

The Burning Church at Shalalth: Two Eyewitness Accounts in St'át'imcets*

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Abstract: This paper consists of two transcribed, translated, and analyzed St'át'imcets (Lillooet) texts, both eyewitness accounts of the same event: the fire which consumed the village hall and the church at Tsal'álh (Shalalth) in 1948. The first is by Tommy Link and was recorded by Christine L. J. Clark in Lillooet Hospital around 1964–5. The second is by Carl Alexander and was recorded at Nxwísten (Bridge River) in February 2019. The stories are of interest both linguistically and historically; they differ in their account of how the fire started, and as such provide insight into how oral history is constructed from multiple perspectives, even from participants who had direct experience of the original event.

Keywords: Upper St'át'imcets, Northern Interior Salish, Shalalth, narrative, oral history

1 Introduction

About five years ago, I was entrusted with a miscellaneous collection of St'át'imcets (Lillooet) reel-to-reel and cassette tapes. Most of them turned out to be copies of narratives recorded in the late 1960s and early 1970s by Randy Bouchard of the BC Indian Languages Project. Since then, Bouchard himself has made available digital copies of all the Upper St'át'imcets material that he recorded, and John Lyon and I are in the process of preparing a three-volume collection of the very rich linguistic heritage that he has bequeathed (see Lyon & Davis 2018 for a sampler from Sam Mitchell, whose stories will comprise the first volume).

One St'át'imcets story in the original collection, however, did not fit: it was not recorded by Bouchard, and there was no attribution either on the recording or its cover. I transcribed it with the help of Carl Alexander, now of Nxwísten (Bridge River), but originally from Tsal'álh (Shalalth).¹ It was recorded in Lillooet hospital from a speaker from Tsal'álh, whom Carl was able to identify as the late Tommy Link. Its subject matter is an account of a devastating fire at Tsal'álh in 1948 which began in the village hall and spread to the church; both were burnt to the ground. Subsequently, I discovered that the recording was made by Christine L. J. Clark in 1964 or 1965, and forms part of a small collection bequeathed in 1981 to the Royal British Columbia Museum archives sound recording collection (<https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/lillooet-indian-stories>). The other stories in that collection have not yet been transcribed.

* This work would of course have been impossible without Carl Alexander (Qw7ayán'ak), who told one of the stories and helped transcribe the other. It is difficult to do due justice to the immense contributions Carl has made to the documentation of St'át'imcets over the last two decades; his expertise has been simply indispensable. I would also like to thank Lisanne Tevlin, who helped me record Carl's story, John Lyon, my transcription partner, who proofread the stories and helped with a couple of difficult passages, and Dr. Cathrena Narcisse of the Lillooet Tribal Council, who originally provided me with the Tommy Link recording. This work has been supported by SSHRC Insight grant #435-2015-1694 to the author. Author's e-mail: Henry.Davis@ubc.ca.

¹ Tsal'álh (calál) means 'lake' in St'át'imcets. The tsal'álhmec (calál-mx) 'lake people' historically occupied territory between Seton and Anderson Lakes, along the major water corridor that connects the Upper St'át'imc around the Fraser and Bridge Rivers with the Lower St'át'imc in Mount Currie and further south.

While I was checking the transcription of Tommy Link's narrative with Carl, he remarked that he had actually also been at the scene of the 1948 fire, and that his recollection of how it started differed from Tommy's. Together with Lisanne Tevlin, I then took the opportunity to record Carl's version of events in St'át'imcets; the second text which appears here was recorded at Carl's house in Nxwísten in February 2019.

I had also planned a third version of the story. Carl had mentioned that Grand Chief Desmond (Dez) Peters Sr. of Ts'k'wáylacw (Pavilion), who was born and raised in Tsal'álh, had also been at the scene of the 1948 fire. In fact, he had played a prominent part in the events, because it was he who entered the burning church and rescued a wooden statue of the Virgin Mary from the flames. I had recently worked with Dez on some Sam Mitchell recordings made by Jan van Eijk (see Edwards, LaRochelle, & Mitchell 2017), and mentioned that I would like to get his version of the burning church story. However, I was not able to visit Dez that year, and did not see him again until February 2020, when I attended a ceremony at Ts'k'wáylacw honouring him for his recent Lifetime Achievement Award from the First Peoples' Cultural Council. I asked him again then if he would be willing to record the story of the burning church, and with typical generosity, he readily agreed. But that was the last time I saw him: he passed away less than a month later.

For those of us who have worked with the oldest generations of fluent first language speakers of indigenous languages, this is not an unfamiliar story. At the end of his life, Dale Kinkade mentioned, for example, that his greatest professional regret was just missing an opportunity to work with the eldest daughter of Frances Northover, the last monolingual speaker of Cowlitz, who had been living on the Yakima reservation unbeknownst to him for several years. But familiar or not, lost opportunities like this sting, because they are irrevocable, and act as a constant reminder of how much more we could have done if only we had taken the the chance.

Dez Peters will be particularly missed. For half a century, he generously shared his unparalleled knowledge of St'át'imc language and culture with linguists, anthropologists, archeologists, and ethnobotanists. He was present when Randy Bouchard first recorded the legendary Upper St'át'imc story-tellers Sam Mitchell and Francis Edwards, and is mentioned in a story by the latter, whom he succeeded as chief at Ts'k'wáylacw. He was an important source of knowledge for ethnobotanist Nancy Turner and archeologist Brian Hayden. Together with Marianne Ignace, he co-wrote the first language primer for Upper St'át'imcets, and was a founding member of the Upper St'át'imc Language Authority. I had the privilege to work with Dez intermittently over many years and will never forget his wisdom and good humour. So in lieu of presenting the missing third version of this story, I dedicate the two versions presented here to Dez's memory.

1.1 The format

The format I follow here is based on the one that John Lyon and I have developed for a series of Upper St'át'imcets text collections that we have been working on over the past five years (see Alexander 2016, Edwards et al. 2017, Lyon & Davis 2018, Mitchell in prep.) Each story is presented first in St'át'imcets, followed by a more or less literal English translation, followed by a fully analyzed version of the text. Tommy Link volunteered an English version of his story, which I have also included, immediately following the literal English translation.

A list of glossing abbreviations appears in Appendix I, together with a conversion chart from the variant of the van Eijk orthography that I employ here to the (North) American Phonetic

Alphabet in Appendix II. See the introduction in Edwards et al. (2017) for more detailed discussion of the conventions I adopt here.²

1.2 The stories

Both stories cover the same core event: the catastrophic fire that burned down the church and community hall at Tsal'álh (Shalalth) in 1948. Carl Alexander's version, however, includes both a prelude and a post-script, and is therefore twice as long. The prelude describes how Carl's family were forced to abandon their remote homestead in the Upper Bridge River valley during the fierce winter of 1948 and take temporary shelter in Tsal'álh; the post-script gives the subsequent history of the church and hall, which both burned down a second time, before the hall was finally rebuilt (using concrete) at Sk'il' Mountain, up the hill from the old site.

The two stories differ in some factual details: in particular, they give different accounts of the cause of the fire. Tommy Link attributes it to an overheated wood-burning stove which threw embers out into the hall, while Carl Alexander's correction has his friend P'xus dropping a lantern, which explodes on contact with the floor. Since Tommy was eating supper when the fire started, and Carl got his information directly from P'xus, Carl's account is more likely to be accurate. In this respect, it is notable that Tommy takes care to use the quotative clitic =ku7 in this part of his narrative, indicating his account was based on hearsay, whereas Carl's story contains no quotative marking.

In general, however, the two narratives act like interlocking pieces of the same puzzle: they show oral history in the making, constructed partly from direct experience, partly from talking to other eyewitnesses, and partly from third party accounts. Perhaps not surprisingly, the most gripping parts of each narrative are those which the narrators experienced directly. For Tommy, who was to play a concert in the hall, the highlight of the story is his attempt to enter the burning building to retrieve his musical instrument, only to be stopped by Bob Alexander, who held him back and saved his life when the roof of the hall collapsed. For Carl, who was still a boy at the time and mainly saw the events from the house where he was staying, it is the pitiful sobs of Súkwi, who watches as flames engulf all the work he has put into carving the statuary in the church.

The longer timeline of Carl's narrative also casts Tommy's earlier account in a particularly poignant light. Tommy's story was recorded while the second church and hall were still standing, having been rebuilt in exactly the same location as the first. His pride in the community effort that went into raising the funds and reconstructing the buildings — right up to the installation of a new electric bell and fire alarm — is evident: in fact he uses the word *katsitselstúma* 'we managed to make it new' to describe how the new church rose from the ashes of the old. But as we know from Carl's narrative, the new church and gymnasium also subsequently burned down, due to carelessness, bad luck, and the misplacement of the new buildings in the same location as the old ones. With characteristic lugubrious humour, Carl points out at the end of his story that now the gym cannot burn down, because it is made of concrete — this time, if there is a fire, only the school will burn!

² I diverge from Edwards et al. (2017) in a couple of minor details. In particular, I have not broken down locative adverbials into their component features (which involve three degrees of distance, a visible versus non-visible distinction, and a 'pivoting' versus 'non-pivoting' distinction: see van Eijk 1997:171). In addition, I have added a D/C category to distinguish determiners proper (which introduce NPs) from 'determiner complementizers' which introduce subordinate clauses, and a FLR 'filler' category for the particle *na...* which marks a pause, somewhat like English 'um...'.

1.3 The language

Both speakers are from the Tsal'álh area, at the southern end of Upper St'át'imc territory, and speak the same 'central' dialect, which is closest to Upper St'át'imcets (the 'Fountain' dialect of van Eijk 1997) but shows some Lower ('Mount Currie') characteristics. Diagnostic Upper St'át'imcets traits include the lexical items *ilhen* for 'eat', *twéww'et* for 'boy', and the pronunciation of the singular present and absent determiners as *ta* and *na* rather than *ti* and *ni*, respectively. Lower St'át'imcets traits (more prominent in Carl's speech than in Tommy's) include the use of *álas* for 'really'.

Carl Alexander's narrative is longer and more polished. Carl is a versatile and experienced narrator (see the stories in Alexander 2016) who moves easily between genres and between languages; his St'át'imcets is largely free of English vocabulary, including, for example, when he uses larger numbers (where other fluent speakers generally use English), and he often makes a conscious effort to find St'át'imcets paraphrases for modern English terminology: e.g., *kagwéla sts'ak'w* 'lights that light up' for 'electricity', and *xzum tsitcw* 'big house' for 'hall'. There are nine separate instances of English words involving four lexical items in the 64 lines of his story.

In contrast, Tommy Link's shorter narrative uses English words far more freely: there are eighteen separate instances involving twelve different lexical items in the 28 lines of his story. This is not because he is a less fluent speaker than Carl: he is a generation older, and it is quite obvious from his own English translation of his story that St'át'imcets is his first language and English his second. Rather, his use of English is characteristic of a generation of L1 speakers of St'át'imcets who code-switched and code-mixed freely (and largely un-self-consciously, though note Tommy's self-admonition at the end of his story, where he corrects his use of *church* to *lamcalálhew*, wryly noting in St'át'imcets that he is already half speaking English).

The fusion of English and St'át'imcets in Tommy's story takes a number of different forms. Some lexical items, such as *staot* (from English 'start'), are fully integrated into St'át'imcets and show up in narratives from earlier generations of speakers, including Sam Mitchell. In fact, *staot* appears to have filled a lexical semantic gap in the original language: there is no other word for 'start' in St'át'imcets, which otherwise makes do with the prospective auxiliary *cuz* 'be about to' and the re-purposed motion auxiliary *ts7as* 'begin to'. Other lexical items show an interesting intermediate status. For example, Tommy mostly uses English 'hall' but in line (3) produces the form *lahól*. The *la* at the beginning of this word is characteristic of St'át'imcets words derived from French via Chinook Wawa (e.g., *laplít* 'priest', *leputáy* 'bottle'), but *lahól* of course, is derived from English; what Tommy seems to have done here is create a prefix *la-* by back-formation which is then used to derive a St'át'imcets version of an English word. In other cases, an English root is furnished with the full derivational apparatus of a St'át'imcets verb: the form *level-án-em* (*level-DIR-PASS*) 'it (the ground) was levelled' in line (20) is a case in point.

Perhaps even more interesting than his St'át'imcets is Tommy Link's *English* version of his story. While his St'át'imcets might be characterized as lexically influenced by English, his English is clearly grammatically influenced by St'át'imcets. This is particularly obvious with respect to inflectional categories such as tense and agreement. At times his use of English present and past tense forms appears almost random, as in the following passage:

...when I **find** out when I **was** coming out after supper and I **found** the hall **was** burning, so I **run** out and I **went** over there, and **open** the front door, that's full of smoke already, and I **thought** of my instrument, that cornet I **was** playing.

Here we have ten verbs that would all be in the past tense in standard English: in Tommy's narrative, they are presented in the sequence *present-past-past-past-present-past-present-present-*

past-past. It is unclear to me whether there is a logic to this sequence, and if so, what it is; St'át'imcets lacks a distinction between past and present in its tense system (Matthewson 2006) so it is possible that Tommy's use of these forms is genuinely random.

A slightly different but equally striking aspect of Tommy's English is provided by his use of number inflection on nouns, as illustrated by the following passage:

...what they used for mass in the church, you know, some of the **peoples** and the **ladies** and **mans** and **boys**, they were carrying them out...

St'át'imcets (unlike all other Salish languages save Nuxalk/Bella Coola) has an obligatory inflectional number contrast in its determiner system, so this is not a case of failing to recognize a distinction between singular and plural (or between count and mass nouns: see Davis 2014); rather, it seems to involve morphological over-regularization of the productive English plural allomorph -z to collective nouns ('people') and nouns with irregular plurals ('man'). This kind of error, of course, is characteristic of the over-regularization phase of L1 acquisition in English, but it seems to have become a permanent part of Tommy's adult English.

It is currently difficult to say whether the phenomena mentioned here are more broadly characteristic of 'First Nations English' as spoken by the St'át'imc of Tommy's generation, or are individual effects of insufficient L2 exposure to English at a critical point in acquisition. However, particularly in view of an increasing interest in First Nations languages as 'heritage languages', the study of English as spoken by previous and current generations of St'át'imcets speakers has the potential to open up a rather fascinating avenue of investigation, which has not yet been explored in any detail for St'át'imcets or, as far as I know, for Salish more generally.

2 Tommy Link's narrative

2.1 St'át'imcets

Cúz'lhkan ucwalmícwts kéla7, k'elk'alán', sáma7 kelh [lh]kalálas. Lts7áwna lt7u tsal'álha, tsal'álhmeckan lk7áwna, cúz'lhkal'ap k'alán', cúz'lhkan sqweqw1'entúmulh láti7 [ta] sxílemsa, [ta] száytensa ta *church*-kalha i kel7ás gwelp.

Lak lna *hall*-a, wa7 p'amsemwít k'a i tewtwéww'eta lahóla, aoz káti7 kw swa7s ku s7ats'xstáli, tákem swat ílhen, wa7 i wa7 *meeting*, nilh t'u7 sticws ulhcw i núkwa tewtwéww'et, swátas k'a lhak iz' tsicw ulhcw, nilh t'u7 sgwelus7úls k'a ta stú7a, nilh skwists ku7 ku xez'p, láti7 lhstáotas kw sgwelps ta *halla*.

Ltsa malh iz' qwaxt i tsúkwal'tsas kw s7ílhen, lan tu7 wa7 gelgel7úl [kw] sgwelps ta *hall*-a, nilh t'u7 aylh st'anam'ílckalh ulhcw áku7, aoy t'u7 kw nska7úlhcwa. Kaláxskana na ncúcwlatena, wa7 tu7 láku7 s7ulhcw, wa7 láku7 pun n7átsqsa ta *stage*-a [l]tswa i wa7 *concert*. Nilh t'u7 aylh nsnas ulhcw, áts'xentsas sBob Alexander, lánlhkan wa7 nlig'wtsan' ta *front door*-ha, náskan ulhcw. Nilh szewátenas, lan tu7 wa7 gelgel7úl kw sgwelps ta *hall*-a, nilh t'u7 skwántsas, tsekwentsás. Nilh t'u7 ses t'vt'áo] k'a7cítas, tsúntsas:

“Áozas kw snátsu, cúz'lhkacw xan' [l]ku gwelp láku7.” Wenácw t'u7, káwlecken et7ú, kwíkws tu7 kw nskáwlec, nilh t'u7 ses lhvs, lvtsp, lhvtj ta... lhelt7úna ta *roof*-sa wí7 ta *hall*-a.

Aoy t'u7 scin's nilh t'u7 slhgwíles ta gwépa nts'ítem' et7ú [ta] lamcalálhcwa. Wa7 malh aylh ti qwáxta aylh nilh aylh s7uts'qa7stwítas i stem'tétem'sa ti lamcalálhcwa i wa7 qwez lhas i wa7 lamas tákem. Put t'u7 ka7uts'qa7stwítasa iz' tákem, nilh t'u7 s7aoy kw skakelhtwítasa ta *church bell*-a lhelt7u lhélta *tower* nilh tu7 ti7 szikt.s aylh. Cúlellhkalh tákem swat, nilh t'u7 ti7 s7áti7 lht'allas kw sgelílckalha láti7.

Nas malh aylh et7úna ts'íla k'a ku pála7 máqa7, ts'exeném láti7 tákem, *level*-ánem ta tmícwa láti7 kw stsequeném ta lamcalálhcwa. Lak It.sgwélpasa tu7 ta lamcalálhcwa, lak hem' ta tseqála ta tsítsela. Áma zam' lhkúnsa, kaxílhtum'a [ta s]ts'ílasa ta [s]katsítselfstuma ta lamcalálhcwkalh[a] láta7.

Electric bell lhkúnsa ta wa7 qwezném. Nilh sa... ta... *Frank Durbin* na sem7ámsa zuqw tu7, i sqláw'sa, nilh t'u7 málh ti7 qwez lta *electric bell*-a lhkúnsa wa7 qwez. Wa7 ti7 kaqwéystum'a ku *loudspeaker* lhláku7 úlhcwa lhas wa7 lamás ta naplíta. Wa7 kakáw' kwas tsicwts lhas wa7 lamás ta naplíta.

Lhkúnsa tákem t'u7 *electric* wa7 qwetsp láti7 lta *hall*-a, lta *church*-kalha, lamcalálhcw ká ti7 séna7, lan kw ns[s]áq'ulh kw nskasám7atsa.

Áti7 k'a lhtsúkwas, kw ns...t'álellhkan láti7.

2.2 English translation

I'm going to speak in Indian first, you listen, and then I'll speak English in a bit. It was over in Shalalth, where I'm from; you folks are going to listen, and I'm going to tell you what happened there, when the church first burned down.

It came from the hall, some boys must have been making a fire in the hall, but no one was watching them, everyone was eating, they were having a meeting. So then some other boys went in, I'm not sure which, and then the stove must have burned too strongly, and an ember fell out; that's how the fire started in the hall.

Some people noticed when they finished eating over where we were, but the hall was already burning too strongly. So then we tried to get in there, but I couldn't get in. I had remembered my musical instrument, it was still in there, at the foot of the stage where they held concerts. So then I was going in, and Bob Alexander saw me: I was already opening the front door to go in. He knew that the fire was already burning too strongly, so he grabbed me and pulled me back. He kept blocking me from entering, and told me:

"Don't go in, you'll get hurt by the fire!" It was true: I moved away from there, and when I had only gone a little ways off, the roof of the hall collapsed.

It wasn't long before the fire jumped towards the church. Someone noticed, and then they took out all the church vestments which were used when they held mass. They just about managed to get them all out, but they couldn't remove the church bell from the tower, and it fell over. We all ran away, and that was the end of our efforts there.

About a year went by, and then we cleaned everything up, we levelled the ground where we were going to put the church up. In the very same place where the church had burned down, that's where they put up the new one. So it's pretty good now, we've managed to sort of renew the church there.

We use an electric bell now. It was... Frank Durbin's wife, when she died, it was her money that went towards the electric bell we use nowadays. We can use it as a loudspeaker from inside when the priest holds mass. The sound reaches a long way when the priest holds mass.

Nowadays everything works by electricity in the hall and the church — I mean *lamcalálhcw*, I'm already half speaking English.

That's about where it ends, that I...I'll stop there.

2.3 Tommy Link's English version

Now this time folks, I'm translated this to in English, see if I can go as far as what I said it in Indian. At the time when our hall was burned down before over at Shalalth, there... we are here in the

hospital now, so our nurse is trying to tell us a little... make us to tell a little story here in the hospital, just to keep us happy here, so I'm telling about how our hall was burned down.

There was a little meeting there at Shalalth, so some of the boys — you know all the peoples went out for supper — and then the... some of the boys went in the hall and build a big fire. And then maybe the sparks are flying out of the stove and then that's how the fire started in the hall.

And when the... when I find out when I was coming out after supper and I found the hall was burning, so I run out and I went over there, and open the front door, that's full of smoke already, and I thought of my instrument, that cornet I was playing. I was going to go in and Bob Alexander seen me, I was going to go in to get my instrument and the rest of the instrument inside there in the hall. Then he grabbed me and he pulled me out further off from the door. Really, the roof collapsed down at the moment that Bob Alexander pulled me away from the door. So that's how I'm alive this day. If I hadn't... if it wasn't for Bob Alexander that he pulled me out from the door I would be burnt to death that time when the hall was burnt down.

And when it was too far gone burning, and then the fire jumped to the church, and then the church was burned. That church was I don't know how old, it was maybe, it was pretty close to a hundred years, I guess. It was a really old church, though. And the... then, when the church was burned down and all the... what they used for mass in the church, you know, some of the peoples and the ladies and mans and boys, they were carrying them out, so after they got everything out, and then the... they couldn't get into the bell, it was too high, way up above, the bell tower. At that time the bell tower collapse and then the whole thing went down, the bell tower fall towards to the railroad track.

Then all the boys that was trying to fight fire there, and then the white peoples from Shalalth Lodge and from the BC Hydro come over and help us fight fire. They came in with the buckets and buckets and all that, and try... so Frank Link house was just nearby, only about thirty or forty feet away from the hall, they were saving that. Really, Frank's house was saved that time. They were right there and throwing water at that house, that was only the one that was saved, the rest, the hall and the church was burned down; and the Caspers' house was about somewhere around a hundred and fifty feet away from the church, and that was pretty near gone too. They were looking after it.

And the next day, so everything was... the boys was clearing, cleaning up all that thing what they... what the rest of the coal was around there, they hauled it away, and then after that they... we built a new hall at the same time, at the same... after that we get after for the church, and after we get into a shelter for like our tools, we built the hall first.

So, we started on our church. That, our church was built up good now, it was all painted up. We had an electric bell. That was Mrs. Frank Durbin's money, but she's died, about a year before Frank Durbin bought that electric bell over there at Shalalth. Now that electric bell we had, we can use it for a loudspeaker up on through the bell tower too, and we got the fire alarm over there too.

So that's it. Goodnight, everybody.

2.4 Fully analyzed version

- (1) cúz'=lhkan ucwalmícw-ts kéla7, k'el•k'alán',
 PROS=1SG.SUBJ indigenous.person-mouth first TRED•listen
 sáma7=kelh [lh=]kalál=as.
 white.person=FUT [COMP=]soon=3SJV
 'I'm going to speak in Indian first, you listen, and then I'll speak English in a bit.'

- (2) l=ts7á-wna l=t7u tsal'álh=a, tsal'álh-mec=kan
 at=here-exactly at=over.there Shalalth=EXIS Shalalth-person=1SG.SUBJ
 l=kw7á=wna, cúz'=lhkal'ap k'alán', cúz'=lhkan
 at=there=precisely PROS=2PL.SUBJ listen PROS=1SG.SUBJ
 sqwe•qw1'-en-túmulh láti7 [ta]=s-xíl-em-s=a,
 tell.story•CRED-DIR-2PL.OBJ there [DET]=NMLZ-do-MID-3POSS=EXIS
 [ta]=s-{s}záyten-s=a ta=church-kalh=a
 [DET]=NMLZ-business-3POSS=EXIS DET=church-1PL.POSS=EXIS
 i=kel7=ás gwel-p.
 when.PAST=first=3SJV burn-INCH
 'It was over in Shalalth, where I'm from; you folks are going to listen, and I'm going to tell you what happened there, when the church first burned down.'³
- (3) lh=lak lhel=na=hall=a, wa7 p'ams-em=wít=k'a
 from=be.situated from=ABSN.DET=hall=EXIS IPFV make.fire-MID=3PL=EPIS
 i=tew•tw•éww'et=a [l=ta]=lahól=a,
 PL.DET=TRED•boy•CRED=EXIS [in=DET]=hall=EXIS
 'It came from the hall, some boys must have been making a fire in the hall,'
- (4) aoz káti7 kw=s=wa7=s ku=s-7ats'x-s-táli,
 NEG around.there DC=NMLZ=be=3POSS DET=STAT-get.seen-CAUS-NTS
 tákem swat ílhen, wa7 i=wa7 meeting.
 all who eat be PL.DET=IPFV meeting
 'But no one was watching it, everyone was eating, they were having a meeting.'
- (5) nílh=t'u7 s=tsicw=s ulhcw i=núkw=a tew•twé•ww'et,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.there=3POSS go.in PL.DET=other=EXIS TRED•boy•CRED
 swát=as=k'a lh{el}=lák=iz' [ku]=tsicw ulhcw,
 who=3SJV=EPIS from=be.situated=those [DET]=get.there enter
 'So then some other boys went in, I'm not sure which of them went in,'
- (6) nílh=t'u7 s=gwel-us-7úl=s=k'a ta=stú7=a,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=burn-fire-too.much=3POSS=EPIS DET=stove=EXIS
 nilh s=kwís=ts=ku7 ku=xéz'p, láti7 lh=stáot=as
 COP NMLZ=fall=3POSS=QUOT DET=spark there COMP=start=3SJV
 kw=s=gwel-p=s ta=hall=a.
 D/C=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS DET=hall=EXIS
 'And then the stove burned too strongly, and an ember must have fallen out, and that's how the fire started in the hall.'

³ Transcription of the sequence *tsal'alhmeckan lkw7áwna* is due to John Lyon, whom I thank.

- (7) *l=tskálh=[a]malh=iz'* *qwaxt*
 at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+1PL.POSS=[EXIS]=ADHORT=PL.DEM notice
i=tsúkw-al'ts=as kw=s=7ílhén, lán=tu7 wa7
 when.PAST=finish-food=3SV D/C=NMLZ=eat already=REM IPFV
gelgel-7úl [kw]=s=gwel-p=s ta=hall=a.
 strong-too.much [D/C]=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS DET=hall=EXIS
 'Some people noticed when they finished eating over where we were, but the hall was already burning too strongly.'⁴
- (8) *nílh=t'u7 aylh s=t'anam'-ílc=kalh ulhcw áku7,*
 COP=EXCL then NMLZ=try-AUT=1PL.POSS go.in to.there
áoy=t'u7 kw=n=s=ka-7úlhcw-a.
 NEG=EXCL DC=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=CIRC-go.in-CIRC
 'So then we tried to get in there, but I couldn't get in.'
- (9) *ka-láx-s=kan-a na=n-cúcwla-ten=a,*
 CIRC-remember-CAUS=1SG.SUBJ-CIRC ABSN.DET=1SG.POSS-music-thing=EXIS
wá7=tu7 láku7 s-7ulhcw, wa7 láku7 l=kw7u-{w}n[a]
 IPFV=REM there STAT-go.in IPFV there at=over.there-precisely
[l=ta]=n-7átsq=a l=ta=stage=a
[at=DET]=LOC-bottom=EXIS at=DET=stage=EXIS
[l]=tsa wa7 i=wa7 concert.
[at]=D/C+NMLZ+be+3POSS+EXIS be PL.DET=IPFV concert
 'I had remembered my musical instrument, it was still in there, at the foot of the stage where they held concerts.'⁵
- (10) *nílh=t'u7 aylh n=s=nas ulhcw, áts'x-en-ts-as*
 COP=EXCL then 1SG.POSS=NMLZ=go go.in see-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
s-Bob Alexander, lán=lhkan wa7 n-líg'w-ts-an'
 NMLZ-Bob Alexander already=1SG.SUBJ IPFV LOC-open-mouth-DIR
ta=front door=ha, nás=kan ulhcw.
 DET=front.door=EXIS go=1SG.SUBJ go.in
 'So then I was going in, and Bob Alexander saw me, I was already opening the front door, I was about to go in.'
- (11) *niilh s=zewát-en-as, lán=tu7 wa7 gelgel-7úl*
 COP NMLZ=know-DIR-3ERG already=REM IPFV strong-too.much
kw=s=gwel-p=s ta=hall=a, nílh=t'u7
 D/C=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS DET=hall=EXIS COP=EXCL
s=kwán-ts-as, tsekw-en-ts-ás.
 NMLZ=take+DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG pull-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
 'And he knew that the fire was already burning too strongly, so he grabbed me and pulled me back.'

⁴ The first part of this line is the most difficult section in the story. While the meaning is clear enough, my transcription here is an educated guess.

⁵ The sequence *l=kw7u-{w}n[a] [l=ta]=n-7átsq=a* is another difficult one; I arrived at the transcription here with the help of John Lyon, but I am still somewhat uncertain about it.

- (12) *nílh=t'u7 ses t'v•t'áol k'a7-cí{t}-ts-as,*
 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS IRED•stop get.stuck-RDR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
tsún-ts-as:
 tell+DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
 'And then he kept blocking me from entering: he told me.'⁶
- (13) "áo_z=as kw=s=nás=tsu, cú_z'=lhkacw xan' [l]=ku=gwél-p
 NEG=3SJV D/C=NMLZ=go=2SG.POSS PROS=2SG.SUBJ get.hurt [in]=DET=burn-INCH
láku7."
 there
 "Don't go in, you'll get hurt by the fire!"
- (14) *wenácw=t'u7, káw-lec=kan e=t7ú, kwíkws=tu7*
 true=EXCL far-AUT=1SG.SUBJ to=over.there small=REM
kw=n=s=káw-lec, nílh=t'u7 ses lhvs,
 D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=far-AUT COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS collapse,
lvts-p, lhvts (ta...) lhel=t7ú=na
 collapse-INCH collapse (DET) from=over.there=precisely
ta=roof-s=a=wí7 ta=hall=a.
 DET=roof-3POSS=EXIS=EMPH DET=hall=EXIS
 'It was true: I moved away from there, and when I had only gone a little ways off, the roof of the hall collapsed.'⁷
- (15) *áoy=t'u7 [kw]=s=cin'=s nílh=t'u7 s=lhgw-ilc=s*
 NEG=EXCL [D/C]=NMLZ=long.time=3POSS COP=EXCL NMLZ=jump-AUT=3POSS
ta=gwél-p=a n-ts'item' e=t7ú [ta]=lam-cal-álhcw=a.
 DET=burn-INCH=EXIS LOC-go.towards to=over.there [DET]=pray-ACT-place=EXIS
 'It wasn't long before the fire jumped towards the church.'
- (16) *wá7=malh aylh ti=qwáxt=a aylh nilh [s]=aylh=ts*
 be=ADHORT then DET=notice=EXIS then COP [NMLZ]=then=3POSS
uts'qa7-s-twítas i=stem'•té•tem'-s=a
 go.out-CAUS-3PL.ERG PL.DET=TRED•CRED•what-3POSS=EXIS
ti=lam-cal-álhcw=a i=wa7 qwez lh=as
 DET=pray-ACT-place=EXIS PL.DET=IPFV get.used COMP=IPFV+3SJV
wa7 i=wa7 lamás tákem.
 be PL.DET=IPFV hold.mass all
 'Someone noticed, and then they took out all the church vestments they used when they held mass.'

⁶ The auxiliary *t'vt'áol* 'persist' is retracted here, for reasons that are unclear to me.

⁷ Stress is unusually on the last syllable of the prododic word *ta=roof-s=a=wí7* here, indicating emphasis. Intonation is not usually used in this way in St'át'imcets.

- (17) pút=t'u7 ka-7uts'qa7-s-twítas-a iz' tákem,
 exactly=EXCL CIRC-go.out-CAUS-3PL.ERG-CIRC PL.DEM all
 'They just about managed to get them all out.'
- (18) nílh=t'u7 s=7aoy=s [kw=s]=ka-kelh-{ts}-twítas-a
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=NEG=3POSS [D/C=NMLZ]=CIRC-take.out-{CAUS}-3PL.ERG-CIRC
 ta=church bell=a lhel=t7ú lhel=ta=tower=[ha]
 DET=church.bell=EXIS from=over.there from=DET=tower=[EXIS]
 nílh=tu7=ti7 [s]=zikt=s aylh.
 COP=REM=that [NMLZ]=topple=3POSS then
 'But then they couldn't remove the church bell from the tower, and then it fell over.'
- (19) cúlel=lhkalh tákem swat, nílh=t'u7=ti7 s=7áti7=[s]
 run.away=1PL.SUBJ all who COP=EXCL=that NMLZ=to.there=[3POSS]
 lh=t'ál•l=as kw=s=[ka]-gel-ílč=kálh-a láti7.
 COMP=stop•FRED=3SV D/C=NMLZ=[CIRC]-strong-AUT-PL.POSS-CIRC there
 'We all ran away, and that was the end of our efforts there.'
- (20) nás=malh aylh e=t7ú={w}na ts'íla=k'a ku=pála7 máqa7,
 go=ADHORT then to=over.there=precisely like=EPIS DET=one snow
 ts'ex-en-ém=iz' láti7 tákem, level-án-em ta=tmícw=a
 clean-DIR-1PL.ERG=PL.DEM there all level-DIR-1PL.ERG DET=ground=EXIS
 láti7 [l]=kw=s=cuz' tseq-en-ém
 there [at]=D/C=NMLZ=PROS put.up-DIR-1PL.ERG
 ta=lam-cal-álhcw=a.
 DET=pray-ACT-place=EXIS
 'About a year went by, and then we cleaned everything up, we levelled the ground where we were going to put the church up.'
- (21) lak l=t=s=gwél-p=s=a=tu7 ta=lam-cal-álhcw=a,
 be.situated at=D/C=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS=EXIS=REM DET=pray-ACT-place=EXIS
 lák=hem' ta=tseq-cál=a ta=tsítset=a.
 be.situated=ANTI DET=put.up-ACT=EXIS DET=new=EXIS
 'In the very same place where the church had burned down, that's where they put up the new one.'
- (22) áma zam' lhkúnsa, ka-xílh-{ts}-tum'-a [ta=s]=ts'íla=s=a
 good after.all now CIRC-do-{CAUS}-1PL.ERG-CIRC[DET=NMLZ]=like=3POSS=EXIS
 ta... ka-tsítset-s-túm-a ta=lam-cal-álhcw-kálh=a láta7.
 DET... CIRC-new-CAUS-1PL.ERG-CIRC DET=pray-ACT-place-1PL.POSS=EXIS there
 'So it's pretty good now, we've managed to sort of renew the church there.'
- (23) *electric bell* lhkúnsa ta=wa7 qwez-n-ém.
 electric bell now DET=IPFV use-DIR-1PL.ERG
 'We use an electric bell now.'

(24) nilh sa... ta... Frank Durbin na=sem7ám-s=a
 COP NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS DET Frank Durbin ABSN.DET=wife-3POSS=EXIS
 zúqw=tu7, i=sqláw'-s=a, nilh=t'u7=málh=ti7 qwez
 die=REM PL.DET=money-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL=ADHORT=DEM get.used
 l=ta=*electric bell*=a lhkúnsa wa7 qwez.
 at=DET=*electric.bell*=EXIS now IPFV get.used
 'It was... Frank Durbin's wife, when she died, it was her money that went towards the electric bell that is used nowadays.'

(25) wá7=ti7 ka-qwéy-s-tum'-a ku=*loudspeaker* lhláku7
 IPFV=DEM CIRC-get.used-CAUS-1PL.ERG-CIRC DET=loudspeaker from+there
 [lhel=ku=s]-7úlhcw=a lh=as wa7 lamás
 [from=DET-NMLZ]-go.in=EXIS COMP=IPFV+3SJV IPFV hold.mass
 ta=naplít=a.
 DET=priest=EXIS
 'We can use it as a loudspeaker from inside when the priest holds mass.'

(26) wa7 ka•káw' kwas tsicw-ts lh=as
 IPFV IRED•far C/D+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.there-mouth COMP=IPFV+3SJV
 wa7 lamás ta=naplít=a.
 IPFV hold.mass DET=priest=EXIS
 'The sound reaches a long way when the priest holds mass.'

(27) lhkúnsa tákem=t'u7 *electric* wa7 qwets-p láti7 l=ta=*hall*=a,
 now all=EXCL *electric* IPFV move-INCH there in=DET=*hall*=EXIS
 l=ta=*church*-kalh=a, lam-cal-alhcw=ká=ti7 séna7,
 in=DET=*church*-1PL.POSS=EXIS pray-ACT-place=IRR=DEM CNTR
 lan kw=n={s}=sáq'ulh kwenswá
 already C/D=1SG.POSS={NMLZ}=half C/D+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
 ka-sám7a-ts-a.
 CIRC-white.person-mouth-CIRC
 'Nowadays everything works by electricity in the hall and the church — I mean *lamcalálhcw*, I'm already half speaking English.'

(28) áti7=k'a lh=tsúkw=as, kw=n=s... t'ál•el=lhkan
 to+there=EPIS COMP=finish=3SJV C/D=1SG.POSS=NMLZ stop•FRED=1SG.SUBJ
 láti7.
 there
 'That's about where it ends, that I... I'll stop there.'

3 Carl Alexander's narrative

3.1 St'át'imcets

Na... n7úts'q7a t'ánam'ten icín'as, tsilkst k'a sq'waxt st'eps ta máq7a áku7 sqém'qem'a, nilh t'u7
 stsut.s ta sqatsza7lhkálha:

“Cw7aoz kw skakanemlhkálha kents7á.”

Tsukw t'u7 kw sncákwwaw'semlhkalkh áta7 ta c.wálha nilh [s]súxwastkalkh áku7 tsal'álha, ni::lh scákwwaw'sems láti7, tsicw ta c.wálha. T'ak káti7 ta xzúma kaoh [nilh] t'u7 st'állecs láti7: nlham'antumúlhas láti7 tákem. Xwexw7útsinlhkalkh: nskícza7, nilh nsqátsez7a, nilh sMary múta7 s7ents. Nlhám'lhkalkh t'u t'iq áti7 tsal'álha.

Na... kulhenmínem láti7 ta tsítwesa [ta] nsnúk'w7a sBuckley. Kwikws ti7 séna7 [ku] tsítw, t'u7 áma t'u7. Ni::lh swá7lhkalkh láti7, nilh k'a [e]t7ú p'ep'á7cw lh[el]ku pála7 t'ánam'ten láti7, [nilh] t'u7 scuz'[s] i wa7 siq'úta áti7 ta xzúma tsítcw.

Cw7aoz pináni7 kwa... sa káti7 wa7 kagwéla sts'ak'w, tsukw láti7 i kwv]áoyena lhnílhas ha káti7 i péqa *gas* wa7 qwez lki *lamp*-a nilh t'u7 s... nilh ts7a sus [s]ts'ák'wkalh. Cuz' zam' i wa7 siq'úta láti7 lta xzúma tsítcw, nilh t'u7 snt'ák'wan'as láti7 ta *lamp*-a na núkwa nsnúk'wa7 sP'xus, nilh stéxwenas áti7 ta q'il'qa cuz' k'wwátem, nilh sláwan'as ta *lamp*-a. T'u7 kanemás k'a, aoz kw skaq'cwépsa ta *lamp*-a láti7, nilh t'u7 skwists, nilh st'eqwps. Kwis, nilh st'eqwps láti7, nilh t'u7 swe7áws láti7 sP'xus:

“Úts'qa7 wi, úts'qa7 wi, cuz' gwelp ta tsítcw kálha.”

Nilh t'u7 s7úts'qa7s tákem swat, nilh skwánitas láti7 i... k'wínas k'a xláka7 láti7 wa7 qwezenítas lhelkw7ú:: tsal'álha, [lhelta] xáw'en'a lhus t'ak... wa7 t'ak... kastwítas k'á ni7 i xlák7a wa7 t'ak? Q'a7ak7antwál'wit láku7 t'u qayt, [nilh] t'u7 sas lhilin'ítas láti7 ta xzúma tsítcw. T'u7 t'cúntanemwit láti7, nilh t'u7 sq'áylecs ta gwélpá et7ú ta xzúma lamcalálhcw. Ni::lh sus t'ak nlhilal'knítas láti7, t'u7 lan t'u7 wa7 k'ac7úl láti7 i nq'ép'qwtensa láti7 ta xzúma lamcalálhcw [nilh] t'u7 sgwelps t'u7.

Wá7lhkan spaqws láti7 lhelta tsítcw kálha s7ulhcw láku7... úts'qa7 lhláku7 kw [s]Súkwi lhelti tsítwesa nilh swas ilal láti7, álas wa7 ít'xtsam' lhnúkwas; nilh k'a wí7 tu7 ti wa7 alkstantáli láti7 nukw. K'wink'wenás k'a láti7 i wa7... i alkstantáliha tú7a ti7 ta lamcalálhcwa. Tákem t'u7 iz' stam' láku7 i *statue*-ha wa7 s7úxwalqw t'u7 ts'il.hál'qwem' t'u7 [e]ki wa7 sk'ul's i sám7a t'u7s... nilh iz' wa7 ilalmínitas: cw7aoz kw ska7úlhcwiha uts'qa7stwítas, t'u7 gwelp t'u7 tu7 tákem.

Wa7 séna7 lhláku7 lhélta tsal'álha ts7ástwítas i qú7a. T'ak múta7 ta *train*-a nilh st'állecs láti7 t'xwána7, nilh sus sáwlhen:

“Kan kw nskanuk'wa7cála lts7a?” T'u7 aoz kw skakánema nilh t'u7 st'súnitas:

“T'ak t'u7 t'ak!”, nilh [ta s]lánsa aylh la... stexw wa7... álas wa7 gwelp ta lamcalálhcwa. [Nilh] t'u7 sas tsut láti7 sBill Casper:

“[Lh]7áozas ká tu7 láti7 kw st'állecs ti *train*-a, kakwanstumá ka lhláku7 ta lamcalálhcwa.” T'u7 t'állec ti *train*-a cin'7úl nilh t'u7 tu7 sgwelps tákem. Láti7 na títina, p'a7cw k'a lhelku ka7lhás kw sxetspqíqin'kst.s kw sxetspqíqin'kst.s sqlaw', nilh tu7 ti7 gwelp – za7xw láti7, tsukw láti7 i lánwensa láti7 wa7 púnem.

Nilh swa::7s láti7, qwal'utminítas láti7 i kúkwpi7a i tákema. Nilh stsut.s:

“O, cuz' múta7 gelilcmínem ku nukw lamcalálhcw.”

K'wínas k'a zam' láti7, kánas k'a kwas q'em'p wi xw7útsin máqa7, wa7 gaw'enítas láti7 i sqláw'a t'u7 ka7az'stwítas[a] láti7 ta sáq'ulha, nilh t'u7 snuk'w7ak7antánemwit eta *Indian Affairs*. T'u7 maystwítas aylh múta7 ta p'á7cwa kw sxzums lamcalálhcw múta7 ta say'sez'álhcwa.

Ts'íla t'u7 múta7, slha7a7mín'twal'. Aoz t'u7 aylh kw nswa7 i gwelpás k'a iz'. Ts'ílxílem t'u7 tu7 múta7, wa7 k'a sáysez'wit áku7 ltsa guy't ta naplíta i sk'wemk'úk'wmi7ta. Mán'cemwit, nilh t'u7 tu7 sa gwelpstwítas láti7 ta nkúpa. Aoz kw slhapan'ítas nilh t'u7 cwelcúleli. Paqu7minítas i slalil'temiha. Plan t'u7 aylh múta7 wa7 cin'7úl elh ats'xenítas i ucwalmícwa t.sgwélpá ta lamcalálhcwa. Ni::lh t'u7 tu7 múta7 sgwelps ni7 ku lamcalálhcw. Cícen' aylh múta7 et7ú elh gwelp tu7 aylh na xzúma say'sez'álhcw kálh.

Nilh t'u7 sk'wínas k'a láti7 máqa7 kw swe7ánem láti7 i tsítsela xzum(a) tsítcwkalh lhelnelh kél7a. Kánas k'a kw s7án'was kw sq'em'ps wi xw7útsin máqa7 kwelh[kalh] we7ánem iz'. T'u7 aoz kw nswa7 i gwelpás ta xzúma tsítcwkalh na áw'ta.

T'u7 cin' aylh múta7 lhptinusmínitas kw scúz'i (al...) maysálts ku tsítsel. Nilh aylh zam' áta7 ta wa7 stseq láta7 sk'il'a lhkúnsa. Tqilh t'u7 tákem *cement* tákem lhkúnsa: cw7aoz kwes gwelp! Tsukw t'u7 ta xzúma ntsunám'calten cuz' gwelp lhcúz'as gwelp!
Nilh ti7.

3.2 English

One February a long time ago, the snow was five feet deep in the Upper Bridge River valley. So then our father said:

“There’s nothing we can do around here. We’ll just have to shovel a path out to the road and go down to Shalalth.” So he shoveled out a path, and reached the road. A truck came by and stopped. He gave us all a ride. There were four of us: my mother, then my father, then Mary and me. We got a ride all the way to Shalalth.

We borrowed my friend Buckley’s house. It was a small house, but it was still good. So then we were staying there, and a little more than a month later, they were going to have a dance at the hall.

There weren’t any electric lights around there back then; just kerosene or white gas was used in the lamps, so that was our lighting. Well, the dance was to be held in the hall, so my other friend P’xus filled a lamp, and then he moved a chair over to stand on so he could hang the lamp. But somehow or other, he didn’t manage to hook the lamp up, and it fell and then exploded. It fell and exploded, and then P’xus yelled:

“Get out everyone, get out, our hall is on fire!” So then everyone went out, and they grabbed some... they used a bunch of buckets from the lake, they went down there, they went... I wonder how they managed to get the buckets going? They passed them from hand to hand until they reached the top, and then they threw water on the hall. But they were defeated there, and then the fire jumped over to the big church. They continued to throw water onto it, but the shingles on the roof of the big church were too dry, so it burned.

As I was watching from our house, Súkwi came out from inside his house, and he was crying, really screaming at times. It must have been because he was one of the ones who worked on [the church] there. There must have been a bunch of people who worked on that church. All the different statues there that were carved just like the ones the white people made, those were what he was crying about. They couldn’t get in to take them out, so all of them got burned.

They were still bringing water from the lake, though. A train was going by, and then it stopped right in the way and [the driver] asked:

“Can I be of any assistance here?” But there was nothing he could do, so they told him:

“Just keep going!”, because by then the church was really on fire. Then Bill Casper said:

“If the train hadn’t have stopped, we would have been able to save the church.” But the train stopped for too long, so everything burned down. The church bell, which must have been worth more than thirty thousand dollars, that burned; it melted, only its hangers were found.

So then that’s how things were, and the chiefs discussed everything, and said:

“Oh, we’re going to try and build another church.” It must have taken several years, maybe fourteen years before they collected the money. But they could only pay for half of it, so they were helped out by Indian Affairs. But then they built a bigger church and a gymnasium.

It was just like before, they were too close together. But this time I wasn't there when they burned down. It happened the same way as before. Some kids must have been playing where the priest stayed. They were smoking, and they set a mattress on fire. They didn't put it out, and then they ran away; they were afraid of their parents. It was already too late by the time the people saw that the church was burning; so that church burned down. And a little while after that, our big gymnasium burned down too.

We've had new, bigger buildings than the first ones for several years now. We've had them for maybe twenty-four years. I wasn't there when the hall burned down the last time, though. But it was a long time before they thought of building a new one. So now one's been put up at Sk'il', and almost everything is made of cement now: it doesn't burn! Just the school will burn down if there's a fire!

That's it.

3.3 Fully analyzed version

- (1) na=n-7úts'q7=a t'ánam'ten i=cín'=as, tsílkst=k'a
 ABSN.DET=LOC-go.out=EXIS month when.PAST=long.time=3SVJ five=EPIS
 sq'waxt s=t'ep=s ta=máq7=a áku7
 foot NMLZ=deep=3POSS DET=snow=EXIS to+there
 sqém'qem'=a.
 Upper.Bridge.River.valley=EXIS
 'One February a long time ago, the snow was five feet deep in the Upper Bridge River valley.'
- (2) nílh=t'u7 s=tsut=s ta=sqatsza7-lhkálh=a:
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS DET=father-1PL.POSS=EXIS
 'So then our father said:'
- (3) "cw7aoz kw=s=ka-kanem=lhkálh-a ken=ts7á."
 NEG DET=NMLZ=CIRC-do.what=1PL.POSS-CIRC around=here
 "There's nothing we can do around here."
- (4) "tsúkw=t'u7 kw=s=n-cákw-aw's-em=lhkalh áta7 ta=c.wálh=a
 finish=EXCL DET=NMLZ-LOC-shovel-road-MID=1PL.POSS to+there DET=road=EXIS
 nilh [s]=súxwast=kalh áku7 tsal'álh=a."
 COP [NMLZ]=go.down=1PL.POSS to+there Shalalth=EXIS
 "We'll just have to shovel a path out to the road and go down to Shalalth."
- (5) ni::lh s=cákw-aw's-em=s láti7, tsicw ta=c.wálh=a.
 COP NMLZ=shovel-road-MID=3POSS there get.there DET=road=EXIS
 'So he shoveled out a path, and reached the road.'
- (6) nílh=t'u7 s=t'ak=[s] káti7 ta=xzúm=a kaoh [nilh]=t'u7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=go.by=[3POSS] around.there DET=big=EXIS car [COP]=EXCL
 s=t'ál-lec=s láti7.
 NMLZ=stop-AUT=3POSS there
 'A truck came by and stopped.'

- (7) n-lham'-an-tumúlh-as láti7 tákem
 LOC-get.put.in-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG there all
 'He gave us all a ride.'
- (8) xwe•xw7útsin'=lhkalh: n-skícza7, nilh n-sqátsez7=a, nilh
 IRED•four=1PL.SUBJ 1SG.POSS-mother COP 1SG.POSS-father=EXIS COP
 s-Mary múta7 s7ents.
 NMLZ-Mary and me
 'There were four of us: my mother, then my father, then Mary and me.'
- (9) n-lhám'=lhkalh t'u t'iq áti7 tsal'álh=a.
 LOC-get.put.in=1PL.SUBJ until arrive to+there Shalalth=EXIS
 'We got a ride all the way to Shalalth.'
- (10) na... kulhen-mín-em láti7 ta=tsítcw-s=a
 FLR borrow-RLT-PASS there DET=house-3POSS=EXIS
 [ta]=n-snúk'w7=a s-Buckley.
 [DET]=1SG.POSS-friend=EXIS NMLZ-Buckley
 'Um... we borrowed my friend Buckley's house.'
- (11) kwíkws=ti7 séna7 tsitcw, t'u7 áma=t'u7.
 small=that CNTR house but good=EXCL
 'It was a small house, but it was still good.'
- (12) ni::lh s=wá7=lhkalh láti7, nás=k'a [e]=t7ú p'•ep'á7cw lh[el]=ku pála7
 COP NMLZ=be=1PL.POSS there go=EPIS [to]=there CRED•more from=DET one
 t'ánam'ten láti7, [nilh]=t'u7 s=cuz'=[s] i=wa7 siq'úta
 month there [COP]=EXCL NMLZ=PROS=[3POSS] PL.DET=IPFV dance
 áti7 ta=xzúm=a tsitcw.
 to+there DET=big=EXIS house
 'So then we were staying there, and a little more than a month later, they were going to have a dance at the hall.'
- (13) cw7aoz pináni7 kwa... sa káti7 wa7
 NEG at.that.time D/C+IPFV NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS around.there IPFV
 ka-gwél-a sts'ak'w.
 CIRC-burn-CIRC light
 'There weren't any electric lights around there back then.'
- (14) tsúkw=t'[u7] láti7 i=kwv] 'áoyen=a lh=nílh=as=ha káti7
 finish=EXC there PL.DET=coal.oil=EXIS COMP=COP=3SJV=YNQ around.there
 i=péq=a gas wa7 qwez l=ki=lamp=a nilh=t'u7
 PL.DET=white=EXIS gas IPFV get.used in=PL.DET=lamp=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=... nilh ts7a sus {s}ts'ák'w-kalh
 NMLZ=... COP this NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS light-PL.POSS
 'Just kerosene or white gas was used in the lamps, so that was our lighting.'

- (15) *cuz' zam' i=wá7 siq'úta láti7 l=ta=xzúm=a tsitcw,*
 PROS so.then PL.DET=IPFV dance there in=DET=big=EXIS house
 'Well, the dance was to be held in the hall,'
- (16) *nílh=t'u7 s=n-t'ák'w-an'-as láti7 ta=lamp=a na=núkwa*
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=LOC-pour-DIR-3ERG there DET=big=EXIS DET=other=EXIS
n-snúk'wa7 s-P'xus,
 1SG.POSS-friend NMLZ-P'xus
 'So my other friend P'xus filled a lamp,'
- (17) *nilh s=téxw-en-as áti7 ta=q'il'q=a cuz' k'wwát-em,*
 COP NMLZ=straight-DIR-3ERG to.there DET=chair=EXIS PROS step-MID
nilh s=láw-an'-as ta=lamp=a.
 COP NMLZ=get.hung-DIR-3ERG DET=lamp=EXIS
 'And then he moved a chair over to stand on so he could hang the lamp.'⁸
- (18) *t'u7 kanem=ás=k'a, aoz kw=s=ka-q'cwép=s=a ta=lamp=a*
 but do.what=3SJV=EPIS NEG D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-get.hooked=3POSS DET=lamp=EXIS
láti7, nilh=t'u7 s=kwis=ts, nilh s=t'eqwp=s.
 there COP=EXCL NMLZ=fall=3POSS COP NMLZ=explode=3POSS
 'But somehow or other he didn't manage to hook the lamp up, and then it fell and exploded.'
- (19) *kwis, nilh s=t'eqwp=s láti7, nilh=t'u7 s=we7áw=s láti7*
 fall COP NMLZ=explode=3POSS there COP=EXCL NMLZ=yell=3POSS there
s-P'xus:
 NMLZ-P'xus
 'It fell and exploded, and then P'xus yelled:'
- (20) *"úts'qa7=wi úts'qa7=wi, cuz' gwel-p ta=tsitcw-kálh=a!"*
 go.out=PL.IMP go.out=PL.IMP PROS burn-INCH DET=house-1PL.POSS=EXIS
 "Get out everyone, get out, our hall is on fire!"
- (21) *nilh=t'u7 s=7úts'qa7=s tákem swat, ni::lh s=kwán-itas*
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=go.out=3POSS all who COP NMLZ=take+DIR-3PL.ERG
láti7 i=... k'wín=as=k'a xláka7 láti7 wa7 qwez-en-ítas
 there PL.DET= how.many=3SJV=EPIS bucket there IPFV use-DIR-3PL.ERG
lhel=kw7ú:: tsal'álh=a, [lhel=ta]=xáw'en'=a lh=us
 from=over.there lake=EXIS [from=DET]=low=EXIS COMP=IPFV+3SJV
t'ak... wa7 t'ak...
 go.along IPFV go.along
 'So then everyone went out, and they grabbed some... they used a bunch of buckets from the lake, from down there they went...they were going...'
- (22) *kas-{ts}-twitas=k'á=ni7... i=xlák7=a wa7 t'ak?*
 do.how-{CAUS}-3PL.ERG=EPIS=ABSN.DEM PL.DET=bucket=EXIS IPFV go.along
 'I wonder how they managed to get the buckets going?'

⁸ The stress on *téxw-en-as* here is unusual: regular stress rules would predict *texw-en-ás*.

- (23) q'a7-ak7-an'-twál'=wit láku7 t'u qayt, [nilh]=t'u7
 pass-hand-DIR-RECIP=3PL there until reach.top [COP]=EXCL
 sas lhil-in'-ítas láti7 ta=xzúm=a tsitcw.
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS splash-DIR-3PL.ERG there DET=big=EXIS house
 'They passed them from hand to hand until they reached the top, and then they threw water
 on the hall.'
- (24) t'u7 t'cún-tanemwit lati7, nílh=t'u7 s=q'áy-lec=s
 but beat+DIR-3PL.PASS there COP=EXCL NMLZ=jump-AUT=3POSS
 ta=gwél-p=a e=t7ú ta=xzúm=a lam-cal-álhcw.
 DET=burn-INCH=EXIS to=over.there DET=big=EXIS pray-ACT-place
 'But they were defeated there, and then the fire jumped over to the big church.'
- (25) ni::lh sus t'ak n-lhil-al'k-n-ítas láti7,
 COP NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS continue LOC-splash-surface-DIR-3PL.ERG there
 t'u7 lán=t'u7 wa7 k'ac-7úl láti7
 but already=EXCL IPFV dry-too.much there
 i=n-q'ép'-qw-ten-s=a láti7 ta=xzúm=a
 PL.DET=LOC-cover-top-thing-3POSS=EXIS there DET=big=EXIS
 lam-cal-álhcw [nilh]=t'u7 s=gwél-p=s=t'u7.
 pray-ACT-place [COP]=EXCL NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS=EXCL
 'They continued to throw water onto it, but the shingles on the roof of the big church were
 too dry, so it burned.'
- (26) wá7=lhkan s-paqw-s láti7 lhel=ta=tsitcw-kálh=a,
 IPFV=1SG.SUBJ STAT-look-CAUS there from=DET=house-1PL.POSS=EXIS
 s-7ulhcw la... úts'qa7 lh-láku7 kw=[s]-Súkwi
 STAT-inside th... go.out from-there PND=[NMLZ]-Súkwi
 lhel=ti=tsitcw-s=a.
 from=DET=house-3POSS=EXIS
 'As I was watching from our house, Súkwi came out from inside his house.'
- (27) nilh swas ílal láti7, álas wa7 ít'x-t's-am'
 COP NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS cry there really IPFV scream-mouth-MID
 lh=núkw=as.
 COMP=other=3SVJ
 'And he was crying, really screaming at times.'
- (28) nilh=k'a=wí7=tu7 ti=wá7 alkst-an-táli láti7 nukw.
 COP=EPIS=EMPH=REM DET=IPFV work-DIR-NTS there other
 'It must have been because he was one of the ones who worked on [the church] there.'
- (29) k'win•k'wen=ás=k'a láti7 i=wa7... i=7alkst-an-talih=a=tú7=a
 how.many•TRED=3SVJ=EPIS there PL.DET=IPFV PL.DET=work-DIR-NTS=EXIS=REM=A
 ti7 ta=lam-cal-álhcw=a.
 DEM DET=pray-ACT-place=EXIS
 'There must have been a bunch of people who worked on that church.'

- (30) tákem=t'u7=iz' stam' láku7 i=*statue*=ha wa7
all=EXCL=PL.DEM what there PL.DET=statue=EXIS IPFV
s-7úxw-alqw t'u7 ts'il.h-ál'qwem'=t'u7 [e]=ki=wá7
STAT-get.carved-wood but like-appearance=EXCL [to]=PL.DET=IPFV
s-k'u7-s i=sám7=a t'u7 s=...
NMLZ-make-3POSS PL.DET=white.person=EXIS but NMLZ=
nílh=iz' wa7 ilal-mín-itas.
COP=PL.DEM IPFV cry-RDR-3PL.ERG
‘All the statues there that were carved just like the ones the white people made, those were what he was crying about.’
- (31) aoz kw=s=ka-7úlhcw=i-ha uts'qa7-s-twítas, t'u7
NEG D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-go.in=3PL.POSS-CIRC go.out-CAUS-3PL.ERG but
gwél-p=t'u7=tu7 tákem.
burn-INCH=EXCL=REM all
‘They couldn’t get in to take them out, so all of them got burned.’
- (32) wa7 séna7 lhláku7 lhel=ta=tsal'álh=a ts7ás-{ts}-twítas
IPFV CNTR from.there from=DET=lake=EXIS come-{CAUS}-3PL.ERG
i=qú7=a.
PL.DET=water=EXIS
‘They were still bringing water from the lake, though.’
- (33) t'ak múta7 ta=*train*=a nilh s=t'ál-lec=s láti7 txw-ána7,
go.by again DET=train=EXIS COP NMLZ=stop-AUT=3POSS there straight-ear
nilh sus sáwlhen:
COP NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS ask
‘A train was going by, and then it stopped right in the way and [the driver] asked:’
- (34) “kan kw=n=s=ka-nuk'wa7-cál-a l=ts7a?”
whether D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=CIRC-help-ACT-CIRC at=here
“Can I be of any assistance here?”
- (35) t'u7 aoz kw=s=ka-kánem-a nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-itas:
but NEG D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-do.what-CIRC COP=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3PL.ERG
‘But there was nothing he could do, so they told him:’
- (36) “t'ák=t'u7 t'ak!”
go.by=EXCL go.by
‘Just keep going!’
- (37) nilh [t=s]=lán=s=a aylh la... stexw wa7... álas wa7
COP [D/C=NMLZ]=already=3POSS=EXIS then th... really IPFV really IPFV
gwel-p ta=lam-cal-álhcw=a.
burn-INCH DET=pray-ACT-place=EXIS
‘Because by then the church was really on fire.’

- (38) [nilh]=t'u7 sas... tsut láti7 s-Bill Casper:
 [COP]=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS say there NMLZ-Bill Casper
 'Then Bill Casper said:'
- (39) "[lh]=7aoz=as=ká=tu7 láti7 kw=s=t'ál-lec=s ti=train=a,
 [COMP]=NEG=3SVJ=IRR=REM there D/C=NMLZ=stop-AUT=3POSS DET=train=EXIS
 ka-kwan-s-tum-á=ka lh-láku7 ta=lam-cal-álhcw=a.
 CIRC-get.taken-CAUS-1PL.ERG-CIRC=IRR from-there DET=pray-ACT-place=EXIS
 "If the train hadn't have stopped, we would have been able to save the church."
- (40) t'u7 t'ál-lec ti=train=a cin'7úl nílh=t'u7=tu7
 but stop-AUT DET=train=EXIS long.time-too.much COP=EXCL=NMLZ=REM
 s=gwel-p=s tákem.
 NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS all
 'But the train stopped for too long, so everything burned down.'
- (41) láti7 na=tíntin=a, p'á7cw=k'a lhel=ku=ka7lhás kw=s=xetspqiqín'kst=s
 there ABSN.DET=bell=EXIS more=EPIS from=DET=three D/C=NMLZ=hundred=3POSS
 kw=s=xetspqiqín'kst=s sqlaw', nílh=tu7=ti7 gwel-p.
 D/C=NMLZ=hundred=3POSS money COP=REM=DEM burn-INCH
 'The church bell, which must have been worth more than thirty thousand dollars, that burned.'
- (42) za<7>xw láti7, tse•tsúkw láti7 i=láw-men-s=a láti7 wa7
 melt<INCH> there IRED•finish there PL.DET=hang-INS=EXIS there IPFV
 pún-em.
 find+DIR-PASS
 'It melted, only its hangers were found.'
- (43) nilh s=wa::7=s láti7, qwal'ut-min-ítas láti7 i=kúkwpí7=a
 COP NMLZ=be=3POSS there speak-RLT-3PL.ERG láti7 PL.DET=chief=EXIS
 i=tákem=a, nilh s=tsut=s:
 PL.DET=all=EXIS COP NMLZ=say=3POSS
 'So then that's how things were, and the chiefs discussed everything, and said.'
- (44) "o, cuz' múta7 gel-ilc-mín-em ku=núkw lam-cal-álhcw."
 oh PROS again strong-AUT-RLT-1PL.ERG DET=another pray-ACT-place
 "Oh, we're going to try and build another church."
- (45) k'wín=as=k'a zam' láti7, kán=as=k'a kwas
 how.many=3SVJ=EPIS so.then there, whether=3SVJ=EPIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+POSS
 q'em'p wi=xw7utsin máqa7, wa7 gaw'-en-ítas láti7 i=sqláw'=a.
 ten plus=four snow IPFV gather-DIR-3PL.ERG there PL.DET=money=EXIS
 'It must have taken several years, maybe fourteen years before they collected the money.'

- (46) t'u7 ka-7az'-s-twítas-[a] lati7 ta=sáq'ulh=a, nílh=t'u7
 but CIRC-pay-CAUS-3PL.ERG-[CIRC] there DET=half=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=nuk'w7-ak7-an-tánemwit e=ta=*Indian Affairs*.
 NMLZ=help-hand-DIR-3PL.PASS by=DET=*Indian Affairs*
 'But they could only pay for half of it, so they were helped out by Indian Affairs.'
- (47) t'u7 mays-{ts}-twítas aylh múta7 ta=p'á7cw=a kw=s=xzum=s
 but get.built-{CAUS}-3PL.ERG then again DET=more=EXIS D/C=NMLZ=big=3POSS
 lam-cal-álhcw múta7 ta=say'sez'-álhcw=a.
 pray-ACT-place and DET=play-place=EXIS
 'But then they built a bigger church and a gymnasium.'
- (48) ts'íla=t'u7 múta7, s-lha7•a7-mín'-twal',
 like=EXCL again STAT-close•FRED-RDR-RECIP
 'It was just like before, they were too close together.'
- (49) áoz=t'u7 aylh kw=n=s=wa7 i=gwel-p=ás=k'a=iz'.
 NEG=EXCL then D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=be when.PAST=burn-INCH=3SJV=EPIS=PL.DEM
 'But this time I wasn't there when they burned down.'
- (50) ts'il-xil-em=t'ú7=tu7 múta7, wá7=k'a sáy'sez'=wit áku7
 like-do-MID=EXCL=REM again IPFV=EPIS play=3PL to.there
 l=tsa guy't ta=naplít=a i=sk'wem•kúk'wmi7t=a,
 at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS sleep DET=priest=EXIS PL.DET=TRED•child=EXIS
 'It happened the same way as before, some kids must have been playing where the priest stayed.'⁹
- (51) mán'c-em=wit, nílh=t'u7=tu7 sa gwel-p-s-twítas
 smoke-MID=3PL COP=EXCL=REM NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS burn-INCH-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 láti7 ta=n-kúp=a.
 thereDET=LOC-mattress=EXIS
 'They were smoking, and they set a mattress on fire.'
- (52) aoz kw=s=lhap-an'-ítas, nílh=t'u7 s=cwel•cúlel=i.
 NEG D/C=NMLZ=extinguish-DIR-3PL.ERG COP=EXCL NMLZ=TRED•run.away=3PL.POSS
 'They didn't put it out, and then they ran away.'
- (53) paqu7-min-ítas i=slalil'tem-íh=a.
 afraid-RLT-3PL.ERG PL.DET=parents-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 'They were afraid of their parents.'¹⁰
- (54) plán=t'u7 aylh múta7 wa7 cin'-7úl elh ats'x-en-ítas
 already=EXCL then again IPFV long.time-too.much and.then see-DIR-3PL.ERG
 i=7ucwalmícw=a t=s=gwél-p=s=a ta=lam-cal-álhcw=a.
 PL.DET=people=EXIS D/C=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS=EXIS DET=pray-ACT-place=EXIS
 'It was already too late by the time the people saw that the church was burning.'

⁹ The collocation *ts'íl-xil-em* is unusual; it appears to be a nonce construction involving the compounding of *ts'íla* 'like' and *xil-em* 'do (like)'.
¹⁰ The stress on *paqu7minítas* is unexpected: regular stress rules would yield *paqu7mínitas*.

- (55) ni::lh=t'u7=tu7 múta7 s=gwel-p=s ni7 ku=lam-cal-álhcw.
 COP=EXCL=REM again NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS ABSN.DEM DET=pray-ACT-place
 'So then that church burned down.'
- (56) cí•cen' aylh múta7 e=t7ú elh gwél-p=tu7 aylh
 CRED•long.time then again to=DEM and.then burn-INCH=REM then
 na=xzúm=a say'sez'-álhcw-kalh.
 ABSN.DEM=big=EXIS play-place-1PL.POSS
 'And a little while after that, our big gymnasium burned down too.'
- (57) nilh=t'u7 s=k'wín=as=k'a láti7 máqa7 kw=s=we7-án-em
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=how.many=3SVJ=EPIS there snow D/C=NMLZ=be-DIR-1PL.ERG
 lati7 i=tsítsel=a xzum(a) tsítcw-kalh lhel=nelh=kél7=a.
 there PL.DET=new=EXIS big house-1PL.POSS from=PL.ABSN.DET=first=EXIS
 'We've had new buildings for several years now, since those first ones.'
- (58) kán=as=k'a kw=s=7án'was kw=s=q'em'p=s wi=xw7útsin máqa7
 whether=3SVJ=EPIS D/C=NMLZ=two D/C=NMLZ=ten=3POSS plus=four snow
 kwelh[kalh] we7-án-em=iz'.
 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+1PL.POSS be-DIR-1PL.ERG=PL.DEM
 'We've had them for maybe twenty-four years.'
- (59) t'u7 aoz kw=n=s=wa7 i=gwel-p=ás ta=xzúm=a
 but NEG D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=be when.PAST=burn-INCH=3SVJ DET=big=EXIS
 tsítcw-kalh na=7áw't=a.
 house-1PL.POSS ABSN.DET=last=EXIS
 'I wasn't there when the hall burned down the last time, though.'
- (60) t'u7 cin' aylh muta7 elh ptinus-mín-itas
 but long.time then again and.then think-RLT-3PL.ERG
 kw=s=cúz'=i (al...) mays-álts ku=tsítsel.
 D/C=NMLZ=PROS=3PL.POSS (wor..) build-house DET=new
 'But it was a long time before they thought of building a new one.'
- (61) nilh aylh zam' áta7 ta=wa7 s-tseq l=ta=sk'il'=a lhkúnsa.
 COP then so.then to.there DET=IPFV STAT-set.down at= DET=Sk'il'=EXIS now
 'So now one's been put up at Sk'il'.'
- (62) tqílh=t'u7 tákem cement, tákem lhkúnsa: cw7aoz kwes
 almost=EXCL all cement all now NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 gwel-p!
 burn-INCH
 'Almost everything is made of cement now: it doesn't burn!'

- (63) tsúkʷ=t'u7 ta=xzúm=a n-tsumám'-cal-ten cuz' gwel-p
 finish=EXCL DET=big=EXIS LOC-teach-ACT-thing PROS burn-INCH
 lh=cúz'=as gwel-p.
 COMP=PROS=3SJV burn-INCH
 'Just the school will burn down if there's a fire.'
- (64) nilh ti7.
 COP that
 'That's it.'

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Appendix I List of abbreviations and conventions employed in the interlinear glosses

A	<i>'apogogic' =a</i>	ABSN	<i>absent (for DET/DEM)</i>
ACT	<i>active intransitive marker</i>	ADHORT	<i>adhortative enclitic</i>
ANTI	<i>antithetical enclitic</i>	AUT	<i>autonomous intransitive marker</i>
CAUS	<i>causative transitivizer</i>	CIRC	<i>circumstantial circumfix</i>
CNTR	<i>counter-to-expectation</i>	COMP	<i>complementizer</i>
COP	<i>copula/focus marker</i>	CRED	<i>consonant (-C-) reduplication</i>
D/C	<i>determiner-complementizer</i>	DEM	<i>demonstrative</i>
DET	<i>determiner</i>	DIR	<i>directive transitivizer</i>
EMPH	<i>emphatic enclitic</i>	EPIS	<i>epistemic modal enclitic</i>
ERG	<i>ergative (transitive subject)</i>	EXCL	<i>exclusive enclitic</i>
EXIS	<i>existential enclitic</i>	FLR	<i>filler (pause marker)</i>
FRED	<i>final (-VC) reduplication</i>	FUT	<i>future modal enclitic</i>
INCH	<i>inchoative marker</i>	IPFV	<i>imperfective auxiliary</i>
IRED	<i>initial (CV-) reduplication</i>	IRR	<i>irrealis modal enclitic</i>
LOC	<i>locative prefix</i>	MID	<i>middle intransitive marker</i>
NEG	<i>negation</i>	NMLZ	<i>nominalizer</i>
NTS	<i>non-topical subject marker</i>	OBJ	<i>object suffix</i>
PASS	<i>passive suffix</i>	PL	<i>plural</i>
POSS	<i>possessive</i>	PROS	<i>prospective auxiliary</i>
QUOT	<i>quotative enclitic</i>	RDR	<i>redirective transitivizer</i>
RECIP	<i>reciprocal</i>	REM	<i>remote in time (enclitic)</i>
RLT	<i>relational transitivizer</i>	SUBJ	<i>(indicative) subject clitic</i>
SJV	<i>subjunctive ('conjunctive') subject clitic</i>	STAT	<i>stative prefix</i>
TRED	<i>total (CVC-) reduplication</i>	YNQ	<i>yes-no question marker</i>
-	<i>affix boundary</i>		
=	<i>clitic boundary</i>		
<...>	<i>infix material</i>		
•	<i>reduplicative morpheme</i>		
+	<i>fused material, where morpheme boundaries are impossible to segment</i>		
::	<i>rhetorical lengthening on a vowel</i>		
[...]	<i>material grammatically required but elided in fast/casual speech</i>		
{...}	<i>material underlying present but deleted by regular phonological rule</i>		
(...)	<i>extra material present due to false starts, speech errors, etc.</i>		

Appendix II Conversion chart from the van Eijk orthography to the (North) American Phonetic Alphabet¹¹

Van Eijk Orthography	(North) American Phonetic Alphabet	Van Eijk Orthography	(North) American Phonetic Alphabet
p	p̥	q	q̥
p'	p̥'	q'	q̥'
m	m̥	q ^w	q̥ ^w
m'	m̥'	q' ^w	q̥' ^w
t	t̥	x	x̥
ts	c̥	xw	x̥ ^w
<u>ts</u>	c̥̣	g	g̥
ts'	c̥'	g'	g̥'
<u>ts'</u>	c̥'	gw	g̥ ^w
s	s̥	g' ^w	g̥' ^w
<u>s</u>	s̥̣	w	w̥
n	n̥	w'	w̥'
n'	n̥'	y	y̥
t'	ɰ̥'	y'	y̥'
lh	ɬ̥	z	z̥
l	l̥	z'	z̥'
l'	l̥'	h	h̥
<u>l</u>	l̥̣	ʔ	ʔ̥
l'	l̥'	a	ḁ
k	k̥	ao	ḁo
k'	k̥'	e	e̥
kw	k̥ ^w	v	v̥
k' ^w	k̥' ^w	i	i̥
c	x̥	ii	i̥i̥
cw	x̥ ^w	u	u̥
r	ɹ̥	o	o̥
r'	ɹ̥'		

¹¹ The version of the (N)APA employed here is the one used by van Eijk (1997).