

Wenácw Iz': Sqwéqwel's sLaura
True Stories by Laura Thevarge

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Introduction

Lisa Matthewson
University of British Columbia

Background and acknowledgments

In the spring of 2006, I was searching for a speaker of a Salish language – any Salish language – for a field methods class I would be teaching in the fall of that year. One day I casually asked Laura Thevarge whether she knew of any Salish speakers currently living in Vancouver. She thought for about ten seconds, and then said ‘I guess I could move to town’. Thank goodness she did! The class was so much fun, and it was a pleasure for me to introduce 15 students to the world of Salish with Laura as our consultant.

We will never forget Laura’s sense of humour, her endless patience, her beautiful and varied hats, or her Indian names for some of the students who particularly impressed her with certain quirks. I am very grateful that as an elder, Laura was willing to ride on the bus from East Vancouver every Wednesday and Thursday morning, rain or shine (and it was usually rain, or even snow). Laura seemed never to tire as she was put through various strange tasks for hours on end, asking only for cups of coffee with lots of sugar, and sandwiches without cheese. Laura must have heard the phrase *tsut m̓itaʔ* (‘say it again’) a thousand times, but never got impatient. In fact, she was willing and able to keep working long after the students and their instructor were exhausted.

The stories in this collection, with the exception of those by Davis and by Matthewson, were collected during the field methods class, as one of the course requirements. I would like to thank the students for their efforts in learning to transcribe and translate St’át’imcets texts. When I originally gave them the assignment of collecting a story, I could tell from their faces and comments that many of them thought it was going to be easy. It was not. Transcribing a text like this takes many, many hours of painstaking re-listening, re-checking, and research. Finding the right translation is almost as hard – and then there’s the proofreading: four rounds of it at least. I’m proud that after only one year of study, the students managed to produce these written versions of Laura’s stories. I’m especially pleased that this subset of the students were willing to come back and prepare them for publication, a year after the course had finished. It has been a lot of fun, as well as educational, for me to work on this book with the students and with Laura, and I hope all the contributors are proud of themselves for what they have achieved.

Many thanks are due to Henry Davis for helping all of us with the most difficult transcription, translation and analysis questions. We are also very grateful to Henry for spending an entire day proofreading the penultimate version of the book. I’d like to thank the UBCWPL editors, Christiana Christodolou, John Lyon and Martin Oberg, for their hard work in preparing the

manuscript for publication, and thanks in particular to John for a thorough and much-appreciated final proofread at the last minute.

We hope this book will be useful and interesting for learners of St'át'imcets, for linguists, and for people who are curious about St'át'imc culture and about what life was like for one young St'át'imc woman in the last century. We dedicate this book to Laura, of course, with our heartfelt thanks and appreciation. *Kukwstumúlhkaew, Laura! Tsut míta7!*

Presentation of the stories

Each story is presented first in the original St'át'imcets as told by Laura Thevarge, then in an English translation, and then again in the grammatical analysis section with morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. The original version and the first line in the grammatical analysis section are presented in the practical orthography of St'át'imcets, which was created by Jan van Eijk. Some of the contributors have chosen also to include a line in the grammatical analysis section which represents the St'át'imcets in a linguistic font.

The stress-marking conventions are slightly different for the original section and for the grammatical analysis section. In the original section, we follow van Eijk's convention in that we do not mark stress on any mono-syllabic orthographic word. Since second-position clitics are written as separate words in van Eijk's orthography, a mono-syllabic root followed by a second-position clitic will be written without stress on either element. An example is given in (1), where we see that both *nilh* and *t'u7* lack stress-marking.

- (1) **Nilh t'u7** sxlítenan nskícez7a.
'So I called my mother.'

In the grammatical analysis section, on the other hand, we have joined clitics to their phonological hosts with an equals sign (=). This means that entire prosodic words are grouped together, and within each prosodic word, we mark the primary stress. So the sentence in (1), in the grammatical analysis section, looks like (2): the root *nilh* is marked as stressed.

- (2) **Nilh=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.'

Reduplicative affixes are marked with bullets (•). English words which appear in the story are written in italics.

Abbreviations in morpheme glosses

The stories all use the same glosses for all grammatical elements. In almost all cases, the glosses used are the same as in Matthewson (2005), which

in turn rely on material in van Eijk (1997). The abbreviations we use are as follows.

1	first person	IMPF	imperfective
2	second person	INCH	inchoative
3	third person	IND	indirective applicative
A	–a added for stress reasons	INDEP	independent pronoun
ADHORT	adhortative	INSTR	instrument initial
ANTI	antithesis	IRED	reduplication
AUT	autonomous intransitivizer	LOC	locative
CAUS	causative	MID	middle intransitivizer
CHAR	characteristic property	MOD	modal
CIRC	circumstantial modality	NEG	negative
COMP	complementizer	NOM	nominalizer
CONJ	conjunctive	OBJ	object
CONN	connective	OBL	oblique
COUNTER	counter to expectation	OOO	out of control
CRED	consonant reduplication	PASS	passive
DEIC	deictic	PL	plural
DEMON	demonstrative	POSS	possessive
DEON	deontic modal	PREP	preposition
DET	determiner	RECIP	reciprocal
DIR	directive transitivizer	RED	redirective applicative
EMPH	emphatic	REFL	reflexive
EPIS	epistemic modal	SG	singular
ERG	ergative	STAT	stative
EXCL	exclamative	SUBJ	subject
EXIS	assertion of existence	TEMP	temporal
FOC	focus	TOP	non-topical subject
FRED	final reduplication	TRED	total reduplication
FUT	future	YNQ	yes-no question

Works used by the contributors when preparing the stories for publication

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Í7wa7 i tsikena, aoz kws kats’aqwstaliha i sqáwtsa^{1,2}
‘The fried potatoes, even the chickens wouldn’t eat’

Christiana Christodoulou
University of British Columbia

Original³

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 *holidáywit*.

Nilh tu7 st’aks tsúwa7s ti nsésq’wez’a *turn* ku t’iq. Mítsa7qlhkalh káti7 k’wezúsem lti tmícwlhkalha nkwtámsta múta7 s7ents múta7 i núkwa nstsmal’t. Nilh t’u7 stsut.s ti nkwtámsta, “Nilh 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 *sausagea* nilh shuz’s snúk’wa7s.” Nilh 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 *sálta*. T’anam’ílc ti nkwtámsta. Huz’ séna7 ts’áqwan’as, ay t’u7. “O,” kan tsun, “um’enéem kelh i tsikena. (Hu)z’ ts’áqwan’ítas klh.” Nilh t’u7 s7úm’enem i tsikena. Í7wa7 i tsikena, ay kws kats’aqwstaliha i sqáwtsa, t.scw7it.sa t’ú7a i *sálta*. O, tqilh ílal ti nsésq’wez’a.

P’an’t.s aylh kw skúl áku7 *Kamloops*. Nilh sqweqwel’mínas. Nilh st’cums ti *first prizea*.

¹ I would like to acknowledge SSHRC (#410-2007-1046), awarded to Lisa Matthewson, who provided the funding for much of this work.

² I’d like to thank Laura Thevarge for sharing her language with me by narrating this amusing short story to me.

³ Many thanks to Lisa Matthewson for her indispensable help, patience and advice on an earlier version of the transcription and grammatical analysis of this story.

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.

- (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=sausagea
 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’ix=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’=lhalh 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’-álh⁵-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’-ílç 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.’

⁴ The consultant actually said *máyst*.

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) Nílh sqwe•qw•el'-mín-as.
 FOC tell•CRED•RED-3ERG
 'Then she wrote a story about it.'
- (27) Nílh 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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Ni nsésq'wez'a tsemsás i sqáwtsa 'My little sister burnt the potatoes'¹

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Original

Nilh ts7a huz' nsqwéqwel' i kel7át wa7 tsicw q'weláw'em áku7 (ti) talh7álqwa. Tákem swat wa7 tsicw tqilh lki ucwalmícwa láku7 Lil'wat7úla. Nilh t'u7 s7i7wa7lhkalh, lánlhkan k'a wa7 *fifteen, sixteen*. Lanlhkan hém' t'u7 tsukw kwen skul.

Nilh t'u7 stsicws ti nskícez7a múta7 takemlhkálh k'a t'u7 tsicw. Nilh t'u7 sat wa7 q'weláw'em. Nilh t'u7 stsúntas ti nskícez7a "Nas malh kukw!" "O", kan tsun "*okay*." Nilh t'u7 stsut.s ni nsésq'wez'a, "Náskan k(lh) t'it núk'w7an, nuk'w7anlhkán klh *kLaura*" wa7 tsut. Nilh t'u7 st'ákkalh. Tsícwllhkalh, wá7lhkan máysen ti *hamburger*ha huz' sq'á7lhkalh. Nilh t'u7 stsut.s, "Húz'lhkan k'íxcál kw sqawts." "O, áma," kan tsun. Nilh t'u7 swa7s máysenas, wá7lhkan máysen i *hamburger*ha, huz' snúk'wa7s i sqáwtsa.

Nilh t'u7 wá7lhkalh láti7. Nilh tu7 stsúntas, "S7áts'xskacw áozas kwas tsem." Pá...kwa tú7a sáy'sez'. Ao kws s7áts'xsas. Án'was k'a iz' i *stóva* wa7 qwezeném láti7 álts'q7a lhat kukw. Álts'qa7sa lki wa7 tsitcwlhkalh. Nilh t'u7 slán wa7 tsukw ti ntsúw7a skukw. Nilh t'u7 slhwálenan. Tsícwkan, p'án'tkan múta7. Lan wa7 tsem ti skúkwsa. "O", kan tsun, "huz' aylh qlilmin'túmulem." Nilh t'u7s "Húz'lhkan, húz'lhkan légwen" wa7 tsut. Pákwa tú7a legwnás.

Nilh t'u7 st'iqs ti *nsister*ha, ti *older sister*ha. Nilh t'u7 swá7lhkalh láti7 qwal'él't. Kan tsun, "Huz' aylh qlilmin'túmulem. Tsemsás ti sqáwtsa nilh t'u7 lep'nás." Nilh t'u7 ses tsúntas ti *nsister*(a): "S7ats'xskacw ka hém' tu7 séna7, snúwa ti wa7 kesnánas *Máma*." "O," kan tsun, "Snilh t'u7 ti xat'min'táliha kwas k'íxcál, nilh tu7 snilh ts kwa s7ats'xstáli." "Aoz áti7 kwas ts'íla," wa7 tsut. "Snúwa ka hém' t'u7 kw s7ats'xstáli." "Núwa ti wa7 kéla7 huz' kukw." Nilh t'u7 aylh spáoytkalh, páoytkalh láti7. Tsekwentwál'lhkalh i maqinlhkálha. K'wínas k'a láti7 ménet kwat xílem áti7. Wa7 aylh espáqw ti *nsister*ha.

T'iq aylh ti nskícez7a, t'iqwit aylh i núkwa, tákemwit q'a7. Nilh t'u7 aylh sqwál'enan nskícez7a t.sxilemlhkálha. Kan tsun, "Páoytkalh aylh múta7 ti *nsister*ha. Legwnás, legwnás ti sqáwtsa, lep'nás tu7. Mes t'u7 s7ents ti qlilmin'asa ti nskícez7a, aoz kws nilh ti *nlittle sister*ha. Nilh t'u7 aylh stsukws, ti tsúkwas t'u7 i *hamburger*ha sq'á7lhkalh.

¹ I would like to acknowledge SSHRC (#410-2007-1046), awarded to Lisa Matthewson, who provided the funding for much of this work. I'd also like to acknowledge Lisa Matthewson's indispensable help and advice on an earlier version of the transcription and grammatical analysis of this story. Thank you to Laura Thevarge for sharing her language with me by narrating this amusing short story to me.

English Translation

This story I am going to tell you is about when we first went picking strawberries down south in the United States. Almost everybody went from Lil'wat7úl [Mount Currie]. We went along, too. I was about fifteen, sixteen then. I was already finished with school.

Almost all of us went. We went there with my mother. So there we were picking berries. My mother said, "You better go and cook." "Oh" I said, "okay." Then my little sister said "I'll go too; I'll help Laura too", she said. So then we went. So we went, and I was fixing the hamburgers we were going to eat. Then she said "I am going to fry some potatoes." "Oh, that's good," I said to her. Then she went ahead and fixed the potatoes while I fixed the hamburgers that were going with the potatoes.

So we were there. Then she said "Watch out! Don't let them burn." Off she went to play, so she wasn't paying attention. We were using two separate stoves that were outside to cook. (They were) outside our cabin. Then my cooking was all done. So I left it there. Then I came back again. Her cooking was already burned. "Oh", I said, "We are going to get bawled out." Then she said "I am going, I am going to hide them." So off she went to hide them.

Then my sister, my older sister came. Then we were talking, I said "We're going to get bawled out now. She burned the potatoes and then she buried them." My sister said: "YOU should have been watching it, Mum sent YOU." "Oh" I said: "She is the one who wanted to fry, she should have been the one watching it." "No, it's not like that", she said. "YOU should have been watching it." "YOU were the first one that was going to cook." Then we had a fight. We were fighting. We were pulling each other's hair. I don't know how many minutes we did that. My sister was watching us.

Then my mother came, and all the rest came to eat. So then I told my mother what we had done. I said, "We got in a fight, my sister and I. She hid the potatoes, and she went to bury them." But I was the one that got bawled out by my mother, not my little sister. So then all we ate were the hamburgers.

Grammatical Analysis

- (1) Nilh ts7a huz' n=sqwé•qw-el'
 FOC DEMON going.to 1SG.POSS=tell•CRED•
- i=kel7=át wa7 tsicw
 when.PAST=first=1PL.CONJ IMPF get.there
- q'weláw'-em áku7 (ti=)talh7-álqw=a.
 pick.berries-MID DEIC (DET=)other-side=EXIS
 'This story I am going to tell you is about when we first went picking
 berries down south in the United States.'
- (2) Tákem swat wa7 tsicw tqilh
 all who IMPF get.there almost
- l=ki=ucwalmícw=a láku7 Lil'wat7úl=a.
 REP=DET.PL=person=EXIS DEIC Mount.Currie=EXIS
 'Almost everybody went from Lil'wat7úl [Mount Currie].'
- (3) Nilh=t'u7 s=7i7wa7=lhkalh, lán=lhkan=k'a
 FOC=just NOM=accompany=1PL.POSS already=1SG=APPAR
- wa7 *fifteen, sixteen.*
 IMPF fifteen sixteen
 'We went along, too. I was about fifteen, sixteen then.'
- (4) Lan=lhkan=hém'=t'u7 tsukw kw=en=skul.
 already=1SG.SUBJ=but=just finish DET=1SG.POSS=school
 'I was already finished with school.'
- (5) Nilh=t'u7 s=tsicw=s
 FOC=just NOM=get.there=3POSS
- ti=n-skícez7=a múta7 takem=lhkálh=k'a=t'u7
 DET=1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS and all=1PL.SUBJ=APPAR=just
- tsicw.
 get.there
 'We went there with my mother, almost all of us went.'
- (6) Nilh=t'u7 s=at wa7 q'weláw'-em.
 FOC=just NOM=1PL.CONJ IMPF pick.berries-MID
 'So there we were picking berries.'

- (7) Nílh=t'u7 tsún-ts-as
 FOC=just say(DIR)-1 SG.OBJ-3ERG
- ti=n-skícez7=a “Nás=malh kukw!”
 DET=1 SG.POSS-mother=EXIS go=ADHORT cook
 ‘My mother said “You better go and cook.!”’
- (8) “O”, kan tsun “okay.”
 oh 1 SG.SUBJ say(DIR) okay
 ‘“Oh” I said, “okay.”’
- (9) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsut.=s
 FOC=just NOM=say=3POSS
- ti=n-sésq'wez'=a
 DET=1 SG.POSS-younger.sibling=EXIS
- “Nás=kan=k(lh) t'it núk'w7-an,
 go=1 SG.SUBJ=FUT also help-DIR
- nuk'w7-an=lhkán=klh k=Laura” wa7 tsut
 help-DIR-1 SG.SUBJ=FUT DET=Laura IMPF say
 ‘Then my little sister said “I’ll go, too; I’ll help Laura too”, she said.’
- (10) Nílh=t'u7 s=t'ák=kalh.
 FOC=just NOM=go.along=1 PL.POSS
 ‘So then we went.
- (11) Tsícw=lhkalh, wá7=lhkan máys-en
 get.there=1 PL.SUBJ IMPF=1 SG.SUBJ make-DIR
- ti=hamburger=ha huz' s=q'á7=lhkalh.
 DET=hamburger=EXIS going.to NOM=eat=1 PL.POSS
 ‘So we went, and I was fixing the hamburgers we were going to eat.’
- (12) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsut.=s “Húz'=lhkan
 FOC= just NOM=say=3POSS going.to=1 SG.SUBJ
- k'ix-cal kw=sqawts.”
 cook=ACT DET=potato
 ‘Then she said “I am going to fry some potatoes.”’
- (13) “O, áma,” kan tsun.
 oh good 1 SG.SUBJ say
 ‘“Oh, that’s good,” I said to her.’

ti=n-tsúw7=a s-kukw.
 DET=1SG.POSS-own=EXIS NOM-cook
 ‘Then my cooking was all done.’

(22) Nílh=t’u7 s=lhwál-en=an.
 FOC=just NOM=leave-DIR=1SG.CONJ
 ‘So I left it there.’

(23) Tsícw=kan, p’án’t=kan múta7.
 get.there=1SG.SUBJ return=1SG.SUBJ again
 ‘Then I came back again.’

(24) Lan wa7 tsem ti=s-kúkw-s=a.
 already IMPF burn DET=NOM=cook=3POSS=EXIS
 ‘Her cooking was already burned.’

(25) “O”, kan tsun “Huz’ aylh
 oh 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) going.to then

qlil-min’-túmul-em.”

get.angry-RED-1PL.OBJ-PASS

“‘Oh”, I said, “we are going to get bawled out.” ’

(26) Nílh=t’u7 “S=húz’=lhkan, húz’=lhkan
 FOC=just NOM=going.to=1SG.SUBJ going.to=1SG.SUBJ

légw-en” wa7 tsut.
 hide-DIR IMPF say

‘Then she said “I am going, I am going to hide them.” ’

(27) Pákw-a=tú7=a legw-n-ás.
 set.off-CIRC=then=A hide-DIR-3ERG
 ‘So off she went to hide them.’

(28) Nílh=t’u7 s=t’iq=s ti=n-sister=ha,
 FOC=just NOM=arrive=3POSS DET=1SG.POSS-sister=EXIS

ti=*older sister*=ha.

DET=older.sister=EXIS

‘Then my sister, my older sister came.’

(29) Nílh=t’u7 s=wá7=lhkalh láti7 qwal’•él’t.
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=1PL DEIC talk•CRED•
 ‘Then we were talking.’

- (30) Kan tsun, “Huz’ aylh
1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) going.to then
- qlil-min’-túmul-em.
get.angry-RED-1PL.OBJ-PASS
‘I said “We’re going to get bawled out now.’
- (31) Tsem-s-ás ti=sqáwts=a nilh=t’u7 lep’-n-ás.”
burn-CAUS-3ERG DET=potato=EXIS FOC=just bury-DIR-3ERG
‘She burned the potatoes and then she buried them.’
- (32) Nilh=t’u7 s=e=s tsún-ts-as
FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
- ti n-sister(=a)²:
DET=1SG.POSS=sister(=EXIS)
- “S-7áts’x-s=kacw=ka=hem’=tu7 séna7,
STAT-see-CAUS=2SG.SUBJ =DEON=but=then COUNTER
- snúwa ti=wa7 kesn-án-as Mama.”
2SG.INDEP DET=IMPF send-DIR-3ERG Mama
‘My sister said: “YOU should have been watching it, Mum sent YOU.”
- (33) “O” kan tsun “Snilh=t’u7
oh 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) 3INDEP=just
- ti=xat’-min’-táli=ha kw=a=s k’íx-cal, nilh=tu7
DET=want-RED-TOP=EXIS DET=IMPF=3POSS fry-ACT FOC=then
- snilh=ts kw=a s-7ats’x-s-táli.”
3INDEP=3POSS DET=IMPF STAT-see-CAUS-TOP
““Oh” I said: “She is the one who wanted to fry, she should have been the one watching it.”
- (34) “Aoz áti7 kw=a=s ts’íla” wa7 tsut.
NEG DEIC DET=IMPF=3POSS like IMPF say
“No, it’s not like that”, she said.
- (35) “Snúwa=ká=hem’=t’u7 kw=s-7ats’x-s-táli.”
2SG.INDEP=DEON=but=JUST DET=STAT-see-CAUS-TOP
““YOU should have been watching it.”

² The consultant actually said *nsisters*. This appears to be a doubling of possessive morphology and I propose that this was probably a slip of the tongue.

- (36) “Núwa ti=wa7 kéla7 huz’ kukw.”
 2SG.INDEP DET=IMPF first going.to cook
 ‘“YOU were the first one that was going to cook.”’
- (37) Nílh=t’u7 s=páoyt=kalh, páoyt=kalh láti7.
 FOC=just NOM=fight=1PL.POSS fight=1PL.SUBJ DEIC
 ‘Then we had a fight. We were fighting.’
- (38) Tsekw-en-twál’=lhkalh i=maqin=lhkálh=a.
 pull-DIR-RECIP=1PL.SUBJ DET.PL=hair=1PL.POSS=EXIS
 ‘We were pulling each other’s hair.’
- (39) K’wín=as=k’a láti7 ménet kw=at
 how.many=3CONJ=EPIS DEIC minute DET=(IMPF)=1PL.CONJ
 xíl-em áti7.
 do-MID DEIC
 ‘I don’t know how many minutes we did that.’
- (40) Wa7 aylh es-páqw ti=n-sister=ha.
 IMPF then STAT-look DET=1SG.POSS-sister=EXIS
 ‘My sister was watching (us).’
- (41) T’iq aylh ti=n-skícez7=a, t’iq=wit
 arrive then DET=1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS arrive=3PL
 aylh i=núkwa=a, tákem=wit q’a7.
 then DET.PL=other=EXIS all=3PL eat
 ‘Then my mother came, and all the rest came to eat.’
- (42) Nílh=t’u7 aylh s=qwál’-en=an
 FOC=just then NOM=tell-DIR=1SG.CONJ
 n-skícez7=a t.=s=xil-em=lhkálh=a.
 1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS DET=NOM=do-MID=1PL.POSS=EXIS
 ‘So then I told my mother what we did.’
- (43) Kan tsun, “Páoyt=kalh aylh múta7
 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) fight=1PL.SUBJ then and
 i=n-sister=ha.”
 DET.PL=1SG.POSS-sister=EXIS
 ‘I said, “We got in a fight, my sister and I.”’

- (44) “Legw-n-ás, legw-n-ás ti=sqáwts=a,
hide-DIR-3ERG hide-DIR-3ERG DET=potato=EXIS

lep'-n-ás=tu7.”

bury-DIR-3ERG=then

“‘She hid the potatoes, and she went to bury them.’”

- (45) Més=t'u7 s7ents ti=qílil-min'-ás=a
but=just 1 SG.INDEP angry-red-3ERG=EXIS

ti=n-skícez7=a,

DET=1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS

aoz

NEG

kw=s=nilh

DET=NOM=FOC

ti=n-*little sister*=ha.

DET=1SG.POSS-little.sister=EXIS

‘I was the one that got bawled out by my mother, not my little sister.’

- (46) Nílh=t'u7 aylh s=tsukw=s,
FOC=just then NOM=finish=3POSS

ti=tsukw=ás=t'u7

i=*hamburger*=ha

DET=finish=3CONJ=just DET.PL=hamburger=EXIS

s-q'á7-lhkalh.

NOM-eat-1PL.POSS

‘So then all we ate were the hamburgers.’

Comments- Observations

A general observation was Laura's desire to be understood by her listener. It seems that she needed the interaction with her listener while narrating the story. Laura avoided using passive and complex embedded clauses. In addition, she tended to emphasize important parts by stressing/focusing them.

I also remark that with some words like "*hamburger*" or "*sqawts*" 'potato' Laura sometimes uses the singular form for the determiner, while other times she uses the plural form. In both cases the intended meaning is the one given by the plural form. Furthermore, the consultant alternates between the native term and the English borrowing for the word "sister."

Moreover, the consultant makes use of the independent pronouns (accompanied with the appropriate rising intonation), as well as the topic marker "-tali" for focus purposes.

A final observation is a repetitive pattern concerning verbs. Specifically, several verbs throughout the story are repeated within the same sentence (either with the exact same form or the same semantic meaning). Below is a selected list of the relevant verbs:

(9)	núk'w7an	nuk'w7ánlhkan
(14)	smáysenas	máysen
(26)	shúz'lhkan	húz'lhkan
(37)	spáoytkalh	páoytkalh
(44)	legwnás	legwnás
(46)	stsukws	tsúkwas

Line15 is the only case where the repetition might refer to the same action performed by two different people. After listening to the sequences very carefully, I conclude that the repetition is not an outcome of the consultant's need of time to think of the next word, or remaining of the sentence. Two possibilities are available: (a) the repetition was intended to stress the action the verb expressed or (b) it was an attempt to intensify the duration of the action. However, it is not clear which of the two have been employed by the consultant during this story telling.

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I szaytenlhkálha láku7 Agassiz i tsúkwas kwat háopgam What we did in Agassiz after we finished picking hops

Henry Davis¹
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Original

Iy, wa7 qweqwel'mín tsáta xilem lhlánas wa7 tsukw kwat háopgam láku7 Agassiz. Áku7 Agassiz, tákem stam' wa7 száytenlhkálh láti7 – wá7 i wa7 tans, wá7 i wa7 paoyt, wá7 i wa7 q'ílhil, takem t'u7 stam' száytenlhkálh.

Pútat wa7 twiw't, nilh t'u7 stsúntas 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 stukws páoyti, nilh ste'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' száytenlhkálh, qwámqwmet t'u7.

Nilhkalh ni spála7sa pináni7, nsnúk'w7a, stéxwa snúk'wa7, wa7 ti wa7 *boyfriends*, nilh t'u7, nilhts ti núkwa qaycw, *nboyfriend*, káti7 k'wínas máqa7 kws pzántanemwit, nilh t'u7 sas tsut:

“Cúz'lhkálh ka t'iq kwántsím, lhcúz'as ku tans”.

Nilh s7úxwal'lhkálh múta7 nskícez7a, tsícwkalh q'a7, k'ál'em... k'ál'emlhkálh aylh múta7 zam' ti nsnúk'w7a wa7 láti7, x7ílhkálha lhas wá7. Wá...7lhkálh k'ál'em, ay t'u7 kwas t'iqwit i cúz'a nastumúlitas tans.

“O”, wa7 tsut, “Cuys malh, púnem kelh káku7 ku *partnerlhkálh*”, 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...7lhkálh 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.

¹ It's always a pleasure and a privilege to work with Laura; aside from her superb command of *ucwalmícwts*, she is funny, wise, humble and courageous, and more like an aunt than a language consultant to me: I do what she tells me to! Thanks as always to Lisa Matthewson for her drive, meticulous proof-reading, and all the work she has done for St'át'imcets. This work has been supported by SSHRC grant #410-2007-1046 to Lisa Matthewson.

Wá7lhkahl t'u7 aylh tans, lan aylh t'iq i cúz'a tsicwstumúlhas, tsicwwit múta7 q'a7, piktsasóhwit múta7 i s7icwlha yeqyéy'qtsa7 tsicwstánemwit, tsicwstwítas. Wá7wit aylh cuz' tanstúmulhas, wá7lhkahl 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 háops-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=Tsim, Tsímsa,
 say going.to=QUOT fight DET=James 'Jamesie',⁴

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) Nilh=t’u7 s=t’ák=kalh paqw,
FOC=just NOM=set.off=1 PL.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=1 PL.SUBJ=just=EPIS watch-DIR-1 PL.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)-1 PL.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-1 PL.ERG=just DET(NOM)=IMPF=3POSS win(MID)
‘We wanted him (Jamesie) to win.’
- (12) Nilh aylh s=tsukw=s ⁶páoyt=i,
FOC then NOM=finish=3POSS fight=3 PL.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) nilh=t’u7 s=t’iq=s tq-ak7-an-túmulh-as,
FOC=just NOM=come=3POSS touch-hand-DIR-1 PL.OBJ-3ERG

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

wís⁷=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-a⁸ 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.SUBJ=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

⁷ The auxiliary *wís* 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 *nílh* does not normally occur with a pronominal subject in S’tát’imcets, as it does here; this may be a false start.

¹⁰ *stéxw 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) X7ilh-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-ítas tans
 come=3PL PL.DET=going.to=EXISgo(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) Tsicw=wit múta7 q'a7, piktsasóh=wit múta7
 get.there=3PL again eat picture.show=3PL and
 i=s7ícwllh=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!

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

I qwlhí7censa sHenry Henry's Shoes

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Original

I kel7án pzan kw sHenry², kan t'u7 ats'xs t'iq. Án'was i qwlhí7censa wa7 s7ícwleheq. "O," kan tsutánwas "Kánmas k'a ts7a ícwleheq i qwlhí7censa." Aoy t'u7 kw ns7ínwan. Áts'xenlhkan múta7, wa7 t'u7 ts'íla i qwlhí7censa múta7 i *stóckingsa* ícwleheq. Cécen' aylh húz'lhkan sáwen kánmsas n7ícwleheq i qwlhí7censa. Aozas ha kw szwátnas kw sts'íla áti7 i qwlhí7censa. "O," wa7 tsut "Kan t'u7 áti7 xílem papt." Sqwál'entsas aylh kwas pála7 ti *whéélsa* ti *bicyclesa* nilh ti7 wa7 qwez'nás. Nilh t'u7 sáwenan "*Clównlhkacw* ha zam'?" "O cw7aoz," wa7 tsut "Kan t'u7 áti7 xílem papt." "Papt áti7 wa7 ts'íla i nqwlhí7cena múta7 i *nstóckinga*," wa7 tsut. "O," kan tsun "Kan tsutánwas kwasú k'a t'u7 aoz kwasú ka7áts'xsa i ts'ílasa i qwlhí7censwa." Nq'sán'kminem aylh, nq'sán'kkalh tákem. Úll'us láti7 *sLisa* wá7as aylh sqweqwel'míntsas kwas xílem áti7.

¹ Many thanks to Laura Thevargue for telling me this story and helping to translate it as well as to Lisa Matthewson for her many hours of work going over the story and helping with every aspect of its development towards publication. Funding for the collection of this story was provided by a SSHRC research grant awarded to Lisa Matthewson (#410-2007-1046).

² English proper nouns and borrowings from English are written in italics in English orthography in both the transcription of the original. Acute accents are written over the vowels of these words in order to indicate Laura's pronunciation. Finally, English orthography is used for these words even when it does not accurately reflect Laura's pronunciation, as when *stocking* is spelt as such even though what Laura says is more like *stockin*.

English Translation

When I first met Henry, I saw him arriving. His two shoes were different. “Oh,” I wondered “what is wrong with him – he has different shoes on.” I didn’t say nothing to him. I looked again and his socks were different just like his shoes. Later I finally asked him why his shoes were different. [I asked] if he didn’t know that his shoes are like that. “Oh,” he said, “I just do that all the time.” Then he told me that he had a one-wheeled bicycle that he used. Then I asked him “Are you a clown then?” “No” he said “I just do that all the time.” “My shoes and my socks are always like that,” he said. “Oh,” I said “I thought maybe you didn’t see what your shoes were like.” We laughed at him, then we all laughed together. Lisa was with me when he was telling me that he does that.

- (7) Cé·cen' aylh húz'=lhkan sáw-en
 long.time-CRED· then going.to=1SG.SUBJ ask-DIR
 kánm=s=a=s n-7ícwlh-eq
 why=NOM=IMPF=3POSS LOC-different-leg
 i=qwlhí7cen-s=a⁵⁶.
 DET=shoe-3POSS=EXIS
 'A bit later I finally asked him why his shoes were different.'
- (8) Áoz=as=ha kw=s=zwát-n-as kw=s=ts'íla
 NEG=3CONJ=YNQ DET=NOM=know-DIR-3ERG DET=NOM=like
 áti7 i=qwlhí7cen-s=a.
 DEM DET=shoe-3POSS=EXIS
 '[I asked] if he didn't know that his shoes are like that.'
- (9) "Ó," wa7 tsut, "kán=t'u7 áti7
 oh IMPF say 1SG.SUBJ=just DEM
 xíl-em papt".
 do-MID always
 "'Oh," he said, "I just do that all the time."'
- (10) S=qwál'-en-ts-as aylh kw=a=s
 NOM=tell-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG then DET=IMPF=3POSS
 pála7 ti=*wheel*-s=a ti=*bicycle*-s=a
 one DET=*wheel*-3POSS=EXIS DET=*bicycle*-3POSS=EXIS
 nilh ti7 wa7 qwez-n-ás
 FOC DEMON IMPF use-DIR-3ERG
 'Then he told me that he had a one-wheeled bicycle that he used.'
- (11) Nílh=t'u7 s=áw-en=an⁷
 FOC=just (NOM)=ask-DIR=1SG.CONJ

⁵ This form was revised by Laura Thevarge at a later date (March 8, 2007). The transcription of the original with volunteered translation is as follows: *lan aylh wa7 cin' t'u húy'lhkan sáwen kánmsas ícwlheq*; 'It was a while later that I asked him why are his shoes different.'

⁶ In the original recording, after line (7), Laura says *lhapnás ha kwes ts'íla áti7*. During the March 8, 2007 revision she appended *i qwlhí7censa* and volunteered the following gloss: '(I asked) did he forget his shoes were like that?'. In a final revision (June 2008), Laura asked that the entire line be removed from the story.

⁷ Laura originally said *sensáwen* instead of *sáwenan*.

“Clówn=lhkacw=ha zam’?”
 clown=2SG.SUBJ=YNQ after.all
 ‘Then I asked him “are you a clown then?”’

- (12) “O cw7aoz,” wa7 tsut “kán=t’u7
 oh NEG IMPF say 1SG.SUBJ=just

áti7 xíl-em papt.”
 DEMON do-MID always
 “No,” he said “I just do that all the time.”

- (13) “Papt⁸ áti7 wa7 ts’íla i=n-qwlhí7cen=a
 always DEIC IMPF like DET=1SG.POSS-shoe=EXIS

múta7 i=n-stócking=a,” wa7 tsut.
 and DET=1SG.POSS-sock=EXIS IMPF say
 “My shoes and my socks are always like that,” he said.’

- (14) “O,” kan tsun “Kan tsut-ánwas
 oh 1SG.SUBJ tell(DIR) 1SG.SUBJ say-inside

kw=a=sú=k’a=t’u7 aoz
 DET=IMPF=2SG.POSS=EPIS=just NEG

kw=a=sú ka-7áts’x-s-a
 DET=IMPF=2SG.POSS CIRC-see-CAUS-CIRC

i=ts’íla-s=a i=qwlhí7cen-sw=a.”
 DET=(NOM)=like-3POSS=EXIS DET=shoe-2SG.POSS=EXIS

“O” I said “I thought maybe you didn’t see what your shoes were like.”

- (15) Nq’sán’k-min-em aylh nq’sán’k=kalh tákem.
 laugh-RED-1PL.ERG then laugh=1PL.SUBJ all
 ‘We laughed at him then we all laughed together.’

- (16) Úll’us láti7 s-Lisa wá7=as aylh
 together DEIC NOM-Lisa IMPF=3CONJ then

sqweqwel’-mín-ts-as kw=a=s xíl-em áti7.
 tell-RED-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DET=IMPF=3POSS do-MID DEIC
 ‘Lisa was with me when he was telling me that he does that.’

⁸ Although it sounds in the original recording like there is something before *papt* here (perhaps *t’u7*), Laura, on repeating the form, did not pronounce the mystery morpheme/word or indicate that she had originally said it.

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 tmicwa. 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

lheqw-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 saddle 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’wín=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,
 FOC=just NOM=get.there=3POSS look.for-DIR-3ERG
 lan=k’a wa7 ka-7ám-ha 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’tlthk...” but then cuts herself off and starts again with “p’an’tlhlánas ...”

- (13) Nilh s=tsicw=s cwíl'-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=7áw't.-s=a ti=ts'qáx7=a.
 PREP=DET=NOM-back-3POSS=EXIS DET =horse = EXIS
 'There was a fruit tree on the horse's back.'
- (17) Zelk-wílck'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^wil'^c*. However, Laura clearly produces it without those glottalized consonants.

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'á7lhkalha. 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 ícwa7lhkalh, k'wík'wena7 t'u7 i stám'lhkalha.

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' száytenlhkalh. Nilh t'u7 stsunwitan 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 “Wá7lhkan t'it esqláw', nilh klh ku stem'tétem'su” wa7 tsúnas ti *niece*tса. Pákwkalha áku7 ti *SalvationArmy*ha. Tsicwłhkalh áku7, púpen'lhkan 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*tса. Pákwwita. Kwkwts ti7 t'u7 ku syéy'qtsa7, aoz kwas xzum... cwíl'em ku stem'tétem'. Nilh t'u7 stsunan 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'enlhkan t'it wa7 nshuz' xílem, kan ícwa7 esqláw', nilh húz'lhkalh t'u7 láti7 s7áw't.sa ti *nsiecea* lhhúz'at *camp*. Nilh t'u7s “O” wa7 tsut, “Áma t'u7 izá kws xw7utsináck'wt.” Nilh t'u7 st'áklhkalh, nilh t'u7 stsunan ti wa7 káti7 maysentáli “Iz” kan tsún “Wa7 tsut ti sqáycwa láku7 kwas áma izá kwas xw7utsináck'wt.” Nilh t'u7 xsílemlhkalh. 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 stáowenlhkalha. 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.

² Thank you to Laura Thevarge, for telling the story. Thanks also to Lisa Matthewson for her tireless editing of this story, and for funding from her SSHRC grant # 410-2007-1046

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 ... Kwámemlhhkalh 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'lhkalh 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'á7lhkalh, wis t'u7 úl'l'us aylh ku szaq', múta7 stám'as k'a ti7, wiskálh kaméq'a. Cw7it, put t'u7 áma kws wá7lhkalh kats'ékstum'a ti wa7 nlham' láti7 lti lhnvkayáha.

Nilh t'u7 aylhs, wá7lhkalh 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, sacwemlhkál'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 sácwemlhkalh tákem." Pákwkalha áku7, án'was i guy'tálhcwa s7um'entúmulem. Tákemlhkalh láta7 guy't. Páqwlhkalh ti *TV*ha, sácwemlhkalh, pipápla7lhkalh sácwem.

Nán'atcw aylh, nilh t'u7 stsicwlhkalh q'a7, wá7lhkalh *sthermos*, qúlunem i *thermosa* múta7 i zaw'ákstena wa7 we7ánem. Pákwkalha q'wlaw'em. Tsuntumúlhas ti syáqts7a "Kanemlhkál'ap klh ku *lunchlap*, lhkál'ap ícwa7?" "O" kan tsun, "Wá7lhkalh ka7áz'a ku száq' múta7 stam'. Plan wa7 cw7it i kaopilhkálha," kan tsun. "Áma nilh t'u7 swá7lhkalh, húz'lhkalh q'wlaw'em," kan tsun. Nilh t'u7 múta7 skwámemlhkalh ku sq'a7. "O" wa7 tsut.

Pákwkalha q'wlaw'em. Tsícwlhkalh úxwal'. O, q'a7stumúlem ti gápa sq'a7, gúy'tlhkalh, sacwemlhkálh t'u7 múta7, tákem swat sácwem ti s7áysa kwat kasácwema láku7 lt.ssa wá7 ti *niecea*. Páqwlhkalh ti *TV*ha, páqwlhkalha múta7 snán'atcwsa. Tsícwlhkalh 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, amalhkálha qá7 t'u7" kan tsun. Nq'sánklhkalh 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

DET.PL=NOM=•IRED•CRED•thing=EXIS

s=7áz'=s

NOM=buy=3POSS

ti=n-skúz7=a

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

ti=tsúwa7-s-a

DET.SG=own-3POSS=EXIS

ti=niece=a.

DET.SG=niece=EXIS

Pákw=kalh-a

set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC

tsícw=kalh

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

FOC=just then NOM(IMPF)=3CONJ say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG

tsún-ts-as

ti=Mexican=a

DET.SG=Mexican=EXIS

"Four Dollars?! You paid four dollars

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-áls⁸.
 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 ált’s’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-twitás-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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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 stsúnem kwas huz', nilh ku huz' mayt ku sq'á7i. Wa7 huz' kw'ezúsemwit láku7 lep'caleníha.

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 stsúnem 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. "Nilh 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'am'sa láti7. Ay t'u7 kw zwátenan lhhúz'an skasts ti7 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'am'sten.

O, kwikws7úl ti7 t'u7 múta7. Aoz kws huz' kaq'wéla. Nilh 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, nilh t'u7 sxwems kelh q'wel. "Lánlhkan tqilh wa7 áw'w'et," kan tsutánwas.

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

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

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

Nilh t'u7 ses, nilh 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. "Nilh 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 nlhám'tensa i húz'an sk'ul'. O, kéla7 t'u7 emhál'qwem'.

Wá...7lhkan k'al'em kwas púcwlec. Ay t'u7 kwas púcw. Tsícwkan lhnéqwen, lha7enán ku slap' nilh kws nu7qw. "Xelh k'a t'u7," kan tsutánwas. O, ay t'u7 kwas púcwlec.

(Nilh t'u7 s)t'iqs ti nstá7a. "Kánemlhkacw?" "Ay t'u7 kwas púcwlec nszáq'a," kan tsun. "Tsúntas nskícez7a kwen mayt." Nilh t'u7 s7áts'xenas. "O, lan t'u7 áma kwásu q'wélen," wa7 tsut. "Ay t'u7 kwas huz', kwikws t'u7 kwas púcwlecs." Nilh t'u7 sq'welenán. Nilh ka-q'welskaná cwílhá k'a ti wa7 tsúnem wa7 *yeast*. Qemp7úl ti qú7a. Wa7 tsut, "Qemp7úlskacw k'a t'u7 ti qú7a, nilh 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', nilh aylh ses ts'íla ku k'ét'as. [laughs] Nilh t'u7 stsúntas ti *nbrother-in-law*, "O, kéla7 t'u7 t'ec *Laura*," wa7 tsut, "Kéla7 t'u7 t'ec." [laughs]

Nilh 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)² 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

² 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)³ 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]

³ 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.⁴
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.⁵
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 múta7.⁶
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.’)

⁴ 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.”

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

⁶ 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.'⁷

⁷ 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].'⁸

⁸ 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) Húz'=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.⁹
 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." '

⁹ 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'ec¹⁰ i=száq'=a
 IMPF=just after.all tasty DET.PL=bread=EXIS

¹⁰ 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-túmul-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

úcwalmicw¹¹ 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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¹¹ This was originally *i ucwalmícwa*, but Laura corrected it to *úcwalmicw* when listening to the recording.

Ti pél'pa kapúh The lost coat¹

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This is a story about a time when Laura went to a powwow. She did not actually lose the coat, but said it could have happened.

Original

Tsícwkan áku7 lil'wat7úla. Wá7 láku7 i wa7 powwow. Wa7 tsúnem powwow. Cw7it i ucwalmícwa. Tákemwit káti7, wá7 i wa7 táwem i tákema stam', i rings, stem'tétem'. Nilh t'u7 stsícwkalh múta7 ni nsnúk'w7a. Tsícwkalh nilh t'u7 stsícwkalh áti7 páqwenstum i wa7 stáwms i ucwalmícwa. Nilh t'u7 ns7az' ti kapúha múta7 i stám'a káti7 wa7 huz' qwezenítas i ntsmál'ta, tákem t'u7 stam', i ringsasá qa7 stám'as.

Nilh t'u7 múta7 stsícwłhkalh mítsa7q. Wá7łhkalh láti7 smém'tsaq tiq'citúmulem ti káopiha. Sáwlhenwit, wá7wit ha put ha xát'min'[em] ku stam'. "Aoz" kan tsun, nilh t'u7 sntsun ni nsnúk'w7a "Náskan mán'cem." T'ákkkan áku7 áłts'q7a, tsícwkan mán'cem, úłhewkan múta7. Stám'as k'a múta7 ti szaytenłhkálha. Nilh t'u7 st'ákkkalh, huz' t'u7 múta7 páqwenstum i wa7 stewtáwems káti7 i wa7 wá7. Qwamqwmetsúm t'u7. Nilh t'u7 stsícwkalh paqw, ay t'u7 aylh múta7 ku táwemłhkalh ku stam'. Kéla7 cin' káti7, wá7łhkalh pal7altsmínem i núkwa ucwalmícwa i cw7áoza kwas áts'xenem papt. [Nilh] t'u7 scin's káti7 ku wá7łhkalh.

Tsícwkalh, lan tu7 pel'p i nstám'a, i ns7áz'a, ti kapúha, kéla7 áma kapúh, wis ti7 t'u7 pel'p. Ay t'u7 ku zwátenan łhkánmas tu7. Cwíl'emłhkalh káti7, ay t'u7 swat ku qwal'entúmulhas swátas ku kwántali. Nilh t'u7 smítsa7qkalh múta7. Lan aylh cin' nilh t'u7 stsut.s ti wa7 sqwal' lhas kánem i ucwalmícwa kwas púnitas i s7áz'sa ku swat. Nilh t'u7 snáhenas láti7 kapúh. Nilh t'u7 nstálhlec, kan tsun "Ntsúwa7 iz', ntsúwa7 iz'" kan tsun. Nilh t'u7 [n]stsiew kwan.

¹Thank you to Laura Thevarge for sharing this story and Lisa Matthewson for her careful editing. Funding was provided by SSHRC grant #410-2007-1046.

English Translation

I went to Mount Currie. There was a powwow there. We call it a powwow. There were lots of people there. Everyone was there, they were selling everything, rings and clothing. I went with my cousin. So we went and looked at what the people were selling. I bought a coat and some other stuff that my children could use, all kinds of stuff, rings and things.

So then we went to sit down again. We were sitting around and people were bringing us coffee. Then they asked us if we wanted anything else. "No," I told them, then I told my cousin "I'm going to smoke." I went outside to smoke, and I came in again. Then we did something else (I don't remember exactly what) We went to watch what the people there were selling. We were having fun. Then we went back to watch, but we didn't buy anything else. We took our time and we visited with the people we didn't usually see. We stayed there a long time.

We went back and my things were gone, the things I bought, my coat, my nice coat. It was lost. I didn't know what had happened to them. We looked for it, nobody around told us who took it. Then we sat down again. Then, after a long time, the announcer said that some things someone had bought had been found. He named a coat. Then I stood up and said "Those are mine, those are mine." Then I went and got them.

Grammatical Analysis

- (1) tsícw=kan áku7 lil'wat7úl=a.
get.there=1 SG.SUBJ DEIC Mount Currie=EXIS
'I went to Mount Currie.'
- (2) wá7 láku7 i=wá7=powwow.
be DEIC DET.PL=IMPF=powwow
'There was a powwow there.'
- (3) wa7 tsún-em powwow.
IMPF say(DIR)-1PL.ERG powwow
'We call it a powwow.'
- (4) cw7it i=ucwalmícw=a.
many DET.PL=Indian people=EXIS
'There were lots of people there.'
- (5) tákem=wit káti7, wá7 i=wa7 táw-em i=tákem=a
all=3PL DEIC be DET=IMPF buy-MID DET.PL=all=EXIS
stam' i=rings, stemtétem'.
what DET.PL=rings clothing
'Everyone was there, they were selling everything, rings and clothing.'
- (6) nílh=t'u7 s=tsícw=lhkalh múta7 ni=n-snúk'w7=a².
FOC=just NOM=go=1 PL.POSS CONJ DET=1 SG.POSS-cousin=EXIS
'I went with my cousin.'
- (7) tsícw=kalh nílh=t'u7 s=tsícw=kalh áti7
go=1 PL.SUBJ FOC=just NOM=go=1 PL.POSS DEIC
páqw-ens-tum i=wa7 s-táw-em-s
look-DIR-1 PL.ERG DET.PL=IMPF NOM-sell-MID-3POSS
i=ucwalmícw=a.
DET.PL=Indian people=EXIS
'So we went and looked at what the people were selling.'
- (8) nílh=t'u7 n=s=7az' ti=kapúh=a múta7
FOC=just 1 SG.POSS=NOM=buy DET=coat=EXIS CONJ
i=stám'=a káti7 wa7 huz' qwez-en-ítas
DET.PL=what=EXIS DEIC IMPF going.to use-DIR-3PL.ERG
i=n-tsmál't=a, tákem=t'u7 stam',
DET.PL=1 SG.POSS-children=EXIS, all=just what

²Originally said *ni ncousina*, but corrected in review.

i=rings=a-s=á=qa7 stám'=as.
 DET.PL=rings=A-3POSS=A=PRESUP what=3CONJ
 'I bought a coat and some other stuff that my children could use, all kinds of stuff, rings and things.'

(9) nílh=t'u7 múta7 s=tsícw=kalh mítsa7q.
 FOC=just CONJ NOM=go=1PL.POSS sit
 'So then we went to sit down again.'

(10) wá7=lhkalh láti7 s-mé•m'•tsaq, tiq'-ci(t)-túmul-em
 IMPF=1PL.SUBJ DEIC STAT-sit•CRED• arrive-IND-1PL.OBJ-PASS
 ti=káopi=ha.
 DET=coffee=EXIS
 'We were sitting around and people were bringing us coffee.'

(11) sáwlhen=wit, wá7=wit=ha pút=ha xát'-min'-[em]
 ask=3PL IMPF=3PL=YNQ enough=YNQ want-need-[1PL.ERG]
 ku=stám'.
 DET=what
 'Then they asked us if we wanted anything else.'

(12) aoz, kan tsun, nílh=t'u7 s=n=tsun
 NEG 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) FOC=just NOM=1SG.POSS=say(DIR)
 ni=n-snúk'w7=a nás=kan mán'c-em.
 DET=1SG.POSS-cousin=EXIS go=1SG.SUBJ smoke-MID
 "No," I told them, then I told my cousin "I'm going to smoke."

(13) t'ák=kan áku7 ált's'q7=a tsícw=kan mán'c-em
 go=1SG.SUBJ DEIC outside=EXIS go=1SG.SUBJ smoke-MID
 úlhcw=kan múta7.
 enter=1SG.SUBJ again
 'I went outside to smoke, and I came in again.'

(14) stám'=as=k'a múta7 ti=s-zayten-lhkálh=a.
 what=3CONJ=EPIS CONJ DET=NOM-do-1PL.POSS=EXIS
 'Then we did something else (I don't remember exactly what)'

(15) nílh=t'u7 s=t'ák=kalh, húz'=t'u7 múta7
 FOC=just NOM=go=1PL.POSS going.to=just again
 páqw-ens-tum i=wa=stew-táw-em-s táw-em=s
 watch-DIR-1PL.ERG DET.PL=IMPF=3CONJ=then sell-MID=3POSS
 káti7 i=wa7 wá7.
 DEIC DET.PL=IMPF be
 'We were going to go and look at what the people there were selling.'

- (16) qwamqwmet-s-túm=t'u7.
fun-CAUS-1PL.ERG=just
'We were having fun.'
- (17) nílh=t'u7 s=tsícw=kalh paqw, áy=t'u7 aylh múta7
FOC=just NOM=go=1PL.POSS watch NEG=but then again
kw=táw-em=lhkalh ku=stám'.
DET=buy-MID=1PL.POSS DET=what
'Then we went back to watch, but we didn't buy anything else.'
- (18) kéla7 cin' káti7 wá7=lhkalh, pal7alts-mín-em
first long.time DEIC IMPF=1PL.SUBJ visit-APPL-1PL.ERG
i=núkw=a ucwalmícw=a i=cw7áoz=a
DET.PL=other=EXIS Indian people=EXIS DET.PL=NEG=EXIS
kw=a=s áts'x-en-em papt.
DET=IMPF=3POSS see-DIR-1PL.ERG always
'We took our time and we visited with the people we didn't usually see.'
- (19) [nílh=]t'u7 s=cin'=s káti7 ku=wá7=lhkalh.
[FOC=]just NOM=long.time=3POSS DEIC DET=IMPF=1PL.POSS
'We stayed there a long time.'
- (20) tsícw=kalh lan=tu7 pel'p i=n-stám'=a,
go=1PL.SUBJ already=then lost DET.PL=1SG.POSS-what=EXIS
i=n-s-7áz'=a, ti=kapúh=a kéla7
DET=1SG.POSS-NOM-buy=EXIS DET=coat=EXIS first
áma kapúh.
good coat
'We went back and my things were gone, the things I bought, my coat,
my nice coat.'
- (21) wis=ti7 t'u7 pel'p.
EMPH=DEMON just lost
'It was lost.'
- (22) áy=t'u7 ku=zwát-en=en lh=kánm=as=tu7.
NEG=just DET=know-DIR=1SG.CONJ COMP=do.what=3CONJ=then
'I didn't know what had happened to them.'
- (23) cwíl'-em=lhkalh káti7, áy=t'u7 swat
look.for-MID=1PL.SUBJ DEIC NEG=just who
ku=qwal'-en-túmulh-as swát=as ku=kwán-tal'i.
DET=tell-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG who=3CONJ DET=take(DIR)-TOP
'We looked for it, nobody around told us who took it.'

- (24) nílh=t'u7 s=mítsa7q=kalh múta7.
 FOC=just NOM=sit=1PL.POSS again
 'Then we sat down again.'
- (25) lan aylh cin' nílh=t'u7 s=tsut.=s
 already then long.time FOC=just NOM=say=3POSS
 ti=wa7=sqwal' lh=as kánem
 DET=IMPF=tell COMP=3CONJ do.what
 i=ucwalmícw=a k=wa=s pún-itas
 DET.PL=Indian people=EXIS DET=IMPF=3POSS find(DIR)-3PL.ERG
 i=s-7áz'-s=a ku=swát.
 DET.PL=NOM-buy-3POSS=EXIS DET=who
 'Then, after a long time, the announcer said that some things someone
 had bought had been found.'
- (26) nílh=t'u7 s=náh-en-as láti7 kapúh.
 FOC=just NOM=name-DIR-3ERG DEIC coat
 'He named a coat.'
- (27) nílh=t'u7 n=s=tálh-lec, kan tsun
 FOC=just 1SG.POSS=NOM=stand-AUT 1SG.SUBJ tell(DIR)
 "N-tsúwa7 iz' n-tsúwa7 iz'" kan
 1SG.POSS-own DEMON.PL 1SG.POSS-own DEMON.PL 1SG.SUBJ
 tsun.
 say(DIR)
 'Then I stood up and said "Those are mine, those are mine."'
- (28) nílh=t'u7 [n]=s=tsicw kwan.
 FOC=just [1SG.POSS]=NOM=get.there take(DIR)
 'Then I went and got them.'

Q'7ál'men i músmusa The hungry cows¹

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Original

O, nilh ts7a huz' nsqweqwl'entúmulh—sqweqwl'entsín,
Qwéqwl'entsas ti nsqátsez7a. Wá7wit smúsmus i nts'éts'p7a múta7 ti nkúkw7a.
Cw7it i musmusíha. Nilh t'u7 sas lan wa7 sútik. Nilh t'u7 smáqa7s, kelá7 cw7it,
lan t'u7 wa7 cw7it [i] smáqa7sa. Nilh t'u7 stsut.s ti nts'éts'p'7a, “Áma ku náslap
cwíl'en i músmusa, lan wa7 q'7ál'menwit.” Kekáw', kewkékw' káku7
lt.swá7iha. Nilh t'u7 stsícwi, nilh snsqátsza7 múta7 ti núkwa t'u7 *brother-in-*
law, s*Wattie*. Nilh t'u7 aylh ti núkwa *brother-in-law*. Nilh aylh ti núkwa, wa7
tsúnem aoz kws huz' nas, kwikws7úl. Nilh t'u7 sas tsúntas, nilh stsut.s
nsqátsez7a, “*oh, big baby*,” tsúnas. Pakwwitá tu7, lhumunítas i *snowshoes*. Nilh
t'u7 slhumunítas i [*snowshoes*]. Pakwwitá tu7, cwil'enítas i músmusa. Kelá7
cín', pala7 k'á t'u7 sq'it, lan t'u7 wa7 gap lht'iq.wit aylh. Takemstwítas t'u7.
T'iq i músmusa wa7 wá7 káku7 q'7ál'men. Nilh ti7.

¹ Thank you to Laura Thevarge for sharing her stories with me, to Lisa Matthewson for all her help in understanding St'át'imcets, and to the UBC Department of Linguistics for the resources to carry out this field work. Funding was provided through SSHRC grant #410-2007-1046.

English translation

Oh, I'm going to tell you this story, My father told it to me. My grandfather and grandmother had cows, they had a lot of cows. One time it was already winter. It had already snowed a whole lot. My grandfather said, "It would be good if you all go look for the cows, they must be hungry." Some were far, some were scattered around even further. So they went, my father and one of my brothers-in-law, Wattie. There was another brother-in-law. He was told that he wasn't going to go, he was too small. And so my father told me, my father said, "Oh, big baby." They set off to put on snowshoes. They put them on. They set off to look for the cows. It was a long time, must have been a whole day, it was evening when they came back. They got all of them. The cows that were hungry came back. That's it.

Grammatical analysis

- (1) O nilh ts7a huz'
oh FOC DEMON going.to

n=sqwe•qw•l'-en-túmulh
1SG.POSS=tell.a.story•CRED•-DIR-2PL.OBJ

sqwe•qw•l'-en-tsín,
tell.a.story•CRED•-DIR-2SG.OBJ
'O, I'm going to tell you this story,'

- (2) Qwé•qw•l'-en-ts-as
tell.a.story•CRED•-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG

ti=n-sqátsez7=a.
DET=1SG.POSS-father=EXIS
'My father told it to me.'

- (3) Wá7=wit s-músmus i=n-ts'éts'p7=a
IMPF=3PL STAT-cow DET.PL=1SG.POSS-grandfather=EXIS

múta7 ti=n-kúk7=a cw7it
and DET=1SG.POSS-grandmother=EXIS many

i=musmus-íh=a.
DET.PL=cow-3PL.POSS=EXIS
'My grandfather and grandmother had cows, they had a lot of cows.'

- (4) Nílh=t'u7 s=wa7=s lan wa7 sútik.
FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS already IMPF winter
'One time it was already winter.'

- (5) Nílh=t'u7 s=máqa7=s kelá7 cw7it lán=t'u7
FOC=just NOM=snow=3POSS first many already=just

wa7 cw7it [ti]=s=máqa7-s=a.
IMPF many [DET.SG=]NOM=snow-3POSS=EXIS
'It had already snowed a whole lot.'

- (6) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsut.=s ti=n-ts'éts'p7=a
FOC=just NOM=say=3POSS DET=1SG.POSS-grandfather=EXIS

“Áma ku=nás=lap cwíl'-en i=músmus=a
good DET=go=2PL.POSS look.for-DIR DET.PL=cow=EXIS

lan wa7 q'7-ál'men=wit."
 already IMPF eat-want=3PL
 'My grandfather said, "It would be good if you all go look for the cows,
 they must be hungry.'"

- (7) Kekáw' •kew•ké•k•ew' káku7
 far •TRED•far•CRED• DEIC

l=t.=s=wá7=i=ha.

PREP=DET=NOM=be=3PL.POSS=EXIS

'Some were far, some were scattered around even further.'

- (8) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsícw=i nilh
 FOC=just NOM=arrive=3PL.POSS FOC

s=n-sqátsza7 múta7 ti=núkw=a=t'u7
 NOM=1SG.POSS-father and DET=other=EXIS=just

brother-in-law, s=Wattie.

brother-in-law NOM=Wattie

'So they went, my father and one of my brothers-in-law, Wattie.'

- (9) Nílh=t'u7 aylh ti=núkw=a *brother-in-law*.
 FOC=just then DET=other=EXIS *brother-in-law*
 'There was another brother-in-law.'

- (10) Nilh aylh ti=núkw=a, wa7 tsún-em
 FOC then DET=other=EXIS IMPF say(DIR)-3PASS

aoz kw=s=huz' nas, kwikws-7úl.
 NEG DET=NOM=going.to go small-too.much
 'He was told that he wasn't going to go, he was too small.'

- (11) Nílh=t'u7 s=wa7=s tsún-ts-as, nilh
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG FOC

s=tsut.=s n-sqátsez7=a
 NOM=say=3POSS 1SG.POSS-father=EXIS

'oh big baby' tsún-as.

oh big baby say(DIR)-3ERG

'And so my father told me—my father said, "Oh, big baby.'"

- (12) Pakw=wit-á=tu7 lhum-un-ítas
 set.off=3PL-CIRC=then put.on-DIR-3PL.ERG

i=*snowshoes*.

DET.PL=*snowshoes*

‘They set off to put on snowshoes.’

- (13) Nílh=t’u7 s=lhum-un-ítas i=[*snowshoes*].
FOC=just NOM=put.on-DIR-3PL.ERG DET.PL=[*snowshoes*]
‘They put them on.’
- (14) Pakw=wit-á=tu7 cwil’-en-ítas
set.off=3PL-CIRC=then look-DIR-3PL.ERG

i=músmus=a.
DET.PL=cow=EXIS
‘They set off to look for the cows.’
- (15) Kelá7 cin’, pala7=k’á=t’u7 sq’it.
first long.time one=EPIS=just day
‘It was a long time, a whole day.’
- (16) Lán=t’u7 wa7 gap lh=t’iq=wit aylh.
already=just IMPF evening COMP=arrive=3PL then
‘It was evening when they came back.’
- (17) Takem-s-twítas=t’u7.
all-CAUS-3PL.ERG=just
‘They got all of them.’
- (18) T’iq i=músmus=a wa7 wá7 káku7 q’7-ál’men.
arrive DET.PL=cow=EXIS IMPF be DEIC eat-want
‘The cows that were hungry came back.’
- (19) Nílh=ti7.
FOC=DEMON
‘That’s it.’

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I kel7án tsicw ku piyhálhcw My first time in the beer parlour¹

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Original

Ti sám7a wa7 t'íqcal i píktsha. Nilh t'u7 sat tsicw áta7 ti wa7 tsúnem *Pemberton*. Nilh t'u7 sat tsicw paqw ti píktsha. Nilh t'u7 sas sáwenem [i=n-] lalíl'tem'a kánas kws um'entsáalitas ku sqlaw', nilh t'u7 sat nas. Cw7aoz, nilh t'u7 sas, nilh i nsnek'wnúk'w7a t'u7 wa7 áz'citsas t.sáta tsicw. Pákwkalha áta7 lhas *Saturday* nilh sat tsicw áta7. Tsukw aylh sat paqw ti.... Kéla7 wa7 cin' t'u7 wa7 sas p'án't.sas ti wa7 tsúwa7 nlhám'tenlhkalkh. Nilh t'u7 sat tsicw áku7 lti piyhálhcwa. Nilh t'u7 skakez7ánan ti wa7 tsut "Lánlhkacw ha wa7 *twenty one*?" "Lánlhkan," wa7 tsun. "Áts'xen ts7a ti smétsa," kan tsun. "Aoz kwen... kan ícwa7 *fifty dollars* ku áz'enan ku *nfine*," kan tsun. O, nilh t'u7 s7ámas. Nilh t'u7 s7úlhcwkalh. Kakez7ánem ti wa7 piyhálhcw, tsúwa7s piyhálhcw, kwen lan wa7 *twenty one*. Nilh t'u7 swá7lhkalkh káti7. Tsícwkalh aylh úxwal'. Lan wa7 guy't i nlalíl'tema. Páqu7lhkan aylh. Nilh sas tsúntsas ti nsnúk'w7a, "Áma t'u7 ku nátsu guy't lts7a tsítewkalha." Wa7 tsut, "aoy's kws zwatenítas kwásu ulhcw láti7 aoy *stweny-onesu*."

¹ Thank you to Laura Thevargé for sharing her stories with me, to Lisa Matthewson for all her help in understanding St'át'imcets, and to the UBC Department of Linguistics for the resources to carry out this field work. Funding was provided by SSHRC grant #410-2007-1046.

English translation

There was this white guy who used to bring movies. And we used to go to this place called Pemberton. And then we watched movies. So we asked my parents if they would give me money so that we could go. When they didn't, it was my friends who paid for me when we went. And off we went, it was Saturday when we went there. We finished watching the [movie]. It took them a long time to bring back the bus that brought us. And then we went to the beer parlour. So I told a lie to that guy who said, "Are you twenty one?" "I am," I said. "Look at that sign over there," I said. "I don't have fifty dollars to pay a fine." I said. Oh, everything was fine. And so we went in. We had to lie to the guy who owned the bar, that I was already twenty-one. So we were there, and then we went home. My parents were already asleep. I was afraid. My friend told me, "It would be good if you came to sleep in our house." She said, "So they won't know you went in before you were twenty one."

Grammatical analysis

- (1) Ti=sám7=a wa7 t'íq-cal i=píktsh=a.
 DET=white.person=EXIS IMPF arrive-ACT DET.PL=picture=EXIS
 'There was this white guy who used to bring movies.'
- (2) Nílh=t'u7 s=at tsicw áta7 ti=wa7
 FOC=just NOM=1PL.CONJ get.there DEIC DET=IMPF
 tsún-em *Pemberton.*
 say(DIR)-PASS *Pemberton*
 'And we used to go to this place called Pemberton.'
- (3) Nílh=t'u7 s=at tsicw paqw
 FOC=just NOM=1PL.CONJ get.there look
 ti=píktsh=a.
 DET=picture=EXIS
 'And then we watched movies.'
- (4) Nílh=t'u7 s=wa7=s sáw-en-em
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS ask-DIR-1PL.ERG
 [i=n-]lalí' tem'=a kán=as
 [DET.PL=1SG.POSS-]parent=EXIS YNQ=3CONJ
 kw=s=úm'-en-tsál-itas ku=sqláw' nílh=t'u7
 DET=NOM=give-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3PL.ERG DET=money FOC=just
 lh=at nas.
 COMP=1PL.CONJ go
 'So we asked my parents if they would give me money so that we could go.'
- (5) Cw7aoz, nílh=t'u7 s=wa7=s, nilh
 NEG FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS FOC
 i=n-s•nek'w•núk'w7=a=t'u7 wa7
 DET.PL=1SG.POSS-•TRED•friend=EXIS=just IMPF
 áz'-ci[t]-ts-as t.=s=át=a tsicw.
 buy-IND-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DET=NOM=1PL.CONJ=EXIS get.there
 'When they didn't, it was my friends who paid for me when we went.'
- (6) Pákw=kalh-a áta7 lh=as *Saturday*
 set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC DEIC COMP=3CONJ Saturday

niłh s=at tsicw áta7.
 FOC NOM=1 PL.CONJ NOM=get.there DEIC
 ‘And off we went, it was Saturday when we went there.’

(7) Tsukw aylh lh=at paqw ti=....
 finish then COMP=1 PL.CONJ look DET=...
 ‘We finished watching the [movie].’

(8) Kéla7 wa7 cin’ t’u7 wa7 s=wa7=s
 first IMPF long.time just IMPF NOM=IMPF=3POSS

 pán’t.-s-as ti=wa7 tsúwa7 n-lhám’ten-lhkalh.
 return-CAUS-3ERG DET=IMPF possession LOC-put.in-1 PL.POSS
 ‘It took them a long time to bring back the bus that brought us.’

(9) Niłh=t’u7 s=at tsicw áku7
 FOC=just NOM=1 PL.CONJ get.there DEIC

l=ti=piyh-álhcw=a.
 PREP=DET=beer-place=EXIS
 ‘And then we went to the beer parlour.’

(10) Niłh=t’u7 s=kakez7-án-an ti=wá7 tsut.
 FOC=just NOM=lie-DIR-1 SG.CONJ DET=IMPF say
 ‘So I told a lie to that guy who said,’

(11) “Lán=lhkacw=ha wa7 *twenty one?*”
 already=2 SG.SUBJ=YNQ IMPF twenty-one
 “‘Are you twenty one?’”

(12) “Lán=lhkan,” wa7 tsun
 already=1 SG.SUBJ IMPF say(DIR)
 “‘I am,’ I said.”

(13) “Áts’x-en ts7a ti=s-méts=a”
 see-DIR DEMON DET=NOM-write=EXIS

 kan tsun
 1 SG.SUBJ say(DIR)
 “‘Look at that sign over there,’ I said.”

(14) “Aoz kw=en... kan ícwa7
 NEG DET=1 SG.POSS 1 SG.SUBJ without

s=*fifty dollars* ku=7áz'-en-an ku=n=*fine*,
 STAT=fifty dollars DET=buy-DIR-1SG.CONJ DET=1SG.POSS=fine

kan tsun.
 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)
 ‘‘I don’t have fifty dollars to pay a fine,’’ I said.’

(15) O nilh=t’u7 s=7áma=s.
 oh FOC=just NOM=good=3POSS
 ‘Oh, everything was fine.’

(16) Nilh=t’u7 s=7úlhcw-kalh.
 FOC=just NOM=enter-1PL.POSS
 ‘And so we went in.’

(17) Kakez7-án-em ti=wá7 piyh-álhcw
 lie-DIR-1PL.ERG DET=IMPF beer-place

s=tsúwa7-s piyh-álhcw kw=en=lán
 NOM=possession-3POSS beer-place DET=1SG.POSS=already

wa7 *twenty one*.
 IMPF twenty-one
 ‘We had to lie to the guy who owned the bar, that I was twenty-one.’

(18) Nilh=t’u7 s=wá7=lhkalh káti7, tsícw=kalh
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=1PL.POSS DEIC get.there=1PL.SUBJ

aylh úxwal’.
 then go.home
 ‘So we were there, and then we went home.’

(19) Lan wa7 guy’t i=n-lalíl’tem=a.
 already IMPF sleep DET.PL=1SG.POSS-parent=EXIS
 ‘My parents were already asleep.’

(20) Páqu7=lhkan aylh.
 afraid=1SG.SUBJ then
 ‘I was afraid.’

(21) Nilh s=wa7=s tsún-ts-as
 FOC NOM=IMPF=3POSS say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG

ti=n-snúk’w7=a, ‘Áma=t’u7 ku=nás-tsu
 DET=1SG.POSS-friend=EXIS good=just DET=go-2SG.POSS

guy't lts7a tsitcw-kálh=a.”
 sleep DEIC house-1PL.POSS=EXIS
 ‘My friend told me, “It would be good if you came to sleep in our house.”’

(22) Wa7 tsut, “[s=]ay=s kw=s=zwat-en-ítas
 IMPF say [NOM=]NEG=3POSS DET=NOM=know-DIR-3PL.ERG

k=wá7=su ulhchw láti7 aoy
 DET=IMPF=2SG.POSS enter DEIC NEG

s=*twenty-one*=su.”
 NOM=*twenty-one*=2SG.POSS
 ‘She said, “so they won’t know you went in before you were twenty-one.”’

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I kel7án tsicw ku pankúpha My first time in Vancouver^{1,2}

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Original

I kel7án t'iq ets7á pankúpha, aoy t'u7 kwen xát'min' kwas zwatenítas kwenswá úcwalmicw i sám7a. Nilh t'u7 stsúntas ti nsésq'wez'a, "Áma kwásu nas áts'xen izá i ucwalmicwa wa7 k'wzúsem. Wa7 iz' nuk'w7antsihaswit." Lans tu7 ts'ek i nsqłáw'a. Lánlhkan aylh wa7 k'wzúsem láku7 *Victoria Drive Ithihealth centrea*. Nilh t'u7 stsut.s, "Áma kwásu nas áts'xen. Um'entsihaswit kelh kwa *welfare*," wa7 tsut. "O," kan tsun, "Cw7aoy kwen xát'min' kwen áts'xen i ucwalmicwa wa7 k'wzúsem." Cw7aoy kwen xát'min' kwas zwatenítas kwen úcwalmicw. Nscwákwekw t'it nilh ts'íl.has ti nszáytena. "O," nilh t'u7 stsúntas ti nsésq'wez'a, "Áts'xenwit i wa7 úcwalmicw k'wzúsem. Áma iz', kéla7 nuk'w7antsáalitas." "O," kan tsun, "Cw7aoy kwen xát'min' kwas zwatenítas lhan kánem, kwen ícwa7 sqław', kwenswá xélen ku stam'," kan tsun. "Áma ka t'u7 lhats'xenwítan," kan tsun. Nilh t'u7 sxílems, xílem, nsxílem.

Kwámemlhkan aylh ti tsítcwa. Nilh t'u7 nsmim'c kéla7 áku7 cá7a wa7 tsúnem *Kingsway*, áku7 lhstícwat. Úl'1'us i nstsmál'ta t'ak í7wa7. Lánlhkan wa7 tsukws ti wa7 tqálk'em wa7 t'ak skúlmin'an. Lánlhkan wa7 tsukws ti skulmin'ána kwa *grade ten*. Nilh t'u7 nsmim'c áku7 lti cá7a. Lhláku7 aylh nilh t'u7 snk'wzúsem, *one hour* k'álhkan t'iq t.sa wa7 tsítcwsa ti nsisterha. Nilh t'u7 [n]swa7 láku7 t'u lan k'a t'u7 wa7 tsícwalmen kws tsem'p ti máq7a. Nilh t'u7 nsmim'c láti7 lti wa7 tsúnem *Carolina Street*. Láti7 lhmím'can, kéla7 xzum ti tsítcwa. Nilh t'u7 swá7lhkálh láti7. Nilh t'u7 sas t'íqwit i án'wasa sésq'wez'. O, wá7lhkálh láti7, tsut: "Húz'lhkálh *housewarming*." Nilh t'u7 st'íqi, t'íqstwítas i s7uqwa7iha. Wá7lhkálh láti7.

Nilh t'u7 st'iqs ti wa7 maysentáli ku *ntelephone*. Nilh t'u7 swa7s—wá7lhkálh láti7. Lánlhkálh wa7 sqyéy'x. Nilh t'u7 sas—ntsun, "Lts7a lhhúz'as lak ku.... pála7 lkwa7 *bedrooma*, ku wa7 tsúnem wa7 *business phone*," wa7 tsúnem. Nq'sá-----nklhkalh aylh. Nq'sánkmín'em t.swa7 tsúnem, nilh t'u7 sas wenacwnun'túmulhas kwas ti7 huz' *business phone* ti wa7 lak láku7 lti nguy'tálhcwa. Nilh t'u7 stsúkwalh, ts'áqwan'em ti ts'úqwaz'a t'íqstum'.

Lan k'a aylh wa7 kánmas k'a múta7, nilh t'u7 sqv[wíil]cs ti *telephonea*.

¹ Thank you to Laura Thevarge for sharing her stories with me, to Lisa Matthewson for all her help in understanding St'át'imcets, and to the UBC Department of Linguistics for the resources to carry out this field work. Funding was provided by SSHRC grant # 410-2007-1046.

² This story was previously published by UBCWPL in the proceedings for the 42nd ICSNL: that version included a phonetic transcription in IPA notation. The text presented here has been further revised and edited.

Nilh t'u7 *sphonecítan* i wa7 stsúwa7, t'iqwit wa7 maysenítas. Nilh t'u7 stsúntas ti sqáycwa, “Nilh ha ti *business phonea* wa7 qv̄lwíīl'c, nilh ha ti wa7 lak láti7 *kitchena?*”. “O,” kan tsun, “Nilh ni *business phonea* wa7 qv̄lwíīl'c,” kan tsun. Nq'sákkalh. Nq'sankmín'em aylh.

English translation

When I first arrived here in Vancouver, I didn't want the white people to know that I was Indian. My sister told me, "Why don't you go see the Indian case workers. They will help you." My money was all gone. Then I started work there at the health centre at Victoria Drive. She [my sister] said, "You should go see them. They will give you welfare," she said. "Oh," I said, "I don't want to see those Indian case workers." I didn't want them to know that I was native. I think that's what was going on. Oh, my sister told me, "Go see the Indian case workers. They're good, they really helped me." "Oh," I told her, "I don't want them to know what I am doing, that I don't have any money, that I'm begging for something," I said. "I would rather go see the white men," I said. So that's what she did, what happened, what I did.

Then I got a house. So I moved, way up on Kingsway, is where we went first. And my children came with me. I finished the driving course that I was doing. I finished doing grade ten. Then I moved up the hill. To get from where I worked, it took me an hour to get to my sister's house. I stayed up there for almost a year. Then I moved again to Carolina Street. There where I moved, the house was very big. Then we stayed there. Then two of my sisters came. Oh, there we were, and they said: "We're going to have a housewarming." They came, they brought their booze. We were sitting around.

Then this man came to install my phone. So there he was, and we were there. We were a little bit drunk. So there he was, I said, "Here is where they [the phones] are going to go. The one there in the bedroom is called the business phone." Then we laughed. We laughed about what we called it, but then he believed us, that it was going to be a business phone, the one that was in the bedroom. Then we finished eating the fish that had been brought.

Some time later, the phone got broken. So I phoned the phone company so they could fix it. Then the man told me, "Is it the business phone that is broken or is it the one in the kitchen?" "Oh," I said, "It's the business phone that's broken," I told him. We laughed. We laughed about it.

Grammatical analysis

- (1) I=ke17=án t'iq ets7á pankúph=a,
 when=first=1SG.CONJ arrive DEIC Vancouver=EXIS
 ‘When I first arrived here in Vancouver,’
- (2) áoy=t'u7 kw=en=xát'-min' k=wa=s
 NEG=just DET=1SG.POSS=want-RED DET=IMPF=3POSS
- zwat-en-ítas kw=en=s=wá7
 know-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=1SG.POSS=NOM=IMPF
- úcwalmicw i=sám7=a.
 person DET.PL=white.person=EXIS
 ‘I didn’t want the white people to know that I was Indian.’
- (3) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-ts-as
 FOC=just NOM=say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
- ti=n-sésq'wez'=a “Áma
 DET=1SG.POSS-younger.sibling=EXIS good
- k=wá=su nas áts'x-en izá
 DET=IMPF=2SG.POSS go see-DIR DEM.PL
- i=ucwalmícw=a wa7 k'wzús-em.”
 DET.PL=Indian=EXIS IMPF work-MID
 ‘My sister told me, “Why don’t you go see the Indian case workers,”’
- (4) “Wa7 iz' nuk'w7-an-tsí-has=wit.”
 IMPF DEM.PL help-DIR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG=3PL
 ““They will help you.””
- (5) Lan=s=tu7 ts'ek
 already=3POSS=then gone
- i=n-sqláw'=a.
 DET.PL=1SG.POSS-money=EXIS
 ‘My money was all gone.’
- (6) Lán=lhkan aylh wa7 k'wzús-em láku7
 already=1SG.SUBJ then IMPF work-MID DEIC

Victoria Drive l=ti=*health centre*=a.

Victoria Drive PREP=DET=*health centre*=EXIS

‘Then I started work there at the health centre at *Victoria Drive*.³’

- (7) Nílh=t’u7 s=tsut.=s “Áma
FOC=just NOM=say=3POSS good

k=wá=su nas áts’x-en.”

DET=IMPF=2SG.POSS go see-DIR

‘She [my sister] said, “you should go see them.”’

- (8) “Um’-en-tsíh-as-wit=kelh k=wa=*welfare*,”
ask-DIR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG-3PL=FUT DET=IMPF=*welfare*

wa7 tsut.

IMPF say

“‘They will give you *welfare*,” she said.’

- (9) “O” kan tsun “Cw7aoz
oh 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) NEG

kw=en=xát’-min’ kw=en=áts’x-en
DET=1SG.POSS=want-RED DET=1SG.POSS=see-DIR

i=ucwalmícw=a wa7 k’wzús-em.”
DET.PL=Indian=EXIS IMPF work-MID

“‘O,” I said, “I don’t want to go see those Indian case workers.”’

- (10) Cw7aoz kw=en=xát’-min’ k=wa=s
NEG DET=1SG.POSS=want-RED DET=IMPF=3POSS

zwat-en-ítas kw=en=úcwalmícw.
know-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=1SG.POSS=Indian

‘I didn’t want them to know that I was native.’⁴

- (11) N-scwákwekw t’it nilh s=ts’íl.h=as
1SG.POSS-heart also FOC NOM=like=3CONJ

ti=n-száyten=a.

DET=1SG.POSS-business=EXIS

‘I think that’s what was going on.’

³ Second elicitation; original elicitation: *K’wzúsminan’ láku7 lt.sána tu7 k’wzúsem*. “[All my money was gone], from where I used to work.”

⁴ Second elicitation; original recording: *Ts’a7cúsmín’lhkan kwen úcwalmícw k’a*. “I must have been ashamed of being an Indian.”

- (12) O nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-ts-as
oh FOC=just NOM=say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
- ti=n-sésq'wez'=a "Áts'x-en-wit
DET=1SG.POSS-younger.sibling=EXIS see-DIR-3PL
- i=wa7 úcwalmicw k'wzús-em."
DET.PL=IMPF Indian work-MID
'Oh, my sister told me, "Go see the Indian case workers."⁵
- (13) "Áma iz' kéla7 nuk'w7-an-tsál-itas."
good DEMON.PL first help-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3PL.ERG
"“They’re good, they really helped me.”"
- (14) "O" kan tsun cw7aoz
oh 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) NEG
- kw=en=xát'-min' k=wa=s
DET=1SG.POSS=want-RED DET=IMPF=3POSS
"“Oh,” I told her I don’t want them to know what I’m doing,'
- (15) zwat-en-ítas lh=an kán-em,
learn-DIR-3PL.ERG COMP=1SG.CONJ Q-MID
- kw=en=ícwa7 sqlaw',
DET=1SG.POSS=without money
'that I don’t have any money,'
- (16) kw=en=s=wá xél-en ku=stám"
DET=1SG.POSS=NOM=IMPF beg-DIR DET=what
- kan tsun.
1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)
'that I’m begging for something," I said.'
- (17) "Áma=ka=t'u7 lh=áts'x-en-wit=an"
good=DEON=just COMP=see-DIR-3PL=1SG.CONJ
- kan tsun.
1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)
"“I would rather go see the white men,” I said."⁶

⁵ Second elicitation; original recording: *Nilh t'u7 sas tsut "o". Nilh t'u7 stsúntsas "náskacw ka t'u7 séna7."* Then she said "oh". Then she said, "I think you should go."

⁶ Second elicitation; original recording: *"Ámas t'u7 kws nilh i sám7a nas áts'xenan," kan tsun.* "I'd rather go see the white people," I said.

- (24) Nílh=t'u7 n=s=mim'c áku7
 FOC=just 1SG.POSS=NOM=move DEIC
 l=ti=s=cá7=a.
 PREP=DET=NOM=high=EXIS
 'Then I moved up the hill.'
- (25) Nílh=t'u7 aylh n=s=kwám•em•
 FOC=just then 1SG.POSS=NOM=take•FRED•
 ku=k'wzús-em.
 DET=work-MID
 'Then I got work.'
- (26) Lh=láku7 aylh n=ts7as k'wzús-em
 from=DEIC then 1SG.POSS=come work-MID
one hour=k'a lh=kan t'iq
one hour=EPIS before=1SG.SUBJ arrive
 t.=s=s=a wá7 tsítcw-s=a
 DET=NOM=3POSS=EXIS be house-3POSS=EXIS
 ti=n-sisterh=a.
 DET=1SG.POSS-sister=EXIS
 'To get from where I worked, it took me an hour to get to my sister's house.'
- (27) [N=]s=wa7 láku7 t'u lán=k'a=t'u7
 [1SG.POSS=]NOM=IMPF DEIC until already=EVID=just
 wa7 tsícw-almen kw=s=tsem'p ti=s-máq7=a.
 IMPF get.there-almost DET=NOM=finish DET=NOM-winter=EXIS
 'I stayed up there for almost a year.'
- (28) Nílh=t'u7 n=s=mim'c láti7
 FOC=just 1SG.POSS=NOM=move DEIC
 l=ti=wa7 tsún-em *Carolina Street.*
 PREP=DET=IMPF say(DIR)-1PL.ERG *Carolina Street*
 'Then I moved again to Carolina Street.'
- (29) Láti7 lh=mím'c=an, kéla7 xzum ti=tsítcw=a.
 DEIC COMP=move=1SG.CONJ first big DET=house=EXIS
 'There where I moved, the house was very big.'

- (30) Nílh=t'u7 s=wá7=lhkalh láti7.
 FOC=just NOM=be=1 PL.POSS DEIC
 'Then we stayed there.'
- (31) Nílh=t'u7 s=wa7=s t'íq=wit
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS arrive=3PL

 i=án'was=a sésq'wez'.
 DET.PL=two=EXIS younger.sibling
 'Then two of my sisters came.'
- (32) O wá7=lhkalh láti7, tsut: "húz'=lhkalh
 oh IMPF=1 PL.SUBJ DEIC say going.to=1 PL.SUBJ

housewarming."
housewarming
 'Oh, there we were, and they said: "We're going to have a
 housewarming."'
- (33) Nílh=t'u7 s=t'íq=i, t'íq-s-twítas
 FOC=just NOM=arrive=3PL.POSS arrive-CAUS-3PL.ERG

 i=s-7uqw7-í=ha.
 DET.PL=NOM-drink-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 'They came, they brought their booze.'
- (34) Wá7=lhkalh láti7.
 be=1 PL.SUBJ DEIC
 'We were sitting around.'
- (35) Nílh=t'u7 s=t'íq=s ti=wa7=telephone
 FOC=just NOM=arrive=3POSS DET=IMPF=telephone

 mays-en-táli ku=n-telephone.
 fix-DIR-TOP⁷ DET=1 SG.POSS-telephone
 'Then this man came to install my phone.'
- (36) Nílh=t'u7 s=wa7=s, wá7=lhkalh láti7.
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS IMPF=1 PL.POSS DEIC
 'So there he was, and we were there.'

⁷ This was changed from *maysenítas*, with a third person plural ergative suffix, to *maysentáli* in a subsequent session.

- (37) Lán=lhkalh wa7 s=qyéy'x.
 already=1PL.SUBJ IMPF NOM=drunk
 ‘We were a little bit drunk.’⁸
- (38) Nílh=t'u7 s=wa7=s, n=[s=]tsun
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS 1SG.POSS=[NOM=]say(DIR)
 “Lts7a lh=húz'=as lak ku....”
 DEIC COMP=going.to=3CONJ lie DET=[...]
 ‘So there he was, I said, “Here is where they [the phones] are going to go,”’
- (39) “pála7 lkwa7a bedroom=a ku=wa7 tsún-em
 one DEIC bedroom=EXIS DET=IMPF say(DIR)-1PL.ERG
 wa7 business phone wa7 tsún-em.”
 IMPF business phone IMPF say(DIR)-1PL.ERG
 ““the one there in the bedroom is called the business phone.””
- (40) Nq'sá-----nk=lhkalh aylh.
 laugh=1PL.SUBJ then
 ‘Then we laughed.’
- (41) Nq'sánk-min'-em t.=s=wa7 tsún-em,
 laugh-RED-1PL.ERG DET=NOM=IMPF say(DIR)-1PL.ERG
 ‘We laughed about what we called it,’
- (42) nílh=t'u7 s=wa7=s wenacw-nun'-túmulh-as,
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS true-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
 ‘but then he believed us,’
- (43) kw=a=s ti7 huz' business phone
 DET=IMPF=3POSS DEM going.to business phone
 ti=wa7 lak láku7 l=ti=guy't-álhcw=a.
 DET=IMPF lie DEIC PREP=DET=sleep-place=EXIS
 ‘that it was going to be a business phone, the one that was in the bedroom.’
- (44) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsúkw=kalh ts'áqw-an'-em
 FOC=just NOM=finish=1PL.POSS eat-DIR-1PL.ERG

⁸ The following sentence was added during the second elicitation: *Lan wa7 t'iq ti sqáycwa ti wa7 maysentáli ku telephone*. ‘Then the man came who fixed the phone’. The sentence originally contained an =a enclitic after *táli* (*maysentáliha*); however, written grammars of St'át'imcets indicate that this enclitic should not be present here.

ti=ts'úqwaz'=a s=t'íq-s-tum'.
 DET=fish=EXIS NOM=arrive-CAUS-PAS
 'Then we finished eating the fish that had been brought.'

(45) Lán=k'a aylh wa7 kánm=as=k'a múta7
 already=EPIS then IMPF when=3CONJ=EPIS again

nílh=t'u7 s=qv̄l-wíil'c=s ti=*telephone*=a.
 FOC=just NOM=bad-become=3POSS DET=*telephone*=EXIS
 'Some time later, the phone got broken.'

(46) Nílh=t'u7 s=*phone*-cit=an
 FOC=just NOM=*phone*-IND=1SG.CONJ

i=wa7 s-tsúwa7
 DET.PL=IMPF NOM-possession

t'íq=wit wa7 mays-en-ítas.
 arrive=3PL IMPF fix-DIR-3PL.ERG
 'So I phoned the phone company so they could fix it.'

(47) Nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-ts-as ti=sqáycw=a,
 FOC=just NOM=say(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DET=man=EXIS
 'Then the man told me.'

(48) "Nílh=ha ti=*business phone*=a wa7 qv̄l-wíil'c
 FOC=YNQ DET=*business phone*=EXIS IMPF bad-become

nílh=ha ti=wa7 lak láti7 *kitchen*=a?"
 FOC=YNQ DET=IMPF lie DEIC *kitchen*=EXIS
 "Is it the business phone that is broken or is it the one in the kitchen?"

(49) "O" kan tsun "Nílh ni=*business phone*=a
 oh 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR) FOC DET=*business phone*=EXIS

wa7=qv̄l-wíil'c" kan tsun.
 IMPF=bad-become 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)
 "Oh," I said, "It's the business phone that's broken," I told him.'

(50) Nq'sánk=kalh.
 laugh=1PL.SUBJ
 'We laughed.'

(51) Nq'sank-mín'-em aylh.
 laugh-RED-1PL.ERG then
 'We laughed about it.'

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Ti lhápa ts'úqwaz' láti7 q'íl'qa 'The forgotten fish on the sofa'

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Original

Kan sqweqwel'entúmulh t.sa xílem i lalil'temlhkálha láku7 wa7 tsúnem wa7 *Lillooet Lake*. Wá7wit láku7 stsitcw, k'wínwit lti pála7a tsitcw, k'wink'wenwítas k'a, cw7i7t t'u7 láku7 i tsítewa.

Nilh t'u7 sat tsicw áku7 ts'úqwaz'am. Gap, nilh sat tsicw lhat lan wa7 tsukw kwat k'wezúsem. Nilh t'u7 sat mayt i wa7 t'áqsa7, máytwit i ts'wána, máytwit i *saltsálmona*. Tákem swat wa7 tsicw. T'aqsa7ámwit aylh, nilh t'u7 sas tawmin'ítas, pála7usa7 ku pála7 ts'úqwaz'. Kéla7 ti7 sq'wegws t'u7 wa7 amastwítas i wa7 twiw't. Aoy kwas kakúkwwita, nilh t'u7 sas az'enítas. "Pála7usa7, *oh my god!*".

Nilh t'u7 sat tsicw snilh t'u7 snak's i *ncoucha* láti7 pankúpha. Nilh t'u7 sas tsúnan ti nkwtámtsa, "Áma ts7a ku nascitánemwit láku7 i wa7 wá7, amastwítas". Nilh t'u7 stsicwstum' ti *coucha*, wa7 t'u7 áma, t'u7 lan t'u7 wa7 cin' kwas we7ánem; amastwítas. Nilh t'u7 sas mém'tsa7qwit, sqweqwel'entumulítas lhas kánemwit.

Ni spála7sa, máyscitsas ni nskícez7a ti t'áqs7a. Nilh t'u7 smáysenan, kelhnán i múlca wa7 qwez. Nilh t'u7 scwíts'citsas ti wa7 tsúnem *tinfoil*, nilh t'u7 smaysenán hem' áma láti7. Nilh t'u7 múta7 sas qweqwel'wít, nilh t'u7 slhápenan ni nsts'úqwaz'a.

T'épt'pem ti tsítewa, nilh t'u7 s7aozs kwas ats'xenítas. Pákwkalha, tsicw kent7ú pankúpha. "*Oh my,*" kan tsúnwit "Lhapenlhkán tu7 ni nsts'úqwaz'a, kaststwítas klh aylh." Lan k'a aylh wa7 pála7 *week* nilh t'u7 skacw7ucwstwítasa stám'as t'u7 ku cw7ucw lti tsítewa. Nílha cwilh k'a ni nsts'úqwaz'a. "*Oh my,*" tsut aylh ni nskícez7a, "Lhapénás k'a ni ts'úqwaz'sa!".

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English translation

I'll tell you guys a story about what our parents did at the place that's called Lillooet Lake. There were a bunch of them in the one house, I don't know exactly how many. There were quite a few houses there.

So we used to go there to fish. We would go there in the evening, when we were finished working. Then they barbequed fish, and they made dried fish, and salt salmon. Everybody went. They made barbequed fish, and then they sold each for one dollar. It was very cheap, and the young people liked them. They didn't know how to cook, so they bought them. "One dollar – oh my god!".

So we went there one time, because my couches in Vancouver had got changed. So I told my husband that we should bring this one down the lake, they may like it. So we brought the couch, it was still good, although we had owned it for a long time, and they liked it. So then they sat around and told us stories about what they did.

One time my mother made me a barbecued fish. Then I fixed it, I took the sticks off that had been used. And then she gave me some tinfoil, and then I just fixed it up really nicely. Then they started telling stories again and so I forgot my fish.

It was dark in the house, and so they couldn't see it. We left and went back to Vancouver. "Oh my", I told them¹, "I forgot my fish, I wonder what they'll do with it." One week must have passed, and then they smelled it, they were wondering what was smelling bad in the house. It turned out it must have been my fish! "Oh my" my mother said then, "she must have forgotten her fish!".

¹ Laura notes that "them" refers to her husband and kids who were in the car with her on the way back to Vancouver.

Grammatical analysis

(1) Kan sqwe•qw•el'•en-túmulh t.=s=a xíl-em
 1SG.SUBJ tell•CRED•-DIR-2PL.OBJ DET=NOM=EXIS do-MID

i lalil'tem-lhkálh=a láku7 wa7
 DET.PL older-1PL.POSS=EXIS DEIC IMPF

tsún-em wa7 *Lillooet Lake.*

say(DIR)-PASS IMPF Lillooet Lake

'I'll tell you guys a story about what our parents did at the place that's called Lillooet Lake.'

(2) Wá7=wit láku7 s-tsítcw, k'wín=wit
 be=3PL DEIC STAT-house how.many=3PL

l=ti=pál7=a tsítcw,
 PREP=DET=one=EXIS house

k'wín•k'wen•=wít=as=k'a, cw7i•7•t=t'u7
 how.many•TRED•=3PL=3CONJ=EPIS many•CRED•=just

láku7 i=tsítcw=a.
 DEIC DET.PL=house=EXIS

'There were a bunch of them in the one house, I don't know exactly how many. There were quite a few houses there.'

(3) Nílh=t'u7 s=at tsícw
 FOC=just NOM(IMPF)=1PL.CONJ get.there

áku7 ts'úqwaz'-am.
 DEIC fish-MID

'So we used to go there to fish.'

(4) Gap nilh s=at tsícw
 evening FOC NOM(IMPF)=1PL.CONJ get.there

lh=at lan wa7 tsukw
 COMP=1PL.CONJ already IMPF finish

kw=at k'wezús-em.
 DET=1PL.CONJ work-MID

'We would go there in the evening, when we were finished working.'

- (5) Nílh=t'u7 s=at mayt
 FOC=just NOM(IMPF)=1PL.CONJ fix
- i=wa7 t'áqsa7, máyt=wit
 DET.PL=IMPF barbeque fix=3PL
- i=ts'wán=a, máyt=wit i=saltsálmon=a.
 DET.PL=dried.fish=EXIS fix=3PL DET.PL=salt.salmon=EXIS
 'Then they barbequed fish, and they made dried fish and salt salmon.'
- (6) Tákem swat wa7 tsicw.
 all who IMPF get.there
 'Everybody went.'
- (7) T'aqsa7-ám=wit aylh, nílh=t'u7 s=a=s
 barbeque-MID=3PL then FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS
- taw-min'-ítas, pál7-usa7 ku=pála7 ts'úqwaz'.
 sell-RED-3PL.ERG one-berry.shape DET=one fish
 'They made barbequed fish, and then they sold each for one dollar.'
- (8) Kéla7 ti7 sq'wégw=s=t'u7, wa7
 very DEMON cheap=3POSS=just IMPF
- ama-s-twítas i=wa7 twiw't.
 good-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET.PL=IMPF youth
 'It was very cheap, and the young people liked them.'
- (9) Aoy kw=a=s ka-kúkw=wit-a,
 NEG DET(NOM)=IMPF=POSS CIRC-cook=3PL-CIRC
- nílh=t'u7 s=a=s az'-en-ítas.
 FOC=just NOM=IMPF=3POSS buy-DIR-3PL.ERG
 'They didn't know how to cook, so they bought them.'
- (10) "Pál7-usa7, oh my god!"
 one-berry.shape oh my god
 "One dollar – oh my god!"
- (11) Nílh=t'u7 s=at tsicw
 FOC=just NOM(IMPF)=1PL.CONJ get.there
- s=nílh=t'u7 s=nak'=s
 NOM=FOC=just NOM=change=3POSS

- (16) Nílh=t'u7 s=máys-en-an, kelh-n-án
 FOC=just NOM=fix-DIR-1SG.CONJ take.out-DIR-1SG.ERG
 i=múlc=a wa7 qwez.
 DET.PL=stick=EXIS IMPF use
 'Then I fixed it, I took the sticks off that had been used.'
- (17) Nílh=t'u7 s=cwíts'-ci(t)-ts-as ti=wa7
 FOC=just NOM=give-IND-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DET=IMPF
 tsún-em tinfoil, nílh=t'u7
 say(DIR)-1PL.ERG tinfoil FOC=just
 s=mays-en-án=hem' áma láti7.
 NOM=fix-DIR-1SG.ERG=but good DEIC
 'And then she gave me some tinfoil, and then I just fixed it up really nicely.'
- (18) Nílh=t'u7 múta7 s=a=s
 FOC=just again NOM=IMPF=3POSS
 qwe•qw•el'=wít, nílh=t'u7 s=lháp-en-an
 tell•CRED•=3PL FOC=just NOM=forget-DIR-1SG.ERG
 ni=n-sts'úqwaz'=a.
 DET=1SG.POSS-fish=EXIS
 'Then they started telling stories again and so I forgot my fish.'
- (19) T'ép•t'p•-em ti=tsítcw=a, nílh=t'u7
 dark•TRED•-MID DET=house=EXIS FOC=just
 s=7aoz=s kw=a=s ats'x-en-ítas.
 NOM=NEG=3POSS DET(NOM)=IMPF=POSS see-DIR-3PL.ERG
 'It was dark in the house, and so they couldn't see it.'
- (20) Pákw=kalh-a, tsicw² kent7ú pankúph=a.
 set.off=1PL.SUBJ-CIRC get.there DEIC Vancouver=EXIS
 'We left and went back to Vancouver.'
- (21) "Oh my," kan tsún-wit
 oh my 1SG.SUBJ say(DIR)-3PL

² Missing 1st person plural subject enclitic.

“Lhap-en=lhkán=tu7 ni=n-sts’úqwaz’=a,
 forget-DIR=1 SG.SUBJ=PAST DET=1 SG.POSS-fish=EXIS

kas-ts-twítas=klh aylh.”
 how-CAUS-3PL.ERG=FUT then
 ““Oh my,” I told them, “I forgot my fish, I wonder what they’ll
 do with it.””

(22) Lán=k’a aylh wa7 pála7 *week*, nilh=t’u7
 already=EPIS then IMPF one week FOC=just

s=ka-cw7úcw-s-twítas-a stám’=as=t’u7
 NOM=CIRC-smell-CAUS-3PL.ERG-CIRC what=CONJ=just

ku=cw7úcw=a l=ti=tsítcw=a.
 DET=smell=EXIS PREP=DET=house=EXIS
 ‘One week must have passed, and then they smelled it, they were
 wondering what was smelling bad in the house.’

(23) Nilh=a=cwílh=k’a ni=n-sts’úqwaz’=a.
 FOC=A=after.all=EPIS DET=1 SG.POSS-fish=EXIS
 ‘It turned out it must have been my fish!’

(24) “Oh my,” tsut aylh ni=n-skícez7=a,
 oh my say then DET=1 SG.POSS-mother=EXIS

“Lhap-en-ás=k’a ni=ts’úqwaz’-s=a.”
 forget-DIR-3ERG=EPIS DET=fish-3POSS=EXIS
 ““Oh my” my mother said then, “She must have forgotten her
 fish!””

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