Í7wa7 i tsíkena, aoz kws kats'aqwstalíha i sqáwtsa[1,2]
'The fried potatoes, even the chickens wouldn't eat'

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Original[3]

I kel7án wa7 melyíh, tákem t'u7 wa7 papt wa7 t'iq, i nsésq'wez'a múta7 i nsúq'wez'a múta7 i nsnek'wnúk'w7a t'u7, wa7 t'u7 t'iqstwítas i stsmál'tiha. Nilh t'u7 lhwalenítas, t'ákwit, t'ákwit t'u7 úxwal' t'u7. T'íqwit aylh múta7 kwánitas lhas lan wa7 tsukw ku *holidáy*wit.

Nilh tu7 st'aks tsúwa7s ti nsésq'wez'a *turn* ku t'iq. Mítsa7qlhkalh káti7 k'wezúsem lti tmícwlhkalha nkwtámtsa múta7 s7ents múta7 i núkwa nstsmal't. Nilh t'u7 stsut.s ti nkwtámtsa, "Nílh t'u7 áma kwásu nas kukw, húz'lhkalh q'a7, q'7ál'men kalálas." "O", nilh stsut.s ti nsésq'wez'a, "o, ents kelh ku kukw." Wa7 tsut, "ents ku nas kukw." Wá7lhkan kelh k'íxin' ku sqawts." Kan tsun "O, wa7 láku7 i *sausage*a nilh shuz's snúk'wa7s." Nílh tu7 smaysts. Kéla7 emhál'qwem' i sk'íxa sqawts smaysts. Húz'lhkalh aylh ts'áqwan'em. Ay t'u7 kats'áqwstum'a tákemlhkalha (t.s)cw7it7úlsa t'u7 i *sált*a. T'anam'ílc ti nkwtámtsa. Huz' séna7 ts'áqwan'as, ay t'u7. "O," kan tsun, "um'eném kelh i tsíkena. (Hu)z' ts'aqwan'ítas klh." Nilh t'u7 s7úm'enem i tsíkena. Í7wa7 i tsíkena, ay kws kats'aqwstáliha i sqáwtsa, t.scw7ít.sa t'ú7a i *sált*a. O, tqilh ílal ti nsésq'wez'a.

P'an't.s aylh kw skúl áku7 *Kamloops*. Nilh sqweqwel'mínas. Nilh st'cums ti *first prize*a.

English Translation

When I was first married, everyone always came; my sisters and my brothers and relatives, they all brought their children. They brought them, left them there and then they went home. Then they came back and took them, when they were finished with their holiday.

Then my little sister came, it was her turn to come. We were sitting around working on our land, my husband and me and my children. Then my husband said: "It would be good if you would cook, we are going to get hungry soon." "Oh," my sister said, "oh, I will be the one to cook." She said: "I'll cook. I'll fry potatoes." I said, "There are sausages to go with them in there." They got made. At first the fried potatoes that she made looked really good. Then we were going to eat them. None of us could eat them, because there was too much salt. My husband tried them, he was going to eat them, but he couldn't. "Oh," I said, "we will give them to the chickens. They will eat them." So, we gave the potatoes to the chickens. But even the chickens couldn't eat the potatoes, because they just had too much salt. Then, my younger sister almost started to cry.

Then she went back to Kamloops to school. She wrote a story about it, and she won first prize.

Grammatical Analysis

(1) I=kel7án   wa7   melyíh,
when.PAST=first=1SG.CONJ   IMPF   marry
'When I was first married,'

(2) tákem=t'u7   wa7   papt   wa7   t'iq,
all=just   IMPF   always   IMPF   arrive

i=n-sésq'wez'=a   múta7
DET.PL=1SG.POSS-younger.sibling=EXIS   and

i=n-súq'wez'-a   múta7
DET.PL=1SG.POSS-brother=EXIS   and

i=n-s•nek'w•núk'w7=a=t'u7,   wá7=t'u7
DET.PL=1SG.POSS-•TRED•friend=EXIS=just   IMPF=PAST

t'iq-s-twítas   i=stsmál't-i=ha
arrive-CAUS-3PL.ERG   DET.PL=offspring(PL)-3PL.POSS=EXIS
'everyone always came; my sisters and my brothers and relatives, they all brought their children.'

(3) Nílh=t'u7   lhwal-en-ítas,   t'ák=wit,
FOC=just   leave-DIR-3PL.ERG   go.along=3PL

t'ák=wit=t'u7   úxwal'=t'u7.
go.along=3PL=just   go.home=just
'They brought them, left them there and then they went home.'

(4) T'íq=wit   aylh   múta7   kwán-itas   lh=as
arrive=3PL   then   and   take(DIR)-3PL.ERG   HYP=3CONJ
'Then they came back and took them,'

(5) lan   wa7   tsukw   ku=*holidáy*=wit.
already   IMPF   finish   DET=holiday=3PL
'when they were finished with their holiday.'

(6) Nílh=tu7   s=t'ak=s   tsúwa7-s
FOC=then   NOM=go.along=3POSS   own-3POSS

ti=n-sésq'wez'=a   *turn*   ku=t'íq.
DET=1SG.POSS-younger.sibling=EXIS   turn   DET=arrive
'Then my little sister came, it was her turn to come.'

(7)   Mítsa7q=lhkalh   káti7   k'wezús-em
          sit=1PL.SUBJ   DEIC   work-MID

          l=ti=tmícw-lhkalh=a   n-kwtámts=a   múta7
          PREP=DET=land-1PL.POSS=EXIS   1SG.POSS-husband=EXIS   and

          s7ents   múta7   i=núkw=a   n-stsmal't.
          1SG.INDEP   and   DET.PL=other=EXIS 1SG.POSS-offspring.PL
          'We were sitting around working on our land, my husband and me and
          my children.'

(8)   Nílh=t'u7   s=tsut.=s   ti=n-kwtámts=a
          FOC=just   NOM=say=3POSS DET=1SG.POSS-husband=EXIS
          'Then my husband said,'

(9)   "Nílh=t'u7 áma   kw=á=su   nas   kukw,
          FOC=just   good   DET=IMPF=2SG.POSS   go   cook

          húz'=lhkalh   q'a7,   q'7-ál'men   kalál=as."
          going to=1PL.SUBJ   eat   eat-want   soon=3CONJ
          ' "It would be good if you would cook; we are going to get hungry
          soon." '

(10)   O,   nilh   s=tsut.=s   ti=n-sésq'wez'=a
          oh   FOC   NOM=say=3POSS   DET=1SG.POSS-younger.sibling=EXIS

          "o,   ents   kelh   ku=kúkw."
          oh   1SG.EMPH   FUT   DET=cook
          ' "Oh", then my sister said, "oh, I will be the one to cook." '

(11)   Wa7   tsut   "ents   ku=nás   kukw.
          IMPF   say   1SG.EMPH   DET=go   cook
          'She said, "I'll cook." '

(12)   Wá7=lhkan   kelh   k'íx-in ku=sqáwts".
          IMPF=1SG.SUBJ   FUT   fry-DIR   DET=potato
          ' "I'll fry potatoes." '

(13)   Kan   tsun,   "o   wa7   láku7   i=*sausage*a
          DET   say   oh   IMPF   DEIC   DET.PL=sausage=EXIS

          nilh   s=huz'=s   snúk'wa7-s."
          FOC   NOM=going.to=3POSS   friend-3POSS
          'I said "There are sausages to go with them in there." '

(14)　　Nílh=tu7　　　　s=mays=(ts)[4].
　　　　FOC=then　　　　NOM=make=3POSS
　　　　'They got made.'

　　　　Kéla7　emh-ál'qwem'　i=s=k'íx=a　　　　　sqawts
　　　　first　good-appear　　DET.PL=NOM=fry=EXIS　potato

　　　　s=máys=ts.
　　　　NOM=make=3POSS
　　　　'At first the fried potatoes that she made looked really good.'

(15)　　Húz'=lhkalh　　　　aylh　　　ts'áqw-an'-em.
　　　　going.to=1PL.SUBJ　then　　　eat-DIR-1PL.ERG
　　　　'Then we were going to eat them.'

(16)　　Áy=t'u7　　　　ku=ka-ts'áqw-s-tum'-álh[5]-a.
　　　　NEG=just　　　　DET=CIRC-eat-CAUS-1PL.ERG-CIRC
　　　　'None of us could eat them.'

(17)　　(T.=s)cw7it-7ul=s=a=t'ú7=a　　　　　　　　　　i=*sált*=a.
　　　　(DET=NOM=)much-too=3POSS=EXIS=just=A　　　DET.PL=salt=EXIS
　　　　'because there was too much salt.'

(18)　　T'anam'-ílc　　　ti=n-kwtámts=a.
　　　　try-AUT　　　　　DET=1SG.POSS-husband=EXIS
　　　　'My husband tried them.'

　　　　Huz'　séna7　　　ts'áqw-an'-as,　áy= t'u7.
　　　　going.to COUNTER　eat-DIR-3ERG　　NEG=just
　　　　'He was going to eat them, but he couldn't.'

(19)　　"O",　kan　　　　　tsun　　　　　　"um'-en-ém=kelh
　　　　oh　　1SG.SUBJ　　say(DIR)　　　give-DIR-1PL.ERG=FUT

　　　　i=tsíken=a.
　　　　DET.PL=chicken=EXIS
　　　　' "Oh", I said "we will give them to the chickens.'

(20)　　(Hu)z'　ts'aqw-an'-ítas=klh."
　　　　going.to　eat-DIR-3PL.ERG=FUT
　　　　'They will eat them." '

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[4] The consultant actually said *mayst*.
[5] *alh* here seems to be a speech error. Lisa Matthewson suggested that it could possibly be a doubling of the 1PL subject marking.

(21) Nílh=t'u7   s=7úm'-e(n)-em   i=tsíken=a
     FOC=just   NOM=give-(DIR)-1PL.ERG   DET.PL=chicken=EXIS
     'So, we gave the potatoes to the chickens.'

(22) Í7wa7   i=tsíken=a,   ay
     even   DET.PL=chicken=EXIS   NEG

     kw=s=ka-ts'aqw-s-táli=ha   i=sqáwts=a,
     DET=NOM=CIRC-eat-CAUS-TOP=EXIS   DET.PL=potato=EXIS
     'But even the chickens couldn't eat the potatoes,'

(23) t.=s=cw7ít.=s=a=t'ú7=a   i=sált=a.
     DET=NOM=much=3POSS=EXIS=just=A   DET.PL=salt=EXIS
     'because they just had too much salt.'

(24) Tqilh   ílal   ti=n-sésq'wez'=a.
     almost   cry   DET=1SG.POSS-younger.sibling=EXIS
     'Then, my younger sister almost started to cry.'

(25) P'an't.=s   aylh   kw=skúl   áku7   *Kamloops*.
     return=3POSS   then   DET=school   DEIC   Kamloops
     'Then she went back to Kamloops, to school.'

(26) Nilh   sqwe•qw•el'-mín-as.
     FOC   tell•CRED•-RED-3ERG
     'Then she wrote a story about it.'

(27) Nilh   s=t'cum=s   ti *first prize*=a.
     FOC   NOM=win(MID)=3POSS   DET=first.prize=EXIS
     'She won the first prize.'

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