12 Upper Nicola Okanagan Texts*

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This paper consists of a collection of twelve short texts from Lottie Lindley, one of the last fluent speakers of the Upper Nicola dialect of Okanagan, a Southern Interior Salish language. The subject matter of these texts vary, and includes legend, history, and cultural practices. Each text is presented in the following manner: After introductory notes, I give an unbroken Okanagan transcription, followed by an English translation, before ending with an interlinear rendition, complete with morphological analysis. Footnotes primarily serve to highlight noteworthy lexical, grammatical, or discourse-related phenomena.

1 klíwsntmólx iʔ t ì̱kʷt: “Divided By The Lake”

Recorded on April 26, 2009 in Quilchena, BC. Lottie mentions that this story occurs with the ‘animal people’ during the ‘animal days’ at a place in the Nicola Valley called Silúsqn (present day Shulus). The Shuswap names for the brother and sister characters are Sqʷamálst and Lehecínëk, respectively. These are the names of the two mountains visible from the Quilchena reserve on the northwest shore of Nicola Lake, Sqʷamálst to the northeast, and Lehecínëk to the southwest.

1.1 Okanagan

way p ikscaptikʷ šam. Ḹqásíí kʷšxʷ iʔ sqiłxʷ ɬaʔ captikʷ t, uɬ naχʷ naχʷ- ɪws ksqʷšʔaʔ t kʔasʔasíł tkłmìxʷ uɬ sqoltmìxʷ. uɬ iʔ xíxwtám ɬaʔ Ḹxʷ umx, uɬ cùntam iʔ t tums: “way k” ɬikskʷúłtxʷ m ɬiʔ ɬi k” cʔítx.” uɬ kʷúłtxʷ s uɬ klí
I’m going to tell you all a story. A long time ago, the people told a story about a wife with two children, a woman and a man. And the little girl had her puberty, and her mother said to her: “I will build you a hut over there, where you will sleep.” And she (her mother) built her a house outside, and there she slept. And she would be visited by her older brother out there. And they were lovers. And their parents found out what they were doing. And they killed the man (i.e. the boy). And they brought him to a lake and placed him in a canoe. And they did not cut him loose, but they left him tied up. And to no avail, did the little girl wait for her older brother. And they say that the girl asked the other children “Am I your child? Where is my older brother?” And the children said to her, “You didn’t hear about that. They killed him and brought him to the lake.” And she realized this, and she ran all the way, and she was chased by fast runners. And they couldn’t catch up with her, but here at the lake they arrived. And she jumped into the canoe, and cut him free, and they floated across the lake. And that’s the story about the man and the woman. The woman’s name was “lehecinek”, and the man’s name was “sqw’amalst”. And they divided them by the lake, so that never again would someone in the same family become lovers. And this here is the story of the land. This has been my story, and now this one is the first story I have told which will now be written. That’s all.

1.3 Interlinear Gloss

(1) way p i-ks-captikʷ1-om.
yes 2PL.ABS 1SG.PASS-FUT-tell.stories-MID
‘I’m going to tell you all a story.’
A long time ago, the people told a story about a wife with two children, a woman and a man.

And the little girl had her puberty, and her mother said to her: ‘I will build you a hut over there, where you will sleep.’

And she (her mother) built her a house outside, and there she slept.

And she would be visited by her older brother out there.

And they were lovers.

And their parents found out what they were doing.

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1. Though I could not find anything related to *íx* in Mattina (1987), this form is cognate with Lillooet *íx* 'young teenager, pubescent (esp. pubescent girl)' (van Eijk, 1987, 140)
(9) uł pūl-st-salx iʔ sqa IDMIX w.  
CONJ kill-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET man  
‘And they killed the man (i.e. the boy).’

(10) uł c-x w  úy-selx^3  
CONJ CISL-go-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG CONJ DEM LOC lake CONJ  
nák w-an-(n)-iselx iʔ l stāčam.  
place.in-DIR-3PL.ERG DET LOC canoe  
‘And they brought him to a lake and placed him in a canoe.’

CONJ [NEG] let.go-DIR-3PL.ERG CONJ k-tie-handle-(DIR)-3PL.ERG  
‘And they did not cut him loose, but they left him tied up.’

(12) uł iʔ tkłmIxlw, iʔ xīḵtwām wim  
CONJ DET woman DET little.girl to.no.avail  
c-kĪtǐm̥om-s iʔ tšāqcaʔ-s.  
CUST-wait.for-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG DET older.brother-3SG.POSS  
‘And to no avail, did the little girl wait for her older brother.’

(13) uł siw-s k̬w̬ uk̬ iʔ scacm̥áʔo?  
CONJ ask-(DIR)-3SG.ERG REP DET children DUB 1SG.ABS  
x̓m̥i̕l̥-m? xʔKim̥om i(n)-4t̬q̥čaʔʔʔʔ5  
child-2PL.POSS where 1SG.POSS-older.brother  
‘And they say that the girl asked the other children “Am I your child? Where is my older brother?” ’

(14) uł cūn-(n)-t̬-om iʔ t scacm̥áʔo?  
CONJ say-DIR-PASS DET OBL children NEG  
x̓kl̥-m(n)-nt-x̓̕. pūl-st-salx uł  
hear-MIN-DIR-2SG.ERG kill-CAUS-3PL.ERG CONJ  
x̓ w  úy-st-salx kl tikʷʔ t.  
go-CAUS-3PL.ERG LOC lake  
‘And the children said to her, “You didn’t hear about that. They killed him and brought him to the lake.” ’

2. I tentatively analyze sɪc̓axʔk̥ln̥salx ‘what they were doing’ as a CP object of the transitive verb m̥yp̓n̥nt̬m̥elt̬ ‘they found out x̓’. Normally, transitive objects are introduced by the determiner iʔ. In this case, a determiner would make sɪc̓axʔk̥ln̥salx a ‘headless relative’ clause, but instead, we have a bare nominalized clause. The implication is that some transitive verbs can take CP complements.

3. The initial customary c̓- prefix indicates that the null transitivizer is the causative -st̬-.

4. Lottie’s translation indicates that there is a missing negative marker here.

5. With regards to 1st and 2nd person singular possessive prefixes, Mattina and DeSautel (2002, 24) write “verb nominalizations never have the nasal in the first and second persons, while nouns and psych verbs do, except for stems that begin in s and kin terms that begin in t̬.”
(15) ut my-p-nú-s ut ixt?  
    CONJ know-INCH-MANAGE.TO-(DIR)-3SG.ERG CONJ DEM
    s-qícólx-s k"uk" ut kíl-nt-óm i? t  
    NOM-run-3SG.POSS REP CONJ chase-DIR-PASS DET OBL
    ʰaxt i? t ac-xítmist.  
    fast DET OBL CUST-run

'And she realized this, and she ran all the way, and she was chased by fast runners.'

(16) ut lut n-kcũkí?-sólx ut álá?  
    CONJ NEG n-overtake.someone-(DIR)-3PL.ERG CONJ DEM
    c-yá̆p-olx l ʰikʷt.  
    CUST-arrive-3PL.ABS LOC lake

'And they couldn’t catch up with her, but here at the lake they arrived.'

(17) ut n-łotp-m-nćút i? l státom ut  
    CONJ n-jump-MID-REFLEX DET LOC canoe CONJ
    t-kt-ipolaʔ-s ut skʷtlíx.  
    t-cut-handle-(DIR)-3SG.ERG CONJ float.across

'And she jumped into the canoe, and cut him free, and they floated across the lake.'

(18) ut iklí? kiʔ captíkʷt, ut iʔ sqáltmíxʷ ut iʔ  
    CONJ DEM COMP.OBL legend CONJ DET man CONJ DET
    tkłmíIxʷ.  
    woman

'And that’s the story about the man and the woman.'

(19) iʔ tkłmíxʷ iʔ skʷist-s "leheč-ínek" ut  
    DET woman DET name-3SG.POSS otter-woman(SHUSWAP) CONJ
    iʔ sqáltmíxʷ "sqʷom-álst.ʔ"  
    DET man LOC-hill/mountain-rock(SHUSWAP)

'The woman’s name was “lehečínek”, and the man’s name was “sqʷomálst”.'

6. Lottie mentions in a different telling of this story that the ‘fast runners’ were Coyote.
7. Thanks to Dwight Gardiner for confirming the Shuswap etymologies.
2.1 Okanagan

Recorded on April 26, 2009 in Quilchena, BC. Lottie mentions that while the Upper Nicola area was a hunting area in the fall for those coming over from the Okanagan area around West Bank, no one lived here permanently at first. Only later did people come to live in the area throughout the year. The Okanagan fought the Shuswaps for control of the Upper Nicola. Her story relates how past Upper Nicola chiefs wanted to change the place names from Shuswap to Okanagan, but Lottie helped to persuade them not to change the names, since the Shuswap names proved that the Okanaganans won the territory.

2.1.1 Okanagan

"And they divided them by the lake, so that never again would someone in the same family become lovers."

"And this here is the story of the land.

This has been the story (of the land), and now this one is the first story I have told which will now be written. That’s all."

cktyaq"tmstsalx iʔ təmxʷúlaʔxʷ: “They fought over the land”

Recorded on April 26, 2009 in Quilchena, BC. Lottie mentions that while the Upper Nicola area was a hunting area in the fall for those coming over from the Okanagan area around West Bank, no one lived here permanently at first. Only later did people come to live in the area throughout the year. The Okanagan fought the Shuswaps for control of the Upper Nicola. Her story relates how past Upper Nicola chiefs wanted to change the place names from Shuswap to Okanagan, but Lottie helped to persuade them not to change the names, since the Shuswap names proved that the Okanaganans won the territory.
2.2 English

A long time ago, they say the Shuswap and the Similkameens were always fighting. They fought over the land. The hunting grounds, their fishing places. They fought over it. It was a pitiful thing they were doing, killing one another. They killed the children, they killed the old men. They were stingy about the land. And they say the Okanagans were fighting with the Shuswaps, from here to over there at the boundaries, and coming over to here (Quilchena). And the Similkameens won over the Shuswap land. That’s how we’re here. We’re Okanagans, and now we look after the land. The old men said to us “Go, look after the land. We beat them.” And now we live here, and we’re growing (as a people). And all of our lakes, our mountains, have Shuswap names. And now we’re living here. The old men said to us “You guys go over there and look after it.” That’s how us Similkameens are living here. And now we look after this land because we’ve won it. And nobody here will ever chase us away. And a long time ago they said maybe we should change the names of the mountains and the lakes. And the people said “No. This way we can tell that we won the land from them.” And now it’s our x. And the Shuswaps were our enemies a long time ago. And it was a thing of our elders, that we should never take a man or a wife from the Shuswaps because they’re our enemies. Now that’s over and it’s different, but nobody knows about it. And now I’ve told the story and now it will be written. About how us Okanagans came to live here. That’s all.

2.3 Interlinear Gloss

(23) q’sápi kʷukʷ iʔ syxʷá-p=mox naʔl smłq-mix
long.ago REP DET Shuswap.people CONJ Similkameen.people
spintk ac-tyáqʷt-lx.
always CUST-fight-3PL.ABS
‘A long time ago, they say the Shuswap and the Similkameens were always fighting.’
They fought over the land.

‘The hunting grounds, their fishing places. They fought over it.’

‘It was a pitiful thing they were doing, killing one another. They killed the children, they killed the old men.’

‘They were stingy about the land.’

‘And they say the Okanagans were fighting with the Shuswaps, from here to over there at the boundaries, and coming over to here (Quilchena).’

‘And the Similkameens won over the Shuswap land.’
(30) ixí? ki? alá? i? kʷu kʷliwt, kʷu
DEM COMP.OBL DEM DEM 1PL.ABS live 1PL.ABS
sʔuknaqínx, ʔəpná? t-xt-nt-im axá? i?
Okanagans now t-take.care.of-DIR-1PL.ERG DEM DET
tomxʷúlaʔxʷ.
land
‘That’s how we’re here. We’re Okanagans, and now we look after the
land.’

(31) iʔ ʔəḵəqʷéʔ-pít kłaʔ kʷu cún-(n)t-əm⁸ “xʷúy-wi,
DET old.men-1PL.POSS DEM 1PL.ABS say-DIR-PASS go-PL
kliʔ mi t-xt-nt-ip ixíʔ iʔ tomxʷúlaʔxʷ.
DEM FUT t-take.care.of-DIR-2PL.ERG DEM DET land
ixíʔ ʔəkwúp-nt-m.”
DEM win-DIR-1PL.ERG
‘The old men said to us “Go, look after the land. We beat them.”’

(32) uʔ ʔəpnáʔ aláʔ kʷu kʷliwt uʔ kʷu
CONJ now DEM 1PL.ABS live CONJ 1PL.ABS
t-xʷaʔ-xʷaʔ-tilx.
t-tRED-many-DEV
‘And now we live here, and we’re growing (as a people).’

(33) uʔ yaʔ iʔ takʷ-tikʷ-t-(t)at, iʔ maqʷ-maʔkwíwt-(t)at,
CONJ all DET IRED-lake-1PL.POSS DET IRED-mountain-1PL.POSS
iʔ syxʷáp-max iʔ skʷst-úlaʔxʷ-s.
DET Shuswap.people DET name-ground-3SG.POSS
‘And all of our lakes, our mountains, have Shuswap names.’

(34) uʔ ixíʔ ʔəpnáʔ kiʔ aláʔ iʔ kʷu kʷliwt.
CONJ DEM now COMP.OBL DEM DET 1PL.ABS live
‘And now we’re living here.’

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⁸ Passive agents are normally introduced by the oblique marker t and usually the determiner iʔ as
well, but in contexts where the patient is a non-third person pronominal (e.g. kʷu), oblique marking
is often dropped, hence iʔ ʔəkwúp-nt-m rather than iʔ t-ikʷ-t-(t)at. Mattina and DeSautel (2002,
25) state that “the disambiguation of number in the first person object [i.e. kʷu] is accomplished by
-m, and such forms are interpreted as 3rd indef subject - 1 pl object.” With third person objects, “the
interpretation of these forms can be indefinite subject, or passive.” I apply the ‘passive’ label to -m in
both environments.
The old men said to us “You guys go over there and look after it.”

That’s how us Similkameens are living here.

And now we look after this land because we’ve won it.

And nobody here will ever chase us away.

And a long time ago they said maybe we should change the names of the mountains and the lakes.

And now it’s our land.
CONJ DET Shuswap.people DET enemies-1PL.POSS long.ago  
‘And the Shuswaps were our enemies a long time ago.’

(43) lut, kʷukʷ ixí? iʔ stíʔ iʔ ʔoʔxəʔəxáp-tot, cakʷ  
NEG REP DET DET what DET elders-1PL.POSS BOUL  
kʷu k(t)-sqaltníxʷ kmì kl-náxʷnaʔxʷ iʔ tl  
1PL.ABS HAVE-man CONJ HAVE-wife DET LOC  
syxʷáp-mox kʷaʔ ixíʔ xmiń-tot.  
Shuswap.people COMP DEM enemies-1PL.POSS  
‘And it was a thing of our elders, that we should never take a man or a  
wife from the Shuswaps because they’re our enemies.’

(44) x?ínəm kiʔ aláʔ iʔ kʷu kʷliwt kʷu  
how COMP.OBL DET DET live 1PL.ABS  
sʔuknaqínx. way.  
Okanagans the.end  
‘About how us Okanagans came to live here. That’s all.’

3 lkʷílx iʔ tl smíʔutón: “Leave your bed”

Recorded on July 15, 2009 in Quilchena, BC. This story discusses the  
importance of not having more children than one can reasonably care for. In the  
old days, explains Lottie, the people knew that a woman and a man should avoid  
relations from about one week before until one week after a woman’s time of the  
month, and that this would prevent unwanted pregnancy. The women lived in  
separate huts during this time. In Lottie’s own words, “they were protecting their  
survival”, and she stresses that this separation was not because the women were  
in any sense ‘unclean’, but was instead driven by the need to protect the hunters.  
In the Captíkʷł tradition, the Grizzly Bear’s disdain of human menstrual blood

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9. The word iʔtúl has a meaning difficult to capture using English. The gloss ‘unbeatable’ comes  
from A. Mattina (p.c.), contra Mattina (1987, 216). Lottie says that it means “after a person grows  
up and has all things they need to be a medicine person”. It is unclear to me, however, how either  
meaning transfers to this particular context.
places the Okanagan hunters in real danger, should they go hunting after hav-
ing relations with their wives during their time of the month. Wanting to protect
their hunters gave impetus to a form of population control, while having fewer
children, in turn, placates the Grizzly Bear.10

3.1 Okanagan

Lottie mentions that another way of protecting the hunters was by not letting a girl ride
their hunters gave impetus to a form of population control, while having fewer
relations with their wives during their time of the month. Wanting to protect
places the Okanagan hunters in real danger, should they go hunting after hav-
ing relations with their wives during their time of the month. Wanting to protect

3.2 English

Long ago, people were very scared of the grizzly bear. When the men
went hunting, they would get killed by a grizzly bear. The grizzly of the legend
does not like a woman that is sick in her time (of the month)... or a husband that
is touched by his wife while being fed (when a woman has her time)... or a husband that
does not like a woman that is sick in her time (of the month)... or a husband that

iʔ? sqolqolímixʔ, moʔ púłstmalx iʔ? t kiʔláwna. iʔ? kiʔláwna tícəpíʔ?ł¼ lútaʔ?
taʔ? cʔamstmíʔ, kám taʔ? cxʷuy kl sníʔʷúʔtàn. qsápi kʷukv? kʷúłtxʷntam iʔ? smaʔ-
mtíʔm. uʔ cú̱ntamalx “kliʔ? mi p acqíʔxíłʔ tąʔ? c̓qíłt tąʔ? ł̱yáʔnaxʔwm. lut aksnʔúłtxʷm
mi kšlqí̱lx l smíʔʷútən. kʷ x̓astwíłx mi sic kʷ tļʷuy kl ás̓xílwʔ.” uʔ lut sqʷsiʔiʔ-
ntsá̱l t xʷʔit. t kʷkʷyínʔaʔ tąʔ? c̓qʷsiʔam iʔ? sqí̱lwxʷ, t kʔosʔásíł, t kaʔkaʔ?hs.
ixʔ? kʷ acmístsalx ḵxʔínxá̱lxl, mi lut ḵsqʷsiʔaʔntsá̱l x̓aʔt, x̓aʔt naqss̓pi̱nt
kaʔ? ekʷúłls iʔ? skʷkʷýmalt. kʷʔaʔ? qʷʔú̱í̱nqʷání̱ləx pńcíʔ. lutáʔ? c̓q̓ímtstsalx kaʔ?
cʔamstsalx iʔ? ḵkʷʔiʔl iʔ? sc̓o̱c̓málaʔ. uʔ taʔliʔʔ? iʔ? ḵx̓aʔx̓ax̓ax̓ap ḵʔantís iʔ? smaʔmíʔm, 
 lut ḵ... c̓am x̓aʔxʷt iʔ? saxʷpíʔx̓amtaʔ. ṉgʷyáʔṯkʷs̱alx y̱aʔyáʔt iʔ? stims, xʷkʷm̓t̓sá̱lxl, 
kʷil̓stanam mi sic píʔx̓am. ix̓ʔ? iʔ? cawts iʔ? qsápi iʔ? sqí̱lwxʷ. uʔ iʔ? sáмаʔ? kʷʔu č̓úntəm,
iʔ? saxʷm̓r̓im kʷʔu č̓úntəm: t ḵʔhás, naqs, kʷnx̓ásq̓, síspí̱kásq̓at mi kʷ anúntxʷ 
[yaxáníʔ] taʔ? c̓q̓í̱mtstm̓s̓x̓ t̓ł̱yáʔnaxʷ moʔ t̓lwí̱nteʔ as̓n̓lqʷútən. ut síspí̱kásq̓at kaʔ?
c̓s̓x̓ánas, kʷʔaʔ? x̓astwíłx tə sqí̱łt t síspí̱kásq̓at. ḵx̓án x̓íʔ? mi sic kʷʔaʔ? plak 
kʷ as̓n̓lqʷútən. ix̓ʔ? ṉkʷʔúłms iʔ? sqí̱lwxʷ qsápi. ut existísalx ny Elijah, y̱aʔyáʔt iʔ?
pípaptwínaxʷ ṉʔíʔ st̓ómíʔmíʔʔ? y̱aʔt č̓akʷ c̓xʷm̓t̓sá̱lxl iʔ? sc̓o̱c̓málaʔ. mi lut ḵsxʷʔiʔts 
iʔ? ḵsqʷsiʔiʔntstslx, kʷʔaʔ? lut t q̓ún̓sá̱lxl ḵsq̓amttstsalx iʔ? xʷʔit. ix̓ʔ? iʔ? cawts qsápi 
“ikʷʔíłx iʔ? tł sníʔʷúʔtàn mi lut ḵs̓x̓ísfp̓alaʔs iʔ? saxʷpí̱x̓am.” ix̓ʔʔ, wáy.

10 Lottie mentions that another way of protecting the hunters was by not letting a girl ride the
hunter’s horse.
the elders stopped the women, so that our hunters would not die. They washed all
their laundry, they cleaned (everything) and took sweat baths before hunting.
That’s what our people did a long time ago. And the white person told us, the
docor told us: “Three, one, how many, seven days before you take your sick-
ness during your time of the month, you have to leave your bed. And after seven
days go past, and seven days after you get better. After seven days go past, then
you go back to your bed.” That’s the way the old people lived long ago. And
they looked after it all the time, always, all the old women and grandmothers,
they taught the children everything. So that they didn’t have too many children,
because they couldn’t manage to feed a lot of children. That’s the way people
lived long ago; they were very poor. That’s the way they lived when they told the
women “Leave your bed so that our hunters don’t get bad luck.” That’s all.

3.3 Interlinear Gloss

(47) ḵsápi kʷukʷ iʔ sqilxʷ taʔliʔ c-n̓x̣il-om-st-soɬx
long.ago REP DET people very CUST-afraid-MID-CAUS-3PL.ERG
iʔ kiʔläwna.
DET grizzly
‘Long ago, people were very scared of the grizzly bear.’

(48) taʔ c-píʕ-om iʔ sq̓al-qoltmíxʷ, m̓ał
COMP CUST-hunt-MID DET IRED-man CONJ
púl-st-m-òɬx iʔ t kiʔläwna.
kill-CAUS-PASS-3PL.ERG DET OBL grizzly
‘When the men went hunting, they would get killed by a grizzly bear.’

(49) iʔ kiʔläwna t̓l s-capťikʷ4-s lúta?
DET grizzly LOC NOM-legend-3SG.POSS NEG
̓x̣míłk-s11 iʔ tk̓mlíxʷ ac-ɬílt iʔ
like-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET woman STAT-sick DET
l̓ ̓x̣̓y̓á̓l̓n̓oʔxʷ.
LOC time/moon
‘The grizzly of the legend does not like a woman that is sick in her time
(of the month)...’

11. I reconstruct a null directive (-nt-) transitivizer for this stem ḵmíłk ‘like, want’ in this, and other
environments in this paper, based on data in (Mattina, 1987, 253).
'or a husband that is touched by his wife while being fed (when a woman has her time), or when coming to bed.'

'A long time ago, we made huts for the women.'

'And they were told "There's a place over there for you all, when a person has got their time."'

'You get better before you go back to your husband.'

'The people didn't have many children.'

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12. For this sentence, the wife is the agent of the event, as shown by the oblique marker t, but it seems surprising that there is no suffixal or other transitivizing agreement morphology on 'touch' which might help clarify how the two discourse participants stand in their relation to the event.

13. The quantifier xʷʔit 'many' is an adverbial modifier of the predicate in this sentence. This is a bit unusual, since it is more often found before DPs (cf. 263) or as a main predicate (cf. 155).
They only had a few children, two or three.

They taught you what to do, so they don’t have children every year.

Because they were poor at that time.

They weren’t able to do it because they knew that they couldn’t feed a whole bunch of kids.

And the elders stopped the women, so that our hunters would not die.

They washed all their laundry, they cleaned (everything) and took sweat baths before hunting.
DEM DET doings-3SG.POSS DET long.ago DET people
'That's what our people did a long time ago.'

uì i? sáma? kʷu cún-(n)t-om, i?
CONJ DET white.person 1PL.ABS say-DIR-PASS DET
'so we and the doctor told us:'

"i' kaʔhás, naqs, kʷnx-ásqat, sîspîk-ásqat mi
EMPH three one how-many-day seven-day COMP.FUT
kʷan-(n)ún-txʷ [Yalnání]¹⁴ łaʔ
take-MANAGE.to-DIR-2SG.ERG COMP
č-qîlt-m-st-xʷ y̕y̕á̕n̕xʷ m̕o̕l
CUST-sick-MID-CAUS-2SG.ERG LOC time CONJ
ṭwîn-(n)t-xʷ a(n)-sn-tqʷútn.
leave-DIR-2SG.ERG 2SG.POSS-LOC-where one lays
'Three, one, how many, seven days before you take your sickness
during your time of the month, you have to leave your bed.'

uì sîspîk-ásqat kaʔ c-sˇxán-ә,¹⁵ kʷ
CONJ seven-day COMP.OBL CUST-go.past-3SG.POSS 2SG.ABS
łaʔ ʃ̕ast-wîl̕x ʷə s̕q̕îlt t sîspîk-ásqat.
COMP good-DEV EMPH NOM-sick OBL seven-day
'And after seven days go past, and seven days after you get better.'

kl-sخan ixî? mi sic kʷ łaʔ plák k(l)
kl-go.past DEM COMP.FUT then 2SG.ABS COMP return LOC
a(n)-sn-tqʷútn.'
2SG.POSS-bed
'After seven days go past, then you go back to your bed.'

ixî? nkʷúln-m-s iʔ sqilxʷ qsápi.
DEM habits-3SG.POSS DET people long.ago
'That's the way the old people lived long ago.'

¹⁴ I was unable to interpret this sequence, but it is likely to be a false start.
¹⁵ The form for 'go past' is given as k-sˇxan in Mattina (1987, 192). See also (66).
¹⁶ According to Lottie, men and women were not supposed to have relations for three weeks out of
every month, one week before a woman's menstruation, one week during, and one week after. They
could have relations for only about one week in every month, and that was their form of birth control.
And they looked after it all the time, always, all the old women and grandmothers, they taught the children everything.

So that they didn’t have too many children, because they couldn’t manage to feed a lot of children.

That’s the way people lived long ago; they were very poor.

That’s the way they lived when they told the women “Leave your bed so that our hunters don’t get bad luck.” That’s all.

How the people made baskets

Recorded on September 16th, 2009. This short text relates some general facts about making cedar bark baskets.
4.1 Okanagan

How the people made cedar bark baskets. They gathered the roots to make the baskets. They dug roots and they soaked them in water before they weave them, and keep them wet all the time so that they get tight. The people here did not make cedar bark baskets, the people in Vancouver and the Thompson people did. They make the cedar bark baskets, and they are very expensive to buy, for those that want a basket. But there are people here that manage to do this. They would have fallen trees, and made a container something like a basket. And in the springtime, when the pitch is coming through (in June), they would get pitch. When the pitch is coming through the trees, that’s when they would weave, and that’s how they made the baskets. They didn’t do like the people in Vancouver and the Thompsons when they made them. They would braid and make a hoop out of the cedar roots. They took it to where it would dry quickly in the springtime when they gathered it. During June, they would take a tree and make containers. And that’s how the people made the baskets.

4.2 English

How the people made cedar bark baskets. They gathered the roots to make the baskets. They didn’t do like the people in Vancouver and the Thompson people when they made them. They would braid and make a hoop out of the cedar roots. They took it to where it would dry quickly in the springtime when they gathered it. During June, they would take a tree and make containers. And that’s how the people made the baskets.
They dig roots and they soak them in water before they weave them, and keep them wet all the time so that they get tight.

‘The people here did not make cedar bark baskets, the people in Vancouver and the Thompson people did.’

‘They make the cedar bark baskets, and they are very expensive to buy, for those that want a basket.’

But there are people here that manage to do this.’
(78) ixî? ks-ünkqwa, mêt k-w-ul-om-enk
DEM FUT-fell-tree-MID-3PL.ABS CONJ make-MID-3PL.ABS
    t kâ-qam-nmn-m-enk,
OBL U.POSS-to.rest.s.t.inside-INSTR-3PL.POSS like OBL
    yâmâqâ.
cedar.bark.basket
‘They would have fallen trees, and made a container something like a basket.’

(79) ut ixî? l sqipc ka? c-tîx-w-st-enk,
CONJ DEM LOC Springtime COMP.OBL CUST-obtain-CAUS-3PL.ERG
    tâ? c-ça?qâlkâ
COMP CUST-pitch.is.coming.through COMP-CUST ... DET
    tîc.
    pitch
‘And in the springtime, when the pitch is coming through (in June), they would get pitch.’

(80) tâ? c-ça?qâlkâ
COMP CUST-pitch.is.coming.through DET trees CONJ
    ks-yîcâq-w-enk,
FUT-weave-(DIR)-3PL.ERG CONJ DEM COMP.OBL
    c-kâ-ui-st-enk
CUST-make-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET basket
‘When the pitch is coming through the trees, that’s when they would weave, and that’s how they made the baskets.’

(81) lûta? c-ça? i? t sâmsîw ut i? t
NEG like DET OBL Vancouver.people CONJ DET OBL
    nukâtmîx-w
Thompson.people COMP CUST-make-MID-3PL.ABS
‘They didn’t do like the people in Vancouver and the Thompsons when they made them.’

(82) tî n-qîcâqînaq-w-enk ut kîyârkâq-wnt-i-enk
EMPH n-braid-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG CONJ make.hoop-DIR-3PL.ERG
    t c-çàkâx-olqâ.
OBL cedar-tree
‘They would braid and make a hoop out of the cedar roots.’

19. Lottie mentions that June is the time when the cedar bark peels right off.
They took it to where it would dry quickly in the springtime when they gathered it.

‘During June, they would take a tree and make containers.’

‘And that’s how the people made the baskets.’

5.1 Okanagan

“They buried them in the shale”

Recorded on July 15th, 2009. This text consists of brief descriptions of burial practices, and of differences between burying adults versus children. Lottie mentions her mother telling her that there were some people buried in the shale up on the hillside near her house. She also relates a teaching (not included as a text in this paper) about a boy who found a human skull on the hillside. He takes the skull and brings it home. His grandfather asks him where he found the skull, and upon finding out, orders the boy to take it back to where he found it, dig a hole, and cover it back up, and not to return to the place, which is held to be sacred. From this the boy learned that picking up human remains is not allowed, and in following his grandfather’s instruction, shows respect for his elders.
5.2 English

A long time ago when someone died, the people would bury them under the shale, because they didn’t have any shovels, or tools. They’d move the rocks and put them in the grave, then put back all the shale. When babies died, they wrapped them and tied them (to a tree). And it would just sit there, and eventually fall off and go back to the earth. Long ago that’s how they buried one another. Now it’s different. We work as the white people do (when burying the dead). Now we bury each other in fields. That’s all.

5.3 Interlinear Gloss

(86) 'qsápi long.ago sqilxw ła? c-žlal swit, c-líu-st-slx.
    DET sqilxw people COMP c-líu-st-slx who
    DET 1 s-c-ášxn.

    ‘A long time ago when someone died, the people would bury them
    under the shale...’

(87) k’â? lut ?ak(1)-lapál-lax, lut ?ak(1)-stím-olx.
    COMP NEG HAVE-shovel-3PL.ABS NEG HAVE-what-3PL.ABS
    ‘...because they didn’t have any shovels, or tools.’

(88) uł ɬi s-ʔáxlx-st-solx iʔ s-ža-ʃkút maɬ.
    DET s-ʔáxlx-st-solx iʔ s-ža-ʃkút DET
    CONJ EMPH NOM-move-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET IRED-rock CONJ
    t ɬi ɬín-nt-ísolx iʔ s-ɬáln-solx maɬ.
    DEM put.down-DIR-3PL.ERG DET LOC-dead-3PL.POSS CONJ
    k-c-ʔás(x)naʔ-solx t ʃkút.
    k-shale-(min)-(DIR)-3PL.ERG OBL rocks

    ‘They’d move the rocks and put them in the grave, then put back all
    the shale.’

(89) iʔ scœmálaʔ łaʔ c-žlal, klxw-ic-ʔís-solx
    DET scœmálaʔ children COMP c-žlal, klxw-ic-ʔís-solx
    CONJ k-ʃac-ʃís-isolx.
    k-tie-middle-(DIR)-3PL.ERG

    ‘When babies died, they wrapped them and tied them (to a tree).’
And it would just sit there, and eventually fall off and go back to the earth."

'Long ago that’s how they buried one another.'

Now it’s different.’

‘Now we bury each other in fields. That’s all.’

6 i¿ sonklip tə? cckxw upholstery i¿ tmxwula?xw: 
“When Coyote ruled the land”

Recorded on September 19, 2009 in Quilchena, BC. This story has Thompson origins, as evidenced by the place name ci-ci-y-e=¿=¿qs, which Thompson and Thompson (1996, 66) describe as “Hoodoo Rocks, Coyote rocks at Lower Nicola where women were working (cooking food) on Sunday, ignoring warning from Coyote (or Smiley) who turned them into stone.” Okanagan and Thompson speaking peoples congregated near Quilchena at Elder’s Gatherings (Hébert, 1978) until recently, and so there must have been considerable sharing of stories. Some of the elders, including Lottie and her ancestors, were fluent in both languages.

6.1 Okanagan

q吗i kux txiwulx i? sonklip tə? cckxw upholstery i? tmxwula?xw: 

20. Mattina (1987, 239) shows that the deictic demonstratives ixi? ‘that’ and axá? ‘this’ can undergo derivational inflection with middle suffix -m, but it is unclear whether this particular form has a reduced from of ixi? as its root. The root may in fact be the same as that found in xi?wulx ‘pass by’ or xi?mis ‘whatever, whenever’.

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6.2 English

A long time ago, Coyote came by, when he was ruler of the land. They said he was coming along. Coyote said there will be no fish there going through the water here. And the water goes underground, and it is a long ways before it comes out. And that’s why there’s no fish there. When he passed by here, they say the people were warning each other, saying “Don’t you people go anywhere today. The chief is coming, the chief is gonna pass by.” And the old women said: “To heck with that chief. We’ve been gathering food, but this one day Coyote wants to take away from us.” They were picking berries when Coyote came by. He (Coyote) looked up at them and told them “Didn’t your people warn you? You were going to wait for me, and you didn’t wait. Now I’ll turn you into a rock. You won’t be human anymore.” And Coyote just passed on by. And now, there at a place called “Standing Rocks”, you can almost see the women standing there (going up the hill). They were packing baskets and babies. And they are standing there until this day. That’s the story of Coyote, and of when he made the land. And wherever he directed the fish to go, that’s where they went. When he said that they’re not gonna go through there, there’s no fish in there. And to the land. And wherever he directed the fish to go, that’s where they went. When he passed by here, they said he was coming along. Coyote said there will be no fish there going through there (going up the hill). They were packing baskets and babies. And they are saying the people were warning each other, saying “Don’t you people go anywhere today. The chief is coming, the chief is gonna pass by.” And the old women said: “To heck with that chief. We’ve been gathering food, but this one day Coyote wants to take away from us.” They were picking berries when Coyote came by. He (Coyote) looked up at them and told them “Didn’t your people warn you? You were going to wait for me, and you didn’t wait. Now I’ll turn you into a rock. You won’t be human anymore.” And Coyote just passed on by. And now, there at a place called “Standing Rocks”, you can almost see the women standing there (going up the hill). They were packing baskets and babies. And they are standing there until this day. That’s the story of Coyote, and of when he made the land. And wherever he directed the fish to go, that’s where they went. When he said that they’re not gonna go through there, there’s no fish in there. And today, the white man plants the fish (in hatcheries). That’s all.

6.3 Interlinear Gloss


(96) itilʔ? kʷukʷ təc-xʷúʔq.  
DEMP REP LOC-go  
‘They said he was coming along.’
Coyote said there will be no fish there going through the water here.'

‘And the water goes underground, and it is a long ways before it comes out.’

‘And that’s why there’s no fish there.’

‘When he passed by here, they say the people were warning each other, saying “Don’t you people go anywhere today.”’

‘The chief (Coyote) is coming, the chief is gonna pass by.”’

‘And the old women said:’

21. The nítaʔíitiił' 'sea monster' of text 11 also supposedly reached Nicola Lake from the ocean by underground channels.

22. Another sequence I could not interpret. There are three false starts with the prefix ks-.
"To heck with that chief. We’ve been gathering food, but this one day Coyote wants to take away from us."

They were picking berries when Coyote came by.

"He (Coyote) looked up at them and told them ‘Didn’t your people warn you? You were going to wait for me, and you didn’t wait.’"

"Now I’ll turn you into a rock."

"You won’t be human anymore."

23. Although only n̥l̥lems surfaces, and the sentence is clearly a yes/no question beginning with question marker ha, I reconstruct the root x̄aʔn to stop as hosting the 2nd plural absolutive object and 3rd singular ergative subject. Lottie translated the form in context as ‘to warn’, but there was no comparable form in (Mattina, 1987). I suspect that the initial two consonants of x̄aʔn to stop were elided because of their phonetic resemblance to the question marker ha.

24. This is the bare root, listed in Mattina (1987, 61), which is so productive in deriving forms related to ‘making’ and ‘working’. The sentence as a whole is interesting, since Lottie’s translation includes a 1st person agent (Coyote), but there is no 1st person morphology in the sentence.
(108) &utm k̓lx̱án, xʷiʔwílx iʔ? sənkl̓íp.
CONJ go.past pass.by DEM coyote
‘And Coyote just passed on by.’

(109) &utm ilíʔ ʔəpənáʔ l “ci-ciʔ-e-[j̓əʔ]áqs”
CONJ DEM now LOC IN_addressing-nose(THOMPSON) EMPH
 t c̓ʔəχ̓iʔ iʔ? ṣiw̓íʔ smaʔm̓íʔm.
OBL like DET standing DET women
‘And now, there at a place called “Standing Rocks”, you can almost see the women standing there (going up the hill).’

(110) k̓l-yaʔmáxʷ aʔ? &utm k(l)-s-qʷ s-qʷíʔaʔ?.
HAVE-IRED-cedar.bark.basket CONJ HAVE-NOM-IRED-children
‘They were packing baskets and babies.’

(111) &utm ilíʔ ṣiʔwíl̓x̱ mat l tlaʔkín-s
CONJ DEM standing-3PL.ABS EPIS LOC from.where-3SG.POSS
 iʔ? təmxʷúləʔxʷ.
DET land
‘And they are standing there until this day.’

(112) ixíʔ captíkʷ l sənklíp, iʔ? captíkʷ t̓aʔ
DEM legend LOC coyote DET legend-3SG.POSS COMP
 kʷul̓-s iʔ? təmxʷúləʔxʷ.
make-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET land
‘That’s the story of Coyote, and of when he made the land.’

(113) &utm iʔ? təʔkíʔ iʔ? šmínk-s kəʔ
CONJ DET where DET want-(DIR)-3SG.ERG COMP.OBL
 k̓s-xʷuy-s iʔ? q̓aʔxʷəl̓x iʔ? t siw̓l̓kʷ, utm
FUT-go-3SG.POSS DET fish DET OBL water CONJ
xʷuy.
go
‘And wherever he directed the fish to go, that’s where they went.’

(114) &utm kíʔm təʔkín utm cut “lut”, utm lut ilíʔ t̓a
CONJ except how CONJ say NEG CONJ NEG DEM EMPH
k̓l-q̓aʔxʷəl̓x.
HAVE-fish
‘When he said that they’re not gonna go through there,26 there’s no fish in there.’

25. Thanks to Karsten Koch for confirming that this place name is Thompson.
And today, the white man plants the fish (in hatcheries). That’s all.’

Recoded on March 20, 2010 in Quilchena, BC. Lottie explains that “April is the starving month. In April everybody runs out of food, and there’s nothing to eat. Like the ice would be breaking if they fished through the ice. They lived on little shiners coming through, so they’d net them and boil them and make soup. And that’s what they lived on. When people run out of food, and they’d think of Chapperon and they’d come up, from Lytton and that area, they’d come from all directions up there. And she said they were on foot in those days, and when they got there they survived. But there were a lot of people that died on the way of starvation. And I remember a long time ago they were saying that when they first fixed the road they found a lot of human bones and skulls and stuff. And those were the people that didn’t make it, I guess. And how they buried each other was just to dig up the shale and put them in there and cover them up with rocks... [see text no. 5]. So when they got to Chapperon, they survived. And they were saying people didn’t have any containers, and they said the bladder of a deer, when they killed a deer they would cut out the bladder and they’d wash it and let it dry, and those were their containers. And they said when they made soup, they’d put some in there and the person that’s okay would take it to the road to make shelter for them and keep going and giving them some soup and they’d kind of liven up and then they’d bring them right up to their camp. And she was saying that there were a lot of them that died on the road. And that’s where that Wishing Rock is, not too far from where they fish... It’s like it is today, some people are active, some people are not, you know, they’re the ones that suffer.”

The meaning of kiw ‘except’ does not seem to be reflected in Lottie’s translation. A more literal translation could perhaps be ‘and how he only had to say ‘no’...’. Note also that the meaning of the word ta-kín changes with the context: In (113) and (196), for example, it is translated as ‘where’, while in (114), it does not seem to have a locative meaning. Mattina (1987, 278) translates it as what?.
At Chapperon Lake there is a big rock where people who pass by pray. They pray for themselves there before they go hunting. They pray before they go picking berries or fishing. That’s the legend that helps them when they pray to it. They give it a gift, either a button or money. Anything you could put there that you own. It will help you, this rock. Long ago we were told by our elders: “Don’t forget when you pass by there, talk to the rock. Your journey will be well. So that you don’t get hurt on your way to Chapperon Lake.” For many years the people came together there. And it was told that the people came together there. They came from all over the place, the Thompsons, the Lillooets came also. They were sick and when they got there they became alive. They say that many died of starvation, except for maybe one family that got there, and they survived. And Chapperon Lake is a life-giving lake. That’s what I have heard, that’s the story the old people told. The lake will keep you alive. And the people still go there and dipnet the fish. They would fish for the bony fishes and eat them. They became alive in the springtime. And Chapperon Lake kept them alive. That’s all.

7.3 Interlinear Gloss

(116) 1 qʷumqn-átkʷ ka? k(t)-sílxʷ*a? iʔ x̣ut iliʔ swit LOC head-water COMP.OBL HAVE-big DET rock DEM who 
  x̣itwilx ut c-kiʔam. pass.by CONJ CUST-pray
  ‘At Chapperon Lake there is a big rock where people who pass by pray.’

(117) ʔiq-aplaʔ-mi(n-st)-salx mi sic cross-middle-MIN-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG COMP.FUT then 
  ?aws-píxʷ-om-olx. go-hunt-MID-3PL.ABS
  ‘They pray for themselves there before they go hunting.’
They pray before they go picking berries or fishing.

They give it a gift, either a button or money.

Anything you could put there that you own.

Long ago we were told by our elders:

"Don’t forget when you pass by there, talk to the rock."

Your journey will be well.

"So that you don’t get hurt on your way to Chapperon Lake."
(127)  ilíʔ ʼqsápi iʔ  sqiłxʷ  kaʔ  cʔúllus mat l
DEM  long.ago  DET  people  COMP.OBL  CUST-gather  EPIS  LOC
s-xʷaʔ-špíntkw-s.
NOM-many-years-3SG.POSS
ʻFor many years the people came together there.ʻ

(128)  uʔ  kʷukʷ  ilíʔ  ʔúllus iʔ  sqiłxʷ.
CONJ  REP  DEM  gather  DET  people
ʻAnd it was told that the people came together there.ʻ

(129)  yʕát tláʔkín  c-xʷuy iʔ  tl  nukʷtomxʷ-úlaʔxʷ,  iʔ  tl
all  from.where  CISL-go  DET  LOC  Thompson-land  DET  LOC
sámx-omx  c-xʷuy  iʔ  kʷukʷ  moł.
Lillooet-people  CISL-go  DET  REP  CONJ
ʻThey came from all over the place, the Thompsons, the Lillooets came also.ʻ

(130)  kliʔ  qíl-ol-t-lax  uʔ  c-xʷ-xʷałxʷ-ált-lax.
DEM  sick-FRED-3PL.ABS  CONJ  DEM  -alone-3PL.ABS
ʻThey were sick and when they got there they became alive.ʻ

(131)  xoʔxʷ-łáxʷ-t-lax  t  s-ćamłton  kʷukʷ  itʔ  cəm
ired-many.die-3PL.ABS  OBL  NOM-starve  REP  DEM  EPIS
kam  iʔ  naqs-ilx  nákʷə̱mł  kliʔ  yʕáp-əlx  uʔ
CONJ  DET  one-family  CONJ  DEM  arrive-3PL.ABS  CONJ
c-xʷəlxʷ-ált-lax.
CUST-alive-3PL.ABS
ʻThey say that many died of starvation, except for maybe one family
that got there, and they survived.ʻ

(132)  uʔ  ixʔ  n-xʷəlxʷ-iltán  t  tikʷt,  iʔ  qʷumqn-átkw  iʔ
CONJ  DEM  n-life.giving  OBL  lake  DET  head-water  DET
 tikʷt-s.
lake-3SG.POSS
ʻAnd Chapperon Lake is a life-giving lake.ʻ

(133)  ixʔ  iʔ  i(ʔ)-s-nfkl,  iʔ  sc'-mymáy-s
DEM  DET  1SG.POSS-NOM-hear  DET  PERF-teaching-3SG.POSS
ʻThat’s what I have heard, that’s the story the old people told.’
The lake will keep you alive.

And the people still go there and dipnet the fish.

They would fish for the bony fishes and the real rough fishes and eat them.

They became alive in the springtime.

And Chapperon Lake kept them alive. That’s all.

8 iy tytmuir t tatwit: “The Lazy Boy”

Recorded February 18th, 2010 in Quilchena, BC. Concerning this story, Lottie says “the skull was the one that helped him [the boy] because he disobeyed his people. The native people always thought that you have to find your spirit in things, like if it’s a bird or even a fish, or any kind of little animal, the big animals. You fast and go out and sweat and bathe in the rivers, in the lakes, and with fasting, pretty soon you have a vision. So this boy, when he went to sleep on this skull, the skull started talking to him and told him what to do, and told him why his parents left him because he was no use to them. And everybody has to help with survival, and he was of age to be trained and he wouldn’t listen. So that’s what happened to that boy. He became a man and then he rejoined his family... He really had a hard time, but he learned that way, that that is what you have to do. In those days, it was nothing but survival.” Lottie compares the seriousness of the lazy boy’s not providing for his community to the seriousness of a brother and sister having relations (cf. text 1). “When they didn’t like anything, if it’s not the way they wanted it, they would kill.... This boy was to be left to die, he would starve, they didn’t leave anything for him.

27. In other interviews, Lottie states that the skull was an animal skull, possibly a buffalo.
But through his dream, he changed.” Continuing on this theme, Lottie says “I remember the lecture my grandmother used to tell us. She said ‘You see that lake out there. When you’re tired, yes, you can sleep when you’re tired, but don’t do it every night, wake up before the sun comes up.’ And she said ‘if you’re tired and can’t wake yourself, get up and go jump in the lake.’ She said ‘you will come out of there refreshed. You’ll be wide awake, and you’ll leave your laziness there. You’ll leave your sleepiness.’ That’s what you do to water, any water. She said that’s part of the training, if you can’t handle it yourself. That’s what you do.”

In a variation of this general theme, Lottie tells of a grandson who lives with his grandmother after his parents die. The grandmother tells her grandson to go every night to a tent where an old man gives lectures to his grandsons. She instructs him to lay in the dark next to the tepee and ‘steal’ the lectures from the grandfather, since he doesn’t have his own grandfather or father to tell him how to hunt or live. That’s how the boys were raised, explains Lottie. Lottie also says that every time a good hunter moves camp, everybody moves with him, since the people depended on him for their survival.

8.1 Okanagan
i? cawts.” už kʷukʷ ixí? xaʔtús, scxʷúys. xʷuy kʷukʷ kliʔ kaʔítot už wiks i? spuʔul. už kaʔítot už wiks iʔ stiqʷ acəqílχ už taʔt xʷʔit. už iʔ síʔiʔ kʷukʷ ackʔíqʷ yəʔyáʔt taʔkín. ułá? kʷkʷúłxʷom t ksanpúlxtams mat iʔ t síʔiʔ, kʷulís iʔ sənχʷu-xʷáyaq. uł ixíʔ kʷukʷ scútsalx, “o, way xəstwílx iʔ sqəltníxʷ”, way qílxʷ m.” už taʔlíʔ kʷukʷ šmínsalx. cútlax kʷukʷ “way, way tí ksslítnam mi cxʷuy kłyaʔ mnímítat mi kʷu čxńxítam kʷu łʔaʔ cpiʔam.” xəstwílx iʔ sqəltníxʷ ixíʔ tí xʷíltsalx uł qʷoʔíqʷ ánt. už cakʷ lut łʔaʔ qiʔs iʔ t čásiʔqns... mat təxʷ stim iʔ łʔaʔ kłcásiʔq ní ixíʔ cqʷəlqʷílstaʔ. už itlíʔ kiʔ qílxʷ m iʔ sqəltníxʷ, už təl t kʷukʷ sysyús. náxamł qʷoʔíqʷnílxʷ t xʷaʔásqət sic xʷílal. ixíʔ isnfíl iʔ captíʔkʷł. way.

8.2 English

A long time ago, there was a boy. They abandoned him. He was very lazy and slept lots. They woke him up, when the people were getting wood for the fire. When their relatives woke him up, they said “Come on, it’s time to become a man, go hunting!” No, he always just slept lots. He slept and woke up. And he dreamt. He dreamt and he was told by his relatives, his elders, to move. They got together and talked about him, and they said: “Now we will abandon him. He doesn’t listen, it was no use talking to him. And when he is asleep, we will get up and we will move. We will leave him behind, and left here, he’ll starve to death, he’ll die.” Then the people moved. And he slept (a long time) and it was afternoon when he woke up. He woke up and there was no one around, everyone was gone. He woke up (and got frightened), and ran around looking and there was no one around. He must have cried, how many days he was crying to himself. He cried and got very very tired, and went to sleep, for a long time. And he must have cried; it must have been just a little ways to their camping place. And then he saw a skull in the bushes and he went to it. He laid his head on the skull, and cried and went to sleep. He slept and woke up. And he dreamt. He dreamt and he was told by the skull: “You are a pitiful boy But if you listen to me now, you will become a good man. Tomorrow you will wake up, you will be told where to go, and you will kill a deer. You will bring it to where you will spend the summer, and you will eat. And build a house out of hides.” And that’s what he did (like the skull said), he woke up. And he went where he was told to go. And sure enough, there was a deer there. And he shot it, and it must’ve been with something that he killed it. Maybe with a gun, or maybe with a bow and arrow. And he killed it and brought it back to camp. He did that and he must have hunted many days. And he dried the meat. He knew how by watching his parents. And he had meat, and he dried it. And he ate, he got better, he built a fire. Meanwhile, the people who abandoned him, they said “We should go see what he’s doing.” And the leader went (to check on him). He went and as he approached he saw smoke from a fire. He approached and he saw a lot of dried meat around there. And the hides were hanging all over. He made his house with the hides, he made a tepee. And they said “Oh you’ve become a good man, you have become a human.” And

28. Lottie says this boy just waited for his parents or his elders to feed him.
they liked it very much. And then they said “Yes, we invite you to come to us, to help us when we go hunting.” He became a good man, he who they abandoned so pitifully. And if it wasn’t for his dream about the skull... And it must have been because of the skull and what it told him to do. And that’s how the man survived (became a person), and he must have been very wise. But he was a pitiful and hungry person for many days, before he became alive. This is the legend that I have heard. That’s all.

8.3 Interlinear Gloss

(139) ḡsápi kʷukʷ iʔ tawit. xʷi-l-st-səlx.
long.ago REP DET boy abandon-caus-3PL.ERG
‘A long time ago, there was a boy. They abandoned him.’

(140) taʔliʔ ɬiyumúł kʷukʷ, ɬətx-ɪmən.
very lazy REP sleep-lots
‘He was very lazy and slept lots.’

(141) s-qíl-st-səlx kʷukʷ ɬaʔ c-píx-əm
s-wake.up-caus-3PL.ERG REP CUSTOM carry.wood.on.back-MID
iʔ sqilxʷ ɬaʔ-c²⁹ ...
DET people CUSTOM ...
‘They woke him up, when the people were getting wood for the fire.’

(142) iʔ snqsilxʷ-ɣ ɬəqít-səlx, “way’
DET relatives-3SG.POSS CONJ wake.up-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG yes
sqoltmixʷ-βiłx, ɬা-píx-aʔx!”
man-DEV fut-hunt-INCEPT
‘When their relatives woke him up, they said “Come on, it’s time to become a man, go hunting!”’

(143) lut, iʔ nyʔip ɬətx-ɪmən.
NEG EMPH always sleep-lots
‘No, he always just slept lots.’

(144) utiʔ kəʔ-ʔiməx-aʔx kʷukʷ iʔ snqsilxʷ-ɣ
CONJ fut-move, residence-incept REP DET relatives-3SG.POSS
iʔ ɬəxəxəxəp-s.
DET elders-3SG.POSS
‘And they say his relatives, his elders, decided to move.’

29. This unfinished sentence ending in ɬaʔc helps confirm that speakers think of the complementizer plus customary prefix as a single unit.
‘They got together and talked about him, and they said:’

‘Now we will abandon him. He doesn’t listen, it was no use talking to him.’

‘And when he is asleep, we will get up and we will move.’

‘We will leave him behind, and left here, he’ll starve to death, he’ll die.’

‘Then the people moved.’

‘And he slept (a long time) and it was afternoon when he woke up.’

‘He woke up and there was no one around, everyone was gone.’

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30. In the recording there is a stranded syllable su, which I reconstruct as a probable instance of su(x^w-x^w), based on the fact that it occurs immediately after as a full form.
‘He woke up (and got frightened), and ran around looking and there was no one around.’

‘He must have cried, how many days he was crying to himself.’

‘He cried and got very very tired, and went to sleep, for a long time.’

‘And he must have cried; it must have been just a little ways to their camping place.’

‘And then he saw a skull in the bushes and he went to it.’

‘He laid his head on the skull, and cried and went to sleep.’

‘He slept and woke up.’
(159) ut qiỳs.
CONJ dream
‘And he dreamt.’

(160) qiỳs k"ukw cúnt-(n)t-om i? t cásyq:n;
dream REP say-DIR-PASS DET OBL skull
‘He dreamt and he was told by the skull:’

(161) "waỳ k" q"aŋwánt t tátwìt.
AFFIRM 2SG.ABS pitiful OBL boy
‘You are a pitiful boy.’

(162) ñíñíì’s tl ñàpná? mi k"u níxl-ma-nt-xw, in.a.while LOC now COMP.FUT 1SG.ABS hear-MIN-DIR-2SG.ERG
mi k" ñost-wìlx t sqáltmìxw.
COMP.FUT 2SG.ABS good-DEV OBL man
‘But if you listen to me now, you will become a good man.’

(163) ñus31 ñláp, k" wàlt, mi in.a.while tomorrow 2SG.ABS wake.up COMP.FUT
 cúnt-ma-nt-om ka?kìn mi (k")32
say-MIN-DIR-PASS where COMP.FUT (2SG.ABS)
x"uy mi pul-st-xw i? šxa?cínom.
go COMP.FUT kill-CAUS-2SG.ERG DET deer
‘Tomorrow you will wake up, you will be told where to go, and you will kill a deer.’

(164) mi c-x"úy-st-xw ñla? mi COMP.FUT CISL-go-CAUS-2SG.ERG DEM COMP.FUT
c?áq"-nt-xw mi k" ?Hn.
summer-DIR-2SG.ERG COMP.FUT 2SG.ABS eat
‘You will bring it to where you will spend the summer, and you will eat.’

(165) mi (k") k"úlam t a-kt-cìtxw
COMP.FUT (2SG.ABS) make-MID OBL 2SG.POSS-U.POSS-house
i? t sipìi?.
DET OBL hide
‘And build a house out of hides.’

31. The form ñus is an abbreviation for ñíñíì (A. Mattina, p.c.).
32. In this stanza, and (165), second singular subjects are implied.
'And that’s what he did (like the skull said), he woke up.

‘And he went to where he was told to go.

‘And sure enough, there was a deer there.

‘And he shot it, and it must’ve been with something that he killed it.

‘Maybe with a gun, or maybe with a bow and arrow.

‘And he killed it and brought it back to camp.'
He knew how by watching his parents.

And he had meat, and he dried it.

And he ate, he got better, he built a fire.

Meanwhile, the people who abandoned him, they said “We should go see what he’s doing.”

And the leader went (to check on him).

He went and as he approached he saw smoke from a fire.

He approached and he saw a lot of dried meat around there.

And the hides were hanging all over.
‘He made his house with the hides, he made a tepee.’

‘And they said “Oh you’ve become a good man, you have become a human.”’

‘And then they said “Yes, we invite you to come to us, to help us when we go hunting.”’

‘And it must have been because of the skull and what it told him to do.’

33. See Mattina (1987, 260) for this form for ‘tepee’. He includes laryngealization on the lexical suffix -q̥n, however there is no perceptible laryngealization in Lottie’s pronunciation of this word.
(189) ut itlif? kî? qîlx'-m i? sqâltmîx', ut taât CONJ DEM COMP.OBL person-MID DET man CONJ sure k'uk'w REPCOMPIMP sysûs. 

‘And that’s how the man survived (became a person), and he must have been very wise.’

(190) náxamî q"-áiq"n-îlx' t x"a?-ásqât sic x"l-al. CONJ poor-person OBL many-day then ALIVE FRED

‘But he was a pitiful and hungry person for many days, before he became alive.’

(191) ixî? i(n)-s-nîxî i? captîk'wâl. way, DEM 1SG.POSS-NOM HEAR DET legend yes

‘This is the legend that I have heard. That’s all.’

9 ṭa? ekâwîlîxî i? sqîlx': “When the people became old”

Recorded on June 4, 2010 in Quilchena, BC. This is the story of an old woman, maybe over 100 years old, who asked to be left behind by her family when they moved so that she would not be a burden. That’s what happened to old people back then. Later on they thought of burying people under the shale.

9.1 Okanagan


34. Lottie translates this sentence as including the adjectives 'pitiful and hungry', which makes possible an analysis of the Okanagan as overtly containing the word for hungry within a sequence q"q"-áiq"n ñîlx' t 'pitiful hungry'. Because 'pitiful' normally ends in a-t (i.e. q"-áiq"-ânt) with stress falling on the second syllable, I rather analyze the form as not including 'hungry' at all, but the lexical suffix for 'people' îlx'.
English

A long time ago, the people gathered food every day. They didn’t make anything, only their food, and their firewood for their fires. And what they did, they always travelled around there and cleared land for their camp and they they moved there. They moved (camp). They looked for where they could make their camp. And this is what the people did when they became old. There was an old woman that was old. And she said “You all go, you guys leave me here. I have become pitiful and am just a nuisance. No, don’t come here again, just keep me covered with my basket. Then you all go. You all will never come back and find out what happened, how I die.” And they kept on going. Those were the ways of the people of long ago. At that time they didn’t bury one another. They only brought them to the shale. And there throw the shale over those who died. And that’s what they did with the old woman, they covered her up and left her. Their hearts were sick but that’s how they must’ve done it long ago, they covered up their grandmothers and left them. Those were the ways of the people long ago, and this way they must’ve known to cover them with shale. They didn’t have anything to dig in the ground, no shovels or anything to make their graves with. They just put their children under the shale when they died. And when a child died, they were tied up (in the trees) and then they were eaten by birds and then they fell to the ground, returning back to the earth. Those were the ways of the people long ago, when they became too old. They’d be very old before they... they didn’t keep them alive, but hardened their hearts before they did that to them. Those were the ways of the people long ago, when they became old. They’d harden their hearts and say “I might be a nuisance, just cover me up and leave me.” Those were the ways of the people long ago. That’s all.

Interlinear Gloss

(192) ḵsqápi i? sqílxʷ kʷukʷ, ti ... ṭaʔ-c ... yaʰyá’t long.ago DET people REP EMPH ... COMP-CUST ... all
sqílxʷt ac-təxʷ-con-cút-ləx.
day CUST-gather-mouth-REFLEX-3PL.ABS
‘A long time ago, the people gathered food every day.’
They didn’t make anything, only their food, and their firewood for their fires.

And what they did, they always travelled around there and cleared land for their camp and then they moved there.

And this is what the people did when they became old.

There was an old woman that was old.
(199) ul cut k'uk' "x'úy-wi. alá' k'ul' 1wín-(n)-t-p. CONJ say REP go-PL DEM 1SG.ABS leave-DIR-2PL.ERG
way' incá kn q'añq'ant-wílx, ti kmax yes 1SG.INDEP 1SG.ABS pitiful-DEV EMPH only
kn ma?má?t. 1SG.ABS nuisance
'And she said “You all go, you guys leave me here. I have become pitiful and am just a nuisance.”'

(200) lut, lut nix' alá', ni'ni'lís k'ul'lín'a?-nt-p NEG NEG again DEM in.a.while 1SG.ABS cover-DIR-2PL.ERG
    ti in-yámda?. m̃ p x'úy. EMPH 1SG.POSS-basket CONJ 2PL.ABS go
    ' “No, don’t come here again, just keep me covered with my basket. Then you all go.”'

(201) lut nix' k̕l-c-x'úy-mp mi NEG again U.POSS-CISL-go-2PL.POSS COMP.FUT
    my-p-nú(n)-nt-p sx?kin-a?x know-INCH-MANAGE.TO-DIR-2PL.ERG how-INTR
    ki'? kn x'ílal.’ COMP.OBL 1SG.ABS dead
    ' “You all will never come back and find out what happened, how I die.” ’

(202) ti x'úy-wi 1a nỵ́yip. EMPH go-PL EMPH always
'And they kept on going.’

(203) ixí? i? nk'úlín-án k'uk' t̓ l q'sápi i? sqlx'. DEM DET habit-3SG.POSS REP LOC long.ago DET people
'Those were the ways of the people of long ago.'

(204) núcib? lúta? c-liq'-nwílx-šlx. at.that.time NEG CUST-bury-RECIP-3PL.ABS
'At that time they didn’t bury one another.’

(205) t̓ i kmax k'uk' c-x'úy-lax l sqášax̣'n EMPH only REP CISL-go-3PL.ABS LOC shale
'They only brought them to the shale.’

217
(206) mɔ̀ lìf? k-pkʷínaʔ-salx
CONJ DEM k-throw.something.on.a.surface-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DET
t sc̓?ásxən iʔ l ... ac̓-x̌lāl.
OBL shale DET LOC ... STAT-dead
‘And there throw the shale over those who died.’

(207) uł ?x̌il-st-salx kʷukʷ itiʔ poptwínaxʷ,
CONJ do.like-CAUS-3PL.ERG REP DEM old.woman
kʷlínaʔ-salx uł tw̓(n)-salx.
cover-(DIR)-3PL.ERG CONJ leave-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
‘And that’s what they did with the old woman, they covered her up and left her.’

(208) tə?lfʔ q̓ʼlt iʔ spuʔúš-(s)alx ná̕x̌əmɬ mi
very sick DET heart-3PL.POSS CONJ COMP.FUT
(i)x̌ʔ mat aʔ nkʷúl̓mən-salx tl ʔsápi, təʔ
dem EPIS DET habit-3PL.POSS LOC long.ago COMP
ks-kʷlínaʔ-salx mi tw̓(n)-salx
FUT-cover-(DIR)-3PL.ERG COMP.FUT leave-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
iʔ stomťimaʔ-salx.
DET grandmother-3PL.POSS
‘Their hearts were sick but that’s how they must’ve done it long ago, they covered up their grandmothers and left them.’

(209) ix̌ʔ ʔsápi aʔ nkʷúl̓mən-s kʷukʷ iʔ sq̓ílxʷ, uł
dem long.ago DET habit-3SG.POSS REP DET people CONJ
kc̓-kłáʔ mat uł my-p-nú(n)-salx
LOC-DEM EPIS CONJ know-INCH-MANAGE.TO-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
ks-k-c̓ʔasxnaʔ-ísalx iʔ t sc̓asxn.
FUT-k-shale-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DET OBL shale
‘Those were the ways of the people long ago, and this way they must’ve known to cover them with shale.’

(210) mɔ̀ lìf? kʷaʔ lut stím iʔ n-cfq-uləʔxʷ-əm-salx,
CONJ DEM COMP NEG what DET n-dig-ground-MID-3PL.ABS
lut ?ak̓l-lapál-(l)ox lut ?ak(l)-stím-lax
NEG HAVE-shovel-3PL.ABS NEG HAVE-what-3PL.ABS
ks-kʷúl-əm-salx t kl-n-liq̓mən-salx.
FUT-make-MID-3PL.POSS OBL U.POSS-n-grave-3PL.POSS
‘They didn’t have anything to dig in the ground, no shovels or anything to make their graves with.’
They just put their children under the shale when they died.

And when a child died, they were tied up (in the trees) and then they were eaten by birds and then they fell to the ground, returning back to the earth.

Those were the ways of the people long ago, when they became too old.

I found it surprising that the word ɨkqula.xticks clearly has a stressed schwa. The stressed vowel does not sound like a retracted version of /i/ (e.g. [e]). This vowel should possibly be represented by [ə], rather than [ə].
Those were the ways of the people long ago, when they became old.

They'd harden their hearts and say “I might be a nuisance, just cover me up and leave me.”

Those were the ways of the people long ago. That’s all.

10 1 naqåqšut: “At Minnie Lake”

Recorded on July 23rd, 2010 at Glimpse Lake (Nkw̓atko), BC. Lottie heard this story from her grandmother, who remembered this happening in her childhood. Lottie reckons that the event took place at least 140 years ago (i.e. 1870s), given that her grandmother passed in the early 1960’s at the age of 95. In those days, the Nicola Valley was receiving a considerably greater amount of snow in the wintertime. The deer-like animals that were stuck in the snow are sn̓ik̓c̓a? ‘elks’. Elks were gradually replaced by deer as the region began receiving less snow, and in the 1940s, the moose began to be commonplace.

Nellie Guitterez, Lottie’s aunt, told an expanded, English version of the story in 1978. The following transcript comes from an interview between Yvonne Hébert and Nellie Guitterez (Hébert, 1978, tape 443, sideA).

Nellie: Oh how will I start that old story again? Cause it was springtime when my great-grandfather, see that’s my mother’s grandfather from the Indian side’s story, who seen that elk, you know, that they were stranded in the snow, couldn’t go up to where... see these little hills there you see, and then at the end of that, well not so close, the lake there is what they call... do I have to say it in Indian or?

Yvonne: You can say it English first if you want, but after I want it in Indian, even if I don’t understand.

Nellie: At the end of this lake what they call Minnie Lake, the Indians call it
that means... see the dead fish dies off every so many years, I don’t know it, I’ve lived this long, but I just don’t know it, I’ve never asked my mother how long before they die off and then the new fish lays up again.

Yvonne: What was the word for Minnie Lake?

Nellie: In Indian? N̓x̱jq̓ásuł. So from, that’s where the Indians I guess used to have their wigwam at the college? You know down in Merritt? That’s from there he told his friends, I guess, a few days to prepare himself to come up, and he says “We’re getting short of something to eat”, so he says “I’m going up N̓x̱jq̓ásuł and try and see if I can fish.”

So the day he got himself prepared and he packed his snowshoes, took all the shortcuts like from Merritt straight up see, when you go to Aspen Grove, there in the top there a shortcut to what they call Quilchena Creek. That’s where my mother’s home was. And then from there just another shortcut it comes up to Minnie Lake, and when he came, he came there it was still snowing, but the snow on the bottom was all gone, like in springtime. So he went to the lake and he didn’t see the snowtracks of anything, just cleared from the ice, like snow turned into ice you know when it falls I guess and keeps on melting. So he took another stick and he walked to the lake to see how deep the snow was in the lake, and he put it down and he couldn’t hit the ice, so he pulled it out again, and he said to himself “How could I get to the ice? I’ll be digging here until way late in the night.” So he said to himself “I’m gonna camp here, I’m gonna look for a tree, a dead tree and burn it, and camp, and then try tomorrow.” So he went and looked for a big tree and the big tree fell down, I guess, an old tree, you know, he started a fire from underneath the log.

He camped and then he, next morning he thought to himself “I’ll go and try again, and see what I can do, and if I can’t do anything...” He was coming down here to Spáxman, see that’s where his sister was living, I guess, had a family, you know, they lived here. So he walked from, well he couldn’t do nothing, but he thought he might get something to use if he could get ahold of anything because in those days there was no shovel or anything like that, you know. So he walked from the lake down this way. He got into this little high knoll close to the road, it goes around, and he came by there on this side of the hill. He was going along and he could hear something “thump, thump” like you know. He could feel anything on the ground like that, anyway. So he looked around, he thought it was, and he seen a shadow like, and he thought maybe it was just a bird, a big bird, it might be an eagle, you know, a white-headed eagle. It’s the only thing he could think of, what he seen like the shadow, and he looked and he couldn’t see nothing.

So he stood there for awhile, and then he started walking again, he took off his snowshoes and he packed them. He was going along, he could see the shadow again, and he looked, he could hear that “thump, thump” like, you know. Now he was puzzled, he didn’t know what to think of it. And he watched, you know, the sky. And he was just going to go, and he saw something like a, like
a brush, or sticks, and then he put his eye on that and watched it. And he could see that coming up, you know, and down and then he could hear the “thump, thump”. That’s when the animal was pawing, see, pawing the snow off from the grass, and then he feeds. There were so many that it was just like a corral. The snow is just packed down, and it was so high, he couldn’t jump over the top. When he got there, he seen what it was, and then he, I guess he figured around anybody would, how to live. How to get, the something to eat, yeah but it’s, how he’s gonna get it out! So he thought to himself “I’ll try and kill one and figure out what I’ll do with it.”

So when he got around the top, you know, the animals they all run around inside, and he said it wasn’t just ten, he says, it was more than what he thought this animal was. And then he didn’t know if they’ll charge at him. So he shot one, he’d keep on shooting with the arrow, you know the arrow, a bow and arrow they have to kill anything. He shot one and then he, well he says “Now it’s for me to go down there and come up after I think of...” And then he thought of these cottonwoods, you know there’s a lot of cottonwoods, and some of them are not so very big and they die off, they get wormy and die. So he went up to where the cottonwood was, he looked at it, and he had the measurement of the hole, like, where he was going to put the stick there, he took it up, and he measured the tree, the end of the tree, and he cut it, and then he cut the limbs off, just enough for his foot to step on. He took that for his ladder, see, right down. And of course, he said, the animals just went furious. They didn’t charge at him, but they just went around and around. So he skinned what he got, and then he packed it one piece-by-piece up, and he took it to his fire, where he had his fire, and he thought to himself “Well, I don’t need to go and visit my sister now. I’ll go home from here, in case something might eat my meat.”

So he goes down straight down to Quilchena where you see that hotel now? Quilchena hotel? Straight that way, that shortcut see from Minnie lake to there, and then he went on the ice and got down to college a little towards evening I guess. And his friends of course all come and asked him what trip did he, how did he make his trip, did he have a good trip, or what? Well he says something “A miracle happened to me when I got up there.”

And he told them all about these animals, what he seen, they were snowed in, I guess, when it snowed hard. And they just waited for the snow and snow and snow until the snow went over them. And they lived in there just like a corral. He says, well tomorrow, we’ll all go see it. See it must be, I guess, it’s not very long because he had daughters himself, you know, and he had sons. And he told them, “This is, my sons shall go. My daughters, they’re strong enough to pack what they can pack.” Well, they all were so glad to go and see, and curious too I guess, you know.

Early in the morning they all went, said “You got to take your snowshoes, you can’t tell it might get warm, and you go right through the snow, it’s deep.” So they packed all their snowshoes and went up. When they got there, the animals seen the people, I guess, they were just, they tried to jump and they couldn’t make it. And they could just walk themselves on top of the...
it’s snow and ice, see, when it melts it’s spring, and then get cold in the evening, and just turn into ice, just clear ice. And then when they got there, he took them to his corral, to the animals, and he told them “Well you come and see it yourself. And don’t try to kill more than what you can keep, to keep you alive.” He said “We’re not just coming here to waste this good food. Who can kill two, well, can kill two. Who can manage to take it all, not to waste it.” So they said “All right, we’ll do that.” And then they killed just what they wanted and skinned it, you know, and then cut some off the hide and make a rope like to hold it and pull it, you know. And they put the hide, see, the head this away, or they put the hide that way, and then they put the meat inside the skin, cause the hair would slide on the ice, you know. And that’s one way they can pull it easy-like. Always have the head tied, and pull it that way, instead of the legs and then the hair see, comes.... yeah.

They came down to Quilchena of course, the lake. They just pulled it on ice. Then, I guess when they got to the lake they sent the boy, and told him to go home, pack a little meat, and go home and tell the people to come up tomorrow. And everyone of them move up here, cause we’re not going to pull this meat down that far. Just pull it here and they can dry it, and it’ll be lighter. So they pulled it this far to the end of the lake, they made a fire, and they stayed with their meat there until the people came up, the ones that left home, home in the wigwam.

Well, he said, my grandfather said “Well, you folks can fix your meat now, I’m going to kill some muskrat.” At the beaver ranch where we were having the Indian Days. At the end there there’s a ranch, you know, the Guichon’s ranch, that’s what they call the Beaver Ranch. And there used to be all kinds of muskrat up there. It was a slough, like, from the lake as far as where the brush grows, you know as you go into Kamloops, this side of Stump Lake. So he went. He went, he just walked on the ice and he didn’t walk around the snow anymore. Of course the snow wasn’t as high as the higher altitude, you know. And he made fire, and camped, and he seen that it was clouding up, so I guess whatever he had, he put it over his head and he camped, and made a big bonfire. He said he heard a crane traveling at night time. I guess, it started to rain, they started to travel, trying to get near to wherever they were going. And he said the next morning, he looked around, and he could see the muskrat’s little houses, you know. So he thought “Well, I’ll go and kill some muskrat and I’ll roast it. Barbeque it.”

And he went, until finally he seen something come out of the snow, like. And here it was a bird. And then he, and that’s what he heard in the night time, was the crane was crawing, you know. Well, he went to the brush and he looked for a stick, you know some stick, just with two prongs like a fork, and he cut the limbs just to two prongs, and he went, and sneak at the bird, and when his head was up like that, he’d put it around his neck, you know, and push it into the ground so he can’t, get choked and can’t run away from him. If he does he’d never catch up to him, and he couldn’t fly with the wet wings. So he killed as much as he could, he killed some muskrat, and tied them up with a string and
hauled it around the ice.

When he got down to Nicola, well all the people was moved up where they.... and then they had a great feast. They took off the feathers, you know, and some dried some and some barbequed some. And they didn't tell anybody else, you know, what he seen. The meat, the deer meat. Not deer meat, but elk. Well, the others said the next morning, you know, old fellows. I bet I just seen just two or three of them old people, myself. I was in with a bunch, you know. Like my old great-grandfather. His name was Noah. He was a great man to build. I guess you would see some log-building yet down in Shulus, eh? That's what he, he'd build houses for his kids.

Yvonne: What was his name?

Nellie: Noah. And his Indian name is Tsmissing. Sq missing. That was his Christian name I guess, Noah.

10.1 Okanagan

When he got down to Nicola, well all the people was moved up where they, and then they had a great feast. They took off the feathers, you know, and some dried some and some barbequed some. And they didn't tell anybody else, you know, what he seen. The meat, the deer meat. Not deer meat, but elk. Well, the others said the next morning, you know, old fellows. I bet I just seen just two or three of them old people, myself. I was in with a bunch, you know. Like my old great-grandfather. His name was Noah. He was a great man to build. I guess you would see some log-building yet down in Shulus, eh? That's what he, he'd build houses for his kids.

Yvonne: What was his name?

Nellie: Noah. And his Indian name is Tsmissing. Sq missing. That was his Christian name I guess, Noah.

10.1 Okanagan
A long time ago my grandmother said that the people were hungry. And there were, I forget what they used to called them... Like a deer, lots of them and they came to this land to what is now called Minnie Lake in English. There were gathered there many of these deer. And they roamed around in circles and that must have made a hole in the ground. And they say there was a lot of snow, over there where the ground fell in, where the deer were travelling around. And the people from there must have gone there with snowshoes. And they saw something steaming there. And they went there and looked and there was a lot of deer. And not these deers, but lots of really big ones. And then they went and told them about what they found, they went to Shulus and told the people, and those from Coldwater, and went to us here in Spāxm. They said “Come on, you all go kill some things for your food.” And those that were left, they let them go. And those were the goings of the people. And they took all of the deers that they wanted. And they let the rest of them go. And the people said that there must’ve been a lot of them. And they said a house, from the floor to the roof of their houses, was how much snow there was. And the deer there almost died, died of starvation. And my grandmother told of how much snow used to fall here in winter. A whole lot of it. And like from the roof of a house to the floor is how much it used to snow. And everything must’ve died. The deer moved around from one place to another. This is what I was told... everything here now is what they call a deer, but now there are also moose travelling around here. This is what I was told, and it has a name in our language, but I don’t know it. And a lot of them are travelling around here today, and today the whites and the Indians kill them. That’s what they must have done in times long ago, and everybody travelled around on snowshoes, they didn’t have horses or anything. They travelled around on snowshoes when they went hunting. That is what my grandmother told me, what the people of long ago did. That’s all.

### 10.3 Interlinear Gloss

(218) qsápi s-cut-(x) ixí? (in)-stímtíma? ĭa?

long.ago NOM-say-INTR DEM 1SG.POSS-grandmother COMP

c-?al-ʔílxʷt iʔ sqílxʷ.

CUST-RED-hungry DET people

‘A long time ago my grandmother said that the people were hungry.’
(219) uł kʷukʷ ixíʔ, nʰípt-əm-ən ʰám iʔ stím
CONJ REP DEM forget-MIN-(DIR)-1SG.ERG PAST DET what
ixíʔ ac-ʔúm-st-sáx...
DEM CUST-name-CAUS-3PL.ERG
‘And there were, I forget what they used to called them...’

(220) s-c?uí t sʰaʔcínəm, písʰaʔt uł kʷukʷ c-kic-x
s-like OBL deer, large CONJ REP CISL-arrive-INTR
aláʔ t támxʷúlaʔxʷ, uł k̓l̓... cu-s
DEM OBL land CONJ LOC say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG
’ápámʔ n-sáma?-cn iʔ Minnie Lake.
now n-white.person-speech DET Minnie Lake
‘Like a deer, lots of them and they came to this land to what is now
called Minnie Lake in English.’

(221) iliʔ kʷukʷ xʔkín ?úllus iʔ kʰxʷíl ixíʔ t sʰaʔcínəm.
DEM REP do.what gather DET many DEM OBL deer
‘There were gathered there many of these deer.’

(222) uł kʷukʷ iliʔ n-xlák-olx mat uł
CONJ REP DEM n-roam-3PL.ABS EPIS CONJ
n-łoʔxʷ-ʔoxʷ-úlaʔxʷ.
n-make.hole-FRED-ground
‘And they roamed around in circles and that must have made a hole in
the ground.’

(223) uł kʷukʷ taʔt kʰxʷíl iʔ smikʷt, mat k̓l̓... cʔxíʔ tákín
CONJ REP sure many DET snow EPIS LOC like where
ʔoxʷ uł kaʔxís kaʔ nixʷ-ʔúlaʔxʷ kiʔ
EVID CONJ DEM COMP.OBL deep-ground COMP.OBL
iʔ sʰaʔcínəm.
CUST-travel DET deer
‘And they say there was a lot of snow, over there where the ground is
deep, where the deer were travelling around.’

(224) uł iliʔ sqílxʷ mat ac-xʷúy-łoƛ iʔ l syríwaxn.
CONJ DEM people EPIS CUST-go-3PL.ABS DET LOC snowshoes
‘And the people from there must have gone there with snowshoes.’

(225) uł kʷukʷ wík-solx iliʔ ac-xʷʔúl.
CONJ REP see-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DEM STAT-steam
‘And they saw something steaming there.’
And they went there and looked and there was a lot of deer.

And not these deers, but lots of really big ones (i.e. elk).

And then they went and told them about what they found, they went to Shulus and told the people, and those from Coldwater, and went to us here in Spáxmon.

They said “Come on, you all go kill some things for your food.”

And those that were left, they let them go.

And those were the goings of the people.

36. Note that in Nellie’s version of the story, it was the sound of the trapped elks which called the hunter, not the sight of steam.
(232) uł ḷaxʷ-nt-ísəlxl yaʔyaʔt iʔ stim mat iʔ
CONJ kill many-DIR-3SG.ERG all DET thing EPIS DET
sʔaʔcínəm iʔ ʔxmink-səlx.
deer DET want-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
‘And they took all of the deers that they wanted.’

(233) uł ʔwənkst-əm-əlxl iʔ ʔwít.
CONJ let go of-MIN-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DET rest
‘And they let the rest of them go.’

(234) uł iʔiʔ iʔ sqilxʷ cúł-əx taʔ mat xʷʔit.
CONJ DEM DET people say-3PL.ABS sure EPIS many
‘And the people said that there must’ve been a lot of them.’

(235) iʔ kmax ac-my-st-ísəlx iʔ
DET only CUST know CAUS-3PL.ERG DET
ks-čx-nt-ísəlx, cúł-əx iʔ citxʷ,
FUT count something-DIR-3PL.ERG say-3PL.ABS DET house,
ʔ t l səʔl̓əp uł k(l) nəkmáwɬsən-s iʔ citxʷ
det loc laugh DET loc roof 3SG.POSS DET house
ʔ cʔx̣il itiʔ kʷukʷ iʔ s-nixʷúł-s, iʔ
like DEM REP DET Nom deep 3SG.POSS DET
s-xʷʔit-s iʔ smikʷt,
nom many 3SG.POSS DET snow
‘And the way they figured it, they said a house, from the floor to the
roof of their houses, was how much snow there was.’

(236) uł kíkəm iliʔ ks-ʔaxʷt-s t sʔaʔcínəm,
CONJ almost DEM FUT dead 3SG.POSS OBL deer,
ks-ʔaxʷt-s t s-qəmistən.
FUT dead 3SG.POSS OBL Nom starve
‘And the deer there almost died, died of starvation.’
‘And my grandmother told of how much snow used to fall here in winter.’

‘And like from the roof of a house to the floor is how much it used to snow.’

‘And everything must’ve died.’

‘This is what I was told... everything here now is what they call a deer, but now there are also moose travelling around here.’
ixì? ĭapná? alá? i? kʷu kíc-ənt-om ut ixi? DEM now DEM DET 1SG.ABS arrive-DIR-PASS CONJ DEM nixʷ k(l)-skʷist i? l n-qʷašqʷltón-tot ut also HAVE-name DET LOC n-language-1PL.POSS CONJ náxomíl ut ac-my-st-in. CONJ NEG CUST-know-CAUS-1SG.ERG

‘This is what I was told, and it has a name in our language, but I don’t know it.’


ac-łaxʷ-st-ís ĭapná? i? sm-sáma? CUST-kill.many-CAUS-3PL.ERG now DET IRED-white.person naʔí sqílxʷ. CONJ indian.person

‘And a lot of them are travelling around here today, and today the whites and the Indians kill them.’

ixixí? i? cáwt-səlx t spničí? mat, ut yaʔí DET DEM DET doing-3PL.POSS OBL at.that.time EPIS CONJ all swit iʔ tl syríwaxn kaʔ c-xʷylwís, lut who DET LOC snowshoes COMP.OBL CUST-travel NEG ʔakš-kəwáʔ-ləx, lut ʔak(l)-stín-əlx. HAVE-horse-3PL.ABS NEG HAVE-things-3PL.ABS

‘That’s what they must have done in times long ago, and everybody travelled around on snowshoes, they didn’t have horses or anything.’

ixiʔ t syríwaxn kaʔ c-xʷylwís-əlx ʔaʔ DET OBL snowshoes COMP.OBL CUST-travel-3PL.ABS COMP.OBL c-píʔəm-əlx. CUST-hunt-3PL.ABS

‘They travelled around on snowshoes when they went hunting.’

ixiʔ i(n)-stomtímaʔ? ixiʔ ti kʷu DEM 1SG.POSS-grandmother DEM EMPH 1SG.ABS ʔqsápi iʔ sqílxʷ. way. long.ago DET people that’s.all

‘That is what my grandmother told me, what the people of long ago did. That’s all.’
11 iʔ nxaʔxiʔtkʷ: “The Monster In Stump Lake”

Recorded on July 23rd, 2010 at Glimpse Lake, BC. This is a story of sea monsters in Nicola Lake, which fight with one another. One of the monsters is defeated, and goes to Stump Lake, bringing much of the water of Nicola Lake along with it. Prior to this event, Stump Lake was a forested canyon. As a schoolgirl, Lottie saw the remnants of this forest in the form of stumps which floated to the surface.

11.1 Okanagan

qsápi kʷu c'mayxíts iʔ koxaxxəxáp. ut kʷu cúsolx axáʔ aláʔ nq̓íłtmolx, ut axáʔ iʔ słxʷaʔ iʔ t̓iʔkʷt. ilíʔ kʷukʷ iʔ nxaʔxiʔtkʷ ̵i̵c̵q̵̱xii̵ḻ̵wi̵s̵ c̵ʔ̱x̵il. ut kʷukʷ ixíʔ ctyaq̓ t iʔ nxaʔxiʔtkʷ. ut klaʔ kł xʷíłtoł kł yaʔcím, kł taw̓ n kʷu təʔ cxʷuy, ilíʔ iʔ t̓iʔkʷt. təlt ilíʔ nq̓ʷast ut ixíʔ cʔúmstsalx t nxaʔxiʔtkʷ. ut ixíʔ iʔ paptxnaxʷ iʔ kʷu mayxíts kʷu cus tyaq̓ t iʔ nxaʔxiʔtkʷ. ut popúlsts iʔ naqs, ut yalt, xʷuy kl, taʔ c kl ... Stump Lake. kliʔ kʷukʷ kíʔʔ... ut kʷukʷ kíʔʔ. ut ixíʔ iʔ qaʔqʷxʷalx ut kʷiłk iʔ siwlkʷ kʷukʷ acxʷʔít. ut itíʔ xiʔwíłxalx ut ilíʔ nčxʷaʔxʷ. ut ixíʔ kíʔ ilíʔ nxaʔxiʔtkʷ acxʷy̓l̓wiʔ. ut ekʔpaʔxístíʔn ixíʔ ut qsápi kʷu təʔ cskul kl Kamloops, kʷu təʔ ccʔukʷstíʔłm iʔ smsámaʔ iʔ l truck. ut cwałstm iʔ sḵx̱áčičíʔ ac̓tʼákʷ. ixíʔ kʷaʔ mat təʔ c̓nʔáq̓małx, ntolpítkʷamalx, c̓n̓w̓aʔs. ut ixíʔ iʔ sámaʔ kíʔ? ums t Stump Lake. kʷaʔ xʷʔit iʔ sl̓ałʔt̓íʔqʷ iʔ sḵx̱áčičíʔ. accút ixíʔ paptxnaxʷ, qsápi kʷukʷ lut ixíʔ ilíʔ stíʔ kʷukʷ aʔ cʔšíʔt acn̓ixʷʔút ut yaʔt ac̓c̓áʔc̓ ál. ut yaʔyáʔtix̓ tix̓̓t代表性? ilíʔ sḵx̱áčičíʔ, ut ʃʔiqʷ ut ʃʔapnáʔ ut ʃʔcsap lút š̓ʔt̓ikʷ t. ut ixíʔ koxaxxəxáp cútłax ilíʔ iʔ nxaʔxiʔtkʷ ilíʔ iʔ sʔáx̓l̓əłx. ut iʔ kʷiłt cútłəx axáʔ iʔ? š̓ʔt̓ikʷ t ʃ nx̓aʔxiʔtkʷ kʷaʔ mat naqsítkʷ iʔ? t̓ sl̓sxʷʔaʔ iʔ? t̓ sl̓wíłkʷ tac kl ... t̓l sʔukną̕qínx, kl nkmáplqs ut kl pʉntíkt̓ nam. ixíʔ t̓ siwł̓ kʷ kʷukʷ kł̓ tacsxʷúy, laʔk̓in moł xʷəʔt̓ kʷwíłx, laʔk̓in moł səʔiʔə̱l̓w̓ ay̓ʷ. ut ixíʔ cmystsí mat ixíʔ t swit, nsoʔə̱l̓w̓ malx ut k t̓oł̓x̓oł̓x̓tkʷ. ixíʔ? iʔ scapt̓ítkʷt cəx̓áʔ aláʔ iʔ t̓iʔkʷt. təʔʔlíʔ iʔ nxaʔxiʔtkʷ mat. qsápi istəm̓tmíʔaʔ kʷu ac̓ust “lút kł̓aʔ akc̓xʷúy təʔ cklaxʷ. n̓k̓” liʔx̓̓l̓ʔł, c̓oʔí kʷ x̓am̓núnt. “kʷaʔ qsápi iʔ sq̓ilxʷ təʔʔlíʔ c̓x̓ʔn̓stís iʔ sqʷasís, ac̓m̓ayxíts iʔ? t stíʔ lut təʔ x̓ast. ixíʔ iʔ scapt̓ítkʷt ixíʔ iʔ t̓iʔkʷt kł̓aʔ cʔúmstsalx t Stump Lake. ixíʔ.

11.2 English

A long time ago the elders told it to me. And they told me about this big lake here in Quilchena. They said there is a sea monster that travels around. The monster was fighting with another monster. And there along our road, along the foot of the hill on the shores, where we come from town, there is the lake. The water is very deep there, and they named it the Monster Lake. It was the old lady that told me that the monsters were fighting. And one must have gotten beat and it went up towards the end of the lake, towards Stump Lake. The water was
rolling up ahead of this monster, with fish and everything in it. They went by, and that’s where it became like a canyon, the water poured in there. And that’s where the monsters travelled. I’ve been thinking about this, and a long time ago when we went to school in Kamloops, the whites used to bring us in a truck. And we saw the stumps coming up, floating. And because they rot, they float and rise up to the surface. That’s why the Whites call it Stump Lake. Because there are a lot of stumps that show up. The old woman said, a long time ago there was no (water) there, it was supposedly a deep (canyon) then, it was all trees. And all the stumps and roots came up, and now it’s all gone, now it’s a lake. And the elders said that the monster moved through there. And some say that maybe this lake has a sea monster because there is one body of water, from the ocean to the Okanagan, to the end of the lake, Vernon and Penticton. Sometimes the water comes up, sometimes it goes down. And someone must know that the water goes down, and then comes up again. That is the legend of the lake here. There must’ve been a real sea monster long ago. My grandmother told me “Don’t go there at night, you might get hurt.” The people long ago really stopped their kids, and explained to them what is dangerous. That is the story of the lake that they call Stump Lake. That’s all.

11.3 Interlinear Gloss

(248) ṣápi kwú c-may-xít-s iʔ ʔaʔax̣ał̣áp.
long.ago 1SG.ABS CUST-tell-BEN-3SG.ERG DET elders
‘A long time ago the elders told it to me.’

(249) ʔu kwú cú(n-st)-sölx axáʔ aláʔ ʔnlj̣íṃačx, ʔu
CONJ 1SG.ABS say-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG DEM DEM Quilchena CONJ
axáʔ iʔ sǐlxʷaʔ iʔ ṭíkʷiʔ.
DEM DET big DET lake
‘And they told me about this big lake here in Quilchena.’

(250) ʔḷíʔ kwúc̣ukʷ iʔ n-x̣aʔx̣ʔ-ʔ̣itkʷ ʔ̣ac-ʔaʕlwíš ʔ̣cʔiʔ.
DEM REP DET n-monster-water CUST-travel. around like
‘They said there is a sea monster that travels around.’

(251) ʔu kwúukʷ ixíʔ c-tyaqʷt iʔ n-x̣aʔx̣ʔ-ʔ̣itkʷ.
CONJ REP DEM CUST-fight DET n-monster-water
‘The monster was fighting with another monster.’
And there along our road, along the foot of the hill on the shores, where we come from town, there is the lake.

The water is very deep there, and they named it the Monster Lake.

It was the old lady that told me that the monsters were fighting.

And one must have gotten beat and it went up towards the end of the lake, towards Stump Lake.

The water was rolling up ahead of this monster, with fish and everything in it.

They went by, and that’s where it became like a canyon, the water poured in there.

And that’s where the monsters travelled.
(259) u έ c-kłpaʔx-st-in ᵁxíʔ u έ qsápi
CONJ CUST-think.about-CAUS-1SG.ERG DEM CONJ long.ago
kʷu ʔaʔ c-skul kl Kamloops, kʷu ʔaʔ
1PL.ABS COMP CUST-school LOC Kamloops 1PL.ABS COMP
c-cʔukʷ-st-om iʔ sm-sámaʔ iʔ l
CUST-bring-CAUS-PASS DET white.people DET LOC

track.

‘I’ve been thinking about this, and a long time ago when we went to
school in Kamloops, the whites used to bring us in a truck.’

(260) u έ c-wík-st-om iʔ s-ʔoʔččiʔ ac-tʔákʷ.
CONJ CUST-see-CAUS-1PL.ERG DET stumps STAT-float

‘And we saw the stumps coming up, floating.’

(261) iʔí kʷaʔ mat ʔaʔ c-nʔáq-m-əlx,
DEM COMP EPIS COMP CUST-rot-MID-3PL.ABS
n-təl-p-itkʷ-əm-əlx, 37 c-nʔas.
n-break.in.two-water-MID-3PL.ABS CUST-rise

‘And because they rot, they break up and rise up to the surface.’

(262) u έ iʔí iʔ sámaʔ kiʔ ?um-s t
CONJ DEM DET Whites COMP.OBL name-(DIR)-3SG.ERG OBL
Stump Lake.

Stump Lake

‘That’s why the Whites call it Stump Lake.’

(263) kʷaʔ xʷʔit iʔ s-təʔtíʔíʔw iʔ sʔoʔččiʔ.
COMP many DET NOM-IRED-appear DET stumps

‘Because there are a lot of stumps that show up.’

(264) ac-cút iʔí pəptwínaxʷ, qsápi kʷukʷ lut iʔí iliʔ
CUST-say DET old.woman long.ago REP NEG DEM DEM

stim kʷukʷ aʔ cʔxíʔ t ac-nixʷút u έ yaʔt
what REP DET like OBL STAT-deep.water CONJ all
ac-cəččáł.
STAT-trees

‘The old woman said, a long time ago there was no (water) there, it was
supposedly a deep (canyon) then, it was all trees.’

37. The analysis of this form is unclear. I have analyzed it as containing the stem təlp ‘break in two’ (Mattina, 1987, 199), though it seems possible that the initial n- may be a false start, and that the following sequence təl is a locative, followed by a stem containing the root ptkʷ, or maybe ptkʷ. 
And all the stumps and roots came up, and now it's all gone, now it's a lake.'

And the elders said that the monster moved through there."

And some say that maybe this lake has a sea monster because there is one body of water, from the ocean to the Okanagan, to the end of the lake, Vernon and Penticton.'

'Sometimes the water comes up, sometimes it goes down.'

'And someone must know that the water goes down, and then comes up again.'

38. Lottie says “The monster moved from here [Quilchena] and the water moved over there [Stump Lake], and that’s where the other monster is.”

39. The root here is probably sə, as given in Mattina (1987, 194), though perceptually at least, there is rounding on the pharyngeals. See also (269).
That is the legend of the lake here.

There must’ve been a real sea monster long ago.

My grandmother told me “Don’t go there at night, you might get hurt.”

The people long ago really stopped their kids, and explained to them what is dangerous.

Douglas Lake Ranch

Recorded on July 28th, 2010 at Glimpse Lake, BC. A white man named Douglas arrived from California (or thereabouts) with 300 cattle, with horses and other riders. He came right to Spáxm, at the west end of Douglas Lake, let his cattle go there, and built his camp. Wilford Tom’s grandfather tried to tell him to leave two or three times. Then, when he saw Douglas cutting logs to build a house, he took his axe and tried to scare him away. He said “I already told...
12.1 Okanagan

they might have gotten him to move even farther away.

12.2 English

I'm going to tell you about my Aunt Nellie; I'm Lottie and my Aunt is Nellie. She told me about how they say Douglas first arrived, and they say he came with many cows. He drove them from over the border where he came from, and came to Spáxm. It's there where Mildred's house is, that's where he arrived. And he let his cattle go there so they could feed and he built a camp there. And he lived there for a while until Old Tom went after him. And they didn't understand another one, he spoke English and Tom spoke Okanagan, and
(Tom) said “Go away from here, this is Indian land here.” He must not have known what was going on, and he must not have understood. And he didn’t leave from there. Then (Douglas) cut down and brought in big logs that he must have been using to build his house, he had already started building his house. And then Tom went after him and he took up his axe and said, “Get out of here, This is my land here!” “If you don’t get out of here, I’ll use this axe on you!” And then this white guy (Douglas) got scared and he gathered his cows, got on his horse, and fled to where the water comes into Douglas Lake. He got over there, and today that is Douglas Lake Ranch. That’s where he moved to. He ran from Tom, but if Tom didn’t chase him away, then it wouldn’t have been Indian land, then everything around the river mouth here that is now Indian land, the Indian people would not be living here. If it weren’t for Wilford’s Grandfather (Old Tom). They had a meeting. It was his (Wilford’s) grandfather that chased the white man from there. He chased Douglas away. And that’s where he moved and they work there today. Today the whites call it Douglas Lake Ranch. If the Indians didn’t chase them away, we might not be here today. The Indian people wouldn’t be living here in Spáxm@n. My aunt Nellie (Guiterrez) told me this story. It might be good for you guys (to have this) someday. You have heard my story as I have told it. I believe it and now I’ve told the story on your tape recorder. That’s all.

12.3 Interlinear Gloss

(275) k\"w c-may-xít-s i(n)-swáwá?sa? Nellie;
1SG.ABS CUST-tell-BEN-3SG.ERG 1SG.POSS-aunt Nellie
lottie u\# i(n)-swáwá?sa? Nellie.
1SG.INDEF Lottie CONJ 1SG.POSS-aunt Nellie
i\# caregiver Nellie;
Nellie
‘I’m going to tell you about my Aunt Nellie; I’m Lottie and my Aunt is Nellie.’

(276) k\"w may-xít-s cx\#it i\# k\"uk\" il?
1SG.ABS tell-BEN-3SG.ERG first DET REP COMP
Douglas, u\# k\"uk\" il?
CISL-arrive-INTR Douglas CONJ REP DEM
c-kic-x il?
CISL-arrive-INTR-3SG.POSS DET many DET
cattle
‘She told me about how they say Douglas first arrived, and they say he came with many cows.’

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Douglas Lake

‘He drove them from over the border where he came from, and came to Spáxmin.’

‘It’s there where Mildred’s house is, that’s where he arrived.’

‘And he let his cattle go there so they could feed and he built a camp there.’

‘And he lived there for a while until Old Tom went after him.’

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41. Mildred’s house is at a place on the reserve called nágmcín ‘the mouth of the water’, where the creek from Pennask Lake comes in, about 1 mile from Spáxmin on the south side of Douglas Lake. This place also meets the description of kádí?i which means ‘upper water coming down into a lake’, but the kádí?i to which Lottie refers in (287) is where the main river comes into Douglas Lake (towards Chapperon Lake), where Douglas Lake Ranch is today. The kádí?i to which Lottie refers in (290), however, must refer to nágmcín, since this is still reserve land.

42. The root here is most like sx, as given in Mattina (1987, 192), though perceptually, there is little or no rounding on the uvular fricative.

43. Lottie says “when he started building a house, that’s when Old Tom got serious. Douglas built his house on a knoll, kind of high, it was still being used until twenty years ago, it belonged to Isaac [Lindley]’s mother, and then she willed the property and the cabin to their foster sister, Mildred, a distant relative of Isaac’s mother.”
And they didn’t understand one another, he spoke English and Tom spoke Okanagan, and (Tom) said “Go away from here, this is Indian land here.”

‘And they didn’t understand one another, he spoke English and Tom spoke Okanagan, and (Tom) said “Go away from here, this is Indian land here.”

He must not have known what was going on, and he must not have understood.

Then (Douglas) cut down and brought in big logs that he must have been using to build his house, he had already started building his house.

And then Tom went after him and he took up his axe and said, “Get out of here, This is my land here!”
“If you don’t get out of here, I’ll use this axe on you!”

‘And then this white guy (Douglas) got scared and he gathered his cows, got on his horse, and fled to where the water comes into Douglas Lake.’

‘He got over there, and today that is Douglas Lake Ranch.’

‘That’s where he moved to.’

‘He ran from Tom, but if Tom didn’t chase him away, then it wouldn’t have been Indian land, then everything around the river mouth here that is now Indian land, the Indian people would not be living here.’
‘If it weren’t for Wilford’s Grandfather (Old Tom).’

‘They had a meeting. It was his (Wilford’s) grandfather that chased the white man from there. He chased Douglas away.’

‘And that’s where he moved and they work there today. Today the whites call it Douglas Lake Ranch.’

‘If the Indians didn’t chase them away, we might not be here today.’

‘The Indian people wouldn’t be living here in Spáxman.’

‘My aunt Nellie (Guiterrez) told me this story.’
‘It might be good for you guys (to have this) someday. You have heard my story as I have told it.’

‘I believe it and now I’ve told the story on your tape recorder. That’s all.’

13 Appendix

13.1 Transcription, interlinear glossing, and translation methodology

All texts were freely narrated by Lottie Lindley, and recorded in WAV format using a Marantz PMD-660 with an XLR-external microphone. All recordings are deposited at the Northwest Linguistics Collection (Jacobs Research Fund) at the University of Washington archives.

The Okanagan transcriptions are phonemic, with the exception of schwa, which I use phonetically. This sometimes leads to transcription alternations, for example, -ľax varies with -ǒlx 3PL.ABS. Transcriptions were checked for the most part against Mattina (1987), although Mattina (1985) and Mattina and De-Sautel (2002) were also consulted. All errors are John Lyon’s. Rhetorical lengthening is marked by a long vowel, e.g. iː. The longer the vowel, the more times the symbol iː is iterated (cf. 96). Commas indicate a perceptible pause in speech. I did not exhaustively parse Okanagan forms, but instead opted for a more ‘practical’ approach. For instance, I analyze the prefix šan when it marks a location, occurring in tandem with instrumental -tun, as a LOC ‘locational’ prefix, rather than further analyzing it as a possible sequence of nominalizer s- plus derivational prefix n-. By way of another example, the sequence s- plus c- were grouped together as PERF ‘perfective’ when the semantics of the sentence clearly warranted this, and as a sequence NOM-CUST in other cases. For phonemes that predictably reduce in certain environments, I usually include the phoneme in parenthesis, for example LOC k(l), or 1SG.POSS i(n)- before a noun beginning with s or ł. I do not usually follow the same practice for null transitivizers in 3rd person ergative forms, instead just including a parenthetical DIR or CAUS in the gloss line. I do not further analyze the semantics of reduplication patterns, for example diminutivity or plurality, but simply note whether the reduplication is...
initial or final. Finally, I do not always parse lexical suffixes, except when I feel that this increases the transparency between the translation and the Okanagan.

Translations are a composite of Lottie Lindley’s free translation, Lottie Lindley’s and Sarah McLeod’s sentence-by-sentence translation, and John Lyon’s interpretation. After recording each text in the language, LL gave a free English translation. Material in the free translation which does not directly correspond to the Okanagan version sometimes occurs within footnotes in this collection. After making a rough transcription, I met with LL and reviewed excerpts I found difficult to analyze. I also had her translate each Okanagan sentence into English. SM also assisted with this task. I tried to adhere to LL’s and SM’s original translations whenever possible, however in certain cases, their translations were paraphrastic, or otherwise diverged markedly from the Okanagan grammatical form, in which case I revised the translation to more transparently reflect the Okanagan. Any translation errors are John Lyon’s.

13.2 Pronominal paradigms

The following pronominal paradigms are adapted from Mattina (1993) and Mattina and DeSautel (2002), but with a major simplification: I label all non-possessive intransitive subjects and transitive objects as ‘absolutive’, despite the fact that there is only a partial morphological correspondence across categories labelled ‘absolutive’. This approach implies that the morphological realization of an object absolutive marker is dependent on the subject. While this may ultimately be an oversimplification, from a practical standpoint, this approach aids the reader in identifying subject versus object in transitive contexts, while at the same time it acknowledges the partial paradigmatic overlap between transitive objects and intransitive non-possessive subjects.

13.2.1 Intransitive Paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Paradigm 1</th>
<th>Paradigm 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td><strong>POSS.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>kn</td>
<td>t(n)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>k^w</td>
<td>a(n)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>⊙</td>
<td>-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>k^w u</td>
<td>-tt</td>
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<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
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<td>-mp</td>
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<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
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<td>-slx</td>
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13.2.2 Transitive Paradigms

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paradigm 1</th>
<th>Poss. Subject</th>
<th>Paradigm 2</th>
<th>Erg. Subject</th>
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<td>k(^u)</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>k(^u) ...-m</td>
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<td>p</td>
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<td>0 ... -lx</td>
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13.3 Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>ABS</td>
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<tr>
<td>APPL</td>
<td>possessor applicative (-4t-)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive applicative (-x(i)t-)</td>
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<td>bouletic modal (cak(^w))</td>
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<td>CAUS</td>
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<tr>
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<td>cislocative (c-)</td>
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<td>future complementizer (mi)</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMP.OBL</td>
<td>oblique complementizer (ki7)</td>
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<td>conjunction</td>
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<td>determiner (it-)</td>
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<td>directive transitivizer (-nt-)</td>
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<td>dubitative (uc)</td>
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<td>emphatic</td>
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<td>epistemic modal (cmay, mat)</td>
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<td>independent pronoun</td>
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<td>instrumental (-ton)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRED</td>
<td>initial reduplication</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative (prefix or particle)</td>
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<td>MANAGE.TO</td>
<td>pre-transitivizer (-mu(n)-)</td>
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<td>MID</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIN</td>
<td>pre-transitivizer (-m(i)n-)</td>
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<td>negative (lut)</td>
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<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer (s-)</td>
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<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique marker (t)</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCC</td>
<td>occupation (sa(x)(^w))</td>
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<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive (-am)</td>
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<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfective (s-c-)</td>
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<td>plural</td>
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<td>reciprocal (-n(w)ix(^w))</td>
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<td>REP</td>
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<td>singular</td>
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<tr>
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<td>unrealized possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YNQ</td>
<td>yes/no question (ha)</td>
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References


john.lyon@alumni.ubc.ca