks qa
3 to.become big man 3 mother to.know where?
'He became a grown man. His mother knew where'
Once the young man asked where

yeke grandfather mitlait. Wegt saia elehi.
3 grandfather COP.LOC NEG.PHRA far place
'his grandfather lived, a nearby place.'
his grandfather lived,

hyas tyee mika grandfather and mika uncle.
big chief 2.SG grandfather and 2.SG uncle
' "Your grandfather is a great chief, and (so are) your uncles[PL]*...
*so the woman told him that his grandfather and his uncle were great chiefs and that they lived not far
away.*

Spouse mika tiki coley mika coley! Alta okok
IRR 2.SG to.want to.run 2.SG to.run now DEM
'...If you want to travel (there), you do that!' Then that'

tenas man yeke klos tumtum. yeke wawa
DIM man 3 good heart 3 to.say
'young man was happy; he said,'

tenas atlki! Nika coley qa nika grndfath mitlait
little eventually 1.SG to.run where? 1.SG grandfather COP.LOC
' "In a little while now, I'll travel to where my grandfather lives." '

Konay ikta yeke kumtuks yeke papa ikta
all thing 3 to.know 3 father what?
'All (of this), he heard, his father did, of what'
When Gunaqanē'semgyet heard this, he decided to visit his relatives.

klaska mamuk. Wegkal (no trouble to go)

3.PL to.do NEG.PHRA hard no trouble to go
'they were doing. “*It's easi(er)*...'

Tsag·atilâ'o was in agreement and gave his son the copper canoe, a club, bow and arrows, and a harpoon.

spose klatowa kopa kē'kule tsuk. Yeke

IRR to.go PREP under water 3

'...to go underwater.” He'

kunamoxt yeke coly hyas saghali [Ø] lamanti.⁵

together* 3 to.run INTENS high [PREP] mountain

'traveled with him way up the mountain.'

He went up the mountain

[Ø]* Hyiu tsikamin kopa yeke papa. Tsax. yeke

[PREP]* much money PREP 3 father Tsag·atilâ'o 3

'to* a lot of money of (the) father's. Tsag·atilâ'o'

to get his skins which he had hidden there, and he gave his son

potlats [Ø] cane'im wagt okok club, bow,

to.give [3.OBJ] canoe also DEM club bow

'gave him a canoe, as well as that club, a bow,'

arrow, harpoon kany ikta stone (round stone

arrow harpoon all kind stone round stone

'arrows, harpoons, all kinds of stones (round ones'

round stones to take into his mouth and then to use them as projectiles,

kakoa marble) take* it* in* the* mouth*). Kony ikta

like marble take it in the mouth all kind

'like marbles, to take into the mouth). Everything'

klaska kumtuks kopa yeke papa yeke

3.PL to.know PREP 3 father 3

'that he knew from his (own) father, he'

and taught him how to throw them.

teach* yeke. **WE GOT THIS FAR ON 05.14.2022** Hyiu ikta mitlait ~~kopa oke~~

to.teach 3 much thing COPEX ~~PREP DEM~~

'taught him. There was a lot of stuff.'

5 *yeke coly hyas saghali [Ø] lamanti*: an alternative analysis is that a null preposition is instead to be understood before *hyas*, giving a reading like 'he traveled on a very high mountain'.

Ikt time yeke ready kopa jeke coley. Ikt
one time 3 ready PREP 3 to.run one
'By a certain time he was ready for his trip. One'
After he had carried all this to the beach

hyas canoe delate patl kony ikta. Yeke
big canoe really full all thing 3
'big canoe was quite full of all the things. He'
he began loading the canoe. It was already quite full and he had only loaded the smallest portion of the things, so he pressed the cargo down with his hand and it became so small that he was able to add more. In this way he continued until everything had been packed.

tiki koly qa grndfath mitlait and uncle yeke
to.want to.travel where? grandfather COP.EX and uncle 3
'wanted to travel to where his grandfather lived, and (his) uncles[PL]*.'

okok time* halo (no food) mokemuk kopa kony telexum
DEM time NEG.CLAU no food food PREP all people
'At that time, there was not (enough) food for all of the people.'
Then they launched the canoe and Gunaqanē'semgyet, his mother and a big slave called Hā'lus, given to them by Tsag-atilā'o, set out. Hā'lus steered the canoe. ¶

Yeke coley. Tenas son, halo wind delate kloš
3 to.travel DIM day NEG.CLAU wind really good
'He set off. In the morning, there was no breeze, very fair (weather).'

alta okok hyas kanim tsā'ko. kopa okok
now DEM big canoe to.come PREP DEM
'Then the big canoe arrived at that'
After a long journey they arrived in the

ē'lehi. Yeke name Q'atō'u (ē'lehi) Kony
place 3 name Q'atō'u place all
'place. It was called Q'atō'u. Every-'
country of K'atō'u, where the young man's grandfather lived. The

te'lexum yeke nanitch. Hyas kanim tsako.
people 3 to.see big canoe to.come
'one saw the big canoe coming,'

and moxt tyee mitlait kopa okok kanim.
and two chief COP.LOC PREP DEM canoe
'with two chiefs sitting in the canoe.'
people saw the canoe approaching

[right page]

Ikt hyas man yeke mitlait kopa o'puts (Stern)
one.certain big man 3 COP.LOC PREP rear stern
'A large man was in the stern.'

Yeke name Ilā'ida^{name} (Slave* des Tsax.). Hā'lušh
3 name slave name Slave des Tsag·atilá'o Hā'luš
'His slave* name was Hā'luš.'

Kony telexum yek mitlait kopa okk elehi*
all people 3 COPEX PREP DEM place
'Everyone who was at that place'

yeke ask: Klaksta tyee okok? Ikt elaide
3 to.ask who? chief DEM one.certain slave
'asked, "Which chiefs are these?" A slave'
and asked the slave, "Who is in the canoe?"

answer: Ikta mesika ask? yeke wawa: Mesika
to.answer what? 2.PL to.ask 3 to.say 2.PL
'answered, "What are you folks asking (for)?" He said, "She's your...'
Hā'lus replied, "That woman

tyee yeke tenas okok klotsmen. Anqate mesika
chief 3 child DEM woman long.ago 2.PL
'...chief's child, that woman is. Long ago you...'
is the daughter of your chief. She got

lost okok klotsmen. Yeke kje'lapai alta. Kan-
to.lose DEM woman 3 to.return now with
'...lost that woman. She's back now, with...'
lost in the forest a long time ago and is returning today with

amox̄t yeke tena's. Hyiu te'lexum ~~nika*~~ yeke
3 child many people 1.SG 3
'...her child." Many people'
her son." At this the people

ṭaska kloš̄ tumtum.Sitkum hyiu cry.
3.PL good heart half much* to.cry
'were happy. Half were crying.'
nearly wept for joy.

People* yeke wawa, tsā'ko. Mika uncle yeke ready
people* 3 to.say to.com 2.SG uncle 3 ready
'The people* said, "Come, your uncles[PL]* are ready...'
They said to Gunaqanē'semgyet, "Come, your uncle awaits you

kopa yeke house mika* mitlait nesika tyhee
PREP 3 house 2.SG COP.LOC 1.PL chief
'It's* at his house that* you will stay; our chief'
in his house. Stay with us and be our chief."

kopa mika* alta. Alta okok kanī'm klatoa
PREP 2.SG now now DEM canoe to.go
'is yours* now. Then that canoe went'

kopa ēlēhi. Hyiu te'lexum jeke lolo ikta
PREP land many people 3 to.carry what?
'ashore. A lot of people carried (out) what'
They pulled the canoe ashore and began to unload it.

mitlait kopa canī'm. Mukamuk seal,
COP.EX PREP canoe food* seal
'was in the canoe: food (like) seal,'

whale, sea lion, bear, kony ikta. Yeke grandfath
whale sea lion bear all thing 3 grandfather
'whale, sea lion, bear, all kinds. His grandfather's'

house yeke delate patḷ wagt̄ yeke uncle house
house 3 really full also 3 uncle house
'house was quite full; his uncles'[PL]* houses too'
*They carried the things into the house of the old chief and it was quite filled. They carried much into
the house of **the old chief** and this, too,*

yeke patl wagt yeke ikt* yeke house, yeke ikt
3 full also 3 one.other* 3 house 3 one.other*
'were full; still others of their houses, of his other'

was quite filled. They unloaded so much from the canoe that all the houses of the village were filled.

uncle patl. Alta jeke tsā'ko yeke hālo* okok
uncle full now 3 to.come 3 NEG.CLAU* DEM
'uncles, were full. Then it was empty*, that'

Now they had meat of seals, whales, sea-lions, bears, and skins from martens, sea otters and bears to their hearts' content. ¶

canim*. **WE GOT THIS FAR ON 5.28.2022** Wegt siah Tsax. yeke lō'lo konay
canoe NEG.PHRA far Tsag·atilâ'o 3 to.carry all
'canoe. Tsag·atilâ'o brought next to it all of'

te'lexim, yeke po'tlats [Ø] makamuk. wagt
people 3 to.give [3.OBJ] food also
'the people (and) he gave them food, (and) also'

konawy ikta skin, ___ skin, bear skin, sea-
all kind skin ___ skin bear skin sea
'all kinds of skins, ___ skins, bearskins, sea'

otter skin skin* Kony te'lexim jeke tsā'ko [Ø]* hyas*
otter skin skin all people 3 to.come [PREP]* big
'otter skins, (and) ___ skins. Everyone came to* the big'

potlatsh* χalo'im mukamuk. wght* χaloim
potlatch* strange food also strange
'potlatch; (it was) strange food (and) also strange'

konay skin kopa okok time klaska halo
all skin PREP DEM time 3.PL NEG.CLAU
'were all the skins; at that time, they had no'

mukamuk kopa kony telexum yeke hyas
to.eat PREP all people 3 INTENS
'food for all of the people; they were quite'

st|xaxaua* (poor) kopa mukamuk alta okok
poor poor PREP food now DEM
'short on food. Now this'

[IMG_0912.jpg]
[right page]

Konaxenešimkjet* yeke tsā'ko. Yeke potlats*
Konaxenešimkjet* 3 to.come 3 to.give
'Konaxenešimkjet* had come. He gave'

mukamuk kopa telexum. Yeke kapet potlats [Ø] mukamuk
food PREP people 3 to.finish to.give [3.OBJ] food
'food to the people. He finished giving them food.'

alta waght tenas lēlī ~~telxum jeke wəght~~ halo muk-
now also DIM long.time ~~people 3 also~~ NEG.CLAU to.eat*
'Then after a while there again was no food.'

amuk. Yeke delate cold, snow*, hyas q'al (hard)
3 really cold snow INTENS hard hard
'It was quite cold, snowy, (and) it was difficult'
When winter came there was great need in the village because no one was able

kopa telexum yeke iskum stick*, no axe for
PREP people 3 to.get wood no axe for
'for the people who collected wood; (there were) no axes for'
to go out and hunt. Deep snow covered everything far and wide and it was impossible to

get a stick used a stone. Ikt time ~~tsax~~ Konaxe-
get a stick used a stone one time ~~Tsag-ati-lā'o~~ Konaxenešimkjet*
'getting firewood (so they) used stones. At a certain point Konaxenešimkjet*'
gather firewood. So Gunaqanē'semgyet

... [sic] yeke kunamoxt kunoway ilaida kopa
... 3 with all slave PREP
'... was* with all the slaves in'

hyas kenīm. yeke ɪ'skum stick. yeke halo mitlait
big canoe 3 to.get wood 3 NEG.CLAU COPEX
'the big canoe, they were getting wood. They had no'

mukamuk. Kon... yeke wawa. T|os* nika
food Konaxenešimkjet* 3 to.say IMPER 1.SG
'food. Konaxenešimkjet* said, "Why don't I...'

kunamoxt mesika coley kopa kanī'm. Kona-
with 2.PL to.run PREP canoe all
'...go out with you folks in the canoe.' All'

way ilaida yeke kloš tumtum kunamoxt yeka:
slave 3 good heart with 3
'of the slaves agreed it was a good idea;'
said to his slaves, "Let's go out to get meat and wood."

yeke coley kopa* tlaghani ikta island*. Kony elaide
3 to.run PREP outside kind island* all slave
'they went offshore of a kind of island. All of the slaves'

jaka nanitsh hyiu seal, mitlait kopa saghali
3 to.see many seal COP.LOC PREP high
'could see a lot of seals that were up high'

stone. Ts hyas tigie* mukamuk [Ø].
rock Tsag·atilâ'o INTENS to.want to.eat [3.OBJ]
'on the rocks. Tsag·atilâ'o badly wanted to eat them,'
In a short time they came to a rock with many seals on it.

pi wegt kada* jaka iskum [Ø]. Ku...
CONJ NEG.PHRA how? 3 to.get [3.OBJ]
'but he couldn't catch them. Konaxenešimkjet*'
So the young chief

jeke ask tlaska. Mesika tiki okok? yeke wawa.
3 to.ask 3.PL 2.PL to.want DEM 3 to.say
'asked them, "Do you folks want those?" They answered,'
asked, "Would you like to have seals?"

Nesika hyas tiki okok. Ku... wawa: Tlos
1.PL INTENS to.want DEM to.say IMPER
' "We want them badly." Konaxenešimkjet said,'

mesika ipsoot, mesika sea'ghost kopa
2.PL to.hide 2.PL eye PREP
' "Cover your eyes in...'
Close your eyes

kanī'im. Alta konaway elaidtes* kopa ka-
canoe now all slave-N.PL PREP canoe
'...the canoe.' Now all of the slaves in the canoe'
and hide in the bottom of the canoe and I will kill them." The slaves obeyed

nēim yeke ipsut klaska seaghaus*. Alta K...
3 to.hide 3.PL eye now Konaxenešimkjet
'covered their eyes. And then Konaxenešimkjet'
and Gunaqanē'semgyet

jeke iskam okok club, jeke mash [Ø] kopa chuk.
3 to.take DEM club 3 to.throw [3.OBJ] PREP water
'took that club (and) he threw it into the water.'
took his club, threw it into the water

jek coley jek mamuk memaloš kony seals. Yeke
3 to.run 3 CAUS to.die all seal-N.PL 3
'It traveled (and) it killed all the seals. (When) it'
and it swam toward the seals. It bit through their throats and

kapet clubs, jeke kelapai K... yeke iskam [Ø]
to.finish club-N.PL* 3 to.return Konaxenešimkjet 3 to.take [3.OBJ]
'was done, the club came back (and) Konaxenešimkjet got it.'
returned to the canoe.

Yeke wawa. Mesika get up. Alta memalost.
3 to.say 2.PL to.rise now dead
'He said, "You folks (can) get up. (They're) dead now."'
Thereupon he told his slaves to get up again.

Kony elaides yeke tlos tumtum. Yeke koley
all slave-N.PL 3 good heart 3 to.run
'All of the slaves were happy. They ran'

yeke iskum konaway yeke tlap elehi* yeke ma-
3 to.take all 3 to.reach land 3 to.make
'(and) they got all (of them). They reached land (and) they built'

[IMG_0913.jpg]
[left page]

muk hyas fire. Yek mukamk konawy. Ikt klots[-]
big fire 3 to.eat all one.certain woman
'a big fire. They ate everything. One woman,'
They carried the seals to the shore and there cooked them. The young chief ordered them to eat everything up and not to take anything home with them. But one

men elaida klotsman yeke mitlait tumtum
slave woman 3 to.have thought
'a slave woman, had the thought'
slave woman thought of

ikt jeke tenas mitlait kopa house. Yeke ipsoot
one 3 child COP.LOC PREP house 3 to.hide
'of one of her children that was at home. She hid'
her hungry child and hid

tenas seal yeke meat. Yeke potlats yek tenas [Ø]*
little seal 3 meat 3 to.give 3 child [3.OBJ]*
'a bit of seal meat. She (would) give it to her child'

spose kje'lapai. K... wawa: Kloš mesika
IRR to.return Konaxenešimkjet to.say IMPER 2.PL
'when (she) returned. Konaxenešimkjet said, "You folks should...'
a bit of seal meat beneath her cape. ¶

mukamk konaway halo mesika lolo tenas
to.eat all NEG.CLAU 2.PL to.carry little
'...eat everything; don't bring even a little of it...'

kopa house. Yak kopet mukamuk yak koley
PREP house 3 to.finish to.eat 3 to.run
'...home." They finished eating (and) they took off'
When they had finished eating, they went on.

kopa caneim yeke nanits mitlait hyas stick
PREP canoe 3 to.see COP.EX big wood
'in the canoe; they saw there was a forest*/big* tree*,'
Soon they saw a big tree

yake delate dry yake konay elaida yake
3 really dry 3 all slave 3
'it was quite dry, it was; all of the slaves'

wawa: Qada nesika, spose nesika iskum
to.say how? 1.PL IRR 1.PL to.take
'said, "How are we (to do it), for us to get...'

okok hyas stick delate close. **WE GOT THIS FAR ON 6.11.2022** K... wawa:
DEM big wood really good Konaxenešimkjet to.say
'...that big tree that's so good? Konaxenešimkjet said,'
and Gunaqanē'semgyet asked,

Mesika tiki okok stick konwy êlaida an-
2.PL to.want DEM wood all slave to.answer
' "Do you want that tree?" All of the slaves answered,'
"Would you like to have the tree for firewood?" The slaves replied,

swer: Tyee nesika tiki Ø. Wake qada nesika
chief 1.PL to.want NEG.PHRA how? 1.PL
' "Chief, we want it. We can't..."
"Oh, chief, we'd like to have it very much but we are unable

fall down [Ø]. K... wawa. mesika ipsut. Mesika
to.fall [3.OBJ] Konaxenešimkjet to.say 2.PL to.hide 2.PL
'...fell it." Konaxenešimkjet said, "You folks, shut your..."
to cut it down." Again he ordered them to close their

seaghous. Alta ipsut jek seaghous K...
eye now hidden 3 eye Konaxenešimkjet
'...eyes." Now, their eyes closed, Konaxenešimkjet'
eyes and to hide in the bottom of the canoe. Then he

yeke iskum stone kopa yeke labosse. yeke
3 to.take stone PREP 3 mouth 3
'took a stone from his mouth (and) he'
took a stone from his mouth and

mash [Ø] qa mitlait okok stick. Stick yekke
to.throw [3.OBJ] where? COP.LOC DEM wood wood 3
'threw it where that tree stood. The tree'
flung it against the tree. It

fall down. hyiu kakšet. Konay elida yaka
to.fall much* broken all slave 3
'fell over, all smashed up. All of the slaves'
*toppled over and broke up into many fragments. When the slaves then looked up again and saw the tree
felled and split, they*

klōs tumtum. Hyack* yek paṭl canim
good heart quickly 3 full canoe
'were happy. Soon the canoe was filled'
rejoiced. They loaded the canoe

kopa stick. Elip yake paṭl K...
PREP wood first 3 full Konaxenešimkjet
'with wood. The first thing when it was full, Konaxenešimkjet'
and, when it was full and there was still more wood left on the shore, Gunaqanē'semgyet

yeke coley. Yeke squeeze okk* stick. Yeke* halo
3 to.run 3 to.squeeze DEM wood 3 NEG.CLAU
'hurried (over). He squeezed that wood (until) it wasn't'
pressed the cargo down

patl yeke iskum kny* stick yeke kje'lapai.
full 3 to.take all wood 3 to.return
'full (and) they fetched all the wood (and) they went back.'
so that there was room for more. Then they went back to their village.

Yeke tlap eli*. Konwy telexum yek lolo stick.
3 to.reach land all people 3 to.carry wood
'They reached shore. Everyone carried the wood'
When they arrived there, all the people helped to carry the wood

Qa okok tyee house. Ukok* elida klotsmen
where? DEM chief house DEM slave woman
'to where that chief's house was. That slave woman'
into their chief's house, but the slave woman

yeke koley qa yeke tenas mitlait. Yek
3 to.run where? 3 child COP.LOC 3
'ran off to where her child was. She'
who had the seal meat hidden beneath her cape went to her child, who lived in the house of the uncle of Gunaqanē'semgyet, and

potlats [Ø]* tenas meat* okok yeke ipsut. Yeke
to.give [3.OBJ]* little meat DEM 3 to.hide
'it a little meat, what she had hidden. Her'
gave the meat to it. Since the child was very hungry, it

tenas delate olo hyack* mukamuk konawy.
child really hungry quickly to.eat all
'child was ravenous, wolfing down all of it.'
didn't spend any time chewing the meat, but swallowed it and the morsel stuck in its throat.

[right page]

Halo _____ Halus*. Ikt tyee yek
NEG.CLAU _____ Halus one chief 3
' _____ Halus*. One chief's'

clotsmen hyak* coley. Yeke tyee uncle iskum [Ø] kopa
woman quickly to.run 3 chief uncle to.take [3.OBJ] PREP
'woman hurried over. His uncle took it from the (child's)'
Then the young chief's uncle noticed that the child was eating something, came up and took the morsel

labosse yekk ask okok elaida: qa mika iskum
mouth 3 to.ask DEM slave where? 2.SG to.get
'mouth (and) he asked that slave, "Where did you get...'
out of its mouth. Then he asked the slave woman where she had gotten

okok? Okk* wawa: Okok man K.... yeke mamuk
DEM DEM to.say DEM man Konaxenešimkjet 3 CAUS
'...this?' That* one* answered, "This man Konaxenešimkjet...'
the meat and she said, "Gunaqanē'semgyet

memaloš konawy seal Waght stick. Delate xaloim
to.die all seal also wood really strange
'...killed all the seals; also a tree. He's really strange,...'
killed many seals and toppled a big tree but he didn't allow us to see how he did it. All of us think that he is

okok man wake kakoa kanawē'e man. nesika
DEM man NEG.PHRA like all man 1.PL
'...this man, not like any (other) men. We...'
not really human but

tumtum yeke tsā'ko kopa saghali. Ikta nesika
to.think 3 to.come PREP above what? 1.PL
'...think that he came from the sky. Whatever we...'
that he comes from the sky."

tiki [Ø] hyack iskum [Ø]. Halo nesika kumtuks,
to.want quickly to.get [3.OBJ] NEG.CLAU 1.PL to.know
'...want, (he) quickly gets it. We don't know...'

qa jaka mamuk memalust* [Ø]."~~okok~~ K... uncle
where? 3 CAUS to.die [3.OBJ] ~~DEM~~ Konaxenešimkjet uncle
'...where he killed them [the seals]. Konaxenešimkjet's uncle'

yeke mitlait moxt yeke tenas klotsmen. Hyas
3 to.have two 3 DIM woman INTENS
'had two of his daughters.'
¶*And the uncle of Gunaqanē'semgyet had two daughters, both of whom were very*

klos yeke sea'ghaus. Yekke ekt* elep yekke married
good 3 face 3 one first 3 married
'They were beautiful. His first one* had just* been married'
beautiful. The older one had already been married

Ikt* sister _____ an* einem* Bein*. Alta okok
one sister _____ an* einem* Bein* now DEM
'(and) the other sister _____. Now this'

and the younger one was lame in one leg.

Hā'luš (K... Sclawe*) yeke kumtuks K...
Halus Konaxenešimkjet Sclawe 3 to.know Konaxenešimkjet
'Hā'luš (Konaxenešimkjet's slave) had heard that Konaxenešimkjet'
Hā'lus soon noticed that Gunaqanē'semgyet

atłki married kopa okok Klotsman, tyee yeke
eventually married PREP DEM woman chief 3
'was going to marry this woman, the chief's'
was in love with the older of the two sisters,

tenas. Ik* po'lakli Ha'luš yek ipsut coley,
child one night Halus 3 secretly to.run
'child. One night Hā'luš had sneaked away'
so he sneaked

kopa okok klotsmen. Yeke iskum [Ø]* yeke married [Ø]
PREP DEM woman 3 to.take [3.OBJ] 3 married [3.OBJ]
'to this woman. He had taken her (and) he had married her.'
into her room at night and took her for his wife.

Konaxenekjimjat* kēkulē tumtum
Konaxenešimkjet* low heart
'Konaxenešimkjet* was depressed*'

kopa okok elait mamuk. Delate sick tumtum
PREP DEM slave to.make really hurt heart
'about this slave's behavior, quite sad.'
When Gunaqanē'semgyet heard of this he became very sad,

tyee wawa, halo mika sick tumtum atłki nika
chief to.say NEG.CLAU 2.SG hurt heart eventually 1.SG
'The chief said, "Don't you be sad; I'll...'
but his uncle consoled him and

potlatsh ik naika tenas mika. Okok tyee yeke
to.give one 1.SG child 2.SG DEM chief 3
'...give another one of my children to you.' This chief
gave him his second daughter for a wife.

call yeke tena's yeke potlatsch [Ø]* kopa okok K..
to.call 3 child 3 to.give [3.OBJ] PREP DEM Konaxenešimkjet
'called his child (and) he gave her to that Konaxenešimkjet.'

Yake kopet married yeke coley kopa Qamaṭlā'it
3 to.finish marry 3 to.run PREP where? COP.LOC
'(When) he was done getting married, he went to where there was'
The young man went with her to

šok* tsuk (where the water out* got) pi mak* wash yake
water water where the water out got CONJ CAUS* washed 3
'some water [a spring] and washed his'
the pond where the people were getting their water and bathed her.

klotsmen yeke body. Yeke mamuk wash weght yake
woman 3 body 3 CAUS washed also 3
'woman's body. He washed her some more,'

mamuk kloš yake la piē'. Yeke kapet cloš
CAUS good 3 leg/foot 3 to.finish good
'healing her leg. It healed all the way,'
Thereupon her lame leg healed

yeke la pie' waight yeke mamuk cloš yeke tipso.
3 leg also 3 CAUS good 3 hair
'her leg did, (and) he also made her hair better.'
and her hair, which had been red before, became black and very long. She was now outstandingly beautiful and Gunaqanē'semgyet went back home with her. When Hā'lus saw how beautiful the young woman had become, he grew very jealous, but her father presented many precious things to Gunaqanē'semgyet because he had made her so beautiful.

[MISSING NOTEBOOK PAGE(S) HERE:] ¶After some time Gunaqanesemgyet thought, "Oh, if only Halus would go out to fetch firewood." He had scarcely thought this when his uncle ordered Halus to fetch firewood. He obeyed and went out with the other slaves to get wood. Gunaqanesemgyet continued thinking, "Oh, if only Halus would bring bad wood back with him." And this is what happened. Halus brought home bad wood which smoked badly when it burned. And Gunaqanesemgyet thought further, "Oh, if only the smoke would get into my mother-in-law's eye." This happened, too, and the mother-in-law went blind in one eye. He thought further, "Oh, if only my uncle would become angry and have the wood thrown out of the house." This wish too was granted. The following day he thought, "Oh, if only my father-in-law would send me out to fetch good firewood." That same morning his father-in-law rose early and told him to go out to get wood. Gunaqanesemgyet took his canoe and went out with many slaves to fetch wood. He loaded the canoe with good dry wood and then pressed down the cargo with his hands so that there was room for still more. When the canoe was finally completely full, he returned. All the people helped him to carry up the wood, which filled his father-in-law's house completely. ¶After some time the people went to Tlosems (Nass) in order to catch fish there. After a journey of six days they arrived at an island in the Nass. There Gunaqanesemgyet said to the people, "Now let's find out who is stronger, Halus or I." So the canoes stopped and the young chief continued, turning towards Halus, "On the island there is a big stone. Let's aim at it and see who can smash it." Thereupon Halus took a stone ball from his mouth and flung it against the stone, but the ball didn't smash it and instead bounded back with great force and hit his mother-in-law's mouth and made a great hole in her lower lip. So all the people laughed at Halus. Then it was the turn of

Gunaqanesemgyet. He took a ball from his mouth and threw it against the stone and it knocked a hole through it. Thereupon all the people knew that he was very powerful. ¶They went farther up the river and came to a mountain on the summit of which there lay much copper. The people tried to get it but were unable to climb the mountain, so Gunaqanesemgyet said, "Don't try in vain. We'll knock the copper down with stones, then you'll see who is stronger, Halus or I." So the canoes stopped. Halus threw first. He took a stone from his mouth and threw it but didn't even reach the summit of the mountain. The stone rolled down and fell into the water and all the people laughed at Halus. Then Gunaqanesemgyet took a stone from his mouth, hit the copper, and broke it up into many pieces. Thereupon two hermaphrodites got up in the canoe and said, "One piece of copper shall fly to the Skeena River, the other to Cassiar (on the Stikine River)." And that is what happened. ¶At last the canoes arrived at Tlosems. The fish were coming up the river very late and for a long time none were caught. So the people said to Halus and Gunaqanesemgyet, "Go down to the river and try to fish; we want to find out which one of you is the better man." The two of them went to their canoes and Halus put his fishing rake into the water first. He caught nothing but tree leaves. Then Halus tried again to catch fish, but didn't get any. On the second try Gunaqanesemgyet caught one fish, and, while he caught two on the third try, Halus again caught nothing in his rake. The fourth time Gunaqanesemgyet caught four fish and, because Halus again caught nothing, he was so ashamed that he, as well as his wife, jumped into the water and drowned themselves. From then on many fish were caught. ¶In the fall the canoes returned to Meqtlakqatla. One day the people saw a sea otter, but they did not succeed in catching it. So they asked Gunaqanesemgyet to try his luck and he killed the animal. His wife dressed it and skinned it. Then she went down to the sea to wash it. It wasn't long before Gyileksets'antk, Killer Whale, came swimming up and carried her away. The woman was afraid to fall into the sea and therefore held onto his back fins. Whale swam away with her before her husband could come to her aid. ¶But Gunaqanesemgyet was in no hurry and repaired his canoe first, and then, with many slaves, pursued Whale. When they came to the Nass River he saw that Whale was diving to the bottom of the sea, so he threw a rope with a stone at its end into the sea and climbed down along it. On the bottom of the sea he found a path and soon saw many people who told him that Whale had passed that way with a woman. he walked on and everyone he asked gave him the same answer. At last he arrived at Killer Whale's house. He found a slave busily splitting wood in front of it, so Gunaqanesemgyet hid himself. Suddenly the wedge with which the slave was splitting wood broke and the slave began to cry. Gunaqanesemgyet stepped from his hiding place and asked the slave why he was crying. He replied, "Oh, my wedge is broken and if my master sees that he will become very angry." But Gunaqanesemgyet consoled him and made the wedge whole again. Then he asked him, "Have you seen my wife?" The slave replied, "Yes, my master has stolen her, but I will help you to regain her. Tonight I will carry water to the house. When I get close to the fire I will pretend to stumble and will douse the fire. Then you must come and get your wife while it is dark in the house."

(WE GOT THIS FAR ON 06.25.2022)

[IMG_0914.jpg]
[left page]

kā'koa. Elaida* klaska [sic] tlap fire yeke fall down.
thus slave 3.PL to.reach fire to.fall
'that way. The slave* who* reached the fire tripped.'
And this is what did happen.

Tchuk* yeke kladawa kopa fire K--- yeke tsako
water 3 to.go PREP fire Konaxenešimkjet 3 to.come
'The water went onto the fire. Konaxenešimkjet came'
Gunaqanesemgyet

kopa house yeke iskam yek klō'tsmen. Yeke
PREP house 3 to.take 3 woman 3
'into the house (and) he took his woman. He'
seized his wife and

kje'lapai qa o'ixat yeke tšā'ko. Kunawy te'lexm*
to.return where? path 3 to.come all people
'went back to where the path was that he had come on. Everyone'
ran back to the rope with her. Whale and all the people

mitlait kopa kjē'kuli tso'k, yeke coley kjimta
3.LOC PREP under water 3 to.run after
'who lived underwater chased'
whom he had passed pursued

yaka. Wake ~~yake~~ qada yeke iskam K---
3 NEG.PHRA 3 how? 3 to.take Konaxenešimkjet
'him. They couldn't catch Konaxenešimkjet.'
him but didn't reach him.

yeke Klotsman. Hyas skukum coley yaka tlap
3 woman INTENS strongly to.run 3 to.find
'His woman* ran very hard. They reached'
As soon as he

okok rope hyack* yeke iskam. Okok telexim
DEM rope quickly 3 to.take DEM people
'that rope (and) quickly grabbed it. Those people'
shook the rope, the people

mitlait kopa kanim yeke skukum haul.
COP.LOC PREP canoe 3 strongly to.pull
'who were in the canoe pulled hard.'
in the canoe pulled him up quickly.

hyack* yeke tlap canim yeke coley. Hyiu yeke
quickly 3 to.reach canoe 3 to.run much* 3
'They reached the canoe in short order (and) set off. (There were) many of them'

kopa tsako [SIC] wake sia yeke canim pi wake
PREP water* NEG.PHRA far 3 canoe CONJ NEG.PHRA
'in the water close to his canoe but it was'
But the whales had surfaced already and wanted to attack the canoe.

qata. K--- mash skuqum la metzin. Kony
how? Konaxenešimkjet to.put strong medicine all
'hopeless. Konaxenešimkjet threw a strong medicine (and) all of the'
Gunaqanesemgyet scattered a magical substance onto the sea,

Klksn*⁶ memalust.
Klksn* to.die
'whales* died.'
which killed them all,

Yeke ~~tlap~~ skukm coley kanī'm yeke ~~tlap~~
3 ~~to.reach~~ strongly to.run canoe 3 to.reach
'It ran hard, the canoe did, (and) it reached'
and he reached

yeke ē'li. Okk* K--- yek klōš tumtum.
3 land DEM Konaxenešimkjet 3 good heart
'his land. That Konaxenešimkjet was happy.'
his home safely. ¶

(WE REACHED THE END OF THE STORY ON 07.09.2022)

6 **Klksn*** (the asterisk indicates a more or less illegible word); possibly this is Chinuk Wawa **laska** 'they' (thus **k^hánawi laska** 'all of them') or **laksta** 'who' (thus **k^hánawi-laksta** 'everybody'); otherwise perhaps Tsimshian **hlibin** 'any type of whale that is in the ocean' ([First Voices Gitsenimx](#)) / **hlibin** 'humpback whale' ([First Voices Nisga'a](#)) / **lpuun** 'whale' ([First Voices Sgüüxs](#)) / **lbuun** 'whale' ([First Voices Sm'algyax](#))?