

# Three Glossed Nl̓əʔkepmxcín Narratives by Kʷəłtəzétkʷu (Bernice Garcia)\*

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**Abstract:** In this paper, we present three transcribed, glossed, and translated narratives told by Kʷəłtəzétkʷu (Bernice Garcia) in Nl̓əʔkepmxcín (Interior Salish). The narratives are memories from Kʷəłtəzétkʷu's childhood, growing up on *nleʔkepmxúymxʷ*. The first narrative was transcribed by Anna Stacey, and the second and third narratives were transcribed by Ella Hannon. Kʷəłtəzétkʷu provided translations into English. While we note a number of linguistic features that are of interest in these texts, the primary focus of this paper is Kʷəłtəzétkʷu's narratives. We hope the preservation and publication of these stories will create a useful language resource for Nl̓əʔkepmxcín speakers and learners, as well as for linguists.

**Keywords:** Nl̓əʔkepmxcín, narrative, oral history

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Overview

Nl̓əʔkepmxcín is a Salish language (ISO 639-3: thp) spoken along the Fraser River in the Pacific Northwest. It is a member of the Northern Interior sub-family, along with St'át'imcets and Secwepemctsin. There are currently around 100 fluent speakers (Gessner et al. 2022) and a growing number of language learners thanks to community-led revitalization initiatives. This paper is part of a recent increase in narratives and conversations recorded and transcribed in the language (e.g., Givens & Hall 2023; Hannon et al. 2023; Hall & Phillips 2024), creating resources for language learning and linguistic analysis alike.

### 1.2 Structure of the paper

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 provides an overview of linguistic features that we noted when analyzing the narratives. Section 3 is an introduction to the narratives, provided in both Nl̓əʔkepmxcín and English by Kʷəłtəzétkʷu (Bernice Garcia). Sections 4, 5, and 6 contain the narratives told by Kʷəłtəzétkʷu. These three sections have the same internal structure, explained in detail in Section 1.3 below. First, the narrative is presented in Nl̓əʔkepmxcín, with each sentence numbered. The narrative is then presented with corresponding line numbers in English, with translations provided by Kʷəłtəzétkʷu. Lastly, each of sections 4, 5, and 6 contain a line-by-line

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\* This paper would not exist but for Kʷəłtəzétkʷu (Bernice Garcia). We want to thank her for sharing her stories with us. *ném kʷukʷscémxʷ*. Bernice wishes it to be acknowledged that she is a Kamloops Indian Residential School speaker, who is re-learning her language. She introduces herself thus: *ʔes ʔúməcms kʷəłtəzétkʷuʔ təw le čələtkʷu wéʔe ncitxʷ. ʔuʔ wéʔec ʔex netýxs scwéwmx, ʔuʔ tékm xéʔe ne nleʔképmx e tmíxʷs*, 'My traditional name is kʷəłtəzétkʷuʔ, my home is in Coldwater of 'Nicola' of Nlaka'pamux lands.' We wish to acknowledge that this project was funded jointly by the Jacobs Research Funds (Whatcom Museum, Washington) and a SSHRC Insight Grant.

linguistic gloss of the Nleʔkepmxcín. Section 4 presents the first narrative, *ptínusmne xʷúy' cút ʔə súke xʷúy' tékl ekwú*. Section 5 presents the second narrative, *ptínusmne xʷúy' tékl ʔə tmíxʷ*. Section 6 presents the third narrative, *páqʷuʔstis ł skʷúzkʷt*.

### 1.3 Reader's guide to the narratives

This paper presents three stories in Nleʔkepmxcín, told by Kʷəłtəzétkʷu (Bernice Garcia) about her childhood. Each story includes three sections, so that the reader may focus either on simply reading the story as a whole or investigating the meaning and structure of individual sentences. The first section is a transcription of the story as told by Kʷəłtəzétkʷu, in Nleʔkepmxcín. Following this, the second section provides an English translation of each sentence (translated by Kʷəłtəzétkʷu, and thus also in her own words). Finally, the third section provides a detailed meaning breakdown of each sentence of the story. In the third section, each sentence has four lines: first is the original Nleʔkepmxcín sentence, second is a *segmented* version of the Nleʔkepmxcín, third is a corresponding *gloss* for each unit in the segmented line, and fourth is the English translation. This allows the reader to analyze individual words and morphemes (meaningful sub-pieces of words). The segmented line adds boundaries between morphemes, and the gloss line offers a meaning for each morpheme. Thus, the morphemes in the segmented and gloss lines are aligned to make their correspondence clear. Consider (1) (replicating line (22) from *ptínusmne xʷúy' cút ʔə súke xʷúy' tékl ekʷu* (Story 1)), repeated below, as an example: the word *nqéck* is broken down into two morphemes, to make clear which parts of the word contribute which aspects of the meaning: *qéck* provides the primary meaning ‘older male cousin’, while the *n-* ‘1SG.POSS’ at the start adds a singular first-person possessive meaning, combining to mean ‘my (older, male) cousin’. The gloss line represents these meanings with English translations for contentful morphemes (things like nouns, verbs, e.g., *qéck*) or with abbreviations in small capitals for grammatical morphemes (e.g., 1SG.POSS).<sup>1</sup> In the segmented line, a small set of morpheme boundary types are used to capture the underlying morphology: ‘-’ for affixes, ‘=’ for clitics, ‘~’ for reduplication, and ‘<’ for infixes<sup>2</sup>. Our analyses were greatly aided by the Nleʔkepmxcín grammar (Thompson & Thompson 1992) and Nleʔkepmxcín-English dictionary (Thompson & Thompson 1996).

- (1) *ʔé məł nés láxʷms ʔə súke nqéck nke ʔəp.*  
 ʔé=məł      nés láxʷ-m[-t]-Ø-s                      ʔə=súke  
 INT=CNSQ go spit.out-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=sugar  
           n-qéck=nke    ʔəp  
           1SG.POSS-older.male.cousin=INFER MOD  
 ‘And then he spat in the sugar.’

<sup>1</sup> Glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2008) with the following additions: AUT = autonomous, CHR = characteristic, CNSQ = consequential, CTR = control, CTR.MID = control middle, D/C = determiner/complementizer, DESID = desiderative, DIM = diminutive, DVL = developmental, EMPH = emphatic, EXT = stem extender, IMM = immediate, INCH = inchoative, INDEP = independent, INFER = inferential evidential, INT = introductory predicate, INTS = intensifier, LC = limited control transitivizer, LC.MID = limited control middle, MOD = modal, PROSP = prospective aspect, RLT = relational (pre-transitivizer), RPRT = reportative evidential, SENSE = sensory evidential, STAT = stative, and TAG = tag question.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of a morpheme that is both reduplicated *and* infixed (e.g., DIM), just the infix boundaries are used.

An additional note on our glossing style is that we have, in many places, chosen to normalize to the underlying form of a morpheme in the segmentation line. Though it is natural for a morpheme to have a few allomorphs, this practice is intended to make it clear that different surface forms are indeed the same single morpheme. For example, the 3ERG suffix may be pronounced as *-s*, *-es*, or *-əs*, depending on the sounds in the word it is attaching to, but in the segmentation line we have always written it as *-es*. As for which form to posit as the underlying one, we generally deferred to the grammar (Thompson & Thompson 1992). The transcription line, however, faithfully presents words as they were uttered, with no such normalization. Though this leads to slight mismatches between forms in the transcription vs. segmentation lines, it should allow the reader to observe both the spoken sounds and their underlying morphology.

In the same vein, we have also inserted entire morphemes in brackets where they are unrealized but underlyingly present. For example, the transitivizer *-t* may be omitted depending on the sounds surrounding it but must be present in the underlying morphology wherever transitive agreement suffixes surface. An example of an underlying transitivizer is found in *láxʷms* ‘he(/she/they) spit it out’ in (1). Another frequent example is the pre-transitivizing control morpheme (CTR) with underlying form *-n*, always assumed present before the transitivizer (unless another pre-transitivizing morpheme is explicitly used, such as the causative *-s* or relational *-m* / *-mín*, as in (1)).

As for stress, we mark a word’s primary stress with an acute accent, but practices vary as to *when* to bother marking stress. Though it is undoubtedly informative in multisyllabic words with multiple candidates for the primary stressed syllable, in shorter words the placement of stress may be unambiguous even without being marked. We have elected to follow the dictionary’s (Thompson & Thompson 1996) conventions on stress marking, which generally means that content words always have stress marked (e.g., *tékt* ‘rain’, *qéck* ‘older male cousin’) whereas more grammatical words do not (e.g., *nukʷ* ‘sensing evidential’, *ǰəp* ‘modal’). Occasionally, the dictionary itself is not consistent (e.g., for monosyllabic demonstratives like *neʔ*), in which case we have left these words without explicit stress marking, save for *ǰéx* ‘imperfective’, which we have stressed for consistency with other auxiliary verbs like *cúʔ* and *xʷúyʷ*.

## 2 Linguistic notes on the narratives

In collecting naturalistic, non-prompted speech, we noted a number of interesting linguistic features that had not previously shown up in targeted elicitation sessions. This section overviews a number of these features: particularly the use of modals and evidential clitics, the use of morphologically complex connectives, and the morphemic variation in complex connectives. These uses of modals, evidential clitics, and connectives are of interest from semantic and pragmatic perspectives, while the morphemic variation in complex connectives is of interest from a syntactic and morphological perspectives.

### 2.1 Modal and evidential clitics

In all three stories, the inferential evidential clitic *nke* and the modal particle *ǰəp* are frequently volunteered. The morphemes *nke* and *ǰəp* almost always co-occur — *ǰəp* occurs without being preceded by *nke* in sentence (29) from Story 1, but everywhere else it, is preceded by *nke*. Both *nke* and *ǰəp* are optionally preceded by the connective *ǰé mət ne(s)*, suggesting that they may be involved in sequencing events in each story (see Hannon 2024a in this volume for a discussion of the connective *ǰé mət nés*).

Interestingly, the modal contribution of *nke* (Hannon 2024b) remains apparent in the English translations, many of which contain the modal adverb ‘probably’. The meaning contribution of *ɔ́ap* is less transparent — Thompson and Thompson (1996:175) propose that *ɔ́ap* marks that an event is ‘unusual’. *ɔ́ap* could be common in storytelling because the events that the speaker is referring to are not ‘every-day’ events; however, this hypothesis has not yet been tested.

## 2.2 Morphologically complex connectives

These stories heavily feature the morphologically complex connective *ɔ́e mət nés*. The connective *ɔ́e mət nés* can also stack with the aforementioned modal particles *nke* and *ɔ́ap*. In the translations provided by K<sup>w</sup>əltəzétk<sup>wu</sup> of sentences featuring (*ɔ́e mət nés*) *nke ɔ́ap*, the English modal adverb ‘probably’ frequently appears. This flavour of uncertainty is absent from translations of utterances containing only *ɔ́e mət nés* (and not *nke* or *ɔ́ap*). *nke* is an epistemic modal (Hannon 2024b), and it appears to still function as an epistemic modal within the morphologically complex connective (*ɔ́e mət nés*) *nke ɔ́ap*. The modal clitics *nke* and *ɔ́ap* can and do appear without being preceded by *ɔ́e mət nés*. Hannon (2024a) discusses the meaning contribution of *ɔ́e mət nés*, but only briefly mentions its co-occurrence with the modal clitics *nke* and *ɔ́ap*. The addition of modal particles does appear to change the meaning of *ɔ́e mət nés*, but further research into the difference between *ɔ́e mət nés* and *ɔ́e mət nés nke ɔ́ap* is required.

## 2.3 Auxiliary *cú?*

The narratives told by K<sup>w</sup>əltəzétk<sup>wu</sup> also contain a few instances of what seems to be the auxiliary *cú?*. This auxiliary appears five times throughout the three narratives; three cases involve *cú?* immediately preceding an inflected transitive verb (lines (19) and (27) in *ptínusmne x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>?</sup> cú? ɔ́a súke x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>?</sup> tékl ek<sup>wu</sup>* (Story 1) and line (10) in *ptínusmne x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>?</sup> tékl ɔ́a tmíx<sup>w</sup>* (Story 2)), while in the fourth and fifth cases *cú?* precedes a demonstrative (line (26) in Story 2) and a predicative noun (line (29) in Story 2), respectively.

Thompson and Thompson describe *cú?* as meaning “somewhat, in limited fashion, a little more” (1992:142). However, it’s not clear that that meaning is involved in its use cases included here: in line (19) of Story 1, for example, *cú?* appears to mean something close to ‘don’t’ — *cú? seýsiɔ́mínx<sup>w</sup> ɔ́a súke* is translated as ‘Don’t play with the sugar’. This same use of *cú?* to mean ‘don’t’ is evident in line (27) of Story 1, and in lines (10) and (26) in Story 2. In line (29) in Story 2, *cú?* appears to mean ‘just’; *ɔ́lu? cú? scmémykt* is translated as ‘We were just children.’

## 2.4 Quotation strategies

A final feature of these stories is frequent quotation, where K<sup>w</sup>əltəzétk<sup>wu</sup> quotes herself or another figure in the story. For example, in line (2) of Story 1, she says “*oh c<sup>?</sup>ɔ́áq<sup>w</sup> nuk<sup>w</sup>*” ‘It seems damp’, which is her *yéye?*’s comment on the state of the sugar. The quotatives were distinguished from the rest of the stories primarily by changes in K<sup>w</sup>əltəzétk<sup>wu</sup>’s voice — in pitch, in tone, and in lengthening of vowels — as she told these parts of the stories. Quotation is also often indicated by *cút* ‘say-IMM’, which does not need to bear any overt agreement morphology — e.g., in line (17) in Story 1, *cút* is understood as having a second-person singular subject, in line (2) in Story 2, *cút* is understood as having a first-person plural subject, and in line (8) in Story 3, *cút* is understood as having a first-person singular subject.

We do not offer an analysis of either the intonational patterns found in quoted speech in narrative or of quotative *cút* here — we instead wish to highlight these features as something of interest to the reader and as avenues of future research.

### 3 K<sup>w</sup>əltəzétk<sup>w</sup>u's introduction

K<sup>w</sup>əltəzétk<sup>w</sup>u provided this introduction on June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2024. The introduction was given first in Nleʔkepmxcín, and then a free English translation followed.

#### 3.1 Nleʔkepmxcín

ćíməł us te nés w ł skúl. ʔé məł nés npúyctis téʔe ł... púyctis téʔe ł *sister, the nun*. ʔéx k ne spuʔít... ʔu? ném kn... ćiý kn nuk<sup>w</sup> te páʔwt. péye ʔu? néʔe te... ćiçm néʔe néktis. ʔu? páʔwt kn ʔu?... néktis néʔ teʔ sqeqéyn. péye te síçm... oh ném kn nuk<sup>w</sup> te páʔwt... ʔíxweł ʔə spéms cé wiʔ xéʔe... e welím.. wllwím néʔe... ʔéx néʔe zi te q<sup>w</sup>óʔ. ʔu? ʔéx wiʔ néʔe. ʔéx neʔ zíxt te q<sup>w</sup>óʔ ʔu? ʔéx ł téʔe. eh, ćiý te ł.. noʔwnʔwłóq<sup>w</sup>. ʔéx ʔe ssss... ʔeł teʔ xíym nuk<sup>w</sup>. ʔé məł nés x<sup>w</sup>úyceʔs tu x<sup>w</sup>eʔ *cling cling cling cling*. *The radiators were so loud with the water running through them. It was kind of scary*. ʔu? ʔíxweł nu... nuk<sup>w</sup> teʔ. te nuk<sup>w</sup> teʔ ks púc ʔə qwéc. *It was a different kind of heat. It wasn't a warm one. Not with, not like the súypm*. te nuk<sup>w</sup> teʔ ks ʔéx s téʔe nsʔítm. ʔu? tətéʔ ks pú. ném nuk<sup>w</sup> te stʔwúye (?). ʔéx teʔ ʔə *sister* ʔə *rosary beads*. zéxt wiʔ. ʔé məł nés *cqwqcqwqcqw* [imitating the sound rosary beads make]. ʔéx te ł xíym. *The rosary beads, when she walked, made sounds*. ʔé məł neʔ nsptínusm. ćiý k... ćiý k nuk<sup>w</sup> te yəxáp. nsptíiinusm néʔe. ʔé məł neʔ cé xéʔ wiʔ... ʔéx kn pípləxm. pípləxmcút nsptínusm. ʔə xíym wn téʔ. k<sup>w</sup>əmíme wn.

#### 3.2 English

When I first got to the residential school, it was different. I was only given — we were all given — just one blanket. And it didn't seem very warm. I got cold. We were given a pillow, and it was cold. The radiators were made of iron and very noisy. And the water'd run through it. It was like boiling water. It wasn't very warm. It wasn't like a wood stove. So I'd be laying there, thinking about my parents, and these memories would pop up. And some of these memories, I'm talking about now, from home.

### 4 Story 1: *ptínusmne x<sup>w</sup>úy' cút ʔə súke x<sup>w</sup>úy' tékl ek<sup>w</sup>u*

This story is a childhood memory of K<sup>w</sup>əltəzétk<sup>w</sup>u, told on June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2023. Translations were provided by K<sup>w</sup>əltəzétk<sup>w</sup>u on July 18<sup>th</sup>, 2023. The majority of modifications from K<sup>w</sup>əltəzétk<sup>w</sup>u were made on November 16<sup>th</sup>, 2023, with some final changes made on May 30<sup>th</sup> and June 4<sup>th</sup>, 2024. Featured in the story are a 3- or 4-year-old K<sup>w</sup>əltəzétk<sup>w</sup>u, her *qéck* (a male cousin of a similar age to her), and her *yéyeʔ* (her granny).

#### 4.1 K<sup>w</sup>əltəzétk<sup>w</sup>u's preamble

There's this one memory. My *yéyeʔ* was having her tea in the kitchen. We stayed in a little cabin — well, to me it was huge. And she was having her tea...

## 4.2 Nle?kepmxcín

1. ?é nés k'wéñs ?ə súkes... ?é mət nés k'wéñs. 2. “oh c'zác'w nuk'w.” 3. “c'zác'w nuk'w ?ə súke, x'wúy nke tékl.” 4. ?é mət nés cúne nke ?əp l nqéck. 5. “c'zác'w ek'wu ?ə súke?” 6. “hécu nés... k'wéñətəm ?ə súke, ké? us nke. cíy nke thén ?ə sc'zác'ws.” 7. ?é mət nés nés kt wé?e. 8. ?é mət nés cúk'ws ?ə tíms yéye?kt. 9. ?é mət nés nés wəl pi?élx'w. 10. ?é mət nés cúne nqéck, 11. ?é mət ne? cúc nke ?əp nqéck, “hécu nés k'wéñətəm ?ə súke.” 12. ?é mət nés k'wéñwix nke ?əp we? w l típəl... ?əs k'wéñətəm ?ə súke. 13. ?é mət nés k'wéñtm ?ə s'le?xímn nke ?əp... xeym k té?e cíy kt x'wúy kt súkeme nke ?əp. 14. té nuk'w té?e ?ə sc'zác'ws. 15. ?é mət ne? nke ?əp scúntm l yéye?kt, 16. “yéye?... téte? k sc'zác'ws ?ə súke!” 17. “?u? ?éx te? cút x'wúy ek'wu tékl!” 18. ?é mət nés cúc nke ?əp l yéye?kt, 19. “cúk'wste ?ə súke! cú? seysi?mínx'w ?ə súke!” 20. ?éx nke ?əp té?e k'wéñətəm ?ə súke... wəl le s'le?xímn. púkətəm ?ə súke nke ?əp cíy te... k'wéñetəm w l ?éyc'qe?. 21. k'wéñetəm w l ?éyc'qe... ?é mət nés cút kt... “téte? x'wúy stékl.” 22. ?é mət nés lác'wms e súke nqéck nke ?əp. 23. ?é mət nés cúc nke ?əp c'zác'w ?éyl ?ə súke. 24. ?é mət né? nke ?əp cúc nqéck, 25. “?e zéytn x'wúy ?ə stékl!” 26. “?éx e pílx'm ?ə súke... x'wúy ek'wu tékl!” 27. ?é mət nke ?əp xé?e... cú? xa?éntis... yéye?kt. 28. “cúk'wste ?ə súke! cúk'wste!” 29. ?é mət nke xé?e ?əp e cúntiyxs, “x'wúy he tékl e pi?sté? us... cúk'wste ?ə súke.” 30. ?é mət nés... cút kt nke... “oh húmél hécu nés w l ?éyc'qe?... x'wúy xé?e... skyəmínstem e stékl.” 31. ?é mət nés nés kt w l ?éyc'qe? nke ?əp. 32. ?é mət nés... lépetm te? ?ə súke.

## 4.3 English

1. She looked at her sugar. 2. “It seems damp.” 3. “The sugar seems to be damp.” 4. I overheard her saying this, and I told my older cousin, 5. “How can sugar be wet?” 6. “Let’s go look at the sugar — see what kind of wet it is.” 7. And we went over there. 8. She finished her tea. 9. And went into the other room. 10. And I said to my older cousin, 11. “Let’s go look at the sugar.” 12. We climbed up on the table to look at the sugar. 13. We took the sugar, spooned it, and it didn’t seem to be wet. 14. It didn’t seem to be wet. 15. And we probably said to our yéye?, 16. “Yéye?, the sugar isn’t wet.” 17. But you said it was gonna rain! 18. And our yéye? probably told us, 19. “Stop — don’t play with the sugar!” [Meanwhile, we got sugar all over the place.] 20. We probably looked at the sugar again. Then I remember we looked outside. 21. We looked outside... and then we said... “it’s not gonna rain.” 22. And then he spat in the sugar. 23. And then he said the sugar is wet now. 24. And then my qéck probably said, 25. “It’s gonna really rain!” 26. “The sugar said it’s really gonna rain!” 27. And then she probably tries to stop us playing with the sugar. 28. “Leave the sugar alone!” 29. She probably said, “Leave the sugar alone! It’s gonna rain sometime.” 30. And we probably said, “Okay, let’s go outside, and wait for the rain to come.” 31. We probably went outside. 32. And we forgot all about the sugar.

## 4.4 Interlinear gloss

- (1) *?é nés k'wéñs ?ə súkes... ?é mət nés k'wéñs.*  
 ?é nés k'wéñ[-n-t]-Ø-es                      ?ə=súke=s                      ?é=mət                      nés  
 INT go look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG    DET=sugar=3POSS    INT=CNSQ go  
 k'wéñ[-n-t]-Ø-es  
 look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG  
 ‘She looked at her sugar.’

- (2) “*oh cʔáqʷ nukʷ.*”  
 oh c<ʔ>áqʷ=nukʷ  
 oh wet<INCH>=SENSE  
 “‘It seems damp.’”
- (3) “*cʔáqʷ nukʷ ʔə súke, xʷúỵ nke tékl.*”  
 c<ʔ>áqʷ=nukʷ ʔə=súke xʷúỵ=Ø=nke tékl  
 wet<INCH>=SENSE DET=sugar PROSP=3SBJ=INFER rain  
 “‘The sugar seems to be damp.’”
- (4) *ʔé mət nés cúne nke ʔəp t nqéck.*  
 ʔé=mət nés cú[-n-t]-Ø-ne=nke ʔəp  
 INT=CNSQ go say-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG=INFER MOD  
 t=n-qéck  
 DET=1SG.POSS-older.male.cousin  
 ‘I overheard her saying this. And I told my older cousin.’
- (5) “*cʔáqʷ ekʷu ʔə súke?*”  
 c<ʔ>áqʷ=ekʷu ʔə=súke  
 wet<INCH>=RPRT DET=sugar  
 “‘How can sugar be wet?’”
- (6) “*hécú nés... kʷénətəm ʔə súke, kéʔ us nke. cíy nke thén ʔə scʔáqʷs.*”<sup>3</sup>  
 hécu nés kʷén[-n-t]-Ø-em ʔə=súke kéʔ=us=nke cíy=nke  
 let’s.go go look-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=sugar Q=3SBJV=INFER like=INFER  
 t=hén ʔə=s=c<ʔ>áqʷ=s  
 OBL=how D/C=NMLZ=wet<INCH>=3POSS  
 “‘Let’s go look at the sugar — see what kind of wet it is.’”
- (7) *ʔé mət nés nés kt wéʔe.*  
 ʔé=mət nés nés=kt wéʔe  
 INT=CNSQ go go=1PL.SBJ DEM  
 ‘And we went over there.’
- (8) *ʔé mət nés cúkʷs ʔə tíms yéyeʔkt.*  
 ʔé=mət nés cúkʷ[-n-t]-Ø-es ʔə=tí-m-s yéyeʔ-kt  
 INT=CNSQ go finish-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=tea-CTR.MID<sup>4</sup>-3POSS granny-1PL.POSS  
 ‘She finished her tea.’

<sup>3</sup> The underlying form of the pre-transitivizer is /n/, although it vocalizes to [e] here. The vocalization of /n/ to [e] is common in roots ending in consonants (Thompson & Thompson 1992:64).

<sup>4</sup> We found this form surprising and are not sure about its analysis. Based on the translation, analyzing *tí* as a noun is our best guess, but the presence of the CTR.MID is unexpected on a noun. There are other nouns that contain this verbal inflection, but in such cases, it is usually clear that the noun is formed from what must have been a verb historically (e.g., the words for ‘lightning’, *nmaʃmáʃm*, and ‘prairie’, *spéym*, as found in Hall & Phillips 2024), which seems unlikely here. Alternatively, this word could be analyzed as a

- (9) *ʔé mət nés nés wət piʔétx<sup>w</sup>.*  
 ʔé=mət nés nés=Ø wət=ɩ=piʔ-étx<sup>w</sup>  
 INT=CNSQ go go=3SBJ to=DET=one-house  
 ‘And went into the other room.’
- (10) *ʔé mət nés cúne nqéck,*  
 ʔé=mət nés cú[-n-t]-Ø-ne n-qéck  
 INT=CNSQ go say-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG 1SG.POSS-older.male.cousin  
 ‘And I said to my older cousin,’
- (11) *ʔé mət neʔ cú<sup>5</sup> nke ʔəp nqéck, “hécu nés k<sup>w</sup>énətem ʔə súke.”*  
 ʔé=mət neʔ [s=]cú-t=s=nke ʔəp n-qéck  
 INT=CNSQ DEM NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS=INFER MOD 1SG.POSS-older.male.cousin  
 hécu nés k<sup>w</sup>én-n-t-Ø-em ʔə=súke  
 let’s.go go look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=sugar  
 ‘Let’s go look at the sugar.’
- (12) *ʔé mət nés ʔíwix nke ʔəp weʔ wɩ tɩpəl... ʔəs k<sup>w</sup>énətem ʔə súke.*  
 ʔé=mət nés ʔíw-ix=nke ʔəp weʔ w=ɩ=tɩpəl  
 INT=CNSQ go climb-AUT=INFER MOD DEM to=DET=table  
 ʔə=s=k<sup>w</sup>én-n-t-Ø-em ʔə=súke  
 D/C=NMLZ=look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=sugar  
 ‘We climbed up on the table to look at the sugar.’
- (13) *ʔé mət nés k<sup>w</sup>éntm ʔə sʔeʔxímn nke ʔəp... xeym k tɩʔe cíy kt x<sup>w</sup>úykt súkeme nke ʔəp.*  
 ʔé=mət nés k<sup>w</sup>én[-n]-t-Ø-em ʔə=s-ʔeʔxí-mn  
 INT=CNSQ go grasp-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=NMLZ-spoon-INS  
 xiy-m=Ø k=tɩʔe cíy=kt x<sup>w</sup>úy=kt  
 act.like-CTR.MID=3SBJ D/C=NEG like=1PL.SBJ PROSP=1PL.SBJ  
 súke-me=nke ʔəp  
 sugar-CTR.MID=INFER MOD  
 ‘We took the sugar, spooned it, and it didn’t seem to be wet.’

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nominalized *clause* complement of *cuk<sup>w</sup>*, but that analysis also runs into problems, as we would expect the nominalizer between *ʔə* and the stem *tí*, and the nominalizer was not audible. A similar mystery occurs on *súke* ‘sugar’ in line (13) of this story.

<sup>5</sup> The predicate *cu* ‘say’ occurs very frequently in these three stories, but its many forms sometimes make analysis difficult. It occurs both transitively (e.g., (10) and (15) in *ptínusmne x<sup>w</sup>úy cút ʔə súke x<sup>w</sup>úy tékt ek<sup>w</sup>u*) and intransitively (e.g., (17) and (21) in *ptínusmne x<sup>w</sup>úy cút ʔə súke x<sup>w</sup>úy tékt ek<sup>w</sup>u*), and this variation doesn’t seem easily predictable. This *cú* form is not immediately transparent to us — given that *sciúc* frequently occurs in the second narrative, *ptínusmne x<sup>w</sup>úy tékt ʔə tmíx<sup>w</sup>* (e.g., in lines (21) and (23)). We analyze the form in the second narrative as s=cú-t=s (NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS), so we retain that analysis here even in the absence of an overt nominalizer.



- (14) *té nuk<sup>w</sup> téʔe ʔə scʔáq<sup>w</sup>s.*  
 té=nuk<sup>w</sup> téʔe ʔə=s=c<ʔ>áq<sup>w</sup>=s  
 NEG=SENSE DEM D/C=NMLZ=wet<INCH>=3POSS  
 ‘It didn’t seem to be wet.’
- (15) *ʔé mət neʔ nke ʔəp scúntm ɿ yéyeʔkt,*  
 ʔé=mət neʔ=nke ʔəp s-cú-n-t-Ø-em ɿ=yéyeʔ-kt  
 INT=CNSQ DEM=INFER MOD NMLZ=say-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=granny-1PL.POSS  
 ‘And we probably said to our yéyeʔ,’
- (16) *“yéyeʔ... tətəʔ k scʔáq<sup>w</sup>s ʔə súke!”*  
 yéyeʔ tətəʔ k=s=c<ʔ>áq<sup>w</sup>=s ʔə=súke  
 granny NEG D/C=NMLZ=wet<INCH>=3POSS DET=sugar  
 “‘Yéyeʔ, the sugar isn’t wet.’”
- (17) *“ʔuʔ ʔéx teʔ cú t x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>u</sup> ek<sup>w</sup>u tékt!”*  
 ʔuʔ ʔéx teʔ cú-t x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>u</sup>=Ø=ek<sup>w</sup>u tékt  
 but IPFV DEM say-IMM PROSP=3SBJ=RPRT rain  
 “‘But you said it was gonna rain!’”
- (18) *ʔé mət nés cú nke ʔəp ɿ yéyeʔkt,*  
 ʔé=mət nés [s=]cú-t=s=nke ʔəp ɿ=yéyeʔ-kt  
 INT=CNSQ go NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS=INFER MOD DET=granny-1PL.POSS  
 ‘And our yéyeʔ probably told us,’
- (19) *“cúk<sup>w</sup>ste ʔə súke! cúʔ seýsiʔmínx<sup>w</sup> ʔə súke!”*  
 cúk<sup>w</sup>-s-t-Ø-e ʔə=súke cúʔ seý~siʔ-mín[-t]-Ø-x<sup>w</sup>  
 stop-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP DET=sugar AUX play~CHAR-RLT-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG  
 ʔə=súke  
 DET=sugar  
 “‘Stop — don’t play with the sugar!’”  
*Comment:* “Meanwhile, we got sugar all over the place.”
- (20) *ʔéx nke ʔəp téʔe k<sup>w</sup>énetəm ʔə súke... wət ɿ sʔeʔxímn. k<sup>w</sup>úpətem ʔə súke nke ʔəp cý te... k<sup>w</sup>énetəm w ɿ ʔéycqəʔ.*  
 ʔéx=nke ʔəp téʔe k<sup>w</sup>éñ-n-t-Ø-em ʔə=súke  
 IPFV=INFER MOD DEM look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=sugar  
 k<sup>w</sup>úp-n-t-Ø-em ʔə=súke=nke ʔəp cý=Ø  
 push-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=sugar=INFER MOD like=3SBJ  
 t=e-k<sup>w</sup>éñ-n-t-Ø-em w=ɿ=ʔéycqəʔ  
 OBL=D/C= look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG to=DET=outside  
 ‘We probably looked at the sugar again. Then I remember we looked outside.’

- (21) *kʷénetem w l ʔéycʰe... ʔé mət nés cúť kt... “tété? xʷúyʰ stéťks.”*  
 kʷéń-n-t-Ø-em w=l=ʔéycʰe ʔé=mət nés cú-t=kt  
 look-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG to=DET=outside INT=CNSQ go say-IMM=1PL.SBJ  
 tété? xʷúyʰ=Ø [k=]s=téťk=s  
 NEG PROSP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=rain=3POSS  
 ‘We looked outside... and then we said, “It’s not gonna rain.”’
- (22) *ʔé mət nés láxʷms e súke nqéck nke ʔəp.*  
 ʔé=mət nés láxʷ-m[-t]-Ø-es ʔə=súke  
 INT=CNSQ go spit.out-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=sugar  
 n-qéck=nke ʔəp  
 1SG.POSS-older.male.cousin=INFER MOD  
 ‘And then he spat in the sugar.’
- (23) *ʔé mət nés cúť nke ʔəp, “cʰáqʷ ʔéyť ʔə súke”.*  
 ʔé=mət nés [s=]cúť-t=s=nke ʔəp cʰ<ʔ>áqʷ=Ø  
 INT=CNSQ go NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS =INFER MOD wet<INCH>=3SBJ  
 ʔéyť ʔə=súke  
 now DET=sugar  
 ‘And then he said, “The sugar is wet now.”’
- (24) *ʔé mət né? nke ʔəp cúť nqéck,*  
 ʔé=mət né?=nke ʔəp [s=]cúť-t=s n-qéck  
 INT=CNSQ DEM=INFER MOD NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS 1SG.POSS-older.male.cousin  
 ‘And then my qéck probably said,’
- (25) *“ʔé zéytn xʷúyʰ ʔə stéťks!”*  
 ʔé zéy-tn xʷúyʰ ʔə=s=téťk=s  
 INT really.do-INS PROSP D/C=NMLZ=rain=3POSS  
 “‘It’s gonna really rain!’”
- (26) *“ʔéx xe? píłəxm ʔə súke... xʷúyʰ ekʷu téťk!”*  
 ʔéx xe? píłəx-m=Ø ʔə=súke xʷúyʰ=ekʷu téťk=Ø  
 IPFV DEM tell-CTR.MID=3SBJ DET=sugar PROSP=RPRT rain=3SBJ  
 “‘The sugar said it’s really gonna rain!’”
- (27) *ʔé mət nke ʔəp xé?e... cúť ʔə?éntis... yéye?kt.*  
 ʔe=mət=nke ʔəp xé?e cúť ʔə?-é-n-t-ey-es  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD DEM AUX restrict.activity-EXT-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG  
 yéye?-kt  
 granny-1PL.POSS  
 ‘And then she probably tries to stop us playing with the sugar.’
- (28) *“cúkʷste ʔə súke! cúťkste!”*  
 cúťʷ-s-t-Ø-e ʔə=súke cúťʷ-s-t-Ø-e  
 stop-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP DET=sugar stop-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP  
 “‘Leave the sugar alone!’”

- (29) *ʔé məl nke xéʔe ʔəp e cúntis “xʷúy he tékl ʔə piʔstéʔ us... cúkʷste ʔə súke.”*  
 ʔé=məl=nke xéʔe ʔəp e=cú-n-t-ey-es xʷúy=Ø  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER DEM MOD D/C=say-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG PROSP=3SBJ  
 he=tékl ʔə=piʔ-s-téʔ=us cúkʷ-s-t-Ø-e ʔə=súke  
 D/C=rain D/C=point.in.time-NMLZ-what=3SBJV stop-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP DET=sugar  
 ‘She probably said, “Leave the sugar alone! It’s gonna rain sometime.”’
- (30) *ʔé məl nés... cút kt nke... “oh húmél hécu nés w ʔéyçqeʔ... xʷúy xéʔe... skyəminstem ʔə stékl.”*  
 ʔé=məl nés cú-t=kt=nke oh húmél hécu nés w=ʔéyçqeʔ  
 INT=CNSQ go say-IMM=1PL.SBJ=INFER oh alright let’s.go go to=DET=outside  
 xʷúy xéʔe s=kyə-mín-s-t-Ø-em ʔə=s-tékl  
 PROSP DEM NMLZ=wait-RLT-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=NMLZ-rain  
 ‘And we probably said, “Okay, let’s go outside, and wait for the rain to come.”’
- (31) *ʔé məl nés nés kt w ʔéyçqeʔ nke ʔəp.*  
 ʔé=məl nés s=nés=kt w=ʔéyçqeʔ=nke ʔəp  
 INT=CNSQ go NMLZ=go=1PL.POSS to=DET=outside=INFER MOD  
 ‘We probably went outside.’
- (32) *ʔé məl nés... lépetm teʔ ʔə súke.*  
 ʔé=məl nés lép-n-t-Ø-em teʔ ʔə=súke  
 INT=CNSQ go forget-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DEM DET=sugar  
 ‘And we forgot all about the sugar.’

## 5 Story 2: *ptínusmne xʷúy tékl ʔə tmíxʷ*

This story was first told by Kʷəltəzétkʷu on June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2023, and retold by Kʷəltəzétkʷu on November 16<sup>th</sup>, 2023. Kʷəltəzétkʷu provided English translations of the retelling on May 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2024. Kʷəltəzétkʷu told this story, another memory of her childhood, directly after telling the first story. This story is about a weathervane.

### 5.1 Kʷəltəzétkʷu’s preamble

You know how there’s weathervanes that are supposed to predict the weather? There’s a little boy and a little girl. One has an umbrella. I remember the little girl having an umbrella. Okay anyhow, my *yéyeʔ* had one of those, those little wooden ones. It was by the window. She had one of those wooden ones. And when she first got it, we seen it. And...

### 5.2 *Nleʔképmxcín*

1. ʔé məl nke ʔəp teʔ sewíx̄tm ʔ yéyeʔkt. 2. ʔéx nke ʔəp teʔ cú, “stéʔ xeʔé yéyeʔ?” 3. ʔé məl néʔ ʔéx nke ʔəp cuntis, “cúkʷste! xʷúy xeʔ píʔəxtis ʔe xʷúy us tékl ʔe xʷúy us teʔ nqʷyénk.” 4. ʔéx nke ʔəp kʷénetm téʔe. 5. ʔéx ʔəp néʔe tuʔúʔt. 6. ʔéx ʔəp xeʔ tuʔúʔt xʷúy ekʷu píʔəxtis xʷúy us nqʷyénk ʔé məl neʔ smúm̄tec xʷúy ekʷu píʔəxtis xʷúy us ʔe tékl. 7. ʔé məl neʔ ʔə smúm̄tec ʔéx xeʔ skʷákʷs te n̄líkw̄estn. 8. c̄e xeʔ cumíns ekʷu xʷúy us ʔe tékl ʔé məl nés kéʔéx wiʔ. 9. ʔéx nke ʔəp né ʔe skʷénstm néʔe. 10. ʔé məl neʔ nke ʔəp cúntis ʔ yéyeʔ kt. “cúkʷste! cúʔ seysiʔmínxʷ.” 11. “cúkʷste!”

12. Zé məł ne? nke łap Zéx cúntm ł yéye?, “Zéx xe? k’wénetm yéye?. cúk<sup>w</sup>sti?e. Zéx ne páq<sup>w</sup>tm,” Zéx nke łap te? Zə cúntm ł yéye?kt. 13. Zé məł nés k’wéntm Ze cúłmn Zé məł nés k’wúpetem Zə tuZú?ł, “x<sup>w</sup>úy nq<sup>w</sup>yénk ek<sup>w</sup>’. óe ek<sup>w</sup>u xe? sptínusmkt nq<sup>w</sup>yénk ek<sup>w</sup>u łu? 14. Zéx ne k’wúpetəm Zə smúmłec “oh x<sup>w</sup>úy tékl. tekłmémn.” k’wúpetəm nke łap Zə smúmłec, “x<sup>w</sup>úy tékl.” 15. Zé məł nés nke łap ne? k’wúpetəm Zə smúmłec. “ohh x<sup>w</sup>úy tékl smúmłec? x<sup>w</sup>úy tékl nist?” Zéx nke łap te cuntm. 16. łu? Zéx ne? k’wúpetəm Zə smúmłec púłm Zə tuZú?ł. 17. Zé məł nés cúntm ł yéye?kt, “yéye?! tém ek<sup>w</sup>u te? x<sup>w</sup>úys Zə tékls cúł Zə tuZú?ł x<sup>w</sup>úy ek<sup>w</sup>u nq<sup>w</sup>yénk!” 18. Zéx nke łu? k’wénes ł kZékt, “Zey nex<sup>w</sup>m, x<sup>w</sup>úy nq<sup>w</sup>yénk.” 19. Zé məł nke łap ne? Ze cúc, “Zey təté? wi? skáze?tis Zə tuZú?ł.” 20. “ném x<sup>w</sup>úy nq<sup>w</sup>yénk.” 21. “cúk<sup>w</sup>ste məł wi? xé?e.” nke łap scúc. “x<sup>w</sup>úy xe? nq<sup>w</sup>yénk.” 22. Zé məł ne nke łap ne sewíxtm ł yéye?kt nke łap, “yéye?! pi?sté? x<sup>w</sup>úy tékl? pi?sté? x<sup>w</sup>úy tékl?” 23. Zé məł nke łap ne scúc nke łap, “Ze púłm us Zə smúmłec x<sup>w</sup>úy xe? tékl.” 24. Zé məł nke łap ł sewíxtm ł yéye?, “ke? x<sup>w</sup>úys púłəmstm Ze smúmłec Zeks tékl cZéył ké?ə wi?” 25. “x<sup>w</sup>úy tékl.” 26. Zé məł ne? nke łap cúł ł kZékt, “cúk<sup>w</sup>ste cúł ne? xazántis,” nke łap. “cúk<sup>w</sup>ste.” 27. Zé məł nés cúc nke łap “x<sup>w</sup>úy xe? tékl Zə pi?sté? us. cúk<sup>w</sup>ste.” 28. Zé məł nke łap ne? Zə scúntm ł kZékt, “yéye? x<sup>w</sup>óx<sup>w</sup>stmtəm x<sup>w</sup>úys tékls x<sup>w</sup>úy púłmtəm Zə smúmłec.” 29. łu? cúł scméniytkt x<sup>w</sup>úy łu? təté? ks néx<sup>w</sup>ms x<sup>w</sup>úy tékl Ze púłm us Zə smúmłec. 30. Zé məł nke łap ne? Zúłx<sup>w</sup> łałm ł tuZú?ł púłm ł smúmłec Zé məł nke łap nés cúntm ł yéye?kt, “ooh yéye?!” 31. Zé məł nés cúłkt nke łap, “ooh yéye? k’wénete púłm Zə smúmłec! x<sup>w</sup>úy tékl Zéył.” 32. Zé məł nke łap te? scúc ł yéye?, “Ze káze?tis xé?e. néswe? wəł łe Zéycqé? k’wénete Zə tmíx<sup>w</sup>.” 33. Zé məł nés néskt wəłə Zéycqé? k’wénetm Zə tmíx<sup>w</sup> łu? nq<sup>w</sup>yénk łu? té?e. 34. Zé məł nke łap tes Zúłx<sup>w</sup>kt. Zé məł nés cúntm ł yéye?, “yéye? káze?tis Zə smúmłec.” 35. “təté? x<sup>w</sup>úys tékls.” 36. Zé məł nke łap ne cúc ł yéye?, “Zéy cúk<sup>w</sup>ste Zə smúmłec.” 37. Zé məł ne? nke łap scúntis, “Zey x<sup>w</sup>e wZéye kncéme.” Zé məł nés lépetəm Zə smúmłec. “ooh kénm kénm yéye?.” 38. Yeah, she distracted us somehow.

### 5.3 English

1. We probably asked our *yéye?* questions. 2. We asked, “What’s that, *yéye?*?” 3. And she probably told us, “Just leave it alone. It’ll tell you if it’s going to rain or if it’s going to be a hot day.” 4. We were probably just looking at it and wondering. 5. There was a little boy. 6. That little boy would tell us if it was going to be a sunny day and the little girl would tell us if it was going to rain. 7. The little girl was holding her umbrella. 8. The umbrella is a tool to keep you dry. 9. We were probably just looking at it and looking at it. 10. And our *yéye?* kept telling us, “Don’t play with that!” 11. “Leave it alone!” 12. And we probably told her too that “We’re just looking! ‘We’re just watching it *yéye?*! Leave us alone! We’re just watching!” 13. With our pointy finger, we pushed the little boy and asked him if it was going to be a hot day. That’s what we were thinking about. We started poking the little girl. 14. We poked at the little girl to come out. “Oh it’s gonna rain! We want it to rain!” We kept poking the little girl. “It’s going to rain!” 15. We probably said, “The little girl is out! It’s gonna really rain now!” 16. We kept poking at the little girl, and the little boy came out. 17. We told our *yéye?*, “*Yéye?*! The little boy came out and it’s not gonna rain!” 18. *Yéye?* looked outside and she agreed. 19. She probably said, “Yeah, that little boy is not lying to us.” 20. “It’s gonna be a really hot day.” 21. “Leave it alone now! He said it’s going to be a hot day!” 22. And then we probably asked our *yéye?*, “*Yéye?* when is it gonna rain? When is it gonna rain?” 23. She probably said, “When the little girl comes out, then it will rain!” 24. We asked our *yéye?*, “You

think if we bring her out, it will rain? Right, *yéye?*?” 25. “It’s going to rain.” 26. And she probably said, “Leave it alone!” And she tried to warn us to leave it alone. 27. She probably told us, “It’ll rain one day! Just leave it alone!” 28. We said to our *yéye?*, “*Yéye?* we want it to rain! We’re going to bring out the little girl!” 29. But we were just children. And we really believed that if the little girl came out, it would rain. 30. And we poked the little boy in and the little girl came out, and we said to our *yéye?*, “Oh *yéye?*!” 31. “It’s going to rain! The little girl came out! It’s gonna rain now!” 32. Our *yéye?* probably said, “Oh... she’s just teasing. Go outside and look at the land.” 33. We went outside and we looked all around the land. It was sunny, it was hot — a warm day. 34. We probably went back inside and told our *yéye?*, “*Yéye?*! The little girl lied to us!” 35. “It’s not going to rain!” 36. Our *yéye?* probably said, “Yes, leave the little girl alone!” 37. She probably said to us, “Leave it alone! Come over here and help me!” And then we forgot about the little girl. “Ooh what is it *yéye?*, what is it?” 38. Yeah, she distracted us somehow.

#### 5.4 Interlinear gloss

- (1) *ʔé mət nke ʔəp teʔ sewíxtm t yéyeʔkt.*  
 ʔé=mət=nke ʔəp teʔ [ʔə=s=]sew-íx[-n]-t-Ø-em  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD DEM D/C=NMLZ=ask-LENGTH-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG  
 t=yéyeʔ-kt  
 DET=granny-1PL.POSS  
 ‘We probably asked our *yéye?* questions.’
- (2) *ʔéx nke ʔəp teʔ cú-t, “stéʔ xeʔé yéyeʔ?”*  
 ʔéx=nke ʔəp teʔ cú-t s-téʔ xeʔé yéyeʔ  
 IPFV=INFER MOD DEM say-IMM NMLZ-what DEM granny  
 ‘We asked, “What’s that, *yéye?*?”’  
*Comment:* “The weathervane was new to us.”
- (3) *ʔé mət néʔ ʔéx nke ʔəp cuntís, “cúk<sup>w</sup>ste x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> xeʔ píłəxtis ʔe x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> us tékl ʔe x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> us te nq<sup>w</sup>yénk.”*  
 ʔé=mət néʔ ʔéx=nke ʔəp cú-n-t-ey-s cúk<sup>w</sup>-s-t-Ø-e  
 INT=CNSQ DEM IPFV=INFER MOD say-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG finish-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP  
 x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø xeʔ píłəx[-n]-t-ey-es ʔe=x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø=us tékl  
 PROSP=3SBJ DEM tell-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG HYP=PROSP=3SBJ=3SBJV rain  
 ʔe=x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø=us t=e-n-ǰ<sup>w</sup>y-énk  
 HYP=PROSP=3SBJ=3SBJV OBL=DET=LOC-sun-belly  
 ‘And she probably told us, “Just leave it alone, because it’s going to tell you if it’ll rain or if it’s going to be a sunny day.”’
- (4) *ʔéx nke ʔəp k<sup>w</sup>énetm téʔe.*  
 ʔéx=nke ʔəp k<sup>w</sup>én-n-t-Ø-em téʔe  
 IPFV=INFER MOD look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DEM  
 ‘We were probably just looking at it and wondering.’

- (5) *ʔéx ʔəp néʔe ʔə tuʔúʔt.*<sup>6</sup>  
 ʔéx=Ø ʔəp néʔe ʔə=tuʔúʔt  
 be=3SBJ MOD DEM DET=boy  
 ‘There is a little boy.’
- (6) *ʔéx ʔəp xeʔ tuʔúʔt xʷúy ekʷu píłəxtis xʷúy us nqʷyénk ʔé mət neʔ ʔə smúmłec xʷúy ekʷu píłəxtis xʷúy us ʔe tékł.*  
 ʔéx ʔəp xeʔ tuʔúʔt xʷúy=Ø=ekʷu píłəx[-n]-t-ey-es xʷúy=us  
 IPFV MOD DEM boy PROSP=3SBJ=RPRT tell-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG PROSP=3SBJV  
 n-qʷy-énk ʔé=mət neʔ ʔə=smú<m>łec xʷúy=Ø=ekʷu  
 LOC=sun-belly INT=CNSQ DEM DET=woman<DIM> PROSP=3SBJ=RPRT  
 píłəx[-n]-t-ey-es xʷúy=Ø=us ʔe=tékł  
 tell-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG PROSP=3SBJ=3SBJV HYP=rain  
 ‘That little boy would tell us if it was going to be a sunny day and the little girl would tell us if it was going to rain.’
- (7) *ʔé mət neʔ ʔə smúmłec ʔéx xeʔ skʷákʷs te nłíkʷestn.*  
 ʔé=mət neʔ ʔə=s-mú<m>łec ʔéx xeʔ [ʔə=]s=kʷákʷ=s  
 INT=CNSQ DEM DET=NMLZ-woman<DIM> IPFV DEM D/C=NMLZ=hold=3POSS  
 t=e=n-łíkʷ-n-s[ut-t]-tn  
 OBL=DET=LOC-stop.precipitation-CTR-RFL-TR-INS  
 ‘The little girl was holding her umbrella.’
- (8) *čé xeʔ cumíns ekʷu xʷúy us ʔe tékł ʔé mət nés kéʔex wiʔ.*  
 č=[ʔ]é xeʔ cumín-s=ekʷu xʷúy=Ø=us ʔe=tékł ʔé=mət  
 EMPH=INT DEM tool-3POSS=RPRT PROSP=3SBJ=3SBJV HYP=rain INT=CNSQ  
 nés ké<ʔe>x wiʔ  
 go dry<INCH> EMPH  
 ‘The umbrella keeps you dry. It’s a tool to keep you dry.’
- (9) *ʔéx nke ʔəp né ʔes kʷénstn néʔe.*  
 ʔéx=nke ʔəp neʔ ʔes-kʷén-s-t-Ø-em néʔe  
 IPFV=INFER MOD DEM STAT-look.at-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DEM  
 ‘We were probably just looking at it and looking at it.’
- (10) *ʔé mət neʔ nke ʔəp cúntis ł yéyeʔ kt “cúkʷste! cúʔ seýsiʔmínxʷ!”*  
 ʔé=mət neʔ=nke ʔəp cú-n-t-ey-es ł=yéyeʔ-kt  
 INT=CNSQ DEM=INFER MOD say-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG DET=granny-1PL.POSS  
 cúkʷ-s-t-Ø-e cúʔ seý~siʔ-mín[-t]-Ø-xʷ  
 finish-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP AUX play~CHAR-RLT-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG  
 ‘And our yéyeʔ kept telling us, “Leave it alone! Don’t play with that!”’

<sup>6</sup> While the auxiliary ʔéx is often glossed as imperfective (IPFV), Thompson & Thompson (1992, 1996) also note that it can have a predicative use. This predicative reading arises when there are no other predicates in the sentence, as in (5).

- (11) “*cúk<sup>w</sup>ste!*”  
*cúk<sup>w</sup>-s-t-Ø-e*  
 finish-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP  
 “‘Leave it alone!’”
- (12) *ʔé mət neʔ nke ʔəp ʔéx cúntm ʔ yéyeʔ, “ʔéx xeʔ k<sup>w</sup>énetm yéyeʔ. cúk<sup>w</sup>stiʔe. ʔéx neʔ páq<sup>w</sup>tm,”*  
*ʔéx nke ʔəp teʔ ʔe cúntm ʔ yéyeʔkt.*  
*ʔe=mət neʔ=nke ʔəp ʔéx cú-n-t-Ø-em ʔ=yéyeʔ*  
 INT=CNSQ DEM=INFER MOD IPFV say-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=granny  
*ʔéx xeʔ k<sup>w</sup>éñ-e-t-Ø-em yéyeʔ cúk<sup>w</sup>-s-t-ey-e*  
 IPFV DEM look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG granny finish-CAUS-TR-1PL.OBJ-IMP  
*ʔéx neʔ páq<sup>w</sup>[-n]-t-Ø-em ʔéx=nke ʔəp teʔ*  
 IPFV DEM look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG IPFV=INFER MOD DEM  
*ʔe=cú-n-t-Ø-em ʔ=yéyeʔ-kt*  
 D/C=say-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=granny-1PL.POSS  
 ‘And we probably told her too that “We’re just looking! We’re just watching it *yéyeʔ*?!  
 Leave us alone! We’re just watching!’”
- (13) *ʔé mət nés k<sup>w</sup>éñtm ʔe cúłhn ʔé mət nés k<sup>w</sup>úpetem e tuʔúʔt x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> nq<sup>w</sup>yénk ek<sup>w</sup>u. ʔʔé ek<sup>w</sup>u xeʔ*  
*sptínusmkt nq<sup>w</sup>yénk ek<sup>w</sup>u ʔuʔ.*  
*ʔé=mət nés k<sup>w</sup>éñ-n-t-Ø-em e=cúłmn ʔé=mət nés*  
 INT=CNSQ go look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=pointy.finger INT=CNSQ go  
*k<sup>w</sup>úp-n-t-Ø-em e=tuʔúʔt x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø n-ǰ<sup>w</sup>y-énk=ek<sup>w</sup>u*  
 push-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=little.boy PROSP=3SBJ LOC-sunny-belly=RPRT  
*ʔ=ʔé=ek<sup>w</sup>u xeʔ s=ptínus-m-kt*  
 EMPH=INT=RPRT DEM NMLZ=think-CTR.MID-1PL.POSS  
*n-ǰ<sup>w</sup>y-énk=ek<sup>w</sup>u ʔuʔ*  
 LOC-sunny-belly=RPRT also  
 ‘With our pointy finger, we pushed the little boy and asked him if it was going to be a hot  
 day. That’s what we were thinking about. We started poking the little girl.’
- (14) *ʔéx neʔ k<sup>w</sup>úpetəm ʔə smúmléc. “oh x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> tékl. tekłmémn.” k<sup>w</sup>úpetəm nke ʔəp ʔə smúmléc. “x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>*  
*tékl.”*  
*ʔéx neʔ k<sup>w</sup>úp-n-t-Ø-əm ʔə=s-mú<m>léc oh x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø*  
 IPFV DEM push-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.SBJ DET=NMLZ-woman<DIM> oh PROSP=3SBJ  
*tékl tekł=mémn k<sup>w</sup>úp-e-t-Ø-em=nke ʔəp*  
 rain rain=DESID push-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG=INFER MOD  
*ʔə=s-mú<m>léc x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø tékl*  
 DET=NMLZ-woman<DIM> PROSP=3SBJ rain  
 ‘We poked at the little girl to come out. “Oh it’s gonna rain! We want it to rain!” We kept  
 poking the little girl. “It’s going to rain!’”

- (15) *ʔé məł nés nke ʔəp neʔ kʷúpətəm ʔə smúmlec. “ohh xʷúy tékł smúmlec? xʷúy tékł nist?” ʔéx nke ʔəp te cuntm.*  
 ʔé=məł nés=nke ʔəp neʔ kʷúp-n-t-Ø-em ʔə=s-mú<m>lec  
 INT=CNSQ go=INFER MOD DEM push-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=woman<DIM>  
 oh xʷúy tékł=Ø s-mú<m>lec xʷúy=Ø tékł nist  
 oh PROSP rain=3SBJ NMLZ-woman<DIM> PROSP=3SBJ rain TAG  
 ʔéx=nke ʔəp t=e=cú-n-t-Ø-em  
 IPFV=INFER MOD OBL=D/C=say-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG  
 ‘We probably said, “The little girl is out! It’s gonna really rain now!”’
- (16) *ʔúʔ ʔéx neʔ kʷúpətəm ʔə smúmlec púləm ʔə tuʔúʔt.*  
 ʔúʔ ʔéx neʔ kʷúp-n-t-Ø-em ʔə=s-mú<m>lec púləm=Ø  
 also IPFV DEM push-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=NMLZ-woman<DIM> exit=3SBJ  
 ʔə=tuʔúʔt  
 DET=little.boy  
 ‘We kept poking at the little girl, and the little boy came out.’
- (17) *ʔé məł nés cúntm ł yéyeʔkt, “yéyeʔ! tem ekʷu te xʷúy ekʷu ʔə tékłs! cúť ʔə tuʔúʔt xʷúy ekʷu nqʷyénk.”*  
 ʔé=məł nés cú-n-t-Ø-em ł=yéyeʔ-kt yéyeʔ  
 INT=CNSQ go say-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=granny-1PL.POSS granny  
 tem=ekʷu t=e=xʷúy=ekʷu ʔə=[s=]tékł=s cú-t  
 lack=RPRT OBL=D/C=PROSP=RPRT D/C=NMLZ=rain=3POSS say=IMM  
 ʔə=tuʔúʔt xʷúy=ekʷu n-ǵʷy-énk  
 DET=little.boy PROSP=RPRT LOC-warm-belly  
 ‘We told our yéyeʔ. “Yéyeʔ! The little boy came out and it’s not gonna rain!”’
- (18) *ʔéx nke ʔúʔ kʷénes ł kžékt, “ʔéy néxʷm, xʷúy nqʷyénk.”*  
 ʔéx=nke ʔúʔ kʷéń[-n-t]-Ø-es ł=kžé-kt  
 IPFV=INFER also look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=grandmother-1PL.POSS  
 ʔéy néxʷ-m xʷúy n-ǵʷy-énk  
 yes intense-CTR.MID PROSP LOC-warm-belly  
 ‘Yéyeʔ looked outside and she agreed.’
- (19) *ʔé məł nke ʔəp neʔ ʔe cúć, “ʔey tətéʔ wiʔ skázeʔtis ʔə tuʔúʔt.”*  
 ʔé=məł=nke ʔəp neʔ ʔə=[s=]cú-t=s ʔey tətéʔ wiʔ  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD DEM D/C=NLMZ=say=IMM=3POSS yes NEG EMPH  
 s=kázeʔ[-n]-t-ey-es ʔə=tuʔúʔt  
 NMLZ=lie-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG DET=little.boy  
 ‘She probably said, “Yeah, that little boy is not lying to us!”’
- (20) *“ńem xʷúy nqʷyénk.”*  
 ńem xʷúy n-ǵʷy-énk  
 INTS PROSP LOC-warm-belly  
 ‘“It’s gonna be a really hot day.”’



- (21) *“cúk<sup>w</sup>ste mət wiʔ xéʔe nke ʔəp scúç x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> xeʔ nq<sup>w</sup>yénk.”*  
 cúk<sup>w</sup>-s-t-Ø-e=mət wiʔ xéʔe=nke ʔəp s=cú-t=s  
 finish-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP=CNSQ EMPH DEM=INFER MOD NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS  
 x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø xeʔ n-q<sup>w</sup>y-énk  
 PROSP=3SBJ DEM LOC-sunny-belly  
 “Leave it alone now! He said it’s gonna be a hot day.”
- (22) *ʔé mət neʔ nke ʔəp neʔ sewíx<sup>t</sup>m t yéyeʔkt nke ʔəp, “yéyeʔ piʔsté x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> tékl piʔsté x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> tékl.”*  
 ʔe=mət neʔ=nke ʔəp neʔ sew-ix[-n]-t-Ø-em  
 INT=CNSQ DEM=INFER MOD DEM call-BEN-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG  
 t=yéyeʔ-kt=nke ʔəp yéyeʔ piʔ-s-té  
 DET=granny-1PL.POSS=INFER MOD granny day.removed-NMLZ-what  
 x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø tékl piʔ-s-té x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø tékl  
 PROSP=3SBJ rain day.removed-NMLZ-what PROSP=3SBJ rain  
 ‘And then we probably asked our yéyeʔ, “Yéyeʔ when is it gonna rain? When is it gonna rain?”’
- (23) *ʔé mət nke ʔəp neʔ scúç nke ʔəp, “ʔe púʔəm us ʔe smúmtéc x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> he tékl.”*  
 ʔé=mət=nke ʔəp neʔ s=cú-t=s=nke ʔəp ʔe=púʔəm=us  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD DEM NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS=INFER MOD HYP=exit=3SBJV  
 ʔe=s-mú<m>léc x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø he=tékl  
 DET=NMLZ-woman<DIM> PROSP=3SBJ D/C=rain  
 ‘She probably said, “When the little girl comes out, then it will rain!”’
- (24) *ʔé mət nke ʔəp t sewíx<sup>t</sup>m t yéyeʔ, “keʔ x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> spúʔmstm ʔə smúmtéc ʔeks tékl cʔéy<sup>t</sup> kéʔe wiʔ.”*  
 ʔe=mət=nke ʔəp t=sew-ix[-n]-t-Ø-em t=yéyeʔ keʔ=x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD D/C=ask-BEN-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=granny Q=PROSP  
 [k=]s=púʔm-s-t-Ø-em ʔe=s-mú<m>léc ʔé  
 D/C=NMLZ=exit-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=NMLZ-woman<DIM> INT  
 k=s=tékl=Ø cʔéy<sup>t</sup> kéʔe wiʔ yéyeʔ  
 D/C=NMLZ=rain=3SBJ now Q EMPH granny  
 ‘We asked our yéyeʔ, “You think if we bring her out, it will rain? Right, yéyeʔ?”’
- (25) *“x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> tékl.”*  
 x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø tékl  
 PROSP=3SBJ rain  
 “‘It’s gonna rain.’”

- (26) *ʔé mət ne nke ʔəp cú t kʔékt, “cúk<sup>w</sup>ste cú? ne? ʔáʔntis” nke ʔəp. “cúk<sup>w</sup>ste!”*<sup>7</sup>  
 ʔé=mət neʔ=nke ʔəp cú-t ʔ=kʔé-kt  
 INT=CNSQ DEM=INFER MOD say-IMM DET=grandmother-1PL.POSS  
 cúk<sup>w</sup>-s-t-Ø-e cúʔ neʔ ʔáʔ-n-t-ey-es=nke  
 finish-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP AUX DEM restrict.activity-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG=INFER  
 ʔəp cúk<sup>w</sup>-s-t-Ø-e  
 MOD finish-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP  
 ‘And she probably said, “Leave it alone!” And she tried to warn us to leave it alone.’
- (27) *ʔé mət neʔ scúc nke ʔəp, “x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> xe tékt ʔe piʔstéʔ us. cúk<sup>w</sup>ste!”*  
 ʔé=mət neʔ s=cú-t=s=nke ʔəp x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> xe=tékt=Ø  
 INT=CNSQ DEM NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS=INFER MOD PROSP D/C=rain=3SBJ  
 ʔe=piʔ-s-téʔ=us cúk<sup>w</sup>-s-t-Ø-e  
 HYP=day.removed-NMLZ-what=3SBJV finish-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP  
 ‘She probably told us, “It’ll rain one day! Just leave it alone!”’
- (28) *ʔé mət nke ʔəp neʔ ʔə scuntm ʔ kʔékt, “yéyeʔ ʔ<sup>w</sup>óʔ<sup>w</sup>stmtəm x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> tékts x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> púʔmtm e smú<sup>m</sup>lec!”*<sup>8</sup>  
 ʔé=mət=nke ʔəp neʔ ʔə=s=cú-n-t-Ø-em  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD DEM D/C=NMLZ=say-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG  
 ʔ=kʔé-kt yéyeʔ ʔ<sup>w</sup>óʔ<sup>w</sup>stm[-n]-t-Ø-em x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=Ø  
 DET=grandmother-1PL.POSS granny want-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG PROSP=3SBJ  
 [k=]s=tékt-s x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> púʔm[-n]-t-Ø-em  
 D/C=NMLZ=rain-3POSS PROSP exit-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG  
 ʔə=s-mú<m>lec  
 DET= NMLZ-woman<DIM>  
 ‘We said to our yéyeʔ, “Yéyeʔ we want it to rain! We’re going to bring out the little girl!”’
- (29) *ʔú? cúʔ scmé<sup>m</sup>yt kt wiʔ ʔú? tətéʔ ks néx<sup>w</sup>ms. x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> tékt ʔe púʔm us ʔə smú<sup>m</sup>lec.*  
 ʔú? cúʔ s-cmé<m>yt=kt wiʔ ʔú? tətéʔ  
 EXCL AUX NMLZ-children<DIM>=1PL.SBJ EMPH but NEG  
 k=s=néx<sup>w</sup>-m-s x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> tékt=Ø  
 D/C=NMLZ=true-CTR.MID=3POSS PROSP rain=3SBJ  
 ʔe=púʔm=us ʔə=s-mú<m>lec  
 HYP=exit=3SBJV DET= NMLZ-woman<DIM>  
 ‘But we were just children. And we really believed that if the little girl came out, it would rain.’

<sup>7</sup> Note that the root *ʔaʔ* also appears without the vowel (as *ʔ*) in *ptínusmne x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> cúʔ ʔə síke x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> tékt ek<sup>w</sup>* (Story 1).

<sup>8</sup> This root is in the dictionary as *púʔ*, ‘exit’. However, this use appears to contain a fossilized middle — that is, *púʔ-m* (exit-CTR.MID), not *púʔ*, is acting as the root. The same process may be occurring with *ʔ<sup>w</sup>óʔ<sup>w</sup>stmtəm* in the previous line.

- (30) *ʔé mət nke ʔəp neʔ ʔúlxʷ ʔəm t tuʔúʔt púʔm t smúʔlec ʔé mət nke ʔəp nés cúntm t yéyeʔkt,*  
*“ooh yéyeʔ!”*  
 ʔé=mət=nke ʔəp neʔ ʔúlxʷ=Ø ʔəm t=tuʔúʔt púʔm=Ø  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD DEM enter=3SBJ COMPL DET=little.boy exit=3SBJ  
 t=s-mú<m>lec ʔé=mət=nke ʔəp nés  
 DET=NMLZ-woman<DIM> INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD go  
 cú-n-t-Ø-em t=yéyeʔ-kt oh yéyeʔ  
 say-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=granny-1PL.POSS oh granny  
 ‘And we poked the little boy in and the little girl came out, and we said to our yéyeʔ, “Oh yéyeʔ!”’
- (31) *ʔé mət nés cúkt nke ʔəp, “ooh yéyeʔ kʷéneté púʔəm ʔə smúʔlec! xʷúyú tékl ʔéyʔ.”*  
 ʔé=mət nés cú-t=kt=nke ʔəp oh yéyeʔ  
 INT=CNSQ go say-IMM=1PL.SBJ=INFER MOD oh granny  
 kʷéñ-n-t-Ø-e púʔəm=Ø ʔə=s-mú<m>lec xʷúyú=Ø  
 look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-IMP exit=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-woman<DIM> PROSP=3SBJ  
 tékl ʔéyʔ  
 rain now  
 ‘“It’s going to rain! The little girl came out! It’s gonna rain now!”’
- (32) *ʔé mət nke ʔəp te scúct t yéyeʔ, “ʔə kázeʔtis xéʔe. nésweʔ wət te ʔéyʔqeʔ kʷéneté ʔə tmíxʷ.”*  
 ʔé=mət=nke ʔəp t=e=s=cú-t=s t=yéyeʔ  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD OBL=DET=NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS DET=granny  
 ʔə=kázeʔ-n-t-ey-es xéʔe nés-weʔ wə=t=ʔéyʔqeʔ  
 D/C=lie-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG DEM go-IMP to=DET=outside  
 kʷéñ-n-t-Ø-e ʔə=tmíxʷ  
 look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-IMP DET=land  
 ‘Our yéyeʔ probably said, “Oh... she’s just teasing. Go outside and look at the land.”’
- (33) *ʔé mət nés nés kt wə te ʔéyʔqeʔ kʷénetəm ʔə tmíxʷ ʔuʔ nqʷyénk ʔuʔ téʔe.*  
 ʔe=mət nés nés=kt wə=te=ʔéyʔqeʔ kʷéñ-n-t-Ø-em  
 INT=CNSQ go go=1PL.SBJ to=DET=outside look.at-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG  
 ʔə=tmíxʷ ʔuʔ n-qʷy-énk ʔuʔ téʔe  
 DET=land EXCL LOC-sunny-belly EXCL NEG  
 ‘We went outside and we looked all around the land. It was sunny, it was hot — a warm day.’
- (34) *ʔé mət nke ʔəp tes ʔúlxʷkt. ʔé mət nés cúntm t yéyeʔ, “yéyeʔ kázeʔtis ʔə smúʔlec.”*  
 ʔé=mət=nke ʔəp t=e=s=ʔúlxʷ=kt ʔé=mət nés  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD OBL=DET=NMLZ=enter=1PL.POSS INT=CNSQ go  
 cú-n-t-Ø-em t=yéyeʔ yéyeʔ kázeʔ-n-t-ey-es  
 say-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=granny granny lie-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG  
 ʔə=s-mú<m>lec  
 DET=NMLZ-woman<DIM>  
 ‘We probably went back inside and told our yéyeʔ, “Yéyeʔ! The little girl lied to us!”’

- (35) *“təté? x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>s</sup> tékls.”*  
 təté? x<sup>w</sup>úy=Ø [k=]s=tékl=s  
 NEG PROSP=3SBJ DET=NMLZ=rain=3POSS  
 “It’s not going to rain!”
- (36) *ʔé məl nke ʔəp ne cúc ʔ yéye?, “ʔéy cúk<sup>w</sup>ste ʔə smúmlec.”*  
 ʔé=məl=nke ʔəp ne? [s=]cú-t=s ʔ=yéye? ʔey  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD DEM NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS DET=granny yes  
 cúk<sup>w</sup>-s-t-Ø-e ʔə=s-mú<m>lec  
 finish-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP DET=NMLZ-woman<DIM>  
 “Yes! Leave the girl alone!”
- (37) *ʔé məl ne nke ʔəp scúntis, “ʔey wʔéye kncéme.” ʔé məl nés lépetəm ʔə smúmlec. “ooh kénm kénm yéye?”*  
 ʔé=məl ne?=nke ʔəp s=cú-n-t-ey-es ʔey x<sup>w</sup>e  
 INT=CNSQ DEM=INFER MOD NMLZ=say-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG yes DEM  
 wʔéye kən[-n-t]-cem-e ʔé=məl nés lép-n-t-Ø-em  
 over.here help-CTR-TR-1SG.OBJ-IMP INT=CNSQ go forget-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG  
 ʔə=s-mú<m>lec oh kénm=Ø kénm=Ø yéye?  
 DET=NMLZ-woman<DIM> oh do.what=3SBJ do.what=3SBJ granny  
 ‘She said to us, “Leave it alone! Come over here and help me!” And then we forgot about the little girl. “Ooh what is it yéye?, what is it?”’

‘Yeah, she distracted us somehow.’

## 6 Story 3: *páq<sup>w</sup>uʔstis ʔ sk<sup>w</sup>úzkt*

This story was first told by K<sup>w</sup>əłtəzétk<sup>w</sup>u on June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2023. This was the last story told that day. On November 16<sup>th</sup>, K<sup>w</sup>əłtəzétk<sup>w</sup>u retold the story. The November 16<sup>th</sup> version is what is transcribed. K<sup>w</sup>əłtəzétk<sup>w</sup>u provided English translations of the retelling on June 4<sup>th</sup>, 2024. This story is about a time when K<sup>w</sup>əłtəzétk<sup>w</sup>u and her *qéck* were very young, around three years old, and they got into their aunt’s makeup.

### 6.1 Nlé?kepmxcín

1. ʔéxkt nke te? ʔ<sup>w</sup>óyt peł nqéck peł ncéwe?. 2. héñ us nke nés nskíxze? ʔéx nke ʔəp te? cuwúm wəl ʔéycqə?. 3. ʔé məl nés qilkt. qíłacms nke ʔəp ʔn qéck. 4. ʔéx te k<sup>w</sup>énm te? swét té?e. 5. cúk<sup>w</sup> ʔu? nmímł né?e, nə cítx<sup>w</sup>. 6. ʔé məl nke ʔəp nés cúc ʔnqéck, “wíkc nke ʔəp té?e. ʔə típəls sk<sup>w</sup>úzkt. hécu te? məsténtm.” 7. ʔé məl nke ʔəp nés cúc, “x<sup>w</sup>úy néketm ʔə sk<sup>w</sup>úskt.” 8. ʔeł nke ʔəp nés cúc, “oh.” 9. ʔé məl nke ʔəp né?e ʔes ʔkíwix né?e ne típəls wé?e. 10. ne... kíket ʔu? wəl ʔe npúytms wé?e tékm né?e. 11. ʔé cumíns ʔéx us ne? páwdame né?e, ne? us çaq<sup>w</sup>cín. 12. ʔé məl nés cu?ít “ooo... ooo wíktm e ʔ sk<sup>w</sup>úzkt!” ʔéx us té?e e slúməs tékm e *lipstick* ʔeł ʔe páwdas ʔé məl ne cí te ʔlíx<sup>w</sup>eł ʔe. 13. x<sup>w</sup>úy ek<sup>w</sup>u petnítm. 14. k<sup>w</sup>éntm ʔe páwdas ʔé məl nés páwdame petnítm ʔ sk<sup>w</sup>úz ʔéx ne nʔéye ne sʔəpqín tu ʔe zépye, tu ʔe *chin*, tu ʔe *our noses*. 15. ʔé məl nés nke ʔəp ʔéx ne k<sup>w</sup>eñetwáx<sup>w</sup>kt, “ohhh x<sup>w</sup>úyce? us.” 16. “ne ʔe x<sup>w</sup>úy cúxícñ nke,” ʔéx nke ʔəp te cúc. 17. ʔé məl nés páwdaməne ʔn

qéck ?el cnił e páwdascmes nke λ̇ap. 18. ?el kʷéntm λ̇am nke λ̇ap ł sté? xʷúy cúteme ł zépyékt ?é məl nés pu ?éyl. 19. tékm txón ?éyl ?el łe čaqʷcíns. 20. ?é məl nés łumetm né?e nə splíwcnkł λ̇u? təté? ks títəxʷs nukʷ nke λ̇ap. 21. kʷén ?el ?es čaqʷcín ?é məl nés xilt łe té?e ln qéck. 22. oohh ném k λ̇ixʷelwí?x nke λ̇ap. 23. ?é məl nke nés ?útxʷ wəl ?eyçqe? ł kžékt pel ł skʷúzkł. 24. ?é məl nés cʷápe?me ł skʷúzkł nke λ̇ap, “ohh ?éx kénm?” 25. “čé xe? ncéwe?! cúkʷste! klíyxwe? tu xʷe!” 26. cʷápe?me ł skʷúzkł λ̇u? ném ?es kzəpstéys. 27. ?é məl nés ł ɬʷəpłkt wəl łe ?éyçqe?. 28. théń us nke λ̇ap te ɬʷəps nqéck wəl we? wəl łe skípłs tuł łe nprúytn nke λ̇ap. 29. ooh ném páqʷu?smne nskʷúz ném ?el qelilúsəs. 30. ném wi? ne? tékm sxón ?ə páwdas wəl nprúytłs tékm né?e ne? nke λ̇ap ne? nə típəl tékm xón λ̇am. 31. ném qlíłmtis ł skʷúz.

## 6.2 English

1. We were probably sleeping, my *qéck* and I. 2. I assumed my mother was outside, doing whatever mothers do. 3. And then we woke up. My *qéck* probably woke me up. 4. We looked around to see who was around. 5. It was just us in the house. 6. And then my *qéck* probably said, “I see our aunt’s table. Let’s go try what she does.” 7. We probably said, “We’re gonna change our faces!” 8. I probably said, “Oh.” 9. And then we probably climbed up on her table. 10. It was near her bed, where she slept. 11. We put powder and lipstick on ourselves. 12. We seen our aunt put her powder on and put her lipstick on. What a difference she looked from no makeup back then to when she was putting on makeup. 13. We’re gonna copy her. 14. We took her powder and we copied her, just the way she did it. 15. And we probably looked at each other and said, “Ohh you need some more there.” 16. And we probably said, “Right here too!” And we powdered each other. 17. I powdered my *qéck* and he powdered me up. 18. We took the powder rouge and put it on our cheeks, we were bright red. 19. And her lipstick. 20. We put it on ourselves and it probably wasn’t even right. 21. I took the lipstick and fixed up my *qéck*’s lips. 22. We sure looked different. 23. And then our *skʷúz* and our *yéye?* came in from outside. 24. And our auntie saw the mess we made and said loudly, “What are you doing!” 25. She probably said, “That’s my stuff! Get away from there!” 26. She scared us ‘cause we’d never heard her talk loud before. She really scared us. 27. And then we ran outside. 28. I don’t know where my *qéck* ran to, he probably ran under the bed to hide. 29. Oh I was so scared of my *skʷúz*, and her face was so angry. 30. Her powder was everywhere, on the bed, on the table. 31. Oh, she was really mad at us.

## 6.3 Interlinear gloss

(1) *?éx kt nke te? ʃʷóyt pel nqéck pel ncéwe?*  
 ?éx=kt=nke                      te?    ʃʷóyt pel    n-qéck                      pel    ncéwe?  
 IPFV=1PL.POSS=INFER    DEM    sleep with    1SG.POSS-older.male.cousin with    1SG.INDEP  
 ‘We were probably sleeping, my *qéck* and I.’

(2) *hén us nke nés skíxze? ?éx nke λep te cuwúm wəl ?éyçqe?*  
 hén=us=nke                      nés    s-kíxze?                      ?éx=nke    λep    te?    cuwúm=Ø  
 how=3SBJV=INFER    go    NMLZ-mother    IPFV=INFER    MOD    DEM    work=3SBJ  
 wə=ł=?éyçqe?  
 to=DET=outside  
 ‘I assumed my mother was outside doing whatever moms do at the time.’

- (3) *ʔé mət nés qítkt. qítacms nke ʔəp ɪn qéck.*  
 ʔe=mət nés qít=kt qít-n-t-cm-s=nke ʔəp  
 INT=CNSQ go wake.up=1PL.SBJ wake-CTR-TR-1SG.OBJ-3.ERG=INFER MOD  
 ɪ=n=qéck  
 DET=1SG.POSS=older.male.cousin  
 ‘My *qéck* probably woke me up.’
- (4) *ʔéx te kʷéɲm teʔ swét téʔe.*  
 ʔéx t=e=kʷéɲ-m téʔ t=e=s-wét téʔe  
 IPFV OBL=DET=look.around-CTR.MID DEM OBL=DET=NMLZ-who DEM  
 ‘We woke up and looked around to see who was around.’
- (5) *cúkʷ ʔuʔ nmímɪ néʔe... nə cítxʷ.*<sup>9</sup>  
 cúkʷ ʔuʔ nmímɪ néʔe n-[ʔ]ə=cítxʷ  
 only EXCL 1PL.INDEP DEM LOC-DET=house  
 ‘It was just the two of us in the house.’
- (6) *ʔé mət nke ʔəp nés cúc ɪnqéck, “wík nke ʔəp téʔe. ʔə típəls skʷúzkt. hécu teʔ məsténm.”*  
 ʔe=mət=nke ʔəp neʔ s=cú-t=s ɪ=n-qéck  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD DEM NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS DET=1SG.POSS-older.male.cousin  
 wík[-n-t]-Ø-es=nke ʔəp téʔe ʔə=típəl-s s-kʷúz-kt  
 see-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=INFER MOD DEM DET=table-3POSS NMLZ-aunt-1PL.POSS  
 hécu teʔ məstén[-n]-t-Ø-em  
 lets.go DEM try-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG  
 ‘And then my *qéck* probably said, “Oh I see our aunt’s table. Let’s go try what she does.”’  
*Comment:* “My aunt had a table with all her little belongings, a little side table / night table. And we grew up in a one-room cabin and everyone had their little corners. There was a little add on with the kitchen.”
- (7) *ʔé mət nke ʔəp nés cúc, “xʷúy nékətm e skʷʔúskt.”*  
 ʔe=mət=nke ʔəp neʔ s=cú-t=s xʷúy  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD DEM NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS PROSP  
 nék-n-t-Ø-em e=s-kʷʔús-kt  
 change-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=NMLZ-face-1PL.POSS  
 ‘We probably said: “We’re gonna change our faces!”’
- (8) *ʔeɪ nke ʔəp nés cút, “oh.”*  
 ʔeɪ=nke ʔəp nés cú-t oh  
 and=INFER MOD go say-IMM oh  
 ‘I probably said “Oh.”’

<sup>9</sup> While *cúkʷ* often means ‘finish’, it can also mean ‘only’.

- (9) *ʔé mət nke ʔəp néʔe ʔes tkíwix néʔe nə típəls wéʔe.*  
 ʔé=mət=nke ʔəp néʔe ʔes-tkíw-ix néʔe n-[ʔ]ə=típəl-s wéʔe  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER MOD DEM STAT-climb-AUT DEM LOC-DET=table-3POSS DEM  
 ‘And then we probably climbed up on her table.’
- (10) *neʔ... kíkət ʔuʔ wət le npúytns wéʔe tékm néʔe.*  
 neʔ k<íke>t=Ø ʔuʔ wə=le=n-púy-tn-s wéʔe tékm néʔe  
 DEM near<PRP>=3SBJ also to=DET=LOC-lie.down-INS-3POSS DEM all DEM  
 ‘It was near her bed, where she slept.’
- (11) *ʔé cumíns ʔéx us neʔ páwdame néʔe, neʔ us ʔaq<sup>w</sup>cín.*  
 ʔé cumín-s ʔéx=us neʔ páwda-me néʔe neʔ=us ʔaq<sup>w</sup>-cín  
 INT tool-3POSS IPFV=3SBJV DEM powder-CTR.MID DEM DEM=3SBJV red-mouth  
 ‘We put powder and lipstick on ourselves.’
- (12) *ʔé mət nés cuʔít ooo... ooo wíktm t sk<sup>w</sup>úzkt ʔéx us téʔe e shúməs tékm ʔə ʔaq<sup>w</sup>cín ʔet le páwdas ʔé mət ne cíy te ʔlíx<sup>w</sup>el.*  
 ʔe=mət nés cu<ʔí>-t oo wík[-n]-t-Ø-em  
 INT=CNSQ go say<PL>-IMM oh see-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG  
 t=s-k<sup>w</sup>úz-kt ʔéx=us téʔe  
 DET=NMLZ-aunt-1PL.POSS IPFV=3SBJV DEM  
 e=s=túm[-n-t]-Ø-es tékm ʔə=ʔaq<sup>w</sup>-cín ʔet  
 D/C=NMLZ=put.on-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG all DET=red-mouth and  
 t=páwda-s ʔé=mət neʔ cíy=Ø t=e=ʔlíx<sup>w</sup>el=Ø  
 DET=powder-3POSS INT=CNSQ DEM like=3SBJ OBL=DET=different=3SBJ  
 ‘We seen our aunt put her powder on and put her lipstick on. What a difference she looked from no makeup back then to when she was putting on makeup.’
- (13) *x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup> ek<sup>w</sup>u pétntm.*  
 x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>ʔ</sup>=ek<sup>w</sup>u pétnt[-n]-t-Ø-em  
 PROSP=RPRT copy-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG  
 ‘We’re gonna copy her.’
- (14) *k<sup>w</sup>éntm t páwdas ʔé mət nés páwda ma pétntm t sk<sup>w</sup>úz ʔéx ne nʔéye ne ʔəpqín tul le zépye, tul le chin, tul le our noses.*  
 k<sup>w</sup>én[-n]-t-Ø-em t=páwda-s ʔé=mət nés páwda-me  
 take-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=powder-3POSS INT=CNSQ go powder-CTR.MID  
 pétnt[-n]-t-Ø-em t=s-k<sup>w</sup>úz ʔéx neʔ nʔéye  
 copy-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=NMLZ-aunt IPFV DEM here  
 n-e=s=ʔəp-qín tu=le=zépye tu=le=chin  
 LOC-DET=NMLZ=darken-head from=DET=cheek from=DET=chin  
 tu=le=our.noses  
 from=DET=our.noses  
 ‘We took her powder and we copied her just the way she did.’

- (15) *ʔé mət nés nke ʔəp ʔéx ne kʷen-t-wáxʷ=kt* “ohhh xʷúyʔce? us.”<sup>10</sup>  
 ʔé=mət nés=nke ʔəp ʔéx ne kʷen-t-wáxʷ=kt oh  
 INT=CNSQ go=INFER MOD IPFV DEM look.at-CTR-TR-RECP=1PL.SBJ oh  
 xʷúyʔceʔ=us  
 more=3SBJV  
 ‘We looked at each other and said, “Ooh you need some more here!”’
- (16) “*ne? te xʷúyʔ cúxícɪn nke!*” *ʔéx nke ʔəp te? cú.*<sup>11</sup>  
 ne? te=xʷúyʔ cú-xí[-t]-c-n=nke ʔéx=nke ʔəp te?  
 DEM D/C=PROSP do-INDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG=INFER IPFV=INFER MOD DEM  
 cú-t  
 say-IMM  
 ‘And we probably said, “Right here too!” And we powdered each other.’
- (17) *ʔé mət nés páwda məsné ɪn qéck ʔet cɪɪ ʔə páwdascmes nke ʔəp.*  
 ʔé=mət nés páwda məs[tən][-n-t]-Ø-né ɪ=n-qéck  
 INT=CNSQ go powder try-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG DET=1SG.POSS-older.male.cousin  
 ʔet cɪɪ ʔə=páwda-s-[-t]-cm-es=nke ʔəp  
 and 3SG.INDEP D/C=powder-CAUS-TR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG=INFER MOD  
 ‘I powdered my *qéck* and he powdered me up.’
- (18) *ʔet kʷéntəm ʔəm nke ʔəp ɪ sté? xʷúyʔ cutéme ɪ zépyékt ʔé mət nés pu ʔéyɪ.*  
 ʔet kʷén-t-Ø-em ʔəm=nke ʔəp ɪ=s-té? xʷúyʔ  
 and take-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG COMPL=INFER MOD D/C=NMLZ-what PROSP  
 cu-t-Ø-éme ɪ=zépye-kt ʔé=mət nés pu=Ø ʔéyɪ  
 do-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DET=cheek-1PL.POSS INT=CNSQ go enough=3SBJ now  
 ‘We took the powder rouge and put it on our cheeks. We were bright red.’
- (19) *tékm txánʔ ʔéyɪ ʔet te ɔaqʷcíns.*  
 tékm t=xánʔ=Ø ʔéyɪ ʔet te=ɔaqʷ-cín-s  
 all OBL=cover.flat=3SBJ now and DET=red-mouth-3POSS  
 ‘And the lipstick.’
- (20) *ʔé mət nés lúmetəm néʔe nə splíwcnkt ʔu? təté? ks tíʔtaχʷs nukʷ nke ʔəp.*  
 ʔé=mət nés lúm-e-t-Ø-em néʔe n-ʔə=splíwcn-kt  
 INT=CNSQ go put.on-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG DEM LOC-DET=mouth-1PL.POSS  
 ʔu? təté? k=s=t<íʔta>χʷ=s=nukʷ=nke ʔəp  
 but NEG D/C=NMLZ=right<PRP>=3POSS=SENSE=INFER MOD  
 ‘We put it on ourselves and it probably wasn’t even right.’

<sup>10</sup> Note the transitivizer preceding the reciprocal, despite the presence of intransitive subject clitics. This is due to the reciprocal detransitivizing a transitive predicate (Davis 2003:59).

<sup>11</sup> We assume following Thompson and Thompson (1992:70) that the indirective was historically a pre-transitivizer. Therefore, we do not posit an underlying pre-transitivizer where we see indirective inflection.



- (21) *k<sup>w</sup>éne ʔə sçaq<sup>w</sup>cín ʔé mət nés xítne téʔe t nqéck.*  
 k<sup>w</sup>én[-n-t]-Ø-[n]e ʔə=s-çaq<sup>w</sup>-cín ʔé=mət nés  
 take-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG DET=NMLZ-red-mouth INT=CNSQ go  
 xít[-n]-t-Ø-ne téʔe t=n-qéck  
 fix.up-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG DEM DET=1SG.POSS-older.male.cousin  
 ‘I took the lipstick and fixed up my *qéck*’s lips.’
- (22) *oohhh ném k ʔix<sup>w</sup>ełwíʔx nke ʔəp.*  
 oh ném k=ʔix<sup>w</sup>eł-wíʔx=nke ʔəp  
 oh INTS D/C=different-DVL=INFER MOD  
 ‘We sure looked different.’
- (23) *ʔé mət nke nés ʔút<sup>w</sup> wət ʔéycʔeʔ t kzékt peł t sk<sup>w</sup>úzkt.*  
 ʔé=mət=nke nés ʔút<sup>w</sup>=Ø wə=ł=ʔéycʔeʔ t=kzé-kt  
 INT=CNSQ=INFER go enter=3SBJ to=DET=outside DET=grandmother-1PL.POSS  
 peł t=s-k<sup>w</sup>úz-kt  
 with DET=NMLZ-aunt-1PL.POSS  
 ‘And, when we were finished, our *yéyeʔ* and our aunt came in.’
- (24) *ʔé mət nés cʔápeʔme t sk<sup>w</sup>úzkt nke ʔəp, “ohh ʔéx kénm!”*  
 ʔé=mət nés cʔápeʔ-me=Ø t=s-k<sup>w</sup>úz-kt=nke  
 INT=CNSQ go squeal-hip-CTR.MID=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-aunt-1PL.POSS=INFER  
 ʔəp oh ʔéx kénm=Ø  
 MOD oh IPFV do.what=3SBJ  
 ‘And our auntie probably seen the mess we made and looked at us and she probably said loudly, “What are you doing!”’
- (25) *“cʔé xeʔ ncéweʔ! cúk<sup>w</sup>ste! kʔíyxweʔ tu x<sup>w</sup>eʔ!”*  
 c=[ʔ]é xeʔ ncéweʔ cúk<sup>w</sup>-s-t-Ø-e kʔ-íyx-weʔ tu=x<sup>w</sup>eʔ  
 EMPH=INT DEM 1SG.INDEP finish-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-IMP get.away-AUT-IMP from=DEM  
 ‘She probably said, “That’s my stuff, leave it alone! Get away from there!”’
- (26) *cʔápeʔme t sk<sup>w</sup>úzkt ʔuʔ ném ʔə skzəpstéys.*  
 cʔápeʔ-me=Ø t=s-k<sup>w</sup>úz-kt ʔuʔ ném  
 squeal-hip-CTR.MID=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-aunt-1PL.POSS also INTS  
 ʔə=s=kzəp-s-t-éy-es  
 D/C=NMLZ=scare-CAUS-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG  
 ‘And she scared us ‘cause we’d never heard her talk loud before. She really scared us.’
- (27) *ʔé mət nés t<sup>w</sup>əpkt wə te ʔéycʔeʔ.*  
 ʔé=mət nés t<sup>w</sup>əp-kt wə=ł=ʔéycʔeʔ  
 INT=CNSQ go escape-INCH=1PL.SBJ to=DET=outside  
 ‘And we ran outside.’

- (28) *thén' us nke' láp te l̥xʷáps lnqéck wə l we? wə le skíp̥s tu le npúytn nke' láp.*  
 t=hén=us=nke                                      láp    t=e=l̥xʷ-áp-s  
 OBL=where=3SBJV=INFER    MOD    OBL=DET=escape-INCH-3POSS  
 l̥=n-qéck    wə=l=we?    wə=l=s-kíp̥-s  
 DET=1SG.POSS-older.male.cousin    to=DET=DEM    to=DET=NMLZ-jam.pinch-3POSS  
 tu=le=n-púy-tn=nke                                      láp  
 from=DET=LOC-lie.down-INS=INFER    MOD  
 ‘I don’t know where my *qéck* ran to, he probably ran under the bed to hide.’
- (29) *ooh ném páqʷuʔsne n skʷúz ném ʔel qelilúsas.*  
 oo    ném    páqʷuʔ-s[-t]-Ø-ne                                      n-s-kʷúz                                      ném    ʔel  
 oo    INTS    scare-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG    1SG.POSS-NMLZ-aunt    INTS    and  
 qelil-ús-(ə)s  
 angry-face-3POSS  
 ‘Oh. I was so scared of my aunt, and her face was so angry.’
- (30) *ném wiʔ neʔ tékm txə́nʔ ʔə páwdas wul npúytns tékm néʔe neʔ nke' láp neʔ nə típəl tékm txə́nʔ  
 lá̆m.*  
 ném    wiʔ    neʔ    tékm    t[=ʔə]=xə́nʔ=Ø                                      ʔə=páwda-s  
 INTS    EMPH    DEM    all    OBL=D/C=cover.flat=3SBJ    DET=powder-3POSS  
 wə=l=n-púy-tn-s    tékm    néʔe    neʔ=nke    láp    neʔ  
 to=DET=LOC-lie.down-INS-3POSS    all    DEM    DEM=INFER    MOD    DEM  
 n-[ʔ]ə=típəl    tékm    t[=ʔə]=xə́nʔ=Ø                                      lá̆m  
 LOC-DET=table    all    OBL=D/C=cover.flat=3SBJ    COMPL  
 ‘Her powder was everywhere, on the bed, on the table.’
- (31) *ném qlíłmtis l̥ skʷúz.*  
 ném    qlíł-m-t-ey-es                                      l̥=s-kʷúz  
 INTS    angry-RLT-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG    DET=NMLZ-aunt  
 ‘Oh, she was really mad at us.’

‘And that’s all I remember so I know she was pretty angry at us.’

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