Nilh Iz'á Sqwéqwel'lhkalh:
Excerpts from the Life Stories of Three St'át'imc Elders

Editor:
Lisa Matthewson[*]
Massachusetts Institute of Technology / Simon Fraser University

Storytellers:
Beverley Frank, Upper St'át'imc Language Authority
Gertrude Ned, Upper St'át'imc Language Authority
Rose Whitley, Upper St'át'imc Language Authority

The excerpts presented here form part of a work in progress, a collection of the personal life histories of a group of fluent speakers of St'át'imcets (Lillooet). The stories are currently being recorded in St'át'imcets, and then transcribed and translated. The idea for the project arose out of an advanced St'át'imcets class taught in 1997-1998 by Henry Davis, during which students were asked to interview fluent speakers about their life experiences, and transcribe the interviews. I have chosen not to use the original interviews in the current project, because we found that richer texts, both in terms of content and of language, result when one avoids the question-answer format and allows the speakers free rein.

Beverley Frank, Gertrude Ned and Rose Whitley were all born in the 1930s, in communities around Lillooet, B.C. They belong to the last generation who grew up speaking St'át'imcets as a first language, and were raised during a time of transition between the traditional St'át'imc way of life and the modern world. Their early childhood experiences paint portraits of life in St'át'imc communities where the language was still spoken and where families still lived off the land to a large extent. The speakers also relate both their positive and negative experiences of the interaction between St'át'imc culture and colonial 'European' culture. The life histories of these elders make a fascinating contribution to the oral history of the St'át'imc, and of the Lillooet area.

In terms of available Salish texts, these stories are relatively unusual in consisting of personal life experiences rather than myths or legends. They contain data which is relevant to the study of morphology, syntax, and semantics, as well as text-level phenomena such as topic tracking. It is my hope that they will be useful both for theoretical linguists and for language teachers and curriculum developers, as well as being of interest to anthropologists and social historians.

The methodology of collection is simple. The speakers are invited to talk about their lives, and what they say is recorded. During the recording session, the tape may be stopped while the speaker thinks about what to talk about next. There is no conversation between myself and the speaker on the tape. Afterwards, I transcribe the story (in Jan van Eijk's practical orthography), and show the transcription to the speaker. All the speakers who have so far provided stories are literate in St'át'imcets, so they can check the transcription against the recording for accuracy.[1]

The stories are not edited for content, except to omit obvious slips of the tongue. In three instances, the speaker used an English word when telling the story, instead of a St'át'imcets word which she knows. In those three cases, I have substituted the St'át'imcets word, after consultation with the speaker. Where a speaker has omitted, due to fast speech, the proclitic portion of a discontinuous determiner, I have inserted it inside square brackets []. There are two places where I am still unsure of the correct transcription; these are indicated with question marks. Because this is work in progress, there may well be typos and small transcription errors which will be corrected in the final version.

Beverley Frank

Born in Sek'welwás (Cayoose Creek)
Lives in Sek'welwás (Cayoose Creek)

(1) Wá7-lhkan   lexláx-s   t'it i   t'íq-as   tawn-min-tumúlh-as
PROG-1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS also when.PAST arrive-3CONJ town-APPL-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
nelh   snek'wnúkw'a7-s-a   i   n-slalíl'tem-a.
DET.PL relative-3SG.POSS-DET DET.PL 1SG.POSS-parent-DET
I also remember when some relatives of my parents came to visit us.

(2) Lhláku7 Xwísten-a   múta7 Móts'a lh-t'íq-wit-as.
from-DEIC Bridge.River-DET and   Moha   HYP-arrive-PL-3CONJ
They were from Bridge River and Moha.

(3) Nilh iz'   snek'wnúk'wa7-s [ta] n-skícez7-a.
FOC   DEMON.PL relative-3SG.POSS [DET] 1SG.POSS-mother-DET
They were relatives of my mother.

(4) T'iq-s-twítas   t'it i   stsmal't-í-ha.
arrive-CAUS-3PL.ERG also DET.PL offspring(PL)-3PL.POSS-DET
They also brought their children.

(5) Ts'ila t'u7 szánucw i   núkw-a   s7ents.
like   just year   DET.PL other-DET   1SG.EMPH
Some of them were the same age as me.

(6) Wa7   i   núkw-a   s7alélna7 lhel wi snímulh.
PROG   DET.PL other-DET   younger   from PL 1PL.EMPH
Some others were younger than us.

(7) Wá7-lhkan   lexláx-s   kw-s   wá7-wit láku7 s-7úlhcw-wit l-ta
PROG-1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS DET-NOM PROG-3PL DEIC   STAT-enter-3PL in-DET
tsítcw-a   i   lalíl'tem-a,
house-DET   DET.PL adult-DET
I remember that the adults were inside the house,

(8) nilh s-wá7-lhkalh   wi snímulh   sáy'sez' láku7 álts'q7-a.
FOC   NOM-PROG-1PL.POSS PL 1PL.EMPH play   DEIC   outside-DET
and we went to play outside.

(9) Wá7-lhkalh   káti7 q'éq'lhil ken-tákem nilh-s   ka láx-s-tum-a
PROG-1PL.SUBJ DEIC   run(DIMIN) around-all FOC-NOM OOC remember-CAUS-PASS-OOC
i   sq'weláp-az'-a   múta7 i   s7aytseqw-áz'-a   kw-s   wa7
DET.PL strawberry-plant-DET and   DET.PL raspberry-plant-DET DET-NOM PROG
k'wík'wena7 sk'wilh i   sq'wél-a.
few   leftover DET.PL berry-DET
We ran around everywhere, and then we remembered the strawberry and raspberry plants which had a few leftover berries.

(10) Nilh áku7 s-tsícw-kalh   áw't-s-a   ti tsítcw-lhkálh-a.
FOC   DEIC NOM-go-1PL.POSS behind-3SG.POSS-DET DET house-1PL.POSS-DET
So we went behind our house.

(11) Nilh wá7-lhkalh   káti7 q'welaw'-em-tsín   t'u ts'ek-s-túm   k'a   sxek
FOC PROG-1SG.POSS DEIC pick.berry-MID-mouth until gone-CAUS-PASS APPAR maybe
     i   sk'wílh-a   sq'wel k'a   lh plán-at   wa7 meq',
     DET.PL leftover-DET berry APPAR HYP already-1PL.CONJ PROG full
We picked the berries until they were all gone, or maybe until we were full,

(12) nilh s-cúz'-lhkalh   sáy'sez'.
FOC NOM-going.to-1PL.POSS play
and then we started to play.

(13) Cúy'-lhkalh   legw-ílc-min-twal' káti7 kén-ki   7ay'tseqw-áz'-a
GOING.TO-1PL.SUBJ hide-body-APPL-RECIP DEIC around-DET.PL raspberry-plant-DET
     múta7 i   q'weláp-az'-a.
     and DET.PL strawberry-plant-DET
We started hiding from each other among the raspberry bushes and strawberry bushes.

(14) Wá7-lhkalh   sáy'sez' nilh ka7lh s-qa7ez'-lhkálh   ku sáy'sez'
PROG-1SG.SUBJ play   FOC awhile NOM-weary-1PL.POSS DET play
     nilh s-cúz'-lhkalh   qweqwalél't.
     FOC NOM-going.to-1PL.POSS talk
We played, then after a while we got tired of playing and started talking.

(15) Ats'x-en-em   ta   qmút-s-a   ta   s7aléln7-a   snúk'wa7-lhkalh smúlhats.
see-DIR-PASS DET hat-3SG.POSS-DET DET younger-DET relative-1PL.POSS woman
We saw the hat of a young cousin of ours.

(16) A7ema   ti   qwezqwáz-a qmut-s.
good(DIMIN) DET blue-DET   hat-3SG.POSS
Her blue hat was pretty.

(17) Nilh s-cuy'-s   tsún-em: "A7hen, wa7 láti7 ti xzúm-a qwezqwáz
FOC NOM-going.to-3SG.POSS tell(DIR)-PASS see   PROG DEIC DET big-DET blue
     spzúza7 l-ta   q'úmqen-sw-a!
     bird   on-DET head-2SG.POSS-DET
So we told her: "Look, there's a big blue bird on your head!

(18) Cuy'   cat-an'-tsí-has   nilh s-nas-ts-tumí-has   káku7 kén-ki
going.to lift-DIR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG FOC NOM-CAUS-go-2SG.OBJ-3ERG DEIC around-DET.PL
     s-wá7-s-a   es-tsítcw."
     NOM-PROG-3SG.POSS-DET STAT-house
It's gonna lift you and take you to where it has its house."

(19) Kán-as   k'a, aoz kw-en-s   lexláx-s,   kán-as   k'a
question-3CONJ APPAR NEG DET-1SG.POSS-NOM remember-CAUS question-3CONJ APPAR
     kw-s   ílal-s,
     DET-NOM cry-3SG.POSS
Maybe, I don't remember, maybe she cried,

(20) nilh s-nas-ts   ulhcw láku7 tsítcw-a.
FOC NOM-go-3SG.POSS enter DEIC house-DET
and went into the house.

(21) T'u7 wá7-lhkan   lexláx-s   kw-s   papt wa7 tsgwáy-min-em i
just PROG-1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS DET-NOM always PROG tease-APPL-PASS DET.PL
     s7aléln7-a   lhel wi snímulh.
     younger-DET from PL 1PL.EMPH
But I remember that we always teased the ones that were younger than us.

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(22) Na pál7-a   szánucw, tsícw-lhkalh háops-am'.
DET one-DET year   go-1PL.SUBJ hops-MID
One year, we went hops picking.

(23) Aku7 n-scwákwekw ti táwn-a   wa7 tsún-itas   "Agassiz" lh-tsícw-at.
DEIC 1SG.POSS-heart DET town-DET PROG tell(DIR)-3PL.ERG Agassiz HYP-go-1PL.CONJ
I think where we went is to the town they call "Agassiz".

(24) I   kel7-át   tsicw, áts'x-en-em i   cw7ít-a tsitcw.
when.PAST first-1PL.CONJ go   see-DIR-PASS DET.PL many-DET house
When we first got there, we saw lots of houses.

(25) Wa7 i   núkw-a latáon, t'u7 wa7 i   núkw-a lhek?-álqw   kwikws
PROG DET.PL other-DET tent   just PROG DET.PL other-DET deflate-cylinder small
     tsitcw lh-ás-a   wa7 i   wa7 cuz' qweláw'-em ku haops.
     house HYP-3CONJ-DET be.there DET.PL PROG going.to pick.berry-MID DET hops
There were some tents, but others had log huts, small houses where the hops-pickers were living.

(26) Cw7aoz ku wa7 nkup, nilh s-7um'-en-tumul-ítas   i   wa7 kúkwpi7
NEG   DET PROG mattress FOC NOM-give-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3PL.ERG DET.PL PROG chief
     i   xzúm-a qw7ap nlhám'-ten-s   i   háops-a.
     DET.PL big-DET sack-DET put.in-instrument-3SG.POSS DET.PL hops-DET
There were no mattresses, so the ones in charge gave us big sacks that they used for putting hops in.

(27) Nilh n-s-lham'-án-em   i   sám7-a   sts'épez' kw-s   k'úl'-em-lhkalh
FOC LOC-NOM-put.in-DIR-PASS DET.PL white.person-DET grass   DET-NOM make-MID-1PL.POSS
     ku nkup.
     DET mattress
And we put straw in them to make mattresses.

(28) Stexw t'u7 xzum iz'   ku qw7ap.
very just big DEMON.PL DET sack
Those bags were really big.

(29) I7ez' kw-s   xzum-s   kw-s   ka k'úl'-a   ku nkup-s   ku pápla7
enough DET-NOM big-3SG.POSS DET-NOM OOC make-OOC DET mattress-3SG.POSS DET one(HUM)
     xzum úcwalmicw.
     big person
They were big enough to make a mattress for one big person.

(30) Wá7-lhkan   lexláx-s   i   w-at   tsicw qweláw'-em
PROG-1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS when.PAST PROG-1PL.CONJ go   pick.berry-MID
     i   háops-a, stexw t'u7 zác-al'qwem' i   haops-áz'-a.
     DET.PL hops-DET very just long-appear DET.PL hops-plant-DET
I remember when we went to pick hops, the hops plants were really tall.

(31) Wa7 t'iq káti7 i   wa7 zact mulc lh-ás-a   lak i   cwík'-ten-a
PROG arrive DEIC DET.PL PROG long stick HYP-3CONJ-DET lie DET.PL butcher.fish-instrument-DET
     kw-s   k'elq-án-itas   i   haops-áz'-a lhél-ki záct-a   wire
     DET-NOM cut-DIR-3PL.ERG DET.PL hops-plant-DET from-DET.PL long-DET wire
     and big-string-DET string HYP-3CONJ-DET grow-3PL
     múta7 xzúm-alk'-a sel lh-ás-a   ri7p-wít.
People came, there were long poles there, they used knives to cut the hops plants from the long wires and long strings where they grew.

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(32) Nilh kw-s kwís-wit l-ti tmícw-a nilh kw-s wa7-s ka
FOC DET-NOM fall-3PL on-DET ground-DET FOC DET-NOM PROG-3SG.POSS OOC
qweláw'-em-a i ucwalmícw-a.
pick.berry-MID-OOC DET.PL person-DET
So they fell on the ground so that the people could pick them.

(33) Xzum ts'la7 lh-ás-a nlham', kéla7 lh-as qweláw' i háops-a,
big basket HYP-3CONJ-DET put.in first HYP-3CONJ pick.berries DET.PL hops-DET
They put the hops in big baskets when they were first picked,

(34) t'u qul ti xzúm-a ts'la7 nilh kw-s nlham'-án-itas i xzúm-a qw7ap t'u qul.
until full DET big-DET basket FOC DET-NOM put.in-DIR-3PL.ERG DET.PL big-DET sack until full
until the big basket was full and then they put them in big sacks till they were full.

(34) Cw7aoz kw-en-s-wá lexláx-s kenkán-as i wa7
NEG DET-1SG.POSS-NOM-PROG remember-CAUS how.much-3CONJ DET.PL PROG
s-xaq'-s i sám7-a lh-as qul i qw7áp-a.
NOM-pay-3SG.POSS DET.PL white.person-DET HYP-3CONJ full DET.PL sack-DET
I don't remember how much the white people paid for the full sacks.

(35) T'u7 wá7-lhkan lexláx-s kw-s wá7-lhkalh qwámqwmet-s-tum
just PROG-1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS DET-NOM PROG-1PL.POSS fun-CAUS-PASS
lh-núkw-as lh-at qweláw'-em.
HYP-other-3CONJ HYP-1PL.CONJ pick.berries-MID
But I remember that we had fun sometimes when we were picking.

(36) Nilh lh-át-a sáy'sez' l-ti s-7úlhcw-s-a ti qw7áp-a múta7
FOC HYP-1PL.CONJ-DET play in-DET NOM-enter-3SG.POSS-DET DET sack-DET and
nlhám'-lec l-ki xzúm-a ts'la7.
put.in-body in-DET.PL big-DET basket
We would play inside the sack and get inside the big baskets.

(37) T'u7 wa7 t'it xát'-s-tum kw-s qweláw'-em lh-as qemp-7úl.
just PROG also difficult-CAUS-PASS DET-NOM pick.berry-MID HYP-3CONJ hot-too
But also we had a hard time picking when it was too hot.

(38) Lh-as tsukw-s qweláw'-em nilh kw-s tsícw-kalh úxwal', ílhen láti7.
HYP-3CONJ finish-3SG.POSS pick.berries-MID FOC DET-NOM go-1PL.POSS go.home eat DEIC
When we finished picking we would go home and eat there.

(39) Kukw ti n-skícez7-a l-ti kwíkws-a n-p'áms-ten.
cook DET 1SG.POSS-mother-DET on-DET small-DET LOC-firewood-instrument
My mother would cook on a small stove.

(40) Wa7 tsún-itas "tin" ti n-p'áms-ten-a,
PROG tell(DIR)-3PL.ERG tin DET LOC-firewood-instrument-DET
They called that stove "tin",

(41) nilh s-cw7ay-s kw-s cin' nilh kw-s q'wel i skúkw-s-a.
FOC NOM-NEG-3SG.POSS DET-NOM long.time FOC DET-NOM cooked DET.PL NOM-cook-3SG.POSS-DET
and it didn't take long for the food to be cooked.

(42) Tsúkw-al'ts-kalh, nilh kw-s nas ti n-kéckec-a s-páqw-s-as
finish-food-1PL.SUBJ FOC DET-NOM go DET 1SG.POSS-older.sister-DET STAT-watch-CAUS-3ERG
káti7 i wa7 qwámqwmet száyten-i.
DEIC DET.PL PROG fun do-3PL.POSS
We finished eating, then my older sister went to watch the fun things the people were doing.

(43) Wa7 lhekmáw'as i núkw-a, wa7 lakáolt-em,
PROG play.bone.game DET.PL other-DET PROG gamble-MID
Some were playing bone games, gambling,

(44) múta7 wá7-lhkan lexláx-s láni7 kw-s kéla7-s qan'ím-ens-an
and PROG-1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS DEIC DET-NOM first-3SG.POSS hear-DIR-1SG.CONJ
i wa7 pumák7-am múta7 i wa7 ít'-em ku úcwalmicw s-7ít'em.
DET.PL PROG drum-MID and DET.PL PROG sing-MID DET Indian NOM-sing
and I remember that that was the first time I heard people drumming and singing Indian songs.

(45) Lh-as t'iq úxwal' ti n-kéckec-a, wa7 sqwal'-en-túmulh-as
HYP-3CONJ arrive go.home DET 1SG.POSS-older.sister-DET PROG tell-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
tákem i qwámqwmet-a wa7 száyten-s i núkw-a úcwalmicw.
all DET.PL fun-DET PROG do-3SG.POSS DET.PL other-DET person
When my sister came home, she would tell us all the fun things the other people had been doing.

(46) T'u7 plán-lhkalh wa7 guy't-ál'men s7ents múta7 ni n-qéqtsek-a.
just already-1PL.SUBJ PROG sleep-want 1SG.EMPH and DET 1SG.POSS-brother-DET
But we were already sleepy, my older brother and me.

(47) Xw7útsin szánucw kw-s kékel7-amc lhel s7ents.
four year DET-NOM first(DIMIN)-person from 1SG.EMPH
He was four years older than me.

(48) Kán-as k'a kw-s cin'-s kw-s wá7-lhkalh
question-3CONJ APPAR DET-NOM long.time-3SG.POSS DET-NOM PROG-1PL.POSS
qweláw'-em ki háops-a.
pick.berry-MID DET.PL hops-DET
I don't know how long we picked hops for.

(49) T'u7 tsicw kw-s p'an't skul ti n-qéqtsek-a láku7 St Marys-a,
but go DET-NOM return school DET 1SG.POSS-older.brother-DET DEIC St Marys-DET
láku7 Mission-a.
DEIC Mission-DET
But then it came time for my brother to go back to school at St Mary's, in Mission.

(50) Plan k'a wa7 í7ez' ku sqlaw' kw-s k'ul'-s [ta]
already APPAR PROG enough DET money DET-NOM make-3SG.POSS [DET]
n-skícez7-a múta7 [ta] n-kéckec-a
1SG.POSS-mother-DET and [DET] 1SG.POSS-older.sister-DET
Apparently my mother and my older sister had already made enough money

(51) kw-s ka az'-s-twítas-a i stemtétem'-a wa7 cuz' qwez-en-ás
DET-NOM OOC buy-CAUS-3PL.ERG-OOC DET.PL clothes-DET PROG going.to use-DIR-3ERG
lh-tsícw-as skul.
HYP-go-3CONJ school
to buy the clothes he was going to use when he went to school.

(52) Láni7 tákem i wa7 tsicw skul láku7 St Mary-ha múta7 l-kw7u Kamloops-a,
DEIC all DET.PL PROG go school DEIC St Mary-DET and at-DEIC Kamloops-DET
wa7 az'-en-ítas i tsuw7-í-ha stemtétem' nilh tsícw-wit skul.
PROG buy-DIR-3PL.ERG DET.PL own-3PL.POSS-DET clothes FOC go-3PL school
In those days everyone who went to school at St Mary's and in Kamloops, they had to buy their own clothes
so they could go to school.

(53) Nilh s-pápt-s wa7 káti7 kens alkst i lalíl'tem-a kw-s wa7
FOC NOM-always-3SG.POSS PROG DEIC want.to work DET.PL adult-DET DET-NOM PROG
s-í7ez' ku sqlaw'
STAT-enough DET money
So the adults were always wanting to work so they would have enough money.

(54) nilh s-ka nás-ts-a skul i stsmal't-í-ha.
FOC NOM-OOC go-3SG.POSS-OOC school DET.PL offspring(PL)-3PL.POSS-DET
so that their children could go to school.

(55) Stexw n-qwenúxw-alhts'a7 tákem swat i nás-as p'an't i sk'wemk'úk'wm'it-a
very LOC-sick-inside.body all who when.PAST go-3CONJ return DET.PLchildren-DET
skul pináni7.
school then
Everyone was very sad when the children went back to school.

(56) Nilh kelh aylh ti tsláoy-am-a cuz' qwelel't-mín-an.
FOC might then DET July-MID-DET going.to talk(DIMIN)-APPL-1SG.CONJ
Now I'm gonna talk about the First of July celebrations.

(57) Wá7-lhkalh tu7 tsláoy-am lh-as kéla7 t'iq ti pipántsek-a t'ánam'ten.
PROG-1PL.SUBJ COMPL July-MID HYP-3CONJ first arrive DET July-DET month
We celebrated the First of July at the beginning of July.

(58) Xw7útsin sq'it kw-s qíl'qel't i ucwalmícw-a lts7a Sát'-a.
four day DET-NOM fun DET.PL person-DET here Lillooet-DET
The people celebrated for four days here in Lillooet.

(59) Cw7it i núkw-a úcwalmicw wa7 t'iq.
many DET.PL other-DET person PROG arrive
Lots of other people came.

(60) Tákem i k'ík't7-a ken-ts7á Sát'-a t'iq, wa7 tsitcw-em-mín-itas
all DET.PL next.to-DET around-DEIC Lillooet-DET arrive PROG house-MID-APPL-3PL.ERG
i snek'wnuk'w7-í-ha.
DET.PL friend(PL)-3PL.POSS-DET
Everyone who came from around Lillooet, they stayed with their friends.

(61) K'a malh i s7ícwlh-mec-a, wa7 tsitcw-ám-wit l-ki k'ík'ta7-s-a
APPAR ADHORT DET.PL different-person-DET PROG house-MID-3PL at-DET next-3SG.POSS-DET
ta Sát'-a.
DET Lillooet-DET
But those who came from different places, they camped near Lillooet.

(62) Lhl-áku7 nlha7káp-mec-a, scwápmec-a, lil'wa7túl-mec-a múta7
from-DEIC Thompson-person-DET Shuswap-person-DET Mount.Currie-person-DET and
i psxíxne-mc-a wa7 t'iq lh-as tsláoy-am-lhkalh.
DET.PL Chilcotin-person-DET PROG arrive HYP-3CONJ July-MID-1PL.SUBJ
There were Thompsons, Shuswaps, Mount Curries and Chilcotins who came when we celebrated the First of July.

(63) Tákem stam' wa7 cuz' qwez-en-ítas l-ki n-tsitcw-em-ten-í-ha
all what PROG going.to use-DIR-3PL.ERG in-DET.PL LOC-house-MID-instrument-3PL.POSS-DET
wa7 t'iq-s-twítas.
PROG arrive-CAUS-3PL.ERG
Everything they were going to need in their tents, they brought with them.

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(64) Wa7 t'it t'íq-cal i núkw-a ki cúz'-a n7a7zem'-cál-i.
PROG also arrive-MID DET.PL other-DET DET.PL going.to-DET trade-MID-3PL.POSS
Also they brought other things that they were going to trade.

(65) I psxíxnem-a, cw7it i ts'qáx7-a wa7 t'iq-s-twítas kw-s
DET.PL Chilcotin-DET many DET.PL horse-DET PROG arrive-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET-NOM
n7á7zem'-s-twítas.
trade-CAUS-3PL.ERG
The Chilcotins, they brought many horses to trade.

(66) Nilh i sts'wán-a múta7 i skás-a t'u7 káti7 sts'úqwaz' wa7
FOC DET.PL wind.dried.salmon-DET and DET.PL how-DET just DEIC fish PROG
n7a7zem'-cít-itas.
trade-APPL-3PL.ERG
It was wind-dried salmon and fish preserved all kinds of ways that they traded them for.

...

(67) Wa7 t'it i wa7 tsún-itas "sqwem qweqút'a7-cen-am'".
PROG also DET.PL PROG tell(DIR)-3PL.ERG mountain horserace-foot-MID
They also had what they called the 'mountain race' (point to point, suicide race).

(68) Lhl-áti7 l-ti s-7áw't-s-a ta T'ítq'et-a lhkúnsa,
from-DEIC at-DET NOM-behind-3SG.POSS-DET DET Lillooet.reserve-DET today
s-lák-s-a ti Spiritual Centre-ha.
NOM-lie-3SG.POSS-DET DET Spiritual Centre-DET
From behind where Lillooet Reserve is today, where the Spiritual Centre is.

(69) Lhl-áti7 tu7 lh-as tsícw-wit e-t7ú s-q'íl'-s-a
from-DEIC COMPL HYP-3CONJ go-3PL to-DEIC NOM-put.down-3SG.POSS-DET
ti sqwém-a.
DET mountain-DET
They went from there down to the bottom of the mountain.

(70) Nilh kw-s qwequt'a7-cen-ám-wit nilh láti7 súxwast.
FOC DET-NOM horserace-foot-MID-3PL FOC DEIC go.downhill
They raced down hill.

(71) K'ínk'ent ti séna7, t'u7 cw7aoz kw-s wá7-wit xan'.
dangerous DEMON but just NEG DET-NOM PROG-3PL hurt
It was dangerous, but they didn't seem to hurt themselves.

(72) Wa7 t'u7 ts7ás-wit lhl-áti7 súxwast, t'íq-wit e-ta
PROG just come-3PL from-DEIC go.downhill arrive-3PL to-DET
n-7áts-q-s-a ta sqwém-a.
LOC-surface-bottom-3SG.POSS-DET DET mountain-DET
They came downhill from there, they arrived at the bottom of the mountain,

(73) nilh kw-s txw-ílc áti7 lh-ás-a wa7 i cw7ít-a úcwalmicw
FOC DET-NOM straight-body DEIC HYP-3CONJ-DET PROG DET.PL many-DET person
wa7 s-metsmítsaq s-paqw-s-táli i wa7 száyten-s ti tsláoy-am-a.
PROG STAT-sit(AUG) STAT-watch-CAUS-TOP DET.PL PROG do-3SG.POSS DET July-MID-DET
And they rode straight to where lots of people were sitting watching what the riders were doing.

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(74) Wa7   kens   zwat-en-ítas   swát-as   kw-s   cuz'   kela7-(7)úl   lh-t'íqeq
PROG want.to know-DIR-3PL.ERG who-3CONJ DET-NOM going.to first-too HYP-arrive(RED)
áti7,   nilh   ti7   wa7   t'cum,   múta7   i   án'was-a   múta7   ikalhás-a.
DEIC FOC DEMON PROG win   and   DET.PL two-DET and   DET.PL three-DET
They wanted to know who was going to make it there first, he would be the one who won, and who got second and who got third.

(75) I   w-an   sk'úk'wm'it,   wá7-lhkan   lexláx-s   kw-s
when.PAST PROG-1SG.CONJ child   PROG-1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS DET-NOM
pápt-lhkalh   wa7   qíl'qel't   ti   s-wá7-lhkalh-a   s7énts-a
always-1PL.POSS PROG fun   DET NOM-PROG-1PL.POSS-DET 1SG.EMPH-DET
múta7   nelh   n-snek'wnúk'w7-a.
and   DET.PL 1SG.POSS-friend(PL)-DET
When I was a child, I remember that my friends and I always had fun there.

(76) Wá7-lhkan   lexláx-s   na   pála7-s-a   tsláoy-am,   stexw   t'u7
PROG-1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS DET one-3SG.POSS-DET July-MID   very   just
sexw-n-ém   ti   s-kwís-a.
heavy.rain-DIR-PASS DET NOM-fall-DET
I remember one First of July, there was a real cloudburst.

(77) Tákem swat láti7   wa7   pus,   t'u7   cw7aoz   wi   snímulh,
all   who DEIC PROG wet   just   NEG   3PL   1PL.EMPH
Everyone there got wet, but not us,

(78) nilh t-s-tsícw-kalh-a   áti7   t'ík'w-lec   l-ti   t'ép-s-a   lh-ás-a
FOC DET-NOM-go-1PL.POSS-DET DEIC stretch-body in-DET under-3SG.POSS-DET HYP-3CONJ-DET
wa7   i   cw7ít-a   wa7   s-metsmítsaq.
PROG DET.PL many-DET PROG STAT-sit(AUG)
because we went and stretched out under the stand.

(79) Nilh láti7   s-kíts-lec-kalh,   t'u7   wá7-lhkalh   ka   áts'x-s-tum-a
FOC DEIC STAT-lie.down-body-1PL.POSS just PROG-1PL.SUBJ OOC see-CAUS-PASS-DET
i   wa7   ts'elq-ílc   múta7 i   wa7   qweqút'a7-cen-am.
DET.PL PROG buck-body and   DET.PL PROG horserace-foot-MID
We lay down there, but we could see the people bucking and having horse-races.

(80) Stexw   t'u7   láni7   wa7   qwámqwmet   ku   wa7   tsláoy-am.
very   just DEIC PROG fun   DET PROG July-MID
That was a really fun First of July.

(81) Tsukw   ti7.
finish DEMON
That's all.

Gertrude Ned

Born at T'ít'q'et (Lillooet Reserve)
Lives in Cácl'ep (Fountain)

(1) K'a-lh-wá7-acw.
APPAR-HYP-be.there-2SG.CONJ
Hello.

(2) Gertie Ned   n-skwátsits-a.
Gertie Ned   1SG.POSS-name-DET
My name is Gertie Ned.

(3) Cácl'ep-mec-kan.
Fountain-person-1SG.SUBJ
I'm from Fountain.

(4) N-slalíl'tem-a   nilh s-Bernice Adolph   [ta]   n-skícez7-a,
1SG.POSS-parent-DET FOC NOM-Bernice Adolph [DET] 1SG.POSS-mother-DET
My parents, my mother was Bernice Adolph,

(5) nilh hem'-s   [ta]   n-spápz7-a   múta7 [ta]   n-kúkw7-a   rí7p-in'-ts-as.
FOC but-3SG.CNJ[DET] 1SG.POS-grandfather-DET and   [DET] 1SG.POS-grandmother-DET grow-DIR-3ERG
but it was my grandfather and my grandmother who raised me.

(6) Sas   t[a]   n-kúkw7-a,   Jack James Síkil t[a]   n-spápz7-a.
Sas   DET 1SG.POSS-grandmother-DET Jack James Síkil DET 1SG.POSS-grandfather-DET
Sas was my grandmother; Jack James Síkil was my grandfather.

(7) Wá7-lhkan   lexláx-s   i   wa-n   sk'úk'wm'it,
PROG-1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS when.PAST PROG-1SG.CONJ child
I remember when I was a child,

(8) wá7-lhkalh   s-tix   l-ta   xzúm-a   tíipvl.
PROG-1PL.SUBJ STAT-sit.at.table at-DET big-DET table
we would sit to eat at a big table.

(9) K'a-lh   k'wín-at.
APPAR-HYP how.many-1PL.CONJ
There were a bunch of us.

(10) Nilh t[a]   n-sésqwez'-a   Gordy múta7 s7í7ents   wa7   s-mítsaq l-ta
FOC DET 1SG.POSS-younger.sibling-DET Gordy and   1SG.EMPH PROG STAT-sit on-DET
k'ém'-q-s-a   ta   xzúm-a   tíipvl.
end-bottom-3SG.POSS-DET DET big-DET table
Me and my little brother Gordy sat at the end of the big table.

(11) Plán-lhkalh   wa7   qá7ez'   lh-at   flhen, nilh s-at   ka   gúy't-a.
already-1PL.SUBJ PROG tired   when-1PL.CONJ eat   FOC NOM-1PL.CONJ OOC sleep-DET
We were already tired when we ate, so we would fall asleep.

(12) Nilh s-as   kwán-as   ta   n-spápz7-a   ti   száq'-a
FOC NOM-3CONJ take(DIR)-3ERG DET 1SG.POSS-grandfather-DET DET bread-DET
k'a-lh   lh-núkw-as   áopels,
APPAR-HYP HYP-other-3CONJ apple
So my grandfather would take some bread or maybe sometimes an apple,

(13) ts'aq'-en-túmulh-as   kw-s   cwák-lec-kalh.
     throw-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG   DET-NOM   wake.up-body-1PL.POSS
     and throw it at us to wake us up.

(14) Wá7-lhkalh   qá7ez'   ti   s-wá7-lhkalh-a .   pápt   wa7   sáy'sez' ken-tákem ken-(n)ká7.
     PROG-1PL.SUBJ tired   DET NOM-PROG-1PL.POSS-DET always PROG play   around-all around-where
     We were tired because we always played around everywhere.

(15) Wá7-lhkalh   tu7   nlhám'-lec, nlham'-án-tumúlh-as   l-ki   xzúm-a   tire.
     PROG-1PL.SUBJ COMPL put.in-body put.in-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG in-DET.PL big-DET tire
     We got in, they put us in big tires.

(16) Nilh s-at   xelq' áti7 ta xáw'en'-a nilh s-as   wa7   láti7 ta ditch-a.
     FOC   NOM-1PL.CONJ roll   DEIC DET low-DET   FOC   NOM-3CONJ PROG DEIC   DET ditch-DET
     Then we would roll down; there was a ditch there.

(17) Nilh lh-núkw-as   wá7-lhkalh   nlham' l-ta   ditch-a nilh s-at   pus.
     FOC   HYP-other-3CONJ   PROG-1PL.SUBJ put.in in-DET ditch-DET FOC   NOM-1PL.CONJ wet
     And sometimes we would end up in the ditch and get wet.

(18) Wá7-lhkalh   tu7   tsicw   áta7 l-ta   q'wel-áz'-ten-a.
     PROG-1PL.SUBJ COMPL go   DEIC in-DET ripe-plant-instrument-DET
     We would go into the orchard.

(19) Xzum ta q'wel-áz'-ten-s-a   ti n-spápz7-a   múta7 ta
     big   DET ripe-plant-instrument-3SG.POSS-DET DET 1SG.POSS-grandfather-DET and   DET
     n-kúkw7-a.
     1SG.POSS-grandmother-DET
     My grandfather and grandmother's orchard was big.

(20) Tákem láti7 wa7   lak, i   plums-a,   i   áopels-a, i   pears-a,   tsális,
     all   DEIC   PROG lie   DET.PL   plums-DET DET.PL   apple-DET DET.PL   pears-DET cherry
     tákem stam'.
     all   what
     Everything was there, plums, apples, pears, cherries, everything.

(21) Wá7-lhkalh   tu7   q'ílhil kenáti7.
     PROG-1PL.SUBJ COMPL run   DEIC
     We ran around there.

(22) Stexw t'u7 zact i   slhéqem-a.
     very   just long DET.PL   grass-DET
     The grass was really long.

(23) Wá7-lhkalh   tu7   kenáti7 q'ílhil.
     PROG-1PL.SUBJ COMPL DEIC   run
     We ran around there.

(24) Cw7aoz kw-et-wá   ats'x-en-twál' lh-núkw-as,   wá7-lhkalh   tu7   kenáti7 legw-ílc.
     NEG   DET-1PL.CONJ-PROG see-DIR-RECIP   HYP-other-3CNJ   PROG-1PL.SUBJ COMPL DEIC   hide-body
     We couldn't see each other sometimes; we hid ourselves.

(25) Wa7   tu7   xzum ta   n-lep'-cál-ten-s-a   i   n-slalíl'tem-a.
     PROG COMPL big DET LOC-dig-MID-instrument-3POSS-DET DET.PL   1SG.POSS-parent-DET
     My parents' garden was big.

(26) Stexw t'u7 áma ta n-lep'-cál-ten-a.
     very   just good DET LOC-dig-MID-instrument-3POSS-DET
     It was a really good garden.

(27) Wa7   tu7   i   tú7yeqs-a,   i   káolits-a, radish, q'weláwa7, tákem stam'.
     PROG COMPL DET.PL   cucumber-DET   DET.PL carrot-DET radish onion   all   what
     There were cucumbers, carrots, radishes, onions, everything.

(28) Wá7-lhkalh   tu7   lh-núkw-as   kwan   ta lasál-a   lh-at   tsicw ílhen.
     PROG-1PL.SUBJ COMPL HYP-other-3CONJ take(DIR) DET salt-DET HYP-1PL.CONJ go   eat
     Sometimes we would take salt when we were eating.

(29) Nilh s-as   lham'-án-em   l-ta   lham'-aka7-ten-lhkálh-a   múta7 ta kwíkws-a
     FOC   NOM-3CONJ   put.in-dir-PASS in-DET put.in-hand-instrument-1PL.POSS-DET and   DET small-DET
     cwík'ten.
     knife
     Then we would put it in our pockets, and a small knife.

(30) Lh-at   tsicw áta7 n-lep'-cál-ten-a   wá7-lhkalh   kwam
     HYP-1PL.CONJ go   DEIC LOC-dig-MID-instrument-3POSS-DET PROG-1PL.SUBJ take
     ki   tú7yeqs-a,
     DET.PL   cucumber-DET
     Then when we went to the garden we would take cucumbers,

(31) nilh tu7   s-at   ts'áqw-an' i   tú7yeqs-a   láta7 múta7 i   temítus-a,
     FOC   COMPL NOM-1PL.CONJ eat-DIR   DET.PL   cucumber-DET   DEIC   and   DET.PL   tomato-DET
     tákem stam.
     all   what
     and we would eat the cucumbers and tomatoes, everything.

(32) Wá7-lhkan   lexláx-s   t'it   i   w-at   lh-as cúz'-lhkalh
     PROG-1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS also   when.PAST PROG-1PL.CONJ HYP-3CONJ going.to-1PL.SUBJ
     nas   guy't.
     go   sleep
     I also remember when we were going to go to sleep.

(33) Wá7-lhkalh   kwam lhél-ta   q'wel-áz'-ten-a   ki   áopels-a, i   plums-DET
     PROG-1PL.SUBJ take from-DET ripe-plant-instrument-DET DET.PL   apple-DET DET.PL   plums-a,
     i   tákem-a   stam'.
     DET.PL   all-DET   what
     We would take from the orchard apples, plums, everything.

(34) Nilh s-at   lham'-án   áku7 s-t'ép-s-a   ti tsetqín-lhkalh-a,
     FOC   NOM-1PL.CONJ put.in-DIR DEIC NOM-under-1SG.POSS-DET DET pillow-1PL.POSS-DET
     Then we would put them under our pillows,

(35) nilh s-at   ílhen ki   áopels-a lh-as   gap.
     FOC   NOM-1PL.CONJ eat   DET.PL   apple-DET HYP-3CONJ evening
     then we would eat the apples at night.

(36) Stexw t'u7 wa7   kwlii7 tákem i   stám'-a   pináni7.
     very   just PROG green   all   DET.PL   what-DET then
     Everything was really green in those days.

(37) Cw7it i   áopels-a, apricots, ki   tákem-a stam'.
     many   DET.PL   apple-DET apricots   DET.PL   all-DET what
     There were lots of apples, apricots, everything.

(38) K'a   malh-á   hem' aylh lhkúnsa plan   wa7   cwá7ez' iz'   tákem.
     APPAR   ADHORT-DET but   then now   already   PROG disappear DEMON.PL all
     But today everything has disappeared.

(39) Cw7aoz t'u7 put   kw-s   ka   kwlíi7-a   tákem i   slhéqem-a múta7 i   s-7ílhen-a.
     NEG   just enough DET-NOM OOC green-DET all   DET.PL grass-DET and   DET.PL.NOM-eat-DET
     There isn't enough of the green grass and food.

(40) Plan   t'u7 wa7 cwá7ez'.
     already just PROG disappear
     It's disappeared.

(41) Wá7-lhkan   lexláx-s   ta   n-spápz7-a   Síkil pináni7
     PROG-1SG.SUBJ   remember-CAUS DET 1SG.POSS-grandfather-DET Síkil then
          i   w-at   ka   gúy't-a   lh-at   wa7   ílhen.
          when.PAST   PROG-1PL.CONJ OOC sleep-DET   HYP-1PL.CONJ PROG eat
     I remember my grandfather Síkil ,when we had fallen asleep while eating.

(42) Nilh tu7   s-as   kwan-túmulh-as   nilh s-es   tsicw-s-tumúlh-as
     FOC COMPL NOM-3CONJ take(DIR)-1PL.OBJ-3ERG FOC NOM-3CONJ go-CAUS-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
          áta7 ta   sk'ém'ts-a.
          DEIC DET door-DET
     He would get us and take us to the door.

(43) Stexw t'u7 ka   q'wexq'wíx-a áku7 álts'q7-a.
     very just OOC black-OOC   DEIC outside-DET
     It would be pitch black outside.

(44) Nilh s-as   we7áw-en-as   ta   skalúl7-a.
     FOC NOM-3CONJ holler-DIR-3ERG DET owl-DET
     Then he would holler at the owl.

(45) Wa7 tsún-as   ta   skalúl7-a: "Síma7   skalúla7!
     PROG tell(DIR)-3ERG DET owl-DET   come.here owl
     He would say to the owl: "Come here, owl!

(46) Kwan   ts7a ta   qvl-a   sk'úk'wm'it!
     take(DIR) DEMON DET bad-DET child
     Take this bad child!

(47) T'ak-s   áta7 nlham'-án l-ta   ts'lá7-sw-a,
     go.along-CAUS DEIC put.in-DIR in-DET basket-2SG.POSS-DET
     Take her along and put her in your basket,

(48) wa7 wa7 i   naxwéyt-a, lizard, i   bugs-a, tákem stam' wa7 nlham' láti7."
     PROG be.there DET.PL snake-DET lizard DET.PL bugs-DET all   what prog put.in DEIC
     there are snakes there, lizards, bugs, everything is in there."

(49) Nilh s-at   páqu7, nilh s-at   ílal.
     FOC NOM-1PL.CONJ afraid FOC NOM-1PL.CONJ cry
     Then we would get scared and cry.

(50) I   w-at   tu7   guy't láti7 sq'út-s-a   ta   tsítcw-a.
     when.PAST PROG-1PL.CONJ COMPL sleep DEIC beside-3SG.POSS-DET DET house-DET
     We used to sleep beside the house.

(51) Wa7 ta   pál7-a room, wa7 ícwa7 es-q'áz.
     be.there DET one-DET room PROG without STAT-roof
     There was one room that didn't have a roof.

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(52) Nilh s-at   guy't láti7, nilh s-as   wa7 kwis lh-at   guy't
     FOC NOM-1PL.CONJ sleep DEIC FOC NOM-3CONJ PROG rain HYP-1PL.CONJ sleep
          nilh s-as   zuc-un-túmulh-as   ta   n-spápez7-a   Síkil.
          FOC NOM-3CONJ move-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG DET 1SG.POSS-grandfather-DET Síkil
     When we slept there, when it rained while we were sleeping my grandfather Síkil would move us.

(53) Zuc-un-túmulh-as   l-ta   s-7úlhcw-a.
     move-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG in-DET NOM-go.inside-DET
     He would move us inside.

(54) Lh-at   cwák-an lh-as   nán'atcw wá7-lhkalh   aylh tákem wa7   guy't
     HYP-1PL.CONJ wake-DIR HYP-3CONJ morning PROG-1PL.SUBJ then all   PROG sleep
          l-ta   tsítcw-a.
          in-DET house-DET
     When we would wake up in the morning we would all be sleeping in the house.

(55) Wá7-lhkan   lexláx-s   i   w-at   f7wa7   ti
     PROG-1SG.SUBJ   remember-CAUS when.PAST PROG-1PL.CONJ accompany DET
          n-spápez7-a   áku7 lh-as   tsicw záw-em l-ta   sat'átqw7-a.
          1SG.POSS-grandfather-DET DEIC HYP-3CONJ go   fish-MID in-DET Fraser.River-DET
     I remember we used to go with my grandfather when he went fishing in the Fraser River.

(56) Nilh wa7 tsúnitas   "Zacqs" ltssa? wa7 záw-em.
     FOC PROG tell(DIR)-3PL.ERG Zacqs ?   PROG fish-MID
     They call it "Zacqs" where he went fishing.

(57) Wa7 tu7   cw7it i   st'úqwaz'-a wa7 s-kwámem-s   lhl-áti7.
     PROG COMPL many DET.PL fish-DET   PROG NOM-take-3SG.POSS from-DEIC
     He caught a lot of fish there.

(58) Wá7-lhkalh   tu7   f7wa7   [ta] n-sésqwez'-a   s-Gordy.
     PROG-1PL.SUBJ   COMPL accompany [DET] 1SG.POSS-younger.sibling-DET NOM-Gordy
     We went with him, me and my brother Gordy.

(59) Wá7-lhkalh   tu7   sáy'sez ken-áti7.
     PROG-1PL.SUBJ   COMPL play   around-DEIC
     We used to play around there.

(60) Wá7-lhkalh   tu7   nlham' láti7 l-ti   wáken-a.
     PROG-1PL.SUBJ   COMPL put.in DEIC in-DET wagon-DET
     We used to be in the wagon.

(61) Wá7-lhkalh   tu7   lhegwígw-lec   l-ta   q'íl'-q-a   nilh s-at
     PROG-1PL.SUBJ   COMPL bounce(DIMIN)-body in-DET put.down-bottom-DET FOC NOM-1PL.CONJ
          q'áy-lec   áti7 l-ta   wáken-a.
          jump-body DEIC in-DET wagon
     We used to bounce on the seat and then jump in the wagon.

(62) Nilh-s   na   s-pála7-s-a   kánm-as   k'a   ta   n-sésq'wez'-a
     FOC-NOM DET NOM-one-3SG.POSS-DET do.what-3CONJ APPAR DET 1SG.POSS-younger.sibling-DET
          s-Gordy,   k'a   lh q'emin-en-ém-as   l-ta   wáken-a nilh-s   ka
          NOM-Gordy APPAR HYP throw-DIR-PASS-3CONJ in-DET wagon-DET FOC-NOM OOC
          qácw-s-a   ta   qícten-s-a.
          break-3SG.POSS-DET DET elbow-3SG.POSS-DET
     One time my brother Gordy, I don't know what he did but he was thrown in the wagon and he broke his elbow.

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(63) Nilh-s   7ay t'u7 kw-s   tsicw-s-twítas   ta   táokth-a.
     FOC-NOM NEG just DET-NOM go-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET doctor-DET
     They didn't take him to the doctor.

(64) Nilh t'u7 s-q'ít'-s   ts'íla áti7.
     FOC just NOM-heal-3SG.POSS like   DEIC
     So it healed like that.

(65) Xzum láti7 ta   sqwém-a   l-ta   qícten-s-a.
     big   DEIC DET mountain-DET in-DET elbow-3SG.POSS-DET
     There was a big lump on his elbow.

(66) Ay   t'u7 tu7   kw-s   ka   may-s-twítas-a.
     NEG just COMPL DET-NOM OOC fix-CAUS-3PL.ERG-DET
     They couldn't fix it.

15

Rose Whitley

Born at Cácl'ep (Fountain)
Lives at T'ít'q'et (Lillooet Reerve)

(1) Wá7-lhkan   lexláx-s   i   kwís-as   na   n-sésq'wez'-a,
    PROG-1SG.SUBJ remember-CAUS when.PAST fall-3CONJ DET   1SG.POSS-younger.sibling
                  s-Harold Peter.
                  NOM-Harold Peter.
    I remember when my little brother was born, Harold Peter.

(2) Qan'ím-ens-kan   i   qelhqelhmémen'-a   kw-s   tsút-i:
    hear-CAUS-1SG.SUBJ DET.PL old.person(PL)-DET DET-NOM say-3PL.POSS
    I heard the old people say:

(3) "Nilh ts7a sQatsk."
    FOC DEIC NOM-Qatsk
    "This is Qatsk."

(4) Wá7-lhkan   zwát-en   kw-a-s [kwens]   wa7   plan   wa7
    PROG-1SG.SUBJ know-DIR DET-PROG-NOM [DET-1SG.POSS-NOM] PROG already PROG
              slhik-s   k-wa   xek-cál   múta7 k-wa   mets-cál ku sám7-ats.
              know-CAUS DET-PROG count-MID and   DET-PROG write-MID DET white.person-mouth
    I know that I already knew how to count and write in English.

(5) Tsílkst-kan   máqa7 pináni7.
    five-1SG.SUBJ snow   then
    I was five years old then.

(6) Tsukw t'u7 wa7   lexláx-s-an   k-wa-s   k'wink'wen-ás   tu7
    finish just PROG remember-CAUS-1SG.CONJ DET-PROG-NOM how.many(AUG)-3CONJ COMPL
              nelh   qelhqelhmémen'-a smelhmúlhats i   wa7   láti7 tsitcw-kálh-a.
              DET.PL old.person(PL)-DET woman(PL)   DET.PL PROG DEIC house-1PL.POSS-DET
    I only remember that there were a bunch of old ladies at our house.

(7) Wa7   sqwál'-en-ts-as   ta   n-skícez7-a   kw-s   nilh i   wa7   papla7-sút.
    PROG tell-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DET 1SG.POSS-mother-DET DET-NOM FOC DET.PL PROG one(HUM)-OOC
    My mother told me that those were the ones that were alone.

(8) Zuqw ku7   tu7   ku   kwtamts-í-ha.
    die QUOT COMPL DET husband-3PL.POSS-DET
    Their husbands had died.

(9) Tsukw s-Lusi   wi s-Kastéen   múta7 s-Máma7.
    finish NOM-Lusi PL NOM-Kasteen and   NOM-Máma7
    It was only Lucy and Kasteen and Máma7.

(9) Nilh s-Máma7   ta   n-kúkw7-a.
    FOC NOM-Máma7 DET 1SG.POSS-grandmother-DET
    Máma7 was my grandmother.

(10) Nilh wi7   s-Pauline   na   kúkwa7-s-a   na   n-sqátsez7-a.
     FOC EMPH NOM-Pauline DET grandmother-1SG.POSS-DET DET 1SG.POSS-father-DET
     Pauline was my father's grandmother.

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(11) Mutátkwa7   na   ucwalmícw-a   skwátsits-s.
    Mutátkwa7   DET   Indian-DET   name-3SG.POSS
    Mutátkwa7 was her Indian name.

(12) Nuk'w7-an-táli   na   n-skícez7-a.
    help-DIR-TOP   DET   1SG.POSS-mother-DET
    She was the midwife for my mother.

(13) Tsut   t'it   kw-s   tsicw   áta7   tsitcw-kálh-a   s-Mao.
    say   also   DET-NOM go   DEIC   house-1PL.POSS-DET   NOM-Mao
    She [= my mother] also said that Mao came to our house.

(14) Nilh   s-Mao   na   sem7ám-s-a   na   kúkwpi7-a   s-Thomas Adolph.
    FOC   NOM-Mao   DET   wife-3SG.POSS-DET DET   chief-DET   NOM-Thomas Adolph
    Mao was the wife of the chief Thomas Adolph.

(15) Nilh   k'a   wi7   i   zúqw-as   na   kukwpi7-lhkálh-a   s-wa7-s
    FOC   APPAR EMPH when.PAST die-3CONJ DET chief-1PL.POSS-DET   NOM-PROG-3SG.POSS
    t'iq   áti7   tsitcw-kálh-a   guy't   kw-s   Mao.
    arrive DEIC   house-1PL.POSS-DET   sleep   DET-NOM   Mao
    It must have been when our chief died that Mao came to sleep at our house.

(16) Snuk'wa7-lhkálh   k'a   iz'.
    relative-1PL.POSS APPAR   DEMON.PL
    I think they were our relatives.

(17) Wa7   tsut   na   n-skícez7-a   kw-s   papt   tu7   kw-s   t'iq   na   kúkwpi7-a
    PROG say   DET 1SG.POSS-mother-DET DET-NOM always COMPL DET-NOM arrive DET chief-DET
    ats'x-en-túmulh-as.
    see-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
    My mother said that the chief always used to come and visit us.

(18) Wá7-lhkan   múta7 lexláx-s   na   stéxw-a   qelhmémen' smúlhats láti7   Cácl'ep-a.
    PROG-1SG.SUBJ   and   remember-CAUS   DET   very-DET   old.person woman   DEIC   Fountain-DET
    I also remember a very old lady from Fountain.

(19) Láta7   x7ílh-ts-a   na   tsitcw-kálh-a   tu7   na   tsítcw-s-a.
    DEIC   other.side-3SG.POSS-DET   DET house-1PL.POSS-DET COMPL DET house-3SG.POSS-DET
    Her house was on the other side from our house.

(20) Tsukw   t'u7   tu7   snilh   múta7 na   skúza7-s-a   wi   s-Pípayan
    only   just   COMPL 3SG.EMPH   and   DET offspring-3SG.POSS-DET PL   NOM-Pípayan
    nelh   wa7   wa7   láti7   ku   tsitcw.
    DET.PL   PROG   PROG   be.there DEIC DET house
    Only she and her daughter Pípayan lived in that house.

(21) Q'eselcá7a   ni7   ku   qelhmémen'.
    Q'eselcá7a   DEMON   DET   old.person
    That old lady was called Q'eselcá7a.

(22) Nilh   wa7   lexláx-s-an   i   wá7-as   tu7   t'íq-min-ts-as
    FOC   PROG remember-CAUS-1SG.CONJ when.PAST PROG-3CONJ COMPL arrive-APPL-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
    kw-s   Pípayan
    DET-NOM   Pípayan
    I remember when Pípayan came to fetch me,

(23) kw-en-s   nas   áts'x-en   kw-s   Q'eselcá7a.
    DET-1SG.POSS-NOM   go   see-DIR   DET-NOM   Q'eselcá7a.
    so I would go and see Q'eselcá7a.

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(24) I   k'ík'ta7-s   kw-en-s   nas   skul   áku7   Mission-a.
    when.PAST next.to-3SG.POSS   DET-1SG.POSS-NOM   go   school DEIC   Mission-DET
    It was when I was about to go to school in Mission.

(25) Áti7   lh-w-as   tu7   xíl-em   ni7.
    DEIC   HYP-PROG-3CONJ   COMPL do-MID   DEMON
    That's what she did.

(26) Tsún-ts-as   tu7   kw-s   cw7ay-s   kw-en-s-wá
    tell(DIR)-1SG.OBJ-3ERG COMPL DET-NOM NEG-3SG.POSS   DET-1SG.POSS-NOM-PROG
    lháp-en   lhel-nká7-as   ta   n-s-ts7ás-a   lhl-áti7   Cácl'ep-a.
    forget-DIR   from-where-3ERG   DET 1SG.POSS-NOM-come-DET   from-DEIC Fountain-DET
    She told me not to forget where I came from, from Fountain.

(27) Kw-s   cw7áoz-as   kw-s   lháp-en-an   ta   n-qwal'út-ten-a,
    DET-NOM   NEG-3CONJ   DET-NOM   forget-DIR-1SG.CONJ   DET LOC-speak-instrument-DET
    t'u   p'án't-kan   ta   Cácl'ep-a.
    until return-1SG.SUBJ   DET Fountain-DET
    That I shouldn't forget the language, until I came back to Fountain.

(28) Kw-en-s   t'u7   papt   lexláx-s   ta   Cácl'ep-a.
    DET-1SG.POSS-NOM   just   always remember-CAUS   DET Fountain-DET
    That I should always remember Fountain.

(29) Wa7   t'u7   tu7   xílh-ts-as   áti7   tákem   i   wa7   nas   skul.
    PROG just   COMPL do-CAUS-3ERG   DEIC   all   DET.PL PROG go   school
    She did that with everyone who was going to school.

(30) S-Lusi   ta   wa7   l-ta   sq'út-kalh-a.
    NOM-Lucy   DET PROG at-DET   beside-1PL.POSS-DET
    It was Lucy who lived beside us.

(31) Xzum   séna7 na   tsítcw-s-a,   t'u7   papt   t'u7   láti7   wá7   tsitcw-kálh-a.
    big   but   DET house-3SG.POSS-DET   just   always just   DEIC   be.there house-1PL.POSS-DET
    Her house was big, but she was always staying at our house.

(32) Tákem   iz'   ku   úcwalmicw, tsukw t'u7   kw-a-s   ucwalmícw-ts-wit.
    all   DEMON.PL DET Indian   only   just   DET-PROG-NOM   Indian-mouth-3PL
    They were all Indians, they only spoke Indian.

(33) Cw7aoz t'u7   kw-a-s   sám7-ats-wit   lh-w-as   qwal'út-wit.
    NEG   just   DET-PROG-NOM   white.person-mouth-3PL HYP-PROG-3CONJ   speak-3PL
    They didn't speak English when they talked.

(34) Tsút-wit   kw-s   xetspqíqen'kst wi q'em'p wi tsilkst ni7   s-Q'eselcá7a.
    say-3PL   DET-NOM   hundred   PL ten   PL five   DEMON   NOM-Q'eselcá7a
    They said that that Q'eselcá7a was 115 years old.

(35) Wá7-lhkalh   k'a   láku7   skúl-a   lh-zúqw-as   k'a   tu7.
    PROG-1PL.SUBJ   APPAR   DEIC   school-DET   HYP-die-3CONJ   APPAR   COMPL
    We must have been at school when she died.

(36) Stexw   tu7   ni7   gélgel   áma   ku   qelhmémen' smúlhats.
    very   COMPL DEMON   strong   good DET old.person woman
    She was a really strong, good old lady.

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(37) Papt   tu7   t'it   wa7   t'iq   nelh   wa7   ats'x-en-túmulh-as   snek'wnúkwa7-lhkalh.
     always COMPL also PROG arrive DET.PL PROG see-DIR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG friend(PL)-1PL.POSS
     There were always friends coming to see us.

(38) Cw7aoz kw-a-s   es-tsítcw-wit   ta   Cácl'ep-a,   s7icwlh   lhel-ts7á   es-tsítcw-wit.
     NEG   DET-PROG-NOM STAT-house-3PL DET Fountain-DET different from-DEIC STAT-house-3PL
     They didn't have houses at Fountain, their houses were in a different place from here.

(39) Papt   t'u7   tu   wa7   guy't   l-ta   tsítcw-kalh-a   nelh   qelhqelhmémen'-a.
     always just DET PROG sleep in-DET house-1PL.POSS-DET DET.PL old.person(PL)-DET
     There were always old people sleeping in our house.

(40) Lh-w-as   tu7   gap   lh-sútik-as   l-ta   Cácl'ep-a   wá7-lhkan
     HYP-PROG-3CONJ COMPL evening HYP-winter-3CONJ at-DET Fountain-DET PROG-1SG.SUBJ
     lexláx-s   kw-a-s   t'iq   tqilh   tákem   i   cácl'ep-mec-a   lakáolt-em.
     remember-CAUS DET-PROG-NOM arrive almost all DET.PL Fount'n-person-DET gamble-MID
     When it was winter at Fountain I remember that almost everyone from Fountain came to gamble.

(41) Lakáolt-em   i   sqáyqeycw-a,   k'a   malh   máw-am   i   smelhmúlhats-a.
     gamble-MID DET.PL man(PL)-DET APPAR ADHORT gossip-MID DET.PL woman(PL)-DET
     The men gambled, but the women gossiped.

(42) Sáy'sez'-lhkalh wi   snímulh   sk'wemk'úk'wm'it.
     play-1PL.SUBJ PL 1PL.EMPH children
     We children played.

(43) Wa7   tu7   n-matq   i   núkw-a   t'iq.
     PROG COMPL LOC-walk DET.PL other-DET arrive
     Some people came by walking.

(44) Stexw   t'u7   tu7   áma   ta   s-wá7-lhkalh-a   lh-w-at   gew'p.
     very just COMPL good DET NOM-PROG-1PL.POSS-DET HYP-PROG-1PL.CONJ meet
     We really had a good time when we got together.

(45) Wa7   t'u7   t'ep   ta   máq7-a   pináni7.
     PROG just deep DET snow-DET then
     The snow was deep then.

(46) Wa7   tu7   t'it   stexw   xelh.
     PROG COMPL also very cold
     And it was very cold.

APPENDIX I

Abbreviations

ANIM = animal, APPAR = apparently / surmise, APPL = applicative, AUG = augmentative, CAUS= causative, COMPL = completive, C(O)NJ= conjunctive, DEIC= deictic, DEMON = demonstrative, DET = determiner, DIMIN = diminuative, DIR = directive, EMPH = emphatic, ERG = ergative, FOC = focus, HUM = human, HYP = hypothetical, LOC = locative, MID = middle, NEG = negation, NOM = nominalizer, OBJ = object, PASS = passive, PL = plural, POS(S) = possessive, PROG = progressive, QUOT = quotative, RECIP = reciprocal, RED(UP) = reduplication, SG = singular, STAT = stative, SUBJ = subject, TOP = topic switch.

APPENDIX II

Key to van Eijk's practical orthography of St'át'imcets

orthography	phonemic script	orthography	phonemic script	orthography	phonemic script
p	p	k'	k̓	gw	ɣʷ
p'	p̓	kw	kʷ	g'w	ɣ̓ʷ
m	m	k'w	k̓ʷ	h	h
m'	m̓	c	xʷ	w	w
t	t	cw	xʷ	w'	w̓
ts	c	q	q	y	y
ts'	c̓	q'	q̓	y'	y̓
s	s	qw	qʷ	z	z
n	n	q'w	q̓ʷ	z'	z̓
n'	n̓	x	χ	7	ʔ
t'	λ̓	xw	χʷ	a	a
lh	ɬ	r	ʕ	e	ə
l	l	r'	ʕ̓	i	i
l'	l̓	g	ʕ	u	u
k	k	g'	ʕ̓	v	ʌ