I awlhi7censa sHenry Henry's Shoes

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Original

I kel7án pzan kw s*Henry*², kan t'u7 ats'xs t'iq. Án'was i qwlhí7censa wa7 s7ícwlheq. "O," kan tsutánwas "Kánmas k'a ts7a ícwlheq i gwlhí7censa." Aoy t'u7 kw ns7ínwan. Áts'xenlhkan múta7, wa7 t'u7 ts'íla i gwlhí7censa múta7 i stóckingsa ícwlheg. Cécen' avlh húz'lhkan sáwen kánmsas n7ícwlheg i gwlhí7censa. Áozas ha kw szwátnas kw sts'íla áti7 i gwlhí7censa. "O," wa7 tsut "Kan t'u7 áti7 xílem papt." Sqwál'entsas aylh kwas pála7 ti whéélsa ti bícyclesa nilh ti7 wa7 qweznás. Nilh t'u7 sáwenan "Clównlhkacw ha zam'?" "O cw7aoz," wa7 tsut "Kan t'u7 áti7 xílem papt." "Papt áti7 wa7 ts'íla i ngwlhí7cena múta7 i nstóckinga," wa7 tsut. "O," kan tsun "Kan tsutánwas kwasú k'a t'u7 aoz kwasú ka7áts'xsa i ts'ílasa i gwlhí7censwa." Ng'sán'kminem aylh, ng'sán'kkalh tákem. Úll'us láti7 s*Lisa* wá7as aylh

sqwegwel'míntsas kwas xílem áti7.

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

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

English Translation

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

Grammatical Analysis

(1) I=kel7=án pzan kw=s=Henry, when.PAST=first=1SG.CONJ meet(DIR) DET=NOM=Henry 'When I first met Henry,'

(2) kan=t'u7 ats'x-s t'iq. 1SG.SUBJ=just see-CAUS arrive 'I saw him arriving.'

(3) Án'was i=qwlhí7cen-s=a wa7

s7ícwlh-eq³. different-leg 'His two shoes were different.'

(4) "O" kan tsut-ánwas "kánm=as=k'a oh 1sg.subj say-inside Q=3conj=epis

ts7a ícwlh-eq i=qwlhí7cen-s=a."

DEMON different-leg DET=shoe-3POSS=EXIS
""Oh," I wondered "what is wrong with him – he has different shoes on."

(5) Áoy=t'u7 kw=n=s=7ínwan.

NEG=just DET=1SG.POSS=NOM=say.what(DIR)

'I didn't say nothing to him.'

(6) Áts'x-en=lhkan múta7 wa7=t'u7 ts'íla see-DIR=1SG.SUBJ again IMPF=just like

> i=qwlhi7cen-s=a múta7 DET=shoe-3POSS=EXIS and

i=stócking-s=a ícwlh-eq⁴.
DET=socks-3POSS=EXIS different-leg

'I looked again and his socks were different just like his shoes.'

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³ This form was revised by Laura Thevarge at a later date (March 8, 2007) and hence differs slightly from that heard on the original recording: *án'was i qwlhí7censa án'was s7icw ... 7icwlheq*.

⁴ This form was revised by Laura Thevarge at a later date (March 8, 2007) and hence differs slightly from the original recording. A transcription of the original with volunteered translation is as follows: *áts'xenlhkan múta7 ts'íla t'u7 ts'íla i ... qwlhi7c i stockingsa ícwlh*; 'I saw him again; his socks were the same as his shoes – they were different '

(7) Cé·cen' aylh húz'=lhkan sáw-en long.time·CRED· then going.to=1SG.SUBJ ask-DIR

kánm=s=a=s n-7ícwlh-eq why=NOM=IMPF=3POSS LOC-different-leg

i=qwlhi7cen-s=a⁵⁶.
DET=shoe-3POSS=EXIS

'A bit later I finally asked him why his shoes were different.'

(8) Áoz=as=ha kw=s=zwát-n-as kw=s=ts'íla NEG=3CONJ=YNO DET=NOM=know-DIR-3ERG DET=NOM=like

áti7 i=qwlhí7cen-s=a.

DEM DET=shoe-3POSS=EXIS

'II sekad i f he didn't know that h

'[I asked] if he didn't know that his shoes are like that.'

(9) "O," wa7 tsut, "kán=t'u7 áti7 oh IMPF say 1SG.SUBJ=just DEM

xíl-em papt".
do-MID always
""Oh" he seid '

"Oh," he said, "I just do that all the time."

(10) S=qwál'-en-ts-as aylh kw=a=s

NOM=tell-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG then DET=IMPF=3POSS

pála7 ti=wheel-s=a ti=bícycle-s=a

one DET=wheel-3POSS=EXIS DET=bícycle-3POSS=EXIS

nilh ti7 wa7 qwez-n-ás FOC DEMON IMPF use-DIR-3ERG

'Then he told me that he had a one-wheeled bicycle that he used.'

(11) Nílh=t'u7 $s=\text{áw-en}=\text{an}^7$

FOC=just (NOM)=ask-DIR=1SG.CONJ

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

⁶ In the original recording, after line (7), Laura says *lhapnás ha kwes ts'ila áti7*. During the March 8, 2007 revision she appended *i qwlhi7censa* and volunteered the following gloss: '(I asked) did he forget his shoes were like that?'. In a final revision (June 2008), Laura asked that the entire line be removed from the story.

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

"Clówn=lhkacw=ha zam'?" clown=2SG.SUBJ=YNQ after.all "Then I asked him "are you a clown then?""

(12)"O cw7aoz," wa7 tsut "kán=t'u7 oh NEG 1sg.subj=just IMPF say áti7 xíl-em papt." DEMON do-MID always "No," he said "I just do that all the time."

"Papt⁸ (13)áti7 wa7 ts'íla i=n-qwlhi7cen=a alwavs **IMPF** like. DET=1SG.POSS-shoe=EXIS DEIC múta7 i=n-stócking=a," wa7 tsut DET=1SG.POSS-sock=EXIS_IMPF and sav "My shoes and my socks are always like that," he said."

(14) "O," kan tsun "Kan tsut-ánwas oh 1sg.subj tell(DIR) 1sg.subj say-inside

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

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

i=ts'fla-s=a i=qwlhf7cen-sw=a."

DET=(NOM)=like-3POSS=EXIS DET=shoe-2SG.POSS=EXIS

"O" I said "I thought maybe you didn't see what your shoes were like."

- (15) Nq'sán'k-min-em aylh nq'sán'k=kalh tákem. laugh-RED-1PL.ERG then laugh=1PL.SUBJ all 'We laughed at him then we all laughed together.'
- (16)Úll'us láti7 s-Lisa wá7=as avlh together DEIC NOM-Lisa IMPF=3CONI then sqweqwel'-min-ts-as kw=a=s xíl-em áti7. tell-RED-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DET=IMPF=3POSS do-MID DEIC 'Lisa was with me when he was telling me that he does that.'

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

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