I szaytenlhkálha láku7 *Agassiz* i tsúkwas kwat háop<u>s</u>am
What we did in Agassiz after we finished picking hops

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Original

Iy, wa7 qweqwel'mín tsáta xilem lhlánas wa7 tsukw kwat háop<u>s</u>am láku7 *Agassiz*. Áku7 *Agassiz,* tákem stam' wa7 száytenlhkalh láti7 – wá7 i wa7 tans, wá7 i wa7 paoyt, wá7 i wa7 q'ílhil, takem t'u7 stam' száytenlhkalh.

Pútat wa7 twiw't, nilh t'u7 stsúntsas ni núkwa:

"Cuys áts'xenem, cuys páqwenstum i wa7 páoytwit." Tsut: **"**Cuz' ku7 paoyt k Tsims, Tsímsa, páoyt.sas k *Joe Alec*."

Nilh t'u7 st'ákkalh paqw, ay t'u7 swat láti7 ku wá7, tsukw t'u7 snímulh twiw't, k'wink'wenlhkálh t'u7 k'a, páqwenstum. Tákem kwas tsúnem ti wa7 cman's sTsímsa, xát'min'em t'u7 kwas t'cum. Nilh aylh stsukws páoyti, nilh stc'ums ti7, *Joe Alec*. Nilh t'u7 st'iqs tqak7antúmulhas, tsuntumúlhas:

"Muzmit.stumckal'áp t'u7 séna7, t'u7 ay t'u7 kwens kat'cúmsa k Tsims, Tsímsa", tsuntumúlhas. Ts'a7cúskalh t'u7 aylh séna7, wis t'u7 tqák7anem ti sqáycwa.

O, qwamqwmetkálh t'u7! Pákwkalha láta7 aylh múta7, tánskalh aylh lhas gap, tákem t'u7 stam' száytenlhkalh, qwámqwmet t'u7.

Nílhkalh ni spála7sa pináni7, nsnúk'w7a, stéxwa snúk'wa7, wa7 ti wa7 *boyfriend*s, nilh t'u7, nilhts ti núkwa qaycw, n*boyfriend*, káti7 k'wínas máqa7 kws pzántanemwit, nilh t'u7 sas tsut:

"Cúz'lhkalh ka t'iq kwántsim, lhcúz'as ku tans".

Nilh s7úxwal'lhkalh múta7 nskícez7a, tsícwkalh q'a7, k'ál'em… k'ál'emlhkalh aylh múta7 zam' ti nsnúk'w7a wa7 láti7, x7ílhkalha lhas wá7. Wá…7lhkalh k'ál'em, ay t'u7 kwas t'íqwit i cúz'a nastumúlitas tans.

"O", wa7 tsut, "Cuys malh, púnem kelh káku7 ku *partner*lhkalh", wa7 tsut. Pákwkalh áta7 múta7 tans. Wa7 tsut nskícez7a:

"Wá7lhkal'ap kánem?"

"O, náskalh ku tans", kan tsut.

"O", wa7 tsut.

Pákwkalha múta7 nsnúk'w7a, tsícwkalh, wá...7lhkalh káti7 tcusmin'tánemwit i cúz'a séna7 nastumúlhas, ay t'u7 kws wá7wit. Wá7wit káti7 i núkwa sqaycw, nilh t'u7 stsicws kwántanemwit, pákwkalha tans.

Wá7lhkalh t'u7 aylh tans, lan aylh t'iq i cúz'a tsicwstumúlhas, tsícwwit múta7 q'a7, piktsasóhwit múta7 i s7ícwlha yeqyéy'qtsa7 tsicwstánemwit, tsicwstwítas. Wá7wit aylh cuz' tanstúmulhas, wá7lhkalh aylh x7anentánemwit, aoz kws xát'min'em kws tanstánemwit lánsa…*we got stood up, it was so funny!*

English translation

I'm going to tell a story about what we used to do when we were finished picking hops in Agassiz. In Agassiz, we'd do all kind of things. Some people would dance, some would box, some would run races; we'd do all kinds of things.

When we young, just teenagers, someone told me:

"Let's go see, let's go watch the boxing!" She said: "I heard that James [Stager], Jamesie is going to fight, he's going to fight Joe Alec."

So we went off to watch. There was nobody else watching there except us kids, but there must have been a bunch of us watching. We said all kinds of stuff to James' opponent. We wanted him (Jamesie) to win. Then they finished fighting, and Joe Alec was the winner. So then he came up to us to shake hands, and said to us:

"Oh, sorry girls, but I just couldn't let James win!" We sure were embarrassed, but we shook hands with him all the same.

Oh, we had such a lot of fun! We went off to watch something else, and at night, we went dancing. Everything we did was so much fun!

Then another time, my friend, my cousin actually, she had this boyfriend, and there was this other guy, my boyfriend, we'd known them for a few years. So they said:

"We will come and get you when there's gonna be dancing."

Then my mother and I went home to eat. And then we waited and waited, me and my cousin who was there. They lived right across the street from us. We waited, but they never came, the ones that were going to take us dancing.

"Oh", said my cousin, "Let's go. We'll find partners somewhere or other out there." So off we went to the dance.

"What are you doing?" asked my mother.

"Oh, we're going dancing." I said.

"Oh", she said. So off we went, my cousin and I, and arrived there. We looked around for the guys who were supposed to have taken us, but they weren't there. But there were other guys around, so we grabbed them, and started dancing. We were dancing away, and then the ones who were supposed to have taken us finally showed up. They had gone to eat, and then they had taken some different girls to a movie, and they had brought them along. They were going to dance with us, but we didn't let them, we didn't want to dance with them because...*we got stood up, it was so funny!!*

Grammatical Analysis

(1)   Iy, wa7² qwe•qwel'-mín   t=s=át=a   xíl-em
           yes IMPF tell(CRED)-RED   DET=NOM=1PL.CONJ=EXIS   do-MID

           lh=lán=as   wa7 tsukw kw=at   háop<u>s</u>-am
           COMP=already=3CONJ IMPF finish DET=1PL.CONJ hop-MID

           láku7   *Agassiz.*
           there   *Agassiz*
           'I'm going to tell you a story about what we used to do when we
           finished picking hops in Agassiz.'

(2)   Áku7 *Agassiz,* tákem stam' wa7 s-záyten-lhkalh   láti7…
           there *Agassiz* all   what IMPF NOM-business-1PL.POSS there
           'In Agassiz, we'd do all kinds of things.'

(3)   (T=wa7)… wa7 i=wá7   tans, wa7 i=wá7   paoyt,
           (DET=IMPF) IMPF PL.DET=IMPF dance   IMPF PL.DET=IMPF fight

           wa7 i=wá7   q'ílhil, tákem=t'u7 stam' s- záyten-lhkalh
           IMPF PL.DET=IMPF run   all=just   what NOM-business-1PL.POSS
           'Some people would dance, some would box, some would run races;
           we'd do all kinds of things.'

(4)   Pút=at³   wa7   twiw't,
           just=1PL.CONJ IMPF   young.person

           nílh=t'u7   s=tsún-ts-as   ni=núkw=a:
           FOC=just   NOM=say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG ABS.DET=other=EXIS
           'When we young, just teenagers, someone told me:'

(5)   "Cuys   áts'x-en-em,   cuys   páqw-ens-tum
           let's   see-DIR-1PL.ERG   let's   watch-DIR-1PL.ERG

           i=wá7   páoyt=wit."
           PL.DET=IMPF   fight=3PL
           '"Let's go see, let's go watch the boxers!"'

(6)   Tsut: "Cúz'=ku7   paoyt k=Tsims,   Tsímsa,
           say   going.to=QUOT fight DET=James   'Jamesie'⁴

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² The first person singular subject pronoun =*lhkan* is missing here.
³ The complementizer *lh*= 'when' is probably missing here, though recoverable from the (first person plural) conjunctive enclitic =*at*.

páoyt.-s-as   k=*Joe Alec.*"
fight-CAUS-3ERG   DET=Joe Alec
'She said: "I heard that James [Stager], Jamesie is going to fight, he's
going to fight Joe Alec."

(7)   Nílh=t'u7   s=t'ák=kalh   paqw,
        FOC=just   NOM=set.off=1PL.POSS   watch
        'So we went off to watch,'

(8)   áy=t'u7   swat láti7 ku=wá7,   tsúkw=t'u7 snímulh twiw't,
        NEG=just   who   there DET=be   finish=just us   young.person
        'There was nobody else there except us kids,'

(9)   k'win•k'wen=lhkálh=t'u7=k'a,[5]   páqw-ens-tum.
        few•TRED=1PL.SUBJ=just=EPIS   watch-DIR-1PL.ERG
        'But there must have been a bunch of us watching.'

(10)   Tákem kw=a=s   tsún-em   ti=wá7
        all   DET(NOM)=IMPF=3POSS say(DIR)-1PL.ERG   DET=IMPF

        cman'-s   s=Tsímsa,
        opponent-3POSS   NOM=Jamesie
        'We said all kinds of stuff to Jamesie's opponent,'

(11)   xát'-min'-em=t'u7   kw=a=s   t'cum.
        want-RED-1PL.ERG=just   DET(NOM)=IMPF=3POSS   win(MID)
        'We wanted him (Jamesie) to win.'

(12)   Nilh   aylh   s=tsukw=s   [6]páoyt=i,
        FOC   then   NOM=finish=3POSS   fight=3PL.POSS
        'Then they finished fighting,'

(13)   nilh   s=tc'um=s   ti7,   *Joe Alec*,
        FOC   NOM=win(MID)=3POSS   DEMON   Joe Alec
        'And Joe Alec was the winner.'

(14)   nílh=t'u7 s=t'iq=s   tq-ak7-an-túmulh-as,
        FOC=just   NOM=come=3POSS   touch-hand-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG

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[4] 'Jamesie' is being used here as an English approximation for the hypocoristic *Tsímsa*.
[5] The clitics =*t'u7* and =*k'a* are in the opposite order here from their usual positions.
[6] There seem to be a missing determiner and nominalizer here, though the latter may have
merged with the preceding third person possessive subject.

tsun-tumúlh-as:
say(DIR)-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
'So then he came up to shake our hands, and said to us:'

(15) "Muzmit-s-tumc=kal'áp=t'u7   séna7,   t'u7   áy=t'u7
      pity-CAUS-1SG.OBJ=2PL.SUBJ=just COUNTER but   NEG=just

      kw=n=s=ka-t'cúm-s-a   k=Tsims, Tsímsa."
      DET=1SG.POSS=NOM=CIRC-win(MID)-CAUS-CIRC DET=James Jamesie
      '"Oh sorry girls, I just couldn't let James win."'

(16) Ts'a-7-c-ús=kalh=t'u7   aylh   séna7,
      embarrassed(INCH)-face=1PL.SUBJ=just   then   COUNTER

      wís[7]=t'u7 tq-ák7-an-em   ti=sqáycw=a.
      still=just   touch-hand-DIR-1PL.ERG   DET=man=EXIS
      'We sure were embarrassed, but we shook his hand all the same.'

(17) O qwam•qwm-et=kálh=t'u7!   pákw=kalh-a[8]   láta7
      oh fun•TRE-CHAR=1PL.SUBJ=just set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC   there

      aylh múta7, táns=kalh   aylh lh=as   gap,
      then more   dance=1PL.SUBJ then COMP(IMPF)=3CONJ   evening
      'Oh, we had such a lot of fun! We went off to watch something
      else, and at night, we went dancing.'

(18) tákem=t'u7 stam' s-záyten-lhkalh,   qwám•qwm-et=t'u7.
      all=just   what NOM-business-1PL.POSS   fun•TRE-CHAR=1PL.SUB=just
      'Everything we did was so much fun.'

(19) Nílh=kalh…[9]   ni=s-pála7-s=a   pináni7,
      FOC=1PL.SUBJ   ABS.DET=NOM-one-3POSS=EXIS   around.then

      n-snúk'w7=a,   stéxw=a   snúk'wa7,[10]
      1SG.POSS-cousin=EXIS   real=EXIS   cousin

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[7] The auxiliary *wis* seen here has not been recorded before; it may be related to the
second position clitic *wi7* 'emphasis' (van Eijk 1997: 205).
[8] The verb *(ka-)pákw(-a),* 'to set off' sometimes appears without *ka-*, as here.
[9] The focusing predicate *nilh* does not normally occur with a pronominal subject in
S'tát'imcets, as it does here; this may be a false start.
[10] *stexw snúk'wa7* 'real cousin' is used here to distinguish 'cousin' from the general use
of *snúk'wa7* for 'friend, relation'.

wá7   ti=wá7   *boyfriend*-s,
be   DET=IMPF   boyfriend-3POSS
 'Then another time, my friend, my cousin actually, she had this boyfriend,'

(20)   t'u7   nilh=ts   ti=núkwa   qaycw, n-*boyfriend*,
       but   FOC=3POSS   DET=other=EXIS man   1SG.POSS-boyfriend

       káti7   k'wín=as   máqa7 kw=a=s
       around.there   how.many=3CONJ   snow   DET(NOM)=IMPF=3POSS

       pzán-tanemwit.
       meet(DIR)-1PL.ERG/3PL.OBJ
       'And there was this other guy, my boyfriend, we'd known them for a few years."

(21)   Nílh=t'u7   s=a=s   tsut:
       FOC=just   NOM=IMPF=3POSS   say
       'So then they said:'

(22)   "Cúz'=lhkalh=ka   t'iq   kwán-tsi-m
       going.to=1PL.SUBJ=DEON come   get(DIR)-2SG.OBJ-1PL.ERG

       lh=cúz'=as   ku=tans."
       COMP=going.to=3CONJ   DET=dance
       '"We will come to get you when there's gonna be dancing."'

(23)   Nilh   s=7úxwal'=lhkalh   múta7   n-skícez7=a,
       FOC   NOM=go.home=1PL.SUBJ   again   1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS

       tsícw=kalh   q'a7,
       went=1PL.SUBJ   eat
       'Then my mother and I went home to eat.,'

(24)   k'ál'-em…   k'ál'-em=lhkalh   aylh   múta7   zam'
       wait-MID   wait-MID=1PL.SUBJ   then   again   so

       ti=n-snúk'w7=a   wa7   láti7.
       DET=ISG.POSS-cousin=EXIS   be   there
       'We waited and we waited, me and my cousin who was there.'

(25)   X7ílh-kalh=a   lh=as   wá7
       across-1PL.POSS=EXIS   COMP(IMPF)=3CONJ   be
       'They lived right across from us.'

(26) Wá...7lh=kalh   k'ál'-em,   áy=t'u7   kw=a=s
      IMPF=1PL.SUBJ   wait-MID   NEG=just   DET(NOM)=IMPF=3POSS

t'íq=wit   i=cúz'=a   nas-tumúl-itas   tans
come=3PL   PL.DET=going.to=EXIS go(CAUS)-1PL.OBJ-3PL.ERG   dance
'We waited, but they never came, the ones that were going to take us
dancing.'

(27) "O",   wa7   tsut,   "Cúys=malh."
      oh   IMPF   say   let's=ADHORT
      '"Oh", she [my cousin] said, "Let's go."'

(28) "Pún-em=kelh   káku7   ku=*partner*-lhkalh",
      find(DIR)-1PL.ERG=FUT   around.there   DET=partner=1PL.POSS

wa7   tsut.
IMPF   say
'"We'll find partners somewhere or other out there," she said.'

(29) Pákw=kalh   áta7   múta7   tans.
      set.off=1PL.SUBJ   there   again   dance
      'So off we went to the dance.'

(30) Wa7   tsut   n-skícez7=a:
      IMPF   say   ISG.POSS-mother=EXIS

"Wá7=lhkal'ap   kánem?"
IMPF=2PL.SUBJ   do.what
'My mother said: "What are you doing?"'

(31) "O,   nás=kalh   ku=tans",   kan   tsut.
      oh   go=1PL.SUBJ   DET=dance   1SG.SUBJ   say
      '"Oh, we're going dancing." I said.'

(32) "O",   wa7   tsut.
      oh   IMPF   say
      '"Oh", she said.'

(33) Pákw=kalh-a   múta7   n-snúk'w7=a,
      set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC   and   1SG.POSS-cousin=EXIS

tsícw=kalh.
get.there=1PL.SUBJ
'So off we went, my cousin and I, and we arrived there.'

(34)   Wá...7=lhkalh   káti7   tcus-min-tánemwit
IMPF=1PL.SUBJ   around.there   look-RED-1PL.ERG/3PL.OBJ

i=cúz'=a   séna7   nas-tumúlhas,
PL.DET=going.to=EXIS   COUNTER   go(CAUS)-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
'We looked around for the ones who were supposed to have taken us.'

(35)   áy=t'u7   kw=s=wá7=wit.
NEG=just   DET=NOM=be=3PL
'But they weren't there.'

(36)   Wá7=wit   káti7   i=núkw=a   sqaycw,
be=3PL   around.there   PL.DET=other=EXIS   man
'There were other men around,'

(37)   nílh=t'u7   s=tsicw=s   kwán-tanemwit,
FOC=just   NOM=went=3POSS take(DIR)-1PL.ERG/3PL.OBJ

pákw=kalh-a   tans.
set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC   dance
'So we grabbed them, and started dancing.'

(38)   Wá7=lhkalh=t'u7   aylh   tans,   lan   aylh
IMPF=1PL.SUBJ=just   then   dance already then

t'iq   i=cúz'=a   tsicw-s-tumúlh-as.
arrive   PL.DET=going.to=EXIS   get.there-CAUS-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
'We were dancing away, and then the ones who were supposed to have taken us finally showed up.'

(39)   Tsícw=wit   múta7 q'a7, piktsasóh=wit   múta7
get.there=3PL again eat   picture.show=3PL and

i=s7ícwlh=a   yeq•yé•y'qtsa7
PL.DET=different=EXIS woman•TRE•CRE

tsicw-s-tánemwit,   tsicw-s-twítas.
get.there-CAUS-3PL.PASS get.there-CAUS-3PL.ERG
'They had gone to eat, and then they had taken some different girls to a movie, and they had brought them along.'

(40)   Wá7=wit   aylh   cuz'   tans-túmulh-as,
IMPF=3PL   then   going.to dance(CAUS)-1PL.OBJ-3PL.ERG

wá7=lhkalh   x7an-en-tánemwit,[11]
IMPF=1PL.SUBJ   prevent=DIR-1PL.ERG/3PL.OBJ
'They were going to dance with us, but we didn't let them,'

(41)   aoz   kw=s=xát'-min'-em
         NEG   DET=NOM=want=RED-1PL.ERG

         kw=s=tans-tánemwit,   lán=s=a…
         DET=NOM=dance(CAUS)-1PL.ERG/3PL.OBJ   already=3POSS=EXIS
         'We didn't want to dance with them, because…'

(42)   *…we got stood up, it was so funny!*

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[11] Recording is unclear here: the transcription is somewhat speculative.