

## Psychology

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### Comments

The English translation of this story was checked line-by-line with Laura Thevarge. Where the translation given was volunteered by Laura's own, I have annotated this with 'VG' (volunteered gloss) after the relevant line in the analysis section. Where Laura's translation was free, I have added a more literal translation.

### Original

Húz'lhkan sqweqwel'mín t.ssa xílem nskícez7a i was ripin'túmulhas. Nilh ti7 sxat's ni nskúz7a, nilh t'u7 sxílemlhkalh áti7 láku7 tsítcwsa. T'íqas ti wín'acwa ts7a mesín. Nilh t'u7 ses xát'min'as kwas zwátenas, wa7 k'a skúlstanemwit kwa tsúnem wa7 *psychology*. Aoz kwen zwáten ti7 ku sqwal'út, t'u7 wa7lhkal'áp k'a t'u7 snuláp zwáten ku *psychology*.

Nilh t'u7 sqwéqwel's kws *Lorna Williams* t.ssa xílem skícza7sa, t.ssa xílhstum'. Nilh t'u7 snstut, "Xílem t'u7 áti7 nskícez7a, ay t'u7 kwas tsunam'entúmulhas. Nilh t'u7 i wa7 stá7lhkalh múta7 i wa7 ts'ets'pa7lhkálh múta7 t'u7 i núkwa syeqyáqtsa7 wa7 skulstumúlhas. Ay t'u7 kwas skulstumúlem i slalil'temlhkálha."

Nilh t'u7 ses lhen tsut. Wa7 qwéqwel' k *Lorna* ti xílemsa ti skícza7sa. Tsúnem, "Nás malh, núwa ku huz' kukw lhkúnsa." Lan k'a ti7 wa7 q'em'p máqa7s ti7 ku syéy'qtsa7, nilh t'u7 stúnem kwas huz', nilh ku huz' mayt ku sq'á7i. Wa7 huz' kw'ezúsemwit láku7 lep'calteniha.

Nilh t'u7 sq'ílhils káti7, cwíl'em ku nuk'w7antáli. Ay t'u7 swat ku wa7 zwatentáli lhas stam' ku huz' q'welnás. Nilh t'u7 stúnem ti núkwa sta7s, "Stam' zam' k tsúntsihas skícza7swa, stam' ku wa7 zwátenacw kwásu q'wélen? Nilh t'u7 sqwal's stám'as k'a kwas huz' sk'ul's. "O áma, ts'íla áti7 ku kúkwsu, nilh t'u7 shuz's ámas."

Kan tsun t'it ti nskúz7a, "Xílhstum'cas t'it áti7 ti nskícez7a. Tsúntsas, "Snúwa ku huz' kukw, wá7lhkalh tsicw áku7 lep'cáltena." T.stsícwsa ti sqáycwa wa7 *plough*citúmulhas ti tmícwkalha shúz'lhkalha lep'cál.

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Cwíts'citsas ti ntsqústena múta7 i sqáwtsa múta7 ti ts'í7a. “Nílh izá skúkwsu,” wa7 tsut. “*Oh my*,” kan tsut. Ts'íla kelh xek t.ssa xílem i kel7ás. Aoz kwen zwáten lhen huz' skasts iz'. Sqawts, ts'í7, múta7 láti7 ált's'q7a lhhúz'an kukw, láti7 lhhúz'an q'wélen.

“O,” kan tsun. Tsícwkan, máytkan ti sp'ám'sa láti7. Ay t'u7 kw zwátenan lhhúz'an skasts tí7 ti cwíts'citsása ntsqústen. Lhvnkaya wa7 tsúnem, lhvnkaya. “O,” kan tsun. Tsícwkan cwíl'em káti7 i k'ét'ha. Máysenlhkan láti7 ts'íla ku np'ám'sten.

O, kwikws7úl ti7 t'u7 múta7. Aoz kws huz' kaq'wéla. Nílh t'u7 slha7enán t'u7 múta7 áti7 lti xzúma ti wa7 gwelp. “O, k'wík'wena7 t'u7 ku q7 huz' qwezenán,” kan tsutánwas. Aoz kwen zwáten lhan huz' kánem, nílh t'u7 sxwems kelh q'wel. “Lánlhkan tqilh wa7 áw'w'et,” kan tsutánwas.

Nílh t'u7 sxwémxwem láti7, q'wélen. Nílh t'u7 stsems i nskúkwa. “*Oh my*,” kan tsut. Nílh t'u7 sxlítinan nskícez7a. “Lan wa7 q'wel i nskúkwa!” kan tsun. Nílh t'u7 sxlítinas ti wa7 *plough*chítúmulhas. (Nílh t'u7 s)t'íqs áti7. Wis t'u7 ts'áqwan'as. Kéla7 tsem i sqáwtsa múta7 ti7 ti ts'í7sa. [laughs]

O, paqu7sútkan t'u7 séna7, t'u7 nílh t'u7 stsúntas, “O, kéla7 t'u7 ts7a t'ec *Laura*,” wa7 tsut, “Kéla7 t'u7 t'ec skúkwsa,” tsuntsas. [laughs] Nílh t'u7 s7aoz ku qlílmín'tsas nskícez7a. [laughs] O, qwámqwmetkalh. Paqu7sútkan t'u7 séna7 lánsa tsem i ... nílh t'u7 ses aylh tsut nskícez7a, “Kánem ses k'wík'wena7 i qú7a?” “Nílha qa7 kwas xwem wa7 q'wel,” kan tsun. Lhas k'wík'wena7 i qú7a, cw7i7t ka hem' séna7 i qú7a nílh t'u7 s7aozs kws tsems. Nílh kws xwem wa7 púlhelh, nílh wa7 tsutanwasmínan. [laughs]

Muzmitkálh tu7! Nílh ti7, kan tsun, nílh ti7 wa7 tsúnem k'a wa7 *psychology*, kan tsun. Wá7lhkalh k'a séna7 spáqwstum' i wa7 száytens i slalil'temlhkálha.

Nílh t'u7 ses, nílh t'u7 múta7 stsúntas ni spála7sa, “Lan aylh áma kwásu mayt ku szaq' papla7sút. Aoz kwen huz' wá7 lts7a, aoz kwen huz' wá7 kents7á papt. Húy'lhkan zuqw pála7 sq'it,” tsúntas. “Nílh ha kelh aylh kwen skúlstum'in?” tsúntasalem.

“O,” kan tsutánwas, “Húz'lhkan t'u7 mayt. Lexláxskan t.ssa xílem.” Ni...lh t'u7 nsxílem láti7, mayt zam' i száq'a . Kéla7 xzum ti7 ti níhám'tensa i húz'an sk'ul'. O, kéla7 t'u7 emhál'qwem'.

Wá...7lhkan k'ál'em kwas púcwlec. Ay t'u7 kwas púcw. Tsícwkan lhnéqwen, lha7enán ku slap' nílh kws nu7qw. “Xelh k'a t'u7,” kan tsutánwas. O, ay t'u7 kwas púcwlec.

(Nílh t'u7 s)t'íqs ti nstá7a. “Kánemlhkacw?” “Ay t'u7 kws púcwlec nszáq'a,” kan tsun. “Tsúntas nskícez7a kwen mayt.” Nílh t'u7 s7áts'xenas. “O, lan t'u7 áma kwásu q'wélen,” wa7 tsut. “Ay t'u7 kwas huz', kwikws t'u7 kws púcwlecs.” Nílh t'u7 sq'welenán. Nílh ka-q'welskaná cwílhá k'a ti wa7 tsúnem wa7 *yeast*. Qemp7úl ti qú7a. Wa7 tsut, “Qemp7úlskacw k'a t'u7 ti qú7a, nílh t'u7 sxílems áti7.”

Wa...7 t'u7 zam' t'ects i száq'a lhas qemp. K'a malh lan t'u7 wa7 ts'ip', nílh aylh ses ts'íla ku k'ét'as. [laughs] Nílh t'u7 stsúntas ti *nbrother-in-law*, “O, kéla7 t'u7 t'ec *Laura*,” wa7 tsut, “Kéla7 t'u7 t'ec.” [laughs]

Nílh iz' wa7 száytentlhkalh! Szaytenstúmulem i slalil'temlhkálha. Aoz

kwás skulstumúlem. Wá7lhkálh k'a t'u7 séna7 spáqwstanemwit,  
s7áts'xstanemwit lhas kánemwit. Nilh t'u7 snilh7s i núkwa t'ú7a úcwalmícw  
lkw7u nká7as kwásu tsicw. Nilh iz' t'u7 wa7 tsunam'entsíhas kwásu xílem.

Tsícwkalh lki núkwa tsitcw. Tsunam'entúmulem kwat mayt ku kiks,  
kwat mayt ku stam'. Aoz kws nilh i slalil'temlhkálha wa7 skulstumúlhas. Nilh  
ti7.

## English translation

I'm going to tell a story about what my mother did when she was raising us. That's what my daughter wanted to hear, that's what we did at her house. She brought a machine like that [tape-recorder]. She wanted to know, she was learning what they call 'psychology'. I don't know that word, but you people must know what psychology is.

Then Lorna Williams told a story about what her mother did to her. I said, "My mother did that too, she never taught us. It's our aunts and our grandfathers and other women that teach us. Our parents never taught us." That's what I said.

Lorna told what her mother did. Her mother told her, "You are going to cook today." That girl was maybe 10 years old, and she's the one that's going to fix their meal. They were going to work in their garden.

She ran around to all her relatives to see what she was gonna cook. They didn't know either. Then one of her aunts said to her, "What did your mother tell you, what do you know how to cook?" Then she [Lorna] told her [the aunt] what she was going to cook. "Oh good, you can cook like that and it'll be good."

So I told my daughter, "My mother did the same thing to me." She told me, "You're gonna cook, because we're going to the garden." There was a man who came to plough our field for us, where we were going to plant.

She gave me a pot, and some potatoes, and some meat. She said, "This is what you're going to cook." "Oh my," I said. That's the way they did things before. I didn't know what I was gonna do with this. Potatoes and the meat, I was going to cook outside.

"Oh," I said. I went there, I made the fire there. I didn't know what I was gonna do with that pot she had given me. *Lhvnkaya* [cast-iron pot] we call them, *lhvnkaya*. "Oh," I said. I went to look for rocks. I made a sort of a fire.

Oh, where I was fixing was too small. I wasn't gonna be able to put it there. So I had to push the rocks over to where it was burning more. "Oh, I'll just use a little bit of water," I thought. I didn't know what to do to make it cook faster. I was thinking, "I'm already getting behind."

So then I was in a hurry, I cooked fast. And then my cooking got burnt. "Oh my," I said. So I called my mother. "My cooking is cooked!" I called. So she called the man who was ploughing for us. They came. Still he ate it. It was really burnt, the potatoes and the meat. [laughs]

Oh, I was scared, but then he said, "Oh, this is very good Laura," he said. "What you cooked is really good," he told me. [laughs] So my mother didn't get mad at me. [laughs] Oh, it was very funny. I was scared because it was burnt ... So then she asked me, "How come there was a little bit of water?" So I said, "Oh, so it would cook faster!" "If there's a little bit of water ... there should have been a little more water, so it wouldn't get burnt" [my mother said]. But it was so it would boil faster, that's what I'd been thinking. [laughs]

We were so pitiful! That's what we call 'psychology', I think. We are supposed to watch what our parents do.

Another time she told me, “It’d be good if you make bread by yourself. I’m not going to be here, I won’t be around all the time. I will die one day,” she told me. “Should I teach you how to do it?” she asked me.

“Oh,” I thought, “I’ll do it. I think I remember what we did to make the bread.” So I made the bread. The pan where I was going to make it was really big. Oh, it [the bread, the dough] was really looking nice.

So I was waiting for it to rise. It didn’t rise. I went to warm it, I put it closer to the fire, and put a blanket over it so it would be warm. “It must be just cold,” I thought. Oh, it didn’t rise.

Then my aunt came. “What are you doing?” “My bread won’t rise,” I said. “My mother told me to make bread.” So she looked at it. “Oh, I think you better cook it,” she said. “It doesn’t look like it’s going to rise any more.” So I cooked it. But I must have cooked the yeast. The water was too hot. She said, “You must have had the water too hot, that’s why that happened.”

Well, the bread was very tasty while it was warm. But when it had cooled down, it was hard as rock. [laughs] Then my brother-in-law said, “Oh, it tastes really good Laura,” he said, “It’s really good.” [laughs]

That’s what we did! That’s what our parents do with us. They don’t teach us. We’re supposed to watch them, to see what they do. It’s other people, wherever else we go. They tell you what you should be doing. We went to other houses. They taught us how to bake cakes, how to make other things. It was not our parents who taught us. That’s it.

## Grammatical analysis

- (1) Húz'=lhkan sqweqwel'-mín t.=s=s=a do-MID  
 going.to=1SG.SUBJ tell.story-RED DET=NOM=3POSS=EXIS xíl-em

n-skícez7=a í=w=a=s  
 1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS when.PAST=IMPF=3POSS

rip-in'-túmulh-as.

grow-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG

'I'm going to tell a story about what my mother did when she was raising us.'

- (2) Nilh ti7 s=xat'=s ni=skúz7=a, nilh=t'u7  
 FOC DEMON NOM=want=3POSS DET=child=EXIS FOC=just

s=xíl-em=lhkalh áti7 láku7 tsítcw-s=a.  
 NOM=do-MID=1PL.POSS DEIC DEIC house-3POSS=EXIS

'That's what my daughter wanted to hear, that's what we did at her house.' [VG]

- (3) T'íq-s-as ti=wín'acw=a ts7a mesín.  
 arrive-CAUS-3ERG DET=similar=EXIS DEIC machine  
 'She brought a machine like that [tape-recorder].' [VG]

- (4) Nilh=t'u7 s=e=s xát'-min'-as k=wa=s  
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS want-RED-3ERG DET=IMPF=3POSS

zwát-en-as, wá7=k'a skúl-s-tanemwit k=wa  
 know-DIR-ERG IMPF=EPIS school-CAUS-3PL.PASS DET=IMPF

tsún-em wa7 *psychology*.  
 say(DIR)-PASS IMPF *psychology*

'She wanted to know, she was learning what they call 'psychology'.'

- (5) Aoz kw=en zwát-en ti7 ku=s-qwal'út,  
 NEG DET=1SG.POSS know-DIR DEMON DET=NOM-talk

t'u7 wa7=lhkal'áp=k'a=t'u7 snuláp zwát-en ku=*psychology*.  
 but IMPF=2PL.SUBJ=EPIS=just 2PL.INDEP know-DIR DET=*psychology*

'I don't know that word, but you people must know what psychology is.' [VG]

- (6) Nilh=t'u7 sqwéqwel'=s kw=s=Lorna Williams  
 FOC=just tell.story=3POSS DET=NOM=Lorna Williams



- (12) Tsún-em, “Nás=malh, núwa ku=húz’  
 say(DIR)-PASS go=ADHORT 2SG.INDEP DET=going.to  
 kukw lhkúnsa.”  
 cook today  
 ‘Her mother told her, “You are going to cook today.”’
- (13) Lán=k’a=ti7 wa7 q’em’p máqa7-s ti7  
 already=EPIS=DEMON IMPF ten year-3POSS DEMON  
 ku=syéy’qtsa7,  
 DET=girl  
 ‘That girl was maybe 10 years old,’
- (14) nílh=t’u7 s=tsún-em k=wa=s huz’,  
 FOC=just NOM=say(DIR)-PASS DET=IMPF=3POSS going.to  
 nilh ku=húz’ mayt ku=s-q’á7-i.  
 FOC DET=going.to make DET=NOM-eat-3PL.POSS  
 ‘and she’s the one that’s going to fix their meal.’ [VG]
- (15) Wa7 huz’ kw’ezús-em=wit láku7 lep’-cal-ten-í=ha.  
 IMPF going.to work-MID=3PL DEIC dig-ACT-INSTR-3PL.POSS=EXIS  
 ‘They were going to work in their garden.’
- (16) Nílh=t’u7 s=q’ílhil=s káti7, cwíl’-em ku=nuk’w7-an-táli.  
 FOC=just NOM=run=3POSS DEIC look.for-MID DET=help-DIR-TOP  
 ‘She ran around to all her relatives to see what she was gonna cook.’  
 [VG]  
 (literally: ‘She ran around there, looking for someone to help her.’)
- (17) Áy=t’u7 swat ku=wa7 zwat-en-táli lh=as stam’  
 NEG=just who DET=IMPF know-DIR-TOP COMP=3CONJ what  
 ku=húz’ q’wel-n-ás.  
 DET=going.to cook-DIR-3ERG  
 ‘They didn’t know either.’ [VG]  
 (literally: ‘No-one knew what she was going to cook.’)
- (18) Nílh=t’u7 s=tsún-em ti=núkw=a sta7-s,  
 FOC=just NOM=say(DIR)-PASS DET=other=EXIS aunt-3POSS  
 ‘Then one of her aunts said to her,’
- (19) “Stam’ zam’ k=tsún-tsi-has skícza7-sw=a,  
 what after.all DET=say(DIR)-2SG.OBJ-3ERG mother-2SG.POSS=EXIS  
 ‘“What did your mother tell you,’

- (20) stam' ku=wa7 zwát-en=acw k=wá=su  
 what DET=IMPF know-DIR=2SG.CONJ DET=IMPF=2SG.POSS

q'wél-en?  
 cook-dir  
 'what do you know how to cook?'

- (21) Nílh=t'u7 (s=)sqwal'=s stám'=as=k'a  
 FOC=just (NOM=)tell=3POSS what=3CONJ=EPIS

k=wa=s huz' s=k'ul'=s.  
 DET=IMPF=3POSS going.to NOM=make=3POSS  
 'Then she [Lorna] told her [the aunt] what she was going to cook.'  
 [VG]

- (22) "O áma, ts'íla áti7 ku=kúkw=su, nílh=t'u7  
 oh good like DEIC DET=cook=2SG.POSS FOC=just

s=huz'=s áma=s."  
 NOM=going.to=3POSS good=3POSS  
 ' "Oh good, you can cook like that and it'll be good." ' [VG]

- (23) Kan tsun t'it ti=n-skúz7=a,  
 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) also DET=1SG.POSS-child=EXIS

"Xílh-s-tum'c-as t'it áti7 ti=n-skícez7=a.  
 do-CAUS-1SG.OBJ-3ERG also DEIC DET=1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS  
 'So I told my daughter, "My mother did the same thing to me." ' [VG]

- (24) Tsún-ts-as, "Snúwa ku=huz' kukw,  
 say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG 2SG.INDEP DET=going.to cook

wá7=lhkalh tsicw áku7 lep'-cál-ten=a."  
 IMPF=1PL.SUBJ get.there DEIC dig-ACT-INSTR=EXIS  
 'She told me, "You're gonna cook, because we're going to the garden." ' [VG]

- (25)<sup>2</sup> T.=s=tsicw=s=a ti=sqáycw=a wa7  
 DET=NOM=get.there=3POSS=EXIS DET=man=EXIS IMPF

plough-ci(t)-túmulh-as ti=tmícw-kalh=a  
 plough-IND-1PL.OBJ-3ERG DET=land-1PL.POSS=EXIS

<sup>2</sup> On the recording, Laura originally said *nilh t'u7 slep'* ... before line (25). When asked about this, Laura said "I was going to say *nilh t'u7 slep'cállhkalh* ['so we started digging'], but we hadn't done that yet, so I took that out. It's not in the sentence; it doesn't belong!"

s=húz'=lhkahl=a                      lep'-cál.  
 NOM=going.to=1PL.POSS=EXIS   dig-ACT  
 'There was a man who came to plough our field for us, where we were  
 going to plant.' [VG]

(26) Cwíts'-ci(t)-ts-as                      ti=ntsqústen=a      múta7  
 hand-IND-1SG.OBJ-3ERG   DET=pot=EXIS      and

i=sqáwts=a                      múta7      ti=ts'í7=a.  
 DET.PL=potato=EXIS              and              DET=meat=EXIS  
 'She gave me a pot, and some potatoes, and some meat.'

(27) "Nilh      izá                      s=kúkw=su,"                      wa7      tsut.  
 FOC              DEMON.PL              NOM=cook=2SG.POSS              IMPF              say  
 'She said, "This is what you're going to cook.'" [VG]

(28) "Oh my,"              kan                      tsut.  
 oh my                      1SG.SUBJ                      say  
 ' "Oh my," I said.'

(29) Ts'íla=kelh              xek              t.=s=s=a                      xíl-em  
 like=FUT                      maybe              DET=NOM=3POSS=EXIS              do-MID

i=kel7=ás.  
 when.PAST=first=3CONJ  
 'That's the way they did things before.' [VG]

(30) aoz              kw=en=zwát-en                      lh=en                      huz'  
 NEG              DET=1SG.POSS-know-DIR              COMP=1SG.POSS              going.to

skas-ts                      iz'.  
 how-CAUS                      DEMON.PL  
 'I didn't know what I was gonna do with this.' [VG]

(31)<sup>3</sup> Sqawts, ts'í7,      múta7      láti7      áłts'q7=a  
 potato      meat      and      DEIC      outside=EXIS

lh=húz'=an                      kukw, láti7      lh=húz'=an  
 COMP=going.to=1SG.CONJ      cook      DEIC      COMP=going.to=1SG.CONJ

q'wél-en.  
 cook-DIR  
 'Potatoes and the meat, I was going to cook outside.' [VG]

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<sup>3</sup> Some false starts have been edited out of this line, after consultation with Laura.

- (32) “O,” kan tsun.  
oh 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)  
‘“Oh,” I said.’
- (33) Tsícw=kan, máyt=kan ti=sp’ám’s=a láti7.  
get.there=1SG.SUBJ fix=1SG.SUBJ DET=fire=EXIS DEIC  
‘I went there, I made the fire there.’
- (34) Áy=t’u7 kw=zwát-en=an lh=húz’=an  
NEG=just DET=know-DIR=1SG.CONJ COMP=going.to=1SG.CONJ  
skas-ts ti7 ti=cwits’-ci(t)-ts-ás=a ntsqústen.  
how-CAUS DEMON DET=hand-IND-1SG.OBJ-3ERG=EXIS pot  
‘I didn’t know what I was gonna do with that pot she had given me.’
- (35) Lhvnkaya wa7 tsún-em, lhvnkaya.<sup>4</sup>  
cast.iron.pot IMPF say(DIR)-1PL.ERG cast.iron.pot  
‘*Lhvnkaya* [cast-iron pot] we call them, *lhvnkaya*.’
- (36) “O,” kan tsun.  
oh 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)  
‘“Oh,” I said.’
- (37) Tsícw=kan cwíl’-em káti7 i=k’ét’h=a.<sup>5</sup>  
get.there=1SG.SUBJ look.for-MID DEIC DET.PL=rock=EXIS  
‘I went to look for rocks.’ [VG]
- (38) Máys-en=lhkan láti7 ts’íla ku=n-p’ám’s-ten.  
fix-DIR=1SG.SUBJ DEIC like DET=LOC-firewood-INSTR  
‘I made a sort of a fire.’
- (39) O, kwikws-7úl=ti7=t’u7 múta7.<sup>6</sup>  
oh small-too=DEMON=just again  
‘Oh, where I was fixing was too small.’ [VG]  
(literally: ‘It was too small.’)
- (40) Aoz kw=s=huz’ ka-q’wél-a.  
NEG DET=NOM=going.to CIRC-cook-CIRC  
‘I wasn’t gonna be able to put it there.’ [VG]  
(literally: ‘It wasn’t going to be able to cook.’)

<sup>4</sup> Laura comments: “Ours was rounded on the bottom; a lot of them were flat. Ours was round on the bottom. I guess you were supposed to be able to bury it.”

<sup>5</sup> Laura explains: “I was putting the rocks around where I could put the pot.”

<sup>6</sup> Laura explains: “I was making something to put the pot in, and it was too small.”

- (41) Nílh=t'u7 s=lha7-en=án=t'u7 múta7 áti7  
 FOC=just NOM=place-DIR-1SG.CONJ=just again DEIC  
 l=ti=xzúm=a ti=wa7 gwelp.  
 PREP=DET=big=EXIS DET=IMPF burn  
 'So I had to push the rocks over to where it was burning more.' [VG]
- (42) "O, k'wík'wena7=t'u7 ku=qú7 huz' qwez-en=án,"  
 oh few=just DET=water going.to use-DIR=1SG.CONJ  
 kan tsut-ánwas.  
 1SG.SUBJ say-inside  
 '“Oh, I'll just use a little bit of water,” I thought.'
- (43) Aoz kw=en=zwat-en lh=an huz' kánem,  
 NEG DET=1SG.POSS-know-DIR COMP=1SG.CONJ going.to do.what  
 nílh=t'u7 s=xwém=s=kelh q'wel.  
 FOC=just NOM=fast=3POSS=FUT cook  
 'I didn't know what to do to make it cook faster.'
- (44) "Lán=lhkan tqilh wa7 áw'w'et,"  
 already=1SG.SUBJ almost IMPF late  
 kan tsut-ánwas.  
 1SG.SUBJ say-inside  
 'I was thinking, "I'm getting behind." ' [VG]  
 (literally: "I'm already almost late," I thought.)
- (45) Nílh=t'u7 s=xwém•xwem• láti7, q'wél-en.  
 FOC=just NOM=fast•TRED• DEIC cook-DIR  
 'So then I was in a hurry, I cooked fast.' [VG]
- (46) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsem=s i=n-s-kúkw=a.  
 FOC=just NOM=burn=3POSS DET.PL=1SG.POSS-NOM-cook=EXIS  
 'And then my cooking got burnt.' [VG]
- (47) "Oh my," kan tsut.  
 oh my 1SG.SUBJ say  
 '“Oh my,” I said.'<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> I asked Laura whether 'oh, my' used to be said in the old days. She responded: "I remember Mum always saying that, 'oh my'." 'My' is also found in several of the stories in van Eijk and Williams (1981), for example in stories by Martina LaRochelle (pp. 36, 46) and Rosie Joseph (p. 92).

- (48) Nílh=t'u7 s=xlít-en=an n-skícez7=a.  
 FOC=just NOM=call-DIR=1SG.CONJ 1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS  
 'So I called my mother.'
- (49) "Lan wa7 q'wel i=n-s-kúkw=a!"  
 already IMPF cook DET.PL-1SG.POSS-NOM-cook-EXIS  
  
 kan tsun.  
 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)  
 ' "My cooking is cooked!" I called.' [VG]
- (50) Nílh=t'u7 s=xlít-en-as ti=wa7 plough-ci(t)-túmulh-as.  
 FOC=just NOM-call-DIR-3ERG DET=IMPF plough-IND-1PL.OBJ-3ERG  
 'So she called the man who was ploughing for us.'
- (51) (Nílh=t'u7 s=)t'iq=s áti7.  
 (FOC=just NOM=)arrive=3POSS DEIC  
 'They came.'
- (52) Wís=t'u7 ts'áqw-an'-as.  
 indeed=just eat-DIR-3ERG  
 'Still he ate it.' [VG]
- (53) Kéla7 tsem ti=sqáwts=a múta7 ti7  
 first burnt DET=potato=EXIS and DEMON  
  
 ti=ts'í7-s=a.  
 DET=meat-3POSS=EXIS  
 'It was really burnt, the potatoes and the meat.' [VG] [laughs]
- (54) O, paqu7-sút=kan=t'u7 séna7, t'u7 nílh=t'u7  
 oh scared-OOC=1SG.SUBJ=just COUNTER but FOC=just  
  
 s=tsún-ts-as,  
 NOM-say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG  
 'Oh, I was scared, but then he said,'
- (55) "O, kéla7=t'u7 ts7a t'ec Laura," wa7 tsut.  
 oh first=just DEMON tasty Laura IMPF say  
 ' "Oh, this is very good Laura," he said.'
- (56) "Kéla7=t'u7 t'ec s-kúkw-sw=a," tsún-ts-as.  
 first=just sweet NOM-cook-2SG.POSS=EXIS say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG  
 ' "What you cooked is really good," he told me.' [laughs]

- (57) Nílh=t'u7 s=7aoz ku=qlíl-min'-ts-as  
 FOC=just NOM=NEG DET=angry-RED-1 SG.OBJ-3ERG  
 n-skícez7=a.  
 1 SG.POSS-mother=EXIS  
 'So my mother didn't get mad at me.' [VG] [laughs]
- (58) O, qwámqwmet=kalh.  
 oh funny=1PL.SUBJ  
 'Oh, it was very funny.' [VG]
- (59) Paqu7-sút=kan=t'u7=séna7 lán=s=a  
 scared-OOC=1 SG.SUBJ=just=COUNTER already=3POSS=EXIS  
 tsem i= ...  
 burnt DET.PL=  
 'I was scared because it was burnt ...'
- (60) nílh=t'u7 s=e=s aylh tsut n-skícez7=a,  
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS then say 1 SG.POSS-mother=EXIS  
 "Kánem s=e=s k'wík'wena7 i=qú7=a?"  
 why NOM=IMPF=3POSS few DET.PL=water=EXIS  
 'So then she asked me, "How come there was a little bit of water?"'  
 [VG]
- (61) "Nílh=a=qa7 k=wa=s xwem wa7 q'wel,"  
 FOC=A=PRESUPP DET=IMPF=3POSS fast IMPF cook  
 kan tsun.  
 1 SG.SUBJ say(DIR)  
 'So I said, "Oh, so it would cook faster!"' [VG]
- (62) "Lh=as k'wík'wena7 i=qú7=a ...  
 COMP(=IMPF)=3CONJ few DET.PL=water=EXIS  
 ' "If there's a little bit of water ..."
- (63) cw7i•7•t=ka=hem' séna7 i=qú7=a  
 many•CRED•=DEON=ANTI COUNTER DET.PL=water=EXIS  
 nílh=t'u7 s=7aoz=s kw=s=tsem=s."  
 FOC=just NOM=NEG=3POSS DET=NOM=burnt=3POSS  
 'There should have been a little more water, so it wouldn't get burnt'  
 [my mother said].'<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Laura comments: "I should have said *tsúntsas* ['she told me']."

- (64) Nilh kw=s=xwem wa7 púlh•elh•, nilh wa7  
 FOC DET=NOM=fast IMPF boil•FRED• FOC IMPF
- tsut-anwas-mín=an.  
 say-inside-RED=1SG.CONJ  
 ‘But it was so it would boil faster, that’s what I’d been thinking.’  
 [laughs]
- (65) Muzmit=kálh=tu7!  
 pitiful=1PL.SUBJ=then  
 ‘We were so pitiful!’
- (66) Nilh=ti7, kan tsun, nilh=ti7 wa7  
 FOC=DEMON 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) FOC=DEMON IMPF
- tsún-em=k’a wa7 *psychology*, kan tsun.  
 say(DIR)-1PL.ERG=EPIS IMPF *psychology* 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)  
 ‘That’s what we call ‘psychology’, I think.’ [VG]
- (67) Wá7=lhkálh=k’a séna7 s-páqw-s-tum’  
 IMPF=1PL.SUBJ=EPIS COUNTER STAT-watch-CAUS-1PL.ERG
- i=wa7 száyten-s  
 DET.PL=IMPF business-3POSS
- i=slalil’tem-lhkálh=a.  
 DET.PL=parents-1PL.POSS=EXIS  
 ‘We are supposed to watch what our parents do.’ [VG]
- (68) Nilh=t’u7 s=e=s, nilh=t’u7 múta7  
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS FOC=just and
- s=tsún-ts-as ni=s-pála7-s=a,  
 NOM=say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DET=NOM-one-3POSS=EXIS  
 ‘Another time she told me,’ [VG]
- (69) “Lan aylh áma k=wá=su mayt  
 already then good DET=IMPF=2SG.POSS fix
- ku=száq’ papla7-sút.  
 DET=bread one(HUMAN)-OOC  
 ‘“It’d be good if you make bread by yourself.” [VG]
- (70) Aoz kw=en=húz’ wá7 lts7a,  
 NEG DET=1SG.POSS=going.to be DEIC  
 ‘I’m not going to be here,’

- (71) aoz kw=en=húz' wá7 kents7á papt.  
 NEG DET=1SG.POSS=going.to be DEIC always  
 'I won't be around all the time.' [VG]
- (72) Húy'=lhkan zuqw pála7 sq'it," tsún-ts-as.  
 going.to=1SG.SUBJ die one day say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG  
 'I will die one day," she told me.' [VG]
- (73) "Nílh=ha=kelh aylh kw=en=skúl-s-tum'in?"  
 FOC=YNQ=FUT then DET=1SG.POSS=school-CAUS-2SG.OBJ  
 tsún-tsal-em.  
 say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-PASS  
 "Should I teach you how to do it?" she asked me.'
- (74) "O," kan tsut-ánwas, "Húz'=lhkan=t'u7 mayt."  
 oh 1SG.SUBJ say-inside going.to=1SG.SUBJ-just fix  
 ' "Oh," I thought, "I'll do it.'
- (75) Lexlax-s=kan t.=s=s=a xíl-em.  
 remember-CAUS=1SG.SUBJ DET=NOM=3POSS=EXIS do-MID  
 'I think I remember what we did to make the bread.' [VG]
- (76) Ní...lh=t'u7 n=s=xíl-em láti7, mayt zam'  
 FOC=just 1SG.POSS=NOM=do-MID DEIC fix after.all  
 i=száq'=a .  
 DET.PL=bread=EXIS  
 'So I made the bread.' [VG]
- (77) Kéla7 xzum ti7 ti=nlhám'-ten-s=a  
 first big DEMON DET=put.in-INSTR-3POSS=EXIS  
 i=húz'=an s-k'ul'.  
 when.PAST=going.to=1SG.CONJ NOM-make  
 'The pan where I was going to make it was really big.'
- (78) O, kéla7=t'u7 emh-ál'qwem'.  
 oh first=just good-appear  
 'Oh, it [the bread, the dough] was really looking nice.' [VG]

- (79) Wá...7=lhkan k'ál'-em k=wa=s púcw-lec.  
 IMPF=1SG.SUBJ wait-MID DET=IMPF=3POSS blow-AUT  
 'So I was waiting for it to rise.'
- (80) Áy=t'u7 k=wa=s pucw.<sup>9</sup>  
 NEG=just DET=IMPF=3POSS blow  
 'It didn't rise.'
- (81) Tsícw=kan lh=néqw-en,  
 get.there=1SG.SUBJ COMP=warm-DIR  
 'I went to warm it,'
- (82) lha7-en=án ku=sláp' nilh kw=s=nu•7•qw.  
 put-DIR=1SG.CONJ DET=blanket FOC DET=NOM=warm•INCH•  
 'I put it closer to the fire, and put a blanket over it so it would be  
 warm.' [VG]
- (83) "Xélh=k'a=t'u7," kan tsut-ánwas.  
 cold=EPIS=just 1SG.SUBJ say-inside  
 "It must be just cold," I thought.' [VG]
- (84) O, áy=t'u7 k=wa=s púcw-lec.  
 oh NEG=just DET=IMPF=3POSS swell-AUT  
 'Oh, it didn't rise.'
- (85) (Nílh=t'u7 s=)t'iq=s ti=n-stá7=a.  
 FOC=just NOM=arrive=3POSS DET=1SG.POSS-aunt=EXIS  
 'Then my aunt came.'
- (86) "Kánem=lhkacw?"  
 do.what=2SG.SUBJ  
 ' "What are you doing?" '
- (87) "Áy=t'u7 kw=s=púcw-lec n-száq'=a,"  
 NEG=just DET=NOM=blow-AUT 1SG.POSS-bread=EXIS  
 kan tsun.  
 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)  
 ' "My bread won't rise," I said.'
- (88) "Tsún-ts-as n-skícez7=a kw=en=mayt."  
 say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG 1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS DET=1SG.POSS=fix  
 ' "My mother told me to make bread." '

<sup>9</sup> Laura corrects this to *Ay t'u7 kwas púcwlec*.

- (89) Nílh=t'u7 s=7áts'x-en-as.  
 FOC=just NOM=see-DIR-3ERG  
 'So she looked at it.'
- (90) "O, lán=t'u7 áma k=wá=su q'wél-en,"  
 oh already=just good DET=IMPF=2SG.POSS cook-DIR  
 wa7 tsut.  
 IMPF say  
 ' "Oh, I think you better cook it," she said.' [VG]
- (91) "Áy=t'u7 k=wa=s huz', kwíkws=t'u7  
 NEG=just DET=IMPF=3POSS going.to small=just  
 kw=s=púcw-lec=s."  
 DET=NOM=blow-AUT=3POSS  
 ' "It doesn't look like it's going to rise any more." ' [VG]
- (92) Nílh=t'u7 s=q'wel-en=án.  
 FOC=just NOM=cook-DIR=1SG.CONJ  
 'So I cooked it.'
- (93) Nílh ka-q'wel-s=kan-a=cwillh=á=k'a  
 FOC CIRC-cook-CAUS=1SG.SUBJ-CIRC=after.all=A=EPIS  
 ti=wá7 tsún-em wa7 yeast.  
 DET=IMPF say(DIR)-PASS IMPF yeast  
 'But I must have cooked the yeast.' [VG]
- (94) Qemp-7úl ti=qú7=a.  
 hot-too DET=water=EXIS  
 'The water was too hot.'
- (95) Wa7 tsut, "Qemp-7ul-s=kacw=k'á=t'u7 ti=qú7=a,  
 IMPF say hot-too-CAUS=2SG.SUBJ=EPIS=just DET=water=EXIS  
 nílh=t'u7 s=xíl-em=s áti7."  
 FOC=just NOM-do-MID=3POSS DEIC  
 'She said, "You must have had the water too hot," that's why that happened.' '
- (96) Wá...7=t'u7 zam' t'ec<sup>10</sup> i=száq'=a  
 IMPF=just after.all tasty DET.PL=bread=EXIS

<sup>10</sup> This was originally *t'ects*, but Laura corrected it to *t'ec* when listening to the recording.

- lh=as                      qemp.  
 COMP=3CONJ            hot  
 ‘Well, the bread was very tasty while it was warm.’ [VG]
- (97) K’á=malh              lán=t’u7              wa7              ts’ip’,              nilh              aylh  
 EPIS=ADHORT            already=just            IMPF            cold            FOC            then
- s=e=s                                      ts’íla              ku=k’ét’a=s.  
 NOM=IMPF=3POSS                      like              DET=rock=3CONJ  
 ‘But when it had cooled down, it was hard as rock.’ [VG] [laughs]
- (98) Nílh=t’u7              s-tsún-ts-as                                      ti=n-*brother-in-law*,  
 FOC=just              NOM-say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG            DET=NOM-brother-in-law  
 ‘Then my brother-in-law said,’
- (99) “O,              kéla7=t’u7              t’ec              *Laura*,” wa7              tsut,  
 oh              first=just              sweet              Laura            IMPF            say
- “Kéla7=t’u7              t’ec.”  
 first=just              sweet  
 ““Oh, it tastes really good Laura,” he said, “It’s really good.”” [laughs]
- (100) Nilh              iz’                                      wa7              száyten-lhkalh!  
 FOC            DEMON.PL                                      IMPF              business-1PL.POSS  
 ‘That’s what we did!’
- (101) Szayten-s-túmúl-em                                      i=slalil’tem-lhkalh=a.  
 business-CAUS-1PL.OBJ-PASS                                      DET.PL=parents-1PL.POSS=EXIS  
 ‘That’s what our parents do with us.’ [VG]
- (102) Aoz              k=wa=s                                      skul-s-tumúl-em.  
 NEG              DET=IMPF=3POSS            school-CAUS=1PL.OBJ-PASS  
 ‘They don’t teach us.’ [VG]
- (103) Wa7=lhkalh=k’á=t’u7              séna7              s-paqw-s-tánemwit,  
 IMPF=1PL.SUBJ=EPIS=just            COUNTER            STAT-watch-CAUS-3PL.PASS
- s-7ats’x-s-tánemwit              lh=as                                      kánem=wit.  
 STAT-see-CAUS-3PL.PASS            COMP=3CONJ                                      do.what=3PL  
 ‘We’re supposed to watch them, to see what they do.’ [VG]
- (104) Nílh=t’u7              s=nilh=ts                                      i=núkw=a=t’ú7=a  
 FOC=just            NOM=FOC=3POSS            DET.PL=other=EXIS=just=A

úcwalmicw<sup>11</sup> lkw7u nká7=as k=wá=su  
 person DEIC where=3 CONJ DET=IMPF=2SG.POSS

tsicw.  
 get.there  
 ‘It’s other people, wherever else we go.’ [VG]

(105) Nílh=iz’=t’u7 wa7 tsunam’-en-tsí-has  
 FOC=DEMON.PL=just IMPF teach-DIR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG

k=wá=su xíl-em.  
 DET=IMPF=2SG.POSS do-MID  
 ‘They tell you what you should be doing.’

(106) Tsícw=kalh l=ki=núkw=a tsicw.  
 get.there-1PL.SUBJ PREP=DET.PL=other=EXIS house  
 ‘We went to other houses.’

(107) Tsunam’-en-túmúl-em k=w=at mayt  
 teach-DIR-1PL.OBJ-PASS DET=IMPF=1PL.CONJ make

ku=kíks, k=w=at mayt ku=stám’.  
 DET=cake DET=IMPF=1PL.CONJ make DET=what  
 ‘They taught us how to bake cakes, how to make other things.’ [VG]

(108) Aoz kw=s=nilh i=slalil’tem-lhkálh=a wa7  
 NEG DET=NOM=FOC DET.PL=parent-1PL.POSS=EXIS IMPF

skul-s-tumúlh-as.  
 school-CAUS-1PL.OBJ-3ERG  
 ‘It was not our parents who taught us.’ [VG]

(109) Nílh=ti7.  
 FOC=DEMON  
 ‘That’s it.’

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<sup>11</sup> This was originally *i ucwalmícwa*, but Laura corrected it to *úcwalmicw* when listening to the recording.