

Sqwéqwel's Nelh Skelkekla7Ihkálha
Tales *of* Our Elders

from Bill Edwards, Martina LaRochelle
and Sam Mitchell

Recorded by
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Sqwéqwel's Nelh Skelkekla7lhkálha: Tales of our Elders from Bill Edwards, Martina LaRochelle and Sam Mitchell. ©2017, the Upper St'át'imc

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Cover images, from left to right: Sam Mitchell, taken 1972; Bill Edwards, taken 1974; Martina LaRochelle, taken 1972. All three photos courtesy of Jan van Eijk. Background photo depicting the town of Lillooet and the Fraser Valley, taken from Red Rock, Spring 2015, courtesy of John Lyon.

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Preface

by Jan van Eijk

Working on a hitherto little studied language has two immediate and deeply gratifying benefits for the field worker who carries out such research. In the first place, there is the sheer joy of discovering a wealth of data, thereby adding not only to our insight into the language under study, but also into the miracle of human language in general. In the second place, and no less importantly, the field worker gets to know people who have kept their language alive under often very trying circumstances, and have done so with unfathomably deep resources of courage, forbearance and wisdom, avoiding bitterness in favour of forgiveness, and anger in favour of kindness and dignity.

The saddest thing that can happen to a field worker, after she or he has left the field, is when the last fluent speakers pass on without the next generation having had a chance to learn the language, so the field worker feels that she or he has not been able to do much more than giving palliative care to the language.

I feel extraordinarily blessed in that my work on St'át'imcets has given me the opportunity to work with Sam Mitchell, Martina LaRochelle and Bill Edwards, who gave us the stories that are presented in this book, and that, after my career path had taken me first to the University of Victoria and since 1989 to First Nations University of Canada, my work on St'át'imcets has been continued in more than exemplary fashion by many

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others, including Henry Davis, John Lyon and Rose Whitley, whose careful stewardship of the texts in this book reflects both their deep understanding of the language and their profound respect for Sam, Martina and Bill, whose knowledge and gentle wisdom shines through every sentence in the stories presented here.

It is thus with great joy and profound gratitude that I invite the reader to enter this treasure house of traditional St'át'imcets literature, in the secure expectation that you will derive as much joy from them as I experienced when Sam, Martina and Bill first shared these stories with me.

Cuystwí malh matq lki nt'akemníha i skelkekla7lhkálha!

Jan van Eijk

Introduction

by Henry Davis

The fifteen stories included in this collection feature well-known Upper St'át'imc storytellers Bill Edwards of Ts'k'wáylacw (Pavilion) (Chapters 1-5), Martina LaRochelle of Sek'wel'wás (Cayoose Creek) (Chapters 6-7), and Sam Mitchell of Cál'ep (Fountain) (Chapters 8-15). Martina LaRochelle and Sam Mitchell were recorded by Jan van Eijk in Lillooet in 1972-1973, and Bill Edwards was recorded by Aert Kuipers in Ts'k'wáylacw in 1974 or 1975.

Several other recordings from this period featuring the same speakers were first published in van Eijk and Williams (1981), and subsequently in van Eijk (2015); however, the stories included here remained untranscribed and untranslated until 2006, when Kerry Coast, editor of the now-defunct community newspaper *The St'át'imc Runner* approached Henry Davis about including some St'át'imcets stories in the paper.¹

At that time, Davis was working closely on transcription and translation of previously recorded stories with the late Rose Agnes Whitley, funded by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) grant whose mandate was specifically to increase the amount of accessible textual material for the language. Rose had copies of the Kuipers/van Eijk

¹Jan van Eijk did transcribe and translate 'The Grizzly' by Martina LaRochelle, but his transcription and translation were not widely circulated, and there are no extant copies remaining.

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recordings of Bill Edwards and Martina LaRochelle, and it was Rose who made the initial transcriptions and translations of the first seven stories which appear in this volume. These stories, edited and with glossaries supplied by Davis, subsequently appeared in *The St'át'imc Runner* in the period from 2006-2008.

With the demise of the newspaper, and the subsequent ill health of Rose Whitley, who passed away in December 2011, the project fell into abeyance until 2014. At that point, van Eijk supplied Davis with digitized copies of all his Upper St'át'imcets material, with a view to transcription and translation of the remaining unpublished stories. Aside from the stories which had already appeared in *The St'át'imc Runner*, these turned out to consist exclusively of recordings of Sam Mitchell.

John Lyon, who had recently begun postdoctoral work on St'át'imcets at Simon Fraser University under a SSHRC Partnership Grant with the Upper St'át'imcets Language, Culture and Education Society (USLCES), then transcribed, translated and analyzed the Sam Mitchell recordings together with Davis. Lyon and Davis worked through the texts with van Eijk, as well as consulting with fluent Upper St'át'imcets speakers Carl Alexander, Desmond Peters, Sr., and Linda Redan. Any remaining errors in transcription, translation, and analysis are the responsibility of the first author of this volume, to whom queries should be addressed.

The Format

Chapters 1-8, which include the Bill Edwards and Martina LaRochelle stories as well as the one *sptakwlh* (legend) in the collection, told by Sam Mitchell, are given in three parts. The first is an *ucwalmícwts*² transcription of the text, the second an English translation, and the third, a fully analyzed interlinear gloss. The rest of Sam Mitchell's stories (Chapters 9-15) diverge

²*Ucwalmícwts* 'speech of the people of the land' is the preferred term amongst the St'át'imc for their language, though technically it refers to any indigenous language, in contrast to *sám7ats* ('white people's speech'). We use it here where no confusion is likely with other indigenous languages.

from this format, due to Sam's preferred method of storytelling, in which he would first tell a story in English and then repeat it in ucwalmícwts. Partly because Sam's English versions sometimes include important details missing from the ucwalmícwts versions, and partly because he is an accomplished raconteur in both languages, we give two different English versions of these stories: Sam's own English version at the beginning of each chapter, followed by a literal English translation of the St'át'imcets.

In writing ucwalmícwts, we employ a slightly modified version of the practical orthography devised by Jan van Eijk for the Líl'wat First Nation in the 1980s and subsequently adopted by all St'át'imcets-speaking communities. Aside from being easy to use and familiar to speakers, students, and teachers, the van Eijk alphabet stands in a one-to-one correspondence with the Americanist Phonemic Alphabet (APA) used by scholars of Salish languages, to which it can be converted with no loss of information. A conversion chart from the van Eijk alphabet to the APA can be found in Appendix II, together with a list of minor modifications to the original alphabet.

Since these stories are spoken, recorded and then transcribed, rather than written, there are occasional false starts, hesitations, and unclear passages in the text; these occur naturally in any narrative or conversation, no matter how fluent the speaker is. To mark unclear places in the text, we employ two conventions. First, we enclose hesitations, false starts, and other extraneous material in parentheses (...). Second, where we have interpolated material (e.g., missing determiners), we enclose our additions in square brackets [...]. In the latter case, we have tried to err on the side of caution: that is, we only add material to the text where we are reasonably certain the grammar of the language requires it. There are also occasional passages where in spite of repeated listening by multiple transcribers, we have been unable to recover the original sense of the ucwalmícwts: we mark these with footnotes.

In addition, we employ two *prosodic* conventions, which will be particularly helpful for those who wish to read the stories out loud (though of course, there is no substitution for carefully listening to the original audio recordings). *Prosody* refers to the way in which speakers vary the pitch, length, and loudness of their utterances.

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The first of these conventions involves *stress*. A stressed vowel is pronounced as longer, louder, and higher in pitch than an unstressed one. In general, we follow the van Eijk orthography with respect to stress marking: each word with more than one vowel carries an (acute) accent, marking the rightmost primary stress. However, we diverge from this practice in one case: if the stress shifts onto an *enclitic* (a small word with no stress of its own, but which can under certain circumstances attract the stress from a full word to its left) we write an accent *both* on the enclitic and on the original stressed vowel in the word to its left.

Second, we mark *rhetorical lengthening* on a vowel by two colons (::). Rhetorical lengthening is a device often used by traditional St'át'imc storytellers to emphasize the duration or intensity of an activity or event. For example, it occurs frequently with *cin* 'to last a long time', which becomes *ci::n*, meaning 'to last a really long time'.

Both of these prosodic features are illustrated in the following line from Martina LaRoche's story 'Grizzly Bear' (Chapter 6, p.58):

- (1) Wá::7wit ku7 lá::ti7 kém'em, k'wínas k'a wi7 et7ú sq'it kwas kem'emwít.

They were there digging roots for a few days.

Rhetorical lengthening is illustrated in the first clause in (1): it serves to emphasize the length of the time that the women in the story were staying in the alpine area digging roots, and also perhaps to set the scene of the events to follow. Stress shift can be seen in the following clause, where the full word *k'wínas* has an accent on its stressed vowel, as expected, but there is also a stress-marking accent on the following *k'a*. The reason for this is that both *k'a* and the following *wi7* are enclitics which form a single stress unit with *k'wínas*, allowing *k'a* to receive primary stress.

After the ucwalmícwts-only section of each story, we give an English translation. Here we have endeavoured to maintain a balance between accuracy and naturalness, but it is undoubtedly true – and more so for a language whose structure is as different from English as that of St'át'imcets – that much is lost in translation. For this reason, even if you are a beginner or

have no experience at all with *ucwalmícwts*, we still recommend you try to follow the stories in their original language, with the audio, before turning to English.

The last part of each chapter consists of a fully interlinearized analysis of the text. For those unfamiliar with interlinear glosses, the basic idea is to break down all words into their smallest identifiable components (*morphemes*) to show how they are put together to create larger units (words and sentences). This exercise is useful not only for linguists but also for advanced language students and teachers who are interested in learning how fluent speakers break down complex words and recombine the morphemes to create new ones.

In the interlinear gloss, each story is divided into a sequence of numbered *stanzas* for ease of reference: a stanza more or less corresponds to a sentence, though sometimes longer sentences are broken into two or more stanzas to facilitate comprehension. Each line of a stanza consists of two parts, aligned vertically, with an English translation given below corresponding directly to a sentence as given in the English version of the stories.

The first part (the top line) is identical to its counterpart in the *ucwalmícwts*-only text, with the exception that (i) the text is broken down into its component morphemes, and (ii) the morphemes are grouped together into *prosodic words*, that is, single stress units: this means that each prosodic word contains one and only one accented vowel.³ Within prosodic words, *bound* morphemes (that is, morphemes which cannot stand on their own) are linked to other morphemes either by hyphens (-) for *affixes*, which always attach to the same host, or equal signs (=) for *clitics*, which may attach to different hosts. Where it is not easy to segment a word into its component morphemes, no boundaries are inserted in the top line, but a (+) sign is used to link the component morphemes in the second line. This practice is followed, for example, in cases where two or more morphemes are fused together, as in auxiliary contractions. Special symbols are used for

³This is an oversimplification from a phonetic point of view: in fact, as shown by Caldecott (2009), when stress shifts to the right, prominence is retained on previously accented vowels.

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certain morphological processes which are not easy to represent by a linear string of morphemes: these include bullet signs (•) for reduplication and angle brackets <...> for infixation.

In the second part of each line, immediately below and aligned with the first, each morpheme is given a label. In the case of morphemes with lexical (as opposed to grammatical) content, irrespective of whether they are bound or free, the label will correspond to its referent: thus *tsitcw*, for example, will be labeled as ‘house’, *q’ílhil* as ‘run’ and both *skwakst* and *-aka7* as ‘hand’. In the case of morphemes with mainly grammatical content, however, a special set of standardized abbreviations for grammatical terms are used, largely following the Leipzig Glossing Rules, which is a set of abbreviations used by linguists when glossing examples in sentences and texts. By convention, these are written with ‘small caps’: for example, *wa7* is glossed IPFV for ‘imperfective’, and *ta* is glossed DET for ‘determiner’. A complete list of abbreviations used for morpheme glosses is given in Appendix II.

By way of illustration, here is the same excerpt from Martina LaRochelle’s ‘Grizzly Bear’ story as in (1), this time in interlinearized format (stanza 10 on p.62):

- (2) (a) wá::7=wit=ku7 lá::ti7 kém’-em,
(b) be=3PL=QUOT at+there.VIS dig.roots-MID
- (a) k’win=as=k’á=wi7 e=t7ú sq’it
(b) how.many=3SBV=EPIS=EMPH to=that.VIS day
- (a) kwas kém’-em=wít.
(b) DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS dig.roots-MID=3PL
- (c) ‘They were there digging roots for a few days.’

The stanza consists of two connected sentences spread over three lines of text. I have divided each line into (a) and (b) parts for ease of reference; the English translation is in (c).

In the (a) part, morphemes are gathered into eight prosodic words, each with a single main stress (not marked on *sq'it* or *kwas*, since stress marking is redundant on words with a single vowel.) Each prosodic word contains a root, the only obligatory element in every word, plus various clitics, affixes, and 'fused' morphemes.

The (b) part labels each morpheme. Clitics, defined here as grammatically independent but prosodically dependent elements, are represented here by the pronouns =*wit* (3PL) and =*as* (3SBJV), and the sentence-level adverbials =*ku7* (QUOT) =*k'a* (EPIS) and =*wi7* (EMPH). The middle marker *-em* (MID), on the other hand, is a suffix, which is both grammatically and prosodically dependent. Finally, the prosodic words *et7ú* and *kwas* are fused forms: *kwas*, for example, is made up of four different morphemes, with its root, the imperfective auxiliary *wa7* (IPFV), almost completely obscured on the surface by a cluster of clitics, including a determiner (DET), the nominalizer (NMLZ), and a subject pronoun (3POSS). Though (most of) the individual parts of the cluster are recognizable, we treat the whole combination here as a single prosodic word whose component parts cannot be easily segmented into a linear string of morphemes.

For those of a linguistic bent, it is worth outlining here a few of the more important analytical decisions we have made in compiling the interlinear glosses. To start with, where an intransitive verb surfaces with a 'patient-oriented' meaning (a distinctive property of Salish languages), we give this as the basic meaning of the root, essentially following the analysis of Davis (1997). Thus, \sqrt{mays} is glossed as 'get.fixed', \sqrt{qwez} as 'get.used', and $\sqrt{q'il}$ as 'get.put.onto.something'. However, unlike Davis (1997), we do not extend this analysis to all verbs, only to those where a patient-oriented form is independently attested: for example, since the putative verb $*k'walh$ 'to get hired' is not yet attested, we gloss the root $\sqrt{k'walh}$ as 'hire', not 'get.hired.' Obviously, this decision is provisional: it might be that the relevant patient-oriented verb will one day show up given an appropriate context, in which case our glosses will need to be revised.⁴

⁴See Davis and Matthewson (2009) for a discussion of this issue.

Second, we have used the criterion of *compositionality* in deciding whether to analyze verb forms into component morphemes. Compositionality refers to a transparent meaning relation between the parts of a complex word. For example, the verb *xát'em* ‘to climb a hill’ looks very much like it consists of the root \sqrt{xat} ‘difficult’ and the middle intransitivizer *-em*: however, this combination should yield the meaning ‘to cause difficulty’, not ‘to climb a hill’ (even if the latter does sometimes entail the former!), so we treat *xát'em* as a *lexicalized* intransitive verb and do not break it down further.

Third, following Kroeber (1999) and Davis (2000), we have made a three-way distinction in our treatment of the nominalizer *s*. Where the nominalizer is introduced at the *clausal* level, we treat it morphologically as a (pro-)clitic *s=*; where it is introduced at the *predicate* level, we treat it as a prefix *s-*; but where it is introduced *lexically* (as part of a noun), we leave it unsegmented completely. This is not an ideal solution, given that even the lexical nominalizer displays morphologically independent behaviour (it never reduplicates, for example): but it does allow us to distinguish between three different types of nominalization within the limited range of possibilities afforded by standard morpheme boundary symbols.

We hope that even without grasping the function of many of the morphemes themselves, it is possible to understand how an interlinear gloss like this displays the kind of information necessary to analyze the structure of words and sentences in ucwalmícwts, as well as illustrating some of the many analytical issues it raises. Obviously, however, there is much more to a full analysis than a string of labels: if you are interested in understanding more of the structure of the language, you should start with Jan van Eijk’s (1997) grammar, and pursue further study from there.

The Language

All three storytellers featured here are speakers of the ‘Upper’ or ‘Northern’ dialect of St’át’imcets. This dialect is referred to as ‘Fountain’ in van Eijk (1997) and (2013), but we do not use this term here, because the dialect is

spoken all over the northern half of St'át'imc territory, from Tsal'álh (Shalalth) to Ts'k'wáylacw. Though a 'dialect' is always an idealization, because every community, every family, and in fact even every individual speaker has their own distinctive grammar, there are certain characteristics which speakers of the Upper dialect share, and which distinguish their language from that of Lower St'át'imcets speakers, who occupy the area roughly from Lil'wat7úl (Mount Currie), to the south and west. (Nk'wwátqwa (D'Arcy) is a transitional area.) These include differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar.

As far as pronunciation is concerned, Upper dialect speakers typically have 'higher' vowels than Lower dialect speakers: their stressed *í* is phonetically [i] rather than [e]; their stressed *ú* is [u], rather than [o]; and their stressed *á* is [æ] or [ɛ] rather than [ɑ]. In addition, while in the Lower dialect the consonants *z* and *z'* *retract* (lower) the preceding vowel, yielding for example [ʔlæʔ] for *t'laz'* 'canoe', Upper dialect speakers do not, pronouncing the same word as [ʔlæʔ]. The consonants *z/z'* themselves are also pronounced differently in the two dialects: the Lower dialect *z/z'* is very lax and lateralized, sometimes sounding almost like a voiced version of *lh* [ʔ]; the Upper dialect pronunciation is much more similar to English *z*. However, these differences are all relative; some Upper dialect speakers have a *z* which is close to that of Lower dialects speakers, and Bill Edwards, who was born, raised, and lived all his life in Ts'k'wáylacw, at the extreme northeastern end of the territory, has a noticeably lowered *á*: he often pronounces *wa7* 'be (...ing)' as [wæʔ] rather than [wæʔ], for example.

A special case is provided by the 'present' and 'absent' singular determiners *ti/ta* and *ni/na*, respectively. The 'official' Lower dialect pronunciation is *ti/ni*, and the 'official' Upper dialect pronunciation is *ta/na*, but all three speakers here freely alternate between both. The actual situation (which also characterizes contemporary speakers) seems to be that while Lower dialect speakers consistently use *ti/ni*, Upper dialect speakers use either *ti/ni* or *ta/na*.

Distinctive Upper St'át'imcets vocabulary items include *smúlhats* and its diminutive form *smém'lhats* for 'woman' and 'girl', respectively, as op-

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posed to the Lower dialect forms *syáqtsa7* and *syéy'qtsa7*; *ílhen* rather than *q'a7* for 'eat'; *tayt* rather than *q'7ál'men* for 'hungry'; and *qw(e)núxw* rather than *áolsem* for 'sick'. Unsurprisingly, all of these Upper dialect forms resemble their counterparts in neighbouring *Scwápmecets* (the Shuswap language), whereas the vocabulary of the Lower dialect has had more influence from the Central (Coast) Salish languages *Sxúm'is* (Squamish) and *Tsetcwáwt* (Sto:lo/Upriver Halkomelem). In fact, Sam Mitchell spoke *Scwápmecets*, as evidenced by the sprinkling of *Scwápmecets* words in the story of 'The Woman who Mistook a Black Man for The Devil', which takes place in Shuswap territory, as does much of the action in the long narrative of 'The Outlaws'.

The most characteristic grammatical difference between Upper and Lower St'át'imcets is in the use of contracted forms with combinations of determiners, the nominalizer *s=* and the auxiliary *wa7*. In general, contractions used by Upper St'át'imcets speakers retain the nominalizer and associated possessive subject marking, whereas Lower St'át'imcets speakers often omit the nominalizer, and sometimes substitute subjunctive for possessive subject marking: thus we have e.g. *tenswá* (determiner + first person singular possessive subject + nominalizer + *wa7* + existential enclitic) in the Upper dialect, but *tsána* (determiner + nominalizer + *wa7* + first person singular subjunctive subject + existential enclitic) in the Lower dialect; and *kwelhkálh* (determiner + nominalizer + *wa7* + first person plural possessive subject) in the Upper dialect, but *kwat* (determiner + nominalizer + *wa7* + first person plural subjunctive subject) in the Lower dialect. A particularly striking example of this trend is the use of *kan*, *kacw*, *kalh* and *kal'ap* in Lower St'át'imcets as alternatives to *wá7lhkan*, *wá7lhkacw*, *wá7lhkalh* and *wá7lhkal'ap*, respectively, which are used in both dialects; in the Lower St'át'imcets contraction, *wa7* is simply deleted altogether, though its meaning is retained.

As a rule, all of the speakers here employ Upper St'át'imcets rather than Lower St'át'imcets contracted forms, although there are a couple of surprising exceptions in the Bill Edwards stories. In 'Another Story about my Childhood', Bill describes the events leading up to a car crash using the Lower St'át'imcets form *kwat*:

- (3) ...ao kwat
 NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+IPL.SBJV
 ka-síw-lec-a...
 CIRC-go.off.to.the.side-AUT-CIRC
 ‘...we weren’t able to get off the road, ...’ (stanza 13, p. 27)

And in ‘Bill and his Father’, we find a characteristic Lower St’át’imcets question:

- (4) kacw kán-em?
 2SG.SBJ whether-MID
 ‘What are you doing?’ (stanza 34, p. 42)

As already mentioned, Bill Edwards was from Ts’k’wáylacw, at the northeastern periphery of St’át’imc territory, which in the not too distant past was Scwápencets-speaking. This makes it puzzling as to why his speech should show more Lower St’át’imcets influence than that of either Sam Mitchell or Martina LaRochelle. One possibility is that his family lineage had an influence; though Bill’s father (Francis Edwards) was also from Ts’k’wáylacw, his grandfather originally came from Sechelt, and it is possible that the family retained some characteristics of Central (Coast) Salish speech.

Aside from dialect differences, learners who are used to pedagogically ‘clean’ material will also notice a number of characteristics of fluent connected speech in these narratives which are often missing from sentences presented in isolation. One of the most important of these is that connected speech uses more ‘shortcuts’ in the form of contractions and deletions. For example, determiners are generally taken to be obligatory on arguments in St’át’imcets, but in fast or casual speech, the unmarked determiner *ti=*/*ta=* is frequently dropped (virtually always when it precedes an *n-* prefix). When speaking more slowly or formally, speakers will restore the missing determiner, and even in fast speech its presence can be detected by its accompanying existential enclitic *=a*, which is never dropped.

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There are also some elements which appear far more frequently in narrative contexts than in isolated sentences. Most notable amongst these are locative adverbs, particularly *látí7* and *káti7*, meaning ‘at that place’ and ‘around that place’, respectively. These elements are used not only in their literal sense, but also more abstractly to anchor a narrative to an abstract space involving participants in an event. Their use is characteristic of highly fluent speakers, and very tricky for language learners to grasp: the best way to learn how to use them is simply to listen to as many narratives as possible.

The Stories

This volume includes fourteen *sqwéqwel*’ (broadly, ‘true stories’) and one *sptakwlh* (‘legend’).⁵ Perhaps the most striking thing about these stories is how much they reveal the character of the individual storytellers. This is partly a matter of content and partly of style.

Bill Edwards focuses on incidents in his own life, from his childhood to his young adult days. The first two of his stories ‘How Bill got his Name’ and ‘Apples’ both take place at residential school, but rather than simply adding to the catalogue of misery and abuse that took place there, Bill manages to use humor to illuminate in a particularly poignant way the experience of a small boy taken from his home and family, and plunged into an alien culture and language. Details such as how he raises both hands instead of one when told to put his hand up on his first arrival at school, and how he happily follows along with a group of boys about to be beaten for stealing apples, because ‘apples’ is the only English word he knows, show us through a child’s eyes exactly how strange and heartless the residential school system was for generations of First Nations students, in a way that bald facts cannot.

The other three Bill Edwards stories all show the same gentle, self-deprecating sense of humor as his residential school reminiscences. In

⁵The reason for the preponderance of *sqwéqwel*’ over *sptakwlh* in this volume is that most of the *sptakwlh* recorded by van Eijk and Kuipers have already appeared in van Eijk and Williams (1981) and van Eijk (2015).

‘Another Story about my Childhood’, he manages to turn a potentially lethal car-crash into a tribute to his mother, to whom he could not lie; in ‘Bill and his Father’, he recounts an all-night walk home from Lillooet to Ts’k’wáylacw in which he and his father take turns keeping each other awake, in the process indirectly conveying the depth of their affection for each other; and in ‘The Dance at Fountain’, an ill-fated attempt to attend a dance becomes a kind of buddy story, with Bill and his partner dancing the ‘Home Waltz’ together after riding through the night and finally limping into Cál’ep just as the dance ends.

There are only two relatively short stories here from Martina LaRochelle, but both show her consummate skill as a storyteller, and the middle ground her stories often occupy between *sqwéqwel’* and *sptakwlh*. The first, ‘The Grizzly Bear’, is a well-known Upper St’át’imc story; another version is told by Carl Alexander, published in Alexander et al. (2016). While Carl locates the action on Mission Ridge, Martina sets it in Nlháxten, the area around Duffey Lake. The details of the two versions and the moral of the story are the same, though Carl spells out the moral, while Martina leaves it implicit.

Martina’s second story, ‘August Peter,’ is particularly effective at capturing the connection between the natural and supernatural that is an integral part of the traditional St’át’imc world view. The story opens with a ‘ghost owl’ (*nkcwans*, probably a Saw-whet Owl: see Davis and van Eijk, 2014), whose appearance presages imminent death. In spite of the fact that Martina’s brother shoots the owl, the inevitable death takes place, as August Peter accidentally shoots himself while crossing a snow slide high in the mountains. The story ends with the difficult job of finding and bringing the body home.

The majority of the *sqwéqwel’* in this collection, as well as the sole *sptakwlh*, are told by Sam Mitchell of Cál’ep, who, along with Charlie Mack and Baptiste Ritchie of Lil’wat7úl, was one of the trio of famous storytellers who spearheaded the revival of the ucwalmícwts oral tradition in the 1960s and 1970s, working first with Randy Bouchard and then with Jan van Eijk.

‘The Abandoned Boy’ is, as far as we can tell, the only *sptakwlh* which Sam recorded; as Jan van Eijk recalls, he was generally more interested

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in documenting real life adventures than in retelling legends. In fact, this is one of the best known Upper St'át'imc *sptakwłh*: another full version by Martina LaRochelle is published in van Eijk and Williams (1981) and van Eijk (2015), and the story is also referred to in Beverley Frank's autobiographical narrative, published in Matthewson (2005). Sam's version of the story, while generally close to Martina's, differs in some interesting details: most notably, the Sun (*snéqʷem*) is a supernatural intervener in the action, trading a magic net for the magpie skin cloak that the boy's grandmother has made for him. The moral (that lazy boys often turn into chiefs when they grow up) is also unique to Sam's retelling.

The other seven stories which Sam recounts here are all *sqrwéqʷel'*, and illustrate the full range of his skill as a raconteur, both in English and in ucwalmícwts. Four of them, including the long narrative of 'The Outlaws' as well as the stories of 'Frank Gott', 'Big Frank', and 'The Man who Murdered the Campers', are true crime stories of the Wild West, replete with murder and mayhem – and an impressive body count.

In fact, the stories of 'The Outlaws' and of 'Frank Gott' are fairly well documented elsewhere, partly because both concern the cases of murder of colonial law enforcement officers by indigenous people. Comparison of Sam's versions of these stories with both contemporary and modern-day retellings is instructive in a number of ways.

'The Outlaws' pieces together a complex sequence of events from eyewitness accounts, beginning with the unsolved murder of a teamster near Clinton, leading to two more murders and an extensive manhunt all over the southern Cariboo, and culminating in the trial and conviction of the outlaws Paul Spintlum, who was hung in December 1913, and Moses Paul (Qáqis), who was sentenced to life imprisonment. Sam's narrative differs from the 'official' story, which is largely based on testimony from the trial, in three important respects. First, it is based on interviews (either at first or second hand) with many of the actual participants in the story. Second, it embodies an indigenous perspective on events that have otherwise been viewed almost exclusively through the lens of the colonial government and its law enforcement agencies. And third, it is enhanced by the skills Sam Mitchell inherited from the pre-existing St'át'imc oral tradition.

As far as the first point is concerned, since it is based on personal recollection, sometimes long after the events themselves took place, Sam's version of the story gets some details wrong. For example, he overestimates the time the outlaws spent on the run, claiming at one point that it was four or five years, when in fact it was less than two; and he pegs the government reward as four thousand dollars, when contemporary posters have it as three.⁶ On the other hand, Sam's version contains many incidents and details missing entirely from the official story, including the way in which the outlaws outwitted the trackers pursuing them by alternately riding and walking, stealing horses and hanging saddles in the bush to use when they needed them, and how they fooled the authorities guarding the bridges across the Fraser River by dressing as old women in skirts which they had stolen from a washing line.

As far as narrative perspective is concerned, Sam is notably even-handed, in contrast to other accounts (both contemporary and modern), which largely take the side of the authorities. For example, the most comprehensive modern account, that of ex-provincial police officer Cecil Clark (2014) voices Constable McMillan's suspicions (never confirmed) that Spintlum must have sprung Moses from jail, because he had been seen buying groceries and ammunition at a nearby store, while in contrast Sam comments drily (in ucwalmícwts, editors' translation) that "...since he [Spintlum] was there at the time, and the white people always blamed the Indians, they said it was him...".

In the same vein, contemporary newspaper accounts of the trial are littered with disparaging remarks about the outlaws: *The San Francisco Call* of June 29th 1913, reporting on the verdict at the Spintlum trial, remarks that "Stolidly, rather than stoically, the Indian took the verdict and sentence. His Indian cunning to the last made him pretend he did not understand the words of the judge...". In contrast, Sam takes no side (though he does appear to take a certain pleasure in recounting how thoroughly the fugitives

⁶It should also be pointed out that Clark's (2014) account is not free of error. In fact, he ends up hanging the wrong man, claiming incorrectly that Moses Paul was executed and Paul Spintlum sentenced to life imprisonment.

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manage to outwit the government). In fact, if there are any heroes in his version of the story, it is neither the outlaws nor the police, but ‘Old Major’, the West Pavilion chief who eventually persuades the outlaws to give themselves up peacefully, and uses his own money to pay for their lawyers.

Sam’s most important contribution to the story, however, is his ability to vividly dramatize events, a skill which derives directly from his immersion in the St’át’imc oral tradition. Drawing on the eyewitness accounts of his sources, he gives a sense of immediacy to the narrative by including details which could only come from direct participants in the action, such as the bacon and eggs still sizzling in the pan as the trackers just miss their quarry, and the twitching face of the lead tracker, Tom Evans, as he loses his nerve at a crucial point in the pursuit. Sam further enlivens his account with a series of directly reported dialogues, both serious (the encounter between Spintlum and Jack McMillan which culminates in the former telling the latter: “Jack McMillan, next time I seen you in the bush, you’re gonna be a dead man.”) and comic (Cultus Jack’s conversation with Judge Morrison at the trial about the origin of his name provides light relief for the deadly serious business at hand.). The result is that the raw material of the narrative is transformed into a dramatic recreation, in much the same way that traditional storytellers made stories come alive in the older St’át’imc oral tradition.

The other well-known story recounted here by Sam Mitchell is that of Frank Gott, who is something of a legend in the Lillooet area, and is commemorated by both a mountain (Gott Peak) and a creek (Gott Creek).⁷ In fact, Gott was already a local hero when he committed the murder of Albert “Bert” Farey, a provincial game warden and ex-provincial policeman. Gott was one of the oldest veterans of the First World War, having volunteered as part of the British Columbia Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in 1916 when he was over 60 years of age. He had dyed his hair to fool the recruiting officers and pretended to be 47, which was the maximum age for recruitment. He served with distinction as a sniper before he was sent

⁷ And even the subject of a local ballad: see

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=70zKW3qmLWs>.

home, much to his chagrin, apparently because he had contracted tuberculosis (Conradi, 2010). He then became a well-known hunting guide in the Lillooet area, but fell foul of the authorities over what they considered illegal hunting, leading to the fatal confrontation with Farey.

As with 'The Outlaws', Sam's version of 'Frank Gott' agrees in substance with other accounts, though there are discrepancies in detail. In particular, Sam identifies the murdered game warden as 'Frank Perry': 'Perry' probably comes from the St'át'imcets pronunciation of Farey, which would be 'Páli', but it's hard to say where he got 'Frank' from. In addition, Sam dates the murder to 1933, a year later than it actually took place.

However, the most interesting difference between Sam's version and other accounts, such as that of Cecil Clark (1986), lies in their differing treatment of the fatal encounter between Frank Gott and Albert Farey. In Sam's dramatic recreation, Frank twice warns the game warden to leave his kill alone, but 'Perry' just laughs in his face; in Clark's version, Gott shoots Farey in the back without warning. Which of these versions the listener/reader believes makes all the difference: in one version, Gott is an old, proud warrior exasperated beyond endurance by the harassment of a vindictive game warden; in the other, he is a cold-blooded killer taking revenge for a past grudge by shooting a defenceless officer in the back. In fact, Sam cites circumstantial evidence that, contrary to official reports (for example, Game Commissioner A. Bryan Williams' posthumous assessment of Farey as "...a popular officer with a splendid war and peacetime record"⁸), Farey may have been over-zealous in carrying out his duties, particularly when dealing with indigenous people. In the English version of his story, Sam recounts that 'Perry' was invited to supper by a woman who had just caught a fish in a creek off the Bridge River, and after the meal, promptly arrested and jailed her because the fish was undersized. Once again, Sam's úcwalmicw perspective provides a valuable corrective to history that is otherwise almost invariably written from a colonialist viewpoint.

⁸From Farey's memorial page on the website 'Officer Down': <http://canada.odmp.org/officer/681-game-warden-albert-edward-farey>.

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Not all of the Sam Mitchell *sqwéqwel'* represented here involve crime and retribution: three stories are in a lighter vein, and two of them touch on another of Sam's favourite themes, the 'ignorance' – though we might more accurately call it innocence – of First Nations people when dealing with the modern world. In the story 'Johnny Milgaw', the protagonist is hit by a car and wakes up in what he thinks must be heaven, though it turns out to be a hospital; and in 'the Woman who Mistook a Black Man for The Devil', which takes place in Scwápmeç territory, a woman who encounters a black person for the first time believes he must be The Devil, and desperately tries to chase him away by fervent prayer.

Overall, the stories here, ranging from tragedy to history to comedy, and from whimsy to high drama, reveal the richness and variety of St'át'imc language and culture in a period of great challenge and change. We hope they will give insight into recent St'át'imc history, and inspire new generations of St'át'imc as they, too, come to terms with the challenges and changes of the modern world.

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Maps of Place Names

The following five maps indicate the approximate locations of all place names mentioned in this collection of narratives. Fig.

Note that we have included ucwalmícwts place names and pronunciations here only when they are used in the text. This means that we have made no attempt to translate English names used in the stories into ucwalmícwts, even where an ucwalmícwts equivalent exists: for example, we use Lytton rather than *t'eqemtsín*. In addition, where two pronunciations for an ucwalmícwts name are attested, we include only the one mentioned in the stories: thus, we employ *k'emlúps* for Kamloops rather than the alternative *tk'emlúps*.

1. askráop (Ashcroft)
2. Beaver Dam*
3. Big Bar
4. cácl'ep (“brow of the hill”, Fountain)
5. Canoe Creek
6. Clinton
7. k'emlúps (Kamloops)
8. kwlii7 (“green place”, any green alpine area)
9. Leon's Creek
10. Lytton
11. Meadow Lake*
12. Merritt
13. mulc (“wood”)

Maps of Place Names

14. necnactám' ("flat on top", Chasm)
15. New Westminster
16. nq'ip'qw**
17. nsat'átqwa7 (Fraser River)
18. ntsew'tsew'entsúttén ("thrashing-about place")
19. nxwístén (Bridge River Reserve)
20. p'elhtíq't ("has white earth," Kelley Creek Reserve)
21. Porcupine Creek
22. q'áq'el'cén** (a fishing rock, where the outlaws stole the canoe)
23. qém'qém' (Upper Bridge River Valley)
24. qeqáyten**
25. sat' (Lillooet)
26. Seattle
27. sek'wel'wás (Cayoose Creek)
28. Spence's Bridge
29. ta tsítcwsa sTáyka (Mosquito Jim's place)
30. steq ("logjam", Duffey Lake)
31. t'ít'q'et (12-mile / Lillooet Reserve)
32. ts'k'wáylacw (Pavilion)
33. Vashon Island

*possible location given

**approximate location given

Part I

Stories from Bill Edwards

CHAPTER I

Bill nskwátsitsa

Bill Is My Name

I.1 St'át'imcets

Icín'as, iwán twéww'et, skéla7s nspapt skul, aoz t'u7 káti7 kwa... kwásu qan'ímens ku sám7ats. Ucwalmícwts, aoz kwenswá qan'ím snukws i tsícwan aylh skul.

I tsícwan aylh skul láti7, wa7, tsícwkalh ekw7úna ltswása k'a gúy'twit i twéww'eta. Sketskítsleekalh plan tákem. Kaq'íla ta skukwpi7lhkálha k'a, naplít, xzum sqaycw. Wa7 qwel'qwal'él't káti7, wa7 qwal'út, cataká7em t'elh i tewtwéww'eta. Wá7lhkan áti7 skítslec, wa7 aylh áti7 ta wa7 skítslec nsq'úta, tsúntsas:

“Cataká7em!”

Gee, cataká7emlhkan, tiwasáka7. Q'úta cwílh t'u7 séna7 skwakst ts7a ku cátan'acw, k'ámalh t'qwaw's lhas kacát.skana nskwáksta. Sáwenlhkan ta npáotenha:

“Kánem aylh nswa cataká7em?”

“O,” tsúntsas, “Wa7 sáwlhen lhswátas ku skwátsitssu. Wa7 ken-skwáncitas i skwátsitssa i tsítsela t'iq.” Aylh láti7 nswa escátaka7.

T'iq ta naplíta, wa7 qwal'út láti7.

“Cuy sqwá’len ta skwátsitswa,” tsúntsas láti7 wa7 nsq’úta.

Gee, wá7lhkan ptínusem:

“Swátas k’á malh ku nskwátsits, swátas k’á malh ku nskwátsits?”

Ao kwenswá zewáten. Wá7lhkan wa7 zewáten kw *sEdwards* ta áw’ta nskwátsits, tsukw t’u7 ta wa7 zewátenan. Ti kél7a malh skwátsits kaxléqa lta nq’úmqena, *Bill*. Nilh t’u7 stsúnan:

“*Bill Edwards*.” Nilh malh aylh nswa7.

Wá7lhkalkh aylh skul pála7 k’a sxetspásq’et, metscalstumúlem. T’ak aylh ta twéww’eta ta wa7 wín’acw es7énts, nilh t’u7 smetscítsas, metscítsas láti7, sqwá’lenan i nslalí’tema kw nsplan wa7 tsicw. Gee, wá7lhkan tsut aylh lhkúnsa lhkwanenstwítas k’a ta pípha, tsútwit k’a:

“Nilh k’a wa7 sxek wa7 *sBill* lhkúnsa.” Wa7 aylh... nilh malh aylh *sBill* lhláni7 t’u7, t’u wa7 lhkúnsa. Ao káti7 swat ku zewatentáli, zwátenas ku stexw nskwátsits.

“Nilh ta téxwa nskwátsits,” kan tsun, “nilh wa7 *sFrancis*.” *Francis* ta stéxwa nskwátsits, t’u7 aoz t’u7 káti7 put kwas cw7it kwa zewatentáli ti7. *Bill* ti7 ta wa7 nskwátsits papt. Tsukw ti7.

1.2 English

A long time ago when I was a boy, before I went to school, you didn't hear any English. Just ucwalmícwts: I didn't understand anything else when I went to school.

When I got to school, we went to the boys' dormitory. We were all lying there on our beds. Our supervisor came up; he was a priest, a big man. He was talking, and the boys raised their hands.

I was lying there, and there was a boy lying next to me who told me: "Put up your hand!"

Gee, I put up both my hands. You were only supposed to raise one hand, but I went and put them both up. I asked my partner:

"Why did I raise my hands?"

"Oh," he told me, "He was asking for your name. He wants to get the names of the new arrivals." So I kept my hands up.

The priest came over and was talking.

"Go ahead and tell him your name," said the boy next to me.

"Gee," I thought, "I wonder what my name is: whatever can it be?" I didn't know it. I knew my last name was Edwards, but that's all I knew. The very first name that popped into my head was Bill. So, I said to him:

"Bill Edwards." And so that's who I am.

About a week later we were told to write home to our parents. There was a boy like me, and he did the writing for me. I told my parents that I had arrived at the school. I still think today that when they got my letter they must have thought:

"He must be Bill now, I guess." So from then on I was Bill, and I am still Bill now.

Nobody knows what my real name is. "My real name..." I tell them, "is Francis." My real name is Francis, but only a few people know that. I've always just been Bill. That's all!

1.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) i=cín'=as, i=wán
 when.PAST=long.time=3SBJV when.PAST=IPFV+ISG.SBJV
 twéww'et, [s]-kéla7-s n=s=papt
 boy NMLZ-first-3POSS ISG.POSS=NMLZ=always
 skol, áoz=t'u7 káti7 kwa...
 school NEG=EXCL around+there.VIS DET+IPFV
 kwásu qan'ím-ens
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS hear-DIR
 ku=sám7a-ts.
 DET=white.person-mouth

A long time ago when I was a boy, before I went to school, you didn't hear any English.

- (2) ucwalmícw-ts, aoz
 indigenous.person-mouth NEG
 kwenswá qan'ím s-nukw-s
 DET+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV hear NMLZ-other-3POSS
 i=tsícw=an aylh skol.
 when.PAST=get.there=ISG.SBJV then school

Just ucwalmícwts: I didn't understand anything else when I went to school.

- (3) [i]=tsícw=an ayłh skul láti7,
 when.PAST=get.there=ISG.SBJV then school at+there.VIS
 wa7, tsícw=kalh e=kw7ú-[w]na
 IPFV get.there=IPL.SBJ to=that.INVIS-precisely
 l=tswása=k'a gúy't=wit
 at=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS=EPIS sleep=3PL
 i=twéww'et=a.
 PL.DET=boy=EXIS

When I got to school, we went to the boys' dormitory.

- (4) s-kets•kíts-lec=kalh plan tákem.
 STAT-TRED•get.laid.down-AUT=IPL.SBJ already all
 We were all lying there on our beds.

- (5) [ka]-q'íl-a
 CIRC-get.laid.on.something.flat-CIRC
 ta=skukwpi7-lhkálh=a=k'a, naplít, xzum sqaycw.
 DET=chief-IPL.POSS=EXIS=EPIS priest big man

Our supervisor came up; he was a priest, a big man.

- (6) wa7 qwel'•qwal'•él't káti7, wa7 qwal'út,
 IPFV TRED•talk•CRED• around+there.VIS IPFV speak
 cat-aká7-em=t'elh i=tew•twéww'et=a.
 raise-hand-MID=at.that.time PL.DET=TRED•boy=EXIS

He was talking, and the boys raised their hands.

- (7) wá7=lhkan áti7 s-kíts-lec,
 IPFV=ISG.SBJ to+there.VIS STAT-get.laid.down-AUT
 wa7 aylh áti7 (wa7...)
 be then to+there.VIS IPFV
 ta=wa7=s-kíts-lec
 DET=IPFV=STAT-get.laid.down-AUT
 n-sq'út=a, tsún-ts-as,
 ISG.POSS-one.side=EXIS say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG
 “cat-aká7-em!”
 raise-hand-MID

I was lying there, and there was a boy lying next to me who told me, “Put up your hand!”

- (8) gee, cat-aká7-em=lhkan, tiwas-áka7.
 gee raise-hand-MID=ISG.SBJ both-hand
 Gee, I put up both my hands.

- (9) q'ut=a=cwílh=t'u7 séna7 skwakst ts7a
 one.side=A=after.all=EXCL though hand this.VIS
 ku=cát-an'-acw, k'ámalh t'qw-aw's
 DET=lift-DIR-2SG.ERG however together-collective
 lhas [ka]-cát-s=kan-a¹
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV CIRC-lift-CAUS=ISG.SBJ-CIRC
 [i]=n-skwákst=a.
 PL.DET=ISG.POSS-hand=EXIS

You were only supposed to raise one hand, but I went and put them both up.

¹The expected form of *lhas kacát.skana* in this stanza is either *lhen kacát.sa* or *lhekacát.sana*.

- (10) sáw-en=lhkan ta=n-páotenh=a, “kán-em
 ask-DIR=ISG.SBJ DET=ISG.POSS-partner=EXIS do.what-MID
 aylh nswa cat-aká7-em?”
 then ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV raise-hand-MID
 I asked my partner, “Why did I raise my hands?”
- (11) “o,” tsún-ts-as, “wa7 sáwlhen
 oh tell+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG IPFV ask.question+DIR
 lh=swát=as ku=skwátsits-su.”
 COMP=who=3SBJV DET=name-2SG.POSS
 “Oh,” he told me, “He was asking for your name.”
- (12) “wa7 kens-kwán-cit-as i=skwatsíts-s=a
 IPFV want.to-take-IND-3ERG PL.DET=name-3POSS=EXIS
 i=tsítsel=a t’iq.”
 PL.DET=new=EXIS arrive
 “He wants to get the names of the new arrivals.”
- (13) aylh láti7 nswa es-cát-aka7.
 then at+there.VIS ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV STAT-raise-hand
 So I kept my hands up.
- (14) t’iq ta=naplít=a, wa7 qwal’út láti7.
 arrive DET=priest=EXIS IPFV speak at+there.VIS
 The priest came over and was talking.

- (15) “cuy sqwál'-en ta=skwátsits-sw=a,”
 go.on report-DIR DET=name-2SG.POSS=EXIS
 tsún-ts-as láti7 wa7
 tell+DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG at+there.VIS IPFV
 n-sq'út=a.
 1SG.POSS-one.side=EXIS
 “Go ahead and tell him your name,” said the boy next to me.
- (16) “gee,” wá7=lhkan ptínus-em, “swat=as=k'á=malh
 gee IPFV=1SG.SBJ think-MID who=3SBJV=EPIS=ADHORT
 ku=n-skwátsits, swat=as=k'á=malh
 DET=1SG.POSS-name who=3SBJV=EPIS=ADHORT
 ku=n-skwátsits?”
 DET=1SG.POSS-name
 “Gee,” I thought, “I wonder what my name is, whatever can it be?”
- (17) ao kwenswá zewát-en.
 NEG DET+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV be.known-DIR
 I didn't know it.
- (18) wá7=lhkan wa7 zewát-en kw=s=Edwards
 IPFV=1SG.SBJ IPFV be.known-DIR DET=NMLZ=Edwards
 ta=7áw't=a n-skwátsits, tsúkw=t'u7
 DET=behind=EXIS 1SG.POSS-name finish=EXCL
 ta=wa7=zewát-en-an.
 DET=IPFV=be.known-DIR-1SG.ERG
 I knew my last name was Edwards, but that's all I knew.

- (19) ti=kél7=a=malh skwátsits
 DET=first=EXIS=ADHORT name
 ka-xléq-a
 CIRC-fit.into.something-CIRC
 l=ta=n-q'úmgen=a, *Bill.*
 at=DET=ISG.POSS-head=EXIS Bill

The very first name that popped into my head was Bill.

- (20) nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-an, “*Bill Edwards.*”
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-ISG.ERG Bill Edwards
 So, I said to him, “Bill Edwards.”

- (21) nílh=malh aylh n=s=wa7.
 COP=ADHORT then ISG.POSS-NMLZ=be
 And so that's who I am.

- (22) wá7=lhkalh aylh skul pála7=k'a sxetspásq'et,
 IPFV=IPL.SBJ then school one-EPIS week
 mets-cal-s-tumúl-em.
 get.written-ACT-CAUS-IPL.OBJ-IPL.ERG

About a week later we were told to write home to our parents.

- (23) t'ak aylh ta=twéww'et=a
 go.along then DET=boy=EXIS
 ta=wa7=wín'acw e=s7énts, nílh=t'u7
 DET=IPFV=similar to=ISG.INDEP COP=EXCL
 s=mets-cí[t]-ts-as,
 NMLZ=get.written-IND-ISG.OBJ-3ERG
 mets-cí[t]-ts-as láti7...
 get.written-IND-ISG.OBJ-3ERG at+there.VIS

There was a boy like me, and he did the writing for me...

- (24) ...[s]=sqwál'-en-an i=n-slalíl'tem=a
 NMLZ=report-DIR-1SG.ERG PL.DET=1SG.POSS-parents=EXIS
 kw=n=s=plan wa7 tsicw.
 DET=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=already IPFV get.there
 ...I told my parents that I had arrived at the school.

- (25) gee, wá7=lhkan tsut aylh lhkúnsa
 gee IPFV=1SG.SBJ say then today
 lh=kwan•en-s-twítas=k'a ta=píph=a,
 COMP=take•FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG=EPIS DET=paper=EXIS
 tsút=wit=k'a, “nílh=k'a wa7 sxek wa7
 say=3PL=EPIS COP=EPIS IPFV maybe IPFV
 s=*Bill* lhkúnsa.”
 NMLZ=Bill today

I still think today that when they got my letter they must have thought, “He must be Bill now, I guess.”

- (26) wa7 aylh... nílh=malh aylh s=*Bill*
 IPFV then COP=ADHORT then NMLZ=Bill
 lhláni7=t'u7, t'u wa7 lhkúnsa.
 from+there.ABS=EXCL until be today

So from then on I was Bill, and I am still Bill now.

- (27) ao káti7 swat ku=zewat-en-táli,
 NEG around+there.VIS who DET=be.known-DIR-NTS
 zwát-en-as ku=stéxw n-skwátsits.
 be.known-DIR-3ERG DET=real 1SG.POSS-name

Nobody knows what my real name is.

- (28) “nilh ta=téxw=a n-skwátsits,” [kan] tsun,
 COP DET=real=EXIS ISG.POSS-name ISG.SBJ say+DIR
 “nilh wa7 s=*Francis*.”
 COP IPFV NMLZ=Francis
 “My real name...,” I tell them, “is Francis.”

- (29) *Francis* ta=stéxw=a n-skwátsits, t’u7 áoz=t’u7
 Francis DET=real=EXIS ISG.POSS-name but NEG=EXCL
 káti7 put kwas
 around+there.VIS exactly DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 cw7it kwa=zewat-en-táli ti7.
 many DET+IPFV=be.known-DIR-NTS that.VIS
 My real name is Francis, but only a few people know that.

- (30) *Bill* ti7 ta=wa7=n-skwátsits papt.
 Bill that.VIS DET=IPFV=ISG.POSS-name always
 I’ve always just been Bill.

- (31) tsukw ti7.
 finish that.VIS
 That’s all!

CHAPTER 2

Áopv̄ls Apples

2.1 St'át'imcets

Na skela7sá cwilh láti7 kw nsqwá'len, sqwál'min'an izáwna, skéla7s kw nsqwatsáts skul, tákem i swín'acwsa skwátsits wa7 nahentsálem, ucwalmícw t'u7 skwátsits. Pála7 papt wa7 qweznítas: Ápa7. Nilh ti7 wa7 twéww'et, nilh iz' wa7 snaheném i tewtweww'etá t'u7 káti7: Ápa7. Nilh múta7 kwa Tsu7cwímem, Petsklhánk, Pexwpánk; o, tákem swín'acws i skwátsitsa wa7 snahentsáalitas, ao kwenswá lexláxs i núkwa.

Elh wa7 aylh múta7 ts7áwna, nilh aylh nslan wa7 skúla, t'u7 múta7 sqwál'min'an, wa::7 ses káti7 alkst, lanlhkálh t'u7...¹ wa7 ses láti7 alkst, t'ak ta skukwpi7lhkálha, wa7 qwel'qwal'él't, wa7 qwel'qwal'él't, ao kw nszwáten lhas ínwat, pála7 t'u7 ti7 ta qan'imensána sqwal'út.s ku áopv̄ls.

“*Apples*,” tsut. *Gee!* Cataká7em láti7 ta twéww'eta.

“*Gee*,” tsútkan k'a, “Wa7 k'a kw sáwlhen swátas ku qwenán ku áopv̄ls,” tsútkan. Cataka7emlhkán t'elh. Qwatsáts t'u7, nilh skákelcals

¹There is a break in the recording here.

Áopvls

i núkwa. Nilh malh kwsút.stum'cas ta pápl7a lhláku7 ntmícwa, nsmat' láku7. T'ákkalh láti7, sáwentsas:

“Tsícwkacw ha?”

“Nka7?” tsúnlhkan.

“Náq'wtsam' ku áopvls.”

“Ao káti7!” tsúnlhkan, “Ao káti7 kw nstsicw!”

“Sqwál'en, xwem, sqwál'en, xwem!” Nása cwílh malh sekném. K'ámalh, t'ákkalh tsa7cw, tsútkan kwas cuz' um'entsálem ku áopvls.

2.2 English

Before the time I am talking about here, before I left for school, I was called by all kinds of different names, just Indian names. One they always used was Ápa7. It's a boy's name, it's what we use for all little boys: Ápa7. Then there was Tsu7cwímem, Petsklhánk, Pexwpánk. Oh, they called me all kinds of names. I don't remember the others.

By the time what I'm talking about here took place, I was already in school. We were working when our supervisor came along, talking away, but I didn't understand what he was saying. The only thing I understood him say was 'apples'.

"Apples," he said. Gee! One of the boys raised his hand.

"Gee!" I must have thought, "He must be asking who wants an apple." So then I raised my hand and off he went, followed by the others. I was rescued by someone from back home, who happened to be mixed in with the others. We were going along, and he asked me:

"Did you go there?"

"Where?" I asked.

"To steal apples."

"Certainly not!" I told him, "I certainly did not go!"

"Tell him! Hurry! Tell him! Hurry!" he told me. It turns out they were going to get whipped. And there was I, going along as happy as can be, because I thought I was going to be given some apples.

- (5) nilh múta7 kwa=Tsu7cwímem,
 COP again DET+IPFV=Tsu7cwímem
 Petsklháank,³ Pexwpánk; o, tákem
 Petsklháank Pexwpánk oh all
 swín'acws i=skwátsits=a wa7
 different.kinds PL.DET=name=EXIS IPFV
 s=nah-en-tsál-itas, ao
 NMLZ=name-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3PL.ERG NEG
 kwenswá lexlák-s
 DET+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV remember-CAUS
 i=núkw=a.
 PL.DET=other=EXIS

Then there was Tsu7cwímem, Petsklháank, Pexwpánk. Oh, they called me all kinds of names. I don't remember the others.

³The name Petsklháank literally means 'leaf belly', and Pexwpánk means 'sprayed on belly'.

- (6) elh wa7 aylh múta7 ts7á-wna, nilh aylh
 and.then be then again this-precisely COP then
 n=s=lan wa7 skúl=a, t'u7
 ISG.POSS=NMLZ=already IPFV school=EXIS EXCL
 múta7 sqwáľ'-min'-an, wa::7 ses
 again report-RLT-1SG.ERG be NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 kátı7 alkst, lán=łhkálh=t'u7⁴ ...
 around+there.VIS work already=IPL.SBJ=EXCL
 wa7 ses látı7 alkst,
 be NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS at+there.VIS work
 t'ak ta=skukwpi7-łhkálh=a,
 go.along DET=chief-IPL.POSS=EXIS
 wa7 qwel'•qwal'•él'•t, wa7
 IPFV TRED•talk•CRED• IPFV
 qwel'•qwal'•él'•t...
 TRED•talk•CRED•

By the time what I'm talking about here took place, I was already in school. We were working when our supervisor came along, talking away...

⁴There is a break in the recording here, between *lán=łhkálh=t'u7* and *wa7*.

- (7) ...ao kw=n=s=zewát-en
 NEG DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=be.known-DIR
 lhas ínwat, pála7=t'u7
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV say.what one=EXCL
 ti7 ta=qan'im-ens-án=a
 that.VIS DET=hear-DIR-ISG.ERG=EXIS
 [kw]=[s]=qwal'út=s ku=7áopvls.
 DET=NMLZ=speak=3POSS DET=apples
 ...but I didn't understand what he was saying. The only thing I understood him say was 'apples'.
- (8) “apples,” tsut. gee! cat-aká7-em láti7
 Apples say Gee raise-hand-MID at+there.VIS
 ta=twéww'et=a.
 DET=boy=EXIS
 “Apples,” he said. Gee! One of the boys raised his hand.
- (9) “gee,” tsút=kan=k'a, “wá7=k'a
 Gee say=ISG.SBJ=EPIS IPFV=EPIS
 kw=[s]=sáwlhen swát=as ku=qwenán
 DET=NMLZ=ask.question+DIR who=3SBJV DET=want
 ku=7áopvls,” tsút=kan.
 DET=apples say=ISG.SBJ
 “Gee!” I must have thought, “He must be asking who wants an apple.”
- (10) cat-aka7-em=lhkán=t'elh...
 raise-hand-MID=ISG.SBJ=at.that.time
 So then I raised my hand...

- (11) ...qwatsáts=t'u7, nilh s=ká*kel-cal=s
 leave=EXCL COP NMLZ=IRED*follow-ACT=3POSS
 i=núkw=a.
 PL.DET=other=EXIS

...and off he went, followed by the others.

- (12) nílh=malh kw-sút-s-tum'c-as
 COP=ADHORT get.saved-OOC-CAUS-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
 ta=pá*pel7=a lhláku7
 DET=IRED*one=EXIS from+there.INVIS

n-tmícw=a, n-s-mat' láku7.
 1SG.POSS-land=EXIS LOC-STAT-mix at+there.INVIS

I was rescued by someone from back home, who happened to be mixed in with the others.

- (13) t'ák=kalh láti7, [s]=sáw-en-ts-as,
 go.along=1PL.SBJ at+there.VIS NMLZ=ask-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
 “tsícw=kacw=ha?”
 get.there=2SG.SBJ=Q

We were going along, and he asked me, “Did you go there?”

- (14) “nka7?” tsún=lhkan.
 where tell+DIR=1SG.SBJ

“Where?” I asked.

- (15) “náq'w-ts-am' ku=7áopvls.”
 steal-mouth-MID DET=apples

“To steal apples.”

- (16) “ao káti7!” tsún=lhkan, “ao
 NEG around+there.VIS tell+DIR=ISG.SBJ NEG
 káti7 kw=n=s=tsicw!”
 around+there.VIS DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=get.there
 “Certainly not!” I told him, “I certainly did not go!”
- (17) “sqwál’-en, xwem, sqwál’-en, xwem!”
 report-DIR fast talk-DIR fast
 “Tell him! Hurry! Tell him! Hurry!” he told me.
- (18) nas=a=cwílh=malh sek-n-ém.
 go=A=after.all=ADHORT get.whipped-DIR-3PASS
 It turns out they were going to get whipped.
- (19) k’ámalh, t’ák=kan tsa7cw, tsút=kan
 but go.along=ISG.SBJ happy say=ISG.SBJ
 kwas cuz’ um’-en-tsálem
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS going.to be.given-DIR-ISG.PASS
 ku=7áopvls.
 DET=apples

And there was I, going along as happy as can be, because I thought I was going to be given some apples.

CHAPTER 3

Wa7 sqweqwel'mínas sBill na núkwa száyten iwás twéww'et Another Story about my Childhood

3.1 St'át'imcets

Nilh ts7a múta7 száytenlhkalkh icín'as ts7áwna, lhen wa7 twéww'et káti7. K'winaszánucwan k'a, ... *hundred and* ... nilh malh nswa lexláxs.¹

Icín'as, ao kwas áts'xnem izáwna i wa7 tsúnitas *government truck*, wa7 tsúnitas lhas p'úkusemwit káti7 ku ts'xut, ku íq'usem lhas máqa7. Láni7 lhas k'ímal'ts i c.wálha ts'íla t'u7 ku nk'wanústén', na, ao káti7 kw swa7 káti7 ku p'úkusem.

Qwatsátskalkh ta cácl'epa, nts'ítem ta cácl'epa, *Christmasnúcw*. Wa7 *estruck* k'a káti7 nsqátsez7a pináni7. Stám'as k'á wi7 ni7, *Model T* k'á ni7.

Qwatsá::tskalkh, stexw t'u7 k'wanústén ti7 ta c.wálha. T'ákkalkh, ptákkalkh lta t'ít'q'eta. T'ákkalkh láti7 elh q'ílem láti7 ta pál7a xéxt'em áti7 ti c.wálha, q'ílemlhalkh áti7, kalhéxwa lhelkw7úna ta núkwa kaoh.

¹This section of the recording is unclear, and the transcription here our best guess, given the surrounding context.

Wa7 ti7 kenst'alaká7em, ao kw skat'ála, t'ak qwetxw ti káohsa. Ao kw snp'elk'úsem, kenssiwlec, ao kw skasíwleca, txwilcmintumúlhas t'u7. Xílem ta káohlhkalha: ao kwat kasíwleca, ts'q'alhts'a7mintumúlhas lts7áwna q'welhniw'ta. Kakélha ta wa7 tsúnitas *running board*. Wa7 ti7 láti7 lhkúnsa skits, wa7 lhkúnsa.

Ni::lh sqwatsátskalkh aylh lhláti7. T'ákkalkh ta cácl'epa, q'íllhkalh áku7. Wá::7lhkalkh káku7, qwatsátswit súxwast múta7. Wa7 slhay káti7 ku száyten ku twéw'w'et. Nsknák t'u7, ao káti7 kwenswá lhwalawílh. Suxwastwít t'elh, wá7a cwílh káti7 sqlhátkwa7 ta pápel7a láku7 xáw'ena. Tsícwkalh láku7, wá7wit láti7 ú7qwa7, qwatsátskalkh xát'em. Qwatsátskalkh múta7 xát'em. Áozas kekékew'a áti7, cik'eném t'elh ta c.wálha. Kanq'ép'tskalkha, ti7 xelq', pála7 ti7 kw scwetps, sx-elq's, kat'ála. Kelhkelhelhwít lhláti7 tákem, nilh sxát'emi, kaq'ílwita áti7 c.wálha. T'u7 wá7lhkan s7ents láku7 nk'íp'us. Wá7lhkan nk'íp'us láti7, ao kw nskakélha. We7áwlhkan aylh, q'áylec.wit, nsexwsúxwastwit lhláta7, t'íq.wit. U, cwáocwlaom k'á wi7 i káoha sxek icín'as, scatan'ítas, kakéllhkana lhláku7.

Ni::lh st'ákkalkh xát'em, nmátqkalkh aylh, kaq'íllhkalha. Úlhcwkan áti7 ltskálha wa7, ao kwas wa7 nskícez7a, nilh nsqwatsáts cwíl'en, t'ákkán, púnlhkan. Úlhcwkan láti7, ats'xentsás t'u7:

“Tay, kánemlhkacw? Kánemlhkacw?”

“Ao káti7 kwenswá kánem,” tsúnlhkan, “Ao káti7 kwenswá kánem.”

“Kánem zam'? U,” tsut, “Kánem zam' sas ptéla7 ta skwt'ústswa? Tse-qwtsíqwal'us ti skwt'ústswa ta ptél7a.”

Aoz t'u7 káti7 kw nskalegwttsám'a aylh, sqwál'enlhkan ta szaytenlhkálha lt7una, ta skanq'ép'tskalkha lk7u xáw'ena. Tsukw ti7.

3.2 English

This is something else that happened a long while back, when I was a boy. I must have been a few years old, ... hundred and ... that's why I remember it.

We never saw government trucks around here back then, the kind that spread gravel and scrape the road when there's snow. Back then, when the roads used to get icy like glass, no-one sanded them.

We had set off towards Fountain to spend Christmas there. My father must have had a truck at that time, I think it was a Model T. We set off, and the road was really like glass. We were going along and we passed Twelve Mile. We were going along a stretch of road where there was a little hill. We were almost at the top when another vehicle appeared. The driver tried to brake, but he couldn't stop, and his car started sliding. He couldn't turn, he tried to veer off to the side of the road, but he couldn't manage it. He was coming straight toward us. The same thing happened to us: we weren't able to get off the road, and the other car hit us on the right side. The running board came off. It is still lying there to this day.

Well, we went on our way. We set off for Fountain, and we got up there. We were up there, and then some of the boys decided to go back down the hill. You know how boys think they can do anything. I was hanging around, and there was no way I was going to be left behind. So down the hill they went, it turned out one of them had a bottle of liquor stashed down there. We got down there and the boys had a bit to drink, then we started up the hill. We started back up the hill. We didn't get far before we missed the road. We flipped the car, it rolled, turned over once, and then stopped. The boys all got out of the truck and walked up the hill until they got to the road at the top. But in the meantime, my head was stuck. My face was stuck there, and I couldn't get free. I hollered and they ran back downhill. I guess cars might have been light in those days, because they lifted it up, and I managed to get free.

Then we all walked back up to the top of the hill. When I went into the house we were staying in, my mother was not there, so I went looking

for her and found her. As soon as I went into the house, my mother looked at me:

“Hey, what happened to you? What happened to you?”

“Nothing,” I told her, “Nothing happened to me.”

“Oh really?” she said, “How come there’s blood on your face, then? Your face is all red with blood.”

I couldn’t lie, so I told her what happened to us, how we flipped over down below. That’s all!

3.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) nilh ts7a múta7 száyten-lhkalh
 COP this.VIS again doings-IPL.POSS
 i=cín'=as ts7á-wna,
 when.PAST=long.time=3SBJV this-precisely
 lhen wa7 twéww'et
 COMP+IPFV+ISG.SBJV IPFV boy
 kíti7.
 around+there.VIS

This is something else that happened a long while back, when I was a boy.

- (2) k'wín=as zánucw=an=k'a,² [...] *hundred*
 how.many=3SBJV years=ISG.SBJV=EPIS hundred
 and [...] nílh=malh nswa
 and COP=ADHORT ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
 lexláj-s.
 remember-CAUS

I must have been a few years old, hundred and... that's why I remember it.

²This section of the recording is unclear, and the transcription here our best guess, given the surrounding context.

Wa7 sqweqwel'mínas sBill na núkwa száyten iwás twéww'et

- (3) i=cín'=as, ao kwas
 when.PAST=long.time=3SBJV NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
- áts'x-n-em izá-wna
 get.seen-DIR-IPL.ERG these-precisely
- i=wa7=tsún-itas *government truck*,
 PL.DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3PL.ERG government truck
- wa7 tsún-itas lhas
 IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
- p'úkw-us-em=wit
 pour.solid.objects-face-MID=3PL
- káti7 ku=ts'xút,
 around+there.VIS DET=gravel
- ku=7íq'-us-em
 DET=scrape-face-MID
- lhas máqa7.
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV snow

We never saw government trucks around here back then, the kind that spread gravel and scrape the road when there's snow.

- (4) láni7 lhas k'ímal'ts
 at+there.ABS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV freeze
 i=c.wállh=a ts'íla=t'u7 ku=[n]-k'wan-ús-ten',
 PL.DET=road=EXIS like=EXCL DET=LOC-look-face-INS
 na, ao káti7
 well NEG around+there.VIS
 kw=s... wa7 káti7
 DET=NMLZ be around+there.VIS
 ku=p'úkw-us-em.
 DET=pour.solid.objects-face-MID
 Back then, when the roads used to get icy like glass, no-one sanded them.
- (5) qwatsáts=kalh ta=cácl'ep=a, n-ts'ítem
 leave=IPL.SBJ DET=Fountain=EXIS LOC-go.towards
 ta=cácl'ep=a, *Christmas-núcw.*
 DET=Fountain=EXIS Christmas-get.somewhere
 We had set off towards Fountain to spend Christmas there.
- (6) wa7 es=*truck*=k'a káti7
 IPFV have=truck=EPIS around+there.VIS
 n-sqátsez7=a pináni7.
 ISG.POSS-father=EXIS at.that.time
 My father must have had a truck at that time,
- (7) stam'=as=k'á=wi7=ni7, *Model T* T=k'á=ni7.
 what=3SBJV=EPIS==that.ABS Model T=EPIS=that.ABS
 I think it was a Model T.

Wa7 sqweqwel'mínas sBill na núkwa száyten iwás twéww'et

- (8) qwatsá::ts=kalh, stéxw=t'u7 k'wan-ús-ten ti7
 leave=IPL.SBJ real=EXCL look-face-INS that.VIS
 ta=c.wálh=a.
 DET=road=EXIS

We set off, and the road was really like glass.

- (9) t'ák=kalh, pták=kalh
 go.along=IPL.SBJ passed.by=IPL.SBJ
 l=ta=t'ít'q'et=a.
 at=DET=white.earth[Twelve.Mile]=EXIS

We were going along and we passed Twelve Mile.

- (10) t'ák=kalh láti7 elh
 go.along=IPL.SBJ at+there.VIS and.then
 q'íl-em láti7 ta=pál7=a
 get.put.onto.something-MID at+there.VIS DET=one=EXIS
 xé•x•t'-em áti7 ti=c.wálh=a,
 climb•CRED•MID to+there.VIS DET=road=EXIS
 q'íl-em=lhkalh
 get.put.onto.something-MID=IPL.SBJ
 áti7, ka-lhéxw-a
 to+there.VIS CIRC-come.up.suddenly-CIRC
 lhel=kw7ú-[w]na
 from=that.INVIS-precisely
 ta=núkw=a kaoh.
 DET=other=EXIS car

We were going along a stretch of road where there was a little hill.
 We were almost at the top when another vehicle appeared.

- (11) wa7 ti7 kens-t'al-aká7-em, ao
 IPFV that.VIS want.to-stop-hand-MID NEG
 kw=s=ka-t'ál-a, t'ak qwetxw
 DET=NMLZ=CIRC-stop-CIRC go.along slide
 ti=káoh-s=a.
 DET=car-3POSS=EXIS

The driver tried to brake, but he couldn't stop, and his car started sliding.

- (12) ao kw=[s]=n-p'elk'-ús-em,
 NEG DET=NMLZ=LOC-get.turned.around-face-MID
 kens-síw-lec, ao
 want.to-go.off.to.the.side-AUT NEG
 kw=s=ka-síw-lec-a,
 DET=NMLZ=CIRC-go.off.to.the.side-AUT-CIRC
 txw-ilc-min-tumúlh-as=t'u7.
 straight-AUT-RLT-IPL.OBJ-3ERG=EXCL

He couldn't turn, he tried to veer off to the side of the road, but he couldn't manage it. He was coming straight toward us.

- (13) xíl-em ta=káoh-lhkalh=a: ao
 do-MID DET=car-IPL.POSS=EXIS NEG
 kwat ka-síw-lec-a,
 DET+IPFV+IPL.SBJV CIRC-go.off.to.the.side-AUT-CIRC
 ts'q'-alhts'a7-min-tumúlh-as
 strike-inside.body-RLT-IPL.OBJ-3ERG
 l=ts7á-wna q'welh-[lh]níw't=a.³
 at=this.VIS-precisely right.side.of.body=EXIS

The same thing happened to us: we weren't able to get off the road, and the other car hit us on the right side.

- (14) ka-kéllh-a ta=wa7=tsún-itas *running*
 CIRC-come.off-CIRC DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3PL.ERG running
board.
 board

The running board came off.

- (15) wa7 ti7 láti7 lhkúnsa s-kits,
 be that.VIS at+there.VIS today STAT-get.laid.down
 wa7 lhkúnsa.
 be today

It is still lying there to this day.

- (16) ni:lh s=qwatsáts=kalh aylh lhláti7.
 COP NMLZ=leave=IPL.POSS then from+there.VIS
 Well, we went on our way.

- (17) t'ák=kalh ta=cácl'ep=a,
 go.along=IPL.SBJ DET=Fountain=EXIS
 q'íl=lhkalh áku7.
 get.put.onto.something=IPL.SBJ to+there.INVIS

We set off for Fountain, and we got up there.

- (18) wá::7=lhkalh káku7, qwatsáts=wit súxwast
 be=IPL.SBJ around+there.INVIS leave=3PL go.downhill
 múta7.
 again

We were up there, and then some of the boys decided to go back down the hill.

³Desmond Peters, Sr. provided the gloss 'right side' for *q'welhníw't*, hitherto unrecorded.

- (19) wa7 s-lhay⁴ káti7
 IPFV STAT-overconfident around+there.VIS
 ku=száyten-s ku=twéw'w'et.
 DET=doings-3POSS DET=boy

You know how boys think they can do anything.

- (20) n=s=kn-ák=t'u7, ao
 ISG.POSS=NMLZ=around-be.there=EXCL NEG
 káti7 kwenswá
 around+there.VIS DET+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
 lhwal-awílh.
 get.abandoned-conveyance

I was hanging around, and there was no way I was going to be left behind.

- (21) suxwast=wít=t'elh, wá7=a=cwilh
 go.downhill=3PL=at.that.time IPFV=A=after.all
 káti7 s-qlh-átkwa7 ta=pá•pel7=a
 around+there.VIS STAT-store-liquid DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS
 láku7 xáw'en=a.
 at+there.INVIS below=EXIS

So down the hill they went, it turned out one of them had a bottle of liquor stashed down there.

⁴The word *slhay* has not been previously recorded. The translation 'overconfident' was provided by Linda Redan.

- (22) tsícw=kalh láku7, wá7=wit láti7
 get.there=IPL.SBJ at+there.INVIS IPFV=3PL at+there.VIS
 ú•7•qwa7, qwatsáts=kalh xát'em.
 drink•CRED• leave=IPL.SBJ climb

We got down there and the boys had a bit to drink, then we started up the hill.

- (23) qwatsáts=kalh múta7 xát'em.
 leave=IPL.SBJ again climb

We started back up the hill.

- (24) áoz=as [ke]•ké•kew'=h⁵ áti7,
 NEG=3SBJV far•CRED•=A to+there.VIS
 cik'-en-ém=t'elh ta=c.wálh=a.
 miss.a.target-DIR-IPL.ERG=at.that.time DET=road=EXIS

We didn't get far before we missed the road.

- (25) [ka]-n-q'ép'-ts=kalh-a,
 CIRC-LOC-get.overturned-mouth=IPL.SBJ-CIRC
 ti7⁶ xelq', pála7 ti7
 that.VIS get.rolled one that.VIS
 kw=s=cwet-p=s,
 DET=NMLZ=turn.around-INCH=3POSS
 [s]=xelq'=s, [ka]-t'ál-a.
 NMLZ=get.rolled=3POSS CIRC-stop-CIRC

We flipped the car, it rolled, turned over once, and then stopped.

⁵It is unclear why there is an =h encliticized to kekékew' in this stanza, but we assume it to be =a which has been converted to =h in order to avoid vowel hiatus with the following a on áti7.

- (26) kelh•kelh•elh=wít lhláti7
 TRED•come.off•FRED=3PL from+there.VIS
 tákem, nilh s=xát'em=i,
 all COP NMLZ=climb=3PL.POSS
 ka-q'íl=wit-a áti7
 CIRC-get.put.onto.something=3PL-CIRC to+there.VIS
 c.wálh=a.
 road=EXIS

The boys all got out of the truck and walked up the hill until they got to the road at the top.

- (27) t'u7 wá7=lhkan s7ents láku7
 but IPFV=ISG.SBJ ISG.INDEP at+there.INVIS
 n-k'íp'-us.
 LOC-pinched-face

But in the meantime, my head was stuck.

- (28) wá7=lhkan n-k'íp'-us láti7, ao
 IPFV=ISG.SBJ LOC-pinched-face at+there.VIS NEG
 kw=n=s=ka-kéllh-a.
 DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=CIRC-come.off-CIRC

My face was stuck there, and I couldn't get free.

- (29) we7áw=lhkan aylh, q'áy-lec=wit,
 holler=ISG.SBJ then run-AUT=3PL
 n-sexw*súxwast=wit lhláta7, t'íq=wit.
 LOC-TRED•go.downhill=3PL from+there.VIS arrive=3PL

I hollered and they ran back downhill.

⁶The demonstrative *ti7* occupies an unusual clause-initial position, functioning as the subject of the following predicate, *xelq'*.

- (30) u, cwaocw_laom=k'á=wi7 i=káoh=a sxek
 oh lightweight=EPIS= PL.DET=car=EXIS maybe
 i=cín'=as, s=cat-an'-ítas,
 when.PAST=long.time=3SBJV NMLZ=lift-DIR-3PL.ERG
 ka-kélh=kan-a lhláku7.
 CIRC-come.off=ISG.SBJ-CIRC from+there.INVIS

I guess cars might have been light in those days, because they lifted it up, and I managed to get free.

- (31) ni::lh s=t'ák=kalh xát'em, n-mátq=kalh
 COP NMLZ=continue=IPL.POSS climb LOC-walk=IPL.SBJ
 aylh, ka-q'íl=lhkalh-a.
 then CIRC-get.put.onto.something=IPL.SBJ-CIRC

Then we all walked back up to the top of the hill.

- (32) úlhcw=kan áti7
 enter=ISG.SBJ to+there.VIS
 l=tskálha wa7,
 at=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+IPL.POSS+EXIS be
 ao kwas wa7
 NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be
 n-skícez7=a, nilh
 ISG.POSS-mother=EXIS COP
 n=s=qwatsáts cwíl'-en,
 ISG.POSS=NMLZ=leave look.for-DIR
 t'ák=kan, pún=lhkan.
 go.along=ISG.SBJ get.found+DIR=ISG.SBJ

When I went into the house we were staying in, my mother was not there, so I went looking for her and found her.

- (33) úlhcw=kan láti7, ats'x-en-ts-ás=t'u7:
 enter=1SG.SBJ at+there.VIS get.seen-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG=EXCL
 “tay, kán-em=lhkacw? kán-em=lhkacw?”
 hey do.what-MID=2SG.SBJ do.what-MID=2SG.SBJ
 As soon as I went into the house, my mother looked at me: “Hey,
 what happened to you? What happened to you?”
- (34) “ao káti7 kwenswá
 NEG around+there.VIS DET+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
 kán-em,” tsún=lhkan, “ao káti7
 do.what-MID say+DIR=1SG.SBJ NEG around+there.VIS
 kwenswá kán-em.”
 DET+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV do.what-MID
 “Nothing,” I told her, “Nothing happened to me.”
- (35) “kán-em zam'? u,” tsut, “kán-em zam'
 do.what-MID after.all oh say do.what-MID after.all
 sas ptéla7 [I]=ta=skwt'ús-tsw=a?”
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS blood at=DET=face-2SG.POSS=EXIS
 “Oh really?” she said, “How come there's blood on your face,
 then?”
- (36) “tseqw*tsíqw-al'us ti=skwt'ús-tsw=a
 TRED*red-colour DET=face-2SG.POSS-EXIS
 [I]=ta=ptél7=a.”
 at=DET=blood=EXIS
 “Your face is all red with blood.”

- (37) áoz=t'u7 káti7
 NEG=EXCL around+there.VIS

kw=n=s=ka-legw-ts-ám'-a
 DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=CIRC-hide-mouth-MID-CIRC

aylh...
 then

I couldn't lie...

- (38) ...sqwál'-en=lhkan
 report-DIR=ISG.SBJ

ta=szayten-lhkálh=a
 DET=doings-IPL.POSS=EXIS

l=t7u-wna,
 at=that.VIS-precisely

ta=s=ka-n-q'ép'-ts=kalh-a
 DET=NMLZ=CIRC-LOC-get.overturned-mouth=IPL.POSS-CIRC

l=kw7u xáw'en=a.
 at=that.INVIS below=EXIS

...so I told her what happened to us there, how we flipped over
 down below.

- (39) tsukw ti7.
 finish that.VIS

That's all!

CHAPTER 4

Nmátq.wit úxwal' wi sBill múta7 ta sqátsza7sa

Bill and his Father Walk Home

4.1 St'át'imcets

Sqwéqwel' t7u t'u7 múta7 ts7áwna, nilh iz' i száytena nsqátsez7a. Qwatsátskalkh izá úxwal' *Lillooeta, July*. Tsem'p tu7 i wa7 sáy'sez', nilh slhám'em'lhkalkh lta pápel7a wa7 eskáoh. T'á::kkalkh malh, nsu7t' ta kasalínsa ta káohsa ta ucwalmícwa. Nilh t'u7 sqwatsátss cwil'sqáxa7. K'wínas t'u7 kw st'aks et7úna, st'aks i tímsa nilh scúk'wenas ti káohsa. Tsícwwit ta tsítcwsa, plan k'a wa7 ti7txwel'wás. Qa7...

“O,” tsuntumúlhas na nsqátsez7a, “Cúy'lhkalkh qwatsáts nmatq.” Put k'a ti7txwel'wás. Wa7 lhem'entúmulem:

“Wa7 malh t'u7, psil' elh qwatsátskal'ap.”

“Ao káti7, cúz'lhkalkh t'u7 qwatsáts.”

“Áma t'u7 kw swá7lap.”

“Ao káti7, cúz'lhkalkh t'u7.”

Ts'elts'íla k'a wi7 t'u7 kw spáolpeltkálh, paolleckálh t'u7 kw sqwatsátskálh t'u7. Qwatsátskálh lhláti7 nmatq, t'á::kkálh, k'wínas ts'íla lhelnká7as k'a kw skekáw's kw st'ákkálh. Ts'xúsenlhnkan nsqátsez7a, plan nts'íp'alus, plan wa7 kagúy'ta! K'wvłts'íilc ti c.wálha, t'ak lhlak ts'ítamsa et7úna t.scá7sa ta c.wálha, áti7 lhkanq'ep'usása. Nq'san'kmínlhnkan, nq'san'k k'a ti7, cwá7cw7ak snilh, qwatsátskálh múta7. Ha, áozas kw skekáw's lhláti7, ents t'u7 múta7 ta kagúy'ta. Gúy'tkan k'a t'u7 múta7, t'ak k'wvłts'íilc káti7 múta7 ta c.wálha láti7. Kwískan tu7, xelq'kán lkw7úna. Nq'san'kmíntsas.

Nilh t'u7 ti7 snilh ts'úytenlhnkálh. T'ákkán aylh káti7 ta núkwsa. T'ákkán káti7, áts'xenlhnkan, plan núkun' wa7 nts'íp'al'us, plan núkun' wa7 nts'íp'al'us, nilh slha7úsminan, nlha7úsminan kw st'als láti7. Nilh stsúnan lkw7úna:

“Tss, tss,” tsúnlhnkan.

Nilh malh t'u7 nstcúsem lts7a:: lta skwt'ústsa, lhá7lha7 lna skwt'ústsa, la::, nilh sq'áxlacs, ít'xtsam', stexw t'u7 kaq'úsa! Q'san'kmínlhnkan aylh.

T'ákkálh t'ú7 tu7 tsgwáymin'twal' t'u tsícwalmenlhnkálh ta tsítcwa. O, sáq'ulh k'a maoyl, t'akkan t'u7 káti7, áts'xenlhnkan, wa7 láti7 sq'út.sa ta c.wálha ta leputáya. *Forty-pounder*, láti7 wa7 estséq, p'ép'7acw ku sáq'ulh. Ptákenlhnkan, p'an'tmínlhnkan. Sáwentsas:

“Kacw kánem? Stam' ku p'an'tmínacw?”

“Oh, púpen'lhnkan ta stam'asá k'a,” tsúnlhnkan.

Wá7lhnkan stálhlecmin káti7, plan wá7lhnkan s7ats'xs, kenslháq'ut. Pútkan cuz' kwan, kacwáz'a tú7a. Wá7lhnkan áku7 k'a kw7íkwłacw! Nq'san'kmíntsas aylh láti7. Nilh sqwatsátskálh, tsícwkalh ti tsítcwkálha. Láti7 lhtsem'pás.

4.2 English

Here is another story, about what happened to my father. We were coming home with these people from Lillooet, from the July celebration. When the celebration was over we caught a ride with someone who had a car. We were going along when this guy's car ran out of gas. So he went to look for horses. After a while, along he came with his team of horses, and they pulled his car home.

It must have been about midnight when they got back to his house. Well, my father told us:

“Oh, we'll walk the rest of the way.” It must have been just around midnight. They wanted to hang onto us:

“Just stay here, leave in the morning.”

“No way, we are going to leave.”

“It would be better if you stayed.”

“No way, we're going.”

I guess it was like we were stubborn, we were just determined to leave. We set out walking, just going along, I don't know how far we had gone. When I looked at my dad, his eyes were already closed, he was falling asleep! Where the road curves, he kept on going higher, and that's when he fell on his face. I laughed at him, and he laughed too. He was wide awake now, so we started walking again. We hadn't gone very far, and then I was the one who fell asleep. I must've fallen asleep again, the road kept curving around there. I fell over and rolled off the road. He laughed at me.

So then that's what we did. I went along for another while. I looked at him and his eyes were already closed again, his eyes were already closed again, so I went right up to his face so he stopped. Then I said:

“Tss, tss.”

I just looked at him, right up next to his face, and he bent backwards and screamed, he was really startled! Then I laughed at him.

We took turns playing tricks on one another until we got close to our house. Oh, about half a mile from our house, I was going along when I saw a bottle on the side of the road. It was a “Forty Pounder”. It was standing

up, a little more than half full. I passed by it, and then I went back for it. My father asked me:

“What are you doing? What are you going back for?”

“Oh, I’ve found something,” I told him.

I was standing beside it, watching it, and went to bend down. I was just going to take it when it disappeared. I must have been dreaming! He laughed at me then. We started out again, and got home. That’s all!

4.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) sqwe•qw•el' = t7ú = t' u7 múta7 ts7á-wna,
 tell•CRED=that.VIS=EXCL again this.VIS-precisely
 nilh = iz' i = száyten-s = a
 COP=those.VIS PL.DET=doings-3POSS=EXIS
 [n]-sqátsez7 = a.
 ISG.POSS-father=EXIS

Here is another story, about what happened to my father.

- (2) qwatsáts = kalh izá úxwal' Lillooet = a, July.
 leave = IPL.SBJ these.VIS go.home Lillooet = EXIS July

We were coming home with these people from Lillooet, from the July celebration.

- (3) tsém'p = tu7 i = wa7 = sáy'sez', nilh
 get.finished = REM PL.DET = IPFV = play COP
 s = lhám'•em' = lhkalh l = ta = pá•pel7 = a
 NMLZ = put.into•FRED = IPL.POSS at = DET = IRED•one = EXIS
 wa7 es = káoh.
 IPFV have = car

When the celebration was over we caught a ride with someone who had a car.

- (4) t'á::k = kalh = malh, n-su <7> t'
 go.along = IPL.SBJ = ADHORT LOC-drain <INCH>
 ta = kasalín-s = a ta = káoh-s = a
 DET = gasoline-3POSS = EXIS DET = car-3POSS = EXIS
 ta = 7ucwalmícw = a.
 DET = indigenous.person = EXIS

We were going along when this guy's car ran out of gas.

- (5) nílh=t'u7 s=qwatsáts=s cwil'-sqáxa7.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3POSS look.for-horse
 So he went to look for horses.

- (6) k'wín=as=t'u7 kw=s=t'ak=s
 how.many=3SBJV=EXCL DET=NMLZ=go.along=3POSS
 e=t7ú-[w]na, s=t'ak=s
 to=that.VIS-precisely NMLZ=go.along=3POSS
 i=tím-s=a nilh
 PL.DET=team-3POSS=EXIS COP
 s=cúk'w-en-as
 NMLZ=get.dragged-DIR-3ERG
 ti=káoh-s=a.
 DET=car-3POSS=EXIS

After a while, along he came with his team of horses, and they pulled his car home.

- (7) tsícw=wit ta=tsícw-s=a, plán=k'a wa7
 get.there=3PL DET=house-3POSS=EXIS already=EPIS IPFV
 ti7txw-el'wás.
 exact-in.half

It must have been about midnight when they got back to his house.

- (8) qa7... "o," tsun-tumúlh-as
 well oh say+DIR-IPL.OBJ-3ERG
 na=n-sqátsez7=a, "cúy'=lhkalh
 ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS going.to=IPL.SBJ
 qwatsáts n-matq."
 leave LOC-walk

Well, my father told us, "Oh, we'll walk the rest of the way."

- (9) pút=k'a ti7txw-el'wás.
 exactly=EXCL correct-in.half
 It must have been just around midnight.
- (10) wa7 lhem'-en-túmulem, "wá7=malh=t'u7, psil'
 IPFV stingy-DIR-IPL.PASS be=ADHORT=EXCL early.morning
 elh qwatsáts=kal'ap."
 and.then leave=2PL.SBJ
 They wanted to hang onto us, "Just stay here, leave in the morning."
- (11) "ao káti7, cúz'=lhkalh=t'u7 qwatsáts."
 NEG around+there.VIS going.to=IPL.SBJ=EXCL leave
 "No way, we are going to leave."
- (12) "áma=t'u7 kw=s=wá7=lap."
 good=EXCL DET=NMLZ=be=2PL.POSS
 "It would be better if you stayed."
- (13) "ao káti7, cúz'=lhkalh=t'u7."
 NEG around+there.VIS going.to=IPL.SBJ=EXCL
 "No way, we're going."

- (14) ts'el•ts'ila=k'á=wi7=t'u7
 TRED•like=EPIS==EXCL
 kw=s=páol•pelt=kalh,
 DET=NMLZ=TRED•stubborn=IPL.POSS
 paol-lec=kálh=t'u7
 stubborn-AUT=IPL.SBJ=EXCL
 kw=s=qwatsáts=kalh=t'u7.
 DET=NMLZ=leave=IPL.POSS=EXCL

I guess we were being kind of stubborn, we were just determined to leave.

- (15) qwatsáts=kalh lhláti7 n-matq,
 leave=IPL.SBJ from+there.VIS LOC-walk
 t'á::k=kalh, k'wín=as
 go.along=IPL.SBJ how.many=3SBJV
 ts'ila lhel=nká7=as=k'a
 like from=where=3SBJV=EPIS
 kw=s=ke•káv'=s
 DET=NMLZ=IREĐ•far=3POSS
 kw=s=t'ák=kalh.
 DET=NMLZ=go.along=IPL.POSS

So we set out walking, just going along, I don't know how far we had gone.

- (16) ts'x-ús-en=lhkan n-sqátsez7=a, plan
 look-face-DIR=ISG.SBJ ISG.POSS-father=EXIS already
 n-ts'íp'alus, plan wa7 ka-gúy't-a!
 LOC-shut-eye already IPFV CIRC-sleep-CIRC

When I looked at my dad, his eyes were already closed, he was falling asleep!

- (17) k'wv[ts'íilc ti=c.wálh=a, t'ak
 bend-AUT DET=road=EXIS continue
 lh=lak i=[s]-ts'ítem-s=a¹
 from=be.there PL.DET=NMLZ-go.towards-3POSS=EXIS
 e=t7ú-[w]na t=s-cá7-s=a
 to=that.VIS-precisely DET=NMLZ-high-3POSS=EXIS
 ta=c.wálh=a...
 DET=road=EXIS

Where the road curves, he kept on going higher...

- (18) ...áti7
 to+there.VIS
 lh=ka-n-q'ep'-us=ás-a.
 COMP=CIRC-LOC-get.overturned-face=3SBJV-CIRC
 ...that's when he fell on his face.

- (19) n-q's-an'k-mín=lhkan, n-q's-án'k=k'a
 LOC-laugh-stomach-RLT=ISG.SBJ LOC-laugh-stomach=EPIS
 ti7, cwá<7>•cw<7>ak snilh, qwatsáts=kalh
 that.VIS TRED•wake<INCH> 3SG.INDEP leave=IPL.SBJ
 múta7.
 again

I laughed at him, and he laughed too. He was wide awake now, so we started walking again.

¹The passage containing and immediately surrounding the word *sts'ítem-s* is unclear: in particular, the plural determiner *i=* on *i=s-ts'ítem-s=a* is unexplained.

- (20) ha, áoz=as kw=s=ke•káw'=s
 INTJ NEG=3SBJV DET=NMLZ=IRED•far=3POSS
 lhláti7, énts=t'u7 múta7
 from+there.VIS ISG.INDEP=EXCL again
 ta=ka-gúy't-a.
 DET=CIRC-sleep-CIRC

We hadn't gone very far, and then I was the one who fell asleep.

- (21) guy't=kan=k'á=t'u7 múta7, t'ak k'wv[ts'-filc
 sleep=ISG.SBJ=EPIS=EXCL again continue bend-AUT
 káti7 múta7 ta=c.wálh=a láti7.
 around+there.VIS again DET=road=EXIS at+there.VIS

I must've fallen asleep again, the road kept curving around there.

- (22) kwís=kan=tu7, xelq'=kán l=kw7ú-[w]na.
 fall=ISG.SBJ=REM roll=ISG.SBJ at=that.INVIS-precisely
 I fell over and rolled off the road.

- (23) n-q's-an'k-mín-ts-as.
 LOC-laugh-stomach-RLT-ISG.OBJ-3ERG
 He laughed at me.

- (24) nílh=t'u7=ti7 s=nílh=ts=t'u7
 COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ=COP=3POSS=EXCL
 száyten-lhkalh.
 doings-IPL.POSS

So then that's what we did.

- (25) t'ák=kan aylh káti7
 go.along=ISG.SBJ then around+there.VIS
 ta=núkw-s=a.
 DET=other-3POSS=EXIS

I went along for another while.

- (26) t'ák=kan káti7, áts'x-en=lhkan,
 go.along=ISG.SBJ around+there.VIS get.seen-DIR=ISG.SBJ
 plan núkun' wa7 n-ts'íp'-al'us,
 already again IPFV LOC-shut-eye
 plan núkun' wa7 n-ts'íp'-al'us,
 already again IPFV LOC-shut-eye
 nilh s=lha7-ús-min-an,
 COP NMLZ=close.to-face-RLT-1SG.ERG
 n-lha7-ús-min-an
 LOC-close.to-face-1SG.ERG
 kw=s=t'al=s láti7.
 DET=NMLZ=stop=3POSS at+there.VIS

I looked at him and his eyes were already closed again, his eyes were already closed again, so I went right up to his face so he stopped.

- (27) nilh s=tsún-an l=kw7ú-[w]na, “tss,
 COP NMLZ=say+DIR-1SG.ERG at=that.INVIS-precisely tss
 tss,” tsún=lhkan.
 tss say+DIR=ISG.SBJ

Then I said, “Tss, tss.”

- (28) nílh=malh=t'u7 n=s=tcús-em
 COP=ADHORT=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=look-MID
 l=ts7a:: l=ta=skwt'ús-ts=a, lhá7•lha7
 at=this.VIS at=DET=face-3POSS=EXIS TRED•close.to
 l=na=skwt'ús-ts=a, la:: nilh
 at=ABS.DET=face-3POSS=EXIS COP
 s=q'áx-lec=s, ít'x-ts-am',
 NMLZ=bend.over-AUT=3POSS scream-mouth-MID
 stéxw=t'u7 ka-q'ús-a!
 real=EXCL CIRC-startle-CIRC

I just looked at him, right up next to his face, and he bent backwards and screamed, he was really startled!

- (29) q's-an'k-mín=lhkan aylh.
 laugh-stomach-RLT=ISG.SBJ then
 Then I laughed at him.

- (30) t'ak=kalh=t'u7=tu7 tsgwáy-min'-twal' t'u
 continue=ISG.SBJ=EXCL=REM tease-RLT-RECP until
 tsícw-almen=lhkalh ta=tsícw=a.
 get.there-nearly=IPL.SBJ DET=house=EXIS

We took turns playing tricks on one another until we got close to our house.

- (31) o, sáq'ulh=k'a maoyl, t'ák=kan=t'u7
 oh half=EPIS mile go.along=1SG.SBJ=EXCL
 káti7, áts'x-en=lhkan, wa7
 around+there.VIS get.seen-DIR=1SG.SBJ be
 láti7 sq'út-s=a ta=c.wálh=a
 at+there.VIS one.side-3POSS=EXIS DET=road=EXIS
 ta=leputáy=a.
 DET=bottle=EXIS

Oh, about half a mile from our house, I was going along when I saw a bottle on the side of the road.

- (32) forty pounder, láti7 wa7
 forty pounder at+there.VIS IPFV
 es-tséq, p'é•p'•7acw
 STAT-get.placed.opening.up more.than•CRED•
 ku=sáq'ulh.
 DET=half

It was a “Forty Pounder”. It was standing up, a little more than half full.

- (33) pták-en=lhkan, p'an't-mín=lhkan.
 passed.by-DIR=1SG.SBJ return-RLT=1SG.SBJ
 I passed by it, and then I went back for it.

- (34) sáw-en-ts-as, “kacw kán-em? stam'
 ask-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG 2SG.SBJ do.what-MID what
 kw=p'an't-mín-acw?”
 DET=return-RLT-2SG.ERG

My father asked me, “What are you doing? What are you going back for?”

- (35) “o, pú•p•en’=lhkan ta=stam’=as=á=k’a,”
 oh find•CRED•+DIR=ISG.SBJ DET=what=3SBJV=EXIS=EPIS
 tsún=lhkan.
 say+DIR=ISG.SBJ
 “Oh, I’ve found something,” I told him.
- (36) wá7=lhkan s-tálh-lec-min káti7, plan
 IPFV=ISG.SBJ STAT-stand-AUT-RLT around+there.VIS already
 wá7=lhkan s-7ats’x-s, kens-lháq’ut.
 IPFV=ISG.SBJ STAT-get.seen-CAUS want.to-bend.down
 I was standing beside it, watching it, and went to bend down.
- (37) pút=kan cuz’ kwan,
 exactly=ISG.SBJ going.to take+DIR
 ka-cwaz’-a=tú7=a.
 CIRC-disappear-CIRC=REM=A
 I was just going to take it when it disappeared.
- (38) wá7=lhkan áku7=k’a kw7íkwlacw!
 IPFV=ISG.SBJ to+there.INVIS=EPIS dream
 I must have been dreaming!
- (39) n-q’s-an’k-mín-ts-as aylh láti7.
 LOC-laugh-stomach-RLT-ISG.OBJ-3ERG then at+there.VIS
 He laughed at me then.
- (40) nilh s=qwatsáts=kalh, tsícw=kalh
 COP NMLZ=leave=IPL.POSS get.there=IPL.SBJ
 ti=tsitcw-kálh=a.
 DET=house-IPL.POSS=EXIS
 We started out again, and got home.

- (41) láti7 lh=tsem'p=ás.
at+there.VIS COMP=get.finished=3SBJV
That's all!

CHAPTER 5

I wá7as sq'wezílc.wit láta7 cácl'epa

The Dance at Fountain

5.1 St'át'imcets

Na spála7sa múta7 áti7, wá::7lhkalh láku7 ts'k'wáylacwa, lti stóha. Plan wa7 gap. Wa7 t'elh káti7 ti tsúta:

“Cuz' ku7 kw sq'wezílc lta cácl'epa.”

“O, cuys,” tsúntsas npáotenha.

“Cuy,” tsúnlhkan, “Cuy, cúz'lhkan nas, xwementsút kelh kwsu nas ts'elcwíken'an nts'qáx7a, nilh sqwatsátskalh lhláku7 aw't, pútkacw tsukw. Nas kwamsqáxa7, nilh stsícwsu.”

Nilh t'u7 sq'áylecs na npáotenha lheglhágt, ni::lh t'ákkkan malh aw't.

Texw t'u7 t'ept'ép, aoy t'u7 kwsu áts'xen ku stam' áti7 klústswa. T'ákkkan malh áti7, lhstám'as ts7áwna ti7 karápa nsklúsa – t.st'ept'pemsá t'u7, ao káti7 kw ns7áts'xenan, nilh nslan t'u7 wa7 tqilh ts'q'álqwmin'. Nílha cwíllh k'a ti7 ti táowna ku stóha, nilh ti pápel7a lhláti7 ts'k'wáylacwa.

Ptákenlhkan aylh t'ak, tsícwkan, pu::t t'u7 tsukw sts'elcwíken'ams npáotenha, qwatsátskalh lhláti7. Lan k'a *ten o'clock* elh qwatsátskalha. Ts'ixwan'kcen k'a múta7 i ts'qaxa7lhkálha, xetxet7íl'c.wit, ni::lh st'ákkkalh skenkín. Aoz kwas xát'min'em kwet nuxwsqáxa7.

I wá7as sq'wezílc.wit láta7 cácl'epa

T'á::kkaalh, tsícwkaalh ta cácl'epa, getssqáxa7lhkaalh láti7, úlhcwkaalh Itswása i wa7 q'wezílc. Pú::ta cwílh k'a wa7 tsukw i wa7 q'wezílc, put t'u7 wa7 cuz' say'sez'mínitas ta wa7 tsúnitas *home waltz*. Gee, *home waltz*kaalha ta npáotenha, tsem'p ta *home waltza* láti7, nilh scúz'lhkaalh páwel'. Stám'as k'a wa7 kw ska7amalhkálha. Tsukw ti7.

5.2 English

One time we were at the Pavilion store. It was already evening. Someone said:

“There is a dance at Fountain.”

My friend told me:

“Oh, let’s go.”

“Okay, I’ll go,” I told him, “Hurry up and saddle one of my horses, and then we’ll get going from back over there, as soon as you’re done. Go get a horse, and then go over there.”

So off went my friend, running fast, and I came along behind. It was really dark, you couldn’t see a thing in front of you. I was going along, and then something sprang up in front of me – because it was so dark, I didn’t see it, and I almost bumped into it. It must have been someone visiting the store, someone from Pavilion. I passed them, and kept on going.

When I got there my friend had just finished saddling his horse. Then we set off. By the time we got started it was already ten o’clock at night. Our horses must have had sore hooves, they were limping, so we went slowly. We didn’t want to gallop them.

When we got to Fountain, we tied our horses up and went into the dance. It turned out that they must have just been finishing, they were just going to play the “Home Waltz”. Gee, my friend and I danced the Home Waltz, and when it was finished, that was it. I wonder whether it was worth it for us. That’s where it ends!

5.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) na=s-pála7-s=a múta7 áti7,
ABS.DET=NMLZ-one-3POSS=EXIS again to+there.VIS
wá::7=lhkalh láku7 ts'k'wáylacw=a,
IPFV=IPL.SBJ at+there.INVIS Pavilion=EXIS
l=ti=stóh=a.
at=DET=store=EXIS

Another time, we were at the Pavilion store.

- (2) plan wa7 gap.
already IPFV evening
It was already evening.

- (3) wá7=t'elh káti7 ti=tsút=a,
IPFV=at.that.time around+there.VIS DET=say=EXIS
“cúz'=ku7 kw=s-q'wez-íl
going.to=QUOT DET=NMLZ-dance-AUT
l=ta=cácl'ep=a.”
at=DET=Fountain=EXIS

Someone said, “There is a dance at Fountain.”

- (4) “o, cuys,” tsún-ts-as n-páotenh=a.
oh let's.go say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG ISG.POSS-partner=EXIS
My friend told me, “Oh, let's go.”

- (5) “cuy,” tsún=lhkan, “cuy, cúz’=lhkan nas,
 go.on say+DIR=ISG.SBJ go.on going.to=ISG.SBJ go
 xwem-en-tsút=kelh kwsu nas
 hurry-DIR-REFL=FUT DET+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS go
 ts’elcw-íken’an [ta]=n-ts’qáx7=a, nilh
 saddle-back-DIR DET=ISG.POSS-horse=EXIS COP
 s=qwatsáts=kalh lhláku7 aw’t,
 NMLZ=leave=IPL.POSS from+there.INVIS behind
 pút=kacw tsukw.”
 exactly=2SG.SBJ finish

“Okay, I’ll go,” I told him, “Hurry up and saddle one of my horses, and then we’ll get going from back over there, as soon as you’re done.”

- (6) “nas kwam-sqáxa7, nilh s=tsícw=su.”
 go get-horse COP NMLZ=get.there=2SG.POSS
 “Go get a horse, and then go over there.”

- (7) nilh=t’u7 s=q’áy-lec=s
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=run-AUT=3POSS
 na=n-páotenh=a lhez’lhágt, ni::lh
 ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-partner=EXIS TRED*fast.runner COP
 t’ák=kan¹=malh aw’t.
 go.along=ISG.SBJ=ADHORT behind

So off went my friend, running fast, and I came along behind.

¹The indicative 1st singular subject =*kan* in *t’ákkan* is unexpected here, since *nilh* should induce nominalization and a 1st person possessive subject *n-*, yielding *nst’ak*.

- (8) téxw=t'u7 t'ep't'ép,² áoy=t'u7
 really=EXCL TRED•dark NEG=EXCL
 kwsu áts'x-en ku=stám'
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS get.seen-DIR DET=what
 áti7 klús-tsw=a.
 to+there.VIS in.front.of-2SG.POSS=EXIS

It was really dark, you couldn't see a thing in front of you.

- (9) t'ák=kan=malh áti7, lh=stám'=as
 go.along=ISG.SBJ=ADHORT to+there.VIS COMP=what=3SBJV
 ts7á-wna ti7 ka-ráp-a
 this-precisely that.VIS CIRC-get.stood.up-CIRC
 n-sklús=a...
 ISG.POSS-in.front.of=EXIS

I was going along, and then something sprang up in front of me...

- (10) ...t=s=t'ep't'pem=s=á=t'u7,
 DET=NMLZ=TRED•dark=3POSS=EXIS=EXCL
 ao káti7
 NEG around+there.VIS
 kw=n=s³=7áts'x-en-an,
 DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=get.seen-DIR-ISG.ERG
 nilh n=s=lán=t'u7 wa7
 COP ISG.POSS=NMLZ=already=EXCL IPFV
 tqilh ts'q'-álqw-min'.
 almost strike-mass-RLT

...because it was so dark, I didn't see it, and I almost bumped into it.

²The stress pattern for *t'ep't'ép* is unexpected: the adjective for 'dark' is usually *t'épt'pem*, as in stanza 10 of this narrative.

- (11) nilh=a=cwílh=k'a=ti7 [t]i=táown=a
 COP=A=after.all=EPIS=that.VIS DET=visit=EXIS
 ku=stóh=a, nilh ti=pá•pel7=a
 DET.INVIS=store=EXIS COP DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS
 lhláti7 ts'k'wáylacw=a.
 from+there.VIS Pavilion=EXIS

It must have been someone visiting the store, someone from Pavilion.

- (12) pták-en=lhkan aylh t'ak, tsícw=kan,
 passed.by-DIR=ISG.SBJ then go.along get.there=ISG.SBJ
 pú::t=t'u7 tsukw [kw]=s=ts'elcw-íken'-am=s
 exactly=EXCL finish DET=NMLZ=saddle-back-MID=3POSS
 n-páotenh=a, qwatsáts=kalh
 ISG.POSS-partner=EXIS leave=IPL.SBJ
 lhláti7.
 from+there.VIS

I passed them, and kept on going. When I got there my friend had just finished saddling his horse. Then we set off.

- (13) lán=k'a ten o'clock elh qwatsáts=kalh=a.
 already=EPIS ten o'clock and.then leave=IPL.SBJ=A
 By the time we got started it was already ten o'clock at night.

³The DP *kəw=n=s=7áts'x-en-an* is unexpected, since the nominalized clause exhibits both possessive and ergative 1st person subject marking.

- (14) ts'íxw-an'k-cen=k'a múta7 i=ts'qaxa7-lhkálh=a,
 sore-belly-foot=EPIS again PL.DET=horse-IPL.POSS=EXIS
 xet*xet7-íl'c=wit, ni::lh s=t'ák=kalh
 TRED*limp-AUT=3PL COP NMLZ=go.along=IPL.POSS
 s-ken·kín.
 STAT-TRED*slow

Our horses must have had sore hooves, they were limping, so we went slowly.

- (15) aoz kwas xát'-min'-em
 NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS want-RLT-IPL.ERG
 kwet nuxw-sqáxa7.
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+IPL.SBJV gallop-horse

We didn't want to gallop them.

- (16) t'á::k=kalh, tsícw=kalh ta=cácl'ep=a...
 go.along=IPL.SBJ get.there=IPL.SBJ DET=Fountain=EXIS
 When we got to Fountain...

- (17) ...gets-sqáxa7=lhkalh láti7, úlhcw=kalh
 tie.up-horse=IPL.SBJ at+there.VIS enter=IPL.SBJ
 l=t[s]wása
 at=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
 i=wa7=q'wez-ílc.
 PL.DET=IPFV=dance-AUT

...we tied our horses up, and went into the dance.

- (18) pu::t=a=cwílh=k'a wa7 tsukw
 exactly=A=after.all=EPIS IPFV finish
 i=wa7=q'wez-ílç, pút=t'u7 wa7 cuz'
 PL.DET=IPFV=dance-AUT exactly=EXCL IPFV going.to
 say'sez'-mín-itas ta=wa7=tsún-itas *home*
 play-RLT-3PL.ERG DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3PL.ERG home
waltz.
 waltz

It turned out that they must have just been finishing, they were just going to play the “Home Waltz”.

- (19) *gee, home waltz=kalh=a ta=n-páotenh=a,*
gee home waltz=IPL.SBJ=EXIS DET=ISG.POSS-partner=EXIS
tsem'p ta=home waltz=a láti7, nilh
get.finished DET=home waltz=EXIS at+there.VIS COP
s=cúz'=lhkalh páwel'.
NMLZ=going.to=IPL.POSS finally

Gee, my friend and I danced the Home Waltz, and when it was finished, that was it.

- (20) stám'=as=k'a wa7
 what=3SBJV=EPIS IPFV
 kw=s=ka-7ama=lhkálh-a.
 DET=NMLZ=CIRC-good=IPL.POSS-CIRC

I wonder whether it was worth it for us.⁴

⁴Desmond Peters, Sr. offers an alternative translation for this stanza: “I wonder if we felt okay about it (after all the trouble we went through to get there).”

- (21) tsukw ti7.
finish that.v1s
That's where it ends!

Part II

Stories from Martina LaRoche

CHAPTER 6

St’alhámam Grizzly Bear

6.1 St’át’imcets

Wa7 ku7 láti7 i smelhmúlhatsa, sek’wel’wásmec t’ú7 iz’ múta7.¹ Nilh ku7 t’u7 sk’walhan’twál’i. Nilh ku7 t’u7 stsúti:

“Cúz’lhalh nas kém’em kenkw7ú::.”

Nilh ti wa7 steq áku7 ta tmícwa wa7 t.snásiha kém’em. Ni::lh ku7 t’u7 aylh sqwatsá::tsi lhlá::ti7, nkekalhás iz’ ku smelhmúlhats. Qwatsáswit ku::7, tsícwwit áku7 stéqa. Nilh t’u7 láti7 stsítcwemi. Wá::7wit láti7, nas et7ú psil’, nilh t’u7 aylh sqwatsátsi kém’em.

Psil’ aylh láti7, nilh sqwatsátsi. Náswit áku7 ta kwlíi7a, áku7 lhus tsicw i wa7 kém’em, kwa nahném wa7 “kwlíi7”. Wá::7wit ku7 lá::ti7 kém’em. K’wínas k’á wi7 et7ú sq’it kwas kem’emwít. Nas aylh múta7 et7ú ta núkwa

¹In Rose Whitley’s original transcription and translation of this narrative, which appeared in the *St’át’imc Runner*, she begins this story with the sentence *Wenácw ts7a ku sqwéqwel*, ‘This is a true story.’ We have not included this sentence in the current volume because it is not included in our version of the recording, however it is probable that this sentence was simply cut off from the beginning of the recording that we were working with.

sq'it, nilh ku7 t'u7 aylh sts7asmintánemwit éta st'alhálama. Pla::n láti7 k'win sq'it kwas wá7wit kém'em. Nilh k'a t'u7 skanúm't.s ta t'alhálama. Wa::7 k'a wi7 káti7 eskwezkwékwza7, wi7 st'axilmíntanemwit. Wa::7 ku7 t'u7 aylh láti7, o, ku7 t'u7 wá7wit st'qwaw'sá qa7, nkekalháswit, aoz kwas klhaw'sílc.wit, wa7 t'u7 wá::7wit káti7 st'qwaw's lhas kem'emwít. T'elh qan'imenstwítas ku7 ta st'alhálama, wa::7 ku7 lhláku7 em7ínnem. Tsut ku7 t'elh ta núkwa:

“Tay, k'alán' wi, k'alán'min'i, ts7as láku7 lhláku7 ku st'alhálama!”

Em7ínnem kú7 ti7 ta st'alhá:lama lhláku7, t'axilmíntanemwit. My, ao kw szwatenítas lhus cuz' kánemwit. Wá::7wit ku7 aylh láti7 ptínusem, ats'xenítas ku7 ts7as t'elh lhelt7ú lhélta kwłíi7a, na, xzum'qw ku7 ti7 ku st'alhálam. Nilh aylh láti7 swas ptínusemwi::t lhcúz'as kánemwit. Wa7 ícwa7 eswelmín'k.wit, ao káti7 ku stam', tsetsúkwa i pats7íha múta7 i ts'lá7iha wa7 nlham'ánitas i wa7 skem'emí. My, ptínusem ku7 aylh k'a i núkwa, cwelcúlel kú7 tu7 aylh nelh n7án'wasa. Ni::lh ku7 t'u7 láti7 swa7s ta pápel7a, xwem k'a wi7 múta7 kwas kaptínusema.

Wa::7 ku7 láti7, t'elh tsut ku7:

“U, cúz'lhkan ti7 máysen lht'iqmin'túmulhas.”

Ts7a::s ku7 t'u7 aylh lhláta7 státlhlec ku7 ta st'alhálama, wa7 státlhlec. T'elh nilh ku7 skaptínusemsa ta pápel7a:

“U, cúz'lhkan... wéna7... nq'út'tsan' ta nqmúta,” tsut ku7.

Plan tu7 aylh cúlel nelh núkwa, n7án'wasa, cúlelwit kú7 tu7. Nilh ku7 t'u7 skwánas ta qmút.sa, wéna7 kú7 ti7, sk'vł ku7 ta qmútiha, i wa7 qmúti lhcín'as k'á tu7. Nilh ku7 t'u7 sn'cút'qwam's, kwánas ta qmút.sa lhláti7, snilh láti7 szálk'wnas ta pátsa7sa. Plan ku7 aylh t'iqmin'em, lan ku7 t'u7 aylh láti7 wa7 stalhlecminem éta st'alhálama, nilh t'u7 skwánas ta qmút.sa láti7, sk'vł ti7 ku qmut.s, nilh t'u7 szálk'wenas lta pátsa7sa. Lan ku7 aylh láti7 wa7 stalhlecminem; k'amalh láku7 aylh t.sáq'emsa ta st'alhálama láti7, em7ínnem. Nilh t'u7 skwánas ta qmút.sa, nilh t'u7 snxwiq'wtsán'as éta pátsa7sa. Xwiq'wtsán'as ku7 aylh: lan láti7 wa7 státlhlec wí7 hem', nilh t'u7 aylh nxwiq'wtsán'as ku7 áku7. Nilh t'u7 aylh s7áq'awillhts ta t'alhálama; kanxekwtsmínasa et7ú na qmút.sa ta smúlhatsa wa7 kém'em. Nilh t'u7 aylh káti7, scw7aoy kw szwatenítas lhas kánem, nilh t.skantsqám'sa ku7 et7ú ta st'alhálama.

Áti7 lhtsem'pás ta ns... wéna7... Stexw hem' t'ú7 ti7 sqwéqwel', cw7aoy
ti7 kwas sptakwlh. Sqwéqwel's t'ú7 ti7 na nkwékw7a ici::n'as iwán
sk'úk'wmi7t.

6.2 English

There were these women from Cayoose Creek. They decided to go on a work trip together. They said, “Let’s go dig roots.” The place where they were going digging was called *Steq* (‘logjam’, Duffey Lake). So they started out, there were three women. They set out, they got to *Steq*, and then they made camp there. They spent the night there, and when morning came, they set out to dig roots.

It was morning, and so they set out. They went to a green place in the alpine, to where the people used to go dig for roots, what we call *kwlii7* (‘green’). They were there digging roots for a few days.

It was going into another day when a grizzly bear came towards them. They had been digging roots there for a number of days, and then the grizzly noticed them. Apparently the grizzly had cubs around there: that is the reason they were attacked. Well, so there they were, the three of them: they didn’t separate, you know, they stayed together when they were root-digging. Then they heard the grizzly, making growling noises. One of the women said, “Hey, listen! It sounds like there’s a grizzly coming.”

The grizzly was growling, and then it attacked them. My, the women didn’t know what to do. They were trying to decide what to do, and they saw it coming at them from the green place, well, it was a very large bear, apparently. They were trying to decide what to do. They didn’t have any guns with them, they didn’t have anything except their digging sticks and their baskets for holding the roots that they dug.

My, two of the women made up their minds and decided to run away. Then one woman was left all alone, and she had to make up her mind quickly. So, she thought to herself, “Oh, I’m going to fix that bear if it comes for us.” The grizzly was coming toward them, it was standing on its hind legs. The woman came up with an idea, “I’m going to stuff my hat in its mouth,” she thought. The other two women had already run away. She took her hat, which was made of buckskin – that was what their hats must have been made of long ago. She took her hat off and she wrapped it around her digging stick.

The grizzly had already caught up to her, it was already rearing up in front of her, so she took her hat, which was made of leather, and wrapped it around her digging stick. It was already rearing up in front of her, and then it growled, with its mouth wide open. So she took her hat, and she shoved it right into the grizzly's mouth with her digging stick. She stuck it in its mouth: even though it was standing up in front of her, she stuck it right in its mouth. It got caught in the grizzly's throat, and it choked on the hat of the woman who was digging roots. And the other women didn't know what had happened to the grizzly, because it just fell over backwards, dead.

That's the end of my... what do you call it?... It's a true story, too, it's not a legend. That was my grandmother's story from long ago when I was a child.

6.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) wá7=ku7 láti7 i=smelh•múlhats=a,
 IPFV=QUOT at+there.VIS PL.DET=TRED•WOMEN=EXIS
 sek'w-el'was-mec=t'ú7=iz'
 break-in.half[Cayoose.Creek]-people=EXCL=those.VIS
 múta7.
 again

There were these women from Cayoose Creek.

- (2) nílh=ku7=t'ú7 s=k'walh-an'-twál'=i.
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=call.on-DIR-RECP=3PL.POSS

They decided to go (on a work trip) together.

- (3) nílh=ku7=t'ú7 s=tsút=i, "cúz'=[lh]kalh
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3PL.POSS going.to=IPL.SBJ
 nas kém'-em ken=kw7ú::"
 go dig.roots-MID around=that.INVIS

They said, "Let's go dig roots."

- (4) nílh ti=wa7=stéq áku7
 COP DET=IPFV=logjam[Duffey.Lake] to+there.INVIS
 ta=tmícw=a wa7 t=s=nás=i=ha
 DET=earth=EXIS IPFV DET=NMLZ=go=3PL.POSS=EXIS
 kém'-em.
 dig.roots-MID

The place where they were going digging was called *Steq* (Duffey Lake).

- (5) ní::lh=ku7=t'u7 aylh s=qwatsá::ts=i
 COP=QUOT=EXCL then NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS
 lhláti7, n-ke•kálhás iz'
 from+there.VIS LOC-IRED•three those.VIS
 ku=smelh•múlhats.
 DET=TRED•women

So they started out, there were three women.

- (6) qwatsáts=wit=ku::7, tsícw=wit áku7
 leave=3PL=QUOT get.there=3PL to+there.INVIS
 stéq=a, nílh=t'u7 láti7
 logjam[Duffey.Lake]=EXIS COP=EXCL at+there.VIS
 s=tsícw-em=i.
 NMLZ=house-MID=3PL.POSS

They set out, they got to *Steq*, and then they made camp there.

- (7) wá::7=wit láti7, nas e=t7ú psil',
 be=3PL at+there.VIS go to=that.VIS daybreak
 nílh=t'u7 aylh s=qwatsáts=i kém'-em.
 COP=EXCL then NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS dig.roots-MID

They spent the night there, and when morning came, they set out to dig roots.

- (8) [tsícw=wit=ku7 e=t7ú ta...]
 get.there=3PL=QUOT to=that.VIS DET
 I heard that they went to the...²

²There is a break in the recording at the end of this stanza.

- (9) psil' aylh láti7, nilh s=qwatsáts=i.
 daybreak then at+there.VIS COP NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS
 It was morning, and so they set out.

- (10) nás=wit áku7 ta=kwlíi7=a, áku7
 go=3PL to+there.INVIS DET=green=EXIS to+there.INVIS
 lhus tsicw i=wa7=kém'-em,
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.there PL.DET=IPFV=dig.roots-MID
 kwa nah-n-ém wa7 kwlii7.
 DET+IPFV name-DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV green

They went to a green place in the alpine, to where the people used to go dig for roots, what we call *kwlii7*.

- (11) wá::7=wit=ku7 lá::ti7 kém'-em,
 IPFV=3PL=QUOT at+there.VIS dig.roots-MID
 k'win=as=k'á=wi7 e=t7ú sq'it
 how.many=3SBJV=EPIS=EMPH to=that.VIS day
 kwas kem'-em=wít.
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS dig.roots-MID=3PL

They were there digging roots for a few days.

- (12) nas aylh múta7 e=t7ú ta=núkw=a sq'it,
 go then again to=that.VIS DET=other=EXIS day
 nilh=ku7=t'u7 aylh s=ts7as-min-tánemwit
 COP=QUOT=EXCL then NMLZ=come-RLT-3PL.PASS
 e=ta=st'alhálam=a.
 OBL=DET=grizzly.bear=EXIS

It was going into another day when a grizzly bear came towards them.

- (13) pla::n láti7 k'win sq'it
 already at+there.VIS how.many day
 kwas wá7=wit kém'-em,
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be=3PL dig.roots-MID
 nílh=k'a=t'u7 s=kanúm't=s
 COP=EPIS=EXCL NMLZ=notice=3POSS
 ta=t'alhám=a.
 DET=grizzly.bear=EXIS

They had been digging roots there for a number of days, and then the grizzly noticed them.

- (14) wá::7=k'a=wi7 káti7 es=kwez'kwé'kw'za7,
 IPFV=EPIS=EMPH around+there.VIS have=TRED•child•CRED•
 wi7 s=t'axil-mín-tanemwit.
 EMPH NMLZ=attack-RLT-3PL.PASS

Apparently the grizzly must have had cubs around there: so that is the reason they were attacked.

St'alhálam

- (15) wá::7=ku7=t'u7 aylh láti7, o, kú7=t'u7
 be=QUOT=EXCL then at+there.VIS oh QUOT=EXCL
 wá7=wit s-t'qw-aw's=á=qa7,
 IPFV=3PL STAT-together-collective=A=EST
 n-ke•kalhás=wit, aoz kwas
 LOC-IRED•three=3PL NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 klh-aw's-ílc=wit, wá7=t'u7
 separate-collective-AUT=3PL IPFV=EXCL
 wá::7=wit káti7
 be=3PL around+there.VIS
 s-t'qw-aw's
 STAT-together-collective
 lhas
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 kem'-em=wít.
 dig.roots-MID=3PL

Well, so there they were, the three of them: they didn't separate, you know, they stayed together when they were root-digging.

- (16) t'elh qan'im-ens-twítas=ku7
 at.that.time hear-DIR-3PL.ERG=QUOT
 ta=st'alhálam=a, wá::7=ku7 lhláku7
 DET=grizzly.bear=EXIS IPFV=QUOT from+there.INVIS
 em•7imn-em.
 TRED•make.animal.noises-MID

Then they heard the grizzly, making growling noises.

- (17) tsút=ku7=t'elh ta=núkw=a, “tay,
 say=QUOT=at.this.time DET=other=EXIS hey
 k'alán'=wi, k'alán'-min'-i, ts7as láku7
 listen=PL.IMP listen-RLT-PL.IMP come at+there.INVIS
 lhláku7 ku=st'alhám=a!”
 from+there.INVIS DET.INVIS=grizzly.bear=EXIS
 One of the women said, “Hey, listen! It sounds like there’s a grizzly coming.”

- (18) em•7ímn-em=ku7 ti7
 TRED•make.animal.noises-MID=QUOT that.VIS
 ta=st'alhá::lam=a lhláku7,
 DET=grizzly.bear=EXIS from+there.INVIS
 t'axil-mín-tanemwit.
 attack-RLT-3PL.PASS

The grizzly was growling, and then it attacked them.

- (19) *My*, ao kw=s=zwat-en-ítas
 My NEG DET=NMLZ=be.known-DIR-3PL.ERG
 lhus cuz' kán-em=wit.
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV going.to do.what-MID=3PL
 My, the women didn't know what to do.

St'alhálam

- (20) wá::7=wit=ku7 aylh láti7 ptínus-em,
 IPFV=3PL=QUOT then at+there.VIS think-MID
 ats'x-en-ítas=ku7 ts7ás=t'elh
 get.seen-DIR-3PL.ERG=QUOT come=at.this.time
 lhel=t7ú lhel=ta=kwlíi7=a, na,
 from=that.VIS from=DET=green=EXIS well
 xzúm'-qw=ku7 ti7 ku=st'alhálam.
 big-head=QUOT that.VIS DET=grizzly.bear

They were trying to decide what to do, and they saw it coming at them from the green place, well, it was a very large bear, apparently.

- (21) nilh aylh láti7 swas ptínus-em=wi::t
 COP then at+there.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS think-MID=3PL
 lh=cúz'=as kán-em=wit.
 COMP=going.to=3SBJV do.what-MID=3PL

They were trying to decide what to do.

- (22) wa7 ícwa7 es=[s]welmín'k=wit, ao káti7
 IPFV without have=gun=3PL NEG around+there.VIS
 ku=stám'...
 DET=what

They didn't have any guns with them, they didn't have anything...

- (23) ...tsetsúkwa i=pats7-í=ha
 just PL.DET=digging.stick-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 múta7 i=ts'lá7-i=ha
 and PL.DET=basket-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 wa7 n-lham'-án-itas
 IPFV LOC-put.into-DIR-3PL.ERG
 i=wa7=s-kem'-em-í.
 PL.DET=IPFV=NMLZ-dig.roots-MID-3PL.POSS

...except their digging sticks and their baskets for holding the roots that they dug.

- (24) *My*, ptínus-em=ku7 áylh=k'a i=núkw=a,
My think-MID=QUOT then=EPIS PL.DET=other=EXIS
 cwel•cul•el=kú7=tu7 ayllh
 TRED•run.away•FRED=QUOT=DIST then
 nelh=n-7'án'was=a.
 PL.ABS.DET=LOC-two=EXIS

My, two of the women made up their minds and decided to run away.

- (25) ní::lh=ku7=t'u7 láti7 s=wa7=s
 COP=QUOT=EXCL at+there.VIS NMLZ=be=3POSS
 ta=pá•pel7=a, xwém=k'a=wi7 múta7
 DET=IREN•one=EXIS fast=EPIS=EMPH and
 kwas ka-ptínus-em-a.
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS CIRC-think-MID-CIRC

Then one woman was left all alone, and she had to make up her mind quickly.

- (26) wá::7=ku7 láti7, t'elh tsút=ku7,
 be=QUOT at+there.VIS at.that.time say=QUOT
 “u, cúz'=lhkan=ti7 máys-en
 oh going.to=ISG.SBJ=that.VIS get.fixed-DIR
 lh=t'iq-min'-túmulh-as.”
 if=arrive-RLT-2PL.OBJ-3ERG

So, she thought to herself, “Oh, I’m going to fix that bear if it comes for us.”

- (27) ts7á::s=ku7=t'u7 aylh lhláta7
 come=QUOT=EXCL then from+there.VIS
 s-tá*talh-lec=ku7 ta=st'alhálam=a,
 STAT-IRED*stand-AUT=QUOT DET=grizzly.bear=EXIS
 wa7 s-tá*talh-lec.
 IPFV STAT-IRED*stand-AUT

The grizzly was coming toward them, it was standing on its hind legs.

- (28) t'[e]lh=nílh=ku7 s=ka-ptínus-em=s-a
 at.that.time=COP=QUOT NMLZ=CIRC-think-MID=3POSS-CIRC
 ta=pá*pel7=a, “u, cúz'=lhkan...
 DET=IRED*one=EXIS oh going.to=ISG.SBJ
 wéna7... n-q'út'-ts-an'
 whatchamacallit LOC-get.stuffed-mouth-DIR
 ta=n-qmút=a,” tsút=ku7.
 DET=ISG.POSS-hat=EXIS say=QUOT

The woman came up with an idea, “I’m going to stuff my hat in its mouth,” she thought.

- (29) plán=tu7 ayllh cú•el nelh=núkw=a,
 already=REM then run.away•FRED PL.ABS.DET=other=EXIS
 n-7án'was=a, cul•el=wít=ku7=tu7.
 LOC-two=EXIS run.away•FRED=3PL=QUOT=REM

The other two women had already run away.

- (30) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=kwán-as
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=take+DIR-3ERG
 ta=qmút-s=a, wena7=kú7=ti7,
 DET=hat-3POSS=EXIS whatchamacallit=QUOT=that.VIS
 sk'v̥l̥=ku7 ta=qmút-i=ha,
 buckskin=QUOT DET=hat-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 i=wa7=qmút-i
 PL.DET=IPFV=hat-3PL.POSS
 lh=cin'=as=k'á=tu7.
 COMP=long.time=3SBJV=EPIS=REM

She took her hat, which was made of buckskin – that was what their hats must have been made of long ago.

- (31) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=n-cút'-qw-am'=s,
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=LOC-take.off-head-MID=3POSS
 kwán-as ta=qmút-s=a
 take+DIR-3ERG DET=hat-3POSS=EXIS
 lhláti7, snilh láti7
 from+there.VIS 3SG.INDEP at+there.VIS
 s=zálk'w-n-as
 NMLZ=wrap.around-DIR-3ERG
 ta=pátsa7-s=a.
 DET=digging.stick-3POSS=EXIS

She took her hat off and wrapped it around her digging stick.

- (32) plán=ku7 aylh t'íq-min'-em,
 already=QUOT then arrive-RLT-3PASS
- lán=ku7=t'u7 aylh láti7
 already=QUOT=EXCL then at+there.VIS
- wa7 s-talh-lec-mín-em
 IPFV STAT-stand-AUT-RLT-3PASS
- e=ta=st'alhám=a, nílh=t'u7
 OBL=DET=grizzly=EXIS COP=EXCL
- s=kwán-as ta=qmút-s=a
 NMLZ=take+DIR-3ERG DET=hat-3POSS=EXIS
- láti7, sk'v| ti7
 at+there.VIS buckskin that.VIS
- ku=qmút-s, nílh=t'u7
 DET=hat-3POSS COP=EXCL
- s=zálk'w-en-as
 NMLZ=wrap.around-DIR-3ERG
- l=ta=pátsa7-s=a.
 at=DET=digging.stick-3POSS=EXIS

The grizzly had already caught up to her, it was already rearing up in front of her, so she took her hat, which was made of leather, and wrapped it around her digging stick.

- (33) lán=ku7 aylh láti7 wa7
 already=QUOT then at+there.VIS IPFV
 s-talh-lec-mín-em; k'ámalh láku7
 STAT-stand-AUT-RLT-3PASS however at+there.INVIS
 aylh t=[s]=sáq'-em=s=a
 then DET=NMLZ=open.wide-MID=3POSS=EXIS
 ta=st'alhálam=a láti7,
 DET=grizzly.bear=EXIS at+there.VIS
 em•7ímn-em.
 TRED•make.animal.noises-MID

It was already rearing up in front of her, and then it growled, with its mouth wide open.

- (34) nílh=t'u7 s=kwán-as ta=qmút-s=a,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=take+DIR-3ERG DET=hat-3POSS=EXIS
 nílh=t'u7 s=n-xwiq'w-ts-án'-as
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=LOC-insert-mouth-DIR-3ERG
 e=ta=pátsa7-s=a.
 OBL=DET=digging.stick-3POSS=EXIS

So she took her hat, and she shoved it right into the grizzly's mouth with her digging stick.

- (35) xwiq'w-ts-án'-as=ku7 aylh: lan láti7
 insert-mouth-DIR-3ERG=QUOT then already at+there.VIS
 wa7 s-talh-lec=wí7=hém', nílh=t'u7 aylh
 IPFV STAT-stand-AUT=EMPH=ANTI COP=EXCL then
 n-xwiq'w-ts-án'-as=ku7 áku7.
 LOC-insert-mouth-DIR-3ERG=QUOT to+there.INVIS

She stuck it in its mouth: even though it was standing up in front of her, she stuck it right in its mouth.

St'alhálam

- (36) nílh=t'u7 aylh s=7áq'-awilh=ts
 COP=EXCL then NMLZ=jammed-vessel=3POSS
 ta=t'alhálam=a;
 DET=grizzly.bear=EXIS
 ka-n-xekw-ts-mín-as-a e=t7ú
 CIRC-LOC-stuck-mouth-RLT-3ERG-CIRC to=that.VIS
 na=qmút-s=a ta=smúlhats=a
 ABS.DET=hat-3POSS=EXIS DET=woman=EXIS
 wa7 kém'-em.
 IPFV dig.roots-MID

It got caught in the grizzly's throat, and it choked on the hat of the woman who was digging roots.

- (37) nílh=t'u7 aylh kátí7, s=cw7aoy=s
 COP=EXCL then around+there.VIS NMLZ=NEG=3POSS
 kw=s=zwat-en-ítas lhas
 DET=NMLZ=be.known-DIR-3PL.ERG COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 kán-em...
 do.what-MID

And they (the other women) didn't know what had happened to the grizzly...

- (38) ...nílh
 COP
 t=s=ka-n-tsqám'=s-a=ku7
 DET=NMLZ=CIRC-LOC-fall.backwards=3POSS-CIRC=QUOT
 e=t7ú ta=st'alhálam=a.
 to=that.VIS DET=grizzly.bear=EXIS

...because it just fell over backwards, dead.

- (39) áti7 lh=tsem'p=ás ta=n-s...
 to+there.VIS COMP=get.finished=3SBJV ISG.POSS-NMLZ
 wéna7...
 whatchamacallit

That's the end of my... what do you call it?...

- (40) stexw=hem'=t'ú7=ti7 sqwé•qw•el', cw7áoy=ti7
 real=ANTI=EXCL=that.VIS tell•CRED• NEG=that.VIS
 kwas sptakwlh.
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS legend

It's a true story, too, it's not a legend.

- (41) sqwé•qw•el'-s=t'u7 ti7
 tell•CRED•-3POSS=EXCL that.VIS
 na=n-kwékw7=a
 ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-grandmother=EXIS
 i=cí::n'=as
 when.PAST=long.time=3SBJV

i=wán sk'úk'wmi7t.
 when.PAST=IPFV+ISG.SBJV child

That was my grandmother's story from long ago when I was a child.

CHAPTER 7

August Peter

August Peter

7.1 St'át'imcets

Wá7lhkalkh láku7 tsitcwkáalha, nkw7u nq'íp'qwa, nilh t'u7 s7áts'xnem ta nkcwánsa wa7 sq'il'q lta tsaqwemáz'a. Nilh t'u7 swe7áws nsésq'wez'a, “Síma7s ku swelmín'k!” Nilh t'u7 stsícwsas áku7 ta swelmín'ka ta kekel7ámca nsqaycw, nilh t'u7 squscítas ta nkcwánsa.

Án'was t'u7 lhláti7 sxetspásq'et, nilh t'u7 sxan's kw s*August Peter* tsa wa7 láku7 q'w7um. Ts7as úxwal', ts7as *Christmas*, nilh t'u7 sxan's. Wa7 nt'ákmin'as áti7 ta swén7a láti7... s7ácwa, nilh t'u7 sk'úl'em láti7 ku nt'ákmens lta swelmín'ksa. Wá7a cwílh k'a nlham'ál'ts, nilh t'u7 sxan's, nilh t'u7 sqam't.s. Qam't, nilh t'u7 swas láti7 skits, pála7 k'a sxetspásq'et elh púnitas. Plan wa7... wéna7... kaméxwa ta máq7a. Skits láti7, cin' elh púnitas, xelq' k'a et7ú:: ta s7ácwa.

Cw7it áku7 i tsícwa cwil'entáli lhelkw7á cácl'ep. Púnitas, pla::n scin's k'a t'u7 kwas suzqw. T'iqstwítas aylh lhláku7. Kwánitas i wén7a... múlca, nilh t'u7 sq'ilin'ítas láti7 kw s*August Peter*; nilh st'iqstwítas, uxwal'stwítas ets7á qeqáytena. Láti7 lhwa7as qeqáytena t'u tsicwstwítas aylh, uxwal'stwítas áku7 cácel'pa. Láti7 lhqelhnémas.

7.2 English

One time we were home at our house at *Nq'ip'qw*, and we saw a ghost owl perched in a saskatoon berry bush. My younger brother hollered, "Bring a gun!" So my older brother brought a gun, and they shot the owl.

Two weeks after that, August Peter had an accident where he was trapping. He was coming home for Christmas when he had the accident. He was making his way past a slide, and clearing a path with his gun. It must have been loaded, and he got hurt, he got shot accidentally. He got shot, and he must have been lying out there for a week before they found him. The snow had already come down quite a bit. It took a long time for them to find him, he must have rolled down the slide.

There were a lot of people who went to search for him from Fountain. When they found him, he must have been dead for quite a while. Then they brought him back. They took some branches, and they laid August Peter on them, and they brought him back home here to *Qeqáytén*. He was at *Qeqáytén* until they took him home to Fountain. That's where he was buried.

7.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) wá7=lhkalh láku7 tsitcw-kálh=a,
 IPFV=IPL.SBJ at=that.INVIS house-IPL.POSS=EXIS
 n=kw7u nq'íp'qw=a, nílh=t'u7
 at+there.INVIS Nq'íp'qw=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=7áts'x-n-em ta=nkcwáns=a
 NMLZ=get.seen-DIR-IPL.ERG DET=ghost.owl=EXIS
 wa7 s-q'il'-q
 IPFV STAT-get.put.onto.something-bottom
 l=ta=tsaqwem-áz'=a.
 on=DET=saskatoon.berry-bush=EXIS

One time we were home at our house at *Nq'íp'qw*, and we saw a ghost owl perched in a saskatoon berry bush.

- (2) nílh=t'u7 s=we7áw=s
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=shout=3POSS
 [ta]=n-sé*s'q'wez'=a, "síma7-s
 DET=1SG.POSS-younger.sibling*CRED*=EXIS bring-CAUS
 ku=swelmín'k!"
 DET=gun

My younger brother hollered, "Bring a gun!"

- (3) nílh=t'u7 s=tsícw-s-as áku7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.there-CAUS-3ERG to+there.INVIS
 ta=swelmín'k=a ta=ke'ke'l7-ámca
 DET=gun=EXIS DET=first•CRED•-person=EXIS
 n-sqaycw, nílh=t'u7 s=qus-cit-ítas
 ISG.POSS-man COP=EXCL NMLZ=shoot-IND-3PL.ERG
 ta=nkcwáns=a.
 DET=ghost.owl=EXIS

So my older brother brought a gun, and they shot the owl.

- (4) án'was=t'u7 lhláti7 sxetspásq'et, nílh=t'u7
 two=EXCL from+there.VIS week COP=EXCL
 s=xan'=s kw=s=August Peter
 NMLZ=get.hurt=3POSS DET=NMLZ=August Peter
 tsa wa7 láku7
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS IPFV at+there.INVIS
 q'w7-um.
 trap-MID

Two weeks after that, August Peter had an accident where he was trapping.

- (5) ts7as úxwal', ts7as Christmas, nílh=t'u7
 come go.home come Christmas COP=EXCL
 s=xan'=s.
 NMLZ=get.hurt=3POSS

He was coming home for Christmas when he had the accident.

- (6) wa7 n-t'ák-min'-as áti7
 IPFV LOC-go.along-REL-3ERG to+there.VIS
 ta=swén7=a láti7...
 DET=whatchamacallit=EXIS at+there.VIS
 s7ácw=a, nílh=t'u7 s=k'úl'-em
 slide=EXIS COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.made-MID
 láti7 ku=n-t'ák-men-s
 at+there.VIS DET=LOC-go.along-INS-3POSS
 l=ta=swelmín'k-s=a.
 at=DET=gun-3POSS=EXIS

He was making his way past a slide, and clearing a path with his gun.

- (7) wa7=a=cwílh=k'a n-lham'-ál'ts, nílh=t'u7
 IPFV=A=after.all=EPIS LOC-put.into-rock COP=EXCL
 s=xan'=s, nílh=t'u7 s=qam't=s.
 NMLZ=get.hurt=3POSS COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.hit=3POSS

It must have been loaded, and he got hurt, he got shot accidentally.

- (8) qam't, nílh=t'u7 swas láti7
 get.hit COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS at+there.VIS
 s-kits, pála7=k'a sxetspásq'et elh
 STAT-get.laid.down one=EPIS week and.then
 pún-itas.
 get.found+DIR-3PL.ERG

He got shot, and he must have been lying out there for a week before they found him.

- (9) plan wa7... wéna7... ka-méxw-a
 already IPFV whatchamacallit CIRC-snowfall-CIRC
 ta=máq7=a.
 DET=snow=EXIS

The snow had already come down quite a bit.

- (10) s-kits láti7, cin' elh
 STAT-get.laid.down at+there.VIS long.time and.then
 pún-itas, xéiq'=k'a e=t7ú::
 get.found+DIR-3PL.ERG get.rolled=EPIS to=that.VIS
 ta=s7ácw=a.
 DET=slide=EXIS

He was lying there, and it took a long time for them to find him, he must have rolled down the slide.

- (11) cw7it áku7 i=tsícw=a
 lots to+there.INVIS PL.DET=get.there=EXIS
 cwil'-en-táli lhel=kw7á cácl'ep.
 look.for-DIR-NTS from=this.INVIS Fountain

There were a lot of people who went to search for him from Fountain.

- (12) pún-itas, pla::n
 get.found+DIR-3PL.ERG already
 s=cín'=s=k'a=t'u7
 NMLZ=long.time=3POSS=EPIS=EXCL

 kwas [s]-zuqw.
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS STAT-die

When they found him, he must have been dead for quite a while.

- (13) t'iq-s-twítas aylh lhláku7.
arrive-CAUS-3PL.ERG then from+there.INVIS
Then they brought him home.
- (14) kwán-ítas i=wén7=a... múlc=a,
take+DIR-3PL.ERG PL.DET=whatchamacallit=EXIS stick=EXIS
nílh=t'u7 s=q'il-in'-ítas
COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.put.onto.something-DIR-3PL.ERG
láti7 kw=s=August Peter; nilh
at+there.VIS DET=NMLZ=August Peter COP
s=t'iq-s-twítas, uxwal'-s-twítas
NMLZ=arrive-CAUS-3PL.ERG home-CAUS-3PL.ERG
e=ts7á qeqáyten=a.
to=this.VIS Qeqáyten=EXIS
They took some branches, and they laid August Peter on them,
and they brought him back home here to *Qeqáyten*.
- (15) láti7 lh=wá7=as qeqáyten=a t'u
at+there.VIS COMP=be=3SBJV Qeqáyten=EXIS until
tsicw-s-twítas aylh, uxwal'-s-twítas
get.there-CAUS-3PL.ERG then go.home-CAUS-3PL.ERG
áku7 cácel'p=a.
to+there.INVIS Fountain=EXIS
He was at *Qeqáyten* until they took him home to Fountain.
- (16) láti7 lh=qelh-n-ém=as.
at+there.VIS COMP=get.covered.up-DIR-3PASS=3SBJV
That's where he was buried.

Part III

Stories from Sam Mitchell

CHAPTER 8

Ta lhwála sqéqy'ecw The Abandoned Boy

8.1 St'át'imcets

Wa7 ku7 láti7 wa7 estsítcw, pál7usem, cw7it. Wa7 láti7 ta kúkwpí7a: kelkékla7, tákem t'u7 wa7 ku pál7usem wa7 estsítcw, wa7 ku7 wa7 eskúkwpí7wit. Wa7 eskúza7 ta sqáycwa, ti7 ta kúkwpí7a.

Wa7 t'u7 ta twéww'eta, nilh t'u7 stsicws ta pál7a tsitcw... t'u7 i wa7 nk'sáytkeni láti7, i wa7 pál7usem, nilh ku7 tu7 stsut.s:

“Wa7 qwenán nsqátsez7a ku st's'wan.” Nilh t'u7 s7úm'ennem lhláti7, nilh t'u7 tu7 sqwatsátss. Kalégwa t'u7 káti7 nilh t'u7 st's'áqwan'as snilh, nilh t'u7 swa7s káti7. Nukw múta7 sq'it, tsicw múta7 ta pál7altsa, wa7 estsítcw.

“Wa7 qwenán nsqátsez7a ku sk'áclhts'a7”... wéna7 ti7, sk'áclhts'a7, *that's dry meat*. Úm'ennem láti7, nilh t'u7 tu7 sqwatsátss. Kacím'a káti7, nilh t'u7 st's'áqwan'as snilh, nilh swa7s. Na psí'a et7úwna, tsicw múta7 ki núkwa wa7 estsítcw: “Wa7 qwenán nsqátsez7a ku st's'áqwem, xélen ku st's'áqwem.” Úm'ennem lhláti7 ki st's'áqwema, nilh t'u7 sqwatsátss tu7, nilh t'u7 tu7 st's'áqwan'as snilh. I tákema wa7 sk'úl'i, i sk'am'tsa, i takemá t'u7, tákem t'u7 wa7 sxélens, sxelentscítas sqátsza7sa.

Wa7 t'u7 láti7 wa7 estsítcw, nilh t'u7 sts'ílas ku ts7as kanún'itas kw scw7aoyo átí7 kwas ts'íla, nilh t'u7 stsicws sáwenem ta kúkwpí7a, sqatsza7sá tí7 ta twéww'eta. Tsúnem ku7: “Wenácw ku7, wa7 hem' há t'u7 t'iqcitsíhas i wa7 tsicw xelentscísihas skúza7swa?” Tsut ku7: “Cw7ao káti7 kwenswá ksnan, kwa stam'!” “O, tsicw ku7 tu7 xelentsám' ku sts'wan, úm'enenem, tsicw ku7 tu7 xelentsám' ku k'áclhts'a7, úm'enenem, xelentsám' ku stsáqwem, smík'il, tákem t'u7 skwánensas.” Nilh t'u7 sts'ílas ku ts'a7c ta kúkwpí7a. “O,” tsut ku7, “Cuz'... cuy' lhwálenem.”

Nilh t'u7 swas xekentsútwit, tsúnas i núkwa tewtwéww'et:

“Cuz'lhkal'ápa nas q'íwlest, cuz'lhkal'ápa nas q'íwlest, cuz'lhkal'ápa nasts tí7, lhstícwal'ap káku7 kenkwál'ap q'íwlest, nilh t'u7 slegwilcmínal'ap. Kósao7 ku nukw lhélwi snuláp, lhwe7áwas, nilh t'u7 scwítens tí7. Xwits' ku nukw, nilh t'...” Tsicw aylh i wa7 q'íwlest, wá7wit káku7, nilh t'u7 slegwílci, legwilcmínitás tí7, wa7 kenscúz' tí7 lhwál.

Cuz' ku7 t'u7 we7áw, we7aweném ku7, ta sxwíts'a.

Q'áylec ku7 áku7, tsicw káku7 cwílem kentswása kwa tu7 we7áw, ao káti7. Cwíten ku7, cwitenstúm ku7 lhelkw7ú.

Q'áylec ku7 áku7, tsáma t'u7 káti7 wa7... wa7 t'u7 we7áw, plan we7áwenem lhelkw7ú. Nilh ti sxwíts'a we7áw. Cwíten ku7, cwitenstúm ku7 ta kós7ao. Plan t'elh aylh wa7 ts7as k'ac, nilh ku7 t'u7 aylh ts7as nk'ácalhq'wel'twit.

Wa7 t'u7 aylh, nilh t'u7 sqwatsátss, splans tu7 wa7 escúp i ucwalmícwa láti7 wa7 estsítcw. Qwatsátswit tu7, mímc.wit tu7, tí7 lhwál láti7. Tsícwwit ta ntsitcwteníha ltswása tu7 wá7wit.

Ts'la7 ku7 láti7 ta... pála7 ku7 láti7 ts'la7 ta sq'ép'a. Wa7 tí7 nq'ép'ts, nilh ku7 tu7 stsew'nás, tsukw ku7 láti7 na kwékwa7sa wa7, lhwál tí7 t'it, plan tí7 ao7 kwas kamátqa ku áma. Nilh malh... nilh ku7 t'u7 aylh s7ílals láti7, tsew'tsew'entsút ku7 aylh, nilh malh tí7 láti7 ta pál7a tnicw ses ncúlm'ecw, wa7 ntsew'tsew'entsúten,¹ áta7 lhkúnsa lht'ákas ta *canala* lts7a, x7ílha t'u7.

¹The place *Ntsew'tsew'entsúten* is up on a hill, which is all grooved and furrowed, from where the boy in his rage was pushing rocks down the hill.

Nilh t'u7 aylh swa7s. Tsúnem ta kwékwa7sa: “Wa7 malh q'w7um ku stág'sza7, nilh kelh t'u7 wa7 s7ílhenkalh.” K'úl'citem ku sq'ú7a nilh t'u7 sq'ú7em. Q'ú7em ki... tsúnem t'u7 xek... nilh t'u7 aylh ta kwékwa7sa wa7 xekentáli: “Q'w7um ku sgi7i7!” K'úl'em ta texw7átsa, qúqwsem' kw sgi7i7a. Cw7it i skwámemsa, súsq'wenas. Tsúnem ta kwékwa7sa: “Cúz'lhkacw k'úl'em ku leqwáz', sgi7i7its'a7.”

Cw7it i skwámemsa, t'ak susq'w, t'ak tses, nsal'k, wa7 hem' tsúnem. Cw7it i skwámemsa elh mayscitem ta kwékwa7sa, t'équ7, k'úl'em ta leqwáz'a, sgi7i7, nilh iz' stag'sezhíts'a7s. Petnás ku7 ta..., lap'min'ás ku7 ta leqwáy'sa, nilh t'u7 sqwatsátss káti7 mám'teq.

Cwao7 ti7 kwas kekáv' lhláti7 ta xzumatkwá7a qu7, xwem kwas nsut'átqwa7 t'u7, nqwiqwsatkwá7 t'u7 ti7. Áts'xenem et.snéqwema lhelt7ú cá7a, nilh t'u7 sq'wemilmínem, elh neqwcitem ta leqwáy'sa. Tsúnem ku7... t'iqmin'ém ku7, tsúnem ku7: “Cúz'lhkan ns7az'emcítisin ta leqwáy'swa ta nleqwáz'a, wá7lhkan esleqwáz'. Cúz'lhkan kwan ta leqwáy'swa, nilh ts7a cuz' kwánacw ta nleqwáz'a.” Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsúnem et.snéqwema: “Wá7lhkacw s7ats'xs, wá7lhkan tsúlhcitsin lhczú'acw kasts ta leqwáz'a lhwánacw.”

Mulunás ku7 ta snéqwema ta leqwáy'sa lta qú7a, nilh ku7 t'u7 squls t'u7 i sts'úqwaz'a, i ts'éts'qwaz'a, nilh iz' i wa7 tsúnitas wa7 q'p'an'ak, kewkwíkwis iz' ku... *well in English, they call it fingerlings, that's the young salmon.*

Wa7 t'u7 ti7 múlunas lta qú7a, nilh t'u7 tu7 swa7s t'u7... kentákem lhas wa7 iz' i sts'úqwaz'a, i sts'éts'qwaz'a... nilh t'u7 aylh skakwamemíha wa7 ku s7ílheníha múta7 ta kwékwa7sa. Wa7 tu7 nzew'ánas, t'u7 nzew'ánas, nilh t'u7 ti7 splans t'u7 cw7it ku s7ílheni.

Wa7 nelh nk'sáytkenas nelh lhwalentalihá tu7.

Wa7 k'a káti7 kwa t'iq. Qan'imenstwítas áku7 ku7 tu7 ts7áwna, múlunas ta leqwáy'sa nilh t'u7 tu7 swa7s t'u7, kak'áca i q'p'an'aka. Tsáma ku7 t'elh p'an't, ts7áswit ku7, ts7as ku7 kwa lhwalentáli. T'íq.wit, t'iq na sqátsza7sa, tsúnem ku7: “Wá7lhkalh qan'ím kwásu... kwas cw7it ku sts'úqwaz' lts7a, ku sts'éts'qwaz' wa7 kwánensacw.” “O,” tsut ku7, “Wá7lhkan esleqwáz', wá7lhkan t'u7 múlun nilh t'u7 ses nk'á7wit, lhun múlun ta sut'átqwa7a áti7 lta qú7a.” Nilh t'u7 ses t'u7 kak'ác.wita, nilh t'u7

Ta lhwála sqéqy'ecw

sp'an't.s tákem t'u7 lhwalentáli, nilh t'u7 snilhst ta kukwpi7wíl'ca aylh cín'a ki7kel'úlha.

Lta tsuwa7lhkálha nqwal'úttén, kwa xílem áti7, kwa... lhas sk'úk'wmi7t kwa ki7kl'úlh... tákem t'u7... takemsás t'u7 t.sqéq'l'a, wa7 t'u7 tsut áku7 nskelkékl'a: “O, guy'túlh, cwá7cw7ak elh nilh kelh skukwpi7wíl'cs.” *In English, they say if a young boy, he's lazy and sleepyhead, but when he wakes up he becomes a chief. That's the end of that story.* Sptakwlh ti7 ts7a, wa7 stexw.

8.2 English

There was a group of people living together in houses, a bunch of them. There was a chief there, who was the chief of everyone, elders, everybody who lived there in that group. This man, the chief, had a son.

And this boy went to one of the houses – everybody was related in this group – and he said: “My father needs some *ts’wan* (dried salmon).” So then he was given some, and off he went. And he hid away and ate it all by himself, and there he was. Another day, he went to another house.

“My father needs some *k’áclhts’a7*.” That’s – what do you call it, *k’áclhts’a7*? – *that’s dry meat*. He was given some and off he went. He disappeared somewhere and ate it all by himself, and there he was. The next morning, he went to some other people who had a house there. “My father needs some *tsáqwem* (saskatoon berries), he’s asking for *tsáqwem*.” He was given some *tsáqwem*, and then off he went and ate it by himself. Every kind of food the people made, wild potatoes, all kinds of stuff, he was asking for on behalf of his father.

Well, the people in the houses kind of began to notice that things were not what they seemed, so they went to ask the chief, the boy’s father. They told him: “Is it true, did your son actually bring you the stuff he asked for on your behalf?” He said: “I certainly didn’t send him to ask for anything!” “Oh, he came asking for *ts’wan*, so we gave him some, then he came asking for dry meat, so we gave him some, then he asked for *tsáqwem*, salmon oil – he took all kinds of stuff.” So then the chief got kind of ashamed. “Oh,” he said, “We’re going to abandon him.”

So then they figured out what to do, and the chief told some of the youths:

“You’re going to go a-making arrows, you’re going to go a-making arrows, you’re going to take him along, and when you get to where you’re arrow making, you’re going to hide from him. Some of you pee, and when he yells, the pee will whistle. Some of you poo, and th...” The arrow-makers reached the place, and when they were there, they hid, they hid away from the one who was going to be left behind. He began to yell, and then the poo yelled back.

He jumped up and ran off to look for the person who was yelling, but there was noone there. He whistled, and someone whistled back.

He jumped up and tried in vain to... he kept yelling, and someone yelled back at him from somewhere else. It was the poo that was yelling. He whistled, and the pee whistled back. But now they were getting dry, so their voices began to dry up.

Well then there he was, so he set off, since all the people in the village had already gone away. They had gone, moved house, so he was abandoned there. They went to their village, where they used to live.

There was a basket there, an overturned basket. It was overturned, so he kicked it: it was just his grandmother, who had also been left behind, because she couldn't walk so well anymore. So then... so then he began to cry and thrash about, and that's why there's a piece of land called *Ntsew'tsew'entsúttén* ('thrashing about place'), where the canal goes now on the other side of the river.

So there he was. His grandmother told him: "You'd better go trap some squirrels, so we'll have something to eat." She made him a trap and so he went trapping. He trapped some... but he was instr... but then his grandmother instructed him: "Trap some magpies!" He made a bow, and hunted magpies. He got a bunch, and skinned them. His grandmother told him: "You're going to make a blanket, a magpie cloak."

He got a lot of them, and then kept skinning and stretching them, and twisting them together (*nsal'k*), as we say. When he had gotten a lot, his grandmother fixed them for him, she sewed, and she made a cloak out of magpie and squirrel skins. He spread the blanket out, he put it over his shoulders, and then he set off walking.

Not far from the big river, there was a fast running river, though it was a small one.² The Sun up above saw the boy, and came down and squatted down next to him and warmed his blanket. He said to him... he approached him and told him: "I'm going to trade your blanket for mine, I have one too. I'm going to take your blanket, and you are going to take this one." Then

²This small, fast running river is Cayoose Creek.

the Sun told him: “You watch, I’m going to point out to you what you do with the blanket when you’ve taken it.”

The Sun dipped the blanket into the water, and then it was full of fish, little fish, the ones called *q’p’án’ak*, those are little... *well in English, they call it fingerlings, that’s the young salmon.*

He dipped it into the water, and then there they were, fish everywhere, little fish... so then he and his grandmother were able to take them for their food. They kept scooping them out, and then they had plenty to eat.

Well, his relatives who had abandoned him were still over there (where they had gone).

And some people must have come to visit. They had heard about this boy, that he just dipped his blanket in the water, then there they were, all these fingerlings hanging up to dry. So then the ones who had abandoned him hurried to return. They arrived, the boy’s father arrived too, and said to him: “We hear that you... that there are a lot of fish here, little fish that you’ve caught.” “Oh”, he said, “I have a blanket, I just dip it in the water and then they land in it, when I dip the blanket in the river... in the water here.” So then they were able to dry them, and then all the people who had abandoned the boy returned, and then he who had been so lazy before became the chief.

In our own language, when that happens, when there’s a child who is really lazy, who does everything badly, my elders say this: “Oh, sleepyhead, when he wakes up, he’ll become a chief.” *In English, they say if a young boy, he’s lazy and sleepyhead, but when he wakes up he becomes a chief. That’s the end of that story.* This is a legend, a real one.

8.3 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) wá7=ku7 láti7 wa7 es=tsítcw, pá17-us-em,
 IPFV=QUOT at+there.VIS be have=house one-kind-MID
 cw7it.
 many

There was a group of people living together in houses, a bunch of them.

- (2) wa7 láti7 ta=kúkwi7=a: kel•ké•k•la7,
 IPFV at+there.VIS DET=chief=EXIS TRED•first•CRED•
 tákem=t'u7 wa7 ku=pá17-us-em wa7 es=tsítcw,
 all=EXCL IPFV DET=one-kind-MID IPFV have=house
 (wa7...) wá7=ku7 wa7 es=kúkwi7=wit.
 IPFV IPFV=QUOT be have=chief=3PL

There was a chief there, who was the chief of everyone, elders, everybody who lived there in that group.

- (3) wa7 es=kúza7 ta=sqáycw=a, ti7
 IPFV have=offspring DET=man=EXIS that.VIS
 ta=kúkwi7=a.
 DET=chief=EXIS

This man, the chief, had a son.

- (4) wá7=t'u7 ta=twéww'et=a, nílh=t'u7
 be=EXCL DET=boy=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=tsicw=s ta=pál7=a tsitcw...
 NMLZ=get.there=3POSS DET=one=EXIS house
 t'u7 i=wa7=nk'sáytken-i láti7,
 but PL.DET=IPFV=relative-3PL.POSS at+there.VIS
 i=wa7=pál7-us-em, nílh=ku7=tu7
 PL.DET=IPFV=one-kind-MID COP=QUOT=REM
 s=tsut=s:
 NMLZ=say=3POSS

And this boy went to one of the houses – everybody was related in this group – and he said:

- (5) “wa7 qwenán [ta]=n-sqátsez7=a... ku=sts'wán.”
 IPFV want DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS DET=dried.salmon
 “My father needs some *ts'wan* (dried salmon).”

- (6) nílh=t'u7 s=7úm'-en-em lhláti7,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=be.given-DIR-3PASS from+there.VIS
 nílh=t'u7=tu7 s=qwatsáts=s.
 COP=EXCL=REM NMLZ=leave=3POSS

So then he was given some, and off he went.

- (7) ka-légw-a=t'u7 káti7 nílh=t'u7
 CIRC-hide-CIRC=EXCL around+there.VIS COP=EXCL
 s=ts'áqw-an'-as snilh, nílh=t'u7
 NMLZ=get.eaten-DIR-3ERG 3SG.INDEP COP=EXCL
 s=wa7=s káti7.
 NMLZ=be=3POSS around+there.VIS

And he hid away and ate it all by himself, and there he was.

Ta lhwála sqéqy'ecw

- (8) nukw múta7 sq'it, tsicw múta7 ta=pál7-altš=a,
 other again day get.there other DET=one-house=EXIS
 wa7 es=tsícw.
 IPFV have=house

Another day, he went to another house.

- (9) “wa7 qwenán [ta]=n-sqátsez7=a ku=sk'ác-lhts'a7”...
 IPFV want DET=1SG.POSS-father=EXIS DET=dry-meat
 wéna7 ti7, sk'ác-lhts'a7, *that's dry meat.*
 whatchamacallit that.VIS dry-meat that's dry meat
 “My father needs some *k'áclhts'a7*.” That's – what do you call it,
k'áclhts'a7? – that's dry meat.

- (10) úm'en-em láti7, nílh=t'u7=tu7
 be.given-DIR-3PASS at+there.VIS COP=EXCL=REM
 s=qwatsáts=s.
 NMLZ=leave=3POSS

He was given some and off he went.

- (11) [ka]-cím'a káti7, nílh=t'u7
 CIRC-disappear-CIRC around+there.VIS COP=EXCL
 s=ts'áqw-an'-as snilh, nilh
 NMLZ=get.eaten-DIR-3ERG 3SG.INDEP COP
 s=wa7=s.
 NMLZ=be=3POSS

He disappeared somewhere and ate it all by himself, and there he was.

Ta lhwála sqéqy'ecw

- (15) (tákem) i... tákem=a wa7
 all PL.DET all=EXIS IPFV
 s-k'úl'-i, i=sk'am'ts=a,
 NMLZ-get.made-3PL.POSS PL.DET=wild.potato=EXIS
 i=takem=á=t'u7, tákem=t'u7 wa7
 PL.DET=all=EXIS=EXCL all=EXCL IPFV
 s-xélen-s, s-xelen-ts-cít-as
 NMLZ-beg-3POSS NMLZ-beg-mouth-IND-3ERG
 [ta]=sqátsza7-s=a.
 DET=father-3POSS=EXIS

Every kind of food the people made, wild potatoes, all kinds of stuff, he was asking for on behalf of his father.

- (16) wá7=t'u7 láti7 wa7 es=tsícw, nílh=t'u7
 be=EXCL at+there.VIS IPFV have=house COP=EXCL
 s=ts'íla=s ku=ts7ás kanún'-itas
 NMLZ=like=3POSS DET=begin notice+DIR-3PL.ERG
 kw=s=cw7aoy=s áti7
 DET=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS to+there.VIS
 kwas ts'íla, nílh=t'u7
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS like COP=EXCL
 s=tsicw=s sáw-en-em
 NMLZ=get.there=3POSS ask-DIR-3PASS
 (ta=skukw...) ta=kúkwpi7=a,
 DET=chief DET=chief=EXIS
 [ta]=sqatsza7-s=á=ti7
 DET=father-3POSS=EXIS=that.VIS
 ta=twéww'et=a.
 DET=boy=EXIS

Well, the people in the houses kind of began to notice that things were not what they seemed, so they went to ask the chief, the boy's father.

- (17) tsún-em=ku7: "wenácw=ku7, wa7=hem'=há=t'u7
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT true=that.INVIS IPFV=ANTI=Q=EXCL
 t'iq-ci[t]-tsí-has i=wa7=tsícw
 arrive-IND-2SG.OBJ-3ERG PL.DET=IPFV=get.there
 s=xelen-ts-cí[t]-tsí-has
 NMLZ=beg-mouth-IND-2SG.OBJ-3ERG
 [ta]=skúza7-sw=a?
 DET=offspring-2SG.POSS=EXIS

They told him: "Is it true, did your son actually bring you the stuff he asked for on your behalf?"

- (18) tsút=ku7: “cw7ao káti7
 say=QUOT NEG around+there.VIS
 kwenswá ksn-an,
 DET+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV send.on.errand-DIR
 kwa=stám'!”
 DET+IPFV=what

He said: “I certainly didn't send him to ask for anything!”

- (19) “o, tsícw=ku7=tu7 xelen-ts-ám'
 oh get.there=QUOT=REM beg-mouth-MID
 ku=sts'wán, úm'-en-em,
 DET=dried.salmon be.given-DIR-IPL.ERG
 tsícw=ku7=tu7 xelen-ts-ám'
 get.there=QUOT=REM beg-mouth-MID
 ku=k'ác-lhts'a7, úm'-en-em,
 DET=get.dry-meat be.given-DIR-IPL.ERG
 xelen-ts-ám' ku=stsáqwem,
 beg-mouth-MID DET=saskatoon.berry
 smík'il, tákem=t'u7
 salmon.oil all=EXCL
 s=kwán'en-s-as.”
 NMLZ=take•FRED-CAUS-3ERG

“Oh, he came asking for *ts'wan*, so we gave him some, then he came asking for dry meat, so we gave him some, then he asked for *tsáqwem*, salmon oil – he took all kinds of stuff.”

- (20) nílh=t'u7 s=ts'íla=s ku=ts'á<7>c
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=like=3POSS DET=ashamed<INCH>
 ta=kúkwpi7=a.
 DET=chief=EXIS

So then the chief got kind of ashamed.

- (21) “o,” tsút=ku7, “cuz’... cuy’
 oh say=QUOT going.to going.to
 lhwál-en-em.”
 get.abandoned-DIR-3PL.ERG

“Oh,” he said, “We’re going to abandon him.”

- (22) nílh=t'u7 swas xek-en-tsút=wit,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS figure-DIR-REFL=3PL
 tsún-as i=núkw=a tew*twéww'et:
 say+DIR-3ERG PL.DET=other=EXIS TRED*boy

So then they figured out what to do, and the chief told some of the youths:

- (23) “cuz'=lhkal'áp=a nas q'íwlest,³ cuz'=lhkal'áp=a
 going.to=2PL.SBJ=A go make.arrows going.to=2PL.SBJ=A
 nas q'íwlest, cuz'=lhkal'áp=a nas-ts ti7,
 go make.arrows going.to=2PL.SBJ=A go-CAUS that.VIS
 lh=tsícw=al'ap káku7
 COMP=get.there=2PL.SBJV around+there.INVIS
 ken=kwál'ap
 around=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+2PL.POSS
 q'íwlest, nílh=t'u7
 make.arrows COP=EXCL
 s=legw-ilc-mín-al'ap.”
 NMLZ=hide-AUT-RLT-2PL.ERG

“You’re going to go a-making arrows, you’re going to go a-making arrows, you’re going to take him along, and when you get to where you’re arrow making, you’re going to hide from him.”

- (24) “kósao7 ku=núkw lhel=wi=snuláp,
 urinate DET=other from=PL=2PL.INDEP
 lh=we7'áw=as, nílh=t'u7 s=cwíten=s
 COMP=shout=3SBJV COP=EXCL NMLZ=whistle=3POSS
 ti7. xwits' ku=núkw, nilh=t'[u7]⁴...”
 that.VIS defecate DET=other COP=EXCL

“Some of you pee, and when he yells, the pee will whistle. Some of you poo, and th...”

³The syntax and intonation of *cuz'lhkal'ápa nas q'íwlest...* is unusual: it is repeated like an incantation.

⁴There is a break in the recording at the end of this stanza.

- (25) tsicw aylh i=wa7=q'íwlest,
 get.there then PL.DET=IPFV=make.arrows
 wá7=wit káku7,
 be=3PL around+there.INVIS
 nílh=t'u7 s=legw-ílc=i,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=hide-AUT=3PL.POSS
 legw-ilc-min-itás=ti7, wa7
 hide-AUT-RLT-3PL.ERG=that.VIS IPFV
 kens⁵=cúz' tí7 lhwál.
 want.to=going.to that.VIS get.abandoned

The arrow-makers reached the place, and when they were there, they hid, they hid away from the one who was going to be left behind.

5

- (26) cúz'=ku7=t'u7 we7áw, we7aw-en-ém=ku7,
 going.to=QUOT=EXCL shout shout-DIR-3PASS=QUOT
 ta=sxwíts'=a.
 DET=excrement=EXIS

He began to yell, and then the poo yelled back.

⁵We treat the prefix *kens-* as a clitic in this case, because it is attaching to a pre-predicative auxiliary *cúz'*. Semantically, *kens-* is unusual because it is referring to the unexpressed agent of the unaccusative predicate *lhwál* 'get left behind'.

- (27) q'áy-lec=ku7 áku7, tsicw
 jump-AUT=QUOT to+there.INVIS get.there
 káku7 cwíl'-em
 around+there.INVIS look.for-MID
 ken=tswása (ta=wá7...)
 around=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS DET=IPFV
 kwá=tu7 we7'áw, ao
 DET+IPFV=REM shout NEG
 káti7.
 around+there.INVIS

He jumped up and ran off to look for the person who was yelling, but there was noone there.

- (28) cwíten=ku7, cwíten-s-túm=ku7 lhel=kw7ú.
 whistle=QUOT whistle-CAUS-3PASS=QUOT from=that.INVIS
 He whistled, and someone whistled back.

- (29) q'áy-lec=ku7 áku7, tsáma=t'u7
 jump-AUT=QUOT to+there.INVIS try.hard=EXCL
 káti7 wa7... wá7=t'u7 we7'áw, plan
 around+there.VIS IPFV IPFV=EXCL shout already
 we7'áw-en-em lhel=kw7ú.
 shout-DIR-3PASS from=that.INVIS

He jumped up and tried in vain to... he kept yelling, and someone yelled back at him from somewhere else.

- (30) nilh ti=sxwíts'=a we7'áw.
 COP DET=excrement=EXIS shout
 It was the poo that was yelling.

- (31) cwíten=ku7, cwíten-s-túm=ku7 ta=kós7=ao.
whistle=QUOT whistle-CAUS-3PASS=QUOT DET=urine=EXIS
He whistled, and the pee whistled back.

- (32) plán=t'elh aylh wa7 ts7as k'ac,
already=at.this.time then IPFV begin get.dry
nílh=ku7=t'u7 aylh ts7as n-k'ác-alhq'wel't=wit.
COP=QUOT=EXCL then begin LOC-get.dry-throat=3PL
But now they were getting dry, so their voices began to dry up.

- (33) wá7=t'u7 aylh, nílh=t'u7 s=qwatsáts=s,
be=EXCL then COP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3POSS
s=plán=s=tu7 wa7 es-cúp
NMLZ=already=3POSS=REM IPFV STAT-everyone.gone
i=7ucwalmícw=a láti7 wa7
PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS at+there.VIS IPFV
[e]s=tsítcw.
have=house

Well then there he was, so he set off, since all the people in the village had already gone away.

- (34) qwatsáts=wit=tu7, mím'c=wit=tu7, ti7
leave=3PL=REM move.house=3PL=REM that.VIS
lhwal láti7.
get.abandoned at+there.VIS

They had gone, moved house, so he was abandoned there.

Ta lhwála sqéqy'ecw

- (35) tsícw=wit ta=n-tsitcw-ten-í=ha
 get.there=3PL DET=LOC-house-INS-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 l=tswása=tu7 wá7=wit.
 at=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS=REM be=3PL
 They went to their village, where they used to live.
- (36) ts'lá7=ku7 láti7 ta... pála7=ku7 láti7
 basket=QUOT at+there.VIS DET one=QUOT at+there.VIS
 ts'la7 ta=s-q'ép'=a.
 basket DET=STAT-get.overturned=EXIS
 There was a basket there, an overturned basket.
- (37) wá7=ti7 n-q'ep'-ts, nílh=ku7=tu7
 IPFV=that.VIS LOC-get.overturned-mouth COP=QUOT=REM
 s=tsew'-n-ás, tsúkw=ku7 láti7
 NMLZ=get.kicked-DIR-3ERG finish=QUOT at+there.VIS
 na=kwé kwa7-s=a wa7,
 ABS.DET=grandmother-3POSS=EXIS be
 lhwál=ti7 t'it, plán=ti7
 get.abandoned=that.VIS also already=that.VIS
 ao7 kwas
 NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 ka-mátq-a ku=7áma.
 CIRC-walk-CIRC DET=good

It was overturned, so he kicked it: it was just his grandmother, who had also been left behind, because she couldn't walk so well anymore.

- (38) nílh=malh... nílh=ku7=t'u7 aylh s=7ílal=s
 COP=ADHORT COP=QUOT=EXCL then NMLZ=cry=3POSS
 láti7, tsew'tsew'-en-tsut=ku7
 at+there.VIS TRED*get.kicked-DIR-REFL=QUOT
 aylh, nílh=malh=ti7 láti7
 then COP=ADHORT=that.VIS at+there.VIS
 ta=pál7=a tmicw (sas...)
 DET=one=EXIS land NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 ses nc-úlm'écw, wa7
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS ridge-land IPFV
 n-tsew'tsew'-en-tsut-ten,
 LOC-TRED*get.kicked-DIR-REFL-INS
 áta7 lhkúnsa
 at+there.VIS today
 lh=t'ák=as
 COMP=go.along=3SBJV
 ta=canal=a l=ts7a,
 DET=canal=EXIS at=this.VIS
 x7ílh=a=t'u7.
 other.side=EXIS=EXCL

So then... so then he began to cry and thrash about, and that's why there's a piece of land called *Ntsew'tsew'entsúten* ('thrashing about place'), where the canal goes now on the other side of the river.

- (39) nílh=t'u7 aylh s=wa7=s.
 COP=EXCL then NMLZ=be=3POSS
 So there he was.

- (40) tsún-em ta=kwékwa7-s=a:
 say+DIR-3PASS DET=grandmother-3POSS=EXIS
 “wá7=malh q'w7-um [ku]=stág'sza7,
 IPFV=ADHORT trap-MID DET=squirrel
 nílh=kelh=t'u7 wa7 s=7ílhen=kalh.”
 COP=FUT=EXCL IPFV NMLZ=eat=IPL.POSS

His grandmother told him: “You'd better go trap some squirrels, so we'll have something to eat.”

- (41) k'úl'-cit-em ku=sq'ú7=a nílh=t'u7
 get.made-IND-3PASS INVIS.DET=trap=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s-q'ú7-em.
 NMLZ-trap-MID

She made him a trap and so he went trapping.

- (42) q'ú7-em ki... tsún-em=t'u7, xek...
 trap-MID COLL.DET say+DIR-3PASS=EXCL instruct
 nílh=t'u7 aylh ta=kwékwa7-s=a wa7
 COP=EXCL then DET=grandmother-3POSS=EXIS IPFV
 xek-en-táli: “q'w7-um ku=sgí7i7!”
 instruct-DIR-NTS trap-MID DET=magpie

He trapped some... but he was instr... but then his grandmother instructed him: “Trap some magpies!”

- (43) k'úl'-em ta=teqw7áts=a, qú*qw*s-em'
 get.made-MID DET=bow=EXIS shoot*CRED*-MID
 kw=sgí7i7=a.
 DET=magpie=EXIS

He made a bow, and hunted magpies.

- (44) cw7it i=s-kwám*em-s=a,
 many PL.DET=NMLZ-get*FRED-3POSS=EXIS
 sú*s*q'w-en-as.
 skin*CRED*·DIR-3ERG

He got a bunch, and skinned them.

- (45) tsún-em ta=kwékwa7-s=a:
 say+DIR-3PASS DET=grandmother-3POSS=EXIS
 “cúz'=lhkacw k'úl'-em ku=leqwáz',
 going.to=2SG.SBJ get.made-MID DET=blanket
 sgi7i7-íts'a7.”
 magpie-skin

His grandmother told him: “You’re going to make a blanket, a magpie cloak.”

- (46) cw7it i=s-kwám*em-s=a, t'ak
 many PL.DET=NMLZ-get*FRED-3POSS=EXIS continue
 su*s*q'w, t'ak tses, n-sal'k,⁶
 skinning*CRED* continue stretching LOC-twist.together
 wá7=hem' tsún-em.
 IPFV=ANTI say+DIR-IPL.ERG

He got a lot of them, and then kept skinning and stretching them, and twisting them together (*nsal'k*), as we say.

⁶The word *nsal'k* should probably be *nslal'k* ‘to twine a string, intr.’ (van Eijk, 2013, 109).

- (47) cw7it i=s-kwám'em-s=a elh
 many PL.DET=NMLZ-get•FRED-3POSS=EXIS and.then
 mays-cít-em ta=kwékwa7-s=a, t'équ7,
 fix-IND-3PASS DET=grandmother-3POSS=EXIS sew
 k'úl'-em ta=leqwáz'=a, sgí7i7,
 get.made-MID DET=blanket=EXIS magpie
 nílh=iz' stag'sezh-íts'a7-s.
 COP=those.VIS squirrel-skin-3POSS

When he had gotten a lot, his grandmother fixed them for him, she sewed, and she made a cloak out of magpie and squirrel skins.

- (48) pet-n-ás=ku7 (ta...),
 spread.out-DIR-3ERG=QUOT DET
 lap'-min'-ás=ku7
 cover.with.blanket-RLT-3ERG=QUOT
 ta=leqwáy'-s=a, nílh=t'u7
 DET=blanket-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=qwatsáts=s káti7
 NMLZ=leave=3POSS around+there.VIS
 má•m'•teq.
 walk•CRED•

He spread the blanket out, he put it over his shoulders, and then he set off walking.

- (49) cwáo7=ti7 kwas ke•káw'
 NEG=that.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS IRED•far
 lhláti7 ta=xzum-atkwá7=a qu7, xwem
 from+there.VIS DET=big-water=EXIS water fast
 kwas n-sut'-átqwa7=t'u7,
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS LOC-drain-water=EXCL
 n-qwiqws-atkwá7=t'u7 ti7.
 LOC-small-water=EXCL that.VIS

Not far from the big river, there was a fast running river, though it was a small one.

- (50) áts'x-en-em e=t=snéqwem=a
 get.seen-DIR-3PASS OBL=DET=sun=EXIS
 lhel=t7ú cá7=a, nílh=t'u7
 from=that.VIS above=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=q'wem-ilc-mín-em, elh
 NMLZ=get.curled.up-AUT-RLT-3PASS and.then
 neqw-cít-em ta=leqwáy'-s=a.
 warm-IND-3PASS DET=blanket-3POSS=EXIS

The Sun up above saw the boy, and came down and squatted down next to him and warmed his blanket.

- (51) tsún-em=ku7... t'iq-min'-ém=ku7,
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT arrive-RLT-3PASS=QUOT
 tsún-em=ku7:
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT

He said to him... he approached him and told him:

- (52) “cúz'=lhkan
 going.to=1SG.SBJ
 n=s=7az'-em-cí[t]-tsin
 1SG.POSS=NMLZ=buy-MID-IND-2SG.OBJ+1SG.ERG
 ta=leqwáy'-sw=a
 DET=blanket-2SG.POSS=EXIS
 ta=n-leqwáz'=a, wá7=lhkan
 DET=1SG.POSS-blanket=EXIS IPFV=1SG.SBJ
 es=leqwáz'.”
 have=blanket

“I'm going to trade your blanket for mine, I have one too.”

- (53) “cúz'=lhkan kwan ta=leqwáy'-sw=a,
 going.to=1SG.SBJ take+DIR DET=blanket-2SG.POSS=EXIS
 nilh ts7a cuz' kwán-acw
 COP this.VIS going.to take+DIR-2SG.ERG
 ta=n-leqwáz'=a.”
 DET=1SG.POSS-blanket=EXIS

“I'm going to take your blanket, and you are going to take this one.”

- (54) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsún-em
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3PASS
 e=[t]=snéqwem=a: “wá7=lhkacw s-7ats'x-s,
 OBL=DET=sun=EXIS IPFV=2SG.SBJ STAT-get.seen-CAUS
 (cuz') wá7=lhkan tsúlh-ci[t]-tsin
 going.to IPFV=ISG.SBJ point-IND-2SG.OBJ+ISG.ERG
 lh=cúz'=acw
 COMP=going.to=2SG.SBJV
 kas-ts ta=leqwáz'=a
 how-CAUS DET=blanket=EXIS
 lh=kwán=acw.”
 COMP=take+DIR=2SG.SBJV

Then the Sun told him: “You watch, I’m going to point out to you what you do with the blanket when you’ve taken it.”

- (55) mul-un-ás=ku7 ta=snéqwem=a
dip.in.water-DIR-3ERG=QUOT DET=sun=EXIS
ta=leqwáy'-s=a l=ta=qú7=a,
DET=blanket-3POSS=EXIS at=DET=water=EXIS
nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=qúl=s=t'u7
COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=full=3POSS=EXCL
i=sts'úqwaz'=a, i=ts'é'ts'qwaz'=a,
PL.DET=fish=EXIS PL.DET=fish•CRED*=EXIS
nílh=iz'
COP=those.VIS
i=wa7=tsún-itas wa7
PL.DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV
q'p'án'ak, kew•kwíkws=iz'
minnow TRED•small=those.VIS
ku...
DET

The Sun dipped the blanket into the water, and then it was full of fish, little fish, the ones called *q'p'án'ak*, those are little...

- (56) ...well in English, they call it fingerlings, that's the young salmon.

- (57) wá7=t'u7=ti7 múl-un-as
 IPFV=EXCL=that.VIS dip.in.water-DIR-3ERG
 l=ta=qú7=a, nílh=t'u7=tu7
 at=DET=water=EXIS COP=EXCL=REM
 s=wá7=s=t'u7... ken-tákem
 NMLZ=be=3POSS=EXCL around-all
 lhas wa7 iz'
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be those.VIS
 i=sts'úqwaz'=a, i=sts'é'ts'qwaz'=a...
 PL.DET=fish=EXIS PL.DET=fish•CRED•=EXIS

He dipped it into the water, and then there they were, fish everywhere, little fish...

- (58) ...nílh=t'u7 aylh s=ka-kwam'em-í-ha
 COP=EXCL then NMLZ=CIRC-get•FRED-3PL.POSS-CIRC
 wa7 ku=s7ilhen-í=ha múta7
 IPFV DET=food-3PL.POSS=EXIS and
 ta=kwékwa7-s=a.
 DET=grandmother-3POSS=EXIS

...so then he and his grandmother were able to take them for their food.

- (59) wá7=tu7 n-zew'-án-as, t'u7
 IPFV=REM LOC-SCOOP.out-DIR-3ERG EXCL
 n-zew'-án-as, nílh=t'u7=ti7
 LOC-scoop.out-DIR-3ERG COP=EXCL=that.VIS
 s=plán=s=t'u7 cw7it
 NMLZ=already=3POSS=EXCL many
 ku=s7ilhen-i.
 DET=food-3PL.POSS

They kept scooping them out, and then they had plenty to eat.

Ta lhwála sqéqy'ecw

- (60) wa7 nelh=nk'sáytken-s=a
 be PL.ABS.DET=relative-3POSS=EXIS
 nelh=lhwal-en-tali=há=tu7.
 PL.ABS.DET=get.abandoned-DIR-NTS=EXIS=REM
 Well, his relatives who had abandoned him were still over there
 (where they had gone).

- (61) wá7=k'a káti7 kwa=t'íq.
 be=EPIS around+there.VIS DET+IPFV=arrive
 And some people must have come to visit.

- (62) qan'im-ens-twítas aku7=kú7=tu7 ts7á-wna,
 hear-DIR-3PL.ERG to+there.INVIS=QUOT=REM this-precisely
 múl-un-as ta=leqwáy'-s=a
 dip.in.water-DIR-3ERG DET=blanket-3POSS=EXIS
 nílh=t'u7=tu7 s=wá7=s=t'u7...
 COP=EXCL=REM NMLZ=be=3POSS=EXCL
 ka-k'ác-a i=q'p'án'ak=a.
 CIRC-get.dry-CIRC PL.DET=minnow=EXIS

They had heard about this boy, that he just dipped his blanket in the water, then there they were, all these fingerlings hanging up to dry.

- (63) tsáma=ku7=t'elh p'an't, ts7ás=wit=ku7,
 try.hard=QUOT=at.this.time return come=3PL=QUOT
 ts7ás=ku7 kwa=lhwal-en-táli.
 come=QUOT DET+IPFV=get.abandoned-DIR-NTS

So then the ones who had abandoned him hurried to return.

- (64) t'iq=wit, t'iq na=sqátsza7-s=a,
 arrive=3PL arrive ABS.DET=father-3POSS=EXIS
 tsún-em=ku7:
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT

They arrived, the boy's father arrived too, and said to him:

- (65) “wá7=lhkalth qan'ím kwásu...
 IPFV=IPL.SBJ hear DET+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS
 kwas cw7it ku=sts'úqwaz',
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS many DET=fish
 l=ts7a ku=sts'é'ts'•qwaz' wa7
 at=this.VIS DET=fish•CRED• IPFV
 kwán'en-s-acw.”
 take•FRED-CAUS-2SG.ERG

“We hear that you... that there are a lot of fish here, little fish that you've caught.”

- (66) “o,” tsút=ku7, “wá7=lhkan es=leqwáz’,
 oh say=QUOT IPFV=ISG.SBJ have=blanket
 wá7=lhkan=t’u7 múl-un nílh=t’u7
 IPFV=ISG.SBJ=EXCL dip.in.water-DIR COP=EXCL
 ses n-k’á7=wit,
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS LOC-land=3PL
 lhun múl-un
 COMP+IPFV+ISG.SBJV dip.in.water-DIR
 ta=sut’-átqw7=a (l=ta...) áti7
 DET=drain-water=EXIS at=DET to+there.VIS
 l=ta=qú7=a.”
 at=DET=water=EXIS

“Oh,” he said, “I have a blanket, I just dip it in the water and then they land in it, when I dip the blanket in the river... in the water here.”

- (67) nílh=t'u7 ses=t'[u7]
 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL
 ka-k'ác=wit-a, nílh=t'u7 s=p'an't=s
 CIRC-get.dry=3PL-CIRC COP=EXCL NMLZ=return=3POSS
 tákem=t'u7 lhwál-en-táli,
 all=EXCL get.abandoned-DIR-NTS
 nílh=t'u7 [s]=snilh=ts
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=3SG.INDEP=3POSS
 ta=kukwpi7-wíl'c=a aylh cín'=a
 DET=chief-become=EXIS then before=EXIS
 ki7kel'-úlh=a.
 unwilling-habitually=EXIS

So then they were able to dry them, and then all the people who had abandoned the boy returned, and then he who had been so lazy before became the chief.

- (68) l=ta=tsuwa7-lhkálh=a n-qwal'út-ten,
 at=DET=OWN-IPL.POSS=EXIS LOC-speak-INS
 kwa=xíl-em áti7, kwa...
 DET+IPFV=do-MID to+there.VIS DET+IPFV
 lhas sk'úk'wmi7t
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV child
 kwa=ki7kl'-úlh...
 DET+IPFV=unwilling-habitually

In our own language, when that happens, when there's a child who is really lazy...

- (69) ...tákem=t'u7... takem-s-ás=t'u7
all=EXCL all-CAUS-3ERG=EXCL
t=s-qé•q'l̥=a, wá7=t'u7 tsut
DET=STAT-bad•CRED•=EXIS IPFV=EXCL say
áku7 n-skel•ké•k•l7=a:
to+there.INVIS ISG.POSS-TRED•first•CRED•=EXIS
...who does everything badly, my elders say this:
- (70) “o, guy't-úlh, cwá<7>•cw<7>•ak elh nílh=kelh
oh sleep-habitually wake<INCH>•CRED• and.then COP=FUT
s=kukwpi7-wíl'c=s.”
NMLZ=chief-become=3POSS
“Oh, sleepyhead, when he wakes up, he'll become a chief.”
- (71) *In English, they say if a young boy, he's lazy and sleepyhead, but when he wakes up he becomes a chief. That's the end of that story.*
- (72) sptákwlh=ti7 ts7a, wa7 s-texw.
legend=that.VIS this.VIS IPFV STAT-straight
This is a legend, a real one.

CHAPTER 9

Qáqis múta7 sPaul Spintlum

The Outlaws: Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum

9.1 English (as told by Sam Mitchell himself)

Prologue

I'm gonna tell a story about, there was two outlaw Indians. It started in 1911, up till 1912. And it went on for a few years after, before they kind of give themselves up.

These two Indians, they were from Clinton. One of them's name is Moses Paul. He was the first one that was blamed for... It was somewhere around in August in 1911, that's around about that time. But I know it was the year 1911. This Moses Paul got blamed for killing a white man, a teamster. They used to freight from Ashcroft then. This man was found dead about four miles below Clinton, so they blamed Moses Paul. So they put him in jail. It went on, around about the middle of September or October, he got out of jail. They had him in Clinton. This is the way the story went. So they all, they blamed... There's another friend of his, Paul

Spintlum. So they, the policemen and them, they blamed Paul Spintlum for helping Moses Paul out of jail.

Cultus Jack's Story: Jack McMillan and Paul Spintlum

So anyways, by that time, the Indians, they used to go and hunt, they still do yet.

And this policeman, this Jack McMillan, he was a policeman in Clinton. Small town. And he wanted to go and get Paul Spintlum. So he got another Indian from the same reserve, and he went and asked him, this Indian's name was Cultus Jack. And he said, he went to Cultus Jack, he says, "You know where Paul Spintlum hunts?"

Cultus Jack says, "Yes, I know. Quite a ways out maybe, up around Porcupine Creek."

"Well how can we get him?"

"Well, if you want to get him, you have to get there," this Indian says, "if you want to get him, you'll have to get there before daylight, because all Indians go hunt early in the morning."

So this policeman says to Cultus Jack, he says, "About what time?"

"Well," he says, "it'll take three hours from here on horseback to get there." And he says, "You'll have to get there before daylight."

So he says, "Okay, I'll have the horses. You come here. We'll leave here about three in the morning, maybe three-thirty and try and get there."

So they did, him and this policeman, the town policeman and this Cultus Jack Indian. They went, they rode, he told the policeman, "You will have to ride to get there."

When they got to the camp, there's one fire was going, well, that's the cook camp on any Indian, on any Indian hunting camp, there's always the cook camp, and the fire was going and when he got there, Cultus Jack told the policeman, "See," he says, "they're cooking already."

When they got there, they get off, that's before daylight, and the policeman says, "Where's Paul Spintlum?"

Someone there point at a tent a little ways from where the fire was. He says, "That's his tent over there."

So the policeman went over there and he spoke through the tent from the door and he says, "You, Paul Spintlum in there?"

And he says, "Yes, that's me."

And the policeman says, "You know me?" He says, "I'm Jack McMillan," he says, "I want you."

So Paul Spintlum answered back and he said, "Okay, give me a chance, I'll dress up."

Now, this story come from the Cultus Jack, the Indian that guide the policeman there, that's his story. So, Spintlum, he dressed up inside his tent and got everything ready, he got his gun loaded, and... so anyways, when Spintlum got ready, he opened the tent door and he walked up in front of the policeman was there and this Indian guide, Cultus Jack, and he kind of backed away and he told this policeman (he knew this policeman, this Jack McMillan, his name, the policeman), and he says, "Okay Jack, you can come and get me if you like." But he had his gun point at him. So he kept backing up. And where these Indians camp, there's brush all around, timber. And he backed up towards the timber. Before he got to the timber he told this policeman, he says, "Jack McMillan, next time I seen you in the bush, you're gonna be a dead man."

That's... this story come from Cultus Jack because he was an Indian, you see, he was just a guide. So from there he disappeared. And the policeman and Cultus Jack, they went, they got on their horses and they went back to town.

When this policeman got to town, he went to the judge, (this is what I heard from different people), he went to the judge, he took his patch off, and he told the judge, he says, "I'm finished. Get somebody else to take my place. I'm not looking for Spintlum anymore."

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

So this story went on, and this happened in the fall, so they became outlaws, this, well Paul Spintlum and Moses Paul in the bush someplace. But anyways, they got another cop, and in this little town they always used to hold high court assizes in the Spring around May. It's kind of a centre. So, this

happened again the following May, that was 1912. I happened to be working on a ranch about 10 miles from this Clinton, so I heard quite a bit about it. And when this assizes was going on, somebody come in there, they come into town, there was quite a gathering, you know, for juries, for one thing or another and maybe half a dozen policemen.

Fellow come in from the, kind of the north end of town, and he come in there and he came over to.... told them cops, he says, "I seen Paul Spintlum up here, just two miles up here on that basin, just up, up the road a ways." That's, this is on the Cariboo Road. So they gathered up a *bouche*¹, a bunch of people.

Now, this one, I heard from one of them people that was with the bunch. His name is Johnny Pólat², he's passed away quite a while ago. And, it was his horse that packed the policeman that was shot.

So, when they went up, there was two policemen and there was seven others, ranchers, good riders, and they all had guns and they went up. He says, "When we got to this basin," he says, "it's quite timbered with smaller timber, short, sapling timber in places. In places it's open. So," he says, "the policemen, the two policemen said, 'We'll go in the middle, and there's three go down below, and there's four of yous go up above.'" And he says, "Just, we didn't scatter, oh, maybe five or ten minutes," he says, "we were gonna kind of search this kind of a small, timbered pothole."

He says, "First thing we heard were shots. It was just "bang, bang". Right down in the middle. So," he says, "we all run towards that." He says, "When we got there," (that's this Johnny Pólat I worked with in that summer, so he told me the whole story), he says, "When we got there," he says, "we knew, when we look over there we seen one of them getting on a horse. But," he says, "It's just one man getting on one horse," he says, "I seen him, then we started to shoot him." And he says, "He missed his stirrup a few times, finally he got on the horse." In this country, it's timbered, pine-timbered. But you can see for quite a ways. "We started to shoot," he says, "but, he kept a going. So," he says, "there's nothing else we can do and," he

¹This may be a Chinook Wawa form for 'posse'.

²The name Pólat reflects Sam Mitchell's ucwalmícwts pronunciation of 'Pollard'.

says, “everybody was thinking, ‘Well, he’s just by himself. Just one of them, there’s supposed to be two of them.’ ‘Well,’ he says, ‘where’s the other guy?’ ‘He must be around here someplace.’”

Which it was true, this fellow that done the shooting, that was Paul Spintlum himself. And, but the guy that went away, it was somebody else, it wasn’t Moses Paul from what I learned after. It wasn’t Moses Paul, it was somebody he met, he knew, he met there, that’s the one that got away. But he stayed behind the, he was laying behind a log when he shot these two policemen was coming right close to him.

So he put the dead policeman on, and one of them was wounded, his arm was shot. So they took him in. Well after they got him in, they had one policeman dead and one wounded one, and so then the government hired a bunch of horses and a bunch of trackers. They hired every saddle horse around the country that was, that was usable. And he hired all the trackers he can get ahold of. Them days, I think the trackers were only getting about two dollars a day. I know he was paying, the government was paying a dollar and a half a day for a horse. I know I had one horse that they loaned. And they sure must’ve used him, for he was in bad shape when I got him back.

Paul Spintlum’s Story: Tracking the Outlaws

So, he hired a bunch of guys, then he hired, the government hired ten Indians from Kamloops, supposed to be pretty good trackers. Then they went and started to track Paul Spintlum and Moses Paul. And that, and that country, jack, this country, it’s jack pine country and some places is open and some places the jack pine is pretty thick and it’s quite a sized country. You go back for, well say, from Clinton to Dog Creek or Canoe Creek, it’s all of 75 miles. In this area where these people are travelling, well we’ll say, in a radius of about 100 miles, you see.

So anyways, the... but some of the guys when they go out there, they don’t look for them, they go and chase horses. Them days, there was a lot of wild horses. But there was one particular, and we used to hear the phone in this place, I was working for Dougherty. A phone come in, he says, “This fellow, it’s around Chasm.”

There was a tracker, they called them trackers. He tied his horse and he went over the hill. (This country is kind of a rough canyon.) So he tied his horse and he had his binoculars on the saddle, and these fellows who just happened to be around there close, I guess, and he just watched them wherever they go. They don't always ride, they always go on foot. And he seen this. That's their story themselves, this Spintlum. They seen this tracker tied his horse, so one of them sneaked over and got the horse and got the binoculars too. That's, they told some of their own people after that.

But anyways, I heard this, well, the phone come in, he says, "Spintlum, they stole the trackers horse and his binoculars too." So that part of it, it was told from both sides, and that could be true.

So they chased him in every way. These people, these outlaws, they don't always ride. When they get kind of cornered in some rough place, they let the horses go. They'll just drop them and let them go. They'll pick up some more horses somewheres else, you see. There's lots of ranches. And they say themselves, they told their own people, "We got saddles hanging all over the bush. Any place, if you want a saddle, you go and get it at a certain place." But when they, if they use a horse, if they run a horse down, if they run him down till he gets tired, well they just turn him loose, hang the saddle up, and go afoot. They keep that up.

Anyways, the government, he was on them, he had these fellows from around May, I think, until way late in July, and they couldn't do nothing. They bring men, I'm pretty sure, he bring some men from the States. It's supposed to be pretty good trackers. And they couldn't get anywheres near them because these people, they know the country so well. Just like if they fly around and... they never get near them.

Finally the government let them go and they put up a reward for 4000 dollars, anybody would...³ Anyways, when the government put up these rewards, but all these bridges, wherever there was a bridge in this part of the country, there was one right here in Lillooet, and... but there was a ferry in Pavilion, and all ferries, was always watched, day and night. Up country,

³There is a break in the recording here.

anywheres else where they can be watched whether they'll cross a bridge or anything.

But, their own story, they came down, they came down from Pavilion, down towards this way, Fountain. And the people there used to have a boat so as you can go across the river and do mining, during that time. He seen this boat, and they corked it up, (this was in the summertime), so they crossed. That's, they crossed from the east side of the river to the west side of the river. And when they got across, (that's their story to their own people around here), he says, "Look, if we tie this boat here, or if we land it, our people that owns it, they're gonna get a blame. They'll know that it must be somebody that took the boat across and leave it there." So they dropped the, took the rope off the boat and they let the boat go.

Pavilion Person's Story: Disguised as Women

This part of the story they kept agoing.

There's a reservation down this way about four, five, six miles from where they crossed the river. The Indian reservation there, they come along there about dark. And there was always some washing on the line. They seen, they looked at the washing, there was a couple of skirts, Indian women's skirts. In them days, the Indian womens, they wear long skirts. So they pulled two down. They say, "We're gonna make use of them." So they went down.

This is still up, it's about six or seven miles from Lillooet. They come around Lillooet and they went up above, of course, them days, there was hardly any people, or not as many people now as there are then. And these old Chinese stores in this town Lillooet used to keep, at that time, they keep open until ten at nights. That time, there was no such thing as electric light in this town of Lillooet, it's all lamp light, in a coal oil lamp.

So they went down, that's their own story, they went down to one of these Chinese stores after dark, and buy all the grub they wanted. They went out, and they were coming down, they come down the road towards the bridge. And, this is their story, before they got there they put their skirts on. And in this country there's always Indian womens travelling about that

time in the night, and towards in the afternoon with their little packs on, and going home in different directions. Maybe Fountain, or down below the river, down the river someplace.

Anyways, these couple of guys, they crossed the river with a pack on and a skirts on. And they see the couple guys standing there with a gun, they know them were the guards. On this trip, they happened to know, they knew this fellow pretty well, he used to be a game warden, and he knew a lot of Indians. And they looked at him, and of course it was dark, and they knew it was Joe Russell. They kept agoing and crossed.

They crossed on the east side of the river, and they went up. There's one place up on this Fountain reserve, this fellow, he doesn't live right on the village, he lives away from the village about a half a mile. And, oh he's passed away now, we used to call him Mosquito Jim. They knew Mosquito Jim well, and they always used to go there, they go there anytime, and park there. So they go there, Mosquito Jim, and they, that's the same Mosquito Jim that used to say, "Oh," he says, "Paul Spintlum tells me I can go in so-and-so if I want a good saddle, brand new saddle, just to hang it up on the tree and turn the horse loose. But," he says, "I don't wanna do that." He says, "If I get caught with the saddle, maybe I'll catch heck."

A Tracker's Story: The Outlaws' Hideout

So anyways, this went on for years. Oh, it went on for quite a few years. Finally, during haying time that same summer, they come around Carson. Carson used to have a quite a crew of Indians. They had... that ranch used to put up from around 1000 to 1200 tonne of hay in a year. Big fields, and he always hired a lot of Indians. Some people, they stay right up there. And these fellows, they knew who stays there. I know them people, they all passed away. And they used to come there at nights and tell the story about how they keep ducking away from people that's chasing them. And they still had them binoculars. And that's where they told the same story about the binoculars, how they got it. The same story it was told on the telephone the year before that.

They say this tracker came there, he had a horse, and he tied his horse, and they were watching him. And he went down the canyon, down to Chasm, they call that place Chasm. Quite a rough canyon, he was peeping down there. And one of these outlaws run up and got the horse and got on and away he went, and that's the way he, they got the binoculars. And they still had, they says, they look at the moon, the moon looks close, and the stars, and anything.

He says that come pretty handy to them, during that time, he says sometimes they get up high and they, and they look around, who's around, they can tell who's there and who's over there, from any place. They got a hide-out up in, they call, well it's always called Leon's Creek. It's a, I think the name, I'm pretty sure the name come from a Chinese origin, that this Chinese miners used to go up the river and this Chinese miner is supposed to have a store on this creek. Well, the Chinese miners would go up and down, and he has a store there, and he goes out to Clinton to buy their grub, and he comes in so the miners don't have to go out, it's quite a ways from Clinton.

But up in the head of this creek, these, there's fellows living today that's seen these. Gabe, this fellow right here in town of Lillooet now, he tells me, he says, "I've seen it," he says, "I went there." But he says, "You can't tell till you get there, you can't even see it! Once you get in through the door, when you're inside, it's all split birch on the side, for one wall, on the other side is a rock wall. And," he says, "outside it's mossed. It's moss all over. But after you get in there you make a turn, it's quite a cave." This cave is still there. And, he says, "If you go there, and you, well," he says, "they have a sweathouse down by the creek, too." He says, "You go there, you wouldn't know there was a cave there, till you, somebody's got to tell you, it's gotta be right there, you gotta just open the door, then you'll see."

So anyways, they went away, they kind of disappeared from around this country and they went towards Merritt. On the later years. When they crossed the bridge at Spence's Bridge, the same thing happened again, the same thing happened in Lillooet. The one of them weared a skirt, act like an old lady with hump back and the old man. The story I heard over there, I don't know how true that is, the guard it was guarding the bridge give them a dollar to go and eat, and so they went across the bridge anyways. So

they stayed around Coldwater, oh it was four or five years after. And this old chief, he was... he had a little money so he thought, if he don't accept the reward, and just hire the good lawyers, then maybe he can get 'em out.

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

Oh, I passed one part. There was one of the trackers during the time they were tracking him. It's up around the 70, they call it the 70, past Clinton. This fellow, he's gone now, Tom Evans. "Well," he says, "one morning," he says, (I was working with this man and he started to talk about Paul Spintlum and Moses Paul), "Well," he says, "I was one of the trackers, there was six of us," he said. "I went along and we tracked him, and sure enough," he says, "we caught up to him. The bacon and eggs was on the fire, but," he says, "they went. Of course," he says, "we chased 'em. It rained that night, and," he says, "we can see to track the horses pretty good. So," he says, "we chased them, we chased them in that jack pine timber for quite a ways," he says, "that country's jack pine." He says, "We kept a chasing 'em. Figured we might get 'em in the open, you know?" Where they can see him, but in jack pine, you can just see so far, about, you can't see more than 2 or 300 feet ahead of you, but you can still track.

"Then," he says, "we come to a knoll, kind of a burnt knoll. It's the only place that was a burnt knoll, but," he says, "the sapling was so thick." He says, "The horses was right there, them two horses. With the saddle on. So," he says, "when I seen that I kind of figured something was coming, so," he says, "I pulled my horse," he says, "I was the leader. I pulled my horse and I turn it around. And," he says, "I told the other guys," he says, "'That's as far as I'm chasing Spintlum. If you guys wanna go ahead, well, you'll have to get off.'" He says, "Then everybody turned around, they went back." He says, "When we got back to town, we just tell the bosses there, 'Well, I guess we'll quit. You fellows can get another crew out.' But," he says, "we did got the..." They did have a packhorse. He says, "We did got the packhorse after we went back to the camp to where they were, but," he says, "we never bothered the saddlehorses, because nobody wanted to get off, nobody wanted to go near them horses, but," he says, "they were soaking

wet, them horses. And nobody wanted to go near, right there,” he says, “right there, just 50 feet ahead there, the sapling was so thick.” He says, “I figure that’s where they are, but,” he says, “we don’t wanna go close there.”

Paul Spintlum’s Capture

So anyways, that time, I missed that, I should’ve went on with that while I was going with them, but anyways, he got around Merritt, well, this Spintlum guy, he’s from that Thompson country. There’s a Spintlum name down around Lytton. And they stayed around, well, it’s four or five years after, you know, and they figure, well they were getting kind of mixed, different people and, so nobody bothered them, and, but this old chief from West Pavilion, Old Major, he had a little money so he thought, “Well, I’m gonna...” As a chief, well, he’s gonna do his share. And he says, “I’m gonna, I’m not gonna accept the reward.” So he hired two lawyers. I’m pretty sure the lawyers’ name was... that’ll be around 12, 13, be around 1915 or 16, during this time, by then. And, so he went right up there, and he knew where they were. He told them, “You all come on over with me.” They come to Bonaparte, come to Bonaparte Reserve, that’s the Shuswap, on the Shuswap side. And, so he brought them over, then he went and told a policeman. Right away the cops wanna come over and get ‘em, and he told them, “No, not yet. You fellows gonna get ‘em, you’re gonna take ‘em when I tell you to take ‘em, I went and got ‘em for you.” So he told them that, “I’m not accepting no reward. I’m gonna hire the lawyers myself. Now,” he says, “after this you can take ‘em.” And the court started from after that.

Paul Spintlum’s Story: The Murdered Chinaman

Well, one thing I forgot again, you know, during the time they were around Clinton, below Clinton. I forgot when one Chinaman was found dead there. They told that story themselves, they did that to that Chinaman. They... this Chinaman used to make wood about, oh, about four miles below Clinton. About the same place where this first white man was dead. I think it was the Chinaman that reported that.

Anyways, they went there one time, one night they were hungry. This Chinaman makes wood, the big Chinaman. So one of them walked in to this Chinaman's house, cabin, and asked for grub. As soon as he walked in, the Chinaman recognized who he was. So, he... the Chinaman grabbed him. And the Chinaman out-powered him, threw him down, he was gonna get a rope and tie him up. But the other guy was outside. So, when the Chinaman got him down, well, he hollered to his partner, when they went in... A Chinaman, that time, always has a hatchet on a block of wood, right inside the door. When this fellow walked in, the hatchet was right beside the door. He grabbed the hatchet and he chopped the Chinaman's head. So, after that, they got out, they found the Chinaman dead with his head chopped, so they blamed him, but that's their own story, they done that.

Court Evidence

But this time, after this other chief got 'em and got 'em to surrender, then of course the court started. And they had Stewart Henderson and old Henry Costello, the two lawyers, who were supposed to be the best lawyers. But, one was caught, and the only evidence... when that one that shot that policeman in Clinton, when he was going back, he was going on foot then towards Canoe Creek. He met another Indian there on some short-cut trail, and he told this Indian that he shot the policeman in Clinton. That was the only, that was the main evidence they had. This other Indian said, "He told me that he shot that policeman." And that was the only evidence, that was agin him for good. And one was hung I'm pretty sure, and the other one was... got life, but they didn't last long. Anytime they put Indian for life, he only lasted about four or five, four years at the most.

9.2 St'át'imcets

Na skéla7sa

Cúz'lhkan sqweqwel'mín kw s... kw sQáqis múta7 s*Paul Spintlum*.⁴

Lt.skéla7sa, Qáqis ta lumenéma, nilh ti7 s*Moses Paul* nsem7ásk'a7sa. Áku7 nkúkwtsas ekw7á ta *Clintona*, xw7útsin k'a ku *miles*, xek, láku7 lh-púnas ta tímstha. Szuqw, wa7 láti7 tímisa. Nilh t'u7 sqwál'min'em, kwas sqwal'mínitas kw szuqws ta sám7a. Nilh ku7 malh t'u7 nilh t'u7 ses... k'a wa7 tu7 káti7 kw sQáqis, nilh t'u7 snilhst ta lumenéma, t'u7 ta áw'ta ta wá7 nsqan'im kwas t'u7 ts'íla kwa lumsútenem nilh tswása úcwalmicw.

Sqwéqwel's sCultus Jack: Jack McMillan múta7 sPaul Spintlum

Nilh t'u7 skwánem ki plísmena, lham'ánem... láku7 ta p'elhtiq'ta.⁵ Nilh t'u7 swa7 láti7, swas nilham' kw sQáqis. Nas et7ú lhwal'tstenálmen. Ts7as xek, nká7as k'a, nkásas k'a ta *Julya* lhzúqwas ti7 ta sám7a. Nas tu7 lhwal'tstenálmen. Cwaoyuném tu7 kw sQáqis lhélta nk'á7mena. Úts'ets'qa7 tu7, t'u7 snilhst ku wa7 t'u7 láti7, t'u7 i sám7a lání7 ku *time*, papt t'u7 ku úcwalmicw wa7 lumenítas, t'u7 nilh t'u7 snilhst t'u7 stsúti, nilh ti7 s*Paul Spintlum* ta uts'qa7stáliha, nuk'w7antáli há k'a kw ska7uts'qa7sá tu7.

⁴The name 'Spintlum' comes from a Salish word meaning bitterroot (*lewisia rediviva*), with cognates in Scwapemctsin (cf. *spít'em* (Kuipers, 1983, 63)), and other Interior Salish languages. Sam Mitchell says that Paul Spintlum was 'kind of a Thompson', and the Spintlum name is indeed found in and around the Lytton area.

⁵The St'át'imcets word for Kelley Creek, *p'elhtiq'ta*, derives from the Scwápmcets word *pelltiq't*, consisting of the prefix *pell-* 'to have' and the root *tiq't* meaning 'white earth' (Kuipers, 1983, 46). (The cognate root in St'át'imcets is found in the word for the Lillooet Reserve, *t'ít'q'et*.) The old Kelley Creek reserve (the original *pelltiq't*) is actually where Kelley Creek enters the Fraser River from the east, and therefore quite close to the old Leon's Creek reserve on the west side of the river near Pavilion (and quite far from Clinton). This makes sense, since Leon's Creek is where the outlaws are said to have holed up. See the English version of the story, where Sam Mitchell talks about the outlaws' hideout at Leon's Creek.

Nilh swa7s... wa7 láti7 ta wa7 zúscal. Nilh t'u7 stsut.s ta wa7 zúscal, “Wa7 láti7 ta pápl7a úcwalmicw, nilh ti7 wa7 s*Jack*, *Cultus Jack* hem' tu7 snahenítas.⁶ Wa7 kasám7atsa saw't.⁷ Tákem t'u7 kwas kaxílha.”

Tsícwminem ets7á ta wa7 zúscal, nilh t'u7 stsúnem, “Nka7 lhas píxem' kw s*Paul Spintlum*?”

“O,” tsúnas ku7, “Lkw7úwna, kekáw' ti7 áku7 tsa wa7.”

Tsut ku7 ta wa7 zúscal, “Wá7lhkan kenskwán.”

Wa7 tsúnem kw s*Cultus Jack*, “Cw7aoz áku7 kwásu tsicw lku sq'it. Aoy t'u7 ti7 kwas psil', wa7 psil', ts7as má7eg', nilh sqwatsátss píxem'. Lhcúz'acw nas áku7, nilh t'u7 stsícwsu áku7 lkw skéla7s kw smá7eg's.”

Nilh stsut.s ta wa7 zúscal, “Áma, cuy' *readystum*' ku ts'qáxa7.” Láni7 ku *time* wa7 ts'qáxa7 t'u7 wa7 qwézez. Cw7ao káti7 kwa kaoh.

Lhláti7 k'a, k'a nas t'u7 tu7 kwas k'a, *three o'clock* k'a sxeq t'u7 nilh sqelilám'i, kekáw' ti7 kw slheqw. Kánas k'a kwas án'was *hours* sáq'ulh, kalhás *hours* kw slheqws.

Tsícwwit áku7, nilh ti7 sqwéqwel's ts7a ta ucwalmícwa s*Cultus Jack*, wa7 ti7 qayt hem' t'u7. Plan wa7 swat wa7 esp'am lta pál7a latáont. Nilh st'u7 q'welcitsút ta... tsut ts7a ta wa7 zúscal, “Nka7 ku latáont.s *sPaul Spintlum*?”

Tsúnem ku7, “Láta7, láta7 kísem lt7u, nilh ti7 latáont.s.” Nilh t'u7 tu7 sqwatsátss ta wa7 zúscal, t'qwáw'swit éta... ta wa7 qayt.s.

Tsicw áta7, tsut ta wa7 zúscal, qwál'ut áku7 ta latáonta, “Snu ha *sPaul Spintlum*?”

Tsúnem ku7, “Iy... s7ents.”

“Wa7lhkácw ha zewátents? S7ents ti wa7 s*Jack McMillan*, ti7 ta wa7 zúscal. Qwenmíntsilhkan.”

Tsut ku7 s*Paul Spintlum*, “Áma, cúz'lhkan yax kéla7.”

Nilh láti7 st'allecs ta wa7 zúscal lta sk'ém'tsa. Nilh láku7 syaxs, tsukw syaxs, skwánas swelmín'ksa, lham'al'tsnas. Nilh t'u7 nlaq'tsán'as ta latáont.sa, wa7 láti7 st'allec ta plísmena. Nilh t'u7 ta stálhleca et7ú, kel'q

⁶Desmond Peters, Sr. says that 'Cultus Jack' refers to Tommy Jack, from D'Arcy.

⁷The word *saw't* literally means 'slave', but here and elsewhere, Sam Mitchell and other old-time speakers use it as a general epithet meaning 'this fellow'.

et7ú kakékew'a elh tsúnas ta plísmena, "Cuy ts7as kwants lhxát'min'tsacw." Wa7 eskwil'qscítas. Cw7ao kw sqwetsílcs ta plísmena. Nilh t'u7 st'aks t'u7 kel'q, cw7ao láti7 kwas kekáw' nilh t'u7 skalhúcwalmena lki sreprápa. Kalhúcwalmena áta7, nilh stsúnas ta wa7 zúscal, nilh ti7 wa7 s*Jack McMullan*, tsúnas *Jack*, "Nká7as lh7ats'xentsínas lta lhecwlhúcwá, nilh t'u7 scúz'su szuqw sqaycw."

Nilh slhláti7 sqwatsátsi p'an't múta7 s*Jack*, s*Cultus Jack*. Tsiw tu7 ti7 ta wa7 zúscal et7úwna táowna, tsiw ta *judgea*. Nilh t'u7 skelhenás ta q'wáylapstsa, nilh t'u7 sq'mínnas, stsúnas ku7 ta *judgea*, "Kwam kwa ná'k'entsacw, ao ti7 kwenswá xát'min' ts7a kw nscuz'." Nilh t'u7 tu7 skáwlecs kw szúscal.

Nilh t'u7 tu7 scw7aoy's káti7 ku akmin'tanemwítas sas kánemwit. Nas et7ú na sqápts, 1911 ti7 ts7a ku *time* ltsa xilemwit áti7.

Sqwéqwel's s*Johnny Pólat*: Pápla7 ta zúqwa plísmen, pápla7 ta q'ám'ta t'u7

Nas tu7 zánucwem, qapts. Papt láku7 lhas *Clintona* lhas wa7 i wa7 *assize*, wa7 tsúnitas ku ca7 skotháws.

Lt7u k'a lhas *May*, sáq'ulh k'a ta *May*ha p'a7cw. Put t'u7 láku7 wa7 i wa7 *high court*, ca7 skotháws. Nilh t'u7 s... t'iq ku7 áti7 ta pápl7a lhláku7 talhá7 snkúk'em's ta *Clintona*, áti7 lh7ásas. Nilh ku7 t'u7 ststus, "Wa7 aw't s*Paul Spintlum* lkw7áwna múta7 s*Moses Paul* lkw7a lta nk'cwánka lkw7a! Ao ti7 lhláti7 kwas p'a7cw lhélkw7ú *two mile* k'a lhláti7 *Clintona*!" Nilh st'u7 lhláta7 sqeliláms i sám7a, tsut, "Cu::y, cuy nas kwántanemwit!"

N7án'was i wa7 zúscal, pápla7 láti7 lkw7u askráopa, ta pápl7a wa7 zúscal, elh nilh ti7 lhláti7 ta tsítsela wa7 zúscal láti7 p'elhtíq'ta. Nilh t'u7 káti7 wa7... i káti7mecá t'u7, wa7 t.scw7ít.sa láku7 wa7 gaw'p, nilh iz' wa7 *jurys*. Wá7lhkan zewáten láti7 i nk'wink'wenása k'a. Nilh ti7 ta wa7 s*Johnny Pólat*⁸ t'el' láti7 wa7, lhláku7mec t7u ti p'elhtíq'ta. Wa7, nilh ti7 wa7 lh... nek'wlh7áلكstminlhkan ti7, pináni7 kw sqemps, wa7 qwál'entsas áti7 tákem ku száyteni láti7.

⁸The name Pólat reflects Sam Mitchell's ucwalmícwts pronunciation of 'Pollard'.

“Nilh sqwatsátskalkh,” tsut, “Q’em’q’em’pálmenlhkalkh lhtákemat. Tákemlhkalkh,” tsut, “eswelmín’k. Tsícwkalh,” tsut, “áti7 láti7 lta ts’íl.ha ku nk’cwank. Srepráp, cw7it i kewkwíkwsa sreprér’p. Nilh ku7 t’u7 stsut.s, tsut ta wa7 zúscal, nilh ti7 wa7 skúkwpí7, ‘S7ents, cúz’lhkalkh lts7a, wa7 st’ak izá zeháw’s, nkekalhás et7ú ku t’ak xáw’en’a. Nkalhás et7ú cá7a, nxwe7xw7útsin et7ú cá7a.’ Q’em’q’em’pálmenwit. Nilh sqwatsátsi.” Nilh ti7 ets7á ta wa7 sqweqwel’entsás ta wa7 s*Johnny Pólat*, wa7 tsut, “T’ákkalkh et7ú cá7a. Pútkalh k’á t’u7,” tsut, “láti7 ts’íla ku sáq’ullh. Nilh,” tsut, “sqan’ímensan ku t’éqwpá láta7, l7úwna lta nk’écúlm’écwa, án’was ku t’éqwps, lha7lha7mín’twal’ kwa t’éqwps. Nilh st’u7,” tsut, “áta7 snexwnúxwkalh. Tsícw síwemlhkalkh,” tsut, “áta7 wa7 lhqwílc. Kalhás,” tsut, “láti7 ts’qáxa7 wa7 esgéts, wa7 lhqwílc ta pápl7a, wa7 lhqwílc ta wa7 cík’enas i nk’wwatán’sa. Lhqwílc,” tsut t’u7, “snilh áta7,” tsut, “swas qúscitem. Wi7 k’wínas k’a,” tsut, “s7ents kw nsqúsem, aoy t’u7 káti7 nstsut kwas ts’íla wa7 nkelhkán’em’ nilh t’u7 ta stexwsqáxa7sa, cw7aoy t’u7 lhláti7 kekáw’s, nilh t’u7 ses cw7it i sreprápa. T’ak tu7,” tsut, “Wa7 t’ak cwelcwelpá-nas, cw7ao kwas txwílc, cwelcwelpílc t’u7 tu7.”

T’u7 aoz hem’ ti7 kwas nilh lhlak iz’. S7icwlh ku7 t’u7 tí7. Npzá-nas, wa7 láti7 sqweqwel’entsás, k’ámalh ta pápl7a lhlak iz’ k’a nílhas málh ti7 sQáqis, ta cw7áozá láti7 kw swa7s. Ns7icwlh káti7 kenkw st’aks tu7, k’ámalh nílhas t’u7 ti7 ti wa7 s*Paul Spintlum* láti7 wa7, t’u7 lati7 hém’ t’u7 lhes wa7, eskítslec, sq’utálqwsa ta szíka. Nilh ti7 qusentáli ni plísmena ku stexw.

Nilh malh ti7 stexw sqwéqwel’ kw sqúscitas ku plísmen láti7 lh... tsukw t’u7 láti7 lhlawanémas láti7, lhplánas aylh wa7 cin’. Nilh st’iqs láku7, t’íqstum’, nilh snexwsqaxa7mínem ta pápl7a plísmen, nilh sqám’aka7 ta pápl7a.

Sqwéqwel’s Paul Spintlum: Nk’wan’cenánem nelh wa7 cwelcúlel

Nilh sgew’pí láti7, ta k’vpmena. K’wálhcal ki ts’qáxa7a, i *saddlehorses* ken-tákem. Tákem t’u7 wa7 kateqstwítasa *saddlehorse*. Cw7it i wa7 qwez, k’wálhcal ki wa7 nk’wen’cenánlhts’a7, cw7it sáma7. Cw7it t’u7 láku7 i wa7 wa7 sáma7. K’wálhcalwit ki ucwalmícwa, nq’ém’q’em’p úcwalmicw

lhelkw7ú ta k'emlúpsa i wa7 t'iq nk'wen'cenálhts'a7. Nilh s7aylhs, cuy's kalenítas, nk'wen'cenán'itas.

Wa7 ku7 tsútwit wi snilh, wa7 ats'xenítas i wa7 nk'wen'cenálhts'a7. Láku7 malh nilh ti7 wa7 necnactám'. *Chasm* hem' ta wa7 snahenítas i sám7a, nilh ti7. Wa7 ku7 s7ats'xstwítas i... káti7 wa7 nk'wen'cenálhts'a7, ao kwas páptwit wa7 shleqw. Wa7 t'u7 káti7 nmátq.wit, legwílc kentákem.

Ats'xenítas ku7 ta wa7 nk'wen'cenálhts'a7, getsenás láti7 ta ts'qáxa7sa. Nilh t'u7 sqwatsátss tu7 áku7 cál'us. Lhqwílc ta pápl7a, tsicw lhqwílc.wit. Lheqwílc mínas i ts'qaxa7sá t'u7 nilh sq'áyleci éta trápstena. Wá7lhkan láti7 k'wezúsem pináni7 ts7a lt.skúkwtssasa ta p'elhtíq'ta. Kaqan'ímskana kw snaq'wcitém tu7 kwa... k'wen'cenálhts'a7, ku trápstens múta7 ku ts'qáxa7s.

Sqwéqwel's sTom Evans: Tqilh t'u7 kwánenwit nelh wa7 cwelcúlel lta qwlitúlm'ecwa

Nilh ti7 kentákem láku7 lhas kalenítas, k'wan'cenánitas, cw7it cw7it cw7it. Ts'íla káti7 ku7... ti7 ku pála7 tmicw, ku xetspqíqen'kst *mile* kentswása wá7wit kent7ú sqwémqwema kentákem. Wa7 tsut na pápl7a sáma7 wa7 zewátenan, sqweqwel'mínas, wa7 tsut, "S7ents..." Wá7lhkhalh k'wezúsem lkw7úna sqém'qem'a, nilh stsicwtsmínitas nelh, iz' wa7 *outlaw*. Nilh ses sqwéqwel' ts7a ta pápl7a sáma7, tsut, "S7ents ta pápl7a wa7 nk'wen'cenálhts'a7," wa7 tsut, "ntsíltselektkhalh. T'ákkalh," tsut áti7, "áts'xenem láti7 wa7 esp'am, wa7," tsut, "ta nk'íxmena, wa7 láti7 píkena lna nk'íxmena, na ú7s7a. Nilh," tsut, "s7áts'xenem kw sq'eyq'áylecs t'u7 lhláti7 nlheqw." Wa7 tsut, "Wi snilh."

"Nilh," tsut, "skalentánemwit áku7 ti7 i wa7 tsúnem wa7 ti7 ku tmicw, lhtákemas láti7 kekáw', qwlit t'u7." St'k'alqw iz' kénki núkwa, ts'íla ku legwílg'w kénki núkwa, t'u7 wa7 hem' t'u7 kat'áka i ts'qáxa7a. Kalenítas k'wán'cen, wa7 ats'xcenánitas, wa7 tsut pináni7 kwas gap, wa7 kwis. "Psil'," tsut, nilh t'u7 ses tsut, "Kahál'ha ta st'akmeníha." Nilh stsut.s, "Kalentánemwit, tsútkalh t'u7 kwas ka7ats'xstanemwíta lkw shál'hi ku st'áki keká7ew', nexwnúxw, cwelcúlel. T'ákkalh t'u7," tsut, "tsicwkalh ta sqwemúlm'ecwa. Ts'íla ti7 ku sgwel káta7 ku sqwemúlm'ecw, láti7 ta k'é't'ha." Wa7 tsut, "Láti7 ta ts'qáxa7a," ptak t'u7 stsut.s láti7, "Et7ú,

nilh t'u7 nstwíwa, st'ek'álqw nstwíwa.” Nilh t'u7 tsut láti7, lhláti7 t'u7 tsut, “Nilh t'u7 nstsutánwas s7ents. Plan t'u7 lákw7a ts7a cuz' kén'en' ntáxwatsa,” wa7 tsut, “ntáxwatsa, qtsepepép nskwt'úsa. Nilh t'u7,” tsut, “sqwetsánan nts'qáx7a, nilh nsp'elk'úsem. Nilh t'u7,” tsut, “skat'álsa i nk'sáytkena lt.s7áw'ta. Nilh t'u7,” tsut, “stsuntaníhan, 'Láti7 t'u7 lh... láti7 t'u7 lht'álas kw nscuz' kálen iz'... kw s*Paul Spintlum*, lhxat'minálap kw st'ákl'ap, nilh t'u7 st'ákl'ap.’ Cw7aoy t'u7 kwas nasmin'cítanemwit i ts'qax7iha. Nilh t'u7 sp'an'tkahl lhláti7. Nilh t'u7 nsp'an't, nilh t'u7 sp'an't.s i núkwa. Lhwaleném t'u7 láti7 i ts'qax7iha, wa7 t'u7 láti7. Nilh sp'an'tkahl, np'elk'cenantsútkahl, tsícwkalh áku7 na s7ats'xenéma kwas esp'am, wa7 láti7 ta pépl7a ts'qáxa7, nilh ti7 pakhósi k'a.”

“Kwancítanemwit lhláti7, áts'xenem i szácensa ta pakhósiha. Wá7wit i s7ílhena, tákem ku swín'acws s7ílhén láti7 lak... p'elenílh i *candy*ha. Nilh t'u7 ti7 stsukws kwánem ta pakhósa.” Lts7a i quscitúmas ta kél7a plísmen wa7 kwanenstwítas láti7 ta pakhósa. Ts'íla t'u7 ak iz' stsúti ku lak. Tsut t'u7 áku7 ps... Wa7 iz' ptál'kem swín'acws s7ílhén: *canned stuff*, kan, i kána, i *candy*ha. Tákem t'u7 swín'acws s7ílhén, aoz t'u7 kwas táytwit. Lhnká7as lhas kwanenstwítas, wá7wit k'a t'u7 esnk'sáytken kwas kwanenstwítas iz'.

Sqwéqwel's ta ts'k'wáylacwmeca: Smúlhats ta syáxiha i wa7 cwelcúlel

Pináni7 hem' ku *time*, ao káti7 kwas kwámem i ucwalmícwa ku qusemál'ts lhas kenstecwpwít ku qusemál'ts kénki stóha. I lhláku7meca, i p'elhtíq'tmeca múta7 et7ú i *Canoe Creek*meca múta7 áku7 i wa7 wa7 úcwalmicw áku7 ta wa7 tsúnitas wa7 *Big Bar*, cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 kwas kwámemwit ku qusmál'ts lhas kenstecwpwít ku qusemál'ts kenkw7ú askráopa, lhas tsícwwit tecwp. Tsukw t'u7 kents7á wi snímullh wa7 kwámem ku qusmál'tsa, pináni7.

Nilh ti7 wa7 száyteni pináni7 wa7 sQáqis. Tsáma t'u7 ayllh ta kýpmena, kánas k'a kwas án'was t'ánam'ten, nilh t'u7 stsukws, nilh t'u7 stsúkwi. Aoy t'u7 kwas npzánitas. K'wálhcalwit lhelkw7ú talh7áqlwa i núkwa sáma7 wa7 t'iq. Nilh ku7 cuz' kwanenstáli. Kaxekstwitasá t'u7 kw scw7it7úls száyten, nilh t'u7 stsukws. Nilh t'u7 slheqpáqlqwems ta kýpmena ku xw7útsin

sthousands ku kwanenstanemwítas. Nilh t'u7 ti7 swas lheqpálqw, wa7 malh s7ats'x i t'láz'a, i wa7... i *ferryha*, i wa7... tswa i wa7 t'áq', múta7 i ntqwíxwa wa7 es7áts'x.

Wa7 t'íq.wit káti7 kénki nk'saytkeníha, kents7áwna ts'k'wáylacwa, láta7 wa7 alkst ta wa7 sqwéqwel'. Wá7lhkan zewáten nelh, ta wa7 s*Charlie Harry* múta7 s*Felix*, áti7 t'u7 st'íq.wit, wa7 iz' láta7 estsítcw. Lhas gap, wa7 ts7as sqweqwel'mínitas i wa7 száyteni. Qweqwel'mínitas i wa7 nk'wen'cenállhts'a7, wa7 t'u7 s7ats'xstwítas ku7. Tsícw wit kénki ca7tnál'usa, s7ats'xstwítas iz', t'ák.wit káti7. Ao kwas kástwitas kwas cuz' squscitítas.

Lhas qwenánwit ku ts'qáxa7, wa7 t'u7 neq'wsqáxa7wit, naq'wenstwítas, tsícw wit kénki stípvla, naq'wenstwítas i ts'qáx7a. Ts'íla ku t'á7enas kw npzántanemwit, nilh t'u7 st'ákmín'as ti7 ta sts'qáx7a, nilh t'u7 sláwsas ta sáotvla, nilh t'u7 nmatq eki nqvlólm'ecwa. Cw7aoy s ku7 kat'áka ku wa7 silheqw. Kwan lhláti7, ts7áswit ku7 nmatq.

T'íq.wit áti7 et7úwna ta wa7 tsúnem wa7 q'áq'el'cen. Wa7 láta7 st'laz' i ucwalmícwa, lhláta7mec i wa7 tsícw wit ts'áwcal ta x7íflha lhas nukw. Wa7 ti7 naq'wawlhenítas ta t'láz'a. T'áq'.wit áta7, lha7qs. Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s ta pápl7a, "Cúz'minem i nk'saytkenlhcálha." Cuz' tsúntanemwit ta wa7 tu7 qwezítitas ta.. qweyenítas iz' ta t'láz'a. Nilh t'u7 sweq'wenítas ta t'láz'a ku kwánitas, kelhenítas ta lópa, nilh t'u7 sweq'ws ta t'láz'a, tsút wit ku7, "T'ákas málh ti7 weq'w."

Nilh st'áki lhláti7, t'íq.wit áti7 nxwístena, i wa7 lhláta7 lhwas stsitcw. Wa7 ku7 láti7 i sq'wíts'ema. Ats'xenítas, tsicw áta7. Kwámemwit ki st'ánwena, án'was st'ánwen. Nilh sts7ási, tsícw wit ets7á scá7sa ta *Lillooeta*. Wá7wit káti7 lhpsíl'as. Gap.

Láti7 ta tsánemena wa7 esstóh, nilh ni7 wa7 Svntóh. Wa7 scwak t'u *ten o'clock* t.sít.sta. Tsícw wit ku7 áta7 táw'tsam'. Tsukw stáw'tsam'i, nilh sts7ási lhláta7 lhecwenítas i st'ánwena, eszczácenwit.

Ts7áswit lts7a ntqwíxwa. Wa7 ku7 láti7 i sám7a, n7án'was wa7 s7ats'xstáli, wa7 t'u7 kanán'k'a. Sucwtenítas ta pápl7a, nilh ni7 wa7 *Joe Russell*. Nilh st'áki.

Tsícwwit ekw7úwna ekw7á esTáyka. Nilh ni7, nilh ni7 páoteni, kekáw' ti7 lheltswása stsitcw lki... láku7 lki ucwalmicwúlm'ecwa cácel'pa, Kekéyka7 wa7 ti7 tsa xáw'en'a. Papt ku7 áku7 lhas tsícwwit stsítcwem.

“U,” ku7 tsúnitas kw sTáyka, “elh qwenán ku sáotv], tsítsel wa7 et7ú lkW7u slaw na pál7a, tsukw t'u7 kw snástsu kwan.”

Tsut kw sTáyka, “Ats'xcitsálem kelh, sucwtcitsálem kelh.”

Nilh ti7 wa7 száyteni káti7, káti7 kénki nk'saytkeníha lhas tsícwwit káti7 lhus tsícwwit tsítcwem. Cw7ao káti7 wa7 tráoka, cw7ao káti7 kwas alánitas. Wa7 nmátq.wit, wa7 t'u7 cwíl'emwit ku wa7 slhéqwlheqw. Wa7 ntsután-waswit kwas slheqwlheqwwít papt, t'u7 cw7aoz ku7 kwas páptwit wa7 slheqw. Tsukw t'u7 lhas cuz' ka7ew'wít lhwás slheqwwít. PtaK lhláti7, nilh t'u7 stig'ws t'u7 ta ts'qáx7a, nilh t'u7 slaws ta sáotv]a.

Sqwéqwel's sPaul Spintlum: I k'azaka7mínemas na tsánamena

Cw7it nelh kwas... kwas esszáyten káti7. Ta pál7a száyteni... láku7 p'elhtíq'ta nkúkwtsas láku7 lhas... wa7 ta tsánemena k'úl'em ku sp'ámsa. Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsúti, “Cuy nas,” tsúnas snúk'wa7sa, “cuy nas xel'tsmín.” Cw7ao ti7 zewatenítas ta tsánemena. Wa7 ti7 zewatentánemwit áti7 ta tsánemena, gélgel xzum ku tsánemen.

Nilh s7ulhcws ta pápl7a, tsúnem ku7, “Cuy um'entúmulh ku s7ílhen, um'ents ku s7ílhen! Laoys múta7 ku stam' t'u7 káti7.” Ats'xeném t'u7 ta tsánemena, súcwtanem, nilh skwánem. Kwantwál'stum' lati7, nq'minulm'ecwánem láti7 lhas nilh scwíl'ems ta tsánemena ku lop ku zúscunem. Nilh kw swe7áws, wa7 ta snúk'wa7sa lkW7u ált'sq7a. We7awenás ku7, “Splan q'áw'entsas ta tsánemena!” Ulhcw lhláku7 snúk'wa7sa.

I tsánemena sntsa wá7wit, papt t'u7 wa7 sk'etcw káti7 i sisqem'meníha ku kwikws t'amín. Ulhcw t'u7 áku7 kws... swéta7... *Moses P...*, swéta7 ti7 *sPaul Spintlum*. Áts'xenas plan wa7 np'íts'lum'cwanem ta snúk'wa7sa, nilh skwánas ta t'amína, nt'utslaqínnas ta tsánemena, kalh'p'a snilh.

Zewatentánemwit wi snilh ts7a ti7 ku xílhtal'i, tsútwit t'u7 wi snilh kwas wi snilh ts7a ti7 ku xílhtal'i, nilh ti7 tí7texw kw sk'azák7ami. Sqwal'ném t'u7 ta páotnasa ka lhcw7áozas kwas wa7 st'qwáw'swit, nilh t'u7 ti7 sq'aw'éném t'u7 ta tsánemena, zesúscunem, nilh t'u7 ti7 snas

sqwál'minem. Nilh zam' sn7án'was i nt'utslaqínnas. Nilh hem' ti7 tsúw7i sqwéqwel', kwas nt'utslaqínnas, t'utslaqínnítas ta tsánemena wi snilh.

Kwánen aylh kw sPaul Spintlum

Wa7 hem', wá7wit malh kents7á, ts'íla ku pa7cw. Pa7cwwít kents7á, nilh t'u7 sts'ítem elh... ti7 ti wa7 s*Paul Spintlum*, ts'íla ti7 kw snlhakápmeec. Nilh t'u7 sts'ítemi áku7 *Merritta*, cw7it áku7 i ucwalmícwa.

Tsut ta núkwa nsqan'ím, xilemwít ku7 tu7 lht'áq'.witas láku7 *Spence's Bridge* lta ntqwíxwa. Qelhmémen' ku smúlhats i syáxsa ta pápl7a, qelhmémen' sqaycw. T'ak wi7 sip'. Lan wa7 gap. Tsuntanemwít ku7 ta wa7 s7ats'xstánem... ats'xstáli láti7 skánas kw st'aq's icwlh. "Cuy malh, cuy nas ílhen," wa7 um'entánemwit ku7 ta pápl7a sqlaw', "nas ílhen áti7, planlhkal'áp k'a wa7 tayt lhelkw7á lhts7ásal'ap." Tsuntanemwít t'u7, wa7 hem' iz' wi snilh.

Nilh t'u7 st'áq'i, tsícwwít áku7 kénki nk'saytkeníha, lhláku7 malh zam' lhwantánemwítas es*Old Major*. Nilh ni7... splans k'a wa7 *four years* áti7 kwas sxílemi, káku7 lhas wa7. Stám'as k'a ku *year, 1915* k'a *16* pináni7? K'a lhp'a7cwás láti7 sxek wa7, nilh t'u7 stexw wa7 ti7 kánem pináni7 kw *1912* lhkel7ás zuqwstwítas na plísmena. Láku7 malh aylh lhwas kwantánemwítas es*Major*. S7áts'xcal hém' ni7 na skwátsitssa, úcwalmicwts.

"Ao kws," tsut, "cw7ao kw nscuz' kwan i wa7 sxaq's ta k'ýpmena, wa7 tsúnitas wa7 *reward*. Cuz' qwezném ta ntsúw7a sqlaw' k'wálhcal ku lówya." Nilh t'u7 aylh kw sxílems.

Száytens ku skotháw's

T'u7 law tu7 ta pápl7a. Tsukw t'u7 ti7 lawantáli, tsukw t'u7 ti7 ... sqwal'enás t'u7 kw s7ucwalmícws npzánas i tsúkwas láti7 lhzúqwsas ta plísmena. Tí7 hem' kw sQáqis, cw7ao láti7 kw swa7s, nká7as k'a lhtsícwas, wa7 klhaw'sílc.wit lhas nukw.

Qwatsáts k'a malh láti7 kw s*Paul Spintlum*, nilh t'u7 s... Wa7 k'a áku7 ku wa7 *Meadow Lake* láku7, *Beaver Dam* nscwákwekw. T'ak áku7 ta lhxwálusema c.walh. Nilh láku7 st'aks nmatq, nilh npzánas ta ucwalmícwa,

lhláku7mec ti7. Nilh t'u7 sqwál'enas, tsúnas, "Quscitkán tu7 na plísmena lkw7a." Nilh malh ti7 ku úcwalmicw sqwal', kw stsúnem áku7 s*Paul Spintlum* kw sqúscitas ku úcwalmicw, káku7 plísmen, kwa zúscal. Tsukw t'u7 ti7 cman'ún's i tsícwas ta kotháwsa.

Sqwéqwel's sGeorge Carson: Skas kw skwatsitsánem s*Cultus Jack*

Cw7it kw skotháwsi, nilh s*Henderson*, wa7 s*Stewart Henderson* múta7 s*Costello*, *old Henry Costello*, nilh iz' *lawyer* k'wálhan'as, *sjudgecal*. K'wínas k'a ku skotháws, i kentákema lhstícwwitas kotháws, k'wínas k'a ku *sappeals*, wa7 tsúnitas, lkw7u malh wesmínstha. Nilh ti7 nukw sqwéqwel's s*George Carson*, ni wa7 tuwítnes.

Tsicwtsmínem ku7 kw s*Cultus Jack*. Tsúnem ku7 kw s*Cultus Jack*, "Cultus Jack, síma7 tálllec, sqwal' ku száytensu."

Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s ta *judgea*, "Cultus Jack, cw7aoz ha ti7 kw sqvls, lku s7ucwalmícwts kwa *cultus*?"

Tsut ku7 kw s*Cultus Jack* "Oh yes, yes, judge, sure, that's 'bad'."

Tsúnem ku7 ta *judgea*, "Kánem sas nilh izá um'enítas skwátsitssu?"

Múta7 stsúnas ta *judgea*, "U, iwán tw'íw't, páptkan wa7 n'ásmin' i smelhmúlhatsa. Nilh t'u7 stsúntsas i nk'sáytkena, 'Cultus Jack'."

Áti7 lhtsem'pás ti7.

9.3 English (Direct Translation)

Prologue

I'm going to tell about Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum.

At first, Qáqis was the one that got blamed, Moses Paul was his white person's name. They found a teamster downstream from Clinton, maybe about four miles.⁹ He was dead, but the team was still there. That's what was reported, they were reporting that the white man was killed. Then they said Moses Paul had apparently been around there.¹⁰ So it was him that was blamed, but the last I heard he was blamed just because he was an Indian.¹¹

Cultus Jack's Story: Jack McMillan and Paul Spintlum

He was caught by the police, and they put him in jail at Clinton.¹² So Moses Paul stayed in jail. It was getting close to fall. It must've been sometime around the beginning of July when that white person was killed. It was getting close to fall. Moses Paul went missing from the jail. He got out of jail, and since he (Paul Spintlum) was there at the time, and the white people always blamed the Indians, they said it was him, it was Paul Spintlum that got him out, that must've helped Moses Paul to get out.

⁹The teamster was William Whyte, who was found dead in mid-July 1911 by a Cariboo freight-team driver in Suicide Valley, four miles down the Cariboo wagon road from Clinton (Clark, 2014, 127).

¹⁰It was Ah Wye, a Chinese Woodcutter, who reported to Constable Jack McMillan that he had seen William Whyte with Moses Paul shortly before Whyte's death. (Clark (2014, 128) refers to him by the name Chew Wye.) Wye was later murdered by the outlaws.

¹¹Clark (2014, 128) states that McMillan found Whyte's watch at Moses Paul's cabin, which fueled McMillan's suspicions to the point that he took Paul to the jail in Clinton while investigations continued.

¹²According to newspaper reports and the trial evidence, Moses Paul was jailed in Clinton, and so it seems that Sam Mitchell is using the place name *P'elhtiq't* to refer not only to the reserve at Kelley Creek, but also to the town of Clinton.

There was this policeman. The policeman said, “There’s one Indian, Cultus Jack is what they call him. That fellow can speak English. He can do everything.”

Cultus Jack was approached by the policeman and was asked, “Where does Paul Spintlum hunt?”

He said, “Over that way, it’s a long way to where he stays.”

The policeman said, “I want to get him.”

Cultus Jack told the policeman, “Don’t get there during the day. It’s not even dawn yet when he leaves to go hunting. When you go there, you have to get there before daylight.”

The policeman said, “Good, we’ll get some horses ready.” At that time, it was just horses that were used. There weren’t any cars.

Before 3 o’clock in the morning, Cultus Jack and Jack McMillan (the policeman) were hurrying around getting ready to go. It was a long way to ride on horseback. It took maybe 2 1/2 or 3 hours to ride there.

They got there. That’s what this Indian Cultus Jack said, that he and Jack McMillan made it to the top. There was already someone who had a campfire going at one of the tents. This person was cooking something for himself, and the policeman asked, “Where is Paul Spintlum’s tent?”

He told the policeman, “Over in the back, that’s his tent.” Then the policeman set off, and they both got to the top of the hill.

The policeman got there and was talking into the tent, “Are you Paul Spintlum?”

And he was told, “Yes, that’s me.”

“Do you know me? I am Jack McMillan, the policeman. I want you.”

Then Paul Spintlum said, “Okay, I’m going to get dressed first.”

The policeman stopped outside the door of the tent. Paul got finished dressing, then he got his gun and loaded it. He lifted the opening of his tent door, and the policeman was standing there.¹³ Since the policeman was standing there, Paul Spintlum backed away a little before he told him, “Come on and get me if you want me.” Paul had the gun aimed at him. The

¹³Cultus Jack was a witness to this whole event, and was standing outside the door of the tent next to Jack McMillan.

policeman didn't move. So Paul just continued to back up, and it was not very far until he had almost disappeared amongst the trees. He had nearly disappeared into the bush, and then he told the policeman, Jack McMillan, "If I see you anywhere in the bush, you'll be a dead man."

So they set out to go back, he and Cultus Jack. The policeman got back to town and went to the judge. He took off his badge, threw it down, and he told the judge, "Get someone to replace me, I don't want to do this anymore." So he quit being a policeman.

Then nobody paid attention to what the outlaws were up to. That was in 1911 during the springtime, when they were doing that.

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

The next spring came around. That's when they always hold what they call high court assizes in Clinton.

It was a little past the beginning of May, halfway through May, a little past. They were just having high court, where they have the high courts. Then someone arrived from over on the other side upstream from Clinton, that's where he came from. He said, "Paul Spintlum and Moses Paul are back over there in a hollow in the sidehill! It isn't more than two miles from Clinton!"¹⁴ Then the white people started hurrying around, and they said, "Come on, let's go get them!"

There were two policemen, one was from Ashcroft¹⁵, and the new policeman was from Kelley Creek.¹⁶ And there were a bunch of people from all around there, there were a lot gathered there because they made up the juries. I knew several of them that were there. A guy called Johnny Pollard

¹⁴The newsbearer was Charlie Truran, who worked at Pollard's ranch. Immediately after discovering two horses in the brush downstream from Clinton, two men with rifles leapt out at him from the underbrush (Clark, 2014, 131).

¹⁵This was Constable Forest Loring, an assize witness (Clark, 2014, 132).

¹⁶This was Constable Alec Kindness, who took over Jack McMillan's position after he resigned (Clark, 2014, 132). Others in the posse included George Carson of Pavilion, and Jimmy Boyd and Bill Ritchie from Clinton. Boyd was a crucial witness at the trial, because he was the only who claimed to have positively identified Spintlum as the shooter behind the log.

was there, he was from Clinton.¹⁷ I worked with him that summer, that's when he told me everything that happened to them.

"We left," Johnny said, "there were nine of us in all." He said, "We all had guns." He said, "So we got to where there was kind of a basin in the sidehill. There were trees, lots of little trees. Then the policeman said, the one who was in command, 'Me and these guys, we'll be going here in the middle, and three will go down below. Three of you up high, four of you up high.' There were nine of them in all. They set out." This is what Johnny Pollard told me. He said, "We were going along above the others." He said, "We must've gotten about halfway there." Then he said, "I heard shots over there in a dip in the ground, two shots, close together."¹⁸ He said, "Then we galloped towards there." He said, "We went off to the side, there was one of them getting on his horse." He said, "Three horses were tied up, one person was getting on a horse, but he missed his stirrups."

He said, "He got on a horse, and he was the one whom we shot at. I got several shots off, but I don't think the the horse could have been unsaddled, because he was able to steer it, and it wasn't far until he reached a thicket of trees. He kept on," he said, "He kept on turning his horse around. He didn't go straight, he kept turning."

But in fact, he wasn't one of the outlaws. He was someone else. He came across them, Johnny Pollard told me, and Moses Paul must have been one of them, but Moses Paul wasn't actually there. Moses Paul had gone someplace else, but Paul Spintlum must have been there, he was laying down on one side of a log. He's the one that shot the policeman for sure.

And that's the truth, that Paul Spintlum shot the policeman, and that was the only reason why he would be hung, though it was a long time before he was hung. So the dead policeman arrived, he was brought in, and then one other policeman was brought in at a gallop, because that one had been hit in the hand.

¹⁷Johnny Pollard was the son of Charlie Pollard, the owner of Pollard's Ranch.

¹⁸One of these shots killed Constable Alec Kindness, who was at the head of the posse, and the other hit Constable Forest Loring in the wrist (Clark, 2014, 133).

Paul Spintlum's Story: Tracking the Outlaws

Then the government met. They hired horses, saddlehorses from all over, all of the saddle horses they could get hold of. They used a lot of them, and they hired a lot of white people as trackers. There were lots of white people there. They hired ten Indians from Kamloops, who came as trackers.¹⁹ So then they went after the outlaws, and they were tracking them.

I heard that Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum said themselves that they could see the trackers following them. They were at *Necnactám*?. Chasm is what the white people call it, that's it. They were watching the trackers, but they weren't always on their horses. They were travelling by foot, and hiding all over the place.

I heard that they saw one of the trackers tie up his horse. Then the tracker set off to look over the brow of a hill. One of the outlaws got on his horse, and then they got on the horses. They jumped on the tracker's horses, and they ran off with the binoculars. I was working there, downstream from Kelley Creek. I heard that something was stolen from the tracker, his binoculars and his horse.²⁰

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

So they kept chasing and tracking them all over the place, there were a lot of them. That one area must be something like one hundred miles, where they were, and there were mountains all over. One of the white people that I knew told about it, he said "I..." (We were working up in the Bridge River valley when they brought news about those outlaws.) This one white person said, "I was one of the trackers," he said, "There were five of us." He said, "We were going along, and we saw someone that had a fire, and there

¹⁹Constable W.L. Fernie of Kamloops hired Alphonse Ignace, an expert *Scwápmeç* tracker, and several helpers. Fernie later stated, "For skill in tracking, I'd place those Shuswaps with the world's best." (Clark, 2014, 134)

²⁰According to court evidence, as reported by contemporary newspapers, the binoculars, along with a saddle, were actually stolen from rancher Andrew Naes the day after the shooting of Kindness and Loring, at Jane's Ranch, 20 miles from Clinton. The binoculars were presented as evidence in the trial.

was a frying pan there, and bacon and eggs in it. Then,” he said, “We saw them escaping on horseback.” He said, “It was them.”

He said, “Then we chased after them through what we call ‘Jack Pine country’, which is all around there for a great distance.” It is brushy in places, and there are spaces between trees in other places, but a horse can go through there anyways. They were following him where they could see the tracks, he said, and it was getting towards evening and raining. “In the morning,” he said, “their tracks showed up.” He said, “We followed them. We thought that we would be able to see them galloping a little bit further in the distance, escaping.” He said, “We went along and got to a knoll in the ground. It was kind of burnt around there, and there was a rock.” He said, “And there was a horse,” and after that he said, “the brush was really thick on both sides of me.” That’s when he said, “I started thinking. I felt my chest start to pound and my face was twitching.” He said, “Then I got my horse going, and I turned around.” He said, “My friends had stopped behind. I told them, ‘That’s where I’m going to stop chasing them, chasing Paul Spintlum, if you want to keep going, then you just keep going.’ We never even went to get their horses. We went back from there. I went back, and then the others went back. We just left their horses there. Then we went back from there, we retraced our footsteps, we got to where we had seen the campfire, and there was one horse there, it must’ve been their packhorse.”

“We took their pack horse from there, and we looked inside its pack. They had food in there, all kinds of food... including candy. So we only took the packhorse.” They must have taken that packhorse when the first policeman got shot. It was just like that, they said. They said there was all kind of food covered up: canned stuff, even candy. There was all kinds of food, so they didn’t get hungry. I don’t know where they got the food from, they must’ve had relatives who they got it from.

Pavilion Person’s Story: Disguised as Women

At that time, Indians couldn’t get bullets when they tried to buy them from the store. The Indians from those places, those from Kelley Creek, from Ca-

noe Creek, from what they call Big Bar, they couldn't get any bullets when they tried to buy them around Ashcroft, where they'd go to buy things. We were the only ones around here that could get any bullets.

That's what Moses Paul and them were doing at that time. The government tried (to catch them) for maybe two months, and then they just quit. They didn't catch up with them. They hired some other white guys from the States who came. It was said that they would catch them. But then they figured out it would cost too much, so that stopped, too. The government posted a sign for a \$4000 reward for any one who caught them.²¹ The sign stayed up, and the boats, the ferries where people were crossing, and the bridges were watched.

The outlaws got to where their relatives were, around Pavilion, which is where the person who told me this was working. I knew them: they were Charlie Harry and Felix, and that's where the outlaws went, where their houses were. In the evening, they would come around and talk about what they were doing. They talked about the trackers and how they kept watch on them. They went to the high lookouts to keep watch on them as they went by. They couldn't find any way to shoot them.

When the outlaws needed some horses, they stole them, they went around to the stables and they stole horses. When they kind of sensed they were being caught up with then they'd lead the horse, and when the saddle had been hung up, they walked through the badlands.²² You can't ride horses in there. They took their saddles off there and started walking.

They got to what we call *Q'áq'el'cen*.²³ The Indian people had a canoe there, and they went across the river to pan for gold sometimes. The outlaws stole that canoe. They crossed over the river and they got to the other side. Then one of them said, "Let's go stay with our relatives." They were going to tell the ones whose canoe they had stolen that they had just used it. So they just let the canoe drift downriver so they could get it, they took

²¹The actual amount of the reward was \$3000.

²²Linda Redan states that they left the saddles hanging on the horses back, and walked through, since that means less weight and less noticeable tracks.

²³Linda Redan states that *Q'áq'el'cen* is this side of Pavilion (probably a fishing rock), and Sam Mitchell places *Q'áq'el'cen* at 11 mile, near Fountain.

the rope and untied it and let it go down the river, they said, “Just let it keep drifting.”

They left there and got to Bridge River, where there were people there with houses. There was some laundry hanging. They saw it, and went there. They took two skirts. Then they came to a place above Lillooet. They were around there at dawn. And then they hung around there until it was nighttime again.

There was a Chinese person with a store, that was Svntóh. Svntóh stayed open until 10 o'clock at night. They went there to buy some food. When they had finished buying groceries, they came out, put on skirts, and packed their groceries on their backs.

They got to the bridge. There were two white people taking turns watching. The outlaws recognized one of them, and it was Joe Russell. So they kept going.

They got to Táyka's place (Mosquito Jim). Táyka was their partner, he had a house far away from the Fountain reserve, and Kekéyka lived below that. That's where they always went to camp.

“Oh,” they told Táyka, “If you want a saddle, there's a new one hanging down there, just go and get it.”

Táyka said, “They'll see it is mine and recognize it is mine.”

That's what they were doing around there with their relatives, where they went to stay. There weren't any trackers around, and the outlaws didn't sense that they were anywhere near. The trackers were travelling around and watching for riders. They thought that the outlaws would be riding horseback the whole time, but I heard they weren't. They rode on horses only when they needed to get far away from the trackers. After that, they just let the horse go and hung the saddle up.

Paul Spintlum's Story: The Murdered Chinaman

There were a lot of things that happened to them. One thing they did, it was downriver from Kelley Creek where there was a Chinaman who made

firewood.²⁴ They said, “Go and ask him for some food.” They didn’t know the Chinaman. But the Chinaman knew who they were, he was a big strong Chinaman.

One of them went inside and told the Chinaman, “Come on, give us some food, give me some food! Rice and whatever else.” The Chinaman saw him and recognized him, so he grabbed him. They wrestled around and he was thrown to the ground by the Chinaman, who looked around for a rope to tie him up with. He hollered to his friend who was outside. He shouted to him, “The Chinaman has overpowered me!” His friend went inside.

The Chinese people around there, they always split their firewood with a little axe. Who was it...Moses P., no, it was Paul Spintlum who went inside. He saw his friend was already pinned to the ground, so he took the axe and chopped the Chinaman in the head, and he flopped over.

We know it was them that did, it, because they said so themselves, so it was true, they were the murderers. It was reported by his partner that if they hadn’t been together, then the Chinaman would have beaten him, tied him up, and then gone and squealed on him. So there were two of them when they chopped his head.²⁵ That’s their own story, that they chopped the Chinaman in the head themselves.

Paul Spintlum’s Capture

They stayed around here and got kind of bored. They got bored around here, so they went towards... Paul Spintlum was kind of a Thompson Indian. So they went towards Merritt, there are a lot of Indians there.

Another person I heard from said they did the same thing when they crossed the bridge at Spence’s Bridge. One was dressed as an old woman, and the other dressed as an old man. They went along, bent over. It was already night. They were told by the person watching the bridge to look

²⁴The Chinaman’s name was Ah Wye (referred to as Chew Wye in (Clark, 2014, 130)).

²⁵Clark (2014, 130) states that Constable McMillan found the tracks of two men on a knoll overlooking Wye’s cabin, and assumed the tracks belonged to Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum, who were waiting for Wye in ambush.

out for any stranger crossing. The watcher said to Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum (in disguise), “Go and eat!” They were given a dollar. “Go and eat! You guys must be hungry from where you came from.” That’s what they were told, but it was really them.

So they crossed over and went to stay with their relatives, and that’s where they were taken in by Old Major.²⁶ It had been four years that they had been doing that, when they were staying around there. What year was that, 1915 or 16 at that time? Maybe it’s a little bit later than that, it was 1912 when they killed the policeman. So that’s when Major took them in. S7áts’xcal (‘Watchman’) was his Indian name.

Old Major said, “I’m not going to take money from the government, we’re going to use my own money and hire a lawyer.” So that’s what he did.²⁷

Court Evidence

But one of the outlaws got hung anyways. The hangman was the only one whom he (Spintlum) told that he met an Indian after he had killed the policeman. But Moses Paul, he wasn’t there, he was someplace else, sometimes they split up.

Paul Spintlum must have left from there. He went to Meadow Lake, or Beaver Dam, I think. A shortcut road runs along there. He was walking along, and he met a person from there. He told him “I shot a policeman over there.”²⁸ That was the Indian who testified that Paul Spintlum told

²⁶Carl Alexander states that this happened around Coldwater Reserve, and both Carl and Desmond Peters, Sr. note that Old Major was a chief from Leon’s Creek (West Pavilion).

²⁷Clark (2014, 138) notes that several indigenous chiefs eventually agreed to hand the outlaws over to the authorities, under the condition that they would not be handcuffed, and were to be provided with legal council. These included ‘Tyee Jimmy’ (James Retasket) of Lillooet (*T’ít’q’et*) as well as Major Churchill ‘Old Major’ of Leon Creek, ‘Camille’ of Canoe Pass, and ‘Basil’ of Bonaparte.

²⁸This was the only evidence the courts had, hearsay from another Indian who said Paul Spintlum told him he killed a policeman.

him that he had shot someone, a policeman. He was the only one who testified against him when it came to trial.²⁹

George Carson's Story: How Cultus Jack Got His Name

There were a lot of trials, and Stewart Henderson and Old Henry Costello were the lawyers he (Old Major) hired, they were the judges.³⁰ There were a lot of trials, people came from all over for the trials, and there were many "appeals", as they call them, over at New Westminster. That's another story, from George Carson, who was a witness.

Cultus Jack was brought to testify. They said to Cultus Jack, "Cultus Jack, come here, stand up, report on what you were doing."

They say that this is what the judge said. The judge said, "Cultus Jack, doesn't 'cultus' mean 'bad' in your language?"

And Cultus Jack said, "Oh, yes, yes, judge, sure, that's bad."

And the judge asked him, "Why did they give you that name?"

And he told the judge, "Oh, when I was a boy, I always used to chase women. That's why my relatives call me Cultus Jack."

That's where it ends.

²⁹Jimmy Boyd testified that he recognized Spintlum at the shooting.

³⁰They were actually the defence lawyers. The judge was Justice Morrison.

9.4 Interlinear Gloss

Prologue

- (1) cúz'=lhkan sqwe•qw•el'-mín (kw=s...)
 going.to=ISG.SBJ tell•CRED•-RLT DET=NMLZ
 kw=s=Qáqis múta7 s=*Paul*
 DET=NMLZ=Qáqis[Moses.Paul] and NMLZ=Paul
Spintlum.
 Spintlum

I'm going to tell about Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum.

- (2) l=t=s-kéla7-s=a, Qáqis
 at=DET=NMLZ-first-3POSS=EXIS Qáqis[Moses.Paul]
 ta=lum-en-ém=a, nílh=ti7 s=*Moses*
 DET=blame-DIR-3PASS=EXIS COP=that.VIS NMLZ=Moses
Paul [ta]=n-sem7-ásk'a7-s=a.
 Paul DET=LOC-white.person-name-3POSS=EXIS

At first, Qáqis was the one that got blamed, Moses Paul was his white person's name.

- (3) áku7 nkúkwtsa-s e=kw7á
 to+there.INVIS downstream-3POSS to=this.INVIS
 ta=*Clinton*=a, xw7útsin=k'a ku=*miles*,
 DET=Clinton=EXIS four=EPIS DET=miles
 xek, láku7 lh=pún=as
 maybe at+there.INVIS COMP=get.found=3SBJV
 ta=tímsth=a.
 DET=teamster=EXIS

They found a teamster downstream from Clinton, maybe about four miles.

- (4) s-zuqw, wa7 láti7 [ta]=tíms=a.
 STAT=die be at+there.VIS DET=team=EXIS
 He was dead, but the team was still there.

- (5) nílh=t'u7 [s]=sqwál'-min'-em,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=report-RLT-3PASS
 kwas sqwal'-min'-ítas
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS report-RLT-3PL.ERG
 kw=[s]=zuqw=s ta=sám7=a.
 DET=NMLZ=die=3POSS DET=white.person=EXIS
 That's what was reported, they were reporting that the white man
 was killed.

- (6) [nílh]=ku7=máalh=t'u7 nílh=t'u7
 COP=QUOT=ADHORT=EXCL COP=EXCL
 sés=k'a wá7=tu7 káti7
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EPIS be=REM around+there.VIS
 (kw=s...) kw=[s]=Qáqis...
 DET=NMLZ DET=NMLZ=Qáqis[Moses.Paul]
 Then they said Moses Paul had apparently been around there....

- (7) ...nílh=t'u7 [s]=snilh=ts
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=3SG.INDEP=3POSS
 ta=lum-en-ém=a...
 DET=blame-DIR-3PASS=EXIS
 ...so it was him that was blamed...

- (8) ...t'u7 ta=7áw't=a ta=wa7=n-s-qan'ím
 but DET=behind=EXIS DET=IPFV=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-hear
 kwás=t'u7 ts'íla
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL like
 kwa=lum-sút-en-em nilh
 DET+IPFV=blame-OOC-DIR-3PASS COP
 tswása
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
 úcwalmicw.
 indigenous.person
 ...but the last I heard he was blamed just because he was an Indian.

Cultus Jack's Story: Jack McMillan and Paul Spintlum

- (9) nílh=t'u7 s=kwán-em
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=take+DIR-3PASS
 [e]=ki=plísmen=a, lham'-án-em...
 OBL=PL.DET=policeman=EXIS put.into-DIR-3PASS
 láku7 ta=p'elhtíq't³¹=a.
 at+there.INVIS DET=Kelley.Creek=EXIS.
 He was caught by the police, and they put him in jail at Clinton.

- (10) nílh=t'u7 s=wa7 láti7, swas
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=be at+there.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 n-lham' kw=s=Qáqis.
 LOC-put.into DET=NMLZ=Qáqis[Moses.Paul]
 So Moses Paul stayed in jail.

³¹Sam Mitchell uses *p'elhtíq't* to refer to the town of Clinton, as well as the reserve at Kelley Creek.

(11) nas e=t7ú lhwal'tsten-álmen.
 go to=that.VIS autumn-almost
 It was getting close to fall.

(12) ts7as xek, nká7=as³²=k'a, n-kás=as=k'a
 begin maybe where=3SBJV=EPIS LOC-how=3SBJV=EPIS
 ta=July=a lh=zúqw=as ti7
 DET=July=EXIS COMP=die=3SBJV that.VIS
 ta=sám7=a.
 DET=white.person=EXIS

It must've been sometime around the beginning of July when that white person was killed.

(13) nás=tu7 lhwal'tsten-álmen.
 go=REM autumn-almost
 It was getting close to fall.

(14) cwaoy-nun-ém=tu7 kw=s=Qáqis
 disappear-DIR-3PASS=REM DET=NMLZ=Qáqis[Moses.Paul]
 lhel=ta=n-k'á7-men=a.
 from=DET=LOC-get.stuck-INS=EXIS
 Moses Paul went missing from the jail.

³²Neither *nka7* nor *(n)kas* are usually used for times, though the sense here is clearly 'sometime'.

- (15) úts'ets'qa7=tu7, t'u7 [s]=snilh=ts
 go.outside•CRED*=REM EXCL NMLZ=3SG.INDEP=3POSS
 ku=wá7=t'u7 láti7, t'u7
 DET=be=EXCL at+there.VIS but
 i=sám7=a láni7 ku=*time*,
 PL.DET=white.person=EXIS at+there.ABS DET=time
 pápt=t'u7 ku=7úcwalmicw wa7
 always=EXCL DET=indigenous.person IPFV
 lum-en-ítas...
 blame-DIR-3PL.ERG

He got out of jail, and since he (Paul Spintlum) was there at the time, and the white people always blamed the Indians...

- (16) ...t'u7 nílh=t'u7 [s]=snílh=ts=t'u7
 but COP=EXCL NMLZ=3SG.INDEP=3POSS=EXCL
 s=tsút=i...
 NMLZ=say=3PL.POSS
 ...they said it was him...

- (17) (nilh...) nílh=ti7 s=*Paul*
 COP COP=that.VIS NMLZ=Paul
Spintlum ta=7uts'qa7-s-táli=ha,
 Spintlum DET=go.outside-CAUS-NTS=EXIS
 nuk'w7-an-tali=há=k'a
 help-DIR-NTS=EXIS=EPIS
 kw=s=ka-(s)7uts'qa7=s-á=tu7.
 DET=NMLZ=CIRC-go.outside=3POSS-CIRC=REM
 ...it was Paul Spintlum that got him out, that must've helped Moses Paul to get out.

- (18) nilh s=wa7=s... wa7 láti7
 COP NMLZ=be=3POSS be at+there.VIS
 ta=wa7=zús-cal.
 DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT

There was this policeman...

- (19) nílh=t'u7 s=tsut=s ta=wa7=zús-cal,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT
 “wa7 láti7 ta=pá•pl7=a
 IPFV at+there.VIS DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS
 úcwalmicw, nílh=ti7 wa7
 indigenous.person COP=that.VIS IPFV
 s=Jack, Cultus Jack=hém'=tu7
 NMLZ=Jack Cultus Jack=ANTI=REM
 s-nah-en-ítas.”
 NMLZ-name-DIR-3PL.ERG

The policeman said, “There’s one Indian, Cultus Jack is what they call him.”

- (20) “wa7 ka-sám7a-ts-a saw't.³³
 IPFV CIRC-white.person-mouth-CIRC fellow
 “That fellow can speak English.”

- (21) “tákem=t'u7 kwas ka-xílh-a.”
 all=EXCL DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS CIRC-do-CIRC
 “He can do everything.”

³³The absence of any determiner or existential enclitic on *saw't* indicates that it is being treated here as a epithet.

- (22) tsícw-min-em e=ts7á ta=wa7=zús-cal,
 get.there-RLT-3PASS to=this.VIS DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT
 nílh=t'u7 s=tsún-em, "nka7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3PASS where
 lhas píxem' (kw=s...)
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV hunt DET=NMLZ
 kw=s=*Paul Spintlum.*
 DET=NMLZ=Paul Spintlum

Cultus Jack was approached by the policeman and was asked, "Where does Paul Spintlum hunt?"

- (23) "o," tsún-as=ku7, "l=kw7ú-wna, ke•káw'
 o say+DIR-3ERG=QUOT at=that.INVIS-precisely IRED•far
 tí7 áku7 tsa
 that.VIS to+there.INVIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
 wa7."
 be

He said, "Oh, over that way, it's a long way to where he stays."

- (24) (tsút=ku7 wa7 lh...) tsút=ku7
 say=QUOT IPFV COMP say=QUOT
 ta=wa7=zús-cal, "wá7=lhkan
 DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT IPFV=ISG.SBJ
 kens-kwán."
 want.to-take+DIR

The policeman said, "I want to get him."

- (25) wa7 tsún-em kw=s=Cultus Jack, “cw7aoz
 IPFV say+DIR-3PASS DET=NMLZ=Cultus Jack NEG
 áku7 kwásu tsicw
 to+there.INVIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS get.there
 l=ku=sq’ít.”
 at=DET=day
 Cultus Jack told the policeman, “Don’t get there during the day.”
- (26) “áoy=t’u7 ti7 kwas psil’,
 NEG=EXCL that.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS daybreak
 wa7 psil’, ts7as má<7>eg’, ni[lh]
 IPFV daybreak come daybreak<INCH> COP
 s=qwatsáts=s píxem’.”
 NMLZ=leave=3POSS hunt
 “It’s not even dawn yet when he leaves to go hunting.”
- (27) “[lh]=[cuz’]=acw nas áku7,
 COMP=going.to=2SG.SBJV go to+there.INVIS
 nílh=t’u7 s=tsícw=su
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.there=2SG.POSS
 áku7 l=kw=s-kéla7-s
 to+there.INVIS at=DET=NMLZ-first-3POSS
 kw=s=má<7>eg’=s.”
 DET=NMLZ=daybreak<INCH>=3POSS
 “When you go there, you have to get there before daylight.”

- (28) nilh s=tsut=s ta=wa7=zús-cal, “áma,
 COP NMLZ=say=3POSS DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT good
 cuy’ ready-s-tum’ ku=ts’qáxa7.”
 going.to ready-CAUS-IPL.ERG DET=horse

The policeman said, “Good, we’ll get some horses ready.”

- (29) láni7 ku=time wa7 ts’qáxa7=t’u7 wa7
 at+there.ABS DET=time IPFV horse=EXCL IPFV
 qwéz*ez.
 get.used*FRED

At that time, it was just horses that were used.

- (30) cw7ao káti7 kwa=káoh.
 NEG around+there.VIS DET+IPFV=car

There weren’t any cars.

- (31) lhláti7=k’a, k’a nás=t’u7=tu7
 from+there.VIS=EPIS EPIS go=EXCL=REM
 kwás=k’a, three o’clock=k’a
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EPIS three o’clock=EPIS
 sxék=t’u7 nilh s=qelilám’=i, ke•káv’
 maybe=EXCL COP NMLZ=hurry=3PL.POSS IRED*far
 ti7 (s...) kw=s-lheqw.
 that.VIS NMLZ DET=STAT-ride.horse

Before 3 o’clock in the morning, Cultus Jack and Jack McMillan (the policeman) were hurrying around getting ready to go, it was a long way to ride on horseback.

- (32) kán=as=k'a kwás án'was *hours*
 whether=3SBJV=EPIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS two hours
 sáq'u^hlh, kalhás *hours* kw=s=lheqw=s.
 half three hours DET=NMLZ=ride.horse=3POSS

It took maybe 2 1/2 or 3 hours to ride there.

- (33) tsícw=wit áku7, nílh=ti7 sqwé•qw•el's
 get.there=3PL to+there.INVIS COP=that.VIS tell•CRED•3POSS
 ts7a ta=7ucwalmícw=a s=*Cultus*
 this.VIS DET=indigenous.person=EXIS NMLZ=Cultus

Jack, wa7 ti7 qáyt=hém'='t'u7.

Jack IPFV that.VIS reach.the.top=ANTI=EXCL

They got there. That's what this Indian Cultus Jack said, that he and Jack McMillan made it to the top.

- (34) (plan wa7) plan wa7 swat wa7 es=[s]p'am
 already IPFV already be who IPFV have=firewood
 l=ta=pál7=a látáont.
 at=DET=one=EXIS tent

There was already someone who had a campfire going at one of the tents.

- (35) nílh=s=t'u7 q'wel-ci[t]-tsút ta...
 COP=NMLZ=EXCL get.cooked-IND-REFL DET

This person was cooking something for himself..

- (36) tsut ts7a ta=wa7=zís-cal, "nka7
 say this.VIS DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT where
 ku=latáont-s s=*Paul Spintlum*?
 DET=tent-3POSS NMLZ=Paul Spintlum

And the policeman asked, "Where is Paul Spintlum's tent?"

- (37) tsún-em=ku7, “láta7, láta7 kísem
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT at+there.VIS at+there.VIS back.area
 l=t7u, nílh=ti7 latáont-s.”
 at=that.VIS COP=that.VIS tent-3POSS

He told the policeman, “Over in the back, that’s his tent.”

- (38) nílh=t’u7=tu7 s=qwatsáts=s
 COP=EXCL=REM NMLZ=leave=3POSS
 ta=wa7=zús-cal, t’qw-áw’s=wit
 DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT together-collective=3PL
 é=ta... ta=wa7=qáyt-s.
 to=DET DET=IPFV=reach.the.top-3POSS

Then the policeman set off, and they both got to the top of the hill.

- (39) tsicw áta7 ta... tsut ta=wa7=zús-cal,
 get.there to+there.VIS DET say DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT
 qwál’ut áku7 ta=latáont=a,
 speak.seriously to+there.INVIS DET=tent=EXIS
 “snú=ha s=Paul Spintlum?”
 2SG.INDEP=Q NMLZ=Paul Spintlum
 tsún-em=ku7, “iy, s7ents.”
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT yes ISG.INDEP

The policeman got there and was talking into the tent, “Are you Paul Spintlum?” and he was told, “Yes, that’s me.”

- (40) “wa7=lhkácw=ha zewát-en-ts? s7ents
 IPFV=2SG.SBJ=Q be.known-DIR-1SG.OBJ 1SG.INDEP
 ti=wa7=s=Jack McMillan, ti7
 DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Jack McMillan that.VIS
 ta=wa7=zús-cal. qwen-mín-tsi-lhkan.”
 DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT want-RLT-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SBJ
 “Do you know me? I am Jack McMillan, the policeman. I want you.”

- (41) tsút=ku7 s=Paul Spintlum, “áma, cúz’=lhkan
 say=QUOT NMLZ=Paul Spintlum good going.to=1SG.SBJ
 yax kéla7.”
 get.dressed first

Then Paul Spintlum said, “Okay, I’m going to get dressed first.”

- (42) nilh láti7 s=t’ál-lec=s
 COP at+there.VIS NMLZ=stop-AUT=3POSS
 ta=wa7=zús-cal [I]=ta=sk’ém’ts=a.
 DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT at=DET=door=EXIS

The policeman stopped outside the door of the tent.

- (43) nilh láku7 s=yax=s, tsukw
 COP at+there.INVIS NMLZ=get.dressed=3POSS finish
 s=yax=s, s=kwán-as
 NMLZ=get.dressed=3POSS NMLZ=take+DIR-3ERG
 [ta]=swelmín’k-s=a, lham’-ál’ts-n-as.
 DET=gun-3POSS=EXIS put.into-rock-DIR-3ERG

Paul got finished dressing, then he got his gun and loaded it.

- (44) nílh=t'u7 n-laq'-ts-án'-as ta=latáont-s=a,
 COP=EXCL LOC-lift-mouth-DIR-3ERG DET=tent-3POSS=EXIS
 wa7 láti7 s-t'ál-lec ta=plísmen=[a].
 IPFV at+there.VIS STAT-stop-AUT DET=policeman=EXIS

He lifted the opening of his tent door, and the policeman was standing there.

- (45) nílh=t'u7 ta=s-tálh-lec=s=a e=t7ú,
 COP=EXCL DET=STAT-stand-AUT=3POSS=EXIS to=that.VIS
 kel'q e=t7ú ka-ké'kew'-a
 back.up to=that.VIS CIRC-IREĐ*far-CIRC
 elh tsún-as ta=plísmen=a,
 and.then say+DIR-3ERG DET=policeman=EXIS
 “cuy ts7as kwan-ts
 go.on come take+DIR-1SG.OBJ
 lh=xát'-min'-ts=acw.”
 COMP=want-RLT-1SG.OBJ=2SG.SBJV

Since the policeman was standing there, Paul Spintlum backed away a little before he told him, “Come on and get me if you want me.”

- (46) wa7 es-kwil'-qs-cít-as.
 IPFV STAT-aim-point-IND-3ERG

Paul had the gun aimed at him.

- (47) cw7ao kw=s=qwets-ílc=s ta=plísmen=[a].
 NEG DET=NMLZ=move-AUT=3POSS DET=policeman=EXIS

The policeman didn't move.

- (48) nílh=t'u7 s=t'ák=s=t'u7 kel'q, cw7ao
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=continue=3POSS=EXCL back.up NEG
 láti7 kwas ke•káw'
 at+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS IRED•far
 nílh=t'u7 s=ka-lhúcw-[almen]-a
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=CIRC-bushes-almost-CIRC
 l=ki=srep•ráp=a.
 at=PL.DET=TRED•tree=EXIS

So Paul just continued to back up, and it was not very far until he had almost disappeared amongst the trees.

- (49) ka-lhúcw-almen-a áta7, nilh
 CIRC-bushes-almost-CIRC to+there.VIS COP
 s=tsún-as ta=wa7=zús-cal,
 NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT
 nílh=ti7 wa7 s=Jack McMillan:
 COP=that.VIS IPFV NMLZ=Jack McMillan

He had nearly disappeared into the bush, and then he told the policeman, Jack McMillan:

- (50) tsún-as Jack, “nká7=as
 say+DIR-3ERG Jack where=3SBJV
 lh=7ats'x-en-tsín=as³⁴
 COMP=get.seen-DIR-2SG.OBJ+ISG.ERG=3SBJV
 l=ta=lhecw•lhúcw=a, nílh=t'u7
 at=DET=TRED•bush=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=cúz'=su s-zuqw sqaycw.”
 NMLZ=going.to=2SG.POSS STAT-die man

He told Jack, “If I see you anywhere in the bush, you’ll be a dead man.”

- (51) nilh s=hláti7 s=qwatsáts=i p'an't
 COP NMLZ=from+there.VIS NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS return
 múta7 s=Jack, s=Cultus Jack.
 again NMLZ=Jack NMLZ=Cultus Jack

So they set out to go back, he and Cultus Jack.

- (52) tsícw=tu7 ti7 ta=wa7=zús-cal
 get.there=REM that.VIS DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT
 e=t7ú-wna... táown=a, tsicw
 to=that.VIS-precisely town=EXIS get.there
 ta=judge=a.
 DET=judge=EXIS

The policeman got back to town and went to the judge.

- (53) nílh=t'u7 s=kelh-en-ás
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=come.off-DIR-3ERG
 ta=q'wáylaps-ts=a,³⁵ nílh=t'u7
 DET=badge-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=q'mín-n-as...
 NMLZ=throw.down-DIR-3ERG

He took off his badge, threw it down...

³⁴With regards to the form *lh=7ats'x-en-tsin=as* above, we note that the combination of *-tsin* and *=as* has not been attested previously. We assume that *-tsin* here consists of a contracted sequence of the 2nd person singular object suffix *-tsi(n)* and the first person singular subject suffix *-an*, as independently attested in e.g., *Áma ta s7áts'xentsína* 'I'm happy to see you'. The third person subjunctive enclitic *=as* is then added to this sequence, presumably on analogy with passive plus third person subjunctive forms, as in (*Áma ka*) *lh7ats'xentsímas* '(It would be good) if we saw you/if you were seen.'

³⁵The word *q'wáylaps* is cognate with Shuswap *sq'wél'eps*, which according to Mona Jules (p.c.) refers to a 'broach', but which could also be used to mean 'badge'. Sam

- (54) ...s=tsún-as=ku7 ta=*judge*=a,
 NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG=QUOT DET=judge=EXIS
 [qwáP...] “(kwanlh) kwám
 report get
 kwa=nák'-en-ts-acw, ao
 DET+IPFV=get.changed-DIR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.ERG NEG
 ti7 kwenswá xát'-min'
 that.VIS DET+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV want-RLT
 ts7a kw=n=s=cuz'.”
 this.VIS DET=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=going.to
 ...and he told the judge, “Get someone to replace me, I don't want to do this anymore.”

- (55) nílh=t'u7=tu7 s=kaw-*lec*=s
 COP=EXCL=REM NMLZ=far-AUT=3POSS
 kw=s-zús-cal.
 DET=STAT-get.tied.up-ACT

So he quit being a policeman.

- (56) nílh=t'u7=tu7 s=cw7aoy=s káti7
 COP=EXCL=REM NMLZ=NEG=3POSS around+there.VIS
 ku=7ak-min'-tanemwítas sas
 DET=pay.attention-RLT-3PL.OBJ+NTS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 kán-em=wit.
 do.what-MID=3PL

Then nobody paid attention to what the outlaws were up to.

Mitchell translates this word as badge in a different version of this story, recorded by Randy Bouchard. Desmond Peters, Sr. says that it means ‘harness,’ or ‘shoulder holster,’ and is what law officers wore while on duty: it held gun, ammunition, and a badge of office. Dez (who does not glotalize the *qw*) notes that throwing down your *qwáyálaps* meant to resign your commission.

- (57) nas e=t7ú na=sqápts=a, 1911 ti7
 go to=that.VIS ABS.DET=spring=EXIS 1911 that.VIS
 ts7a ku=time l=tsa xíl-em=wit
 this.VIS DET=time at=DET+NMLZ+IPFV do-MID=3PL
 áti7.
 to+there.VIS

That was in 1911 during the springtime, when they were doing that.

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

- (58) nás=tu7 zánucwem, qapts.
 go=REM next.year spring
 The next spring came around.

- (59) papt láku7 lhas Clinton=a
 always at+there.INVIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV Clinton=EXIS
 lhas wa7 i=wa7=assize, wa7
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be PL.DET=IPFV=assize IPFV
 tsún-itas ku=cá7 skotháws.
 say+DIR-3PL.ERG DET=high court

That's when they always hold what they call high court assizes in Clinton.

- (60) l=t7ú=k'a lhas May, sáq'ulh=k'a
 at=that.VIS=EPIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV May half=EPIS
 ta=May=ha p'a7cw.
 DET=May=EXIS more.than

It was a little past the beginning of May, halfway through May, a little past.

- (61) pút=t'u7 láku7 wa7 i=wa7=*high*
 exactly=EXCL at+there.INVIS be PL.DET=IPFV=high
court, ca7 skotháws.
 court high court

They were just having high court, where they have the high courts.

- (62) nílh=t'u7 s.... t'íq=ku7 áti7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ arrive=QUOT to+there.VIS
 ta=pá•pl7=a lhálaku7 talhá7
 DET=IRED•one=EXIS from+there.INVIS other.side
 s-nkúkwem'-s ta=*Clinton*=a,
 NMLZ-upstream-3POSS DET=Clinton=EXIS
 áti7 lh=ts7ás=as.
 to+there.VIS COMP=come=3SBJV

Then someone arrived from over on the other side upstream from Clinton, that's where he came from.

- (63) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsut=s, "wa7 aw't
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS IPFV behind
 s=*Paul* *Spintlum* l=kw7á-wna
 NMLZ=Paul Spintlum at=this.INVIS-precisely
 múta7 s=*Moses* *Paul* l=kw7a
 and NMLZ=Moses Paul at=this.INVIS
 l=ta=n-k'cw-ánk=a l=kw7a!"
 at=DET=LOC-hole-hillside=EXIS at=this.INVIS

He said, "Paul Spintlum and Moses Paul are back over there in a hollow in the sidehill!"

- (64) “áo=ti7 lhláti7 kwas
 NEG=that.VIS from+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 p’a7cw lhel=kw7ú two mile=k’a
 more.than from=that.INVIS two mile=EPIS
 lhláti7 Clinton=a!”
 from+there.VIS Clinton=EXIS

“It isn’t more than two miles from Clinton!”

- (65) nílh=s=t’u7 lhláta7 s=qelilám=s
 COP=NMLZ=EXCL at+there.VIS NMLZ=hurry=3POSS
 i=sám7=a, tsut, “cu:y, cuy nas
 PL.DET=white.person=EXIS say go.on go.on go
 kwán-tanemwit!”
 take+DIR-3PL.OBJ+IPL.ERG

Then the white people started hurrying around, and they said,
 “Come on, let’s go get them!”

- (66) n-7án’was i=wa7=zús-cal, pá’pla7
 LOC-two PL.DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT IRED•one
 láti7 l=kw7u askráop=a,
 at+there.VIS at=that.INVIS Ashcroft=EXIS
 ta=pá’pl7=a wa7 zús-cal, elh nilh
 DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS IPFV tie-ACT and.then COP
 ti7 lhláti7 ta=tsítsel=a wa7
 that.VIS from+there.VIS DET=new=EXIS IPFV
 zús-cal láti7 p’elhtíq’t=a. (lh)
 tie-ACT at+there.VIS Kelley.Creek=EXIS

There were two policemen, one was from Ashcroft, and the new
 policeman was from Kelley Creek.

- (67) *nílh=t'u7* *káti7* *wa7...*
 COP=EXCL around+there.VIS be
- i=kati7-mec=á=t'u7,* *wa7*
 PL.DET=around+there.VIS-people=EXIS=EXCL IPFV
- t=s=cw7ít=[s]=[a]* *láku7* *wa7*
 DET=NMLZ=many=3POSS=EXIS at+there.INVIS IPFV
- gaw'p, nílh iz' wa7 júrys.*
 gather COP those.VIS IPFV jury

And there were a bunch of people from all around there, there were a lot gathered there because they made up the juries.

- (68) *wá7=lhkan* *zewát-en* *láti7*
 IPFV=ISG.SBJ be.known-DIR at+there.VIS
- i=n-k'win•k'wen=ás=a=k'a.*
 PL.DET=LOC-TRED•how.many=3SBJV=EXIS=EPIS
- I knew several of them that were there.
- (69) *nílh ti7* *ta=wa7=s=Johnny* *Pólat=t'elh*
 COP that.VIS DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Johnny Pollard=at.this.time
- láti7* *wa7, lhláku7-mec* *t7u*
 at+there.VIS be from+there.INVIS-people that.VIS
- ti=p'elhtúq't=a.*
 DET=Kelley.Creek=EXIS

A guy called Johnny Pollard was there, he was from Clinton.

- (70) wa7, nilh ti7 wa7 (lh...) nek'wlh-7álkst-min=lhkan
 IPFV COP that.VIS IPFV COMP fellow-work-RLT=1SG.SBJ
 ti7, pináni7 kw=s-qemp-s, wa7
 that.VIS at.that.time DET=NMLZ-hot-3POSS IPFV
 qwál'-en-ts-as áti7 tákem
 report-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG to+there.VIS all
 ku=száyten-i láti7.
 DET=doings-3PL.POSS at+there.VIS

I worked with him that summer, that's when he told me everything that happened to them.

- (71) “nilh s=qwatsáts=kalh,” tsut,
 COP NMLZ=leave=IPL.POSS say
 “q'em'•q'em'p-álmén=lhkalh lh=tákem=at.”
 TRED•ten-almost=1SG.SBJ COMP=all=IPL.SBJV

“We left,” Johnny said, “there were nine of us in all.”

- (72) “tákem=lhkalh,” tsut, “es=welmín'k.”
 all=IPL.SBJ say have=gun

He said, “We all had guns.”

- (73) “tsícw=kalh,” tsut, “áti7 láti7
 get.there=IPL.SBJ say to+there.VIS at+there.VIS
 l=ta=ts'íl.h=a ku=n-k'cw-ánk.”
 at=DET=like=EXIS DET=LOC-hole-hillside

He said, “So we got to where there was kind of a basin in the side-hill.”

- (74) “srep'ráp, cw7it i=kew•kwíkws=a srep're'r'p.”
 TRED•tree many PL.DET=TRED•small=EXIS TRED•tree•CRED•
 “There were trees, lots of little trees.”

- (75) “nílh=ku7=t’u7 s=tsut=s, tsut
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS say
 ta=wa7=zús-cal, nílh=ti7 wa7
 DET=IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT COP=that.VIS IPFV
 skúkwpi7:”
 chief
 “Then the policeman said, the one who was in command:”
- (76) “s7ents, cúz’=lhkalkh l=ts7a, wa7 s-t’ak
 ISG.INDEP going.to=IPL.SBJ at=this.VIS IPFV STAT-go.along
 izá zeháw’s, n-ke•kalkhás e=t7ú
 these.VIS middle LOC-IRED•three to=that.VIS
 ku=t’ák xáw’en’=a.”
 DET=go.along below=EXIS
 “‘Me and these guys, we’ll be going here in the middle, and three
 will go down below.’”
- (77) “n-kalhás e=t7ú cá7=a, n-xwe7•xw7útsin
 LOC-three to=that.VIS high=EXIS LOC-TRED•four
 e=t7ú cá7=a.”
 to=that.VIS high=EXIS
 “‘Three of you up high, four of you up high.’”
- (78) “(tsíl•tslekst,) q’em’•q’em’p-álmen=wit.”
 TRED•five TRED•ten-almost=3PL
 “There were nine of them in all.”
- (79) “nílh s=qwatsáts=i.”
 COP NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS
 “They set out.”

- (80) nilh tí7 e=ts7á
 COP that.VIS to=this.VIS
 ta=wa7=sqwe•qw•el'•en-ts-ás
 DET=IPFV=tell•CRED•-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
 ta=wa7=s=Johnny Pólat.
 DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Johnny Pollard

This is what Johnny Pollard told me.

- (81) wa7 tsut, “t'ák=kalh e=t7ú cá7=a.”
 IPFV say go.along=IPL.SBJ to=that.VIS high=EXIS
 He said, “We were going along above the others.”

- (82) “put=kalh=k'á=t'u7,” tsut, “láti7 ts'íla
 exactly=IPL.SBJ=EPIS=EXCL say at+there.VIS like
 ku=sáq'ulh.”
 DET=half

He said, “We must've gotten about halfway there.”

- (83) “nilh,” tsut, “s=qan’ím-ens-an
 COP say NMLZ=hear-DIR-1SG.ERG
 ku=t’éqw-p=a láta7,
 INVIS.DET=explode-INCH=EXIS at+there.VIS
 l=t7ú-wna l=ta=nk’ecw-úlm’ecw=[a],
 at=that.VIS-precisely at=DET=hole-land=EXIS
 án’was ku=t’éqw-p-s,
 two DET=explode-INCH-3POSS
 lha7·lha7-mín’-twal’
 TRED•close.together-RLT-RECP
 kwa=t’éqw-p-s.”
 DET+IPFV=explode-INCH-3POSS

Then he said, “I heard shots over there in a dip in the ground, two shots, close together.”

- (84) “nílh=s=t’u7,” tsut, “áta7
 COP=NMLZ=EXCL say to+there.VIS
 s=nexw•núxw=kalh.”
 NMLZ=TRED•gallop=IPL.POSS

He said, “Then we galloped towards there.”

- (85) “tsicw síw-em=lhkalh,” tsut, “áta7 wa7
 get.there move.over-MID=IPL.SBJ say to+there.VIS IPFV
 lhqw-ilc.”
 ride.horse-AUT

He said, “We went off to the side, there was one of them getting on his horse.”

- (86) “kalhás,” tsut, “láti7 ts’qáxa7 wa7 es-géts,
 three say at+there.VIS horse IPFV STAT-tie
 wa7 lhqw-ilc ta=pá*pl7=a, wa7
 IPFV ride.horse-AUT DET=IRED*One=EXIS IPFV
 lhqw-ilc ta=wa7=cík’-en-as
 ride.horse-AUT DET=IPFV=miss.a.target-DIR-3ERG
 i=n-k’wwatán’-s=a.”
 PL.DET=LOC-stirrup-3POSS=EXIS

He said, “Three horses were tied up, one person was getting on a horse, but he missed his stirrups.”

- (87) “lhqw-ilc,” tsút=t’u7, “snilh áta7,” tsut,
 ride.horse-AUT say=EXCL 3SG.INDEP to+there.VIS say
 “swas qús-cit-em.”
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS shoot-IND-IPL.ERG

He said, “He got on a horse, and he was the one whom we shot at.”

- (88) “wi7 k’wín=as=k’a,” tsut, “s7ents
 and.so how.many=3SBJV=EPIS say ISG.INDEP
 kw=n=s=qús-em, áoy=t’u7
 DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=shoot-MID NEG=EXCL
 káti7 n-[s]-tsut
 around+there.VIS ISG.POSS-NMLZ-think
 kwas ts’íla wa7
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS like IPFV
 n-kelh-k-án’-em’ nílh=t’u7
 LOC-come.off-back-DIR-3PASS COP=EXCL
 ta=s=texw-sqáxa7=s=[a]...”
 DET=NMLZ=straight-animal=3POSS=EXIS
 “I got several shots off, but I don’t think the the horse could have
 been unsaddled, because he was able to steer it...”
- (89) “...cw7áoy=t’u7 lhláti7 ke•káw’=s, nílh=t’u7
 NEG=EXCL from+there.VIS IRED•far=3POSS COP=EXCL
 ses cw7it i=srep•ráp=a.”
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS many PL.DET=TRED•tree=EXIS
 “...and it wasn’t far until he reached a thicket of trees.”
- (90) “t’ák=tu7,” tsut, “wa7 t’ak cwel•cwelp-án-as,
 continue=REM say IPFV continue TRED•revolve-DIR-3ERG
 cw7ao kwas txw-ilc,
 NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS straight-AUT
 cwel•cwelp-ílc=t’u7=tu7.”
 TRED•revolve-AUT=EXCL=REM
 “He kept on,” he said, “He kept on turning his horse around. He
 didn’t go straight, he kept turning.”

- (91) t'u7 áoz=hem'=ti7 kwas nilh
 EXCL NEG=ANTI=that.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS COP
 lh=lak iz'.
 from=be.there those.VIS

But in fact, he wasn't one of them (the outlaws).

- (92) s7ícwllh=ku7=t'u7 ti7.
 different=QUOT=EXCL that.VIS

He was someone else.

- (93) n-pzán-as, wa7 láti7
 LOC-meet+DIR-3ERG IPFV at+there.VIS
 sqwe•qw•el'-en-ts-ás, k'ámalh
 tell•CRED•-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG however
 ta=pá•pl7=a lh=lák=iz'=k'a
 DET=1RED•one=EXIS from=be.there=those.VIS=EPIS
 nilh=as=málh=ti7
 COP=3SBJV=ADHORT=that.VIS
 s=Qáqis, ta=cw7áoz=a
 NMLZ=Qáqis[Moses.Paul] DET=NEG=EXIS
 láti7 kw=s=wa7=s.
 at+there.VIS DET=NMLZ=be=3POSS

He came across them, he (Johnny Pollard) told me, and Moses Paul must have been one of them, but Moses Paul wasn't actually there.

- (94) n-s7icwlh káti7
 LOC-different around+there.VIS
 ken=kw=s=t'ák=s=tu7, k'amalh
 around=DET=NMLZ=go.along=3POSS=REM however
 nílh=as=t'u7 ti7 ti=wa7=s=Paul
 COP=3SBJV=EXCL that.VIS DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Paul
Spintlum láti7 wa7, t'u7
 Spintlum at+there.VIS be but
 lati7=hém'=t'u7 lhes
 at+there.VIS=ANTI=EXCL COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 wa7, es-kíts-lec,
 be STAT-get.laid.down-AUT
 sq'ut-álqw-s=a
 one.side-tree-3POSS=EXIS
 ta=szík=a.
 DET=log=EXIS

Moses Paul had gone someplace else, but Paul Spintlum must have been there, he was laying down on one side of a log.

- (95) nílh=ti7 qus-en-táli ni=plísmen=a
 COP=that.VIS shoot-DIR-NTS ABS.DET=policeman=EXIS
 ku=stéxw.
 DET=real

He's the one that shot the policeman for sure.

- (96) nilh=malh ti7 stexw sqwé•qw•el'
 COP=ADHORT that.VIS real tell•CRED•
 kw=s=qús-cit-as ku=plísmen
 DET=NMLZ=shoot-IND-3ERG DET=policeman
 láti7 lh... tsúkw=t'u7 láti7
 at+there.VIS and.then finish=EXCL at+there.VIS
 lh=law-an-ém=as láti7,
 COMP=get.hung-DIR-3PASS=3SBJV at+there.VIS
 lh=plán=as aylh wa7 cin'.
 COMP=already=3SBJV then IPFV long.time

And that's the truth, that Paul Spintlum shot the policeman, and that was the only reason why he would be hung, though it was a long time before he was hung.

- (97) [nilh] [s]=t'iq=s láku7, t'iq-s-tum',
 COP NMLZ=arrive=3POSS at+there.INVIS arrive-CAUS-3PASS
 nilh s=nexw-sqaxa7-mín-em ta=pá•pl7=a
 COP NMLZ=gallopp-horse-RLT-3PASS DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS
 plísmen, nilh s=qám'-aka7
 policeman COP NMLZ=get.hit-hand
 ta=pá•pl7=a.
 DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS

So he (the dead policeman) arrived, he was brought in, and then one other policeman was brought in at a gallop, because that one had been hit in the hand.

Paul Spintlum's Story: Tracking the Outlaws

- (98) nilh s=gew'p=i láti7,
 COP NMLZ=gather=3PL.POSS at+there.VIS
 ta=k'ýpmen=a.
 DET=government=EXIS

Then the government met.

- (99) k'wálh-cal ki=ts'qáx7=a,
 call.on-ACT COLL.DET=horse=EXIS
 i=saddle-horse-s=a ken-tákem, tákem=t'u7
 PL.DET=saddle.horse-3POSS=EXIS around-all all=EXCL
 wa7 ka-teq-s-twítas-a saddle-horse.
 IPFV CIRC-touch-CAUS-3PL.ERG-CIRC saddle.horse

They hired horses, saddlehorses from all over, all of the saddle horses they could get hold of.

- (100) cw7it i=wa7=qwéz, k'wálh-cal
 many PL.DET=IPFV=get.used call.on-ACT
 ki=wa7=n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7, cw7it sáma7.
 COLL.DET=IPFV=LOC-look-foot-meat many white.people

They used a lot of them, and they hired a lot of white people as trackers.

- (101) cw7i::t=t'u7 láku7 i=wa7=wá7 sáma7.
 many=EXCL at+there.INVIS PL.DET=IPFV=be white.people

There were lots of white people there.

- (102) k'wálh-cal=wit ki=7ucwalmícw=a,
 call.on-ACT=3PL COLL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS
 n-q'ém'•q'ém'p úcwalmicw lhel=kw7ú
 LOC-TRED•ten indigenous.person from=that.INVIS
 ta=k'emlúps=a i=wá7 t'iq
 DET=Kamloops=EXIS PL.DET=IPFV arrive
 n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7.
 LOC-look-foot-meat

They hired ten Indians from Kamloops, who came as trackers.

- (103) nilh s=7aylh=s, cuy'=s kal-en-ítas,
 COP NMLZ=then=3POSS going.to=3POSS chase-DIR-3PL.ERG
 n-k'wen'-cen-án'-itas.
 LOC-look-foot-DIR-3PL.ERG

So then they went after them (the outlaws), and they were tracking them.

- (104) wá7=ku7 tsút=wit wi=snílh, wa7
 IPFV=QUOT say=3PL PL=3SG.INDEP IPFV
 ats'x-en-ítas i=wa7=n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7.
 get.seen-DIR-3PL.ERG PL.DET=IPFV=LOC-look-foot-meat

I heard that Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum said themselves that they could see the trackers following them.

- (105) láku7=malh nílh=ti7 wa7 necnactám'.
 at+there.INVIS=ADHORT COP=that.VIS IPFV ridged[Chasm]

They were at *Necnactám'*.

- (106) *Chasm*=hem' ta=wa7=s-nah-en-ítas
 Chasm=ANTI DET=IPFV=NMLZ-name-DIR-3PL.ERG
 i=sám7=a, nilh ti7.
 PL.DET=white.person=EXIS COP that.VIS
 Chasm is what the white people call it, that's it.
- (107) wá7=ku7 s=7ats'x-s-twítas (i...)
 IPFV=QUOT NMLZ=get.seen-CAUS-3PL.ERG PL.DET
 káti7 wa7 n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'[a7],
 around+there.VIS IPFV LOC-look-foot-meat
 ao kwas pápt=wit wa7
 NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS always=3PL IPFV
 s-lheqw.
 STAT-ride.horse
 They were watching the trackers, but they weren't always on their horses.
- (108) wá7=t'u7 káti7 n-mátq=wit, legw-ílç
 IPFV=EXCL around+there.VIS LOC-walk=3PL hide-AUT
 ken-tákem.
 around-all
 They were travelling by foot, and hiding all over the place.
- (109) ats'x-en-ítas=ku7 ta=wa7=n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7,
 get.seen-DIR-3PL.ERG=QUOT DET=IPFV=LOC-look-foot-meat
 gets-en-ás láti7 ta=(n)ts'qáxa7-s=a.
 tie-DIR-3ERG at+there.VIS DET=horse-3POSS=EXIS
 I heard that they saw one of the trackers tie up his horse.

- (II0) nílh=t'u7 s=qwatsáts=[s]=tu7 áku7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3POSS=REM to+there.INVIS
 cáł'us.
 come.over-hill

Then the tracker set off to look over the brow of a hill.

- (III) lhqw-íl(e)c ta=pá'pl7=a, tsicw
 ride.horse-AUT DET=IREĐ*one=EXIS get.there
 lhqw-ílc=wit.
 ride.horse-AUT=3PL

One of the outlaws got on his horse, and then they got on the horses.

- (II2) [lh]eqw-ílc-mín-as i=ts'qaxa7-s=á=t'u7
 ride.horse-AUT-RLT-3ERG PL.DET=horse-3POSS=EXIS=EXCL
 nílh s=q'áy-lec=i (s)
 COP NMLZ=run.away-AUT=3PL.POSS
 [e]=t=[t]rápsten=[a].
 OBL=DET=binoculars=EXIS

They jumped on the tracker's horses, and they ran off with the binoculars.

- (II3) wá7=lhkan láti7 k'wezús-em pináni7
 IPFV=ISG.SBJ at+there.VIS work-MID at.that.time
 ts7a l=t=skúkwtsa-s=a
 this.VIS at=DET=downstream-3POSS=EXIS
 ta=p'elhtíq't=a.
 DET=Kelley.Creek=EXIS

I was working there, downstream from Kelley Creek.

- (114) [ka]-qan'ím-s=kan-a
 CIRC-hear-CAUS=ISG.SBJ-CIRC
 kw=s=naq'w-cit-ém=tu7 kwa...
 DET=NMLZ=steal-IND-3PASS=REM DET+IPFV
 k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7, ku=trápsten-s múta7
 look-foot-meat DET=binoculars-3POSS and
 ku=ts'qáxa7-s.
 DET=horse-3POSS

I heard that something was stolen from the tracker, his binoculars and his horse.

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

- (115) nílh=ti7 ken-tákem láku7 lhas
 COP=that.VIS around-all at+there.INVIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 kal-en-ítas, k'wan'-cen-án-itas, cw7it cw7it
 chase-DIR-3PL.ERG look-foot-DIR-3PL.ERG many many
 cw7it.
 many

So they kept chasing and tracking them all over the place, there were a lot of them.

- (116) ts'íla káti7 ku7... ti7
 like around+there.VIS that.INVIS that.VIS
 ku=pála7 tnicw, ku=xetspqíqen'kst *mile*
 DET=one land DET=hundred mile
 ken=tswása wá7=wit
 around=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS be=3PL
 ken=t7ú sqwém•qwem=a
 around=that.VIS TRED•mountain=EXIS
 ken-tákem.
 around-all

That one area must be something like one hundred miles, where they were, and there were mountains all over.

- (117) wa7 tsut na=pá•pl7=a sáma7 wa7
 IPFV say ABS.DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS white.person IPFV
 zewát-en-an, sqwe•qw•el'•mín-as, wa7 tsut,
 be.known-DIR-1SG.ERG tell•CRED•-RLT-3ERG IPFV say
 “s7ents...”³⁶
 1SG.INDEP

One of the white people that I knew told about it, he said, “I...”

³⁶See stanza (119) for a continuation of stanza (117). Stanza (118) is an aside, interrupting the flow of the narrative by helping to contextualize where Sam Mitchell was at the time.

- (118) wá7=lhkalkh k'wezús-em l=kw7ú-wna
 IPFV=IPL.SBJ work-MID at=that.INVIS-precisely
 sqém'qem'=a, nilh
 Upper.Bridge.River.Valley=EXIS COP
 s=tsicw-ts-mín-itas nelh...
 NMLZ=get.there-mouth-RLT-3PL.ERG those.ABS
 iz' wa7 outlaw.
 those.VIS IPFV outlaw

We were working up in the Bridge River valley when they brought news about those outlaws.

- (119) nilh ses sqwé•qw•el' ts7a
 COP NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS tell•CRED• this.VIS
 ta=pá•pl7=a sáma7, tsut, "s7ents
 DET=IREN•one=EXIS white.person say ISG.INDEP
 ta=pá•pl7=a wa7 n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7,"
 DET=IREN•one=EXIS IPFV LOC-look-foot-meat
 wa7 tsut, "n-tsíł•tslekst=kalh."
 IPFV say LOC-TRED•five=IPL.SBJ

This one white person said, "I was one of the trackers," he said, "There were five of us."

- (120) “t’ák=kalh,” tsut áti7, “áts’x-en-em
 go.along=IPL.SBJ say to+there.VIS get.seen-DIR-IPL.ERG
 láti7 wa7 es=[s]p’ám, wa7,” tsut,
 at+there.VIS IPFV have=firewood be say
 “ta=n-k’íx-men=a, wa7 láti7
 DET=LOC-fry-INS=EXIS be at+there.VIS
 píken=a l=na=n-k’íx-men=a,
 bacon=EXIS at=ABS.DET=LOC-fry-INS=EXIS
 na=7ú7s7=a.”
 ABS.DET=egg=EXIS

He said, “We were going along, and we saw someone that had a fire, and there was a frying pan there, and bacon and eggs in it.”

- (121) “nílh,” tsut, “s=7áts’x-en-em
 COP say NMLZ=get.seen-DIR-IPL.ERG
 kw=s=q’ey•q’áy-lec=s=t’u7
 DET=NMLZ=TRED•run.away-AUT=3POSS=EXCL
 lhláti7 n-lheqw.”
 from+there.VIS LOC-ride.horse

“Then,” he said, “We saw them escaping on horseback.”

- (122) wa7 tsut, “wi=snílh.”
 IPFV say PL=3SG.INDEP
 He said, “It was them.”

- (123) “nilh,” tsut, “s=kál-en-tánemwit
 COP say NMLZ=chase-DIR-3PL.OBJ+IPL.ERG
 áku7 ti7 i=wa7=tsún-em
 to+there.INVIS that.VIS PL.DET=IPFV=say+DIR-IPL.ERG
 wa7 ti7 ku=tmícw, lh=tákem=as
 IPFV that.VIS DET=land COMP=all=3SBJV
 láti7 ke•káw’, qwlít=t’u7.”
 at+there.VIS IRED•far jack.pine=EXCL

He said, “Then we chased after them through what we call ‘Jack Pine country’, which is all around there for a great distance.”

- (124) s-t’k’-alqw iz’
 STAT-close.together-timber those.VIS
 ken=ki=núkw=a, ts’íla ku=legw•lág’w
 around=PL.DET=other=EXIS like DET=TRED•spaced
 ken=ki=núkw=a, t’u7 wa7=hém’=t’u7
 around=PL.DET=other=EXIS but IPFV=ANTI=EXCL
 ka-t’ák-a i=ts’qáx7=a.
 CIRC-go.along-CIRC PL.DET=horse=EXIS

It is brushy in places, and there are spaces between trees in other places, but a horse can go through there anyways.

- (125) kal-en-ítas k’wán’-c[en], wa7
 chase-DIR-3PL.ERG look-foot IPFV
 ats’x-cen-án-itas, wa7 tsut pináni7
 get.seen-foot-DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV say at.that.time
 kwas gap, wa7 kwis.
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS evening IPFV rain

They were following him where they could see the tracks, he said, and it was getting towards evening and raining.

- (126) “psil’,” tsut, nílh=t’u7 ses tsut,
 daybreak say COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS say
 “[ka]-hál’h-a ta=st’ak-men-í=ha.”
 CIRC-show-CIRC DET=track-INS-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 “In the morning,” he said, “their tracks showed up.”

- (127) nilh s=tsut=s, “kal-en-tánemwit,
 COP NMLZ=say=3POSS chase-DIR-3PL.OBJ+IPL.ERG
 tsút=kalh=t’u7 kwas
 say=IPL.SBJ=EXCL DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 ka-7ats’x-s-tanemwít-a
 CIRC-get.seen-CAUS-3PL.OBJ+IPL.ERG-CIRC
 (l=kw=s) l=kw=s=hál’h=i
 at=DET=NMLZ at=DET=NMLZ=show=3PL.POSS
 ku=s=t’ák=i
 DET=NMLZ=go.along=3PL.POSS
 ke•ká<7>ew’, nexw•núxw,
 IRED•far<INCH> TRED•gallop
 cwel•cúl•el.”
 TRED•run.away•FRED

He said, “We followed them. We thought that we would be able to see them galloping a little bit further in the distance, escaping.”

- (128) “t’ák=kalh=t’u7,” tsut, “tsícw=kalh
 go.along=IPL.SBJ=EXCL say get.there=IPL.SBJ
 ta=sqwem-úlm’ecw=a.”
 DET=mountain-land=EXIS
 He said, “We went along and got to a knoll in the ground.”

- (129) “ts’íla ti7 ku=s-gwél káta7
 like that.VIS DET=STAT-burnt around+there.VIS
 ku=sqwem-úlm’ecw, láti7 ta=k’ét’h=a.”
 DET=mountain-land at+there.VIS DET=rock=EXIS
 “It was kind of burnt around there, and there was a rock.”

- (130) wa7 tsut, “láti7 ta=ts’qáx7=a,”
 IPFV say at+there.VIS DET=horse=EXIS
 pták=t’u7 s=tsut=s láti7, “e=t7ú,
 passed.by=EXCL say=3POSS at+there.VIS to=that.VIS
 nílh=t’u7 n-s-tw’íw=a,
 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS-NMLZ-both.sides*FRED=EXIS
 s-t’ek’-álqw
 STAT-close.together-timber
 n-s-tw’íw=a.”
 ISG.POSS-NMLZ-both.sides*FRED=EXIS

He said, “And there was a horse,” and after that he said, “The brush was really thick on both sides of me.”

- (131) nílh=t’u7 tsut láti7, lhláti7=t’u7 tsut,
 COP=EXCL say at+there.VIS from+there.VIS=EXCL say
 “nílh=t’u7 n=[s]=tsut-ánwas s7ents.”
 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=say-inside ISG.INDEP
 That’s when he said, “I started thinking.”

- (132) “plán=t’u7 lákwa7a ts7a cuz’ kén’•en’
 already=EXCL at+there.INVIS this.VIS going.to bump•FRED
 n-táxwats=a,” wa7 tsut, “n-táxwats=a,
 ISG.POSS-chest=EXIS IPFV say ISG.POSS-chest=EXIS
 qts-ep•ep•ép n-skwt’ús=a.”
 get.strained-INCH•FRED•FRED ISG.POSS-face=EXIS
 “I felt my chest start to pound and my face was twitching.”

- (133) “nílh=t’u7,” tsut, “s=qwets-án-an
 COP=EXCL say NMLZ=move-DIR-1SG.ERG
 n-ts’qáx7=a, ní[lh=t’u7]
 ISG.POSS-horse=EXIS COP=EXCL
 n=s=p’elk’-ús-em.”
 ISG.POSS=NMLZ=get.turned.around-face-MID
 He said, “Then I got my horse going, and I turned around.”

- (134) “nílh=t’u7,” tsut, “s=ka-t’ál=s-a
 COP=EXCL say NMLZ=CIRC-stop=3POSS-CIRC
 i=n-[n]k’sáytken=a
 PL.DET=ISG.POSS-friend=EXIS
 l=t=s-7áw’t=a.”
 at=DET=NMLZ-behind=EXIS
 He said, “My friends had stopped behind.”

- (135) “nílh=t’u7,” tsut, “s=tsun-taníhan,
 COP=EXCL say NMLZ=say+DIR-3PL.OBJ+ISG.ERG
 ‘láti7=t’u7 lh... láti7=t’u7
 at+there.VIS=EXCL COMP at+there.VIS=EXCL
 lh=t’ál=as kw=n=s=cuz’
 COMP=stop=3SBJV DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=going.to
 kál-en iz’... kw=s=Paul
 chase-DIR those.VIS DET=NMLZ=Paul
Spintlum, lh=xat’-min=ál’ap
 Spintlum COMP=want-RLT=2PL.SBJV
 kw=s=t’ák=l’ap,
 DET=NMLZ=go.along=2PL.POSS
 nílh=t’u7
 COP=EXCL
 s=t’ák=l’ap.”
 NMLZ=go.along=2PL.POSS

Then he said, “Then I told them, ‘That’s where I’m going to stop chasing them... chasing Paul Spintlum, if you want to keep going, then you just keep going.’”

- (136) “cw7áoy=t’u7 kwas
 NEG=EXCL DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 nas-min’-cí[t]-tanemwit
 go-RLT-IND-3PL.OBJ+IPL.ERG
 i=ts’qax7-í=ha.”
 PL.DET=horse-3PL.POSS=EXIS

“We never even went to get their horses.”

- (137) “nílh=t’u7 s=p’án’t=kalh lhláti7.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=return=IPL.POSS from+there.VIS
 nílh=t’u7 n=s=p’án’t, nílh=t’u7
 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=return COP=EXCL
 s=p’án’t=s i=núkw=a.”
 NMLZ=return=3POSS PL.DET=other=EXIS
 “We went back from there. I went back, and then the others went back.”
- (138) “lhwal-en-ém=t’u7 láti7
 get.abandoned-DIR-IPL.ERG=EXCL at+there.VIS
 i=ts’qáx7-i=ha, wá7=t’u7 láti7.”
 PL.DET=horse-3PL.POSS=EXIS be=EXCL at+there.VIS
 “We just left their horses there.”
- (139) “nilh s=p’án’t=kalh,
 COP NMLZ=return=IPL.POSS
 n-p’el[k’]-cen-an-tsút=kalh...”
 LOC-get.turned.around-foot-DIR-REFL=IPL.SBJ
 “Then we went back from there, we retraced our footsteps...”

- (140) “...tsícw=kalh áku7
 get.there=IPL.SBJ to+there.INVIS
 [1]=na=s=7ats’x-en-ém=a
 at=ABS.DET=NMLZ=get.seen-DIR-IPL.ERG=EXIS
 kwas es=[s]p’ám, wa7
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS have=firewood be
 láti7 ta=pé*pl7=a ts’qáxa7,
 at+there.VIS DET=IRED*one=EXIS horse
 nílh=ti7 pakhós-i=k’a.”
 COP=that.VIS pack.horse-3PL.POSS=EPIS
 “...we got to where we had seen the campfire, and there was one
 horse there, it must’ve been their packhorse.”
- (141) “kwan-ci[t]-tánemwit lhláti7,
 take-IND-3PL.OBJ+IPL.ERG from+there.VIS
 áts’x-en-em i=szácen-s=a
 get.seen-DIR-IPL.ERG PL.DET=pack-3POSS=EXIS
 ta=pakhós-i=ha.”
 DET=pack.horse-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 “We took their pack horse from there, and we looked inside its
 pack.”
- (142) “wá7=wit i=s7ílhen=[a], tákem ku=swín’acws
 be=3PL PL.DET=food=EXIS all DET=different.kinds
 s7ílhen láti7 lak...”
 food at+there.VIS be.there
 “They had food in there, all kinds of food...”
- (143) “...p’elenílh³⁷ i=candy=ha.”
 including.others PL.DET=candy=EXIS
 “...Including candy.”

- (144) “nílh=t’u7 ti7 s=tsukw=s kwán-em
 COP=EXCL that.VIS NMLZ=finish=3POSS take+DIR-IPL.ERG
 ta=pakhós=a.”
 DET=pack.horse=EXIS

“So we only took the packhorse.”

- (145) l=ts7a i=qus-ci[t]-túm=as
 at=this.VIS when.PAST=shoot-IND-3PASS=3SBJV
 ta=kél7=a plísmen [w]a7
 DET=first=EXIS policeman IPFV

kwan*en-s-twítas láti7
 take*FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG at+there.VIS

ta=pakhós=a.
 DET=pack.horse=EXIS

They must have taken that packhorse when the first policeman got shot.

- (146) ts’íla=t’u7 ák=iz’ s-tsút-i
 like=EXCL be.towards.there=those.VIS NMLZ-say-3PL.POSS
 ku=lák.
 DET=be.there

It was just like that, they said.

³⁷The word *p’elenílh* is hitherto unrecorded, and the gloss ‘including others’ comes from Desmond Peters, Sr.

- (147) tsút=t'u7 áku7 (ps...) wa7 iz'
 say=EXCL to+there.INVIS be those.VIS
 pt-ál'k-em swín'acws s7ílhen: *canned*
 cover-surface-MID different.kinds food canned
stuff, kan, i=kán=a, i=*candy*=ha.
 stuff can PL.DET=can=EXIS PL.DET=candy=EXIS
 They said there was all kind of food covered up: canned stuff, even candy.

- (148) tákem=t'u7 swín'acws s7ílhen, áoz=t'u7
 all=EXCL different.kinds food NEG=EXCL
 kwas táyt=wit.
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS hungry=3PL
 There was all kinds of food, so they didn't get hungry.

- (149) lh=nká7=as lhas
 COMP=where=3SBJV COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 kwan'en-s-twítas, wa7=wit=k'á=t'u7
 take•FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG be=3PL=EPIS=EXCL
 [es]=nk'sáytken kwas
 have=relative DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 kwan'en-s-twítas iz'.
 take•FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG those.VIS
 I don't know where they got the food from, they must've had relatives who they got it from.

Pavilion Person's Story: Disguised as Women

- (150) pináni7=hem' ku=*time*, ao
at.that.time=ANTI DET=time NEG
- káti7 kwas
around+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
- kwám•em i=7ucwalmícw=a
get•FRED PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS
- ku=qus-em-ál'ts lhas
DET=shoot-MID-rock COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
- ken[s]-tecwp=wít ku=qus-em-ál'ts
want.to-buy=3PL DET=shoot-MID-rock
- ken=ki=stóh=a.
around=PL.DET=store=EXIS

At that time, Indians couldn't get bullets when they tried to buy them from the store.

- (151) i=hláku7-mec=[a],
 PL.DET=from+there.INVISIBLE-people=EXIS
 i=p'elhtíq't-mec=a múta7
 PL.DET=Kelley.Creek-people=EXIS and
 e=t7ú (i... e=t7ú i=n...)
 to=that.VIS PL.DET to=that.VIS PL.DET=
 i=*Canoe* *Creek*-emc=a múta7
 PL.DET=canoe creek-person=EXIS and
 áku7 i=wa7=wá7
 to+there.INVISIBLE PL.DET=IPFV=be
 úcwalmicw áku7
 indigenous.person to+there.INVISIBLE
 ta=wa7=tsún-itas wa7
 DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV
Big Bar...
 Big Bar

The Indians from those places, those from Kelley Creek, from Canoe Creek, from what they call Big Bar...

- (152) ...cw7áoy=t'u7 káti7 kwas
 NEG=EXCL around+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 kwám•em=wit ku=qus-m-ál'ts lhas
 get•FRED=3PL DET=shoot-MID-rock COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 ken[s]-tecwp=wít ku=n-qus-em-ál'ts
 want.to=buy=3PL DET=LOC-shoot-MID-rock
 ken=kw7ú askráop=a,
 around=that.INVIS Ashcroft=EXIS
 lhas tsícw=wit tecwp.
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.there=3PL buy
 ...they couldn't get any bullets when they tried to buy them around
 Ashcroft, where they'd go to buy things.

- (153) tsúkw=t'u7 ken=ts7á wi=snímulh wa7 kwám•em
 finish=EXCL around=this.VIS PL=IPL.INDEP IPFV get•FRED
 ku=qus-m-ál'ts=a, pináni7.
 DET=shoot-MID-rock=EXIS at.that.time

We were the only ones around here that could get any bullets.

- (154) nílh=ti7 wa7 száyten-i pináni7 wa7
 COP=that.VIS IPFV doings-3PL.POSS at.that.time IPFV
 s=Qáqis.
 NMLZ=Qáqis[Moses.Paul]

That's what Moses Paul and them were doing at that time.

- (155) tsáma=t'u7 aylh ta=k'vpmen=a,
 try.hard=EXCL then DET=government=EXIS
 kán=a[s]=k'a kwas án'was
 whether=3SBJV=EPIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS two
 t'ánam'ten, nílh=t'u7 s=tsukw=s,
 months COP=EXCL NMLZ=finish=3POSS
 nílh=t'u7 s=tsúkw=i.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=finish=3PL.POSS

The government tried (to catch them) for maybe two months, and then they just quit.

- (156) áoy=t'u7 kwas n-pzán-itas.
 NEG=EXCL DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS LOC-meet+DIR-3PL.ERG

They didn't catch up with them.

- (157) k'wálh-cal=wit lhel=kw7ú talh7-álqw=a
 call.on-ACT=3PL from=that.INVIS other.side-tree=EXIS
 i=núkw=a sáma7 wa7 t'iq.
 PL.DET=other=EXIS white.person IPFV arrive

They hired some other white guys from the States who came.

- (158) nílh=ku7 cuz' kwan'en-s-táli.
 COP=QUOT going.to take*FRED-CAUS-NTS

It was said that they would catch them.

(159) [ka]-xek-s-twítas-á=t'u7
 CIRC-COUNT-CAUS-3PL.ERG-CIRC=EXCL

kw=s=cw7it-7úl=s száyten, nílh=t'u7
 DET=NMLZ=many-too=3POSS doings COP=EXCL

s=tsukw=s.
 NMLZ=finish=3POSS

But then they figured out it would cost too much, so that stopped, too.

(160) nílh=t'u7 s=lheqp-álqw-em=s
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=stuck.on-tree-MID=3POSS

ta=kýpmen=a ku=xw7útsin s-*thousands*
 DET=government=EXIS DET=four NMLZ-thousands

ku=kwan*en-s-tanemwítas.
 DET=take*FRED-CAUS-3PL.OBJ+NTS

The government posted a sign for a \$4000 reward for any one who caught them.

- (161) nílh=t'u7 ti7 s=wa7=s lheqp-álqw,
 COP=EXCL that.VIS NMLZ=be=3POSS stuck.on-tree
 wá7=malh s-7ats'x i=t'lád'=a,
 IPFV=ADHORT STAT-get.seen PL.DET=canoe=EXIS
 (i=wá7...) i=ferry=ha, (i=wá7...)
 PL.DET=be PL.DET=ferry=EXIS PL.DET=be
 tswa i=wa7=t'áq',
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV PL.DET=IPFV=CROSS.OVER
 múta7 i=ntqwíxw=a wa7
 and PL.DET=bridge=EXIS IPFV
 es-7áts'x.
 STAT-get.seen

The sign stayed up, and the boats, the ferries where people were crossing, and the bridges were watched.

- (162) wa7 t'íq=wit káti7
 IPFV arrive=3PL around+there.VIS
 ken=ki=nk'saytken-í=ha,
 around=PL.DET=relative-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 ken=ts'7á-wna ts'k'wáylacw=a,
 around=this.VIS-precisely Pavilion=EXIS
 láta7 wa7 alkst ta=wa7=sqwé•qw•el'.
 at+there.VIS IPFV work DET=IPFV=tell•CRED•

The outlaws got to where their relatives were, around Pavilion, which is where the person who told me this was working.

- (163) wá7=lhkan zewát-en nelh,
 IPFV=ISG.SBJ be.known-DIR those.ABS
 ta=wa7=s=Charlie Harry múta7 s=Felix,
 DET=IPFV=NMLZ=Charlie Harry and NMLZ=Felix
 áti7=t'u7 s=t'íq=wit, wa7
 to+there.VIS=EXCL NMLZ=arrive=3PL IPFV
 iz' láta7 es=tsítcw.
 those.VIS at+there.VIS have=house

I knew them: they were Charlie Harry and Felix, and that's where the outlaws went, where their houses were.

- (164) lhas gap, wa7 ts7as
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV evening IPFV came
 sqwe•qw•el'-mín-itas i=wa7=száyten-i.
 tell•CRED•-RLT-3PL.ERG PL.DET=IPFV=doings-3PL.POSS

In the evening, they would come around and talk about what they were doing.

- (165) qwe•qw•el'-mín-itas i=wa7=n-k'wen'-cen-álhts'a7,
 tell•CRED•-RLT-3PL.ERG PL.DET=IPFV=LOC-look-foot-meat
 wá7=t'u7 s-7ats'x-s-twítas ku7.
 IPFV=EXCL STAT-get.seen-CAUS-3PL.ERG that.INVIS

They talked about the trackers and how they kept watch on them.

- (166) tsícw=wit ken=ki=ca7-tn-ál'us=a,
 get.there=3PL around=PL.DET=up.high-INS-eye=EXIS
 s-7ats'x-s-twítas iz', t'ák=wit
 STAT-get.seen-CAUS-3PL.ERG those.VIS go.along=3PL
 káti7.
 around+there.VIS

They went to the high lookouts to keep watch on them as they went by.

- (167) ao kwas kás-[s]-twítas
 NEG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS do.how-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 kwas cuz'
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS going.to
 s=qus-cit-ítas.
 NMLZ=shoot-IND-3PL.ERG

They couldn't find any way to shoot them.

- (168) lhas qwenán=wit ku=ts'qáxa7, wá7=t'u7
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV want=3PL DET=horse IPFV=EXCL
 neq'w-sqáxa7=wit, naq'w-ens-twítas, tsícw=wit
 steal-horse=3PL steal-DIR-3PL.ERG get.there=3PL
 ken=ki=stíipv̄l=a, naq'w-ens-twítas
 around=PL.DET=stable=EXIS steal-DIR-3PL.ERG
 i=ts'qáx7=a.
 PL.DET=horse=EXIS

When the outlaws needed some horses, they stole them, they went around to the stables and they stole horses.

- (169) ts'íla ku=t'á7-e(l)n-a[s] kw=n-pzán-tanemwit,
 like DET=intuít-DIR-3ERG DET=LOC-meet-3PL.PASS
 nílh=t'u7 s=t'ak-mín'-[as]³⁸ ti7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=go.along-RLT-3ERG that.VIS
 ta=sts'qáx7=a, nílh [lh]=láw=as
 DET=horse=EXIS COP COMP=get.hung=3SBJV
 ta=sáotv̄l=a, nílh=t'u7 n-matq
 DET=saddle=EXIS COP=EXCL LOC-walk
 e=ki=n-qv̄l-ólm'ecw=a.
 to=PL.DET=LOC-bad-land=EXIS

When they kind of sensed they were being caught up with, then they'd lead the horse, and when the saddle had been hung up, they walked through the badlands.

- (170) cw7áoy=s=ku7 ka-t'ák-a
 NEG=3POSS=QUOT CIRC-go.along-CIRC
 ku=wa7=s-lhéqw.
 DET=IPFV=STAT-ride.horse

You can't ride horses in there.

- (171) kwan lhláti7, ts7ás=wit=ku7 n-matq.
 take+DIR from+there.VIS begin=3PL=QUOT LOC-walk
 They took their saddles off there and started walking.

³⁸The translation of *ts'íla ku t'á7enas* as 'they kind of sensed it' is speculative, and based on Desmond Peters' suggestion of *t'á7en* 'to sense s.t.'. The word given as *st'akmín'as* in this stanza sounds phonetically like *st'ákemin*.

- (172) t'íq=wit áti7 e=t7ú-wna
 arrive=3PL to+there.VIS to=that.VIS-precisely
 ta=wa7=tsún-em wa7 q'áq'el'cen.
 DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3PL.ERG IPFV Q'áq'el'cen
 They got to what we call *Q'áq'el'cen*.

- (173) wa7 láta7 s=t'láz'
 IPFV at+there.VIS have=canoe
 i=7ucwalmícw=a, lhláta7-mec
 PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS from+there.VIS-people
 i=wá7... tsícw=wit ts'áw-cal
 PL.DET=IPFV get.there=3PL wash-ACT
 ta=x7ílh=a lhas nukw.
 DET=other.side=EXIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV other
 The Indian people had a canoe there, and they went across the river
 to pan for gold sometimes.

- (174) wa7 ti7 naq'w-[a]wlh-en-ítas
 IPFV that.VIS steal-conveyance-DIR-3PL.ERG
 ta=t'láz'=a.
 DET=canoe=EXIS

The outlaws stole that canoe.

- (175) t'áq'=wit áta7, lha7-qs.
 cross.over=3PL to+there.VIS close.to-point
 They crossed over the river and they got to the other side.

- (176) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsut=s ta=pá•pl7=a,
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS
 “cúz'-min-em i=nk'saytken-lhkálh=a.”
 going.to.be-RLT-IPL.ERG PL.DET=relative-IPL.POSS=EXIS
 Then one of them said, “Let's go stay with our relatives.”

- (177) cuz' tsún-tanemwit ta=wá7=tu7
 going.to say+DIR-3PL.PASS DET=IPFV=REM
 qwez-cít-ítas ta... qwey-en-ítas
 get.used-IND-3PL.ERG DET get.used-DIR-3PL.ERG
 iz' [t]a=t'láz'=a.
 those.VIS DET=canoe=EXIS
 They were going to tell the ones whose canoe they had stolen that
 they had just used it.

- (178) nílh=t'u7 s=weq'w-en-ítas
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.carried.away.by.water-DIR-3PL.ERG
 ta=t'láz'=a ku=kwán-ita[s],
 DET=canoe=EXIS DET=take-3PL.ERG
 kelh-en-ítas ta=lóp=a, nílh=t'u7
 come.off-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=rope=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=weq'w=s
 NMLZ=get.carried.away.by.water=3POSS
 ta=t'láz'=a, tsút=wit=ku7,
 DET=canoe=EXIS say=3PL=QUOT
 “t'ak=as=málh=ti7
 go.along=3SBJV=ADHORT=that.VIS
 weq'w.”
 get.carried.away.by.water

So they just let the canoe drift downriver so they could get it, they took the rope and untied it and let it go down the river, they said, “Just let it keep drifting.”

- (179) nilh s=t'ák=i lhláti7,
 COP NMLZ=go.along=3PL.POSS from+there.VIS
 t'íq=wit áti7 nxwísten=a,
 arrive=3PL to+there.VIS Bridge.River=EXIS
 i=wa7=lhláta7 lhwas
 PL.DET=be=from+there.VIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 s=tsitcw.
 have=house

They left there and got to Bridge River, where there were people there with houses.

(180) wá7=ku7 láti7 i=sq'wíts'-em=a.
 be=QUOT at+there.VIS PL.DET=clothes.get.washed-MID=EXIS
 There was some laundry hanging.

(181) ats'x-en-ítas, tsicw áta7.
 get.seen-DIR-3PL.ERG get.there to+there.VIS
 They saw it, and went there.

(182) kwám•em=wit ki=st'ánwen=a, án'was st'ánwen.
 get•FRED=3PL COLL.DET=skirt=EXIS two skirt
 They took two skirts.

(183) nilh s=ts7ás=i, tsícw=wit e=ts7á
 COP NMLZ=come=3PL.POSS get.there=3PL to=this.VIS
 s-cá7-s=a ta=Lillooet=a.
 NMLZ-above-3POSS=EXIS DET=Lillooet=EXIS
 Then they came to a place above Lillooet.

(184) wá7=wit káti7 [lh]=psíl'=as.
 be=3PL around+there.VIS COMP=daybreak=3SBJV
 They were around there at dawn.

(185) gap.
 evening
 And then they hung around there until it was nighttime again.

(186) láti7 ta=tsánemen=a wa7 es=stóh,
 at+there.VIS DET=Chinese.person=EXIS IPFV have=store
 nílh=ni7 wa7 Svntóh.
 COP=that.ABS IPFV Svntóh
 There was a Chinese person with a store, that was Svntóh.

(187) wa7 s-cwak t'u ten o'clock t=sít.st=a.
 IPFV STAT-get.woken until ten o'clock DET=night=EXIS
 Svntóh stayed open until 10 o'clock at night.

(188) tsícw=wit=ku7 áta7 táw'-ts-am'.
 get.there=3POSS=QUOT to+there.VIS buy-mouth-MID
 They went there to buy some food.

(189) tsukw s=taw'-ts-ám'=i, nilh
 finish NMLZ=buy-mouth-MID=3PL.POSS COP
 s=ts7ás=i lhláta7 (lhúm-un'...)
 NMLZ=come=3PL.POSS from+there.VIS put.on-DIR
 lhew-en-ítas i=st'ánwen=a,
 put.on-DIR-3PL.ERG PL.DET=skirt=EXIS
 es-zec'zácen=wit.
 STAT-TRED*pack=3PL

When they had finished buying groceries, they came out, put on skirts, and packed their groceries on their backs.

(190) ts7ás=wit l=ts7a ntqwíxw=a.
 come=3PL at=this.VIS bridge=EXIS
 They got to the bridge.

(191) wá7=ku7 láti7 i=sám7=a,
 be=QUOT at+there.VIS PL.DET=white.people=EXIS
 n-7án'was wa7 s-7ats'x-s-táli, wá7=t'u7
 LOC-two IPFV STAT-get.seen-CAUS-NTS IPFV=EXCL
 ka-ná'n'k'-a.
 CIRC-change*CRED*-CIRC

There were two white people taking turns watching.

- (192) sucw[t]-en-ítas ta=pá*pl7=a, nílh=ni7
 recognize-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=IREĐ•one=EXIS COP=that.ABS
 wa7 s=Joe Russell.
 IPFV NMLZ=Joe Russell

The outlaws recognized one of them, and it was Joe Russell.

- (193) nilh s=t'ák=i.
 COP NMLZ=go.along=3PL.POSS

So they kept going.

- (194) tsícw=wit e=kw7ú-wna e=kw7á
 get.there=3PL to=that.INVIS-precisely to=this.INVIS
 es=Táyka.
 NMLZ=Mosquito.Jim

They got to Táyka's place (Mosquito Jim).

- (195) nílh=ni7, nílh=ni7 páotenh-i, ke•káv'
 COP=that.ABS COP=that.ABS partner-3PL.POSS IRED•far
 ti7 lhel=tswása
 that.VIS from=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
 s=tsitcw l=ki... láku7
 have=house at=PL.DET at+there.INVIS
 l=ki=7ucwalmicw-úlm'ecw=a
 at=PL.DET=indigenous.person-land=EXIS
 cácel'p=a, Kekéyka7 wa7
 Fountain=EXIS Kekéyka7 be
 ti7 tsa
 that.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
 xáw'en'=a.
 below=EXIS

Táyka was their partner, he had a house far away from the Fountain reserve, and Kekéyka lived below that.

- (196) pápt=ku7 áku7 lhas
 always=QUOT to+there.INVIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 tsícw=wit s-tsícw-em.
 get.there=3PL STAT-house-MID

That's where they always went to camp.

- (197) “ú,”=ku7 tsún-itas kw=s=Táyka,
 oh=QUOT say+DIR-3PL.ERG DET=NMLZ=Mosquito.Jim
 “elh qwenán ku=sáotv], tsítsel wa7 e=t7ú
 if want DET=saddle new be to=that.VIS
 l=kw7u s-law na=pál7=a,
 at=that.INVIS STAT-get.hung ABS.DET=one=EXIS
 tsúkw=t’u7 kw=[s]=nás=tsu kwan.”
 finish=EXCL DET=NMLZ=go=2SG.POSS take
 “Oh,” they told Táyka, “If you want a saddle, there’s a new one
 hanging down there, just go and get it.”

- (198) tsut kw=s=Táyka, “ats’x-ci[t]-tsál-em=kelh,
 say DET=NMLZ=Mosquito.Jim get.seen-IND-1SG.PASS=FUT
 sucwt-ci[t]-tsál-em=kelh.”
 recognize-IND-1SG.PASS=FUT
 Táyka said, “They’ll see it is mine and recognize it is mine.”

- (199) nílh=ti7 wa7 száyten-i
 COP=that.VIS IPFV doings-3PL.POSS
 káti7, káti7 ken=kí...
 around+there.VIS around+there.VIS around=PL.DET
 ken=ki=nk'saytken-í=ha
 around=PL.DET=relative-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 lhas tsícw=wit
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV get.there=3PL
 káti7 lhus
 around+there.VIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 tsícw=wit tsícw-em.
 get.there=3PL house-MID

That's what they were doing around there with their relatives, where they went to stay.

- (200) cw7ao káti7 wa7 tráoka, cw7ao
 NEG around+there.VIS IPFV tracker NEG
 káti7 kwas
 around+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 alán-itas.
 feel+DIR-3PL.ERG

There weren't any trackers around, and the outlaws didn't sense that they were anywhere near.

- (201) wa7 n-mátq=wit, wá7=t'u7 cwíl'-em=wit
 IPFV LOC-travel=3PL IPFV=EXCL look.for-MID=3PL
 ku=wa7=s-lhéqw•lheqw.
 DET=IPFV=STAT-TRED•ride.horse

The trackers were travelling around and watching for riders.

- (202) wa7 n-tsut-ánwas=wít kwas
 IPFV LOC-say-inside=3PL DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 s-lheqw•lheqw=wít papt, t'u7 cw7áoz=ku7
 STAT-TRED•ride.horse=3PL always but NEG=QUOT
 kwas pápt=wít wa7
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS always=3PL IPFV
 s-lheqw.
 STAT-ride.horse

They thought that the outlaws would be riding horseback the whole time, but I heard they weren't.

- (203) tsúkw=t'u7 lhas cuz' ka<7>ew'=wít
 finish=EXCL COMP+IPFV+3SBJV going.to far<INCH>=3PL
 lhwas s-lheqw=wít.
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV STAT-ride.horse=3PL

They rode on horses only when they needed to get far away from the trackers.

- (204) ptak lhláti7, nílh=t'u7
 passed.by from+there.VIS COP=EXCL
 s=tíg'w=s=t'u7 ta=ts'qáx7=a,
 NMLZ=set.free=3POSS=EXCL DET=horse=EXIS
 nílh=t'u7 s=law=s
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.hung=3POSS
 ta=sáotv]=a.
 DET=saddle=EXIS

After that, they just let the horse go and hung the saddle up.

Paul Spintlum's Story: The Murdered Chinaman

- (205) cw7it nelh (kwas...)
 many those.ABS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 kwas es=száyten káti7.
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS have=doings around+there.VIS
 There were a lot of things that happened to them.

- (206) ta=pál7=a száyten-i... láku7
 DET=one=EXIS doings-3PL.POSS at+there.INVIS
 p'elhtíq't=a n-kúkwtsa-s láku7
 Kelley.Creek=EXIS LOC-downriver-3POSS at+there.INVIS
 lhas... wa7 ta=tsánemen=a
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be DET=Chinese.person=EXIS
 k'úl'-em ku=sp'áms=a.
 get.made-MID INVIS.DET=firewood=EXIS

One thing they did, it was downriver from Kelley Creek where there was a Chinaman who made firewood.

- (207) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsút=i, "cuy nas,"
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3PL.POSS go.on go
 tsún-as [ta]=snúk'wa7-s=[a], "cuy nas
 say+DIR-3ERG DET=friend-3POSS=EXIS go.on go
 xel'-ts-mín."
 beg.for-mouth-RLT

They said, "Go and ask him for some food."

- (208) cw7áo=ti7 zewat-en-ítas
 NEG=that.VIS be.known-DIR-3PL.ERG
 ta=tsánemen=a.
 DET=Chinese.person=EXIS

They didn't know the Chinaman.

- (209) wa7 ti7 zewat-en-tánemwit áti7
 IPFV that.VIS be.known-DIR-3PL.PASS to+there.VIS
 ta=tsánemen=a, gélgel xzum
 DET=Chinese.person=EXIS strong big
 ku=tsánemen.
 DET=Chinese.person

But the Chinaman knew who they were, he was a big strong Chinaman.

- (210) nilh s=7ulhcw=s ta=pá*pl7=a,
 COP NMLZ=enter=3POSS DET=IREDO*one=EXIS
 tsún-em=ku7, “cuy um’-en-túmulh
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT go.on be.given-DIR-IPL.OBJ
 ku=s7ílhen, úm’-en-ts ku=s7ílhen!”
 DET=food be.given-DIR-1SG.OBJ DET=food

One of them went inside and told the Chinaman, “Come on, give us some food, give me some food!”

- (211) “laoys múta7 ku=stám’=t’u7 káti7.”
 rice and DET=what=EXCL around+there.VIS
 “Rice and whatever else.”

- (212) ats’x-en-ém=t’u7 ta=tsánemen=a,
 get.seen-DIR-3PASS=EXCL DET=Chinese.person=EXIS
 súcwt-en-em, nilh s=kwán-em.
 recognize-DIR-3PASS COP NMLZ=take+DIR-3PASS

The Chinaman saw him and recognized him, so he grabbed him.

- (213) kwan-twál'-s-tum' lati7,
 take+DIR-RECP-CAUS-3PASS at+there.VIS
 n-q'min-ulm'ecw-án-em láti7
 LOC-throw.down-land-DIR-3PASS at+there.VIS
 lhas nilh s=cwíl'-em=s
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV COP NMLZ=look.for-MID=3POSS
 ta=tsánemen=a ku=lóp
 DET=Chinese.person=EXIS DET=rope
 ku=zís-c-un-em.
 DET=get.tied.up-foot-DIR-3PASS

They wrestled around and he was thrown to the ground by the Chinaman, who looked around for a rope to tie him up with.

- (214) nilh kw=s=we7áw=s, wa7 ta=snúk'wa7-s=a
 COP DET=NMLZ=shout=3POSS be DET=friend-3POSS=EXIS
 l=kw7u álts'q7=a.
 at=that.INVIS outside=EXIS

He hollered to his friend who was outside.

- (215) we7aw-en-ás=ku7, "s=plan
 shout-DIR-3ERG=QUOT NMLZ=already
 q'áw'-en-ts-as
 get.beaten.in.a.contest-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
 ta=tsánemen=a!"
 DET=Chinese.person=EXIS

He shouted to him, "The Chinaman has overpowered me!"

- (216) ulhcw lhláku7 snúk'wa7-s=[a].
 enter from+there.INVIS friend-3POSS=EXIS

His friend went inside.

- (217) i=tsánemen=a sntsa
 PL.DET=Chinese.person=EXIS NMLZ+at+DET+NMLZ+IPFV
 wá7=wit, pápt=t'u7 wa7
 be=3PL always=EXCL IPFV
 s-k'et[cw] káti7
 STAT-get.severed around+there.VIS
 i=si*s*qem'-men-í=ha
 PL.DET=split.wood•CRED•-INS-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 ku=kwíkws t'amín.
 DET=small axe

The Chinese people around there, they always split their firewood with a little axe.

- (218) úlhcw=t'u7 áku7 kw=s... swéta7...
 enter=EXCL to+there.INVISIBLE DET=NMLZ what's.his.name
 Moses P..., swéta7 ti7 s=Paul
 Moses.Paul what's.his.name that.VIS NMLZ=Paul
 Spíntlum.
 Spintlum

Who was it...Moses P., no, it was Paul Spintlum who went inside.

- (219) áts'x-en-as plan wa7
 get.seen-DIR-3ERG already IPFV
 n-p'íts'lum'cw-[a]n-em³⁹ [ta]=snúk'wa7-s=a,
 LOC-press.down-land-DIR-3PASS DET=friend-3POSS=EXIS
 nilh s=kwán-as ta=t'amín=[a],
 COP NMLZ=take+DIR-3ERG DET=axe=EXIS
 n-t'uts-laqín-n-as
 LOC-get.chopped-top.of.head-DIR-3ERG
 ta=tsánemen=a,
 DET=Chinese.person=EXIS
 ka-lh'p'-a [s]nilh.
 CIRC-flop.over-CIRC 3SG.INDEP

He saw his friend was already pinned to the ground, so he took the axe and chopped the Chinaman in the head, and he flopped over.

³⁹The stress pattern on *np'íts'lum'cw[a]nem* is unexpected: it should be on the penultimate *a* vowel, which is not clearly audible.

- (220) zewat-en-tánemwit wi=snílh
 be.known-DIR-3PL.OBJ+IPL.ERG PL=3SG.INDEP
- ts7a ti7 ku=xílh-[ts]-tal'i,
 this.VIS that.VIS DET=get.done-CAUS-NTS
- tsút=wit=t'u7 wi=snílh
 say=3PL=EXCL PL=3SG.INDEP
- kwas wi=snílh
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS PL=3SG.INDEP
- ts7a ti7
 this.VIS that.VIS
- ku=xílh-[ts]-tal'i, nílh=ti7
 DET=get.done-CAUS-NTS COP=that.VIS
- tí7texw
 correct
- kw=s=k'az-ák7-am=i.
 DET=NMLZ=destroy-hand-MID=3PL.POSS

We know it was them that did, it, because they said so themselves,
 so it was true, they were the murderers.

- (221) sqwal'-n-ém=t'u7 ta=páotna-s=a ka
 report-DIR-3PASS=EXCL DET=partner-3POSS=EXIS IRR
- lh=cw7'áoZ=as kwas wa7
 COMP=NEG=3SBJV DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be
- s-t'qW-áw's=wit...
 STAT-together-collective=3PL

It was reported by his partner that if they hadn't been together...

- (222) ...nílh=t'u7 ti7
 COP=EXCL that.VIS
 s=q'aw'-en-ém=t'u7
 NMLZ=get.beaten.in.a.contest-DIR-3PASS=EXCL
 ta=tsánemen=a,
 DET=Chinese.person=EXIS
 zes•zús-c-un-em, nílh=t'u7
 TRED•get.tied.up-foot-DIR-3PASS COP=EXCL
 ti7 s=nas sqwál'-min-em.
 that.VIS NMLZ=go report-RLT-3PASS
 ...then the Chinaman would have beaten him, tied him up, and
 then gone and squealed on him.
- (223) nilh zam' s=n-7'an'was
 COP after.all NMLZ=LOC-two
 i=n-t'uts-laqín-n-as.
 when.PAST=LOC-get.chopped-top.of.head-DIR-3ERG
 So there were two of them when they chopped his head.
- (224) nílh=hem' ti7 tsúw7-i
 COP=ANTI that.VIS own-3PL.POSS
 sqwé•qw•el', kwas
 tell•CRED• DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 n-t'uts-laqín-n-as,
 LOC-get.chopped-top.of.head-DIR-3ERG
 t'uts-laqín-n-ítas
 get.chopped-top.of.head-DIR-3PL.ERG
 ta=tsánemen=a wi=snílh.
 DET=Chinese.person=EXIS PL=3SG.INDEP
 That's their own story, that they chopped the Chinaman in the
 head themselves.

Paul Spintlum's Capture

- (225) wá7=hem', wá7=wit=malh ken=ts7á, ts'íla
 IPFV=ANTI be=3PL=ADHORT around=this.VIS like
 ku=pá<7>cw.
 DET=give.up<INCH>

They stayed around here and got kind of bored.

- (226) pa<7>cw=wít ken=ts7á, nílh=t'u7
 give.up<INCH>=3PL around=this.VIS COP=EXCL
 s=ts'ítem elh... ti7
 NMLZ=go.towards and.then that.VIS
 ti=wa7=s=*Paul Spintlum*, ts'íla ti7
 DET=IPFV=NMLZ=*Paul Spintlum* like that.VIS
 kw=s=nlhakáp-mec.
 DET=NMLZ=Thompson-person

They got bored around here, so they went towards... Paul Spintlum was kind of a Thompson Indian.

- (227) nílh=t'u7 s=ts'ítem=i (ku...)
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=go.towards=3PL.POSS DET
 áku7 Merritt=a, cw7it áku7
 to+there.INVIS Merritt=EXIS many to+there.INVIS
 i=7ucwalmícw=a.
 PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS

So they went towards Merritt, there are a lot of Indians there.

- (228) tsut ta=núkw=a n=s=qan'ím,
 say DET=other=EXIS ISG.POSS=NMLZ=hear
 xil-em=wít=ku7=tu7 lh=t'áq'=wit=as
 do-MID=3PL=QUOT=REM COMP=cross.over=3PL=3SBJV
 láku7 Spence's Bridge
 at+there.INVIS Spence's Bridge
 l=ta=ntqwíxw=a.
 at=DET=bridge=EXIS

Another person I heard from said they did the same thing when they crossed the bridge at Spence's Bridge.

- (229) qelhm•ém•en' ku=smúlhats
 old•CRED• DET=woman
 i=s-yáx-s=a
 PL.DET=NMLZ-get.dressed-3POSS=EXIS
 ta=pá•pl7=a, qelhm•ém•en' sqaycw.
 DET=IRED•one=EXIS old•CRED• man

One was dressed as an old woman, and the other dressed as an old man.

- (230) t'ák=wi7 sip'.
 go.along=EMPH bent
 They went along, bent over.

- (231) lan wa7 gap.
 already IPFV evening
 It was already night.

- (232) tsun-tanemwít=ku7
 say+DIR-3PL.PASS=QUOT
 ta=wa7=s-(7ats'x-s-tánem[wit]...)
 DET=IPFV=STAT-get.seen-CAUS-3PL.PASS
 ats'x-s-táli láti7 s-kán=as
 get.seen-CAUS-NTS at+there.VIS STAT-whether=3SBJV
 kw=s=t'aq'=s icwlh.
 DET=NMLZ=cross.over=3POSS different

They (the outlaws, in disguise) were told by the person watching the bridge to look out for any stranger crossing.

- (233) “cúy=malh, cuy nas ílhen,” wa7
 go.on=ADHORT go.on go eat IPFV
 um'en-tánemwít=ku7 ta=pál7=a
 be.given-DIR-3PL.PASS=QUOT DET=one=EXIS
 sqlaw', “nas ílhen (wa7) áti7,
 money go eat IPFV to+there.VIS
 plan=lhkal'áp=k'a wa7 tayt
 already=2PL.SBJ=EPIS IPFV hungry
 lhel=kw7á lh=ts7ás=al'ap.”
 from=this.INVIS COMP=come=2PL.SBJV

The watcher said to Moses Paul and Paul Spintlum (in disguise), “Go and eat!” They were given a dollar. “Go and eat! You guys must be hungry from where you came from.”

- (234) tsun-tanemwít=t'u7, wa7=hém'=iz'
 say+DIR-3PL.PASS=EXCL IPFV=ANTI=those.VIS
 wi=snílh.
 PL=3SG.INDEP

That's what they were told, but it was really them.

- (235) nílh=t'u7 s=t'áq'=i, tsícw=wit
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=cross.over=3PL.POSS get.there=3PL
 áku7 ken=ki=nk'saytken-í=ha,
 to+there.INVIS around=PL.DET=relative-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 lhláku7=malh zam'
 from+there.INVIS=ADHORT after.all
 (e)lh=kwan-tanemwítas e=s=Old
 COMP=take+DIR-3PL.OBJ+NTS OBL=NMLZ=Old

Major.

Major

So they crossed over and went to stay with their relatives, and that's where they were taken in by Old Major.

- (236) nílh=ni7... s=plán=s=k'a wa7 *four*
 COP=that.ABS NMLZ=already=3POSS=EPIS IPFV four
years áti7 kwas
 years to+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 s-xíl-em-i, káku7
 NMLZ-do-MID-3PL.POSS around+there.INVIS
 lhas wa7.
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV be

It had been four years that they had been doing that, when they were staying around there.

- (237) stám'=as=k'a ku=*year*, 1915=k'a 16 pináni7?
 what=3SBJV=EPIS DET=year 1915=EPIS 16 at.that.time
 What year was that, 1915 or 16 at that time?

- (238) k'a lh=p'a7cw=ás láti7 sxek wa7,
 EPIS COMP=more.than=3SBJV at+there.VIS maybe be
 nílh=t'u7 stexw wa7 ti7 kán-em
 COP=EXCL real be that.VIS do.what-MID
 pináni7 kw=s=1912 lh=kel7=ás
 at.that.time DET=NMLZ=1912 COMP=first=3SBJV
 zuqw-s-twítas na=plísmen=a.
 die-CAUS-3PL.ERG ABS.DET=policeman=EXIS
 Maybe it's a little bit later than that, it was 1912 when they killed
 the policeman.

- (239) láku7=malh aylh lhwas
 at+there.INVIS=ADHORT then COMP+IPFV+3POSS
 kwan-tanemwítas e=s=Major.
 take+DIR-3PL.OBJ+NTS OBL=NMLZ=Major
 So that's when Major took them in.

- (240) S-7ats'x-cal=hém'=ni7
 NMLZ-get.seen-ACT=ANTI=that.ABS
 na=skwátsits-s=a, úcwalmicw-ts.
 ABS.DET=name-3POSS=EXIS indigenous.person-mouth
 S7áts'xcal ('Watchman') was his Indian name.

- (241) “ao kw=s,” tsut, “cw7ao
 NEG DET=NMLZ say NEG
 kw=n=s=cuz’ kwan
 DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=going.to take+DIR
 (i...) i=wa7=s-xáq²-s
 PL.DET PL.DET=IPFV=NMLZ-pay-3POSS
 ta=kýpmen=a, wa7 tsún-itas
 DET=government=EXIS IPFV say+DIR-3PL.ERG
 wa7 *reward.*”
 IPFV reward

Old Major said, “I’m not going to take money from the government.”

- (242) “cuz’ qwez-n-ém [ta]=n-tsuw7=a
 going.to get.used-DIR-IPL.ERG DET=ISG.POSS-OWN=EXIS
 sqlaw’ k’wálh-cal ku=lówya.”
 money call.on-ACT DET=lawyer
 “We’re going to use my own money and hire a lawyer.”

- (243) nílh=t’u7 ay[lh] k[w]=s=xíl-em=s.
 COP=EXCL then DET=NMLZ=do-MID=3POSS
 So that’s what he did.

Court Evidence

- (244) t’u7 láw=tu7 ta=pá•pl7=a.
 but get.hung=REM DET=IREDO•one=EXIS
 But one of the outlaws got hung anyways.

- (245) tsúkw=t'u7 ti7 [ku]=law-an-táli,
 finish=EXCL that.VIS DET=get.hung-*DIR-NTS*
 tsúkw=t'u7 ti7... sqwal'-en-ás=t'u7
 finish=EXCL that.VIS report-*DIR-3ERG=EXCL*
 kw=s=7ucwalmícw=s
 DET=NMLZ=indigenous.person=3POSS
 n-pzán-as i=(kwa)tsúkw=as
 LOC-meet+*DIR-3ERG* when.PAST=finish=3SBJV
 láti7 lh=zúqw-s=as
 at+there.VIS COMP=die-CAUS=3SBJV
 ta=plísmen=a.
 DET=policeman=EXIS

The hangman was the only one whom he (Spintlum) told that he met an Indian after he had killed the policeman.

- (246) tí7=hem' kw=s=Qáqis,
 that.VIS=ANTI DET=NMLZ=Qáqis[Moses.Paul]
 cw7ao láti7 kw=s=wá7=s,
 NEG at+there.VIS DET=NMLZ=be=3POSS
 nká7=as=k'a lh=tsícw=as, wa7
 where=3SBJV=EPIS COMP=get.there=3SBJV IPFV
 klh-aw's-ílç=wit lhas
 take.off-collective-AUT=3PL COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 nukw.
 other

But Moses Paul, he wasn't there, he was someplace else, sometimes they split up.

- (247) qwatsáts=k'a=malh láti7 kw=s=*Paul*
 leave=EPIS=ADHORT at+there.VIS DET=NMLZ=Paul

Spintlum.

Spintlum

Paul Spintlum must have left from there.

- (248) nílh=t'u7 s... wá7=k'a áku7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ be=EPIS to+there.INVIS
 ku=wa7=*Meadow* *Lake* láku7, *Beaver*
 DET=IPFV=Meadow Lake at+there.INVIS Beaver

Dam n-scwákwekw.

Dam ISG.POSS-heart

He went to Meadow Lake, or Beaver Dam, I think.

- (249) t'ak áku7 ta=lhxwálus-em=a c.wállh.
 go.along to+there.INVIS DET=shortcut-MID=EXIS road

A shortcut road runs along there.

- (250) nilh láku7 s=t'ak=s n-matq,
 COP at+there.INVIS NMLZ=go.along=3POSS LOC-walk
 nilh n-pzán-as ta=7ucwalmícw=a,
 COP LOC-meet+DIR-3ERG DET=indigenous.person=EXIS

lhláku7-mec ti7.

from+there.INVIS-people that.VIS

He was walking along, and he met a person from there.

- (251) nílh=t'u7 [s]=sqwál'-en-as, tsún-as,
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=report-DIR-3ERG say+DIR-3ERG
 “qus-cit=kán=tu7 na=plísmen=a
 shoot-IND=ISG.SBJ=REM ABS.DET=policeman=EXIS
 l=kw7a.”
 at=this.INVIS

He told him, “I shot a policeman over there.”

- (252) nílh=malh ti7 ku=7úcwalmicw...
 COP=ADHORT that.VIS DET=indigenous.person
 sqwal', kw=s=tsún-em áku7
 report DET=NMLZ=say+DIR-3PASS to+there.INVIS
 s=*Paul Spintlum* kw=s=qús-cit-as
 NMLZ=Paul Spintlum DET=NMLZ=shoot-IND-3ERG
 ku=7úcwalmicw, káku7
 DET=indigenous.person around+there.INVIS
 plísmen, kwa=zús-cal.
 policeman DET+IPFV=get.tied.up-ACT

That was the Indian who testified that Paul Spintlum told him that he had shot someone, a policeman.

- (253) tsúkw=t'u7 ti7 cman'ún'-s
 finish=EXCL that.VIS opponent-3POSS
 i=tsícw=as [ta]=kotháws=a.
 when.PAST=get.there=3SBJV DET=court=EXIS

He was the only one who testified against him when it came to trial.

George Carson's Story: How Cultus Jack Got His Name

- (254) cw7it kw=s=kotháws=i, ni[lh] s=*Henderson*,
 many DET=NMLZ=court=3PL.POSS COP NMLZ=*Henderson*
 wa7 s=*Stewart Henderson* múta7 s=*Costello*,
 IPFV NMLZ=*Stewart Henderson* and NMLZ=*Costello*
old Henry Costello, nilh iz' *lawyer*
 old Henry Costello COP those.VIS lawyer
 k'wálh-an'-as, s=*judge*-cal.
 call.on-DIR-3ERG STAT-judge-ACT

There were a lot of trials, and Stewart Henderson and Old Henry Costello were the lawyers he (Old Major) hired, they were the judges.

- (255) k'wín=as=k'a ku=skotháws,
 how.many=3SBJV=EPIS DET=court
 i=ken-tákem=a lh=tsícw=wit=as
 PL.DET=around-all=EXIS COMP=get.there=3PL=3SBJV
 kotháws, k'wín=as=k'a ku=*sappeals*,
 court how.many=3SBJV=EPIS DET=*appeals*
 wa7 tsún-itas, l=kw7ú=malh
 IPFV say+DIR=3PL.ERG at=that.INVIS=ADHORT
 wesmínsth=a.
 Westminster=EXIS

There were a lot of trials, people came from all over for the trials, and there were many “appeals”, as they call them, over at New Westminster.

- (256) nílh=ti7 nukw sqwé•qw•el'-s s=*George*
 COP=that.VIS other tell•CRED•-3POSS NMLZ=*George*

Carson, ni=wa7=tuwítnes.

Carson ABS.DET=IPFV=witness

That's another story, from *George Carson*, who was a witness.

- (257) tsicw-ts-mín-em=ku7 kw=s=*Cultus* *Jack*.
 get.there-mouth-RLT-3PASS=QUOT DET=NMLZ=*Cultus* *Jack*

Cultus *Jack* was brought to testify.

- (258) tsún-em=ku7 kw=s=*Cultus* *Jack*:
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT DET=NMLZ=*Cultus* *Jack*

They said to *Cultus* *Jack*:

- (259) “*Cultus* *Jack*, síma7 tálh-lec, sqwal’
Cultus *Jack* come stand-AUT report

ku=száyten-su.”

DET=doings-2SG.POSS

“*Cultus* *Jack*, come here, stand up, report on what you were doing.”

- (260) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsut=s ta=*judge*=a:
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS DET=*judge*=EXIS

They say that this is what the judge said:

- (261) “*Cultus Jack*, cw7áoz=ha=ti7 kw=s...
 Cultus Jack NEG=Q=that.VIS DET=NMLZ
 cw7áoz=ha=ti7 kw=s=qv|=s,
 NEG=Q=that.VIS DET=NMLZ=bad=3POSS
 l=ku=s7ucwalmícw-ts kwa=*Cultus*?”
 at=DET=indigenous.person-mouth DET+IPFV=Cultus
 The judge said, “Cultus Jack, doesn’t ‘cultus’ mean ‘bad’ in your language?”

- (262) tsút=ku7 kw=s=*Cultus* *Jack*, “oh yes, yes, judge,
 say=QUOT DET=NMLZ=Cultus Jack oh yes yes judge
sure, that’s ‘bad’.”
 sure that’s bad

And Cultus Jack said, “Oh, yes, yes, judge, sure, that’s ‘bad’.”

- (263) tsún-em=ku7 ta=*judge*=a, “kán-em
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT DET=judge=EXIS do.what-MID
 sas nilh izá um’en-ítas
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS COP these.VIS be.given-DIR-3PL.ERG
 skwátsits-su?”
 name-2SG.POSS

And the judge asked him, “Why did they give you that name?”

- (264) múta7 s=tsún-as ta=*judge*=a, “u,
 and NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG DET=judge=EXIS oh
 i=wán tw’íw’t, pápt=kan
 when.PAST=IPFV+ISG.SBJV boy always=ISG.SBJ
 wa7 n’ás-min’ i=smelh•múlhats=a.”
 IPFV go-RLT PL.DET=TRED•woman=EXIS

And he told the judge, “Oh, when I was a boy, I always used to chase women.”

- (265) “nílh=t’u7 s=tsún-ts-as
COP=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG
i=[n]-nk’sáytken=a, ‘*Cultus Jack*.’”
PL.DET=ISG.POSS-relative=EXIS Cultus Jack
“That’s why my relatives call me Cultus Jack.”
- (266) áti7 lh=tsem’p=ás=ti7. (t)⁴⁰
to+there.VIS COMP=get.finished=3SBJV=that
That’s where it ends.

⁴⁰The final (t) indicates a word which was started and not finished, due to the recording being broken off.

CHAPTER IO

Big Frank Big Frank

10.1 English (as told by Sam Mitchell himself)

I'm gonna tell another story about this big Indian. When he gets a few drinks he gets kind of rough, and he was a really big man. And he doesn't care for, it seems, for nobody, whether it's a policeman or anybody else.

This time he was drinking and went into this little town, this town they call here Lillooet. And them days it wasn't too many people, and these guys, the policeman and there were some other white guys, they were playing crib in this one particular hotel. And somebody come in and he says, he said "The Colt is raising heck down at the other end." This man, this Indian, they call him Big Frank. Or he's nicknamed him The Colt, I don't know how he got the name, but they always called him The Colt. And from this one particular guy, it was there, he told me the story after, and this policeman, his name was Bob Hume. He got up, he put his coat on, and he said, well he swore, and he says, "I'm gonna fix that, that fellow this time that he wouldn't bother anybody anymore."

So he went out and that's the story that I get from this man, this white man that was sitting there playing crib with him. He says he went for quite

a while, he says, oh, half an hour or more. He says he come back, he took his coat off, he sit down at the table, and he start to play crib. Then he repeated the word, he says, "I fixed him, he'll never bother anybody anymore."

Now, after that, this Indian that the policeman shot, he knew, he says, "I seen Bob Hume coming." That, this is his story, the Indian that was shot by the policeman. The policeman, he didn't, when he came back, he didn't tell anybody that he shot him, but he says, "I just fixed him, he wouldn't bother anybody anymore."

But this is the Indian's story, the one, the big Indian that was shot by the policeman. He says, "I seen him, I know it's Bob Hume coming," he says, well, he was feeling good, and he says, "If you wanna fight, well..." He doesn't give a damn if you kick him in the head, and it doesn't matter what you do to him, he don't feel it. And he said, before he come too close enough, he says, "I seen him, he took his coat off." That's what, that's the Indian's story. "He took his coat off and," he says, "he swung his coat." And he says, "I was just," well all he figures, just to grab that white man and he'll just twist him up. And he says, "He threwed his coat on my face." Then he says, "The next thing I heard sort of a concussion in my head." And he says, "Then I feel it." He says, "I pushed his coat off of my head," and he says, "I seen him walking away." He says, "I feel something, my head was hot." So he says, "I know he shot me in the head."

And he told me this story himself, this Big Frank, and he says, "You see right here is where he hit me." From his right ear. There's a little nubble on the ear, just where the ear, where you can hear. That part of it was off, but the bullet never come out no place.

Well anyways, he said, and that's his story, he says, "I went and I went..." towards his home, it was about two miles from this town, there was another reservation there. But he had to swim a pretty good size, well, you'd call it, almost call it a river, yet it's still pretty high. And he says, "I swum that river and when I got to the other side," he says, "I hang onto the bushes and I got cooled down. When I cooled down, well I climbed the bank and I went home. So when I got to my house, I went to sleep."

After that, this policeman, he was listening around, I guess, when The Colt's funeral will be, but somebody told, he was asking around, somebody

told him, "He's not dead, he's walking around!" At the same time, this policeman, he quit the police force and he went away. This year would be around about, I figure around about 1902, 1902 or 3, somewheres around then. This policeman he was, he come from his home town in the first place, around Westminster. And this railroad, it's here now, come in here about 19-, it started about 1912 or 13. And this, this Bob Hume came up on this town, he knew this town in the first place, but it's..., this railroad comes through a pretty rough country between Squamish and into Lillooet, that's where it first started to open out in these ranches. So Bob Hume come here as a printer. And that's this Indian, that's his story. He told me this story himself.

He says, "I was sitting right here, and," he says, "this white man come along and he stood in front of me and he said, he says to me, he says, 'You're Big Frank?'" he says, "I told him, 'Yes, that's what some people calls me.'" And the white man says, "You know me?" "No, I don't know you." And the white man says, said to this Indian, "You know Bob Hume?" And the Indian says, "Oh, yeah, yeah, Bob Hume. You Bob Hume, eh? You the man shoot me right here, you see?." This is his own story to me. He says, "Bob Hume, you the man shoot me right here. Now Bob Hume, I'm getting old," he says, "I no mad you, you shoot me, you no kill me. I no mad you, Bob." That's the story he repeat to me. He's a relation of mine and I know him well. And he told us, he told Bob Hume, he says, "You shoot me right here in my ear? That bullet, he stop here, behind my head, he not come out." And Bob Hume says, "Okay, Frank." (Hey she cans, hey she cans to me, shesh cans, okay.¹) He says, Bob Hume says, Come on."

So he says, "I follow this white man, and he take me to the store and he told the storekeeper, he says, 'You dress this man up. Two suits of underwear, right up.' And this man is a big man, takes lots of clothes. And he says, 'He gave me a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes, hat, and everything else.' He says, 'Oh, Frank, okay Frank.'" He says, "I told him, 'Thank you, Bob. Thank you, Bob.' He says, 'Okay, I'll wear that till I die.'" And he says, well, he says "He shoot me, and he didn't kill me. What's the use of

¹The passage in parentheses is unclear.

Big Frank

getting mad? That's quite a while ago. That's about, over, that's about over ten years ago by this, before I meet again, you see? From the time he shot him before I meet again. Maybe ten, eleven years."

So that's a pretty good story. This story I know by myself because I was told from the man that was shot. And the men, the people that knew when the policeman went out... (I'm gonna finish here...). And I'll repeat that again in Indian, later.

10.2 St'át'imcets

I'll go and repeat this in Indian now, the way this, Big Frank, when the policeman was coming. Tsut:

“Tsútkan, áts'xenlhkan ta plísmena, nilh ti7 sBob Hume,” o... Nilh stsúnas sBob Hume, “Ts7áskacw ha ts'níqwents?”

This story about Big Frank, I'm gonna use the Indian language he uses and some will be mixed with English. I don't know how far I went. When he seen the policeman coming and he said to him, “Bob Hume? That's you Bob Hume, you gonna fight?” And he said in his own language:

“Ta sáw'ta,” tsut, “ta sáw'ta, ts7as t'u7 lhláta7, nilh t'u7 skelhenás ti kapúhsa. Nilh t'u7 nstsut, 'Cuz' ts'níqwentsas.” *He seen the policeman take his coat off and he said he's going to fight me. He doesn't care how much you hit him, that's why you club him with a stick, he don't feel it.*

“T'íqalmen t'u7,” tsut, “nilh t'u7 sts'áq'usentsas ta kapúhsa. *He throwed his coat on my face,*” and he says, “*the next thing I know,*” that's when he felt that he was shot in the head. “Ta sáw'ta nqusqwán'tsas,” tsut.

“Kelhenlhkán,” tsut, “kelhenlhkán, cíkin'lhkan ta kapúha, plan qwat-sáts.” *He said when he throw the coat down, he seen the policeman walking away. In his own language, and he says:*

“Ts7áskan t'u7 lákw7a nsel'kpús. Alánlhkan na nq'úmçena kw sél'péks.” *Now when he was shot through the ear he didn't fell down, so he must've stood up but he felt it. He says, “I felt my ear was hot.” So then, the best thing he could do, he says: “Cúy'lhkan úxwal'. I'm going home.” So he went home, he went though the trail and he, when he got to this river, that's Cayoose Creek, that's when he swum this river and...*

Tsut, “Kamúllhkana lta qú7a. Lha7qskán, nilh t'u7 láti7 nstekwe-qwám' lki múlca. *I hang onto the bushes. After awhile I got cooled down. Kinda cleared up.* Ka7amalhkána. Nilh t'u7 ns7úxwal'. Tsícwkan ntsítcwa, nilh nskítslec.”

Right there, he, when he got to his people, he never even told anybody in that house what happened. He was laying around for a few days and his head got cleared up, but his own story, he told me himself. He said only in the summertime when it's hot, he says, “I can feel that thing, that

Big Frank

lead behind my head. That gets very hot.” And he’s... that lead stayed in his head until he died, around, I think the old fellow he passed away in 1919 if I remember right, I’m not very far off. That’s a pretty good story, that part, and that part is....

10.3 English (Direct Translation)

I'll go and repeat this in Indian now, the way this, Big Frank, when the policeman was coming. He said:

"I thought, I saw a policeman, that was Bob Hume." He said to Bob Hume, "Are you gonna come fight me?"

This story about Big Frank I'm gonna use the Indian language he uses and some will be mixed with English. I don't know how far I went. When he seen the policeman coming and he said to him "Bob Hume? That's you Bob Hume, you gonna fight?" And he said in his own language:

"This guy," he said, "This guy comes over, and then he takes his coat off. Then I said, 'He's going to fight me.'" *He seen the policeman take his coat off and he said, "He's going to fight me." He doesn't care how much you hit him, that's why you club him with a stick, he don't feel it.*

"He had almost reached me," he said, "and then he threw his coat in my face. *He throwed his coat on my face,*" and he says, "the next thing I know," *that's when he felt that he was shot in the head,* "the guy shot me in the head," he said.

"I took off the coat," he said, "I took off the coat, I pushed the coat away, he had already left." *He said when he throw the coat down, he seen the policeman walking away. In his own language, and he says:*

"I started feeling kind of dizzy. I felt my head get dizzy." *Now when he was shot through the ear he didn't fell down, so he must've stood up but he felt it. He says, "I felt my ear was hot." So then, the best thing he could do, he says: "I'm going home. I'm going home." So he went home, he went though the trail and he, when he got to this river, that's Cayoose Creek, that's when he swum this river and...*

He said, "I got into the water. I got across to the other side, then I cooled my head in the bushes. *I hang onto the bushes. After awhile I got cooled down. Kinda cleared up.* I felt better. So I went home. I went to my house, then I laid down."

Right there, he, when he got to his people, he never even told anybody in that house what happened. He was laying around for a few days and his head got cleared up, but his own story, he told me himself. He said,

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“Only in the summertime when it’s hot,” he says, “I can feel that thing, that lead behind my head. That gets very hot.” And he’s... that lead stayed in his head until he died, around, I think the old fellow he passed away in 1919 if I remember right, I’m not very far off. That’s a pretty good story, that part, and that part is....

10.4 Interlinear Gloss

(1) *I'll go and repeat this in Indian now, the way this, Big Frank, when the policeman was coming.*

(2) tsut, “tsút=kan, áts’x-en=lhkan ta=plísmen=a,
say say=ISG.SBJ get.seen-DIR=ISG.SBJ DET=policeman=EXIS
nílh=ti7 s=Bob Hume,” o:...
COP=that.VIS NMLZ=Bob Hume oh

He said, “I thought, I saw a policeman, that was Bob Hume.”

(3) [nílh] s=tsún-as s=Bob Hume, (s)
COP NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG NMLZ=Bob Hume
“ts7ás=kacw ha ts’níqw-en-ts?”
come=2SG.SBJ Q fight-DIR-1SG.OBJ

He said to Bob Hume, “Are you gonna come fight me?”

(4) *This story about Big Frank I'm gonna use the Indian language he uses and some will be mixed with English. I don't know how far I went. When he seen the policeman coming and he said to him, “Bob Hume? That's you Bob Hume, you gonna fight?” And he said in his own language:*

(5) “ta=sáw’t=a,” tsut, “ta=sáw’t=a,’ ts7ás=t’u7
DET=slave=EXIS say DET=slave=EXIS come=EXCL
lhláta7, nílh=t’u7 s=kelh-en-ás
from+there COP=EXCL NMLZ=come.off-DIR-3ERG
ti=kapúh-s=a.”
DET=coat-3POSS=EXIS

“This guy,” he said, “This guy comes over, and then he takes his coat off.”

- (6) “nílh=t’u7 n=s=tsut, ‘cuz’
 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=say going.to
 ts’níqw-en-ts-as.”
 fight-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG

“Then I said, ‘He’s going to fight me.’ ”

- (7) *He seen the policeman take his coat off and he said, “He’s going to fight me.” He doesn’t care how much you hit him, that’s why you club him with a stick, he don’t feel it.*

- (8) “t’íq-almen=t’u7,” tsut, “nílh=t’u7
 arrive-almost=EXCL say COP=EXCL
 s=ts’áq’-us-en-ts-as
 NMLZ=throw-face-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG

ta=kapúh-s=a.”

DET=coat-3POSS=EXIS

“He had almost reached me,” he said, “and then he threw his coat in my face.”

- (9) *“He threwed his coat on my face,” and he says, “the next thing I know,” that’s when he felt that he was shot in the head...*

- (10) “ta=sáw’t=a n-qus-qw-án’-ts-as,” tsut.
 DET=slave=EXIS LOC-shoot-head-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG say

“The guy shot me in the head,” he said.

- (11) “kelh-en=lhkán,” tsut, “kelh-en=lhkán,
 come.off-DIR=ISG.SBJ say come.off-DIR=ISG.SBJ
 cík-in’=lhkan ta=kapúh=a, plan
 get.pushed-DIR=ISG.SBJ DET=coat=EXIS already
 qwatsáts.”
 leave
 “I took off the coat,” he said, “I took off the coat, I pushed the coat away, he had already left.”
- (12) *He said when he throw the coat down, he seen the policeman walking away. In his own language, and he says:*
- (13) “ts7ás=kan=t’u7 lák7a n-sel’k-p-ús.”
 begin=ISG.SBJ=EXCL at+there.INVIS LOC-dizzy-INCH-face
 “I started feeling kind of dizzy.”
- (14) “alán=lhkan na=n-q’úmçen=a
 feel+DIR=ISG.SBJ ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-head=EXIS
 kw=s=sél’p’ek=s.”
 DET=NMLZ=dizzy•CRED•=3POSS
 “I felt my head get dizzy.”
- (15) *Now when he was shot through the ear he didn’t fell down, so he must’ve stood up but he felt it. He says, “I felt my ear was hot.” So then, the best thing he could do, he says:*
- (16) “cúy’=lhkan úxwal’.”
 going.to=ISG.SBJ go.home
 “I’m going home.”
- (17) *“I’m going home.” So he went home, he went though the trail and he, when he got to this river, that’s Cayoose Creek, that’s when he swum this river and...*

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- (18) tsut, “ka-múl=lhkan-a l=ta=qú7=a.”
 say CIRC-be.in.water=ISG.SBJ-CIRC at=DET=water=EXIS
 He said, “I got into the water.”
- (19) “lha7-q̣s=kán, nílh=t’u7 láti7
 close.to-point=ISG.SBJ COP=EXCL at+there.VIS
 n=s=tekw-eqw-ám’
 ISG.POSS=NMLZ=calm.down-head-MID
 l=ki=múlc=a.”
 at=PL.DET=stick=EXIS
 “I got across to the other side, then I cooled my head in the bushes.”
- (20) *“I hang onto the bushes. After awhile I got cooled down. Kinda cleared up.”*
- (21) “ka-7ama=lhkán-a.”
 CIRC-good=ISG.SBJ-CIRC
 “I felt better.”
- (22) “nílh=t’u7 n=s=7úxwal’.”
 COP=EXCL ISG.POSS=NMLZ=go.home
 “So I went home.”
- (23) “tsícw=kan n-tsícw=a, ni[lh]
 get.there=ISG.SBJ ISG.POSS-house=EXIS COP
 n=s=kíts-lec.”
 ISG.POSS=NMLZ=get.laid.down-AUT
 “I went to my house, then I laid down.”
- (24) *Right there, he, when he got to his people, he never even told anybody in that house what happened. He was laying around for a few days and his head got cleared up, but his own story, he*

told me himself. He said, "Only in the summertime when it's hot," he says, "I can feel that thing, that lead behind my head. That gets very hot." And he's... that lead stayed in his head until he died, around, I think the old fellow he passed away in 1919 if I remember right, I'm not very far off. That's a pretty good story, that part, and that part is

CHAPTER II

Iwás tig'wáy'a i ucwalmícwa láku7 Kamloopsa When the Indians Ran Foot Races at Kamloops

11.1 English (as told by Sam Mitchell himself)

I'm gonna tell a little story about the Indians, they always gather. So this time there was a gathering in Kamloops, and when a bunch of Indians get together there's some kind of a game or foot race or lahal game of some kind. There's always some kind of a sports.

This time, somebody had a whole plug of tobacco. Tobacco, for Indians, is always valuable. So they bet a stick, put the plug of tobacco up, and this was not a short distance, it's... the way they tell about it, it sounds to me as if it's about a mile in a circle, a track about a mile long.

So quite a few Indians get together and we run. The first one, well, the prize was stuck on a stick right on the track. The first one comes, gets it,

you see. On this... one, one big Indian, he's a big clumsy bugger and they say he's a... nobody knows he can run, but he joined the crowd.

Everybody started, there were some pretty good runners. And when they come around, the first one, he was gonna grab for the tobacco, he missed it, and this big clumsy, big Indian, he was the second one and he got ahold of the tobacco, so he got the prize. Now I'm gonna repeat it in Indian.

11.2 St'át'imcets

Lhas úl'lus i ucwalmícwa, papt t'u7 wa7 wa7 i wa7 tig'wáy'a, i wa7 lhek-máw'as, stám'as t'u7 ku száyten. Wa7 sqíl'qel'twit kwas wa7 kwa ts'íla wa7 kwa cman', cmán'mintwal' kwas, *well, any game, it's different. Yeah*, s7icwlh t'u7 kwas s7icwlhúlm'ecw.

S7icwlhúlm'ecw izá, nilh t'u7 ti7 sreps ta pal7áw'scena sman'c. Lhek'w lta múlca ti7 t.smán'ca, rep láti7 lta st'ákxa wa7 cuz' q'ílhil.

Nilh t'u7 s.... xzum ti7 ts7a ku sqaycw, wa7 ts'íla ku xmark ku s7áts'xtens. Nilh t'u7 s7ulhcws. Nilh sq'elhq'ílhili. Cw7it láti7 wa7 gélgel wa7 q'ílhil. Wa7 tsúnem wi snímulh wa7 “tig'way'abán”.

T'ak ku7 t'u7 ta kél7a t'u7, cuz' kwánas ta smán'ca, nilh t'u7 scik'aka7mínas. K'ámalh ts7a ta xzúma (wa7 qláw'em ku kul wa7 kwanen¹) nilh ti7 lhá7lh7amc, kwánas t.smán'ca, kaxpék'wsasa. Nilh t'u7 snilh ta t'cúma.

¹This section of the recording is unclear. It is worth noting however that the word “clumsy”, which is prominent at this point in the story in Sam Mitchell's English rendition, has no direct correspondent in our transcription of the St'át'imcets, and so it is possible that Sam uses a form similar to *qvláoka7* 'clumsy' here.

11.3 English (Direct Translation)

When the people get together, there are always footraces, and lahal, and all kinds of activities. They enjoy it when there are kind of like competitions, they compete against each other, *well, any game, it's different. Yeah, it's different in different places.*

These people were from a different place, so they put up a plug of tobacco. The tobacco was pinned to a stick which was set up in the path of the runners.

There was this big man who kind of looked really heavy. So he entered the race. Then they ran. There were a lot of strong runners there. We call them the "running men".

The first one that went by, he was going to take the tobacco, but then he missed it with his hand. But the big money maker there, he was the closest person, he took the tobacco, he caught it. And it was him that won.

11.4 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) lhas úl'•lus
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV gather•FRED
 i=7ucwalmícw=a, pápt=t'u7 wa7
 PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS always=EXCL IPFV
 wa7 (i=wá7...) i=wa7=tig'wáy'a,
 be PL.DET=IPFV PL.DET=IPFV=foot.race
 i=wa7=lhekmáw'as, stám'=as=t'u7
 PL.DET=IPFV=play.lahal what=3SBJV=EXCL
 ku=száyten.
 DET=doings

When the people get together, there are always footraces, and lahal, and all kinds of activities.

- (2) wa7 s-qíl'•qel't=wit kwas
 IPFV STAT-TRED•have.fun=3PL DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 wa7 kwa=ts'íla wa7 kwa=cmán'...
 be DET+IPFV=like be DET+IPFV=enemy

They enjoy it when there are kind of like competitions...

- (3) ...cmán'-min-twal' kwas, *well, any*
 enemy-RLT-RECP DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS well any
game, it'[s] different.
 game it's different

...they compete against each other, well, any game, it's different.

- (4) *yeah, s7ícwlh=t'ú7 kwas*
 yeah different=EXCL DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 s7ícwlh-úlm'écw.
 different-land

Yeah, it's different in different places.

- (5) *s7ícwlh-úlm'écw izá, nilh=t'ú7=ti7*
 different-land these.VIS COP=EXCL=that.VIS
 s=rep=s ta=... pal7-áw'scen=a
 NMLZ=get.stood.up=3POSS DET=... one-knee=EXIS
 sman'c.
 tobacco

These people were from a different place, so they put up a plug of tobacco.

- (6) *lhék'w l=ta=múlc=a ti7*
 get.poked to=DET=stick=EXIS that.VIS
 t[a]=smán'c=a, rep láti7
 DET=tobacco=EXIS get.stood.up at+there.VIS
 l=ta=s=t'ák=s=a wa7 cuz'
 at=DET=NMLZ=go.along=3POSS=EXIS IPFV going.to
 q'ílhil.
 run

The tobacco was pinned to a stick which was set up in the path of the runners.

- (7) *nílh=t'ú7 s.... xzum ti7 ts7a ku=sqáycw,*
 COP=EXCL NMLZ big that.VIS this.VIS DET=man
 wa7 ts'íla ku=xmánk ku=s-7áts'x-ten-s.
 IPFV like DET=heavy DET=NMLZ-get.seen-INS-3POSS

There was this big man who kind of looked really heavy.

- (8) nílh=t'u7 s=7ulhcw=s.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=enter=3POSS
 So he entered the race.
- (9) nilh s=q'elh•q'ílhil=i.
 COP NMLZ=TRED•run=3PL.POSS
 Then they ran.
- (10) cw7it láti7 wa7 gélgel wa7 q'ílhil.
 many at+there.VIS IPFV strong IPFV run
 There were a lot of strong runners there.
- (11) wa7 tsún-em wi=snímulh wa7 tig'way'a-bán.
 IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG PL=IPL.INDEP IPFV foot.race-man
 We call them the “running men”.
- (12) t'ák=ku7=t'u7 ta=kél7=a=t'u7, cuz'
 go.along=QUOT=EXCL DET=first=EXIS=EXCL going.to
 kwán-as ta=smán'c=a, nílh=t'u7
 take+DIR-3ERG DET=tobacco=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=cik'-aka7-mín-as.
 NMLZ=miss.a.target-hand-RLT-3ERG
 The first one that went by, he was going to take the tobacco, but
 then he missed it with his hand.

lwás tig'wáy'a i ucwalmícwa láku7 Kamloopsa

- (13) k'amalh ts7a ta=xzúm=a... wa7 qláw'-em
however this.VIS DET=big=EXIS IPFV money-MID
ku=kul... nílh=ti7 lhá7•lh7-amc,
DET=gold COP=that.VIS TRED•close.to-person
kwán-as t=smán'c=a,
take+DIR-3ERG DET=tobacco=EXIS
ka-xpék'w-s-as-a.²
CIRC-catch.something-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC

But the big money maker there, he was the closest person, he took the tobacco, he caught it.

- (14) nílh=t'u7 snilh ta=t'cúm=a.
COP=EXCL 3SG.INDEP DET=win=EXIS

And it was him that won.

²The first half of this stanza has eluded all attempts at an accurate transcription and analysis. This is our best possible guess as to what Sam Mitchell is saying.

CHAPTER 12

Johnny Milgaw

Johnny Milgaw

12.1 English (as told by Sam Mitchell himself)

I'm gonna tell about how, so, people how ignorant some of us Indians around here, about this fellow, him and his wife used to go down in the States and pick berries, picking the berry fields. And this time, when they go to town, from Vashon Island into Seattle, well, Mary goes on his own, her own, and Johnny goes on his own.

And this particular Monday morning, Mary woke up, no Johnny, so she thought he must be in jail. Maybe he wouldn't be able to bail out. So, she takes the bus into Seattle, and when she got to Seattle, she got a cab into the jailhouse.

When she got to the jailhouse, she asked for Johnny Milgaw, and these people in there, they said, "No Johnny Milgaw here." And he says, well she bust in and she says, "You all open the doors for me, maybe he come in under a different name." So they opened the door for her. No Johnny Milgaw there.

And she went around all day, looking for him all over. Now these people, these Indians, they've been married for about 50 years, and she fig-

ured herself, she think it over and she says, well, she said to herself, that's her story, she figured, [s]he¹ says, "Johnny's not dead, maybe some of our friends from home might've come and maybe he went home. He'll be back, see."

So, she said she went to work, she went to work and on the seventh day when she come back from work, she had her cabin locked, and there was her Johnny sitting on the front of the cabin.

Well, the first words she said to him, [s]he says, "Where you been?"

And Johnny says, "I went to heaven."

And she told him, [s]he says, "It'll be just like you to go to heaven."

Well Johnny said, "Well, the last thing I know I was standing on the street with my partners, I had two partners, two drinking partners, and I don't know what happened from there."

"When I come to, when I wake up, this place where I was laying, everything was white, and the girls that was going around had little white caps, and everything was white and they started calling me by name." And he wondered how they found out his name, his name was Johnny Milgaw, so he thought, "Sure, this place, everything, you look down, down the whole ward, everything is white." And he started insist to go home. And these....

Now, this man has never been in a hospital in his life, he's never seen a hospital in his life, and that he thought sure he was in heaven, if anything else could've happened..., but he felt himself, he was alright, he seemed to be normal, he can eat, and he... Finally on the seventh day, they let him go. He thought he was pretty high up, but when he got out of there he was still on the ground. But I'm gonna repeat this in Indian, after.²

On this last word, I said here, I forgot to bring that up on the English. About three weeks later, after he come out of the hospital there, he got ahold of, he got a, on the mail, one big envelope, brown envelope. And

¹Sam Mitchell often uses the English pronouns 'he' and 'she' interchangeably, which is unsurprising given that Salish pronouns do not encode a gender distinction. We include the 's' in 'she' in brackets here to help the reader disambiguate the storyline.

²Sam Mitchell told the English material following this paragraph only after giving his St'át'imcets rendition, however since what follows is a continuation of the story, it seemed appropriate to include this material here.

he opened it, there was a cheque in it. He didn't know what it was, and he passed it around. He couldn't read, this man couldn't read. And he passed it around to the boys that can read, and he told him, "That's your name, Johnny Milgaw. Over two hundred dollars, from some insurance outfit." He didn't even know what insurance was, but, finally his wife told him, [s]he says, "You just as well cash it, everybody says that's your name. Maybe that's gonna be your fare back to heaven, if you get that money cashed!"

But what happened, he was standing on the street, on the, direct from the alleyway when a car backed out. And that's where he got hit. Them partners, when he did cash his cheque, his partners, he never did find them. I guess he was the only one that went to heaven and come back. This is quite a story, and this is true.

12.2 St'át'imcets

Now I'm gonna repeat this in Indian. Lts7a lhwas t'u7 wa7 *Saturday*, nilh t'u7 ses izá táowen. Tsícw wit ta táowna, nilh t'u7 ti7 ses t'u7 t'ák s*Johnny*, kentswása t'u7 hém' t'u7 t'ák, xílem kw s*Mary*. Tsicw s7úxwal's s*Mary*, nilh t'u7 s7úxwal's.

Psil' láti7, cw7a oz káti7 kw s*Johnny* kwas wa7. Nilh t'u7 stsut.s, "Nka7 tu7 k'a?" Nlhám'lec láti7 ta *busa*, tsicw ta *Seattle*, k'wálhcal ta *taxi*ha et7ú nk'á7mena.

Sawlhénmínas láta7 ta *Johnnysa*. Tsúnem ku7, "Aoz káti7 lts7a ku *Johnny Milgaw*." Tsut ku7, "Ha ets7á ta wa7 sknáku7? kazaq'íl skána kelh láku7 lhwas ku wa7 lku s7ícwllh skwátsits." Záq'il ku7 áku7 s7ulhcw. Cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 ku *Johnny*.

Nilh skáti7 swas cwíl'em, kénta táowna, kentsása zewátenas kwas tsicw. Cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 kwas áts'xenas. Nilh ku7 t'u7 ts7as ntsutánwas, aoz káti7 kwas tu7 zuqw, kwas xan'. Cw7aoy káti7, wa7 ka t'ú7 t'u7 kents7á ku snúk'wa7s ku áts'xenas. "Xek úxwal' k'á tu7. T'iq sqeks kalálas."

Nilh t'u7 sqwatsátss, nilh t'u7 stsicws, nilh *sstarts* kwas k'wezúsem, q'wlaw'em. Nas tu7 tsúlhaka7 sq'it, i tsulhák7a ets7á sq'it, ts7ás ku7 úxwal', wa7 láti7 sq'il'q kw s*Johnny*, sk'ém'tssa na *cabiní*ha.

Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsúnas s*Johnny*, "Nka7 lhucw tsicw?"

Tsut ku7 kw s*Johnny*, "Áku7 cá7a tmicw lhstícwan."

"O," tsúnas ku7, "Ts'íla7úl ta wa7 snúwa ta wa7 nas káku7 cá7a tmicw."

Tsut ku7 kw s*Johnny*, "Ta áw'ta wa7 zewátenan, wá7lhkálh láti7 lta *streeta* múta7 nelh wa7 npvtpáotna, nelh sám7a, n7án'was. Wá7lhkálh t'u7 tu7 láta7 qwel'qwal'él't. Cw7aoy t'u7 káti7 kw szewátenan múta7 lhláti7 ku hu7 stam'."

"Ts7áskan t'u7 cwak, tcúsemhkan. Lts7a ltenswá skítslec lta ngúy'ttena, tákem t'u7 stam' peq. I smelhmúlhatsa káti7 wa7 mám'teq, peq t'u7 syáxiha. Kantsutanwaskána nilh k'a wi7 ts7a wa7 cá7a tmicw. Tsukw t'u7 ta wa7 ka7ats'xsána kénki píktsha, káti7 lhas tsútwtit ku lišáos kwas est'aq'á7el'. Tsukw t'u7 lts7a sxlun's, cw7ao káti7 kwas est'aq'á7el' izá. Nahentsáalitas ta skwátsitsa. Ao kw nszewáten lhstám'as t'u7 kwas zewatet.stwítas. 'T'u7 plánlhkan t'u7 wa7 amawíl'c,' wá7lhkan tsuntaníhan,

‘Plánlhkan t’u7 amawí’c, Cúz’lhkan úxwal’.’ Tsuntsalítas aylh, ‘Cuy malh úxwal’.’ Úts’qa7lhkan lhláti7 t’u7 lts7a t’u7 lta *streeta* lhwá7an. Texw t’u7 ta gélgela ntsutánwas, wa7 ku wenácw t’u7, tsícwkan ku cá7a tmicw.”

“S7aw’t.s lhláti7, nas k’a tu7 kalhás xetspásq’et. Kwámemlhkan ta pípha. Cw7ao káti7 kwenswá zewáten ku ats’xal’íkst. Nilh t’u7 shal’acítkan káti7 ta twéww’eta wa7 *kareada*. Tsuntsalítas, ‘Tsuwa7sú t’u7 ti skwátsitsa láti7 ta smétsa. P’a7cw lkw7áwna wa7 nxetspqíqen’kst.s.’ Wá7lhkan tsut, ‘Cw7ao ti7 káti7 kwenswá gwe7ez’mín.’”

Wa7 tsúnem, “Tsuwa7sú t’u7 ti7 skwátsits.”

12.3 English (Direct Translation)

Now I'm gonna repeat this in Indian. It was a Saturday, and so these people went to town. They went to town, and Johnny went wherever it was he was going, and Mary did too. It was time for Mary to go home, so she went home.

In the morning, Johnny wasn't there. She thought, "Where is he?" She got into a bus and went to Seattle, then she hired a taxi and went to the jail.

She asked for her Johnny. She was told, "There's no Johnny Milgaw around here". She said, "Is there anyone around in there? I'll peek in there to see if he's there under another name." She peeked in to see who was inside. Johnny wasn't around anywhere.

She went looking around for him, around town, wherever it was known that Johnny went. She never saw him. She began to figure out that he hadn't gotten killed, and he didn't get hurt. No, there would have been some friend of his around who would have seen him. "So maybe he went home. He'll maybe arrive there in a bit."

So she took off, and started working, she was picking berries. Seven days went by, and on the seventh day, when she came home, Johnny was sitting there in the door of their cabin.

She told Johnny, "Where have you been?"

Johnny said, "I went to heaven."

She said, "Oh, it's just like you to go to heaven."

Johnny said, "The last thing I knew, we were in the street and I was with my partners, some white people, there were two of them. We were chatting. After that, I knew nothing more."

"I woke up and looked around. Where I was laying in bed, everything was white. The women there who were walking around, they were dressed in white. I thought this must be heaven. The only thing I could see from the pictures, was that they said that angels had wings. That's all that was missing, they didn't have any wings. They called me by name. I didn't know how they found out my name. 'I'm better now,' I was telling them, 'I'm okay now, I'm going home.' So they told me, 'Go home.' I went outside and I was in the street. I was pretty sure I had been in heaven."

“After that, about three weeks went by. I got a letter. I didn’t know how to read, so I showed it to some young guy that could read. They told me, ‘It’s your name that’s written there. There’s more than a hundred dollars in here.’ I said, ‘I didn’t go to any trouble for that.’ ”

They told him, “Well, that’s your name.”

12.4 Interlinear Gloss

(1) *Now I'm gonna repeat this in Indian.*

(2) l=ts7a lhwás=t'u7 wa7 Saturday,
 at=this.VIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV=EXCL IPFV Saturday
 nílh=t'u7 ses izá táowen.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS these.VIS go.to.town

It was a Saturday, and so these people went to town.

(3) tsícw=wit ta=táown=a, nílh=t'u7
 get.there=3PL DET=town=EXIS COP=EXCL

ti7 sés=t'u7
 that.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL

t'ak s=Johnny,
 go.along NMLZ=Johnny

ken=tswasa=t'u7=hém'=t'u7
 around=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS=EXCL=ANTI=EXCL

t'ak, xíl-em kw=s=Mary.
 go.along do-MID DET=NMLZ=Mary

They went to town, and Johnny went wherever it was he was going, and Mary did too.

(4) tsicw s=7úxwal'=s s=Mary, nílh=t'u7
 get.there NMLZ=go.home=3POSS NMLZ=Mary COP=EXCL

s=7úxwal'=s.
 NMLZ=go.home=3POSS

It was time for Mary to go home, so she went home.

- (5) psil' láti7, cw7aoz káti7
 daylight at+there.VIS NEG around+there.VIS
 kw=s=Johnny kwas wa7.
 DET=NMLZ=Johnny DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS be

In the morning, Johnny wasn't there.

- (6) nílh=t'u7 s=tsut=s, "nká7=tu7=k'a?"
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS where=REM=EPIS

She thought, "Where is he?"

- (7) n-lhám'-lec láti7 ta=bus=a, tsicw
 LOC-put.into-AUT at+there.VIS DET=bus=EXIS get.there
 ta=Seattle=a, k'wálh-cal ta=taxi=ha
 DET=Seattle=EXIS call.on-ACT DET=taxi=EXIS

e=t7ú n-k'á7-men=a.
 to=that.VIS LOC-get.stuck-INS=EXIS

She got into a bus and went to Seattle, then she hired a taxi and went to the jail.

- (8) sawlhen-mín-as láta7 ta=Johnny-s=a.
 ask.question-RLT-3ERG at+there.VIS DET=Johnny-3POSS=EXIS

She asked for her Johnny.

- (9) tsún-em=ku7, "aoz káti7 l=ts7a
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT NEG around+there.VIS at=this.VIS
 ku=Johnny Milgaw."
 DET=Johnny Milgaw

She was told, "There's no Johnny Milgaw around here."

- (10) tsút=ku7, “ha e=ts7á
 say=QUOT Q to=this.VIS
 ta=wa7=s=kn=áku7?
 DET=be=NMLZ=around=there.INVIS
 [ka]-zaq’il-s=kán-a=k[elh]
 CIRC-peek.in-CAUS=ISG.SBJ-CIRC=FUT
 láku7 lhwas ku=wá7
 at+there.INVIS COMP+IPFV+3SBJV DET=be
 [l]=ku=s7ícwllh skwátsits.”
 at=DET=different name

She said, “Is there anyone around in there? I’ll peek in there to see if he’s there under another name.”

- (11) záq’il=ku7 áku7 s-7ulhcw.
 peek.in=QUOT DET=to+there.INVIS NMLZ-enter
 She peeked in to see who was inside.

- (12) cw7áoy=t’u7 káti7 ku=Johnny.
 NEG=EXCL around+there.VIS DET=Johnny
 Johnny wasn’t around anywhere.

- (13) nilh s=káti7 swas
 COP NMLZ=around+there.VIS NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 cwíl'-em, ken=ta=táown=a,
 look.for-MID around=DET=town=EXIS
 ken=tsása
 around=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS
 zewát-en-as kwas
 be.known-DIR-3ERG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 tsicw.
 get.there

She went looking around for him, around town, wherever it was known that Johnny went.

- (14) cw7áoy=t'u7 káti7 kwas
 NEG=EXCL around+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 áts'x-en-as.
 get.seen-DIR-3ERG

She never saw him.

- (15) nílh=ku7=t'u7 ts7as n-tsut-ánwas aoz
 COP=QUOT=EXCL begin LOC-say-inside NEG
 káti7 kwás=tu7 zuqw,
 around+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=REM die
 kwas xan'.
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS get.hurt

She began to figure out that he hadn't gotten killed, and he didn't get hurt.

- (16) cw7aoz káti7, wa7=ka=tú7=t'u7
 NEG around+there.VIS IPFV=IRR=REM=EXCL
 ken=ts7á ku=snúk'wa7-s
 around=this.VIS DET=friend-3POSS
 ku=7áts'x-en-as.
 DET=get.seen-DIR-3ERG

No, there would have been some friend of his around who would have seen him.

- (17) “xek uxwal'=k'á=tu7.”
 maybe go.home=EPIS=REM
 “So maybe he went home.”

- (18) “t'iq s-xek-s kalál=as.”
 arrive NMLZ-maybe-3POSS soon=3SBJV
 “He'll maybe arrive there in a bit.”

- (19) nílh=t'u7 (ta=s...) s=qwatsáts=s,
 COP=EXCL DET=NMLZ NMLZ=leave=3POSS
 nílh=t'u7 s=tsicw=s, nilh s=...
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.there=3POSS COP NMLZ
 start=s kwas k'wezús-em,
 start=3POSS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS work-MID
 q'wlaw'-em.
 pick.berries-MID

So she took off, and started working, she was picking berries.

- (20) nás=tu7 tsúlhaka7 sq'it, i=tsulhák7=a e=ts7á
 go=REM seven day PL.DET=seven=EXIS to=this.VIS
 sq'it, ts7ás=ku7 úxwal'...
 day come=QUOT go.home
 Seven days went by, and on the seventh day, when she came home...
- (21) ...wa7 láti7 s-q'il'-q
 IPFV at+there.VIS STAT-get.put.onto.something-bottom
 kw=s=*Johnny*, sk'ém'ts-s=a
 DET=NMLZ=Johnny door-3POSS=EXIS
 na=cabin-í=ha.
 ABS.DET=cabin-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 ...Johnny was sitting there in the door of their cabin.
- (22) nílh=ku7=ɿ'u7 s=tsún-as s=*Johnny*(s),³
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG NMLZ=Johnny
 “nka7 lhucw tsícw?”
 where COMP+IPFV+2SG.SBJV get.there
 She told Johnny, “Where have you been?”
- (23) tsút=ku7 kw=s=*Johnny*, “áku7 (u)
 say=QUOT DET=NMLZ=Johnny to+there.INVIS
 cá7=a tmicw lh=tsícw=an.”
 high=EXIS land COMP=get.there=1SG.SBJV
 Johnny said, “I went to heaven.”

³The *s* after ‘Johnny’ is unexpected. It is possibly a 3rd person possessive pronoun, i.e. ‘her Johnny’, as in stanza (8), however in that case a determiner is predicted to surface before ‘Johnny.’ We leave the *s* unanalyzed, for this reason.

- (24) “o,” tsún-as=ku7, “ts’ila-7úl ta=wa7=snúwa
 oh say+DIR-3ERG=QUOT like-really DET=IPFV=2SG.INDEP
 ta=wa7=nás káku7 cá7=a tmicw.”
 DET=IPFV=go around+there.INVIS high=EXIS land
 She said, “Oh, it’s just like you to go to heaven.”

- (25) tsút=ku7 kw=s=Johnny, “ta=7áw’t=a wa7
 say=QUOT DET=NMLZ=Johnny DET=behind=EXIS IPFV
 zewát-en-an...”
 be.known-DIR-1SG.ERG
 Johnny said, “The last thing I knew...”

- (26) “wá7=lhkalh láti7 l=[ta]=street=a múta7
 IPFV=IPL.SBJ at+there.VIS at=DET=street=EXIS and
 (nelh...) nelh=wa7=n-pvt* páotna,
 PL.ABS.DET PL.ABS.DET=IPFV=1SG.POSS-TRED*partner
 nelh=sám7=a, n-7án’was.”
 PL.ABS.DET=white.person=EXIS LOC-two
 “We were in the street and I was with my partners, some white people, there were two of them.”

- (27) “wa7=lhkalh=t’ú7=tu7 láta7 qwel’qwal’él’t.”
 IPFV=IPL.SBJ=EXCL=REM at+there.VIS TRED*talk*CRED*
 “We were chatting.”

- (28) “cw7áoy=t’u7 káti7
 NEG=EXCL around+there.VIS
 kw=s=zewát-en-an múta7
 DET=NMLZ=be.known-DIR-1SG.ERG again
 lhláti7 ku=hú7 stam’.”
 from+there.VIS DET=more what
 “After that, I knew nothing more.”
- (29) “ts7ás=kan=t’u7 cwak, tcús-em=lhkan.”
 come=1SG.SBJ=EXCL get.woken look-MID=1SG.SBJ
 “I woke up and looked around.”
- (30) “l=ts7a l=tenswá
 at=this.VIS at=DET+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
 s-kíts-lec l=ta=n-gúy’t-ten=a,
 STAT-get.laid.down-AUT at=DET=LOC-sleep-INS=EXIS
 tákem=t’u7 stam’ peq.”
 all=EXCL what white
 “Where I was laying in bed, everything was white.”
- (31) “i=smelh•múlhats=a káti7
 PL.DET=TRED•woman=EXIS around+there.VIS
 wa7 má•m’•teq, péq=t’u7
 IPFV walk•CRED• white=EXCL
 s-yáx-i=ha.”
 NMLZ-get.dressed-3PL.POSS=EXIS
 “The women there who were walking around, they were dressed
 in white.”

- (32) “[ka]-n-tsut-anwas=kán-a nílh=k’a=wi7 ts7a
 CIRC-LOC-say-inside=ISG.SBJ-CIRC COP=EPIS=EMPH this.VIS
 wa7 cá7=a tmicw.”
 IPFV high=EXIS land

“I thought this must be heaven.”

- (33) “tsúkw=t’u7 ta=wa7=ka-7ats’x-s-án-a
 finish=EXCL DET=IPFV=CIRC.get.seen-CAUS-ISG.ERG-CIRC
 ken=ki=píktsh=a, káti7
 around=PL.DET=picture=EXIS around+there.VIS
 lhas tsút=wit ku=liśaoś
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV say=3PL DET=angel
 kwas es=t’aq’á7el’.”
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS have=wings

“The only thing I could see from the pictures, was that they said that angels had wings.”

- (34) “tsúkw=t’u7 l=ts7a s-xlun’-s, cw7ao
 finish=EXCL at=this.VIS NMLZ-lack-3POSS NEG
 káti7 kwas es=t’aq’á7el’
 around+there.VIS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS have=wings
 izá.”
 these.VIS

“That’s all that was missing, they didn’t have any wings.”

- (35) “nah-en-tsál-itas ta=skwátsits=a.”
 name-DIR-ISG.OBJ-3PL.ERG DET=name=EXIS
 “They called me by name.”

- (36) “ao kw=n=[s]=zewát-en
 NEG DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=be.known-DIR
 lh=stám’=as=t’u7 kwas
 COMP=what=3SBJV=EXCL DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 zewat*et-s-twítas.”
 be.known*FRED-CAUS-3PL.ERG
 “I didn’t know how they found out my name.”
- (37) “t’u7 plán=lhkan=t’u7 wa7 ama-wíl’c,
 EXCL already=ISG.SBJ=EXCL IPFV good-become
 wá7=lhkan tsun-taníhan,
 IPFV=ISG.SBJ say+DIR-3PL.OBJ+ISG.ERG
 ‘plán=lhkan=t’u7 ama-wíl’c,
 already=ISG.SBJ=EXCL good-become
 cúz’=lhkan úxwal’.”
 going.to=ISG.SBJ go.home
 “ ‘I’m better now,’ I was telling them, ‘I’m okay now, I’m going home.’ ”
- (38) “tsun-tsal-ítas aylh, ‘cúy=malh úxwal’.”
 say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3PL.ERG now go.on=ADHORT go.home
 “So they told me, ‘Go home.’ ”
- (39) “úts’qa7=lhkan lhláti7=t’u7 l=ts7á=t’u7
 go.outside=ISG.SBJ from+there.VIS=EXCL at=this.VIS=EXCL
 l=ta=street=a lh=wá7=an.”
 at=DET=street=EXIS COMP=be=ISG.SBJV
 “I went outside and I was in the street.”

- (40) “t'éxw=t'u7 ta=gélgel=a n-tsut-ánwas, wa7
 really=EXCL DET=strong=EXIS LOC-say-inside IPFV
 ku=wenácw=t'u7, tsícw=kan ku=cá7=a
 DET=true=EXCL get.there=ISG.SBJ DET=high=EXIS
 tmicw.”
 land
 “I was pretty sure I had been in heaven.”
- (41) “s-7áw't-s lhláti7, nás=k'a=tu7 kalhás
 NMLZ-behind-3POSS from+there.VIS go=EPIS=REM three
 xetspásq'et.”
 weeks
 “After that, about three weeks went by.”
- (42) “kwám'em=lhkan ta=píph=a.”
 get*FRED=ISG.SBJ DET=paper=EXIS
 “I got a letter.”
- (43) “cw7ao káti7 kwenswá
 NEG around+there.VIS DET+ISG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV
 zewát-en ku=7ats'x-al'íkst.”
 be.known-DIR DET=get.seen-sheet
 “I didn't know how to read.”
- (44) “nílh=t'u7 s=hal'a-cít=kan káti7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=show-IND=ISG.SBJ around+there.VIS
 ta=twéww'et=a wa7 ka-read-a.”
 DET=boys=EXIS IPFV CIRC-read-CIRC
 “So I showed it to some young guy that could read.”

- (45) “tsun-tsal-ítas, ‘tsuwa7-sú=t’u7
 say+DIR-1SG.OBJ-3PL.ERG OWN-2SG.POSS=EXCL
 ti=skwátsits=a láti7
 DET=name=EXIS at+there.VIS
 ta=s-méts=a.”
 DET=STAT-get.written=EXIS
 “They told me, ‘It’s your name that’s written there.’ ”
- (46) “p’a7cw l=kw7á-wna wa7
 more.than at=this.INVIS-precisely IPFV
 n-xetspqíqen’kst-s.”
 LOC-one.hundred-3POSS
 “‘There’s more than a hundred dollars in here.’ ”
- (47) “wá7=lhkan tsut, ‘cw7áo=ti7 káti7
 IPFV=1SG.SBJ say NEG=that.VIS around+there.VIS
 kwenswá gwe<7>ez’-mín.”
 DET+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV trouble<INCH>-RLT
 “I said, ‘I didn’t go to any trouble for that.’ ”
- (48) wa7 tsún-em, “tsuwa7-sú=t’u7 ti7
 IPFV say+DIR-3PASS OWN-2SG.POSS=EXCL that.VIS
 [ku]=skwátsits.”
 DET=name
 They told him, “Well, that’s your name.”

CHAPTER 13

Sp'aoy

Frank Gott

13.1 English (as told by Sam Mitchell himself)

I'll tell another story about... this happened in 1933. I happened to be working up Pavilion and I know when it happened. This happened in September about first opened season.

This old guy, he's an Indian but he's a non-status Indian, his name is Frank Gott. He's a pretty good shot and he got another young fellow to go with. Lots of, there's always young guys wants to go if some old guys go and hunt. So he went up Bridge River, going up Bridge River on horseback, and that's about, oh, about 25 miles up the river, up on this Bridge River.

So him and Frank Gott and one of the Miller boys, I think that fellow is still alive, he was about 13 or 14 then, they got up there and they made a camp, and next day they went and hunt. Well, first deer they get, they... Frank Gott shoot them, they killed two.

In the meantime, there's a game warden in Lillooet here, and them days it wasn't too many people around, and he heard somebody said that Frank Gott went hunting. This Frank Perry, that's the game warden, he says... he says, "I'm going up Bridge River and I'm gonna get that Frank Gott." And

this is a story that's passed around I heard. And his wife told him, "You better watch out, that old guy, he's gonna get you someday." And he just laughed and he says, "I'll get him this time. I know he wouldn't go on up in the mountain to get a buck. He'll get anything he'll get."

So anyways he walked up, and it's a long walk, it's about 25 miles up this... This game warden, he never has a horse, and he just walks, he's a pretty good walker.

Anyways he got up there and he seen Frank Gott's camp downriver. Good place there, that's the boy's story. And, he went up to Frank Gott and he says, "What've you got?"

"Oh, I've got some meat."

"Let me see, I want to see it." It's Frank Gott, he's got his meat sacked up and he was ready to come down.

And Frank says, Gott said, "Well," he says, (this game warden went right up, his name is also Frank, he's Frank Perry), and "Oh," he says, "I'm gonna see it." And it's already sacked up and tied.

Frank Gott told him, "Leave it alone. We're gonna pack up."

And he just laughed at Frank Gott, and the old guy got his gun right there, he just reached down and just "bang! bang!", he dropped him right there. He never got around to open the sack.

So, Frank Gott, he wrote a note, and he told the boy, this Miller boy, he says, "Leave the meat there," he says, "get on your horse and go down." Up there, there's no phone, it's just the road up there. And he give the boy a note, and he says, "You go down Lillooet and you give that note to them, them cops down there. I'm going up the hill, they can come and look for me. I wouldn't be very far." So this boy did.

Next day, there's a whole bunch of policemen went up, and when they seen Frank Gott, they shot him. They shot him in the leg.

And anyways he, by that time they got a truck. Well, they trucked Frank Perry down, the game warden that was shot. They killed Frank Gott, too. And, they truck him down, he wasn't dead right away, but Lytton, it's a long ways, it's about... From where they shot Frank Gott, it's about 75 miles to Lytton, that's the nearest hospital. But the old fellow, he died, he was

getting pretty old anyways. He was round about 60 or more. Before he got to Lytton, he passed out and he...

That was the end of that game warden shooting, and Frank Gott.

This game warden, he was pretty rough too, he was always getting somebody else. I heard one time that he went up Bridge River and some women give him a dinner, and it was a fish what she fished from the creek. And it was under-sized and she put, he put her in jail because that fish wasn't big enough. And that was what the woman cooked for her, for him to eat for dinner. So he was that bad. So anyways, he got killed.

13.2 St'át'imcets

Cúy'lhkan ts7a sqwéqwel'min ta pál7a száyten lts7a.

Wa7 lts7a ta pápl7a líl'tem', plan wa7 líl'tem', nilh ti7 wa7 *sFrank Gott*. sSp'áoy hem' ta skwátsitssa lta ucwalmícwa, ti7 ku úcwalmicw skwát-sitss. Nilh stsut.s, "Náskan píxem'," splans wa7 tsicw tswása nlig'wts i wa7 píxem', lts7a ku tmicw, lts7a ntak ets7áwna x7ílha. Et7ú sgáptena, nilh t'u7 ses kéla7 láti7 lhwás nlig'wts. Ts'íla ku án'was xetspásq'et tswása kéla7 láti7 lhwás nlig'wts, elh wa7 nlig'wts ets7áwna, ntáka wi snímulh.

Nilh t'u7 tu7 sqwatsátss, k'wálhan'as láti7 ta twíw'ta, pápla7 twéww'et. Nilh t'u7 sqwatsátsi slhéqwlheqw ekw7ú nkúkwem'a ekw7úwna, nilh ti7 wa7 tsúnem lta nqwal'uttenlhkálha ekw7áwna wa7 "mulc." Nilh ti7 wa7 mulc skwatsitsúlm'ecws lki ucwalmícwa. Wa7 nxusenátkwa7 láku7, nilh ti7 wa7 nqwiqwsátkwa7 áta7 ta wa7 ncwi7tsín áti7 ta stéxwa nxusenátkwa7, t'u7 wa7 nqwiqwsátkwa7, nilh wa7 ti7 wa7 mulc láta7. T'ák.wit lhelts7áwna, kekáw' ti7 lhelts7á. Án'was k'a sq'em'ps wi tsilkst *mile*. Tsicwwit áku7, nilh ststcwemi. Psil', nilh sqwatsátsi píxem'.

Wa7 ti7 lts7a ta wa7 s7ats'xstáli i ts'í7a. Nilh wa7 *sFrank Perry*. Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s, "Cúz'lhkan násmin' kw *sFrank Gott*. Kan kwan, wa7 t'u7 ti7 tákem wa7 qúsenas káku7." Nilh ti7 t.s7áw'ta sqwéqwel' láti7, tsut ku7, tsúnem ku7 wa7 t.sem7ámsa, "Tay, tsukws malh, cuy' ti7 kwánen, cuy' nka7 ku sq'it, cuy' ti7 kwanenstúmihas." O, nilh ku7 tú7 t'u7 snq'san'ks, "Cuy," tsut ku7, "Náskan." Nilh t'u7 sqwatsátss lhláti7.

Nmatq ku7, wa7 ti7 nmatq papt. Gélgel ku matq. Kekáw' ti7 áku7 kwan.

Tsicw áku7, áts'xenas láti7 ltswása esntsítcwtensa *sFrank*. Nilh láta7 stsicws, plan wa7 nlhám'alhmec i ts'í7a lki nq'ts'álhmeca. Nilh t'u7 ti7 scúz'i ts7as múta7 ta wa7 snúk'wa7s.

Nilh stsicws áta7 ts7a ta wa7 s7ats'xstáli i ts'í7a. Nilh ku7 t'u7 tsúnem, tsúnas ts7a ta ucwalmícwa, "Cúz'lhkan áts'xen iz'."

Tsúnem, "Cw7áozas."

Nilh t'u7 áta7 sq'wemílc, kwánas ta cwík'tensa, nilh sk'etcwtsán'as iz', plan wa7 szusts.

Tsúnem ku7 ets7á sSp'aoy, "Tsukws!"

Nilh ku7 t'u7 snq'san'kúsenas. Texw t'u7 ti7 ts7a wa7 xwem kwa qúsem. Nilh ku7 ta stsollecmínasa t.swelmín'ksa, nilh slham'ál'tsenas, nilh stsúnas, "Tsukws!"

Nq'san'kmínas kú7 t'u7, nilh t'u7 láti7 sqúscitem, "P'exw! p'exw!" Án'was láti7 t'u7 nilh t'u7 ntsqám'em's.

Nilh láti7 skits. Nilh stsúnas ta twíw'ta wa7 snúk'wa7s, metscál láti7, nilh stsúnas, "Cuy nas sqwal', nas sqwál'min' áku7. Sqwal' láku7 táowna, t.sxílhtsana, lts7a kelh lhwá7an lht'iqmin'tsálitas."

Nilh slhqwilcs ta twéww'eta lhláti7 t'u7 nilh lhláku7 nuxwsqáxa7s. T'iq ets7á, cwíts'in'as ta pípha.

Nilh sqelilám's i sám7a, qelilám'wit. T'iq i cw7íta, k'wink'wenás k'a ku *game warden*. Ats'xenwalhenítas láku7 kw sSp'aoy, *Frank Gott*, nilh squscitítas.

Tsicw ta *trucka*, lham'ánitas, lham'ánitas láku7. Nilh... aoy t'u7 kw stsicws ku *Lyttona*, nilh ti7 k'ik't7ám wa7 *hospítal*. Nilh szuqws láti7 tsáw'tswa. Nilh láti7 lhlep'wítas ts'íla st'qwaw's.

Nilh ti7, sqweqwel'mínan ti7. Lts7a ku... láti7 ku *time*, wéna7, s1933. *September* k'a pináni7. Nká7as kéla7 t'u7 wa7 nlig'wts t'u7 ssáq'ulh *Septemberha*, láti7 ku *time*. Áti7 lhxílemas áti7.

13.3 English (Direct Translation)

I'm gonna tell about one thing that happened here.

There was this one old guy, he was already pretty old, that was Frank Gott.¹ Sp'aoy was his name in the Indian language, his Indian name. He said, "I'm going hunting," because it was already time to open the hunting season on the other side of the river.² On the west side (of the Fraser), that's where it opens first. It opens there about two weeks earlier than on our side of the river.

He went and he hired a young person, a boy.³ Then they left riding on horseback upriver (north) to that place that we call *Mulc* ('wood') in our language. *Mulc* is the place name the Indians use. There's a swift creek there, and a small one, and at the confluence of the really swift one and the small one, that's where *Mulc* is. They set off from right around here, it's far from here. Twenty-five miles.⁴ They got over there and set up camp. Next morning they went hunting.

There was this game warden around. That was Frank Perry.⁵ So he said, "I'm gonna go and get Frank Gott. I'm gonna get him because he's shooting everything around there." The story went around afterwards that Frank Perry's wife said to him, "Hey, leave it alone, he'll get caught someday, but he'll get you." Oh, then he laughed and said, "Okay, I'm going." Then he left from there.

He left, walking, he always walked. He was a strong walker. He went for a long way to get him.

¹Clark (1986, 62) says that Gott was already 62 at the time of his service during the First World War, which means that he was in his early 80s at the time of the events in this story.

²Sam Mitchell lived in Fountain, on the east side of the Fraser River, which had to wait an extra two weeks for hunting season to open.

³Clark (1986, 63) states that Gott went hunting with two young men from Lillooet, Jimmy Dalton and 14-year old Raymond Miller.

⁴Clark (1986, 63) places their camp at 26 miles from Lillooet, up Bridge River.

⁵Frank Perry's actual name is Albert Farey (Clark, 1986, 63), who had previously fined Frank Gott for shooting a bear out of season in 1930.

He got there and saw where Frank Gott had his camp. When he got there, the deer were already stuffed into gunny sacks. They were about to come (back down the mountain), Frank and his hunting partner.

Well, this game warden went over there. He told the Indian, "I am going to have a look at those."⁶

Frank Gott told him, "Don't."

Then the game warden squatted down, he took his knife, and he cut open the mouths of the gunny sacks, which had already been tied up.

Frank Gott told the game warden, "Stop!"

Then the game warden just laughed in his face. Now this guy Frank Gott is real quick to draw. He reached for his gun, he loaded it, and he told the game warden, "Stop!"

The game warden laughed at him again and then Frank Gott shot him, "Pow! Pow!" He got hit twice and then he fell backwards.

He was laying there. Frank Gott told his companion, the young person, he wrote something down and told him, "Go report what happened. Go tell them in town what I have done, I'll be here when they come to get me."⁷

So the boy got on his horse and galloped off.⁸ When he arrived there he handed over the letter.

Then the white folks hurried, they hurried. Many came, a whole bunch of game wardens. They expected to find Frank Gott there, and they shot him.⁹

⁶Farey was looking for the deer tags, at that time a newly instituted hunting regulation in British Columbia (Clark, 1986, 63).

⁷Clark (1986, 63) states that "Gott handed his gun to Dalton, then said to Miller: 'You can have my horse, I'm done for.'"

⁸It was either Miller or Dalton (or both) that rode Gott's horse to the nearest settlement, Moha, to alert the authorities (Clark, 1986, 63).

⁹According to Clark (1986, 64), Gott was confronted by Game Wardens Robert Robertson and Joseph Quesnel. After narrowly avoiding a direct shoot-out with the game wardens, Gott attempts to flee through a rock cut, and was brought down by a bullet which ricocheted off of a rock wall, wounding him in the leg.

A truck came, they put him in it, they put him in there. They didn't get to Lytton, it's the nearest place with a hospital. So the poor fellow died there.¹⁰ They kind of got buried together (Frank Gott and Frank Perry).¹¹

That's it, what I've told a story about. The time when this happened was in, when was it? 1933.¹² Must've been September at that time. It was halfway through September when the hunting season was opened. That's when that happened.

¹⁰It was actually a protracted case of tuberculosis which killed Gott, rather than the superficial leg wound (Clark, 1986, 64).

¹¹Carl Alexander (p.c.) says that they are buried next to a black tank on the east side of the Fraser River, visible from the Lillooet Friendship Centre.

¹²The actual year was 1932.

13.4 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) cúy'=lhkan ts7a sqwé•qw•el'-min ta=pál7=a
 going.to=1SG.SBJ this.VIS tell•CRED•RLT DET=one=EXIS
 száyten l=ts7a.
 doings at=this.VIS
 I'm gonna tell about one thing that happened here.
- (2) wa7 l=ts7a ta=pá•pl7=a líl'tem', plan
 IPFV at=this.VIS DET=1RED•one=EXIS adult already
 wa7 líl'tem', nílh=ti7 wa7 s=*Frank* *Gott*.
 IPFV adult COP=that.VIS IPFV NMLZ=Frank Gott
 There was this one old guy, he was already pretty old, that was Frank Gott.
- (3) s=Sp'áoy=hem' [ta]=skwátsits-s=a
 NMLZ=Sp'áoy[Frank.Gott]=ANTI DET=name-3POSS=EXIS
 l=ta=7ucwalmícw=a, ti7
 at=DET=indigenous.person=EXIS that.VIS
 [ku]=úcwalmicw skwátsits-s.
 DET=indigenous.person name-3POSS
 Sp'áoy was his name in the Indian language, his Indian name.
- (4) nilh s=tsut=s, "nás=kan píxem',"...
 COP NMLZ=say=3POSS go=1SG.SBJ hunt
 He said, "I'm going hunting," ...

- (5) ...[s]=plan=s wa7 tsicw
 NMLZ=already=3POSS IPFV get.there
 tswása n-lig'wts
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS LOC-open
 i=wa7=pi'xem', l=ts7a ku=tmícw,
 PL.DET=IPFV=hunt at=this.VIS DET=land
 l=ts7a n-tak e=ts7á-wna
 at=this.VIS LOC-side to=this.VIS-precisely
 x7ílh=a.
 across.the.water=EXIS

...because it was already time to open the hunting season on the other side of the river.

- (6) e=t7ú sgáp-ten=a, nílh=t'u7
 to=that.VIS evening-INS=EXIS COP=EXCL
 ses kéla7 láti7
 NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS first at+there.VIS
 lhwas n-lig'wts.
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV LOC-open

On the west side (of the Fraser), that's where it opens first.

- (7) ts'íla ku=pá[la7], án'was xetspásq'et
 like DET=one two weeks
 tswása kéla7 láti7
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS first at+there.VIS
 lhwas n-lig'wts, elh wa7
 COMP+IPFV+3SBJV LOC-open and.then IPFV
 n-lig'wts e=ts7á-wna, n-ták=a
 LOC-open to=this.VIS-precisely LOC-side=EXIS
 wi=snímulh.
 PL=IPL.INDEP

It opens there about two weeks earlier than on our side of the river.

- (8) nílh=t'u7=tu7 s=qwatsáts=[s], k'wálh-cal,
 COP=EXCL=REM NMLZ=leave=3POSS call.on-ACT
 k'wálh-an'-as láti7 ta=twíw't=a,
 call.on-DIR-3ERG at+there.VIS DET=youth=EXIS
 pá'pla7 twéww'et.
 IRED•one boy

He (Frank Gott) went and he hired a young person, a boy.

- (9) nílh=t'u7 s=qwatsáts=i s-lhéqw•lheqw
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS STAT-TRED•ride.horse
 e=kw7ú nkúkwem'=a e=kw7ú-wna...
 to=that.INVIS upriver=EXIS to=that.INVIS-precisely

Then they left riding on horseback upriver (north) to...

- (10) ...nílh=ti7 wa7 tsún-em wa7...
 COP=that.VIS IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG IPFV
- wa7.... nilh=ti7 wa7 tsún-em
 IPFV COP=that.VIS IPFV say+DIR-IPL.ERG
- l=[ta]=n-qwal'ut-ten-lhkálh=a
 at=DET=LOC-speak-INS-IPL.POSS=EXIS
- e=kwa7á-wna wa7 “mulc.”
 to=this.INVIS-precisely IPFV wood
- ...that place that we call *Mulc* ('wood') in our language.

- (11) nilh=ti7 wa7 mulc skwatsits-úlm'ecw-s
 COP=that.VIS IPFV stick name-land-3POSS
- l=ki=7ucwalmícw=a.
 at=PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS
- Mulc* ('wood') is the place name the Indians use.

- (12) wa7 n-xusen-átkwa7 láku7, nilh=ti7 wa7
 be LOC-swift-water at+there.INVIS COP=that.VIS IPFV
- n-qwiqws-átkwa7 áta7 ta=wa7=ncwi7tsín
 LOC-small-water to+there.VIS DET=IPFV=confluence
- áti7 (ta=n-...) ta=stéxw=a
 to+there.VIS DET=LOC- DET=real=EXIS
- n-xusen-átkwa7, t'u7 wa7 n-qwiqws-átkwa7,
 LOC-swift-water EXCL IPFV LOC-small-water
- nilh wa7 ti7 wa7 mulc láta7.
 COP be that.VIS IPFV stick at+there.VIS

There's a swift creek there, and a small one, and at the confluence of the really swift one (Bridge River) and the small one, that's where *Mulc* is.¹³

- (13) t'ák=wit lhel=ts7á-wna, ke•káw'=ti7
 go.along=3PL from=this.VIS-precisely IRED•far=that.VIS
 lhel=ts7á.
 from=this.VIS

They set off from right around here, it's far from here.

- (14) án'was=k'a [s]-q'em'p-s wi=tsílkst *mile*.
 two=EPIS NMLZ-ten-3POSS and=five mile
 Twenty-five miles.

- (15) tsícw=wit áku7, nilh
 get.there=3PL to+there.INVIS COP
 s=tsícw-em=i.
 NMLZ=house-MID=3PL.POSS

They got over there and set up camp.

- (16) psil', nilh s=qwatsáts=i píxem'.
 daybreak COP NMLZ=leave=3PL.POSS hunt
 Next morning they went hunting.

- (17) wá7=ti7 l=ts7a ta=wa7=s-7ats'x-s-táli
 be=that.VIS at=this.VIS DET=IPFV=STAT-get.seen-CAUS-NTS
 i=ts'í7=a.
 PL.DET=deer=EXIS

There was this game warden around.

- (18) nilh wa7 s=Frank Perry.
 COP IPFV NMLZ=Frank Perry

That was Frank Perry.

¹³Carl Alexander notes that *nxusenátkewa7* is the Bridge River, which accords with where Clark (1986) places the event.

- (19) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsut=s, "cúz'=lhkan
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS going.to=ISG.SBJ
 nás-min' kw=[s]=Frank Gott."
 go-RLT DET=NMLZ=Frank Gott

So he (Frank Perry) said, "I'm gonna go and get Frank Gott."

- (20) "kan kwan, wá7=t'u7=ti7 tákem wa7
 ISG.SBJ take+DIR IPFV=EXCL=that.VIS all IPFV
 qús-en-as káku7."
 shoot-DIR-3ERG around+there.INVIS

"I'm gonna get him because he's shooting everything around there."

- (21) nílh=ti7 t=s-7áw't=[a] sqwé•qw•el'
 COP=that.VIS DET=NMLZ-behind=EXIS tell•CRED•
 láti7, tsút=ku7, tsún-em=ku7 wa7
 at+there.VIS say=QUOT say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT IPFV
 t=sem7ám-s=a, "tay, tsúkw-s=malh,
 DET=wife-3POSS=EXIS hey finish-CAUS=ADHORT
 cúy'=ti7 kwán•en... cuy'
 going.to=that.VIS take•FRED going.to
 nka7 ku=sq'ít, cúy'=ti7
 where DET=day going.to=that.VIS
 kwan•en-s-túmi-has."
 take•FRED-CAUS-2SG.OBJ-3ERG

The story went around afterwards that Frank Perry's wife said to him, "Hey, leave it alone, he'll get caught someday, but he'll get you."

- (22) o, nilh=ku7=tú7=t'u7
 o COP=QUOT=REM=EXCL
 [s]=n-q's-an'k=s, "cuy," tsút=ku7,
 NMLZ=LOC-laugh-stomach=3POSS go.on say=QUOT
 (n...) "nás=kan."
 go=ISG.SBJ

Oh, then he laughed and said, "Okay, I'm going."

- (23) nilh=t'u7 s=qwatsáts=s lhláti7.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=leave=3POSS from+there.VIS

Then he left from there.

- (24) n-mátq=ku7, wá7=ti7 n-matq papt.
 LOC-walk=QUOT IPFV=that.VIS LOC-walk always

He left, walking, he always walked.

- (25) gélgel ku=mátq.
 strong DET=walk

He was a strong walker.

- (26) ke•káv'=ti7 áku7 kwan.
 IRED•far=that.VIS to+there.INVIS get.something

He went for a long way to get him.

- (27) tsicw áku7, áts'x-en-as
 get.there to+there.INVIS get.seen-DIR-3ERG

láti7 l=tswása
 at+there.VIS at=DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS

es=n-tsítcw-ten-s=a s=Frank.

have=LOC-house-INS-3POSS=EXIS NMLZ=Frank

He got there and saw where Frank Gott had his camp.

- (28) nilh láta7 s=tsicw=s, plan
 COP at+there.VIS NMLZ=get.there=3POSS already
 wa7 n-lhám'-alhmec i=ts'í7=a...
 IPFV LOC-put.into-sack PL.DET=deer=EXIS
 l=ki=n-q'ts'-álhmec=a.
 at=PL.DET=LOC-woven-sack=EXIS

When he got there, the deer were already stuffed into gunny sacks.

- (29) nílh=t'u7=tí7 s=cúz'i ts7as múta7
 COP=EXCL=that.VIS NMLZ=going.to=3PL.POSS begin again
 (ta...) ta=wa7=snúk'wa7-s.
 DET DET=IPFV=friend-3POSS

They were about to come (back down the mountain), Frank and his hunting partner.

- (30) nilh s=tsicw=s áta7 ts7a
 COP NMLZ=get.there=3POSS to+there.VIS this.VIS
 ta=wa7=s-7ats'x-s-táli i=ts'í7=a.
 DET=IPFV=STAT-get.seen-CAUS-NTS PL.DET=deer=EXIS

Well, this game warden went over there.

- (31) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsún-em, tsún-as
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3PASS say+DIR-3ERG
 ts7a ta=7ucwalmícw=a, "cúz'=lhkan
 this.VIS DET=indigenous.person=EXIS going.to=ISG.SBJ
 áts'x-en iz'."
 get.seen-DIR those.VIS

He told the Indian (Frank Gott), "I am going to have a look at those."

- (32) tsún-em, “cw7áoz=as.”
 say+DIR-3PASS NEG=3SBJV
 Frank Gott told him, “Don’t.”
- (33) nílh=(s)t’u7 áta7 s=q’wem-ílc=s,
 COP=EXCL to+there.VIS NMLZ=get.curled.up-AUT=3POSS
 kwán-as ta=cwík’-ten-s=a,
 take+DIR-3ERG DET=butcher-INS-3POSS=EXIS
 nílh=s... s=k’etcw-ts-án’-as
 COP=NMLZ NMLZ=get.severed-mouth-DIR-3ERG
 iz’, plan wa7 s-zus-ts.
 those.VIS already IPFV STAT-get.tied.up-mouth
 Then the game warden squatted down, he took his knife, and he cut open the mouths of the gunny sacks, which had already been tied up.
- (34) tsún-em=ku7 (ta...) e=ts7á
 say+DIR-3PASS=QUOT DET to=this.VIS
 s=Sp’aoy, “tsukw-s!”
 NMLZ=Sp’aoy[Frank.Gott] finish-CAUS
 Frank Gott told the game warden, “Stop!”
- (35) nílh=ku7=t’u7 s=n-q’s-an’k-ús-en-as.
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=LOC-laugh-stomach-face-DIR-3ERG
 Then the game warden just laughed in his face.
- (36) téxw=t’u7=ti7 ts7a wa7 xwem
 really=EXCL=that.VIS this.VIS IPFV fast
 kwa=qús-em.
 DET+IPFV=shoot-MID
 Now this guy Frank Gott is real quick to draw.

- (37) nílh=ku7 ta=s=tsol-lec-mín-as=a
 COP=QUOT DET=NMLZ=reach.for-AUT-RLT-3ERG=EXIS
 t=swelmín'k-s=a, nílh
 DET=gun-3POSS=EXIS COP
 s=lham'-ál'ts-en-[as], nílh
 NMLZ=put.into-rock-DIR-3ERG COP
 s=tsún-as, "tsukw-s!"
 NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG finish-CAUS

He reached for his gun, he loaded it, and he told the game warden, "Stop!"

- (38) n-q's-an'k-min-as=kú7=t'u7, nílh=t'u7
 LOC-laugh-stomach-RLT-3ERG=QUOT=EXCL COP=EXCL
 látí7 s=qús-cit-em, "p'exw! p'exw!"
 at+there.VIS NMLZ=shoot-IND-3PASS pow pow

The game warden laughed at him again and then Frank Gott shot him, "pow! pow!"

- (39) án'was látí7 t'u7 nílh=t'u7
 two at+there.VIS EXCL COP=EXCL
 n-tsqám'•em'=s.
 LOC-fall.backwards•FRED=3POSS

He got hit twice and then he fell backwards.

- (40) nílh látí7 s-kits.
 COP at+there.VIS STAT-get.laid.down

He was laying there.

- (41) nilh s=tsún-as ta=twíw't=a wa7
 COP NMLZ=say+DIR-3ERG DET=youth=EXIS IPFV
 snúk'wa7-s... mets-cál láti7, nilh
 friend-3POSS get.written-ACT at+there.VIS COP
 s=tsún-as, “cuy nas sqwal', nas sqwál'-min'
 speak+DIR-3ERG go.on go report go report-RLT
 áku7.”
 to+there.INVIS

Frank Gott told his companion, the young person, he wrote something down and told him, “Go report what happened.”

- (42) “sqwal' láku7 táown=a,
 report at+there.INVIS town=EXIS
 t=s=xílh-ts-an=a,
 DET=NMLZ=get.done-CAUS-ISG.ERG=EXIS
 l=ts7á=kelh lh=wá7=an
 at=this.VIS=FUT COMP=be=ISG.SBJV
 lh=t'iq-min'-tsál-itas.”
 COMP=arrive-RLT-ISG.OBJ-3PL.ERG

“Go tell them in town what I have done, I'll be here when they come to get me.”

- (43) nilh s=lhqw-ilc=s ta=twéww'et=a
 COP NMLZ=ride.horse-AUT=3POSS DET=boy=EXIS
 lhláti7=t'u7 nilh lhláku7
 from+there.VIS=EXCL COP from+there.INVIS
 nuxw-sqáxa7=s.
 gallop-horse=3POSS

So the boy got on his horse and galloped off.

- (44) t'iq e=ts7á, cwíts'-in'-as ta=píph=a.
 arrive to=this.VIS hand.over-DIR-3ERG DET=paper=EXIS
 When he arrived there he handed over the letter.

- (45) nilh s=qelilám'=s i=sám7=a,
 COP NMLZ=hurry=3POSS PL.DET=white.person=EXIS
 qelilám'=wit.
 hurry=3PL
 Then the white folks hurried, they hurried.

- (46) t'iq i=cw7ít=a, k'win•k'wen=ás=k'a
 arrive PL.DET=many=EXIS TRED•how.many=3SBJV=EPIS
 ku=game warden.
 DET=game warden
 Many came, a whole bunch of game wardens.

- (47) ats'x-enwa[lh]-en-ítas láku7
 get.seen-go.to-DIR-3PL.ERG at+there.INVIS
 kw=s=Sp'aoy, Frank Gott, nilh
 DET=NMLZ=Sp'aoy[Frank.Gott] Frank Gott COP
 s=qus-cit-ítas.
 NMLZ=shoot-IND-3PL.ERG
 They expected to find Frank Gott there, and they shot him.

- (48) tsicw ta=truck=a, lham'-án-itas,
 get.there DET=truck=EXIS put.into-DIR-3PL.ERG
 lham'-án-itas láku7.
 put.into-DIR-3PL.ERG at+there.INVIS
 A truck came, they put him in it, they put him in there.

- (49) nilh... áoy=t'u7 kw=s=tsicw=s
 COP NEG=EXCL DET=NMLZ=get.there=3POSS
 ku=Lytton=a, nilh=ti7 k'ik't7-ám wa7
 DET=Lytton=EXIS COP=that.VIS close-most IPFV
hospítal.
 hospital

They didn't get to Lytton, it's the nearest place with a hospital.

- (50) nilh s=zuqw=s láti7 tsáw'tswa.
 COP NMLZ=die=3POSS at+there.VIS DET+slave+EXIS
 So the poor fellow died there.

- (51) nilh láti7 (lh lhus...)
 COP at+there.VIS COMP COMP+IPFV+3SBJV
 lh=lep'=wít=as ts'íla
 COMP=get.buried=3PL=3SBJV like
 s-t'qw-aw's.
 STAT-together-collective

They kind of got buried together (Frank Gott and Frank Perry).

- (52) nilh ti7, sqwe•qw•el'•mín-an ti7. l=ts7a
 COP that.VIS tell•CRED•-RLT-1SG.ERG that.VIS at=this.VIS
 ku... (láti7 ku...) láti7 ku=*time*,
 DET at+there.VIS DET at+there.VIS DET=time
 [w]éna7, s-1933.
 what.was.it NMLZ-1933

That's it, what I've told a story about. The time when this happened was in, when was it? 1933.

- (53) *September*=k'a pináni7.
 September=EPIS at.that.time

Must've been September at that time.

- (54) nká7=as kéla7=t'u7 wa7 n-líg'wts=t'u7 s=sáq'ulh
 where=3SBJV first=EXCL IPFV LOC-open=EXCL NMLZ=half
September=ha, láti7 ku=*time*.
 September=EXIS at+there.VIS DET=time

It was halfway through September when the hunting season was opened.

- (55) áti7 lh=xíl-em=as áti7.
 to+there.VIS COMP=do-MID=3SBJV to+there.VIS

That's when that happened.

CHAPTER 14

Zúqwsas nelh wa7 sí.stem na q̄yla úcwalmicw The Man Who Murdered the Campers

14.1 English (as told by Sam Mitchell himself)

I'll start on another story that... This fellow was supposed to be hung, too. This fellow was known amongst the Indians, he was bad. That's all he does is, all he had in his head was to kill.

And he come along, and there was a family camped near the river some place. These couple, they had three girls and themselves. So they made a fire near the, near the river on a bench where this wood... That's the way the old Indians used to travel, there wherever they stopped they make a fire and camp. This could be in the summertime. And this fellow happened to peep over from the hill on the... And these people were laying facing the fire, but the fire was out, just about down, a few sparks.

And the whole five of them were laying... in my language we call it *q'aaq'áq'm'ekst*, well, it's like a spoon, they laying one way together. When he's... when he fired a shot right on the man's chest, and the bullet went

right through the four of them. And the fifth one, the youngest girl on the far side, the bullet landed on her chest, but it didn't go in, but it was there.

And that was the man that was supposed to be also hung here in Lillooet. I heard that from my own dad who told about this story.

14.2 St'át'imcets

Nilh ts7a ku úcwalmicw... *I'll repeat it now in Indian.* Qv̄l̄ ku7 ti7 ts7a ku úcwalmicw, lta nqwal'uttenlhkálha wa7 tsúnitas nk'san'k. Tsukw t'u7 ku stem'tétem's ku swat, stam' t'u7 kátí7, tsetsúkwa kapúhs hem's t'u7 láti7 t'u7 lhzuqwstum'íhas, kwancitsíhas.

Nilh malh t'u7 skalhexwminása izá láti7 i tsitcwemá k'a. Wa7 k'a wi7 kátí7 kentákem k'a t'u7 swas cwí'emmin, kan kw skakwánsasa. Nilh t'u7 ti7 tsetsúkwa t'u7 wa7 száyens kwas zúqwsas ku swat t'u7, stám'as t'u7. Kalhexwminása izá kwelw ucwalmícw iz', k'a wá7wit esláp' ku stám'as. Nilh t'u7 sqúscitas.

Ntsíftslekstwit lkw7a nq'áq'em'ekstwal' ta líl'tem'a sqaycw, nilh et7ú slha7 láti7 t.sem7ámsa, lhláti7 i stsmál'tiha ku áw'ta. Tákem k'a t'u7 nq'áq'áq'em'ekstwál'wit. Nilh t'u7 s7ulhcws ta seqwsmál'tsa lhéla sqátsez7a ekw7á t.sem7ámsa t'u ptak et7ú lki n7án'wasa smelhmém'lhats, smelhmúlhats. Tsicw éta s7alelna7úl'a, lts7a áku7 ta táxwatssa, kwtékwtsa lhkak'á7asa ta qwsmál'tsa, nilh t'u7 scw7aoy kw ska7úllhcwsa.

Nilh ku7 mállh ti7 elh cuz' cwak ti7 aylh... i cwákas t'u7, wa7 t'u7 máwal'. Nilh t'u7 s7áts'xenas i slalíl'tem'sa kw spláni wa7 xwayt múta7 keckécsa. Nilh ti7 sqwal'. Wa7 ti7 ta qwsmál'tsa esxéq lts7a ta táxwatssa, ta kwtékwtsa.

Nilh ti7 na nsqátsez7a sqwéqwel's. Sqweqwel'mínas, wa7 tsut, i kwá-nenstum, i kwánemas aylh. Nilh ti7, nilh ti7 t'it law, láti7 t'u7 wa7 lts7a *Lil-looeta*, ti7 ku sqaycw. Qv̄l̄ k'a t'ú7 ti7 ku úcwalmicw. Áti7 lhtsem'pás ti7 ku sqwéqwel', ti7 ta wa7 law láti7 *Hangman's Tree*. Áti7 lh7áw'tas kwas zewátenan ku stexw kw ntsutánwas, cw7it t'u7 wa7 sáwentsas kwas ská-nas swenácws t'u7. T'u7 stexwkán t'u7 qan'ímens, lhélki skelkékel7a wa7 sqwéqwel' ku n7án'was ku law láti7.

14.3 English (Direct Translation)

There was this Indian... *I'll repeat it now in Indian*. They say this Indian was bad, in our language they call it *nk'san'k*. Just for someone's clothing, anything at all, even just their coat, he'd kill you and take it off you.

And so it was that he came upon some people that must have been camping. He must have been looking all over for them, so he could get them. That's all he ever did, he'd kill anyone for anything. He came upon these Indians, and they must've had blankets or something. So he shot them.

There were five of them sleeping belly-to-back, the elder man and his wife were close together, and their children were behind. They must have all been lying belly-to-back with one another. The bullet entered the father, went into his wife, and passed right through the two girls. The bullet went into the youngest one's chest, into the hollow of her breastbone where it got stuck, but it never got in.

And then she began to wake up... and when she woke up, she was still alive. She saw that her parents and her older sisters were all dead. That's the story. That bullet was still lodged in her chest, in the hollow of her breastbone.

That was my father's story. He was told that, he said, when the murderer was captured, when they got him. That man also got hung in Lillooet. He must've been a bad person. That's where the story ends, when the man got hung at Hangman's Tree. Last I knew was that it was true, I think; a lot of people asked me about it, whether it was true. But I definitely heard from the elders who said that there were two people that were hung there.

14.4 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) nilh ts7a ku=7úcwalmicw... I'll repeat it now
 COP this.VIS DET=indigenous.person I'll repeat it now
in Indian.
 in Indian

There was this Indian... I'll repeat it now in Indian.

- (2) qv̄l=ku7=ti7 ts7a ku=7úcwalmicw,
 bad=QUOT=that.VIS this.VIS DET=indigenous.person
 l=ta=n-qwal'ut-ten-lhkálh=a wa7
 at=DET=LOC-speak-INS-IPL.POSS=EXIS IPFV
 tsún-itas n-k's-an'k.
 say+DIR-3PL.ERG LOC-bad-inside

They say this Indian was bad, in our language they call it *nk'san'k* ('high-tempered, gets mad easily').

- (3) tsúkw=t'u7 ku=s... stem'tétem's ku=swát,
 finish=EXCL DET=NMLZ clothing-3POSS DET=who
 stám'=t'u7 káti7, tsetsúkwa
 what=EXCL around+there.VIS just
 kapuh-s=hém'=s=t'u7¹ láti7=t'u7
 coat-3POSS=ANTI=3POSS=EXCL at+there.VIS=EXCL
 lh=zuqw-s-tum'í-has,
 COMP=die-CAUS-2SG.OBJ-3ERG
 kwan-ci[t]-tsí-has.
 take-IND-2SG.OBJ-3ERG

Just for someone's clothing, anything at all, even just their coat, he'd kill you and take it off you.

(4) ní[lh]=malh=t'u7

COP=ADHORT=EXCL

s=ka-lhexw-min-ás-a

izá

NMLZ=CIRC-come.up.suddenly-RLT-3ERG-CIRC these.VIS

látí7 i=tsitcw-em=á=k'a.

at+there.VIS PL.DET=house-MID=EXIS=EPIS

And so it was that he came upon some people that must have been camping.

(5) wá7=k'a=wi7 káti7 ken-takem=k'á=t'u7

IPFV=EPIS=EMPH around+there.VIS around-all=EPIS=EXCL

swas

cwíl'-em-min,

NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS

look.for-MID-RLT

(kwas...)

kan

DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS

whether

kw=s=ka-kwán-s-as-a.

DET=NMLZ=CIRC-take-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC

He must have been looking all over for them, so he could get them.

¹The co-occurrence of two 3rd person suffixes in *kapuh-s=hém'=s=t'u7* is unexpected.

- (6) nílh=t'u7 ti7 tsetsúkwa=t'u7 wa7
 COP=EXCL that.VIS just=EXCL IPFV
 száyten-s (kwas...)
 doings-3POSS DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 kwas zúqw-s-as
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS die-CAUS-3ERG
 ku=swát=t'u7, [ku]=stám'=as=t'u7.
 DET=who=EXCL DET=what=3SBJV=EXCL

That's all he ever did, he'd kill anyone for anything.

- (7) [ka]-lhexw-min-ás-a izá (n)
 CIRC-come.up.suddenly-RLT-3ERG-CIRC these.VIS
 kwelh=ucwalmícw(s) iz', k'a
 PL.INVIS.DET=indigenous.person those.VIS EPIS
 wá7=wit es=[s]láp' ku=stám'=as.
 IPFV=3PL have=blankets DET=what=3SBJV

He came upon these Indians, and they must've had blankets or something.

- (8) nílh=t'u7 s=qús-cit-as.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=shoot-IND-3ERG

So he shot them.

- (9) n-tsíł•tslekst=wit l=kw7a
 LOC-TRED•five=3PL at=this.INVIS
- n-q'á•q'•em'•ek-s-twal' (i=s....)
 LOC-join•CRED•-back-CAUS-RECP PL.DET=NMLZ
- ta=líl'tem'•a sqaycw, nilh e=t7ú...
 DET=adult=EXIS man COP to=that.VIS
- [s]-lha7 láti7
 STAT-close.together at+there.VIS
- t=sem7ám-s=a, lhláti7
 DET=wife-3POSS=EXIS from+there.VIS
- i=stsmál't-i=ha
 PL.DET=children-3PL.POSS=EXIS
- ku=7áw't=a.
 INVIS.DET=behind=EXIS

There were five of them sleeping belly-to-back, the elder man and his wife were close together, and their children were behind.

- (10) tákem=k'a=t'u7 n-q'á•q'á•q'•em'•ek-s-twál'=wit.
 all=EPIS=EXCL LOC-RED•join•CRED•-back-CAUS-RECP=3PL
- They must have all been lying belly-to-back with one another.

- (11) nílh=t'u7 s=7úlhcw=s ta=seqws-m-ál'ts=a
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=enter=3POSS DET=shoot-MID-rock=EXIS
 (lhel=ta...) lhel=[ta]=sqátsez7=a e=kw7á
 from=DET from=DET=father=EXIS to=this.INVIS
 t=sem7ám-s=a t'u ptak e=t7ú
 DET=wife-3POSS=EXIS until passed.by to=that.VIS
 l=ki=n-7án'was=a smelh•mé•m'lhats,
 at=PL.DET=LOC-two=EXIS TRED•woman•CRED•
 smelh•múlhats.
 TRED•woman

The bullet entered the father, went into his wife, and passed right through the two girls.

- (12) tsicw e=ta=s7al•el•na[7]-7úl'7=a,
 get.there to=DET=young•CRED•-most=EXIS
 l=ts7a áku7 ta=táxwats-s=a,
 at=this.VIS to+there.INVIS DET=chest-3POSS=EXIS
 kwtékwt-s=a (lh...)
 hollow.of.breastbone-3POSS=EXIS COMP
 lh=ka-k'á7=as-a
 COMP=CIRC-get.stuck=3SBJV-CIRC
 ta=qws-m-ál'ts=a,
 DET=shoot-MID-rock=EXIS
 nílh=t'u7 s=cw7aoy=s
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=NEG=3POSS
 kw=s=ka-7úlhcw=s-a.
 DET=NMLZ=CIRC-enter=3POSS-CIRC

The bullet went into the youngest one's chest, into the hollow of her breastbone where it got stuck, but it never got in.

- (13) nilh=ku7=málh=ti7 elh cuz' cwak
 COP=QUOT=ADHORT=that.VIS and.then going.to get.woken
 ti7 aylh... i=cwák=as t'u7,
 that.VIS then when.PAST=get.woken=3SBJV EXCL
 wá7=t'u7 máwal'.
 IPFV=EXCL alive

And then she began to wake up... and when she woke up, she was still alive.

- (14) nílh=t'u7 s=7áts'x-en-as
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.seen-DIR-3ERG
 i=slalí' tem'-s=a
 PL.DET=parents-3POSS=EXIS
 kw=s=plán=i wa7 xwayt
 DET=NMLZ=already=3PL.POSS IPFV perish
 múta7 [i]=keckéc-s=a.²
 and PL.DET=sisters-3POSS=EXIS

When she woke up still alive, she saw that her parents and her older sisters were all dead.

- (15) nílh=ti7 sqwal'.
 COP=that.VIS report
 That's the story.

²The expected stress pattern for 'older sisters' is *kéckec*, rather than *keckéc*.

- (16) wa7 ti7 ta=qws-m-ál'ts=a
 be that.VIS DET=shoot-MID-rock=EXIS
 es-xélq l=ts7a
 STAT-fit.into.something at=this.VIS
 ta=táxwats-s=a,
 DET=chest-3POSS=EXIS
 ta=kwékwt-s=a
 DET=hollow.of.breastbone-3POSS=EXIS

That bullet was still lodged in her chest, in the hollow of her breastbone.

- (17) nílh=ti7 na=n-sqátsez7=a
 COP=that.VIS ABS.DET=ISG.POSS-father=EXIS
 sqwé•qw•el'...-s.
 tell•CRED•-3POSS

That was my father's story.

- (18) sqwe•qw•el'-mín-as, wa7 tsut,
 tell•CRED•-RLT-3ERG IPFV say
 i... kwán•en-s-tum,
 when.PAST take•FRED-CAUS-3PASS
 i=kwán-em=as aylh.
 when.PAST=take+DIR-3PASS=3SBJV then

He was told that, he said, when he [the murderer] was captured, when they got him.

- (19) nilh=ti7, nílh=ti7 t'it law,
 COP=that.VIS COP=that.VIS also get.hung
 láti7=t'u7 wa7 l=ts7a Lillooet=a,
 at+there.VIS=EXCL be at=this.VIS Lillooet=EXIS
 ti7 ku=sqáycw.
 that.VIS DET=man

That man also got hung in Lillooet.

- (20) qv̄l=k'a=t'ú7=ti7 ku=7úcwalmicw.
 bad=EPIS=EXCL=that.VIS DET=indigenous.person
 He must've been a bad person.

- (21) áti7 lh=tsem'p=ás ti7
 to+there.VIS COMP=get.finished=3SBJV that.VIS
 ku=sqwé•qw•el', ti7 ta=wa7=láw
 DET=tell•CRED• that.VIS DET=IPFV=get.hung
 láti7 *Hangman's Tree.*
 at+there.VIS Hangman's Tree

That's where the story ends, when the man got hung at Hangman's Tree.

- (22) áti7 lh=7áw't=as kwas
to+there.VIS COMP=behind=3SBJV DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
zewát-en-an ku=stéxw (kw=s...)
be.known-DIR-1SG.ERG DET=real DET=NMLZ
kw=n-tsut-ánwas, cw7ít=t'u7 wa7
DET=LOC-say-inside many=EXCL IPFV
sáw-en-ts-as kwas
ask-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
s-kán=as
STAT-whether=3SBJV
s=wenácw=s=t'u7.
NMLZ=true=3POSS=EXCL

Last I knew was that it was true, I think; a lot of people asked me about it, whether it was true.

- (23) t'u7 stexw=kán=t'u7 qan'ím-ens,
but real=1SG.SBJ=EXCL hear-DIR
lhel=[ki]=skel•ké•k•el7=a wa7 sqwé•qw•el'
from=PL.DET=TRED•first•CRED•=EXIS IPFV tell•CRED•
ku=n-7án'was ku=láw láti7.
DET=LOC-two DET=get.hung at+there.VIS

But I definitely heard from the elders who said there were two people that were hung there.

CHAPTER 15

I n7icwcwez'mínemas ta q'wexq'wíxusa ku Laoyám

The Woman who Mistook a Black Man for the Devil

15.1 English (as told by Sam Mitchell himself)

I'm gonna tell another story about when the, well, I'll have to go back to when the missionaries come, when the priests come. They had pictures about the angels with the wings, and then The Devil with horns and tails and black.

So, anyways, the Indians up here, they never seen such people as coloured people, you see. But when the miners went through, that is the white man miners, then the Chinamans, then there was one or... a few coloured people went through.

And this Indian women, it's further up from here, it's about, we'll say about 60 or 75 miles north of this town, little town of Lillooet, and this

woman, well, her people start to learn how to mine. So they seen how these white people were mining.

So she stayed in a camp and she was cooking, making bannock, and [s]he seen this person come along. And it was black. And the only thing she ever seen in pictures was supposed to be The Devil with the... black, coloured, well, it'll be coloured people, but with horns, but this one didn't have no horns on, or a tail. So, when she seen this she thought sure, in this language, this Shuswap language, they call it *tseq'emín'ten*. In my language, we call it *laoyám*, well, that's The Devil.

So, she kneeled down and she prayed and prayed and prayed and prayed. She learned, already learned how to pray. She looked around, this man was still sitting there, the other side of the fire. And she prayed again, and prayed again. She thought, sure, that was The Devil. And this man was still there. Well, she thought on her prayer she was gonna get rid of this man she thought, which she thought was The Devil. After awhile, this man turned around and told her, he says, "You alright?" He says, "You can pray, that's good."¹

That's the way this, how stupid this Indian woman was and she thought the colored people were all the devils. And this story was true and has been told down for years and years and everybody laughs about it.

¹Sam Mitchell told the English material following this paragraph after giving his St'át'imcets rendition.

15.2 St'át'imcets

Now I'm gonna tell it in Indian. And, in my language, I'll mix the Shuswap language in it because that's the words she used, and... Wa7 ku7 t'u7 láti7 cuz' q'wel'tsenantsút.

Nilh t'u7 s7áts'xenas, ts7as láti7 ta ucwalmícwa, t'u7 stexw t'u7 q'wexq'wix. Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsut.s, *that's the Shuswap language, ri tseq'emín'ten.* Tsukw t'u7 ti7 wa7 áts'xenas lki píktsha ku laoyám kwa q'wexq'wix, esqwel'qwal'acken. *Ri tseq'emín'ten, the Shuswap language, tseq'emín'ten, that's a laoyám.*

So she kneeled and, oh, nilh ku7 scít'ilqam's, nilh slámcal. Lá::mcal ku7. Kakvlsasá ku7, wa7 t'u7 láti7 smítsa7q ta wa7 tsúnas kw slaoyám. Ná'enas láti7 slámcal, nilh t'u7 snilh t'u7 múta7 láti7 slá::mcal. Kakvlsasá ku7, wa::7 t'u7 láti7. Nilh ku7 t'u7 stsúnems, “Stexwkácw t'u7 áma, wá7lhkacw lámcal.” K'ámalh wa7 snilh ntsutánwas kwas ti7 nilh ta wá7 áts'xenas lki píktsha: wa7 laoyám, tsukw t'u7 t.s7ícwa7sa sqwal'acken.

Tsukw wa7 aylh láti7 nilh st'íqi qelhcál i wa7 ts'áw'cal. Wa7 ti7 láti7. Nilh t'u7 s7um'enítas. I sqáyqeycwa, wa7 ti7 zewatenítas stám'as, ucwalmícw ti7, t'u7 tsukw t'u7 tsa q'wexq'wixus. Ts7a ta ámha smúlhats, tsukw t'u7 wa7 zewátenas ku wa7 áts'xenas ku píktsa kwas q'wexq'wixus ku laoyám. *Tseq'emín'ten in the Shuswap language.*

T.swa7 ti7 láti7 aylh nilh t'u7 t'iq i sqáyqeycwa, nilh t'u7 s7um'enítas ku s7ílhens, tsúkwal'ts t'u7, nilh t'u7 tu7 sqwatsátss, elh cuz' aylh láti7 sqweqwel'mínas i száytensa, ts7a ta smúlhatsa. Tsut, “I kel7án áts'xen, tsútkan t'ú7 ti7 kw snilhats wenácw ku wa7 tsúnitas wa7 *tseq'emín'ten,*” *that's laoyám,* “nilh lts7áwna nslámcal. K'wínas k'a kw stsem'psán kw nslámcal kwas t'u7 wa7 láti7 nxwesxwisana7míntsas. Tsúntsas aylh, ‘Ámalhkacw, wá7lhkacw lámcal.’”

15.3 English (Direct Translation)

Now I'm gonna tell it in Indian. And, in my language, I'll mix the Shuswap language in it because that's the words she used, and... There was this woman, she was going to cook something for herself.

Then she saw a person coming, and he was really black. So she thought it was the Devil, that's *ri tseq'emín'ten* in the Shuswap language. The only thing that she had seen in the pictures that was black and had horns was the Devil. *Ri tseq'emín'ten in the Shuswap language, tseq'emín'ten, that's a laoyám.*

So she kneeled down and prayed. She prayed hard. She glanced over and he was still sitting there, the one she thought was the Devil. She changed her prayers and she prayed hard again. She glanced over again and he was still there. He just told her, "You're really good, you're praying." But she thought that he was the one she had seen in pictures: he was the Devil, only without any horns.

Then the people who were panning for gold around there finished up and came to put their stuff away. And there he was. So they gave him something to eat. The men knew what he was, he was a person, but it was just that he had a black face. But this good woman, the only thing she knew with a black face from the pictures was the Devil. *Tseq'emín'ten in the Shuswap language.*

Since he was there when the men came, they gave him some of their food, and when he finished it, he left, and then this woman started telling them what happened to her. She said, "When I first saw him, I thought for sure that he was what they call the Devil, so I prayed. I finished my prayers a few times, but he was still there smiling at me. Finally he said, 'You're good, you're praying.' "

15.4 Interlinear Gloss

- (1) *Now I'm gonna tell it in Indian. And, in my language, I'll mix the Shuswap language in it because that's the words she used, and...*

- (2) wá7=ku7=t'u7 láti7 (cuz'...) cuz'
 IPFV=QUOT=EXCL at+there.VIS going.to going.to
 q'wel'-tsen-an-tsút.
 get.cooked-mouth-DIR-REFL

There was this woman, she was going to cook something for herself.

- (3) nílh=t'u7 s=7áts'x-en-as, ts7as láti7
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=get.seen-DIR-3ERG come at+there.VIS
 ta=7ucwalmícw=a, t'u7 stéxw=t'u7
 DET=indigenous.person=EXIS EXCL real=EXCL
 q'wex•q'wíx.
 TRED•black

Then she saw a person coming, and he was really black.

- (4) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsut=s, *that's the Shuswap*
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say=3POSS that's the Shuswap
*language, ri tseq'emín'ten.*²
 language DET devil

So she thought it was the Devil, that's *ri tseq'emín'ten* in the Shuswap language.

²The transcription of *ri tseq'emín'ten* is courtesy of Marianne Ignace (p.c.), cf. √tsq' 'cast off' in Kuipers (1983). Sam Mitchell pronounces Scwápmecets /ts/ as retracted /ts̠/.

I n7icwcwez'mínemas ta q'wexq'wíxusa ku Laoyám

- (5) tsúkwa=t'u7 ti[7] wa7 áts'x-en-as
 finish=EXCL that.VIS IPFV get.seen-DIR-3ERG
 l=ki=píktsh=a (kwa...) ku=laoyám
 at=PL.DET=picture=EXIS DET+IPFV DET=devil
 kwa=q'wex•q'wíx, es=[s]qwel'•qwál'acken.
 DET+IPFV=TRED•black have=TRED•horn

The only thing that she had seen in the pictures that was black and had horns was the Devil.

- (6) *ri tseq'emín'ten, the Shuswap language, tseq'emín'ten,*
 DET devil the Shuswap language devil
that's a laoyám.
 that's a devil

Ri tseq'emín'ten in the Shuswap language, *tseq'emín'ten*, that's a laoyám.

- (7) *so she kneeled and, oh,* nílh=ku7
 so she kneeled and oh COP=QUOT
 s=cít'il-q-am'=[s], nílh
 NMLZ=kneel-bottom-MID=3POSS COP
 s=lám-cal=s.
 NMLZ=pray-ACT=3POSS

So she kneeled down and prayed.

- (8) lá::m-cal=ku7.
 pray-ACT=QUOT
 She prayed hard.

- (9) ka-kv|s-as-á=ku7, wá7=t'u7
 CIRC-glance-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC=QUOT IPFV=EXCL
 láti7 s-mítsa7q ta=wa7=tsún-as
 at+there.VIS STAT-sit DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3ERG
 kw=s=|aoyám.
 DET=NMLZ=devil

She glanced over and he was still sitting there, the one she thought was the Devil.

- (10) nák'-en-as láti7
 get.changed-DIR-3ERG at+there.VIS
 [ku]=s-lám-cal-s, nílh=t'u7
 DET=NMLZ-pray-ACT-3POSS COP=EXCL
 snílh=t'u7 múta7 láti7
 3SG.INDEP=EXCL again at+there.VIS
 s=lá::m-cal=s.
 NMLZ=pray-ACT=3POSS

She changed her prayers and she prayed hard again.

- (11) ka-kv|s-as-á=ku7, wá::7=t'u7 láti7.
 CIRC-glance-CAUS-3ERG-CIRC=QUOT be=EXCL at+there.VIS
 She glanced over again and he was still there.

- (12) nílh=ku7=t'u7 s=tsún-em=s,³
 COP=QUOT=EXCL NMLZ=say+DIR-3PASS=3POSS
 “stexw=kácw=t'u7 áma, wá7=|hkacw lám-cal.”
 real=2SG.SBJ=EXCL good IPFV=2SG.SBJ pray-ACT
 He just told her, “You’re really good, you’re praying.”

- (13) k'ámalh wa7 snilh n-tsut-ánwas
 however IPFV 3SG.INDEP LOC-say-inside
 kwas ti7
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS that.VIS
 nilh ta=wa7=áts'x-en-as
 COP DET=IPFV=get.seen-DIR-3ERG
 l=ki=píktsh=a: wa7
 at=PL.DET=picture=EXIS IPFV
 laoyám, tsúk=ts'ú7
 devil finish=EXCL
 t=s=7í[c]wa7=s=a
 DET=NMLZ=without=3POSS=EXIS
 s=[s]qwál'acken.
 have=horn

But she thought that he was the one she had seen in pictures: he was the Devil, only without any horns.

- (14) tsukw wa7 aylh láti7 nilh [s]=t'íq=i
 finish IPFV then at+there.VIS COP NMLZ=arrive=3PL.POSS
 qelh-[c]ál i=wa7=ts'áw'-cal.
 get.covered.up-ACT PL.DET=IPFV=get.washed-ACT

Then the people who were panning for gold around there finished up and came to put their stuff away.

- (15) wa7 ti7 láti7.
 be that.VIS at+there.VIS

And there he was.

³The form *stsúnems* is unusual since possessive inflection does not usually co-occur on a verb with passive suffixes (Davis, 2000).

- (16) nílh=t'u7 s=7um'-en-ítas.
 COP=EXCL NMLZ=be.given-DIR-3PL.ERG
 So they gave him something (to eat).
- (17) i=sqáy•qeycw=a, wa7 ti7
 PL.DET=TRED•man=EXIS IPFV that.VIS
 zewat-en-ítas stám'=as,
 be.known-DIR-3PL.ERG what=3SBJV
 ucwalmícw=ti7, t'u7 tsúkw=t'u7
 indigenous.person=that.VIS but finish=EXCL
 tsa q'wex•q'wíx-us.
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+EXIS TRED•black-face
 The men knew what he was, he was a person, but it was just that he had a black face.
- (18) ts7a [ta]=ámh=a smúlhats=(a), tsúkw=t'u7
 this.VIS DET=good=EXIS woman=EXIS finish=EXCL
 wa7 zewát-en-as ku=wa7=áts'x-en-as
 IPFV be.known-DIR-3ERG DET=IPFV=get.seen-DIR-3ERG
 ku=píktsa kwas
 DET=picture DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
 q'wex•q'wíx-us ku=laoyám.
 TRED•black-face DET=devil
 But this good woman, the only thing she knew with a black face from the pictures was the Devil.
- (19) *tseq'emín'ten* in the Shuswap language.
 devil in the shuswap language
Tseq'emín'ten in the Shuswap language.

I n7icwcwez'mínemas ta q'wexq'wixusa ku Laoyám

- (20) t=s=wá7=ti7 láti7 aylh nílh=t'u7
 DET=NMLZ=be=that.VIS at+there.VIS then COP=EXCL
 t'iq i=sqáy•qeycw=a, nílh=t'u7
 arrive PL.DET=TRED•man=EXIS COP=EXCL
 s=7úm'-en-itas ku=s7ílhen-s,
 NMLZ=be.given-DIR-3PL.ERG DET=food-3POSS
 tsúkw-al'ts=t'u7, nílh=t'u7=tu7
 finish-food=EXCL COP=EXCL=REM
 s=qwatsáts=s...
 NMLZ=leave=3POSS

Since he was there when the men came, they gave him some of their food, and when he finished it, he left...

- (21) ...elh cuz' aylh láti7 sqwe•qw•el'-mín-as
 and.then going.to then at+there.VIS tell•CRED•-RLT-3ERG
 i=száyten-s=a, ts7a ta=smúlhats=a.
 PL.DET=doings-3POSS=EXIS this.VIS DET=woman=EXIS
 ...and then this woman started telling them what happened to her.

- (22) tsut, “i=kel7=án áts’x-en,
 say when.PAST=first=ISG.SBJV get.seen-DIR
 tsut=kan=t’ú7=ti7 kw=s=nilh=ts
 say=ISG.SBJV=EXCL=that.VIS DET=NMLZ=COP=3POSS
 wenácw ku=wa7=tsún-itas
 true DET=IPFV=say+DIR-3PL.ERG
 wa7 tseq’emín’ten,” that’s
 IPFV devil that’s
 laoyám, “nilh l=ts7á-wna
 devil COP at=this.VIS-precisely
 n=s=lám-cal.”
 ISG.POSS=NMLZ=pray-ACT

She said, “When I first saw him, I thought for sure that he was what they call the Devil, so I prayed.”

- (23) “k’wín=as=k’a
 how.many=3SBJV=EPIS
 kw=s=tsem’p-s-án
 DET=NMLZ=get.finished-CAUS-ISG.ERG
 kw=n=s=lám-cal
 DET=ISG.POSS=NMLZ=pray-ACT
 kwás=t’u7
 DET+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS=EXCL
 wa7 láti7
 be at+there.VIS
 n-xwes*xwis-an[a7]-mín-ts-as.”
 LOC-TRED*smile-ear-RLT-ISG.OBJ-3ERG

“I finished my prayers a few times, but he was still there smiling at me.”

- (24) “tsún-ts-as aylh, ‘áma=lhkacw, wá7=lhkacw
say+DIR-ISG.OBJ-3ERG then good=2SG.SBJ IPFV=2SG.SBJ
 lám-cal.”
 pray-ACT

“Finally he said, ‘You’re good, you’re praying.’ ”

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Appendix I

Abbreviations

1	first person	DET	determiner
2	second person	DIR	directive transitivizer
3	third person	DIST	distal
A	paragogic “a”	EMPH	emphatic
ABS	absent	EPIS	epistemic modal
ACT	active intransitivizer	ERG	ergative
ADHORT	adhortative	EST	established
ANTI	antithetical	EXCL	exclusive
APPL	applicative transitivizer	EXIS	assertion-of-existence
AUT	autonomous intransitivizer	FRED	final reduplication
CAUS	causative transitivizer	FUT	future
CIRC	circumstantial modal	IMP	imperative
COLL	collective	IMPF	imperfective
COMP	complementizer	INCH	inchoative
COP	copula	IND	indirective applicative
CRED	consonant reduplication	INDEP	independent pronoun
		INS	instrumental
		INTJ	interjection

INVIS	invisible	PL	plural
IPFV	imperfective	POSS	possessive
IREL	initial reduplication	Q	question
IRR	irrealis	QUOT	quotative
LOC	locative	RECP	reciprocal
MID	middle intransitivizer	REFL	reflexive
NEG	negative	REM	remote in time
NMLZ	nominalizer	RLT	relational applicative
NTS	non-topical subject	SBJ	subject
OBJ	object	SBJV	subjunctive
OBL	oblique	SG	singular
OOC	out-of-control	STAT	stative
PASS	passive	TRED	total reduplication
PAST	past tense marker	VIS	visible

Appendix II

Conversion chart from van Eijk orthography to Americanist Phonemic Alphabet

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.wal**h*** ‘road’ versus *c**w**ak* ‘get woken’, *t’i**q**.wit* ‘they arrived’ versus *t’i**q**wit* ‘fire crackles’, *ts’i**l**.h**á**l’q**w**em* ‘resembling’ versus *ts’el**h**ts’á**l**h* ‘cool’, and *sts**u**t.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*).

Table 1: Conversion chart, van Eijk to Americanist Phonemic Alphabet

van Eijk	A.P.A.	van Eijk	A.P.A.
p	p	q	q
p'	p̣	q'	q̣
m	m	qw	q ^w
m'	ṃ	q'w	q̣ ^w
t	t	x	χ
ts	c	xw	χ ^w
<u>ts</u>	ç	g	ɣ
ts'	ç̣	g'	ɣ̣
<u>ts'</u>	ç̣̣	gw	ɣ ^w
s	š	g'w	ɣ̣ ^w
<u>s</u>	ş	w	w
n	n	w'	ẉ
n'	ṇ	y	y
t'	χ'	y'	ȳ
lh	ł	z	z
l	l	z'	ẓ
l'	ḷ	h	h
<u>l</u>	ł̣	ʔ	ʔ
<u>l'</u>	ł̣̣	a	a
k	k	ao	ʌ
k'	ḳ	e	ə
kw	k ^w	v	ə
k'w	ḳ ^w	i	i
c	x	ii	ị
cw	x ^w	u	u
r	ʀ	o	ʊ
r'	ʀ̣		

- (v) Vowels are automatically retracted immediately before back consonants (*q, q', q'w, q'w, x, xw, g, gw, g', g'w*), and to a lesser extent immediately afterwards; non-retracted vowels are written in these environments, since retraction is predictable. Thus we write *t'iq* rather than *t'iiq* for 'arrive here', even though the vowel is pronounced as *ii*.
- (vi) The glottal stop (*ʔ*) is 'transparent' to retraction - that is, for the purposes of retraction, we treat it as though it wasn't there. Thus we write *nliʔx* rather than *nliiʔx* for 'water clears up', even though the vowel is pronounced as *ii*.
- (vii) Particularly in clitics and suffixes, schwa (*e*) is frequently deleted. Thus *kelh* 'will, might' is often pronounced *klh*, and *t'elh* 'at this/that moment in time' is often pronounced *t'lh*. By convention, the schwa is uniformly represented in these forms within the St'át'imcets-only versions. When not pronounced, the schwa is not represented in these forms within the Interlinear Gloss versions.