

A Sliammon Text: “Blackfish”, as Told by Mary George*

WATANABE, Honoré

Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

This paper presents a Tla’amin (Sliammon) text narrated by the late Mrs. Mary George in 1993. A morphological analysis, glosses, and an English translation are provided for each line in the original Sliammon. The content is about the traditional belief that when people die, they become blackfish (killer whales). Other blackfish teach the newly deceased ones how to swim, and they come back to the shore in front of where they used to live.

Keywords: Sliammon, Salish, North America, text

1. Introduction
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1. Introduction

1.1. About Sliammon

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

1.2. About this text

This text was narrated by the late Mrs. Mary George (1924–2009) on Aug. 26, 1993. It was recorded by me, Honoré Watanabe; I was the only other person present in the room. The duration of the text is 3 minutes 19 seconds. It was subsequently transcribed and translated, first with Mrs. Mary George during the summer of 1995, and then checked thoroughly with the late Mrs. Marion Harry on Aug. 1 and 2, 2017. The linguistic analyses (phonological and grammatical) were all done by me.

In this text, Mrs. Mary George talks about the traditional belief passed on from her ancestors that when a person dies in the community, they turn into a blackfish (killer whale or orca). (Mrs. George preferred to call them ‘blackfish’, so I use this term throughout

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¹ What to call the language, however, is not a simple matter. The term *ʔayʔajuθəm* is sometimes used, but this is not without problems. See Watanabe (2003: 2–3) and Watanabe (2014: xiii–xiv) for details.



this text.) Other blackfish would teach them how to swim, and they would come back to the shore in front of where they used to live. This is why the Tla'amin people especially respected blackfish. Mrs. George disliked that 'watching blackfish' has become a tourist activity. She used to say that blackfish are sacred animals, and people should not approach them or take photographs of them.

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

1.3. The format

The text is presented in §2, first in Sliammon only (§2.1, in phonemic representation), second in its English translation (§2.2), and third with morphological analysis (§2.3). The line numbers, from 1 to 52 in parentheses, all correspond between these three subsections.

In §2.3, each line of the text is presented in a five-line format. The five lines respectively present the following:

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

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

Where one line of the text begins or where it ends is sometimes not entirely clear, as expected of natural discourse. Speakers may restart a sentence ('false starts'), pause in the middle of a sentence, or may add a word or phrase after a sentence.

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

1.4. Notes on grammar and words

For a description of the grammar of Sliammon, I refer the readers to Watanabe (2003). This subsection includes some notes on the grammatical structures and words that appear in the text, but whose descriptions are not detailed or are lacking entirely in Watanabe (2003). Shorter explanations are provided in the footnotes in §2.3.

1.4.1. Emphatic negation

There are two types of propositional negation in Sliammon: (i) the basic construction and (ii) the emphatic one.

² False starts and stumbles are written in parentheses inside brackets.

- (i) $x^w a?$ \check{c} $təx^w-n<i>x^w-an$
 $x^w a?$ \check{c} $təx^w-n<i>x^w-an$
 NEG 1SG.INDC.SBJ know-NTR<STV>-1SG.CNJ.SBJ
 ‘I do not know.’
- (ii) $x^w a?$ \emptyset $\check{c}am'-as$ $?iy$ $qaqs-im-i-t$ $\check{c}x^w$ $tə$
 $x^w a?$ \emptyset $\check{c}əm'-as$ $?iy$ $qaqs-Vm-mi-t$ $\check{c}x^w$ $tə$
 NEG 3INDC.SBJ why/how-3CNJ.SBJ and play-MDL-RLT-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ DET
 $nənqəm.$
 $nənqəm$
 blackfish
 ‘You never made fun of blackfish.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.003)

In the basic pattern (i), the Negator $x^w a?$, which functions as the main predicate, is followed by the Indicative Subject clitic (\check{c}). This is followed by a Conjunctive (or Subjunctive) clause whose subject is marked by the Conjunctive Subject suffix ($-an$).

In the emphatic negation pattern (ii), the Negator $x^w a?$ is followed by the third person Indicative Subject clitic (\emptyset^3), and then $\check{c}əm'$ ‘why/how’ with the third person Conjunctive Subject suffix $-as$. This is in turn followed by the coordinating conjunction $?iy$ ‘and’ and then an indicative clause that codes the negated proposition. In (ii) the clause $qaqs-im-i-t \check{c}x^w tə nənqəm$ alone would mean ‘you make fun of blackfish.’ A literal translation of the whole sentence would be something like ‘it is no how and you make fun of blackfish’, which might be similar to ‘there is no way that you would make fun of blackfish’ in English.

Note that the first part before the conjunction is often reduced considerably, and the conjunction is often omitted. Thus, $x^w a? \check{c}əm'-as$ often becomes $x^w a? \check{c}əm'$, as in Line 40. Further, the Negator $x^w a?$ is often reduced and weakened so that it may be pronounced as $[x^w ə]$, without stress, as in Line 18. Because of this reduction, the two words $x^w a?$ and $\check{c}əm'-as$ coalesce and are pronounced as $[x^w ə\check{c}əm'as]$, $[x^w ə\check{c}əm']$, or even $[x^w \check{c}əm']$. The coalescence results in the second position clitic $k^w a$ appearing after $\check{c}əm'(-as)$, as in Lines 18, 19, 38, 39, and 40.

1.4.2. Quotative $k^w a$

The clitic $k^w a$ ‘Quotative’ indicates that the information is hearsay. It occurs in numerous lines throughout a narrative, such as the one presented here. It could be translated as ‘they say’, or ‘it is said/told (that)’ in English. However, the speakers with whom I have worked have almost never translated this clitic. The reason for its omission in translation may be because it would be too cumbersome to reflect it in the translation every time it appears, or may be because it is too obvious for native speakers. In the translation of the text under study, it is not reflected in the English translation.

³ Zero marker is not written in the rest of the paper.

1.4.3. *nam' nam'-s*

Line 33 begins with *nam' nam'-s*. This is not a restart or an unintentional repetition. There are just a few examples in my corpus, but Mrs. Harry volunteered the following example:

nam' ʔut nam'-s.
 nam' ʔut nam'-s
 similar CLT similar-3POSS
 'He has always been like that.'

The construction remains unclear, and it might be idiomatic, as Mrs. Harry felt. It is clear from this example that the repetition is not a reduplication, since a clitic can occur after the first *nam'*.

1.4.4. *pəx^wayis*

The word *pəx^wayis* appears in Lines 22, 23, and 33. It means for a blackfish or whale to blow air. The word is clearly based on the root *pəx^w*- 'steam, blow (air).' However, the remainder, *-ayis*, cannot be accounted for, and hence I have left the word unsegmented in the text. Sechelt, the Coast Salish language situated immediately to the south of Sliammon, has a clear cognate: *páx^w-iy-áls* 'blow (whale, etc.), exhale smoke strongly.'⁴ The segment *-iy* appears to be a connecting element. The suffix *-áls* appears to be *-als*³ in Beaumont (2011: 551–552), which is described as follows: "This ending indicates an action that affects a number of people, things, etc., or that results in a number of things." For the Sechelt word *yúl-áls* 'beat/stir things (cream, eggs, etc.)', the suffix is described as follows: "the function of *-als* is more obscure. Perhaps it refers to the repetitive action of stirring."

1.4.5. *č'ahč'ahat*

The word *č'ahč'ahat* occurs several times in this text. It is based on the root *č'ah-* 'pray', which occurs in other words like *č'ah-am* 'to pray' (*-am* MDL), *č'ah-am-aw'tx^w* 'church' (*-aw'tx^w* 'house'), *č'ah-am-tən* 'hymn' (*-tən* 'instrument'), etc. *č'ahč'ahat* is often translated as 'to thank him/her/them.' However, both Mrs. George and Mrs. Harry provided different translations at different times, such as 'to say nice things to him', or 'to say kind words to him.' I have left the translations close to what they told me, and hence they are not consistent in the translation lines.

⁴ Sechelt *l* corresponds to Sliammon *y*. These are the historical reflexes of Proto-Salish **l*.

2. The text

2.1. The text in Sliammon⁵

- (1) naʔs k^w nənqəm q^waq^wθəm' tin.'
- (2) tihstumut^w tə nənqəm sɣ^wux^wuʔ.
- (3) x^waʔ čam'as ʔiy qaqsimit čx^w tə nənqəm.
- (4) ʔut k^wa qəy' k^w θ_jjaʔajaʔuʔ..., huy ʔiy naʔa... matəm k^wa ʔə tə nənqəm.
- (5) matəm, huy ʔiy tiwšamstum ʔə k^w nənšəm.
- (6) k^wənit čx^w k^wa ɣa ʔut q^wəq^wəl k^w nənqəm, qəxmut.
- (7) məmhiy' k^wa tə naʔa... titiwšamsx^wasiw ʔə k^w nənšəm.
- (8) pəq k^wa k^w ʔiʔagik^ws.
- (9) ɣaxapəystum k^wa ɣa ʔə k^w niʔus k^w θ_jqam'uʔ... qay'uʔ.
- (10) ɣaxapəystum k^wa ʔə tiʔi q^wiq^wit.
- (11) titiwšamstum k^w nənšəm.
- (12) čək^wtigatəm k^wa... ʔə tə nənqəm.
- (13) hiw k^wa ɣa q^wašq^wiš tə nənqəm.
- (14) ʔəymut k^w q^wayigəns maʔəx^ws tə qəmʔuwit.
- (15) huy matasiw.
- (16) ʔajamatas θu ʔ_j k^w naʔa nənqəm.
- (17) x^wux^w k^wa ɣa niš k^wə θ_j q^witigən. k^wənit čx^w k^wa ɣa.
- (18) x^waʔ čam'as k^wa ʔiy xičit čx^w.
- (19) ʔut čx^w k^wa xičit ʔiy xənaθis k^wa ʔə k^w təx.
- (20) huy ʔut tə θ_j č'ahč'ahat. ʔutut čx^w k^wa č'ahč'ahat.
- (21) niš k^wa ɣa ɣaxapəy' ʔə tiʔi.
- (22) pəx^wayis ɣa tə nənqəm.
- (23) pəx^wayis.
- (24) θu ɣa təs ʔə k^w naʔa... t^θəmɣs k^w θ_j q^wayigən ʔə k^w θ_j x^waʔx^waʔuʔ.
- (25) θusx^wasiw ɣa.
- (26) θusx^was hiyt ʔə k^w čanas naʔa... nəšəmsx^was.
- (27) θusx^was ʔə k^w niʔi č'ač'aʔ.
- (28) x^wux^w ɣa ʔiy q^wəl čax^w k^wiʔik^wnəx^w.
- (29) q^wəl k^wa ɣa naʔa... nam' k^w ʔəšnumut tan.'
- (30) nam' k^w təx^wnix^was s_j his tiʔi ʔə tuwaʔus.
- (31) q^wiʔiq^wəl k^wa ʔut xəxpi.
- (32) q^wəl k^wa ʔut taʔat xəpi.
- (33) nam' nam's pəx^wayis.

⁵ The phonemic inventory of Sliammon includes the following: *p, t^θ, t, λ, č, k, k^w, q, q^w, ʔ, p', t^θ, t', λ', č', k', k^w, q', q^w, j, g, j', g', θ, s, ʃ, š, x^w, ɣ, x^w, h, m, n, l, y, w, m', n', l', y', w', i, u, a, ə*. In addition, two morphophonemes //L// and //L'// need to be posited. They are realized, depending on the environment, as *ʃ ~ y ~ w* and *ʃ ~ y' ~ w' ~ ʔ*, respectively. The primary stress generally falls on the first vowel of the word. The secondary stress (and/or high pitch) is distinctive, and when it does not follow the basic trochaic pattern, it needs to be marked. However, much remains to be investigated in terms of the prosody of Sliammon. See Watanabe (2003) and references cited therein for details. The Americanist phonetic symbols are used in this paper. Where they differ, the IPA equivalents are as follows: *λ = ɸ, č = ɕ, j = ɕ̥, š = ʃ, x = ɣ*.

- (34) nam' ɟk'wa ʔə ɟk'w hihiw λək'λak'w mut.
 (35) ʔut ɟçx'w ɟk'wa ɟga k'wənəx'w tə nənqəm, č'ahč'ahat ɟçx'w ɟk'wa.
 (36) "oo nəgiy ɟala ʔə ɟq'wəl' k'wək'wəntum'uł," nat ɟçx'w ɟk'wa ʔə ɟk'wan.'
 (37) č'ahč'ahat ɟçx'w ɟk'wa.
 (38) x'wa? čam'as ɟk'wa ʔiy xənət ɟçx'w ʔə ɟk'w ɟəx.
 (39) x'wa? čam'as ɟk'wa (ʔiy) xənət ɟçx'w ʔə ɟk'w ɟəx q'w ayigən.
 (40) x'wa? čam' ɟk'wa (ʔiy) xixcit ɟçx'w.
 (41) huy ɟk'wut tə ʈ č'ahč'ahat.
 (42) ʔəymut ɟk'wa ɟga k'w q'w ayigəns tə nənqəm.
 (43) q'wiʔiq'wəl ɟk'wa ʔut xəxpi hił k'wiʔik'wəntas k'w ɟgijaʔus.
 (44) hi k'wan' niʔitituf ʔə ʂə ms ɟk'wuk'wpaʔuł.
 (45) nam' ʂt ɟga. hihiw ɟç tihsx'wul tə nənqəm čəni.
 (46) x'amut ɟç naʔa... qaqsimitan. ninatəm ʔə ɟk'wan.'
 (47) taʔat ɟç naʔa... ʔayʔay't.
 (48) payaʔ ɟç ʔut č'ahč'ahat tə nənqəm k'w ɟs huθus tə č'ač'aʔ.
 (49) x'wa? ɟç qaqsimitan. x'waʔ ɟç xixcitan.
 (50) huy tə t^θ č'ahč'ahat ʔiy θu ɟk'wit k'wətk'w tigən.
 (51) θu ʔ ɟk'w θuθuhit.
 (52) hił naʔs k'w naʔa nənqəm k'wan' q'w aq'wəθəm.'

2.2. The text in English translation

- (1) 'This is a blackfish story.'
- (2) 'They respected blackfish a long time ago.'
- (3) 'You never made fun of blackfish.'
- (4) 'If one of your relatives died, blackfish would take him away.'
- (5) 'They would take him away, then they would teach him swimming.'
- (6) 'You would see the blackfish, many of them, when they would come.'
- (7) 'The one they were teaching to swim would be in the middle.'
- (8) 'His clothes would be white.'
- (9) 'They would make him go back and forth where your deceased relative, the one who passed away, lived.'
- (10) 'They would make him go back and forth along this shoreline.'
- (11) 'They would be teaching him how to swim.'
- (12) 'The blackfish would put him in between them.'
- (13) 'The blackfish would be very happy.'
- (14) 'They would be very happy when they got their relative.'
- (15) 'They would take him.'
- (16) 'They would change him into a blackfish.'
- (17) 'He would stay for a long time at your beach, and you would be watching him.'
- (18) 'You were never to point at him.'
- (19) 'If you pointed at him, he would give you something bad (bad luck).'
- (20) 'You would just say kind words to him. You would tell him nice things.'

- (21) 'He would stay here and go back and forth.'
- (22) 'The blackfish would blow air.'
- (23) 'He would blow air.'
- (24) 'You would be starting to forget about your deceased one.'
- (25) 'They (the blackfish) would take him (the deceased one).'
- (26) 'They would take him somewhere and make him swim.'
- (27) 'They would take him far away along the ocean.'
- (28) 'For a long time, you would keep seeing him.'
- (29) 'He would come along... and he would be really friendly.'
- (30) 'It was as if he knew that it is here that he is from.'
- (31) 'He would keep coming back.'
- (32) 'He would come back.'
- (33) 'He would be like blowing air.'
- (34) 'He would be like really friendly.'
- (35) 'If you saw the blackfish, you would say kind words to him.'
- (36) '“Oh, it's you coming to see us,” you would say that to him.'
- (37) 'You would thank him.'
- (38) 'You would never say bad things to him.'
- (39) 'You would never give him bad feelings.'
- (40) 'You were never to point at him.'
- (41) 'You would just thank him.'
- (42) 'The blackfish would be very happy.'
- (43) 'He would keep coming back to see his place.'
- (44) 'That is what was said by our grandfather.'
- (45) 'So we are like that. I had a great respect for blackfish myself.'
- (46) 'I would never make fun of them. That's what they said about that.'
- (47) 'I would be nice to them.'
- (48) 'I always have nice words for blackfish as they are passing through the channels.'
- (49) 'I never make fun of them. I do not point at them.'
- (50) 'I just say kind words to them as they are passing by.'
- (51) 'They are going to their destination (lit. where they are going.)'
- (52) 'That is the blackfish story.'

2.3. The text with analysis

- (1) [náʔs k^wnəŋqəm q^wáq^wsəm' tɪn']
 naʔ-s k^w nəŋqəm q^waq^wθəm' tɪn.'
 naʔ-s k^w nəŋqəm q^waq^wθəm' tɪn'
 possess-3POSS DET₃ blackfish story DEM
 'This is a blackfish story.' (MG-BLACKFISH.001)

- (2) [tɪhstomð:toʔ tənánqəm sɣ^wóɣ^woʔ]

tih-stu-m-ut-uł tə nəŋqəm sɣ^wuɣ^wuł.
 tih-stg-əm-mut-ʔuL tə nəŋqəm sɣ^wuɣ^wuł
 big-CAUS-PASS-very-PST DET_U blackfish long.time.ago
 ‘They respected blackfish a long time ago.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.002)

- (3) [x^wəččéʔmas ʔiˈqáqsemečx^w tɔ nánqam]
 x^waʔ čam’-as ʔiy qaqs-im-i-t ɔčx^w tə nəŋqəm.
 x^waʔ čəm’-as ʔiy qaqs-Vm-mi-t ɔčx^w tə nəŋqəm
 NEG why/how-3CNP.SBJ and play-MDL-RLT-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ DET_U blackfish
 ‘You never made fun of blackfish.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.003)

- (4) [ʔótk^wa qéy’ k^wθjéʔɔjèʔoł ... hoy ʔiˈnaʔa ... máˈtamk^wa ʔatɔ nánqam]
 ʔut k^wa qəy’ k^w θ_U jaʔaja-ʔuł..., huy ʔiy naʔa... ma-t-əm
 ʔut k^wa qəy’ k^w θ_U jaʔaja-ʔuł huy ʔiy naʔa maʔ-t-əm
 if QUOT die DET_U 2SG.POSS_U relatives-DIM then and R.FILLER obtain-CTR-PASS
 k^wa ʔə tə nəŋqəm.
 k^wa ʔə tə nəŋqəm
 QUOT OBL_U DET_U blackfish

‘If one of your relatives died, blackfish would take him away.’⁶ (MG-BLACKFISH.004)

- (5) [máˈtam hoy ʔiˈ tíwšəmstom ʔak^w nánšum]
 ma-t-əm, huy ʔiy tiwš-am-stu-m ʔə k^w nə~nš-əm.
 maʔ-t-əm huy ʔiy tiwš-Vm-stg-əm ʔə k^w CV~nəš-Vm
 obtain-CTR-PASS then and learn-MDL-CAUS-PASS OBL_U DET_U IMPF~SWIM-MDL
 ‘They would take him away, then they would teach him swimming.’
 (MG-BLACKFISH.005)

⁶ The subsequent lines talk about one relative being taken away, so this line is translated as ‘one of your relatives.’

- (6) [k'wúnečx^wk'wag^l ?ot q^wúq^wvl k^wnónqam qáχmo::t]
 k'wən-i-t čx^w k'wa ga ?ut q^wə~q^wəl k^w nənqəm, qəχ-mut.⁷
 k'wən-i-t čx^w k'wa ga ?ut CV~q^wəl k^w nənqəm qəχ-mut
 see-STV-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT MTG if IMPF~COME DET blackfish many-very
 'You would see the blackfish, many of them, when they would come.'⁸
 (MG-BLACKFISH.006)

- (7) [mámhèyk'wα tənα... títiwšèmsx^wàsew ?ak^w nánšum]
 mə~mh<i>y' k'wa tə na?a... ti~tiwš-am-sx^w-as-iw ?ə k^w
 CV~məhy<i> k'wa tə na?a CV~tiwš-Vm-stg-as-?Vg ?ə k^w
 RDPL~middle<STV> QUOT DET R.FILLER IMPF~learn-MDL-CAUS-3ERG-PL CLFT DET
 nə~nš-am.
 CV~nəš-Vm
 IMPF~swim-MDL
 'The one they were teaching to swim would be in the middle.' (MG-BLACKFISH.007)

- (8) [páqk'wα k^w?é?agik'w's]
 pəq k'wa k^w ?i?agik'w-s.
 pəq k'wa k^w ?i?agik'w-s
 white QUOT DET clothes-3POSS
 'His clothes would be white.' (MG-BLACKFISH.008)

⁷ The last word *qəχmut* appears to be an addition, since the usual word order within an NP is [determiner - attributive - noun], which would be *k^w qəχ-mut nənqəm*.

⁸ *?ut* most often appears sentence-initially, meaning 'if.' (It is homophonous but different from the clitic *?ut*.) MH suggested that it could be translated as either 'if' or 'when' in this line, but 'when' would be more appropriate in English.

- (9) [xáxapè:ystomk^wαgΛ ?Ak^w né:ʔos k^wθ qáʔmoʔ ... qáʔyoʔ]
- xá~x<a>p<ə>y-stu-m k^wa ga ?ə k^w niʔ-ʔu-s k^w
- CV~xəpʃ<a><ə>-stg-əm k^wa ga ?ə k^w niʔ-ʔuL-s k^w
- IMPF~return<PL>EPEN-CAUS-PASS QUOT MTG OBL DET be.there-PST-3POSS DET
- θ qam'-uʔ... qay'-uʔ.⁹
- θ qəm'-ʔuL qəy'-ʔuL
- 2SG.POSS accompany/spouse-PST die-PST
- 'They would make him go back and forth where your deceased relative, the one who passed away, lived.' (MG-BLACKFISH.009)
- (10) [xáxapeystomk^wa ?Atéʔε q^wéq^wit]
- xá~x<a>pʃ-stu-m k^wa ?ə tiʔi q^wi~q^wit.¹⁰
- CV~xəpʃ<a>-stg-əm k^wa ?ə tiʔi CV~q^wit
- IMPF~return<PL>-CAUS-PASS QUOT OBL DEM RDPL~beach
- 'They would make him go back and forth along this shoreline.' (MG-BLACKFISH.010)
- (11) [títiwšëmstom k^wnánšum]
- tí~tiwš-am-stu-m k^w nə~nš-əm.
- CV~tiwš-Vm-stg-əm k^w CV~nəš-Vm
- IMPF~learn-MDL-CAUS-PASS DET IMPF~swim-MDL
- 'They would be teaching him how to swim.' (MG-BLACKFISH.011)
- (12) [čúk^wtegátəmk^wα ... ?ΛΛΛ nánqΛm]
- čək^wt-iga-t-əm k^wa... ?ə tə nənqəm.
- čək^wt-igan-t-əm k^wa ?ə tə nənqəm
- in.between-side.of.body/feeling-CTR-PASS QUOT OBL DET blackfish
- 'The blackfish would put him in between them.' (MG-BLACKFISH.012)

⁹ The last word, *qay'uʔ*, is uttered after a long pause, but MH felt that it is still part of this line.

¹⁰ *q^wi~q^wit* is translated as 'shoreline, waterfront, along shoreline, close to beach.' It is derived from *q^wit* 'beach; go towards beach (from land)' and has undergone a CV reduplication. The secondary stress (and high pitch) on the second vowel is unexpected. The source of the reduplication may be the CV Diminutive reduplication. However, the semantic contribution of the reduplication would be unclear, and it appears to be a lexicalized form. This word is in contrast with the same root that underwent the CV Imperfective reduplication: *q^wi~q^wit* [q^wéq^wit] 'going towards beach (from land).' (The pitch is [HL].)

- (13) [héwk^wagΛ q^wášq^wíš tənónqəm]
 hiw ɟk^wa ɟga q^waš~q^w<i>š tə nənqəm.
 hihiw ɟk^wa ɟga CaC~q^wəš<i> tə nənqəm
 very QUOT MTG RDPL~happy<STV> DET blackfish
 ‘The blackfish would be very happy.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.013)
- (14) [ʔí:mo:t k^wq^wáyigəns mǎʔx^ws tΛqámʔəwt]
 ʔəy-mut k^w q^wayigən-s maʔ-əx^w-s tə
 ʔəj^ʔ-mut k^w q^wayigən-s maʔ-ng-s tə
 good-very DET feel/think-3POSS obtain-NTR-3POSS DET
 qəm'-ʔuw-it.
 qəm'-ʔuL-it
 accompany/spouse-PST-3PL.POSS
 ‘They would be very happy when they got their relative.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.014)
- (15) [hoy mǎtǎsew]
 huy ma-t-as-iw.
 huy maʔ-t-as-ʔVg
 then obtain-CTR-3ERG-PL
 ‘They would take him.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.015)
- (16) [ʔá:jəma'tàs θoʔ k^wna: nónqΛm]
 ʔaj-am-a-t-as θu ʔ k^w naʔa nənqəm.
 ʔaj-Vm-V-t-as θu ʔə k^w naʔa nənqəm
 change-MDL-LV-CTR-3ERG go OBL DET R.FILLER blackfish
 ‘They would change him into a blackfish.’¹¹ (MG-BLACKFISH.016)
- (17) [x^wó:x^wk^wagΛ níš k^wυθq^wétegən k^wúne:čx^wk^wagΛ]
 x^wux^w ɟk^wa ɟga níš k^wə θ ɟ q^wit-igan k^wən-i-t
 x^wux^w ɟk^wa ɟga níš k^wə θ ɟ q^wit-igan k^wən-i-t
 long.time QUOT MTG stay DET 2SG.POSS beach-side.of.body/feeling see-STV-CTR
 čx^w ɟk^wa ɟga.
 čx^w ɟk^wa ɟga
 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT MTG

¹¹ *θu* in this construction corresponds to the English preposition ‘into.’

‘He would stay for a long time at your beach, and you would be watching him.’
(MG-BLACKFISH.017)

- (18) [x^wəčéʔmΛsk^wα ʔiː x̣éčičx^w]
 x^waʔ čam'-as ʔk^wa ʔiy x̣ič-i-t ʔčx^w.
 x^waʔ čəm'-as ʔk^wa ʔiy x̣ič-V-t ʔčx^w
 NEG why/how-3CNJ.SBJ QUOT and point-LV-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ
 ‘You were never to point at him.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.018)

- (19) [ʔóčx^wk^wα x̣éčit ʔiː x̣ánaθesk^wα ʔΛk^wʔΛx̣]
 ʔut ʔčx^w ʔk^wa x̣ič-i-t ʔiy x̣əna-θi-s ʔk^wa ʔə ʔk^w
 ʔut ʔčx^w ʔk^wa x̣ič-V-t ʔiy x̣ənat-θi-as ʔk^wa ʔə ʔk^w
 if 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT point-LV-CTR and give-CTR+2SG.OBJ-3ERG QUOT OBL DET
 ʔəx̣.
 ʔəx̣
 bad
 ‘If you pointed at him, he would give you something bad (bad luck).’
(MG-BLACKFISH.019)

- (20) [hóyʔot tΛθ č'éc'ε:hat ʔóto:čx^wk^wα č'éhč'εhat]
 huy ʔut tə ʔ č'ah~č'ah-a-t. ʔut-u-t ʔčx^w ʔk^wa
 huʃ ʔut tə ʔ CVC~č'ah-V-t ʔut-V-t ʔčx^w ʔk^wa
 only CLT DET 2SG.POSS RDPL~pray-LV-CTR tell-LV-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT
 č'ah~č'ah-a-t.
 CVC~č'ah-V-t
 RDPL~pray-LV-CTR
 ‘You would just say kind words to him. You would tell him nice things.’
(MG-BLACKFISH.020)

- (21) [ní:šk^wαgΛ x̣áx̣apɿy' ʔΛt'éʔε]
 niš ʔk^wa ʔga x̣a~x̣<a>p<ə>y' ʔə tiʔi.
 niš ʔk^wa ʔga CV~x̣əpj<a><ə> ʔə tiʔi
 stay QUOT MTG IMPF~return<PL> EPEN OBL
 ‘He would stay here and go back and forth.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.021)

- (22) [púx^waiːsgλ tɒlínqɒm]
 pəx^wayis ɟa tə nənqəɒm.
 pəx^wayis ɟa tə nənqəɒm
 blow.air ̱_{MTG} DET ̱ blackfish
 ‘The blackfish would blow air.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.022)
- (23) [púx^waiːs]
 pəx^wayis.
 pəx^wayis
 blow.air
 ‘He would blow air.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.023)
- (24) [θóːgɒ tás ʔak^wnaː... t^ʰəmx̣s k^wθ q^wáyigəɒn ʔak^wθx^wáʔx^waʔoʔ]
 θu ɟa təs ʔə k^w naʔa... t^ʰəmx̣-s k^w θ q^wayigəɒn ʔə
 θu ɟa təs ʔə k^w naʔa t^ʰəmx̣-s k^w θ q^wayigəɒn ʔə
 go ̱_{MTG} reach OBL ̱_{DET} R.FILLER dissappear-3POSS ̱_{DET} 2SG.POSS ̱_{feel/think} OBL
 k^w θ x^waʔ~x^waʔ-uʔ.
 k^w θ CVC~x^waʔ-ʔuL
 ̱_{DET} 2SG.POSS ̱_{RDPL~come.off-PST}
 ‘You would be starting to forget about your deceased one.’¹²(MG-BLACKFISH.024)
- (25) [θóːsx^wasewgλ]
 θu-sx^w-as-iw ɟa.
 θu-stg-as-ʔVg ɟa
 go-CAUS-3ERG-PL ̱_{MTG}
 ‘They (the blackfish) would take him (the deceased one).’ (MG-BLACKFISH.025)
- (26) [θósx^washít ʔak^w čénəs naː... níšimsx^was]
 θu-sx^w-as ɟiyt ʔə k^w čanas naʔa... nəš-əɒm-sx^w-as.
 θu-stg-as ɟiyt ʔə k^w čanas naʔa nəš-Vm-stg-as
 go-CAUS-3ERG ̱_{CLT} OBL ̱_{DET} somewhere R.FILLER swim-MDL-CAUS-3ERG
 ‘They would take him somewhere and make him swim.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.026)

¹² A more literal translation might be: ‘Your feelings for the one you lost are going to reach the point of disappearing.’

- (27) [θósx^was ʔAk^w níʔji č'éc'èʔ]
 θu-sx^w-as ʔə k^w nij'i č'a~č'aʔ.¹³
 θu-stg-as ʔə k^w nij'i CV~č'aʔ
 go-CAUS-3ERG OBL₁ DET₁ far RDPL~ocean
 'They would take him far away along the ocean.' (MG-BLACKFISH.027)
- (28) [x^wó:x^wga ʔu: q^wúlčux^w k^wéʔεk^wnəx^w]
 x^wu^w ga ʔiy q^wəl čax^w k^wiʔi~k^wn-əx^w.
 x^wu^w ga ʔiy q^wəl čax^w Ciʔi~k^wən-ng
 long.time MTG and come 2SG.INDC.SBJ RDPL~see-NTR
 'For a long time, you would keep seeing him.' (MG-BLACKFISH.028)
- (29) [q^wúlk^wa:ga na:... nám' k^wʔišnomot tán']
 q^wəl k^wa ga naʔa... nam' k^w ʔəšnumut tan'.
 q^wəl k^wa ga naʔa nam' k^w ʔəšnumut tan'
 come QUOT MTG R.FILLER similar DET friendly DEM
 'He would come along... and he would be really friendly.' (MG-BLACKFISH.029)
- (30) [nám'k^wtóx^wnex^was shés téʔ ʔAtúwaʔòs]
 nam' k^w təx^w-n<i>x^w-as s₁ hi-s tiʔi ʔə tuwa-ʔu-s.
 nam' k^w təx^w-ng<i>-as s₁ hiL-s tiʔi ʔə tuwa-ʔuL-s
 similar DET know-NTR<STV>-3ERG NMLZ it's-3POSS DEM CLFT from-PST-3POSS
 'It was as if he knew that it is here that he is from.' (MG-BLACKFISH.030)
- (31) [q^wéʔεq^wvlk^waʔot xáxpí]
 q^wiʔi~q^wəl k^wa ʔut xə~xpí.
 Ciʔi~q^wəl k^wa ʔut CV~xəpǽ
 RDPL~come QUOT CLT IMPF~return
 'He would keep coming back.' (MG-BLACKFISH.031)
- (32) [q^wúlk^wa::ʔot táʔt xápi]
 q^wəl k^wa ʔut taʔat xəpi.
 q^wəl k^wa ʔut taʔat xəpǽ
 come QUOT CLT DEM return

¹³ č'a~č'aʔ is derived from č'aʔ 'ocean, sea' and is translated as 'far out in the ocean, deep water, channel.' It is sometimes translated as 'traveling far out in the ocean', so the CV reduplication might be the CV Imperfective.

‘He would come back.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.032)

- (33) [nám' nám's púx^w ai's]
 nam' nam'-s pəx^w ayis.
 nam' nam'-s pəx^w ayis
 similar similar-3POSS blow.air
 ‘He would be like blowing air.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.033)

- (34) [nám' k^w a ʔak^w héhəw λ' úk^w λ' ak^w mot]
 nam' k^w a ʔə k^w hihiw λək^w ~λak^w-mut.
 nam' k^w a ʔə k^w hihiw CəC~λak^w-mut
 similar QUOT OBL_U DET_U very PL~friendly-very
 ‘He would be like really friendly.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.034)

- (35) [ʔóčx^w k^w a gə k^w únux^w tənánqam č' éhč' əhəčx^w k^w a gə]
 ʔut čx^w k^w a gə k^w ən-əx^w tə nənqəm, č' ah~č' ah-a-t
 ʔut čx^w k^w a gə k^w ən-ng tə nənqəm CVC~č' ah-V-t
 if 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT MTG see-NTR DET_U blackfish RDPL~pray-LV-CTR
 čx^w k^w a.
 čx^w k^w a
 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT
 ‘If you saw the blackfish, you would say kind words to him.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.035)

- (36) [o: nígiyal ʔaq^w ul' k^w úk^w untòʔmoł ná'čəx^w k^w a k^w án']
 “oo¹⁴ nəgiy əla ʔə q^w əl' k^w ə~k^w ən-t-um' uł¹⁵,” na-t
 oo nəgiL əla ʔə q^w əl' CV~k^w ən-t-umuł naʔ-t
 EXCLAM 2SG.INDP EXCLAM CLFT_U come IMPF~see-CTR-1PL.OBJ say-CTR
 čəx^w k^w a ʔə k^w an.
 čəx^w k^w a ʔə k^w an'
 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT OBL_U DEM
 ‘“Oh, it's you coming to see us,” you would say that to him.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.036)

¹⁴ /o/ is not in the Sliammon phonemic inventory; however, since this is an exclamation (‘Oh!’), I treat it as an exception and represent it as /oo/.

¹⁵ The glottalization on *m'* appears to be triggered by the CV Imperfective reduplication. This reduplication causes resonants to receive glottalization on some, but not all, stems. For example, compare *ʔə-ʔə-əx-aw'us* ‘(eyesight is) getting poor’ (IMPF~bad~INC-eye) with *ʔə-əx-awus* ‘(eyesight) gets poor’. However, the details are not entirely clear (see Watanabe 2003: 394–395).

- (37) [č'éhč'ehačx^wk^wa]
 č'ah~č'ah-a-t čx^w k^wa.
 CVC~č'ah-V-t čx^w k^wa
 RDPL~pray-LV-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT
 'You would thank him.' (MG-BLACKFISH.037)
- (38) [x^wa?čé?m_{ask}'^wa ?i' xánačx^w ?ak^w ɬáx]
 x^wa? čam'-as k^wa ?iy xəna-t čx^w ?ə k^w ɬəx.
 x^wa? čəm'-as k^wa ?iy xənat-t čx^w ?ə k^w ɬəx
 NEG why/how-3CNJ.SBJ QUOT and give-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ OBL DET bad
 'You would never say bad things to him.' (MG-BLACKFISH.038)
- (39) [x^wa?čé?m_{ask}'^wa xánačx^w ?ak^wɬáx q^wá:ɡəŋ]
 x^wa? čam'-as k^wa (?iy) xəna-t čx^w ?ə k^w ɬəx
 x^wa? čəm'-as k^wa ?iy xənat-t čx^w ?ə k^w ɬəx
 NEG why/how-3CNJ.SBJ QUOT and give-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ OBL DET bad
 q^wayigəŋ.
 q^wayigəŋ
 feel/think
 'You would never give him bad feelings.' (MG-BLACKFISH.039)
- (40) [x^wa?čém'k^wa xéxçi'čx^w]
 x^wa? čam' k^wa (?iy) xi~xç-i-t čx^w.
 x^wa? čəm' k^wa ?iy CV~xiç-V-t čx^w
 NEG why/how QUOT and PL~point-LV-CTR 2SG.INDC.SBJ
 'You were never to point at him.' (MG-BLACKFISH.040)
- (41) [hóyk^wut təč'éhč'ehat]
 huy k^wut tə θ č'ah~č'ah-a-t.
 huj k^wut tə θ CVC~č'ah-V-t
 only CLT DET 2SG.POSS RDPL~pray-LV-CTR
 'You would just thank him.' (MG-BLACKFISH.041)

- (42) [ʔí:motk'wɑgΛ k'wq'wúgəns tʌnʌnqʌm]
 ʔəy-mut ʔk'wɑ ʔga k'w ʔq'wəyigən-s tə nənqəm.
 ʔəj'-mut ʔk'wɑ ʔga k'w ʔq'wəyigən-s tə nənqəm
 good-very QUOT MTG DET feel/think-3POSS DET blackfish
 'The blackfish would be very happy.' (MG-BLACKFISH.042)
- (43) [q'wéʔeq'wʌʔət xʌxpi héʔ k'wéʔek'wʌntʌs k'wgʃjɛʔos]
 q'wíʔi~q'wəl ʔk'wɑ ʔut xə~xpi hiʔ¹⁶ k'wíʔi~k'wən-t-as k'w
 Cíʔi~q'wəl ʔk'wɑ ʔut CV~xəpʃ hiL Cíʔi~k'wən-t-as k'w
 RDPL~come QUOT CLT IMPF~return it's RDPL~see-CTR-3ERG DET
 gija-ʔu-s.¹⁷
 gija-ʔuL-s
 ground-PST-3POSS
 'He would keep coming back to see his place.' (MG-BLACKFISH.043)
- (44) [hék'wán' néʔtetoʔ ʔʌšʌms k'wuk'wpoʔoʔ]
 hi k'wán' niʔ-i-t-it-uʔ ʔə šə ms k'wuk'wpaʔ-uʔ.
 hiL k'wán' niʔ-V-t-it-ʔuL ʔə šə ms k'wuk'wpaʔ-ʔuL
 it's DEM say-LV-CTR-SBR.PASS-PST OBL DET 1PL.POSS grandfather-PST
 'That is what was said by our grandfather.' (MG-BLACKFISH.044)
- (45) [nám'štgΛ (hɛwš..) héhɛwč tí:sx'wʌʔ tʌnʌnqʌm číne]
 nam' št ʔga. hihiw č tih-sx'w-uʔ tə nənqəm
 nam' št ʔga hihiw č tih-stg-ʔuL tə nənqəm
 similar 1PL.INDC.SBJ MTG very 1SG.INDC.SBJ big-CAUS-PST DET blackfish
 čəni.
 čəniL
 1SG.INDP
 'So we are like that. I had a great respect for blackfish myself.' (MG-BLACKFISH.045)

¹⁶ The word *hiʔ* is most often used clause-initially in a type of focus construction, e.g., in Line 44, immediately below, where it appears in its free variant form *hi* (see Watanabe 2003: 153–164). Its occurrence in non-clause-initial position is scarce. There are a few instances in which it occurs clause-finally, and it appears to function like an adversative conjunction ('but'). However, the use of *hiʔ* in this line appears to be different. MH's intuition was that it emphasizes what was told before *hiʔ*, that is, the fact that the blackfish keeps coming back.

¹⁷ *gija* means 'ground, land, territory.'

- (46) [x^wámoč na:… qáqsemetən néna'təm ?ak^wán']
 x^wa-mut ǰč na?a... qaqs-im-i-t-an. ni~na-t-əm
 x^wa?~mut ǰč na?a qaqs-Vm-mi-t-an CV~na-t-əm
 NEG-very 1SG.INDC.SBJ R.FILLER play-MDL-RLT-CTR-1SG.CNJ.SBJ RDPL~say-CTR-PASS
 ?ə ǰ k^wan.'
 ?ə ǰ k^wan'
 OBL ǰ DEM
 'I would never make fun of them. That's what they said about that.'
 (MG-BLACKFISH.046)
- (47) [ta?č na:… ?áy?ey't]
 ta?at ǰč na?a... ?ay~?ay'-t.
 ta?at ǰč na?a CVC~?ay'-t
 DEM 1SG.INDC.SBJ R.FILLER RDPL~do.carefully-CTR
 'I would be nice to them.' (MG-BLACKFISH.047)
- (48) [páyč?ot na: č'éhč'əhat tanánqam k^wshóθos táč'éc'è?]
 paya? ǰč ǰut č'ah~č'ah-a-t tə nənqəm k^w s ǰ huθu-s
 paya? ǰč ǰut CVC~č'ah-V-t tə nənqəm k^w s ǰ huθu-s
 always 1SG.INDC.SBJ ǰ CLT RDPL~pray-LV-CTR DET ǰ blackfish DET ǰ NMLZ ǰ go-3POSS
 tə ǰ č'a~č'a?
 tə ǰ CV~č'a?
 DET ǰ RDPL~ocean
 'I always have nice words for blackfish as they are passing through the channels.'
 (MG-BLACKFISH.048)
- (49) [x^wíč qáqse'metən x^wíč xəxçi'tən]
 x^wa? ǰč qaqs-im-i-t-an. x^wa? ǰč
 x^wa? ǰč qaqs-Vm-mi-t-an x^wa? ǰč
 NEG 1SG.INDC.SBJ play-MDL-RLT-CTR-1SG.CNJ.SBJ NEG 1SG.INDC.SBJ
 ǰi~ǰič-i-t-an.
 CV~ǰič-V-t-an
 PL~point-LV-CTR-1SG.CNJ.SBJ
 'I never make fun of them. I do not point at them.' (MG-BLACKFISH.049)

- (50) [hoy tʌtʰ čʰéhcʰéhcʰt ʔiʰ θókwʰit kʰútkʰteʰgʌn]
 huy tə tʰ čʰah~čʰah-a-t ʔiy θu kʰit
 huʃ tə tʰ CVC~čʰah-V-t ʔiy θu kʰit
 only DET 1SG.POSS RDPL~pray-LV-CTR and go CLT
 kʰət~kʰt-igəŋ.
 CəC~kʰət-igan
 PL~go.over-side.of.body/feeling
 ‘I just say kind words to them as they are passing by.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.050)
- (51) [θóʔ kʰθóθohet]
 θu ʔ kʰ θu~θu-h-it.
 θu ʔə kʰ CV~θu-h-it
 go OBL DET IMPF~go-EPEN-3PL.POSS
 ‘They are going to their destination (lit. where they are going.)’ (MG-BLACKFISH.051)
- (52) [héʃ náʔs kʰnɑ: nʌnqʌm kʰánʰ qʰwáqʰwəŋʰ]
 hiʃ naʔ-s kʰ naʔa nənqəm kʰanʰ qʰwəqʰwəŋʰ.
 hiL naʔ-s kʰ naʔa nənqəm kʰanʰ qʰwəqʰwəŋʰ
 it’s possess-3POSS DET R.FILLER blackfish DEM story
 ‘That is the blackfish story.’ (MG-BLACKFISH.052)

Symbols and Abbreviations

| | | | |
|--------|------------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| ˘ | clitic boundary | LV | link vowel |
| ˜ | reduplication boundary | MDL | middle |
| 1 | first person | MTG | mitigator |
| 2 | second person | NEG | negator |
| 3 | third person | NMLZ | nominalizer |
| CAUS | causative | NTR | noncontrol transitive |
| CLFT | cleft | OBJ | object |
| CLT | clitic | OBL | oblique |
| CNJ | conjunctive | PASS | passive |
| CTR | control transitive | PL | plural |
| DEM | demonstrative | POSS | possessive |
| DET | determiner | PST | past |
| DIM | diminutive | QUOT | quotative |
| EPEN | epenthesis | R.FILLER | rhetorical filler |
| ERG | ergative | RDPL | reduplication |
| EXCLAM | exclamation | RLT | relational |
| IMPF | imperfective | SBJ | subject |
| INC | inchoative | SBR | subordinate |
| INDC | indicative | SG | singular |
| INDP | independent form | STV | stative |

+ is used to connect glosses of morphemes that are merged as a single morph.

<...> indicates infix boundary.

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