

Ni nsésq'wez'a tsemsás i sqáwtsa 'My little sister burnt the potatoes'¹

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Original

Nilh ts7a huz' nsqwéqwel' i kel7át wa7 tsicw q'weláw'em áku7 (ti) talh7álqwa. Tákem swat wa7 tsicw tqilh lki ucwalmícwa láku7 Lil'wat7úla. Nilh t'u7 s7i7wa7lhkhalh, lánlhkan k'a wa7 *fifteen, sixteen*. Lanlhkan hém' t'u7 tsukw kwen skul.

Nilh t'u7 stsicws ti nskícez7a múta7 takemlhkálh k'a t'u7 tsicw. Nilh t'u7 sat wa7 q'weláw'em. Nilh t'u7 stsúntas ti nskícez7a "Nas malh kukw!" "O", kan tsun "*okay*." Nilh t'u7 stsut.s ni nsésq'wez'a, "Náskan k(lh) t'it núk'w7an, nuk'w7anlhkán klh *kLaura*" wa7 tsut. Nilh t'u7 st'ákkalh. Tsícwllhkalh, wá7lhkan máysen ti *hamburgerha* huz' sq'á7lhkhalh. Nilh t'u7 stsut.s, "Húz'lhkan k'íxcál kw sqawts." "O, áma," kan tsun. Nilh t'u7 swa7s máysenas, wá7lhkan máysen i *hamburgerha*, huz' snúk'wa7s i sqáwtsa.

Nilh t'u7 wá7lhkhalh láti7. Nilh tu7 stsúntas, "S7áts'xskacw áozas kwas tsem." Pá...kwa tú7a sáy'sez'. Ao kws s7áts'xsas. Án'was k'a iz' i *stóva* wa7 qwezeném láti7 álts'q7a lhat kukw. Álts'qa7sa lki wa7 tsíticwllhkalh. Nilh t'u7 slán wa7 tsukw ti ntsúw7a skukw. Nilh t'u7 slhwálenan. Tsícwkan, p'án'tkan múta7. Lan wa7 tsem ti skúkwsa. "O", kan tsun, "huz' aylh qlilmin'túmulem." Nilh t'u7s "Húz'lhkan, húz'lhkan légwen" wa7 tsut. Pákwa tú7a legwnás.

Nilh t'u7 st'iqs ti *nsisterha*, ti *older sisterha*. Nilh t'u7 swá7lhkhalh láti7 qwal'él't. Kan tsun, "Huz' aylh qlilmin'túmulem. Tsemsás ti sqáwtsa nilh t'u7 lep'nás." Nilh t'u7 ses tsúntas ti *nsister(a)*: "S7ats'xskacw ka hém' tu7 séna7, snúwa ti wa7 kesnánas *Máma*." "O," kan tsun, "Snilh t'u7 ti xat'min'táliha kwas k'íxcál, nilh tu7 snilh ts kwa s7ats'xstáli." "Aoz áti7 kwas ts'íla," wa7 tsut. "Snúwa ka hém' t'u7 kw s7ats'xstáli." "Núwa ti wa7 kéla7 huz' kukw." Nilh t'u7 aylh spáoytkalh, páoytkalh láti7. Tsekwentwál'lhkhalh i maqinlhkálha. K'wínas k'a láti7 ménet kwat xílem áti7. Wa7 aylh espáqw ti *nsisterha*.

T'iq aylh ti nskícez7a, t'iqwit aylh i núkwa, tákemwit q'a7. Nilh t'u7 aylh sqwál'enan nskícez7a t.sxilemlhkálha. Kan tsun, "Páoytkalh aylh múta7 ti *nsisterha*. Legwnás, legwnás ti sqáwtsa, lep'nás tu7. Mes t'u7 s7ents ti qlilmin'asa ti nskícez7a, aoz kws nilh ti *nlittle sisterha*. Nilh t'u7 aylh stsukws, ti tsúkwas t'u7 i *hamburgerha* sq'á7lhkhalh.

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English Translation

This story I am going to tell you is about when we first went picking strawberries down south in the United States. Almost everybody went from Lil'wat7úl [Mount Currie]. We went along, too. I was about fifteen, sixteen then. I was already finished with school.

Almost all of us went. We went there with my mother. So there we were picking berries. My mother said, "You better go and cook." "Oh" I said, "okay." Then my little sister said "I'll go too; I'll help Laura too", she said. So then we went. So we went, and I was fixing the hamburgers we were going to eat. Then she said "I am going to fry some potatoes." "Oh, that's good," I said to her. Then she went ahead and fixed the potatoes while I fixed the hamburgers that were going with the potatoes.

So we were there. Then she said "Watch out! Don't let them burn." Off she went to play, so she wasn't paying attention. We were using two separate stoves that were outside to cook. (They were) outside our cabin. Then my cooking was all done. So I left it there. Then I came back again. Her cooking was already burned. "Oh", I said, "We are going to get bawled out." Then she said "I am going, I am going to hide them." So off she went to hide them.

Then my sister, my older sister came. Then we were talking, I said "We're going to get bawled out now. She burned the potatoes and then she buried them." My sister said: "YOU should have been watching it, Mum sent YOU." "Oh" I said: "She is the one who wanted to fry, she should have been the one watching it." "No, it's not like that", she said. "YOU should have been watching it." "YOU were the first one that was going to cook." Then we had a fight. We were fighting. We were pulling each other's hair. I don't know how many minutes we did that. My sister was watching us.

Then my mother came, and all the rest came to eat. So then I told my mother what we had done. I said, "We got in a fight, my sister and I. She hid the potatoes, and she went to bury them." But I was the one that got bawled out by my mother, not my little sister. So then all we ate were the hamburgers.

Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Nilh ts7a huz' n=sqwé•qw-el'
 FOC DEMON going.to 1SG.POSS=tell•CRED•
- i=kel7=át wa7 tsicw
 when.PAST=first=1PL.CONJ IMPF get.there
- q'weláw'-em áku7 (ti=)talh7-álqw=a.
 pick.berries-MID DEIC (DET=)other-side=EXIS
 'This story I am going to tell you is about when we first went picking
 berries down south in the United States.'
- (2) Tákem swat wa7 tsicw tqilh
 all who IMPF get.there almost
- l=ki=ucwalmícw=a láku7 Lil'wat7úl=a.
 REP=DET.PL=person=EXIS DEIC Mount.Currie=EXIS
 'Almost everybody went from Lil'wat7úl [Mount Currie].'
- (3) Nilh=t'u7 s=7i7wa7=lhkalh, lán=lhkan=k'a
 FOC=just NOM=accompany=1PL.POSS already=1SG=APPAR
- wa7 *fifteen, sixteen.*
 IMPF fifteen sixteen
 'We went along, too. I was about fifteen, sixteen then.'
- (4) Lan=lhkan=hém'=t'u7 tsukw kw=en=skul.
 already=1SG.SUBJ=but=just finish DET=1SG.POSS=school
 'I was already finished with school.'
- (5) Nilh=t'u7 s=tsicw=s
 FOC=just NOM=get.there=3POSS
- ti=n-skícez7=a múta7 takem=lhkálh=k'a=t'u7
 DET=1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS and all=1PL.SUBJ=APPAR=just
- tsicw.
 get.there
 'We went there with my mother, almost all of us went.'
- (6) Nilh=t'u7 s=at wa7 q'weláw'-em.
 FOC=just NOM=1PL.CONJ IMPF pick.berries-MID
 'So there we were picking berries.'

- (7) Nílh=t'u7 tsún-ts-as
 FOC=just say(DIR)-1 SG.OBJ-3 ERG
- ti=n-skícez7=a “Nás=malh kukw!”
 DET=1 SG.POSS-mother=EXIS go=ADHORT cook
 ‘My mother said “You better go and cook.!”’
- (8) “O”, kan tsun “okay.”
 oh 1 SG.SUBJ say(DIR) okay
 ‘“Oh” I said, “okay.”’
- (9) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsut.=s
 FOC=just NOM=say=3 POSS
- ti=n-sésq'wez'=a
 DET=1 SG.POSS-younger.sibling=EXIS
- “Nás=kan=k(lh) t'it núk'w7-an,
 go=1 SG.SUBJ=FUT also help-DIR
- nuk'w7-an=lhkán=klh k=Laura” wa7 tsut
 help-DIR-1 SG.SUBJ=FUT DET=Laura IMPF say
 ‘Then my little sister said “I’ll go, too; I’ll help Laura too”, she said.’
- (10) Nílh=t'u7 s=t'ák=kalh.
 FOC=just NOM=go.along=1 PL.POSS
 ‘So then we went.
- (11) Tsícw=lhkalh, wá7=lhkan máys-en
 get.there=1 PL.SUBJ IMPF=1 SG.SUBJ make-DIR
- ti=hamburger=ha huz’ s=q'á7=lhkalh.
 DET=hamburger=EXIS going.to NOM=eat=1 PL.POSS
 ‘So we went, and I was fixing the hamburgers we were going to eat.’
- (12) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsut.=s “Húz’=lhkan
 FOC= just NOM=say=3 POSS going.to=1 SG.SUBJ
- k'ix-cal kw=sqawts.”
 cook=ACT DET=potato
 ‘Then she said “I am going to fry some potatoes.”’
- (13) “O, áma,” kan tsun.
 oh good 1 SG.SUBJ say
 ‘“Oh, that’s good,” I said to her.’

ti=n-tsúw7=a s-kukw.
 DET=1SG.POSS-own=EXIS NOM-cook
 ‘Then my cooking was all done.’

(22) Nílh=t’u7 s=lhwál-en=an.
 FOC=just NOM=leave-DIR=1SG.CONJ
 ‘So I left it there.’

(23) Tsícw=kan, p’án’t=kan múta7.
 get.there=1SG.SUBJ return=1SG.SUBJ again
 ‘Then I came back again.’

(24) Lan wa7 tsem ti=s-kúkw-s=a.
 already IMPF burn DET=NOM=cook=3POSS=EXIS
 ‘Her cooking was already burned.’

(25) “O”, kan tsun “Huz’ aylh
 oh 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) going.to then

qlil-min’-túmul-em.”

get.angry-RED-1PL.OBJ-PASS

“‘Oh”, I said, “we are going to get bawled out.” ’

(26) Nílh=t’u7 “S=húz’=lhkan, húz’=lhkan
 FOC=just NOM=going.to=1SG.SUBJ going.to=1SG.SUBJ

légw-en” wa7 tsut.
 hide-DIR IMPF say

‘Then she said “I am going, I am going to hide them.” ’

(27) Pákw-a=tú7=a legw-n-ás.
 set.off-CIRC=then=A hide-DIR-3ERG
 ‘So off she went to hide them.’

(28) Nílh=t’u7 s=t’iq=s ti=n-sister=ha,
 FOC=just NOM=arrive=3POSS DET=1SG.POSS-sister=EXIS

ti=*older sister*=ha.

DET=older.sister=EXIS

‘Then my sister, my older sister came.’

(29) Nílh=t’u7 s=wá7=lhkalh láti7 qwal’•él’t.
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=1PL DEIC talk•CRED•
 ‘Then we were talking.’

- (30) Kan tsun, “Huz’ aylh
 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) going.to then
- qlil-min’-túmul-em.
 get.angry-RED-1PL.OBJ-PASS
 ‘I said “We’re going to get bawled out now.’
- (31) Tsem-s-ás ti=sqáwts=a nilh=t’u7 lep’-n-ás.”
 burn-CAUS-3ERG DET=potato=EXIS FOC=just bury-DIR-3ERG
 ‘She burned the potatoes and then she buried them.’
- (32) Nilh=t’u7 s=e=s tsún-ts-as
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
- ti n-sister(=a)²:
 DET=1SG.POSS=sister(=EXIS)
- “S-7áts’x-s=kacw=ka=hem’=tu7 séna7,
 STAT-see-CAUS=2SG.SUBJ =DEON=but=then COUNTER
- snúwa ti=wa7 kesn-án-as *Mama.*”
 2SG.INDEP DET=IMPF send-DIR-3ERG Mama
 ‘My sister said: “YOU should have been watching it, Mum sent YOU.”’
- (33) “O” kan tsun “Snilh=t’u7
 oh 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) 3INDEP=just
- ti=xat’-min’-táli=ha kw=a=s k’ix-cal, nilh=tu7
 DET=want-RED-TOP=EXIS DET=IMPF=3POSS fry-ACT FOC=then
- snilh=ts kw=a s-7ats’x-s-táli.”
 3INDEP=3POSS DET=IMPF STAT-see-CAUS-TOP
 ““Oh” I said: “She is the one who wanted to fry, she should have been the one watching it.”’
- (34) “Aoz áti7 kw=a=s ts’íla” wa7 tsut.
 NEG DEIC DET=IMPF=3POSS like IMPF say
 “No, it’s not like that”, she said.
- (35) “Snúwa=ká=hem’=t’u7 kw=s-7ats’x-s-táli.”
 2SG.INDEP=DEON=but=JUST DET=STAT-see-CAUS-TOP
 ““YOU should have been watching it.”’

² The consultant actually said *nsisters*. This appears to be a doubling of possessive morphology and I propose that this was probably a slip of the tongue.

- (36) “Núwa ti=wa7 kéla7 huz’ kukw.”
 2SG.INDEP DET=IMPF first going.to cook
 ‘“YOU were the first one that was going to cook.”’
- (37) Nílh=t’u7 s=páoyt=kalh, páoyt=kalh láti7.
 FOC=just NOM=fight=1PL.POSS fight=1PL.SUBJ DEIC
 ‘Then we had a fight. We were fighting.’
- (38) Tsekw-en-twál’=lhkalh i=maqin=lhkálh=a.
 pull-DIR-RECIP=1PL.SUBJ DET.PL=hair=1PL.POSS=EXIS
 ‘We were pulling each other’s hair.’
- (39) K’wín=as=k’a láti7 ménet kw=at
 how.many=3CONJ=EPIS DEIC minute DET=(IMPF)=1PL.CONJ
 xíl-em áti7.
 do-MID DEIC
 ‘I don’t know how many minutes we did that.’
- (40) Wa7 aylh es-páqw ti=n-sister=ha.
 IMPF then STAT-look DET=1SG.POSS-sister=EXIS
 ‘My sister was watching (us).’
- (41) T’iq aylh ti=n-skícez7=a, t’iq=wit
 arrive then DET=1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS arrive=3PL
 aylh i=núkwa=a, tákem=wit q’a7.
 then DET.PL=other=EXIS all=3PL eat
 ‘Then my mother came, and all the rest came to eat.’
- (42) Nílh=t’u7 aylh s=qwál’-en=an
 FOC=just then NOM=tell-DIR=1SG.CONJ
 n-skícez7=a t.=s=xil-em=lhkálh=a.
 1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS DET=NOM=do-MID=1PL.POSS=EXIS
 ‘So then I told my mother what we did.’
- (43) Kan tsun, “Páoyt=kalh aylh múta7
 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) fight=1PL.SUBJ then and
 i=n-sister=ha.”
 DET.PL=1SG.POSS-sister=EXIS
 ‘I said, “We got in a fight, my sister and I.”’

- (44) “Legw-n-ás, legw-n-ás ti=sqáwts=a,
hide-DIR-3ERG hide-DIR-3ERG DET=potato=EXIS

lep'-n-ás=tu7.”

bury-DIR-3ERG=then

“‘She hid the potatoes, and she went to bury them.’”

- (45) Més=t'u7 s7ents ti=qílil-min'-ás=a
but=just 1 SG.INDEP angry-red-3ERG=EXIS

ti=n-skícez7=a,

DET=1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS

aoz

NEG

kw=s=nilh

DET=NOM=FOC

ti=n-*little sister*=ha.

DET=1SG.POSS-little.sister=EXIS

‘I was the one that got bawled out by my mother, not my little sister.’

- (46) Nílh=t'u7 aylh s=tsukw=s,
FOC=just then NOM=finish=3POSS

ti=tsukw=ás=t'u7

i=*hamburger*=ha

DET=finish=3CONJ=just DET.PL=hamburger=EXIS

s-q'á7-lhkalh.

NOM-eat-1PL.POSS

‘So then all we ate were the hamburgers.’

Comments- Observations

A general observation was Laura's desire to be understood by her listener. It seems that she needed the interaction with her listener while narrating the story. Laura avoided using passive and complex embedded clauses. In addition, she tended to emphasize important parts by stressing/focusing them.

I also remark that with some words like "*hamburger*" or "*sqawts*" 'potato' Laura sometimes uses the singular form for the determiner, while other times she uses the plural form. In both cases the intended meaning is the one given by the plural form. Furthermore, the consultant alternates between the native term and the English borrowing for the word "sister."

Moreover, the consultant makes use of the independent pronouns (accompanied with the appropriate rising intonation), as well as the topic marker "-tali" for focus purposes.

A final observation is a repetitive pattern concerning verbs. Specifically, several verbs throughout the story are repeated within the same sentence (either with the exact same form or the same semantic meaning). Below is a selected list of the relevant verbs:

(9)	núk'w7an	nuk'w7ánlhkan
(14)	smáysenas	máysen
(26)	shúz'lhkan	húz'lhkan
(37)	spáoytkalh	páoytkalh
(44)	legwnás	legwnás
(46)	stsukws	tsúkwas

Line15 is the only case where the repetition might refer to the same action performed by two different people. After listening to the sequences very carefully, I conclude that the repetition is not an outcome of the consultant's need of time to think of the next word, or remaining of the sentence. Two possibilities are available: (a) the repetition was intended to stress the action the verb expressed or (b) it was an attempt to intensify the duration of the action. However, it is not clear which of the two have been employed by the consultant during this story telling.

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