

ł cutés us ł qəłmín ł tmíx^w (When Old One Created the Earth)*

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Abstract: In this paper, we present an original *spílaxm* (story) by Bev Phillips written and told in nleʔkepmxcín (Thompson River Salish). The story is presented in three versions: first in nleʔkepmxcín, second in an English translation, and third in an interlinear gloss. This paper adds to the small but ever-growing body of glossed texts in nleʔkepmxcín.

Keywords: nleʔkepmxcín, Salish, storytelling

1 Introduction

This paper provides an original story (*spílaxm*) in nleʔkepmxcín (Thompson River Salish; ISO 639-3: thp) by Bev Phillips. Bev is an L1 speaker of nleʔkepmxcín from Lytton, BC (*łqəmcín*). The story is a creation story in which *qəłmín* (Old One) creates the sun, the moon, and the earth as well as all of its inhabitants. It was written in three parts over the course of a year and compiled into a single text. We present the story in its entirety in three different versions. The first is entirely in nleʔkepmxcín and intended for speakers and learners of the language. The second is an English translation meant for anyone interested in Indigenous storytelling. The third is an interlinear gloss meant for linguists and advanced learners.

We published the audio of Bev telling the story in tandem with this paper, so that readers may read along to it. Timestamps marking the beginning of each sentence are given in the nleʔkepmxcín-only Section (section 2) as well as the gloss (Section 4). Publishing this paper along with the audio recording of the story adds to the body of fully glossed nleʔkepmxcín speech and hopefully aids community efforts to document the language.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. Subsection 1.1 provides some background information about nleʔkepmxcín. Subsection 1.2 provides an explanation of our methodology. Subsection 1.3 contains an introduction to the story. Section 2 offers the story in nleʔkepmxcín. Section 3 provides an English translation of the story. Section 4 has a full interlinear gloss.

1.1 Language Background

nleʔkepmxcín is a Salish language belonging to the Northern Interior subfamily along with St'át'imcets (Lillooet) and Secwepemcetsín (Shuswap). The language is spoken along the Fraser, Thompson, and Nicola rivers by about 100 L1 speakers (Gessner, Herbert, & Parker 2022), with more L2 learners learning the language in various settings including post-secondary language fluency programs.

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To our knowledge, there is only one book of glossed *nleʔkepmxcín* speech that has been published (Egesdal, Thompson, & Jimmie 2011), though there have been stories and conversations published elsewhere (e.g., Koch 2011; Hannon, Steiner, & Stacey 2023; Garcia, Hannon, & Stacey 2024; Hall & Phillips 2024).

1.2 Methodology

After Bev wrote part of the story, Brent recorded her telling it. She then shared her writing with Brent who transliterated it into the North American Phonetic Alphabet (NAPA) as employed by Thompson and Thompson (1992; 1996) from the orthography commonly used in Lytton. This was done to make the story as accessible as possible. Bev then provided a sentence-by-sentence translation using her original written version of the story. This translation is used both in the English-only Section 3 as well as the glossed Section 4. Bev then made further edits and additions which we compiled into the final version presented here. Since the editing was extensive, we recorded Bev telling the completed version of the story as a whole.¹ This recording was done with the application Zoom using the microphone built into Bev's computer.

The interlinear gloss found in Section 4 was done in tandem with the transliteration of the text which was revised and edited as needed when additions and edits to the story were made. The gloss was done in a four-line format. In the top line, speech is transcribed in NAPA as employed by Thompson and Thompson (1992; 1996). The forms in this line roughly correlate to surface representations. In the second line, each word is segmented into morphemes, and each morpheme is transcribed in its underlying representation. The third line contains a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and the fourth line is an English translation. See Hall and Phillips (2024:129–130) for a slightly more detailed explanation of the glossing practices used in this paper.

1.3 Bev Phillips's Introduction

I wrote this story because I have read a lot of the old *sptékʷl* (legends), and I wanted to see if I could capture the magic of storytelling from what I had read and as a listener of my grandmother's stories and tell it like a *sptékʷl*. In this story, I hope to portray some of the magic and power of *qəłmín* (Old One).

2 *nleʔkepmxcín*²

[00:00]

ł cutés us ł qəłmín ł tmíxʷ

[00:10]

ʔéx téʔe ł qəłmín cúť ne sxʷáwkʷs k sxʷúys cwém te tmíxʷ

¹ There are some small differences between the audio and the transcription presented here. This is mostly because we mistakenly used a slightly outdated draft for this recording, so we decided to edit the transcription and leave the recording unaltered.

² To our knowledge, there is no standardized punctuation convention for *nleʔkepmxcín* orthography, so punctuation is omitted from all transcriptions in this paper. Instead of periods, timestamps separate each sentence in this section.

[00:19]

e címeł us wʒéx cnił tetéʒe k sʒækstém ʒe tu hén us k ʒéék us

[00:27]

ʒuʒ ʒéx ʒestélíx ne swʒéxs ptínusm

[00:35]

qəstés e ǵʷúmǵns ʒel e slíqʷs ʒe spláps tu xʷéʒe tuwe cnił e slíqʷs ʒe sʒesmóls néʒe

[00:50]

e kláp us e slíqʷs néʒe ʒé skʒéxs ʒé stəptepwíʒxs

[00:59]

naʒʒíp néʒe ɣíym téʒe

[01:05]

ʒé stémes téʒe k sxíns ʒuʒ e scwúws e ɣzúm néʒe e cíy te tmíxʷ

[01:15]

te snaʒʒíps néʒe xʷesít kwétes xéʒe e cíy te tmíxʷ

[01:22]

ʒé sméłs néʒe e sqʷázzs ʒé scwúws néʒe e spéym

[01:36]

te snaʒʒíps néʒe xʷesít ʒésxʷəzxʷózts néʒe e cwúw te tmíxʷ

[01:47]

ʒé t hén téʒe e sčʒékʷs ʒé sʒʷyáps

[01:54]

cé xéʒe e címeł te spém clóxʷ meł xéʒe

[02:00]

ʔé snaʔʔíps néʔe móles ł qəłmín

[02:10]

ʔé n hén téʔe e skʷnéms tuwe ʔéx ʔʷyəp ʔé sqamíns we sxéʔs

[02:18]

čʔéčʷ xéʔe e sxéʔs te sxiyms téʔe

[2:33]

naʔʔíp qʷáz cníl te snaʔʔíps xʷesít ʔel naʔʔíp néʔe ʔʷyəp e nkʷétms

[02:45]

cʰwəp e sqʷázʷs ʔel e sxʷənłíqsc ʔé sʔəlłalwíʔxs e tmíxʷ néʔe ʔé scwúws néʔe e číł

[03:25]

naʔʔíp xéʔe síxes te sxʷʔitwíʔxs xéʔe

[03:38]

ʔel e ʔʷyəp us xéʔe ʔé sném e sclóxʷs

[03:44]

łoʔʷłóʔʷt ʔelłʷ xéʔe ʔé scwúws e tmíxʷ ʔé scés xéʔe e címel te sxénx

[03:58]

té mel téʔe k x scwəms téʔe tk stéʔ ʔʷ xəscút ʔel xʷesít néʔe

[04:08]

qamíns e ʔéx ʔʷyəp e čloxʷwíʔx us

[04:12]

cʰwəp e sqʷázʷs ʔel e sxʷənłíqs méłəł we tmíxʷ

[04:20]

cwúw e címel te číł

[04:25]

cestés e cǐl̥ te sʰəkstés k sʰwúys qʷəztés ʔe n hén us

[04:38]

te snaʔʔíps néʔe xʷesít ném e sʰzumwíʔxs e spéym

[04:45]

xʷʔitwíʔx e sxénx ʔel te snaʔʔíps móles ł qəlmín ʔé swistwíʔxs xéʔe

[04:58]

cwúw néʔe e címel te sqʷóm

[05:07]

naʔʔíp néʔe xʷesít ʔluʔ ʔé sʔesq̣moʰwíʔxs néʔe ne ʔéx us

[05:22]

tetéʔe ʔéyl k sʰwesítms e tékm xéʔe e swʔéxs te sʰzumwíʔxs xéʔe

[05:33]

tetéʔe k sʰwyóps ne tékm e spéym ʔé sʰwánt e scʔéks ʔé scímel néʔe e scwúws néʔe e npáʔʷ

[05:48]

ʔel te xʷesít us ne tetéʔe k x sʰwyóp ʔé scʔéks ʔelʔluʔ e súpms ʔé spáʔʷts

[06:05]

chóm ʔelʔluʔ tuwe npáʔʷ

[06:08]

tu xʷéʔe mel e sʰəkstés k snwéns xʷʔít e stéʔ k xʷúy qʷəznwéns ʔe xʷúy us cwóm te tmíxʷ

[06:27]

tu xʷéʔe mel e sləkʷmíns k sʰwúys cwóm te skʷákʷes

[06:36]

te sʰəkstés k stémes téʔe k scʔékʷs e tékm e spéym

[06:44]

kʷmíʔmeʔ néʔe e s̥ʔéḱʷs te snaʔʔíps ʔə́m ɬamíns e sʷyóp we xéʔ

[06:57]

nwén̄ néʔe cwúw ne spéym e qʷúʔ te szʔéxʷs e npáʔʷ ʔeʔ tuwe sqʷázzs e qə́lmín

[07:13]

xʷʔít meʔ xéʔe tk qʷúʔ netés qə́lmín te ɬzúm te qʷúʔ

[07:22]

ʔé ʔéyʔ e skʷném tuwe tmíxʷ ʔeʔ e sʷyóp

[07:35]

ḱé ʔ skʷákʷes e xʷúỵ cutés

[07:39]

tuwe tmíxʷ ʔeʔ e spém e cutés us

[07:45]

kʷném tuwe tmíxʷ ʔé sqə́mɬʷetés ʔiʔ nʔáʔses us te ḱiʔ

[07:56]

cə́qtés ne ɬzúm te spéym ʔeʔ kʔéx

[07:59]

kʷinixésq̣t nke tk siʔq̣t ʔiʔ kʔéx us

[08:07]

ʔé scwə́ms te skíʔkiʔɬ ʔeʔ nmaʔmáʔm

[08:13]

cwám te skíʔkiʔɬ te sɬʷóɬʷstms k sqeʔnimes teʔ k swét teʔ k stéʔ ʔe n hén̄ téʔe ɬə́k us k sʔéxs
nmaʔmáʔm ʔé k slxʷəpnwéʔns

[08:39]

ném xé?e e ṣlóḳʷs ʃu? ʔé snmúyes ne ʃzúm te qʷú? te steté?e k scutés i? e ʔéx nqáyix ʔel e ʔéx cwúw ne ʃzúm te qʷú?

[08:55]

ʃʷyóp ɫ nmaʃmáʃm ʔé stu xʷé?e e skʷnéms te sʃʷyóp

[09:03]

ʔéṣc̣éḳʷes e ṣq̣móḳʷ

[09:07]

nwén né?e kʔéx e cíʃ ʔé snéms e sʃʷyóps ʔé scúts ɫ xeʔḳʷúḳʷpi? k syés k sʃʷyóps ʔé skʷéns ʔé sqʷintés

[09:25]

cé eʔwí e xʷúy kʷúḳʷpi? ne tékm e sʃíqt ʔel e tmíxʷ

[09:32]

teté?e k sté? k xʷúy wméx ʔe tém us k eʔswméx eʔwí

[09:43]

teté?e k eʔsxʷúy pépye? ne sʃíqt

[09:56]

xʷúy cuxicn tk smúlec tk máʃxetn pe té? k sxʷúys clóḳʷ teté?e k sxʷúys ṭəqnwénxʷ

[10:07]

xʷʔít ʔelʃu? tk máʃxetn k nsxʷúy cwóm ʔel nkʷəḳʷúsn̩

[10:16]

ʔé ṣq̣amíns ɫ kʷúḳʷpi? e skʷáḳʷes we sʃíqt ʔé sc̣ʔéḳʷs e tmíxʷ

[10:25]

ʔé sxʷúyceʔs kʷném tuwe tmíxʷ ʔel e sxénx ʔé ṣq̣əmx̣ʷetés

[10:31]

k^wmí?me? te òiḷ? ʔeḷḷu? ʔéx ʔesméḷes né?e

[10:40]

ʔé scúts x^wúy cḷóx^w e sk^wák^wes x^wúy ʔesméḷsne k npáḷ^w ʔeḷ swúx^wt nʔé

[10:56]

ʔé scwéms te q^wú? tuwe súṙms cníḷ ʔeḷ e sq^wázzs

[11:00]

q^wintés e tmíx^w

[11:02]

eʔwí e tmíx^w smúlec k^w

[11:06]

ném eʔsx^wúy q^wámq^wəmt te scés tuwe nsúp e cucín un

[11:27]

ném eʔsx^wúy zoḷ^wzóḷ^wt

[11:36]

e tékm e x^wúy q^wəztéx^w n eʔscwúw x^wúy néxcn

[11:45]

ḷu? x^wúy k^wzúmsc e séytknmx ʔe cuténe us cənk^wúst

[11:56]

ʔe q^wáz ux^w ʔé k sklésktmnx^w ʔé k sḵáḷms we ncéwe? ʔé k sʔesnlémsne we sq^wúy? ḷe? ʔménk

[12:21]

ʔé k sklékstms ʔé k spénts w eʔwí ʔé k sq^wú?nx^we tmíx^w

[12:34]

ʔe x^wʔít us k stékḷc ʔé k sʔescstéx^w ne slíq^w

[12:52]

ḫəkstém xʔé te tmíx^w

[12:58]

ʔe čált us ʔé k spáŕ^{ts} xéʔe ʔé k swúx^{ts}

[13:14]

ʔe ḫók us k sŕax^{wúsc} ʔe ḫók us k snpáŕ^{ws}

[13:20]

čé e sq^{wúy}i? k x^{wúy} nlémtns e q^{wú}? ʔel e spúŕ

[13:27]

naŕʔíp xéʔe x^{wúy} ʔesq^{wzáz} e q^{wú}?

[13:37]

ʔe cúk^{wsne} us k scuténe e sɣəpɣép ŕu? x^{wúy} ʔelŕu? xéʔe ʔesk^{wúk^{wsc}} e q^{wú}? ŕe? xín ʔil e
klekstmŕíyxs us ʔe nḫáwm us

[13:57]

cwám kn te sq^{wəm}q^{wám} x^{wúy} xéʔe kəncís

[14:09]

x^{wúy} ʔesk^{wuk^{wstíyxs}} e swúx^{wt} ŕe? ḫ^{wóḫ^{wstmnx^w}} us ʔe q^wʔecwí?x ux^w

[14:21]

cwám kn n eʔŕŕíq^w ʔelŕu? te ʔesnkúx^w

[14:28]

néʔe k sx^{wúys} ʔescestéx^w e q^{wú}?

[14:33]

čé xéʔe k x^{wúy} pélusk^{wu} ʔel sptúk^w

[14:37]

tuwe sq^wám e x^wúy us zíyt e q^wú? ʔe zʔéx^w us e swúx^wt

[14:44]

ché xéʔe e x^wúy q^wuʔúy

[14:49]

néʔe ne péłusk^wu ʔeł e q^wú? e x^wúy us cwúw e ʔíx^weł te swéwł ʔeł sqyéytn ʔeł e nhén téʔe tk ʔéx
nqáyix

[15:05]

x^wʔít néʔe tk spzúzu? ʔeł spzú? e x^wúy ʔescítx^w néʔe

[15:14]

x^wúy q^wəztíyxs e tékm téʔe tk stéʔ

[15:20]

e tékm e q^wú? tuwe q^wuʔúy te ʔesk^wíl x^wúy k^wól we ʔzúm te q^wú?

[15:33]

x^wʔít tk ʔéx nqáyix e x^wúy ʔéx ne ʔzúm te q^wú?

[15:42]

ʔé scúntm e tmíx^w te k^wúk^wpi? ném e sx^wʔíts e nsúp^m cʔéył

[15:57]

ólóx^w e sk^wák^wes ʔeł ʔəksténe k eʔsq^wáz

[16:03]

cwúw cʔéył e címeł te sq^wúyi?

[16:11]

x^wúy címeł kəntúymn peł e sq^wúyi? k scwámep tk swúx^wt ʔeł npáŕ^w

[16:28]

ʔé xéʔe e x^wúy q^wəztíyxsne ʔe un cwám te máŕxetn

[16:43]

ʔé sxʷúyceʔs néʔe cwúw e qʷúʔ tuwe súps e kʷúkʷpiʔ ʔeʔ e sqʷázs e tmíxʷ

[17:05]

xʷʔít xéʔe tk qʷúʔ e x ɣáʕm we sqʷúyiʔ

[17:20]

ʔé scéles ʔ kʷúkʷpiʔ ʔé spáʕʷts

[17:26]

klékstms e sqʷúyiʔ ne sqʷóm ʔé swúxʷts

[17:33]

kʷmíʔmeʔ tu xʷéʔe e kʷís ne tmíxʷ ʔé scímeʔs néʔe npáʕʷ

[17:44]

kʷném tuwe swúxʷt ʔeʔ e npáʕʷ ʔ kʷúkʷpiʔ ʔé sméʕes we sxénx ʔeʔ tmíxʷ ʔeʔ kʷmíʔmeʔ néʔe tk cíʕ

[17:55]

ʔé sqəmɣʷetés néʔe ɣzúm xéʔe tk wéʕe tékm tk ʔestpíq

[18:13]

ʔé n hén téʔe e sɣtáq ne ʔéycqeʔs

[18:19]

tetéʔe k spúts k scáʕts ʔeʔ tetéʔe k sqəmqémʔts

[18:29]

ʔé sqʷintés e scúws

[18:32]

téye máʕxetn smúlec kʷ eʔwí e qʷámqʷəmt te nscúw

[18:41]

xʷúy kəntéxʷ ʔ skʷákʷes nʔ sʕíqʔ

[18:52]

x^wúỵ ñcis te scék^w ʔé k swíkms e tékm ʔéx wméx ʔe sítist us

[19:07]

x^wúỵ q^wəztíyec e séytknmx ʔe ɣzénm us

[19:12]

ʔé neʔ k sɣəkstíyxs ʔe číy us t hén tk mǎŋxetn

[19:23]

x^wúỵ kǎntéx^w e ɣzúm te q^wúʔ ʔe síxix us tuwe tmíx^w séye néʔe ne sílǫt ʔe x^wúỵ ux^w ɣíym téʔe

[19:39]

x^wúỵ xéʔe cʔékes e tmíx^w

[19:44]

x^wúỵ kǎntéx^w e spzúzuʔ ʔeł e tékm e x ʔéx ne skǎmcíns e ɣzúm te q^wúʔ ʔe ɣíym ux^w tʔé

[19:59]

x^wúỵceʔ tk eʔscúw x^wúỵ kǎntéx^w e spzúzuʔ ʔe łwéỵst us ʔeł ʔe mím̃x us we tmíx^w

[20:10]

x^wúỵ kp kǎntwáx^w peł e tmíx^w ʔeł e sk^wák^wes

[20:17]

ʔé sqamíns ł mǎŋxetn we slíqt

[20:23]

ʔé scímełs tu x^wéʔe zíyt e tékm e q^wúʔ ne tmíx^w

[20:31]

k^wéns ł xeʔłk^wúk^wpiʔ ł sŋ^wyóp tuł ɣzúm te q^wúʔ ʔé sʔescestés we slíqt

[20:45]

ćé xé?e e címeł te nmaſmáſm

[20:53]

ʔé sk^wnéms x^wúyce? ʔé sǵamíns we sǵíqt ʔé snk^wək^wúsns ʔel ǵíx^wel te máſxetn

[21:02]

ʔé scuntíyxsetm pyépst kp e nk^wək^wúsñ ʔel e máſxetn

[21:22]

x^wúy kəntép e sté? té?e tk ʔéx x^wesít ʔe sítist us

[21:32]

móq^wixuze ne cíy t hén té?e tk ýé ne sǵíqt

[21:39]

ʔé né?e k syés e sx^wáwk^ws e swét k x wíkc.

[21:48]

ʔe q^wəztíyxs us e ʔéx x^wəsx^wesít ne sítist

[22:05]

kmeł e sǵíx^wlep x^wúy kp kəkéw teté?e k scímels x^wúy wíkc te? k swét

[22:16]

cúk^w xé?e e scúws né?e tk síǵqt te sǵ^wóx^wstms məstenncút k scwáms x?é tk scúws

3 English

Old One was around, and he was saying in his heart that he would make the earth. When he first existed, we didn't know where he came from. But he stood where he was, thinking. He scratched his head and his skin, and from him, his skin flew off, and it piled up there. After his skin came off, it dried, and it became darker. He was always doing that there. It wasn't very long until something like a big pile of dirt formed. Since he always walked there, he stepped on that stuff that seemed like dirt. His sweat was mixed into there, and a flatland was formed there. Since he always walked there, the earth that formed there was sharp. Here and there, the earth was lit, and it burned. That was the first fire, it was hot.

Old One was always gathering it and piling it up. Every once in a while, he took from what was burning, and he threw it above him. What was above him became illuminated because of his doing that. He was always sweating because he was always walking, and his path was always

burning. His sweat and his snot dripped, and the earth got sticky, and pitch formed there. He was always moving that around because it became a lot. And when that burned, it was very hot. And that was hard also, and from there, the earth formed, and that became the first rock. He wasn't making anything, but he scratched himself and walked there. He threw what was burning whenever it got too hot. His sweat and snot dripped, and it mixed with the dirt. The first pitch was formed. He stored the pitch because he knew he was going to use it at some point.

Since he always walked there, the flatland got bigger. A lot of rocks were formed, and because Old One kept piling them up, the piles got taller. And the first mountain was formed. He always walked there, so it became round where he was. He couldn't walk all over the place where he was because it had gotten so big. Not all of the flatland burned, and it cooled down quickly, and the first ice was formed. And since he walked in the areas that weren't burning, his breath also cooled off. He also put away some ice.

From that time on, he knew there were already many things that he would be able to use when making the earth. From that time on, he had been thinking about making the sun because he knew that not all of the flatland was illuminated. There was only a little bit of light because he had been throwing what was burning above. Water had already formed there on the flatland because of the melting ice and from Old One's sweat. There was a lot of water, so Old One named it the big water. Then he took some of the dirt and what was burning. It was Sun that he would make. He made it from earth and fire. He took some earth, made it into a ball, and held it together with pitch. He set it on a huge flatland until it dried. It must have been many days before it dried. Then he made thunder and lightning. He created thunder because he wanted anyone or anything to hear it whenever there was lightning, so that they would be able to escape. It was still hot, so he set it in the big water since he had not yet made all that swim in the water and all that grow in the water. Lightning burned and from there he took fire. And then he lit the round earth.

The pitch had already dried, and it burned, and the Creator said that it had burned well enough, and he took it and spoke to it. "You will be the chief in all the sky and all the earth. There will be nothing that is alive if you are not alive. You will not be alone in the sky. I'm going to create a woman moon for you, but she will not be hot, and you will not be able to touch her. I am also going to create many moons and stars."

And Creator threw the sun into the sky, and light shined on the earth. And then he took more dirt and rocks and mixed them together into a sphere. He also mixed a little bit of pitch into it. And he said, "The sun will be hot, so I am going to mix ice and snow into this." And he made water from his breath and his sweat. He spoke to the earth, "You are the earth, you are a woman. You will be very beautiful because I made you from my own breath. You will be very strong. All that you will be using in your work, I'm going to give you. But the people are going to give you trouble when I create them. When you sweat, you will let it go, and it will come up to me, and I will store it in Cloud until it's heavy. And he will let it go, and it will return to you, and you will water the earth. If it rains a lot, you will store it in your flesh." We understand this as the earth. "If it's cold, it will freeze, and it will snow. Perhaps it will be hail, perhaps it will be ice. The cloud is going to be the container for the water and the fog. The water will always be used. When I finish the trees, they will also hold the water for a long time before they let it go when they're thirsty. I made mountains. Those will help you. They will hold the snow until you want it when you get too warm. I have also created holes in your flesh. There you will store water. Those will be lakes and springs. From the mountain, the water will run when the snow melts. That will be the river. In the lakes and in the water will grow different trout and salmon and things that swim. Many birds and animals will also have homes there. They will use all that is there. All the remaining water from the rivers will spill into the big water. There will be lots of things that live in the big water." And the chief

told the earth, “I have breathed a lot today. The sun is hot, and I know you’re sweating. Today is the making of the first cloud. I’ll first help you and Cloud make snow and ice. Those will be what I use when I make the moon.”

Water was created again from the breath of the chief and the sweat of the earth. That was a lot of water that went up to the clouds. And the chief cooled it, and it froze. Cloud let it go on the mountains, and it was snow. A little bit of it fell on the earth and it was the first ice. The chief took from the snow and the ice, and he mixed it with rocks and dirt and a small amount of pitch. He mixed it there, and it was big and almost all white. Here and there, there were holes on the outside. It wasn’t completely cold or completely warm.

And he spoke to Moon, “Hey Moon, you are a woman. You are my beautiful creation. You will help Sun in the sky. He will give you light and all that lives in the night will be able to see. People will use you when they count. They will know what month it is. You will help the big water when it leaves the land. You will do this two times per day. This will also cool the earth. You will help the birds and all that live on the edge of the big water if you do this. More of your work is that you will help the birds in the fall when they move across the earth. You and Earth and Sun will help each other.”

And he threw the moon into the sky. And from that time, all the water began to flow on the earth. The chief took some of the fire from the big water and stored it in the sky. That was the first lightning. And he took more, and he threw it into the sky, and there were stars and different moons.

And he told them, “You are stars and moons. You will help whatever walks about in the night. Arrange yourselves in whichever good way in the sky. Whoever looks at you will feel happy. Those that walk in the night will use you. However, the rest of you will be far away, and at first no one will see you.

That was all he made on that day because he wanted what he created to test themselves out.

4 Interlinear Gloss³

[00:00]

(1)	ł cutés us	ł qəłmín	ł tmíx ^w
	ł=cw-[n]-t-Ø-és=us	ł=qəłmín	ł=tmíx ^w
	D/C.REM=do-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJV	DET.REM=old.one	DET.REM=earth

³ Glossing abbreviations are as follows: 1 = 1st person, 2 = 2nd person, 2CL = 2nd position clitic, 3 = 3rd person, ADD = additive, AUG = augmentative, AUT = autonomous, CAUS = causative, COS = change-of-state (a.k.a. out-of-control), COMP = complementizer, CONN = compounding connective, CTR = control, COP = (equational) copula, DEM = demonstrative, DET = determiner, D/C = determiner-complementizer, DVL = developmental, DIM = diminutive, EMPH = emphatic, ERG = ergative (transitive) subject, EXCL = exclusive, IMM = immediate, IMP = imperative, IPFV = imperfective, INCH = inchoative, INDEP = independent pronoun, INDR = indirective applicative, INFER = inferential evidential, IRED = initial (a.k.a. affective) reduplication, INS = instrumental, LC = limited control, LOC = locative, MID = middle, NEG = negation, NMLZ = nominalizer, OBJ = object, OBL = oblique, PASS = passive, PL = plural, PRP = proportional, PROSP = prospective, POSS = possessive, QLT = qualitative, RFM = reaffirmative, RECP = reciprocal, REFL = reflexive, RLT = relational applicative, REM = remote, SG = singular, STAT = stative, SBJ = (indicative) subject, SBJV = subjunctive, TR = transitivizer, WH = *wh*-element. Affix boundaries are marked with hyphens (-). Reduplication is indicated with a tilde (~). Infixes are enclosed between angle brackets (<>). Clitic boundaries are marked with equal signs (=). Square brackets ([]) surround segments that are omitted due to regular phonological processes or allegro speech.

‘When Old One Created the Earth’

[00:10]

- (2) ʔéx téʔe l qəlmín cút ne sx^wáwk^ws
 [w]ʔéx=Ø téʔe l=qəlmín cút=Ø n=e=s-x^wáwk^w-s
 be=3SBJ DEM DET.REM=old.one say=3SBJ at=DET=NMLZ-heart-3POSS
 k sx^wúỵs cwóm te tmíx^w
 k=s=x^wúỵ=s cw-óm t=e=tmíx^w
 D/C=NMLZ=PROSP=3POSS do-CTR.MID OBL=DET=earth
 ‘Old one was around, and he was saying in his heart that he would make the earth.’

[00:19]

- (3) e címeł us wʔéx cníł tetéʔe
 e=címeł=us wʔéx cníł te=Ø=téʔe
 D/C=first=3SBJV be 3SG.INDEP NEG=3SBJ=NEG
 k sɣəkstém ʔe tu hén us
 k=s=ɣək-s-t-Ø-ém ʔe=tu=hén=us
 D/C=NMLZ=know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG COMP=from=WH=3SBJV
 k ʔéék us
 k=ʔéék=us
 DET=arrive=3SBJV
 ‘When he first existed, we didn’t know where he came from.’

[00:27]

- (4) ʔuʔ ʔéx ʔestéłix ne swʔéxs ptínusm
 ʔuʔ ʔéx=Ø ʔes-téł-[i]yx n=e=s=wʔéx=s ptínus-m=Ø
 but IPFV=3SBJ STAT-stand-AUT at=DET=NMLZ=be=3POSS think-CTR.MID=3SBJ
 ‘But he stood where he was, thinking.’

[00:35]

- (5) qəstés e ǵ^wúm̥qns ʔeł e slíq^ws
 qəs-[n]-t-Ø-és=Ø e=ǵ^wúm̥qns-s ʔeł e=s-líq^w-s
 scratch-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DET=head-3POSS and DET=NMLZ=flesh-3POSS
 ʔe spláps tu x^wéʔe tuwe cníł
 ʔe=Ø [e]=s=pl-áp=s tu=xéʔe tu=e=cníł
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=fly.off-INCH=3POSS from=DEM from=DET=3SG.INDEP
 e slíq^ws ʔe sʔesmóls néʔe
 e=s-líq^w-s ʔe=Ø [e]=s=ʔes-mól=s néʔe
 DET=NMLZ=flesh-3POSS COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=STAT-pile.up=3POSS DEM
 ‘He scratched his head and his skin, and from him, his skin flew off, and it piled up there.’

[00:50]

- (6) e kláp us e slíq^ws né?e ?é
 e=kl-áp=us e=s-líq^w-s né?e ?é=Ø
 D/C=separate-INCH=3SBJV DET=NMLZ-flesh-3POSS DEM COP=3SBJ
 sk?éxs ?é
 [e]=s=k<?>éx=s ?é=Ø
 D/C=NMLZ=<INCH>dry=3POSS COP=3SBJ
 stəptepwí?xs
 [e]=s=təp~tep-wí?x=s
 D/C=NMLZ=AUG~black-DVL=3POSS
 ‘After his skin came off, it dried, and it became darker.’

[00:59]

- (7) naʕ?íp né?e xíym té?e
 naʕ?íp=Ø né?e xíy-m té?e
 always=3SBJ DEM do.so-CTR.MID DEM
 ‘He was always doing that there.’

[01:05]

- (8) ?é stémes té?e k sxíns λu?
 ?é=Ø [e]=s=téme=s=té?e k=s=xín=s=λu?
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS=NEG D/C=NMLZ=long.time=3POSS=EXCL
 e scwúws e xzúm né?e e cíy te tmíx^w
 e=s=cw~ów=s e=xzúm né?e e=cíy=Ø t=e=tmíx^w
 D/C=NMLZ=do~COS=3POSS DET=big DEM DET=like=3SBJ OBL=DET=earth
 ‘It wasn’t very long until something like a big pile of dirt formed.’

[01:15]

- (9) te snaʕ?íps né?e x^wesít k^wétes xé?e
 t=e=s=naʕ?íp=s né?e x^wesít k^wét-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s=Ø xé?e
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=always=3POSS DEM walk step-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DEM
 e cíy te tmíx^w
 e=cíy=Ø t=e=tmíx^w
 DET=like=3SBJ OBL=DET=earth
 ‘Since he always walked there, he stepped on that stuff that seemed like dirt.’

[01:22]

- (10) ገፅ sméḷs néʔe e sqʷázzs
 ገፅ=Ø [e]=s=[ʔes]-méḷ=s néʔe e=s-qʷáz~z-s
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=STAT-mix=3POSS DEM DET=NMLZ-sweat~COS-3POSS
 ገፅ scwúws néʔe e spéym
 ገፅ=Ø [e]=s=cw~áw=s néʔe e=s-péym
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=do~COS=3POSS DEM DET=NMLZ-flatland
 ‘His sweat was mixed into there, and a flatland was formed there.’

[01:36]

- (11) te snaʕʔíps néʔe xʷesít ገፅ
 t=e=s-naʕʔíp=s néʔe xʷesít ገፅ=Ø
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=always=3POSS DEM walk COP=3SBJ
 sxʷəzxʷəzts néʔe e cwúw te tmíxʷ
 [e]=s=xʷəz~xʷəz-t=s néʔe e=cw~áw t=e=tmíxʷ
 D/C=NMLZ=AUG~sharp-IMM=3POSS DEM DET=do~COS OBL=DET=earth
 ‘Since he always walked there, the earth that formed there was sharp.’

[01:47]

- (12) ገፅ t hén téʔe e sçʔékʷs ገፅ
 ገፅ=Ø t=hén téʔe e=s=ç<ʔ>ékʷ=s ገፅ=Ø
 COP=3SBJ around=WH DEM DET=NMLZ=<INCH>illuminate=3POSS COP=3SBJ
 sʕʷyáps
 [e]=s=ʕʷy-áp=s
 D/C=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS
 ‘Here and there, the earth was lit, and it burned.’

[01:54]

- (13) ርፅ xéʔe e címeḷ te spém ርlóxʷ meḷ xéʔe
 c-ʔፅ=Ø xéʔe e=címeḷ t=e=s-pém ርlóxʷ=Ø=meḷ xéʔe
 EMPH-COP=3SBJ DEM DET=first OBL=DET=NMLZ-kindle hot=3SBJ=2CL DEM
 ‘That was the first fire, it was hot.’

[02:00]

- (14) ገፅ snaʕʔíps néʔe móles
 ገፅ=Ø [e]=s=naʕʔíp=s néʔe mól-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=always=3POSS DEM pile.up-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 ɪ qəlmín
 ɪ=qəlmín
 DET.REM=old.one
 ‘Old one was always gathering it and piling it up.’

[02:10]

- (19) naʕʔíp xéʔe síxes
naʕʔíp=Ø xéʔe síx-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s
always=3SBJ DEM move-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
te sxʷʔitwíʔxs xéʔe
t=e=s=xʷʔit-wíʔxs xéʔe
OBL=D/C=NMLZ=much-DVL=3POSS DEM
‘He was always moving that around because it became a lot.’

[03:38]

- (20) ʔeł e ʕʷyáp us xéʔe ʔe sném
ʔeł e=ʕʷy-áp=us xéʔe ʔe=Ø [e]=s=ném=[s]
and D/C=burn-INCH=3SBJV DEM COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=intense=3POSS
e sčlóxʷs
e=s=člóxʷ=s
D/C=NMLZ=hot=3POSS
‘And when that burned, it was very hot.’

[03:44]

- (21) ʔoʕʷʔóʕʷt ʔełʔu? xéʔe ʔe scwúws e tmíxʷ
ʔoʕʷ~ʔóʕʷ-t=Ø=ʔełʔu? xéʔe ʔe=Ø [e]=s=cw~ów=s e=tmíxʷ
AUG~hard-IMM=3SBJ=ADD DEM COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=do~COS=3POSS DET=earth
ʔe sčés xéʔe e címeł te sxénx
ʔe=Ø [e]=s=c-ʔé=s xéʔe e=címeł t=e=s-xénx
COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=EMPH-COP=3POSS DEM DET=first OBL=DET=NMLZ-rock
‘And that was hard also and from there the earth formed and that became the first rock.’

[03:58]

- (22) té meł teʔe k x scwóms téʔe
té=Ø=meł=teʔe k=[ʔe]x=s=cw-óm=s téʔe
NEG=3SBJ=2CL=NEG D/C=IPFV=NMLZ=do-CTR.MID=3POSS DEM
te stéʔ ʔu? qəscút ʔeł xʷesít néʔe
t=e=s-téʔ ʔu? qəs-[n]-t-sút=Ø ʔeł xʷesít néʔe
OBL=DET=NMLZ-what but scratch-CTR-TR-REFL=3SBJ and walk DEM
‘He wasn’t making anything, but he scratched himself and walked there.’

[04:08]

- (23) ʔamíns e ʔéx ʕʷyáp ʔe člóxʷwíʔx us
ʔamín-[n]-[t]-Ø-[e]s=Ø e=ʔéx=Ø ʕʷy-áp ʔe=člóxʷ-wíʔx=us
throw-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DET=IPFV=3SBJ burn-INCH COMP=hot-DVL=3SBJV
‘He threw what was burning whenever it got too hot.’

[04:12]

- (24) cḡ^wáp e sq^wázš ʔeł e sx^wənł́íqs
 cḡ^w-áp=Ø e=s-q^wázš ʔeł e=s-x^wənł́í-[e]qs-s
 drip-INCH=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-sweat-3POSS and DET=NMLZ-snort-nose-3POSS
 méł̣əł̣ we tmíx^w
 méł̣~əł̣=Ø w=e=tmíx^w
 mix~COS=3SBJ to=DET=earth
 ‘His sweat and snot dripped, and it mixed with the dirt.’

[04:20]

- (25) cwúw e címel te cíł̣
 cw~əw=Ø e=címel t=e=cíł̣
 do~COS=3SBJ DET=first OBL=DET=pitch
 ‘The first pitch was formed.’

[04:25]

- (26) cestés e cíł̣
 cə[h]-s-t-Ø-és=Ø e=cíł̣
 store-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DET=pitch
 te sḡəkstés k sx^wúýš
 t=e=s=ḡək-s-t-Ø-és k=s=x^wúý=s
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG D/C=NMLZ=PROSP=3POSS
 q^wəztés ʔe n hén us
 q^wəz-[n]-t-Ø-és ʔe=n=hén=us
 use-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG COMP=at=WH=3SBJV
 ‘He stored the pitch because he knew he was going to use it at some point.’

[04:38]

- (27) te snaʔíps néʔe x^wesít ném
 t=e=s=naʔíps néʔe x^wesít ném=Ø
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=always=3POSS DEM walk intense=3SBJ
 e sḡzumwíʔxs e spéym
 e=s=sḡzum-wíýx=s e=s-péym
 D/C=NMLZ=big-DVL=3POSS DET=NMLZ-flatland
 ‘Since he always walked there, the flatland got bigger.’

[04:45]

- (28) x^wʔitwíʔx e sxénx ʔel te snaʔʔíps
 x^wʔit-wíʔx=Ø e=s-xénx ʔel t=e=s=naʔʔíp=s
 much-DVL=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-rock and OBL=D/C=NMLZ=always=3POSS
 móles l qəlmín ʔé
 mól-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s l=qəlmín ʔé=Ø
 pile.up-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET.REM=old.one COP=3SBJ
 swistwíʔxs xéʔe
 [e]=s=wis-t-wíʔx=s xéʔe
 D/C=NMLZ=high-IMM-DVL=3POSS DEM
 ‘A lot of rocks were formed, and because Old One kept piling them up, the piles got taller.’

[04:58]

- (29) cwúw néʔe e címeł te sq^wám
 cw~áw=Ø néʔe e=címeł t=e=s-q^wám
 do~COS=3SBJ DEM DET=first OBL=DET=NMLZ-mountain
 ‘And the first mountain was formed.’

[05:07]

- (30) naʔʔíp néʔe x^wesít ʔuʔ ʔé sʔesqmoʔ^wwíʔxs
 naʔʔíp=Ø néʔe x^wesít ʔuʔ ʔé=Ø [e]=s=ʔes-qməʔ^w-wíʔx=s
 always=3SBJ DEM walk EXCL COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=STAT-spherical-DVL=3POSS
 néʔe ne ʔéx us
 néʔe n=e=[w]ʔéx=us
 DEM at=DET=be=3SBJV
 ‘He always walked there, so it became round where he was.’

[05:22]

- (31) tetéʔe ʔéył k sx^wesítms e tékm xéʔe
 te=Ø=téʔe ʔéył k=s=x^wesít-m[in]-[t]-Ø-[e]s e=tékm xéʔe
 NEG=3SBJ=NEG now D/C=NMLZ=walk-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=all DEM
 e swʔéxs te sʔzumwíʔxs xéʔe
 e=s=wʔéx=s t=e=s=ʔzum-wíʔx=s xéʔe
 DET=NMLZ=be=3POSS OBL=D/C=NMLZ=big-DVL=3POSS DEM
 ‘He couldn’t walk all over the place where he was because it had gotten so big.’

[05:33]

- (32) tetéʔe k sɣʷyáps ne tékm e spéym
 te=Ø=téʔe k=s=ɣʷy-áp=s n=e=tékm e=s-péym
 NEG=3SBJ=NEG D/C=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS at=DET=all DET=NMLZ-flatland
 ʔé sɣʷánt e scʔéks
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=ɣʷán-t=[s] e=s=c<ʔ>ék=s
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=fast-IMM=3POSS D/C=NMLZ=<INCH>cool=3POSS
 ʔe scímeɬ néʔe e scwúws néʔe
 ʔe=Ø [e]=s=címeɬ=[s] néʔe e=s=cw~áw=s néʔe
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=first=3POSS DEM D/C=NMLZ=do~COS=3POSS DEM
 e npáɣʷ
 e=n-páɣʷ
 DET=LOC-freeze
 ‘Not all of the flatland burned, and it cooled down quickly, and the first ice was formed.’

[05:48]

- (33) ʔel te xʷesít us ne tetéʔe
 ʔel t=e=xʷesít=us n=e=te=Ø=téʔe
 and OBL=D/C=walk=3SBJV at=DET=NEG=3SBJ=NEG
 k x sɣʷyáp ʔé
 k=[ʔe]x=s=ɣʷy-áp=[s] ʔé=Ø
 D/C=IPFV=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS COP=3SBJ
 scʔéks ʔelɣʷu? e súpms
 [e]=s=c<ʔ>ék=s=ʔelɣʷu? e=[s]=súp-m=s
 D/C=NMLZ=<INCH>cool=3POSS=ADD DET=NMLZ=breathe-CTR.MID=3POSS
 ʔé spáɣʷts
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=páɣʷ-t=s
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=freeze-IMM=3POSS
 ‘And since he walked in the areas that weren’t burning, his breath also cooled off, and it froze.’

[06:05]

- (34) chám ʔelɣʷu? tuwe npáɣʷ
 ch-ám=Ø=ʔelɣʷu? tu=e=n-páɣʷ
 store-CTR.MID=3SBJ=ADD from=DET=LOC-freeze
 ‘He also put away some ice.’

[06:08]

- (35) tu x^wé?e mel e s^xəkstés
 tu=xé?e=Ø=mel e=s=xək-s-t-Ø-és
 from=DEM=3SBJ=2CL D/C=NMLZ=know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 k snwén^s x^w?ít e sté? k x^wúy
 k=s=nwén^s x^w?ít e=s-té? k=x^wúy=Ø
 D/C=NMLZ=already=3POSS much DET=NMLZ-what DET=PROSP=3SBJ
 q^wəznwén^s ?e x^wúy us cwám te tmíx^w
 q^wəz-nwén^s-[t]-Ø-[e]s ?e=x^wúy=us cw-ám t=e=tmíx^w
 use-LC-TR-3OBJ-3ERG COMP=PROSP=3SBJV do-CTR.MID OBL=DET=earth
 ‘From that time on, he knew there were already many things that he would be able to use
 when forming the earth.’

[06:27]

- (36) tu x^wé?e mel e slək^wmíns
 tu=xé?e=Ø=mel e=s=lək^w-mín-[t]-Ø-[e]s
 from=DEM=3SBJ=2CL D/C=NMLZ=remember-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 k sx^wúys cwám te sk^wák^wes
 k=s=x^wúy=s cw-ám t=e=s-k^wák^wes
 D/C=NMLZ=PROSP=3POSS do-CTR.MID OBL=DET=NMLZ-sun
 te s^xəkstés k stémes té?e
 t=e=s=xək-s-t-Ø-és k=s=téme=s=té?e
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG D/C=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS=NEG
 k sc[?]ék^ws e tékm e spéym
 k=s=c<?>ék^w=s e=tékm e=s-péym
 D/C=NMLZ=<INCH>illuminate=3POSS DET=all DET=NMLZ-flatland
 ‘From that time on, he had been thinking about making the sun because he knew that not
 all of the flatland was illuminated.’

[06:44]

- (37) k^wmí?me? né?e e sc[?]ék^ws
 k^wm~í?me?=Ø né?e e=s=c<?>ék^w=s
 small~PRP=3SBJ DEM D/C=NMLZ=<INCH>illuminate=3POSS
 te snaʔíps ǰámín
 t=e=s=naʔíps=s=ǰámín ǰámín-[n]-[t]-Ø-[e]s
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=always=3POSS=2CL throw-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 e sʔyáp we xé?
 e=s-ʔy-áp w=e=xé?
 DET=NMLZ-burn-INCH to=DET=above
 ‘There was only a bit of light because he had been throwing what was burning above.’

[06:57]

- (38) nwén¹ né?e cwúw ne spéym e q^wú?
 nwén¹=Ø né?e cw~áw n=e=s-péym e=q^wú?
 already=3SBJ DEM do~COS at=DET=NMLZ-flatland DET=water
 te sz?éx^ws e npáí^w ?el
 t=e=s=z<?>éx^w=s e=n-páí^w ?el
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=<INCH>melt=3POSS DET=LOC-freeze and
 tuwe sq^wázzs e qəlmín
 tu=e=s-q^wáz~z=s e=qəlmín
 from=DET=NMLZ-sweat~COS=3POSS DET=old.one
 ‘Water had already formed there on the flatland because of the melting ice and from Old One’s sweat.’

[07:13]

- (39) x^w?ít meł xé?e tk q^wú? netés qəlmín
 x^w?ít=Ø=meł xé?e t=k=q^wú? ne-[n]-t-Ø-és=Ø qəlmín
 much=3SBJ=2CL DEM OBL=DET=water name-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ old.one
 te xzúm te q^wú?
 t=e=xzúm t=e=q^wú?
 OBL=DET=big OBL=DET=water
 ‘There was a lot of water, so Old One named it the big water’

[07:22]

- (40) ?é ?éył e sk^wné^m tuwe tmíx^w ?el
 ?é=Ø ?éył e=s=k^wné-m=s tu=e=tmíx^w ?el
 COP=3SBJ now D/C=NMLZ=take-CTR.MID=3POSS from=det=earth and
 e s^wyá^p
 e=s-ŋ^wy-á^p
 DET=NMLZ-burn-INCH
 ‘Then he took some of the dirt and what was burning.’

[07:25]

- (41) c̣é ł sk^wák^wes e x^wúy cutés
 c-?é=Ø ł=s-k^wák^wes e=x^wúy=Ø cw-[n]-t-Ø-és
 EMPH-COP=3SBJ DET.REM=NMLZ-sun DET=PROSP=3SBJ do-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 ‘It was Sun that he would make.’

[07:39]

- (42) tuwe tmíx^w ?el e spém e cutés us
 tu=e=tmíx^w=Ø ?el e=s-pém e=cw-[n]-t-Ø-és=us
 from=DET=earth=3SBJ and DET=NMLZ-kindle DET=do-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJV
 ‘He made it from earth and fire.’

[07:45]

- (43) k^wném tuwe tmíx^w ʔé
 k^wné-m=Ø tu=e=tmíx^w ʔé=Ø
 take-CTR.MID=3SBJ from=DET=earth COP=3SBJ
 sḡəmḡ^wetés ʔil
 [e]=s=qəmḡ^w-n-t-Ø-és ʔil
 D/C=NMLZ=spherical-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG then
 nḡálses us te cḡíḡ
 n-ḡáḡ-[u]s-n-[t]-Ø-[e]=us t=e=cḡíḡ
 LOC-glue-face-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJV OBL=DET=pitch
 ‘He took some earth, made it into a ball, and held it together with pitch.’

[07:54]

- (44) cəqtés ne ɣzúm te spéym
 cəq-[n]-t-Ø-és=Ø n=e=ɣzúm t=e=s-péym
 set-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ at=DET=big OBL=DET=NMLZ-flatland
 ḡeʔ kʔéx
 ḡeʔ=k<ʔ>éx=Ø
 until=<INCH>dry=3SBJ
 ‘He set it on a huge open place until it dried.’

[07:59]

- (45) k^winixésqt nke tk síḡqt ʔil kʔéx us
 k^winix-ésqt=Ø=nke t=k=síḡqt ʔil k<ʔ>éx=us
 how.many-day=3SBJ=INFER OBL=DET=day then <INCH>dry=3SBJV
 ‘It must have been many days before it dried.’

[08:07]

- (46) ʔé scwáms te skíʔkiʔḡ ʔel
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=cw-ám=s t=e=s-kíʔkiʔḡ ʔel
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=do-CTR.MID=3POSS OBL=DET=NMLZ-thunder and
 nmaḡmáḡm
 n-maḡ~máḡ-m
 LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID
 ‘Then he made thunder and lightning.’

[08:13]

- (47) cwám te skíʔkiʔx
 cw-ám=Ø t=e=s-kíʔkiʔx
 do-CTR.MID=3SBJ OBL=DET=NMLZ-thunder
 te sɣʷóɣʷstms k sqeʔnímes
 t=e=s=xʷóɣʷst-m[in]-[t]-Ø-[e]s k=s=qeʔnīm-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=want-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG D/C=NMLZ=hear-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 teʔ k swét teʔ k stéʔ ʔe n hén̄ téʔe
 teʔ k=s-wét teʔ k=s-téʔ ʔe=n=hén̄=Ø téʔe
 DEM DET=NMLZ-who DEM DET=NMLZ-what COMP=at=WH=3SBJ DEM
 ɣók us k sʔéxs nmaɣmáɣm
 ɣók=us k=s=[w]ʔéx=s n-maɣ~máɣ-m
 know=3SBJV D/C=NMLZ=be=3POSS LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID
 ʔé k slɣʷəpnwélns
 ʔé=Ø k=s=ɬɣʷ-əp-nwéln=s
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=escape-INCH-LC.MID=3POSS
 ‘He created thunder because he wanted anyone or anything to hear it whenever there was lightning so that they would be able to escape.’

[08:39]

- (48) ném xéʔe e sclóɣʷs ʔuʔ ʔé
 ném=Ø xéʔe e=s=clóɣʷ=s=ʔuʔ ʔé=Ø
 intense=3SBJ DEM D/C=NMLZ=hot=3POSS=EXCL COP=3SBJ
 snmúyes ne ɣzúm te qʷúʔ
 [e]=s=n-múy-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s n=e=ɣzúm t=e=qʷúʔ
 D/C=NMLZ=LOC-dip-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG at=DET=big OBL=DET=water
 te stetéʔe k scutés iʔ
 t=e=s=te=téʔe k=s=cw-[n]-t-Ø-és=y̌
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=NEG=NEG D/C=NMLZ=do-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=yet
 e ʔéx nqáyix ʔel̄ e ʔéx cwúw
 e=ʔéx=Ø n-qáy-[i]yx ʔel̄ e=ʔéx=Ø cw~ów
 DET=IPFV=3SBJ LOC-swim-AUT and DET=IPFV=3SBJ do~COS
 ne ɣzúm te qʷúʔ
 n=e=ɣzúm t=e=qʷúʔ
 at=DET=big OBL=DET=water
 ‘It was still hot, so he set it in the big water since he had not yet made all that swim in the water and all that grow in the water.’

[08:55]

- (49) ʕʷyáp ɫ nmaɬmáɬm ʔé stu xʷéʔe
 ʕʷy-áp=Ø ɫ=n-maɬ~máɬ-m ʔé=Ø [e]=s=tu=xéʔe
 burn-INCH=3SBJ DET.REM=LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=from=DEM
 e skʷnéms te sʕʷyáp
 e=s=kʷné-m=s t=e=s-ʕʷy-áp
 D/C=NMLZ=take-CTR.MID=3POSS OBL=DET=NMLZ-burn-INCH
 ‘Lightning burned and from there he took fire.’

[09:03]

- (50) ʔé sčékʷes e sqmóxʷ
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=čékʷ-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s e=s-čqmóxʷ
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=illuminate-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=NMLZ-spherical
 ‘And then he lit the round earth.’

[09:07]

- (51) nwén néʔe kʔéx e cíɬ ʔé snéms
 nwén=Ø néʔe k<ʔ>éx e=cíɬ ʔé=Ø [e]=s=ném=s
 already=3SBJ DEM <INCH>dry DET=pitch COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=intense=3POSS
 e sʕʷyáps ʔé scúts
 e=s-ʕʷy-áp=s ʔé=Ø [e]=s=cút=s
 D/C=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=say=3POSS
 ɫ xeʔkʷúkʷpiʔ k syés
 ɫ=xeʔ-ɫ-kʷúkʷpiʔ k=s=yə[h]=s
 DET.REM=above-CONN-chief<DIM> D/C=NMLZ=good=3POSS
 k sʕʷyáps ʔé skʷéns
 k=s-ʕʷy-áp=s ʔé=Ø [e]=s=kʷén=s
 D/C=NMLZ=burn-INCH=3POSS COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=take=3POSS
 ʔé sqʷintés
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=qʷin-[n]-t-Ø-és
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=speak-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
 ‘The pitch had already dried, and it really burned, and the Creator said that it had burned well enough, and he took it and spoke to it.’

[09:25]

- (52) čé eʔwí e xʷúy kʷúkʷpiʔ ne tékm
 c-ʔé=Ø eʔwí e=xʷúy=Ø kʷúkʷpiʔ n=e=tékm
 EMPH-COP=3SBJ 2SG.INDEP DET=PROSP=3SBJ chief<DIM> at=DET=all
 e sɬíqt ʔeɬ e tmíxʷ
 e=s-ɬíqt ʔeɬ e=tmíxʷ
 DET=NMLZ-sky and DET=earth
 ‘“You will be the chief in all the sky and all the earth.”’

[09:32]

- (53) teté?e k sté? k x^wúy̌ wméx ?e tém us
te=Ø=té?e k=s-té? k=x^wúy̌=Ø wméx ?e=tém=us
NEG=3SBJ=NEG DET=NMLZ-what DET=PROSP=3SBJ live COMP=NEG=3SBJV
k e?swméx e?wí.
k=e?s=s=wméx e?wí
D/C=2SG.POSS=NMLZ=live 2SG.INDEP
‘‘There will be nothing that is alive if you are not alive.’

[09:43]

- (54) teté?e k e?sx^wúy̌ pépye? ne s^líqt
te=Ø=té?e k=e?s=s=x^wúy̌ pé<p>ye? n=e=s-s^líqt
NEG=3SBJ=NEG D/C=2SG.POSS=PROSP one<DIM> at=DET=NMLZ-sky
‘‘You will not be alone in the sky.’

[09:54]

- (55) x^wúy̌ cuxícñ tk smúlec
x^wúy̌=Ø cw-xí-t-s[i]-n t=k=s-múlec
PROSP=3SBJ do-INDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG OBL=DET=NMLZ-woman
tk máfxetn, pe té? k sx^wúys ðlóx^w
t=k=máfx-xn-tn pe té?=Ø k=s=x^wúy̌=s ðlóx^w
OBL=DET=light-foot-INS but NEG=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=PROSP=3POSS hot
teté?e k sx^wúys təqnwénx^w
te=Ø=té?e k=s=x^wúy̌=s təq-nwén-[t]-Ø-[e]x^w
NEG=3SBJ=NEG D/C=NMLZ=PROSP=3POSS touch-LC-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG
‘‘I’m going to create a woman moon for you, but she will not be hot and you will not be able to touch her.’

[10:07]

- (56) x^w?ít ?el̥lu? tk máfxetn k nsx^wúy̌
x^w?ít=Ø=?el̥lu? t=k=máfx-xn-tn k=n=s=x^wúy̌
much=3SBJ=ADD OBL=DET=light-foot-INS DET=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=PROSP
cwám ?el̥ nk^wək^wúsñ
cw-ám ?el̥ n-k^wək^wúsñ
do-CTR.MID and LOC-star
‘‘I am also going to create many moons and stars.’

[10:16]

- (61) ʔé scwǎms te qʷúʔ
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=cw-ám=s t=e=qʷúʔ
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=do-CTR.MID=3POSS OBL=DET=water
 tuwe súpms cníł ʔeł
 tu=e=[s]=súp-m=s cníł ʔeł
 from=DET=NMLZ=breathe-CTR.MID=3POSS 3SG.INDEP and
 e sqʷázzs
 e=s-qʷáz~z-s
 DET=NMLZ-sweat~COS-3POSS
 ‘And he made water from his breath and his sweat.’

[11:00]

- (62) qʷintés e tmíxʷ
 qʷin-[n]-t-Ø-és=Ø e=tmíxʷ
 speak-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DET=earth
 ‘He spoke to the earth.’

[11:02]

- (63) eʔwí e tmíxʷ, smúlec kʷ
 eʔwí=Ø e=tmíxʷ s-múlec=kʷ
 2SG.INDEP=3SBJ DET=earth NMLZ-woman=2SG.SBJ
 ‘“You are the earth, you are a woman.”’

[11:06]

- (64) ném eʔsxʷúy qʷámqʷəmt
 ném=Ø [e]=eʔ=s=xʷúy qʷámqʷəmt-t
 intense=3SBJ D/C=2SG.POSS=NMLZ=PROSP beautiful-IMM
 te scés tuwe nsúp
 t=e=s=c-ʔé=s tu=e=n-[s]-súp
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=EMPH-COP=3POSS from=DET=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-breathe
 e cucín un
 e=cw-[n]-t-sí-n=un
 DET=do-CTR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG=1SG.SBJV
 ‘“You will be very beautiful because I made you from my own breath.”’

[11:27]

- (65) ném eʔsxʷúy zoʔʷzóʔʷt
 ném=Ø [e]=eʔ=s=xʷúy zoʔʷ~zóʔʷ-t
 intense=3SBJ D/C=2SG.POSS=NMLZ=PROSP AUG~strong-IMM
 ‘“You will be very strong.”’

[11:36]

- (66) e tékm e x^wúỵ q^wəztéx^w n eʔscwúw
 e=tékm e=x^wúỵ=Ø q^wəz-[n]-t-Ø-éx^w n=[e]=eʔ-s-cw~əw
 DET=all DET=PROSP=3SBJ use-CTR-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG at=DET=2SG.POSS-NMLZ-do~COS
 x^wúỵ néxcn
 x^wúỵ=Ø né-x[i]-t-s[i]-n
 PROSP=3SBJ give-INDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG
 “‘All that you will be using in your work, I’m going to give you.’”

[11:45]

- (67) ʔuʔ x^wúỵ k^wzúsm̩sc e séytknm̩x
 ʔuʔ x^wúỵ=Ø k^wz-ús-m-s-t-s[i]-[e]s e=séytkn-[e]mx
 but PROSP=3SBJ rough-face-CTR.MID-CAUS-TR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG DET=Indigenous-people
 ʔe cuténe us cənk^wúst
 ʔe=cw-[n]-t-Ø-éne=us cənk^wúst
 COMP=do-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG=3SBJV 3PL.INDEP
 “‘But the people are going to give you trouble when I create them.’”

[11:56]

- (68) ʔe q^wáz ux^w ʔé k sklésktm̩nx^w
 ʔe=q^wáz=ux^w ʔé=Ø k=s=kl-éskt-m[i]n-[t]-Ø-[e]x^w
 COMP=sweat=2SG.SBJV COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=separate-hand-RLT-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG
 ʔé k s̩xáʔm̩s we ncéweʔ ʔé
 ʔé=Ø k=s=xáʔ-m=s w=e=ncéweʔ ʔé=Ø
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=ascend-CTR.MID=3POSS to=DET=1SG.INDEP COP=3SBJ
 k s̩ʔesnléms̩ne we sq^wúỵiʔ
 k=s=ʔes-n-lém̩-s-[t]-Ø-[e]ne w=e=s-q^wúỵiʔ
 D/C=NMLZ=STAT-LOC-enter-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG to=DET=NMLZ-cloud
 ʔeʔ x̩ménk
 ʔeʔ=x̩m-énk=Ø
 until=heavy-belly=3SBJ
 “‘When you sweat, you will let it go and it will come up to me, and I will store it in the cloud until it’s heavy.’”

[12:21]

- (69) ʔé k sklékstms ʔé
 ʔé=Ø k=s=kl-ékst-m[in]-[t]-Ø-[e]s ʔé=Ø
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=separate-hand-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG COP=3SBJ
 k spénts w eʔwí ʔé
 k=s=pént=s w=[e]=eʔwí ʔé=Ø
 D/C=NMLZ=return=3POSS to=DET=2SG.INDEP COP=3SBJ
 k sq^wúʔnx^w e tmíx^w
 k=s=q^wúʔ-n-[t]-Ø-[e]x^w e=tmíx^w
 D/C=NMLZ=water-CTR-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG DET=earth

“And he will let it go, and it will return to you, and you will water the earth.’

[12:34]

- (70) ʔe x^wʔít us k stéklc ʔé
 ʔe=x^wʔít=us k=s=tékl=s ʔé=Ø
 COMP=much=3SBJV D/C=NMLZ=rain=3POSS COP=3SBJ
 k sʔescstéx^w ne slíq^w
 k=s=ʔes-cə[h]-s-t-Ø-éx^w n=e=s-íq^w
 D/C=NMLZ=STAT-store-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG at=DET=NMLZ=flesh
 “‘If it rains a lot, you will store it in your flesh.’”

[12:52]

- (71) ʔəkstém xʔé te tmíx^w
 ʔək-s-t-Ø-ém=Ø xʔé t=e=tmíx^w=Ø
 know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG=3SBJ DEM OBL=D/C=earth=3SBJ
 ‘We understand this as the earth.’

[12:58]

- (72) ʔe cǝlt us ʔé k spáǵ^wts xéʔe
 ʔe=cǝlt-t=us ʔé=Ø k=s=páǵ^w-t=s xéʔe
 COMP=cold-IMM=3SBJV COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=freeze-IMM=3POSS DEM
 ʔé k swúx^wts
 ʔé=Ø k=s=wúx^w-t=s
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=snow=3POSS
 “‘If it’s cold, it will freeze and it will snow.’”

[13:14]

- (73) ʔe ʔǝk us k sǵaǵ^wúsc ʔe ʔǝk us
 ʔe=ʔǝk=us k=s=ǵaǵ^wús=s ʔe=ʔǝk=us
 COMP=know=3SBJV D/C=NMLZ=hail=3POSS COMP=know=3SBJV
 k snpáǵ^ws
 k=s=n-páǵ^w=s
 D/C=NMLZ=LOC-freeze=3POSS
 “‘Perhaps it will be hail, perhaps it will be ice.’”

[13:20]

- (74) cǝ e sq^wúyǐ? k x^wúy nlémtns
 c-ʔé=Ø e=s-q^wúyǐ? k=x^wúy=Ø n-lém-tn-s
 EMPH-COP=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-cloud DET=PROSP=3SBJ LOC-enter-INS-3POSS
 e q^wú? ʔel e spúǵ^w
 e=q^wú? ʔel e=s-púǵ^w
 DET=water and DET=NMLZ-fog

until=want-RLT-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG=3SBJV COMP=<INCH>warm-DVL=2SG.SBJV
 “‘They will hold the snow until you want it when you get too warm.’

[14:21]

- (79) cwám kn n eʔsliqʷ ʔelʔu?
 cw-ám=kn n=[e]=eʔ-s-liqʷ ʔelʔu?
 do-CTR.MID=1SG.SBJ at=DET=2SG.POSS-NMLZ-flesh ADD
 te ʔesnkúxʷ
 t=e=ʔes-n-kúxʷ=Ø
 OBL=DET=STAT-LOC-gouge=3SBJ
 “‘I have also created holes in your flesh.’

[14:28]

- (80) néʔe k sxʷúʔs ʔescestéxʷ
 néʔe=Ø k=s=xʷúʔ=s ʔes-cə[h]-s-t-Ø-éxʷ
 DEM=3SBJ DET=NMLZ=PROSP=3POSS STAT-store-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG
 e qʷúʔ
 e=qʷúʔ
 DET=water
 “‘There you will store water.’

[14:33]

- (81) ćé xéʔe k xʷúʔ péluskʷu ʔel sptúkʷ
 c-ʔé=Ø xéʔe k=xʷúʔ=Ø péluskʷu ʔel s-ptákʷ
 EMPH-COP=3SBJ DEM DET=PROSP=3SBJ lake and NMLZ-spring
 “‘Those will be lakes and springs.’

[14:37]

- (82) tuwe sqʷám e xʷúʔ us zíyt e qʷúʔ
 tu=e=s-qʷám=Ø e=xʷúʔ=us źéy-t e=qʷúʔ
 from=DET=NMLZ-mountain=3SBJ DET=PROSP=3SBJV flow-IMM DET=water
 ʔe zʔéxʷ us e swúxʷt
 ʔe=z<ʔ>éxʷ=us e=s-wúxʷt
 COMP=<INCH>melt=3SBJV DET=NMLZ-snow
 “‘From the mountain, the water will run when the snow melts.’

[14:44]

- (83) ćé xéʔe e xʷúʔ qʷuʔúy
 c-ʔé=Ø xéʔe e=xʷúʔ=Ø qʷuʔ-[ʔ]úy
 EMPH-COP=3SBJ DEM DET=PROSP=3SBJ water-RFM
 “‘That will be the river.’

[14:49]

- (84) néʔe ne péluskʷu ʔel e qʷúʔ e xʷúy us cwúw
 néʔe=Ø n=e=péluskʷu ʔel e=qʷúʔ e=xʷúy=us cw~ów
 DEM=3SBJ at=DET=lake and DET=water DET=PROSP=3SBJV do~COS
 e ʔíxʷel te swéwł ʔel sqyéytn ʔel
 e=ʔíxʷel t=e=s-wéwł ʔel s-qyéytn ʔel
 DET=different OBL=DET=NMLZ-fish and NMLZ-salmon and
 e nhén téʔe tk ʔéx nqáyix
 e=nhén⁴ téʔe t=k=ʔéx=Ø n-qáy-[i]yx
 DET=WH DEM OBL=DET=IPFV=3SBJ LOC-swim-AUT
 “‘In the lakes and in the water will grow different trout and salmon and things that swim.’”

[15:05]

- (85) xʷʔít néʔe tk spzúʔ ʔel spzúʔ
 xʷʔít=Ø néʔe t=k=s-pzú<zu>ʔ ʔel s-pzúʔ
 much=3SBJ DEM OBL=DET=NMLZ-animal<DIM> and NMLZ-animal
 e xʷúy ʔescítxʷ néʔe
 e=xʷúy=Ø ʔes=cítxʷ néʔe
 DET=PROSP=3SBJ have=house DEM
 “‘Many birds and animals will also have homes there.’”

[15:14]

- (86) xʷúy qʷəztíyxs e tékm téʔe tk stéʔ
 xʷúy=Ø qʷəz-[n]-t-Ø-íyxs e=tékm téʔe t=k=s-téʔ
 PROSP=3SBJ use-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3PL DET=all DEM OBL=DET=NMLZ-what
 “‘They will use all that is there.’”

[15:20]

- (87) e tékm e qʷúʔ tuwe qʷuʔúy te ʔeskʷíł
 e=tékm e=qʷúʔ tu=e=qʷuʔ-[ʔ]úy t=e=ʔes-kʷíł=Ø
 DET=all DET=water from=DET=water-RFM OBL=DET=STAT-remain=3SBJ
 xʷúy kʷól we xzúm te qʷúʔ
 xʷúy=Ø kʷól w=e=xzúm t=e=qʷúʔ
 PROSP=3SBJ spill to=DET=big OBL=DET=water
 “‘All the water from the rivers that remains will spill into the big water.’”

[15:33]

⁴ In many cases, *nhén* (or *n hén*) may be analyzed as bimorphemic with *n=* being a locative preposition meaning ‘at/in/on’ and *hén* being a *wh*-element; see, for example, sentence (101). This analysis is difficult to motivate in this case since, among other reasons, there is no apparent locative meaning in the translation, so *nhén* in this case is left unsegmented.

- (88) x^wʔit tk ʔéx nqáyix e x^wúỵ ʔéx
 x^wʔit=Ø t=k=ʔéx=Ø n-qáy-[i]yx e=x^wúỵ=Ø [w]ʔéx
 much=3SBJ OBL=DET=IPFV=3SBJ LOC-swim-AUT DET=PROSP=3SBJ be
 ne xzúm te q^wúʔ
 n=e=xzúm t=e=q^wúʔ
 at=DET=big OBL=DET=water
 ‘‘There will be lots of things that swim in the big water.’’

[15:42]

- (89) ʔé scúntm e tmíx^w te k^wúk^wpiʔ
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=cún-[n]-t-Ø-[e]m e=tmíx^w t=e=k^wú<k^w>piʔ
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=tell-CTR-TR-3OBJ-PASS DET=earth OBL=DET=chief<DIM>
 ném e sx^wʔíts e nsúp̣m
 ném=Ø e=s=x^wʔit=s e=n=[s]=súp̣-m
 intense=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=much=3POSS D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=breathe-CTR.MID
 cʔéỵł
 c-ʔéỵł
 EMPH-now
 ‘And the chief told the earth, ‘‘I have breathed a lot today.’’

[15:57]

- (90) ɕlóx^w e sk^wák^wes ʔeł xəksténe
 ɕlóx^w=Ø e=s-k^wák^wes ʔeł xək-s-t-éne=Ø
 hot=3SBJ DET=NMLZ-sun and know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG=3SBJ
 k eʔsq^wáz
 k=eʔ=s=q^wáz
 D/C=2SG.POSS=NMLZ=sweat
 ‘‘The Sun is hot, and I know you’re sweating.’’

[16:03]

- (91) cwúw cʔéỵł e címeł te sq^wúỵiʔ
 cw~áw=Ø c-ʔéỵł e=címeł t=e=s-q^wúỵiʔ
 do~COS=3SBJ EMPH-now DET=first OBL=DET=NMLZ-cloud
 ‘‘Today is the making of the first cloud.’’

[16:11]

- (92) $x^w\acute{u}\acute{y}$ $címe\ell$ $kəntúymn$ $pe\ell$ $e\ sq^w\acute{u}yi?$
 $x^w\acute{u}\acute{y}=\emptyset$ $címe\ell$ $kən-[n]-t-úym-n$ $pe\ell$ $e=s-q^w\acute{u}yi?$
PROSP=3SBJ first help-CTR-TR-2PL.OBJ-1SG.ERG and DET=NMLZ-cloud
 $k\ scwámep$ $tk\ swúx^wt$ $?e\ell$ $npá\acute{\acute{w}}$
 $k=s-cw-ám=mp$ $t=k=s-wúx^wt$ $?e\ell$ $n-pá\acute{\acute{w}}$
D/C=NMLZ=do-CTR.MID=2PL.POSS OBL=DET=NMLZ-snow and LOC-freeze
‘I’ll first help you and Cloud make snow and ice.’

[16:28]

- (93) $?é$ $xé?e$ $e\ x^w\acute{u}\acute{y}$ $q^wəztíyxsne$
 $?é=\emptyset$ $xé?e$ $e=x^w\acute{u}\acute{y}=\emptyset$ $q^wəz-[n]-t-íyxs-[n]-[t]-\emptyset-[e]ne$
COP=3SBJ DEM DET=PROSP=3SBJ use-CTR-TR-3PL-CTR-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG
 $?e\ un$ $cwám$ $te\ má\acute{\acute{x}}etn$
 $?e=[?ex]=un$ $cw-ám$ $t=e=má\acute{\acute{x}}-xn-tn$
COMP=IPFV=1SG.SBJV do-CTR.MID OBL=DET=light-foot-INS
‘‘Those will be what I use when I make the moon.’’

[16:43]

- (94) $?é$ $sx^w\acute{u}yce?s^5$ $né?e$ $cwúw$ $e\ q^w\acute{u}?$
 $?é=\emptyset$ $[e]=s=sx^w\acute{u}yce?s$ $né?e$ $cw\sim\acute{ó}w$ $e=q^w\acute{u}?$
COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=more=3POSS DEM do~COS DET=water
 $tuwe\ súps$ $e\ k^wúk^wpi?$ $?e\ell$ $e\ sq^w\acute{á}zs$
 $tu=e=[s]-súp-s$ $e=k^wúk^w<k^w>pi?$ $?e\ell$ $e=s-q^w\acute{á}z-s$
from=DET=NMLZ-breathe-3POSS DET=chief<DIM> and DET=NMLZ-sweat-3POSS
 $e\ tmíx^w$
 $e=tmíx^w$
DET=earth
‘Water was created again from the breath of the chief and the sweat of the earth.’

[17:05]

- (95) $x^w?ít$ $xé?e$ $tk\ q^w\acute{u}?$ $e\ x\ xá\acute{\acute{m}}$
 $x^w?ít=\emptyset$ $xé?e$ $t=k=q^w\acute{u}?$ $e=[?e]x=xá\acute{\acute{m}}-m=\emptyset$
much=3SBJ DEM OBL=DET=water DET=IPFV=ascend-CTR.MID=3SBJ
 $we\ sq^w\acute{u}yi?$
 $w=e=s-q^w\acute{u}yi?$
to=DET=NMLZ-cloud
‘That was a lot of water that went up to the clouds.’

[17:20]

⁵ In the recording, Bev initially says $sx^w\acute{u}yce?$ (‘more / again’) before switching to $címe\ell$ (‘first’) here. This is because we mistakenly used the wrong version of the sentence when rerecording the story, so we have corrected it here.

- (96) ʔé ṣẹ́les ɬ kʷúkʷpiʔ ʔé
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=çéł-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s ɬ=kʷú<kʷ>piʔ ʔé=Ø
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=chill-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET.REM=chief<DIM> COP=3SBJ
 spáŋʷts
 [e]=s=páŋʷ-t=s
 D/C=NMLZ=freeze-IMM=3POSS
 ‘And the chief cooled it, and it froze.’

[17:26]

- (97) klékstms e sqʷúyiʔ ne sqʷám
 kl-ékst-m[in]-[t]-Ø-[e]s=Ø e=s-qʷúyiʔ n=e=s-qʷám
 separate-hand-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DET=NMLZ=cloud at=DET=NMLZ=mountain
 ʔé swúxʷts
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=wúxʷt=s
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=snow=3POSS
 ‘The cloud let it go on the mountains, and it was snow.’

[17:33]

- (98) kʷmíʔmeʔ tu xʷéʔe e kʷís ne tmíxʷ ʔé
 kʷm~íʔmeʔ=Ø tu=xʷéʔe e=kʷís=Ø n=e=tmíxʷ ʔé=Ø
 little~PRP=3SBJ from=DEM DET=fall=3SBJ at=DET=earth COP=3SBJ
 scímełs néʔe npáŋʷ
 [e]=s=címeł=s néʔe n-páŋʷ
 D/C=NMLZ=first=3POSS DEM LOC-freeze
 ‘A little bit of it fell on the earth and it was the first ice.’

[17:44]

- (99) kʷném tuwe swúxʷt ʔeł e npáŋʷ ɬ kʷúkʷpiʔ
 kʷné-m=Ø tu=e=s-wúxʷt ʔeł e=n-páŋʷ ɬ=kʷú<kʷ>piʔ
 take-CTR.MID=3SBJ from=DET=NMLZ=snow and DET=LOC-freeze DET.REM=chief<DIM>
 ʔé sméłes we sxénx ʔeł tmíxʷ
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=méł-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s w=e=s-xénx ʔeł tmíxʷ
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=mix-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG to=DET=NMLZ=rock and earth
 ʔeł kʷmíʔmeʔ néʔe tk cíł
 ʔeł kʷm~íʔmeʔ néʔe t=k=cíł
 and little~PRP DEM OBL=DET=pitch
 ‘The chief took from the snow and the ice, and he mixed it with rocks and dirt and a small amount of pitch.’

[17:55]

- (100) $\eta\acute{e}$ $s\acute{q}\acute{o}m\chi^w\acute{e}t\acute{e}s$ $n\acute{e}\eta\acute{e}$ $\chi z\acute{u}m$ $x\acute{e}\eta\acute{e}$
 $\eta\acute{e}=\emptyset$ $[e]=s=\acute{q}\acute{o}m\chi^w-n-t-\emptyset-\acute{e}s$ $n\acute{e}\eta\acute{e}$ $\chi z\acute{u}m=\emptyset$ $x\acute{e}\eta\acute{e}$
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=spherical-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DEM big=3SBJ DEM
 tk wé $\acute{\lambda}e$ tékm tk $\eta\acute{e}sp\acute{í}q$
 t=k=wé $\acute{\lambda}e$ tékm t=k= $\eta\acute{e}s-t-p\acute{í}q$
 OBL=DET=almost all OBL=DET=STAT-QLT-white
 ‘He mixed it there. It was big and almost all white.’

[18:13]

- (101) ʔé n hén téʔe e sxtáq ne ʔéycqəʔs
 ʔé=Ø n=hén téʔe e=s-xtáq n=e=ʔéycqəʔ-s
 COP=3SBJ at=WH DEM DET=NMLZ-hole at=DET=outside-3POSS
 ‘Here and there, there were holes on the outside.’

[18:19]

- (102) tetéʔe k spúts k scǎlts ʔel
 te=Ø=téʔe k=s=pút=s k=s=cǎl-t=s ʔel
 NEG=3SBJ=NEG D/C=NMLZ=complete=3POSS D/C=NMLZ=cold-IMM=3POSS and
 tetéʔe k sqəmǰémts
 te=Ø=téʔe k=s=qəm~qém-t=s
 NEG=3SBJ=NEG D/C=NMLZ=AUG~warm-IMM=3POSS
 ‘It wasn’t completely cold or completely warm.’

[18:29]

- (103) ʔé sq^wintés e scúws
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=q^win-[n]-t-Ø-és e=s-cáw-s
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=speak-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=NMLZ-do-3POSS
 ‘And he spoke to Moon.’

[18:32]

- (104) téye máʕxetn, smúlec k^w eʔwí e q^wámq^wəm-t
téye máʕ-xn-tn s-múlec=k^w eʔwí=∅ e=q^wámq^wəm-t
hey light-foot-INS NMLZ-woman=2SG.SBJ 2SG.INDEP=3SBJ DET=beautiful-IMM
te nscúw
t=e=n-s-cáw
OBL=DET=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-do
‘“Hey moon, you are a woman, you are my beautiful creation.”’

[18:41]

- (105) x^wúy̌ kəntéx^w ɬ sk^wák^wes nɬ sáíqt
x^wúy̌=Ø kən-[n]-t-Ø-éx^w ɬ=s-k^wák^wes n=ɬ=s-áíqt
PROSP=3SBJ help-CTR-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG DET.REM=NMLZ-sun at=DET.REM=NMLZ-sky
‘‘You will help Sun in the sky.’

[18:52]

- (106) x^wúy̌ ñcís te scék^w, ʔé
x^wúy̌=Ø ñ-[n]-t-sí-[e]s t=e=s-cék^w ʔé=Ø
PROSP=3SBJ give-CTR-TR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG OBL=DET=NMLZ-illuminate COP=3SBJ
k swíkms e tékm ʔéx wméx
k=s=wík-m=s e=tékm ʔéx=Ø wméx
D/C=NMLZ=see-CTR.MID=3POSS DET=all IPFV=3SBJ live
ʔe sítist us
ʔe=sítist=us
COMP=night=3SBJV
‘‘He will give you light and all that lives in the night will be able to see.’

[19:07]

- (107) x^wúy̌ q^wəztíyec e séytknmx
x^wúy̌=Ø q^wəz-[n]-t-íy[xs]-n-t-s[i]-[e]s e=séytkn-[e]mx
PROSP=3SBJ use-CTR-TR-3PL-CTR-TR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG DET=Indigenous-people
ʔe ɣzénm us
ʔe=ɣzén-m=us
COMP=count-CTR.MID=3SBJV
‘People will use you when they count.’

[19:12]

- (108) ʔé neʔ k sɣəkstíyxs ʔe cíy us t hén
ʔé=Ø=neʔ k=s=ɣək-s-t-Ø-íyxs ʔe=cíy=us t=hén
COP=3SBJ=DEM D/C=NMLZ=know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3PL COMP=like=3SBJV OBL=WH
tk máɣxetn.
t=k=máɣ-xn-tn
OBL=DET=light-foot-INS
‘They will know what month it is.’

[19:23]

- (109) x^wúỵ̌ kəntéx^w e xzúm te q^wú?
 x^wúỵ̌=Ø kən-[n]-t-Ø-éx^w e=xzúm t=e=q^wú?
 PROSP=3SBJ help-CTR-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG DET=big OBL=DET=water
 ʔe síxix us tuwe tmíx^w. séye néʔe ne sílq̣ṭ
 ʔe=síx-[i]yx=us tu=e=tmíx^w séye=Ø néʔe n=e=sílq̣ṭ
 COMP=move-AUT=3SBJV from=DET=earth two=3SBJ DEM at=DET=day
 ʔe x^wúỵ̌ ux^w xíym téʔe
 ʔe=x^wúỵ̌=ux^w xíy-m téʔe
 COMP=PROSP=2SG.SBJV do.so-CTR.MID DEM
 ‘‘You will help the big water when it leaves the land. You will do this two times per day.’

[19:39]

- (110) x^wúỵ̌ xéʔe cʔékes e tmíx^w
 x^wúỵ̌=Ø xéʔe c<ʔ>ék-n-[t]-Ø-[e]s e=tmíx^w
 PROSP=3SBJ DEM <INCH>cool-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=earth
 ‘This will also cool the earth.’

[19:44]

- (111) x^wúỵ̌ kəntéx^w e spzúzu? ʔel e tékm
 x^wúỵ̌=Ø kən-[n]-t-Ø-éx^w e=s-pzú<zu>? ʔel e=tékm
 PROSP=3SBJ help-CTR-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG DET=NMLZ-animal<DIM> and DET=all
 e x ʔéx ne skəmcíns e xzúm
 e=[ʔe]x=[w]ʔéx=Ø n=e=s-kəm-cín-s e=xzúm
 DET=IPFV=be=3SBJ at=DET=NMLZ-body-mouth-3POSS DET=big
 te q^wú? ʔe xíym ux^w tʔé
 t=e=q^wú? ʔe=xíy-m=ux^w tʔé
 OBL=DET=water COMP=do.so-CTR.MID=2SG.SBJV DEM
 ‘‘You will help the birds and all that live on the edge of the big water if you do this.’

[19:59]

- (112) x^wúỵ̌ce? tk eʔscúw x^wúỵ̌ kəntéx^w
 x^wúỵ̌ce?=Ø t=k=eʔ-s-cáw x^wúỵ̌=Ø kən-[n]-t-Ø-éx^w
 more=3SBJ OBL=DET=2SG.POSS-NMLZ-do PROSP=3SBJ help-CTR-TR-3OBJ-2SG.ERG
 e spzúzu? ʔe lweýst us ʔel ʔe mímx us
 e=s-pzú<zu>? ʔe=lweýst=us ʔel ʔe=mímx=us
 DET=NMLZ-animal<DIM> COMP=autumn=3SBJV and COMP=move=3SBJV
 we tmíx^w
 w=e=tmíx^w
 to=DET=earth
 ‘‘More of your work is that you will help the birds in the fall when they move across the earth.’

[20:10]

- (113) x^wúỵ kp kəntwáx^w peł e tmíx^w ʔeł e sk^wák^wes
 x^wúỵ=kp kən-[n]-t-wáx^w peł e=tmíx^w ʔeł e=s-k^wák^wes
 PROSP=2PL.SBJ help-CTR-TR-RECP and DET=earth and DET=NMLZ-sun
 “‘You and the earth and the sun will help each other.’”

[20:17]

- (114) ʔé sqamíns ł máʃxetn
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=qamín-[n]-[t]-Ø-[e]s ł=máʃ-xn-tn
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=throw-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET.REM=light-foot-INS
 we s^łíqt
 w=e=s-łíqt
 to=DET=NMLZ-sky
 ‘And he threw the moon into the sky.’

[20:23]

- (115) ʔé scímels tu x^wéʔe zíyt e tékm e q^wúʔ
 ʔé=Ø [e]=s=címel=s tu=xéʔe záy-t e=tékm e=q^wúʔ
 COP=3SBJ D/C=NMLZ=first=3POSS from=DEM flow-IMM DET=all DET=water
 ne tmíx^w
 n=e=tmíx^w
 at=DET=earth
 ‘And from that time, all the water began to flow on the earth.’

[20:31]

- (116) k^wéns ł xeʔłk^wúk^wpiʔ
 k^wén-[n]-[t]-Ø-[e]s=Ø ł=xeʔ-ł-k^wúk^w<k^w>piʔ
 take-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ DET.REM=above-CONN-chief<DIM>
 ł s^łyáʔp tuł xzúm te q^wúʔ ʔé
 ł=s-łyá-əp tu=łxzúm t=e=q^wúʔ ʔé=Ø
 DET.REM=NMLZ-burn-INCH from=DET.REM=big OBL=DET=water COP=3SBJ
 sʔescestés we s^łíqt
 [e]=s=ʔes-cə[h]-s-t-Ø-és w=e=s-łíqt
 D/C=NMLZ=STAT-store-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-3ERG to=DET=NMLZ-sky
 ‘The chief took some of the fire from the big water and stored it in the sky.’

[20:45]

- (117) ċé xéʔe e címel te nmaʃmáʃm
 c-ʔé=Ø xéʔe e=címel=Ø t=e=n-maʃ~máʃ-m
 EMPH-COP=3SBJ DEM DET=first=3SBJ OBL=DET=LOC-AUG~light-CTR.MID
 ‘That was the first lightning.’

[20:53]

- (122) ʔé néʔe k syés e sx^wáwk^ws e swét
 ʔé=Ø néʔe k=s=yó[h]=s e=s-x^wáwk^w-s e=s-wét
 COP=3SBJ DEM D/C=NMLZ=good=3POSS DET=NMLZ-heart-3POSS DET=NMLZ-who
 k x wíkc
 k=[ʔe]x=wík-[n]-t-s[i]-[e]s=Ø
 DET=IPFV=see-CTR-TR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG=3SBJ
 ‘Whoever looks at you will feel happy.’

[21:48]

- (123) ʔe q^wəztíyxs us e ʔéx x^wəsx^wesít ne sítist
 ʔe=q^wəz-[n]-t-Ø-íyxs=us e=ʔéx=Ø x^wəsx^wesít n=e=sítist
 COMP=use-CTR-TR-3OBJ-3PL=3SBJV DET=IPFV=3SBJ AUG~walk at=DET=night
 ‘Those that walk in the night will use you.’

[22:05]

- (124) k[̣]mél e sʔíx^wlep x^wúy kp kəkéw, tetéʔe
 k[̣]mél e=s-ʔíx^wl-mp x^wúy=kp kə~kéw te=Ø=téʔe
 but DET=NMLZ-rest-2PL.POSS PROSP=2PL.SBJ IRED~far NEG=3SBJ=NEG
 k scímels x^wúy wíkc teʔ
 k=s=címel=s x^wúy wík-[n]-t-s[i]-[e]s teʔ
 D/C=NMLZ=first=3POSS PROSP see-CTR-TR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG DEM
 k swét
 k=s-wét
 DET=NMLZ-who
 ‘However, the rest of you will be far away, and at first no one will see you.’

[22:16]

- (125) cúk^w xéʔe e scúws néʔe tk sílq̣t
 cúk^w=Ø xéʔe e=s-ców-s néʔe t=k=sílq̣t
 finish=3SBJ DEM DET=NMLZ-do-3POSS DEM OBL=DET=day
 te sx^wóx^wstms māstenncút
 t=e=s=x^wóx^wst-m[in]-[t]-Ø-[e]s māsten-n-t-sút=Ø
 OBL=D/C=NMLZ=want-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG try-CTR-TR-REFL=3SBJ
 k scwáms xʔé tk scúws
 k=s=cw-ám=s xʔé t=k=s-ców-s
 D/C=NMLZ=do-CTR.MID=3POSS DEM OBL=DET=NMLZ-do-3POSS
 ‘That was all he made on that day because he wanted what he created to test themselves out.’

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