I kel7án pzan kw *sHenry*, kan t’u7 ats’xs t’iq. Án’was i qwlhí7censa wa7 s7ícwlheq. “O,” kan tsutánwas “Kánmas k’a ts7a ícwlheq i qwlhí7censa.” Aoy t’u7 kw ns7ínwan. Áts’xenlhkan múta7, wa7 t’u7 ts’íla i qwlhí7censa múta7 i stóckingsa ícwlheq. Cécen’ aylh hüź’lhkan sáwen kánmsas n7ícwlheq i qwlhí7censa. Aozas ha kw szwátnas kw sts’íla áti7 i qwlhí7censa. “O,” wa7 tsut “Kan t’u7 áti7 xílem papt.” Sqwál’entsas aylh kwas pála7 ti *wróel* sa *bicycle* sa 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 qnwíCyxena múta7 i nstóckinga,” wa7 tsut. “O,” kan tsun “Kan tsutánwas kwasú k’a t’u7 aoz kwasú ka7áts’xa i ts’ílasa i qwlhí7censwa.” Nq’xán’kminem aylh, nq’sán’kkalh táx. Úll’us láti7 *sLisa* wá7as aylh sqweqwel’míntsas kwas xílem áti7.

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1 Many thanks to Laura Thevarg 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.*
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
two DET=shoe-3POSS=EXIS IMPF
s7ícwlh-eq.
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’ila
see-DIR=1SG.SUBJ again IMPF=just like
i=qwlhí7cen-s=a múta7
DET=shoe-3POSS=EXIS and

i=stócking-s=a ícwlh-eq.
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
s7ícw ... 7ícwlheq.

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’ila t’u7 ts’ila i ... qwlhí7c 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-7icwlh-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=YNQ DET=NOM=know-DIR-3ERG DET=NOM=like
áti7 i=qwlhi7cen-s=a.
DEM DET=shoe-3POSS=EXIS
‘[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 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=bicycle-s=a
one DET=wheel-3POSS=EXIS DET=bicycle-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=áw-en=an7
FOC=just (NOM)=ask-DIR=1SG.CONJ

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 icwlheq; ‘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 IMPF say 1SG.SUBJ=just
áti7 xíl-em papt.”
DEMON do-MID always
“‘No,” he said “I just do that all the time.’”

(13) “Papt áti7 wa7 ts’íla i=n-qwlhi7cen=a
always DEIC IMPF like DET=1SG.POSS-shoe=EXIS
múta7 i=n-stócking=a,” wa7 tsut.
and DET=1SG.POSS-sock=EXIS IMPF say
“‘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’íla-s=a i=qwlhi7cen-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 aylh
together DEIC NOM-Lisa IMPF=3CONJ then
sqweqwel’-mín-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.