

xʷíʔ kʷ páq (You Will Be Sorry)*

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Abstract: This paper contains an original story written and told in Nl̓eʔkepmxcín (Thompson River Salish) by Bev Phillips about the effects of climate change both on the world and on the people. The story is presented first in its entirety in Nl̓eʔkepmxcín, then in an English translation, and finally in a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. In publishing this story, we make a small step toward documenting the language as well as Indigenous storytelling traditions, making this piece both linguistically and culturally significant.

Keywords: Nl̓eʔkepmxcín, Salish, storytelling, syntax

1 Introduction

In this paper, we present an original story written and told in Nl̓eʔkepmxcín (Thompson River Salish; ISO 639-3: thp) by Bev Phillips, a native speaker of Nl̓eʔkepmxcín from Lytton, BC. This story is about a fire that breaks out because of the way that people mistreat the Earth. It was written in response to the devastating wildfires occurring throughout British Columbia in recent years. We present the story in Nl̓eʔkepmxcín, in English, and in a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. In sharing this story, we hope to make a small step toward recording and documenting both Nl̓eʔkepmxcín and Indigenous storytelling traditions. Therefore, this work has both linguistic and cultural importance.

The paper is structured as follows: the rest of the introduction provides a language background, a background of the story, and an explanation of the process of transcription, glossing, and translation used in the rest of the paper. Section 2 presents the story in Nl̓eʔkepmxcín, and Section 3 presents it in an English translation. Section 4 provides a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of the text, and Section 5 highlights a noteworthy syntactic phenomenon found within the story.

1.1 Language background

Nl̓eʔkepmxcín is a Salish language of the Northern Interior subfamily spoken along the Fraser and Nicola rivers in South Central British Columbia, Canada in communities such as Lytton, Spuzzum, Coldwater, and Shulus, to name a few. The dialects spoken in Spuzzum and Lytton are the most documented, with the Spuzzum dialect being the predominant one reflected in the grammar and the dictionary (Thompson & Thompson 1992, 1996) and the Lytton dialect being featured heavily in

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more recent literature (Koch 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2013). Recent work, though, has included the Coldwater dialect (Hannon et al. 2023). As of 2022, there are about 105 fluent speakers of the language (Gessner et al. 2022).

1.2 Recording the story

In 2023, during the month of October, I met with Bev in-person during a trip to Merritt and Lytton. Knowing that we would be working together in-person, I decided to ask her if she wanted to use our elicitation time to tell a story in Nl̥eʔkepmxcín, so that we could record some uninterrupted speech with a high-quality microphone. She agreed, and in a week, wrote the story that the two of us present in this paper, *xʷiʔ kʷ páq* or ‘You Will Be Sorry’. The audio of the story, published in tandem with this paper, was recorded during this meeting.¹ In it, Bev can be heard reading the story aloud from her original written copy.

1.3 Background of the story (Bev Phillips)

This story came about because of the impact of the recent wildfires across BC, their aftereffects, and the impacts of climate change. I used the characters that I did because of the Nl̥eʔképmx teachings from my family. I put Old One’s singing part in there because of my love for songs in our language. I hope the impact this story has is that it teaches those that don’t know about our connections to our Creator, the land, and the elements, and to remind those that know about our connections to our land that its importance is still relevant.

1.4 Methodology

After telling the story, Bev shared her original copy which was written in the Nl̥eʔkepmxcín orthography commonly used in Lytton. Using words that I was already familiar with as keys, I converted her orthography into the North American Phonetic Alphabet (NAPA) as employed by Thompson and Thompson (T&T) in their grammar and dictionary (1992, 1996). This was done because NAPA is the orthography used for Nl̥eʔkepmxcín in the linguistic literature.

Once I had converted the orthography, I listened to the recording numerous times to check for any differences between it and the transcription. Upon finding some, Bev instructed me, on a case-by-case basis, to follow either her writing or the recording. Differences between the recording and transcription are identified in the footnotes of Section 4.

While revising the transcription, I also worked on the four-line gloss found in Section 4. The first line is the orthography line where the sentences are transcribed in NAPA as they would be written or spoken. For spelling, I followed conventions used by T&T (1992, 1996) when they aligned with the recording, which was the case for the vast majority of morphemes. In other cases, the spelling of a given word reflects more closely the way it was pronounced in the recording, rather than previously attested spellings. Primary stress is also indicated in this line with an acute accent since this is part of T&T’s (1992, 1996) use of the orthography, though they do not always mark it consistently. To my knowledge, there is not a standardized way to mark stress in the language, so I used my best judgment to mark it accurately, and as a result, I expect the possibility of mistakes.

¹ Thank you to Noah Luntzlara for both providing and operating the microphone during this session.

The second line is the segmentation line where sentences are segmented into morphemes written in their underlying representations. Since roots, at least in this story, typically are not subject to any phonological processes, they are mostly transcribed identically in both the orthography line and the segmentation line, and they are spelled as they appear in T&T (1996). Grammatical categories, on the other hand, are more often subject to phonological processes, especially the transitive agreement morphology. For most of these morphemes, only T&T (1992) have postulated underlying representations, and to my knowledge, there hasn't been any later scrutinizing of these proposed forms. The determiners, though, are the one exception since they're sometimes spelled or analyzed differently in later literature, see Kroeber (1997) and Koch (2008:47–52). It should be noted then that I use forms of grammatical categories that reflect the most current research. For any morpheme that I suspected of having a different underlying representation from the one(s) proposed in previous research, I represent it in the segmentation line as it appears in the orthography line. In cases where a morpheme has been proposed to have more than one possible underlying representation by the same researcher(s), I use the one that more closely resembles the corresponding form in the orthography line. Similarly, reduplicative affixation appears in this line as it does in the orthography line. It should also be noted that some morphemes are underlyingly stressed in Nl̥ɛʔkepmxcín. However, my knowledge of the stress system in the language is limited, so I mark primary stress in both the orthography line and the segmentation line on the same syllable. By using these first two lines as outlined above, I aim to depict the phonology of the language as accurately as possible.² However, since I was not always sure of the underlying representation(s) of a given morpheme, I caution the reader to not draw any conclusions about the phonology based on this paper alone.

The third line is the gloss line where each morpheme is assigned a meaning. This was done with an English translation from T&T (1996) where possible, such as in the case of lexical items, prepositions, and coordinators. Other morphemes are labeled by their linguistic function. This portion was completed over the course of months by carefully reviewing the literature and consulting with my colleagues in Nl̥ab.

The fourth and final line is the translation line where the entirety of the sentence is translated into English. This was the work of Bev using her original written copy of the story with only some minor editing from myself. The translations in this line are identical to those found in Section 3.

2 Nl̥ɛʔkepmxcín

tuł cúk^wscus e tmíx^w ł qəlmín, ʔéx k^wénes ʔe cíye us t héñ e ʔhekstmtíyxs us e séytknmx e tmíx^w. tułe s̥l̥ʔéks e sémeʔ ne tmíx^w, ʔeskəp̥ekstmtíyxs e séytknmx te scuném̥xc. címeł k^wénes e ʔzúm te q^wúʔ néʔe e us méłəł e ntəq^wtíq^w te q^wuʔúy ʔeł e x^wʔít te s̥wéw̥x^w ʔeł q^wúʔ tuwe tmíx^w. k^wénes néʔe e ʔzúm te q^wúʔ ʔé swíkcs e sʔúsəsc e séytknmx. ʔesmél̥ néʔe e nputéy ʔeł tetéʔe k x ʔesxóks te ʔustíyxs e séytknmx pele sémeʔ. čé e *plastic* e x^wʔít te x k^wéwt. wíkcs e ʔzúm te spzúʔ te ʔ nqáyix néʔe. ʔesʔác te nxézk^wutn ʔeł x^wíʔləm. ʔeslúʔuʔ e sʔíx^wł te *plastic* ne s̥psaqsiyxs. te sʔesk^wéñsc e ʔéx nqáyix ne q^wúʔ, ʔəkstés k sʔúpis ʔełl̥uʔ e sʔúsəsc e séytknmx. te sux^wnéʔms, ʔéñs ʔe ʔé us ʔeł ʔéñs ʔe q^wnóx^wetm us e nqáyix ne q^wúʔ pele tékm e x cúwu n cíʔe. ném e sq^wnóx^ws e sx^wáwk^ws te swíkcs e spzúʔ te cíye us ʔeł e ʔzúm te q^wúʔ.

tuʔ x^wéʔe e snk^wúmes ł qəlmín. k^wénes e sq^wám, e spēym, ʔeł e tékm te tmíx^w. nwéñ ʔəkstés e cíye us. ʔesník e x^wʔít tuwe syép, ʔesməlmól e tmíx^w, ʔeł ʔesxəcxús e s̥əzkzík. tékm e syəp̥yép t

² For an overview of the phonology of Nl̥ɛʔkepmxcín, see T&T (1992:3–46).

ex nke né?e cúwu ðu? ʒesník. teté?e k spzúzu? k x ʒéx né?e, teté?e k muséle?xn. ném e sq^wnóχ^ws e sx^wáwk^ws ł qəlmín.

nk^wumeʒékst tu? x^wé?e e swíksc e nχətqúymx^w ne? e us ncíqm e séme? e us x^wí?m te snuyeʒéyst ʒel k^wúl ʒel tékm t héń tk wəlwəlim. χzúm né?e e sχətəq ne tmíx^w. teté?e piʒsté? k spénts wł cíye us. q^wnóχ^w e sx^wáwk^ws ł qəlmín. x^wúyce? wík e sʒúsc e séytknmx ne tmíx^w ʒel ne q^wuʒúy. χəkstés k steté?e k sx^wúys kəlnwéns e *plastic* ʒel e *Styrofoam* tuwe tmíx^w. nwén ʒesʒúlx^w e *plastic* we séytknmx. x^wʒít tu? x^wé?e e swíkms ł qəlmín te sχiltiyxs e séytknmx e citx^wiyxs ł tmíx^w, pe cé xʒé e címeł e swíkms ʒel ptínusms.

ʒé scúts, “cuxitíyxsne e séytknmx xʒé tk tmíx^w, ðu? pʒelstíyxs. x^wí? páq te sχíyms tʒé.” ʒé snésce míltms ł sk^wák^wes ł qəlmín ʒé sq^wintés ł sk^wák^wes. “téye, sk^wák^wes, k^wúk^wri? ne sʒíqt, x^wí? q^wincín. ném e spʒelstíyxs e séytknmx e tmíx^w. ʒustíyxs e teté?e k x ʒesχáks ne q^wú? ʒel e tmíx^w. níketíyxs e x^wʒít te sχəpʒep ʒel ncíqetíyxs e tmíx^w. ʒel x^wʒít x^wúyce? e scuwíyxs. ném e nsqílł ʒel q^wnóχ^w nsx^wáwk^w. ʒe n héń te síłqt e cúncn us, x^wí? k^w clox^wwíʒx. teté?e x^wí? k sχəłstéx^w te? k swét ʒe? cúncn ʒíł e cʒekwíʒx k^w.”

“ʒúu huméł, qəlmín.”

ʒé scúntm te qəlmín, “x^wí? ʒelðu? q^winténe ł eʒsínci?ł snéwt.” ʒé sʒíłms ł qəlmín, “ʒe tém us te? k smnúncmx^w ðu? x^wí? k^w páq.” ʒé smíltms ł snéwt. “téye, snéwt, ném e sqílłmne e séytknmx te spʒelstíyxs e tmíx^w. x^wí? cunemχtíyxsne k steté?e k stíʒtaχ^ws xé?e. ʒe n héń tk síłqt, x^wí? k^w nuʒnéwt tk néx^w. teté?e k sx^wúys xəłstéx^w te? k swét. x^wí? ʒelðu? ném tk s^wəs^wóst ł sk^wák^wes.”

ʒé scúts ł snéwt, “ʒúu huméł, qəlmín.”

ʒé scúntm te qəlmín, “x^wí? ʒelðu? q^wintíyxsne ł nmařmářm ʒel skíʒkiʒx.” ʒé sʒíłms ł qəlmín, “ʒe tém us te? k smnúncmx^w, ðu? x^wí? k^w páq.” nés x^wíʒes ł nmařmářm ʒel skíʒkiʒx. “ʒa qéck, ł skíʒkiʒx, ʒel sínci?, ł nmařmářm. ném e sqílłmne ł séytknmx te spʒelstíyxs e tmíx^w. ʒe n héń né?e tk síłqt, x^wí? k^w nəx^wcín, skíʒkiʒx, ʒel eʒwí, nmařmářm, x^wí? k^w nmařmářm te néx^w. x^wí? cəq̄téx^w e sχəpʒep ʒel e tmíx^w. teté?e k sx^wúys xəłstép te? k swét. x^wí? kp χíym tʒé ʒe? cúntimn us.”

ʒé scúyets, “ʒúu huméł, qəlmín.”

ʒé sʒíłms ł qəlmín, “ʒe tém us te? k smnúncmx^w ðu? x^wí? k^w páq.” ʒé sptínusms ł qəlmín, “x^wí? ʒelðu? q^winténe ł sq^wúyi? ʒel qécks stékl.” kíces ł sq^wúyi? ʒel stékl. “téye, sq^wúyi?, ʒel eʒqéck, stékl. ném e sqílłmne e séytknmx te spʒelstíyxs e tmíx^w. x^wí? cunemχtíyxsne k steté?e k stíʒtaχ^ws xé?e. nwén q^winténe ł sk^wák^wes ʒel snéwt, ł nmařmářm ʒel skíʒkiʒx ʒel pyépst. tuł cʒéyl tk síłqt ʒe? spénck, x^wí? móq^wetp e tékm te q^wú? ne sʒíqt. eʒwí, sq^wúyi?, x^wí? ʒesk^wúk^wstx^w, x^wí? ʒescestéx^w. eʒwí stékl teté?e k eʒsx^wí? k^wís. χəksténe k sx^wúys χmenkwíʒx, ðu? x^wí? kncín. x^wí? yoř^wcín ʒe? e spénck us. x^wí? kp χíym tʒé ʒe? cúntimn us.

ʒé scúyets, “huméł, qəlmín.”

ʒé sʒíłms ł qəlmín, “ʒe tém us te? k smnúncmx^w ðu? x^wí? k^w páq.”

tu? x^wé?e meł e steté?e k stéklš tk keʒłés nke tk mářxetn. ne sʒ^wyéłq meł tk mářxetn, ʒesnés q^wintém ł sk^wák^wes te qəlmín. ʒé s^wos^wóstš ł sk^wák^wes te ném te clox^w. kícetm ł snéwt ł qəlmín ʒé snéx^ws e snéwts. te stéməs te? k stéklšc, ném e sclóχ^ws e tmíx^w. kíces ł skíʒkiʒx ʒel nmařmářm ł qəlmín. nəx^wcín ł skíʒkiʒx, ʒel cəq̄m te scék^ws ł nmařmářm. nux^wnwentíyxs e séytknmx e clox^ws e sk^wák^wes, e néx^ws e snéwt, ʒel e nəx^wcíns e skíʒkiʒx. ném e spaq^wpáq^wuʒs e qeʒnimetíyxs us ł skíʒkiʒx. pe e wiktíyxs us ł nmařmářm, e swewíyxs.

ʒé scúyets, “té nke té?e k s^wəzstéys ł qəlmín te steté?e k skntéys.” teté?e k sxíns tu? x^wé?e e scəq̄nwéns ł nmařmářm e sχəpʒep ʒé s^wyəps e tmíx^w. te snex^wíyxs e snéwt, x^wənt e snóχ^ws e spém. x^wʒít te tmíx^w ʒel cecítx^w s^wyəp. cú? ne? q^wintém ł qəlmín te séytknmx, ðu? teté?e k skéynimes.

ʒé sʒíłms ł qəlmín, “ʒe tém us te? k smnúncmx^w ðu? x^wí? k^w páq.” kmeł, ł stékl ʒel sq^wúyi? teté?e k x ʒestwázs te sʒesyoř^wstém te qəlmín. x^wʒít te tmíx^w te x s^wyəp, teté?e k scíys te wméx k sčep. łx^wəp e séytknmx tuwe nk^wúk^wmés e s^wyəp ʒíł nk^wuck^wúce us te snkítetm te spém. ʒe n héń

té?e te sílq̄t e sq̄w̄intés ł q̄əlmín ł sq̄w̄úȳi? ?eł stékl ?é swazíyxs ł sq̄w̄úȳi?, ?é sc?ekwí?xs ł sk̄w̄ák̄wes. teté?e k snéx̄ws e us néwt ł snéwt. x̄menkwí?x̄ ł sq̄w̄úȳi? ?é sklékstms e stékl. x̄w̄ést ł sk̄w̄ák̄wes ?eł snéwt x̄íym ?eł?u? ł nmařmářm ?eł skí?ki?x̄. kmel e stékl łépes e sřw̄yář, ?u? te sřw̄yářs e syářyép ?é sx̄w̄łts e sřéx̄wt. ?éx̄wt e x̄wél ?eł nk̄éwt e nřlíws.

x̄w̄úȳe? q̄w̄incútm ł q̄əlmín te séytknm̄x̄ “té nke té?e k sx̄w̄əzstéys ł q̄əlmín te stéməs k skntéys.”

?é sříłms ł q̄əlmín, “?e tém us te? k smnún̄cm̄x̄w̄ ?u? x̄w̄i? k̄w̄ páq.” tékl ?e? nčáktm e sq̄w̄úȳi?, ?é sx̄w̄əsts ł sq̄w̄úȳi? ?eł stékl. kices e séytknm̄x̄ ł q̄əlmín ?é sř?éns, “?e tém us k smnún̄cip, ?u? x̄w̄i? kp páq. ȳhékstuze e tmíx̄w̄ep.”

3 English

Since the time when Old One created the earth, he was watching it to see if the people were looking after their land. Since the white people came to the land, the native people dropped his teachings. First, he looked at the ocean where the muddy water river (Fraser River) and all the creeks and water from the land mixed. He looked at the ocean and saw what the people threw away. Mixed into it were bottles and unknown things that people threw away. It was plastic that was floating in the water. He saw the big animals that swim there. They were tied with nets and rope. Some were poked with plastic in their noses. Because he watched those that live in the water, he knew that they also ate what the people threw away. Because he was the medicine man, he sensed if they were well, and he sensed if those who live in the ocean and everything else that grew there were getting sick from something. He was heartbroken from seeing the animals that way and the ocean.

From there, Old One went north up the river. He looked at the mountains, prairies, and all the land. He already knew what it was like. A lot of the trees were cut, the earth was piled up, and trees were stacked on top of each other. All the trees that must have grown there were cut. There were no birds and no four-legged animals. Old One was very heartbroken.

He went north where he saw a hole in the ground where the white men were digging to look for silver and gold and every other kind of metal. It was a huge hole in the earth there. It could never be returned to the way it was. Old One was heartbroken. He saw more of the people's garbage on the land and in the river. He knew that he wouldn't be able to take away the plastic and Styrofoam from the land. The plastic was already in the people. There was a lot more that Old One saw the people do to their home, but this was the first time that he saw it and thought about it.

And he said, “I made this land for the people, but they didn't care for it. They will be sorry that they did this.” And Old One went to visit Sun, and he spoke to him. “Hey Sun, chief of the sky, I'm going to talk to you. The people have treated the land really poorly. They have thrown all kinds of things in the water and on the land. They have cut down many trees and dug in the land. And they have done much more than this. I am very angry and heartbroken. On a certain day that I tell you, you will become hotter. You will not feel sorry for anyone until I tell you to be cool.”

“Oh okay, Old One.”

And Old One told him, “I'm also going to talk to your younger brother, Wind.” And Old One sang, “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.” And he visited Wind. “Hey Wind, I am very angry at the people for mistreating the earth. I'm going to teach them that that is not right. On a certain day, you will blow very hard. You will not feel sorry for anyone. And Sun will also shine a lot.”

And Wind said, “Oh okay, Old One.”

And Old One told him, “I am also going to talk to Lightning and Thunder.” And Old One sang, “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.” He went to look for Lightning and Thunder. “Ah older brother, Thunder, and younger brother, Lightning. I am very angry at the people for

mistreating the earth. On a certain day, you will be loud, Thunder, and you, Lightning, will strike intensely. You will strike the trees and the land. Neither of you will feel sorry for anyone. Both of you will do that until I tell you.”

And they said, “Oh okay, Old One.”

And Old One sang, “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.” And Old One thought, “I am also going to talk to Cloud and his older brother, Rain.” He reached Cloud and Rain. “Hey, Cloud and your older brother, Rain. I am very angry at the people for mistreating the earth. I am going to teach them that that is not right. I have already talked to Sun and Wind, Lightning and Thunder, and you two. From this day until summer, the two of you will gather all the water from the sky. You, Cloud, will hold and store it. You, Rain, will not fall. I know it will be heavy, but I will help you. I will hide you until it is summer. You two will do this until I tell you.”

And they said, “Okay, Old One.”

And Old One sang, “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.” From that time on, it did not rain, and it must not have rained for three months. During picking month, Old One went to talk to Sun. And Sun shone very hotly. Wind was reached by Old One and blew intensely. Because it did not rain, the land got very hot. Old One reached Thunder and Lightning. Thunder was loud, and Lightning threw his bolts. The people noticed how hot Sun was, how strong Wind was, and how loud Thunder was. They were very afraid when they heard Thunder. But when they saw Lightning, they cried.

And they said, “Old One must not love us because he hasn’t helped us.” It wasn’t long before Lightning was able to hit the trees, and the land burned. Because the wind was intense, the fire ran quickly. Lots of the land and homes burned. The people tried to talk to Old One, but he did not listen.

And Old One sang, “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.” However, Rain and Cloud weren’t visible because Old One hid them. Lots of the land burned; it didn’t seem like there were any trees living. The people escaped to the north of the fire and then went south because the fire caught up to them. On a certain day, Old One spoke to Cloud and Rain, and Cloud showed himself, and Sun cooled. Wind did not blow as strong. Cloud became heavy and let go of the rain. Sun and Wind went home, and Lightning and Thunder did the same. However, Rain put out the fire, but because the trees burned, there were lots of landslides. The landslides covered the road, and bridges were washed away.

The people once again spoke to Old One, “Old One must not love us because he is not helping us.”

And Old One sang, “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.” It rained until Cloud was empty, and Cloud and Rain went home. Old One reached the people and warned them. “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry. Look after your land.”

4 Interlinear gloss^{3,4}

- (1) tuł cúk^wsc⁵ us e tmíx^w ɪ qəłmín,
 tu=ɪ=cúk^w-s-t-Ø-[e]s=us e=tmíx^w ɪ=qəłmín
 from=D/C.REM=finish-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJV DET=land DET.REM=old.one
 ʔéx k^wénes ʔe cíye us t héñ
 ʔéx=Ø k^wéñ-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s ʔe=cíy-[e]=us t=héñ
 IPFV=3SBJ regard-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG COMP=like-RES=3SBJV OBL=WH
 e ʔhekstmtíyxs us e séytknmx
 e=ʔ[e]h-ekst-m[in]-t-Ø-íyxs=us e=séytkn-[e]mx
 D/C=good-hand-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3PL=3SBJV DET=native-people
 e tmíx^{ws}.
 e=tmíx^w-s
 DET=land-3POSS
 ‘Since the time when Old One created the earth, he was watching it to see if the people were
 looking after their land.’
- (2) tułe sáʔéks e sémeʔ ne tmíx^w,
 tu=ɪe=s=áʔék=s e=sémeʔ n=e=tmíx^w
 from=DET.REM=NMLZ=arrive=3POSS DET=white.people at=DET=land
 ʔeskəpekstmtíyxs e séytknmx
 ʔes-kəɫ-[ə]p-ekst-m[in]-t-Ø-íyxs=Ø e=séytkn-[e]mx
 STAT-separate-INCH-hand-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3PL=3SBJ DET=native-people
 te scunémxc.
 t=e=[s]=cun-ém-x[i]-t-Ø-[e]s
 OBL=DET=NMLZ=tell-ʔ⁶-INDR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 ‘Since the white people came to the land, the native people dropped his teachings.’

³ Abbreviations follow Leipzig glossing rules with the following additions largely from Thompson and Thompson (1992, 1996) and Kroeber (1997, 1999): ADD = additive, AFF = affective, AUG = augmentative, AUT = autonomous intransitivizer, CHR = characteristic, CNSQ = consequential, CTR = control, D/C = determiner-complementizer, DVL = developmental, EMPH = emphatic, EXT = stem extender, IMM = immediate, INCH = inchoative, INDEP = independent pronoun, INDR = indirective applicative, INFER = inferential evidential, INT = introductory predicate, LC = limited control, MID = middle, OOC = out-of-control, PRP = proportional, PROSP = prospective, QLT = qualitative, RFM = reaffirmative, REM = remote, RLT = relational applicative, WH = *wh*-word. The boundaries of non-reduplicative prefixes and suffixes are marked with hyphens (-), while those of reduplicative prefixes and suffixes are marked with tildes (~). Infixes are enclosed between angle brackets (< >), and clitic boundaries are marked with equal signs (=). In cases where segments are omitted, but present in the underlying representation, as a result of morphophonological processes or allegro speech, they are transcribed between square brackets ([]).

⁴ The title of the story is shown below in an interlinear gloss:

- (i) x^wíʔ k^w páq.
 x^w[u]y^w=k^w páq
 PROSP=2SG.SBJ sorry
 ‘You will be sorry.’

⁵ It’s important to note that when the transitive suffix /-t/ is immediately followed by an /s/, the two segments combine to form [c] which is reflected in the orthography (T&T 1992, 1996).

⁶ T&T identify this morpheme as a lexical suffix, but their dictionary entry is limited (1996:537). As a result, I leave it un glossed.

- (3) címeł k^wénes e xzúm te q^wú? né?e
címeł=∅ k^wéñ-n-[t]-∅-[e]s e=xzúm t=e=q^wú? né?e
first=3SBJ regard-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=big OBL=DET=water DEM
e us méłəł e ntəq^wtíq^w te q^wu?úy
e=[ʔex]=us méłə~əł e=n-təq^w~tíq^w t=e=q^wu?-[ʔ]úy
D/C=IPFV=3SBJV mix~OOC DET=LOC-AUG~muddy OBL=DET=water-RFM
ʔeł e x^w?ít te scwéwx^w ʔeł q^wú? tuwe tmíx^w.
ʔeł e=x^w?ít t=e=s-cwéwx^w ʔeł q^wú? tuw=e=tmíx^w
and DET=much OBL=DET=NMLZ-creek and water from=DET=land
‘First, he looked at the ocean where the muddy water river (Fraser River) and all the creeks
and water from the land mixed.’

- (4) k^wénes né?e e xzúm te q^wú? ʔé
k^wéñ-n-[t]-∅-[e]s=∅=né?e e=xzúm t=e=q^wú? ʔé=∅
regard-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ=DEM DET=big OBL=DET=water INT=3SBJ
swík e sʔúsəsc
[e]=s=wík-[n]-t-∅-[e]s e=s-ʔús~əs-s
D/C=NMLZ=see-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=NMLZ-discard~OOC-3POSS
e séytknmx. ʔesméł né?e e nputéy ʔeł
e=séytkn-[e]mx ʔes-méł=∅=né?e e=n-putéy ʔeł
DET=native-people STAT-mix=3SBJ=DEM DET=LOC-bottle and
teté?e k x ʔesxóks
te[ʔ]=∅=té?e k=[ʔe]x=[s]=ʔes-xók=s
NEG=3SBJ=DEM D/C=IPFV=NMLZ=STAT-know=3POSS
te ʔustíyxs e séytknmx
t=e=ʔus-[n]-t-∅-íyxs=∅ e=séytkn-[e]mx
OBL=DET=discard-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3PL=3SBJ DET=native-people
pele séme?.
peł=e=séme?
with=DET=white.people
‘He looked at the ocean and saw what the people threw away. Mixed into it were bottles
and unknown things that people threw away.’

- (5) čé e plastic e x^w?ít te x k^wéwt.
č-[ʔ]é=∅ e=plastic e=x^w?ít=∅ t=e=[ʔe]x=k^wéw-t=∅
EMPH-INT=3SBJ DET=plastic D/C=much=3SBJ OBL=DET=IPFV=immerse-IMM=3SBJ
‘It was plastic that was floating in the water.’

- (6) wík e xzúm te spzú?
wík-[n]-t-Ø-[e]s=Ø e=xzúm t=e=s-pzú?
see-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DET=big OBL=DET=NMLZ-animal
te x nqáyix né?e.
t⁷=e=[?e]x=n-qáy-[i]yx=Ø né?e
OBL=DET=IPFV=LOC-swim-AUT=3SBJ DEM
‘He saw the big animals that swim there.’
- (7) ?esʕác te nxézk^wutn ?eł x^wí?ləm.
?es-ʕác=Ø t=e=n-xéz-[et]k^wu-t[ə]n ?eł x^wí?ləm
STAT-tangle=3SBJ OBL=DET=LOC-hang-water-INS and rope
‘They were tied with nets and rope.’
- (8) ?eslú?u? e s?ix^wł te *plastic*
?es-lú?~u?~Ø e=s-?ix^wł t=e=*plastic*
STAT-stab~OO=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-some OBL=DET=plastic
ne spsaqsíyxs.
n=e=s-ps-aqs-íyxs
at=DET=NMLZ-nose-nose-3PL
‘Some were poked with plastic in their noses.’
- (9) te s?esk^wéńsc e ?éx nqáyix
t=e=s=?es-k^wéń-s-t-Ø-[e]s e=?éx=Ø n-qáy-[i]yx
OBL=D/C=NMLZ=STAT-regard-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=IPFV=3SBJ LOC-swin-AUT
ne q^wú?, xəkstés
n=e=q^wú? xək-s-t-Ø-és=Ø
at=DET=water know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ
k s?úpis ?eł⁷u? e s?úsəsc
k=s=?úpi-[n]-[t]-Ø-[e]s=?eł⁷u? e=s-?ús~əs-s
D/C=NMLZ=eat-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=ADD DET=NMLZ-discard~OO=3POSS
e séytknmx.
e=séytkn-[e]mx
DET=native-people
‘Because he watched those that live in the water, he knew that they also eat what the people threw away.’

⁷ This segment sounds like /n/ in the recording, but /t/ is what was intended, so the transcription, gloss, and translation reflect this.

- (15) $\text{ʔesn}^{\dot{\text{i}}\text{k}}$ $\text{e x}^{\text{w}}\text{ʔit}$ $\text{tuwe sy}^{\text{e}}\text{p}$, $\text{ʔesm}^{\text{e}}\text{lm}^{\text{e}}\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{l}$
 $\text{ʔes-n}^{\dot{\text{i}}\text{k}}=\emptyset$ $\text{e}=\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{ʔit}$ $\text{tuw}=\text{e}=\text{s-y}^{\text{e}}\text{p}$ $\text{ʔes-m}^{\text{e}}\text{l}\sim\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{l}=\emptyset$
STAT-cut=3SBJ DET=much from=DET=NMLZ-tree STAT-AUG~pile.up.dirt=3SBJ
 $\text{e tm}^{\text{i}}\text{x}^{\text{w}}$, $\text{ʔe}\text{l}$ $\text{ʔesx}^{\text{e}}\text{cxc}^{\text{e}}\text{s}$ $\text{e sz}^{\text{e}}\text{kz}^{\text{i}}\text{k}$.
 $\text{e}=\text{tm}^{\text{i}}\text{x}^{\text{w}}$ $\text{ʔe}\text{l}$ $\text{ʔes-x}^{\text{e}}\text{c}\sim\text{x}^{\text{e}}\text{-}^{\text{u}}\text{s}=\emptyset$ $\text{e}=\text{s-z}^{\text{e}}\text{k}\sim\text{z}^{\text{i}}\text{k}$
DET=land and STAT-AUG~stack-face=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-AUG~log
‘A lot of the trees were cut, the earth was piled up, and trees were stacked on top of each other.’
- (16) $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{km}$ $\text{e sy}^{\text{e}}\text{p}^{\text{e}}\text{p}^{\text{e}}\text{p}$ $\text{t ex nke n}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔe}$ $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{wu}$ $\text{ʔu}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}$
 $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{km}$ $\text{e}=\text{s-y}^{\text{e}}\text{p}\sim\text{y}^{\text{e}}\text{p}$ $\text{t}=[\text{e}]=[\text{ʔ}]\text{ex}=\emptyset=\text{nke}=\text{n}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔe}$ $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\text{w}\sim\text{u}$ $\text{ʔu}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}$
all DET=NMLZ-AUG~tree OBL=DET=IPFV=3SBJ=INFER=DEM do~OOC EXCL
 $\text{ʔesn}^{\dot{\text{i}}\text{k}}$.
 $\text{ʔes-n}^{\dot{\text{i}}\text{k}}=\emptyset$
STAT-cut=3SBJ
‘All the trees that must have grown there were all cut.’
- (17) $\text{te}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔe}$ $\text{k spz}^{\text{u}}\text{z}^{\text{u}}\text{ʔ}$ $\text{k x ʔ}^{\text{e}}\text{x}$ $\text{n}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔe}$, $\text{te}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔe}$
 $\text{te}[\text{ʔ}]=\emptyset=\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔe}$ $\text{k}=\text{s-pz}^{\text{u}}\text{<z}^{\text{u}}\text{>ʔ}$ $\text{k}=[\text{ʔe}]\text{x}=\text{ʔ}^{\text{e}}\text{x}=\emptyset$ $\text{n}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔe}$ $\text{te}[\text{ʔ}]=\emptyset=\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔe}$
NEG=3SBJ=DEM DET=NMLZ-bird<DIM> DET=IPFV=reside=3SBJ DEM NEG=3SBJ=DEM
 $\text{k mus}^{\text{e}}\text{le}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔxn}$.
 $\text{k}=\text{mus-}^{\text{e}}\text{le}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ-x}[\text{e}]\text{n}$
DET=four-EXT-foot
‘There were no birds and no four-legged animals.’
- (18) $\text{n}^{\text{e}}\text{m}$ $\text{e sq}^{\text{w}}\text{n}^{\text{e}}\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{s}$ $\text{e sx}^{\text{w}}\text{a}^{\text{w}}\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{s}$ $\text{l q}^{\text{e}}\text{lm}^{\text{e}}\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{l}$.
 $\text{n}^{\text{e}}\text{m}=\emptyset$ $\text{e}=\text{s}=\text{q}^{\text{w}}\text{n}^{\text{e}}\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{s}$ $\text{e}=\text{s-x}^{\text{w}}\text{a}^{\text{w}}\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{s}$ $\text{l}=\text{q}^{\text{e}}\text{lm}^{\text{e}}\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{l}$
intense=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=sick=3POSS DET=NMLZ-heart-3POSS DET.REM=old.one
‘Old One was very heartbroken.’
- (19) $\text{nk}^{\text{w}}\text{ume}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}^{\text{e}}\text{kst}$ $\text{tu}^{\text{e}}\text{ x}^{\text{w}}\text{e}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔe}$ $\text{e sw}^{\text{i}}\text{ksc}$
 $\text{n-k}^{\text{w}}\text{ume-}^{\text{e}}\text{kst}=\emptyset$ $\text{tuw}=\text{x}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔe}=\emptyset$ $\text{e}=\text{s-w}^{\text{i}}\text{k-s-t-}\emptyset\text{-}[\text{e}]\text{s}$
LOC-go.upriver-hand=3SBJ from=DEM3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=see-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 $\text{e nx}^{\text{e}}\text{tq}^{\text{u}}\text{y}^{\text{m}}\text{x}^{\text{w}}$ $\text{ne}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}$ e us $\text{nc}^{\text{i}}\text{q}^{\text{m}}$
 $\text{e}=\text{n-x}^{\text{e}}\text{tq-}^{\text{u}}\text{y}^{\text{m}}\text{x}^{\text{w}}$ $\text{n}[\text{e}]\text{ʔ}$ $\text{e}=[\text{ʔex}]=\text{us}$ $\text{n-c}^{\text{i}}\text{q-m}$
DET=LOC-hole-land DEM D/C=IPFV=3SBJV LOC-dig-CTR.MID
 $\text{e s}^{\text{e}}\text{me}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}$ e us $\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{i}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ-m}$
 $\text{e}=\text{s}^{\text{e}}\text{me}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}$ $\text{e}=[\text{ʔex}]=\text{us}$ $\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{i}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ-m}$
DET=white.person D/C=IPFV=3SBJV seek-CTR.MID
 $\text{te snuye}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}^{\text{e}}\text{y}^{\text{e}}\text{st}$ $\text{ʔe}\text{l}$ $\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{u}^{\text{l}}$ $\text{ʔe}\text{l}$ $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{km}$ $\text{t h}^{\text{e}}\text{n}$
 $\text{t}=\text{e-s-nuye}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ-}^{\text{e}}\text{y}^{\text{e}}\text{st}$ $\text{ʔe}\text{l}$ $\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{u}^{\text{l}}$ $\text{ʔe}\text{l}$ $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{km}$ $\text{t}=\text{h}^{\text{e}}\text{n}$
OBL=DET=NMLZ-beaver-stone and gold and all OBL=WH
 $\text{tk w}^{\text{e}}\text{l}^{\text{w}}\text{e}^{\text{l}}\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{l}$.
 $\text{t}=\text{k}=\text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{l}\sim\text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{l}^{\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{l}}$
OBL=DET=AUG~metal
‘He went north where he saw a hole in the ground where the white men were digging to look for silver and gold and every other kind of metal.’

- (20) $\chi z\acute{u}m\ n\acute{e}?\acute{e}$ $e\ s\chi\acute{a}t\acute{a}q$ $ne\ tm\acute{i}x^w$.
 $\chi z\acute{u}m=\emptyset=n\acute{e}?\acute{e}$ $e=s-\chi\acute{a}t\acute{a}q$ $n=e=tm\acute{i}x^w$
big=3SBJ=DEM DET=NMLZ-hole at=DET=land
‘It was a huge hole in the earth there.’
- (21) $t\acute{e}t\acute{e}?\acute{e}$ $pi?\acute{s}t\acute{e}?$ $k\ sp\acute{e}nt\acute{s}$
 $te[?]=\emptyset=t\acute{e}?\acute{e}$ $pi?-s-t\acute{e}?$ $k=s-\acute{p}\acute{e}nt=s$
NEG=3SBJ=DEM time-NMLZ-what D/C=NMLZ=return=3POSS
 $w\acute{l}\ \acute{c}\acute{i}ye\ us$.
 $w=\acute{l}=\acute{c}\acute{i}y-e=us$
to=DET.REM=like-RES=3SBJV
‘It could never be returned to the way it was.’
- (22) $q^wn\acute{o}\chi^w$ $e\ sx^w\acute{a}wk^ws$ $\acute{l}\ q\acute{a}lm\acute{i}n$.
 $q^wn\acute{o}\chi^w=\emptyset$ $e=s-x^w\acute{a}wk^w-s$ $\acute{l}=q\acute{a}lm\acute{i}n$
sick=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-heart-3POSS DET.REM=old.one
‘Old One was heartbroken.’
- (23) $x^w\acute{u}y\acute{c}e?$ $w\acute{i}kc$ $e\ s?\acute{u}sc$ $e\ s\acute{e}ytknmx$
 $x^w\acute{u}y\acute{c}e?=\emptyset$ $w\acute{i}k-[n]-t-\emptyset-[e]s$ $e=s-\acute{u}s-s$ $e=s\acute{e}ytkn-[e]mx$
more=3SBJ see-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=NMLZ-discard-3POSS DET=native-people
 $ne\ tm\acute{i}x^w$ $?\acute{e}l$ $ne\ q^wu?\acute{u}y$.
 $n=e=tm\acute{i}x^w$ $?\acute{e}l$ $n=e=q^wu?-[?]\acute{u}y$
at=DET=land and at=DET=river-RFM
‘He saw more of the people’s garbage on the land and in the river.’
- (24) $\chi\acute{a}k\acute{s}t\acute{e}s$ $k\ st\acute{e}t\acute{e}?\acute{e}$ $k\ sx^w\acute{u}y\acute{s}^9$
 $\chi\acute{a}k-s-t-\emptyset-\acute{e}s=\emptyset$ $k=s-te[?]=t\acute{e}?\acute{e}$ $k=s-x^w\acute{u}y\acute{s}$
know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=NEG=DEM D/C=NMLZ=PROSP=3POSS
 $k\acute{e}lnw\acute{e}ns$ $e\ plastic$ $?\acute{e}l$ $e\ Styrofoam$ $tuwe\ tm\acute{i}x^w$.
 $k\acute{e}l-nw\acute{e}n-[t]-\emptyset-[e]s$ $e=plastic$ $?\acute{e}l$ $e=Styrofoam$ $tuw=e=tm\acute{i}x^w$
take-LC-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=plastic and DET=Styrofoam from=DET=land
‘He knew that he wouldn’t be able to take away the plastic and Styrofoam from the land.’
- (25) $nw\acute{e}n$ $?\acute{e}s?\acute{u}l\acute{x}^w$ $e\ plastic$ $we\ s\acute{e}ytknmx$.
 $nw\acute{e}n=\emptyset$ $?\acute{e}s-?\acute{u}l\acute{x}^w$ $e=plastic$ $w=e=s\acute{e}ytkn-[e]mx$
PFV=3SBJ STAT-inside DET=plastic to=DET=native-people
‘The plastic was already in the people.’

⁹ Though Bev pronounces the prospective auxiliary $x^wu\acute{y}$ as $x^wi(?)$, when the morpheme is immediately followed by the 3rd-person possessive clitic =s, its transcription matches its underlying representation, rather than its reduced form $x^wi?$. This is because in these cases, there isn’t always an audible /?/. A narrower transcription, like x^wi , was avoided for fear of making the morpheme unrecognizable in Section 2.

- (26) x^wʔít tuʔ x^wéʔe e swíkms ł qəłmín
x^wʔít=∅ tuw=xéʔe e=s=wík-m=s ł=qəłmín
much=3SBJ from=DEM D/C=NMLZ=see-CTR.MID=3POSS DET.REM=old.one
te sxiłíyxs e séytknmx e citx^wíyxs
t=e=s=xil-[n]-t-∅-íyxs e=séytkn-[e]mx e=citx^w-íyxs
OBL=D/C=NMLZ=do-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3PL DET=native-people DET=home-3PL
ł tmíx^w, pe će xʔé e címeł
ł=tmíx^w pe ć-[ʔ]é=∅ xʔé e=címeł=∅
DET.REM=land but EMPH-INT=3SBJ DEM D/C=firs=3SBJ
e swíkms ʔeł ptínusms.
e=s=wík-m=s ʔeł ptínus-m[in]-[t]-∅-[e]s=∅
D/C=NMLZ=see-CTR.MID=3POSS and mind-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ
‘There was a lot more that Old One saw the people do to their home, but this was the first time that he saw it and thought about it.’

- (27) ʔé scúts, “cuxitíyxsne
ʔé=∅ [e]=s=cú-t=s cu-xi-t-íyxs-[n]-[t]-∅-[e]ne
INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS make-INDR-TR-3PL-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG
e séytknmx xʔé tk tmíx^w, ʔuʔ pzełstíyxs.
e=séytkn-[e]mx xʔé t=k=tmíx^w ʔuʔ pzeł-s-t-∅-íyxs=∅
DET=native-people DEM OBL=DET=land but worthless-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3PL=3SBJ
x^wíʔ páq te sxiyims tʔé.”
x^w[u]ý=∅ páq t=e=s=xíy-m=s tʔé
PROSP=3SBJ sorry OBL=D/C=NMLZ=do-CTR.MID=3POSS DEM
‘And he said, “I made this land for the people, but they didn’t care for it. They will be sorry that they did this.”’

- (28) ʔé snésc míłtms ł sk^wák^wes
ʔé=∅ [e]=s=nés=s míłt-m[in]-[t]-∅-[e]s ł=s-k^wák^wes
INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=go=3POSS visit-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET.REM=NMLZ-sun
ł qəłmín, ʔé sq^wintés
ł=qəłmín ʔé=∅ [e]=s=q^win-[n]-t-∅-és
DET.REM=old.one INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=speak-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
ł sk^wák^wes.
ł=s-k^wák^wes
DET.REM=NMLZ-sun
‘And Old One went to visit Sun, and he spoke to him.’

- (29) “téye sk^wák^wes, k^wúk^wpiʔ ne sʔíqt, x^wíʔ
téye s-k^wák^wes k^wú<k^w>piʔ n=e=s-ʔíqt x^w[u]ý=∅
hey NMLZ-sun <DIM>chief at=DET=NMLZ-sky PROSP=3SBJ
q^wincín.
q^win-[n]-t-sí-[e]n
speak-CTR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG
‘“Hey Sun, chief of the sky, I’m going to talk to you.’

- (30) “ném e spʒelstíyxs e séytknmx e tmíx^w.
 ném=∅ e=s=pʒel-s-t-∅-íyxs e=séytkn-[e]mx e=tmíx^w
 intense=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=worthless-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3PL DET=native-people DET=land
 ‘‘The people have treated the land really poorly.’
- (31) “ʒustíyxs e tetéʒe
 ʒus-[n]-t-∅-íyxs=∅ e=te[ʒ]=∅=téʒe
 discard-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3PL=3SBJ DET=NEG=3SBJ=DEM
 k x ʒesxáks ne q^wúʒ ʒeʔ e tmíx^w.
 k=[ʒe]x=[s]=ʒes-xáks=n=e=q^wúʒ ʒeʔ e=tmíx^w
 D/C=IPFV=NMLZ=STAT-know=3POSS at=DET=water and DET=land
 ‘‘They have thrown all kinds of things in the water and on the land.’
- (32) “níketíyxs e x^wʒít te sʒəpʒép ʒeʔ
 ník-n-t-∅-íyxs=∅ e=x^wʒít t=e-s-ʒəp-ʒép ʒeʔ
 cut-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3PL=3SBJ DET=much OBL=DET=NMLZ-AUG~tree and
 nciqetíyxs e tmíx^w.
 n-ci-q-n-t-∅-íyxs=∅ e=tmíx^w
 LOC-dig-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3PL=3SBJ DET=land
 ‘‘They have cut down many trees and dug in the land.’
- (33) “ʒeʔ x^wʒít x^wúyceʒ e scuwíyxs.
 ʒeʔ x^wʒít=∅ x^wúyceʒ e=s=cuw-íyx=s
 and much=3SBJ more D/C=NMLZ=do-AUT=3POSS
 ‘‘And they have done much more than this.’
- (34) “ném e nsqíl ʒeʔ q^wnóx^w nsx^wáwk^w.
 ném=∅ e=n=s=qíl ʒeʔ q^wnóx^w=∅ n-s-x^wáwk^w
 intense=3SBJ D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=angry and sick=3SBJ 1SG.POSS-NMLZ-heart
 ‘‘I am very angry and heartbroken.’
- (35) “ʒe n hén te síʒq̣t e cúncn us,
 ʒe=n=hén=∅ t=e=síʒ-[es]q̣t e=cún-[n]-t-s[i]-[e]n=us
 COMP=at=WH=3SBJ OBL=DET=day-sky D/C=tell-CTR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG=3SBJV
 x^wíʒ k^w ćlox^wwíʒx.
 x^w[u]ý=k^w ćlox^w-wíʒx
 PROSP=2SG.SBJ hot-DVL
 ‘‘On a certain day that I tell you, you will become hotter.’

- (36) “teté?e x^wí? k sxə́łstéx^w te? te?
 te[?] = Ø = té?e x^w[u]ý k = s = xə́ł - s - t - Ø - éx^w te?
 NEG = 3SBJ = DEM PROSP D/C = NMLZ = care.for - CAUS - TR - 3OBJ - 2SG.ERG DEM
 k swét λe? cúncn ?ił
 k = s - wét λe? = cúncn - [n] - t - s[i] - [e]n = Ø ?ił
 DET = NMLZ - anyone until = tell - CTR - TR - 2SG.OBJ - 1SG.ERG = 3SBJ then
 e c?ekwí?x k^w.
 [?]e = c <? > ek - wí?x = k^w
 COMP = <INCH> cool - DVL = 2SG.SBJ
 “You will not feel sorry for anyone until I tell you to be cool.”
- (37) “?úu huméł, qə́lmín.”
 ?úu huméł qə́lmín
 oh alright old.one
 ‘(Sun says) “Oh okay, Old One.”’
- (38) ?é scúntm te qə́lmín, “x^wí? ?elλu?
 ?é = Ø [e] = s = cúncn - [n] - t - Ø - [e]m t = e = qə́lmín x^w[u]ý = Ø = ?elλu?
 INT = 3SBJ D/C = NMLZ = tell - CTR - TR - 3OBJ - PASS OBL = DET = old.one PROSP = 3SBJ = ADD
 q^winténe ł e?sínci?,
 q^win - [n] - t - Ø - éne ł = e? - sínci?
 speak - CTR - TR - 3OBJ - 1SG.ERG DET.REM = 2SG.POSS - younger.brother
 ł snéwt.
 ł = s - néw - t
 DET.REM = NMLZ - wind¹⁰ - IMM
 ‘And Old One told him, “I’m also going to talk to your younger brother, Wind.”’
- (39) ?é s?iłms ł qə́lmín, “?e tém us te?
 ?é = Ø [e] = s = ?ił - m = s ł = qə́lmín ?e = tém = us = te?
 INT = 3SBJ D/C = NMLZ = sing - CTR.MID = 3POSS DET.REM = old.one COMP = NEG = 3SBJV = DEM
 k smnúncmx^w λu? x^wí? k^w páq.”
 k = s = mnú - n - t - s[e]m - [e]x^w λu?¹¹ x^w[u]ý = k^w páq
 D/C = NMLZ = notice - CTR - TR - 1SG.OBJ - 2SG.ERG then PROSP = 2SG.SBJ sorry
 ‘And Old One sang, “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.”’
- (40) ?é smíłms ł snéwt.
 ?é = Ø [e] = s = míł - m[in] - [t] - Ø - [e]s ł = s - néw - t
 INT = 3SBJ D/C = NMLZ = visit - RLT - TR - 3OBJ - 3ERG DET.REM = NMLZ - wind - IMM
 ‘And he visited Wind.’

¹⁰ The root here is better translated as ‘blow’, but I gloss this as ‘wind’ when the whole word refers to the character in an attempt to avoid confusion with the verb *néwt* (‘blow’) used later in the story.

¹¹ There are many different glosses for the morpheme(s) transcribed as *λu?*. Here, it seems to mean something along the lines of ‘then’ considering its context in the sentence and the translation, and, as such, that’s how it is glossed.

- (41) “téye snéwt, ném e sqílímne
téye s-néw-t ném=Ø e=s=qlíl-m[in]-[t]-Ø-[e]ne
hey NMLZ-wind-IMM intense=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=angry-RLT-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG
e séytknmx te spzeístíyxs e tmíx^w.
e=séytkn-[e]mx t=e=s=pzeł-s-t-Ø-íyxs e=tmíx^w
DET=native-people OBL=D/C=NMLZ=worthless-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3PL DET=land
‘‘Hey Wind, I am very angry at the people for mistreating the earth.’
- (42) “x^wí? cunemxtíyxsne k steté?e
x^w[u]ý=Ø cun-em-x-t-íyxs-[n]-[t]-Ø-[e]ne k=s=te[?]=té?e
PROSP=3SBJ tell-?-INDR-TR-3PL-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG D/C=NMLZ=NEG=DEM
k stí?tax^ws xé?e.
k=s=t<í?ta>x^w=s xé?e
D/C=NMLZ=right<PRP>=3POSS DEM
‘‘I’m going to teach them that that is not right.’
- (43) “?e n hén tk síłqt, x^wí? k^w nu?néwt
?e=n=hén=Ø t=k=síł-[es]qt x^w[u]ý=k^w nu?~néw-t
COMP=at=WH=3SBJ OBL=DET=day-sky PROSP=2SG.SBJ AUG~blow-IMM
tk néx^w
t=k=néx^w
OBL=D/C=intense
‘‘On a certain day, you will blow very hard.’
- (44) “teté?e k sx^wúys xəłstéx^w te?
te[?]=Ø=té?e k=s=x^wúý=s xəł-s-t-Ø-éx^w te?
NEG=3SBJ=DEM D/C=NMLZ=PROSP=3POSS care.for-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG DEM
k swét.
k=s-wét
DET=NMLZ-who
‘‘You will not feel sorry for anyone.’
- (45) “x^wí? ?ełłu? ném tk ɣ^wəsɣ^wóst ɪ sk^wák^wes.”
x^w[u]ý=Ø=?ełłu? ném t=k=ɣ^wəs~ɣ^wóst ɪ=s-k^wák^wes
PROSP=3SBJ=ADD intense OBL=D/C=AUG~shine-IMM DET.REM=NMLZ-sun
‘‘And Sun will also shine a lot.’’
- (46) ?é scúts ɪ snéwt, “?úu huméł, qəłmín.”
?é=Ø [e]=s=cú-t=s ɪ=s-néw-t ?úu huméł qəłmín
INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=say-IMM=3POSS DET.REM=NMLZ-wind-IMM oh alright old.one
‘And Wind said, ‘‘Oh okay, Old One.’’

- (47) ?é scúntm te qəlmín, “xʷí? ?elʔu?
 ?é=Ø [e]=s=cún-[n]-t-Ø-[e]m t=e=qəlmín xʷ[u]ý=Ø=?elʔu?
 INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=tell-CTR-TR-3OBJ-PASS OBL=DET=old.one PROSP=3SBJ=ADD
 qʷintíyxsne ʔ nmaʕmáʕm
 qʷin-[n]-t-íyxs-[n]-[t]-Ø-[e]ne ʔ=n-maʕ~máʕ-m
 speak-CTR-TR-3PL-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG DET.REM=LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID
 ?el skíʔkiʔx.”
 ?el s-kíʔ<kiʔ>x
 and NMLZ-thunder<CHR>
 ‘And Old One told him, “I am also going to talk to Lightning and Thunder.”’

- (48) ?é sʔíʔms ʔ qəlmín, “?e tém us te?
 ?é=Ø [e]=s=?íʔ-m=s ʔ=qəlmín ?e=tém=us=te?
 INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=sing-CTR.MID DET.REM=old.one COMP=NEG=3SBJV=DEM
 k smnúncmxʷ, ʔu? xʷí? kʷ páq.”
 k=s=mnú-n-t-s[e]m-[e]xʷ ʔu? xʷ[u]ý=kʷ páq
 D/C=NMLZ=notice-CTR-TR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.ERG then PROSP=2SG.SBJ sorry
 ‘And Old One sang, “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.”’

- (49) nés xʷíʔes ʔ nmaʕmáʕm ?el
 nés=Ø xʷíʔ-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s ʔ=n-maʕ~máʕ-m ?el
 go=3SBJ seek-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET.REM=LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID and
 skíʔkiʔx.
 s-kíʔ<kiʔ>x
 NMLZ-thunder<CHR>
 ‘He went to look for Lightning and Thunder.’

- (50) “ʔá qéck, ʔ skíʔkiʔx, ?el sínciʔ,
 ʔá qéck ʔ=s-kíʔ<kiʔ>x. ?el sínciʔ
 ah older.brother DET.REM=NMLZ-thunder<CHR> and younger.brother
 ʔ nmaʕmáʕm.
 ʔ=n-maʕ~máʕ-m
 DET.REM=LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID
 ‘“Ah older brother, Thunder, and younger brother, Lightning.’

- (51) “ném e sqílímne ʔ séytknmx
 ném=Ø e=s=qlíl-m[in]-[t]-Ø-[e]ne ʔ=séytkn-[e]mx
 intense=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=angry-RLT-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG DET.REM=native-people
 te spʔelstíyxs e tmíxʷ.
 t=e=s=pʔel-s-t-Ø-íyxs e=tmíxʷ
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=worthless-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3PL DET=land
 ‘“I am very angry at the people for mistreating the earth.’

- (52) “ʔe n hén néʔe tk sílq̄t, xʷíʔ kʷ nəxʷcín,
ʔe=n=hén=Ø=néʔe t=k=síl-[es]q̄t xʷ[u]ý=kʷ nəxʷcín
COMP=at=WH=3SBJ=DEM OBL=DET=day-sky PROSP=2SG.SBJ intense-mouth
skíʔkiʔx, ʔeł eʔwí, nmaʔmáʔm,
s-kíʔ<kiʔ>x ʔeł eʔwí n-maʔ~máʔ-m
NMLZ-thunder<CHR> and 2SG.INDEP LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID
xʷíʔ kʷ nmaʔmáʔm te néxʷ.
xʷ[u]ý=kʷ n-maʔ~máʔ-m t=e=néxʷ
PROSP=2SG.SBJ LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID OBL=D/C=intense
‘‘On a certain day, you will be loud, Thunder, and you, Lightning, will strike intensely.’
- (53) “xʷíʔ çəqtéxʷ e sʔəpʔéʔ ʔeł e tmíxʷ.
xʷ[u]ý=Ø çəq-[n]-t-Ø-éxʷ e=s-ʔəp~ʔéʔ ʔeł e=tmíxʷ
PROSP=3SBJ strike-CTR-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG DET=NMLZ-AUG~tree and DET=land
‘‘You will strike the trees and the land.’
- (54) tetéʔe k sxʷúýs xəʔstéʔ teʔ
te[ʔ]=Ø=téʔe k=s=xʷúý=s xəʔ-s-t-Ø-éʔ teʔ
NEG=3SBJ=DEM D/C=NMLZ=PROSP=3POSS care.for-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-2PL.ERG DEM
k swét.
k=s-wét
DET=NMLZ-who
‘‘Neither of you will feel sorry for anyone.’
- (55) “xʷíʔ kp xíym tʔé ʔeʔ cúntimn us.”
xʷ[u]ý=kp xíy-m tʔé ʔeʔ=cún-[n]-t-[u]ym-[e]n=us
PROSP=2PL.SBJ do-CTR.MID DEM until=tell-CTR-TR-2PL.OBJ-1SG.ERG=3SBJV
‘‘Both of you will do that until I tell you.’’
- (56) ʔé scúýets, “ʔúu huméł, qəłmín.”
ʔé=Ø [e]=s=cú<ʔy>¹²-t=s ʔúu huméł qəłmín
INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=say<PL>-IMM=3POSS oh alright old.one
‘And they said, ‘‘Oh okay, Old One.’’
- (57) ʔé sʔíłms ł qəłmín, “ʔe tém us teʔ
ʔé=Ø [e]=s=ʔíł-m=s ł=qəłmín ʔe=tém=us=teʔ
INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=sing-CTR.MID=3POSS DET.REM=old.one COMP=NEG=3SBJV=DEM
k smnúncmxʷ ʔuʔ xʷíʔ kʷ páq.”
k=s=mnú-n-t-s[e]m-[e]xʷ ʔuʔ xʷ[u]ý=kʷ páq
D/C=NMLZ=notice-CTR-TR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.ERG then PROSP=2SG.SBJ sorry
‘And Old One sang, ‘‘If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.’’

¹² The gloss for the morpheme *ýe* is something of an educated guess. It seems to be a realization of the plural infix /ʔy/ (Th&Th 1992:85), but there is not, to my knowledge, any record of it being spelled or pronounced as it is here.

- (58) ?é sptínusms ɬ qəlmín, “xwí? ?elʔu?
 ?é=Ø [e]=s=ptínus-m[in]-[t]-Ø-[e]s ɬ=qəlmín xw[u]ý=Ø=?elʔu?
 INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=mind-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET.REM=old.one PROSP=3SBJ=ADD
 qwinténe ɬ sqwúyi? ?el qécks,
 qwín-[n]-t-Ø-éne ɬ=s-qwúyi? ?el qéck-s
 speak-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG DET.REM=NMLZ-cloud and older.brother-3POSS
 stékl.”
 s-tékl
 NMLZ-rain
 ‘And Old One thought, “I am also going to talk to Cloud and his older brother, Rain.”’
- (59) kícés ɬ sqwúyi? ?el stékl.
 kíc-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s=Ø ɬ=s-qwúyi? ?el s-tékl
 reach-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DET.REM=NMLZ-cloud and NMLZ-rain
 ‘He reached Cloud and Rain.’
- (60) “téye, sqwúyi? ?el e?qéck, stékl.
 téye s-qwúyi? ?el e?qéck s-tékl
 hey NMLZ-cloud and 2SG.POSS-older.brother NMLZ-rain
 ‘“Hey, Cloud and your older brother, Rain.’
- (61) “ném e sqílímne e séytknmx
 ném=Ø e=s=qlíl-m[in]-[t]-Ø-[e]ne e=séytkn-[e]mx
 intense=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=angry-RLT-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG DET=native-people
 te spzelstíyxs e tmíxw.
 t=e=s=pzel-s-t-Ø-íyxs e=tmíxw
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=worthless-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3PL DET=land
 ‘“I am very angry at the people for mistreating the earth.’
- (62) “xwí? cunemxtíyxsne k steté?e
 xw[u]ý=Ø cun-em-x[i]-t-íyxs-[n]-[t]-Ø-[e]ne k=s=te[?]=té?e
 PROSP=3SBJ tell-?-INDR-TR-3PL-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG D/C=NMLZ=NEG=DEM
 k stí?taxws xé?e.
 k=s=t<í?ta>xws xé?e
 D/C=NMLZ=right<PRP>=3POSS DEM
 ‘“I am going to teach them that that is not right.’
- (63) “nwén qwinténe ɬ skwákwes ?el snéwt,
 nwén=Ø qwín-[n]-t-Ø-éne ɬ=s-kwákwes ?el s-néw-t
 PFV=3SBJ speak-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG DET.REM=NMLZ-sun and NMLZ-wind-IMM
 ɬ nmaʔmáʔm ?el skí?ki?x ?el pyépst.
 ɬ=n-maʔ~máʔ-m ?el s-kí?<ki?>x ?el pyépst
 DET.REM=LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID and NMLZ-thunder<CHR> and 2PL.INDEP
 ‘“I have already talked to Sun and Wind, Lightning and Thunder, and you two.’

- (64) “tuł cʔéył tk síłq̄t ǰeʔ spénck, xʷíʔ
 tu=ł=c-ʔéył t=k=síł-[es]q̄t ǰeʔ=s-pénck xʷ[u]ý=∅
 from=DET.REM=EMPH-now OBL=DET=day-sky until=NMLZ-summer PROSP=3SBJ
 móqʷetp e tékm te qʷúʔ ne sǰíqt.
 móqʷ-n-t-∅-[e]p e=tékm t=e=qʷúʔ n=e=s-ǰíqt
 gather-CTR-TR-3OBJ-2PL.ERG DET=all OBL=DET=water at=DET=NMLZ-sky
 ‘‘From this day until summer, the two of you will gather all the water from the sky.’
- (65) “eʔwí, sqʷúyíʔ, xʷíʔ ʔeskʷúkʷstxʷ, xʷíʔ
 eʔwí s-qʷúyíʔ xʷ[u]ý=∅ ʔes-kʷúkʷ-s-t-∅-[e]xʷ xʷ[u]ý=∅
 2SG.INDEP NMLZ-cloud PROSP=3SBJ STAT-save-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG PROSP=3SBJ
 ʔescestéxʷ.
 ʔes-ce-s-t-∅-éxʷ
 STAT-store-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG
 ‘‘You, Cloud, will hold and store it.’
- (66) “eʔwí, stékl, tetéʔe k eʔsxʷíʔ kʷís.
 eʔwí s-tékl te[ʔ]=∅=téʔe k=eʔ=s=xʷ[u]ý kʷís
 2SG.INDEP NMLZ-rain NEG=3SBJ=DEM D/C=2SG.POSS=NMLZ=PROSP fall
 ‘‘You, Rain, will not fall.’
- (67) “xəksténe k sxʷúy̆s xmenkwíʔx, ǰuʔ
 xək-s-t-∅-éne=∅ k=s=xʷúy̆=s x̄m-enk-wíʔx ǰuʔ
 know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=PROSP=3POSS heavy-belly-DVL but
 xʷíʔ kncín.
 xʷ[u]ý=∅ kn-[n]-t-sí-[e]n
 PROSP=3SBJ help-CTR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG
 ‘‘I know it will be heavy, but I will help you.’
- (68) “xʷíʔ yoʃʷcín ǰeʔ e spénck us.
 xʷ[u]ý=∅ yoʃʷ-[n]-t-sí-[e]n ǰeʔ=[ʔ]e=s-pénck=us
 PROSP=3SBJ hide-CTR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG until=COMP=NMLZ-summer=3SBJV
 ‘‘I will hide you until it is summer.’
- (69) “xʷíʔ kp xíym tʔé ǰeʔ cúntimn us.”
 xʷ[u]ý=kp xíy-m tʔé ǰeʔ=cún-[n]-t-[u]ym-[e]n=us
 PROSP=2PL.SBJ do-CTR.MID DEM until=tell-CTR-TR-2PL.OBJ-1SG.ERG=3SBJV
 ‘‘You two will do this until I tell you.’’
- (70) ʔé scúyets, “huméł, qəłmín.”
 ʔé=∅ [e]=s=cú<ʔy>-t=s huméł qəłmín
 INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=say<PL>-IMM=3POSS alright old.one
 ‘And they said, ‘‘Okay, Old One.’’

- (71) ʔé sʔíʔms ʔ qəlmín, “ʔe tém us teʔ
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=ʔíʔ-m=s ʔ=qəlmín ʔe=tém=us=teʔ
 INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=sing-CTR.MID=3POSS DET.REM=old.one COMP=NEG=3SBJV=DEM
 k smnúncmx^w ʔuʔ x^wíʔ k^w páq.”
 k=s=mnú-n-t-s[e]m-[e]x^w ʔuʔ x^w[u]ý=k^w páq
 D/C=NMLZ=notice-CTR-TR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.ERG then PROSP=2SG.SBJ sorry
 ‘And Old One sang, “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.”’
- (72) tuʔ x^wéʔe meʔ e stetéʔe k stékʔs
 tuw=xéʔe=Ø=meʔ e=s=te[ʔ]=téʔe k=s=tékʔ=s
 from=DEM=3SBJ=CNSQ D/C=NMLZ=NEG=DEM D/C=NMLZ=rain=3POSS
 tk keʔlés nke tk máʔxetn.
 t=k=keʔlés=Ø=nke t=k=máʔ-xə[n]-t[ə]n
 OBL=DET=three=3SBJ=INFER OBL=DET=light-foot-INS
 ‘From that time on, it did not rain, and it must not have rained for three months.’
- (73) ne s^wq^wyéʔq meʔ tk máʔxetn, ʔesnés
 n=e=s-q^wy-éʔq=Ø=meʔ t=k=máʔ-xə[n]-t[ə]n ʔes-nés
 at=DET=NMLZ-ripe-crop=3SBJ=CNSQ OBL=DET=light-foot-INS STAT-go
 q^wintém ʔ sk^wák^wes te qəlmín.
 q^win-[n]-t-Ø-ém ʔs-k^wák^wes t=e=qəlmín
 speak-CTR-TR-3OBJ-PASS DET.REM=NMLZ-sun OBL=DET=old.one
 ‘During picking month, Old One went to talk to Sun.’
- (74) ʔé sʔ^wəsʔ^wəsts ʔ sk^wák^wes te ném
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=ʔ^wəs~ʔ^wəs-t=s ʔs-k^wák^wes t=e=ném
 INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=AUG~shine-IMM=3POSS DET.REM=NMLZ-sun OBL=D/C=intense
 te çlóx^w.
 t=e=çlóx^w
 OBL=D/C=hot
 ‘And Sun shone very hotly.’
- (75) kícetm ʔ snéw^t ʔ qəlmín
 kíc-n-t-Ø-[e]m=Ø ʔs-néw^t [t]=ʔ=qəlmín
 reach-CTR-TR-3OBJ-PASS=3SBJ DET.REM=NMLZ-wind-IMM OBL=DET.REM=old.one
 ʔé snéx^ws e snéw^ts.
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=néx^w=s e=s=néw^t-t=s
 INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=intense=3POSS D/C=NMLZ=blow-IMM=3POSS
 ‘Wind was reached by Old One and blew intensely.’
- (76) te stéməs teʔ k stékʔsc, ném
 t=e=s=témə=s=teʔ k=s=tékʔ-s-t-Ø-[e]s ném=Ø
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS=DEM D/C=NMLZ=rain-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG intense=3SBJ
 e sçlóx^ws e tmíx^w.
 e=s=çlóx^w=s e=tmíx^w
 D/C=NMLZ=hot=3POSS DET=land
 ‘Because it did not rain, the land got very hot.’

- (77) kíces ɫ skíʔkiʔx ʔel
kíc-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s=Ø ɫ=s-kíʔ<kiʔ>x ʔel
reach-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DET.REM=NMLZ-thunder<CHR> and
nmaʕmáʕm ɫ qəʕmín.
n-maʕ~máʕ-m ɫ=qəʕmín
LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID DET.REM=old.one
‘Old One reached Thunder and Lightning.’
- (78) nəx^wcín ɫ skíʔkiʔx, ʔel cəq̄m
nəx^w-cín=Ø ɫ=s-kíʔ<kiʔ>x ʔel cəq̄-m=Ø
intense-mouth=3SBJ DET.REM=NMLZ-thunder<CHR> and strike-CTR.MID=3SBJ
te scék^ws ɫ nmaʕmáʕm.
t=e-s-cék^w-s ɫ=n-maʕ~máʕ-m
OBL=DET=NMLZ-shine-3POSS DET.REM=LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID
‘Thunder was loud, and Lightning threw his bolts.’
- (79) nux^wnwenʔíyxs e séytknmx e c̣lóx^ws e sk^wák^wes,
nux^{w13}-nwenʔ-t-Ø-íyxs=Ø e=séytkn-[e]mx e=c̣lóx^w-s e=s-k^wák^wes
notice-LC-TR-3OBJ-3PL=3SBJ DET=native-people DET=hot-3POSS DET=NMLZ-sun
e néx^ws e snéwt, ʔel e nəx^wcíns
e=néx^w-s e=s-néw-t ʔel e=nəx^w-cín-s
DET=intense-3POSS DET=NMLZ-wind-IMM and DET=intense-mouth-3POSS
e skíʔkiʔx.
e=s-kíʔ<kiʔ>x
DET=NMLZ-thunder<CHR>
‘The people noticed how hot Sun was, how strong Wind was, and how loud Thunder was.’
- (80) ném e spaq^wpáq^wuʔs e qeʔnimetíyxs us
ném=Ø e=s=paq^w~páq^wuʔ=s e=qeʔnim-n-t-Ø-íyxs=us
intense=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=AUG~afraid=3POSS D/C=hear-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3PL=3SBJV
ɫ skíʔkiʔx.
ɫ=s-kíʔ<kiʔ>x
DET.REM=NMLZ-thunder<CHR>
‘They were very afraid when they heard Thunder.’
- (81) pe e wiktíyxs us ɫ nmaʕmáʕm,
pe e=wik-[n]-t-Ø-íyxs=us ɫ=n-maʕ~máʕ-m
but D/C=see-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3PL=3SBJV DET.REM=LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID
e swewíyxs.
e=s=we~wíyx=s
D/C=NMLZ=AFF~cry=3POSS
‘But when they saw Lightning, they cried.’

¹³ We couldn’t find a dictionary entry for this root, so the transcription is based on Bev’s writing and the gloss is inferred from the translation of the whole sentence.

- (82) ʔé scúyets, “té nke téʔe
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=cú<ʔy>-t=s té[ʔ]=Ø=nke=téʔe
 INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=say<PL>-IMM=3POSS NEG=3SBJ=INFER=DEM
 k sx^wəzstéys ɪ qəlmín
 k=s=x^wəz-s-t-éy-[e]s ɪ=qəlmín
 D/C=NMLZ=love-CAUS-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG DET.REM=old.one
 te stetéʔe k skntéys.”
 t=e=s=te[ʔ]=téʔe k=s=kn-[n]-t-éy-[e]s
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=NEG=DEM D/C=NMLZ=help-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
 ‘And they said, “Old One must not love us because he hasn’t helped us.”’
- (83) tetéʔe k sxíns tuʔ x^wéʔe e scəqñwéns
 te[ʔ]=Ø=téʔe k=s=xíns=s tuw=xéʔe e=s=cəqñwén-[t]-Ø-[e]s
 NEG=3SBJ=DEM D/C=NMLZ=long=3POSS from=DEM D/C=NMLZ=strike-LC-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 ɪ nmaɬmáɬm e sɣəpɣép ʔé
 ɪ=n-maɬ~máɬ-m e=s-ɣəp~ɣép ʔé=Ø
 DET.REM=LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID DET=NMLZ-AUG~tree INT=3SBJ
 sɣ^wyəps e tmíx^w.
 [e]=s=sɣ^wy-əp=s e=tmíx^w
 D/C=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS DET=land
 ‘It wasn’t long before Lightning was able to hit the trees, and the land burned.’
- (84) te snex^wíyxs e snéwt, x^wənt
 t=e=s=nex^w-íyxs=e e=s=néwt x^wənt-t=Ø
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=intense-AUT=3POSS DET=NMLZ-wind-IMM fast-IMM=3SBJ
 e snóx^ws e spém. x^wʔít te tmíx^w ʔel
 e=s=nóx^w=s e=s-pém x^wʔít t=e=tmíx^w ʔel
 D/C=NMLZ=run=3POSS DET=NMLZ-kindle much OBL=DET=land and
 cecítx^w ɣ^wyəp.
 ce~cítx^w ɣ^wy-əp=Ø
 AUG~home burn-INCH=3SBJ
 ‘Because the wind was intense, the fire ran quickly. Lots of the land and homes burned.’
- (85) cúʔ neʔ q^wintém ɪ qəlmín te séytknmx,
 cúʔ=Ø=neʔ q^win-[n]-t-Ø-ém ɪ=qəlmín t=e=séytkn-[e]mx
 AUX=3SBJ=DEM speak-CTR-TR-3OBJ-PASS DET.REM=old.one OBL=DET=native-people
 ʔuʔ tetéʔe k skéynimes.
 ʔuʔ te[ʔ]=Ø=téʔe k=s=kéyni-me-[t]-Ø-[e]s
 but NEG=3SBJ=DEM D/C=NMLZ=listen-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 ‘The people tried to talk to Old One, but he did not listen.’

- (86) $\eta\acute{e}$ $s\eta\acute{\lambda}ms$ $\acute{\iota} q\acute{o}\lambda m\acute{\iota}n,$ “ ηe $t\acute{e}m$ us $te?$
 $\eta\acute{e}=\emptyset$ $[e]=s=\eta\acute{\lambda}\cdot m=s$ $\acute{\iota}=q\acute{o}\lambda m\acute{\iota}n$ $\eta e=t\acute{e}m=us=te?$
 INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=sing-CTR.MID=3POSS DET.REM=old.one COMP=NEG=3SBJV=DEM
 k $smn\acute{u}ncmx^w$ $\acute{\lambda}u?$ $x^w\acute{\iota}?$ k^w $p\acute{a}q.$ ”
 $k=s=mn\acute{u}\cdot n\cdot t\cdot s[e]m\cdot [e]x^w$ $\acute{\lambda}u?$ $x^w[u]\acute{y}=k^w$ $p\acute{a}q$
 D/C=NMLZ=notice-CTR-TR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.ERG then PROSP=2SG.SBJ sorry
 ‘And Old One sang, “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.”’
- (87) $k\acute{m}\acute{e}\acute{\lambda},$ $\acute{\iota} st\acute{e}k\acute{\lambda}$ $\eta e\acute{\lambda}$ $sq^w\acute{u}y\acute{\iota}?$ $t\acute{e}t\acute{e}\eta e$
 $k\acute{m}\acute{e}\acute{\lambda}$ $\acute{\iota}=s\cdot t\acute{e}k\acute{\lambda}$ $\eta e\acute{\lambda}$ $s\cdot q^w\acute{u}y\acute{\iota}?$ $te[\eta]=\emptyset=t\acute{e}\eta e$
 but DET.REM=NMLZ-rain and NMLZ-cloud NEG=3SBJ=DEM
 k x $\eta estw\acute{a}zs$
 $k=[\eta e]x=[s]=\eta es\cdot t\cdot w\acute{a}z=s$
 D/C=IPFV=NMLZ=STAT-QLT-show=3POSS
 te $s\eta esyo\eta^w st\acute{e}m$ te $q\acute{o}\lambda m\acute{\iota}n.$
 $t=e=s=\eta es\cdot yo\eta^w\cdot s\cdot t\cdot \emptyset\cdot \acute{e}m$ $t=e=q\acute{o}\lambda m\acute{\iota}n$
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=STAT-hide-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-PASS OBL=DET=old.one
 ‘However, Rain and Cloud weren’t visible because Old One hid them.’
- (88) $x^w\eta\acute{\iota}t$ te $tm\acute{x}^w$ te x $\eta^w y\acute{a}p;$ $t\acute{e}t\acute{e}\eta e$
 $x^w\eta\acute{\iota}t=\emptyset$ $t=e=tm\acute{x}^w$ $t=e=[\eta e]x=\eta^w y\cdot \acute{a}p$ $te[\eta]=\emptyset=t\acute{e}\eta e$
 much3SBJ OBL=DET=land OBL=DET=IPFV=burn-INCH NEG=3SBJ=DEM
 k $s\acute{c}\acute{\iota}ys$ te $wm\acute{x}$ k $s\eta\acute{y}p.$
 $k=s=\acute{c}\acute{\iota}y=s$ $t=e=wm\acute{x}=\emptyset$ $k=s\cdot \eta\acute{y}p$
 D/C=NMLZ=like=3POSS OBL=D/C=live=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-tree
 ‘Lots of the land burned; it didn’t seem like there were any trees living.’
- (89) $\acute{\iota}x^w\acute{a}p$ e $s\acute{e}ytknmx$
 $\acute{\iota}x^w\cdot \acute{a}p=\emptyset$ $e=s\acute{e}ytkn\cdot [e]mx$
 escape-INCH=3SBJ DET=native-people
 $tuwe$ $nk^w\acute{u}k^w\acute{m}es$ e $s\eta^w y\acute{a}p$
 $tuw=e=n\cdot k^w\acute{u}\langle k^w\rangle\acute{m}e\cdot [n]\cdot [t]\cdot \emptyset\cdot [e]s=\emptyset$ $e=s\cdot \eta^w y\cdot \acute{a}p$
 from=DET=LOC-go.upriver<DIM>-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ¹⁴ DET=NMLZ-burn-INCH
 $\eta\acute{\iota}\acute{\lambda}$ $nk^wuc^w\acute{u}ce$ us
 $\eta\acute{\iota}\acute{\lambda}$ $n\cdot k^wuc\sim k^w\acute{u}ce=us$
 then LOC-AUG~go.downriver=3SBJV
 te $snk\acute{\iota}tetm$ te $s\eta\acute{p}em.$
 $t=e=s=n\cdot k\acute{\iota}t\cdot n\cdot t\cdot \emptyset\cdot [e]m$ $t=e=s\cdot \eta\acute{p}em$
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=LOC-catch.up-CTR-TR-3OBJ-PASS OBL=DET=NMLZ-kindle
 ‘The people escaped to the north of the fire and then went south because the fire caught up to them.’

¹⁴ The gloss of the string $e nk^w\acute{u}k^w\acute{m}es$ reflects the underlying structure of a headless relative clause. However, the exact structure of this string is unclear, so the gloss may be at least partially incorrect.

- (90) ?e n hén té?e $\text{te síl}^{\dot{\text{q}}\text{t}}$ $\text{e sq}^{\text{w}}\text{intés}$
 $\text{?e=n=hén}=\emptyset=\text{té?e}$ $\text{t=e=síl}^{\dot{\text{q}}\text{t}}\text{-[es]q}^{\dot{\text{t}}}$ $\text{e=s=q}^{\text{w}}\text{in-[n]-t-}\emptyset\text{-és}$
COMP=at=WH=3SBJ=DEM OBL=DET=day-sky D/C=NMLZ=speak-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 $\text{! qəl}^{\text{m}}\text{ín}$ $\text{! sq}^{\text{w}}\text{úy}^{\text{í}}\text{?}$?e! stékl ?é
 $\text{!-qəl}^{\text{m}}\text{ín}$ $\text{!-s-q}^{\text{w}}\text{úy}^{\text{í}}\text{?}$?e! s-tékl $\text{?é}=\emptyset$
DET.REM=old.one DET.REM=NMLZ-cloud and NMLZ-rain INT=3SBJ
swazíyxs $\text{! sq}^{\text{w}}\text{úy}^{\text{í}}\text{?}$, ?é
 $\text{[e]=s=waz-íy}^{\text{x}}\text{=s}$ $\text{!-s-q}^{\text{w}}\text{úy}^{\text{í}}\text{?}$ $\text{?é}=\emptyset$
D/C=NMLZ=show-AUT=3POSS DET.REM=NMLZ-cloud INT=SBJ
 sc?ekwí?xs $\text{! sk}^{\text{w}}\text{ák}^{\text{w}}\text{es}$.
 $\text{[e]=s=c<?>ek-wí?x=s}$ $\text{!-s-k}^{\text{w}}\text{ák}^{\text{w}}\text{es}$
D/C=NMLZ=<INCH>cool-DVL=3POSS DET.REM=NMLZ-sun
‘On a certain day, Old One spoke to Cloud and Rain, and Cloud showed himself, and Sun cooled.’

- (91) teté?e $\text{k snéx}^{\text{w}}\text{s}$ e us néw^{t}
 $\text{te[?]=}\emptyset=\text{té?e}$ $\text{k=s=néx}^{\text{w}}\text{=s}$ $\text{e=[?ex]}^{\text{w}}\text{=us}$ $\text{néw}^{\text{t}}\text{-t}$
NEG=3SBJ=DEM D/C=NMLZ=intense=3POSS D/C=IPFV=3SBJV blow-IMM
 ! snéw^{t} .
 $\text{!-s-néw}^{\text{t}}\text{-t}$
DET.REM=NMLZ-wind-IMM
‘Wind did not blow as strong.’

- (92) xmenkwí?x $\text{! sq}^{\text{w}}\text{úy}^{\text{í}}\text{?}$?é
 $\text{xm-enk-wí?x}=\emptyset$ $\text{!-s-q}^{\text{w}}\text{úy}^{\text{í}}\text{?}$ $\text{?é}=\emptyset$
heavy-belly-DVL=3SBJ DET.REM=NMLZ-cloud INT=3SBJ
 sklékstms e stékl .
 $\text{[e]=s=kl-ékst-m[in]-[t]-}\emptyset\text{-[e]s}$ e=s-tékl
D/C=NMLZ=separate-hand-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=NMLZ-rain
‘Cloud became heavy and let go of the rain.’

- (93) $\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{ás}^{\text{t}}$ $\text{! sk}^{\text{w}}\text{ák}^{\text{w}}\text{es}$ $\text{?e! snéw}^{\text{t}}$
 $\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{ás}^{\text{t}}\text{-t}=\emptyset$ $\text{!-s-k}^{\text{w}}\text{ák}^{\text{w}}\text{es}$ $\text{?e! s-néw}^{\text{t}}\text{-t}$
return.home-IMM=3SBJ DET.REM=NMLZ-sun and NMLZ-wind-IMM
 $\text{xíym ?e!}^{\text{u}}\text{?}$ $\text{! nma}\text{f}^{\text{m}}\text{má}\text{f}^{\text{m}}$?e!
 $\text{xíy-m}=\emptyset=\text{?e!}^{\text{u}}\text{?}$ $\text{!-n-ma}\text{f}^{\text{m}}\text{~má}\text{f}^{\text{m}}\text{-m}$?e!
do-CTR.MID=3SBJ=ADD DET.REM=LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID and
 skí?ki?x .
 s-kí?<ki?>x
NMLZ-thunder<CHR>
‘Sun and Wind went home, and Lightning and Thunder did the same.’

- (94) $\dot{k}m\acute{e}l$ e stékl $\acute{l}épes$ e s $\acute{f}w\acute{y}\acute{a}p$
 $k\acute{m}e\acute{l}$ e=s-tékl $\acute{l}é\acute{p}\text{-}n\text{-}[t]\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}[e]s=\emptyset$ e=s- $\acute{f}w\acute{y}\text{-}\acute{a}p$
 but DET=NMLZ-rain extinguish-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-burn-INCH
 $\acute{\lambda}u?$ te s $\acute{f}w\acute{y}\acute{a}ps$ e s $\acute{y}\acute{a}p\acute{y}\acute{e}p$ $\acute{\gamma}\acute{e}$
 $\acute{\lambda}u?$ t=e=s- $\acute{f}w\acute{y}\text{-}\acute{a}p=s$ e=s- $\acute{y}\acute{a}p\sim\acute{y}\acute{e}p$ $\acute{\gamma}\acute{e}=\emptyset$
 but OBL=D/C=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS DET=NMLZ-AUG~tree INT=3SBJ
 $sx^w\acute{\gamma}its$ e s $\acute{\gamma}\acute{e}x^wt.$
 $[e]=s=x^w\acute{\gamma}it=s$ e=s- $\acute{\gamma}\acute{e}x^w\text{-}t$
 D/C=NMLZ=much=3POSS DET=NMLZ-landslide-IMM
 ‘However, rain put out the fire, but because the trees burned, there were lots of landslides.’
- (95) $\acute{\gamma}\acute{e}x^wt$ e x $\acute{w}\acute{e}l$ $\acute{\gamma}e\acute{l}$ nk $\acute{w}\acute{e}wt$ e n $\acute{x}l\acute{i}ws.$
 $\acute{\gamma}\acute{e}x^w\text{-}t=\emptyset$ e=x $\acute{w}\acute{e}l$ $\acute{\gamma}e\acute{l}$ n-k $\acute{w}\acute{e}w\text{-}t$ e=n- $\acute{x}l\text{-}\acute{i}ws^{15}$
 landslide-IMM=3SBJ DET=road and LOC-immersed-IMM DET=LOC-cribwork-middle
 ‘The landslides covered the road, and bridges were washed away.’
- (96) x $\acute{w}\acute{u}y\acute{c}e?$ q $\acute{w}inc\acute{u}tm$ \acute{l} q $\acute{a}lm\acute{i}n$ te s $\acute{e}ytknm\acute{x}$
 $x\acute{w}\acute{u}y\acute{c}e?\text{-}\emptyset$ q $\acute{w}in\text{-}c\acute{u}\text{-}[n]\text{-}t\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}[e]m$ $\acute{l}=\acute{q}\acute{a}lm\acute{i}n$ t=e=s $\acute{e}ytkn\text{-}[e]m\acute{x}$
 again=3SBJ speak-say-CTR-TR-3OBJ-PASS DET.REM=old.one OBL=DET=native-people
 “té nke té $\acute{\gamma}e$ k sx $\acute{w}\acute{a}zst\acute{e}ys$ \acute{l} q $\acute{a}lm\acute{i}n$
 t $\acute{e}[\acute{\gamma}]=\emptyset=nke=t\acute{e}\acute{\gamma}e$ k=s=x $\acute{w}\acute{a}z\text{-}s\text{-}t\text{-}\acute{e}y\text{-}[e]s$ $\acute{l}=\acute{q}\acute{a}lm\acute{i}n$
 NEG=3SBJ=INFER=DEM D/C=NMLZ=love-CAUS-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG DET.REM=old.one
 te stéməs k skntéys.”
 t=e=s=témə=s k=s=kn-[n]-t-éy-[e]s
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS D/C=NMLZ=help-CTR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
 ‘The people once again spoke to Old One, “Old One must not love us because he is not helping us.”’
- (97) $\acute{\gamma}\acute{e}$ s $\acute{\gamma}i\acute{\lambda}ms$ \acute{l} q $\acute{a}lm\acute{i}n,$ “ $\acute{\gamma}e$ tém us te?
 $\acute{\gamma}\acute{e}=\emptyset$ $[e]=s=\acute{\gamma}i\acute{\lambda}\text{-}m=s$ $\acute{l}=\acute{q}\acute{a}lm\acute{i}n$ $\acute{\gamma}e=\acute{t}\acute{e}m=us=te?$
 INT=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=sing-CTR.MID=3POSS DET.REM=old.one COMP=NEG=SBJV=DEM
 k smnúncmx \acute{w} $\acute{\lambda}u?$ x $\acute{w}i?$ k \acute{w} páq.”
 k=s=mnú-n-t-s[e]m-[e]x \acute{w} $\acute{\lambda}u?$ x $\acute{w}[u]y=k^w$ páq
 D/C=NMLZ=notice-CTR-TR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.ERG then PROSP=2SG.SBJ sorry
 ‘And Old One sang, “If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry.”’
- (98) tékl $\acute{\lambda}e?$ n $\acute{c}\acute{a}ktm$ e sq $\acute{w}\acute{u}y\acute{i}?$ $\acute{\gamma}\acute{e}$
 $t\acute{e}kl=\emptyset$ $\acute{\lambda}e?\text{-}n\text{-}\acute{c}\acute{a}k\text{-}[n]\text{-}t\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}[e]m=\emptyset$ e=s-q $\acute{w}\acute{u}y\acute{i}?$ $\acute{\gamma}\acute{e}=\emptyset$
 rain=3SBJ until=LOC-empty-CTR-TR-3OBJ-PASS=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-cloud INT=3SBJ
 $sx^w\acute{a}sts$ \acute{l} sq $\acute{w}\acute{u}y\acute{i}?$ pe \acute{l} stékl.
 $[e]=s=x^w\acute{a}s\text{-}t=s$ $\acute{l}=\text{-}s\text{-}q\acute{w}\acute{u}y\acute{i}?$ pe $\acute{l}=\text{-}s\text{-}t\acute{e}kl$
 D/C=NMLZ=return.home-IMM=3POSS DET.REM=NMLZ-cloud with=NMLZ-rain
 ‘It rained until Cloud was empty, and Cloud and Rain went home.’

¹⁵ T&T (1996:428) claim this word means ‘bridge made of cribwork slats’ though the exact translation of the lexical suffix is unknown.

- (99) kíces e séytknmx † qəłmín ʔé
kíc-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s=Ø e=séytkn-[e]mx †=qəłmín ʔe=Ø
reach-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DET=native-people DET.REM=old.one INT=3SBJ
sxʔéns.
[e]=s=xʔ-é-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s
D/C=NMLZ=warn-EXT-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
‘Old One reached the people and warned them.’

- (100) “ʔe tém us k smnúncip¹⁶, †luʔ
ʔe=tém=us k=s=mnú-n-t-s[e]y-[e]p †luʔ
COMP=NEG=3SBJV D/C=NMLZ=notice-CTR-TR-1SG.OBJ-2PL.ERG then
x^wíʔ kp páq. ýhékstuze e tmíx^wep.”
x^w[u]ý=kp páq ý[e]h-ékst-uz-e e=tmíx^w-ep
PROSP=2PL.SBJ sorry good-hand-PL-IMP DET=land-2PL.POSS
“‘If you do not listen to me, you will be sorry. Look after your land.’”

5 Discussion of *tuʔ x^wéʔe*

This story contains various examples of different fronting constructions, particularly relative clauses and clefts. There is one such construction featured in the story that I wish to highlight in this section because it seems to contradict previous descriptions in the literature.

To briefly summarize the main aspects of fronting constructions in Nɛʔkepmxcín outlined by Kroeber (1997, 1999), when an argument is extracted from a clause in the case of either clefting or relativization, the clause type of the residue or relative is determined by the argument being extracted. If it is a core argument being extracted, an argument not introduced by a preposition, the clause containing the gap retains matrix clause-like inflection, i.e., it doesn’t contain nominalization or subjunctive morphology. When a “nonlocative oblique”¹⁷ is extracted, an argument introduced by the oblique preposition *t=*, the clause containing the gap is nominalized. And if the extracted argument is introduced by any other preposition, these are “locative obliques”, the clause containing the gap is subjunctive.

The construction that seemingly contradicts this description involves the locative preposition *tuʔ* (‘from’) and is immediately followed by the demonstrative *x^wéʔe* (*xéʔe*), yet what appears to be the residue clause is nominalized. Since *tuʔ* introduces a locative oblique, we would expect the residue clause to be subjunctive instead.

Examples of this construction can be found in sentences (12), (19), (26), (76), and (83) which are reproduced below, with *tuʔ x^wéʔe* in bold for ease of viewing. Some of these are slightly shortened, as indicated by ellipses, to save space.

- (12) **tuʔ x^wéʔe** e snk^wúmes † qəłmín.
tuw=xéʔe=Ø e=s=n-k^wúme=s †=qəłmín
from=DEM=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=LOC-go.upriver=3POSS DET.REM=old.one
‘From there, Old One went north up the river.’

¹⁶ In the recording, this word is *mnúncmx^w* which is the same except for the ergative suffix which is inflected for 2nd-person singular. We’ve changed it to the 2nd-person plural form to match the other 2nd-person plural forms in this line since all of them share the same referent.

¹⁷ The labels “nonlocative oblique” and “locative oblique” are from Kroeber (1997).

- (19) nk^wumeʔékst tuʔ x^wéʔe e swíksc
n-k^wume-ékst=∅ **tuw=xéʔe**=∅ e=s=wík-s-t-∅-[e]s
LOC-go.upriver-hand=3SBJ **from**=DEM=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=see-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
e nχətqúymx^w neʔ e us nciqm
e=n-χətq-úymx^w n[e]ʔ e=[ʔex]=us n-ciq-m
DET=LOC-hole-land DEM D/C=IPFV=3SBJV LOC-dig-CTR.MID
e sémeʔ...
e=sémeʔ
DET=white.person
‘He went north where he saw a hole in the ground where the white men were digging...’
- (26) x^wʔít tuʔ x^wéʔe e swíkms ł qəłmín
x^wʔít=∅ **tuw=xéʔe** e=s=wík-m=s ł=qəłmín
much=3SBJ **from**=DEM D/C=NMLZ=see-CTR.MID=3POSS DET.REM=old.one
te sχiltíyxs e séytknmx e citx^wíyxs
t=e=s=χil-[n]-t-∅-íyxs e=séytkn-[e]mx e=citx^w-íyxs
OBL=D/C=NMLZ=do-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3PL DET=native-people DET=home-3PL
ł tmíx^w...
ł=tmíx^w
DET.REM=land
‘There was a lot more that Old One saw the people did to their land...’
- (72) tuʔ x^wéʔe meł e stétéʔe k stékl̩s
tuw=xéʔe=∅=meł e=s=te[ʔ]=téʔe k=s=tékl̩=s
from=DEM=3SBJ=CNSQ D/C=NMLZ=NEG=DEM D/C=NMLZ=rain=3POSS
tk keʔlés nke tk máʕxetn.
t=k=keʔlés=∅=nke t=k=máʕ-xə[n]-t[ə]n
OBL=DET=three=3SBJ=INFER OBL=DET=light-foot-INS
‘From that time on, it did not rain, and it must not have rained for three months.’
- (83) tetéʔe k sxín̩s tuʔ x^wéʔe e scəq̩nwé̃ns
te[ʔ]=∅=téʔe k=s=xín̩=s **tuw=xéʔe** e=s=çəq̩-nwé̃n-[t]-∅-[e]s
NEG=3SBJ=DEM D/C=NMLZ=long=3POSS **from**=DEM D/C=NMLZ=strike-LC-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
ł nmaʕmáʕm e sɣəpɣép...
ł=n-maʕ~máʕ-m e=s-ɣəp~ɣép
DET.REM=LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID DET=NMLZ-AUG~tree
‘It wasn’t long before Lightning was able to hit the trees...’

In the case of (26), one might argue that *x^wʔít tuʔ x^wéʔe* is the whole extracted constituent since the predicate in the residue has a middle suffix *-m*, and patients of predicates derived by this suffix are introduced by the oblique preposition *t=*, thus making the nominalization a result of extracting a nonlocative oblique argument and keeping in line with Kroeber’s description. The same might be argued for (83) since expressions of temporal duration (in this case *xín̩*) are also introduced by the oblique preposition *t=*. However, in (12) for example, the matrix clause consists only of *tuʔ x^wéʔe*, so there must be some other explanation for cases like this. Regardless of the explanation, I wish to only present this as a possible avenue for future research.

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