A Sliammon Text: "First Pregnancy", as Told by Mary George[*]

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This paper presents a Tla'amin (Sliammon) text narrated by the late Mrs. Mary George in 1995. A morphological analysis, glosses, and an English translation are provided for each line in the original Sliammon. The content is about how women should take care of their children, especially the first child, and about the traditional belief among the Sliammon people that pregnant women should avoid looking at animals, lest the baby will be born looking like that animal.

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 July 29, 1995. It was recorded by me, Honoré Watanabe; I was the only other person present in the room. The duration of the text is 2 minutes 53 seconds. It was subsequently transcribed and translated with the help of the late Mrs. Marion Harry in the summer of 2017. The linguistic analyses (phonological and grammatical) were all done by me.

In this text, Mrs. Mary George talks about the traditional belief and practice regarding how women should behave when they are pregnant, especially with their first child. The belief was that if a pregnant woman looked at an animal, the baby would be born looking like that animal. For example, if one looked at a deer, especially in its face, the baby would

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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.

be born looking like deer. A similar and a more detailed account of this belief is described in Mrs. Elsie Paul's autobiographical book Paul et al. (2014: 210, 212).

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 34 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 a text 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.

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

2. The text

2.1. The text in Sliammon[3]

(1) naʔs kʷ‿θ‿hihìw' mənmənʔəm kʷan'.

(2) ʔut‿čxʷ‿k'ʷa‿ga naʔa pəpʔigən,

(3) ʔiy xʷaʔ čam'as‿k'ʷa ʔiy k'ʷənust‿čaxʷ kʷ‿ʔasxʷ, qigaθ, ǰanxʷ.

(4) ʔut‿čxʷ‿k'ʷa‿ga naʔa k'ʷənust‿ʔiyt ʔiy t'at'matəm‿k'ʷa.

(5) ʔə‿kʷ‿ǰanxʷ ga‿ǰanxʷas, ga‿ʔasxʷas, ga‿qigaθas.

(6) hu‿k'ʷa‿ga kʷ‿s‿ʔiʔanas čuy', ʔiy naʔa ʔut‿čxʷ papkʷatuɫ kʷaʔin',

(7) ʔiy qʷəl' nam' kʷ‿θ‿čuy'.

(8) hi‿k'ʷa tə‿θ‿papkʷatuɫ.

(9) ʔaǰamaθut, ninatəm.

(10) ʔaǰamaθut θu ʔ‿kʷ‿ǰanxʷ, ʔut xʷaʔ ʔiy ʔasxʷ, ʔut xʷaʔ ʔiy qigaθ.

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[2] False starts and stumbles are written in parenthises inside brackets.

[3] The phonemic inventory of Sliammon includes the following: *p, tᶿ, t, ƛ, č, k, kʷ, q, qʷ, ʔ, p', t'ᶿ, t', ƛ', č', k', k'ʷ, q', q'ʷ, ǰ, g, ǰ', g', θ, s, ɫ, š, xʷ, x̣, x̣ʷ, 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 *ɫ ~ y ~ w* and *ɫ ~ 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: *ƛ = t͡ɬ , č = t͡ʃ , ǰ = d͡ʒ, š = ʃ, x̣ = χ.*

(11) xʷaʔ ʔut hiyas tə‿muʔuss ‿ʔaǰu.

(12) hi kʷ‿čəyčayišs, ʔut xʷaʔ, hi kʷ‿ǰəšǰəšəns…, ʔut xʷaʔ, hi kʷ‿məqsəns.

(13) hi ninatəm t'at'matəm kʷ‿θ‿hihìw' ʔəθ‿man'a.

(14) ʔut ‿čxʷ‿k'ʷa xʷaʔ k'ʷənitaxʷ kʷə‿θ‿hihìw' ʔəθ‿man'a ʔiy naʔa

(15) ʔəx̣tiy ‿čxʷ‿k'ʷa kʷan', ga‿xʷaʔax̌ʷ yəy'x̣miθutaxʷ.

(16) yəy'x̣miθut ‿čxʷ‿k'ʷa kʷə‿θ‿pəpʔigən kʷə‿θ‿hihìw' ʔəθ‿man'a.

(17) qʷəl' ga ʔiʔan'a tan', hihiw ‿čxʷ k'ʷənit ‿ʔaǰu.

(18) ʔut ga qʷil ʔəy' kʷan' čuy' ʔiy naʔa maʔəxʷ ‿čxʷ‿hiyt.

(19) k'ʷənstumim ʔə‿kʷ‿šaʔtigus. xʷukʷt ʔə‿kʷ‿naʔa ɬəx̣ nam's.

(20) ƛ'uɬut ‿čxʷ‿k'ʷa‿ga tan', θ‿hihìw' θ‿man'a.

(21) xʷaʔ ‿čxʷ‿k'ʷa‿ga ɬawɬawšaxʷ. payaʔ ‿čxʷ k'ʷut kʷankʷinat.

(22) xʷaʔs pipayaʔas niʔ kʷə‿xʷ‿niʔs.

(23) ʔut ‿čxʷ‿k'ʷa ɬaʔaɬawš ʔiy naʔa matəm‿k'ʷa ʔə‿kʷ‿k'ʷənitumuɬ.

(24) k'ʷənitumuɬ ʔə‿kʷ‿šaʔt.

(25) matuǰ'aθim, ninatəm.

(26) matuǰ'aθim ʔə‿kʷə‿θ‿hihìw' ʔəθ‿man'a.

(27) matəm tə‿θ‿xʷaʔ yəy'x̣mitaxʷ.

(28) hi‿ga xʷ‿payaʔs niʔituwəmuɬ yəy'x̣mit ‿čxʷ kʷə‿θ‿hihigaɬ.

(29) natuwəmuɬ ʔə‿kʷan' taʔat.

(30) ƛ'uɬut ‿čxʷ.

(31) ʔut‿səm ʔəy' kʷaʔaθim ʔə‿kʷ‿šaʔtigus, ƛ'uɬəxʷ ‿čxʷəm.

(32) qʷəl' ‿səm ƛ'uɬ.

(33) natuwəmuɬ ʔə‿kʷan' taʔat.

(34) hiɬ kʷan'.

2.2. The text in English translation

(1) 'This is about when you first have a baby.'

(2) 'If you're pregnant,'

(3) 'you do not look at a seal, deer, or fish, in its face.'

(4) 'If you look at its face, it (your baby) will imitate it.'

(5) 'like a fish, if it [what one saw] were a fish, or a seal, or a deer.'

(6) 'When the baby is born, and if you have been looking at one of those,'

(7) 'your baby becomes like that.'

(8) 'This is because you were looking at it.'

(9) 'He changes, they say.'

(10) 'They change themselves into fish, if not, then seals, if not, then deer.'

(11) 'It's not just his head.'

(12) 'It's his hands, if not, then it's his feet…, if not, then it's his nose.'

(13) 'As they say, your first child will resemble [what you looked at].'

(14) 'If you don't look after your first child, and then...'

(15) 'That will happen to you, if you don't look after yourself.'

(16) 'You look after yourself when you are pregnant with your first child.'

(17) 'When it's born, you really have to look after it.'

(18) 'If that child is well, then you are well on your way.'

(19) 'God shows you. Nothing goes wrong [with the baby].'

(20) 'You raise him, your first child.'

(21) 'Don't leave him anywhere. You always carry him around.'

(22) 'So that he is not alone where he is.'

(23) 'If you keep leaving him alone, the one looking after us (i.e. God) will take him.'

(24) 'The one that's looking after us from up above.'

(25) 'They will take him away from your hands, they say that.'

(26) 'They will take the first child from you.'

(27) 'They will take him away, because you're not looking after the baby.'

(28) 'That's why they always told us to look after your first child.'

(29) 'They used to say that to us.'

(30) 'Raise him.'

(31) 'If God really helps you, you will succeed in raising him.'

(32) 'He will grow up.'

(33) 'They used to say that to us.'

(34) 'That's it.'

2.3. The text with analysis

(1)   [náʔs kʷθɛ́hɛ̀w' mʌ́nmʌnʔʌm kʷán']

naʔ-s	kʷ͝	θ͝		hihìw'	mənmənʔəm[4]	kʷan'.
naʔ-s	kʷ͝	θ͝		hihig'	mənmənʔəm	kʷan'
possess-3POSS	DET͝	2SG.POSS͝		first	have.babies	DEM

'This is about when you first have a baby.' (MG-PREGNANCY.001)

(2)   [ʔóˑčxʷk'ʷʌgʌ náʔʌ ... pʌ́pʔɛˑgən]

ʔut	͝čxʷ		͝k'ʷa	͝ga	naʔa	pəpʔigən,
ʔut	͝čxʷ		͝k'ʷa	͝ga	naʔa	pəpʔigən
if	͝2SG.INDC.SBJ		͝QUOT	͝MTG	R.FILLER	be.pregnant

'If you're pregnant,' (MG-PREGNANCY.002)

(3)   [ʔiˑ ... xʷʎ́ʔčémʌsk'ʷɑ ʔiˑ k'ʷún·osčɛxʷ kʷʔásxʷ qɛ́gʌθ ǰénxʷ]

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[4] The word *mənmənʔəm* is translated as 'have a baby/babies' or 'parenting'. It is mostlikely derived from the root √mən'a; *man'a* 'child'; however, its morphological composition is not clear. A plausible analysis would be *mən~mənʔ-əm* (RDPL~child-MDL). The unreduplicated form **mənʔəm* was rejected by speakers. The first vowel is sometimes pronounced more like a full vowel, i.e. [mánmə̀nʔəm]. I am uncertain whether these are two different words. Any possible difference in their meaning is not clear.

ʔiy xʷaʔ čam'-as   k'ʷa ʔiy k'ʷən-us-t   čaxʷ   kʷ ʔasxʷ,
ʔiy xʷaʔ čəm'-as   k'ʷa ʔiy k'ʷən-us-t   čaxʷ   kʷ ʔasxʷ
and NEG   why/how-3CNJ.SBJ ◡QUOT and see-head-CTR ◡2SG.INDC.SBJ DET◡ seal

qigaθ, ǰanxʷ.
qigaθ   ǰanxʷ
deer   fish

'you do not look at a seal, deer, or fish, in its face.' (MG-PREGNANCY.003)

(4) [ʔóčxʷk'ʷagʌ ná?ʌ k'ʷúnostʔiːt ʔiˑ t'át'mɑt'əmk'ʷà]

ʔut ◡čxʷ   ◡k'ʷa ◡ga naʔa   k'ʷən-us-t   ◡ʔiyt ʔiy t'at'm-a-t-əm
ʔut ◡čxʷ   ◡k'ʷa ◡ga naʔa   k'ʷən-us-t   ◡ʔiyt ʔiy t'at'm-V-t-əm
if   ◡2SG.INDC.SBJ ◡QUOT ◡MTG R.FILLER see-head-CTR ◡CLT and imitate-LV-CTR-PASS

◡k'ʷa.
◡k'ʷa
◡QUOT

'If you look at its face, it (your baby) will imitate it.'[5] (MG-PREGNANCY.004)

(5) [(ʔʌkʷ) ʔʌkʷǰénxʷ gʌǰénxʷɑs gʌʔásxʷʌs ... gʌqégaθʌs]

ʔə◡ kʷ◡ ǰanxʷ ga◡ ǰanxʷ-as,   ga◡ ʔasxʷ-as,   ga◡ qigaθ-as.
ʔə◡ kʷ◡ ǰanxʷ ga◡ ǰanxʷ-as   ga◡ ʔasxʷ-as   ga◡ qigaθ-as
OBL◡ DET◡ fish if fish-3CNJ.SBJ if seal-3CNJ.SBJ if deer-3CNJ.SBJ

'like a fish, if it [what one saw] were a fish, or a seal, or a deer.'
(MG-PREGNANCY.005)

(6) [hóˑk'ʷagʌ kʷθʔέʔɑˑnʌs čúy' ʔiˑ naʔʌ ʔótčxʷ pápkʷatoɬ kʷáʔèn']

hu ◡k'ʷa ◡ga kʷ◡ s◡ ʔiʔana-s   čuy', ʔiy naʔa   ʔut ◡čxʷ
hu ◡k'ʷa ◡ga kʷ◡ s◡ ʔiʔana-s   čuj' ʔiy naʔa   ʔut ◡čxʷ
go ◡QUOT ◡MTG DET◡ NMLZ◡ be.born-3POSS child and R.FILLER if   ◡2SG.INDC.SBJ

pa~pkʷ-a-t-uɬ   kʷaʔin',
CV~pakʷ-V-t-ʔuL   kʷaʔin'
RDPL~observe-LV-CTR-PST DEM

'When the baby is born, and if you have been looking at one of those,'
(MG-PREGNANCY.006)

(7) [ʔiˑ qʷúl' nʌ́m' kʷθčúy']

ʔiy qʷəl' nam'   kʷ◡ θ◡   čuy'.
ʔiy qʷəl' nam'   kʷ◡ θ◡   čuj'
and come   similar DET◡ 2SG.POSS child

'your baby becomes like that.' (MG-PREGNANCY.007)

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[5] lit. '..., it would be imitated (by the baby).'

(8) [(hɛk'ʷ) hɛ́k'ʷʌ təθ (pɑpkʷ) pɑ́pkʷʌtoɬ]

    hi ‿k'ʷa tə‿ θ‿   pa~pkʷ-a-t-uɬ.

    hiL ‿k'ʷa tə‿ θ‿   CV~pakʷ-V-t-ʔuL

    it's ‿QUOT DET‿ 2SG.POSS‿ RDPL~observe-LV-CTR-PST

    'This is because you were looking at it.' (MG-PREGNANCY.008)

(9) [ʔáˑjɛˑmaθòt nénˑatə̀m]

    ʔaǰ-am-a-θut,   ni~na-t-əm.

    ʔaǰ-Vm-V-θut   CV~naʔ-t-əm

    change-MDL-LV-CTR+REFL PL~say-CTR-PASS

    'He changes, they say.' (MG-PREGNANCY.009)

(10) [ʔáˑjɛmaθòt θóʔº (kʷ) kʷjɛ́nxʷ ʔoˑtxʷáʔ ʔiˑʔásxʷ ʔotxʷáʔ ʔiˑqégʌθ]

    ʔaǰ-am-a-θut   θu ʔ‿ kʷ‿ janxʷ, ʔut xʷaʔ ʔiy ʔasxʷ, ʔut xʷaʔ

    ʔaǰ-Vm-V-θut   θu ʔə‿ kʷ‿ janxʷ ʔut xʷaʔ ʔiy ʔasxʷ ʔut xʷaʔ

    change-MDL-LV-CTR+REFL go OBL‿ DET‿ fish   if NEG and seal if NEG

    ʔiy qigaθ.

    ʔiy qigaθ

    and deer

    'They change themselves into fish, if not, then seals, if not, then deer.'

    (MG-PREGNANCY.010)

(11) [xʷáʔot híːyʌs təmóʔosːʔaˑju]

    xʷaʔ ‿ʔut hiy-as   tə‿ muʔus-s   ‿ʔaǰu.

    xʷaʔ ‿ʔut hiL-as   tə‿ məʔus-s   ‿ʔaǰu

    NEG ‿CLT it's-3CNJ.SBJ DET‿ head-3POSS ‿CLT

    'It's not just his head.' (MG-PREGNANCY.011)

(12) [hɛ́ kʷčíˑčɛ̀yišs ʔót xʷáʔ hɛ́kʷ ǰíšjišìns ... ʔót xʷáʔ hɛ́ kʷmʌ́qsəns]

    hi kʷ‿ čəy~čayiš-s, ʔut xʷaʔ, hi kʷ‿ jəš~jəšən-s..., ʔut xʷaʔ, hi

    hiL kʷ‿ CəC~čayiš-s ʔut xʷaʔ hiL kʷ‿ CəC~jəšən-s   ʔut xʷaʔ hiL

    it's DET‿ PL~hand-3POSS if NEG   it's DET‿ PL~foot/leg-3POSS if NEG   it's

    kʷ‿ məqsən-s.

    kʷ‿ məqsən-s

    DET‿ nose-3POSS

    'It's his hands, if not, then it's his feet, if not, then it's his nose.'

    (MG-PREGNANCY.012)

(13) [hɛ́ nén·ɑ·təm t’át’mɑtəm kʷθhɛ́hɛ̀w’ ᵊθmáʔnɑ]

hi   ni~na-t-əm   t’at’m-a-t-əm   kʷ͜ θ͜   hihìw’   ʔəθ͜   man’a.
hiL   CV~naʔ-t-əm   t’at’m-V-t-əm   kʷ͜ θ͜   hihig’   θ͜   mən’a
it’s   PL~say-CTR-PASS   imitate-LV-CTR-PASS DET͜ 2SG.POSS first   2SG.POSS child

'As they say, your first child will resemble [what you looked at].'
(MG-PREGNANCY.013)

(14) [ʔó·čxʷk’ʷɑ xʷúʔ k’ʷúnetʌxʷ kʷʋθhɛ́hɛ̀w’ ʔʌθmáʔnɑ ʔiy naʔʌ]⁶

ʔut   ͜čxʷ   ͜k’ʷa xʷaʔ kʷən-i-t-axʷ   kʷə͜ θ͜   hihìw’
ʔut   ͜čxʷ   ͜k’ʷa xʷaʔ kʷən-i-t-axʷ   kʷə͜ θ͜   hihig’
if   2SG.INDC.SBJ   ͜QUOT NEG see-STV-CTR-2SG.CNJ.SBJ DET͜ 2SG.POSS first

ʔəθ͜   man’a ʔiy naʔa
θ͜   mən’a ʔiy naʔa
2SG.POSS͜   child and R.FILLER

'If you don't look after your first child, and then...' (MG-PREGNANCY.014)

(15) [ʔʌ́x̣ti·čxʷ k’ʷɑ kʷán’ gʌxʷáʔʌxʷ yí·y’x̣ᵊmɛθotʌ̀xʷ]

ʔəx̣tiy   ͜čxʷ   ͜k’ʷa kʷan’, ga͜ xʷaʔ-axʷ
ʔəx̣tiy   ͜čxʷ   ͜k’ʷa kʷan’ ga͜ xʷaʔ-axʷ
similar ͜2SG.INDC.SBJ   ͜QUOT DEM   if͜ NEG-2SG.CNJ.SBJ

yəy’x̣-mi-θut-axʷ.
yəy’x̣-mi-θut-axʷ
take.care-RLT-CTR+REFL-2SG.CNJ.SBJ

'That will happen to you, if you don't look after yourself.' (MG-PREGNANCY.015)

(16) [yí·ʔx̣ᵊmɛθo·čxʷ k’ʷɑ kʷʋθpʌ́pʔɛgən kʷʋθhɛ́hɛ̀w’ máʔnʌ]

yəy’x̣-mi-θut   ͜čxʷ   ͜k’ʷa kʷə͜ θ͜   pəpʔigən kʷə͜
yəy’x̣-mi-θut   ͜čxʷ   ͜k’ʷa kʷə͜ θ͜   pəpʔigən kʷə͜
take.care-RLT-CTR+REFL 2SG.INDC.SBJ ͜QUOT DET͜ 2SG.POSS͜ be.pregnant DET͜

θ͜   hihìw’ ʔəθ͜   man’a.
θ͜   hihig’ θ͜   mən’a
2SG.POSS͜   first 2SG.POSS͜ child

'You look after yourself when you are pregnant with your first child.'
(MG-PREGNANCY.016)

(17) [qʷúl’gʌ ʔɛ́ʔaʔnɑ tán’ hɛ́wčxʷ (stumble) k’ʷúnɛtʔɑ·jú]

qʷəl’ ͜ga ʔiʔan’a tan’, hihiw ͜čxʷ   k’ʷən-i-t   ͜ʔaju.
qʷəl’ ͜ga ʔiʔana tan’ hihiw ͜čxʷ   k’ʷən-i-t   ͜ʔaju
come   ͜MTG be.born DEM very ͜2SG.INDC.SBJ see-STV-CTR ͜CLT

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⁶ The last part is actually more coalesced in the recording as [máʔne:nɑ:].

'When it's born, you really have to look after it.' (MG-PREGNANCY.017)

(18) [ʔótgʌqʷɛ́l ʔíʔ kʷán' čúy' ʔiˑ naʔʌ máʔʌxʷčxʷhìːt]

ʔut	˽ga	qʷil	ʔəy'	kʷan'	čuy'	ʔiy	naʔa	maʔ-əxʷ	čxʷ	˽hiyt.
ʔut	˽ga	qʷil	ʔəj'	kʷan'	čuj'	ʔiy	naʔa	maʔ-ng	čxʷ	˽hiyt
if	˽MTG	come	good	DEM	child	and	R.FILLER	obtain-NTR	˽2SG.INDC.SBJ	˽CLT

'If that child is well, then you are well on your way.'[7] (MG-PREGNANCY.018)

(19) [k'ʷúnstomem ʔʌkʷšɛ́ʔtegus xʷúkʷt ʔʌkʷnaʔa (tʌx̣) łʌ́x̣ˀnám's]

k'ʷən-stu-mi-m	ʔə˽	kʷ˽	ša?tigus.	xʷukʷt	ʔə˽	kʷ˽	naʔa	łəx̣
k'ʷən-stg-mi-əm	ʔə˽	kʷ˽	ša?tigus	xʷukʷt	ʔə˽	kʷ˽	naʔa	łəx̣
see-CAUS-2SG.OBJ-PASS	OBL˽	DET˽	God	NEG	OBL˽	DET˽	R.FILLER	bad

nam'-s.
nam'-s
similar-3POSS

'God shows you. Nothing goes wrong [with the baby].' (MG-PREGNANCY.019)

(20) [ƛ'óːłočxʷk'ʷagʌ tán' θhɛ́w'θmáʔna]

ƛ'uł-u-t	˽čxʷ	˽k'ʷa	˽ga	tan',	θ˽	hihìw'	θ˽	man'a.
ƛ'uł-V-t	˽čxʷ	˽k'ʷa	˽ga	tan'	θ˽	hihig'	θ˽	mən'a
grow-LV-CTR	˽2SG.INDC.SBJ	˽QUOT	˽MTG	DEM	˽2SG.POSS	first	˽2SG.POSS	child

'You raise him, your first child.' (MG-PREGNANCY.020)

(21) [xʷíčxʷk'ʷʌga łʌ́włʌ̀wˀšɛxʷ páyɛʔčxʷk'ʷut kʷʌ́nkʷiˑnʌ̀t]

xʷaʔ	˽čxʷ	˽k'ʷa	˽ga	ław~ław-š-axʷ.	payaʔ	˽čxʷ	˽k'ʷut
xʷaʔ	˽čxʷ	˽k'ʷa	˽ga	CaC~łag-Vš-axʷ	payaʔ	˽čxʷ	˽k'ʷut
NEG	˽2SG.INDC.SBJ	˽QUOT	˽MTG	RDPL~leave-TR-2SG.ERG	always	˽2SG.INDC.SBJ	˽CLT

kʷan~kʷina-t.
CaC~kʷinat-t
RDPL~carry-CTR

'Don't leave him anywhere. You always carry him around.' (MG-PREGNANCY.021)

(22) [xʷáʔs pépayɛ̀ʔʌs nɛ́ʔ kʷuxʷnɛ́ʔs]

xʷaʔ-s[8]	pipayaʔ-as	niʔ	kʷə˽	xʷ˽	niʔ-s
xʷaʔ-s	pipayaʔ-as	niʔ	kʷə˽	xʷ˽	niʔ-s
NEG-3POSS	alone-3CNJ.SBJ	be.there	DET˽	NMLZ˽	be.there-3POSS

'So that he is not alone where he is.' (MG-PREGNANCY.022)

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[7] lit. '... then you've got it.'

[8] The third person possessive suffix here is unexpected. A similar construction is described and discussed in Watanabe (2016: 326–330), where it is argued that this construction is a case of the independent use of Nominalized clause.

(23) [ʔóčxʷk'ʷɑ łáʔałùːš ʔiˑ naʔʌ máˑtəmk'ʷɑ ʔʌkʷk'ʷúnɛtomoł]

    ʔut   čxʷ   k'ʷa łaʔa~ław-š   ʔiy naʔa   ma-t-əm   k'ʷa ʔə

    ʔut   čxʷ   k'ʷa CVʔV~łag-Vš ʔiy naʔa   maʔ-t-əm   k'ʷa ʔə

    if   2SG.INDC.SBJ QUOT PL~leave-TR   and R.FILLER obtain-CTR-PASS QUOT OBL

    kʷ   k'ʷən-i-t-umuł.

    kʷ   k'ʷən-i-t-umuł

    DET see-STV-CTR-1PL.OBJ

    'If you keep leaving him alone, the one looking after us (i.e. God) will take him.'
    (MG-PREGNANCY.023)

(24) [k'ʷúnɛtomoł ʔʌkʷšɛ́ʔt]

    k'ʷən-i-t-umuł   ʔə   kʷ   šaʔt.

    k'ʷən-i-t-umuł   ʔə   kʷ   šaʔt

    see-STV-CTR-1PL.OBJ OBL DET up/above

    'The one that's looking after us from up above.' (MG-PREGNANCY.024)

(25) [máˑtòʔǰɛθem nɛ́naˑtəm]

    ma-t-uǰ'a-θi-m,[9]   ni~na-t-əm.

    maʔ-t-uǰ'a-θi-əm   CV~na-t-əm

    obtain-CTR-hand-CTR+2SG.OBJ-PASS RDPL~say-CTR-PASS

    'They will take him away from your hands, they say that.' (MG-PREGNANCY.025)

(26) [máˑtòʔǰɛθem ʔʌkʷʋθ hɛ́hɛ̀w' ʔʌθ máʔnʌ]

    ma-t-uǰ'a-θi-m   ʔə   kʷə   θ   hihìw' ʔəθ   man'a.

    maʔ-t-uǰ'a-θi-əm   ʔə   kʷə   θ   hihig' θ   mən'a

    obtain-CTR-hand-CTR+2SG.OBJ-PASS OBL DET 2SG.POSS first   2SG.POSS child

    'They will take the first child from you.' (MG-PREGNANCY.026)

(27) [máˑtə̀m təθ xʷáʔ yúːx̣metə̀xʷ]

    ma-t-əm   tə   θ   xʷaʔ yəy'x̣-mi-t-axʷ.

    maʔ-t-əm   tə   θ   xʷaʔ yəy'x̣-mi-t-axʷ

    obtain-CTR-PASS DET 2SG.POSS NEG take.care-RLT-CTR-2SG.CNJ.SBJ

    'They will take him away, because you're not looking after the baby.'[10]
    (MG-PREGNANCY.027)

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[9] The form *matuj'at-* (√*maʔ-t-uj'a-t* obtain-CTR-hand-CTR) is exceptional in that it has two transitivizers without a detransitivizing suffix in between. Compare *maʔ-t* 'take (it)'. It seems to be a lexicalization of the form *maʔ-t* as an unanalyzable stem.

[10] 'because' was the translation given by MH. A Nominalized clause like this one is usually translated as a temporal clause, i.e. 'when'.

(28) [hɛ́gʌxʷ páyɛʔs nɛ́ʔɛtùwʋmuɫ yíːx̣mɛčxʷ kʷʋθhɛ́hɛgʌ̀ɫ]

hi ‿ga ‿xʷ‿ payaʔ-s niʔ-i-t-uw-əm-uɫ yəy'x̣-mi-t
hiL ‿ga ‿xʷ‿ payaʔ-s niʔ-V-t-uw-əm-ʔuL yəy'x̣-mi-t
it's ‿MTG NMLZ‿ always-3POSS say-LV-CTR-1PL.OBJ-PASS-PST take.care-RLT-CTR

‿čxʷ ‿kʷə‿ θ‿ hihig-aɫ.
‿čxʷ ‿kʷə‿ θ‿ hihig'-ənʔaL
‿2SG.INDC.SBJ DET‿ 2SG.POSS‿ first-child

'That's why they always told us to look after your first child.' (MG-PREGNANCY.028)

(29) [nátùwʋmoɫ ʔʌkʷán' táʔʌt]

na-t-uw-əm-uɫ ʔə‿ kʷan' taʔat.
naʔ-t-uw-əm-ʔuL ʔə‿ kʷan' taʔat
say-CTR-1PL.OBJ-PASS-PST OBL‿ DEM DEM

'They used to say that to us.' (MG-PREGNANCY.029)

(30) [ƛ'óˑɬočxʷ]

ƛ'uɫ-u-t ‿čxʷ.
ƛ'uɫ-V-t ‿čxʷ
grow-LV-CTR ‿2SG.INDC.SBJ

'Raise him.' (MG-PREGNANCY.030)

(31) [ʔóčsəm ʔíʔ kʷáʔaˑθem ʔʌkʷ šɛ́ʔtegus ƛ'óˑɬòxʷčxʷəm]

ʔut ‿səm ʔəy' kʷaʔa-θi-m ʔə‿ kʷ‿ šaʔtigus, ƛ'uɫ-əxʷ
ʔut ‿səm ʔəj' kʷəʔa-θi-əm ʔə‿ kʷ‿ šaʔtigus ƛ'uɫ-ng
if ‿FUT good help-CTR+2SG.OBJ-PASS OBL‿ DET‿ God grow-NTR

‿čxʷəm.
‿čxʷəm
‿2SG.INDC.SBJ+FUT

'If God really helps you, you will succeed in raising him.' (MG-PREGNANCY.031)

(32) [qʷúl'səm ƛ'óɫ]

qʷəl' ‿səm ƛ'uɫ.
qʷəl' ‿səm ƛ'uɫ
come ‿FUT grow

'He will grow up.' (MG-PREGNANCY.032)

(33) [nátùwʋmoɫ ʔʌkʷán' táʔʌt]

na-t-uw-əm-uɫ   ʔə˘   kʷan'   taʔat.
naʔ-t-uw-əm-ʔuL   ʔə˘   kʷan'   taʔat
say-CTR-1PL.OBJ-PASS-PST   OBL˘   DEM   DEM

'They used to say that to us.' (MG-PREGNANCY.033)

(34)   [hɛ́ɫ kʷán']

hiɫ   kʷan'.
hiL   kʷan'
it's   DEM

'That's it.' (MG-PREGNANCY.034)

Symbols and Abbreviations

˘	clitic boundary	NMLZ	nominalizer
~	reduplication boundary	NTR	noncontrol transitive
1	first person	OBJ	object
2	second person	OBL	oblique
3	third person	PASS	passive
CAUS	causative	PL	plural
CLT	clitic	POSS	possessive
CNJ	conjunctive	PST	past
CTR	control transitive	QUOT	quotative
DEM	demonstrative	R.FILLER	rhetorical filler
DET	determiner	RDPL	reduplication
ERG	ergative	REFL	reflexive
FUT	future	RLT	relational
INDC	indicative	SBJ	subject
LV	link vowel	SG	singular
MDL	middle	STV	stative
MTG	mitigator	TR	transitive
NEG	negator		

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

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