Wa7 Sqwéqwel' sSam:

St'át'imcets Stories from Sam Mitchell

Transcribed, translated, and edited by

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and

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Recorded by

Randy Bouchard

August 14, 2022

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Part I Introductory Material

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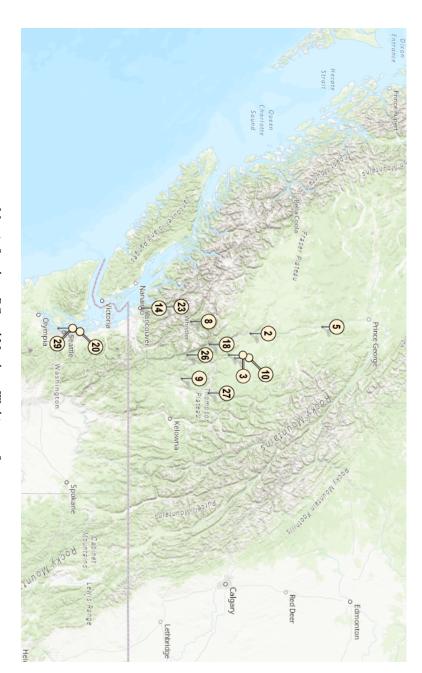
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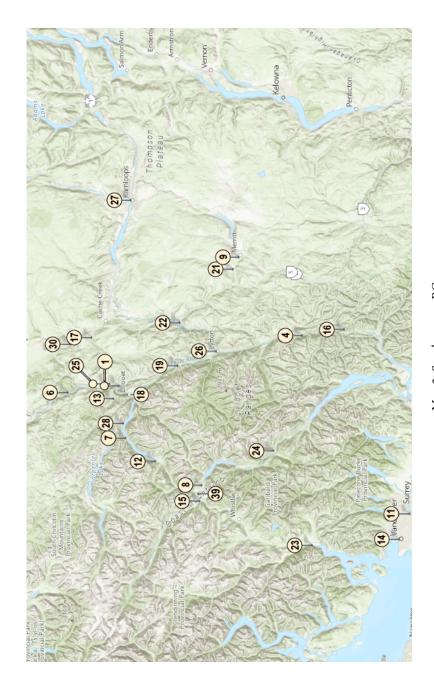
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Maps and Photos



Map 1: Southern BC and Northern Washington State.



Map 3: Sat' (Lillooet) and the surrounding area.



Photo 1: The fishing station at sCet' (6-Mile) from the opposite (west) bank of the Fraser River, April 2022. Photo: Kwimtsxn John.



Photo 2: sCet' from the West Bank of the Fraser River looking downstream towards Sat' (Lillooet), April 2022. Photo: Kwimtsxn John.

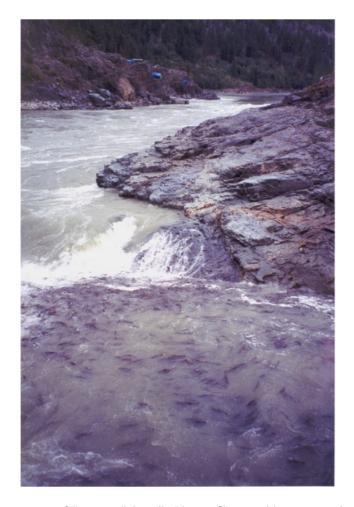


Photo 3: Waterfalls at Sxetl' (sCet'), "drop-off", created by Coyote when he brought salmon up the Fraser River. This legend is referenced in Kennedy and Bouchard (1986: 7-9) and Hayden (1992: 277). Sxetl' is an important fishery for the Xáxl'ip (Cácl'ep) people, located upriver from the confluence of the Bridge River, six miles north of Lillooet. Photo and caption by Art Adolph.



Photo 4: After Coyote created the falls at Sxetl' (sCet') he walked around the rocks above the falls. This is a photo of one of his footprints. Photo and caption by Art Adolph.



Photo 5: After Coyote created the falls at Sxetl' (sCet') he walked around the rocks and sat down on a rock near the edge of the river. This is a photo of where he sat down. Photo and caption: Art Adolph.



Photo 6: Petroglyphs at Pepq, between 10-mile and 11-mile, south of the confluence of Gibbs Creek. This was said to be Coyote's resting spot when bringing salmon up the Fraser. Photo and caption: Art Adolph.

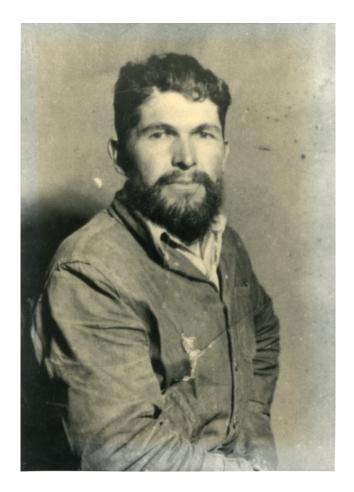
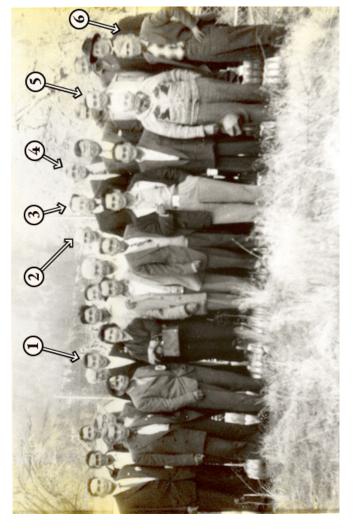


Photo 7: Sam Mitchell, 1933, taken by Artie Phair. After returning to Xáxl'ip (Cácl'ep) from the goldfields at Barkerville, Sam took a trip to Lillooet. He went into Artie Phair's General Store (Artie also served as barber and photographer) and said: "I came to give you some business." Artie replied: "You don't mean you're going to get a shave? I'll take your picture first." Photograph and caption courtesy of Art Adolph.



Artie Phair. 1: Chief Charlie Brown, Lytton. 2: Chief Eddy Thevarge, N'Quatqua (Nk'.wátqwa). 3: Henry Castillou, Sr., Photo 8: Group photograph of the North American Indian Brotherhood Convention (N.A.I.B.) in Lillooet, 1964, taken by Lawyer for N.A.I.B. 4: Chief Forrest Walkem, Cooks Ferry. 5: Chief Jimmy Scotchman, T'it'q'et. 6: Chief Sam Mitchell, Xáxl'ip (Cácl'ep). The Brotherhood was strongly supported by First Nations in the BC Interior: see Manuel and Posluns (1974), MacFarlane (1993). Photo and caption courtesy of Art Adolph.



Photo 9: Sam making a fishing net on his front porch, 1968 or 1969. Sam didn't use a needle to make nets; the knots he used were square knots. Photographer unknown: photo and caption courtesy of Art Adolph.



Photo 10: Sam opposite sCet' on the shore of the Fraser River (Sat'átqwa7), 1974. Photographed by Dorothy Kennedy, photo courtesy of Randy Bouchard.



Photo 11: Randy Bouchard assisting Sam Mitchell with the collection of sp'ats'en7úl (Indian hemp), which was used for making twine for fishing nets. Photographed by Dorothy Kennedy next to Bill Adolph's house at Ts'iwt, close to Lillooet, October 1972. Photo and caption courtesy of Randy Bouchard.



Photo 12: Sam and Susan Mitchell; photograph taken by Studio Blue Enterprises in August 1976 in Lillooet (by the Four Pines Motel). Photo and caption courtesy of Art Adolph.



Photo 13: Sam (on horse) and Roger Adolph at Sxetl' (sCet'), 1974, photographed by Art Adolph.

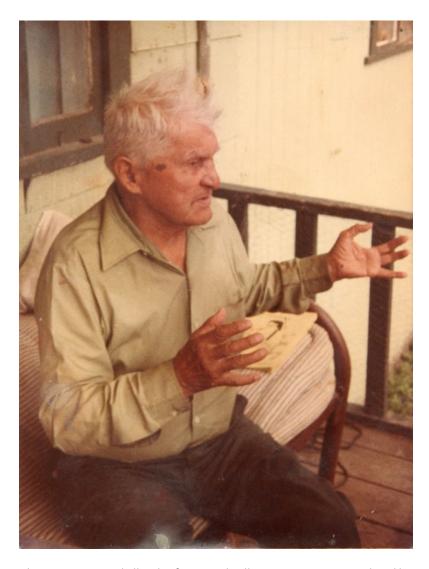


Photo 14: Sam Mitchell on his front porch telling a story to Jan van Eijk and his wife Sonja, on July 20, 1981. Photographed by Jan van Eijk; photo and caption courtesy of Art Adolph.

Sam Mitchell patriarch of Fountain dead at 91

most respected Eders of the the young He regularly came from the former Chief, died in Lilloest about 'the old times' to the District Hospital early Monday, July 8, at the age of 91.

Mitchell had been taken to hospital earlier because of what hospital earlier because of the hospital earlier because of what hospital earlier because of what

was believed to have been a chives collections. heart attack.

often sitting on the veranda of the home, watching indian and white alike rushing by his home.

Sam Mitchell was born at Fountain on June 2, 1894 and although he never went to school he learned how to write and read and could tell how many board feet of lumber there was in a tree.

Married twice, the last time

in 1945, Sam had three sons, only one of whom is still alive. But, with his wife, Sam had many sons and daughters, all of whom came to the Mitchell or whom came to the Mitchell
home to find a warm family,
ready to accept them as their
own and raise them until they
could fetch for themselves.

During his life on the Foun-tain Reserve Sam founded a sawmill, helped set up the Fountain Ranch, owned livestock, farmed and looked after the ranch.

For many years Mitchell was the Chief of the Fountain Band, assisting others with their problems and trying to teach the young respect for their Indian traditions.

Said his daughter Joanne Machell: "Whenever he would speak to me or phone me, he would speak Indian. It didn't matter if we spoke English to him. And he did this with all of those who came to his house. He always spoke Indian."
In his later years Sam Mit-

chell became councillor and ad-visor to many Native leaders. Vision to many inative leaders. He spoke out at meetings, fighting for Indian recognition and on several occasions explained to the Canadian Courts the Indian way of living, their religion and traditions. And he would admonish the young not to lose their sense of identity or shake a finger at them if they did not understand him while he spoke Indian to them

As a story teller, Sam Mit-chell taught and entertained

neart attack.

Respected by young and old legends and actual accounts, as of the Native community Sam told by Baptiste Ritchie, Char-Mitchell had lived out his last lie Mack, Slim Jackson and few years in his home on the Francis Edwards, Sam Mitwest side of Fountain Flats, chell's contributions form legends and actual accounts, as told by Baptiste Ritchie, Char-lie Mack, Slim Jackson and Francis Edwards, Sam Mit-chell's contributions form part of a book published in 1977 by the Provincial Archives and called 'Lilloeet Stories'. And to preserve the Indian heritage, Sam Mitchell taught

others to speak Salish. An American citizen underwent 'Indian emersion' at Mitchell's home in order to learn the language while he spent many hours with a graduate student in anthropology from the University of Leiden, Holland. And that Sam had done his job well was proven when the same well was proven when the same student obtained his doctorate in anthropology, specializing in Salish and returned to the Mount Currie Band to teach its

members how to speak Salish.
Funeral services for Sam
Mitchell will be held on Thursday at 1:00 p.m. when he will be taken from his home to the Fountain Reserve cemetery.



Fountain elder Sam Mitchell died July 8. He was 91 years old. Prospector photo.

Photo 15 (previous page): Sam's obituary in the Bridge River-Lillooet News, July 10th, 1985. The reference to "An American citizen" is to ethnologist Randy Bouchard, and the "graduate student in anthropology" is Jan van Eijk, a linguist. Photo courtesy of Art Adolph.

Memories of Sam Mitchell – by Art Adolph

Although my biological father was the late Chief Victor Adolph, through custom adoption, I was raised by Fountain Elders Sam and Susan Mitchell since I was 8-months of age, when my mother Cora passed away. I have always referred to Susan and Sam as "mommy and daddy". From a very early age, Sam (b. 2 June 1894) and Susan (b. 21 February 1898) immersed and indoctrinated me in authentic St'át'imc Ecological Knowledge and traditional lifeways, including the now endangered St'át'imc language. Among these teachings were St'át'imc oral traditions, including the stories captured in this book by John Lyon and Henry Davis – *Wa7 Sqwéqwel'sSam* (Stories by Sam).

I first met Henry Davis in the early 1990s while he was working with the Upper St'át'imc Language, Culture and Education Society (USLCES) as a linguist, developing an approach in keeping the St'át'imc language (St'át'imcets) alive, both in oral and written format. The USLCES was instrumental in organizing meetings of St'át'imc Elders with Henry, where saving the St'át'imc language was the main topic of discussion, including documenting and recording these St'át'imc Elders' knowledge. Sadly, most of these Elders have passed on.

Sam passed on 8 July 1985 before the initiative by USLCES to save the St'át'imc language began. However, Sam and Susan, through their own initiatives, over many years, worked hard to save our language and way of life. They did so by teaching their own family, and the communities' youth and young adults, assisted by several outside researchers. As well, from the late 1960s and into the early 1980s Sam periodically attended the elementary schools in the Lillooet area to tell stories and talk about the old times, thus preserving St'át'imc heritage through story telling.

When the St'át'imc language was formerly introduced into the elementary schools in Lillooet in the mid and late 1970s, Sam attended to observe how it was

being taught, and sometimes came home disappointed. In Sam's view, "if they are going to teach our language, they have to learn it first". Sam did not agree with the anglicization of our language. For example, translating English 'good morning' for a greeting in St'át'imcets as áma snán'atcw, that literally refers to conditions outside, that is not a truly authentic St'át'imc greeting. Hearing the anglicization of our language for phrases such as this causes confusion and a moment of blankness about what the new speaker is attempting to convey.

Beginning at a very young age, I also had the honour and privilege to be in the company of fluent St'át'imc speakers when Sam drove us to North American Indian Brotherhood meetings throughout the BC Interior and Fraser Valley. Our passengers often included Baptise Ritchie and Eddy Thevarge Sr., who were Chiefs at the time. Their conversations and stories were in St'át'imcets, with English used sporadically. I heard these fluent speakers telling legends where the engaged listener would be expected to say *i7áy* to indicate they were still listening and still awake.

The stories that I heard in my younger years and that now appear in this book were recorded by Randy Bouchard between 1968 and 1977, and by Dorothy Kennedy, beginning in 1971. I am deeply indebted to Randy and Dorothy for their foresight in documenting and recording these stories and accounts of our traditional culture. Sam and Susan Mitchell first hosted Randy and eventually adopted him into our family. He and Dorothy became avid helpers while undertaking ethnographic and linguistic research at our place on Fountain Flats.

Reading daddy's (Sam Mitchell's) stories in John Lyon and Henry Davis' book brings back fond memories of daddy reciting these stories on the front porch of his house on Fountain Flat. This book confirms Sam's legacy in the preservation of our language and illustrates true authentic St'át'imcets by an Elder whose first language was St'át'imcets, who also spoke fluent Secwepemctsín, Nłe?kepmxcín, and some Okanagan. As well, he taught himself how to read and write the English language, including how to scale timber to determine the number of board feet in a tree.

Foreword

- by Randy Bouchard

I first met Sam Mitchell 53 years ago. Sam at that time was 74 years old; I was 25. What began for me as a 1968 summer fieldwork project that was part of the University of Victoria's Linguistics Department's "Survey of the Indian Languages of the Northwest Coast" has since blossomed into a multi-year ethnographic, linguistic and ethnohistoric odyssey that is still continuing.

This volume, *Wa7 Sqwéqwel' sSam*, presents some of the early results of this odyssey, focused on the stories I recorded with Sam between 1968-1973.

I am grateful to Sam Mitchell for sharing his stories and traditional knowledge with me and with my colleague and wife Dorothy Kennedy who has travelled on this voyage of discovery with me since early 1971. As well, we are grateful to Arthur Adolph, who was raised by Sam and Susan Mitchell. Since I first met Art in July 1968 at the Mitchells' ranch on Fountain Flats, when the Mitchells took me into their family, we have been honoured by Art's enduring friendship.

How I got to meet Sam Mitchell in the summer of 1968 is an interesting story, for it taught me a lesson in dialectology. By that time I already had some understanding of the phonology and morphology of a related Interior Salish language; a research grant from UVIC's Linguistics Department in the summer of 1966 had funded me to undertake work with Okanagan. However, the administrators of UVIC's "Indian Languages Survey" in 1968 also wanted Lillooet to be included in their Survey, so I headed to Lillooet, unaware of *which* "Lillooet" should be my destination.

In mid-July 1968 I boarded the Pacific Great Eastern Railway, specifically the PGE's self-propelled "Budd car" that used to travel between North Vancouver and the town of Lillooet, with stops at smaller settlements along the way (see Kennedy and Bouchard 2010:29). It was a remarkable trip; the spectacular scenery along the PGE's route captivated me and I failed to notice

that the "Budd car" had crossed the "Lillooet" River and stopped at Mount Currie. Thus, even though I had briefly reviewed both James Teit's (1906) and Charles Hill-Tout's (1905) early Lillooet studies before leaving Victoria, I went right past the home country of the *Lil'wat7úl*, the 'real, original Lillooet' mentioned in both of these monographs. I was not aware of the geographic blurring caused by the term "Lillooet."

Having arrived at the PGE station in Lillooet on a hot July afternoon, I walked over to the nearby "Lillooet Rancherie" Indian Reserve at *T'it'q'et* where someone directed me to the house of the Chief, James Scotchman. He and his wife, the late Ceda Scotchman, greeted me warmly. I explained to Jimmy Scotchman why I had come to Lillooet and I asked for his assistance as a native speaker of *St'át'imcets* (i.e. the "Lillooet" language, also known as *Ucwalmícwts*).

Chief Scotchman graciously agreed with my request; we would start the next day. It did not take long for me to find a place to stay. The same day I arrived in Lillooet I was able to obtain inexpensive accommodation at the Reynolds Hotel, adjacent to "Ping's" restaurant at the south end of town.

I worked with Jimmy Scotchman for several interview sessions in July 1968. However, Chief Scotchman felt it would be better if I were to work with an older speaker and offered to introduce me to Sam Mitchell, a highly-respected authority on *St'át'imc* language and culture. I took up Jimmy Scotchman's offer. That is how I first met Sam and Susan Mitchell.

My first interview sessions with Sam Mitchell revealed clearly that he was a real treasure. His knowledge was formidable and he thoroughly enjoyed this work. Moreover, Sam was remarkably patient; no matter how many times I asked him to repeat *St'át'imcets* words or phrases, he willingly did so. Sam and Susan were also very generous. An example of this was their kind offer to have me stay with "the boys" in the basement of their house at Fountain Flats. I accepted; "the boys" at that time included 13-year-old Arthur Adolph together with one of Sam's nephews, one of Susan's nephews, and one of Susan's grandsons.

My initial field research with Sam Mitchell was undertaken between mid-July and mid-August 1968, during which time I stayed either with "the boys" at Sam and Susan's place on Fountain Flats, or at the Reynolds Hotel in Lillooet. I returned to Victoria after mid-August. When I came back to Lillooet in September 1968, again under the auspices of UVIC Linguistics' "Survey of Northwest Coast Indian Languages," it was to undertake fieldwork lasting till the end of December. My field notebooks, manuscripts and tape recordings indicate that by the end of December 1968 I had prepared an approximately 2000-item word-list for Upper Lillooet and had arranged this data in an alphabetized "dictionary" format both from Upper Lillooet-to-English and from English-to-Upper Lillooet. By this time I had also prepared a preliminary phonological sketch of Upper Lillooet as well as a tentative sketch of the morphological and syntactical structure of this language. As well, I had tentatively transcribed, translated (with Sam Mitchell's assistance) and analyzed 3 Upper Lillooet texts, 2 of which were by Sam and appear as numbers 7 and 10 in the present Volume. It is these linguistic materials that I was referring to in my August 1971 introductory remarks to Sam Mitchell's speech at the 6th International Conference on Salish Languages in Victoria (see pp. 67-70 below).

Choosing an orthography for writing Upper Lillooet was a major component of my early work with Sam Mitchell. I used variants of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) throughout 1968 and 1969. However, in July 1969, with Sam's assistance, I prepared a handwritten 7-page primer entitled "A Practical Writing System for Lillooet (Fountain)". This was a presentation of the IPA symbols I was using at the time, arranged in a pedagogical format with accompanying brief comments concerning how to pronounce the various sounds. In fact this July 1969 primer was a precursor to the "How to Write" series that I prepared for Lillooet and many other languages over the ensuing years. In January 1970 I came up with the idea of a practical writing system using English alphabet symbols modified with diacritical marks to represent the phonemes of Upper Lillooet. (Appendix A in the present Volume compares the Bouchard orthography with the one devised in 1974 by Jan van Eijk—based on a practical orthography developed earlier by the late Aert Kuipers—and with the symbols of the Americanist version of IPA used by most linguists in the Northwest; see also Kennedy and Bouchard 2010:235).

A number of Sam Mitchell's stories in English translation comprised part of the 46 texts we put together as a computer-printout publication in February 1973. We accomplished this in collaboration with several Lillooet-speaking storytellers and with the cooperation of the late Pierre Maranda, an anthropologist then at the University of British Columbia. We had worked jointly with Professor Maranda since 1970 on a project relating to computer analysis of "Northwest Indian Mythology" both in English translation and in the Indigenous languages. Translations of stories from the Lillooet-speaking area were key-punched at the UBC Computer Centre and printed out on this Centre's mainframe computer. By this means, we disseminated over 3,000 computer printouts, entitled "Lillooet Stories", freely to individuals and

communities throughout the area where the Lillooet language was spoken, and throughout British Columbia, thereby introducing *St'ât'imc* legends and stories into local schools. We also arranged for Sam and other Lillooet-speaking storytellers to visit the schools in their area and provide story-telling sessions to complement the written collection. Finally, in 1977, the BC Archives published many of these same stories, also under the title "Lillooet Stories," as a volume of Sound Heritage. The Archives published a second printing in 1981. In total, the BC Archives sold over 13,000 copies of this publication (without royalties). While the English translations were popular, the key-punching of the original *St'ât'imc* texts was problematic. We attempted to key-punch two of Sam Mitchell's texts (numbers 7 and 10 here) and one of Francis Edwards'; however, computer word processing was at its infancy in the early 1970s. It was not possible at that time to deal with the diacritical symbols of my practical orthography.

We anglicized the *St'át'imcets* terms when presenting Sam's texts in English translation within these two collections of Lillooet Stories. This was because in the 1970s, insufficient numbers of people were familiar with any other writing system, and we focused instead on raising awareness of the richness of Indigenous oral literature.

While Sam translated most of his own texts, Baptiste Ritchie of Mount Currie translated the remainder. Using two tape recorders, the translator listened to a brief section of the original recording and then provided a free translation. Sometimes, to obtain a closer translation of the text, either myself or Dorothy Kennedy supervised the process to ensure that the translator did not hear too much of the story before offering a translation. Sam told the same stories frequently, in both English and *St'át'imcets*, so the stories were familiar to both Sam and the translator. This process provided translations without the expectation that they represented line-by-line—let alone morpheme-by-morpheme—translations of the recorded story.

We anticipated that at some future date the original Lillooet texts would be retranscribed, retranslated and reanalyzed, in collaboration with other fluent Native speakers. However, our research went in other directions, leaving this task to John Lyon and Henry Davis to undertake, five decades after I recorded these texts. John and Henry's completion of this task is monumental. We acknowledge their expertise and perseverance in completing this work, and we thank the Upper St'át'imc Language, Culture and Education Society for taking the initiative to ensure that this research is now complete.

Introduction

- by Henry Davis

1. The Volume and Series

We are very pleased to present here the first of a three volume series covering all the Upper St'át'imcets recordings made by Randy Bouchard of the BC Indian Language Project during a period of intensive fieldwork in St'át'imc territory lasting from 1968 to 1973. During this period, Bouchard recorded a number of fluent speakers of the Upper (a.k.a. Northern or Fountain) dialect, including Annie and Francis Edwards from Ts'k'wáylacw (Pavilion), Sam Mitchell and Ray C. Tom from Cácl'ep (Fountain), Paul Hickson from T'ít'q'et (Lillooet Reserve), and Slim Jackson, who was originally from Qwíxwcen (6 miles downriver from Lillooet on the east side of the Fraser), but moved to Lower St'át'imc territory when he was a young man. The largest number of recordings (about a third of the whole corpus) are of Sam Mitchell, who was by all accounts something of a spokesperson for Upper St'át'imc language and culture; it is therefore appropriate that we begin the series with a volume entirely devoted to his narratives.¹

This volume features fifteen stories, in addition to introductory remarks made by Sam himself (in both St'át'imcets and English) at the 1971 International Conference on Salish Languages at the Royal Provincial Museum in Victoria, BC, chaired by Randy Bouchard of the BC Indian Language Project. Chief Arthur Adolph of Cácl'ep, who was raised by Sam, contributes a brief memoir, and Randy Bouchard a preface.

We also supply a set of maps to help the reader identify the approximate locations of places mentioned in the stories, either in English or in ucwalmícwts,

¹Volume II will cover all the other speakers except Slim Jackson, whose narratives will comprise Volume III.

according to Sam's own usage.² While we have attempted to accurately represent place names as given by Sam, we make no larger claims here as to territorial jurisdiction.

In order to fully appreciate Sam's skill as a raconteur in the rich tradition of St'át'imcets oral literature, we encourage readers to follow the text along with the digitized audiofiles of Randy Bouchard's original recordings, which can be accessed at the PNWLL website hosted by UBC: https://lingpapers.sites.olt.ubc.ca/pnwll-volumes/.

In keeping with St'át'imc oral tradition, Sam frequently told the same story more than once, and since he was the go-to source for Upper St'át'imc language and culture from the late 1960s to the early 1980s, he was also recorded by Jan van Eijk in the period 1972-3.³ We provide a complete list of Sam's published texts in Appendix C.

1.1 History of the Volume and Series

After Randy Bouchard made the original recordings in St'át'imcets, they were given free English translations by either Sam himself or Baptiste Ritchie of Lil'wat7úl (Mount Currie), in some cases considerably later than the original recordings. Sam translated most of his own stories, though a couple of those presented here were translated by Baptiste Ritchie (see 3.4 below). The English versions were then transcribed by either Randy Bouchard or Dorothy Kennedy of the BC Indian Language Project. Most were subsequently distributed freely to St'át'imc communities from 1973-1977 in the form of a computer printout; of the 46 stories in the print-out, 29 were subsequently published in Bouchard and Kennedy (1977), along with two "composite" texts put together from ethnographic fieldnotes compiled by Dorothy Kennedy. The print-out featured English translations of seven of the Sam Mitchell stories included in this volume: *The Drifters, Transporting Goods in the Early Days, The Outlaws,*

² Ucwalmicwts means 'language of the people': it is the most common designation by St'át'imcets speakers from all over the territory for their language, though it also has a broader denotation, referring to any indigenous language. Likewise, sám7ats 'white peoples' language' usually refers to English, but could also more broadly be used to refer to any European language.

³Transcriptions of three of the stories which van Eijk recorded from Sam can be found in van Eijk and Williams (1981), and the rest in Edwards et al (2017).

⁴The two composite texts are 'Hunting in the Lillooet Area' (Sam Mitchell) and 'Fishing at Mount Currie' (Charlie Mack). Randy Bouchard (p.c. 2017) notes: 'The text by Sam Mitchell in our 1977 *Lillooet Stories* book that is entitled 'Hunting in the Lillooet Area' is in fact a composite text that was put together in February 1977 by Dorothy on the basis of her 1974 – early 1977 detailed discussions with Sam pertaining to Upper St'át'imc hunting and fishing, in the context of a larger "Salishan Ethnoscience" project with which we were involved at that time.'

Johnny Milgaw, The Sasquatch, Underground Houses in the Lillooet-Fountain Area, and Fishing in the Lillooet Area. All of these except The Sasquatch and Underground Houses were included in Bouchard and Kennedy (1977); The Sasquatch was published in Kennedy and Bouchard (2010/2021).

The original St'át'imcets recordings, however, remained untranscribed. Cassette copies of the original reel-to-reel tapes (often of dubious sound quality) continued to circulate – or sit on shelves – around St'át'imc territory in the ensuing years, which grew into decades.

Eventually, a substantial proportion of the collection made its way into our hands via Dr. Cathrena Narcisse, now of the Lillooet Tribal Council, with authorization to transcribe and translate the material. At that point (in early 2017) I contacted Randy Bouchard, with an offer to digitize, translate and transcribe all his original Upper St'át'imcets recordings while fluent St'át'imcets speakers were still available to help us with the more difficult passages. He accepted the offer, and John Lyon and I embarked on what has turned out to be a five year, three volume project, involving approximately eight and a half hours of Upper St'át'imcets recordings. Bouchard's Lower St'át'imcets recordings (principally from Charlie Mack Seymour and Baptiste Ritchie) remain largely untranscribed at the time of writing.

1.2 Structure of the Introduction

The rest of the introduction is structured as follows. Section 2 describes the format of the volume, including notes on our transcription, translation, and glossing conventions. Section 3 consists of a brief biography of Sam. Section 4 discusses Sam's language – the "Fountain" dialect of St'át'imcets – with remarks on pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. Section 5 discusses the stories themselves, and how we have organized and classified them. Section 6 recognizes the many people and organizations who have made this work possible.

Because this volume is aimed at multiple audiences, including linguists as well as teachers and learners of the language, some parts of this introduction – and the volume as a whole – are inevitably denser and more technical than others. We have tried to avoid the over-use of jargon, but some linguistic knowledge will definitely be helpful in getting to grips with Sam's St'át'imcets, as exemplified in particular in the interlinear section of the texts.

2. The Format

Following the introductory material in Part I, the fifteen texts presented here are organized into three groups. The first set (in Part II) contains eight historical narratives, arranged in more or less chronological order, beginning with *The Drifters*, which concerns Simon Fraser's first contact with the St'át'imc on his voyage down the Fraser River in 1808, and ending with the story of *Johnny Milgaw*, which takes place at some point between the two world wars. The second group (in Part III) consists of two personal narratives: Sam's reminiscences about his childhood and early adult years, and the story of his encounters with a sasquatch. The final five texts (in Part IV) detail aspects of the traditional St'át'imc way of life, including canoe-building, hide-tanning, the construction and use of traditional dwellings, fishing practices, and an account of Sam's experiment with *qwenálhp* (Indian Hellebore).

While most of these stories were told by Sam alone, he was not alone when he told them. Aside from Randy Bouchard, other St'át'imcets speakers including Baptiste Ritchie of Lil'wat7úl (Mount Currie), Billy Casper of Tsal'álh (Shalalth), Francis Edwards of Ts'k'wáylacw (Pavilion), and Desmond Peters Sr. of Ts'k'wáylacw (Pavilion) were present at a number of these sessions, and offer encouragement and occasional commentary, both in English and in ucwalmícwts.

We have divided one long recording, consisting of a conversation between Sam and Baptiste Ritchie (with occasional comments by Billy Casper), into three separate texts, since it covers three distinct themes.⁵ In the first of these (which we have placed in Part IV of the current volume), Sam gives an account of the building of dugout canoes from cottonwood trees (*Building Cottonwood Canoes*); in the next, which we have placed in Part II, Sam and Baptiste trade stories of famous *scwená7em* and *twit* (*Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters*); and in the last (once again, in Part IV), Sam tells the story of his experience with the powerful medicinal plant *qwenálhp* (*Indian Hellebore*).

Each text is presented in four versions, as described below.

⁵An English version of the original conversation appeared under the title *Discussion of Old-Time Indians* in the 1973 Bouchard and Kennedy print-out.

2.1 The Ucwalmícwts Version

The first ucwalmícwts-only version of the stories is a transcription of the original recording without an accompanying English translation. In order to allow the reader to follow the St'át'imcets original with minimal distraction, in this version we have cleaned up the raw transcription by removing false starts as well as occasional inaudible or uninterpretable sections. We have also inserted elided elements which are grammatically present but omitted or contracted: for example, missing determiners (articles) are systematically restored.

We have, however, left Sam's frequent excursions into English intact, since these – as well as English interjections from others present at the recording sessions – form an integral part of the original recordings. English passages are distinguished by italics. Fluent speakers of Sam's generation code-switched freely, and one of the features of these texts is Randy Bouchard's frequent exhortation: *Ucwalmicwts!* 'Speak Indian!'.

In writing ucwalmícwts, we use the van Eijk practical orthography which was originally developed in Lil'wat7úl (Mount Currie) in the 1980s but is now used all over St'át'imc territory, replacing an earlier orthography developed by Randy Bouchard which was employed in Upper St'átimc territory until the early 1990s. The van Eijk alphabet stands in a one-to-one correspondence with the North American Phonetic Alphabet (NAPA) used by scholars of Salish languages, to which it can be converted with no loss of information; here we employ the version in van Eijk (1997: 351-352), with some very minor modifications. A conversion chart from the van Eijk alphabet to both the NAPA and the Bouchard orthography can be found in Appendix A.

2.2 The English version

The second version of each story is a direct translation into English, without accompanying ucwalmícwts. Here we have tried to be as faithful as possible to the original St'át'imcets recording without being too stilted. (In contrast, the speakers' own English versions of the texts are more like retellings than translations, and sometimes differ quite substantially in content from the original ucwalmícwts: see 3.4 below)

In addition to producing as literal a translation as possible, we have also tried to stick closely to Sam's own English vernacular. This influences our choice of vocabulary: for example, we translate *úcwalmicw* as 'Indian', reflecting Sam's usage, rather than substituting a more appropriate contemporary term.

⁶The Bouchard orthography is still used in the "official" spellings of the Ts'kw'áylaxw (Ts'k'wáylacw) and Xáxl'ip (Cácl'ep) First Nations, as well as on road signs referring to Stl'átl'imx (St'át'imc) First Nations Land.

In the English version, we maintain the convention that words and passages originally spoken in English are italicized. This way, the reader can tell what was originally spoken in English as opposed to ucwalmícwts, even in the Englishonly section. In addition, we retain a few St'át'imcets words in this section, particularly when they are being explicitly defined: these are also italicized. Both uses of italics can be seen in the following passage, from *Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters*, p. 97):

It's curse the people that's hunting, yeah... so they can't get anything.
 That's nscwank, zewin' is another word.

2.3 The Interlinear Version

The third and longest version of each story consists of a fully glossed interlinearized version of the text. This section is designed for those who want to understand how words in St'át'imcets are built up systematically from their component parts. We recommend this section for teachers and advanced learners as well as linguists; fluent speakers such as Sam use the combinatory mechanisms of the language in subtle and creative ways to extend its expressive power, and an appreciation of how words are created and deployed is an important step on the road to full fluency. In order to assist detailed examination of the interlinear section, we have provided time-stamps at one-minute intervals to make it easier to match the text with the audio-recording.

The basic idea behind an interlinear (or *morpheme-by-morpheme*) gloss is that words are broken down into their smallest component parts (or *morphemes*). Each numbered *stanza* (verse) in the interlinear gloss consists of two lines: the first breaks down each word in the ucwalmícwts transcription into its component morphemes, and the second labels the morphemes. A translation is given at the bottom of each stanza matching that of the Englishonly version described in 2.2.

Each word minimally consists of a *root* (the main content part of the word), together with a variable number of *affixes* and *clitics*, which modify the content of roots and give information as to how they are combined to create phrases and sentences.

Affixes, as their name suggests, are "stuck on" in a fixed position to particular types of root (or sometimes to larger units called *stems*, which consist of roots plus affixes). They are divided into four types:

(i) *Prefixes* are marked by a following dash (-), as in the first person singular possessive pronoun *n*- 'my' (*1SG.POSS*-) which attaches to nouns to yield forms such as *n-sqátsza7* 'my father'.

- (ii) *Suffixes* are marked by a preceding dash, as in -su, the second person singular possessive pronoun 'your' (-2SG.POSS), which attaches to nouns to yield forms such as skicza7-su 'your mother'.
- (iii) Circumfixes are discontinuous morphemes which contain both a prefixal and a suffixal component, and are thus marked with two dashes, one following the prefix, one preceding the suffix. By far the most common circumfix in ucwalmícwts is the 'circumstantial' morpheme ka-...-a (CIRC), which can mean 'able to', 'manage to', 'accidentally', or 'all of a sudden', depending on the verb it attaches to and the larger discourse context.⁷
- (iv) Infixes, as their name suggests, are attached inside roots or stems, and are marked by angled brackets, as in the inchoative ('become') morpheme <7> (<INCH>), which attaches inside intransitive verb roots after a full vowel (i, a, u) to yield forms such as ri<7>p 'grow', za<7>xw 'melt', and nu<7>qw 'warm up'.

Reduplication is a special morphological process which involves affixation of a partial copy of a word, rather than of a morpheme with its own phonological shape. There are several types of reduplication in St'át'imcets, which vary according to how much material is copied and where the copy surfaces: we mark them with bullets (•).

We distinguish four reduplicative processes, following van Eijk (1997).

- (i) *Initial reduplication (IRED)*, which consists of a prefixed copy of the first consonant of the root, as in $ke^{\bullet}k\acute{a}w$ 'far'.
- (ii) *Total reduplication (TRED)* which consists of a copy of the first two consonants of the root, usually, prefixed, as in *q'wex•q'wix* 'black'.
- (iii) *Final reduplication (FRED)*, which suffixes a copy of the consonant following the stressed vowel immediately after it, as in *nák'•ek'* 'change'.
- (iv) Consonant reduplication (CRED), which infixes a copy of the consonant before the stressed vowel immediately after it, as in sqwé•qw•el' 'story'.8

Note that in St'at'imcets vowels are not copied in reduplication: however, if the output of a reduplicative process results in a sequence of consonants which is impossible to pronounce, schwas (e) are inserted as a repair mechanism.

⁷See Davis et al. (2009) for analysis.

 $^{^8}$ Consonant reduplication also glottalizes the final resonant in the stem (here l).

Consider the three examples given above. In $q'wex \cdot q'wix$ 'black', the first two consonants of the root are copied and then prefixed, resulting in $q'wx \cdot q'wix$: but the sequence q'w+x+q'w cannot be pronounced at the beginning of a word, leading to the insertion of schwa after the first q'w. In $n\acute{a}k'\cdot ek'$ 'change', the consonant after the stressed vowel is copied and then suffixed, resulting in $nak'\cdot k'$: but two identical consonants cannot be pronounced together at the end of a word, so a schwa is inserted between them. Finally, in $sqw\acute{e}\cdot qw\cdot el'$ 'story' the consonant before the stressed vowel is copied and infixed after it, leading to $sqwe\cdot qw\cdot l'$: but a sequence of qw + l' is again not permitted at the end of a word, resulting in schwa insertion.

In addition, note that many roots and stems contain frozen reduplicated material which is no longer the result of an active reduplicative process, as for example in *sk'úk'wmi7t* 'child' or *kúkwpi7* 'chief': we do not mark these forms with bullets.⁹

Clitics are bound morphemes like affixes (that is, unlike roots, they cannot occur on their own). However, unlike affixes, their position can vary, since they are not tied to a particular type of word, but to a particular position in a phrase. There are two types.

- (i) *Proclitics* attach to the *front* of the first word in a phrase, and are marked by a following equals sign (=): they include determiners (articles) like ku = (DET), which attach to the front of the first element of a noun phrase, whether that element is the noun itself, as in ku = plismen 'some policemen' or a modifying element, as in ku = hú7 plismen 'some more policemen'.
- (ii) Enclitics attach to the end of the first word in a phrase, and are marked by a preceding equals sign: they include the enclitic =a (EXIS) which goes with existence-asserting determiners such as ta=, as in $ta=sq\acute{a}ycw=a$ 'the/a man' or $ta=p\acute{a}pel7=a$ sqaycw 'one man', as well as many "second position" enclitics which follow the first word of a clause, and include subject pronouns, clause-typing particles such as the question marker =ha (YNQ), and modal and tense elements such as =ka 'would or should' (IRR) and =kelh 'will or might' (FUT). 10

⁹A reviewer has suggested that we distinguish between the four different types of reduplication by using separate boundary symbols for each, rather than simply marking them with bullets: see van Eijk (2013) for an implementation of this idea. We have elected not to do so, because our glossing conventions already distinguish the four types, and we do not wish to overload the St'át'imcets line in the interlinear section with too many extra symbols.

¹⁰For the notion of "assertion-of-existence", see Matthewson (1998).

It is worth noting that some grammatical elements in St'át'imcets can act *either* as affixes or clitics, depending on the grammatical construction in which they appear. For example, the nominalizer *s-/s=* (NMLZ) and associated possessive pronouns are affixes on nouns and nominalized predicates, but clitics when they mark nominalized subordinate clauses.

In addition to dashes for affixes, equals signs for clitics, and bullets for reduplication, we also use a plus sign (+) to represent combinations which are fused together and cannot be easily separated into their component morphemes. The most common forms of this type consist of contractions of a subordinating determiner/complementizer (D/C), the nominalizer s= (NMLZ), the imperfective auxiliary wa7 (IPFV) and a possessive subject clitic (POSS): examples include kwenswa (D/C+NMLZ+ISG.POSS+IPFV) and kwelbkalb (D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+IPL.POSS).

Besides morpheme boundaries and labels, the interlinear glosses also mark the effect of *morphophonological rules*. These are processes which affect the shape of words when we add particular morphemes. For example, when we suffix a pronoun beginning with t or ts to a stem ending with the transitivizer *-cit*, we drop the t at the end of *-cit*. Thus $qús-cit-ts-as \rightarrow qúscitsas$ 'he shot me'. In the interlinear gloss, we represent this deleted t (and other segments deleted by regular morphophonological rules) in curly brackets $\{...\}$, as in $qús-ci\{t\}-ts-as.$

We use two other bracketing conventions in the interlinear section which are designed to more accurately represent both what is and what is not present in the original audio-recording. Square brackets [...] represent elements which are missing as a result of fast or colloquial speech, but could be restored in slow or formal speech. Such elements included dropped determiners, prepositions, nominalizers, and other grammatical elements. Parentheses (...) represent elements such as slips of the tongue and false starts which are present in the audio-recording but have been edited out of the ucwalmícwts-only section.

All three bracketing conventions can be seen in the following stanza:

¹¹Curly brackets are a new convention which we have introduced in this volume: in our previous interlinear glosses (see Alexander 2016, Edwards et al. 2017), we use square brackets both for segments deleted by morphophonological rules and for elements optionally deleted in fast or colloquial speech.

(2) ka-7áts'x-[s]=kan-a láta7
CIRC-get.seen-CAUS=ISG.SBJ-CIRC at+there.VIS

[ta]=n-{s-n}-tsut-ánwas=a ku=nq'.wús
DET=ISG.POSS-NMLZ-LOC-say-inside=EXIS DET=stump
láta7 (l=ki=...) l=ki=tsitsel-álqw=a.
at+there.VIS at=PL.DET= at=PL.DET=new-tree=EXIS
I caught sight of what I thought was a stump there in the newer growth. (The Sasquatch, Stanza 27)

In the first line of this stanza, the causative transitivizer -s (CAUS), normally obligatory on a transitive verb with the circumstantial circumfix ka-...-a (CIRC), but missing in the original recording, is placed in square brackets. ¹² The same is true of the determiner ta= (DET) in the second line, which is missing but easily recoverable from the presence of the existential enclitic =a (EXIS), which always accompanies an existence-asserting determiner such as ta=.

The following nominalizer s- (NMLZ) and locative prefix n- (LOC), in contrast, are in curly brackets. Both are present for grammatical reasons: s-marks nominalization of the predicate n-tsut-ánwas 'think' which then takes a first person possessive subject n- (ISG.POSS), while the following locative n- is associated with the lexical suffix -anwas 'inside'. However, neither surfaces in this environment, due to a morphophonological rule that allows only one s- or n- prefix on any given stem.

Finally, the parentheses in the third line enclose a false start (l=ki=) 'in the' which is repeated directly afterwards in l=ki=tsitsel-álqw=a 'in the newer growth'.

Our conventions for representing stress also differ somewhat in the interlinear gloss from the ucwalmícwts-only section. Stress makes certain vowels more prominent than others, where prominence is a combination of duration (length), amplitude (loudness), and pitch: stressed vowels are longer, louder and higher. Stress is partly lexical (that is, it has to be listed for individual roots and affixes: compare for example *múlun* 'immerse something' with *kul'ún* 'soak something'), but it is also subject to regular stress shift rules which move prominence to the right, skipping every other full vowel, but avoiding the final

¹² The reader might notice that the second (suffixal) part -a of the circumstantial circumfix (CIRC) here actually appears to the right of (i.e., outside) the subject enclitic =kan (ISG.SUBJ). This is not an error, but results from apparently contradictory diagnostics for clitic status. When a prepredicative auxiliary is present, a subject enclitic will attach to it rather than to the main predicate, but circumstantial -a always remains attached to the main predicate. We have chosen to privilege this "mobility criterion" over the linear order of affixes and clitics, with the result that sometimes clitics appear inside affixes.

vowel. (This is a simplification: for more detailed descriptions, see van Eijk 1997, Caldecott 2009, and Davis *in prep*.)

In the ucwalmícwts section, we mark primary stress with an acute accent over a vowel (e.g., \vec{a}), following the usual convention for the written language. Words with a single vowel do not normally get an accent (since it would be redundant), whereas words with more than one vowel do. There are just two (related) exceptions to this rule: when stress shifts rightwards from a written word with more than one vowel onto a second position clitic which is written as a separate word, both words receive an accent, while if stress shifts onto a clitic from a written word with only one vowel, only the clitic gets an accent.

Accent placement in the interlinear section is slightly different. Because the word unit in the interlinear section consists of a root together with all its affixes and clitics (in technical terms, a *prosodic word*) it will normally bear one and only one accent, which falls on the rightmost stressed vowel, whether that happens to be in the root, a suffix, or an enclitic (prefixes and proclitics are never stressed). There is a single exception to this rule involving the imperfective auxiliary wa7 (IPFV), which often lacks stress, even though it is a root. When auxiliary wa7 is unstressed, we do not give it an accent, even when it occurs with clitics: for example, the sequence DET=IPFV surfaces as ta=wa7 rather than ta=wa47.

The example in (3) illustrates how accent placement differs between the ucwalmícwts and interlinear sections by comparing the same passage from both sections:

(3) a. Nilh ti7 száytens ti7 ta wa7 sQwínuts. K'wínas k'á ti7 sqweqwel'mínas na nsqátsez7a.

```
b. nilh ti7 száyten-s ti7 ta=wa7
COP that.VIS doings-3POSS that.VIS DET=IPFV
s-Qwínuts. k'win=as=k'á=ti7
NMLZ-Qwínuts how.many=3SBJV=EPIS=that.VIS
sqwe•qw•el'-mín-as na=n-sqátsez7=a.
tell•CRED•-RLT-3ERG ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS
So that's what Qwínuts did. My dad must have told stories about him several times. (Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters, stanza 128)
```

First, notice that there is an accent on both *k'winas* and *k'á* in the second sentence of the ucwalmícwts version, since they are separate words in the

 $^{^{13}}$ Though vowels with secondary stress are also phonetically distinguishable from unstressed vowels (Caldecott 2009), we do not mark that distinction here.

orthography, while only =k'a is accented in the interlinear version, because $k'win=as=k'\acute{a}=ti7$ consists of a single prosodic word.

Second, notice that in the first line of the interlinear version, the sequence ta=wa7 bears no accent, even though it is represented as a prosodic word; this is because it consists of a stressless proclitic and a weak (unstressed) auxiliary wa7. (In the ucwalmícwts version, ta and wa7 are written separately, so the issue doesn't come up.)

Though these brief remarks should give the reader a basic understanding of how the interlinear section works, many of the glosses themselves will not be obvious to non-linguists or those unfamiliar with Salish languages. We give a complete list of our glossing conventions in **Appendix B**, but it should be borne in mind that any set of glosses presupposes a good deal of analysis: it is far beyond the scope of this limited introduction to do justice to the intricacies of St'át'imcets morphology. ¹⁴ For a thorough description, see van Eijk (1997).

2.4 The Free Translation

Except for two stories, the fourth and final version of each story consists of a "free translation" into English provided at a later date either by Sam himself or by Baptiste Ritchie. The two exceptions are *Tsáqwemlha7* and *Big Frank*, where Randy Bouchard recorded Sam's English version of each story immediately after his ucwalmícwts version. We have included transcriptions of these English versions instead of the later free translations, since they are longer and more detailed, and give a good glimpse of Sam's skill as a raconteur in English as well as St'át'imcets.

For all the other stories, we reproduce the free English translations as transcribed and edited by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy. Sam provided the translations of *Transporting Goods in the Early Days, Johnny Milgaw, The Outlaws, When I was a Child, The Sasquatch, Underground Houses in the Lillooet-Fountain Area,* and *Tanning Hides*; Baptiste Ritchie provided the free translations of *The Drifters, Fishing in the Lillooet Area,* and the conversation containing *Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters, Building*

¹⁴For readers familiar with our transcription practices from previous volumes (Alexander 2016, Edwards et al. 2017), note the following changes to our glossing conventions: (i) We now distinguish determiners which introduce noun phrases from 'determiner-complementizers', which introduce subordinate clauses; the former are glossed as DET, as previously, the latter now as D/C. Though determiner-complementizers (as their name suggests) are formally close to determiners, they differ significantly in grammatical behaviour: see Kroeber 1999: 126); (ii) We now treat the nominalizer (NMLZ) introducing proper nouns as a prefix (s-) rather than a proclitic (s=), following Davis (2019); (iii) We now treat pápla7 'one person', and other numerals relating to human beings, as involving consonant reduplication (CRED) rather than initial reduplication (IRED).

Cottonwood Canoes, and *Indian Hellebore*. The free translations sometimes deviate considerably from the original ucwalmícwts recordings on which they were based: we have footnoted particularly striking discrepancies.

As mentioned above in section 1.1, most of these free translations appear in the 1973 BC Indian Language Project print-out of the stories, and subsequently in Bouchard and Kennedy (1977). At Randy Bouchard's request, however, we employ the original manuscript versions, which contain linguistic transcriptions of the names of places and people, rather than the simplified anglicized versions employed in the published versions. We gratefully acknowledge Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy for permission to reprint them.

3. The Storyteller

Sam Mitchell was born in 1894, and passed away in 1985. He lived all his life in Upper St'át'imc territory, more specifically, on the east side of the Fraser River at Cácl'ep (Fountain), though his mother's family came from Qwíxwcen, 6 miles downriver from Lillooet. St'át'imcets was his first language; as he himself recounts here in *Childhood Memories*, he began working in the hayfields around Cácl'ep and Ts'k'wáylacw (Pavilion) around the age of fourteen, never went to school (thus avoiding the residential school system), and learned English partly from his co-workers on the ranches where he was employed, and partly from listening to the radio.

Evidently, Sam took an early interest in St'át'imc culture, and as a young man listened extensively to his elders, some of whom had been alive during the early stages of colonization, when most traditional practices were still intact. His most important source of information seems to have been Pyal ('Old Pierre'), who died at the age of 108 in 1914, at which point Sam himself was twenty years old. Sam thus formed part of a direct chain of oral history reaching back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and encompassing more than 150 years of tumultuous social change.

Later in his life, Sam became the go-to linguistic and cultural consultant for the Upper St'át'imc. Aside from his linguistic work, first with Randy Bouchard and subsequently with Jan van Eijk, he served as a consultant for archeologist Brian Hayden, ethnobotanist Nancy Turner, ethnologist Randy Bouchard, and anthropologists Dorothy Kennedy and Steven Romanoff. For more on Sam's contributions to scholarship, see the biographical sketch and bibliography in Hayden (1991), as well as Kennedy and Bouchard (2010/2021).

For more personal reminiscences of Sam, see also the contributions to this volume by Art Adolph and Randy Bouchard.

4. The Language

In this section, we highlight some notable aspects of Sam's St'át'imcets, beginning with his dialect (4.1), then covering his vocabulary (4.2) and aspects of his grammar (4.3), before turning to issues relating to language use, including the conversational context (4.4) and the influence of English (4.5). The discussion in 4.3 is somewhat technical and presupposes familiarity with basic linguistic terminology: for those who are interested but do not have a background in linguistics, see van Eijk (1997) and Davis *in prep*.

4.1 Sam's Dialect

Sam's St'át'imcets is typical of the dialect termed 'Fountain' by van Eijk (1997) – in fact, prototypical, since he was the most important source of linguistic information for it. However, while van Eijk uses 'Fountain' to refer to Upper St'át'imcets in general, it should be noted that Sam's dialect is distinct not only from Lower St'át'imcets as spoken in Lil'wat7úl (Mount Currie) and to the south, but also from the intermediate central dialects spoken on the west side of the Fraser River, from Sek'wel'wás (Cayoose Creek) and T'ít'q'et (Lillooet) on the river itself, down via Seton and Anderson Lakes to Nk'.wátqwa (D'Arcy). 15

Both culturally and linguistically, the divide between the east and west sides of the Fraser is significant. The east side communities of Cácl'ep and Ts'k'wáylacw were traditionally regarded as culturally distinct from those on the west side, and to have had different ancestors. For example, in his *Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia* Teit (1912b: 368) gives the following account (amongst others) of the origin of the Fountain and Pavilion people:

Coyote had a numerous family, half of whom married Shuswap from up the Fraser, and the other half married Lillooet from across the Fraser. Their descendants settled in and occupied the country to point up the river beyond Kala'ut [Kweláwt] and near to the mouth of Pavilion Creek, and as far down as opposite the mouth

¹⁵The traditional border between the Upper and Lower St'át'imc is a large boulder near Gates Lake, south of Nk'.wátqwa (D'Arcy), where a footprint of one of the Transformers can be seen impressed into the rock (a photograph of the footprint can be found in Kennedy and Bouchard 2010:72). However, with the replacement of the canoe by the car as the dominant mode of transportation, Nk'.wátqwa became increasingly tied to Lil'wat7úl (Mount Currie), with concomitant greater influence from Lower St'át'imcets on its dialect.

of Bridge River. There one of them, by name Keaxu's [Qixús], made an underground house; and his descendants increased, and occupied several houses at that place. They always intermarried with both the Lillooet and Shuswap, and from the first have been a mixed people, as they are at the present day. They are neither Lillooet nor Shuswap, but part of both, and speak both languages. Their ancestor, Coyote, is supposed to have been Shuswap, or at least he spoke that language. They are nicknamed "Coyote people" by the other Lillooet, and used to impersonate their ancestors at dances.

The affiliation of the Fountain people with Coyote is significant, because it identifies them with Interior rather than Coast Salish culture. More specifically, it locates them outside the route of the four coastal Transformers (sometimes identified with bears) who travelled with their magical sister and Mink (the trickster character of the Coast Salish) through Lower St'át'imc territory northward as far as the west side of the Fraser River at Lillooet, from whence they returned. Significantly, they never crossed the river; on the east side, the trickster Coyote held sway, and the Transformer stories of east side communities are largely shared with the Secwépemc (Shuswap) and Nłe?képmx (Thompson River Salish) rather than the Lower St'át'imc.

The cultural association of the people of Cácl'ep and Ts'k'wáylacw with the Secwépemc is also reflected in their linguistic profile. Both communities were bilingual in Secwepemctsín and St'át'imcets well into the 20th century, and in fact Ts'k'wáylacw only became a predominantly St'át'imcets-speaking community in the late nineteenth century, having previously been Secwepemctsín-dominant. Sam himself spoke Secwepemctsín; for example, in *Transporting Goods in the Early Days* he employs the compound *tselklh7ú7upekst* (*tselkll7ú7upekst* in Secwepemctsín orthography) for 'fifty (animals)', a Secwepemctsín term which has no direct St'át'imcets equivalent.

The linguistic relationship of the Cácl'epmec and Ts'k'wáylacwmec with the Secwépemc is further attested by a number of shared traits which do not extend across the Fraser, and which are characteristic of Sam's speech. These include a number of "East Indian" words with obvious Secwepemctsín cognates (see Kuipers 1974, 1989): examples in this volume include *q'wáolaps* 'badge' (Secwepemctsín *q'wel'éps* 'brooch, pin'), *lhepkám* 'inhale smoke' (Secwepemctsín *llepkém*), *trápsten* 'binoculars' (Secwepemctsín *crépsten*), and *lhets*' 'pile in layers' (Secwepemctsín *llets*'). ¹⁶

¹⁶The humorous term "East Indians" was used by the late Desmond Peters Sr., who remarked that it was quite commonly employed by west side people to describe their compatriots across the river.

Secwepements in influence is also evident in Sam's pronunciation. Phonetically, his vowels are high ([i] [u], and [x], as opposed to [e], [o], and [a]), and his [z], [z'] do not retract preceding vowels, unlike in Lower St'át'imcets. ¹⁷

Sam's speech also exhibits a number of morphological and syntactic traits which are characteristic of east side dialects. These include:

- i The use of the DET=NMLZ- sequence kw=s- with proper names, rather than either k(w)= or s-, as is more typical of the Lower dialect.
- ii The use of the determiners ta = (DET) and na = (ABS.DET) rather than ti = and ni =.
- iii The use of contracted forms such as *kwelhkálh* (D/C+NMLZ+IPFV +IPL.POSS) 'that we' and *tenswá* (D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV +EXIS) 'that I', rather than *kwat* (D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+IPL.SBJV) and *tsána* (D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+ISG.SBJV), respectively, which are more characteristic of the Lower dialect.
- iv The absence of clitic-first word order with clitic pronoun subjects, as in for example *kan k'wzúsem* (ISG.SBJ work-MID) 'I am working', and *kacw kánem* (2SG.SBJ do.what-MID) 'What are you doing?'. Clitic-first order is most characteristic of Lower St'át'imcets, but is also used by west side speakers, particularly from Tsal'álh (Shalalth) south; it is not usually used by east side speakers.
- v The absence of subject-predicate (S-V) word order with full noun phrase subjects. In this respect, Sam's dialect differs not only from Lower St'át'imcets, but also from Secwepemctsín, which makes very frequent use of subject-predicate order.

¹⁷There are exceptions, though: Sam consistently pronounces *sip'áoz'* 'skin, hide' with a retracted [ao] and more variably pronounces the word for 'canoe' either with a retracted [ao] as *t'laoz'* or with a non-retracted [a] as *t'laoz'*.

4.2 Sam's vocabulary

Sam's vocabulary is particularly extensive, as recognized by Randy Bouchard, who relied heavily on his expertise when compiling his *Classified Word List (Fraser River Dialect)* (Bouchard 1975). Part of the reason for this is Sam's unparalleled knowledge of traditional St'át'imc economic, ecological, and social practices, as exemplified by the five texts in Part IV of the current volume, each of which focuses on one aspect of traditional life. These texts also reflects Bouchard's own interest in Salish ethnography, which resulted in the recording of many technical and cultural terms which might otherwise have been lost.

The range and depth of Sam's vocabulary is by no means confined to technical terms, however: the texts in this collection have yielded a number of hitherto unrecorded lexical items, many of which are obsolescent but still recognized by contemporary speakers, and would doubtlessly have disappeared had Sam not used them here (often with accompanying translations into English). These include scwank and zewin', both meaning 'to be cursed while hunting', lexpált 'to bound away, of a deer when startled', t'es 'to be extracted, of bone marrow', hátsan' 'to pierce wood with a red hot iron', t'ekwálten 'to take dried salmon (ts'wan) down from a drying rack', xal 'to get stretched out on a tanning frame' and nstwiw, which Sam himself translates as 'saplin(g)'. There are also one or two lexical items that none of the contemporary speakers we consulted can recall, notably the transitive verb sámtan (Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters, stanza 126) which we have reconstructed as 'lift a curse', based on contextual evidence.

4.3 Sam's grammar

Here we highlight two particularly striking aspects of Sam's grammar: his avoidance of clauses containing more than one overt noun phrase argument (5.3.1) and his use of bare patient-oriented verbs (5.3.2).

¹⁸In another of Sam's versions of *The Outlaws*, we misanalyzed *nstwiw* as meaning 'on both sides' (Edwards et al. 2017: 205). Sam's English translation in the version here leaves no doubt as to its actual meaning (*The Outlaws*, stanza 91).

4.3.1 Avoidance of overt arguments

The avoidance of clauses containing more than one overt noun phrase argument is a very characteristic property of St'át'imcets narratives, particularly by older and more traditional speakers: see van Eijk (1997: 227-228) and Davis (1999). This certainly holds of Sam's stories: in the 1,354 stanzas in this volume (many of them multi-clausal) there are only three instances of clauses containing two overt post-verbal noun phrases (two with Verb-Object-Subject and one with Verb-Subject-Object order). They are given below, with the overt noun phrases in bold type. (Note that (4) features a formally *in*transitive verb (*k'úl'-em*, 'get.made-MID') with an overt noun phrase object; this is not unusual in St'át'imcets, though just as with formally transitive verbs, two overt arguments are strongly dispreferred.)

- (4) nílh=t'u7 s=k'úl'-em=s
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.made-MID=3POSS

 ta=sám7=a ta=stimbót=a...

 DET=white.person=EXIS DET=steamboat=EXIS

 'Then this white man built a steamboat...' (Transporting Goods in the Early Days, Stanza 9)
- (5) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsún-em... (tsut,) tsún-as

 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3PASS say say+DIR-3ERG

 ta=plísmen=a s-Hunter Jack

 DET=policeman=EXIS NMLZ-Hunter Jack

 'Then he told him, Hunter Jack told the policeman...' (The Outlaws, Stanza 11).
- (6) "tsúkw=t'u7," tsut, "wa7 qvl lhwas (a...)
 finish=EXCL say IPFV bad COMP+IPFV+3SBJV

 qwenúxw-min-as ku=t'ánam'ten ku=smúlhats, wá7=kelh
 sick-RLT-3ERG DET=moon DET=woman IPFV=FUT
 k'ul'-tsn-án-tsi-has."
 get.made-food-DIR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG

 'He said "The only had thing is when a woman is sick with her period

'He said, "The only bad thing is when a woman is sick with her period, and she's going to make food for you." (*Indian Hellebore*, Stanza 8)

¹⁹Sam is actually referring to *Cultus* Jack here; at the beginning of the story of *The Outlaws* he mixes up Cultus Jack with another famous historical figure, Hunter Jack, who negotiated the first peace treaty with the Chilcotins (traditional enemies of the St'át'imc).

There is no reason to think that sentences with two overt post-verbal noun phrases are ungrammatical for Sam, but he clearly prefers not to use them in narrative contexts.²⁰

In fact, a closer look at the stories here shows that where we might expect to find two overt noun phrases – for example, when two new discourse participants are simultaneously being introduced, or a participant is being reintroduced – Sam employs a number of different strategies to avoid them. One common strategy is to introduce the subject in a separate intonation phrase, set off from the main sentence by a pause, most commonly to the left, as in (7), but also occasionally to the right, as in (8).

(7) ti7 ku=7úcwalmicw, wá7=tu7 q'ilhil-mín-as that.vis DET=indigenous.person IPFV=REM run-RLT-3ERG

i=ts'í7=a, zanm-án-as, nílh=t'u7 PL.DET=deer=EXIS circle-DIR-3ERG COP=EXCL

sas qú::s-cit-as láti7.

NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS shoot-IND-3ERG at+there.VIS

That guy used to run after the deer, circle around them, and then he'd shoot them from there. [More literally: 'That guy, he used to run after the deer...'] (*Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters*, Stanza 58)

(8) iy, qwatsáts ull'us-n-ítas i=st'máo<u>l</u>t=a, **ti**7
yes leave gather-DIR-3PL.ERG PL.DET=cattle=EXIS **that.vis**s-Robert Carson múta7 s-Dick Hoy.

NMLZ-Robert Carson and NMLZ-Dick Hoy

Yeah, *Robert Carson* and *Dick Hoy* left to go round up cattle. [More literally: 'They left to go round up cattle, Robert Carson and Dick Hoy...'] (*Cattle Drive*, stanza 1)

Even more commonly, Sam avoids the use of two overt noun phrases in a transitive clause by introducing one of them as the subject of a preceding *in*transitive clause and then using a null subject pronoun to refer back to it in the immediately following transitive clause. This strategy is illustrated in (9).

²⁰However, in at least two Central Salish languages, Lushootseed and ?ay?ajuθəm (a.k.a. Comox-Sliammon), the constraint against two overt arguments in transitive active clauses has been fully grammaticized: see Davis and Huijsmans (2017) and references therein for discussion.

(9) nílh=ku7=ťu7 kw=s-Cultus... s=tsún-as COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG DET=NMLZ-Cultus wa7 tsút=ku7 ti7 kw=s-Paul IPFV say=QUOT that.VIS DET=NMLZ-Paul Spintlum, tsún-as ta=plísmen=a, Spintlum say+DIR-3ERG DET=policeman=EXIS "cuy síma7 kwan-ts, okay come.here take+DIR-ISG.OBJ lh=xát'-min'-ts-acw." COMP=want-RLT-ISG.OBJ-2SG.ERG

Then he told *Cultus... Paul Spintlum* told the policeman [More literally: 'Paul Spintlum said, he told the policeman'], "Come and get me, if you want me." (*The Outlaws*, stanza 30)

Here, instead of a transitive clause (such as tsúnas ku7 ta plísmena ti7 kw sPaul Spintlum 'Paul Spintlum told the policeman'), we get the sequence tsut ku7 ti7 kw sPaul Spintlum, tsúnas ta plísmena 'Paul Spintlum said, he told the policeman', with the intransitive verb tsut 'say' introducing the subject, and the transitive verb tsúnas (say+DIR-3ERG) then referring back to it via the transitive subject agreement suffix -as (3ERG).

4.3.2 Use of patient-oriented bare root forms

A rather different but equally striking aspect of Sam's grammar is his prolific use of *patient-oriented bare root verbs*. These are verbs which are semantically transitive (that is, their meaning entails both an agent and a patient) but which syntactically take only a single internal (theme or patient) argument: they are usually translated into English as 'get *V*-ed'. Several examples are highlighted in the following example:

(10)nilh [ta]=s-kéla7-s=a ti7 ta=sip'áoz'=a COP DET=NMLZ-before-3POSS=EXIS that.VIS DET=hide=EXIS kul', kú<7>eľ iq', get.soaked get.soaked<INCH> and.then get.scraped lhép'=ti7 lhep', get.hung.up get.hung.up=that.vis at+there.vis ku=k'win-asq'et. DET=how.many-day

First the hide gets soaked, it's soaked before it's scraped, and then hung up for a few days. (*Tanning Hides*, stanza 44)

All bare patient-oriented verbs alternate with transitive variants, e.g., *kul'ún'* soak something', *iq'in'* 'scrape something', *lhép'en'* hang something over something', for the verbs highlighted above.

In the linguistic literature on Salish languages, there has been a long-standing debate about these verbs. The key question is whether patient-oriented intransitive verbs should be treated as the basic case and transitive verbs as derived, or the reverse. The two possibilities are schematized in (11) for the verb kul' 'soak':

- (11) a. Analysis A: \sqrt{kul} 'get soaked' $\rightarrow kul$ ' 'something gets soaked' $\rightarrow kul$ 'ún 'cause something to get soaked'
 - b. Analysis B: \sqrt{kul} 'soak' $\rightarrow kul$ '-ún 'soak something' $\rightarrow kul$ ' 'something gets soaked'

Under Analysis A, the meaning of the root ('get soaked') is close to that of the bare patient-oriented verb *kul* '(reflecting the fact that they are identical in shape). The transitive variant is then derived by adding the transitivizer, whose meaning is something like 'cause to'. Under Analysis B, on the other hand, the meaning of the root is closer to that of the transitive verb *kul'ún* ('soak something'), which means that the causative component is inherent to its meaning, as with English 'soak', rather than being added by the transitivizer. The intransitive variant is then derived by *eliminating* the causative component of the underlying transitive verb. It should be added that though the closest English translation of a bare patient-oriented verb is often a passive — e.g., 'get soaked' — bare patient-oriented verbs are clearly not true passives, as pointed out by Davis (1997): unlike passives, they shown no trace of transitive morphology and do not permit oblique-marked agents.

Conceptually, these two analyses say rather different things about how argument structure is represented cross-linguistically. Analysis A claims that verbs with the same meaning can be represented differently: in St'at'imcets, as patient-oriented intransitive predicates, in English as transitive predicates. Analysis B, on the other hand, says that in spite of morphological differences, verbs with the same meaning have the same argument structure in the two languages: in particular, verbs whose meaning entails two arguments will always be represented syntactically as transitive predicates.

One of the focal points of this debate has been the number of attested bare patient-oriented intransitive verbs in comparison with transitive alternants of the same verb root. Proponents of analysis A predict that there will be at least as many intransitives as transitives, in line with the claim that transitive alternants are derived from patient-oriented roots, while proponents of analysis B predict that the distribution of patient-oriented intransitives will be more restricted than that of corresponding transitive verbs, since transitives represent the basic case.

Although Van Eijk's (2013) *Lillooet-English Dictionary* provides a good sample of bare patient-oriented intransitive verbs in St'át'imcets, many common transitive verbs in his dictionary are missing patient-oriented intransitive alternants, as might be expected on Analysis B. The texts in this volume, however, provide evidence that the missing forms may simply represent accidental gaps. The list in Table 1 below contains 44 patient-oriented bare root verbs, none of which were recorded by van Eijk, but all of which were spontaneously produced by Sam.²¹

These patient-oriented bare root verbs provide important textual support for Analysis A, since they show that given the right context, most semantically transitive verbs (including those with a strongly agentive component) can surface in their intransitive form.²²

A couple of the novel verbs in Table 1 merit further comment. One is *kwan* 'get taken', which is homophonous with its more common transitive alternate *kwan* 'take something': the latter involves a fusion of the directive transitivizer - *Vn* with the n-final root, in a parallel fashion to the verb *pun*, which either means

²¹One reason for the preponderance of patient-oriented intransitives in the texts here is that many of them concern traditional activities, as in the chapters on pit-house construction, canoe-building, hide-tanning, and fishing. The kind of "procedural" prose required for this kind of narrative is ideal for producing patient-oriented intransitives, which most frequently denote activities where no specific agent is being referenced.

²²Systematic exceptions largely consist of verb roots with a zero-derived unergative (agent-oriented or "control") intransitive alternant, such as úqwa7 'drink', tsut 'say', or alkst 'work'. See Davis (1997) for discussion.

Table 1: Patient-oriented bare roots

pekw	'get poured out'	pulh	'get boiled'
p'um	'get smoked, of hide'	mat'	'get mixed'
mil'	'get shared out'	mays	'get fixed'
tsekw	'get pulled'	tsakw	'get spread out (e.g., blanket)'
tsiq	'get poked, stabbed'	ts'eq'	'get struck'
nik'	'get cut'	lhep'	'get hung over s.t.'
(n)lham'	'get put into s.t.'	lhum	'get attached'
lhucw	'get inserted into s.t.'	lhig'	'get scattered'
kelh	'get removed'	kwan	'get taken'
kul'	'get soaked'	k'ul'	'get made'
cat'	'get taken out of liquid'	cil'	'get stirred'
cik	'get pushed'	cwik'	'get butchered'
rep	'get stood up'	qelh	'get stored'
q'min	'get thrown over'	q'il	'get laid on a flat surface'
qwez	'get used'	zewát	'get known'
t'up	'get twisted'	xal	'get stretched on a frame'
(n)cukw	'get pulled out'	lhecw	'get put on, of clothes'
q'wi7	'get wrung out'	mul	'get immersed in liquid'
xim	'get grabbed'	p'am	'get made, of fire'
nak'	'get changed'	culk'w	'get rolled up'
qap	'get softened'	ts'ex	'get cleaned'
zaw'	'get scooped up (liquid)'	pal'	'get spread out (e.g., berries)'

'get found' (on its patient-oriented reading) or 'find something' (on its transitive reading). Note also that we can see fusion in progress with another n-final root, *q'min* 'to get thrown backwards', which has not yet merged with its transitive alternant *q'min-en* 'throw someone or something backwards'; however, in fast speech the schwa (e) in the transitivizer is deleted and the two n's coalesce, indicating an incipient merger.

A second interesting case is *zewát* 'get known', which is evidently a backformed patient-oriented root, judging from *zew-átmec* 'knowledgeable person', which contains the ending *-atmec* 'person who is...' also found in words such as *qvl-áotmec* 'incompetent person' (from root \sqrt{qvl} 'bad') and *emh-átmec* 'expert' (from root \sqrt{ama} 'good'). The creation of a new patient-oriented root by backformation provides another piece of evidence that the dominant direction of derivation in the language is from intransitive root to transitive stem, rather than the reverse.

4.4 Sam's speech in context

In this section, we comment on two characteristics of Sam's language which are most noticeable when he is interacting with other speakers. Both relate to the fact that many of the recordings here consist of spontaneous rather than curated or rehearsed speech. The first is that there are more hesitations, speech errors, repetitions, false starts, and interruptions here than are typically found in conventional single-speaker narrations. The second is that Sam and his fellow speakers often switch from St'át'imcets into English, code-mixing and code-switching quite freely.

4.4.1 Conversation versus narrative

An important aspect of many of the texts in this volume (eight out of fifteen, to be precise) is that they were recorded with several other fluent speakers present. In fact, the long recording that includes *Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters*, *Building Cottonwood Canoes*, and *Indian Hellebore* was specifically planned as a dialogue between Sam and Baptiste Ritchie: as Baptiste says in English at the beginning of the recording. "It's no performance, it's just a conversation." Though Sam leads the conversation in these recordings, the other participants are not simply passive listeners: they not infrequently intervene to add details, supply missing words, and encourage the storyteller (and at one point in *Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters*, one of them excuses himself in ucwalmícwts to go to the outhouse).

One consequence of this is that in some places, the recordings contains more interruptions, interjections, false starts, and unfinished sentences than those of more carefully planned monologues. These features are not specific to Sam or to St'át'imcets: anyone who has transcribed conversational material in any language, including English, will be well aware that these are general characteristics of spontaneous speech involving multiple participants.

Another consequence, however, is that we get a chance to observe turntaking, fillers, repair strategies, and other elements of conversation which are missing in single-speaker texts. It is also worth mentioning that "speech errors" – including but not confined to those in conversational contexts – can often yield interesting insights into grammatical structure. For example, a noticeable and not infrequent type of "error" in the narratives here involves *agreement copying*, in which a subject clitic is doubled by a subject suffix, as in the example below:

²³ The second half of this conversation, which is led by Baptiste Ritchie, remains untranscribed at the time of writing.

```
(13) ...nilh s=ník'-in'-an,

COP NMLZ=get.cut-dir-isg.erg

pa•p•kw-an'=lhkán=t'u7, nílh=t'u7

get.sliced•Cred•-dir=isg.sbj=excl cop=excl

n=s={n}-lham'-án'-an.

isg.poss=nmlz=loc-get.put.into-dir-isg.erg

...Then I cut them, I sliced them thinly, and then I put them in.
```

...Then I cut them, I sliced them thinly, and then I put them in. (*Indian Hellebore*, stanza 14)

Normally, in nominalized transitive clauses, a first singular subject can be represented in one of two ways: as an ergative suffix -an, as seen in the first line of (13), or as a possessive subject proclitic n=, which is the subject-marking pattern characteristic of nominalized intransitive clauses. Speakers vary in which of these two strategies they choose, with Upper St'át'imcets speakers tending to prefer the suffix (as in other Northern Interior languages), and Lower St'át'imcets speakers more often choosing the proclitic, as in coastal (Central Salish) languages.²⁴

What is interesting about Sam's speech is that he frequently employs *both* strategies simultaneously, as in the last line of (13). In fact, an inspection of other relevant examples in the texts here shows that out of 26 cases of nominalized transitive clauses with first person singular subjects, Sam uses ergative-only marking 18 times, possessive-only marking three times, and double marking five times: thus agreement copying (though still accounting for only about a fifth of the total) is actually more frequent in his speech than the possessive-only marking strategy.

The question then arises as to whether double-marking is actually an "error" at all, as opposed to an emerging grammatical pattern. This question is all the more relevant in that in the neighbouring Central Salish language Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish), agreement copying is grammaticalized in nominalized transitive subordinate clauses with first and second persons (Kuipers 1967: 91). What we appear to have here, in other words, is not so much a set of speech errors as a grammatical system in active transition, mirroring a well-documented historical shift in Salish from ergative to possessive marking in transitive nominalized clauses (Davis 2000).

²⁴There is also a tendency to use the clitic strategy when pre-predicative auxiliaries are present, and the suffixal strategy when they are absent.

4.4.2 The effects of English on Sam's speech

The second noticeable characteristic of the conversational speech in these texts is extensive code-switching and code-mixing with English. This is worth commenting on further, because it yields considerable insight into how fluent St'át'imcets speakers like Sam and his contemporaries both assimilated and accommodated to English. ²⁵

There are several layers of English influence present in Sam's speech, four of which are discussed here. The first consists of lexical items that have been fully assimilated into St'át'imcets: these are adapted phonologically and show a full range of derivational and inflectional morphology. A prominent case is the verb *staot* 'start'. Prior to the arrival of English, there was no single verb for 'start' in St'át'imcets, with its meaning usually covered by *cuz'aylh* (literally, 'going to then'), which implicates rather than directly refers to the beginning of an event. English 'start' was evidently adopted quite early on in the colonial period, and is used freely by Sam in sentences such as the following:

(14) láti7 aylh lh=**stáot**=as kwas
at+there.vis then COMP=**start**=3SBJV D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
kotháws=wit.²⁶
trial=3PL
That was when the trials started. (*The Outlaws*, Stanza 191)

Note, however, that the syntax in (14) is distinctively Salish rather than

English: <u>staot</u> here is used as an impersonal intransitive verb taking a clausal complement (parallel to *tsukw* 'finish'), yielding a structure which can be translated more literally as 'Then is when it started that they held trials.'

A second layer of English influence can be seen in the use of phonologically unassimilated English terms which are nevertheless embedded in distinctively St'át'imcets morphosyntactic structures. A good example of this is the use of the anglicized place name *Lillooet* in the following sentence:

²⁵Recall that words and passages in English are italicized in the texts, which serves to highlight codeswitching.

²⁶ There is a second fully assimilated English-based lexical item in this sentence: kotháws, which is derived from English 'courthouse', but in ucwalmícwts has been converted to an intransitive verb meaning 'to hold a trial'.

(15) tsícw=wit áta7 s-cá7-s=a ta=wa7
get.there=3PL to+there.VIS NMLZ-high-3POSS=EXIS DET=IPFV

Lillooet-s-tum táowen, *town of Lillooet, nilh
Lillooet-CAUS-IPL.ERG town town of Lillooet COP
káku7 s=wá7=i.
around+there.INVIS NMLZ=be=3PL.POSS

They got to a place up above what we call *Lillooet, town of Lillooet*, and then hung out there. (*The Outlaws*, Stanza 146)

Here, 'Lillooet' is suffixed with the causative transitivizer -s and the passive/first person plural ergative marker -tum' to yield the meaning 'we call it Lillooet' (literally: 'we Lillooet it').

A third type of code-mixing occurs when unassimilated English phrases are embedded as units in St'át'imcets discourses. Numerals are often involved in cases like this, almost certainly because speakers of Sam's generation were used to dealing with larger numbers in English rather than St'át'imcets. The following example is particularly interesting, in that it involves code-mixing between three languages (St'át'imcets, Secwepemctsín (bolded), and English (in italics)):

(16)iy, iy. nílh=ťu7 s=tsut=s, "nilh ti7 yes yes COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS COP that.vis tsut (wa7 es=...) wa7 es=*packtrain*: xetspqíqen'kst, IPFV have= IPFV have=packtrain hundred tsút=wit, tselk-lh-7ú•7u•pekst, a hundred and say=3PL five-conn-ten • cred a hundred and fifty mules." fifty mules

He said, "A packtrain is a hundred and fifty, they said, a hundred and fifty mules." (Transporting Goods in the Early Days, stanza 35)

As mentioned above, Sam was at least trilingual. Here, he begins with the St'át'imcets word for a hundred, xetspqíqen'kst, before switching to the Secwepemctsín word for fifty, tselklh7ú7upekst, presumably because St'át'imcets lacks a single word for this number (it uses tsilkst sq'em'ps, literally 'five tens'). He then repeats the entire complex numeral a hundred and fifty in English. This kind of code-mixing was probably very common amongst St'át'imcets speakers in the first half of the twentieth century, most of whom were fluently bilingual, having been born and raised in St'át'imcets-speaking

households but spending the majority of their working lives in a world dominated by English.

The fourth and final type of English influence is due to language loss. By the late 1960s, after an entire generation had gone through the assimilationist policies of the late residential school era, in which language eradication was official government policy, crucial damage had been done to BC First Nations language transmission, and St'át'imcets was no longer being spoken to children in the home. Fluent speakers such as Sam were amongst the first to raise the alarm concerning the imminent loss not only of their language but of the accumulated cultural, technological, and ecological knowledge that it contained, as Sam himself recounts in his speech to the 1971 International Conference on Salish Languages, reproduced on ps. 67-70 of this volume. In this sense, the texts here – and all those recorded by Randy Bouchard during the most active period of the BC Indian Language Project in the late 1960s and early 1970s – formed part of a conscious effort at language reclamation.

In fact, the erosion of St'át'imcets as the everyday language of communication is noticeable even in conversations between fluent L1 speakers during this period, as evidenced in the snatches of conversation reproduced in the texts here. Sam and his peers often drift into English, only to be constantly reminded by Randy Bouchard and each other to *ucwalmicwts* 'speak Indian'. Baptiste Ritchie even makes a joke about it at one point during his conversation with Sam:

(17) wenácw=t'u7, wenácw=t'u7! ao kwásu
true=EXCL true=EXCL NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS
sám7a-ts, xíl-em s7ents!
white.person-mouth do-MID ISG.INDEP
It's true, it's true! Don't be talking English like I am! (Indian Doctors
and Professional Hunters, Stanza 44)

Certainly, Sam's use of English is partly for the benefit of Randy Bouchard, whose St'át'imcets Sam recognizes as that of an enthusiastic novice. But not entirely so: Sam often addresses Baptiste Ritchie in English in spite of the fact that both of them are fluent St'át'imcets speakers, and on occasion even seems to ask Bouchard permission to use English rather than St'át'imcets:

- (18) a. they come through, that's... lhláku7
 they come through that's from+there.Invis
 lh=kela7=wít=as ts7as...
 COMP=before=3PL=3SBJV come
 They come through, that's... where they first came through...
 - b. They also hire Indians to do that. It's alright to throw in a couple of English words. (Building Cottonwood Canoes, stanzas 89-90)

It must have been distressing for Sam, who by his own account in *Childhood Memories* didn't start picking up English until his teens and learned much of what he knew from the radio, to struggle at the end of his life to stay in St'át'imcets. From this perspective, the determination and bravery which he and his peers showed in retrieving and passing on so much of their knowledge and experience of St'át'imc language and culture is all the more impressive.

5. The Stories

As noted, above, we have organized the texts here into three groups: historical narratives, personal anecdotes, and accounts of traditional life. Readers will observe that one important St'át'imcets narrative genre, that of legends, or *sptakwlh*, is missing (though see the discussion below on *The Drifters*). As has been noted before (see the introduction to Edwards et al. 2017), Sam was not keen on *sptakwlh*; his recorded oeuvre contains only a single instance, a telling of *The Abandoned Boy* recorded by Jan van Eijk in the early 1970s and transcribed and translated in Edwards et al. (2017).²⁶

On the other hand, Sam was in his element with *sqwéqwel*' (true stories), both tragic and comic, and the majority of the texts transcribed in this volume (eight in all) fall into this genre. We have arranged them in a rough historical sequence, beginning with *The Drifters*, whose action takes place in 1808 at the very first stage of colonization, and ending with *Johnny Milgaw*, set between the two world wars, and involving many of the trappings of western "civilization" (agricultural labour, automobiles, alcohol, hospitals, and insurance claims).

Sam was a keen oral historian, and his *sqwéqwel*' contain a unique mixture of reportage, dramatic reconstruction, and social commentary. They provide an invaluable indigenous perspective on a period of almost unimaginable social

²⁶See **Appendix C** for a complete list of Sam's stories.

disruption but are remarkably free from resentment or self-pity, and often leavened with humour.

The first of these narratives, *The Drifters*, is succinct and simply told, but its subject matter is momentous: the "first contact" of the St'át'imc with white explorers, in the form of Simon Fraser and his party, who in the summer of 1808 made their way down the river that now bears Fraser's name from Stuart Lake in north central B.C. to the mouth of the river at what is now Vancouver. Like any good reporter, Sam is careful about his sources: he states that he heard the story from Pyal ('Old Pierre') who had in turn been told by his own father, since he himself was only two years old at the time. Since Pyal died in 1914 at the age of 108, these dates precisely calibrate with the chronology of Simon Fraser's expedition.

In Sam's telling, Simon Fraser first encounters the St'át'imc at the Bridge River Rapids (*sCet'*). They help him portage their canoes over the rapids, and then debate amongst themselves whether to pursue the travelers and take their belongings, but are eventually dissuaded by a chief who prudently warns them that it might be a good idea to treat the white people well the first time, since they'd be back. Simon Fraser himself is described as a striking figure, with a tattoo of the sun on his forehead and the moon on his chest.

It turns out that almost none of this is literally true. We know this because Simon Fraser himself left a definitive eyewitness account in the form of his *Journal of a Voyage from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean Performed in the Year 1808* (Fraser 2007). He records the first known meeting of the two peoples (his rendition of St'át'imc is 'Askettih') on June 12th, 1808, as follows:

All at once, and when we least expected a surprise, seven Askittihs [Askettihs] presented themselves before us with their bows and arrows in readiness for attack; they conceived us to be enemies, but upon coming nearer they discovered from our appearance and demeanour their mistake, laid by their weapons, joined us and we shook hands. However we could not understand them. Our Interpreter was a head, but they accompanied us until we had overtaken him. He spoke to them, and they went away, promising to return with provisions, in the evening to our encampment.

This incident occurred prior to the party reaching the confluence of the Bridge and Fraser Rivers, while the explorers were traveling on foot high above the canyon; they had left their canoes concealed upstream at Leon's Creek, because of the impassable nature of the river and the high rock walls on both sides:

The country through which we passed this day was the most savage that can be imagined, yet we were always in a beaten path and always in Sight of the river, which, however, we could not approach, its Iron-bound banks having a very forbidden [forbidding] appearance.

Fraser does go on to describe some rather tense negotiations with the St'at'imc at their "metropolis", a fortified encampment on the east side of the Fraser opposite the mouth of the Seton River; Kennedy and Bouchard (1978: 17) speculate that this might be one of the old village sites of *spépcwten* or *q'lélxen*, the latter meaning 'little fence' and therefore possibly linked to a stockade. The meeting which Fraser recounts might correspond to Sam's account of the debate amongst the St'at'imc as to whether to attack or assist the strangers. In any case, according to Fraser's *Journal*, eventually, his party acquired two canoes by barter and paddled on down the river towards Nłe?képmx territory, returning by the same route after beating a hasty retreat from the river's mouth, where they encountered open hostility from the x^wmóθk^woýom (Musqueam).

As for the sun and moon tattoos that Simon Fraser was said to display, he had neither, as is clear from contemporary portraits (including a photograph taken in his old age). It is tempting to dismiss Sam's account, then, as so-much hearsay, with events misremembered in the chain of oral transmission from generation to generation. However, "misremembering" is not just forgetting: it is an act of re-imagining, in which a historically significant event is transformed over time into a mythological one.

This is particularly obvious with respect to Simon Fraser's tattoos, as discussed by Ramsey (1976). In a "mythological" Nłe?képmx retelling of Simon Fraser's voyage in Teit (Teit 1912a: 416), the tattoos are quite literally the embodiment of the sun and moon, who together with the stars and an array of mythological superheroes, including Coyote, return to the earth one last time and paddle down the river, disappearing under water before re-emerging and then vanishing downstream. Teit comments that:

...very many people thought they [Simon Fraser's party] were beings spoken of in tales of the mythological period, who had taken a notion to travel again over the earth; and they often wondered what object they had in view, and what results would follow. They believed their appearance foreboded some great change or events of prime importance to the Indians, but in what way they did not know.

Charlie Mack of Lil'wat7úl (Mount Currie) also told a version of the encounter with Simon Fraser to Bouchard, though the details differ: in Charlie's version, the party numbers four (the 'pattern number' for Interior Salish people, and also the number of the Transformers), and one has a tattoo of the sun and another of the moon: Charlie mentions that these are the children of the sun and moon, respectively.

Evidently, then, varying versions of this story were widespread in the general area. It seems that the arrival of the first white men, which really did presage the imminent end of the world as the Interior Salish knew it, became intertwined with an older prophesy about End Times. So Sam's account, which he is at pains to describe as factual (that is, as a *sqwéqwel'*) is really in the process of turning into a *sptakwlh*.

The second group of narratives here (which we have titled *Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters*) comprises a set of four short stories about *scwená7em*, Indian Doctors, and *twit*, hunters with special powers, including the ability to put a curse on any hunter who crossed them. They form part of a longer conversation between Sam and Baptiste Ritchie which begins with *Building Cottonwood Canoes* and ends with *Indian Hellebore. Scwená7em*, meaning 'those who wield spiritual power' (*sná7em*), had the status of celebrities in tradition St'át'imc culture, being both admired and feared for their superhuman skills. Sam and Baptiste trade *scwená7em* stories. Sam begins with a brief anecdote about a flying duck being pulled from the air. Baptiste then responds with a story about a Lil'wat7úl *scwená7em* who brought a swan down simply by ordering it to fall; and Sam then tells two stories about hunters who were hexed (*nscwank*), and couldn't catch any game.

One of the most interesting aspects of this conversation and the anecdotes embedded in it is the ambivalent attitude towards the power of the *scwená7em* voiced by both Sam and Baptiste. Both are reporting incidents that they heard about rather than witnessed directly, and are obviously concerned about the accuracy of the reports, but their scepticism is balanced against an underlying belief system where the supernatural is just as "real" as the natural. At one point Baptiste remarks in English 'Oh, I like to believe that too...'. Sam then responds with: 'There with me, I heard so much of that stuff, you know, he.... well I like to believe it too, but, it's supposed to be true, yeah.' Later on, when discussing hunting curses, Baptiste declares less equivocally: '...all you got to say, a curse, you know... it's right!' and Sam replies once more 'It's right, yeah.' We can sense here the tension existing between an old belief system rooted in traditional culture and a new one based on European ideas of rationality, with the old one prevailing here – temporarily, at least.

The next two *sqwéqwel*', *Transporting Goods in the Early Days* and the much shorter *Cattle Drive*, concern the logistical difficulties of transportation in the early days of colonization, when miners had to be supplied with food and equipment and ranchers had to get their cattle to market.

These stories showcase both Sam's attention to historical accuracy and his practical curiosity about how things work. Furthermore, because the techniques he describes were employed only a generation before Sam himself (and were in some cases practiced by his father) he is able to go into considerable detail on, for example, how exactly to load a mule in a pack-train, naming each piece of equipment in the order in which they were attached. In fact, it is clear from the recording that Sam does more than just talk about the loading routine: as he is talking, he physically demonstrates the correct technique:

```
(19)
        Sam Mitchell:
         "wá7=t'u7=ti7
                              kwán-as
                                               l=ts7a
         IPFV=EXCL=that.VIS take+DIR-3ERG at=this.VIS
             n7i7ez'k-s=a,
                                        nílh=ťu7
             in.the.middle-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL
                                     xílh-ts-as
                                                         e=ts7á
                 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS do.like-CAUS-3ERG to=this.VIS
                                                            ku=sáotvl."
                     D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.done.like DET=saddle
        "He grabbed it in the middle, and then he did it like this, the same as
        you do with a saddle."
```

(20) Francis Edwards:
[l=ta=n]-q'p'-áw's-cen-s=a.
at=DET=LOC-turn.over-middle-foot-3POSS=EXIS
On his knee. (Transporting Goods in the Early Days, stanzas 64-65)

Francis Edwards' response here indicates that Sam has an imaginary *aperejo* (pack-saddle) on his knee as he describes how it is thrown over the mule.

The remaining four *sqwéqwel*' presented here constitute the core part of Sam's repertoire as a raconteur. He obviously relished retelling them, and all of them exist in more than one version: Jan van Eijk recorded all four in the early 1970s, and the longest, the extended narrative titled *The Outlaws*, exists in three versions, two (the shortest and the longest) told to Bouchard, and the other recorded by van Eijk. It should be noted that the versions of all four stories in this volume are the longest and the least influenced by English: the story of

Big Frank in particular is much more complete than the version in Edwards et al. (2017), which is more than half in English.²⁷

As also discussed in the introduction to Edwards et al. (2017), though these stories take place over quite a considerable time span (*Ntsáqwemlha7* is set in the early days of colonization, when tobacco was only available from (Fort) Kamloops via itinerant Secwépemc traders, whereas the action of *Johnny Milgaw* takes place in between the two world wars, in a much more recognizably modern world), they all share Sam's preoccupation with the relationship between the St'át'imc and the white traders, settlers, and authorities who came to exploit and then occupy their land.

This is most obvious in the true crime story of *The Outlaws*, where two indigenous outlaws pit their wits against the colonial authorities and their proxies in a manhunt that spans almost the whole of Northern Interior Salish territory. This *sqwéqwel*' is perhaps Sam's chef d'oeuvre, showcasing his unparalleled skill both as a raconteur and an oral historian. We have previously discussed it at some length in the introduction to Edwards et al. (2017), and refer the reader there for details; the version in this volume differs mainly in the detailed description of the outlaws' hideout at Leon's Creek.

The other three stories in this group are in a more light-hearted vein – that is, if being shot at point-blank range in the head, as in the story of Big Frank, or being backed into by a car and waking up in "heaven" (a hospital), as in the story of Johnny Milgaw - can be called light-hearted. The eponymous protagonists of all three stories are characterized by an innocence (Sam calls it "ignorance" in the English version of Johnny Milgaw in Edwards et al. 2017) which puts them at odds with an impossibly complex and dangerous new world, but also ultimately (inadvertently or not) helps them to emerge unscathed. Each one deliberately or accidentally put himself in danger, but is ultimately rewarded for his tribulations: Ntsáqwemlha7 gets the crumbs of the tobacco he craves after swimming the Fraser river in full flood for a few puffs on a pipe, Big Frank gets two new suits of clothes from his erstwhile executioner, and Johnny Milgaw gets an insurance cheque 'for his fare back to heaven'. In this sense, all three could perhaps be construed as St'át'imc equivalents of the Everyman, whose uncomplaining resilience ultimately ensures their survival. As such, they stand as a metaphor for the St'át'imc more generally, who have endured and continue

²⁷A transcription and translation of the van Eijk recording of *Ntsáqwemlha7* (in two parts) can be found in in Van Eijk and Williams (1981); van Eijk's recordings of *Big Frank*, *The Outlaws*, and *Johnny Milgaw* are transcribed, translated and glossed in Edwards et al. (2017); and the shorter version of *The Outlaws* recorded by Bouchard is transcribed, translated and glossed in Lyon and Davis (2018).

to endure in a world which remains indifferent and sometimes openly hostile to their well-being.

The two stories in the section entitled *Personal Narratives* are very different from any other stories in Sam's canon, and also from each other. Though they are both based on direct experience, one (*The Sasquatch*) is a tale of the supernatural, while the other (*Childhood Memories*) is a set of autobiographical fragments from Sam's early life.

The Sasquatch is probably Sam's best-known story. Like Martina LaRochelle's equally atmospheric and mysterious story August Peter (in Edwards et al. 2017), its power derives as much from what is not said as what is. It presents three encounters with a sasquatch, the first two directly experienced by Sam himself, the third reported to him by an elder who - in an uncanny detail -responds to his unspoken thoughts rather than his words. Throughout, the sasquatch itself remains elusive - on the first encounter, Sam mistakes it for a bear, on the second, for a tree stump - and though he flees it on both occasions, Sam gives us no explanation for his terror. The third encounter partially explains why: an elder tells Sam no man can come face to face with a sasquatch without fainting away. However, even here the explanation is incomplete: we are never told about the nature of the sasquatch's power, or whether it is malign or benign. Instead, we are given clues: when the duckhunter wakes from his paranormal encounter, a single duck remains tucked beneath his clothing, and he sings the song of the sasquatch. Overall, we are left with the impression of an enigmatic visitor from another dimension.

Childhood Memories is the only autobiographical fragment which Sam has left us. Characteristically, however, it is hardly about Sam at all. He begins by recalling his grandmother feeding him fish oil (smik'il') and dried pounded salmon (tupál'), but immediately launches into a detailed explanation of how they are made, ever eager to turn a personal anecdote into a teaching opportunity. He then skips the rest of his childhood, picking up with his acquisition of English as a young adult, first from his co-workers in the hayfields, and then from the radio. What is telling about this fragment is Sam's restless intellect: it is clear that mastering English is not just a practical consideration for him, but a product of his intense curiosity about the changing world around him. The final segment returns to Sam's origins, with a short, poignant piece on barbecuing salmon (t'aqsa7) on the shore of the river in fishing season. This is the closest Sam – who is never sentimental – comes to nostalgia.

The final five pieces here (two of them taken from Sam's conversation with Baptiste Ritchie, the other three stand-alone narratives) are unique to this volume, and reflect a cooperative investigation between Sam, Randy

Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy on what the latter have termed "Salishan ethnoscience". Each text concerns a different facet of traditional St'át'imc life: the construction of dug-out canoes (Building Cottonwood Canoes), the use of qwenálhp (Veratrum viride) as an internal cleansing agent (Indian Hellebore), the construction and use of traditional dwellings (How the People Built Dwellings), the preparation and use of deer hides for tanning (Hide Tanning), and traditional fishing practices and techniques (Fishing in the Lillooet Area).

Several things stand out about this group of texts, but perhaps the most striking is what can only be described as Sam's erudition. It is common these days to recognize First Nations elders for their role as traditional knowledge-keepers by referring to them as "our PhDs", and the description is an appropriate metaphor in the sense that it ascribes as much value to the lived experience of indigenous elders as to western scholarship. But in Sam's case, the description is more literal: though he never went to school, let alone university, he is a born scholar, with a restless intellectual curiosity, highly developed research skills, and a passion for communicating the knowledge which he has painstakingly accumulated.

Each of the five ethnoscientific texts here embodies these qualities. In *Building Cottonwood Canoes*, Sam takes care to accurately characterize the measurements of the canoes he has seen, and the precise technique by which hot rocks were used to burn the inside of the tree so the charred wood could be removed with adzes.

In *Indian Hellebore*, Sam literally performs a pharmacological experiment on himself, recording in graphic detail the violent effects of a plant which is usually classified as highly poisonous, but which was traditionally used (with appropriate caution!) as a kind of internal cleansing agent.²⁸ Sam's clinical observation of the visceral physical symptoms he experiences is in the best tradition of scientific self-experimentation.

Underground Houses in the Lillooet-Fountain Area is a remarkably informative account of the design, construction and use of traditional dwellings, particularly impressive in view of the fact that the most important of these dwellings, the pit-house or sTistken, had fallen out of use before Sam's birth.²⁹ Sam's reconstruction is largely based on oral history, particularly his

^{28&}quot;The plant is highly toxic, causing nausea and vomiting. If the poison is not evacuated, cold sweat and vertigo appear. Respirations slows, while cardiac rhythm and blood pressure fall." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Veratrum_viride

²⁹Sam's own estimation is 80 years previously (*Underground Houses in the Lillooet-Fountain Area*, stanza 69), though in his own English translation of the text, he revises this number to 90 years. He himself was 78 at the time of recording in 1972.

interviews with Pyal, who not only lived to 108 himself, but whose own grandfathers also lived to more than 100, providing the time depth needed to record details of everyday life in precolonial St'át'imc society. Sam supplements his account of pit-houses with keen archeological observation: he inspected the last collapsed *s7istken* at Cácl'ep, was familiar with the extensive ancient village site at Keatley Creek (T'at'lh), and even talked to the foreman of the construction crew who unearthed the bones of "giants" when building the road below the village site. He also gives us information about the temporary shelters known as *q'aq'áya* (from *sq'az'* 'roof'), this time from direct experience, since he himself had stayed in one at Qeqáyt in the Hat Creek area. The result is an extremely valuable ethnographic document, comparable in some details to James Teit's professional report published more than sixty years previously (Teit 1906). This is all the more remarkable given Sam's total lack of formal education or access to any written ethnological materials; but for these very reasons, we can be certain of its authenticity.

Tanning Hides and Fishing in the Lillooet Area are remarkable for a different reason: they represent continuity between the precolonial past of the St'át'imc and the second half of the twentieth century. This is because Sam and his wife Susan continued to practice traditional skills right to the end of their lives: Susan ran a business selling authentic "Indian" buckskin to American buyers, and Randy Bouchard actually recorded Sam's account of fishing practices during fishing season at sCet' (Six Mile), the major fishing station for the people of Cácl'ep.³⁰ This is Salish ethnoscience in practice: we can literally hear the wind whistling down the walls of the canyon as Sam points out the various named fishing rocks and shows how the drying racks are lined up so they catch the breeze.

6. Acknowledgments

First and foremost, we would like to thank fluent St'át'imcets speakers Carl Alexander of Nxwísten, Linda Redan of Sek'wel'wás, Chief Roger Adolph of Cácl'ep, and the late Bucky John of Ts'k'wáylacw. Carl worked through the whole of the manuscript with us, and his deep knowledge of St'át'imcets has been crucial to our efforts. Linda, whose family comes from Cácl'ep, was particularly helpful with some of Sam's distinctively "east side" vocabulary. Roger, who has fished all his life at sCet', assisted us with relocating some of the fishing rocks in Sam's description. Bucky, who passed away during the

³⁰Susan Mitchell was also renowned for her prowess at cutting fish for ts'wan (wind-dried salmon): see Kennedy and Bouchard (1992: 269).

preparation of this manuscript, sat in on some of our sessions with Carl: his deep cultural knowledge and commitment to his people will be sorely missed, as will his humour and generosity.

We are also sad that Marie Abraham of Lil'wat7úl passed away before this volume saw the light of day. With the help of elders Priscilla Ritchie and the late Morgan Wells, she worked on some of the Bouchard tapes in the possession of the Mount Currie Cultural Centre; we salute her pioneering efforts to make this material available to her people.

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Kukwstum'úlhkal'ap wi snuláp tákem!

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Sam Mitchell's Speech at the 1971 International Conference on Salish Languages (ICSL)

Randy Bouchard:

....To the best of my knowledge, the next person that I could think of would be my very good friend Sam Mitchell from Lillooet at age 76, and I hope that's... 75, 77, ah, Sam just turned 77. I think I was still okay by a couple of months. Sam, sima7 ets7á.³¹ [clapping] *Ucwalmicwts*.³²

Sam Mitchell:

Ucwalmícwts kéla7?33

Well, ah, Randy asked me to introduce myself in my language. So I guess I'll have to speak my language, right?!

K'a lhwá7al'ap nsnek'wnúk'wa7, nsessúqwez', nsmelhmúlhats. cúy'lhkan qwézen [ta] ntsúw7a nqwal'útten lts7a, n7aw'ttsán'lhkan [kelh] k'a sxek, s7ents.³⁴

Ladies and gentlemen, I'll introduce myself in English now. I'm 77 last June, and them days, there was no such schooling for Indians. So, on the English language I'm... that's why I know my language good, because I never had no schooling.

Lhelkw7ú lhel nsts7ása, ntsúwa7 nk'sáytken lhelts7á lhélna nsk'wínsa mága7 kwas... ntsutánwaswit, cuz' pel'pstúm ta ngwal'uttenlkhálha. Tsúntsas

^{31&}quot;Come here."

^{32&}quot;Speak in Indian."

^{33&}quot;Speak in Indian first?"

^{34&}quot;Hello friends, brothers and sisters. I'm going to use my own language here, and then I'll maybe translate myself."

ta pápel7a, "Lhstám'as k'a ku száytensu?" Nilh t'u7 ti7 stsukws lts7a ku kawín'acwtsa.³⁵

My people, and my... and where I come from, there's about... pretty near 500 of us on this reserve, and two or three of the boys mentioned it to me about 15 years ago. He says, "Maybe when you're gone, when you're passed away, it'll be... there'll be hardly anybody here that'll speak the language." I told him, "Yes, if we can get somebody to write it... maybe." And just then, in the meantime, this fellow come along about three years ago. So he, well I guess he asked around and, everybody tell him, "Well, you go to Sam Mitchell, about the language." So me and him, we... I forgot a lot of my own language, you know, but since he came, well... I thought about a lot of it, and I keep thinking about it. And he's going to try and get me to write it down, which I think I'm going to settle down and do that.

Nilh ti7... ntsutánwas nk'sáytkena, "Cuy's t'u7 pel'pstúm i nqwal'uttenlhkálha, cw7ao kwas tsukw láku7 wi snímulh. Kentákem." Cw7ítkalh kwa... cw7ítkalh lku... ts7a ku qwal'útten. Wa7 lt7u nk'sáytkena, wa7 lt7u wín'acwtswit.³⁶

There's quite a few of us use this language, there's a couple of friends of mine over there, I guess they'll be up here, Baptiste can talk more than I can. So... I'm glad that we're going to get our language on paper now, before we never had it on paper, it's just passed down. From where I come from, I'm the only one who can talk it. Well, there's some, some of the young kids now, they don't understand one word. We got some kids at the house, you have to talk to them in English before they understand. That's about all I can say, maybe some of the fellows can talk a little more. [clapping]

Randy Bouchard:

I'd like to say a little bit about Sam Mitchell myself. I had the privilege of working with Sam for the last three years. I guess I started back in July of '68, and he certainly is not kidding, he is the person who knows more about his particular dialect of the Lillooet language.

Incidentally, for those of you who don't know, Lillooet is *Lil'wat*, it really refers to Mt. Currie, and Lillooet Lake and Lillooet River are down closer to Squamish than they are to Lillooet, but... it's a long story, but the town of

^{35 &}quot;Where I come from, my own people have been thinking for a few years that we're going to lose our language. One of them said to me: "What are you doing about it?" Because people have stopped being able to speak the same way we do."

^{36&}quot;So that's what my people think: "We're going to lose our languages. Not just amongst our people. Everywhere." There are a lot of us... a lot of... with this language. There are some of my people over there, they speak the same language."

Lillooet got misnamed, it should be *Sat'*, *wents*?³⁷ And, but anyway, the dialect that Sam speaks is up the Fraser River at Lillooet.

We've been working together doing quasi-linguistic work, I suppose you might want to call it. We got together a dictionary of about 2000 items, both going from Indian to English and English to Indian, and made a number of other observations of the language, but I think that the most significant thing is that recently, Sam has been learning how to write down the language himself, and has been translating what legends and other materials we've been able to gather. Mostly from himself, because it's very hard to find other people who still know them from his area.

I would also add that in the Lillooet area, people don't just go to Sam Mitchell for the language, they go to him for everything. He is the best-known person there, and his knowledge of the country is really phenomenal, and I'm very happy that Sam could make it here today.

A rather unfortunate thing happened to one of the reserves of his people, which you may have read about recently in the newspaper: A fire destroyed most of one of the old reserves in the greater Lillooet area a few days ago, and I'm very happy that Sam was still able to make it here. And, not to mention the fact that it is the middle of the fishing season, they're coming up the river, they use the dip-nets in that area, and they dry the fish by hanging them in the wind. I might add that, again, the biggest fisherman and the best fish come from Sam Mitchell, around the Lillooet area.

³⁷The particle wents is the equivalent of English 'Right?' or 'Innit?'': the speaker is seeking confirmation of a statement from the addressee.

Part II Historical Narratives

Chapter 1

I kel7ás wéq'wil nelh sám7a: The Drifters1

1.1 St'át'imcets

Cúy'lhkan sqweqwel'mín nelh wa7 sqwéqwel's nelh kelkékel7a. Lan wa7 sPyal, nilh ni7 sqweqwel'míntali kwas sqwál'enem éku sqátsza7s kw s... lhlákas ku wa7 swéq'wil.

Láku7 scét'a lhas wa7 izá i ucwalmícwa, wa7 iz' ts'úqwaz'am, nilh st'aks i wa7 swéq'wil t'u7. Cw7ao k'ámalh kw ska... q'eyalusmínitas kw skat'ákiha láti7 lta wa7 pelhpúlhelh, nilh t'u7 sntsutánwasi kw slh7ílc.wit, nilh t'u7 s7ats'xenítas i ucwalmícwa. Nilh t'u7 sk'walhan'ítas láti7 i ucwalmícwa. Wa7 nuk'w7antánemwit éki ucwalmícwa kw sts'ílas ku xlipt.stwítas ta t'láoz'iha, ptak lhláti7 lhélta wa7 pelhpúlhelh.

Nilh malh ti7 ts7a wa7 sqwéqwel', nilh ku7 lhes sk'úk'wmi7t, k'a lh7án'wasas máqa7, ses sqwál'enem éku sqátsza7s ts7a ta wa7 skúkwpi7s iz' i sám7a wa7 swéq'wil.

T'állec ku7 láti7 nilh t'u7 skwánem, q'ílin'em lki skwáksta, cátan'em, nilh t'u7 ses....

Nilh ti7 ku sáma7 ta skúkwpi7sa izá, wa7 esťekt'ík ku7 ta n7alkinústsa... ta snéqwema, nilh ku7 ti7 st'ik lta n7alkinústsa, lts7a táxwatssa ta t'ánam'tena, áku7 láti7 est'ík lta táxwatssa.

Pták.wit lhláti7, kamulstwítasa ta t'láoz'iha nkúkwtsas ta wa7 púlhelh. Nilh st'áki et7ú lhkúnsa ta wa7 *Lillooet*. Wa7 láti7 i núkwa úcwalmicw, tsut ku7, i wa7 qwenmíntali, qwenmincitanemwítas i leqwáz'iha, tsut ku7, tsúnitas ku7 ta skúkwpi7a, "Cuz' kálenem izá." Tsut ku7 ta kúkwpi7a,

¹Told by Sam Mitchell in July 1970, translated by Baptiste Ritchie in July 1970.

The Drifters

"Ti7 cw7áozas, cw7áozas kw sxílemlap áti7. Sxek, t'íq.wit kélh iz' múta7, kanuk'wa7stumulitasá kelh xek, lku aw't lhwá7witas múta7 t'iq."

Lhláti7 lhtsem'pás ti nsqan'íma kwens... cw7it kwenswá k'alán'min' ts7a ta líl'tema wa7 sqwéqwel' kwas t'u7 ts'íla ak ta wa7 sqwéqwel's, cw7aoy t'u7 kw skanák'a, nilh t'u7 ntsutánwas tí7texw k'á t'u7 sxek.

Lhnká7as láti7 ku szánucwem, aw't lts7a lhwas nsqan'ím kwas... sáma7 ti wa7 tsut kwas 1808.

1.2 English

I'm going to tell a story about what the elders told. Pyal was still alive then, he was the one who said that his father told him about when some people came drifiting downstream.²

Over at sCet' (Six Mile) there were a bunch of people fishing when some people came drifting by. But they couldn't... they were scared to go over the rapids, so they decided to come ashore, and then they saw the people. So they called the people over, and the people helped to kind of portage their canoe past the rapids.

The one that told this story, it was when he was a child, maybe two years old, that he was told by his father about this leader of the group of white people who drifted down the river.

The canoe stopped there, then the people took it and laid it on their arms and lifted it up, and then...

The white man who was their leader was tattooed on his forehead. The sun was tattooed on his forehead and the moon was tattooed on his chest.

They went on past, and then they put their canoe back in the water downstream from the rapids. And so then they came to what is now *Lillooet*. There were some other people there, he said, who decided they wanted their blankets. So they told the chief, "We're going to chase them."

The chief said: "No, no, don't do that. Perhaps they'll come back again, and they might help us when they come back later."

That's the end of what I heard that I... I listened to this old man a lot. He said that was the way the story was told, nothing was changed, so I think it's maybe accurate.

As for which year this happened, afterwards I heard a white man say that it was in 1808.

²The name Pyal is an ucwalmícwts version of Pierre.

1.3 Interlinear Gloss

- [0:00] (1) cúy'=lhkan sqwe•qw•el'-mín going.to=ISG.SBJ tell•CRED•-RLT

 nelh=wa7 {s}-sqwé•qw•el'-s

 PL.ABS.DET=IPFV NMLZ-tell•CRED•-3POSS

 nelh=kel•ké•ke•l7=a.

 PL.ABS.DET=TRED•before•CRED•=EXIS

 I'm going to tell a story about what the elders told.
 - (2) s-Pyal, wa7 nilh already NMLZ-Pierre COP that.ABS be sqwe•qw•el'-mín-tali kwas tell•CRED•-RLT-NTS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS e=k[u]=sqátsza7-s sqwál'-en-em report-DIR-3PASS OBL=DET=father-3POSS lh=lák=as ku=wa7 kw=s=...

D/C=NMLZ= COMP=be.there=3SBJV DET=IPFV s-wéq'wil.

stat-drift.downstream

Pyal was still alive then, he was the one who said that his father told him about when some people came drifting downstream.

(3) láku7 scét'=a lhas wa7
at+there.Invis Six.Mile=exis comp+ipfv+3sbjv be
izá i=7ucwalmícw=a, wá7=iz'
these.vis pl.det=indigenous.person=exis ipfv=those.vis
ts'úqwaz'-am, nilh s=t'ak=s
fish-mid cop nmlz=go.along=3poss
i=wa7 s-wéq'wil=t'u7.
pl.det=ipfv stat-drift.downstream=excl

Over at sCet' (Six Mile) there were a bunch of people fishing when some people came drifting by.

```
(4) cw7ao k'ámalh kw=s=ka... q'ey-alus-mín-itas

NEG but D/C=NMLZ=CIRC doubt-eye-RLT-3PL.ERG

kw=s=ka-t'ák=i-ha láti7

D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-go.along=3PL.POSS-CIRC at+there.vis

l=ta=wa7 pelh•púlh•elh...

at=DET=IPFV TRED•get.boiled•FRED

But they couldn't... they were scared to go over the rapids...
```

- (5) ...nílh=t'u7 s=... n-tsut-ánwas=i
 COP=EXCL NMLZ= LOC-say-inside=3PL.POSS
 kw=s=lh7-flc=wit, nílh=t'u7 s=...
 D/C=NMLZ=close.to-AUT=3PL COP=EXCL NMLZ=
 ats'x-en-ítas i=7ucwalmícw=a.
 get.seen-DIR-3PL.ERG PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS
 ...so they decided to come ashore, and then they saw the people.
- (6) nílh=t'u7 s=k'walh-an'-ítas láti7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=call.on-DIR-3PL.ERG at+there.VIS
 i=7ucwalmícwa.
 PL.DET=indigenous.person
 So they called the people over...
- **(7)** nuk'w7-an-tánemwit [1:00]wa7 help-DIR-3PL.PASS IPFV e=ki=7ucwalmícw=a OBL=PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS kw=s=ts'íla=s ku=xlipt-s-twítas D/C=NMLZ=like=3POSS D/C=go.over-CAUS-3PL.ERG ptak ta=t'láoz'-i=ha, DET=canoe-3PL.POSS=EXIS pass.by from+there.VIS lhel=ta=wa7 pelh•púlh•elh. from=det=ipfv tred•get.boiled•fred ...and the people helped to kind of portage their canoe past the rapids.

The Drifters

(8) nílh=malh=ti7 ts7a wa7 sqwé•qw•el',
COP=ADHORT=that.VIS this.VIS IPFV tell•CRED•

nílh=ku7 lhes sk'úk'wmi7t, (k'a lh...)
COP=QUOT COMP+IPFV+3SBJV child EPIS COMP
k'a lh=7án'was=as máqa7...
EPIS COMP=two=3SBJV snow

The one that told this story, it was when he was a child, maybe two years old...

(9) ...ses sqwál'-en-em e=ku=sqátsza7-s

NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS report-DIR-3PASS OBL=DET=father-3POSS

ts7a (ta=...) ta=wa7 skúkwpi7-s

this.VIS DET= DET=IPFV chief-3POSS

iz' i=sám7=a wa7

those.VIS PL.DET=white.person=EXIS IPFV

s-wéq'wil.

STAT-drift.downstream

...that he was told by his father about this leader of the group of white people who drifted down the river.

(10) t'ál-lec=ku7 láti7 nílh=t'u7
stop-AUT=QUOT at+there.vIs COP=EXCL
s=kwán-em, q'íl-in'-em
NMLZ=take+DIR-3PASS laid.on.surface-DIR-3PASS
l=[ki]=skwákst=a, cát-an'-em, nílh=t'u7
at=PL.DET=hand=EXIS lift.up-DIR-3PASS COP=EXCL
se[s]...
NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS

It (the canoe) stopped there, then the people took it and laid it on their arms and lifted it up, and then...

(11) nílh=ti7 ku=sáma7 ta=skúkwpi7-s=a
COP=that.VIS DET=white.person DET=chief-3POSS=EXIS
izá, wa7 es-t'ek•t'ík=ku7
these.VIS IPFV STAT-TRED•tattooed=QUOT
ta=n-7alkinús-ts=a.
DET=LOC-forehead-3POSS=EXIS

The white man who was their leader was tattooed on his forehead.

(12) ...ta=snéqwem=a, nílh=ku7=ti7 s-t'ik

DET=sun=EXIS COP=QUOT=that.VIS STAT-tattooed

l=[ta]=n-7alkinús-ts=a...

at=DET=LOC-forehead-3POSS=EXIS

...the sun was tattooed on his forehead...

(13) ...l=ts7a táxwats-s=a ta=t'ánam'ten=a, at=here.vis chest-3poss=exis det=moon=exis áku7 láti7 es-t'ík to+there.invis at+there.vis stat-tattooed l=ta=táxwats-s=a. at=det=chest-3poss=exis

...and the moon was tattooed on his chest.

(14) pták=wit lhláti7,
passed.by=3PL from+there.vis

ka-mul-s-twítas-a
CIRC-get.submerged-CAUS-3PL.ERG-CIRC

ta=t'láoz'-i=ha nkú•kw•tsa-s
DET=canoe-3PL.POSS=EXIS downstream•CRED•-3POSS

ta=wa7 púlh•elh.
DET=IPFV get.boiled•FRED

They went on past, and then they put their canoe back in the water downstream from the rapids.

(15) nilh s=t'ák=i e=t7ú lhkúnsa ta=wa7
COP NMLZ=go.along=3PL.POSS to=that.VIS now DET=be

Lillooet.
Lillooet

And so then they came to what is now *Lillooet*.

The Drifters

[2:00] (16) láti7 i=núkw=a wa7 be at+there.vis PL.DET=other=EXIS úcwalmicw, tsút=ku7, i=wa7 say=QUOT PL.DET=IPFV indigenous.person qwen-mín-tali, qwen-min-ci{t}-tanemwítas want-RLT-IND-3PL.OBJ+NTS want-RLT-NTS i=legwáz'-i=ha,3 tsút=ku7... PL.DET=blanket-3PL.POSS=EXIS say=QUOT

There were some other people there, he said, who decided they wanted their blankets.

- (17) ...tsun-itás=ku7 ta=skúkwpi7=a, "cuz' say+dir-3pl.erg=quot det=chief=exis going.to kál-en-em izá." chase-dir-ipl.erg these

 So they told the chief, "We're going to chase them."
- (18) tsút=ku7 ta=kúkwpi7=a, "ti7 cw7áoz=as, cw7áoz=as say=QUOT det=chief=exis that.vis neg=3sbJv neg=3sbJv kw=s=xíl-em=lap áti7."

 D/C=nmlz=do-mid=2pl.poss to+there.vis
 The chief said: "No, no, don't do that."
- (19) "sxek, t'iq=wit=kélh=iz' múta7,
 maybe arrive=3PL=FUT=those.VIS again

 ka-nuk'wa7-s-tumulitas-á=kelh xek,
 CIRC-help-CAUS-IPL.OBJ+3PL.ERG-CIRC=FUT maybe

 l=ku=7áw't lh=wá7=wit=as múta7 t'iq."

 at=DET=behind COMP=IPFV=3PL=3SBJV again arrive

 "Perhaps they'll come back again, and they might help us when they come back later."

³The ucwalmícwts word for 'blankets', *leqwáz*', is often used to refer to 'belongings' in general, but we have opted for a more literal translation here. See Baptiste Ritchie's free translation, below.

(20) lhláti7 lh=tsem'p=ás
from+there.vis comp=get.finished=3sbjv

(tenswa...)

D/C+isg.poss+nmlz+ipfv+exis

ti=n-s-qan'ím=a kwens...

DET=ISG.POSS-NMLZ-hear=EXIS D/C+Isg.poss+nmlz=

That's the end of what I heard that I...

(21) cw7it kwenswá k'alán'-min' ts7a many D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV listen-RLT this.VIS ta=líl'tem=a.

DET=adult=EXIS

I listened to this old man a lot.

(22)sqwé•qw•el' kwás=ťu7 IPFV tell*CRED* D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL ts'íla ak ta=wa7 sqwé•qw•el'-s, be.towards DET=IPFV tell*CRED*-3POSS cw7áoy=t'u7 kw=s=ka-nák'-a, NEG=EXCL D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-get.changed-CIRC nílh=t'u7 n={s=n}-tsut-ánwas COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=LOC-say-inside ti7texw=k'á=t'u7 sxek. correct=EPIS=EXCL maybe

He said that was the way the story was told, nothing was changed, so I think it's maybe accurate.

- (23) lh=nká7=as láti7 ku=szánucw-em...
 COMP=where=3SBJV at+there.VIS DET=year-MID
 As for which year this happened...
- (24) ...aw't l=ts7a lhwas n-s-qan'ím [2:40] behind at=this.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv isg.poss-nmlz-hear kwas... sáma7 ti=wa7 tsut D/C+nmlz+ipfv+3poss white.person det=ipfv say kwas 1808.

...afterwards I heard a white man say that it was in 1808.

1.4 Baptiste Ritchie's Free Translation⁴

This is a true story about some people who came down the Fraser River a long time ago. An old Lillooet Indian named "Piyell" used to tell my father about this. These "Drifters", as they were called, stopped at the "drop-off spot" on the river, where the rapids are, below the Bridge River village (these rapids on the Fraser River are about six miles [10 kilometres] north of the town of Lillooet).

The Drifters landed their boat and saw some Indians there. They asked these Indians to help them carry their boat around this rough water area. The man who told this story to my father was only a baby when this happened; he was only two years old.

The leader of these Drifters, a white man, had a tattoo of the sun on his forehead and a tattoo of the moon on his chest.

After this portage, they put the boat back in the water, below the rapids, and drifted down to Lillooet. There were some Indians there who wanted to go after these white men and steal all their possessions, but their leader told them, "Don't bother them; they might be able to help us one day!"

Many times this story was told to me. Recently I was told by a white man that this person who came down the river was named Simon Fraser and that this happened in the year 1808.

⁴This translation is reproduced verbatim from Bouchard and Kennedy, BCILP ms.1, #014.

Chapter 2

Scwená7em múta7 twit: Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters¹

2.1 St'át'imcets

2.1.1 Kwánen ta sxíqa wa7 saq'w

Sam Mitchell:

But from down here, I heard another little story when the sáma7 first come through the... ts7áswit éta...

Baptiste Ritchie: Ucwalmícwts!

Randy Bouchard: Ucwalmícwts!

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, t'ák.wit i sám7a... qa::ytwít ku7 áti7 ta pál7a tsal'álh, nilh ti7 láku7 wa7 sqweqwel'entsálem. Ucwalmícw t'u7 ti wa7 tskwálk'em, k'wink'wenás k'a ku sáma7 lha7ílc. Wa7... nilh t'u7 ti7 spláni láti7 wa7 tsi7tcw.

Lhkúnsa wí7 t'u7, k'wá7en, wa7 kat'áksa ta spzúz7a saq'w... saq'w ku7 t'u7 i sxíqa káti7, ts7as ku7 t'u7 i sxíqa saq'w.

¹Told by Sam Mitchell and Baptiste Ritchie in July 1970, translated by Baptiste Ritchie in August 1970.

Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters

Tálhlec kú7 t'elh ts7a ta pápel7a úcwalmicw, lhgwilcmínas áta7, tsekwenás tu7 ta pépel7a. Wa7 i sám7a spaqwstwítas, tsqusenás ku7 et7úna... Nilh ku7 tu7 spaqw i sám7a, lhgwilc lhelts7á, kwánas lhláta7, nilh stsekwenás... ta sxíqa káti7 t'ak. I don't know how low it was, but they... he reached up there and grabbed it and throw one down.

Wá7lhkacw káta7 qan'ímens, wents?

Baptiste Ritchie:

Ao.

Sam Mitchell:

Charlie Mack ni7 na wa7 sqweqwel'entsíhas.

2.1.2 Kwíslec ta sq'epm'íca

Baptiste Ritchie:

Tsukw t'u7 ta... sq'epm'íca, láti7 t'u7 spel'kúm'tena, skútsas i ucwalmícwa, nilh st'aks káti7 i sq'epm'íca.

Tsúnem ta... scwená7ema, "Ta:: tsúsa et7ú, k'wá7en, ka lhucw... emhám, kwis ka."

"Cu::y," wa7 tsut, "Síma7! Kwíslec!"

Kwi::s ku7 láti7 ta pépel7a, tsukw kw sxilhts ets7á, "Cuy síma7 kwíslec!" Kwi::s ku7 t.sq'epm'íca: Tsukw ku7 tsúlhun'as áti7, nilh t'u7 skwists. Láti7 ti spel'kúm'tena, sx7ilhts ets7á ti7.

Oh, I like to believe that too...

2.1.3 Npekáyus

Sam Mitchell:

Well, that's it, Randy, you see what he says there? There with me, I heard so much of that stuff, you know, he.... well I like to believe it too, but, it's supposed to be true, yeah. Same with that t'ú7ul, that... name they mentioned, this sQwinuts, because my, my old man said something quite a bit about it.

Randy Bouchard:

Ucwalmícwts!

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, iy, ucwalmícwts. Ti7 ta wa7 Qwínuts.

Randy Bouchard:

Aoz ku sám7ats!

Baptiste Ritchie:

Qwínuts.

Sam Mitchell:

Qwinuts.

Randy Bouchard:

Qwínuts... ta scwená7ema.

Sam Mitchell:

Scwená7em, iy, scwená7em kú7 ti7. T'u7 cw7ao kwas... stexw ku7 t'ú7 ti7 á7xa7 ku cwená7em. Nilh ti7 skéla7tens, ts'íla t'u7 ta wa7 Nts'wálhteqw, ti7 elh ti7 aw't ti7 kw sTs'walhtqw lhzúqwas, ti7 ta wa7 sQwínuts hem', stexw ku7 t'ú7 ti7 á7xa7.

Tsícwwit kenkw7ú cá7a lhas píxem'wit lhas lhwál'tsten.

Tí7texw ti7 ts7a ku sqwéqwel's, ti nsqatsez7á ti7 ta wa7 sqweqwel'entsás.

Wá7wit káku7 píxem'... Wa7 malh... wa7 tsúnitas wa7 zewín'en', wa7 ts'íla... tsúnem wi snímulh "nscwank".

Baptiste Ritchie:

Iy.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, nscwank.

Randy Bouchard:

Swéna7? Stam' ti7?

Sam Mitchell:

It's curse the people that's hunting, yeah... so they can't get anything. That's nscwank, zewin' is another word.

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Baptiste Ritchie:

You see you curse if you don't.... you got far enough that they don't get what they're after, all you got to say, a curse, you know... it's right!

Sam Mitchell:

It's right, yeah, this..

Baptiste Ritchie:

Wenácw t'u7, wenácw t'u7! Ao kwásu sám7ats, xílem s7ents!

Sam Mitchell:

Tsúntsas na nsqátsez7a, wa7 iz' zewátenas, snek'wnúk'wa7s k'a...

Ti7 ta wa7 Npekáyus... wa7 tsut Npekáyus, nilh ti7 wa7... qwsmal'ts... ts'íla lhnká7as lhas stálhlec ku sts'i7, ku sxwit'áz', qúscitas, put ku7 t'u7 t'u::t'k'w ku sqweqwsmál'tss, aoy t'u7 kw skat'ála.

I núkwa gélgel, zám'as kú7 t'u7, put ku7 t'u7... lexpált ku7 lhas nuxw ta ts'í7a elh... t'ak aylh ta qweqwsmál'tsa, k'ámalh snilh, cw7ao ku7 t'u7 kw skat'ála ta qwsmál'tssa. Q'ílhil ta... sq'ilhilmínas i ts'í7a, cw7ao ku7 t'u7 kwas....

Nilh ku7 t'u7 sas tsut, "Cw7aoy t'u7 kwenswá wenácwnun' kwa zewín'an'em kwa cw..."

Baptiste Ritchie:

Q'áwqsam'.

Sam Mitchell:

Q'áwqsam', iy, kw nscwánkem. Tsut ku7, "Stam' ka múta7 láti7 kw skaxwémwita?"

Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsúnem ta sísqa7sa, "Stéxwkan zewáten, cúy'lhkan... cúy'lhkan xílhtumin."

"Cuy, cuy. Snúwa t.s... wá7lhkan sqwál'entsin, stéxwkan zewáten kwas wa7... cw7aoz kwas kaxílha."

"S7ents ku cuz' xilhtumíhas, cuy nas píxem'."

"Ao," tsut ku7 kwas... "P'a7cw há ka múta7 láti7 kw skaxwémwita."

Ti7 ku úcwalmicw, wa7 tu7 q'ilhilmínas i ts'í7a, zanmánas, nilh t'u7 sas qú::scitas láti7. Ts'ilasá t'u7 ti7 tsa lheglhágt. Qwatsáts ku7, cuy.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Lheglhágt k'á t'u7 t.sáw't.swa, *yeah*?

Sam Mitchell:

Xwem t'u7! Iy. Put ku7 t'u7 ka... wéna7, put ku7 t'u7 kacwlépa i xwit'áz'a, q'aylecmínas ku7 lhláti7. Kaq'íla ku7 áta7, plan ku7 t'lh hem' múta7 kacwlépwita et7ú ta núkwa s... wa7 tu7 í7ez' kw ska7áts'xa, xeksás. Q'áylec ku7 lhláti7, plan ku7 t'lh tu7 múta7.

"Ao7!" tsut ku7 hém' ti7, "Kánemwit?"

Zewátenas lhnká7as lhus t'ák.wit, nilh sq'áylecs kwelh lhxwaluscít. Q'áylec láku7, plan ku7 t'lh tu7 múta7 kacwlépa. T'u7 sni:::::lh sq'áylecs ta sqáycwa t'u gap. Put ku7 t'u7 áti7 xílhtum': wa7 t'u7 kalhéxwa, plan tu7 múta7 kacím'wita, kalhéxwa... Lhxwálusem áku7, zánem, kalhéxwa áku7, plan ku7 t'lh hem' múta7 kacím'a. Katýlha kú7a.

T'iq ku7, tsúnas ti7 ku sísqa7s, "Wenácwa cwilh! Zewátenlhkan aylh!" Tsut ku7, "Ao kwásu ntsutánwas kwas p'a7cw kwas kaxwémwita."

"Tsútkan t'u7 kw stsukws t'u7 s7ents kwa xwem. T'u7 sxílem áti7 i xwit'áz'a, i ts'í7a, wá7lhkan t'u7 q'ílhil, nszáneman, nilh t'u7 skat'álwita." Nilh ti7...

Baptiste Ritchie:

Wa7 tsúnitas "twit", twit.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, twit, nilh ti7, twit, *hunter*.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Lhwá7as ku twit, nas tu7 píxem', nilh stsut.s, "Ao::, cw7aoy t'u7 kw sk'wálhan'tsas, wá7as." Ts'íla t'u7 ku k'alán'minem ta wa7 tsúnem ku twit, yeah. Yeah, he's a hunter. That's his business. If he puts a curse on you, you're finished.

2.1.4 Qwinuts

Sam Mitchell:

Well this other scwená7em, or, ni7 na scwena7emá hem', tsícwwit ku7 áku7 t'u... qwnúxwwit tu7, plan tu7 aylh nts'kal'k, cw7ao káti7 ku stam', í7wa7 kw sQwínuts.

"Hey," tsúnem ku7, "plánlhkalh t'u7 xwayt, ao káti7 kwelhkálh es7ílhen." This's a good story, yeah.

Tsúnem ku7, "Cw7áoz ha ka tswa..." wa7 tsut, "kwásu kentákem lhacw kanása? Cw7aoz ha kwásu kanása... kenkw7ú nk'saytkenlhkálha?"

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"Nka7 ka zam'?"

"O, ekw7ú, wa7 iz' áku7 ests'wán... tsáqwem k'a, sts'wán k'a."

Tsut ku7, "Cuy... cuy, nk'lúcwkalh kelh, lhsqwal'entanemwít kelh... kw nstsicw káku7." Lhnásas et7ú.

"Cuy, cuy," tsúnem ku7, "cuy."

Nká7as k'á tu7 nxwístena lh... i nskelkékl7a wa7 i wa7 estsípunwit kent7ú... Ncúľ qwem láti7 ts7áwna t'u7, nilh kw sq'wezílcs. Q'wezílc ku7. Nas tu7, "Qwatsátskan aylh," snilhts t'u7 sqwatsátss.

Billy Casper:

Náskan ka7lh ku álts'q7a.

Sam Mitchell:

Cuy, t'ákkacw, t'u7 cúy'lhkan múta7 sqwéqwel'.

Billy Casper:

Yeah, wa7 t'u7 wa7 wi.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Náskan stqáka7s!

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, q'wezílc ku7 láti7, tsut ku7, "Cuy." Nilh t'u7 sqwatsátss aylh.

Cwíl'em káti7, púpen' ta tsípuna, tsut ku7, "Lts7a." Wa7 hem' láti7 sqweqwel'mínitas nka7 lhwá7as. "Lts7a, nilh ts7a tsípun."

Wel'tsán'as, ulhcw áku7. "Wa7 lts7a i sts'wána, stsáqwem."

Esleqwáqwez' kú7 t'u7, nilh t'u7 ti7 sq'ts'álhmecs t'u7. Leqwáqwez' t'u7, nilh száp'uns, záp'un t'u7 lts7a, leqwáqwez'. Culk'w.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Ti wa7 tsúnem zelk'wákst.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, zelk'wákst.

Billy Casper:

Iy, zelk'wákst.

Sam Mitchell:

Zelk'wákst. Cwelcúlk'w.

Cuy, kwam, kwan kelh i sts'wána, kwam ki stsáqwema, pekw t'u7, k'wá7en. Í7ez' t'u7 kw skazacensása t'u ncwetp. "Cuy," tsut ku7, "Plan áma, plan izá wa7 í7ez'." Nqelhtsán'as ta tsípuna, qwatsáts p'an't.

Tsicw ekw7ú... lhas tsicw, wa7 k'a... stám'as k'á ni7 láti7 na wa7 sqwal'úti lhas tsem'pwít sts'íla, p'an't i scwená7ema. Nilh t'u7 sas klhcítem ncúlk'wtensa.

"Cuy... tsákwan' ku leqwáz'," tsakw ta leqwáz'a.

Láti⁷ lhtálhlecas, elh kelh ku⁷ aylh ta... kelh lts⁷a ta száp'unsa, nilh sxílhtsas ets⁷á ta leqwáy'sa, nilh t'u⁷ ti⁷ spekws i sts'wána, i stsáqwema et⁷ú éta leqwáz'a hem', láti⁷ lhka... tsukw t'u⁷ ti⁷ wa⁷ nts'ál'kmeni.

"Nilh ti7! Kukwstumúlhkacw."

T'u7 snilhts t'u7 láti7 sntspúsi.

K'wá7en, wa7 ti7 á7xa7, zám'as k'á t'u7 múta7 wa7 t'u7 ku7 p'a7cw lhus lhelsnílh ses cw7aoz kwas kwámemwit ku ts'i7. Wa7 ku7 aylh... q'wezílc ti7 múta7 ta wa7... cuz' samtántali, tsut, "Ents ti7 ta wa7..." ta wa7 wéna7, "q'áw'qsam'." Cuz' aylh zúqwnucwwit lhláti7.

Nilh ti7 száytens ti7 ta wa7 sQwínuts. K'wínas k'á ti7 sqweqwel'mínas na nsgátsez7a.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Nilh wa7 tsúnem "nscwank", nscwank.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, nscwank, iy.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Scwánkenem éta twíta, scwank k'a... tsgway.

Sam Mitchell:

Tsgway, yeah.

2.1.5 Lhas pecenstúmulhas i ts'í7a

Sam Mitchell:

Ts'íla kú7 t'u7 ta splánsa tu7 lhelts7á wa7 aylhám... píxem' kú7 ti7 ta twíta. Nilh t'u7 s... kéla7 sq'it spíxem's, zúqwnucw ta... zúqwnucw nilh st'ígsas...

Nilh t'u7 s... t'iq, suq'w, nilh ti7 kéla7 ts'i7 skwámemi. Nilh scw7it i wa7... cw7it i wa7 s7úl'lus láti7 lti... píxem', ta kél7a ts'i7 skwámemi.

Suq'w ku7 ta ts'í7a elh mil' láti7 éta wa7 estsítcw, k'wínas k'a wa7 estsítcw. Wa7 ku7 lhxwemc ta skúza7sa ta pápel7a. Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s ta skícza7sa, "O, cúz'lhkan t'escít t.sáw't.swa. Náskan t'escít ta..."

Ao:: ku7 kwas t'es kwa kéla7 szúqwnucw! Nilh ti7 wa7... aoz ti7... nilh ti7 s7axa7núcwi, zewatenás ti7 ts7a ta zuqwstalíha ta ts'í7a. Á:::::7xa7. Qvlsáos ti7, ao ku7 kwas t'es kwa kéla7 szúqwnucw, kwas t'es... *You break the bone and get the marrow out.* T'escítas ku7 ta q'amaz'áltsa. Zewatenás ti7 ku7 hem', zewátenas ku száytens.

Psil' láta7, qwatsáts píxem'. Ats'xenás ku7 ta... "Lhstám'as t'u7 ku ts'i7," tsúnem ku7 éta sqátsza7sa, "nilh t'u7 st'ánam'nacw kw skwánensacw." Nilh t'u7 ska7ats'xsása kú7 tu7... cw:.....! cw:....! When a máwits doesn't like you, I had that done to me too, I know, I had that experience. Cw:....! Kacwí:.....:cwxqa... Nilh sq'áylecs, wa7 t'it kaq'ílhila. Pála7 ku7 t'u7 ta quscitása, nilh t'u7 skacím'sa, t'u7 snilh skálenas.

K'wá7en, lhwál'tsten, ao kwes máqa7, t'u7 kanák'sa ses t'u7 snilhts lts7a lhxk'ítas, t'u7 nilh skwíslecs ekw7ú st'púmena. Láta7 ku7 lhkwánensas lt.stswáw'cwa, kank'méq'wa, ntsqám'em' séna7! *Yeah*. Kank'méq'wa ku7 láta7, tsicw ku7 p'elk'án'as, tsiqalhq'weltán'as. Láta7 lhkwánensas: kekáw' ti7 seltsá lhxk'itasá t'u7 akú7 talhál'ka, ekw7ú ta núkwa stswaw'cw, st'púmna kenkw7ú, pzánusem.

T'iq ku7, plan ku7 cin' lku sit.st elh t'iq, kekáw' ti7 smatq, kekáw' ti7. Cw7it i *miles*a matq. Nilh st'aks... *but he had to speed...* t'iq ku7.

Tsúnem ku7 éta sqátsza7sa, "Cw7aoz múta7 kwásu xílem, wá7as káti7 cw7it iz'."

Tsúnas ku7 ta sqátsza7sa, "Pecenstúmcas wi7!"

Wa7 zewátenas stám'as ku pecenstúm, mes t'u7 tsut ku swat, "Pecenstúm iz' éta ts'í7a, *you just as well quit hunting*."

Iy, áti7 lhtsem'pás ti7 ku nsqwéqwel'. *Would...* sxek t'u7 kwásu sáwlhen, nilh t'u7 su sáwlhen.

Billy Casper:

Nilh ti7. Láni7 tsem'p. Kéla7 áma.

Sam Mitchell:

You can add that, you can shut it off, and add it again after... yeah.

2.2 English

2.2.1 The Flying Duck that was Grabbed

Sam Mitchell:

But from down here, I heard another little story when the sáma7 first come through the... They came to...

Randy Bouchard: Speak Indian!

Sam Mitchell:

The white people got up to this one lake, this is what I was told. An Indian person was hauling the boat, and there were several white people standing by. They had already made camp there.

Now, you see, a bird happened to be flying by... they say there were ducks flying around, and some ducks came flying by.

So this one Indian stood up, jumped up towards one of them, and pulled it down. The white people were watching him while he looked up at it... The white people watched while he jumped up, grabbed it, and pulled it down, the duck that was flying by. I don't know how low it was, but they... he reached up there and grabbed it and throw one down.

You heard about that, didn't you?

Baptiste Ritchie:

No.

Sam Mitchell:

Charlie Mack was the one that told you.

2.2.2 The Swan that Fell

Baptiste Ritchie:

Just the swan, over at Signal Hill, when the people when down to the river, some swans went by.

The Indian Doctor was told, "If you are any good one of those swans will drop down."

"Okay," he said, "Come here! Drop down!"

One of them fell, and all he did was say, "Come on and drop down!"

The swan fell: He just pointed at it, and it fell. It happened at Signal Hill, it's across from here.

Oh, I like to believe that too...

2.2.3 Flateye

Sam Mitchell:

Well, that's it, Randy, you see what he says there? There with me, I heard so much of that stuff, you know, he.... well I like to believe it too, but, it's supposed to be true, yeah. Same with that t'ú7ul, that... name they mentioned, this sQwínuts, because my, my old man said something quite a bit about it.

Randy Bouchard:

Speak Indian!

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, speak Indian. This person named Qwínuts...

Randy Bouchard:

Don't speak English!

Baptiste Ritchie:

Qwínuts.

Sam Mitchell:

Qwínuts.

Randy Bouchard:

Qwínuts... an Indian doctor.

Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters

Sam Mitchell:

Yes, they say he was an Indian doctor. But he wasn't... he was a really powerful Indian doctor. He was the top Indian Doctor, like Ts'wálhteqw before him, and after Ts'wálhteqw died, then it was Qwínuts, he was really powerful.

They went up in the mountains to hunt in the fall.

This is a true story, my father told it to me.

They were hunting around there... So then... they call it "getting cursed", that's like... we call it *nscwank*.

Randy Bouchard:

Yes.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, nscwank.

Randy Bouchard:

What's that?

Sam Mitchell:

It's curse the people that's hunting, yeah... so they can't get anything. That's nscwank, zewin' is another word.

Baptiste Ritchie:

You see you curse if you don't.... you got far enough that they don't get what they're after, all you got to say, a curse, you know... it's right!

Sam Mitchell:

It's right, yeah, this...

Baptiste Ritchie:

It's true, it's true! Don't be talking English like I am!

Sam Mitchell:

My father told me, he knew them, they must've been his relatives...

That Flateye... He said Flateye, when he had an arrow... like wherever a deer or a goat was standing, he would just shoot a single arrow, and it couldn't be stopped. Others were strong hunters, but when their arrows were fired the deer would gallop off and escape, but his arrow couldn't be stopped. He would run... he would run after the deer, he wouldn't...

Flateye was saying, "I don't believe in being cursed."

Baptiste Ritchie:

Cursing.

Sam Mitchell:

Cursing, yeah, in cursing something. He said, "How could they move any faster than me?"

So his uncle told him, "I know for sure, I'm going to do it to you."

Flateye said, "Go on, go on, I'm telling you, I know for sure that it's not possible."

His uncle said, "I'm going to do it to you, so you go ahead and hunt."

"Nah," said Flateye, "Could they possibly go faster than me?"

That guy used to run after the deer, circle around them, and then he'd shoot them from there. That's how fast he was. He took off, okay.

Baptiste Ritchie:

The fellow must've been a fast runner, yeah?

Sam Mitchell:

He was really fast! Yeah. As soon as some goats turned around, he went after them. By the time he got to the top, they had already turned around again towards another... but they were there just long enough to be seen, he figured. So off he ran, and the same thing happened again.

"No!" he said, "What happened to them?"

Flateye knew where they were going, so he ran after them to cut them off. He ran over that way, but they had already turned off in a different direction. But this guy kept on running until evening. That's what kept happening to him: whenever he popped up, they had already disappeared again, he popped up... He took a shortcut and circled around, and when he popped up, they had already disappeared again. He flopped down, tired out.

Flateye arrived back and told his uncle, "It's true after all! Now I know!" His uncle said, "You didn't think they could be faster than you."

"I thought I was the only one who was fast. The deer and the goats used to just stop when I ran around them."

That's it...

Baptiste Ritchie:

That's what they call a "professional hunter", twit.

Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters

Sam Mitchell:

Yes, that's it, twit, hunter.

Baptiste Ritchie:

If there's a professional hunter, and someone goes hunting, he'd say, "No, he didn't call on me. Fine."

We kind of listened to the people we called *twit*, yeah. *Yeah*, *he's a hunter*. That's his business. If he puts a curse on you, you're finished.

2.2.4 Qwinuts

Sam Mitchell:

Well, this other Indian doctor... The people got to the point where they were sick, they had run out of food, even Qwínuts.

"Hey," he was told, "We're suffering, we don't have any food."

This's a good story, yeah.

He was told, "Couldn't you..." he said, "Couldn't you go all over, couldn't you go over to our relatives?"

"Where should I go, though?"

"Oh, over there, they must have dried salmon and saskatoons."

He said, "Okay, what I'll tell them is that we're really suffering, when I get there." When he goes.

He was told, "Go on, go on."

Somewhere around Bridge River, where my ancestors had root cellars... He covered his head, and he danced. He danced. He went, "I'm leaving," then he left.

Billy Casper:

I'm going outside for a bit.

Sam Mitchell:

Okay, go on, I'll keep telling the story.

Billy Casper:

Yeah, go on, you all go ahead.

Baptiste Ritchie:

I'm going to hold his hand!

Sam Mitchell:

Yes, he danced, then he said, "Ok," and left.

He looked around and found a root cellar, then he said, "It's here." They had told him where it was. "It's here, it's this root cellar."

He opened it, and went in. "There's dried salmon here, and saskatoons."

He had a robe, so that was (what he used for) his sack. A robe, his belt, well he had a belt around his robe. It was rolled up.

Baptiste Ritchie:

What we call "putting a blanket on."

Sam Mitchell:

Yes, he wrapped it in a blanket. He wrapped it in a blanket, and rolled it up.

He took the dried salmon, he got the saskatoons and just poured them in, you see. There was enough for him to pack it all around. "Ok," he said, "Now it's good, that's enough." He covered up the root cellar, and left to go back.

He went back, and when he got there, he must have said... whatever the Indian doctors say when they've kind of finished, and they return. Then they took his bundle off him.

"Ok, spread out a blanket," so a blanket was spread out.

He stood there, and then his belt was taken off and he did like this with his robe... and the dried salmon and saskatoons just poured out onto the blanket, that was the only thing they were wrapped up in!

"That's it! You've saved us."

So then they made a stew out of it.

You see, he was powerful, but there was someone more powerful than he was, and that's why they couldn't get any deer.² Then the one who was going to lift the curse danced again, and he said, "I'm the one who," what do you call it, "laid the curse." From then on, they began to kill game again.

So that's what Qwínuts did. My dad must have told stories about him several times.

Baptiste Ritchie:

That's what we call nscwank, "getting cursed."

²In his translation, Baptiste Ritchie states that Qwínuts is the one who laid the curse, but the ucwalmícwts version suggests that Qwínuts, as the main protagonist, is one of the people who is out of food, and the one who brings food back to his people.

Indian Doctors and Professional Hunters

Sam Mitchell: Yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

They were cursed by the professional hunter, cursed on a whim.

Sam Mitchell: On a whim, yeah.

2.2.5 When Deer Hiss at Us

Sam Mitchell:

It was kind of not too long after this, when a professional went hunting. It was his first day hunting, and he made a kill and brought it in.

He arrived, skinned it, and that was the first deer they got. There were a lot of people gathered there for the hunt, for the first deer they caught.

The deer was skinned and then shared with the people in the house, there were quite a few people in that house. Someone's daughter was going through puberty. So her mother said, "Oh, I'm going to get some bone marrow for the poor thing. I'm going to get some bone marrow for her."

No bone marrow can be taken from the first kill! That's what they get power from, and the one that killed the deer knew that. It was really powerful. He (the hunter) didn't like that, you're not supposed to take marrow from your first kill, to extract it... *You break the bone and get the marrow out.* She got some of the marrow for her teenage daughter. But he knew that, he knew what she was doing.

You see, it was fall and it wasn't snowing, but the weather was changing... but he was on this side, so he went down into the gulley. That's where he caught it, in the creek, it was under water, it had actually fallen backwards, *yeah*. It was under water, he went and turned it over, and then he bled it. That's where he caught it: it's a long way from where he was on this side to the other side of

³The word *máwits* is Chinuk Wawa for 'deer' and is often used in ucwalmícwts.

the mountain, to where there's another creek, and around a gulley there, that's where he caught up to it.

He arrived back, it had already been night for a long time when he arrived, it was a long walk, many *miles*. He kept going, *but he had to speed*, and he arrived back.

His father told him, "Don't do it again, however many there are."

He told his father, "It hissed at me!"

He knew what getting hissed at meant, but someone said, "Those who get hissed at by a deer, *you just as well quit hunting.*"

That's the end of my story. Would... Maybe you want to ask something, then ask it.

Billy Casper:

That's it. It's finished. Real good.

Sam Mitchell:

You can add that, you can shut it off, and add it again after... yeah.

2.3 Interlinear Gloss

2.3.1 Kwánen ta sxíqa wa7 saq'w: The Flying Duck that was Grabbed

- [0:00] (1) Sam Mitchell:

 But from down here, I heard another little story when the sáma7 first come through the...
 - (2) ts7ás=wit é=ta...
 come=3PL to=DET
 They came to...
 - (3) Baptiste Ritchie:
 ucwalmícw-ts!
 indigenous.person-mouth
 Speak Indian!
 - (4) Randy Bouchard:
 ucwalmícw-ts!
 indigenous.person-mouth
 Speak Indian!
 - (5) Sam Mitchell:

 iy, t'ák=w[it] i=sám7=a....

 yes go.along=3PL PL.DET=white.person=EXIS

 qa::yt(k)=wít=ku7 áti7 ta=pál7=a

 reach.top=3PL=QUOT to+there.VIS DET=one=EXIS

 tsal'álh, 4 nílh=ti7 láku7 wa7

lake COP=that.VIS at+there.INVIS IPFV sqwe•qw•el'-[en]-tsálem.

tell•CRED•-DIR-ISG.PASS

The white people got to the top of one lake, this is what I was told.

⁴The place Sam Mitchell is referring to here is Nqayt, at the upper end of Anderson Lake.

(6) ucwalmícw=t'[u7] ([t]i=wa7) ti=wa7
indigenous.person=excl det=ipfv det=ipfv
tskw-álk'-em, k'win•k'wen=ás=k'a
get.pulled-rope-mid tred•how.many=3sbjv=epis
ku=sáma7 lha7-ílc.
det=white.person close.to-aut

An Indian person was hauling the boat, and there were several white people standing by.

- (7) wa7... nílh=t'u7=ti7 s=plán=i
 be COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ=already=3PL.POSS
 láti7 wa7 tsi<7>tcw.5
 at+there.VIS IPFV house<INCH>
 They had already made camp there.
- (8) lhkunsa=wí7=t'u7, k'wá7en, wa7 ka-t'ák=s-a today=EMPH=EXCL you.see? IPFV CIRC-go.along=3POSS-CIRC ta=spzúz7=a saq'w... sáq'w=ku7=t'[u7] PL.DET=bird=EXIS fly fly=QUOT=EXCL i=sxíq=a káti7, ts7ás=ku7=t'u7 DET=duck=EXIS around+there.VIS come=QUOT=EXCL i=sxíq=a saq'w. PL.DET=duck=EXIS fly

Now, you see, a bird happened to be flying by... they say there were ducks flying around, and some ducks came flying by.

(9) talh-lec=kú7=t'lh ts7a ta=pá•p•l7=a stand-AUT=QUOT=at.this.time this.VIS DET=one•CRED•=EXIS úcwalmicw, lhgw-ilc-mín-as áta7, indigenous.person jump-AUT-RLT-3ERG to+there.VIS tsekw-en-ás=tu7 ta=pé•p•l7=a. get.pulled-DIR-3ERG=REM DET=one•CRED•=EXIS So this one Indian stood up, jumped up towards one of them, and pulled it down.

⁵It is unexpected to find the inchoative *7* inside of the noun *tsitcw*, in the form *tsi7tecw*. Carl Alexander translated this word as meaning 'camping'. Because of the inchoative infix <7> we have translated it as 'made camp'.

The white people were watching him while he looked up at it....

[1:00] (11) [nilh]=kú7=tu7 s-paqw i=sám7=a, COP=QUOT=REM STAT-watch PL.DET=white.person=EXIS lhgw-ilc lhel=ts7á, kwán-as lhláta7, jump-AUT from=this.vis take+DIR-3ERG from+there.vis nilh s=tsekw-en-ás... [ta=s]xíq=a COP NMLZ=get.pulled-DIR-3ERG DET=duck=EXIS káti7 ťak. around+there.vis go.along

The white people watched while he jumped up, grabbed it, and pulled it down, the duck that was flying by.

- (12) I don't know how low it was, but they... he reached up there and grabbed it and throw one down.
- (13) wá7=lhkacw káta7 qan'ím-ens, wents?

 IPFV=2SG.SBJ around+there.vis hear-dir isn't.it?

 You heard about that, didn't you?
- (14) Baptiste Ritchie:
 ao.
 NEG
 No.
- (15) Sam Mitchell:
 Charlie Mack=ni7 na=wa7
 Charlie Mack=that.ABS ABS.DET=IPFV
 sqwe•qw•el'-en-tsí-has.
 tell•CRED•-DIR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG
 Charlie Mack was the one that told you.

2.3.2 Kwislec ta sq'epm'ica: The Swan that Fell

(16) Baptiste Ritchie: [1:15]

tsúkw=t'u7 ta=... sq'epm'íc=a,6 láti7=t'u7

finish=EXCL DET= swan=EXIS at+there.VIS=EXCL

spel'kúm'ten=a...

smoke.signal[Signal.Hill]=EXIS

Just the swan, over at Signal Hill...

(17) s=... kútsa=s

NMLZ= go.down.to.shore=3POSS

i=7ucwalmícw=a, nilh

PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS COP

s=t'ak=s káti7

NMLZ=go.along=3POSS around+there.VIS

i=sq'epm'íc=a.

PL.DET=swan=EXIS

...when the people when down to the river, some swans went by.

- (18) tsún-em ta=... scwená7em=a, "ta::
 say+dir-3pass det= Indian.doctor=exis gee
 tsúsa e=t7ú, k'wá7en, ka
 d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss+exis to=that.vis you.see? irr
 lhucw... emh-ám, kwís=ka."
 comp+ipfv+2sg.sbjv good-mid fall=irr
 The Indian Doctor was told, "If you are any good one of those swans will drop down."
- (19) "cu::y," wa7 tsut, "síma7! kwís-lec!" go.on IPFV say come.on fall-AUT "Okay," he said, "Come here! Drop down!"

⁶The expected pronunciation of the word for 'swan' in Lower St'át'imcets (the dialect used by Baptiste Ritchie) is *sqepm'ic*, consisting of a metathesized version of the root *vpeq* 'white' and the suffix *-m'ic* 'to excess' (van Eijk 2013). However, both here and below in stanza (21), Baptiste unexpectedly pronounces it as *q'epm'ic*, with an ejective [q'].

(20) kwí::s=ku7 láti7 ta=pé•p•l7=a, tsukw fall=quot at+there.vis det=one•cred•=exis finish kw=s=xilh=ts e=ts7á, "cuy síma7 d/C=nmlz=do.like=3poss to=this.vis go.on come.on kwís-lec!" fall-aut

One of them fell, and all he did was say, "Come on and drop down!"

- (21) kwí::s=ku7 t=sq'epm'íc=a: tsúkw=ku7 tsúlh-un'-as fall=quot det=swan=exis finish=quot point-dir-3erg áti7, nílh=t'u7 s=kwis=[ts].
 to+there.vis cop=excl nmlz=fall=3poss
 The swan fell: He just pointed at it, and it fell.
- [2:00] (22) láti7 ti=spel'kúm'ten=a,
 at+there.vis det=smoke.signal[Signal.Hill]=exis
 s=x7ilh=ts e=ts7á=ti7.
 NMLZ=other.side=3POSS to=this.vis=that.vis
 It happened at Signal Hill, it's across from here.
 - (23) Oh, I like to believe that too...

2.3.3 Npekáyus: Flateye

[2:15] (24) Sam Mitchell:

Well, that's it, Randy, you see what he says there? There with me, I heard so much of that stuff, you know, he.... well I like to believe it too, but, it's supposed to be true, yeah. Same with that t'ú7ul,⁷ that... name they mentioned, this sQwinuts,⁸ because my, my old man said something quite a bit about it.

(25) Randy Bouchard:
ucwalmícw-ts!
indigenous.person-mouth
Speak Indian!

⁷This may be another name for a *scwená7em*, though we have not encountered this word before. While the pronunciation in the recording is unclear, we have settled on this transcription in part because Kuipers (2002) lists a Proto-Salish, reconstructed root *t'ul 'spell, charm'.

⁸The story of Qwínuts is actually told in the next subsection, though he is first mentioned here.

(26) Sam Mitchell:

yeah, iy, ucwalmícw-ts. ti7 ta=wa7 yeah yes indigenous.person-mouth that.vis det=ipfv Qwínuts....

Qwinuts

Yeah, speak Indian. This person named Qwínuts...

- (27) Randy Bouchard:

 aoz ku=sám7-ats!

 NEG DET=white.person-mouth

 Don't speak English!
- (28) Baptiste Ritchie: Qwínuts.
- (29) Sam Mitchell: Qwínuts.
- (30) Randy Bouchard:
 Qwínuts... [ta]=scwená7em=a.
 Qwínuts DET=Indian.doctor=exis
 Qwínuts... an Indian doctor.
- (31) Sam Mitchell:
 scwená7em, iy, scwena7em=kú7=ti7.
 Indian.doctor yes Indian.doctor=Quot=that.vis
 Yes, they say he was an Indian doctor.
- (32) t'u7 cw7ao kwas....
 but neg d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss
 stexw=ku7=t'ú7=ti7 á7xa7
 straight=Quot=excl=that.vis powerful
 ku=cwená7em.
 DET=Indian.doctor

But he wasn't... he was a really powerful Indian doctor.

nilh ti7 ts'íla=t'u7 ta=wa7 [3:00] (33) s-kéla7-ten-s, COP that.VIS NMLZ-before-INS-3POSS like=EXCL DET=IPFV n-Ts'wálhtegw,9 ti7 elh ti7 LOC-Ts'walhtegw that.vis and.then that.vis behind kw=s-Ts'wálhteqw lh=zúqw=as, that.vis det=nmlz-Ts'walhteqw comp=die=3sbjv s-Qwinuts=hem', ta=wa7 that.vis det=ipfv nmlz-Qwínuts=anti stexw=ku7=t'ú7=ti7 á7xa7. straight=QUOT=EXCL=that.VIS powerful

He was the top Indian Doctor, like Ts'wálhteqw before him, and after Ts'wálhteqw died, then it was Qwínuts, he was really powerful.

(34) tsícw=wit ken=kw7ú cá7=a
get.there=3PL around=that.Invis high=exis
lhas píxem'=wit lhas
COMP+IPFV+3SBJV hunt=3PL COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
lhwál'tsten.
autumn

They went up in the mountains to hunt in the fall.

- (35) tí7texw=ti7 ts7a ku=sqwé•qw•el'-s,
 correct=that.vis this.vis det=tell•Cred•-3Poss
 ti=n-sqatsez7=á=ti7 [ta]=wa7
 det=1sg.poss-father=exis=that.vis det=1pfv
 sqwe•qw•el'-en-ts-ás.
 tell•Cred•-dir-isg.obj-3erg
 - This is a true story, my father told it to me.

(36) wá7=wit káku7 píxem'...

IPFV=3PL around+there.INVIS hunt

They were hunting around there...

⁹In the story of Big Frank, the protagonist, nicknamed 'the Colt', also bears the name Ts' wálhteqw.

- (37) wá7=malh... wa7 tsún-itas wa7 zewín'•en', 10

 IPFV=ADHORT IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV curse•FRED

 wa7 ts'íla... tsún-em wi=snímulh "nscwank".

 IPFV like say+DIR-IPL.ERG plus=IPL.INDEP get.cursed

 So then... they call it "getting cursed", that's like... we call it nscwank.
- (38) Baptiste Ritchie: Iy.
- (39) Sam Mitchell: Yeah, nscwank. yeah get.cursed Yeah, nscwank.
- (40) Randy Bouchard:
 swéna7? stam' ti7?
 whatchamacallit what that.vis
 What did you call it? What's that?
- (41) Sam Mitchell:

 It's curse the people that's hunting, yeah... so they can't get anything.

 That's nscwank, zewin' is another word.
- (42) Baptiste Ritchie:
 You see you curse if you don't... you got far enough that they don't get what they're after, all you got to say, a curse, you know... it's right!
- (43) Sam Mitchell: It's right, yeah, this...
- (44) Baptiste Ritchie: [4:00]

 wenácw=t'u7, wenácw=t'u7! ao kwásu

 true=EXCL true=EXCL NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS

 sám7a-ts, xíl-em s7ents!

 white.person-mouth do-MID ISG.INDEP

It's true, it's true! Don't be talking English like I am!

¹⁰The stem zewin' 'curse' has also been recorded with the meaning 'to talk to the water' (van Eijk, 2013:373).

Sam Mitchell:

(45)

tsún-ts-as na=n-sqátsez7=a, say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS wá7=iz' zewát-en-as, IPFV=those.vis be.known-dir-3erg snek'w•núk'wa7-s=k'a... TRED friend-3POSS=EPIS My father told me, he knew them, they must've been his relatives... n-Pekáyus¹¹... wa7 (46)ta=wa7 DET=IPFV LOC-Pekáyus IPFV that.vis say n-Pekáyus, nílh=ti7 wa7... qws-m-al'ts... LOC-Pekáyus COP=that.VIS IPFV shoot-MID-rock (....)¹² ts'íla lh=nká7=as like COMP=where=3SBIV s-tálh-lec lhas ku=sts'í7, COMP+IPFV+3SBJV STAT-stand-AUT DET=deer ku=sxwit'áz', qús-cit-as, DET=mountain.goat shoot-IND-3ERG

pút=ku7=t'u7 t'u:::•t'•k'w
exactly=QUOT=EXCL single•CRED•

ku=sqwe•qw•s-m-ál'ts-[s],

DET=shoot•CRED•-MID-rock-3POSS
áoy=t'u7

NEG=EXCL

kw=s=ka-t'ál-a.

D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-stop-CIRC

That Flateye... He said Flateye, when he had an arrow... like wherever a deer or a goat was standing, he would just shoot a single arrow, and it couldn't be stopped.

¹¹The name nPekáyus literally means 'flattened eye'.

¹²There are several syllables after *qwsmal'ts* which we were not able to identify.

```
gélgel, zam'=as=kú7=t'u7,
(47)
        i=núkw=a
        PL.DET=other=EXIS strong though=3SBJV=QUOT=EXCL
            pút=ku7=t'u7...
                                lexpált=ku7
            exactly=QUOT=EXCL
                                bound.away=QUOT
                                   nuxw
                COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                   animal.running
                                   elh...
                    ta=ts'í7=a
                                          t'ak
                                                   aylh
                    DET=deer=EXIS COMP go.along then
                        ta=qwe•qw•s-m-ál'ts=a...
                        DET=shoot•CRED•-MID-rock=EXIS
```

Others were strong hunters, but when their arrows were fired the deer would gallop off and escape...

- (48) ...k'ámalh snilh, cw7áo=ku7=t'u7
 however 3sg.indep neg=quot=excl
 kw=s=ka-t'ál-a
 D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-stop-CIRC
 ta=qws-m-ál'ts-s=a.
 DET=shoot-MID-rock-3POSS=EXIS
 ...but his arrow couldn't be stopped.
- (49) q'ílhil ta=... s=q'ilhil-mín-as i=ts'í7=a,
 run det= nmlz=run-rlt-3erg pl.det=deer=exis
 cw7áo=ku7=t'u7 kwas...
 neg=quot=excl d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss
 He would run... he would run after the deer, he wouldn't...
- (50) nílh=ku7=t'u7 sas tsut, "cw7áoy=t'u7
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS say NEG=EXCL
 kwenswá wenácw-nun' (kwa...)
 D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV true-EXP+DIR DET+IPFV
 kwa zewín'-an'-em kwa cw..."
 DET+IPFV curse-DIR-3PASS DET+IPFV
 Flateye was saying, "I don't believe in being cursed."

- (51) Baptiste Ritchie:
 q'áw-qs-a[m'].
 get.cursed-nose-MID
 Cursing.
- (52) Sam Mitchell:

 q'áw-qs-am', iy, kw=nscwánk-e[m]. 13
 get.cursed-nose-mid yes det=get.cursed-mid
 Cursing, yeah, in cursing something.
- (53) tsút=ku7, "stám'=ka múta7 láti7
 say=QUOT what=IRR again at+there.vIs
 kw=s=ka-xwém=wit-a?"
 D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-fast=3PL-CIRC
 He said, "How could they move any faster than me?"
- (54) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsún-em
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3PASS
 ta=sísqa7-s=a, "stexw=kán¹⁴
 DET=uncle-3POSS=EXIS straight=ISG.SBJ
 zewát-en, cúy'=lhkan... cúy'=lhkan
 be.known-dir going.to=ISG.SBJ going.to=ISG.SBJ
 xílh-{ts}-tumin."
 do.like-CAUS-2SG.OBJ+ISG.ERG

So his uncle told him, "I know for sure, I'm going to do it to you."

¹³ The [m] consonant in the middle suffix for *nscwánkem* is phonetically an [n] here, for unexplained reasons

¹⁴ The expected stress is given as stexwkán in this stanza and the following one, however neither syllable sounds particularly stressed.

(55)"cuy, cuy. snúwa wá7=lhkan [5:00] ts=... DET+NMLZ= IPFV=ISG.SBJ go.on go.on 2SG.INDEP sqwál'-en-tsin, stexw=kán report-DIR-2SG.OBJ+ISG.ERG straight=ISG.SBJ wa7... cw7aoz zewát-en be.known-dir d/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be NEG (kwas...) kwas D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS ka-xílh-a." CIRC-get.done.like-CIRC Flateye said, "Go on, go on, I'm telling you, I know for sure that it's not possible."

- (56) "s7ents ku=cúz' xilh-{ts}-tumíhas, cuy
 ISG.INDEP DET=going.to do.like-CAUS-2SG.OBJ+3ERG go.on
 nas píxem'."
 go hunt

 His uncle said, "I'm going to do it to you, so you go ahead and hunt."
- (57) "ao," tsút=ku7, "kwas... p'a7cw=há=ka
 ah say=QUOT D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS more.than=Q=IRR
 múta7 láti7 kw=s=ka-xwém=wit-a."
 again at+there.vis D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-fast=3PL-CIRC
 "Nah," said Flateye, "Could they possibly go faster than me?"
- (58) ti7 ku=7úcwalmicw, wá7=tu7 q'ilhil-mín-as that.vis det=indigenous.person ipfv=rem run-rlt-3erg i=ts'í7=a, zanm-án-as, nílh=t'u7 pl.det=deer=exis circle-dir-3erg cop=excl sas qú::s-cit-as láti7.

 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS shoot-IND-3erg at+there.vis

That guy used to run after the deer, circle around them, and then he'd shoot them from there.

- (59) ts'ila-s=á=t'u7=ti7 tsa
 like-3POSS=EXIS=EXCL=that.VIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
 lheg•lhág[t].
 TRED•fast.at.running
 That's how fast he was.
- (60) qwatsáts=ku7, cuy. leave=QUOT go.on He took off, okay.
- (61) Baptiste Ritchie:
 | lheg•lhágt=k'a=t'u7¹⁵ t.sáw'tswa, yeah?
 | TRED•fast.at.running=EPIS=EXCL poor.guy yeah
 | The fellow must've been a fast runner, yeah?
- (62) Sam Mitchell:

 xwém=t'u7! iy.

 fast=EXCL yes

 He was really fast! Yeah.
- pút=ku7=ťu7 (63)(ta) ka... wéna7, exactly=QUOT=EXCL CIRC whatchamacallit pút=ku7=ťu7 (ta) ka-cwlép-a i=... exactly=QUOT=EXCL CIRC-revolve-CIRC PL.DET= xwit'áz'=a, q'ay-lec-mín-as=ku7 mountain.goat=exis jump-AUT-RLT-3ERG=QUOT lhláti7. from+there.vis

As soon as some goats turned around, he went after them.

¹⁵ Phonetically, the [lh] segments in *lheglhágt* sound like [s].

```
ka-q'íl-a=ku7
(64)
                                         áta7,
         CIRC-laid.on.surface-CIRC=QUOT
                                        to+there.vis
            plán=ku7=t'lh=hem'
                                            múta7
            already=QUOT=at.this.time=ANTI again
                ka-cwlép=wit-a
                CIRC-revolve=3PL-CIRC to=that.VIS
                                              wá7=t117
                    ta=núkw=a
                                      S-...
                    DET=other=EXIS NMLZ- IPFV=REM
                         í7ez' kw=s=ka-7áts'x-a,
                         enough D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-get.seen-CIRC
                             xek-s-ás.
                             figure.out-CAUS-3ERG
```

By the time he got to the top, they had already turned around again towards another... but they were there just long enough to be seen, he figured.

- (65) q'áy-lec=ku7 lhláti7,
 jump-AUT=QUOT from+there.vIs

 plán=ku7=t'lh=tu7 múta7.
 already=QUOT=at.this.time=REM again

 So off he ran, and the same thing happened again.
- (66) "ao7!" tsut=ku7=hém'=ti7, "kán-em=wit?"

 NEG say=QUOT=ANTI=that.VIS whether-MID=3PL

 "No!" he said, "What happened to them?"
- (67) zewát-en-as lh=nká7=as lhus
 be.known-dir-3erg comp=where=3sbjv comp+ipfv+3sbjv
 t'ák=wit, nilh s=q'áy-lec=s=kwelh
 go.along=3pl cop nmlz=jump-aut=3poss=those.invis
 lhxwalus-cít. 16
 take.shortcut-ind

Flateye knew where they were going, so he ran after them to cut them off.

¹⁶The 3rd person ergative subject marker -as is missing from lhxwaluscit for unknown reasons.

[6:00] (68) q'áy-[lec] láku7, plán=ku7=t'lh=tu7
jump-AUT at+there.INVIS already=QUOT=at.this.time=REM
múta7 ka-cwlép-a.
again CIRC-revolve-CIRC

He ran over that way, but they had already turned off in a different direction.

- (69) t'u7 s=ni:::::lh s=q'áy-lec=s [ta]=sqáycw=a but NMLZ=COP NMLZ=jump-AUT=3POSS DET=man=EXIS t'u gap. until evening

 But this guy kept on running until evening.
- (70) pút=ku7=t'u7 áti7 xílh-{ts}-tum': exactly=quot=excl to+there.vis do.like-caus-3pass

wá7=t'u7 ka-lhéxw-a, plán=tu7 múta7 IPFV=EXCL CIRC-appear-CIRC already=REM again

ka-cím'=wit-a, ka-lhéxw-a...

CIRC-disappear=3PL-CIRC CIRC-appear-CIRC

That's what kept happening to him: whenever he popped up, they had already disappeared again, he popped up...

(71) lhxwálus-em áku7, zánem, ka-lhéxw-a take.shortcut-mid to+there.invis circle Circ-appear-circ áku7, plán=ku7=t'lh=hem' múta7 to+there.invis already=Quot=at.this.time=anti again ka-cím'-a.

CIRC-disappear-CIRC

He took a shortcut and circled around, and when he popped up, they had already disappeared again.

(72) ka-(lh)tvlh-a=kú7=a.
CIRC-collapse-CIRC=QUOT=A
He flopped down, tired out.

```
(73) t'íq=ku7, tsún-as [ti7] ku=sísqa7-s,
arrive=QUOT say+DIR-3ERG that.VIS DET=uncle-3POSS
"wenácw=a=cwilh!"
true=A=after.all
Flateye arrived back and told his uncle, "It's true after all!"
```

- (74) "zewát-en=lhkan aylh!" be.known-dir=isg.sbj then "Now I know!"
- (75) tsút=ku7, "ao kwásu
 say=QUOT NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS
 n-tsut-ánwas kwas p'a7cw
 LOC-say-inside D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS more.than
 kwas ka-xwém=wit-[a]."
 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS CIRC-fast=3PL-CIRC
 His uncle said, "You didn't think they could be faster than you."
- (76) "tsút=kan=t'u7 kw=s=tsúkw=s=t'u7 s7ents
 say=ISG.SBJ=EXCL D/C=NMLZ=finish=3POSS=EXCL ISG.INDEP
 kwa xwem."
 DET+IPFV fast
 "I thought I was the only one who was fast."
- "t'u7 s-xíl-em **(77)** áti7 EXCL NMLZ-do-MID to+there.VIS PL.DET= xwit'áz'=a, i=ts'i7=amountain.goat=EXIS PL.DET=deer=EXIS wá7=lhkan=t'u7 q'ílhil, IPFV=ISG.SBJ=EXCL run nílh=ťu7 n=s=zánem-an, ISG.POSS=NMLZ=circle-DIR COP=EXCL s=ka-t'ál=wit-[a]." NMLZ=CIRC-stop=3PL-CIRC

"The deer and the goats used to just stop when I ran around them."

- (78) nilh ti7...

 COP that.vis

 That's it...
- (79) Baptiste Ritchie:
 wa7 tsún-itas "twit", twit.
 IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG professional.hunter professional.hunter
 That's what they call a "professional hunter", twit.
- (80) Sam Mitchell:

 iy, twit, nilh ti7, twit,

 yes professional.hunter COP that.VIS professional.hunter

 hunter.

 hunter

 Yes, twit, that's it, twit, hunter.
- [7:00] (81) Baptiste Ritchie:

 (e)lh=wá7=as ku=twít, nás=tu7

 COMP=be=3sBJV DET=professional.hunter go=rem

 píxem', nilh s=tsut=s, "ao::, cw7áoy=t'u7

 hunt COP NMLZ=say=3POSS NEG NEG=EXCL

 kw=s=k'wálh-an'-ts-as, wá7=as."

 D/C=NMLZ=call.on-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG IPFV=3SBJV

 If there's a professional hunter, and someone goes hunting, he'd say,

 "No, he didn't call on me. Fine."
 - (82) ts'íla=t'u7 ku=k'alán'-min-em ta=wa7 like=EXCL D/C=listen-RLT-IPL.ERG DET=IPFV tsún-em [ku]=twit, yeah. say+DIR-IPL.ERG DET=professional.hunter yeah We kind of listened to the people we called *twit, yeah*.

(83) Yeah, he's a hunter. That's his business. If he puts a curse on you, you're finished.

2.3.4 Qwinuts

- (84) Sam Mitchell: [7:16]

 Well this other scwená7em, or, ni7

 well this other Indian.doctor or that.ABS

 na=scwena7em=á=hem'...

 ABS.DET=Indian.doctor=EXIS=ANTI

 Well, this other Indian doctor...
- (85) tsícw=wit=ku7 [á]ku7 t'u... [qw]núxw=wit=tu7, get.there=3PL=QUOT to+there.INVIS until sick=3PL=REM

 plán=tu7 aylh n-ts'k-al'[k], cw7ao
 already=REM then LOC-empty-surface NEG

 káti7 ku=stám', í7wa7
 around+there.VIS DET=what accompany
 kw=s-Qwínuts.

 DET=NMLZ-Qwínuts

The people got to the point where they were sick, they had run out of food, even Qwínuts.

- (86) "hey," tsún-em=ku7, "plán=lhkalh=t'u7 xwayt, hey say+dir-3pass=quot already=ipl.sbj=excl suffer [ao] káti7 kwelhkálh

 NEG around+there.vis d/C+nmlz+ipfv+ipl.poss
 [es]={s}7ílhen."
 have=food
 - "Hey," he was told, "We're suffering, we don't have any food."
- (87) This's a good story, yeah.

```
"cw7áoz=ha=ka
       (88)
                tsún-em=ku7,
                say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT
                                      NEG=Q=IRR
                   (kwásu...)
                                               tswá(s)..."
                   D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV IPFV
                        tsut, "kwásu
                                                          ken-tákem
                             D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS around-all
                                                  ka-nás-a?
                                                                 cw7áoz=ha
                            COMP+IPFV+2SG.SBJV CIRC-go-CIRC NEG=Q
                                kwásu
                                                            ka-nás-a...
                                D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS CIRC-go-CIRC
                                    ken=kw7ú
                                                       nk'saytken-lhkálh=a?"
                                    around=that.INVIS relative-IPL.POSS=EXIS
               He was told, "Couldn't you..." he said, "Couldn't you go all over,
               couldn't you go over to our relatives?"
       (89)
               "nká7=ka
                           zam'?"
               where=IRR though
               "Where should I go, though?"
                "o, e=kw7ú,
                                   wá7=iz'
                                                 áku7
       (90)
                oh to=that.INVIS be=those.VIS to+there.INVIS
                                                           sts'wán=k'a."
                   [e]s=ts'wan...
                                      tságwem=k'a,
                   have=dried.salmon saskatoon.berry=EPIS dried.salmon=EPIS
               "Oh, over there, they must have dried salmon and saskatoons."
[8:00] (91)
                tsút=ku7,
                           "cuy... cuy, [n]-k'lúcw=kalh=kelh,
                say=QUOT okay
                                   okay LOC-suffer=IPL.SBJ=FUT
                   lh=[s]qwal'-en-tanemwit=kelh...
                   COMP=report-DIR-3PL.PASS=FUT
                        kw=n=s=tsicw
                                                      káku7."
                        D/C=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=get.there around+there.INVIS
                            [lh]=nás=as
                                             e=t7ú.
                            COMP=go=3SBJV to=that.VIS
               He said, "Okay, what I'll tell them is that we're really suffering, when
               I get there." When he goes.
```

- (92) "cuy, cuy," tsún-em=ku7, "cuy." go.on go.on say-3PASS=QUOT go.on He was told, "Go on, go on."
- (93) nka7=as=k'á=tu7 nxwísten=a lh...
 where=3sBJV=EPIS=REM Bridge.River=EXIS COMP
 i=n-skel•ké•k•l7=a w[a7]
 PL.DET=ISG.POSS-TRED•before•CRED•=EXIS be
 i=wa7 [e]s=tsípun=wit ken=t7ú...
 PL.DET=IPFV have=root.cellar=3PL around=that.VIS
 Somewhere around Bridge River, where my ancestors had root cellars...
- (94) n-cúl'-qw-em láti7 ts7á-wna=t'u7,
 LOC-get.covered-head-MID at+there.VIS this.VIS-precisely=EXCL
 nilh kw=s=q'wez-flc=s.
 COP D/C=NMLZ=dance-AUT=3POSS
 He covered his head, and he danced.
- (95) q'wez-ilc=ku7. dance-AUT=QUOT He danced.
- (96) nás=tu7, "qwatsáts=kan aylh," s=nílh=ts=t'u7
 go=rem leave=ISG.SBJ then nmlz=cop=3poss=excl
 s=qwatsáts=s.
 nmlz=leave=3poss
 He went, "I'm leaving," then he left.
- (97) Billy Casper:

 nás=kan ka7lh ku=7álts'q7=a.
 go=ISG.SBJ awhile INVIS.DET=outside=EXIS
 I'm going outside for a bit.

(98) Sam Mitchell:

cuy, t'ák=kacw, t'u7 cúy'=lhkan múta7
okay go.along=IsG.SBJ but going.to=IsG.SBJ again

sqwé•qw•el'.

tell•CRED•

Okay, go on, I'll keep telling the story.

- (99) Billy Casper:
 Yeah, wá7=t'u7 wá7=wi.
 yeah ipfv=excl be=pl.imp
 Yeah, go on, you all go ahead.
- (100) Baptiste Ritchie:

 nás=kan s-tq-áka7-s!¹⁷
 go=ISG.SBJ STAT-touch-hand-CAUS
 I'm going to hold his hand!
- (101) Sam Mitchell:

 iy, q'wez-flc=ku7 láti7, tsút=ku7, "cuy."

 yes dance-AUT=QUOT at+there.vIs say=QUOT okay

 nílh=t'u7 s=qwatsáts=s aylh.

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3POSS then

 Yes, he danced, then he said, "Ok," and left.
- (102) cwíl'-em káti7, pú•p•en' look.for-mid around+there.vis get.found•cred•

 ta=tsípun=a, tsút=ku7, "l=ts7a."

 DET=root.cellar=EXIS say=QUOT at=this.vis

 He looked around and found a root cellar, then he said, "It's here."
- (103) wá7=hem' láti7 [s]qwe•qw•el'-mín-itas nka7
 IPFV=ANTI at+there.VIS tell•CRED•-RLT-3PL.ERG where
 lh=wá7=as. "l=ts7a, nilh ts7a tsípun."
 COMP=be=3SBJV at=this.VIS COP this.VIS root.cellar
 They had told him where it was. "It's here, it's this root cellar."

 $^{^{17}}$ There is a break in the recording after this stanza.

- (104) wel'-ts-án'-as, ulhcw áku7.
 open.cloth.door-mouth-dir-3erg enter to+there.invis
 He opened it, and went in.
- (105) "wa7 l=ts7a i=sts'wán=a, stsáqwem." [9:00] be at=this.vis pl.det=dried.salmon=exis saskatoon.berry "There's dried salmon here, and saskatoons."
- (106) es=leqwa•qw•ez'=kú7=t'u7,¹⁸ nílh=t'u7=ti7
 have=dress•CRED•=QUOT=EXCL COP=EXCL=that.VIS
 sq'ts'-álhmec-s=t'u7.
 woven-stomach-3POSS=EXCL
 - He had a robe, so that was (what he used for) his sack.
- (107) leqwá•qw•ez'=t'u7, nilh száp'un-s, záp'un=t'u7 l=ts7a, dress•CRED•=EXCL COP belt-3POSS belt=EXCL at=this.vIS leqwá•qw•ez'. dress•CRED•

 A robe, his belt, well he had a belt around his robe.
- (108) culk'w. get.rolled.up It was rolled up.
- (109) Baptiste Ritchie:

 ti=wa7 tsún-em zelk'wákst. 19

 DET=IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG get.wrapped.in.a.blanket

What we call "getting wrapped in a blanket."

¹⁸The expected diminutive consonant reduplication form for *leqwáz* 'blanket' is *leqwéqwez*' with a stressed schwa, rather than *leqwáqwez*' with a full vowel. However, one of our reviewers points out that retention of a full vowel with diminutive reduplication is sporadically attested elsewhere in the language, as in *twiw't* 'youth' from *twit* 'professional hunter' and *spzúza7* 'bird' (from *spzu7* 'animal'. We therefore take it that *leqwáqwez*' is a previously unattested lexicalized form of diminutive reduplication for 'blanket'.

¹⁹The word zelk wakst consists historically of zelk w 'get wrapped around' and the lexical suffix -akst 'hand', but since it is now lexicalized, we have decided not to analyze it further.

- (110) Sam Mitchell: iy, zelk'wákst. yes get.wrapped.in.a.blanket Yes, it was wrapped in the blanket.
- (111) Billy Casper:
 iy, zelk'wákst.
 yes get.wrapped.in.a.blanket
 Yes, it was wrapped in the blanket.
- (112) zelk'wákst, cwel•cúl[k'w]. get.wrapped.in.a.blanket TRED•get.rolled.up It was wrapped in the blanket, and rolled up.
- (113) "cuy," kwam, "kwán=lhka[n] i=sts'wán=a,"
 okay get take+dir=isg.sbj pl.det=dried.salmon=exis
 kwam ki=stsáqwem=a,
 get coll.det=saskatoon.berry=exis
 pékw=t'u7, kwán•en.
 solids.get.poured.in=excl get.taken•fred
 "Okay," he took some, "I took the dried salmon," he got the saskatoons and just poured them in, he took them.
- (114) í7ez'=t'u7 kw=s=ka-zacen-s-ás-a t'u
 enough=EXCL D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-load-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC until
 n-cwetp.
 LOC-go.around
 There was enough for him to pack it all around.

wa7...

(115) "cuy," tsút=ku7, "plan áma, plan izá

okay say=QUOT already good already these.vis ipfv í7ez'." enough "Ok," he said, "Now it's good, that's enough." (116) n-qelh-ts-án'-as ta=tsípun=a, qwatsáts
LOC-get.stored-mouth-dir-3erg det=root.cellar=exis leave
p'an't.
return

He covered up the root cellar, and left to go back.

(117)e=kw7ú... lhas tsicw, get.there to=that.INVIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.there wá7=k'a... stam'=as=k'á=ni7 IPFV=EPIS what=3SBJV=EPIS=that.ABS at+there.VIS s-qwal'út-i na=wa7 ABS.DET=IPFV NMLZ-speak-3PL.POSS lhas... tsem'p=wít sts'íla, COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.finished=3PL like p'an't i=scwená7em=a. return PL.DET=Indian.doctor=EXIS

He went back, and when he got there, he must have said... whatever the Indian doctors say when they've kind of finished, and they return.

- (118) nílh=t'u7 sas klh-cít-em [10:00]

 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.taken.off-IND-3PASS

 n-cúlk'w-ten-s=a.

 LOC-get.rolled.up-INS-3POSS=EXIS

 Then they took his bundle off him.
- (119) "cuy... tsákw-an' ku=leqwáz'," tsakw okay get.spread.flat-dir det=blanket get.spread.flat ta=leqwáz'=a.

 DET=blanket=EXIS
 "Ok, spread out a blanket," so a blanket was spread out.

(120) láti7 lh=tálh-lec=as, elh
at+there.vis comp=stand-aut=3sbjv and.then
kélh=ku7 aylh ta=... kelh l=ts7a
get.taken.off=quot then det= get.taken.off at=this.vis
ta=száp'un-s=a, nilh s=xílh-ts-as
det=belt-3poss=exis cop nmlz=do.like-caus-3erg
[e]=ts7á ta=leqwáy'-s=a...
to=this.vis det=dress-3poss=exis

He stood there, and then his belt was taken off and he did like this with his robe...

...nílh=t'u7=ti7 s=pekw=s (121)COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ=solids.get.poured.in=3POSS i=sts'wán=a, i=stsáqwem=a... PL.DET=dried.salmon=EXIS PL.DET=saskatoon.berry=EXIS e=t7ú e=ta=leqwáz'=a=hem'... to=that.vis to=det=blanket=exis=anti láti7 lh=ka... tsúkw=t'u7=ti7 wa7 at+there.vis comp= finish=excl=that.vis ipfv n-ts'ál'k-men-i! LOC-get.wrapped-INS-3PL.POSS

...and the dried salmon and saskatoons just poured out onto the blanket, that was the only thing they were wrapped up in!

- (122) "nilh ti7! kukw-s-tumúlh-kacw."

 COP that.VIS get.saved-CAUS-IPL.OBJ-2SG.SBJ

 "That's it! You've saved us."
- (123) t'u7 s=nflh=ts=t'u7 láti7 s=...

 EXCL NMLZ=COP=3POSS=EXCL at+there.VIS NMLZ=
 n-tspús=i.
 LOC-stew=3PL.POSS

 So then they made a stew out of it.

k'wá7en, wá7=ti7 á7xa7, (124)zam'=as=k'á=t'u7 you.see? IPFV=that.VIS powerful though=3SBJV=EPIS=EXCL múta7 wá7=t'u7=ku7 p'a7cw lhus IPFV=EXCL=QUOT more.than COMP+IPFV+3SBJV again lhel=snílh cw7aoz ses... from=3SG.INDEP NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS NEG kwám•em=wit ku=ts'í7. D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get*FRED=3PL DET=deer You see, he was powerful, but there was someone more powerful than he was, and that's why they couldn't get any deer.

- (125)aylh... q'wez-ílc=ti7 wá7=ku7 múta7 ta=wa7... dance-AUT=that.VIS again IPFV=QUOT then DET=IPFV cuz' samt-án-tali,²⁰ tsut, "énts=ti7 going.to lift.curse-DIR-NTS say ISG.INDEP=that.VIS ta=wa7..." ta=wa7 wéna7, "q'áw'qs-am'." DET=IPFV DET=IPFV whatchamacallit curse-MID Then the one who was going to lift the curse danced again, and he said, "I'm the one who," what do you call it, "laid the curse."
- (126) cuz' aylh zúqwnucw=wit lhláti7. going.to then kill.game=3PL from+there.vIs From then on, they began to kill game again.
- (127) nilh ti7 száyten-s ti7 ta=wa7 [11:00]
 COP that.VIS doings-3POSS that.VIS DET=IPFV
 s-Qwínuts. k'win=as=k'á=ti7
 NMLZ-Qwínuts how.many=3SBJV=EPIS=that.VIS
 sqwe•qw•el'-mín-as na=n-sqátsez7=a.
 tell•CRED•-RLT-3ERG ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS
 So that's what Qwínuts did. My dad must have told stories about him

So that's what Qwínuts did. My dad must have told stories about him several times.

²⁰The root *samt* is unfamiliar to fluent speakers who we consulted, and the meaning of 'lifting a curse' is our best guess, given the evidence that we have.

- (128) Baptiste Ritchie:
 nilh wa7 tsún-em "nscwank", nscwank.
 COP IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG get.cursed get.cursed
 That's what we call nscwank, "getting cursed."
- (129) Sam Mitchell:

 iy, nscwank, iy.

 yes get.cursed yes

 Yeah, getting cursed, yeah.
- (130) Baptiste Ritchie:
 scwánk-en-em e=ta=twít=a,
 get.cursed-dir-3pass obl=det=professional.hunter=exis
 scwánk=k'a... tsgway.
 get.cursed=epis joke
 They were cursed by the professional hunter, cursed on a whim.
- (131) Sam Mitchell: tsgway, yeah. joke yeah On a whim, yeah.

2.3.5 Lhas pecenstúmulhas i ts'í7a: When Deer Hiss at Us

[11:16] (132) Sam Mitchell:

ts'ila=kú7=t'u7 ta=s=... plán=s=a=tu7
like=QUOT=EXCL D/C=NMLZ= already=3POSS=EXIS=REM
lhel=ts7á wa7 aylhám... pixem'=kú7=ti7
from=this.vis ipfv not.long.ago hunt=QUOT=that.vis
ta=twít=a.

DET=professional.hunter=EXIS

It was kind of not too long after this, when a professional went hunting.

nílh=ťu7 (133)s=... kéla7 sq'it s=píxem'=s, COP=EXCL NMLZ= before day NMLZ=hunt=3POSS zúqwnucw ta=... zúgwnucw nilh kill.game DET= kill.game COP s=t'iq-s-as... NMLZ=arrive-CAUS-3ERG

It was his first day hunting, and he made a kill and brought it in.

- (134) nílh=t'u7 s=... t'iq, suq'w, nilh ti7 kéla7

 COP=EXCL NMLZ= arrive get.skinned COP that.VIS before

 ts'i7 s-kwám•em-i.

 deer NMLZ-get•FRED-3PL.POSS

 He arrived it was skinned and that was the first deer they got
 - He arrived, it was skinned, and that was the first deer they got.
- (135)nilh s=cw7it i=wa7... cw7it i=wa7 COP NMLZ=many PL.DET=IPFV many PL.DET=IPFV s-7úl'lus láti7 l=ti=... píxem', STAT-gather at+there.vis at=DET= hunt ta=kél7=a ts'i7 s-kwám•em-i. DET=before=EXIS deer NMLZ-get*FRED*-3PL.POSS There were a lot of people gathered there for the hunt, for the first deer they caught.
- (136) súq'w=ku7 ta=ts'i7=a elh
 get.skinned=QUOT DET=deer=EXIS and.then
 mil' láti7 e=ta=wa7 es=tsítcw,
 get.distributed at+there.VIS to=DET=IPFV have=house
 k'wín=as=k'a wa7 es=tsítcw.
 how.many=3SBJV=EPIS IPFV have=house
 The deer was skinned and then shared with the people in the house,
 there were quite a few people in that house.
- (137) wá7=ku7 lhxwemc ta=skúza7-s=a

 IPFV=QUOT puberty DET=offspring-3POSS=EXIS

 ta=pá•p•l7=a.

 DET=one•CRED•=EXIS

Someone's daughter was going through puberty.

[12:00] (138) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsut=s ta=skícza7-s=a,

COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS DET=mother-3POSS=EXIS

"o, cúz'=lhkan t'es-cít t.sáw'tswa.

oh going.to=ISG.SBJ marrow.gets.extracted-IND poor.thing

nás=kan t'es-cít ta..."

go=ISG.SBJ marrow.gets.extracted-IND DET=

So her mother said, "Oh, I'm going to get some bone marrow for the poor thing. I'm going to get some bone marrow for her."

(139) áo::=ku7 kwas t'es

NEG=QUOT D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS marrow.gets.extracted

kwa kéla7 szúqwnucw!

DET+IPFV before kill.game

No bone marrow can be taken from the first kill!

ti7... (140)nilh ti7 wa7... aoz nilh COP that.VIS IPFV NEG that.VIS COP s-7axa7-núcw-i, that.vis NMLz-powerful-manage.to-3PL.POSS zewat-en-ás=ti7 ts7a be.known-DIR-3ERG=that.VIS this.VIS ta=ts'í7=a. ta=zugw-s-talí=ha

That's what they get power from, and the one that killed the deer knew that.

DET=die-CAUS-NTS=EXIS DET=deer=EXIS

- (141) á:::::7xa7.
 powerful
 It was really powerful.
- qvl-s-áos=ti7, áo=ku7 kwas
 bad-caus-3erg=that.vis neg=quot d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss
 t'es kwa kéla7 szúqwnucw,
 marrow.gets.extracted det+ipfv before kill.game
 kwas t'es...

 D/C+nmlz+ipfv+3poss marrow.gets.extracted

He (the hunter) didn't like that, you're not supposed to take marrow from your first kill, to extract it...

```
(143) You break the bone and get the marrow out.
```

- (144) t'es-cít-as=ku7 ta=...
 marrow.gets.extracted-IND-3ERG=QUOT DET=
 q'amaz'-ált-s=a.
 teenage.girl-offspring-3POSS=EXIS
 She got some of the marrow for her teenage daughter.
- (145) zewat-en-ás=ti7=ku7=hem', zewát-en-as be.known-dir-3erg=that.vis=quot=anti be.known-dir-3erg ku=száyten-s.

 DET=doings-3POSS

 But he knew that, he knew what she was doing.
- (146) psil' láta7, qwatsáts píxem'. daybreak at+there.vis leave hunt In the morning, he set off hunting.
- (147)ats'x-en-ás=ku7 ta=... "lh=stám'=as=t'u7 get.seen-DIR-3ERG=QUOT DET= COMP=what=3SBJV=EXCL ku=ts'í7," tsún-em=ku7 DET=deer say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT [e=ta]=sqátsza7-s=a, "nílh=t'u7 OBL=DET=father-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL (s=...)s=t'ánam'-n-acw NMLZ= NMLZ=try-DIR-2SG.ERG kw=[s]=kwán•en-s-acw." D/C=NMLZ=take•FRED-CAUS-2SG.ERG

He saw a... "Whatever kind of deer there is," his father told him, "You should try to get it."

- (149) When a máwits doesn't like you, I had that done to me too, I know, I had that experience.
- (150) cw::::::::::!

 hissing.sound

 ka-cwí::::::•cw•xq-a

 CIRC-turn.around.to.look.at.before.running.away•CRED•-CIRC

 (.....).21

cw::::::::::::: It hissed at him, and turned around to look at him before running away.

- (151) nilh s=q'áy-lec=s, wa7 t'it ka-q'ílhil-a.

 COP NMLZ=jump-AUT=3POSS IPFV also CIRC-run-CIRC

 Then he jumped up and ran too.
- (152) pála7=ku7=t'u7 ta=qus-cit-ás=a, nílh=t'u7 one=QUOT=EXCL DET=shoot-IND-3ERG=EXIS COP=EXCL s=ka-cím'=s-a, t'[u7] s=nilh NMLZ=CIRC-disappear=3POSS-CIRC EXCL NMLZ=COP s=kál-en-[a]s.

 NMLZ=chase-DIR-3ERG

He shot one time and it disappeared, but he chased it.

²¹There are several syllables after *kacwiwxqa* which we have not been able to recover.

```
k'wá7en, lhwál'tsten,
(153)
                                    kwes
        you.see?
                  autumn
                              NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
            máqa7,
                    t'u7 ka-nák'-s-[a]
            snow
                    but
                          CIRC-get.changed-CAUS-CIRC
                sés=t'117
                                         s=nilh=ts
                NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL NMLZ=COP=3POSS
                               [lh]=xk'ít=as,
                                                     t'u7 nilh
                    at=this.vis comp=this.side=3sbjv but cop
                        s=kwís-lec=s
                                              e=kw7ú
                        NMLZ=fall-AUT=3POSS to=that.INVIS
                            st'púmen=a.
                            gulley=EXIS
```

You see, it was fall and it wasn't snowing, but the weather was changing... but he was on this side, so he went down into the gulley.

(154) láta7=ku7 lh=kwán•en-s-as
at+there.vis=quot comp=take•fred-caus-3erg
l=t=stswáw'cw=a, ka-n-k'méq'w-a,
at=det=creek=exis circ-loc-fall.in.water-circ
[n]-tsqám'•em' séna7! yeah.
Loc-fall.back•fred cntr yeah

That's where he caught it, in the creek, it was under water, it had actually fallen backwards, *yeah*.

(155) [ka-n]-k'méq'w-a=ku7 láta7,
CIRC-LOC-fall.in.water-CIRC=QUOT at+there.vis
tsícw=ku7 p'elk'-án'-as,
get.there=QUOT turn.around-DIR-3ERG
tsiq-alhq'welt-án'-as.
get.stabbed-throat-DIR-3ERG

It was under water, he went and turned it over, and then he bled it.

```
ke•káw'=ti7
        (156)
                 láta7
                              lh=kwán•en-s-as:
                 at+there.vis comp=take*fred-caus-3erg ired*far=that.vis
                     seltsá
                     NMLZ+at+D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
                         [lh]=xk'it=as=á=t'u7
                                                           akú7
                         COMP=this.side=3SBJV=EXIS=EXCL to+there.INVIS
                                                     e=kw7ú
                             talh7-ál'k=a,
                             other.side-surface=EXIS to=that.INVIS
                                                   stswaw'cw, st'púmn=a
                                  ta=núkw=a
                                  DET=other=EXIS creek
                                                               gulley=EXIS
                                      ken=kw7ú,
                                                         pzán-us-em.
                                      around=that.invis meet-face-мір
                That's where he caught it: it's a long way from where he was on this
                side to the other side of the mountain, to where there's another creek,
                and around a gulley there, that's where he caught up to it.
[14:00] (157)
                 t'íq=ku7,
                               plán=ku7
                                              cin'
                                                         [l]=ku=sít.st
                 arrive=QUOT already=QUOT long.time at=DET=night
                               t'iq,
                                      ke•káw'=ti7
                                                        s=matq,
                     and then arrive IRED far=that.VIS NMLZ=walk
                         ke•káw'=ti7.
                                           cw7it i=miles=[a]
                                                                      matq.
                         IRED far=that.VIS many PL.DET=miles=EXIS walk
                He arrived back, it had already been night for a long time when he
                arrived, it was a long walk, many miles.
        (158)
                 nilh s=t'ak=s...
                                              but he had to speed...
                 COP NMLZ=go.along=3POSS but he had to speed
                     t'íq=ku7.
                     arrive=quот
                He kept going, but he had to speed, and he arrived back.
        (159)
                 tsún-em=ku7
                                        [e=ta]=sqátsza7-s=a,
                                                                     "cw7aoz
                 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT OBL=DET=father-3POSS=EXIS NEG
                     múta7 kwásu
                                                        xíl-em, wá7=as
                            D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS do-MID IPFV=3SBJV
                                           cw7it=iz"
                         around+there.vis many=those.vis
                His father told him, "Don't do it again, however many there are."
```

(160) tsún-as=ku7 [ta]=sqátsza7-s=a,
say+DIR-3ERG=QUOT DET=father-3POSS=EXIS
"pecen-s-túmc-as=wi7!"
hiss-CAUS-ISG.OBJ-3ERG=EMPH
He told his father, "It hissed at me!"

- (161) wa7 zewát-en-as stám'=as ku=pecen-s-túm ppfv be.known-dir-3erg what=3sbjv det=hiss-caus-3pass
 - (s), més=t'u7 tsut ku=swát, "pecen-s-túm=i2' but=EXCL say DET=who hiss-CAUS-3PASS=those.VIS
 [e]=ta=ts'í7=a, you just as well quit
 OBL=DET=deer=EXIS you just as well quit
 hunting."
 hunting

He knew what getting hissed at meant, but someone said, "Those who get hissed at by a deer, *you just as well quit hunting.*"

- (162) iy, áti7 lh=tsem'p=ás=ti7
 yes to+there.vis comp=get.finished=3sbJv=that.vis
 ku=n-sqwé•qw•el'.

 det=isg.poss-tell•cred•
 - That's the end of my story.
- (163) would... sxék=t'u7 kwásu
 would maybe=EXCL D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS
 sáwlhen, nílh=t'u7 su
 ask.a.question COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS
 sáwlhen.
 ask.a.question

Would... maybe you want to ask something, then ask it.

- (164) Billy Casper:

 nilh ti7. láni7 tsem'p. kéla7 áma.

 COP that.vIs at+there.ABS get.finished before good

 That's it. It's finished. Real good.
- (165) Sam Mitchell: [14:56] You can add that, you can shut it off, and add it again after... yeah.

2.4 Baptiste Ritchie's Free Translation²²

In the early days the hired Indians were pulling freight up to one of the big lakes. Some ducks flew over very low and one of the men jumped up and grabbed one as the birds flew over.

(Baptiste Ritchie talking:) A similar story I know took place right here in Pemberton, at Signal Hill. A group of people were going out to the country when a flock of swans flew low overhead. With these people was an Indian doctor. The people said to the doctor, "If you are any good one of those swans will drop down." The doctor pointed at one of the swans and it fell from the sky. The people went over and got it.

(Sam Mitchell talking:) The Indian doctors were very powerful. One of the very best doctors was called Qwinuts and another was called Nswástqw²³. They were real doctors and the best around Lillooet. These two were going out to hunt but the two hunters cursed each other using their power so they would not kill any animals.

This is another real story about a hunter called Npegáyus²⁴, Flateye in English. With his bow and arrow he can shoot a deer anytime at any distance. Most of his arrows would go through when the deer was at a full run, although he could shoot it in any position. He could run around a deer and shoot it. Flateye was told that if any hunter put a curse on him using their powers, he could not kill any deer that day. Flateye said, "Why can't I kill any deer if I can run faster than them. How is it I can't catch them?" His uncle replied by putting a curse on Flateye and sending him off. Flateye, being a very fast runner, was very confident, so he went out to hunt. He saw mountain goats just going over the top of the hill so he started running after them. When he got to the top of the hill the goats were going over the next hill. He never could catch them. He used to be able to catch them but not on this particular day. He continued chasing them all day then gave up. "I believe," said Flateye, "I used to be able to run right around them, but not today. I really believe that when a man is cursed he can't go beyond that curse, whether it is from an Indian doctor or another hunter."

The hunters have a name for the hunters that control the ways of hunting, using their power. They call them *tewit*. It is an expert hunter with power. One of the "professional hunters" wondered why the people never asked him to go along with them. "Oh well," he thought, "they won't catch anything as I have

²²This translation is reproduced verbatim from Bouchard and Kennedy, BCILP ms.1, #017

²³i.e. Nts'wálhtegw

²⁴i.e. Npekáyus

put a curse on them." This man was an Indian doctor. He decided to go to a neighboring tribe, maybe finding something there. He travelled down around Bridgewater²⁵ where he came across a cellar. He opened the cellar and inside were some dried salmon and saskatoon berries. Having on only a robe, he placed the food against his body above his belt. He filled the robe as much as he could then went back to his people. Spreading out the blanket in the middle of the house, he emptied his robe of the salmon and berries. The people thanked him for what he had got. They started boiling the fish and berries that he had taken from the other people. Because the doctor had placed a curse on the people of the village, they were unable to shoot any deer. All they could do was to go out and steal it. When the other Indian doctor released the curse they were once again able to go out and hunt for their meat. The doctor that put the curse on them was called Qwínuts, a very powerful doctor.

Not too long ago another hunter went out and killed a deer. It was a large hunting party but he was the only one that had shot anything. It was the man's first deer. They skinned the deer, cut it up and distributed it among the people that were there. One of the young women happened to have her monthly period. His mother told him they were not supposed to eat meat at this time so she pounded up some bone and gave the girl the marrow. The hunter was disappointed when he heard that this woman had eaten some of his meat. It is very important that this kind of person not eat any meat, especially that of a new hunter. When he heard that, he knew what he would do. He went out to hunt again. His father said to him, "Any animal you go after, make sure you get it." He saw a deer but the deer was whistling. When a deer does this it is hard to get near him. He shot the deer but the deer kept running. He chased it all day for about eighteen miles. It was night time when he got back. His father told him never to do that again: "Believe what they tell you for if you are cursed there is no need to try and beat it." But the young hunter had to kill the deer and finally succeeded. When a deer whistles at a hunter some other powerful hunter must have put a curse on him. It is almost impossible to kill a deer after you have heard him whistle.

²⁵Baptiste Ritchie is referring to Bridge River.

Chapter 3

Skas lhas cúk'wcalwit icín'as: Transporting Goods in the Early Days¹

3.1 St'át'imcets

Sam Mitchell:

Cúy'lhkan sqweqwel'mín na... sqweqwl'entsása, wa7 sqweqwel'entsás na nsqátsez7a. Elh kel7úl malh t'ak i sám7a, cin' k'a t'elh lhláni7, cin' k'a ni7 ku úcwalmicw. Cuy's... lts7a aylh na s1919a, láti7 tu7 lhqwatsátsas. So I guess cin', stexw ku7 t'ú7 ni7 cin' ku sqaycw.

Nilh t'u7 sqwéqwel's, lhkel7ás t'iq i sám7a, lhláta7 ta wa7 nk'.wátqwa, that's D'Arcy. T'íq.wit lhláti7, nilh t'u7 ska7ats'xsása ta pápel7a kw sxat's ta c.wálhtsa i ucwalmícwa, ta c.wéw'lha, small trail. Well, lhláti7 wa7 i ucwalmícwa, t'laz' t'u7 wa7 qweyenítas. Nilh t'u7 sp'a7cws slil'qs ta t'láz'a lhélku c.walh, nilh t'u7 scw7aoys káti7 put kwas wa7 ku c.walh.

Nilh t'u7 sk'úl'ems ta sám7a ta <u>s</u>timbóta, tsut na nsqátsez7a sti7... nilh ku7 ti7 wa7 <u>s</u>timbót. Wa7 tsúnitas i sám7a wa7 *sternwheel*, lt7u lku áw'ta lhlákas i xúm'tsa. Ti7 ku tsal'álh, q'em'p k'a wi t'áq'em'kst *mile* ta száct.sa. Lha7qs ets7áwna, nilh ti7 wa7 nqayt. Wa7 láti7 ta ucwalmicúlm'ecwa, wa7 láti7 i ucwalmicwa.

Nilh t'u7 ti7, ti7 t'u7 ku sáma7, nilh t'u7 skaxéksasa, wa7 k'a, wa7 qwits k'a, kaxéksasa kw scuy's k'ul'ún'as ku ts'íla ku nkaoháw's t'u7... Wéna7 t'u7, mulc t'u7 tákem i *rails*tsa, k'a lhstám'as kwelh *wheels*, k'a lhmúlcas. Cw7aoy t'u7 ku swat kwa zewatentáli ku put, t'u7 wa7 hem' tsútwit kwas... kwas wéna7, kw

¹Told and translated by Sam Mitchell in January 1973.

slha7qswít áti7. Gélgel k'a, gélgel ti7 lhláku7 ku súxwast.s, nilh t'u7 sas t'u7 ts'íla cik, lhstám'as ku ts'íla wa7 t'alaká7tens, t'u7 tsútwit, pépla7 hem' múla ta wa7 tsekwentáli lhas p'an't, lhas p'an't ti7, lhas i wa7 lham'áwlh, p'an't áku7. Wa7 múta7 ta núkwa stimbót.s lts7a xk'íta, láti7 múta7 lhas nlhám'lec.wit. Ts'íla t'ú7 iz' múta7 láti7 i ucwalmícwa wa7 wa7, l t'laz' t'u7 ltswása t'ák.wit, p'a7cw kw slil'qs ta t'láz'a.

Francis Edwards: Lh7úsa

Sam Mitchell:

Lh7úsa.

Lha7qswít aylh ltsa sk'emqína, lhláti7 aylh lhwas za7zacnalhímwit. Xílemwit áti7 k'a lhskenkánas kw scin's, cw7ao k'a t'u7 put kw skan7úls.

Nilh t'u7 skamáystsa ta c.wálha, ta c.wálha ekw7úna... zam' ta wa7 tsúnitas wa7 Canyon, Fraser Canyon. Nilh t'u7 aylh stsut.s ta nsqátsez7a, wa7 tsut, "T'ak aylh múta7 i sám7a, nilh t'u7 stsúti: "Cúy'lhkalh packtrain."" Cw7ao kwas zewatenítas stám'as ku wa7 packtrain t'u7. "Áku7 ku7 kwa potsíil kwa..." that's the way he explains it, that's Yale, "Potsíil, áku7 lhat cuy' nas, áku7 ku7 lhas cuy' t'iq ta stimbóta, nukw lhelkw7úna nkúkwtsha áti7. Lhláti7 lhat cuz' maysál'k," that's the fixing the bundles. Ti7 zam' lts7a ta wa7 slep', lkw7áwna East Lillooeta. His name is John Scott. He's got a big headstone. Granite. But it weighs about over a ton or so. But his name is on it.

Randy Bouchard: Ucwalmícwts!

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah. Wa7 hem' smets ta skwátsitssa láti7, sqwéqwel' hem' láti7 lt.sláksa.

Francis Edwards:

Iy, láti7 lhus tsicw wa7 qút'acnem' lhas snúkwsa.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, iy. nilh t'u7 stsut.s, "nilh ti7 tsut wa7 espacktrain: xetspqíqen'kst, tsútwit, tselk7ú7upekst, a hundred and fifty mules." Wa7 tsut, "Tsícwkalh aylh áku7 potsíila, nilh kelh maysál'k. Nk'wek'wenás múla ku7 kwa kazacenstáliha ku q'em'pálhmec saplín. Nilh t'u7 sxek, xexk iz', xexk lhk'wínas." Wa7 tsut, "Nilh t'u7 iz' smaysál'ks ta wa7 t'lkwál'kenem," wa7 tsut. "Tsilkstálhmec saplín ta

pál7a, pála7 nq'úsal'k. Nilh t'u7 sas t'u7 án'was nq'úsal'k ta pál7a szácen," wa7 tsut, "Nilh t'u7 s... nas láti7 kwi7kws ta múl.ha, nilh t'u7 sxw7utsinálhmecs ta pál7a nq'úsal'k. T'ak t'u7," tsut, "t'u7 kwi7kws i kewkwíkwsa, nilh t'u7 snilhts i pínsa." T'u7 tsut, "Xexzúmal'k hem', xexzumálhmec hem' nelh pínsa pináni7," wa7 tsut. About a hundred and twenty-five, a hundred and fifty pounds. "Nilh aylh," tsut, "i píkena, s7icwlh iz' múta7." Wa7 tsut, "Cw7it t'u7 q'ts'álhmec wa7 qweyeném, plhulh." Thick burlaps, you know.

Wa7 tsut, "Cúy'lhkalh aylh szacenasqáxa7, nilh ta kúkwa, wa7 ta pal.hósa." Wa7 tsut, "Ts'íla ku tsilkstúsem i wa7 zacenasqáxa7. Cw7ao kwas tákem swat wa7..."

Francis Edwards:

Esxékxek t'u7.

Sam Mitchell:

"Iy, wa7 sxékxek t'u7," wa7 tsut. Wa7 tsut lhas... "Lhat klhál'kam'," that's when they unload, "Lhat klhál'kam'," wa7 tsut, "wa7 t'u7 kaq'écwa i múl.ha, nilh t'u7 sas zenkílc.wit." The way he talked they never put a rope on or nothing.

Francis Edwards:

Wa7 zewatet.stwitas.

Sam Mitchell:

Tsut, "Lhat tsicw," wa7 tsut, "sPaoyó<u>l</u> ta wa7 npáotna, papt lhat... cuz' ests'qáxa7 t'u7, kéla7 t'u7 má7eg', cw7aoy t'u7 kw smá7eg's plánlhkalh qwatsáts." Tsut, "Sqázenem tákem, wa7 cw7it i wa7 estíntin." Wa7 tsut, "Nilhs t'u7 tsícwstum' áta7 nilh t'u7 sq'cwilcs iz'. Líl'q.wit," tsut, "lt.sláksa ta aperíihustsa ta pépel7a, nilh t'u7 slhláti7s t'u7 lhtálhlecas, t'u ncwetp."

"Nilh t'u7 aylh," tsut, "sxeks, t'u7 lt.scúy'sa, i wa7 zacenasqáxa7." N7án'was i wa7 wa7 lta pépel7a. Pepápla7 ti wa7 wa7 lkw7u ta tlhá7a, nilh ti wa7 q'minentáli ta aperíihusa. Wa7 t'u7 ti7 kwánas lts7a n7í7ez'ksa, nilh t'u7 sas xílhtsas ets7á kwas xilh ku <u>s</u>áotv<u>l</u>.

Francis Edwards:

Lta nq'p'áw'scensa.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, wá7lhkan s7ats'xs. Kwánas lhus... xilhts...

Nq'mínentwal' lhelt7ú i szácena, nilh t'u7 lhláti7 lhas esq'íl ta aperíihusa. Ta wa7 petál'ktens, wéna7, canvas, nilh ti7 wa7 x.wis. Wa7 t'u7 ta q'mínnasa, nilh sas kwánas ta aperíihustsa, nilh t'u7 sas xílhtsas ets7á. That's the way they put it on the horse. And its size... it's the size of a small mattress, only shorter.

Randy Bouchard:

Ti aperíihus, aperíihusa.

Sam Mitchell:

Ti7 ta aperíihusa, nxekw ti7 kw s... I think it's a Spanish word.

Randy Bouchard:

Iy, nilh ti7.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, nilh t'u7 ti7 sas tsut...

Wa7 tsut, "Cúy'lhkalh aylh, cuy' t'u7 lhelts7áwna, wa7 t'u7 sxek i wa7 zacencálstali i xexzúma múla." Well, two hundred and fifty pound, one bundle. Wa7 tsut, "Lkw7u ta wa7 q'wetál'k." They called the other fellow "q'wetál'k guy." Wa7 tsut, "Lt7u wa7 q'ílel ta aperíihusa... kanluts'anká t'u7, nilh t'u7 skwans ta pál7a, ta pál7al'ka szácen, nilh t'u7 sq'mínnas áku7." Over the mule. "The other, t7u ta wa7 wa7 lkw7u tlhá7a wa7 kwánas, nilh ti7 wa7 lhumun'táli, wa7 iz' mays ta... st'pál'cen wa7 tsúnitas, títca7 ku lop."

Francis Edwards:

T'pál'cen.

Sam Mitchell:

St'pál'cen, that's the sling rope, in English. In Indian they call it st'pál'cen.

Randy Bouchard:

St'pál'cen.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, that's the bottom... rope. In English, they call it sling rope.

Well, he grabs the other one, while the other fellow's tying that one, he grabs it and he throws it on his side. Q'mínnas ets7á...

Francis Edwards: Ucwalmicwts!

Sam Mitchell:

"Q'mínnas, q'ílin'as, nilh t'u7 s... nilh t'u7 snilhts ta wa7 gets.... ta wa7 zácen... ta wa7 catan'táli, szacenasqáxa7, nilh ti7 wa7 getsentáli ta... *two bundles*," wa7 tsut, "wa7 t'u7 x7ílhtsa iz' gets."

Randy Bouchard:

Is that what they call that diamond hitch on the...?

Sam Mitchell:

No, no, that's not the diamond hitch yet. That's the sling rope, he had to tie that sling rope together.

"Getsmíntwal'nas. Wa7 t'u7..." wa7 tsut, "Xilh ets7á, nilh sas x7ílhtsa, nilh t'u7 ses ts'íla kwa..." wéna7... tsúnas áku7 sáma7 *two half hitches. The tie, they put on*, q'min áta7 ta *canvas*a, kalhép'a, elh q'min aylh ta *diamond hitch*a. Wa7 t'u7 tsut, "Ta wa7 q'wtal'k zewátet.sas, wa7 t'u7 pála7 kwes tsekw. Cw7ao kwas k'win kwas tsekw," wa7 tsut, "Wa7 t'u7 pála7 lkw7u ta wa7 q'wtal'k, wa7 t'u7 tsekwnás, kalhá7a, kanlúts'anka, nilh t'u7 stsekwnás ts7a, nilh t'u7 slhecwpánas ets7á... tsekwnás tu7, lhecwpánas ekw7ú, tsekwnás ts7a. Nilh t'u7 ta wa7 wa7 lts7a lt7u ta wa7 q'ilin'táli, szacenasqáxa7."

Áti7 lhas tsem'p ta diamond hitcha. Nilh ti7 wa7 getsentáli lts7a. Ao kwas... i wa7 diamond hitchi, láni7 ku time, well the bundles were... small. Ao k'a kwas p'a7cw lhelkú 22 feet, 25 feet.

Francis Edwards:

Ao kwas p'a7cw lhelkw7áwna q'em'ps wi tsilkst sq'waxt.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, ao kwas p'a7cw lhelkw7áwna q'em'p wi tsilkst sq'waxt.

Nilh t²u7 ti7 sas k... nilh t²u7 ti7, nas t²u7 k²a... tsukw lhláti7, stsukws, kagétsa t²ú7a, nilh t²u7 sqwatsátss ta pal.hósa akú7a. *That's the* kukw, nilh sqwatsátss, t²u nilh t²u7 s... tsukw t²u7 szacensqáxa7s ta pépel7a múla t²u7 snilh t²u7 sqwatsátss, snilh t²u7 múta7 snilhts ta núkwa, tsukw. Paolleqswít ku7. Ka7ew²wít t²u7 t²ak.wít ta..., nilh ku7 t²u7 sn7án²wasts i wa7 lhqwilc, ta pápel7a i7wa7 lh... nilh t²u7 ta wa7 tsúwa7s száyten áti7. Nilh iz² ts²qáxa7 áku7 kéla7, well, a hundred and fifty mules. It was a long string. Tsícwwit ekw7ú, kéla7 lhqwílc.wit tu7 nilh t²u7 s... t²ak ku7 aylh.

Wa7 zewatet.stwítas t'u7 i múl.ha, t'ak ku7... wa7 t'u7 katéxwa, nilh t'u7 sas t'állec, nilh t'u7 sas wa7 tsúnitas wa7 lúts'al'k. *Re... retighten it, yeah.* lúts'al'k, lúts'al'kan'. Pála7 t'u7 kwes tsekw, tsekw et7ú, *see... from the hook here, the fellow on the other side, he pulls it up.*

Francis Edwards: Nlúts'ankenas.

Sam Mitchell:

Nlúts'ankenas, yeah, and then he pulls it around, and the other fellow pulls it this way. Nilh stsekwnás ets7á. Tsekwnás ta... tsekwnás lkw7u, tsekwnás múta7... they tie it again. Nilh splans wa7 k'a, nilh t'u7 ti7 sas t'u7 t'ak. "Tsukw ti7," tsut, "tsem'p, nilh t'u7 s... tsukw t'u7 lh... t'ak s7ats'xstwítas," tsut, "i múl.ha."

"Lhnúkwas, t'ak t'u7 áma st'aks lhat cuy' t'elh qáqey't. Qwenán lhkws... kítslec t'elh, nas ku7 t'u7 kítslec ta múl.ha, nilh t'u7 szewatenítas kw s... eswátems ta aperíihusa. Nilh st'elkwal'kán'em." Took the pack off. T'elkwál'k. Kelh ta aperíihustsa, tsásan'as ta wa7 zewatentáli, tsásan'as nká7as k'a... iz' sléqem iz' láku7 i wa7 nlham', áku7 nqepk. Sléqem iz', nilh t'u7 slewsánas, kelhenás, máysenas, zacencálsas, nilh t'u7 sqwatsátss. Nilh ku7 ti7 szewátcals i múl.ha, wa7 zewatenítas lhes eswátem. Lhláti7 lhcw7áozas kwas nts'ek'wk, they never have a sore back... some...

Francis Edwards:

Wa7 t'u7 alánas kw sqwal'qwel'cítem ts7a, nilh t'u7 skítslecs.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, nilh skítslecs, nilh t'u7 scw7aoys kw smáyscitem láti7 ta aperíihustsa. Ta pápel7a wa7 tsúnas na nsqátsez7a, cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 kw skenkán ku múlas kw snts'ek'wk, *all summer*.

Nilh ti7 wa7 száyteni, cw7it i wa7 *packtrain*, nilh ti7 ta wa7 s*Scott*, t'u7 wa7 t'u7 ku7 múta7 i núkwa *fifty*, ku wa7 *packtrain*s i núkwa. Cw7it i spaoyó<u>l</u>a láni7, *there's quite a few Spanish, my dad can talk that language*.

Nilh t'u7 swa7 malh aylh. Kak'ul'stwítasa ta... katsutanwaswíta kw s... eswákens k'a, nilh t'u7 sk'ul's ta c.wálha áku7 ta canyona, láku7 lta wa7 tsúnitas i sám7a wa7 Hell's Gate, nilh t'u7 sas ta lha7úla tunnel. Wa7 ka7ats'xskána... gee, around the 30's. They have a trussle going around that point, there was no tunnel, there's lots of tunnels now. This trail, trail. So when they got that bridge, lhkamáysasa láku7 ta ntqwíxwa, na wa7 sláwal'k ntqwíxw, nilh t'u7 aylh staot.s kw scuy's cúk'wcalwit, t'u7 small ti wa7 tími. They called it pull team.

Á7hen, kwes wá7as k'a t'u7 qweyenítas iz' i st'máolta, splans aylh wa7... na nsqátsez7a wa7 sts7as líl'tem. Ts7as k'a lhelkw7ú kelpúha... áku7 stlhá7sa ta kanáola, t'ak áti7. Nilh ni7 wa7 sYáya7. Yáya7, iy. He used to work for Bill McEwan, so he got the name... Bill McEwan, but his Indian name is Yáya7. Well he got the name, that's the same as... my old man used to work... pack train for Peach Mitchell too, and he got the name John Mitchell, so I got to... thought it...

Anyways... so when we... npzánmas kw Yáya7, he had... he had six or eight big long-horned animals, you know. Just that...

Randy Bouchard: Ucwalmícwts!

Sam Mitchell:

...tsukw t'u7 ti7 ta múl.ha wa7 wa7 lak, nk'ts'alimát t'u7 i st'máolta. Tsin ta wa7 t'ak n7í7ez'ka, áti7 lhas q'ecwp szeháw'si... Tsukw t'u7 ni7 s7áts'xenan kwelh... kwa pull team. That's that only time I see it. Ptak malh aylh lhláti7, s7aw't.s lhláti7 ta pull teama, pull team t'u7 lhláku7, lhláku7 t'u7 Potsíil, Yale lhas tsícwwit.

Kak'úl'a malh aylh ta nkaoháw'sa, ta *CPR*ha, kak'úl'a káti7. Nilh t'u7 ti7 aylh stsukws, nilh t'u7 ti7 skélhelhts ni7 na c.wálha. Nilh tu7 ti7 stsukws sqweys ti7 ta c.wálha, nilh t'u7 snilhs t'u7 aylh ta nkaoháw'sa.

I lhám'as t'ú7 ti7 aylh lts7áwna, nas i... stam' ni7 ku year lhas skéla7sa iz' wa7 sqweqwel'mínitas kwas k'ul' láku7 ku... 1922, 19... I'm pretty sure it was '22, old Bryson up here, nilh ti7 wa7 metscál, metscálsas ku tákem. They called it, what did they call that? I think it's a kind of a petition, the people... they want a road down the canyon. Nilh tu7 kentákem kents7á i wa7 wa7, p'elenílh i ucwalmícwa, wa7 metscál kwas k'ul' ku c.walh áku7. Kak'úl'a malh aylh ta c.wálha, well it's a big highway now.

Áti7 k'á ti7 lhtsem'pás sxek sqweqwel'mínan ti7 ta sám7a ku száyten lhelt7ú t'u t'ak nák'ek', t'u lhkun t'u7 aylh, kent7ú lhkúnsa ca7 lht'ák.witas!

Francis Edwards: Esáq'wwit!

3.2 English

Sam Mitchell:

I'm going to tell a story about what my father used to tell me. It was before the white people had really first come through; it's a long time since then, he must have been a really old man. He passed away in 1919. So I guess, he was really old by then.

He told the story of when the white people first arrived from Nk'.wátqwa, *that's D'Arcy*. As they came from there, one of them saw how difficult the trail was, the path the Indians used, the *small trail*. *Well*, the Indians living there just used canoes, since it was easier to travel by canoe than on the trail, and there wasn't really much of a path.

Then this white man built a steamboat... my father said it was a steamboat. The white people called it a *sternwheel*, it had paddles at the stern. That lake is sixteen *miles* long, and when you reach the other side, that's Nqayt. There's a reserve there, where Indians live.

So then this guy, this white guy, decided – he must have been rich – decided he was going to build a kind of railway. The whatchamacallit, *rails*, were all wooden, and I wonder what the *wheels* were made out of, wood, I guess. No one knows exactly, but they do say that... um, that they reached the shore there. The downhill slope was steep, so they just kind of pushed it off, and it had some kind of brake, but they said that it took just one mule to pull it back up to where they loaded it. They had another steamboat on this side, and they got on again there. The Indians on this side were the same way, they only traveled by canoe, because it was easier.

Francis Edwards: Lh7úsa.²

Sam Mitchell:

At Lh7us (Seton Portage). Then they crossed over to Sk'emqín ('Head of the Lake'), and then carried the load over to its destination. They did it like this for some time, but not really for that long I guess.

Then they managed to build a road over to... well, what they call the *Canyon, Fraser Canyon*. Then my father said, "Then more white people came through, so they said, "We're going to start a *packtrain*." But they didn't know what a *packtrain* was. "At *Potsiil* (Port Yale)," that's the way he explains it, that's

²The place name *Lh7us* means 'to come close to shore.' van Eijk 2013:167.

Yale, "Potsiil, that's where we started from, where another steamboat arrived there from downstream. We started fixing the bundles there." Maysál'k, that's the fixing the bundles. Now that guy is actually buried here, over in East Lillooet. His name is John Scott. He's got a big headstone. Granite. But it weighs about over a ton or so. But his name is on it.

Randy Bouchard: Speak Indian!

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah. Anyway his name is written on it, the story is that's where he lies.

Francis Edwards:

Yes, that's where they go race horses sometimes.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, yeah. He said, "A packtrain is a hundred and fifty, they said, a hundred and fifty mules. We'd get to Yale, and then the bundles would be put on. A few mules could carry ten sacks of flour. Then they were counted, to see how many there were." He said, "Then the unloader fixed the bundles. Five sacks of flour in each bundle. There were two bundles per load," he said, "but if the mule was smaller, there were just four sacks per bundle. And if it was smaller still," he said, "for the small ones, it would be beans." But he said, "At that time though, the beans were in big sacks." About a hundred and twenty-five, a hundred and fifty pounds. "Then the bacon," he said, "that was different too." He said, "They used a lot of sacks, thick ones." Thick burlaps, you know.

He said, "Then we'd load the mules, and the leader was the bellhorse. There were something like five teams who loaded the mules. Not everybody was..."

Francis Edwards:

Had instructions.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, "had instructions," he said. "When they *klhál'kam*," *that's when they unload*, "when they unloaded, the mules would bunch up, and then they'd make a circle." *The way he talked they never put a rope on or nothing*.

Francis Edwards:

They learned how to do it.

Sam Mitchell:

He said, "When we went with my partner Paoyó<u>l</u>, 3 we always left on horseback before dawn. It wasn't even dawn by the time we left. We rounded them up, many of them carried bells." He said, "Then we brought them over and they bunched up together. It was easy for them to put an *aparejo*⁴ on each one because they just stood there until they were turned around."

"Next," he said, "the packers were instructed where to go. There were two packers for each animal. One person per team was on the other side, he was the one who threw the *aparejo* on. He grabbed it in the middle, and then he did it like this, the same as you do with a saddle."

Francis Edwards:

On his knee.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, I watched. He took it when... then it was done...

The loads were thrown on top of each other, where the *aparejo* had been placed. The cover was, what do you call it, *canvas*, that was on top. When he was throwing it over, he'd take the *aparejo* and do it like this. *That's the way they put it on the horse. And its size... it's the size of a small mattress, only shorter.*

Randy Bouchard:

The aparejo... aparejo.

Sam Mitchell:

The aparejos, it was fitted on... I think it's a Spanish word.

Randy Bouchard:

Yes, it is.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, and then he said this...

He said, "Then when we were about to leave, the loaders for the big mules got their instructions." Well, two hundred and fifty pound, one bundle. He said, "The one over there was the 'other side guy'." They called the other fellow "q'wetál'k guy." He said, "The aparejo was laid and tightened around the belly, then he took one bundle and threw it on." Over the mule. "The other, the one

³The word *paoyól* means 'Spanish', from the Spanish word *español*.

⁴An *aparejo* is a Spanish word for a particular kind of packsaddle.

on the other side, he took it and attached the *st'pál'cen*, they called it, it was a thin rope."

Francis Edwards:

T'pál'cen.

Sam Mitchell:

St'pál'cen, that's the sling rope, in English. In Indian they call it st'pál'cen.

Randy Bouchard:

St'pál'cen.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, that's the bottom... rope. In English, they call it sling rope.

Well, he grabs the other one, while the other fellow's tying that one, he grabs it and he throws it on his side.

Francis Edwards:

Speak Indian!

Sam Mitchell:

"He throws it down here... He lays it on top, and then he's the one who ties... the packer who lifts it, he's the one who ties the *two bundles*," he said, "and then they're tied on the other side."

Randy Bouchard:

Is that what they call that diamond hitch on the...?

Sam Mitchell:

No, no, that's not the diamond hitch yet. That's the sling rope, he had to tie that sling rope together.

"He tied it together," he said, "like this, on the other side, it was kind of like..." what do you call it... in English they say *two half hitches. The tie, they put on*, the *canvas* was thrown on, and when it was slung over, then the *diamond hitch* was thrown over that. He said, "The one on the other side knew to just pull it once. It wasn't pulled a bunch of times, the fellow on the other side just pulled it once, it got closer and tightened round the belly, then he pulled it and attached it here, then pulled it and attached it there, and pulled it here again. So then it was the guy here who loaded the mule."

That's how the *diamond hitch* was finished, by the guy who tied it. They didn't have *diamond hitch*es at that *time*, *well the bundles were... small*. They can't have been more than 22 feet, 25 feet.

Francis Edwards:

Not more than fifteen feet.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, not more than fifteen feet.

So it went on like that, and when that was finished, when they finished tying everything, the bellhorse set off. *That's the* leader, he set off, but only one loaded mule left at a time, and then another one, until they had all gone. I heard they were tied from nose to tail. They were spaced a little ways apart as they travelled, and two riders went alongside, one of them with... well, that was their job. Those horses at the front... well, a hundred and fifty mules. It was a long string. As they went, the riders at the front travelled ahead.

The mules knew when there was something wrong, then they stopped, and then they got what they call *lúts'al'k* ('re-tightened'). *Re-tightened it, yeah*, retightened the load. It was just pulled once, pulled there... *see, from the hook here, the fellow on the other side he pulls it up.*

Francis Edwards:

He tightened it around the belly.

Sam Mitchell:

He tightened it round the belly, *yeah*, *and then he pulls it around*, *and the other fellow pulls it this way*. Then he pulls it this way, and pulls it that way, he pulls it again... *they tie it again*. When it looked like it was done, then they continued on. "Only when," he said, "it was done, then they... only then... they continued looking after the mules," he said.

"Sometimes, it was going along fine and then our mules started to suffer. When a mule needed to lay down, then it lay down, so then they knew something was wrong with the *aparejo*. Then we took the pack off." *Took the pack off, t'elkwál'k.* Its *aparejo* was taken off, and a person who knew the mule felt around for wherever there were... they were filled with straw, the backcovers. He broke up the straw and took the packsaddle off and fixed it, then put it back on and started off again. That was because the mules knew... they knew when something was wrong. That's why they never got a sore back, *they never have a sore back... some...*

Francis Edwards:

They felt it when they were hurt, so they laid down.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, they laid down when their *aparejos* weren't adjusted right. One person told my father that not even one of his mules got a sore back *all summer*.

So that's what they did, there were a lot of people who had *packtrains*, that was Scott's, but there were another *fifty* people who had *packtrains*. There were a lot of Spanish people at that time, *there's quite a few Spanish, my dad can talk that language*.

So that's how it was. They built the... they decided that maybe they could use wagons, so the road was built through the canyon, and over at what the white people call *Hell's Gate*, that's where the nearest tunnel is. I got to see it... gee, around the 30's. They have a trussle⁵ going around that point, there was no tunnel, there's lots of tunnels now. This trail, trail. So when they got that bridge, when the bridge was built, the trestle bridge, that's when they started hauling goods, even though their team was small. They called it pull team.

See, when they started using those cattle, my dad was already getting to be an adult. This guy came from the Cariboo... on the other side of Quesnel, going that way. That was Yáya7. Yeah, Yáya7. He used to work for Bill McEwan, so he got the name... Bill McEwan, but his Indian name is Yáya7. Well he got the name, that's the same as... my old man used to work... pack train for Peach Mitchell⁶ too, and he got the name John Mitchell, so I got to... thought it...

Anyways.... so when we... met Yáya7, he had... he had six or eight big long-horned animals, you know. Just that...

Randy Bouchard: Speak Indian!

Sam Mitchell:

There was just one mule there, and the oxen were yoked together. There was a chain went down the middle, it was hooked there in between them... That's the only time I saw a *pull team*. *That's that only time I see it*. So then after the *pull team*... they used pull teams from *Yale*, once they got to *Yale*.

Then the *CPR* Railroad was built. And when it was finished, that road was removed. The road stopped being used because of the railroad.

⁵The word 'trussle' is Sam's pronunciation of the word *trestle*, and maybe an amalgam of *trestle* and *truss*. He may be referring to trestle platforms used to bypass rock promontories on the canyon wall

⁶The pronunciation of the first name *Peach* is unclear, and could be *Pitch*.

When it was put through here... what *year* was it when they first started talking about building the... *I'm pretty sure it was '22, old Bryson up here,* he was the writer, and he made everyone sign. *They called it... what did they call that? I think it's a kind of a petition, the people... they want a road down the canyon.* So everyone who lived around here, including the Indians, wrote to get a road built there. So then the road got built, *well it's a big highway now.*

Maybe that's where I'll stop telling this story about... the white people's way of doing things kept changing, until nowadays, they travel up high!

Francis Edwards: They fly!

3.3 Interlinear Gloss

(1) Sam Mitchell: [0:00]

cúy'=lhkan sqwe•qw•el'-mín na...
going.to=IsG.sbj tell•CRED•-RLT ABS.DET=

sqwe•qw•l'-en-ts-ás=a,
tell•CRED•-DIR-IsG.OBj-3ERG=EXIS

wa7 sqwe•qw•el'-en-ts-ás
IPFV tell•CRED•-DIR-IsG.OBj-3ERG

na=n-sqátsez7=a.

ABS.DET=IsG.POSS-father=EXIS

I'm going to tell a story about what my father used to tell me.

(2) elh kel7-{7}úl=malh t'ak
before before-really=ADHORT go.along
i=sám7=a,⁷ (n)cín'=k'a=t'[elh]
PL.DET=white.person=EXIS long.time=EPIS=at.this.time
lhláni7, cín'=k'a=ni7
from+there.ABS long.time=EPIS=that.ABS
ku=7úcwalmicw.
DET=indigenous.person

It was before the white people had really first come through; it's a long time since then, he must have been a really old man.

- (3) cuy'=s... l=ts7a aylh na=s-1919=a, going.to=3POSS at=this.vIs then ABS.DET=NMLZ-1919=EXIS láti7=tu7 lh=qwatsáts=as. at+there.vIs=rem comp=leave=3SBJV

 He passed away in 1919.
- (4) so I guess cin', stexw=ku7=t'ú7=ni7
 so I guess long.time straight=QUOT=EXCL=that.ABS
 cin' ku=sqáycw.
 long.time DET=man

 So I guess, he was really old by then.

¹⁷Phonetically, the stress on $i s \acute{a} m 7 a$ is $i s a m 7 \acute{a}$, for unclear reasons.

```
(5) nílh=t'u7 {s}=sqwé•qw•el'=s, lh=kel7=ás
COP=EXCL NMLZ=tell•CRED•=3POSS COMP=before=3SBJV
t'iq i=sám7=a, lhláta7
arrive PL.DET=white.person=EXIS from+there.VIS
ta=wa7 n(e)k'.wátqwa, that's D'Arcy.
DET=IPFV Nk'.wátqwa that's D'Arcy
He told the story of when the white people first arrived from Nk'.wátqwa, that's D'Arcy.
```

```
(6)
         t'íq=wit
                    lhláti7,
                                    nílh=ťu7
         arrive=3PL from+there.VIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=
            ka-7ats'x-s-ás-a
                                          ta=pá•p•l7=a
            CIRC-get.seen-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC DET=one CRED = EXIS
                kw=s=...
                              xat'=s
                                          (ta=c.wé•w'•...
                D/C=NMLZ= hard=3POSS DET=road•CRED•
                    ta=c.wálh=a, ta=cwe•w'•...)
                    DET=road=EXIS DET=road*CRED*
                         ta=c.wálh-ts=a
                         DET=road-3POSS=EXIS
                             i=7ucwalmícw=a.
                             PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS
                                 ta=cwé•w'•lh=[a],
                                                       small trail.
                                 DET=road • CRED • = EXIS small trail
```

As they came from there, one of them saw how difficult the trail was, the path the Indians used, the *small trail*.

[1:00] (7) well, lhláti7 wa7 i=7ucwalmícw=a, well from+there.vis be pl.det=indigenous.person=exis t'láz'=t'u7 wa7 qwey-en-ítas...
canoe=excl ipfv get.used-dir-3pl.erg

Well, the Indians living there just used canoes...

(8) ...nílh=t'u7 s=p'a7cw=s s=lil'q=s
COP=EXCL NMLZ=more.than=3POSS NMLZ=easy=3POSS
ta=t'láz'=a lhel=ku=c.wálh, nílh=t'u7
DET=canoe=EXIS from=DET=road COP=EXCL
s=cw7aoy=s káti7 put
NMLZ=NEG=3POSS around+there.vIS exactly
kwas wa7 ku=c.wálh.
D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be DET=road

...since it was easier to travel by canoe than on the trail, and there wasn't really much of a path.

- (9) nílh=t'u7 s=k'úl'-em=s
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.made-MID=3POSS

 ta=sám7=a ta=stimbót=a, tsut
 DET=white.person=EXIS DET=steamboat=EXIS say
 na=n-sqátsez7=a s=ti7...
 ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS NMLZ=that.VIS
 nílh=ku7=ti7 wa7 stimbót.
 COP=QUOT=that.VIS IPFV steamboat
 Then this white man built a steamboat... my father said it was a
- (10) wa7 tsún-itas i=sám7=a wa7
 IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG PL.DET=white.person=EXIS IPFV

 sternwheel, l=t7u [l]=ku=7áw't=a

 sternwheel at=that.VIS at=INVIS.DET=behind=EXIS

 lh=lák=as i=xúm't-s=a.

 COMP=be.there=3SBJV PL.DET=paddle-3POSS=EXIS

 The white people called it a sternwheel, it had paddles at the stern.

steamboat.

(11) ti7 ku=tsal'álh, q'ém'p=k'a wi=t'áq'em'kst *mile* that.vis det=lake ten=epis plus=six mile [ta]=s-záct-s=a...

DET=NMLZ-long-3POSS=EXIS
That lake is sixteen *mile*s long...

(12) ...lha7-qs e=ts7á-wna, nílh=ti7 wa7 close.to-point to=this.vis-precisely COP=that.vis iPFV n-qayt.

LOC-reach.top

... and when you reach the other side, that's Nqayt.

(13) wa7 láti7 ta=7ucwalmicw-úlm'ecw=a, wa7
be at+there.vis det=indigenous.person-land=exis be
láti7 [i]=7ucwalmícw=a.
at+there.vis pl.det=indigenous.person=exis

There's a reserve there, where Indians live.

[2:00] (14) nílh=t'u7=ti7, tí7=t'u7 ku=sáma7, COP=EXCL=that.VIS that.VIS=EXCL DET=white.person nílh=t'u7 (s=...) s=ka-xék-s-as-a, COP=EXCL NMLZ= NMLZ=CIRC-figure-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC wá7=k'a, wa7 qwíts=k'a, IPFV=EPIS IPFV rich=EPIS ka-xék-s-as-a CIRC-figure-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC kw=s=cuy'=s D/C=NMLZ=going.to=3POSS k'ul'-ún'-as (ku=...) ku=ts'íla get.made-DIR-3ERG DET= DET=like ku=n-kaoh-áw's=t'u7. DET=LOC-car-middle=EXCL

So then this guy, this white guy, decided – he must have been rich – decided he was going to build a kind of railway.

(15) wéna7=t'u7, múlc=t'u7 tákem (i=...)
whatchamacallit=EXCL stick=EXCL all PL.DET=
i=rails-ts=a, k'a lh=stám'=as
PL.DET=rails-3POSS=EXIS EPIS COMP=what=3SBJV
kwelh=wheels, k'a lh=múlc=as.
PL.DET=wheels EPIS COMP=stick=3SBJV

The whatchamacallit, *rails*, were all wooden, and I wonder what the *wheels* were made out of, wood, I guess.

```
(16)
        cw7áoy=t'u7 ku=swát
                                          zewat-en-táli
        NEG=EXCL
                     DET=who DET+IPFV be.known-DIR-NTS
            ku=pút,
                         t'u7 wá7=hem'
                                          tsút=wit
            DET=exactly but IPFV=ANTI
                                          say=3PL
                kwas...
                                       kwas
                D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                                    kw=s=lha7-qs=wít<sup>8</sup>
                    whatchamacallit D/C=NMLZ=close.to-point=3PL
                        to+there.vis
```

No one knows exactly, but they do say that... um, that they reached the shore there.

gélgel=ti7 (17)gélgel=k'a, lhláku7 strong=EPIS strong=that.VIS from+there.INVIS $ku={s}=s\acute{u}xwast=s,$ nílh=ťu7 D/C=NMLZ=go.downhill=3POSS COP=EXCL sás=ťu7 ts'íla cik, NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL like get.pushed lh=stám'=as ku=ts'íla wa7 COMP=what=3SBJV DET=like IPFV t'al-aká7-ten-s... stop-hand-INS-3POSS

The downhill slope was steep, so they just kind of pushed it off, and it had some kind of brake...

⁸The verb *lha7qswit* refers to animate individuals landing on the shore of a body of water. What it refers to at this point in Sam's narrative is unclear, but it may be the steamboat crossing, as mentioned both before and after this stanza.

...t'u7 tsút=wit, pé•p•la7=hem' (18)múla ta=wa7 but one CRED = ANTI mule DET=IPFV say=3PL tsekw-en-táli lhas p'an't, get.pulled-DIR-NTS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV return p'an't COMP+IPFV+3SBJV return that.VIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV PL.DET=IPFV lham'-áwlh, p'an't áku7. get.put.into-vessel return to+there.INVIS ...but they said that it took just one mule to pull it back up to where they loaded it.

(19) wa7 múta7 ta=núkw=a stimbót-s l=ts7a be again det=other=exis steamboat-3poss at=this.vis xk'ít=a, láti7 múta7 lhas this.side=exis at+there.vis again comp+ipfv+3sbjv n-lhám'-lec=wit.

They had another steamboat on this side, and they got on again there.

ts'ila=t'ú7=iz' (20)múta7 láti7 like=EXCL=those.vis again at+there.vis i=7ucwalmícw=a wa7 wa7, PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS IPFV l=t'láz'=t'u7 l=tswása. at=canoe=EXCL at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS p'a7cw kw=s=lil'q=s go.along=3PL more.than D/C=NMLZ=easy=3POSS ta=t'láz'=a. DET=canoe=EXIS

The Indians on this side were the same way, they only traveled by canoe, because it was easier.

(21) Francis Edwards:
| lh7-ús=a. | close.to-land=exis
| At Lh7us (Seton Portage).

(22) Sam Mitchell: lh7-ús=a. close.to-land=exis At Lh7us. [3:00]

(23) lha7-qs=wít aylh l=tsa
close.to-point=3PL then at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
sk'emqín=a, lhláti7
head.of.the.lake=EXIS from+there.VIS

aylh lhwas then COMP+IPFV+3SBJV za<7>•z•acn-alhím=wit.⁹ carry<INCH>•CRED•-gone.to.the.very.end=3PL

Then they crossed over to Sk'emqín ('Head of the Lake'), and then carried the load over to its destination.

(24) xíl-em=wit áti7=k'a lh=skenkán=as
do-mid=3pl to+there.vis=epis comp=how.much=3sbjv
kw=s=cin'=s, cw7áo=k'a=t'u7 put
d/C=nmlz=long.time=3poss neg=epis=excl exactly
kw=s=kan-7úl=s.
d/C=nmlz=whether-really=3poss

They did it like this for some time, but not really for that long I guess.

(25) nílh=t'u7 s=ka-máys=ts-a ta=c.wálh=a,
COP=EXCL NMLZ=CIRC-get.made=3POSS-CIRC DET=road=EXIS
ta=c.wálh=a e=kw7ú-{w}na... zam' ta=wa7
DET=road=EXIS to=that.INVIS-precisely though DET=IPFV
tsún-itas wa7 Canyon, Fraser Canyon.
say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV Canyon Fraser Canyon
Then they managed to build a road over to... well, what they call the

Then they managed to build a road over to... well, what they call the *Canyon, Fraser Canyon*.

⁹The suffix *-alhim* is analyzed by van Eijk (2013) as consisting of two suffixes *-alh* "gone to the very end" (p. 428) and *-im* "accidentally(?)" (p. 416), though he notes that the two suffixes often occur in combination with one another. We leave them unparsed and glossed as "gone to the very end" because of the unclear status of *-im*, as noted by van Eijk.

```
(26)
        nílh=ťu7
                     avlh
                           s=...
                                    tsut=s
                    then NMLZ= say=3POSS
         COP=EXCL
                                            tsut, "t'ak
            ta=n-sqátsez7=a,
                                      wa7
                                                           aylh
            DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS IPFV say
                                                  go.along then
                múta7 i=sám7=a,
                                                   nílh=ťu7
                        PL.DET=white.person=EXIS COP=EXCL
                    s=tsút=i,
                                         "cúy'=lhkalh
                                         going.to=IPL.SBJ
                    NMLZ=say=3PL.POSS
                        packtrain.""
                        packtrain
```

Then my father said, "Then more white people came through, so they said, "We're going to start a *packtrain*.""

- (27) cw7ao kwas zewat-en-ítas

 NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be.known-DIR-3PL.ERG

 stám'=as ku=wa7 packtrain=t'u7.

 what=3SBJV DET=IPFV packtrain=EXCL

 But they didn't know what a packtrain was.
- kwa..." "áku7=ku7 (28)kwa potsíil to+there.INVIS=QUOT DET+IPFV Port.Yale DET+IPFV that's the way he explains it, that's Yale, "potsíil, that's the way he explains it that's Yale Port.Yale áku7 cuv' to+there.INVIS COMP+IPFV+IPL.SBJV going.to áku7=ku7 to+there.INVIS=QUOT COMP+IPFV+3SBJV ta=stimbót=a, t'iq going.to arrive DET=steamboat=EXIS nukw lhel=kw7ú-{w}na other from=that.INVIs-precisely nkú•kw•tsh=a... downstream • CRED • = EXIS áti7" to+there.vis

"At Potsiil (Port Yale)," that's the way he explains it, that's Yale, "Potsiil, that's where we started from, where another steamboat arrived there from downstream."

- (29) "lhláti7 lhat cuz' [4:00] from+there.vis COMP+IPFV+IPL.SBJV going.to
 mays-ál'k," that's the fixing the bundles.
 get.fixed-surface that's the fixing the bundles
 "We started fixing the bundles there." Maysál'k, that's the fixing the bundles.
- (30) ti7 zam' l=ts7a ta=wa7 s-lep', that.vis though at=this.vis det=ipfv stat-get.buried l=kw7á-wna East Lillooet=a. at=this.invis-precisely East Lillooet=exis

 Now that guy is actually buried here, over in East Lillooet.
- (31) His name is John Scott. He's got a big headstone. Granite. But it weighs about over a ton or so. But his name is on it.
- (32) Randy Bouchard:
 ucwalmícw-ts!
 indigenous.person-mouth
 Speak Indian!
- (33) Sam Mitchell:

 yeah. wá7=hem' s-mets ta=skwátsits-s=a
 yeah IPFV=ANTI STAT-get.written DET=name-3POSS=EXIS
 láti7, sqwé•qw•el'=hem' láti7
 at+there.vis tell•CRED•=ANTI at+there.vis
 l=t=s=lák=s=a.
 at=D/C=NMLZ=be.there=3POSS=EXIS

 Yeah. Apyway his name is written on it, the story is that's where left.

Yeah. Anyway his name is written on it, the story is that's where he lies.

(34) Francis Edwards:

iy, láti7 lhus tsicw
yes at+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv get.there
wa7 qút'acn-em' lhas
ipfv race.horses-mid comp+ipfv+3sbjv
[s]-núkw-s=a.
NMLZ-other-3POSS=EXIS

Yes, that's where they go race horses sometimes.

(35) Sam Mitchell:

iy, iy. nílh=t'u7 s=tsut=s, "nilh ti7

yes yes COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS COP that.VIS

tsut (wa7 es=...) wa7 es=packtrain: xetspqíqen'kst,

say IPFV have= IPFV have=packtrain hundred

tsút=wit, tselk-lh-7ú•7u•pekst, 10 a hundred and

say=3PL five-CONN-ten•CRED• a hundred and

fifty mules." fifty mules

He said, "A *packtrain* is a hundred and fifty, they said, *a hundred and fifty mules*."

- (36) wa7 tsut, "tsícw=kalh aylh áku7

 IPFV say get.there=IPL.SBJ then to+there.INVIS

 potsíil=a, nílh=kelh mays-ál'k."

 Port.Yale=EXIS COP=FUT get.fixed-surface

 "We'd get to Yale, and then the bundles would be put on."
- (37) "n-k'we•k'w•en=ás múla=ku7 kwa
 LOC-how.many•CRED•=3SBJV mule=QUOT DET+IPFV

 [ka]-zacen-s-táli-ha ku=q'em'p-álhmec saplín."

 CIRC-load-CAUS-NTS-CIRC DET=ten-stomach flour

 "A few mules could carry ten sacks of flour."
- [5:00] (38) "nílh=t'u7 s-xek, xe•x•k=íz', xe•x•k

 COP=EXCL STAT-figure figure•CRED•=those.VIS figure•CRED•

 lh=k'wín=as."

 COMP=how.many=3SBJV

 "Then they were counted, to see how many there were."

¹⁰The number tselklh7ú7upekst 'fifty' is from Secwepemctsín (Shuswap). Kuipers (1983:93) lists tselkll7úpekst for 'fifty', which is the phonetic equivalent of Sam Mitchell's tselklh7ú7upekst, with the exception of the consonant reduplication, which according to Marianne Ignace (p.c. 2020) indicates that animals are being counted.

- (39) wa7 tsut, "nílh=t'u7=iz' s=mays-ál'k=[s]
 IPFV say COP=EXCL=those.VIS NMLZ=get.fixed-surface=3POSS
 ta=wa7 t'[l]kw-ál'k-en-em," wa7 tsut.
 DET=IPFV get.taken.off-surface-DIR-3PASS IPFV say
 He said, "Then the unloader fixed the bundles."
- (40) "tsilkst-álhmec saplín ta=pál7=a, pála7 five-stomach flour DET=one=EXIS one n-q'ús-al'k."

 LOC-get.bundled-surface
 "Five sacks of flour in each bundle."
- (41)"nílh=t'u7 sás=ťu7 án'was COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL two ta=pál7=a n-q'ús-al'k szácen," LOC-get.bundled-surface DET=one=EXIS load nas láti7 wa7 tsut, "nílh=t'u7 s=... COP=EXCL NMLZ= go at+there.vis IPFV say kwi<7>kws ta=múl.h=a, nílh=ťu7 small<INCH> DET=mule=EXIS COP=EXCL s=xw7utsin-álhmec=s ta=pál7=a NMLZ=four-stomach=3POSS DET=one=EXIS n-q'ús-al'k." LOC-get.bundled-surface

"There were two bundles per load," he said, "but if the mule was smaller, there were just four sacks per bundle."

(42) "t'ák=t'u7," tsut, "t'u7 kwi<7>kws (ta=...)
go.along=excl say excl small<inch> det=
i=kew•kwíkws=a, nílh=t'u7 s=nilh=ts
PL.DET=TRED•small=exis cop=excl nmlz=cop=3poss
i=píns=a."
PL.DET=beans=exis

"And if it was smaller still," he said, "For the small ones, it would be beans."

- t'u7 tsut, "xe•xzúm-al'k=hem', xe•xzum-álhmec=hem' but say IRED•big-surface=ANTI IRED•big-stomach=ANTI nelh=píns=a pináni7," wa7 tsut.

 PL.ABS.DET=beans=EXIS at.that.time IPFV say

 But he said, "At that time though, the beans were in big sacks."
- (44) About a hundred and twenty-five, a hundred and fifty pounds.
- (45) "nilh aylh," tsut, "i=píken=a, s7ícwlh=iz'
 COP then say PL.DET=bacon=EXIS different=those.vIS
 múta7."
 again
 "Then the bacon," he said, "that was different too."
- (46) wa7 tsut, "cw7ít=t'u7 q'ts'-álhmec wa7

 IPFV say many=EXCL woven-stomach IPFV

 qwey-en-ém, plhúlh."

 get.used-DIR-3PASS thick

 He said, "They used a lot of sacks, thick ones."
- (47) Thick burlaps, you know.
- (48) wa7 tsut, "cúy'=lhkalh aylh s-zacen-asqáxa7,

 IPFV say going.to=IPL.SBJ then STAT-load-domestic.animal

 nilh ta=kúkw=a, wa7 ta=pal.hós=a."

 COP DET=boss=EXIS IPFV DET=bellhorse=EXIS

 He said, "Then we'd load the mules, and the leader was the bellhorse."
- [6:00] (49) wa7 tsut, "ts'íla ku=tsilkst-úsem i=wa7
 IPFV say like DET=five-kind PL.DET=IPFV
 zacen-asqáxa7."
 load-domestic.animal
 He said, "There were something like five teams who loaded the mules."
 - (50) "cw7ao kwas tákem swat wa7..."

 NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS all who IPFV
 "Not everybody was..."

- (51) Francis Edwards:
 es-xék•xek=t'u7.
 stat-tred•figure=excl
 Had instructions.
- (52) Sam Mitchell:
 iy, "wa7 s-xék•xek=t'u7," wa7 tsut.
 yes IPFV STAT-TRED•figure=EXCL IPFV say
 Yeah, "had instructions," he said.
- "lhat (53)wa7 tsut lhas... COMP+IPFV+3SBJV COMP+IPFV+IPL.SBJV IPFV say klh-ál'k-am'," that's when they unload, get.taken.off-surface-MID that's when they unload "lhat klh-ál'k-am'," COMP+IPFV+IPL.SBJV get.taken.off-surface-MID wa7 tsut, "wá7=t'u7 ka-q'écw-a IPFV say IPFV=EXCL CIRC-get.bunched-CIRC nílh=ťu7 i=múl.h=a, PL.DET=mule=EXIS COP=EXCL zenk-ílc=wit." NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS circle-AUT=3PL

"When they klhál'kam," that's when they unload, "when they unloaded, the mules would bunch up, and then they'd make a circle."

- (54) The way he talked they never put a rope on or nothing.
- (55) Francis Edwards:
 wa7 zewat•et-s-twítas.
 IPFV be.known•FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 They learned how to do it.

(56) Sam Mitchell:

"lhat tsicw," wa7 tsut, tsut, say COMP+IPFV+IPL.SBJV get.there IPFV say "s-Paovól ta=wa7 n-páotna, papt NMLZ-Paoyól det=ipfv isg.poss-partner always cuz' [es]-ts'qáxa7=t'u7 lhat... COMP+IPFV+IPL.SBJV going.to STAT-horse=EXCL kéla7=t'u7 má<7>eg'..." before=EXCL daybreak<INCH>

He said, "When we went with my partner Paoyól, we always left on horseback before dawn."

- (57) "...cw7áoy=t'u7 kw=s=má<7>eg'=s
 NEG=EXCL D/C=NMLZ=daybreak<INCH>=3POSS
 plán=lhkalh qwatsáts."
 already=IPL.SBJ leave
 "It wasn't even dawn by the time we left."
- (58) tsut, "s=qáz-en-em tákem, wa7 cw7it say NMLZ=round.up-DIR-IPL.ERG all IPFV many i=wa7 [e]s=tíntin."
 PL.DET=IPFV have=bell
 "We rounded them up, many of them carried bells."
- (59) wa7 tsut, "nílh=s=t'u7

 IPFV say COP=NMLZ=EXCL

 tsícw-s-tum' áta7 nílh=t'u7

 get.there-CAUS-IPL.ERG to+there.VIS COP=EXCL

 s=q'cw-îlc=[s]=iz'."11

 NMLZ=get.bunched-AUT=3POSS=those.VIS

He said, "Then we brought them over and they bunched up together."

¹¹Our transcription *tsícwstum' áta7* is tentative.

```
(60)
         "líl'q=wit," tsut, "l=t=s=lák=s=a
                                                                        [7:00]
                           at=D/C=NMLZ=be.there=3POSS=EXIS
         easy=3PL
                     say
            ta=aperíihus-ts=a
                                      ta=pé•p•l7=a,
            DET=aparejo-3POSS=EXIS DET=one CRED = EXIS
                 nílh=ťu7
                             s=lhláti7=s=t'u7
                 COP=EXCL NMLZ=from+there.VIS=3POSS=EXCL
                                              t'u
                     lh=tálh-lec=as,
                                                    n-cwetp."
                     COMP=stand-AUT=3SBJV until LOC-go.around
        "It was easy for them to put an aparejo on each one because they just
        stood there until they were turned around."
```

- (61) "nílh=t'u7 aylh," tsut, "s=xek=s, t'u7

 COP=EXCL then say NMLZ=get.instructed=3POSS EXCL

 l=t=s=cúy'=s=a, i=wa7

 at=D/C=NMLZ=going.to=3POSS=EXIS PL.DET=IPFV

 zacen-asqáxa7."
 load-domestic.animal

 "Next," he said, "the packers were instructed where to go."
- (62) "n-7án'was i=wa7 wa7 l=ta=pé•p•l7=a."

 LOC-two PL.DET=IPFV be at=DET=one•CRED•=EXIS

 "There were two packers for each animal."
- (63) "pe•p•á•pla7¹² ti=wa7 wa7 l=kw7u ta=...

 IRED•one•CRED• DET=IPFV be at=there.INVIS DET=

 tlhá7=a, nilh ti=wa7 q'min-[en]-táli

 other.side=EXIS COP DET=IPFV get.thrown.down-DIR-NTS

 ta=aperfihus=a."

 DET=aparejo=EXIS

"One person per team was on the other side, he was the one who threw the *aparejo* on."

 $^{^{12}}$ The initial syllable [pe] in pep'apla7 may be a false start.

"wá7=t'u7=ti7 kwán-as (64)l=ts7a IPFV=EXCL=that.VIS take+DIR-3ERG at=this.VIS n7i7ez'k-s=anílh=ťu7 in.the.middle-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL xílh-ts-as e=ts7á NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS do.like-CAUS-3ERG to=this.VIS ku=sáotvl." kwas xilh D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.done.like DET=saddle "He grabbed it in the middle, and then he did it like this, the same as you do with a saddle."

- (65) Francis Edwards:
 [l=ta=n]-q'p'-áw's-cen-s=a.
 at=DET=LOC-turn.over-middle-foot-3POSS=EXIS
 On his knee.
- (66) Sam Mitchell:

 iy, wá7=lhkan s-7áts'x-s. kwán-as

 yes IPFV=ISG.SBJ STAT-get.seen-CAUS take+DIR-3ERG

 lhus... xilh-ts...¹³

 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV do.like-CAUS

 Yeah, I watched. He took it when... then it was done...
- (67) n-q'mín-[en]-twal' lhel=t7ú
 LOC-get.thrown.down-DIR-RECP from=that.VIS

 i=szácen=a, nílh=t'u7 lhláti7

 PL.DET=load=EXIS COP=EXCL from+there.VIS

 lhas es-q'íl

 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV STAT-laid.on.surface

 ta=aperíihus=a.

 DET=aparejo=EXIS

The loads were thrown on top of each other, where the *aparejo* had been placed.

¹³There is a break in the recording after this stanza.

- (68) (ta=...) ta=wa7 pet-ál'k-ten-s,

 DET= DET=IPFV get.covered-surface-INS-3POSS

 wéna7, canvas, nilh ti7 wa7 x.wis

 whatchamacallit canvas COP that.VIS IPFV top

 The cover was, what do you call it, canvas, that was on top.
- (69) $w\acute{a}7=t'u7$ $ta=q'm\acute{n}-[n]-as=a$, DET=get.thrown.down-DIR-3ERG=EXIS be=EXCL nilh kwán-as COP NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS take+DIR-3ERG nílh=ťu7 ta=aperíihus-ts=a, DET=aparejo-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL xílh-ts-as e=ts7á. NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS do.like-CAUS-3ERG to=this.VIS When he was throwing it over, he'd take the *aparejo* and do it like this.
- (70) That's the way they put it on the horse.
- (71) And its size... it's the size of a small mattress, only shorter. [8:00]
- (72) Randy Bouchard:
 ti=aperiihus, aperiihus=a.
 DET=aparejo aparejo=EXIS
 The aparejo... aparejo.
- (74) Randy Bouchard:
 iy, nilh ti7.
 yes COP that.VIS
 Yes, it is.

- (75) Sam Mitchell:
 Yeah, nílh=t'u7=ti7 sas tsut...
 yeah COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS say
 Yeah, and then he said this...
- (76) wa7 tsut, "cúy'=lhkalh aylh, cúy'=t'u7

 IPFV say going.to=IPL.SBJ then going.to=EXCL

 lhel=ts7á-wna, wá7=t'u7 s-xek

 from=this.VIS-precisely IPFV=EXCL STAT-figure

 i=wa7 (zácen...) zacen-cál-s-tali

 PL.DET=IPFV load load-ACT-CAUS-NTS

 [i]=xe•xzúm=a múla.

 PL.DET=IRED•big=EXIS mule

He said, "Then when we were about to leave, the loaders for the big mules got their instructions."

- (77) Well, two hundred and fifty pound, one bundle.
- (78) wa7 tsut, "l=kw7u ta=wa7 q'wet-ál'k."

 IPFV say at=that.INVIS DET=IPFV side-surface

 He said, "The one over there was the 'other side guy'."
- (79) They called the other fellow "q'wetál'k guy."
- (80)"l=t7u q'íl•el wa7 tsut, wa7 at=that.vis ipfv laid.on.surface•fred ta=aperíihus=a... ka-n-luts'-ank-á=t'u7, DET=aparejo=EXIS CIRC-LOC-tight-stomach-CIRC=EXCL nílh=ťu7 s=kwan=s ta=pál7=a, COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.taken=3POSS DET=one=EXIS ta=pál7-al'k=a szácen, nílh=ťu7 DET=one-surface=EXIS load COP=EXCL s=q'min-[n]-as NMLZ=get.thrown.down-DIR-3ERG áku7." to+there.INVIS

He said, "The *aparejo* was laid and tightened around the belly, then he took one bundle and threw it on."

- (81) Over the mule.
- (82)"The other, t7u ta=wa7 wa7 l=kw7u [9:00] other that.VIS DET=IPFV at=that.INVIS be tlhá7=a nílh=ti7 wa7 kwán-as, other.side=EXIS IPFV take+DIR-3ERG COP=that.VIS lhum-un'-táli, wá7=iz' mays IPFV attach-DIR-NTS IPFV=those.VIS get.fixed DET= st'p-ál'cen wa7 tsún-itas, tí•t•ca7 under-line IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG thin • CRED • ku=lóp." DET=rope
 - "The other, the one on the other side, he took it and attached the st'pál'cen, they called it, it was a thin rope."
- (83) Francis Edwards: t'pál'cen.
- (84) Sam Mitchell: st'pál'cen, that's the sling rope, in English. In Indian they call it st'pál'cen.
- (85) Randy Bouchard: st'pál'cen.
- (86) Sam Mitchell: Yeah, that's the bottom... rope. In English, they call it sling rope.
- (87) Well, he grabs the other one, while the other fellow's tying that one, he grabs it and he throws it on his side.
- (88) Francis Edwards:
 ucwalmícw-ts!
 indigenous.person-mouth
 Speak Indian!

(89) Sam Mitchell:

"q'mín-[n]-as¹⁴ e=ts7á...

get.thrown.down-dir-3erg to=this.vis

q'mín-[n]-as..."

get.thrown.down-dir-3erg

"He throws it down here..."

(90)"q'il-in'-as, nílh=ťu7 s=... nílh=ťu7 laid.on.surface-DIR-3ERG COP=EXCL NMLZ= COP=EXCL snilh=ts ta=wa7 gets.... get.tied.up 3SG.INDEP=3POSS DET=IPFV ta=wa7 zácen... ta=wa7... cat-an'-táli, DET=IPFV load DET=IPFV raise-DIR-NTS s-zacen-asqáxa7, nílh=ti7 STAT-load-domestic.animal COP=that.VIS gets-en-táli wa7 ta=... two IPFV get.tied.up-DIR-NTS DET= two bundles." wa7 tsut, "wá7=t'u7 bundles IPFV say IPFV=EXCL x7ilh-ts=a=7iz' other.side-3POSS=EXIS=those.VIS gets." get.tied.up

"He lays it on top, and then he's the one who ties... the packer who lifts it, he's the one who ties the *two bundles*," he said, "and then they're tied on the other side."

- (91) Randy Bouchard:

 Is that what they call that diamond hitch on the...?
- [10:00] (92) Sam Mitchell:
 No, no, that's not the diamond hitch yet. That's the sling rope, he had to tie that sling rope together.

¹⁴Sam actually says q'minnas ets7á before Francis Edwards says ucwalmicwts!, but here, and in other places, we sacrifice a strict linear order of conversation in favour of readability.

(93)"gets-mín-twal'-n-as. wá7=t'u7... wa7 get.tied.up-rlt-recp-dir-3erg ipfv=excl ipfv e=ts7á, nilh sas get.done.like to=this.vis COP NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS x7ílh-ts=a, nílh=ťu7 other.side-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS ts'íla kwa..." [w]éna7... tsún-as like D/C+IPFV whatchamacallit say+DIR-3ERG sáma7 two half to+there.INVIS white.person two half hitches. hitches

"He tied it together," he said, "like this, on the other side, it was kind of like..." what do you call it... in English they say *two half hitches*.

- (94) The tie, they put on, q'min áta7
 the tie they put on get.thrown.down to+there.vis

 ta=canvas=a, ka-lhép'-a, elh

 DET=canvas=EXIS CIRC-get.hung.up-CIRC and.then

 q'min aylh ta=diamond hitch=a.

 get.thrown.down then DET=diamond hitch=EXIS

 The tie, they put on, the canvas was thrown on, and when it was slung over, then the diamond hitch was thrown over that.
- (95) wá7=t'u7 tsut, "(ta=wa7... ta=wa7 lh...) ta=wa7
 IPFV=EXCL say DET=IPFV DET=IPFV DET=IPFV

 q'wt-al'k zewát•et-s-[as], wá7=t'u7 pála7
 side-surface be.known•FRED-CAUS-3ERG IPFV=EXCL one
 kwes tsekw."

 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.pulled
 He said, "The one on the other side knew to just pull it once."
- (96) "cw7ao kwas k'win

 NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS how.many

 kwas tsekw," wa7 tsut...

 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.pulled IPFV say

 "It wasn't pulled a bunch of times..."

```
"...wá7=t'u7 pála7 l=kw7u
(97)
                                            ta=wa7
                                                        q'wt-al'k,
         IPFV=EXCL
                                                        side-surface
                      one
                             at=that.INVIS DET=IPFV
             wá7=t'u7
                         tsekw-n-ás,
                                               ka-lhá7-a,
             IPFV=EXCL get.pulled-DIR-3ERG CIRC-close.to-CIRC
                 ka-n-lúts'-ank-a,
                                                        nílh=ťu7
                 CIRC-LOC-get.tightened-stomach-CIRC COP=EXCL
                      s=tsekw-n-ás
                                                  ts7a,
                      NMLZ=get.pulled-DIR-3ERG
                                                  this.vis
                          nílh=ťu7
                                      s=lhecwp-án-as
                          COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.attached-DIR-3ERG
                               e=ts7á...
                                           tsekw-n-ás=tu7,
                               to=this.vis get.pulled-dir-3erg=rem
                                   lhecwp-án-as
                                                          e=kw7ú,
                                   get.attached-DIR-3ERG to=that.INVIS
                                       tsekw-n-ás
                                                            ts7a."
                                       get.pulled-DIR-3ERG this.VIS
         "...the fellow on the other side just pulled it once, it got closer and
         tightened round the belly, then he pulled it and attached it here, then
```

(98) "nílh=t'u7 (ta=wa7...) ta=wa7 wa7 l=ts7a

COP=EXCL DET=IPFV DET=IPFV be at=this.VIS

l=t7u ta=wa7... q'il-in'-táli,

at=that.VIS DET=IPFV laid.on.surface-DIR-NTS

s-zacen-asqáxa7."

pulled it and attached it there, and pulled it here again."

STAT-load-domestic.animal

- "So then it was the guy here who loaded the mule."
- (99) áti7 lhas tsem'p ta=diamond to+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv get.finished det=diamond hitch=a. (la) nílh=ti7 wa7 gets-en-táli hitch=exis cop=that.vis ipfv get.tied.up-dir-nts l=ts7a.

 at=this.vis

That's how the diamond hitch was finished, by the guy who tied it.

[11:00]

(100) ao kwas... i=wa7 diamond

NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS PL.DET=IPFV diamond

hitch-i, láni7 ku=time, well the bundles

hitch-3PL.POSS at+there.ABS DET=time well the bundles

were... small.

were... small

They didn't have *diamond hitch*es at that *time*, *well the bundles were... small.*

(101) áo=k'a kwas p'a7cw lhel=ku=22 NEG=EPIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS more.than from=DET=22 feet, 25 feet. feet 25 feet

They can't have been more than 22 feet, 25 feet.

- (102) Francis Edwards:

 ao kwas p'a7cw

 NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS more.than

 lhel=kw7á-wna q'em'p-s wi=tsílkst sq'waxt.

 from=this.INVIS-precisely ten-3POSS plus=five foot

 Not more than fifteen feet.
- (103) Sam Mitchell:

 iy, ao kwas p'a7cw

 yes NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS more.than

 lhel=kw7á-wna q'em'p wi=tsílkst sq'waxt.

 from=this.INVIS-precisely ten plus=five foot

 Yeah, not more than fifteen feet.

```
(104)
        nílh=t'u7=ti7
                                                 k...
                             sas
        COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS DET=
                                nás=ťu7=k'a... tsukw lhláti7,
            nílh=t'u7=ti7,
            COP=EXCL=that.VIS go=EXCL=EPIS finish from+there.VIS
                [s]=tsukw=s,
                                    ka-gets-a=t'ú7=a,
                NMLZ=finish=3POSS CIRC-get.tied.up-CIRC=EXCL=A
                     nílh=ťu7
                                 s=qwatsáts=s
                     COP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3POSS
                         ta=pal.hós=a
                                             akú7=a.
                         DET=bellhorse=EXIS to+there.VIS=A
        So it went on like that, and when that was finished, when they finished
```

So it went on like that, and when that was finished, when they finished tying everything, the bellhorse set off.

(105)(That's...) That's the kukw, nilh s=qwatsáts=s, that's that's the boss COP NMLZ=leave=3POSS t'u nílh=ťu7 s=... tsúkw=ťu7 until COP=EXCL NMLZ= finish=EXCL {s}=s-zacen-sqáxa7=s NMLZ=STAT-load-domestic.animal=3POSS ta=pé•p•l7=a múla=ťu7 DET=one CRED = EXIS mule=EXCL snílh=ťu7 s=qwatsáts=s. 3SG.INDEP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3POSS

That's the leader, he set off, but only one loaded mule left at a time...

- (106) ...s=nílh=t'u7 múta7 s=nilh=ts ta=núkw=[a],

 NMLZ=COP=EXCL again NMLZ=COP=3POSS DET=other=EXIS

 tsukw.

 finish

 ...and then another one, until they had all gone.
- (107) paolleqs=wít(s)=ku7. tied.nose.to.tail=3PL=QUOT I heard they were tied from nose to tail.

```
ka<7>ew'=wít=t'u7
                             t'ak=wít
(108)
                                          ta...,
                                                 nílh=ku7=ťu7
        far<inch>=3PL=EXCL go.along=3PL DET= COP=QUOT=EXCL
            s=n-7án'was=ts
                                  i=wa7
                                               lhqw-ilc,
            NMLZ=LOC-two=3POSS PL.DET=IPFV
                                               get.on.horse-AUT
                ta=pá•p•l7=a
                                     i7wa7
                DET=one CRED = EXIS accompany and then
                                                     [s]záyten
                    nílh=ťu7
                               ta=wa7
                                          tsúwa7-s
                    COP=EXCL DET=IPFV own-3POSS doings
                        áti7.
                        to+there.vis
```

They were spaced a little ways apart as they travelled, and two riders went alongside, one of them with... well, that was their job.

- (109) nilh iz' ts'qáxa7 áku7 kéla7... [12:00]
 COP those.vis horse to+there.invis before
 Those horses at the front...
- (110) ...well, a hundred and fifty mules. It was a long string.
- (111) tsícw=wit e=kw7ú, kéla7 lhqw-ílc=wit=tu7
 get.there=3PL to=that.Invis before get.on.horse-AUT=3PL=REM
 nílh=t'u7 s=... t'ák=ku7 aylh.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ= go.along=QUOT then
 As they went, the riders at the front travelled ahead.
- i=múl.h=a, (112)zewatet-s-twitas=t'u7 IPFV be.known•FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG=EXCL PL.DET=mule=EXIS t'ák=ku7... wá7=ťu7 ka-téxw-a, go.along=QUOT IPFV=EXCL CIRC-straight-CIRC nílh=ťu7 t'ál-lec. nílh=ťu7 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS stop-AUT COP=EXCL wa7 tsún-itas wa7 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV lúts'-al'k. get.tightened-surface

The mules knew when there was something wrong, then they stopped, and then they got what they call *lúts'al'k* ('re-tightened').

- (113) Re... retighten it, yeah. lúts'-al'k,
 re retighten it yeah get.tightened-surface
 lúts'-al'k-an'.
 get.tightened-surface-DIR
 Re-tightened it, yeah, re-tightened the load.
- (114) pála7=t'u7 kwes tsekw, tsekw one=excl d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss get.pulled get.pulled e=t7ú... to=that.vis It was just pulled once, pulled there...
- (115) See, from the hook here, the fellow on the other side he pulls it up.
- (116) Francis Edwards:
 n-lúts'-ank-en-as.
 LOC-get.tightened-stomach-DIR-3ERG
 He tightened it around the belly.
- (117) Sam Mitchell:
 n-lúts'-ank-en-as.
 LOC-get.tightened-stomach-DIR-3ERG
 He tightened it round the belly.
- (118) Yeah, and then he pulls it around, and the other fellow pulls it this way.
- (119) nilh s=tsekw-n-ás e=ts7á.

 COP NMLZ=get.pulled-dir-3erg to=this.vis

 tsekw-n-ás ta=... tsekw-n-ás
 get.pulled-dir-3erg det.pulled-dir-3erg

 l=kw7u, tsekw-n-ás múta7... they
 at=that.invis get.pulled-dir-3erg again they
 tie it again.
 tie it again

Then he pulls it this way, and pulls it that way, he pulls it again... *they tie it again*.

```
(120) nilh s=plan=s wá7=k'a, nílh=t'u7=ti7
COP NMLZ=already=3POSS be=EPIS COP=EXCL=that.VIS
sás=t'u7 t'ak.
NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL go.along
When it looked like it was done, then they continued on.
```

(121) "tsúkw=ti7," tsut, "tsem'p, nílh=t'u7 s=... [13:00] finish=that.vis say get.finished cop=excl nmlz= tsúkw=t'u7 lh... t'ak s-7ats'x-s-twítas," finish=excl comp continue stat-get.seen-caus-3pl.erg tsut, "i=múl.h=a." say Pl.det=mule=exis

"Only when," he said, "it was done, then they... only then... they continued looking after the mules," he said.

(122) "lh=núkw=as, t'ák=t'u7 áma
COMP=other=3SBJV go.along=EXCL good
s=t'ak=s lhat
NMLZ=go.along=3POSS COMP+IPFV+IPL.SBJV
cuy'=t'[elh] qá•q•ey't."
going.to=at.this.time suffer•CRED•

"Sometimes, it was going along fine and then our mules started to suffer."

(123)"qwenán lhel=kw=s=... kíts-lec=ťelh, need from=D/C=NMLZ= get.laid.down-AUT=at.this.time kíts-lec nás=ku7=ťu7 ta=múl.h=a, go=QUOT=EXCL get.laid.down-AUT DET=mule=EXIS nílh=ťu7 s=zewat-en-ítas COP=EXCL NMLZ=be.known-DIR-3PL.ERG es-wátem=s kw=s=... D/C=NMLZ= STAT-be.wrong=3POSS ta=aperíihus=a." DET=aparejo=EXIS

"When a mule needed to lay down, then it lay down, so then they knew something was wrong with the *aparejo*."

- (124) "nilh (s=...) s=t'elkw-al'k-án'-em."

 COP NMLZ= NMLZ=get.taken.off-surface-DIR-IPL.ERG

 "Then we took the pack off."
- (125) Took the pack off. t'elkw-ál'k. took the pack off get.taken.off-surface

 Took the pack off, t'elkw-ál'k.
- (126)kelh ta=aperíihus-ts=a, tsás-an'-as get.taken.off DET=aparejo-3POSS=EXIS feel.by.touch-DIR-3ERG zewat-en-táli, tsás-an'-as ta=wa7 DET=IPFV be.known-dir-nts feel.by.touch-dir-3erg nká7=as=k'a... iz'... slégem=iz' where=3SBJV=EPIS those.VIS grass=those.VIS láku7 i=wa7 n-lham', at+there.INVIS PL.DET=IPFV LOC-get.put.into áku7 n-qep-k. to+there.INVIS LOC-get.covered-back

Its *aparejo* was taken off, and a person who knew the mule felt around for wherever there were... they were filled with straw, the back-covers.

(127) sléqem=iz', nílh=t'u7 s=... lews-án-as,
grass=those.vis cop=excl nmlz= break-dir-3erg
kelh-en-ás, máys-en-as,
get.taken.off-dir-3erg get.fixed-dir-3erg
zacen-cál-s-as, nílh=t'u7 s=qwatsáts=s.
load-act-caus-3erg cop=excl nmlz=leave=3poss

He broke up the straw and took the packsaddle off and fixed it, then put it back on and started off again.

```
(128)
        nílh=ku7=ti7
                              s=zewát-cal=s
                                                                      [14:00]
        COP=QUOT=that.VIS NMLZ=be.known-ACT=3POSS
                           i=múl.h=a,
                                               wa7
            PL.DET=mule PL.DET=mule=EXIS IPFV
                zewat-en-ítas
                                       lhes
                be.known-dir-3pl.erg comp+ipfv+3sbJv
                     [es]-wátem.
                     STAT-be.wrong
        That was because the mules knew... they knew when something was
        wrong.
(129)
                        lh=cw7áoz=as
        lhláti7
                                           (kwas...)
        from+there.vis comp=neg=3sbjv d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss
                                    n-ts'ek'w-k.
            kwas
            D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS LOC-get.sore-back
        That's why they never got a sore back.
(130)
        They never have a sore back... some...
        Francis Edwards:
(131)
         wá7=ť117
                      alán-as
         IPFV=EXCL feel+DIR-3ERG
            kw=s=qwal'•qwel't(s)-cít-em
            D/C=NMLZ=TRED get.hurt-IND-3PASS
                         nílh=ťu7 s=kíts-lec=s.
                this.vis cop=excl nmlz=get.laid.down-aut=3poss
        They felt it when they were hurt, so they laid down.
        Sam Mitchell:
(132)
        iy, nilh s=kíts-lec=s,
                                                   nílh=ťu7
        yes COP NMLZ=get.laid.down-AUT=3POSS COP=EXCL
                               kw=s=máys-cit-em
            s=cw7aoy=s
            NMLZ=NEG=3POSS D/C=NMLZ=get.fixed-IND-3PASS
                láti7
                             ta=aperíihus-ts=a.
                at+there.vis DET=aparejo-3POSS=EXIS
        Yeah, they laid down when their aparejos weren't adjusted right.
```

```
(133)
        [ta]=pá•p•l7=a
                              wa7
                                    tsún-as
        DET=one CRED = EXIS
                             IPFV
                                    say+DIR-3ERG
            na=n-sqátsez7=a,
                                         cw7áoy=t'u7
            ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS NEG=EXCL
                káti7
                                 kw=s=kenkán
                around+there.vis D/C=NMLZ=how.much
                   ku=múla-s
                                    kw=s=n-ts'ek'w-k,
                   DET=mule-3POSS D/C=NMLZ=LOC-get.sore-back
                        all summer.
                        all summer
```

One person told my father that not even one of his mules got a sore back *all summer*.

nílh=ti7 (134)wa7 száyten-i, cw7it (i=wa7...) COP=that.VIS IPFV doings-3PL.POSS many PL.DET=IPFV i=wa7 packtrain, nílh=ti7 ta=wa7 PL.DET=IPFV packtrain COP=that.VIS DET=IPFV t'u7 wá7=t'u7=ku7 múta7 NMLZ-Scott but IPFV=EXCL=QUOT again i=núkw=a fifty, ku=wa7 PL.DET=other=EXIS fifty DET=IPFV packtrain-s i=núkw=a. packtrain-3POSS PL.DET=other=EXIS

So that's what they did, there were a lot of people who had *packtrains*, that was Scott's, but there were another *fifty* people who had *packtrains*.

- (135) cw7it i=spaoyó<u>l</u>=a láni7... many Pl.det=Spanish.person=exis at+there.abs There were a lot of Spanish people at that time...
- (136) There's quite a few Spanish, my dad can talk that language.
- (137) nílh=t'u7 s=wá7=malh aylh.

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=be=ADHORT then
 So that's how it was.

(138)ka-k'ul'-s-twítas-a [15:00] ta=... CIRC-get.made-CAUS-3PL.ERG-CIRC DET= ka-tsut-anwas=wít-a kw=s=... CIRC-say-inside=3PL-CIRC D/C=NMLZ= [es]=wáken=s=k'a, nílh=ťu7 have=wagon=3POSS=EPIS COP=EXCL s=k'ul'=s ta=c.wálh=a NMLZ=get.made=3POSS DET=road=EXIS ta=canyon=a... to+there.INVIS DET=canyon=EXIS

They built the... they decided that maybe they could use wagons, so the road was built through the canyon...

- (139) ...láku7 l=ta=wa7 tsún-itas
 at+there.Invis at=det=ipfv say+dir-3pl.erg
 i=sám7=a wa7 Hell's Gate, nílh=t'u7
 pl.det=white.person=exis ipfv Hell's Gate cop=excl
 sas ta=lha7-{7}úl=a tunnel.
 NMLZ+be+3poss det=close.to-really=excl tunnel
 ...and over at what the white people call Hell's Gate, that's where the nearest tunnel is.
- (140) wa7 ka-7ats'x-s=kán-a...

 IPFV CIRC-get.seen-CAUS=ISG.SBJ-CIRC

 I got to see it...
- (141) ...gee, around the 30's. They have a trussle going around that point, there was no tunnel, there's lots of tunnels now. This trail, trail. So when they got that bridge...

```
(142)
                                             láku7
         lh=ka-máys=as-a
         COMP=CIRC-get.made=3SBJV-CIRC at+there.INVIS
             ta=ntqwíxw=a,
                                na=wa7
                                                s-láw-al'k
             DET=bridge=EXIS ABS.DET=IPFV STAT-get.hung-surface
                  ntgwixw, nílh=t'u7
                                         aylh \{s\} = \underline{s} taot = \underline{s}
                  bridge
                            Cop=EXCL then NMLZ=start=3POSS
                      kw=s=cuy'=s
                                                   cúk'w-cal=wit,
                      D/C=NMLZ=going.to=3POSS get.hauled-ACT=3PL
                           t'u7 small ti=wa7
                                                   tím-i.
                           but small DET=IPFV team-3PL.POSS
         When the bridge was built, the trestle bridge, that's when they started
         hauling goods, even though their team was small.
```

- (143)They called it pull team.
- (144)á7hen, kwes wa7=as=k'á=t'u7 you.see? D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS IPFV=3SBJV=EPIS=EXCL qwey-en-ítas=iz' i=st'máolt=a, get.used-DIR-3PL.ERG=those.VIS PL.DET=cattle=EXIS s=plan=s wa7... avlh NMLZ=already=3POSS then IPFV (na=n-s-...) ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-NMLZna=n-sqátsez7=a wa7 ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS IPFV líl'tem. s-ts7as STAT-come grow.older

See, when they started using those cattle, my dad was already getting to be an adult.

[16:00] (145) ts7ás=k'a lhel=kw7ú kelpúh=a... áku7 come=EPIS from=that.INVIS Cariboo=EXIS to+there.INVIS stlhá7-s=a ta=kanáol=a, other.side-3POSS=EXIS DET=Quesnel=EXIS go.along áti7. to+there.vis

> This guy came from the Cariboo... on the other side of Quesnel, going that way.

- (146) nílh=ni7 wa7 s-Yáya7. Yáya7, iy. COP=that.ABS IPFV NMLZ-Yáya7 Yáya7 yes That was Yáya7. Yeah, Yáya7.
- (147) He used to work for Bill McEwan, so he got the name... Bill McEwan, but his Indian name is Yáya7. Well he got the name, that's the same as.... my old man used to work... pack train for Peach Mitchell too, and he got the name John Mitchell, so I got to... thought it...
- (148) Anyways... so when we... n-pzán-m=as
 anyways so when we LOC-meet+DIR-IPL.ERG=3SBJV
 kw=Yáya7...
 DET=Yáya7

Anyways.... so when we... met Yáya7...

- (149) ...he had... he had six or eight big long-horned animals, you know. Just that...
- (150) Randy Bouchard:
 ucwalmícw-ts!
 indigenous.person-mouth
 Speak Indian!
- (151) Sam Mitchell:

 tsúkw=t'u7=ti7 ta=múl.h=a wa7 wa7 lak,
 finish=Excl=that.vis det=mule=exis be ipfv be.there

 n-k'ts'-alimát=t'u7 i=st'máolt=a.

 LOC-put.bar.across-back.of.neck=excl pl.det=cattle=exis

 There was just one mule there, and the oxen were yoked together.
- (152) tsin ta=wa7 t'ak n7í7ez'k=a, áti7 chain DET=IPFV go.along in.the.middle=EXIS to+there.VIS

 lhas q'ecwp s-zeháw's-i...

 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.hooked NMLZ-between-3PL.POSS

 There was a chain went down the middle, it was hooked there in between them...

- - (154) That's that only time I see it.
 - (155) pták=malh aylh lhláti7, s-7aw't-s
 go.past=Adhort then from+there.vis nmlz-behind-3poss
 lhláti7 ta=pull team=a, pull team=t'u7
 from+there.vis det=pull team=exis pull team=excl
 lhláku7, lhláku7=t'u7 potsíil,
 from+there.invis from+there.invis=excl Port.Yale

 Yale lhas tsícw=wit.
 Yale Comp+ipfv+3sbjv get.there=3pl
 So then after the pull team... they used pull teams from Yale, once they got to Yale.
 - (156) ka-k'úl'-a=malh aylh [ta]=n-kaoh-áw's=a,
 CIRC-get.made-CIRC=ADHORT then DET=LOC-car-middle=exis
 ta=CPR=ha, ka-k'úl'-a káti7.
 DET=CPR=exis CIRC-get.made-CIRC around+there.vis
 Then the CPR Railroad was built.
 - (157) nílh=t'u7=ti7 aylh s=tsukw=s,

 COP=EXCL=that.VIS then NMLZ=finish=3POSS

 nílh=t'u7=ti7 s=kélh•elh=ts

 COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ=get.taken.off•FRED=3POSS

 ni7 na=c.wálh=a.

 that.ABS ABS.DET=road=EXIS

And when it was finished, that road was removed.

avlh

ta=c.wálh=a,

```
ta=n-kaoh-áw's=a.
                      DET=LOC-car-middle=EXIS
         The road stopped being used because of the railroad.
         i=lham'=as=t'ú7=ti7
(159)
         when.PAST=get.put.into=3SBJV=EXCL=that.VIS
             aylh
                    l=ts7á-wna,
                                          nas i=...
                   at=this.vis-precisely go
                                                PL.DET=
                                  ku=year
                                              lhas
                  stám'=ni7
                  what=that.ABS DET=year COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                      s-kéla7-s=a=7iz'
                      NMLZ-before-3POSS=EXIS=those.VIS
                                  [s]qwe•qw•el'-mín-itas
                           IPFV
                                  tell • CRED • - RLT - 3 PL. ERG
                                kwas
                                                          k'ul'
                                D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.made
                                    láku7
                                                    ku...
                                    at+there.INVIS DET=
         When it was put through here... what year was it when they first
         started talking about building the...
(160)
         1922, 19... I'm pretty sure it was '22, old Bryson up here...
(161)
         nílh=ti7
                        wa7 mets-cál,
                                               mets-cál-s-as
                                                                            [18:00]
         COP=that.VIS IPFV get.written-ACT get.written-ACT-CAUS-3ERG
             ku=tákem.
             DET=all
         He was the writer, and he made everyone sign.
(162)
         They called it, what did they call that? I think it's a kind of a petition,
         the people... they want a road down the canyon.
```

s=tsukw=s

ti7

COP=EXCL NMLZ=COP=3POSS=EXCL then

NMLZ=get.used=3POSS that.VIS DET=road=EXIS

s=nílh=s=t'u7

COP=REM=that.VIS NMLZ=finish=3POSS

(158)

nílh=tu7=ti7

s=qwey=s

nílh=ťu7

(163) nílh=tu7 ken-tákem ken=ts7á i=wa7
COP=REM around-all around=this.vis Pl.Det=ipfv
wa7, p'elenílh i=7ucwalmícw=a, wa7
be including Pl.Det=indigenous.person=exis ipfv
mets-cál kwas k'ul'
get.written-ACT D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.made
ku=c.wálh áku7.
DET=road at+there.INVIS

So everyone who lived around here, including the Indians, wrote to get a road built there.

- (164) [ka]-k'úl'-a=malh aylh ta=c.wálh=a...
 CIRC-get.made-CIRC=ADHORT then DET=road=EXIS
 So then the road got built...
- (165) ...well it's a big highway now.
- ati7=k'á=ti7 lh=tsem'p=ás (166)to+there.vis=epis=that.vis comp=get.finished=3sbjv s={s}qwe•qw•el'-mín-an ti7 (ta=...)maybe NMLZ=tell*CRED*-RLT-ISG.ERG that.VIS DET= ta=sám7=a lhel=t7ú ku=száyten DET=white.person=EXIS DET=doings from=that.VIS t'u t'ak nák'•ek', t'u until continue get.changed • FRED until lhkún=t'u7 aylh, ken=t7ú lhkúnsa today=EXCL then around=that.vis today lh=t'ák=wit=[as]! high COMP=go.along=3PL=3SBJV

Maybe that's where I'll stop telling this story about... the white people's way of doing things kept changing, until nowadays, they travel up high!

[18:42] (167) Francis Edwards: e{s}-sáq'w=wit! STAT-fly=3PL They fly!

3.4 Sam Mitchell's Free Translation¹⁵

Around 1860 the white people began to travel into this area, coming from Harrison Lake through Lillooet Lake, Anderson Lake, and Seton Lake.

My father, who died in 1919, told me about the settlers. When the white people got to D'Arcy, they realized they would need a boat (the Indians travelled on the lakes in canoes), so they built a steamboat to carry cargo across Anderson Lake.

The white people built a railway, the first one in British Columbia, to carry cargo over the 1-mile [1.7-kilometre] distance between Anderson Lake and Seton Lake. The tracks were made from wooden poles and the cargo car was controlled by a pulley. When the goods reached the western end of Seton Lake at one end of the portage, a mule was hitched to the car to pull it back to the northeast end of Anderson Lake at the other end of the portage.

Another steamboat was built to take the goods to the eastern end of Seton Lake, where they were unpacked and given to mule trains to distribute to the gold-diggers throughout the Province.

Later, a trail was built through the Fraser Canyon. John Scott, who was later buried in East Lillooet, went with my father to Yale to get a job packing the mules. Some of the large mules could carry ten 50-pound [22.5-kilogram] bags of flour, which were packed five bags to a bundle. The smaller mules carried smaller loads. Some of the mules carried beans and bacon, which were wrapped in burlap.

When the packs were removed, they were placed on the ground and the mules were set free. When it was time to repack, each mule went to his own aparejo [pack-saddle] and stood in front of it. There were five pairs of packers for the 150 mules. The man who was handling the pack stood on the left side of the mule. First, the aparejo, which looked like a short, hay-filled, single mattress, was balanced on the packer's knee and then thrown onto the mule's back. Then the man on the other side threw on the first bundle and tied it to the aparejo. The man on the left fastened the other bundle. When both packs were secure, a piece of canvas was stretched over the bundles and tied on. Then the whole pack was fastened with a diamond hitch. The cinch went underneath the mule and the rope was wound around the pack and joined with the hook on the other end of the rope.

When the mule was packed, it followed the bell-horse. Two men stood on either side of the trail and tightened the mule's cinch ropes as it walked by. If the

¹⁵This translation is reproduced verbatim from Kennedy and Bouchard, BCILP ms.2, #131

hay fill in the aparejo was lumpy, the mule would sit down and refuse to move until it was adjusted.

Years later, the people decided to make a road from where the steamboat docked in Yale up to Lillooet. Then they were able to use an oxen team to carry cargo. When I was young, I saw an ox team which had four sets of yokes. A man hollered for the oxen to move, "Gee-haw! Gee-haw!" The oxen were very slow, so they were replaced by horses.

Then the Canadian Pacific Railway came through this country. In 1922, a man named Bryson, who lived in this area, collected a petition to have a road built from Vancouver to Lillooet. Many years later, the highway was built.

My father told me these stories. He worked for a man named John Mitchell, and therefore was given the name "Mitchell", and that is how I was given the name Mitchell. Another Indian man, named *YA-ya*, worked for a man called Bill McEwan, so he was given that name. That is how many of the Indian people received their English names.

Chapter 4

I t'akstwítas i st'máoltiha: Cattle Drive¹

4.1 St'át'imcets

Iy, qwatsáts ull'usnítas i st'máolta, ti7 s*Robert Carson* múta7 s*Dick Hoy*. Nilh t'u7 scuy's t'akstwítas lhelts7áwna et7ú tsal'álha. Tsukw t'u7 ti7 c.walh, t.sc.wéw'lha, well it's... cw7ao ti7 kw sxzum, it was just a trail. T'ak áku7 tsal'álha, t'u snilhts ekw7úna lil'wat7úla, what it's called Pemberton now. Nilh st'áki t'lh lhas lhwál'tsten, wa7 izá i... ku stsewtswáw'cw, wa7 cw7it, wa7 ca7.

Tsícwwit lta pál7a sťaq', ta ťáq'mena, wa7 ťu7 nq'áylec i sťmáolta, wa7 ťu7 nq'aylecstwítas i pakhósiha. T'u7 lts7a ta pál7a nxzúmatkwa7 stswaw'cw, sPikáola... cw7aoy ťu7 káti7 kw skakanemíha, nilh ťu7 nq'áylecsas ta saddle horsetsa, lha7qs et7ú x7ílha elh k'úl'emwit ta lháowlaoqwa. Áti7 lhťaq'stwítas i s7ilheníha, i leqwáz'iha lku slháowlaoqw elh aw't lhťaq'as i núkwa.

Láti7 lht'áq'as ta pápel7a sáma7, aoz kwas xát'min'as kwas eslhéqw, kwas t'áq'sas na ts'qáxa7sa nq'áylec, nilh t'u7 st'aq's lt.slháowlaoqwa. Lha7qs kú7 t'u7, nilh t'u7 s7ílals, nq'san'kmínem wi sPikáola.

Lhláta7 qwatsátswit kénki núkwa tmicw, kalhás, xw7útsin sq'it, cw7aoys ku stam' kwa ts'aqwan'ítas i st'máolta, xílem i ts'qax7íha. Tsetsúkwa t'u7 ti7 ta c.wálha esk'ét'p t'u7 ta nt'útsa. K'ét'a, srap, cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 kwa stam', tsetsúkwa t'u7 i pétsklha wa7 s7ílhens i st'máolta.

Kánas k'a kw s7án'was xetspásq'et, k'a lhp'a7cwás elh ntákil'q.wit ekw7úna sxúm'isa. *I'll use this... the length of the road, in English, it's about a hundred and twenty miles, or twenty-five miles, this distance.* Ntákil'q.wit aylh áku7, láti7 lhtsicwstwítas i st'máolta, nilh t'u7 stsúntanemwit ku skwepkukwp7íha, *that's their bosses*, "Cúz'lhkal'ap nlham' lhelts7á lta t'láz'a i nts'qáx7a." T'át'q'em'kst

¹Told by Sam Mitchell in August 1968, translated by Sam Mitchell in August 1968.

Cattle Drive

i ts'qax7íha: án'was i pakhósiha elh xw7útsin i saotvl.hósiha. Lhám'em'wit lhláti7. Lha7qswít et7ú pankúpha, lhláti7 lhqwatsátswitas úxwal'.

Kekáw' ti7 lhláku7 pankúpha ets7áwna *Lillooet*a, p'a7cw lhélku án'was xetspqíqen'kst *mile*. Nilh t'u7 ti7 swa7s láku7 i skukwp7íha t'u7. Nas et7ú cin' ku sútik elh t'iq ti7 ta wa7 s*Robert Carson*, t'iq tu7, t'íqcal t.smúlhatsa, sáma7.

4.2 English

Yeah, *Robert Carson* and *Dick Hoy* left to go round up cattle. They were going to take them from here over to Shalalth. That road was just a trail, *well it's...* it wasn't big, *it was just a trail*. It went to Shalalth and then over to Lil'wat7úl, *what it's called Pemberton now*. The time when they set out was in the fall, when the creeks around here have a lot of water, they're high.

When they got to a crossing, a ford, the cattle would swim across and then they'd swim their packhorses across. But at this one big creek, they couldn't do that, so Pikáola swam his saddle horse across to the other side, and they built a raft. They brought their food and their clothes across on the raft, and after that the others crossed.

When this one white person crossed over, he didn't want to ride horseback or swim his horse across, so he crossed on the raft. When he got to the other side, he cried, and then Pikáola laughed at him along with the others.

They set off for some other places, and for three or four days the cattle didn't have anything to eat, same for their horses. Only that road hadn't been cleaned up from logging. Rocks, trees, there wasn't anything there, the only thing the cattle had to eat were leaves.

It must've been two weeks, maybe more, before they made it down to Squamish. I'll use this... the length of the road, in English, it's about a hundred and twenty miles, or twenty-five miles, this distance. When they got down to the bottom (of the valley) to where they were bringing the cattle, then their kwepkúkwpi7 told them, that's their bosses, "You're going to get on a boat from here with the horses." They had six horses: two packhorses and four saddle horses. They got a ride from there. They got off at Vancouver, and then they left for home.

It's a long way from Vancouver to *Lillooet* here, more than 200 *miles*. That's where their bosses lived. A long winter went by before *Robert Carson* arrived, and when he arrived, he brought along a wife, a white woman.

4.3 Interlinear Gloss

- [0:00] (1) iy, qwatsáts ull'us-n-ítas i=st'máolt=a, ti7
 yes leave gather-dir-3pl.erg pl.det=cattle=exis that.vis
 s-Robert Carson múta7 s-Dick Hoy.
 NMLZ-Robert Carson and NMLZ-Dick Hoy
 Yeah, Robert Carson and Dick Hoy left to go round up cattle.
 - (2) nílh=t'u7 s=cuy'=s t'ak-s-twítas

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=going.to=3POSS go.along-CAUS-3PL.ERG

 lhel=ts7á-wna... e=t7ú tsal'álh=a.

 from=this.vIs-precisely to=that.vIs lake[Shalalth]=EXIS

 They were going to take them from here over to Shalalth.
 - (3) tsúkw=t'u7=ti7 c.walh, t=sc.wé•w'•lh=[a], well finish=excl=that.vis road det=road•cred•exis well it's... cw7áo=ti7 kw=s=xzum, it was just a trail. it's neg=that.vis d/c=nMlz=big it was just a trail. That road was just a trail, well it's... it wasn't big, it was just a trail.
 - (4) t['ak] áku7 tsal'álh=a, t'u
 go.along to+there.Invis lake[Shalalth]=exis until
 s=nilh=ts e=kw7ú-{w}na lil'wat7úl=a,
 NMLZ=COP=3POSS to=that.Invis-precisely Mt.Currie=exis
 what it's called, Pemberton, now.
 what it's called Pemberton now

 It went to Shalalth and then over to Lil'wat7úl, what it's called
 Pemberton now.
 - (5) nilh s=t'ák=i=t'[lh] lhas

 COP NMLZ=go.along=3PL.POSS=at.this.time COMP+IPFV+3SBJV

 lhwál'tsten, wa7... izá i=... ku=stsew•tswáw'cw,
 autumn be these.VIS PL.DET= DET=TRED•creek

 (wa7...) wa7 cw7it, wa7 ca7.

 IPFV IPFV many IPFV high

The time when they set out was in the fall, when the creeks around here have a lot of water, they're high.

```
(6)
         tsícw=wit
                       l=ta=pál7=a
                                          st'aq',
                       at=DET=one=EXIS cross.over
         get.there=3PL
            ta=t'áq'-men=[a],
                                      wá7=ťu7
            DET=cross.over-INS=EXIS IPFV=EXCL
                                 i=st'máolt=a,
                 n-q'áy-lec
                 LOC-jump-AUT PL.DET=cattle=EXIS
                                 n-q'ay-lec-s-twítas
                     wá7=ťu7
                     IPFV=EXCL LOC-jump-AUT-CAUS-3PL.ERG
                         i=pakhós-i=ha.
                         PL.DET=packhorse-3PL.POSS=EXIS
```

When they got to a crossing, a ford, the cattle would swim across and then they'd swim their packhorses across.

```
(7)
        t'u7 l=ts7a
                         ta=pál7=a
                                         n-xzúm-atkwa7 stswaw'cw,
                                                                     [1:00]
        but at=this.vis det=one=exis loc-big-water
                                                        creek
            s-Pikáola(n)... cw7áoy=t'u7 káti7
            NMLZ-Pikáola NEG=EXCL
                                        around+there.vis
                kw=s=ka-kan-em=í-ha,
                D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-whether-MID=3PL.POSS-CIRC
                    nílh=t'u7 {s}=n-q'áy-lec-s-as
                    COP=EXCL NMLZ=LOC-jump-AUT-CAUS-3ERG
                         ta=saddle
                                     horse-ts=a,
                                                       lha7-qs
                         DET=saddle horse-3POSS=EXIS close.to-point
                                         x7ílh=a
                             e=t7ú
                                                         [e]lh
                             to=that.vis other.side=Exis and.then
                                 k'úl'-em=wit
                                                   ta=lháowlaoqw=a.
                                 get.made-MID=3PL DET=raft=EXIS
```

But at this one big creek, they couldn't do that, so Pikáola swam his saddle horse across to the other side, and they built a raft.

```
(8)
         áti7
                      lh=t'aq'-s-twítas
         to+there.VIS COMP=cross.over-CAUS-3PL.ERG
            (i=...)
                      i=s7ilhen-í=ha,
            PL.DET= PL.DET=food-3PL.POSS=EXIS
                 i=leqwáz'-i=ha
                                               l=[ku]=slháowlaoqw
                 PL.DET=blanket-3PL.POSS=EXIS at=DET=raft
                     (elh...)
                                          aw't
                     and.then and.then behind
                                                 i=núkw=a.
                         lh=t'áq'=as
                         COMP=cross.over=3SBJV PL.DET=other=EXIS
```

They brought their food and their clothes across on the raft, and after that the others crossed.

```
(9)
                                            ta=pá•p•l7=a
                     lh=t'áq'=as
        at+there.VIS COMP=cross.over=3SBJV DET=one CRED =EXIS
            sáma7,
                          aoz
                               kwas
            white.person NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                xát'-min'-as
                                kwas
                want-RLT-3ERG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                    es-lhégw,
                                      kwas
                    STAT-get.on.horse D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                         t'áq'-s-as
                         cross.over-CAUS-3ERG
                            na=ts'qáxa7-s=a
                             ABS.DET=horse-3POSS=EXIS
                                 n-q'áy-lec,
                                                nílh=ťu7
                                 LOC-jump-AUT COP=EXCL
                                     s=t'aq'=s
                                     NMLZ=cross.over=3POSS
                                         l=t=slháowlaogw=a.
                                         at=DET=raft=EXIS
```

When this one white person crossed over, he didn't want to ride or swim his horse across, so he crossed on the raft.

- (10) lha7-qs=kú7=t'u7, nílh=t'u7 s=7ílal=s...
 close.to-point=QUOT=EXCL COP=EXCL NMLZ=cry=3POSS
 When he got to the other side, he cried...
- (11) ...n-q's-an'k-mín-em wi=s-Pikáola.

 LOC-laugh-stomach-RLT-PASS then

 ...and then Pikáola laughed at him along with the others.
- (12)lhláta7 qwatsáts=wit... ken=ki=núkw=a from+there.vis leave=3PL around=PL.DET=other=EXIS tmicw, kalhás, xw7útsin sq'it, cw7aoy=s ku=stám' NEG=3POSS DET=what land three four day ts'agw-an'-ítas i=st'máolt=a, DET+IPFV eat-DIR-3PL.ERG PL.DET=cattle=EXIS xíl-em i=ts'qax7-í=ha. do-MID PL.DET=horse-3PL.POSS=EXIS

They set off for some other places, and for three or four days the cattle didn't have anything to eat, same for their horses.

- (13) tsetsúkwa=t'u7 ti7 (ta=...) ta=c.wálh=a [2:00] only=EXCL that.VIS DET= DET=road=EXIS

 es-k'ét'-p=t'u7² ta=n-t'úts=a.

 STAT-dirty-INCH=EXCL DET=LOC-chop=EXIS

 Only that road hadn't been cleaned up from logging.
- (14) k'ét'a, srap... cw7áoy=t'u7 káti7 kwa
 rock tree NEG=EXCL around+there.vis DET+IPFV
 stam', tsetsúkwa=t'u7 i=pétsklh=a wa7
 what only=EXCL PL.DET=leaf=EXIS IPFV
 s-7ílhen-s i=st'máolt=a.
 NMLZ-eat-3POSS PL.DET=cattle=EXIS

Rocks, trees, there wasn't anything there, the only thing the cattle had to eat were leaves.

²The inchoative -p on the stative predicate k'et' is unexpected.

Cattle Drive

(15) kán=as=k'a kw=s=7án'was xetspásq'et, k'a whether=3sBJV=EPIS D/C=NMLZ=two week EPIS
lh=p'a7cw=ás elh n-ták-il'q=wit
COMP=more.than=3sBJV and.then LOC-side-bottom=3PL
e=kw7ú-{w}na sxúm'is=a.
to=that.INVIS-precisely Squamish=EXIS
It must've been two weeks, maybe more, before they made it down to

Squamish.

- (16) I'll use this... the length of the road, in English, it's about a hundred and twenty miles, or twenty-five miles, this distance.
- (17)n-ták-il'q=wit aylh áku7, láti7 LOC-side-bottom=3PL then to+there.INVIS at+there.VIS lh=tsicw-s-twitas i=st'máolt=a, COMP=get.there-CAUS-3PL.ERG PL.DET=cattle=EXIS nílh=ťu7 (s=...)s=tsún-tanemwit COP=EXCL NMLZ= NMLZ=say+DIR-3PL.PASS $k[u]=skwep\bullet kukwp7-i=ha,$ that's their INVIS.DET=TRED*chief-3PL.POSS=EXIS that's their bosses... bosses

When they got down to the bottom (of the valley) to where they were bringing the cattle, then their *kwepkúkwpi7* told them, *that's their bosses*...

(18) "cúz'=lhkal'ap n-lham' lhel=ts7á
going.to=2PL.SBJ LOC-get.put.into from=this.VIS
l=ta=t'láz'=a i=nts'qáx7=a."
at=DET=canoe=EXIS PL.DET=horse=EXIS
"You're going to get on a boat from here with the horses."

(19) t'á•t'•q'em'kst i=ts'qax7-í=ha: án'was
six•CRED• PL.DET=horse-3PL.POSS=EXIS two
i=pakhós-i=ha elh xw7útsin
PL.DET=packhorse-3PL.POSS=EXIS and.then four
i=saotvl.hós-i=[ha].
PL.DET=saddle.horse-3PL.POSS=EXIS

They had six horses: two packhorses and four saddle horses.

- (20) lhám'•em'=wit lhláti7.
 get.put.into•FRED=3PL from+there.vis
 They got a ride from there.
- (21) lha7-qs=wít e=t7ú pankúph=a, [3:00] close.to-point=3PL to=that.vis Vancouver=exis
 lhláti7 lh=qwatsáts=wit=as úxwal'.
 from+there.vis comp=leave=3PL=3SBJv go.home
 They got off at Vancouver, and then they left for home.
- (22) ke•káw'=ti7 lhláku7 pankúph=a
 IRED•far.away=that.VIS from+there.INVIS Vancouver=exis
 e=ts7á-wna Lillooet=a, p'a7cw
 to=here.VIS-precisely Lillooet=exis more.than
 lhel=ku=7án'was xetspqíqen'kst mile.
 from=det=two hundred mile
 It's a long way from Vancouver to Lillooet here, more than 200 miles.
- (23) nílh=t'u7=ti7 s=wa7=s láku7
 COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ=be=3POSS at+there.INVIS
 i=skukwp7-í=ha=t'u7.
 PL.DET=chief-3PL.POSS=EXIS=EXCL
 That's where their bosses lived.
- (24) nas e=t7ú cin' ku=sútik elh t'iq
 go to=that.vis long.time det=winter and.then arrive
 ti7 ta=wa7 s-Robert Carson...
 that.vis det=ipfv nmlz-Robert Carson
 A long winter went by before Robert Carson arrived...

Cattle Drive

[3:31] (25) ...t'íq=tu7, t'íq-cal t=smúlhats=a, sáma7. arrive=REM arrive-ACT DET=woman=EXIS white.person ...and when he arrived, he brought along a wife, a white woman.

4.4 Sam Mitchell's Free Translation³

About 80-90 years ago, in the fall-time, Robert Carson and Dick Hoy gathered together some cattle, to drive them down to Squamish, through the lakes area, where there was a trail. They went past Seton Lake, Anderson Lake, and Pemberton. Past Pemberton, the rivers get quite high in the fall-time, so they had to swim the cattle and horses across. They made a raft to float the provisions across the rivers.

Dick Hoy wouldn't swim his horse across. He went on the raft, and when he got to the other side, he cried. Frank Pakala, the Indian who was acting as guide, laughed at him. The only feed available for the cattle and horses was just what was growing along the trail and in the meadows. It wasn't a very wide trail.

It took more than 2 weeks to get from Lillooet to Squamish – a distance, using this route, of about 125 miles. When they got to Squamish, they took a boat down to Vancouver. They had 2 packhorses and 4 saddle horses. There was 4 of them - Robert Carson, Dick Hoy, Frank Pakala, and Pakala's brother.

When they came back from Vancouver, they came up through the Fraser Canyon, a distance of over 200 miles. Robert Carson stayed down in Vancouver till winter-time, and brought a woman back with him.

³This translation is reproduced verbatim from "The Cattle Drive" in Bouchard & Kennedy (ms 1).

Chapter 5

Ntsáqwemlha71

5.1 St'át'imcets

Wa::7 ku7 ti7 ts7a kw Ntsáqwemlha7 ts7a ti7 ntáka, wa7 tsúnitas i sám7a west side of the river. Wa7 ekw7ú et7úna ta nt'ét'k'wa, nilh ti7 wa7 nt'et'k'w, ets7á hem' nxk'íta. Wa7 ku7 káti7, áts'xenas wa7 láti7 wa7 záwem lt7u x7ílha... lhas... tsútkalh k'á hem' lhkúnsa, lhas tsúnem, "Wa7 ca7 ta qú7a, wa7 qúlatkwa7." Ti7 ca7 ti7 láta7 ta záwa, lt7u npíma, lt7u x7ílha.

Tcúsem, wa7 ku7 áti7 spáqwsas i wa7 záwem, elh wá7wit ku mán'cem. Wa7 qan'ímensas kws wa7 ku mán'cem, áma, qwámqwmet kú7 ti7 kw s... ta ts'áqwtensa t.smán'ca, ta wa7 p'ut't.

Nilhs ku7 láta7 swe7áws, tsut ku7, "Nlhápqwan'! Nlhápqwan'! Cúy'lhkan nas sút'cal ku k'win!" Cw7aoz káti7 kwa ntqwixw, kwa stam', kwa t'laz'.

"Cuy," tsúnem ku7, "Cuy!"

Tsúnas láti7 i wa7 x7ílha, "Cúy'lhkan nq'áylec, cúy'lhkan áta7 t'aq'!"

Stám'as k'a káti7 ku slhélhcweqs wi7, sqweyíts k'a... nilh sláti7 tu7 umíkems. T'iq lts7áwna lta *powerhouse*a lhkúnsa, nka7 sas k'a káti7, elh kwánas... kelhenás ta slhécwqsa, nilh szúsun'as lts7a ku sq'úmqen, ta stám'asa k'á t'u7 káti7 ku slhélhcweqs, nilh snq'áy'lecs. Kekew'aláqalh ti7 ta nsat'átqw7a láti7, tsólvl tu7 kekew'aláqalh. Í7ez' swas xzumátkwa7... lhas láti7 ku... lhas tsicw láti7 ku *time*. Lha7qs áta7 lhecwenás ta lhécwqsa, nilh s... nkúkwtsas áku7 ta wa7 sas wa7 záwem.

Tsicw áku7. "Cuy', ngwel'qwcán', gwel'qwán', cúy'lhkan sút'cal ku k'win." Sú::t'cal ku7 láti7 t.sáw'ta, k'wí::nas ku7 láti7 sút'cals. Wa7 hem' tsut

¹We are missing the recording and translation dates for this narrative.

Ntsáqwemlha7

i wa7 ucwalmícwts, "lheplhepkám. Lhepkám." Lheplhepkám ku7 láti7. *I'll tell that in English again. That's inhale it, you see?* Lheplhepkám ku7 láti7. Leq' ku7 láti7 t.smán'ca, tsut ku7, "*Hey*, tsukws, kukwstum'ckál'ap." Elh nilh t'u7 múta7 sp'an't.s. T'iq lts7a lta st'áq'sa, ta nkúkwemsa et7úna lhlhecwnás... kelhnás ta lhécwqsa... lhzuslaqín'nas, nilh wa7 nq'áy'lecs p'an't.

Wa::7 malh aylh láti7, t'iq ku7 lhelkw7ú ta scwápmeca tk'emlúpsa, tsukw tu7 láku7 lhas wa7 i smán'ca. T'íqcal ta pál7a sculk'w ku smán'c, ts'íla ti7 ku lop, nilh ats'xenlhkán nelh hem' láku7 ta k'emlúpsa lta *Hudson Bay*a stoh, t'u7 ts'íla q'wexq'wíxalqw kwes t'up. T'íqcal ku7 t.smán'ca, nilh t'u7 ses n7aoz'emsás hem' ku sts'wan, stsáqwem, stám'as t'u7 kw sk'ac, úcwalmicw ku s7ílhen, wéna7, sqlaw' kwa núkwa wa7 s7áz'i lku smán'ca, i wa7 esqláw'.

Ts'eksás tu7 ta pál7a sculk'w. Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s ti7 ta scwápmeca, "Wá7lhkal'ap qaním'ens kw Ntsáqwemlha7 kwas nq'áy'lec lkw7u k'win sút'cal, nq'áy'lec p'an't úxwal'. Lts7a i sk'écpa, i sk'écpa, cúy'lhkacw..." Tsakwan'ás ku7 hém' ti7 ta leqwáz'a, láti7 lhas ník'in'as i smán'csa. "Lts7a i sk'écpa, wá7lhkacw kwan, Ntsáqwemlha7, lkw7a lhwá7as ku nlhám'tensu." Cw7it ts'íla ku7 ts7a lhsqwemás i sk'écpa, *that's crumbs*.

So that's the end of that.

5.2 English

This Ntsáqwemlha7 fellow was on the other side of the river, the white people call it the *west side of the river*. There's a place called Nt'et'k'w ('little pool')² over there, on this side of the river. There he was, and he saw some people fishing on the other side. Today we say, "It's high water, the river is full." That fishing place is high up, over at Npim,³ on the other side.

He looked over and watched the fishermen, and some of them were smoking. He had heard of people smoking, it was good, he had heard that the tobacco smoke tasted good.

So he shouted out, "Put it out! Put it out! I'm going to take a few drags!" There wasn't any bridge or anything, and no boat.

"Okay," they told him, "Go on!"

Then he told the ones across the river, "I'm going to swim across!"

I don't know what he wore for a loin-cloth, maybe rabbit fur. He went upstream... He came to where the *powerhouse* is today, somewhere around there, and then he took off his pants and he tied them to his head, whatever he had for a loin-cloth, and then he got in the water. The Fraser River was wide there, it stretched for quite a distance. At that *time* of the year, there's a lot of water in the river. When he got to shore and put his pants on, he was downstream from where the fishermen were.

He got there and said, "Go on, light it up, light it up, I'm going to take a few drags." The fellow took a drag, he must've taken a few drags. Those who speak ucwalmícwts say *lheplhepkám*. *Lhepkám*. He inhaled it. *I'll tell that in English again*. *That's inhale it, you see?* He inhaled it. When he'd had enough of the smoke, he said, "Hey, that's enough, thanks guys," and then he went back again. He got to where he crossed over, upstream from where he had taken his pants off, then he tied them on his head and swam back across.

Well, he was around there, and then a Shuswap came over from Kamloops, that's the only place where there was tobacco. He brought one roll of tobacco, it was kind of like a rope. I actually saw those in Kamloops at the *Hudson Bay* Store, it had been twisted up kind of like a black rope. He'd bring tobacco, and then trade it for dried fish, saskatoons, anything that was dry, Indian food or whatever; some others paid money for the tobacco, the ones that had money.

This Shuswap guy finished one roll of tobacco, and then he said, "You guys heard that Ntsáqwemlha7 swam across the river for a few drags and swam back home. These crumbs here, you're gonna..." He had spread out a blanket, which

²Nt'et'k'w is a pool on Sam Mitchell's (eastern) side of the Fraser, above the railroad bridge.

³Npim, or Nepím, is just downriver from the modern, Highway 99 bridge over the Fraser River.

Ntsáqwemlha7

he had cut his tobacco on. "You can take these crumbs here, Ntsáqwemlha7, wherever your container is." He had kind of piled up a lot of *sk'ecp*, *that's crumbs*.

So that's the end of that.

5.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) wá::7=ku7=ti7 ts7a kw={s}-Ntsáqwemlha7⁴ [0:00] be=QUOT=that.VIS this.VIS DET=NMLZ-Ntsáqwemlha7 ts7a ti7 n-ták=a, wa7 tsún-itas this.VIS that.VIS LOC-side=EXIS IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG i=sám7=a "west side of the river." PL.DET=white.person=EXIS west side of the river This Ntsáqwemlha7 fellow was on the other side of the river, the white people call it the west side of the river.
- (2) wa7 e=kw7ú e=t7ú-{w}na be to=that.INVIS to=that.VIS-precisely ta=n-t'é•t'•k'w=a, nilh ti7 wa7 DET=LOC-pool•CRED•=EXIS COP that IPFV n-t'e•t'•k'w. e=ts7á=hem' ne-xk'ít=a. LOC-pool • CRED • to=this.VIS=ANTI LOC-this.side=EXIS There's a place called Nt'et'k'w ('little pool') over there, on this side of the river.
- (3) wá7=ku7 káti7, áts'x-en-as wa7
 IPFV=QUOT around+there.vis get.seen-dir-3erg be
 láti7 wa7 záw-em l=t7u x7ílh=a...
 at+there.vis iPFV dipnet-MID at=that.vis other.side=exis
 lhas...
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV

There he was, and he saw some people fishing on the other side.

⁴The name Ntsáqwemlha7 may be parsed as *n*- 'locative', and then *tsáqwem* 'saskatoon' followed by the suffix *-lha7* which is a common ending for names of people, as well as animal names, for example *stsúgwlha7* 'steelhead', *p'eg'p'ig'lha(7)* 'frog', *nts'úts'emlha7* 'fawn', and *k'ák'lha7* 'salmon bug'.

Ntsáqwemlha7

(4) tsut=kalh=k'á=hem' lhkúnsa, lhas
say=IPL.SBJ=EPIS=ANTI today COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
tsún-[em], "wa7 ca7 ta=qú7=a, wa7
say+dir-ipl.erg ipfv high det=water=exis ipfv
qúl-atkwa7."
full-water

Today we say, "It's high water, the river is full."

- (5) ti7 ca7 ti7 láta7 ta=záw=a, that.vIs high that.vIs at+there.vIs det=fishing.place=exis l=t7u npím=a, l=t7u x7ílh=a. at=that.vIs Npim=exis at=that.vIs other.side=exis That fishing place is high up, over at Npim, on the other side.
- (6) tcús-em, wá7=ku7 áti7 s-páqw-s-as look-mid ipfv=quot to+there.vis stat-watch-caus-3erg i=wa7 záw-em, [e]lh wá7=wit pl.det=ipfv dipnet-mid and.then ipfv=3pl ku=mán'c-em.

He looked over and watched the fishermen, and some of them were smoking.

(7) wa7 qan'ím-ens-as kws wa7

IPFV hear-DIR-3ERG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be

ku=mán'c-em, áma, qwamqwmet=kú7=ti7

DET=tobacco-MID good pleasant=QUOT=that.VIS

kw=s=... [ta]=ts'áqw-ten-s=a

D/C=NMLZ= DET=eat-INS-3POSS=EXIS

t=smán'c=a, ta=wa7 p'ut't.

DET=tobacco=EXIS DET=IPFV smoke

He had heard of people smoking, it was good, he had heard that the tobacco smoke tasted good.

```
(8)
         nílh=s=ku7
                            láta7
                                          s=we7áw=s,
         COP=3POSS=QUOT at+there.VIS NMLZ=shout=3POSS
            tsút=ku7,
                        "n-lháp-qw-an',
            say=QUOT
                        "LOC-get.extinguished-head-DIR
                 n-lháp-gw-an',
                                               cúy'=lhkan
                                                                nas
                 LOC-get.extinguished-head-DIR going.to=ISG.SBJ go
                                     ku=k'win!"
                     get.drained-ACT DET=how.many
        So he shouted out, "Put it out! Put it out! I'm going to take a few
        drags!"
```

- (9) cw7aoz káti7 kwa ntqwixw, kwa [1:00]

 NEG around+there.vis det+ipfv bridge det+ipfv

 stam', kwa t'laz'.

 what det+ipfv canoe

 There wasn't any bridge or anything, and no boat.
- (10) "cuy," tsún-em=ku7, "cuy!" okay say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT go.on "Okay," they told him, "Go on!"
- (11) tsún-as (i=...) láti7 i=wa7
 say+DIR-3ERG PL.DET= at+there.VIS PL.DET=be
 x7ílh=a, "cúy'=lhkan n-q'áy-lec,
 other.side=EXIS going.to=ISG.SBJ LOC-jump-AUT
 cúy'=lhkan áta7 t'aq'."
 going.to=ISG.SBJ at+there.VIS cross.over
 Then he told the ones across the river, "I'm going to swim across!"
- (12) stám'=as=k'a káti7
 what=3sBJV=EPIS around+there.VIS
 kw=slhé•lh•cweq-s=wi7, sqweyíts=k'a... nilh
 DET=pants•CRED•-3POSS=EMPH rabbit=EPIS COP
 s=láti7=tu7 [u]mík-em=s....
 NMLZ=at+there.VIS=REM go.upstream-MID=3POSS
 I don't know what he wore for a loin-cloth, maybe rabbit fur... He went upstream...

Ntsáqwemlha7

(13)l=ts7á-wna (l=ts-...) t'iq at=this.vis-precisely at=DET+NMLZl=ta=powerhouse=a lhkúnsa, nka7 at=DET=powerhouse=EXIS today where sás=k'a NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EPIS around+there.vis kwán-as... kelh-en-ás and.then take+DIR-3ERG get.taken.off-DIR-3ERG ta=slhécw-q-s=a... DET=get.put.on-bottom-3POSS=EXIS

He came to where the *powerhouse* is today, somewhere around there, and then he took off his pants...

(14) ...nilh s=zús-un'-as l=ts[7]a [ku]=sq'úmqen,
COP NMLZ=get.tied-DIR-3ERG at=this.VIS DET=head

ta=stam'=as=[a]=k'á=t'u7 káti7

DET=what=3SBJV=EXIS=EPIS=EXCL around+there.VIS

ku=slhé•lh•cw-eq-s, (s)nilh

DET=get.put.on•CRED•-bottom-3POSS COP

s=n-q'áy'-lec=s.

NMLZ=LOC-jump-AUT=3POSS

...and he tied them to his head, whatever he had for a loin-cloth, and then he got in the water.

(15) ke•k•ew'-aláqalh=ti7 ta=...
far•CRED•-water.surface=that.vis DET=
n-sat'-átqw7=a láti7,
LOC-Fraser.River-water=EXIS at+there.vis

tsól•vl=tu7 ke•k•ew'-aláqalh.
stretch•FRED=REM far•CRED•-water.surface

The Fraser River was wide there... it stretched for quite a distance.

(16) í7ez' swas xzum-átkwa7...
enough NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS big-water
lhas láti7 ku=... lhas
COMP+IPFV+3SBJV at+there.VIS DET= COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
tsicw láti7 ku=time.
get.there at+there.VIS DET=time

At that *time* of the year, there's a lot of water in the river.

(17) lha7-qs áta7 lhecw-en-ás close.to-point to+there.vis put.on-dir-3erg

[ta]=lhécw-q-s=a, nilh s=...

DET=get.put.on-bottom-3POSS=EXIS COP NMLZnkú•kw•tsa-s áku7 ta=wa7
downstream•CRED•-3POSS to+there.INVIS DET=IPFV

sas wa7 záw-em.

NMLZ+be+3POSS IPFV dipnet-MID

When he got to shore and put his pants on, he was downstream from where the fishermen were.

(18) tsicw áku7, "cuy, n-gwel'-qw-(c)án', [2:00]
get.there to+there.Invis go.on loc-burn-head-dir
gwel'-qw-án', cúy'=lhkan sút'-cal
burn-head-dir going.to=isg.sbj get.drained-act
ku=k'wín."

Det=how.many

He got there and said, "Go on, light it up, light it up, I'm going to take a few drags."

(19) sú::t'-cal=ku7 láti7 t.sáw'ta,
get.drained-ACT=QUOT at+there.VIS poor.guy
k'wí::n=as=ku7 láti7
how.many=3sBJV=QUOT at+there.VIS
{s}=sút'-cal=s.
NMLZ=get.drained-ACT=3POSS

The fellow took a drag, he must've taken a few drags.

Ntsáqwemlha7

- (20) (wá7=hem' tsut...) wá7=hem' tsut i=wa7
 IPFV=ANTI say IPFV=ANTI say PL.DET=IPFV
 ucwalmícw-ts, "lhep•lhepk-ám."⁵
 indigenous.person-mouth TRED•inhale-MID
 Those who speak ucwalmícwts say lheplhepkám.
- (21) "lhepk-ám." lhep•lhepk-ám=ku7 láti7. inhale-MID TRED•inhale-MID=QUOT at+there.vis *Lhepkám.* He inhaled it.
- (22) I'll tell that in English again. That's inhale it, you see?
- (23) lhep•lhepk-ám=ku7 láti7.

 TRED•inhale-MID=QUOT at+there.VIS

 He inhaled it.
- (24)láti7 léq'=ku7 burned.to.a.stub=QUOT at+there.vis t=smán'c=a, tsút=ku7, "Hey, tsukw-s, DET=tobacco=EXIS say=QUOT hey finish-caus kukw-s-tum'c=kál'ap," nílh=ťu7 elh get.saved-CAUS-ISG.OBJ=2PL.SBJ and.then COP=EXCL múta7 s=p'an't=s. NMLZ=return=3POSS again

When he'd had enough of the smoke, he said, "Hey, that's enough, thanks guys," and then he went back again.

⁵The word *lheplhepkám* has not previously been recorded for St'át'imcets, but it closely resembles the Secwepemctsín word *llepkém* 'inhale smoke' (Kuipers 1983:37).

```
l=ts7a
(25)
         t'iq
                            l=ta=s=t'áq'=s=a,
         arrive at=this.VIS at=D/C=NMLZ=cross.over=3POSS=EXIS
                                   e=t7ú-{w}na
             n-kúkwem-s
             LOC-upstream-3POSS
                                   to=that.vis-precisely
                 [lh]=lhecw-n-ás...
                                          kelh-n-ás
                 COMP=put.on-DIR-3ERG get.taken.off-DIR-3ERG
                      [ta]=lhécw-q-s=[a]....
                      DET=get.put.on-bottom-3POSS=EXIS
                                                               nilh
                          [lh]=zus-laqín'-[n]=as,
                          COMP=get.tied-top.of.head-DIR-3ERG COP
                              wa7 ne-q'áy-lec=s
                                                            p'an't.
                              IPFV LOC-jump-AUT=3POSS return
        He got to where he crossed over, upstream from where he had taken
        his pants off, then he tied them on his head and swam back across.
```

(26)wá::7=malh aylh láti7, t'íq=ku7 lhel=kw7ú [3:00]be=ADHORT then at+there.vis arrive=QUOT from=that.invis ta=scwáp-m[e]c=a tk'emlúps=a, tsúkw=tu7 DET=spread.out-people=EXIS Kamloops=EXIS finish=REM lhas wa7 i=... at+there.INVIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be PL.DET= smán'c=a. tobacco=EXIS

Well, he was around there, and then a Shuswap came over from Kamloops, that's the only place where there was tobacco.

(27) t'íq-cal ta=pál7=a sculk'w ku=smán'c, ts'íla=ti7 arrive-ACT det=one=exis roll det=tobacco like=that.vis ku=lóp...

Det=rope

He brought one roll of tobacco, it was kind of like a rope...

I actually saw those in Kamloops at the *Hudson Bay* Store, it had been twisted up kind of like a black rope.

(29) t'íq-cal=ku7 t=smán'c=a, (nílh=t'u7
arrive-ACT=QUOT DET=tobacco=EXIS COP=EXCL
ses...) nílh=t'u7 ses

NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
n-7aoz'-em-s-ás=hem' ku=sts'wán,
LOC-pay.for-MID-CAUS-3ERG=ANTI DET=dried.salmon
stsáqwem, stám'=as=t'u7 kw=s-k'ac...
saskatoon what=3SBJV=EXCL DET=STAT-get.dry

He'd bring tobacco, and then trade it for dried fish, saskatoons, anything that was dry...

(30) ...úcwalmicw ku=s7ílhen, wéna7, sqlaw' indigenous.person det=food whatchamacallit money ku=núkw=a wa7 s-7áz'-i
INVIS.DET=other=EXIS IPFV NMLZ-pay.for-3PL.POSS, l=kw=smán'c=a, i=wa7
at=INVIS.DET=tobacco=EXIS PL.DET=IPFV
[e{s}]=sqlaw'.
have=money

...Indian food or whatever; some others paid money for the tobacco, the ones that had money.

```
(31) ts'ek-s-ás=tu7 ta=pál7=a sculk'w,
empty-caus-3erg=rem det=one=exis roll
nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsut=s ti7
COP=QUOT=excl nmlz=say=3Poss that.vis
[t]a=scwáp-mec=a...
det=spread.out-person=exis
This Shuswap guy finished one roll of tobacco, and then he said...
```

(32)"wá7=lhkal'ap qan'ím-ens kw={s}-Ntsáqwemlha7 IPFV=2PL.SBI hear-DIR DET=NMLZ-Ntsáqwemlha7 n-q'áy-lec... kwas l=kw7u D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS LOC-jump-AUT at=that.INVIS k'win sút'-cal, n-q'áy-lec p'an't how.many get.drained-ACT LOC-jump-AUT return úxwal'." go.home

"You guys heard that Ntsáqwemlha7 swam across the river for a few drags and swam back home."

```
"1=ts7a
(33)
                      i=sk'écp=a,
                                                                        [4:00]
         at=this.vis PL.DET=crumb=EXIS
             i=sk'écp=a,
                                  cúy'=lhkacw..."
             PL.DET=crumb=EXIS going.to=2SG.SBJ
                 tsakw-an'-as=ku7=hém'=ti7
                 get.spread.flat-DIR-3ERG=QUOT=ANTI=that.VIS
                                         láti7
                     ta=leqwáz'=a,
                     DET=blanket=EXIS at+there.VIS
                                              ník'-in'-as
                          COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.cut-DIR-3ERG
                              i=smán'c-s=a.
                              PL.DET=tobacco-3POSS=EXIS
```

"These crumbs here, you're gonna..." He had spread out a blanket, which he had cut his tobacco on.

Ntsáqwemlha7

- (34) "l=ts7a i=sk'écp=a, wá7=lhkacw kwan, at=this.vis pl.det=crumb=exis ipfv=2sg.sbj take+dir

 Ntsáqwemlha7, l=kw7a lh=wá7=as

 Ntsáqwemlha7 at=this.invis comp=be=3sbjv

 ku=n-lhám'-ten-su..."

 DET=LOC-get.put.into-ins-2sg.poss

 "You can take these crumbs here, Ntsáqwemlha7, wherever your container is."
- (35) cw7it ts'íla=ku7 ts7a [lh]=s-qwem=ás
 many like=QUOT this.VIS COMP=STAT-get.piled.up=3SBJV
 i=sk'écp=a, that's crumbs.
 PL.DET=crumb=EXIS that's crumbs
 He had kind of piled up a lot sk'ecp, that's crumbs.
- [4:20] (36) So that's the end of that.

5.4 Sam's Mitchell's English Telling⁶

Well, I'm going to repeat the same story, but in English this time, what I just said in Indian.

This Ntsáqwemlha7, stsáqwem means 'saskatoon' in this country, in the... they dry quite a bit of it. If it means -lha7, that's the name of this man. Well, he was on the west side of the river, down where this powerhouse is now. They call Nt'et'k'w. And Npim is right across the river from there. That's where my people used to live and barbeque sunflower and barbeque a lot of things in the springtime, barbeque onions, everything. That's why they're there, and they also get fish.

Anyways, when the water's high in June, this rock is pretty high, so they were fishing with a net. And this Ntsáqwemlha7 was on the west side of the river and he looked over and he seen these fellows smoking, he heard so much about tobacco, and whether he ever smoked much, and so he hollered over and he told them guys, he said, "Spit it out!" He says, "I'm going over! And I'm gonna swim over!" And on this part of this river it's pretty wide in June. And it's sort of swift. It takes a good man to swim it.

And, so he went up the river a ways, and he took what pants he had on, so it couldn't be much if he tied it on his head and he swum the river, and when he got to the other side, he put his pants on.

So he walked down to where these fellows were fishing with a net, and... and he says, "Okay," he says, "Light the pipe. I wanna... I wanna have a taste of smoke." So, they lit the pipe for him, and he... he smoked on the pipe, and... and he inhaled every... every smoke. In our language, we call it *lhepkám*, he inhale all the smoke he can get out of that tobacco. So I guess that kind of... When I first smoked myself, I get dizzy, and maybe that's why he had... so he says, "I'm satisfied, okay. I'm going back." So he went up the river again a bit, he took his pants off, he tied it on his head, and he swum back. When he got across, well, he had a smoke that day anyways.

It was awhile after that, it was years maybe after that, and there was an Indian come from Kamloops, and the Hudson Bay tobacco, it's just like a rope them days, I seen them myself. They're kind of black, it's twisted, just like a... oh, we'll say about an inch or an inch and a half rope. But they... so he lay a blanket down and he started to cut it.

⁶Neither Bouchard & Kennedy 1986-1972 nor 1977 include a written transcription of Sam Mitchell's free translation. We include a verbatim transcription of Sam's English telling, which was told immediately after the St'át'imcets version on the recording.

Ntsáqwemlha7

The measurement was by hand. The Indians had that measurement, by hand, before the white man come, but the... I... I notice the white man, they use it on horses. They'll say maybe, 14, 15, 16, 17 hands high. That's about four inches to the hand. But the Indians had this *pála7 skwakst*, that's 'one hand'. So that's the way he sold his tobacco, he traded it for dried salmon, so many hands for so many dried salmon, so many hands for so much saskatoon, dried saskatoon berries. Some that had money, they pay money for maybe one hand of tobacco.

So, when he sold all his tobacco, he had quite a bit of crumbs on it, you see, everytime he cuts the tobacco, it's bound to be some crumbs.

So this Shuswap Indian, he's... he heard about this, this Ntsáqwemlha7 that swim the river for a few puffs of tobacco and then swim back, when the river was high. So he said, he hollered, he says, "Is Ntsáqwemlha7 around?"

He told him, "Yes, he's around here."

"Tell him to come here."

And when he come there, he told him, "You can have all that crumbs that's on that blanket. Quite a bit of crumbs for nothing." Just for him to swim, he heard about him swimming the river for a few puffs of tobacco. So Ntsáqwemlha7, he had quite a bunch of tobacco! When he mixed it with kinnikinnick, well he had lots of smoke then!

Well, that's the end of that, swimming the river for a few puffs of tobacco!

Chapter 6

Nts'wálhteqw: Big Frank¹

6.1 St'át'imcets

Ts7a ta pápel7a, wa7 zúscal lts7a. Wá7wit ku7 láti7 lta hotela... sáma7 ti7 ts7a ta sqwal'entsása, nilh wa7 sBilly Johnson sqweqwel'entsás. T'elh wá7wit ku7 láti7 lakáoltem. Tsicw ku7 ts7a ta núkwa sáma7, ulhcw áti7 tswása lta... hotel ti7. Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s, "Wa7 núkun' tákem kw sxílem kw Nts'wálhteqw," wa7 the Colt. "The Colt is raising heck down at the other end of town." That's, ah.... his Indian name though is Nts'wálhteqw. But they nicknamed him... is the Colt. Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s ta wa7 zúscal, "Cuy, áma, cúy'lhkan nas áts'xen." Nilh ku7 tu7 sqwatsátss.

T'ak ti7 ets7á k'ém'qstsa ts7a ta táowna, wa7 ku7 káti7. Ts7a qw7úlm'ecw lhas úqwa7, nilh t'u7 stsukws t'u7 kw sts'niqwt.s, stám'as t'ú7 ku7 katéqsasa nilh... ts'emts'emq'ánas t'u7, kástsas. Elh qúqwta7 lhucw túpun', cw7it i wa7 t'anam'ílc, hu7 kwas tupun'ítas, kwas tsu7enítas, cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 kwas alánas ts'íla.

Tsicw aylh áti7, tsicw áts'xenem Nts'wálhteqw. Nilh ti7 aylh sqwéqwel's snilh, ts7a ta... ts7a kw Nts'wálhteqw.

"Tsut, "Snúwa ha Bob Hume? Cúz'lhkacw ha ts7as ts'níqwents?""

""Cuy," stsut.s. Cw7aoy t'u7 kw st'iqs, nilh t'u7 skelhenás ti kapúhsa."

"Kelhenás ti kapúhsa, nilh t'u7 stsúnan, "Cuy, ts7as t'u7 lhláta7, cúy'lhkan ts'niqwt." Ts'niqwt."

Tsut t.sáw'ta, "Cw7aoy t'u7 kw s... Cw7aoy t'u7 put kw skak'ik'ta7míntsasa, nilh t'u7 sts'áq'usentsas éta kapúhsa, kapetuskána," wa7 tsut. Láti7 tsut, "T'lh ts'ílalhkan ku alán ku kat'7íkwa lta nt'én7a." Nilh

¹Told by Sam Mitchell in November 1973.

stsut.s, "Tqilh lhkelhtscítan ts7a ta kapúhsa, kélhtskan et7ú ta kapúhsa, plan," tsut, "qwatsáts et7ú." Nilh t'u7 tsut láti7 ns...

"Wá7lhkan tsut láti7, "Alánlhkan kw sts'ílas kwa ts'ék'em lna nt'én7a, xílhtskan ts7a wa7... wa7 láku7 tsí7eg'w. Áts'xenlhkan, wa7 tsí7eg'w. Nilh," tsut, "szewátenan kw nqusaná7entsas. Nilh," tsut, "láti7 nswa7 t'u7... ts'ílalhkan ku ka7úts'q7a, nilh t'u7 nstsutánwas, "Cúy'lhkan úxwal'.""

"Nilh nst'ak t'u7 áku7 súxwast, tsícwkan áti7 ta stswáw'cwa, xzum ti7 ku stswaw'cw, nilh ti7 wa7 *Cayoose Creek*. Nilh t'u7 ns... nq'aylecátkwa7, tsácwam." Xzum ti7 ts7a ku sqaycw. "Tsícwkan," tsut, "et7ú, lha7qskán áta7, nilh nsteqqwám láti7 lki melmúlca." Nilh t'u7 stsut.s, "Alánlhkan kw s... wá7lhkan zewáten kwenswá sqam' lts7a lta nq'úmqena." Wa7 tsut, "Wá7lhkan láti7 esmú::l t'u ts'íp'kan láku7," wa7 tsut, "nilh t'u7," tsut, "nska7ámha. Nilh t'u7 nscát'lec, nilh ns7úxwal', tsícwkan áta7 ntsítcwa," láti7 t'ú7 ti7 ta tsítcwsa... "Tsícwkan áti7 ntsítcwa, nilh t'u7 nsqelhúlw'et, nilh t'u7 nskítslec."

"Wá7lhkan, ao káti7 kwas tsí7eg'w aylh, plan. Cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 kenkw7á, wá7lhkan tsásan' lkw7a t.sk'zápqena... Cw7ao t'u7 káti7 kenkw skalhéxwsa ku squsmál'ts, qusmal'tsás k'a, lhstám'as kw sqúscitsas, kws xílhtum'cas."

"Nilh t'u7 nswa7 káti7. Nas et7ú... wa7 k'a káti7 sáwlhen ku7," tsut, stsut.s, "sáwlhen ku7 káti7 lhkánmasas lhcúz'as lep' kw s... *the Colt*a," *Big Frank*. Tsúnem ku7 káti7, "Kawá7a ti7 káti7 mám'teq, cw7ao káti7 kwas qwenúxw, kwas kánem."

Ti7 ts7a ta wa7 zúscal, nilh t'u7 skáwlecs, nilh t'u7 tu7 sqwatsátss. Láni7 ku *time*, sxek, *1902 or 03* k'a, pináni7 ku *time*... nilh t'u7 tu7 sqwatsátss. Nák'ek' láti7, nilh skáti7s wa7 kw Nts'wálhteqw. Aoy t'u7 kw scin's, amawíl'c tu7, lhaxw tu7 ts7a na t'éna7sa, q'it'. "T'u7 wa7 hem'," tsut snilh, tsut, "Lhas qemp, lhas pipántsek, wá7lhkan alán lkw7a nsk'zápqena kwas... wa7 ku qemp lta st'et'kwá t'u7. Nilh t'u7," tsut, "ntsutánwas, nilh káti7 ku qusemál'ts... qusemál'tsas, kw s... ku kat'ál'a láku7," wa7 tsut, "láku7 lhas qemp nsk'zápqena."

"Nilh," tsut, "nswa7 aylh kents7á..."

Lánlhkan aylh wa7 líl'tem... i t'ákas nkaoháw'sa, 1913 k'a i t'ákas nkaoháw'sa. Nilh t'u7 ti7 múta7 st'iqs ets7á ta wa7 s... ti7 ta wa7 s*Bob Hume*, nilh tu7 ti7 lts7a wa7 plísmen, wa7 zúscal.

Nilh stsúntsas aylh, wa7 tsut, "Wá7lhkan láti7 esmítsa7q, sqemps, sme<u>s</u>áotsi. Ts7as t'u7 ti sám7a, t'iq áti7, nilh stsúntsas, "Snúwa ha *Big Frank*?""

"O," tsúnas ku7, "Iy, iy, s7ents."

Tsúnem, "Kan kwesú zewátents?"

"Cw7aoz káti7 kwesú zewátents. Sama7lhkácw wi7."

"Skánem ku wa7 zewátenacw kw sBob Hume?"

"O!," tsut ku7, "wá7lhkacw zewátents, snúwa ha s*Bob Hume*? Qúscitskacw ts7a, k'wá7en, kakélha tú7a... wa7 lkw7a ta squsemál'tsswa. Cw7áozas kwásu ntsutánwas kwenswá qlílmintsin, plánlhkan wa7 líl'tem. Cw7ao kw sqúscitsacw, cw7ao kw nszuqw, plánlhkan tú7 ni7 wa7 lhápen." Nilh t'u7 ti7 s... "Cuy, tqák7ants!"

"Nilh scwits'aká7mintsas," tsut, "tqák7antsas, cuz' tqák7an, nilh scuz's tqák7anan. Tsukw láti7," tsut, "lhtqák7anan, nilh t'u7 stsúntsas, "Cuy, síma7 i7wa7mínts." Tsut ti7 kw s*Bob Hume*, "Síma7 i7wa7mínts, náskalh et7ú." Nilh," tsut, "nstálhlec, nilh nst'ak í7wa7min, kákel's."

"Tsícwstum'cas áku7," tsut, "stóha. Nilh stsúnas ta wa7 estóh, "Úm'en ts7a ku syaxs, kwa n7an'wasúsem, kw st'palits'á7s t'u tsem'p, *suit of clothes*. Cuy, stem'tétem's, s7ílhts'a7s, stáokenss, qmuts, tákem. Tsúkwskacw, elh náscitskacw ku *bill*, s7ents ku cuz' ay'entáli.""

Áti7 lhtsem'pás ti7.

6.2 English

This one fellow, he was a policeman here. There were these people at the hotel... It was a white guy that told me this, *Billy Johnson*. They were playing cards at the time. This other white person went in where... he was in the *hotel*. Then he said, "Nts'wálhtqw is acting up again," that's the Colt. "The Colt is raising heck down at the other end of town." That's, ah... his Indian name though is Nts'wálhteqw. But they nicknamed him... is the Colt. So the policeman said, "Okay, fine, I'll go and see." Then off he went.

He went to the other end of town, and that's where he was. Now, at this watering hole where he drank, all he'd ever do was fight, whatever he could get ahold of, he'd take it to pieces, do whatever to it. It was like nothing to him when you punched him, there were a lot of people who tried to, but the more they punched and kicked him, he still didn't feel a thing.

So he showed up, and the Colt went to see him. And this is his own story, the Colt.

"He said, "Are you *Bob Hume*? Are you coming to fight me?""

""Okay," he said. But before he approached, he took off his coat."

"When he took off his coat, I told him, "Okay, come over here, I'll fight." Fight."

The poor guy said, "He hadn't quite reached me when he threw his coat in my face, and my face got covered. Right then I felt something pop in my ear." He said, "By the time I'd almost gotten it out of my mouth, he had already left." Then my friend said...

"I said, "Then I felt something kind of stinging in my ear, and did like this, and it was bleeding. I saw it, it was bleeding." He said, "That's when I knew that he shot me in the ear." He said, "So there I was... I kind of went outside, and I thought, "I'm going home."

"I went down, until I got to that big creek, that's *Cayoose Creek*. Then I jumped in the water and waded." This guy was big. He said, "I came to shore, and I grabbed the bushes. I felt that... I knew that I'd gotten shot in the head." He said, "I was in the water until I cooled off, and then I felt better. Then I got out and went home, and got back to my house," his house was over there... "I got to my house and put my things away, then I laid down."

"So there I was, it had already stopped bleeding by that point. There wasn't anything there, I was feeling here on the back of the head, but there wasn't any place where a bullet had come out, a bullet or whatever he shot me with, whatever he did to me."

"So I was hanging around there. Later somebody must've asked," he said, "someone asked when *the Colt* was going to be buried," that's *Big Frank*. He was told, "What? He's still walking around! He's not sick or anything!"

Now this policeman, he quit and moved away. At that *time*, maybe 1902 or 1903, that was when he left. He was replaced, but the Colt stayed around. It wasn't very long before he got better, his ear healed. "But it's still there," he said, "and when it gets hot in the summer, I feel it in the back of my head... it feels like there's something hot where it sticks out a bit. So I thought, that must be the bullet still in there," he said, "when the back of my head gets hot."

He said, "So here I was..."

I was already getting old when the railroad came through, it must've been 1913 when the railroad came through. That's when *Bob Hume* came back, who had been the policeman here.

He told me, "I was sitting at the Mesáotsi Store during summer. A white guy came over, and when he got there he asked me, "Are you *Big Frank*?""

"Oh," he told him, "Yes, yes, that's me."

He said, "Do you know me?"

"You don't know me, you're a white person."

"Do you know Bob Hume?"

"Oh!," he said, "You know me, are you *Bob Hume*? You shot me here, you see, it came out... your bullet is right here. Don't be thinking that I'm angry with you, I'm older now. You didn't shoot me and I didn't die. I've already forgotten about it." Then he... "Go on, shake hands with me!"

"Then he gave me his hand," he said, "he shook my hand, so I began to shake his hand. When that was done," he said, "after I shook his hand, he told me, "Okay, come with me." *Bob Hume* said, "Come with me, we're going over there."" Then he said, "I stood up and followed him."

He said, "He brought me to a store. Then he told the storekeeper, "Give this guy something to wear, two sets, underwear and everything, a *suit of clothes*. Go on, clothes, shoes, socks, a hat, everything. When you're finished, send me the bill, and I'll pay for it.""

That's where it ends.

²The word *mesaotsi* means 'evil, ill-tempered' in Chinuk Wawa (Dave Robertson, p.c.), and refers to the Jim Bros. store in Lillooet.

6.3 Interlinear Gloss

- [0:00] (1) ts7a ta=pá•p•l7=a, wa7 zús-cal l=ts7a. this.vis det=one•Cred•=exis ipfv get.tied-act at=this.vis This one fellow, he was a policeman here.
 - (2) wá7=wit=ku7 láti7 l=ta=hotel=a...
 be=3PL=QUOT at+there.vis at=DET=hotel=EXIS
 There were these people at the hotel...
 - (3) sáma7=ti7 ts7a
 white.person=that.VIS this.VIS
 ta=sqwal'-en-ts-ás=a,
 DET=report-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG=EXIS
 nilh wa7 s-Billy Johnson
 COP IPFV NMLZ-Billy Johnson
 sqwe•qw•el'-en-ts-ás.
 tell•CRED•-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG

It was a white guy that told me this, Billy Johnson.

- (4) t'elh wá7=wit=ku7 láti7 lakáolt-em. at.this.time IPFV=3PL=QUOT at+there.VIS cards-MID They were playing cards at the time.
- (5) tsícw=ku7 ts7a ta=núkw=a sáma7, get.there=QUOT this.VIS DET=other=EXIS white.person ulhcw áti7 tswása enter to+there.VIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS l=ta=... hotel=ti7. at=DET= hotel=that.VIS

This other white person went in where... he was in the *hotel*.

(6) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsut=s, "wa7 núkun' tákem COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS IPFV again all kw=s=xíl-em kw={s}-Nts'wálhteqw(qw)," wa7 D/C=NMLZ=do-MID DET=NMLZ-the.Colt be the Colt. the Colt

- Then he said, "Nts'wálhteqw is acting up again," that's *the Colt*.
- (7) "The Colt is raising heck down at the other end of town."
- (8) That's, ah... his Indian name though is Nts'wálhteqw. But they nicknamed him... is the Colt.
- (9) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsut=s ta=wa7 zús-cal,
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS DET=IPFV get.tied-ACT
 "cuy, áma, cúy'=lhkan nas áts'x-en."
 okay good going.to=ISG.SBJ go get.seen-DIR
 So the policeman said, "Okay, fine, I'll go and see."
- (10) nílh=ku7=tu7 s=qwatsáts=s. [1:00]

 COP=QUOT=REM NMLZ=leave=3POSS

 Then off he went.
- (11) t'ák=ti7 [e]=ts7á k'ém'qs-ts=a ts7a go.along=that.vis to=this.vis end-3poss=exis this.vis ta=táown=a, wá7=ku7 káti7.

 DET=town=exis be=Quot around+there.viss

 He went to the other end of town, and that's where he was.

³The name *Nts'wálhteqw* appears to share the same root as *ts'walhtenaz'* 'Rocky Mountain Maple', but we choose not to analyze this name further. Carl Alexander mentions that *nts'walhqw*, without a [t], is a common name for 'colt'. See also the story of Npekáyus ('Flateye') above, for mention of this name.

```
(12)
                 qw7-úlm'ecw (lhas...)
                                                 lhas
        this.vis drink-land
                              COMP+IPFV+3SBJV COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                s=tsúkw=s=t'u7
            úqwa7, nílh=t'u7
            drink
                    COP=EXCL NMLZ=finish=3POSS=EXCL
                kw=s=ts'nigwt=s,
                                        stam'=as=t'ú7=ku7
                D/C=NMLZ=fight=3POSS what=3SBJV=EXCL=QUOT
                    ka-téq-s-as-a
                                                      ni[lh]...
                    CIRC-get.touched-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC COP
                        ts'em•ts'emq'-án-as=t'u7,
                        TRED*pull.apart-DIR-3ERG=EXCL
                             kás-ts-as.
                            do.how-CAUS-3ERG
```

Now, at this watering hole where he drank, all he'd ever do was fight, whatever he could get ahold of, he'd pull it to pieces, do whatever to it.

(13)qúqwta7 lhucw túp-un', cw7it and then for nothing COMP+IPFV+2SG.SBJV punch-DIR many t'a[na]m'-ílc, hu7 kwas PL.DET=IPFV try-AUT more D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS tup-un'-ítas, punch-DIR-3PL.ERG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS tsu7-en-ítas, cw7áoy=ťu7 káti7 kick-dir-3pl.erg neg=excl around+there.vis alán-as ts'íla. kwas D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS feel+DIR-3ERG like

It was like nothing to him when you punched him, there were a lot of people who tried to, but the more they punched and kicked him, he still didn't feel a thing.

(14) tsicw aylh áti7, tsicw áts'x-en-em get.there then to+there.vis get.there get.seen-dir-3pass

Nts'wálhteqw.
the.Colt

So he showed up, and the Colt went to see him.

- (15) nílh=ti7 aylh sqwé•qw•el'-s snilh, ts7a
 COP=that.VIS then tell•CRED•-3POSS 3SG.INDEP this.VIS

 ta=... ts7a kw={s}-Nts'wálhteqw.

 DET= this.VIS DET=NMLZ-the.Colt

 And this is his own story, the Colt.
- (16) "tsut, "snúwa=ha Bob Hume?""
 say 2SG.INDEP=Q Bob Hume
 "He said, "Are you Bob Hume?""
- (17) ""cúz'=lhkacw=ha ts7as ts'níqw-en-ts?""
 going.to=2sg.sbj=Q come fight-dir-isg.obj
 ""Are you coming to fight me?""
- (18) ""cuy," [s]=tsut=s. cw7áoy=t'u7
 okay NMLZ=say=3POSS NEG=EXCL
 kw=s=t'iq=s, nílh=t'u7
 D/C=NMLZ=arrive=3POSS COP=EXCL
 s=kelh-en-ás ti=kapúh-s=a."
 NMLZ=get.taken.off-DIR-3ERG DET=coat-3POSS=EXIS
 ""Okay," he said. But before he approached, he took off his coat."
- (19)"kelh-en-ás nílh=ťu7 ti=kapúh-s=a, [2:00]get.taken.off-DIR-3ERG DET=coat-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL s=tsún-an, "cuy, ts7ás=t'u7 lhláta7, NMLZ=say+DIR-ISG.ERG okay come=EXCL from+there.vis cúy'=lhkan ts'niqwt." ts'niqwt." going.to=ISG.SBJ fight fight "When he took off his coat, I told him, "Okay, come over here, I'll fight." Fight."

```
tsut t.sáw'ta, "cw7áoy=t'u7 kw=s=... cw7áoy=t'u7
(20)
                                     D/C=NMLZ= NEG=EXCL
             poor.guy NEG=EXCL
                    kw=s=ka-k'ik'ta7-mín-ts-as-a,
            exactly D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-near-RLT-ISG.OBJ-3ERG-CIRC
                nílh=ťu7
                                     (ts'áq'-en)
                                     throw-DIR
                COP=EXCL NMLZ=
                    ts'ág'-us-en-ts-as
                    throw-face-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG
                        e=ta=kapúh-s=a,
                        OBL=DET=coat-3POSS=EXIS
                            ka-pet-us=kán-a,"
                                                              wa7
                            CIRC-get.covered-face=ISG.SBJ-CIRC IPFV
                                 say
```

The poor guy said, "He hadn't quite reached me when he threw his coat in my face, and my face got covered."

- (21) láti7 tsut, "t'lh ts'íla=[lhk]an ku=7alán at+there.vis say at.this.time like=Isg.sbj d/c=feel+dir (ku=...) ku=ka-t'7íkw-a⁴ l=ta=n-t'én7=a."

 DET= DET=CIRC-pop-CIRC at=DET=Isg.Poss-ear=EXIS "Right then I felt something pop in my ear."
- "tqilh (22)nilh s=tsut=s, NMLZ=say=3POSS almost [lh]=[kelh]-ts-cít-an⁵ ts7a COMP=get.taken.off-mouth-IND-ISG.ERG this.VIS ta=kapúh-s=a, kélh-ts=kan DET=coat-3POSS=EXIS get.taken.off-CAUS=ISG.SBJ ta=kapúh-s=a, plan," to=that.vis DET=coat-3POSS=EXIS already say "qwatsáts e=t7ú." leave to=that.vis

He said, "By the time I'd almost gotten it out of my mouth, he had already left."

⁴The expected vowel in kat'7íkwa is not [i], but [e].

```
(23)
         nílh=ťu7
                     tsut láti7
                                        n=s...,
         COP=EXCL say
                          at+there.VIS ISG.POSS=NMLZ=
                                              "alán=lhkan
             "wá7=lhkan
                           tsut láti7,
                                at+there.vis feel+DIR=ISG.SBJ
            IPFV=ISG.SBJ say
                              ts'íla-s
                 kw=s....
                                          kwa
                 DET=NMLZ- like-3POSS DET+IPFV
                     ts'ék'-em
                                l=na=n-t'én7=a,
                     sting-MID at=ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-ear=EXIS
                         (s)xílh-ts=kan
                                               ts7a
                                                        wa7...
                         do.like-caus=isg.sbj this.vis ipfv
                                    láku7
                                                   tsí<7>eg'w.
                                    at+there.INVIS bleed<INCH>
                                  áts'x-en=lhkan.
                                                       wa7
                                  get.seen-DIR=ISG.SBJ IPFV
                                      tsí<7>eg'w.""
                                      bleed<INCH>
```

Then my friend said... "I said, "Then I felt something kind of stinging in my ear, and did like this, and it was bleeding. I saw it, it was bleeding."

(24) "nilh," tsut, "s=zewát-en-an
COP say NMLZ=be.known-dir-isg.erg
kw={s}=n-qus-aná7-en-ts-as."
D/C=NMLZ=LOC-shoot-ear-dir-isg.obj-3erg
He said, "That's when I knew that he shot me in the ear."

⁵The sequence *tqilh lhkelhtscitan* is phonetically [tqílhtscitan], however *tqilh* 'almost' cannot be transitivized. Though the root *kelh* 'get taken off' is unpronounced, this represents our best guess given the context.

Big Frank

[3:00] (25) "nilh," tsut, "láti7 n=s=wá7=t'u7...

COP say at+there.VIS ISG.POSS=NMLZ=be=EXCL

ts'íla=lhkan ku=ka-7úts'[q7]-a, nílh=t'u7
like=ISG.SBJ D/C=CIRC-go.out-CIRC COP=EXCL

n=s={n}-tsut-ánwas, "cúy'=lhkan
ISG.POSS=NMLZ=LOC-say-inside going.to=ISG.SBJ

úxwal'.""
go.home

He said, "So there I was... I kind of went outside, and I thought, "I'm going home.""

- (26) "ni[lh] n=s=t'ák(s)=t'u7 áku7

 COP ISG.POSS=NMLZ=go.along=EXCL to+there.INVIS

 súxwast, tsícw=kan áti7 ta=...

 go.downhill get.there=ISG.SBJ to+there.VIS DET=

 stswáw'cw=a, xzúm=ti7 ku=stswáw'cw,

 creek=EXIS big=that.VIS DET=creek

 nílh=ti7 wa7 Cayoose Creek."

 COP=that.VIS IPFV Cayoose Creek
 - "I went down, until I got to that big creek, that's Cayoose Creek."
- (27) "nílh=t'u7 n=s=... n-q'ay-lec-átkwa7,
 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ= LOC-jump-AUT-water
 tsácw-am."
 wade-MID
 "Then I jumped in the water and waded."
- (28) xzúm=ti7 ts7a ku=sqáycw. big=that.vis this.vis det=man This guy was big.
- (29) "tsícw=kan," tsut, "e=t7ú, lha7-qs=kán get.there=IsG.SBJ say to=that.vis close.to-point=IsG.SBJ áta7, nilh n=s=teq-qw-ám to+there.vis cop isg.poss=nmlz=touch-head-mid láti7 l=ki=mel•múlc=a." at+there.vis at=pl.det=tred•stick=exis He said, "I came to shore, and I grabbed the bushes."

- (30) nílh=t'u7 [s]=tsut=[s], "alán=lhkan kw=s=...

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS feel+DIR=ISG.SBJ D/C=NMLZ=

 wá7=lhkan zewát-en kwenswá

 IPFV=ISG.SBJ be.known-DIR D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV

 s-qam' l=ts7a [l]=[ta]=n-q'úmqen=a."

 STAT-get.hit at=this.VIS at=DET=ISG.POSS-head=EXIS

 "I felt that... I knew that I'd gotten shot in the head."
- (31) wa7 tsut, "wá7=lhka[n] láti7 es-mú::l t'u

 IPFV say IPFV=ISG.SBJ at+there.VIS STAT-submerge until

 ts'íp'=kan láku7," wa7 tsut, "nílh=t'u7,"

 cold=ISG.SBJ at+there.INVIS IPFV say COP=EXCL

 tsut, "n=s=ka-7ámh-a."

 say ISG.POSS=NMLZ=CIRC-good-CIRC

 He said, "I was in the water until I cooled off, and then I felt better."
- (32) "nílh=t'u7 n=s=cát'-lec, nilh

 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=lift.out-AUT COP

 n=s=7úxwal', tsícw=kan áta7

 ISG.POSS=NMLZ=go.home get.there=ISG.SBJ to+there.VIS

 n-tsítcw=a," lati7=t'ú7=ti7

 ISG.POSS-house=EXIS at+there.VIS=EXCL=that.VIS

 ta=tsítcw-s=a...

 DET=house-3POSS=EXIS

"Then I got out and went home, and got back to my house," his house was over there...

(33) "tsícw=kan áti7 n-tsítcw=a,
get.there=ISG.SBJ to+there.VIS ISG.POSS-house=EXIS
nílh=t'u7 n=s=... qelh-úlw'et, nílh=t'u7
COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ= get.stored-stuff COP=EXCL
n=s=kíts-lec."
ISG.POSS=NMLZ=get.laid.down-AUT
"I got to my house and put my things away, then I laid down."

Big Frank

"wá7=lhkan, ao

```
(34)
                             NEG around+there.VIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                be=ISG.SBI
                    tsí<7>eg'w aylh, plan."
                    bleed<INCH then already
               "So there I was, it had already stopped bleeding by that point."
[4:00] (35)
                "cw7áoy=t'u7 káti7
                                                 ken=kw7á,
                NEG=EXCL
                               around+there.vis around=this.invis
                    wá7=lhkan
                                  tsás-an'
                                                    l=kw7a
                    IPFV=ISG.SBJ feel.by.touch-DIR at=this.INVIS
                        t=sk'zápqen=a..."
                        DET=back.of.head=EXIS
               "There wasn't anything there, I was feeling here on the back of the
               head..."
                "cw7áo=t'u7
                              káti7
       (36)
                              around+there.vis
                NEG=EXCL
                    ken=kw=s=ka-lhéxw=s-a
                    around=D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-appear=3POSS-CIRC
                        [k]u=squsm-ál'ts, qusm-al'ts=ás=k'a,
                        DET=shoot-rock
                                          shoot-rock=3SBJV=EPIS
                            [lh]=stám'=as
                            COMP=what=3SBJV
                                 kw=s=qús-ci{t}-ts-as,
                                 D/C=NMLZ=shoot-IND-ISG.OBJ-3ERG
                                                  xílh-{ts}-tum'c-as."
                                     D/C=NMLZ= do.like-CAUS-ISG.OBJ-3ERG
               "But there wasn't any place where a bullet had come out, a bullet or
               whatever he shot me with, whatever he did to me."
                                                káti7."
       (37)
                "nílh=t'u7 n=s=wa7
                COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=be around+there.VIS
```

káti7

kwas

"So I was hanging around there."

```
"nas e=t7ú....
                           wá7=k'a
(38)
                                       káti7
               to=that.vis
                          IPFV=EPIS around+there.VIS
         go
            sáwlhen=ku7,"
                                     tsut, s=tsut=[s],
             ask.question=that.INVIS
                                    say
                                           NMLZ=say=3POSS
                 "sáwlhen=ku7
                                         káti7
                 ask.question=that.INVIS around+there.VIS
                     lh=kánmas=as
                                         lh=cúz'=as...
                     COMP=when=3SBJV COMP=going.to=3SBJV
                                                 the=Colt=a,"
                                    kw=s-...
                                                                 Big
                         get.buried D/C=NMLZ- the=Colt=EXIS
                             Frank.
                             Frank
        "Later somebody must've asked," he said, "someone asked when the
```

Colt was going to be buried," that's Big Frank.

- (39)tsún-em=ku7 káti7, say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT around+there.vis "ka-(we)wá7-[a]=ti 7^6 káti7 má•m'•teq, CIRC-IPFV-CIRC=that.VIS around+there.VIS walk•CRED• cw7ao káti7 kwas around+there.vis D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS NEG qwenúxw, kwas kán-em." sick D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS whether-MID He was told, "What? He's still walking around! He's not sick or anything!"
- (40)ti7 ts7a ta=wa7 zús-cal, (nilh=t'u7 s=...)that.VIS this.VIS DET=IPFV get.tied-ACT COP=EXCL NMLZ= s=káw-lec=s, nílh=ťu7=tu7 COP=EXCL NMLZ=far-AUT=3POSS COP=EXCL=REM s=qwatsáts=s. NMLZ=leave=3POSS

Now this policeman, he quit and moved away.

⁶ka-wá7-a=ti7 represents our best guess for what is phonetically [kawewá7 ti7]. The initial (we) is most likely a false start, and we reconstruct the suffixal part -a of circumstantial ka-...-a based on the presence of the prefixal part, ka-.

Big Frank

(41) láni7 ku=time, sxek, 1902 or 03=k'a, piná(t)i7⁷ at+there.ABS DET=time maybe 1902 or 03=EPIS at.that.time ku=time... nílh=t'u7=tu7 s=qwatsáts=s.

DET=time COP=EXCL=REM NMLZ=leave=3POSS
At that time, maybe 1902 or 1903, that was when he left.

7

- (42) nák'•ek' láti7, nilh get.changed•fred at+there.vis cop s=káti7=s wa7 kw={s}-Nts'wálhteqw.

 NMLZ=around+there.vis=3poss be det=nmlz-the.Colt

 He was replaced, but the Colt stayed around.
- (43) áoy=t'u7 kw=s=cin'=s, ama-wíl'c=tu7,

 NEG=EXCL D/C=NMLZ=long.time=3POSS good-become=rem

 lháxw=tu7 ts7a na=t'éna7-s=a,

 get.healed=rem this.vis abs.det=ear-3POSS=exis

 q'it'.

 scar.heals

It wasn't very long before he got better, his ear healed.

[5:00] (44) "t'u7 wá7=hem'," tsut snilh, tsut, but be=ANTI 3SG.INDEP say say "lhas qemp, lhas COMP+IPFV+3SBJV hot COMP+IPFV+3SBJV pipántsek, wá7=lhkan alán l=kw7a IPFV=ISG.SBJ feel+DIR at=this.INVIS n-sk'zápgen=a (kwas...) LOC-top.of.head=EXIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS wa7 ku=qémp D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS IPFV DET=hot l=ta=st'e•t'•kw=á=t'u7." at=DET=stick.out • CRED • = EXIS = EXCL

"But it's still there," he said, "and when it gets hot in the summer, I feel it in the back of my head... it feels like there's something hot where it sticks out a bit."

⁷The word *piná(t)i*⁷ is almost certainly *pináni*⁷, though perhaps Sam changed his intended word in the middle, in favour of the distal demonstrative *ti*⁷.

```
(45)
         "nílh=t'u7," tsut, "n={s=n}-tsut-ánwas,
                            ISG.POSS=NMLZ=LOC-say-inside
         COP=EXCL
                      say
            nilh káti7
                                    ku=qus-em-ál'ts....
            COP around+there.vis DET=shoot-MID-rock
                qus-em-ál'ts=as,
                shoot-MID-rock=3SBJV D/C=NMLZ=
                     ku=ka-ťáľ'-a
                                          láku7,"
                                                         wa7
                                                               tsut,
                     DET=CIRC-stop-CIRC at+there.INVIS IPFV say
                         "láku7
                                        lhas
                                                           qemp
                         at+there.INVIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV hot
                             n-sk'zápgen=a."
                             ISG.POSS-back.of.head=EXIS
```

- "So I thought, that must be the bullet that is still in there," he said, "when the back of my head gets hot."
- (46) "nilh," tsut, "n=s=wa7 aylh ken=ts7á..."

 COP say ISG.POSS=NMLZ=be then around=this.vis

 He said, "So here I was..."
- (47)lán=lhkan aylh wa7 líl'tem... already=1sg.sвJ then IPFV adult i=t'ák=as n-kaoh-áw's=a, when.PAST=go.along=3SBJV LOC-car-middle=EXIS *1913*=k'a i=t'ák=as 1913=EPIS when.PAST=go.along=3SBJV n-kaoh-áw's=a. LOC-car-middle=EXIS

I was already getting old when the railroad came through, it must've been 1913 when the railroad came through.

Big Frank

nílh=t'u7=ti7 (48)múta7 s=t'iq=s COP=EXCL=that.VIS again NMLZ=arrive=3POSS to=this.VIS S-... ti7 ta=wa7 s-Bob Hume, DET=IPFV NMLZ- that.VIS DET=IPFV NMLZ-Bob Hume nílh=tu7=ti7 l=ts7a wa7 plísmen, COP=REM=that.VIS at=this.VIS IPFV policeman IPFV zús-cal. get.tied-ACT

That's when Bob Hume came back, who had been the policeman here.

(49)nilh s=tsún-ts-as aylh, wa7 COP NMLZ=say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG then IPFV "wá7=lhka[n] láti7 es-mítsa7q, sqemps, IPFV=ISG.SBJ at+there.VIS STAT-sit summer s-mesáotsi." NMLZ-Mesáotsi

He told me, "I was sitting at the Mesáotsi Store during summer.""

- "ts7ás=t'u7 ti=sám7=a, (50)t'iq áti7, come=EXCL DET=white.person=EXIS arrive to+there.VIS COP "snúwa=ha Big Frank?"" s=tsún-ts-as, NMLZ=say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG 2SG.INDEP=Q Big Frank "A white guy came over, and when he got there he asked me, "Are you Big Frank?""
- "iy, iy, s7ents." (51)"o," tsún-as=ku7, say+DIR-3ERG=QUOT yes yes ISG.INDEP "Oh," he told him, "Yes, yes, that's me."
- [6:00] (52) "kan tsún-[em], kw[e]s[u] say+DIR-3PASS whether D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS zewát-en-ts?" be.known-dir-isg.овј He said, "Do you know me?"

- (53) "cw7aoz káti7 kw[esu]

 NEG around+there.vis D/C+NMLZ+iPFV+2sG.Poss

 zewát-en-ts. sama7=lhkácw=wi7."

 be.known-dir-isg.obj white.person=2sg.sbj=emph

 "You don't know me, you're a white person."
- (54) "s-kán-em ku=zewát-en-acw stat-whether-mid d/C=be.known-dir-2sg.erg kw=s-Bob Hume?"

 DET=NMLZ-Bob Hume
 "Do you know Bob Hume?"
- (55) "o!," tsút=ku7, "wá7=lhkacw zewát-en-ts,
 oh say=QUOT IPFV=2SG.SBJ be.known-DIR-ISG.OBJ
 snúwa=ha s-Bob Hume?"
 2SG.INDEP=Q NMLZ-Bob Hume
 "Oh!," he said, "You know me, are you Bob Hume?"
- (56) "qús-ci{t}-ts=kacw ts7a, k'wá7en, shoot-Ind-Isg.obj=2sg.sbj this.vis you.see? ka-kelh-a=tú7=a... wa7 l=kw7a
 CIRC-get.taken.off-CIRC=REM=A be at=this.Invis
 ta=squs-em-ál'ts-sw=a."
 DET=shoot-MID-rock-2sg.poss=exis
 "You shot me here, you see, it came out... your bullet is right here."
- (57) "cw7áoz=as kwásu n-tsut-ánwas
 NEG=3SBJV D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS LOC-say-inside
 kwenswá qlíl-min-tsin,
 D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV angry-RLT-2SG.OBJ
 plán=lhkan wa7 líl'tem."
 already=ISG.SBJ IPFV old
 "Don't be thinking that I'm angry with you, I'm older now."

- (58) "cw7ao kw=s=qús-ci{t}-ts-acw, cw7ao

 NEG D/C=NMLZ=shoot-IND-ISG.OBJ-2SG.ERG NEG

 kw=n=s=zuqw, plan=lhkan=[t]ú7=ni7

 D/C=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=die already=ISG.SBJ=REM=that.ABS

 wa7 lháp-en."

 IPFV be.forgotten-DIR

 "You didn't shoot me and I didn't die. I've already forgotten about it."
- (59) nílh=t'u7=ti7 s.... "cuy, tq-ák7-an-ts!"

 COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ= go.on touch-hand-DIR-ISG.OBJ

 Then he... "Go on, shake hands with me!"
- (60) "nilh s=cwits'-aká7-min-ts-as," tsut,

 COP NMLZ=pass-hand-RLT-ISG.OBJ-3ERG say

 "tq-ák7-an-ts-as, cuz' tq-ák7-an,
 touch-hand-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG going.to touch-hand-DIR

 nilh s=cuz'=s tq-ák7-an-an."

 COP NMLZ=going.to=3POSS touch-hand-DIR-ISG.ERG

 "Then he gave me his hand," he said, "he shook my hand, so I began to shake his hand."
- (61) "tsukw láti7," tsut, "lh=tq-ák7-an-an, finish at+there.vis say COMP=touch-hand-DIR-ISG.ERG nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-ts-as, "cuy, síma7 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG okay come i7wa7-mín-ts."" accompany-RLT-ISG.OBJ

"When that was done," he said, "after I shook his hand, he told me, "Okay, come with me.""

(62) tsút=ti7 kw=s-Bob Hume, "síma7 say=that.vis det=nmlz-Bob Hume come i7wa7-mín-ts, nás=kalh e=t7ú." accompany-rlt-isg.obj go=ipl.sbj to=that.vis Bob Hume said, "Come with me, we're going over there."

```
(63) "nilh," tsut, "n=s=tálh-lec, nilh
COP say ISG.POSS=NMLZ=stand-AUT COP

[n]=s=t'ak 17wa7-min,
ISG.POSS=NMLZ=go.along accompany-RLT
ká•k•el'-s."
chase•CRED•-CAUS
"Then," he said, "I stood up and followed him."
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- (64) "tsícw-s-tum'c-as áku7," tsut, "stóh=a." get.there-CAUS-ISG.OBJ-3ERG to+there.INVIS say store=EXIS He said, "He brought me to a store."
- (65) "[nilh] s=tsún-as ta=wa7 [es]=stóh(a), [7:00]NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG DET=IPFV have=store "úm'-en ts7a ku=s-yáx-s, be.given-DIR this.VIS DET=NMLZ-get.dressed-3POSS kwa (n7a7) n-7an'was-úsem, LOC-two-kind DET+IPFV kw=st'p-alits'á7-s=t'u⁸ tsem'p, DET=under-outside-3POSS=until get.finished suit of clothes."" of clothes

"Then he told the storekeeper, "Give this guy something to wear, two sets, underwear and everything, a *suit of clothes*.""

(66) ""cuy, stem'tétem'-s, s7ílhts'a7-s, stáokens-s, qmut-s, go.on clothes-3POSS shoes-3POSS socks-3POSS hat-3POSS tákem.""

all
""Go on, clothes, shoes, socks, a hat, everything.""

⁸The particle t'u 'until' is not normally an enclitic, but here (and occasionally elsewhere), t'u seems to behave as a clitic, as evidenced by stress-shift.

Big Frank

- (67) ""tsúkw-s=kacw, elh nás-ci{t}-ts=kacw finish-caus=2sg.sbj and.then go-ind-isg.obj=2sg.sbj ku=bill, s7ents [ku]=cuz' ay'-en-táli."

 DET=bill Isg.indep det=going.to pay.for-dir-nts ""When you're finished, send me the bill, and I'll pay for it.""
- [7:24] (68) áti7 lh=tsem'p=ás=ti7. to+there.vis comp=get.finished=3sbJv=that.vis That's where it ends.

6.4 Sam's Mitchell's English Telling⁹

This story about this... Big Frank, or the Colt, they nicknamed him the Colt, he's a great big Indian. He's... oh, he stands over six foot, and he weighs around over 300 pounds. Big Man. When he's on his right senses, he's a nice guy, he talks to anybody, and... but when he gets a few drinks, oh, he gets wild as heck.

So, this time – this fellow that told the first part of this story was a white man – they were playing crib at the hotel they used to call the Excelsior, it burnt down after... and I says they were playing crib there, the policeman was in there, he was playing too. This policeman, his name was Bob Hume. And there was a fellow come in, some white guy, and this fellow says, "Oh, the Colt is raising heck down at the other end of town." He says, "He's looking for a fight and everything else." So the policeman, he got up and he put his coat on, and he says, "I'm gonna fix that son of a gun this time, he'll never bother anybody anymore."

So he went out, he says, "That's all we know." That's Billy Johnson's story, his part of the story. So he went out, he says he was away, he was out for quite awhile. All of a half an hour or more. And that's Billy Johnson's story, when he come back he took his coat off, he sit down, and he played crib again, played cards. And he said, he says, "I fixed that son of a gun, he'll never bother anybody anymore." That's... that's a part of the... this... Billy Johnson's story.

But Big Frank, his own story, he said, "I was down there," he said, "Well," he says, "I was drinking, and I seen this policeman coming." And he said, "As soon as I see him," he says, "I know who he was, he was Bob Hume." He said, "Bob Hume, what you looking for? You looking for me? You want to fight?" He said he never said a word, he said, "Okay, you'll fight me, you wanna put me in jail, or I'll fight."

And he said, "Before he come to me, it's quite a ways, he took his coat off. And I thought he was sure he was gonna fight me, you see." This man, he was so big, if you're gonna hit him and kick him in the face, and he doesn't feel it. And... he says, "Before he come close, he throwed his coat on my face." He says, "He throwed his coat on my face, when I got my face covered up, and the next thing I felt a sound, and $t'7ekw^{10}$ on my right ear. And, so I says I grabbed his coat and I threw it down, and when I throwed his coat down, he says, he was going quite a ways already, he was going back." He says, "I felt something on

⁹Like most other stories in this volume, Bouchard & Kennedy include Sam Mitchell's translation in manuscript form, however in place of this, here we have decided to include a verbatim transcription of Sam's English telling, which was told immediately after the recorded St'át'imcets version.

¹⁰This is St'át'imcets for when one's "ears pop". Sam also uses this word in the St'át'imcets version above.

my ear," he says, "I felt my ears kinda smartin'. I felt it, and I can feel blood... right in my ear, inside of my ear."

This part here, that was off because I seen it. ¹¹ You see, he must've hit him right there, and knocked this part off. The other side was still on!

So he says, "I felt my head, and I was kind of dizzy for awhile, and," he says, "So I says I thought to myself, "I think that policeman, he shot me in the head." So he says, ""I better walk home..."

"I started to walk home. I kept a walkin', I went down the trail, then got to the creek, they call this creek "Cayoose Creek". Got to the creek and I..." There was no bridge around there, the bridge was way up... up the creek quite a ways. But he just took a short cut. He says, "I waded right through, not much of a... not very big. Pretty good size creek though, it's a big creek." He says, "I waded across and I got... when I got across I got ahold of some brush and I laid... I put myself down on the water for awhile and," he says, "I got cooled down, and I got cooled down, when I was cooled down I felt alright." So he says, "I thought I'd better go home. So I went home, and," he says, "I can feel my ear still smartin'." He says, "When I got home I take my clothes off and I went to bed."

"Next morning, I get up and I was around... around for awhile and," he says, "I heard a story going around..." You know, a small town, it's always... everybody... anything goes on, it's always everybody knows it, they're gossiping. The... this policeman is supposed to be asking, "What is... when is Big Frank's funeral going to be?" Somebody told him, "We never heard he's dead, he's still around! He's over there at his house, he's around. He's not sick or nothing."

So this policeman, the same time, he pulled out... that happened around about, gee, 1902 or 12. So it went on, he was around, the old fellow got over the whole thing, he says the only... he told me himself, he says, "The only thing that bothers me in the summertime, when it's hot, he says, I can feel something's right... right square in the back of my neck. I can feel something hot there, when it's... in the summertime when it's hot. So," he says, "I figure that's... that's that fellow's bullet. And he must've shot me alright, but it never come out, it stayed in there." So you can imagine how big a guy he is! Of course I guess at close range, the bullet didn't have much of a speed when it get there, you see, he must've put the gun right on him, you see.

So anyways, he said, and it went on, and he forgot all about it, and... 1913, this railroad, this PG railroad started then. They started to come in and do some grading, and... this man, Bob Hume, come back here, come back here as a printer.

¹¹Sam is probably gesturing to a part of the ear when he says "this part here...".

So, Big Frank he was sitting in one of the front of them stores, they used to have some benches in the front of them stores, old people to sit down, and he says, "I was sitting down in one of them benches, and I seen a white man coming across the street, and," he says, "he came right straight for me." He says, "I never pay no attention. He come right up to me and he says, "You big Frank?""

He says, "I told him, "Yes, yes, that's what the people call me, Big Frank. You know me?""

"No, I don't know you, you're a white man."

"You know Bob Hume?"

"Oh, Bob Hume, eh? You Bob Hume? Oh... Hey, I know you now. You shoot me right here, you see? Your bullet... your bullet stopped in my neck someplace. It's still there. You didn't kill me. I no mad you." He said, that's the way he put it. He told this white man. He says, "I no mad you, Bob." He says, "It's a long time ago, I forgot all about it. There's no use for me mad you now," he says. "I no mad you, I'm getting old, and I no mad you. You shoot me, you didn't kill me, so I forget all about it."

So Bob Hume, he reached over and told him, "Okay Frank. We shake hands." Says, "He comes to me, he shakes hands. After he shakes hands to me and he told him, he says, "Come on. Come on with me, we're going to store."

So he says, "I got up and I followed him, he went in the store, and, he..." he says, "I stand right there, and he... he told the store keeper, he says, "You dress this man, two suits of underwear, right through. And a suit of clothes, hat, everything. Two pairs of socks, and shoes, anything you have that'll fit him, he's a good sized man, he takes a.... a pants about, he takes a coat about over 50! And he's raw-boned, he's not fat. He's raw-boned." And... he told the store-keeper, he says, "When you give him everything," he says, "You give me the bill," he says, "I'll pay."

So he says, "So, I happened to have met him, he was sitting there, he was getting old, he comes to town to sit around, and he showed me, he told me, he says, "Kind of a... a dark grey suit." And he... myself, he told me that. He says, "You see my... this suit of clothes? That's what Bob Hume bought me." That's how he told me the whole story. From the beginning until he's...

Bob Hume bought him the suit of clothes, and he says, "After that," he says, "whenever I come to town, if I'm around here," he says, "when he met me, he give me a dollar, he says, "Okay Frank, you're going to eat!""

So that's about the end of that, that Big Frank story, and Bob Hume.

Chapter 7

Qáqis múta7 sPaul Spintlum: The Outlaws¹

7.1 St'át'imcets

7.1.1 Na skéla7sa

Sam Mitchell:

Láni7 ku time, 1911 k'a, k'a lhJulyas, k'a lhAugustas, nilh t'u7 spuns ta sám7a, tímsta ti7, skits láti7 nkúkwtsas ta Clintona, about four miles k'a lhláku7 Clintona. Nilh t'u7 stsúti, "O, nilh k'a sMoses, Moses Paul." Nilh t'u7 skwánem ti7 ta wa7 sMoses Paul, nlham'án'em, nk'a7ném. Nilh láti7 swas nk'a7 elh... t'u lhwál'tsten k'a. Nas ta wa7 zúscal, áts'xenas, plan tu7 qwatsáts, úts'ets'qa7 k'a. Nilh t'u7 slúmenem múta7 ta wa7 swéta7... Paul Spintlum, nilh k'a tu7 sPaul Spintlum ku nuk'w7antáli kw ska7úts'qa7sa kw sMoses Paul.

¹Told by Sam Mitchell, in conversation with Baptiste Ritchie, in August 1968, and translated by Sam Mitchell in December 1969.

7.1.2 Jack McMillan múta7 sPaul Spintlum

Sam Mitchell:

Nilh t'u7 swa7s ta wa7 zúscal, k'wálhan'as ta pápel7a úcwalmicw, "Wá7lhkacw ka zewáten nká7as lhwas wa7?," plans tu7 ti7 wa7 píxem' kw s*Paul Spintlum*. Nilh ti7 wa7 s*Hunter Jack* ta... ucwalmícw t'u7 ti7 lhláti7 t'u7 ku tmicw lhelt7ú *Clinton*...

Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsúnem... tsúnas ta plísmena s*Hunter Jack*, "Lhcúz'acw nas cwíl'en, cúz'lhkacw nas elh kekáw' ti7 áku7. Cw7áozacw kwásu tsícwecw l... kwásu nas lhsq'ítas, tsukw t'u7 lhn'án'atcwas elh kwanenskácw kelh."

Tsut ku7 ta plísmena, "Áma, cúz'lhkalh natcwám."

Ts'íla k'á ti7 ku *about* lhláti7 ku *fifteen miles...* tqilh k'a ta *one day* ltsúsa ti7 wa7 píxem'.

Nilh sqwatsátsi, s7ull'usmínas s*Hunter Jack*... ti7 ta wa7... *not Hunter Jack*, *Cultus Jack*!

Baptiste Ritchie: Yeah, Cultus Jack...

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, Cultus Jack, ull'usmínas ta plísmena. Tsícwwit áta7, plan wa7 i wa7 sp'ams, cw7aoy t'u7 kw smá7eg's.

Tsicw áta7 ta plísmena, nilh t'u7 sáwlhen, "Nka7 lhas wa7 kw s*Paul Spintlum*?"

Tsúnem ku7, "Nilh ti7 latáont.s lt7u."

Tsúlhcitem áta7 ta latáonta, wa7 láti7 ta wa7... pápel7a úcwalmicw smúlhats wa7 kukw, esp'ám. Nilh t'u7 áta7 sqwatsátss, tsicw áta7 ta plísmena sk'em'tss ta latáonta, st'qwáw'swit wi s*Cultus Jack*.

Nilh sqwal'út.s áku7, tsúnas, "*Paul Spintlum*, wá7lhkacw ha láku7?" Tsut ku7, "Iy, s7ents."

Tsut ku7 ta plísmena, "S7ents sJack McMillan, qwenmíntsilhkan."

Tsut ku7 lhláku7 s7úlhcwa ta ucwalmícwa, "Áma, cúy'lhkan yax. Tsukw kw nsyax, nilh t'u7 ns7úts'qa7."

Nilh láku7 swas yax, kwánas t.swelmín'ksa, úts'qa7 lhláku7. Nilh t'u7 s... nilhs t'u7 eswelmín'ks, nlíg'wtsan'as ta latáont.sa, nilh t'u7 stsicws áta7, tálhlec nklústsa láti7 wá7a ta plísmena múta7 s*Cultus Jack*. Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsúnas kw s*Cultus.*.. wa7 tsut ku7 ti7 kw s*Paul Spintlum*, tsúnas ta plísmena, "Cuy síma7 kwants, lhxát'min'tsacw." Skwil'qscítas. Ao kw sqwtsilcs ta plísmena, nilh t'u7 slhláti7s qwatsáts kel'q, nts'ítem' et7ú éta lhecwlhúcwa. Cw7aoy t'u7 kw

skalhúcwa t'ú7a, kalhúcwalmena, nilh t'u7 stsúnas ti7 ta plísmena, "*McMillan*, lhnká7as múta7 lhcúz'an áts'xentsin lta lhecwlhúcwa, cúy'lhkacw zuqw." Nilh t'u7 skalhúcwa tú7a nilh t'u7 tu7 sqwatsátss.

Nilh lhláti7 sqwatsátsi p'an't ta plísmena múta7 s*Cultus Jack.* Tsícwwit áta7 éta táowna, ti7 ti wa7 s... nilh ti7 wa7 s*Jack McMillan* ta plísmena láti7 ku *time.* Tsícwwit áta7, nilh t'u7 stsicws ta tsátsa ti7 ta plísmena, kelhnás ta q'wáolapstsa, *that's the badge*, q'minánkenas ta tsátsa, tsúnas ku7, "Tsúkwkan. Kwámlhkacw múta7 ku hu7 plísmen."

7.1.3 Pápla7 ta zúqwa plísmen, pápla7 ta q'ám'ta t'u7

Sam Mitchell:

Nilh t'u7 lhláti7 scw7aoys káti7 kwa akmin'tanemwítas lhláti7 ku *time* t'u7. Nas et7ú *May*, láku7 lhas... papt láku7 wa7 wa7 i wa7 *Assize Court Clintona* lhas... *round about May*. Nilh t'u7 s... gaw'p malh áku7 i sám7a wa7 wa7 láku7 i wa7 kotháws, nilh ku7 tu7 st'iqs lhláku7 ta pápel7a, lhláku7 ti7 lhts7ásas talhá7s ta *Clintona*. "O," tsut ku7, "wa7 aw't kw s*Paul Spintlum* lkw7áwna. Áts'xenlhkan láku7, wa7 láku7 ta spakhósiha... *about*, ts'íla k'á t'u7 ti7 ku *two mile* lhláti7, láku7," wéna7 ti7, "nk'cwank." Áku7 ku tmicws tsukw t'u7 iz'... i7úna7, s7aplhqwáz'a múta7 qwel'aqín.

T'u7 snilh sqeliláms lhláti7 ta plísmena, wa7 eskúpa ta núkwa plísmen láti7 wa7, elh nilh ti7 ta tsítsela plísmen láti7 *Clintona*. K'walhan'ítas i núkwa, q'em'q'em'palmenwít ku7, tsut ta wa7 sqweqwel'entsás, sáma7 ti7 ta wa7 sqweqwel'entsás áti7. Wa7 tsut, "Nq'em'q'em'pálmenlhkalh, tsícwkalh," tsut, "áku7, nilh t'u7 stsut.s ti7 ta plísmena, tsúnas izú i núkwa, "Nkekalhás ets7á ku t'ak éta cá7a, nkekalhás et7ú xáw'ena," tsut, "s7ents múta7 ts7áwna s*Forrest*, cúz'lhkalh ts7a n7í7ez'ka."

Nilh áti7 st'áki, ti7 malh ts7a ta sám7a wa7 sqweqwl'entsás. Wa7 tsut, "S7ents áta7 éta cá7a", wa7 tsut, "qan'ímenskan aylh ku t'éqwpa áti7," tsut, "et.st'áksa tú7a iz' i plísmena." T'u7 snilhts tsut, "Áku7 nas snuxwsqáxa7lhkalh áts'xenem," tsut, "plan wa7 lhqwilc láti7 ta wa7 lhqwilc. K'wínas k'a," tsut, "kwas cík'enas ta k'.wattán'sa, kalhéqwa tu7 aylh," tsut. "T'u7 pútkalh t'u7 tsicw, wa7 malh," tsut, "qúscitem. Wa7 t'ak, cwelpánas ti ts'qáxa7sa kénki sreprápa. Wá7lhkalh malh," tsut, "áta7 qúsem, cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 t'u7, kacím'a. Nilh," tsut, "skwánem ti7 ta plísmena wa7 láti7 skits, put t'u7 lta táxwatsa ta sqám't.sa." Wa7 tsut, "Wa7 láti7 ta núkwa sqám'aka7, n7án'was iz'. Naqáz hem' t'ú7 ti7 ta pápel7a, ntsqám'em' lhlákas, ncukw na sqám't.sa."

Nilh t'u7 ti7 ta wa7 sqweqwl'entsás sáma7, wa7 tsut, "K'wá7en," wa7 tsut, "nilh ti7," tsut, "ptéla7s lts7a lta n<u>s</u>áotv<u>l</u>a," wa7 tsut, "nilh i ts'qáx7a láti7

lhlhep'el'wasenémas. Qwatsáts ti7," tsut, "ta ts'qáx7a nilh stsícwwit aylh ta táowna."

7.1.4 Nk'wancenánem nelh wa7 cwelcúlel

Sam Mitchell:

Nilh s7aw't.s lhláti7 i tsúkwas i wa7 kotháws, nilh t'u7 sk'wálhcals ta kýpmena, splans láti7 ku *time*, k'a *around...* wa7 ts'kálmen ta... sáq'ulh k'a sxek ta *May*ha, nilh t'u7 stáots k'wálhcal... cw7it i wa7 nk'wancenálhts'a7. Úcwalmicw i núkwa sk'wálhcali, t'u7 cw7ao kwas káti7mec, lhelkw7ú *Kamloops*a, lhnká7as k'a káku7 lhk'walhan'ítas i ucwalmícwa.

Nq'ém'q'em'p i núkwa wa7 nk'wencnálhts'a7. O cw7it... cw7it kulhenmínitas, tákem t'u7 ta ts'qáx7a wa7 kaslheqwminéma. K'wá7en, wá7lhkan láti7 es*saddle horse*, áma, kúlhen hem', stexw t'u7 kwenakstminitás hem' i ts'qáx7a, wa7 t'u7 iz'... i wa7 k'wenk'wencnálhts'a7.

T'ak ta sqwéqwel'a, tsut ku7 ta pápel7a tracker, "Láti7 lhwan k'wezúsem láti7 l... about twelve miles káti7 lhláku7 Clintona, láku7 lhan k'wezúsem, ti7 ta rancha, nilh wa7 sDougherty, t'iq núkun' ta phonea. Láku7 Fifty Ninea, they call Chasm, t'ak ku7 áti7 ta trackera, nilh t'u7 sgetsenás nts'qáxa7sa, ts7a ta wa7..." Fifty nine's a big canyon there, "nilh t'u7 tu7 sqwatsátss. Wa7 espaqwstwítas, kacím'a t'ú7 tu7 nilh sq'áylecs ta pápel7a, tsicw kwánas ta ts'qáx7a, lhqwilcmínas, nilh sqwatsátssas. Wa7 láti7 ta trápstena: ti7 ta trápstena, stexw ku7 t'ú7 ti7 áma ku trápsten. Lhkánemas... lhkanemás k'a múta7 wi7 slhwálenas ta trápstensa ta wa7 nas áku7 záq'il."

Nilh ti7 nukws, nilh ti7 sqwéqwel', ku pála7 ku sqwéqwel', ti7 malh ta trápstena sqwéqwel'. Wi snilh, t'íq.wit ets7á ki snek'wnuk'w7íha... plan t'u7 tu7 nelh wa7 xwayt tákem, nilh wa7 sqwéqwel'. We7anitás ku7 ti7 ta trápstena, ts'íla t'u7 áti7 t.sqwal'... sqweqwel'íha, ta tsuw7íha sqwéqwel' kw sxílems t'u7 áti7 ta trackerha. Getsenás ta ts'qáxa7sa, nilh t'u7 s7ats'xenítas kacím'a, nilh t'u7 stsicws kwancitítas ta ts'qáxa7sa.

Cw7it ti7 kwa szaytenmínitas, kentákem lhus kwánitas i ts'qáx7a t'u7... cw7aoy t'u7 kw ská7ew' elh ts'íla t'ú7 ku7... elh allek'wstánemwit nilh t'u7 ses lhwalenítas i ts'qáx7a, nilh t'u7 ses nmátq.wit kénki qlólm'ecwa. Wa7 ku7 tsútwit wi snilh, "Wa7 t'u7 iz' spaqwstúmulhas i wa7 nkakel'stúmulhas, i wa7 cwil'entúmulhas, wa7 t'u7 spá::qwstanemwit."

7.1.5 I píkena múta7 ú7s7a

Sam Mitchell:

Ti7 malh ku *time* – sqweqwl'entsás ta pápel7a sáma7, wá7lhkan nek'wlh7álkst nilh splans aylh wa7 cin' tu7 t7u sptaks ti7 – Wa7 tsut, "Nk'wancnán'lhkan kw s*Paul Spintlum* wi s*Moses Paul*." Wa7 tsut, "S7ents ta wa7 nkél7aqsten, ts'íla kwa pápla7 ku pos." Wa7 tsut, "Nt'at'q'm'ekstkálh k'a."

Wa7 malh tsut, "Kwis, nilh t'u7 ska7ats'xcenstúma, eshál'acen i st'ákmensa i ts'qáx7a láti7 lta..." ti7 ku tmicw, *lots of jackpine*. "Tsícwkalh," tsut, "áta7, wa7 esp'ám, kaqan'imenstumulítasa wi7," tsut, "nilh k'a t'u7 skaq'aylecíha. Tsicw k'a láta7 wa7 láti7 ta sp'ámsa wa7 estséq ta nk'íxmena nlham' i píkena múta7 ú7s7a. T'u7 snilhs," tsut, "skalentánemwit, wa7 t'u7 eshál'acen i ts'qáx7a lta *jackpine*a."

"Nilh," tsut, "skalentánemwit. S7ents," tsut, "ta wa7 kéla7. Ká7ew'," wa7 tsut, "kw st'ákkalh nexwnúxw, nilh stsícwkalh," tsut, "ta sqwéqwem'a láti7, ts'íla ku burnt hill." Wa7 tsut, "Cw7it malh láti7 i..." well, 'sapling' in English, nstwiw wa7 hem' wi snímulh wa7 snahném, lhecwlhúcw, thick, cw7it láti7. "Wa7 láti7 i ts'qáx7a," wa7 tsut, "plan t'u7 wa7 tsexwtsíxwexw i sqempíha." Wa7 tsut, "Ka7áts'xskana málh t'u7 i ts'qáx7a, ka7áts'xskana et7úna ta sqwéqwem'a, lhecwlhúcw ti7. Nilh t'u7," tsut, "nsqwetstsám'," wa7 tsut, "ts'íla t'u7 ku nmezátsa ku qwetsp, nilh t'u7," tsut, "nsqwetstsám', nilh t'u7 nsp'elk'úsenan, np'an'túsenan, p'elk'úsenlhkan nts'qáx7a, nilh t'u7," tsut, "stsúnan i nk'sáytkena, "áti7 t'u7 lhtsem'pás kwenswá cuz' kálen kw sSpintlum. Lhsxát'lapas kwál'ap t'ak wi snuláp, nilh t'u7 st'áklap, wa7 láti7 i ts'qax7íha." Aoy t'u7 káti7 kwas nasmin'ítas i ts'qax7íha kw skwancitítas." Wa7 tsut, "T'u7 stexw hém' t'u7 láku7 ta nsptínusema kw s... láti7 lhtsem'pás kwenswá cuz' kálen."

Nilh t'u7 sláti7s úxwal', nilh t'u7 sp'an't.s, p'an't lhláti7 snilh, nilh ti7 wa7 nkél7aqsten, ti7 ta wa7 sqweqwel'entsás, p'an't lhláti7. Wa7 tsut, "Txwílckan t'u tsícwkan ta táowna, nilh..."

Baptiste Ritchie: Kaqwetsanwása.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy. Wa7 tsut, "Tsícwkan ta táowna." Nilh t'u7 stsicws tsun ta... i wa7 skwepkúkwpi7, tsúnas ku7, "Ao múta7." Sqwál'enas t.sxílemsa, kánas kú7 t'u7... "Lhláti7 lht'álan. Stexwkán t'u7 alán ts'íla kwes plan t'u7 ku stam'

cuz' kén'en' lta nmezátsa," wa7 tsut, "*I sure had a feeling*," ti7 ta sám7a wa7 sqwéqwel'. "Nilh t'u7," tsut, "nsp'an't, nilh t'u7 nstsukw."

Nilh ti7 sqwéqwel's láti7, sqweqwel'entsás ti7 ta pápel7a sáma7, splans aylh wa7 cin'.

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

Sam Mitchell:

Tsá::ma malh wa7 kalenítas t'u7, cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 kw skalha7minítasa kwas ka ats'xenítas k'a. P'a7cw... tqilh k'a... p'a7cw lhélku pála7 t'ánam'ten, sxek ku sáq'ulh, nilh t'u7 stsukws, nilh t'u7 stsúkwi i wa7 nk'wencenálhts'a7. Nilh t'u7 slheqpálqwenas ta kýpmena ku 4000 dollars reward, swátas ku kwanenstanemwítas.

Nilh t'u7 s7aylhs t'u7 wá7wit k'a káti7 kentákem, wa7 t'u7 káti7 kwa skwicmin'tanemwítas kentákem lhas áts'x.wit. Ta pál7a száyteni, láku7 lta wa7 *Leon's Creek*, láku7 ku7 lhmaysaltswítas, wa7 áku7 i... wa7 ti7 láku7 ku tsitcw... T'u7 ta wa7 sqweqwel'entsás, tsicw ku7 áta7, tsícwstum' áti7 ta wa7... ta pápel7a úcwalmicw. Tsúnem ku7, "Lhecw kens7áts'xen láta7 ta tsitcwíha, nilh t'u7 s... cúy'lhkan nástum'in."

"Tsícwkalh," tsut, "áta7," nilh ti7 tsúwa7s s*Willy Fletcher* ta... wa7 ti7 máwal' lhkun... "Tsícwkalh," tsut, "áta7, t'ákkalh," tsut, "áta7 t'u áts'xenlhkan ta nq'élza7tena lt7u stswáw'cwa, nilh," tsut, "sxát'emlhkalh. Ao," tsut, "kwenswá áts'xen káti7 ku stam', t'u tsicw t'u7," tsut, "áta7 ta wa7 zewatentáli, nlig'wtsán'as t.sk'ém'tssa, elh ka7áts'xskana aylh áku7 lta s7úlhcwa." Wa7 tsut, "Ti7 ta sxéla lta álts'q7a, nsk'ýlhlhts'a7 ku..." wéna7, "iz' i sxéla lta s7álts'q7a nsk'ýlhlhts'a7 ku qwelh7ináz'. Nilh t'u7 sts'ílas ku pa7smánem k'a, pá7sem k'a i..." wéna7, "lta x.wísa." Wa7 tsut, "Wa7 tsícwkacw láti7 tálhlec, elh ao kwásu áts'xen ku tsitcw, t'u7 úlhcwkacw hem' aylh áku7, elh wá7lhkacw áts'xen wa7 esxétqxteq kentsúsa záq'ilwit kent7ú x7ílha. Kekáw' ti7 tsúsa shál'a ti7 lhláti7 ku tmicw, kekáw' tswésa shál'a kent7ú x7ílha. Aoz ti7 ku srepráp, ti7 láti7 ta n7alíma..." well, that's the Fraser River, sat'átqwa7. "Kentákem lhas shál'a, kekáw', two or three miles k'a kwas shál'a ki c.wálha kent7ú x7ílha, tsukw t'u7 káta7 lhas t'ak ta traila."

Baptiste Ritchie: X7ilhts ti7 ta cácl'epa! Sam Mitchell:

Ao! x7ilh ta *Leon's Creek*a tí7a. *Yeah*. Nilh t'u7 swá7wit lhláti7, nilh scw7aos kwas eslheqwwít lts7a, wa7 t'u7 nmátq.wit, ts7a ku tmicw.

7.1.7 Smúlhats ta syáxiha i wa7 cwelcúlel

Sam Mitchell:

Nts7áswit lhláti7, tsícwwit áku7 ta... tsukw t'u7 lhsít.stas mátq.wit, ao kwas mátq.wit lhas sq'it. Tsícwwit áti7 ta wa7 tsúnem wa7 *Eleven Mile Creek*.

Wa7 láti7 ta t'láz'a, wa7 láti7 est'láz' i ucwalmícwa lhas ts'áw'calwit áta7 x7ílha, nilh ti7 ets7áwna *closer to Fountain*. Aylh t'u7 spaqwenstwítas ta t'láz'a, nq'wet'q'ut'usnítas, wa7 láti7 i7z'úl'wat, nilh t'u7 st'áq'i ta nsat'átqw7a. Lha7qswít áta7 nilh ku7 t'u7 s... nilh ti7 tsúw7i sqwéqwel'... nilh t'u7 stsúnas ku7 t.snúk'wa7sa, "Lhgetsan7anémas lts7a ta t'láz'a, cuz' lúmenem i nk'sáytkena kw skanuk'wa7lhkálha kwas t'áq'kalh. Klhaka7minemás malh lta t'láz'a, kélhen ta lópa, cuz' kelheném ta lópa," nilh t'u7 scikin'ítas ta t'láz'a nilh t'u7 ti7 sweq'ws ta t'láz'a. Wa7 káti7 wa7 estsúwa7 ta t'láz'a, plan tu7 na t'láz'iha, ao káti7 kw stsúnitas kanemás k'a tu7, k'ámalh nilh hém' ti7 aylh sqweqwel'í.

Nilh st'áki, tsícwwit áta7 k'a pála7 wa7 estsítcw úcwalmicw, *that's Bridge River Reserve*. Wa7 t'ák.wit áta7, gap, wa7 láti7 i sq'wíts'ema, slhép'lhep'. Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsúnas ta snúk'wa7sa, "Cuy lts7a, cúz'lhkalh kwam ku st'ánwen." Pináni7 ku *time* wa7 zeczáct i wa7 st'ánwens i smelhmúlhatsa. "Cuy kwam kwa... kwam ku án'was, i cúz'a qweyeném, cúz'lhkalh t'aq' lt7u lta ntqwíxwa, natcw lhkanmásas." Nilh skwánitas láti7 án'was i st'ánwena, nilh st'áki.

Tsícwwit áta7 scá7sa ta wa7 *Lillooet*stum' táowen, *town of Lillooet*, nilh káku7 swá7i. Láni7 ku *time*, i tsánmena káti7 wa7 estów wa7 nlíg'wtswit t'u *ten o'clock* lta sít.sta. Gap áta7, nilh súxwasti káku7. Ao kwas sts'ak'w pináni7, tsetsúkwa t'u7 *lamp*a wa7 sts'ak'ws, i *lamp*7úla wa7 sts'ak'ws i wa7 estów. Nilh wa7 s*Sun Keys* ta tsánmena láti7 wa7 estów, stótw'a. Tsícwwit ku7 áku7 tawtsám'wit nilh t'u7 slagwenstwítas nilh sts7ási lhláti7.

T'íqalmenwit áti7 éta ntqwíxwa. Wa7 zewatenítas kwas wa7 láti7 wa7 s7ats'xstáli ta ntqwíxwa, nilhs láti7 slhecws i st'ánwena, eszácenwit, nilh lhláta7 st'áki i kakwásasa. T'ák.wit ku7 áta7, wa7 ti7 slhikstwítas ta pápel7a, wa7 tu7 ti7 game warden, nilh wa7 sJoe Russell. Tákem i ucwalmícwa wa7 zwátenas, nilh ti7 láti7 wa7 wa7 lta ntqwíxwa, n7án'waswit. T'ák.wit ku7 áti7, ats'xenítas, wá7wit láti7 steqtqín'ak, nilh láta7 st'áki. Pták.wit lhláti7, nilh t'u7 skelhnítas tu7 nelh st'anweníha.

Nilh st'íq.wit ets7áwna ta wa7 s.... nilh ni7 wa7 s*Mosquito Jim*, nilh ti7 nek'wsnúk'w7i láti7, k'a lhwá7witas, psil' múta7 lhláti7 nilh hem' múta7 sqwatsátsi tu7.

7.1.8 Wa7 kwánenwit i wa7 q'wemq'wmíw's

Sam Mitchell:

Cw7it i wa7 száyteni kentákem, tsáma t'u7 aylh nilh t'u7 st'íli ku sexelcúlm'ecw k'a.

Ts'ítem'wit ekw7úna *Merritt*a. Xilemwít ku7 t'u7 múta7 láku7 *Spences Bridge*a. Zewatetstwítas káti7 ku száyteni, pápla7 ku7 aylh ta... lhel wi snilh ta st'ánwena, elh ta ícw7a est'ánwen, t'aq' ku7 t'u7 slháq'utwit. Ts'íla t'u7 ku plan wa7 qelhmémen' lht'ákat, nts'íla ta... ts'íla t'u7 iz' kw smamémw'ests ta t'akteníha.

Wa7 láti7 wa7 stálhlec lta ntqwíxwa, plan wa7 zewátwit kw spláni káku7 wa7 tsícwecw. T'u7 wa7 ti7 ta wa7 s7ats'xstáli ta ntqwíxwa, tsúnem ku7, "Here old man, here's a dollar, go and eat." Nilh st'aks kwánas, nilh t'u7 tu7 st'áki.

Tsícwecwwit áku7, cw7it káku7 i nk'saytkeníha. Cw7it i ucwalmícwa láti7, lhélta wa7 *Spences Bridge* t'u ekw7ú *Merritt*a, cw7it i ucwalmícwa láti7, slhig' kentákem.

Wa7 malh aylh ts7a ta pápel7a kúkwpi7, wa7 estmícw láta7, ts'íla t'u7 iz' ku snek'wnúk'wa7s k'a. Táwmin'as ta tmícwsa, kaqláw'a, wéna7 t'ú7 ti7 sem7úlm'ecw ku tmicw, cw7ao ti7 kwas ucwalmicúlm'ecw, wéna7 k'á ti7 wa7 tsúnitas wa7 perempti...

Baptiste Ritchie: Preemption!

Sam Mitchell:

Preemptionánas k'á tu7 ti7. Wa7 ti7 emhám ku úcwalmicw.

Nilh t'u7 stsut.s ku7, "Cúz'lhkan t'u7 k'wálhcal ku *lawyer*, s7ents. N7án'was *lawyer* kw nsk'wálhcal, aoz kwenswá cuz' kwáncit ta kýpmena i wa7 sxaq's, ntsúwa7 t'u7 sqlaw' wa7 qweynán. Cúz'lhkan nasmin'tánihan, cw7it7úl kwelhkálh ts'íla wa7 gwé7ez', tsúsa tákem stam' wa7 zuscitúmulem."

Nilh tswúsa lhlát7amc.wit, iz' ku úcwalmicw lhláta7 i wa7 tsúnem wa7 s*Leon's Creek*emc, k'winusmás k'a lku ucwalmicúlm'ecw áku7, p'elenílh ku sqweqwsmál'ts, cw7ao kwas kakwanenstwítasa kénki stóha. Tsukw kwas k'á t'u7 kenká7 lhas... kwa kúl'temc.wit kwa tecwpcít... áma ta sqweqwsmál'tsa, t'u7 gwé7ez' ti7 kakwáma i qweqwsmál'tsa.

Nilh malh ti7 sts7as xát'sas ts7a ta kúkwpi7a, nilh t'u7 stsut.s, "Cúy'lhkan nasmin'tánihan, cuz' t'u7... t'iqstanílhkan klh, nilh t'u7 sus sqwál'en i plísmena. Láti7 hém' kelh aylh skotháws, skwánitas kotháws, t'u7 cúz'lhkan hém' t'u7 xáq'en."

Nilh wa7 s*Stuart Henderson*, nilh ni7 skéla7tens i lóyha, múta7 na wa7 s*Henry Costello*, nilh ti7. *That's the old Henry*.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Senior!

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah. So there he had two lawyers. Nilh stsicws kwánas, tsícwmin'as áku7 nká7as k'a káku7 lhas wá7wit, swellúsa, that's Lower Nicola. Tsícwmin'as, t'íqsas ekw7á lhwas kotháws elh tsicw aylh sqwál'nas i wa7 zúscal, i plísmena. T'íq.wit, nilh t'u7 sqwel'qwel'sás snilh, tsut, "Lhnká7as lhcúz'al'ap kotháwsts, s7ents hem' t'u7 ku cuz' aoz'entáli ku lóya, i lóyha, cuz'lhkan iz' k'wálhan'."

Nilh t'u7 aylh skwántanemwit, lham'ántanemwit, t'qwaw's, *Paul Spintlum 'n Moses Paul*.

7.1.9 Nilh swas kotháwswit

Sam Mitchell:

Láti7 aylh lhstáotas kwas kotháwswit. O, cw7it kw skotháwsi, kenkw7ú wasménstha, pankúpha, k'winusemás k'a kenkw s... kwas nak' kwas... iz' kentsa kotháwswit.

Tsukw malh t'ú7 ti7, i qúscitas lkw7u ta plísmena ti7 ta wa7... ti7 lhláti7 hem' ta wa7... iwás qúscitas ta... iwás qúscitas na plísmena lkw7u *Clintona* stalhá7s, ti7 ta wa7 ats'xenítas wa7 lhqwilc, wa7 cúlel, slheqw... cw7aoz ti7 kwas snilh, s7icwlh t'ú7 ti7.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Icwlh ti7!

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, s7icwlh ti7, aoz ti7 kwas lhel wi snilh. Ti7 ta quscitáliha ta plísmena, láti7 lta qwel'qwel'aqína, wa7 tsúnem *sapling*, *fir*, qwel'qwel'aqína, szik ku7 láti7 ku7 lhas lheqpalqwílc lhas eskítslec. Lhláti7 lhqúscitas i plísmena, áts'xenas izú, t'íq.wit áti7, cw7aoz kwas qwtsilc. Kwanitás tu7 ti7 elh qwatsáts aylh lhláti7 nmatq.

O, i ats'xenítas hém' tu7 na... kw slhqwilcs ta pápel7a, kw stsunitás malh t'ú7 ti7 kw snilhts t'u7. Nilh t'u7 s... ta spápla7sa, t'u7 áoza cwílh ku7 hem' ta snúk'wa7sa. Nká7as k'a k'a lhnílhas s*Moses Paul* ku... lkw7u *Clinton*a lhwá7as, k'a wéna7, *Canoe Creek*a lh... Nilh t'u7 stsukws t'u7 ti7 s*Paul Spintlum* láti7 ta wá7a, k'ámalh s7icwlh ti7 ta lhqwílca láti7, ta cúlela.

Kwanitás malh ts7a ta zúqwa plísmen, lhep'kán'itas lta pépel7a ts'qáxa7, elh qwatsatsstwítas, nilh stsicws kwánitas ta pakhósiha, wá7wit espakhóswit. Tsut t'u7 ti7, nilh t'u7 ti wa7 sqweqwel'entsás ts7a ta sám7a, wa7 tsut, "Tsícwstum' aylh ta pakhósa," wa7 tsut, "klhal'kánem." Wa7 tsut, "Cw7it i s7ilheníha, i candyha, tákem t'u7 stam' láti7 lak," wa7 tsut, "lta pakhósa."

Qwatsáts malh lhláti7 i sk'al'l'ás tu7 áti7 i plísmena, nilh t'u7 aylh nmatqs.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Nmatq!

Sam Mitchell:

Nmatq t'u7 aylh. Nká7as k'a káku7 lhnpzánas ta pápel7a úcwalmicw, lhláku7 ti7 lhélta... *Canoe Creek*, twiw't. Nilh ku7 t'u7 sqwál'enas, tsúnas ku7, "Quscitkán tu7 na plísmena láku7."

Lt7u malh aylh lta skotháwsa, tsukw t'u7 ti7 cman's, tsukw t'u7 ti7 t.s... Gélgel ku cman'min'táli ta sqwal'enása ti7 et7ú ta sqwál'a, *you see*, kw stsúnem áku7, kw sqúscitas ku plísmen... stsúnas, tsukw t'u7 ti7 scman's.

7.1.10 I k'azaka7mínemas na tsánamena

Sam Mitchell:

Wa7 hem' múta7 ta núkwa száyteni, láti7 t'u7 ltsása tu7 pun ta kél7a sáma7 wa7 zuqw, tímsta. Wa7 láti7 ta tsánmena, wa7 ti7 láti7 lhus estsítcw, papt wa7 k'úl'em ku p'ámsa, nkúkwtsas t'ú7 ti7 ta *Clinton*a, xw7útsin k'a *mile*.

Wá7wit káti7 nilh t'u7 stsúnas, gap, nilh stsúnas ta snúk'wa7sa, "Cuy, náskalh áta7 xelentsám'." Wa7 ti7 zewatenítas ta tsánmena, "Cuy, náskalh xelentsám'."

Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsúnas, nilh ti7 s*Moses Paul* ta... tsúnem ku7 t.snúk'wa7sa, "Cuy nas ulhcw, lts7a lhcúz'an wa7 lta álts'q7a." Nilh s7ulhcws. Xzum ti7 ku tsáneman.

Ulhcw áku7, nilh t'u7 sxelentsmín'as ti tsánemena ku s7ílhen. Lati7sá t'u7 súcwtenem ta tsánemena, t'u7 snilh t'u7 skwantwál'stum', cw7aoy t'u7 láti7 kw skalhqépsa, nilh skulem'cwánem ti tsánemena. Nilh ku7 s7ít'xtsam's lhláku7, we7áwnas snúk'wa7s. Lig'wtsán'as ta snúk'wa7sa. Tákem i tsánmena

wa7 papt t'u7 wa7 es*chopping block*, wa7 ku7 láti7 esk'á7 ta t'amína. Kwánas ti7 s*Paul Spintlum*, nseqlaqín'nas ti tsánmena nilh skalhýp'sa tu7, kakélha lhláti7 ta snúk'wa7sa nilh scwelcúleli.

K'winasq'etás k'a lhláti7, cw7ao kwas psil' k'a, lhk'winasq'etás k'a lhláti7, elh ts'íla k'a ku cwáy'nun'em ta tsánmena. Nas ku7 áku7 ta úlhcwa, plan láti7 wa7 zuqw, plan wa7 qwatsáts qvlwíil'c, nt'útslaqin'.

Tsut t'u7... ts'íla t'u7 áti7 t.sqweqwel'íha wi snilh, sqwal'enítas i...

Baptiste Ritchie: Nuk'w7íha.

Sam Mitchell:

Snek'wnúk'w7iha, iy, kw st'utsqwan'itás ti7 ta tsánmena. T'u7 cw7aoz hem' t'u7 lhláti7, aoy ti7 kw shál'as lt.skotháwsa. Tsukw t'u7 hál'al'... hál'hal' ti7 ta twíw'ta lhelkw7ú *Canoe Creek*a, tsukw t'u7 ti7 sqwal'mintáli kw stsut.s kw sqúscitas ta plísmena. K'ámalh aoy t'u7 lts7a kwa... i wa7 sqweqwel'nítas kents7á i tsúw7iha nk'sáytken, aoy t'u7 kwas sqwál'wit i wa7 sqweqwel'í.

7.1.11 Skas kw skwatsitsánem sCultus Jack

Sam Mitchell:

Cw7it t'u7 stexw kw skotháwsi.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Iy! Cin' kwas kotháws.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, k'wínas k'a skotháws, k'wá7en, wa7 sqweqwl'entsás na pápel7a sáma7, nilh t'u7 iz' wítnas, cw7it i wítnesa, i sám7a i tsícwa áku7 i quscitémas ta plísmena. Nilh ti7... k'a... nilh ti7 nukw ku wítnas, ti7 kw s*Cultus Jack*, iwás tsicw st'qwaw's ta plísmena i kel7ás tsicw cwil'enítas kw s*Paul Spintlum*. Nilh ti7 nukw wítnes, sqwál'minas ti7 láku7 aylh lkw7u ti wa7 wastmínsta lhas kotháwswit.

Tsicw s*Cultus Jack* ta *turn*sa kw sqweqwel'mínas ku szewátcals. Tsúnem ku7, "*Cultus Jack*?"

Ku7, "Yes?"

"Sqwál'min' kw szewátcalsu."

Tsut ku7 ta tsátsa, "*Cultus Jack*, aoz ha ti7 kw sqv<u>l</u>s lta nqwal'úttenswa, kwa *Cultus Jack*?"

"O," tsut, tsúnas ku7 ta plísmena, ta tsátsa, "Iy, qvl, that means bad."

"Kánem zam' swásu kwátsitsmin?"

"O," tsut ku7, "Iwán twéww'et, paptkán t'u7 wa7 nkcápen i smelhmúlhatsa, nilh t'u7 stsúntsas i nk'sáytkena *Cultus Jack*."

Ng'san'k ku7 láti7 i wa7 kotháws.

Nilh ti7 'qv<u>l</u>' ku sqwéqwel's, sqwál'minas, tsut kwas qv<u>l</u>, nilh t'u7 s*Cultus Jack* skwátsitss.

7.1.12 Tsem'p ta sqwéqwel'a

Sam Mitchell:

Cuy, lhtsúkwas hem' aylh kw skotháwsi, nilh malh láti7 malh zam' ts7a kw s... nilh ti7 s*Paul Spintlum* ta láwa. *One guy got a life sentence*: Pápla7 ta nk'á7a ku *life*, law ta pápel7a lhlak iz'. T'u7 cw7ao malh t'u7 kwas ti7... aoy t'u7 kw scin's ti7 ta *life*a k'a, xw7útsin t'u7 máqa7 nilh hém' tu7 szuqws.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Yeah, they gave him a hard time...

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah. Wa7 tsútwit, wa7 xat'... xat' ku7 t'u7 kwásu kamáwal'a ku úcwalmicw lku cin', ku zact nk'á7men.

Áti7 ti7 lhtsem'pás ti7 ku sqwéqwel'.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Iy, nilh ti7!

7.2 English

7.2.1 Beginnings

Sam Mitchell:

At that time, 1911, either in July or August, a white man, a teamster, was found lying dead south of Clinton, maybe about four miles from Clinton. They said, "Oh, it must've been Moses, Moses Paul." So Moses Paul was taken and put inside, thrown in jail. And he stayed in jail and... till about fall. A policeman went to check, and saw that he'd gone, he must have broken out. And then Paul Spintlum got the blame, that it must have been Paul Spintlum who had helped Moses Paul break out of jail.

7.2.2 Jack McMillan and Paul Spintlum

Sam Mitchell:

So then there was this policeman, and he hired this one Indian: "Do you happen to know where he is?," because *Paul Spintlum* had already gone off hunting. That was *Hunter Jack*, he was an Indian from around that country, *Clinton...*

Then he told him, *Hunter Jack* told the policeman, "If you're going to go look for him, if you're going to go, he's a long ways off. You're not going to reach him if you go when it's daytime, you'll only catch him in the morning."

The policeman said, "Fine, we'll get up early."

It must've been *about fifteen miles* from there, almost *one day* from where he was hunting.

So they set off, him and Hunter Jack, the... not Hunter Jack, Cultus Jack!

Baptiste Ritchie:

Yeah, Cultus Jack...

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, Cultus Jack, together with the policeman. They got there, and people already had campfires going, even though it wasn't light yet.

The policeman got there, and asked, "Where's *Paul Spintlum*?" He was told, "That's his tent over there."

The tent was pointed out to him; there was an Indian woman cooking over there, she had a fire going. So they went over, and the policeman got to the door of the tent together with *Cultus Jack*.

Then he said, "Paul Spintlum, are you there?"

He said, "Yeah, that's me."

The policeman said, "I'm Jack McMillan, and I want you."

Then the Indian said from inside, "Fine, I'll get dressed. I'll come out when I've finished getting dressed."

So while he was getting dressed, he grabbed his gun, and then he went out. He had his gun, and he opened his tent and went and stood in front of the policeman and *Cultus Jack*. Then he told *Cultus... Paul Spintlum* told the policeman, "Come and get me, if you want me." He had his gun aimed at him. The policeman didn't move, so he started backing away towards the bush. He hadn't yet got into the bush, he had almost got there, when he told the policeman, "*McMillan*, whenever I next see you in the bush, you'll be dead." Then he disappeared into the bush and took off.

The policeman and *Cultus Jack* set off to go back. They got to town, the... *Jack McMillan* was the policeman at that time. They got there, and the policeman went to the judge, took off his *q'wáolaps*, *that's the badge*, he threw it in the judge's lap, and said: "I quit. Go get another cop!"

7.2.3 One Policeman Down, One Injured

Sam Mitchell:

So from that *time* on, nobody paid any attention to them. *May* came around, and that's when they always held the *Assize Courts* at *Clinton*, *round about May*. So the white people gathered there, where the trials took place, and this one guy showed up from the other side of *Clinton*. "Oh," he said, "*Paul Spintlum* is back yonder. I saw their packhorse over there, about, like *two miles* away, over in a," what do you call it, "a basin in the sidehill." That country over there, it's... what do you call it, ponderosa pines and saplings.

So the policeman, who was covering for another cop there, hurried to get ready, and also the new policeman at *Clinton*. They called up some other guys, so there were nine in all according to the person who told me this, the white guy who told me. He said, "There were nine of us, and when we arrived over there, the policeman told the others, he said, "Three of you go up top, three down below, and me and *Forrest* here, we'll be here in the middle.""

So then they set off, including the white guy who told me this. He said, "I was going along the top when I heard shots from where the policemen had

gone." But then he said, "As we were galloping our horses over to see it, there was someone getting on a horse. He must have missed his stirrups a bunch of times before he managed to get on," he said. "But as soon as we got there, we started shooting. He was going along, turning his horse through the trees," he said. "We kept on shooting at him, but it was no good, he disappeared. Then," he said, "we took the policeman who was lying there, he'd been hit right in the chest." He said, "The other one had been hit in the hand, there were two of them. One of them was just wounded, he lay where he had fallen, the bullet was pulled out of where he'd been hit."

Then the white man who told me this, he said, "Look," he said, "that's his blood on my saddle," he said, "from where they were slung over the horses' backs. The horse set off," he said, "and they reached the town."

7.2.4 The Fugitives are Tracked

Sam Mitchell:

So then after that, when the assizes were finished, the government hired... at that time it must have been already around... almost the end of... maybe half way through *May*, when the government started hiring... there were a bunch of trackers. Some of the hired trackers were Indians, but not from around there, they hired Indians from *Kamloops*, from somewhere over there.

There were ten of them, those other trackers. Oh, they 'borrowed' a bunch of horses, any horse that could be ridden. You see, I had a *saddle horse*, a good one, it got 'borrowed', and they were really rough on the horses, those trackers.

The story goes, this one *tracker* said, "At the place I was working, *about twelve miles* or so from *Clinton* at *Dougherty's Ranch*, a *phone* call came in. At *Fifty Nine* Mile, *they call it Chasm*, a *tracker* tied up his horse at..." *Fifty Nine's a big canyon there*, "and then he left. They were watching him, but he disappeared, and then one of them jumped up, went and grabbed the horse, got on it, and took off with it. There was a pair of binoculars: those binoculars, they were said to be really good ones. I've no idea why the guy who went to peek over the edge left his binoculars behind."

It's another person's, that story, the part about the binoculars. They arrived at their relatives... they're all dead now, the ones that told this part of the story. They had the binoculars, and their story was the same, that they had done that to the *tracker*. He tied up his horse, and when they saw him go out of sight, they went and took his horse.

²Sam is referring to the Maiden Creek Ranch in the Cariboo, started by Edward and Elizabeth Dougherty in 1862.

They had a lot of adventures, they took horses from all over the place, but they didn't go far, and when it looked like there were people lying in wait for them, then they abandoned the horses and went on foot through the badlands. They themselves said, "They were watching us, the ones who were following us, the ones who were searching for us, and we just kept watching them."

7.2.5 Bacon and Eggs

Sam Mitchell:

At that *time* – a white person told me this part, I was working with him then, but it's a long time since he passed away – He said, "I was one of the ones tracking *Paul Spintlum* and *Moses Paul*." He said, "I was the leader, kind of one of the bosses." He said, "There must have been six of us."

And then he said, "It was raining, so we could see the tracks of the horses there on the..." that country, *lots of jackpine*. "When we got there," he said, "a fire had been made, but they heard us and got away. There was just the campfire left there with a frying pan on it, and bacon and eggs in it. But," he said, "we followed them, because the horse's tracks were showing in the *jackpine*."

"So we followed them. I was in front." He said, "We galloped a bit further, and then we reached a hill, kind of a burnt hill." He said, "There were a lot of..." well, 'saplings' in English, but our name for them is nstwiw, bushes, thick, there were lots there. "Their horses were there," he said, "and their sweat was streaming down." He said, "I could see the horses, and I could see the hill, covered in dense brush. Then my mouth started twitching, it was like my body was shaking." He said, "My mouth was twitching, so I turned around and went back, I turned my horse around. Then I told my buddies, "This is where I'm going to stop chasing Spintlum. If you guys want to carry on, carry on then, there are their horses." Nobody went to get their horses off them." He said, "But I had a real strong feeling, that that's where I was going to stop chasing him."

So then the leader, the one who told me this story, he went home, he went back. He said, "I went straight until I got to town, and then..."

Baptiste Ritchie:

He was shaking inside.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah. He said, "I got to town." Then he went to tell the ones in charge, he told them, "No more." He reported what had happened to him, and why he...

"That's where I stopped. I sensed that something was starting to thump in my body," he said, "I sure had a feeling," that white guy who was telling the story. "So I went back, and I quit."

That's his story, that one white guy who passed away a long time ago.

7.2.6 The Hideout at Leon's Creek

Sam Mitchell:

They tried really hard to chase them down, but they couldn't get close enough to catch sight of them. It was almost... more than a month, maybe a month and a half later when the trackers quit. Then the government put up a notice for 4000 dollars reward for anyone who could catch them.

They must have stayed all over the place, there were people watching out for them wherever they were seen. One thing they did over at *Leon's Creek*, where they fixed their hideout, there's a house over there... Anyways, the person who told me this, he went there, he was brought there by this one Indian. He was told, "If you want to see their house, I'll take you there."

"We got there," he said – that was Willy Fletcher's story, he's still alive today – He said, "We got there, we went along until I saw a sweathouse at a creek. Then we went uphill." He said, "I couldn't see anything at all, until the person who knew about it went and opened the door, and then I could see inside." He said, "The wall on the outside was chinked with," what do you call it..., "the walls were chinked with birch. And then it was like it was covered with moss, the stuff on top was moss." He said, "You could be standing there, and not see any house, but when you got inside, then you could see that there were holes which they could peek through to the other side. The land was visible for a long distance from there, you could see far across the other side of the river. There weren't any trees there. The inside of the cave..." well, that's the Fraser River, sat'atqwa7. "Everywhere was visible for a long way, the roads on the other side showed for two or three miles maybe, the trail only goes on the other side."

Baptiste Ritchie:

On the other side from Fountain!

Sam Mitchell:

No! It was on the other side from *Leon's Creek. Yeah*. So then they just stayed there, and they didn't ride horseback, they just went on foot in that terrain.

7.2.7 The Outlaws Dressed as Women

Sam Mitchell:

They came down from there, they got to... they only travelled at night, they didn't travel during the day. They got to what we call *Eleven Mile Creek*.

There was a canoe that the people used when they panned for gold on the other side of the river, this was *closer to Fountain*. As soon as they saw the canoe, they caulked it up, and when it was in good enough shape, they crossed over the Fraser River. When they got to the other side, then – this was their own story – one of them said to his friend, "If we moor the canoe here, then our relatives will get the blame for helping us get across. Let's let go of the canoe, take the rope off, we'll release the rope." Then they pushed the canoe out so it drifted away. When the people whom the canoe belonged to came around, their canoe had disappeared, but they didn't say what had happened to it; that's their [the outlaws'] story, anyways.

So then they continued on, and they must've got to a place where Indians had houses, *that's the Bridge River Reserve*. They were going along in the evening, and there was washing hanging on a line. So then one of them said to his buddy, "Come here, let's grab some skirts." At that *time* women's skirts were long. "Go grab a couple we can use when we cross the bridge, tomorrow sometime." So they took two skirts, and on they went.

They got to a place up above what we call *Lillooet, town of Lillooet*, and then hung out there. At that *time*, the Chinese people who had stores kept them open till *ten o'clock* at night. It was evening, so they went down there. There wasn't any electricity then, they just used *lamps* for lighting, 'real *lamps*' (kerosene lamps) were used to light the stores. That was *Sun Keys*, 3 the chinaman who had a store there, a little store. They went to buy groceries, then they made room for them in their packs and kept going.

They got close to the bridge. They knew that there were people watching the bridge, so they put on the skirts, packed their loads on their backs, and then headed off just as it was getting dark. They kept going, and they knew one of the guards, it was *Joe Russell*, who had been a *game warden*. He knew all the Indians, he was one of the two guards on the bridge. They kept going, and saw that the guards were armed, then they kept on going. When they got past, they took off their skirts.

They got to *Mosquito Jim*'s, he was their relative, and must have stayed there before leaving again in the morning.

³The store owner "Sun Keys" is given the name "Svntóh" by Sam in Edwards et al. (2017), and is referred to as "Sing Key" below in Sam Mitchell's free translation.

7.2.8 The Chase Ends

Sam Mitchell:

They had lots of adventures, but after a while they must have stopped moving around from place to place.

They went over to *Merritt*. They did the same thing over at *Spences Bridge*. They had figured out how to do it, this time one of them had a skirt on, and the other one was without a skirt, and they crossed stooped over. It was like the way we old folks do when we're going along, they seemed like a couple as they went along.

Someone was standing watch on the bridge, since it was already known that they had gotten that far. But the watchman was there on the bridge, and told them, "Here old man, here's a dollar, go and eat." So they went and took the money and then they carried on.

They made it over to where they had a lot of relatives. There are a lot of Indians there, from *Spences Bridge* over to *Merritt*, they're scattered all over.

Now there was this one chief who had land over there, they were kind of his relatives. He had sold his land and made some money, it was what do you call it, white man's land, not reserve land... what is it they call it, *perempti*...

Baptiste Ritchie: Preemption!

Sam Mitchell:

He must have *preempt*ed it. He was a smart Indian.

So he thought, "I'm going to hire a *lawyer*. I'm going to hire two *lawyers*, but I'm not going to take the government reward, I'm going to use my own money. I'm going to go get them, we've been bothered too much, because of everything we've been forbidden to do."

Because they [the outlaws] were considered to be people from *Leon's Creek*, people on a bunch of different reserves weren't allowed to buy bullets in the stores. You could only get them here if you arranged for someone to buy them for you... bullets were okay, but you had to make a real effort to get any bullets.

So then this chief began to have a hard time with that, so he said, "I'm going to go get them, and I'll bring them here, and tell the policemen. There'll be a trial now, they'll bring them to trial, but I'm going to pay for it."

It was *Stuart Henderson* who was the lead lawyer, and *Henry Costello*, he was... *that's the old Henry*.

Baptiste Ritchie: Senior!

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah. So there he had two lawyers. So he went to get them, and took them to wherever it was that they were staying, Shulús, that's Lower Nicola... He got them and brought them to the courthouse before telling the cops, the policemen. They got there, and he told them, he said, "Wherever you hold the trial, it will be me paying for the lawyers, I'll hire them."

Then they were taken and put in jail, together, Paul Spintlum and Moses Paul.

7.2.9 The Trials Begin

Sam Mitchell:

That was when the trials started. Oh, there were many trials, over at New Westminster, Vancouver. They must have changed the place where the trials were held several times.

The only thing was, when they shot the policeman, the one that... the one who came from... when he shot the policeman over on the other side of *Clinton*, the one they saw on horseback escaping, that wasn't him, that was someone different.

Baptiste Ritchie: Someone different!

Sam Mitchell:

Yes, he was someone different, he wasn't one of them. The one that shot the policeman, in the saplings, what we call *sapling*, *fir*, *qwel'qwel'aqín'*, there was a log there, and he was lying behind it. That's where he shot the policeman from, he saw the others arrive, but he didn't move. They took him [the policeman], and then he left on foot.

Oh, but when they saw this one guy on horseback, they sure thought it was him. But he was on his own, and it turned out in fact that wasn't his buddy: *Moses Paul* might have been anywhere, over at *Clinton*, or what do they call it, *Canoe Creek. Paul Spintlum* was the only one there, but the one who escaped on horseback was someone else.

So they took the dead policeman, slung him over the back of one of the horses, and then went to fetch their [the outlaws'] packhorse – they had a

packhorse. This white guy told me this part, he said, "We got the packhorse, and took the saddle off." He said, "There was a lot of food, *candy*, all kinds of stuff on the packhorse."

After he waited for the policemen to go, he left, on foot.

Baptiste Ritchie: On foot!

Sam Mitchell:

Then he went on foot. He met this one Indian somewhere around there, a young guy from *Canoe Creek*. And then he told him what happened, he said to him, "I shot a policeman over there."

And so in the trial, that was the only person who testified against him, that was the only... That was strong testimony against him, what he had told him, what he had reported, *you see*, that he told him that he had shot a policeman. His was the only opposing testimony.

7.2.10 The Murdered Chinaman

Sam Mitchell:

But there was something else that happened where the first white man was found dead, the teamster. There was a chinaman there who had a house, and was always making firewood, maybe four *miles* downstream from *Clinton*.

They [the outlaws] were around there one evening, so one of them said to his buddy, "Hey, let's go beg some food." They knew that chinaman, "We'll go beg some food."

So then he told him, *Moses Paul* was told by his buddy, "Go on in, I'll wait here outside." So he went in. That chinaman was a big guy.

He went in, and asked the chinaman for some food. But at that point he was recognized by the chinaman, so they started grappling with each other, and he couldn't get on top, he was knocked to the ground by the chinaman. So he screamed, he yelled out to his friend. His friend opened the door. All the chinamen used to keep *chopping blocks*, and there was an axe stuck in this one. *Paul Spintlum* took it and split the chinaman's head open, and then he flopped over dead. His buddy got out from underneath and then they fled.

It was a few days, not the next morning, but a few days before the chinaman was kind of missed. Someone went over inside, and he was already dead, he was already starting to go bad, because he was chopped in the head.

They said... that was kind of their story, they told...

Baptiste Ritchie:

Their relatives.

Sam Mitchell:

Their relatives, yes, that they had chopped the chinaman in the head. But that didn't come out in the trial. The only thing that came out was the testimony of the young man from *Canoe Creek*, he was the only one that testified that he said he had killed a policeman. However, none of their own relatives reported that, they wouldn't testify about what they had been told.

7.2.11 How Cultus Jack Got His Name

Sam Mitchell:

There were really a lot of trials.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Yeah, the trial lasted a long time.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, there were a bunch of trials, you see, this one white guy told me who was one of the witnesses. Many of the white people who had been there when the policeman was shot served as witnesses. It must have been... *Cultus Jack* was another witness, he went together with the policeman when they first went to look for *Paul Spintlum*. He was another witness, he testified when they held the trial at New Westminster.

Cultus Jack's turn came to testify about what he knew. The judge asked him, "Cultus Jack?"

"Yes?"

"Testify about what you know."

Then the judge said, "Cultus Jack, doesn't that mean 'bad' in your language, Cultus Jack?"

"Oh," he told the policeman, the judge: "Yes, qvl, that means bad."

"So why are you named that?"

"Oh," he said, "When I was a boy, I always chased after women, so my relatives called me *Cultus Jack*."

Then the people at the trial laughed.

That's a 'bad' story, he said that they thought he was bad, and that's why *Cultus Jack* was his name.

7.2.12 The End

Sam Mitchell:

Well, when their trials were over, it was *Paul Spintlum* who got hung. *One guy got a life sentence*: one of them was put in jail for *life*, and the other was hung. But he sure didn't... he can't have been a *life*r for long, because he died four years later.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Yeah, they gave him a hard time...

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, they say it's hard for you to stay alive very long if you're an Indian, if you're put away for a long stretch.

That's where this story ends.

Baptiste Ritchie: Yes, that's it!

7.3 Interlinear Gloss

7.3.1 Na skéla7sa: Beginnings

- [0:00] (1) Sam Mitchell: (...pá•p•la7 ucwalmicw.) one•CRED• indigenous.person ...one person.
 - (2) láni7 ku=time, 1911=k'a, (k'a...) k'a at+there.ABS DET=time 1911=EPIS EPIS lh=July=as, k'a nílh=ťu7 lh=August=as, COMP=July=3SBJV EPIS COMP=August=EPIS COP=EXCL ta=sám7=a, s=pun=s NMLZ=get.found=3POSS DET=white.person=EXIS tímsta=ti7, s-kits teamster=that.vis stat-get.laid.down láti7 (s-...) nkú•kw•tsa-s at+there.vis downstream • CRED • - 3POSS ta = Clinton = aabout four DET=Clinton=EXIS about four miles=k'a lhláku7 miles=EPIS from+there.INVIS Clinton=a. Clinton=EXIS

At that time, 1911, either in July or August, a white man, a teamster, was found lying dead south of Clinton, maybe about four miles from Clinton.

(3) nílh=t'u7 s=tsút=i, "o, nílh=k'a s-...

COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3PL.POSS o COP=EPIS NMLZ
Moses, Moses Paul."

Moses Moses Paul

They said, "Oh, it must've been Moses, Moses Paul."

(4) nílh=t'u7 s=kwán-em ti7 ta=wa7
COP=EXCL NMLZ=take+DIR-3PASS that.VIS DET=IPFV
s-Moses Paul, n-lham'-án'-em (n),
NMLZ-Moses Paul LOC-get.put.into-DIR-3PASS LOC-n-k'a7-n-ém.
LOC-get.stuck-DIR-3PASS

So Moses Paul was taken and put inside, thrown in jail.

- (5) nilh láti7 swas n-k'a7 elh...

 COP at+there.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS LOC-get.stuck and.then

 t'u lhwál'tsten=k'a.

 until autumn=EPIS

 And he stayed in jail and... till about fall.
- (6) nas (ta=wa7...) ta=wa7 zús-cal, áts'x-en-as, [1:00]
 go det=ipfv det=ipfv get.tied-act get.seen-dir-3erg
 plán=tu7 qwatsáts, úts'•ets'qa7=k'a.
 already=rem leave go.out•fred=epis
 A policeman went to check, and saw that he'd gone, he must have
- **(7)** nílh=ťu7 (s=...)s=lúm-en-em múta7 COP=EXCL NMLZ= NMLZ=blame-DIR-3PASS swéta7... Paul Spintlum, nílh=k'a=tu7 DET=IPFV whoever Paul Spintlum COP=EPIS=REM Spintlum ku=nuk'w7-an-táli s-Paul NMLZ-Paul Spintlum DET=help-DIR-NTS kw=s=ka-7úts'qa7=s-a D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-go.out=3POSS-CIRC kw=s-Moses Paul. DET=NMLZ-Moses Paul

broken out.

And then *Paul Spintlum* got the blame, that it must have been *Paul Spintlum* who had helped *Moses Paul* break out of jail.

7.3.2 Jack McMillan múta7 sPaul Spintlum: Jack McMillan and Paul Spintlum

- [1:20] (8) Sam Mitchell:

 nílh=t'u7 s=wa7=s ta=wa7 zús-cal,

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=be=3POSS DET=IPFV get.tied-ACT

 k'wálh-an'-as ta=pa•p•l7=a úcwalmicw:

 call.on-DIR-3ERG DET=one•CRED•=EXIS indigenous.person

 So then there was this policeman, and he hired this one Indian:
 - (9) "wá7=lhkacw=ka zewát-en nká7=as
 IPFV=2SG.SBJ=IRR be.known-dir where=3SBJV
 lhwas wa7?", plán=s=tu7=ti7
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be already=3POSS=REM=that.VIS
 wa7 píxem' kw=s-Paul Spintlum.
 IPFV hunt DET=NMLZ-Paul Spintlum
 "Do you happen to know where he is?", because Paul Spintlum had already gone off hunting.
 - (10) nilh ti7 wa7 s-Hunter Jack ta=...

 COP that.VIS IPFV NMLZ-Hunter Jack DET=

 ucwalmícw=t'u7=ti7 lhláti7=t'u7

 indigenous.person=EXCL=that.VIS from+there.VIS=EXCL

 ku=tmícw lhel=t7ú Clinton...

 DET=land from=that.VIS Clinton

 That was Hunter Jack, he was an Indian from around that country,

 Clinton...
 - (11) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsún-em... (tsut,) tsún-as
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3PASS say say+DIR-3ERG
 ta=plísmen=a s-Hunter Jack:
 DET=policeman=EXIS NMLZ-Hunter Jack
 Then he told him, Hunter Jack told the policeman:

```
(12) "lh=cúz'=acw nas cwíl'-en, cúz'=lhkacw comp=going.to=2sg.sbjv go look.for-dir going.to=2sg.sbj nas elh ke•káw'=ti7 áku7."
go and.then ired•far.away=that.vis to+there.invis "If you're going to go look for him, if you're going to go, he's a long ways off."
```

(13) "cw7áoz=acw kwásu tsícw•ecw [2:00]

NEG=2SG.SBJV D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS get.there•FRED

l... kwásu nas lh=sq'ít=as,
at D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS go COMP=day=3SBJV

tsúkw=t'u7 lh=n'án'atcw=as elh
finish=EXCL COMP=morning=3SBJV and.then

kwan•en-s=kácw=kelh."

take•FRED-CAUS=2SG.SBJ=FUT

"You're not going to reach him if you go when it's daytime, you'll only catch him in the morning."

- (14) tsút=ku7 ta=plísmen=a, "áma, cúz'=lhkalh say=QUOT DET=policeman=EXIS good going.to=IPL.SBJ natcw-ám."
 next.day-MID
 The policeman said, "Fine, we'll get up early."
- (15)ts'ila=k'á=ti7 ku = ahoutlhláti7 like=EPIS=that.VIS DET=about from+there.VIS ku=fifteen miles... tqílh=k'a ta=one day DET=fifteen miles almost=EPIS DET=one day l=tsúsa=ti7 wa7 at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS=that.VIS be píxem'.

It must've been *about fifteen miles* from there, almost *one day* from where he was hunting.

(16) nilh s=qwatsáts=i, s=7ull'us-mín-as
COP NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS NMLZ=gather-RLT-3ERG
s-Hunter Jack ti7 ta=wa7... not Hunter
NMLZ-Hunter Jack that.VIS DET=IPFV not Hunter
Jack, Cultus Jack!
Jack Cultus Jack
So they set off, him and Hunter Jack, the... not Hunter Jack, Cultus Jack!

- (17) Baptiste Ritchie: Yeah, Cultus Jack.
- (18) Sam Mitchell:

 Yeah, Cultus Jack, ull'us-mín-as ta=plísmen=a.

 yeah Cultus Jack gather-rlt-3erg det=policeman=exis

 Yeah, Cultus Jack, together with the policeman.
- (19) tsícw=wit áta7, plan wa7
 get.there=3PL to+there.vis already be
 i=wa7 {es}=sp'ams, cw7áoy=t'u7
 PL.DET=IPFV have=fire NEG=EXCL
 kw=s=má<7>eg'=s.
 D/C=NMLZ=daybreak<INCH>=3POSS

They got there, and people already had campfires going, even though it wasn't light yet.

(20) tsicw áta7 (ta=...) ta=plísmen=a,
get.there to+there.vis det= det=policeman=exis
nilh=t'u7 {s}=sáwlhen=s, "nka7 (ku=...
COP=EXCL NMLZ=ask.question=3POSS where det=
ku=...) lhas wa7 kw=s-Paul
det= comp+iPfv+3sbjv be det=nmlz-Paul
Spintlum?"
Spintlum

The policeman got there, and asked: "Where's Paul Spintlum?"

(21) tsún-em=ku7, "nilh ti7 latáont-s l=t7u." say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT COP that.VIS tent-3POSS at=that.VIS He was told, "That's his tent over there."

(22)tsúlh-cit-em áta7 ta=latáont=a, [3:00]point-IND-3PASS to+there.VIS DET=tent=EXIS ta=wa7... pá•p•l7=a be at+there.vis DET=IPFV one CRED = EXIS úcwalmicw smúlhats wa7 kukw. indigenous.person woman IPFV cooking es={s}p'ám. have=fire

The tent was pointed out to him; there was an Indian woman cooking over there, she had a fire going.

(23) nílh=t'u7 áta7 s=qwatsáts=s, tsicw
COP=EXCL to+there.vis NMLZ=leave=3POSS get.there
áta7 ta=plísmen=a sk'em'-ts-s
to+there.vis det=policeman=exis edge-mouth-3POSS
ta=latáont=a, s-t'qwáw's=wit wi=s-Cultus
det=tent=exis stat-together=3PL plus=nmlz-Cultus

Jack.
Jack

So they went over, and the policeman got to the door of the tent together with *Cultus Jack*.

(24) nilh {s}=... sqwal'út=s áku7,
COP NMLZ= NMLZ=speak=3POSS to+there.INVIS
tsún-as, "Paul Spintlum, wá7=lhkacw=ha
say+DIR-3ERG Paul Spintlum IPFV=2SG.SBJ=Q
láku7?"
at+there.INVIS

Then he said, "Paul Spintlum, are you there?"

(25) tsút=ku7, "iy, s7ents." say=QUOT yes ISG.INDEP He said, "Yeah, that's me."

- (26) tsút=ku7 ta=plísmen=a, "s7ents s-Jack say=QUOT DET=policeman=EXIS ISG.INDEP NMLZ-Jack McMillan, qwen-mín-tsi=lhkan."

 McMillan want-rlt-2sg.obj=isg.sbj

 The policeman said, "I'm Jack McMillan, and I want you."
- (27) tsút=ku7 lhláku7 s7úlhcw=a
 say=QUOT from+there.Invis inside=exis
 ta=7ucwalmícw=a, "áma, cúy'=lhkan
 DET=indigenous.person=exis good going.to=isg.sbj
 yax. tsukw kw=n=s=yax,
 get.dressed finish D/C=isg.poss=nmlz=get.dressed
 nílh=t'u7 n=s=7úts'qa7."
 COP=EXCL isg.poss=nmlz=go.out

Then the Indian said from inside, "Fine, I'll get dressed. I'll come out when I've finished getting dressed."

(28) nilh láku7 swas yax,
COP at+there.INVIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.dressed
kwán-as t=swelmín'k-s=a, úts'qa7
take+DIR-3ERG DET=gun-3POSS=EXIS go.out
lhláku7.
from+there.INVIS

So while he was getting dressed, he grabbed his gun, and then he went out.

nílh=t'u7 s=... nílh=s=t'u7 es={s}welmín'k=s,4 (29)[4:00]COP=EXCL NMLZ= COP=3POSS=EXCL have=gun=3POSS n-líg'w-ts-an'-as ta=latáont-s=a, LOC-open-mouth-DIR-3ERG DET=tent-3POSS=EXIS nílh=ťu7 s=... tsicw=s áta7. COP=EXCL NMLZ= get.there=3POSS to+there.VIS tálh-lec n-klús-ts=a stand-AUT LOC-in.front-3POSS=EXIS at+there.VIS wá7=a ta=plísmen=a múta7 DET=policeman=EXIS and s-Cultus Iack. NMLZ-Cultus Jack

He had his gun, and he opened his tent and went and stood in front of the policeman and *Cultus Jack*.

(30)nílh=ku7=ťu7 s=tsún-as kw=s-Cultus... COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG DET=NMLZ-Cultus tsút=ku7 ti7 kw=s-Paul say=QUOT that.VIS DET=NMLZ-Paul Spintlum, tsún-as ta=plísmen=a, Spintlum say+DIR-3ERG DET=policeman=EXIS "cuy síma7 kwan-ts, okay come.here take+DIR-ISG.ОВЈ lh=xát'-min'-ts-acw." COMP=want-RLT-ISG.OBJ-2SG.ERG

Then he told *Cultus... Paul Spintlum* told the policeman, "Come and get me, if you want me."

(31) s-kwil'-qs-cít-as.

STAT-aim-point-IND-3ERG

He had his gun aimed at him.

⁴es= 'have' normally never co-occurs with possessive marking on the denominal verb.

(32) ao kw=s=qwts-ilc=s ta=plísmen=a,
NEG D/C=NMLZ=move-AUT=3POSS DET=policeman=EXIS
nílh=t'u7 s=lhláti7=s qwatsáts
COP=EXCL NMLZ=from+there.vIs=3POSS leave
kel'q, n-ts'ítem' e=t7ú
back.up loc-go.towards to=that.vIs
[e=ta]=lhecw•lhúcw=a.
to=DET=TRED•bush=EXIS

The policeman didn't move, so he started backing away towards the bush.

(33) cw7áoy=t'u7 kw=s=... ka-lhucw-a=t'ú7=a,
NEG=EXCL D/C=NMLZ= CIRC-bush-CIRC=EXCL=A

ka-lhúcw-almen-a, nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-as
CIRC-bush-nearly-CIRC COP=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG
ti7 ta=plísmen=a:
that.VIS DET=policeman=EXIS

He hadn't yet got into the bush, he had almost got there, when he told the policeman:

- (34) "McMillan, lh=nká7=as múta7
 McMillan COMP=where=3sBJV again
 lh=cúz'=an áts'x-en-tsin
 COMP=going.to=ISG.SBJV get.seen-DIR-2SG.OBJ+ISG.ERG
 l=ta=lhecw•lhúcw=a, cúy'=lhkacw zuqw."
 at=DET=TRED•bush=EXIS going.to=2sG.SBJ die
 "McMillan, whenever I next see you in the bush, you'll be dead."
- (35) nílh=t'u7 s=... ka-lhúcw-a=tú7=a nílh=t'u7=tu7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ= CIRC-bush-CIRC=REM=A COP=EXCL=REM
 s=qwatsáts=s.
 NMLZ=leave=3POSS

Then he disappeared into the bush and took off.

- (36) nilh [lh]láti7 s=qwatsáts=i p'an't
 COP from+there.vis nmlz=leave=3Pl.poss return
 ta=plísmen=a múta7 (ta=...) s-Cultus Jack.
 DET=policeman=EXIS and DET= nmlz-Cultus Jack
 The policeman and Cultus Jack set off to go back.
- (37)tsícw=wit áta7 [e=ta]=táown=a, ti7 [5:00] get.there=3PL to+there.VIS to=DET=town=EXIS that.VIS ti=wa7 nilh ti7 wa7 s-Jack s=... DET=IPFV NMLZ= COP that.VIS IPFV NMLZ-Jack McMillan ta=plísmen=a láti7 McMillan DET=policman=EXIS at+there.VIS ku=time. DET=time

They got to town, the... Jack McMillan was the policeman at that time

nílh=ťu7 (38)tsícw=wit áta7, s=tsicw=s get.there=3PL to+there.VIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.there=3POSS ta=tsáts=a ti7 ta=plísmen=a, DET=judge=EXIS that.VIS DET=policeman=EXIS kelh-n-ás ta=q'wáolaps-ts=a, that's get.taken.off-DIR-3ERG DET=badge-3POSS=EXIS that's the badge, q'min-ánk-en-as the badge get.thrown.down-stomach-DIR-3ERG tsún-as=ku7: DET=judge=EXIS say+DIR-3ERG=QUOT

They got there, and the policeman went to the judge, took off his *q'wáolaps*, *that's the badge*, he threw it in the judge's lap, and said:

(39) "tsúkw=kan. kwám=lhkacw múta7 (ku=... ku=...)
finish=Isg.sbj get=2sg.sbj again det= det=
ku=hú7 plísmen."
det=more policeman
"I quit. Go get another cop!"

7.3.3 Pápla7 ta zúqwa plísmen, pápla7 ta q'ám'ta t'u7: One Policeman Down, One Injured

[5:27] (40) Sam Mitchell: nílh=ťu7 lhláti7 s=... COP=EXCL from+there.vis NMLZ= káti7 kwa cw7aoy=s NEG=3POSS around+there.VIS DET+IPFV ak-min'-tanemwitas lhláti7 pay.attention-RLT-3PL.OBJ+NTS from+there.VIS ku=time=t'u7. DET=time=EXCL

So from that time on, nobody paid any attention to them.

(41) nas e=t7ú May, láku7 lhas...
go to=that.vis May at+there.invis comp+ipfv+3sbjv
papt láku7 wa7 wa7 i=wa7 Assize
always at+there.invis ipfv be pl.det=ipfv Assize

Court Clinton=a lhas... round
Court Clinton=exis comp+ipfv+3sbjv round
about May.
about May

May came around, and that's when they always held the Assize Courts at Clinton, round about May.

```
(42)
         nílh=ťu7
                               gáw'-p=malh
                                                                        [6:00]
                      s=...
                               gather-INCH=ADHORT
         COP=EXCL
                      NMLZ=
                             i=sám7=a
                                                        wa7
             to+there.INVIS PL.DET=white.person=EXIS IPFV
                 wa7
                      láku7
                                       i=wa7
                                                     kotháws,
                 be
                       at+there.INVIS PL.DET=IPFV trial
                     nílh=ku7=tu7
                                        s=t'iq=s
                     COP=QUOT=REM NMLZ=arrive=3POSS
                          lhláku7
                                            ta=pá•p•l7=a,
                          from+there.INVIS DET=one CRED = EXIS
                              lhláku7=ti7
                                                         (ta=...)
                              from+there.INVIS=that.VIS DET=
                                  lh=ts7ás=as
                                                       talhá7-s
                                  COMP=come=3SBJV other.side-3POSS
                                       ta = Clinton = a.
                                       DET=Clinton=EXIS
        So the white people gathered there, where the trials took place, and
        this one guy showed up from the other side of Clinton.
(43)
         "o," tsút=ku7, "wa7 aw't
                                         kw=s-Paul
                                                          Spintlum
              say=QUOT IPFV behind DET=NMLZ-Paul Spintlum
             l=kw7á-wna."
             at=here.INVIS-precisely
        "Oh," he said, "Paul Spintlum is back yonder."
(44)
         "áts'x-en=lhkan
                               láku7,
                                               wa7
         get.seen-DIR=ISG.SBJ at+there.INVIS be
                             ta=spakhós-i=ha...
             láku7
             at+there.INVIS DET=packhorse-3PL.POSS=EXIS
                 about, ts'ila=k'á=t'u7=ti7
                                                   ku=two
                 about like=EPIS=EXCL=that.VIS DET=two
                     mile lhláti7,
                                            láku7,"
                     mile from+there.vis at+there.invis
                                                   "n-k'cw-ank."
                          wéna7=ti7,
                          whatchamacallit=that.vis Loc-hollow-stomach
        "I saw their packhorse over there, about, like two miles away, over in
        a," what do you call it, "a basin in the sidehill."
```

(45) áku7 ku=tmicw-s tsúkw=t'u7=iz'...
to+there.INVIS DET=land-3POSS finish=EXCL=those.VIS
i7úna7, s7aplhqw-áz'=a múta7
whatchamacallit ponderosa.pine-tree=EXIS and
qwel'aqín.
sapling

That country over there, it's... what do you call it, ponderosa pines and saplings.

(46)t'u7 snilh s=qelilám=s lhláti7 NMLZ=hurry=3POSS from+there.VIS EXCL 3SG.INDEP [ta]=plísmen=a, wa7 es-kýpa⁵ ta=núkw=a DET=policeman=EXIS IPFV STAT-covered DET=other=EXIS plísmen láti7 wa7, elh nilh policeman at+there.vis be and.then COP ta=tsítsel=a plísmen láti7 that.vis DET=new=EXIS policeman at+there.vis Clinton=a. Clinton=EXIS

So the policeman, who was covering for another cop there, hurried to get ready, and also the new policeman at *Clinton*.

(47) k'walh-an'-ítas i=núkw=a,
call.on-dir-3pl.erg pl.det=other=exis
q'em'•q'em'p-almen=wít=ku7, tsut ta=wa7
Tred•ten-nearly=3pl=Quot say det=ipfv
sqwe•qw•el'-en-ts-ás, sáma7=ti7
tell•cred•-dir-isg.obj-3erg white.person=that.vis
ta=wa7 sqwe•qw•el'-en-ts-ás
det=ipfv tell•cred•-dir-isg.obj-3erg
áti7.
to+there.vis

They called up some other guys, so there were nine in all according to the person who told me this, the white guy who told me.

⁵The word *kúpa* has not previously been recorded, and our analysis of this word as a borrowing of English 'covered' is a best guess.

wa7 tsut, "n-q'em'•q'em'p-álmen=lhkalh, tsícw=kalh," (48)LOC-TRED*ten-nearly=IPL.SBJ get.there=IPL.SBJ IPFV say nílh=ťu7 tsut, "áku7, s=tsut=s to+there.INVIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS say ta=plísmen=a, tsún-as that.vis Det=policeman=exis say+Dir-3erg i=núkw=a:" those.vis PL.DET=other=EXIS

He said, "There were nine of us, and when we arrived over there, the policeman told the others:"

(49)""n-ke•k•alhás e=ts7á ku=ťák [7:00]LOC-three CRED to=this.VIS DET=go.along [e=ta]=cá7=a, n-ke•k•alhás e=t7ú to=DET=high=EXIS LOC-three*CRED* to=that.VIS xáw'en=a," tsut, "s7ents múta7 ts7á-wna below=EXIS say ISG.INDEP and this.vis-precisely s-Forrest, cúz'=lhkalh ts7a NMLZ-Forrest going.to=IPL.SBJ this.VIS n7í7ez'k=a."" in.the.middle=EXIS

"He said, "Three of you go up top, three down below, and me and *Forrest* here, we'll be here in the middle.""

(50) nilh áti7 s=t'ák=i,
COP to+there.vis NMLZ=go.along=3PL.POSS

tí7=malh ts7a ta=sám7=a wa7

that.vis=adhort this.vis det=white.person=exis ipfv

sqwe•qw•l'-en-ts-ás.
tell•CRED•-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG

So then they set off, including the white guy who told me this.

```
áta7
(51)
              tsut, "s7ents
                                             [e]=ta=cá7=a,"
         IPFV say
                    ISG.INDEP to+there.VIS to=DET=high=EXIS
                         "qan'ím-ens=kan
                                           aylh
                   tsut,
                         hear-DIR=ISG.SBJ
            IPFV
                   say
                                              áti7,"
                ku=t'éqw-p=a
                                                            tsut,
                INVIS.DET=explode-INCH=EXIS to+there.VIS say
                    "[e=t]=s=t'ak=s=a=tú7=a
                    to=det=nmlz=go.along=3poss=exis=rem=a
                                  (i=...)
                                           i=plísmen=a."
                         those.vis pl.det= pl.det=policeman=exis
```

He said: "I was going along the top when I heard shots from where the policemen had gone."

(52)t'u7 s=nilh=ts "áku7 tsut, nas but NMLZ=COP=3POSS to+there.INVIS go say s-nuxw-sqáxa7=lhkalh STAT-animal.running-domestic.animal=IPL.SBJ áts'x-en-em," tsut, "plan already IPFV get.seen-DIR-IPL.ERG say lhqw-ilc láti7 (ta=...) ta=wa7 get.on.horse-AUT at+there.VIS DET= DET=IPFV lhqw-ilc." get.on.horse-AUT

But then he said, "As we were galloping our horses over to see it, there was someone getting on a horse."

(53) "k'wín=as=k'a," tsut, "kwas
how.many=3sBJV=EPIS say D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
cík'-en-as ta=k'.wat-tán'-s=a,
miss-DIR-3ERG DET=step-INS-3POSS=EXIS
ka-lhéqw-a=tu7 aylh," tsut...
CIRC-get.on.horse-CIRC=REM then say

"He must have missed his stirrups a bunch of times before he managed to get on," he said...

- (54) "t'u7 pút=kalh=t'u7 tsicw, wá7=malh," tsut, but exactly=IPL.SBJ=EXCL get.there IPFV=ADHORT say "qús-cit-em." shoot-IND-IPL.ERG
 - "But as soon as we got there, we started shooting."
- (55) "wa7 t'ak, cwelp-án-as [t]i=ts'qáxa7-s=a

 IPFV go.along revolve-DIR-3ERG DET=horse-3POSS=EXIS

 ken=[ki]=srep•ráp=a."

 around=PL.DET=TRED•stand=EXIS

 "He was going along, turning his horse through the trees," he said.
- (56) "wá7=lhkalh=malh," tsut, "áta7 qús-em,
 IPFV=IPL.SBJ=ADHORT say to+there.VIS shoot-MID
 cw7áoy=t'u7 káti7=t'u7, ka-cím'-a."
 NEG=EXCL around+there.VIS=EXCL CIRC-disappear-CIRC

"We kept on shooting at him, but it was no good, he disappeared."

"nilh," tsut, "s=kwán-em (57)ti7 [8:00]COP say NMLZ=take+DIR-IPL.ERG that.VIS (ta=...) ta=plísmen=a wa7 láti7 DET= DET=policeman=EXIS IPFV at+there.VIS pút=ťu7 l=[ta]=táxwats=a STAT-get.laid.down exactly=EXCL at=DET=chest=EXIS

> [ta]=s=qám't=s=a." D/C=NMLZ=get.hit=3POSS=EXIS

"Then," he said, "We took the policeman who was lying there, he'd been hit right in the chest."

(58) wa7 tsut, "wa7 láti7 ta=núkw=a
IPFV say be at+there.vis DeT=other=exis
s-qám'-aka7, n-7án'was=i[z']."
STAT-get.hit-hand LOC-two=those.vis

He said, "The other one had been hit in the hand, there were two of them."

- (59) "naqaz=hem'=t'ú7=ti7 ta=pá•p•l7=a,
 get.wounded=ANTI=EXCL=that.VIS DET=one•CRED•=EXIS

 [n-ts]qám'•em' (n-...) [lh]=lák=as,
 LOC-fall.back•FRED LOC- COMP=be.there=3SBJV

 n-cukw na=s-qám't-s=a."
 LOC-get.pulled.out ABS.DET=NMLZ-get.hit-3POSS=EXIS

 "One of them was just wounded, he lay where he had fallen, the bullet was pulled out of where he'd been hit."
- (60) nílh=t'u7 ti7 ta=wa7 sqwe•qw•l'-en-ts-ás
 COP=EXCL that.VIS DET=IPFV tell•CRED•-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG
 sáma7, wa7 tsut:
 white.person IPFV say
 Then the white man who told me this, he said:
- tsut, "nilh ti7," (61)"k'wá7en," wa7 tsut, "ptéla7-s that.vis say blood-3POSS you.see? IPFV say COP l=ts7a l=ta=n-sáotvl=a," wa7 at=this.vis at=DET=ISG.POSS-saddle=EXIS IPFV "nilh i=ts'qáx7=a láti7 COP PL.DET=horse=EXIS at+there.VIS say lh=lhep'-el'was-en-ém=as." COMP=get.hung.up-middle-DIR-3PASS=3SBJV "Look", he said "That's his blood on my saddle," he said, "from where they were slung over the horses' backs."
- (62) "qwatsáts=ti7," tsut, "ta=ts'qáx7=a nilh leave=that.vis say det=horse=exis cop s=tsícw=wit aylh ta=táown=a."

 NMLZ=get.there=3PL then det=town=exis "The horse set off," he said, "and they reached the town."

7.3.4 Nk'wancenánem nelh wa7 cwelcúlel: The Fugitives are Tracked

Sam Mitchell: (63)[8:37] nilh (s=...) s=7aw't=slhláti7 COP NMLZ= NMLZ=behind=3POSS from+there.VIS (i=wa7...) when.PAST=finish=3SBJV PL.DET=IPFV PL.DET=IPFV kotháws, nilh=ťu7 s=... k'wálh-cal=s trial COP=EXCL NMLZ= call.on-ACT=3POSS ta=kýpmen=a... DET=government=EXIS

So then after that, when the assizes were finished, the government hired...

(64)...s=plan=s láti7 ku=*time*, k'a around... [9:00] NMLZ=already=3POSS at+there.VIS DET=time EPIS around wa7 ts'k-álmen ta=... sáq'ulh=k'a sxek IPFV get.used.up-nearly DET= half=EPIS maybe ta=May=ha, nílh=ťu7 {s}=stáot=s DET=May=EXIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=start=3POSS k'wálh-cal... cw7it i=wa7 call.on-ACT many PL.DET=IPFV n-k'wan-cen-álhts'a7. LOC-look-foot-meat

...at that time it must have been already around...almost the end of...maybe half way through *May*, when the government started hiring... there were a bunch of trackers.

úcwalmicw i=núkw=a (65)indigenous.person PL.DET=other=EXIS s-k'wálh-cal-i, t'u7 cw7ao NMLZ-call.on-ACT-3PL.POSS but NEG kwas káti7-mec, D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS around+there.VIS-person lhel=kw7ú Kamloops=a, from=that.INVIS Kamloops=EXIS lh=nká7=as=k'a COMP=where=3SBJV=EPIS around+there.INVIS lh=k'walh-an'-ítas COMP=call.on-DIR-3PL.ERG i=7ucwalmícw=a. PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS Some of the hired trackers were Indians, but not from around there,

Some of the hired trackers were Indians, but not from around there, they hired Indians from *Kamloops*, from somewhere over there.

- (66) n-q'ém'•q'em'p i=núkw=a wa7 n-k'wen-cn-álhts'a7.

 LOC-TRED•ten PL.DET=other=EXIS IPFV LOC-look-foot-meat

 There were ten of them, those other trackers.
- o cw7it... cw7it kulhen-mín-itas,
 oh many many borrow-RLT-3PL.ERG

 tákem=t'u7 ta=ts'qáx7=a wa7
 all=EXCL DET=horse=EXIS IPFV
 ka-s-lheqw-min-ém-a.
 CIRC-STAT-get.on.horse-RLT-3PASS-CIRC
 Oh, they 'borrowed' a bunch of horses, any horse that could be ridden.

```
k'wá7en, wá7=lhkan
(68)
                                 láti7
                                              [es]=saddle
                   IPFV=ISG.SBJ at+there.VIS have=saddle
        you.see?
            horse,
                   áma,
                          kúlhen=hem',
                                             stéxw=t'u7
            horse good get.borrowed=ANTI straight=EXCL
                 kwen-akst-min-itás=hem'
                                                  i=ts'qáx7=a,
                 get.taken-hand-rlt-3pl.erg=anti pl.det=horse=exis
                     wá7=t'u7=iz'...
                                           i=wa7
                     IPFV=EXCL=those.VIS PL.DET=IPFV
                         k'wen•k'wen-cn-álhts'a7.
                         TRED•look-foot-meat
```

You see, I had a *saddle horse*, a good one, it got 'borrowed', and they were really rough on the horses, those trackers.

- (69) t'ak ta=sqwé•qw•el'=a, tsút=ku7
 go.along DET=tell•CRED•=EXIS say=QUOT
 ta=pá•p•l7=a tracker:
 DET=one•CRED•=EXIS tracker
 The story goes, this one tracker said:
- (70)"láti7 k'wezús-em lhwan [10:00]at+there.vis comp+ipfv+isg.sbjv work-mid l... about twelve miles káti7 at+there.vis at about twelve miles around+there.vis lhláku7 Clinton=a, láku7 from+there.INVIS Clinton=EXIS at+there.INVIS k'wezús-em, COMP+IPFV+ISG.SBJV work-MID ti7 ta=rancb=a, nilh wa7 that.VIS DET=ranch=EXIS COP IPFV s-Dougherty, t'iq núkun' NMLZ-Dougherty arrive again ta=phone=a." DET=phone=EXIS

"At the place I was working, *about twelve miles* or so from *Clinton* at *Dougherty's Ranch*, a *phone* call came in."

it."

```
"láku7
                        Fifty Nine=a,
                                          they call Chasm,
(71)
                                          they call Chasm
         at+there.INVIS fifty nine=EXIS
             t'ák=ku7
                             áti7
                                           (ta=...) ta=tracker=[a],
            go.along=QUOT to+there.vis DET= DET=tracker=EXIS
                 nílh=ťu7
                             s=gets-en-ás
                 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.tied.up-DIR-3ERG
                     nts'qáxa7-s=a,
                                        ts7a
                                                 ta=wa7..."
                     horse-3POSS=EXIS this.VIS DET=IPFV
                          Fifty Nine's a big canyon there,
                          fifty nine's a big canyon there
                              "nílh=t'u7=tu7
                                               s=qwatsáts=s."
                              COP=EXCL=REM NMLZ=leave=3POSS
        "At Fifty Nine Mile, they call it Chasm, a tracker tied up his horse at..."
        Fifty Nine's a big canyon there, "and then he left."
(72)
         "wa7
                es-paqw-s-twitas,
                STAT-watch-CAUS-3PL.ERG
         IPFV
             ka-cim'-a=t'ú7=tu7
                                              nilh
             CIRC-disappear-CIRC=EXCL=REM COP
                 s=q'áy-lec=s
                                          ta=pá•p•l7=a,
                 NMLZ=jump-AUT=3POSS DET=one CRED = EXIS
                     tsicw
                               kwán-as
                                               [ta]=ts'qáx7=a,
                     get.there take+DIR-3ERG DET=horse=EXIS
                          lhqw-ilc-mín-as,
                                                     nilh s=...
                          get.on.horse-AUT-RLT-3ERG COP NMLZ=
                              qwatsáts-s-as."
                              leave-CAUS-3ERG
        "They were watching him, but he disappeared, and then one of them
        jumped up, went and grabbed the horse, got on it, and took off with
```

(73) wa7 láti7 ta=trápsten=a: ti7
be at+there.vis det=binoculars=exis that.vis
ta=trápsten=a, stexw=ku7=t'ú7=ti7 áma
det=binoculars=exis straight=quot=excl=that.vis good
ku=trápsten."
det=binoculars

"There was a pair of binoculars: those binoculars, they were said to be really good ones."

(74) "lh=kán-em=as... lh=kan-em=ás=k'a
COMP=whether-MID=3SBJV COMP=whether-MID=3SBJV=EPIS
múta7=wi7 s=lhwál-en-as
again=EMPH NMLZ=get.abandoned-DIR-3ERG
ta=trápsten-s=a ta=wa7 nas
DET=binoculars-3POSS=EXIS DET=IPFV go
áku7 záq'il."
to+there.INVIS peek

"I've no idea why the guy who went to peek over the edge left his binoculars behind."

(75) (nilh...) nilh ti7 nukw-s, nilh ti7 [11:00]

COP COP that.VIS other-3POSS COP that.VIS

sqwé•qw•el', ku=pála7 ku=sqwé•qw•el', tí7=malh
tell•CRED• DET=one DET=tell•CRED• that.VIS=ADHORT
ta=trápsten=a sqwé•qw•el'.

DET=binoculars=EXIS tell•CRED•

It's another person's, that story, the part about the binoculars.

t'íq=wit (76)wi=snílh, e=ts7á (ki=...) plus=3SG.INDEP arrive=3PL to=this.VIS PL.DET= ki=snek'w•nuk'w7-í=ha... plán=ťu7=tu7 PL.DET=TRED*relative-3PL.POSS=EXIS already=EXCL=REM nelh=wa7 xwayt tákem, nilh wa7 ABS.PL.DET=IPFV many.die all COP IPFV sqwé•qw•el'. tell*CRED*

They arrived at their relatives... they're all dead now, the ones that told this part of the story.

```
(77)
        we7-an-itás=ku7=ti7
                                        ta=trápsten=a,
        be-DIR-3PL.ERG=QUOT=that.VIS DET=binoculars=EXIS
            ts'íla=t'u7
                        áti7
                                     t=sqwal'...
            like=EXCL to+there.VIS
                                     DET=report
                sqwe•qw•el'-í=ha,
                                          ta=tsuw7-í=ha
                tell•CRED•-3PL.POSS=EXIS DET=OWN-3PL.POSS=EXIS
                     sqwé•qw•el' (kw=s=...)
                     tell*CRED*
                                  D/C=NMLZ=
                         kw=s=xíl-em=s=t'u7
                         D/C=NMLZ=do-MID=3POSS=EXCL
                             áti7
                                          ta=tracker=ha.
                             to+there.vis DET=tracker=EXIS
```

They had the binoculars, and their story was the same, that they had done that to the *tracker*.

(78) gets-en-ás ta=ts'qáxa7-s=a, nílh=t'u7
get.tied.up-dir-3erg det=horse-3poss=exis cop=excl
s=... ats'x-en-ítas ka-cím'-a,
NMLZ= get.seen-dir-3pl.erg circ-disappear-circ
nílh=t'u7 s=tsicw=s kwan-cit-ítas
cop=excl nmlz=get.there=3poss take-ind-3pl.erg
ta=ts'qáxa7-s=a.
Det=horse-3poss=exis

He tied up his horse, and when they saw him go out of sight, they went and took his horse.

(79) cw7ít=ti7 kwa szayten-mín-itas, ken-tákem many=that.vis det hips doings-rlt-3pl.erg around-all lhus kwán-itas i=ts'qáx7=a...

COMP+IPFV+3SBJV take+DIR-3pl.erg pl.det=horse=exis
They had a lot of adventures, they took horses from all over the place...

```
(80)
        t'u7... cw7áoy=t'u7 kw=s=ká<7>ew'
                              D/C=NMLZ=far<INCH>
        but
                NEG=EXCL
                      ts'íla=t'u7=ku7...
                                        elh
            and.then like=EXCL=QUOT
                                        and.then
                al•l•ek'w-s-tánemwit<sup>6</sup>
                                               nílh=ťu7
                lie.in.wait*FRED*-CAUS-3PL.PASS COP=EXCL
                                        lhwal-en-ítas
                    NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.abandoned-DIR-3PL.ERG
                         i=ts'qáx7=a,
                                            nílh=ťu7
                         PL.DET=horse=EXIS COP=EXCL
                                                n-mátq=wit
                             NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS LOC-walk=3PL
                                 ken=ki=ql-ólm'ecw=a.
                                 around=PL.DET=bad-land=EXIS
```

But... they didn't go far, and when it looked like there were people lying in wait for them, then they abandoned the horses and went on foot through the badlands.

```
tsút=wit wi=snílh,
                                               "wá7=t'u7=iz'
(81)
        wá7=ku7
                                                                      [12:00]
        IPFV=QUOT say=3PL plus=3SG.INDEP IPFV=EXCL=those.VIS
            s-paqw-s-túmulh-as
                                           i=wa7
            STAT-watch-CAUS-IPL.OBJ-3ERG
                                           PL.DET=IPFV
                n-ka•k•el'-s-túmulh-as,
                                                     i=wa7
                LOC-follow CRED -CAUS-IPL.OBJ-3ERG PL.DET=IPFV
                    cwil'-en-túmulh-as,
                                              wá7=ťu7
                    look.for-dir-ipl.obj-3erg
                                              IPFV=EXCL
                         s-pá::qw-s-tanemwit."
                         STAT-watch-CAUS-3PL.PASS
```

They themselves said, "They were watching us, the ones who were following us, the ones who were searching for us, and we just kept watching them."

⁶We are unsure why the schwa in the stem *állek'w* is phonetically retracted here.

7.3.5 I píkena múta7 ú7s7a: Bacon and Eggs

Sam Mitchell: [12:03] (82) tí7=malh ku=*time* - sqwe•qw•l'-en-ts-ás that.vis=adhort det=time tell•CRED•-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG ta=pá•p•l7=a sáma7, wá7=lhkan DET=one CRED = EXIS white.person IPFV=ISG.SBJ [ne]k'w-lh-7álkst nilh s=plan=s fellow-conn-work cop nmlz=already=3poss avlh wa7 cín'=tu7 t7u then IPFV long.time=REM that.VIS s=pták=s=ti7 NMLZ=pass.by=3POSS=that.VIS

At that *time* – a white person told me this part – I was working with him then, but it's a long time since he passed away –

- (83) wa7 tsut, "n-k'wan-cn-án'=lhkan kw=s-Paul
 IPFV say LOC-look-foot-DIR=ISG.SBJ DET=NMLZ-Paul

 Spintlum wi=s-Moses Paul."

 Spintlum plus=NMLZ-Moses Paul

 He said, "I was one of the ones tracking Paul Spintlum and Moses Paul."
- (84) wa7 tsut, "s7ents ta=wa7 n-kél7-aqs-ten, ts'íla

 IPFV say ISG.INDEP DET=IPFV LOC-before-point-INS like

 kwa pá•p•la7 ku=pós."

 D/C+IPFV one•CRED• DET=boss

 He said, "I was the leader, kind of one of the bosses."
- (85) wa7 tsut, "n-t'a•t'•q'm'ekst=kálh=k'a."

 IPFV say LOC-six•CRED•=IPL.SBJ=EPIS

 He said, "There must have been six of us."

```
"kwis, nílh=t'u7
(86)
         wá7=malh
                          tsut,
         IPFV=ADHORT
                                fall
                                        COP=EXCL
                          say
             s=ka-7ats'x-cen-s-túm-a,
             NMLZ=CIRC-get.seen-foot-CAUS-IPL.ERG-CIRC
                 es-hál'a-cen
                 STAT-show-foot
                      i=s-t'ák-men-s=a
                      PL.DET=NMLZ-go.along-INS-3POSS=EXIS
                          i=ts'qáx7=a
                                               láti7
                                                            l=ta..."
                          PL.DET=horse=EXIS at+there.VIS at=DET=
                                        ku=tmícw, lots of jackpine.
                              that.vis DET=land lots of jackpine
        And then he said, "It was raining, so we could see the tracks of the
        horses there on the..." that country, lots of jackpine.
(87)
         "tsícw=kalh,"
                           tsut, "áta7,
                                              wa7 es-{s}p'ám,
                                 to+there.vis be
         get.there=IPL.SBJ say
                                                    STAT-fire.gets.made
             ka-gan'im-ens-tumulítas-[a]=wi7,"
             CIRC-hear-DIR-IPL.OBI+3PL.ERG-CIRC=EMPH
                        "nílh=k'a=t'u7
                        COP=EPIS=EXCL
                 say
                     s=ka-q'ay-lec=í-[ha]."
                     NMLZ=CIRC-jump-AUT=3PL.POSS-CIRC
        "When we got there," he said, "a fire had been made, but they heard
        us and got away."
         "tsícw=k'a
(88)
                        láta7
                                     wa7 láti7
                                                         [ta]=sp'áms=a
                                           at+there.vis DET=fire=EXIS
         get.there=EPIS at+there.VIS be
                                       ta=n-k'íx-men=a
                   es-tséq
```

(88) "tsícw=k'a láta7 wa7 láti7 [ta]=sp'áms=a
get.there=EPIS at+there.vIS be at+there.vIS DET=fire=EXIS
wa7 es-tséq ta=n-k'íx-men=a
IPFV STAT-get.put.down DET=LOC-fry-INS=EXIS
n-lham' i=píken=a múta7
LOC-get.put.into PL.DET=bacon=EXIS and
ú7s7=a."
egg=EXIS

"There was just the campfire left there with a frying pan on it, and bacon and eggs in it."

[13:00] (89) "t'u7 s=nilh=s," tsut, "s=kal-en-tánemwit,
but NMLZ=COP=3POSS say NMLZ=follow-DIR-3PL.PASS

wá7=t'u7 es-hál'a-cen i=ts'qáx7=a

IPFV=EXCL STAT-show-foot PL.DET=horse

l=ta=jackpine=a."
at=DET=jackpine=EXIS

"But," he said, "we followed them, because the horse's tracks were showing in the jackpine."

- (90) "nilh," tsut, "s=kal-en-tánemwit. s7ents," tsut,
 COP say NMLZ=follow-DIR-3PL.PASS ISG.INDEP say

 "ta=wa7 kéla7."

 DET=IPFV before

 "So we followed them. I was in front."
- (91) "ká<7>ew'," wa7 tsut, "kw=s=... t'ák=kalh far<INCH> IPFV say D/C=NMLZ= continue=IPL.POSS nexw•núxw, nilh s=tsícw=kalh,"

 TRED•animal.running COP NMLZ=get.there=IPL.POSS tsut, "ta=sqwé•qw•em'=[a] láti7, ts'íla say DET=mountain•CRED•=EXIS at+there.VIS like ku=burnt bill."

 DET=burnt hill

He said, "We galloped a bit further, and then we reached a hill, kind of a burnt hill."

(92) wa7 tsut, "cw7ít=malh láti7 i..."

IPFV say many=ADHORT at+there.VIS PL.DET=

well, 'sapling' in English, nstwiw wá7=hem'

well sapling in English thick.brush IPFV=ANTI

wi=snímulh wa7 s-nah-n-ém,

plus=IPL.INDEP IPFV NMLZ-name-DIR-IPL.ERG

lhecw•lhúcw, thick, cw7it láti7.

TRED•bush thick many at+there.VIS

He said, "There were a lot of..." well, 'saplings' in English, but our name for them is nstwiw, bushes, thick, there were lots there.

[14:00]

```
(93) "wa7 láti7 i=ts'qáx7=a," wa7
be at+there.vis pl.det=horse=exis ipfv
tsut, "plán=t'u7 wa7 tsexw•tsíxw•exw
say already=excl ipfv tred•sweat•fred
i=sqemp-í=ha."
pl.det=sweat-3pl.poss=exis
```

"Their horses were there," he said, "and their sweat was streaming down."

(94) wa7 tsut, "ka-7ats'x-[s]=kan-a=málh=t'u7

IPFV say CIRC-get.seen-CAUS=ISG.SBJ-CIRC=ADHORT=EXCL

i=ts'qáx7=a, ka-7áts'x-[s]=kan-a

PL.DET=horse=EXIS CIRC-get.seen-CAUS=ISG.SBJ-CIRC

e=t7ú-{w}na ta=sqwé•qw•em'=a,

to=that.VIS-precisely DET=mountain•CRED•EXIS

lhecw•lhúcw=ti7."

TRED•bush=that.VIS

He said, "I could see the horses, and I could see the hill, covered in dense brush."

(95) "nílh=t'u7," tsut, "n=s=qwets-[ts]-ám',"

COP=EXCL say ISG.POSS=NMLZ=move-mouth-MID

wa7 tsut, "ts'íla=t'u7 ku=n-mezáts=a

IPFV say like=EXCL INVIS.DET=ISG.POSS-body=EXIS

ku=qwéts-p,"

D/C=move-INCH

"Then my mouth started twitching, it was like my body was shaking."

```
"nílh=t'u7,"
(96)
                       tsut,
         COP=EXCL
                       say
             "n=s=qwets-[ts]-ám',
                                                nílh=ťu7
             ISG.POSS=NMLZ=move-mouth-MID COP=EXCL
                 n=s=p'elk'-ús-en-an,<sup>7</sup>
                 ISG.POSS=NMLZ=get.turned.around-face-DIR-ISG.ERG
                     n-p'an't-ús-en-an,
                     LOC-return-face-DIR-ISG.ERG
                          p'elk'-ús-en=lhkan
                         get.turned.around-face-DIR=ISG.SBJ
                              n-ts'qáx7=a,"
                              ISG.POSS-horse=EXIS
        He said, "My mouth was twitching, so I turned around and went
        back, I turned my horse around."
         "nílh=t'u7,"
                             "s=tsún-an
(97)
                      tsut,
         COP=EXCL
                      say
                             NMLZ=say+DIR-ISG.ERG
             [i]=n-k'sáytken=a,
                                            "áti7=t'u7
             PL.DET=ISG.POSS-relative=EXIS to+there.VIS=EXCL
                 lh=tsem'p=ás
                                           kwenswá
                 COMP=get.finished=3SBJV D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
                               kál-en
                                          kw=s-Spintlum.""
                     going.to follow-dir det=nmlz-Spintlum
        "Then I told my buddies, "This is where I'm going to stop chasing
        Spintlum.""
(98)
         ""lh=[s]-xát'-lap=as
                                            kwáľap
         COMP=NMLZ-want-2PL.POSS=3SBJV D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2PL.POSS
                       wi=snuláp,
                                        nílh=ťu7
            continue plus=2PL.INDEP COP=EXCL
                                            wa7 láti7
                 s=t'ák=lap,
                 NMLZ=continue=2PL.POSS be at+there.VIS
                     i=ts'qax7-í=ha.""
                     PL.DET=horse-3PL.POSS=EXIS
        ""If you guys want to carry on, carry on then, there are their horses.""
```

⁷Note the doubling of possessive and ergative subjects in *nsp'elk'úsenan*.

(99) "áoy=t'u7 káti7 kwas

NEG=EXCL around+there.vIs D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS

nas-min'-ítas i=ts'qax7-í=ha
go-RLT-3PL.ERG PL.DET=horse-3PL.POSS=EXIS
kw=s=kwan-cit-ítas."
D/C=NMLZ=take-IND-3PL.ERG

"Nobody went to get their horses off them."

(100)tsut, "t'u7 stexw=hém'=t'u7 láku7 straight=ANTI=EXCL IPFV say but at+there.INVIS ta=n-s-ptínus-em=a kw=s=... DET=ISG.POSS-NMLZ-think-MID=EXIS D/C=NMLZ= lh=tsem'p=ás at+there.vis сомр=get.finished=3sвJv kwenswá cuz' kál-en." D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV going.to follow-DIR He said, "But I had a real strong feeling, that that's where I was going to stop chasing him."

(101)nílh=ťu7 s=láti7=s úxwal', nílh=ťu7 COP=EXCL NMLZ=at+there.VIS=3POSS go.home COP=EXCL s=p'an't=[s],p'an't lhláti7 NMLZ=return=3POSS return from+there.VIS 3SG.INDEP n-kél7-aqs-ten, wa7 COP that.VIS IPFV LOC-before-point-INS that.VIS sqwe•qw•el'-en-ts-ás, p'an't DET=IPFV tell*CRED*-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG return lhláti7. from+there.vis

So then the leader, the one who told me this story, he went home, he went back.

(102) wa7 tsut, "txw-ílc=kan t'u tsícw=kan
IPFV say straight-AUT=ISG.SBJ until get.there=ISG.SBJ
ta=táown=a, nilh..."
DET=town=EXIS COP

He said, "I went straight until I got to town, and then..."

- (103) Baptiste Ritchie:
 ka-qwets-anwás-a.
 CIRC-move-inside-CIRC
 He was shaking inside.
- (104) Sam Mitchell:

 iy. wa7 tsut, "tsícw=kan ta=táown=a."

 yes IPFV say get.there=ISG.SBJ DET=town=EXIS

 Yeah. He said, "I got to town."
- [15:00] (105) nílh=t'u7 s=tsicw=s tsun ta=...

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.there=3POSS say+DIR DET=

 i=wa7 s-kwep•kúkwpi7, tsún-as=ku7,

 PL.DET=IPFV NMLZ-TRED•chief say+DIR-3ERG=QUOT

 "ao múta7."

 NEG again

Then he went to tell the... the ones in charge, he told them, "No more."

(106) sqwál'-en-as [t]=s-xíl-em-s=a,
report-dir-3erg det=nmlz-do-mid-3poss=exis
kan=as=kú7=t'[u7]... "lhláti7
whether=3sbJv=quot=excl from+there.vis
lh=t'ál=an."8
COMP=stop=Isg.sbJv

He reported what had happened to him, and why he... "That's where I stopped."

 $^{^8}$ The second clause of this stanza is problematic, since quotative ku7 is not semantically compatible with the 1st person subject. As a solution, we have parsed the last two words as direct speech.

```
(107)
         "stexw=kán=t'u7
                                alán
                                          ts'íla kwes
         straight=ISG.SBJ=EXCL feel+DIR like
                                               D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
             plán=ťu7
                           ku=stám'
                                       cuz'
                                                 kén'en'
             already=EXCL DET=what going.to get.bumped•FRED
                 l=ta=n-mezáts=a,"
                                               wa7 tsut, "I
                 at=DET=ISG.POSS-body=EXIS IPFV say
                                                               sure
                     had a feeling," ti7
                                                ta=sám7=a
                     had a feeling
                                       that.vis DET=white.person=EXIS
                          wa7 sqwé•qw•el'.
                          IPFV tell*CRED*
        "I sensed that something was starting to thump in my body," he said,
        "I sure had a feeling," that white guy who was telling the story.
(108)
         "nílh=t'u7," tsut,
                            "n=s=p'an't,
                                                     nílh=ťu7
                            ISG.POSS=NMLZ=return COP=EXCL
         COP=EXCL
                      say
             n=s=tsukw."
             ISG.POSS=NMLZ=finish
        "So I went back, and I quit."
(109)
         nilh
               ti7
                         sqwé•qw•el'-s
                                           láti7,
               that.vis tell•creD•-3POSS
                                           at+there.vis
             sqwe•qw•el'-en-ts-ás=ti7
             tell • CRED • - DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG=that.VIS
                 ta=pá•p•l7=a
                                         sáma7,
                 DET=one • CRED • = EXIS
                                        white.person
                     [s]=plan=s
                                            avlh wa7 cin'.
                     NMLZ=already=3POSS then be
                                                       long.time
        That's his story, that one white guy who passed away long time ago.
```

7.3.6 K'úl'emwit ku tsitcwíha lku sk'wals láku7 Leon's Creek: The Hideout at Leon's Creek

[15:35] (110) Sam Mitchell:

tsá::ma=malh wa7 kal-en-ítas=t'u7,

try.in.vain=Adhort ipfv follow-dir-3pl.erg=excl

cw7áoy=t'u7 káti7

NEG=EXCL around+there.vis

kw=s=ka-lha7-min-ítas-a

d/C=NMLZ=CIRC-close.to-RLT-3pl.erg-CIRC

kwás=ka

d/C+NMLZ+ipfv+3poss=irr

ats'x-en-ítas=k'a.

enough to catch sight of them.

get.seen-dir-3pl.erg=epis
They tried really hard to chase them down, but they couldn't get close

(111) p'a7[cw]... tqílh=k'a... p'a7cw lhel=ku=pála7 t'ánam'ten, more.than almost=epis more.than from=det=one month sxek ku=sáq'ulh, nílh=t'u7 s=tsukw=s, maybe det=half cop=excl nmlz=finish=3poss nílh=t'u7 s=tsúkw=i [i]=wa7 cop=excl nmlz=finish=3pl.poss pl.det=ipfv n-k'wen-cen-álhts'a7.

It was almost... more than a month, maybe a month and a half later when the trackers quit.

[16:00] (112) nílh=t'u7 s=... lheqp-álqw-en-as

COP=EXCL NMLZ= stuck-tree-DIR-3ERG

ta=kýpmen=a ku=4000 dollars reward,

DET=government=EXIS DET=4000 dollars reward

swát=as ku=kwan•en-s-tanemwítas.

who=3SBJV DET=take•FRED-CAUS-3PL.OBJ+NTS

Then the government put up a notice for 4000 dollars reward for anyone who could catch them.

```
s=7áylh=s=t'u7
(113)
        nílh=ťu7
        COP=EXCL NMLZ=then=3POSS=EXCL
            wá7=wit=k'a káti7
                                          ken-tákem,
            be=3PL=EPIS around+there.VIS around-all
                wá7=ťu7
                           káti7
                                             kwa
                IPFV=EXCL around+there.VIS DET+IPFV
                    s-kwic-min'-tanemwitas
                                               ken-tákem
                    STAT-alert-RLT-3PL.OBJ+NTS around-all
                                          áts'x=wit.
                        COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.seen=3PL
```

They must have stayed all over the place, there were people watching out for them wherever they were seen.

- (114)ta=pál7=a láku7 száyten-i, DET=one=EXIS doings-3PL.POSS at+there.INVIS l=ta=wa7 Leon's Creek, láku7=ku7 at=DET=IPFV Leon's Creek around+there.INVIS=QUOT lh=mays-alts=wít=as, wa7 áku7 COMP=get.fixed-house=3PL=3SBJV be to+there.INVIS wá7=ti7 láku7 ku=tsítcw... PL.DET= be=that.VIS at+there.INVIS DET=house One thing they did over at Leon's Creek, where they fixed their
- (115) t'u7 (ta=...) ta=wa7 sqwe•qw•el'-en-ts-ás,
 but DET= DET=IPFV tell•CRED•-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG
 tsícw=ku7 áta7, tsícw-s-tum'
 get.there=QUOT to+there.VIS get.there-CAUS-3PASS
 áti7 ta=wa7... ta=pá•p•l7=a
 to+there.VIS DET=IPFV DET=one•CRED•=EXIS
 úcwalmicw.
 indigenous.person

hideout, there's a house over there...

Anyways, the person who told me this, he went there, he was brought there by this one Indian.

"lhecw (116)tsún-em=ku7, say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT COMP+IPFV+2SG.SBJV kens-7áts'x-en láta7 want.to-get.seen-DIR at+there.vis ta=tsitcw-í=ha, nílh=ťu7 DET=house-3PL.POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL NMLZ= nás-{ts}-tum'in." cúy'=lhkan going.to=ISG.SBJ go-CAUS-2SG.OBJ+ISG.ERG He was told, "If you want to see their house, I'll take you there." (117)"tsícw=kalh," "áta7," nilh tsut, to+there.vis cop that.vis get.there=IPL.SBJ say tsúwa7-s s-Willy Fletcher ta=... wá7=ti7 own-3POSS NMLZ-Willy Fletcher DET= IPFV=that.VIS máwal' lhkun... alive now "We got there," he said - that was Willy Fletcher's story, he's still alive today... [17:00] (118) "tsícw=kalh," tsut, "áta7, t'ák=kalh," get.there=IPL.SBJ say to+there.vis go.along=IPL.SBJ "áta7 t'u... áts'x-en=lhkan tsut, to+there.vis until get.seen-DIR=ISG.SBJ say

He said, "We got there, we went along until I saw a sweathouse at a creek."

DET=LOC-sweat.house-INS=EXIS at=that.VIS

l=t7u

(119) "nilh," tsut, "s=xát'em=lhkalh."

COP say NMLZ=climb.hill=IPL.POSS

"Then we went uphill."

ta=n-q'élza7-ten=a

stswáw'cw=a, creek=EXIS

```
"ao,"
                      "kwenswá
(120)
               tsut,
                      D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
         NEG
               say
            áts'x-en
                         káti7
                                            ku=stám',
            get.seen-DIR around+there.vis DET=what until
                 tsícw=ťu7,"
                                 tsut.
                                      "áta7
                 get.there=EXCL say
                                       to+there.vis DET=IPFV
                     zewat-en-táli,
                                        n-lig'w-ts-án'-as
                     be.known-dir-nts Loc-open-mouth-dir-3erg
                         t=sk'ém'-ts-s=a,
                         DET=edge-mouth-3POSS=EXIS and.then
                             ka-7áts'x-s=kan-a
                                                               aylh
                             CIRC-get.seen-CAUS=ISG.SBJ-CIRC then
                                                 [l=ta]=s7úlhcw=a."
                                  to+there.INVIS at=DET=inside=EXIS
```

He said, "I couldn't see anything at all, until the person who knew about it went and opened the door, and then I could see inside."

He said, "The wall on the outside was chinked with," what do you call it..., "the walls were chinked with birch."

(122) "nílh=t'u7 s=ts'íla=s ku=pa7sm-án-em=k'a,
COP=EXCL NMLZ=like=3POSS D/C=wet.moss-DIR-3PASS=EPIS
pá7sem=k'a i..." wéna7,
wet.moss=EPIS PL.DET= whatchamacallit
"l=ta=x.wís=a."
at=DET=top=EXIS

"And then it was like it was covered with moss, the stuff on top was moss."

(123) wa7 tsut, "wa79 tsícw=kacw láti7 tálh-lec,
IPFV say IPFV get.there=2sg.sbj at+there.vis stand-AUT
elh ao kwásu áts'x-en
and.then neg d/c+nmlz+iPFV+2sg.poss get.seen-dir
ku=tsítcw..."
det element det eleme

He said, "You could be standing there, and not see any house..."

(124) "...t'u7 úlhcw=kacw=hem' aylh áku7, elh
but enter=2sg.sbj=anti then to+there.invis and.then
 wá7=lhkacw áts'x-en wa7 es=xétq•xteq
 ipfv=2sg.sbj get.seen-dir ipfv have=tred•hole
 ken=tsúsa záq'il=wit
 around=d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss+exis peek=3pl
 ken=t7ú x7ílh=a."
 around=that.vis other.side=exis

"...but when you got inside, then you could see that there were holes which they could peek through to the other side."

(125) "ke•káw'=ti7 tsúsa
IRED•far=that.VIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
s-hál'a=ti7 lhláti7 ku=tmícw,
STAT-show=that.VIS from+there.VIS DET=land
ke•káw' tswésa s-hál'a
IRED•far D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS STAT-show
ken=t7ú x7ílh=a."
around=that.VIS other.side=EXIS

"The land was visible for a long distance from there, you could see far across the other side of the river."

⁹The auxiliary *wa7* should attract the subject clitic =*kacw* here, but unexpectedly does not.

(126)"aoz ti7 ku=srep•ráp, ti7 láti7 [18:00] that.vis NEG that.VIS DET=TRED*tree at+there.vis (ts)..."10 well, that's the ta=n-7alím=a DET=LOC-inside.of.cave=EXIS well, that's the Fraser River, sat'-átqwa7. Fraser River Fraser.River-water "There weren't any trees there. The inside of the cave..." well, that's the Fraser River, sat'átgwa7.

(127)"ken-tákem lhas [s]-hál'a, ke•káw', around-all COMP+IPFV+3SBJV STAT-show IRED•far two or three miles=k'a kwas two or three miles=EPIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS ki=c.wálh=a STAT-show COLL.DET=road=EXIS around=that.VIS tsúkw=ťu7 káta7 x7ílh=a, other.side=EXIS finish=EXCL around+there.VIS t'ak ta=trail=a."

"Everywhere was visible for a long way, the roads on the other side showed for *two or three miles* maybe, the *trail* only goes on the other side."

COMP+IPFV+3SBJV go.along DET=trail=EXIS

- (128) Baptiste Ritchie:

 x7ílh-ts=ti7 ta=cácl'ep=a!
 other.side-3POSS=that.VIS DET=Fountain=EXIS
 On the other side from Fountain!
- (129) Sam Mitchell:

 ao! x7ilh ta=Leon's Creek=a tí7=a. yeah.

 NEG other.side DET=Leon's Creek=EXIS that.VIS=A yeah.

 No! It was on the other side from Leon's Creek. Yeah.

¹⁰Our transcription of ta n7alima (ts) is tentative.

nílh=ťu7 nilh (130)s=... wá7=wit lhláti7, from+there.vis cop COP=EXCL NMLZ= be=3PL s=cw7ao=[s]kwas NMLZ=NEG=3POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS l=ts7a, wá7=ťu7 es-lhegw=wít STAT-get.on.horse=3PL at=this.VIS IPFV=EXCL n-mátq=wit, ts7a ku=tmícw. LOC-walk=3PL this.VIS DET=land

So then they just stayed there, and they didn't ride horseback, they just went on foot in that terrain.

7.3.7 Smúlhats ta syáxiha i wa7 cwelcúlel: The Outlaws Dressed as Women

[18:39] (131) Sam Mitchell:

n-ts7ás=wit lhláti7, tsícw=wit áku7

LOC-come=3PL from+there.vis get.there=3PL to.there.invis

ta=... tsúkw=t'u7 lh=sít.st=as mátq=wit,

DET= finish=EXCL COMP=night=3sBJV travel=3PL

ao kwas mátq=wit

NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS travel=3PL

lhas sq'it.

COMP+IPFV+3SBJV day

They came down from there, they got to... they only travelled at night, they didn't travel during the day.

(132) tsícw=wit áti7 ta=wa7 tsún-em wa7 get.there=3PL to+there.vis DET=IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV

Eleven Mile Creek.

Eleven Mile Creek

They got to what we call *Eleven Mile Creek*.

```
wa7 láti7
                           ta=t'láz'=a,
(133)
                                             wa7
                                                   láti7
                                                                       [19:00]
        be
              at+there.vis DET=canoe=EXIS IPFV at+there.vis
            es=t'láz'
                         i=7ucwalmícw=a
            have=canoe PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS
                                                       ts'áw'-cal=wit
                (lhas...)
                COMP+IPFV+3SBJV COMP+IPFV+3SBJV wash-ACT=3PL
                                  x7ílh=a,
                                                  nilh ti7
                     to+there.vis other.side=EXIS COP that.vis
                                             closer to Fountain.
                         e=ts7á-wna
                         to=this.vis-precisely closer to Fountain
```

There was a canoe that the people used when they panned for gold on the other side of the river, this was *closer to Fountain*.

(134) áy[lh]=t'[u7] [s]-paqw-ens-twítas ta=t'láz'=a,
then=excl stat-watch-dir-3pl.erg det=canoe=exis
n-q'wet'•q'ut'-us-n-ítas, wa7 láti7
LOC-tred•tuck-face-dir-3pl.erg ipfv at+there.vis
i7z'-úl'wat, nílh=t'u7 s=t'áq'=i
enough-stuff cop=excl nmlz=cross.over=3pl.poss
ta=n-sat'-átqw7=a.

Det=loc-fraser.River-water=exis

As soon as they saw the canoe, they caulked it up, and when it was in good enough shape, they crossed over the Fraser River.

```
(135) lha7-qs=wít áta7 nílh=ku7=t'u7
close.to-point=3PL to+there.vis cop=quot=excl
s=... nilh ti7 tsúw7-i sqwé•qw•el'...
NMLZ= COP that.vis own-3PL.poss tell•CRED•
nílh=t'u7 (s=...) s=tsún-as=ku7
COP=EXCL NMLZ= NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG=QUOT
t=snúk'wa7-s=a:
DET=friend-3POSS=EXIS
```

When they got to the other side, then – this was their own story – one of them said to his friend:

```
"lh...
(136)
                  gets-an7-an-ém=as
         COMP= get.tied.up-ear-DIR-IPL.ERG=3SBJV
                         ta=t'láz'=a,
             l=ts7a
             at=this.vis DET=canoe=EXIS going.to
                                   [i]=n-k'sáytken=[a]
                 lúm-en-em
                 blame-DIR-3PASS PL.DET=ISG.POSS-relative=EXIS
                     [kw=s]=ka-núk'wa7=lhkálh-a
                     D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-help=IPL.SBJ-CIRC
                          (kwas...)
                          D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                              kwas
                              D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                                   ťáq'=kalh."
                                   cross.over=IPL.SBJ
        "If we moor the canoe here, then our relatives will get the blame for
        helping us get across."
(137)
         "klh-aka7-min-em=ás=malh
         get.taken.off-hand-RLT-IPL.ERG=3SBJV=ADHORT
             l=ta=t'láz'=a,
                                  kélh-en
                                                   ta=lóp=a,
             at=DET=canoe=EXIS get.taken.off-DIR DET=rope=EXIS
                           kelh-en-ém
                                                    ta=lóp=a."
                 going.to get.taken.off-DIR-IPL.ERG DET=rope=EXIS
        "Let's let go of the canoe, take the rope off, we'll release the rope."
(138)
         nílh=ťu7
                     s=cik-in'-ítas
                                                    ta=t'láz'=a
         COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.pushed-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=canoe=EXIS
             nílh=ť'u7=ti7
                                  s=weq'w=s
             COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ=drift.downstream=3POSS
                 ta=t'láz'=a.
                 DET=canoe=EXIS
        Then they pushed the canoe out so it drifted away.
```

```
(139)
        wa7 káti7
                                wa7 es=tsúwa7 ta=t'láz'=a,
        IPFV around+there.vis be
                                     have=own DET=canoe=EXIS
            plán=tu7
                         na=t'láz'-i=ha,
                                                        20
            already=REM ABS.DET=canoe-3PL.POSS=EXIS NEG
                                  [kw]=s=tsún-itas<sup>11</sup>
                around+there.vis D/C=NMLZ=say+DIR-3PL.ERG
                    kan-em=ás=k'a=tu7,
                                                   k'ámalh
                    whether-MID=3SBJV=EPIS=REM however
                        nilh=hém'=ti7
                                           aylh sqwe•qw•el'-í.
                        COP=ANTI=that.VIS then tell*CRED*-3PL.POSS
```

When the people whom the canoe belonged to came around, their canoe had disappeared, but they didn't say what had happened to it; that's their [the outlaws'] story, anyways.

- (140)nilh s=t'ák=i, tsícw=wit [20:00] COP NMLZ=continue=3PL.POSS get.there=3PL áta7=k'a pála7 wa7 es=tsítcw to+there.vis=EPIS one IPFV have=house that's Bridge River Reserve. úcwalmicw. indigenous.person that's Bridge River Reserve So then they continued on, and they must've got to a place where Indians had houses, that's the Bridge River Reserve.
- (141) wa7 t'ák=wit áta7, gap, wa7

 IPFV go.along=3PL to+there.VIS evening be

 láti7 [i]=s-q'wíts'-em=a,

 at+there.VIS PL.DET=NMLZ-clothes.get.washed-MID=EXIS

 s-lhép'•lhep'.

 STAT-TRED•get.hung.up

They were going along in the evening, and there was washing hanging on a line.

 $^{^{11}} What is transcribed as \textit{sts\'unitas} is unclear from the recording. Alternatively, it may be \textit{szew\'atenas}.$

(142) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsún-as
COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG
ta=snúk'wa7-s=a, "cuy l=ts7a,
DET=friend-3POSS=EXIS go.on at=this.vIs
cúz'=lhkalh kwam ku=st'ánwen."
going.to=IPL.SBJ get DET=skirt
So then one of them said to his buddy, "Come here, let's grab some skirts."

- (143) pináni7 ku=time wa7 zec•záct i=wa7 at.that.time DET=time IPFV TRED•long PL.DET=IPFV st'ánwen-s i=smelh•múlhats=a.
 skirt-3POSS PL.DET=TRED•woman=EXIS
 At that time women's skirts were long.
- (144)"cuy kwam kwa... kwam ku=7án'was, go.on get DET+IPFV get DET=two [i]=cúz'=a qwey-en-ém, PL.DET=going.to=EXIS get.used-DIR-IPL.ERG cúz'=lhkalh ťag' l=t7u going.to=IPL.SBJ cross.over at=that.VIS l=ta=ntqwíxw=a, at=DET=bridge=EXIS tomorrow lh=kanmás=as." COMP=when=3SBJV

"Go grab a couple we can use when we cross the bridge, tomorrow sometime."

(145) nilh s=kwán-itas láti7 án'was

COP NMLZ=take+DIR-3PL.ERG at+there.VIS two

i=st'ánwen=a, nilh s=t'ák=i.

PL.DET=skirt=EXIS COP NMLZ=go.along=3PL.POSS

So they took two skirts, and on they went.

(146) tsícw=wit áta7 s-cá7-s=a ta=wa7
get.there=3PL to+there.vis nmlz-high-3Poss=exis det=ipfv

Lillooet-s-tum' táowen, town of Lillooet, nilh
Lillooet-CAUS-IPL.ERG town town of Lillooet cop
káku7 s=wá7=i.
around+there.invis nmlz=be=3Pl.poss

They got to a place up above what we call *Lillooet*, *town of Lillooet*, and then hung out there.

i=tsánmen=a (147)láni7 ku=time, at+there.ABS DET=time PL.DET=chinese.person=EXIS káti7 e{s}=stów wa7 wa7 around+there.vis ipfv have=store ipfv n-líg'w-ts=wit t'u ten o'clock LOC-open-mouth=3PL until ten o'clock [l=ta]=sit.st=a.at=DET=night=EXIS

At that *time*, the Chinese people who had stores kept them open till *ten o'clock* at night.

- (148) gap áta7, nilh {s}=súxwast=i evening to+there.vis cop nmlz=go.downhill=3pl.poss káku7.
 around+there.invis
 - It was evening, so they went down there.
- (149)kwas sts'ak'w pináni7, [21:00] ao NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS lights at.that.time tsetsúkwa=ťu7 lamp=a wa7 sts'ak'w-s, lamp=EXIS IPFV lights-3POSS PL.DET= only=EXCL wa7 sts'ák'w-s i=wa7*lamp-7*úl=a lamp-real=exis ipfv lights-3poss pl.det=ipfv

e{s}=<u>s</u>tów. have=store

There wasn't any electricity then, they just used *lamps* for lighting, 'real *lamps*' (kerosene lamps) were used to light the stores.

- (150) nilh wa7 s-Sun Keys ta=tsánmen=a

 COP IPFV NMLZ-Sun Keys DET=chinese.person=EXIS

 láti7 wa7 e{s}=stów, stvotow=a.

 at+there.vis IPFV have=store storeocredo=EXIS

 That was Sun Keys, the chinaman who had a store there, a little store.
- (151) tsícw=wit=ku7 áku7 taw-ts-ám'=wit,
 get.there=3PL=QUOT to+there.INVIS buy-mouth-MID=3PL
 nílh=t'u7 s=... lagw-ens-twítas nilh
 COP=EXCL NMLZ= make.room-DIR-3PL.ERG COP
 s=ts7ás=i... lhláti7.
 NMLZ=come=3PL.POSS from+there.VIS

They went to buy groceries, then they made room for them in their packs and kept going.

- (152) t'íq-almen=wit áti7 [e=ta]=ntqwíxw=a. arrive-nearly=3PL to+there.VIS to=DET=bridge=EXIS They got close to the bridge.
- (153)zewat-en-ítas kwas wa7 IPFV be.known-DIR-3PL.ERG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be (wa7 s-...) wa7 s-7ats'x-s-táli at+there.vis ipfv stat- ipfv stat-get.seen-caus-nts ta=ntqwíxw=a, nilh=s láti7 DET=bridge=EXIS COP=3POSS at+there.VIS s=lhecw=s i=st'ánwen=a, NMLZ=put.on=3POSS PL.DET=skirt=EXIS es-zácen=wit, nilh lhláta7 STAT-load=3PL COP from+there.VIS s=t'ák=i NMLZ=go.along=3PL.POSS i=ka-kwás=as-a. when.PAST=CIRC-dusk=3SBJV-CIRC

They knew that there were people watching the bridge, so they put on the skirts, packed their loads on their backs, and then headed off just as it was getting dark. (154) t'ák=wit=ku7 áta7, wá7=ti7
go.along=3PL=QUOT to+there.VIS IPFV=that.VIS
s-lhik-s-twítas ta=pá•p•l7=a,
STAT-clear-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET=one•CRED•=EXIS
wá7=tu7=ti7 game warden, nilh wa7
IPFV=REM=that.VIS game warden COP IPFV
s-Joe Russell.
NMLZ-Joe Russell

They kept going, and they knew one of the guards, it was *Joe Russell*, who had been a *game warden*.

- (155) tákem i=7ucwalmícw=a wa7
 all pl.det=indigenous.person=exis ipfv
 zwát-en-as, nílh=ti7 láti7 wa7
 be.known-dir-3erg cop=that.vis at+there.vis ipfv
 wa7 l=ta=ntqwíxw=a, n-7án'was=wit.
 be at=det=bridge=exis loc-two=3pl
 - He knew all the Indians, he was one of the two guards on the bridge.
- (156) t'ák=wit=ku7 áti7, ats'x-en-ítas,
 go.along=3PL=QUOT to+there.VIS get.seen-DIR-3PL.ERG

 wá7=wit láti7 s-teq•tq-ín'ak, nilh
 IPFV=3PL at+there.VIS STAT-TRED•hold-weapon COP
 láta7 s=t'ák=i.
 at+there.VIS NMLZ=continue=3PL.POSS

They kept going, and saw that the guards were armed, then they kept on going.

(157) pták=wit lhláti7, nílh=t'u7
pass.by=3PL from+there.vis COP=EXCL
s=kelh-n-ítas=tu7
NMLZ=get.taken.off-DIR-3PL.ERG=REM
[ne]lh=st'anwen-í=ha.
PL.ABS.DET=skirt-3PL.POSS=EXIS
When they got past, they took off their skirts.

nilh s=t'íq=wit [22:00] (158) e=ts7á-wna ta=wa7 COP NMLZ=arrive=3PL to=this.VIS-precisely DET=IPFV nílh=ni7 wa7 s-Mosquito Jim, s.... NMLZ= COP=that.ABS IPFV NMLZ-Mosquito Jim nílh=ti7 nek'w-snúk'w7-i COP=that.VIS fellow-relative-3PL.POSS at+there.VIS psil' lh=wá7=wit=as, EPIS COMP=be=3PL=3SBJV daybreak again nílh=hem' múta7 from+there.vis cop=anti again s=qwatsáts=i=tu7. NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS=REM

They got to *Mosquito Jim*'s, he was their relative, and must have stayed there before leaving again in the morning.

7.3.8 Wa7 kwánenwit i wa7 q'wemq'wmíw's: The Chase Ends

[22:10] (159) Sam Mitchell:

cw7it i=wa7 száyten-i ken-tákem,
many PL.DET=IPFV doings-3PL.POSS around-all
tsáma=t'u7 aylh nílh=t'u7 (s=...)
after.awhile=EXCL then COP=EXCL NMLZ=
s=t'íl=i ku=sex-elc-úlm'ecw=k'a. 12
NMLZ=still=3PL.POSS D/C=move-AUT-land=EPIS

They had lots of adventures, but after a while they must have stopped moving around from place to place.

(160) ts'ítem'=wit e=kw7ú-{w}na... Merritt=a. go.towards=3PL to=that.INVIS-precisely Merritt=EXIS They went over to Merritt.

¹² The status of the word sexelcúlm'ecw is unclear. The expected form is sixlecúlm'ecw, though here [i] has reduced to [e], and -lec has undergone metathesis to -elc, both unexpectedly.

(161) xil-em=wít=ku7=t'u7 múta7 láku7 Spences
do-MID=3PL=QUOT=EXCL again at+there.INVIS Spences

Bridge=a...
Bridge=EXIS

They did the same thing over at Spences Bridge...

(162)zewatet-s-twítas káti7 be.known•FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG around+there.vis ku=száyten-i, (pá•p•la7=ku7 DET=doings-3PL.POSS one CRED = QUOT ta=...) pá•p•la7=ku7 aylh DET= one CRED = QUOT then DET= lhel=wi=snílh ta=st'ánwen=a, from=plus=3sg.indep det=skirt=exis ta=7ícw7=a (elh...) elh and.then and.then DET=without=EXIS es={s}t'ánwen, t'áq'=ku7=t'u7 have=skirt cross.over=QUOT=EXCL s-(lhe)lhág'ut=wit. STAT-bend.over=3PL

They had figured out how to do it, this time one of them had a skirt on, and the other one was without a skirt, and they crossed stooped over.

```
(163)
         ts'íla=t'u7
                                                                       [23:00]
                    ku=plán
                                  wa7
                                         qelhmémen'
         like=EXCL
                    DET=already IPFV
                                        old
            lh=t'ák=at,
                                      n-ts'ila
                                                ta=...
            COMP=go.along=IPL.SBJV LOC-like DET=
                 ts'íla=t'u7=iz'
                                     kw=[s]=mam•ém•w'es=ts
                 like=EXCL=those.VIS D/C=NMLZ=couple*CRED*=3POSS
                     t[a]=t'ak-ten-í=ha.
```

It was like the way we old folks do when we're going along, they seemed like a couple as they went along.

DET=go.along-INS-3PL.POSS=EXIS

- (164) wa7 láti7 wa7 s-tálh-lec l=ta=ntqwíxw=a, be at+there.vis ipfv stat-stand-aut at=det=bridge=exis plan wa7 zewát=wit kw=s=plán=i already ipfv be.known=3PL d/C=nmlz=already=3PL.poss káku7 wa7 tsícw•ecw. around+there.invis ipfv get.there•fred Someone was standing watch on the bridge, since it was already known that they had gotten that far.
- (165) t'u7 wá7=ti7 ta=wa7 (s-...) s-7ats'x-s-táli
 but be=that.vis det=ipfv stat- stat-get.seen-caus-nts
 ta=ntqwíxw=a, (tsun) tsún-em=ku7:
 det=bridge=exis say+dir say+dir-3pass=quot
 But the watchman was there on the bridge, and told them:
- (166) "Here old man, here's a dollar, go and eat."
- (167) nilh s=t'ak=s kwán-as, nílh=t'u7=tu7
 COP NMLZ=go.along=3POSS take+DIR-3ERG COP=EXCL=REM
 s=t'ák=i.
 NMLZ=continue=3PL.POSS
 So they went and took the money and then they carried on.
- (168) tsícw•ecw=wit áku7, cw7it káku7 get.there•fred=3pl to+there.InvIs many around+there.InvIs i=nk'saytken-í=ha.

PL.DET=relative-3PL.POSS=EXIS

They made it over to where they had a lot of relatives.

```
(169) cw7it i=7ucwalmícw=a láti7,
many Pl.Det=indigenous.person=exis at+there.vis
lhel=ta=wa7 Spences Bridge t'u e=kw7ú
from=det=ipfv Spences Bridge until to=that.invis

Merritt=a, cw7it i=7ucwalmícw=a
Merritt=exis many Pl.det=indigenous.person=exis
láti7, s-lhig' ken-tákem.
at+there.vis stat-scatter around-all
There are a lot of Indians there, from Spences Bridge over to Merritt,
```

There are a lot of Indians there, from *Spences Bridge* over to *Merritt*, they're scattered all over.

(170) wá7=malh aylh ts7a ta=pá•p•l7=a kúkwpi7,
be=Adhort then this.vis det=one•cred•=exis chief
wa7 es=tmícw láta7, ts'ila=t'ú7=iz'
IPFV have=land at+there.vis like=excl=those.vis
ku=snek'w•núk'wa7-s=k'a.

DET=TRED•relative-3POSS=EPIS

Now there was this one chief who had land over there, they were kind of his relatives.

(171) táw-min'-as ta=tmícw-s=a, ka-qláw'-a, sell-rlt-3erg det=land-3poss=exis circ-money-circ wena7=t'ú7=ti7 sem7-úlm'ecw whatchamacallit=excl=that.vis white.person-land ku=tmícw, cw7ao ti7 kwas det=land neg that.vis d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss ucwalmicw-úlm'ecw... indigenous.person-land

He had sold his land and made some money, it was what do you call it, white man's land, not reserve land...

(172) ...wéna7=k'a=ti7 wa7 tsún-itas wa7 [24:00] whatchamacallit=epis=that.vis ipfv say+dir-3pl.erg ipfv perempti...
peremption ...what is it they call it, perempti...

- (173) Baptiste Ritchie: Preemption!
- (174) Sam Mitchell:

 Preemption-an-as=k'á=tu7=ti7. wa7 ti7

 preemption-dir-3erg=epis=rem=that.vis ipfv that.vis

 emh-ám ku=7úcwalmicw.

 good-mid det=indigenous.person

 He must have preempted it. He was a smart Indian.
- (175) nílh=t'u7 (s=...) s=tsút=s=ku7,

 COP=EXCL NMLZ= NMLZ=think=3POSS=QUOT

 "cúz'=lhkan=t'u7 k'wálh-cal ku=lawyer,

 going.to=Isg.sbj=excl call.on-act det=lawyer

 s7ents."

 ISG.INDEP

So he thought, "I'm going to hire a lawyer."

(176)"n-7án'was lawyer kw=n-s-k'wálh-cal, DET=ISG.POSS-NMLZ-call.on-ACT LOC-two lawyer kwenswá cuz' kwán-cit aoz NEG D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV going.to take-IND ta=kýpmen=a (i=...)i=wa7 DET=government=EXIS PL.DET= PL.DET=IPFV [n]-tsúwa7=t'u7 s-xaq'-s, NMLZ-pay-3POSS ISG.POSS-own=EXCL money qwey-n-án." IPFV get.used-DIR-ISG.ERG

"I'm going to hire two *lawyers*, but I'm not going to take the government reward, I'm going to use my own money."

```
"cúz'=lhkan
                         nas-min'-tánihan,
(177)
                                                  cw7it-7úl
        going.to=ISG.SBJ go-RLT-3PL.OBJ+ISG.ERG many-too.much
            (kws...)
                         kwelhkálh
                                                    ts'íla wa7
            D/C+NMLZ= D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+IPL.POSS like IPFV
                gwé<7>ez',
                                    tsúsa
                get.bothered<INCH> D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
                    tákem stam' wa7 zus-ci{t}-túmulem,"
                            what IPFV get.tied-IND-IPL.PASS
        "I'm going to go get them, we've been bothered too much, because of
        everything we've been forbidden to do."
```

(178) nilh tswúsa lhlát7a-mc=wit,
COP D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS from+there.VIS-person=3PL
iz' ku=7úcwalmicw lhláta7
those.VIS DET=indigenous.person from+there.VIS
i=wa7 tsún-em wa7 s-Leon's
PL.DET=IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV NMLZ-Leon's

Creek-emc...
Creek-person

Because they [the outlaws] were considered to be people from *Leon's Creek*...

(179) ...k'win-usm=ás=k'a l=ku=7ucwalmicw-úlm'ecw how.many-kind=3sBJV=EPIS at=DET=indigenous.person-land áku7, p'elenílh k[u]=sqwe•qw•sm-ál'ts, to+there.INVIS including DET=shoot•CRED•-rock cw7ao kwas

NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS

ka-kwan•en-s-twítas-a
CIRC-take•FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG-CIRC
ken=ki=stóh=a.
around=PL.DET=store=EXIS

...people on a bunch of different reserves weren't allowed to buy bullets in the stores.

```
tsukw kwas=k'á=t'u7
[25:00] (180)
                finish
                        D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EPIS=EXCL
                    kenká7
                                       lhas...
                    around+there.INVIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV DET+IPFV
                        kúľ't-emc=wit
                                                  kwa
                                                              tecwp-cít...
                        convince.to.buy-person=3PL DET+IPFV buy-IND
                                  ta=sqwe•qw•s-m-ál'ts=[a],
                            good DET=shoot*CRED*-MID-rock=EXIS but
                                gwé<7>ez'=ti7
                                                             ka-kwám-a
                                get.bothered<INCH>=that.VIS CIRC-get-CIRC
                                    i=qwe•qw•s-m-ál'ts=a..
                                    PL.DET=shoot•CRED•-MID-rock=EXIS
```

You could only get them here if you arranged for someone to buy them for you... bullets were okay, but you had to make a real effort to get any bullets.

- (181) nílh=malh=ti7 s=ts7as xát'-s-as
 COP=ADHORT=that.VIS NMLZ=begin hard-CAUS-3ERG
 ts7a ta=kúkwpi7=a, nílh=t'u7 s=tsut=s:
 this.VIS DET=chief=EXIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS
 So then this chief began to have a hard time with that, so he said:
- (182) "cúy'=lhkan nas-min'-tánihan, cúz'=t'u7...
 going.to=ISG.SBJ go-RLT-3PL.OBJ+ISG.ERG going.to=EXCL
 t'iq-s-tanílhkan=kelh, nílh=t'u7 (s=...)
 arrive-CAUS-3PL.OBJ+ISG.SBJ=FUT COP=EXCL NMLZ=
 su[s] sqwál'-en (i=plis...)
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS report-DIR PL.DET=policeman
 i=plísmen=a."
 PL.DET=policeman=EXIS

"I'm going to go get them, and I'll bring them here, and tell the policemen."

```
"lati7=hém'=kelh
(183)
                                  avlh s-kotháws,
         at+there.vis=anti=fut
                                  then STAT-trial
            s=kwán-itas
                                      kotháws, ťu7
            NMLZ=take+DIR-3PL.ERG trial
                                                 but
                 cuz'=lhkan=hém'=t'u7
                                               xág'-en."
                 going.to=ISG.SBJ=ANTI=EXCL pay-DIR
        "There'll be a trial now, they'll bring them to trial, but I'm going to
        pay for it."
                                  Henderson, nílh=ni7
(184)
        nilh wa7 s-Stuart
                    NMLZ-Stuart Henderson COP=that.ABS
            s-kéla7-ten-s
                                    i=lóyh=a,
                                                          múta7
            NMLZ-before-INS-3POSS PL.DET=lawyer=EXIS and
                                        Henry Costello, nilh ti7.
                 na=wa7
                 ABS.DET=IPFV NMLZ- Henry Costello COP that.VIS
                     That's the old Henry.
                     that's the old Henry
        It was Stuart Henderson who was the lead lawyer, and Henry Costello,
        he was... that's the old Henry.
        Baptiste Ritchie:
(185)
        Senior!
(186)
        Sam Mitchell:
        Yeah. So there he had two lawyers.
        nilh s=tsicw=s
                                       kwán-as,
                                                                        [26:00]
(187)
               NMLZ=get.there=3POSS
                                       take+DIR-3ERG
            tsícw-min'-as
                                                nká7=as=k'a
                                áku7
            get.there-RLT-3ERG to+there.INVIS where=3SBJV=EPIS
                 káku7
                                     lhas
                                                         wá7=wit,
                 around+there.INVIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be=3PL
                                  that's Lower Nicola...
                     swellús=a,
                     Shulús=EXIS that's Lower Nicola
        So he went to get them, and took them to wherever it was that they
```

were staying, Shulús, that's Lower Nicola...

(188) tsícw-min'-as, t'íq-s-as e=kw7á
get.there-RLT-3ERG arrive-CAUS-3ERG to=this.INVIS
lhwas kotháws elh tsicw
COMP+IPFV+3SBJV trial and.then get.there
aylh sqwál'-n-as i=wa7 zús-cal,
then report-DIR-3ERG PL.DET=IPFV get.tied-ACT
i=plísmen=a.
PL.DET=policeman=EXIS

He got them and brought them to the courthouse before telling the cops, the policemen.

(189) t'íq=wit, nílh=t'u7 {s}=sqwel'•qwel'-s-ás snilh, arrive=3PL COP=EXCL NMLZ=TRED•tell-CAUS-3ERG 3SG.INDEP tsut:
say

They got there, and he told them, he said:

(190) "lh=nká7=as lh=cúz'=al'ap
COMP=where=3sBJV COMP=going.to=2pl.sBJV
kotháws-ts, s7ents=hém'=t'u7 ku=cúz'
trial-CAUS ISG.INDEP=ANTI=EXCL DET=going.to
aoz'-en-táli ku=lóya, i=lóyh=a,
pay.for-dir-nts det=lawyer pl.det=lawyer=exis
cúz'=lhkan=iz' k'wálh-an'."
going.to=ISG.SBJ=those.VIS call.on-dir

"Wherever you hold the trial, it will be me paying for the lawyers, I'll hire them."

(191) nílh=t'u7 aylh s=kwán-tanemwit,

COP=EXCL then NMLZ=take+DIR-3PL.PASS

lham'-án-tanemwit, t'qwaw's, Paul Spintlum 'n

get.put.into-DIR-3PL.PASS together Paul Spintlum and

Moses Paul.

Moses Paul

Then they were taken and put in jail, together, Paul Spintlum and Moses Paul.

7.3.9 Nilh swas kotháwswit: The Trials Begin

(192) Sam Mitchell: [26:32] láti7 aylh lh=stáot=as kwas at+there.vis then comp=start=3sbjv d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss

kotháws=wit. trial=3PL

That was when the trials started.

(193) o, cw7it kw=s=kotháws=i, ken=kw7ú
oh many D/C=NMLZ=trial=3PL.POSS around=that.INVIS
wasménsth=a, pankúph=a...
Westminster=exis Vancouver=exis

Oh, there were many trials, over at New Westminster, Vancouver...

(194) ...k'win-usem=ás=k'a ken=kw=s=... how.many-kind=3sBJV=EPIS around=D/C=NMLZ=

kwas nak'

D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.changed

kwas... iz'

D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS those.VIS

ken=tsa

around=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS

kotháws=wit. trial=3PL

...they must have changed the place where the trials were held several times.

(195) tsukw=malh=t'ú7=ti7, i=qús-cit-as [27:00]

finish=ADHORT=EXCL=that.VIS when.PAST=shoot-IND-3ERG

l=kw7u ta=plísmen=a ti7 ta=wa7... at=that.Invis det=policeman=exis that.vis det=ipfv

ti7 lhláti7=hem' ta=wa7...

that.vis from+there.vis=anti det=ipfv

i=wás qús-cit-as ta... when.PAST=IPFV+3SBJV shoot-IND-3ERG DET=

The only thing was, when they shot the policeman, the one that... the one who came from... when he shot the...

(196)...i=wás qús-cit-as when.PAST=IPFV+3SBJV shoot-IND-3ERG na=plísmen=a l=kw7u Clinton=a ABS.DET=policeman=EXIS at=that.INVIS Clinton=EXIS s-talhá7-s, ti7 ta=wa7 NMLZ-other.side-3POSS that.VIS DET=IPFV ats'x-en-ítas wa7 lhqw-ilc, wa7 get.seen-DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV get.on.horse-AUT IPFV cúl•el, s-lheqw... run.away•fred stat-get.on.horse ...when he shot the policeman over on the other side of Clinton, the one they saw on horseback escaping...

- (197) ...cw7áoz=ti7 kwas snilh,

 NEG=that.VIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS 3SG.INDEP

 s7icwlh=t'ú7=ti7.
 different=EXCL=that.VIS
 ...that wasn't him, that was someone different.
- (198) Baptiste Ritchie: ícwlh=ti7! different=that.vis
- Someone different!

 (199) Sam Mitchell:

Yes, he was someone different, he wasn't one of them.

```
(200)
         ti7
              ta=qus-ci{t}-táli=ha
                                         ta=plísmen=a,
         that DET=shoot-IND-NTS=EXIS DET=policeman=EXIS
                          l=ta=qwel'•qwel'aqín=[a],
            at+there.vis
                          at=DET=TRED*sapling=EXIS
                                         sapling, fir,
                 wa7
                       tsún-em
                       say+DIR-IPL.ERG
                                         sapling
                     gwel'•gwel'agín=a,
                                        szík=ku7
                     TRED*sapling=EXIS log=QUOT at+there.VIS
                         láti7=ku7
                                             lhas
                         at+there.vis=Quot comp+ipfv+3sbJv
                             lheqp-alqw-ílc
                                             lhas
                             stuck-tree-AUT COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                 es-kíts-lec...
                                  STAT-get.laid.down-AUT
```

The one that shot the policeman, in the saplings, what we call *sapling*, *fir*, *qwel'qwel'aqin'*, there was a log there, and he was lying behind it...

(201) lhláti7 lh=qús-cit-as
from+there.vis comp=shoot-ind-3erg
i=plísmen=a, áts'x-en-as
pl.det=policeman=exis get.seen-dir-3erg
izú, t'íq=wit áti7, cw7aoz
those.vis arrive=3pl to+there.vis neg
kwas qwts-ilc.
d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss move-aut

That's where he shot the policeman from, he saw the others arrive, but he didn't move.

(202) kwan-itás=tu7=ti7 elh qwatsáts aylh take+dir-3pl.erg=rem=that.vis and.then leave then lhláti7 n-matq. from+there.vis loc-walk

They took him [the policeman], and then he left on foot.

(203) o, i=7ats'x-en-itas=hém'=tu7 na...
oh when.past=get.seen-dir-3pl.erg=anti=rem abs.det=
kw=[s]=lhqw-ilc=s ta=pá•p•l7=a,
d/c=nmlz=get.on.horse-aut=3poss det=one•cred•=exis
kw=s=tsun-itas=malh=t'ú7=ti7
d/c=nmlz=think+dir-3pl.erg=adhort=excl
kw={s}=snílh=ts=t'u7...
d/c=nmlz=3sg.indep=3poss=excl

Oh, but when they saw this one guy on horseback, they sure thought it was him...

(204) nílh=t'u7 s=... ta=s=pá•p•la7=s=a,

COP=EXCL NMLZ... D/C=NMLZ=one•CRED•=3POSS=EXIS

t'u7 aoz=a=cwílh=ku7=hem' (ta=...)

but NEG=A=after.all=QUOT=ANTI DET=

ta=snúk'wa7-s=a:

DET=friend-3POSS=EXIS

But he was on his own, and it turned out in fact that wasn't his buddy:

[28:00] (205) nká7=as=k'a k'a lh=nílh=as s-Moses
where=3sbjv=epis epis comp=cop=3sbjv nmlz-Moses

Paul ku=... l=kw7u Clinton=a lh=wá7=as,
Paul det= at=that.invis Clinton=exis comp=be=3sbjv
ku=wéna7, Canoe Creek=a (lh)...

Det=whatchamacallit Canoe Creek=exis

Moses Paul might have been anywhere, over at Clinton, or what do they call it, Canoe Creek...

(206) nílh=t'u7 s=tsúkw=s=t'u7=ti7 s-Paul

COP=EXCL NMLZ=finish=3POSS=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ-Paul

Spintlum láti7 ta=wá7=a, k'ámalh

Spintlum at+there.VIS DET=be=EXIS however

s7ícwlh=ti7 ta=lhqw-ílc=a

different=that.VIS DET=get.on.horse-AUT=EXIS

láti7, ta=cúl•el=a.

at+there.VIS DET=run.away•FRED=EXIS

Paul Spintlum was the only one there, but the one who escaped on horseback was someone else.

```
kwan-itás=malh
(207)
                                     ts7a
                                              (ta=...)
         take+DIR-3PL.ERG=ADHORT
                                     this.vis
                                              DET=
            ta=zúqw=a
                            plísmen,
                                       lhep'-k-án'-itas
            DET=die=EXIS policeman get.hung.up-back-DIR-3PL.ERG
                 l=ta=pé•p•l7=a
                                           ts'qáxa7,
                 at=DET=one CRED = EXIS
                                           horse
                               qwatsats-s-twitas,
                     and.then leave-CAUS-3PL.ERG COP
                         s=tsicw=s
                                                 kwán-itas
                         NMLZ=get.there=3POSS take+DIR-3PL.ERG
                             ta=pakhós-i=ha,
                                                            wá7=wit
                             DET=packhorse-3PL.POSS=EXIS IPFV=3PL
                                  [es]=pakhós=wit.
                                  have=packhorse=3PL
```

So they took the dead policeman, slung him over the back of one of the horses, and then went to fetch their [the outlaws'] packhorse – they had a packhorse.

- (208) tsút=t'u7=ti7, nílh=t'u7 ti=wa7
 say=EXCL=that.VIS COP=EXCL DET=IPFV
 sqwe•qw•el'-en-ts-ás ts7a
 tell•CRED•-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG this.VIS
 ta=sám7=a, wa7 tsut:
 DET=white.person=EXIS IPFV say
 This white guy told me this part he said:
- (209) "tsícw-s-tum' aylh ta=pakhós=a," wa7 tsut.
 get.there-CAUS-IPL.ERG then DET=packhorse=EXIS IPFV say
 "klh-al'k-án-em."
 get.taken.off-surface-DIR-IPL.ERG
 "We got the packhorse, and took the saddle off."

tsut, "cw7it [i]=s7ilhen-í=ha, (210)PL.DET=food-3PL.POSS=EXIS IPFV say many (i=...) i=candy=ha, tákem=ťu7 PL.DET=candy=EXIS PL.DET= all=EXCL stam' láti7 lak," wa7 at+there.vis be.there IPFV say "[l=ta]=pakhós=a." at=DET=packhorse=EXIS

He said, "There was a lot of food, *candy*, all kinds of stuff on the packhorse."

(211) qwatsáts=malh lhláti7 i=s=...
leave=ADHORT from+there.vis when.past=statk'al'•l'=ás=tu7 áti7
wait.for•fred=3sbjv=rem to+there.vis
i=plísmen=a, nílh=t'u7 aylh
pl.det=policeman=exis cop=excl then
{s}=n-matq=s.
NMLZ=LOC-walk=3poss

After he waited for the policemen to go, he left, on foot.

- (212) Baptiste Ritchie:
 n-matq!
 LOC-walk
 On foot!
- (213) Sam Mitchell:

 n-mátq=t'u7 aylh.

 LOC-walk=EXCL then

 Then he went on foot.

```
nká7=as=k'a
                            káku7
(214)
        where=3SBJV=EPIS around+there.INVIS
            lh=n-pzán-as
                                        ta=pá•p•l7=a
            COMP=LOC-meet+DIR-3ERG DET=one*CRED*=EXIS
                úcwalmicw,
                                  lhláku7=ti7
                                                    lhél=ta=...
                indigenous.person from=there.INVIS from=DET=
                    Canoe Creek, twiw't.
                    Canoe Creek young.person
        He met this one Indian somewhere around there, a young guy from...
        Canoe Creek.
(215)
        nílh=ku7=ťu7
                            {s}=sqwál'-en-as,
                                                                      [29:00]
                           NMLZ=report-DIR-3ERG
        COP=QUOT=EXCL
            tsún-as=ku7:
            say+DIR-3ERG=QUOT
        And then he told him what happened, he said to him:
(216)
        "qus-cit=kán=tu7
                                 na=plísmen=a
        shoot-IND=ISG.SBJ=REM ABS.DET=policeman=EXIS
            láku7."
            at+there.INVIS
        "I shot a policeman over there."
(217)
        l=t7ú=malh
                              aylh
                                    l=[ta]=skotháws=a,
        at=that.vis=ADHORT
                              then at=DET=trial=EXIS
            tsúkw=ťu7=ti7
                                  cman'-s,
            finish=EXCL=that.VIS opponent-3POSS
                tsúkw=ťu7=ti7
                finish=EXCL=that.VIS D/C=NMLZ=
```

And so in the trial, that was the only person who testified against him,

that was the only...

```
(218)
        gélgel
                ku=cman'-min'-táli
                D/C=opponent-RLT-NTS
            ta=sqwal'-en-ás=a=ti7
                                              e=t7ú
            DET=report-DIR-3ERG=EXIS=that.VIS to=that.VIS
                ta=sqwál'=[a],
                                you see, kw=s=tsún-em
                DET=report=EXIS you see D/C=NMLZ=say+DIR-3PASS
                                   kw=s=qús-cit-as
                    áku7.
                    to+there.INVIS D/C=NMLZ=shoot-IND-3ERG
                        ku=plísmen... s=tsún-as,
                        DET=policeman NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG
                            tsúkw=ťu7=ti7
                                                cman'-s.
                            finish=EXCL=that.VIS opponent-3POSS
```

That was strong testimony against him, what he had told him, what he had reported, *you see*, that he told him that he had shot a policeman... his was the only opposing testimony.

7.3.10 I k'azaka7mínemas na tsánamena: The Murdered Chinaman

[29:30] (219) Sam Mitchell:

```
wá7=hem' múta7 ta=núkw=a
                                   száyten-i,
IPFV=ANTI again DET=other=EXIS doings-3PL.POSS
   láti7=ťu7
                      (l=ts=...)
   at+there.vis=excl at=D/C+NMLZ=
       l=tsása=tu7
                                           pun
       at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS=REM get.found
           ta=kél7=a
                                         (wa7...) wa7
                            sáma7
           DET=before=EXIS white.person IPFV
                                                 IPFV
               zugw, tímsta.
               die
                     teamster
```

But there was something else that happened where the first white man was found dead, the teamster.

(220)wa7 láti7 ta=tsánmen=a, wá7=ti7 at+there.vis DET=chinese.person=EXIS be=that.vis lhus [e]s=tsítcw, at+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sBJv have=house always wa7 k'úl'-em ku=p'áms=a, IPFV get.made-MID DET=firewood=EXIS nku•kw•tsa-s=t'ú7=ti7 downstream • CRED • - 3POSS = EXCL = that. VIS ta=Clinton=a, xw7útsin=k'a mile. DET=Clinton=EXIS four=EPIS mile

There was a chinaman there who had a house, and was always making firewood, maybe four *miles* downstream from *Clinton*.

(221) wá7=wit káti7 nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-as,
be=3pl around+there.vis cop=excl nmlz=say+dir-3erg
gap, nilh s=tsún-as ta=...
evening cop nmlz=say+dir-3erg det=
[s]núk'wa7-s=a:
friend-3poss=exis

They [the outlaws] were around there one evening, so one of them said to his buddy:

- (222) "cuy, nás=kalh áta7 xelen-ts-ám'." go.on go=IPL.SBJ to+there.VIS beg-mouth-MID "Hey, let's go beg some food."
- (223) wá7=ti7 zewat-en-ítas ta=tsánmen=a, [30:00]

 IPFV=that.VIS be.known-dir-3pl.erg det=chinese.person=exis

 "cuy, nás=kalh xelen-ts-ám'."

 go.on go=IPL.SBJ beg-mouth-MID

 They knew that chinaman, "We'll go beg some food."

(224) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsún-as, nílh=ti7
COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG COP=that.VIS
s-Moses Paul ta=... tsún-em=ku7
NMLZ-Moses Paul DET= say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT
t=snúk'wa7-s=a:
DET=friend-3POSS=EXIS

So then he told him, *Moses Paul* was told by his buddy:

- (225) "cuy nas ulhcw, l=ts7a lh=cúz'=an wa7 go.on go enter at=this.vis comp=going.to=isg.sbjv be [l=ta]=álts'q7=a." at=det=eutside=exis "Go on in, I'll wait here outside."
- (226) nilh s=7ulhcw=s.

 COP NMLZ=enter=3POSS

 So he went in.
- (227) xzúm=ti7 ku=tsáneman. big=that.vis det=chinese.person That chinaman was a big guy.
- (228) ulhcw áku7, nílh=t'u7 s=xelen-ts-mín'-as
 enter to+there.invis cop=excl nmlz=beg-mouth-rlt-3erg
 ti=tsánemen=a ku=s7ílhen.
 DET=chinese.person=exis det=food
 He went in, and asked the chinaman for some food.
- (229) lati7=s=á=t'u7 súcwt-en-em at+there=3POSS=EXIS=EXCL get.recognized-DIR-3PASS ta=tsánemen=a, t'u7 s=nílh=t'u7
 DET=chinese.person=EXIS but NMLZ=COP=EXCL s=kwan-twál'-s-tum'...
 NMLZ=take+DIR-RECP-CAUS-3PASS

But at that point he was recognized by the chinaman, so they started grappling with each other...

(230) ...cw7áoy=t'u7 láti7 kw=s=...

NEG=EXCL at+there.VIS D/C=NMLZ=

ka-lhq-ép=s-a,

CIRC-land.on.surface-INCH=3POSS-CIRC

n[ilh] {s}=sk-ulem'cw-án-em

COP NMLZ=get.hit-ground-DIR-3PASS

ti=tsánemen=a.

DET=chinese.person=EXIS

...and he couldn't get on top, he was knocked to the ground by the chinaman.

- (231) nílh=ku7 s=7ít'xts-am'=s lhláku7,
 COP=QUOT NMLZ=scream-MID=3POSS from+there.INVIS
 we7áw-n-as snúk'wa7-s.
 shout-DIR-3ERG friend-3POSS
 So he screamed, he yelled out to his friend.
- (232) lig'w-ts-án'-as [ta]=snúk'wa7-s=a. open-mouth-dir-3erg det=friend-3poss=exis His friend opened the door.
- (233) tákem i=tsánmen=a wa7 pápt=t'u7
 all PL.DET=chinese.person=EXIS IPFV always=EXCL
 wa7... es=chopping block, wá7=ku7 láti7
 IPFV have=chopping block IPFV=QUOT at+there.vIS
 es-k'á7 ta=t'amín=a.
 STAT-get.stuck DET=axe=EXIS

All the chinamen used to keep *chopping blocks*, and there was an axe stuck in this one.

ti7 Paul (234)kwán-as s-... take+DIR-3ERG that.VIS Paul NMLZ-Spintlum, n-seq-laqín'-[n]-as Spintlum LOC-get.split-top.of.head-DIR-3ERG ti=tsánmen=a nilh (s=...)DET=chinese.person=EXIS COP NMLZ= s=ka-lhýp'=s-a=tu7... NMLZ=CIRC-flop.over=3POSS-CIRC=REM

Paul Spintlum took it and split the chinaman's head open, and then he flopped over dead...

[31:00] (235) ...ka-kélh-a lhláti7
CIRC-get.taken.off-CIRC from+there.vis

[ta]=snúk'wa7-s=a nilh
DET=friend-3POSS=EXIS COP
s=cwel•cúl•el=i.
NMLZ=TRED•run.away•FRED=3PL.POSS

...his buddy got out from underneath and then they fled.

(236)k'win-asq'et=ás=k'a lhláti7, (cw7aoy) how.many-day=3SBJV=EPIS from+there.VIS NEG cw7ao kwas psíľ=k'a, NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS daybreak=EPIS lh=k'win-as[q'e]t=ás=k'a lhláti7, COMP=how.many-day=3SBJV=EPIS from+there.VIS ts'íla=k'a ku=cwáy'-nun'-em before like=EPIS D/C=disappear-EXP+DIR-3PASS ta=tsánmen=a. DET=chinese.person=EXIS

It was a few days, not the next morning, but a few days before the chinaman was kind of missed.

(237)(nás-mi[n]) nás=ku7 áku7 ta=7úlhcw=a, go-RLT go=QUOT to+there.INVIS DET=enter=EXIS wa7 plan wa7 plan zuqw, qwatsáts already at+there.vis ipfv die already IPFV leave n-t'úts-laqin'. qvl-wíil'c, bad-become LOC-get.chopped-top.of.head Someone went over inside, and he was already dead, he was already starting to go bad, because he was chopped in the head.

(238) tsút=t'u7... ts'íla=t'u7 áti7 (t=sqwe•qw•el')
say=excl like=excl to+there.vis det=tell•cred•
t=sqwe•qw•el'-í=ha wi=snílh, (sqwal')
det=tell•cred•-3Pl.Poss=exis plus=3sg.indep report
sqwal'-en-ítas i...
report-dir-3Pl.Erg pl.det=

They said... that was kind of their story, they told...

- (239) Baptiste Ritchie:
 nuk'w7-i=ha.
 relative-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 Their relatives.
- (240) Sam Mitchell:

 [s]nek'w•núk'w7-i=ha, iy,

 TRED•relative-3PL.POSS=EXIS yes

 kw=s=t'uts-qw-an'-itás=ti7

 D/C=NMLZ=get.chopped-head-DIR-3PL.ERG=that.VIS

 ta=tsánmen=a.

 DET=chinese.person=EXIS

 ...their relatives, yes, that they had chopped the chinaman in the head.
- t'u7 cw7áoz=hem'=t'u7 lhláti7, áoy=ti7
 but NEG=ANTI=EXCL from+there.vis NEG=that.vis
 kw=s=hál'a=s l=t=skotháws=a.
 D/C=NMLZ=show=3POSS at=DET=trial=EXIS

But that didn't come out in the trial.

tsúkw=ťu7 hál'•al'... háľ'•haľ'=ti7 (242)finish=EXCL show•FRED TRED•show=that.VIS ta=twíw't=a lhel=kw7ú DET=young.person=EXIS from=that.INVIS Canoe Creek=a. tsúkw=ťu7=ti7 Canoe Creek=EXIS finish=EXCL=that.VIS sqwal'-min-táli kw=s=tsut=s report-RLT-NTS D/C=NMLZ=say=3POSS kw=s=qús-cit-as D/C=NMLZ=shoot-IND-3ERG ta=plísmen=a. DET=policeman=EXIS

The only thing that came out was the testimony of the young man from *Canoe Creek*, he was the only one that testified that he said he had killed a policeman.

áoy=ťu7 (243)k'ámalh l=ts7a kwa... however NEG=EXCL at=this.VIS DET+IPFV sqwe•qw•el'-n-ítas ken=ts7á PL.DET=IPFV tell*CRED*-DIR-3PL.ERG around=this.VIS i=tsúw7-i=ha nk'sáytken, áoy=t'u7 PL.DET=own-3PL.POSS=EXIS relative NEG=EXCL sqwál'=wit i=wa7 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS report=3PL PL.DET=IPFV {s}-sqwe•qw•el'-í. NMLZ-tell*CRED*-3PL.POSS

However, none of their own relatives reported that, they wouldn't testify about what they had been told.

7.3.11 Skas kw skwatsitsánem sCultus Jack: How Cultus Jack Got His Name

- (244) Sam Mitchell: [31:57]

 cw7ít=t'u7 stexw kw=s=kotháws=i.

 many=EXCL straight D/C=NMLZ=trial=3PL.POSS

 There were really a lot of trials.
- (245) Baptiste Ritchie: [32:00]
 iy, cin' kwas kotháws.
 yes long.time D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS trial
 Yeah, the trial lasted a long time.
- (246) Sam Mitchell:

 iy, k'win=as=k'a s-kotháws, k'wá7en, wa7

 yes how.many=3sbJv=epis stat-trial you.see? ipfv

 sqwe•qw•l'-en-ts-ás na=pá•p•l7=a

 tell•CRED•-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG ABS.DET=one•CRED•=EXIS

 sáma7, nílh=t'u7=iz' wítnas...

 white.person cop=excl=those.vis witness

 Yeah, there were a bunch of trials, you see, this one white guy told me who was one of the witnesses...
- (247) ...cw7it i=wítnes=a, i=sám7=a...
 many pl.det=witness=exis pl.det=white.person=exis

 (i=...) i=tsícw=a áku7

 pl.det= pl.det=get.there=exis to+there.invis

 i=qus-cit-ém=as
 when.past=shoot-ind-3pass=3sbjv

 ta=plísmen=a.

 Det=policeman=exis

...Many of the white people who had been there when the policeman was shot served as witnesses.

nilh=tí7... k'a... nílh=ti7 nukw ku=wítnas, (248)COP=that.VIS =EPIS COP=that.VIS other DET=witness kw=s-Cultus *lack*, i=wás that.vis Det=nmlz-Cultus Jack when.past=ipfv+3sbJv s-t'qwaw's ta=plísmen=a get.there STAT-together DET=policeman=EXIS i=kel7=ás tsicw... when.past=before=3sbJv get.there cwil'-en-ítas kw=s-Paul look.for-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=NMLZ-Paul Spintlum. Spintlum

It must have been... *Cultus Jack* was another witness, he went together with the policeman when they first went to look for *Paul Spintlum*.

(249) nílh=ti7 nukw wítnes, sqwal'-min-ás=ti7
COP=that.vIs other witness report-rlt-3erg=that.vIs
láku7 aylh l=kw7u ti=wa7
at+there.invis then at=that.invis det=ipfv
wastmínsta lhas... kotháws=wit.
Westminster COMP+IPFV+3SBJV trial=3PL

He was another witness, he testified when they held the trial at New Westminster.

- (250) tsicw s-Cultus Jack ta=turn-s=a
 get.there nmlz-Cultus Jack det=turn-3poss=exis
 kw=s=... sqwe•qw•el'-mín-as
 d/C=nmlz= tell•Cred•-rlt-3erg
 ku=s-zewát-cal-s.
 det=nmlz-be.known-act-3poss
- Cultus Jack's turn came to testify about what he knew.

 (251) tsún-em=ku7, "Cultus Jack?"

The judge asked him, "Cultus Jack?"

say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT Cultus Jack

Qáqis múta7 sPaul Spintlum

- (252) ku7, "Yes?" QUOT yes "Yes?"
- (253) "sqwál'-min' kw=s-zewát-cal-su." [33:00]
 report-rlt det=nmlz-be.known-act-2sg.poss
 "Testify about what you know."
- (254) tsút=ku7 ta=tsáts=a, "Cultus Jack, áoz=ha=ti7 say=Quot det=judge=exis Cultus Jack neg=q=that.vis

 (kw=s=...) kw=s=qv!=s l=ta=...

 D/C=nmlz= d/C=nmlz=bad=3poss at=det=

 n-qwal'út-ten-sw=a, kwa Cultus

 Loc-speak-ins-2sg.poss=exis det+ipfv Cultus

 Jack?"

 Jack

Then the judge said, "Cultus Jack, doesn't that mean 'bad' in your language, Cultus Jack?"

- (255) "o," tsut, tsún-as=ku7 ta=plísmen=a, oh say say+dir-3erg=quot det=policeman=exis ta=tsáts=a, "iy, qvl, that means bad."

 DET=judge=exis yes bad that means bad "Oh," he told the policeman, the judge: "Yes, qvl, that means bad."
- (256) "kán-em zam' swásu kwátsits-min?" whether-MID though NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS name-RLT "So why are you named that?"

```
"o," tsút=ku7, "[i]=wán
(257)
              say=QUOT when.PAST=IPFV+ISG.SBJV
            twéww'et, papt=kán=t'u7
                                             wa7
                       always=ISG.SBJ=EXCL IPFV
            boy
                               i=smelh•múlhats=a,
                n-kcáp-en
                LOC-chase-DIR PL.DET=TRED•woman=EXIS
                    nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-ts-as
                    COP=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG
                                                       Cultus Iack."
                         i=n-k'sáytken=a
                         PL.DET=ISG.POSS-relative=EXIS Cultus Jack
        "Oh," he said, "When I was a boy, I always chased after women, so my
        relatives called me Cultus Jack."
```

- (258) [n]-q's-án'k=ku7 láti7 [i]=wa7
 LOC-laugh-stomach=QUOT at+there.VIS PL.DET=IPFV
 kotháws.
 trial
 - Then the people at the trial laughed.
- (259) nilh ti7 'qvl' ku=sqwé•qw•el'-s, sqwál'-min'-as,
 COP that.vis bad det=tell•Cred•-3poss report-rlt-3erg
 tsut (kwas...) kwas
 think d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss
 qvl, nílh=t'u7 s-Cultus Jack skwátsits-s.
 bad cop=excl nmlz-Cultus Jack name-3poss

That's a 'bad' story, he said that they thought he was bad, and that's why *Cultus Jack* was his name.

7.3.12 Tsem'p ta sqwéqwel'a: The End

(260)Sam Mitchell: [33:50] cuy, [lh]=tsúkw=as=hem' aylh well COMP=finish=3SBJV=ANTI then [kw]=s=kotháws=i, nílh=malh D/C=NMLZ=trial=3PL.POSS COP=ADHORT láti7=malh zam' ts7a kw=s=..., at+there.VIS=ADHORT though this.VIS D/C=NMLZ= S-... Paul Spintlum COP=that.VIS NMLZ- Paul Spintlum ta=láw=a. DET=get.hung=EXIS

Well, when their trials were over, it was Paul Spintlum who got hung.

one guy got a life sentence: pá•p•la7 [34:00]
one guy got a life sentence one•CRED•

ta=n-k'á7=a ku=life, law

DET=LOC-get.stuck=EXIS DET=life get.hung

ta=pá•p•l7=a lhlák=iz'.

DET=one•CRED•=EXIS be.from.there=those.VIS

One guy got a life sentence: one of them was put in jail for life, and the other was hung.

(262) t'u7 cw7áo=malh=t'u7 kwas=tí7...
but neg=adhort=excl d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss=that.vis
áoy=t'u7 kw=s=cín'=s=ti7
neg=excl d/c=nmlz=long.time=3poss=that.vis
(ta=...) ta=life=a=k'a, xw7útsin=t'u7 máqa7
det= det=life=exis=epis four=excl snow
nilh=hém'=tu7 s=zuqw=s.
cop=anti=rem nmlz=die=3poss

But he sure didn't... he can't have been a *life*r for long, because he died four years later.

(263) Baptiste Ritchie: Yeah, they gave him a hard time...

(264) Sam Mitchell:

yeah. wa7 tsút=wit, wa7 xat'... xát'=ku7=t'u7 yeah IPFV say=3PL IPFV hard.time hard.time=QUOT=EXCL

kwásu ka-máwal'-a

D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS CIRC-be.alive-CIRC

ku=7úcwalmicw l=ku=cín', ku=záct DET=indigenous.person at=DET=long.time DET=long n-k'á7-men.

LOC-get.stuck-INS

Yeah, they say it's hard for you to stay alive very long if you're an Indian, if you're put away for a long stretch.

(265) áti7=ti7 lh=tsem'p=ás ti7 to+there.vis=that.vis comp=get.finished=3sbJv that.vis

ku=sqwé•qw•el'.

DET=tell•CRED•

That's where this story ends.

[34:40] (266) Baptiste Ritchie:

iy, nilh ti7! yes COP that.VIS

Yes, that's it!

7.4 Sam Mitchell's Free Translation¹³

In about 1911, a teamster was found dead about 4 miles south of Clinton. The police accused an Indian named Moses Paul of killing the man, and put him in jail. One morning, in the fall, Moses Paul escaped. Immediately, the police thought that his friend, Paul Spintlum, had helped him, so they went to see a man named Cultus Jack. "Where does Paul Spintlum hunt?" asked the policemen. "He hunts around Porcupine Creek, but if you go up there, go before daylight," Cultus Jack replied.

Early in the morning, they went up to Porcupine Creek, accompanied by Cultus Jack. The sun had not yet risen, but there was already one campfire. "Where is Paul Spintlum's camp?" the police asked the hunters. When they had been told, Cultus Jack and the policeman (whose name was Jack McMillan) headed towards Paul Spintlum's camp.

When they arrived at Spintlum's tent, McMillan hollered, "Are you in there, Paul?" "Yes, but wait there while I get dressed!" replied Spintlum. After he had dressed, he picked up his loaded gun, walked outside, and stood in front of Cultus Jack and Jack McMillan. "Okay, come and get me!" ordered Spintlum as he slowly backed into the bushes. Then he ran, yelling behind him as he went, "McMillan, the next time that I see you in the woods, you'll be dead!"

McMillan and Cultus Jack returned to Clinton and went to see the judge. Throwing his badge on the counter, McMillan told the judge, "You better find someone else for this job, because I'm finished!"

In May, they have the Spring Assizes in Clinton. A man who lived a few miles above Clinton rode into town and told the judge that he had seen Paul Spintlum with a packhorse. A policeman from Ashcroft and another from Clinton headed out to see if they could track down Spintlum.

The policemen and another man went along the centre trail while three men went on the upper trail and three on the lower trail. (The man who told me this story was riding on the upper trail.) Suddenly, they heard two shots coming from the direction where the two policemen went. Later, they were told what had happened. A man, who rode off on a horse, had shot one of the policemen. They tried to fire back, but the man's horse was quick and he dodged through the forest. The dead policeman was straddled over his saddle and taken back to Clinton.

When the Spring Assizes were over, they hired some men and horses and again started to track Paul Spintlum. Some Indians from Kamloops were also

¹³This translation is reproduced verbatim from Kennedy and Bouchard, BCILP ms.2, #125.

hired. While they were out, reports were sent in every day. At 59 Mile on the Cariboo Road, a trapper¹⁴ returned to where he had left his horse and found that both his binoculars and his horse were gone. I heard this reported while I was working at Dardy's Ranch¹⁵. The trappers were always watching Spintlum, as often they were higher up on the mountain than he was and were able to watch every move that he made.

A few years later, Tom Evans told me about his experience while tracking Paul Spintlum. One day, he and five other men came near the place where Spintlum was camped. Spintlum must have heard them approaching, because when they reached the camp, the bacon and eggs were still hot in the fryingpan. They followed Spintlum's tracks until they came to a burnt knoll where there were a lot of young saplings. Spintlum's horse was tied to one of them. Evans didn't feel safe going on, so he told his friends that was as far as he was going. Without untying Spintlum's horse, they turned around and headed home. When they arrived in town, they went in and reported to the leader. Evans knew that he would have been killed if he had gone on.

Men were continually going out to try and capture Paul Spintlum. The Government put up a \$4,000 reward for bringing in Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum.¹⁶

The outlaws built a house near Leon Creek, west of Pavilion. I was told about it by Willie Fletcher. He said that the house was so well camouflaged with rocks and moss that when it was shown to him he had to open the door before he could distinguish it from the surroundings. The house was made out of split birch. There was a sweat house beside the creek. From inside the house, they could see all around for miles. There was only one trail leading to the house, so that they could easily keep guard. This part of Leon Creek is on the west side of the Fraser River.

Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum travelled along the Fraser River at night. At 11 Mile they found a boat tied up on the river bank. They patched up this boat and crossed the river in it. They knew that the people who lived in the area would be accused of stealing the boat if they secured it on the other side, so they let it drift down the river.

Eventually they arrived at the Bridge River Reserve. Seeing some women's clothes hanging on a clothes-line (the women used to wear long dresses in those days), they decided to take them to wear so that they could cross the bridge into Lillooet without being recognized. When it was dark, Paul and Spintlum put

¹⁵The name "Dardy" is a mistranscription of "Dougherty".

 $^{^{14}\}mathrm{This}$ and the following occurrence of 'trapper' are almost certainly mistranscriptions for 'tracker'.

¹⁶The actual amount of the reward was \$3,000, as noted in previously published versions.

on the women's clothes and crossed the bridge into Lillooet. A couple of men walked past; Paul and Spintlum recognized one of them as Joe Russell, who used to be a game warden around here. Then Paul and Spintlum went to Sing Key's (the Chinese people had oil lamps in their stores and stayed open until 10 o'clock) and bought some food. That night they stayed near Fountain with Mosquito Jim, who was a good friend of theirs.

Paul Spintlum was from Merritt, so they decided to travel in that direction. One of them dressed as an old lady and the other as an old man. There was a man posted at Spence's Bridge to keep watch for Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum, but when he saw the old couple, he gave them a dollar and told them to buy some food. On the way, they stopped to visit all of Paul Spintlum's friends and relatives.

A man from this area sold some land and used the money to hire two lawyers, Stewart Anderson and Henry Castillou¹⁷, to represent Paul Spintlum and Moses Paul in court. After he took Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum to the Bonaparte Indian Reserve, he told the police that he would have lawyers for them in court, but he refused to accept the reward that the Government had put up for their capture.

In court, Spintlum told his story: when the policeman was shot, he was lying behind a big log and remained there until the trackers had taken the body away. The man who rode away on the horse was the one who shot the policeman. At that place, they found a packhorse which had a large supply of food. When the trackers had left, Spintlum had walked towards Canoe Creek. On his way he met a young boy and told him that he had just shot a policeman. This was the only clear evidence against Spintlum in court.

Spintlum and Moses Paul had gone to visit a Chinese man, who was a friend of theirs, to ask for some food. Spintlum waited outside while Moses Paul went in to see their friend. As soon as he got inside the door, the Chinese man grabbed him and threw him to the floor. Moses Paul hollered for his partner, as the Chinese man was more than a match for him. Spintlum picked up an axe which was on the chopping block beside the door and hit the Chinese man on the head. His body was found a few days later. Although Paul Spintlum told several people about this incident, not one of them testified in court.

Cultus Jack was called upon to be one of the witnesses because he had been in the first tracking party. The judged asked him, "Cultus Jack, doesn't 'Cultus' mean 'bad' [in Chinook jargon]?" "Yes it does," replied Cultus Jack. "Why are you called 'bad'?" questioned the judge. "When I was young, I used to chase the girls a lot," Cultus Jack told him.

¹⁷Anderson and Castillou are mistranscriptions of Henderson and Costello, respectively.

When court was finished, Paul Spintlum was hung and Moses Paul was given a life sentence, but he lived only four years after being sent to prison.

Chapter 8

Johnny Milgaw¹

8.1 St'át'imcets

Sam Mitchell:

Izáwna ku mamáw's, cin' kw st'qwáw'swit, t'u7 ao káti7 kwes estsmál'twit. Wa7 malh aylh, wa7 ti7 ts7a estmícwwit, ta í7ez'a láku7 t'u7 qan'imenstwítas kwas wa7 ku cw7it ku sk'wezúsem et7ú ta wa7 Vashon Island, ti7 ta wa7 Vashon Island, ti7 ta wa7 Vashon Island, ts'íla k'á t'u7 ti7 ku k'ík'ta7, sx7ilhts tu7 ta Seattlea. Nilh t'u7 sas... tákem Saturday lhelts7á, nilh t'u7 s... papt áta7 wa7 tsicw ta busa. Stám'as k'á wi7 ti7 lkw st'ak, cw7ao kwenswá tsicw áta7 s... Nilh t'u7 sqwatsátsi st'qwaw's ta sem7ámsa táowen.

Tsekwtsúkw k'a ta stáowensa ta smúlhatsa, ao kw scwíl'enas kw s*Johnny*. Lhtsúkwas táowen s*Johnny*, nilh t'u7 s7úxwal's, wa7 t'u7 úxwal' snilh papla7sút t.smúlhatssa. Wa7 káta7, tsekwtsúkw káta7 stecwps káti7 ki stám'a, nilh s7úxwal's lta *bus*a.

Ts7a ta pál7a s*Saturday*, psil', ao káti7 ku *Johnny*, cw7ao káti7 kw s*Johnny Milgaw* kw st'iqs. "Kánmas?," tsut ku7, "Plan tu7 nk'á7a7, cúy'lhkan nas cwíl'en." Qwatsáts t'u7 láti7 ta *bus*a, nlhám'lec lta *bus*a.

Tsicw áta7 *Seattle*a, t'elkwílc ta *bus*a, tsúnas ta... wa7 láti7 i *taxi*ha, tsúnas ta *taxi*ha, "Cuy, nástum'c et7ú nk'á7mena. Nk'á7a7 k'á tu7 na nkwtámtsa sxek, cw7áozas kelh kw ska7úts'qa7sa." Nilh slhám'lecs lta *taxi*ha, tsícwstum' éta nk'á7mena, tsúnas ta *taxi*ha, "Sk'al'emmín'ts t'u7 lts7a."

¹Told by Sam Mitchell, in conversation with Baptiste Ritchie, in December 1972. Translated by Sam Mitchell in December 1972.

Nilh s7áku7s s7ulhcws lta nk'á7mena, sáwlhen skánas láti7 kw swa7s kw s*Johnny Milgaw.* Ats'x ku7 láti7 ta pípha, tsúnem ku7, "Aoz káti7."

"O," tsut ku7, "nlíg'wtscits áku7. Wá7lhkan tcúsmin', sxek s7icwlh skwátsits ku nahenás."

"Cuy," tsúnem ku7, "áma." Nlig'wtscítem ku7 áku7. Wa7 ku7 t'u7 láti7 npípha ku wa7 nk'a7.

Lig'wtscítem, wa7 tcúsem ku7 láti7, ao káti7 kwas wa7 láti7 kw s*Johnny Milgaw*. Nilhs ku7 káti7 stsicws p'án't.stum' ta *taxi* ha áta7 lhélna sts7ástsa, nilh t'u7 s....

Nilh skáti7s cwíl'ems, zewátenas kentswása tsicw. Papt ti7... sáma7 ti wa7 nk'sáytkens, papt lhas tsicw áta7, wa7 tu7... wa7 t'u7 ti7 tsicw, nilh t'u7 ses st'qwaw'smínem ki s... iy, nilh iz' wa7 nek'wlh7úqwa7s, i sám7a. Pináni7 cw7aoz kwas kakwáma i ucwalmícwa ku qu7, t'u7 papt wa7 hem' ta wa7 esqlélew' kw s*Johnny*.

Cwí::l'em ku7 káti7 kw s*Mary*, kentákem. Xílem k'á tu7, wa7 k'a ti7 xílem pináni7 i ucwalmícwa cin' kw st'qwáw'swit. Nilh t'u7 sts'ílas kwa... zewátenas, kaxéksasa, nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s, "O, tsukw ti7 scwíl'enan. Sxek t'iq k'á tu7 ku t'iq lhelkw7úna tmícwkalha. Nilh kelh tú7 ti7 wa7 kwelh esqú7wit, nilh t'u7 tu7 nlhám'em's. Úxwal' kélh t'u7, t'iq kelh, sxek."

Nilh sp'an't.s, tsicw... *Monday*, láti7 lhwá7as nilh t'u7 sqwatsátss k'wezúsem... K'a lhsq'weláw'em, k'a lh... wa7 k'a q'weláw'em, sxek. Sq'weláp láti7 wa7 mays. Ni::lh swas q'weláw'em, nilh hem' ays t'u7 kw s*Johnny*, cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 kwas kakánema. Plan t'u7 wa7 tsut lt.sptínusemsa, "Cw7aoz hem' káti7 kwas szuqw, wa7 t'u7 máwal'," tsut ku7. Nilh ti7 tsúwa7s sqwéqwel', ti7 ta smúlhatsa. "Cw7ao káti7 kwas szuqw, cw7ao káti7 kwas zúqwstum', kwas kánem, kwas kank'méq'wa. Wa7 t'u7 máwal'," tsut ku7. Nilh swa7s, qwatsáts áta7, ptak múta7 lhláti7 lhélta pál7a *Sunday*.

Monday k'á ti7 aylh ku7... Ts7as ku7 kw sMary lhtsúkwas alkst, gap... wa7... wá7wit ti7 láti7 escabin, ts7as ku7 lhláta7, wa7 láti7 kw sJohnny esmítsa7q lta sk'ém'tssa. Áts'xenas, wa7 snilh we7ántali ta neklíhsa ta cabiníha, ao kw ska7úlhcwa kw sJohnny, nilh láti7 smítsa7q. Tsicwmin'ás ku7 ta kwtámtssa, nilh ku7 t'u7 stsúnas, "Nka7 hem' múta7 lhtsícwacw?"

Tsut ku7 kw s*Johnny*, "Ekw7ú cá7a tmicw. Ekw7ú cá7a tmicw lhtsícwan." Tsúnas ku7, "Ts'ila7úl t'u7 snúwa ku cuz' nas áku7 cá7a tmicw."

Nilh ku7 t'u7 aylh sqweqwel'minantsút.s. Tsut ku7, "Ta áw'ta wa7 nszewátcal..."

Tsúnem ku7 hem', "Kanemlhkácw hem'!?"

Tsut ku7, "Ta áw'ta nszewátcal láti7 táowna, npzánlhkan láti7 nelh npetpáotenha, nelh sám7a. Nilh iz' wa7. Nilh láti7 skalh sqwéqwel' láti7

lta *street*a, lt7u lta *sidewalk*a lhut wa7, kalháskalh. Wá7lhkalh malh láta7 qweqwal'él't, qweqwal'el'tmínem lhcúz'as... cuz' náswit kwam ku s7úqwa7, ku *wine*, wá7lhkan esqlélew'. Nilh iz' i npetpáotenha, papt t'u7 iz' wa7... kwelh u7qwa7mín'tsas lhan tsicw káta7, wa7 tsícwwit kwam, nilh t'u7 skalh tsicw legwílc káku7."

Tsut ku7, "Nilh ti7 aw't ta wa7 zewátenan, ts7áskan cwak, tákem t'u7 stam' peq, lténswa skítslec, peq t'u7 tákem ta wa7 slhecwsán, peq, kents7á i smelhmém'lhatsa wa7 mám'teq, peq t'u7 i leqwáz'iha, eskepkapháhtwit. T'íqmin'tsas ta pápel7a, tsúnas, "Johnny? Johnny Milgaw? You alright?""

"Tsutánwaskan, "Stam' k'a ts7a kwelh zewátentsas? Stexw k'a nilh k'a tí7 wi7 ts7a wa7 cá7a tmicw.""

"Tsukw t'u7 lts7a xlun' i wa7 áts'xenem lki píktsasa ku li<u>s</u>áo<u>s</u>, ícwa7... t.s7icw7íha est'aq'á7el'. I wa7 áts'xenan i wa7... cwits'citúmulhas i naplíta ku li<u>s</u>áo<u>s</u>, wa7 est'aq'a7el'wít," tsut, "Ts'il.hál'qwem' hém' t'u7 izá, nilh t'u7 izá lisáos."

"Nilh t'u7 láta7 nswa7. Láti7 malh t'u7, nilh t'u7 séna7 nswa tsuntaníhan, "Wá7lhkan úxwal'.""

"Tsuntsalítas, "Cw7ao káti7 *Johnny*, kalál, kalál kw s7úxwal'su, amawíl'ckacw, nilh t'u7 s7úxwal'su.""

"Cw7ao t'u7 káti7 kw szewátenan lhts'íl.has nka7 sca7s lkw nswa7."

"Tákem t'u7 stam', wa7 sacwentsálitas, ns7ílhena láti7 t'u7 lhas t'iq." Ao múta7 put kw skasám7atsa, ti7 ku úcwalmicw. *Yeah*.

Nilh s... Wa7 malh aylh áta7... áti7 lhtsulhaká7as sq'it k'a láta7 kw swa7s, elh klhaka7mínem aylh. Tsúnem, "Cuy," t'íqcitem t.stem'tétem'sa, tsúnem, "Cuy malh aylh yax, *Johnny*, plánlhkacw aylh wa7 ka7ámha. Nas úxwal'."

"Ntákil'qkan láti7, t'u láti7 wi7 t'u7 táowna," nilh t'u7 aylh stexwílcs t'u7 láti7 úxwal', et7ú rit. *Yeah. He thought sure he was in heaven.*

Nilh t'u7 aylh swa7s... cw7aoys t'u7 ti7 stsem'ps put, nsqwéqwel'.

Nilh swa7s, nas et7ú kalhás xetspásq'et, k'a lh... tqilh k'a pála7 t'ánam'ten, kwámem ku7 ta pípha, ts'íla ts7a *brown* pípa. *Johnny Milgaw*, cw7ao ti7 kwas ka7ats'xsása kwa pípa, kwas karíta. Cw7aoz, kánas ku7 nilh stsícwcitas káti7 ta twéww'eta wa7 karíta.

"O," tsúnem ku7 ta twéww'eta, "P'a7cw lhelkw7áwna xetspqíqn'ekst ti7 ta chequeswa! Insurance k'á ti7! Nilh ku wa7 insurance, stám'as k'a ti7 ku company, insurance company, skwatsitssú hem' ti7."

"O," tsut ku7, "cw7aoz káti7 kwenswá gwe7ez'mín ti7, ao káti7 kwenswá k'wezusemcít iz', zám'as t'u7 lhnká7as stám'as lhus kwan." Wa7 ku7 tsúnem éki wa7 ka..., "Cw7aoz kwas xekxk hem' ts7a, stám'as kwa *insurance*?" Cw7ao ti7 kw szewátenas stám'as kwa *insurance*. Wa7 ku7 tsúnem éki... láti7 éki

Johnny Milgaw

snek'wnúk'wa7sa, "*What?* Stam' ku7 kw száytensu?" Cw7aoz kw szewátenas stám'as kwa *insurance*.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Social security card, when you get hurt, you know you get your... you get paid for it.

Sam Mitchell:

I think, no, this... this what happened, you see.

Nilh t'u7 s... tsúnem ku7 t.sem7ámsa, "Tay, nas malh ti7 n7a7z'emál'ts, skwatsitssú ti7. Nilh k'a ti7 sxaq'awílhtsu láti7 múta7 p'an't ku cá7a tmicw!"

Baptiste Ritchie:

He was a good man, he wanted to go back there!

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s, "Cuy," tsícwsas ku7 ta banka, q'wzúxwkan'as. Metscítem láti7, nilh snáscitem ku sqlaw'. Láti7 ku7 t'u7 nilh t'u7 stsut.s, "Well, cúy'lhkan nas cwíl'en nelh npetpáotenha."

Nilh s... <u>s</u>áotatih, láti7 lhus nilh swas esqláw', cw7it sqláw'sa, cw7it t.skwámemsa kwelh s7úqwa7. Cwí::::l'enas nelh pvtpáotnasa nilh iz' t'u7... wa7 slhíksas iz' ku nsésm'a7. Cwí:::l'enas, cw7aoy t'u7 káti7, cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 kw spúnas. Zam' í7ez's t'u7 scw7aoys kw spúnas.

Now, where they were... lts7a ltsása wá7wit stálhlec i... lhláti7 lh7áw'tas szewátenas. Wéna7 k'a ti7... lhláku7 lhas úts'qa7 i káoha, wa7 hem' séna7 láti7 lta streeta, sidewalk lt.swa7ihá t'u7, nilh iz' wa7 tsúnitas i núkwa sáma7 wa7 alleyway. Kel'q k'á malh áku7 ku kaoh, pvmp, nilh t'u7 sken'n'alqwmíntanemwit. Yeah. Now, iz' i wa7 tsúnas kwas nk'sáytkens, nká7as k'a malh hém' tu7 lht'ák.witas, tsukw k'a t'u7 kw sxeks snilh ku tsicw ku cá7a tmicw. Nilh wi7 scw7aoys kw spúnas.

8.2 English

Sam Mitchell:

There was this couple, they'd been together for a long time, but they didn't have any children. Well, they had this bit of land here, it was enough, but still... they heard that there was a lot of work over at *Vashon Island*... *Vashon Island* was kind of close by, across the water from *Seattle*. Every *Saturday*, the *bus* went from there. I don't know what they went in, I've never been there myself... So they'd travel together to town, he and his wife.

After his wife had finished in town, she never looked for *Johnny*. When *Johnny* finished in town, he went home, he used to go home, and leave his wife by herself. She was hanging around, and when she had finished buying whatever, she went home on the *bus*.

This particular *Saturday*, morning came, but there was no *Johnny, Johnny Milgaw* hadn't arrived home. "What happened?," she thought, "He's been put in jail, I'm going to go look for him." The *bus* was just leaving, so she got on the *bus*.

She went to *Seattle*, and when she got off the *bus* and told the... there were some *taxis* there, so she told the *taxi* driver, "Go on, take me to the jail. My husband might have been put in jail, and maybe he won't be able to get out." She got in the *taxi* and was taken to the jail, then she told the *taxi* driver, "Wait for me here."

She went inside the jail, and asked whether *Johnny Milgaw* was there. They looked at the list and told her, "No."

"Oh," she said, "Open the door for me. I'm going to look for him, maybe they are calling him by a different name."

"Okay," they told her, "That's fine." Then they opened the door for her. Apparently, there was a paper there listing the people in jail.

They opened the door for her, and she looked around, but there was no *Johnny Milgaw*. So the *taxi* brought her back to where she came from.

Then she looked around, she knew the places where he often went. Everytime he... his friends were white people, so everytime he went there, he'd get together with his drinking buddies, yeah, the white people. At that time Indian people couldn't get liquor, but *Johnny* always had a little bit of money.

So *Mary* looked around all over the place. That's what she must've done, that's what the Indian people did back then when they were together for a long time. But she kind of knew, she managed to figure it out, so she thought, "Oh, I quit looking for him... Maybe someone showed up from back home in our

territory, and so it might have been that they had liquor, and he got a ride with them. He'll come home, he'll get here, I guess."

So she went back, and when *Monday* came, there she was and she set off for work... Maybe picking berries, she must have been picking berries. They grew strawberries there. So she carried on picking, but there was still no sign of *Johnny*, and nothing she could do. She was already thinking, "Well he can't be dead, he's still alive," she thought. That's her own story, that woman. "He's not dead, nobody killed him, nothing happened, and he didn't drown. He's still alive," she thought. So there she was, she left, and then another *Sunday* passed by.

Then it must've been on a *Monday... Mary* was coming along when she was finished with work in the evening, to where they had a *cabin*, and when she came, there was *Johnny* sitting at her doorstep. She saw him, she was the one who had the keys to their *cabin*, and *Johnny* couldn't get in, so he was sitting there. She went up to her husband and asked him, "Where did you go this time?"

Johnny said, "To heaven. I went to heaven."

She told him, "It's just like you to go to heaven."

Then he told about what happened to him. He said, "The last thing I knew..."

But she asked him, "Well, what happened to you!?"

He said, "The last thing I knew there in town, I met my partners, the white people. They were there. We were talking in the *street*, we were on the *sidewalk*, the three of us. We were just talking, talking about going to... they were going to get something to drink, some *wine*, and I had a little bit of money. Those buddies of mine, they always went drinking with me when I went anywhere, they would go get the liquor, and then we'd go hide somewhere."

He said, "That was the last I think I knew, and when I began to wake up, everything was white... Where I was laying, everything I was wearing was white... These girls who were walking around, their dresses were white... They were wearing caps. One of them approached me, and asked me, "Johnny? Johnny Milgaw? You alright?""

"I thought to myself, "What are these people who know me? It must really be true, this is heaven!""

"The only thing missing that we see in pictures of angels, they didn't have any wings. The ones I saw, the pictures of angels that the priests gave to us, they had wings," he said, "but these looked just the same, so these were angels."

"So there I was... Even though I was there [in heaven], I still told them, "I'm going home.""

"They told me, "No *Johnny*, soon, you can go home soon, when you get better, then you can go home.""

"I didn't know how high up I was."

"They did everything, they bathed me, and they brought me food." He couldn't exactly speak English, this Indian person. *Yeah*.

It must've been on the seventh day that he'd been there, that's when they released him... They told him, "Ok," and gave him back his things, they told him, "Go ahead and get dressed, *Johnny*, you're better now. Go home."

"I went down until I got to town," then he went straight home down the street. *Yeah. He thought sure he was in heaven.*

So there he was... but my story isn't quite finished yet.

There he was, three weeks went by, it must've been almost one month, and he got a letter, kind of in a *brown* envelope... *Johnny Milgaw*, he had never seen a letter, and he couldn't read it. No, so I guess he took it to a boy who could read.

"Oh," the boy told him, "Your *cheque* is for more than a hundred dollars! It must be *insurance*! It's *insurance*, whatever *insurance company* it is, but that's your name on it."

"Oh," he said, "but I didn't earn it, I didn't work for that, whatever it is, wherever I got this thing from." He was told... Johnny said, "This doesn't make sense, what is *insurance* anyways?" He didn't know what *insurance* was. They say his friends asked him, "What? What happened to you?" He didn't know what *insurance* was.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Social security card, when you get hurt, you know you get your... you get paid for

Sam Mitchell:

I think, no, this... this what happened, you see.

His wife told him, "Hey, go cash this cheque, that's your name. This must be for your fare back to heaven!"

Baptiste Ritchie:

He was a good man, he wanted to go back there!

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, then he said, "Ok," he took it to the bank, and signed the back with an

'X'. It was signed for by someone else, and then he was given the money. That was when he said, "Well, I'm going to look for my buddies."

On *Saturday*, there he was, and he had money, a lot of money, and so he got a bunch of booze. He looked all over for his buddies, and they were... he knew those white guys. He looked all over for them, but they weren't around anywhere, he couldn't find them. He'd had enough, he couldn't find them.

Now, where they were... here where they were standing, it was right there where he was when it was the last thing he could remember. What do you call it... where the cars come out, anyways they were there on the *street*, on the *sidewalk*... They're what some white people call an *alleyway*. A car was backing up there, quickly, and they got hit by it. *Yeah*, *now*, those ones he called his friends, I don't know where they went, so it must have been just him, maybe, who went to heaven. That's why he never did find them.

[0:00]

8.3 Interlinear Gloss

(1) Sam Mitchell:

izá-wna ku=mamáw's.... cin'
these.vis-precisely det=couple long.time

kw=s={s}-t'qwáw's=wit, t'u7 ao

d/c=nmlz=stat-together=3pl but neg

káti7 kwes

around+there.vis d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss

es={s}tsmál't=wit.

There was this couple, they'd been together for a long time, but they didn't have any children.

(2) wá7=malh aylh... wá7=ti7 ts7a [e]s=tmícw=wit, IPFV=ADHORT then be=that.VIS this.VIS have=land=3PL ta=7í7ez'=a láku7=t'[u7]... DET=enough=EXIS at+there.INVIS=EXCL Well, they had this bit of land here, it was enough, but still...

have=children=3PL

- (3) ...qan'im-ens-twítas kwas wa7 ku=cw7ít hear-DIR-3PL.ERG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be DET=many ku=sk'wezúsem e=t7ú ta=wa7 Vashon Island...

 DET=work to=that.vis DET=IPFV Vashon Island ...they heard that there was a lot of work over at Vashon Island...
- (4) ti7 ta=wa7 Vashon Island Vashon Island that.vis DET=IPFV ([1]=tsa...) ts'ila=k'á=t'u7=ti7 at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS like=EPIS=EXCL=that.VIS ku=... k'ík'ta7, s-x7ílh-ts=tu7... NMLZ-other.side-3POSS=REM DET= near ta=Seattle=a. DET=Seattle=EXIS

Vashon Island was kind of close by, across the water from Seattle.

(5) nílh=t'u7 sas... tákem Saturday
COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS all Saturday
lhel=ts7á, nílh=t'u7 s=... papt áta7
from=this.vis COP=EXCL NMLZ= always to+there.vis
wa7 tsicw ta=bus=a.
IPFV get.there DET=bus=EXIS

Every Saturday, the bus went from there.

(6) stam'=as=k'á=wi7=ti7 l=kw=s=t'ak,²
what=3sBJV=EPIS=EMPH=that.VIS at=D/C=NMLZ=go.along
cw7ao kwenswá tsicw áta7
NEG D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV get.there to+there.VIS
s=...
NMLZ=

I don't know what they went in, I've never been there myself...

- (7) nílh=t'u7 s=qwatsáts=i s-t'qwaw's
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS STAT-together
 [ta]=sem7ám-s=a táowen.
 DET=wife-3POSS=EXIS town
 So they'd travel together to town, he and his wife.
- (8) tsekw•tsúkw=k'a ta=s=táowen=s=a
 TRED•finish=EPIS D/C=NMLZ=go.to.town=3POSS=EXIS
 ta=smúlhats=a, ao kw=s=cwíl'-en-as
 DET=woman=EXIS NEG D/C=NMLZ=look.for-DIR-3ERG
 kw=s-Johnny.
 DET=NMLZ-Johnny

After his wife had finished in town, she never looked for *Johnny*.

²By using the verb *t'ak* here, Sam is probably questioning how they crossed over the water from Vashon Island to Seattle. As such, we might have expected Sam to use *t'aq'*.

(9) tsúkw=as lh... táowen s-Johnny, nílh=ťu7 [1:00]COMP= finish=3SBJV go.to.town NMLZ-Johnny COP=EXCL s=7úxwal'=s, wá7=ťu7 úxwal' s=nilh NMLZ=go.home=3POSS IPFV=EXCL go.home NMLZ=COP t=smúlhats-s=a. pa•p•la7-sút one CRED - REFL DET=woman-3POSS=EXIS

When *Johnny* finished in town, he went home, he used to go home, and leave his wife by herself.

(10) wa7 káta7, tsekw•tsúkw káta7
be around+there.vis TRED•finish around+there.vis

(s=...) s=tecwp=s káti7

NMLZ= NMLZ=buy=3POSS around+there.vis
ki=stám'=a, nilh s=7úxwal'=s

COLL.DET=what=EXIS COP NMLZ=go.home=3POSS
l=ta=bus=[a].
at=DET=bus=EXIS

She was hanging around, and when she had finished buying whatever, she went home on the *bus*.

(11)ts7a ta=pál7=a s-Saturday... psil', this.vis DET=one=EXIS NMLZ-Saturday daybreak káti7 ku=Johnny, cw7ao ao around+there DET=Johnny NEG kw=s-Johnny Milgaw... around+there.vis DET=NMLZ-Johnny Milgaw kw=s=t'iq=s. D/C=NMLZ=arrive=3POSS

This particular *Saturday*, morning came, but there was no *Johnny*, *Johnny Milgaw* hadn't arrived home.

(12) "kán-m=as?," tsút=ku7, "plán=tu7
whether-MID=3SBJV think=QUOT already=REM
n-k'á7•a7, cúy'=lhkan nas cwíl'-en."
LOC-get.stuck•FRED going.to=ISG.SBJ go look.for-DIR
"What happened?," she thought, "He's been put in jail, I'm going to go look for him."

- (13) qwatsáts=t'u7 láti7 ta=bus=a, leave=excl at+there.vis det=bus=exis n-lhám'-lec l=ta=bus=a. Loc-get.put.into-AUT at=det=bus=exis The bus was just leaving, so she got on the bus.
- (14) tsicw áta7 Seattle=a...
 get.there to+there.vis Seattle=exis
 She went to Seattle...
- (15) ...t'elkw-flc ta=bus=a, tsún-as ta=...
 get.taken.off-AUT DET=bus=EXIS say+DIR-3ERG DET=
 wa7 láti7 i=taxi=ha, tsún-as
 be at+there.vis pl.det=taxi=eXis say+DIR-3ERG
 ta=taxi=ha, "cuy, nás-{ts}-tum'c e=t7ú
 DET=taxi=EXIS go.on go-CAUS-ISG.OBJ to=that.vis
 n-k'á7-men=a."
 LOC-get.stuck-INS=EXIS

...and when she got off the *bus* and told the... there were some *taxis* there, so she told the *taxi* driver, "Go on, take me to the jail."

(16) "n-k'a7•a7=k'á=tu7 (na...)

LOC-get.stuck•FRED=EPIS=REM ABS.DET=

na=n-kwtámts=a sxek, cw7áoz=as=kelh

ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-husband=EXIS maybe NEG=3SBJV=FUT

kw=s=ka-7úts'qa7=s-a."

D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-go.out=3POSS-CIRC

"My husband might have been put in jail, and maybe he won't be able to get out."

```
(17) nilh s=... lhám'-lec=s l=ta=taxi=ha,
COP NMLZ= get.put.into-AUT=3POSS at=DET=taxi=EXIS
tsícw-s-tum' e=ta=n-k'á7-men=a,
get.there-CAUS-3PASS to=DET=LOC-get.stuck-INS=EXIS
tsún-as ta=taxi=ha,
say+DIR-3ERG DET=taxi=EXIS
"s-k'al'-em-[m]ín'-ts=t'u7 l=ts7a."
STAT-wait-MID-RLT-ISG.OBJ=EXCL at=this.VIS
She got in the taxi and was taken to the jail, then she told the taxi driver, "Wait for me here."
```

nilh s=7áku7=s s=7ulhcw=s (18)[2:00]COP NMLZ=to+there.INVIS=3POSS NMLZ=enter=3POSS [1]=[ta]=n-k'á7-men=a,sáwlhen at=DET=LOC-get.stuck-INS=EXIS ask.question s-kán=as láti7 STAT-whether=3SBJV at+there.VIS kw=s=wa7=skw=s-Johnny D/C=NMLZ=be=3POSS DET=NMLZ-Johnny Milgaw. Milgaw

She went inside the jail, and asked whether Johnny Milgaw was there.

- (19) áts'x=ku7 láti7 ta=píph=a,
 get.seen=QUOT at+there.VIS DET=paper=EXIS
 tsún-em=ku7, "aoz káti7."
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT NEG around+there.VIS
 They looked at the list and told her, "No."
- (20) "o," tsút=ku7, "n-líg'w-ts-ci{t}-ts áku7.

 oh say=QUOT LOC-open-mouth-IND-ISG.OBJ to+there.INVIS

 wá7=lhkan tcús-min', sxek s7icwlh skwátsits

 IPFV=ISG.SBJ look-RLT maybe different name

 ku=nah-en-ás."

 DET=name-DIR-3ERG

"Oh," she said, "Open the door for me. I'm going to look for him, maybe they are calling him by a different name."

- (21) "cuy," tsún-em=ku7... "áma."
 okay say+dir-3pass=quot good
 n-lig'w-ts-cít-em=ku7 áku7.
 Loc-open-mouth-ind-3pass=quot to+there.invis
 "Okay," they told her, "That's fine." Then they opened the door for her.
- (22) wá7=ku7=t'u7 láti7 n-píph=a ku(i)=wa7
 be=QUOT=EXCL at+there.VIS LOC=paper=EXIS DET=IPFV
 n-k'a7.
 LOC-get.stuck

Apparently, there was a paper there listing the people in jail.

- (23) lig'w-ts-cít-em, wa7 tcús-em=ku7 láti7, open-mouth-IND-3PASS IPFV look-MID=QUOT at+there.VIS

 ao káti7... kwas wa7

 NEG around+there.VIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be
 láti7 kw=s-Johnny Milgaw.
 at+there.VIS DET=NMLZ-Johnny Milgaw

 They opened the door for her, and she looked around, but there was no Johnny Milgaw.
- (24) nílh=s=ku7 káti7 s=tsicw=s
 COP=NMLZ=QUOT around+there.VIS NMLZ=get.there=3POSS
 p'án't-s-tum' ta=taxi=ha áta7
 return-CAUS-3PASS DET=taxi=EXIS to+there.VIS
 lhel=na=s-ts7ás-ts=a, nílh=t'u7
 from=ABS.DET=NMLZ-come-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s....
 NMLZ=

So the *taxi* brought her back to where she came from.

```
(25) nilh s=káti7=s cwíl'-em=s,
COP NMLZ=around+there.VIS=3POSS look.for-MID=3POSS
zewát-en-as ken=tswása
be.known-dir-3erg around=d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss+exis
tsicw.
get.there
```

Then she looked around, she knew the places where he often went.

```
(26)
                         sáma7
                                       ti=wa7
                                                  nk'sáytken-s,
                ti7...
        papt
        always that.vis white.person DET=IPFV
                                                  relative-3POSS
            papt
                                       tsicw
                                                 áta7,
            always COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.there to+there.VIS
                wá7=tu7... wá7=t'u7=ti7
                                                tsicw,
                                                          nílh=ťu7
                IPFV=REM IPFV=EXCL=that.VIS get.there COP=EXCL
                                        [s]-t'qwaw's-min-em
                     NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS STAT-together-RLT-3PASS
                         ki=s-...
                                                nílh=iz'
                                           iy,
                         COLL.DET=NMLZ- yes COP=those.VIS
                             wa7
                                   nek'w-lh-7úqwa7-s,
                             IPFV fellow-conn-drink-3POSS
                                 i=sám7=a.
                                 PL.DET=white.person=EXIS
```

Everytime he... his friends were white people, so everytime he went there, he'd get together with his drinking buddies, yeah, the white people.

```
(27)
         pináni7
                      cw7aoz kwas
                                                        ka-kwám-[a]
                                                                          [3:00]
         at.that.time NEG
                              D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS CIRC-get-CIRC
             i=7ucwalmícw=a
                                              ku=qú7,
                                                           t'u7
             PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS DET=water but
                         wá7=hem'
                                      ta=wa7
                                                 [e]s=\{s\}ql\bullet\acute{e}l\bullet\acute{e}w'
                 always IPFV=ANTI DET=IPFV have=money•CRED•
                      kw=s-Johnny.
                      DET=NMLZ-Johnny
```

At that time Indian people couldn't get liquor, but *Johnny* always had a little bit of money.

(28) cwí::l'-em=ku7 káti7 kw=s-*Mary*,
look.for-mid=quot around+there.vis det=nmlz-Mary
ken-tákem.
around-all
So *Mary* looked around all over the place.

(29) xil-em=k'á=tu7, wá7=k'a=ti7 xíl-em
do-MID=EPIS=REM IPFV=EPIS=that.VIS do-MID

[pin]áni7 [i]=ucwalmícw=a cin'
at.that.time PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS long.time
kw=s={s}-t'qwáw's=wit.
D/C=NMLZ=STAT-together=3PL

That's what she must've done, that's what the Indian people did back then when they were together for a long time.

(30) nílh=t'u7 s=ts'íla=s kwa... zewát-en-as,
COP=EXCL NMLZ=like=3POSS D/C+IPFV be.known-DIR-3ERG
ka-xék-s-as-a, nílh=ku7=t'u7
CIRC-figure-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC COP=QUOT=EXCL
s=tsut=s, "o, tsúkw=ti7
NMLZ=think=3POSS oh finish=that.VIS
s=cwíl'-en-an..."
NMLZ=look.for-DIR-ISG.ERG

But she kind of knew, she managed to figure it out, so she thought, "Oh, I quit looking for him..."

(31) "sxek t'iq=k'a=tu7 ku=t'íq lhel=kw7ú-{w}na maybe arrive=epis=rem det=arrive from=that.invis-precisely tmícw-kalh=a. nilh=kelh=tú7=ti7 land-ipl.poss=exis cop=fut=rem=that.vis

wa7=kwelh es=qú7=wit, nílh=t'u7=tu7
ipfv=those.invis have=water=3pl cop=excl=rem
{s}=n-lhám'•em'=s."

NMLZ=LOC-get.put.into•fred=3poss

"Maybe someone showed up from back home in our territory, and so it might have been that they had liquor, and he got a ride with them."

- (32) "uxwal'=kélh=t'u7, t'íq=kelh, sxek." go.home=fut=excl arrive=fut maybe "He'll come home, he'll get here, I guess."
- (33) nilh s=p'an't=s, tsicw... *Monday*, láti7

 COP NMLZ=return=3POSS get.there Monday at+there.vis

 lh=w[á7=a]s nílh=t'u7 s=qwatsáts=s

 COMP=be=3SBJV COP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3POSS

 k'wezús-em.

 work-MID

So she went back, and when *Monday* came, there she was and she set off for work.

- (34) k'a lh=sq'weláw'-em,³ k'a lh... wá7=k'a
 EPIS COMP=pick.berries-MID EPIS COMP IPFV=EPIS
 q'weláw'-em, sxek.
 pick.berries-MID maybe
 Maybe picking berries, she must have been picking berries.
- (35) sq'weláp láti7 wa7... mays. strawberry at+there.vis ipfv get.fixed They grew strawberries there.
- (36) ni::lh swas q'weláw'-em, [ni]lh=hem'
 COP NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS pick.berries-MID COP=ANTI

 áys=t'u7 kw=s-Johnny, cw7áoy=t'u7

 NEG=EXCL DET=NMLZ-Johnny NEG=EXCL

 káti7 kwas

 around+there.vis D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS

 ka-kán-[em]-[a].

 CIRC-whether-MID-CIRC

So she carried on picking, but there was still no sign of *Johnny*, and nothing she could do about it.

 $^{^3}$ Complementizer lb= normally induces conjunctive subject inflection on a predicate, but unexpectedly here, it does not.

```
[4:00] (37) plán=t'u7 wa7 tsut l=t=s-ptínus-em-s=a, already=excl ipfv say at=det=nmlz-think-mid-3poss=exis "cw7áoz=hem' káti7 kwas

Neg=anti around+there.vis d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss
s-zuqw, wá7=t'u7 máwal'," tsút=ku7.

Stat-die ipfv=excl alive think=quot

She was already thinking, "Well he can't be dead, he's still alive," she thought.
```

(38) nílh=ti7 tsúwa7-s sqwé•qw•el', ti7
COP=that.VIS own-3POSS tell•CRED• that.VIS
ta=múlha[ts=a].

DET=woman=EXIS

That's her own story, that woman.

(39)"cw7ao káti7 kwas s-zuqw, around+there.vis D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS STAT-die NEG cw7ao káti7 kwas NEG around+there.vis D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS zúqw-s-tum', kwas die-CAUS-3PASS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS kwas whether-MID D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS ka-n-k'méq'w-a. wá7=ťu7 CIRC-LOC-fall.in.water-CIRC IPFV=EXCL máwal'," tsút=ku7. alive think=QUOT

"He's not dead, nobody killed him, nothing happened, and he didn't drown. He's still alive," she thought.

(40) nilh s=wa7=s, qwatsáts áta7, ptak múta7
COP NMLZ=be=3POSS leave to+there.VIS pass.by again
lhláti7 lhel=ta=pál7=a Sunday.
from+there.VIS from=DET=one=EXIS Sunday
So there she was, she left, and then another Sunday passed by.

- (41) *Monday*=k'á=ti7 áylh=ku7... Monday=EPIS=that.VIS then=QUOT Then it must've been on a *Monday*...
- (42) ts7ás=ku7 kw=s-Mary lh=tsúkw=as alkst, come=quot det=nmlz-Mary comp=finish=3sbJv work gap....
 evening

Mary was coming along when she was finished with work in the evening....

(43)wa7... wá7=wit=ti7 láti7 IPFV=3PL=that.VIS at+there.vis es=cabin, ts7ás=ku7 lhláta7, wa7 have=cabin come=QUOT from+there.vis be láti7 kw=s-Johnny es-mítsa7q at+there.vis DET=NMLZ-Johnny STAT-sit [l=ta]=sk'ém'-ts-s=a. at=DET=edge-mouth-3POSS=EXIS

...to where they had a *cabin*, and when she came, there was *Johnny* sitting at her doorstep.

(44)áts'x-en-as, wa7 snilh we7-án-tali 3SG.INDEP be-DIR-NTS get.seen-DIR-3ERG IPFV ta=neklíh-s=a ta=cabin-í=ha, ao DET=key-3POSS=EXIS DET=cabin-3PL.POSS=EXIS NEG kw=s=ka-7úlhcw-a kw=s-Johnny, nilh D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-enter-CIRC DET=NMLZ-Johnny COP s-mítsa7[q]. at+there.vis stat-sit

She saw him, she was the one who had the keys to their *cabin*, and *Johnny* couldn't get in, so he was sitting there.

tsicw-min'-ás=ku7 ta=kwtámts-s=a,
get.there-RLT-3ERG=QUOT DET=husband-3POSS=EXIS
nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsún-as, "nká7=hem'
COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG where=ANTI
múta7 lh=tsícw=acw?"
again COMP=get.there=2SG.SBJV
She went up to her husband and asked him, "Where did you go this time?"

- [5:00] (46) tsút=ku7 kw=s-Johnny, "e=kw7ú
 say=QUOT DET=NMLZ-Johnny to=that.INVIS
 cá7=a tmicw. e=kw7ú cá7=a tmicw
 high=exis land to=that.Invis high=exis land
 lh=tsícw=an."

 COMP=get.there=ISG.SBJV

 Johnny said, "To heaven. I went to heaven."
 - (47) tsún-as=ku7, "ts'ila-7úl=t'u7 snúwa say+DIR-3ERG=QUOT like-really=EXCL 2SG.INDEP ku=cúz' nas áku7 cá7=a tmicw."

 DET=going.to go to+there.INVIS high=EXIS land She told him, "It's just like you to go to heaven."
 - (48) nílh=ku7=t'u7 aylh
 COP=QUOT=EXCL then
 {s}=sqwe•qw•el'-min-antsút=s.
 NMLZ=tell•CRED•-RLT-DIR+REFL=3POSS
 Then he told about what happened to him.
 - (49) tsút=ku7, "ta=7áw't=a wa7 say=QUOT DET=behind=EXIS IPFV n-s-zewát-cal..."
 ISG.POSS-NMLZ-be.known-ACT
 He said, "The last thing I knew..."
 - (50) tsún-em=ku7=hem', "kan-em=lhkácw=hem'!?" say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT=ANTI whether-MID=2SG.SBJ=ANTI But she asked him, "Well, what happened to you!?"

(51) tsút=ku7, "ta=7áw't=a n-s-zewát-cal say=Quot det=behind=exis isg.poss-nmlz-be.known-act láti7 táown=a, n-pzán=lhkan at+there.vis town=exis loc-meet+dir=isg.sbj láti7 nelh=n-[pe]t•páotenh=a, at+there.vis pl.abs.det=isg.poss-tred•partner=exis nelh=sám7=a."

Pl.abs.det=white.person=exis

He said, "The last thing I knew there in town, I met my partners, the white people."

(52)"nílh=iz' wa7. nilh láti7 skalh COP at+there.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+IPL.POSS COP=those.vis be [s]qwe•qw•el' láti7 l=ta=street=a, tell*CRED* at+there.vis at=DET=street=EXIS l=ta=sidewalk=a 1=t711 at=that.vis at=DET=sidewalk=EXIS wa7, kalhás=kalh." COMP+IPFV+IPL.SBJV be three=IPL.SBJ

"They were there. We were talking in the *street*, we were on the *sidewalk*, the three of us."

(53)"wá7=lhkalh=malh láta7 qwe•qw•al'•él't, IPFV=IPL.SBJ=ADHORT at+there.VIS tell*CRED*FRED qwe•qw•[al']•el't-mín-em lh=cúz'=as... tell • CRED • FRED-RLT-IPL.ERG COMP=going.to=3SBJV cuz' nás=wit kwam ku=s7úqwa7, ku=wine, DET=drink going.to go=3PL DET=wine get wá7=lhkan [e]s={s}ql•él•ew'." IPFV=ISG.SBJ have=money*CRED*

"We were just talking, talking about going to... they were going to get something to drink, some *wine*, and I had a little bit of money."

```
(54)
                "nílh=iz'
                               i=n-[pe]t•páotenh=a,
                COP=those.VIS PL.DET=ISG.POSS-TRED*partner=EXIS
                    pápt=ťu7=iz'
                                            wa7...
                   always=EXCL=those.VIS
                                            IPFV
                        kwelh=u•7•qwa7-mín'-ts-as
                        PL.DET=drink • CRED • - RLT-ISG.OBJ-3ERG
                                                   tsicw
                                                            káta7,
                            COMP+IPFV+ISG.SBJV get.there around+there.VIS
                                wa7 tsícw=wit
                                                     kwam, nílh=ťu7
                                IPFV get.there=3PL get
                                                             COP=EXCL
                                     skalh
                                                            tsicw
                                     NMLZ+IPFV+IPL.POSS get.there
                                         legw-ílc káku7."
                                         hide-AUT around+there.INVIS
               "Those buddies of mine, they always went drinking with me when I
               went anywhere, they would go get the liquor, and then we'd go hide
               somewhere."
                            "nilh ti7
[6:00] (55)
                tsút=ku7,
                                            aw't
                                                     ta=wa7
                say=QUOT COP
                                  that.vis behind DET=IPFV
                                           ts7ás=kan
                    zewát-en-an,
                                                           cwak.
                   be.known-dir-isg.erg begin=isg.sbj wake.up
                        tákem=ťu7 stam' peq..."
                        all=EXCL
                                    what white
               He said, "That was the last I think I knew, and when I began to wake
               up, everything was white..."
                "l=ténswa
       (56)
                                               s-kíts-lec,
                at=D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV STAT-get.laid.down-AUT
                    péq=t'u7
                                tákem ta=wa7
                                                   s-lhecw-s-án,
                    white=EXCL all
                                        DET=IPFV STAT-put.on-CAUS-ISG.ERG
                        peq...."
                        white
               "Where I was laying, everything I was wearing was white..."
```

- (57) "ken=ts7á i=smelh•mé•m'•lhats=a wa7
 around=this.vis pl.det=tred•woman•cred•=exis ipfv
 má•m'•teq, péq=t'u7 i=... leqwáz'-i=ha..."
 walk•cred• white=excl pl.det= dress-3pl.poss=exis
 "These girls who were walking around, their dresses were white...."
- (58) "[e]s=kep•kapháht=wit." have=TRED•cap=3PL "They were wearing caps."
- (59) "t'íq-min'-ts-as ta=pá•p•l7=a, tsún-as, arrive-RLT-ISG.OBJ-3ERG DET=one•CRED•=EXIS say+DIR-3ERG

 "Johnny? Johnny Milgaw? You alright?""

 Johnny Johnny Milgaw you alright

 "One of them approached me, and asked me, "Johnny? Johnny Milgaw? You alright?""
- (60) "tsut-ánwas=kan, "stám'=k'a ts7a say-inside=Isg.sbj what=epis this.vis kwelh=zewát-en-ts-as? stéxw=k'a pl.det=be.known-dir-Isg.obj-3erg straight=epis nilh=k'a=tí7=wi7 ts7a wa7 cá7=a cop=epis=that.vis=emph this.vis ipfv high=exis tmicw."" land
 - "I thought to myself, "What are these people who know me? It must really be true, this is heaven!""
- "tsúkw=t'u7 l=ts7a (61)xlun' finish=EXCL at=this.vis missing áts'x-en-[em] i=wa7 PL.DET=IPFV get.seen-DIR-IPL.ERG l=ki=píktsa-s=a ku=lisáos, ícwa7... at=PL.DET=picture-3POSS=EXIS DET=angel without t=s=7icw7=í=ha es=t'aq'á7el'." D/C=NMLZ=without=3PL.POSS=EXIS have=wing

"The only thing missing that we see in pictures of angels, they didn't have any wings."

```
áts'x-en-an
       (62)
                "i=wa7
                                                    i=wa7...
                PL.DET=IPFV
                              get.seen-DIR-ISG.ERG
                                                   PL.DET=IPFV
                   cwits'-ci{t}-túmulh-as
                                          i=naplít=a
                   give-IND-IPL.OBJ-3ERG PL.DET=priest=EXIS
                                          es=t'aq'a7el'=wít,"
                        ku=lisáos,
                                    wa7
                        DET=angel IPFV have=wing=3PL
                            "tsil.h-al'qwem'=hém'=t'u7
                                                      izá,
                                                                 nílh=ťu7
                            like-look=anti=excl
                                                       these.vis cop=excl
                                          lisáos."
                                these.vis angel
               "The ones I saw, the pictures of angels that the priests gave to us, they
               had wings," he said, "but these looked just the same, so these were
               angels."
                "nílh=t'u7 láta7
      (63)
                                        n=s=wa7."
                COP=EXCL at+there.vis isg.poss=nmlz=be
               "So there I was..."
[7:00] (64)
                "lati7=málh=t'u7,
                                             nílh=ťu7
                                                         séna7
                at+there.vis=adhort=excl cop=excl
                                                         CNTR
                                           tsun-taníhan,
                   nswa
                   ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV say+DIR-3PL.OBJ+ISG.ERG
                        "wá7=lhkan úxwal'.""
                        IPFV=ISG.SBJ go.home
               "Even though I was there [in heaven], I still told them, "I'm going
               home.""
      (65)
                "tsun-tsal-ítas,
                                          "cw7ao káti7
                say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3PL.ERG NEG
                                                  around+there.vis
                   Johnny, kalál, kalál
                                         kw=s=7úxwal'=su,
                   Johnny soon soon D/C=NMLZ=go.home=2SG.POSS
                        ama-wíl'c=kacw,
                                               nílh=ťu7
                        good-become=2SG.SBJ COP=EXCL
                            s=7úxwal'=su.""
                            NMLZ=go.home=2sG.Poss
               "They told me, "No Johnny, soon, you can go home soon, when you
               get better, then you can go home.""
```

- (66) "cw7áo=t'u7 káti7 kw=s=zewát-en-an

 NEG=EXCL around+there.vis D/C=nmlz=be.known-dir-3erg

 lh=ts'íl.h=as nka7 s-cá7-s

 COMP=like=3sBJV where NMLZ-high-3POSS

 l=kw=n=s=wa7."

 at=D/C=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=be

 "I didn't know how high up I was."
- (67) "tákem=t'u7 stam', wa7 sacw-en-tsál-itas,
 all=excl what ipfv get.bathed-dir-isg.obj-3pl.erg
 n-s7ílhen=a láti7=t'u7
 isg.poss-food=exis at+there.vis=excl
 lhas t'iq."
 comp+ipfv+3sbjv arrive
 "They did everything, they bathed me, and they brought me food."
- (68) ao múta7 put kw=s=ka-sám7a-ts-a,

 NEG again exactly D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-white.person-mouth-CIRC

 ti7 ku=7úcwalmicw. yeah...

 that.vis det=indigenous.person yeah

 He couldn't exactly speak English, this Indian person. Yeah.
- (69) nilh s=... wá7=malh aylh áta7...

 COP NMLZ= IPFV=ADHORT then at+there.VIS

 áti7 lh... tsulhaká7=[as] sq'ít=k'a
 at+there.VIS COMP= seven=3SBJV day=EPIS
 láta7 kw=s=wa7=s, elh
 at+there.VIS D/C=NMLZ=be=3POSS and.then
 klh-aka7-mín-em aylh...
 get.taken.off-hand-RLT-3PASS then

It must've been on the seventh day that he'd been there, that's when they released him...

"cuy," t'íq-cit-em (70)tsún-em, arrive-IND-3PASS say+DIR-3PASS go.on t=stem'tétem'-s=a, tsún-em, "cúy=malh DET=things-3POSS=EXIS say+DIR-3PASS go.on=ADHORT Johnny, plán=lhkacw aylh wa7 then get.dressed Johnny already=2SG.SBJ then IPFV ka-7ámh-a. nas úxwal'." CIRC-good-CIRC go go.home They told him, "Ok," and gave him back his things, they told him, "Go ahead and get dressed, Johnny, you're better now. Go home."

(71) "n-ták-il'q=kan láti7, t'u
LOC-side-bottom=ISG.SBJ at+there.VIS until
lati7=wí7=t'u7 táown=a," (nilh...) nílh=t'u7
at+there.VIS=EMPH=EXCL town=EXIS COP COP=EXCL
aylh s=texw-ílc=s=t'u7 láti7
then nmlz=straight-aut=3poss=excl at+there.vIs
úxwal', e=t7ú rit. yeah.
go.home to=that.VIS street yeah

"I went down until I got to town," then he went straight home down the street. *Yeah*.

- [8:00] (72) He thought sure he was in heaven.
 - (73) nílh=t'u7 aylh s=wa7=s... cw7áoy=s=t'u7=ti7
 COP=EXCL then NMLZ=be=3POSS NEG=3POSS=EXCL=that.VIS
 s=tsem'p=s put, n-sqwé•qw•el'.
 NMLZ=get.finished=3POSS exactly ISG.POSS-tell•CRED•
 So there he was... but my story isn't quite finished yet.

⁴Our analysis of *rit* as coming from English 'street' is tentative.

(74)nilh s=wa7=s, nas e=t7ú kalhás xetspásq'et, COP NMLZ=be=3POSS go to=that.VIS three lh... tqílh=k'a pála7 t'ánam'ten, EPIS COMP almost=EPIS one month kwám•em=ku7 ta=píph=a, ts'íla ts7a get•FRED=QUOT DET=paper=EXIS like this.vis brown pípa... brown paper

There he was, three weeks went by, it must've been almost one month, and he got a letter, kind of in a *brown* envelope...

(75) Johnny Milgaw, cw7áo=ti7 (kw=s=ka...)
Johnny Milgaw NEG=that.VIS D/C=NMLZ=CIRCkwas ka-7ats'x-s-ás-a
D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS CIRC-get.seen-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC
kwa pípa, kwas
DET+IPFV paper D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
ka-rít-a.
CIRC-read-CIRC

Johnny Milgaw, he had never seen a letter, and he couldn't read it.

(76) cw7aoz, kán=as=ku7 nilh s=...

NEG whether=3sBJV=QUOT COP NMLZ=

tsícw-cit-as káti7 ta=twéww'et=a wa7

get.there-IND-3ERG around+there.VIS DET=boy=EXIS IPFV

ka-rít-a.

CIRC-read-CIRC

No, so I guess he took it to a boy who could read.

(77) "o," tsún-em=ku7 ta=twéww'et=a, "p'a7cw
oh say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT DET=boy=EXIS more.than
lhel=kw7á-wna xetspqíqn'ekst ti7
from=this.INVIS-precisely hundred that.VIS
ta=cheque-sw=a!"
DET=cheque-2sG.POSS=EXIS
"Oh," the boy told him, "Your cheque is for more than a hundred dollars!"

"insurance=k'á=ti7!

(78)

```
insurance=EPIS=that.VIS COP DET=IPFV
                                                         insurance
                   stam'=as=k'á=ti7
                                              ku=company,
                                                              insurance
                   what=3sbJv=epis=that.vis Det=company insurance
                        company, skwatsits-sú=hem'=ti7."
                        company name-2SG.POSS=ANTI=that.VIS
               "It must be insurance! It's insurance, whatever insurance company it
               is, but that's your name on it."
[9:00] (79)
                     tsút=ku7,
                                 "cw7aoz káti7
                     say=QUOT NEG
                                           around+there.vis
                oh
                   kwenswá
                    D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
                        gwe<7>ez'-mín=ti7,
                        get.bothered<INCH>-RLT=that.VIS
                            ao
                                  káti7
                                  around+there.vis
                            NEG
                                (kwenswá...)
                                D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
                                     kwenswá
                                     D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
                                         k'wezus-em-cít=iz',
                                         work-MID-IND=those.VIS
                                             [za]m'=ás=t'u7
                                             though=3SBJV=EXCL
                                                 lh=nká7=as
                                                 COMP=where=3SBJV
                                                     stám'=as
                                                     what=3SBJV
                                                      COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                                     kwan."
                                                     get.taken
               "Oh," he said, "but I didn't earn it, I didn't work for that, whatever it
```

nilh ku=wa7

insurance,

is, wherever I got this thing from."

(80) wá7=ku7 tsún-em [e]=ki=wa7 ka...,

IPFV=QUOT say+DIR-3PASS OBL=PL.DET=IPFV CIRC
"cw7aoz kwas xék•xk=hem'

NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS TRED•figure=ANTI

ts7a,5 stám'=as kwa insurance?"

this.VIS what=3SBJV DET+IPFV insurance

He was told... [Johnny said], "This doesn't make sense, what is insurance anyways?"

- (81) cw7ao ti7 kw=s=zewát-en-as stám'=as

 NEG that.VIS D/C=NMLZ=be.known-DIR-3ERG what=3SBJV

 kwa insurance.

 DET+IPFV insurance

 He didn't know what insurance was.
- (82) wá7=ku7 tsún-em [e]=ki=... láti7

 IPFV=QUOT say+DIR-3PASS OBL=PL.DET= at+there.VIS

 [e]=ki=[s]nek'w•núk'wa7-s=a, "What?

 OBL=PL.DET=TRED•friend-3POSS=EXIS what

 stám'=ku7 kw=száyten-su?"

 what=that.INVIS DET=doings-2SG.POSS

 They say his friends asked him, "What? What happened to you?"
- (83) cw7aoz kw=s=zewát-en-as stám'=as
 NEG D/C=NMLZ=be.known-DIR-3ERG what=3SBJV
 kwa insurance.
 DET+IPFV insurance
 He didn't know what insurance was.
- (84) Baptiste Ritchie:
 Social security card, when you get hurt, you know you get your... you get paid for it.
- (85) Sam Mitchell:
 I think, no, this... this what happened, you see.

⁵The transcription of the phrase *xékxk hem' ts7a* is tentative, at best.

```
(86) nílh=t'u7 s=... tsún-em=ku7

COP=EXCL NMLZ= say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT

t=sem7ám-s=a, "tay, nás=malh=ti7

DET=wife-3POSS=EXIS hey go=ADHORT=that.VIS

n-7a<7>z'-em-ál'ts, skwatsits-sú=ti7."

LOC-pay.for<INCH>-MID-rock name-2SG.POSS=that.VIS

His wife told him, "Hey, go cash this cheque, that's your name."
```

- (87) "nílh=k'a=ti7 sxaq'-awílh-tsu láti7 múta7
 COP=EPIS=that.VIS pay-vessel-2sg.Poss at+there.VIS again
 p'an't ku=cá7=a tmicw!"
 return INVIS.DET=high=EXIS land
 "This must be for your fare back to heaven!"
- (88) Baptiste Ritchie: He was a good man, he wanted to go back there!
- (89) Sam Mitchell:

 yeah, nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsut=s, "cuy,"

 yeah COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS go.on

 tsícw-s-as=ku7 ta=bank=a,

 get.there-CAUS-3ERG=QUOT DET=bank=EXIS

 q'wzúxw-k-an'-as.

 make.cross-back-DIR-3ERG

Yeah, then he said, "Ok," he took it to the *bank*, and signed the back with an 'X'.

[10:00] (90) mets-cít-em láti7, nilh s=nás-cit-em get.written-IND-3PASS at+there.VIS COP NMLZ=go-IND-3PASS ku=sqláw'.

DET=money

It was signed for by someone else, and then he was given the money.

(91) láti7=ku7=t'u7 nílh=t'u7 s=tsut=s,
at+there.vis=quot=excl cop=excl nmlz=say=3poss
"well, cúy'=lhkan nas cwíl'-en
well going.to=isg.sbj go look.for-dir
nelh=n-[pe]t•páotenh=a."
pl.abs.det=isg.poss-tred•partner=exis

That was when he said, "Well, I'm going to look for my buddies."

(92) nilh s=... sáotatih, láti7 lhus nilh
COP NMLZ= Saturday at+there.VIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV COP
swas [es]=sqláw', cw7it sqláw'-s=a,
NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS have=money many money-3POSS=EXIS
cw7it t{a}=s=kwám•em=s=a
many D/C=NMLZ=get•FRED=3POSS=EXIS
kwelh=s7úqwa7.
PL.DET=drink

On *Saturday*, there he was, and he had money, a lot of money, and so he got a bunch of booze.

He looked all over for his buddies, and they were... he knew those white guys.

⁶The word *sáma7* is pronounced in the reduplicated diminutive *sésm'a7*, probably for pejorative, or jocular, reasons.

(94) cwí:::l'-en-as, cw7áoy=t'u7 káti7, cw7áoy=t'u7 look.for-dir-3erg neg=excl around+there.vis neg=excl káti7 kw=s=pún-as.
around+there.vis d/c=nmlz=get.found+dir-3erg
He looked all over for them, but they weren't around anywhere, he couldn't find them.

- (95) zam' í7ez'=s=t'u7 s=cw7aoy=s
 though enough=3POSS=EXCL NMLZ=NEG=3POSS
 kw=s=pún-as.
 D/C=NMLZ=get.found+DIR-3ERG
 He'd had enough, he couldn't find them.
- (96)where they now, were... l=ts7á where they were at=this.vis l=tsása wá7=wit at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS be=3PL s-tálh-lec i=... lhláti7 STAT-stand-AUT PL.DET= from+there.VIS lh=7áw't=as s=zewát-en-as. COMP=behind=3SBJV NMLZ=be.known-DIR-3ERG Now, where they were... here where they were standing, it was right there where he was when it was the last thing he could remember.
- (97) wena7=k'á=ti7... lhláku7
 whatchamacallit=epis=that.vis from+there.invis
 lhas úts'qa7 i=káoh=a, wá7=hem'
 COMP+ipfv+3sbjv go.out pl.det=car=exis ipfv=anti
 séna7 láti7 [l]=ta=street=a, sidewalk
 CNTR at+there.vis at=det=exis sidewalk
 l=t=s=wa7=i=há=t'u7...
 at=d/c=nmlz=be=3pl.poss=exis=excl

What do you call it... where the cars come out, anyways they were there on the *street*, on the *sidewalk*...

(98) nílh=iz' wa7 tsún-itas i=núkw=a
COP=those.vis ipfv say+dir-3pl.erg pl.det=other=exis
sáma7 wa7 alleyway.
white.person ipfv alleyway
They're what some white people call an alleyway.

- (99) kel'q=k'á=malh áku7 ku=káoh, pvmp...
 back.up=epis=adhort to+there.invis det=car fast
 A car was backing up there, quickly...
- (100) ...nílh=t'u7 s=ken'•[n']-alqw-mín-tanemwit.

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.bumped•FRED-cylinder-RLT-3PL.PASS

 ...and they got hit by it.
- (101)yeah. now, iz' i=wa7 tsún-as [11:00]yeah now those.VIS PL.DET=IPFV say+DIR-3ERG nk'sáytken-s, kwas D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS relative-3POSS nka7=as=k'a=malh=hém'=tu7 where=3SBJV=EPIS=ADHORT=ANTI=REM lh=t'ák=wit=as, tsúkw=k'a=t'u7

lh=t'ák=wit=as, tsúkw=k'a=t'u7

COMP=go.along=3PL=3SBJV finish=EPIS=EXCL

kw=sxeks snilh ku=tsícw

DET=maybe 3SG.INDEP DET=get.there

ku=cá7=a tmicw.

INVIS.DET=high=EXIS land

Yeah, now, those ones he called his friends, I don't know where they went, so it must have been just him, maybe, who went to heaven.

(102) nílh=wi7 s=cw7aoy=s [11:12]

COP=EMPH NMLZ=NEG=3POSS

kw=s=pún-as.

D/C=NMLZ=get.found+DIR-3ERG

That's why he never did find them.

8.4 Sam Mitchell's Free Translation⁷

Johnny and Mary Milgaw, an old couple from the Fountain Indian Reserve, got a job picking strawberries at Vachon Island⁸, near Seattle. When they went to town, Mary returned home alone, as she didn't want to wait for Johnny. One Saturday, they went to town together, but Mary returned by herself. Next morning, Johnny still hadn't returned. "Oh, that Johnny," thought Mary to herself, "I bet that he is in jail and can't bail himself out!"

Mary bought a bus ticket and went back to Seattle. When she arrived in town, she told a taxi driver to take her to the jail and wait while she went inside to ask for Johnny. The policeman didn't think that Johnny was in jail, but Mary took a walk through the cells in case Johnny had given them a different name. There were a lot of men in jail, but none of them was Johnny Milgaw.

Mary walked around town and went to all of the places where Johnny often visited. He always had some white people as friends, as he had a few dollars for liquor. Finally Mary gave up looking for him. "Maybe he saw someone from home and got a ride with them," she said to herself. She knew that he wasn't dead, so she went home to work.

The following Monday, when Mary returned from work, she found Johnny sitting on the steps outside their cabin. "Where have you been?" she asked. "I have been to heaven," replied Johnny. "That is just like you!" Mary observed. They sat down and Johnny told her his story: "I met some friends of mine and we bought some wine, which we took into an alley to drink. The next thing that I knew, I woke up in a white room, and I was covered with white blankets. There were girls dressed in white, and wearing white hats, walking around the room. Everything was white! I thought that I was in heaven! The girls must have been angels, but they didn't have wings like they have in the pictures that the priest showed us. One of them came over to me and said, 'Johnny Milgaw, are you alright?' I don't know how she knew my name! She said that I could go home after a while. The girls washed and fed me. Finally, one of the angels brought me my clothes and told me that I could go home."

Johnny could speak very little English and had never seen a hospital in his life. That is why he thought that he was in heaven. When he arrived home, he and Mary went back to work. A few weeks later, an envelope, addressed to Johnny Milgaw, came in the mail. Inside was a cheque for about \$200. He showed it to some of the men who could read and they told Johnny that it was for him. "Oh, but I didn't earn it!" said Johnny. The cheque was from an

 $^{^{7}\}mathrm{This}$ translation is reproduced verbatim from Kennedy and Bouchard, BCILP ms.2, #124.

⁸i.e. Vashon Island

insurance company, but Johnny didn't know what insurance was! The others asked Johnny what had happened to him, so he told them about going to heaven. Mary looked at Johnny and said, "Well, it has your name on it, so you can cash it. Maybe it is your fare back to heaven!" Johnny went to a bank, put a cross on the back of the cheque, and received the money. "I'm going to go and search for those girls," Johnny decided. He looked all over Seattle, but he never could find those angels!"

⁹The ending of Sam Mitchell's free translation is considerably different from the St'át'imcets version given above.

Part III Personal Anecdotes

Chapter 9

Iwán sk'úk'wmi7t: Childhood Memories1

9.1 St'át'imcets

9.1.1 Stsáqwem múta7 smík'il

Iy, lts7áwna, nilh t'u7 s... lhélta nkúkw7a lhan wa7 sáy'sez', tsícwkan nkúkw7a, "Táytkan tá7ta7." Plan t'lh kwánas i tupál'a múta7 i stsáqwema. Nt'ák'wan'as t'lh lta... stám'as t'u7 káti7 lkwas kant'ák'wa, kwas kanlhám'a iz' i tupál'a. T'ak'w t.smík'il'a, mat' i stsáqwema, cil' láti7, nilh t'u7 nswa t'u7 xímin'em. Aoz káti7 ku st'acímen ku stam', ku slhék'wtsten ku stam'. Wa7 t'u7 xim, wá7lhkan t'u7 xímin' nqu7láka7, np'úkwtsmin'. Án'was, kalhás kwenswá np'úkwtsam', nilh t'u7 ti7 s... nilhs t'u7 ti7 múta7 nsq'ílhil t'u gap. Aoz káti7 kwenswá lan kwenswá tayt. Texw k'a t'u7 nsgélgel ku s7ílhen, wá7lhkan ntsutánwas lhkun.

Iz' i wa7 tsúnitas wa7 smík'il, wa7 iz'... lkw7u t'u7 i sísxetsa lhus mays, lhas... Kénki k'et'há t'u7, aoz kwas, wéna7, kwas nstsqústen kénkwes pulh. Lta k'et'há t'u7 nwáq'al'ts, láti7 lhus smáysi, lhas sk'úl'i, wa7 tsúnitas wa7 tsepqw. Wa7 p'am kéla7 elh wa7... qemp i k'ét'ha elh wa7 áta7 nlham' i takemá t'u7 kw swínacws sxúmqa7, i sxúmqa7sa i sts'úqwaz'a. Tsukw t'u7 ku7 cw7it ku smík'ils wa7 áta7 nas, nilh t'u7 ses láti7 lhas púlhelh. Pála7 sq'it, p'a7cw k'a ku pála7 sq'it kwas púlhelh, lhwas za::w'enítas lhláti7, záw'al'k ti7 t.smík'ila.

Ti7 ti wa7 tupál', ti wa7 tsúnem wa7 tupál', lt7u lta... wa7 t'u7 iz' melk'úk'wt ta sts'úqwaz'a, nilh t'u7 ses q'ílel ta wa7 tsúnitas wa7 q'ets'ús... ltsása... ts'íla ti7 tswása tsicw t.sméqemsa lta wa7... ltswá7sa esp'ámwit. Tsukw

¹Told by Sam Mitchell in August 1968, translated by Sam Mitchell in November 1969.

t'u7 kw scw7aoys kwas pul'hánem, cw7aoys kw skalhqépa áta7 ku cmaz', kwas pul'hánem. Nilh t'u7 slhláti7s ts'elts'íla tswása tsicw t.sméqema lhas lhlak iz'... t'u ts'íla t'u7 ku7 k'ac, pála7, án'was, án'was k'a sq'it, kalhás k'a sq'it.

Lhwas kelhenítas, ts'íla, nilh t'u7 ses ts'íla plan wa7 há7ew', pá7ew', nilh t'u7 ses kelh láti7 ti7 ta ts'úqwaz'a, ta sts'úqwaz'a. Lhláti7 lhwas k'ul' ti7 ta tupál'a. Ts'eq'enítas: kelh i sts'ám'sa, elh k'ac, elh ts'eq'. Nilh t'u7 sts'ílas t'u7 káti7 ku wéna7... Tsúnem k'á hem' lhkúnsa sawdust, ts'íla t'u7 ku sawdust. Tsi.

K'ac aylh, nilh t'u7 ti7 ses kaqélha, wa7 t'u7 nts'al'k, nilh t'u7 ti7 ses esqélh. Plan ti7 wa7 k'ac, cw7ao káti7 kwas qvlwíil'c lhláti7 múta7 ku hu7. Stam' t'u7 káti7 ltswása nts'al'k, láti7 lhwas... pála7 t'u7 nqúlaka7, nilh ti7 t.smík'il'a elh nilh i stsáqwema. Nilh t'u7 ti7 stexws t'u7 gélgel s7ílhen, lhts'áqwan'acw áti7 ku k'win nqúlaka7, nilh t'u7 ti7 splánsu wa7 matq tákem ta sq'íta. Cw7ao kwásu alán kwásu t'alál, kwásu tayt.

9.1.2 I zewátet.san ta sám7atsa

I kel7án ts7as k'a líl'tem, qan'ímens wa7 qwel'qwal'él't iz' i wa7 tsúnem wa7 sáma7, that's the white man. Iwát tewtwéww'et lhat wa7 káti7 lta c.wálha, ka7áts'xstum'a ku ts7as ku sáma7 t'u7 nilh t'u7 tu7 scwelcúlellhkalh kent7ú. Legwílckalh kenkw7ú lhecwlhúcwa. Wa7 káti7 i núkwa lhel wi snímulh, wa7 kaqan'imenstwítasa i sám7a lhas qwel'qwal'él't. Wa7 tsútwit, "000000ahhhhhh, 00000ahhhhhh!" That's the way the white man talks. T'u7 wa7 t'u7 we7ánem ta tsuwa7lhkálha ngwal'útten t'u7.

T'á::kkan t'u7 aylh líl'tem, k'a p'a7cwkán t'u7 ku q'em'p wi kalhás máqa7, elh cúz'lhkan káti7 k'wezúsem kénki wa7 sleqmám. Papt t'u7 wa7 wa7 láti7 ta skékel7emca lhel wi snímulh. Wa7 tsut, "Wa7 tsut áku7 ta bossa, "Xilemácw ku7 ets7á." Lhláti7 aylh lhcúz'an kak'lép'sa ku sám7ats, p'a7cwkán k'a lhélku q'em'p wi xw7útsin máqa7. T'u7 cúy'lhkan aylh qan'ím'tsan' ku sám7ats, cw7aoz kwenswá zewáten kwa tsut yes, kwa tsut no lku sám7ats. T'u7 cúy'lhkan tu7 aylh k'wezúsem káti7, láti7 lht'ákan zewátet.s ku sám7ats, cw7aoz t'u7 káti7 kwenswá tsicw kenkwa tsúnem wa7 skul.

T'ákkan t'u7 áta7 líl'tem, nilh t'u7 s... t'ak tu7 técwecw kwenswá xekps lhus ínwat i sám7a, t'u wá7lhkan sáma7 t'u7, nilh t'u7 nswa kaqwal'úta ta sám7atsa, áy'tsan' lhas iz' sawentsálem. T'ak tu7 lhelts7áwna t'u7... t'ak tu7 técwecw kwenswá zewátet.s i sám7atsa t'u t'iq t'u7 aylh i wa7 tsúnitas wa7 radio. Kwámlhkan ta radioha nilh nsplan t'u7 aylh wa7 líl'tem. Nilh t'u7 nswa sk'alán'mins, wa7 t'u7 ti7 láti7, cwelpánlhkacw, nilh t'u7 ses wa7 qwel'qwal'él't láti7 ta sám7a, sk'alán'minskan aylh. Láti7 lhp'a7cwás ku wa7... ku cw7it kwens qan'ímtsan'an ku sáma7 lhélki radioha, lhel kwenswá sk'alan'min'stánihan.

Iy, nilh ti7 ns... zewátenan ku ntsúwa7 száyten. P'a7cw k'á t'u7 scw7it.s kw nszewátetcal ku sám7ats lta wa7 tsunítas wa7 *radio* lhelkw7ú... lhelkw7á nsk'alán'mins ku sám7ats. T'u t'ak t'u7 lhkun t'u7, wá7lhkan t'u7 kanqan'ím'tsan'a plan i sám7a lhkúnsa lhas qwel'qwal'él'twit.

Áti7 k'a lhus sxeks t'u7 kwas tsem'p kw nsqwéqwel'. Tsukw lhwá7as múta7 ts7a scw7it.s kw s....

9.1.3 Iwát ílhen ki st'áqs7a

Iwát hem' sk'wemk'úk'wmi7t wi snímulh, tsukw t'u7 ta wa7 zewátenem kwa... Tsícwkan ta sísxetsa, káti7 lhwat ka7ílhena kénki... lhas wa7 i ts'úqwaz'a. Wá7lhkalh cwecút'cen, sqwatsátskalh káku7 sísxetsa. Cw7it hem' wa7 iz' i sts'úqwaz'a pináni7. Ta sat'átqw7a, t'u7 q'wexq'wíx i ts'úqwaz'a, cw7aoy t'u7 kwásu gwé7ez' kwásu kakwánsa lhucw kwákwens káti7. Káti7 lhwat ílhen ta wa7 tsúnem wa7 st'áqsa7, nilh iz' skéla7tens kw s7ílhen lhucw q'wel ku ts'úqwaz' lkw sp'ams. Nilh ti7 wa7 t'áqsa7, ti wa7 tsúnem ti sám7a wa7 barbeque fish. Nilh ti7 skéla7tens kwes áma ku s7ílhen ku ts'úqwaz'. Lhas tsítsel, nilh t'u7 st'aqs7ánacw lta sp'áma. Nilh t'u7 ti7 s... lh7ílhenacw láti7 ku pála7 sq'it, plan t'u7 ti7 wa7... p'a7cw lhélku tákem k'win s7ílhen, ku tákem kw swín'acws. Tsetsúkwa t'u7 iz' wa7 s7ílhenlhkalh ti ts'úqwaz'a. N'án'atcw elh cwákkalh tu7, plan t'lh múta7 wa7 ta wa7 t'áqsa7. Nilh t'u7 ti7 stsukws t'u7 wa7 s7ílhenlhkalh i ts'úqwaz'a. Cw7aoz káti7 kwélhkalh tsut ku szaq', ku stam', ku káopi, ku stam'! Tsetsúkwa t'u7 i sts'úqwaz'a wa7 s7ílhenlhkalh lhat wa7 káku7 sísxetsa. Cw7aoy t'u7 kwas... kw szewátenem kwelhkálh tayt.

9.2 English

9.2.1 Saskatoons and Fish Oil

Now, when I was playing at my grandmother's, I went to her and said, "I'm hungry, grandma." She had already gotten pounded salmon and saskatoon berries. She poured them into... whatever it was they were poured into, what the pounded salmon was in. The fish oil was poured in, the saskatoons were mixed in, and when it was stirred up, I'd take a big handful. There weren't any spoons or forks, or anything. It was just taken by hand, I'd grab a handful and pour it into my mouth. I poured two or three handfuls into my mouth, and then I ran around until evening. I never felt hungry. That was real powerful food for me, I still think that today.

What they call *smik'il*, it was made at the river bank, where... Around the rocks, there weren't any, whatchamacallit, pots around there for boiling. They made it in a hole in a rock, what they call fish oil. First, a fire was built and then when the rocks were hot then all sorts of fish heads were put in. Only ones with a lot of fish oil went in, and then it was left to boil. One day, it boils for about one day, and that's when they scoop the fish oil off the top.

Pounded salmon, what they called *tupâl*'... the fish were cut into rounds, then they were set on a screen (made out of green sticks) where... so that the smoke from the fire would get to it. So that they were never infested with maggots, the flies wouldn't land on it and lay eggs. Then it was put where the smoke could get to it, until it was kind of dried, one, two days, maybe two days, maybe three days.

When they took it out, it was kind of already heated through and swollen, that's when they took the fish off. That's what the pounded salmon was made from. They'd pound the fish: the bones were taken out, and then it was dry and pounded. It was kind of like, whatchamacallit... Well, today they call it *sawdust*, it was kind of like *sawdust*. Gee.

When it was dry, then it was stored away, it was just wrapped up and stored away. Once it was dried, it wouldn't go bad anymore. It was wrapped up in something... you took just one handful, and added fish-oil and saskatoons. It was really good food, and when you ate a few handfuls, you could travel the whole day. You wouldn't feel tired or hungry.

9.2.2 Learning English

When I first started growing up, I heard those ones we call *sáma7*s talking, *that's the white man*. When we were boys hanging around on the road and we saw a white person coming, we'd just run away. We'd hide in the bushes. There were some of us who could understand the white people when they talked. They'd say, "ooooooahhhhhh, oooooahhhhhh!" *That's the way the white man talks*. But we still had our own language.

I kept getting older, and must've been over 13 years old when I started working around haymakers. There was always someone there who was older than us. He said, "The *boss* said, "Do it like this."" That's when I first started to grasp English, I must've been over 14 years old. But when I started to understand English, I didn't know how to say *yes* or *no*. Then I started working in different places around here, and that's where I continued to pick up English, but I never went to what we call 'school'.

As I grew older, I figured out more and more of what the white people were saying, until I spoke English, I was able to talk English, to answer when I was asked something. I kept on learning more English until *radios* appeared. By the time I got a *radio*, I was already grown up. So I listened to it, it was there and you turned the dial, then a white person would speak and I'd listen to it. That's how I understood more of what the white people said, from listening to them on the *radio*.

That's what I know of my own affairs. I learned more English from what they call the *radio*, than I did from listening to people talking English. And that's continued on till now, so now I can understand white people when they talk.

I guess that's where my story is going to finish. That's a lot, even that much....

9.2.3 Eating Barbequed Fish

But when we were children, the only thing we knew was... I'd go to the river bank, we could eat where the fish were... We were barefoot when we set off for the river bank. There were a lot of fish there in those days. The Fraser River, well it was just black with fish, and you didn't have to go to much trouble to catch a few. That's where we ate what we call t'aqsa7, that was the very best food, when you roast a fish in the fire. That's t'aqsa7, what the white people call barbeque fish. That was really the best fish to eat. When it's fresh, then you roast

²Carl Alexander indicates that here Sam Mitchell is mimicking the sound the white man made to show that he had seen Sam and his friends hiding in the bushes.

Childhood Memories

it on the fire. When you eat it one day, [you'll know that] it's better than any other kind of food. That was the only thing we ate, fish. In the morning when we woke up, there it was again, barbequed fish. That was the only thing we ate, fish. We never thought of bread or anything, coffee or anything! The only thing we ate was fish, when we were around the river banks. We never knew hunger.

9.3 Interlinear Gloss

9.3.1 Stsáqwem múta7 smík'il: Saskatoons and Fish Oil

```
(1)
             l=ts7á-wna,
                                 nílh=ťu7
                                                                     [0:00]
        yes at=this.vis-precisely COP=EXCL NMLZ=
            lhel=ta=n-kúkw7=a
            from=DET=ISG.POSS-grandmother=EXIS
                (lhwan...)
                                      lhan
                COMP+IPFV+ISG.SBJV COMP+IPFV+ISG.SBJV
                          sáy'sez', tsícw=kan
                    IPFV play
                                  get.there=ISG.SBJ
                        n-kúkw7=a,
                                                    "táyt=kan
                        ISG.POSS-grandmother=EXIS hungry=ISG.SBJ
                            tá7ta7."
                            grandma
```

Now, when I was playing at my grandmother's, I went to her and said, "I'm hungry, grandma."

(2) plan=t'lh kwán-as
already=at.this.time take+DIR-3ERG
i=tupál'=a múta7
PL.DET=pounded.salmon=EXIS and
i=stsáqwem=a.
PL.DET=saskatoon.berry=EXIS

She had already gotten pounded salmon and saskatoon berries.

```
(3)
         n-t'ák'w-an'-as=t'lh...
         LOC-liquid.gets.poured.in-DIR-3ERG=at.this.time
                       stám'=as=t'u7
                                          káti7
            at=DET= what=3SBIV=EXCL around+there.VIS
                 l=kwas
                 at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                     ka-n-t'ák'w-a
                     CIRC-LOC-liquid.gets.poured.in-CIRC
                         (t...)
                                 kwas
                         DET= D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                              ka-n-lhám'-[a]=7iz'
                              CIRC-LOC-get.put.into-CIRC=those.VIS
                                  i=tupál'=a.
                                  PL.DET=pounded.salmon=EXIS
```

She poured them into... whatever it was they were poured into, what the pounded salmon was in.

(4) t'ak'w t=smík'il'=a, mat'
liquid.gets.poured.in DET=fish.oil=EXIS get.mixed
i=stsáqwem=a, cil' láti7,
PL.DET=saskatoon.berry=EXIS get.stirred at+there.VIS
nílh=t'u7 nswá=t'u7
COP=EXCL ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV=EXCL
xím-in'-em.³
get.grabbed-DIR-3PASS

The fish oil was poured in, the saskatoons were mixed in, and when it was stirred up, I'd take a big handful.

(5) aoz káti7 ku=st'acímen ku=stám',

NEG around+there.vis Det=spoon Det=what

ku=slhék'w-ts-ten ku=stám'.

Det=poke.with.sharp.object-food-ins Det=what

There weren't any spoons or forks, or anything.

³The final clause in this stanza has double subject marking, with 1st singular possessive n= and passive -em, a combination which is not usually grammatical.

(6) wá7=t'u7 xim, wá7=lhkan=t'u7 xím-in'
IPFV=EXCL get.grabbed IPFV=ISG.SBJ=EXCL get.grabbed-DIR
n-qul-áka7, n-p'úkw-ts-min'.
LOC-full-hand LOC-pour.solid-mouth-RLT
It was just taken by hand, I'd grab a handful and pour it into my mouth.

(7) án'was, kalhás kwenswá
two three D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV

n-p'úkw-ts-am', nílh=t'u7=ti7
LOC-pour.solid-mouth-MID COP=EXCL=that.VIS
s=... nilh=s=t'ú7=ti7 múta7
NMLZ= COP=NMLZ=EXCL=that.VIS again
n-s-q'ílhil t'u gap.
ISG.POSS-NMLZ-run until evening

I poured two or three handfuls into my mouth, and then I ran around until evening.

- (8) [aoz] káti7 kwenswá lan

 NEG around+there.vis D/C+isg.poss+nmlz+ipfv already

 kwenswá tayt.

 D/C+isg.poss+nmlz+ipfv hungry

 I never felt hungry.
- (9) téxw=k'a=t'u7 ns-gélgel⁴ ku=s7ílhen, wá7=lhkan [1:00] straight=EPIS=EXCL ATT-strong DET=food IPFV=ISG.SBJ n-tsut-ánwas lhkun.
 LOC-say-inside now
 That was real powerful food for me, I still think that today.

⁴The meaning of the prefix *ns-* in *ns-gelgel* unclear, but is also found with other adjectives, for example *ns-p'xil* 'stingy' and *ns-lil'q* 'generous.' (van Eijk 1997:52). Since it seems to occur only with adjectives, we tentatively gloss it as ATT 'attributive'.

(10) iz' i=wa7 tsún-itas wa7 smík'il, those.vis pl.det=ipfv say+dir-3pl.erg ipfv fish.oil wá7=iz'... lkw7ú=t'u7 i=sísxets=a be=those.vis at+there.invis=excl pl.det=beach=exis lhus mays, lhas...

COMP+ipfv+3sBjv get.fixed COMP+ipfv+3sBjv What they call smík'il, it was made at the river bank, where...

(11)ken=ki=k'et'h=á=t'u7, (aoz around=PL.DET=rock=EXIS=EXCL NEG kwas...) aoz kwas, D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS wéna7, kwas whatchamacallit D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS n-stsq-ús-ten LOC-placed.opening.side.up-face-INS kén=kwes pulh. around=DET+NMLZ+IPFV3POSS get.boiled

Around the rocks, there weren't any, whatchamacallit, pots around there for boiling.

(12) l=ta=k'et'h=á=t'u7 n-wáq'-al'ts, láti7
at=DET=rock=EXIS=EXCL LOC-hollowed.out-rock at+there.vis
lhus s-máys-i, 5 lhas
COMP+IPFV+3SBJV NMLZ-fix-3PL.POSS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
s-k'úl'-i (s=...) wa7 tsún-itas
NMLZ-make-3PL.POSS NMLZ= IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG
wa7 tsepqw.
IPFV fish.oil

They made it in a hole in a rock, what they call fish oil.

⁵The predicate *mays* 'get fixed' is not normally used as an unergative, though in this stanza it is, probably on analogy with *k'ul'* 'get made / make' which is more often unergative, and occurs immediately after *mays* in this stanza.

```
kéla7
(13)
        wa7
              p'am
                                elh
                                        wa7... qemp
        IPFV make.fire before and.then IPFV
                                                 hot
            i=k'ét'h=a
                               elh
                                        wa7
            PL.DET=rock=EXIS and.then IPFV to+there.VIS
                n-lham'
                                 i=takem=á=t'u7
                LOC-get.put.into PL.DET=all=EXIS=EXCL
                    kw=swinacws
                                      sxúmga7,
                    DET=similar.kinds
                                      fish.head
                        i=sxúmqa7-s=a
                        PL.DET=fish.head-3POSS=EXIS
                            i=sts'úqwaz'=a.
                            PL.DET=fish=EXIS
```

First, a fire was built and then when the rocks were hot then all sorts of fish heads were put in.

- (14) tsúkw=t'u7=ku7 cw7it ku=smík'il-s wa7
 finish=excl=quot many det=fish.oil-3poss ipfv
 áta7 nas... nílh=t'u7 ses
 to+there.vis go cop=excl nmlz+be+3poss
 láti7 lhas púlh•elh.
 at+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv get.boiled•fred
 Only ones with a lot of fish oil went in, and then it was left to boil.
- (15)sq'it, p'a7cw k'a ku=pála7 pála7 sq'it one day more.than EPIS DET=one púlh•elh, D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.boiled•FRED lhwas za::w'-en-ítas COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.scooped-DIR-3PL.ERG záw'-al'k ti7 from+there.vis get.scooped-surface that.vis t=smík'il=a. DET=fish.oil=EXIS

One day, it boils for about one day, and that's when they scoop the fish oil off the top.

```
[2:00] (16)
               ti7
                         ti=wa7
                                    tupál',
                                                     ti=wa7
               that.vis DeT=IPFV pounded.salmon DET=IPFV
                   tsún-em
                                  wa7
                                         tupál',
                   say+DIR-3PASS IPFV pounded.salmon at=that.vis
                       l=ta=...
                                 wá7=t'u7=iz'
                                                     melk'w•úk'wt
                       at=DET= be=EXCL=those.vis round•FRED
                            ta=sts'úgwaz'=a, nílh=t'u7
                                                        ses
                            DET=fish=EXIS COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                                q'íl•el
                                                    ta=wa7
                                laid.on.surface•FRED
                                                    DET=IPFV
                                                           q'ets'-ús...<sup>6</sup>
                                    tsún-itas
                                                     wa7
                                    say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV woven-face
                                        l=tsas[a]...
                                        at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
```

Pounded salmon, what they called *tupál*'... the fish were cut into rounds, then they were set on a screen (made out of green sticks) where...

- (17) ...ts'íla=ti7 tswása
 like=that.vis d/C+nmlz+ipfv+3poss+exis
 tsicw t=sméqem-s=a l=ta=wa7...
 get.there det=smoke-3poss=exis at=det=ipfv
 l=t=s=wá7=s=a [es]-sp'ám=wit.
 at=d/C=nmlz=be=3poss=exis stat-fire=3pl
 ...so that the smoke from the fire would get to it.
- (18) tsúkw=t'u7 kw=s=cw7aoy=s kwas
 finish=EXCL D/C=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 pul'h-án-em...
 maggot.infested-dir-3PASS
 So that they were never infested with maggots...

⁶Carl Alexander (p.c.) indicates that *q'ets'ús* are wide, woven screens made of red willows and similar plants (Sam Mitchell mentions saskatoon berry stocks in his translation), constructed in a way that heat can get at them from underneath.

```
(19) ...cw7aoy=s kw=s=ka-lhqép-a

NEG=3POSS D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-land.on.surface-CIRC

áta7 (ku=...) ku=cmáz',

to+there.vis det= det=housefly

kwas pul'h-án-em.

D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS maggot.infested-dir-3PASS

...the flies wouldn't land on it and lay eggs.
```

(20)nílh=ťu7 s=lhláti7=s ts'el•ts'íla COP=EXCL NMLZ=from+there.VIS=3POSS TRED•like tsicw t=smégem=a D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS get.there DET=smoke=EXIS lhas lhlak iz'... t'u COMP+IPFV+3SBJV from.there those.VIS until ts'íla=t'u7=ku7 k'ac, pála7, án'was, like=EXCL=QUOT get.dry one án'was=k'a sq'it, kalhás=k'a sq'it. day three=EPIS day two=EPIS

Then it was put where the smoke could get to it, until it was kind of dried, one, two days, maybe two days, maybe three days.

(21)kelh-en-ítas, ts'íla, nílh=t'u7 [3:00]COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.taken.off-DIR-3PL.ERG like COP=EXCL ts'íla plan wa7 há<7>ew', ses NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS like already IPFV heated<INCH> pá<7>ew', nílh=ťu7 ses swell<inch> cop=excl nmlz+ipfv+3poss kelh láti7 (ta=...)get.taken.off at+there.vis that.vis DET= ta=ts'úgwaz'=a, ta=... sts'úgwaz'=[a].⁷ DET=fish=EXIS DET= fish=EXIS

When they took it out, it was kind of already heated through and swollen, that's when they took the fish off.

⁷There is a break in the recording at the end of this stanza.

(22) lhláti7 lhwas k'ul' ti7
from+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv get.made that.vis
ta=tupál'=a.
DET=pounded.salmon=exis
That's what the pounded salmon was made from.

(23) ts'eq'-en-ítas: (kelh i=... kelh...)
pound-dir-3pl.erg get.taken.off pl.det= get.taken.off
kelh i=sts'ám'-s=a, elh k'ac,
get.taken.off pl.det=bone-3poss=exis and.then get.dry
elh ts'eq'.
and.then pounded

They'd pound the fish: the bones were taken out, and then it was dry and pounded.

- (24) nílh=t'u7 s=ts'íla=s=t'u7 káti7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=like=3POSS=EXCL around+there.vIs
 (ku=...) ku=wéna7...

 DET= DET=whatchamacallit

 It was kind of like, whatchamacallit...
- (25) tsun-em=k'á=hem' lhkúnsa sawdust, ts'íla=t'u7
 say+DIR-3PASS=EPIS=ANTI today sawdust like=EXCL
 ku=sawdust. Tsi.
 DET=sawdust gee
 Well, today they call it sawdust, it was kind of like sawdust. Gee.
- (26) k'ac aylh, nílh=t'u7=ti7 ses
 get.dry then cop=excl=that.vis nmlz+ipfv+3poss
 ka-qélh-a, wá7=t'u7 n-ts'al'k,
 circ-get.stored-circ ipfv=excl loc-get.wrapped
 nílh=t'u7=ti7 ses
 cop=excl=that.vis nmlz+ipfv+3poss
 es-qélh.
 stat-get.stored

When it was dry, then it was stored away, it was just wrapped up and stored away.

```
(27) plán=ti7 wa7 k'ac, cw7ao káti7
already=that.vis ipfv dry neg around+there.vis
kwas qvl-wíil'c lhláti7
D/C+nmlz+ipfv+3poss bad-become from+there.vis
múta7 ku=hú7.
again DET=more
```

Once it was dried, it wouldn't go bad anymore.

(28)stám'=t'u7 káti7 what=EXCL around+there.vis l=tswása at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS n-ts'al'k, láti7 lhwas... LOC-get.wrapped at+there.vis COMP+IPFV+3SBJV pála7=ťu7 n-qúl-aka7, nilh one=EXCL LOC-full-hand COP that.vis t=smík'il'=a elh nilh DET=fish.oil=EXIS and.then COP i=stságwem=a. PL.DET=saskatoon.berry=EXIS

It was wrapped up in something... you took just one handful, and added fish-oil and saskatoons.

It was really good food, and when you are a few handfuls, you could travel the whole day.

(30) cw7ao kwásu alán
NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS feel+DIR
kwásu t'al•ál,
D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS stop•FRED
kwásu tayt.
D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS hungry

You wouldn't feel tired or hungry.

9.3.2 I zewátet.san ta sám7atsa: Learning English

[4:15] (31) i=kel7=án ts7ás=k'a... líl'tem... qan'ím-ens when.past=before=IsG.sbJV begin=epis adult hear-dir wa7 qwel'•qwal'•él't iz' i=wa7
IPFV TRED•tell•FRED those.VIS PL.DET=IPFV
tsún-em wa7 sáma7... that's the white say+dir-3pass ipfV white.person that's the white man.
man

When I first started... growing up, I heard those ones we call *sáma7* s talking, *that's the white man.*..

tew•twéww'et (32)i=wát when.past=ipfv+ipl.sbjv tred•boy wa7 káti7 COMP+IPFV+IPL.SBJV be around=that.vis [l=ta]=c.wálh=a, ka-7áts'x-s-tum'-a at=DET=road=EXIS CIRC-get.seen-CAUS-IPL.ERG-CIRC ku=ts7ás ku=sáma7 D/C=come DET=white.person t'u7 nílh=t'u7=tu7 EXCL COP=EXCL=REM s=cwel•cúl•el=lhkalh NMLZ=TRED*run.away*FRED=IPL.POSS ken=t7ú. around=that.vis

When we were boys hanging around on the road and we saw a white person coming, we'd just run away.

- (33) legw-ílc=kalh ken=kw7ú lhecw•lhúcw=a. hide-AUT=IPL.SBJ around=that.INVIS TRED•bush=EXIS We'd hide in the bushes.
- (34) wa7 káti7 i=núkw=a
 be around+there.vis pl.det=other=exis
 lhel=wi=snímulh wa7 ka-qan'im-ens-twítas-a
 from=plus=ipl.indep ipfv circ-hear-dir-3pl.erg-circ
 i=sám7=a lhas
 pl.det=white.person=exis comp+ipfv+3sbjv
 qwel'•qwal'•él't.
 Tred•tell•fred•

There were some of us who could understand the white people when they talked.

- (35) wa7 tsút=wit, "oooooahhhhhh, oooooahhhhhh!" That's the IPFV say=3PL ooooooahhhhhh oooooahhhhhh that's the way the white man talks.

 way the white man talks

 They'd say, "ooooooahhhhhh, oooooahhhhhh!" That's the way the white man talks
- (36) t'u7 wá7=t'u7 we7-án-em ta=tsuwa7-lhkálh=a [5:00] but ipfv=excl be-dir-ipl.erg det=own-ipl.poss=exis n-qwal'út(s)-ten=t'u7.

 Loc-speak-ins=excl

But we still had our own language.

(37)t'á::k=kan=t'u7 avlh líl'tem, k'a then adult go.along=ISG.SBJ=EXCL EPIS ku=q'ém'p wi=kalhás p'a7cw=kán=t'u7 more.than=ISG.SBJ=EXCL DET=ten plus=three cúz'=lhkan máqa7, elh and.then going.to=ISG.SBJ snow k'wezús-em (kén=ki=...) around+there.vis work-мір around=PL.DET= ken=ki=wá7 s-legm-ám. around=pl.det=ipfv stat-grass-mid

I kept getting older, and must've been over 13 years old when I started working around haymakers.

- (38)pápt=ťu7 wa7 láti7 wa7 always=EXCL IPFV be at+there.vis ta=ské•k•el7-emc=a lhel=wi=snímulh. DET=before • CRED • - people = EXIS from = plus = IPL.INDEP There was always someone there who was older than us.
- tsut, "wa7 tsut áku7 (39)ta=boss=a, IPFV say IPFV say to+there.INVIS DET=boss=EXIS e=ts7á."" "xil-em=ácw=ku7 do-MID=2SG.SBJV=that.INVIS to=this.VIS He said, "The boss said, "Do it like this.""
- aylh lh=cúz'=an (40)lhláti7 from+there.vis then COMP=going.to=ISG.SBJV ku=sám7-ats, ka-k'lép'-s-a CIRC-grasp-CAUS-CIRC DET=white.person-mouth p'a7cw=kán=k'a lhel=ku=q'ém'p wi=xw7útsin more.than=ISG.SBJ=EPIS from=DET=ten plus=four máqa7. snow

That's when I first started to grasp English, I must've been over 14 years old.

```
qan'ím'-ts-an'
(41)
        t'u7 cúy'=lhkan
                              aylh
              going.to=ISG.SBJ then hear-mouth-DIR
            ku=sám7-ats,
                                    cw7aoz
            DET=white.person-mouth
                                    NEG
                kwenswá
                                          zewát-en
                D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV be.known-DIR
                              tsut yes, kwa
                                                  tsut no...
                    D/C+IPFV say yes D/C+IPFV say
                        l=ku=sám7-a[ts].
                        at=DET=white.person-mouth
```

But when I started to understand English, I didn't know how to say yes or no.

(42)t'u7 cúy'=lhkan=tu7 avlh k'wezús-em going.to=ISG.SBJ=REM then work-MID láti7 lh=t'ák=an around+there.vis at+there.vis comp=continue=isg.sbjv zewát•et-s ku=sám7-ats, be.known Fred-Caus Det=white.person-mouth cw7áoz=t'u7 káti7 around+there.vis NEG=EXCL kwenswá (tsek) tsicw D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV get.there ken=kwa tsún-em wa7 around=DET+IPFV say+DIR-3PASS IPFV skul. school

Then I started working in different places around here, and that's where I continued to pick up English, but I never went to what we call 'school'.

```
[6:00] (43)
                                       áta7
                t'ák=kan=t'u7
                                                     líl'tem,
                go.along=ISG.SBJ=EXCL to+there.VIS
                                                     adult
                   nílh=ťu7
                               s=...
                                        t'ák=tu7
                                                       técwecw
                   COP=EXCL NMLZ= go.along=REM increase FRED
                        kwenswá
                                                   xek-p-s
                        D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV get.instructed-INCH-CAUS
                                                ínwat
                                                say.what
                            COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                i=sám7=a...
                                PL.DET=white.person=EXIS
               As I grew older, I figured out more and more of what the white people
               were saying...
      (44)
               ...t'u wá7=lhkan
                                    sáma7=t'u7,
                                                        nílh=ťu7
                until IPFV=ISG.SBJ white.person=EXCL COP=EXCL
                                          ka-qwal'út-a
                   nswa
                   ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV CIRC-speak-CIRC
                        ta=sám7-ats=a,
                                                       áy'ts-an'
                        DET=white.person-mouth=EXIS
                                                      answer-DIR
                                               iz'
                                                         saw-en-tsálem.
                            COMP+IPFV+3SBJV those.VIS ask-DIR-ISG.PASS
               ...until I spoke English, I was able to talk English, to answer when I
               was asked something.
      (45)
               t'ák=tu7
                               lhel=ts7á-wna=t'u7...
                continue=REM from=this.VIS-precisely=EXCL
                   t'ák=tu7
                                   técwecw
                   continue=REM
                                   increase*FRED
                                                   zewáteet-s
                        kwenswá
                        D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV be.known•FRED-CAUS
                            i=sám7-ats=a
                            PL.DET=white.person-mouth=EXIS until
                                t'íq=t'u7
                                             aylh i=wa7
                                arrive=EXCL then PL.DET=IPFV
                                                     wa7 radio.
                                    tsún-itas
                                    say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV radio
               I kept on learning more English until radios appeared.
```

```
(46) kwám=lhkan ta=radio=ha [nilh]
get=ISG.SBJ DET=radio=EXIS COP

n=s=plán=t'u7 aylh wa7 líl'tem.
ISG.POSS=NMLZ=already=EXCL then IPFV adult
By the time I got a radio, I was already grown up.
```

(47)nílh=ťu7 s-k'alán'-min-s, nswa COP=EXCL ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV STAT-listen-RLT-CAUS wá7=t'u7=ti7 láti7, cwelp-án=lhkacw, IPFV=EXCL=that.VIS at+there.VIS revolve-DIR=2PL.SBJ nílh=ťu7 qwel'•qwal'•él't wa7 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS IPFV TRED*tell*FRED láti7 ta=sám7=a, at+there.vis DET=white.person=EXIS s-k'alán'-min-s=kan STAT-listen-RLT-CAUS=ISG.SBJ then

So I listened to it, it was there and you turned the dial, then a white person would speak and I'd listen to it.

(48) láti7 lh=p'a7cw=ás ku=wa7... ku=cw7ít at+there.vis COMP=more.than=3sBJV DET=be DET=many kw=n=s=qan'im-ts-án'-an⁸
D/C=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=hear-mouth-DIR-ISG.ERG ku=sáma7 lhel=ki=radio=ha, DET=white.person from=PL.DET=radio=EXIS lhel=kwenswá from=D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV s-k'alan'-min'-s-tánihan.

STAT-listen-RLT-CAUS-3PL.OBJ+ISG.ERG

That's how I understood more of what the white people said, from listening to them on the *radio*.

⁸There is double subject-marking on *nsqan'imtsán'an*.

iy, nilh ti7

(49)

```
ku=n-tsúwa7
                                       száyten.
                   DET=ISG.POSS-own doings
               That's what I know of my own affairs.
[7:00] (50)
                p'á7cw=k'a=t'u7
                                                           (ku=qan'í[m])
                                      s=cw7it=s
                more.than=EPIS=EXCL NMLZ=many=3POSS DET=hear
                   kw=n=s=zewát•et-cal
                   DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=be.known•FRED-ACT
                        ku=sám7-ats
                                                 l=(ta=...)
                        DET=white.person-mouth at=DET=
                            ta=wa7
                                       tsun-ítas
                                                         wa7
                                                               radio
                            DET=IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV radio
                                lhel=kw7ú...
                                                 lhel=kw7á
                                from=that.INVIS from=this.INVIS
                                    n={s}=s-k'alán'-min-s
                                    ISG.POSS=NMLZ=STAT-listen-RLT-CAUS
                                         ku=sám7-ats.
                                         DET=white.person-mouth
               I learned more English from what they call the radio, than I did from
               listening to people talking English.
       (51)
                t'u
                      t'ák=t'u7
                                     lhkún=t'u7, wá7=lhkan=t'u7
                until go.along=EXCL now=EXCL IPFV=ISG.SBJ=EXCL
                   [ka]-n-qan'ím'-ts-an'-a
                                                   plan
```

CIRC-LOC-hear-mouth-DIR-CIRC already

PL.DET=white.person=EXIS

i=sám7=a

n=s=...

yes COP that.VIS ISG.POSS=NMLZ= be.known-DIR-ISG.ERG

zewát-en-an

And that's continued on till now, so now I can understand white people when they talk.

COMP+IPFV+3SBJV TRED*tell*FRED=3PL

lhkúnsa

ıs today gwel'•gwal'•él't=wit. (52) áti7=k'a lhus sxéks=t'u7
to+there.VIS=EPIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV maybe=EXCL
kwas tsem'p
D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.finished
kw=n={s}=sqwé•qw•el'.
D/C=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=tell•CRED•
I guess that's where my story is going to finish.

(53) tsúkw lh=wá7=as múta7 ts7a s=cw7it=s
finish comp=be=3sbJv again this.vis nmlz=many=3poss
kw=s=....9
D/C=nmlz=
That's a lot, even that much....

9.3.3 Iwát ílhen ki st'áqs7a: Eating Barbequed Fish

- i=wát=hem' sk'wem•k'úk'wmi7t(s) [7:26]
 when.past=ipfv+ipl.sbjv=anti tred•child
 wi=snímulh, tsúkw=t'u7 ta=wa7
 plus=ipl.indep finish=excl det=ipfv
 zewát-en-em kwa...
 be.known-dir-ipl.erg det+ipfv
 - But when we were children, the only thing we knew was...
- (55) tsícw=kan ta=sísxets=a, káti7
 get.there=IsG.SBJ DET=beach=EXIS around+there.VIS
 lhwat ka-7ílhen-a ken=kí...
 COMP+IPFV+IPL.SBJV CIRC-eat-CIRC around=PL.DET=
 lhas wa7 i=ts'úqwaz'=a...
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be PL.DET=fish=EXIS
 I'd go to the river bank, we could eat where the fish were...

⁹There is a break in the recording after this stanza.

(56) wá7=lhkalh cwe•cút'-cen... s=qwatsáts=kalh
IPFV=IPL.SBJ IRED•bare-foot NMLZ=leave=IPL.POSS
káku7 sísxets=a.
around+there.INVIS beach=EXIS
We were barefoot when we set off for the river bank.

- (57) cw7ít=hem' wá7=iz' i=sts'úqwaz'=a pináni7.
 many=anti be=those.vis pl.det=fish=exis at.that.time
 There were a lot of fish there in those days.
- (58)t'u7 q'wex•q'wíx ta=sat'-átqw7=a, DET=Fraser.River-water=EXIS but TRED•black i=ts'úqwaz'=a, cw7áoy=t'u7 PL.DET=fish=EXIS NEG=EXCL kwásu gwé<7>ez' D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS get.bothered<INCH> kwásu ka-kwán-s-a D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS CIRC-take-CAUS-CIRC kwá•kw•en-s COMP+IPFV+2SG.SBJV take CRED -CAUS káti7. around+there.vis

The Fraser River, well it was just black with fish, and you didn't have to go to much trouble to catch a few.

[8:00] (59) káti7 lhwat ílhen ta=wa7 around+there.vis comp+ipfv+ipl.sbjv eat DET=IPFV (wa7...) wa7 st'áqsa7, tsún-em IPFV barbequed.fish say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV nílh=iz' skéla7-ten-s kw=s7ílhen (kw) COP=those.VIS before-INS-3POSS DET=food q'wel ku=ts'úqwaz' lhucw COMP+IPFV+28G.SBJV get.roasted DET=fish (l=ku=...) l=kw=sp'ams. at=DET= at=DET=fire

That's where we ate what we call *t'aqsa7*, that was the very best food, when you roast a fish in the fire.

- (60) nilh ti7 wa7 t'áqsa7, ti=wa7 tsún-[em]
 COP that.VIS IPFV barbequed.fish DET=IPFV say+DIR-3PASS
 ti=sám7=a wa7 barbeque fish.
 DET=white.person=EXIS IPFV barbeque fish
 That's t'áqsa7, what the white people call barbeque fish.
- (61) nílh=ti7 s-kéla7-ten-s kw[e]s
 COP=that.VIS NMLZ-before-INS-3POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 áma ku=s7ílhen ku=ts'úqwaz'.
 good DET=food DET=fish
 That was really the best fish to eat.
- (62) lhas tsítsel, nílh=t'u7
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV fresh COP=EXCL
 s=t'aqs7-án-acw... l=ta=sp'ám=a.
 NMLZ=barbequed.fish-DIR-2SG.ERG at=DET=fire=EXIS
 When it's fresh, then you roast it on the fire.
- nílh=ťu7=ti7 lh=7ílhen=acw láti7 (63)s=... COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ= COMP=eat=2SG.SBJV at+there.VIS (ku=pála7...) ku=pála7 sq'it, plán=t'u7=ti7 DET=one day already=EXCL=that.VIS lhel=ku=tákem k'win s7ílhen, wa7... p'a7cw more.than from=DET=all how.many food (ku=...) ku=tákem kw=swín'acws. DET=all DET=similar.kinds

When you eat it one day, [you'll know that] it's better than any other kind of food.

- (64) tsetsúkwa=t'u7=iz' wa7 s-7ílhen-lhkalh ti=ts'úqwaz'=a. only=excl=those.vis ipfv nmlz-eat-ipl.poss det=fish=exis Those was the only thing we ate, fish.
- n'án'atcw elh cwák=kalh=tu7,
 morning and.then get.woken=IPL.sBJ=REM

 plan=t'lh múta7 wa7 ta=wa7 t'áqsa7.
 already=at.this.time again be DET=IPFV barbequed.fish

 In the morning when we woke up, there it was again, barbequed fish.

(66) (nílh=t'u7=ti7 s=...) nílh=t'u7=ti7
COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ= COP=EXCL=that.VIS
s=(n)tsúkw=s=t'u7 wa7 s-7ílhen-lhkalh
NMLZ=finish=3POSS=EXCL IPFV NMLZ-eat-IPL.POSS
i=ts'úqwaz'=a.
PL.DET=fish=EXIS

That was the only thing we ate, fish.

- [9:00] (67) cw7aoz káti7 kwélhkalh tsut

 NEG around+there.vIs D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+IPL.POSS think

 ku=száq', ku=stám', ku=káopi, ku=stám'!

 DET=bread DET=what DET=coffee DET=what

 We never thought of bread or anything, coffee or anything!
 - (68) tsetsúkwa=t'u7 i=sts'úqwaz'=a wa7 s-7ílhen-lhkalh only=excl pl.det=fish=exis ipfv nmlz-eat-ipl.sbj lhat wa7 káku7

 COMP+ipfv+ipl.sbjv be around+there.invis
 sísxets=a.
 beach=exis

The only thing we ate was fish, when we were around the river banks.

[9:14] (69) cw7áoy=t'u7 kwas...

NEG=EXCL D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS

kw=s=zewát-en-em

D/C=NMLZ=be.known-dir-ipl.erg

kwelhkálh tayt.

D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+IPL.POSS hungry

We never knew hunger.

9.4 Sam Mitchell's Free Translation¹⁰

When I was young, I used to go to my grandmother and say to her, "I'm hungry, ta-ta!" She would take some fish powder and dried saskatoon berries, and mix them, in a basket, with fish oil, and then I would take 2 or 3 handfuls of this food, and this would be enough to last me all day. It was very nourishing food.

Fish oil used to be made right down at the river, in a hollow rock. They would heat water in the rock, and when the water boiled, they would throw in all the fish parts that contained oil – especially the heads and the roe – and boil this for a day or so. When the rocks cooled down, they would skim the oil off the top.

Fish powder – what we call *tupál'* – was made by cooking salmon over a fire, using a special screen made by matting together the stocks of saskatoon berry bushes. They would lay the salmon whole on this mat, and cook it lightly on either side, then split open the fish, and sun-dry the partly-cooked meat. After this, they would pound it down into powder, using a rock hammer, und then pick out any bones, and then sun-dry the powder again for 2 or 3 days. This powder would last indefinitely, and could be stored in any kind of containers. One handful of this, mixed with dried saskatoon berries and fish oil, was very strong food. It would keep a person going all day.

When I was a young boy, I would run away into the bushes whenever I saw a white man coming. The way the white man talked sounded very strange to me. When I was about 13 years old, I got my first job, working in the hay fields, and this is when I started to learn English. There was always someone older around the hay fields who would interpret whatever the boss said, from English into Indian. From age 14 onwards, I began to learn English a little bit, here and there. I never went to school. When the radio started to appear around here, I bought one, and that is how I learned most about English – by listening to the radio. Now I understand English well.

When I was young, I went barefoot. We always used to eat fish down at the river. In those days, there were lots of fish, and they were easy to get. We used to roast the salmon when it was still fresh. In the summer-time, roast fish was our only food.

 $^{^{10}}$ This translation is reproduced verbatim from Bouchard and Kennedy, BCILP ms.1, #003.

Chapter 10

Ta lhálhq'atsa: The Sasquatch¹

10.1 St'át'imcets

Lta nskél7a áts'xen ti7 ta lhálhq'atsa, tsútkan tu7 kw smíxalhts. Eswép wi7, ts'íla t'u7 ku míxalh. Nilh t'u7 nswa s7ats'xs, t'u7 wa7 stálhlec. Nilh t'u7 nsqwatsáts. P'an'túsemlhkan, wa7... wa7 t'u7 matq. Cw7ao kwas ts'íla ku míxalh, wa7 ts'íla t'u7 ku úcwalmicw wa7 stálhlec.

Nilh t'u7 nstxwalqwílc lta srápa, xzúmalqw srap. Nilh t'u7 szaq'ilmínan, xílem lhláta7, za::q'ilmíntsas, zaq'ilmínlhkan ta q'úta, zá::q'il múta7 lhláta7. Nilh t'u7 aylh nsqwatsáts t'u7, xwementsút, ts'ílalhkan ku cúlelmin. Qwatsátskan, p'an'túsemlhkan, nilh t'u7 sts7asts t'u7 matq. Cw7ao káti7 kwas ts'íla ku míxalh, kwas... Wa7 t'u7 stálhlec, matq, ts'íla t'u7 ku úcwalmicw. Nilh t'u7 st'aks t'u7 xwementsút, np'an'túsemlhkan múta7, ts7a::s t'u7 matq. Ts7as t'u7 xwementsút, elh xwementsútkan, nilh t'u7 sxwementsút.s t'u7. Nilh t'u7 aylh nsq'ílhil. Xwementsútkan t'u7, q'ílhillhkan kw nskacím'a lhel snilh. Ka7ew'lhkán, p'an'túsemlhkan, ts7a::s t'u7. Nilh t'u7 aylh nsgelílc. Tsútkan, "Cúy'lhkan t'u7 lhwálen," nilh t'u7 nsgelílc, nilh t'u7 aylh ns... Katéxwkana lna sláksa na nt'láoz'a, nílh t'u7 nsxwementsút t'u7, súxwastkan, q'ílhillhkan, gelílckan. Ntákil'qkan áti7, tsicwálmenlhkan lna sláksa na nt'láoz'a, t'u7 ts7as t'u7 p'a7cw xmank ta nswelmínka, nilh t'u7 srepenán lta srápa. Nilh t'u7 nsxwementsút lhláti7, tsícwkan na sláksa ta nt'láoz'a, nilh t'u7 nlhám'lec. Nilh scíkin'an, nem'cállhkan. Láti7 lhzewátenan kwas nilh t'u7 ti7 splans aylh cw7ao kwenswá áts'xen.

S7aw't.s lhláti7, cúy'lhkan múta7... s7aw't.s lhláti7 kw s7áts'xenan múta7, qwatsátskan tu7... k'wi7cwám, wá7lhkan... cúy'lhkan ts'áts'k'wem'. T'á::kkan

¹Told by Sam Mitchell in August 1968, translated by Sam Mitchell in November 1969.

áti7, nem'cál áti7 t'u7 ta tsal'álha, wá7lhkan káti7 stcúscal ku nq'.wus wa7 kelh ku k'wi7cw. Ka7áts'xskana láta7 ta ntsutánwasa ku nq'.wus láta7 lki tsitselálqwa.

Nilh t'u7 slha7nán nt'láoz'a, nilh t'u7 áta7 nsxát'em, tsútkan nq'.wus ti7 láti7, q'wexq'wíx ta láka. Ni::lh t'u7 áta7 skwánan nt'amína, nilh t'u7 áta7 nsqwatsáts xát'em. Tsícwkan éta ntsutánwasa kw slaks ni7 na nq'.wúsa, nilh t'u7 nstálhlec, nt'lal'usmínlhkan. Nilh t'u7 áta7 nst'ak xát'em. Tsutánwaskan kw nsplan tsicw lna sláksa na nq'.wúsa, nilh t'u7 nstálhlec, cuz' nt'lál'usmin, look at it good. Talhleckán t'u7, áts'xenlhkan wa7 láti7 estálhlec. Nílha cwílh ti7 ta lhálhq'atsa. Láti7 aylh t'u7 cw7aoys tu7 k'ík'ta7 kw stsícwminan, cw7ao k'a kwas p'a7cw lhélku xw7útsin, tsilkst síxcnam'... lt.swá7sa. Láti7 t'u7 nilh t'u7 nscwelpílc, nilh t'u7 nsq'áylec, cúlel, q'ílhil et7ú ta nt'láoz'a lt.sláksa. T'íqkan nt'láoz'a, nlha::m'ánlhkan nt'amína, nilh t'u7 nscíkin' na nt'láoz'a. Np'an'túsemlhkan, put t'u7 lhláta7 ts7as lhláta7.

S7aw't.s lhelts7á, wá7lhkan sk'alán'min' ti7 ta wa7... líl'tema wa7 qwel'qwal'él't, sqweqwel'míntali ta lhálhq'atsa. K'wínas kw s7áts'xenas. Nilh t'u7 ntsutánwas s7ents, "Ka lhs7entsás, aoz ká t'u7 kw sp'a7cws lhélku k'win kw s7áts'xenan, nilh t'u7 scw7aoys kwenswá cúlelmin." Láti7 t'u7 ti7 ta líl'tema ta wa7 sqwéqwel', nilh t'u7 scwelpúsems, cwelpúsem lhláta7, ts'item'usmíntsas. Nilh t'u7 stsut.s, "Cw7aoz k'a hem' ku swat sqaycw kwa tsut, "Cúy'lhkan estálhlec lhts7ásas ku lhálhq'ats.""

Nilh t'u7 st'aks sqweqwel'mínas kwas ti7 ta pápel7a sqaycw lhláti7 t'u7 lhel... lhláti7mec t'u7 lhélta tmícwsa. Wa7 ku7 tsut, "Lhs7entsás, cw7aoy t'u7 kwenswá cúlelmin ku lhálhq'ats... lhs7entsás ku ats'xentáli ku lhálhq'ats."

Qwatsáts ku7 ti7 aylh ti7 ta sqáycwa, wa7 qúqwsem' ki sxíqa. Cw7it ku7 i skwámemsa sxiq, sqúqwsem's, nilh szácensas. Cw7it i sxíqsa, i szúqwnucwsa. Nilh t'u7 npzánem ta lhálhq'atsa. Cw7aoy t'u7 kw st'íqminem éta lhálhq'atsa, nilh t'u7 sq'mínem, nilh t'u7 skactépsa. Ts7as ku7 cwak, plan tu7 i sxíqsa, cw7aoz káti7, pépla7 ku7 ta wa7 swakw lkw7a. Wakwcalstúm ku7 k'a ta lhálhq'atsa, lkw7a lta st'épsa ta ktíts'a7sa, ta pépel7a sxiq, k'ámalh plan tu7 nelh núkwa, kwáncitem tákem. Lhláti7 cwak t'u7, nilh t'u7 scuy's ku7 ít'em, ti7 t.s7ít'emsa ti7 ta lhálhq'atsa.

10.2 English

The first time I saw that sasquatch, I thought it was a bear. It was hairy, just like a bear. I was watching it, and it was standing up. So I took off. I looked back, it was still there... it was just walking. It wasn't like a bear, it was just like a person standing up.

I made straight for a tree, a big tree. Then I peeked at it, and it did the same thing, it peeked at me. I peeked at it from one side, and he peeked again from where he was. And then I just took off in a hurry, kind of running away from it. I took off, I looked back, and it started walking towards me. It wasn't like a bear at all, it was standing up, walking, like a person. It kept on hurrying, and when I looked back again, it was walking towards me. It began to hurry, so I went faster, then it went even faster. So then I just ran. I was hurrying, running to get out of sight of it. I got further away and looked back, but it was still coming. Then I really made an effort. I thought, "I just have to leave it behind," so I tried harder, and then I... I was headed straight for where my canoe was, so I just kept hurrying and went running downhill, I was really trying. I got to the bottom of the hill, and almost made it to where my canoe was, but my gun was starting to get heavier, so I stood it up against a tree. I hurried on away from there, and got to where my canoe was, then I got in. Then I pushed it off, and I paddled until I was sure I couldn't see it anymore.

After that, when I saw it again, I set off to collect some pitchwood, so I could go torch-fishing. I paddled along the lake, keeping an eye out for stumps which might have pitchwood. I caught sight of what I thought was a stump there in the newer growth.

I brought my canoe close to shore and I climbed up a hill. I thought there was a stump up there, it was black. So I took my axe and set off uphill. I got to where I thought the stump would be, and stood up to get a good look at it. Then I kept on climbing. I thought I had already gotten to where the stump was, then I stood up and was going to get a good look at it, *look at it good*. I stood up, and I saw it standing there. It turned out to be a sasquatch. I didn't approach any closer, though it couldn't have been more than four or five steps away. Then I spun around and fled, I ran away towards my canoe. When I got to my canoe, I threw my axe in and pushed off. When I looked back, it was right there, coming.

After this, I was listening to an elder who was telling a story about the sasquatch. He had seen it several times. I thought to myself, "If it were me, and I had seen it more than a few times, I wouldn't run away from it." Then the old man who was telling the story, he turned around to look, he turned around and

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leaned his head towards me. He said, "There isn't any man who can say, 'I'm going to stand my ground when a sasquatch is coming."

Then he went on to tell a story about one man from there, from his territory. This man said, "If it were me, I wouldn't run away from a saquatch, if I saw a sasquatch."

This man set off to go hunt ducks. He got a lot of ducks, which he had shot, then he packed them on his back. He had a lot of ducks which he had killed. Then the sasquatch caught up with him. Before the sasquatch even reached him, he was thrown to the ground and passed out. When he awoke his ducks were gone, they say there were none left except a single one, tucked under his clothes. They say it must have been the Sasquatch who put that one duck under his shirt. When he woke up, they say he began to sing the song of that sasquatch.

10.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) l=ta=n=s=kél7=a áts'x-en [0:00]
 at=DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=before=EXIS get.seen-DIR
 ti7 (ta=wa7 lhálh...) ta=lhálhq'ats=a,²
 that.vIS DET=IPFV sasquatch DET=sasquatch=EXIS
 tsút=kan=tu7 kw=s=míxalh=ts.
 think=ISG.SBJ=REM D/C=NMLZ=bear=3POSS
 The first time I saw that sasquatch, I thought it was a bear.
- (2) es-wép=wi7, ts'íla=t'u7 ku=míxalh. STAT-hairy=EMPH like=EXCL DET=bear It was hairy, just like a bear.
- (3) nílh=t'u7 nswa s-7ats'x-s, t'u7
 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV STAT-get.seen-CAUS but
 wa7 s-tálh-lec.
 IPFV STAT-stand-AUT
 I was watching it, and it was standing up.
- (4) nílh=t'u7 n=s=qwatsáts.

 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=leave
 So I took off.
- (5) p'an't-ús-em=lhkan, wa7... wá7=t'u7 matq. return-face-mid=isg.sbj be ipfv=excl walk I looked back, it was still there... it was just walking.
- (6) ao kwas ts'íla ku=míxalh, wa7

 NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS like DET=bear IPFV

 ts'íla=t'u7 ku=7úcwalmicw wa7 s-tálh-lec.
 like=EXCL DET=indigenous.person IPFV STAT-stand-AUT

 It wasn't like a bear, it was just like a person standing up.

²Sam's pronunciation of *lhálhq'ats* is unusual: it is more often pronounced *sásq'ats* or *sásq'ets*.

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- (7) nílh=t'u7 n=s=... txw-alqw-ílc=kan³
 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ= straight-log-AUT=ISG.SBJ
 l=ta=sráp=a, xzúm-alqw srap.
 at=DET=tree=EXIS big-log tree
 I made straight for a tree, a big tree.
- (8) nílh=t'u7 s=zaq'il-mín-an, xíl-em lhláta7,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=peek-RLT-ISG.ERG do-MID from+there.VIS

 za::q'il-mín-ts-as, zaq'il-mín=lhkan ta=q'út=a,
 peek-RLT-ISG.OBJ-3ERG peek-RLT=ISG.SBJ DET=side=EXIS

 zá::q'il múta7 lhláta7.
 peek again from+there.VIS

 Then I peeked at it, and it did the same thing, it peeked at me. I peeked

at it from one side, and he peeked again from where he was.

[1:00] (9) nílh=t'u7 aylh n=s=qwatsáts=t'u7, xwem-en-tsút, cop=excl then isg.poss=nmlz=leave=excl hurry-dir-refl ts'íla=lhkan ku=cúl•el-min.

like=ISG.SBJ D/C=run.away•FRED-RLT

And then I just took off in a hurry, kind of running away from it.

- (10) qwatsáts=kan, p'an't-ús-em=lhkan, nílh=t'u7 leave=ISG.SBJ return-face-MID=ISG.SBJ COP=EXCL s=ts7ás=ts=t'u7 matq. NMLZ=come=3POSS=EXCL walk
 - I took off, I looked back, and it started walking towards me.
- (11) cw7ao káti7 kwas ts'íla

 NEG around+there.vis D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS like

 ku=míxalh, kwas...

 DET=bear D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS

 It wasn't like a bear at all...

³The verb *nstxwalqwilckan* is inflected for both 1st person possessor subject *n*-, and 1st person indicative subject *=kan*. In this grammatical context, we expect only the possessor subject. However, given the pause between the nominalizer *s*= and the following stem, it seems possible that Sam Mitchell is correcting himself, and beginning a new sentence with *txwalqwilckan*.

- (12) wá7=t'u7 s-tálh-lec, matq, ts'íla=t'u7
 IPFV=EXCL STAT-stand-AUT walk like=EXCL
 ku=7úcwalmicw.
 DET=indigenous.person
 It was standing up, walking, like a person.
- (13) nílh=t'u7 s=t'ák=[s]=t'u7 xwem-en-tsút,

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=continue=3POSS=EXCL hurry-DIR-REFL

 n-p'an't-ús-em=lhkan múta7, ts7á::s=t'u7 matq.

 LOC-return-face-MID=ISG.SBJ again come=EXCL walk

 It kept on hurrying, and when I looked back again, it was walking towards me.
- (14) ts7ás=t'u7 xwem-en-tsút, elh xwem-en-tsút=kan, begin=excl hurry-dir-refl and.then hurry-dir-refl=isg.sbj nílh=t'u7 s=xwem-en-tsút=s=t'u7.

 COP=excl nmlz=hurry-dir-refl=3poss=excl

 It began to hurry, so I went faster, then it went even faster.
- (15) nílh=t'u7 aylh n=s=q'ílhil.

 COP=EXCL then ISG.POSS=NMLZ=run

 So then I just ran.
- (16) xwem-en-tsút=kan=t'u7, q'ílhil=lhkan
 hurry-DIR-REFL=ISG.SBJ=EXCL run=ISG.SBJ

 (kw=s=ka-cím'-a...)
 D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-disappear-CIRC
 kw=n=s=ka-cím'-a
 D/C=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=CIRC-disappear-CIRC
 lhel=snílh.
 from=3SG.INDEP
 I was hurrying, running to get out of sight of it.
- (17) ka<7>ew'=lhkán, p'an't-ús-em=lhkan, ts7á::s=t'u7. far<INCH>=ISG.SBJ return-face-MID=ISG.SBJ come=EXCL I got further away and looked back, but it was still coming.

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- (18) nílh=t'u7 aylh n=s=gel-ílc.

 COP=EXCL then ISG.POSS=NMLZ=strong-AUT

 Then I really made an effort.
- (19) tsút=kan, "cúy'=lhkan=t'u7 lhwál-en,"
 say=ISG.SBJ going.to=ISG.SBJ=EXCL get.abandoned-DIR
 nílh=t'u7 n=s=gel-ílc, nílh=t'u7 aylh
 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=strong-AUT COP=EXCL then
 n=s=...
 ISG.POSS=NMLZ=

I thought, "I just have to leave it behind," so I tried harder, and then I...

```
(20) ka-téxw=kan-a
CIRC-straight=ISG.SBJ-CIRC
l=[na]=s=lák=s=a
at=ABS.DET=NMLZ=be.there=3POSS=EXIS
na=n-t'láoz'=a, nílh=t'u7
ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-canoe=EXIS COP=EXCL
n=s=xwem-en-tsút=t'u7,
ISG.POSS=NMLZ=hurry-DIR-REFL=EXCL
súxwast=kan, q'ílhil=lhkan,
go.downhill=ISG.SBJ run=ISG.SBJ
gel-ílc=kan.
strong-AUT=ISG.SBJ
```

I was headed straight for where my canoe was, so I just kept hurrying and went running downhill, I was really trying.

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(21)
        n-ták-il'q=kan
                                  áti7,
                                               tsi[c]w-álm[en]=lhkan
                                                                      [2:00]
        LOC-side-bottom=ISG.SBJ to+there.VIS get.there-nearly=ISG.SBJ
            [l]=na=s=lák=s=a
            at=ABS.DET=NMLZ=be.there=3POSS=EXIS
                 na=n-t'láoz'=a,
                                               t'117
                 ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-canoe=EXIS but
                     ts7ás=t'u7
                                  p'a[7cw]
                                              xmank
                     begin=EXCL more.than heavy
                         [ta]=n-swelmink=a,
                                                  nílh=ťu7
                         DET=ISG.POSS-gun=EXIS COP=EXCL
                             (s=...)
                                     s=rep-en-án
                             NMLZ= NMLZ=get.stood.up-DIR-ISG.ERG
                                 l=ta=sráp=a.
                                 at=DET=tree=EXIS
```

I got to the bottom of the hill, and almost made it to where my canoe was, but my gun was starting to get heavier, so I stood it up against a tree.

```
(22) nílh=t'u7 (s=...) n=s=xwem-en-tsút
COP=EXCL NMLZ= ISG.POSS=NMLZ=hurry-DIR-REFL
lhláti7, tsícw=kan
from+there.VIS get.there=ISG.SBJ
na=s=lák=s=a
ABS.DET=NMLZ=be.there=3POSS=EXIS
ta=n-t'láoz'=a, nílh=t'u7 s=...
DET=ISG.POSS-CANOE=EXIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=
n={s=n}-lhám'-lec.
ISG.POSS=NMLZ=LOC-get.put.into-AUT
```

I hurried on away from there, and got to where my canoe was, then I got in.

(23) nilh s=cík-in'-an, nem'-cál=lhkan...
COP NMLZ=get.pushed-dir-isg.erg paddle-act=isg.sbj
Then I pushed it off, and I paddled...

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(24) láti7 lh=zewát-en-an at+there.vis comp=be.known-dir-isg.erg kwas nílh=t'u7=ti7 d/c+nMlz+ipfv+3poss cop=excl=that.vis s=plan=s aylh cw7ao nMlz=already=3poss then neg kwenswá áts'x-en. d/c+isg.poss+nMlz+ipfv get.seen-dir ...until I was sure I couldn't see it anymore.
```

```
(25)
         s-7aw't-s
                              lhláti7,
         NMLZ-behind-3POSS from+there.VIS
            cúy'=lhkan
                              múta7... s-7aw't-s
                                        NMLZ-behind-3POSS
            going.to=ISG.SBJ again
                 lhláti7
                                 (kw=n=s=...)
                 from+there.vis D/C=IsG.POSS=NMLZ=
                     kw=s=7áts'x-en-an
                                                      múta7,
                     D/C=NMLZ=get.seen-DIR-ISG.ERG again
                         gwatsáts=kan=tu7... k'wi7cw-ám,
                         leave=ISG.SBJ=REM
                                              pitch-мір
                                            cúy'=lhkan
                              wá7=lhkan...
                              IPFV=ISG.SBJ going.to=ISG.SBJ
                                  ts'á•ts'•k'w-em'.
                                  light • CRED • - MID
```

After that, when I saw it again, I set off to collect some pitchwood, so I could go torch-fishing.

t'á::k=kan nem'-cál áti7=ťu7 (26)áti7, go.along=ISG.SBJ to+there.VIS paddle-ACT to+there.VIS=EXCL ta=tsal'álh=a, wá7=lhkan káti7 DET=lake=EXIS IPFV=ISG.SBJ around+there.VIS [ku]=nq'.wús wá7=kelh ku=k'wí7cw. s-tcús-cal STAT-look-ACT DET=stump be=fut DET=pitch I paddled along the lake, keeping an eye out for stumps which might have pitchwood.

(27) ka-7áts'x-[s]=kan-a láta7
CIRC-get.seen-CAUS=ISG.SBJ-CIRC at+there.VIS

[ta]=n-{s-n}-tsut-ánwas=a ku=nq'.wús
DET=ISG.POSS-NMLZ-LOC-say-inside=EXIS DET=stump
láta7 (l=ki=...) l=ki=tsitsel-álqw=a.
at+there.VIS at=PL.DET= at=PL.DET=new-tree=EXIS
I caught sight of what I thought was a stump there in the newer growth.

s=lha7-n-án (28)nílh=ťu7 n-t'láoz'=a, [3:00]COP=EXCL NMLZ=close.to-DIR-ISG.ERG ISG.POSS-canoe=EXIS nílh=ťu7 áta7 n=s=xát'em. COP=EXCL to+there.VIS ISG.POSS=NMLZ=climb.hill tsút=kan nq'.wús=ti7 láti7, think=ISG.SBJ stump=that.VIS at+there.VIS q'wex•q'wix ta=lák=a. TRED•black DET=be.there=EXIS

I brought my canoe close to shore and I climbed up a hill. I thought there was a stump up there, it was black.

(29) ní::lh=t'u7 áta7 s=kwán-an
COP=EXCL to+there.VIS NMLZ=take+DIR-ISG.ERG
n-t'amín=a, nílh=t'u7 áta7
ISG.POSS-axe=EXIS COP=EXCL to+there.VIS
n=s=qwatsáts xát'em.
ISG.POSS=NMLZ=leave climb.hill
So I took my axe and set off uphill.

(30) tsícw=kan [e=ta]=n={s=n}-tsut-ánwas=a
get.there=ISG.SBJ to=DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=LOC-say-inside=EXIS
kw=s=lak=s ni7
DET=NMLZ=be.there=3POSS that.ABS
na=n-q'.wús=a, nílh=t'u7
ABS.DET=LOC-stump=EXIS COP=EXCL
n=s=tálh-lec,
ISG.POSS=NMLZ=stand-AUT
n-t'l-al'us-mín=lhkan.4
LOC-stop-eye-RLT=ISG.SBJ

I got to where I thought the stump would be, and stood up to get a good look at it.

- (31) nílh=t'u7 áta7 n=s=t'ak xát'em.

 COP=EXCL to+there.VIS ISG.POSS=NMLZ=continue climb.hill

 Then I kept on climbing.
- (32)tsut-ánwas=kan kw=n=s=plan say-inside=ISG.SBJ D/C=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=already l=na=s=lák=s=a get.there at=ABS.DET=NMLZ=be.there=3POSS=EXIS na=n-q'.wús=a, nílh=ťu7 ABS.DET=LOC-stump=EXIS COP=EXCL (n=s=...)n=s=tálh-lec, ISG.POSS=NMLZ= ISG.POSS=NMLZ=stand-AUT n-t'l-ál'us-min, look at it good. going.to LOC-stop-eye-RLT look at it good I thought I had already gotten to where the stump was, then I stood up and was going to get a good look at it, *look at it good*.
- (33) talh-lec=kán=t'u7, áts'x-en=lhkan wa7 stand-AUT=ISG.SBJ=EXCL get.seen-DIR=ISG.SBJ IPFV láti7 es-tálh-lec.
 at+there.vis stat-stand-AUT
 I stood up, and I saw it standing there.

⁴There is a break in the recording after this stanza.

- (34) nilh=a=cwílh=ti7 ta=lhálhq'ats=a.

 COP=A=after.all=that.VIS DET=sasquatch=EXIS

 It turned out to be a sasquatch.
- (35)láti7 aylh t'[u7] cw7áoy=s=tu7 k'ík'ta7 at+there.vis then EXCL NEG=3POSS=REM kw=s=tsícw-min-an, cw7áo=k'a DET=NMLZ=get.there-RLT-ISG.ERG NEG=EPIS (kwas...) kwas D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS lhel=ku=xw7útsin, tsilkst síxcnam'... more.than from=DET=four five step l=t=s=wá7=s=a. at=D/C=NMLZ=be=3POSS=EXIS

I didn't approach any closer, though it couldn't have been more than four or five steps away.

nílh=t'u7 n=s=cwelp-ílc, (36)láti7=ťu7 [4:00]at+there.vis=excl cop=excl isg.poss=nmlz=revolve-aut nílh=ťu7 q'áy-lec, cúl•el. n=s=... COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ= jump-AUT run.away*FRED ta=n-t'láoz'=a g'ílhil e=t7ú run to=that.vis DET=ISG.POSS-canoe=EXIS l=t=s=lák=s=a. at=D/C=NMLZ=be.there=3POSS=EXIS

Then I spun around and fled, I ran away towards my canoe.

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(37) t'íq=kan n-t'láoz'=a,
arrive=IsG.SBJ IsG.POSS-canoe=EXIS
n-lha::m'-án=lhkan [n]-t'amín=a,
LOC-get.put.into-DIR=IsG.SBJ IsG.POSS-axe=EXIS
nílh=t'u7 n=s=cík-in'
COP=EXCL IsG.POSS=NMLZ=get.pushed-DIR
na=n-t'láoz'=a
ABS.DET=IsG.POSS-canoe=EXIS
(kw=n=s=...).
D/C=IsG.POSS=NMLZ=
```

When I got to my canoe, I threw my axe in and pushed off.

- (38) n-p'an't-ús-em=lhkan, pút=t'u7 lhláta7
 LOC-return-face-MID=ISG.SBJ exactly=EXCL from+there.VIS
 ts7as lhláta7.
 come from+there.VIS
 When I looked back, it was right there, coming.
- (39) s-7aw't-s lhel=ts7á, wá7=lhkan

 NMLZ-behind-3POSS from=this.VIS IPFV=ISG.SBJ

 s-k'alán'-min' ti7 ta=wa7... líl'tem=a

 STAT-listen-RLT that.VIS DET=IPFV elder=EXIS

 wa7 qwel'•qwal'•él't, [s]qwe•qw•el'-mín-tali

 IPFV TRED•tell•FRED tell•CRED•-RLT-NTS

 ta=lhálhq'ats=a.

 DET=sasquatch=EXIS

After this, I was listening to an elder who was telling a story about the sasquatch.

(40) k'win=as kw=s=7áts'x-en-as. how.many=3SBJV D/C=NMLZ=get.seen-DIR-3ERG He had seen it several times.

```
nílh=ťu7
(41)
                   n={s=n}-tsut-ánwas
                                                s7ents,
        COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=LOC-say-inside ISG.INDEP
           "ka lh=s7ents=ás,
                                       áoz=ka=ťu7
           IRR COMP=ISG.INDEP=3SBJV NEG=IRR=EXCL
               kw=s=p'a7cw=s
                                          lhel=ku=k'wín
               D/C=NMLZ=more.than=3POSS from=DET=how.many
                   kw=s=7áts'x-en-an,
                   D/C=NMLZ=get.seen-DIR-ISG.ERG
                       nílh=t'u7 s=cw7aoy=s
                       COP=EXCL NMLZ=NEG=3POSS
                           kwenswá
                           D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
                               cúl•el-min."
                               run.away•FRED-RLT
```

I thought to myself, "If it were me, and I had seen it more than a few times, I wouldn't run away from it."

- (42)láti7=ťu7 ti7 ta=líl'tem=a at+there.vis=excl that.vis DeT=elder=exis sqwé•qw•el', nílh=t'u7 (ta=wa7...) ta=wa7 DET=IPFV DET=IPFV tell•CRED• COP=EXCL s=cwelp-ús-em=[s] (i), cwelp-ús-em NMLZ=revolve-face-MID=3POSS revolve-face-мір ts'item'-us-mín-ts-as. lhláta7, from+there.vis go.towards-face-RLT-ISG.OBJ-3ERG Then the old man who was telling the story, he turned around to look, he turned around and leaned his head towards me.
- (43) nílh=t'u7 s=tsut=s, "cw7áoz=k'a=hem' ku=swát
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS NEG=EPIS=ANTI DET=who
 sqaycw kwa tsut, "cúy'=lhkan es-tálh-lec
 man DET+IPFV say going.to=IsG.sBJ STAT-stand-AUT
 lh=ts7ás=as ku=lhálhq'ats.""
 COMP=come=3SBJV DET=sasquatch

Then he said, "There isn't any man who can say, 'I'm going to stand my ground when a sasquatch is coming."

The Sasquatch

```
[5:00] (44)
               nílh=ťu7
                           (s=...)
                                   s=t'ak=s
               COP=EXCL NMLZ= NMLZ=continue=3POSS
                  sqwe•qw•el'-mín-as
                                       kwas
                   tell•CRED•-RLT-3ERG
                                       D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                               (ta=...) ta=pá•p•l7=a
                       that.vis DET=
                                       DET=one CRED = EXIS
                           sqaycw
                                  lhláti7=ťu7
                                                        lhel...
                           man
                                   from+there.vis=excl from
                               lhláti7-mec=t'u7
                               from+there.vis-people=EXCL
                                   lhel=ta=tmícw-s=a.
                                  from=DET=land-3POSS=EXIS
```

Then he went on to tell a story about one man from there, from his territory.

(45) wá7=ku7 tsut, "lh=s7ents=ás, cw7áoy=t'u7
IPFV=QUOT say COMP=ISG.INDEP=38BJV NEG=EXCL
kwenswá cúl•el-min
D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV run.away•FRED-RLT
ku=lhálhq'ats, lh=s7ents=ás
DET=sasquatch COMP=ISG.INDEP=38BJV
ku=7ats'x-en-táli ku=lhálhq'ats."
DET=get.seen-DIR-NTS DET=sasquatch

This man said, "If it were me, I wouldn't run away from a saquatch, if I saw a sasquatch."

qwatsáts=ku7=ti7 aylh ti7 [ta]=sqáycw=a, (wa7...)
leave=QUOT=that.VIS then that.VIS DET=man=EXIS IPFV
wa7 qú•qw•s-em' ki=sxíq=a.
IPFV shoot•CRED•-MID COLL.DET=duck=EXIS
This man set off to go hunt ducks.

(47) cw7ít=ku7 i=s-kwám•em-s=a
many=QUOT PL.DET=NMLZ-get•FRED-3POSS=EXIS
sxiq, s-qú•qw•s-em'-s, nilh
duck nmlz-shoot•CRED•-MID-3POSS COP
[s]=zácen-s-as.
nmlz=load-cAUS-3ERG

He got a lot of ducks, which he had shot, then he packed them on his back.

- (48) cw7it i=sxíq-s=a,
 many pl.det=duck-3poss=exis
 i=s-zúqwnucw-s=a.
 pl.det=nmlz-kill.game-3poss=exis
 He had a lot of ducks which he had killed.
- (49) nílh=t'u7 {s}=n-pzán-em ta=lhálhq'ats=a.

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=LOC-meet+DIR-3PASS DET=sasquatch=EXIS

 Then the sasquatch caught up with him.
- (50) cw7áoy=t'u7 kw=s=t'íq-min-em

 NEG=EXCL D/C=NMLZ=arrive-RLT-3PASS

 e=ta=lhálhq'ats=a, nílh=t'u7

 OBL=DET=sasquatch=EXIS COP=EXCL

 s=q'mín-[n]-em, nílh=t'u7

 NMLZ=get.thrown.down-DIR-3PASS COP=EXCL

 s=ka-ctép=s-a.

 NMLZ=CIRC-faint=3POSS-CIRC

Before the sasquatch even reached him, he was thrown to the ground and passed out.

The Sasquatch

```
(51)
                ts7ás=ku7
                              cwak,
                                          plán=tu7
                come=QUOT
                              get.woken
                                          already=REM
                    i=sxíq-s=a,
                                               cw7aoz
                   PL.DET=duck-3POSS=EXIS
                                              NEG
                                          pé•p•la7=ku7
                                                             ta=wa7
                        around+there.vis one • CRED • = QUOT DET = IPFV
                            s-wakw
                                                       l=kw7a.
                            STAT-get.put.under.clothes at=this.INVIS
               When he awoke his ducks were gone, they say there were none left
               except a single one, tucked under his clothes.
[6:00] (52)
                wakw-cal-s-túm=ku7=k'a
                get.put.under.clothes-ACT-CAUS-3PASS=QUOT=EPIS
                    ta=lhálhq'ats=a,
                                         l=kw7a
                                                       (l=ta=kilh...) l=ta=...
                   DET=sasquatch=EXIS at=this.INVIS at=DET=
                                                                   at=DET=
                                                 ta=ktíts'a7-s=a,
                        s-t'ép-s=a
                        NMLZ-under-3POSS=EXIS DET=shirt-3POSS=EXIS
                            ta=pé•p•l7=a
                                                   sxiq...
                            DET=one • CRED • = EXIS duck
               They say it must have been the Sasquatch who put that one duck
               under his shirt.
       (53)
                                         nelh=núkw=a,
                ...k'ámalh plán=tu7
                           already=REM PL.ABS.DET=other=EXIS
                but
                    kwán-cit-em
                                   tákem.
                    take-IND-3PASS all
               ...but it had already taken all of the others.
[6:20] (54)
                                                 nílh=t'u7 (s=...)
                lhláti7
                                cwák=ťu7,
                from+there.vis get.woken=EXCL COP=EXCL NMLZ=
                   s=cúy'=s=ku7
                                                ít'-em.
                                                          ti7
                    NMLZ=begin=3POSS=QUOT sing-MID that.VIS
                        t=s7ít'em-s=a
                                               ti7
                                                        ta=lhálhq'ats=a.
                        DET=song-3POSS=EXIS that.VIS DET=sasquatch=EXIS
               When he woke up, they say he began to sing the song of that sasquatch.
```

10.4 Sam Mitchell's Free Translation⁵

This is how the story was told to me:

"The first time that I saw it, I thought it was a bear, because it was walking along, upright. But it was not a bear. I watched for awhile, and continued wondering what it was; then I peeped at it from behind a tree."

"I started walking, and looked back; it started walking, also. I started running, and looked back; it started running, also. Faster I ran, and looked back; it was still coming, so I ran even faster, until I got to the bottom of a hill. Because my gun was getting heavy, I left it by a tree. Finally, I got to my boat, and paddled away."

"Next day, I went back to get my gun, but when I got to the tree, near which I had laid it, I found that the gun had been moved to a different place.⁶ It was then I realized that this thing was a Sasquatch, and that this same Sasquatch had moved my gun. Picking up the gun, I returned home."

"The next time I saw the Sasquatch was when I was going to get some pitch to use as a torch for night-fishing. I had just left in my boat, and as I was travelling along, I saw what appeared to be a stump. Thinking that this was a pitch-stump, I landed my boat, and, picking up my ax, I headed towards the stump, which was standing on top of a hill. When I got closer, I stopped to get a good look at it, and realized that it was the Sasquatch. I got to within 4 or 5 steps of it, but it turned and jumped up, so I ran away towards my boat, and pushed it away from land, I saw that the Sasquatch was still coming."

Many times I heard an old man tell about how he saw the Sasquatch, and I thought to myself, "If I saw that thing more than a few times, I wouldn't run away from it." Just as I was thinking this, the old man turned towards me and said, "No man alive can stand there, if the Sasquatch comes towards him." This old man, the one who told about the Sasquatch, was from the Lillooet area.

The old man told me more; "I had been hunting ducks," and was packing home a bunch of birds that I had killed, when I met suddenly with the Sasquatch. I was so surprised that I fainted and fell down. When I came to, all my ducks were gone, except for one bird, which was stuck under my shirt. It must have been the Sasquatch who put the bird there, next to my skin; it must have been the Sasquatch who took all the other ducks." Then the old man began to sing the Sasquatch song.

⁵This translation is reproduced verbatim from Bouchard and Kennedy, BCILP ms.1, #001

⁶The St'át'imcets version shown above does not include the episode of Sam returning to get his gun.

⁷In this version, it is the old man himself who goes duck hunting, however in the St'át'imcets version, the old man is telling a story about somebody else who was duck hunting.

Part IV Traditional Practices

Chapter 11

I maysáltsas nelh cín'a úcwalmicw: Underground Houses in the Lillooet-Fountain Area¹

11.1 St'át'imcets

11.1.1 S7ístken

Sam Mitchell:

Cúy'lhkan sqweqwel'mín i s7ístkena ltswása wa7 nelh skelkela7lhkálha lhas sútik... Ekw7ú tmícwkalha xelh, lhas nukw.

Nk'wínusmas, nk'wínk'wenas kwa maysentáli ta pál7a, nilh t'u7 sas xzum. I núkwa, wa::7 t'u7 slhik kwas cw7ao kwas xzum, nilh k'a tu7 ses ts'íla t'u7 ku pál7usem, wa7 estsítcw. Pál7usem, lhk'wínusmas i núkwa, nilh t'u7 ses xzum ta wa7 smaysáltsi.

T'u7 wa7 xw7útsin i wa7 esrép lta n7í7ez'ka. Áti7 lhwas es... wéna7 i wa7 tsúnem wa7... ta wa7 tsúnitas wa7 tqúm'ten, lak iz' lki posta sx.wists, nilh iz' stí7texws, nilh iz' wa7 xexzúmalqw. Lhláti7 nilh t'u7 ses kwikwsám t'u ncwetp, wa7 tu7 ts'íla wa7 t'u7 stqúm'ten t'u ncwetp. Lhstám'as lkw sk'a7q lt7u, k'et'há::s, stám'as. Kénki núkwa tmicw, ts'íla kwa nzagmámn'ek, wéna7, sxl'úlm'ecw. Mes t'u7 cw7aoy kamaystwitasá k'a, t'u7 pála7 hem' t'u7 ltswása ts'íla. Ao put kwas nilh kwas tsqawt lkwas k'ul' ku s7ístken: lkw7u lténswa wa7

¹Told by Sam Mitchell, in conversation with Baptiste Ritchie, in December 1972.

láta7 x7ilhts ets7á lhkúnsa, wa7 láti7 ts'íla kwas swál'lum'cw ta gélgela, zám'as t'u7, wa7 t'u7 láti7 slhik kwas wa7 k'a ku s7ístken tu7.

Tsukw iz', elh lhets'áltswit. Lhets', lhqwál'tsas lh... qwal'ts nscwákwekwa wa7 kéla7 lhláti7 ta k'ám7a, ta k'ám7a iz'. Nilh iz' cw7it kwas qwézez, elh lep' aylh, aoz ku7 put kwas... put t'u7 kw snilhts ku áma ku tmicw, ts'íla ku nk'lhtólm'ecw, wa7 iz' szacenstwítas kekáw'. Nilh kw scw7aoys, nilh scw7aoys kwas t'a7k iz' lhas kwis, nilh t'u7 s7aoys put kwas plhulh7úl i wa7 lép'men, nlep'káltstens.

Tsukw lhláti7, tsukw ti7, tsicw et7ú ta sqémpsa, tsícwwit cwíl'em ki cucwz'álhcwa. Nilh ku7 iz' i cucwz'álhcwa wa7... wa7 wéna7, lt7u lt.sk'ém'tssa ta s... sk'ém'tssa ti7 ta sxétqa. Nilh ku7 ti7 áti7 sas xilh kwas... lhcúz'as ti7 múta7 qweyenítas zánucwem, ku nukw sútik. Wa7 kelh káti7 ku naxwít, cw7aoz ku7 kwas ulhcw ku naxwít kwas... Lhnásas káta7 ku naxwít ka7lh kak'ík't7a, lhcw7áozas ka cucwz'álhcw, nilh t'u7 sas kwis áku7.

Nilh ti7 wa7 qvlwíil'c... ekw7úna lhan sk'alán'mins nelh nslalíl'tema lhas qwel'qwal'él't. Cw7aoy t'u7 kwas nk'wínk'wen kwa zuqw láti7 ku pála7 s7ístken, nilh t'u7 múta7 ssixs, sk'úl'ems múta7 ku nukw. Nilh wa7 tsúnitas wa7 zuqwálhcw. Nilh t'u7 ti7 sas lhwal... ti7, tsukw ti7 aylh.

I núkwa, wa7 tsútwit, "Cúy'lhkalh esyíg'was." Yíg'was, lhk'wínusmas láti7 kwa estsítcw kwa wa7, an'wasúsem, kalhúsem. "Cúz'lhkalh syíg'was." Nilh t'u7 smaysts i... szik. Ngúy'tten t'ú7 iz', t'u7 aoz kwas ca7. Lha7lh7ám t'u7 lta tmícwa, tsúkwa t'u7 tsa lak i szíka, nilh t'u7 eswéna7 láti7, i k'ám7a. K'áma7 i wa7 t'ep, elh lhláti7 aylh i qwál'tsa. I qwál'tsa, nilh iz' wa7 slhawín'. Iz' i qwál'tsa, cw7aoy t'u7 kwas cin'7úl, nilh t'u7 sas... k'wínas k'á ti7 kwas nak' ku pála7 sútik, iz' i qwál'tsa. Wa7 hem' iz' kak'úl'a papt, k'ámalh lkw7u i t'épa, nilh iz' wa7...

Lhas aylh cuz', wéna7, k'ul'tsen'antsútwit... Tsukw ku7 tu7 ta emháma, wa7 kapsácema. Ku::lhenstúm ku7 lhelt7ú ta silhts'a7úla, kú::lhenstum lhelt7ú ta slhécwqa. Elh náscitem ti7 aylh ta t'amína, well them days, use a wedge. Put t'u7 ku7... kw snilhs kw skéla7s ku k'ac ku sp'ams... splans... wa7 t'u7 k'wel'tsenantsút ta pál7usema wa7 estsítcw... láku7 wa7 wa7, qúqwta7 lhk'winusemwítas. Wa7 láta7 ta ntsqústensa ta pápel7a, wa7 láti7 i k'ét'asa. Put t'u7 ti7 kagwéla t.sp'ámsa elh wen7ánas áti7 i k'ét'asa. Xílem ta núkwa... ti7 lhstám'as, wa7 tsúnitas wa7 ts'la7úl, wa7 nelh k'a... wa7 láni7 k'a... kapulhtwítasa i núkwa ekw7úna, qwélh7in t'u7.

Baptiste Ritchie: Qwélhin' t'u7. Sam Mitchell:

Iy, qwélh7in t'u7. T'u7 wa7... ti7 ta qwélh7ina, plan... aoz kwas... lhas qempál'ts i k'ét'ha, lhas cat' lhelt7ú, nlham' áti7 lhas plan láti7 wa7 esmáys i cúz'a s7ílhen, esmát' lhstám'as t'u7 ku máoliken, tsúnas k'á hem' ku sáma7 i...

Baptiste Ritchie: Stew.

Sam Mitchell:

Stew, plan wa7 st'ak'w. Plan láku7 wa7 lak i múlca lku t'épa, ku ts'íla ku t'egwt'gwálqw mulc. Lhas cát'an'as ta k'ét'ha, lham'án'as áti7, nilh t'u7 scw7aoys kwas tsicw lt7u kwa... lta qwélh7ina.

Randy Bouchard: Birch bark.

Sam Mitchell: Yeah, so that, these sticks, if it's...

Randy Bouchard: Ucwalmícwts!

Sam Mitchell:

Oh! Izá i múlca, lhtsaqwemáz'as, stám'as t'u7 ku t'egwt'gwálqw mulc. Nilh iz' wa7 t'ep láku7. Tsukw tu7 aylh spúlhelhts tákem, q'wel iz' i skúkwiha elh kelh láku7 i k'ét'ha, kelh láti7 i múlca elh lá::ti7 t'u7 aylh lhas... k'a pála7 t'acímen kwa qwézez, p'luq'w, *yeah*... *yeah*, ts'íla áti7 ta zewatenána. Nilh t'u7 s... tsukw aylh, lhapt ti sp'ámsa elh rep ta nlháxtena.

Wa7 xzum, ílhenwit k'a ku cw7it ses papt7úlwit wa7 nas kenkw7ú álts'q7a, you see... maybe once, pála7 k'a ku pála7 sgap. Azúta ku q'ámaz', cw7aoz ku7 ti7 kw s7ats'x ta q'ámaz'a, wa7 t'u7 ti7 spetqw kent7ú. But I did... Yeah, I mentioned... Plánlhkan ti7 wa7 sqweqwel'mín ti7 ta... wéna7, scucwz'álhcwa wa7... láti7 llhwas lak lt.sk'ém'tssa ta wén7a, t.s7ístkena. Nilh ku7 ti7 kw scw7aoys kwas ulhcw ku naxwít múta7 ti7 ta cucwz'álhcwa, wa7 ti7 t'it k'a... ts'íla t'u7 iz' ku q'ámaz', t'u7 wa7 tsútwit, cw7aoz ku7 láti7 kw st'aks lt.skwísa. Yeah... well ah... Ts'ílas nka7 k'a kw scin's, k'wá7en, plánlhkan wa7 tsúlhaka7 kw nsq'em'p wi pal7úpst. Wa7 tsut, "Ka7ats'xskána, aoz k'a t'u7 lhláti7 kw scin's, lhelt.splánsa ti7 aylh zet'q' n7aw'tá k'a láta7... láta7 zam' cácel'pa." Wa7 tsútwit lhláti7 ti7 lhkwánemas ta nlháxtena. Ats'xenlhkán ni7, lhplánas tu7 aylh

wa7 zewatetstwitas i ucwalmicwa kwa maysálts ku szíka, nilh t'u7 tu7 s.... So that'll be, see... around 18... oh yes 80 years, all of that, some, some, or the last used, and after that they, I know when they...

11.1.2 Q'aq'áya

Sam Mitchell:

Lhus náswit píxem' wa7 s7icwlh múta7 i wa7 qwez káku7 kísema, wa7 tsúnem wa7 q'aq'áya, iy, q'aq'áya. *That's another Indian house, the...* Láti7 lhas wá7wit lhas tsícwwit píxem' kent7ú ká7ew'. Wa7 xelh káta7 lhas lhwál'tsten, xwem lhnúkwas kwas máqa7, nilh t'u7 ts7a sas k'ul' ta q'aq'áyha. Kalhálqw szik, stám'as t'u7 ku szik, kalhálqw k'a lts7a, ts'íla lt7u. Nilh t'u7 ses... wa7 t'u7 ak ts'íla, wa7... nilh lhláti7 malh sq'ut.s i sk'áts'altsa, án'was i sk'áts'altsa kakekew'mín'twal'. Nilh t'u7 slts7as t'u7 n7í7ez'ka lhas lak t.sp'ámsa. Lhk'wínusmas láti7 kwa píxem' kwa wa7 láti7 lta pál7a q'aq'áya. Ats'xenlhkán hem' nelh, ats'xenlhkán nelh nilh t'u7 nska7áw'ta qwez.

Kalhálqw szik, wa7 hém' ti7 esmáys, ts'íla t'u7 ku smaysálts, t'u7 cw7ao kw sca7. Nilh t'u7 slhláti7 ses gélgel hem' ti7 ta s... steep ti7 ta roof sa, nilh t'u7 slt7us n7í7ez'ka lhas lak t.sp'ámsa. I lived in it myself. Up Hat Creek, Qeqáyt.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Kekáw'min'twal' láti7, nilh st'aks ti núkwa.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, iy, kekáw'min'twal'... swéna7, án'was i sk'áts'altssa, kekew'mín'twal'. Ts'íla k'a t'ú7 ti7 sxek ta ngúy'ttena. Nilh t'u7 sláti7s lhas lak ta spl'úkwa. Lhláti7 et7úna n... lts7a lhas wa7 i núkwa, et7ú nx7íl'qa i núkwa. Nx7il'q means opposite... yeah.

11.1.3 St'át'lhqwemc

Sam Mitchell:

Izáwna i s7ístkena, icín'as cw7aoz tu7 kwa... aoy tu7 kwa tsúnem wa7 *rancherie*. Lhelt7úmec, nt'át'lhqwemc, et7ú wi snímulh, sqáytqwemec, slhaxwáxu7emc,²

²The term lhaxwáxu7emc 'people from Fountain' comes from the old word for Fountain, lhaxwáxwa7 plus the suffix (-e)mc 'person from'. The reason that [u] appears in the derived form is that the [a] preceding the glottal stop [7] in [lha.xwá.xwa7] is underlyingly schwa [e], lowered by a rule that applies when schwa precedes glottal stop in the same syllable (syllable breaks are indicated

nilh ti7 skwatsitsúlm'ecws láti7 lténswa wa7. Kap'lhéqwa sas t'u7 lhláti7, nilh t'u7 sk'á7k'a7s.

Baptiste Ritchie: I stám'as?

Sam Mitchell: k'á7k'a7.

Baptiste Ritchie: k'á7k'a7.

Sam Mitchell: Yeah, Big Rocks.

Randy Bouchard: Can you explain where these places are?

Sam Mitchell: Yeah, it's up towards Fountain.

Randy Bouchard: Ucwalmícwts!

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, ekw7ú ti7 cácel'pa. Kentákem t'u7 lkwas... lhas wa7 i ucwalmícwa lkwas k'ík'ta7 ku qu7, múta7 lkwes k'ík'ta7 kwas kazawemwíta lhas kéla7 wa7 qapts. Cw7í::tusem, st'iqs aylh i naplíta elh cuz' k'ul' i rancherieha wa7 tsúnitas lhkun. K'ámalh pá::l7usem t'u7 tu7 lts7a. Wá7lhkan ntsutánwas nilh k'a iz'... wa7 tsúnitas sxek i sám7a wa7... sama7tsmínitas kwa one clan, eh? Is that it? Pál7usem wa7 estsítcw.

K'wá7en s7ents, lhelkw7úna ta wa7 tsúnitas wa7 qwíxwcen, lhláku7 k'a nelh nskélkel7a, lhláku7 k'a lhk'úl'el'as na nskícez7a. T'u7 nilh... nilh iz' i naplíta, ull'usentáli i ucwalmícwa, nelh pelpál7usema. Ts'íla ku nek'wnúk'wa7s k'á iz', nilh t'u7 sxlítenas. Xlítenas ku sútik, k'wá7en, na nqátsez7a lhelts7ámec. *That's why I'm related to this...* Káti7 k'a lhas tsicw, nilh t'u7 sts'ílas ku zu7cw,

here by periods). However, when re-syllabification takes place, as in [lha.xwá.xu.7emc], the [7] is no longer tautosyllabic with the preceding schwa, which then undergoes rounding following [xw] (written as x because of spelling conventions) and shows up as [u].

nilh t'u7 s7amamínem, nilh t'u7 sxlítenem áti7. *Yeah*. Xilém tu7 nskícez7a. Wa7 malh et7ú icín'as, wa7 t'u7 *one clan and one place, yeah*.

Láku7 lta pál7a tmicw, et7ú ti7 stalhá7s, nilh ti7 wa7 15 mile wa7 stsúnitas i sám7a, ti7 ts7áwna na wa7 qwel'qwal'el'tmínan. Nilh ni7 wa7 sPutsíqws, Pyal hem' t.skwátsitssa. Wá7lhkan sk'alán'mins lhas tsut, "Cw7it láti7 i s7ístkena láta7, nilh ti7 wa7 t'at'lh. Nelh nspepápez7a, cw7aoy t'u7 kw szewatenítas, cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 lhel wi snilh kwa tsut, swéta7 tu7 láta7 nelh wa7 wa7. Nilh wa7 st'át'lhemc, cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 kwas... kw szewáts lhswátas t'u7 kwa st'át'lhemc." T'u7 nilh hem' ti7 skwatsitsúlm'ecws ti7 ku tmicw, wa7 t'at'lh. Ta wa7 t'at'lh, that's... alkali water, yeab.

Randy Bouchard: Salt water.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, k'wá7en, ti7 ni7 ku úcwalmicw, plan ni7... p'a7cw k'a ku hundred t'lh elh zuqw kwelh kwelh pepápeza7s. Zam'ás t'u7 wa7 tsut, "Cw7aoz ku7 tu7 kw swa7s kwelh npepápez7a," ku7 tsut, "wa7 tu7 láta7 nelh t'át'lhemca." T'u7 wa7 hém' t'u7 eshál'a lhkun kwas tu7 wa7 cw7it i s7ístkena. Láti7 lta pál7a spálem, xzum ku spálem, k'ík'ta7s t'u7 ta tswéw'ew'cwa, p'a7cw k'a lhélku hundred láti7.

Randy Bouchard: Láku7 15 Milea?

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, láti7 i s7istkená k'a tu7. Mes t'u7 cw7aoy t'u7 lhel wi snilh kwa zewatentáli lhswátas tu7 láta7 kwa estsítcw. Ts'í::la kénki núkwa tmicw, kents7á t'u7 wéna7 ta wa7 tsúnem wa7 q'áq'el'cen. Áti7... i k'úl'as áti7 ta c.wálha, stexw t'u7 cw7it q'weq'ú7lh i wa7 t'eqenítas i sám7a, sk'ul'ún'itas ta c.wálha. K'wí::nas k'a ku sqemps i skwt'úsa káti7 wa7 slewláw, káti7 lhas lewlawanítas. Wa7 nilh, wá7lhkan i qwal'qwél'tstena... na papel7á ti7 wa7 foreman. Wa7 tsut, "Gee," láti7 wa7 tsut, "giant k'á wi7 ti7 ta núkwa láti7 púnem q'weq'ú7lh," wa7 tsut. "Texw t'u7 zeczáct izá," tsut, "i nxáw'lhcensa." Yeah.

11.2 English

11.2.1 Pit Houses

Sam Mitchell:

I'm going to tell a story about underground pit houses, where our ancestors stayed during the wintertime... Our land gets very cold, sometimes.

If it was for several families, it took quite a few people to make one, so they were big. But some were clearly not so big, and must've been for one family to live in. One family group, but if there were several families, then they built a big one.

But four posts were set upright in the middle.³ That's when... how do you say, what we call *tqúm'ten* ('rafters')⁴ were put on top of the *posts*, they were straight and quite big. From there, the ones that go around are smaller [i.e. the side-rafters], they kind of go around the top logs.⁵ They were anchored at the bottom with rocks, or whatever. In some places, they were built on sidehills, what do you call it, steep land. It wouldn't seem that they'd be able to build there, but there is one just like that. It wasn't exactly flat where they built the pit houses: on the other side from where I live now, the land has a strong slant, but it's clear that there used to be pithouses there.

When they finished that, they started putting the roof layers on. The layers were put on, the fir boughs, I think the fir boughs came before the pine needles, those came first. A lot of them were used, and then it got covered with earth... if it wasn't just right, exactly the right kind of soil, like clay, then they carried it a long way. That was so that it didn't leak when it rained, so it didn't need to be too thick, the house-covering.

When that was finished, and it was getting towards summer, they went to go look for ant nests. They say those ant nests were... how do you say, they were at the doorway, the hole. That's how they did it when they were going to use the pit house again the next year, for another winter. There'd be snakes around, but they didn't enter. If a snake went close to there, and there wasn't any ant nest, then it'd fall in.

I was listening to my parents when they were talking about one over there that's ruined. Not too many people died in any one pithouse, or they'd just

³See Teit (1900:193) for a structural diagram of a s7ístken. Teit refers to these posts as 'braces'.

⁴Teit (1900:192-193) distinguishes the main 'rafters' (which Sam refers to as *tqúm'ten*) and 'siderafters' which rest on top of the main rafters at a 45 degree angle.

⁵See Teit (1900:103) for a structural diagram of a s7ístken.

move again and build another one. That's what they call a death-house. It was just abandoned, and that was the end.

Some people would say, "We're going to live together." A few families would live together in a house, two families, three families, "We're going to live together." Then they fixed some logs. Those were beds, but they weren't high off the ground. They were closer to the ground, they were just logs, and then they had, what do you call them, pine needles. Pine needles underneath, and then fir boughs on top. Those boughs were used for bedding. Those fir boughs, they didn't last very long before... they were changed several times every winter. Fresh ones were always being fixed, but the ones underneath, those...

When they were about to fix food for themselves... Only an expert could gather firewood. He was loaned moccasins, and pants. And then he was given an axe, well them days, use a wedge. As soon as the wood was really dry, each family in the house cooked for themselves, and it didn't matter how many families were living there. Someone had a pot, and cooking stones. As soon as the fire was lit, they did something or other to the stones. Another one did the same thing... that's what they call a 'real basket', there were those who... in those days they boiled them... some of those were made of birch bark.

Baptiste Ritchie: Birch bark.

Sam Mitchell:

Yes, birch bark. So that birch bark was already... they didn't... when the rocks were hot, when they were lifted out [of the fire], they were put in with the food which was already prepared. Whatever they had was mixed together in what the white people call a 'mulligan'...

Baptiste Ritchie: Stew.

Sam Mitchell:

Stew, it was already poured in. Sticks of hard wood had already been placed in the bottom. When they lifted out the rock [from the fire], they put the sticks in the birch bark so that [the rocks wouldn't touch it (and burn it)].

Randy Bouchard: Birch bark.

Sam Mitchell: Yeah, so that, these sticks, if it's...

Randy Bouchard: Speak Indian!

Sam Mitchell:

Oh! These sticks were saskatoon wood, or any kind of hard wood. They were at the bottom. When everything finished boiling and what they were cooking was done, the rocks and the sticks were removed, and then.... but there was one spoon that was used, a big wooden spoon, *yeah*... *yeah*, that's about what I know. When the fire went out, then the tray was stood up.

It was a big meal, they ate a lot because they were always going around outside, *you see, maybe once*, once per evening. Especially a teenage girl, she was not meant to be seen, she went around with her head covered up. *But I did... Yeah, I mentioned...* I already talked about the... how do you say, the ant nests, they were there by the opening of the... how do you say it, the pit house. That was so that no snakes could enter, and those ant nests were kind of like teenage girls, they said, they didn't go out in the rain. *Yeah... well ah*, it's kind of been a long time, you see, I'm already seventy-eight years old. Someone said, "I managed to see it not long after it collapsed, the one behind Fountain." They said that's where they got the tray from. I saw it, after the people had already learned how to make log houses, so then... *So that'll be, see... around 18... oh yes 80 years, all of that, some, some, or the last used, and after that they, I know when they...*

11.2.2 Shelters

Sam Mitchell:

A different kind was used in the backwoods when they went hunting, what we call a *q'aq'áya* ('shelter'). That's another Indian house, the... That's where they stayed when they went hunting far away. It gets really cold there in the fall, and sometimes the snow comes down quickly, so they'd build this shelter. There were three logs, any kind of log, there must've been three of them, like that. So they kind of faced this way... the cross-beams were placed on the side of the logs, two of them, spaced a little apart from one another. And the fire was here in the

⁶Teit (1900:197) includes a diagram of a q'aq'áya.

middle. If there were several groups hunting, they could use a single shelter. I've seen them, and then after that, I used them.

There are three logs, and they're built kind of like a house, but not as high. That's why the *roof* was so *steep*, so that the fire could be right in the middle. *I lived in it myself. Up Hat Creek*, Qeqáyt.

Baptiste Ritchie:

A little ways from one another, then another one goes along...

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, yeah, a ways from one another, how do you say, there were two cross-beams a little ways from one another. It might've been kind of like a sleeping shelter. That's where the smoke went. Some of them stayed here, and others were on the opposite side. *Nx7il'q means opposite... yeah*.

11.2.3 Keatley Creek People

Sam Mitchell:

These pit houses, well, long ago there weren't any of what we call *rancheries*.⁷ The people from over there, the people at Keatley Creek, and us people from up on top, Fountain people, that's the name of the land where I live. Because the creek overflowed at the top, big rocks landed up there.

Baptiste Ritchie:

What?

Sam Mitchell: Big rocks.

Baptiste Ritchie: Big rocks.

Sam Mitchell: Yeah, big rocks.

Randy Bouchard:

Can you explain where these places are?

 $^{^{7}}$ 'Rancherie' is an old word referring to the village on a reserve, and is still used to refer to the T'ít'q'et (Lillooet) reserve.

Sam Mitchell: Yeah, it's up towards Fountain.

Randy Bouchard: Speak Indian!

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, it's up towards Fountain. Everywhere the Indian people lived was close to the water, close to where they could fish at the start of spring. There were many groups of families, and then the priests came, and the rancheries, as they call them today, started getting built. But there was just one family here. I was thinking about what the white people call... in English they say one clan, eh? Is that it? One family per house.

See, I'm from what they call Six Mile, that's where my ancestors came from, that's where my mother was born. But those priests gathered up the people who were scattered here and there in single clans. If they were sort of related, then they invited them. He called them over for the winter, see, my father, he's from here. *That's why I'm related to this...* He must've gone there and kind of gotten used to it, they liked him so they invited him there, *yeah*. Same with my mother. Anyways, in the old days before that, it was just *one clan and one place, yeah*.

Over at this one place on the other side, what the white people call 15 Mile, that's where the person who I was talking about came from. That was sPutsíqws, but Pyal (Old Pierre) was his other name. I listened to him when he said, "There were a lot of pit houses at Keatley Creek. My grandfathers didn't know who they were, and none of us could say who it was that lived there. They were from Keatley Creek, but nobody knows who the Keatley Creek people were." But that's the name of the place, t'at'lh. Keatley Creek, that's alkali water, yeah.

Randy Bouchard: Salt water.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, you see, that Indian (Old Pierre) was already... his grandfathers were more than a *hundred* years old before they died. But he said, "None of my grandfathers were living at the time that the Keatley Creek people were there." But it still shows today, where a lot of the pit houses were. At this one flat place, a big field, near to a little creek, there must be more than a *hundred* pits.

⁸Sam also mentions Old Pierre in "The Drifters".

Randy Bouchard: At 15 Mile?

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, there must've been pit houses there. But none of them knew who the houses belonged to. It's kind of like at the other place, how do you say, we call it Q'áq'el'cen. When the road was being built, there were a lot of bones that the white people dug up when they were building the road. The skulls hung there for several summers, where they had hung them up. That's the way it was, I have an account from one of the *foremen*. He said, "Gee, one of the bones that we found must have been from a giant. Their shin bones were really long," he said. Yeah.

⁹Sam Mitchell places Q'áq'el'cen at 11 mile, near Fountain.

11.3 Interlinear Gloss

11.3.1 S7ístken: Pit Houses

(1) Sam Mitchell: [0:00]cúy'=lhkan sqwe•qw•el'-mín (i=...) going.to=ISG.SBJ tell*CRED*-RLT PL.DET= i=s7ístken=a (i=wa7...) PL.DET=pit.house=EXIS PL.DET=IPFV l=tswasa=wá7 (i=...)at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS=be PL.DET= nelh=skel•kela7-lhkálh=a PL.ABS.DET=TRED•before-IPL.POSS=EXIS sútik... COMP+IPFV+3SBJV winter I'm going to tell a story about underground pit houses, where our

ancestors stayed during the wintertime...

- (2) e=kw7ú tmícw-kalh=a xelh, to=that.INVIS land-IPL.POSS=EXIS very.cold lhas nukw. COMP+IPFV+3SBJV other Our land gets very cold, sometimes.
- (3) n-k'win-usm=as... n-k'win•k'wen=as LOC-how.many-kind=3SBJV LOC-TRED•how.many=3SBJV mays-en-táli ta=pál7=a, nílh=ťu7 DET+IPFV get.fixed-DIR-NTS DET=one=EXIS COP=EXCL sas xzum. NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS big

If it was for several families, it took quite a few people to make one, so they were big.

(4) i=núkw=a... wá::7=t'u7 s-lhik
PL.DET=other=EXIS IPFV=EXCL STAT-clear
kwas cw7ao kwas
D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
xzum, nílh=k'a=tu7 ses ts'íla=t'u7
big cop=epis=rem nmlz+ipfv+3poss like=excl
ku=pál7-usem, wa7 es=tsítcw.
DET=one-kind IPFV have=house

But some were clearly not so big, and must've been for one family to live in.

(5) pál7-usem... lh=k'wín-usm=as i=núkw=a, one-kind comp=how.many-kind=3sBJV pl.det=other=exis nílh=t'u7 ses xzum ta=wa7 cop=excl nmlz+ipfv+3poss big det=ipfv s-mays-álts-i. nmlz-get.fixed-house-3pl.poss

One family group... but if there were several families, then they built a big one.

(6) t'u7 wa7 xw7útsin i=wa7 es-rép
but ipfv four pl.det=ipfv stat-get.stood.up
l=ta=n7í7ez'k=a.
at=det=in.the.middle=exis

But four posts were set upright in the middle.

(7) lhwas áti7 wéna7 [1:00]es... to+there.VIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV NMLZ= whatchamacallit (i=...)i=wa7 tsún-em wa7... ta=wa7 PL.DET= PL.DET=IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV DET=IPFV wa7 tgúm'-ten... lák=iz' tsún-itas say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV rafter-INS be.there=those.vis l=ki=post=as-x.wis-ts, at=PL.DET=post=EXIS NMLZ-top-3POSS nílh=iz'... s-tí7texw-s, COP=those.VIS NMLZ-correct-3POSS wa7 xe•xzúm-alqw. COP=those.VIS IPFV IRED•big-tree That's when... how do you say, what we call tqum'ten ('rafters') were

- put on top of the *posts*, they were straight and quite big.
- (8) lhláti7 nílh=t'u7 ses kwikws-ám from+there.vis cop=excl nmlz+ipfv+3poss small-cpr t'u n-cwet-p, wá7=tu7 ts'íla wá7=t'u7 until loc-go.around-inch ipfv=rem like ipfv=excl stqúm'-ten t'u n-cwet-p. rafter-ins until loc-go.around-inch

 From there, the ones that go around are smaller [i.e. the side-rafters],

they kind of go around the top logs.

- (9) lh=stám'=as l=kw=s-k'a7-q l=t7u...

 COMP=what=3SBJV at=DET=STAT-get.stuck-bottom at=that.vIs

 k'et'h=á::s, stám'=as.

 rock=3SBJV what=3SBJV
 - They were anchored at the bottom with rocks, or whatever...
- (10) ken=ki=núkw=a tmicw, ts'íla kwa around=pl.det=other=exis land like d/C+ipfv n-zagmámn'ek, wéna7, s-xl'-úlm'ecw...
 LOC-sidehill whatchamacallit STAT-steep-land
 In some places, they were built on sidehills, what do you call it, steep land.

```
(11) més=t'u7 cw7aoy ka-mays...-(e)s-twitas-á=ka,
but=excl neg circ-get.fixed-caus-3pl.erg-circ=irr
t'u7 pala7=hém'=t'[u7] l=tswása
but one=anti=excl at=d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss+exis
ts'íla.
like
```

It wouldn't seem that they'd be able to build there, but there is one just like that.

```
(12)
                      kwas
              put
        ao
              exactly D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
            nilh
                 kwas
                                         tsqawt
                 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS flat.area
                (l=kwas...)
                at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                                              k'ul'
                    l=kwas
                    at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.made
                        (ku=...) ku=s7ístken: l=kw7u
                        DET=
                                DET=pit.house at=that.INVIS
                            l=ténswa
                            at=D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV+EXIS
                                                 x7i[lh]-ts
                                wa7 láta7
                                be at+there.vis other.side-3POSS
                                    e=ts7á
                                             lhkúnsa...
                                    to=this.vis today
```

It wasn't exactly flat where they built the pit houses: on the other side from where I live now.....

...wa7 láti7 ts'íla kwas... (13)at+there.vis like IPFV D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS s-wál'-lum'cw ta=gélgel=a, zám'=as=t'u7... STAT-slanted-land DET=strong=EXIS though=3SBJV=EXCL wá7=ťu7 láti7 s-lhik IPFV=EXCL at+there.VIS STAT-clear wá7=k'a kwas be=EPIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS ku=s7ístken=tu7. DET=pit.house=REM

...the land has a strong slant, but it's clear that there used to be pithouses there.

- (14) tsúkw=iz', elh lhets'-álts=wit.⁹ finish=those.vis and.then get.piled.in.layers-house=3PL

 When they finished that, they started putting the roof layers on.
- (15)lhets', lh=qwál'ts=as lh... [2:00]get.piled.in.layers COMP=fir.bough=3SBJV COMP qwal'ts n-scwákwekw=a wa7 kéla7 fir.bough ISG.POSS-heart=EXIS IPFV before lhláti7 ta=k'ám7=a, from+there.vis DET=pine.needle=EXIS ta=k'ám7=a=7iz'. DET=pine.needle=EXIS=those.VIS

The layers were put on, the fir boughs, I think the fir boughs came before the pine needles, those came first.

⁹The expected root for 'get piled in layers' is *lhets*, not *lhets*'. Since the same pronunciation is recorded in the next stanza, we have analyzed this as an alternate form of the same root, rather than as a speech error.

```
nílh=iz'
(16)
                       cw7it kwas
        COP=those.VIS many
                              D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
            qwéz•ez,
                          elh
                                   lep'
                                              aylh, áoz=ku7
            get.used FRED and.then get.covered then NEG=QUOT
                       kwas...
                                               pút=ťu7
                put
                exactly D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS exactly=EXCL
                    kw=s=nilh=ts
                                           ku=7áma
                                                     ku=tmícw,
                    D/C=NMLZ=COP=3POSS DET=good DET=land
                        ts'íla ku=n-k'lht-ólm'ecw, wá7=iz'
                             DET=LOC-clay-land IPFV=those.VIS
                        like
                            [s]zacen-s-twítas
                                              ke•káw'.
                            load-CAUS-3PL.ERG IRED•far
```

A lot of them were used, and then it got covered with earth... if it wasn't just right, exactly the right kind of soil, like clay, then they carried it a long way.

(17) nilh kw=s=cw7aoy=s, nilh cw7aoy=s
COP D/C=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS COP NEG=3POSS
kwas t'á<7>k=iz'
D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS go.along<INCH>=those.VIS
lhas kwis...
COMP+IPFV+3SBJV fall

That was so that it didn't leak when it rained...

(18)...nílh=t'u7 [s=7]aoy=s NMLZ=NEG=3POSS exactly COP=EXCL kwas plhulh-7úl.... (i=wa7 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS thick-too.much PL.DET=IPFV lep'...) lép'-men, i=wa7 get.buried PL.DET=IPFV get.buried-INS [n]-lep'-k-álts-ten-s... LOC-get.buried-back-house-INS-3POSS ...so it didn't need to be too thick, the house-covering.

(19) tsukw lhláti7, tsúkw=ti7, tsicw e=t7ú finish from+there.vis finish=that.vis get.there to=that.vis

[ta]=sqémps=a, tsícw=wit cwíl'-em

DET=summer=exis get.there=3PL look.for-MID

ki=... cucwz'-álhcw=a.

COLL.DET= ant-place=Exis

When that was finished, and it was getting towards summer, they went to go look for ant nests.

nílh=ku7=iz' i=cucwz'-álhcw=a (20)COP=QUOT=those.VIS PL.DET=ant-place=EXIS wa7... wa7 wéna7, l=t7uwhatchamacallit at=that.vis be l=t=sk'ém'-ts-s=a at=DET=edge-mouth-3POSS=EXIS DET=NMLZsk'ém'-ts-s=a ti7 ta=sxétq=a. edge-mouth-3POSS=EXIS that.VIS DET=hole=EXIS They say those ant nests were... how do you say, they were at the doorway, the hole.

(21)nílh=ku7=ti7 áti7 COP=QUOT=that.VIS to+there.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS kwas... get.done.like D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS lh=cúz'=as ti7 múta7 COMP=going.to=3SBJV that.VIS again zánucwem, ku=núkw qwey-en-ítas get.used-DIR-3PL.ERG next.year DET=other sútik. winter

That's how it was done when they were going to use the pit house again the next year, for another winter.

[3:00] (22) wá7=kelh káti7 ku=naxwít, cw7áoz=ku7
be=fut around+there.vis det=snake neg=quot
kwas ulhcw ku=naxwít
d/C+nmlz+ipfv+3poss enter det=snake
kwas...
d/C+nmlz+ipfv+3poss

There'd be snakes around, but they didn't enter...

- (23) lh=nás=as káta7 ku=naxwít ka7lh
 COMP=go=3sBJV around+there.VIS DET=snake sometime
 ka-k'ík't7-a, lh=cw7áoz=as=ka cucwz'-álhcw,
 CIRC-nearby-CIRC COMP=NEG=3sBJV=IRR ant-place
 nílh=t'u7 sas kwis áku7.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS fall to+there.INVIS
 If a snake went close to there, and there wasn't any ant nest, then it'd
- fall in.
- (24) nílh=ti7 wa7 qvl-wíl'c... e=kw7ú-{w}na
 COP=that.VIS IPFV bad-become to=that.INVIS-precisely
 lhan s=k'alán'-min=s
 COMP+IPFV+ISG.SBJV NMLZ=listen-RLT=3POSS
 nelh=[n]-slalíl'tem=a lhas
 PL.ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-parent=EXIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 qwel'•qwal'•él't.
 TRED•talk•FRED

I was listening to my parents when they were talking about one over there that's ruined.

(25)cw7áoy=t'u7 (kwas...) kwas D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS NEG=EXCL n-k'wín•k'wen kwa zuqw... láti7 LOC-TRED how.many DET+IPFV die at+there.vis ku=pála7 s7ístken, nílh=t'u7 múta7 (s=...) DET=one pit.house COP=EXCL again s=six=s. [s]=k'úl'-em=sNMLZ=move=3POSS NMLZ=get.made-MID=3POSS múta7 ku=núkw. DET=other again

Not too many people died in any one pithouse, or they'd just move again and build another one.

- (26) nilh wa7 tsún-itas wa7 zuqw-álhcw.
 COP IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV die-place
 That's what they call a death-house.
- (27) nílh=t'u7=ti7 sas lhwal...

 COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.abandoned

 ti7, tsúkw=ti7 aylh.

 that.VIS finish=that.VIS then

 It was just abandoned, and that was the end.
- (28) i=núkw=a... wa7 tsút=wit, "cúy'=lhkalh
 PL.DET=other=EXIS IPFV say=3PL going.to=IPL.SBJ
 es-yíg'was."
 STAT-live.together
 Some people would say, "We're going to live together."
- (29)lh=k'win-usm=as láti7 [4:00]yíg'was, live.together COMP=how.many-kind=3SBJV at+there.VIS es=tsítcw kwa wa7, an'was-úsem, DET+IPFV have=house DET+IPFV be two-kind kalh-úsem... "cúz'=lhkalh s-yíg'was." three-kind going.to=IPL.SBJ STAT-live.together A few families would live together in a house, two families, three families, "We're going to live together."

- (30) nílh=t'u7 s=mays=ts i=... szik.

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.fixed=3POSS PL.DET= log

 Then they fixed some logs.
- (31) n-guy't-ten=t'ú7=iz', t'u7 aoz
 LOC-sleep-INS=EXCL=those.VIS but NEG
 kwas ca7.
 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS high
 Those were beds, but they weren't high off the ground.
- (32) lha7•lh7-ám=t'u7 l=ta=tmícw=a, tsúkwa=t'u7
 TRED•close.to-CPR=EXCL at=DET=land=EXIS only=EXCL
 tsa lak i=szík=a,
 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS be.there PL.DET=log=EXIS
 nílh=t'u7 (s=...) es=wéna7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ= have=whatchamacallit
 láti7, i=k'ám7=a.
 at+there.vis Pl.DET=pine.needle=EXIS

They were closer to the ground, they were just logs, and then they had, what do you call them, pine needles.

- (33) k'áma7 i=wa7 t'ep, elh lhláti7
 pine.needle PL.DET=IPFV under and.then from+there.VIS
 aylh i=qwál'ts=a.
 then PL.DET=fir.bough=EXIS

 Pine needles underneath, and then fir boughs on top.
- (34) i=qwál'ts=a, nílh=iz' wa7 slhawín'.

 PL.DET=fir.bough=exis cop=those.vis ipfv bedding
 Those boughs were used for bedding.

(35)iz' i=qwál'ts=a, cw7áoy=t'u7 those.vis pl.det=fir.bough=exis neg=excl kwas cin'-7úl, nílh=ťu7 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS long.time-too.much COP=EXCL k'win=as=k'á=ti7 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS how.many=3SBJV=EPIS=that.VIS nak' kwas ku=pála7 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.changed DET=one i=qwál'ts=a. sútik, iz' winter those.vis pl.det=fir.bough=exis Those fir boughs, they didn't last very long before... they were changed several times every winter.

(36) wá7=hem'=iz' ka-k'úl'-a papt, k'ámalh IPFV=ANTI=those.VIS CIRC-get.made-CIRC always however l=kw7u i=t'ép=a, nílh=iz' wa7... at=that.INVIS PL.DET=under=EXIS COP=those.VIS IPFV (lhas...)

COMP+IPFV+3SBJV

Fresh ones were always being fixed, but the ones underneath, those...

- (37) lhas aylh cuz'.... wéna7...

 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV then going.to whatchamacallit
 k'ul'-ts-en'-antsút=wit...
 get.made-mouth-dir-refl=3PL

 When they were about to fix food for themselves...
- (38) tsúkw=ku7=tu7 ta=7emh-ám=a, wa7 finish=QUOT=REM DET=good-MID=EXIS IPFV ka-psác-em-a.
 CIRC-gather.wood-MID-CIRC
 Only an expert could gather firewood.

```
ku::lhen-s-túm=ku7
                                           lhel=t7ú
[5:00] (39)
                borrow-caus-3pass=quot from=that.vis
                   ta=[si]lhts'a7-{7}úl=a, kú::lhen-s-tum
                                                             lhel=t7ú
                   DET=shoe-real=EXIS
                                         borrow-CAUS-3PASS from=that.VIS
                        ta=slhécw-q=a.
                        DET=get.put.on-bottom=EXIS
```

He was loaned moccasins, and pants.

- (40)nás-cit-em ti7 aylh ta=t'amín=a, elh well and then go-IND-3PASS that .VIS then DET=axe=EXIS well them days, use a wedge. them days use a wedge
- And then he was given an axe, well them days, use a wedge.

```
(41)
        pút=t'u7=ku7...
                            kw=[s]=nilh=s
        exactly=EXCL=QUOT D/C=NMLZ=COP=3POSS
           kw=s=kéla7=s
                                    ku=k'ác
           D/C=NMLZ=before=3POSS DET=get.dry
               ku=sp'áms...
                             s=plan=s...
               DET=firewood NMLZ=already=3POSS
                   wá7=ťu7
                              k'wel'-ts-en-antsút
                   IPFV=EXCL get.made-mouth-DIR-REFL
                       ta=pál7-usem=a
                                         wa7 es=tsítcw...
                       DET=one-kind=EXIS IPFV have=house
                           láku7
                                         wa7 wa7, qúqwta7
                           at+there.INVIS IPFV be
                                                     nothing
                               lh=k'win-usem=wít=as.
                               COMP=how.many-kind=3PL=3SBJV
```

As soon as the wood was really dry, each family in the house cooked for themselves, and it didn't matter how many families were living there.

```
wa7 láta7 ta=...
be at+there.vis det=
n-tsq-ús-ten-s=a
LOC-placed.opening.side.up-face-ins-3poss=exis
ta=pá•p•l7=a, wa7 láti7
det=one•cred•exis be at+there.vis
[i]=k'ét'a-s=a.
pl.det=rock-3poss=exis
```

Someone had a pot, and cooking stones.

(43) pút=t'u7=ti7 ka-gwél-a t=sp'áms=a, exactly=excl=that.vis circ-burn-circ det=firewood=exis elh... wen7-án-as áti7 and.then whatchamacaliit-dir-3erg to+there.vis i=k'ét'a-s=a.

PL.DET=rock-3POSS=EXIS

As soon as the fire was lit, they did something or other to the stones.

```
(44)
         xíl-em
                 ta=núkw=a...
                                   ti7
                                            lh=stám'=as,
         do-MID DET=other=EXIS that.VIS COMP=what=3SBJV
             wa7
                   tsún-itas
                                     wa7
                                           ts'la7-{7}úl,
            IPFV
                  say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV basket-real
                                                       IPFV
                                 wa7
                 nélh=k'a...
                                       láni7=k'a...
                 those.ABS=EPIS IPFV at+there.ABS=EPIS
                     ka-pulh-{s}-twítas-a
                                                   (i=...)
                     CIRC-boil-CAUS-3PL.ERG-CIRC PL.DET=
                                             e=kw7ú-{w}na,
                         i=núkw=a
                         PL.DET=other=EXIS to=that.INVIS-precisely
                              qwélh7in=t'u7.
                             birch.bark=EXCL
```

Another one did the same thing... that's what they call a 'real basket', there were those who... in those days they boiled them... some of those were made of birch bark.

(45) Baptiste Ritchie:
qwélh7in=t'u7.
birch.bark=EXCL
Birch bark.

- (46) Sam Mitchell:iy, qwélh7in=t'u7.yes birch.bark=EXCLYes, birch bark.
- [6:00] (47) t'u7 wa7... ta=qwélh7in=a, ti7 EXCL that.vis DET=birch.bark=EXIS already lhas aoz NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV gemp-ál'ts i=k'ét'h=a, lhas PL.DET=rock=EXIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV hot-rock cat' lhel=t7ú, n-lham' get.lifted.out from=that.vis Loc-get.put.into lhas plan to+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv already es-máys wa7 at+there.vis IPFV STAT-get.fixed i=cúz'=a s7ílhen. PL.DET=going.to=EXIS food

So that birch bark was already... they didn't... when the rocks were hot, when they were lifted out [of the fire], they were put in with the food which was already prepared.

- (48) ...es-mát' lh=stám'=as=t'u7 k[u]... máoliken,
 STAT-get.mixed COMP=what=3SBJV=EXCL DET= mulligan
 tsun-as=k'á=hem' ku=sáma7 i=...
 say+DIR-3ERG=EPIS=ANTI DET=white.person PL.DET=
 Whatever they had was mixed together in what the white people call a 'mulligan'...
- (49) Baptiste Ritchie: Stew.
- (50) Sam Mitchell:
 stew, plan wa7 s-t'ak'w.
 stew already IPFV STAT-liquid.gets.poured.in
 Stew, it was already poured in.

(51) plan láku7 wa7 lak i=múlc=a already at+there.Invis ipfv be.there pl.det=stick=exis l=ku=t'ép=a... ku=ts'íla ku=t'egw•t'gw-álqw at=invis.det=under=exis det=like det=tred•hard-tree mulc. stick

Sticks of hard wood had already been placed in the bottom.

- (52)...lhas cát'-an'-as ta=k'ét'h=a, COMP+IPFV+3SBJV lift.out-DIR-3ERG DET=rock=EXIS lham'-án'-as áti7, nílh=ťu7 get.put.into-DIR-3ERG to+there.VIS COP=EXCL s=cw7aoy=s kwas tsicw NMLZ=NEG=3POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.there kwa... qwélh7in=a. l=ta=... at=that.vis DeT+IPFV at=DET= birch.bark=EXIS When they lifted out the rock [from the fire], they put the sticks in the birch bark so that [the rocks wouldn't touch it (and burn it)].
- (53) Randy Bouchard: Birch bark.
- (54) Sam Mitchell: Yeah, so that, these sticks, if it's...
- (55) Randy Bouchard:
 ucwalmícw-ts!
 indigenous.person-mouth
 Speak Indian!
- (56) Sam Mitchell:
 Oh! izá i=múlc=a,
 oh these.vis pl.det=stick=exis
 lh=tsaqwem-áz'=as, stám'=as=t'u7
 comp=saskatoon.berry-plant=3sbjv what=3sbjv=excl

ku=t'egw•t'gw-álqw mulc.

DET=TRED•hard-tree stick

Oh! These sticks were saskatoon wood, or any kind of hard wood.

```
(wa7 t'...) wa7 t'ep
(57)
         nílh=iz'
                                                 láku7.
         COP=those.VIS IPFV
                                   IPFV under at+there.INVIS
        They were at the bottom.
```

[7:00] (58) tsúkw=tu7 aylh s=púlh•elh=ts finish=rem then nmlz=get.boiled•fred=3poss tákem, q'wél=iz'... get.roasted=those.vis all i=s-kúkw-i=ha elh... PL.DET=NMLZ-get.cooked-3PL.POSS=EXIS and.then When everything finished boiling and what they were cooking was

done...

...kelh láku7 i=k'ét'h=a, (59)get.taken.off at+there.INVIS PL.DET=rock=EXIS láti7 i=múlc=a kelh elh... get.taken.off at+there.vis Pl.DeT=stick=exis and.then lá::ti7=t'u7 aylh lhas... at+there.vis=excl then COMP+IPFV+3SBJV pála7 t'acímen... kwa EPIS one spoon DET+IPFV qwéz•ez, p'luq'w, get.used•fred wooden.spoon yeah yeah, ts'íla áti7 yeah like to+there.vis ta=zewat-en-án=a.

DET=be.known-DIR-ISG.ERG=EXIS

...the rocks and the sticks were removed, and then.... but there was one spoon that was used, a big wooden spoon, yeah... yeah, that's about what I know.

nílh=t'u7 s=... (60)tsukw aylh, lhapt COP=EXCL NMLZ= finish get.extinguished then ta=nlháxten=a. ti=sp'áms=a elh rep DET=firewood=EXIS and.then get.stood.up DET=tray=EXIS When the fire went out, then the tray was stood up.

(61) wa7 xzum, ilhen=wít=k'a ku=cw7ít ses

IPFV big eat=3PL=EPIS DET=many NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS

papt-7úl=wit wa7 nas ken=kw7ú

always-too.much=3PL IPFV go around=that.INVIS

álts'q7=a, you see... maybe once, pála7=k'a

outside=EXIS you see maybe once one=EPIS

ku=pála7 sgap.

DET=one evening

It was a big meal, they ate a lot because they were always going around outside, *you see, maybe once*, once per evening.

(62) azúta ku=q'ámaz', cw7áoz=ku7=ti7
especially DET=teenage.girl NEG=QUOT=that.VIS
kw=s=7áts'x ta=q'ámaz'=a,
D/C=NMLZ=get.seen DET=teenage.girl=EXIS
wá7=t'u7=ti7 s-...pet-qw
IPFV=EXCL=that.VIS STAT-get.covered-head
ken=t7ú...¹⁰
around=that.VIS

Especially a teenage girl, she was not meant to be seen... she went around with her head covered up.

(63) But I did... Yeah, I mentioned...

 $^{^{\}rm 10} There$ is a break in the recording after this stanza.

```
[8:00] (64)
                               ti7
               plán=lhkan
                                        wa7
                                              sqwe•qw•el'-mín (ta=...)
               already=ISG.SBJ that.VIS IPFV tell*CRED*-RLT DET=
                           ta=... (i=ste...) wéna7,
                                                           scucwz'-álhcw=a
                   that.VIS DET= PL.DET= whatchamacallit ant-place=EXIS
                       wa7... láti7
                                          l=lhwas
                       IPFV at+there.VIS at=COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                    l=[t]=sk'\acute{e}m'-ts-s=a
                           be.there at=Det=edge-mouth-3poss=exis
                               (ta=...) ta=wén7=a,
                               DET= DET=whatchamacallit=EXIS
                                   t=s7ístken=a.
                                   DET=pit.house=EXIS
```

I already talked about the... how do you say, the ant nests, they were there by the opening of the... how do you say it, the pit house.

```
(65)
        nílh=ku7=ti7
                            kw=s=cw7aoy=s
        COP=QUOT=that.VIS D/C=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS
           kwas
                                  ulhcw ku=naxwít múta7
           D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS enter DET=snake and
                        ta=... cucwz'-álhcw=a, wá7=ti7
               that.vis DET= ant-place=EXIS IPFV=that.vis
                   t'ít=k'a... ts'ila=t'ú7=iz'
                                                ku=q'ámaz',
                   also=EPIS like=EXCL=those.VIS DET=teenage.girl
                       t'u7 wa7 tsút=wit, cw7áoz=ku7
                       but IPFV say=3PL
                                            NEG=QUOT
                                       kw=s=t'ak=s
                           at+there.vis D/C=NMLZ=go.along=3POSS
                               [l]=t=skwis=a.
                               at=DET=rain=EXIS
```

That was so that no snakes could enter, and those ant nests were kind of like teenage girls, they said, they didn't go out in the rain.

(66) yeah... well ah, ts'íla-s nká7=k'a
yeah well ah like-3poss where=epis
kw=s=cin'=s, k'wá7en, plán=lhkan
D/C=nmlz=long.time=3poss you.see already=isg.sbj
wa7 tsúlhaka7 kw=n=s=q'em'p
ipfv seven D/C=isg.poss=nmlz=ten
wi=pal7úpst. 11
plus=eight

Yeah... well ah, it's kind of been a long time, you see, I'm already seventy-eight years old.

(67) wa7... tsut, "ka-7áts'x-s=kan-a, 40z=k'a=t'117CIRC-get.seen-CAUS=ISG.SBJ-CIRC NEG=EPIS=EXCL IPFV say kw=s=cin'=s, from+there.vis D/C=NMLZ=long.time=3POSS $lhel=t=s=plan=s=a=ti7=aylh^{12}$ from=D/C=NMLZ=already=3POSS=EXIS=that.VIS=then n-7aw't=á=k'a zet'a' collapse LOC-behind=EXIS=EPIS at+there.VIS láta7 zam' cácel'p=a." at+there.vis though Fountain=Exis

Someone said, "I managed to see it not long after it collapsed, the one behind Fountain."

(68) wa7 tsút=wit lhláti7=ti7
IPFV say=3PL from+there.VIS=that.VIS
lh=kwán-em=as ta=nlháxten=a.
COMP=take+DIR-3PASS=3SBJV DET=tray=EXIS
They said that's where they got the tray from.

¹¹ The last clause in this sentence unexpectedly has two 1st person subject markers, indicative marking on plán=lbkan, and possessor marking on n=s=q'em'p.

¹² aylh is unusual in this stanza in that it seems to be encliticizing to the prosodic phrase lhel=t=s=plan=s=a=ti7, otherwise phrase final stress on ti7 would be unexpected. Furthermore, ti7 is clearly also an enclitic here since it occurs in its floated position, which would otherwise be following zet'q'. The particle t'u 'until', which like aylh is normally not an enclitic, behaves similarly in several places in this volume.

(69) ats'x-en=lhkán=ni7, lh=plán=as=tu7
get.seen-dir=isg.sbj=that.abs comp=already=3sbjv=rem
aylh wa7 zewat•et-s-twítas
then ipfv be.known•fred-caus-3pl.erg
i=7ucwalmícw=a kwa
pl.det=indigenous.person=exis d/c+ipfv
mays-álts ku=szík=a,
get.fixed-house invis.det=log=exis
nílh=t'u7=tu7 s....
COP=excl=rem nmlz=

I saw it, after the people had already learned how to make log houses, so then...

[9:00] (70) So that'll be, see... around 18... oh yes 80 years, all of that, some, some, or the last used, and after that they, I know when they...

11.3.2 Q'aq'áya: Shelters

[9:10] (71) Sam Mitchell:

lhus nás=wit píxem' wa7 s7icwlh múta7
COMP+IPFV+3SBJV g0=3PL hunt IPFV different and
i=wa7 qwez káku7 kísem=a...
PL.DET=IPFV get.used around+there.INVIS back.area=EXIS
wa7 tsún-em wa7 q'aq'áya, iy, q'aq'áya.
IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV shelter yes shelter
A different kind was used in the backwoods when they went hunting,

A different kind was used in the backwoods when they went hunting what we call a *q'aq'áya* ('shelter').

- (72) That's another Indian house, the...
- (73) láti7 lhas wá7=wit lhas...
 at+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv be=3pl comp+ipfv+3sbjv
 tsícw=wit píxem' ken=t7ú ká<7>ew'.
 get.there=3pl hunt around=that.vis far<inch>
 That's where they stayed when they went hunting far away.

(74)wa7 xelh káta7 lhas IPFV very.cold around+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sbJv lhwál'tsten, xwem lh=núkw=as autumn fast COMP=other=3SBIV kwas máqa7, nílh=t'u7 COP=EXCL this.VIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS snow k'ııl' ta=q'aq'áyh=a. NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.made DET=shelter=EXIS It gets really cold there in the fall, and sometimes the snow comes

(75) kalh-álqw szík, stám'=as=t'u7 ku=szík, kalh-álqw=k'a three-tree log what=3SBJV=EXCL DET=log three-tree=EPIS l=ts7a, ts'íla l=t7u.

at=this.vis like at=that.vis

down quickly, so they'd build this shelter.

There were three logs, any kind of log, there must've been three of them, like that.

wá7=t'u7 (76)nílh=ťu7 ses... ak COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS IPFV=EXCL be.towards ts'íla, wa7 (es... wa7...) nilh lhláti7=malh IPFV IPFV COP from+there.vis=ADHORT [i]=sk'áts'-alts=a, s-q'ut-s NMLZ-side-3POSS PL.DET=put.across-house=EXIS án'was i=sk'áts'-alts=a PL.DET=put.across-house=EXIS ka•ke•k•ew'-mín'-twal'. IRED • far • CRED • - RLT - RECP

So they kind of faced this way... the cross-beams were placed on the side of the logs, two of them, spaced a little apart from one another.

(77) nílh=t'u7 s=l=ts7á=s=t'u7 n7í7ez'k=a

COP=EXCL NMLZ=at=this.VIS=3POSS=EXCL in.the.middle=EXIS

lhas lak t=sp'áms=a.

COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be.there DET=firewood=EXIS

And the fire was here in the middle.

- [10:00] (78) lh=k'win-usm=as láti7... kwa píxem' COMP=how.many-kind=3sbJv at+there.vis det+ipfv hunt kwa wa7 láti7 l=ta=pál7=a q'aq'áya.

 DET+IPFV be at+there.vis at=det=one=exis shelter

 If there were several groups hunting, they could use a single shelter.
 - (79) ats'x-en=lhkán=hem'=nelh,
 get.seen-dir=isg.sbj=anti=those.abs
 ats'x-en=lhkán=nelh nílh=t'u7
 get.seen-dir=isg.sbj=those.abs cop=excl
 n=s=ka-7áw't-a qwez.¹³
 isg.poss=nmlz=circ-behind-circ get.used
 I've seen them, and then after that, I used them.
 - (80) kalh-álqw szik, wa7=hém'=ti7 (s=...) es-máys, three-tree log ipfv=anti=that.vis nmlz= stat-get.built ts'fla=t'u7 ku=s=mays-álts, t'u7 cw7ao like=excl d/c=nmlz=get.fixed-house but neg kw=s=ca7.

There are three logs, and they're built kind of like a house, but not as high.

s=lhláti7 (81)nílh=ťu7 ses COP=EXCL NMLZ=from+there.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS gelgel=hém'=ti7 (t=s-...)strong=ANTI=that.VIS DET=NMLZ- DET=NMLZta = roof - s = a, nílh=ťu7 steep that.vis DET=roof-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL s=l=t7u=sn7í7ez'k=a NMLZ=at=that.VIS=3POSS in.the.middle=EXIS lak t=sp'áms=a. COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be.there DET=fire=EXIS

That's why the *roof* was so *steep*, so that the fire could be right in the middle.

¹³The syntax in this stanza is unusual, since ka7áw'ta is being used as an auxiliary, and qwez should not be unaccusative.

- (82) I lived in it myself. Up Hat Creek, Qeqáyt.
- (83) Baptiste Ritchie:

 ke•káw'-min'-twal' láti7, nilh s=t'ak=s

 IRED•far-RLT-RECP at+there.VIS COP NMLZ=go.along=3POSS

 ti=núkw=a...

 DET=other=EXIS

A little ways from one another, then another one goes along...

- (84) Sam Mitchell:

 iy, iy, [ke]•káw'-min'-twal'...¹4 swéna7, ánw'as

 yes yes IRED•far-RLT-RECP whatchamacallit two

 i=sk'áts'-alts-s=a, ke•kew'-mín'-twal'.

 PL.DET=put.across-house-3POSS=EXIS IRED•far-RLT-RECP

 Yeah, yeah, a ways from one another, how do you say, there were two cross-beams a little ways from one another.
- (85) ts'ila=k'a=t'ú7=ti7 sxek ta=n-gúy't-ten=a. like=EPIS=EXCL=that.VIS maybe DET=LOC-sleep-INS=EXIS It might've been kind of like a sleeping shelter.
- (86) nílh=t'u7 s=láti7=[s] lhas

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=at+there.VIS=3POSS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV

 lak ta=spl'úkw=a.
 be.there DET=smoke=EXIS

 That's where the smoke went.
- (87) Ihláti7 e=t7ú-{w}na n-... l=ts7a from+there.vis to=that.vis-precisely Loc- at=this.vis

 lhas wa7 i=núkw=a, e=t7ú

 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be PL.DET=other=EXIS to=that.vis

 n-x7íl'q=a i=núkw=a.

 Loc-opposite.side=EXIS PL.DET=other=EXIS

 Some of them stayed here, and others were on the opposite side.

¹⁴The first vowel in the word *kekew'míntwal'* is phonetically an [i], which raises the possibility that SM originally intended to say *k'ik'ta7míntwal'* 'close to each other', and changed words after the first syllable.

(88) Nx7il'q means opposite... yeah.¹⁵

11.3.3 St'át'lhqwemc: Keatley Creek People

[11:00] (89) Sam Mitchell:

izá-wna i=s7ístken=a...
these.vis-precisely pl.det=pit.house=exis
i=cín'=as cw7áoz=tu7 kwa...
when.past=long.time=3sbjv neg=rem det+ipfv
áoy=tu7 (kwa...) kwa tsún-em
neg=rem det+ipfv det+ipfv say+dir-ipl.erg
wa7 rancherie.
ipfv rancherie

These pit houses, well, long ago there weren't any of what we call rancheries.

(90)lhel=t7ú-mec, n-t'át'lh-qwe-mc,16 from=that.vis-person Loc-Keatley.Creek-head-person wi=snímulh, sqáyt-qwe-mec... to=that.vis plus=3PL.INDEP top-head-person slhaxwáxu7-emc,¹⁷ nilh ti7... skwatsits-úlm'ecw-s Fountain-person COP that.VIS name-land-3POSS láti7 l=tenswa at+there.vis at=D/C+IsG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV+EXIS wa7. be

The people from over there, the people at Keatley Creek, and us people from up on top, Fountain people, that's the name of the land where I live.

¹⁵There is a break in the recording after this stanza.

¹⁶Carl Alexander mentions that St'át'lhqwa are several water pools located just before Fountain Flats, when coming from Lillooet

 $^{^{17}}$ Lhaxwáxu7 is an old name for Fountain, recorded by Teit (1912b). Carl Alexander says that it refers to a place right at the edge before you get to the hill, and that it is almost hidden away, at the back part of Fountain Reserve.

I maysáltsas nelh cín'a úcwalmicw

- (91) [s]=ka-p'lh-éqw(a)=s-á=t'u7 láti7,

 NMLZ=CIRC-overflow-head=3POSS-CIRC=EXCL at+there.vIS

 nílh=t'u7 s=k'á7•k'a7=s.

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=TRED•get.stuck=3POSS

 Because the creek overflowed at the top, big rocks landed up there.
- (92) Baptiste Ritchie: I stám'as?
- (93) Sam Mitchell: k'á7k'a7.
- (94) Baptiste Ritchie: k'á7k'a7.
- (95) Sam Mitchell: Yeah, big rocks.
- (96) Randy Bouchard:

 Can you explain where these places are?
- (97) Sam Mitchell: Yeah, it's up towards Fountain.
- (98) Randy Bouchard:
 ucwalmícw-ts!
 indigenous.person-mouth
 Speak Indian!
- (99) Sam Mitchell:
 Yeah, e=kw7ú=ti7 cácel'p=a.
 yeah to=that.INVIS=that.VIS Fountain=EXIS
 Yeah, it's up towards Fountain.

```
[12:00] (100)
                ken-tákem=ťu7
                                l=kwas...
                around-all=EXCL at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                                     wa7 i=7ucwalmícw=a
                   COMP+IPFV+3SBIV be
                                           PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS
                       l=kwas
                                                 k'ík'ta7 ku=qú7...
                                                         DET=water
                       at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS near
                                                            k'ík'ta7
                           múta7 l=kwes
                           and
                                  at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS near
                                                      ka...
                               D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS CIRC-
                                   zaw-em=wít-a
                                                       lhas
                                   dipnet-MID=3PL-CIRC COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                       kéla7 wa7 qapts...
                                       before IPFV springtime
```

Everywhere the Indian people lived was close to the water, close to where they could fish at the start of spring...

(101)cw7í::t-usem (t...) s=... t'iq=s aylh many-kind NMLZ= arrive=3POSS then cuz' k'ul' i=naplít=a elh (i=...)PL.DET=priest=EXIS and.then going.to get.made PL.DET= wa7 tsún-itas lhkun. i=rancherie=ha PL.DET=rancherie=EXIS IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG now

There were many groups of families, and then the priests came, and the *rancheries*, as they call them today, started getting built.

(102) k'ámalh pa::l7-usem=t'ú7=tu7 l=ts7a. however one-kind=excl=rem at=this.vis But there was just one family here.

wá7=lhkan nílh=k'a=7iz'... (103)n-tsut-ánwas wa7 IPFV=ISG.SBJ LOC-say-inside COP=EPIS=those.VIS IPFV tsún-itas sxek i=sám7=a say+DIR-3PL.ERG maybe PL.DET=white.person=EXIS wa7... sama7-ts-mín-itas white.person-mouth-RLT-3PL.ERG DET+IPFV clan, eh? is that it? pál7-usem wa7 one clan eh? is that it one-kind IPFV es=tsítcw. have=house

I was thinking about what the white people call.... in English they say *one clan, eh? Is that it?* One family per house.

- (104) k'wá7en s7en[ts], lhel=kw7ú-{w}na ta=wa7
 you.see IsG.INDEP from=that.INVIS-precisely DET=IPFV
 tsún-itas wa7 qwíxwcen...
 say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV Six.Mile
 See, I'm from what they call Six Mile...
- (105) ...lhláku7=k'a
 from+there.invis=epis
 n...[e]lh=n-skél•kel7=a,
 pl.abs.det=isg.poss-tred•before=exis
 lhláku7=k'a lh=k'úl'•el'=as
 from+there.invis=epis comp=get.made•fred=3sbjv
 na=n-skícez7=a.
 Abs.det=isg.poss-mother=exis

...that's where my ancestors came from, that's where my mother was born.

(106) t'u7 nilh... nílh=iz' i=naplít=a,
but cop cop=those.vis pl.det=priest=exis
ull'us-en-táli i=7ucwalmícw=a,
gather-dir-nts pl.det=indigenous.person=exis
[ne]lh=pel•pál7-usem=a.
pl.abs.det=tred•one-kind=exis

But those priests gathered up the people who were scattered here and there in single clans.

[13:00] (107) ts'íla ku=... nek'w•nuk'wa7-s=k'á=7[iz'], nílh=t'u7 like det= tred•relative-3poss=epis=those.vis cop=excl s=xlít-en-as.

NMLZ=call-dir-3erg

If they were sort of related, then they invited them.

- (108) xlít-en-as ku=sútik, k'wá7en,
 call-DIR-3ERG DET=winter you.see
 na=n-qátsez7=a lhel=ts7á-mec.
 ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS from=this.VIS-person
 He called them over for the winter, see, my father, he's from here.
- (109) That's why I'm related to this...
- (110)káti7=k'a lhas tsicw, around+there.vis=EPIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.there nílh=t'u7 s=ts'íla=s ku=zu<7>cw, COP=EXCL NMLZ=like=3POSS D/C=get.accustomed<INCH> nílh=t'u7 s=7ama-mín-em, nílh=ťu7 COP=EXCL NMLZ=good-RLT-3PASS COP=EXCL s=xlít-en-em át[i7]. Yeah. NMLZ=call-DIR-3PASS to+there.VIS yeah xíl-em=tu7 n-skí[cez7=a]. do-MID=REM ISG.POSS-mother=EXIS

He must've gone there and kind of gotten used to it, they liked him so they invited him there... *yeah*. Same with my mother.

(111) wá7=malh e=t7ú i=cín'=as,
IPFV=ADHORT to=that.VIS when.PAST=long.time=3SBJV
wá7=t'u7 one clan and one place, yeah.
IPFV=EXCL one clan and one place yeah
Anyways, in the old days before that, it was just one clan and one place, yeah.

(112)láku7 l=ta=pál7=a tmicw, e=t7ú ti7 at+there.INVIS at=DET=one=EXIS land to=that.vis that.vis nilh ti7 wa7 15 Mile wa7 s-talhá7-s, NMLZ-other.side-3POSS COP that.VIS IPFV 15 mile IPFV s-tsún-itas i=sám7=a... NMLZ-say+DIR-3PL.ERG PL.DET=white.person=EXIS na=wa7 ts7á-wna that.VIS this.VIS-precisely ABS.DET=IPFV qwel'•qwal'•el't-mín-an. TRED*tell*FRED-RLT-ISG.ERG

Over at this one place on the other side, what the white people call 15 *Mile*, that's where the person who I was talking about came from.

- (113) nilh ni7 wa7 s-Putsíqws, Pyál=hem'
 COP that.ABS IPFV NMLZ-Putsíqws Pierre=anti
 t=skwátsits-s=a.
 DET=name-3POSS=EXIS
 - That was sPutsíqws, but Pyal (Old Pierre) was his other name.
- (114) wá7=lhkan s-k'alán'-min-s lhas tsut,

 IPFV=ISG.SBJ STAT-listen-RLT-CAUS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV say

 "cw7it láti7 i=s7ístken=a láta7,

 many at+there.vis Pl.det=pit.house=exis at+there.vis

 nilh ti7 wa7 t'at'lh."

 COP that.vis IPFV Keatley.Creek

 I listened to him when he said, "There were a lot of pit houses at

I listened to him when he said, "There were a lot of pit houses at Keatley Creek."

```
[14:00] (115)
                "nelh=n-spe{p}•pápez7=a,
                                                           cw7áoy=t'u7
                PL.ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-TRED*grandfather=EXIS NEG=EXCL
                    kw=s=zewat-en-ítas,
                                                     cw7áoy=t'u7
                    D/C=NMLZ=be.known-DIR-3PL.ERG NEG=EXCL
                        káti7
                                         lhel=wi=snílh
                        around+there.vis from=plus=3sg.indep
                                      tsut, swéta7=tu7
                                            whoever=REM at+there.VIS
                            DET+IPFV say
                                nelh=wa7
                                                 wa7."
                                PL.ABS.DET=IPFV be
```

"My grandfathers didn't know who they were, and none of us could say who it was that lived there."

(116) "nilh wa7 st'át'lh-emc, cw7áoy=t'u7
COP IPFV Keatley.Creek-person NEG=EXCL
káti7 kwas...
around+there.vis d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss
kw=s=zewát=s lh=swát=as=t'u7
d/c=nmlz=be.known=3poss comp=who=3sbjv=excl
kwa st'át'lh-emc."
DET+IPFV Keatley.Creek-person
"They were from Keatley Creek, but nobody knows who the Keatley Creek people were."

- (117) t'u7 nílh=hem'=ti7 skwatsits-úlm'ecw-s ti7
 but cop=anti=that.vis name-land-3poss that.vis
 ku=tmícw, wa7 t'at'lh.

 det=land ipfv Keatley.Creek
 But that's the name of the place, t'at'lh.
- (118) ta=wa7 t'at'lh, that's... alkali water, yeah.

 DET=IPFV Keatley.Creek that's alkali water yeah

 Keatley Creek, that's alkali water, yeah.
- (119) Randy Bouchard: Salt water.

```
(120)
       Sam Mitchell:
        yeah. k'wá7en, ti7
                                ni7
                                          ku=7úcwalmicw,
        yeah you.see
                        that.VIS that.ABS DET=indigenous.person
                    ni7...
                              p'á7cw=k'a
                    that.ABS
                              more.than=EPIS
            already
                ku=bundred=t'lh
                                         [elh]
                                                zuqw kwelh
                DET=hundred=at.this.time before die
                                                      those.INVIS
                    kwelh=pe{p}•pápeza7-s.
                    PL.DET=TRED*grandfather-3POSS
```

Yeah, you see, that Indian (Old Pierre) was already... his grandfathers were more than a *hundred* years old before they died.

But he said, "None of my grandfathers were living at the time that the Keatley Creek people were there."

(122) t'u7 wa7=hém'=t'u7 es-hál'a lhkun
but ipfv=anti=excl stat-show now
 kwás=tu7 wa7 (i=...) cw7it
 D/C+nmlz+ipfv+3poss=rem be pl.det= many
 i=s7ístken=a.
 pl.det=pit.house=exis

But it still shows today, where a lot of the pit houses were.

l=ta=pál7=a (123)láti7 spálem, xzum ku=spálem, at+there.vis at=DET=one=EXIS field big DET=field (tswáw'...) tswéw'•ew'•cw=a... k'ík'ta7-s=t'u7 ta.... near-3POSS=EXCL DET= creek creek*CRED*=EXIS p'á7cw=k'a lhel=ku=*hundred* láti7. more.than=EPIS from=DET=hundred at+there.VIS At this one flat place, a big field, near to a little creek... there must be more than a hundred [pits].

- [15:00] (124) Randy Bouchard: láku7 15 Mile=a? at+there.INVIS 15 Mile=EXIS At 15 Mile?
 - (125) Sam Mitchell:

 Yeah... láti7 i=s7istken=á=k'a=tu7.

 yeah at+there.vis pl.det=pit.house=exis=epis=rem

 Yeah... there must've been pit houses there.

But none of them knew who the houses belonged to.

(127) ts'í::la ken=ki=núkw=a tmicw,
like around=PL.DET=other=EXIS land

ken=ts7á=t'u7 wéna7 ta=wa7
around=this.VIS=EXCL whatchamacallit DET=IPFV
tsún-em wa7 q'áq'el'[c]en.
say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV Flat.Place

It's kind of like at the other place, how do you say, we call it Q'áq'el'cen.

(lh...) i=k'úl'=as (128)áti7 áti7 to+there.vis comp when.past=get.made=3sbjv to+there.vis ta=c.wálh=a, stéxw=t'u7 cw7it q'weq'ú7lh DET=road=EXIS straight=EXCL many bones (i=...) i=wa7 t'eq-en-ítas PL.DET= PL.DET=IPFV get.dug.up-DIR-3PL.ERG i=sám7=a, PL.DET=white.person=EXIS s=k'ul'-ún'-itas ta=c.wálh=a. NMLZ=get.made-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=road=EXIS When the road was being built, there were a lot of bones that the white people dug up when they were building the road.

(129) k'wí::n=as=k'a ku=sqemps i=skwt'ús=a how.many=3sBJV=EPIS DET=summer PL.DET=face=EXIS káti7 wa7 s-lew•láw, around+there.vis IPFV stat-tred•get.hung káti7 lhas around+there.vis COMP+IPFV+3sBJV lew•law-an-ítas.

TRED•get.hung-DIR-3PL.ERG

The skulls hung there for several summers, where they had hung them up.

- (130) wa7 nilh, wá7=lhkan i=qwal'•qwél'-ts-ten=a...

 IPFV COP IPFV=ISG.SBJ PL.DET=TRED•tell-mouth-INS=EXIS

 na=pa•p•l7=á=ti7 wa7 foreman.

 ABS.DET=one•CRED•=EXIS=that.VIS IPFV foreman

 That's the way it was, I have an account from one of the foremen.
- (131)"gee," wa7 tsut, láti7 tsut, at+there.vis ipfv IPFV say gee "giant=k'á=wi7=ti7 ta=núkw=a giant=EPIS=EMPH=that.VIS DET=other=EXIS at+there.VIS q'weq'ú7lh," wa7 pún-em get.found+DIR-IPL.ERG bones IPFV say

He said, "Gee, one of the bones that we found must have been from a giant."

[15:55] (132) "téxw=t'u7 zec•záct izá," tsut, "(i=...) straight=EXCL TRED•long these.VIS say PL.DET= i=n-xáw'lh-cen-s=a." yeah.

PL.DET=LOC-awl-foot-3POSS=EXIS yeah "Their shin bones were really long," he said. Yeah.

11.4 Sam Mitchell's Free Translation¹⁸

The Lillooet people used to live in underground houses, which we call *s7istkn*. Sometimes, these houses were large enough for four or five families to live in. I have also seen pits where one family once lived. After a pit is dug, a log is sunk into the ground, at each corner, leaning towards the center of the pit. Four logs are set in this way. Then the smaller poles are inserted between the logs. The houses are not always built on level ground because they can regulate the depth that the logs are sunk.

Not far from where I live, there are a lot of holes where there was once sTistkn. After all of the poles are in place, they are covered with boughs and pine needles, which are also used for bedding. The houses are never covered with dirt, but clay is used because it makes the house water-proof. During the summer months, an ant hill is put beside the house to keep the snakes from going into the pit. When two or three people have died inside a house, it is abandoned and another is built.

When the outside is finished, a platform, which is one foot wide, is built five feet from the wall, completely around the house. This five foot space is filled with needles and boughs and covered with fur robes. Each family has a section to sleep in. The boughs are changed every two weeks as they get dry.

Although there is a central fire, each family has their own meal. One of the young boys is sent out to gather wood for the fire. It must be dry wood so that it doesn't smoke. The food is cooked by hot rocks in birch bark and root baskets. The bottom of the basket is lined with hard sticks, such as saskatoon, so that the basket will not be burnt by the hot rocks. When the food is cooked, the rocks and the sticks are removed. Everyone shares a spoon and eats from the same bowl. When they finish eating, the fire is put out. They didn't eat much in the winter because they seldom went outside. The people in Lillooet stored dried salmon for the winter.

A young girl was seldom allowed outside alone; she always remained hidden. The roof of the *s7istkn* was covered with dry pine needles, and the rain didn't come through. The ladder leading out through the smoke hole was made from a pine pole and had knotches burnt into it. The last underground house built at Fountain was about ninety years ago.

When the people went hunting during the fall, they built shelters which we call *kėkáya*. Three logs are stacked on each side to form the base of the structure. At one end, three posts are sunk into the ground. These posts support the slanted roof. A space is left between the roof and the logs so that the smoke

 $^{^{18}\}mbox{This}$ translation is reproduced verbatim from Kennedy and Bouchard, BCILP ms.2, #127.

can get out. Boughs and smaller sticks are put on the roof. The number of families are divided up so that there is an equal number of families on each side of the fire.

The people always lived near their fishing places. Then the priest came, and they had to make reserves. My grandparents came to Fountain from Six Mile. They were relations of a Lillooet man named Tsin-ho-shal-stik, who later became chief. There are a lot of underground house holes at a place called 15 Mile. Old Pierre, who was two years old when Simon Fraser came through Lillooet, and died in 1914, told me that his grandfather didn't know who lived in these sTistkn.

The flat is about 40 acres and has a stream running through it. When a new road was being put through the flat at 11 Mile, a lot of human skulls were uncovered and the workmen hung them on the bushes. The foreman told me that they dug up some bones which looked like they belonged to a giant.

Chapter 12

Skas lhas k'ul' i neq'wníq'waz'a t'laz': Building Cottonwood Canoes¹

12.1 St'át'imcets

Baptiste Ritchie:

It's no performance, it's just a conversation.

Sam Mitchell:

Ti7 ts7a ta... lhelts7ámec káti7 ku úcwalmicw. Wa7 Sep'sip'ál'ts t'u7... sem7ám láku7 ta yunhanáha, nilh iz' i sám7a ti wa7 tsúnitas wa7 *Carrier* ku úcwalmicw.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Sam Mitchell:

Carriers.

Yeah, i yúnhanaha, wi snímulh, izá wa7 malh slhíksas na nsqátsez7a, nilh atá7 sas tsicw papt.

Nilh t'u7 sa... láti7 malh, láti7 ku *time* na wa7 tsút, "O, náskalh k'úl'em ku t'laz'," tsut, "ekw7ú nkúkwem'a áti7 kanáola," tsut.

Sts'ects'áct.s k'a, nk'wink'wenmínem, kalhás k'a t'u7, xwe7xw7útsin lhtakemwítas. Wá7wit st'laz', nilh stsut.s, "Náskalh k'úl'em ku t'láz'a ekw7ú nkúkwem'a, láku7 lhlákas i ámha srap." Áku7 hem' neq'wníq'waz' i wa7 sk'úl'i.

¹A conversation between Sam Mitchell, Baptiste Richie, and Billy Casper from July 1970, translated by Baptiste Ritchie in August 1970.

Nilh t'u7 s... nilh t'u7 tu7 sqwatsátsi, k'a k'wí::nas ti7, cin' k'a nscwákwekw, p'a7cw k'a lhélku pála7 sxetspásq'et, án'was k'a sxetspásq'et sxek. T'ak... nkútsawit, láti7 stsém'psa áku7 ta kanáola ku sísxets, pápla7 hem' lhá7lh7em lta qú7a láta7 lhat stsitcw, plan wa7 neqw. T'ák.wit, kat'ála, nilh láti7 scíl'lecs.

Láti7 lhkel7án áts'xen ti7 kw s... ku tsítsel esk'úl' t'laz'. "O," tsut, "Plan wa7 tsúkwstum'." Ts'íla k'á t'u7 ts7a szact.s, maybe 25 foot, 25, 26 foot. Maybe longer, maybe 30 foot. Of course it's that wide...

Randy Bouchard: Aoz ku sám7ats!

Sam Mitchell:

Lheq', put *3 feet*, kalhás k'a sq'waxt.s t.slhéq'sa. Zact, áma ta sts'ílasa, nilh t'u7 nstsicw páqwens. Wá7lhkan kens7áts'xen lh... ku tsítsel t'laz'. Slhik t'u7 kwes tsítsel ta x.wis... ta alts'q7álwilhtsa.

Nilh malh ti7 kéla⁷ ka⁷ats'xsána kwas k'a... gwelp ku k'ét'a wa⁷ nlham'. Tsútkan, lta aw'tá malh aylh wa⁷ nsptínusem, nilh ntsutánwas, nilh k'a ti⁷ wéna⁷ wa⁷, ts'íla wa⁷ t'amín i wa⁷ k'a gwelenítas. Wa⁷ k'a qemál'ts kwelh k'ét'a elh wa⁷... elh t'ak áti⁷ qwémem, nilh k'a t'u⁷ sas t'ak gwelp. Waq' aylh, wa⁷ láti⁷ i ts'íl.ha ku t'amín, ts'íla ku... t'u⁷ wa⁷ k'a hém' t'u⁷ iz' k'ul', ts'íla k'á t'u⁷ ku *batchet*, t'u⁷ wa⁷ esmáys, kwas ka...

Baptiste Ritchie: Tsékmen.

Sam Mitchell:

Tsékmen, iy, wa7 tsúnem ku tsékmen, nilh k'a iz' wa7 tsékmen. T'u7 stexw hem' t'u7 tu7 gélgel ta ntsutánwasa, kwas esqemál'ts k'a t'u7 ku k'ét'a kwelh wa7 pekw láti7, ses wa7 eshál'a kent7ú kenkí q'utwílhtsa kwas...

Baptiste Ritchie: Izá wa7 k'á ti7 ku qempál'ts.

Sam Mitchell:

Wa7 k'a t'u7 láti7 kw sqempál'tssas, wa7 estsémtsem, ts'íla est'éqwt'eqw, *yeah*. K'a nilh i wa7 lh... xek elh... ta wa7 tsúnacw lhas pulh, wents, t'u7 cw7aoz k'a wí7 hem' kwas... Wá7lhkan tu7 lhkúnsa ntsutánwas ta wa7 sqwéqwel'su láta7 kwas... tswáswa wa7 tsut kwas n... sáq'ulh kwas nt'ak'w ta wa7 pulh. T'u7

ni7 na ats'xenána, lhá7lh7am et7ú k'ém'tssa, mes t'u7 láta7 lhtsemás, nilh t'u7 sgélgels ntsutánwasa kw snilhts t'ú7 ti7 ta k'ét'ha wa7...

Baptiste Ritchie:

Tsetsúkwa t'u7 ta k'ét'ha, cw7aoz ku qu7.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, cw7aoz k'a ku qu7, tsetsúkwa k'á t'u7 ti7 wa7 gwélmens kwas t'u ts'ikt et7ú. Wa7 tu7... ts'íla wa7 k'a qwémem ta k'ét'ha, nilh t'u7 kw sgwelp, kw skakélha, cw7áoz ha k'a káti7 kwas... láni7, cw7aoz káti7 ku wa7 tsúnem ku *power saw*, káti7.

Baptiste Ritchie:

T'u7 xilhtwítas áti7, i wa7 tsúnitas wa7 xwáqwem. Pá7qal'ts i xexzúmal'tsa k'ét'a, q'il aylh láti7, nilh t'u7 skanwáq'sa, ts'íla t'u7 ta t'láoz'a.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, ts'íla t'u7 ta t'láz'a, yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Wa7 t'ak tsem...

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, wa7 tsem, wa7 t'u7 tsemenítas, iy.

Billy Casper:

...tsem t'u7, yeah, yeah.

Sam Mitchell:

Lhas ti7 tsítsel, lhas ti7 tsítsel ta múlca, ao kwas gwelp.

Billy Casper:

Ao kwas gwelp, yeah.

Sam Mitchell:

Wa7 t'u7 tsem.

Billy Casper:

Wa7 t'u7 púlhelh láti7.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, snilh tu7, yeah, yeah. Stám'as k'á ni7 na núkwa nqwal'úttstenlhkalh? Lhucw xem'áolinan ku welálam, nilh t'u7 su kensxetqán, wa7 tsúnem wa7 hátsan'em, wa7 tsúnem ets7á wi snímulh wa7 hátsan'. Hátsan' t'u kaxtéqa, well it's a... ts'íla t'ú7 ti7. Nilh hem' t'ú7 ti7 ta k'ét'ha zam' tswása... yeah. O, áma t.s7áts'xtensa ti7 ta t'láz'a, stexw t'u7 láti7... ts'íla t'u7 tú7 ti7 stexw t'u7 tsítsel ta alts'q7álqwa.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Mays, mays kw scw7aoys kwas t'a7k, wa7 wi7 t'a7k i neq'wníq'waoz'a. Lil'q kwas t'a7k, lhcw7áozas kw spulhts, lhcw7áozas kw stsems. I kelkékel7a, wa7 k'welhenítas áti7 t.smík'ila lhwas púlhelh ta qú7a, nilh t'u7 sas t'u7 ulhcw lta t'láoz'a i smík'ila.

Billy Casper:

Yeah, yeah, t.smík'ila, yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Ulhcw lta t'láoz'a, pulh es7úllus ta qú7a. Nilh cw7aoys kwas t'a7k, ts'íla t'u7 estsém. Tsem ta s7úlhcwa, tsem ta álts'q7a, nilh ti7 wa7 tsúnitas, "Ts'ílasa kwásu máwal', nilh t'u7 ses t'u7 wa7 ta t'láoz'a." Xilhtwítas áti7.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, elh q'álhulwilh aylh ki k'wí7cwa, nilh ti7 pint.s, nilh ti7, cw7aoy tu7 kwes espínt, kwámem ku k'wi7cw, wa7 q'álhulwilh aylh, nilh t'u7 ti7 ses p'ap'kw t'u7. Nilh ku7 ti7 wa7 p'ap'kw, ts'íla ti k'wí7cwa izá.

Randy Bouchard:

Wa7 tsúnitas wa7 sám7a preservative.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Ti7 ku t'laoz', kéla7 k'á t'u7 cin' kw swa7s.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy.

Baptiste Ritchie:

It's boiled, it's cooked right out.

Sam Mitchell:

Áku7 nkúkwem'a iz' i ucwalmícwa áku7 sgwelalqwenítas i t'láz'a lta nsat'átqw7a, áti7 ku7 ti7 ta wa7 st'ákmeni.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Neq'wníq'waoz'.

Sam Mitchell:

Neq'wníq'waz', iy, áts'xenlhkan láku7 t.s7aylhám'sa, 19... 1938. Aw't kw nstsicw káku7 kelpúha, láti7 kanáola, láti7 wi7 t'u7 s7úmik.wit. Wa7 láti7 ta neq'wníq'waz'a t'laz', esk'úl' k'a t'u7 pál7alqw. Tsilkst sq'em'ps sq'waxt wi xw7útsin k'a, lht'áq'em'kstas ni7 na száct.sa. Xw7útsin sq'waxt wi sáq'ulh slheq'wílhtsa, k'wá7en, stexws k'a t'u7 xzúmalqw áku7. Wa7 láti7 t.s...

Billy Casper:

Xexzúmalqw áku7 i neq'wníq'waoz'a.

Sam Mitchell:

Wa7 láti7 t.sqwéqwel'sa lta t'láz'a, wa7 t'u7 láti7 sts'eq'p ta lheqálqwa ta smétsa. Wa7 tsut lhas t'ak ku7 kwelh *Hudson Bay*ha lhcín'as, tsulhaká7 ku *ton* i wa7 nlham' láti7, wa7 i wa7 tskwálk'em, wa7 tsúnitas wa7 tskwálk'em, *yeah*.

Billy Casper:

Nilh iz' kéla7 ts'qáxa7 lts7a ku tmicw, ts'íla wa7 tu7 lhelt7ú *Lytton*a ets7á, aoz t'u7 na nsqátsez7a lhláta7 *Lytton*a, ets7á tskwálk'emwit... *boat*.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, tskwál'kem...

Billy Casper:

Pull it down by boat.

Sam Mitchell:

That tskwálk'em, that's... tskwálk'em means...

Randy Bouchard: Haul it. Pull it.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, pull it. They hire Indians to pull the... to pull the boat up with a load. Upstream.

Billy Casper: Háoneswit.

Baptiste Ritchie:

You can't paddle it in swift water.

Billy Casper:

Haoneswit ku7, háoneswit i wa7 tskwálk'em.

Randy Bouchard: Qan'ímtskan.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, well from here, they come... lhelkw7ú lhts7áswitas kéla7, wents? Wéna7, Skookumchuck. They come through, that's... lhláku7 lhkela7wítas ts7as... They also hire Indians to do that. It's alright to throw in a couple of English words.

Randy Bouchard:

Wa7 tsúnitas wa7 sáma7 slaves. Saw't.

Sam Mitchell:

At that time the Indians don't know how to talk in English, nothing. So this Indian that was doing the captain on the... Tsut ku7, tsut ku7, "Plánlhkan wa7 qan'ímtsan' i sám7a." Wa7 ku7 kenst'állec, nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s, "Haul away, haul away!" They pull upstream, of course, he didn't want that, he wanted them to stop. "Haul away!" Yeah, that story, I heard that story from down... yeah, that part of it, that's all I know about that boat, and...

12.2 English

Baptiste Ritchie:

It's no performance, it's just a conversation.

Sam Mitchell:

There was this Indian from around here. His name was *Sep'sip'âl'ts*,² but his wife was a Carrier (*Yúnhana*), they're what the white people call *Carrier* Indians.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Carriers.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, but to us it's the *yunhána*. My father knew these people, he went there all the time.

At that *time*, someone said, "Oh, we're going to build a boat, upstream at Quesnel."

Several of his brothers-in-law went with him, there must've been three of them, so they were four in all. They had a boat, and they said, "We're going upstream to where the good trees are." They were made out of cottonwood.

So then they set off, and I wonder how long it was, must've been more than one week, two weeks maybe. They went downstream, there's a beach there at the other end of Quesnel, there's this one fellow who had a house closer to the water, that's where we stayed; it had already gotten warm. They went along, stopped, and that's where they came ashore.

That's the first time I saw that newly built boat. "Oh," he said, "We already finished it." It was around this long, maybe 25 foot, 26 foot. Maybe longer, maybe 30 foot. Of course it's that wide...

Randy Bouchard:

Don't speak English!

Sam Mitchell:

It was wide, exactly *three feet*, it must've been three feet wide. It was long, and it seemed good, so I went and looked at it. I wanted to see a new boat. The outside of the boat was clearly new.

²The name Sep'sip'ál'ts literally translates as "bending over rock".

That was the first time that I could see that burning rocks must have been put inside. I thought, when I was thinking about it afterwards, I thought that maybe, how'd you say... it was like the rocks they burned it with were sort of like axes. The rocks must've been heated and then kept being piled on, and that made it keep burning until it was hollowed out. There were sort of axes there, but they were made like, kind of like *hatchets*, but they were made so that they...

Baptiste Ritchie:

They were adzes.

Sam Mitchell:

Yes, what we call a *tsékmen*, those must have been adzes. But I really think that hot rocks were poured in, and it shows around the sides of the canoe that...

Baptiste Ritchie:

They must've been hot rocks.

Sam Mitchell:

Someone must've put heated rocks there, there were some burnt parts, kind of spotted, *yeah*. Maybe they were... what you said was that it was boiled, right?, but actually it can't have been. I was thinking today about what you were telling a story about, when you were saying that the boat was half-filled with boiling water. But from what I saw closer to the edge of the boat, when it was burnt, I really think that it was the rocks that...

Baptiste Ritchie:

Just the rocks, no water.

Sam Mitchell:

Yes, no water, that was the only thing they used to burn it with, until it burned out. The rocks must've been kind of piled up, so that it would burn, and then it could be taken out; at that time, there weren't any what we call *power saws*.

Baptiste Ritchie:

But they did that to what they call *xwáqwem*.³ They heated up the big rocks, then they were put on top and then it got hollowed out, just like the canoe.

³Baptiste Ritchie is comparing the technique of making canoes with that of making 'family plates', which were long communal troughs used at feasts, that were also made out of hollowed logs.

Sam Mitchell:

Same with the canoe, yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

It kept smouldering...

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, it smouldered, they kept smouldering it.

Billy Casper:

...it smouldered, yeah.

Sam Mitchell:

If it's green wood, it doesn't burn.

Billy Casper:

It doesn't burn, *yeah*.

Sam Mitchell:

It just smoulders.

Billy Casper:

After that it was boiled.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, that was it. Now what was that other word of ours? When you heat up an iron, then you try to make a hole, that's what we call *hátsan*', piercing it with a red hot iron. You pierce it with an iron until a hole is made, *well it's a...* kind of like that. But it was the rocks that... *yeah*.

Oh, that boat looked good, the outside was really kind of new.

Baptiste Ritchie:

They're fixed so that they don't leak, the cottonwoods will really leak. They leak easily if they aren't boiled, if they aren't scorched. The elders poured in fish oil once the water was boiling, so that the oil penetrated the boat.

Billy Casper:

Yeah, yeah, fish oil, yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

It permeates the boat when it's boiled together with the water. That way it won't leak, like when it's burned. The inside and outside are burned, that's why they say, "As long as you live, the boat will survive." That's how they did it.

Sam Mitchell:

Then they applied pitch on the canoe with pitchwood, it was their paint, that was it, they didn't have paint, they got some pitchwood, and then they spread it on so that it would float. That's how they floated, just like pitchwood.

Randy Bouchard:

That's what the white people call a preservative.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

That boat must have lasted for a long time.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

It's boiled, it's cooked right out.

Sam Mitchell:

Those people upstream used to make dugout canoes by burning out trees on the Fraser River, that was their way.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Cottonwoods.

Sam Mitchell:

Cottonwoods, yeah. I saw one there not too long ago, in 1938. Last time I went to the Cariboo, at Quesnel, there were people going upstream. There was a cottonwood canoe made from just one tree. It must have been fifty-four feet... fifty-six feet long. It was four and a half feet wide, you see, so it must have been a really big tree. There was a...

Billy Casper:

The cottonwoods were big there.

Sam Mitchell:

The history of that canoe is wrtten on a plaque stuck onto it. It says that when the *Hudson's Bay* people came a long time ago, there were seven *tons* of cargo inside, and there were people hauling it, *tskwálk'em* is what we call 'pulling a loaded boat', *yeah*.

Billy Casper:

Before there were horses on this land, those people used to haul *boats* from *Lytton* up to here; my father wasn't from *Lytton*.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, hauling...

Billy Casper:

Pull it down by boat.

Sam Mitchell:

That tskwálk'em, that's... tskwálk'em means...

Randy Bouchard:

Haul it. Pull it.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, pull it. They hire Indians to pull the... to pull the boat up with a load. Upstream.

Billy Casper:

They wore harnesses.

Baptiste Ritchie:

You can't paddle it in swift water.

Billy Casper:

The haulers wore harnesses.

Randy Bouchard:

I understand.

Sam Mitchell:

Yes, well, from here, they come... when they first came, they came through Skookumchuck. They come through, that's where they first came through. They also hire Indians to do that. It's alright to throw in a couple of English words.

Randy Bouchard:

What the white people call 'slaves'.

Sam Mitchell:

At that time the Indians don't know how to talk in English, nothing. So this Indian that was doing the captain on the... He said, "Now I understand the white people." When he tried to stop, he said, "Haul away, haul away!" They pull upstream, of course, he didn't want that, he wanted them to stop. "Haul away". Yeah, that story, I heard that story from down... yeah, that part of it, that's all I know about that boat, and...

12.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) Baptiste Ritchie: [0:00] It's no performance, it's just a conversation.
- (2) Sam Mitchell:

 ti7 ts7a ta=... lhel=ts7á-mec
 that.vIs this.vIs DET= from=this.vIs-people
 káti7 ku=7úcwalmicw....
 around+there.vIs DET=indigenous.person
 There was this Indian from around here...
- (3) Sep'sip'ál'ts t'u7... sem7ám láku7 IPFV Sep'sip'ál'ts but wife at+there.INVIS ta=yunhaná=ha, nílh=iz' DET=Carrier.Indian=EXIS COP=those.VIS i=sám7=a ti=wa7 PL.DET=white.person=EXIS DET=IPFV tsún-itas wa7 Carrier say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV Carrier ku=7úcwalmicw. DET=indigenous.person

His name was *Sep'sip'ál'ts*, but his wife was a Carrier (*Yúnhana*), they're what the white people call *Carrier* Indians.

- (4) Baptiste Ritchie: Carriers.
- (5) Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, i=yúnhana=[ha], wi=snímulh,
yeah PLDET=Carrier.Indian=exis plus=ipl.indep
[i]zá wá7=malh s-lhík-s-as
these.vis ipfv=adhort stat-clear-caus-3erg
na=n-sqátsez7=a, nilh atá7
ABS.Det=isg.poss-father=exis cop to+there.vis
sas tsicw papt.
NMLZ+ipfv+3poss get.there always

Yeah, but to us it's the *yunhána*. My father knew these people, he went there all the time.

nílh=ťu7 láti7=malh, láti7 (6) COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV at+there.VIS=ADHORT at+there.VIS tsut, "o, nás=kalh ku=*time* na=wa7 DET=time ABS.DET=IPFV say oh go=IPL.SBJ k'úl'-em ku=t'láz'," tsut, "e=kw7ú get.made-мір рет=boat say to=that.INVIS n-kúkwem'=a áti7 kanáol=a," LOC-upstream=EXIS to+there.vis Quesnel=EXIS say

At that *time*, someone said, "Oh, we're going to build a boat, upstream at Quesnel."

(7) sts'ec*ts'áct-s=k'a,
TRED*man's.brother.in.law-3POSS=EPIS

n-k'win*k'wen-mín-[em], kalhás=k'a=t'[u7],
LOC-TRED*how.many-RLT-3PASS three=EPIS=EXCL

xwe7*xw7útsin lh=takem=wít=as.
TRED*four COMP=all=3PL=3SBIV

Several of his brothers-in-law went with him, there must've been three of them, so they were four in all.

(8) wá7=wit s=t'laz', nilh s=tsut=s,
IPFV=3PL have=canoe COP NMLZ=say=3POSS

"nás=kalh k'úl'-em ku=t'láz'=a
go=IPL.SBJ get.made-MID INVIS.DET=canoe=EXIS
e=kw7ú n-kúkwem'=a, láku7
to=that.INVIS LOC-upstream=EXIS at+there.INVIS
lh=lák=as i=ámh=a srap."
COMP=be.there=3SBJV PL.DET=good=EXIS tree

They had a boat, and they said, "We're going upstream to where the good trees are."

(9) áku7=hem' neq'w•níq'w-az' i=wa7
to+there.Invis=anti tred•cottonwood-tree Pl.det=ipfv
s-k'úl'-i.
nmlz-get.made-3Pl.poss

They were made out of cottonwood.

nílh=ťu7 nílh=t'u7=tu7 (10)s=... s=qwatsáts=i... [1:00]COP=EXCL NMLZ= COP=EXCL=REM NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS k'wí::n=as=ti7, cín'=k'a EPIS how.many=3SBJV=that.VIS long.time=EPIS n-scwá[kwekw]... p'á7cw=k'a lhel=ku=pála7 more.than=EPIS from=DET=one ISG.POSS-heart sxetspásq'et, án'was=k'a sxetspásq'et sxek. two=epis week So then they set off, and I wonder how long it was, must've been more than one week, two weeks maybe.

(11)ťak... n-kútsa=wit. láti7 go.along LOC-go.down.to.shore=3PL at+there.vis (s-t...) s-tsém'p-s=[a]áku7 NMLZ- NMLZ-get.finished-3POSS=EXIS to+there.INVIS ku=sísxets, pá•p•la7=[h]em'4 ta=kanáol=a DET=Quesnel=exis DET=beach one • CRED • = ANTI lhá7•lh7-em l=ta=qú7=a TRED*close.to-CPR at=DET=water=EXIS láta7 lhat at+there.vis comp+ipfv+ipl.sbjv s=tsitcw, plan wa7 neqw.5 have=house already IPFV warm

They went downstream, there's a beach there at the other end of Quesnel, there's this one fellow who had a house closer to the water, that's where we stayed; it had already gotten warm.

⁴Phonetically *pápla7* in this stanza sounds like *pépla7*, however since SM is discussing people rather than animals, we have left the vowel as [a].

⁵The plot of Sam's story is unclear at this point: The use of 3rd person plural marking in this and preceding stanzas suggests that only Sam's father and his brothers-in-law went to Quesnel to make the canoe, and not Sam himself. However the use of 1st person plural *lhat* in this stanza counter-indicates that Sam *was* in fact part of this trip.

ka-t'ál-a, nílh láti7 (12)t'ák=wit, go.along=3PL CIRC-stop-CIRC COP at+there.vis s=cíl'-lec=s. NMLZ=go.ashore-AUT=3POSS

They went along, stopped, and that's where they came ashore.

- (13)lh=kel7=án áts'x-en at+there.VIS COMP=before=ISG.SBJV get.seen-DIR that.VIS (kw=s=...) ku=tsítsel es-k'úl' t'laz'. D/C=NMLZ= DET=new STAT-get.made canoe That's the first time I saw that newly built boat.
- (14)"o," tsut, "plan wa7 tsúkw-s-tum'." say already IPFV finish-CAUS-IPL.ERG "Oh," he said, "We already finished it."
- maybe 25 foot, (15)ts'ila=k'á=t'u7 ts7a s-zact-s, like=EPIS=EXCL this.VIS NMLZ-long-3POSS maybe 25 foot 25, 26 foot. 25 26 foot It was around this long, maybe 25 foot, 26 foot.
- Maybe longer, maybe 30 foot. Of course it's that wide... (16)
- Randy Bouchard: (17)aoz ku=sám7a-ts! NEG DET=white.person-mouth Don't speak English!
- (18)Sam Mitchell: (lheq'...) lheq', put three feet, kalhás=k'a sq'waxt-s wide exactly three feet three=EPIS foot-3POSS t=s-lhéq'-s=a.

DET=NMLZ-wide-3POSS=EXIS

It was wide, exactly three feet, it must've been three feet wide.

- (19) zact, áma ta=s-ts'íla-s=a, nílh=t'u7 long good det=nmlz-like-3poss=exis cop=excl n=s=... tsicw páqw-ens.
 ISG.POSS=nmlz= get.there look-dir
 It was long, and it seemed good, so I went and looked at it.
- (20) wá7=lhkan kens-7áts'x-en lh... (ku=...) ku=tsítsel IPFV=ISG.SBJ want.to-get.seen-DIR COMP DET= DET=new t'laz'.
 canoe

I wanted to see a new boat.

- s-lhík=t'u7 kwes tsítsel (ta=x.wí...) [2:00]

 STAT-clear=EXCL D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS new DET=on.top

 ta=7alts'q7-álwilh-ts=a.

 DET=outside-vessel-3POSS=EXIS

 The outside of the boat was clearly new.
- (22) nílh=malh=ti7 kéla7
 COP=ADHORT=that.VIS before
 ka-7ats'x-s-án-a
 CIRC-get.seen-CAUS-ISG.ERG-CIRC
 kwás=k'a... gwel-p ku=k'ét'a
 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EPIS burn-INCH DET=rock
 wa7 n-lham'...
 IPFV LOC-get.put.into

That was the first time that I could see that burning rocks must have been put inside...

```
(wa7=lh...) l=ta=7aw't=á=malh
(23)
                                at=det=behind=exis=adhort
        say=ISG.SBJ IPFV=
            aylh wa7
                        n-s-ptínus-em,
                                                 nilh
            then IPFV ISG.POSS-NMLZ-think-MID COP
                n={s=n}-tsut-ánwas,
                                              nílh=k'a=ti7
                ISG.POSS=NMLZ=LOC-say-inside COP=EPIS=that.VIS
                                    wa7, ts'íla wa7
                    whatchamacallit IPFV like
                                               IPFV axe
                        i=wá7=k'a
                                          gwel-en-ítas.
                        PL.DET=IPFV=EPIS burn-DIR-3PL.ERG
```

I thought, when I was thinking about it afterwards, I thought that maybe, how'd you say... it was like the rocks they burned it with were sort of like axes.

(24) wá7=k'a qem-ál'ts kwelh=k'ét'a elh wa7... elh
IPFV=EPIS hot-rock PL.DET=rock and.then IPFV and.then
t'ak áti7 qwém•em, nílh=k'a=t'u7
continue to+there.vis get.piled•fred cop=epis=excl
sas t'ak gwel-p...
NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS continue burn-INCH
waq' aylh.
hollowed.out then

The rocks must've been heated and then kept being piled on, and that made it keep burning until it was hollowed out.

(25) wa7 láti7 (i=...) i=ts'íl.h=a ku=t'amín, be at+there.vis pl.det= pl.det=like=exis det=axe ts'íla ku=... t'u7 wa7=k'a=hém'=t'u7=iz' like det= but ipfv=epis=anti=excl=those.vis k'ul', ts'ila=k'á=t'u7 ku=hatchet, t'u7 wa7... get.made like=epis=excl det=hatchet but ipfv es-máys, kwás=ka... stat-get.made d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss=irr

There were sort of axes there, but they were made like, kind of like *batchets*, but they were made so that they...

(26) Baptiste Ritchie: tsék-men.⁶ adze-INS They were adzes.

(27) Sam Mitchell:

tsék-men, iy, wa7 tsún-em ku=tsék-men,
adze-INS yes IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG DET=adze-INS

nílh=k'a=7iz' wa7 tsék-men.

COP=EPIS=those.VIS IPFV adze-INS

Yes, what we call a tsékmen, those must have been adzes.

(28)t'u7 stexw=hem'=t'ú7=tu7 gélgel straight=ANTI=EXCL=REM but strong $ta=n={s=n}-tsut-ánwas=a,$ D/C=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=LOC-say-inside=EXIS es-qem-ál'ts=k'a=t'u7 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS STAT-hot-rock=EPIS=EXCL ku=k'ét'a kwelh wa7... pekw DET=rock those.INVIS be solids.get.poured.in láti7... at+there.vis

But I really think that hot rocks were poured in...

(29) ...ses wa7 es-hál'a ken=t7ú
NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS IPFV STAT-show around=that.VIS
ken=kí... q'ut-wílh-ts=a
around=PL.DET= side-vessel-3POSS=EXIS
kwas...
D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
...and it shows around the sides of the canoe that...

⁶The expected pronunciation of *tsékmen* is *tsíkmen*, with the root *tsík* 'to use a pick'. Note however that Kuipers (2002) lists the proto-root *tsek* 'to adze'.

- (30) Baptiste Ritchie:

 [i]zá wa7=k'á=ti7 ku=qemp-ál'ts.
 these.vis be=epis=that.vis det=hot-rock
 They must've been hot rocks.
- (31) Sam Mitchell:

 wá7=k'a=t'u7 láti7 kw=[s]=qemp-ál'ts-s-as...

 IPFV=EPIS=EXCL at+there.VIS D/C=NMLZ=hot-rock-CAUS-3ERG

 wa7 es-tsém•tsem, ts'íla es-t'éqw•t'eqw,

 IPFV STAT-TRED•get.singed like STAT-TRED•spotted

 yeah.

 yeah

Someone must've put heated rocks there, there were some burnt parts, kind of spotted, *yeah*.

[3:00] (32) lh... xek elh... ta=wa7 k'a nilh i=wa7 maybe and.then DET=IPFV EPIS COP PL.DET=IPFV tsún-acw lhas pulh, wen[ts], say+DIR-2SG.ERG COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.boiled isn't.it? t'u7 cw7aoz=k'a=wí7=hem' but NEG=EPIS=EMPH=ANTI D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS Maybe they were... what you said was that it was boiled, right?, but actually it can't have been...

```
wá7=lhkan=tu7
(33)
                            lhkúnsa n-tsut-ánwas
                            today
                                     LOC-say-inside
         IPFV=ISG.SBJ=REM
            ta=wa7
                        {s}-sqwé•qw•el'-su
                        NMLZ-tell*CRED*-2SG.POSS
            DET=IPFV
                láta7
                              kwas...
                at+there.vis D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                     tswáswa
                                                     wa7
                    D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS+EXIS IPFV
                         tsut kwas
                                                      n-...
                         say
                              D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS LOC-
                             sáq'ulh kwas
                             half
                                     D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                                 n-t'ak'[w]
                                                         ta=wa7
                                 LOC-liquid.gets.poured.in DET=IPFV
                                     pulh.
                                     get.boiled
```

I was thinking today about what you were telling a story about, when you were saying that the boat was half-filled with boiling water.

```
(34)
        t'u7 ni7
                       na=7ats'x-en-án=a
              that.ABS ABS.DET=get.seen-DIR-ISG.ERG=EXIS
            lhá7•lh7-am
                               e=t7ú
                                           k'ém'-ts-s=a,
            TRED • get.close-CPR to=that.VIS edge-mouth-3POSS=EXIS
                més=t'u7
                              láta7
                                           lh=tsem=ás,
                though=EXCL at+there.vis COMP=get.burned=EXIS
                    nílh=ťu7
                                s=gélgel=s
                    COP=EXCL NMLZ=strong=3POSS
                        n={s=n}-tsut-ánwas=a
                        ISG.POSS=NMLZ=LOC-say-inside=EXIS
                             kw=s=nílh=ts=t'u7=ti7
                             D/C=NMLZ=COP=3POSS=EXCL=that.VIS
                                 ta=k'ét'h=a
                                                wa7....
                                 DET=rock=EXIS IPFV
```

But from what I saw closer to the edge of the boat, when it was burnt, I really think that it was the rocks that...

- (35) Baptiste Ritchie:
 tsetsúkwa=t'u7 ta=k'ét'h=a, cw7aoz ku=qú7.
 only=excl det=cock=exis neg det=water
 Just the rocks, no water.
- (36) Sam Mitchell:

 iy, cw7áoz=k'a ku=qú7, tsetsukwa=k'á=t'u7=ti7

 yes neg=epis det=water only=epis=excl=that.vis

 wa7 gwél-men-s kwas t'u

 ipfv burn-ins-3poss d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss until

 ts'ikt e=t7ú...

 burned.out to=that.vis

Yes, no water, that was the only thing they used to burn it with, until it burned out...

(37)wá7=tu7... ts'íla wá7=k'a qwém•em IPFV=REM like IPFV=EPIS get.piled*FRED ta=k'ét'h=a.⁷ nílh=ťu7 kw=s=gwel-p, DET=rock=exis cop=excl d/c=nmlz=burn-inch kw=s=ka-kélh-a, cw7áoz=ha=k'a D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-get.taken.off-CIRC NEG=Q=EPIS káti7 kwas... around+there.vis D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS láni7, cw7aoz káti7 at+there.ABS NEG around+there.vis ku=wa7 tsún-em ku=power DET=IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG DET=power saw, káti7. saw around+there.vis

The rocks must've been kind of piled up, so that it would burn, and then it could be taken out... at that time, there weren't any what we call *power saws*.

⁷Since multiple rocks are being discussed, we expected the plural determiner i= rather than ta= in ta k $\dot{e}t$ $\dot{h}a$.

(38) Baptiste Ritchie:
t'u7 xilh-{ts}-twítas áti7... i=wa7
EXCL do.like-CAUS-3PL.ERG to+there.VIS PL.DET=IPFV
tsún-itas wa7 xwáqw-em.
say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV hollow.out.log.with.hot.rocks-MID

But they did that to... what they call xwáqwem.

(39) pá<7>q-al'ts i=xe•xzúm-al'ts=a white.hot<INCH>-rock PL.DET=IRED•big-rock=EXIS
k'ét'a... q'il aylh láti7... nílh=t'u7
rock laid.on.surface then at+there.vis cop=excl
s=ka-n-wáq'=s-a... ts'íla=t'u7
NMLZ=CIRC-LOC-hollowed.out=3POSS-CIRC like=EXCL
ta=t'láoz'=a.

DET=canoe=EXIS

They heated up the big rocks, then they were put on top and then it got hollowed out, just like the canoe.

- (40) Sam Mitchell: [4:00]
 iy, ts'íla=t'u7 ta=t'láz'=a, yeah
 yes like=EXCL DET=canoe=EXIS yeah
 Same with the canoe, yeah.
- (41) Baptiste Ritchie:
 wa7 t'ak tsem...
 IPFV continue get.singed
 It kept smouldering...
- (42) Sam Mitchell:

 iy, wa7 tsem, wá7=t'u7 tsem-en-íta[s], iy.

 yes IPFV get.singed IPFV=EXCL get.singed-DIR-3PL.ERG yes

 Yeah, it smouldered, they kept smouldering it.
- (43) Billy Casper:
 ...tsém=t'u7, yeah, yeah.
 get.singed=EXCL yeah yeah
 ...it smouldered, yeah.

(44) Sam Mitchell:

lhás=ti7 tsítsel, COMP+IPFV+3SBJV=that.VIS new

lhás=ti7 tsítsel ta=múlc=a, ao comp+ipfv+3sbjv=that.vis new det=stick=exis neg kwas gwel-d.

kwas gwel-p.
D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS burn-INCH

If it's green wood, it doesn't burn.

(45) Billy Casper:

cw7ao kwas gwel-p, *yeah*.

NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS burn-INCH yeah

It doesn't burn, *yeah*.

- (46) Sam Mitchell:

 wá7=t'u7 tsem.

 IPFV=EXCL get.singed

 It just smoulders.
- (47) Billy Casper:

 wá7=t'u7 púlh•elh láti7.

 IPFV=EXCL get.boiled•FRED at+there.vIs

 After that it was boiled.
- (48) Sam Mitchell:

yeah, snílh=tu7, yeah, yeah. stam'=as=k'á=ni7
yeah 3sg.indep=rem yeah yeah what=3sbJv=epis=that.abs
na=núkw=a n-qwal'út-[t]s-ten-lhkalh?
Abs.det=other=exis loc-speak-mouth-ins-ipl.poss

Yeah, that was it. Now what was that other word of ours?

xem'-áolin-an ku=welálam, (49)lhucw COMP+IPFV+2SG.SBJV dry.by.heat-metal-DIR DET=iron nílh=ťu7 kens-xetq-án, wa7 su... COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV try.to-hole-DIR IPFV wa7 háts-an'-em, say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV pierce.with.iron-DIR-IPL.ERG wa7 tsún-em e=ts7á say+DIR-IPL.ERG to=this.VIS IPFV wi=snímulh wa7 háts-an'. plus=IPL.INDEP IPFV pierce.with.iron-DIR

When you heat up an iron, then you try to make a hole, that's what we call *hátsan*', piercing it with a red hot iron.

(50) háts-an' t'u ka-xtéq-a, well it's pierce.with.iron-dir until circ-hole-circ well it's a... ts'ila=t'ú7=ti7. nilh=hem'=t'ú7=ti7 a like=excl=that.vis cop=anti=excl=that.vis ta=k'ét'h=a zam' tswása... det=cok=exis though d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss+exis yeah.

You pierce it with an iron until a hole is made, *well it's a...* kind of like that. But it was the rocks that... *yeah*.

o, áma t{a}=s-7áts'x-[t]en-s=a ti7
oh good D/C=NMLZ-get.seen-INS-3POSS=EXIS that.VIS
ta=t'láz'=a, stéxw=t'u7 láti7...

DET=canoe=EXIS straight=EXCL at+there.VIS
ts'ila=t'u7=tú7=ti7 stéxw=t'u7 tsítsel
like=EXCL=REM=that.VIS straight=EXCL new
ta=7alts'q7-álqw=a.

DET=outside-tree=EXIS

Oh, that boat looked good, the outside was really kind of new.

(52)Baptiste Ritchie: kw=s=cw7aoy=s mays, mays get.fixed get.fixed D/C=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS (kwas...) kwas D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS t'a<7>k. wá7=wi7 t'a<7>k go.along<INCH> IPFV=EMPH go.along<INCH> i=neq'w•níq'w-aoz'=a. PL.DET= PL.DET=TRED*cottonwood-tree=EXIS They're fixed so that they don't leak, the cottonwoods will really leak...

- [5:00] (53) lil'q kwas t'a<7>k,
 easy D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS go.along<INCH>
 lh=cw7áoz=as kw=s=pulh=ts,
 COMP=NEG=3SBJV D/C=NMLZ=get.boiled=3POSS
 lh=cw7áoz=as kw=s=tsem=s.
 COMP=NEG=3SBJV D/C=NMLZ=get.singed=3POSS
 They leak easily if they aren't boiled, if they aren't scorched.
 - i=kel•ké•k•el7=a, wa7

 PL.DET=TRED•before•CRED•=EXIS IPFV

 k'welh-en-ítas áti7 t=smík'il=a

 pour.liquid-dir-3pl.erg to+there.vis det=fish.oil=exis

 lhwas púlh•elh ta=qú7=a...

 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.boiled•FRED det=water=exis

 The elders poured in fish oil once the water was boiling...
 - (55) ...nílh=t'u7 sás=t'u7 ulhcw
 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL enter
 l=ta=t'láoz'=a (i=...) i=smík'il=a.
 at=DET=canoe=EXIS PL.DET= PL.DET=fish.oil=EXIS
 ...so that the oil penetrated the boat.
 - (56) Billy Casper:
 yeah, yeah, t=smík'il=a, yeah.
 yeah yeah DET=fish.oil=EXIS yeah
 Yeah, yeah, fish oil, yeah.

(57) Baptiste Ritchie:
ulhew l=ta=t'láoz'=a, pulh s-7úllus
enter at=det=canoe=exis get.boiled stat-gather
ta=qú7=a.

det=water=exis

It permeates the boat when it's boiled together with the water.

- (58) nilh [s]=cw7aoy=s kwas

 COP NMLZ=NEG=3POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS

 t'a<7>k, ts'íla=t'u7 es-tsém.

 go.along<INCH> like=EXCL STAT-get.singed

 That way it won't leak, like when it's burned.
- (59)ta=s7úlhcw=a, get.singed DET=inside=EXIS get.singed ta=7álts'q7=a, nílh=ti7 DET=outside=EXIS COP=that.VIS IPFV tsún-itas, "[ta=s]=ts'íla=s=a say+DIR-3PL.ERG D/C=NMLZ=like=3POSS=EXIS kwásu máwal', D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS alive nílh=ťu7 sés=t'u7 wa7 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL be ta=t'láoz'=a." DET=canoe=EXIS

The inside and outside are burned, that's why they say, "As long as you live, the boat will survive."

(60) xilh-{ts}-twítas áti7.
do.like-CAUS-3PL.ERG to+there.VIS
That's how they did it.

Sam Mitchell: (61)

> q'álh-ulwilh iy... elh aylh yes and.then apply.pitch-boat then ki=k'wi7cw=[a],nilh ti7 COLL.DET=pitchwood=EXIS COP that.VIS paint-3POSS nilh ti7, cw7áoy=tu7 kwes COP that NEG=REM D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS [es]=pint... kwám•em ku=k'wí7cw, have=paint get•FRED DET=pitchwood IPFV q'álh-ulwilh aylh, nílh=t'u7=ti7 apply.pitch-boat then COP=EXCL=that.VIS p'áp'kw=t'u7.

NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS float=EXCL

Yeah... then they applied pitch on the canoe with pitchwood, it was their paint, that was it, they didn't have paint, they got some pitchwood, and then they spread it on so that it would float.

- (62)nílh=ku7=ti7 wa7 p'ap'kw, ts'íla COP=QUOT=that.VIS float like IPFV ti=k'wí7cw=a izá. DET=pitchwood=EXIS these.VIS That's how they floated, just like pitchwood.
- (63)Randy Bouchard: wa7 tsún-itas sám7=a wa7 preservative. IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV white.person=EXIS preservative That's what the white people call a *preservative*.
- (64)Sam Mitchell: Yeah.
- [6:00] (65) Baptiste Ritchie: ku=t'láoz', kela7=k'á=t'u7 cin' that.vis Det=canoe before=EPIS=EXCL long.time kw=s=wa7=s. D/C=NMLZ=be=3POSS That boat must have lasted for a long time.

(66) Sam Mitchell:
Iy.
yes
Yeah.

- (67) Baptiste Ritchie: It's boiled, it's cooked right out.
- (68)Sam Mitchell: áku7 n-kúkwem'=a (i=...)iz' to+there.INVIS LOC-upstream=EXIS PL.DET= those.VIS i=7ucwalmícw=a áku7 PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS to+there.INVIS s=gwel-alqw-en-ítas i=t'láz'=a NMLZ=burn-tree-DIR-3PL.ERG PL.DET=canoe=EXIS l=ta=n-sat'-átqw7=a... at=DET=LOC-Fraser.River-water=EXIS ati7=kú7=ti7 to+there.vis=quot=that.vis Det=ipfv st'ákmen-i. way.of.life-3PL.POSS

Those people upstream used to make dugout canoes by burning out trees on the Fraser River, that was their way.

- (69) Baptiste Ritchie:
 neq'w•níq'w-aoz'.
 TRED•cottonwood-tree
 Cottonwoods.
- (70) Sam Mitchell:

 neq'w•níq'w-az', iy... áts'x-en=lhkan

 TRED•cottonwood-tree yes get.seen-dir=isg.sbj

 láku7 t=s-7aylhám'-s=a, 19...

 at+there.invis det=nmlz-not.long.ago-3poss=exis 19

 1938.

 1938

Cottonwoods, yeah... I saw one there not too long ago, in 1938.

(71) aw't [kw]=n=[s]=tsicw káku7
behind d/c=isg.poss=nmlz=get.there around+there.invis
kelpúh=a, láti7 kanáol=a...
Cariboo=exis at+there.vis Quesnel=exis
lati7=wí7=t'u7 s-7úmik=wit.
at+there.vis=emph=excl stat-go.upstream=3pl
Last time I went to the Cariboo, at Quesnel, there were people going upstream.

- (72) wa7 láti7 ta=... neq'w•níq'w-az'=a t'laz', be at+there.vis detection to the ses-k'úl'=k'a=t'u7 pál7-alqw.

 STAT-get.made=EPIS=EXCL one-tree

 There was a cottonwood canoe made from just one tree.
- (73) tsilkst s=q'em'p=s sq'waxt (wi=...)
 five nmlz=ten=3poss foot and
 wi=xw7útsin=k'a, lh=t'áq'em'kst=as ni7
 plus=four=epis comp=six=3sbjv that.abs
 n[a]=s-záct-s=a.
 ABS.DET=nmlz-long-3poss=exis

It must have been fifty-four feet... fifty-six feet long.

- (74) xw7útsin sq'waxt wi=sáq'ulh s-lheq'-wílh-ts=a, four foot plus=half nmlz-wide-vessel-3Poss=exis k'wá7en, {s}=stexw=s=k'á=t'u7 xzúm-alqw you.see nmlz=straight=3Poss=epis=excl big-tree áku7. wa7 láti7 t=s=... to+there.Invis be at+there.vis d/C=nmlz= It was four and a half feet wide, you see, so it must have been a really big tree. There was a...
- (75) Billy Casper:

 xe*xzúm-alqw áku7

 IRED*big-tree to+there.INVIS

 i=neq'w*níq'w-aoz'=a.

 PL.DET=TRED*cottonwood-tree=EXIS

 The cottonwoods were big there.

```
Sam Mitchell:
(76)
                                                                         [7:00]
         wa7 láti7
                                          t=sqwé•qw•el'-s=a
                            (t=s-...)
              at+there.vis D/C=NMLZ= DET=tell*CRED*-3POSS=EXIS
             l=ta=t'láz'=a,
                                    wá7=ťu7
                                                 láti7
             at=DET=canoe=EXIS... IPFV=EXCL at+there.VIS
                                                   lheq-álqw=a
                 s-ts'eq'-p
                                            ta=...
                 STAT-get.stuck.onto-INCH DET= stuck-tree=EXIS
                      ta=s-méts=a.
                     DET=STAT-get.written=EXIS
        The history of that canoe is wrtten on a plaque stuck onto it.
```

The history of that canoe is written on a praque stuck onto it

(77) tsut lhas t'ak ku7 wa7 say COMP+IPFV+3SBJV go.along that.INVIS kwelh=Hudson *Bay*=ha lh=cín'=as, PL.INVIS.DET=Hudson Bay=EXIS COMP=long.time=3SBJV tsulhaká7 ku=ton i=wa7n-lham' DET=ton PL.DET=IPFV LOC-get.put.into seven i=wa7 at+there.vis be PL.DET=IPFV tskw-álk'-em, wa7 tsún-itas get.pulled-rope-MID IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG wa7 tskw-álk'-em, IPFV get.pulled-rope-мір yeah

It says that when the *Hudson's Bay* people came a long time ago, there were seven *tons* of cargo inside, and there were people hauling it, *tskwálk'em* is what we call 'pulling a loaded boat', *yeah*.

(78)Billy Casper: nílh=iz' kéla7 (t) ts'qáxa7 l=ts7a ku=tmícw, COP=those.VIS before horse at=this.vis DET=land ts'íla wá7=tu7 lhel=t7ú Lytton=ae=ts7á... from=that.vis Lytton=exis to=this.vis be=rem áoz=ťu7 na=n-sqátsez7=a NEG=EXCL ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS lhláta7 Lytton=ae=ts7á from+there.vis Lytton=exis to=this.vis

from *Lytton* up to here; my father wasn't from *Lytton*.

tskw-álk'-em=wit... boat.

get.pulled-rope-MID=3PL boat

Before there were horses on this land, those people used to haul boats

- (79) Sam Mitchell:
 iy, tskw-álk'-em...
 yes get.pulled-rope-mid
 Yeah, hauling...
- (80) Billy Casper:
 Pull it down by boat.
- (81) Sam Mitchell:

 that tskw-álk'-em, that's... tskw-álk'-em means...

 that get.pulled-rope-mid that's get.pulled-rope-mid means

 That tskwálk'em, that's... tskwálk'em means...
- (82) Randy Bouchard: Haul it. Pull it.
- (83) Sam Mitchell:

 Yeah, pull it. They hire Indians to pull the... to pull the boat up with a load. Upstream.
- (84) Billy Casper:
 háones=wit...
 harness=3PL
 They wore harnesses...

- (85) Baptiste Ritchie: You can't paddle it in swift water.
- (86) Billy Casper:
 haones=wít=ku7, háones=wit i=wa7
 harness=3PL=QUOT harness=3PL PL.DET=IPFV
 tskw-álk'-em.
 get.pulled-rope-MID
 The haulers wore harnesses.
- (87) Randy Bouchard:
 qan'ím-ts=kan.
 hear-mouth=ISG.SBJ
 I understand.

through Skookumchuck.

tsún-itas

wa7

- iy, well from here, they come... lhel=kw7ú
 yes well from here they come from=that.Invis
 lh=ts7ás=wit=as kéla7, wents? wéna7,
 COMP=come=3PL=3SBJv before isn't.it? whatchamacallit
 Skookumchuck.
 Skookumchuck
 Yes, well, from here, they come... when they first came, they came
- (89) they come through, that's... lhláku7
 they come through that's from+there.Invis
 lh=kela7=wít=as ts7as...
 COMP=before=3PL=3SBJV come
- They come through, that's... where they first came through...

 (90) They also hire Indians to do that. It's alright to throw in a couple of [8:00]

wa7

English words.

(91) Randy Bouchard:

sáma7

slaves. saw't.

IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV white.person slaves What the white people call *slaves*.

- (92) Sam Mitchell:
 At that time the Indians don't know how to talk in English, nothing. So this Indian that was doing the captain on the...
- (93) tsút=ku7, tsút=ku7, "plán=lhkan wa7 qan'ím-ts-an' say=quoт say=quoт already=isg.sbj ipfv hear-mouth-dir i=sám7=a."
 pl.det=white.person=exis

He said, "Now I understand the white people."

- (94) wá7=ku7 kens-t'ál-lec, nílh=ku7=t'u7
 IPFV=QUOT try.to-stop-AUT COP=QUOT=EXCL
 s=tsut=s, "haul away, haul away!"
 NMLZ=say=3POSS haul away haul away
 When he tried to stop, he said, "Haul away, haul away!"
- [8:57] (95) They pull upstream, of course, he didn't want that, he wanted them to stop. "Haul away". Yeah, that story, I heard that story from down... yeah, that part of it, that's all I know about that boat, and...

12.4 Baptiste Ritchie's Free Translation⁸

(Sam Mitchell talking:) One time, my father and some other Indians wanted to make a canoe, so they went up the Fraser River, to Quesnel, where there were big trees. The canoe that they made was about 30 feet long and 3 feet wide. When I looked at it, I saw that the inside of the canoe was all burnt. This was because they had put red-hot rocks in it. There was also a chipper there that they had been using – they had hollowed out the canoe by burning it with rocks, and then chipping it, and then burning it some more. Usually, the canoe would be half-full of water when the hot rocks were used, but this canoe had no water in it; they just put the rocks in and covered the canoe over. At Mount Currie, they shape canoes with hot rocks and water. Once the heat comes through from the inside, they use braces to force the canoe outwards.

It took quite a while to shape this canoe - they didn't have power saws in those days! As Baptiste Ritchie explained, in making troughs, called <code>xwók'wem9</code> in Indian, that is "family plates", they used to burn out the green logs. They did not use flames to burn them out. They placed red hot rocks on the logs which sank into the green wood. This process also cures the wood like a kiln dry. That is the process they used to make the family plates. In the early days, to put a hole in the middle of a piece of wood, they pierced them with a red hot iron. The iron was made hot using red hot rocks.

They made the canoes watertight by sealing them with tar or oil. This way of building canoes and dug-outs makes them last for a lifetime. Using pitch, you get a lot of smoke which throws off a good heat when using a soft wood such as cottonwood. The water soaks through soft woods very easily so you must preserve the boat by doing this.

In Quesnel country, back around 1938, they used a lot of canoes. They had hardly anything but cottonwood to make them out of. There is a big dug-out up there, carved from one large tree. The canoe is four and one half feet wide. There is a story about that canoe, why and how they used it in the early days. The Hudson Bay Company used to load up the canoe with about seven tons of cargo which the Indians would pull up the river from the beach. They did the same on the Fraser River for hauling freight. At that time the Indians spoke no English, but the captain of the Indian crew would yell, "haul away, haul away".

⁸This translation is reproduced verbatim from Bouchard and Kennedy, BCILP ms.1, #017.

⁹The correct spelling is *xwáqwem*.

Chapter 13

Skas lhas mays i sk'ýla: Tanning Hides¹

13.1 St'át'imcets

Sam Mitchell:

...Yeah, well ah, now they do that, yeah. Aylh, i wa7 qapan'táli i sk'ýla, sip'áoz'a, ts'íla ku lhxwáytema, wa7 tsútwit.

Wa7 sqwéqwel'entsas ta pápel7a, án'was, ts'íla ku an'wasúsem tswása xilh. Wa7 tsut, tsítsel t'u7 t.sip'áoz'a nilh t'u7 skwans i sxúmq7a. Fish head, salmon head, yeah. Cw7it iz' tswása k'acan'ítas i sxúmq7a. Nilh t'u7 ses... tsítsel t'ú7 ti7 ti sip'áoz'a nilh t'u7 skwans i sxúmq7a, nilh t'u7 s... Nilh t'u7 láti7 slhig's t'u7 ncwetp kent7ú tákem t'u7 lta sip'áoz'a, nilh t'u7 sculk'ws. Nilh ku7 t'u7 láti7 swa7s, k'wínasq'et, nilh t'u7 sxals ta sip'áoz'a, t'at'ál t'u7 i qwátssa. Nilh t'u7 aylh stsiqs t'u put ku7 t'u7 nilh ku gélgel, tsiq, t'álel ta stséspsa. Nilh ku7 t'u7 ses kaségwa. T'anam'nás ku7 kw st'álels ta stséspsa, k'ac. Cw7ao ti7 kwas mul ku qu7, t'u t'álel t'u7 t.stséspsa k'ac, t'anam'nás ku7... lhelt7ú splápsa ta ts'í7a. Káw'an'as lhláti7, kaw'. Nilh t'u7 stsekwnás, nilh t'u7 sas kasé::::gwa, t'at'ál i qwátsa ta... múta7 ta álts'q7a ts'íla sip'áy's, nilh ti7 wa7 lhkúnsa wa7 iq'.

Baptiste Ritchie: Iy.

Sam Mitchell: Wa7 tsúnitas... *Yeah*.

¹Told by Sam Mitchell in December 1972.

Randy Bouchard: Iy, scraping.

Sam Mitchell:

Kasé:gwa kú7 ti7 t'u7 t'u tsem'p, xilh ta... plan hem' ta nt'epál'stsa, nts'7ál'stsa. Plan ti7 wa7 k'ac, plan ti7 wa7 kapéqa, nilh ku7 tú7 ti7 skasé:::gwa t'u7 nilh t'u7 ti7 splans ti7 wa7 qepqáp. Tsukw t'u7 aylh tswása p'um. Ti7.

Ts7as aylh lhelts7á... kanák'a tswása xilhtwítas, l k'ul'stwítas éta íq'mena. Ta wa7 tsúnem wa7 íq'men, wéna7 ti7, xzum ti7 ku ts'i7 ku slhéq'lheq'. Nilh ti7 wa7 íq'meni, lhwá7as k'á tu7 plan kwelh... wa7 k'a tu7 kwelh tcats', *that's an elk*. I zugwstwítas, nilh t'u7 sas... i lhéq'lheq'sa wa7 kwan, nilh iz' wa7 íq'men.

Randy Bouchard:
Oh, they used the ribs for scraping.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, use the ribs for... scraping hides. Well there's no such thing as iron then.

Ka7íq'a tí7a aylh. Nilh t'u7 sas... elh mul múta7, lhláti7 lhas mat' ta wa7 tsúnitas wa7... wéna7, wa7 tsúnitas wa7 nákmen. Q'wi7, tsukw sq'wi7s elh xal... lhkúnsa, wá7lhkan áti7 xilh lhkun, wá7lhkan ti7 záytenmin. Wa7 ta nsem7áma, papt t'u7, plan t'u7 aylh...

Baptiste Ritchie: T'úpcal.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy, wa7 ti7 t'úpcal, wéna7, nilh ti7 wa7 q'wí7cal. Wa7 ti7 zaytenmínem lhkun nsem7áma, wa7 máysenas i sk'úla.

Cw7it i wa7 tsicw áku7 wi snímulh wa7 qwenán kw stecwp ku sk'v½. Cúy'lhkan tsuntaníhan, "Áku7 ku sáma7 sk'v½ lhnásal'ap, áma iz'." Wa7 tsut izá i ucwalmícwa wa7 lhelkw7ú talhálqwa, wa7 tsut, "Wá7lhkalh áti7 xílem," tsut, "kwámlhkalh láku7, lhélki sám7a i sqápcalsa. Máysenem ku... lhet q'wezílc... ku leqwáy'lhkalh lhat q'wezílc." Wa7 tsut, "I sám7a sum'un'itás t'u7, nilh t'u7 stsúti, "Uts ti7 ta... sk'vls ku úcwalmicw!""

Gexcál, *first you* iq' *it*. Nilh skéla7sa ti7 ta sip'áoz'a kul', kú7el' elh iq', lhep', lhep' ti7 láti7 ku k'wínasq'et. K'ac, ts'íla lhcúz'acw cw7aols, elh kul' aylh múta7, lhláti7 lhwen7ánacw ta nákmenswa. Q'wi7 lhláti7 elh xal aylh, nilh ti7 wa7 gexcál, wa7 tsúnem. Wéna7 ti7, esmáys ltswása gex éta gxálqwtena.

Baptiste Ritchie: Géxten.

Sam Mitchell:

Géxten, nilh wa7 géxten i wa7... nilh hém' ti7 wa7... nilh ta múlca wa7 gxál'qwten, nilh wa7 géxten i sk'ýla t'u7 iz' múta7 i wa7 lhucw kent7ú i wa7... tsúnas k'a ku sáma7: "Lace it round the... the outside before you start to poke it." Nilh cuz' aylh tsiq. Tsiqin'lhkácw ti7 láti7 t'u k'ac t'u7, put t'u7 wa7 neqw ltsása lak t'u7 áma. K'ac, k'ac, nilh t'u7 splans wa7 qap. Mes t'u7 cw7aoz kw sq'wi7s, nilh t'u7 aylh sxat's kwas qap.

K'ac lhláti7 elh p'um aylh. Lhkúnsa... wéna7 t'u7, sts'ek'qín' t'u7 ta wa7 qweyenás nsem7áma, an'wasúsem. Lhsrep7úlas ku sts'ek'qín', nilh t'u7 sqwenmínas kw sgélgels kw ska7úts'sa, wa7 tsut, wa7 ts'íla ku.... p'a7cw kw ska... elh... cúz'as wéna7...

Baptiste Ritchie: Qapcál.

Sam Mitchell:

Iy... lhcúz'as wéna7. Kwikws t'u7 kw skap'úmsa, wéna7, ts'íla ku... cwáocwlaom kw sp'ums, nilh t'u7 sneq'wníq'way's. Nilh hem' ti7 ses p'um, pus kelh lhláti7, k'ac, nilh t'u7 ses qa7p, nilh ti7 ses sp'úmi, p'umun'ítas i sk'ýla.

Wa7 qwenmínitas i núkwa sáma7 kwas t'u7 peq. Lhstám'as lkw scuy' qwey'enás, lh*handbag*as, lhstám'as, hiwaká7as. T'u7 nas t'u7 pus, nilh t'u7 sas p'an't kw st'egwp, iy. Tsukw t'u7 lhas... t'u7 k'áck'ec lhas ts'ex. Nilh hem' ti7 zam' ses p'um, elh t.stsúkwsa t'ú7 iz' wa7 silhts'its'a7úl.

Lhas píxem' lta lhwál'tstena, wa7 iz' pus, k'acan'ás t'u7, nas t'u7 k'ac, nilh t'u7 szatss, nilh t'u7 ses t'u7 ts'íla. Tákem ti7 ta... ta pápel7a sqaycw sqweqwel'mínas... kw s... k'wazan'tsutmínas kw scw7aoys kw sts'emx. Nas ku7 píxem' lhwál'tsten, nilh t'u7 sk'úl'citem et.sem7ámsa ta silhts'a7úlsa. K'wínas xetspásq'et kw spíxem's, tsukw spíxem's, nkwezpán'kcen kú7 t'u7 ta silhts'7úlsa, t'u7 ti7 kekáw' tswása matq ta pál7a sq'it. K'ámalh i núkwa, tákem ku7 t'u7 sgap kwas tsatskwtenánem, kwas t'qweqwcnán'em et.sem7am7ámiha. K'ámalh snilh, wa7 tsut, "Wenácw t'u7," tsut, "lhecw k'wazan'tsutmínlhkacw ku stam', nilh t'u7 s7aozs kwes esxílem... nkwezpán'k, kenkw7ú ti7 ta silhts'7úla, t'u7 ti7 cw7aoz kw splhulh."

Ts7a ta wa7 sqweqwel'mínan, nilh ti7 wa7 sRimán'qen. Stexw t'u7 pixem'mán ku sqaycw, ká7ew' lhswátas ku píxem'.

13.2 English

Sam Mitchell:

...Yeah, well ah, now they do that, yeah. Now, for those who soften hides, the skins, they say it's kind of like how the ancestor's did it in the old days.

One person told me there's kind of two ways to do it. This person said, when the hide is new, they take fish heads. Fish head, salmon head, yeah. There are a lot of those, because people dry fish heads. When the hide is fresh, they take fish heads, and then... Then they're scattered all over the hide and it's rolled up. It stays there for a few days, and then it's put up onto a frame, but its fur stays on. Then it's poked, it's poked vigorously until it stops stretching. Then the fur just peels off. They test it to see if it's stopped stretching when it's dry. It isn't submerged in water until it stops stretching when it's dry, then they test it... from the rump of the deer. Then they pull it away, and it comes right off. Then they pull it, and the fur peels off the outside of the skin continuously, that's what they do now by scraping.

Baptiste Ritchie: Yes.

Sam Mitchell: What they call... Yeah.

Randy Bouchard: Yes, scraping.

Sam Mitchell:

It peels off until it's finished, it's done just like... it's already... on the inside of the bottom of the deerskin. It's already dry, it's already white, and it just peels off, and it's already soft. All that needs to be done is to smoke it. That's it.

Now they are beginning to change the way they do it, when they do it with a scraper, what we call a scraper, whatever it's called, it was a big deer's rib. That was their scraper, back when there must've been... there must've been *tcats*', *that's an elk*. When they killed them, they took their ribs, and those were used for scrapers.

Randy Bouchard: Oh, they used the ribs for scraping.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, use the ribs for... scraping hides. Well there's no such thing as iron then.

Sam Mitchell:

Then it was scraped. And then... then it was soaked and mixed in with what they call... oh, what's it called, what they call seasoning. It's wrung out, and after it's wrung out, then it's put on a frame. That's how I do it now, that's what I do. My wife there, she always, she's already...

Baptiste Ritchie:

Twisting.

Sam Mitchell:

Yes, she does the twisting, how do you say it, she's the one who does the wringing out. That's my wife's business these days, she makes buckskin.

A lot of people who want to buy buckskin go to to us here. I was going to tell them, "Go get white people's deerhides, they're good." These Indians from the United States say, "We did that, we got them there, the ones that the white people had softened. We make them for when we dance, for our dance costumes." They say, "The white people just smell them, then say, "That's not an Indian deerhide!""

Stringing up for tanning, *first you* scrape *it*. First the hide gets soaked, it's soaked before it's scraped, and then hung up for a few days. When it's dry, if you get impatient with it you can soak it again, and then do whatever to it with your seasoning. Then it's wrung out and put on a frame, that's what we call *gexcál*. What's it called... it's strung up on the tanning frame.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Tanning frame.

Sam Mitchell:

Géxten, it's the géxten which are... it's actually the wooden frame which is the gexálqwten. The géxten are the leather ties which are inserted around the... the white people might say: "Lace it round the... the outside before you start to poke it." Then it starts getting poked. You poke it until it's dry, and then it stays in a warm place until it's good. When it's dry, then it's already soft. But if it isn't wrung out, then it's hard to soften.

Once it's dry, then it's smoked. These days, what do you call it, my wife uses pine cones, two kinds. When she uses Douglas Fir cones, that's when she

wants the hide to be dyed more strongly, she says, it kind of makes it more... what do you call it...

Baptiste Ritchie: Softens it.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, when she does whatever it's called. If she only wants it smoked a little bit, how do you say, kind of lightly smoked, then she uses cottonwood. But it's smoked so that when it gets wet and dries out, it will get soft, that's why they smoke them, why they smoke the hides.

Some white people want the hide to be white. Whatever they're going to use it for, a *handbag*, or something, gloves. But when they get wet, they go back to being hard, yeah. They can only be dry-cleaned. So that's actually the reason why they're smoked, and that's why those are the only real buckskin moccasins.

When someone goes hunting in the fall and they get wet, he dries them out, and when they get dry, then they are crumpled up, and then they're just the same as before. All of the... one man said that he trained with them so they wouldn't wear out. He went hunting in the fall, and his wife made him some moccasins. He was hunting for a few weeks, and when he finished hunting his moccasin soles were still shiny, even though he'd been walking a long ways each day. But others, every night their wives are resoling moccasins, mending the soles. But him, he said, "It's true, when you train with something, then that doesn't happen, they just get shiny, but they're not even thick."

This person I was talking about, that's Rimán'qen.² He was a real hunter, and he'd travel further than any hunter.

²Carl Alexander says that Rimán'qen refers to Felix Levine. Sam also refers to Felix in his discussion about *qwenálhp*.

13.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) Sam Mitchell: [0:00] ...Yeah, well ah, now they do that, yeah.
- (2) aylh, i=wa7 qap-an'-táli
 then PL.DET=IPFV get.softened-DIR-NTS
 i=sk'vl=a, sip'áoz'=a, ts'íla
 PL.DET=buckskin=exis hide=exis like
 ku=lhxwáytem=a,³ wa7 tsút=wit.
 INVIS.DET=ancestor's.ways=exis IPFV say=3PL

Now, for those who soften hides, the skins, they say it's kind of like how the ancestor's did it in the old days.

- (3) wa7 sqwé•qw•el'-en-ts-as ta=pá•p•l7=a,
 IPFV tell•CRED•-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG DET=one•CRED•=EXIS
 án'was, ts'íla ku=7an'was-úsem
 two like DET=two-kind
 tswása xilh.
 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS get.done
 One person told me there's kind of two ways to do it.
- (4) wa7 tsut, (lh...) tsítsel=t'u7 t=sip'áoz'=a nílh=t'u7
 IPFV say COMP new=EXCL DET=hide=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=... (s=kwan=s i=...) kwan=s
 NMLZ= NMLZ=get.taken=3POSS PL.DET= get.taken=3POSS
 i=sxúmq7=a.
 PL.DET=salmon.head=EXIS

This person said, when the hide is fresh, they take fish heads.

(5) Fish head, salmon head, yeah.

³The meaning of the word *lbxwáytem* is unclear. It seems to contain the root *xwayt* "many dead", so given the context, we have tentatively glossed it as "ancestor's ways".

```
(6) cw7ít=iz' tswása
many=those.vIs D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
k'ac-an'-ítas i=sxúmq7=a.
get.dry-DIR-3PL.ERG PL.DET=salmon.head=EXIS
There are a lot of those, because people dry fish heads.
```

(7) nílh=t'u7 ses... tsitsel=t'ú7=ti7
COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS new=EXCL=that.VIS
ti=sip'áoz'=a nílh=t'u7 s=kwan=s
DET=hide=EXIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.taken=3POSS
i=sxúmq7=a, nílh=t'u7 s=...
PL.DET=salmon.head=EXIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=
When the hide is fresh, they take fish heads, and then...

(8) nílh=t'u7 láti7 s=... lhíg'=s=t'u7
COP=EXCL at+there.VIS NMLZ= get.scattered=3POSS=EXCL

[n]-cwet-p ken=t7ú
LOC-go.around-INCH around=that.VIS

tákem=t'u7 l=ta=sip'áoz'=a, nílh=t'u7
all=EXCL at=DET=hide=EXIS COP=EXCL
s=culk'w=s.

NMLZ=get.rolled.up=3POSS

Then they're scattered all over the hide and it's rolled up.

It stays there for a few days, and then it's put up onto a frame, but its fur stays on.

- (10) nílh=t'u7 aylh s=tsiq=s t'u

 COP=EXCL then NMLZ=get.stabbed=3POSS until

 pút=ku7=t'u7 nilh ku=gélgel, tsiq,
 exactly=QUOT=EXCL COP DET=strong get.stabbed

 t'ál•el [ta]=s=tsés-p=s=a.
 stop•fred D/C=NMLZ=get.stretched-INCH=3POSS=EXIS
 Then it's poked, it's poked vigorously until it stops stretching.
- (11) nílh=ku7=t'u7 ses ka-ségw-a.

 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS CIRC-get.peeled.off-CIRC

 Then the fur just peels off.
- t'anam'-n-ás=ku7 [kw=s]=t'ál•el=s
 try-DIR-3ERG=QUOT D/C=NMLZ=stop•FRED=3POSS
 [ta]=s=tsés-p=s=a, k'ac.
 D/C=NMLZ=get.stretched-INCH=3POSS=EXIS get.dry
 They test it to see if it's stopped stretching when it's dry.
- cw7áo=ti7 (13)kwas mul NEG=that.VIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.submerged ku=qú7, t'u t'ál•el=t'u7 DET=water until stop*fred=excl $t{a}=s=tsés-p=s=a$ D/C=NMLZ=get.stretched-INCH=3POSS=EXIS t'anam'-n-ás=ku7... lhel=t7ú get.dry try-DIR-3ERG=QUOT from=that.VIS spláp-s=a ta=ts'í7=a. rump-3POSS=EXIS DET=deer=EXIS

It isn't submerged in water until it stops stretching when it's dry, then they test it... from the rump of the deer.

(14) káw'-an'-as lhláti7, kaw'.
far-DIR-3ERG from+there.vIs far
Then they pull it away, and it comes right off.

nílh=ťu7 (15)nílh=ťu7 s=tsekw-n-ás, COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.pulled-DIR-3ERG COP=EXCL ka-sé::::gw-a, ťa•ťál sas NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS CIRC-get.peeled.off-CIRC IRED*stop ta=... múta7 ta=... i=qwáts=a PL.DET=fur=EXIS DET= and DET= outside=EXIS ts'íla sip'áy'-s, nilh ti7 wa7 lhkúnsa hide-3POSS COP that.VIS IPFV today iq'. IPFV get.scraped

Then they pull it, and the fur peels off the outside of the skin continuously, that's what they do now by scraping.

- (16) Baptiste Ritchie: Iy.
- (17) Sam Mitchell:

 wa7 tsún-itas... yeah.

 IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG yeah

 What they call.... yeah.
- (18) Randy Bouchard: Iy, scraping.
- (19) Sam Mitchell:

 ka-se:gw-a=kú7=ti7=t'u7 t'u

 CIRC-get.peeled.off-CIRC=QUOT=that.VIS=EXCL until

 tsem'p, xilh ta=... plán=hem'

 get.finished get.done.like DET= already=ANTI

 (ta=...) ta=n-t'ep-ál's-ts=a,

 DET= DET=LOC-under-flesh-3POSS=EXIS

 n-ts'7-ál's-ts=a.⁴

 LOC-deer-flesh-3POSS=EXIS

It peels off until it's finished, it's done just like... it's already... on the inside of the bottom of the deerskin.

⁴It is unclear why SM uses the forms *nt'epál's* and *nts'7al's* rather than *nt'epálhts'a7* and *nts'7álhts'a7*, which are the usual terms.

```
wa7 k'ac,
(20)
         plán=ti7
                                          plán=ti7
                                                                         [2:00]
         already=that.vis ipfv get.dry already=that.vis
             wa7
                   ka-péq-a,
                                      nilh=ku7=tú7=ti7
             IPFV
                   CIRC-white-CIRC
                                     COP=QUOT=REM=that.VIS
                 s=ka-sé:::gw-a=t'u7
                 NMLZ=CIRC-get.peeled.off-CIRC=EXCL
                      nílh=ť'u7=ti7
                      COP=EXCL=that.VIS
                          s=plán=s=ti7
                                                          wa7
                          NMLZ=already=3POSS=that.VIS IPFV
                              qep•qáp.
                              TRED • get.softened
        It's already dry, it's already white, and it just peels off, and it's already
        soft.
(21)
         tsúkw=ťu7
                      aylh tswása
                                                            p'um.
         finish=EXCL then D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS get.smoked
             ti7.
             that.vis
        All that needs to be done is to smoke it. That's it.
(22)
         ts7as
                aylh
                       lhel=ts7á...
                                      ka-nák'-a
                then from=this.vis circ-get.changed-circ
                                            xilh-{ts}-twítas...
             tswása
             D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS do.like-CAUS-3PL.ERG
                 (l=k'ul'...)
                              l=k'ul'-s-twítas
                 at=get.made at=get.made-CAUS-3PL.ERG
                     e=ta=7íq'-men=a...
                     OBL=DET=get.scraped-INS=EXIS
        Now they are beginning to change the way they do it, when they do
```

it with a scraper...

(23) ...ta=wa7 tsún-em wa7 íq'-men,

DET=IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV get.scraped-INS

wéna7=ti7, xzúm=ti7 (ku=...) ku=ts'í7

whatchamacallit=that.VIS big=that.VIS DET= DET=deer

(ku=s-...) ku=slhéq'lheq'.

DET=NMLZ- DET=rib

...what we call a scraper, whatever it's called, it was a big deer's rib.

(24) nílh=ti7 wa7 íq'-men-i,
COP=that.VIS IPFV get.scraped-INS-3PL.POSS
lh=wa7=as=k'á=tu7 plan kwelh=...
COMP=be=3sBJV=EPIS=REM already PL.DET=
wá7=k'a=tu7 kwelh=tcáts', that's an elk.
be=EPIS=REM PL.DET=elk that's an elk

That was their scraper, back when there must've been... there must've been *tcats'*, *that's an elk*.

(25) i=zuqw-s-twítas, nílh=t'u7 sas...
when.past=die-caus-3pl.erg cop=excl nmlz+ipfv+3poss
i=lhéq'lheq'-s=a wa7 kwan, nílh=iz'
pl.det=rib-3poss=exis ipfv get.taken cop=those.vis
wa7 íq'-men.
ipfv get.scraped-ins

When they killed them, they took their ribs, and those were used for scrapers.

- (26) Randy Bouchard:
 Oh, they used the ribs for scraping.
- (27) Sam Mitchell: Yeah, use the ribs for... scraping hides. Well, there's no such thing as iron then.⁵
- (28) ka-7iq'-a=tí7=a aylh.
 CIRC-get.scraped-CIRC=that.VIS=A then
 Then it was scraped.

⁵There is a break in the recording after this stanza.

nílh=ťu7 (29)elh mul [3:00]sas... COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS and.then get.submerged múta7, lhláti7 lhas from+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sBJV get.mixed again tsún-itas wa7... wéna7, whatchamacallit DET=IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV wa7 tsún-itas wa7 nák-men. IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV seasoning-INS

And then... then it was soaked and mixed in with what they call... oh, what's it called, what they call seasoning.

- (30)tsukw s=q'wi7=s elh q'wi7... get.wrung.out finish NMLZ=get.wrung.out=3POSS and.then lhkúnsa, wá7=lhkan áti7 get.put.on.frame today IPFV=ISG.SBJ to+there.VIS xilh lhkun, wá7=lhkan ti7 záyten-min. do.like now IPFV=ISG.SBJ that.VIS doings-RLT It's wrung out, and after it's wrung out, then it's put on a frame... that's how I do it now, that's what I do.
- (32) Baptiste Ritchie: t'úp-cal. get.twisted-ACT Twisting.
- (33) Sam Mitchell:

 iy, wa7 ti7 t'úp-cal, wéna7, nilh
 yes IPFV that.VIS get.twisted-ACT whatchacallit COP
 ti7 wa7 q'wí7-cal.
 that.VIS IPFV get.wrung.out-ACT
 Yes, she does the twisting, how do you say it, she's the one who

Yes, she does the twisting, how do you say it, she's the one who does the wringing out.

- (34) wa7 ti7 zayten-mín-em lhkun n-sem7ám=a,

 IPFV that.VIS doings-RLT-3PASS now ISG.POSS-wife=EXIS

 wa7 máys-en-as i=sk'ýl=a.

 IPFV get.fixed-DIR-3ERG PL.DET=buckskin=EXIS

 That's my wife's business these days, she makes buckskin.
- (35) cw7it i=wa7 tsicw áku7 wi=snímulh
 many pl.det=ipfv get.there to+there.invis plus=ipl.indep
 wa7... qwenán kw=s=tecwp ku=sk'ýl.
 ipfv need d/c=nmlz=buy det=buckskin
 A lot of people who want to buy buckskin go to to us here.
- (36) cúy'=lhkan tsun-taníhan, "áku7
 going.to=ISG.SBJ say+DIR-3PL.OBJ+ISG.ERG to+there.INVIS
 ku=sáma7 sk'vl-s lh=nás=al'ap,
 DET=white.person buckskin-3POSS COMP=go=2PL.SBJV
 áma=7iz'."
 good=those.VIS

I was going to tell them, "Go get white people's deerhides, they're good."

wa7 tsut izá i=7ucwalmícw=a wa7 (37)IPFV say these.VIS PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS IPFV lhel=kw7ú talh-álgw=a, wa7 tsut, from=that.INVIS other.side-log=EXIS IPFV say "wá7=lhkalh áti7 xíl-em," tsut, "kwám=lhkalh IPFV=IPL.SBJ to+there.VIS do-MID say get=IPL.SBJ láku7... lhel=ki=sám7=a at+there.INVIS from=PL.DET=white.person=EXIS i=s-qáp-cal-s=a." PL.DET=NMLZ-get.softened-ACT-3POSS=EXIS

These Indians from the United States say, "We did that, we got them there, the ones that the white people had softened."

(38) "máys-en-em (ku=...) ku=... lhet [4:00]
get.fixed-dir-ipl.erg det= det= comp+ipfv+ipl.sbjv
q'wez-ílc... ku=leqwáy'-lhkalh lhat
dance-aut det=dress-ipl.poss comp+ipfv+ipl.sbjv
q'wez-ílc."
dance-aut
"We make them for when we dance, for our dance costumes."

(39) wa7 tsut, i=sám7=a
IPFV say PL.DET=white.person=EXIS
sum'-un'-itás=t'u7, nílh=t'u7 s=tsút=i,
smell-DIR-3PL.ERG=EXCL COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3PL.POSS
"úts=ti7 ta=... sk'ýl-s
NEG=that.VIS DET= buckskin-3POSS
ku=7úcwalmicw!"6
DET=indigenous.person

They say, "The white people just smell them, then say, "That's not an Indian deerhide!""

- (40) gex-cál, first you iq' it. get.strung.up-ACT first you get.scraped it Stringing up for tanning, first you scrape it.
- (41) nilh [ta]=s-kéla7-s=a ti7 ta=sip'áoz'=a
 COP DET=NMLZ-before-3POSS=EXIS that.VIS DET=hide=EXIS
 kul', kú<7>el' elh iq',
 get.soaked get.soaked<INCH> and.then get.scraped
 lhep', lhép'=ti7 láti7
 get.hung.up get.hung.up=that.VIS at+there.VIS
 ku=k'wín-asq'et.
 DET=how.many-day

First the hide gets soaked, it's soaked before it's scraped, and then hung up for a few days.

⁶There is a break in the recording after this stanza.

ts'íla lh=cúz'=acw (42)k'ac, cw7aol-s, get.dry like COMP=going.to=2SG.SBJV anxious-CAUS aylh múta7, lhláti7 and.then get.soaked then again from+there.vis lh=wen7-án=acw COMP=whactchamacllit-DIR=2SG.SBJV ta=nák-men-sw=a. DET=seasoning-INS-2SG.POSS=EXIS

> When it's dry, if you get impatient with it you can soak it again, and then do whatever to it with your seasoning.

lhláti7 (43)q'wi7 elh xal get.wrung.out from+there.vis and.then get.put.on.frame avlh, nílh=ti7 wa7 gex-cál, then COP=that.VIS IPFV get.strung.up-ACT IPFV tsún-em. say+DIR-IPL.ERG

Then it's wrung out and put on a frame, that's what we call *gexcál*.

- (44)wéna7 ti7, es-máys whatchamacallit that.vis stat-get.fixed l=tswása at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS get.strung.up e=ta=gx-álqw-ten=a.7 to=DET=get.strung.up-log-INS=EXIS What's it called... it's strung up on the tanning frame.
- (45)Baptiste Ritchie: géx-ten.

get.strung.up-INS Tanning frame.

⁷The stress pattern on the sequence gex e = makes it sound like gex a, which raises the possibility that Sam was intending to say gexálqwten, and then changed his mind to include a determiner ta...a.

(46)Sam Mitchell: [5:00] géx-ten géx-ten, nilh wa7 i=wa7... get.strung.up-INS COP IPFV get.strung.up-INS PL.DET=IPFV nilh=hém'=ti7 wa7... nilh ta=múlc=a COP=ANTI=that.VIS IPFV COP DET=stick=EXIS IPFV gx-ál'qw-ten.... get.strung.up-log-INS Géxten, it's the géxten which are... it's actually the wooden frame which is the gexálqwten.

(47)...nilh wa7 géx-ten (i=...)COP get.strung.up-INS PL.DET= $i=sk'\acute{v}\underline{l}=[a]=t'u7=iz'$ múta7 PL.DET=buckskin=EXIS=EXCL=those.VIS and lhucw ken=t7ú PL.DET=IPFV get.inserted around=that.VIS i=wa7... tsún-as=k'a PL.DET=IPFV say+DIR-3ERG=EPIS ku=sáma7:

The *géxten* are the leather ties which are inserted around the... the white people might say:

DET=white.person

- (48) "Lace it round the... the outside before you start to poke it."
- (49) nilh cuz' aylh tsiq.

 COP going.to then get.stabbed

 Then it starts getting poked.
- (50)tsiq-in'=lhkácw=ti7 láti7 t'u get.stabbed-DIR=2SG.SBJ=that.VIS at+there.VIS until k'ác=t'u7, pút=ťu7 wa7 negw get.dry=excl exactly=excl IPFV get.warm l=tsása lak ťu áma. at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS be.there until good You poke it until it's dry, and then it stays in a warm place until it's good.

Tanning Hides

- (51) k'ac, k'ac, nílh=t'u7 s=plan=s wa7
 get.dry get.dry COP=EXCL NMLZ=already=3POSS IPFV
 qap.
 get.softened
 When it's dry, then it's already soft.
- (52) més=t'u7 cw7aoz kw=s=q'wi7=s,
 but=excl neg d/c=nmlz=get.wrung.out=3poss
 nílh=t'u7 aylh s=xat'=s
 cop=excl then nmlz=hard=3poss
 kwas qap.
 d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss get.softened
 But if it isn't wrung out, then it's hard to soften.
- (53) k'ac lhláti7 elh p'um aylh. get.dry from+there.vis and.then get.smoked then Once it's dry, then it's smoked.
- (54) lhkúnsa... wéna7=t'u7, sts'ek'qín'=t'u7 [ta]=wa7
 today whatchamacallit=EXCL pine.cone=EXCL DET=IPFV
 qwey-en-ás n-sem7ám=a, an'was-úsem.
 get.used-DIR-3ERG ISG.POSS-wife=EXIS two-kind
 These days, what do you call it, my wife uses pine cones, two kinds.
- [6:00] (55) lh=srep7úl=as ku=sts'ek'qín', nílh=ťu7 COMP=Douglas.Fir=3SBJV DET=pine.cone COP=EXCL s=qwen-min-as kw=s=... gélgel=s NMLZ=need-RLT-3ERG D/C=NMLZ= strong=3POSS kw=s=ka-7úts'=s-a, D/C=NMLZ=CIRC-get.dyed=3POSS-CIRC IPFV say ts'íla ku.... p'a7cw kw=s=ka... IPFV like D/C= more.than D/C=NMLZ=CIRCcúz'=as wéna7... COMP= going.to=3SBJV whatchamacallit

When she uses Douglas Fir cones, that's when she wants the hide to be dyed more strongly, she says, it kind of makes it more... what do you call it...

- (56) Baptiste Ritchie: qap-cál. get.softened-ACT Softens it.
- (57) iy... lh=cúz'=as wéna7. yes COMP=going.to=3SBJV whatchamacallit Yeah, when she does whatever it's called.
- (58) kwíkws=t'u7 kw=s=ka-p'úm=s-a,
 small=excl d/C=nmlz=circ-get.smoked=3poss-circ
 wéna7, ts'íla ku=... cwáocwlaom
 whatchamacllit like det= light
 kw=s=p'úm=s, nílh=t'u7
 d/C=nmlz=get.smoked=3poss cop=excl
 s=neq'wníq'w-ay'=s.
 nmlz=cottonwood-tree=3poss

If she only wants it smoked a little bit, how do you say, kind of lightly smoked, then she uses cottonwood.

(59)nílh=hem'=ti7 p'um, COP=ANTI=that.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.smoked nílh=ťu7 pús=kelh lhláti7, k'ac, get.wet=fut from+there.vis get.dry cop=excl qa<7>p, nilh ti7 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.softened<INCH> COP that.VIS s-p'úm-i...⁸ ses NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS NMLZ-smoke-3PL.POSS i=sk'ýl=a. p'um-un'-ítas smoke-dir-3pl.erg pl.det=buckskin=exis

But it's smoked so that when it gets wet and dries out, it will get soft, that's why they smoke them, why they smoke the hides.

 $^{^8}p$ 'úm in the verb sp'úmi is acting as an unergative rather than as an unaccusative 'get smoked' (cf. the previous stanza).

Tanning Hides

- (60) wa7 qwen-mín-itas i=núkw=a sáma7
 IPFV need-RLT-3PL.ERG PL.DET=other=EXIS white.person
 kwás=t'u7 peq.
 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL white
 Some white people want the hide to be white.
- (61) lh=stám'=as l=kw=s=cuy' qwey'-en-ás,

 COMP=what=3SBJV at=D/C=NMLZ=going.to get.used-DIR-3ERG

 lh=handbag=as, lh=stám'=as... hiwaká7=as...

 COMP=handbag=3SBJV COMP=what=3SBJV glove=3SBJV

 Whatever they're going to use it for, a handbag, or something...
 gloves...
- (62) t'u7 nás=t'u7 pus, nílh=t'u7 sas p'an't but go=excl get.wet cop=excl nmlz+ipfv+3poss return kw=s=t'egw-p, iy...

 D/C=nmlz=hard-inch yes

 But when they get wet, they go back to being hard, yeah.
- (63) tsúkw=t'u7 lhas... t'u7 k'ác•k'ec finish=excl comp+ipfv+3sBJV excl tred•get.dry lhas ts'ex. comp+ipfv+3sBJV get.cleaned They can only be dry-cleaned.
- (64) nílh=hem'=ti7 (z) zam'
 COP=ANTI=that.VIS though
 ses p'um, elh
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.smoked and.then
 [t=s]=tsukw=s=a=t'ú7=iz' wa7
 D/C=NMLZ=finish=3POSS=EXIS=EXCL=those.VIS IPFV
 silhts'7-its'a7-{7}úl.
 shoe-skin-real

So that's actually the reason why they're smoked, and that's why those are the only real buckskin moccasins.

(65)lhas píxem' l=ta=lhwál'tsten=a, COMP+IPFV+3SBJV hunt at=DET=autumn=EXIS wá7=iz' pus, k'ac-an'-ás=t'u7, nás=ťu7 IPFV=those.VIS get.wet get.dry-DIR-3ERG=EXCL go=EXCL nílh=ťu7 s=zats=[s],get.dry COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.crumpled=3POSS nílh=ťu7 sés=t'117ts'íla. COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL like

> When someone goes hunting in the fall and they get wet, he dries them out, and when they get dry, then they are crumpled up, and then they're just the same as before.

(66) tákem=ti7 ta=... ta=pá•p•l7=a [7:00]

all=that.vis det= det=one•cred•exis

sqaycw sqwe•qw•el'-mín-as.... kw=s=...

man tell•cred•-rlt-3erg d/c=nmlz=

k'waz-an'-tsut-mín-as kw=s=cw7aoy=s

train-dir-refl-rlt-3erg d/c=nmlz=neg=3poss

kw=s=ts'emx.

d/c=nmlz=get.worn.out

All of the... one man said that he trained with them so they wouldn't wear out.

(67) nás=ku7 píxem' lhwál'tsten, nílh=t'u7
go=QUOT hunt autumn COP=EXCL
s=k'úl'-cit-em e=t=sem7ám-s=a
NMLZ=get.made-IND-3PASS OBL=DET=wife-3POSS=EXIS
ta=silhts'a7-{7}úl-s=a.
DET=shoe-real-3POSS=EXIS

He went hunting in the fall, and his wife made him some moccasins.

(68) k'win=as xetspásq'et kw=s=píxem'=s...
how.many=3sBJV week D/C=NMLZ=hunt=3POSS
He was hunting for a few weeks...

Tanning Hides

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(69)
         ...tsukw
                  s=píxem'=s,
         finish
                  NMLZ=hunt=3POSS
            n-kwez-p-an'k-cen=kú7=t'u7
            LOC-shiny-INCH-stomach-foot=QUOT=EXCL
                 ta=silhts'7-{7}úl-s=a
                 DET=shoe-real-3POSS=EXIS EXCL that.VIS
                     ke•káw' tswása
                                                            matq
                     IRED•far D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS walk
                         ta=pál7=a
                                        sq'it.
                         DET=one=EXIS day
        ...and when he finished hunting his moccasin soles were still shiny,
        even though he'd been walking a long ways each day.
(70)
        k'ámalh
                  i=núkw=a,
                                       takem=kú7=ťu7
         however
                 PL.DET=other=EXIS all=QUOT=EXCL
                      kwas
            sgap
            evening
                    D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                 tsa•tskw-ten-án-em,
                 IRED*resole.moccasin-INS-DIR-3PASS
                                             (t'qweqw-cn-án'...)
                     D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS mend•FRED-foot-DIR
                         t'qweqw-cn-án'-em
                         mend•fred-foot-dir-3pass
                             [e]=[t]=sem7am•7ám-i=ha...<sup>9</sup>
                             OBL-DET-wife RED-3PL.POSS-EXIS
```

But others, every night their wives are resoling moccasins, mending the soles.

⁹The final CVC reduplication on *sem7ám* is unexplained.

(71) k'ámalh snilh... wa7 tsut, "wenácw=t'u7," tsut, however 3SG.INDEP IPFV say true=EXCL say "lhecw... k'waz-an'-tsut-mín=[lh]kacw COMP+IPFV+2SG.SBJV train-DIR-REFL-RLT=2SG.SBJ ku=stám', nílh=t'u7 [s]=7ao[z=s] DET=what COP=EXCL NMLZ=NEG=3POSS k[we]s es-xíl-em..."

D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS STAT-do-MID

But him, he said, "It's true, when you train with something, then that doesn't happen..."

- (72) "...n-kwez-p-á::n'k, ken=kw7ú=ti7
 LOC-shiny-INCH-stomach around=that.INVIS=that.VIS

 ta=s[ilh]ts'7-{7}úl=a, t'u7 ti7 cw7aoz kw=s=plhúlh."

 DET=shoe-real=EXIS but that NEG D/C=NMLZ=thick

 "...they just get shiny, but they're not even thick."
- (73) ts7a ta=wa7 sqwe•qw•el'-mín-an, nilh ti7
 this.vis DeT=IPFV tell•CRED•-RLT-ISG.ERG COP that.vis
 wa7 s-Rimán'qen.
 IPFV NMLZ-Rimán'qen
 This person I was talking about, that's Rimán'qen.
- (74) stéxw=t'u7 pixem'-mán ku=sqáycw, ká<7>ew' [8:01] straight=excl hunt-hpf det=man far<inch>
 [lh]=swát=as ku=píxem'.

 COMP=who=3SBJV det=hunt

 He was a real hunter, and he'd travel further than any hunter.

¹⁰There is a break in the recording at the end of this stanza.

13.4 Sam Mitchell's Free Translation¹¹

There are two ways to tan hides. By the first method, the hide, with the hair left on, is rolled up with dried salmon heads and left for a few days. Then it is stretched on a frame and poked until it is completely dry. The hair can be peeled off in one piece, leaving only the hide, when it is dry. Then the hide is smoked.

Later, the people learned how to scrape the hides. In the early days, there were elk in this country. They used the ribs of the elk and the other large animals for scrapers. Then the hide is hung. The brains of deer and cows are used to tan the hides.

Some people from the United States came to my house to buy some hides from my wife. I asked them why they didn't buy the tanned hides from the factory. "After we make our dance costumes, the white people come up and smell them. If they are factory-tanned hides, they ask why we are not wearing Indian-tanned costumes," the lady replied. Some other people who came to buy hides from my wife also picked up the scraps and smelled them to make sure that they were Indian tanned hides.

After the hide is scraped and hung, it is soaked in soft water. Then the brains are used for the tanning and the hide is again soaked. While it is wet, it is stretched on a frame. Only soft water can be used to soak the hide, so I have to go up to a small creek and pack water down to the house. In the winter, we use snow.

When the hide is completely dry, it is smoked so that the finished garment will stay soft after it gets wet and dries. If it is not smoked, the hide will be white, but it will be like raw-hide when it gets wet. To smoke the hide a dark color, fir cones are used. These must be a few years old, for if fresh cones are used, the pitch will turn the hide black. Mocassins are made out of smoked buckskin so that they stay soft after they get wet. A man named Levine told me that his wife made him mocassins to wear while hunting. He was able to walk for a month without wearing a hole in the sole.

¹¹This translation is reproduced verbatim from Kennedy and Bouchard, BCILP ms.2, #126

Chapter 14

Ts'úqwaz'am i ucwalmícwa lkw7u scét'a: Fishing in the Lillooet Area¹

14.1 St'át'imcets

Lts7a lhwas tsicw tswása t'ak i sts'úqwaz'a, nilh t'u7 sts7asts esgáw'p i ucwalmícwa, kentákem lhas t'íq.wit. Nilh ts7a wa7 sCet' t.skwatsitsúlm'ecwsa ts7a ku tmicw, sa... tsut lt.s... nqwal'uttenlhkálha, sCet' láti7 ts'íla lhwas t'álel i sts'úqwaz'a.

Xzum ti7 ts7a ku skwístqw7am, lhas xáw'w'en ta qú7a, nilh scw7aoys kwas kat'ák.wita. Lts7a lhas cwík'em tákem swat. Cw7it lts7a i lhemlhímana, cwik'emálhcw wa7 tsúnitas. Tákem lti sqémpa kwas tu7 wa7 i ucwalmícwa cwík'em, lhkúnsa wa7 nq'ixts, wa7 t'u7 xw7útsin sq'it ta pál7a sxetspásq'et kwas cwík'emwit, elh plan wa7 k'wík'wek'wena7 i sts'úqwaz'a. Cw7ao kwas cw7it i wa7 t'ak, nilh t'u7 stexws t'u7 kansél'usa tákem swat.

Tákem t'u7 swat wa7 t'iq ets7á, ao kwas lhem'núnem ku s7icwlhúlm'ecw. Cw7it lts7a i lhemlhímana, iy, lts7áwna i ucwalmícwa, lhas cwík'emwit lhas... I záwa, i wa7 lhemlhíman, wa7 iz' ts'ítem'us i múlca éta qú7a nilh t'u7 ses t'u7... tákem kw escwík' wa7 esláw wa7 ts'ítem'us éta qú7a, nilh ta sk'éxema wa7 suxwastáka7, wa7 xat'emáka7, nilh ti7 wa7 k'ácstal'i i scwík'a. Cw7aoy t'u7 kwas... k'win, án'was sq'it, kalhás, plan wa7 gélgel ta sk'ácsa, nilh t'u7... nscwákwekw... t'áq'em'kst sq'it nilh t'u7 splans wa7 k'ac, nilh t'u7 ses kelh. Nilh ti7 lts7a sas... lts7a lhas wa7 i wa7 cwík'em. Tákem t'u7 swat wa7 ka7ats'xstáli lhkánemas t7u lts7a lta stsíleqsa, láti7 put lhas kén'en' ta sk'éxema, ts'íla t'u7 kentákem kent7ú x7ílha.

¹Told by Sam Mitchell in July 1970, translated by Baptiste Ritchie in August 1970.

Pun nelh skelkela7lhkálha... i cw7áozas kwas wa7 ku wa7 sáma7 ku esp'áts'en, white man's twine, wa7 k'ul'ún'itas lhélki wa7 tsúnem wa7 sp'áts'en': izáwna i wa7 sp'áts'en', wa7 tsúnem sp'ats'en7úl. Lhas lhwál'tsten lhas k'ac iz', láti7 lhwas k'ul'ún'itas: esmáys, esg'wésg'wsem, eszeszusál'k.

Sútik aylh láti7 lhas s7áts'xskan na nkwékw7a lhas k'ul'ún'as: eszúsqs, nilh t'u7 ses seknás, mulc, ta t'épa mulc t7u ta x.wísa, ta wa7 séktens. Kelhq ts'íla i síkilsa nilh t'u7 ses k'i7enás. Kéla7 lhwas k'i7, tsukw ti7 aylh sk'í7ems, elh cw7it tu7 i sk'úl'sa elh selnás, nilh t'u7 ti7... cw7it ti7 sk'wezúsem kwa sélem ku í7ez' ku pála7 sp'áts'en'. Lhláti7 t'u7 aylh lhmáysas, cuz' aylh ti7 sítkenas ti7 ta sp'áts'en'a. Tsukw sítkems, k'úl'em ta súts'wica, k'úl'em ta záwmena. I wa7 tsúnem wa7 k'ék'cwten, nilh ti7 wa7 eslák lta súts'wica, lhacw múlun s... yeah. Izá i wa7 k'ék'cwtens i skelkékl7a, aoz káti7 kwa walálem, aoz káti7 kwa rings, lhkúnsa wa7 tsúnem, lhélki wéna7... lhas... lhelkwes kwanenstwítas kw sqwál'ackens k'a ku sweláops, iy, lhláti7 lhas k'ul' iz' i wa7 tsúnem wa7 k'ék'cwten.

Tsukw ti7 aylh slhcwánas, tsicw et7ú nká7as t'u7 kwa tsúnem, i wa7 tsúnem wa7 szaw. Cw7ao kwas papt t'u7 wa7 láti7 wa7 tí7texw, ta qú7a nas t'u7 su7t', nilh t'u7 ses... ts'íla wa7 kacwáz'a i s7ícwlhtsa tsésa t'ak i sts'úqwaz'a lku nukw. Lts7áwna ku sísxets, cw7it, cw7it i száwa wa7 eskwetskwátsits. Lts7áwna ta wa7... ts7a ta wa7 sCet' ta kéla7sa wa7 i wa7... kwelh ku záwem, lhas kéla7 t'u7 qwatsáts su7t' ta qú7a, nilh ti7 wa7 t'ek7úla7cw. Wa7 láti7 smat' i k'ét'ha lhas nlhám'em' i sts'úqwaz'a, stexw t'u7 gelgelátkwa7. Plan tu7 ti7 lhkúnsa wa7 ptak, nilh t'u7 aylh múta7 snilhts kw7a ta wa7 menmánal'ts. Ptak lhláti7 kútexw, xwesesús, lkw7a lhkúnsa lhas záwemwit, nilh ti7 wa7 sixáx. T'ak aylh múta7 t'u7 xáw'w'en ta qú7a, lhkalálas nilh t'u7 s... láta7 ta wa7 páolhm'eq. O, cw7it lts7a i száwlhkalha wa7 s7ecw7ícwlh, t'u7 cw7aoz t'u7 kwásu papt láti7 wa7 kazáwema, lhas kaxáw'na ta qú7a nilh st'aks síxlec tákem lhas wa7 i wa7 záwem, lhas t'ak xáw'w'en ta qú7a.

Nu... izáwna i wa7 eszáw ntsutánwas, wa7 ntsutánwaswit kwas t'u7 pál7usem kwas... ts7a wi snímulh, tákem t'u7 ku swat kwa... kws ka s7icwlhúlm'ecw t'iq, t'u7 nilh t'u7 sts'íla t'u7 ti7 ku qeqtsekkálh, swat... takem t'u7 gew'p lhs7icwlhúlm'ecwas lhelkw7ú... lhkúnsa lhas wa7 t'íq.wit, wa7 t'u7 kazáwemwita ts'íla ti7 ku tákem swat lts7a, lts7a t'u7 wi snímulh ptákkalh na scín'sa, ts'íla t'ú7 ti7 ta wa7 swa7s nelh skelkela7lhkálha, tákem t'u7 kwa t'iq wa7 kwánas ku sts'ílas t'u7 kw sqwenáns ku sts'úqwaz', cw7aoy t'u7 kwa lhem'núntwal'.

Nilh lhas kwánen, nilh lhas záwenem i sts'úqwaz'a lhas kacát'a, ta kél7a wa7 száytenlhkalh wa7 pétskweqw, i7úna7, petskwqwán'em. Pétskweqw, láti7 su7t' ta ptéla7sa elh ts'exts'xáy'lh ta cúz'a scwik', lhelkw7á sxíts'kensa ta sts'úqwaz'a

lhas kéla7 wa7 nik', nilh ses kacwápa et7ú, ets7áwna n7átsanksa. Katsákwa elh ncil'ts, tsukw ncil'ts, lhum ta ts'qwíqwa, wéna7 ti7, tsaqwmáz' ti7 ta wa7 ts'qwiqw, nilh ti7 wa7 estsestáli kwas stexw wa7 s... wa7 ka... ao kwas cúllek'w, elh law aylh lt7u lki... lts7a lta múlca lkwas cuz' k'ac, cw7aoy t'u7 kwas cin' láti7 nilh ses k'ac.

Ptak lhláti7 kelh, tsúnem wa7 t'elkwálten lhas kelhném lhelt7ú lheltsása slaw, lhets. Nelh cín'a úcwalmicw, kents7á t'u7 lhas k'úl'emwit wa7 tsúnitas wa7 p'áq'ulh. Láti7 tu7 lhus qelh i sts'úqwaz'a, lhas... i sts'wána lhas sútik. Tsicw sqwenmínitas, ts7as kwánitas. Ao7 láni7 kwa naq'w, kwa naq'wtscítwal' kwes cw7it, tákem t'u7 swat wa7 we7áncal ki sts'úqwaz'a, i sts'wána.

Ptak lhláti7 tsicw etswása tsútwit, "Cúz'lhkalh petskw," wéna7, "tsepqw". Wa7 lts7áwna, lts7a lt.swá7lhkalha lhkun sk'ík'ta7s láti7 lhlákas ta nwáq'a lti k'ét'ha, ts7as lhélta slhwal'tstenálmensa lhas... láti7 lhas tsútwit ta wa7 tsepqw. Wa7 t'u7 lts7a ta nwáq'a lti k'ét'ha, kwézkwzem nwaq', ts'íla ku xáw'en ta q'úta nilh t'u7 ti7 sus k'vlhnáos ta wa7... spáqwskan ta líl'tema wa7 maysentáli. Nts'xímem ti7, t'ecw, lhets i sp'ámsa, elh p'ams, wéna7, q'il i k'ét'ha, cw7it k'ét'a i nsq'íla láti7. Gwelp láti7 i sp'ámsa, ts'ikt tu7 i sp'ámsa elh... kelh lhláti7 ts'íla ku sq'úlhuts'. Nlham' aylh áti7, splans wa7 skwil' i sxúmq7a, i stakemá t'u7 ku swín'acws lkw scw7it.s ku smík'il. Cw7it t'u7 áti7 wa7 nlham', qul, elh t'ak'w ta qú7a, elh púlhelh ti7 láti7 i k'ét'ha t'u... wa7 ti7 láti7... wa7 láti7 púlhelh t'u psil'. Psil', tsa7k tu7 i k'ét'ha elh szew'pál'k izá, ti7 ta nt'ák'wa láti7, záw'al'k tu7, kelh lhláti7 i szew'pál'ksa, nilh t'u7 stsetsúkwas t.smík'ila, lhláti7 t'u7 lhwas zaw' t.smík'ila. Plhulh ti7 put t.smík'ila láti7 sx.wístsa ta qú7a, ta wa7 nt'ak'w, splans wa7 esmáys i wa7 tsúnitas wa7 nmík'ilten. Wéna7 t'ú7 iz', lhélta t'alwa7sá t'u7 ta sts'úqwaz'a, lhélta sts'uqwaz'á t'u7 cw7ao kwes estsgánk kwas kas, láti7 t'u7 ti7 lhas k'úl' ta wa7 nmík'ilten, ts'íla t'u7 ku7... lhkúnsa ku leputáy k'a hem'. Wá7lhkan áts'xen, xzum szúmak ku st'álwa7 ta wa7 nmík'ilten, t'et'ál t'u7 i sts'ám'sa, nts'emlána7s, nt'ak'w iz' aylh i smík'ila lki wa7 tsúnitas wa7 nmík'ilten... t'álwa7s t'ú7 iz' ku sts'úgwaz' i wa7 nmík'ilten; cw7aoz láni7 kwa leputáy, kwa bottle.

Ptak lhláti7, láti7 t'u7 lhk'úl'as i wa7 tupál'. Lt7u t'u7 lta q'ts'úsa lhas sq'il i wa7 cuz' tupál' ts'úqwaz', áti7 t'u7 wa7 t'u7 q'il tákem, ao kwas es... wa7 tu7 spétskweqw. Ts'íla ku páwew, nilh t'u7 skelhts ta ts'ám'sa, wa7 t'u7 cukw et7ú, nilh t'u7 t.sts'ílasa lhláku7 wa7 pekw ta... lta slhíqwsa ta sts'úqwaz'a, elh ts'eq', pal' lt7úna kw sk'acs, k'ac, kwan lhláti7, kelh i sts'ám'sa, ts'eq' múta7, nilh t'u7 sts'ílas t'ú7 ti7 ku... tqilh ts'íla ku tmicw, aylh ku wéna7, wa7 tsúnem ku ts'íla ku sawdust. Nilh iz' kéla7 áma s7ílhens, t'u7 nilh t'u7 ti7 splans t'u7 ti7 wa7 kaqélha lhas k'ac, nlham' t'u7 káti7 lku... stám'as t'u7 ku nlham's, nilh t'u7 ti7 swa7s t'u7, plan wa7 k'áck'ec, kaqélha. Cuz' aylh qwézez lhsútikas, elh... láti7

Fishing in the Lillooet Area

lhas qwez t.smík'ila, nk'wlhána7 t.smík'ila, mat' ki stsáqwema, nilh ti7, stexw t'u7 ti7 gélgel s7ílhen.

Ptak lhláti7, nilh t'u7 smaysts i k'ún7a, wa7 t'u7 tsítsel i k'ún7a, nilh t'u7 ses... lhes lhwal'tstenálmen nilh iz' wa7 aw't wa7 mays kwa tsúnitas wa7... nilh kelh lep'alhk'úna7... wéna7 ti7 wa7 ltswása nlham', qwélh7in, wa7 mays izá qwélh7inay', ts'íla kwa xilh ku ntsqústen, wa7 t'u7 kénki núkwa wa7 ts'la7mínitas. Láti7 lhus nlham' elh áma tsúsa szálk'weqw, ts'íla ku sq'ép'qw, elh nilh t'u7 slep's, nilh t'u7 ti7 láti7 ses na7q' t'u7. Na::s et7úna qapts, láti7 lhwas iz'... q'wel iz' i wa7 tsúnem wa7 lep'alhk'úna7, cw7it láti7 s... i wa7 mat' múta7... éna7, stsáqwem. Kéla7 áma s7ílhen ti7 ta wa7 slep'alhk'úna7. Na7q' ti7 ku wéna7, k'úna7. Lts7a lta wa7 p'áq'ulh wa7 t'u7 láti7 esmáys, k'a ca7 hem' lhélta tmícwa, put tswása lak iz' i p'áq'ulha, láti7 lhas slhets iz' i ts'wána. Nka7 t'u7 aylh lhas qwenánwit lhas sútik, t'íq.wit kwam ku í7ez'.

Elh mays aylh múta7 ta wa7 tsúnitas wa7 tsípun, láti7 hem' lhas qelh i takemá t'u7, sk'ac stsáqwem. Aoz kwas lak lku tsitcw, tsípun t'ú7 iz' kentswása lak sas mays kent7ú álts'q7a, ts'íla t'u7 ti7 wa7 tsípun lhkúnsa, t'u7 cw7ao kwas xzum7úl k'a.

14.2 English

When it's time for the fish to run, Indian people from all over come here to gather. The name of this place in Indian is sCet', in our language that sort of means where the fish get stopped.

There's a big drop-off here, so when the water gets low, they can't get through. Everyone cuts fish here. There are a lot of drying racks here, they call them *cwik'emálhcw* ('cutting places'). People used to be here cutting fish throughout the summer, but now it's closed: they just cut fish four days a week, because now there are fewer fish. There aren't many running, so everyone is really desperate.

Everybody comes here, we're not stingy to strangers. There are a lot of drying racks here, yeah, the people around here, when they cut fish... The drying racks at these fishing places, their poles face the water, so that all the butchered fish hangs facing the water, and the wind blowing up and down the river, that's what dries the cut fish. It doesn't take long, maybe two or three days before the fish are getting dry, and then, I think, six days and then they're dried out, and they're taken off the racks. So then... people cut fish here. Everyone can see what's going on over at the point, that's right where the wind hits, like everywhere over on the other side of the river.

Our ancestors discovered... before there were any white people's nets, white man's twine, they made nets from what we call sp'áts'en ('Indian Hemp'): This particular type we call sp'ats'en7úl ('real sp'áts'en'). When it was fall and the plants were dry, that's when they prepared them: they were fixed, bundled, and tied up.

During the winter I watched my grandmother preparing them: they were tied at the end, and she pounded them with a stick, she used the bottom of a stick to pound them on top. The bark kind of came off at the bottom, then she peeled them. First they were peeled, and when she finished peeling them, she made a lot of twine: it took a lot of work to make enough twine for one net. When the twine had been made, then she started weaving the net. When she finished weaving, she made the bow of the net, and then the frame. What we call *k'ék'wcwten* ('net rings'), these are on the bow of the net, and when you put it into the water, *yeah*. These net rings that the ancestors had, there was no iron then, no *rings* as we call them now, it was from... whatchamacallit, they got them from... they got the horns of bighorn sheep, yeah, that's how net rings were made.

When they finished putting the rings in, they went to wherever... to what we call *szaw* ('fishing places'). These places aren't always right for fishing,

because the water goes down, so various fishing spots disappear as the fish run in other places. On this particular shore, there are many, many fishing spots with names. Right here, here at sCet', the first place they fish, when the water first starts to go down, that's T'ek7úla7cw.² The current is really strong, so rocks get mixed in with the fish in the net. When that place is past its use, then it goes over to Menmánal'ts ('Shady Rock'). After that, there's Kútexw, Xwesesús, and that place over there where they're fishing now, that's Sixáx. The water keeps getting lower, so in a while they'll be over at Páolhm'eq ('Sitting on the Rock'). Oh, we have a lot of different fishing spots here, but you can't always fish at them, when the water gets lower everyone who is fishing has to move, as the water keeps going down.

Those who have fishing spots right here think it's just one family group that... but us here, everyone... a stranger can come, but he's just like our brother. Anyone, everyone comes from different places these days, everyone can fish here, just like in the old days, like it was with our ancestors, anybody who came could take as much fish as they needed, and nobody was stingy with anyone else.

So when they're caught, when we catch the fish in the nets and take them out of the water, the first thing we do is to break their heads. When the heads are broken, then their blood drains away, and the fish which is going to be cut is cleaned; the fish is first cut along the back, and then spread open like this at the belly part. It's spread out and then it's flattened, and when it's been flattened, a salmon stretcher is attached, made out of saskatoon wood, that's what keeps it stretched out so that it's really... so it doesn't curl up before it's hung up to dry, and then it doesn't take long to dry.

After they're taken off, we call it *t'elkwálten*, when they're taken off from where they're hanging and piled up. The old-time Indians built what they call *p'áq'ulh* ('food caches') here. That's where the dried fish were stored in winter. When they needed some, they came and got it. Nobody stole in those days, no-one stole food from each other very much, because everyone had dried fish.

After that, it was time for them to say, "We're going to petskw," I mean, "tsepqw." Right here, where we are now, is close to where there's a hollow in the rock, that's where they made salmon oil, tsepqw, as they say, starting when it was nearly fall. There's still a hollow in the rock, a smooth hollow, it's a bit lower on one side so they built it up with mud... I watched an old man fixing it up. It was cleaned out on the inside, brushed out, firewood was laid down, then a fire was lit, and rocks were laid on top, a lot of rocks on top. The fire burned, and when it burned out, charcoal was taken out. Then it was put in when the fish heads were ready, and all kinds of different stuff that had lots of fish oil in it. A lot of

²The root of the place name *T'ek7úla7cw* is *t'ek7* which means 'to lean, be propped up'.

that stuff was put in, and when it was full, water was poured in and it boiled from the rocks, and kept boiling there till dawn. At daybreak, the rocks cooled off and then the grease that was floating on top of the liquid was scooped off the surface, the grease was removed; it was only the fish oil that was scooped off, just the fish oil. When the fish oil formed a thick layer on top of the water, then it was poured into what they call a *nmik'ilten* ('fish oil container') which had already been prepared. What were those things made out of? From fish skins, from fish which weren't gutted when they were prepared, that's what fish oil containers were made from, kind of like bottles. I saw the skin of a big spring salmon used as a fish oil container, it still had its bones and fins on, and then the salmon oil was poured in to what they called *nmik'ilten*... they were just made of salmon skins, those containers; there weren't any *bottles* in those days.

After that, pounded salmon was made. The fish that were to be made into pounded salmon were laid on a screen of branches, that's where they were all laid out; they didn't have their heads broken. They kind of swelled up, and then the bones were taken out, pulled out, and then kind of poured onto the flesh, pounded, and spread out to dry, and when it was dry, the bones were taken out, and it was pounded again... and then it was almost like earth, nowadays we say it's like, what do you call it, *sawdust*. It was really good food, and it could be stored away when it had dried; it was put in some kind of container, and it was kept there; when it was dry, it could be stored. When it was going to be used in winter, that was when fish oil was used, the fish oil was poured over it, and it was mixed in with saskatoon berries; it was really powerful food.

After that, fish eggs were prepared. The fish eggs were still fresh when it was nearly fall, so these were the last things to be prepared, to be made into what they call <code>lep'alhk'una7</code> ('buried fish eggs'). What was it they put them in? Birchbark baskets. These birchbark baskets were made to serve as sort of saucepans, but at other times they used them as berry-picking baskets. They were put in, and then the containers were wrapped around the top like a lid, and buried. Then they fermented. Spring came around, that's when those <code>lep'alhk'una7</code> were ready, a lot of stuff was mixed in with them, um, saskatoons. That was really good food, buried fish eggs. It was fermented, um, fish eggs. It was made at the food caches, they must've been high off the ground, that's how those caches were, and that's where the dried salmon was piled up. Then whenever they needed some in the winter, they could come and get their fill.

They also built what they call *tsipun* ('root cellars'), and stored everything in there, dried saskatoons. They weren't kept in the houses, they were kept in the food cellars when they'd been made outside, just like root cellars today, but maybe not as big.

14.3 Interlinear Gloss

[0:00] (1) l=ts7a lhwas tsicw at=this.vis COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.there tswása t'ak i=sts'úqwaz'=a, D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS go.along PL.DET=fish=EXIS nílh=ťu7 [s]=ts7as=[ts]es-gáw'-p COP=EXCL NMLZ=come=3POSS STAT-gather-INCH i=7ucwalmícw=a, ken-tákem PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS around-all lhas t'íq=wit. COMP+IPFV+3SBJV arrive=3PL

When it's time for the fish to run, Indian people from all over come here to gather.

wa7 scet' t=skwatsits-úlm'ecw-s=a (2) nilh ts7a COP this.VIS IPFV sCet' DET=name-land-3POSS=EXIS ts7a ku=tmícw, sa... tsut lt.s-... this.vis det=land nmlz+ipfv say at+det+nmlzn-qwal'ut-ten-lhkálh=a, ts'íla scet' láti7 LOC-speak-INS-IPL.POSS=EXIS sCet' at+there.VIS like t'ál•el lhwas i=sts'úqwaz'=a. COMP+IPFV+3SBJV stop*FRED PL.DET=fish=EXIS

The name of this place in Indian is sCet', in our language that sort of means where the fish get stopped.

(3) xzúm=ti7 ts7a ku=skwístqw7am, lhas
big=that.vis this.vis det=waterfall comp+ipfv+3sbjv

xáw'•w'en ta=qú7=a, nilh s=cw7aoy=s
low•fred det=water=exis cop nmlz=neg=3poss
kwas ka-t'ák=wit-a.

D/C+NMLZ+ipfv+3poss circ-go.along=3pl-circ

There's a big drop-off here, so when the water gets low, they can't get through.

(4) l=ts7a lhas cwík'-em tákem swat.
at=this.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv cut.fish-mid all who
cw7it l=ts7a i=lhemlhíman=a, cwik'-em-álhcw
many at=this.vis pl.det=fish.rack=exis cut.fish-mid-place
wa7 tsún-itas.
ipfv say+dir-3pl.erg

Everyone cuts fish here. There are a lot of drying racks here, they call them *cwik'emálhcw* ('cutting places').

(5) tákem l=ti=sgémp=a kwás=tu7 at=DET=hot.weather=EXIS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=REM 7ucwalmícw=a cwík'-em, PL.DET= indigenous.person=EXIS cut.fish-MID lhkúnsa wa7 n-q'ix-ts, wá7=ťu7 IPFV LOC-firm-mouth IPFV=EXCL xw7útsin sq'it ta=pál7=a sxetspásg'et four day DET=one=EXIS week cwík'-em=wit, D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS cut.fish-MID=3PL plan wa7 and.then already IPFV k'wí•k'w•ek'wena7 i=sts'úqwaz'=a. few•cred• PL.DET=fish=EXIS

People used to be here cutting fish throughout the summer, but now it's closed: they just cut fish four days a week, because now there are fewer fish.

(6) cw7ao kwas cw7it i=wa7 [1:00]

NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS many PL.DET=IPFV

t'ak, nílh=t'u7 s=téxw=s=t'u7

go.along cop=excl nmlz=straight=3Poss=excl

ka-n-sél'-us-a tákem swat.

circ-loc-dizzy-face-circ all who

There aren't many running, so everyone is really desperate.

```
(7) tákem=t'u7 swat wa7 t'iq e=ts7á, ao all=excl who ipfv arrive to=this.vis neg kwas (kwasu)

D/C+nMlZ+ipfv+3poss D/C+nMlZ+ipfv+2sg.poss lhem'-nún-em ku=s7icwlh(c)-úlm'ecw. stingy-exp+dir-ipl.erg det=different-people-land Everybody comes here, we're not stingy to strangers.
```

(8) cw7it l=ts7a i=lhemlhíman=a, iy,
many at=this.vIs pl.det=drying.rack=exis yes
l=ts7á-wna i=7ucwalmícw=a,
at=this.vIs-precisely pl.det=indigenous.person=exis
(lhas...) lhas
COMP+IPFV+3SBJV COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
cwík'-em=wit lhas...
cut.fish-mid=3pl COMP+IPFV+3SBJV

There are a lot of drying racks here, yeah, the people around here, when they cut fish...

```
(9)
                                  i=wa7
                                               lhemlhíman,
        i=záw=a,
        PL.DET=fishing.place=EXIS PL.DET=IPFV drying.rack
                           ts'ítem'-us
            wá7=iz'
                                          i=múlc=a
            IPFV=these.VIS go.towards-face PL.DET=wood=EXIS
                (e=ta=...) e=ta=qú7=a
                                              nílh=ťu7
                to=DET= to=DET=water=EXIS COP=EXCL
                    sés=t'u7...
                                             tákem (kw=es-...)
                    NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL all
                                                    DET=STAT-
                        kw=7es-cwík'
                                          wa7 es-láw
                                                            wa7
                        DET=STAT-cut.fish IPFV STAT-hang IPFV
                            ts'ítem'-us
                                           e=ta=qú7=a...
                            go.towards-face to=DET=water=EXIS
```

The drying racks at these fishing places, their poles face the water, so that all the butchered fish hangs facing the water...

(10) ...nilh ta=sk'éxem=a (wa7...) wa7 suxwast-áka7,

COP DET=wind=exis ipfv ipfv go.downhill-hand

wa7 xat'em-áka7, nilh ti7 wa7 k'ác-s-tal'i

ipfv climb.hill-hand cop that.vis ipfv dry-caus-nts

(i=s=...) i=scwík'=a.

PL.DET=NMLZ- PL.DET=cut.fish=exis

...and the wind blowing up and down the river, that's what dries the cut fish.

(11)cw7áoy=t'u7 kwas... k'win, án'was sq'it, [2:00] D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS how.many two kalhás, plan wa7 gélgel [ta]=s=k'ác=s=a, already IPFV strong D/C=NMLZ=dry=3POSS=EXIS nílh=ťu7... [n-scwákwekw...]³ ťág'em'kst sg'it COP=EXCL ISG.POSS-heart nílh=ťu7 s=plan=s wa7 k'ac, COP=EXCL NMLZ=already=3POSS IPFV dry nílh=ť'u7 ses kelh. COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.taken.off

It doesn't take long, maybe two or three days before the fish are getting dry, and then... I think... six days and then they're dried out, and they're taken off the racks.

(12) nílh=ti7 l=ts7a sas... l=ts7a
COP=that.vis at=this.vis NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS at=this.vis
lhas wa7 i=wa7 cwík'-em.
COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be PL.DET=IPFV cut.fish-MID
So then... people cut fish here.

³ Nscwákwekw is difficult to hear in this stanza. Phonetically it sounds closer to ncekw, but this represents our best guess given the context.

```
tákem=t'u7 swat wa7
                                 ka-7ats'x-s-táli
(13)
                     who ipfv
                                 CIRC-get.seen-CAUS-NTS
         all=EXCL
            (e)lh=kán-em=as
                                       t7u
                                                l=ts7a
            COMP=whether-MID=3SBJV that.VIS at=this.VIS
                (l=ta=s-...)
                                l=ta=stsíleqs=a,
                at=DET=NMLZ- at=DET=point=EXIS at+there.VIS
                                               kén'en'
                    put
                            lhas
                    exactly COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.bumped•FRED
                         [ta]=sk'éxem=a,
                                         ts'íla=t'u7 ken-tákem
                         DET=wind=EXIS like=EXCL around-all
                                             x7ílh=a.
                             ken=t7ú
                             around=that.vis other.side=Exis
```

Everyone can see what's going on over at the point, that's right where the wind hits, like everywhere over on the other side of the river.

(14)pun nelh=skel•kela7-lhkálh=a... PL.ABS.DET=TRED•before-IPL.POSS=EXIS i=cw7áoz=as kwas when.PAST=NEG=3SBIV D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS wa7 ku=wa7 sáma7 (ku=7es=...)DET=IPFV white.person DET=have= ku=7es={s}p'áts'en, white man's twine, DET=have=indian.hemp white man's twine wa7... k'ul'-ún'-itas lhél=ki=... get.made-DIR-3PL.ERG from=PL.DET= wa7 tsún-em IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV sp'áts'en':

Our ancestors discovered... before there were any white people's nets, white man's twine, they made nets from what we call sp'áts'en ('Indian Hemp'):

indian.hemp

```
(15) izá-wna (i=...) i=wa7 sp'áts'en', wa7 these.vis-precisely Pl.Det= Pl.Det=IPFV indian.hemp IPFV tsún-em sp'ats'en-7úl.
say+DIR-IPL.ERG indian.hemp-real
This particular type we call sp'ats'en7úl ('real sp'áts'en').
```

lhas lhwál'tsten lhas (16)[3:00]COMP+IPFV+3SBJV autumn COMP+IPFV+3SBJV k'ac iz', láti7 lhwas dry those.vis at+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sbJv k'ul'-ún'-itas: es-máys, get.made-DIR-3PL.ERG STAT-get.fixed es-q'wés•q'ws-em, stat-tred•get.bundled-міD es-zes•zus-ál'k. STAT-TRED • get.tied-surface

> When it was fall and the plants were dry, that's when they prepared them: they were fixed, bundled, and tied up.

(17) sútik aylh láti7 lhas...
winter then at+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv

(lhas...) s-7áts'x-s=kan

comp+ipfv+3sbjv stat-get.seen-caus=isg.sbj

na=n-kwékw7=a

Abs.det=isg.poss-grandmother=exis

lhas k'ul'-ún'-as:

comp+ipfv+3sbjv get.made-dir-3erg

During the winter I watched my grandmother preparing them:

(nilh s=...) (18)nílh=ťu7 es-zús-qs, STAT-get.tied-end COP NMLZ= COP=EXCL sek-n-ás, mulc, ta=t'ép=a ses NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS hit-DIR-3ERG wood DET=under=EXIS ta=x.wis=a, (ta=wa7...) ta=wa7 wood that.vis Det=top=exis Det=ipfv DET=IPFV sék-ten-s. hit-INS-3POSS

They were tied at the end, and she pounded them with a stick, she used the bottom of a stick to pound them on top.

(19) kelh-q ts'íla (i=...)
get.taken.off-bottom like PL.DET=
i=síkil-s=a nílh=t'u7
PL.DET=treebark-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL
ses k'i7-en-ás.
NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.peeled-DIR-3ERG

The bark kind of came off at the bottom, then she peeled them.

kéla7 k'i7, tsúkw=ti7 (20)lhwas before COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.peeled finish=that.VIS then (s-k'i7...) s-k'í7-em-s, NMLZ-get.peeled NMLZ-get.peeled-MID-3POSS and.then [i=s]-k'úl'-s=a cw7ít=tu7 many=rem PL.Det=nmlz-get.made-3Poss=exis sel-n-ás, nílh=t'u7=ti7... and.then string-DIR-3ERG COP=EXCL=that.VIS cw7ít=ti7 (s-...) sk'wezúsem kwa many=that.vis work D/C+IPFV ku=7í7ez' ku=pála7 string-MID DET=enough DET=one sp'áts'en'. indian.hemp

> First they were peeled, and when she finished peeling them, she made a lot of twine: it took a lot of work to make enough twine for one net.

(21) lhláti7=t'u7 aylh lh=máys=as, from+there.vis=excl then comp=get.fixed=3sbjv cuz' áylh=ti7 sítk-en-as (t) ti7 going.to then=that.vis weave-dir-3erg that.vis [t]a=sp'áts'en'=a.

Det=indian.hemp=exis

When the twine had been made, then she started weaving the net.

- (22) tsukw {s}=sítk-em=s, k'úl'-em ta=súts'wic=a, finish NMLZ=weave-MID=3POSS get.made-MID DET=bow=EXIS k'úl'-em ta=záw-men=a. get.made-MID DET=dipnet-INS=EXIS

 When she finished weaving, she made the bow of the net, and then the frame.
- (23) i=wa7 tsún-em wa7 k'é•k'•cw-ten, nilh [4:00]
 PL.DET=IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV hole•CRED•-INS COP
 ti7 (wa7...) wa7 es-lák l=ta=súts'wic=a,

that.VIS IPFV IPFV STAT-be.there at=DET=bow=EXIS
(lhacw...) lhacw
COMP+IPFV+2SG.SBJV COMP+IPFV+2SG.SBJV
múl-un s-... yeah.
get.submerged-DIR NMLZ- yeah

What we call *k'ék'wcwten* ('net rings'), these are on the bow of the net, and when you put it into the water... *yeah*.

```
k'é•k'•cw-ten-s
(24)
                   i=wa7
         izá
         these.VIS PL.DET=IPFV
                                 hole • CRED • - INS - 3POSS
            [i]=skel•ké•k•l7=a,
                                              aoz
            PL.DET=TRED•before•CRED•=EXIS
                                              NEG
                 káti7
                                              walálem.
                                   kwa
                 around+there.vis DET+IPFV iron
                                                        NEG
                                       (kwa...)
                     káti7
                     around+there.vis DET+IPFV DET+IPFV
                         rings, lhkúnsa wa7
                                               tsún-em,
                         rings today
                                       IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG
                             (lhél=ki=7un...)
                             from=PL.DET=whatchamacallit
                                  lhel=ki=wéna7...
                                  from=PL.DET=whatchamacallit
```

These net rings that the ancestors had, there was no iron then, no *rings* as we call them now, it was from... whatchamacallit...

```
(25)
                            lh[el]=kwes
         COMP+IPFV+3SBJV from=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
            kwan•en-s-twítas
                                     kw=sqwál'acken-s=k'a
            take•FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG DET=horn-3POSS=EPIS
                ku=sweláops,
                                         lhláti7
                                    iy,
                DET=bighorn.sheep yes from+there.vis
                                        k'ul'
                    lhas
                                                  iz'
                     COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                        get.made those.vis
                                       tsún-em
                                                        wa7
                         PL.DET=IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV
                             k'é•k'•cw-ten.
                             hole • CRED • - INS
```

They got them from... they got the horns of bighorn sheep, yeah, that's how net rings were made.

```
(26)
         tsúkw=ti7
                        aylh [s]=lhcw-án-as,
                                                       tsicw
         finish=that.vis then NMLZ=put.on-DIR-3ERG get.there
                         nká7=as=ťu7
                                             (ku=...)
             to=that.vis where=3SBJV=EXCL DET=
                                                      DET+IPFV
                 tsún-em,
                                  i=wa7
                                                                  wa7
                 say+DIR-IPL.ERG PL.DET=IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV
                     szaw.
                     fishing.places
        When they finished putting the rings in, they went to wherever... to
```

what we call szaw ('fishing places').

cw7ao kwas pápt=ťu7 (27)wa7 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS always=EXCL NEG láti7 wa7 tí7texw, ta=qú7=a nás=ťu7 at+there.vis ipfv correct DET=water=EXIS go=EXCL nílh=ťu7 su<7>t', ses... get.drained<INCH> COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS ts'íla wa7 ka-cwáz'-a like IPFV CIRC-disappear-CIRC i=s7ícwlhts=a PL.DET=different.kinds=EXIS tsésa t'ak D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS go.along i=sts'úqwaz'=a l=ku=núkw. PI..DET=fish=EXIS at=DET=other

> These places aren't always right for fishing, because the water goes down, so various fishing spots disappear as the fish run in other places.

[5:00] (28)l=ts7á-wna ku=sísxets, cw7it, at=this.vis-precisely DET=beach many many wa7 es={s}kwets•kwátsits. i=száw=a PL.DET=fishing.place=EXIS IPFV have=TRED*name On this particular shore, there are many, many fishing spots with names.

Fishing in the Lillooet Area

ta=wa7... ts7a (29)l=ts7á-wna ta=wa7 scét' at=this.vis-precisely det=ipfv this.vis det=ipfv sCet' ta=(kéla7-s...) kéla7-s=a wa7 i=wa7... DET=before-3POSS before-3POSS=EXIS be PL.DET=IPFV ku=záw-em, (lhas...) those.INVIS DET=dipnet-MID COMP+IPFV+3SBJV kéla7=t'u7 qwatsáts COMP+IPFV+3SBJV before=EXCL leave su<7>t' ta=qú7=a, get.drained<INCH> DET=water=EXIS wa7 t'ek7úla7cw. nílh=ti7 COP=that.VIS IPFV T'ek7úla7cw

Right here... here at sCet', the first place they fish, when the water first starts to go down, that's T'ek7úla7cw.

- (30) wa7 láti7 s-mat' i=k'ét'h=a
 IPFV at+there.VIS STAT-get.mixed PL.DET=rock=EXIS
 lhas n-lhám'•em'
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV LOC-get.put.into•FRED
 i=sts'úqwaz'=a, stéxw=t'u7... gelgel-átkwa7.
 PL.DET=fish=EXIS straight=EXCL strong-water
 The current is really strong, so rocks get mixed in with the fish in the net.
- (31) plán=tu7=ti7 lhkúnsa wa7 ptak, nílh=t'u7 already=rem=that.vis today ipfv pass.by cop=excl aylh múta7 s=nilh=ts kw7a ta=wa7 then again nmlz=cop=3poss this.invis det=ipfv menmánal'ts.

 Menmánal'ts

When that place is past its use, then it goes over to Menmánal'ts ('Shady Rock').

(32) ptak lhláti7 kútexw, [xwe]sesús, l=kw7a pass.by from+there.vis kútexw xwesesús at=this.invis lhkúnsa lhas záw-em=wit, nilh today comp+ipfv+3sbjv dipnet-mid=3pl cop ti7 wa7 sixáx.

After that, there's Kútexw, Xwesesús, and that place over there where they're fishing now, that's Sixáx.

- (33) t'ak aylh múta7=t'u7 xáw'•w'en ta=qú7=a, go.along then again=excl low•fred det=water=exis

 lh... kalál=as nílh=t'u7 s=... láta7

 COMP= soon=3SBJV COP=EXCL NMLZ= at+there.VIS

 ta=wa7 páolhm'eq.

 DET=IPFV páolhm'eq
 - The water keeps getting lower, so in a while they'll be over at Páolhm'eq ('Sitting on the Rock')
- i=száw-lhkalh=a (34)o, cw7it l=ts7a oh many at=this.vis pl.det=fishing.place-ipl.poss=exis s7ecw•7ícwlh, t'u7 cw7áoz=t'u7 TRED•different but IPFV NEG=EXCL kwásu papt láti7 wa7 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS always at+there.VIS IPFV ka-záw-em-a... circ-dipnet-мір-сігс

Oh, we have a lot of different fishing spots here, but you can't always fish at them...

```
[6:00] (35)
              ...lhas
                                ka-xáw'n-[a] ta=qú7=a
                                CIRC-low-CIRC DET=water=EXIS
              COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                      s=t'ak=s
                                            síx-lec
                                                       tákem
                 COP NMLZ=continue=3POSS move-AUT all
                                       ses...)
                     COMP+IPFV+3SBJV NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                                           wa7 i=wa7
                         COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be
                                                PL.DET=IPFV
                             záw-em,
                                       lhas
                             dipnet-MID COMP+IPFV+3SBJV continue
                                 xáw'•w'en ta=qú7=a.
                                 low•fred det=water=exis
```

...when the water gets lower everyone who is fishing has to move, as the water keeps going down.

Those who have fishing spots right here think it's just one family group that...

⁴There is a break in the recording after this stanza.

(37)...ts7a wi=snímulh, tákem=ťu7 ku=swát kwa... this.vis plus=IPL.INDEP all=EXCL DET=who DET+IPFV kws=ka s7icwlh-úlm'ecw t'iq, D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=IRR different-land arrive s=(ts'ila=t'ú7=ti7t'u7 nílh=t'u7 but COP=EXCL NMLZ=like=EXCL=that.VIS ku=...) ts'ila=t'ú7=ti7 DET= like=EXCL=that.VIS ku=qe•q•tsek-kálh. DET=older.brother • CRED • - IPL.POSS

...but us here, everyone... a stranger can come, but he's just like our brother.

swat... tákem=ťu7 gew'[p] [lh]=s7icwlh-úlm'ecw=as (38)COMP=different-land=3SBJV all=EXCL gather lhel=kw7ú... [kwanen na]⁵ lhkúnsa from=that.INVIS today lhas t'íq=wit, wá7=ťu7 wa7 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV IPFV arrive=3PL IPFV=EXCL ka-záw-em=wit-[a] ts'íla=ti7 CIRC-dipnet-MID=3PL-CIRC like=that.VIS ku=tákem swat l=ts7a, l=ts7á=t'u7 who at=this.vis at=this.vis=excl DET=all wi=snímulh pták=kalh (na=s-...) plus=ipl.indep pass.by=ipl.sbj abs.det=nmlzna=s-cín'-s=a...

ABS.DET=NMLZ-long.time-3POSS=EXIS

Anyone... everyone comes from different places these days, everyone can fish here, just like in the old days...

⁵The transcription of this stanza is very difficult because of wind noise in the recording. The sequence $kwanen\ na$ could contain kw7awna though this is speculative.

Fishing in the Lillooet Area

```
...ts'íla=t'u7=ti7
                                              s-wa7-s
                                                              nelh=...
       (39)
                                   ta=wa7
               like=excl=that.vis det=ipfv nmlz-be-3poss pl.abs.det=
                   skel•kela7-lhkálh=a,
                                               tákem=ťu7 kwa
                                                                      t'iq
                   TRED • before-IPL.POSS=EXIS all=EXCL
                                                           DET+IPFV arrive
                        wa7... kwán-as
                                              ku=s-ts'íla-s=t'u7
                               take+DIR-3ERG D/C=NMLZ-like-3POSS=EXCL
                                                   ku=sts'úqwaz',
                            kw=s-qwenán-s
                            DET=NMLZ-need-3POSS DET=fish
                                cw7áoy=t'u7 (kwa...)
                                NEG=EXCL
                                              DET+IPFV DET+IPFV
                                    lhem'-nún-twal'.
                                    stingy-EXP+DIR-RECP
               ...like it was with our ancestors, anybody who came could take as
               much fish as they needed, and nobody was stingy with anyone else.
[7:00] (40)
               nilh
                     lhas
                                          kwán•en,
                                                          nilh
                     COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.taken•FRED
                                                          COP
                   lhas
                                       záw-en-em
                                                           i=sts'úqwaz'=a
                   COMP+IPFV+3SBJV dipnet-DIR-IPL.ERG PL.DET=fish=EXIS
                                           lhas
                        COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                           COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                               ta=kél7=a
                            ka-cát'-a,
                                                                 wa7
```

So when they're caught, when we catch the fish in the nets and take them out of the water, the first thing we do is to break their heads.

száyten-lhkalh

CIRC-lift.out-CIRC DET=before=EXIS IPFV

doings-IPL.POSS IPFV break-head

wa7 pétskw-eqw,

whatchamacallit break-head-DIR-IPL.ERG

petskw-qw-án'-em.

```
(41)
         pétskw-eqw, láti7
                                    su<7>t'
                                                  (ta=...)
         break-head
                      at+there.vis drain<iNCH>
                                                  DET=
                                     elh...
             ta=ptéla7-s=a
                                               ts'ex•ts'x-áy'lh6
             DET=blood-3POSS=EXIS and.then TRED•get.cleaned-child
                 ta=... (s)cúz'=a
                                       s-cwik'.
                                                     lhel=kw7á
                 DET= going.to=EXIS STAT-cut.fish from=this.INVIS
                     sxíts'ken-s=a
                                       ta=sts'úqwaz'=a
                     back-3POSS=EXIS DET=fish=EXIS
                                             kéla7 wa7 nik',
                                                                  nilh
                         COMP+IPFV+3SBJV before IPFV get.cut COP
                                                  ka-cwáp-a
                              NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS CIRC-get.spread-CIRC
                                              e=ts7á-wna
                                  e=t7ú...
                                  to=that.vis to=this.vis-precisely
                                      n7átsank-s=a.
                                      belly-3POSS=EXIS
```

When the heads are broken, then their blood drains away, and the fish which is going to be cut is cleaned; the fish is first cut along the back, and then spread open like this at the belly part.

(42)ka-tsákw-a elh ncil'ts, tsukw CIRC-get.spread.flat-CIRC and.then flattened.out finish lhum ta=ts'qwíqw=a, flattened.out get.attached DET=salmon.stretcher=EXIS wéna7=ti7, tsagwm-áz'=ti7 whatchamacallit=that.vis saskatoon-tree=that.vis (ta=...) ta=wa7 ts'qwiqw... DET= DET=IPFV salmon.stretcher

It's spread out and then it's flattened, and when it's been flattened, a salmon stretcher is attached, made out of saskatoon wood...

⁶The suffix -ay'lh 'child', apparently used here in the context of cleaning a fish, is unexpected and unclear.

```
...nílh=ti7
(43)
                      wa7
                             es-tses-{ts}-táli
        COP=that.VIS IPFV STAT-be.stretched-CAUS-NTS
            kwas
                                    stexw
                                            wa7
                                                 s=...
                                                          wá7=ka...
            D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS straight IPFV NMLZ= IPFV=IRR
                                              cúl•lek'w,
                NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.curled•FRED
                              law
                                        aylh
                                              l=t7u
                    and.then get.hung then
                                              at=that.vis
                                    l=ts7a
                                               l=ta=múlc=a
                        at=pl.det= at=this.vis at=det=wood=exis
                            l=kwas
                                                       cuz'
                            at=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS going.to
                                dry
```

...that's what keeps it stretched out so that it's really... so it doesn't curl up before it's hung up to dry...

- (44) ...cw7áoy=t'u7 kwas cin'
 NEG=EXCL D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS long.time
 láti7 nilh ses k'ac.
 at+there.vis cop nmlz+iPFV+3POSS dry
 ...and then it doesn't take long to dry.
- (45) ptak lhláti7 kelh, tsún-em
 pass.by from+there.vis get.taken.off say+dir-ipl.erg
 wa7 t'elkw-ált-en lhas
 ipfv take.down-offspring-dir comp+ipfv+3sbJv
 kelh-n-ém lhel=t7ú
 get.taken.off-dir-ipl.erg from=that.vis
 lhel=tsása
 from=d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss+exis
 s-law, lhets.
 stat-get.hung get.piled.in.layers

After they're taken off, we call it *t'elkwálten*, when they're taken off from where they're hanging and piled up.

```
nelh=cín'=a
(46)
                                     úcwalmicw,
                                                                      [8:00]
         PL.ABS.DET=long.time=EXIS indigenous.person
            ken=ts7á=t'u7
                                   lhas
            around=this.vis=excl
                                   COMP+IPFV+3SBIV
                 k'úl'-em=wit
                                   wa7
                                         tsún-itas
                                                           wa7
                 get.made-MID=3PL IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV
                     p'ág'ulh.
                     food.cache
```

The old-time Indians built what they call p'aq'ulh ('food caches') here.

```
(47)
        láti7=tu7
                           lhus
                                               gelh
                                              get.stored
         at+there.VIS=REM COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
            i=sts'úqwaz'=a,
                               lhas...
            PL.DET=fish=EXIS
                               COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                i=sts'wán=a
                                           lhas
                PL.DET=dried.salmon=EXIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                            tsicw
                                     s=qwen-mín-itas,
                                                              ts7as
                     winter get.there NMLZ=need-RLT-3PL.ERG come
                         kwán-itas...
                         take+DIR-3PL.ERG
```

That's where the dried fish were stored in winter. When they needed some, they came and got it...

```
(48)
              láni7
        ao7
                           kwa
                                      naq'w, kwa
              at+there.ABS DET+IPFV steal
                                             DET+IPFV
            naq'w-ts-cí{t}-twal'
            steal-mouth-IND-RECP D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                cw7it, tákem=t'u7 swat wa7 we7án-cal
                many
                       all=EXCL
                                   who ipfv own-act
                    ki=sts'úqwaz'=a,
                                        i=sts'wán=a.
                    COLL.DET=fish=EXIS PL.DET=dried.salmon=EXIS
```

Nobody stole in those days, no-one stole food from each other very much, because everyone had dried fish.

Fishing in the Lillooet Area

(49)lhláti7 ptak tsicw from+there.vis get.there=3PL pass.by e=tswása tsút=wit, to=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS say=3PL "cúz'=lhkalh pétskw," wéna7, "tsepqw". whatchamacallit salmon.oil going.to=IPL.SBJ break After that, it was time for them to say, "We're going to petskw," I mean, "tsepqw."

l=ts7á-wna, l=ts7a (50)wa7 at=this.vis-precisely at=this.vis l=t=s=wá7=lhkalh=a lhkun at=D/C=NMLZ=be=IPL.POSS=EXIS now s-k'ík'ta7-s láti7 lh=lák=as NMLZ-near-3POSS at+there.VIS COMP=be.there=3SBJV l=ti=k'ét'h=a...⁷ ta=n-wáq'=a DET=LOC-hollowed.out=EXIS at=DET=rock=EXIS

Right here, where we are now, is close to where there's a hollow in the rock...

(51) ...ts7as lhel=t=s-lhwal'tsten-álmen-s=a
begin from=det=nmlz-autumn-nearly-3poss=exis
lhas... láti7 lhas
comp+ipfv+3sbjv at+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv
tsút=wit ta=wa7 tsepqw.
say=3pl det=ipfv salmon.oil

...that's where they made salmon oil, *tsepqw*, as they say, starting when it was nearly fall.

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

```
wá7=t'u7 l=ts7a
(52)
                             (ta=...) ta=n-wáq'=a
        be=EXCL at=this.vis det= det=loc-hollowed.out=exis
            l=ti=k'ét'h=a,
                              kwéz•kwzem
                                            n-waq',
            at=det=rock=exis tred•smooth loc-hollowed.out
                ts'íla (ku=...) ku=xáw'en ta=q'út=a
                             D/C=low DET=other.side=EXIS
                like
                     D/C=
                    nílh=ťu7=ti7
                    COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                        k'vlh-n-áos
                                       ta=wa7...
                        daub-DIR-3ERG DET=IPFV
                            s-páqw-s=kan
                                                   ta=líl'tem=a
                            STAT-look-CAUS=IPL.SBJ DET=adult=EXIS
                                wa7 mays-en-táli.
                                IPFV get.fixed-DIR-NTS
```

There's still a hollow in the rock, a smooth hollow, it's a bit lower on one side so they built it up with mud... I watched an old man fixing it up.

```
(53)
         n-ts'x-ímem=ti7,
                                                                           [9:00]
                                                 t'ecw.
         LOC-get.cleaned-enclosed.area=that.vis get.brushed.out
             lhets
                               i=sp'áms=a,
                                                        elh
             get.piled.in.layers PL.DET=firewood=EXIS and.then
                  p'ams,
                                 wéna7,
                  fire.gets.made whatchamacallit laid.on.surface
                      i=k'ét'h=a,
                                           cw7it k'ét'a
                      PL.DET=rock=exis many rock
                           i=n-s-q'íl=a
                           PL.DET=LOC-STAT-laid.on.surface=EXIS
                               láti7.
```

It was cleaned out on the inside, brushed out, firewood was laid down, then a fire was lit, and rocks were laid on top, a lot of rocks on top.

at+there.vis

```
(54) gwel-p láti7 [i]=sp'áms=a,
burn-inch at+there.vis pl.det=firewood=exis

ts'íkt=tu7 i=sp'áms=a [e]lh...
burned.out=rem pl.det=firewood=exis and.then
kelh lhláti7 (s) ts'íla ku=sq'úlhuts'.
get.taken.off from+there.vis like det=ash
The fire burned, and when it burned out, charcoal was taken out.
```

(55)n-lham' s=plan=s aylh áti7, LOC-get.put.into then to+there.VIS NMLZ=already=3POSS s-kwil' i=sxúmq7=a, (i=...)IPFV STAT-be.ready PL.DET= PL.DET=fish.head=EXIS i=s=... takem=á=t'u7 ku=swín'acws PL.D/C=NMLZ= all=EXIS=EXCL DET=similar.kinds l=kw=s-cw7it-s ku=smík'il. at=DET=NMLZ-many-3POSS DET=fish.oil

Then it was put in when the fish heads were ready, and all kinds of different stuff that had lots of fish oil in it.

```
(56)
         cw7ít=t'u7
                      áti7
                                   wa7 n-lham',
                                                           aul,
         many=EXCL to+there.vis ipfv loc-get.put.into full
                       ťak'w
                                           ta=qú7=a,
             and.then liquid.gets.poured.in DET=water=EXIS
                 elh
                           púlh•elh
                                           ti7
                                                     láti7
                 and.then get.boiled FRED that.vis at+there.vis
                     i=k'ét'h=a
                                         t'u... wá7=ti7
                     PL.DET=rock=EXIS until be=that.VIS
                         láti7...
                                      wa7 láti7
                         at+there.vis ipfv at+there.vis
                              púlh•elh
                                              t'u
                                                    psil'.
                              get.boiled • FRED until daybreak
```

A lot of that stuff was put in, and when it was full, water was poured in and it boiled from the rocks, and kept boiling there till dawn.

i=k'ét'h=a elh... (57)psil', $ts\acute{a}<7>k=tu7$ PL.DET=rock=EXIS and.then daybreak cool<inch>=rem szew'-p-ál'k izá, ti7 (ta=...) get.scooped-INCH-surface these.vis that.vis DET= ta=n-t'ák'w=a láti7... DET=LOC-liquid.gets.poured.in=EXIS at+there.vIS At daybreak, the rocks cooled off and then the grease that was floating on top of the liquid was scooped off the surface...

- (58) ...záw'-al'k=tu7, kelh lhláti7
 get.scooped-surface=REM get.taken.off from+there.vis
 i=s-zew'-p-ál'k-s=a...
 PL.DET=NMLZ-get.scooped-INCH-surface-3POSS=EXIS
 ...the grease was removed...
- (59) ...nílh=t'u7 s=tsetsúkwa=s t=smík'il=a,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=only=3POSS DET=fish.oil=EXIS
 lhláti7=t'u7 lhwas zaw'
 from+there.vis=excl comp+ipfv+3sbjv get.scooped
 t=smík'il=a.
 DET=fish.oil=exis
 ...it was only the fish oil that was scooped off, just the fish oil.
- (60)t=smík'il=a [10:00]plhúlh=ti7 put thick=that.vis exactly DET=fish.oil=EXIS at+there.vis s-x.wis-ts=ata=qú7=a, ta=wa7... NMLZ-top-3POSS=EXIS DET=water=EXIS DET=IPFV n-t'ak'w, s=plan=s LOC-liquid.gets.poured.in NMLZ=already=3POSS (wa7 es-...) wa7 es-máys i=wa7IPFV STAT- IPFV STAT-get.fixed PL.DET=IPFV wa7 n-mík'il-ten. tsún-itas say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV LOC-fish.oil-INS

When the fish oil formed a thick layer on top of the water, then it was poured into what they call a *nmik'ilten* ('fish oil container') which had already been prepared.

Fishing in the Lillooet Area

wena7=t'ú7=iz', lhél=ta=(t'...) (61)whatchamacallit=EXCL=those.VIS from=DET= t'alwa7-s=á=t'u7 ta=sts'úqwaz'=a, fish.skin-3POSS=EXIS=EXCL DET=fish=EXIS lhel=ta=sts'uqwaz'=á=t'u7 cw7ao from=DET=fish=EXIS=EXCL NEG kwes es-tsg-ánk sTAT-tear-stomach D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS kwas kas... D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS how

What were those things made out of? From fish skins, from fish which weren't gutted when they were prepared...

(62) ...láti7=t'u7=ti7 lhas k'ul'
at+there.vis=excl=that.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv get.made
ta=wa7 n-mík'il-ten, ts'íla=t'u7=ku7... lhkúnsa
DET=ipfv loc-fish.oil-ins like=excl=quot today
ku=leputáy=k'a=hem'.
DET=bottle=epis=anti
...that's what fish oil containers were made from, kind of like bottles.

```
wá7=lhkan
(63)
                       áts'x-en,
                                    xzum szúmak
                                                          (ku=s....)
         IPFV=ISG.SBJ get.seen-DIR big
                                           spring.salmon D/C=NMLZ=
             ku=st'álwa7
                           ta=wa7
                                       n-mík'il-ten,
                                                       t'e•t'ál=t'u7
             DET=fish.skin DET=IPFV LOC-fish.oil-INS IRED*stop=EXCL
                           i=sts'ám'-s=a,
                                                      n-ts'emlána7-s,
                 PL.DET= PL.DET=bone-3POSS=EXIS LOC-fin-3POSS
                     n-t'ák'w=iz'
                                                         aylh
                     LOC-liquid.gets.poured.in=those.vis then
                          i=smik'il=a
                                                (l=ki=...)
                          PL.DET=fish.oil=EXIS at=PL.DET=
                              l=ki=wa7
                                               tsún-itas
                                                                 wa7
                              at=PL.DET=IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV
                                  n-mík'il-ten...
                                  LOC-fish oil-INS
```

I saw the skin of a big spring salmon used as a fish oil container, it still had its bones and fins on, and then the salmon oil was poured in to what they called *nmik'ilten*...

(64) ...t'alwa7-s=t'ú7=iz' ku=sts'úqwaz' i=wa7
fish.skin-3POSS=EXCL=those.VIS DET=fish PL.DET=IPFV
n-mík'il-ten; cw7aoz láni7 kwa leputáy,
LOC-fish.oil-INS NEG at+there.ABS DET+IPFV bottle
kwa bottle.
DET+IPFV bottle

...they were just made of salmon skins, those containers; there weren't any *bottles* in those days.

(65) ptak lhláti7, láti7=t'u7 [11:00]
pass.by from+there.vis at+there.vis=excl
lh=k'úl'=as i=wa7 tupál'.
COMP=get.made=3SBJV PL.DET=IPFV pounded.salmon
After that, pounded salmon was made.

dry...

```
(66)
        l=t7\acute{u}=t'u7
                          l=ta=q'ts'-ús=a
                                                   (lhas...)
        at=that.vis=excl at=det=woven-face=exis comp+ipfv+3sbjv
                                s-q'il
                                                    (i=wa7)
            COMP+IPFV+3SBJV STAT-laid.on.surface PL.DET=IPFV
                                                cuz'
                 tup...)
                                  i=wa7
                 pounded.salmon PL.DET=IPFV
                                                going.to
                                      ts'úqwaz', áti7=t'u7
                     tupál'
                     pounded.salmon fish
                                                to+there.vis=EXCL
                         wá7=ťu7
                                     a'il
                                                    tákem, ao
                         IPFV=EXCL laid.on.surface all
                                                            NEG
                             kwas
                                                      es-...
                             D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS STAT-
                                  wá7=tu7 s-pétskw-eqw.
                                  IPFV=REM STAT-break-head
```

The fish that were to be made into pounded salmon were laid on a screen of branches, that's where they were all laid out; they didn't have their heads broken.

(67) ts'íla ku=... páw•ew, nílh=t'u7 s=kelh=ts
like d/c= swell•fred cop=excl nmlz=get.taken.off=3poss
(ta=...) ta=... ts'ám'-s=a, wá7=t'u7 cukw
det= det= bone-3poss=exis ipfv=excl get.pulled.out
e=t7ú...
to=that.vis

They kind of swelled up, and then the bones were taken out, pulled out...

(68) ...nílh=t'u7 t{a}=s=ts'íla=s=a lhláku7

COP=EXCL D/C=NMLZ=like=3POSS=EXIS from+there.INVIS

wa7 pekw ta=... l=ta=slhíqw-s=a

IPFV solids.get.poured.in DET= at=DET=flesh-3POSS=EXIS

ta=sts'úqwaz'=a, elh ts'eq', pal'

DET=fish=EXIS and.then get.pounded spread.out

l=t7ú-{w}na kw=s=k'ac=s...

at=that.VIS-precisely D/C=NMLZ=dry=3POSS

...and then kind of poured onto the flesh, pounded, and spread out to

- (69) ...k'ac, kwan lhláti7, kelh
 dry get.taken from+there.vis get.taken.off
 i=sts'ám'-s=a, ts'eq' múta7...

 DET=bone-3POSS=EXIS get.pounded again
 ...and when it was dry, the bones were taken out, and it was pounded again...
- (70) ...nílh=t'u7 s=ts'ila=s=t'ú7=ti7 ku=... tqilh

 COP=EXCL NMLZ=like=3POSS=EXCL=that.VIS DET= almost

 ts'íla ku=tmícw, [ay]lh ku=wéna7, [wa7]

 like DET=earth then DET=whatchamacallit IPFV

 tsún-em ku=ts'íla ku=sawdust.

 say+DIR-IPL.ERG DET=like DET=sawdust

 ...and then it was almost like earth, nowadays we say it's like, what do you call it, sawdust.

Fishing in the Lillooet Area

```
[12:00] (71)
                                kéla7
                                       áma s=7ílhen=s,
                                                               t'u7
                nílh=iz'
                COP=those.VIS before good NMLZ=eat=3POSS but
                    nílh=ťu7=ti7
                                        s=plan=s=t'ú7=ti7
                    COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ=already=3POSS=EXCL=that.VIS
                              ka-qélh-a
                                                   lhas
                              CIRC-get.stored-CIRC COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                    n-lhám'=t'u7
                                                          káti7
                            get.dry LOC-get.put.into=EXCL around+there.vis
                                l=ku=(n-...)
                                              stám'=as=t'u7
                                at=DET=LOC- what=3SBJV=EXCL
                                     ku=n-lhám'-s,
                                    DET=LOC-get.put.into-3POSS
                                         nílh=ťu7=ti7
                                         COP=EXCL=that.VIS
                                             s=wá7=s=t'u7,
                                             NMLZ=be=3POSS=EXCL
                                                 plan wa7 k'ác•k'ec,
                                                 already IPFV TRED•dry
                                                     ka-qélh-a.
                                                     CIRC-get.stored-CIRC
```

It was really good food, and it could be stored away when it had dried; it was put in some kind of container, and it was kept there; when it was dry, it could be stored.

```
(72)
                  aylh qwéz•ez
                                        lh...
                                                 sútik=as,
         going.to then get.used FRED COMP=
                                                 winter=3SBJV
             elh...
                       láti7
                                     lhas
             and.then at+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sBJv
                          t=smík'il=a,
                                             n-k'wlh-ána7
                 get.used DET=fish.oil=EXIS LOC-pour.liquid-ear
                                         mat'
                     t=smík'il=a.
                     DET=fish.oil=EXIS
                                        get.mixed
                          ki=stsáqwem=a,
                                                           nilh
                          COLL.DET=saskatoon.berry=EXIS
                                       stéxw=t'u7=ti7
                                                               gélgel
                              that.vis straight=EXCL=that.vis strong
                                  s7ílhen.
                                  food
```

When it was going to be used in winter, that was when fish oil was used, the fish oil was poured over it, and it was mixed in with saskatoon berries; it was really powerful food.

- (73) ptak lhláti7, nílh=t'u7 (s=...)
 pass.by from+there.vis cop=excl nmlz=

 s=mays=ts i=k'ún7=a (i=...).

 NMLZ=get.fixed=3POSS PL.DET=fish.egg=exis

 After that, fish eggs were prepared.
- (74)wá7=ťu7 tsítsel i=k'ún7=a, nílh=ťu7 PL.DET=fish.egg=EXIS COP=EXCL IPFV=EXCL new lhes... lhwal'tsten-álmen ses... NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV autumn-nearly nílh=iz' wa7 aw't wa7 COP=those.VIS IPFV behind IPFV get.fixed wa7... nílh=kelh tsún-itas DET+IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV COP=FUT lep'-alh-k'úna7... get.buried-conn-fish.egg

The fish eggs were still fresh when it was nearly fall, so these were the last things to be prepared, to be made into what they call *lep'alhk'úna7* ('buried fish eggs')...

Fishing in the Lillooet Area

(75) ...wéna7=ti7 wa7
whatchamacallit=that.vis ipfv
l=tswása n-lham',
at=D/C+NMLZ+ipfv+3poss+exis loc-get.put.into
qwélh7in.
birchbark

...What was it they put them in? Birchbark baskets.

[13:00] (76) qwélh7in-ay', wa7 mays izá ts'íla kwa IPFV get.fixed these.VIS birchbark-tree like D/C+IPFV ku=n-tsq-ús-ten, do.like DET=LOC-placed.opening.side.up-face-INS wá7=ťu7 (lh...) ken=ki=núkw=a wa7... around=PL.DET=other=EXIS IPFV IPFV=EXCL ts'la7-mín-itas. basket-RLT-3PL.ERG

These birchbark baskets were made to serve as sort of saucepans, but at other times they used them as berry-picking baskets.

(77) láti7 lhus n-lham'
at+there.vis comp+ipfv+3sbjv loc-get.put.into
elh áma tsúsa
and.then good d/c+nmlz+ipfv+3poss+exis

(s-...) s-zálk'w-eqw, ts'íla
stat- stat-get.wrapped-head like
ku=s-q'ép'-qw, elh nílh=t'u7
d/c=stat-get.covered-head and.then cop=excl
s=lep'=s...
nmlz=get.buried=3poss

They were put in, and then the containers were wrapped around the top like a lid, and buried...

(78) ...nílh=t'u7=ti7 láti7 ses

COP=EXCL=that.VIS at+there.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS

ná<7>q'=t'u7.
ferment<INCH>=EXCL
...then they fermented.

```
(79)
         na::s e=t7\acute{u}-\{w\}na
                                      qapts,
                to=that.vis-precisely spring at+there.vis
             lhwás=iz'...
                                            q'wel
             COMP+IPFV+3SBJV=those.VIS get.ripe those.VIS
                                tsún-em
                                                   wa7
                  PL.DET=IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV
                      lep'-alh-k'úna7,
                                               cw7it láti7
                      get.buried-conn-fish.egg many at+there.vis
                                   i=wa7
                          s=...
                                                  mat'
                                                             múta7...
                          NMLZ= PL.DET=IPFV get.mixed again
                               éna7,
                                                stságwem...
                               whatchamacallit saskatoon.berry
         Spring came around, that's when those lep'alhk'úna7 were ready, a lot
         of stuff was mixed in with them, um, saskatoons...
```

- (80) (s)kéla7 áma s7ílhen ti7 ta=wa7
 before good food that.vis det=ipfv
 slep'-alh-k'úna7.
 get.buried-conn-fish.egg
 That was really good food, buried fish eggs.
- (81) ná<7>q'=ti7 (ku=...) ku=wéna7, ferment<INCH>=that.VIS DET= DET=whatchamacallit k'úna7. fish.egg

 It was fermented, um, fish eggs.

```
p'áq'ulh
(82)
         l=ts7a
                     l=ta=wa7
                                               (wa7...)
         at=this.vis at=DET=IPFV food.cache
                                               IPFV
            wá7=ťu7
                         láti7
                                      es-máys,
            IPFV=EXCL
                         at+there.vis stat-get.fixed
                       cá7=hem'
                                  lhel=ta=tmícw=a,
                 EPIS high=ANTI from=DET=land=EXIS
                     put
                             tswása
                     exactly D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
                                           i=p'áq'ulh=a,
                         be.there=those.vis Pl.Det=food.cache=exis
                             láti7
                                          lhas
                             at+there.vis COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
                                 s-lhéts=iz'
                                 STAT-get.piled.in.layers=those.vis
                                      i=ts'wán=a.
                                     PL.DET=dried.salmon=EXIS
```

It was made at the food caches, they must've been high off the ground, that's how those caches were, and that's where the dried salmon was piled up.

(83) nká7=t'u7 aylh lhas qwenán=wit where=excl then comp+ipfv+3sbJv need=3pl lhas sútik, t'íq=wit kwam ku=7í7ez'.

COMP+ipfv+3sbJv winter arrive=3pl get det=enough Then whenever they needed some in the winter, they could come and get their fill.

```
(84)
         elh
                  mays
                            aylh múta7 (ta=...) i=wa7
                                                                       [14:00]
         and.then get.fixed then again
                                          DET=
                                                  PL.DET=IPFV
            tsún-itas
                              wa7
                                    tsípun,
                                               láti7=hem'
                                    root.cellar at+there.vis=anti
            say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV
                                               (i=...)
                 lhas
                                     qelh
                 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.stored PL.DET=
                     i=takem=á=t'u7,
                                            s-k'ac
                                                       stságwem,
                     PL.DET=all=EXIS=EXCL STAT-dry saskatoon.berry
                               kwas
                         aoz
                         NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be.there
                             l=ku=tsítcw...
                             at=DET=house
        They also built what they call tsipun ('root cellars'), and stored
        everything in there, dried saskatoons... they weren't kept in the
        houses...
         ...tsipun=t'ú7=iz'
(85)
                                                                       [14:22]
         food.cellar=EXCL=those.VIS
            ken=tswása
            around=D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
                                              mays
                 be.there NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.fixed
                                     álts'q7=a,
                     ken=t7ú
                                                   ts'ila=t'ú7=ti7
                     around=that.vis outside=exis like=excl=that.vis
                                tsípun
                                           lhkúnsa, ťu7
                         IPFV root.cellar today
                             cw7ao kwas
                                     D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
```

...they were kept in the food cellars when they'd been made outside, just like root cellars today, but maybe not as big.

xzum-7úl=k'a. big-too.much=EPIS

14.4 Sam Mitchell's Free Translation⁸

When the salmon arrive here at Lillooet, the people come and camp overnight. This is during the fall. The salmon can't get up here because there is a drop in the river; the water is very swift. All summer the people stay here and fish. There are enough racks for everyone to dry fish. Today, there are only four or five days of fishing allowed. Everyone gets anxious as the fish are not as plentiful as they once were. The fishing grounds belong to everyone; no one has special privileges here.

The scaffolds that dry the fish face the river, so that they catch the right draft of wind. In about two or three days, the fish are dried; in about six days, they are ready to put away. It is very windy here in the summer. Long before the whiteman, our ancestors made the twine used to make the nets. It is made during the fall while the salmon are drying and put away in bales. In the winter, when it is dry, they take it down. The twine is then battered down with clubs and sticks so that the bark falls off. Then the weeds are scraped, into threads, and spun. The twine is then ready to make the nets. The large scoop nets hold about one dozen fish, depending on the size and shape of the fish. Once the fish are in, the net locks. To get the ring around the hoop, they used split mountain goat horns. In the old days, there was no metal rings.

Sometimes the water is so high that the racks must be continually moved. On this beach, where the Bridge River meets the Fraser, there are names for the fishing spots. The first scaffold at the falls is called *tl'ekw7úla7xw*, a brace or prop in the land. Sometimes the water is so swift that rocks get into the net. Another is called, "the shady place," and there are other spots called, *sheshúsh* and *shexáx* 11, the name of the man who once fished there or owned the land. Another place named after a person, is where the fish are found when the water is very low. It would be impossible to name all of the places where the fish are found because of the changes in the water level.

When they use nets, it is only with a particular family; not just the people there. Everyone is like a brother or sister, therefore it doesn't make any difference who comes. Our ancestors made a place for the dried salmon when it was ready to come off of the poles. There was no stealing in those days, for everyone had everything they needed. After the fish was dried, the salmon was boiled on the beach. The hollow topped rocks on the beach are large and smooth. Even if

⁸This translation is reproduced verbatim from Bouchard and Kennedy, BCILP ms.1, #018.

⁹i.e. T'ek7úla7cw

¹⁰ i.e. Xwesesús

¹¹ i.e. Sixáx

lopsided, they manage to dam up one side and use it to boil the fish in. A fire is built to heat the rocks. Salmon heads, with lots of oil in them are used to feed the fire. When the rocks' fires are fed, they are covered and left to cook the fish. In the morning, the cooled oil is skimmed off and put into containers with the salmon skin, fins and backbone. I have seen the containers made from a large Spring salmon. These were water-tight. In the old days, there wasn't any bottles, so these containers, made from the fish skin, were used to hold water. The salmon will keep in almost any container until winter. A little oil and saskatoon berries on top of the salmon made a very good meal. The pulverized fish is the richest that you can get. The people also preserved fish eggs or roe. A container, made from birch bark, is filled with roe and firmly covered. Then it is stored in the ground until used. The dried salmon is kept high off the ground, in a shelter, on stilts. Other food is kept in the under-ground cellar, near the salmon shelter. These shelters hold enough for one family's use.

Chapter 15

Qwenálhp: Indian Hellebore¹

15.1 St'át'imcets

Randy Bouchard:

Maybe you could tell about um... you said you took those herbs, you could tell about that?

Sam Mitchell:

O, ni7 na nsqátsez7a, nsqátsez7a wa7 tsúntsas, wá7lhkan káti7 wa7 qwel'qwal'él't, "O, wá7lhkan t'ánam'en ku qwenálhp." Nilh t'u7 stsúntsas, "Iy," wa7 tsut, "wa7 tsut, nts'xpálhts'a7cal ku qwenálhp, iy." "Tsukw t'u7 hem' zam'," wa7 tsut, "sqvls tswása..." tsut, "sets7áwna... lhecw klh..."

Baptiste Ritchie: Kameq'íla.

Sam Mitchell:

"Lhecw kelh... lh7uqw7ansácw ku qwenálhp, nilh t'u7 su cuz'... ts'íla wa7 cuz' ts'ex, k'its', ts'éxts'xem," *yeah*. "Ao kwásu úl'lus lku tákem swat... lhas... tsukw t'u7," tsut, "wa7 qvl lhwas qwenúxwminas ku t'ánam'ten ku smúlhats, wa7 kelh k'ul'tsnántsihas."

The Indians they believe that, you know, you know what I mean? Yeah, the women's periods, when they cook food?

¹Told by Sam Mitchell, in conversation with Baptiste Ritchie, in July 1970. Translated by Baptiste Ritchie in August 1970.

Wa7 tsut, "Tsukw t'u7 wa7 qvl," wa7 tsut, "k'ámalh cuz' zewátenacw kw scw7aoys kwásu cuz'... ts'íla wa7 mát'et', lak, nilh t'u7 s7ámas."

Wá::7lhkan aylh lkw7u k'wezúsem lkw k'úl'em ki *pool*a lku sútik, plan wa7 qaptsálmen. Nilh nstsicw k'úl'em ku qwenálhpa, kem'cállhkan ki wén7a... hákw7a, nilh spúlhun'an, mat'mintwal'lhkán t'u7.

Wa7 ts'éts'la k'a t'u7 séna7 ets7á nta qwenálhpa. Ts'íla k'a t'u7 ets7á ti7 ta qwenálhpa, ti7 ta t'ak'wáml'acwsa, nilh sník'in'an, papkwan'lhkán t'u7, nilh t'u7 nslham'án'an. T'u7 cw7it ta qú7a, nilh hem'... nilh i hákw7a, nilh s7ámas ta úqwa7tensa ti hákw7a. Nilh zam' na nsnúk'w7a sFelix Levine, nilh ti7 láti7 wa7.

O, tsákan'lhkan tu7, put tu7 ts7as ntsákan', kwánlhkan nmán'ctena, wá7lhkan tu7 mán'cem pináni7, kwánlhkan nmán'ctena. T'ák'wan'lhkan, nilh ns7úqwa7, t'u7 káti7 ku ts'áqwten, áma sts'áqwtens ta hákw7a. Aoy t'u7 cin' st'ákwwilh. Láti7 lh7ámhas nszáytena t.scw7ít.sa séna7. K'a ts'íla ku xw7útsin tobacco can.

Nilh k'a t'u7 splans wa7 *one hour* lhélna nskél7a úqwa7– áku7 wa7 cw7it ta máq7a – ts7as t'u7 ku7 ts'íla ku t'úplec ku ngwelína. Ao káti7 kwenswá lan kw stíg'weg'w. "*Well*, ts'íla ku t'úplec ngwélina," tsúnlhkan.

Baptiste Ritchie: Tíwas t'u7.

Sam Mitchell:

Tíwas t'u7, iy. Kat'ála tú7a, tálhleckan, nilh t'u7 nswa áma. Splans hem' ta wa7 tsúntsas na nsqátsz7a, "Cw7aoz kwásu kats'íp'a lhcúz'acw úqw7ans ku qwenálhp, nká7as t'u7 ntsutánwas, cw7aoz kwásu kats'íp'a, lhwas qemp, nilh swas áma."

"Holy, gosh," I says, I said to my friend, "Kas k'a lhus ts7as?" Gosh lots. Sni::lhs ti7 láku7 ku two hours, nilh t'u7 ti7 splans k'a wa7 t'u7 wa7 ts'ek. Baptiste Ritchie: Lánsu tákem.

Sam Mitchell:

Plan k'a t'u7 ta... nothing! My stomach... nilh t'u7 ns... nilh nskéktsl'ec. Kukw ta npáotenha, ú7qwa7lhkan ta tíha. Ao káti7 kwenswá álan kwásu... ao káti7 kwenswá... It's all out, and I puked it all out. Nilh... nilh sgúy'tkalh. N'án'atcw, tsicw t'u7 tenswá cwak, nilh nscwak. Mítsa7qkan, lhecwqánlhkan i ns7ílhts'7a. Nilh t'u7 nst'ak t'u7 tu7, wá7lhkan tálhlec, cúz'lhkan tálhlec, xílem tswa xílem. Tsi, qweqwiwám'stum'c, xílem, t'u7 cúy'lhkan ken'n'álqw. Nilh t'u7 láti7 t'u7 nilh szewátenan, cw7áoza cwilh lkw7a ku nlham'. Nilh t'u7 sxmánneks na nq'úmqena, cw7aoz káti7 kwenswá wa7 qwál'us. Xmánneks na nq'úmqena, kaxilhkaná t'u7, tsut t'u7, snilh t'u7 áta7 nkel7áw'w'es. Talhleckán t'u stelh, nilh t'u7 ns7áma. Náskan tu7 kawál'usa, t'u7 snilh t'u7 ti7 ta n...

Baptiste Ritchie: Zikt.

Sam Mitchell:

Zikt, iy, nilh nq'úmqen xmank. My top was heavy, and down here there's nothing to hold it down. So that's the way that qwenálhp is. They say it's poison root, but, it grows like corn about that high with big round leaves, and the, on the...

Randy Bouchard: What do they call that in English?

Sam Mitchell: Well I wouldn't know, I couldn't tell you.

Baptiste Ritchie: I stám'a, qwenálhp.

Sam Mitchell: Qwenálhpa, Yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Qwenálhp. Wa7 ts'íla t'u7 ku corn i pétskelhtsa.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, it's just like corn.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Just like... ts'íla t'u7 i pétsklha, aoz ku7 ts'íla ku hákwa7.

Sam Mitchell:

Aoz ku... yeah, just like corn.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Just like corn.

Sam Mitchell:

It has a stem like...

Baptiste Ritchie:

Ts'íla t'u7 ku corn i pétsklhtsa.

Sam Mitchell:

Only the leaves is more round... and the... the, like the sinew on the leaf, you know? It comes all together to the top, it doesn't go right out. You know they, the... like the... yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Qwenálhp. Szalk'w t'u7 ts'íla, zalk'w. Zalk'wcál izá t'u7.

Randy Bouchard:

Stexw t'u7 áma meláomen.

Sam Mitchell:

Oh yeah, it's real physical.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Wa7 zuqws... wa7 zuqw i wa7...

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, if you get chilled, your mouth gets...

Baptiste Ritchie:

Locked.

Sam Mitchell:

I tell you what, what it does, your pores opens, because that time I took it, I can feel it, the wind was going right through here, and right though here. So it opens your...

Baptiste Ritchie:

Remember me making that story about the pores?

Randy Bouchard:

You had to be in a sweathouse or really hot before you could do it.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Or a house like this with a...

Sam Mitchell:

It's gotta be warm.

Baptiste Ritchie:

A hundred temperature, about a hundred temperature.

Sam Mitchell:

A hundred temperature, yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

You're sweating, and it comes out. But when you're cold, it's sealed.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, your pores closes and then... in our language they call it gáts'xwets. Your mouth, it'll clamp, you can't open it. Gats'xwtsán'em.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Gats'xwtsán'em, gats'xwtsán'em.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, gats'xwtsán'em, yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie: Gats'xwtsán'em, lockjaw.

Sam Mitchell:

Lockjaw, iz'. But that's what that qwenálhp does.

Baptiste Ritchie:

There's lots of that on this mountain.

Sam Mitchell:

You gotta go up in the mountain, you gotta go up.

Baptiste Ritchie: Just about timberline.

Sam Mitchell: Above timberline, yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie: Deadly poison.

Sam Mitchell: It's supposed to be...

Randy Bouchard:

The only reason you take it is just to clean yourself out, is that right?

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, that's a real physic, that's a real... this, this uh, they call 'em down here the drugstore guy, you know, I tell him, he asks me odd things, and then he showed me this. This qwenálhp, he showed me, he says, "What's this?"

"Boy," I told him, "I took some of that myself!" I told him, "I know what it is." I told him, "If you want physic, you can puke and shit and everything else, if you take just a..."

He had the big part, you see? This root, when you dig the root itself, it's a... just a few big, some like, it just looks like a finger, like that. But it's got hair, the hair is finer, oh, about a quarter of an inch thick. And it's all over the top of the main root. You don't use the hair, but it's the main root. This looks, he calls it a

poultice, you know, when you cut it, it looks, it's cutable, you can cut it, it's not like wood, it's a root.

And he laughed and he says, "You know what," he says, "I just took a little sliver out of that and I gave it to a cat, and you know," she says, "That cat, he sure shit and puked. And he died," he said, "he died."

"Well," I says, "you put him outside, you should've put him in the house." I told him, "It's gotta be warm," I says, "when I take it, it's gotta be warm. But if you put that cat inside, he might've pulled through," but I said, "you get chilled outside," I says, "that'll open your pores." Because that time I took it, I can feel the wind going right through here, and right through here.

I seen the Chilcotins one time, I met a bunch of Chilcotins up... up Barkerville, I seen that fellow, he got some there, and I told him, I says... did you shut that off?

Randy Bouchard:

No it's still going, it doesn't matter.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah. And I told this Chilcotin, well he talked Chilcotin and English, you know, he had to use English. I said, "What do you use it for?"

"Oh," he says, "good medicine."

I says, "What for? What use 'em?" I told him, "I use 'em, I drink it myself."

"Oh," he says, "good medicine," he says, "You know, my country," he says, "one fellow he had... he had consumption, he gonna die. He went up in the mountain, he make that stuff, he get some, he drink it. He said, 'I'm gonna die anyways, I'm gonna drink enough of this poison, it kill me just the same, I'm gonna die anyways." So he says, he drink it, he puke, he told me he puke, he shit too, eh? He says, yeah, you laugh?

I started to laugh, I told him, "I drink it, I know. He make you puke, he make you shit."

He just laughed at me, he says, "You know?"

I told him, "Sure I know, I drank it."

He says, "You know that fellow, he got better, no more consumption, he alright, he's still alive."

Boy, he took that poison, he was gonna die anyways.

Baptiste Ritchie:

One poison killed the other.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, It could be. Well, if it's in the... TB is in the lungs, if that thing is... works through there, well then, it's bound to kill something. But I know it's powerful, because I tried it. Yeah, that's the first time that...

sTitus, he agreed with me, I told him, "Sure," I says, "you give it to the cat, he'll shit and puke."

And he laughed, he says that's what that he done, but he says he died, because his mouth just...

I told him, "Sure, his mouth will just lock." Well I'm going around the back myself.

15.2 English

Randy Bouchard:

Maybe you could tell about um... you said you took those herbs, you could tell about that?

Sam Mitchell:

Oh, my father told me, I was around there having a conversation, and said, "Oh, I'm going to try Indian Hellebore." Then he told me, "Yeah, they say Indian Hellebore clears out your insides, yeah. But the only thing is, it's bad when you..."

Baptiste Ritchie:

When someone passes too closely to you.

Sam Mitchell:

"If you're going to drink Indian Hellebore, then you're going to kind of get cleaned out," *yeah*. "You can't be around just anybody when..." He said, "The only bad thing is when a woman is sick with her period, and she's going to make food for you."

The Indians they believe that, you know, you know what I mean? Yeah, the women's periods, when they cook food?

"That's the only bad thing," he said, "but you'll need to know it so that you don't get kind of confused. If it's that way, then it'll be okay."

At that time, I was working where they make the *pools* in winter, it was almost spring. I went to pick Indian Hellebore, and I dug up some cow parsnip roots, then I boiled them and mixed them together.

It looks a bit like Indian Hellebore. Their roots are like Indian Hellebore. Then I cut them, I sliced them thinly, and then I put them in. But there was a lot of water, and cow parsnip makes a good drink. My friend *Felix Levine*, though, he was there.

I cooled it off, and just as I started to cool it, I took a tobacco tin. I used to smoke back then, so I took a tobacco tin. I poured some in and drank it, and as for the taste, the cow parsnip made it taste good. It didn't take long, and it was all poured in. It was a good thing I did that because there was a lot. Must've been like four *tobacco cans* full.

²The botanical name of Indian Hellebore is *veratrum viride*, and it is also known colloquially as 'corn lily' and 'green false hellebore'.

Then maybe *one hour* after I first drank it – there was a lot of snow – my stomach kind of started to twist. I hadn't got loosened up yet. "Well, my stomach is kind of twisting," I told him [Felix].

Baptiste Ritchie: Both ways.

Sam Mitchell:

Both ways, yeah.

It stopped, I stood up, and then I was okay. My father had already told me, "Don't get cold when you're about to drink Indian Hellebore, whatever you're thinking, don't get cold, when it's hot, then it's okay."

I went inside, and my friend was there. My stomach twisted again, and I felt it so I jumped up. I went outside, the snow was deep, and then similarium sim

"Holy, gosh," I says, I said to my friend, "How does it just keep on coming?" Gosh, lots.

It was two hours later, then it was all gone.

Baptiste Ritchie:

You were all emptied out.

Sam Mitchell:

Everything was gone, *nothing! Mystomach* (was empty) so I went and laid down a little. My partner cooked, and I drank a little tea. I didn't feel anything that you... I didn't... *It's all out, and I puked it all out.* Then we went to sleep.

In the morning, it was time for me to wake up, so I woke up. I sat up and put my shoes on. I was going to stand up, like you do. Gee, it made me stagger around, like this, and I started to bump into something. It was then that I knew, there was nothing in here [in my stomach]. My head felt heavy, but I didn't have a headache. My head got heavy, but I managed to do it, he said he was the one who led the way. I stood up straight, then I was fine. I was going to tilt over face first, but then he...

Baptiste Ritchie:

Fell over.

Sam Mitchell:

Fell over, yeah, because my head was heavy. My top was heavy, and down here there's nothing to hold it down. So that's the way that qwenálhp is. They say it's poison root, but, it grows like corn about that high with big round leaves, and the, on the...

Randy Bouchard:

What do they call that in English?

Sam Mitchell:

Well I wouldn't know, I couldn't tell you.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Those things, Indian Hellebore.

Sam Mitchell:

Hellebore, Yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Hellebore. It's leaves are like corn.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, it's just like corn.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Just like... the leaves are just like.... they're not like cow parsnip.

Sam Mitchell:

They're not... yeah, just like corn.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Just like corn.

Sam Mitchell:

It has a stem like...

Baptiste Ritchie:

It's leaves are just like corn.

Sam Mitchell:

Only the leaves is more round... and the... the, like the sinew on the leaf, you know? It comes all together to the top, it doesn't go right out. You know they, the... like the... yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Hellebore. It's kind of wrapped around, they [the leaves] wrap around.

Randy Bouchard:

It's really good medicine.

Sam Mitchell:

Oh yeah, it's real physical.

Baptiste Ritchie:

It kills... they die, the ones who...

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, if you get chilled, your mouth gets...

Baptiste Ritchie:

Locked.

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I tell you what, what it does, your pores opens, because that time I took it, I can feel it, the wind was going right through here, and right though here. So it opens your...

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Baptiste Ritchie:

Lockjaw, lockjaw.

Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, lockjaw, yeah.

Baptiste Ritchie:

Lockjaw.

Sam Mitchell:

Lockjaw, iz'. But that's what that qwenálhp does.

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He had the big part, you see? This root, when you dig the root itself, it's a... just a few big, some like, it just looks like a finger, like that. But it's got hair, the hair is finer, oh, about a quarter of an inch thick. And it's all over the top of the main root. You don't use the hair, but it's the main root. This looks, he calls it a poultice, you know, when you cut it, it looks, it's cutable, you can cut it, it's not like wood, it's a root.

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I told him, "Sure, his mouth will just lock."

Well I'm going around the back myself.

15.3 Interlinear Gloss

- [0:00] (1) Randy Bouchard:

 Maybe you could tell about um... you said you took those herbs, you could tell about that?
 - (2) Sam Mitchell: ni7 (na...) na=n-sqátsez7=a, oh that.ABS ABS.DET= ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS n-sqátsez7=a wa7 tsún-ts-as, ISG.POSS-father=EXIS IPFV say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG wá7=lhkan káti7 wa7 IPFV=ISG.SBJ around+there.VIS be qwel'•qwal'•él't, "o, wá7=lhkan t'ánam'-en TRED*tell*FRED oh IPFV=ISG.SBJ try-DIR ku=qwen-álhp."

DET=indian.hellebore-plant

Oh, my father told me, I was around there having a conversation, and said, "Oh, I'm going to try Indian Hellebore."

(3) nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-ts-as, "iy," wa7
COP=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG yes IPFV
tsut, "wa7 tsut, n-ts'x-p-álhts'a7-cal
say IPFV say LOC-get.cleaned-INCH-inside-ACT
ku=qwen-álhp, iy."
DET=indian.hellebore-plant yes

Then he told me, "Yeah," he said, "they say Indian Hellebore clears out your insides, yeah."

(4)"tsúkw=t'u7=hem' zam'," wa7 tsut, finish=EXCL=ANTI though IPFV tswása..." "s=qvl=s tsut, NMLZ=bad=3POSS D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS say "se=ts7á-wn[a]... lhecw=klh NMLZ=this.VIS-precisely COMP+IPFV+2SG.SBJV=FUT (a....)" ah

[&]quot;But the only thing is, it's bad when you..."

(6) Sam Mitchell:

"lhécw=kelh... lh=7úqw7-ans-acw COMP+IPFV+2SG.SBJV=FUT COMP=drink-dir-2SG.erg

ku=qwen-álhp, nílh=t'u7 Det=indian.hellebore-plant cop=excl

> su cuz'... ts'íla wa7 cuz' NMLZ+IPFV+2sG.POSS going.to like IPFV going.to ts'ex, k'its', ts'éx•ts'xem," yeah. get.cleaned get.clean TRED•get.cleaned yeah

"If you're going to drink Indian Hellebore, then you're going to kind of get cleaned out," *yeah*.

- (7) "ao kwásu úl'lus l=ku=tákem swat...

 NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS gather at=DET=all who
 lhas..."

 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV

 "You can't be around just anybody when..."
- (8)"tsúkw=t'u7," tsut, "wa7 qv<u>l</u> lhwas (a...) finish=EXCL IPFV bad COMP+IPFV+3SBJV say qwenúxw-min-as ku=t'ánam'ten ku=smúlhats, wá7=kelh sick-RLT-3ERG DET=moon DET=woman IPFV=FUT k'ul'-tsn-án-tsi-has." get.made-food-DIR-2SG.OBJ-3ERG He said, "The only bad thing is when a woman is sick with her period, and she's going to make food for you."
- (9) The Indians they believe that, you know, you know what I mean? Yeah, [1:00] the women's periods, when they cook food?

tsut, "tsúkw=t'u7 wa7 qvl," wa7 tsut, "k'ámalh (10)finish=EXCL IPFV bad IPFV say IPFV say however zewát-en-acw kw=s=cw7aoy=s going.to be.known-DIR-2SG.ERG D/C=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS cuz'... kwásu ts'íla D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS going.to like lak. máť'eť, nílh=ťu7 IPFV get.mixed FRED be.there COP=EXCL s=7áma=s." NMLZ=good=3POSS

"That's the only bad thing," he said, "but you'll need to know it so that you don't get kind of confused. If it's that way, then it'll be okay."

(11) wá::7=lhkan aylh l=kw7u k'wezús-em
IPFV=ISG.SBJ then at=that.INVIS work-MID
l=kw=k'úl'-em ki=pool=a
at=DET=get.made-MID COLL.DET=pool=EXIS
l=ku=sútik, plan wa7 qapts-álmen.
at=DET=winter already IPFV spring-nearly

At that time, I was working where they make the *pools* in winter, it was almost spring.

```
k'úl'-em
(12)
         nilh n=s=tsicw
                ISG.POSS=NMLZ=get.there
                                            get.made-мір
             ku=qwen-álhp=a,
             INVIS.DET=indian.hellebore-plant=EXIS
                  kem'-cál=lhkan
                  dig.roots-ACT=ISG.SBJ
                      ki=wén7=a...
                      COLL.DET=whatchamacallit=EXIS
                           hákw7=a,
                                              nilh
                           cow.parsnip=EXIS
                               s=púlh-un'-an,
                               NMLZ=get.boiled-DIR-ISG.ERG
                                    mat'-min-twal'=lhkán=t'u7.
                                    get.mixed-rlt-recp=isg.sbj=excl
         I went to pick Indian Hellebore, and I dug up some cow parsnip roots,
         then I boiled them and mixed them together.
                ts'e•ts'•la=k'á=t'u7
(13)
                                         séna7 e=ts7á
         IPFV
                like CRED = EPIS = EXCL CNTR to = this. VIS
             n=ta=qwen-álhp=a.3
                                                   ts'ila=k'á=t'u7
             at=DET=indian.hellebore-plant=EXIS like=EPIS=EXCL
                  e=ts7á
                                        ta=qwen-álhp=a,
                  to=this.vis that.vis DET=indian.hellebore-plant=EXIS
                                [ta]=t'ak'wáml'acw-s=a...
                      that.VIS DET=root-3POSS=EXIS
         It looks a bit like Indian Hellebore. Their roots are like Indian
         Hellebore...
(14)
         ...nilh s=ník'-in'-an,
         COP
                  NMLZ=get.cut-DIR-ISG.ERG
             pa•p•kw-an'=lhkán=t'u7,
                                                   nílh=ťu7
             get.sliced • CRED • - DIR = ISG.SBJ = EXCL COP = EXCL
                  n=s=\{n\}-lham'-án'-an.<sup>4</sup>
                  ISG.POSS=NMLZ=LOC-get.put.into-DIR-ISG.ERG
         ...Then I cut them, I sliced them thinly, and then I put them in.
```

³The preposition n= 'at' is a variant of l=.

(15) t'u7 cw7it ta=qú7=a, nílh=hem'... nilh
but many det=water=exis cop=anti cop
i=hákw7=a, nilh s=7áma=s
pl.det=cow.parsnip=exis cop nmlz=good=3poss
[ta]=7úqwa7-ten-s=a ti=hákw7=a.

det=drink-ins-3poss=exis det=cow.parsnip=exis
But there was a lot of water, and cow parsnip makes a good drink.

- (16) nilh zam' na=n-snúk'w7=a s-Felix
 COP though ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-friend=EXIS NMLZ-Felix
 Levine, nilh ti7 láti7 wa7.
 Levine COP that.VIS at+there.VIS be
 My friend Felix Levine, though, he was there.
- (17)tsák-an'=lhkan=tu7, pút=tu7 ts7as oh cool-dir=isg.sbj=rem exactly=rem come kwán=lhkan n-mán'c-ten=a... LOC-cool-DIR take+DIR=ISG.SBJ LOC-smoke-INS=EXIS wá7=lhkan=tu7 mán'c-em pináni7, IPFV=ISG.SBJ=REM smoke-MID at.that.time kwán=lhkan n-mán'c-ten=a. take+DIR=ISG.SBJ LOC-smoke-INS=EXIS I cooled it off, and just as I started to cool it, I took a tobacco tin... I used to smoke back then, so I took a tobacco tin.
- [2:00] (18) t'ák'w-an'=lhkan, nilh n=s=7úqwa7, liquid.gets.poured.in-dir=isg.sbj cop isg.poss=nmlz=drink t'u7 káti7 ku=ts'áqw-ten, áma sts'áqw-ten-s but around+there.vis det=eat-ins good eat-ins-3poss ta=hákw7=a.

 Det=cow.parsnip=exis

I poured some in and drank it, and as for the taste, the cow parsnip made it taste good.

⁴Note that *nslham'án'an* contains both possessive and ergative subject marking.

- (19)áoy=ťu7 cin', s-t'ák'w-[w]ilh. NEG=EXCL long.time stat-liquid.gets.poured.in-vessel It didn't take long, and it was all poured in.
- (20)láti7 lh=7ámh=as n-száyten=a at+there.vis comp=good=3sbjv isg.poss-doings=exis $t{a}=s=cw7it=s=[a]$ séna7. D/C=NMLZ=many=3POSS=EXIS CNTR It was a good thing I did that because there was a lot.
- (21)k'a ts'íla ku=xw7útsin tobacco EPIS like DET=four tobacco can Must've been like four tobacco cans full.
- (22)nílh=k'a=t'u7 s=plan=s wa7 one hour COP=EPIS=EXCL NMLZ=already=3POSS IPFV one hour lh[el=na]=n-s-kél7=a úgwa7 from=ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-NMLZ-before=EXIS drink
 - áku7 wa7 cw7it ta=máq7=a to+there.INVIS be many DET=snow=EXIS ts7ás=t'u7=ku7 ts'íla ku=t'úp-lec begin=EXCL=that.INVIS like D/C=get.twisted-AUT ku=n-gwelín=a. INVIS.DET=ISG.POSS-stomach=EXIS

- Then maybe *one hour* after I first drank it there was a lot of snow my stomach kind of started to twist.
- (23)kwenswá lan ao NEG around+there.VIS D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV already kw=s=tíg'w•eg'w. D/C=NMLZ=get.free*FRED I hadn't got loosened up yet.
- n-gwélin=a," (24)"well, ts'íla ku=t'úp-lec well like D/C=get.twisted-AUT ISG.POSS-stomach=EXIS tsún=lhkan. say+DIR=ISG.SBJ "Well, my stomach is kind of twisting," I told him [Felix].

```
(25)
               nilh n=s=q'áy-lec,
                                                 wa7 séna7 láku7
                COP ISG.POSS=NMLZ=jump-AUT be
                                                      CNTR at+there.INVIS
                   ta=7álts'q7=a
                                       tsé•ts•tecw,
                                                     t'u7
                                                          áoy=ťu7
                   DET=outside=EXIS house•CRED•
                                                    but
                                                          NEG=EXCL
                        kw=n=s=tsícw•ecw,
                                                             t'u7
                        D/C=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=get.there*FRED but
                            q'wégw-s=kan
                                               n-lhecw-q=a.
                            low-caus=isg.sbj isg.poss-put.on-bottom=exis
               I ran to the outhouse but I didn't get there, then I lowered my pants.
      (26)
                tsi, s::::::::,
                             téxw=t'u7
                                             áti7
                                                          wá7=tu7
                gee s::::::: straight=EXCL to+there.VIS IPFV=REM
                   kw=s=...
                                 kwelh...
                                            tsítsel=k'a
                                                         wa7
                   D/C=NMLZ= those.INVIS new=EPIS IPFV
                        n=s=7ílhen,
                                             wá7=t'u7=tu7
                        ISG.POSS=NMLZ=eat be=EXCL=REM
                            láku7
                                           í7ez'
                                                    láku7
                            at+there.INVIS enough at+there.INVIS
                                [t]=[s]=xil-em=s=a.
                                D/C=NMLZ=do-MID=3POSS=EXIS
               Gee, s..........., I had just eaten, and that was just enough to do it.
[3:00] (27)
               lhel=ts7á-wna...
                                      xil-em=lhkán=t'u7=ti7
               from=this.vis-precisely do-MID=ISG.SBJ=EXCL=that.vis D/C=
                                      e=t7\dot{u}-wn[a].
                   s=s::::::;
                   NMLZ=s:::::: to=that.vis-precisely
               From then on, I just s....., the same thing as before.
      (28)
                wá7=lhkan=tu7
                                   sáq'-em,
                                                     cw7áoy=t'u7
                                   open.mouth-MID NEG=EXCL
                IPFV=ISG.SBJ=REM
                                     kwenswá=ť[u7]
                   around+there.vis D/C+isg.poss+NMLZ+ipfv=excl
                        k'ets'-n-ám.5
                        put.bar.across-DIR-3PASS
               I opened my mouth, and I just couldn't stop it.
```

(29)wá7=lhkan=tu7 sáq'-em, xíl-em e=ts7á... IPFV=ISG.SBJ=REM open.mouth-MID do-MID to=this.VIS S..... S::::::::::: When I opened my mouth, it happened again. (30)(31)Baptiste Ritchie: tíwas=t'u7. both=EXCL Both ways. (32)Sam Mitchell: tíwas=t'u7, iy. both=EXCL yes Both ways, yeah. (33)[ka]-t'al-a=tú7=a, tálh-lec=kan, nílh=ťu7 CIRC-stop-CIRC=REM=A stand-AUT=ISG.SBJ COP=EXCL nswa áma. ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV good It stopped, I stood up, and then I was okay. (34)s=plán=s=hem' ta=wa7 tsún-ts-as NMLZ=already=3POSS=ANTI DET=IPFV say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG na=n-sqátsz7=a, "cw7aoz ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS ka-ts'íp'-a CIRC-cold-CIRC D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS lh=cúz'=acw úqw7-ans COMP=going.to=2SG.SBJV drink-DIR ku=qwen-álhp..." DET=indian.hellebore-plant My father had already told me, "Don't get cold when you're about to drink Indian Hellebore..."

⁵We are assuming that *k'ets'nám* is being used metaphorically here.

```
"...nká7=as=t'u7
                            n-tsut-ánwas,
(35)
                                           cw7aoz
        where=3SBJV=EXCL LOC-say-inside
                                           NEG
            kwásu
                                       ka-ts'íp'-a,
            D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS
                                       CIRC-cold-CIRC
                lhwas
                                   qemp, [nilh swas
                COMP+IPFV+3SBJV hot
                                               NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
                                         COP
                    áma]."6
                    good
        "...whatever you're thinking, don't get cold, when it's hot, then it's
        okay."
(36)
        ni[lh] n=s=7ulhcw,
                                     wá7=ti7
                                                 láti7
               ISG.POSS=NMLZ=enter be=that.VIS at+there.VIS
            n-snúk'w7=a.
            Loc-friend=EXIS
        I went inside, and my friend was there.
(37)
        k'á=hem'=t'u7
                         t'úp-lec
                                         n-gwelín=a,
        EPIS=ANTI=EXCL get.twisted-AUT ISG.POSS-stomach=EXIS
            alán=lhkan=t'u7,
                                   (s) nílh=t'u7
            feel+DIR=ISG.SBJ=EXCL
                                        COP=EXCL
                n=s=q'áy-lec.
                ISG.POSS=NMLZ=jump-AUT
        My stomach twisted again, and I felt it so I jumped up.
                           ka-7úts'q7-a,
(38)
        wá7=lhkan=tu7
                                            plhulh ta=máq7=a.
        IPFV=ISG.SBJ=REM CIRC-go.out-CIRC thick
                                                   DET=snow=EXIS
                       s::::...
            I went outside, the snow was deep, and then similarity similarity
        s::::...
```

⁶The last three words of this stanza are unclear, and our transcription is tentative.

- (39) "Holy, gosh," I says, I said to my friend, "kás=k'a holy gosh I says I said to my friend how=EPIS

 lhus ts7as?" Gosh, lots.

 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV come gosh lots

 "Holy, gosh" I says, I said to my friend, "How does it just keep on coming?" Gosh, lots.
- (40) s=ní::lh=s=ti7 láku7 ku=two
 NMLZ=COP=3POSS=that.VIS at+there.INVIS DET=two
 hours, nílh=t'u7=ti7 s=... plán=s=k'a
 hours COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ= already=3POSS=EPIS
 wá7=t'u7 wa7 ts'ek.
 IPFV=EXCL IPFV empty

It was two hours later, then it was all gone.

(41) Baptiste Ritchie:
lán=su tákem.
already=28G.POSS all
You were all emptied out.

laid down a little.

- (42)Sam Mitchell: [4:00]plán=k'a=t'u7 nothing! My ta.... already=EPIS=EXCL nothgin DET= my stomach... nílh=t'u7 n=s=... nilh stomach COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ= COP n=s=ké•k•ts-l'ec. ISG.POSS=NMLZ=get.laid.down • CRED • - AUT Everything was gone, nothing! My stomach (was empty) so I went and
- (43) kúkw ta=n-páotenh=a, ú•7•qwa7=lhkan cook det=isg.poss-partner=exis drink•cred•=isg.sbj ta=tíh=a.

 Det=tea=exis

My partner cooked, and I drank a little tea.

- (44) ao káti7 kwenswá alán

 NEG around+there.VIS D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV feel+DIR

 kwásu... ao káti7

 D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS NEG around+there.VIS

 kwenswá...

 D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV

 I didn't feel anything that you... I didn't...
- (45) It's all out, and I puked it all out.
- (46) nilh... nilh s=gúy't=kalh.

 COP COP NMLZ=sleep=IPL.POSS

 Then we went to sleep.
- (47) n'án'atcw, tsícw=t'u7 tenswá
 morning get.there=EXCL D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV+EXIS
 cwak, nilh n=s=cwak.
 get.woken.up COP ISG.POSS=NMLZ=get.woken.up
 In the morning, it was time for me to wake up, so I woke up.
- (48) mítsa7q=kan, lhecw-q-án=lhkan sit.down=Isg.sbj put.on-bottom-dir=Isg.sbj i=n-s7ílhts'7=a.

 PL.DET=Isg.Poss-shoe=exis

 I sat up and put my shoes on.
- (49) nílh=t'u7 n=s=t'ák=t'u7=tu7,
 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=go.along=EXCL=REM
 wá7=lhkan tálh-lec, cúz'=lhkan tálh-lec,
 IPFV=ISG.SBJ stand-AUT going.to=ISG.SBJ stand-AUT
 xíl-em tswa xíl-em.
 do-MID D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS do-MID
 I was going to stand up, like you do.

(50) tsi, qwe•qwiw-ám'-s-tum'c, xíl-em, t'u7
gee IRED•stagger-MID-CAUS-ISG.OBJ do-MID but
cúy'=lhkan [ken']•n'-álqw.⁷
going.to=ISG.SBJ get.bumped•FRED-cylinder
Gee, it made me stagger around, like this, and I started to bump into something.

(51) nílh=t'u7 láti7=t'u7 nilh
COP=EXCL at+there.VIS=EXCL COP
s=zewát-en-an, cw7áoz=a=cwilh
NMLZ=be.known-dir.Isg.erg Neg=A=after.all
l=kw7a ku=n-lhám'.
at=this.Invis det=loc-get.put.into
It was then that I knew, there was nothing in here [in my stomach].

(52) nílh=t'u7 s=xmán•n•ek=s
COP=EXCL NMLZ=heavy•FRED•=3POSS
na=n-q'úmqen=a, cw7aoz káti7
ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-head=EXIS NEG around+there.vIS
kwenswá wa7 qwál'-us.
D/C+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV IPFV ache-head
My head felt heavy, but I didn't have a headache.

(53) xmán•n•ek=s na=n-q'úmqen=a,
heavy•fred•=3poss ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-head=EXIS
ka-xilh-{ts}=kan-á=t'u7,
CIRC-do.like-CAUS=ISG.SBJ-CIRC=EXCL
tsút=t'u7, snílh=t'u7 áta7
say=EXCL ISG.INDEP=EXCL to+there.VIS
n-kel7-áw'•w'es.
LOC-before-middle•fred

My head got heavy, but I managed to do it, he said he was the one who led the way...

⁷The verb *qweqwiwám'stum'c* is missing the expected *-as* 3rd person ergative suffix. Also, the sentence *t'u7 cúy'lbkan ken'n'álqw* is difficult to decipher, and represents our best guess.

- (54) talh-lec=kán=tu7 s-telh, nílh=t'u7 stand-AUT=ISG.SBJ=REM STAT-get.stretched.out COP=EXCL n=s=7áma.
 ISG.POSS=NMLZ=good
 I stood up straight, then I was fine.
- (55) nás=kan=tu7 ka... wál'-us-a, t'u7
 go=Isg.sbj=rem circ- tilt-face-circ but
 snílh=t'u7=ti7 ta=n-...
 3sg.indep=excl=that.vis det=locI was going to tilt over face first, but then he...
- (56) Baptiste Ritchie: zikt. topple Fall over.
- [5:00] (57) Sam Mitchell:

 zikt, iy, nilh n-q'úmqen xmank.

 topple yes COP ISG.POSS-head heavy

 Fall over, yeah, because my head was heavy.
 - (58) My top was heavy, and down here there's nothing to hold it down. So that's the way that qwenálhp is. They say it's poison root, but, it grows like corn about that high with big round leaves, and the, on the...
 - (59) Randy Bouchard:
 What do they call that in English?
 - (60) Sam Mitchell:
 Well I wouldn't know, I couldn't tell you.
 - (61) Baptiste Ritchie:
 i=stám'=a, qwen-álhp.
 PL.DET=what=EXIS indian.hellebore-plant
 Those things, Indian Hellebore.
 - (62) Sam Mitchell: Qwenálhpa, Yeah.

(63) Baptiste Ritchie:

qwen-álhp. wa7 ts'íla=t'u7 ku=corn (i=...) indian.hellebore-plant IPFV like=EXCL DET=corn PL.DET= i=pétskelh-ts=a.

PL.DET=leaf-3POSS=EXIS

Hellebore. It's leaves are like corn.

- (64) Sam Mitchell: Yeah, it's just like corn.
- (65) Baptiste Ritchie:

 Just like... ts'íla=t'u7 i=pétsklh=a, áoz=ku7 ts'íla
 just like like=excl pl.det=leaf=exis neg=quot like
 ku=hákwa7.

 Det=cow.parsnip

Just like... the leaves are just like... they're not like cow parsnip.

- (66) Sam Mitchell:

 aoz ku=... yeah, just like corn.

 NEG DET= yeah just like corn.

 They're not... yeah, just like corn.
- (67) Baptiste Ritchie: Just like corn.
- (68) Sam Mitchell: It has a stem like...
- (69) Baptiste Ritchie:

 ts'ila=t'u7 ku=corn i=pétsklh-ts=a.
 like=EXCL DET=corn PL.DET=leaf-3POSS=EXIS
 It's leaves are just like corn.
- (70) Sam Mitchell:
 Only the leaves is more round... and the... the, like the sinew on the leaf,
 you know? It comes all together to the top, it doesn't go right out. You
 know they, the... like the... yeah.

[6:00] (71) Baptiste Ritchie:

qwen-álhp. s-zálk'w=t'u7 ts'íla, indian.hellbore-plant stat-get.wrapped=excl like zalk'w. zalk'w-cál izá=t'u7. get.wrapped get.wrapped-act these.vis=excl Hellebore. It's kind of wrapped around, they [the leaves] wrap

(72) Randy Bouchard:

stéxw=t'u7 áma meláomen.

straight=EXCL good medicine

It's really good medicine.

(73) Sam Mitchell: Oh yeah, it's real physical.

around.

- (74) Baptiste Ritchie:

 wa7 zuqw-s... wa7 zuqw i=wa7...

 IPFV die-CAUS IPFV die PL.DET=IPFV

 It kills... they die, the ones who...
- (75) Sam Mitchell:
 Yeah, if you get chilled, your mouth gets...
- (76) Baptiste Ritchie: Locked.
- (77) Sam Mitchell:

 I tell you what, what it does, your pores opens, because that time I took
 it, I can feel it, the wind was going right through here, and right though
 here. So it opens your...
- (78) Baptiste Ritchie:
 Remember me making that story about the pores?
- (79) Randy Bouchard:You had to be in a sweathouse or really hot before you could do it.
- (80) Baptiste Ritchie:
 Or a house like this with a...

- (81) Sam Mitchell: It's gotta be warm.
- (82) Baptiste Ritchie:

 A hundred temperature, about a hundred temperature.
- (83) Sam Mitchell:
 A hundred temperature, yeah.
- (84) Baptiste Ritchie:
 You're sweating, and it comes out. But when you're cold, it's sealed.
- (85) Sam Mitchell: [7:00] Yeah, your pores closes and then... in our language they call it gáts' xwets. Your mouth, it'll clamp, you can't open it. Gats' xwtsán'em.
- (86) Baptiste Ritchie:
 gats'xw-ts-án'-em, gats'xw-ts-án'-em.
 lockjaw-mouth-dir-3pass lockjaw-mouth-dir-3pass
 Lockjaw, lockjaw.
- (87) Sam Mitchell:
 Yeah, gats'xw-ts-án'-em, yeah.
 yeah lockjaw-mouth-dir-3pass yeah
 Yeah, lockjaw, yeah.
- (88) Baptiste Ritchie: gats'xwtsán'em, Lockjaw.
- (89) Sam Mitchell: Lockjaw, iz'. But that's what that qwenálhp does.
- (90) Baptiste Ritchie: There's lots of that on this mountain.
- (91) Sam Mitchell:
 You gotta go up in the mountain, you gotta go up.
- (92) Baptiste Ritchie: Just about timberline.

- (93) Sam Mitchell: Above timberline, yeah.
- (94) Baptiste Ritchie: Deadly poison.
- (95) Sam Mitchell: It's supposed to be...
- (96) Randy Bouchard:

 The only reason you take it is just to clean yourself out, is that right?
- (97) Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, that's a real physic, that's a real... this, this uh, they call 'em down here the drugstore guy, you know, I tell him, he asks me odd things, and then he showed me this. This qwenálhp, he showed me, he says, "What's this?"

"Boy," I told him, "I took some of that myself!" I told him, "I know what it is." I told him, "If you want physic, you can puke and shit and everything else, if you take just a..."

He had the big part, you see? This root, when you dig the root itself, it's a... just a few big, some like, it just looks like a finger, like that. But it's got hair, the hair is finer, oh, about a quarter of an inch thick. And it's all over the top of the main root. You don't use the hair, but it's the main root. This looks, he calls it a poultice, you know, when you cut it, it looks, it's cutable, you can cut it, it's not like wood, it's a root.

And he laughed and he says, "You know what," he says, "I just took a little sliver out of that and I gave it to a cat, and you know," she says, "That cat, he sure shit and puked. And he died," he said, "he died."

"Well," I says, "you put him outside, you should've put him in the house." I told him, "It's gotta be warm," I says, "when I take it, it's gotta be warm. But if you put that cat inside, he might've pulled through," but I said, "you get chilled outside," I says, "that'll open your pores." Because that time I took it, I can feel the wind going right through here, and right through here.

I seen the Chilcotins one time, I met a bunch of Chilcotins up... up Barkerville, I seen that fellow, he got some there, and I told him, I says... did you shut that off?

[8:00]

[9:00]

(98) Randy Bouchard:
No it's still going, it doesn't matter.

(99) Sam Mitchell:

Yeah. And I told this Chilcotin, well he talked Chilcotin and English, you know, he had to use English. I said, "What do you use it for?" "Oh," he says, "good medicine."

I says, "What for? What use 'em?" I told him, "I use 'em, I drink it myself."

"Oh," he says, "good medicine," he says, "You know, my country," he says, "one fellow he had... he had consumption, he gonna die. He went up in the mountain, he make that stuff, he get some, he drink it. He said, 'I'm gonna die anyways, I'm gonna drink enough of this poison, it kill me just the same, I'm gonna die anyways." So he says, he drink it, he puke, he told me he puke, he shit too, eh? He says, yeah, you laugh?

I started to laugh, I told him, "I drink it, I know. He make you puke, he you shit..."

He just laughed at me, he says, "You know?"

I told him, "Sure I know, I drank it."

He says, "You know that fellow, he got better, no more consumption, he alright, he's still alive."

Boy, he took that poison, he was gonna die anyways.

(100) Baptiste Ritchie: One poison killed the other.

(101) Sam Mitchell:

Yeah, It could be. Well, if it's in the... TB is in the lungs, if that thing is... works through there, well then, it's bound to kill something. But I know it's powerful, because I tried it. Yeah, that's the first time that...

sTitus, he agreed with me, I told him, "Sure," I says, "you give it to the [11:00] cat, he'll shit and puke."

And he laughed, he says that's what that he done, but he says he died, because his mouth just...

I told him, "Sure, his mouth will just lock."

Well I'm going around the back myself.

[11:20]

15.4 Baptiste Ritchie's Free Translation⁸

My father had heard that I had wanted to know about *qwenálhp*, so he said, "Oh yes, it is good medicine, it's good for cleaning out your system. The plant is very much like corn and stands an average of three feet at full growth. The bulb is the part that is used. It is much like a poison, that's why the Spanish call it "loco-weed", for the horses get crazy when they eat it. It grows only in the high hills especially around the timber lines in BC. It's the same color as corn and the leaves are similar although wrapped around the stalk a bit more. The root can be used any time of year. Sometimes it is dried for future use. They are very sacred and it isn't everybody that can use it. In the old days just about anybody could use it, but today we hesitate for we are among people that are careless especially when women are having their period. With the likes of unclean people, you get sick from it. The old people say that we should not use that kind of medicine for we have already changed our way of life; we have accepted the whiteman's ways. Otherwise, the old people say, it is one of the best medicines. The only thing is, you must be alone and completely away from crowds of people when you take it.

I was one of the last persons to take the locoweed. I heard just how to go about taking it, so I gathered some roots, of the raw Indian rhubarb and put them into some water. With this, I added a half of a finger-sized locoweed and drank the mixture. It was easily taken for I had added a lot of water; about four and one half pounds, measured in a tobacco tin and boiled.

A short time after I took it, my bowels and stomach started to move and I had to go outside. No sooner had I got out of the door, when I had to take my pants down. I didn't have to force it; I just opened my mouth and after a while it stopped. After two hours there was nothing left in my system. Before going to bed, at the usual time, I had a cup of tea. In the morning, my stomach was empty. Standing up I noticed that I was top heavy with nothing to hold it down.

Before taking the locoweed, my father gave me this warning: "Always be in a warm place of about 100 degrees, for if it is cold, you will get lockjaw." When the root is taken from the ground, it looks like a finger covered with hair. Cut the root up like wood and make it into a poultice or liniment.

⁸This translation is reproduced verbatim from Bouchard and Kennedy, BCILP ms.1, #017.

Part V Appendices

Appendix A: Conversion Chart: Bouchard & Kennedy (B & K) and van Eijk Practical Orthographies to North American Phonetic Alphabet (N.A.P.A.)

B & K	Van Eijk	N.A.P.A.	B & K	Van Eijk	N.A.P.A.
p	р	р	<u>k</u>		q
p'	p'	p p	<u>k</u> '	q q' qw q'w	q q q ^w q ^w x
m	m	m	<u>k</u> w	qw	qw
m'	m'	m	<u>k</u> 'w	q'w	q̂w
t	t	t	<u>x</u>	x	ž
ts	ts	c	<u>x</u> w	xw	, ž ^w
ts	<u>ts</u>	ċ	<u>g</u>	g	S S
ts'	ts'	c c c	g'	g'	
ts'	ts'	ċ	gw	gw	ſw
s	s	s	g gw gw g'w w w	g'w w w'	ζw
ss	<u>s</u>	s	w	w	w
n	n	n	w'	w'	w
n'	n'	'n	у	у	у
tl'	ť'	χ̈́	y'	y'	y ,
lh	lh	4	z	Z	z , z
1	1	1	z'	z'	ż
1'	1'	li	h	h	h
1	1	1	7	7	?
ľ	1'	; ! k	a	a	a
k	<u>l</u> ' k		o	ao	a .
k'	k'	, k	e	e	Э
kw	kw	k ^w	e	v	ė
kw'	k'w	, k ^w	i	i	i
X	С	X	i	ii	į
xw	cw	xw	u	u	u
g	r	Y	o	o	ų
g g'	r'	Y Y			

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 'wake up', 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 (7) is 'transparent' to retraction that is, for the purposes of retraction, we treat it as though it wasn't there. Thus we write *nli7x* rather than *nlii7x* 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, even when not pronounced.

Appendix B: List of Abbreviations

first person
 second person
 third person
 paragogic "a"
 ABS absent

ACT active intransitivizer

ADHORT adhortative
ANTI antithetical
ATT attributive

autonomous intransitivizer AUT causative transitivizer CAUS CIRC circumstantial modal counterfactual CNTR collective COLL complementizer COMP connective CONN copula COP CPR comparative

CRED consonant reduplication
D/C determiner/complementizer

DET determiner

DIR directive transitivizer

емрн emphatic

EPIS epistemic modal

ERG ergative exclusive

EXIS assertion-of-existence
EXP experience involuntarily
FRED final reduplication

future future

нрғ habitual performer

IMP imperative inchoative

IND indirective applicative INDEP independent pronoun

INS instrumental INVIS invisible

imperfective IPFV

initial reduplication IRED

IRR irrealis locative LOC

middle intransitivizer MID

negative NEG nominalizer NMLZ

non-topical subject NTS

овј object oblique OBL passive PASS

past tense marker PAST

plural PLPOSS possessive question Q quotative QUOT reciprocal RECP reduplication RED REFL reflexive REM

remote in time

relational applicative RLT

subject SBJ subjunctive SBJV SGsingular stative STAT

total reduplication TRED

visible VIS

Appendix C: Where to find other recordings and transcriptions of stories by Sam Mitchell

(1) The first St'át'imcets recording we have of Sam, which runs for 3 minutes and 45 seconds, is a Christian tract entitled 'Creation and Redemption', recorded for 'Words of Life', a program run by Global Recordings Network (GRN), which describes itself as "a leading provider of Christian evangelistic and discipleship audio visual materials to the least reached language groups of the world." The recording is downloadable here: https://globalrecordings.net/en/language/lil; at the time of writing, we have transcribed it, but have not yet published the transcription or translation.

All GRN recordings are anonymous and undated, so we do not know exactly when Sam recorded 'Creation and Redemption', though judging by the voice quality (which is unmistakably Sam's), he must have been somewhat younger at that time than when he first worked with Randy Bouchard in the late 1960s. We estimate the recording was probably made in the late 1950s or early 1960s.

- (2) All the stories told by Sam and recorded by Randy Bouchard are included in this volume with the exception of a shorter version of 'The Outlaws', which is published separately as Lyon and Davis (2018). A link to the transcription and translation (with introduction) can be found here: https://lingpapers.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2018/07/5_Lyon-Davis_2018.pdf. Formatting and glossing are much the same as in the present volume.
- (3) Sam was also recorded by Jan van Eijk in the period from 1972-3. Transcriptions and translations of the following stories appear in van Eijk and Williams (1981): 'The Swimmer', 'The Tobaccotrader' 'The Chief Who Caught the Murderer', and 'Butcherknife'. The first two of these stories cover the same subject matter as 'Tsáqwemlha7' in the current volume.

The other recordings that van Eijk made of Sam were subsequently digitized, transcribed, and translated in Edwards, LaRochelle, and Mitchell (2017). Both text and audio files can be found here:

https://lingpapers.sites.olt.ubc.ca/opl-volumes/sqweqwels-nelh-skelkekla7lhkalha-tales-of-our-elders/. This volume includes the following eight stories from Sam: 'The Abandoned Boy', 'The Outlaws' 'Big Frank', 'When the Indians Ran Footraces at Kamloops', 'Johnny Milgaw', 'Frank Gott', 'The Man Who Murdered the Campers', and 'The Woman Who Mistook a Black Man for the Devil'. 'The Abandoned Boy' is of interest as the only *sptakwlh* which Sam recorded: another version of this well-known story from Martina LaRochelle appears in van Eijk and Williams (1981). Longer versions of 'The Outlaws', 'Big Frank', and 'Johnny Milgaw' appear in the present volume.

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