

12 more Upper Nicola Okanagan narratives*

Lottie Lindley
Upper Nicola Indian Band

John Lyon
University of British Columbia

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. Nsyílxcən, Colville-Okanagan, and Nqílxcən), 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

q̣sápi ʔa? ctʔapənwíx^w k^wuk^w i? smsáma? i? naʔʔ sqílxc^w, ʔa? i? kl
kʔʔalq^w. uʔ iklíʔ cylyalt i? s yaʔt i? sqəlqəltmíx^w, k^wuk^w k^wíntəməlx i? t gov-
ernment. uʔ ixiʔ stʔapənwíx^wəlx i? kl smsáma? uʔ kim ti kmax smaʔmʔím uʔ
pətpətwinax^w uʔ xəxəxəxəp, uʔ i? sq^wsíʔaʔsəlx. uʔ k^wuk^w ixiʔ k^wlíwltəlx i? l

* Lottie would like to thank her aunt Nellie Guitterez, 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.

cítx^wsəlx uʔ ti nyʔip ckaʔitət iʔ smsámaʔ aʔ ctʔapəntwíx^w. uʔ ixíʔ scylyáaltsəlx tɪ kʔʔalq^w. uʔ itlíʔ cx^wúyəlx uʔ ktətíwíwsəlx uʔ ntək^wtík^wləx l nʔaysənúlaʔx^w. uʔ ilíʔ ntək^wtík^wləx uʔ ixíʔ itlíʔ scx^wúyəsəlx nyʔip uʔ cx^wúyləx. uʔ cyáʔpəlx l Merritt l Godie, uʔ iʔ Sʔúlus mat ilíʔ t kʔʔwíłəx təx^w mat. uʔ ixíʔ ilíʔ sk^wul ... k^wlk^wúłtx^wəmsəlx mat x^wəlx^wul ... x^wəlx^wúłtx^wəməlx ... k^wlk^wúłtx^wəməlx uʔ ilíʔ k^wlíwtləx. uʔ ixíʔ ʔapnáʔ iʔ sqilx^w l Shulus uʔ l Godie Reserve, yaʔt taʔkín, ixíʔ iʔ sən^wúłtənsəlx, tɪ kʔʔalq^w kiʔ scx^wúyəlx. uʔ aláʔ cyáʔpəlx uʔ lut pənʔkín nix^w spláksəlx. k^waʔ cmystísəlx way ʔax^wt iʔ sqəlqəłtmíx^w iʔ sənqslx^wsəlx. ʔax^wt kl kʔʔalq^w uʔ cx^wúyləx aláʔ, uʔ itlíʔ Maggie Moore t tkłmilx^w. cnxiyls iʔ ylyltmix, uʔ kciex aláʔ uʔ ... tawstłłwiʔ ... iʔ sxlłwiʔs, mat ilíʔ l təmx^wúlaʔx^ws. uʔ ilíʔ way ʔəʔəʔpwlx mat ixíʔ iʔ sqəłtmíx^w. uʔ kim Maggie ti sk^wk^wíyməłt pútiʔ uʔ k^wuʔls uʔ ʔlál iʔ ʔəʔəʔá. uʔ cniʔc ilíʔ mut uʔ taʔlíʔ x^waʔsqláw, nyʔip k^wuls iʔ stmʔalt, iʔ nkʔcaʔsqáxaʔ. uʔ nyʔip k^wúłəm k^wúłəm, uʔ pintk ʔaksqłáw. uʔ kaʔit kíwəlx, lut nix^w qłnús ʔawsnmúłəms iʔ tɪ cəcwíxaʔ, uʔ ksk^wúłəms t kslips. uʔ ixíʔ q^wəłq^wflsts mat ixíʔ stəłwíłts naʔʔ Rosie naʔʔ kíkkaʔs Rosie uʔ ixíʔ x^wíctəm August, cúntəm "k^wintx^w August mi knxítəms." uʔ k^wənús August uʔ cnmúłxtəm, cknxítəm. uʔ cúntəm k^wuk^w iʔ t q^wʔaylqs "way ixíʔ ksʔawskúlaʔx" uʔ lut sxʔkínaʔs. lut ʔminks ksx^wuys August kl skul. uʔ q^wəñkstmíst August. lut ta cmystis iʔ sqəyám uʔ iʔ spread. uʔ kliʔ ʔəʔəʔpwlx uʔ ʔlál iʔ stəmtímaʔs uʔ síws nyʔip uʔ csəlmís iʔ síws nyʔip uʔ kaws iʔ stmʔalts, kaws iʔ sqláws, kaws yaʔt stím uʔ q^wəñkstmíst sic mat cútłəx tʔapncút. kəm mat t swit stʔapám náxəmʔ ʔlál. uʔ kʔcsap ixíʔ sqláw, lut stím ilíʔ, uʔ ʔapnáʔ ixíʔ Margaret iʔ sq^wsiʔs ti n ilíʔ iʔ mut. uʔ ixíʔ aʔ ck^wuls ixíʔ iʔ citx^w, ixíʔ Maggie Moore iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^ws. way.

1.2 Interlinear gloss

- (1) q̄sápi ʔaʔ c-tʔap-nwíx^w k^wuk^w iʔ sm-sámaʔ
 long.ago COMP CUST-shoot-RECIP EVID DET RED-white.person
 iʔ naʔʔ sqilx^w, ʔaʔ¹ iʔ kl kʔʔalq^w.
 DET CONJ native.person COMP DET LOC across.the.border
 ‘A long time ago the whites and indians were shooting each other over
 across the line.’

¹ The placement of the complementizer here is somewhat unexpected. It may actually be a shortened version of the proximate locative (*a*)*laʔ*, but there is clearly some frication on the lateral so I transcribe the form as a complementizer.

- (2) uʔ iklíʔ c-yl-yalt [iʔ s] yaʔt iʔ s-qəl-qəltmíx^w,
 CONJ DEM CUST-RED-run.away DET s- all DET NOM-RED-man
 k^wuk^w k^wín-(n)t-əm-əlx iʔ t government.
 EVID take-DIR-PASS-3PL.ABS DET OBL government
 ‘And all the men were running away, supposedly the government was taking them.’
- (3) uʔ ixíʔ s-tʔap-nwíx^w-əlx iʔ kɪ
 CONJ DEM NOM-shoot-RECIP-3PL.ABS DET LOC
 sm-sámaʔ uʔ kím tí kmax s-maʔ-mʔím
 RED-white.person CONJ except EMPH only NOM-RED-woman
 uʔ pət-pə(p)twínax^w uʔ ʔəʔ-əʔ-ʔəʔáʔ, uʔ iʔ
 CONJ RED-old.woman CONJ RED-RED-grown CONJ DET
 s-q^wsíʔ-aʔ-səlx.
 NOM-son-RED-3PL.POSS
 ‘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.’
- (4) uʔ k^wuk^w ixíʔ k^wlíwt-ləx iʔ l cítx^w-səlx uʔ
 CONJ EVID DEM live-3PL.ABS DET LOC house-3PL.POSS CONJ
 tí nyʔíp c-kaʔít-ət iʔ sm-sámaʔ
 EMPH always CUST-approach-RED DET RED-white.person
 aʔ c-tʔap-nwíx^w.
 DET CUST-shoot-RECIP
 ‘And they supposedly lived in their houses and the whites were always getting closer, and they were shooting each other.’
- (5) uʔ ixíʔ s-c-yl-yált-səlx tɪ
 CONJ DEM NOM-CUST-RED-run.away-3PL.POSS LOC
 kʔʔalq^w.
 across.the.border
 ‘And they ran from over the border.’
- (6) uʔ itlíʔ c-x^wúy-əlx uʔ kʔ-ət-íw̄s-əlx
 CONJ DEM CISL-go-3PL.ABS CONJ cut.over-RED-middle-3PL.ABS
 uʔ n-tək^w]-tík^w]-ləx² l nʔaysənúlaʔx^w.
 CONJ n-RED-come.down-3PL.ABS LOC Ashnola
 ‘And they came so far, cut over the hill and they came down over at Ashnola.’

- (7) uʔ ilíʔ n-tək^[w]-tík^[w]-ləx uʔ ixíʔ itlíʔ
 CONJ DEM n-RED-come.down-3PL.ABS CONJ DEM DEM
 s-c-x^wúy-səlx nyíip uʔ c-x^wúy-ləx.
 NOM-CISL-go-3PL.ABS always CONJ CISL-go-3PL.ABS
 ‘And they traveled there and came from there.’
- (8) uʔ c-yáʔp-əlx l Merritt l Godie, uʔ
 CONJ CUST-arrive(PL)-3PL.ABS LOC Merritt LOC Godie CONJ
 iʔ s-ʔúlus mat ilíʔ t kʔx^wfl-(l)əx təx^w mat.
 DET NOM-gather EPIS DEM OBL many-3PL.ABS EVID EPIS
 ‘And they arrived just up above Merritt and at Godie reserve, and at Shulus. There must have been a lot of them.’
- (9) uʔ ixíʔ ilíʔ s-k^wúl ... k^wl-k^wúl-ʔx^w-əm-səlx
 CONJ DEM DEM NOM-make ... RED-make-house-MID-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 mat x^wəl-x^wúl ... x^wəl-x^wúl-ʔx^w-əm-əlx ...
 EPIS RED-tepee ... RED-tepee-house-MID-3PL.ABS ...
 k^wl-k^wúl-ʔx^w-əm-əlx uʔ ilíʔ k^wlíwt-ləx.
 RED-make-house-MID-3PL.ABS CONJ DEM live-3PL.ABS
 ‘They made their homes there, made their tepees, and they lived there.’
- (10) uʔ ixíʔ ʔapnáʔ iʔ sqilx^w l Shulus³ uʔ
 CONJ DEM now DET native.people LOC Shulus CONJ
 l Godie Reserve, yaʔt taʔkín, ixíʔ iʔ
 LOC Godie Reserve all everywhere DEM DET
 sən-k^wúl-tən-səlx, t l kʔʔalq^w kiʔ
 LOC-make-INSTR-3PL.POSS LOC across.the.border COMP
 s-c-x^wúy-əlx.
 NOM-CISL-go-3PL.ABS
 ‘And the people there now, at Shulus and Godie Reserves, they built all over and used the land, and came from over the border.’
- (11) uʔ aláʔ c-yáʔp-əlx uʔ lut pənʔkín nix^w
 CONJ DEM CUST-arrive(PL)-3PL.ABS CONJ NEG where again
 s-ʔlák-səlx.
 NOM-return-3PL.POSS
 ‘Once they got here they never went back again.’

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) k^waʔ c-my-st-ísəlx way^ʔ ʔax^wt iʔ
 because CUST-know-CAUS-3PL.ERG already many.dead DET
 s-qəl-qəltmíx^w iʔ s-nqs-ílx^w-səlx.
 NOM-RED-man DET NOM-one-person-3PL.POSS
 ‘Because they knew that their men-relatives must have gotten killed.’
- (13) ʔax^wt kl kʔʔalq^w uʔ c-x^wúy-ləx aláʔ,
 many.dead LOC across.the.border CONJ CISL-go-3PL.ABS DEM
 uʔ itlíʔ Maggie Moore t tkʔmilx^w.
 CONJ DEM Maggie Moore OBL woman
 ‘They died over the border, and came here, and that’s where Maggie Moore came from.’
- (14) c-nxíyʔls iʔ yl-yít-mix, uʔ
 CUST-mix.with.people DET RED-run.away-people CONJ
 c-kic-x aláʔ uʔ ... taws-ʔ-ʔílwíʔ ... iʔ
 CUST-arrive(SG)-INTR DEM CONJ ... obtain-ʔ-husband ... DET
 s-ʔílwíʔ-s, mat ílíʔ l təmx^wúlaʔx^w-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) uʔ ílíʔ way^ʔ ʔəʔ-əʔ-p-wílx mat íxíʔ iʔ
 CONJ DEM already old-RED-INCH-DEV EPIS DEM DET
 sqəltmíx^w.
 man
 ‘And he was an older man.’
- (16) uʔ kim Maggie tí s-k^w-k^wíy-m-əlt pútiʔ uʔ
 CONJ except Maggie EMPH NOM-RED-small-m-child still CONJ
 k^wur^ʔ-s uʔ ʔlal iʔ ʔəʔ-ʔʔáp.
 work-(DIR)-3SG.ERG CONJ die DET RED-grown
 ‘And Maggie was young yet, and she looked after him until he died.’
- (17) uʔ cniʔc ílíʔ mut uʔ taʔlíʔ x^waʔ-sqláw, nyʔíp
 CONJ 3SG.INDEP DEM live CONJ very much-money always
 k^wur^ʔ-s iʔ stmʔalt, iʔ (sə)nkícaʔsqáʔaʔ.
 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.’

- (18) uʔ nyʔi:p kʷúl-əm kʷúl-əm, uʔ pintk ʔak(ʔ)-sqláw.
 CONJ always work-MID work-MID CONJ always HAVE-money
 ‘And she was always working, working, and had lots of money.’
- (19) uʔ kaʔit kʷ-əlx, lut nixʷ
 CONJ closer.to old-body NEG again
 qʔ-nú-s [ks-n-] ...
 able.to.do-MANAGE.TO-(DIR)-3SG.ERG FUT-n ...
 ʔaws-n-múl-əm-s iʔ tl cə-cwíxaʔ,
 go-n-dip.fluid-MID-3SG.POSS DET loc RED-creek
 uʔ ks-kʷúl-əm-s t
 CONJ FUT-make-MID-3SG.POSS OBL
 k(ʔ)-slíp-s.
 U.POSS-firewood-3SG.POSS
 ‘Then she got older and she couldn’t pack water from the creek, or pack wood.’
- (20) uʔ ixíʔ qʷəl-qʷíl-st-s mat ixíʔ slətʷílt-s
 CONJ DEM RED-speak-CAUS-3SG.ERG EPIS DEM niece-3SG.POSS
 [kʷaʔʔ] naʔʔ Rosie naʔʔ ʔkíkxaʔ-s
 CONJ Rosie CONJ older.sister-3SG.POSS
 Rosie uʔ ixíʔ xʷíc-ʔt-əm August,
 Rosie CONJ DEM give-APPL-PASS August
 cún-(n)t-əm “kʷin-(n)t-xʷ August mi
 say-DIR-PASS take-DIR-2SG.ERG August FUT
 kn-xít-əm-s.”
 help-BEN-2SG.ABS-3SG.ERG
 ‘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.”’
- (21) uʔ kʷə(n)-nú-s August uʔ
 CONJ take-MANAGE.TO-(DIR)-3SG.ERG August CONJ
 c-n-múl-xt-əm, c-kn-xít-əm.
 CUST-n-dip.fluid-BEN-PASS CUST-help-BEN-PASS
 ‘And she took August, and he packed water, he packed wood.’

- (22) uʃ cún-(n)t-əm k^wuk^w iʔ t q^wʔay-lqs “way¹ ixíʔ
 CONJ say-DIR-PASS EVID DET OBL black-robe yes DEM
 ks-ʔaws-(s)kúl-aʔx” uʃ lut sxʔ(k)ínaʔ-s.
 FUT-go-school-INCEPT CONJ NEG what.to.do-3SG.POSS
 ‘And the priest told her “He has to go to school”, but she didn’t want
 him to go.’
- (23) lut ʃmink-s ks-x^wuy-s August kl skul. uʃ
 NEG want-3SG.POSS FUT-go-3SG.POSS August LOC school CONJ
 q^wə́n-kst-míst August.
 pitiful-hand-INTR.REFLEX August
 ‘She didn’t want August to go to school, and August felt bad.’
- (24) lut ʔa c-my-st-is iʔ s-qə́y-ám
 NEG EMPH CUST-know-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET NOM-write-MID
 uʃ iʔ s-read.
 CONJ DET NOM-read
 ‘He didn’t know how to write or read.’
- (25) uʃ kliʔ ʃə́x-ə́x-p-wílx uʃ ʃlal iʔ
 CONJ DEM old-RED-INCH-DEV CONJ die DET
 stəmtímaʔ-s uʃ síw-s
 grandmother-3SG.POSS CONJ drink-(DIR)-3SG.ERG
 nyíʔip uʃ c-sə́l-mí-s iʔ
 always CONJ CUST-lose-MIN-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG DET
 ‘And his grandmother got old and died, and he drank all the time and
 lost the....’
- (26) síw-s nyíʔip uʃ kaw-s
 drink-(DIR)-3SG.ERG always CONJ gone-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG
 iʔ stmʔalt-s, kaw-s iʔ
 DET cattle-3SG.POSS gone-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG DET
 sqław-s, kaw-s yaʔt stím uʃ
 money-3SG.POSS gone-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG all what CONJ
 q^wə́n-kst-míst sic mat cútləx
 pitiful-hand-INTR.REFLEX before EPIS say-3PL.ABS
 tʔap-ncút.
 shoot-REFLEX
 ‘He drank all the time and lost his cattle, lost his money, lost everything
 and felt bad until, they say, he shot himself.’

- (27) kəm mat t swit s-tʰap-ám náxəmʔ ʔlál.
 CONJ EPIS OBL who NOM-shoot-MID CONJ die
 ‘Or maybe somebody shot him, but in any case, he died.’
- (28) uʔ kʰcsap ixíʔ sqław, lut stím ilíʔ, uʔ ʔapnáʔ ixíʔ
 CONJ past DEM money NEG what DEM CONJ now DEM
 Margaret iʔ sqʷsiʔ-s tí [n] ilíʔ iʔ mut.
 Margaret DET son-3SG.POSS EMPH DEM DET live
 ‘They spent all the money, nothing was left there, Margaret’s son is the one living there now.’
- (29) uʔ ixíʔ aʔ c-kʷul-s ixíʔ iʔ citxʷ,
 CONJ DEM DET CUST-make-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG DEM DET house
 ixíʔ Maggie Moore iʔ təmxʷúlaʔxʷ-s. way.
 DEM Maggie Moore DET land-3SG.POSS that’s.all
 ‘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

qsápi k^wuk^w i? sqilx^w ʔa? ctyaq^wt. tyaq^wts i? syilx, uʔ i? syx^wápməx, uʔ k^wuk^w ixi? ʔa? ckilənwíx^wəlx, məʔ qíx^wsəlx məʔ qíx^wəntəməlx. uʔ x^wúyəlx k^wuk^w uʔ kl kʔalq^w, kíkəmə ksyáʔpsəlx kl kʔalq^w, kaʔkín mat kl kaʔítətləx klí?. uʔ k^wuk^w ixi? sx^wúyʔsəlx kʔx^wil, kʔx^wil k^wuk^w i? sx^wúyʔsəlx uʔ l təʔtíʔx l wist uʔ ilí? k^wuk^w uʔ yaʔyáʔt səʔsáʔtləx. səʔsáʔtləx uʔ taʔt kl q^wəmí^wt ki^w mat ki? yaʔt láx^wtləx. uʔ kim k^wuk^w ti knaqs t ʔəxʔxáʔp actkífst, uʔ k^wuk^w ixi?, i? t tkíkstəns ka? cx^wuy. nyʔip wtəntís i? tkíkstəns uʔ cmystís k^wuk^w x^wuy uʔ mynús, lut, way ti aklá? xərxárt, uʔ nwíwpəm. uʔ ixi? ilí? sʔlaps. uʔ mat t swit təx^w ki? kaʔkícəntəm, uʔ cúntəm k^wuk^w “ʔax^wt yaʔyáʔt asəŋqsílx^w, kla? səʔsáʔtləx.” uʔ ixi? ʔa? cksaʔtəmnwíx^w i? syilx naʔʔ syx^wápməx. uʔ səʔsáʔt i? sləxʔláxʔsəlx uʔ kmax a? cknəmqín a? cx^wəlx^wált. uʔ ixi? itlí? k^wuk^w pəlkstísəlx, uʔ csaʔp i? sənqsílx^ws uʔ ixi? itlí? k^wísəlx, x^wúysəlx, uʔ cx^wəlx^wált cniʔc kim ʔax^wt i? k^wixʔt. uʔ ixi? qsápi k^wuk^w ʔa? ckli? k^wu cx^wuy i? kl Keremeos, x^wúystəm Matilda. Matilda Chillhitzia x^wúystəm. uʔ ixi? k^wu cmayxítəm. k^wu cmayxítəm k^wu cx^wuy, uʔ i? k^wu cus “axá? alá? cmystik^w, axá? alá? nqaʔmwsút.” ilí? k^wuk^w ka? cwík^wəmist i? syilx, sʔaʔʔaʔstím i? t syx^wápməx kspúlstəm uʔ ilí? nqaʔmwsút ʔa? cnsqíws i? l xʔut. uʔ lut kaʔkíciʔsəlx uʔ lut púlstsəlx. ixi? k^wu mayxíts Matilda ʔa? ctytyaq^wt i? sqilx^w qsápi. uʔ k^wuk^w itlí? cx^wuy uʔ cx^wuy məʔ ala? tcyáʔpəlx l zux^wt kəmə mat kəʔá? kl shulus. uʔ sylyáʔtləx. uʔ nyʔip ilí? ʔxíləməlx ití? nyʔip tyáq^wtləx. uʔ yrmíntəməlx i? t syilx, uʔ yrmíntəməlx uʔ kl Stump Lake. uʔ itlí? i? səmúlaʔx^w ʔapná?. úʔi? náxəmə ilí? ki? ʔlap, uʔ ckla? mnímʔtət. k^wlnúntəm i? təmx^wúlaʔx^w, k^wanúntəm. uʔ ixi? ʔapná? i? təmx^wúlaʔx^wtət, ʔx^wúpəntəm i? t syx^wápməx. ʔx^wəntísəlx mat i? x^wʔit i? syx^wápməx, uʔ ʔx^wúpsəlx ixi? i? təmx^wúlaʔx^w. scʔxíʔx ki? alá? i? k^wu k^wliwt, k^wu syilx. k^wa? lut alá? t ʔaksyilx, kla? syx^wápməx kl Kamloops, uʔ tac kl Merritt, nuk^wtmíx^w. kim axá? alá? k^wu k^wəkwíyuma? t syilx, t sqilx^w, uʔ alá? k^wu k^wliwt. k^wa? ʔx^wúpəntəm ixi? ʔa? ctyaq^wt i? sənxaʔcínəmtət i? xəʔxʔítət, ʔa? ctyáq^wtləx uʔ ixi? ʔx^wúpsəlx. uʔ scʔxíʔx ki? alá? i? k^wu k^wliwt, i? k^wu sqilx^w. uʔ kim i? syx^wápməx yaʔyáʔt t x^wúyəlx mat. uʔ ixi? yaʔt k^wu maytím Matilda taʔkín ka? cpúləlx, taʔkín ka? cwkwík^wmísləx, ʔa? ctytyáq^wtləx. uʔ ʔa? cx^wəlx^wált Herbie, k^wu cus “ixí? kskʔʔíysəntəm i? sk^wstúlaʔx^w, k^wa? yaʔxíʔ sk^wstúlaʔx^w yaʔyáʔt syx^wápməx, syx^wápməx i? sk^wstúlaʔx^ws.” uʔ t Herbie cut “ixí? ksk^wísəntəm t nq^wəlx^wíltəntət.”

uł cun “lut, ci?sk^w ilí? way¹ tí i? sc?xíłx, way¹ ixí? słx^wúptət. uł ixí? nínwí? s
 1 mypnús swit l syx^wpmxúla?x^ws.” “nínwí? s mi ... itlí? mi łx^wúpəntəm. kim
 kł?írysənt uł cmay səlmíntəm.” uł k^wu cus “way¹ mayłtín stím i? k^wu mayxíts
 iswawása?” uł k^wu cus “way¹ xast, lut kskł?írysəntəm.” uł yaŷyáŷt ixí? Sharon
 x̄minks k^wu ksíwəntəm, yaŷt i? t sk^wsk^wstúla?x^w, mi nínwí? s ixí? cúłtəm ła?
 cmystim. ixí? i? stq^wəlípłá? s, ixí? ki? alá? i? k^wu sqilx^w i? k^wu k^wək^wíyna? t i?
 t sqilx^w, t syilx. ixí? i? słx^wups i? łəxəłłxáp i? sənxa?cínəmtət ła? ctyáq^wtləx,
 ki? alá? k^wu k^wliwt. uł cak^w ta?lí? cxa?stím, cak^w ta?lí? cxsíkstəmtəm Ʒant
 alá? i? sšástət Ʒapná?. l nk^wírk^w ki? k^wu k^wliwt, xast i? spu?ústət, xast i? təmx^w-
 úla?x^w. cak^w lut i? łəxəłłxápət, cak^w ixí? səlmíntəm, cak^w alá? i? smsáma?
 ki? k^wliwt Ʒapná?. ixí? i? smýmays axá? i? təmx^wúla?x^wtət ki? alá? k^wu k^wliwt.
 way.

2.2 Interlinear gloss

- (30) q̄sápi k^wuk^w i? sqilx^w ła? c-tyaq^wt.
 long.ago EVID DET native.people COMP CUST-fight
 ‘Long ago, they say the people were fighting.’
- (31) tyaq^wt-s i? syilx, uł
 fight-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET Okanagan.people CONJ
 i? syx^wáp-məx, uł k^wuk^w ixí? ła?
 DET Shuswap-people CONJ EVID DEM COMP
 c-kil-nwíx^w-əlx, məł qíx^w-səlx
 CUST-chase-RECIP-3PL.ABS CONJ drive-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 məł qíx^w-nt-əm-əlx.
 CONJ drive-DIR-PASS-3PL.ABS
 ‘The Okanagans fought the Shuswaps, and they say they chased one
 another, back and forth.’
- (32) uł x^wúy-əlx k^wuk^w uł kl kł?alq^w, kíkəm
 CONJ go-3PL.ABS REP CONJ LOC across.the.border almost
 ks-yáŷp-səlx kl kł?alq^w, ka?kín mat
 FUT-arrive(PL)-3PL.POSS LOC across.the.border where EPIS
 kl ka?ít-ət-ləx kli?
 LOC approach-RED-3SG.ABS DEM
 ‘And they went to the border, they almost got to the border, wherever
 they got close to there.’

- (33) uʃ kʷukʷ ixíʔ s-xʷúyʔ-səlx kʰxʷil, kʰxʷil kʷukʷ
 CONJ REP DEM NOM-go(PL)-3PL.POSS many many REP
 iʔ s-xʷúyʔ-səlx uʃ l təʃ-tíʃx l wist
 DET NOM-go(PL)-3PL.POSS CONJ LOC RED-stand LOC high
 uʃ ilíʔ kʷukʷ uʃ yaʕyáʕt səʕ-sáʕt-ləx.
 CONJ DEM REP CONJ all RED-fall-3PL.ABS
 ‘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.’
- (34) səʕ-sáʕt-ləx uʃ taʃt kʰl qʷəmíʷwt kiʷ mat kiʔ
 RED-fall-3PL.ABS CONJ straight LOC mountain yes EPIS COMP
 yaʕt ʕáxʷt-ləx.
 all many.die-3PL.ABS
 ‘They fell off straight off the top and they must’ve all died.’
- (35) uʃ kim kʷukʷ tí knaqs t ʕəʕ-ʕʕáʔ
 CONJ except REP EMPH one(HUMAN) OBL RED-grown
 ac-tk-íkst, uʃ kʷukʷ ixíʔ, iʔ t
 STAT-pole-hand CONJ REP DEM DET OBL
 tk-íks(t)-tən-s kaʔ c-xʷuy.
 pole-hand-INSTR-3SG.POSS COMP CISEL-go
 ‘And there was one old man with a cane, and they say that it was him,
 with a cane, that came.’
- (36) nyʕip wt-nt-ís iʔ tk-íks(t)-tən-s
 always use-DIR-3SG.ERG DET pole-hand-INSTR-3SG.POSS
 uʃ c-my-st-is kʷukʷ xʷuy uʃ
 CONJ CUST-know-CAUS-3SG.ERG REP go CONJ
 my-nú-s, lut, wayʔ tí akláʔ
 know-MANAGE.TO-(DIR)-3SG.ERG NEG yes EMPH DEM
 xəʕ-xáʕt, uʃ n-wí-wp-əm.
 RED-steep CONJ n-back.up-RED-MID
 ‘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.’
- (37) uʃ ixíʔ (i)líʔ s-ʕlap-s.
 CONJ DEM DEM NOM-stop-3SG.POSS
 ‘And he stopped there.’

- (38) uʔ mat t swit təx^w kiʔ kaʔkíc-nt-əm,
 CONJ EPIS OBL who EVID COMP find-DIR-PASS
 uʔ cú(n)-t-əm k^wuk^w “ʔax^wt yaʔyáʔt
 CONJ say-DIR-PASS REP many.die all
 a(n)-s-nqs-ílx^w, k^llaʔ səʔ-sáʔt-ləx.”
 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) uʔ ixíʔ ʔaʔ c-ks-aʔt-m(n)-nwíx^w iʔ
 CONJ DEM COMP CUST-bad-arm-MIN-RECIP DET
 syilx naʔʔ syx^wáp-məx.
 Okanagan.people CONJ Shuswap-people
 ‘And the Okanagans and Shuswaps were pushing and threatening one
 another.’
- (40) uʔ səʔ-sáʔt iʔ s-ləʔ-ʔáʔt-səlx uʔ kmax aʔ
 CONJ RED-fall DET NOM-RED-friend-3PL.POSS CONJ only DET
 c-knəmqín aʔ c-x^wəl-x^wált.
 STAT-blind DET STAT-RED-alive
 ‘And all their friends fell off, and there was just one blind man left
 alive.’
- (41) uʔ ixíʔ itlíʔ k^wuk^w ʔəlk-st-ísəlx, uʔ ʔsap
 CONJ DEM DEM REP return-CAUS-3PL.ERG CONJ gone
 iʔ s-nqs-ílx^w-s uʔ ixíʔ itlíʔ
 DET NOM-one-person-3SG.POSS CONJ DEM DEM
 k^wí(n)-səlx, x^wúy-səlx, uʔ
 take-(DIR)-3PL.ERG go-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG CONJ
 c-x^wəl-x^wált cniʔc kím ʔax^wt iʔ
 STAT-RED-alive 3SG.INDEP except many.die DET
 k^wiʔt.
 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.’

(42) uʔ ixíʔ q̣sápi kʷukʷ ʔaʔ c-kliʔ kʷu c-xʷuy
 CONJ DEM long.ago REP COMP CUST-DEM 1PL.ABS CISL-go
 iʔ kḷ Keremeos, xʷúy-st-əm Matilda.
 DET LOC Keremeos go-CAUS-1PL.ERG Matilda
 ‘And that’s what happened long ago over there; we came to Keremeos,
 we drove Matilda there.’

(43) Matilda Chillhitzia xʷúy-st-əm. uʔ ixíʔ kʷu
 Matilda Chillhitzia go-CAUS-1PL.ERG CONJ DEM 1PL.ABS
 c-ṃay-xít-əm. kʷu c-ṃay-xít-əm kʷu
 CUST-tell-BEN-3.ERG 1PL.ABS CUST-tell-BEN-3.ERG 1PL.ABS
 c-xʷuy, uʔ iʔ kʷu cu-s
 CISL-go CONJ DET 1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG
 “axáʔ aláʔ c-my-st-ikʷ,⁴ axáʔ aláʔ
 DEM DEM CUST-know-CAUS-IMP DEM DEM
 n-qaʔm-ẉs-cút.”
 n-stuck-middle-REFLEX

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

(44) ilíʔ kʷukʷ kaʔ c-wíkʷ-mist iʔ
 DEM REP COMP CUST-hide-INTR.REFLEX DET
 syilx, s-ʔaʔ-ʔaʔ-st-ím iʔ
 Okanagan.people NOM-RED-look.for-CAUS-PASS DET
 t syxʷáp-məx ks-púl-st-əm uʔ ilíʔ
 OBL Shuswap-people FUT-kill-CAUS-PASS CONJ DEM
 n-qaʔm-ẉs-cút ʔaʔ c-n-sq̣-iẉs
 n-stuck-middle-REFLEX COMP CUST-n-split-middle
 iʔ ḷ xʔut.
 DET LOC rock

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

(45) uʔ lut kaʔkíc-isəlx uʔ lut púl-st-səlx.
 CONJ NEG find-(DIR)-3PL.ERG CONJ NEG kill-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 ‘And they didn’t find them, and they didn’t kill them.’

⁴ The imperative suffix *-ikʷ* in *c-my-st-ikʷ* may actually be a 2nd singular ergative subject *-ixʷ*, 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. “*axáʔ aláʔ ha c-my-st-ixʷ*?” ‘Do you know about this here?’ which makes sense given the discourse context. This is speculative however.

- (46) ixíʔ k^wu máy-xít-s Matilda ʔaʔ c-ty-tyaq^wt
 DEM 1SG.ABS tell-BEN-3SG.ERG Matilda COMP CUST-RED-fight
 iʔ sqilx^w q̣sápi.
 DET native.people long.ago
 ‘Matilda told me that story about the people fighting long ago.’
- (47) uʔ k^wuk^w itlíʔ c-x^wuy uʔ c-x^wuy məʔ alaʔ
 CONJ REP DEM CISL-go CONJ CISL-go CONJ DEM
 ʔ-c-yáʔp-əlx l zux^wt⁵ kəm mat
 return-CUST-arrive(PL)-3PL.ABS LOC Nicola CONJ EPIS
 kəʔáʔ kl shulus.
 this.way LOC Shulus
 ‘And they got back here, maybe in Nicola or maybe this way to Shulus.’
- (48) uʔ s-yl-yált-ləx. uʔ nyʔip ilíʔ
 CONJ NOM-RED-run.away-3PL.ABS CONJ always DEM
 ʔx̣l-əm-əlx itíʔ nyʔip tyáq^wt-ləx.
 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 syilx, 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 Shuswaps) were pushed, pushed over to Stump Lake.’
- (50) uʔ itlíʔ iʔ səm-úlaʔx^w ʔapnáʔ.
 CONJ DEM DET white.person-land now
 ‘And today it’s government land.’
- (51) úʔiʔ náxəmʔ ilíʔ kiʔ ʔlap, uʔ c-klaʔ mnímʔtət.
 CONJ CONJ DEM COMP stop CONJ to-here 1PL.INDEP
 ‘That’s where they stopped. And we’re here.’
- (52) k^wl-nún-(n)t-əm iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w,
 settle-MANAGE.TO-DIR-1PL.ERG DET land
 k^wa(n)-nún-(n)t-əm.
 take-MANAGE.TO-DIR-1PL.ERG
 ‘We settled on the land, we got the land.’

⁵ The form *zux^wt* means ‘to fall’ in Thompson Salish, cf. Okanagan *yax^wt* and the *z > y* sound shift, also apparent when comparing for example Lillooet quantifier *ʔiʔzeʔ* ‘every’ with Okanagan *yaʔyáʔt* ‘all’.

- (53) uł ixí? ʔapná? i? təmx^wúlaʔx^w-tət, ʔx^wúp-nt-əm i?
 CONJ DEM now DET land-1PL.POSS win-DIR-1PL.ERG DET
 tɬ syx^wáp-məx.
 loc Shuswap-people
 ‘And now it’s our land, we won it from the Shuswaps.’
- (54) ʔx^w-nt-ísəlx mat i? x^wʔit i? syx^wáp-məx,
 kill.many-DIR-3PL.ERG EPIS DET many DET Shuswap-people
 uł ʔx^wúp-səlx ixí? i? təmx^wúlaʔx^w.
 CONJ win-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DEM DET land
 ‘They killed lots of Shuswaps, and they won this land.’
- (55) scʔxiłx ki? alá? i? k^wu k^wliwt, k^wu
 why COMP DEM DET 1PL.ABS live 1PL.ABS
 syilx.
 Okanagan.people
 ‘That’s why we’re living here, us Okanagans.’
- (56) k^wa? lut alá? t ʔak(ʔ)-syilx, k^wla?
 COMP NEG DEM EMPH HAVE-Okanagan.people DEM
 syx^wáp-məx k^wl Kamloops, uł tac k^wl Merritt,
 Shuswap-people LOC Kamloops CONJ over LOC Merritt
 nuk^wtmíx^w.
 Thompson.people
 ‘And there’s no Okanagans, just Shuswaps, towards Kamloops, and
 towards Merritt, the Thompson.’
- (57) k^wim axá? alá? k^wu k^wə-k^wyúma? t syilx,
 except DEM DEM 1PL.ABS RED-small OBL Okanagan.people
 t sqilx^w, uł alá? k^wu k^wliwt.
 OBL native.people CONJ DEM 1PL.ABS live
 ‘We’re just small Syilx people here, but here we’re living.’
- (58) k^wa? ʔx^wúp-nt-əm ixí? ʔa? c-tyaq^wt i?
 COMP win-DIR-1PL.ERG DEM COMP CUST-fight DET
 sənxax^wcínəm-tət i? xəʔ-xʔít-(t)ət, ʔa?
 ancestors-1PL.POSS DET RED-first-1PL.POSS COMP
 c-tyáq^wt-ləx uł ixí? ʔx^wúp-səlx.
 CUST-fight-3PL.ABS CONJ DEM win-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 ‘Because our leaders, our parents, the people ahead of us, our ancestors,
 they fought and they won.’

- (59) uł scʔxiłx kiʔ aláʔ iʔ k^wu k^wliwt, iʔ k^wu
 CONJ why COMP DEM DET 1PL.ABS live DET 1PL.ABS
 sqilx^w.
 native.people
 ‘And that’s why we’re living here, us Okanagans.’
- (60) uł kim iʔ syx^wáp-məx yaŋyáŋt tl x^wúy-əlx
 CONJ except DET Shuswap-people all LOC go-3PL.ABS
 mat.
 EPIS
 ‘All the Shuswaps went home.’
- (61) uł ixíʔ yaʔt k^wu máy-łt-ím⁶ Matilda
 CONJ DEM all 1PL.ABS tell-APPL-3.ERG Matilda
 taʔkín kaʔ c-púl-x-əlx, taʔkín kaʔ
 where COMP CUST-camp-3PL.ABS where COMP
 c-wk^w-wík^w-mist-ləx, łaʔ
 CUST-RED-hide-INTR.REFLEX-3PL.ABS COMP
 c-ty-tyáq^wt-ləx.
 CUST-RED-fight-3PL.ABS
 ‘And Matilda told us everything about where they were camping, where they were hiding when they were fighting.’
- (62) uł łaʔ c-x^wəl-x^wált Herbie, k^wu cu-s
 CONJ COMP STAT-RED-alive Herbie 1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG
 “ixíʔ ks-kʔŋys-nt-əm iʔ sk^wst-úlaʔx^w, k^waʔ yaʔxis
 DEM FUT-change-DIR-PASS DET name-land because DEM
 sk^wst-úlaʔx^w yaŋyáŋt syx^wáp-məx, syx^wáp-məx
 name-land all Shuswap-people Shuswap-people
 iʔ sk^wst-úlaʔx^w-s.”
 DET name-land-3SG.POSS
 ‘And when Herbie was alive, he told me “We should change the names of the places because they’re all Shuswap names.”’
- (63) uł t Herbie cut “ixíʔ ks-k^wís-nt-əm t
 CONJ OBL Herbie say DEM FUT-name-DIR-1PL.ERG OBL
 n-q^wəl-q^wíl-tən-tət.”
 n-RED-speak-INSTR-1PL.POSS
 ‘And Herbie said “Let’s rename them to our language.”’

⁶ The *k^wu* object proclitic is ambiguous between 1SG and 1PL, however with third person subjects *-ím* disambiguates the proclitic as denoting the plural, whereas *-is* denotes singular. (Mattina, 1982, 422, f.n.2)

- (64) uʔ cu-n “lut, ciʔ-sk^w ilíʔ way^ʔ tí
 CONJ say-(DIR)-1SG.ERG NEG stop-IMP DEM yes EMPH
 iʔ scʔxiʔx, way^ʔ ixíʔ s-ʔx^wúp-tət. uʔ
 DET why yes DEM NOM-win-1PL.POSS CONJ
 ixíʔ nínwiʔs †
 DEM in.a.little.while COMP
 my-p-nú-s swit l
 know-INCH-MANAGE.TO-(DIR)-3SG.ERG who LOC
 syx^wp-mx-úlaʔx^w-s.”
 Shuswap-people-land-3SG.POSS
 ‘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.”’
- (65) “nínwiʔs mi ... itlíʔ mi ʔx^wúp-nt-əm. kim
 in.a.little.while FUT ... DEM FUT win-DIR-1PL.ERG except
 kʔiʔys-nt uʔ cmay səl-mín-(n)t-əm.”
 change-DIR CONJ EPIS lose-MIN-DIR-1PL.ERG
 “That’s how we won it over, if we change it we might lose it.”
- (66) uʔ k^wu cu-s “way^ʔ may-ʔt-ín stím
 CONJ 1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG yes tell-APPL-1SG.ERG what
 iʔ k^wu may-xít-s i(n)-s^wawásaʔ.”
 DET 1SG.ABS tell-BEN-3SG.ERG 1SG.POSS-aunt
 ‘And he told me “Yes, I told you what my aunt told me.”’
- (67) uʔ k^wu cu-s “way^ʔ ʔast, lut
 CONJ 1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG yes good NEG
 ks-kʔiʔys-nt-əm.”
 FUT-change-DIR-1PL.ERG
 ‘And he told me “Okay, we won’t change it.”’
- (68) uʔ yaʔyáʔt ixíʔ Sharon ʔmink-s k^wu
 CONJ all DEM Sharon want-(DIR)-3SG.ERG 1PL.ABS
 k(s)-sív-nt-əm, yaʔt iʔ t s-k^ws-k^wst-úlaʔx^w,
 FUT-ask-DIR-3SG.ERG all DET OBL NOM-RED-name-land
 mi nínwiʔs ixíʔ cú(n)-ʔt-əm †aʔ
 FUT in.a.little.while DEM tell-APPL-1PL.ERG COMP
 c-my-st-im.
 CUST-know-CAUS-1PL.ERG
 ‘And everything Sharon wants to ask us about, all the place names, we
 can tell her what we know.’

- (69) ixíʔ iʔ s-t-q^wəl-íplaʔ-s, ixíʔ kiʔ aláʔ iʔ
 DEM DET NOM-t-speak-handle-3SG.POSS DEM COMP DEM DET
 k^wu sqilx^w iʔ k^wu k^wə-k^wíynaʔt iʔ t
 1PL.ABS native.people DET 1PL.ABS RED-few DET OBL
 sqilx^w, t syilx.
 native.people OBL Okanagan.people
 ‘That’s what we’re talking about, how we got to be here, us few Native
 people, Okanagan people.’
- (70) ixíʔ iʔ s-ʔx^wup-s iʔ ʔəʔ-əʔ-ʔʔáʔ iʔ
 DEM DET NOM-win-3SG.POSS DET RED-RED-grown DET
 sənxaʔcínəm-tət ʔaʔ c-tyáq^wt-ləx, kiʔ aláʔ
 ancestors-1PL.POSS COMP CUST-fight-3PL.ABS COMP DEM
 k^wu k^wliwt.
 1PL.ABS live
 ‘Our elders, those that came ahead of us, they fought and won it over
 for us, that’s why we are here.’
- (71) uʔ cak^w taʔlíʔ c-ʔaʔ-st-ím, cak^w taʔlíʔ
 CONJ BOUL very CUST-sacred-CAUS-1PL.ERG BOUL very
 c-ʔs-íkst-əm-st-əm ʔant⁷ aláʔ iʔ
 CUST-good-hand-MID-CAUS-1PL.ERG now DEM DET
 s-ʔás-tət ʔapnáʔ.
 NOM-good-1PL.POSS now
 ‘We should really treat it well, really take care of it, so that it’s the way
 we want.’
- (72) l n-k^wí-itk^w kiʔ k^wu k^wliwt, ʔast iʔ
 LOC n-yellow-water COMP 1PL.ABS live good DET
 s-puʔús-tət, ʔast iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w.
 NOM-heart-1PL.POSS good DET land
 ‘At Glimpse Lake where we’re staying, we really like it, the land is
 good.’

⁷ The form *ʔant* may be short for *ʔacənt* ‘look at it’, with a colloquial meaning of ‘now’. Michele Johnson (p.c.) mentions that speakers she works with do this regularly.

- (73) cak^w lut iʔ ʔəʔ-əʔ-ʔəʔap-tət, cak^w ixíʔ
 BOUL NEG DET RED-RED-grown-1PL.POSS BOUL DEM
 səl-mín-(n)t-əm, cak^w aláʔ iʔ sm-sámaʔ
 lose-MIN-DIR-1PL.ERG BOUL DEM DET RED-white.person
 kiʔ k^wliwt ʔapnáʔ.
 COMP live now

‘If it wasn’t for our ancestors we might have lost it, and the whites might have been living here instead.’

- (74) ixíʔ iʔ s-mý-máy-s axáʔ iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w-tət
 DEM DET NOM-RED-story-3SG.POSS DEM DET land-1PL.POSS
 kiʔ aláʔ k^wu k^wliwt. wáy.
 COMP DEM 1PL.ABS live that’s.all

‘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. Sámaʔs would've been there and maybe made something out of it.

3 I nəqáqsuʔ: "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

qsápi iʔ sqilx^w k^wuk^w ʔaʔ cʔəlʔílx^wt. uʔ ixíʔ iʔ sqəltmíx^w itíʔ cyryríw-
aʔxənəm, uʔ cx^wylwis. uʔ k^wuk^w cqilt kl Minnie Lake. uʔ ti cʔaʔxʔústs stim t
kstʔaps. uʔ k^wuk^w taʔt kʔx^wil iʔ smik^wt. k^wuk^w scʔxíʔx axáʔ iʔ t citx^w iʔ sənwísts
iʔ smik^wt. uʔ kicx, wíks k^wuk^w kliʔ aʔ cx^wʔul, ixíʔ mat iʔ sʔaʔcínəm ilíʔ n
ʔaʔ mʔaʔq^w uʔ mat k^wnxásqət smq^waq^ws. uʔ ilíʔ iʔ sʔaʔcínəm nxlak uʔ ti ilíʔ
ntwístləx, lut kaʔkín cx^wúyʔstsəlx. iʔ smik^wt k^wuk^w mat kl sislq iʔ sckáks iʔ
sənwísts iʔ smq^waq^w. uʔ wíks kʔx^wil ilíʔ iʔ sʔaʔcínəm, mat, lútaʔ sʔaʔcínəm
təx^w stim ʔəm, what was that called, what we were talking about? sníkʔcaʔ.
uʔ k^wuk^w ilíʔ nq^wíct, uʔ ixíʔ ʔəʔx^wúys, k^wuk^w uʔ cus iʔ sqilx^w, kl spáxmən iʔ
sqilx^w uʔ aláʔ cus: "k^wu ksʔúlusaʔx kliʔ mi ʔəx^wəntím iʔ sníkʔcaʔ, kʔx^wil ilíʔ
iʔ ntwíst." nínwíʔs itlíʔ ʔwníkstməntəm iʔ k^wíʔt, lut ʔ yaʔyaʔt tʔapəntím. ilíʔ
itlíʔ x^wuy k^wuk^w uʔ kl Shulus, Coldwater, cus k^wuk^w iʔ sqilx^w "cx^wúywi! kʔx^wil
klaʔ iʔ sníkʔcaʔ, kliʔ k^wu ksʔawstəx^wcncútaʔx." uʔ ixíʔ sx^wúyʔsəlx k^wuk^w uʔ iʔ
sqilx^w cx^wyx^wuy uʔ kliʔ yáʔpəlx. uʔ k^wuk^w ixíʔ ʔəx^wəntísəlx iʔ sníkʔcaʔ. uʔ ilíʔ
npútətəlsəlx. uʔ k^wuk^w ixíʔ kʔcísəlx iʔ k^wíʔt uʔ ʔwníkstmənsəlx. uʔ itlíʔ ylyalt
sic iʔ k^wíʔt lut iʔ ... uʔ ixíʔ sic ixíʔ cək^wck^wák^wstisəlx mat təx^w xʔkístsəlx, uʔ

kʰkíciʔsəlx iʔ kl sənkwlíwtənsəlx. ixíʔ istəmtímaʔ iʔ kwu mayxíts, kwukw ixíʔ iʔ cawt ʔaʔ q́sápi, ʔaʔ cqʷə́nqʷánt iʔ sqilxʷ. uʔ ixíʔ cyríwaǰnə́m, lut kwu aʔ t ʔakʰstímləx, tí kmax, náǰə́mʔ cmystísəlx kskʷúlə́msəlx t yríwaǰn. uʔ ixíʔ way xʷúyʔsəlx, ʎaʔǰʔáməlx t ksʔíʔə́nsəlx. uʔ ixíʔ kwu mayxíts, lut itlíʔ nixʷ ʔa ..., tí ixíʔ iʔ scmymays, ixíʔ kwukw ilíʔ iʔ ʔǰílə́m itíʔ ixíʔ naqsístk. way.

3.2 Interlinear gloss

- (75) q́sápi iʔ sqilxʷ kwukw ʔaʔ c-ʔəl-ʔílxʷt.
 long.ago DET native.people REP COMP CUST-RED-hungry
 ‘A long time ago, they say the people were very hungry.’
- (76) uʔ ixíʔ iʔ sqə́ltmíxʷ itíʔ c-yr-yríwaǰən-əm, uʔ
 CONJ DEM DET man DEM CUST-RED-snowshoe-MID CONJ
 c-xʷy-lwis.
 CUST-go-here.and.there
 ‘And the men traveled around on snowshoes, and traveled.’
- (77) uʔ kwukw c-qilt kl Minnie Lake.
 CONJ REP CUST-climb LOC Minnie Lake
 ‘And they say they went up to Minnie Lake.’
- (78) uʔ tí c-ǰaʔ-ǰʔ-ús-(s)t-s stím t
 CONJ EMPH CUST-look.for-RED-eye-CAUS-3SG.ERG what OBL
 k(ʰ)s-tǰap-s.
 U.POSS-NOM-shoot-3SG.POSS
 ‘And they were just looking around for something to shoot.’
- (79) uʔ kwukw taʔt kʰǰwíl iʔ smíkʷt.
 CONJ REP straight many DET snow
 ‘And they say there was a lot of snow.’
- (80) kwukw scʔǰíʔx axáʔ iʔ t citxʷ iʔ s-n-wíst-s
 REP do.like DEM DET OBL house DET NOM-n-high-3SG.POSS
 iʔ smíkʷt.
 DET snow
 ‘They say the snow was as high as a house.’

- (81) uʔ kic-x, wik-s k^wuk^w kliʔ
 CONJ arrive(SG)-INTR see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG REP DEM
 aʔ c-x^wʔul, ixíʔ mat iʔ sʰaʔcínəṃ ilíʔ [n]
 DET CUST-steam DEM EPIS DET deer DEM
 ʎaʔ mq^w-a^w uʔ mat k^wnx-ásqət
 COMP falling.snow-RED CONJ EPIS how.many-days
 s-mq^w-aq^w-s.
 NOM-falling.snow-RED-3SG.POSS
 ‘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.’
- (82) uʔ ilíʔ iʔ sʰaʔcínəṃ n-xlak uʔ ti ilíʔ
 CONJ DEM DET deer n-whirl CONJ EMPH DEM
 n-twíst-ləx, lut kaʔkín c-x^wúyʔ-st-səlx.
 n-standing-3PL.ABS NEG where CUST-go(PL)-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 ‘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.’
- (83) iʔ smik^wt k^wuk^w mat kíl sispłq iʔ s-čk-ák-s
 DET snow REP EPIS LOC seven DET NOM-count-RED-3SG.POSS
 iʔ s-n-wíst-s iʔ s-mq^waq^w.
 DET NOM-n-high-3SG.POSS DET NOM-falling.snow
 ‘And they say the snow was maybe seven feet high.’
- (84) uʔ wik-s kʰǰ^wil ilíʔ iʔ sʰaʔcínəṃ, mat, lútaʔ
 CONJ see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG many DEM DET deer EPIS NEG
 sʰaʔcínəṃ təx^w stím ʎəṃ, what was that called, what we
 deer EVID what PAST what was that called what we
 were talking about? sníkʰcaʔ.
 were talking about elk
 ‘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.’

- (85) uł k^wuk^w ilí? n-q^wíct, uł ixí? ɬəł-x^wúy-s,
 CONJ REP DEM n-full CONJ DEM return-go-3SG.POSS
 k^wuk^w uł cu-s i? sqilx^w,
 REP CONJ say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET native.people
 k^l spáχmən i? sqilx^w uł alá?
 LOC Douglas.Lake DET native.people CONJ DEM
 cu-s:
 say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG
 ‘And when they were full, and went back to tell the people, the people
 at Douglas Lake and here, and said:’
- (86) “k^wu ks-ʔúlus-aʔx k^li? mi ɬəx^w-nt-ím
 1PL.ABS FUT-gather-INCEPT DEM FUT kill.many-DIR-1PL.ERG
 i? sníktá?, k^lɬχ^wil ilí? i? n-twíst.”
 DET elk many DEM DET n-standing
 “‘Let’s gather over there in order to kill the elks, there are a lot standing
 over there.’”
- (87) nínwiʔs itlí? ɬwn-ɬkst-mə(n)-nt-əm i? k^wiɬt,
 in.a.little.while DEM cut.loose-hand-MIN-DIR-PASS DET others
 lut ɬ yaŋyáŋt ɬap-nt-ím.
 NEG COMP all shoot-DIR-PASS
 ‘Then they cut a few loose, they didn’t shoot them all.’
- (88) ilí? itlí? x^wuy k^wuk^w uł k^l Shulus, Coldwater,
 DEM DEM go REP CONJ LOC Shulus Coldwater
 cu-s k^wuk^w i? sqilx^w “c-x^wúy-wi!
 say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG REP DET native.people CISL-go-PL.IMP
 k^lɬχ^wil k^la? i? sníktá?, k^li? k^wu
 many DEM DET elk DEM 1PL.ABS
 ks-ʔaws-təx^w-cn-cút-aʔx.”
 FUT-go-get-food-REFLEX-INCEPT
 ‘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!’”
- (89) uł ixí? s-x^wúyʔ-səlx k^wuk^w uł i?
 CONJ DEM NOM-go(PL)-3PL.POSS REP CONJ DET
 sqilx^w c-x^wy-x^wuy⁸ uł k^li? yáŋp-əlx.
 native.people CUST-RED-go CONJ DEM arrive(PL)-3PL.ABS
 ‘And they say the people went, and got there.’

- (90) uʃ k^wuk^w ixíʔ ʎəx^w-nt-ísəlx iʔ sníktácaʔ.
 CONJ REP DEM kill.many-DIR-3PL.ERG DET deer
 ‘And then they killed many elks.’
- (91) uʃ ilíʔ n-pút-ət-əl(s)-səlx.
 CONJ DEM n-enough-RED-stomach-3PL.POSS
 ‘And there they satisfied themselves.’
- (92) uʃ k^wuk^w ixíʔ kʃ-cíq-səlx iʔ k^wiʎt uʃ
 CONJ REP DEM kʃ-cook-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DET others CONJ
 ʃwn-ʃkst-əm-səlx.
 cut.loose-hand-MID-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 ‘And they cooked some there and cut the others loose.’
- (93) uʃ itlíʔ yl-yalt sic iʔ k^wiʎt lut iʔ ... uʃ
 CONJ DEM RED-run.away new DET some NEG DET ... CONJ
 ixíʔ sic ixíʔ cək^w-ck^w-ák^w-st-ísəlx mat təx^w
 DEM before DEM haul-RED-RED-CAUS-3PL.ERG EPIS EVID
 xʔkí(n)-st-səlx, uʃ kʃ-kíc-iʔ-səlx iʔ
 do.like-CAUS-3PL.ERG CONJ kʃ-arrive-MID-3PL.POSS DET
 kʃ sən-k^wlíwt-(t)ən-səlx.
 LOC LOC-live-INSTR-3PL.POSS
 ‘And some of them ran away, andbefore they hauled them they did
 like that⁹.... they brought it back to their camp.’
- (94) ixíʔ i(n)-stəmtímaʔ iʔ k^wu máy-xít-s,
 DEM 1SG.POSS-grandmother DET 1SG.ABS tell-BEN-3SG.ERG
 k^wuk^w ixíʔ iʔ cawt ʃaʔ ʔsápi, ʃaʔ
 REP DEM DET doings COM long.ago COMP
 c-q^wəń-q^wánt iʔ sqilx^w.
 STAT-RED-pitiful DET native.people
 ‘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.’

⁸ This might actually be two separate intransitive verbs involving the root *x^wty*. I bring them together because of the prosody: there is no pause between the two occurrences, and the first occurrence does not strike me impressionistically as a false start.

⁹ I think that this phrase refers to the way the hunters would prepare the animals for hauling back to camp. According to Lottie, they would drag them along the snow, making sure that they were dragged *with*, rather than against, the lay of their fur.

- (95) uł ixíʔ c-yríwaǰn-əm, lut kʷaʔ
 CONJ DEM CUST-snowshoe-MID NEG because
 t ʔakł-stím-ləx, ti kmax, náǰəmł
 EMPH HAVE-what-3PL.ABS EMPH only CONJ
 c-my-st-ísəlx ks-kʷúl-əm-səlx t
 CUST-know-CAUS-3PL.ERG FUT-make-MID-3PL.POSS OBL
 yríwaǰn.
 snowshoe
 ‘And they’d travel on snowshoes, they didn’t have anything, but they did know how to make snowshoes.’
- (96) uł ixíʔ way xʷúyʔ-səlx, ʔaʔ-ʔʔ-ám-əlx t
 CONJ DEM yes go(PL)-3PL.POSS look.for-RED-MID-3PL.ABS OBL
 k(ł)-s-ʔfən-səlx.
 U.POSS-NOM-eat-3PL.POSS
 ‘And they’d go look for something to eat.’
- (97) uł ixíʔ kʷu məy-xít-s, lut itłʔ nixʷ ʔa
 CONJ DEM 1SG.ABS tell-BEN-3SG.POSS NEG DEM again EMPH
 ...,¹⁰ ti ixíʔ iʔ s-c-məy-məy-s, ixíʔ
 [elk] EMPH DEM DET NOM-CUST-RED-story-3SG.POSS DEM
 kʷukʷ ilíʔ iʔ ʔǰíl-əm itíʔ ixíʔ naq(s)-sístk.
 REP DEM DET do.like-MID DEM DEM one-winter
 way.
 that’s.all
 ‘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 Snʔánaʔs, the snotty-nosed bird

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

4.1 Okanagan

ǰsápi ʔaʔ cməyám iʔ ʔəǰəǰǰǰáʔ. uł níxlmən ʔaʔ cməyástísəlx t csniwt
 tl nłǰfłməlx. nyǰiʔp acsniwt. uł iʔ ʔəǰəǰǰáʔ cǰǰawmístəmsəlx skəkǰákaʔ
 kʷukʷ ʔa snʔánaʔs. uł tałt kʷukʷ ti ilíʔ snʔas, náǰəmł skəkǰákaʔ. uł lut kl stím

¹⁰ I expect that the missing word here is *snłkcaʔ* ‘elk’, to complete the phrase ‘There aren’t any more ...’, but this is speculative.

t ʃast náxəmʃ ʃast ʃaʔ cʰʔawmístəmsəlx kʷukʷ təqʷcínəmsəlx. məʃ cúsəlx
 “snʔánaʔs, nʔacúsənt iʔ sniwt.” uʃ kʷukʷ iʔ kʷinx kscúyiʔsəlx kʷukʷ uʃ, uʃ
 kʷukʷ nʔacúsəʃs iʔ snʔánaʔs iʔ sniwt. kmax kliʔ kiʔ ʃast iʔ kl sniwt. ixíʔ snʔánaʔ
 iʔ scʰwúlʃ, ksʰəlpstís iʔ sniwt. uʃ ixíʔ ʔsápi ʃaʔ cxʷʔit iʔ slaqs məʃ iʔ ʎəʃəʃʎáʔ
 cut “kʰawmístəmənt iʔ sniwt.” sniwt mi ʎəlpstís iʔ sniwt məʃ ʃaʔ csniwt, ʃaʔ
 cmaʔmístəlx ʃaʔ cnʔíwłəm. məʃ ixíʔ kʷukʷ iʔ snʔánaʔs ʎəlpstís iʔ sniwt. ixíʔ
 iʔ kʷu məyʔítsəlx ʔsápi. ixíʔ iʔ smýmýáys iʔ snínaʔ. way.

4.2 Interlinear gloss

- (98) ʔsápi ʃaʔ c-may-ám iʔ ʎəʃ-əʃ-ʎáʔ.
 long.ago COMP CUST-tell.stories-MID DET RED-RED-grown
 ‘A long time ago the elders told stories.’
- (99) uʃ níxl-m-ən ʃaʔ c-may-st-ísəlx
 CONJ hear-MIN-(DIR)-1SG.ERG COMP CUST-tell-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 t c-sniwt tl nʔíʔməlx.
 OBL CUST-wind LOC Quilchena
 ‘And I listened when they told about the wind blowing in Quilchena.’
- (100) nyʔiʔp ac-sniwt.
 always CUST-wind
 ‘They said the wind would always blow.’
- (101) uʃ iʔ ʎəʃ-əʃ-ʎáʔ c-kʰaw-mí-st-əm-səlx
 CONJ DET RED-RED-grown CUST-hire-MIN-CAUS-MID-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 skəkʰákaʔ kʷukʷ ʔa snʔánaʔs.
 bird REP EMPH snotty.nose
 ‘And the old people hired the bird Snotty-nose.’
- (102) uʃ taʃt kʷukʷ ʔi ilíʔ snʔas, náxəmʃ skəkʰákaʔ.
 CONJ straight REP EMPH DEM snot CONJ bird
 ‘And he was all snotty, but he was a bird of some kind.’
- (103) uʃ lut kl stím t ʃast náxəmʃ ʃast ʃaʔ
 CONJ NEG LOC what OBL good CONJ good COMP
 c-kʰaw-mí-st-əm-səlx kʷukʷ
 CUST-hire-MIN-CAUS-MID-(DIR)-3PL.ERG REP
 təqʷcín-əm-səlx.
 holler-MID-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 ‘He wasn’t good for anything but they’d holler for him.’

- (104) mət cú-səlx “snʔáːnaʔs, n-ʔac-ús-nt iʔ sniwt.”
 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) uʔ kʷukʷ iʔ kʷinx ks-cúy-iʔ-səlx¹¹ kʷukʷ uʔ,
 CONJ REP DET how.many FUT-tell-MID-3PL.POSS REP CONJ
 uʔ kʷukʷ n-ʔac-ús-əs iʔ snʔánaʔs iʔ
 CONJ REP n-tie-round-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET snotty-nose DET
 sniwt.
 wind
 ‘And who knows how many times would they tell him, but Snotty-nose
 would put a trap on the wind.’
- (106) kmax kliʔ kiʔ ʃast iʔ kl sniwt.
 only DEM COMP good DET LOC wind
 ‘That’s all he was good for, for the wind.’
- (107) ixíʔ snʔánaʔ iʔ s-c-kʷúl-c,
 DEM snotty-nose DET NOM-CUST-make-3SG.POSS
 ks-ʃəl-p-st-ís iʔ sniwt.
 FUT-stop-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET wind
 ‘That Snotty-nose, that’s his job, stopping the wind.’
- (108) uʔ ixíʔ ʔsápi ʔaʔ c-xʷʔit iʔ slaqs mət
 CONJ DEM long.ago COMP CUST-many DET mosquito CONJ
 iʔ ʃəʃ-əʃ-ʃáʔ cut “kʔaw-mí-st-əm-nt iʔ
 DET RED-RED-grown say hire-MIN-CAUS-MID-DIR DET
 sni-nwt.”
 RED-wind
 ‘And a long time ago when there was a lot of mosquitos, the old people
 would say “Hire the little wind!”’
- (109) s-ni-nwt mi ʃəlp-st-ís iʔ sniwt mət ʔaʔ
 NOM-RED-wind FUT stop-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET wind CONJ COMP
 c-sniwt, ʔaʔ c-maʔ-mí-st-səlx ʔaʔ
 CUST-wind COMP CUST-annoy-MIN-CAUS-3PL.ERG COMP
 c-nʔíwɪ-əm.
 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).

- (110) məł ixí? k^wuk^w i? sníána?s ǰəlp-st-ís i?
 CONJ DEM REP DET snotty-nose stop-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET
 sniwt.
 wind
 ‘But they say that Snotty-nose stopped the wind.’
- (111) ixí? i? k^wu máy-xít-səlx ǰsápi.
 DEM DET 1SG.ABS tell-BEN-3PL.ERG long.ago
 ‘I was told that a long time ago.’
- (112) ixí? i? s-mý-mý-áy-s i? snína?. way.
 DEM DET NOM-RED-story-RED-3SG.POSS DET owl that’s.all
 ‘It must have been an owl in the story. That’s all.’

4.3 Free translation

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 Sníána?s 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 “Sníána?s, 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 Snínwt and he can stop the wind, when they’re tired of the waves coming in. Sníána?s 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 Sníána?s to stop the wind. I was told that a long time ago.

5 i? sqi?sc i? knaq̓s i? tk̑milx^w: “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.

5.1 Okanagan

ǰsápi k^wuk^w i? ... k^wu máyxíts i? ǰəǰəǰəǰəǰə. k^wuk^w i? knaq̓s i? tk̑milx^w,
 k^wuk^w c?ǰiǰ t cǰlal, ǰitx k^wuk^w l másqət. ǰíftəm uǰ ixí? máyxíts i? sənqsílx^ws t
 ... i? t sqi?sc. máyxíts k^wuk^w i? t latáp, i? sənktmútən, lasyót, níkmən; i? k^wúlməns
 i? sc?íftən, ǰa? k^w sc?íftən. uǰ k^wuk^w ixí? wiks uǰ ixí? máyxíts i? sənqsílx^ws, mat
 ixí? x^wa?spínk ki? lúti? ǰa? ckicx i? sáma?, lutí? ǰa? mypnúsəlx i? lasyót uǰ
 i? cəcítx^w. tí mat ixí? pnicí? ǰ k^wliwt i? sqilx^w l sənǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ kəm l sx^wulǰx^w.

ixí? i? cawts k^wuk^w ixí? pnicí?, u† ixí? máyntís ixí? pəptwínax^w. u† wnix^w ilí? ?ǰləm ití?, way ití? q̄sápi tl sǰlals, sic ilí? ?ǰləm ití?. ixí?. way.

5.2 Interlinear gloss

- (113) q̄sápi k^wuk^w i? ... k^wu máy-xít-s i?
 long.ago REP DET ... 1SG.ABS tell-BEN-3SG.ERG DET
 ǰəǰ-əǰ-ǰǰáp.
 RED-RED-grown
 ‘A long time ago the old people used to tell me stories.’
- (114) k^wuk^w i? knaqs i? tkǰmilx^w, k^wuk^w c?ǰit t
 REP DET one(HUMAN) DET woman REP like OBL
 c-ǰlal, ?itx k^wuk^w l más-q̄ət.
 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) qíft-əm u† ixí? máy-xít-s i?
 wake-MID CONJ DEM tell-BEN-3SG.ERG DET
 s-nqs-ílx^w-s t ... i? t sqi?s-c.
 NOM-one-person-3SG.POSS OBL ... DET OBL dream-3SG.POSS
 ‘She woke and told her relatives about her dream.’
- (116) máy-xít-s k^wuk^w i? t latáp, i? sən-kǰ-mút-(t)ən,
 tell-BEN-3SG.ERG REP DET OBL table DET LOC-kǰ-sit-INSTR
 lasyót, ník-mən, i? k^wúl-mən-s i?
 plate cut-INSTR DET make-INSTR-3SG.POSS DET
 s-c-?íftən, ǰa? k^w s-c-?íftən.
 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.’

- (117) uʔ k^wuk^w ixíʔ wik-s uʔ ixíʔ
 CONJ REP DEM see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG CONJ DEM
 máy-xít-s iʔ s-nqs-flx^w-s,
 tell-BEN-3SG.ERG DET NOM-one-person-3SG.POSS
 mat ixíʔ x^waʔ-spíntk (k)iʔ lútiʔ ʔaʔ
 EPIS DEM many-years COMP not.yet COMP
 c-kic-x iʔ sámaʔ, lutíʔ ʔaʔ
 CISL-arrive-INTR DET white.person not.yet COMP
 my-p-nú(n)-səlx iʔ
 know-INCH-MANAGE.TO-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DET
 lasyót uʔ iʔ cə-cítx^w.
 plate CONJ DET RED-house
 ‘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.’
- (118) tí mat ixíʔ pnicíʔ ʔ k^wliwt iʔ sqilx^w l
 EMPH EPIS DEM long.time COMP live DET native.people LOC
 sənǰ^wǰ^wáyaqñ kəm l s-x^wul-ʔx^w.
 tepees CONJ LOC NOM-pit-house
 ‘And it must’ve been a long time then that the people lived in tepees and
 pit-houses.’
- (119) ixíʔ iʔ cawt-s k^wuk^w ixíʔ pnicíʔ, uʔ ixíʔ
 DEM DET doings-3SG.POSS REP DEM long.time CONJ DEM
 máy-nt-ís ixíʔ pəptwínax^w.
 tell-DIR-3SG.ERG DEM old.woman
 ‘That’s what they say they did for a long time, and that’s what the old
 woman told about.’
- (120) uʔ wnix^w ilíʔ ʔǰíl-əm itíʔ, way itíʔ ʔsápi tl
 CONJ true DEM do.like-MID DEM yes DEM long.ago LOC
 s-ǰlal-s, sic ilíʔ ʔǰíl-əm itíʔ. ixíʔ.
 NOM-die-3SG.POSS before DEM do.like-MID DEM DEM
 way.
 that’s.all
 ‘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^huts i? tik^ht: "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 k^wuk^w kl nsk^wuts i? t^{ik}^wt. ixí? ilí? ʔapná? i? sáma? k^wuls t park, uʔ k^wuk^w ilí? qsápi i? sqilx^w ka? cʔistkm. ʔistkm uʔ ixí? sənyák^wsəlx, k^wa? lut kli? t csníwt myaʔ uʔ ʔa? c tl ʔyáʔnəx^w a? ck^wəlálləx. ʔa? tack^wʔáap i? ʔyáʔnəx^w məʔ k^wa?k^wʔálləx. uʔ i? scʔxiʔx ki? cnyák^wəlx kl nsk^wut. uʔ k^wa? taʔlí? alá? csníwt. uʔ kli? cq^wuy uʔ kli? ka? cʔistkməlx. ixí? qsápi i? sqilx^w k^wuk^w i? cawts. ixí? Ləwís a? cút, k^wuk^w nyák^wəlx kla? kl ʔapná? ilí? i? smsáma? a? ck^wúʔx^wəm. itlí? scʔxiʔ t kí?ka?t ksnýák^wsəlx uʔ k^wúləməlx k^wuk^w t kʔnx^wúytənsəlx məʔ ixí? sənyəyák^wsəlx. məʔ kli? ʔistkməlx, k^wa? kli? x^w?it i? slip. uʔ kli? cpíxəməlx mat l cʔistk. ixí? i? smymyays ixí? axá? i? t^{ik}^wt, i? sqilx^w qsápi i? k^wliwt iklí?... uʔí? ʔapná?, ʔiǫ^wt ʔapná? ilí? smsáma?, ixí? k^wuls t park uʔ ilí? kʔx^wil i? sm-sáma? l scʔaq^w. ixí?.

6.2 Interlinear gloss

- (121) qsápi k^wuk^w k(l) nsk^wut-s i? t^{ik}^wt. ixí?
 long.ago REP LOC across.the.water-3SG.POSS DET lake DEM
 ilí? ʔapná? i? sáma? k^wul-s t
 DEM now DET white.person make-(DIR)-3SG.ERG OBL
 park, uʔ k^wuk^w ilí? qsápi i? sqilx^w
 park CONJ REP DEM long.ago DET native.people
 ka? c-ʔistk-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) ʔistk-m uʔ ixí? s-n-ýák^w-səlx, k^wa? lut
 winter-MID CONJ DEM NOM-n-go.across-3PL.POSS because NEG
 kli? t c-sniwt myaʔ uʔ ʔa? c-tl¹²
 DEM EMPH CUST-wind too.much CONJ COMP CUST-LOC
 ʔyáʔnəx^w a? c-k^wəl-ál-ləx.
 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.

- (123) ʎaʔ tac-kʷʎáʔp iʔ ʃyáʔnəʃʷ məʔ kʷaʔ-kʷʔáʔl-ləx.
 COMP LOC-sunrise DET sun CONJ RED-get.warm(INCH)-3PL.ABS
 ‘When the sun rises they all get warm.’
- (124) uʔ iʔ scʔʃiʔx kiʔ c-n-ýáʔkʷ-əlx k(l)
 CONJ DET like COMP CUST-n-go.across-3PL.ABS LOC
 nskʷut.
 across.the.water
 ‘That’s why they go across there.’
- (125) uʔ kʷaʔ taʔlíʔ aláʔ c-sniwʔt.
 CONJ because very DEM CUST-wind
 ‘And because it’s always windy here on this side.’
- (126) uʔ kʷliʔ c-ʔʷuy uʔ kʷliʔ kaʔ c-ʔístk-m-əlx.
 CONJ DEM CUST-shelter CONJ DEM COMP CUST-winter-MID-3PL.ABS
 ‘It’s sheltered over there and that’s where they spend their winter.’
- (127) ixíʔ ʔsápi iʔ sqilxʷ kʷukʷ iʔ cawt-s.
 DEM long.ago DET native.people REP DET doings-3SG.POSS
 ‘That’s how the old people lived in those days.’
- (128) ixíʔ Ləwís aʔ cúʔ, kʷukʷ n-ýáʔkʷ-əlx
 DEM Louise DET said REP n-go.across-3PL.ABS
 kʷlaʔ kʷl ʔapnáʔ ilíʔ iʔ sm-sámaʔ aʔ
 DEM LOC now DEM DET RED-white.person DET
 c-kʷúl-ʔxʷ-əʔm.
 CUST-make-house-MID
 ‘That’s Isaac’s mom Louisa that tells the story, that they crossed where the white people built those houses now.’
- (129) itlíʔ scʔʃiʔ t kʷíʔkaʔt ks-n-ýáʔkʷ-səlx uʔ
 DEM like OBL closer FUT-n-cross.over-3PL.POSS CONJ
 kʷúl-əʔm-əlx kʷukʷ t kʷl-n-xʷúy-tən-səlx
 make-MID-3PL.ABS REP OBL U.POSS-n-go-INSTR-3PL.POSS
 məʔ ixíʔ s-n-ýə-ýáʔkʷ-səlx.
 CONJ DEM NOM-n-RED-cross.over-3PL.POSS
 ‘It’s closer to cross from there, and they built what they traveled on and they crossed.’

- (130) mət̚ k̚liʔ ʔɪstk-m-əlx, kʷaʔ k̚liʔ xʷʔit iʔ
 CONJ DEM winter-MID-3PL.ABS because DEM lots DET
 slip̚.
 firewood
 ‘And they wintered there because there’s lots of wood across there.’
- (131) uʔ k̚liʔ c-píx̣-əm-əlx mat l c-ʔɪstk.
 CONJ DEM CUST-hunt-MID-3PL.ABS EPIS LOC CUST-winter
 ‘And they hunted there in the wintertime.’
- (132) ixíʔ iʔ s-my-my-ay-s ixíʔ axáʔ iʔ t̚ikʷt,
 DEM DET NOM-RED-story-RED-3SG.POSS DEM DEM DET lake
 iʔ sqilxʷ q̚sápi iʔ kʷliwt iklíʔ...
 DET native.people long.ago DET live DEM
 ‘That’s the story about this lake and the people who lived there long ago.’
- (133) uʔiʔ ʔapnáʔ, t̚iqʷt ʔapnáʔ ilíʔ sm-sámaʔ, ixíʔ
 CONJ now visible now DEM RED-white.person DEM
 kʷul-s t park uʔ ilíʔ k̚t̚x̣ʷil iʔ
 make-(DIR)-3SG.ERG OBL park CONJ DEM lots DET
 sm-sámaʔ l s-cʔaqʷ. ixíʔ.
 RED-white.person LOC NOM-summer DEM
 ‘And now you can see where the white people 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 ʔaʔ č̣x̣ʷíltəm íʔ 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

q̣sápi ʔaʔ č̣x̣ʷíltəm íʔ sqilxʷ, ʔaʔ c̣stáʔkmíx íʔ stəmkʔílṭs, íʔ sqʷsíʔs
wayʔ əslʔúpənkst ʔ cilkst, wayʔ ksqəltmíxʷaʔx. uʔ tliʔ lutíʔ uʔ wayʔ accəx̣ʷcəx̣ʷ-

stísəlx iʔ sq^wsíʔaʔsəlx. náxəmt̩ ixiʔ ʔaʔ cnkacx^wús ilíʔ t ... k^wənxspíntk iʔ sqəltmíx^w uʔ iʔ tk̩mílx^w, məʔ cəx̃^wcəx̃^wntísəlx. píntk ks̩x̩asts iʔ k̩cáwtsəlx. lut t kstyty múʔc, lut t ksʔitxs mi ntəx̃^wəx̃^wqín. nínwíʔs cx^wx̩^wtilx mi nínwíʔs cknxits iʔ sqilx^w. knxits iʔ cniʔc iʔ snqsilx^ws. knxits iʔ k^wíʔt iʔ sqilx^w iʔ ʔəx̃əx̃əx̃áʔp. ixiʔ lut t̩ tanmús kaʔ cx^wylwists, kaʔ cqícəlxax̩ píntk. mi nínwíʔs k^wəck^wáct t sqəltmíx^w, mi nínwíʔs mi sysyús, k^waʔ ʔaʔ cnkacx^wús ilíʔ t s... ʔaʔ c̩əʔx̃^wúmx cus iʔ sqilx^w. nkacx^wús ilíʔ uʔ k^wuk^w k^w qícəlx, uʔ k^wúləntx^w yaʔyaʔt̩ stím ʔak̩t̩... istəmt̩maʔ k^wu cus “k^w qícəlx mi k^w qilt k̩l sqilt, mi k^w k^wúləm t yir, k^wúləntx^w iʔ x̩lut mi t̩i ... iʔ yir. “məʔ yaʔt̩ stím k̩líʔ nʔísk^wəlməntx^w, cuntx^w ‘axáʔ ik̩cítx^w, axáʔ ik̩nāx̃^wnəx̃^w kəəm iks̩x̩lwiʔ. axáʔ iksq^wsíʔaʔ. axáʔ ikscʔʔən. nínwíʔs kn ʔaʔ cpíx̩əm, lut ikstílx^wəm...’ ‘nínwíʔs kn ʔaʔ ck̩qáqax̩əlx, lut iks-tílx^wəm. nínwíʔs tytiym t ksek^wanúnəm yaʔt̩ stím.’ ‘məʔ ixiʔ anwí k^w x̩aʔx̩áʔ uʔ cq^wəq^wíʔstəmən.’ ‘nínwíʔs kn t̩əlúʔ t tk̩mílx^w, nínwíʔs mi k^wəlnún yaʔt̩ stím.’ ‘nínwíʔs píntk mi kn k̩cítx^w, nínwíʔs píntk iʔ sənʔíʔəntən mi q̩wíct.’ ” uʔ ixiʔ məʔ anwí ilíʔ cx^wəlxáʔt, ʔə nwnx^winaʔməntsən k^waʔ k^wu cəx̃^wcəx̃^wntís inʔəx̃əx̃əx̩áʔp. ixiʔ q̩sápi ʔaʔ c̩əʔx̃^wúmx swit, uʔ ʔapnáʔ ixiʔ lut k̩m ilíʔ. ʔapnáʔ iʔ skul ixiʔ aʔ c̩əx̃^wc̩x̃^wstís iʔ scəcmálaʔ, lut stím ʔaʔ cmystísəlx, t̩i kmax cxíʔt-əmistləx. ixiʔ iʔ səlmíntəm iʔ nc̩x̃^wíʔtəntət, iʔ k̩l sq^wsíʔaʔtət, k̩l sənʔəmʔímaʔtət, k̩l ʔaʔaʔtúpaʔtət. way.

7.2 Interlinear gloss

- (134) q̩sápi ʔaʔ c̩x̃^w-íʔt-əm iʔ sqilx^w,
 long.ago COMP instruct-child-MID DET native.people
 ʔaʔ c-staʔkmíx iʔ stəmkʔíʔt-s, iʔ
 COMP STAT-MAIDEN DET daughter-3SG.POSS DET
 s-q^wsíʔ-s way ʔəsl-ʔúpənkst ʔ cilkst, way
 NOM-son-3SG.POSS yes two-ten CONJ five yes
 ks-(s)qəltmíx^w-aʔx.
 FUT-man-INCEPT
 ‘Long ago, the people trained a daughter that has come to an age, and when a son is 25, he’s become man.’
- (135) uʔ tliʔ lutíʔ uʔ way ac-c̩əx̃^w-c̩əx̃^w-st-ísəlx
 CONJ DEM NEG CONJ yes CUST-RED-instruct-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 iʔ s-q^wsíʔ-aʔ-səlx.
 DET NOM-son-RED-3PL.POSS
 ‘And they’re already teaching them at a young age.’

- (136) náxəmʔ (ix)íʔ ʔaʔ c-nkacx^wús ilíʔ t ...
 CONJ DEM COMP CUST-time DEM OBL ...
 k^wən^x-spíntk íʔ sqəltmíx^w uʔ íʔ tkʔmilx^w,
 how.many-years DET man CONJ DET woman
 məʔ cəx^w-cəx^w-nt-ísəlx.
 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-ǰast-s íʔ kʔ-cáwt-səlx. lut
 always FUT-good-3SG.POSS DET U.POSS-doings-3PL.POSS NEG
 t ks-tytymúʔ-c, lut t ks-ʔitx-s
 EMPH FUT-lazy-3SG.POSS NEG EMPH FUT-sleep-3SG.POSS
 mi ntəx^wəx^wqín.
 FUT noon
 ‘They always do well, they’re not lazy or sleep ’til noon.’
- (138) nínwíʔs c-x^w-x^wʔilx mi nínwíʔs
 in.a.little.while CUST-RED-get.up FUT in.a.little.while
 c-kn-xit-s íʔ sqilx^w.
 CUST-help-BEN-3SG.ERG DET native.people
 ‘He’ll get up and help others, help the people.’
- (139) kn-xit-s íʔ cniʔc íʔ s-nqs-ilx^w-s.
 help-BEN-3SG.ERG DET 3SG.INDEP DET NOM-one-person-3SG.POSS
 ‘He helps his own family.’
- (140) kn-xit-s íʔ k^wiʔt íʔ sqilx^w íʔ
 help-BEN-3SG.ERG DET others DET native.people DET
 ʔəx^w-əx^w-ʔx^wáp.
 RED-RED-grown
 ‘He helps the others, and especially the elders.’
- (141) ixíʔ lut t taⁿmús kaʔ
 DEM NEG EMPH for.nothing COMP
 c-x^wy-lwis-(s)t-s, kaʔ c-qícəlx-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.’

- (142) mi nínwíʔs kʷəckʷáct t sqəltmíxʷ, mi
 FUT in.a.little.while strong OBL man FUT
 nínwíʔs mi ssysúʃ, kʷaʔ ʔaʔ c-nkacxʷús
 in.a.little.while FUT wise because COMP CUST-time
 ilíʔ t s- ... ʔaʔ c-ʔəʔxʷúmʃ
 DEM OBL NOM ... COMP CUST-young.teenage.girl
 cu-s iʔ sqilxʷ.
 say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET native.people
 ‘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.’
- (143) nkacxʷús ilíʔ uʔ kʷukʷ kʷ qícəlx, uʔ
 time DEM CONJ REP 2SG.ABS run CONJ
 kʷúl-nt-xʷ yaʔyáʔt stím ʔakʔ-
 make-DIR-2SG.ERG all what HAVE
 ‘When it comes time you’re running, and doing everything...’
- (144) i(n)-stəmtímaʔ kʷu cu-s “kʷ
 1SG.POSS-grandmother 1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG 2SG.ABS
 qícəlx mi kʷ qilt kl s-qilt, mi
 run FUT 2SG.ABS over.a.hill LOC NOM-over.a.hill FUT
 kʷ kʷúl-əm t yir, kʷúl-ənt-xʷ iʔ
 2SG.ABS make-MID OBL circle make-DIR-2SG.ERG DET
 xʔut mi tí ... iʔ yir.”
 rock FUT EMPH ... DET circle
 ‘My grandmother told me “Run up the hill and make a ring, put rocks
 around and make a ring.”’
- (145) “məʔ yaʔt stím klíʔ n-ʔískʷəl-mə(n)-nt-xʷ,
 CONJ all what DEM n-throw-MIN-DIR-2SG.ERG
 cun-(n)t-xʷ ‘axáʔ i-kl-cítxʷ, axáʔ
 say-DIR-2SG.ERG DEM 1SG.POSS-U.POSS-house DEM
 i-kl-náxʷnəxʷ kəm
 1SG.POSS-U.POSS-partner CONJ
 i-k(ʔ)-s-xʃlwiʔ.
 1SG.POSS-U.POSS-NOM-husband
 ‘‘And throw everything in the circle, and say ‘This’ll be my house,
 this’ll be my husband or wife.’’

- (146) ‘axáʔ i-k(ʔ)-s-q^wsíʔ-aʔ. axáʔ
 DEM 1SG.POSS-U.POSS-NOM-son-RED DEM
 i-k(ʔ)-s-c-ʔíʔən. nínwíʔs kn
 1SG.POSS-U.POSS-NOM-CUST-eat in.a.little.while 1SG.ABS
 ʔaʔ c-píʔ-əm, lut i-ks-tíʔx^w-əm...ʔ
 COMP CUST-hunt-MID NEG 1SG.POSS-FUT-difficult-MID
 “These will be my children, this will be my food, when I’m hunting, I
 won’t be having a hard time...”
- (147) ‘nínwíʔs kn ʔaʔ c-kʔ-qáq^wəlx, lut
 in.a.little.while 1SG.ABS COMP CUST-HAVE-fish NEG
 i-ks-tíʔx^w-əm. nínwíʔs ʔyíym t
 1SG.POSS-FUT-difficult-MID in.a.little.while easy OBL
 ks-c-k^wa(n)-nú-n-əm yaʔt stím.ʔ
 FUT-CUST-take-MANAGE.TO-MID all what
 “When I go fishing, the fish will bite, and it’ll be easy to bring home
 what my family needs at home.”
- (148) ‘(m)əʔ ixíʔ anwí k^w ʔaʔxáʔ uʔ
 CONJ DEM 2SG.INDEP 2SG.ABS powerful CONJ
 c-q^wəl-q^wíl-st-əm-ən.ʔ
 CUST-RED-speak-CAUS-2SG.ABS-1SG.ERG
 “And you are almighty, you are strong, you are the one I’m asking help
 from.”
- (149) ‘nínwíʔs kn ʔəl-úl t tkʔmilx^w,
 in.a.little.while 1SG.ABS unbeatable-RED OBL woman
 nínwíʔs mi k^wəl-nú-n yaʔt
 in.a.little.while FUT make-MANAGE.TO-(DIR)-1SG.ERG all
 stím.ʔ
 what
 “When I’m an old enough woman, I can do all things.”
- (150) ‘nínwíʔs pintk mi kn kʔ-citx^w, nínwíʔs
 in.a.little.while always FUT 1SG.ABS HAVE-house in.a.little.while
 pintk iʔ sən-ʔíʔən-tən mi q^wíct.ʔ
 always DET LOC-eat-INSTR FUT full
 “I’ll always have a home, I’ll always have cupboards full of food.”

- (151) uʔ ixíʔ məʔ anwí ilíʔ c-x^wəl-x^wált, ʔə
 CONJ DEM CONJ 2SG.INDEP DEM STAT-RED-alive COMP
 n-wnx^w-ínaʔ-mə(n)-nt-s-ən k^waʔ k^wu
 n-true-ear-MIN-DIR-2SG.ABS-1SG.ERG COMP 1SG.ABS
 cəʔ^w-cəʔ^w-nt-ís in-ʔəʔ-əʔ-ʔəʔáʔ.
 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) ixíʔ ʔsápi ʔaʔ c-ʔəʔ^wúm^x swit, uʔ ʔapnáʔ
 DEM long.ago COMP CUST-young.teenage.girl who CONJ now
 ixíʔ lut kím ilíʔ.
 DEM NEG except DEM
 ‘That’s what happened long ago when you reached puberty, and now there’s hardly any of that.’
- (153) ʔapnáʔ iʔ skul ixíʔ aʔ c-cəʔ^w-cəʔ^w-st-ís
 now DET school DEM DET CUST-instruct-RED-CAUS-3SG.ERG
 iʔ s-cə-címálaʔ, lut stím ʔaʔ c-my-st-ísəlx,
 DET NOM-RED-child NEG what COMP CUST-know-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 í kmax c-xíʔt-mist-ləx.
 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) ixíʔ iʔ səl-mí(n)-nt-əm iʔ n-cəʔ^w-ílt-(t)ən-tət,
 DEM DET lose-MIN-DIR-1PL.ERG DET n-instruct-child-INSTR-1PL.POSS
 iʔ kł s-q^wsíʔ-aʔ-tət, kł
 DET LOC NOM-son-RED-1PL.POSS LOC
 s-n-ʔəm-ʔímaʔ-tət, kł
 NOM-RED-grandchild-1PL.POSS LOC
 ʔaʔ-aʔ-túpaʔ-tət. way.
 RED-RED-great.grandchild-1SG.POSS that’s.all
 ‘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 ła? čx'iltəm i? sqilx^w: "When the people trained" (version 2)

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

8.1 Okanagan

q̣sápi istəmtíma? k^wu ck^wúlsts, kn ɬ ɬəłx̣^wúṃx. k^wu cus "lut aksʔítx, ʔapná? nkacx^wús mi k^w k^wúləm. yaʔt stiṃ aksk^wúləm. k^w x^wíłəx, ti cəx^wúys ɬlap, way k^w x^wíłx, məł x^wíłəx məł k^w qəqícəlx. lut ta kstyam, yaʔt stiṃ k^wúl-əntx^w! uł ixí? ʔapná? nkacx^wús, way k^w ɬəłx̣^wúṃx. nínwí? s k^w ɬ tʔul k^w ɬ tkłmilx^w mi pintk ka? ck^wulstx^w ancítx^w. uł kłcítx^waʔx pintk. uł piʔntk ka? s ascʔíłən, ka? cəx^waʔtmíxaʔx ałí? anwí k^w sɬəłx̣^wúṃxaʔx k^wúlənt, k^w k^wulstx^w! way nkacx^wús aksk^wúlst. uł nyʔiʔp, k^wúləntx^w yaʔyáʔt stiṃ, uł k^w ɬa? k^wúləl t tkłmilx^w.... pintk aksk^wúləm, pintk aksx̣síkstəmənəm yaʔyáʔt stiṃ. asq^wsíʔaʔ, t anʔímaʔt, t antaʔaʔtúpaʔ, ixí? aksek^wúl t ʔakłcítx^w uł ilí? k^w mut. lut aksqəqícəlx taʔkín aksɬaʔłʔám t kast t cawt. kast ixí?, lut ilí? aksʔx̣íłəm ití?. piʔntk k^w mi k^w ɬast t tkłmilx^w. piʔntk k^w mi k^w ck^wulstx^w ancítx^w, ck^wulstx^w asənʔamútən. k^wulstx^w asq^wsíʔaʔ. uł taʔlíʔ? ɬaʔx̣á? ixí?." kłcsap ixí? iʔ sʔapná? ɬa? cčx^wiltəm i? sqilx^w. uł ixí? ʔapná? cčx^wčx^wntsín. "uł nínwí? s k^w ɬ tʔul t tkłmilx^w, k^w ɬ kíwəlx, iʔ cčx^wčx^wntíx^w anwí asq^wsíʔaʔ, asənʔamʔímaʔt, antaʔaʔtúpaʔ yaʔt. k^wulstx^wəlx

pintk. xəntíx^wəlx. pintk k^w cʔáćəcstx^wəlx. k^w mut mi cʔáćəcstx^wəlx. lut t¹ yaŋt sʔəłxʔált aksyŋipmínəməlx, aksq^wəlq^wílstəməlx náxəmət cʔáćəcstx^wəlx, uŋ wíkəntx^w stím lut i? xast i? cáwtsəlx. uŋ xəlpstíx^w uŋ q^wəlq^wílstx^w. cuntx^w ‘axá? lut ta xast, wíkəntsn alá? k^w ʔxíləm.’ təhməncútx.” uŋ nyŋip ilí? kn cʔxíləm ití?, ʔapná? way¹ kn kíwləx, way¹ kn təmətʔúpənkst isxəxʔá. uŋ ʔapná? kn stəmtíma?, kn pəptwínax^w. taʔlí? xast axá? i? sqəltmíx^w alá? t ckicx. mət k^wu cswsíwsts uŋ yaŋt kʔpaxntín q̄sápi i? cawts i? sqilx^w. i? cawts istəmtíma? k^wu ʔa? cčəx^wc̄x^wstís. uŋ taʔlí? xast axá? i? sc̄k^wuls John ʔa? c̄q̄əystís yaŋyáŋt stím ʔa? cwtstis i? computer. uŋ ʔapná? ixí? k^wu k^wíts yaŋt isq^wəlq^wílt, uŋ isc̄x^wc̄əx^wáx^w. ixí?.

8.2 Interlinear gloss

- (155) q̄sápi i(n)-stəmtíma? k^wu
 long.ago 1SG.POSS-grandmother 1SG.ABS
 c-k^wúlst-s, kn t¹
 CUST-send.for-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG 1SG.ABS COMP
 ʔəłx^wúmx.
 young.teenage.girl
 ‘A long time ago my grandmother asked me to do things when I reached puberty.’
- (156) k^wu cu-s “lut a-ks-ʔítx, ʔapná?
 1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG NEG 2SG.POSS-FUT-sleep now
 nkacx^wús mi k^w k^wúl-əm.
 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) yaŋt stím a-ks-k^wúl-əm.
 all what 2SG.POSS-FUT-work-MID
 ‘Work at everything.’
- (158) k^w x^wítləx, [tí] c-x^wúy-s x̄lap, way¹
 2SG.ABS get.up EMPH CUST-go-3SG.POSS tomorrow yes
 k^w x^wítlx, mət x^wítləx mət k^w qə-qícəlx.
 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 ta ks-ty-am, yaŋt stím k^wúl-ənt-x^w!
 NEG EMPH FUT-refuse-MID all what work-DIR-2SG.ERG
 ‘Don’t get lazy, you do everything!’

- (160) uł ixí? ʔapná? nkacx^wús, way^ʔ k^w ʔəʔx^wúm^ʔx.
 CONJ DEM now time yes 2SG.ABS young.teenage.girl
 ‘And now it’s time for you, you’re at the age.’
- (161) nínwíʔs k^w ʔ t^ʔul^ʔ k^w ʔ
 in.a.little.while 2SG.ABS COMP unbeatable 2SG.ABS COMP
 tkłmilx^w mi pintk ka? c-k^wul^ʔ-st-x^w
 woman FUT always COMP CUST-work-CAUS-2SG.ERG
 an-cítx^w.
 2SG.POSS-house
 ‘Soon, when you’re strong enough as a woman, you’ll always look after
 your home.’
- (162) uł kł-cítx^w-aʔx pintk.
 CONJ HAVE-house-INCEPT always
 ‘You’re going to have a home always.’
- (163) uł pi^ˈntk ka? [s] a-s-c-ʔíʔən, ka?
 CONJ always COMP 2SG.POSS-NOM-CUST-eat COMP
 c-x^waʔt-míxaʔx aʔí? anwí k^w
 CUST-lots-INTR because 2SG.INDEP 2SG.ABS
 s-ʔəʔx^wúm^ʔx-aʔx k^wúl^ʔ-ənt, k^w
 NOM-young.teenage.girl-INTR work-DIR 2SG.ABS
 k^wul^ʔ-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^ʔ nkacx^wús a-ks-k^wúl^ʔ-st.
 yes time 2SG.POSS-FUT-work-CAUS
 ‘It’s the time of your life for you to transform yourself.’
- (165) uł nyíi^ˈp, k^wul^ʔ-nt-x^w yaʔyaʔt stím, uł k^w
 CONJ always work-DIR-2SG.ERG all what CONJ 2SG.ABS
 ʔa? k^wúl^ʔ-əl t tkłmilx^w....
 COMP make-RED OBL woman
 ‘You always work hard, and train yourself to become a woman.’

- (166) pintk a-ks-k^wúl-əm, pintk
 always 2SG.POSS-FUT-work-MID always
 a-ks-ǰs-íkst-əmən-əm yaŷyáŷt stím,
 2SG.POSS-FUT-good-hand-MIN-MID all what
 a(n)-s-q^wsíŷ-aŷ, t̄
 2SG.POSS-NOM-son-RED EMPH
 a(n)-(s)-n-ŷímaŷt, t̄
 2SG.POSS-NOM-n-grandchild EMPH
 an-taŷ-aŷ-túpaŷ.
 2SG.POSS-RED-RED-great.grandchild
 ‘Always work hard, you have to do everything right for your children,
 your grandchildren, your great-grandchildren.’
- (167) ixíŷ a-ks-c-k^wúl t a-kł-cítx^w
 DEM 2SG.POSS-FUT-CUST-work OBL 2SG.POSS-U.POSS-house
 uł ilíŷ k^w mut.
 CONJ DEM 2SG.ABS sit
 ‘That’s what you have to do is create a good home, and you live there.’
- (168) lut a-ks-qc-qícəlx taŷkín a-ks-ǰaŷ-ǰŷ-ám
 NEG 2SG.POSS-FUT-RED-run where 2SG.POSS-FUT-look.for-RED-MID
 t kast t cawt.
 OBL bad OBL doings
 ‘Don’t run all over the place looking for bad things.’
- (169) kast ixíŷ, lut ilíŷ a-ks-ŷǰíl-əm itíŷ.
 bad DEM NEG DEM 2SG.POSS-FUT-do.like-MID DEM
 ‘That’s not right, don’t do that.’
- (170) pi^{••}ntk k^w mi k^w ǰast t tkłmilx^w.
 always 2SG.ABS FUT 2SG.ABS good OBL woman
 ‘You always be a good woman.’
- (171) pi^{•••}nk k^w mi k^w c-k^wúl-st-x^w
 always 2SG.ABS FUT 2SG.ABS CUST-work-CAUS-2SG.ERG
 an-cítx^w, c-k^wúl-st-x^w
 2SG.POSS-house CUST-work-CAUS-2SG.ERG
 a(n)-sən-ŷamút-(t)ən.
 2SG.POSS-LOC-sitting.place-INSTR
 ‘Always fix your house, keep it tidy keep it clean.’

- (172) k^wul¹-st-x^w a(n)-s-q^wsí?-a?. uł ta?lí?~?
 work-CAUS-2SG.ERG 2SG.POSS-NOM-son-RED CONJ very
 ʃa?ʃá? ixí?~
 powerful DEM
 ‘You always work with your children, it’s very sacred.’”
- (173) k¹čsap ixí? i? s-ɣapná? ɫa? c-č^wɫt-əm i?
 past DEM DET NOM-now COMP CUST-instruct-child-MID DET
 sqilx^w.
 native.people.
 ‘That’s past and gone now, the people don’t lecture their children.’
- (174) uł ixí? ɣapná? č^wč^w-nt-s-ín.
 CONJ DEM now instruct-RED-DIR-2SG.ABS-1SG.ERG
 ‘And I’m going to pass it on to you.’
- (175) “uł nínwi?s k^w ɫ i?ul¹
 CONJ in.a.little.while 2SG.ABS COMP unbeatable
 t tkɫmilx^w, k^w ɫ kíwəlx, i?
 OBL woman 2SG.ABS COMP old.body DET
 č^wč^w-nt-íx^w anwí
 instruct-RED-DIR-2SG.ERG 2SG.INDEP
 a(n)-s-q^wsí?-a?, a(n)-s-n-?am-?íma?t,
 2SG.POSS-NOM-son-RED 2SG.POSS-NOM-n-RED-grandchild
 an-ta?-a?-túpa? yaɫt.
 2SG.POSS-RED-RED-great.grandchild all
 ‘‘And when you become a strong woman and you become old, you can
 lecture your children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, everyone.’
- (176) [k]^wul¹-st-x^w-əlx¹³ pintk. ʃə?-nt-íx^w-əlx.
 work-CAUS-2SG.ERG-3PL.ABS always stop-DIR-2SG.ERG-3PL.ABS
 ‘Encourage them, always work with them, and stop from doing things
 that aren’t right.’
- (177) pintk k^w c-ɣác-əč-st-x^w-əlx.
 always 2SG.ABS CUST-look-RED-CAUS-2SG.ERG-3PL.ABS
 k^w mut mi c-ɣác-əč-st-x^w-əlx.
 2SG.ABS sit FUT CUST-look-RED-CAUS-2SG.ERG-3PL.ABS
 ‘You always watch them, and you keep watching them...’

¹³ The initial /k/ in this form is phonetically realized as an [x], probably due to a fast-speech effect.

- (178) lut t̄ yaŋt s̄x̄əlx̄f̄ált a-ks-yŋip-mín-əm-əlx,
 NEG EMPH all day 2SG.POSS-FUT-trouble-MIN-MID-3PL.ABS
 a-ks-q^wəl-q^wíl-st-əm-əlx náx̄əm̄t̄
 2SG.POSS-FUT-RED-talk-CAUS-MID-3PL.ABS CONJ
 c-ŋác-əc̄-st-x^w-əlx, ūt̄
 CUST-look-RED-CAUS-2SG.ERG-3PL.ABS CONJ
 wík-nt-x^w st̄im̄ lut i? x̄ast i?
 see-DIR-2SG.ERG what NEG DET good DET
 cáwt-səlx.
 doings-3PL.POSS
 ‘And don’t bawl them them out everyday, you can talk to them if you
 see them doing something wrong.’
- (179) ūt̄ x̄əlp-st-íx^w ūt̄ q^wəl-q^wíl-st-x^w.
 CONJ stop-CAUS-2SG.ERG CONJ RED-talk-CAUS-2SG.ERG
 ‘And stop them and talk to them.’
- (180) cun-(n)t-x^w ‘axá? lut t̄a x̄ast, wíkə-nt-s-(n)
 say-DIR-2SG.ERG DEM NEG EMPH good see-DIR-2SG.ABS-(1SG.ERG)
 alá? k^w ?x̄íl-əm.’ t̄ə̄t̄-m-əncút-x.”
 DEM 2SG.ABS do.like-MID straight-MID-REFLEX-IMP
 ‘You say ‘I’ve seen you that you’ve done this and it’s not right.’
 Straighten them out.’”
- (181) ūt̄ nyŋip ilí? kn c-?x̄íl-əm ití?, ŋapná?
 CONJ always DEM 1SG.ABS CUST-do.like-MID DEM now
 waȳ kn kíwləx, waȳ kn t̄əm̄t̄-ŋúpənkst
 yes 1SG.ABS old.body yes 1SG.ABS eight-ten
 i(n)-s-łəx̄-łx̄áp.
 1SG.POSS-NOM-RED-grown
 ‘I’ve tried my best to follow that, and now I’m getting old, I’m
 eighty-years old.’
- (182) ūt̄ ŋapná? kn stəmtíma?, kn pəptwínax^w.
 CONJ now 1SG.ABS grandmother 1SG.ABS old.lady
 ‘And now I’m a grandmother, I’m an old lady.’
- (183) ta?lí? x̄ast axá? i? sqəltmíx^w alá? t c-kic-x.
 very good DEM DET man DEM OBL CISL-arrive(SG)-INTR
 ‘It’s good that this man came here to talk to me about all that.’

- (184) məʃ k^wu c-sw-síw-st-s uʃ yaʔt
 CONJ 1SG.ABS CUST-RED-ask-CAUS-3SG.ERG CONJ all
 kʰpaʃ-nt-ín q̣sápi iʔ cawt-s iʔ
 figure.out-DIR-1SG.ERG long.ago DET doing-3SG.POSS DET
 sqilx^w.
 native.people
 ‘He’s asking me questions and I’m thinking back how people used to do things.’
- (185) iʔ cawt-s i(n)-stəmtímaʔ k^wu ʃaʔ
 DET doing-3SG.POSS 1SG.POSS-grandmother 1SG.ABS COMP
 c-čəʃ^w-čəʃ^w-st-ís.
 CUST-instruct-RED-CAUS-3SG.ERG
 ‘What my grandmother did when she lectured me.’
- (186) uʃ taʔlíʔ? ʃast axáʔ iʔ s-c-k^wul^ʔ-s John
 CONJ very good DEM DET NOM-CUST-work-3SG.POSS John
 ʃaʔ c-q̣əʔ^ʔ-st-ís yaʔyaʔt stim ʃaʔ
 COMP CUST-write-CAUS-3SG.ERG all what COMP
 c-wt-st-is 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) uʃ ʃapnáʔ ixíʔ k^wu k^wi(n)-ʃt-s yaʔt
 CONJ now DEM 1SG.ABS take-APPL-3SG.ERG all
 i-s-q^wəl-q^wʃt, uʃ i-s-čəʃ^w-čəʃ^w-áʃ^w.
 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 her 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 that went and listened 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 ʔa? čxʷiltəm i? sqilxʷ: "When the people trained" (version 3)

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

9.1 Okanagan

q̓sápi ʔa? c̓əʔčxʷúm̓x i? tk̓m̓ilxʷ, ʔúp̓ənkst uʔ c̓ilkst sp̓intk uʔ kʷ ʔčxʷum̓x. ʔúp̓ənkst uʔ mus, uʔ kʷ ʔčxʷum̓x. uʔ i? ʔəx̓əx̓čx̓áʔ cunts "xʷúyx! q̓ícəlxəx! xʷúyx, nyʔiʔp̓ c̓q̓ícəlxəx, mi as̓t̓xʷəncút, kʷəckʷəctw̓ilx. məʔ ixí? aks... nyʔip̓ ilí? kʷ sʔx̓ílaʔx ití? l̓ naq̓sp̓intk. nyʔip̓ kʷ xʷylwis, kʷəckʷəctw̓ilx asp̓íw̓p̓w̓." uʔ istəm̓tíma? kʷu kʷulsts, kn̓ čx̓əp̓íkst, čx̓əp̓ ink̓ílx. uʔ kʷu cus istəm̓tíma? "lut kʷ t̓ə ʔčx̓əc̓əp̓x̓án, way̓ t̓i kʷ ʔast aksq̓ícəlx. xʷuyx! kʷulstx!" uʔ kʷu cus "kʷ xʷuy mi kʷ q̓ilt l̓ sq̓ilt, mi kʷ kʷúləm̓ t̓ km̓intxʷ i? x̓lut t̓i yir... mi kʷ t̓iʔx t̓la? lkʷut məʔ nʔískʷlm̓əntxʷ an i? x̓lut k̓li? məʔ yaʔt̓ i? st̓im̓ an̓x̓m̓ínk. ʔap̓ná? kʷ sk̓ʷəkʷíym̓əlt, lut aksx̓ílw̓iʔ, aksq̓ʷsíʔaʔ, yaʔt̓ akst̓im̓. uʔ kʷ ʔ t̓íʔul̓ kʷ t̓ tk̓m̓ilxʷ uʔ mpiy lut ksxačs akskʷnúnəm̓ ixí? ixí? ki? kʷ ksʔx̓ílaʔx ití? yaʔt̓ st̓im̓ aks nʔískʷələmnəm̓ məʔ čx̓áʔyaq̓n̓. mus ilí? aksʔx̓íləm̓ ití? uʔ mi wiʔst̓íxʷ. uʔ n̓ínw̓iʔs kʷ ʔ t̓íʔul̓ t̓ tk̓m̓ilxʷ mi n̓ínw̓iʔs kʷ k̓c̓itxʷ. n̓ínw̓iʔs kʷ ksq̓ʷsíʔaʔ, kʷ k̓k̓əw̓áʔ, kʷ kst̓əm̓íʔált, kʷ yaʔt̓ st̓im̓, alá? l̓ as̓nʔam̓útən. áʔi? kʷúləntxʷ kʷ ʔ ʔčxʷum̓x. itl̓í? mi kʷ kʷəckʷəctw̓ilx, mi kʷúləntxʷ, xʷúskst̓m̓əntxʷ i? st̓im̓ ʔa? c̓kʷulstxʷ. uʔ kʷ ʔ t̓íʔul̓ t̓ tk̓m̓ilxʷ ilí? kʷ sʔx̓ílaʔx ití? pintk mi (kʷ) kʷəckʷáctcut kʷ c̓łáx̓scut st̓im̓ ʔa? c̓kʷulstxʷ. uʔ q̓ʷaʔm̓íntxʷ, uʔ kʷ ʔa? t̓íʔul̓ t̓ tk̓m̓ilxʷ, kʷ ʔa? q̓ʷsíʔam̓.... ixí? akscunm̓áʔm̓ asq̓ʷsíʔaʔ. ixí? ʔap̓ná? k̓c̓awt kʷ ʔ ʔčxʷum̓x ʔap̓ná?.

9.2 Interlinear gloss

- (188) q̣sápi ɬaʔ c-ɬəʔx̣ʷúm̄x iʔ tk̄m̄ilx̣ʷ, ʔúp̄ənkst
 long.ago COMP CUST-young.teenage.girl DET woman ten
 uʔ cilkst spintk uʔ ḳʷ ɬx̣ʷúm̄x.
 CONJ five years CONJ 2SG.ABS young.teenage.girl
 ‘A long time ago when a woman reached puberty, at fifteen, you reach
 puberty.’
- (189) ʔúp̄ənkst uʔ mus, uʔ ḳʷ ɬx̣ʷúm̄x.
 ten CONJ four CONJ 2SG.ABS young.teenage.girl
 ‘Or at fourteen, you reach puberty.’
- (190) uʔ iʔ ʔəx̣-əx̣-ʔx̣áʔ cu(n)-nt-s “x̣ʷúy-x! q̣ícəlx-əx!
 CONJ DET RED-RED-grown say-DIR-3SG.ERG go-IMP run-IMP
 ‘And the elders would tell her “Go, Run!”
- (191) x̣ʷúy-x, nỵíʔp̄ c-q̣ícəlx-əx, mi a(n)-s-ɬx̣ʷ-əncút,
 go-IMP always CUST-run-IMP FUT 2SG.POSS-NOM-breath-REFLEX
 ḳʷəcḳʷəct-wíl̄x.
 strong-DEV
 ‘Go, always run so that your breathing becomes strong.’
- (192) məʔ ixíʔ a-ks- ... nỵíʔp̄ ilíʔ ḳʷ
 CONJ DEM 2SG.POSS-FUT- ... always DEM 2SG.ABS
 s-ʔx̣íl-aʔx itíʔ l̄ naqs-(s)p̄íntk.
 NOM-do.like-INTR DEM LOC one-year
 ‘And you should do like that for one year.’
- (193) nỵíʔp̄ ḳʷ x̣ʷy-lwis, ḳʷəcḳʷəct-wíl̄x
 always 2SG.ABS go-here.and.there strong-DEV
 a(n)-s-píw-p̄w̄.”
 2SG.POSS-NOM-lung-RED
 ‘Always move around, your lungs will become strong.’
- (194) uʔ i(n)-stəmtímaʔ ḳʷu ḳʷulst-s,
 CONJ 1SG.POSS-grandmother 1SG.ABS request-(DIR)-3SG.ERG
 kn ʔx̣ʷəc̣-p-íkst, ʔx̣ʷəc̣-ap in-k̄l̄x.
 1SG.ABS break-INCH-arm break-INCH 1SG.POSS-hand
 ‘And my grandmother called for me, I broke my arm, my hand was
 broken.’

- (195) uʔ k^wu cu-s i(n)-stəmtímaʔ “lut
 CONJ 1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG 1SG.POSS-grandmother NEG
 k^w tə ʃ^wəc’-əp-xán, way’ tí k^w ʃast
 2SG.ABS EMPH break-INCH-leg yes EMPH 1SG.ABS good
 a-ks-qícəlx. x^wuy-x! k^wul’-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) uʔ k^wu cu-s “k^w x^wuy mi k^w
 CONJ 1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG 2SG.ABS go FUT 2SG.ABS
 qilt l s-qilt, mi k^w k^wúl-əm t
 over.a.hill LOC NOM-over.a.hill FUT 2SG.ABS make-MID OBL
 k^wmin-(n)t-x^w iʔ x^wut tí 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 k^w tíx tlaʔ lk^wut məʔ n-ʔísk^wl-mən-(n)t-x^w
 FUT 2SG.ABS stand DEM far.away CONJ n-throw-MIN-DIR-2SG.ERG
 an- iʔ x^wut kliʔ məʔ yaʔt iʔ stím
 2SG.POSS DET rock DEM CONJ all DET what
 an-ʃmínk. ʔapnáʔ k^w s-k^wə-k^wíy-m-əlt,
 2SG.POSS-want now 2SG.ABS NOM-RED-small-m-child
 lut a-k(ʔ)-s-ʃílwiʔ,
 NEG 2SG.POSS-U.POSS-NOM-husband
 a-k(ʔ)-s-q^wsíʔ-aʔ, yaʔt
 2SG.POSS-U.POSS-NOM-son-RED all
 a-k(ʔ)-stím.
 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) uʔ k^w ʔ t̚ t̚ʔul k^w t
 CONJ 2SG.ABS COMP unbeatable 2SG.ABS OBL
 tk̚m̚l̚x^w uʔ [mpiy] lut ks-xač-s
 woman CONJ NEG FUT-difficult-3SG.POSS
 a-ks-k^w(n)-nún-əm ixíʔ.
 2SG.POSS-FUT-take-MANAGE.TO-MID DEM
 ‘And you will be an unbeatable woman and it won’t be hard for you to
 get those things.’
- (199) ixíʔ kiʔ k^w ks-ʔx̚l̚-aʔx itíʔ yaʔt stím
 DEM COMP 2SG.ABS FUT-do.like-INCEPT DEM all what
 a-ks-n-ʔisk^wəl-əm̚n-əm mət̚ ʃ^wáyaq̚n.
 2SG.POSS-FUT-n-throw-MIN-MID CONJ pile
 ‘That’s what you do there, throw everything into a pile.’
- (200) mus ilíʔ a-ks-ʔx̚l̚-əm itíʔ uʔ mi
 four DEM 2SG.POSS-FUT-do.like-MID DEM CONJ FUT
 wiʔ-st-íx^w.
 finish-CAUS-2SG.ERG
 ‘You do that four times and you’ll be finished.’
- (201) uʔ n̚n̚wiʔs k^w ʔ t̚ t̚ʔul t tk̚m̚l̚x^w
 CONJ in.a.little.while 2SG.ABS COMP unbeatable OBL woman
 mi n̚n̚wiʔs k^w k̚l̚-citx^w.
 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) n̚n̚wiʔs k^w k(ʔ)-s-q^wsíʔ-aʔ, k^w
 in.a.little.while 2SG.ABS HAVE-NOM-son-RED 2SG.ABS
 k̚l̚-kəwáp, k^w k(ʔ)-stəmʔált, k^w yaʔt stím,
 HAVE-horse 2SG.ABS HAVE-cow 2SG.ABS all what
 aláʔ l̚ a-sən-ʔamút-(t)ən.
 DEM LOC 2SG.POSS-LOC-sitting.place-INSTR
 ‘Eventually you’ll have children, you’ll have horses and cows, you’ll
 have everything here in your house.’
- (203) áíʔ k^wul-nt-x^w k^w ʔ ʃ^wum̚x.
 because work-DIR-2SG.ERG 2SG.ABS COMP young.teenage.girl
 ‘Because you worked for it when you reached that age.’

- (204) itlɪʔ mi kʷ kʷəckʷəct-wɪlx, mi kʷul-nt-xʷ,
 DEM FUT 2SG.ABS strong-DEV FUT work-DIR-2SG.ERG
 xʷús-kst-mən-(n)t-xʷ iʔ stɪm ʔaʔ
 hurry-hand-MIN-DIR-2SG.ERG DET what COMP
 c-kʷul-st-xʷ.
 CUST-work-CAUS-2SG.ERG
 ‘From that you’ll become strong, you’ll work, and be quick at whatever
 you work at.’
- (205) uʔ kʷ ʔ iʔul t tkɪmilxʷ ilɪʔ kʷ
 CONJ 2SG.ABS COMP unbeatable OBL woman DEM 2SG.ABS
 s-ʔxɪl-aʔx itɪʔ.
 NOM-do.like-INTR DEM
 ‘And you’ll be an unbeatable woman because you did that.’
- (206) pintk mi (kʷ) kʷəckʷáct-cut kʷ c-ʔáx-scut
 always FUT 2SG.ABS strong-REFLEX 2SG.ABS CUST-fast-REFLEX
 stɪm ʔaʔ c-kʷul-st-xʷ.
 what COMP CUST-work-CAUS-2SG.ERG
 ‘You’ll always be strong and fast at whatever you work at.’
- (207) uʔ qʷaʔm-(m)ɪn-(n)t-xʷ, uʔ kʷ ʔaʔ
 CONJ accustomed-MIN-DIR-2SG.ERG CONJ 2SG.ABS COMP
 iʔul t tkɪmilxʷ, kʷ ʔaʔ qʷsɪʔ-am.”
 unbeatable OBL woman 2SG.ABS COMP son-MID
 ‘You’ll get used to it, and you’ll be an unbeatable woman, you’ll have
 children.’”
- (208) ixɪʔ a-ks-cunmáʔ-m a-s-qʷsɪʔ-aʔ.
 DEM 2SG.POSS-FUT-teach-MID 2SG.POSS-NOM-son-RED
 ‘That’s what you teach your kids.’
- (209) ixɪʔ ʔapnáʔ kɪ-cawt kʷ ʔ ʔxʷumx
 DEM now U.POSS-doings 2SG.ABS COMP young.teenage.girl
 ʔapnáʔ.
 now
 ‘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.

10 i? n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ: “The lake monster” (version 1)

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

q̄sápi kʷukʷ i? captíkʷt, axá? i? t̄ikʷt kʷukʷ. kʔəsʔasíl t n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ a? ctyaqʷt l t̄ikʷt, l nyxʷt̄itᵏʷs i? t siwʔkʷ. uʔ ití? i? naqs pəpúlst, uʔ ixí? sxʷuys, t̄ixəl̄x kl, tac kl nkmk̄mips i? t̄ikʷt. uʔ ixí? sxʷuys. uʔ xʷuysts i? siwʔkʷ kl sənxaʔ-cínəms, kʷa? c̄kʷilk i? siwʔkʷ. uʔ kicx ixí? kl Stump Lake. uʔ ilí? n̄cxʷaxʷ i? siwʔkʷ. uʔ q̄sápi kʷu ʔaʔc, púti? kʷu ʔa? c̄qəyám kl Kamloops, uʔ lut kʷa? kʷu ʔa cxʷylwis kaʔkín, lut kʷu t̄ ʔak̄n̄xʷylwístən. uʔ ixí? kʷu..., wíkəntəm i? təcʔx̄f̄ ʔa? c̄t̄akʷ i? c̄əlcál. sxʔx̄ilx ki? ʔúmstsəl̄x t Stump Lake, kʷa? ixí? mat itlí?, itlí? mət̄ ixí? sc̄t̄akʷs i? c̄əlcál. kʷa? q̄sápi cút̄l̄əx ixí? c..., kʷukʷ yaʔyáʔt̄ ixí? c̄əlcál. uʔ lut ilí? t̄ ʔaksíwʔkʷ uʔ kli? i? siwʔkʷ i? xʷuysts a? n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ, uʔ k̄klíw̄səl̄x. ixí? i? sm̄ȳm̄ȳays. ixí?.

10.2 Interlinear gloss

- (210) q̄sápi kʷukʷ i? captíkʷt, axá? i? t̄ikʷt kʷukʷ.
 long.ago REP DET legend DEM DET lake REP
 ‘A long time ago there was a legend about this lake.’
- (211) k-ʔəs-ʔasíl t n-̄xaʔ-x̄ʔ-ítᵏʷ a? c-tyaqʷt
 k-RED-two(HUMAN) OBL n-monster-RED-water DET CUST-fight
 l t̄ikʷt, l n-yxʷt-itᵏʷ-s i? t siwʔkʷ.
 LOC lake LOC n-under-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 ití? i? naqs pə-púlst, uʔ ixí?
 CONJ DEM DET one RED-beat.somebody CONJ DEM
 s-xʷuy-s, t̄ix-əl̄x kl, tac kl
 NOM-go-3SG.POSS get.to.shore-body LOC over LOC
 n-km-k̄mip-s i? t̄ikʷt.
 n-RED-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.’

- (213) uł ixí? s-x^wuy-s. uł x^wuy-st-s i?
 CONJ DEM NOM-go-3SG.POSS CONJ go-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET
 siwłk^w kł sən-xa?cín-əm-s, k^wa? c-k^wilk
 water LOC LOC-on.the.way-MID-3SG.POSS COMP CUST-roll
 i? siwłk^w.
 DET water
 ‘He went and he pushed the water ahead of him, and the water rolled
 right further along.’
- (214) uł kic-x ixí? kł Stump Lake.
 CONJ arrive(SG)-INTR DEM LOC Stump Lake
 ‘And it ended up in Stump Lake.’
- (215) uł ilí? n-cx^w-ax^w i? siwłk^w.
 CONJ DEM n-pour.liquid-RED DET water
 ‘And the water poured into that canyon.’
- (216) uł qśápi k^wu ła?-c, púti? k^wu ła?
 CONJ long.ago 1PL.ABS COMP-CUST still 1PL.ABS COMP
 c-qəy-ám kł Kamloops, uł lut k^wa? k^wu
 CUST-write-MID LOC Kamloops CONJ NEG COMP 1PL.ABS
 ła c-x^wy-lwis ka?kín, lut k^wu
 EMPH CUST-go-here.and.there where NEG 1PL.ABS
 t ʔakł-(s)n-x^wy-lwís-tən...
 EMPH HAVE-LOC-go-here.and.there-INSTR
 ‘And a long time ago when we went to school in Kamloops, because
 we didn’t travel much, we didn’t have any vehicles...’
- (217) uł ixí? k^wu ... wík-nt-əm i? təc?xíł (ła?)
 CONJ DEM 1PL.ABS ... see-DIR-1PL.ERG DET like COMP
 c-tʔak^w i? cəlćál.
 CUST-come.to.the.surface DET trees
 ‘And we’d see the trees and the posts were coming up.’

- (218) sxʔxilx kiʔ ʔúm-st-səlx t Stump
 why COMP name-CAUS-3PL.ERG OBL Stump
 Lake, kʷaʔ ixíʔ mat itlíʔ, itlíʔ məʔ ixíʔ
 Lake COMP DEM EPIS DEM DEM CONJ DEM
 s-c-ʔʔakʷ-s iʔ c-čəlcál.
 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 ʔsápi cúʔ-ləx ixíʔ c- ... kʷukʷ yaʔyaʔʔt ixíʔ
 COMP long.ago say-3PL.ABS DEM CUST ... REP all DEM
 c-čəlcál.
 CUST-trees
 ‘They say long ago there was trees all over there.’
- (220) uʔ lut ilíʔ ʔ ʔak(ʔ)-síwʔkʷ uʔ kliʔ iʔ siwʔkʷ
 CONJ NEG DEM EMPH HAVE-water CONJ DEM DET water
 iʔ xʷuy-st-s aʔ n-ʃaʔ-ʃʔ-ítʔkʷ, uʔ
 DET go-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET n-monster-RED-water CONJ
 kʔ-kl-íw(s)-səlx.
 kʔ-split-middle-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 ‘There was no water there until that monster brought some of this water,
 and they split from here.’
- (221) ixíʔ iʔ s-mʔ-mʔ-ayʔ-s. ixíʔ.
 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 Kamloops, 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.

10.4 Additional commentary, version 1

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.

11 i? nʰaʔxʔítʰkʷ: “The lake monster” (version 2)

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

11.1 Okanagan

i? nʰaʔxʔítʰkʷ alá? l tíkʷt. i? tkʰmilxʷ i? twísxən i? qəpɣíntəns, taʰt kʷukʷ txʷaʔqín. ti qʷɣay kʷukʷ i? qəpɣíntəns. sqilxʷ t tkʰmilxʷ. uʰ i? kʷiʰt i? sqilxʷ wiks ixíʔ. uʰ cut kʷukʷ i? ʎəxəʎʎáʔp “lut kəʎaʔʎaʔstíp. wíkəntp, mi p qəlílt. taʔlíʔ ʎaʔxáʔ, lut aksʎaʔʎám. wiks swit uʰ məyntís náxəmʰ, lut aksnstíls ‘incákn cakʷ wíkən.’ kʷ ksqíltax. taʔlíʔ ʎaʔxáʔ. uʰ yaʔyáʔt i? l tíkʷt kʷukʷ kʰnʰaʔxʔítʰkʷ. uʰ axáʔ aláʔ l tíkʷt sqəltmíxʷ uʰ tkʰmilxʷ. uʰ ixíʔ axáʔ i? mʰiwt i? lahacʔínak uʰ sqʷmálst, ixíʔ i? skʷists axáʔ i? ʔasíl. uʰ axáʔ i? tíkʷt, nʰaʔxʔítʰkʷ. uʰ xʷuy kl tac kl tkəmlúps i? xəwíʰ cklíʔ i? tíkʷt, i? sʔums i? sámaʔ t Stump Lake. ixíʔ kʷukʷ klíʔ cəʎcál. uʰ i? tyaqʷt aláʔ i? nʰaʔxʔítʰkʷ i? siwʰkʷ. uʰ atláʔ yalt i? pəpúlst, uʰ klíʔ kicx uʰ ilíʔ kʷúləl ixíʔ t tíkʷt, lut kʷukʷ ilíʔ t ʔakʰtíkʷt. uʰ ixíʔ kʷu ʎaʔ cʔawskúl qʰsápi. wíkəntəm i? ʎaʔ ctəʔákʷ aʔ cəʎcál, kʷaʔ mat scʔxiʰ atáʔ t nskʷut aʔ cəʎcál... ..uʰ nəxʷaxʷ t siwʰkʷ uʰ mat ilíʔ, məʰ təʔákʷ ʎaʔc, xʷil i? sʔaxʷíps məʰ tətʔákʷ aʔ cəʎcál. uʰ ixíʔ i? sámaʔ ʔums t Stump Lake. ixíʔ nixʷ aʔ nʰaʔxʔítʰkʷ tacklíʔ. ixíʔ qʰsápi i? smʰyáʔs i? nʰaʔxʔítʰkʷ yaʔyáʔt taʔkín, i? skʷúləls i? təmxʷúlaʔxʷ uʰ

taʔlíʔ íʔ ʎəʃəʃʎáʔp cʃaʔstísəlx. cʃaʔstísəlx íʔ siwʔk^w k^waʔ ilíʔ itlíʔ íʔ qáqx^wəlx
kaʔ cʔəʔʔíʔənləx. yaʔyaʔt stim tɪ siwʔk^w k^wísəlx uʔ ʔíʔsəlx. ixíʔ cʔamnstíməlx
íʔ t tík^wt. ixíʔ aʔ cʃaʔstís íʔ sqilx^w. lutaʔ ck^wsáltkəms lut stim t̄ cnq^waʔítk^ws íʔ
kást íʔ stim l siwʔk^w. taʔlíʔ cʃaʔstísəlx íʔ cəwəwíxaʔ. ixíʔ.

11.2 Interlinear gloss

- (222) íʔ n-ʃaʔ-ʃʔ-ít^w aláʔ l tík^wt.
DET n-monster-RED-water DEM LOC lake
‘There’s a monster in this lake.’
- (223) íʔ tkʔmilx^w íʔ twísxən íʔ qəpɔqíntən-s, taʔt k^wuk^w
DET woman DET long.hair DET hair-3SG.POSS straight REP
t-x^waʔ-qín.
t-much-hair
‘There was a woman with long hair, they said she had a lot of hair.’
- (224) t̄i q^wʔay k^wuk^w íʔ qəpɔqíntən-s.
EMPH black REP DET hair-3SG.POSS
‘And they say her hair was black.’
- (225) sqilx^w t tkʔmilx^w.
native.person OBL woman
‘She was an indian woman.’
- (226) uʔ íʔ k^wíʔt íʔ sqilx^w wik-s ixíʔ.
CONJ DET some DET native.people see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DEM
‘And a few of the people saw her.’
- (227) uʔ cut k^wuk^w íʔ ʎəʃəʃʎáʔp “lut
CONJ say REP DET RED-RED-grown NEG
k-c-ʎaʔ-ʎaʔ-st-íp.
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 qəl-íʔ-t.
see-DIR-2PL.ERG FUT 2PL.ABS sick-RED-t
‘If you see her, you’ll get sick.’
- (229) taʔlíʔ ʃaʔʃáʔ, lut a-ks-ʎaʔ-ʎʔ-ám.
very powerful NEG 2SG.POSS-FUT-look.for-RED-MID
‘She’s very powerful, don’t look for her.’

- (230) wik-s swit uʔ məy-nt-ís náǰəmʔ,
 see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG who CONJ tell-DIR-3SG.ERG CONJ
 lut a-ks-nstíls ‘incá-kn cak^w
 NEG 2SG.POSS-FUT-think 1SG.INDEP-1SG.ABS BOUL
 wík-ən.’
 see-(DIR)-1SG.ERG
 ‘If someone sees her then tell about it, but don’t think ‘I wish I’d seen her.’’
- (231) k^w ks-ǰílt-aʔx. taʔlíʔ ǰaʔǰáʔ.
 2SG.ABS FUT-sick-INCEPT very powerful
 ‘You’ll get sick. She’s very powerful.’’
- (232) uʔ yaʔyaʔʔt iʔ l tik^wt k^wuk^w kʔ-n-ǰaʔ-ǰʔ-ít^w.
 CONJ all DET LOC lake REP HAVE-n-monster-RED-water
 ‘And they say all these lakes have a sea monster.’
- (233) uʔ axáʔ aláʔ l tik^wt sqəltmíx^w uʔ tkʔmilx^w.
 CONJ DEM DEM LOC lake man CONJ woman
 ‘And here at this lake was a man and a woman.’
- (234) uʔ ixíʔ axáʔ iʔ mǰ^wiwt iʔ lahacʔínak
 CONJ DEM DEM DET mountain DET otter.woman(SHUSWAP)
 uʔ sq^wmálst, ixíʔ iʔ sk^wist-s axáʔ iʔ
 CONJ stone(SHUSWAP) DEM DET name-3SG.POSS DEM DET
 ʔasíl.
 two
 ‘And these mountains are “Otter Woman” and “Stone”, these are the names of the two.’
- (235) uʔ axáʔ iʔ tik^wt, n-ǰaʔ-ǰʔ-ít^w.
 CONJ DEM DET lake n-monster-RED-water
 ‘And this lake, there’s a sea monster.’
- (236) uʔ x^wuy kʔl tac kʔl tkəmlúps iʔ xəwíʔ c-kliʔ iʔ
 CONJ go LOC over LOC Kamloops DET road over.there DET
 tik^wt, iʔ s-ʔum-s iʔ sámaʔ t Stump
 lake DET NOM-call-3SG.POSS DET white.person OBL Stump
 Lake.
 Lake
 ‘And it went over towards Kamloops, the lake rolled over to what the whites call “Stump Lake.”’

- (237) ixí? k^wuk^w kli? c-čəlcál.
 DEM REP DEM CUST-trees
 ‘They say there used to be trees there.’
- (238) uł i? tyaq^wt alá? i? n-ša?-š?-ít^w i? siwłk^w.
 CONJ DET fight DEM DET n-monster-RED-water DET water
 ‘And the sea monsters fought here in the water.’
- (239) uł atlá? yalt i? pə-púlst, uł kli?
 CONJ DEM run.away DET RED-beat.someone CONJ DEM
 kic-x uł ilí? k^wúl-əl ixí? t t^ík^wt, lut
 arrive(SG)-INTR CONJ DEM make-RED DEM OBL lake NEG
 k^wuk^w ilí? t ?akł-t^ík^wt.
 REP DEM EMPH HAVE-lake
 ‘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.’
- (240) uł ixí? k^wu ła? c-(k)-?aws-(s)kúl qsápi.
 CONJ DEM 1PL.ABS COMP CUST-k-go-school long.ago
 ‘And a long time ago we went to school.’
- (241) wík-nt-əm i? ła? c-tə-t’ák^w a?
 see-DIR-1PL.ERG DET COMP CUST-RED-come.to.the.surface DET
 c-čəlcál, k^wa? mat sc?xił atá? t nsk^wut a?
 CUST-trees because EPIS like DEM OBL across DET
 c-čəlcál...
 CUST-trees
 ‘We’d see the floating stumps, because there must’ve been trees down deep.’
- (242) ...uł n-čx^w-ax^w t siwłk^w uł mat ilí?,
 CONJ n-liquid.pours-RED OBL water CONJ EPIS DEM
 məł t’ə?ák^w (ła?-c), (kł)š^wil i?
 CONJ come.to.the.surface COMP-CUST many DET
 s-šax^wíp-s məł t’ə-t’ák^w a?
 NOM-root-3SG.POSS CONJ RED-come.to.the.surface DET
 c-čəlcál.
 CUST-trees
 ‘And the water poured in there and there were lots of stumps and roots.’

- (243) uł ixí? i? sáma? ?um-s t Stump
 CONJ DEM DET white.person name-(DIR)-3SG.ERG OBL Stump
 Lake.
 Lake
 ‘And the whites call it Stump Lake.’
- (244) ixí? nix^w a? n-ǰa?-ǰ?-ít^w tac-klí?
 DEM also DET n-monster-RED-water over-there
 ‘And there’s also a sea monster over there.’
- (245) ixí? q̄sápi i? s-m̄y-m̄y-ay-s i?
 DEM long.ago DET NOM-RED-story-RED-3SG.POSS DET
 n-ǰa?-ǰa?-ǰ?-ít^w yaŋyáŋt ta?kín, i?
 n-RED-monster-RED-water all where DET
 s-k^wúl-əl-s i? təm^wúla?x^w uł ta?lí?
 NOM-make-RED-3SG.POSS DET land CONJ very
 i? ǰǰǰ-ǰǰ-ǰǰáp c-ǰa?-st-ísəl^x.
 DET RED-RED-grown CUST-sacred-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 ‘That was her story; the sea monsters made all the land, and the Elders really respected that.’
- (246) c-ǰa?-st-ísəl^x i? siwłk^w k^wa? ilí? itlí? i?
 CUST-sacred-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET water because DEM DEM DET
 qáqx^wəl^x ka? c-?əł-?íŋ-ləx.
 fish COMP CUST-RED-eat-3PL.ABS
 ‘They respected the water because it was from there that they got the fish that they ate.’
- (247) yaŋyáŋt stim^l tl siwłk^w k^wí(n)-səl^x uł
 all what LOC water take-(DIR)-3PL.ERG CONJ
 ?íŋ(n)-səl^x.
 eat-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 ‘Everything from the lake, they took and ate.’
- (248) ixí? c-?amn-st-ím-əl^x i? t t̄ik^wt. ixí? a?
 DEM CUST-feed-CAUS-PASS-3PL.ABS DET OBL lake DEM DET
 c-ǰa?-st-ís i? sqilx^w.
 CUST-sacred-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET native.people
 ‘The lake fed them, and the people respected that.’

- (249) *luta? c-k^wsáltkəms¹⁴ lut stím t̄ c-n-q^wa?-ítk^w-s*
 NEG CUST-misuse NEG what EMPH CUST-n-wash-water-3SG.POSS
i? kast i? stím l siwłk^w.
 DET bad DET what LOC water
 ‘Don’t misuse or wash anything bad in the water.’
- (250) *ta?lí? c-ǰa?-st-ísəlx i? cəw-cwíxa?. ixí?.*
 very CUST-sacred-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET RED-river DEM
 ‘They really respected the rivers. That’s all.’

12 *i? nǰa?ǰ?ítk^w: “The lake monster” (version 3)*

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

12.1 Okanagan

lut ta cmystin † kscaptík^w†c axá? t smýmáy, náǰəmt̄ i? smýmáys.
k^wuk^w i? tkłmilx^w a? ckram. ksnjak^wmíxa?x kl nsk^wuts axá? i? tik^wt nłqłməlx.
uł ckram k^wuk^w i? tkłmilx^w uł ǰácəmt̄ kl nyx^wtitk^w uł wiks i? tkłmilx^w a? ckram
t nyx^wtitk^w. uł k^wuk^w x^w?i? t i? qəpǰíntəns. uł tałt k^wuk^w c?ǰi? t ?akskəwǰáǰən.
uł k^wuk^w ixí? ka?ítə? i? kl ntíta?pt uł lut nix^w wiks uł tíxəlx. uł təłx^wúy uł wiks
nix^w. uł ixí? scútəlx i? nǰa?ǰ?ítk^w. ixí? k^wuk^w a? nǰa?ǰ?ítk^w ac... axá? l tik^wt.
uł ǰsápi ixí? Nancy Michelle wiks, k^wuk^w ilí? ccaǰcǰálx l sc?aq^w. uł níxləms tí?
siwłk^w. uł ǰa?ǰ?úsəmt̄ uł wiks i? tkłmilx^w t?ak^w, uł sǰ^wtíws tkłmilx^w uł sǰ^wtíws
qáq^wəlx. uł ixí? tkłmilx^w ǰa?... lut t ǰsápi itlí? tli? ... uł ǰəłqłlt, pəlpłk^wt, uł
ǰlál. uł scútəlx ixí? t l wiks k^wuk^w ki? ?ǰíləmt̄ ití?. uł ixí? cútłəx alá? tkłmilx^w t
nǰa?ǰ?ítk^w axá? l tik^wt. wáy.

12.2 Interlinear gloss

- (251) *lut ta c-my-st-in †*
 NEG EMPH CUST-know-CAUS-1SG.ERG COMP
ks-captík^w†c axá? t s-mý-máy,
 FUT-legend-3SG.POSS DEM OBL NOM-RED-story
náǰəmt̄ i? s-mý-mý-áy-s.
 CONJ DET NOM-RED-story-RED-3SG.POSS
 ‘I don’t know if this story is a captik^w†, but it is a story anyways.’

¹⁴ It is unclear to me how to analyze this form.

- (252) k^wuk^w iʔ tk^lmilx^w aʔ c-kr-am.
 REP DET woman DET CUST-swim-MID
 ‘They say there was a woman that swam.’
- (253) ks-n-yak^w-míxaʔx k(l) nsk^wut-s axáʔ iʔ
 FUT-n-cross.over.water-INCEPT LOC across-3SG.POSS DEM DET
 t^lik^wt n^lq^lítməlx.
 lake Quilchena
 ‘She’d cross over this lake here in Quilchena.’
- (254) uʔ c-kr-am k^wuk^w iʔ tk^lmilx^w uʔ ʔáç-əm kl
 CONJ CUST-swim-MID REP DET woman CONJ see-MID LOC
 n-yx^wt-itk^w uʔ wik-s iʔ tk^lmilx^w aʔ
 n-under-water CONJ see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET woman DET
 c-kr-am t n-yx^wt-itk^w.
 CUST-swim-MID OBL n-under-water
 ‘And they say the woman swam, and looking underwater, she [Nancy Michelle] could see the woman swimming under the water.’
- (255) uʔ k^wuk^w x^wʔiʔt iʔ qəp^líntən-s.
 CONJ REP lots DET hair-3SG.POSS
 ‘And they say she had a lot of hair.’
- (256) uʔ taʔt k^wuk^w cʔxiʔ t ʔak(ʔ)-s-kəw^w-w-áxən.
 CONJ straight REP like OBL HAVE-NOM-wings-RED-shoulder
 ‘And they say she had these wings coming off her shoulders.’
- (257) uʔ k^wuk^w ixíʔ kaʔíʔ-ət iʔ kl n-tí-taʔpt
 CONJ REP DEM approach-RED DET LOC n-RED-shallow.water
 uʔ lut nix^w wik-s uʔ t^lix-əlx.
 CONJ NEG again see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG CONJ get.to.shore-body
 ‘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.’
- (258) uʔ ʔəʔ-x^wúy uʔ wik-s nix^w.
 CONJ return-go CONJ see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG again
 ‘And she went back to see her again.’
- (259) uʔ ixíʔ s-cút-x-əlx iʔ n-xáʔ-xʔ-ít^w.
 CONJ DEM NOM-say-INTR-3PL.ABS DET n-monster-RED-water
 ‘And they say it was a sea monster.’

- (260) ixíʔ kʷukʷ aʔ n-ʃaʔ-ʃʔ-ítʰkʷ ac- ... axáʔ l tíkʷt.
 DEM REP DET n-monster-RED-water CUST ... DEM LOC lake
 ‘It was the sea monster here in this lake.’
- (261) uʔ ʔsápi ixíʔ Nancy Michelle wik-s, kʷukʷ
 CONJ long.ago DEM Nancy Michelle see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG REP
 ilíʔ c-caʔ-cʔálx l s-cʔaqʷ.
 DEM CUST-RED-bathing LOC NOM-summer
 ‘And a long time ago Nancy Michelle saw her, they say she was swimming in the summertime.’
- (262) uʔ níxl-əm-s (i)tiʔ siwʰkʷ.
 CONJ hear-MIN-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DEM water
 ‘And she heard something in the water.’
- (263) uʔ ʃaʔ-ʃʔ-ús-əm uʔ wik-s iʔ tkʰmilxʷ
 CONJ look-RED-eye-MID CONJ see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET woman
 tʔakʷ, uʔ sqʷtiws tkʰmilxʷ uʔ sqʷtiws
 come.to.the.surface CONJ half woman CONJ half
 qáqxʷəlx.
 fish
 ‘She [Nancy] was looking and saw the woman float up, and she was half woman and half fish.’
- (264) uʔ ixíʔ tkʰmilxʷ ʔaʔ ... lut t ʔsápi itlíʔ tliʔ
 CONJ DEM woman COMP ... NEG EMPH long.ago DEM DEM
 ... uʔ ʔəl-ʔílt, pəl-pílkʷt, uʔ ʃlal.
 ... CONJ RED-sick RED-broken.body CONJ die
 ‘And this woman [Nancy], and it wasn’t long before she got sick, and she got arthritis, and she died.’
- (265) uʔ s-cút-x-əlx ixíʔ tl wik-s
 CONJ NOM-say-INTR-3PL.ABS DEM LOC see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG
 kʷukʷ kiʔ ʔʃíl-əm itíʔ.
 REP COMP do.like-MID DEM
 ‘And they said that whoever saw her, that would happen to them.’
- (266) uʔ ixíʔ cút-ləx aláʔ tkʰmilxʷ t n-ʃaʔ-ʃʔ-ítʰkʷ
 CONJ DEM say-3PL.ABS DEM woman OBL n-monster-RED-water
 axáʔ l tíkʷt. way.
 DEM LOC lake that’s.all
 ‘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, *-lax* varies with *-əlx* 3PL.ABS. Transcriptions were checked for the most part against Mattina (1987), although Mattina (1985) and Mattina and DeSautel (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 *˙* 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 *sən-* when it marks a location, occurring in tandem with instrumental *-tən*, 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 ‘absolute’, despite the fact that there is only a partial morphological correspondence across categories labelled ‘absolute’. This approach implies that the morphological realization of an object absolute 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

	Paradigm 1	Paradigm 2
	ABS.	POSS.
1SG	kn	i(n)-
2SG	k ^w	a(n)-
3SG	∅	-s
1PL	k ^w u	-tt
2PL	p	-mp
3PL	-lx	-slx

13.2.2 Transitive paradigms

	Paradigm 1		Paradigm 2	
	ABS. OBJECT	POSS. SUBJECT	ABS. OBJECT	ERG. SUBJECT
1SG	k ^w u	i(n)-	k ^w u	-(i)n
2SG	k ^w	a(n)-	-s,-m	-(i)x ^w
3SG	∅	-s	-∅	-(i)s
1PL	k ^w u	-tt	k ^w u ... -m	-(i)m,-t
2PL	p	-mp	-ʔ(ul)m	-(i)p
3PL	∅	-slx	∅ ... -lx	-(i)slx

13.3 Abbreviations

ABS	absolute case	INDEP	independent pronoun
APPL	possessor applicative (-ʔt-)	INSTR	instrumental (-tən)
BEN	benefactive applicative (-x(i)t-)	INTR	intransitivizer
BOUL	bouletic modal (cak ^w)	LOC	locative (prefix or particle)
CAUS	causative transitivity (-st-)	MANAGE.TO	pre-transitivity (-nu(n)-)
CISL	cislocative (c-)	MID	middle marker (-əm)
COMP	complementizer	MIN	pre-transitivity (-m(i)n-)
CONJ	conjunction	NEG	negative (lut)
CUST	customary ((a)c-)	NOM	nominalizer (s-)
DEM	demonstrative	OBL	oblique marker (t)
DET	determiner (iʔ)	OCC	occupation (səx ^w -)
DEV	developmental (-wilx)	PASS	passive (-əm)
DIR	directive transitivity (-nt-)	PERF	perfective (s-c-)
DUB	dubitative (uc)	PL	plural
EMPH	emphatic	POSS	possessive case
EPIS	epistemic modal (cmay, mat)	RECIP	reciprocal (-(n)wix ^w)
ERG	ergative case	RED	reduplication
EVID	evidential	REFLEX	reflexive (-ncut)
FUT	future	REP	reportative evidential (k ^w uk ^w)
HAVE	existential/'have' (kʔ-)	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	STAT	stative/habitual ((a)c-)
INCEPT	inceptive (-(mf)xaʔx)	U.POSS	unrealized possessor
INCH	inchoative (-p)	YNQ	yes/no question (ha)

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john.lyon@alumni.ubc.ca