

Xw7utsináck'wt¹ i nsqlaw'a Four Dollars in my Pocket²

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Original

Nilh huz' nsqwéqwel', ti stsícwłhkalha áku7 q'weláw'em i sq'włápa. K'wínas k'a i nstsmál'ta múta7 pápla7 í7mats, náskalh áku7, láku7 lt.ssa wá7 ti *niecea* múta7 ti *Mexicana* kwтамттs. Láti7 lhhúz'at wá7, t'u st'áklhkalh kwánem i húz'a qwezeném: i lhnkayáha, ti *pota*, ti pála7 *pot* múta7 stám'as k'a i núkwa sláp'kalha. Nilh ti húz'a qwezeném lhat wa7 q'weláw'em sq'á7łhkalha. Wá7 káti7 ti n7í7matsa, nilh t'u7 sq'áylecstum. Ay t'u7 kw sq'wál'enem skícza7sa kwas huz' nástum'. Wa7 hem' t'u7 séna7 t'iq áti7 ku pála7 sq'it. Pákwłhkalha, ícwa7 aylh estem'tétem'. Tákem stam' kwas ícwa7łhkalh, k'wík'wena7 t'u7 i stám'łhkalha.

Nilh t'u7 stsícwłhkalh áku7, o qul t'u7 láti7 i wá7a lti *niecea*. Wa7 ti núkwa *sisters* láti7, cw7it i stsmál'tsa. Nilh t'u7 stsícwłhkalh páqwenstum stám'as ku huz' száytenłhkalh. Nilh t'u7 stsúnwitan i nstsmál'ta múta7 ti nkwtámтsa “Cuys malh táowen.”

Wá7 láku7 ti *Salvation Army*ha láku7 t'u7 sat táowen. Wá7 xw7utsináck'wt i nsqláw'a. Nilh t'u7 ststus ti nskúz7a “Wá7łhkan t'it esqláw', nilh klh ku stem'tétem'su” wa7 tsúnas ti *niece*tsa. Pákwkalha áku7 ti *SalvationArmy*ha. Tsicwłhkalh áku7, púpen'łhkan ti *tenta* múta7 ti wa7 tsúnem wa7 *hibachi* múta7 ti cwík'tena múta7 ti xzúma káołen. Nilh iz' púnan. Wa7 káti7 tákem swat cwíl'em. Aoz kwen zewáten lhwá7as ha sqlaw' i núkwa nstsmal't. Nilh t'u7 ststus ti skúz7a “Náskan cwíl'em ku stem'tétem'su” tsúnas ti *niece*tsa. Pákwwita. Kwíkw's ti7 t'u7 ku syéy'qtsa7, aoz kwas xzum... cwíl'em ku stem'tétem'. Nilh t'u7 stsúnan ti wa7 hal'acítas izá i wa7 húz' nstáowen, “O” kan tsun, “Xw7utsináck'wt t'u7 i nsqláw'a. Nilh izá wa7 xát'min'an kwn áz'en.” O, sqwál'enłhkan t'it wa7 nshuz' xílem, kan ícwa7 esqláw', nilh húz'łhkalh t'u7 láti7 s7áw't.sa ti *nsiecea* lhhúz'at *camp*. Nilh t'u7s “O” wa7n tsut, “Áma t'u7 izá kws xw7utsináck'wt.” Nilh t'u7 st'áklhkalh, nilh t'u7 stsúnan ti wa7 káti7 maysentáli “Iz” kan tsún “Wa7 tsut ti sqáycwa láku7 kwas áma izá kwas xw7utsináck'wt.” Nilh t'u7 xsílemłhkalh. Wa7 aylh k'wínas k'a i stem'tétem'a s7áz's ti nskúz7a ti tsúwa7sa ti *niecea*. Pákwkalha, tsícwkalh aylh áku7 lti *niecea*.

T'íqwit ats'xenitas i stáowenłhkalha. Nilh t'u7 aylh sas tsúntas ti *Mexicana* “*Four Dollars?! You paid four dollars with these?! Xw7utsináck'wt*

¹ The lexical suffix =*ack'wt* does not occur in van Eijk (1987). It occurs here instead of the expected lexical suffix =*usa7*, which normally combines with numbers to create monetary values.

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kw s7áz'enacw izá?" "Yeah" kan tsun. "Sqwéqwel'enlhkan kws cw7aozs 7áma kwat sxilemlhkalh, múzmit" kan tsun. "Nilh t'u7 aylh stsúntsas kws húz'i xw7utsinásk'wt kws áz'enan."

Nilh t'u7 áti7 skaxílhkalha t'u máysenem aylh lt.sáta wa7 ... Kwámemlhlkálh káku7 i kwíkwsa mulc lt.sa wá7 i wa7 maysálts. Ts7áskalha úxwal'. Wá7 i wa7 maysentáli i tsítcwa, wa7 káti7 kwíkws i smúlca wa7 ník'in'ítas lhélki wa7 maysenítas. Cw7it skwánem eti *garbage baga*. Nilh t'u7 sqúlunem, nilh t'u7 s7áz'lhkálh i wa7 kaqwéza lti wa7 tsúnem wa7 *hibachi*.

Pákwkalha láti7 aylh lhat kukw pála7 lhnvkayá ti7, nilh i qwezenéma, múta7 ti pál7a *pot*, tákem stam' lham' láti7 ti lhnvkayáha múta7 laoys lti núkwa. Nilh iz' sq'á7lhkálh, wis t'u7 úl'l'us aylh ku szaq', múta7 stám'as k'a ti7, wiskálh kaméq'a. Cw7it, put t'u7 áma kws wá7lhkálh kats'ékstum'a ti wa7 nlham' láti7 lti lhnvkayáha.

Nilh t'u7 aylhs, wá7lhkálh káti7, ay kwat kasácwema, wa7 hem' kasácwema i stsmál'ta láti7 lti qú7a álts'q7a. Ts'aw'qwám'wit, ts'ip' qu7. Wá7lhkan lhnúkwas ka7úlhcwa láku7 lti tsítcwsa ti *niecea*. Nilh t'u7 ses tsúntsas ti sqáycwa "Xwem! Xwem *Laura* nas! Aoz swat láku7 ku wá7!" wa7 tsut "Sácwem!" Pákwkana sácwem. Tsukw t'u7 s7ents ti wa7 qempátkwa7 ti qú7a kwas sácwem. Wa7 ku7 t'u7 álts'q7a lhas wá7 i stsmál'ta.

Nilh t'u7 aylh stsicws múta7 táowen, ti núkwa *Mexican* láti7 wa7 *camp* lti s7áw't.sa. Pákwka tú7a táowen, tsicw áts'xenas i wa7 tsúnem wa7 *social worker*. Nilh t'u7 s7úm'enenem ti pál7a sgap lti tsítcwa, sácwemwit, tákem száyteni láti7 lti guy'tálhcwa. Pála7 sgap, sácwemwit tákem. Um'entánemwit ku nán'atcw sq'a7 múta7 ts'íl.has ku scw7it.s ku káopi wa7 kat'akstwitása.

Nilh t'u7 stsicwi úxwal', nilh t'u7 ses tsúntsas: "Auntie, áma t'u7 ku snástsu áku7", wa7 tsut "Um'entsálem ts7a, sacwemlhlkál'ap klh", wa7 tsut. "O" kan tsun "Náskan." Pákwkana, tsícwkan áku7, nilh t'u7 snsqwéqwel' ti7 ti wa7 tsúnem wa7 *social worker*.

Nilh t'u7 s7án'was sgap ku um'entúmulem. Án'was sgap! "O" kan tsun "Án'was klh sácwemlhlkálh tákem." Pákwkalha áku7, án'was i guy'tálhcwa s7um'entúmulem. Tákemlhlkálh láta7 guy't. Páqwlhlkálh ti *TV*ha, sácwemlhlkálh, pipápla7lhkálh sácwem.

Nán'atcw aylh, nilh t'u7 stsicwlhlkálh q'a7, wá7lhkálh *sthermos*, qúlunem i *thermosa* múta7 i zaw'ákstena wa7 we7ánem. Pákwkalha q'wlaw'em. Tsuntumúlhas ti syáqts7a "Kanemlhlkál'ap klh ku *lunchlap*, lhlkál'ap ícwa7?" "O" kan tsun, "Wá7lhkálh ka7áz'a ku száq' múta7 stam'. Plan wa7 cw7it i kaopilhlkálha," kan tsun. "Áma nilh t'u7 swá7lhkálh, húz'lhkálh q'wlaw'em," kan tsun. Nilh t'u7 múta7 skwámemlhlkálh ku sq'a7. "O" wa7 tsut.

Pákwkalha q'wlaw'em. Tsícwlhlkálh úxwal'. O, q'a7stumúlem ti gápa sq'a7, gúy'tlhlkálh, sacwemlhlkálh t'u7 múta7, tákem swat sácwem ti s7áysa kwat kasácwema láku7 lt.ssa wá7 ti *niecea*. Páqwlhlkálh ti *TV*ha, páqwlhlkálha múta7 snán'atcwsa. Tsícwlhlkálh aylh áku7 lt.ssa wá7 ti núkwa wa7 *niece*. Wa7 tsut "Kánem sas án'was sq'it snuláp, pála7 t'u7 s7ents?" wa7 tsut. "O, amalhlkálha qá7 t'u7" kan tsun. Nq'sánklhlkálh aylh. Kan tsun kwat tákem áma, áma ku úcwalmicw lhat xílem áti7, án'was sgap kwens kwámem.

English Translation

I'm going to tell you a story about when we went to pick strawberries. A bunch of my children and one grand-child went to where my niece and her husband the Mexican were staying. We were going to stay there, we went along to get what we were going to use, a cast-iron pot, one pot, and some other things, and some blankets. That's what we were going to use [at camp (her backyard actually)] for our food when we were picking. My grand-child was over there, so we took off with her. We didn't squeal on her to her mother that we were going to bring her with us. Anyway, she showed up there one day. We set off, and she didn't have any clothes with her. We didn't have anything. We had very few things.

Then we went to my niece's place, it was full of people. Another (of her) sisters was already there, and many of her children were there. Then we went to see about what we were going to do³. Then I told my children and husband "Let's go to town".

There was a Salvation Army there in town (that's where we were going to go shopping). I had four dollars. Then my daughter said "I have some money too. That will be for your clothes", she (the daughter) told her niece. Then we went off to the Salvation Army. We got there, I found a tent, what they call a hibachi and a knife and a big candle. That's what I found. Everyone was looking for something. I don't know whether my other children had money. Then my daughter said "I'm going to look for your clothes," she said to her niece. They set off. She was a small girl, she wasn't big ... looking for clothes. Then I said to the one (who works in the store) that was showing me the stuff I was going to buy, "Oh", I said, "I've just got four dollars. These are the things that I want to buy." Oh, I told him what I was going to do, that I didn't have any money, that we were going to camp in my niece's backyard. Then he said "Oh, that's a good price, make it four dollars." Then we went up to the till, then I said to the lady, "These," I said, "The man said that these are okay for four dollars." So that's what we did. My daughter bought a bunch of clothes for her niece. We set off and got back there to my niece's.

They (my niece and nephew) came along to see what we bought. Then the Mexican said to me "Four Dollars?! You paid four dollars for these?! You paid four dollars for these!" "Yeah," I said, "I told them that we were in a sorry state," I said⁴ "so she told me that I could pay four dollars."

So this is how we managed to fix a place to stay: We picked up some sticks on our way home where they were building a house.⁵ They were fixing

³ Laura's comments: "We had to go check and see where we were going to stay, the niece already set up a lean-to back in the corner, she has 8 kids, there were 7 of us." "We all had very little money, you see, we were going (berry picking) to make some money." (My grand-daughter is her niece) "We also bought a tent at the Salvation Army."

⁴ That's when we went to the welfare system, my other sister had already gone to get a room. I told that story again to the lady at the till.

⁵ On our way home, we saw someone building a house, there were lots of little bits of lumber. I said "stop" to my husband, so we got a shopping bag, and went and filled it up.

up houses, there were small sticks there that they cut up at the place they were building. We took a bunch in a garbage bag. We filled them. Then we bought what we were going to use on the hibachi.⁶

We set off back to where we were going to cook. There was one cast-iron pot that we were using, and the other pot, we put everything in the cast-iron pot and rice in the other pot⁷. Those are what we ate, plus we had some bread and whatever else and it sure filled us up. Then we were feeling quite good after we finished what was in the pot. There was a lot, and tasty enough that we finished up everything that was in the cast iron pot.

So then we were around there, and we were not able to bathe, the children actually managed to bathe in the water outside. They washed their hair in the cold water. I sometimes could go inside my niece's house (to bathe). Then the man said to me, "Hurry, Hurry Laura, go! No one is there!" he said "Go bathe!" I set off to bathe. I was the only one that could bathe in the hot water. The children were bathing outside (in the hose).

He went back to town, the Mexican who was camping in the backyard. He set off for the town. He went to see what they call a 'social worker'.

They gave them one night, one room, they bathed, and did everything, there at the hotel. One night, they all bathed. They were given a breakfast and all the coffee they could manage to take with them.

Then they went home, and she said to me: "Auntie, it would be good if you went there," she said "They gave me this. You guys would be able to bathe," that's what she said. "Oh," I said "I'm going there." I set off, I went there, and I told the social worker my sob story.

So they gave us two nights. Two nights! "Oh," I said "We'll all have two baths." We set off. They gave us two rooms at the hotel. We all slept there. We watched the television, we bathed, we bathed one by one.

Then the next morning we went to eat, we had thermoses, so we filled our thermoses and the cups that we owned. We set off to pick berries. The woman (social worker) asked us "What are you guys going to do for your lunch? Don't you have any?" "Oh," I said "We were able to buy bread and things. We already have a lot of coffee," I said. "No need to worry about us, we're going berry picking," I said. "Then we can get some more food." "Oh" the woman said.

So we set off to pick berries, and then we went home. Oh, they gave us an evening meal, we slept, we bathed again, everybody bathed. Because we weren't able to bathe over there at my niece's. We watched the television, and we set off in the morning and we went to where my other niece lived. She said "Why two nights for you guys when I only got one?" she said. "Oh, because we're good," I said. We started to laugh. I said we were all good, good people. That's what happened there, I got two nights.

⁶ Charcoal and wood briquettes, we mixed them together.

⁷ We had to make the coffee first, put it in a thermos, wash the pot, and put in the rice.

Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Nilh huz' n=s=qwéqwel',
 FOC going.to 1SG.POSS=NOM=tell.story
- ti=s=tsícw=lhkalh=a áku7 q'weláw'-em
 DET.SG=NOM=get.there=1PL.POSS=EXIS DEIC pick.berries-MID
- i=sqwl'áp=a.
 DET.PL=strawberries=EXIS
 'I'm going to tell you a story about when we went to pick strawberries.'
- (2) K'wín=as=k'a i=n-stsmál't=a múta7
 some=3CONJ=EPIS DET.PL=1SG.POSS-children=EXIS and
- pápla7 í7mats, nás=kalh áku7, láku7
 one(HUMAN) grand-child go=1PL.SUBJ DEIC DEIC
- l=t.=s=s=a wá7 ti=n-niece=a
 PREP=DET.SG=NOM=3POSS=EXIS LOC DET.SG=1SG.POSS-niece=EXIS
- múta7 ti=Mexican=a kwtamts-s.
 and DET.SG=Mexican=EXIS husband-3POSS
 'A bunch of my children and one grand-child went to where my niece
 and her husband, the Mexican, were staying.'
- (3) Láti7 lh=húz'=at wá7, t'u s=t'ák=lhkalh
 DEIC COMP=going.to=1PL.CONJ LOC until NOM=go.along=1PL.POSS
- kwán-em i=húz'=a qwez-en-ém:
 take(DIR)-1PL.ERG DET.PL=going.to=EXIS use-DIR-1PL.ERG
- i=lhvnkayá=ha, ti=pot=a, ti=pál7=a pot
 DET.PL=cast.iron.pot=EXIS DET.SG=pot=EXIS DET.SG=one=EXIS pot
- múta7 stám'=as=k'a i=núkw=a
 and what=3CONJ=EPIS DET.PL=some=EXIS
- s-láp'=kalh=a.
 NOM-cover-1PL.POSS=EXIS
 'We were going to stay there, we went to get what we were going to
 use, a cast-iron pot, one pot and some other things, and some blankets.'
- (4) Nilh ti=húz'=a qwez-en-ém lh=at
 FOC DET.SG=going.to=EXIS use-DIR-1PL.ERG COMP=1PL.CONJ

wá7 q'weláw'-em s-q'á7-lhkalh=a.
 IMPF pick.berries-MID NOM-eat-1PL.POSS=EXIS
 'That's what we were going to use [at camp (her back yard actually)]
 for our food when we were picking.'

- (5) Wá7 káti7 ti=n-7i7mats=a, nílh=t'u7
 LOC DEIC DET.SG=1SG.POSS-grand-child=EXIS FOC=just

s=q'áylec-s-tum, áy=t'u7 kw=sq'wál'-en-em
 NOM=run.away-CAUS-1PL.ERG NEG=just DET=squeal-DIR-1PL.ERG

skicza7-s=a kw=a=s huz' nás-tum'.
 mother-3POSS=EXIS DET=IMPF=3POSS going.to go-1PL.ERG
 'My grand-child was over there, so we took off with her. We didn't
 squeal on her to her mother that we were going to bring her with us.'

- (6) Wá7=hem'=t'u7 séna7 t'iq áti7 ku=pála7 sq'it.
 IMPF=ANTI=just COUNTER come DEIC DET=one day

Pákw=lhkalh-a, ícwa7 aylh es-•tem'•té•tem'
 set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC without then STAT-•IRED•CRED•thing
 'Anyway, she showed up there one day. We set off, and she didn't
 have any clothes with her.'

- (7) Tákem stam' kw=as ícwa7=lhkalh,
 all what DET(IMPF)=3CONJ without=1PL.POSS

k'wik'wena7=t'u7 i=stám'-lhkalh=a.
 little=just DET.PL=what-1PL.POSS=EXIS
 'We didn't have anything. We had very few things.'

- (8) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsícw=lhkalh áku7, o qúl=t'u7 láti7
 FOC=just NOM=get.there=1PL.POSS DEIC EXCL full=just DEIC

i=wá7=a l=ti=n-niece=a. Wá7
 DET.PL=LOC=EXIS PREP=DET.SG=1SG.POSS-niece=EXIS LOC

ti=núkw=a *sister-s* láti7, cw7it
 DET.SG=other=EXIS sisters-3POSS DEIC many

i=stsmál't.-s=a.
 DET.PL=child-3POSS=EXIS FOC=just
 'Then we went to my niece's place, it was full of people. Another (of
 her) sisters was already there, and many of her children were there.'

- (9) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsícw=lhkalh páqw-ens-tum
 FOC=just NOM=get.there =1PL.POSS watch-DIR-1PL.ERG
 stám'=as ku=huz' s=záyten=lhkalh.
 what=3CONJ DET=going.to NOM=business=1PL.POSS
 'Then we went to see about what we were going to do.'
- (10) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-wit=an
 FOC=just NOM=say(DIR)-3PL=1SG.CONJ
 i=n-stsmál't=a múta7
 DET.PL=1SG.POSS-children=EXIS and
 ti=n-kwtámts=a "Cúys=malh táowen."
 DET.SG=1SG.POSS-husband=EXIS go=ADHORT shopping
 'Then I told my children and husband "Let's go shopping."'
- (11) Wá7 láku7 ti=Salvation Army=ha láku7=t'u7
 LOC DEIC DET.SG= Salvation Army=EXIS DEIC=just
 s=at táowen. Wá7 xw7utsin-áck'wt
 NOM=1PL.CONJ shopping LOC four-dollars
 i=n-sqláw'=a.
 DET.PL=1SG.POSS-money=EXIS
 'There was a Salvation Army there, that's where we were going to go shopping. I had four dollars.'
- (12) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsut.=s ti=n-skúz7=a
 FOC=just NOM=say=3POSS DET.SG=1SG.POSS-child=EXIS
 "Wá7=lhkan t'it es-qláw', nílh=klh
 IMPF=1SG.SUBJ also STAT-money FOC=FUT
 ku=s=•tem'•té•tem'-su" wa7 tsún-as
 DET=NOM=•IRED•CRED•thing -2SG.POSS IMPF say(DIR)-3ERG
 ti=niece-ts=a. Pákw=kalh-a áku7
 DET.SG=niece-3POSS=EXIS set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC DEIC
 ti=Salvation Army=ha
 DET.SG= Salvation Army=EXIS
 'Then my daughter said "I have some money too. That will be for your clothes" she (the daughter) told her niece. Then we went off to the Salvation Army.'

- (13) Tsícw=lhkahlh áku7, pú•p•en'=lhkan
 get there=1PL.SUBJ DEIC find(DIR)•CRED•=1SG.SUBJ
- ti=tent=a múta7 ti=wa7 tsún-em wa7 hibachi
 DET.SG=tent=EXIS and DET.SG=IMPF say(DIR)-PASS IMPF hibachi
- múta7 ti=cwíl'ten=a múta7 ti=xzúm=a káo|en.
 and DET.SG=knife=EXIS and DET.SG=big=EXIS candle
- Nílh iz' pún-an. Wa7 káti7 tákem
 FOC DEMON.PL find(DIR)-1SG.CONJ IMPF DEIC all
- swat cwíl'-em.
 who look.for-MID
 'We got there, I found a tent, what they call a hibachi and a knife and a big candle. That's what I found. Everyone was looking for something.'

- (14) Aoz kw=en=zewát-en lh=wá7=as=ha
 NEG DET=1SG.POSS=know-DIR COMP=IMPF=3CONJ=YNQ
- sqlaw' i=núkw=a n-stsmal't.
 money DET.PL=other=EXIS 1SG.POSS-children
 'I don't know whether my other children had money.'

- (15) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsut.=s ti=n-skúz7=a
 FOC=just NOM=say=3POSS DET.SG=1SG.POSS-child=EXIS
- "Nás=kan cwíl'-em ku=s•tem'•té•tem'-su"
 go=1SG.SUBJ look.for-MID DET=NOM=•IRED•CRED•thing -2SG.POSS
- tsún-as ti=niece-ts=a.
 say(DIR)-3ERG DET.SG=niece-3POSS=EXIS
 'Then my daughter said "I'm going to look for your clothes," she said to her niece.'

- (16) Pákw=wit-a. Kwikws ti7 t'u7 ku=syéy'qtsa7,
 set.off=3PL-CIRC small DEMON just DET=woman-CRED
- aoz k=wa=s xzum ... cwíl'-em
 NEG DET=IMPF=3CONJ big look.for-MID
- ku=s•tem'•té•tem'.
 DET=NOM=•IRED•CRED•thing
 'They set off. She was a small girl, she wasn't big ... looking for clothes.'

- (17) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsún=an ti=wa7
 FOC=just NOM=say(DIR)=1SG.CONJ DET.SG=IMPF
- hal'a-cí(t)-ts-as izá i=wa7 húz'
 show-IND-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DEMON.PL DET.PL=IMPF going.to
- n=s=táowen, “O” kan tsun
 1SG.POSS-NOM=shopping EXCL 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)
- “Xw7utsin-áck'wt=t'u7 i=n-sqláw'=a. Nílh
 four-dollars=just DET.PL=1SG.POSS-money=EXIS FOC
- izá wa7 xát'-min'-an kw=n=7áz'-en.”
 DEMON.PL IMPF want-RED-1SG.ERG DET=1SG.POSS=buy-DIR
 ‘Then I said to the one (who works in the store) that was showing me
 the stuff that I was going to buy, “Oh” I said, “I’ve just got four
 dollars. These are the things I want to buy.’”
- (18) O, sqwál'-en=lhkan t'it wa7 n=s-huz' xíl-em,
 EXCL tell-DIR=1SG.SUBJ also IMPF 1SG.POSS=NOM-going.to do-MID
- kan ícwa7 es-qláw', nílh húz'=lhkalh=t'u7 láti7
 1SG.SUBJ without STAT-money FOC going.to=1PL.POSS=just DEIC
- s-7áw't.-s=a ti=n-s-niece=a
 NOM-back-3POSS=EXIS DET.SG=1SG.POSS-NOM-niece=EXIS
- lh=húz'=at *camp*.
 COMP=going.to=1PL.CONJ camp
 ‘Oh, I told him what I was going to do, that I didn’t have any money,
 that we were going to camp in my niece’s backyard.’
- (19) Nílh=t'u7=s “O” wa7 tsut “Áma=t'u7 izá
 FOC=just=NOM EXCL IMPF say good=just DEMON.PL
- kw=s=xw7utsin-áck'wt.” Nílh=t'u7 s=t'ák=lhkalh,
 DET=NOM=four-dollars FOC=just NOM=go.along=1PL.POSS
- nílh=t'u7 s=tsún=an ti=wa7 káti7 mays-en-táli,
 FOC=just NOM=say(DIR)=1SG.CONJ DET.SG=IMPF DEIC fix-DIR-TOP
- “Iz’,” kan tsún “Wa7 tsut ti=sqáycw=a láku7
 DEMON.PL 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) IMPF say DET.SG=man=EXIS DEIC
- k=wa=s áma izá k=wa=s
 DET=IMPF=3POSS good DEMON.PL DET=IMPF=3POSS

xw7utsin-áck'wt." Nílh=t'u7 s=xíl-em=lhkalh.
 four-dollars FOC=just NOM=do-MID=1PL.POSS
 'Then, he said "Oh, that's a good price, make it four dollars." Then we
 went up to the till, then I said to the lady, "These" I said, "The man
 said that these are okay for four dollars." So that's what we did.'

- (20) Wa7 aylh k'wín=as=k'a
 IMPF then how.many=3CONJ=EPIS

i=s=•tem'•té•tem'=a s=7áz'=s
 DET.PL=NOM=•IRED•CRED•thing=EXIS NOM=buy=3POSS

ti=n-skúz7=a ti=tsúwa7-s-a
 DET.SG=1SG.POSS-child=EXIS DET.SG=own-3POSS=EXIS

ti=niece=a. Pákw=kalh-a tsícw=kalh
 DET.SG=niece=EXIS set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC get.there=1PL.SUBJ

aylh áku7 l=ti=n-niece=a.
 then DEIC PREP=DET.SG=1SG.POSS-niece=EXIS
 'My daughter bought a bunch of clothes for her niece. We set off and
 got back there to my niece's.'

- (21) T'íq=wit ats'x-en-ítas i=s-táowen-lhkalh=a.
 arrive=3PL see-DIR-3PL.ERG DET.PL=NOM-shopping-1PL.POSS=EXIS
 'They (my niece and nephew) came along to see what we bought.'

- (22) Nílh=t'u7 aylh s=as tsún-ts-as
 FOC=just then NOM(IMPF)=3CONJ say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG

ti=Mexican=a "Four Dollars?! You paid four dollars
 DET.SG=Mexican=EXIS four dollars you paid four dollars

with these?! Xw7utsin-áck'wt kw=s=7áz'-en=acw
 with these four-dollars DET=NOM=buy-DIR=2SG.CONJ

izá?!"
 DEMON.PL
 'Then the Mexican said to me, "Four Dollars?! You paid four dollars
 for these?! You paid four dollars for these!"'

- (23) "Yeah" kan tsun "sqwé•qwel'•-en=lhkan
 yes 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) tell•CRED•-DIR=1SG.SUBJ

kw=s=cw7aoz=s 7áma kw=at
 DET=NOM=NEG=3POSS good DET=1PL.CONJ

s=xíl-em=lhkalh, múzmit” kan tsun. “Nílh=t’u7 aylh
 NOM=do-MID=1PL.POSS pitiful 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) FOC=just then

s=tsún-ts-as kw=s=húz’=i
 NOM=say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DET=NOM=going.to=3PL.POSS

xw7utsin-ásk’wt kw=s=áz’-en=an.”
 four-dollars DET=NOM=buy-DIR=1SG.CONJ
 “‘Yeah,” I said, “I told them that we were in a sorry state,” I said “so she told me that I could pay four dollars.””

- (24) Nílh=t’u7 áti7 s=ka-xílh=kalh-a t’u máys-en-em
 FOC just DEIC NOM=CIRC-do=1PL.POSS-CIRC until fix-DIR-1PL.ERG

aylh l=t.=s=át=a wa7 ...
 then PREP=DET.SG=NOM=1PL.CONJ=EXIS IMPF
 ‘So this is how we managed to fix a place to stay.’

- (25) Kwám•em=lhkalh káku7 i=kwíkws=a mulc
 take•FRED=1PL.SUBJ DEIC DET.PL=small=EXIS stick

l=t.=s=a wá7... í=wa7 mays-ált⁸.
 PREP=DET.SG=NOM=EXIS LOC DET.PL=IMPF build-house

Ts7ás=kalh=a úxwal’
 come=1PL.POSS=EXIS go.home
 ‘We picked up some sticks on our way home where they were building a house.’

- (26) Wá7 i=wa7 mays-en-táli i=tsítcw=a, wa7 káti7
 LOC DET.PL=IMPF fix-DIR-TOP DET.PL=house=EXIS IMPF DEIC

kwíkws i=múlc=a wa7 ník’-in’-ítas lhél=ki=wa7
 small DET.PL=stick=EXIS IMPF cut-DIR-3PL.ERG PREP=DET.PL=IMPF

mays-en-ítas. Cw7it s-kwán-em
 fix-DIR-3PL.ERG many NOM-take-1PL.ERG

⁸ *maysalhcw* not in original recording.

e=ti=*garbage bag*=a.

PREP=DET.SG=*garbage.bag*=EXIS

‘They were fixing up houses, there were small sticks there that they cut up at the place they were building. We took a bunch in a garbage bag.’

- (27) Nílh=t’u7 s=qúl-un-em, nílh=t’u7 s=7áz’=lhkalh
FOC=just NOM=full-DIR-1PL.ERG FOC=just NOM=buy=1PL.POSS

i=wa7 ka-qwéz-a l=ti=wa7 tsún-em wa7
DET.PL=IMPF CIRC-use-CIRC PREP=DET.SG=IMPF say(DIR)-PASS IMPF

hibachi.

hibachi

‘We filled them. Then we bought what we were going to use on the hibachi.’

- (28) Pákw=kalh-a láti7 aylh lh=at kukw
set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC DEIC then COMP(IMPF)=1PL.CONJ cook

pála7 lhvnkayá ti7, nilh i=qwez-en-ém=a,
one cast.iron.pot DEMON FOC DET.PL=use-DIR-1PL.ERG=EXIS

múta7 ti=pál7=a pot, tákem stam’ lham’ láti7
and DET.SG=one=EXIS pot all what put.in DEIC

ti=lhvnkayá=ha múta7 laoys l=ti=núkw=a.
DET.SG=cast.iron.pot=EXIS and rice PREP=DET.SG=other=EXIS
‘We set off back to where we were going to cook. There was one cast-iron pot that we were using, and the other pot, we put everything in the cast-iron pot and rice in the other pot.’

- (29) Nilh iz’ s-q’á7-lhkalh, wís=t’u7 úl’l’us aylh
FOC DEMON.PL NOM-eat-1PL.POSS EMPH=just along.with then

ku=száq’, múta7 stám’=as=k’a=ti7, wís=kálh
DET=bread and what=3CONJ=EPIS=DEMON EMPH=1PL.SUBJ

ka-méq’-a. Cw7it, pút=t’u7 áma kw=s=wá7=lhkalh
CIRC-full-CIRC much enough=just good DET=NOM=IMPF=1PL.POSS

ka-ts’ék-s-tum’-a ti=wa7 nlham’ láti7
CIRC-finish-CAUS-1PL.ERG-CIRC DET.SG=IMPF put.in DEIC

l=ti=lhvnkayá=ha.

PREP=DET.SG=cast.iron.pot=EXIS

‘Those are what we ate, plus we had some bread and whatever else, and it sure filled us up. There was a lot, and tasty enough that we finished up everything that was in the cast iron pot.’

- (30) Nílh=t’u7 aylh s=wá7=lhkalh káti7, ay kw=at
FOC=just then NOM=LOC=1PL.POSS DEIC NEG DET=1PL.CONJ

ka-sácw-em-a, wa7=hém’ ka-sácw-em-a
CIRC-bathe-MID-CIRC IMPF=ANTI CIRC-bathe-MID-CIRC

i=stsmál’t=a láti7 l=ti=qú7=a áłts’q7=a.
DET.PL=children=EXIS DEIC PREP=DET.SG=water=EXIS outside=EXIS
‘So then we were around there, and we were not able to bathe, the children actually managed to bathe in the water outside.’

- (31) Ts’aw’-qw-ám’=wit, ts’ip’qu7.
wash-head-MID=3PL cold water
‘They washed their hair in the cold water.’

- (32) Wá7=lhkan lh=núkw=as ka-7úlhcw-a láku7
IMPF=1SG.SUBJ COMP=other=3CONJ CIRC-enter-CIRC DEIC

l=ti=tsítcw-s=a ti=n-niece=a.
PREP=DET.SG=house-3POSS=EXIS DET.SG=1SG.POSS-niece=EXIS
‘I sometimes could go inside my niece’s house (to bathe).’

- (33) Nílh=t’u7 s=e=s tsún-ts-as
FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG

ti=sqáycw=a “Xwem! xwem *Laura* nas! Aoz
DET.SG=man=EXIS fast fast *Laura* go NEG

swat láku7 ku=wá7!” wa7 tsut “Sácw-em!”
who DEIC DET=LOC IMPF say bathe-MID

Pakw=kán-a sácw-em.
set.off=1SG.SUBJ-CIRC bathe-MID

‘Then the man said to me “Hurry, Hurry *Laura* go! No one is there!” he said “Go bathe!” I set off to bathe.’

- (34) Tsúkw=t’u7 s7ents ti=wa7 qemp-átkwa7
finish=just 1SG.INDEP DET.SG= IMPF hot-water

ti=qú7=a k=wa=s sácw-em. Wá7=ku7=t'u7
 DET.SG=water=EXIS DET=IMPF=3POSS bathe-MID IMPF=QUOT=just

álts'q7=a lh=as wá7 i=stsmál't=a.
 outside=EXIS COMP=3CONJ LOC DET.PL=children=EXIS
 'I was the only one that could bathe in the hot water. The children
 were bathing outside (in the hose).'

- (35) Nílh=t'u7 aylh s=tsicw=s múta7 táowen,
 FOC=just then NOM=get.there=3POSS again town

ti=núkw=a *Mexican* láti7 wa7 *camp*
 DET.SG=other=EXIS Mexican DEIC IMPF camp

l=ti=7áw't.-s=a.
 PREP=DET.SG=back-3POSS=EXIS
 'He went back to town, the Mexican who was camping in the
 backyard.'

- (36) Pákw-a=tú7=a táowen, tsicw áts'x-en-as
 set off-CIRC=then=A town get.there see-DIR-3ERG

i=wa7 tsún-em wa7 *social worker*.
 DET.PL=IMPF say(DIR)-PASS IMPF social worker
 'He set off for the town. He went to see what they call a 'social
 worker'.'

- (37) Nílh=t'u7 s=7úm'-en-em ti=pál7a sgap⁹
 FOC=just NOM=give-DIR-PASS DET.SG=one=EXIS evening

l=ti=tsítcw=a, sácw-em=wit, tákem
 PREP=DET.SG=house=EXIS bathe-MID=3PL all

s-záyten-i láti7 l=ti=guy't-álhcw=a.
 NOM-business-3PL.POSS DEIC PREP=DET.SG=sleep-place=EXIS

Pála7 sgap, sácw-em=wit tákem.
 one evening bathe-MID=3PL all
 'They gave them one night, one room, they bathed, and did everything,
 there at the hotel. One night, they all bathed.'

- (38) Úm'-en-tánemwit ku=nán'atcw s-q'a7 múta7
 give-DIR-3PL.PASS DET=morning NOM-eat and

⁹ *sgap* not in the original recording.

ts'íl.h=as ku=s=cw7it.=s ku=káopi wa7
 like=3CONJ DET=NOM=many=3POSS DET=coffee IMPF

ka-t'ak-s-twítás-a.

CIRC-go.along-CAUS-3PL.ERG-CIRC

'They were given a breakfast and all the coffee they could manage to take with them.'

- (39) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsícw=i úxwal', nílh=t'u7
 FOC=just NOM=get.there=3PL.POSS go.home FOC=just

s=e=s tsún-ts-as: "Auntie, áma=t'u7
 NOM=IMPF=3POSS say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG auntie good=just

ku=nás=tsu áku7."
 DET=go=2SG.POSS DEIC

'Then they went home, and she said to me: "Auntie, it would be good if you went there."'

- (40) Wa7 tsut "Um'-en-tsál-em ts7a, sacw-em=lhkál'ap=klh,"
 IMPF say give-DIR-1SG.OBJ-PASS DEMON bathe-MID=2PL.SUBJ=FUT

wa7 tsut.

IMPF say

'She said "They gave me this. You guys would be able to bathe," that's what she said.'

- (41) "O" kan¹⁰ tsun, "Nás=kan." Pákw=kan-a,
 EXCL 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) go=1SG.SUBJ set.off=1SG.SUBJ-CIRC

tsícw=kan áku7. Nílh=t'u7
 get.there=1SG.SUBJ DEIC FOC=just

s=n=s-qwé•qw•el' ti7 ti=wa7 tsún-em
 NOM=1SG.POSS=NOM-tell•CRED DEMON DET.SG=IMPF say(DIR)-PASS

wa7 *social worker*.

IMPF social worker

"Oh," I said. "I'm going there." I set off, I went there. and I told the social worker my sob story.'

- (42) Nílh=t'u7 s=7án'was sgap ku=7um'-en-túmul-em. Án'was
 FOC=just NOM=two evening DET=give-DIR-1PL.OBJ-PASS two

¹⁰ *kan* not in the original recording.

sgap! “O” kan tsun, “Án'was=klh sácw-em=lhkalh
 evening EXCL 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) two=FUT bathe-MID=1PL.POSS

tákem.”

all

‘So they gave us two nights. Two nights! “Oh” I said, “We’ll all have two baths.”’

- (43) Pákw=kalh-a áku7, án'was i=guy't-álhcw=a
 set off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC DEIC two DET.PL=sleep-place=EXIS

s=7um'-en-túmul-em. Tákem=lhkalh láta7 guy't.
 NOM=give-DIR-1PL.OBJ-PASS all=1PL.SUBJ DEIC sleep
 ‘We set off. They gave us two rooms at the hotel. We all slept there.’

- (44) Páqw=lhkalh ti=TV=ha, sácw-em=lhkalh,
 watch=1PL.SUBJ DET.SG=TV=EXIS bathe-MID=1PL.SUBJ

pipá•p•la7=lhkalh sácw-em.
 one by one•CRED•=1PL.SUBJ bathe-MID
 ‘We watched the television, we bathed, we bathed one by one.’

- (45) Nán'atcw aylh, nílh=t'u7 s=tsícw=lhkalh q'a7,
 morning then FOC=just NOM=get.there=1PL.POSS eat

wá7=lhkalh s-thermos, qúl-un-em i=thermos=a
 IMPF=1PL.SUBJ STAT-thermos full-DIR-1PL.ERG DET.PL=thermos=EXIS

múta7 i=zaw'áksten=a wa7 we7-án-em.
 and DET.PL=cup=EXIS IMPF own-DIR-1PL.ERG

Pákw=kalh-a q'wláw'-em.
 set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC pick.berries-MID
 ‘Then the next morning we went to eat, we had thermoses, so we filled our thermoses and the cups that we owned. We set off to pick berries.’

- (46) Tsun-tumúlh-as ti=syáqts7=a
 say(DIR)-1PL.OBJ-3ERG DET.SG=woman=EXIS

“Kanem=lhkál'ap=klh ku=lunch-láp, lh=kál'ap
 do.what=2PL.SUBJ=FUT DET=lunch-2PL.POSS COMP=2PL.SUBJ

ícwa7?”

without

‘The woman (social worker) asked us “What are you guys going to do for your lunch? Don’t you have any?”’

(47) “O” kan tsun “Wá7=lhkalh ka-7áz’-a ku=száq’
 EXCL 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) IMPF=1PL.SUBJ CIRC-buy-CIRC DET=bread

múta7 stam’. Plan wa7 cw7it i=kaopi-lhkálh=a,”
 and what already IMPF much DET.PL=coffee-1PL.POSS=EXIS

kan tsun. “Áma nílh=t’u7 s=wá7=lhkalh,
 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) good FOC=just NOM=IMPF=1PL.POSS

húz’=lhkalh q’wláw’-em,” kan tsun. Nílh=t’u7
 going.to=1PL.SUBJ pick.berries-MID 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) FOC=just

múta7 s=kwám•em•=lhkalh ku=s-q’a7.
 and NOM=take(MID)•FRED•=1PL.POSS DET=NOM-eat
 ““Oh,” I said “We can buy bread and things. We already have a lot of
 coffee,” I said. “No need to worry about us, we’re going berry
 picking,” I said. “Then we can get some more food.””

(48) “O” wa7 tsut.
 EXCL IMPF say
 ““Oh,” the woman said.’

(49) Pákw=kalh-a q’wláw’-em. Tsícw=lhkalh úxwal’.
 set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC pick.berries-MID get.there=1PL.SUBJ go.home

O, q’a7-s-tumúl-em ti=gáp=a s-q’a7,
 EXCL eat-CAUS-1PL.OBJ-1PL.ERG DET.SG=evening=EXIS NOM-eat

gúy’t=lhkalh, sacw-em=lhkálh=t’u7 múta7, tákem swat
 sleep=1PL.SUBJ bathe-MID=1PL.SUBJ=just and all who

sácw-em ti=s=7áy=s=a kw=at
 bathe-MID DET.SG=NOM=NEG=3POSS=EXIS DET=1PL.CONJ

ka-sácw-em-a láku7 l=t.=s=s=a wá7
 CIRC-bathe-MID-CIRC DEIC PREP=DET.SG=NOM=3POSS=EXIS LOC

ti=n-niece=a.

DET.SG=1SG.POSS-niece=EXIS

‘So we set off to pick berries, and then we went home. Oh, they gave us
 an evening meal, we slept, we bathed again, everybody bathed.
 Because we weren’t able to bathe over there at my niece’s.’

(50) Páqw=lhkalh ti=TV=ha, pákw=lhkalh-a múta7
 watch=1PL.SUBJ DET.SG=TV=EXIS set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC and

s-nán'atcw=s=a tsícw=kalh aylh áku7
NOM-morning-3POSS=EXIS get.there=1PL.SUBJ then DEIC

l=t.=s=s=a wá7 ti=núkw=a
PREP=DET.SG=NOM=3POSS=EXIS LOC DET.SG=1SG.POSS-other=EXIS

wa7 *niece*.

IMPF niece

'We watched the television, and we set off in the morning and we went to where my other niece lived.'

(51) Wa7 tsut "Kánem s=a=s án'was sq'it snuláp,
IMPF say why NOM=IMPF=3POSS two day 2PL.INDEP

pála7=t'u7 s7ents?" wa7 tsut.

one=just 1SG.INDEP IMPF say

'She said "Why two nights for you guys when I only got one?" she said.'

(52) "O, ama=lhkalh=a=qá7=t'u7" kan tsun.
EXCL good=1PL.SUBJ=A=PRESUP=just 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)

Nq'sánk=lhkalh aylh. Kan tsun kw=at tákem
laugh=1PL.SUBJ then 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) DET=1PL.CONJ all

áma, áma ku=úcwalmicw lh=at xíl-em áti7,
good good DET=Indian.people COMP=1PL.CONJ do-MID DEIC

án'was sgap kw=en=s=kwám·em.

two evening DET=1SG.POSS=NOM=take·FRED

'"Oh, because we're good," I said. We started to laugh. I said we were all good, good people. That's what happened there, I got two nights.'

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