

12 Upper Nicola Okanagan Texts*

Lottie Lindley
Upper Nicola Indian Band

John Lyon
University of British Columbia

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

1 klíwsntmælx í? t'íkw't: “Divided By The Lake”

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

1.1 Okanagan

way p ikscaptík^wləm. q̇sápi k^wuk^w í? sqilx^w ʔa? captík^wʔ, uʔ nəx̃^wnəx̃^w-
íws ksq^wsíʔa? t kʔasʔasíl tk̇míl^w uʔ sqəltmíx^w. uʔ í? xíxwtəm ʔa? ʔx̃^wumx, uʔ
cúntəm í? t tums: “way k^w iksk^wúʔx^wm mi ilíʔ mi k^w cʔitx.” uʔ k^wulʔx^ws uʔ kliʔ

* Lottie would like to thank her aunt Nellie Guiterrez, who was like a mother, and one of the first ones to go to school in Mission at the Catholic School. She was a wise old lady, a teacher, and a really great lady. She tried everything, what she learned from English and what she learned from the elders. She knew both sides. Lottie also wants to thank an unknown Shuswap lady from over in Ashcroft that started language/culture workshops, which Lottie took for 4 years, after which she started working with the rest of her family. John Lyon’s research has been supported through grants from the Jacobs Research Fund and the American Philosophical Society’s Phillips Fund. He wishes to thank first and foremost Lottie Lindley for her amazing knowledge of the culture and language of her people, and for being willing to share her stories. Second, he wishes to thank Sarah McLeod for helping with transcription and translation. He also wishes to thank Anthony Mattina for lending his fine-tuned ear to more problematic excerpts, Joel Dunham for the final proofread, and to Yvonne Hébert for permission to reproduce interviews from her field recordings.

ʔáqqaʔ uʔ ilíʔ kaʔ cʔitx. uʔ iʔ t ʔqáqcaʔs kliʔ actx^wúymstəm. uʔ xəx̄minkáwsəlx. uʔ iʔ ʔəx̄əx̄əx̄ápsəlx mypnúntəməlx scaxʔkínxəlx. uʔ púlstsəlx iʔ sqəltmíx^w. uʔ cx^wúyselx uʔ aláʔ l tik^wt uʔ ntík^wantíselx iʔ l stáʔəm. uʔ ʔwníkstmsəlx, uʔ kʔacípəlaʔsəlx. uʔ iʔ tkámilx^w, iʔ xíxwtəm wim cktʔíməms iʔ ʔqáqcaʔs. uʔ siws k^wuk^w iʔ scəcmáləʔ “uc k^wu cmíltmpʔ xʔkínəm iʔqáqcaʔ?” uʔ cúntəm iʔ t scəcmáləʔ “lutáʔ níxlmntx^w. púlstsəlx uʔ x^wúystsəlx kl tik^wt.” uʔ mypnús uʔ ixíʔ sqícəlx k^wuk^w uʔ kíntəm iʔ t ʔax̄t iʔ t acxítmist. uʔ lut nkcníkiʔsəlx uʔ aláʔ cyáʔpəlx l tik^wt. uʔ nʔəʔpmncút iʔ l stáʔəm uʔ tkípəlaʔs uʔ sk^wtlilx. uʔ iklíʔ kiʔ captík^wʔ, uʔ iʔ sqəltmíx^w uʔ iʔ tkámilx^w. iʔ tkámilx^w iʔ sk^wists “Lehecínek” uʔ iʔ sqəltmíx^w “Sq^wəməlst.” kliwsntməlx iʔ t tik^wt, lut nix^w ilíʔ ksʔx̄ilms itíʔ swit, iʔ naqsílt ksctx^wənmənwíx^ws. uʔ ixíʔ axáʔ iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w iʔ captík^wʔ. ixíʔ iʔ smýmyáyʔs, uʔ ʔapnáʔ ixíʔ cxʔit, ʔapnáʔ mayʔntín uʔ kcqəymíxaʔx. way.

1.2 English

I'm going to tell you all a story. A long time ago, the people told a story about a wife with two children, a woman and a man. And the little girl had her puberty, and her mother said to her: “I will build you a hut over there, where you will sleep.” And she (her mother) built her a house outside, and there she slept. And she would be visited by her older brother out there. And they were lovers. And their parents found out what they were doing. And they killed the man (i.e. the boy). And they brought him to a lake and placed him in a canoe. And they did not cut him loose, but they left him tied up. And to no avail, did the little girl wait for her older brother. And they say that the girl asked the other children “Am I your child? Where is my older brother?” And the children said to her, “You didn't hear about that. They killed him and brought him to the lake.” And she realized this, and she ran all the way, and she was chased by fast runners. And they couldn't catch up with her, but here at the lake they arrived. And she jumped into the canoe, and cut him free, and they floated across the lake. And that's the story about the man and the woman. The woman's name was “lehecínek”, and the man's name was “sq^wəməlst”. And they divided them by the lake, so that never again would someone in the same family become lovers. And this here is the story of the land. This has been my story, and now this one is the first story I have told which will now be written. That's all.

1.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) way p i-ks-captík^wl-əm.
 yes 2PL.ABS 1SG.POSS-FUT-tell.stories-MID
 ‘I'm going to tell you all a story.’

- (2) q̣sápi k^wuk^w iʔ sqilx^w ʔaʔ (c)-captík^wʔ, uʔ
 long.ago REP DET people COMP CUST-legend CONJ
 nəx̣^wnəx̣^wíẉs k(ʔ)-sq^wsíʔaʔ t kʔasʔasíl, tḳmílx^w uʔ
 wife HAVE-child OBL two(HUMAN) woman CONJ
 sqəltmíx^w.
 man
 ‘A long time ago, the people told a story about a wife with two children,
 a woman and a man.’
- (3) uʔ iʔ xíxwtə̃m ʔaʔ ʔx̣^wuṃx̣¹, uʔ cú̃n-(n)t-ə̃m
 CONJ DET little.girl COMP young.teenage.girl CONJ say-DIR-PASS
 iʔ t tuṃ-s:
 DET OBL mother-3SG.POSS
 ‘And the little girl had her puberty, and her mother said to her:’
- (4) “wá k^w i-ks-k^wú̃l-ʔx^w-m mi ilíʔ
 yes 2SG.ABS 1SG.POSS-FUT-make-house-MID COMP.FUT DEM
 mi k^w c-ʔitx.”
 COMP.FUT 2SG.ABS CUST-sleep
 ‘“I will build you a hut over there, where you will sleep.”’
- (5) uʔ ḳ^wú̃l-ʔx^w-s uʔ ḳlíʔ ʔá̃cqaʔ uʔ ilíʔ
 CONJ make-house-(DIR)-3SG.ERG CONJ DEM outside CONJ DEM
 kaʔ c-ʔitx.
 COMP.OBL CUST-sleep
 ‘And she (her mother) built her a house outside, and there she slept.’
- (6) uʔ iʔ t ʔqá̃cqaʔ-s ḳlíʔ ac-t-x^wú̃y-m-st-ə̃m.
 CONJ DET OBL older.brother-3SG.POSS DEM CUST-t-go-MID-CAUS-PASS
 ‘And she would be visited by her older brother out there.’
- (7) uʔ ʔə̃-ʔmink-á̃ws-ə̃lx.
 CONJ IRED-like-heart-3PL.ABS
 ‘And they were lovers.’
- (8) uʔ iʔ ʔə̃x̣ə̃x̣á̃p-sə̃lx my-p-nún-(n)t-ə̃m-elx
 CONJ DET parents-3PL.POSS know-INCH-MANAGE.TO-DIR-MID-3PL.ABS
 s-čaxʔkínx-ə̃lx².
 NOM-whatever-3PL.ABS
 ‘And their parents found out what they were doing.’

1. Though I could not find anything related to ʔx̣^wuṃx̣ in Mattina (1987), this form is cognate with Lillooet ʔx̣^wə̃x̣^wṃax ‘young teenager, pubescent (esp. pubescent girl)’ (van Eijk, 1987, 140)

- (9) uʃ púl-st-səlx iʔ sqəltmíx^w.
 CONJ kill-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET man
 ‘And they killed the man (i.e. the boy).’
- (10) uʃ c-x^wúy-səlx³ uʃ aláʔ l tík^wt uʃ
 CONJ CISL-go-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG CONJ DEM LOC lake CONJ
 ntík^wan-(n)t-ísəlx iʔ l stáʔəm.
 place.in-DIR-3PL.ERG DET LOC canoe
 ‘And they brought him to a lake and placed him in a canoe.’
- (11) uʃ [lut]⁴ ʔwníkst-m-səlx, uʃ kʔac-ípəlaʔ-səlx.
 CONJ [NEG] let.go-MID-(DIR)-3PL.ERG CONJ k-tie-handle-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 ‘And they did not cut him loose, but they left him tied up.’
- (12) uʃ iʔ tkʔmilx^w, iʔ xíxwtəm wim^ʔ
 CONJ DET woman DET little.girl to.no.avail
 c-kʔʔiməm-s iʔ ʔqáqcaʔ-s.
 CUST-wait.for-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG DET older.brother-3SG.POSS
 ‘And to no avail, did the little girl wait for her older brother.’
- (13) uʃ siw-s k^wuk^w iʔ scəcmáləʔ “uc k^wu
 CONJ ask-(DIR)-3SG.ERG REP DET children DUB 1SG.ABS
 cmílt-mp? xʔkínəm i(n)-ʔqáqcaʔ?”⁵
 child-2PL.POSS where 1SG.POSS-older.brother
 ‘And they say that the girl asked the other children “Am I your child?
 Where is my older brother?” ’
- (14) uʃ cún-(n)t-əm iʔ t scəcmáləʔ “lutáʔ
 CONJ say-DIR-PASS DET OBL children NEG
 níxl-m(n)-nt-x^w. púl-st-səlx uʃ
 hear-MIN-DIR-2SG.ERG kill-CAUS-3PL.ERG CONJ
 x^wúy-st-səlx kl tík^wt.”
 go-CAUS-3PL.ERG LOC lake
 ‘And the children said to her, “You didn’t hear about that. They killed
 him and brought him to the lake.” ’

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

3. The initial customary *c-* prefix indicates that the null transitivizer is the causative *-st-*.

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

5. With regards to 1st and 2nd person singular possessive prefixes, Mattina and DeSautel (2002, 24) write “verb nominalizations never have the nasal in the first and second persons, while nouns and psych verbs do, except for stems that begin in *s* and kin terms that begin in *ʔ*.”

- (15) uʔ my-p-nú-s uʔ ixíʔ
 CONJ know-INCH-MANAGE.TO-(DIR)-3SG.ERG CONJ DEM
 s-qícəlx-s k^wuk^w uʔ kíł-nt-əm iʔ t
 NOM-run-3SG.POSS REP CONJ chase-DIR-PASS DET OBL
 ʔaxt iʔ t ac-xítmist.
 fast DET OBL CUST-run
 ‘And she realized this, and she ran all the way, and she was chased by fast runners⁶.’
- (16) uʔ lut n-kcníkiʔ-səlx uʔ aláʔ
 CONJ NEG n-overtake.someone-(DIR)-3PL.ERG CONJ DEM
 c-yáʔp-əlx l tik^wt.
 CUST-arrive-3PL.ABS LOC lake
 ‘And they couldn’t catch up with her, but here at the lake they arrived.’
- (17) uʔ n-ʔətp-m-ncút iʔ l stáʔəm uʔ
 CONJ n-jump-MID-REFLEX DET LOC canoe CONJ
 t-kí-ípəlaʔ-s uʔ sk^wtlilx.
 t-cut-handle-(DIR)-3SG.ERG CONJ float.across
 ‘And she jumped into the canoe, and cut him free, and they floated across the lake.’
- (18) uʔ iklíʔ kiʔ captík^wʔ, uʔ iʔ sqəłtmíx^w uʔ iʔ
 CONJ DEM COMP.OBL legend CONJ DET man CONJ DET
 tkámilx^w.
 woman
 ‘And that’s the story about the man and the woman.’
- (19) iʔ tkámilx^w iʔ sk^wist-s “lehec’ínek” uʔ
 DET woman DET name-3SG.POSS otter-woman(SHUSWAP) CONJ
 iʔ sqəłtmíx^w “sq^wəm-álst.”⁷
 DET man LOC-hill/mountain-rock(SHUSWAP)
 ‘The woman’s name was “lehec’ínek”, and the man’s name was “sq^wəmálst”.’

6. Lottie mentions in a different telling of this story that the ‘fast runners’ were Coyote.

7. Thanks to Dwight Gardiner for confirming the Shuswap etymologies.

- (20) kl-íw's-nt-m-əlx iʔ t tik^ˈwt, lut nix^w
 split-middle-DIR-PASS-3PL.ABS DET OBL lake NEG again
 ilíʔ ks-ʔxíl-m-s itíʔ swit, iʔ naqs-ílt
 DEM FUT-do.like-MID-3SG.POSS DEM who DET one-family
 k-sc-tx^wən-mə-nwíx^w-s.
 k-PERF-love.someone-MIN-RECIP-3SG.POSS
 'And they divided them by the lake, so that never again would someone
 in the same family become lovers.'
- (21) uʔ ixíʔ axáʔ iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w iʔ captík^wʔ.
 CONJ DEM DEM DET land DET legend
 'And this here is the story of the land.'
- (22) ixíʔ iʔ s-my^ˈmyáyʔ-s, uʔ ʔapnáʔ ixíʔ cxʔit,
 DEM DET NOM-teaching-3SG.POSS CONJ now DEM first
 ʔapnáʔ máyʔ-nt-ín uʔ k(s)-c-qəy^ˈ-míʔaʔx.
 now tell-DIR-1SG.ERG CONJ FUT-CUST-write-INCEPT
 way.
 the.end
 'This has been the story (of the land), and now this one is the first story
 I have told which will now be written. That's all.'

2 ckyáq^wtmstsəlx iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w: "They fought over the land"

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

2.1 Okanagan

q'sápi k^wuk^w iʔ syx^wápməx naʔʔ smlqmix spíntk actyáq^wtləx. ckyáq^wt-
 mstsəlx iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w. iʔ sənpíxəməntən, iʔ səntətəmínsəlx. ktyáq^wtmstsəlx.
 q^wnkstmnwíx^wəlx ʔaʔ cpulstwíx^wəlx, ʔəx^wntísəlx iʔ scəcímáləʔ, ʔəx^wntísəlx
 iʔ ʔəxəxəxá. ixíʔ ʔaʔ cqíxəxmstsəlx iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w. uʔ ixíʔ iʔ sʔuknaqínx
 k^wuk^w iʔ actyáq^wtləx naʔʔ syx^wápməx, atláʔ uʔ kl, iʔ kl ʔpúlaʔx^wtn, uʔ ʔackláʔ.
 uʔ iʔ smlqmix ʔx^wups iʔ syx^wpmx^wúlaʔx^w. ixíʔ kiʔ aláʔ iʔ k^wu k^wliwt, k^wu
 sʔuknaqínx, ʔapnáʔ txntim axáʔ iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w. iʔ ʔəxəxəxáptət klaʔ k^wu
 cúntəm "x^wúywi, kliʔ mi txntip ixíʔ iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w. ixíʔ ʔx^wúpntm." uʔ ʔapnáʔ

alá? k^wu k^wliwt uł k^wu tx^wa?x^wa?twíx. uł yaŋt i? tək^wtík^wtət, i? məq^wməq^wíwtət, i? syx^wápməx i? sk^wstúla?x^ws. uł ixí? ʔapná? ki? alá? i? k^wu k^wliwt. k^wu cúntəm i? ʔəxəxəxəp “kli? p x^wuy mi txntip.” ki? alá? i? k^wu smlqmix i? k^wu k^wliwt. uł ʔapná? alá? cxtstím axá? i? təmx^wúla?x^w k^wa? ʔx^wúpntm. uł lut swit k^wu atlá? k^wu tə ksqíx^wntəm. uł ʔsápi ʔa? cútləx cak^w kʔíyfstəm i? sk^wists i? məq^w-məq^wíwt uł i? tək^wtík^wt. uł cut i? sqilx^w “lut, ixí? məy?ntís tl ʔx^wúpntəm.” uł ʔapná? mnímíttət axá? i? təmx^wúla?x^wtət. uł i? syx^wápməx ixí? xmníttət ʔsápi. lut, k^wuk^w ixí? i? stím i? ʔəxəxəxəptət, cak^w k^wu ksqəltmíx^w kəm kʔnáx^wnəx^w i? tl syx^wápməx k^wa? ixí? xmníttət. ilí? uł ʔapná? ixí? tʔul, lut ʔapná? tə acmys-tís ixí? swit. uł ʔapná? məy?ntín uł ksqəyýmíxa?x. xʔkínəm ki? alá? i? k^wu k^wliwt k^wu sʔuknaqínx. way.

2.2 English

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

2.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (23) ʔsápi k^wuk^w i? syx^wápməx naʔ smlq-mix
 long.ago REP DET Shuswap.people CONJ Similkameen.people
 spintk ac-tyáq^wt-ləx.
 always CUST-fight-3PL.ABS
 ‘A long time ago, they say the Shuswap and the Similkameens were always fighting.’

- (24) c-k-tyáq^wt-m-st-səlx iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w.
 CUST-k-fight-MIN-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET land
 ‘They fought over the land.’
- (25) iʔ sən-píxəm-(m)ən-tən, iʔ sən-ʔəʔtəmín^ʔ-səlx.
 DET LOC-hunt-MIN-INSTR DET LOC-fishing-3PL.POSS
 k-tyáq^wt-m-st-səlx.
 k-fight-MIN-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 ‘The hunting grounds, their fishing places. They fought over it.’
- (26) q^wń-kst-m-nwíx^w-əlx ʔaʔ c-pul-st-wíx^w-əlx,
 pitiful-hand-MID-RECIP-3PL.ABS COMP CUST-kill-CAUS-RECIP-3PL.ABS
 ʔəx^w-nt-ísəlx iʔ scəcmáləʔ, ʔəx^w-nt-ísəlx
 kill.many-DIR-3PL.ERG DET children kill.many-DIR-3PL.ERG
 iʔ ʔəxəxəxáʔ.
 DET old.men
 ‘It was a pitiful thing they were doing, killing one another. They killed the children, they killed the old men.’
- (27) ixíʔ ʔaʔ c-číx-əx-m-st-səlx iʔ
 DEM COMP CUST-stingy-FRED-MIN-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET
 təmx^wúlaʔx^w.
 land
 ‘They were stingy about the land.’
- (28) uʔ ixíʔ iʔ sʔuknaqínx k^wuk^w iʔ ac-tyáq^wt-lx
 CONJ DEM DET Okanagans REP DET CUST-fight-3PL.ABS
 naʔʔ syx^wáp-məx, atláʔ uʔ kíl, iʔ kíl
 CONJ Shuswap.people DEM CONJ LOC DET LOC
 ʔp-úlaʔx^w-tn, uʔ tac-kíáʔ.
 line-earth-INSTR CONJ LOC-DEM
 ‘And they say the Okanagans were fighting with the Shuswaps, from here to over there at the boundaries, and coming over to here (Quilchena).’
- (29) uʔ iʔ smlq-mix ʔx^wup-s iʔ
 CONJ DET Similkameen-people win-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET
 syx^wp-mx-úlaʔx^w.
 Shuswap-people-land
 ‘And the Similkameens won over the Shuswap land.’

- (35) k^wu cún-(n)t-əm iʔ ʔəxəʔxəʔp “kliʔ p x^wuy
 1PL.ABS say-DIR-PASS DET old.men DEM 2PL.ABS go
 mi t-x^t-nt-ip.”
 COMP.FUT t-take.care.of-DIR-2PL.ERG
 ‘The old men said to us “You guys go over there and look after it.”’
- (36) kiʔ aláʔ iʔ k^wu smlq-mix iʔ k^wu
 COMP.OBL DEM DET 1PL.ABS Similkameen-people DET 1PL.ABS
 k^wliwt.
 live
 ‘That’s how us Similkameens are living here.’
- (37) uʔ ʔapnáʔ aláʔ c-x^t-st-ím axáʔ iʔ
 CONJ now DEM CUST-take.care.of-CAUS-1PL.ERG DEM DET
 təmx^wúlaʔx^w k^waʔ ʔx^wúp-nt-əm.
 land COMP win-DIR-1PL.ERG
 ‘And now we look after this land because we’ve won it.’
- (38) uʔ lut swit k^wu atláʔ k^wu tə
 CONJ NEG who 1PL.ABS DEM 1PL.ABS EMPH
 ks-qíx^w-nt-əm.
 FUT-chase.away-DIR-PASS
 ‘And nobody here will ever chase us away.’
- (39) uʔ ʔsápi ʔaʔ cút-ləx cak^w kʔʔíys-ʔt-əm
 CONJ long ago COMP say-3PL.ABS BOUL change-APPL-1PL.ERG
 iʔ sk^wist-s iʔ məq^w-məq^wíwt uʔ iʔ
 DET name-3SG.POSS DET IRED-mountain CONJ DET
 tək^w-tík^wt.
 IRED-lake
 ‘And a long time ago they said maybe we should change the names of
 the mountains and the lakes.’
- (40) uʔ cut iʔ sqilx^w “lut, ixíʔ məyʔ-nt-ís tl
 CONJ say DET people NEG DEM tell-DIR-3SG.ERG DIR
 ʔx^wúp-nt-m.”
 win-DIR-1PL.ERG
 ‘And the people said “No. This way we can tell that we won the land
 from them.”’
- (41) uʔ ʔapnáʔ mnímʔtət axáʔ iʔ təmx^wúlaʔx^w-tət.
 CONJ now 1PL.INDEP DEM DET land-1PL.POSS
 ‘And now it’s our land.’

- (42) uʔ iʔ syx^wáp-məx ixíʔ x^{mín}-tət ʔsápi.
 CONJ DET Shuswap.people DEM enemies-1PL.POSS long.ago
 ‘And the Shuswaps were our enemies a long time ago.’
- (43) lut, k^wuk^w ixíʔ iʔ stím iʔ ʔəxəx^ʔáʔ-tət, cak^w
 NEG REP DEM DET what DET elders-1PL.POSS BOUL
 k^wu k(ʔ)-sqəltmíx^w kəm kʔ-náx^wnəx^w iʔ tɪ
 1PL.ABS HAVE-man CONJ HAVE-wife DET LOC
 syx^wáp-məx k^waʔ ixíʔ x^{mín}-tət.
 Shuswap.people COMP DEM enemies-1PL.POSS
 ‘And it was a thing of our elders, that we should never take a man or a
 wife from the Shuswaps because they’re our enemies.’
- (44) ilíʔ uʔ ʔapnáʔ ixíʔ iʔul⁹, lut ʔapnáʔ tə
 DEM CONJ now DEM unbeatable NEG now EMPH
 ac-my-st-ís ixíʔ swít.
 CUST-know-CAUS-3SG.ERG DEM who
 ‘Now that’s over and it’s different, but nobody knows about it.’
- (45) uʔ ʔapnáʔ mayʔ-nt-ín uʔ ks-ʔəy^ʔ-y^ʔ-míxaʔx.
 CONJ now tell-DIR-1SG.ERG CONJ FUT-write-FRED-INCEPT
 ‘And now I’ve told the story and now it will be written.’
- (46) xʔkínəm kiʔ aláʔ iʔ k^wu k^wliwt k^wu
 how COMP.OBL DEM DET 1PL.ABS live 1PL.ABS
 sʔuknaqínx. way.
 Okanagans the.end
 ‘About how us Okanagans came to live here. That’s all.’

3 lk^wílx iʔ tɪ sníʔ^wutən: “Leave your bed”

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

9. The word *iʔul* has a meaning difficult to capture using English. The gloss ‘unbeatable’ comes from A. Mattina (p.c.), contra Mattina (1987, 216). Lottie says that it means “after a person grows up and has all things they need to be a medicine person”. It is unclear to me, however, how either meaning transfers to this particular context.

places the Okanagan hunters in real danger, should they go hunting after having relations with their wives during their time of the month. Wanting to protect their hunters gave impetus to a form of population control, while having fewer children, in turn, placates the Grizzly Bear.¹⁰

3.1 Okanagan

qsápi k^wuk^w i? sqilx^w ta?lí? cnxílmstsəlx i? ki?lawná. ʔa? cpíxəm i? sqəłqəłtmíx^w, məʔ púlstməlx i? t ki?lawná. i? ki?lawná tl scaptík^wʔs lúta? x̄minks i? tk̄milx^w acq̄ilt i? l x̄yáʔnəx̄^w. uʔ i? sqəłtmíx^w ʔa? ctknax^w i? t náx̄^wnəx̄^ws ʔa? cʔamnstím, kəm ʔa? cx^wuy kl sn̄q̄útən. qsápi k^wuk^w k^wúlʔx^wntəm i? smaʔmʔím. uʔ cúntəməlx “kli? mi p actʔx̄ilx ʔa? cq̄ilt ʔa? x̄yáʔnəx̄^w. lut aksnʔúʔx^wm mi ksq̄ilx l asn̄q̄útən. k^w x̄əstwílx mi sic k^w ʔx^wuy kl asx̄íłwi?” uʔ lut sq^wsíʔaʔntsəlx t x^w?it. t k^wk^wyína? ʔa? cq^wsíʔam i? sqilx^w, t kʔəsʔásíl, t kəʔkaʔʔís. ixí? k^w acmystísəlx ksxʔkínxəlx, mi lut ksq^wsíʔaʔntsəlx yaʔt, yaʔt naqsspíntk ka? c̄k^wúləls i? sk^wk^wíymalt. k^waʔ q^wəñq^wántləx p̄nicíʔ. lutá? cq̄nústsəlx ka? cʔamnstísəlx i? k̄x̄w̄il i? scəcmáləʔ. uʔ taʔlíʔ? i? ʔəx̄əx̄x̄áʔp x̄ʔəntís i? smaʔmʔím, lut ks... cəm ʔax^wt i? səx^wpíxəmtət. nq̄^wʔayítk^wsəlx yaʔyáʔt i? stíms, x^wk^wntísəlx, k^wíłstənəm mi sic píxəm. ixí? i? cawts i? qsápi i? sqilx^w. uʔ i? sámaʔ k^wu cúntəm, i? səx^wm̄rím k^wu cúntəm: t kaʔʔás, naqs, k^wnxásq̄ət, sisplkásq̄ət mi k^wanúntx^w [ʔalnán] ʔa? cq̄íłtmstx^w l x̄yáʔnəx̄^w məʔ ʔwíntx^w asn̄q̄útən. uʔ sisplkásq̄ət ka? c̄s̄x̄ánəs, k^w ʔa? x̄əstwílx tə sq̄ilt t sisplkásq̄ət. k̄s̄x̄an ixí? mi sic k^w ʔa? plak k̄ asn̄q̄útən. ixí? nk^wúlmns i? sqilx^w qsápi. uʔ cxtstísəlx nyʔíp, yaʔyáʔt i? p̄t̄p̄t̄wínx^w naʔʔ stəmtímaʔ, yaʔt c̄ax̄^wc̄x̄^wntísəlx i? scəcmáləʔ. mi lut ksx^w?its i? ksq^wsíʔaʔsəlx, k^waʔ lut t q̄nústsəlx ksʔamntísəlx i? x^w?it. ixí? i? cawts qsápi i? sqilx^w. taʔlíʔ? cq^wəñq^wántləx. uʔ ixí? i? nk^wúlmnsəlx ʔa? cústsəlx i? smaʔmʔím, “lk^wilx i? tl sn̄q̄útən mi lut kəsəsíʔəlaʔs i? səx^wpíxəm.” ixí? way.

3.2 English

Long ago, people were very scared of the grizzly bear. When the men went hunting, they would get killed by a grizzly bear. The grizzly of the legend does not like a woman that is sick in her time (of the month)... or a husband that is touched by his wife while being fed (when a woman has her time), or when coming to bed. A long time ago, we made huts for the women. And they were told “There’s a place over there for you all, when a person has got their time. Don’t come in and sleep on your bed if you are sick. You get better before you go back to your husband.” The people didn’t have many children. They only had a few children, two or three. They taught you what to do, so they don’t have children every year. Because they were poor at that time. They weren’t going to do it because they knew that they couldn’t feed a whole bunch of kids. And

10. Lottie mentions that another way of protecting the hunters was by not letting a girl ride the hunter’s horse.

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

3.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (47) qsápi k^wuk^w $\text{i}?$ sqilx^w $\text{ta}?\text{li}?$ $\text{c-n}\check{\text{x}}\text{il-}\text{əm-st-s}\text{əlx}$
 long.ago REP DET people very CUST-afraid-MID-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 $\text{i}?$ $\text{ki}?\text{láwna}$.
 DET grizzly
 'Long ago, people were very scared of the grizzly bear.'
- (48) $\text{ła}?$ $\text{c-pí}\check{\text{x}}\text{-}\text{əm}$ $\text{i}?$ sqəl-qəltmíx^w , $\text{mə}\text{ł}$
 COMP CUST-hunt-MID DET IRED-man CONJ
 $\text{púl-st-m-}\text{əlx}$ $\text{i}?$ t $\text{ki}?\text{láwna}$.
 kill-CAUS-PASS-3PL.ERG DET OBL grizzly
 'When the men went hunting, they would get killed by a grizzly bear.'
- (49) $\text{i}?$ $\text{ki}?\text{láwna}$ tl $\text{s-captík}^w\text{ł-s}$ $\text{lúta}?$
 DET grizzly LOC NOM-legend-3SG.POSS NEG
 $\check{\text{x}}\text{mink-s}^{11}$ $\text{i}?$ $\text{tk}\text{łmilx}^w$ $\text{ac-}\check{\text{q}}\text{łt}$ $\text{i}?$
 like-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET woman STAT-sick DET
 l $\check{\text{x}}\text{yá}\text{łn}\text{ə}\check{\text{x}}^w$.
 LOC time/moon
 'The grizzly of the legend does not like a woman that is sick in her time (of the month)...'

11. I reconstruct a null directive (-*nt-*) transitivizer for this stem *xmink* 'like, want' in this, and other environments in this paper, based on data in (Mattina, 1987, 253).

- (50) uʃ iʔ sqəltmíx^w ʃaʔ c-ʔknax^{w12} iʔ t
 CONJ DET man COMP CUST-touch DET OBL
 náx^wnəx^w-s ʃaʔ c-ʔamn-st-ím, kəm ʃaʔ
 wife-3SG.POSS COMP CUST-feed-CAUS-PASS CONJ COMP
 c-x^wuy kɪ sn-ʃq^wútən.
 CISL-go LOC LOC-where.one.lays
 ‘or a husband that is touched by his wife while being fed (when a woman has her time), or when coming to bed.’
- (51) ʔsápi k^wuk^w k^wúl-ʃx^w-nt-əm iʔ smaʔmʔím.
 long.ago REP make-house-DIR-1PL.ERG DET women
 ‘A long time ago, we made huts for the women.’
- (52) uʃ cú-n(n)t-əm-əlx “kliʔ mi p
 CONJ say-DIR-PASS-3PL.ABS DEM COMP.FUT 2PL.ABS
 ac-t-ʔxíl-x ʃaʔ c-ʔilt ʃaʔ ʃyáʔnəx^w.
 CUST-t-do.like-INTR COMP CUST-sick COMP time/moon
 ‘And they were told “There’s a place over there for you all, when a person has got their time.” ’
- (53) lut a-ks-nʔúʃx^w-m mi ks-ʃqíl x ɪ
 NEG 2SG.POSS-FUT-enter-MID COMP.FUT FUT-lay.down LOC
 a(n)-sn-ʃq^wútn.
 2SG.POSS-LOC-where.one.lays
 ‘ “Don’t come in and sleep on your bed (if you are sick).” ’
- (54) k^w ʃəst-wíl x mi sic k^w ʃ-x^wuy k(ɪ)
 2SG.ABS good-DEV COMP.FUT then 2SG.ABS return-go LOC
 a(n)-sʃíʔwiʔ.”
 2SG.POSS-husband
 ‘ “You get better before you go back to your husband.” ’
- (55) uʃ lut s-q^wsíʔaʔ-nt-səlx t x^wʔit.¹³
 CONJ NEG NOM-children-DIR-3PL.ERG OBL many
 ‘The people didn’t have many children.’

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

13. The quantifier *x^wʔit* ‘many’ is an adverbial modifier of the predicate in this sentence. This is a bit unusual, since it is more often found before DPs (cf. 263) or as a main predicate (cf. 155).

- (56) ṭ ḳʷḳʷyinaʔ ʔaʔ c-qʷsɪʔ-am iʔ sqilxʷ, t
 EMPH few COMP CUST-child-MID DET people, OBL
 kʔəsʔasɪl, t kəʔkaʔʔs.
 two(HUMAN) OBL three(HUMAN)
 ‘They only had a few children, two or three.’
- (57) ixɪʔ kʷ ac-my-st-ɪsəlx ks-xʔkɪn-x-əlx,
 DEM 2SG.ABS CUST-tell-CAUS-3PL.ERG FUT-to.do-INTR-3PL.ABS
 mi lut ks-qʷsɪʔaʔ-nt-səlx yaʔt, yaʔt
 COMP.FUT NEG FUT-children-DIR-3PL.ERG all all
 naqs-spɪntk kaʔ c-ḳʷúləl-s iʔ
 one-year COMP.OBL CUST-born-3SG.POSS DET
 sḳʷḳʷíymalt.
 child
 ‘They taught you what to do, so they don’t have children every year.’
- (58) kʷaʔ qʷəŋqʷánt-ləx pnicɪʔ.
 COMP poor-3PL.ABS at.that.time
 ‘Because they were poor at that time.’
- (59) lutáʔ c-qʔ-nú(n)-st-səlx kaʔ
 NEG CUST-able.to.do-MANAGE.TO-CAUS-3PL.ERG COMP.OBL
 c-ʔamn-st-ɪsəlx iʔ kɪx̣ʷil iʔ scəcmáləʔ.
 CUST-feed-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET many DET children
 ‘They weren’t able to do it because they knew that they couldn’t feed a whole bunch of kids.’
- (60) uʔ taʔlɪʔ (iʔ) ʔəx̣əx̣ʔáʔ x̣ʔən-(n)t-ɪs iʔ smaʔmʔím,
 CONJ very DET elders stop-DIR-3SG.ERG DET women
 lut ks... cəm ʔaxʷt iʔ səxʷ-píx̣-əm-tət.
 NEG FUT EPIS dead DET OCC-hunt-MID-1PL.POSS
 ‘And the elders stopped the women, so that our hunters would not die.’
- (61) n-qʷɪayɪtkʷ-səlx yaʔyáʔt iʔ stɪm-s,
 n-do.laundry-(DIR)-3PL.ERG all DET thing-3SG.POSS
 xʷkʷ-nt-ɪsəlx, kʷílstən-əm mi sic píx̣-əm.
 clean-DIR-3PL.ERG sweathouse-MID COMP.FUT then hunt-MID
 ‘They washed all their laundry, they cleaned (everything) and took sweat baths before hunting.’

- (62) ixíʔ iʔ cawt-s iʔ q̣sápi iʔ sqilx^w.
DEM DET doings-3SG.POSS DET long.ago DET people
‘That’s what our people did a long time ago.’
- (63) uʔ iʔ sámaʔ k^wu cún-(n)t-əm, iʔ
CONJ DET white.person 1PL.ABS say-DIR-PASS DET
səx^w-mrím k^wu cún-(n)t-əm:
OCC-medicine 1PL.ABS say-DIR-PASS
‘And the white person told us, the doctor told us:’
- (64) ʔ kaʔʔás, naqs, k^wnx-ásq̣ət, sisplk-ásq̣ət mi
EMPH three one how.many-day seven-day COMP.FUT
k^wan-(n)ún-tx^w [ʔalán¹⁴] ʔaʔ
take-MANAGE.TO-DIR-2SG.ERG ? COMP
c-ǰílt-m-st-x^w l ʔyáʔnəʔ mət
CUST-sick-MID-CAUS-2SG.ERG LOC time CONJ
ʔwín-(n)t-x^w a(n)-sn-ʔq̣^wútən.
leave-DIR-2SG.ERG 2SG.POSS-LOC-where.one.lays
‘Three, one, how many, seven days before you take your sickness
during your time of the month, you have to leave your bed.’¹⁵
- (65) uʔ sisplk-ásq̣ət kaʔ c-sʔán-əs,¹⁵ k^w
CONJ seven-day COMP.OBL CUST-go.past-3SG.POSS 2SG.ABS
ʔaʔ ʔəst-wílx tə s-ǰílt t sisplk-ásq̣ət.
COMP good-DEV EMPH NOM-sick OBL seven-day
‘And after seven days go past, and seven days after you get better.’¹⁶
- (66) ḳʔ-sʔan ixíʔ mi sic k^w ʔaʔ plak ḳ(l)
ḳʔ-go.past DEM COMP.FUT then 2SG.ABS COMP return LOC
a(n)-sn-ʔq̣^wútən.”
2SG.POSS-bed
‘After seven days go past, then you go back to your bed.’¹⁶
- (67) ixíʔ nk^wúlmn-s iʔ sqilx^w q̣sápi.
DEM habits-3SG.POSS DET people long.ago
‘That’s the way the old people lived long ago.’

14. I was unable to interpret this sequence, but it is likely to be a false start.

15. The form for ‘go past’ is given as *k-sʔan* in Mattina (1987, 192). See also (66).

16. According to Lottie, men and women were not supposed to have relations for three weeks out of every month, one week before a woman’s menstruation, one week during, and one week after. They could have relations for only about one week in every month, and that was their form of birth control.

- (68) uʔ c-xʔ-st-ísəlx nyʔip, yaʔyaʔt
 CONJ CUST-take.care.of-CAUS-3PL.ERG always all
 iʔ pt-pəptwínax^w naʔt stəm-tímaʔ, yaʔt
 DET IRED-old.woman CONJ IRED-grandmother all
 ʔcaʔ^w-ʔç^w-nt-ísəlx iʔ scəcmáləʔ.
 instruct-FRED-DIR-3PL.ERG DET children
 ‘And they looked after it all the time, always, all the old women and
 grandmothers, they taught the children everything.’
- (69) mi lut k(ʔ)-s-x^w?it-s iʔ
 COMP.FUT NEG U.POSS-NOM-many-3SG.POSS DET
 k(ʔ)-s-q^wsíʔaʔ-səlx, k^waʔ lut t̄
 U.POSS-NOM-children-3PL.POSS COMP NEG EMPH
 qʔ-nú(n)-səlx ks-ʔamn-(n)t-ísəlx
 able.to-MANAGE.TO-(DIR)-3PL.ERG FUT-feed-DIR-3PL.ERG
 iʔ x^w?it.
 DET many
 ‘So that they didn’t have too many children, because they couldn’t
 manage to feed a lot of children.’
- (70) ixíʔ iʔ cawt-s ʔsápi iʔ sqilx^w. taʔlíʔ?
 DEM DET doings-3SG.POSS long.ago DET people very
 c-q^wəŋq^wánt-ləx.
 CUST-poor-3PL.ABS
 ‘That’s the way people lived long ago; they were very poor.’
- (71) uʔ ixíʔ iʔ nk^wúlmn-səlx ʔaʔ cú(n)-st-səlx
 CONJ DEM DET habits-3PL.POSS COMP say-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 iʔ smaʔmʔím, “lk^wilx iʔ t̄l sn-ʔq^wútən
 DET women leave DET LOC LOC-where.one.lays
 mi lut kəs-əs-ípəlaʔ-s iʔ
 COMP.FUT NEG bad-FRED-handle-(CAUS?)-3SG.ERG DET
 səx^w-píç-əm.” ixíʔ. way.
 OCC-hunt-MID DEM the.end
 ‘That’s the way they lived when they told the women “Leave your bed
 so that our hunters don’t get bad luck.” That’s all.’

4 ʔaʔ çk^wúləm iʔ sqilx^w t yámç^waʔ: “How the people made baskets”

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

4.1 Okanagan

ʔaʔ ckwúləm iʔ sqilx^w t yámx^waʔ. ctíx^wstsəlx iʔ sʔax^wíp t k^wúləm
 t yámx^waʔ. məʔ ksyíycaʔsəlx məʔ ntk^wítksəlx l siwłk^w, mi sic kʔacntísəlx,
 nyʔíp ʔʔat mi sic cáncən. atáʔ iʔ sqilx^w lut tə ckwúləm t yámx^waʔ, iʔ ʔəmsíw
 uʔ iʔ nuk^wtmíx^w. ixíʔ ack^wúləm t yámx^waʔ uʔ taʔlíʔ nʔux^waʔtús aksnʔíysəm,
 k^w ʔaʔ ʔmínkəm t yámx^waʔ. kəm atáʔ iʔ sqilx^w ʔaʔ ckwúləm... t qʔnúʔmínts.
 ixíʔ ksʔálq^wməlx, məʔ k^wúləməlx t kʔnqmínmnsəlx, cʔxiʔ t yámx^waʔ. uʔ ixíʔ l
 sqipc kaʔ ctíx^wstsəlx, ʔaʔ ccaʔqálq^w ʔaʔc ... iʔ tíc. ʔaʔ ccaʔqálq^w iʔ cəlcál məʔ
 ksyíycaʔsəlx, uʔ ixíʔ kaʔ ckwúlstsəlx iʔ pínaʔ. lútaʔ cʔxiʔ iʔ t ʔəmsíw uʔ iʔ t
 nuk^wtmíx^w ʔaʔ ckwúləməlx. tí nqəcqcínaʔsəlx uʔ kʔyark^wntísəlx t cəʔcáʔəlx^w,
 məʔ ʔəwənt- ísəlx tacklíʔ ixíʔ uʔ ixíʔ nkcx^wus iʔ l sqipc kaʔ ctíx^wstsəlx. ʔaʔ
 ccaʔqálq^w iʔ acyíʔ məʔ tíx^wəməlx t kʔnqmínmnsəlx. ixíʔ atáʔ iʔ sqilx^w t ack^wúls
 iʔ pínaʔ.

4.2 English

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

4.3 Interlinear Gloss

(72) ʔaʔ c-k^wúl-əm iʔ sqilx^w t yámx^waʔ.
 COMP CUST-make-MID DET people OBL cedar.bark.basket
 'How the people made cedar bark baskets.'

(73) c-tíx^w-st-səlx iʔ sʔax^wíp t k^wúl-əm t
 CUST-obtain-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET root OBL make-MID OBL
 yámx^waʔ.
 cedar.bark.basket
 'They gathered the roots to make the baskets.'

- (74) məʔ ks-yíycaʔ-səlx¹⁷ məʔ n-tk^wítk^w-səlx
 CONJ FUT-weave-(DIR)-3PL.ERG CONJ n-soak.in.lake-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG
 l siwtk^w, mi sic k-ʔac-nt-ísəlx, nyʔip ʔʔat
 LOC water COMP.FUT then k-tie-DIR-3PL.ERG always wet
 mi sic cáncən.
 COMP.FUT then tight
 ‘They dig roots and they soak them in water before they weave them,
 and keep them wet all the time so that they get tight.’
- (75) atáʔ iʔ sqilx^w lut tə c-k^wúl-əm t
 DEM DET people NEG EMPH CUST-make-MID OBL
 yámx^waʔ, iʔ ʔəmsíw uʔ iʔ
 cedar.bark.basket DET Vancouver.people CONJ DET
 nuk^wtmíx^w.
 Thompson.people
 ‘The people here did not make cedar bark baskets, the people in
 Vancouver and the Thompson people did.’
- (76) ixíʔ ac-k^wúl-əm t yámx^waʔ uʔ taʔlíʔ
 DEM CUST-make-MID OBL cedar.bark.basket CONJ very
 n-ʔuʔx^waʔtús a-ks-nʔíys-əm, k^w ʔaʔ
 n-expensive 2SG.POSS-FUT-buy-MID 2SG.ABS COMP
 ʔmínk-əm t yámx^waʔ.
 want-MID OBL cedar.bark.basket
 ‘They make the cedar bark baskets, and they are very expensive to buy,
 for those that want a basket.’
- (77) kəm atáʔ iʔ sqilx^w ʔaʔ c-k^wúl-əm ... t
 CONJ DEM DET people COMP CUST-make-MID ... OBL
 qʔ-núʔ-min-(n)t-s¹⁸.
 able.to-MANAGE.TO-MIN-DIR-3SG.ERG
 ‘But there are people here that manage to do this.’

17. Including the rare Okanagan *y*, this stem is glossed by Mattina (1987, 351) as meaning ‘weave a blanket’. It is possible that its use has been extended in the Upper Nicola dialect to include any form of weaving.

18. This form is unusual since it appears to contain two consecutive morphemes which Mattina and DeSautel (2002, 28) describe as both ‘preparing a stem for transitivity’: *-nu(n)* ‘manage to’ and *-min*. It seems likely that *-nu(n)* in this case has been reanalyzed as part of the stem.

- (78) ixíʔ ks-ʕálq^w-m-əlx, məʔ k^wúl-əm-əlx
 DEM FUT-fell.tree-MID-3PL.ABS CONJ make-MID-3PL.ABS
 t kʔ-nqmín-mn-səlx, cʔxiʔ t
 OBL U.POSS-to.rest.s.t.inside-INSTR-3PL.POSS like OBL
 yámǰ^waʔ.
 cedar.bark.basket
 ‘They would have fallen trees, and made a container something like a basket.’
- (79) uʔ ixíʔ l sqipc kaʔ c-tíx^w-st-səlx,
 CONJ DEM LOC Springtime COMP.OBL CUST-obtain-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 ʔaʔ c-ʕaʔqálq^w ʔaʔ-c ... iʔ
 COMP CUST-pitch.is.coming.through COMP-CUST ... DET
 ti.
 pitch
 ‘And in the springtime, when the pitch is coming through (in June), they would get pitch.’¹⁹
- (80) ʔaʔ c-ʕaʔqálq^w iʔ ʕəlʕál məʔ
 COMP CUST-pitch.is.coming.through DET trees CONJ
 ks-ʕíycaʔ-səlx, uʔ ixíʔ kaʔ
 FUT-weave-(DIR)-3PL.ERG CONJ DEM COMP.OBL
 c-k^wúl-st-səlx iʔ pínaʔ.
 CUST-make-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET basket
 ‘When the pitch is coming through the trees, that’s when they would weave, and that’s how they made the baskets.’
- (81) lútaʔ cʔxiʔ iʔ t ʕəmsíw uʔ iʔ t
 NEG like DET OBL Vancouver.people CONJ DET OBL
 nuk^wtmíx^w ʔaʔ c-k^wúl-əm-əlx.
 Thompson.people COMP CUST-make-MID-3PL.ABS
 ‘They didn’t do like the people in Vancouver and the Thompsons when they made them.’
- (82) ti n-qəcqcínaʔ-səlx uʔ kʔyark^w-nt-ísəlx
 EMPH n-braid-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG CONJ make.hoop-DIR-3PL.ERG
 t ʕəǰǰáǰ-əlx.
 OBL cedar-tree
 ‘They would braid and make a hoop out of the cedar roots.’

19. Lottie mentions that June is the time when the cedar bark peels right off.

- (83) məʔ ʃəw-ənt-ísəlx tac-klíʔ ixíʔ uʔ ixíʔ
 CONJ dry-DIR-3PL.ERG LOC-DEM DEM CONJ DEM
 n-k-c-x^wus iʔ l sqipc kaʔ
 n-k-CUST-hurry DET LOC springtime COMP.OBL
 c-tíx^w-st-səlx.
 CUST-obtain-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 ‘They took it to where it would dry quickly in the springtime when they gathered it.’
- (84) ʔaʔ c-čaʔqáʔq^w iʔ acyíp
 COMP CUST-pitch.is.coming.through DET tree
 məʔ tíx^w-əm-əlx t
 CONJ obtain-MID-3PL.ABS OBL
 kʔ-nqmín-mn-səlx.
 U.POSS-to.put.s.t.inside-INSTR-3PL.POSS
 ‘During June, they would take a tree and make containers.’
- (85) ixíʔ atáʔ iʔ sqilx^w t ac-k^wúl-s iʔ
 DEM DEM DET people OBL CUST-make-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG DET
 pínaʔ.
 basket
 ‘And that’s how the people made the baskets.’

5 cliqstsəlx iʔ l escácsxən: “They buried them in the shale”

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

5.1 Okanagan

qsápi iʔ sqilx^w ʔaʔ cʔlál swit, cliqstsəlx iʔ l scʔásxn. k^waʔ lut ʔakʔlapál-ləx, lut ʔakstíməlx. uʔ ti sʔáxlxstsəlx iʔ sʔəxʔút məʔ ilíʔ tk^wantísəlx iʔ sənʔláləlx məʔ kcʔásxnaʔsəlx t xʔut. iʔ scəcmáʔəʔ ʔaʔ cʔlál, klx^wícaʔsəlx məʔ kʔaciwísəlx. məʔ ilíʔ məʔ sic pk^wak^w məʔ cəsáp. ixíʔ qsápi ʔaʔ cliqənwíx^w iʔ sqilx^w. sxʔapnáʔ

cíx^wləm. a? nk^wúlməns i? sáma? nxf?əmłtəm. uł cquťs liqⁿwíx^w tackłí? řapná? ixí?.

5.2 English

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

5.3 Interlinear Gloss

(86) q̣sápi i? sqilx^w řa? c-řlal swit, c-líq-st-səłx
 long.ago DET people COMP CUST-die who CUST-bury-CAUS-3PL.ERG

i? l s-c?ásxn.
 DET LOC NOM-shale

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

(87) k^wa? lut řakř-lapál-ləx, lut řak(ř)-stím-əłx.
 COMP NEG HAVE-shovel-3PL.ABS NEG HAVE-what-3PL.ABS
 '...because they didn't have any shovels, or tools.'

(88) uł ři s-řářlx-st-səłx i? s-řə-řřút məř
 CONJ EMPH NOM-move-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET IRED-rock CONJ
 ilí? řk^wan-(n)t-řsəłx i? sən-řlál-səłx məř
 DEM put.down-DIR-3PL.ERG DET LOC-dead-3PL.POSS CONJ
 k-c?ás(x)na?-səłx t řřút.
 k-shale-(min)-(DIR)-3PL.ERG OBL rocks

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

(89) i? scəcmálə? řa? c-řlal, klx^w-řca?-səłx
 DET children COMP CUST-die out.of.sight-body-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG
 məř k-řac-řws-isəłx.
 CONJ k-tie-middle-(DIR)-3PL.ERG

'When babies died, they wrapped them and tied them (to a tree).'

- (90) mət ilí? mət sic pk^wak^w mət cəsáp.
 CONJ DEM CONJ then fall.off CONJ all.gone
 ‘And it would just sit there, and eventually fall off and go back to the earth.’
- (91) ixí? q̣sápi ʔa? c-liq̣-ənwíx^w i? sqilx^w.
 DEM long.ago COMP CUST-bury-(DIR)-RECIP DET people
 ‘Long ago that’s how they buried one another.’
- (92) sx-ʔapná? c-tíx^wləm.
 (?)-now STAT-different
 ‘Now it’s different.’
- (93) a? nk^wúlmən-s i? sáma? n-(i)xí?-əm-ʔt-əm²⁰.
 DET habit-3SG.POSS DET white.people N-DEM-MID-APPL-1PL.ERG
 ‘We work as the white people do (when burying the dead).’
- (94) uʔ (n)cqut-s liq̣-nwíx^w tac-klí? ʔapná?
 CONJ flat.area-3SG.POSS bury-(DIR)-RECIP LOC-DEM now
 ixí?
 DEM
 ‘Now we bury each other in fields. That’s all.’

6 i? sənklíp ʔa? ckc̣x̣^wípəlaʔs i? ṭmx̣^wúlaʔx̣^w: “When Coyote ruled the land”

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

6.1 Okanagan

q̣sápi k^wuk^w ʔxiʔwílx i? sənklíp ʔa? ckc̣x̣^wípəlaʔs i? ṭmx̣^wúlaʔx̣^w.
 itlí? k^wuk^w ṭcx̣^wúy. uʔ cut k^wuk^w alá? lut i? qáqx̣^wəlx ka? cx̣^wuys i? l siwʔk^w.
 uʔ nʔəʔx̣^wúlaʔx̣^w i? siwʔk^w, k^wuk^w taʔlí? l k^wut sic l ʔacqá? uʔ lut ilí? ṭə ḳt-

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

qáq̣x̣^wəlx̣. uł atá? xi?wíḷx̣ k^wuk^w uł, uł i? sqíḷx̣^w cut k^wuk^w “lut ka?kíṇ ḳsx̣^wuymp̣ ʔapná? ṣx̣əł̣x̣álṭ.” [ksíḷux̣, ks, ks-] “atá? ḳsx̣^wúya?x̣ i? ylmíx̣^wəṃ.” uł k^wuk^w i? pətpət- wínax̣^w cut: “A^wkṣtímtənṣ ixí? i? ylmíx̣^wəṃ. k^wu stx̣^wcəncútx̣ kəṃ i? naq̣ṣ x̣əł̣x̣álṭ x̣minkṣ k^wu ḳsḳ^wítṃ.” uł ixí? ṣʔawsq̣^wḷíwəmsəlx̣ ki? xi?wíḷx̣ i? sənklíp̣, uł kli? ʔácntməlx̣ k^wuk^w uł cúntəməlx̣, “ha ṇṭúləmṣ i? sənq̣ṣḷx̣^wəmp̣? k^wu ḳsḳṭ- ʔímntp̣ uł lut k^wu ṭ ḳṭʔímntp̣.” “ilí? ʔapná? ṇṇwí?ṣ mi p̣ k^wuḷ ṭ x̣luṭ. luṭ ṭəksq̣ḷx̣^wmp̣ nix̣^w.” uł ḳṭsx̣áṇ, xi?wíḷx̣ ití? sənklíp̣. uł ilí? ʔapná? ḷ “c̣ịyeyáq̣ṣ” í ṭ c̣ʔx̣ịṭ i? ṭwísṭ i? sma?mʔíṃ. ḳṭymyáṃx̣^wa? uł ḳsq̣^wsq̣^wsíʔa?. uł ilí? ṭwísṭləx̣ məṭ ḷ ṭla?kíṇṣ i? ṭəmx̣^wúla?x̣^w. ixí? captíḳ^wṭ ḷ sənklíp̣, i? captíḳ^wṭṣ ṭa? ḳ^wulṣ i? ṭəmx̣^wúla?x̣^w. uł i? ta?kíṇ i? x̣minkṣ ka? ḳsx̣^wuyṣ i? qáq̣x̣^wəlx̣ i? ṭ siẉḳ^w, uł x̣^wuy. uł ḳiṃ ta?kíṇ uł cut “lut”, uł luṭ ilí? ṭa ḳṭqáq̣x̣^wəlx̣. ixí? ʔapná? i? sáma? k^wa? c̣q̣^waṇṭkstṣ i? qáq̣x̣^wəlx̣. waỵ.

6.2 English

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

6.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (95) q̣sápi k^wuk^w ṭ-xi?wíḷx̣ i? sənklíp̣ ṭa?
 long.ago REP return-pass.by DET Coyote COMP
 c-kc̣x̣^w-ị́pəla?̣-s i? ṭəmx̣^wúla?x̣^w.
 CUST-rule-handle-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG DET land
 ‘A long time ago, Coyote came by, when he was ruler of the land.’
- (96) itḷí? k^wuk^w ṭəc-x̣^wụ́ỵ.
 DEM REP LOC-go
 ‘They said he was coming along.’

- (97) uł cut k^wuk^w alá? lut i? qáqx^wəlx ka?
 CONJ say REP DEM NEG DET fish COMP.OBL
 c-x^wuy-s i? l siwłk^w.
 CUST-go-3SG.POSS(?) DET LOC water
 ‘Coyote said there will be no fish there going through the water here.’
- (98) uł n-?əłx^w-úla?x^w i? siwłk^w, k^wuk^w ta?lí...? lk^wut sic
 CONJ n-enter-ground DET water REP very far then
 l ?acqá?
 LOC outside
 ‘And the water goes underground, and it is a long ways before it comes out.’²¹
- (99) uł lut ilí? tə kł-qáqx^wəlx.
 CONJ NEG DEM EMPH HAVE-fish
 ‘And that’s why there’s no fish there.’
- (100) uł atá? xi?wílx k^wuk^w uł, uł i? sqilx^w cut
 CONJ DEM pass.by REP CONJ CONJ DET people say
 k^wuk^w “lut ka?kín ks-x^wuy-mp ʔapná? sǰəlǰǰált.”
 REP NEG where FUT-go-2PL.POSS now day
 [ksílux, ks, ks-]²²
 ?
 ‘When he passed by here, they say the people were warning each other, saying “Don’t you people go anywhere today.”’
- (101) “atá? ks-x^wúy-a?x i? ylmíx^wəm.”
 DEM FUT-go-INCEPT DET chief
 ‘“The chief (Coyote) is coming, the chief is gonna pass by.”’
- (102) uł k^wuk^w i? pət-pə(p)twínax^w cut:
 CONJ REP DET IRED-old.woman say
 ‘And the old women said:’

21. The *nǰa?ǰ?ítik^w* ‘sea monster’ of text 11 also supposedly reached Nicola Lake from the ocean by underground channels.

22. Another sequence I could not interpret. There are three false starts with the prefix *ks-*.

- (103) “A^hks^htímtəns ixíʔ iʔ ylmíx^wəm. k^wu
to.heck.with.him DEM DET chief 1PL.ABS
s-tx^w-cən-(n)cút-x kəm iʔ naqs ʃəłʃíált
NOM-gather-mouth-REFLEX-INTR CONJ DET one day
ʃmink-s k^wu ks-k^wí(n)-ʔt-m.”
want-(DIR)-3SG.ERG 1PL.ABS FUT-take.away-APPL-PASS
‘“To heck with that chief. We’ve been gathering food, but this one day
Coyote wants to take away from us.”’
- (104) uʔ ixíʔ s-ʔaws-q^wíwəmə-səlx kiʔ xiʔwílx
CONJ DEM NOM-go-pick.berries-3PL.POSS COMP.OBL pass.by
iʔ sənklíp.
DET coyote
‘They were picking berries when Coyote came by.’
- (105) uʔ k^wliʔ ʔáç^h-nt-m-əlx k^wuk^w uʔ
CONJ DEM see-DIR-PASS-3PL.ABS REP CONJ
cún-(n)t-əmə-əlx, “ha (ʃəʔ)n-ʔúləm-s²³ iʔ
say-DIR-PASS-3PL.ABS YNQ stop-2PL.ABS-3SG.ERG DET
sənqsílx^w-əmp? k^wu ks-kíʔím-nt-p
relatives-2PL.POSS 1SG.ABS FUT-wait.for-DIR-2PL.ERG
uʔ lut k^wu t k^wíʔím-nt-p.”
CONJ NEG 1SG.ABS EMPH wait.for-DIR-2PL.ERG
‘He (Coyote) looked up at them and told them “Didn’t your people
warn you? You were going to wait for me, and you didn’t wait.”’
- (106) “ilíʔ ʔapnáʔ núnwíʔs mi p k^wul²⁴ t x^wut.”
DEM now in.a.while FUT 2PL.ABS turn.into OBL rock
‘“Now I’ll turn you into a rock.”’
- (107) “lut tə ks-qílx^w-mp níx^w.”
NEG EMPH FUT-person-2PL.POSS again
‘“You won’t be human anymore.”’

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

24. This is the bare root, listed in Mattina (1987, 61), which is so productive in deriving forms related to ‘making’ and ‘working’. The sentence as a whole is interesting, since Lottie’s translation includes a 1st person agent (Coyote), but there is no 1st person morphology in the sentence.

- (108) uł kłsxán, xi?wílx ití? sənklíp.
 CONJ go.past pass.by DEM coyote
 ‘And Coyote just passed on by.’
- (109) uł ilí? řapná? l “ci-’ciy-e=[y]áqs”²⁵ tí
 CONJ DEM now LOC IRED-standing-nose(THOMPSON) EMPH
 t c?xił i? t’wíst i? sma?m?ím.
 OBL like DET standing DET women
 ‘And now, there at a place called “Standing Rocks”, you can almost see the women standing there (going up the hill).’
- (110) kł-ym-yámx’a? uł k(ł)-s-q^ws-q^wsí?a?
 HAVE-IRED-cedar.bark.basket CONJ HAVE-NOM-IRED-children
 ‘They were packing baskets and babies.’
- (111) uł ilí? t’wíst-ləx mət l tla?kín-s
 CONJ DEM standing-3PL.ABS EPIS LOC from.where-3SG.POSS
 i? təmx^wúla?x^w.
 DET land
 ‘And they are standing there until this day.’
- (112) ixí? captík^wł l sənklíp, i? captík^wł-s řa?
 DEM legend LOC coyote DET legend-3SG.POSS COMP
 k^wul-s i? təmx^wúla?x^w.
 make-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET land
 ‘That’s the story of Coyote, and of when he made the land.’
- (113) uł i? ta?kín i? řmínk-s ka?
 CONJ DET where DET want-(DIR)-3SG.ERG COMP.OBL
 ks-x^wuy-s i? qáqx^wəlx i? t siwłk^w, uł
 FUT-go-3SG.POSS DET fish DET OBL water CONJ
 x^wuy.
 go
 ‘And wherever he directed the fish to go, that’s where they went.’
- (114) uł kím ta?kín uł cut “lut”, uł lut ilí? řa
 CONJ except how CONJ say NEG CONJ NEG DEM EMPH
 kł-qáqx^wəlx.
 HAVE-fish
 ‘When he said that they’re not gonna go through there,²⁶ there’s no fish in there.’

25. Thanks to Karsten Koch for confirming that this place name is Thompson.

- (115) ixíʔ ʔapnáʔ iʔ sámaʔ kʷaʔ c-qʷańk-st-s
 DEM now DET white.people COMP CUST-plant-CAUS-3SG.ERG
 iʔ qáqxʷəlx. way.
 DET fish the.end
 ‘And today, the white man plants the fish (in hatcheries). That’s all.’

7 I qʷumqnaťkʷ: “At Chapperon Lake”

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

7.1 Okanagan

I qʷumqnaťkʷ kaʔ ksílxʷaʔ iʔ xłut ilíʔ swit xiʔwílx uť cķám. ʔqaplaʔ-
 mísəlx mi sic ʔawspíxəməlx. kńámləx mi sic ʔawsqʷíwəməlx kəń ʔəťámłəx.
 uť kʷukʷ ixíʔ iʔ captíkʷ uť cknxítəməlx. uť ilíʔ cčáqsəlx t stím, lańmín kəń
 sqław. ti stím ilíʔ akstkʷám. uť ksknxítms ixíʔ iʔ xłut. ixíʔ ti qśápi iʔ ʔaxəłłáxp
 kʷu acústəm: “lut ksníptəməntp itíʔ p xiʔwílx məť way qʷəłqʷflstp ixíʔ xłut.

26. The meaning of *kim* ‘except’ does not seem to be reflected in Lottie’s translation. A more literal translation could perhaps be ‘and how he only had to say ‘no’...’. Note also that the meaning of the word *taʔkin* changes with the context: In (113) and (196), for example, it is translated as ‘where’, while in (114), it does not seem to have a locative meaning. Mattina (1987, 278) translates it as *what?*.

mi ʃast iʔ kscx^wylwísm̄p. lut ksnʃannúmtəm̄ntp ixiʔ kl q^wumqnatk^w.” ilíʔ q̄sápi iʔ sqilx^w kaʔ cʔúllus mat l sx^waʔspíntks. uʔ k^wuk^w ilíʔ ʔúllus iʔ sqilx^w. yʔat tlaʔkín cx^wuy iʔ tl nuk^wtəmx^wúlaʔx^w, iʔ tl sʃáʃəmx cx^wuy iʔ k^wuk^w məʔ. kliʔ q̄ilətləx uʔ cx^wx^wəlx^wáltləx. ʃəʃ^wʃáʃ^wtləx t sqəmíltən k^wuk^w itíʔ cəm̄ kəm̄ iʔ naqsílx náʃəm̄ʔ kliʔ yʔápəlx uʔ cx^wəlx^wáltləx. uʔ ixiʔ nx^wəlx^wiltán t t̄ik^wt, iʔ q^wumqnatk^w iʔ t̄ik^wts. ixiʔ iʔ isníxl, iʔ sc̄m̄ym̄áys q̄sápi iʔ sqilx^w. ixiʔ nx^wəlx^wiltán, q^wumqnatk^w. uʔ ʃapnáʔ put ilíʔ cx^wuy iklíʔ sqilx^w, acm̄úləm̄əlx t qáq^wəlx. acm̄úlstsəlx iʔ q̄íʃ^wəlx, iʔ q^wuq^wʔák uʔ ixiʔ acʔíftsəlx. ixiʔ uʔ cx^wəlx^wáltləx ixiʔ l sqipc. uʔ ixiʔ sənʃ^wəlx^wiltán iʔ q^wumqnatk^w. way.

7.2 English

At Chapperon Lake there is a big rock where people who pass by pray. They pray for themselves there before they go hunting. They pray before they go picking berries or fishing. That’s the legend that helps them when they pray to it. They give it a gift, either a button or money. Anything you could put there that you own. It will help you, this rock. Long ago we were told by our elders: “Don’t forget when you pass by there, talk to the rock. Your journey will be well. So that you don’t get hurt on your way to Chapperon Lake.” For many years the people came together there. And it was told that the people came together there. They came from all over the place, the Thompsons, the Lillooets came also. They were sick and when they got there they became alive. They say that many died of starvation, except for maybe one family that got there, and they survived. And Chapperon Lake is a life-giving lake. That’s what I have heard, that’s the story the old people told. The lake will keep you alive. And the people still go there and dipnet the fish. They would fish for the bony fishes and the real rough fishes and eat them. They became alive in the springtime. And Chapperon Lake kept them alive. That’s all.

7.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (116) l q^wumqnatk^w kaʔ k(ʔ)-sílxaʔ iʔ xʃut ilíʔ swit
 LOC head-water COMP.OBL HAVE-big DET rock DEM who
 xiʔwílx uʔ c-kʃam.
 pass.by CONJ CUST-pray
 ‘At Chapperon Lake there is a big rock where people who pass by pray.’
- (117) t̄q̄-aplaʔ-mí(n-st)-səlx mi sic
 cross-middle-MIN-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG COMP.FUT then
 ʔaws-píʃ-əm-əlx.
 go-hunt-MID-3PL.ABS
 ‘They pray for themselves there before they go hunting.’

- (118) kʰám-ləx mi sic ʔaws-qʷlɪwəm-əlx kəm
 pray-3PL.ABS COMP.FUT then go-pick.berries-3PL.ABS CONJ
 ʔəʔám-ləx.
 fish.with.a.line-3PL.ABS
 ‘They pray before they go picking berries or fishing.’
- (119) uʔ kʷukʷ ixíʔ iʔ captíkʷʔ uʔ c-knxít-əm-əlx.
 CONJ REP DEM DET legend CONJ CUST-help-PASS-3PL.ABS
 ‘That’s the legend that helps them when they pray to it.’
- (120) uʔ ilíʔ c-ʃáq-səlx t stím, laʕmín kəm
 CONJ DEM CUST-pay-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG OBL what button CONJ
 sqláw.
 money
 ‘They give it a gift, either a button or money.’
- (121) í stím ilíʔ a-ks-tkʷ-ám.
 EMPH what DEM 2SG.POSS-U.POSS-lay.down-MID
 ‘Anything you could put there that you own.’
- (122) uʔ ks-knxít-m-s ixíʔ iʔ xʃút.
 CONJ FUT-help-(DIR)-2SG.ABS-3SG.ERG DEM DET rock
 ‘It will help you, this rock.’
- (123) ixíʔ tí ʔsápi iʔ ʃəʃəʃəʃáʔ kʷu
 DEM EMPH long.ago DET elders 1PL.ABS
 a(c)-cú(n)-st-əm:
 CUST-say-CAUS-PASS
 ‘Long ago we were told by our elders.’
- (124) ʔut ks-nʔíʔt-əmə(n)-nt-p itíʔ p xiʔwílx məʔ
 NEG FUT-forget-MIN-DIR-2PL.ERG DEM 2PL.ABS pass.by CONJ
 way ʔqʷəlqʷíl-st-p ixíʔ xʃút.
 yes talk-CAUS-2PL.ERG DEM rock
 ‘“Don’t forget when you pass by there, talk to the rock.”’
- (125) mi ʃast iʔ k(ʔ)-s-c-xʷylwís-mp.
 COMP.FUT good DET U.POSS-NOM-CUST-travel-2PL.POSS
 ‘“Your journey will be well.”’
- (126) lut ks-n-ʃannúmt-əmən(n)-t-p ixíʔ kl ʔʷumq̄n-átkʷ.
 NEG FUT-n.get.hurt-MIN-DIR-2PL.ERG DEM LOC head-water
 ‘“So that you don’t get hurt on your way to Chapperon Lake.”’

- (127) ilí? q̣sápi í? sqilx^w ka? c-ʔúllus mat l
 DEM long.ago DET people COMP.OBL CUST-gather EPIS LOC
 s-x^waʔ-spíntk-s.
 NOM-many-years-3SG.POSS
 ‘For many years the people came together there.’
- (128) uʔ k^wuk^w ilí? ʔúllus í? sqilx^w.
 CONJ REP DEM gather DET people
 ‘And it was told that the people came together there.’
- (129) yʔat tlaʔkín c-x^wuy í? tɫ nuk^wtəm^w-úlaʔx^w, í? tɫ
 all from.where CISL-go DET LOC Thompson-land DET LOC
 sʔáʔ-əm^x c-x^wuy í? k^wuk^w məʔ.
 Lillooet-people CISL-go DET REP CONJ
 ‘They came from all over the place, the Thompsons, the Lillooets came also.’
- (130) ḳlí? q̣íl-əl-t-ləx uʔ c-x^w-x^wəlx^wált-ləx.
 DEM sick-FRED-t-3PL.ABS CONJ CUST-IRED-alive-3PL.ABS
 ‘They were sick and when they got there they became alive.’
- (131) ʔəx^w-ʔáx^wt-ləx t s-qəmíltən k^wuk^w ití? cəm
 IRED-many.die-3PL.ABS OBL NOM-starve REP DEM EPIS
 ḳəm í? naqs-ílx náxəmʔ ḳlí? yʔáp-əl^x uʔ
 CONJ DET one-family CONJ DEM arrive-3PL.ABS CONJ
 c-x^wəlx^wált-ləx.
 CUST-alive-3PL.ABS
 ‘They say that many died of starvation, except for maybe one family that got there, and they survived.’
- (132) uʔ ixí? n-x^wəlx^wiltán t ṭik^wt, í? q̣^wumq̣n-át^w í?
 CONJ DEM n-life.giving OBL lake DET head-water DET
 ṭik^wt-s.
 lake-3SG.POSS
 ‘And Chapperon Lake is a life-giving lake.’
- (133) ixí? í? i(n)-s-níxl, í? sc-mýmáy-s
 DEM DET 1SG.POSS-NOM-hear DET PERF-teaching-3SG.POSS
 q̣sápi í? sqilx^w.
 long.ago DET people
 ‘That’s what I have heard, that’s the story the old people told.’

- (134) ixíʔ n-x^wəlx^wiltán, q^ʔumqn-átk^w.
 DEM n-life.giving head-water
 ‘The lake will keep you alive.’
- (135) uʔ ʔapnáʔ put ilíʔ c-x^wuy iklíʔ sqilx^w,
 CONJ now just DEM CISL-go DEM people
 ac-múl-əm-əlx t qáqx^wəlx.
 CUST-dipnet-MID-3PL.ABS OBL fish
 ‘And the people still go there and dipnet the fish.’
- (136) ac-múl-st-səlx iʔ qíx^wəlx, iʔ q^wuq^wʔák uʔ
 CUST-dipnet-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET bony.fish DET bony.fish CONJ
 ixíʔ ac-ʔíʔ(s)t-səlx.
 DEM CUST-eat-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 ‘They would fish for the bony fishes and the real rough fishes and eat them.’
- (137) ixíʔ uʔ c-x^wəlx^wált-ləx ixíʔ l sqipc.
 DEM CONJ CUST-alive-3PL.ABS DEM LOC spring
 ‘They became alive in the springtime.’
- (138) uʔ ixíʔ sən-x^wəlx^wiltán iʔ q^ʔumqn-átk^w. way.
 CONJ DEM LOC-life.giving DET head-water the.end
 ‘And Chapperon Lake kept them alive. That’s all.’

8 iʔ tytymúl t tətwit: “The Lazy Boy”

Recorded February 18th, 2010 in Quilchena, BC. Concerning this story, Lottie says “the skull was the one that helped him [the boy] because he disobeyed his people.²⁷ The native people always thought that you have to find your spirit in things, like if it’s a bird or even a fish, or any kind of little animal, the big animals. You fast and go out and sweat and bathe in the rivers, in the lakes, and with fasting, pretty soon you have a vision. So this boy, when he went to sleep on this skull, the skull started talking to him and told him what to do, and told him why his parents left him because he was no use to them. And everybody has to help with survival, and he was of age to be trained and he wouldn’t listen. So that’s what happened to that boy. He became a man and then he rejoined his family... He really had a hard time, but he learned that way, that that is what you have to do. In those days, it was nothing but survival.” Lottie compares the seriousness of the lazy boy’s not providing for his community to the seriousness of a brother and sister having relations (cf. text 1). “When they didn’t like anything, if it’s not the way they wanted it, they would kill.... This boy was to be left to die, he would starve, they didn’t leave anything for him.

27. In other interviews, Lottie states that the skull was an animal skull, possibly a buffalo.

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

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

8.1 Okanagan

qsápi k^wuk^w i? tətúwít. x̣^wílstsəlx. ta?lí? tyty mút k^wuk^w, ?ətxímən. sqíłstsəlx k^wuk^w ła? cpsíxəm i? sqilx^w ła?c... i? snqsilx^ws mət qíłtsəlx, “way sqəłtmix^wwílx, kspíxax!” lut, tí? nyfíp ?ətxímən. ufi? ks?ímxa?x k^wuk^w i? snqsilx^ws, i? łaxəxłxáps. uł q^wa?q^w?áləx k^wuk^w uł cútłəx: “way ksx̣^wílstəm. lut t ackníya?, waṃ cq^wəlq^wílstəm. nínwí?s alá? c?itx, mi k^wu x^wtəłfəlx, mi k^wu ?imx. mi alá? ɬwíntəm mət alá?təm t sqəmíłtn mi ɬlal.” ixí? k^wuk^w s?imxs i? sqilx^w. uł i? c?i?tx uł mat ntəx̣^wəx̣^wqín ki? qíłt. qíłt k^wuk^w uł su(x^wx^w) i? kaw t sqilx^w, sux^wx^w i? sqilx^w. i? x^wtəłfəlx k^wuk^w i? sqəqíqəlx̣s kłfəcəx̣s, way tí yałt súx^wx^wəlx. kłi? k^wuk^w scq^wa?q^w, k^wnxaşqət mat cəq^wcaq^wəq^wmísts. uł k^wuk^w cccq^waq^w uł ks?áyx̣^wtayn uł ?itx. x^w?it k^wuk^w uł... tí k^wuk^w scq^waq^w mat llk^wut i? tł sənpúlxtənsəlx. uł kłi? wiks i? cásyqn acták^w uł iklí? k^wuk^w x^wuy. uł ixí? ilí? nqə?ína?ms i? cásyqn, uł cəq^wa?q^w ilí? uł ?itx. ?itx k^wuk^w uł qíłt. uł qíys. qíys k^wuk^w cúntəm i? t cásyqn: “way k^w q^wəñq^wánt t tətúwít. nínwí?s tł ɬapná? mi k^wu níxłməntx^w, mi k^w xəstwíl x t sqəłtmíx^w. nus ɬláp, k^w qíłt, mi cúnməntəm ka?kín mi x^wuy mi púlstx^w i? sła?cínəm. mi cx^wúystx^w kłə? mi c?áq^wntx^w mi k^w ?íłn. mi k^wúləm t akłcítx^w i? t sípi?” uł ixí? s?x̣íłəms k^wuk^w qíłt. uł ixí? sx^wuys i? kł cúnməntəm ka?kín mi x^wuy. uł way ilí? k^wuk^w i? sła?cínəm. uł ɬapəntís uł t stím mat təx^w ki? púlsts. mat t swłwlmínk kəṃ mat t cəłnútya?. uł púlsts uł ixí? cłx^wúysts i? kł sənpúlxtən. uł ?x̣íłəm ití? uł mat k^wnxx^wa?ásqət spíx̣əms. uł xəwntís k^wuk^w i? słiq^w. cmystís k^wa? mat ks-x?kis cəcəx̣sts i? łaxəxłxáps. uł ixí? kłíq^ws uł xəwntís. uł ?íłn, xəstwíl x, wrám. xí??, uł i? sqilx^w i? t x̣^wílstəm k^wuk^w cútłəx “way cak^w ?awsɬácntəm mat stím

i? cawts.” u? k^wuk^w ixi? xa?tu? s, scx^wúys. x^wuy k^wuk^w kli? ka?ítət u? wiks i? spu?úl. u? ka?ítət u? wiks i? s?iq^w actəqíl x u? ta?ít x^w?it. u? i? sípi? k^wuk^w ack?íq^w yə?yáft ta?kín. u?á? k^wk^wúl?x^wəm t ksənpúlxtəns mat i? t sípi?, k^wuls i? sən?x^wu-?x^wáyaqn. u? ixi? k^wuk^w scútstsəlx, “o, way ?əstwíl x i? sqəltmíx^w, way qilx^wm.” u? ta?lí? k^wuk^w ?mínksəlx. cútłəx k^wuk^w “way, way ti ks?lítntəm mi cx^wuy kla? mním?tət mi k^wu cknxítəm k^wu ?a? cpí?əm.” ?əstwíl x i? sqəltmíx^w ixi? tl ?x^wílstsəlx u? q^wəñq^wánt. u? cak^w lut ?a? qi?ys i? t cásyqns... mat təx^w stim i? ?a? k?cásyqn u? ixi? cq^wəlq^wílstəm. u? itlí? ki? qilx^wm i? sqəltmíx^w, u? ta?t k^wuk^w sysyús. ná?əm? q^wəñq^wníl x^w t x^wa?ásqət sic x^wlal. ixi? isníxl i? captík^w?. way.

8.2 English

A long time ago, there was a boy. They abandoned him. He was very lazy and slept lots. They woke him up, when the people were getting wood for the fire. When their relatives woke him up, they said “Come on, it’s time to become a man, go hunting!” No, he always just slept lots.²⁸ And they say his relatives, his elders, decided to move. They got together and talked about him, and they said: “Now we will abandon him. He doesn’t listen, it was no use talking to him. And when he is asleep, we will get up and we will move. We will leave him behind, and left here, he’ll starve to death, he’ll die.” Then the people moved. And he slept (a long time) and it was afternoon when he woke up. He woke up and there was no one around, everyone was gone. He woke up (and got frightened), and ran around looking and there was no one around. He must have cried, how many days he was crying to himself. He cried and got very very tired, and went to sleep, for a long time. And he must have cried; it must have been just a little ways to their camping place. And then he saw a skull in the bushes and he went to it. He laid his head on the skull, and cried and went to sleep. He slept and woke up. And he dreamt. He dreamt and he was told by the skull: “You are a pitiful boy But if you listen to me now, you will become a good man. Tomorrow you will wake up, you will be told where to go, and you will kill a deer. You will bring it to where you will spend the summer, and you will eat. And build a house out of hides.” And that’s what he did (like the skull said), he woke up. And he went to where he was told to go. And sure enough, there was a deer there. And he shot it, and it must’ve been with something that he killed it. Maybe with a gun, or maybe with a bow and arrow. And he killed it and brought it back to camp. He did that and he must have hunted many days. And he dried the meat. He knew how by watching his parents. And he had meat, and he dried it. And he ate, he got better, he built a fire. Meanwhile, the people who abandoned him, they said “We should go see what he’s doing.” And the leader went (to check on him). He went and as he approached he saw smoke from a fire. He approached and he saw a lot of dried meat around there. And the hides were hanging all over. He made his house with the hides, he made a tepee. And they said “Oh you’ve become a good man, you have become a human.” And

28. Lottie says this boy just waited for his parents or his elders to feed him.

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

8.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (139) q̣sápi k^wuk^w iʔ tətʷít. ʃ^wíl-st-səl̥x.
 long.ago REP DET boy abandon-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 ‘A long time ago, there was a boy. They abandoned him.’
- (140) taʔlíʔ ʔỵtymúʔ k^wuk^w, ʔət̥x-ímən.
 very lazy REP sleep-lots
 ‘He was very lazy and slept lots.’
- (141) s-qíʔ-st-səl̥x k^wuk^w ʔaʔ c-psíx-əm
 s-wake.up-CAUS-3PL.ERG REP COMP CUST-carry.wood.on.back-MID
 iʔ sqilx^w ʔaʔ-c²⁹ ...
 DET people COMP-CUST ...
 ‘They woke him up, when the people were getting wood for the fire.’
- (142) iʔ snqsilx^w-s məʔ qíʔt-səl̥x, “waỵ
 DET relatives-3SG.POSS CONJ wake.up-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG yes
 sqəʔtmix^w-wíʔx, ks-píʃ-aʔx!”
 man-DEV FUT-hunt-INCEPT
 ‘When their relatives woke him up, they said “Come on, it’s time to become a man, go hunting!”’
- (143) lut, ʔiʔ nỵʔip ʔət̥x-ímən.
 NEG EMPH always sleep-lots
 ‘No, he always just slept lots.’
- (144) uʔiʔ ks-ʔímx-aʔx k^wuk^w iʔ snqsilx^w-s,
 CONJ FUT-move.residence-INCEPT REP DET relatives-3SG.POSS
 iʔ ʔəʃəʃəʃáʔp-s.
 DET elders-3SG.POSS
 ‘And they say his relatives, his elders, decided to move.’

29. This unfinished sentence ending in ʔaʔc helps confirm that speakers think of the complementizer plus customary prefix as a single unit.

- (145) uł q^waʔq^wʔál-(l)əx k^wuk^w uł cú-t-ləx:
 CONJ discuss-3PL.ABS REP CONJ say-3PL.ABS
 ‘They got together and talked about him, and they said.’
- (146) “way^ʔ ks-š^wíl-st-əm. lut t̄ ac-kn̄íyaʔ,
 yes FUT-abandon-CAUS-1PL.ERG NEG EMPH CUST-listen
 wam̄ c-q^wəlq^wíl-st-əm.
 to.no.avail CUST-talk-CAUS-1PL.ERG
 ‘Now we will abandon him. He doesn’t listen, it was no use talking to him.’”
- (147) n̄n̄wiʔs aláʔ c-ʔitx, mi k^wu x^wtəlíləx,
 in.a.while DEM CUST-sleep COMP.FUT 1PL.ABS get.up(PL)
 mi k^wu ʔimx.
 COMP.FUT 1PL.ABS move.residence
 ‘And when he is asleep, we will get up and we will move.’”
- (148) mi aláʔ ʔwín-(n)t-əm mət̄ aláʔ-(n)t-əm
 COMP.FUT DEM leave-DIR-1PL.ERG CONJ DEM-DIR-1PL.ERG
 t̄ s-qəmílt̄n mi ʔl̄al.”
 OBL NOM-starve COMP.FUT dead
 ‘We will leave him behind, and left here, he’ll starve to death, he’ll die.’”
- (149) ixíʔ k^wuk^w s-ʔimx-s iʔ sqilx^w.
 DEM REP NOM-move.residence-3SG.POSS DET people
 ‘Then the people moved.’
- (150) uł iʔ c-ʔi^wtx uł mat̄ ntəš^wəš^wqín kiʔ
 CONJ DET CUST-sleep CONJ EPIS afternoon COMP.OBL
 qiʔt.
 wake.up
 ‘And he slept (a long time) and it was afternoon when he woke up.’
- (151) qiʔt k^wuk^w uł su(x^w-x^w)³⁰ iʔ kaw t̄ sqilx^w,
 wake.up REP CONJ leave-FRED DET gone OBL people
 sux^wx^w iʔ sqilx^w.
 leave-FRED DET people
 ‘He woke up and there was no one around, everyone was gone.’

30. In the recording there is a stranded syllable *su*, which I reconstruct as a probable instance of *sux^wx^w*, based on the fact that it occurs immediately after as a full form.

- (152) iʔ x^wtíʔləx k^wuk^w iʔ s-qc-qícəlx-s
 DET get.up REP DET NOM-IRED-run-3SG.POSS
 kʰ-ʔac̣x̣-s, waỵ ti yaʔt
 kʰ-see-(DIR)-3SG.POSS(?) yes EMPH all
 súx^w-x^w-əlx.
 leave-FRED-3PL.ABS
 ‘He woke up (and got frightened), and ran around looking and there was no one around.’
- (153) kʰliʔ k^wuk^w s-čq^wa^wq^w, k^wnx-ásqət mat
 DEM REP NOM-cry how.many-days EPIS
 čq^w-čaq^wəq^w-mí-st-s.
 IRED-cry-MIN-CAUS-3SG.ERG
 ‘He must have cried, how many days he was crying to himself.’
- (154) uʔ k^wuk^w c-č-čq^waq^w uʔ k(ʔ)-s-ʔáyx^wt-ayn uʔ
 CONJ REP CUST-IRED-cry CONJ HAVE-NOM-tired-very CONJ
 ʔitx.
 sleep
 ‘He cried and got very very tired, and went to sleep, for a long time.’
- (155) x^wʔit k^wuk^w uʔ... ti k^wuk^w s-čq^waq^w mat l-lk^wut iʔ
 many REP CONJ EMPH REP NOM-cry EPIS IRED-far DET
 tʰl sənpúlxtən-səlx.
 LOC camping.place-3PL.POSS
 ‘And he must have cried; it must have been just a little ways to their camping place.’
- (156) uʔ kʰliʔ wik-s iʔ čásyqn ac-ták^w uʔ
 CONJ DEM see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET skull STAT-bush CONJ
 iklíʔ k^wuk^w x^wuy.
 DEM REP go
 ‘And then he saw a skull in the bushes and he went to it.’
- (157) uʔ ixíʔ ilíʔ nqəʔínaʔ-m-s iʔ čásyqn, uʔ
 CONJ DEM DEM pillow-MID-3SG.POSS DET skull CONJ
 čq^wa^wq^w ilíʔ uʔ ʔitx.
 cry DEM CONJ sleep
 ‘He laid his head on the skull, and cried and went to sleep.’
- (158) ʔitx k^wuk^w uʔ qiʔt.
 sleep REP CONJ wake.up
 ‘He slept and woke up.’

- (159) uł qiys.
 CONJ dream
 ‘And he dreamt.’
- (160) qiys kwukw cún-(n)t-əm i? t cásyqn:
 dream REP say-DIR-PASS DET OBL skull
 ‘He dreamt and he was told by the skull.’
- (161) “way kw qwəŋqʷánt t tətwt.
 AFFIRM 2SG.ABS pitiful OBL boy
 ‘“You are a pitiful boy.”’
- (162) nínwi?s tl ʔapná? mi kwu níxl-mə-nt-xʷ,
 in.a.while LOC now COMP.FUT 1SG.ABS hear-MIN-DIR-2SG.ERG
 mi kw ʃəst-wílx t sqəltmíxʷ.
 COMP.FUT 2SG.ABS good-DEV OBL man
 ‘“But if you listen to me now, you will become a good man.”’
- (163) nus³¹ ʃláp, kw qit, mi
 in.a.while tomorrow 2SG.ABS wake.up COMP.FUT
 cún-mə-nt-əm kaʔkín mi (kw)³²
 say-MIN-DIR-PASS where COMP.FUT (2SG.ABS)
 xʷuy mi púl-st-xʷ i? sʃaʔcínəm.
 go COMP.FUT kill-CAUS-2SG.ERG DET deer
 ‘“Tomorrow you will wake up, you will be told where to go, and you will kill a deer.”’
- (164) mi c-xʷúy-st-xʷ kla? mi
 COMP.FUT CISEL-go-CAUS-2SG.ERG DEM COMP.FUT
 cʔáqʷ-nt-xʷ mi kw ʔiɬn.
 summer-DIR-2SG.ERG COMP.FUT 2SG.ABS eat
 ‘“You will bring it to where you will spend the summer, and you will eat.”’
- (165) mi (kw) kwúləm t a-kł-cítxʷ
 COMP.FUT (2SG.ABS) make-MID OBL 2SG.POSS-U.POSS-house
 i? t sípiʔ.
 DET OBL hide
 ‘“And build a house out of hides.”’

31. The form *nus* is an abbreviation for *nínwi?s* (A. Mattina, p.c.).

32. In this stanza, and (165), second singular subjects are implied.

- (166) uʃ ixíʔ s-ʔʒíʎəm-s k^wuk^w qiʃt.
 CONJ DEM NOM-do.like-3SG.POSS REP wake.up
 ‘And that’s what he did (like the skull said), he woke up.’
- (167) uʃ ixíʔ s-x^wuy-s iʔ kl cún-mə-nt-əm
 CONJ DEM NOM-go-3SG.POSS DET LOC say-MIN-DIR-PASS
 kaʔkín mi x^wuy.
 where COMP.FUT go
 ‘And he went to where he was told to go.’
- (168) uʃ way ilíʔ k^wuk^w iʔ sʎaʔcínəm.
 CONJ yes DEM REP DET deer
 ‘And sure enough, there was a deer there.’
- (169) uʃ ʔʒap-ənt-ís uʃ t stím mat ʔəx^w kiʔ
 CONJ shoot-DIR-3SG.ERG CONJ OBL what EPIS EVID COMP.OBL
 púl-st-s.
 kill-CAUS-3SG.ERG
 ‘And he shot it, and it must’ve been with something that he killed it.’
- (170) mat t swlwlmin kəm mat t cǫlnútyaʔ.
 EPIS OBL gun CONJ EPIS OBL arrow
 ‘Maybe with a gun, or maybe with a bow and arrow.’
- (171) uʃ púl-st-s uʃ ixíʔ c-ʔ-x^wúy-st-s
 CONJ kill-CAUS-3SG.ERG CONJ DEM CISL-return-go-CAUS-3SG.ERG
 iʔ kl sənpúlxtən.
 DET LOC camp
 ‘And he killed it and brought it back to camp.’
- (172) uʃ ʔʒíʎ-əm itíʔ uʃ mat k^wnx-x^waʔ-ásqət
 CONJ do.like-MID DEM CONJ EPIS how.many-many-day
 s-píʒ-əm-s.
 NOM-hunt-MID-3SG.POSS
 ‘He did that and he must have hunted many days.’
- (173) uʃ ʒəw^ʔ-nt-ís k^wuk^w iʔ sʃiq^w.
 CONJ dry-DIR-3SG.ERG REP DET meat
 ‘And he dried the meat.’

- (174) c-my-st-ís k^waʔ mat ks-xʔki(n-st)-s
 CUST-know-CAUS-3SG.ERG COMP EPIS FUT-do.how-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG
 c-ʔac^h-st-s iʔ ʔəxəx^hʔap-s.
 CUST-look-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET elders-3SG.POSS
 ‘He knew how by watching his parents.’
- (175) uʔ ixíʔ k(ʔ)-4iq^w-s uʔ ʔəw^h-nt-ís.
 CONJ DEM HAVE-meat-3SG.POSS CONJ dry-DIR-3SG.ERG
 ‘And he had meat, and he dried it.’
- (176) uʔ ʔiʔn, ʔəst-wílx, wí-ám.
 CONJ eat good-DEV build.fire-MID
 ‘And he ate, he got better, he built a fire.’
- (177) (i)xíʔ, uʔ iʔ sqilx^w iʔ t ʔ^wíl-st-əm k^wuk^w
 DEM CONJ DET people DET OBL abandon-CAUS-PASS REP
 cúʔ-ləx “way cak^w ʔaws-ʔác-nt-əm mat sim^h
 say-3PL.ABS yes BOUL go-look-DIR-1PL.ERG EPIS what
 iʔ cawt-s.”
 DET doings-3SG.POSS
 ‘Meanwhile, the people who abandoned him, they said “We should go
 see what he’s doing.”’
- (178) uʔ k^wuk^w ixíʔ xaʔtús, sc-x^wúy-s.
 CONJ REP DEM leader PERF-go-3SG.POSS
 ‘And the leader went (to check on him).’
- (179) x^wuy k^wuk^w k^hliʔ kaʔítət uʔ wik-s iʔ
 go REP DEM approach CONJ see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET
 s-puʔúʔ.
 NOM-smoke.from.a.fire
 ‘He went and as he approached he saw smoke from a fire.’
- (180) uʔ kaʔítət uʔ wik-s iʔ s^hiq^w
 CONJ approach CONJ see-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET meat
 ac-təqílx uʔ taʔt x^wʔit.
 STAT-put.there CONJ sure much
 ‘He approached and he saw a lot of dried meat around there.’
- (181) uʔ iʔ sípiʔ k^wuk^w ac-k^híq^w yəʔyáʔt taʔkín.
 CONJ DET hides REP STAT-hang all where
 ‘And the hides were hanging all over.’

- (182) uʃáʔ kʷ-kʷúl-ʃxʷ-əm t k(ʃ)-sənpúlxtən-s mat
 CONJ IRED-make-house-MID OBL U.POSS-camp-3SG.POSS EPIS
 iʔ t sípíʔ, kʷúl-s iʔ sənʃʷuʃʷáyaqn³³.
 DET OBL hides make-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET tepee
 ‘He made his house with the hides, he made a tepee.’
- (183) uʃ ixíʔ kʷukʷ s-cút-st-səlx, “o, wayʔ ʃəst-wílx
 CONJ DEM REP NOM-say-CAUS-3PL.ERG oh yes good-DEV
 iʔ sqəltmíxʷ, wayʔ qilxʷ-m.”
 DET man yes person-MID
 ‘And they said “Oh you’ve become a good man, you have become a human.”’
- (184) uʃ taʔlíʔ kʷukʷ ʃmínk-səlx.
 CONJ very REP like-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 ‘And they liked it very much.’
- (185) cút-ləx kʷukʷ “wayʔ, wayʔ tí ks-ʃlít-nt-əm
 say-3PL.ABS REP yes yes EMPH FUT-invite-DIR-1PL.ERG
 mi c-xʷuy klaʔ mnímʃtət mi kʷu
 COMP.FUT CISL-go DEM 1PL.INDEP COMP.FUT 1PL.ABS
 c-knxít-əm kʷu ʃaʔ c-píʃ-əm.”
 CUST-help-DIR-PASS 1PL.ABS COMP CUST-hunt-MID
 ‘And then they said “Yes, we invite you to come to us, to help us when we go hunting.”’
- (186) ʃəst-wílx iʔ sqəltmíxʷ ixíʔ tʃ ʃʷíl-st-səlx
 good-DEV DET man DEM LOC abandon-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 uʃ qʷəŋqʷánt.
 CONJ pitiful
 ‘He became a good man, he who they abandoned so pitifully.’
- (187) uʃ cakʷ lut ʃaʔ qiýs iʔ t cásýqn-s...
 CONJ BOUL NEG COMP dream DET OBL skull-3SG.POSS
 ‘And if it wasn’t for his dream about the skull...’
- (188) mat ʃəxʷ stím iʔ ʃaʔ kʃ-cásýqn uʃ ixíʔ
 EPIS EVID what DET COMP HAVE-skull CONJ DEM
 c-qʷəlqʷíl-st-əm.
 CUST-talk-CAUS-PASS
 ‘And it must have been because of the skull and what it told him to do.’

33. See Mattina (1987, 260) for this form for ‘tepee’. He includes laryngealization on the lexical suffix *-qni*, however there is no perceptible laryngealization in Lottie’s pronunciation of this word.

- (189) uł itlí? ki? qilx^w-m i? sqəltmíx^w, uł tałt
 CONJ DEM COMP.OBL person-MID DET man CONJ sure
 k^wuk^w sysyús.
 REP wise
 ‘And that’s how the man survived (became a person), and he must have
 been very wise.’
- (190) náxəməł q^wəñq^wn-íl^w t x^wa?-ásqəł sic x^wl-al.
 CONJ poor-person OBL many-day then alive-FRED
 ‘But he was a pitiful and hungry person for many days, before he
 became alive.’³⁴
- (191) ixí? i(n)-s-níxl i? captík^wł. way.
 DEM 1SG.POSS-NOM-hear DET legend yes
 ‘This is the legend that I have heard. That’s all.’

9 ła? ckawíwləx i? sqilx^w: “When the people became old”

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

9.1 Okanagan

qsápi i? sqilx^w k^wuk^w, tí ... ła?c ... yaŷyáŷt sʰəłʰʰált actəx^wcəncútləx.
 lut tə ksc^wúlləx tí kmax ixí? sk^wúlsəlx i? stəx^wcəncút uł t kslípsəlx t kscwársəlx.
 uł ixí? cáwtsəlx nyŷíp ilí? c?əłlwíwəlx məł qíxúla?x^w k^wuk^w i? sənpúłxtənsəlx
 məł ixí? klí? s?áxəłxsəlx. ʔíməlx. ła?ł?ámləx ta?kín mi ł nk^wúlməlx t ksən-
 púłxtənsəlx. uł tí k^wuk^w ac?łləməlx uł i? sqilx^w ła? ckəwíwləx. uł k^wuk^w i?
 pəptwínax^w kí?wləx. uł cut k^wuk^w “x^wúywi. alá? k^wu łwíntp. way incá? kn
 q^wəñq^wantwílx, tí kmax kn ma?má?ł. lut, lut nix^w alá?, níwí? s k^wu k^wlína?ntp
 tí inyámx^wa?. məł p x^wuy. lut nix^w kłcx^wúymp mi mypnúntp sx?kína?x ki?
 kn ɬlál. tí x^wúywi ta nyŷíp. ixí? i? nk^wúlməns k^wuk^w tl qsápi i? sqilx^w. pnicí?
 lúta? cliq^wwíx^wəlx. tí kmax k^wuk^w cx^wúyləx l sc?ásxən. məł ilí? kpk^wína?səlx
 i? t sc?ásxən i? l ... acɬlál. uł ʔłłstsəlx k^wuk^w ití? pəptwínax^w, k^wlína?səlx uł
 łwíwəlx. ta?lí? qíłt i? spu?úsəlx náxəməł mi xí? mat a? nk^wúlmənsəlx tl qsápi,
 ła? ksk^wlína?səlx mi łwíwəlx i? stəmtíma?səlx. ixí? qsápi a? nk^wúlməns k^wuk^w
 i? sqilx^w, uł cklá? mat uł mypnúsəlx kskc?asxna?łsəlx i? t sc?asx. məł ilí?

34. Lottie translates this sentence as including the adjectives ‘pitiful and hungry’, which makes possible an analysis of the Okanagan as overtly containing the word for hungry within a sequence *q^wəñq^wn ʔilx^wt* ‘pitiful hungry’. Because ‘pitiful’ normally ends in a -t (i.e. *q^wəñq^wánt*) with stress falling on the second syllable, I rather analyze the form as not including ‘hungry’ at all, but the lexical suffix for ‘people’ *ilx^w*.

k^wa? lut stim¹ i? ncíqula?x^wəməlx, lut ?ak?lapáləx lut ?akstímləx ksk^wúləmsəlx t kɛnlíq̄mənsəlx. uʔ ti kc?ásxna?səlx i? sq^wsi? i? ʔa? cɛɫláləx. k^wuk^w i? sk^wk^wíyməlt ʔa? cɫlál kʔaciw̄sísəlx ilí? mat i? mət t ?fəntəm t skəkʔáka? mət i? saʔsáʔt kl, i? kl ʔəq̄ula?x^w. mət plak i? kl ʔəq̄ula?x^w. ixí? q̄sápi k^wuk^w i? nk^wúlməns i? sqilx^w ʔa? ckəwíwləxəlx atá? myaʔq̄sápi?... k^wa? i? sqilx^w mat, taʔlí? skəwíwləx sic ac-, lut acx^wəlx^wáltləx mət mnímɛcəlx t kspuʔúsəlx mi cʔxiʔ ití? ksk^wúləntəməlx. ixí? a? nk^wúlməns q̄sápi k^wuk^w i? sqilx^w ʔa? ckəwíwləxəlx. ?awscpuʔúsləx uʔ cut “cmay kn maʔmáʔt ti k^wu k^wlína?ntp, mi k^wu ʔwíntp.” ixí? nk^wúlməns q̄sápi i? sqilx^w. ixí? way.

9.2 English

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

9.3 Interlinear Gloss

(192) q̄sápi i? sqilx^w k^wuk^w, ti ... ʔaʔ-c ... yaʔyaʔt
 long.ago DET people REP EMPH ... COMP-CUST ... all
 sɫəɫʃáɫt ac-təx^w-cən-cút-ləx.
 day CUST-gather-mouth-REFLEX-3PL.ABS
 ‘A long time ago, the people gathered food every day.’

- (193) lut t̄ə ksc-k̄^wúl-ləx t̄i kmax ixí?
 NEG EMPH PAST.PERF-make-3PL.ABS EMPH only DEM
 s-k̄^wúl-səlx i? s-təx^w-cən-cút
 NOM-make-3PL.POSS DET NOM-gather-mouth-REFLEX
 uʔ t k(ʔ)-slíp-səlx t
 CONJ OBL U.POSS-firewood-3PL.POSS OBL
 k(ʔ)-s-c-wár-səlx.
 U.POSS-NOM-CUST-fire-3PL.POSS
 ‘They didn’t make anything, only their food, and their firewood for their fires.’
- (194) uʔ ixí? cáwt-səlx nyʔip ilí? c-ʔaǰlwís-əlx
 CONJ DEM doings-3PL.POSS always DEM CUST-travel.around-3PL.ABS
 məʔ q̄iǰ-úlaʔx^w k^wuk^w i? sənpúlxtən-səlx məʔ ixí?
 CONJ clear-land REP DET camp-3PL.POSS CONJ DEM
 kli? s-ʔáǰəlx-səlx.
 DEM NOM-do.something-3PL.POSS
 ‘And what they did, they always travelled around there and cleared land for their camp and then they moved there.’
- (195) ʔím-x-əlx.
 move.residence-3PL.ABS
 ‘They moved (camp).’
- (196) ʔaʔǰʔ-ám-ləx taʔkín mi ʔ
 look.for-MID-3PL.ABS where COMP.FUT COMP
 n-k̄^wúl-m-əlx t k(ʔ)-sənpúlxtən-səlx.
 n-make-MID-3PL.ABS OBL U.POSS-camp-3PL.POSS
 ‘They looked for where they could make their camp.’
- (197) uʔ t̄i k^wuk^w ac-ʔǰləm-əlx uʔ i? sqilx^w
 CONJ EMPH REP CUST-do.like-3PL.ABS CONJ DET people
 ʔaʔ c-kəw-íw-ləx.
 COMP STAT-get.old-FRED-body
 ‘And this is what the people did when they became old.’
- (198) uʔ k^wuk^w i? pəptwínax^w kí^w-ləx.
 CONJ REP DET old.woman old-body
 ‘There was an old woman that was old.’

- (199) uł cut k^wuk^w “x^wúy-wi. alá? k^wu ɬwín-(n)t-p.
 CONJ say REP go-PL DEM 1SG.ABS leave-DIR-2PL.ERG
 way^ˈ incá kn q^wəŋq^want-wílx, tí kmax
 yes 1SG.INDEP 1SG.ABS pitiful-DEV EMPH only
 kn ma?má?t.
 1SG.ABS nuisance
 ‘And she said “You all go, you guys leave me here. I have become
 pitiful and am just a nuisance.”’
- (200) lut, lut nix^w alá?, nínwí?s k^wu k^wlína?-nt-p
 NEG NEG again DEM in.a.while 1SG.ABS cover-DIR-2PL.ERG
 tí in-yámx^wa?. məł p x^wuy.
 EMPH 1SG.POSS-basket CONJ 2PL.ABS go
 ‘“No, don’t come here again, just keep me covered with my basket.
 Then you all go.”’
- (201) lut nix^w kł-c-x^wúy-mp mi
 NEG again U.POSS-CISL-go-2PL.POSS COMP.FUT
 my-p-nú(n)-nt-p sx?kín-a?x
 know-INCH-MANAGE.TO-DIR-2PL.ERG how-INTR
 ki? kn ɬlál.”
 COMP.OBL 1SG.ABS dead
 ‘“You all will never come back and find out what happened, how I
 die.”’
- (202) tí x^wúy-wi ta nyŋip.
 EMPH go-PL EMPH always
 ‘And they kept on going.’
- (203) ixí? i? nk^wúlmən-s k^wuk^w tl q^sápi i? sqilx^w.
 DEM DET habit-3SG.POSS REP LOC long.ago DET people
 ‘Those were the ways of the people of long ago.’
- (204) pnicí? lúta? c-liq-nwíx^w-əlx.
 at.that.time NEG CUST-bury-RECIP-3PL.ABS
 ‘At that time they didn’t bury one another.’
- (205) tí kmax k^wuk^w c-x^wúy-ləx l sc?ásxən.
 EMPH only REP CISL-go-3PL.ABS LOC shale
 ‘They only brought them to the shale.’

- (206) məʔ ilíʔ k-pk^wínaʔ-səlx iʔ
 CONJ DEM k-throw.something.on.a.surface-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DET
 t scʔásxən iʔ l ... ac-ʔlál.
 OBL shale DET LOC ... STAT-dead
 ‘And there throw the shale over those who died.’
- (207) uʔ ʔxíl-st-səlx k^wuk^w itíʔ pəptwínax^w,
 CONJ do.like-CAUS-3PL.ERG REP DEM old.woman
 k^wlínaʔ-səlx uʔ ʔwí(n)-səlx.
 cover-(DIR)-3PL.ERG CONJ leave-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 ‘And that’s what they did with the old woman, they covered her up and left her.’
- (208) taʔlíʔ ʔílt iʔ spuʔús-(s)əlx náxəmʔ mi
 very sick DET heart-3PL.POSS CONJ COMP.FUT
 (i)xíʔ mat aʔ nk^wúlmən-səlx tl ʔsápi, ʔaʔ
 DEM EPIS DET habit-3PL.POSS LOC long.ago COMP
 ks-k^wlínaʔ-səlx mi ʔwí(n)-səlx
 FUT-cover-(DIR)-3PL.ERG COMP.FUT leave-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 iʔ stəmtímaʔ-səlx.
 DET grandmother-3PL.POSS
 ‘Their hearts were sick but that’s how they must’ve done it long ago, they covered up their grandmothers and left them.’
- (209) ixíʔ ʔsápi aʔ nk^wúlmən-s k^wuk^w iʔ sqilx^w, uʔ
 DEM long.ago DET habit-3SG.POSS REP DET people CONJ
 c-kláʔ mat uʔ my-p-nú(n)-səlx
 LOC-DEM EPIS CONJ know-INCH-MANAGE.TO-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 ks-k-cʔasxnaʔ-ísəlx iʔ t scʔasxn.
 FUT-k-shale-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DET OBL shale
 ‘Those were the ways of the people long ago, and this way they must’ve known to cover them with shale.’
- (210) məʔ ilíʔ k^waʔ lut stím iʔ n-cíq-ulaʔx^w-əm-əlx,
 CONJ DEM COMP NEG what DET n-dig-ground-MID-3PL.ABS
 lut ʔakʔ-lapál-(l)əx lut ʔak(ʔ)-stím-ləx
 NEG HAVE-shovel-3PL.ABS NEG HAVE-what-3PL.ABS
 ks-k^wúl-əm-səlx t kʔ-n-líqmən-səlx.
 FUT-make-MID-3PL.POSS OBL U.POSS-n-grave-3PL.POSS
 ‘They didn’t have anything to dig in the ground, no shovels or anything to make their graves with.’

- (211) uʃ ti k-cʔásxnaʔ-səlx iʔ sqʷsiʔ iʔ ʃaʔ
 CONJ EMPH k-shale-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DET children DET COMP
 c-n-ʃlál-(l)əx.
 CUST-n-dead-3PL.ABS
 ‘They just put their children under the shale when they died.’
- (212) kʷukʷ iʔ skʷkʷɿməlt ʃaʔ c-ʃlál k-ʃac-iʷs-ísəlx
 REP DET child COMP CUST-dead k-tie-bundle-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 ilíʔ mat iʔ məʃ t ʔíʃ-ənt-əm t skəkʃákaʔ
 DEM EPIS DET CONJ OBL eat-DIR-PASS OBL birds
 məʃ iʔ saʃsáʃt kl, iʔ kl ʃəqʷ-ulaʔxʷ məʃ
 CONJ DET fall LOC DET LOC wide-area CONJ
 ʔlak iʔ kl ʃəqʷ-ulaʔxʷ.³⁵
 return DET LOC wide-area
 ‘And when a child died, they were tied up (in the trees) and then they were eaten by birds and then they fell to the ground, returning back to the earth.’
- (213) ixíʔ ʔsápi kʷukʷ iʔ nkʷúlmən-s iʔ sqilxʷ ʃaʔ
 DEM long.ago REP DET habit-3SG.POSS DET people COMP
 c-kəw-íw-ləx-əlx atáʔ myaʃ-ʔsápiʔ...
 CUST-old-FRED-body-3PL.ABS DEM very-long.ago
 ‘Those were the ways of the people long ago, when they became too old.’
- (214) ...kʷaʔ iʔ sqilxʷ mat, taʔlíʔ s-kəw-íw-ləx sic
 COMP DET people EPIS very NOM-old-FRED-body then
 ac-, lut ac-xʷəlxʷált-ləx məʃ mnímʃcəlx
 CUST- NEG CUST-alive-3PL.ABS CONJ 3PL.INDEP
 t k(ʃ)-spuʔús-(s)əlx mi cʔxiʃ itíʔ
 OBL U.POSS-heart-3PL.POSS COMP.FUT like DEM
 ks-kʷúʃ-ənt-əm-əlx.
 FUT-make-DIR-PASS-3PL.ABS
 ‘They must have been very old before they.... they didn’t keep them alive, but hardened their hearts before they did that to them.’

35. I found it surprising that the word ʃəqʷulaʔxʷ clearly has a stressed schwa. The stressed vowel does not sound like a retracted version of /i/ (e.g. [e]). This vowel should possibly be represented by [ʌ], rather than [ə].

- (215) ixíʔ aʔ nkʷúlmən-s q̣sápi kʷukʷ iʔ sqilxʷ ʔaʔ
 DEM DET habit-3SG.POSS long.ago REP DET people COMP
 c-kəw-íw-ləx-əl̩x.
 CUST-old-FRED-body-3PL.ABS
 ‘Those were the ways of the people long ago, when they became old.’
- (216) ʔaws-c-puʔús-ləx uʔ cut “cmay kn maʔmáʔt
 go-CUST-heart-3PL.ABS CONJ say EPIS 1SG.ABS nuisance
 ʔi kʷu kʷlínaʔ-nt-p, mi kʷu
 EMPH 1SG.ABS cover-DIR-2PL.ERG COMP.FUT 1SG.ABS
 ʔwín-(n)t-p.”
 leave-DIR-2PL.ERG
 ‘They’d harden their hearts and say “I might be a nuisance, just cover me up and leave me.”’
- (217) ixíʔ nkʷúlmən-s q̣sápi iʔ sqilxʷ. ixíʔ waỵ.
 DEM habit-3SG.POSS long.ago DET people DEM yes
 ‘Those were the ways of the people long ago. That’s all.’

10 I nə́qáqsuʔ: “At Minnie Lake”

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

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

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

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

Nellie: At the end of this lake what they call Minnie Lake, the Indians call it

nəqáqsut, that means... see the dead fish dies off every so many years, I don't know it, I've lived this long, but I just don't know it, I've never asked my mother how long before they die off and then the new fish lays up again.

Yvonne: What was the word for Minnie Lake?

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

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

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

So he stood there for awhile, and then he started walking again, he took off his snowshoes and he packed them. He was going along, he could see the shadow again, and he looked, he could hear that "thump, thump" like, you know. Now he was puzzled, he didn't know what to think of it. And he watched, you know, the sky. And he was just going to go, and he saw something like a, like

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

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

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

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

Early in the morning they all went, said “You got to take your snowshoes, you can’t tell it might get warm, and you go right through the snow, it’s deep.” So they packed all their snowshoes and went up. When they got there, the animals seen the people, I guess, they were just, they tried to jump and they couldn’t make it. And they could just walk themselves on top of the... whether

it's snow and ice, see, when it melts it's spring, and then get cold in the evening, and just turn into ice, just clear ice. And then when they got there, he took them to his corral, to the animals, and he told them "Well you come and see it yourself. And don't try to kill more than what you can keep, to keep you alive." He said "We're not just coming here to waste this good food. Who can kill two, well, can kill two. Who can manage to take it all, not to waste it." So they said "All right, we'll do that." And then they killed just what they wanted and skinned it, you know, and then cut some off the hide and make a rope like to hold it and pull it, you know. And they put the hide, see, the head this way, or they put the hide that way, and then they put the meat inside the skin, cause the hair would slide on the ice, you know. And that's one way they can pull it easy-like. Always have the head tied, and pull it that way, instead of the legs and then the hair see, comes.... yeah.

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

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

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

hailed it around the ice.

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

Yvonne: What was his name?

Nellie: Noah. And his Indian name is *Tamsq^wúlxən*. *Sq^wəlxán*. That was his Christian name I guess, Noah.

10.1 Okanagan

q̇sápi scut ixí? stəmtíma? ʔa? cʔalʔílx^wt i? sqilx^w. uʔ k^wuk^w ixí?, n̄ípt-
əməŋ ʔəm i? stiŋ ixí? acʔúmstsəlx... scʔxiʔ t sʔaʔcínəŋ, píʔsʔaʔt uʔ k^wuk^w
ckicx alá? t təmx^wúlaʔx^w, uʔ kl... cus ʔapná? nsámaʔcn i? Minnie Lake. ilí?
k^wuk^w xʔkin ʔúllus i? kʔx^wil ixí? t sʔaʔcínəŋ. uʔ k^wuk^w ilí? nxlákəlx mat uʔ
n̄əx^wəx^wúlaʔx^w. uʔ k^wuk^w taʔt kʔx^wil i? smik^wt, mat kl... cʔxiʔ taʔkín təx^w uʔ
kaʔxís ka? nix^wtúlaʔx^w ki? cʔaʔəlwís i? sʔaʔcínəŋ. uʔ ití? sqilx^w mat acx^wúyləx
i? l syríwaxn. uʔ k^wuk^w wíksəlx ilí? acx^wʔú. uʔ kli? x^wúyləx uʔ ʔáćx̄səlx uʔ taʔt
kʔx^wil i? sʔaʔcínəŋ. uʔ lut ixí? t sʔaʔcínəŋ k^waʔ píʔsʔat taʔlí? uʔ ixí? sʔaws̄may-
ntíʔsəlx, x^wúyləx k^wuk^w kl Shulus, mayxíʔsəlx i? sqilx^w uʔ atáʔ kl Coldwater uʔ
klaʔ kl mním̄tət kl Spáx̄məŋ. cútłəx “cx^wúywi, mi p ʔx^wam t kscʔíʔəŋəmp.”
nínwíʔs ilí? ackím̄əŋ i? ʔwníkstəməntəŋ. uʔ ixí?, i? sx^wuys i? sqilx^w. uʔ ʔəx^w-
ntíʔsəlx yaʔyáʔt i? stiŋ mat i? sʔaʔcínəŋ i? x̄mínksəlx. uʔ ʔwníkstəmsəlx i?
k^wíʔt. uʔ ixí? i? sqilx^w cútłəx taʔt mat x^wʔit. i? kmax acmystíʔsəlx i? ksc̄kntíʔsəlx,
cútłəx i? citx^w, i? tl s̄x̄líʔp uʔ k nkmáʔwsqns i? citx^w cʔxiʔ ití? k^wuk^w i? snix^wúts,
i? sx^wʔits i? smik^wt. uʔ kikəŋ ilí? ks̄ləx^wts t sʔaʔcínəŋ, ks̄ləx^wts t sqəŋmíltəŋ.
uʔ ixí? k^wuk^w ac̄mayʔstíʔs istəmtíma? cʔxiʔ taʔkín i? sx^wʔits i? q̇sápi i? smik^wt
ʔa? cmq^waq^w ʔa? cʔistkm. taʔt kʔx^wil. uʔ ti cʔxiʔ t citx^w tl nkmáʔwsqns i? citx^w,
uʔ i? kl s̄x̄líʔps uʔ ití? sx^wʔits k^wuk^w i? smik^wt. uʔ ixí? ka? ac̄ləx^wt yaʔyáʔt
stiŋ mat. saʔx̄ləxúlaʔx^w i? sʔaʔcínəŋ. uʔ ʔapná? k^wu kícəntəŋ i?... ixí? yaʔt
ʔaksk^wíʔt i? sʔaʔcínəŋ uʔ ixí? ʔapná? atá? cʔaʔlwís ʔúmsəlx t moose. ixí?
ʔapná? alá? i? k^wu kícəntəŋ uʔ ixí? nix^w ksk^wíʔt i? l nq^wəlq^wíltəntət uʔ náx̄əŋt
lut acmystín. uʔ ixí? ʔapná? atá? cʔaʔlwís x^wʔit, uʔ ixí? ac̄ləx^wstíʔs ʔapná? i?
smsáma? naʔʔ sqilx^w. ixíxi? i? cəwtsləx t spnicí? mat, uʔ yaʔt swit i? tl syríwaxn
ka? acx^wylwís, lut ʔakʔkəwápləx, lut ʔakstím̄əlx. i? t syríwaxn ka? cx^wylwísəlx

ʔaʔ cʔixəməlx. ixíʔ istəmtímaʔ ixíʔ tɪ k^wu məyxáits cʔxiʔ taʔkín iʔ cawts ʔsápi iʔ sqilx^w. way.

10.2 English

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

10.3 Interlinear Gloss

(218) ʔsápi s-cut-(x) ixíʔ (in)-stəmtímaʔ ʔaʔ
 long.ago NOM-say-INTR DEM 1SG.POSS-grandmother COMP
 c-ʔal-ʔilx^wt iʔ sqilx^w.
 CUST-IREG-hungry DET people
 ‘A long time ago my grandmother said that the people were hungry.’

- (219) uʃ k^wuk^w ixíʔ, nʰípt-əm-ən ʰəm iʔ sti^m
 CONJ REP DEM forget-MIN-(DIR)-1SG.ERG PAST DET what
 ixíʔ ac-ʔúm-st-səl^x...
 DEM CUST-name-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 ‘And there were, I forget what they used to called them...’
- (220) s-cʔxiʃ t sʰaʔcínəm, písʰaʔt uʃ k^wuk^w c-kic-x
 s-like OBL deer, large CONJ REP CISL-arrive-INTR
 aláʔ t təm^xwúlaʔx^w, uʃ kl... cu-s
 DEM OBL land CONJ LOC say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG
 ʃapnáʔ n-sámaʔ-cn iʔ Minnie Lake.
 now n-white.person-speech DET Minnie Lake
 ‘Like a deer, lots of them and they came to this land to what is now
 called Minnie Lake in English.’
- (221) ilíʔ k^wuk^w xʔkin ʔúllus iʔ kʰx^wil ixíʔ t sʰaʔcínəm.
 DEM REP do.what gather DET many DEM OBL deer
 ‘There were gathered there many of these deer.’
- (222) uʃ k^wuk^w ilíʔ n-xlák-əl^x mat uʃ
 CONJ REP DEM n-roam-3PL.ABS EPIS CONJ
 n-ʰəx^w-əx^w-úlaʔx^w.
 n-make.hole-FRED-ground
 ‘And they roamed around in circles and that must have made a hole in
 the ground.’
- (223) uʃ k^wuk^w taʃt kʰx^wil iʔ smik^wt, mat kl... cʔxiʃ taʔkín
 CONJ REP sure many DET snow EPIS LOC like where
 təx^w uʃ kaʔxís kaʔ nix^wt-úlaʔx^w kiʔ
 EVID CONJ DEM COMP.OBL deep-ground COMP.OBL
 c-ʔaʰəl^wís iʔ sʰaʔcínəm.
 CUST-travel DET deer
 ‘And they say there was a lot of snow, over there where the ground is
 deep, where the deer were travelling around.’
- (224) uʃ itíʔ sqilx^w mat ac-x^wúy-ləx iʔ l syríwaxn.
 CONJ DEM people EPIS CUST-go-3PL.ABS DET LOC snowshoes
 ‘And the people from there must have gone there with snowshoes.’
- (225) uʃ k^wuk^w wík-səl^x ilíʔ ac-x^wʔúl.
 CONJ REP see-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DEM STAT-steam
 ‘And they saw something steaming there.’³⁶

- (226) uʃ kʲliʔ xʷúy-ləx uʃ ʔáç̣x̣-səlx uʃ taʃt
 CONJ DEM go-3PL.ABS CONJ look-(DIR)-3PL.ERG CONJ sure
 kʲʃx̣wʲil iʔ sʲʌaʔcínəm.
 many DET deer
 ‘And they went there and looked and there was a lot of deer.’
- (227) uʃ lut ixíʔ t sʲʌaʔcínəm kʷaʔ písʲʌat taʔlíʔ.
 CONJ NEG DEM OBL deer COMP large very
 ‘And not these deers, but lots of really big ones (i.e. elk).’
- (228) uʃ ixíʔ s-ʔaws-máy-nt-ísəlx, xʷúy-ləx kʷukʷ
 CONJ DEM NOM-go-tell-DIR-3PL.ERG go-3PL.ABS REP
 kʲl Shulus, máy-xít-səlx iʔ sqilxʷ uʃ atáʔ
 LOC Shulus tell-BEN-3PL.ERG DET people CONJ DEM
 kʲl Coldwater uʃ kʲlaʔ kʲl mnímʲtət kʲl
 LOC Coldwater CONJ DEM LOC 1PL.INDEP LOC
 Spáxmən.
 Douglas.Lake
 ‘And then they went and told them about what they found, they went to Shulus and told the people, and those from Coldwater, and went to us here in Spáxmən.’
- (229) cúʔ-ləx “c-xʷúy-wi, mi p ʲʌxʷ-am t
 say-3PL.ABS CISL-go-PL FUT 2PL.ABS kill.many-MID OBL
 k(ʃ)-s-cʔíʃən-əmp.”
 U.POSS-NOM-food-2PL.POSS
 ‘They said “Come on, you all go kill some things for your food.” ’
- (230) nʲnʲwʲiʔs ilíʔ ac-kím-əʔm iʔ ʃwníkst-əmə-nt-əm.
 in.a.while DEM STAT-left.behind-FRED DET let.go.of-MIN-DIR-PASS
 ‘And those that were left, they let them go.’
- (231) uʃ ixíʔ, iʔ s-xʷuy-s iʔ sqilxʷ.
 CONJ DEM DET NOM-go-3SG.POSS DET people
 ‘And those were the goings of the people.’

36. Note that in Nellie’s version of the story, it was the sound of the trapped elks which called the hunter, not the sight of steam.

- (232) uł ʎəx^w-nt-ísəlx yaʎyáʎt iʔ stim mat iʔ
 CONJ kill.many-DIR-3SG.ERG all DET thing EPIS DET
 sʎaʔcínəmə iʔ ʃmínk-səlx.
 deer DET want-(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 ‘And they took all of the deers that they wanted.’
- (233) uł ʎwníkst-əm-səlx iʔ k^wiʎt.
 CONJ let.go.of-MIN-(DIR)-3PL.ERG DET rest
 ‘And they let the rest of them go.’
- (234) uł ixíʔ iʔ sqilx^w cúť-ləx taťt mat x^wʔit.
 CONJ DEM DET people say-3PL.ABS sure EPIS many
 ‘And the people said that there must’ve been a lot of them.’
- (235) iʔ kmax ac-my-st-ísəlx iʔ
 DET only CUST-know-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET
 ks-čk-nt-ísəlx, cúť-ləx iʔ citx^w,
 FUT-count.something-DIR-3PL.ERG say-3PL.ABS DET house,
 iʔ tł sʎlíp uł k(l) nk máw sqn-s iʔ citx^w
 DET LOC floor CONJ LOC roof-3SG.POSS DET house
 cʔxiť itíʔ k^wuk^w iʔ s-nix^wút-s, iʔ
 like DEM REP DET NOM-deep-3SG.POSS DET
 s-x^wʔit-s iʔ smík^wt.
 NOM-many-3SG.POSS DET snow
 ‘And the way they figured it, they said a house, from the floor to the
 roof of their houses, was how much snow there was.’
- (236) uł kíkəmə ilíʔ ks-ʎəx^wt-s t sʎaʔcínəmə,
 CONJ almost DEM FUT-dead-3SG.POSS OBL deer,
 ks-ʎəx^wt-s t s-qəmltən.
 FUT-dead-3SG.POSS OBL NOM-starve
 ‘And the deer there almost died, died of starvation.’

- (237) uʔ ixíʔ kʷukʷ ac-máʔ-st-ís
 CONJ DEM REP CUST-tell.someone-CAUS-3SG.ERG
 i(n)-stəmtímaʔ cʔxiʔ taʔkín iʔ s-xʷʔit-s
 1SG.POSS-grandmother like what DET NOM-many-3SG.POSS
 iʔ ʔsápi iʔ smikʷt ʔaʔ c-mqʷaqʷ
 DET long.ago DET snow COMP CUST-falling.snow
 ʔaʔ c-ʔistkm.
 COMP CUST-winter
 ‘And my grandmother told of how much snow used to fall here in winter.’
- (238) taʔt kʔxʷil.
 sure much
 ‘A whole lot of it.’
- (239) uʔ tí cʔxiʔ t citxʷ tɫ nkmáʷsqn-s iʔ
 CONJ EMPH like OBL house LOC roof-3SG.POSS DET
 citxʷ, uʔ iʔ kɫ sʔlɫp-s uʔ itíʔ
 house CONJ DET LOC floor-3SG.POSS CONJ DEM
 s-xʷʔit-s kʷukʷ iʔ smikʷt.
 NOM-many-3SG.POSS REP DET snow
 ‘And like from the roof of a house to the floor is how much it used to snow.’
- (240) uʔ ixíʔ kaʔ c-ʔaxʷt yaʔyáʔt stim mat.
 CONJ DEM COMP.OBL CUST-dead all what EPIS
 ‘And everything must’ve died.’
- (241) s-ʔaʔləx-úlaʔxʷ iʔ sʔaʔcínə̃m.
 NOM-move.from.one.place.to.another-ground DET deer
 ‘The deer moved around from one place to another.’
- (242) uʔ ʔapnáʔ kʷu kíc-ənt-ə̃m iʔ... ixíʔ yaʔt
 CONJ now 1SG.ABS arrive-DIR-PASS DET DEM all
 ʔak(ʔ)-skʷíst iʔ sʔaʔcínə̃m uʔ ixíʔ ʔapnáʔ atáʔ
 HAVE-name DET deer CONJ DEM now DEM
 c-ʔaʔlwís ʔúm-sə̃lx t moose.
 CUST-travel name-(DIR)-3PL.ERG OBL moose
 ‘This is what I was told... everything here now is what they call a deer, but now there are also moose travelling around here.’

- (243) ixíʔ ʔapnáʔ aláʔ iʔ k^wu kíc-ənt-əm uʔ ixíʔ
 DEM now DEM DET 1SG.ABS arrive-DIR-PASS CONJ DEM
 nix^w k(ʔ)-sk^wist iʔ l n-q^wəlq^wíltən-tət uʔ
 also HAVE-name DET LOC n-language-1PL.POSS CONJ
 náxəmʔ lut ac-my-st-ín.
 CONJ NEG CUST-know-CAUS-1SG.ERG
 ‘This is what I was told, and it has a name in our language, but I don’t
 know it.’
- (244) uʔ ixíʔ ʔapnáʔ atáʔ c-ʔaxlwís x^wʔit, uʔ ixíʔ
 CONJ DEM now DEM CUST-travel many CONJ DEM
 ac-ʔəx^w-st-ís ʔapnáʔ iʔ sm-sámaʔ
 CUST-kill.many-CAUS-3PL.ERG now DET IRED-white.person
 náʔ sqilx^w.
 CONJ indian.person
 ‘And a lot of them are travelling around here today, and today the
 whites and the Indians kill them.’
- (245) ixíxiʔ iʔ cáwt-səlx t spnicíʔ mat, uʔ yaʔt
 DEM DET doing-3PL.POSS OBL at.that.time EPIS CONJ all
 swit iʔ tl syríwaxn kaʔ c-x^wylwís, lut
 who DET LOC snowshoes COMP.OBL CUST-travel NEG
 ʔakʔ-kəwáp-ləx, lut ʔak(ʔ)-stím-əlx.
 HAVE-horse-3PL.ABS NEG HAVE-things-3PL.ABS
 ‘That’s what they must have done in times long ago, and everybody
 travelled around on snowshoes, they didn’t have horses or anything.’
- (246) iʔ t syríwaxn kaʔ c-x^wylwís-əlx ʔaʔ
 DET OBL snowshoes COMP.OBL CUST-travel-3PL.ABS COMP.OBL
 c-píxəm-əlx.
 CUST-hunt-3PL.ABS
 ‘They travelled around on snowshoes when they went hunting.’
- (247) ixíʔ i(n)-stəmtímaʔ ixíʔ ʔi k^wu
 DEM 1SG.POSS-grandmother DEM EMPH 1SG.ABS
 máy-xít-s cʔxiʔ taʔkín iʔ cawt-s
 teach-BEN-3SG.ERG like how DET doing-3SG.POSS
 ʔsápi iʔ sqilx^w. way.
 long.ago DET people that’s.all
 ‘That is what my grandmother told me, what the people of long ago did.
 That’s all.’

11 i? n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ: “The Monster In Stump Lake”

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

11.1 Okanagan

qsápi kʷu c̄m̄ayx̄íts i? ʔəx̄əx̄ʔá. uʔ kʷu cúxəl axá? alá? n̄q̄ífm̄əlx, uʔ axá? i? sílxʷa? i? t̄ikʷt. ilí? kʷukʷ i? n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ acʔəx̄l̄wís cʔx̄iʔ. uʔ kʷukʷ ixí? c̄tyaqʷt i? n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ. uʔ kla? kl x̄w̄ítət kl yaʔcín, kl tawn kʷu ʔa? cxʷuy, ilí? i? t̄ikʷt. taʔt ilí? nqʷast uʔ ixí? cʔúmstsəlx t n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ. uʔ ixí? i? p̄əptwínaxʷ i? kʷu m̄ayx̄íts kʷu cus t̄yaqʷt i? n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ. uʔ p̄əpúlsts i? naqs, uʔ yalt, xʷuy kl, tac kl ... Stump Lake. kli? kʷukʷ ki?... uʔ kʷukʷ kli? yalt ixí? i? q̄áqxʷəlx uʔ kʷilk i? siwʔkʷ kʷukʷ acxʔít. uʔ ití? xiʔw̄ilxəlx uʔ ilí? n̄cxʷaxʷ. uʔ ixí? ki? ili? n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ acxʷylwís. uʔ c̄k̄paʔx̄stín ixí? uʔ qsápi kʷu ʔa? cskul kl Kamloops, kʷu ʔa? cʔúkw̄stəm i? smsáma? i? l truck. uʔ cwíkstəm i? s̄x̄əx̄cí? actʔákʷ. ixí? kʷa? mat ʔa? cnʔáq̄m̄əlx, ntəlpítᵏʷəməlx, cnwʔas. uʔ ixí? i? sáma? ki? ʔums t Stump Lake. kʷa? xʷʔit i? s̄təʔíqʷ i? s̄x̄əx̄cí?. accút ixí? p̄əptwínaxʷ, qsápi kʷukʷ lut ixí? ilí? stím kʷukʷ a? cʔx̄íʔ t acnixʷút uʔ yaʔt acc̄əlc̄ál. uʔ yaʔyaʔt ixí? t̄əʔákʷ i? s̄x̄əx̄cí?, uʔ ʔiʔqʷ uʔ ʔapná? uʔ c̄əsáp uʔ t̄i t̄ikʷt. uʔ ixí? ʔəx̄əx̄ʔá c̄útləx ilí? i? n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ ilí? i? sʔáxl̄əlx. uʔ i? kʷix̄t c̄útləx axá? i? t̄ikʷt l n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ kʷa? mat naqsítᵏʷ i? t̄l sílxʷa? i? t̄l siwʔkʷ tac kl ... t̄l sʔuknaq̄inx, kl n̄km̄ápl̄əqs uʔ kl p̄əntíkt̄n. ixí? t siwʔkʷ kʷukʷ kla? t̄əcxʷúy, laʔkín məʔ xʷaʔtkʷw̄ilx, laʔkín məʔ səʔw̄áʔw̄. uʔ ixí? cmystís mat ixí? t swit, nsəʔw̄áʔw̄ məlx uʔ k̄ t̄əx̄w̄əx̄w̄ítᵏʷ. ixí? i? scaptíkʷt̄c axá? alá? i? t̄ikʷt. taʔlí? i? n̄xaʔx̄ʔítᵏʷ mat. qsápi istəm̄tíma? kʷu accús “lut kla? akcxʷúy ʔa? c̄klaxʷ. nkʷílxəx itli?, c̄əm̄ kʷ x̄annúmt.” kʷa? qsápi i? sqilxʷ taʔlí? c̄x̄əʔnstís i? sqʷasíʔs, ac̄m̄ayʔx̄íts i? t stím lut ta x̄ast. ixí? i? captíkʷt̄ ixí? i? t̄ikʷt kla? cʔúmstsəlx t Stump Lake. ixí?.

11.2 English

A long time ago the elders told it to me. And they told me about this big lake here in Quilchena. They said there is a sea monster that travels around. The monster was fighting with another monster. And there along our road, along the foot of the hill on the shores, where we come from town, there is the lake. The water is very deep there, and they named it the Monster Lake. It was the old lady that told me that the monsters were fighting. And one must have gotten beat and it went up towards the end of the lake, towards Stump Lake. The water was

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

11.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (248) ḡsápi k^wu c-máy-xít-s iʔ ʔəḡəḡḡáʔ.
 long.ago 1SG.ABS CUST-tell-BEN-3SG.ERG DET elders
 'A long time ago the elders told it to me.'
- (249) uʔ k^wu cú(n-st)-səlx axáʔ aláʔ nḡqíʔməlx, uʔ
 CONJ 1SG.ABS say-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG DEM DEM Quilchena CONJ
 axáʔ iʔ sílx^waʔ iʔ ʔik^wt.
 DEM DET big DET lake
 'And they told me about this big lake here in Quilchena.'
- (250) ilíʔ k^wuk^w iʔ n-ḡaʔḡʔ-ít^w ac-ʔaḡlwís cʔḡiʔ.
 DEM REP DET n-monster-water CUST-travel.around like
 'They said there is a sea monster that travels around.'
- (251) uʔ k^wuk^w ixíʔ c-tyaq^wt iʔ n-ḡaʔḡʔ-ít^w.
 CONJ REP DEM CUST-fight DET n-monster-water
 'The monster was fighting with another monster.'

- (252) uł kła? kl x^wf4-tət kl yaŋcín, kl tawn k^wu
 CONJ DEM LOC road-1PL.POSS LOC shore LOC town 1PL.ABS
 ɬa? c-x^wuy, ilí? i? tík^wt.
 COMP CISL-go DEM DET lake
 ‘And there along our road, along the foot of the hill on the shores,
 where we come from town, there is the lake.’
- (253) tałt ilí? nq^wast uł ixí? c-ʔúm-st-səlx t
 very DEM deep.water CONJ DEM CUST-name-CAUS-3PL.ERG OBL
 n-ǰa?ǰ?-ít^w.
 n-monster-water
 ‘The water is very deep there, and they named it the Monster Lake.’
- (254) uł ixí? i? pəptwínax^w i? k^wu may-xít-s
 CONJ DEM DET old.woman DET 1SG.ABS tell-BEN-3SG.ERG
 k^wu cu-s tyaq^wt i? n-ǰa?ǰ?-ít^w.
 1SG.ABS say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG fight-STAT DET n-monster-water
 ‘It was the old lady that told me that the monsters were fighting.’
- (255) uł pə-púl-st-s i? naqs, uł yalt, x^wuy
 CONJ IRED-beat-CAUS-3SG.ERG DET one, CONJ run.away go
 kl, tac kl ... Stump Lake.
 LOC towards LOC ... Stump Lake
 ‘And one must have gotten beat and it went up towards the end of the
 lake, towards Stump Lake.’
- (256) kli? k^wuk^w ki?... uł k^wuk^w kli? yalt ixí? i?
 DEM REP COMP.OBL CONJ REP DEM run.away DEM DET
 qáqx^wəlx uł k^wilk i? siwtk^w k^wuk^w acx?ít.
 fish CONJ roll DET water REP first.thing
 ‘The water was rolling up ahead of this monster, with fish and
 everything in it.’
- (257) uł ití? xi?wíl-x-əlx uł ilí? n^cx^wax^w.
 CONJ DEM pass.by-3PL.ABS CONJ DEM liquid.pours
 ‘They went by, and that’s where it became like a canyon, the water
 poured in there.’
- (258) uł ixí? ki? ili? n-ǰa?ǰ?-ít^w ac-x^wylwís.
 CONJ DEM COMP.OBL DEM n-monster-water CUST-travel
 ‘And that’s where the monsters travelled.’

- (259) uł c-kłpaʔx-st-ín ixíʔ uł ʔsápi
 CONJ CUST-think.about-CAUS-1SG.ERG DEM CONJ long.ago
 k^wu ʔaʔ c-skul kl Kamloops, k^wu ʔaʔ
 1PL.ABS COMP CUST-school LOC Kamloops 1PL.ABS COMP
 c-cʔúk^w-st-əm iʔ sm-sámaʔ iʔ l
 CUST-bring-CAUS-PASS DET white.people DET LOC
 truck.
 truck
 ‘I’ve been thinking about this, and a long time ago when we went to
 school in Kamloops, the whites used to bring us in a truck.’
- (260) uł c-wík-st-əm iʔ s-xəxčíʔ ac-tʔák^w.
 CONJ CUST-see-CAUS-1PL.ERG DET stumps STAT-float
 ‘And we saw the stumps coming up, floating.’
- (261) ixíʔ k^waʔ mat ʔaʔ c-nʔáq-m-əlx,
 DEM COMP EPIS COMP CUST-rot-MID-3PL.ABS
 n-təlp-ít^w-əm-əlx,³⁷ c-nwʔas.
 n-break.in.two-water-MID-3PL.ABS CUST-rise
 ‘And because they rot, they break up and rise up to the surface.’
- (262) uł ixíʔ iʔ sámaʔ kiʔ ʔum-s t
 CONJ DEM DET Whites COMP.OBL name-(DIR)-3SG.ERG OBL
 Stump Lake.
 Stump Lake
 ‘That’s why the Whites call it Stump Lake.’
- (263) k^waʔ x^wʔit iʔ s-tə-tʔíq^w iʔ s-xəxčíʔ.
 COMP many DET NOM-IREN-appear DET stumps
 ‘Because there are a lot of stumps that show up.’
- (264) ac-cút ixíʔ pəptwínax^w, ʔsápi k^wuk^w lut ixíʔ ilíʔ
 CUST-say DET old.woman long.ago REP NEG DEM DEM
 stím k^wuk^w aʔ cʔxíʔ t ac-nix^wút uł yaʔst
 what REP DET like OBL STAT-deep.water CONJ all
 ac-cəlcal.
 STAT-trees
 ‘The old woman said, a long time ago there was no (water) there, it was
 supposedly a deep (canyon) then, it was all trees.’

37. The analysis of this form is unclear. I have analyzed it as containing the stem *tlp* ‘break in two’ (Mattina, 1987, 199), though it seems possible that the initial *n-* may be a false start, and that the following sequence *tl* is a locative, followed by a stem containing the root *ptk^w*, or maybe *pit^w*.

- (265) uł yaŋyáʔit ixíʔ tə-tʔákʷ íʔ sʰə́xʰcíʔ, uł ʔʔiqʷ
 CONJ all DEM IRED-come.up DET stumps CONJ appear
 uł ʔapnáʔ uł cəsáp uł ʔi ʔikʷt.
 CONJ now CONJ gone CONJ EMPH lake
 ‘And all the stumps and roots came up, and now it’s all gone, now it’s a lake.’
- (266) uł ixíʔ ʰə́xʰə́xʰáp cút-ləx ilíʔ íʔ n-xaʔxʰ-ítʰkʷ
 CONJ DEM elders say-3PL.ABS DEM DET n-monster-water
 ilíʔ íʔ s-ʔáxləx.
 DEM DET NOM-move.about
 ‘And the elders said that the monster moved through there.’³⁸
- (267) uł íʔ kʷiʰt cút-ləx axáʔ íʔ ʔikʷt l
 CONJ DET some say-3PL.ABS DEM DET lake LOC
 n-xaʔxʰ-ítʰkʷ kʷaʔ mat naqs-ítʰkʷ íʔ tʌ sílxʷaʔ
 n-monster-water COMP EPIS one-water DET LOC big
 íʔ tʌ siwʰkʷ tac kʌ ... tʌ sʔuknaqínx, kʌ(l)
 DET LOC water LOC LOC ... LOC Okanagan LOC
 nkmápləqs uł kʌ pəntíktʌ.
 Vernon CONJ LOC Penticton
 ‘And some say that maybe this lake has a sea monster because there is one body of water, from the ocean to the Okanagan, to the end of the lake, Vernon and Penticton.’
- (268) ixíʔ t siwʰkʷ kʷukʷ klaʔ təc-xʷúy, laʔkín mət
 DEM OBL water REP DEM LOC-go sometimes CONJ
 xʷaʔ-tkʷ-wílx, laʔkín mət səŋʷ-áŋʷ.³⁹
 much-water-DEV sometimes CONJ fall-FRED
 ‘Sometimes the water comes up, sometimes it goes down.’
- (269) uł ixíʔ c-my-st-ís mat ixíʔ t swit,
 CONJ DEM CUST-know-CAUS-3SG.ERG EPIS DEM OBL who
 n-səŋʷ-áŋʷ-m-əlx uł kʌ(l) tə́xʷ-ə́xʷ-ítʰkʷ.
 n-fall-FRED-MID-3PL.ABS CONJ LOC large-FRED-water
 ‘And someone must know that the water goes down, and then comes up again.’

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

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

- (270) ixíʔ iʔ s-captíkʷɬ-c⁴⁰ axáʔ aláʔ iʔ tikʷt.
 DEM DET NOM-legend-3SG.POSS DEM DEM DET lake
 ‘That is the legend of the lake here.’
- (271) taʔlíʔ iʔ n-ǰaʔǰʔ-ítʰkʷ mat.
 very DET n-monster-water EPIS
 ‘There must’ve been a real sea monster long ago.’
- (272) ǰsápi i(n)-stəmtímaʔ kʷu ac-cú-s
 long.ago 1SG.POSS-grandmother 1SG.ABS CUST-say-(CAUS)-3SG.ERG
 “lut klaʔ a-kc-xʷúy ʔaʔ c-kłaxʷ.
 NEG DEM 2SG.POSS-FUT.IMP-go COMP CUST-evening
 n-(l)kʷílʰ-əx itliʔ, cəm kʷ ǰannúmt.”
 n-leave.behind-INTR DEM EPIS 2SG.ABS get.hurt
 ‘My grandmother told me “Don’t go there at night, you might get hurt.”’
- (273) kʷaʔ ǰsápi iʔ sqilxʷ taʔlíʔ c-ǰəʔn-st-ís
 COMP long.ago DET people very CUST-stop-CAUS-3SG.ERG
 iʔ sqʷasiʔ-s, ac-mayʔ-xít-s iʔ t stim
 DET child-3SG.POSS CUST-tell-BEN-3SG.ERG DET OBL what
 lut ʔa ǰast.
 NEG EMPH good
 ‘The people long ago really stopped their kids, and explained to them what is dangerous.’
- (274) ixíʔ iʔ captíkʷɬ ixíʔ iʔ tikʷt klaʔ c-ʔúm-st-səlx
 DEM DET legend DEM DET lake DEM CUST-name-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 t Stump Lake. ixíʔ.
 OBL Stump Lake DEM
 ‘That is the story of the lake that they call Stump Lake. That’s all.’

12 Douglas Lake Ranch

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

40. 3rd singular possessive /-s/ is realized as [-c] after stems that end in an /l/ or /s/ (Mattina and DeSautel, 2002), though see apparent exceptions to this rule in (49) and (112).

you to leave and you wouldn't. Now you're building a house. This is my property. You move out of here and if you don't I'm going to use this axe on you!" Douglas was frightened, so he packed up his stuff and he went on the other side of Douglas Lake and stopped. Lottie says that "he didn't go very far, but he at least moved down to the other end." Because of Wilford's grandfather, the Upper Nicola Band was able to keep part of Douglas Lake as reserve land. Lottie mentions that if the people could have communicated with white people back then, they might have gotten him to move even farther away.

12.1 Okanagan

k^wu c^mayxíts iswawá?sa? Nellie; incá Lottie uł iswawá?sa? Nellie. k^wu m^ayaxíts cx?it i? k^wuk^w ła? ckicx Douglas, uł k^wuk^w ixí? ckicxs i? kłx^wil i? stómált. c^qix^ws uł nyíip cx^wuy mat tl kəł?álq^w tla?kín i? tl scx^wúyəms, uł kicx l spáxmən. uł ilí? l Mildred i? citx^ws ilí? kicx k^wuk^w. uł ilí? łałwníkstəms i? stómált uł ilí? nk^wúləm t ksnpúlxətəns. uł ixí? ilí? s?muts. mat c?kin ilí? s?xəlwisc uł tksáx^wtəməntəm t Old Tom. uł lut k^wa? t nixlmənwíx^wəlx sm-sáma?cn cniłc uł Tom nqíl^wcn uł cúntəm "lk^wíl^wxəx atlá?, sqilx^wúla?x^w axá?." lúta? mat təx^w t acmystís sx?kinx mat lúta? qmína?. uł lut ka?kín sx^wuys. ixí? uł k^wuk^w way i? skítəms t sǰəxǰí? ksk^wúł^wx^wa?x mat, way i? start k^wul, k^wuls i? sk^wul^ws. uł ixí? ła k^wsáx^wtəməntəm t Tom, cúntəm, k^wis k^wuk^w i? xəlmin uł cus "lk^wíl^wxəx atlá?, axá? incá intəmx^wúla?x^w." "lut atlá? k^w lk^wíl^wxəx, k^w iksǰlǰlám." ixí? k^wuk^w c^qíməms ixí? sáma? uł ixí? ?úllusəs i? stómált uł k?əmtíws uł qix^ws, tac kl łaǰiǰ ǰapná?. kli? kicx uł ilí?, ixí? ǰapná? ki? ǰakł Douglas Lake Ranch. ixí? iklí? ǰím^x. yalt tl Tom, cak^w lut qíx^wəntəm t Tom, cak^w ixí? ǰapná? i? łaǰiǰ yaǰyáǰt ala? l sqlx^wúla?x^w, cak^w lut ilí? i? sqilx^w ksk^wliwts. cak^w lut alá? ixí? uł i? łaǰǰǰap ixí? k^wuk^w ta Wilford ła? kłkíkwa?. ixí? k^wuk^w i? s... atlá? sq^wa?q^wa?áləx. ixí? ła?kłkíkwa? itlí? i? qix^ws i? sáma?, qix^ws Douglas. uł ixí? ki? ǰímxləx uł kli? k^wúlsəlx ǰapná? ixí? ła ǰapná? i? nq^wəlq^wíltəns i? smsáma? t Douglas Lake Ranch. cak^w lut ła? qíx^wəntəməlx t sqilx^w, cak^w ilí? axá?. lut alá? ksk^wliwts i? sqilx^w l spáxmən. ixí? iswawá?sa? Nellie k^wu m^ay?xíts. c^may ixí? nǰastmíntp la?kín sǰəłǰǰált. k^wu ła nixlməntp ǰapná? isq^wəlq^wílt. kn nwnx^wína? uł kn q^wəlq^wílt axá? alá? anq^wəlq^wíltən. way.

12.2 English

I'm going to tell you about my Aunt Nellie; I'm Lottie and my Aunt is Nellie. She told me about how they say Douglas first arrived, and they say he came with many cows. He drove them from over the border where he came from, and came to Spáxmən. It's there where Mildred's house is, that's where he arrived. And he let his cattle go there so they could feed and he built a camp there. And he lived there for a while until Old Tom went after him. And they didn't understand one another, he spoke English and Tom spoke Okanagan, and

(Tom) said “Go away from here, this is Indian land here.” He must not have known what was going on, and he must not have understood. And he didn’t leave from there. Then (Douglas) cut down and brought in big logs that he must have been using to build his house, he had already started building his house. And then Tom went after him and he took up his axe and said, “Get out of here, This is my land here!” “If you don’t get out of here, I’ll use this axe on you!” And then this white guy (Douglas) got scared and he gathered his cows, got on his horse, and fled to where the water comes into Douglas Lake. He got over there, and today that is Douglas Lake Ranch. That’s where he moved to. He ran from Tom, but if Tom didn’t chase him away, then it wouldn’t have been Indian land, then everything around the river mouth here that is now Indian land, the Indian people would not be living here. If it weren’t for Wilford’s Grandfather (Old Tom). They had a meeting. It was his (Wilford’s) grandfather that chased the white man from there. He chased Douglas away. And that’s where he moved and they work there today. Today the whites call it Douglas Lake Ranch. If the Indians didn’t chase them away, we might not be here today. The Indian people wouldn’t be living here in Spáxmən. My aunt Nellie (Guitierrez) told me this story. It might be good for you guys (to have this) someday. You have heard my story as I have told it. I believe it and now I’ve told the story on your tape recorder. That’s all.

12.3 Interlinear Gloss

(275) k^wu c^ˈmay-xít-s i(n)-s^ˈwawá?sa? Nellie;
 1SG.ABS CUST-tell-BEN-3SG.ERG 1SG.POSS-aunt Nellie
 incá Lottie uʔ i(n)-s^ˈwawá?sa? Nellie.
 1SG.INDEP Lottie CONJ 1SG.POSS-aunt Nellie
 ‘I’m going to tell you about my Aunt Nellie; I’m Lottie and my Aunt is Nellie.’

(276) k^wu m^ˈay-xít-s cxʔit iʔ k^wuk^w ʔaʔ
 1SG.ABS tell-BEN-3SG.ERG first DET REP COMP
 c-kic-x Douglas, uʔ k^wuk^w ixíʔ
 CISL-arrive-INTR Douglas CONJ REP DEM
 c-kic-x-s iʔ k^ˈʔx^wil iʔ
 CISL-arrive-INTR-3SG.POSS DET many DET
 s^ˈtəmáʔt.
 cattle
 ‘She told me about how they say Douglas first arrived, and they say he came with many cows.’

- (277) c-qix^w-s uł ny^ˈip c-x^wuy mat tl
 CUST-drive-(DIR)-3SG.ERG CONJ always CISL-go EPIS LOC
 kəłʔálq^w tlaʔkín iʔ tl sc-x^wúy-əm-s,
 across.border from.where DET LOC PERF-go-MID-3SG.POSS
 uł kic-x l spáxmən.
 CONJ arrive-INTR LOC Douglas.Lake
 ‘He drove them from over the border where he came from, and came to Spáxmən.’
- (278) uł ilíʔ l Mildred iʔ citx^w-s ilíʔ kic-x
 CONJ DEM LOC Mildred DET house-3SG.POSS DEM arrive-INTR
 k^wuk^w.
 REP
 ‘It’s there where Mildred’s house is, that’s where he arrived.’⁴¹
- (279) uł ilíʔ ʔw-ʔwníkst-əm-s iʔ
 CONJ DEM IRED-cut.loose-MID-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET
 stəmált-s uł ilíʔ n-k^wúl-əm t
 cattle-3SG.POSS CONJ DEM n-make-MID OBL
 ks-n-púlxtən-s.
 U.POSS-n-camp-3SG.POSS
 ‘And he let his cattle go there so they could feed and he built a camp there.’
- (280) uł ixíʔ ilíʔ s-ʔmut-s mat cʔkin ilíʔ
 CONJ DEM DEM NOM-reside-3SG.POSS EPIS how DEM
 s-ʔxəlwís-c uł t-k-sáx^wt-əmə-nt-əm⁴² t
 NOM-travel-3SG.POSS CONJ t-k-go.after-MIN-DIR-PASS OBL
 Old Tom.
 Old Tom
 ‘And he lived there for a while until Old Tom went after him.’⁴³

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

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

43. Lottie says “when he started building a house, that’s when Old Tom got serious. Douglas built his house on a knoll, kind of high, it was still being used until twenty years ago, it belonged to Isaac [Lindley]’s mother, and then she willed the property and the cabin to their foster sister, Mildred, a distant relative of Isaac’s mother.”

- (281) uł lut k^waʔ t nixl¹-mə-nwix^w-əlx
 CONJ NEG COMP OBL hear-MIN-RECIP-3PL.ABS
 sm-sámaʔ-cn cniɕc uł Tom
 IRED-white.person-mouth 3SG.INDEP CONJ Tom
 n-qíl^w-cn uł cú-nt-əm “lk^wíl^x-əx
 n-Indian.person-mouth CONJ say-DIR-PASS leave-INTR
 atláʔ, sqil^w-úlaʔx^w axáʔ.”
 DEM Indian-land DEM
 ‘And they didn’t understand one another, he spoke English and Tom spoke Okanagan, and (Tom) said “Go away from here, this is Indian land here.”’
- (282) lútaʔ mat təx^w t ac-my-st-ís sxʔkinx
 NEG EPIS EVID OBL CUST-know-CAUS-3SG.ERG what.happened
 mat lútaʔ qmínaʔ.
 EPIS NEG understand
 ‘He must not have known what was going on, and he must not have understood.’
- (283) uł lut kaʔkín s-x^wuy-s.
 CONJ NEG where NOM-go-3SG.POSS
 ‘And he didn’t leave from there.’
- (284) ixíʔ uł k^wuk^w way¹ iʔ s-kít¹-əm-s t
 DEM CONJ REP yes DET NOM-cut-MID-3SG.POSS OBL
 sʔəxʔcíʔ ks-k^wúl-ɬx^w-aʔx mat, way¹ iʔ start k^wul,
 log FUT-make-house-INCEPT EPIS yes DET start make
 k^wul-s iʔ s-k^wul-ɬx^w-s.
 make-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET NOM-make-house-3SG.POSS
 ‘Then (Douglas) cut down and brought in big logs that he must have been using to build his house, he had already started building his house.’
- (285) uł ixíʔ ɬ k-sáx^wt-əmə-nt-əm t Tom,
 CONJ DEM COMP k-go.after-MIN-DIR-PASS OBL Tom
 cún-(n)t-əm, k^wi-s k^wuk^w iʔ ʔəlmín uł
 say-DIR-PASS take-(DIR)-3SG.ERG REP DET axe CONJ
 cu-s “lk^wíl^x-əx atláʔ, axáʔ incá
 say-(DIR)-3SG.ERG leave-INTR DEM DEM 1SG.INDEP
 in-təmx^wúlaʔx^w.”
 1SG.POSS-land
 ‘And then Tom went after him and he took up his axe and said, “Get out of here, This is my land here!”’

- (286) “lut atlá? k^w lk^wíl^x-əx, k^w i-ks-ǰl-ǰl-ám.”
 NEG DEM 2SG.ABS leave-INTR 2SG.ABS 1SG.POSS-FUT-IRET-chop-MID
 ‘If you don’t get out of here, I’ll use this axe on you!’
- (287) ixí? k^wuk^w c-q^wím-əm-s ixí? sáma?
 DEM REP STAT-scared-FRED-3SG.POSS DEM white.person
 uʔ ixí? ʔúllus-əs i? stəmált-s
 CONJ DEM gather-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET cattle-3SG.POSS
 uʔ kʔəmtíws uʔ qix^w-s, tac kl
 CONJ ride CONJ drive-(DIR)-3SG.ERG LOC LOC
 ǰáǰiǰ ʔapná?
 river.mouth now
 ‘And then this white guy (Douglas) got scared and he gathered his cows, got on his horse, and fled to where the water comes into Douglas Lake.’
- (288) klí? kic-x uʔ ilí?, ixí? ʔapná? kí?
 DEM arrive-INTR CONJ DEM DEM now COMP.OBL
 ʔakʔ-Douglas Lake Ranch.
 HAVE-Douglas Lake Ranch
 ‘He got over there, and today that is Douglas Lake Ranch.’
- (289) ixí? iklí? ʔimx.
 DEM DEM move.residence
 ‘That’s where he moved to.’
- (290) yalt tl Tom, cak^w lut qíx^w-ənt-əm t Tom,
 run.away LOC Tom BOUL NEG drive-DIR-PASS OBL Tom
 cak^w ixí? ʔapná? i? ǰáǰiǰ yaʔyáʔt ala? l
 BOUL DEM now DET river.mouth all DEM LOC
 sqlx^w-úlaʔx^w, cak^w lut ílí? i? sqilx^w
 Indian-land BOUL NEG DEM DET Indian.people
 ks-k^wliwt-s.
 FUT-live-3SG.POSS
 ‘He ran from Tom, but if Tom didn’t chase him away, then it wouldn’t have been Indian land, then everything around the river mouth here that is now Indian land, the Indian people would not be living here.’

- (291) cak^w lut (a)lá? ixí? uʔ i? ʔəxʔxʔap ixí? k^wuk^w ʔa
 BOUL NEG DEM DEM CONJ DET old.man DEM REP EMPH
 Wilford ʔa? kʔ-kíkwa?
 Wilford COMP U.POSS-grandfather
 ‘If it weren’t for Wilford’s Grandfather (Old Tom).’
- (292) ixí? k^wuk^w i? s... atlá? sq^waʔq^waʔál-(l)əx. ixí? ʔa?
 DEM REP DET NOM DEM meeting-3PL.ABS DEM COMP
 kʔ-kíkwa? itlí? i? qix^w-s i?
 U.POSS-grandfather DEM DET chase-(DIR)-3SG.ERG DET
 sámaʔ, qix^w-s Douglas.
 white.person chase-(DIR)-3SG.ERG Douglas
 ‘They had a meeting. It was his (Wilford’s) grandfather that chased the white man from there. He chased Douglas away.’
- (293) uʔ ixí? ki? ʔímx-ləx uʔ kʔi?
 CONJ DEM COMP.OBL move.residence-body CONJ DEM
 k^wúl-səlx ʔapná? ixí? ʔi ʔapná? i?
 make-(DIR)-3PL.ERG now DEM EMPH now DET
 nq^wəlq^wɪtən-s i? sm-sámaʔ t Douglas
 language-3SG.POSS DET IRED-white.person OBL Douglas
 Lake Ranch.
 Lake Ranch.
 ‘And that’s where he moved and they work there today. Today the whites call it Douglas Lake Ranch.’
- (294) cak^w lut ʔa? qíx^w-ənt-əm-əlx t sqilx^w,
 BOUL NEG COMP chase-DIR-PASS-3PL.ABS OBL Indian.people
 cak^w ilí? axá?
 BOUL DEM DEM
 ‘If the Indians didn’t chase them away, we might not be here today.’
- (295) lut alá? ks-k^wliwt-s i? sqilx^w l
 NEG DEM FUT-live-3SG.POSS DET Indian.people LOC
 spáxmən.
 Douglas.Lake
 ‘The Indian people wouldn’t be living here in Spáxmən.’
- (296) ixí? i(n)-s^wawáʔsa? Nellie k^wu ʔa? xít-s.
 DEM 1SG.POSS-aunt Nellie 1SG.ABS tell-BEN-3SG.ERG
 ‘My aunt Nellie (Guitierrez) told me this story.’

- (297) cmay ixíʔ n-ǰast-mí-nt-p laʔkín sǰəlǰǰált.
 EPIS DEM n-good-MIN-DIR-2PL.ERG sometime day
 k^wu ʔ níxl-mə-nt-p ʔapnáʔ
 1SG.ABS COMP hear-MIN-DIR-2PL.ERG now
 i(n)-sq^wəlq^wílt.
 1SG.POSS-talk
 ‘It might be good for you guys (to have this) someday. You have heard my story as I have told it.’
- (298) kn nwnx^wínaʔ uʔ kn q^wəlq^wílt axáʔ aláʔ
 1SG.ABS believe CONJ 1SG.ABS talk DEM DEM
 an-q^wəlq^wílt-(t)ən. way.
 2SG.POSS-talk-INSTR that’s.all
 ‘I believe it and now I’ve told the story on your tape recorder. That’s all.’

13 Appendix

13.1 Transcription, interlinear glossing, and translation methodology

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

The Okanagan transcriptions are phonemic, with the exception of schwa, which I use phonetically. This sometimes leads to transcription alternations, for example, *-lax* varies with *-əlx* 3PL.ABS. Transcriptions were checked for the most part against Mattina (1987), although Mattina (1985) and Mattina and DeSautel (2002) were also consulted. All errors are John Lyon’s. Rhetorical lengthening is marked by a long vowel, e.g. *iː*. The longer the vowel, the more times the symbol *˙* is iterated (cf. 96). Commas indicate a perceptible pause in speech.

I did not exhaustively parse Okanagan forms, but instead opted for a more ‘practical’ approach. For instance, I analyze the prefix *sən-* when it marks a location, occurring in tandem with instrumental *-tən*, as a LOC ‘locational’ prefix, rather than further analyzing it as a possible sequence of nominalizer *s-* plus derivational prefix *n-*. By way of another example, the sequence *s-* plus *c-* were grouped together as PERF ‘perfective’ when the semantics of the sentence clearly warranted this, and as a sequence NOM-CUST in other cases. For phonemes that predictably reduce in certain environments, I usually include the phoneme in parenthesis, for example LOC *k̄(l)*, or 1SG.POSS *i(n)-* before a noun beginning with *s* or *ʔ*. I do not usually follow the same practice for null transitivizers in 3rd person ergative forms, instead just including a parenthetical DIR or CAUS in the gloss line. I do not further analyze the semantics of reduplication patterns, for example diminutivity or plurality, but simply note whether the reduplication is

initial or final. Finally, I do not always parse lexical suffixes, except when I feel that this increases the transparency between the translation and the Okanagan.

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

13.2 Pronominal paradigms

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

13.2.1 Intransitive Paradigms

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

13.2.2 Transitive Paradigms

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

13.3 Abbreviations

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

References

- Hébert, Y. (1978). Upper Nicola Okanagan Field Recordings, Royal Museum of British Columbia Collection. Victoria, BC.
- Mattina, A. (1985). *The Golden Woman: The Colville Narrative of Peter J. Seymour*. Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press.
- Mattina, A. (1987). *Colville-Okanagan Dictionary*. Missoula, MT: University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics, vol. 7.
- Mattina, A. (1993). Okanagan Aspect: A Working Paper. In *Papers for the 28th Annual International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages*, pp. 233–263.

- Mattina, A. and M. DeSautel (2002). *Dora Noyes DeSautel* ʔaʔ kʰaptik^wʔ. Missoula, MT: University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistic, vol. 15.
- Thompson, L. C. and M. T. Thompson (1996). *Thompson River Salish Dictionary*. Missoula, MT: University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics, vol. 12.
- van Eijk, J. P. (1987). *Dictionary of the Lillooet Language*. University of Victoria, manuscript.

john.lyon@alumni.ubc.ca