12 more Upper Nicola Okanagan narratives*

Lottie Lindley
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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.k.a. Nezíłxʷcan, Colville-Okanagan, and Nqílxʷcən), 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, we give an unbroken Okanagan transcription, followed by an interlinear rendition complete with morphological analysis, before ending with Lottie’s free translation and/or additional commentary. Footnotes primarily serve to highlight noteworthy lexical, grammatical, or discourse related phenomena.

1 Maggie Moore

Recorded on July 28th, 2010 at Glimpse Lake, BC. This story tells of the life of Maggie Moore, one of the original Syilx to settle in the area. Her people came from over the U.S. border.

1.1 Okanagan

qsápi ıʔ cítá̱pá̱nwxíxʷ kʷukʷ iʔ smsámáʔ iʔ naʔîl sqíłxʷ, ıʔ iʔ kl kłʔałqʷ. uł ikłʔ cylyalt iʔ s yaʔît iʔ sqałqáltmíxʷ, kʷukʷ kʷíntəmáx iʔ t government. uł ixiʔ sítá̱pá̱nwxíxʷəlx iʔ kl smsámáʔ uł kím ı̃ kmax smáʔmí̃ʔmí̃m uł p̓at̓pətwínaxʷ uł k̓əx̌ał̓əʔx̌á̱p, uł iʔ sqʷsiʔaʔsəlx. uł kʷukʷ ixiʔ kʷil̓íwltl̓ax iʔ ıʔ

* Lottie would like to thank her aunt Nellie Guitierrez, who was like a mother, and one of the first ones to go to school in Mission at the Catholic School. She was a wise old lady, a teacher, and a really great lady. She tried everything, what she learned from English and what she learned from the elders. She knew both sides. Lottie also wants to thank an unknown Shuswap lady from over in Ashcroft that started language/culture workshops, which Lottie took for 4 years, after which she started working with the rest of her family. John Lyon’s research has been supported through grants from the Jacobs Research Fund and the American Philosophical Society’s Phillips Fund. He wishes to thank first and foremost Lottie Lindley for her amazing knowledge of the culture and language of her people, and for being willing to share her stories. Second, he wishes to thank Sarah McLeod for helping with transcription and translation. He also wishes to thank Joel Dunham for the final proofread.
The placement of the complementizer here is somewhat unexpected. It may actually be a shortened version of a phrase like "at the border of the white person's area," but there is clearly some frication on the lateral so I transcribe the form as a complementizer.

1 The placement of the complementizer here is somewhat unexpected. It may actually be a shortened version of the proximate locative (a)la?, but there is clearly some frication on the lateral so I transcribe the form as a complementizer.
And all the men were running away, supposedly the government was taking them.

And they were shooting each other (because of the white people) and there were only the women and old women and old men, and their children.

And they supposedly lived in their houses and the whites were always getting closer, and they were shooting each other.

And they ran from over the border.

And they came so far, cut over the hill and they came down over at Ashnola.
‘And they traveled there and came from there.’

‘And they arrived just up above Merritt and at Godie reserve, and at Shulus. There must have been a lot of them.’

‘They made their homes there, made their tepees, and they lived there.’

‘And the people there now, at Shulus and Godie Reserves, they built all over and used the land, and came from over the border.’

‘Once they got here they never went back again.’

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2 The expected form of this root should include rounding on the final consonant, but there is no rounding apparent from the audio recording, hence the brackets. See also next stanza.

3 I do not gloss Shulus as I did in stanza (8) because its pronunciation here is clearly Anglicized.
(12) kʷaʔ c-my-st-íṣałx ʰaxʷt iʔ because CUST-know-CAUS-3PL.ERG already many.dead DET
s-qɬ-qɬt comunità w iʔ s-nqs-iłxʷ-sałx.
NOM-RED-man DET NOM-one-person-3PL.POSS
'Because they knew that their men-relatives must have gotten killed.'

(13) ʰaxʷt kl klʔałqʷ uł c-xʷúy-ləx aláʔ, many.dead LOC across.the.border CONJ CISL-go-3PL.ABS DEM
uł itlìʔ Maggie Moore t tkmlıxʷ.
CONJ DEM Maggie Moore OBL woman
'They died over the border, and came here, and that's where Maggie Moore came from.'

(14) c-nxíyls iʔ yl-ylt-mix, uł CUST-mix.with.people DET RED-run.away-people CONJ
c-kic-x aláʔ uł ... taws-ɬ-iłwíʔ ... iʔ CUST-arrive(SG)-INTR DEM CONJ ... obtain-ɬ-husband ... DET
s-iłwíʔ-s, mat itlìʔ l támxʷúlaʔxʷ-s. NOM-husband-3SG.POSS EPIS DEM LOC land-3SG.POSS
'All the ones that ran away mixed among others and arrived here. She (Maggie) got with her husband, who owned the land.'

(15) uł itlìʔ way ʰałx- appré-p-iłx mat ixʔiʔ iʔ CONJ DEM already old-RED-INCH-DEV EPIS DEM DET
sqolt comunità w.
man
'And he was an older man.'

(16) uł kim Maggie ti s-kʷ-ɬʔy-m-olt pútiʔ uł CONJ except Maggie EMPH NOM-RED-small-m-child still CONJ
kʷuʔ-s uł ɬxal iʔ ʰałx-ʔ inland.
work-(DIR)-3SG.ERG CONJ die DET RED-grown
'And Maggie was young yet, and she looked after him until he died.'

(17) uł cn̓Ix̱c ilìʔ mut uł taʔilìʔ xʷaʔ-sqláw, n̓y̓iʔ CONJ 3SG.INDEP DEM live CONJ very much-money always
kʷul-s iʔ stłʔált, iʔ (so)nklčaʔsqáxʔaʔ. work-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET cows DET horses
'And she lived there and always had lots of money and worked hard, had lots of cattle and horses.'
‘And she was always working, working, and had lots of money.’

‘Then she got older and she couldn’t pack water from the creek, or pack wood.’

‘And she talked to her niece and Rosie and Rosie’s older sister, and she gave her (Maggie) August, she told Maggie “Take August, he will help you.”’

‘And she took August, and he packed water, he packed wood.’
'And the priest told her “He has to go to school”, but she didn’t want him to go.'

'She didn’t want August to go to school, and August felt bad.'

'He didn’t know how to write or read.'

'And his grandmother got old and died, and he drank all the time and lost the....'

'He drank all the time and lost his cattle, lost his money, lost everything and felt bad until, they say, he shot himself.'
‘Or maybe somebody shot him, but in any case, he died.’

‘They spent all the money, nothing was left there, Margaret’s son is the one living there now.’

‘And where he built that house, that’s Maggie Moore’s land. That’s all.’

1.3 Free translation

They came from across the line. The [U.S.] government took the men and made them go to the war. They were fighting towards the border, and the women and children ran away over the border. They were getting closer and they ran away and they came out around Ashnola, and from there they came straight to the Nicola Valley. They came so far. They cut over the hill and came down around Ashnola, just up above Merritt, on the way to Princeton. They made their homes there in Shulus and Godie reserve, going towards Vancouver. The tepees and whatever they had to make their homes with, they built homes and they lived there. They built all over, they used the land. Once they got here they never went back again. Because the men never showed up anywhere, so they knew they must’ve been killed. That’s where Maggie Moore came from, one of those people. All the ones that ran away, they mixed among others. She got with her husband. Her husband owned the land. He was older. She was young yet, and she looked after him until he died, and then everything was hers. And she always had lots of money and worked hard, had lots of cattle and horses. Then she got older and she couldn’t pack water. She couldn’t pack wood, but she talked to her niece. Annie’s son, August, Annie was another niece, Rosie didn’t have children. He stayed with this old lady, she didn’t speak English herself, she wouldn’t let him go to the school. He [August] packed water, he packed wood. The priest talked to her and she didn’t want him to go [to school]. August felt bad. People said he shot himself, but in any case, he died. They finished everything, nothing but wrecked cars, they spent all the money. Margaret’s son Dean is the one living there now. Where Dean’s house is is Maggie Moore’s property.
2 McIntyre Bluff

Recorded on July 28th, 2010 at Glimpse Lake, BC. This story tells of a battle between Okanagan and Shuswap people, where everyone except for one old blind man falls over a cliff. The story takes place at McIntyre Bluff, roughly halfway between Skaha and Osoyoos Lakes.

2.1 Okanagan

ʔqsápi kʷukʷ iʔ sxílxʷ ʔaʔ ctyaqʷt. tyaqʷts iʔ syílx, uʔ iʔ syxʷápmax, uʔ kʷukʷ ixʔ tʔ cíkáwíxʷ ox, məʔ qíxʷ sālx məʔ qíxʷ oxomolx, uʔ xʷúyolx kʷukʷ uʔ kl klʔałqʷ, kiłkm ksyáʔpsalx kl klʔałqʷ, kaʔkim məʔ kl klʔíłótłax klʔiʔ. uʔ kʷukʷ ixʔ sxʷúyʔsālx klxʷʔil, klxʷʔil kʷukʷ iʔ sxʷúyʔsālx uʔ l tátłiłx l wist uʔ iliʔ kʷukʷ uy yáʔýʔít syxsáʔtlax. syxsáʔtlax uʔ tátł kl qʷ'amíʷt kiʔ mat kiʔ yaʔt láxʷ slx. uʔ kim kʷukʷ ú kínaq t káx láxax aĕtkískst, uʔ kʷukʷ ixʔ, iʔ t tłíktstans kəʔ cwxʷ uy. nyíp wtąntíʔ iʔ tłíktstans uʔ cmystís kʷukʷ xʷ uy uy ył mynlus, lut, way tì akláʔ xarxárt, uʔ nńwpum. uʔ ixíʔ iliʔ sńlalp. uʔ mat t slwxʷ kíʔ kiʔ kíciťom, uʔ cíntłom kʷukʷ "Ałxʷ t yaʔyáʔít sənqášlxʷ, klaʔ syxsáʔtlax." uʔ ixíʔ təʔ csəxńtmwíxʷ iʔ syílx naʔt syxʷápmx. uy syxsáʔyt iʔ sńxáłståslx uʔ kłmx aʔ kłnamqín aʔ cxʷəlxʷ ált. uʔ ixíʔ iliʔ kʷukʷ polktståls, uy csap iʔ sənqášlxʷs uʔ ixíʔ iliʔ kʷisálx, xʷúylsx, uy cxʷəlxʷ ált pnltc kim káxʷ t iʔ kʷíłt. uʔ ixíʔ qșápi kʷukʷ ʔaʔ kłííʔ kʷu cxʷ uy iʔ kl Keremesos, xʷúystam Matilda. Matilda Chilhillitza xʷúystam. uʔ ixíʔ kʷu cmałxítam kʷu cxʷ uy. uy uʔ kʷu cus 'axáʔ aláʔ cmystik, axáʔ aláʔ nąʔəmwsucít." iliʔ kʷukʷ kəʔ cwxʷamist iʔ syílx, sʔaʔʔaʔstím iʔ t syxʷápmx kspúłstam uy iliʔ nąʔəmwsucít təʔ cnsqívus iʔ l xų xt. uy łut kʔikicíʔsółx uy łut pǔłstståls. ixíʔ kʷu mayxís Matilda təʔ ctyaqʷt iʔ sxílxʷ qșápi. uy kʷukʷ ilííł cxʷ uy uy cxʷ uy məʔ aláʔ lćiʔpłx l zuxʷ kəm mat kəhíʔ kl shulus. uy syłyáltłax. uy nyíp ilííł iliʔ sńxáłståms təʔ nyíp tyáqʷtlax. uy yrmńտmálx iʔ t syílx, uy yrmń́t̓málx uy kl Slmp Lake. uy ilííł iʔ səmtəʔəxʷ yłpáʔnáʔ. üłhíʔ náltəml ilííł iʔ ląłp, uy ckləʔ mnlímítl. kʷúnłtıom iʔ tən̓xʷ úłəʔxʷ, kʷənnúłntam. uy ixíʔ yłpáʔnáʔ iʔ tən̓xʷ úłəʔxʷ, təlkł xʷúyolx mat iʔ xʷʔíł t iʔ syxʷápmx, uy xʷúyolx ilííł iʔ tən̓xʷ úłəʔxʷ. scəʔłłx kíʔ aláʔ iʔ kʷu kʷu lítł, uy kʷu. uy kʷu. kíʔ ləł təʔ təʔsųłyłx, kłəʔ syxʷápmx kl Kamloops, uy təł kl Mërrett, nukʷtəmíxʷ. kíʔ axáʔ aláʔ kʷu kʷəkʷ yúłməʔ t syílx t sxílxʷ uy aláʔ kʷu kʷu lítł. kʷaʔ xʷúyolx təʔ təʔ ctyaqʷtlax, uy ixíʔ hílxíʔ ałəʔ kíʔ ṣmyłtən̓təqst, ṣmyłtən̓təqst, uy syxʷápmx syxʷápmx iʔ skʷstúʔəxʷ, kʔaʔ yaʔkísk skʷstúʔəxʷ syxʷápmx syxʷápmx iʔ skʷstúʔəxʷs. uy t Herbie cut "ixíʔ kskʷísłntam t nq̓ʷałqʷ íłəntəqst."
Interlinear gloss

(30) qa²pi kʷukʷ iʔ sqilxʷ ʔaʔ c-tyaqʷt.
long.ago EVID DET native.people COMP CUST-fight
‘Long ago, they say the people were fighting.’

(31) tyaqʷ-ə-s iʔ syilx, uł
fight-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET Okanagan.people CONJ
iʔ syxʷ-əp-əlax, uł kʷukʷ ixîʔ ʔaʔ
DET Shuswap-people CONJ EVID DEM COMP
c-kil-nwixʷ-əlax, məʔ qíxʷ-əlax
CUST-chase-RECIPI-3PL.ABS CONJ drive-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
məʔ qíxʷ-nt-əm-əlax.
CONJ drive-DIR-PASS-3PL.ABS
‘The Okanaganas fought the Shuswaps, and they say they chased one another, back and forth.’

(32) uł xʷúy-əlax kʷukʷ uł kł klʔalqʷ, kikom
CONJ go-3PL.ABS REP CONJ ALQ LOC across.the.border almost
ks-yáʔ-ən-təlax ʔaʔ klʔalqʷ, ʔaʔkín mat
FUT-arrive(PL.-3PL.POSS LOC across.the.border where EPIS
kł ʔaʔ-ʔə-əlax kliʔ,
LOC approach-RED-3SG.ABS DEM
‘And they went to the border, they almost got to the border, wherever they got close to there.’
And they say that there were lots of them that went right on top of a high mountain, and then they all fell over the edge.

They fell off straight off the top and they must’ve all died.

And there was one old man with a cane, and they say that it was him, with a cane, that came.

He always had a cane ahead of him, and knew where he was going, and he felt that there was a steep edge there, and he backed up.

And he stopped there.
(38) ul mat t swit ’axʷ kiʔ kaʔkič-nt-om,
    CONJ EPIS OBL who EVID COMP find-DIR-PASS
    ul cún-(n)t-om kʷukʷ ’χaxʷt yaʔyáʔt
    CONJ say-DIR-PASS REP many.die all
    a(n)-s-nqs-ílxʷ,  klaʔ soʃ-sáʔt-láx.”
    2SG.POSS-NOM-one-person DEM RED-fall-3PL.ABS
    ‘And somebody must have found him, and told him “All your people
    are dead, they fell off a cliff.”’

(39) ul ixíʔ łaʔ c-ks-axt-m(n)-nwíxʷ iʔ
    CONJ DEM COMP CUST-bad-arm-MIN-RECIP DET
    syílx  naʔl syxʷáp-máx.
    Okanagan.people CONJ Shuswap-people
    ‘And the Okanagans and Shuswaps were pushing and threatening one
    another.’

(40) ul soʃ-sáʔt iʔ  s-łáx-łáxt-sałx ul kmax aʔ
    CONJ RED-fall DET NOM-RED-friend-3PL.POSS CONJ only DET
    c-knəmqín aʔ  c-xʷ ál-xʷ ált,
    STAT-blind DET STAT-RED-alive
    ‘And all their friends fell off, and there was just one blind man left
    alive.’

(41) ul ixíʔ  itíʔ  kʷukʷ półk-st-íałx,  ul csap
    CONJ DEM DEM REP return-CAUS-3PL.ERG CONJ gone
    iʔ  s-nqs-ílxʷ-s  ul ixíʔ  itíʔ
    DET NOM-one-person-3SG.POSS CONJ DEM DEM
    kʷífn(n)-sáłx,  xʷúy-sáłx,  ul
    take-(DIR)-3PL.ERG go-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG CONJ
    c-xʷ ál-xʷ ált cnítc kim ’χaxʷt iʔ
    STAT-RED-alive 3SG.INDEP except many.die DET
    ’kʷímt.
    others
    ‘And they took him back to their place, all his relatives were gone, and
    they took him and brought him, and he stayed alive while the others
died.’
'And that's what happened long ago over there; we came to Keremeos, we drove Matilda there.'

'We drove Matilda Chillhitzia, and she told us the story, and told us “Know this! Here in between the rocks, and they survived.”'

'And they say the Okanagan hid in there, the Shuswaps looked for them to kill them, and they survived by hiding in the split rock.'

'And they didn’t find them, and they didn’t kill them.'

4 The imperative suffix -ik'w in c-my-st-ik'w may actually be a 2nd singular ergative subject -ix, but the fricative /x/ sounds like a stop /k/. If the morpheme is a 2nd singular ergative subject, then the sentence may be a question, i.e. “axá? alá? ha c-my-st-ix'w” “Do you know about this here?” which makes sense given the discourse context. This is speculative however.
(46) ixí? kʷu ṭay-xít-š Matilda ū? c-ty-tyaqʷ t DEM 1SG.ABS tell-BEN-3SG.ERG Matilda COMP CUST-RED-fight
    iʔ sqílxʷ ḕqápi.
    DET native.people long.ago

  ‘Matilda told me that story about the people fighting long ago.’

(47) uʔ kʷukʷ itíʔ c-xʷuy uʔ c-xʷuy məč alaʔ CONJ REP DEM CISL-go CONJ CISL-go CONJ DEM
    ḍ-c-yáɁp-əlx 1 zuxʷ t̕ə kəm mat
    return-CUST-arrive(PL)-3PL.ABS LOC Nicola CONJ EPIS

  ‘And they got back here, maybe in Nicola or maybe this way to Shulus.’

(48) uʔ s-yl-yált-ləx. uʔ ny̱íp itíʔ CONJ NOM-RED-run.away-3PL.ABS CONJ always DEM
    ?X̱ił-əm-əlx itíʔ ny̱íp tyáqʷ t̕ox-
    do.like-MID-3PL.ABS DEM always fight-3PL.ABS

  ‘And they all ran away. And they were always doing like that, fighting all the time.’

(49) uʔ yr-mín-(n)t-əm-əlx iʔ t syílx, uʔ CONJ push-MIN-PASS-3PL.ABS DET OBL Okanagan.people CONJ
    yr-mín-(n)t-əm-əlx uʔ kl Stump Lake.
    push-MIN-DIR-PASS-3PL.ABS CONJ LOC Stump Lake

  ‘And they (the Shuswap) were pushed, pushed over to Stump Lake.’

(50) uʔ itíʔ iʔ səm-ūlaʔəxʷ ʔapnáʔ. CONJ DEM DET white.person-land now

  ‘And today it’s government land.’

(51) ʔuíʔ náxəmɬ ilíʔ kíʔ ʔl̓ap, uʔ c-kləʔ mnímtat.CC CONJ CONJ DEM COMP stop CONJ to-here 1PL.INDEP

  ‘That’s where they stopped. And we’re here.’

(52) kʷl-nún-(n)t-əm iʔ tamxʷūlaʔəxʷ, settle-MANAGE.TO-DIR-1PL.ERG DET land kʷə(a)n-nún-(n)t-əm.

  ‘We settled on the land, we got the land.’

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\(^5\) The form zuxʷ t̕ means ‘to fall’ in Thompson Salish, cf. Okanagan yaxʷ t and the z > y sound shift, also apparent when comparing for example Lil’wút’q’was quantifier cʔeʔ t̕ə ‘every’ with Okanagan yaʔyadət t̕ə ‘all’. 

35
'And now it’s our land, we won it from the Shuswaps.'

'They killed lots of Shuswaps, and they won this land.'

'That’s why we’re living here, us Okanagans.'

'And there’s no Okanagans, just Shuswaps, towards Kamloops, and towards Merritt, the Thompson.'

'Because our leaders, our parents, the people ahead of us, our ancestors, they fought and they won.'
And that's why we're living here, us Okanagans.

All the Shuswaps went home.

And Matilda told us everything about where they were camping, where they were hiding when they were fighting.

And when Herbie was alive, he told me “We should change the names of the places because they’re all Shuswap names.”

And Herbie said “Let’s rename them to our language.”

The object proclitic is ambiguous between 1SG and 1PL, however with third person subjects -im disambiguates the proclitic as denoting the plural, whereas -is denotes singular. (Mattina, 1982, 422, f.n.2)
‘And I told him “No, leave it alone, like it is now. We won the land, and maybe someday someone will need to know it was Shuswap land.”’

‘And he told me “Okay, we won’t change it.”’

‘And everything Sharon wants to ask us about, all the place names, we can tell her what we know.’
‘That’s what we’re talking about, how we got to be here, us few Native people, Okanagan people.’

‘Our elders, those that came ahead of us, they fought and won it over for us, that’s why we are here.’

‘We should really treat it well, really take care of it, so that it’s the way we want.’

7 The form ʔant may be short for ʔacant ‘look at it’, with a colloquial meaning of ‘now’. Michele Johnson (p.c.) mentions that speakers she works with do this regularly.
If it wasn’t for our ancestors we might have lost it, and the whites might have been living here instead.’

‘That’s my story about this land and how we came to live here. That’s all.’

2.3 Free translation

A long time ago the people were fighting one another. They were chasing one another, they’d chase them so far, kinda back and forth. And getting close to the border, where the bluff is near Oliver, almost got to the border. And right up on top of the mountain, it was steep and night time on the high mountain, they all fell over, way down on the river, they all must have died. Except for one old blind man with the cane, who survived. He always had a cane ahead of him, and he felt that there was an edge there. It’s steep there, and he backed up. He stopped. And he probably called for them and no answer, he just stayed there, until the next day somebody went to look where all those people fell over, and he was sitting there. Somebody found him. “All your people are dead, they fell off of a cliff.” They were pushing and threatening one another. There was just one blind man left alive. And they rescued him and took him with those people that were living around Oliver. They took him back to their place. His relatives were all gone. He was alive and all the rest died. We drove Matilda to a funeral and she was telling us the spots where people were dying, there’s a place they call “the hanging place” because somebody hung themselves there. That’s how I know because she told me the story about when the people were fighting. ‘In between the rocks’, ‘split rock’, and they survived, on the way to Princeton that way where the rest fell over, they stayed up in the hills. The Okanagans hid in there. The Shuswaps were looking for them and ‘split rock’ was where he hid. And they didn’t find him and they didn’t kill him. Matilda told that story long ago, what happened. Then they got here. Maybe in Nicola or Shulus, or in Merritt they said there was a big camp place there where NVIT is. They were fighting all the time. So the Okanagans pushed the Shuswaps down towards Kamloops, now it’s government land. That’s where they stopped. We got the land,
Okanagans were all over, and from there they came up here to be Keepers of the Land. That’s why we’re here as Syilx people, Syilx. Kamloops was the Shuswap and towards Shulus was the Thompson. We’re just small Syilx people here. We won the land because of our leaders, our parents, the people ahead of us, ancestors. That’s why we’re here. All the Shuswaps went home, that was the end of the fight. And Matilda told me about where they were hiding when they were fighting. Mother and Father’s background was from down south, so my father’s from 100 Mile House, and never did go back. And while Herbie was still alive he said “Let’s rename the Shuswap names to Okanagan names.” I said to leave it alone. That’s how we won it over, it’ll show how we won it over, by not changing the names of the places. Whoever is measuring the land will need to know someday. My aunt told me the story, so we won’t change it. We can tell Sharon all the names that she wants to know. What we’re doing through Sharon, we can tell the story, we can talk about it. Our elders ahead of us, they won it over for us, that’s why we’re here. We should really look after it, the people suffered who were here. We should look after it because this is where we live. The place is nice. If it wasn’t for our ancestors we might have lost it, we could have lost it.

Sáma?ś would’ve been there and maybe made something out of it.

3  I nəqáqsəl: “At Minnie Lake”

Recorded on August 1st, 2010 at Quilchena, BC. See Lindley and Lyon (2012) for a different version of this text. See also Boas and Teit (1930, 232-233) for notes on how elk disappeared from the country by overhunting.

3.1 Okanagan
3.2 Interlinear gloss

(75) qsápi i? sqilxw k*uukw ḧaʔ c-ʔolʔ-łlx'.
    long.ago DET native.people REP COMP CUST-RED-hungry
    ‘A long time ago, they say the people were very hungry.’

(76) ul ixiʔ. iʔ sqältmfxʷ itiʔ c-ŷr-ʁiywa̱xʷʔom, ul
    CONJ DEM DET man DEM CUST-RED-snowshoe-MID CONJ
    c-xʷ-y-lwis.
    CUST-go-here.and.there
    ‘And the men traveled around on snowshoes, and traveled.’

(77) ul k*uukw c-qilt kl Minnie Lake.
    CONJ REP CUST-climb LOC Minnie Lake
    ‘And they say they went up to Minnie Lake.’

(78) ul iʔ c-ʔaʔ-ʔaʔ-ús-(s)t-s stim t
    CONJ EMPH CUST-look.for-RED-eye-CAUS-3SG.ERG what OBL
    k(t)-s-ilʔap-s.
    U.POSS-NOM-shoot-3SG.POSS
    ‘And they were just looking around for something to shoot.’

(79) ul k*uukw tált kʰxʷʔil iʔ smikʷt.
    CONJ REP straight many DET snow
    ‘And they say there was a lot of snow.’

(80) k*uukw scʔixitx axáʔ iʔ t citxʷ iʔ s-n-wíst-s
    REP do.like DEM DET OBL house DET NOM-n-high-3SG.POSS
    iʔ smikʷt.
    DET snow
    ‘They say the snow was as high as a house.’
And they got there and saw something steaming there, there were deer in the snow; I don’t know how many days it must have snowed.

And the deer there went around in circles and just stood there, they couldn’t go anywhere in the snow, they were trapped in there.

And they say the snow was maybe seven feet high.

And they saw lots of deer there, but they weren’t actually deer, they were, what was that called what we were talking about? elk.
'And when they were full, and went back to tell the people, the people at Douglas Lake and here, and said:'

"Let's gather over there in order to kill the elks, there are a lot standing over there."

'And from there they went to Shulus, Coldwater, and told the people “Come on! There’s a lot of elk there, let’s go there and get some food!”

'And they say the people went, and got there.'
‘And then they killed many elks.’

‘And there they satisfied themselves.’

‘And they cooked some there and cut the others loose.’

‘And some of them ran away, and .... before they hauled them they did like that .... they brought it back to their camp.’

'It was my grandmother who told me the story, and that’s what they say they did a long time ago, when the people were so hungry.'
And they’d travel on snowshoes, they didn’t have anything, but they did know how to make snowshoes.

‘And they’d go look for something to eat.’

‘And that’s what I was told, and now there aren’t any more [elk]... that’s what they say happened that one winter.’

4 Sn’ýanaʔs, the snotty-nosed bird

This was recorded on August 1st, 2010 at Quilchena, BC. This is a short captíkʷ about a bird in Quilchena who used to stop the wind from blowing across Nicola Lake.

4.1 Okanagan

I expect that the missing word here is sníkì ‘elk’, to complete the phrase ‘There aren’t any more ...,’ but this is speculative.
And the old people hired the bird Snotty-nose.

A long time ago the elders told stories.

‘And I listened when they told about the wind blowing in Quilchena.’

‘They said the wind would always blow.’

‘And he was all snotty, but he was a bird of some kind.’

‘He wasn’t good for anything but they’d holler for him.’
(104) mət cú-solx “sn'á-naʔs, n-γac-ús-nt iʔ sniʔwt.”
CONJ say-(DIR)-3PL.ERG snotty.nose n-tie-round-DIR DET wind
‘And they’d tell him “Snotty-Nose, put a trap on the wind!”’

(105) uł kʷukʷ iʔ kʷinx ks-cuy-iʔ-solx zoom kʷukʷ uł,
CONJ REP DET how.many FUT-tell-MID-3PL.POSS REP CONJ
uł kʷukʷ n-γac-ús-as iʔ sn'ánaʔs iʔ
CONJ REP n-tie-round-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET snotty-nose DET
sniʔwt.
wind
‘And who knows how many times would they tell him, but Snotty-nose would put a trap on the wind.’

(106) kmax klíʔ kiʔ xast iʔ k̕l sniʔwt.
only DEM COMP good DET LOC wind
‘That’s all he was good for, for the wind.’

(107) ixíʔ sn'ánaʔ iʔ s-c-kʷul-c,
DEM snotty.nose DET NOM-CUST-make-3SG.POSS
ks-ʔal-p-st-is iʔ sniʔwt.
FUT-stop-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET wind
‘That Snotty-nose, that’s his job, stopping the wind.’

(108) uł ixíʔ qsápi taʔ c-xʷʔit iʔ slaqs mət
CONJ DEM long.ago COMP CUST-many DET mosquito CONJ
iʔ ʔax̂-əx̂-x̂áp cut “k'aw-mi-st-am-nt iʔ
DET RED-RED-grown say hire-MIN-CAUS-MID-DIR DET
sniʔ-nwt.”
RED-wind
‘And a long time ago when there was a lot of mosquitoes, the old people would say “Hire the little wind!”’

(109) s-ní-nwt mi ʔax̂l-p-st-is iʔ sniʔwt mət ʔaʔ
NOM-RED-wind FUT stop-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET wind CONJ COMP
CUST-wind COMP CUST-annoy-MIN-CAUS-3PL.ERG COMP
CUST-waves-MID
‘Little Wind will stop the wind from blowing, when they’re tired of the waves coming in.’

11 The middle suffix -m becomes -iʔ before a 3rd person possessive morpheme (Mattina, 1993, 251).
A long time ago the old people talked about the sniwt, like the wind. They said the wind would always blow in Quilchena. The old people hired Snýánaʔs to stop the wind. And he was supposed to be a bird. And it was all snotty but he was a bird of some kind. And this bird was just nothing but all snot, and wasn’t good for anything. He wasn’t good for anything but they’d holler for him. But, and the legend was told that he was good for stopping the wind. They’d say “Snýánaʔs, put a trap on the wind.” How many times would they tell him that. That’s all he was good for. That’s his job, stopping the wind. When there was a lot of snow, they said “Blow the mosquitos away.” When the wind is blowing, you can hire Snýánaʔs to stop the wind. And he was supposed to be a bird. And it was all snotty but he was a bird of some kind. And this bird was just nothing but all snot, and wasn’t good for anything. He wasn’t good for anything but they’d holler for him. But, and the legend was told that he was good for stopping the wind. They’d say “Snýánaʔs, put a trap on the wind.” How many times would they tell him that. That’s all he was good for. That’s his job, stopping the wind. When there was a lot of snow, they said “Blow the mosquitos away.” When the wind is blowing, you can hire Snýánaʔs and he can stop the wind, when they’re tired of the waves coming in. Snýánaʔs stopped the wind. If you asked him to stop the wind, it would stop the wind, and the wind would stop when people were tired of the wind, and it was always waving and, so they’d hire Snýánaʔs to stop the wind. I was told that a long time ago.

5.1 Okanagan

qsápi kʷukʷ iʔ ... kʷu mayxíts iʔ koʔox̣x̣áap. kʷukʷ iʔ knaqs iʔ tk̓lmílxʷ, kʷukʷ c̕x̣íʔ t c̕xlal, ?itx kʷukʷ l másqat. q̕itam u̲l ixíʔ mayxíts iʔ s̓o̲n̓q̕šl̓xʷs t ... iʔ t sq̓íʔsc. ʔmayxíts kʷukʷ iʔ t latáp, iʔ s̓o̲nk̓ł mútxan, lasyát, níʔk̓man; iʔ kʷúlm̓áns iʔ sc̕íʔl̓on, t̕aʔ kʷ sc̕íʔl̓on. u̲l kʷukʷ ixíʔ wiks u̲l ixíʔ mayxíts iʔ s̓o̲n̓q̕šl̓xʷs, mat ixíʔ x̣aʔs̓p̓íʔnt̕ k̕íʔ lúʔíʔ t̕aʔ c̕kw̕̕c̕ix iʔ s̓ámaʔ, lutuʔ t̕aʔ m̕yp̓n̓úšal̓x iʔ lasyát u̲l iʔ c̕w̓c̕ítxʷ. t̕i mat ixíʔ p̕ńciʔ t̕í k̕liwt iʔ s̓q̓ílxʷ 1 s̓o̲n̓x̣ʷx̣ʷáyaq̕n kom 1 sxʷu̲lxʷ.

4.3 Free translation

One woman’s dream

Recorded on September 29th, 2010 at Quilchena, BC. This brief story describes a woman long ago that had a dream about the future.
5.2 Interlinear gloss

(113) ḍsápi kʷukʷ i? ... kʷu ḍay-xít-s i?
       long.ago  rep  det ... 1sg.abs tell-ben-3sg.erg det
       ḍa-x-ἄ-/DD fishermen.
       RED-RED-grown
       ‘A long time ago the old people used to tell me stories.’

(114) kʷukʷ i? knaqs i? tkmilxʷ, kʷukʷ c?Ḫl t
       rep  det  one(human)  det  woman  rep  like  obl
       c-Ḫlal,  ḍitx  kʷukʷ  l  más-ʔat.
       stat-dead  sleep  rep  loc  four-days
       ‘They say there was one woman, it was like she was dead, she slept for
       four days.’

(115) ḍít-om uł ixīʔ ḍay-xít-s i?
       wake-mid  conj  dem  tell-ben-3sg.erg det
       s-nqs-flxʷ-s  t  ...  iʔ  t  sqiʔ-s-c.
       nom-one-person-3sg.poss  obl  ...  det  obl  dream-3sg.poss
       ‘She woke and told her relatives about her dream.’

(116) ḍay-xít-s  kʷukʷ i?  t  latáp,  iʔ  sôn-kl-mút-(t)on,
       tell-ben-3sg.erg  rep  det  obl  table  det  loc-kl-sit-instr
       lasyʔt,  ník-mán,  iʔ  kʷúl-mán-s  iʔ
       plate  cut-instr  det  make-instr-3sg.poss  det
       s-cʔhlon,  ḍa?  kʷ  s-cʔhlon.
       nom-cust-eat  comp  2sg.abs  nom-cust-eat
       ‘They say she told them about tables, and chairs, plates, knives, the
       things that you use to eat with.’
‘And they say that she saw it and told her relatives a long time before
the whites came, a long time before they knew about plates and houses
and things.’

‘And it must’ve been a long time then that the people lived in tepees and
pit-houses.’

‘That’s what they say they did for a long time, and that’s what the old
woman told about.’

‘And it’s true what she did there, and it was a long time after she died
before they did like that. That’s all.’
5.3 Free translation

Long time ago in Douglas Lake, they call Spaxmen, they said there was an old lady that lived there, and that’s before they even seen white people, they didn’t know anything, only their way of living. And this lady, they say she’d sleep for four days, and she’d wake up and call in the people and told them the story of her dream, and she told them that people would be like birds, sitting around, this kind of like a table, and they’re sitting around and they were using something shiny to eat with. She had a lot of stories they say that she told. Something, in that way, that they didn’t know what was going to be happening, but those were her dreams that she told to the people. And many years after and, you know, they had tables and chairs and plates and silverware to eat with. This lady dreamt about that many years before this was ever seen, so she was telling the story of, you know, calling people every now and then and telling them about different things that was going to happen in the future. So she lived right up in Douglas Lake, they call Spaxmen. And she seen a lot of things and she’d tell it to the people, and for years the people said “We were told by this one lady that these things were going to happen.” So that’s right from up there, that this lady was kind of having dreams and she said towards the end, she’d seen a lot of things about what people were going to do, like eating around a table, riding horses, and you know, different things that she dreamt, and she told to people. And then she said that the people thought they were afraid because the indian people were so fearful of something like ghosts and they were kind of afraid of what she was saying and when she got older and she said “I wouldn’t be telling you guys any more stories. Next time I sleep for four days, and you bury me, because I wouldn’t be coming back.” And she did, she died afterwards. And people were quite amazed at how this story of different things that were to happen, you know, in the coming days. So this lady was right from Douglas Lake that told those stories to the people, what was going to be happening. So I thought I’d tell that story of whatever that was that she, you know, it’s kind of amazing that it’s a dream, and yet it came true. So this is the lady right from Douglas Lake that told this story. I was told that by an elder, you know, that knew about this, so it’s been generation and generation, I guess, that this story’s been passed on, that she dreamt of what was going to be happening. And it’s kind of amazing to see that, she said the people are going to be using something shiny to eat with. And I guess that’s silverware and plates and cups and table and chairs and stuff like that. So that’s kind of a short story but it’s very interesting of how this lady, you know, dreamt of this and told stories on it. So that’s a short story that I’ve... so that’s the end of that story.

6 kl nsk”uts iw tık”: “Other side of the lake”

Recorded on November 23, 2010 at Quilchena, BC. This brief story describes how the people used to spend the winter across Nicola Lake (on the North side, where Monck Provincial Park is today). It is not so windy on that
side.

6.1 Okanagan

qsápi kʷukʷ kí nskʷut-s iʔ tikʷt. ixíʔ ḫíʔ ḫapnáʔ? iʔ sámáʔ? kʷul-s t park, uʔ kʷukʷ iliʔ qsápi iʔ sqílxʷ kaʔ cʔistikm. ʔistikm uʔ ixíʔ sonyákʷsolx, kʷaʔ lut kliʔ iʔ csvníwt myaʔ uʔ ḫaʔ c tli ḫyáñoxʷ aʔ c kʷolállux. ḫaʔ tækʷxáp iʔ ḫyáñoxʷ mól kʷaʔkʷʔállux. uʔ iʔ šcʔixt kíʔ cnyákʷolx kí nskʷut. uʔ kʷaʔ taʔliʔ aláʔ csvníwt. uʔ kliʔ cqʷuy uʔ kliʔ kaʔ cʔistikmálx. ixíʔ qsápi iʔ sqílxʷ kʷukʷ iʔ čawts. ixíʔ Lōwís aʔ čut, kʷukʷ nyákʷolx klaʔ kí ḫapnáʔ iliʔ iʔ smśámaʔ aʔ c kʷúllxʷom. štíʔ scʔixt kíʔškíʔ ksnýákʷsolx uʔ kʷúllámx kʷukʷ t kłnxʷúyánsolx maʔ ixíʔ sonyâyákʷsolx. maʔ kliʔ ʔistikmálx, kʷaʔ kíʔ xʷʔīt iʔ šlip. uʔ kliʔ cpiḵámlx mat cʔistik. ixíʔ iʔ šmymyays ixíʔ axáʔ iʔ tikʷt, iʔ sqílxʷ qsápi iʔ kʷliwt kliʔʔ... uṯíʔ ḫapnáʔ? ḫiqʷʔ ḫapnáʔ iliʔ smśámaʔ? ixíʔ kʷuls t park uʔ iliʔ kfxʷil iʔ smśámaʔ? l scʔaqʷ. ixíʔ.

6.2 Interlinear gloss

(121) qsápi kʷukʷ k(l) nskʷut-s iʔ tikʷt. ixíʔ long-ago REP LOC across.the.water-3SG.POSS DET lake DEM iliʔ ḫapnáʔ? iʔ sámáʔ? kʷul-s t DEM now DET white.person make-(DIR)-3SG.ERG OBL park, uʔ kʷukʷ iliʔ qsápi iʔ sqílxʷpark CONJ REP DEM long.ago DET native.people kaʔ cʔistik-m. COMP CUST-winter-MID

‘They say that a long time ago across the lake, where the white people have the park today, a long time ago the people wintered over there.’

(122) ʔistik-m uʔ ixíʔ s-n-yákʷsolx, kʷaʔ lut winter-MID CONJ DEM NOM-n-go.across-3PL.POSS because NEG kliʔ iʔ c-sníwt myaʔ uʔ ḫaʔ c-tl12 DEM EMPH CUST-wind too.much CONJ COMP CUST-LOC ḫyáñoxʷ aʔ c-kʷol-āl-lax. sun DET CUST-sunshine-RED-3PL.ABS

‘They wintered there and they crossed (in the fall time) because it’s not so windy over there and they get warm when the sun comes out.’

12 It is unclear what to do with the customary prefix in this instance, since it does not normally attach to prepositions.
‘When the sun rises they all get warm.’

‘That’s why they go across there.’

‘And because it’s always windy here on this side.’

‘It’s sheltered over there and that’s where they spend their winter.’

‘That’s how the old people lived in those days.’

‘That’s Isaac’s mom Louisa that tells the story, that they crossed where the white people built those houses now.’
Across the lake, the white people came there and made a park. A long time ago the people wintered over there at the park. They crossed in the fall time, it’s not so windy over there, and when the sun is coming out it shines right on them. When the sun is coming out, they get warm. That’s why they go across there, it’s a shelter for them. It’s always windy here. It’s sheltered over there and that’s where they spend their winter. That’s how the old people lived in those days. That’s Isaac’s mom Louisa that tells the story. They crossed where those houses are now. It’s closer to cross [here in Quilchena]. They built rafts and they crossed. There’s lots of wood across there, and they hunted and they got their wood. That’s the story about this lake. You can see where they built the park, and in the summer there’s a lot of white people across there. That’s all.

6.3 Free translation

Across the lake, the white people came there and made a park. A long time ago the people wintered over there at the park. They crossed in the fall time, it’s not so windy over there, and when the sun is coming out it shines right on them. When the sun is coming out, they get warm. That’s why they go across there, it’s a shelter for them. It’s always windy here. It’s sheltered over there and that’s where they spend their winter. That’s how the old people lived in those days. That’s Isaac’s mom Louisa that tells the story. They crossed where those houses are now. It’s closer to cross [here in Quilchena]. They built rafts and they crossed. There’s lots of wood across there, and they hunted and they got their wood. That’s the story about this lake. You can see where they built the park, and in the summer there’s a lot of people across there.
6.4 Commentary

My step-mother told me that the people lived around here, Quilchena. And they lived at Douglas Lake. But the ones that lived in Quilchena, they said they made rafts because this whole valley here was poplars, and they made a raft out of the poplars, and they went way over to where those houses are built now, and they crossed there right across to the Monck Park. [And that’s where they wintered. They wintered there because the sun comes out and it shines on them and they get warmed. That’s why they go across there, it’s a shelter for them.] And it’s not so windy because it’s very windy from here this way, but in that kind of a gully like where they stay, the wind don’t hit so hard there, so they wintered over there, every winter, they said they went across there. [They thought it was closer to cross from there, and they built rafts and they crossed.] And there’s a lot of wood and they had big dugouts, but that’s a park now, it’s a big big park there. They left some of the holes because they made their winter homes, I don’t know how they dug it, but they made, you know, big holes and then they’d build over it, and that’s their winter home. They say they had fire in the middle, and then they have a stairs to where the smoke comes out from. And that’s where they wintered, and they were saying the Shuswap were the enemies of the Okanagan, and sometimes they’d come along and they see them and they block that up and a lot of people died, inhaling smoke, because they were enemies, they were always looking for people to kill. So the Shuswaps were the enemies from a long time ago. People fought, and they said this is all Shuswap country. I don’t know if I told you this before, but all the names of the lakes and mountains, it’s in the Shuswap language, so that proves that it is their country and they were fighting and pushing each other around. And our future chief that passed on, he said “I want to change the names.” And he asked me what I thought and I told him “No I don’t think so, leave it that way, that it’ll show, you know, what had happened.” So everything is still the same now. So that’s the, kind of the story of our, of this valley. And I guess it was nothing for them to cross the lake, you know, when the ice froze then it’s easier to go back and forth. But they lived over there because it’s sheltered. So they moved, they didn’t stay in one place, you know, they moved all the time, but they went back to their winter homes in wintertime.

7  ṭa? čxʷiltăm iʔ sqilxʷ: “When the people trained” (version 1)

See Boas and Teit (1930, p. 246-251) for a description of the practice of circle-making, and dream visualization. Version 1 was recorded on January 22, 2011 at Quilchena, BC.

7.1 Okanagan

qsápi ṭa? čxʷiltăm iʔ sqilxʷ, ṭaʔ cstaʔkmíx iʔ stəmktílt, iʔ sqʷsiʔs wayʔ ṭəlʔúənkst čikst, wayʔ ksq̓ptmíxʷaʔx. uʔ tiʔ ltfʔ uʔ wayʔ acc̓axʷčəxʷ-
Long ago, the people trained a daughter that has come to an age, and when a son is 25, he’s become man.

And they’re already teaching them at a young age.
(136) náxaml (ix)i? ūlu? c-nkacx’ús ili? t ...
CONJ DEM COMP CUST-time DEM OBL ...
k’ax-spíntk i? sqúlmíx’ uš i? tkłmilx’,
how.many-years DET man CONJ DET woman
mæl c’ax’-c’ax’-nt-tsolx.
CONJ instruct-RED-DIR-3PL.ERG
‘And when it’s that time, and the men and women are a certain age,
that’s when they were taught.’

(137) pintk ks’ast-s i? kł-cáwt-solx. lut
always FUT-good-3SG.POSS DET U.POSS-doings-3PL.POSS NEG
t ks’tytymúl-c, lut t ksʔitx-s
EMPH FUT-lazy-3SG.POSS NEG EMPH FUT-sleep-3SG.POSS
mi ntaax’-qín.
FUT noon
‘They always do well, they’re not lazy or sleep ’til noon.’

(138) nín’i?i? c-x’-x’ilx mi nín’i?i?
in.a.little.while CUST-RED-get.up FUT in.a.little.while
c-knit-s i? sqilx’.
CUST-help-BEN-3SG.ERG DET native.people
‘He’ll get up and help others, help the people.’

(139) kn-xit-s i? cniłc i? s-nqs-ilx’-s.
help-BEN-3SG.ERG DET 3SG.INDEP DET NOM-one-person-3SG.POSS
‘He helps his own family.’

(140) kn-xit-s i? k’ixt i? sqilx’ i?
help-BEN-3SG.ERG DET others DET native.people DET
ƛx’ex-ƛx’-ƛxap.
RED-RED-grown
‘He helps the others, and especially the elders.’

(141) ixʔ? lut i támúus ka?
DEM NEG EMPH for.nothing COMP
c-x’y-lwis-(s)t-s, ka? c-qicx’-aʔx
CUST-go-here.and.there-CAUS-3SG.ERG COMP CUST-run-INTR
pintk.
always
‘And it’s not for nothing that he travels, that he is always moving
around.’
And in a little while he’ll be a strong man, in a little while he’ll be wise, because the people say it’s that time when you reach puberty.

When it comes time you’re running, and doing everything...

My grandmother told me “Run up the hill and make a ring, put rocks around and make a ring.”

‘And throw everything in the circle, and say ‘This’ll be my house, this’ll be my husband or wife.’”
“These will be my children, this will be my food, when I’m hunting, I won’t be having a hard time...”

“When I go fishing, the fish will bite, and it’ll be easy to bring home what my family needs at home.”

“And you are almighty, you are strong, you are the one I’m asking help from.”

“When I’m an old enough woman, I can do all things.”

“I’ll always have a home, I’ll always have cupboards full of food.”
(151) u̱ ixí? mo̱l anwí ili? c-xʷo̱l-xʷált, ḯ̱ CONJ DEM CONJ 2SG.INDEP DEM STAT-RED-alive COMP
n-wnxʷ'-ínu?-m̥a̱(n)-nt-s-ən kʷ'ə̱ kʷu
n-true-ear-MIN-DIR-2SG.ABS-1SG.ERG COMP 1SG.ABS
čə̱xʷ'-čxʷ'-nt-fs ḱ̥a̱x̆-o̱x̆-ə̱x̆áp.
instruct-RED-DIR-3SG.ERG 1SG.POSS-RED-RED-grown
‘And you’re alive and I believe in you because my elders trained me.” ’

(152) ixí? q̓sápi ɬ̓a? c-ɬə̱xʷu̱m̥x(swit, u̱ ḱ̥apná? DEM long.ago COMP CUST-young.teenage.girl who CONJ now
ixí? lut ɬ̥im ili?).
DEM NEG except DEM
‘That’s what happened long ago when you reached puberty, and now there’s hardly any of that.’

ti kmax c-x̦iʔt-mist-ɬə̱x.
EMPH only CUST-run.around-INTR.REFLEX-3PL.ABS
‘Now it’s the school that trains the children, and the children don’t know anything, they just run around crazy.’

(154) ixí? i? səł- mi(ʔ)-nt-əm i? n-čxʷ'-ambil(1)-ən-tot, DEM DET lose-MIN-DIR-1PL.ERG DET n-instruct-child-INSTR-1PL.POSS
i? kl s-qʷsfʔ-əʔ-tot, kl DET LOC NOM-son-RED-1PL.POSS LOC
s-nʔəmʔ-ʔimaʔ-tot, kl NOM-RED-grandchild-1PL.POSS LOC
‘We’ve lost the training to teach our children, our grandchildren, our great-grandchildren. That’s all.’

7.3 Free translation, version 1

A long time ago the people trained the young people. When the daughter has come to an age, maiden, virgin. A son is 25. After they’re 15 they’re men. They’re already teaching them at a young age, instructing them. When it’s time, when it falls on the time. They’re a young age and they already know everything.
They always do well, not to be lazy or sleep till noon. Help others, help anybody. Help his own family. To help the others and especially the elders. Move around, always have to take a run to make yourself physically fit. When it’s time, when puberty’s on, 14 or 15, they start training them and they become that way. [He always has to take a run to make himself physically fit, because it’s time, when puberty begins, around 14 or 15.] When it comes time you’re running, strengthen breathing. My grandmother told me “Run up the hill and make a ring, put rocks around and make a ring, and throw everything in there. make a pile, that’s training your inside. Do that 4 times. Throw it in the circle. And say ‘This’ll be my house... When I’m hunting, I won’t be having a hard time. It’ll be easy. When I go fishing, the fish will bite, and I’ll bring home what my family needs at home. And you are Almighty, you are strong, you are the one I’m asking help from.’ And when you have that circle you keep talking to it and say ‘Take care of me, bless me, because someday I’ll be a parent, a grandparent, help me that I can be. When I’m old enough [as a] woman, I can do all things. I’ll always have a home. I’ll always have cupboards full of food.’ That’s the training I got from the elders, now I’m following it... and it helps me to keep strong. They talk to me and I believe what they’re telling me. I got it from the elders. That’s when they have their full training, and now there’s hardly any of that. The school is the one that’s doing that now. And the children don’t know anything, they just run around crazy. We’ve lost the training to teach our grandkids, our great-grandkids, our kids.

8 ta? čx*íłtəm i? sqilx*: “When the people trained” (version 2)

Version 2 was recorded on March 7, 2011 at Quilchena, BC.

8.1 Okanagan

8.2 Wentworth

q’ápi ist’antíima? k”u ckw’ulsts, kw Ɂl̓txw’úmx. kw us “lul ckw?itx, šapná? nkcxw’úxs mi k”w Ɂl̓txw’úləm. yá’í tstim akskw’úləm. kw Ɂl̓txw’úlx, ti cx’úys Ɂlap, wáy kw x’úlx, mət x’úlxw mət kw qaqícałx. lut ta ʔqstym, ya’yí tstim k”w- Ɋntx”. uł ixti? šapná? nkcxw’úxs, wáy kw Ɂl̓txw’úmx. níńwí’ís kw i?i túl k”w i? tłmílxw mi pintk ka? ckw”ulstw” ancítx”. uł klcítx”a?x pintk. uł pi”ntk ka? s asc?łtəm, ka? cx”a?tmíxα?x ətfi? anwí k”w stłtx”únxα?x k”w Ɋłnt, k”w”ulstx” wáy nkcxw’úxs akskw”ulst, uł nyí”p, k”w Ɋłntxw” yá’yä’ít stím, uł k”w Ɂta? k”w”ulol t tłmílxw”. pintk akskw”úləm, pintk aksxškst”mən”na yá’yä’ít stím. asq’”síʔaʔ, i anʔimaʔt, t anʔaʔíʔuʔaʔ, ixt? akskw”úl t ?aklcítx” uł ili? k”w mut. lut aksqíqícałx taʔkín aksk”aʔk”ám k t cawt. kast ixti?, lut ili? aks”síʔləm itiʔ. pi”ntk kw mi k”w k”xst t tłmílxw”. pi”ntk k”w mi k”w ckw”ulstw” ancítxw”, ckw”ulstx” asq”síʔaʔ. uł taʔliʔ”ʔ xaʔk”aʔi? ixtiʔ. k”tcwpa ixtiʔ. iʔ sʔapnáʔ Ɂta? cxx”íłtəm iʔ sqilx”. uł ixti? šapnáʔ cxx”cxx”ntsín. “uł níńwí’ís kw i?i túl t tłmílxw”, k”w i? tłmílxw, iʔ cxx”cxx”ntsíx” aml e”síʔaʔ, aml amʔimaʔt, anʔaʔíʔuʔaʔ yá’it. k”w”ulstx”olx
8.2 Interlinear gloss

(155) ḱsápi i(n)-stamtíma? kʷu
long.ago 1SG.POSS-grandmother 1SG.ABS
c-kʷúlst-s, kn l
CUST-send.for-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG 1SG.ABS COMP
lótxʷúnx.
young.teenage.girl
‘A long time ago my grandmother asked me to do things when I reached puberty.’

(156) kʷu cu-s ‘lut a-ks-?ítx, ḱapná?
1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG NEG 2SG.POSS-FUT-sleep now
nkácxʷús mi kʷ kʷúl-óm.
time FUT 2SG.ABS work-MID
‘She told me “Don’t sleep, now is the time of your life for you to work on yourself.”

(157) yaʕít stím a-ks-kʷúl-óm.
all what 2SG.POSS-FUT-work-MID
‘Work at everything.’

(158) kʷ xʷtílx, [ti] c-xʷúy-s ʔlap, way
2SG.ABS get.up EMPH CUST-go-3SG.POSS tomorrow yes
kʷ xʷtílx, məɬ xʷtílx məɬ kʷ qa-qícalx.
2SG.ABS get.up CONJ get.up CONJ 2SG.ABS RED-run
‘Early in the morning, at the break of day, you get up, wake up and run.’

(159) lut tə ks-ty-am, yaʕít stím kʷúl-ant-xʷ!
NEG EMPH FUT-refuse-MID all what work-DIR-2SG.ERG
‘Don’t get lazy, you do everything!’
(160) ut ixif? ʔapnáʔ nkačxʷús, way kʷ ḥó̸xʷú̸míx.
CONJ DEM now time yes 2SG.ABS young.teenage.girl
‘And now it’s time for you, you’re at the age.’

(161) ŋí̱nwiʔs kʷ t iʔuł kʷ t
in.a.little.while 2SG.ABS COMP unbeatable 2SG.ABS COMP
tḵyilxʷ mi pintk káʔ c-kʷul-st-xʷ
woman FUT always COMP CUST-work-CAUS-2SG.ERG
an-cítxʷ.
2SG.POSS-house
‘Soon, when you’re strong enough as a woman, you’ll always look after your home.’

(162) ut kʷcítxʷ-aʔx pintk.
CONJ HAVE-house-INCEPTR always
‘You’re going to have a home always.’

(163) ut piʔntk káʔ [s] a-s-cʔ tłą́n, káʔ
CONJ always COMP 2SG.POSS-NOM-CUST-eat COMP
c-xʷaʔt-míxʔaʔx aʔíʔ anwí kʷ
cUST-lots-INTR because 2SG.INDEP 2SG.ABS
s-ḥó̸xʷú̸míx-aʔx kʷul-ont, kʷ
NOM-young.teenage.girl-INTR work-DIR 2SG.ABS
kʷul-st-x!
turn.into-CAUS-IMP
‘The food in your cupboards will always be full, you’ll have lots more than enough of anything you need, because you’re at the point when you can work on yourself. Turn into something!’

(164) way nkačxʷús a-ks-kʷül-st.
yes time 2SG.POSS-FUT-work-CAUS
‘It’s the time of your life for you to transform yourself.’

(165) ut nyíʔiʔp, kʷul-nt-xʷ yaʔyáʔít stín, ut kʷ
CONJ always work-DIR-2SG.ERG all what CONJ 2SG.ABS
táʔ kʷul-ól t tkų̸milxʷ....
COMP make-RED OBL woman
‘You always work hard, and train yourself to become a woman.’
‘Always work hard, you have to do everything right for your children, your grandchildren, your great-grandchildren.’

‘That’s what you have to do is create a good home, and you live there.’

‘Don’t run all over the place looking for bad things.’

‘You always be a good woman.’

‘Always fix your house, keep it tidy keep it clean.’
‘You always work with your children, it’s very sacred.’

That’s past and gone now, the people don’t lecture their children.

‘And I’m going to pass it on to you.’

‘And when you become a strong woman and you become old, you can lecture your children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, everyone.’

‘Encourage them, always work with them, and stop from doing things that aren’t right.’

‘You always watch them, and you keep watching them...’

The initial /k/ in this form is phonetically realized as an [x], probably due to a fast-speech effect.
And don’t bawl them them out everyday, you can talk to them if you see them doing something wrong.

And stop them and talk to them.

You say ‘I’ve seen you that you’ve done this and it’s not right.’ Straighten them out.

I’ve tried my best to follow that, and now I’m getting old, I’m eighty-years old.

And now I’m a grandmother, I’m an old lady.

It’s good that this man came here to talk to me about all that.
(184) mał kʷu c-sw-síw-st-s uł ya’ít
CONJ 1SG.ABS CUST-RED-ask-CAUS-3SG.ERG CONJ all
k’lpač-nt-in qsápi iʔ cawt-s iʔ
figure.out-DIR-1SG.ERG long.ago DET doing-3SG.POSS DET
sqílxʷ.
native.people

‘He’s asking me questions and I’m thinking back how people used to do things.’

(185) iʔ cawt-s i(n)-stamtímaʔ kʷu ła?
DET doing-3SG.POSS 1SG.POSS-grandmother 1SG.ABS COMP
c-čoʔxʷ-čxʷ-st-ís.
CUST-instruct-RED-CAUS-3SG.ERG

‘What my grandmother did when she lectured me.’

(186) uł taʔlì’iʔ xast axáʔ iʔ s-c-kʷuł-í-s John
CONJ very good DEM DET NOM-CUST-work-3SG.POSS John
ła? c-čqy-št-ís yaʔyáʔit stim ła?
COMP CUST-write-CAUS-3SG.ERG all what COMP
c-wt-št-ís iʔ computer.
CUST-put.into-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET computer

‘And it’s very good this work John is doing, writing everything while putting it in the computer.’

(187) uł ḳapnáʔ ixíʔ kʷu kʷi(n)-lt-s ya’ít
CONJ now DEM 1SG.ABS take-APPL-3SG.ERG all
i-s-qʷol-qʷílt, uł i-s-čxʷ-čoʔxʷ-áxʷ.
1SG.POSS-NOM-RED-talk CONJ 1SG.POSS-RED-instruct-RED
ixíʔ.
DEM

‘And he’s taking down all the words that I’ve said, about the way I was taught. That’s all.’

8.3  Free translation

A long time ago my grandmother asked me to do things, when I was 14. That’s the time of your life for you to work on yourself. Early in the morning, break of day, you get up. Wake up and run up the hill. Don’t get lazy, you do everything. It’s time for you, you’re at the age. When you’re old enough as a woman, [when you grow up and understand,] you always look after your home, always tidy, always clean. You’re going to have a home always. Your food in your cupboards will always be full, because you’re at the point when you can
work on yourself. It’s the time to work on yourself. You always work hard and train yourself on becoming a woman. You have to do everything right, for your children, your grandchildren, your great-grandchildren. That’s what you have to do is create a good home, and you look after it, and you live there. Don’t run all over the place looking for bad things. That’s not right, don’t do that. You always be a good woman. Always fix your house, keep it tidy keep it clean. You always work with them, it’s very sacred to have a family. That’s past and gone now, the people don’t do that for their children. And I’m going to pass it on to you. When you become a woman and you become old, you can lecture your children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, everyone. Stop them from doing things that aren’t right. You always talk to them, always tell them not to do things that aren’t good. You always watch them, and you keep watching them. Don’t always bawl them out, you can talk to them and if they did wrong tell them that they did wrong, if you see them doing something wrong. Stop them and tell them the difference. “I’ve seen you that you’ve done this and it’s not right.” Straighten them out. I’ve tried my best to follow that, and now I’m getting old, I’m eighty-years old. And now I’m a grandmother, I’m an old lady. This man come here to talk to me about all that, to think about it. He’s asking me questions and I’m thinking back how people used to talk to their children. My grandmother gave me a lot of lectures. While I’m talking you were writing, taking all the words that I’ve said about the way I was taught.

8.4 Additional commentary, versions 1/2

Maybe I can tell you a little bit on that. At the certain age, the Natives really respect it because you become a man or become a woman, and they have a big celebration for that, they train people. They make them run, it’s just like exercising, to run up in the hill. Run, run, get yourself all worked up and they’d do that with them for a while, maybe for 2 weeks, maybe 3 weeks to a month, they make them do things that they’ve never done to get themselves all, you know, to be strong, to become a man, to start learning, you know. He’s been watching and learning how to hunt, how to shoot the gun and stuff like that, and the girls they become, you know, they go swimming in the cold water, they go for sweats, and they even teach them how to, if they want children, they run up the hill and they’ll take two rocks and put it under their breast, and as they’re running up the hill, they drop them, both of them. And they run so far and look back and talk to the rocks, say “Someday when I become a woman, when I have a child, everything will go well. My child, my afterbirth.” Because there were a lot of women, when there weren’t doctors, they were dying from afterbirth, not coming out. And they say it gets stuck to the back, but they, or whenever a woman is pregnant, they already start working on them, don’t let them sleep in, don’t, you know, keep exercising right through. It’s just like the person that’s becoming a woman or becoming a man, when a woman’s pregnant, they work the same thing, right to the time the baby was born, and they don’t have long labors. Because what makes long labor is when they get lazy and stay in bed and sleep and
just sitting around, you need to be more when just like, when you are, there’s nothing wrong with you, to walk up the hills, to take walks. Don’t sleep until it’s time to sleep. And the way they taught that, they said the baby becomes lazy. If you’re sitting around, and if you’re laying around, the baby does the same thing and then, and it wouldn’t come, it’d come so far and quit. It’d come so far, and that today all I notice the women have days before they have their babies, some of them 6 days, they’re in labor. See they even worked on that, like, even the husband can help, they wake up and, you know, try not to be mad or argue about it. It’s just so you could help them until the time the baby is born. So those are the things that were important to them. And they say when you’re fourteen, fifteen, and the things you do then, you will do the rest of your life, to be active, not to be lazy, to wake up and do things, and if you’re not working then volunteer your time and just keep going, just to do good for yourself. It’s not because you’re volunteering for somebody else, you’re helping when you’re working a paid job, you have to keep moving, you can’t stop because, you know, you’ve got nothing to do. Maybe you could sit around for a day or whatever, but not any more than that. You have to keep moving to keep yourself moving to keep yourself going, and that’s health-wise, physical, spiritual, emotional. So they always [look over] those 4 things. And if there’s one missing, somebody says something “Hey, you’re not doing it.” And then a long time ago, the elders or whoever, a father or a grandfather is well-respected, and they listen to them, and they kind of plan their lives on what they hear, and then they live like that. So, you know, and I think that’s what helped the people a long time ago, because there wasn’t no drinking, you know, now the drugs and everything, you know, the people are ruined, they’ll never come back. It’s the old people taught their children always, talking to the boys, talking to the girls, the elderly ladies talked to the girls, the old grandfathers talked to the grandchildren. They were saying that a long time ago, this old man had set a time, what time he was gonna be talking to his children and this old lady had a grandson, and his son and her daughter-in-law died so she was looking after his grandson, and she always talked to him about stuff and said she told him just “There’s a certain tent over there, there’s an old man that talks to his grandchildren, I want you to go over there, don’t let anybody hear you. And lay down outside that tent and listen to that old man, how he’s teaching his grandkids.” And he said that boy did that because he didn’t have a man in his life. So it’s very important that both sides, the men and the women, and the girls as they grow up, and the boys, because the men always know, to be a man, and the grandmothers, they can talk so much on stuff, but they let the men do that. And the same with women. The old women showed the young women what to be like in life. So that was their teaching, it was really hard to do those things but, my grandmother put me through that, and I had a broken arm, broken collarbone. She told me “There’s nothing wrong with your legs, you’ve got a hurt arm, but that doesn’t mean you can’t do anything.” And every morning she made sure that I took a bath or took a sweat, and run up the hill. She said “Run, just make it a little further, a little further.” You know, running. Just so I can breathe, my lungs can, you know, exercise and when I first
went through the puberty, four days, don’t let anybody see you for four days. No human see your face. So from there, you know, they trained them, not to lay around, not to, you know, do something, keep moving. So, that was their teaching. So this young man was taught to listen to this man that was teaching his grandkids. He picked up some stuff from there, because his grandmother told him, “You know you don’t have a man, you don’t have a grandfather, you don’t have a father to show you stuff, just listening will help you to…” you know, the men’s teaching. So that’s the way they looked at, they didn’t say “Well, I’m a grandmother, I’ll teach my grandson.” You have to put a man in there to help this young man, and that certain time, the time that a boy is growing up, he’d be taught for so long, then “Okay, you’re on your own.” And then from there they’d take care of themselves. So that’s the way it is, because a man-to-man, you can talk about things right to the nitty-gritty, and it’s the same thing with girls, when the ladies can, I think sometimes the ladies, the grandmothers are so hard. But that’s the teaching, it’s up to the individual to take that, to have a life like the way you should. Yeah. So that’s the way the people taught, you know, that’s gone now, and the kids are all going to school and a lot of them just get mixed up with the students down there and get into trouble, but it’s so hard to be a parent now. So hard. But long ago they trained them right through.

9

9.1 Okanagan


Version 3 was recorded on July 27, 2011 at Quilchena, BC.
9.2 Interlinear gloss

(188) q̱sápi ña? c-†̱xʷúlnx iʔ tḵml̊xʷ, ʔú póńkst
long.ago COMP CUST-young.teenage.girl DET woman ten
u̱l ciḻḵ sṯ pṉk u̱l kʷ ṯxʷúlnx.
CONJ five years CONJ 2SG.ABS young.teenage.girl
‘A long time ago when a woman reached puberty, at fifteen, you reach puberty.’

(189) ʔú póńkst u̱l mus, u̱l kʷ ṯxʷúlnx.
ten CONJ four CONJ 2SG.ABS young.teenage.girl
‘Or at fourteen, you reach puberty.’

(190) u̱l iʔ kox-áx-x̱á̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱"
(195) ul kwu cu-s i(n)-stomtímai? “lut
CONJ 1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG 1SG.POSS-grandmother NEG
kw to xwaq-ap-xán, way’i kw xast
2SG.ABS EMPH break-1INCH-leg yes EMPH 1SG.ABS good
a-ks-qícax. xuy-x! kw ul-st-x!”
2SG.POSS-FUT-run go-IMP work-CAUS-IMP
‘And my grandmother told me “Your foot isn’t broken, you can still run
good! Go! Work!”’

(196) ul kwu cu-s “kw xuy mi kw
CONJ 1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG 2SG.ABS go FUT 2SG.ABS
qilt l s-qilt, mi kw kwúl-om t
over.a.hill LOC NOM-over.a.hill FUT 2SG.ABS make-MID OBL
kmin-(n)t-xw i? xult ū yir...
manipulate-DIR-2SG.ERG DET rock EMPH circle
‘And she told me “You go over the top of a hill, and set some rocks into
a circle.’

(197) mi kw tļx tla? lk’ut mat n-thsk”l-mañ-(n)t-xw
FUT 2SG.ABS stand DEM far.away CONJ n-throw-MIN-DIR-2SG.ERG
an- i? xult kli? mat ya’ít i? stim
2SG.POSS DET rock DEM CONJ all DET what
an-xmínk. ʔapná? kw s-kwa’k’wy-m-olt,
2SG.POSS-want now 2SG.ABS NOM-RED-small-m-child
lut a-k(ì)-s-ʔiłwi?,
NEG 2SG.POSS-U.POSS-NOM-husband
a-k(ì)-s-qíʕ-síʔ-áʔ, ya’ít
2SG.POSS-U.POSS-NOM-son-RED all
a-k(ì)-stim.
2SG.POSS-U.POSS-what
‘Then stand far away and throw some rocks in for everything you want.
Now you’re a child, you don’t have a husband or children, or anything.’
(198) ul kw ñ t l?ul kw t
CONJ 2SG.ABS COMP unbeatable 2SG.ABS OBL
tklmilx kw ú [m]y] lut ks-xa-c-s
woman CONJ NEG FUT-difficult-3SG.POSS
a-ks-kw(n)-núm-om l?if.
2SG.POSS-FUT-take-MANAGE.OBL TO MID DEM

‘And you will be an unbeatable woman and it won’t be hard for you to
get those things.’

(199) l?if k? kw ks-?-xìl-a?x if? ya?ít stím
DEM COMP 2SG.ABS FUT-do.like-INCEPT DEM all what
a-ks-?-tsk-ál-oñm-om mó x?á-yaqí.
2SG.POSS-FUT-n-throw-MIN-MID CONJ pile
‘That’s what you do there, throw everything into a pile.’

(200) mus if? a-ks-?-xìl-oñm itf? ul mi
four DEM 2SG.POSS-FUT-do.like-MID DEM CONJ FUT
wi?-st-íx?.
finish-CAUS-2SG.ERG
‘You do that four times and you’ll be finished.’

(201) ul nínwi?m kw ñ t l?ul t t kklmilx kw
CONJ in.a.little.while 2SG.ABS COMP unbeatable OBL woman
mi nínwi?m kw k-l-citx?.
FUT in.a.little.while 2SG.ABS HAVE-house
‘And eventually you’ll be an unbeatable woman, and eventually you’ll
have a house.’

(202) nínwi?m kw k(í)-s-q?si?-a?., kw
in.a.little.while 2SG.ABS HAVE-NOM-son-RED 2SG.ABS
k-l-kwáp, kw k(í)-stam?ált, kw ya?ít stím,
HAVE-horse 2SG.ABS HAVE-cow 2SG.ABS all what
alá? l a-son-?amút-(t).om.
DEM LOC 2SG.POSS-LOC-sitting.place-INST
‘Eventually you’ll have children, you’ll have horses and cows, you’ll
have everything here in your house.’

(203) l?if kw ñ-nt-xì kw ñ t x?umx.
because work-DIR-2SG.ERG 2SG.ABS COMP young.teenage.girl
‘Because you worked for it when you reached that age.’
‘From that you’ll become strong, you’ll work, and be quick at whatever you work at.’

‘And you’ll be an unbeatable woman because you did that.’

‘You’ll always be strong and fast at whatever you work at.’

‘You’ll get used to it, and you’ll be an unbeatable woman, you’ll have children.’

‘That’s what you teach your kids.’

‘And that’s what one does when one reaches puberty.’

9.3 Commentary version 3

When a girl is about 13, 15, the first menstruation a girl has, and the old people said that’s the time you’re powerful. You gotta practice everything that
you do, you gotta run to strengthen your lungs. You always do things fast. Always doing something. And after that year, you’re 14 years old, you’ll get used to doing things properly and fast, and you’re never lazy, you get over that, and so my grandmother, when I was 14 I had a broken collarbone and my grandmother told me “You don’t have a broken leg, you can still run.” So she said you better start doing that, because when I first menstruated she said “That’s the time, you do that.” So I was doing all that, running and sweating and having just a swim in the lake, and doing a lot of things because she told me “This is the time, you do that. And when you become an adult you will know all how to do these things. Do it fast, you’re never lazy to just sit around and not do anything, you keep moving all the time.” And she said there are a lot of things that you could kind of re-fix by what had happened to you. So my grandmother was sending me, she said “You go up in the hills, and you make a big circle of rocks, and” she said “kind of stand far away from it and throw all the little rocks in there, and each rock you throw, you say that’s what’s going to happen to me when I grow up to be a woman, you know like a wife, children. All the things that you’re gonna possess in your life like horses, maybe cattle, chickens, whatever is good for your living. You kind of work at that, and” they said “when you finish, that’s the way your life will be as you grow old, and you’ll be a wife and you’ll be a mother and all those things the old teach young people what to do.” And, you know, running a lot just like the marathons now, you’ve got to do something to have yourself built up and be doing proper for yourself, for you lungs and... so the old people did that, you know; and the boys were different. The boys, if they had a dream about the old way of being the warrior or something like that, that means that you’ve come to a point to start working on yourselves as boys, as men. So they did the same thing, they have the instructions for these boys what to do to get themselves going. So those were the teachings, you know, the things you did and the things that happened, whatever, and if you’re doing things for your, through your lifetime, that’ll be with you to do it and you’ll do it proper when you do it. And I remember my grandmother said “If there was a green grass and you walk through there, and you could see your footsteps, the grass kind of dies, and kind of goes dry, it’s not alive anymore where you’ve walked.” So those kind of things that they were teaching us, elders, they were teaching, you know, things like that about life. So that’s what was happening in those days, you know, but after a while when the young people started going to school, that was kind of gone, you know, they’re in school and you can’t be teaching to them anything else but what the school teaches. So that kind of was out of the way, to just work on people at a certain age. “You will learn to become a woman and, you know, doing things and the things that you do that year will help you all through your life.” So that was the teaching of the elders, you know, teaching to sweat, to take hot baths, and all sorts of things. Yeah, so they had a certain age to do that, well you keep doing stuff but those are the years that they practice because of the certain age.
Version 1 was recorded on January 23, 2011 at Quilchena, BC. See also Lindley and Lyon (2012) for a different version of these stories.

10.1 Okanagan

"A long time ago there was a legend about this lake."

\begin{verbatim}
qsápi kʷukʷ iʔ captíkʷi, axáʔ iʔ tikʷt kʷukʷ. kʔasʔasíl t n̓xaʔx̱ʔítkʷ aʔ ctyaqʷ't l tikʷt, l n̓yxʷtitkw̓s iʔ t siwikiʷ. uʔ itʔ iʔ naqs popúlst, uʔ ixiʔ sxʷuy̓s, tíxolx kl, tac kl nmkmmps iʔ tikʷt. uʔ ixiʔ sxʷuy̓s. uʔ xʷuy̓s t iʔ siwikiʷ kl sonxaʔ-čínoms, kʷaʔ ekʷilt iʔ siwikiʷ. uʔ kicx ixiʔ kl Stump Lake. uʔ ilíʔ nɛxʷaxʷ iʔ siwikiʷ. uʔ qsápi kʷu łaʔc, púʔi kʷu ḡaʔ? c̓q̕əyá̱m kl Kamloops, uʔ lut kʷaʔ kʷu ta cxʷylwís k̓aʔkín, lut kʷu iʔ ʔakł̓n̓xʷylwíston. uʔ ixiʔ kʷu..., wíkw̓antam iʔ tacʔšíʔlaʔ cʔakʷ iʔ c̓c̓əł̓c̓ál. sx̱ʔšilx k̓iʔ ?úmstsalx t Stump Lake, kʷaʔ ixiʔ mat itl̓íʔ, itl̓íʔ moʔ ixiʔ sc̓iʔakʷs iʔ c̓c̓əł̓c̓ál. kʷaʔ qsápi c̓útł̓ax ixiʔ c...n,..., kʷukʷ yaʔyáʔit ixiʔ c̓c̓əł̓c̓ál. uʔ lut ilíʔ iʔ ʔaksíwkl̓ʷ uʔ kíʔ iʔ siwikiʷ iʔ xʷuy̓s aʔ n̓xaʔx̱ʔítkʷ, uʔ k̓k̓l̓íkw̓salx. ixiʔ iʔ sn̓imíʔyuʔs. ixiʔ.
\end{verbatim}

10.2 Interlinear gloss

\begin{verbatim}
(210) ṣqsápi kʷukʷ iʔ captíkʷi, axáʔ iʔ tikʷt kʷukʷ.
long.ago REP DET legend DEM DET lake REP 'A long time ago there was a legend about this lake.'

(211) kʔasʔasíl t n̓x̱aʔx̱ʔítkʷ aʔ c̓tyaqʷ’t k̓RED-two(HUMAN) OBL n̓monster-RED-water DET CUST-fight
l tikʷt, l n̓yxʷt-itkw̓s iʔ t siwikiʷ. LOC lake LOC n̓under-water-3SG.POSS DET LOC water
'They said two big sea monsters were fighting in the lake, way down at the bottom of the lake.'

(212) uʔ itʔ iʔ naqs po-púlст, uʔ ixiʔ CONJ DEM DET one RED-beat.somebody CONJ DEM
s-xʷuy̓s, tíx̱-olx kl, tac kl NOM-go-3SG.POSS get.to.shore-body LOC over LOC
n̓km-kmip-s iʔ tikʷt. n̓RED-end-3SG.POSS DET lake
'And one of the monsters got beat up, and the one that got beat up got out of the water, went down to the other end of the lake.'
\end{verbatim}
‘He went and he pushed the water ahead of him, and the water rolled right further along.’

‘And it ended up in Stump Lake.’

‘And the water poured into that canyon.’

‘And a long time ago when we went to school in Kamloops, because we didn’t travel much, we didn’t have any vehicles...’

‘And we’d see the trees and the posts were coming up.’
(218) sx?kîlx kî? ?ûm-st-sâlx t Stump
why COMP name-CAUS-3PL.ERG OBL Stump
Lake, kʷa? ixfî? mat itîfî?, itîfî? maʔ ixfî?
Lake COMP DEM EPIS DEM DEM CONJ DEM
s-c-iʔakʷ*-s iʔ c-čâlčâl.
NOM-CUST-come.to.the.surface-3SG.POSS DET CUST-trees
‘That’s why they call it Stump Lake, because the stumps because they
get soaked and come up to the surface.’

(219) kʷaʔ ĭqšâpi cût-lax ixfî? c- ... kʷukʷ yaʔyâ’ʔt ixfî?
COMP long.ago say-3PL.ABS DEM CUST ... REP all DEM
c-čâlčâl.
CUST-trees
‘They say long ago there was trees all over there.’

(220) ul lut ilîʔ iʔ ak(į)-siwâkʷ ul kliʔ iʔ siwâkʷ
CONJ NEG DEM EMPH HAVE-water CONJ DEM DET water
iʔ xʷuy-st-s aʔ n-χaʔ- xʔ-ktkw, ul
DET go-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET n-monster-RED-water CONJ
kt-kt-tw(s)-sâlx.
kt-split-middle-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
‘There was no water there until that monster brought some of this water,
and they split from here.’

(221) ixfîʔ iʔ s-mîy-îmy-ay-s. ixfîʔ.
DEM DET NOM-RED-story-RED-3SG.POSS DEM
‘That was her story. That’s all.’

10.3 Free translation, version 1

This is the legend story, this lake. They said two big sea monsters were
fighting in the lake, way down at the bottom of the lake. One of the monsters got
beat up. The one that got beat up got out of the water, went down to the other
end of the lake, and got out of the water. He pushed the water ahead of him, and
the water rolled right further [North]. And it ended up in Stump Lake. The water
poured into that canyon. And a long time ago when we went to school in Kam-
loops, we didn’t travel much, we’d see the trees and the posts were coming up.
That’s why they call it Stump Lake, because they get soaked and come up to the
surface. There was trees all over there and they all got uprooted and came up.
There was no water there, just a canyon with a lot of trees, until that monster
brought some of this water from Nicola Lake to Stump Lake. They took some of
the water up there. That was the story about Stump Lake.
So in the English term is, the legend story of this lake, they said that it was two monsters that were fighting all the time in the bottom, down at the bottom of the lake. They were monsters and they’d fight and they were always fighting, so finally one day they... one got licked, and went down the other end of the lake, and went on the shore, and supposedly took water and pushed it in front of him, of whatever this monster was, it pushed it and [they] said the water rolled, and it rolled until it got to, there’s a lake over there they call Stump Lake. And I guess it was a deep canyon with a lot of, you know, trees. And then after the water got in there, you know, a few years after and those trees were starting to come up. And I can remember when we were going to school in Kamloops, you know, we went and stayed over there for 10 months, but as we’d go by, you could see some stumps coming up. And I guess that’s after they got all soaked and, you know, they’d come up. So that went to show that there was no water in that lake, and the legend story was told that these two monsters were fighting and one got licked and moved up, and that’s why there’s a lake over there. It’s quite a big lake, and they were saying there was no fish in there, but then the government started planting and so now there’s, it’s a great ... I think they said three different fish they planted there, so they... great fishing place now for the tourists. So that’s the lake from here, that went up there.

10.4 Additional commentary, version 1


Version 2 was recorded on January 23, 2011 at Quilchen, BC.

11.1 Okanagan

11.2 Interlinear gloss

(222)  tô n-ˇxa-ˇtík w alá? l ˇ tik w t.
DET n-monster-RED-water DEM LOC lake
‘There’s a monster in this lake.’

(223)  tô tkˇmilx w i? twíxan i? qapqínton-s, talt kˇuk w
DET woman DET long.hair DET hair-3SG.POSS straight REP
  t-x w a?qín.
  t-much-hair
‘There was a woman with long hair, they said she had a lot of hair.’

(224)  tô qˇwˇtay kˇuk w i? qapqínton-s.
EMPH black REP DET hair-3SG.POSS
‘And they say her hair was black.’

(225)  sqilx w  tkˇmilx w.
  native.person OBL woman
‘She was an indian woman.’

(226)  u? i? kˇinxt i? sqilx w  wik-s ixí?.
CONJ DET some DET native.people see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DEM
‘And a few of the people saw her.’

(227)  u? cut kˇuk w i? ˇxa-ˇxˇap “lut
CONJ say REP DET RED-RED-grown NEG
  k-c-ˇxa-ˇxa?-st-ip.
  k-CUST-RED-look.for-CAUS-2PL.ERG
‘And the old people said “Don’t you all go looking for her.’

(228)  wik-nt-p, mi p ˇqol-ˇil t.
see-DIR-2PL.ERG FUT 2PL.ABS sick-RED-t
‘If you see her, you’ll get sick.’

(229)  tô?lik ˇxa-ˇxa?, lut a-ks-ˇxa?-ˇx?-á?m.
very powerful NEG 2SG.POSS-FUT-look.for-RED-MID
‘She’s very powerful, don’t look for her.’
’If someone sees her then tell about it, but don’t think ‘I wish I’d seen her.”

‘You’ll get sick. She’s very powerful.”

‘And here at this lake was a man and a woman.’

‘And these mountains are “Otter Woman” and “Stone”, these are the names of the two.’

‘And this lake, there’s a sea monster.’

‘And it went over towards Kamloops, the lake rolled over to what the whites call “Stump Lake.”’
They say there used to be trees there.

‘And the sea monsters fought here in the water.’

‘And the one that lost ran away from here and went there and and made the lake there; there wasn’t any lake there before.’

‘And a long time ago we went to school.’

‘We’d see the floating stumps, because there must’ve been trees down deep.’

‘And the water poured in there and there were lots of stumps and roots.’
And the whites call it Stump Lake.

‘And there’s also a sea monster over there.’

‘That was her story; the sea monsters made all the land, and the Elders really respected that.’

‘They respected the water because it was from there that they got the fish that they ate.’

‘Everything from the lake, they took and ate.’

‘The lake fed them, and the people respected that.’
It is unclear to me how to analyze this form.

Okanagan

Version 3 was recorded on July 27, 2011 at Quilchena, BC. This version describes the lake monster as being a mermaid.

12.1 Okanagan

Version 3 was recorded on July 27, 2011 at Quilchena, BC. This version describes the lake monster as being a mermaid.

12.2 Interlinear gloss

14 It is unclear to me how to analyze this form.
They say there was a woman that swam.

They'd cross over this lake here in Quilchena.

And they say she had a lot of hair.

And they say she had these wings coming off her shoulders.

And she was right next to her in the shallow water, and then she didn’t see her again, and she [Nancy] got to shore.

And she went back to see her again.

And they say it was a sea monster.
It was the sea monster here in this lake.

'And a long time ago Nancy Michelle saw her, they say she was swimming in the summertime.'

'She [Nancy] was looking and saw the woman float up, and she was half woman and half fish.'

'And this woman [Nancy], and it wasn’t long before she got sick, and she got arthritis, and she died.'

'And they said that whoever saw her, that would happen to them.'

'And they said there’s a woman monster here in this lake. That’s all.'
12.3 Additional commentary, version 3

He only had one son, and the boy was very lonely, you know, nobody to play with in the summertimes, and he’d be walking along the lake, so he seen this log laying there, so he dug it up and he pushed it. Pretty soon it got in the water, so he got on there and he started paddling, and it took him right across the lake. When he got over there.... and while he was going, he said he looked down, and there was a woman swimming under him. [A woman who brushed her hair, and they say she had long hair.] Said she had long hair, and she was swimming under him. You know, he said he got kind of frightened, but it was a woman. And that was the monster, and there was one lady that told the story, she seen it, it was in the summertime too. And she said it was hot, so she went out in the lake and she was just sitting in the lake getting cooled off, and she said they heard the ripple, so she looked up, and they said there’s a woman that came out quite a ways.... she said she was a human right to the waist, and from the waist down, looked like a fish. And she said just in the blink of her eye, and it just went away. And that lady after that she was just a young girl, and she got arthritis, and people were telling her because she’d seen that that she, you know, she developed arthritis and she died of, you know, just being really sick and all broken up and... yeah, so that’s the story of this lake, there’s a woman monster in the lake.

13 Appendix

13.1 Transcription, interlinear glossing, and translation methodology

All Okanagan material was 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, -l@x varies with -@lx 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 ː is iterated. 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 s@n- when it marks a location, occurring in tandem with instrumental -ton, as a LOC ‘locational’ prefix, rather than further analyzing it as a possible sequence of nominalizer s- plus derivational prefix n-. 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 t or n. 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 analyze the se-
mantics of reduplication patterns, for example diminutivity or plurality, but simply use RED for ‘reduplication’. Finally, I do not always parse lexical suffixes, except when I feel that this increases the transparency between the translation and the Okanagan.

Square brackets within the Okanagan transcription of an interlinear gloss indicate a false start or a morpheme or sound which I was not able to analyze. Square brackets within the translation line of an interlinear gloss indicate important contextually relevant material which is not found in the original Okanagan. Square brackets within a free translation or additional commentary section indicate additional information provided by Lottie which is not part of the original recording.

Free translations and additional commentary sections are transcribed verbatim from Lottie’s recording. I used punctuation loosely within these sections. Commas serve to indicate a pause in speech, and not necessarily a clausal boundary. The goal here was for the English transcription to reflect as closely as possible her original speech.

Interlinear 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, Lottie gave a free English translation. After making a rough transcription, I met with Lottie and reviewed excerpts I found difficult to analyze. I also had her translate each Okanagan sentence into English. Sarah also assisted with this task. I tried to adhere to Lottie’s and Sarah’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 transcription and 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

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<td>a(n)-</td>
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<td>-s</td>
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<td>-tt</td>
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13.2.2 Transitive paradigms

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<td>-slx</td>
<td>⊕ ... -lx</td>
<td>-(i)slx</td>
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13.3 Abbreviations

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References


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