

'The Outlaws': An Upper St'át'imcets Tale by Sam Mitchell*

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Abstract: This paper consists of a fully transcribed, translated and glossed version of an Upper St'át'imcets narrative known as *The Outlaws*, recounted by the well-known story-teller Sam Mitchell of Cácl'ep (Fountain) and recorded by Randy Bouchard in August, 1968. This is the first and shortest of three recorded versions of this story: another was recorded by Bouchard during the same period, while a third version was recorded by Jan van Eijk in 1971 or 1972. The third version has already appeared in Davis et al. (2017), and the second is due to appear in a forthcoming volume of texts transcribed from Bouchard's recordings (Lyon et al., in prep), which will feature a dozen other recordings by Sam Mitchell. *The Outlaws* is typical of Sam's story-telling style and subject matter: it is a true-life wild western adventure, involving a murder, a jail-break, a prolonged pursuit through the bush, and the eventual capture, trial and sentencing of the protagonists.

Keywords: Salish, Northern Interior Salish, St'át'imcets, narrative, stories

1 Introduction

Sam Mitchell (1894-1985) was one of the most skillful and certainly the best-known of the Upper St'át'imc (Lillooet) story-tellers involved in the language documentation and revival efforts which began in St'át'imc territory in the late 1960s, in association with Randy Bouchard and later Dorothy Kennedy of the BC Indian Languages Project. Together with Baptiste Ritchie and Charlie Mack Seymour, both Lower St'át'imcets speakers from Lil'wat7úl (Mount Currie), and Slim Jackson who was raised in Upper St'át'imc territory but spent most of his life in Lil'wat7úl, Sam Mitchell was instrumental not only in documenting many aspects of the traditional St'át'imc way of life which were in danger of being lost or forgotten, but also – in the immediate aftermath of the disastrous residential school era – in restoring awareness of and pride in the St'át'imc language.

Sam lived all his life in and around Cácl'ep (Fountain). Unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not go to residential school, but instead taught himself English (partly from listening to the radio, as he himself recounts), eventually becom-

* We are first of all very grateful to Randy Bouchard for making the recording of this story available to us in digital form, providing us with scanned versions of Sam Mitchell's English version, and of course for his pioneering language documentation work in St'át'imc territory during the 1960s and 1970s, without which this and many other texts would never have been available. We would also like to thank Carl Alexander and Linda Redan for help with the transcription of more difficult passages in this text. This work has been supported by a SSHRC Partnership Grant #895-2012-1029 awarded to Dr. Marianne Ignace of Simon Fraser University, and a SSHRC Insight grant #435-2015-1694 awarded to Henry Davis.

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ing an acknowledged authority on Upper St'át'imc language, culture and history, and a go-to consultant for linguists, ethnobotanists, and archeologists. He was recorded in St'át'imcets not only by Bouchard, but also subsequently in the early 1970s by Jan van Eijk, with the result that multiple recorded versions now exist for several of his narratives. Nearly all of Sam's recorded repertoire has now been transcribed: See Bouchard and Kennedy (1977) for a selection of Sam's stories in English translation, and van Eijk and Williams (1981) and Davis et al. (2017) for fully transcribed versions of the van Eijk recordings.

Unlike some of his contemporaries, Sam was less interested in *sptakwlh* (legends) than *sqwéqwel'* ('true' stories).¹ In fact, there is only a single *sptakwlh* in the recordings we have of him, a version of the widespread legend of *The Abandoned Boy*, published in Davis et al. (2017).² His main focus was on history, and in particular the post-contact period which lasted from the gold-rush days of the 1860s to the pre-war period of the 1930s. It is no accident that this period corresponds to approximately three generations – Sam's own, that of his parents, and that of his grandparents – because that is the maximum time span where reliable eye-witness testimony is available, either through direct observation or by interviewing witnesses who were present at the events being reported. And indeed, in his reconstruction of historical events, Sam pays particular attention to the trustworthiness of his sources, often including details as to whether the events were independently confirmed by more than one witness, how long after the events witnesses were interviewed, and whether their accounts might have been subject to bias. The result is a fascinating first-hand glimpse at the construction of oral history, at a period in time which enables a direct comparison with the 'official' (i.e., colonial) version of the same events.

The Outlaws is particularly informative in this respect, because it is a notorious true crime story which was widely reported in the press at the time of the events (1911-1913) and is also recounted in subsequent non-indigenous accounts of local history (Clark 2014). See the introduction in Davis et al. (2017) for a more detailed comparison of Sam's account with non-indigenous versions of the story.

¹ This distinction is an important one in St'át'imcets, but blurs at the edges, where historical memory fades into myth. Sam's version of *The Drifters* (published in English in Bouchard and Kennedy, 1977) provides a good illustration of this process. It is the story of first contact between the St'át'imc and European explorers, in the person of Simon Fraser and his expedition, whose journey down the river which now bears his name passed through Upper St'át'imc territory in June 1808. This date is just within reach of the oral history tradition to which Sam belongs: he recounts that he heard the story from his father, who heard it in turn from Pyal ('Old Pierre'), who was two years old when the fateful encounter occurred. But in retelling the story, mythical elements have crept into the St'át'imcets version: contrary to historical fact, Simon Fraser is portrayed as having tattoos of the moon on his chest and the sun on his forehead. This embellishment is also found in a version of the story recorded by Bouchard from the Lil'wat7úl speaker Charlie Mack, as well as in Nl̓eʔkepmx (Thompson River Salish) accounts from further downstream (Teit 1912). As such, it appears to involve the interweaving of a much older Interior Salish prophecy into the historical narrative.

² See Lyon (2016) for a Syilx version of this legend.

The Outlaws is the longest of Sam's narratives, and the only one that he volunteered three times. The three versions differ quite substantially in length: The version that appears here, recorded by Bouchard, is the first and shortest, running for 20 minutes 30 seconds. A longer version, also recorded by Bouchard, is 34 minutes long and appears in English translation in Bouchard and Kennedy (1977), with the St'át'imcets original to appear in Lyon et al. (in prep). A third, fully transcribed version recorded by van Eijk is 28 minutes and 30 seconds in length, and is in print in Davis et al. (2017). The versions all cover the same time period, and agree on the main events; the discrepancy in length is due rather to the number of incidents reported and the level of detail included in each telling. Though the shorter version transcribed here covers the main arc of the narrative from the initial discovery of the body of a teamster outside Clinton to the eventual surrender and trial of the outlaws, it misses out on some important episodes recounted in the other two versions, in particular a second murder, that of a Chinese woodcutter who recognized one of the outlaws and tried to apprehend him. It also lacks most of the direct speech reproduced in the other two versions, which gives them an immediacy absent from the more compressed narrative style of this version.

Nevertheless, the version here is of obvious linguistic interest given the still limited amount of fully transcribed textual material available for Upper St'át'imcets, as well as for the direct comparison it affords with longer versions of the same story by the same story-teller.

We present the text in the following format, based on that which we adopted for Sam's stories in Davis et al. (2017): we begin with Sam's own rather free English translation, reprinted from an unpublished manuscript (Bouchard 1969),³ followed by a transcription of the original St'át'imcets telling, a more literal English translation, and finally a fully glossed interlinear version.

A list of glossing abbreviations appears in the appendix, together with a conversion chart from the APA to the variant of the van Eijk orthography that we employ here: see the introduction in Davis et al. (2017) for discussion of the glossing conventions we have adopted.

2 Sam Mitchell's English Translation (Bouchard 1969)

A white man was found dead near here, and Moses Paul was blamed for killing him. It was spring-time, and they put Moses Paul in jail, but he escaped in the fall-time. The police thought that it was Paul Spintlum who helped Moses Paul to escape from jail, and they hired an Indian named Cultus Jack to help them. He told the police, "Paul Spintlum goes out hunting every day, but I know where he camps. You can only catch him early in the morning, before daylight." So Cultus Jack took a policeman to Paul Spintlum's camp, very early one morning,

³ Bouchard's working method was to record a story in St'át'imcets, then – sometimes at a considerably later period – to play the recording back to either the same or another speaker, and record and transcribe their English translation of the original St'át'imcets. Sam translated his own stories: the English version of this particular text was recorded in December 1969, some 15 months after the original St'át'imcets recording.

before daylight. The policeman stood outside the entrance to the tent, and yelled out, "Paul Spintlum, I want you!" Answered Paul Spintlum, "OK. I'm coming. But first I have to get dressed." He picked up his gun and came out from the tent. Pointing his gun right at the policeman, he said, "If you want me, then come and get me, right now!" Still pointing the gun at the policeman, Paul Spintlum backed into the bushes, and disappeared. Cultus Jack and the policeman returned to Clinton, where the policeman turned in his badge. He quit his job, he was so shaken up.

After that, Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum became outlaws, and were never seen. In the spring of the next year, many people were gathered in Clinton for the Spring Assizes. A rider came into town and told every one that he had seen Paul Spintlum, not far away. Policemen and white men all gathered together to look for Paul Spintlum, and they separated to search around. Near a hollow area, one policeman was shot, and fell down. Another policeman was shot in the arm. The searchers saw a person get on a horse and ride away, so they shot at him, but didn't hit him, and he went out of sight. They said that this was one of the outlaws, Paul Spintlum. They put the dead policeman on a horse, and took him into Clinton.

After this, the government hired a bunch of trackers, both white men and Indians, from Kamloops, and not from the area around Clinton. They had a lot of horses, and searched for close to two months, but they never caught the outlaws. Once, they surrounded a mountain where the outlaws were supposed to be, but found no one. The government could not succeed, even though they put up four thousand dollars as reward for the outlaws.

Once, a tracker came close to meeting Moses Paul. He was at Chasm, and he had tied up a horse near the edge of the canyon, while he looked down into it. Moses Paul came along and took off with the horse, and the binoculars. Another time, a friend of mine named Tom Evans, a white man, told me that he and some other trackers were chasing the outlaws, but they took off into the bush, and by the time they got there, they had gone on foot - all that was there was their horses, sweating heavily. They didn't want to go any further after them.

Even though the government paid the trackers, they still couldn't catch the outlaws. Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum had relatives and friends all over the place, in the Clinton area. Later, one of the outlaws told his relatives how he had stolen the horse, saddle, and binoculars from one of the trackers, over at Chasm. And that was not all they did. Their relatives and friends helped them everywhere - around Chasm and around Lillooet - they fed the outlaws and protected them by telling misleading stories to the trackers.

At 11-mile, outside Lillooet (going towards Pavilion), the outlaws saw a boat there that was used to cross the Fraser River, so they went across in it, and then let the boat drift down the river. Then they went down the other side of the river to Bridge River village, to a house where there was some washing hanging on a line. They stole some dresses, and planned to cross over the bridge at Lillooet at nighttime, disguised as women. Some people gave them food to pack - this is something that women would conceivably be doing. Towards nightfall, they got to the bridge, and they recognized the white man who was guarding it - Joe

Russell. Still they went across - the white man thought it was just some Indian women going home with food.

Another time, the outlaws hid out around Pavilion for awhile, in summer-time, when everyone was working in the hayfields. They told the people there about the things that they had done. Also, they hid out for awhile in a cave at Leon's Creek, across from Pavilion, and no one could find them there.

Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum were outlaws for four years, from 1910-1914. Finally, a relative of theirs - Chief Major from Leon's Creek - decided that he would turn them in, not because he wanted the \$4000 reward (he was a rich man, himself), but because he wanted to get a good lawyer for them and officially prove their innocence in court. So he went to the Merritt area, where they were staying, picked them up, and took them to Bonaparte Reserve, which is where the police picked them up. He got two lawyers - using his own money - Henry Costello and Stuart Henderson, but one of the outlaws was hung, and the other one was given a life-time sentence, and died four years later in jail.

3 St'át'imcets

3.1 Na skéla7sa⁴

Lts7áwna, pun ta sám7a szuqw.

Tsicw i wa7 cwíl'em. Nilh t'u7 snilhst ti7 ta wa7 s*Moses Paul* ma7eném kw snilhst k'a zúqwstál'i. Nilh t'u7 skwánem, nilh t'u7 nk'a7néem, nk'a7 lta... Nilh láti7 swa7s t'u nas et7ú lhwál'tsten k'a sxek. Qapts k'a ts7a, nilh sqapt-snún k'a nilh s... ts7a ku száyten. Lhwál'tsten k'a nilh t'u7 s... nilh t'u7 tu7 s7ulhcw, lhwál'tstenálmen nilh t'u7 s7úts'ets'qa7s lhélta nk'á7mena. Nilh t'u7 múta7 ntsutánwas i plísmena kw snilhst k'a ti7 ta wa7 s*Paul Spintlum* nuk'w7antáli kw s7úts'ets'qa7s.

3.2 Wa7 sqwéqwel' s*Cultus Jack*: Jack McMillan múta7 s*Paul Spintlum*

Wa7 ta wa7 zúscal, nilh t'u7 sk'wálhan'as ta pápl7a úcwalmicw. Wa7 t'u7 ma7enítas ti7 ta wa7 s*Paul Spintlum* kwes nilh k'a ti7 nuk'w7an'táli s*Moses Paul* ta ka7úts'q7a. Nilh t'u7 sqwatsátss ta wa7 zúscal, k'wálhan'as ta pápl7a úcwalmicw, nilh ti7 wa7 s*Cultus Jack*. Tsúnas, "Wá7lhkacw ka zewáten nká7as lhas wa7 tu7 píxem'?" Plan tu7 ti7 wa7 qwatsáts píxem' kenkw7ú kiséma, ti7 ta wa7 s*Paul Spintlum*. Tsut kw s*Cultus Jack*, "Wá7lhkan zewáten nká7as tu7 lht'ákas." Nilh t'u7 sqwatsátsi, k'wálhan'em éta plísmena, tsúnem éta ucwalmícwa ta wa7 s*Cultus Jack*, "Ao kwásu kanása lku sq'it. Tsukw t'u7 lhn'án'atcwas kéla7 kw smá7eg's, kéla7 sqwatsátss píxem', láti7 kelh lhnas-min'émas, nilh t'u7 skwánensacw. Wa7 ti7 píxem' lhas sq'it, t'u7 ao kwas wa7 lta *campsa*." Nilh t'u7 sk'ul'ún'itas kw skatsícwiha áta7 lkw skéla7s kw spsil's.

⁴ The St'át'imcets sub-section titles in this section and the interlinear section correspond to the titles given in the version of *The Outlaws* published in Davis et al. (2017), where Sam gives more information concerning his information sources for the individual episodes.

Tsicwwit, t'qwáw'swit, ti7 ta ucwalmíewa ta wa7 s*Cultus Jack* múta7 ti7 ta plísmena, ta wa7 zúscal. Tsiwwit áta7, wa7 t'u7 guy't. Nilh s... nilh t'u7 stsiw's ta wa7 zúscal, tsicwmin'as, plan wa7 esp'am i núkwa wa7 láti7 wa7 *escamp*. Tsiw ta wa7 zúscal sáwlhen, wa7 tsúnem ku7 láta7 lhwá7as lt7u lta latáonta.

Nilh t'u7 stsiw's ta wa7 zúscal. Wa7 ti7 zewátenas, nilh t'u7 stsúnas, qwal'út.sas áku7 lhélta sk'ém'tssa ta latáonta, tsúnas, "*Paul Spintlum*, wá7lhkan xát'min'tsin." Nilh t'u7 stsut.s kw s*Paul Spintlum*, "Wa7... cuy áma, cuy'lhkan, sk'al'emmint's kw nsyax. Cúz'lhkan yax." *Put on his clothes*. Nilh t'u7 syaxs. Tsukw syaxs, kwánas ta swelmín'ksa, nilh t'u7 s7úts'qa7s lhélta latáont.sa. Ka7úts'q7a áku7, nilh t'u7 skwil'qscítas ta plísmena. Tsúnas, "Lhxát'min'tsacw, nilh t'u7 sts7átsu kwants lhkun." Lhláti7 ta wa7 zúscal, nilh t'u7 scw7aoy's t'u7 kw sqwtsilcs, nilh t'u7 st'aks t'u7 ti7 kel'q ti7 ta wa7 s*Paul Spintlum* t'u7 kalhúewa tú7a, nilh t'u7 láti7 s7aw't.s kw s7áts'xs.

Nilh t'u7 lhláti7 sqwatsáti ti7 ta wa7 zúscal múta7 s*Cultus Jack*, p'an'twit et7ú *Clintona*, lhláta7 ti *Clintona* ti7 ku wa7 zúscal. Tsiw éta *Clintona* ti7 ta wa7 zúscal. Nilh t'u7 skelhenás ta q'wáolaptsa, *that's the badge*, kelhenás ta q'wáolapsa, nilh t'u7 skáwlecs kws zúscal láti7.

3.3 Wa7 sqwéqwel' s*Johnny Pólat*: Pála7 ta zúqwa plísmen, pála7 ta q'ám'ta t'u7

S7aw't.s lhláti7, nilh t'u7 ses wa7 iz'... q'wmiw's, qecwqícw. Ao kwas wá7wit káti7 iz' i n7án'wasa, ti7 ta wa7 s*Moses Paul* múta7 ta wa7 s*Paul Spintlum*. Aoy t'u7 kwas áts'x.wit, q'wmiw'swit tu7.

Nas et7ú zánucwem, qapts. Tsiw k'a ta wa7 t'ánam'ten ekw7á *May*, láti7 lhas wa7 i wa7 *Spring Assizes*, láku7 *Clintona*. Cw7it áti7 gaw'p i sám7a. Nilh t'u7 sts7asts ta núkwa wa7... ta... Láni7 ku *time* wa7... tákem lhas wa7 ta wa7 slheqw, ts7as lhláku7 ta wa7 slheqw. T'iq ekw7á ti7 ta táowna, nilh ku7 tu7 stsut.s, "Wa7 lkw7u kw s*Paul Spintlum* lkw7a t'u7, k'ík'ta7!"

T'u7 snilh t'u7 láti7 sqelilám's i sám7a múta7 i plísmena nas cwil'enítas, kekenás ti7 nká7as lhwá7witas. Tsiwalmenwít t'u7 áti7, nilh t'u7 sklhwé'silci. Nilh iz' i plísmena n7i7z'ek. T'ák.wit t'u7 áti7 lta ts'il.ha áku7 lta k'cúl'm'ecwa, nilh t'u7 sqúscitem ta pápl7a plísmen, kwis tu7. Qúscitem ta núkwa, qam'táka7, t'u7 nilh ts7a ta sqelilám'i náswit, plan wa7 qwatsáts. Q'áylec ta pápl7a, lhqwilec, quscítas, t'u7 aoy t'u7 kw sqam't.stwítas, nilh t'u7 tu7 sq'áylecs. Qelilám' lhláti7 i núkwa, qelilám'wít áku7 lt.swá7sa ku t'eqwp. Tsiwwit, plan wa7 skits ta pápl7a plísmen, wa7 zúscal. Wa7 qáqey't ta núkwa sqam'táka7. Ats'xenítas tu7, plan wa7 lhqwilec ta... ti7 nilh iz' i sq'wemq'wmíw'sa, stsúnitas iz', s*Paul Spintlum*. Quscítas, ao t'u7 kw sqam't.s, nilh skacim'a, nilh t'u7 skwánitas lhláti7 ta zúqwa. Q'ilin'ítas lta pépl7a ts'qáxa7, nilh t'u7 s7uxwal'stwítas, sts'itemstwítas ta táowna. T'iqstwítas áti7, plan wa7 szuqw ti7, nilh tu7 ti wa7 zúscal láti7 *Clintona*.

3.4 Wa7 sqwéqwel' sPaul Spintlum: Nk'wancenánem nelh wa7 cwelcúlel

S7aw't.s lhláti7, nilh t'u7 sk'wálhcals ta k'ýpmena ku wa7 k'wen'k'wan'cenálhts'a7 k'wen'k'wan'cenan'tanemwítas, cuz' cwil'entanemwítas newa7cw7it. Cw7it i wa7 sáma7, lhelkw7ú *Kamloopsa* lhwánitas i ucwalmícwa wa7 tsúnitas wa7 *tracker*. Ao kw sk'walhan'ítas ku úcwalmícw káti7 k'ík't7a, s7icwlhúlm'ecw úcwalmícw ku k'walhan'ítas. Cw7it ts'qáxa7 wa7 qwezenítas, cuz' nk'wan'cenan'ítas, cuz' kalenítas iz' i n7án'wasa, wa7 q'wemq'wmíw's.

Cw7it... p'a7cw k'a lhélku pála7 t'ánam'ten, tqilh k'a án'was t'ánam'ten kwas kalenítas, kwas tsútuit kwas plan wa7 npzánitas, cw7aoy t'u7 kwas kak-wanenstwítasa. Plan ku7 lts7a, q'ecwecwstwítas lta pál7a sqwem, náswit áta7, plan tu7 ao láta7 kwas wá7wit. Tsáma t'u7 ta k'ýpmena, cw7it sqlaw' sgí7el's ta k'ýpmena, nilh t'u7 st'álan'as i wa7 nk'wen'cenálhts'a7, i wa7.... Nilh t'u7 scwít's'in'as ta k'ýpmena *four thousand dollars* ku *reward*, lhwátas ku kwanen-stanemwítas iz'. Nilh t'u7 slhláti7s lht'álas i wa7 nk'wen'cenálhts'a7, nilh t'u7 iz' swa7s q'wemq'wmíw's láti7 ku...

Iz' lts7a i wá7as i wa7 nk'wen'cenálhts'a7, cw7it kwas ts'íla wa7 npzanal-menstwítas. Ta pápl7a láku7 lta wa7 tsúnitas wa7 *fifty-nine*, nilh ti7 wa7 *Chasm* lki sám7a, necnactám' *in the Indian*. Wa7 áku7 ti7, nilh ti7 stúsúw7i sqwéqwel' izáwna wa7 q'wemq'wmíw's. T'ak ta sám7a kacála, nilh t'u7 sgetsenás ta sts'qáxa7sa, nilh t'u7 láku7 ses cálás. Q'wemílc ta pápl7a lhláti7 t'u7 wi snilh iz', *Moses Paul*, lhqwilecmínas ta ts'qáxa7sa, nilh t'u7 ta sq'áy'lecsa. P'elenílh ta trápstena, láti7 lhwamemwítas ta ámha trápsten, (trápsten, *that's uh...*)

3.5 Wa7 sqwéqwel' sTom Evans: Tqilh t'u7 kwánenwit nelh wa7 cwelcúlel lta qwlitúlm'ecwa

Tsamawít t'u7, cw7it, cw7it kentswása ts'íla wa7 qwenanstwítas t'u7 wa7... t'u7 kalhúcwwita, nilh t'u7 ses páqu7 iz' i wa7 nk'wen'cenálhts'a7. Sk'alán'min'skan ta pápl7a iz' i wa7 nk'wen'cenálhts'a7. “Kálenem,” tsut, “t'u tsícwkalh t'u7 kalhucwkalhá t'u7, wa7 láti7 i ts'qax7íha estálhleec, cw7aoy káti7 láti7 kwas wá7wit. Plan t'u7 wa7 tsexwtsíxw sqemps i ts'qax7íha.” Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s ts7a ta pápl7a ta sám7a ti7 ta wa7..., nilh ti7 wa7 *sTom Evans*, nilh ti7 wa7 sqwe-qwel'entsás. Tsut ku7, “*That's*, láti7 lh... láti7 t'u7 lhtsem'pás kwenswá kálen kw *sPaul Spintlum*. Lhqwenánal'ap áta7 kw st'ákl'ap, nilh st'ákl'ap, cuz'lhkan p'an't lhelts7á.”

3.6 Wa7 sqwéqwel' ta ts'k'wáylacwmeca: Smúlhtas ta syáxiha i wa7 cwelcúlel

S7aw't.s lhláti7, lhel t.st'álsa ta k'ýpmena kwas xáq'enas kwa nk'wen'cenálhts'a7, nilh t'u7 aylh sts'ílas ku tí7eg'wwit, nilh t'u7 sas kentákem t'u7 lhas áts'x.wit kénki ucwalmícwa. Cw7it úcwalmícw wa7 qan'imensan kwas tsut kwas tsícwwit áti7, um'nitas kénki s... Cw7it i nk'saytkeniha kentákem, aoy kwas tsukw láku7 *Clintona* i ucwalmícwa, kentákem lhas snek'wnúk'wa7wit, kekáw' kentswása

tsicw i wa7 nk'sáytkeni. Nilh t'u7 ses t'u7 wá7wit, ts'ila kentákem lhas tsicwecwwit. Cw7it kentswása áts'x.wit, kent7ú lhas wa7 i wa7 leqmám, kent7ú i spálema wa7 láti7 i núkwa nk'sáytkeni, áti7 lhus tsicwwit. Wa7 ti7 hal'hán'itas, hal'acítas izáwna, wa7... wá7lhkan zewáten izá wa7 sqweqwel'mintanemwítas... ti7 ta trapsteníha, stexw ku7 t'u7 áma ku trápsten. Láti7 lhas sqweqwel'mínitas nka7 lhkwaneinstwítas ti7 ta trápstena. Naq'weítitas ti ts'qáxa7sa ta *saddlesa*, ti7 ta wa7 nk'wen'cenálhts'a7 ta trápstensa.

Cw7aoy ti7 kwas tsukw száyteni, cw7it áti7 kw sxílemi, wa7, kw skwánitas ku ts'qáxa7, ku áma ts'qáxa7, ku áma *śáotv*l, kenká7 tu7 lhas kakwanstwítasa. Nilh t'u7 sas t'u7 wá7wit t'u7 ts'ila káti7 estíg'w kénki tákema kénki... kwelh ucwalmícwiha. Cw7ao káti7 kwa tsut ltsa lhwa7wítas t'u7.

Kentákem t'u7 lhas tsicwwit kent7ú *Lillooeta*, ta páł7a száyteni lts7áwna ti7, lkw7a ta wa7 tsúnem wa7 *eleven mile*. T'ák.wit ku7 áti7, wa7 t'u7 nmátq.wit, t'u7 aoz t'u7 kwas ests'qáxa7wit, láti7. Ats'xenítas ta t'láz'a láti7, nilh t'u7 scuy's... stsúti, "Cúz'lhkálh lha7q et7ú x7ílha." Nilh t'u7 skwánitas ta t'láz'a, t'áq'.wit áta7 x7ílha. Lha7qswít, nilh t'u7 sweq'wenítas ta t'láz'a, kelhenítas ta lópa. Nilh t'u7 ntáki et7úwna, et7ú ta wa7 tsúnem wa7 nxwísten, áta7 lhst'itemwítas.

T'ák.wit áta7... tsicwwit láta7 lki ucwalmícwa tsitcws wa7 eslhép' i sq'wíts'ma, st'ánwen. Nilh t'u7 stsut.s ta núkwa, "Cúz'lhkálh láti7 kwam ku st'ánwen. Cúz'lhkálh t'aq' ltu7 lta ntqwíxwa, nilh iz' lhecweném i st'ánwena." Nilh t'u7 skwánitas láti7 ku án'was st'ánwen wa7 esq'wíts'em lta *linea*.

Iy, pták.wit lhláti7 aylh, nilh t'u7 snlhá7qí, ts'itemwit ets7áwna... *Lillooeta*, ti7 ta táowna. Nilh t'u7 swá7i káta7 cá7a; nilh ti7 stsúw7i sqwéqwel'. Nilh ti7 sqweqwel'í kwas wá7wit káta7. Láni7 ku... láti7 ku *time*, k'a cw7aoz káti7 kwas cw7it kwa... ku ucwalmícw, cw7aoz kwas cw7it i sám7a. Gap lhláti7, nilh t'u7 stsicwwit káti7 táowna, cw7it ki wa7 s7ílheni. Cw7ao láti7 kw zewatentanemwítas.

Gap, ts7as gap, ts7as kakwása, nilh t'u7 stsúti, "Cúz'lhkálh t'aq' lta ntqwíxwa." Lhecwenítas iz' i st'ánwena, nilh t'u7 sqwatsátsi szeczacenstwítas i s7ílheníha. Papt láti7 wa7 matq i ucwalmícwa smelhmúlhats, nmatq. T'ák.wit aylh éta n... tsicwwit áti7 ta ntqwíxwa, wa7 zewatenítas ta páł7a láti7 sáma7, wa7 es7ats'xstáli ta ntqwíxwa. Nilh iz' láti7 wa7 s7ats'xstanemwítas kánas kwas t'áq'.wit. Sucwtenítas ta páł7a, nilh ku7 ti7 wa7 *Joe Russell*, wa7 ti7 zewatenítas, nilh t'u7 ti7 st'áki t'u t'áq'. Lha7qswít, ao káti7 wa7 kastanemwítas, tsut t'u7 iz' i sám7a kw s7úcwalmícw kwelh smelhmelhmúlhats káti7 t'áka.

3.7 K'úl'emwit ku tsitewíha ku sk'wals láku7 Leon's Creek

Pták.wit lhláti7, nilh t'u7 st'áki t'u7 ts'item wa7 i nk'saytkeníha áku7 cácel'pa lh... Wa7 zewatenítas láku7 i núkwa ucwalmícw, áku7 lhsticwwitas ti páł7a sgap. Lhláti7 qwatsátswit kent7úwna ta wa7 tsúnem spálem. Áta7 lhwá7as i núkwa nk'sáytkeni, káta7 lhas tsicwwit. Kentákem kénki ucwalmícwa lhas tsicwwit, sqweqwel'mínitas i wa7 száyteni, ats'x i wa7 sqweqwel'mínitas iwás kalentanemwit ki sám7a, legwilcmínitas lhnúkwas: T'ák.wit ku7 káti7 s... wá7wit láti7 slegwílc, t'ak káti7 i wa7 nk'wan'cenantanemwítas sq'útiha, t'u ptá:k.wit.

Láti7 lta pápl7a snúk'w7i lhláta7 ti7 ta wa7 tsúnem ts'k'wáylacw, wa7 iz' alkst láta7 lki wa7 leqmám lhas pipántsk. Áti7 ku7 papt... lhk'wínas gap kwas tsicwwit áta7, láta7 lhas kwanenstwítas i s7ilheniha. Nilh láti7 ku7 lhas sqweqwel'mínitas kwas ti7 naq'wicitás ta trápstena múta7 ta ts'qáxa7sa ti7 ta wa7 nk'wan'cenantanemwítas. Stexw ku7 t'u7 ti7 áma ta trapsteniha, kaw' kw shál'a... sk'ík'ta7sa s...

Kentákem t'u7 aylh káti7 lhas wá7wit t'u7 wa7 hem', wá7wit hém' t'u7 slegwílc lt7u lta wa7 tsúnitas wa7 *Leon's Creek*, sx7ilhts. Láku7 ku7 ku tsitewiha sk'ul'emwít t'u7 ku sk'wals, nilh ti7 ta wa7 tsúnem ti sám7a wa7 *cave*. Láti7 lhas wá7wit, kekáw' ti7 tswása eshál'a kentákem, lhláti7 ltswása wá7wit. Lhkúnsa wa7 k'a t'u7 sts'íla eshál'a, kw sts'ílas ti7 wa7, nk'wink'wenás k'a wa7 tsicw áku7 ats'xentáli, ti7 lta tsitewiha esmáys ku... Tsicwkaew áta7, wa7 hem' t'u7 cw7aow kwásu áts'xen kwas wa7 láti7 ku tsitew. Pútkacw t'u7 zewáten kw s... lhnká7as lhlákas, t'u7 wá7lhkacw ka7áts'xsa.

3.8 Wa7 kwánenwit i wa7 q'wemq'wmíw's, nilh swas kotháwsi

S7aw't.s lhelts7áwna, cw7it kwas... p'a7cw k'a t'u7 ku xw7útsin máqa7 kwas wá7wit q'wmiw's. Plan t'u7 tu7 pa7cw ta kápmena kwas nk'wan'cenán'as, cw7aoy t'u7 kw skakwánsa, kwas ts'íla wa7 npzánitas. Tsukw t'u7 ti7 aylh ta wa7 tsúnitas wa7 *reward, four thousand dollars*.

Wa7 t'u7 ts7a ta pápl7a kúkwpí7, ts'íla k'a ti7 ku sísq7i izá. Nilh t'u7 stutánwasts, “Lhnásan tsuntánihan kw sts7asi t'u7 ets7áwna, nilh t'u7 scuy náscit i wa7 zúscal, tsukw t'u7 kw scw7aoy kw nscuz' kwan ta sqláw'a wa7 sxaq'. Cúz'lhkan t'u7 qwézen ku ntsúwa7 sqlaw' lkw s... lku lóya.” Nilh t'u7 stsicws sqwel'qwel'sás izá i tewtwíw'ta, n7án'was. Nilh t'u7 snwatsín'em, nilh t'u7 sts7ási. Nilh t'u7 aylh skwántanemwit éki plísmena, nilh t'u7 ts7a ta kúkwpí7a cwits'in'táli, elh cúz'wit aylh láti7 kotháwsi.

S7aw't.s lhláti7, cw7it kw skotháwsi. Kentákem lhtsicwas, nilh ti7 wa7 s*Stewart Henderson* ta loyhíha múta7 nilh wa7 s*Costello*. *Henry Costello* ti7 ta núkwa lóyhi. Cw7it kw skotháwsi kénki s7icwlha tmicw.

Pápla7 t'u7 ta láwa lhel wi snilh. Nilh t'u7 *slifetimestum* ta pápl7a, t'u7 cw7aoy t'u7 kw scw7it.s máqa7, xw7útsin k'a t'u7 ts'íla máqa7, nilh t'u7 suzqws tu7 láta7 t'u7 lta nk'á7mena.

Láti7 iz' lhtsem'pwítas.

4 Direct English Translation

4.1 Prologue

At the time I'm talking about, a white man was found dead.

When the people who had been searching for him got there, they blamed Moses Paul for killing him. So they took him and threw him in jail. He stayed there until it was getting towards fall, I guess. It must've been getting towards spring, when this happened. So he was inside, and when it was nearly fall he got

out of jail. The police thought that it must have been Paul Spintlum who helped to get him out.

4.2 Cultus Jack's Story: Jack McMillan and Paul Spintlum

So the policeman who was there hired this Indian guy. They were blaming Paul Spintlum for helping Moses Paul to get out of jail. So the policeman went off and hired this Indian, Cultus Jack. He said to him, "Do you know where he (Paul Spintlum) used to go hunting?" Paul Spintlum had already set out hunting in the bush. Cultus Jack said, "I know where he is." So then they set out, the policeman and the one he had hired. This Indian named Cultus Jack told him, "Don't get there during the day. In the morning, just before dawn, he leaves to go hunting, that's when we'll go after him, then you'll get him. He goes hunting during the day, and won't be there in his camp." So they arranged it so that they would be able to get there before dawn.

They arrived there together, that Indian named Cultus Jack and the policeman. When they got there, he (Paul Spintlum) was still sleeping. When the policeman who was going after him got there, some of the others in camp already had a fire going. So he went and asked, and was told that his (Paul Spintlum's) tent was over yonder.

So the policeman went there. He knew Paul Spintlum, so he spoke to him from the entrance of the tent, he said, "Paul Spintlum, I want you." Then Paul Spintlum said, "Okay, I'm coming, just wait for me to get dressed. I'm going to get dressed." (*Put on his clothes.*) So he got dressed. When he finished dressing, he grabbed his gun, and he went outside his tent. As soon as he had got outside, he aimed his gun at the policeman. He told the policeman, "If you want me, then come and get me now." The policeman didn't move, so Paul Spintlum kept backing away until he disappeared in the bushes, and that was the last time he was seen.

Then the policeman and Cultus Jack left, they went back to Clinton, where that policeman was from. The policeman got to Clinton. Then he took off his badge - *that's the badge* - he took off the badge, and he quit being a policeman.

4.3 Johnny Pollard's Story: One Policeman Dead, One Wounded

After that, those guys were outlaws, on the run. They weren't around anymore, Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum: they weren't seen around, because they had become outlaws.

Next spring came around. The month of May came, that's when the Spring Assizes were held in Clinton. There were a lot of white people gathered there. Then this guy came who was... At that time, everyone there rode horses, and someone came in on horseback. He arrived at the town, and said, "Paul Spintlum is just over there, he's nearby!"

So the white people and the policemen started rushing around looking for them, and they figured out where they were at. When they had almost gotten there, then they split up. Those policemen were in the middle. They went over to

where there was kind of a hollow in the ground, then one of the policemen was shot, and he fell. Another one was shot in the arm, but by the time they rushed over to get the shooters, they had left. One of them jumped on his horse, they shot at him but they didn't hit him, and so he got away. Some other members of the posse rushed over to where the gunshots had come from. When they got there, one policeman was already down. The other one was suffering because he'd been hit in the arm. They saw that one of them - the outlaws, that's what they called them - Paul Spintlum, had already got on his horse. They shot at him but he didn't get hit, then he disappeared, so then they took the dead person and laid him on one of the horses; then they brought him home, towards town. When they arrived there, the policeman from Clinton was already dead.

4.4 Paul Spintlum's Story: Tracking the Outlaws

After that, the government hired trackers to track them, and to search for them all over the place. A lot of them were white people, but they also got some Indians from Kamloops that they call "trackers". They didn't hire any Indians from near here, the Indians they hired were from different places. They used a lot of horses to track and chase down the two outlaws.

Many times - they must've been chasing them for more than a month, maybe nearly two - they thought they'd caught up with them, but they couldn't catch them. They had them surrounded at one mountain, but when they went there, they'd already gone. The government tried in vain, and lost a lot of money, so they stopped (paying for) the trackers. But the government handed over four thousand dollars as a reward for anyone who could catch them. So then the trackers stopped, and then the outlaws...

When they were there, the trackers nearly kind of caught up to them a bunch of times. One of them was at 59 Mile, that's Chasm amongst the white people, and *necnactám'* in Indian. That's where it was, according to the outlaws' own story. A white guy went over to look across the brow of a hill, then he tied up his horse and looked over the edge. One of the outlaws was crouching down, it was Moses Paul, and he jumped on the guy's horse and escaped. Among other things, there were some binoculars in there, they got some good binoculars there.

4.5 Tom Evans' Story: A Close Call in Jack Pine Country

They kept trying, many, many people wanted to get them... but they managed to disappear into the bush... So then the trackers got scared. I listened to one of those trackers. He said, "We followed them until we got into the brush, and there were their horses standing there, but they weren't there. Their horses were dripping with sweat." This part comes from this one white person, it was Tom Evans, that's who told me this story. He said, "This is where I quit chasing Paul Spintlum. If you all want to keep going, then keep going, but I'm going back."

4.6 Pavilion Person's Story: Disguised as Women

After the government stopped paying for trackers, the outlaws kind of got free, and they were seen all over where there were Indian people. I heard a lot of Indian people say that they went by there, and they'd give them some of their stuff. They had a lot of relatives all over the place, not just the Indians at Clinton, they had friends everywhere, and they had relatives spread over a large area. And so there they were, and they kind of went all over the place. They were seen in a lot of places: where the haymakers were, over in the fields where some of their relatives were, that's where they used to go. They showed - I know the people who told this story about them - they showed them the binoculars, really good binoculars. That's when they told the story about where they got those binoculars. They stole the horse's saddle and the tracker's binoculars.

That wasn't all they did, either, they did a lot of things, they took horses, good horses, good saddles, anywhere they could get them. They just kind of lived freely amongst their relatives. Nobody would say where they were.

They went everywhere around Lillooet, and there was this one thing that they did there, over at what we call Eleven Mile. I heard they were traveling on foot, because they didn't have horses at that point. They saw a canoe, so they began to.... they said, "Let's cross over to the other side." So they took the canoe and crossed over. They got to shore, then they let the canoe drift away, they took off the rope. Then they were on the other side of the river, over towards what we call Nxwisten (Bridge River), and that's where they headed.

They went on, and they got to some Indian's houses which had laundry hanging up, skirts. So one of them said, "We'll take some skirts. We'll cross over on the bridge, and we'll put those skirts on." So they took two skirts that had been washed from the line.

Yes, they went past there, then they crossed over (Bridge River) and came towards Lillooet, to the town. They were up above the town; that was their own story. It was their story that they were around there. At that time, there can't have been many Indians around, and not many white people. When it was evening, they went around town and got a lot of food. Nobody there knew who they were.

Evening came, it began to get dark, then they said, "Let's cross over on the bridge." They put on those skirts, then they set off, packing their food on their backs. There were always Indian women travelling there, walking. They got to the bridge and they knew this one white person who was there watching the bridge. They were watching out in case they (the outlaws) crossed. They recognized one person, it was Joe Russell, they knew him, but they kept going until they crossed over. They crossed over, nobody did anything to them, those white people just thought that the women going by were Indians.

4.7 The Hideout at Leon's Creek

They continued towards where their relatives were at Fountain. They knew some of the Indians there. They got there one evening. From there they set out for what we call Spálem (Fountain Flats). Some of their relatives were living there, where

they went. Everywhere they went amongst the Indians, they told the story of what they had been doing: they told about how they were seen by the white people chasing them, and how they hid from them sometimes: the trackers went along - they were hiding, and the ones tracking them went by right beside them, until they passed by.

At one of their relative's places over in what we call Ts'k'wáylacw (Pavilion), they worked amongst the haymakers during the summertime. On many evenings, they'd go there to get food. That's where they told the story about stealing those binoculars and the horse from the tracker. Their binoculars were really nice, far away things showed close up.

They were staying all over, but they hid out over at what they call Leon's Creek, on the other side of the river. They built their house in a rock-overhang, what is called a 'cave' in English. Where they were staying, you can see everything for a long ways, from where they were. Today it's still more or less visible, it's still kind of there, a bunch of people must have gone up there to take a look at it, that house they built... You get there, but you don't see any house there. If you know just where it's at, then you're able to see it.

4.8 The Outlaws' Capture, Trial, and Sentencing

After that, there were a lot... it must've been more than four years that they were on the run. The government had given up on tracking them, they couldn't catch... kind of catch up to them. There was just what they called the reward, four thousand dollars.

There was this one chief, he must've been kind of like their uncle. He thought, "What if I go tell them to come over here, and then go send for a policeman, only I'll never take the reward money. I'm going to use my own money for a lawyer." Then he went to talk to these two young people. So they listened to his advice and came. Then they were taken by the police, it was this chief who handed them over, and then they were going to go to trial after that.

After this, there were a lot of trials. They went everywhere, Stuart Henderson was their lawyer, and then there was Costello... Henry Costello was their other lawyer. There were a lot of trials in different places.

One of them was hung. The other one got a life sentence, but he didn't survive many years, maybe something like four years, then he died there in jail.

That's how it ended for them.

5 Interlinear Gloss

5.1 Na skéla7sa

- (1) Its7á-wna, pun ta=sám7=a s-zuqw.
 at+here.vis-precisely get.found DET=white.person=EXIS STAT-dead

At the time I'm talking about, a white man was found dead.

- (2) tsicw i=wa7=cwil'-em...
get.there PL.DET=IPFV=look.for-MID
When the people who had been searching for him got there...
- (3) ...nílh=t'u7 s... s=nilh=ts ti7 ta=wa7=s=Moses
COP=EXCL NMLZ NMLZ=COP=3POSS that.VIS DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Moses
Paul ma7-en-ém kw=s=[s]nílh=ts=k'a
Paul blame-DIR-3PASS DET=NMLZ=3SG.INDEP=3POSS=EPIS
zúqw-s-tal'i.
dead-CAUS-NTS
...they blamed Moses Paul for killing him.
- (4) nílh=t'u7 s=kwán-em, nílh=t'u7 n-k'a7-n-ém,
COP=EXCL NMLZ=take+DIR-3PASS COP=EXCL LOC-get.stuck-DIR-3PASS
n-k'a7 l=ta...
LOC-get.stuck at=DET
So they took him and threw him in jail.
- (5) nilh láti7 s=wa7=s t'u nas e=t7ú lhwál'tsten=k'a
COP at+there.VIS NMLZ=be=3POSS until go to=there.VIS autumn=EPIS
sxek.
maybe
He stayed there until it was getting towards fall, I guess.
- (6) qápts=k'a ts7a, nilh s=qápts-[n]ún=k'a nilh s=... ts7a
spring=EPIS this.VIS COP NMLZ=spring-EXP+DIR=EPIS COP NMLZ this
ku=száyten.
DET=doings
It must've spring, early spring, when this happened.
- (7) lhwál'tsten=k'a nílh=t'u7 s... nílh=t'u7=tu7 s=7ulhcw,
autumn=EPIS COP=EXCL NMLZ COP=EXCL=REM NMLZ=enter
lhwál'tsten-álmen nílh=t'u7 s=7úts'•ets'•qa7=s
autumn-nearly COP=EXCL NMLZ=go.outside•FRED•=3POSS
lhel=ta=n-k'á7-men=a.
from=DET=LOC-get.stuck-INS=EXIS
So he was inside, and when it was nearly fall he got out of jail.

- (8) nilh=t'u7 múta7 n-tsut-ánwas i=plismen=a
 COP=EXCL again LOC-say-inside PL.DET=policeman=EXIS
 kw=s=nilh=ts=k'a=ti7 ta=wa7=s=Paul Spintlum
 DET=NMLZ=COP=3POSS=EPIS=that.VIS DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Paul Spintlum
 nuk'w7-an-táli kw=s=7úts'•ets'•qa7=s.
 help-DIR-NTS DET=NMLZ=go.outside•FRED=3POSS
 The policeman thought that it must have been Paul Spintlum who helped to get him out.

5.2 Wa7 sqwéqwel' sCultus Jack: Jack McMillan múta7 sPaul Spintlum

- (9) wa7 ta=wa7=zús-cal, nilh=t'u7 s=k'wálh-an'-as
 be DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT COP=EXCL NMLZ=call.on-DIR-3ERG
 ta=pá•pl7=a úcwalmicw.
 DET=IRED•one=EXIS indigenous.person
 So the policeman who was there hired this Indian guy.
- (10) wá7=t'u7 ma7-en-ítas ti7 ta=wa7=s=Paul
 IPFV=EXCL blame-DIR-3PL.ERG that.VIS DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Paul
 Spintlum kwes nilh=k'a=ti7 nuk'w7-an'-táli
 Spintlum DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS COP=EPIS=that.VIS help-DIR-NTS
 s=Moses Paul ta=ka-7úts'q7-a.
 NMLZ=Moses Paul DET=CIRC-go.outside-CIRC
 They were blaming Paul Spintlum for helping Moses Paul to get out of jail.
- (11) nilh=t'u7 s=qwatsáts=[s] ta=wa7=zús-cal,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3POSS DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT
 k'wálh-an'-as ta=pá•pl7=a úcwalmicw, nilh
 call.on-DIR-3ERG DET=IRED•one=EXIS indigenous.person COP
 ti7 wa7 s=Cultus Jack.
 that.VIS IPFV NMLZ=Cultus Jack
 So the policeman went off and hired this Indian, Cultus Jack.
- (12) tsún-as, “wá7=lhkacw=ka zewát-en nká7=as
 say+DIR-3ERG IPFV=2SG.SBJ=IRR be.known-DIR where=3SBJV
 lhas wá7=tu7 píxem'?”
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV IPFV=REM hunting
 He said to him, “Do you know where he (Paul Spintlum) used to go hunting?”

- (13) plán=tu7=ti7 wa7 qwatsáts píxem' ken=kw7ú
 already=REM=that.VIS IPFV leave hunting around=that.INVIS
 kísem=a, ti7 ta=wa7=s=Paul Spintlum.
 back.area=EXIS that.VIS DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Paul Spintlum
 Paul Spintlum had already set out hunting in the bush.

- (14) tsut kw=s=Cultus Jack, “wá7=lhkan zewát-en
 say DET=NMLZ=Cultus Jack IPFV=1SG.SBJ be.known-DIR
 nká7=as=tu7 lh=t'ák=as.”
 where=3SBJV=REM COMP=go.along=3SBJV
 Cultus Jack said, “I know where he is.”

- (15) nílh=t'u7 s=qwatsáts=i, k'wálh-an'-em
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS call.on-DIR-3PASS
 e=ta=plísmen=[a], tsún-em
 OBL=DET=policeman=EXIS say+DIR-3PASS
 e=ta=7ucwalmícw=a ta=wa7=s=Cultus
 OBL=DET=indigineous.person=EXIS DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Cultus
 Jack, “ao kwásu ka-nás-a
 Jack NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS CIRC-go-CIRC
 l=ku=sq'ít.”
 at=DET=day

So then they set out, the policeman and the one he had hired. This Indian named Cultus Jack told him, “Don't get there during the day.”

- (16) “tsúkw=t'u7 lh=n'án'atcw=as kéla7
 finish=EXCL COMP=morning=3SBJV first
 kw=s=má<7>eg's, kéla7 s=qwatsáts=[s]
 DET=NMLZ=daybreak<INCH>=3POSS before NMLZ=leave=3POSS
 píxem'...”
 hunting
 “In the morning, just before dawn, he leaves to go hunting...”

- (17) “...láti7=klh lh=nas-min'-ém=as, nílh=t'u7
 at+there.VIS=FUT COMP=go-APPL-1PL.ERG=3SBJV COP=EXCL
 s=kwán•en-s-acw.”
 NMLZ=take•FRED-CAUS-2SG.ERG
 “...that's when we'll go after him, then you'll get him.”

- (18) “wá7=ti7 píxem’ lhas sq’it, t’u7 ao
 IPFV=that.VIS hunting COMP+IPFV+3SBJV day EXCL NEG
 kwas wa7 l=ta=camp-s=a.”
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be at=DET=camp-3POSS=EXIS
 “He goes hunting during the day, and won’t be there in his camp.”

- (19) nilh=t’u7 s=k’ul’-ún’-itas
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.made-DIR-3PL.ERG
 kw=s=ka-tsícw=i-ha áta7
 DET=NMLZ=CIRC-get.there=3PL.POSS-CIRC to+there.VIS
 l=kw=s-kéla7-s kw=s=psil’=s.
 at=DET=NMLZ-first-3POSS DET=NMLZ=daybreak=3POSS
 So they arranged it so that they would be able to get there before dawn.

- (20) tsícw=wit, t’qwáw’s=wit, ti7 ta=7ucwalmícw=a
 get.there=3PL together=3PL that.VIS DET=indigenous.person=EXIS
 ta=wa7=s=Cultus Jack múta7 ti7 ta=plísmen=[a],
 DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Cultus Jack and that.VIS DET=policeman=EXIS
 ta=wa7=zús-cal.
 DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT

They arrived there together, that Indian named Cultus Jack and the policeman.

- (21) tsícw=wit áta7, wá7=t’u7 guy’t.
 get.there=3PL to+there.VIS IPFV=EXCL sleep
 When they got there, he (Paul Spintlum) was still sleeping.

- (22) nilh s=... nilh=t’u7 s=tsícw=s ta=wa7=zús-cal,
 COP NMLZ COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.there=3POSS DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT
 tsícw-min’-as, plan wa7 es=[s]p’ám i=núkwa=a
 get.there-RLT-3ERG already IPFV have=firewood PL.DET=other=EXIS
 wa7 láti7 wa7 es=camp.
 IPFV at+there.VIS be have=camp

When the policeman who was going after him got there, some of the others in camp already had a fire going.

- (23) tsicw ta=wa7=zús-cal sáwlhen, wa7
 get.there DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT ask.a.question IPFV
 tsún-em=ku7 láta7 lh=wá7=as l=t7u
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT at=that.VIS COMP=be=3SBJV at=there.VIS
 l=ta=latáont=[a].
 at=DET=tent=EXIS

So he went and asked, and was told that his (Paul Spintlum's) tent was over yonder.

- (24) nilh=t'u7 s=tsicw=s ta=wa7=zús-cal.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.there=3POSS DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT

So the policeman went there.

- (25) wá7=ti7 zewát-en-as, nilh=t'u7 s=tsún-as,
 IPFV=that.VIS be.known-DIR-3ERG COP=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG
 qwal'út-s-as áku7 lhel=ta=sk'ém'ts-s=a
 speak-CAUS-3ERG to+there.INVIS from=DET=door-3POSS=EXIS
 ta=latáont=a...
 DET=tent=EXIS

He knew Paul Spintlum, so he spoke to him from the entrance of the tent...

- (26) tsún-as, “Paul Spintlum, wá7=lhkan xát'-min'-tsin.”
 say+DIR-3ERG Paul Spintlum IPFV=1SG.SBJ want-RLT-2SG.OBJ
 ...he said, “Paul Spintlum, I want you.”

- (27) nilh=t'u7 s=tsut=s kw=s=Paul Spintlum, “wá7...
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS DET=NMLZ=Paul Spintlum IPFV
 cuy áma, cúy'=lhkan, s-k'al'em-min-ts
 okay good going.to=1SG.SBJ STAT-wait.for-RLT-1SG.OBJ
 kw=n=s=yax. cúz'=lhkan yax.”
 DET=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=get.dressed going.to=1SG.SBJ get.dressed
 Put on his clothes.
 put on his clothes

Then Paul Spintlum said, “Okay, I'm coming, just wait for me to get dressed. I'm going to get dressed.” (*Put on his clothes.*)

- (28) nilh=t'u7 s=yax=s.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.dressed=3POSS

So he got dressed.

- (29) tsukw s=yax=s, kwán-as ta=swelmín'k-s=a,
 finish NMLZ=get.dressed=3POSS take+DIR-3ERG DET=gun-3POSS=EXIS
 nílh=t'u7 s=7úts'qa7=s lhel=ta=lataónt-s=a.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=go.outside=3POSS from=DET=tent-3POSS=EXIS
 When he finished dressing, he grabbed his gun, and he went outside his tent.

- (30) ka-7úts'q7-a áku7, nílh=t'u7
 CIRC-go.outside-CIRC to+there.INVIS COP=EXCL
 s=kwil'-qs-cít-as ta=plísmen=a.
 NMLZ=prepare-end-IND-3ERG DET=policeman=EXIS
 As soon as he had got outside, he aimed his gun at the policeman.

- (31) tsún-as, "lh=xát'-min'-ts-acw, nílh=t'u7
 say+DIR-3ERG COMP=want-RLT-1SG.OBJ-2SG.ERG COP=EXCL
 s=ts7ás=tsu kwan-ts lhkun."
 NMLZ=come=2SG.POSS take+DIR-1SG.OBJ now
 He told the policeman, "If you want me, then come and get me now."

- (32) lhláti7 ta=wa7=zús-cal, nílh=t'u7
 from+there.VIS DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT COP=EXCL
 s=cw7áoy=s=t'u7 kw=s-qwts-ilc-s,
 NMLZ=NEG=3POSS=EXCL DET=NMLZ-move-AUT-3POSS
 nílh=t'u7 s=t'ák=s=t'u7 ti7 kel'q
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=continue=3POSS=EXCL that.VIS back.up
 ti7 ta=wa7=s=Paul Spintlum t'u
 that.VIS DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Paul Spintlum until
 ka-lhucw-a=tú7=a, nílh=t'u7 láti7
 CIRC-bushes-CIRC=REM=A COP=EXCL at+there.VIS
 s=7aw't=s kw=s=7áts'x=s.
 NMLZ=behind=3POSS DET=NMLZ=get.seen=3POSS
 The policeman didn't move, so Paul Spintlum kept backing away until he disappeared in the bushes, and that was the last time he was seen.

- (33) nílh=t'u7 lhláti7 s=qwatsáts=i ti7
 COP=EXCL from+there.VIS NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS that.VIS
 ta=wa7=zús-cal múta7 s=Cultus Jack...
 DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT and NMLZ=Cultus Jack
 Then the policeman and Cultus Jack left...

- (34) ...p'án't=wit e=t7ú Clinton=a, lhláta7
 return=3PL to=that.VIS Clinton=EXIS from+there.VIS
 ti=Clinton=a ti7 ku=wa7=zús-cal.
 DET=Clinton=EXIS that.VIS DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT
 ...they went back to Clinton, where the policeman was from.
- (35) tsicw [e]=ta=Clinton=a (ta...) ti7 ta=wa7=zús-cal.
 get.there to=DET=Clinton=EXIS DET that.VIS DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT
 The policeman got to Clinton.
- (36) nilh=t'u7 s=kelh-en-ás ta=q'wáolaps-ts=a, that's
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=take.off-DIR-3ERG DET=badge-3POSS=EXIS that's
 the badge, kelh-en-ás ta=q'wáolaps=a, nilh=t'u7
 the badge take.off-DIR-3ERG DET=badge=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=káw-lec=s kws
 NMLZ=move.away-AUT=3POSS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 zús-cal láti7.
 get.tied.up-ACT at+there.VIS
 Then he took off his badge - *that's the badge* - he took off the badge, and he quit being a policeman.

5.3 Wa7 sqwéqwel' sJohnny Pólat: Pála7 ta zúqwa plísmen, pála7 ta q'ám'ta t'u7

- (37) s-7aw't-s lhláti7, nilh=t'u7 ses wa7
 NMLZ-behind-3POSS at+there.VIS COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be
 iz'... q'wmiw's, qecw•qícw.
 those.VIS wild TRED•wild
 After that, those guys were outlaws, on the run.
- (38) ao kwas wá7=wit káti7 iz'
 NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be=3PL around+there.VIS those.VIS
 i=n-7án'was=a, ti7 ta=wa7=s=Moses Paul múta7
 PL.DET=LOC-two=EXIS that.VIS DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Moses Paul and
 ta=wa7=s=Paul Spintlum:
 DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Paul Spintlum
 They weren't around anymore, Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum:

- (39) ...áoy=t'u7 kwas áts'x=wit, q'wmiw's=wít=tu7.
 NEG=EXCL DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.seen=3PL wild=3PL=REM
 ...they weren't seen around, because they had become outlaws.

- (40) nas e=t7ú zánucw-em, qapts.
 go to=that.VIS year-MID spring
 Next spring came around.

- (41) tsícw=k'a ta=wa7=t'ánam'ten e=kw7á May, láti7
 get.there=EPIS DET=IPFV=moon to=this.INVIS May at+there.VIS
 lhas wa7 i=wa7=Spring Assizes láku7
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be PL.DET=IPFV=Spring Assizes at+there.VIS
 Clinton=a.
 Clinton=EXIS

The month of May came, that's when the Spring Assizes were held in Clinton.

- (42) cw7it áti7 gaw'p i=sám7=a.
 many at+there.VIS gather-INCH PL.DET=white.person=EXIS
 There were a lot of white people gathered there.

- (43) nílh=t'u7 s=ts7as=ts ta=núkw=a wa7... ta...
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=come=3POSS DET=other=EXIS IPFV DET
 Then this guy came who was....

- (44) (láni7...) láni7 ku=time wa7... tákem lhas
 at+there.ABS at+there.ABS DET=time IPFV all COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 wa7 ta=wa7=s-lhéqw, ts7as lhláku7
 be DET=IPFV=STAT-ride.horseback come from+there.INVIS
 ta=wa7=s-lhéqw.
 DET+IPFV=STAT-ride.horseback

At that time, everyone there rode horses, and someone came in on horseback.

- (45) t'iq [e]=kw7á ti7 ta=táown=a, nilh=ku7=tu7
 arrive to=there.INVIS that.VIS DET=TOWN=EXIS COP=QUOT=REM
 s=tsut=s, “wa7 l=kw7u kw=s=Paul Spintlum
 NMLZ=say=3POSS IPFV at=that.INVIS DET=NMLZ=Paul Spintlum
 l=kw7á=t'u7, k'ík'ta7!”
 at=this.INVIS=EXCL nearby

He arrived at the town, and said, “Paul Spintlum is just over there, he’s nearby!”

- (46) t'u7 s=nilh=t'u7 láti7 s=qelilám'=s
 EXCL NMLZ=COP=EXCL at+there.VIS NMLZ=rush.around=3POSS
 i=sám7=a múta7 i=plísmen=a nas
 PL.DET=white.person=EXIS and PL.DET=policeman=EXIS go
 cwíl'-en-itas, xek-en-ás=ti7 nká7=as
 look.for-DIR-3PL.ERG figure-DIR-3ERG=that.VIS where=3SBJV
 lh=wá7=wit=as.
 COMP=be=3PL=3SBJV

So the white people and the policemen started rushing around looking for them, and they figured out where they were at.

- (47) tsicw-almen=wít=t'u7 áti7, nilh=t'u7
 get.there-nearly=3PL=EXCL to+there.VIS COP=EXCL
 s=klh-ew's-íl=i.
 NMLZ=take.off-middle-AUT=3PL.POSS

When they had almost gotten there, they split up.

- (48) nilh=iz' i=plísmen=a n7i7z'ek.
 COP=those.VIS PL.DET=policeman=EXIS in.the.middle

Those policemen were in the middle.

- (49) t'ák=wít=t'u7 áti7 l=ta=ts'íl.h=a áku7
 go.along=3PL=EXCL to+there.VIS at=DET=like=EXIS to+there.INVIS
 l=ta=k'cw-úlm'ecw=[a], nilh=t'u7 s=qús-cit-em
 at=DET=hollow-ground=EXIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=shoot-IND-3PASS
 ta=pá•pl7=a plísmen, kwís=tu7.
 DET=IRED•one=EXIS policeman fall=REM

They went over to where there was kind of a hollow in the ground, then one of the policemen was shot, and he fell.

- (50) qús-cit-em ta=núkw=a, qam't-áka7, t'u7 nilh ts7a
 shoot-IND-3PASS DET=other=EXIS get.hit-hand but COP this.VIS
 ta=s=qelilám'=i nás=wit, plan wa7 qwatsáts.
 DET=NMLZ=rush.around=3PL.POSS go=3PL already IPFV leave
 Another one was shot in the arm, but by the time they rushed over to get the
 shooters, they had left.
- (51) q'áy-lec ta=pá•pl7=a, lhqw-ilc, qus-cit-ítas,
 jump-AUT DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS ride.horseback-AUT shoot-IND-3PL.ERG
 t'u7 áoy=t'u7 kw=s=qam't-s-twítas, nilh=t'u7=tu7
 but NEG=EXCL DET=NMLZ=get.hit-CAUS-3PL.ERG COP=EXCL=REM
 s=q'áy-lec=s.
 NMLZ=jump-AUT=3POSS
 One of them jumped on his horse, they shot at him but they didn't hit him,
 and so he got away.
- (52) qelilám' lhláti7 i=núkw=a, qelilám'=wit
 rush.around from+there.VIS PL.DET=other=EXIS rush.around=3PL
 áku7 l=t=s=wá7=s=a ku=t'éqw-p.
 to+there.INVIS at=DET=NMLZ=be=3POSS=EXIS DET=explode-INCH
 Some other members of the posse rushed over to where the gunshots had
 come from.
- (53) tsicw=wit, plan wa7 s-kits ta=pá•pl7=a
 get.there=3PL already IPFV STAT-get.laid.down DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS
 (plis...) plísmen, wa7 zús-cal.
 policeman policeman IPFV get.tied.up-ACT
 When they got there, one policeman was already down.
- (54) wa7 qá•q•ey't ta=núkw=a s-qam't-áka7.
 IPFV suffer•CRED• DET=other=EXIS STAT-get.hit-hand
 The other one was suffering because he'd been hit in the arm.
- (55) ats'x-en-ítas=tu7, plan wa7 lhqw-ilc
 get.seen-DIR-3PL.ERG=REM already IPFV ride.horseback-AUT
 ta... ti7 nilh iz' i=sq'wem•q'wmíw's=a,
 DET that.VIS COP those.VIS PL.DET=TRED•wild=EXIS
 s=tsún-ítas iz', s=Paul Spintlum.
 NMLZ=say+DIR-3PL.ERG those.VIS NMLZ=Paul Spintlum
 They saw that one of them - the outlaws, that's what they called them - Paul
 Spintlum, had already got on his horse.

- (56) qus-cit-ítas, áo=t'u7 kw=s=qam't=s, nilh
 shoot-IND-3PL.ERG NEG=EXCL DET=NMLZ=get.hit=3POSS COP
 [s]=ka-cím'-a, nilh=t'u7 s=kwán-itas
 NMLZ=CIRC-disappear-CIRC COP=EXCL NMLZ=take+DIR-3PL.ERG
 lhláti7 ta=zúqw=a...
 from+there.VIS DET=dead=EXIS
 They shot at him but he didn't get hit, then he disappeared, so then they took
 the dead person...

- (57) ...q'il-in'-ítas l=ta=pé•p•l7=a
 get.laid.down.on.flat.surface-DIR-3PL.ERG at=DET=one•CRED•=EXIS
 ts'qáxa7, nilh=t'u7 s=7uxwal'-s-twítas,
 horse COP=EXCL NMLZ=go.home-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 s=ts'item-s-twítas ta=táown=a.
 NMLZ=go.towards-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET=town=EXIS
 ...and laid him on one of the horses; then they brought him home, towards
 town.

- (58) t'iq-s-twítas áti7, plan wa7 s-zuqw ti7,
 arrive-CAUS-3PL.ERG to+there.VIS already IPFV STAT-dead that.VIS
 nilh=tu7 ti=wa7=zús-cal láti7 Clinton=a.
 COP=REM DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT at+there.VIS Clinton=EXIS
 When they arrived there, the policeman from Clinton was already dead.

5.4 Wa7 sqwéqwel' sPaul Spintlum: Nk'wancenánem nelh wa7 cwelcúel

- (59) s-7aw't-s lhláti7, nilh=t'u7 (s...)
 NMLZ-behind-3POSS from+there.VIS COP=EXCL NMLZ
 s=k'wáhl-cal=s ta=k'vpmen=a
 NMLZ=call.on-ACT=3POSS DET=government=EXIS
 ku=wa7=k'wen'•k'wan'-cen-álhts'a7
 DET=IPFV=TRED•look-foot-meat
 k'wen'•k'wan'-cen-an'-tanemwítas, cuz'
 TRED•look-foot-DIR-3PL.OBJ+NTS going.to
 cwil'-en-tanemwítas n-cwa7•cw7ít.
 look.for-DIR-3PL.OBJ+NTS LOC-TRED•many
 After that, the government hired trackers to track them, and to search for
 them all over the place.

- (60) cw7it i=wa7=sáma7, lhel=kw7ú Kamloops=a
 many PL.DET=IPFV=white.person from=that.INVIS Kamloops=EXIS
 (e)lh=kwán-itas i=7ucwalmícw=a wa7
 COMP=take+DIR-3PL.ERG PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS IPFV
 tsún-itas wa7 tracker.
 say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV tracker

A lot of them were white people, but they also got some Indians that they call “trackers”.

- (61) ao kw=s=k'walh-an'-itas ku=7úcwalmícw
 NEG DET=NMLZ=call.on-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=indigenous.person
 káti7 k'ík't7=a, s7ícwlh-úlm'ecw úcwalmícw
 around+there.VIS nearby=EXIS different-land indigenous.person
 ku=k'walh-an'-itas.
 DET=call.on-DIR-3PL.ERG

They didn't hire any Indians from near here, the Indians they hired were from different places.

- (62) cw7it ts'qáxa7 wa7 qwez-en-ítas, (t')cuz'
 many horse IPFV get.used-DIR-3PL.ERG going.to
 n-k'wan'-cen-án'-itas, cuz' kal-en-ítas iz'
 LOC-look-foot-DIR-3PL.ERG going.to chase-DIR-3PL.ERG those.VIS
 i=n-7án'was=a, wa7 q'wem•q'wmíw's.
 PL.DET=LOC-two=EXIS IPFV TRED•wild

They used a lot of horses to track and chase down the two outlaws.

- (63) cw7it... p'á7cw=k'a lhel=ku=pála7 t'ánam'ten, tqílh=k'a
 many more.than=EPIS from=DET=one moon almost=EPIS
 án'was t'ánam'ten (kwas...) kwas
 two moon DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 kal-en-ítas, kwas tsút=wít
 chase-DIR-3PL.ERG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS think=3PL
 kwas plan wa7 n-pzán-itas,
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS already IPFV LOC-meet+DIR-3PL.ERG
 cw7áoy=t'u7 kwas
 NEG=EXCL DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 ka-kwan•en-s-twítas-a.
 CIRC-take•FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG-CIRC

Many times - they must've been chasing them for more than a month, maybe nearly two - they thought they'd caught up with them, but they couldn't catch them.

- (64) plán=ku7 l=ts7a q'ecw•ecw-s-twítas
 already=QUOT at=this.VIS surround•FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 l=ta=pál7=a sqwem, nás=wit áta7, plán=tu7
 at=DET=one=EXIS mountain go=3PL to+there.VIS already=REM
 ao láta7 kwas wá7=wit.
 NEG at+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be=3PL

They had them surrounded at one mountain, but when they went there, they'd already gone.

- (65) tsáma=t'u7 ta=k'vpmen=a, cw7it sqlaw'
 try.in.vain=EXCL DET=government=EXIS many money
 (e)s=gí<7>el'=s ta=k'vpmen=a, nilh=t'u7
 NMLZ=lose<INCH>=3POSS DET=government=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=t'ál-an'-as i=wa7=n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7,
 NMLZ=stop-DIR-3ERG PL.DET=IPFV=LOC-look-foot-meat
 i=wá7....
 PL.DET=IPFV

The government tried in vain, and lost a lot of money, so they stopped (paying for) the trackers.

- (66) nilh=t'u7 s=cwít's-in'-as ta=k'vpmen=a
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=hand.over-DIR-3ERG DET=government=EXIS
four thousand dollars ku=reward, lh=swát=as
 four thousand dollars DET=reward COMP=who=3SBJV
 ku=kwan•en-s-tanemwítas iz'.
 DET=take•FRED-CAUS-3PL.OBJ+NTS those

But the government handed over four thousand dollars as a reward for anyone who could catch them.

- (67) nilh=t'u7 s=hláti7=s lh=t'ál=as
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=from+there.VIS=3POSS COMP=stop=3SBJV
 i=wa7=n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7, nilh=t'u7 iz'
 PL.DET=IPFV=LOC-look-foot-meat COP=EXCL those.VIS
 s=wa7=s q'wem•q'wmíw's láti7 ku...⁵
 NMLZ=be=3POSS TRED•wild at+there.VIS DET

So then the trackers stopped, and then the outlaws...

⁵ There is a break in the recording at the end of this stanza.

- (68) iz' l=ts7a i=wá7=as
 those.VIS at=this.VIS when.PAST=be=3SBJV
 i=wa7=n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7, cw7it kwas
 PL.DET=IPFV=LOC-look-foot-meat many DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 ts'íla wa7 n-pzan-almen-s-twítas.
 like IPFV LOC-meet-nearly-CAUS-3PL.ERG

When they were there, the trackers nearly kind of caught up to them a bunch of times.

- (69) ta=pá•pl7=a láku7 l=ta=wa7=tsún-itas wa7
 DET=IRED•ONE=EXIS at+there.INVIS at=DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV
fifty-nine, nilh ti7 wa7 Chasm l=ki=sám7=a,
 fifty-nine COP that.VIS IPFV Chasm at=PL.DET=white.person=EXIS
 necnactám' in the Indian.
 flat.on.top[Chasm] in the Indian

One of them was at 59 Mile, that's Chasm amongst the white people, and *necncetám'* in Indian.

- (70) wa7 áku7 ti7, nilh ti7 stsúw7-i sqwé•qw•el'
 be to+there.INVIS that.VIS COP that.VIS OWN-3PL.POSS tell•CRED•
 izá-wna wa7 q'wem•q'wmiw's.
 these-precisely IPFV TRED•wild

That's where it was, according to the outlaws' own story.

- (71) t'ak ta=sám7=a ka-cál-a, nilh=t'u7
 go.along DET=white.person=EXIS CIRC-edge.of.hill-CIRC COP=EXCL
 s=get's-en-ás ta=sts'qáxa7-s=a, nilh=t'u7 láku7
 NMLZ=tie-DIR-3ERG DET=horse-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL at+there.INVIS
 ses cál-us.
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS edge-hill

A white guy went over to look across the brow of a hill, then he tied up his horse and looked over the edge.

- (72) q'wem-ílç ta=pá•pl7=a
 get.rolled.into.ball-AUT DET=IRED•one=EXIS
 lhlátí7=t'u7 wi=snílh iz', Moses Paul,
 from+there.VIS=EXCL PL=3SG.INDEP those Moses Paul
 lhqw-ilec-mín-as ta=ts'qáxa7-s=a, nílh=t'u7
 ride.horseback-AUT-RLT-3ERG DET=horse-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL
 ta=s-q'áy'-lec-s=a.
 DET=NMLZ-jump-AUT-3POSS=EXIS

One of the outlaws was crouching down, it was Moses Paul, and he jumped on the guy's horse and escaped.

- (73) p'elenílh ta=trápsten=a, láti7 lh=kwam•em=wít=as
 including DET=binoculars=EXIS at+there.VIS COMP=get•FRED=3PL=3SBJV
 ta=ámh=a trápsten, (trápsten, *that's uh...*)
 DET=good=EXIS binoculars binoculars that's uh

Among other things, there were some binoculars in there, they got some good binoculars there.

5.5 Wa7 sqwéqwel' sTom Evans: Tqilh t'u7 kwánenwit nelh wa7 cwelcúel lta qwlitúlm'ecwa

- (74) tsa::ma=wít=t'u7, cw7it, cw7it ken=tswása
 try.in.vain=3PL=EXCL many many around=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
 ts'íla wa7 qwena[n]-s-twítas t'u7 wa7... t'u7
 like IPFV want-CAUS-3PL.ERG but IPFV but
 ka-lhúcw=wít-a...
 CIRC-bushes=3PL-CIRC

They kept trying, many, many people wanted to get them... but they managed to disappear into the bush...

- (75) ...nílh=t'u7 ses páqu7 iz'
 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS afraid those.VIS
 i=wa7=n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7.
 PL.DET=IPFV=LOC-look-foot-meat

...so then the trackers got scared.

- (76) s-k'alán'-min'-s-kan ta=pá•pl7=a iz'
 STAT-listen.to-RLT-CAUS-1SG.SBJ DET=IRED•one=EXIS those.VIS
 i=wa7=n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7.
 PL.DET=IPFV=LOC-look-foot-meat

I listened to one of those trackers.

- (77) “kál-en-em,” tsut, “t'u tsícw=kalh=t'u7
 chase-DIR-1PL.ERG say until get.there=1PL.SBJ=EXCL
 ka-lhucw=kalh-á=t'u7, wa7 láti7
 CIRC-bushes=1PL.SBJ-CIRC=EXCL IPFV at+there.VIS
 i=ts'qax7-i=ha es-tálh-lec, cw7aoz
 PL.DET=horse-3PL.POSS=EXIS STAT-stand-AUT NEG
 káti7 láti7 kwas
 around+there.VIS at+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 wá7=wit.”
 be=3PL

He said, “We followed them until we got into the brush, and there were their horses standing there, but they weren't there.”

- (78) “plán=t'u7 wa7 tsexw•tsíxw s-qemp-s
 already=EXCL IPFV TRED•sweat NMLZ-hot-3POSS
 i=ts'qax7-i=ha.”
 PL.DET=horse-3PL.POSS=EXIS

“Their horses were dripping with sweat.”

- (79) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsut=s ts7a ta=pá•pl7=a
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS this.VIS DET=IRED•one=EXIS
 ta=sám7=a ti7 ta=wá7..., nílh ti7
 DET=white.person=EXIS that.VIS DET=IPFV COP that.VIS
 wa7 s=Tom Evans, nílh ti7 wa7
 IPFV NMLZ=Tom Evans, COP that.VIS IPFV
 sqwe•qw•el'-en-ts-ás.
 tell•CRED•-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG

This part comes from this one white person, it was Tom Evans, that's who told me this story.

- (80) tsút=ku7, “that’s, láti7 lh... láti7=t’u7
 say=QUOT that’s at+there.VIS COMP at+there.VIS=EXCL
 lh=tsem’p=ás kwenswá kál-en
 COMP=get.finished=3SBJV DET+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV chase-DIR
 kw=s=Paul Spintlum.”
 DET=NMLZ=Paul Spintlum
 He said, “This is where I quit chasing Paul Spintlum.”

- (81) “lh=qwenán=al’ap áta7 kw=s=t’ák=l’ap, nilh
 COMP=want=2PL.SBJV to+there.VIS DET=NMLZ=go.along=2PL.POSS COP
 s=t’ák=l’ap, cúz’=lhkan p’an’t lhel=ts7á.”
 NMLZ=go.along=2PL.POSS going.to=1SG.SBJ return from=this.VIS
 “If you all want to keep going, then keep going, but I’m going back.”

5.6 Wa7 sqwéqwel’ ta ts’k’wáylacwmeca: Smúlhats ta syáxiha i wa7 cwel-cúlel

- (82) s-7aw’t-s lhláti7, lhel=t=s=t’ál=s=a
 NMLZ-behind-3POSS from+there.VIS from=DET=NMLZ=stop=3POSS=EXIS
 ta=kúpmen=a kwas xáq’-en-as
 DET=government=EXIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS pay-DIR-3ERG
 kwa n-k’wen’-cen-álhts’a7...
 DET+IPFV LOC-look-foot-meat
 After the government stopped paying for trackers...

- (83) (...nilh=t’u7 s= uh...) nilh=t’u7 aylh s=ts’íla=s
 COP=EXCL NMLZ uh COP=EXCL then NMLZ=like=3POSS
 ku=tí<7>eg’w=wit, nilh=t’u7 sas
 DET=get.loose<INCH>=3PL COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 ken-tákem=t’u7 lhas áts’x=wit
 around-all=EXCL COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.seen=3PL
 ken=ki=7ucwalmícw=a.
 around=PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS
 ...the outlaws kind of got free, and they were seen all over where there were Indian people.

- (84) cw7it úcwalmicw wa7 qan'ím-ens-an kwas
 many indigenous.person IPFV hear-DIR-1SG.ERG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 tsut kwas tsícw=wit áti7,
 say DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.there=3PL to+there.VIS
 um'-n-ítas ken=ki=s...
 be.given-DIR-3PL.ERG around=PL.DET=NMLZ

I heard a lot of Indian people say that they went by there, and they'd give them some of their stuff.

- (85) cw7it i=nk'saytken-i=ha ken-tákem, aoz
 many PL.DET=relative-3PL.POSS=EXIS around-all NEG
 kwas tsukw láku7 Clinton=a...
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS finish at+there.INVIS Clinton=EXIS
 i=7ucwalmicw=a, ken-tákem
 PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS around-all
 lhas s-nek'w•núk'wa7=wit, ke•káw'
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV have-TRED•friend=3PL IRED•far
 ken=tswása tsícw
 around=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS get.there
 i=wa7=nk'sáytken-i.
 PL.DET=IPFV=relative-3PL.POSS

They had a lot of relatives all over the place, not just the Indians at Clinton, they had friends everywhere, and they had relatives spread over a large area.

- (86) nílh=t'u7 sés=t'u7 wá7=wit, ts'íla ken-tákem
 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL be=3PL like around-all
 lhas tsícw•ecw=wit.
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.there•FRED=3PL

And so there they were, and they kind of went all over the place.

- (91) cw7áoy=ti7 kwas tsukw száyten-i,
 NEG=that.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS finish doings-3PL.POSS
 cw7it áti7 kw=s-xíl-em-i, wa7,
 many to+there.VIS DET=NMLZ-do-MID-3PL.POSS be
 kw=s=kwán-itas ku=ts'qáxa7, ku=7áma
 DET=NMLZ=take+DIR-3PL.ERG DET=horse DET=good
 ts'qáxa7, ku=7áma sáotv], kenká7=tu7
 horse DET=good saddle around+there.INVIS=REM
 lhas ka-kwan-s-twítas-a.
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV CIRC-take-CAUS-3PL.ERG-CIRC
 That wasn't all they did, either, they did a lot of things, they took horses,
 good horses, good saddles, anywhere they could get them.

- (92) nílh=t'u7 sás=t'u7 wá7=wit=t'u7 ts'íla
 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL be=3PL=EXCL like
 káti7 es-tíg'w ken=ki=tákem=a
 around+there.VIS STAT-get.loose around=PL.DET=all=EXIS
 kén=ki... kwelh=ucwalmícw-i=ha.
 around=PL.DET PL.INVIS.DET=indigenous.person-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 They just kind of lived freely amongst their relatives.

- (93) cw7ao káti7 (kwa...) kwa tsut
 NEG around+there.VIS DET+IPFV DET+IPFV say
 l=tsa lh=wa7=wit=ás=t'u7.
 at=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS COMP=be=3PL=3SBJV=EXCL
 Nobody would say where they were.

- (94) ken-tákem=t'u7 lhas tsícw=wit ken=t7ú
 around-all=EXCL COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.there=3PL around=that.VIS
 Lillooet=a, ta=pál7=a száyten-i l=ts7á-wna
 Lillooet=EXIS DET=one=EXIS doings-3PL.POSS at=this.VIS-precisely
 ti7, l=kw7a ta=wa7=tsún-em wa7 eleven
 that.VIS at=this.INVIS DET=IPFV=say+DIR-1PL.ERG IPFV eleven
 mile.
 mile

They went everywhere around Lillooet, and there was this one thing that they did there, over at what we call Eleven Mile.

- (95) t'ák=wit=ku7 áti7, wá7=t'u7 n-mátq=wit, t'u7
 go.along=3PL=QUOT to+there.VIS IPFV=EXCL LOC-walk=3PL but
 áoz=t'u7 kwas es=ts'qáxa7=wit, láti7.
 NEG=EXCL DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS have=horse=3PL at+there.VIS
 I heard they were traveling on foot, because they didn't have horses at that point.

- (96) ats'x-en-ítas ta=t'láz'=a láti7, nilh=t'u7
 get.seen-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=canoe=EXIS at+there.VIS COP=EXCL
 s=cuy'=s... (a...) s=tsút=i, "cúz'=lhalh
 NMLZ=going.to=3POSS NMLZ=say=3PL.POSS going.to=1PL.SBJ
 lha7-q e=t7ú x7ílh=a."⁶
 close.to-point to=that.VIS other.side=EXIS
 They saw a canoe, so they began to... they said, "Let's cross over to the other side."

- (97) nilh=t'u7 s=kwán-itas ta=t'láz'=a, t'áq'=wit
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=take+DIR-3PL.ERG DET=canoe=EXIS CROSS.OVER=3PL
 áta7 x7ílh=a.
 to+there.VIS other.side=EXIS
 So they took the canoe and crossed over.

- (98) lha7-qs=wít, nilh=t'u7
 close.to-point=3PL COP=EXCL
 s=weq'w-en-ítas
 NMLZ=get.carried.away.by.water-DIR-3PL.ERG
 ta=t'láz'=a, kelh-en-ítas ta=lóp=a.
 DET=canoe=EXIS take.off-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=rope=EXIS
 They got to shore, then they let the canoe drift away, they took off the rope.

- (99) nilh=t'u7 n-ták-i e=t7ú-wna, e=t7ú
 COP=EXCL LOC-side-3PL.POSS to=that.VIS-precisely to=that.VIS
 ta=wa7=tsún-em wa7 nxwísten,
 DET=IPFV=say+DIR-1PL.ERG IPFV nxwísten[Bridge.River]
 áta7 lh=ts'item=wít=as.
 to+there.VIS COMP=go.towards=3PL=3SBJV
 Then they were on the other side of the river, over towards what we call Nxwísten (Bridge River), and that's where they headed.

⁶ Sam Mitchell uses *lha7-q* and *lha7-qs* interchangeably in this narrative, which suggests that the lexical suffix *-qs* 'point' may have a less common variant, *-q*.

- (100) t'ák=wit áta7... tsícw=wit láta7
 go.along=3PL to+there.VIS get.there=3PL at+there.VIS
 l=ki=7ucwalmícw=a tsítcw-s wa7 es-lhép'
 at=PL.DET-indigenous.person=EXIS house-3PL IPFV STAT-hung
 i=s-q'wíts'-m=a, st'ánwen.
 PL.DET=NMLZ-clothes.get.washed-MID=EXIS skirt
 They went on, and they got to some Indian's houses which had laundry hanging up, skirts.
- (101) nílh=t'u7 s=tsut=s ta=núkw=a, "cúz'=lhkalkh
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS DET=other=EXIS going.to=1PL.SBJ
 láti7 kwam ku=st'ánwen."
 at+there.VIS get DET=skirt
 So one of them said, "We'll take some skirts."
- (102) "cúz'=lhkalkh t'aq' l=t7u l=ta=ntqwíxw=a,
 going.to=1PL.SBJ cross.over at=that.VIS at=DET=bridge=EXIS
 nílh=iz' s=lhecw-en-ém i=st'ánwen=a."
 COP=those.VIS NMLZ=put.on-DIR-1PL.ERG PL.DET=skirt=EXIS
 "We'll cross over on the bridge, and we'll put those skirts on."
- (103) nílh=t'u7 s=kwán-itas láti7 [ku]=án'was
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=take+DIR-3PL.ERG at+there.VIS DET=two
 st'ánwen wa7 es-q'wíts'-em l=ta=line=a.⁷
 skirt IPFV STAT-clothes.get.washed-MID at=DET=line=EXIS
 So they took two skirts that had been washed from the line.
- (104) iy, pták=wit lhláti7 aylh, nílh=t'u7 s...
 yes go.past=3PL from+there.VIS then COP=EXCL NMLZ
 n-lhá7-q=i, ts'ítem=wit e=ts7á-wna...
 LOC-close.to-point=3PL.POSS go.towards=3PL to=this.VIS-precisely
 Lillooet=a, ti7 ta=táown=a.
 Lillooet=EXIS that.VIS DET=town=EXIS
 Yes, they went past there, and then they crossed over (Bridge River) and came towards Lillooet, to the town.

⁷ There is a break in the recording after this stanza.

- (105) nilh=t'u7 s=wá7=i káta7 cá7=a; nilh=ti7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=be=3PL around+there.VIS high=EXIS COP=that.VIS
 stsúw7-i sqwé•qw•el'.
 OWN-3PL.POSS tell•CRED•

They were up above the town; that was their own story.

- (106) nilh ti7 sqwe•qw•el'-í kwas wá7=wit
 COP that.VIS tell•CRED•-3PL.POSS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be=3PL
 káta7.
 around+there.VIS

It was their story that they were around there.

- (107) láni7 ku... láti7 ku=time, k'a cw7aoz
 at+there.ABS DET at+there.VIS DET=time EPIS NEG
 káti7 kwas cw7it kwa...
 around+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS many DET+IPFV
 ku=7úcwalmicw, cw7aoz kwas cw7it
 DET=indigenous.person NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS many
 i=sám7=a.
 PL.DET=white.person=EXIS

At that time, there can't have been many Indians around, and not many white people.

- (108) gap lhláti7, nilh=t'u7 s=tsícw=wit
 evening from+there.VIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.there=3PL
 káti7 táown=a, cw7it
 around+there.VIS town=EXIS many
 ki=wa7=s-7ilhen-i.
 COLL.DET=IPFV=NMLZ-eat-3PL.POSS

When it was evening, they went around town and got a lot of food.

- (109) cw7ao láti7 kw=zewat-en-tanemwítas.
 NEG at+there.VIS DET=be.known-DIR-3PL.OBJ+NTS
 Nobody there knew who they were.

- (110) gap, ts7as gap, ts7as ka-kwás-a,
 evening begin.to evening begin.to CIRC-dusk-CIRC
 nílh=t'u7 s=tsút=i, "cúz'=lhkalh t'áq'
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3PL.POSS going.to=1PL.SBJ CROSS.OVER
 l=ta=ntqwíxw=a."
 at=DET=bridge=EXIS
 Evening came, it began to get dark, then they said, "Let's cross over on the
 bridge."
- (111) lhecw-en-ítas iz' i=st'ánwen=a, nílh=t'u7
 put.on-DIR-3PL.ERG those.VIS PL.DET=skirt=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=qwatsáts=i s-zec•zacen-s-twítas
 NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS STAT-TRED•pack-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 i=s7ilhen-í=ha.
 PL.DET=food-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 They put on those skirts, then they set off, packing their food on their backs.
- (112) papt láti7 (wa7...) wa7 matq i=7ucwalmícw=a
 always at+there.VIS IPFV IPFV walk PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS
 smelh•múlhats, n-matq.
 TRED•woman LOC-walk
 There were always Indian women travelling there, walking.
- (113) t'ák=wit aylh é=ta=n... tsícw=wit áti7
 go.along=3PL then to=DET=LOC get.there=3PL to+there.VIS
 ta=ntqwíxw=a, wa7 zewat-en-ítas ta=pá•pl7=a
 DET=bridge=EXIS IPFV be.known-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=IRED•one=EXIS
 láti7 sáma7 wa7 es-7ats'x-s-táli
 at+there.VIS white.person IPFV STAT-get.seen-CAUS-NTS
 ta=ntqwíxw=a.
 DET=bridge=EXIS
 They got to the bridge and they knew this one white person who was there
 watching the bridge.
- (114) nílh=iz' láti7 wa7 s-7ats'x-s-tanemwítas
 COP=those.VIS at+there.VIS IPFV STAT-get.seen-CAUS-3PL.OBJ+NTS
 kán=as kwas t'áq'=wit.
 whether=3SBJV DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS CROSS.OVER=3PL
 They were watching out in case they (the outlaws) crossed.

- (115) sucwt-en-ítas ta=pá•pl7=a, nílh=ku7=ti7
 recognize-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=1RED•one=EXIS COP=QUOT=that.VIS
 wa7 s=Joe Russell, wá7=ti7 zewat-en-ítas,
 IPFV NMLZ=Joe Russell IPFV=that.VIS be.known-DIR-3PL.ERG
 nílh=t'u7=ti7 s=t'ák=i t'u t'aq'.
 COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ=go.along=3PL.POSS until cross.over
 They recognized one person, it was Joe Russell, they knew him, but they kept going until they crossed over.

- (116) lha7-qš=wít, ao káti7 wa7
 close.to-point=3PL NEG around+there.VIS IPFV
 kas-[ts]-tanemwítas, tsút=t'u7 iz'
 do.how-CAUS-3PL.OBJ+NTS say=EXCL those.VIS
 i=sám7=a kw=s7úcwalmicw
 PL.DET=white.person=EXIS DET=indigenous.person
 [kwe]lh=smelh•melh•múlhats káti7
 PL.ABS.DET=TRED•TRED•WOMAN=EPIS around+there.VIS
 t'ák=a.
 go.along=EXIS
 They crossed over, nobody did anything to them, those white people just thought that the women going by were Indians.

5.7 K'úl'emwit ku tsitcwíha ku sk'wals láku7 Leon's Creek

- (117) pták=wít lhláti7, nílh=t'u7 s=t'ák=i=t'u7
 go.past=3PL from+there.VIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=continue=3PL.POSS=EXCL
 ts'ítem wa7 i=nk'saytken-í=ha (áku7...)
 go.towards be PL.DET=relative-3PL.POSS=EXIS to+there.INVIS
 áku7 cácel'p=a lh...
 to+there.INVIS Cácl'ep[Fountain]=EXIS COMP
 They continued towards where their relatives were at Fountain.

- (118) wa7 zewat-en-ítas láku7 i=núkw=a
 IPFV be.known-DIR-3PL.ERG at+there.INVIS PL.DET=other=EXIS
 úcwalmicw...
 indigenous.person
 They knew some of the Indians there...

- (119) ...áku7 lh=tsícw=wit=as ti=pál7=a sgap.
 to+there.INVIS COMP=get.there=3PL=3SBJV DET=one=EXIS evening
 ...They got there one evening.

- (120) lhláti7 qwatsáts=wit ken=t7ú-wna
 from+there.VIS leave=3PL around=that.VIS-precisely
 ta=wa7=tsún-em spálem.
 DET=IPFV=say+DIR-1PL.ERG field[Fountain.Flats]
 From there they set out for what we call Spálem (Fountain Flats).

- (121) áta7 lh=wá7=as i=núkw=a nk'sáytken-i,
 to+there.VIS COMP=be=3SBJV PL.DET=other=EXIS relative-3PL.POSS
 káta7 lhas tsícw=wit.
 around+there.VIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.there=3PL
 Some of their relatives were living there, where they went.

- (122) ken-tákem ken=ki=7ucwalmícw=a lhas
 around-all around=PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 tsícw=wit, sqwe•qw•el'-mín-itas [i]=wa7=száyten-i,
 get.there=3PL tell•CRED•-RLT-3PL.ERG PL.DET=IPFV=doings-3PL.POSS
 ats'x i=wa7=sqwe•qw•el'-mín-itas
 get.seen PL.DET=IPFV=tell•CRED•-RLT-3PL.ERG
 i=wás kal-en-tánemwit
 when.PAST=IPFV+3SBJV chase-DIR-3PL.PASS
 ki=sám7=a, legw-ilc-mín-itas
 PL.DET=white.person=EXIS hide-AUT-RLT-3PL.ERG
 lh=núkw=as:
 COMP=some=3SBJV

Everywhere they went amongst the Indians, they told the story of what they had been doing: they told about how they were seen by the white people chasing them, and how they hid from them sometimes:

- (123) t'ák=wit=ku7 káti7 s... wá7=wit
 go.along=3PL=QUOT around+there.VIS NMLZ IPFV=3PL
 láti7 s-legw-ílç, t'ák káti7
 at+there.VIS STAT-hide-AUT go.along around+there.VIS
 [i]=wa7=n-k'wan'-cen-an-tanemwítas
 PL.DET=IPFV=LOC-look-foot-DIR-3PL.OBJ+NTS
 sq'út-i=ha, t'u ptá:k=wit.
 beside-3PL.POSS=EXIS until go.past=3PL

The trackers went along - they were hiding, and the ones tracking them went by right beside them, until they passed by.

- (124) láti7 l=ta=pá•pl7=a snúk'w7-i lhláta7
 at+there.VIS at=DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS relative-3PL.POSS from+there.VIS
 ti7 ta=wa7=tsún-em ts'k'wáylacw,
 that.VIS DET=IPFV=say+DIR-1PL.ERG Ts'k'wáylacw[Pavilion]
 wá7=iz' alkst láta7 l=ki=wa7=leqm-ám
 IPFV=those.VIS work at+there.VIS at=PL.DET=IPFV=hay-MID
 lhas pipántsk.
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV summer

At one of their relative's places over in what we call Ts'k'wáylacw (Pavilion), they worked amongst the haymakers during the summertime.

- (125) áti7=ku7 papt... lh=k'wín=as gap
 to+there.VIS=QUOT always COMP=how.many=3SBJV evening
 kwas tsícw=wit áta7,
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.there=3PL to+there.VIS
 láta7 lhas kwan•en-s-twítas
 at+there.VIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV take•FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 i=s7ilhen-í=ha.
 PL.DET=food-3PL.POSS=EXIS

On many evenings, they'd go there to get food.

- (126) nilh láti7=ku7 lhas sqwe•qw•el'•mín-itas
 COP at+there.VIS=QUOT COMP+IPFV+3POSS tell•CRED•-RLT-3PL.ERG
 kwás=ti7 naq'w-cit-itas
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=that.VIS steal-IND-3PL.ERG
 ta=trápsten=a (ta...) múta7 ta=ts'qáxa7-s=a
 DET=binoculars=EXIS DET and DET=horse-3POSS=EXIS
 ti7 ta=wa7=n-k'wan'-cen-an-tanemwítas.
 that.VIS DET=IPFV=LOC-look-foot-DIR-3PL.OBJ+NTS
 That's where they told the story about stealing those binoculars and the horse from the tracker.

- (127) stéxw=ku7=t'u7 ti7 áma ta=trapsten-í=ha, kaw'
 really=QUOT=EXCL that.VIS good DET=binoculars-3PL.POSS=EXIS far
 kw=s-hál'a... sk'ík'ta7-s=a s...
 DET=STAT-show nearby-3POSS=EXIS NMLZ
 Their binoculars were really nice, far away things showed close up.

- (128) ken-tákem=t'u7 aylh kátí7 lhas
 around-all=EXCL then around+there.VIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 wá7=wít=t'u7 wa7=hém', wa7=wít=hém'=t'u7 s-legw-ílç
 be=3PL=EXCL IPFV=ANTI IPFV=3PL=ANTI=EXCL NMLZ-hide-AUT
 l=t7u l=ta=wa7=tsún-itas wa7 Leon's Creek,
 at=that.VIS at=DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV Leon's Creek
 s-x7ilh-ts.
 NMLZ-across-3POSS

They were staying all over, but they hid out over at what they call Leon's Creek, on the other side of the river.

- (129) láku7=ku7 ku=tsitcw-í=ha
 at+there.INVIS=that.INVIS INVIS.DET=house-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 s-k'ul'-em=wít=t'u7 ku=sk'wáls, nilh ti7
 NMLZ-get.made-MID=3PL=EXCL DET=rock.overhang COP that.VIS
 ta=wa7=tsún-em ti=sám7=a wa7 cave.
 DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3PASS DET=white.person=EXIS IPFV cave
 They built their house in a rock-overhang, what is called a 'cave' in English.

- (130) láti7 lhas wá7=wit, ke•káw' ti7
 at+there.VIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be=3PL IRED•far that.VIS
 tswása [e]s-hál'a ken-tákem,
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS STAT-show around-all
 lhláti7 l=tswása wá7=wit.
 from+there.VIS at=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS be=3PL
 Where they were staying, you can see everything for a long ways, from
 where they were.

- (131) lhkúnsa wá7=k'a=t'u7 s=ts'íla es-hál'a, kw=s=ts'íla=s
 today IPFV=EPIS=EXCL NMLZ=like STAT-show DET=NMLZ=like=3POSS
 ti7 wa7, n-k'win•k'wen=ás=k'a wa7
 that.VIS be LOC-TRED•how.many=3SBJV=EPIS IPFV
 tsicw áku7 ats'x-en-táli, ti7
 get.there to+there.INVIS get.seen-DIR-NTS that.VIS
 l=ta=tsicw-í=ha es-máys ku...
 at=DET=house-3PL.POSS=EXIS STAT-get.fixed DET
 Today it's still more or less visible, it's still kind of there, a bunch of people
 must have gone up there to take a look at it, that house they built...

- (132) tsicw=kacw áta7, [wa7]=hém'=t'u7 cw7aoz
 get.there=2SG.SBJ to+there.VIS IPFV=ANTI=EXCL NEG
 kwásu áts'x-en kwas
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS get.seen-DIR DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 wa7 láti7 ku=tsicw.
 be at+there.VIS DET=house
 You get there, but you don't see any house there.

- (133) pút=kacw=t'u7 zewát-en kw=s... lh=nká7=as
 exactly=2SG.SBJ=EXCL be.known-DIR DET=NMLZ COMP=where=3SBJV
 lh=lák=as, t'u7 wá7=lhkacw ka-7áts'x-s-a.
 COMP=be.there=3SBJV EXCL IPFV=2SG.SBJ CIRC-get.seen-CAUS-CIRC
 If you know just where it's at, then you're able to see it.

5.8 Wa7 kwánenwit i wa7 q'wemq'wmíw's, nilh swas kotháwsi

- (134) s-7aw't-s lhel=ts7á-wna, cw7it
 NMLZ-behind-3POSS from=this.vis-precisely many
 kwas... p'á7cw=k'a=t'u7 ku=xw7útsin máqa7
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS more.than=EPIS=EXCL DET=four snow
 kwas wá7=wit q'wmíw's.
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS IPFV=3PL wild

After that, there were a lot.... it must've been more than four years that that they were on the run.

- (135) plán=t'u7=tu7 pa<7>cw (i...) ta=k'vpmen=a
 already=EXCL=REM give.up<INCH> PL.DET DET=government=EXIS
 kwas n-k'wan'-cen-án'-as, cw7áoy=t'u7
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS LOC-look-foot-DIR-3ERG NEG=EXCL
 kw=s=ka-kwán-s-[a], kwas ts'íla
 DET=NMLZ=CIRC-take-CAUS-CIRC DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS like
 wa7 n-pzán-itas.
 IPFV LOC-meet+DIR-3PL.ERG

The government had given up on tracking them, they couldn't catch... kind of catch up to them.

- (136) tsúkw=t'u7 ti7 aylh ta=wa7=tsún-itas wa7 reward,
 finish=EXCL that.vis then DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV reward
four thousand dollars.
 four thousand dollars

There was just what they called the reward, 4000 dollars.

- (137) wá7=t'u7 ts7a ta=pá•pl7=a kúkwpí7, ts'íla=k'á=ti7
 be=EXCL this.vis DET=IRED•one=EXIS chief like=EPIS=that.vis
 ku=sísq7-i izá.
 DET=uncle-3PL.POSS these

There was this one chief, he must've been kind of like their uncle.

- (138) nilh=t'u7 s=tsut-ánwas=ts, "lh=nás=an
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say-inside=3POSS COMP=go=1SG.SBJV
 tsun-taníhan (kw=s...)
 say+DIR-3PL.OBJ+1SG.ERG DET=NMLZ
 kw=s=ts7as=i=t'u7 e=ts7á-wna..."
 DET=NMLZ=COME=3PL.POSS=EXCL to=this.vis-precisely

He thought, "What if I go tell them to come over here..."

- (139) "...nilh=t'u7 s=cuy nás-cit i=wa7=zús-cal,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=go GO-IND PL.DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT
 tsúkw=t'u7 kw=s=cw7aoy=s kw=n=s=cuz'
 finish=EXCL DET=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS DET=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=going.to
 kwan ta=sqláw'=a wa7 s-xaq'."
 take+DIR DET=money=EXIS IPFV STAT-pay
 "...and then go send for a policeman, only I'll never take the reward
 money."
- (140) "cúz'=lhkan=t'u7 qwéz-en ku=n-tsuwa7 sqlaw'
 going.to=1SG.SBJ=EXCL get.used-DIR DET=1SG.POSS-OWN money
 l=kw=s... l=ku=lóya."
 at=DET=NMLZ at=DET=lawyer
 "I'm going to use my own money for a lawyer."
- (141) nilh=t'u7 s=tsicw=s sqwel'•qwel'-s-ás izá
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.there=3POSS TRED•tell•CAUS-3ERG these.VIS
 i=tew•twiw't=a, n-7án'was.
 PL.DET=TRED•young.person=EXIS LOC-two
 Then he went to talk to these two young people.
- (142) nilh=t'u7 s=n-cwatsín'-[n]-em, nilh=t'u7 s=ts7ás=i.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=LOC-obey-DIR-3PASS COP=EXCL NMLZ=come=3PL.POSS
 So they listened to his advice and came.
- (143) nilh=t'u7 aylh s=kwán-tanemwit [e]=ki=plísmen=a,
 COP=EXCL then NMLZ=take+DIR-3PL.PASS OBL=PL.DET=policeman=EXIS
 nilh=t'u7 ts7a ta=kúkwpi7=[a] cwits'-in'-táli, elh
 COP=EXCL this.VIS DET=chief=EXIS hand.over-DIR-NTS and.then
 cúz'=wit aylh láti7 kotháws.
 going.to=3PL then at+there.VIS court
 Then they were taken by the police, it was this chief who handed them
 over, and then they were going to go to trial after that.
- (144) s-7aw't-s lhláti7, cw7it kw=s=kotháws=i.
 NMLZ-behind-3POSS from+there.VIS many DET=NMLZ=COURT=3PL.POSS
 After this, there were a lot of trials.

- (145) ken-tákem lh=tsicw=as, nílh=ti7 wa7 s=Stewart
 around-all COMP=get.there=3SBJV COP=that.VIS IPFV NMLZ=Stewart
 Henderson ta=loyh-i=ha múta7 nilh wa7
 Henderson DET=lawyer-3PL.POSS=EXIS and COP IPFV
 s=Costello...
 NMLZ=Costello

They went everywhere, Stuart Henderson was their lawyer, and then there was Costello...

- (146) Henry Costello ti7 ta=núkw=a lóyh-i.
 Henry Costello that.VIS DET=other=EXIS lawyer-3PL.POSS
 Henry Costello was their other lawyer.

- (147) cw7it kw=s=kotháws=i ken=ki=s7ícwlh=a
 many DET=NMLZ=court=3PL.POSS around=PL.DET=different=EXIS
 tmicw.
 land

There were a lot of trials in different places.

- (148) pá•pla7=t'u7 ta=láw=a lhel=wi=snílh.
 IRED•one=EXIS DET=get.hung=EXIS from=PL=3SG.INDEP
 One of them was hung.

- (149) nílh=t'u7 s=lifetime-s-[s]tum ta=pá•pl7=a=t'u7,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=lifetime-CAUS-3PASS DET=IRED•one=EXIS=EXCL
 cw7áoy=t'u7 kw=s=cw7it=s máqa7, xw7utsin=k'á=t'u7
 NEG=EXCL DET=NMLZ=many=3POSS SNOW four=EPIS=EXCL
 ts'ila máqa7, nílh=t'u7 s=zúqw=s=tu7
 like snow COP=EXCL NMLZ=dead=3POSS=REM
 láta7=t'u7 l=ta=n-k'á7-men=a.
 at+there.VIS=EXCL at=DET=LOC-get.stuck-INS=EXIS

The other one got a life sentence, but he didn't survive many years, maybe something like four years, then he died there in jail.

- (150) láti7 iz' lh=tsem'p=wít=as.
 at+there.VIS those.VIS COMP=get.finished=3PL=3SBJV
 That's how it ended for them.

6 Appendices

Conversion Chart: van Eijk Orthography to American Phonemic Alphabet (A.P.A.)

Van Eijk	A.P.A.	Van Eijk	A.P.A.
p	p̣	q	q̣
p'	p̣'	q'	q̣'
m	ṃ	qw	q̣ ^w
m	ṃ̆	q'w	q̣' ^w
t	ṭ	x	χ̣
ts	c̣	xw	χ̣ ^w
<u>ts</u>	c̣̆	g	ɟ̣
ts'	c̣'	g'	ɟ̣'
<u>ts'</u>	c̣'̆	gw	ɟ̣ ^w
s	ʃ̣	g'w	ɟ̣' ^w
<u>s</u>	ʃ̣̆	w	ẉ
n	ṇ	w'	ẉ'
n'	ṇ'	y	ỵ
t'	ʎ̣	y'	ỵ'
lh	ɬ̣	z	ẓ
l	ḷ	z'	ẓ'
l'	ḷ'	h	ḥ
<u>l</u>	ḷ̆	ʔ	ʔ̣
<u>l'</u>	ḷ'̆	a	ạ
k	ḳ	ao	ạ
k'	ḳ'	e	ə̣
kw	ḳ ^w	v	ɸ̣
k'w	ḳ' ^w	i	ị
c	x̣	ii	ịị
cw	x̣ ^w	u	ụ
r	ɹ̣	o	ọ
r'	ɹ̣'		

Notes on the version of the van Eijk orthography employed here:

- (i) Where a sequence of two adjacent consonants may be confused with a digraph (a single sound represented by a sequence of two letters), a period is inserted between them. Thus we have *c.walh* 'road' versus *cwak* 'get woken', *t'iq.wit* 'they arrived' versus *t'iqwt* 'fire crackles', *ts'il.hál'qwem* 'resembling' versus *ts'elhts'álh* 'cool', and *stsut.s* 'what someone says' versus *tsútsin* 'mouth'.
- (ii) Underlined consonants are retracted, that is, produced with the tongue root pulled back and down.

- (iii) Non-retracted *s* is pronounced like the *sh* in ‘ship’, retracted *s* like the *s* in ‘sip’; non-retracted *ts* is pronounced like the *ch* in ‘catch’, retracted *ts* like the *ts* in ‘cats’.
- (iv) Vowels may also be retracted: the system here recognizes four underlying plain vowels (*a, e, i, u*) and four retracted vowels (*ao, v, ii, o*).
- (v) Vowels are automatically retracted immediately before back consonants (*q, q', qw, q'w, x, xw, g, gw, g', g'w*), and to a lesser extent immediately afterwards; non-retracted vowels are written in these environments, since retraction is predictable. Thus we write *t'iq* rather than *t'iiq* for ‘arrive here’, even though the vowel is pronounced as *ii*.
- (vi) The glottal stop (*ʔ*) is ‘transparent’ to retraction - that is, for the purposes of retraction, we treat it as though it wasn’t there. Thus we write *nliʔx* rather than *nliiʔx* for ‘water clears up’, even though the vowel is pronounced as *ii*.
- (vii) Particularly in clitics and suffixes, schwa (*e*) is frequently deleted. Thus *kelh* ‘will, might’ is often pronounced *klh*, and *t'elh* ‘at this/that moment in time’ is often pronounced *t'lh*. By convention, the schwa is uniformly represented in these forms within the St’át’imcets-only versions. When not pronounced, the schwa is not represented in these forms within the Interlinear Gloss versions.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	paragogic “a”
ABS	absent
ACT	active intransitivizer
ANTI	antithetical
APPL	applicative transitivizer
AUT	autonomous intransitivizer
CAUS	causative transitivizer
CIRC	circumstantial modal
COLL	collective
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
CRED	consonant reduplication
DET	determiner
DIR	directive transitivizer
EPIS	epistemic modal
ERG	ergative

EXCL	exclusive
EXIS	assertion-of-existence
EXP	experience involuntarily
FRED	final reduplication
FUT	future
INCH	inchoative
IND	indirective applicative
INDEP	independent pronoun
INS	instrumental
INVIS	invisible
IPFV	imperfective
IRED	initial reduplication
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
MID	middle intransitivizer
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NTS	non-topical subject
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense marker
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
QUOT	quotative
REM	remote in time
RLT	relational applicative
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
STAT	stative
TRED	total reduplication
VIS	visible

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