Ti sqwéqwel'sa ti nsqátsez7a My father's story

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Original

Tsúwa7s ts7a ti nsqátsez7a sqwéqwel'. Papt wa7 qweqwel'sas káku7 i sám7a. Nilh wa7 qweqwel'sás, qwamqwmet.stwítas t'u7. Wá7 ti ts'qáxa7sa papt wa7 lheqwmínas. Nilh t'u7 aylh s7áts'xenas ni spála7sa. Lan wa7 kasxétqa láti7 lti s7áw't.sa lt.ssa papt wa7 slhum ti *saddle*ha. Nilh t'u7 skelhenás.

Nilh t'u7 stsúnas ti ts'qáx7a, "O nas malh lhaxwílc. Ts7áskacw p'an't lhlánas wa7 ka7ámha ti sxíts'kenswa."

Nilh t'u7 s7úts'qa7sas ti ts'qáxa7sa. K'wínas k'a múta7 máqa7. Nilh t'u7 stsicws cwíl'enas, lan k'a wa7 ka7ámha, tsut. Nilh stsicws cwíl'enas ti sts'qáxa7sa. Tsicw púnas. Áts'xenas. Lan láti7 wa7 lak ti q'weláoz'a lti s7áw't.sa ti ts'qáx7a. Zelkwílc k'a lti tmícwa. Nilh t'u7 skanlhám'sa ti seeda láti7 lti s7áw't.sa. Nilh t'u7 sri7ps ti srápa láti7.

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English translation

This is my father's story. He was always telling stories to the white people. They thought it was quite funny. There was a horse he was always riding. Then, one time, he saw it. There was a hole on its back there where the saddle was put on. So then he took it off.

He said to the horse, "Oh, go and heal yourself. Come back when your back is better."

So he let the horse go. I don't know how many years went by. Then he went to look for it, for it must have healed, he thought. He went to look for his horse. He went and found it. He saw it. There was a fruit tree on the horse's back. He must have rolled on the ground. A seed must have got into his back. A tree was growing there.

Grammatical analysis

(1) Tsúwa7s ts7a ti=n-sqátsez7=a

own-3POSS DEIC DET=1POSS-father=EXIS

s-qwé•qwel'.

NOM-story • CRED •

'This is my father's story.'

(2) Papt wa7 qwe•qwel'•-s-ás káku7¹. always IMPF story•CRED•-CAUS-3ERG DEIC

i=sám7=a.

DET=white.person=EXIS

'He was always telling stories about the white people.'

(3) Nilh wa7 qwe•qwel'•-s-ás, then IMPF story•CRED•-CAUS-3ERG

qwam•qwm•et-st-wít-as=t'u7.

•TRED•funny-CHAR-CAUS-3PL.ERG=just

'They thought it was quite funny.'

(4) Wá7 ti=ts'qáxa7-s=a papt wa7 be DET=horse-3POSS=EXIS always IMPF

lhegw-mín-as

get.on.horse-RED-3ERG

'He was always riding his horse.'

(5) Nilh=t'u7 aylh s=7áts'x-en-as FOC=just then NOM=see-DIR-3ERG

ni=s-pála7-s=a.

DET=NOM-one-3POSS=EXIS

'Then, one time, he saw it.'

(6) Lan wa7 ka-s-xétq-a láti7 already IMPF CIRC-STAT-hole-CIRC DEIC

l=ti=s=7áw't.-s=a l=t.=s=s=a

PREP=DET=NOM-back-3POSS=EXIS PREP=DET=NOM=(IMPF)3POSS=EXIS

¹ In the original story, Laura repeated the determiner as follows "... káku7 i (long pause) i sám7a." I eliminated the first instance of the determiner in the transcription.

papt wa7 s-lhum ti=2... ti=sáddle=ha. always IMPF STAT-put.on DET DET=saddle=EXIS 'There was a hole on its back, there where the sattle always was.'

- (7) Nilh=t'u7 s=kelh-en-ás.
 FOC=just NOM=take.off-DIR-3ERG
 'So then he took it off'
- (8) Nilh=t'u7 s=tsún-as ti=ts'qáx7=a, "O FOC= just NOM=say(DIR)-3ERG DET=horse=EXIS oh

 nas=malh lhax-wílc.³
 go=ADHORT recover-AUT
 'He said to the horse, "Oh, go and heal yourself.
- (9) Ts7ás=kacw p'an't⁴ lh=lán=as wa7 come=2SG.SUBJ return COMP=already=3CONJ IMPF

 ka-7ám-ha ti=sxíts'ken-sw=a."
 CIRC-good-CIRC DET=back-2SG.POSS=EXIS
 "Come back when your back is better.""
- (10) Nilh=t'u7 s=7úts'qa7-s-as ti=ts'qáxa7-s=a.

 FOC=just NOM=go.outside-CAUS-3ERG DET=horse-3POSS=EXIS

 'So he let the horse go.'
- (11) K'win=as=k'a múta7 máqa7. how.many=3CONJ=EPIS and year 'I don't know how many years went by.'
- (12)Nilh=t'u7 . s=tsicw=s cwíl'-en-as, NOM=get.there=3POSS look.for-DIR-3ERG FOC=just lan=k'a ka-7ám-ha wa7 tsut. already=EPIS **IMPF** CIRC-good-CIRC say 'Then he went to look for it, for it must have healed, he thought.

²At this point, Laura switches to English and says: "How do you say 'saddle'? I know there's a word for 'saddle', but I'll just use "saddle" right now, and...". She doesn't

actually use *ti saddleha* in the recording, she just jumps into the next sentence of the story. However, she added *ti saddleha* during a subsequent session.

³ This sentence is not in the original recording. Laura added it in a subsequent session.
⁴ In the original recording, Laura starts to say something like "p'an'tlhk…" but then cuts herself off and starts again with "p'an't lhlánas …"

(13) Nilh s=tsicw=s cwil'-en-as just NOM=get.there=3POSS look.for-DIR-3ERG

ti=ts'qáxa7-s=a.
DET=horse-3POSS=EXIS

'He went to look for his horse.'

- (14) Tsicw pún-as.
 go.there find(DIR)-3ERG
 'He went and found it.'
- (15) Áts'x-en-as. see-DIR-3ERG 'He saw it.'
- (16) Lan láti7 wa7 lak ti=q'wel-áoz'=a already DEIC IMPF be DET=fruit-tree=EXIS $l=ti=s=7 \\ \dot{a}w't.-s=a \\ ti=ts'q \\ \dot{a}x7=a.$

PREP=DET=NOM-back-3POSS=EXIS DET = horse = EXIS 'There was a fruit tree on the horse's back.'

- (17) Zelk-wílc=k'a l=ti=tmícw=a. turn.around-AUT=EPIS PREP=DET=land=EXIS 'He must have rolled his sore on the ground.'⁵
- (18) Nilh=t'u7 s=ka-n-lhám'=s-a
 FOC=just NOM=CIRC-LOC-put.into=3POSS-CIRC

 ti=sééd=a láti7 l=ti=s=7áw't.-s=a.
 DET=seed=EXIS DEIC PREP= DET=NOM-back-3POSS = EXIS
 'A seed must have got into his back.'
- (19) Nilh=t'u7 s=ri7p=s ti=sráp=a láti7.

 FOC=just NOM=grow=3POSS DET=tree=EXIS DEIC

 'A tree was growing there.'

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⁵ In van Eijk's dictionary, "roll around" has two glottalized consonants: *zalk* "il'c. However, Laura clearly produces it without those glottalized consonants.