

Three Okanagan stories about priests*

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Abstract: This paper consists of three narratives involving priests, from three different fluent speakers of Okanagan (a.k.a. Nsyílxcən, Colville-Okanagan, and Nqílxcən), a southern Interior Salish language. After introductory notes, each narrative is presented in the original language, followed by an analyzed, interlinear version including a near-phonemic transcription, parsed forms, glosses, stem/word level translations, and sentence translations. For an explanation of the five-line interlinear format I utilize, see Lyon (2016).

Keywords: Okanagan, Interior Salish, morphology, narrative, documentation

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1 Conversation with the priest

This narrative was told by George Lezard, of the Penticton Indian Reserve, in 1966, when he was 85 years old, and recorded by Randy Bouchard. The narrative was originally transcribed by Larry Pierre, also of the Penticton Indian Reserve, in August 1970 using an early orthography developed by Bouchard. What follows is the original narrative given in a NW Americanist orthography, and a grammatical analysis and English translation, not present in the original document.

1.1 Okanagan

p iksmáyʔtím iʔ naʔt qʷɤaylqs iʔ cáwtət, iʔ sqʷlqʷlstwíxʷtət.

kn scqíltx uʔ kʷu kic iʔ qʷɤaylqs iʔ l incítxʷ. kicx, uʔ cúntəm isnqslxʷ, “xʷúywi ʔacəcǵáʔwi”, uʔ ʔacəcǵáʔ isnqslxʷ, isqʷsqʷasʔíʔaʔ. ixíʔ ʔácəcǵaʔ uʔ ʃəcməncut, nákʷəm ixíʔ mat iʔ l snmɤpmíst iʔ ʃəcməncútəms, t̥i piq, t̥əʔáǵaʔt, uʔ kʔqʷílp sm.

wiʔsʃəcməncút, uʔ kʷu cus “wayʔ”.

uʔ cun, “kn ksxʔkínaʔxʔ?”

kʷu cus, “kʷaʔ ksnmɤpmístaʔx.”

uʔ cun, “kʷaʔ lut iʔ kíl sámaʔ, kn t̥ ksnmɤpmístaʔx!”

kʷu cus, “kʷaʔ lut kn t̥ sámaʔ, kn qʷɤaylqs.”

uʔ cun, “wayʔ kʷ qʷɤaylqs, náʃəmʔ kʷ sámaʔ!”

ixíʔ uʔ kʷu cus, “uc kʷ cǵkʷúləm iʔ l skɤáciwʷs?”

cun, “kʷaʔ lut t̥ kʷúləm iʔ kʷíncútn t skɤáciwʷs axaʔ iʔ l təmxʷúlaʔxʷ.” cun “anwí kʷ sámaʔ, mat wayʔ xʷicʔxtms t skɤáciwʷs iʔ kʷíncútn.” cun “iʔ scǵakʷs iʔ kʷíncútn axáʔ iʔ l təmxʷúlaʔxʷ, naqs sǵəlǵǵált, uʔ naqs ʃyáǵnəʃʷ, uʔ nqspintk, wayʔ t̥i ixíʔ t̥i kaʔǵís iʔ scǵakʷs”. cun, “anwí kʷ sámaʔ, mat wayʔ ixíʔ xʷicʔts yaɤyáɤt iʔ kʷu scuʔtxʷ.”

ixíʔ uʔ kʷu cus, “uc kʷ cʔíʔən iʔ l scəlkstásqət t sǵiqʷ?”

cun, “kʷaʔ lut ixíʔ t̥a nkʷstan iʔ sǵiqʷ t̥ iksʔíʔnəm, ixíʔ kn sqilxʷ.” cun “iʔ sǵaʔcínəm iʔ scǵkʷúlʷs iʔ kʷíncútn iʔ sǵiqʷ. lut t̥ cúntəm iʔ sqilxʷ “nínwíʔs, iʔ l naqs sǵəlǵǵált, lut aksʔíʔnəm iʔ sǵaʔcínəm” iʔ t kʷíncútn. t̥i wayʔ kʷúləlʷ iʔ sqilxʷ, uʔ ksʔíʔiʔs iʔ sǵiqʷ məʔ laʔkín ʃlál mi wayʔ t̥ ksʔíʔiʔs. kəm laʔkín kíwəlx, kím lut ksʔaʔəʔnúyʷs mi wayʔ t̥ ksʔíʔiʔs.” cun “anwí kʷ sámaʔ, mat wayʔ xʷicʔts iʔ kʷíncútn t̥ lut t̥ aksʔíʔnəm iʔ l naqs sǵəlǵǵált iʔ sǵiqʷ.”

ixí? uł k^wu cus “uc k^w c-*kapswala?* tl *łucmən?*” (i? l ncnuk^wcn scúnəms, “naq^w i? tl tkłmilx^w”)

cun “k^wa? lut ixí? t snaq^w. lut ixí? ta nkstan.” cun “i? k^włncútn k^wułs i? sqəłtmix^w, uł k^wułs i? tkłmilx^w. ixí? ksk^wúla?xləx, uł x^wa?twíłx i? sqilx^w. ksq^wı́cťsəlx i? təmx^wúla?x^w i? t cwíłx^w.”

ixí? i? sq^wlq^włstwíx^wtət c?łłı́ t ka?łıs. ixí? uł sic itlı́? tı́ yałyałt stım təcłla? nix^w k^wu q^wlq^włtułts.

k^wu cus “k^wa? spu?úsc i? k^włncútn ki? wı́kəntəm axá? i? təmx^wúla?x^w.”

cun “way, way cmystín, way wnı́x^w ascq^wlq^włłt, way wnı́x^w i? k^włncútn ixí? spu?úsc ki? wı́kntx^w axá? i? təmx^wúla?x^w.” cun “náxəmł anwı́ k^w q^wı́aylqs, anwı́ a? cx?it i? k^wułntx^w a? nkstan axá? i? l təmx^wúla?x^w k^w ła? ckiex!”

ixí? uł t́aq^wcin i? automobil kł tkłmkńı́tx^w. nak^wəm ?aksłáxt. nix^w q^wı́aylqs ilı́? i? kłmut nákwəm.

uł cun “nákwəm k^w ksłáxt. táli? way x^wrəp asłáxt.”

ixí? uł x^wtəpńúmt uł ixí? k^wı́łs i? stətmı́ms, uł ixí? słux^wpams, lut nix^w k^wu ta ła? cı́nst. ixí? way.

1.2 Interlinear analysis

(1)	p	iksmaýłtım		i?
	p	in-ks-√maý-łt-ım		i?
	2PL.ABS	1SG.POSS-FUT-tell.story-APPL.POSS-MID		DET
	you.all	I.will.tell.you		the
	na?ł	q ^w ı́aylqs	i?	cáwtət, i?
	na?ł	√q ^w ı́ay=lqs	i?	√cáwt-tt i?
	CONJ	black=robe	DET	doings-1PL.POSS DET
	with	priest	what	we.did what

sq^wlq^włstwíx^wtət.

s-q^w1•√q^w1-st-wı́x^w-tt

NMLZ-C₁C₂.PL•speak-CAUS-RECP-1PL.POSS

we.argued.about.it

‘I’m going to tell you about what we did with the priest, what we argued about.’

- (2) kn scqíltx uł k^wu kic i?
 kn s-c-√qíl+t-x uł k^wu kic i?
 1SG.ABS NMLZ-CUST-sick+STAT-INTR CONJ 1SG.ABS arrive DET
 I am.sick and me came the

q^wƳaylqs i? l incítx^w.
 √q^wƳay=lqs i? l in-√cítx^w
 black=robe DET LOC 1SG.POSS-house
 priest the in my.house

'I was sick and a priest came to me in my house.'

- (3) kicx, uł cúntəm isnqsíl^w,
 √kic-x, uł √cún-nt-m in-s+√nqs=íl^w
 arrive-INTR CONJ say-DIR-PASS 1SG.POSS-NMLZ+one=family
 he.came and they.were.told my.family

“x^wúywi Ƴacəcǵáʔwi”, uł
 √x^wúy-wi √Ƴac•c•ǵáʔ-wi uł
 go-PL outside•INT.PL•-PL CONJ
 you.all.go they.went.outside and

Ƴacəcǵáʔ isnqsíl^w,
 √Ƴac•c•ǵáʔ in-s+√nqs=íl^w
 outside•INT.PL• 1SG.POSS-NMLZ+one=family
 they.went.outside my.family

isq^wsq^wasʔiʔa?
 in-s+q^ws•√q^wasʔiʔ+a?
 1SG.POSS-NMLZ+C₁C₂.PL•son+DRV
 my.sons

'He came and told my family "Go outside," and my family went outside, my sons.'

- (4) ixíʔ ʔácəcqaʔ uʔ ǰəcməncut, nákʷəm ixíʔ
 ixíʔ √ʔác•c•qaʔ uʔ √ǰc-m-ncut nákʷm ixíʔ
 DEM outside•INT.PL• CONJ get.ready-APPL-REFL EVID DEM
 they went.outside and he.got.ready indeed he
- mat iʔ l snmymíst iʔ
 mat iʔ l s-n+√my+p-míst iʔ
 EPIS DET LOC NMLZ-LOC+know+INCH-INTR.REFL DET
 must something.known what
- ǰəcməncútəms, t̃ piq, tətáqʔt,
 √ǰc-m-ncút-m-s t̃ piq tə(•)√táq+aʔt
 get.ready-APPL-REFL-MID-3POSS EMPH white short+STAT
 he.was.getting.ready just white short
- uʔ kʔqʷ ílpsm.
 uʔ k+√tqʷ=ílps-m
 CONJ RES+hang=neck-MID
 and his.neck.was.hanging[?]

‘They went outside and the priest got ready, he must have known what he was getting ready for, he was white, and short, and his neck was hanging down[?].’¹

- (5) wiʔsǰəcməncút, uʔ kʷu cus
 √wiʔ+s+√ǰc-m-ncút, uʔ kʷu √cun-nt-s
 finish+NMLZ+get.read-APPL-REFL CONJ 1SG.ABS say-DIR-3ERG
 he.finished.getting.himself.ready and me he.told
- “way’”.
 way’
 yes
 hello

‘He got finished getting himself ready and he told me “Hello.”’

- (6) uʔ cun, “kn ksxʔkínaʔx?”
 uʔ √cun-nt-n kn ks-x+√ʔkín-aʔx
 CONJ say-DIR-1SG.ERG 1SG.ABS FUT-DRV+do.what-INCEPT
 and I.told.him I am.going.to.do.what

‘And I said to him “What am I supposed to do?”’

¹I am unsure what *kʔqʷ ílpsm* refers to. It could refer to the priest’s neck hanging down, or to his wearing a cross around his neck. None of the fluent elders I consulted knew the word either.

- (7) $k^w u$ cus, “ $k^w a?$
 $k^w u$ $\sqrt{\text{cun-nt-s}}$ $k^w a?$
 1SG.ABS say-DIR-3ERG INTERJ
 me he.told

$k^w n m y p m \acute{i} s t a ? x .$
 $k^w s - n + \sqrt{\text{my+p-m\acute{i}st-a?x}}$
 FUT-LOC+know+INCH-INTR.REFL-INCEPT
 will.confess

‘He told me “You have to confess.”’²

- (8) $u \ddot{t}$ cun, “ $k^w a?$ lut i? $\acute{k} \acute{l}$ $s \acute{a} m a ?$,
 $u \ddot{t}$ $\sqrt{\text{cun-nt-n}}$ $k^w a?$ lut i? $\acute{k} \acute{l}$ $s \acute{a} m a ?$
 CONJ say-DIR-1SG.ERG INTERJ NEG DET LOC white.person
 and I.told.him not the to white.person

$k n$ \acute{t} $k^w n m y p m \acute{i} s t a ? x !$
 $k n$ \acute{t} $k^w s - n + \sqrt{\text{my+p-m\acute{i}st-a?x}}$
 1SG.ABS NEG.EMPH FUT-LOC+know+INCH-INTR.REFL-INCEPT
 I will.confess

‘And I said to him “I won’t confess to a white person.”’

- (9) $k^w u$ cus, “ $k^w a?$ lut kn \acute{t}
 $k^w u$ $\sqrt{\text{cun-nt-s}}$ $k^w a?$ lut kn \acute{t}
 1SG.ABS say-DIR-3ERG INTERJ NEG 1SG.ABS NEG.EMPH
 me he.told not I

$s \acute{a} m a ?$, kn $\acute{q}^w \acute{\gamma} a y l q s .$
 $s \acute{a} m a ?$ kn $\sqrt{\acute{q}^w \acute{\gamma} a y = l q s}$
 white.person 1SG.ABS black=robe
 white.person I priest

‘He told me “But I’m not just a white person, I’m a priest.”’

- (10) $u \ddot{t}$ cun, “ $w a \acute{y}$ k^w $\acute{q}^w \acute{\gamma} a y l q s$, $n \acute{a} \acute{x} \acute{o} m \acute{t}$
 $u \ddot{t}$ $\sqrt{\text{cun-nt-n}}$ $w a \acute{y}$ k^w $\sqrt{\acute{q}^w \acute{\gamma} a y = l q s}$ $n \acute{a} \acute{x} m \acute{t}$
 CONJ say-DIR-1SG.ERG yes 2SG.ABS black=robe CONJ
 and I.told.him yes you priest but

k^w $s \acute{a} m a ? !$
 k^w $s \acute{a} m a ?$
 2SG.ABS white.person
 you white.person

‘And I told him “Yes you’re a priest, but you’re still a white person!”’

²What is transcribed as $k^w a?$ in (7) may be concealing a second person singular subject clitic k^w , hence Lottie’s translation of this stanza. It is also possible that the transcription is correct, and that an infinitive-like, subjectless interpretation is available, akin to “To confess”.

- (11) ixíʔ uʔ k^wu cus, “uc k^w ck^wúʔlòm
 ixíʔ uʔ k^wu √cun-nt-s uc k^w c-√k^wúʔl-m
 DEM CONJ 1SG.ABS say-DIR-3ERG DUB 2SG.ABS CUST-work-MID
 then and me he.told do you work
 iʔ 1 skʔacíʔws?”
 iʔ 1 s+k+√ʔac=iʔws
 DET LOC NMLZ+RES+tie=middle
 the on Sunday

‘Then he told me “Do you work on Sundays?”’

- (12) cun, “k^waʔ lut t̄ k^wúʔlòm iʔ
 √cun-nt-n k^waʔ lut t̄ √k^wúʔl-m iʔ
 say-DIR-1SG.ERG INTERJ NEG NEG.EMPH make-MID DET
 I.told.him not he.made the
 k^wʔncútn t skʔacíʔws axaʔ iʔ 1
 √k^wʔncút+tn t s+k+√ʔac=iʔws axaʔ iʔ 1
 make-REFL+INS OBL NMLZ+RES+tie=middle DEM DET LOC
 creator Sundays this the on
 t̄mx^wúʔaʔx^w”
 √t̄mx^w=úʔaʔx^w
 land=land
 land

‘I told him “Well, the Creator didn’t make Sundays in this land!”’

- (13) cun “anwí k^w sámaʔ, mat waỵ
 √cun-nt-n anwí k^w sámaʔ mat waỵ
 say-DIR-1SG.ERG 2SG.INDEP 2SG.ABS white.person EPIS yes
 I.told.him you you white.person must.be yes
 x^wiçxtms t skʔacíʔws
 √x^wiç-xt-m-s t s+k+√ʔac=iʔws
 give-APPL.BEN-2SG.OBJ-3ERG OBL NMLZ+RES+tie=middle
 he.gave.to.you Sundays
 iʔ k^wʔncútn.”
 iʔ √k^wʔncút+tn
 DET make-REFL+INS
 the creator

‘I told him “You’re are white person, the Creator must have given you Sundays.”’

- (14) cun “iʔ scʔakʷs iʔ
 √cun-nt-n iʔ s-c-√ʔakʷ-s iʔ
 say-DIR-1 SG.ERG DET NMLZ-CUST-put.down-3POSS DET
 I.told.him the something.laid.down the
- kʷɪncutn axáʔ iʔ l tɔmxʷúlaʔxʷ, naqs
 √kʷɪ-ncut+tn axáʔ iʔ l √tmxʷ=úlaʔxʷ naqs
 make-REFL+INS DEM DET LOC land=land one
 creator this the on land one
- sʰəʔlʰáʔt, uʔ naqs ʰyáʔnəʰxʷ, uʔ
 s+ʰl•√ʰáʔt+ uʔ naqs ʰyáʔnəʰxʷ uʔ
 NMLZ+C1 C2.CHAR•clear+STAT CONJ one moon CONJ
 sun[?] and one moon and
- nqspintk, wayʔ t̥i ixíʔ t̥i kaʔʔís iʔ
 √nqs+√pintk wayʔ t̥i ixíʔ t̥i kaʔʔís iʔ
 one+year yes EMPH DEM EMPH three DET
 one.year yes just those three the
- scʔakʷs”.
 s-c-√ʔakʷ-s
 NMLZ-CUST-put.down-3POSS
 something.laid.down

‘I told him, “What the creator laid down on this land is one sun, and one moon, and one year, those are the three things he laid down.”’³

- (15) cun, “anwí kʷ sámaʔ, mat
 √cun-nt-n anwí kʷ sámaʔ mat
 say-DIR-1 SG.ERG 2SG.INDEP 2SG.ABS white.person EPIS
 I.told.him you you white.person must.be
- wayʔ ixíʔ xʷicʔts yaʔyáʔt iʔ kʷu
 wayʔ ixíʔ √xʷicʔ-t-s yaʔ•√yáʔt iʔ kʷu
 yes DEM give-APPL.POSS-3ERG C1 C2.PL•all DET 1 SG.ABS
 yes that he.gave.it.to.you everything what me
- scuʔtxʷ”.
 s-cun-ʔt-xʷ
 NMLZ-say-APPL.POSS-2SG.ERG
 you.told.me.about.it

‘I told him “But you’re white, and he must’ve given everything you told me about.”’

³The translation of *sʰəʔlʰáʔt* as ‘sun’ rather than its usual translation as ‘day’ is in keeping with the translation of *ʰyáʔnəʰxʷ* as ‘moon’, rather than ‘sun’. The correct interpretation of the sentence may be “What the creator laid down on this land was one day, and one sun, and one year”, but I’m following my consultant’s translation in this case.

- (16) *ixíʔ uʔ k^wu cus, “uc k^w cʔíʔən*
ixíʔ uʔ k^wu √cun-nt-s uc k^w c-√ʔíʔən
 DEM CONJ 1SG.ABS say-DIR-3ERG DUB 2SG.ABS CUST-eat
 then and me he.told do you eat
- iʔ 1 scəlkstásqət t sʔiq^wʔ*
iʔ 1 s+√cəl=kst=ásqət t s+√ʔiq^w
 DET LOC NMLZ+five=hand=day OBL NMLZ+meat
 the on Friday meat

‘And then he told me “Do you eat meat on Fridays?”’

- (17) *cun, “k^waʔ lut ixíʔ ʔa nʔkstan*
√cun-nt-n k^waʔ lut ixíʔ ʔa n+√ks+tan
 say-DIR-1SG.ERG INTERJ NEG DEM NEG.EMPH LOC+bad+INS
 I.told.him not that sin
- iʔ sʔiq^w ʔ iksʔíʔnəm, iʔ*
iʔ s+√ʔiq^w ʔ in-ks-√ʔíʔn-m ixíʔ
 DET NMLZ+meat COMP 1SG.POSS-FUT-eat-MID DEM[?]
 the meat if I.will.eat.it
- kn sqilx^w.”*
kn s+√qilx^w
 1SG.ABS NMLZ+native.person
 I native.person

‘I told him “Well, it wouldn’t be a sin for me to eat meat, I’m an Indian.”’⁴

- (18) *cun “iʔ sʔaʔcínəm iʔ*
√cun-nt-n iʔ s(+)/√ʔaʔ(=)cín(-)m iʔ
 say-DIR-1SG.ERG DET deer DET
 I.told.him the deer what
- sc^kwúʔs iʔ k^wIncútn iʔ*
s-c-√k^wúʔ-s iʔ √k^wʔ-ncút+tn iʔ
 NMLZ-CUST-make-3POSS DET make-REFL+INS DET
 he.made the creator the
- sʔiq^w.”*
s+√ʔiq^w
 NMLZ+meat
 meat

‘I told him “The Creator made deer for meat.”’

⁴Fluent speakers often shorten the demonstrative *ixíʔ* to *iʔ*, which makes it phonetically equivalent to a determiner. The syntactic context is such that I think the last occurrence of *iʔ* in this stanza is actually a demonstrative, and so I give the predicted full form in line 2.

- (19) “lut t̄ cúntəm iʔ sq̄l̄x^w
 lut t̄ √cún-nt-m iʔ s+√q̄l̄x^w
 NEG NEG.EMPH say-DIR-PASS DET NMLZ+native.person
 not they.were.told the native.people
- “ńńw̄iʔs, iʔ l naqs s̄x̄əl̄x̄ált, lut
 ńńw̄iʔs, iʔ l naqs s+xl̄•√x̄ált lut
 in.a.while DET LOC one NMLZ+C₁C₂.CHAR•clear+STAT NEG
 in.a.while the on one day not
- aksʔífnəm iʔ s̄x̄aʔcínəm” iʔ t
 an-ks-√ʔífn-m iʔ s(+)^w√x̄aʔ(=)cín(-)m iʔ t
 2SG.POSS-FUT-eat-MID DET deer DET OBL
 you.will.eat.it the deer the by
- k̄^wl̄ncútn.”
 √k̄^wl̄-ncút+tn
 make-REFL+INS
 creator

“‘The creator didn’t say to the Indians ‘On this one day, don’t eat the deer.’ ”’

- (20) “t̄i waȳ k̄^wúl̄ə́l̄ iʔ sq̄l̄x^w, uʔ
 t̄i waȳ √k̄^wúl̄•l̄ iʔ s+√q̄l̄x^w uʔ
 EMPH yes make•C₂.LC DET NMLZ+native.person CONJ
 just born the native.people and
- ksʔífiʔs iʔ s̄t̄iq^w məʔ laʔkín
 ks-√ʔífi-iʔ-s iʔ s+√t̄iq^w mʔ la+√ʔkín
 FUT-eat-MID-3POSS DET NMLZ+meat CONJ at+when
 they.will.eat.it the meat and.then when
- xl̄al mi waȳ ʔ ksʔífiʔs.”
 √xl̄•al mi waȳ ʔ ks-√ʔífi-iʔ-s
 stop•C₂.LC COMP.FUT yes COMP FUT-eat-MID-3POSS
 they.die will.be finish when they.will.eat.it

“‘As soon as the People were born, they will eat meat, and then when they die will be when they finish eating meat.’ ”’

- (21) “kəm̄ laʔkín kíwəlx, kím lut
 kím̄ la+√ʔkín √kíw+lx kím lut
 CONJ at+when old+AUT except NEG
 or when old.body except not
- ksʔatənúys mi way †
 ks-ʔat•√ʔtɪn+uỵ-s mi way †
 FUT-C₁C₂.PL•eat+able.to-3POSS COMP.FUT finish COMP
 they.will.manage.to.eat.it will.be finish when
- ksʔfiʔs.”
 ks-√ʔfɪ-iʔ-s
 FUT-eat-MID-3POSS
 they.will.eat.it

“Or when they get old, except if they can’t manage to eat it anymore, will be when they finish eating meat.”⁵

- (22) cun “anwí k^w sámaʔ, mat
 √cun-nt-n anwí k^w sámaʔ mat
 say-DIR-1SG.ERG 2SG.INDEP 2SG.ABS white.person EPIS
 I.told.him you you white.person must.be
- waỵ x^wic̣ʔts iʔ k^wlncútn †
 waỵ √x^wic̣-ʔt-s iʔ √k^wl-ncút+tn †
 yes give-APPL.POSS-3ERG DET make-REFL+INS COMP
 yes he.gave.it.[to.you] the creator that
- lut † aksʔfɪnəm iʔ l naqs
 lut † an-ks-√ʔfɪn-m iʔ l naqs
 NEG COMP 2SG.POSS-FUT-eat-MID DET LOC one
 not that you.will.eat.it the on one
- sxəlʃʃált iʔ stiq^w.”
 s+xl•√ʃʃál+t iʔ s+√ʃiq^w
 NMLZ+C₁C₂.CHAR•clear+STAT DET NMLZ+meat
 day the meat

‘I told him, “But you’re white, and the Creator must have given you something, so that you can’t eat meat one day (out of the week).”’

⁵The morpheme *uỵ* in *ks-ʔat•√ʔtɪn+uỵ-s* may be combination of the applicative *-nu-* ‘manage to’ (with the initial /n/ coalescing with the final /n/ in *√ʔtɪn*) followed by *-iʔ-* ‘able to’ (Mattina 1987:25), but this is unclear.

- (23) *ixíʔ uʔ k^wu cus “uc k^w*
ixíʔ uʔ k^wu √cun-nt-s uc k^w
 DEM CONJ 1SG.ABS say-DIR-3ERG DUB 2SG.ABS
 then and me he.told do you
- c-kapswalaʔ tʃ tʃucmənʔ”*
c-kapshwalaʔ tʃ tʃucmən
 CUST-steal.[CHINUK.WAWA] LOC woman.[CHINUK.WAWA]
 steal from women
- (iʔ 1 ncnuk^wcn scúnəms,*
iʔ 1 n+cnuk^w=cn s-√cun-m-s
 DET LOC LOC+Chinook=language NMLZ-say-MID-3POSS
 the in Chinook.Jargon it’s.said
- “naq^w iʔ tʃ tkʃmilx^w”)*
naq^w iʔ tʃ tkʃmilx^w
 steal DET LOC woman
 steal the from woman

‘Then he told me “Do you steal from women?” (In the Chinook Jargon they say, steal from a woman.)’⁶

- (24) *cun “k^waʔ lut ixíʔ t^ʔ snaq^w. lut*
√cun-nt-n k^waʔ lut ixíʔ t^ʔ s+√naq^w lut
 say-DIR-1SG.ERG INTERJ NEG DEM NEG.EMPH NMLZ+steal NEG
 I.told.him not that stealing not
- ixíʔ ʔa nkʃstan.”*
ixíʔ ʔa n+√kʃs+tan
 DEM NEG.EMPH LOC+bad+INS
 that sin

‘I told him “That’s not stealing, that isn’t a sin.”’

- (25) *cun “iʔ k^wʃncútn k^wuʃs iʔ*
√cun-nt-n iʔ √k^wʃ-ncút+tn √k^wuʃ-nt-s iʔ
 say-DIR-1SG.ERG DET make-REFL+INS make-DIR-3ERG DET
 I.told.him the creator it.made.it the
- sqəʔtmíx^w, uʔ k^wuʃs iʔ tkʃmilx^w.”*
s+√qʃ+√tmíx^w uʔ √k^wuʃ-nt-s iʔ tkʃmilx^w
 NMLZ+man+land and make-DIR-3ERG DET woman
 man and it.made.it the woman

‘I told him “The Creator made the men, and he made the women.”’

⁶This is an interesting case of code-switching between Okanagan and Chinuk Wawa, where one CW lexical item carries an Okanagan affix, and two CW items are linked by an Okanagan preposition.

- (26) “ixíʔ kskʷúláʔxləx, uʔ xʷaʔtwíʔx iʔ
 ixíʔ ks-√kʷúl-aʔx-lx uʔ √xʷaʔt+wíʔx iʔ
 DEM FUT-make-INCEPT-PL CONJ many+DEV DET
 he will.make.them and become.more the
 sqilxʷ.”
 s+√qilxʷ
 NMLZ+native.person
 native.people

“‘He will keep on making them, and the People will increase.’”

- (27) “ksqʷíctəʔx iʔ təmxʷúláʔxʷ iʔ t
 ks-√qʷíct+t-slx iʔ √tmxʷ=úláʔxʷ iʔ t
 FUT-full+STAT-3PL.POSS DET land=land DET LOC
 they.will.fill.it the land the with
 cwíʔxʷ.”
 √cw=íʔxʷ.
 put.there=person
 places.to.live

“‘They will fill the land with places to live.’”⁷

- (28) ixíʔ iʔ sqʷlqʷlstwíxʷtət cʔǰíʔ
 ixíʔ iʔ s-qʷl•√qʷl-st-wíxʷ-tət c-√ʔǰíʔ
 DEM DET NMLZ-C₁C₂.PL•speak-CAUS-RECP-1PL.POSS CUST-be.like
 that what we.argued.about.it like
 t kaʔʔís.
 t kaʔʔís
 OBL three
 three.things

‘That’s what we argued with each other about, like those three things.’

- (29) ixíʔ uʔ sic itlíʔ ʔi yaʔyáʔt stiṁ
 ixíʔ uʔ sic itlíʔ ʔi yaʔ•√yáʔt s+√tiṁ
 DEM CONJ new DEM EMPH C₁C₂.PL•all NMLZ+what
 then and then from.that just every thing
 ʔækʔlaʔ nixʷ kʷu qʷlqʷlʔtuʔts.
 ʔc+√kʔlaʔ nixʷ kʷu qʷl•√qʷl-tuʔt-s
 LOC+DEM also 1SG.ABS C₁C₂.PL•speak-TR-3ERG
 towards.here also me he.talked.about.it.to

‘And then there was a lot of other things he also wanted to talk to me about.’⁸

⁷Mattina (1987:11) states that √cw=íʔxʷ only occurs in compounds, and so its occurrence here in isolation is somewhat unexpected.

(30)	k ^w u	cus	“k ^w aʔ	spuʔúsc	
	k ^w u	√cun-nt-s	k ^w aʔ	s+√puʔús-s	
	1 SG.ABS	say-DIR-3ERG	INTERJ	NMLZ+what.one.desires-3POSS	
	me	he.told		what.it.wants	
	iʔ	k ^w íncútn	kiʔ	wíkəntəm	axáʔ iʔ
	iʔ	√k ^w í-ncút+tn	kiʔ	√wík-nt-m	axáʔ iʔ
	DET	make-REFL+INS	COMP.OBL	see-DIR-1 PL.ERG	DEM DET
	the	creator	that	we.see.it	this the
		təmx ^w úlaʔx ^w .”			
		√tmx ^w =úlaʔx ^w			
		land=land			
		land			

‘He told me “Well, it’s what the Creator wants, for us to look after the land.”’

(31)	cun	“waỵ,	waỵ	cmystín,	waỵ
	√cun-nt-n	waỵ	waỵ	c-√my-st-ín	waỵ
	say-DIR-1 SG.ERG	yes	yes	CUST-know-CAUS-1 SG.ERG	yes
	I.told.him	yes	yes	I.know.it	yes
	wnix ^w	ascq ^w lq ^w ílt,		waỵ	wnix ^w
	wníx ^w	an-s-c-q ^w l•√q ^w ílt		waỵ	wníx ^w
	true	2SG.POSS-NMLZ-CUST-C ₁ C ₂ .PL•speak+STAT		yes	true
	true	what.you.say		yes	true
	iʔ	k ^w íncútn	ixíʔ	spuʔúsc	
	iʔ	√k ^w í-ncút+tn	ixíʔ	s+√puʔús-s	
	DET	make-REFL+INS	DEM	NMLZ+what.one.desires-3POSS	
	the	creator	that	what.it.wants	
		kiʔ	wíkntx ^w	axáʔ iʔ	təmx ^w úlaʔx ^w .”
		kiʔ	√wík-nt-x ^w	axáʔ iʔ	√tmx ^w =úlaʔx ^w
		COMP.OBL	see-DIR-2SG.ERG	DEM DET	land=land
		that	you.see.it	this the	land

‘I told him “Yes, yes, I know, it’s true what you say, it’s true that what the Creator wants is for *you* to look after the land.”’⁹

⁸Mattina (1994:207) states that “-*tuAt*- marks the introduction into the sentence of a new direct object, with the concomitant demotion of the object person marker to indirect object.”

⁹The protagonist seems to reinterpret the priest’s intended first person plural *inclusive* pronoun in (30) as *exclusive* in (31), hence the bitterly ironic interpretation.

- (32) cun “náǰəmǰ anwí k^w ǰ^wǰaylqs,
√cun-nt-n náǰmǰ anwí k^w √ǰ^wǰay=lqs
say-DIR-1SG.ERG but 2SG.INDEP 2SG.ABS black=robe
I.told.him but you you priest
- anwí aǰ cxǰit iǰ k^wuǰntx^w aǰ
anwí iǰ c-√xǰit iǰ √k^wuǰ-nt-x^w iǰ
2SG.INDEP DET CUST-first DET make-DIR-2SG.ERG DET
you the first who you.made.it a
- nkstan axáǰ iǰ 1 tǰmx^wúlaǰx^w k^w
n+√ks+tan axáǰ iǰ 1 √tmx^w=úlaǰx^w k^w
LOC+bad+INS DEM DET LOC land=land 2SG.ABS
sin this the on land you
- ǰaǰ ckicx!”
ǰaǰ c+√kic-x
COMP CISL+arrive-INTR
when came

‘I told him “But you’re a priest, you’re the first one to make sin on this land, when you came!”’

- (33) ixíǰ uǰ ǰáǰ^wcin iǰ automobil kǰ
ixíǰ uǰ √ǰáǰ^w(=)cin iǰ automobil kǰ
DEM CONJ hollar DET automobile LOC
then and it.honked a car over.at
- tǰkmkǰiǰx^w.
t+√km=kǰ=iǰx^w
RES+body.part=back=house
outside

‘And then an automobile honked outside.’

- (34) nak^wəm ǰaksǰáǰt. nix^w ǰ^wǰaylqs ilíǰ iǰ
nak^wm ǰakǰ-s+√ǰáǰt nix^w √ǰ^wǰay=lqs ilíǰ iǰ
EVID have-NMLZ+friend also black=robe DEM DET
it.turned.out he.has.a.friend also priest there who
- kǰmut náǰ^wəm.
kǰ-√mut náǰ^wm
have-sit EVID
sit.down it.turned.out

‘It turned out he had a friend. Another priest was sitting there, it turned out.’

- (35) uʔ cun “nák^wəm k^w ksłáǎt.
 uʔ √cun-nt-n nák^wm k^w kʔ-s+√łáǎt.
 CONJ say-DIR-1SG.ERG EVID 2SG.ABS have-NMLZ+friend
 and I.told.him it.turns.out you have.a.friend
- táli? way x^wrəráp asłáǎt.”
 táli? way √x^wr+áp an-s+√łáǎt
 very yes shake•C₂.LC+INCH 2SG.POSS-NMLZ+friend
 very yes in.a.hurry your.friend

‘And I told him “Seems that you have a friend. Your friend is really in a hurry.”’

- (36) ixí? uʔ x^wtətpnúmt uʔ ixí?
 ixí? uʔ √x^wt+p-númt uʔ ixí?
 DEM CONJ jump.up•C₂.LC+INCH-have.without.choice CONJ DEM
 then and he.jumped.up and then
- k^wíǎs i? stətmtíms,
 √k^wíǎ-nt-s i? s+t•tm•√tíms-s,
 pull.off-DIR-3ERG DET NMLZ+C₁.DIM•C₂.PL•what-3POSS
 he.pulled.it.off the his.clothing
- uʔ ixí? słuǎ^wpams, lut nix^w k^wu
 uʔ ixí? s-√tuǎ^wp-am-s, lut nix^w k^wu
 CONJ DEM NMLZ-run.out-MID-3POSS NEG again 1SG.ABS
 and then he.ran.out not again me
- ta ǎa? cinsts.
 ta ǎa? c-√cín-st-s.
 NEG.EMPH COMP CUST-say.what-CAUS-3ERG
 when he.said.what

‘And then he jumped up quickly, and pulled off what he was wearing, and he ran out. He never said anything else to me.’

- (37) ixí? way.
 ixí? way
 DEM finish
 that finished
 ‘That’s all.’

2 Smokey and the priest

This story was told by Nellie Guitierrez, Upper Nicola Indian Band, at an Elder’s Gathering in Quilchena BC sometime in 1978 or 1979. It was recorded by Yvonne Hébert, and deposited as part of a larger collection in the Royal Museum of BC.

Below is my transcription of the narrative. Thanks to Lynne Jorgesen for assistance on English transcriptions and translations, and for place name information.

2.1 Okanagan

tí kmax í? sáma? í? cawts, í? ncəw'caw'cintəm. kím axá? ʔapná? í? sáma? ʔa? k'cawt í? p iksməy'tín, í? q'w'ʔáyqls.

tl *Merritt* q'sápi k^wa? ití? mat *four or five houses in Merritt*. uʔ axá? í? *settlers* atlá? uʔ k'l *Aspen Grove* k'a?ʔá?ms. ixí? cx^wúyəms tí? q'w'ʔáyqls, í? *Saturday* məʔ x^wuy məʔ k'ʔaxts í? səmsáma?.

ixí? sx^wuys tl *Merritt* k^wuk^w k'l *Courtney Lake*. wiks í? citx^w, k^wuk^w acpəpá?x^w.

cut k^wuk^w “atá? way’ myaʔ nk^wk^wʔac, way’ c’uy. way’ alá? iksíwəm axá? í? sáma? uc kn kspúlxa?x.”

ixí? sx^wuys, k^wuk^w ʔacəntís í? nməlk^wápa?st í? sk^winpəla?sqáʔa?ts. caʔcʔálxs sic x^wuy k'l citx^w, k'ʔnpuwáps í? sáma?.

cúntəm k^wuk^w “*Come in!*” lut t' cn?uʔx^ws. npəlk', npuwápəm, cúntəm k^wuk^w “*Come in!*”

ixí? scíʔxs uʔ x^wuy k'l *doors*, k'ʔnwəlq'íps í? *door* uʔ axá? í? q'w'ʔáyqls.

cus k^wuk^w “sxʔkinx, q'w'ʔáyqls? nk^wk^wʔac uʔ k^w cx^wylwis?” cut “k^w[a?] mat cíxəçt.” cúntəm k^wuk^w “o, mat lut tí k^w ʔa cʔíʔən.”

cut k^wuk^w “lut. inx'mínk inkəwáp k^wu aksʔam'tím, tanmús incá lut k^wu ʔam'tíx^w. ikskʔacálq^wəm alá? mi k^wu ʔam'tíx^w, ʔk^wk^wʔast mi ik'lí? kn x^wuy... k'l n*Garcia* kn ksx^wúya?x, k'l *Johnny Garcia* uʔ l *Merritt*, late way’.”

cúntəm k^wuk^w “*sure*. x^wuyx, x^wuysk^w ankəwáp k'l *stockyard* mi ʔamntíx^w.”

ilí? x^wuysts í? kəwáps, ʔamntís. n?uʔx^w k^wuk^w uʔ way’ cəíx'ʔtəm í? kscʔíʔəns, í?... *Smokey Tisəm* í? sk^wists í? ʔəçç'çá?p í? sáma?.

cúntəm k^wuk^w “way’ k^w ksʔíʔəna?x, way’ cʔíx axá? í?... í? cəíx'ʔtəmən akscʔíʔən.”

cus k^wuk^w “cak^w lut aks-*bother*, way’ núnwí?ts kn ʔíʔən, k^wu aksk^wúk^wstəm.”

ixí? sʔíʔəns í? q'w'ʔáyqls, wi?cín.

cúntəm k^wuk^w atá? í? t *settler* ilí? mat “uc k^wu ksməʔmscúta?x?”

cúntəm k^wuk^w i? t q^wʔaylqs, “way, we’ll pass the... we’ll pass the time.”

cúntəm k^wuk^w “way ʔast.” ixí? sma?mscúts.

cúntəm k^wuk^w “mat k^w ks?ítx, way.”

cut k^wuk^w atá? *Smokey Tisem* “way kn ks?ítx, mat nix^w anwí k^w ks?ítx.”

ixí? cus, cus k^wuk^w “way ilí? mi k^w ʔqíl x mət alá? incákkn. *Not too close apart.*” cus k^wuk^w “*Alright.*”

ixí? scus i? sáma?, “*Who’s going to put the light out?*” uʔ candle k^wa? i? ʔasəsʔáwst, ʔácənt, i? candle i? cík^wsxəns.

cúntəm k^wuk^w atá? t... i? t akłowner i? t citx^ws “swit úí? ksʔəwntís i? cík^wsxən?”

cúntəm k^wuk^w a? cnk^wəʔsámaʔs “incá kn nínwíʔs k^w ʔa? nstilsx kəm anwí k^w ʔa? nstilsx, wtntix^w, ʔəwntíx^w.”

cut k^wuk^w “way mi ʔəwntín, *if you are ready, you just say so!*”

He said “Yes, I’m ready.” The priest said “Yes, I’m ready.” He took his pistol and he shot the candle, and the light went out!

He got so scared he never hardly moved. He laid there and listened to him, if he snored, finally he heard him snoring and he got up and he sneaked out. He moved from there to Johnny Garcia’s house. And Johnny Garcia told him when he got there “What’s the matter with you, Father? What did you come so late for?”

“Well,” he said “It was still kind of daylight when I come to this next place here and I asked him if I could camp there. And he said to me “alright”, he was good to me, until we was going to bed, and he asked me “Who’s gonna put the light out?” So I told him, I said “You can put it out, I’m ready now.” He said “You sure?” He said “Yes.” Smokey took his pistol and he shot the light and it went out!

That’s all!

2.2 Interlinear analysis

- (1) ù kmax i? sáma? i? cawts, i?
 ù kmax i? sáma? i? √cawt-s i?
 EMPH only DET white.person DET doings-3POSS DET
 juwt only the white.person what he.did what

ncəw̄caw̄cín̄təm.

n+cw̄•√caw̄=cín-nt-m

LOC+RED•repeat=language-DIR-PASS

repeated.words

‘This is just what a white person did, what was repeated.’¹⁰

- (2) k̄im axá? ʔapná? i? sáma? ʔa? k̄cawt
 k̄im axá? ʔapná? i? sáma? ʔa? k̄-√cawt
 but DEM now DET white.person COMP POSS-doings
 but this now the white.person whose doings
 i? p iksm̄ȳʔtín, i?
 i? p in-ks-√m̄ȳ-ʔt-ín i?
 DET 2PL.ABS 1SG.POSS-FUT-tell-APPL.POSS-1SG.ERG DET
 that you.all I.will.tell.about the

q̄^wʔáȳlqs.

√q̄^wʔáȳ=lqs

black=robe

priest

‘But now what this white person did is what I’m going to tell you, a priest.’

- (3) t̄l Merritt q̄sápi k^wa? ití? mat *four or five houses*
 t̄l Merritt q̄sápi k^wa? ití? mat four or five houses
 LOC Merritt long.ago INTERJ DEM EPIS four or five houses
 from Merritt long.ago there must.be four or five houses

in Merritt.

in Merritt

in Merritt

in Merritt

‘A long time ago, there must’ve been four or five houses in Merritt.’

¹⁰Compare this to the first sentence of previous story. Both stanzas end with headless relatives which refer to the speaking event.

- (4) uł axá? i? settlers atlá? uł kł Aspen Grove
 uł axá? i? settlers atlá? uł kł Aspen Grove
 CONJ DEM DET settlers DEM CONJ LOC Aspen Grove
 and these the settlers from.here over to Aspen Grove

ká?há?ms.
 √ká?há?-m-s
 after.that-MID-3POSS
 they.went.after.that

‘And these settlers from here and over to Aspen Grove settled there.’

- (5) ixí? cx^wúyəms ti? q^wʔaylqs, i? Saturday
 ixí? c+√x^wúy-m-s ití? √q^wʔay=lqs ixí? Saturday
 DEM CISL+go-MID-3POSS DEM black=robe DEM Saturday
 then he.came.along just priest the Saturday

məł x^wuy məł kʔaxts i?
 mł x^wuy mł √kʔa-xt-s i?
 CONJ go CONJ pray-APPL.BEN-3ERG DET
 and.then he.went and.then he.prayed.for.them the

səmsáma?
 sm•√sáma?
 C₁C₂.PL•white.person
 white.people

‘A priest came along there, it was a Saturday and he went and prayed for the white people up there.’

- (6) ixí? sx^wuys tl Merritt k^wuk^w kł Courtney Lake.
 ixí? s-√x^wuy-s tl Merritt k^wuk^w kł Courtney Lake
 then NMLZ-go-3POSS LOC Merritt EVID LOC Courtney Lake
 then he.went from Merritt they.say to Courtney Lake

‘They say he went from Merritt to Courtney Lake.’¹¹

- (7) wiks i? citx^w, k^wuk^w acpəpá?x^w.
 √wik-nt-s i? citx^w k^wuk^w ac-p•√pá<?>x^w
 see-DIR-3ERG DET house EVID STAT-C₁.RES•shining<INCH>
 he.saw.it a house they.say it.was.lit.up

‘He saw a house, they say there was a light shining in there.’

¹¹Courtney Lake is right off the highway, between Aspen Grove and Merritt.

- (8) cut k^wuk^w “atá? way’ myaɫ nk^wk^w?ac, way’
cut k^wuk^w atá? way’ myaɫ n+k^w(•)√k^w?ac way’
say EVID DEM yes too.much LOC+late yes
he.said they.say here yes too dark yes
ć?uy. way’ alá? iksíwəm axá? i?
√<ć?>uy way’ alá? in-ks-√síw-əm axá? i?
dark.<INCH> yes DEM 1SG.POSS-FUT-ask-MID DEM DET
getting.dark yes here I.will.ask this the
sáma? uc kn kspúlxa?x.”
sáma? uc kn ks-√púlxa?x
white.person DUB 1SG.ABS FUT-camp-INTR
white.person if I will.camp

‘He said “Now, it is too late, it is getting dark. I will ask this white person here if I can camp here.”’

- (9) ixí? sx^wuys, k^wuk^w ʔacəntís i? nməlk^wápa?st
ixí? s-√x^wuy-s, k^wuk^w √ʔac-nt-ís i? n+√məlk^w=ápa?st
DEM NMLZ-go-3POSS EVID tie-DIR-3ERG DET LOC+whole=crotch
then he.went they.say he.tied.it the stallion
i? sk^winpəla?sqáxa?s.
i? s-√k^win=pla?+s+√qáxa?-s.
DET NMLZ-take=middle+NMLZ+horse-3POSS
that he.lead.the.horse

‘He went, and he tied his stud horse up that he was leading along.’

- (10) caʔcʔálxš sic x^wuy kɫ citx^w,
caʔ•√cʔá+lx-s sic x^wuy kɫ citx^w
C₁C₂.PL•bathe+AUT-3POSS new go LOC house
he.washed.himself before he.went to house
kɫnpuwáps i? sáma?
kɫ+n+√puw=áp-s i? sáma?
DRV+LOC+beat=door-3POSS DET white.person
he.knocked.on.the.door the white.person

‘He washed before he went to the house, he knocked on the white person’s door.’

- (11) cúntəm k^wuk^w “Come in!”
√cún-nt-m k^wuk^w come in
say-DIR-PASS EVID come in
he.was.told they.say come in

‘He was told “Come in!”’

- (12) lut t' cnʔuʔx^ws.
 lut t' c+n+√ʔuʔx^w-s
 NEG NEG.EMPH CISL+LOC+enter-3POSS
 not he.came.in

‘The priest didn’t come in.’

- (13) nḡəlk, nḡuəpəm, cúntəm k^wuk^w “Come in!”
 n+√ḡəlk, n+√ḡuəpəm=áp-m, √cún-nt-m k^wuk^w come in
 LOC+turn LOC+beat=door-MID say-DIR-PASS EVID come in
 he.turned he.was.knocking he.was.told they.say come in

‘The priest turned and was knocking, and the settler told him “Come in!”’

- (14) ixíʔ sctíʔxs uʔ x^wuy k̄l
 ixíʔ s-c-√tíʔ-x-s uʔ x^wuy k̄l
 DEM NMLZ-CUST-stand-INTR-3POSS CONJ go LOC
 then he.was.standing and he.went to
 doors, k̄tḡwəlk̄íʔs iʔ door uʔ
 door-s k̄t̄+n+√wl̄q̄=íp-s iʔ door uʔ
 door-3POSS DRV+LOC+open=door-3POSS DET door CONJ
 his.door he.opened.the.door the door and
 axáʔ iʔ q̄^wʔaylqs.
 axáʔ iʔ √q̄^wʔay=lqs
 DEM DET black=robe
 this the priest

‘The settler stood up and went to his door, he opened the door and there was this priest.’

- (15) cus k^wuk^w “sxʔkinx, q̄^wʔaylqs?
 √cun-nt-s k^wuk^w s-x+√ʔkin-x √q̄^wʔay=lqs
 say-DIR-3ERG EVID NMLZ-DRV+do.what-INTR black=robe
 he.told.him they.say what.happened priest
 nk^wk^wʔac uʔ k^w cx^wylwis?”
 n+k^w(•)√k^wʔac uʔ k^w c-√x^wy+lwis
 LOC+late CONJ 2SG.ABS CUST-go+here.and.there
 late and you are.travelling

‘He told the priest “What happened, priest? It’s late and you’re travelling around!”’

- (16) cut “k^w[aʔ] mat cíx̄cəxt.”
 cut k^w mat cíx̄•√c̄x̄+t
 say 2SG.ABS EPIS RED•hot+STAT
 he.said you must.be very.hot

‘He said “You must be hot.”’¹²

- (17) cún̄təm k^wuk^w “o, mat lut t̄i k^w
 √cún-nt-m k^wuk^w o mat lut t̄i k^w
 say-DIR-PASS EVID oh EPIS NEG EMPH 2SG.ABS
 he.was.told they.say oh must.be not just you
 t̄a cʔíʔən.”
 t̄a c-√ʔíʔn
 NEG.EMPH CUST-eat
 eating

‘The settler said “Oh, you must not have had anything to eat yet.”’¹³

- (18) cut k^wuk^w “lut. inx̄mínk inkəwáp k^wu
 cut k^wuk^w lut in-√x̄mínk in-kwáp k^wu
 say EVID NEG 1SG.POSS-want 1SG.POSS-horse 1SG.ABS
 he.said they.say no I.want my.horse me
 aksʔam̄tím, tanmús incá lut
 an-ks-√ʔamn-ʔt-ím tanmús incá lut
 2SG.POSS-FUT-feed-POSS.APPL-MID no.use 1SG.INDEP NEG
 you.will.feed.him.for it’s.no.use me not
 k^wu t̄ ʔam̄tíx^w.”
 k^wu t̄ √ʔamn-ʔt-íx^w
 1SG.ABS NEG.EMPH feed-POSS.APPL-2SG.ERG
 me you.will.feed

‘The priest said “No, I want for you to feed my horse for me, there’s no point in you feeding me.”’

¹²Here is another case where *k^waʔ* probably conceals a second person subject *k^w*.

¹³There are several points in this story where the switch-over from active to passive voice does not necessarily correspond to primary vs. secondary discourse participants. At times, it is difficult to know whether it is Smokey or the priest that is talking.

- (19) “iksƙʔacáŋqʷəm aláʔ mi kʷu
 in-ks-k+√ʔac=áŋqʷ-m aláʔ mi kʷu
 1SG.POSS-FUT-RES+tie=post-MID DEM FUT.COMP 1SG.ABS
 I.will.tie.it here before me
- ʔamɬtixʷ, ʔkʷkʷʔast mi
 √ʔamn-ɬt-ixʷ ʔ(+kʷ(•)√kʷʔas(+t) mi
 feed-POSS.APPL-2SG.ERG morning FUT.COMP
 you.feed morning will
- iklɨʔ kn xʷuy... kɨ nGarcia kn
 iklɨʔ kn xʷuy kɨ n+Garcia kn
 DEM 1SG.ABS go LOC LOC+Garcia 1SG.ABS
 to.there I go to Garcia I
- ksxʷúyaʔx, kɨ Johnny Garcia utɨ l
 ks-√xʷúy-aʔx kɨ Johnny Garcia utɨ l
 FUT-go-INTR LOC Johnny Garcia CONJ LOC
 will.go to Johnny Garcia and at
- Merritt, late wayʔ.”
 Merritt, late way
 Merritt late yes
 Merritt late already

‘The priest said “I will tie my horse to the post before you feed me, and in the morning I will go there to Garcia, I will go to Johnny Garcia’s in Merritt, it’s already late.”’¹⁴

- (20) cúntəm kʷukʷ “sure. xʷuyx, xʷuyskʷ ankəwáp
 √cún-nt-m kʷukʷ sure √xʷuy-x √xʷuy-skʷ an-√kwáp
 say-DIR-PASS EVID sure go-IMP go-IMP.TR 2SG.POSS-horse
 he.was.told they.say sure go take.him your.horse
- kɨ stockyard mi ʔamntíxʷ.”
 kɨ stockyard mi √ʔamn-nt-íxʷ
 LOC stockyard FUT.COMP feed-DIR-2SG.ERG
 to stockyard and you.feed.him

‘The settler said “Sure, go, take your horse to the stockyard and feed him.”’

- (21) ilɨʔ xʷuysts iʔ kəwáps, ʔamntís.
 ilɨʔ √xʷuy-st-s iʔ √kwáp-s √ʔamn-nt-ís
 DEM go-CAUS-3ERG DET horse-3POSS feed-DIR-3ERG
 at.there he.took.him the his.horse he.fed.him

‘Then the priest took his horse, and fed it.’

¹⁴Garcia is a place up above Merritt, going towards Princeton, between Courtney Lake and Merritt.

- (22) nʔuɬx^w k^wuk^w uɬ way̌ cɛ́ixɬtəm
 n+√ʔuɬx^w k^wuk^w uɬ way̌ c-√cɛ́ix-ɬt-əm
 LOC+enter EVID CONJ yes CUST-warm-POSS.APPL-MID
 he.went.inside they.say and already he.was.warming.it.up.for.him

iʔ kscʔíʔəns, iʔ... *Smokey Tisəm* iʔ
 iʔ ks-c-√ʔíʔn-s ixíʔ *Smokey Tisəm* iʔ
 DET UPOSS-CUST-eat-3POSS DEM *Smokey Tisəm* DET
 what he.was.going.to.eat it.was *Smokey Tisəm* the

sk^wists iʔ ʔə́xʔxáʔp iʔ
 s+√k^wist-s iʔ ʔx̌•√ʔx̌á+p iʔ
 NMLZ+name-3POSS DET C₁C₂.CHAR•grow+INCH DET
 his.name the old.man the

sámaʔ.
 sámaʔ
 white.person
 white.person

‘The priest went inside and he was already warming up what he was going to eat. . . *Smokey Tisəm* was the name of the old white man.’¹⁵

- (23) cúntəm k^wuk^w “way̌ k^w sʔíʔənaʔx, way̌
 √cún-nt-m k^wuk^w way̌ k^w ks-√ʔíʔn-aʔx way̌
 say-DIR-PASS EVID yes 2SG.ABS NMLZ-eat-INTR yes
 he.was.told they.say yes you will.eat already

cʔíx axáʔ iʔ... iʔ cɛ́ixɬtəmən
 c<ʔ>íx axáʔ iʔ iʔ √cɛ́ix-ɬt-m-n
 hot<INCH> DEM DET DET hot-POSS.APPL-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG
 hot this the what I.warmed.it.up.for.you

akscʔíʔən.”
 an-ks-c-√ʔíʔn
 2SG.POSS-UPOSS-CUST-eat
 what.you.will.eat

‘*Smokey* said “Yes, you eat now, it’s hot, I warmed it up for you.”’

¹⁵The surname *Tisəm* is unusual, and its correct spelling is unclear to me. I render it as close to its phonetic pronunciation as possible.

- (24) cus k^wuk^w “cak^w lut aks-*bother*,
 √cun-nt-s k^wuk^w cak^w lut an-ks-*bother*
 say-DIR-3ERG EVID DEON NEG 2SG.POSS-FUT-*bother*
 he.told.him they.say should not you.will.bother
- waỵ nínwíʔs kn ʔfə̀n, k^wu
 waỵ nínwíʔs kn ʔfən k^wu
 yes in.a.while 1SG.ABS eat 1SG.ABS
 yes in.a.while I eat me
- aksk^wúk^wstəm.”
 an-ks-√k^wúk^w-st-m
 2SG.POSS-FUT-do.much.for-CAUS-MID
 you.do.much.for

‘The priest said “You shouldn’t bother, but I will eat, thank you.”’

- (25) ixíʔ sʔfə̀ns iʔ q̣^wʔaylqs, wiʔcín.
 ixíʔ s-√ʔfən-s iʔ √q̣^wʔay=lqs √wiʔ=cín
 DEM NMLZ-eat-3POSS DET black=robe finish=food
 then he.ate the priest he.finished.eating

‘Then the priest ate, and he finished eating.’

- (26) cúntəm k^wuk^w atáʔ iʔ t *settler* ilíʔ mat
 √cún-nt-m k^wuk^w atáʔ iʔ t *settler* ilíʔ mat
 say-DIR-PASS EVID DEM DET OBL *settler* DEM EPIS
 he.was.told they.say at.here the by *settler* there must.be
- “uc k^wu ksmaʔmscútaʔx?”
 uc k^wu ks-√maʔm-scút-aʔx
 DUB 1PL.ABS FUT-play.cards-REFL-INCEPT
 can we will.play.cards

‘The priest was told by this settler there “Can we play cards?”’

- (27) cúntəm k^wuk^w iʔ t q̣^wʔaylqs, “waỵ, *we’ll pass*
 √cún-nt-m k^wuk^w iʔ t √q̣^wʔay=lqs waỵ *we’ll pass*
 say-DIR-PASS EVID DET OBL black=robe yes *we’ll pass*
 he.was.told they.say the by priest yes *we’ll pass*
- the... we’ll pass the time.”*
 the *we’ll pass the time*
 the *we’ll pass the time*
 the *we’ll pass the time*

‘The priest told Smokey “Yes, we’ll pass the... we’ll pass the time.”’

- (28) cúntəm k^wuk^w “way̌ ǰast.”
 √cún-nt-m k^wuk^w way̌ √ǰas+t
 say-DIR-PASS EVID yes good+STAT
 he.was.told they.say yes that’s.good
 ‘The priest told him “That’s good.”’
- (29) ixí? sma?mscúts.
 ixí? s-√ma?m-scút-s.
 DEM NMLZ-play.cards-REFL-3POSS
 and.then they.played.cards
 ‘And then they played cards.’
- (30) cúntəm k^wuk^w “mat k^w ks?ítx, way̌.”
 √cún-nt-m k^wuk^w mat k^w ks-√?ítx way̌
 say-DIR-PASS EVID EPIS 2SG.ABS have-sleep yes
 he.was.told they.say must.be you are.sleepy yes
 ‘The priest told him “You must be sleepy, yeah.”’
- (31) cut k^wuk^w atá? *Smokey Tisem* “way̌ kn ks?ítx,
 cut k^wuk^w atá? *Smokey Tisem* way̌ kn ks-√?ítx
 say EVID DEM *Smokey Tisem* yes 1SG.ABS have-sleep
 he.said they.say here *Smokey Tisem* yes I am.sleepy
 mat nix^w anwí k^w ks?ítx.”
 mat nix^w anwí k^w ks-√?ítx
 EPIS also 2SG.INDEP 2SG.ABS have-sleep
 must.be also you you are.sleepy
 ‘Then *Smokey Tisem* said “Yes, I’m sleepy, you must be sleepy too.”’
- (32) ixí? cus, cus k^wuk^w “way̌ ilí? mi
 ixí? √cun-nt-s √cun-nt-s k^wuk^w way̌ ilí? mi
 DEM say-DIR-3ERG say-DIR-3ERG EVID yes DEM FUT.COMP
 then he.told.him he.told.him they.say yes there will
 k^w ǰqilx mət alá? incákn.”
 k^w √ǰq+ilx mǰ alá? incákn
 2SG.ABS lay.down+AUT CONJ DEM 1SG.INDEP-1SG.ABS
 you lay.down and.then here I
 ‘*Smokey* told the priest “You lay down over there and I’ll lay down here.”’
- (33) “*Not too close apart.*” cus k^wuk^w “*Alright.*”
 not too close apart √cun-nt-s k^wuk^w alright
 not too close apart say-DIR-3ERG EVID alright
 not too close apart he.told.him they.say alright
 ‘“*Not too close apart.*” *Smokey* told him “That’s alright.”’

- (34) ixíʔ scus iʔ sámaʔ, “Who’s going
 ixíʔ s-√cun-nt-s iʔ sámaʔ who’s going
 DEM NMLZ-say-DIR-3ERG DET white.person who’s going
 then he.told.him the white.person who’s going
- to put the light out?” uʔ candle kʷaʔ
 to put the light out uʔ candle kʷaʔ
 to put the light out CONJ candle COMP
 to put the light out and it.was.a.candle because
- iʔ ʔasəsʔáwst, ʔácənt, iʔ candle iʔ
 iʔ ʔas(●)s(+)/ʔáw(-)st ʔác-nt iʔ candle iʔ
 DET old.timers see-DIR DET candle DET
 what old.timers you.see the candle the
- číʔ^wsxəns.
 √číʔ^w=sxn-s
 light=round.object-3POSS
 light

‘Then the priest asked the white guy (Smokey) “Who’s going to put the light out?”, because it was a candle that the old timers, you see, they used candles for lights.’¹⁶

- (35) cúntəm kʷukʷ atáʔ t... iʔ t akʔowner iʔ
 √cún-nt-m kʷukʷ atáʔ t iʔ t akʔ-owner iʔ
 say-DIR-PASS EVID DEM OBL DET OBL have-owner DET
 he.was.told they.say here by the by owner the
- t citxʷs “swit úʔiʔ ksʔəwntís
 t √citxʷ-s swit úʔiʔ ks-√ʔw-nt-ís
 OBL house-3POSS who CONJ FUT-extinguish-DIR-3ERG
 of his.house who and.then he.will.put.it.out
- iʔ číʔ^wsxənʔ”
 iʔ √číʔ^w=sxn
 DET light=round.object
 the light

‘The owner of the house, Smokey, said “Who’s going to put the light out?”’

¹⁶I am unsure about the etymology and correct transcription of ʔasəsʔáwst ‘old timers’. Sarah McLeod pronounces the word closer to ʔasəsʔúst.

- (36) cúntəm k^wuk^w aʔ cnk^wətsámaʔs
 √cún-nt-m k^wuk^w aʔ c-√nk^w+1+√sámaʔ-s
 say-DIR-PASS EVID DET CUST-friend+CONJ+white.person-3POSS
 he.was.told they.say the his.white.friend

“incá kn nínwíʔs k^w ʔaʔ
 incá kn nínwíʔs k^w ʔaʔ
 1SG.INDEP 1SG.ABS in.a.while 2SG.ABS COMP
 me I in.a.while you if

nstilsx kəm anwí k^w
 n+√st=ils-x km anwí k^w
 LOC+think=thoughts-INTR CONJ 2SG.INDEP 2SG.ABS
 think or you you

ʔaʔ nstilsx, wntix^w,
 ʔaʔ n+√st=ils-x √wt-nt-ix^w
 COMP LOC+think=thoughts-INTR put-DIR-2SG.ERG
 if think you.put.it

ʔəwntíx^w.
 √ʔw-nt-íx^w
 extinguish-DIR-2SG.ERG
 you.put.it.out

‘Smokey said to his white friend “I will if you think so, or you can if you think so, you put it out.”’

- (37) cut k^wuk^w “way mi ʔəwntín, if
 cut k^wuk^w way mi √ʔw-nt-ín if
 say EVID yes FUT.COMP extinguish-DIR-1SG.ERG if
 he.said they.say yes will I.put.it.out if

you are ready, you just say so!
 you are ready you just say so
 you are ready you just say so
 you are ready you just say so

‘The priest said “Yes, I will put it out, if you are ready, just say so!”’¹⁷

He said “Yes, I’m ready.” The priest said “Yes, I’m ready.” He took his pistol and he shot the candle, and the light went out!

He got so scared he never hardly moved. He laid there and listened to him, if he snored, finally he heard him snoring and he got up and he sneaked out. He moved from there to Johnny Garcia’s house. And Johnny Garcia told him when he got there “What’s the matter with you, Father? What did you come so late for?”

“Well,” he said “It was still kind of daylight when I come to this next place here and I asked him if I could camp there. And he said to me “Alright”, he was

¹⁷Nellie Gutierrez switches to English for the rest of the narrative.

good to me, until we was going to bed, and he asked me “Who’s gonna put the light out?” So I told him, I said “You can put it out, I’m ready now.” He said “You sure?” He said “Yes.” Smokey took his pistol and he shot the light and it went out!

That’s all!

3 The four brothers story (kmúsməs iʔ snɔʔiws smiʔmáɣ)

This story was told by Kiláwnaʔ (Andrew McGinnis), of the Penticton Indian Reserve in Penticton, BC, on October 9, 2014. It was transcribed and translated by John Lyon and Sʔímlaʔx^w (Michele K. Johnson), with Kiláwnaʔ. The story appears in an unanalyzed form in *iʔ ʔəxəxʔáap iʔ smaʔmáɣ*’s “Our Elders’ Stories”, edited by Sʔímlaʔx^w (Johnson 2015). Sarah McLeod and Lottie Lindley helped me with transcribing and translating this version.

Kiláwnaʔ originally heard the story from Nx^wímkn (Harry Robinson).

3.1 Okanagan

isk^wíst kiʔláwnaʔ. ismsámaʔ sk^wíst *Andrew McGinnis*. kiw^w kn ksmáɣmíxaʔx ixíʔ ɔsáɣpi t smaʔmáɣ.

way^w aláʔ ʔə tax^wsámaʔ, iʔ ylmíx^wəm, kmúsməs iʔ tɪ sq^wsíʔs. ʔəʔʔəʔənləx iʔ l sklax^w, wiʔwiʔcínləx. cus iʔ sq^wsq^wasíʔaʔs, “ʔaʔ ʔəlap p iksq^wəlq^wílstəm, ʔk^wk^wʔast. x^wuyx, púlxiw!”

way^w... pulx iʔ sq^wsq^wasíʔaʔs. ʔəlap k^wk^wʔast, cʔəʔʔəʔənləx, wiʔwiʔcínləx. cut iʔ ylmíx^wəm “way^w ʔast p iksk^wəlkw^wílstəm iʔ t təmx^wúlaʔx^w. iʔ sxʔitx, k^w x^wuy tac k^w nʔíʔlɪtk, lk^wu.....t. mypnúntx^w stiɰ aʔ ckw^wúlsəlx yaʔyaʔʔt, x^wʔit aksmɣpənwiʔə. nuk^wspíntk mi p ʔcyaʔp aláʔ. uʔ iʔ knaqs k^w wtímtk, ixíʔ iklíʔ k^w x^wuy, lk^wut. mypnúntx^w stiɰ aʔ ckw^wúlsəlx, nuk^wspíntk. uʔ iʔ knaqs tac k^w sklax^wtan. t k^w x^wu.....y lk^wut. mypnúntx^w yaʔ.....t aʔ ckw^wúlsəlx.” uʔ iʔ tətwiʔ iʔ stʔíwtaʔx, cut “k^w x^wuy tac k^w sk^wəʔptaɰ. lk^wut aksx^wuy, yaʔ.....t mypnúntx^w stiɰ.” cut “way^w.”

ixíʔ sx^wúysəlx. x^wú.....yləx, x^wúyləx lk^wák^wəlx, mypnúsəlx.

ixíʔ iʔ sxʔitx tac k^w nʔíʔlɪtk. kic iʔ sckw^wəlstəmʔáltəm, nkʔəcaʔsqáʔaʔ. ixíʔ ilíʔ iʔ sk^wúlsəms. yaʔ.....t iʔ stiɰ mypnús, t ksqəysqáʔaʔs yaʔt, k^wx^wsqáʔaʔ. yaʔt iʔ stiɰ mypnús iʔ k^w stəmʔált, iʔ k^w sənkləcaʔsqáʔaʔ. nuk^wspíntk.

uʔ iʔ knaqs iʔ tətwiʔ x^wuy, tac k^w wtímtk. kic aʔ ckw^wánʔqam, scəcəməʔaʔq. ixíʔ yaʔ.....t mypnús, yaʔt iʔ stiɰ iʔ k^w scəcəməʔaʔq. t ksk^wúlsəms itíʔ, k^wúlsəms iʔ... ʔaʔ ksnləqíwəsəm iʔ sk^wánʔq mi plal t ʔast. aks... t siwʔk^w, nʔísusəm, cʔxiʔ taʔkín iʔ ksnʔísusəm mi ʔast. lut ʔa myaʔ ksx^wʔíts.

uþ i? knaqs tac kl sklx^wtan. x^wu^{.....}y lk^wut, ya^{...ŷ}t i? sti^m
mynús iklí?.

uþ i? tət^wít i? stʔíwtaʔx, x^wuyx i? kl ksx^wuys. lk^wu^{.....}t.
keníwsəs i? kwkápoy, i? cnáq^wxəlx. ilíʔ ksnxíyəm. taft ya^{...ŷ}t
i? sti^m náq^wəmsəlx. taft xʔit, xʔit i? snaq^w. ixíʔ yaʔyá^{...ŷ}t mypnús
i? tət^wít, snaq^w.

taft uþ nuk^wspíntk ət cx^wyx^wúyləx. i? tət^wít, taft ki? cniyíls,
kíkəm ksníptəm i? spənʔkín mi t^xwuyləx. ilí^{...ʔ}, “ax! way^ʔ kn
k^tx^wúyaʔx.” ət t^xwuyəlx, tí k^tq^wtí^wwaʔs i? l kəwáps, səpsqáxaʔ.
čəlsqáxaʔ, i? kəwáps t^xwúsəscəʔ, taft ʔáy^xw^t i? kəwáps. x^wuy kl
səntəwstsqáxaʔtən, tliʔ kiʔ sk^wums i? nčəlq^wiʔsqáxaʔtəns. nʔut^xw.
way, way^ʔ yáʔtəlx yáʔpəlx.

cut i? ylmíx^wəm, “way^ʔ límləmt p t^cyaʔp. hahúy, púl^xwi! nus
kiʔ xlap mi p máyⁿcut, k^wu t^l wiʔwiʔcín.” ixíʔ i? tət^wít taʔlíʔ kínt,
way. ixíʔ sʔətxílsəlx.

xlap t^kw^kʔast, ʔəʔʔíʔənləx, wiʔwiʔcínləx. cus i? sxʔitx, “k^w
x^wuy, máyⁿcútaʔx! sti^m ascmypnwíʔən anwíʔ?” cut “way^ʔ, ah kn
x^wu^{.....}y kl lk^wut. keníwsən aʔ c^kwəlstəmíʔáltəm i? stəmíʔalts, i?
nk^tčəʔsqáxaʔ, yaʔt ixíʔ. ilíʔ kn k^wúləm. taft mypnun ya^{...ŷ}t i? sti^m
i? ksxʔkínəm i? stəmíʔált i? sən^kčəʔsqáxaʔ. ilíʔ iks^kw^xsqáxaʔm
uþ iksʔəʔamnəlx uþ ixíʔ yaʔt mypnun.” cut i? ylmíx^wəm, “ah,
way^ʔ xast ascmypnwíʔən.”

itlíʔ knaqs, k^ʔ wtímtk kiʔ x^wuy. cut, “kn x^wuy k^ʔ wtímtk kl
lk^wu^{...t}. keníwsən i? scəcəməʔaʔqaʔx, k^wán^tqám. yaʔt i? sti^m
mypnun, i? liplí, patáks, haʔyk^w, s^xúk^wəm.” cut, “mypnun i?
liplí iklíʔ kaʔ c^kwúlsəlx... yaʔt taʔlíʔ xast. uþ i? lawán.
mypnun iklíʔ kaʔ c^kwúlsəlx i? la... i? sc^kwúlsəlx t lkalát.
ixíʔ yaʔt iscmypənwíʔən.” cut i? ylmíx^wəm, “ah way^ʔ, taft xast
ascmypnwíʔən.”

cus i? tət^wít, “hahuy! anwí ascmypnwíʔən?” mu^{...t} i?
tət^wít. cut, “way^ʔ. way^ʔ təx^w aʔiʔ kn ks^máyⁿcútaʔx. lut t^ʔ xast
iscmypnwíʔən.” cut, “kn x^wu^{.....}y lk^wut, keníwsən i? kəwkáwboy,
x^wʔítəlx. náq^wəms i? cnáq^wxəlx. taft xʔítəlx i? l snaq^w. tí
i? xiʔmíx sti^m uþ x^mínksəlx uþ náq^wəmsəlx. taft xʔítləx. ixíʔ
iscmypnwíʔən.”

mu^{...t} i? ylmíx^wəm, taft uþ picx^wt. cut “way^ʔ. taʔlíʔ k^w
cnáq^w xʔít.” “ax, ki^w”, cut. cut, “way^ʔ xast, təx^w way^ʔ, taʔlíʔ
qílt ispuʔús. inkəwáp i? s^xəx^sqáxaʔs, cn^fac i? t n^təwstsqáxaʔtən.
ixíʔ aksnáq^wəminəm l nk^wk^wʔac. lut t^ʔ náq^wəməntx^w, xlap k^w

ikfáciwsəm.” cut i? tətwt, “way íxí? nínwí?ns náq^wəmən.”

nk^wk^w?ac i? ylmíx^wəm i? səx^wk^wəl^wík^wúləms, x^w?it ałi? x^wúyləx i? l səntəwstsqáxa?tən uł xəlxlákəkəlx. i? knaqs kám^wtíws, i? knaqs i? tk^wənk^wínplá?ns, i? knaqs tk^wənk^wínpst. “ah... ù k^wa? x?kínəm axá? mi náq^wəms? tk^wənk^wínx? íxí? knaqs, íxí? knaqs. ya...?t uł tałt way lut, way kn kfacíwsəm isq^wsí?a?, áłi? way cun.” íxí? x^wu...y uł ?itx.

i? tətwt lut t ?itx, kłax^w way. nt?qpəncútx kl səntəq^wmín. ilí? kylwíca? i? ylmíx^wəm i? sc^wúls i? wine. íxí? k^wí...lks uł kl səntəwstsqáxa?tən, ká?ítət. nčx^wám, íxí? skł?əqłáqəłqs. x^wuy i? tətwt, n?ułx^w kl səntəwstsqáxa?tən. cúsəlx, “k^w səx?kína?x?” cut, “isnixl ksnáq^wəmisəlx ya?xís i? sənkłca?sqáxa?. alá? p ikskənxítəm i? txtəntím.” “ah, way xast” cut, “k^w mutx.”

mut i? tətwt, aclkapúh. ?ayxáxa?, sí...swst uł... ?ayxáxa? uł síswst. cúsəlx “stím íxí?” “íxí? wine k^wa?” “tla? k^wu sa?siwst, k^wu máyxtwíx^w uł xlap.” o, uł nxłíksislx, íxí? nkáwsəlx. cut “way kím i? naqs axá?” íxí? nix^w nxłíksislx. o, íxí? nkáwsəlx, íxí? uł way. máyxtwíx^wəlx, xast i? spu?úsəlx. cutəlx “ha k^w kłnix^w?” cut “lut. kl tkəmknitx^w i? kylwíca?, íxí? cn?úłx^wstəm alá? kłwíwsəntəm, íxí? uł ksxəlpstím.” cútləx “way.” ck^wilk i? kylwíca?, kłwíwsisəlx. kłx^wil i? wínesəlx. sa?síwsisəlx, sa?síwsisəlx. xast i? spu?úsəlx. q^wa?f^wá?ləx.

íxí...? uł ?ətxílxəlx. axá? i? kám^wtíws, yax^wt i? tl kəwáps. a? ck^wənk^wínpst, ilí? uł scəqaqínk. uł axá? tk^wənk^wínpla?ns, íxí? nix^w axá? yax^wt. yaft ?ətxílxəlx. íxí? k^wis i? kəwáps, i? sənkłca?sqáxa?. x^wuysts k nscícu? ki? fácəntis. íxí? ki? x^wuy uł łqíləx.

łk^wk^w?ast. íxí? ylmíx^wəm k?awsfács i? kəwáps. axá? i? kám^wtíws, kám^wtíws i? l kylwíca?. sta?xíləm “whoa...?” uł yax^wt. axá? tk^wənk^wínpla?ns, íxí? nix^w... ta...táłt picx^wt, x^wuy uł kiex. ?ayxáxa? uł sa^wt i? tətwt. cut “ankəwáp, k nscícu? ki? fəcəntín, xá?antík^w ła? aspu?ús!” tałt picx^wt i? ylmíx^wəm. xá?ntís i? kəwáps uł tałt... .

?ítən, wi?cín, wi?wi?cínləx. “way nak^wəm ta?lí? k^w nq^wnq^wmúł,” cut, “ka?fís kím ?asíl ascnáq^w. ?apná? sənk^wk^w?ac inkłyx^wtíca?, inkłyx^wtíca? k^wu aksnáq^wəməłtəm.” “oh, way, íxí? nínwí?ns náq^wəməłtsən.”

na?ł tkłmilx^ws łqəlfləlx. “ù k^wa? scx?kínx mi k^wu náq^wəms axá? inkłyx^wtíca?? ilí? kn łqíləx, nk^wk^w?ác.” nk^wk^w?ac íxí? i...?... mat scx?kínx?

ixí? ?ácqa? í? ylmíx^wəm, nłəx^w pam í? tətúwít. cus í? tkłmílx^w í? ylmíx^wəm “kałáxəx! iksk^waním axá? í? kłyx^wtíca?. ití? mi kylx^wíca?n í? tətúwít, way^u púlstən.” ta?xíləm, kłcək^wəntís í? kłyx^wtíca?, íácqa?.

ixí? cn?ułx^w í? ylmíx^wəm, ksłqłlxa?x. “x?kínəm ikłyx^wtíca??” “k^wa? k^w scútxa?x kylx^wíca?m isq^wsí?, way^u pulstx^w.” “ahahahaha”, tı cut. “luta? c?xílstən ití?.” pícx^wt, way^u náq^wəms í? kłyx^wtíca?. ixí? łqłlx uł ?ítx.

łlap ?əł?fłənləx, í? tətúwít ?fłən, tı sal. taft pícx^wt í? ylmíx^wəm. taft nq^wnq^wmúł í? sq^wsí?s. cus “way^u. íapná? nk^wk^w?ac í? sənkałmən, lut lk^wut ití?” cut “aksnáq^wəminem í? q^wíaylqs. taft ksqłłtkəm.” “lut t^u yaft í? təmtəmútəns, x^wtəłscút, x^wtəłscút mi k^wintx^w.” cut “way^u.”

nínwí?s ixí? kłax^w, ixí? x^wuy uł łqłləx. nk^wk^w?ac... mat way^u l ?ásil í? słlaps... í? sənkałmən lut lk^wut. x^wətpəncút l sənkałmən. kłıkłíks í? cık^wscən, yaft t n?ax^w í? sənkałmən. xəcməncút í? t q^wíaylqs í? təmtəmútəns. ixí? q^wíaylqs x^wuy ?ácqa?. “ax! cn?ax^w í? sənkałmən! scx?kínəx?” x^wətpəncút ikłí?, n?ułx^w.

ixí? í? tətúwít a? cłíam. tac?xíł. scx^wuys í? q^wíaylqs, í? tətúwít ?áxəlmncut, ?aymíwsntm. tı łlap ixí? q^wyq^wyxínəms. ixí? uł kłíam í? tətúwít. ?áxəlməncut, cus í? q^wíaylqs “cx^wuyx alá?!” q^wíaylqs x^wuy alá?, q^wyq^wyxínəm. cúntəm t tətúwít “təftáft kí? k^w xast t q^wíaylqs. k^wúłəntx^w ask^wúł alá? í? l təmx^wúla?x^w. ixí? ck^wúłstəmən, k^w isk^wəłstífłən áfi? ta?lí? k^w xast t q^wíaylqs.” ixí? uł q^wəłq^wílsts. cut “way^u, k^w iksx^wúystəm k^w nwíst. tı yaft k^w ksqłłtkəm mi x^wúystəmən, way^u mat k^w xast t q^wíaylqs. yaíya^wft astəmtím x^wílstx^w alá?” x^wílsts, kłtəməlx^wncút í? q^wíaylqs, n?amúts í? l łáqna?. q^wífłəm kł sənkałmən, kí? kłəx^wpəntís. ixí? uł x^wuy łqłləx.

łk^wk^w?ast, ixí? í? likók q^wəłq^wíłt. “ax, way^u kn kicx!”

ilí? uł ?əł?fłənləx l łk^wk^w?ast. cus a? l ííws, “way^u, x^wuyx kł sənkałmən, lut lk^wut mi k^włəntíx^w í? q^wíaylqs, mat way^u kłíy!” o, taft uł kłíy. x^wuy, axá? ckłax^wp í? q^wíaylqs í? l sənkałmən. tk^wəłntis, tıx í? q^wíaylqs, “ha k^wu yaft?” “k^wu yaft! kíw, isq^wsí?a? ck?xílməstəms!”

ixí? x^wuy, ?fłən, ?əł?fłənləx. nstils “í? q^wíaylqs, way^u úfi? way^u way^u, ka?fłs.” cus í? tətúwít “way^u, way^u k^w x^wup, way^u k^wu x^wúpəntx^w.”

ixí? kí? way^u ismáymáy. isk^wíst kí?lawná?.

3.2 Interlinear analysis

- (1) isk^wíst kiʔláwnaʔ.
 in-s(+)_√k^wíst kiʔláwnaʔ
 1SG.POSS-name grizzly.bear
 my.name grizzly.bear
 ‘My name is Grizzly Bear.’

- (2) ismsámaʔ sk^wíst *Andrew McGinnis*.
 in-sm•_√sámaʔ s(+)_√k^wíst Andrew McGinnis
 1SG.POSS-C₁C₂.PL•white.person name Andrew McGinnis
 my.white.person’s name Andrew McGinnis
 ‘My white person’s name is Andrew McGinnis.’

- (3) kiw̃ kn ksmaʔmíxaʔx ixíʔ q̣sá••pi t
 kiw̃ kn ks-_√maʔ-míxaʔx ixíʔ q̣sápi t
 yes 1SG.ABS FUT-tell-INCEPT DEM long.ago OBL
 yes I am.going.to.tell.about this long.ago

 smaʔmáy.
 s+maʔ•_√máy
 NMLZ+C₁C₂.PL•tell
 story

‘Yes, I’m going to tell you an old time story.’

- (4) waỹ aláʔ ʔə tax^wsámaʔ, iʔ ylmíx^wəm, kmúsməs
 waỹ aláʔ ʔ tax^w+_√sámaʔ iʔ ylmíx^wm, k(+)_√mús(•)_√ms
 yes DEM before have+white.person DET chief four[human]
 yes here before with.white.people the chief four

 iʔ tl sq^wsíʔs.
 iʔ tl s+_√q^wsíʔ-s
 DET LOC NMLZ+son-3POSS
 the from his.sons

‘Here, before the white people came, there was a chief, he had four sons.’

- (5) ʔəʔʔənləx iʔ l sklax^w, wiʔwiʔcínləx.
 ʔə_√ʔʔənl-x iʔ l s+_√klax^w, wiʔ•_√wiʔ=cín-lx.
 C₁C₂.PL•eat-3PL DET LOC NMLZ+evening C₁C₂.PL•finish=food-3PL
 they.ate the in evening they.finished.eating

‘They had supper and finished eating.’

- (6) cus iʔ sq^wsq^wasíʔaʔs, “ʔaʔ
 √cun-nt-s iʔ s+q^ws•√q^wasíʔ+aʔ-s, ʔaʔ
 say-DIR-3ERG DET NMLZ+C₁C₂.PL•son+DRV-3POSS COMP
 he.told.them the his.sons when
- ǰlap p iksq^wəlq^wílstəm,
 ǰlap p in-ks-q^wl•√q^wíl-st-m
 tomorrow 2PL.ABS 1SG.POSS-FUT-C₁C₂.PL•speak-CAUS-MID
 tomorrow you.all I.will.talk.to
- ʔk^wk^wʔast.”
 ʔ(+k^w(•)√k^wʔas(+t)
 morning
 morning

‘He told his sons, “Tomorrow I’m going to talk to you all, in the morning.”’

- (7) “x^wuyx, púlxiwi!”
 √x^wuy-x √púlxi-wi
 go-IMP go.to.bed-PL
 go go.to.bed
 ‘“Go on, go to bed!”’

- (8) way̌... pulx iʔ sq^wsq^wasíʔaʔs.
 way̌ pulx iʔ s+q^ws•√q^wasíʔ+aʔ-s
 yes go.to.bed DET NMLZ+C₁C₂.PL•son+DRV-3POSS
 yes go.to.bed the his.sons
 ‘His sons went to bed.’

- (9) ǰlap k^wk^wʔast, cʔaʔʔíʔənləx,
 ǰlap ʔ(+k^w(•)√k^wʔas(+t) c-ʔaʔ•√ʔíʔn-lx
 tomorrow morning CUST-C₁C₂.PL•eat-3PL
 next.day morning they.were.eating
- wíʔwiʔcínləx.
 wíʔ•√wíʔ=cín-lx.
 C₁C₂.PL•finish=food-3PL
 they.finished.eating

‘The next morning, they were eating, and they finished eating.’

- (10) cut iʔ ylmíx^wəm “way¹ ǰast p
cut iʔ ylmíx^wm way¹ √ǰas+t p
say DET chief yes good+STAT 2PL.ABS
said the chief yes good you.all
iks^wəlk^wúlštəm iʔ t təmx^wúlaʔx^w.”
in-ks-k^wl•√k^wúl(-)st-m iʔ t √tmx^w=úlaʔx^w
1SG.POSS-C₁C₂.PL•send-MID DET OBL land=land
I.will.send.out.to.work the with land

‘The chief said “Yes, it’d be good if I sent you out into the world.”’

- (11) “iʔ sxʔitx, k^w x^wuy tac k̄ nʔǰl̄tk,
iʔ s+√xʔit-x k^w x^wuy tac k̄l n+√ʔǰl̄(=)tk
DET NMLZ+first-INTR 2SG.ABS go over LOC LOC+north
the oldest you go over to north
lk^wu^w……t.”
√lk^w=ut
far=place
far.away

‘“The oldest one, you go over to the north, a long long way.”’

- (12) “mypnúntx^w stím aʔ
√my+p-nú-nt-x^w stím aʔ
know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-2SG.ERG what DET
you.find.out what
ck^wúlsəlx yaʔyaʔt, x^wʔit
c-√k^wúls-slx yaʔ•√yaʔt x^wʔit
CUST-work-CAUS-3PL.ERG C₁C₂.PL•gather+STAT many
they.are.working.at everything much
aksmypənwfən.”
an-ks-√my+p=nwfən
2SG.POSS-FUT-know+INCH=information
you.will.learn

‘“You find out what everyone is working at, you’ll learn a lot of new things.”’

- (13) “nuk^wspíntk mi p ʔcyaʔp
nuk^w+s+√pín(=)tk mi p ʔ+c+√yaʔ+p
one+NMLZ+year COMP.FUT 2PL.ABS return+CISL+gather+INCH
one.year before you.all come.back
aláʔ.”
aláʔ
DEM
here

‘“In a year’s time, you all come back here again.”’

- (14) “uł i? knaqs ǩ wtímtk, xi? ǩli? k^w
uł i? k(+) \sqrt naqs ǩl \sqrt wtím(=)tk ixí? iǩlí? k^w
CONJ DET one[HUMAN] LOC south DEM DEM 2SG.ABS
and the one to south then to.there you

x^wuy, lk^wut.”
x^wuy \sqrt lk^w=ut
go far=place
go far.away

““And one will go to the south, you go really far over there.””

- (15) “mynnúntx^w stím a?
 \sqrt my+p-nú-nt-x^w stím a?
know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-2SG.ERG what DET
you.find.out what

ck^wúlsəlx, nuk^lwspíntk.”
c- \sqrt k^wúł-st-slx nuk^lw+s+ \sqrt pín(=)tk
CUST-work-CAUS-3PL.ERG one+NMLZ+year
they.are.working.at one.year

““You find out what they do there, for one year.””

- (16) “uł i? knaqs tac ǩl sǩlx^wtan.”
uł i? k(+) \sqrt naqs tac ǩl s+ \sqrt ǩlx^w+tan
CONJ DET one[HUMAN] over LOC NMLZ+evening+INS
and the one over to west

““And one will go over to the west.””

- (17) “ť k^w x^wu^uuy lk^wut.”
ť k^w x^wuy \sqrt lk^w=ut
EMPH 2SG.ABS go far=place
just you go far.away

““Just go really far.””

- (18) “mynnúntx^w ya^uyť a?
 \sqrt my+p-nú-nt-x^w \sqrt yaŋ+ť a?
know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-2SG.ERG gather+STAT DET
you.find.out everything that

ck^wúlsəlx.”
c- \sqrt k^wúł-st-slx
CUST-work-CAUS-3PL.ERG
they.are.working.on

““You find out everything they are doing, the way people live there.””

- (19) uł iʔ tətʔwít iʔ stʔíwtaʔx, cut
 uł iʔ t(•)√twít iʔ s+√tʔíw+t-aʔx cut
 CONJ DET boy DET NMLZ+youngest+STAT-INTR say
 and the boy the youngest.one he.said

“k^w x^wuy tac kíl sk^wəʔʔptañ.”
 k^w x^wuy tac kíl s+√k^wʔ(+p)tañ
 2SG.ABS go over LOC NMLZ+sunrise+INS
 you go over to east

‘And to the youngest boy the chief said “You go over to the east.”’

- (20) “lk^wut aksx^wuy, ya^{...}ʔt
 √lk^w=ut an-ks-√x^wuy, √yaʔt
 far=place 2SG.POSS-FUT-go gather+STAT
 far.away you.will.go all

mypnúntx^w stím.”
 √my+p-nú-nt-x^w stím
 know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-2SG.ERG what
 you.will.find.out thing

‘“You’ll go a long long ways, but you’ll learn from it.”’

- (21) cut “way.”
 cut way
 say yes
 he.said yes

‘The youngest said “Okay.”’

- (22) ixíʔ sx^wúysəlx.
 ixíʔ s-√x^wúy-slx
 DEM NMLZ-go-3PL.POSS
 then they.went

‘So they went.’

- (23) x^wú^{...}yləx, x^wúyləx lk^wák^wəlx,
 √x^wúy-lx, √x^wúy-lx √lk^w•ák^w-lx,
 go-3PL go-3PL far•C₂.LC-3PL
 they.went they.went they.were.getting.far.away

mypnúśəlx.
 √my+p-nú-nt-slx
 know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-3PL.ERG
 they.learned.it

‘They were going, going along getting farther away, and they found out how others lived.’

- (24) ixíʔ iʔ sxʔitx tac k̄l nʔiʔl̄tk.
 ixíʔ iʔ s+√xʔit-x tac k̄l n+√ʔiʔl̄(=)tk
 DEM DET NMLZ+first-INTR over LOC LOC+north
 that the oldest over to north

‘The oldest one went towards the north.’

- (25) kic iʔ sk̄^wəʔstəmʔáltəm,
 kic iʔ s-c-√k̄^wʔ+s+√ʔm(=)ʔált-m,
 arrive DET NMLZ-CUST-work+NMLZ+cattle-MID
 get.there the ones.who.work.with.cattle

nk̄t̄caʔsqáxaʔ.
 √nk(=)t̄caʔ(+s(+))√qáxaʔ
 horses
 horses

‘He got to a place he could learn about raising cattle and horses.’

- (26) ixíʔ ilíʔ iʔ sk̄^wúl̄əms.
 ixíʔ ilíʔ iʔ s+√k̄^wúl̄-m-s
 DEM DEM DET NMLZ+work-MID-3POSS
 then there what he.worked.at

‘And he worked there.’

- (27) ya^{...}ʔt iʔ stím mypnús, t
 √yaʔ+t iʔ stím √my+p-nú-nt-s t
 gather+STAT DET what know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-3ERG OBL
 every thing he.found.out.about

ksq̄əysqáxaʔs yaʔt, k̄^wx^wsqáxaʔ.
 ks-√q̄y+s+√qáxaʔ-s √yaʔ+t √k̄^wx^w+s+√qáxaʔ
 FUT-write+NMLZ+horse-3POSS gather+STAT untie+NMLZ+horse
 branding.a.horse everything taking.a.saddle.off

‘He learned about everything, how to brand a horse and everything, and how to take the saddle off the horse.’

- (28) yaʔt iʔ stím mypnús iʔ
 √yaʔ+t iʔ stím √my+p-nú-nt-s iʔ
 gather+STAT DET what know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-3ERG DET
 every thing he.found.out the

k̄l stəmʔált, iʔ k̄l sən̄k̄t̄caʔsqáxaʔ.
 k̄l s+√ʔm(=)ʔált, iʔ k̄l s+√nk(=)t̄caʔ(+s(+))√qáxaʔ
 LOC NMLZ+cattle DET LOC NMLZ+horses
 about cattle the about horses

‘He learned everything about cattle, and about horses.’

(29) nu^kw spín^tk.
 nu^kw+s+√pín(=)tk.
 one+NMLZ+year
 one.year
 ‘For one year.’

(30) u^t i[?] knaqs i[?] tət^wít x^wuy, tac k̄
 u^t i[?] k(+)_vnaqs i[?] t(•)_vtwít x^wuy tac k̄l
 CONJ DET one[HUMAN] DET boy go over LOC
 and the one the boy he.went over to
 wtím^tk.
 √wtím(=)tk
 south
 south

‘And one of the boys went over to the south.’

(31) kic a[?] c^kw áⁿtqam,
 kic a[?] c-√k^wán=tq-am
 arrive DET CUST-plant=crop-MID
 get.there the farming
 scəcəmá^tá[?]q̄x.
 s-c-c•√c^m=á^tá[?]q-x
 NMLZ-CUST-C₁.DIM•small=seed-INTR
 small.seeds

‘He got to where they were farming, planting small seeds.’

(32) ixí[?] ya^{•••}ƣt mypnús, ya^ƣt
 ixí[?] √ya^ƣ+t √my+p-nú-nt-s √ya^ƣ+t
 DEM gather+STAT know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-3ERG gather+STAT
 then everything he.learned.about every
 i[?] stím i[?] k̄l scəcəmá^tá[?]q̄.
 i[?] stím i[?] k̄l s+c•√c^m=á^tá[?]q̄
 DET what DET LOC NMLZ+C₁.DIM•small=seed
 thing the about small.seeds

‘He learned about everything, everything about small seeds.’

- (33) ɬ ks^kwúləms itʔ, k^wúləms iʔ... ɬaʔ
 ɬ ks-√k^wúl-m-s itʔ √k^wúl-m-s iʔ ɬaʔ
 COMP FUT-work-MID-3POSS DEM work-MID-3POSS DET COMP
 when he.would.work there he.worked.on the when
- ksnələqíwsəm iʔ sk^wan̩tq mi
 ks-n+√lq=iws-m iʔ s+√k^wan̩=tq mi
 FUT-LOC+pull=middle-MID DET NMLZ+plant=crop COMP.FUT
 he.would.weed the garden so.that
- plal t ʃast.
 √pl•al t √ʃas+t.
 grow•C₂.LC OBL good+STAT
 grow good

‘When he worked there he worked on pulling, weeding the garden so that it’d grow good.’

- (34) aks... t siwɬk^w, npísusəm, cʔxíɬ taʔkín
 aks... t siwɬk^w n+√pís=us-m c-√ʔxíɬ ta+√ʔkín
 OBL water LOC+irrigate=area-MID CUST-be.like at+do.like
 water he.irrigated like what
- iʔ ksnpísusəm mi ʃast.
 iʔ ks-n+√pís=us-m mi √ʃas+t
 DET FUT-LOC+irrigate=area-MID COMP.FUT good+STAT
 he.would.irrigate so.that it.is.good

‘And with water, he’d irrigate with ditches, one has to irrigate it so that it is good.’

- (35) lut ɬa myaɬ ksx^wʔíts.
 lut ɬa myaɬ ks-√x^wʔíts
 NEG NEG.EMPH too.much UPOSS-many-3POSS
 not too much

‘Not too much.’

- (36) uɬ iʔ knaqs tac k̩l sk̩lx^wtan.
 uɬ iʔ k(+)_√naqs tac k̩l s+√k̩lx^w+tan
 CONJ DET one[HUMAN] over LOC NMLZ+evening+INS
 and the one over to west

‘And one of them went towards the west.’

- (37) x^wu^{.....}y lk^wut, ya^{...ŋ}t i? sti^ŋ
 x^wuy √lk^w=ut √yaŋ+t i? sti^ŋ
 go far=place gather+STAT DET what
 he.went far.away every thing
- mypnú*s* iklí?
 √my+p-nú-nt-s iklí?
 know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-3ERG DEM
 he.found.out.about there

‘He went a really long ways, he found out about how everything operates over there.’

- (38) uŋ i? tət^wít i? stʔíwtaʔx, x^wuyx
 uŋ i? t(•)√twít i? s+√tʔíw+t-aʔx √x^wuy-x
 CONJ DET boy DET NMLZ+youngest+STAT-INTR go-INTR
 and the boy that was.the.youngest he.went
- i? kíl ksx^wuys.
 i? kíl ks-x^wuy-s
 DET LOC UPOSS-go-3POSS
 the to where.he.was.going

‘And the youngest boy, he went to where he was going.’

- (39) lk^wu^{.....}t.
 √lk^w=ut
 far=place
 far.away

‘Really really far.’

- (40) kcníw^səs i? kwkáw^poy, i?
 √kcn=íw^s-nt-s i? kw•káw^poy i?
 fall.in.with=middle-DIR-3ERG DET C₁C₂.PL•cowboy DET
 he.fell.in.with some cowboys that.were
- cnáq^wxəlx.
 c-√náq^w-x-lx
 CUST-steal-INTR-3PL
 they.were.stealing

‘He met up with some cowboys that were stealing things.’

- (41) ilíʔ ksxníy^əm.
 ilíʔ kŋ-s-n+√xíy^ə-m
 DEM get-NMLZ-LOC+mix.with.people-MID
 there he.got.mixed.up.with.them

‘He got mixed up with those people.’

- (42) taʔt yaʔʔʔt iʔ stiṃ náqʷəmsəlx.
 √/taʔ+t √/yaʔ+t iʔ stiṃ √/náqʷ-m-nt-səlx
 straight+STAT gather+STAT DET what steal-APPL-DIR-3PL.ERG
 sure every thing they.stole.it

‘They sure stole everything.’

- (43) taʔt xʔit, xʔit iʔ snaqʷ.
 √/taʔ+t xʔit xʔit iʔ s+√/naqʷ
 straight+STAT best best DET NMLZ+steal
 really best best the stealing

‘Really the best, they’re the best thieves.’

- (44) ixíʔ yaʔyaʔʔt mypnús iʔ
 ixíʔ yaʔ•√/yaʔ+t √/my+p-nú-nt-s iʔ
 DEM C₁.C₂.PL•gather+STAT know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-3ERG DET
 everything he.learned.it the

tətwít, snaqʷ.
 t(•)√/twít s+√/naqʷ
 boy NMLZ+steal
 boy stealing

‘That’s all this young boy learned about, was stealing.’

- (45) taʔt uʔ nukʷspíntk əʔ cxʷyxʷúyləx.
 √/taʔ+t uʔ nukʷ+s+√/pín(=)tk ʔ c+xʷy•√/xʷúy-lx
 straight+STAT CONJ one+NMLZ+year COMP C₁SL+C₂.PL•go-3PL
 sure and one.year before they.all.come

‘And one year went by before they all came home.’

- (46) iʔ tətwít, taʔt kiʔ cniyíʔls,
 iʔ t(•)twít √/taʔ+t kiʔ c-n+√/piy=ʔls
 DET boy straight+STAT COMP.OBL CUST-LOC+happy=thoughts
 the boy sure that he.was.happy

kíʔkəm ksníʔptəm iʔ spənʔkín
 kí(•)√/kəm ks-n+√/ʔp+t-m iʔ s-pn+√/ʔkín
 almost FUT-LOC+forget+STAT-MID DET NMLZ-when+do.what
 almost he.would.forget when

mi ʔxʷúyləx.
 mi ʔ+√/xʷúy-lx
 COMP.FUT return+go-3PL
 will they.returned

‘The boy was really having a great time, but just about forgot when they were going home.’

- (47) ilíʔ, “ax! wayʔ kn kɫxʷúyaʔx.”
 ilíʔ ax wayʔ kn ks-ɫ+√xʷúy-aʔx
 DEM INTERJ yes 1SG.ABS FUT-return+go-INCEPT
 he.was.there *ʔ#! yes I will.go.back

‘He was there, and said “I’m going to go now.”’

- (48) əɫ ɫxʷuyəɫx, ʔi kɫqʷtíʷwaʔs iʔ 1
 ɫ ɫ+√xʷuy-ɫx ʔi k+√ɫqʷ(=)t(=)íwaʔ-s iʔ 1
 COMP return+go-3PL EMPH RES+bent.over-3POSS DET LOC
 when he.was.going.back just he.was.bent.over the on

kəwáps, səpsqáǰaʔ.
 √kwáp-s √sp+s+√qáǰaʔ
 horse-3POSS whip+NMLZ+horse
 horse he.whipped.his.horse

‘When he went back, oh, he was just bent over his horse, he whipped his horse.’

- (49) ʔəlsqáǰaʔ, iʔ kəwáps tǰʷúsəsaʔ,
 √ʔl+s+√qáǰaʔ iʔ √kwáp-s t+√ǰʷús•s=caʔ,
 stand+NMLZ+horse DET horse-3POSS RES+foam•C2.LC=skin
 he.stopped.the.horse the his.horse its.skin.was.foaming

taɫt ʔáyǰʷt iʔ kəwáps.
 √taɫ+t ʔáyǰʷt iʔ √kwáp-s
 straight+STAT tired DET horse-3POSS
 sure tired the his.horse

‘He stopped his horse, its skin was foaming like soap, his horse got really tired.’

- (50) xʷuy ɫl səntəwstsqáǰaʔtən,
 xʷuy ɫl s+n+√twst+s+√qáǰaʔ+tn
 go LOC NMLZ+LOC+stand.in.line+NMLZ+horse+INS
 he.went to barn

tliʔ kiʔ skʷums iʔ
 itlíʔ kiʔ s-√kʷum-s iʔ
 DEM COMP.OBL NMLZ-store-3POSS DET
 from.there that he.stored.it the

n̄əɫqʷiʔsqáǰaʔtəns.
 n+√ʔlqʷ+iʔ+s+√qáǰaʔ+tn-s
 LOC+place.on[?]+DRV+NMLZ+horse+INS-3POSS
 his.saddle

‘He went to the barn, from there that he hung up his saddle.’

(51) nʔuɬx^w.
 n+√ʔuɬx^w
 LOC+enter
 he.went.inside
 ‘He went inside.’

(52) way̌, way̌ yáɬtəlx yáɬpəlx.
 way̌ way̌ √yáɬ+t-lx √yáɬ+p-lx
 yes yes gather+STAT-3PL gather+INCH-3PL
 yes already all.of.them they.arrived
 ‘Yes, they were all already home.’

(53) cut iʔ ylmíx^wəm, “way̌ límləmt p
 cut iʔ ylmíx^wm way̌ lím•√lm+t p
 say DET chief yes C₁C₂.CHAR•glad+STAT 2PL.ABS
 said the chief yes it.is.very.good you.all
 ɬcyáɬp.”
 ɬ+c+√yaɬ+p
 return+CISL+gather+INCH
 came.back
 ‘The chief said “I’m glad you all came home.”’

(54) “hahúy, púlxiwi! ʔnus kiʔ ʃlap
 ha(•)húy √púlxi-wi ʔnínwiʔs kiʔ ʃlap
 okay go.to.bed-PL in.a.while COMP.OBL tomorrow
 okay go.to.bed in.a.little.while that tomorrow
 mi p máy̌ncut, k^wu tl
 mi p √máý̌-ncut k^wu tl
 COMP.FUT 2PL.ABS tell-REFL 1PL.ABS LOC
 will you.all tell.about we
 wiʔwiʔcín.”
 wiʔ•√wiʔ=cín
 C₁C₂.PL•finish=food
 finish.eating

“‘Okay, go to bed! In a little while, tomorrow, you all will tell stories when we get done eating tomorrow.’”

(55) ixíʔ iʔ tətwiʔ taʔlíʔ kint, way̌.
 ixíʔ iʔ t(•)√twiʔ taʔlíʔ √kint+t way̌
 DEM DET boy very afraid+STAT yes
 that the boy very afraid yes
 ‘That boy was very afraid, yes.’

- (56) ixíʔ sʔətʃílsəlx.
 ixíʔ s-√ʔtx=ílx-slx
 DEM NMLZ-sleep=AUT-3PL.POSS
 then they.went.to.sleep
 ‘They all went to sleep.’

- (57) ʃlap ʃk^wk^wʃast, ʔəʃʔíʃənləx,
 ʃlap ʃ(+k^w(•)√k^wʃas(+t) ʔʃ•√ʔíʃn-lx
 tomorrow morning C₁C₂.PL•eat-3PL
 next morning they.were.eating
 wiʔwiʔcínləx.
 wiʔ•√wiʔ=cín-lx
 C₁C₂.PL•finish=food-3PL
 they.finished.eating

‘The next morning, they were eating, and they finished eating.’

- (58) cus iʔ sxʔitx,
 √cun-nt-s iʔ s-√xʔit-x
 say-DIR-3ERG DET NMLZ-first-INTR
 they.chief.told.him the oldest
 “k^w x^wuy, mə́ncútaʔx! stiṁ
 k^w x^wuy √mə́-ncút-aʔx stiṁ
 2SG.ABS go tell-REFL-INTR what
 you go tell.us what
 ascmypnwiʃən anwíʔ”
 an-s-c-√my+p=nwiʃən anwí
 2SG.POSS-NMLZ-CUST-know+INCH=information 2SG.INDEP
 you.learned.about you

‘The chief said to the oldest, “You go ahead, tell something! What did you learn about?”’

- (59) cut “way, ah kn x^wu^{•••••}y kíl lk^wut.”
 cut way ah kn x^wuy kíl √lk^w=ut
 say yes ah 1SG.ABS go LOC far=place
 he.said yes ah I went to far.away
 ‘The oldest said “Okay, I went really far away.”’

- (63) cut iʔ ylmíx^wəm, “ah, way^ʔ ʃast
 cut iʔ ylmíx^wm ah, way^ʔ √ʃas+t
 say DET chief ah yes good+STAT
 he.said the chief ah yes it.is.good

ascmynpwíʔən.”

an-s-c-√my+p=nwíʔn

2SG.POSS-NMLZ-CUST-know+INCH=information

what.you.learned

‘The chief said “Ah, that’s good what you learned.”’

- (64) tliʔ knaqs, k̄ wtímtk kiʔ x^wuy.
 itlíʔ k(+)^ʔ√naqs k̄l √wtím(=)tk kiʔ x^wuy
 DEM one[HUMAN] LOC south COMP.OBL go
 from.there one to south that he.went

‘And from the other one, that went to the south.’

- (65) cut, “kn x^wuy k̄ wtímtk k̄l lk^wu[•]t.”
 cut kn x^wuy k̄l √wtím(=)tk k̄l √lk^w=ut
 say 1SG.ABS go LOC south LOC far=place
 he.said I went to south to far.away

‘He said “I went a long ways to the south.”’

- (66) “kcníwsən iʔ
 √kcn=íws-nt-n iʔ
 fall.in.with=middle-DIR-1SG.ERG DET
 I.fell.in.with the

scəcəmáʔaʔqaʔx,

s-c-c(•)√cm=áʔaʔq-aʔx

NMLZ-CUST-C₁.DIM•small=seed-INTR

ones.who.plant.seeds

k^wánʔqám.

√k^wánʔ=ʔq-ám

plant=crop-MID

who.were.farming

yaʔt iʔ sti^ʔ mypnun,

√yaʔ+t iʔ sti^ʔ √my+p-nu-nt-n

gather+STAT DET what know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-1SG.ERG

every thing I.learned.about.it

iʔ liplí, patáks, haʔyk^w, sʃú^wk^wəm.”

iʔ liplí patáks haʔyk^w s(+)^ʔ√ʃú^wk^w(-)m

DET peas potatoes onions carrots

the peas potatoes onions carrots

‘“I fell in with ones who were planting seeds, farmers. I learned about everything, peas, potatoes, onions, carrots.”’

(67)	cut,	“mynun		iʔ	liplí	iklíʔ
	cut	√my+p-nu-nt-n		iʔ	liplí	iklíʔ
	say	know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-1 SG.ERG	DET		pease	DEM
	he.said	I.learned.it			the	peas
						to.there
	ká	ck ^w úfomsəlx...			yaʔt	taʔlíʔ
	kaʔ	c-√k ^w úf-m-st-slx			√yaʔ+t	taʔlíʔ
	COMP.OBL	CUST-work-APPL-CAUS-3PL.ERG			gather+STAT	very
	where	they.were.working			everything	very
	ǰast.	uʔ	iʔ	lawán.”		
	√ǰas+t	uʔ	iʔ	lawán.		
	good+STAT	CONJ	DET	oats		
	good	and		oats		

‘He said “I learned about peas there where they were working, everything was really good. And oats.”’

(68)	“mynun				iklíʔ
	√my+p-nu-nt-n				iklíʔ
	know+INCH-manage.to-DIR-1 SG.ERG			DEM	
	I.learned.it				to.there
	ká	ck ^w úfəsəlx		iʔ	
	kaʔ	c-√k ^w úf-st-səlx		iʔ	
	COMP.OBL	CUST-work-CAUS-3PL.ERG	DET		
	where	they.worked.on.it			the
	la...	iʔ	sc ^w úfomsəlx		
	lawán	iʔ	s-c-√k ^w úf-m-slx		
	oats	DET	NMLZ-CUST-work-MID-3PL.POSS		
	oats	that	they.made.it		
	t	lkalát.	ixíʔ	yaʔt	
	t	lkalát	ixíʔ	√yaʔ+t	
	OBL	bread	DEM	gather+STAT	
		bread	that	everything	
		iscmypoŋwíʔən.”			
		in-s-c-√my+p=ŋwíʔn			
		1 SG.POSS-NMLZ-CUST-know+INCH=information			
		what.I.learned.about			

‘“There I learned about how they made oats, that’s what they made bread from. I learned all that.”’¹⁸

¹⁸Andrew McGinnis says that he meant to say ‘flour’ rather than ‘oats’ in this stanza, i.e. ‘what they make bread from’.

- (69) cut iʔ ylmíx^wəm, “ah way, taʔt ʃast
 cut iʔ ylmíx^wm ah way^ʔ √taʔ+t √ʃas+t
 say DET chief ah yes straight+STAT good+STAT
 he.said the chief ah yes very good

ascm̥pənwíʃən.”

an-s-c-√my+p=nwíʃn

2SG.POSS-NMLZ-CUST-know+INCH=information

what.you.learned

‘The chief said, “Oh yes, that’s really good what you learned.”’

- (70) cus iʔ tətʷít, “hahuy! anwí
 √cun-nt-s iʔ t(•)twít hahuy anwí
 say-DIR-3ERG DET boy okay 2SG.INDEP
 he.told.him the boe okay you

ascm̥pənwíʃən?”

an-s-c-√my+p=nwíʃn

2SG.POSS-NMLZ-CUST-know+INCH=information

what.you.learned

‘The chief told the youngest boy “Okay, what did you learn?”’

- (71) mu^{****}t iʔ tətʷít.
 mut iʔ t(•)√twít
 sit DET boy
 just.sitting the boy

‘The boy was just sitting there.’

- (72) cut, “way. way ʔəx^w aʃiʔ kn
 cut way way ʔx^w aʃiʔ kn
 say yes yes EVID COMP 1SG.ABS
 he.said yes yes guess I

ksm̥aýncútaʔx. lut tʔ ʃast

ks-√m̥aý-ncút-aʔx lut tʔ √ʃas+t

FUT-tell-REFL-INCEPT NEG NEG.EMPH good+STAT

will.tell not good

iscm̥pənwíʃən.”

in-s-c-√my+p=nwíʃn

1SG.POSS-NMLZ-CUST-know+INCH=information

what.I.learned

‘He said “Yes. Okay, I guess I’ll tell. But it is not good what I’ve learned.”’

- (73) cut, “kn x^wu^{.....}y lk^wut, kcníw[’]sən
cut kn x^wuy √lk^w=ut √kcn=íw[’]s-nt-n
say 1SG.ABS go far=place fall.in.with=middle-DIR-1SG.ERG
he.said I went far.away I.fell.in.with
- i? kəwkáwboy, x^w?ítəlx. nák^wəms i?
i? kw•káwboy √x^w?ít-lx √nák^wm-s i?
DET C₁C₂.PL•cowboy many-3PL EVID-3POSS DET
some cowboys many.of.them it.turned.out that
- cnáq^wxəlx.”
c-√náq^w-x-lx
CUST-steal-INTR-3PL
they.were.stealing

‘The boy said “I went a long ways, I fell in with some cowboys, a lot of them. It turned out they were stealing things.”’

- (74) “tałt x?ítəlx i? l snaq^w. t̃
√tał+t √x?ít-lx i? l s+√naq^w t̃
straight+STAT best-3PL DET LOC NMLZ+steal EMPH
sure they.were.the.best the at stealing just
- i? xi?míx stím uł ǰmínksəlx uł
i? √xi? (=)míx stím uł √ǰmínk-nt-slx uł
DET whatever what CONJ want-DIR-3PL.ERG CONJ
whatever thing and they.wanted.it and
- náq^wəmsəlx.”
√náq^w-m-nt-slx
steal-APPL-DIR-3PL.ERG
they.stole.it

‘“They’re good thieves. Just whatever they wanted, they’d steal it.”’

- (75) “tałt x?ítəlx. ixí?
√tał+t √x?ít-lx ixí?
straight+STAT best-3PL DEM
sure best that
- iscmypənwíftən.”
in-s-c-√my+p=nwíftn
1SG.POSS-NMLZ-CUST-know+INCH=information
what.I.learned

‘“They were really good thieves. That’s what I learned.”’

- (76) mu^{****}t iʔ ylmíx^wəm, taʔt uʔ picx^wt.
 mut iʔ ylmíx^wm √taʔ+t uʔ √picx^w+t
 sit DET chief straight+STAT CONJ disgusted+STAT
 just.sitting the chief sure and he.was.disgusted

‘The chief was just sitting there, he was really disgusted.’

- (77) cut “way. taʔlíʔ k^w cnaq^w xʔít.”
 cut way taʔlíʔ k^w c-√naq^w xʔít
 say yes very 2SG.ABS CUST-steal best
 he.said yes really you stole best

‘The chief said, “Okay. Do you really steal good?”’¹⁹

- (78) “ax, kiw^w”, cut.
 ax kiw^w cut
 INTERJ yes say
 yes he.said

‘“Yes”, the boy said.’

- (79) cut, “way xast, təx^w way, taʔlíʔ qilt
 cut way √xas+t tɔx^w way taʔlíʔ √qil+t
 say yes good+STAT EVID yes very sick+STAT
 he.said yes thats.good kind.of yes very sore
 ispuʔús.”
 in-s+√puʔ(=)ús
 1SG.POSS-NMLZ+heart
 my.heart

‘The chief said “Well good, I kind of feel sorry.”’

- (80) “inkəwáp iʔ sʔəxsqáxaʔs, cnʔac
 in-√kwáp iʔ s+√xʔ+s+√qáxaʔ-s c-n+√ʔac
 1SG.POSS-horse DET NMLZ+fast+NMLZ+horse-3POSS STAT-LOC+tied
 my.horse the fast.horse is.tied.up
 iʔ t ntəwstsqáxaʔtən. ixíʔ
 iʔ t n+√twst+s+√qáxaʔ+tn ixíʔ
 DET OBL LOC+stand.in.line+NMLZ+horse+INS DEM
 the barn that
 aksnáq^wəminəm l nk^wk^wʔac.”
 an-ks-√náq^w-min-m l n(+)^wk^w(•)k^wʔac
 2SG.POSS-FUT-steal-APPL-MID LOC night
 you.will.steal.it at tonight

‘“My race horse it is tied up at the barn. You’re going to steal it tonight.”’

¹⁹There is no question marker *ha* in this sentence, but AM translates this as a question, which makes sense given the boy’s next statement.

- (81) “lut t náq^wəməntx^w, xlap k^w
 lut t √náq^w-m-nt-x^w xlap k^w
 NEG NEG.EMPH steal-APPL-DIR-2SG.ERG tomorrow 2SG.ABS
 not you.steal.it tomorrow you

ikʔáciwsəm.”

in-ks-k+√ʔáci=íws-m

1SG.POSS-FUT-RES+tie=middle-MID

I.will.hang

‘‘If you don’t steal it, I will hang you tomorrow,’’ the chief said.’

- (82) cut iʔ tətʔwít, “way^y ixíʔ níńwíʔs
 cut iʔ t(•)√tʔwít way^y ixíʔ níńwíʔs
 say DET boy yes DEM in.a.while
 he.said the boy yes that in.a.while

náq^wəmən.”

√náq^w-m-nt-n

steal-APPL-DIR-1SG.ERG

I.will.steal.it

‘The boy said ‘‘Yes, okay, I will steal it.’’

- (83) nk^wk^wʔac iʔ ylmíx^wəmə iʔ səx^wk^wəlk^wúłəms,
 n(+)^w(•)k^wʔac iʔ ylmíx^wm iʔ sx^w+k^wʔ•√k^wúł-m-s
 night DET chief DET OCC+C₁C₂.PL•work-MID-3POSS
 night the chief the his.workers

x^wʔit aʔíʔ x^wúyləx iʔ l

x^wʔit aʔíʔ √x^wúy-lx iʔ l

many COMP go-3PL DET LOC

many they.went the in

səntəwstsqáxaʔtən

uʔ

s+n+√tʔwst+s+√qáxaʔ+tn

uʔ

NMLZ+LOC+stand.in.line+NMLZ+horse+INS CONJ

barn

and

xəlxlákəkəlx.

xl•√xlák•k-lx

C₁C₂.PL•whirl•C₂.LC-3PL

they.all.sat.around

‘At night, the chief’s workers were there, there’s a lot of them, they went in the barn and they all sat around.’²⁰

²⁰The form *xəlxlákəkəlx* literally means ‘‘they were turning around’’, but several speakers I have consulted say it can also mean ‘sitting around in a circle’, in cases where a room is full.

- (84) iʔ knaqs kámʔíwʰs, iʔ knaqs iʔ
 iʔ k(+)_√naqs k+_√ʔamt=íwʰs iʔ k(+)_√naqs iʔ
 DET one[HUMAN] RES+sit=middle DET one[HUMAN] DET
 the one got.on.a.horse the one that
- tk^wənk^wínpláʔs, iʔ knaqs
 t+k^wn•_√k^wín=pláʔ-nt-s iʔ k(+)_√naqs
 RES+C₁C₂.PL•take=handle-DIR-3ERG DET one[HUMAN]
 he.took.the.lead the one
- tk^wənk^wínpstʰs.
 t+k^wn•_√k^wín=ps-nt-s
 RES+C₁C₂.PL•take=tail-DIR-3ERG
 he.held.the.tail

‘One got on a horse, another took the lead, and one followed behind, holding his tail.’

- (85) “ah... ʔi k^waʔ xʔkínəməm axáʔ mi
 ah ʔi k^waʔ x+_√ʔkín-m axáʔ mi
 ah EMPH INTERJ DRV+do.what-MID DEM COMP.FUT
 ah just how this will
- náq^wəmsʔʔ
_√náq^w-m-nt-s
 steal-APPL-DIR-3ERG
 he.steal.it

‘The chief said “How is he gonna steal this horse?”’

- (86) “tk^wənk^wínxʔ ixíʔ knaqs, ixíʔ knaqs.”
 t+k^wn•_√k^wínx ixíʔ k(+)_√naqs ixíʔ k(+)_√naqs
 RES+C₁C₂.PL•how.many DEM one[HUMAN] DEM one[HUMAN]
 how.many.people that one that one

‘“How many are there? There’s one, and there’s one.”’

- (87) “ya^hʔt uʔ taʔt way^h lut, way^h k
 √yaʔt uʔ √taʔt way^h lut way^h kn
 gather+STAT CONJ straight+STAT yes NEG yes 1 SG.ABS
 all and sure yes no yes I
- kʔacíw̄səm isq^wsíʔaʔ, áʔiʔ
 ks-k+√ʔac=iw̄s-m in-s+√q^wsíʔ+aʔ áʔiʔ
 FUT-RES+tie=middle-MID 1 SG.POSS+NMLZ+son+DRV COMP
 will.hang.him my.son because
- way^h cun.”
 way^h √cun-nt-n
 yes say-DIR-1 SG.ERG
 already I.told.him

‘The chief said “There’s no way, I’m going to hang my son, that’s what I told him.”’

- (88) ixíʔ x^wu^hy uʔ ʔitx.
 ixíʔ x^wuy uʔ ʔitx
 DEM go CONJ sleep
 then he.went and he.slept

‘The chief went and slept.’

- (89) iʔ tətʔwít lut t̄ ʔitx, k̄lax^w way^h.
 iʔ t(•)√twít lut t̄ ʔitx k̄lax^w way^h
 DET boy NEG NEG.EMPH sleep evening yes
 the boy not sleep evening already

‘The boy did not sleep, it was already evening.’

- (90) ntr̄q̄p̄ncút-x k̄l s̄n̄t̄əq^wm̄n.
 n+√tr̄q̄+p-ncút-x k̄l s+n+√t̄q^w+m̄n
 LOC+stomp+INCH-REFL-INTR LOC NMLZ+LOC+storage.place+INS
 he.ran to cellar

‘He ran to the cellar.’

- (91) ilíʔ kylwícaʔ iʔ ylmíx^wəm iʔ
 ilíʔ k+√ylw=ícaʔ iʔ ylmíx^wm iʔ
 DEM RES+twist.twig=outer.covering DET chief DET
 there barrel the chief that

 sck^wúʔs iʔ wine.
 s-c-√k^wúʔ-s iʔ wine
 NMLZ-CUST-make-3POSS DET wine
 he.made.it the wine

‘There was a barrel of wine that the chief made.’

- (92) ixíʔ k^wíʔ...lks uʔ k̄l
 ixíʔ √k^wíl̄k̄-nt-s uʔ k̄l
 DEM roll-DIR-3ERG CONJ LOC
 then he.rolled.it until to
- səntəwstsqáʔtən, k̄aʔítət.
 s+n+√ʔwst+s+√qáʔaʔ+tn √k̄aʔít•t
 NMLZ+LOC+stand.in.line+NMLZ+horse+INS near•C₂.LC
 barn he.approached

‘He rolled the barrel until he got near the barn.’

- (93) n̄cx^wám, ixíʔ sk̄l̄ʔəq̄l̄áq̄əlqs.
 n+√cx^w-ám ixíʔ s-k̄l̄+ʔq̄•√l̄áq̄=lqs
 LOC+pour.in-MID DEM NMLZ-DRV+C₁C₂.PL•pocket=dress
 he.poured.it then he.stuck.them.under.his.shirt

‘He poured some (into two bottles) and stuck them under his shirt.’

- (94) x^wuy iʔ tətʔwít, nʔuʔx^w k̄l
 x^wuy iʔ t(•)wít n+√ʔuʔx^w k̄l
 go DET boy LOC+enter LOC
 he.went the boy he.went.in to

səntəwstsqáʔtən.
 s+n+√ʔwst+s+√qáʔaʔ+tn
 NMLZ+LOC+stand.in.line+NMLZ+horse+INS
 barn

‘The boy went, and entered into the barn.’

- (95) cúsxəl, “k^w səxʔkínaʔxʔ”
 √cún-nt-slx k^w s-x+√ʔkín-aʔx
 say-DIR-3PL.ERG 2SG.ABS NMLZ-DRV+do.what-INTR
 they.told.him you are.doing.what

‘They told him “What are you doing?”’

- (96) cut, “isnixl̄ ksnáq̄^wəmisəl̄x
 cut in-s-√nixl̄ ks-√náq̄^w-m-nt-islx
 say 1SG.POSS-NMLZ-hear FUT-steal-APPL-DIR-3PL.ERG
 he.said I.heard they.will.steal.it

yaʔʔís iʔ sən̄k̄l̄caʔsqáʔaʔ.”
 yaʔʔís iʔ s(+).√nk(=)l̄caʔ(+).s(+).√qáʔaʔ
 DEM DET horse
 that.one.over.there the horse

‘The boy said “I heard that they’re going to steal that horse.”’

- (97) “alá? p ikskənxítəm i?
 alá? p in-ks-√kn-xít-m i?
 DEM 2PL.ABS 1SG.POSS-FUT-help-BEN-MID DET
 here you.all I.will.help

txʔəntím.”
 t+√xt-nt-ím
 RES+take.care.of-DIR-PASS
 it.will.be.taken.care.of

‘‘I’m here to help you take care of him.’’

- (98) “ah, wayʔ xast” cut, “k^w mutx.”
 ah wayʔ √xas+t cut k^w √mut-x
 ah yes good+STAT say 2SG.ABS sit-INTR
 ah yes its.good he.said you sit.down

‘‘Ah, that’s good’’ they said, ‘‘You can sit down.’’

- (99) mut i? tətʔwít, aclkapúh.
 mut i? t(•)√twít ac-√lkapúh
 sit DET boy STAT-coat
 sat.down the boy with.his.coat

‘The boy sat down with his coat.’

- (100) ʔayxáxaʔ, síʔswst uʔ... ʔayxáxaʔ uʔ
 ʔayxáxaʔ síʔ√swst uʔ ʔayxáxaʔ uʔ
 in.a.little.while C₁.DIM•drink CONJ in.a.little.while CONJ
 in.a.little.while he.sipped and in.a.little.while and

síswst.
 síʔ√swst
 C₁.DIM•drink
 he.sipped

‘After a little while, the boy would take a sip, and then after a little while, take another sip.’

- (101) cúšəlx “stím ixíʔ?”
 √cún-nt-slx stím ixíʔ
 say-DIR-3PL.ERG what DEM
 they.told.him what that

‘They told him ‘‘What is that?’’

- (102) “ixíʔ wine k^waʔ.”
 ixíʔ wine k^waʔ
 DEM wine INTERJ
 that wine see?

‘‘It’s wine, see?’’ the boy said.²¹

- (103) “tlaʔ k^wu saʔsiwst, k^wu maʔxtwíx^w
 atláʔ k^wu saʔ+√siwst k^wu √maʔ-xt-wíx^w
 DEM 1 PL.ABS DRV+drink 1 PL.ABS tell-APPL.BEN-RECP
 from.here we drinking we tell.each.other.stories
 uʔ ʃlap.”
 uʔ ʃlap
 CONJ tomorrow
 until tomorrow

‘“Let’s start drinking and tell stories here until morning.”’

- (104) o, ʔ nxʃí, ixíʔ
 oh uʔ n+√xʃ=íks-nt-íslx ixíʔ
 oh CONJ LOC+pass.around=hand-DIR-3PL.ERG DEM
 oh and they.passed.it.around then
 nkáwsəlx.
 n+√káw-nt-slx.
 LOC+gone-DIR-3PL.ERG
 they.finished.it

‘Oh, they passed it around until they finished it.’²²

- (105) cut “waʔ kím iʔ naqs axáʔ.”
 cut waʔ kím iʔ naqs axáʔ
 he.said yes CONJ DET one DEM
 he.said yes but the one this

‘He said, “But there’s one more here.”’

- (106) ixíʔ nix^w nxʃí. oh, ixíʔ
 ixíʔ nix^w n+√xʃ=íks-nt-íslx oh ixíʔ
 DEM also LOC+pass.around=hand-DIR-3PL.ERG oh DEM
 that also they.passed.it.around oh then
 nkáwsəlx, ixíʔ uʔ waʔ.
 n+√káw-nt-slx ixíʔ uʔ waʔ
 LOC+gone-DIR-3PL.ERG DEM CONJ finish
 they.finished.it that and finished

‘And then they passed that one around too. Oh, they finished that one, and that was it.’

²¹LL mentions that *k^waʔ* is used in these contexts “if they didn’t know what it was”, hence the colloquial meaning in line 4 “see?”.

²²Nearly all of the form *n+√xʃ=íks-nt-íslx* ‘they passed it around’ is truncated in this stanza, and in (106).

- (107) mǎyxtwíx^wǎlx, ǎxast iʔ spuʔúsǎlx.
 √mǎy-xt-wíx^w-lx √ǎxas+t iʔ s+√puʔús-slx
 tell-BEN-RECP-3PL good+STAT DET NMLZ+heart-3PL.POSS
 they.told.each.other.stories good the their.hearts
 ‘They told stories to each other, and they were very happy.’
- (108) cutǎlx “ha k^w kʎnix^w?”
 √cut-lx ha k^w kʎ-nix^w
 say-3PL Q 2SG.ABS have-more
 they.said do you have.more
 ‘They said “Do you have any more?”’
- (109) cut “lut.”
 cut lut
 say no
 he.said no
 ‘He said “No.”’
- (110) “kʎl tkǎmkniʎx^w iʔ kylwiʎaʔ,
 kʎl t+√km=kn=iʎx^w iʔ k+ylw=iʎaʔ
 LOC RES+body.part=back=house DET RES+twist.twig=outer.surface
 to outside a barrel

 ixíʔ cnʔúʎx^wstǎm aláʔ
 ixíʔ c+n+√ʔúʎx^w-st-m aláʔ
 DEM CISL+LOC+enter-CAUS-1PL.ERG DEM
 that we.bring.it.in here

 kʎwíwsǎntǎm, ixíʔ uʔ
 kʎ+√ʔw=iʎws-nt-m ixíʔ uʔ
 DRV+poke=middle-1PL.ERG DEM CONJ
 we.poke.a.hole.in.it then

 ksǎǎlpstím.”
 ks-√ǎl(+)-p-st-ím
 FUT-tomorrow-CAUS-1PL.ERG
 we.will.make.it.tomorrow
 ‘‘There’s a barrel outside, let’s bring that in, and poke a hole in it. We’ll be at it all night.’’
- (111) cútlǎx “way.”
 √cút-lx way
 say-3PL yes
 they.said okay
 ‘They said “Okay.”’

- (112) ck^wilk̄ iʔ kylwicaʔ,
 c-√k^wilk̄ iʔ k+√y1w=içaʔ
 CUST-roll DET RES+twist.twig=outer.surface
 he.rolled.it the barrel

k̄tʔwíwsisəlx.
 k̄tʔ+√tʔw=iws-nt-isəlx
 DRV+poke=middle-DIR-3PL.ERG
 they.poked.a.hole.in.it

‘He rolled it in and they poked a hole in it.’

- (113) k̄tʔx̄wil iʔ wínesəlx. saʔsíwsisəlx,
 k̄tʔ(+)_√x̄wil iʔ wíne-slx saʔ+_√síws-nt-isəlx
 much DET wine-3PL.POSS DRV+drink-DIR-3PL.ERG
 much the their.wine they.drunk.it

saʔsíwsisəlx.
 saʔ+_√síws-nt-isəlx
 DRV+drink-DIR-3PL.ERG
 they.drunk.it

‘They had a lot of wine. They kept drinking and drinking it.’

- (114) x̄ast iʔ spuʔúsəlx. q^waŋq^wáŋləx.
 √x̄as+t iʔ s+_√puʔús-slx q^waŋ•_√q^wáŋ-lx
 good+STAT DET NMLZ+heart-3PL.POSS C₁C₂.PL•drunk-3PL
 good the their.hearts they.got.drunk

‘They were really very happy. They all got drunk.’

- (115) ixíʔ ʔ otxílxəlx.
 ixíʔ uʔ √ʔtx+ílx-lx
 DEM CONJ sleep+AUT-3PL
 then they.went.to.sleep

‘Then they went to sleep.’

- (116) axáʔ iʔ k̄amtíws, yax^wt iʔ tl kəwáps.
 axáʔ iʔ k+_√ʔamt=iws √yax^w+t iʔ tl √kwáps-s
 DEM DET RES+sit=middle fall.off+STAT DET LOC horse-3POSS
 this on.the.horse he.fell.off the from his.horse

‘The one who was on the horse fell off his horse.’

- (117) aʔ ck^wənk^wínpsɬs, ilíʔ uʔ
 aʔ c-k^wn•√k^wín=ps-st-s ilíʔ uʔ
 DET CUST-C₁C₂.PL•take=tail-CAUS-3ERG DEM CONJ
 the one.holding.the.tail there and

scəqɑqínk.
 s-√cəq•aq=ínk
 NMLZ-lay•C₂.LC=back
 he.fell.off.backwards

‘The one following behind, he fell off backwards.’

- (118) uʔ axáʔ tk^wənk^wínplaʔs, ixíʔ nix^w
 uʔ axáʔ t+k^wn•√k^wín=plaʔ-nt-s ixíʔ nix^w
 CONJ DEM RES+C₁C₂.PL•take=handle-DIR-3ERG DEM also
 and this.one he.held.the.reins then also

axáʔ yax^wt.
 axáʔ √yax^w+t
 DEM fall.off+STAT
 he fell.down

‘And this one that took the lead also fell down.’

- (119) yaʔt ʔətɬílxəlɬ.
 √yaʔ+t √ʔtɬ+ílx-lɬ
 gather+STAT sleep+AUT-3PL
 everyone they.fell.asleep

‘Everybody went to sleep.’

- (120) ixíʔ k^wis iʔ kəwáps, iʔ
 ixíʔ √k^win-nt-s iʔ √kwáp-s iʔ
 DEM take-DIR-3ERG DET horse-3POSS DET
 then he.took.it the his.horse the

sənkʰcáʔsqáǰaʔ.
 s(+)/√nk(=)ʰcáʔ(+)/s(+)/qáǰaʔ
 horse
 horse

‘The boy took his horse.’

- (121) x^wuysts ḳ nscícu? ki?
 √x^wuy-st-s ḳl n+s+ćí(•)√'cu? ki?
 go-CAUS-3ERG LOC LOC+NMLZ+underbrush COMP.OBL
 he.took.it to brush that

Ƴácəntis.
 √Ƴác-nt-is
 tie-DIR-3ERG
 he.tied.it.up

‘He went and moved it, it was in the brush that he tied it up.’

- (122) ixí? ki? x^wuy uł Ƴq̣ləx.
 ixí? ki? x^wuy uł √Ƴq̣+ílx
 DEM COMP.OBL go CONJ lay.down+AUT
 that’s.when that he.went and he.laid.down

‘That’s when he went and laid down.’

- (123) k^wk^wƳast. ixí? ylmíx^wəm k?awsƳác’s
 Ƴ(+k^w(•)√k^wƳas(+t) ixí? ylmíx^wm k+?aws+√Ƴác-nt-s
 morning DEM chief RES+go+look-DIR-3ERG
 in.the.morning that chief went.to.look.at

i? kəwáps.
 i? √kwáp-s
 DET horse-3POSS
 the his.horse

‘Then it was morning. That chief went to go look at his horse.’

- (124) axá? i? ḳamtíws, ḳamtíws i? 1
 axá? i? k+√?amt=íws k+√?amt=íws i? 1
 DEM DET RES+sit=middle RES+sit=middle DET LOC
 this.one why was.on.the.horse was.sitting the on

kylwíca?
 k+√ylw=íca?
 RES+twist.twigs=outer.covering
 barrel

‘This one that was on the horse, he was sitting on the barrel.’

- (125) sta?ǰíl “whoa……” uł yax^wt.
 s-ta+√?ǰíl-ə̄m whoa uł √yax^w+t
 NMLZ-at+do.like-MID whoa CONJ fall.off+STAT
 he.did.like whoa and he.fell.off

‘He did like “whoa . . .” and he fell off the barrel.’²³

- (126) axáʔ tk^wənk^wínplaʔs, ixíʔ nix^w ...
 axáʔ t+k^wn•√k^wín=plaʔ-nt-s ixíʔ nix^w
 DEM RES+C₁C₂.PL•take=handle-DIR-3ERG DEM also
 this.one who.took.the.reins him too

‘This one who took the lead, him too...’

- (127) ta•••••táʔt picx^wt, x^wuy uʔ kicx.
 ta•√táʔt √picx^w+t x^wuy uʔ √kic-x
 C₁•straight+STAT disgusted+STAT go CONJ arrive-INTR
 sure disgusted he.went and he.got.there

‘The chief was really disgusted, he went and got there.’

- (128) ʔayxáxaʔ uʔ sax^wt iʔ tətʔwít.
 ʔayxáxaʔ uʔ √sax^w+t iʔ t(•)√tʔwít.
 a.little.while CONJ come.down+STAT DET boy
 it.was.a.little.while before he.came.down the boy

‘It was a little while before the boy came downstairs.’

- (129) cut “ankəwáp, k̄ nscícuʔ
 cut an-√kwáp k̄l n+s+ćí(•)√cuʔ
 say 2SG.POSS-horse LOC LOC+NMLZ+underbrush
 he.said your.horse to the.bushes

kiʔ ʔacəntín, ʔaʔantík^w ʔaʔ
 kiʔ √ʔac-nt-ín √ʔaʔ-nt-ík^w ʔaʔ
 COMP.OBL tie-DIR-1SG.ERG look.for-DIR-IMP.TR COMP
 where I.tied.him.up look.for.it if

aspuʔús!”
 an-s+√puʔús
 2SG.POSS-NMLZ+heart
 you.want

‘The boy said “Your horse, I tied it up in the bushes. Look for it if you want to!”’

- (130) taʔt picx^wt iʔ ylmíx^wəm.
 √taʔt √picx^w+t iʔ ylmíx^wm
 straight+STAT disgusted+STAT DET chief
 sure he.was.disgusted the chief

‘The chief was really disgusted.’

²³My analysis of the first word in this stanza is tentative. It could be *staʔəlmít* ‘in a little while’ (SM, p.c.)

- (131) ʒaʔntís iʔ kəwáps uʔ taʔt...
 √ʒaʔ-nt-ís iʔ √kwáp-s uʔ √taʔ+t
 look.for-DIR-3ERG DET horse-3POSS CONJ straight+STAT
 he.looked.for.it the his.horse and sure
 ‘He looked for his horse, and he was really (disgusted).’

- (132) ʔʃən, wiʔcín, wiʔwiʔcínləx.
 ʔʃn √wiʔ=cín wiʔ•√wiʔ=cín-lx
 eat finish=food C₁C₂.PL•finish=food-3PL
 he.ate he.finished.eating they.finished.eating
 ‘He ate, he finished eating, they finished eating.’

- (133) “way’ nak’wəm taʔlíʔ k^w nq’w,” cut,
 way’ nak’w m taʔlíʔ k^w nq’w•√nq’w-m+úʔ cut
 yes EVID very 2SG.ABS C₁C₂•steal-MID+very say
 yes indeed very you thief he.said
 “kaʔʃís kím ʔasíl ascnáq’w.”
 kaʔʃís kím ʔasíl an-s-c-√náq’w
 three CONJ two 2SG.POSS-NMLZ-CUST-steal
 three more two to.steal

‘The chief said “Yes, you’re a very good thief, you’re going to steal good two or three more times.”’

- (134) “ʔapnáʔ sənkwkʔac inkʔyx^wʔícaʔ,
 ʔapnáʔ s+n(+k^w(•)√kʔ^wac in-kʔ+√yx^w+t=ícaʔ
 now NMLZ+night 1SG.POSS-DRV+lower+STAT=covering
 now night my.bottom.sheets
 inkʔyx^wʔícaʔ k^wu
 in-kʔ+√yx^w+t=ícaʔ k^wu
 1SG.POSS-DRV+lower+STAT=covering 1SG.ABS
 my.bottom.sheets me
 aksnáq’wəməʔtəm.”
 an-ks-√náq’w-m-ʔt-m
 2SG.POSS-FUT-steal-APPL-APPL.POSS-MID
 you.will.steal.them.from

‘The chief said “Tonight, it’s my bottom sheets. You’re going to have to steal my bottom sheets,” the chief said.’

- (135) “oh, way’ ixíʔ nínwíʔs náq’wəməʔtsən.”
 oh way’ ixíʔ nínwíʔs √náq’w-m-ʔt-s-n
 oh yes DEM in.a.while steal-APPL-APPL.POSS-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG
 oh yes then in.a.while I.steal.them.from.you
 ‘“Oh, yes, I’ll steal them from you, no problem,” the boy said.’

- (136) naʔt tkʔmilx^ws tʔəlɪlxəlx.
 naʔt √tkʔmilx^w-s √tʔ-l•ɪlx-lx
 CONJ woman-3POSS lay.down-C₁.PL•AUT-3PL
 with his.wife they.lay.down
 ‘With his wife, they went to bed.’

- (137) “t̃i k^waʔ scxʔkínx
 t̃i k^waʔ s-c-x+√ʔkín-x
 EMPH INTERJ NMLZ-CUST-DRV+do.what-INTR
 just how
 mi k^wu náq^wəms axáʔ
 mi k^wu √náq^w-m-nt-s axáʔ
 COMP.FUT 1SG.ABS steal-APPL-DIR-3ERG DEM
 will me he.steal.it.from these
 inkʔyx^wtícaʔ?”
 in-kʔ+√yx^w+t=ícaʔ
 1SG.POSS-DRV+lower+STAT=covering
 my.bottom.sheets

‘The chief said “How is he going to steal my bottom sheets from under me?”’

- (138) “ilíʔ kn tʔɪləx, nk^wk^wʔác.”
 ilíʔ kn √tʔ+ɪlx n(+)^w(•)√k^wʔác
 DEM 1SG.ABS lay.down+AUT night
 there I am.laying.down tonight
 ‘I’ll be laying there, tonight,” he said.

- (139) nk^wk^wʔác ixíʔ i^{••••}ʔ mat
 n(+)^w(•)√k^wʔác ixíʔ iʔ mat
 night DEM DET EPIS
 it.was.nighttime then supposed
 scxʔkínx?
 s-c-x+√ʔkín-x?
 NMLZ-CUST-DRV+do.what-INTR
 to.do.what
 ‘Then it was nighttime, how is he going to do it?’

- (140) iʔ ʔácqaʔ iʔ ylmíx^wəm, nłəx^ẃpam iʔ
 ixíʔ ʔácqaʔ iʔ ylmíx^wm n+√ʔx^ẃp-am iʔ
 DEM go.outside DET chief LOC+run.in-MID DET
 then he.went.outside the chief he.ran.in the

tətwít.

t(•)√twít

boy

boy

‘Then the chief went outside. The boy ran inside.’

- (141) cus iʔ tkłmílx^w iʔ ylmíx^wəm “kátáxəx!
 √cun-nt-s iʔ √tkłmílx^w-s iʔ ylmíx^wm √kátáx-x
 say-DIR-3ERG DET woman-3POSS DET chief that.way-IMP
 he.told.her the woman the chief move.over

iksk^waním axáʔ iʔ kłyx^wtícaʔ.”

in-ks-√k^wan-ím axáʔ iʔ kł+√yx^w+t=ícaʔ

1 SG.POSS-FUT-take-MID DEM DET DRV+lower+STAT=covering

I.will.take these the sheets

‘The boy told the chief’s wife “Move over! I’m going to take these sheets!”’²⁴

- (142) “itíʔ mi kylx^wícaʔn iʔ tətwít,
 itíʔ mi k+√ylx^w=ícaʔ-nt-n iʔ t(•)√twít
 DEM COMP.FUT RES+wrap=covering-DIR-1 SG.ERG DET boy
 there will I.wrap.him.up the boy

wáy púlstən.”

wáy √púl(-)st-n

yes kill.[CAUS]-1 SG.ERG

already I.killed.him

‘‘I’m going to wrap the boy up, I killed him already.’’

²⁴There is no 3rd person possessive *-s* pronounced on *tkłmilx^w* ‘woman’, which means that the beginning of the stanza could translate to ‘The chief told the woman...’. In this case, the audience would presumably understand that ‘the chief’ in this case refers to the boy, and that the woman mistakenly thinks that the boy is in fact the chief.

- (143) taʔxíləm, k̄t̄cək^wəntís iʔ k̄t̄yx^wtícaʔ,
 ta+√ʔxíl-m k̄t̄+√ck^w-nt-ís iʔ k̄t̄+√yx^w+t=ícaʔ
 at+do.like-MID DRV+pull-DIR-3ERG DET DRV+lower+STAT=covering
 he.did.like.that he.pulled.them.away the sheets

ʔácqaʔ.
 ʔácqaʔ
 go.outside
 he.went.outside

‘He pulled away the bottom sheets and went outside.’

- (144) ixíʔ cnʔuʔx^w iʔ ylmíx^wəm, ks̄t̄q̄l̄xaʔx.
 ixíʔ c+n+√ʔuʔx^w iʔ ylmíx^wm ks-√t̄q̄+l̄x-aʔx
 DEM CISL+LOC+enter DET chief FUT-lay.down+AUT-INCEPT
 then he.went.inside the chief he.was.going.to.lay.down

‘Then the chief went back inside, and he was going to go to bed.’

- (145) “xʔkínəm ik̄t̄yx^wtícaʔ?”
 x+√ʔkín-m in-k̄t̄+√yx^w+t=ícaʔ
 DRV+do.what-MID 1SG.POSS-DRV+lower+STAT=covering
 what.happened.to my.bottom.sheets

‘“What happened to my bottom sheets?” said the chief.’

- (146) “k^waʔ k^w scútxaʔx kylx^wícaʔm
 k^waʔ k^w s-√cút(-)x-aʔx k+√ylx^w=ícaʔ-m
 INTERJ 2SG.ABS NMLZ-say-INTR RES+wrap=covering-MID
 well you were.saying were.wrapping.up

isq^wsíʔ, waȳ pulstx^w.”
 in-s+√q^wsíʔ waȳ pul(-)st-x^w
 1SG.POSS-NMLZ+son yes kill.[CAUS]-2SG.ERG
 my.son already you.killed.him

‘“Well, you said that you were going to wrap my son up, and you killed him already,” said his wife.’

- (147) “ahahahaha”, t̄i cut. “lutaʔ cʔx̄l̄st̄ən
 ahahahaha t̄i cut lutaʔ c-√ʔx̄l̄-st-n
 ahahahaha EMPH say NEG CUST-do.like-CAUS-1SG.ERG
 ahahahaha just he.said not I.did.that

itíʔ.”
 itíʔ
 DEM
 there

‘“Ahahahaha” is all he said. “I didn’t do that.”’

- (148) picx^wt, way^ʔ náq^wəms iʔ
 √picx^w+t way^ʔ √náq^w-m-nt-s iʔ
 disgusted+STAT yes steal-APPL-DIR-3ERG DET
 he.was.disgusted yes he.stole.them the

k̄t̄yx^wtícaʔ.
 k̄t̄+√yx^w+t=ícaʔ
 DRV+lower+STAT=covering
 bottom.sheets

‘He was disgusted, because the boy stole the bottoms sheets.’

- (149) ixíʔ ɬq̄ɪlx uɬ ʔitx.
 ixíʔ √ɬq̄+ɪlx uɬ ʔitx.
 DEM lay.down+AUT CONJ sleep
 then he.lay.down and he.slept

‘Then he went to bed and slept.’

- (150) ʃlap ʔəɬʔf̄ənɬəx, iʔ tətwt̄ ʔf̄ən, t̄i sal̄.
 ʃlap ʔɬ•√ʔf̄n-lx iʔ t(•)√twít ʔf̄n t̄i sal̄
 tomorrow C₁C₂.PL•eat-3PL DET boy eat EMPH calm
 tomorrow they.were.eating the boy he.ate just calm

‘The next day, they were eating, the boy was just eating away like nothing happened.’

- (151) taɬt picx^wt iʔ ylmíx^wəm.
 √taɬ+t √picx^w+t iʔ ylmíx^wm
 straight+STAT disgusted+STAT DET chief
 sure he.was.disgusted the chief

‘The chief was really disgusted.’

- (152) taɬt nq̄^wnq̄^wmúɬ iʔ sq^wsíʔs.
 √taɬ+t nq̄^w•√nq̄^w-m+úɬ iʔ s+√q^wsíʔ-s
 straight+STAT C₁C₂•steal-MID+very DET NMLZ+son-3POSS
 sure thief the his.son

‘His son was a really good thief!’

- (153) cus “waȳ. ʔapnáʔ nk^wk^wʔac iʔ
 √cun-nt-s waȳ ʔapnáʔ n(+)k^w(•)√k^wʔac iʔ
 say-DIR-3ERG yes now night DET
 he.told.him okay now tonight the

sənkaʔmən, lut lk^wut itíʔ.”
 s+n+√kaʔ+mn lut √lk^w=ut itíʔ
 NMLZ+LOC+pray+INS NEG far=place DEM
 church not far.away there

‘The chief told the boy “Okay, tonight it’s the church, it isn’t far there.”’

- (154) cut “aksnáq^wəminem iʔ q^wʔaylqs.
cut an-ks-√náq^w-min-em iʔ √q^wʔay=lqs
say 2SG.POSS-FUT-steal-APPL-MID DET black=robe
he.said you.will.steal.him the priest

taʔt ksqíltkəm.”
√taʔ+t kʔ-s+√qí(=)tk-m
straight+STAT get-NMLZ+body-MID
sure get.body.and.all

‘He said “You’re going to steal the priest, body and all.”’

- (155) “lut ʔ yaʔt iʔ təmtəmút,
lut ʔ √yaʔ+t iʔ tm•√tm=út+tn-s
NEG NEG.EMPH gather+STAT DET C₁C₂.PL•thing=place+INS-3POSS
not all the his.rob

x^wtəlsćút, x^wtəlsćút mi
√x^wt=lsćút √x^wt=lsćút mi
lose=clothes lose=clothes COMP.FUT
take.off.his.clothes take.off.his.clothes before

k^wintx^w.”
√k^win-nt-x^w
take-DIR-2SG.ERG
you.take.him

‘“Not all his robes, you have to take them off, and then take them.”’

- (156) cut “way.”
cut way
say yes
he.said okay

‘The boy said “Okay.”’

- (157) nínwíʔs ixíʔ klax^w, iʔ... x^wuy uʔ
nínwíʔs ixíʔ klax^w ixíʔ x^wuy uʔ
in.a.while DEM evening DEM go CONJ
yes in.a.while it.was.evening then he.went and

ʔqíłəx...
√ʔqí+ílx
lay.down+AUT
he.laid.down

‘After a little while it was evening, and he went to bed.’

(158)	nk ^w k ^w ?ac	[kax...]	mat	way	l	?ásil
	n(+k ^w (•)k ^w ?ac		mat	way	l	?ásil
	night		EPIS	yes	LOC	two
	night		must.be	already	at	two.o'clock
	i?	sǰlaps,		i?	sənkáɣmən	lut
	i?	s-ǰlap-s,		i?	s+n+√káɣ+mn	lut
	DET	NMLZ-tomorrow-3POSS	DET	NMLZ+LOC+pray+INS	NEG	
	the	morning	the	church		not
		lk ^w ut.				
		√lk ^w =ut				
		far=place				
		far.away				

‘That night, it must’ve been two o’clock in the morning, the church wasn’t far.’

(159)	x ^w ətpəncút	l	sənkáɣmən.
	√x ^w t+p-ncút	l	s+n+√káɣ+mn
	get.up+INCH-REFL	LOC	NMLZ+LOC+pray+INS
	he.rushed.over	to	church

‘The boy rushed to the church.’

(160)	kčikčiks		i?	čik ^w scən,
	k+čik•√čik-nt-s		i?	√čik ^w =scən
	RES+C ₁ C ₂ .PL•light.lamp-DIR-3ERG	DET	light=round.object	
	he.lit.them.up	the	lights	
	yaɣt	t	npʔax ^w	i?
	√yaɣ+t	t	n+√p<ʔ>ax ^w	i?
	gather+STAT	OBL	LOC+shine<INCH>	DET
	all		shining	the
			sənkáɣmən.	
			s+n+√káɣ+mn	
			NMLZ+LOC+pray+INS	
			church	

‘He lit up all the lights, the church was all lit up.’

(161)	ǰəcməncút	i?	t	q ^w ɣaylqs	i?
	√ǰc-m-ncút	i?	t	√q ^w ɣay=lqs	i?
	get.ready-APPL-REFL	DET	OBL	black=robe	DET
	he.got.ready	the	with	priest	the
				təmtəmútəns.	
				tm•√tm=út+tn-s	
				C ₁ C ₂ .PL•thing=place+INS-3POSS	
				his.robe	

‘The boy put on the priest’s robe.’

- (162) ixíʔ q̣ʷʔaylqs xʷuy ʔácqaʔ.
 ixíʔ √q̣ʷʔay=lqs xʷuy ʔácqaʔ
 DEM black=robe go outside
 then the.priest went outside

‘The priest went outside.’

- (163) “ax! cnpʔaxʷ iʔ sənkáʔmən!
 ax c-n+√p̣ʔaxʷ iʔ s+n+√káʔ+mn
 INTERJ STAT-LOC+shine<INCH> DET NMLZ+LOC+pray+INS
 shining the church

scxʔkínəxʔ”
 s-c-x+√ʔkín-x
 NMLZ-CUST-DRV+do.what-INTR
 what.is.happening

‘“Oh, the church is all lit up! What’s going on?”’

- (164) xʷəp̣əncút iklʔ, nʔutxʷ.
 √xʷṭ+p-ncút iklʔ n+√ʔutxʷ
 get.up+INCH-REFL DEM LOC+enter
 he.rushed.over to.there he.went.in

‘The priest rushed over there and went inside.’

- (165) ixíʔ? iʔ tətʷít aʔ ckʔam. tacʔxiʔ.
 ixíʔ iʔ t(•)√twít aʔ c-√kʔa-m ta+c-√ʔxiʔ
 DEM DET boy DET CUST-pray-MID at+CUST-be.like
 that the boy was.praying like.that

‘The boy was praying, just like that.’

- (166) scxʷuys iʔ q̣ʷʔaylqs, iʔ tətʷít
 s-c+√xʷuy-s iʔ √q̣ʷʔay=lqs iʔ t(•)√twít
 NMLZ-CISL+go-3POSS DET black=robe DET boy
 he.came.to.him the priest the boy

ʔáx̣əlmncut, ʔaymíʷsntm.
 √ʔáx̣l+m-ncut √ʔaym=íʷs-nt-m
 turn.around+APPL-REFL cross=middle-DIR-PASS
 he.turned.around he.made.the.sign.of.the.cross

‘The priest went up to him, the boy turned around and made the sign of the cross.’

- (167) ṭi x̣ḷap ixíʔ q̣ʷyq̣ʷyxínəms.
 ṭi √x̣ḷ+ap ixíʔ q̣ʷy•√q̣ʷy(=)xín-m-s
 EMPH stop+INCH DEM C₁.C₂.PL•kneel-MID-3POSS
 just he.stopped then he.got.on.his.knees

‘The priest just stopped and got on his knees.’

- (168) ixíʔ uʔ kʲa-m iʔ tətʷít.
 ixíʔ uʔ √kʲa-m iʔ t(•)√twít
 DEM CONJ pray-MID DET boy
 then and he.was.praying the boy

‘And the boy just kept on praying.’

- (169) ʔáʃəlməncut, cus iʔ q̣ʷʔaylqs
 √ʔáʃl-m-ncut √cun-nt-s iʔ √q̣ʷʔay=lqs
 turn.around-APPL-REFL say-DIR-3ERG DET black=robe
 he.turned.around he.told.him the priest

“cxʷuyx aláʔ!”
 c+√xʷuy-x aláʔ
 CISL+go-IMP DEM
 come here

‘The boy turned around, and he told the priest “Come here!”’

- (170) q̣ʷʔaylqs xʷuy aláʔ, q̣ʷyq̣ʷyxínəmə.
 √q̣ʷʔay=lqs xʷuy aláʔ q̣ʷy•√q̣ʷy(=)xín
 black=robe go DEM C₁C₂.PL•kneel-MID
 the.priest went here he.got.on.his.knees

‘The priest came and got on his knees.’

- (171) cúntəm t tətʷít “təʔtáʔt kiʔ
 √cún-nt-m t t(•)√twít tʔ•√táʔt kiʔ
 say-DIR-PASS OBL boy C₁C₂.CHAR•straight+STAT COMP.OBL
 he.was.told by the.boy truly that

kʷ ʃast t q̣ʷʔaylqs.”
 kʷ √ʃas+t t √q̣ʷʔay=lqs
 2SG.ABS good+STAT OBL black=robe
 you are.good priest

‘The boy said “You truly are a good priest.”’

- (172) “kʷúləntxʷ askʷúl aláʔ iʔ l
 √kʷúl-nt-xʷ an-s-√kʷúl aláʔ iʔ l
 work-DIR-2SG.ERG 2SG.POSS-NMLZ-work DEM DET LOC
 you.worked.on.it your.job here this on

təmxʷúlaʔxʷ.”
 √tmxʷ=úlaʔxʷ
 land=land
 earth

‘“You’ve done your job on this earth.”’

- (173) “iʔ ck^wúlstəmən, k^w
ixíʔ c-√k^wúl(-)st-m-n k^w
DEM CUST-send.for.[CAUS]-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS
I.am.sent.for.you you
isk^wəlstíʔən áʔiʔ taʔlíʔ k^w
in-s-√k^wl(-)st=íʔn áʔiʔ taʔlíʔ k^w
1SG.POSS-NMLZ-send.for=information COMP very 2SG.ABS
I.was.sent.here.for because very you
ǰast t ǰ^wʔaylqs.”
√ǰas+t t √ǰ^wʔay=lqs
good+STAT OBL black=robe
are.good priest

‘The boy said “I was sent here for you because you are a really good priest.”’

- (174) ixíʔ uʔ q^wəlq^wílsts.
ixíʔ uʔ q^wl•√q^wíl-st-s
DEM CONJ C₁C₂.PL•speak-CAUS-3ERG
then and he.spoke.to.him

‘And then the boy spoke to him.’

- (175) cut “way, k^w iksx^wústəm k̄
cut way k^w in-ks-√x^wúy-st-m k̄l
say yes 2SG.ABS 1SG.POSS-FUT-go-CAUS-MID LOC
he.said yes you I.will.take to
nwíst.”
n+√wíst+t
LOC+high+STAT
heaven

‘He said “Yes, I’m going to take you to heaven.”’

- (176) “ǰi yaʔ k^w ksqíʔtkəm mi
ǰi yaʔ k^w kʔ-s+√qíʔ(=)tk-m mi
EMPH gather 2SG.ABS get-NMLZ+body-MID COMP.FUT
just all you get.body.and.all will
x^wústəmən, way mat k^w ǰast
√x^wúy-st-m-n way mat k^w √ǰas+t
go-CAUS-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG yes EPIS 2SG.ABS good+STAT
I.take.you yes must.be you a.good
t ǰ^wʔaylqs.”
t √ǰ^wʔay=lqs
OBL black=robe
priest

‘“I will take your body and all, you must be a very good priest.”’

- (177) “yaŋya...ŋt astəmtím
yaŋ•√yaŋt an-s+tm•√tím
C₁C₂.PL•gather+STAT 2SG.POSS-NMLZ+C₁.C₂.PL•thing
all your.things

ǰ^wilstx^w alá?.”
√ǰ^wil-st-x^w alá?
throw.away-CAUS-2SG.ERG DEM
you.throw.them.away here

‘“Throw all your things away here.”’

- (178) ǰ^wilsts, kɬtəməlx^wncút i? ǰ^wŋaylqs,
√ǰ^wil-st-s kɬ+√tm=lx^w-ncut i? √ǰ^wŋay=lqs
throw.away-CAUS-3ERG DRV+thing=person-REFL DET black=robe
he.threw.them.away he.took.off.his.clothes the priest

n?amúts i? l táqna?
n+√?amút-s i? l táq(=)na?
LOC+sit-3POSS DET LOC gunny.sack
he.was.sat.down the in gunny.sack

‘The priest threw them away, took his clothes off and the boy sat him in a gunny-sack.’

- (179) ǰ^wíftəm kɬl sənŋkŋáka?tən, ki?
√ǰ^wíft-m kɬl s+n+kŋ(•)√kŋ(=)áka?+tn ki?
pack-MID LOC NMLZ+LOC+bird+INS COMP.OBL
he.packed.him to chicken.house where

kɬəx^wpəntís.
k+√kx^w(+)p-nt-ís
RES+hang-DIR-3ERG
he.hung.him.up

‘The boy carried the priest on his back to the chicken house, and he hung him up.’

- (180) ixí? uɬ x^wuy ɬǰífləx.
ixí? uɬ x^wuy √ɬǰíflx
DEM CONJ go lay.down+AUT
then and he.went he.laid.down

‘And then the boy went home and went to bed.’

- (181) ɬk^wk^wŋast, ixí? i? likók q^wəlq^wílt.
ɬ(+)k^w•√k^wŋas(+t) ixí? i? likók q^wl•√q^wílt+
morning DEM DET rooster C₁C₂.PL•speak+STAT
in.the.morning that rooster crowed

‘In the morning, the rooster crowed.’

- (182) “ax, way [k^wu] kn kicx!”
 ax way kn √kic-x
 INTERJ yes 1 SG.ABS arrive-INTR
 yes I have.arrived

‘The priest said “I got there!”’²⁵

- (183) ilí? uť ?əʔʔíʔənləx l ʔk^wk^wʔast.
 ilí? uť ?ʔ•√ʔíʔn-lx l ʔ(+k^w)(•)√k^wʔas(+t)
 DEM CONJ C₁C₂.PL•eat-3PL LOC morning
 there and they.were.eating in morning

‘They were eating breakfast.’

- (184) cus a? lʔíws, “way, x^wuyx
 √cun-nt-s a? √lʔíw-s way √x^wuy-x
 say-DIR-3ERG DET father-3POSS yes go-IMP
 he.told.him his.father yes go

kl sənkwkʔákaʔtən mi
 kl s+n+kʔ(•)√kʔ(=)ákaʔ+tn mi
 LOC NMLZ+LOC+bird+INS COMP.FUT
 to chicken.house and.then

k^wʔəntíx^w iʔ q^wʔaylqs, mat
 √k^wʔ-nt-íx^w iʔ √q^wʔay=lqs mat
 take.something.out-DIR-2SG.ERG DET black=robe EPIS
 you.take.him.out the priest must.be

way kiyt!”
 way √kiy+t
 yes cold+STAT
 yes he.is.cold

‘The boy told his father “Yes, go to the chickenhouse and take the priest out of there, he must be cold!”’

- (185) o, taťt uť kiy...
 oh √tať+t uť √kiy+t
 oh straight+STAT CONJ cold
 oh straight and cold

‘Oh, and he was sure cold...’

²⁵A.M. says to take out k^wu.

- (186) x^wuy, axá? ckɬax^wp i? q̣^wɣaylqs i? l
 x^wuy axá? c-k+√ɬax^w(+)p i? √q̣^wɣay=lqs i? l
 go DEM STAT-RES+hung.up DET black=robe DET LOC
 he.went this hanging the priest the in

sənkɣkɣáka?tən.
 s+n+kɣ(•)√kɣ(=)áka?+tn
 NMLZ+LOC+bird+INS
 chickenhouse

‘The chief went there, and the priest was there hung up inside the chickenhouse.’

- (187) tḳ^wəʒntis [eh?], ṭɬx i?
 t+√ḳ^wʒ-nt-is √ṭɬ-x i?
 RES+take.something.out-DIR-3ERG stand-INTR DET
 he.took.him.off he.stood.up the

q̣^wɣaylqs, “ha k^wu yaɣp?”
 √q̣^wɣay=lqs ha k^wu √yaɣ+p
 black=robe Q 1PL.ABS gather+INCH
 priest have we arrived

‘The chief took him off from where he was hanging, and the priest stood up and asked “Have we arrived?”’

- (188) “k^wu yaɣp! kiẉ, isq^wsí?a?
 k^wu √yaɣ+p kiẉ in-s+√q^wsí?+a?
 1PL.ABS gather+INCH yes 1SG.POSS-NMLZ+son+DRV
 we arrived yes my.son

ckʔxilməstəms!”
 c-k+√ʔxil-m-st-m-s
 CUST-RES+do.like-APPL-CAUS-2SG.OBJ-3ERG
 he.did.this.to.you

‘The chief said “We’ve arrived, yes, my son has done this to you!”’

- (189) ixí? x^wuy, ʔiɬən, ʔəʔʔiɬənɬəx.
 ixí? x^wuy ʔiɬn ʔə•√ʔiɬn-lx
 DEM go eat C₁C₂.PL•eat-3PL
 then he.went he.ate they.were.eating

‘So he went on, and they were eating again.’

- (190) nstils “i? q̣ʷɣaylqs, waỵ úfi? waỵ
 n+√st=ils i? √q̣ʷɣay=lqs waỵ úfi? waỵ
 LOC+think=thoughts DET black=robe yes and.then yes
 he.thought the priest yes and.then yes
 waỵ, kaʔhís.”
 waỵ kaʔhís
 finish three
 he.is.finished that.is.three

‘The chief thought “The priest, okay, and now he’s done, that’s three times.”’

- (191) cut i? ... cus i? tətwtít “waỵ, waỵ kʷ
 cut i? √cun-nt-s i? t(•)√twít waỵ waỵ kʷ
 say DET say-DIR-3ERG DET boy yes yes 2SG.ABS
 said the he.told.him the boy yes yes you
 ʔxʷup, waỵ kʷu ʔxʷúpəntxʷ.”
 √ʔxʷu+p waỵ kʷu √ʔxʷú+p-nt-xʷ
 win+INCH yes 1SG.ABS win+INCH-DIR-2SG.ERG
 have.won yes me you.have.beaten

‘The chief told the boy “Yes, you’ve won, you have beaten me.”’

- (192) ixíʔ kiʔ waỵ ismáymáy.
 ixíʔ kiʔ waỵ in-s+máymáy•√máymáy
 DEM COMP.OBL yes 1SG.POSS-NMLZ+C1C2.PL•tell
 that finished my.story

‘That’s the end of my story.’

- (193) iskʷíst kiʔláwna?
 in-s+√kʷís(+t) kiʔláwna?
 1SG.POSS-NMLZ+name grizzly.bear
 my.name grizzly.bear

‘My name is Grizzly Bear.’

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