Making Dugout Canoes:
A Sliammon Text Told by Agnes McGee*

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This paper presents a Tla'amin (Sliammon) text narrated by the late Mrs. Agnes McGee in 2001. A morphological analysis, glosses, and an English translation are provided for each line in the original Sliammon. The content is about the traditional way of making dugout canoes from cedar trees.

1. Introduction
2. The text

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 (*tiysk^{w}at*) 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. Agnes McGee (1923–2005) on Aug. 30, 2001. It was recorded by me, Honoré Watanabe; I was the only other person present in the room. The duration of the text is about 2 minutes 50 seconds. It was subsequently transcribed and translated in a collaborative effort with the late Mrs. Marion Harry on Aug. 10, 2010. Further clarification on some words and the content described in the text was provided by Mrs. Elsie Paul. The linguistic analyses (phonological and grammatical) were all done by me.

In this text, Mrs. Agnes McGee describes how dugout canoes used to be made. A similar description of making dugout canoes among the First Nations Peoples of the Northwest

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[1] What to call the language, however, is not a simple matter. The term ʔayʔaǰuθəm is now increasingly used. See Watanabe (2003: 2–3) and Watanabe (2014: xiii–xiv) for details.

Coast can be found in Stewart (1984: 52–57). As the procedure is described in this text, a dugout canoe was carved out of a single cedar tree. The inside is hollowed out, and the outside is carved into its shape. Then, the outside is singed (or scorched) in order to make it durable and water-resistant. In this text, Mrs. McGee explained that the inside of the canoe was also singed. The canoe is then half-filled with water. (Stewart 1984: 54 explains further that heated rocks would be put into the water to steam the cedar in order to soften it.) Then, sticks are propped between the gunwales to widen the edges. After this process has been completed, and the canoe has cooled down, it is brushed with cedar boughs. This is a traditional way of perfoming a blessing. Mrs. McGee explains that the whole process was time-consuming and that people assisted each other.[2]

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 51 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. 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 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. False starts and stumbles are written in parentheses in the first line (the phonetic transcription). The footnotes in §2.3 provide further notes and observations. The speakers are identified by their initials in the footnotes.

1.4. Linguistic notes

For a description of the grammar of Sliammon, I refer the readers to Watanabe (2003). Additional short explanations are provided in the footnotes in §2.3.

The phonemic inventory of Sliammon includes the following: *p, t, t^θ, ƛ, č, k, k^w, q, q^w, ʔ, p', t', t^θ', ƛ', č', k', k^w', q', q^w', ǰ, g, ǰ', g', θ, s, ɫ, š, x^w, x̣, x̣^{w}, h, m, n, l, y, w, m', n', l',*

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y', w', i, u, a, ə.[3] 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.

Many features of natural discourse are observed in this short text. In Mrs. McGee's speech, as one can hear from the recording, the articulation of words is quite 'soft', for example, her glottalization of obstruents is rarely realized as ejective (with a 'popping sound' effect), and her glottal stop (ʔ) is usually not realized with a full closure of the glottis. Rather, they are realized with a slight constriction in the larynx, the effect of which is creakiness in the adjacent vowel.

Mrs. McGee omits the oblique marker (ʔə) entirely in this text. Noun phrases (or determiner phrases) are either 'direct' or 'oblique' in Sliammon; the former is unmarked whereas the latter is preceded by the oblique marker proclitic. The subjects of intransitive clauses and the objects of transitive clauses are expressed by direct NPs, if expressed overtly. Basically all other NPs are expressed by oblique NPs. If NPs that refer to the agent of semantically transitive clauses are expressed overtly, the predicate is usually marked as passive, and the agent NP is expressed in an oblique NP. The omission of the oblique marker is not unique to Mrs. McGee's speech; rather, it is observed often in all the speakers I have worked with. Fluent speakers can, of course, insert it back in appropriate places, if asked specifically to do so. The text presented here is as Mrs. McGee told it, that is, I did not insert the oblique marker where it would appear in slow and careful speech. Because of the phonemic form of this clitic, and since schwas (ə) are prone to be weakened, or deleted entirely, especially in allegro speech, the oblique marker can be quite elusive to the ears of non-native speakers. When we used to work together on recordings of texts like this, Mrs. Marion Harry was able to catch the slightest trace of the clitic, if there was one. Notably, even she did not find any oblique markers used in this text.

For the record, the transcription of the consonants of the root √x^wətq^w- on line 37 has been quite problematic. As in many other cases, the velar-uvular contrast is often very hard to discern, and, as described above, glottalization of obstruents can be very 'soft'. I have transcribed this root earlier with x^w, k^w, k'^w, q^w. What appears to be the cognate in Sechelt, the neighboring Coast Salish language immediately to the south, is x^wət'q^w-ə́m, x^wət'q^w-át 'scrub (it)' (Beaumont 2011).[4] Cognate forms in Sechelt usually match perfectly with Sliammon forms, with regular sound correspondences (e.g., Sechelt *l* : Sliammon *y, w*), and the Sechelt form suggests the velar x^w and the glottalized *t'*. However, Mrs. Marion Harry's careful observations and intuition confirmed that the last two consonants of the root are a plain (non-glottalized) *t*, followed by q^w.[5] She was, however, not too confident

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[3] In addition, two morphophonemes //L// and //L'// need to be posited. They are realized, depending on the environment, as ł ~ y ~ w and ł ~ y' ~ w' ~ ʔ, respectively. 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.

[4] I have converted the Sechelt orthography to the symbols used in this paper.

[5] In four Salish languages, Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead, Okanagan, Shuswap, and Tillamook, a phonological process, which is referred to as 'Grassmann's Law' for Salish is observed; in this process, the first of two consecutive glottalized obstruents is deglottalized (Thompson and Thompson 1985). The sequence *tq^w* in the Sliammon word in question appears as if this process has applied when compared to the Sechelt form; however, two consecutive glottalized obstruents are not uncommon

about the first consonant. Judging from the phonetic realization of the following vowel, I write *x̣ʷ* for the first consonant, since if it were *xʷ*, the schwa would be expected to surface more like [u].

2. The text

2.1. The text in Sliammon

(1)   ʔaʔaymitam'uɬ naʔa tə‿ms‿ƛ'ax̣ƛ'ax̣ʷuɬ tə‿naʔa nəxʷiys.

(2)   həytas naʔa...

(3)   hu ǰaqʼatigas təx̣əmʔay.

(4)   tih.

(5)   qəx̣mut pʼapʼimit.

(6)   čʼətigas.

(7)   θəxʷins tihs x̣aƛ'it.

(8)   həytəm‿ga.

(9)   t'θipʼigayitəm.

(10)   huy tʼəlqʷamtəm.

(11)   x̣ʷux̣ʷmut tʼətʼəlqʷamtəm.

(12)   huynum‿ga tan' ʔiy naʔa ƛ'əx̣təm.

(13)   ƛ'əx̣təm.

(14)   x̣ʷaw'itəm kʷ‿naʔa qʷaw'iɬ.

(15)   huy ƛ'əx̣təm.

(16)   ʔəyʔay'təm ƛ'əx̣təm.

(17)   ʔəwk'ʷatəm ƛ'əx̣təm.

(18)   k'ʷəɬqinstum tə‿qay'a.

(19)   x̣ʷaʔƛ'igən tə‿qay'a.

(20)   k'ʷəɬqitəm.

(21)   huy ʔiy θahθahqitəm

(22)   təs qʷəl's p'iq'iq'.

(23)   θiθhitstum‿ga... ʔiy...

(24)   ƛ'əx̣təm kʷ‿ʔaʔasƛ'qəm.

(25)   huy‿ga... huy‿ga tan' ʔiy naʔa č'am'amatəm.

(26)   huy‿ga ʔiy naʔa xʷipitəm təx̣əmʔay.

(27)   xʷipamtəm.

(28)   miya tə‿ʔaɬtəgams ƛ'əx̣təm taʔat.

(29)   k'ʷət'θnačtəm tə‿naʔa huǰas tə‿ʔasq'am'.

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in Sliammon, for example, *xʷat'qʷum* 'thunder, thunderstorm' (cf. Sechelt *xʷát'q'ím* 'thunder', Beaumont 2011).

(30)   kʷət'ᶿnačtəm huy ƛ'əx̣təm kʷ‿ ʔayigiɬs.

(31)   ƛ'əx̣it ‿ga tə‿ ʔaɬtəgəm' ʔiy tə‿ ʔasƛ'qəm'.

(32)   hi ‿k'ʷa xʷ‿ x̣ʷux̣ʷs ʔəy'.

(33)   xʷəčamas k'ʷəq.

(34)   ʔəwk'ʷ ‿ga huy tan' ʔiy naʔa...

(35)   pəqʷsatəm θu... q'ʷit.

(36)   huy t'ᶿəx̣ʷamtəm.

(37)   x̣ʷətq'ʷatəm tə‿ naʔa q'ʷaygas.

(38)   huy ‿ga tan'. hihiw qəx̣mut s‿ p'ap'im.

(39)   qəx̣ayamutuɬ ƛ'aʔaƛ'x̣ay.

(40)   xʷit ‿ʔut ʔəwk'ʷ... ʔəwk'ʷ təx̣ʷnixʷigas həhyaʔəm kʷ‿ nəxʷiɬ.

(41)   ʔaʔəymitigas nəxʷiyit.

(42)   həhǰətigas.

(43)   ʔut hananəm naʔa... qəx̣ s‿ p'ap'im,

(44)   θu ‿hiyt tə‿ skʷaq ƛ'aʔaƛ'x̣ay.

(45)   č'agatawɬ.

(46)   pəpyaʔam č'ač'gatawɬ s‿ xʷux̣ʷuɬ.

(47)   č'agatigas ‿ga θu tə‿ naʔa ǰuǰu.

(48)   xʷə čamas huǰəxʷas kʷ‿ naʔs.

(49)   θu č'agatəm skʷaq ƛ'aʔaƛ'x̣ay.

(50)   ʔəymutuɬ namʔuwit s‿ xʷux̣ʷuɬ.

(51)   xʷaʔ ‿ga sčaʔat. xʷukʷt kʷ‿ nam'. 'That's it.'[6]

2.2. The text in English translation

(1)   'Our parents always handled their canoes.'

(2)   'They would make them.'

(3)   'They would go and fell a cedar.'

(4)   '[It would be] big.'

(5)   'It was a lot of work for them.'

(6)   'They would cut it.'

(7)   'It would be a big, hard job.'

(8)   'They would make it.'

(9)   'They would carve each end to a point.'

(10)   'Then, they would carve out its inside.'

(11)   'It would take a long time to carve out the inside.'

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[6] The English phrase, 'That's it', was uttered by A.M. to mark the end of her narrative. It is included here for the sake of record.

(12)   'They would finish it, then they would singe it [the outside of the canoe].'
(13)   'They would singe it.'
(14)   'They would light up pitch [tree resin].'
(15)   'Then, they would singe it.'
(16)   'They would singe it really good.'
(17)   'They would singe it all over.'
(18)   'They would pour water into it.'
(19)   'It would be half full of water.'
(20)   'They would pour it in there.'
(21)   'Then, they would place props in it [to keep the edges open].'
(22)   'until it would widen.'
(23)   'They would keep the cross pieces propped in there.'
(24)   'They would singe the outside.'
(25)   'That would be finished, and they would cool it.'
(26)   'Then, they would brush (sweep) it with cedar [boughs to bless it].'
(27)   'They would sweep the inside of it.'
(28)   'They would even singe the inside.'
(29)   'They would turn it over when they finished the outside.'
(30)   'They would turn it over, then singe its inside.'
(31)   'The inside and the outside would be singed.'
(32)   'It would be good for a long time.'
(33)   'It would not crack.'
(34)   'That would be all done, and...'
(35)   'They would bring it and put it in the water ... (at the) beach.'
(36)   'Then, they would wash the inside.'
(37)   'They would scrub the charcoal [off].'
(38)   'That would be done. It used to be a lot of work.'
(39)   'There used to be a lot of elders.'
(40)   'They all really knew how to make a canoe.'
(41)   'They did their canoes by themselves.'
(42)   'They were making it.'
(43)   'If it was too much work,'
(44)   'other elders would go.'
(45)   'They would help each other.'
(46)   'They always helped each other a long time ago.'
(47)   'They would go and help the one who was having a difficult time.'
(48)   '[If] he could not finish his [canoe].'
(49)   'Some elders would go and help him.'
(50)   'It used to be really good what they were like a long time ago.'

(51)   'Not now. There is nobody like that. That's it.'

2.3. The text with analysis

(1)   [ʔáʔaymɛtàʔmoɫ naʔa təms x̌'áx̌x̌'ax̌ʷòɫ tənaʔa núxʷuːs]

ʔaʔaymitam'uɫ   naʔa   tə‿ms x̌'ax̌x̌'ax̌ʷuɫ

ʔa~ʔaym-(m)i-t-am'-uɫ   naʔa   tə‿ms x̌'ax̌x̌'ax̌ʷ-uɫ

RDPL~do.by.oneself-RLT-CTR-PASS-PST[7]   R.FILLER   DET‿1PL.POSS‿parents-PST

tə‿naʔa   nəxʷiys.

tə‿naʔa   nəxʷiy-s

DET‿R.FILLER canoe-3POSS

'Our parents always handled their canoes.' (AM-DUGOUT.001)

(2)   [héytʌs naː ...]

həytas   naʔa...

həy-t-as   naʔa

make-CTR-3ERG R.FILLER

'They would make them.' (AM-DUGOUT.002)

(3)   [hoǰáq'ʌteˑgàs tə́x̌ʌmʔay]

hu ǰaq'atigas   təx̌əmʔay.

hu ǰaq'-a-t-ig-as   təx̌əmʔay

go fall-LV-CTR-PL-3ERG cedar

'They would go and fell a cedar.' (AM-DUGOUT.003)

(4)   [tiː]

tih.

tih

big

'[It would be] big.' (AM-DUGOUT.004)

(5)   [qʌ́x̌mot p'áˑp'ɛ̀ˑmèt]

qəx̌mut   p'ap'imit.

qəx̌-mut   p'ap'i-m-it

many-very   work-MDL-3PL.POSS

'It was a lot of work for them.'[8] (AM-DUGOUT.005)

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[7] I am using the gloss 'RDPL' for reduplicants when the reduplicative process involved is not clear.

[8] A more literal translation would be 'Their work was a lot.'

(6) [č'íteˑgʌs]

č'ətigas.

č'ət-t-ig-as

cut-CTR-PL-3ERG

'They would cut it.' (AM-DUGOUT.006)

(7) [θúxʷens tíːʰs x̣áːƛ'ɛt]

θəxʷins   tihs   x̣aƛ'it.

θəxʷin-s   tih-s   x̣aƛ'it

like/similar-3POSS big-3POSS difficult

'It would be a big, hard job.' (AM-DUGOUT.007)

(8) [héytəmgɑ]

həytəm ‿ga.

həy-t-əm ‿ga

make-CTR-PASS ‿MTG

'They would make it.'[9] (AM-DUGOUT.008)

(9) [t'ᶿɛ́p'ɛgàyɛtə̀m]

t'ᶿip'igayitəm.

t'ᶿip'-ig-ayin-t-əm

sharpen-PL-end-CTR-PASS

'They would carve each end to a point.' (AM-DUGOUT.009)

(10) [hóy t'ʌ́lqʷàmtʌm]

huy   t'əlqʷamtəm.

huy   t'əlqʷ-am-t-əm

then hollow.out-inside.of.container-CTR-PASS

'Then, they would carve out its inside.' (AM-DUGOUT.010)

(11) [x̣ʷóx̣ʷmot t'ʌ́t'ʌlqʷàmtəm]

x̣ʷux̣ʷmut   t'ət'əlqʷamtəm.

x̣ʷux̣ʷ-mut   t'ə~t'əlqʷ-am-t-əm

long.time-very IMPF~hollow.out-inside.of.container-CTR-PASS

'It would take a long time to carve out the inside.' (AM-DUGOUT.011)

(12) [hóynomgʌ tán' ʔiˑnɑː ... ƛ'ʌ́x̣təm]

huynum ‿ga   tan' ʔiy naʔa... ƛ'əx̣təm.

huy-nu-m ‿ga   tan' ʔiy naʔa   ƛ'əx̣-t-əm

finish-NTR-PASS ‿MTG DEM and R.FILLER singe-CTR-PASS

'They would finish it, then they would singe it [the outside of the canoe].'
(AM-DUGOUT.012)

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[9] The predicate is in passive, and the literal translation would be 'it was made'. Passive predicates, especially with an unspecified agent, are often translated by native speakers as 'they did X', as in this line.

(13)   [ƛ'ʌ́x̣təm]

     ƛ'əx̣təm.

     ƛ'əx̣-t-əm

     singe-CTR-PASS

     'They would singe it.' (AM-DUGOUT.013)

(14)   [x̣ʷáʔwetəm kʷnɑ· qʷáʔweɫ]

     x̣ʷaw'itəm   kʷ‿naʔa   qʷaw'iɫ.

     x̣ʷaw'-it-t-əm   kʷ‿naʔa   qʷaw'iɫ

     burn-STV-CTR-PASS DET‿R.FILLER pitch

     'They would light up pitch [tree resin].' (AM-DUGOUT.014)

(15)   [hoy ƛ'ʌ́x̣tʌm::]

     huy   ƛ'əx̣təm.

     huy   ƛ'əx̣-t-əm

     then singe-CTR-PASS

     'Then, they would singe it.' (AM-DUGOUT.015)

(16)   [ʔí:ʔày'təm ƛ'ʌ́x̣təm]

     ʔəyʔay'təm   ƛ'əx̣təm.[10]

     ʔəy~ʔay'-t-əm   ƛ'əx̣-t-əm

     PL~do.carefully-CTR-PASS singe-CTR-PASS

     'They would singe it really good.' (AM-DUGOUT.016)

(17)   [ʔú·k'ʷatəm ƛ'ʌ́x̣təm]

     ʔəwk'ʷatəm   ƛ'əx̣təm.

     ʔəwk'ʷ-a-t-əm ƛ'əx̣-t-əm

     all-LV-CTR-PASS singe-CTR-PASS

     'They would singe it all over.' (AM-DUGOUT.017)

(18)   [k'ʷúɫqɛnstom təqáʔyɛ]

     k'ʷəɫqinstum   tə‿qay'a.

     k'ʷəɫ-qin-stu-m   tə‿qay'a

     spill/pour-mouth-CAUS-PASS DET‿water

     'They would pour water into it.' (AM-DUGOUT.018)

(19)   [x̣ʷáʔƛ'egən tə qáʔyɛ]

     x̣ʷaʔƛ'igən tə‿qay'a.

     x̣ʷaʔƛ'igən tə‿qay'a

     half.full   DET‿water

     'It would be half full of water.' (AM-DUGOUT.019)

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[10] This line consists of two passive predicates, and it might be better analyzed as two lines.

(20) [k'ʷʊ́ɬqɛtəm]

k'ʷəɬqitəm.

k'ʷəɬ-qi-t-əm

spill/pour-mouth-ᴄᴛʀ-ᴘᴀss

'They would pour it in there.' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.020)

(21) [hoy ʔiˑ θáhθahqɛ̀təm]

huy   ʔiy   θahθahqitəm[11]

huy   ʔiy   θah~θah-qi-t-əm

then   and   ʀᴅᴘʟ~prop-mouth-ᴄᴛʀ-ᴘᴀss

'Then, they would place props in it [to keep the edges open]' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.021)

(22) [...təs qʷʊ́l's p'ɛ́q'ɛq']

təs   qʷəl's   p'iq'iq'.

təs   qʷəl'-s   p'iq'~iq'

reach   come-3ᴘᴏss   wide~ɪɴᴄ

'until it would widen.' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.022)

(23) [(θɛθhɛ...) θɛ́θhɛ̀t͡stomgⱭ ... ʔiˑ ....]

θiθhitstum ‿ga...   ʔiy...

θi~θh-it-stu-m ‿ga   ʔiy

ᴘʟ~prop-sᴛᴠ-ᴄᴀᴜs-ᴘᴀss ‿ᴍᴛɢ and

'They would keep the cross pieces propped in there.' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.023)

(24) [ƛ'Ɑx̣təm kʷʔáʔasƛ'qⱭm]

ƛ'əx̣təm   kʷ ‿ʔaʔasƛ'qəm.

ƛ'əx̣-t-əm   kʷ ‿ʔa~ʔasƛ'q-əm

singe-ᴄᴛʀ-ᴘᴀss   ᴅᴇᴛ ‿ʀᴅᴘʟ~outside-ᴍᴅʟ

'They would singe the outside.' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.024)

(25) [hóygⱭ ... hóygⱭ tán' ʔiˑnɑˑ č'ɛ́ʔmɑmⱭ̀təm]

huy ‿ga... huy ‿ga   tan' ʔiy naʔa   č'am'amatəm.

huy ‿ga   huy ‿ga   tan' ʔiy naʔa   č'am'~am-a-t-əm

finish ‿ᴍᴛɢ finish ‿ᴍᴛɢ ᴅᴇᴍ and ʀ.ꜰɪʟʟᴇʀ cold~ɪɴᴄ-ʟᴠ-ᴄᴛʀ-ᴘᴀss

'That would be finished, and they would cool it.' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.025)

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[11] The word *θahθahqitəm* is analyzed as *θah~θah-qi-t-əm*, with the lexical suffix *-qin* 'mouth (inside), voice, language, food, eating, mouth of cup (or cup-shaped object)' (Watanabe 2003: 342). The loss of *n* before *t* is a regular process. However, the root is only attested in this line and in line (23). E.P. (p.c. 2017) did not recognize this word. The root should likely be posited as √*θəh-*, judging from the form in line (23), in which the vowel is deleted. The CV plural reduplication takes the form Ca~ or Ci~, if the root vowel is a schwa (Watanabe 2003: 377). In line (21), the vowel *a* can be analyzed as *ə* lowered by the following *h*.

(26) [hóygʌ ʔiˑnaˑ xʷíˑpɛˑtə̀m tʌ́x̣ʌmʔay]

huy ‿ga   ʔiy   naʔa   xʷipitəm   təx̣əmʔay.

huy ‿ga   ʔiy   naʔa   xʷip-i-t-əm   təx̣əmʔay

then ‿MTG and   R.FILLER sweep-LV-CTR-PASS   cedar

'Then, they would brush (sweep) it with cedar [boughs to bless it].' (AM-DUGOUT.026)

(27) [xʷíˑpə̀mtəm]

xʷipamtəm.

xʷip-am-t-əm

sweep-inside.of.container-CTR-PASS

'They would sweep the inside of it.' (AM-DUGOUT.027)

(28) [miː təʔʌ́ɬtəgəms ƛ'ʌ́x̣təm táʔt]

miya tə ‿ʔaɬtəgams   ƛ'əx̣təm   taʔat.

miya tə ‿ʔaɬt<ə>g-am-s   ƛ'əx̣-t-əm   taʔat

even DET ‿inside<EPEN>-inside.of.container-3POSS singe-CTR-PASS DEM

'They would even singe the inside.' (AM-DUGOUT.028)

(29) [k'ʷút'θnačtəm tənaː hójɛs təʔásq'ʌ̀m']

k'ʷət'θnačtəm   tə ‿naʔa   huǰas   tə ‿ʔasq'am'.

k'ʷət'θ-nač-t-əm   tə ‿naʔa   huǰ-as   tə ‿ʔasq'-am'

turn.over-bottom-CTR-PASS DET ‿R.FILLER finish-3CNJ.SBJ DET ‿outside-MDL

'They would turn it over when they finished the outside.' (AM-DUGOUT.029)

(30) [k'ʷút'θnačtəm hoy ƛ'ʌ́x̣təm kʷ ʔáyegìɬs]

k'ʷət'θnačtəm   huy   ƛ'əx̣təm   kʷ ‿ʔayigiɬs.

k'ʷət'θ-nač-t-əm   huy   ƛ'əx̣-t-əm   kʷ ‿ʔayigiɬ-s

turn.over-bottom-CTR-PASS then singe-CTR-PASS DET ‿inside.boat-3POSS

'They would turn it over, then singe its inside.' (AM-DUGOUT.030)

(31) [ƛ'ʌ́x̣ɛtgʌ tə ʔáɬtˀgəm' ʔiː tə ʔásƛ'qʌm']

ƛ'əx̣it ‿ga   tə ‿ʔaɬtəgəm'   ʔiy tə ‿ʔasƛ'qəm'.

ƛ'əx̣-it ‿ga   tə ‿ʔaɬt<ə>g-əm'   ʔiy tə ‿ʔasƛ'q-əm'

singe-STV ‿MTG DET ‿inside<EPEN>-MDL and DET ‿outside-MDL

'The inside and the outside would be singed.' (AM-DUGOUT.031)

(32) [hέk'ʷa xʷx̣ʷóx̣ʷs ʔíʔ]

hi ‿k'ʷa   xʷ ‿x̣ʷux̣ʷs   ʔəy'.

hi ‿k'ʷa   xʷ ‿x̣ʷux̣ʷ-s   ʔəy'

it's ‿QUOT NMLZ ‿long.time-3POSS   good

'It would be good for a long time.' (AM-DUGOUT.032)

(33) [xʷʊčɛ́mʌs k'ʷʌ́q]

    xʷə   čamas   k'ʷəq.[12]

    xʷaʔ   čam'-as   k'ʷəq

    NEG   why/how-3CNJ.SBJ split

    'It would not crack.' (AM-DUGOUT.033)

(34) [ʔúːk'ʷgʌ hóy tán' ʔiːnɑː ...]

    ʔəwk'ʷ‿ga huy   tan' ʔiy naʔa...

    ʔəwk'ʷ‿ga huy   tan' ʔiy naʔa

    all‿MTG   finish DEM and R.FILLER

    'That would be all done, and...' (AM-DUGOUT.034)

(35) [póqʷsɑtəmθóː ... q'ʷɛ́t]

    pəqʷsatəm   θu... q'ʷit.

    pəqʷs-a-t-əm   θu   q'ʷit

    fall.into.water-LV-CTR-PASS go   beach

    'They would bring it and put it in the water ... (at the) beach.' (AM-DUGOUT.035)

(36) [hoy t'θóx̣ʷɑ̀mtə̀m]

    huy   t'θəx̣ʷamtəm.

    huy   t'θəx̣ʷ-am-t-əm

    then wash-inside.of.container-CTR-PASS

    'Then, they would wash the inside.' (AM-DUGOUT.036)

(37) [x̣ʷótq'ʷɑ̀təm tə nɑː q'ʷáygʌs]

    x̣ʷətq'ʷatəm   tə‿naʔa   q'ʷaygas.

    x̣ʷətq'ʷ-a-t-əm   tə‿naʔa   q'ʷaygas

    scrub-LV-CTR-PASS DET‿R.FILLER charcoal

    'They would scrub the charcoal [off].' (AM-DUGOUT.037)

(38) [hóygʌ tán' hɛhɛw qʌ́x̣mɔ̀ːt sp'á·p'ɛ̀m]

    huy‿ga   tan'. hihiw qəx̣mut   s‿p'ap'im.

    huy‿ga   tan' hihiw qəx̣-mut   s‿p'ap'i-m

    finish‿MTG DEM very   many-very NMLZ‿work-MDL

    'That would be done. It used to be a lot of work.' (AM-DUGOUT.038)

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[12] This is a type of negative construction, which is referred to as 'emphatic negation' (Watanabe 2022). The full construction would be *xʷaʔ čam'-as ʔiy k'ʷəq* (*ʔiy* 'and'). The segments before *ʔiy* are often reduced significantly, as in this line.

(39) [qᴧ́x̣ayɛmotoɬ ƛ'áʔɑˑƛ'x̣ày]

qǝx̣ayamutuɬ   ƛ'aʔaƛ'x̣ay.

qǝx̣-aya-mut-uɬ   ƛ'aʔa~ƛ'x̣ay

many-person-very-PST PL~elderly.person

'There used to be a lot of elders.' (AM-DUGOUT.039)

(40) [x̣ʷɛ́t'ot ʔúːk'ʷ .. ʔúˑk'ʷ tóx̣ʷnɛx̣ʷ⸜ɡᴧs háhyɛʔᴧm kʷnúx̣ʷ⸜ɬ]

x̣ʷit ‿ʔut   ʔǝwk'ʷ...   ʔǝwk'ʷ   tǝx̣ʷnix̣ʷigas   hǝhyaʔǝm¹³

x̣ʷit ‿ʔut   ʔǝwk'ʷ   ʔǝwk'ʷ   tǝx̣ʷ-n<i>x̣ʷ-ig-as   hǝ~hy-aʔǝm

really ‿CLT   all   all   know-NTR<STV>-PL-3ERG   IMPF~make-A.INTR

kʷ ‿nǝx̣ʷiɬ.

kʷ ‿nǝx̣ʷiɬ

DET ‿canoe

'They all really knew how to make a canoe.' (AM-DUGOUT.040)

(41) [ʔáʔeym�èteˑɡᴧs núx̣ʷⁱyⁱt]

ʔaʔǝymitigas   nǝx̣ʷiyit.

ʔa~ʔǝym-(m)i-t-ig-as   nǝx̣ʷiy-it

RDPL~do.by.oneself-RLT-CTR-PL-3ERG canoe-3PL.POSS

'They did their canoes by themselves.' (AM-DUGOUT.041)

(42) [... háhǰ⸜tèˑɡᴧs]¹⁴

hǝhǰǝtigas.

hǝ~hǰ-ǝ-t-ig-as

IMPF~make-EPEN-CTR-PL-3ERG

'They were making it.' (AM-DUGOUT.042)

(43) [ʔót hánᴧnǝm nɑː .. qᴧ́x̣s p'áˑp'ɛm]

ʔut hananǝm   naʔa...   qǝx̣   s ‿p'ap'im,

ʔut hanan-ǝm   naʔa   qǝx̣   s ‿p'ap'i-m

if   excess-MDL R.FILLER many   NMLZ ‿work-MDL

'If it was too much work,' (AM-DUGOUT.043)

(44) [θóˑheyt tǝ skʷáq ƛ'áʔɑˑƛ'x̣ày]

θu ‿hiyt tǝ ‿skʷaq   ƛ'aʔaƛ'x̣ay.

θu ‿hiyt tǝ ‿skʷaq   ƛ'aʔa~ƛ'x̣ay

go ‿CLT   DET ‿remaining   PL~elderly.person

'other elders would go.' (AM-DUGOUT.044)

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¹³ The word *hǝhyaʔǝm* is derived from the root √*hǰ-*. The consonant *ǰ* is expected to be realized as *ǰ* before a vowel, as in this form, and as *y* before another consonant or a word boundary. This regular *ǰ ~ y* alternation is occasionally violated in casual and allegro speech. See line 42, where the same segment of the same root is realized as *ǰ*.

¹⁴ A.M. is stumbling in the beginning here, and the entire line is quite difficult to hear.

(45) [(č'ɛgʌ..) č'ɛ́gɑtɑwɬ]

č'agatawɬ.

č'ag-a-t-awɬ

help-ʟᴠ-ᴄᴛʀ-ʀᴄᴘ

'They would help each other.' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.045)

(46) [pʌ́pyɛʔʌm č'ɛ́č'gɑˑtɑ̀wɬ sx̣ʷóx̣ʷoɬ]

pəpyaʔam[15]   č'ač'gatawɬ   s‿x̣ʷux̣ʷuɬ.

pəpyaʔam   č'a~č'g-a-t-awɬ   s‿x̣ʷux̣ʷ-uɬ

always   ᴘʟ~help-ʟᴠ-ᴄᴛʀ-ʀᴄᴘ   ɴᴍʟᴢ‿long.time-ᴘsᴛ

'They always helped each other a long time ago.' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.046)

(47) [č'ɛ́gʌtɛgʌsgʌ θóˑ tə nɑː ǰúǰu]

č'agatigas‿ga   θu   tə‿naʔa   ǰuǰu.[16]

č'ag-a-t-ig-as‿ga   θu   tə‿naʔa   ǰuǰu

help-ʟᴠ-ᴄᴛʀ-ᴘʟ-3ᴇʀɢ‿ᴍᴛɢ   go   ᴅᴇᴛ‿ʀ.ꜰɪʟʟᴇʀ   struggling

'They would go and help the one who was having a difficult time.' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.047)

(48) [xʷúčɛɛmʌs hoǰúxʷas kʷnáʔs]

xʷə   čamas   huǰəxʷas   kʷ‿naʔs.

xʷaʔ   čam'-as   huǰ-əxʷ-as   kʷ‿naʔ-s

ɴᴇɢ   why/how-3ᴄɴᴊ.sʙᴊ   finish-ɴᴛʀ-3ᴇʀɢ   ᴅᴇᴛ‿possess-3ᴘᴏss

'[If] he could not finish his [canoe].' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.048)

(49) [θóˑ č'ɛ́gɑtə̀m skʷáq ƛ'á∫ɑˑƛ'x̣ày]

θu   č'agatəm   skʷaq   ƛ'aʔaƛ'x̣ay.

θu   č'ag-a-t-əm   skʷaq   ƛ'aʔa~ƛ'x̣ay

go   help-ʟᴠ-ᴄᴛʀ-ᴘᴀss   remaining   ᴘʟ~elderly.person

'Some elders would go and help him.' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.049)

(50) [ʔíːmotoɬ námʔùwɪt sx̣ʷóx̣ʷoɬ]

ʔəymutuɬ   namʔuwit   s‿x̣ʷux̣ʷuɬ.

ʔəy-mut-uɬ   nam-ʔuw-it   s‿x̣ʷux̣ʷ-uɬ

good-very-ᴘsᴛ   similar-ᴘsᴛ-3ᴘʟ.ᴘᴏss   ɴᴍʟᴢ‿long.time-ᴘsᴛ

'It used to be really good what they were like a long time ago.' (ᴀᴍ-ᴅᴜɢᴏᴜᴛ.050)

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[15] This is the only instance of this word in my corpus. The form that means 'always' and is most often used is *payaʔ*. Other forms that also mean 'always' include: *payaʔam, papayaʔam, papayam*. These are obviously all derived from *payaʔ*, with what appears to be a suffix *-Vm* (which could be the middle suffix), and in the latter two a CV~ reduplication. The difference in the meanings or their use of the different forms is unclear at this point.

[16] This is the sole instance of the word *ǰuǰu* in my corpus.

(51) [xʷáʔgʌ sčɛ́ʔt xʷúkʷtkʷnám' 'that's it']

xʷaʔ ‿ga sčaʔat. xʷukʷt kʷ‿nam'.   'That's it.'

xʷaʔ ‿ga sčaʔat xʷukʷt kʷ‿nam'

NEG ‿MTG now   NEG   DET‿similar

'Not now. There is nobody like that. That's it.' (AM-DUGOUT.051)

Symbols and Abbreviations

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

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