

Talking in Halq'eméylem

Documenting Conversation in an
Indigenous Language

2nd Edition

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by Siyamiyateliyot Elizabeth Phillips,
Xwiya'lemot Tillie Gutierrez, *and* Susan Russell

with Sa:yisatlha Vivian Williams *and* Strang Burton

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DEDICATION

*To the teachers and learners
of all the dialects of Halkomelem*

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Prologue: Sqwelqwels the Siyamiyateliyot

by Siyamiyateliyot Elizabeth Phillips^{*}

Xets'éwestel swayel tl'owayel.

O: su, tl'o kwa kw'el su, k'wel qwelés kw'elselh la, ilh la te skul.

Ol xwe'i lets'axw swayel leplít . Osu thetstexwes thel shxwewáli la kwuthoxes cha osu las olhthoxes te paselcha kw'els la sku:l. Osu the'ít.

Olmet tsel kwe'wates li kw'e Mission. Su lal olmethoxes te sku:l. Li te tha kw'els sta, kw'ay kw'els t'oqw'.

Sosu, sta kulh st'at'ílmel wiyoth tel shxwewali, tl'okw'es mekwstam s'íwes. Xwelátelh qulh xwiythoxes tel mal. Lis tés te st'xáms xwithoxes o setu, su lo la sthethístexwes te híqw tútl'ò. Thiytes te latelh s'alhtel. Osu, thiyem thel tal te sawel tset tl'okw's la hélem xets'ilem la yo:ys.

Tl'o kwa tetha lil hákw'eles kw'el se li te sku:l. Lil st'at'íl su tl'o te tha lil hákw'eles. Wiyoth ò sta'áwelmet li la imex la te qéléxél, qelsu kw'okw'etset te stó:lo. Sta:: te tha kw'els xwílex, totí:lt: ixw kwa xwe'í:t tel mal tl'oqays, li:: te Sqéwqel. Xwe'í:t thel tal? Lheq' kw'elses t'at'í:l.

Lheq' e tsesethálem kw'els ewólem sq'éq'ómet ye ew shhelhiyó:lh.

^{*} Siyamiyateliyot's story was recorded on November 3, 2016 at her home. It was retold by Sa:yistlha Vivian Williams; the retelling follows. The recording begins at 32'.

Lu::lh, ts'etse'l qéx ye shhelhiyolh ye q'álemi. Ye luh, luh la ts'imel kw'e shhel-hális. Twa isá:le lets'ewets li te tha sku:l. Lets'elots' tel máqa.

Ye kwa yelikw, la xweléts'qel, xwelets'qels qwaqwels. O setu, xet'estólem: ewe lis iyolem kw'a' sqwáqwel te xwémlèxwqel. Su sta ku, olu skw'ístexwes alhtel kw's-kw's staqi:l tset te sqweltel. T'wa, kw'il lets'elots tel sqweltel xwemlexwqel yelikw. Tl'o su skw'ay kw's ah qwelqweltel tset.

Yewá te, ew ewételh lhq'élexw lis lhq'elexwes kwewátes tel swá shxwteqayi:l te Halq'emélem.

O:: su, Wiyoth kw'elsu olu t'at'ílmet tel shxwáli qe tsel ew shxalhwí:lh tho-qwelses sta'áwelh xwe'í:tse? Ewe lis kw'ayáthòxes tel mal qes thel tal elothoxes kw'els la te sku:lse.

Li te tha kw'els sta, xwelalt e su, la te ítet, la te- ts'ets'el hikw' ste'a kus xwe itetáwtxw. Me: kw'es teltelílest te swa alexeth.

Kw'elh li kw'es lheq' tsel xa:m, melmel, qe ewe tsellh xam, lheq' kw'el se, ewe lil li te Sq'ewqel sqeq'omet, tel mal qes tel tal.

Kwa li te tha tel sát'atel, qe ewe lis- ewe lil olu lheq'élexw tutl'o tl'ekw'el se ewe list kw'em. Ewe lil kw'em lis q'eq'omet yel sát'atel.

Tsel kwa olu stl'exwlaq ta'álthe tl'o kw'els ewe lili ekw'olem tel sqweltel. Welis petámetem yelikw, yelikw ilh sqwulqwel lis hakw'elese te sqweltel. Osu ewe, ekw'ólem, ekw'ólem yeqex te swas xwemlexwqel.

Tl'ò te thá ye sqwelqwel xwela se kwa e sta'áwelmet xwelis opel qas te th'ó:kws shxwstalmqelstes Halq'elméylem, lis kwa iyolem, s'a cha su ewes las ikw', telí, te Halq'emélem, te thá shxwteqa:yíl.

Retelling of the Prologue

by Sa:yistlha Vivian Williams[†]

November 2016

Elizabeth tells us about a usual day on Seabird Island British Columbia with her parents. Elizabeth also shares how she was taken away from her home. Lastly Elizabeth shares her loneliness along with the pain of living in a residential school.

The family's day began at six a.m. Elizabeth's father made a fire every morning. This fire heated the home as well as used to cook the meals. Elizabeth's father cooked breakfast while Elizabeth's mother packed a lunch.

The day was spent in the "bush" – "bush" meaning the forest or the mountain. Spending a day in the bush was work, either chopping wood, gathering plants and herbs or collecting various barks from the trees. Everything that Elizabeth obtained is good. She is thankful for her parents.

Life was good for Elizabeth until the day a priest came and took her away from her home. Elizabeth was put on a train. The train brought her to the Mission Residential School.

[†] This is Sa:yistlha's retelling of her mother Siyamiyeteliyot's story

Elizabeth was usually lonely. She was told time and time again to go and play with the other girls. "How can I play when I am in this much pain?" quotes Elizabeth. Elizabeth would walk over to the fence and look out on to the river. Elizabeth did this daily, as she stood by the fence, she thought of Seabird Island. Elizabeth thought of her parents too and wondered what they were doing. There were many girls there, little girls, teenage girls, and young women. Nevertheless, Elizabeth was still lonely. There must have been two hundred children there. Elizabeth's heart was in so much pain. There were different languages being spoken at the school and they were all discouraged from speaking their language. Elizabeth wondered if the other children were lonely as she. Elizabeth missed the voices of her parents as she wept. Elizabeth questioned if she made a mistake or did something wrong, "Why did they let them take me away?" She was hurt. The school was big. All the beds were lined up in rows. Elizabeth missed her own bed. Elizabeth found an older brother and a sister there. She did not grow up with them; however, Elizabeth knew them to be her siblings.

Foreword

by Marianne Ignace

As many of us know, Indigenous languages in Northwestern North America are hanging by a thread, as are Indigenous languages in many other parts of the world. As my colleague Anvita Abbi from Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi observed to a class of mostly Indigenous graduate students from diverse languages in British Columbia and Yukon in summer 2017, Indigenous language communities in BC have been fortunate in that they are well documented, due to the ardent work of linguists working with speakers between the turn of the 20th century and the recent past. As a result, especially in comparison with Indian and other Southeast Asian languages, we are rich in the data that linguists have left us, at least compared to linguistic documentation that exists for Indigenous languages in many other parts of the world. Despite the rich documentation, the spoken languages have become increasingly endangered over that same time span. To be sure, we know the factors that led to this: they involved generations of Indian Residential Schooling, and eventually the utter dominance of English in the workplace, schools and all other walks of life. Conversation in the home and community declined, trickled away, and nearly ceased.

What our Indigenous languages are short of are first language speakers who use them in everyday conversation and ensure their natural transmission to new generations. However, even as we speak, a significant and growing number of adult learners in at least some Indigenous languages are developing innovative programs to gain that crucial oral conversational fluency to re-invigorate speaking, conver-

sation and communication in their languages. A recent full-time immersion program in Squamish, taught by Khelsilem (Dustin Rivers) and Peter Jacobs, is offered in partnership with Simon Fraser University at SFU Downtown. Started in 2016-17, the program shows promise, and others are sure to follow.

As we strive to revitalize the natural and spontaneous use of Indigenous languages in our community, we realize that, unfortunately, almost all language documentation, while often of high quality and vital importance, has involved the “holy trinity” of lexicon, grammar and texts – all of which help in the task of language revitalization. Almost never do we find data on the everyday use in natural conversation of Indigenous languages, where the research documents speakers making conversation, or “doing talking.” As we know, and as Susan Russell notes, it is the task most basic to human linguistic interaction, and it is the language task that Indigenous language learners starve to do and master.

In this volume on talking in Halq’emeylem, Susan Russell does just that: studying talk in the language as it occurred during a recorded interaction between two women, Siyamiyatiyot Elizabeth Phillips and Xwoyalemot Tillie Gutierrez, both fluent native speakers. For its unique contribution to closing a data gap, this study is vitally important. It gives us a model of how people “do talk.” It is a precious document and captures a unique moment in time, as one of the two speakers is now deceased. And until current learners have the confidence and initiative to put English aside – which I know can and will happen – conversation as interaction between two or more speakers fully fluent and conversant in the language will not exist.

The method that is used here is Conversation Analysis (CA), developed by Schegloff in the 1970s. (It is described in the Author’s Preface and in more detail in Chapter 1). As a method of sociolinguistic data analysis, it goes much beyond mere transcription of what is being said by participants in a conversation, but assumes that, at its core, human conversation involves structures of interaction: turn-taking, repair and the organization of sequences of turns at talk. In that sense, CA provides us with a set of tools to see how speakers make meaning together through the practices of talk; how interactants in this context “do being Halq’eméylem.”

For learners of particular Indigenous languages – in this case, Upriver Halq’emeylem – learning how such turn-taking and repair works is crucial to gain insights into the pragmatics of the language, and also how social interactions in a particular language are socially, culturally and historically constituted. Future Indigenous and non-Indigenous linguists will be able to use the Upriver Halq’emeylem CA data presented here to further examine how their Elders’ talk

connects to cultural and social conventions and meanings. May this study also inspire others to gather and analyse conversation data, to throw light on the richness and intricacies of doing talk in particular Indigenous languages!

*Marianne Ignace
Vancouver, BC, July, 2017*

Preface to the second edition

Marianne Huijsmans and Susan Russell

We are very pleased to present the second edition of *Talking in Halq'eméylem*. The interest this book has generated emphasizes the value of documented conversation. This second edition has not changed substantially from the original, but involves minor updates to some transcriptions and translations, and an updated version of Sa:yistlha Vivian Williams's retelling of the prologue. We hope it continues to find use among learners of Halq'eméylem, as well as others interested in conversation in Indigenous languages.

Marianne Huijsmans

The second edition has involved a lot of 'repairs'. From editing my transcription errors (discovered after the first edition) to ongoing adjustments in decisions about how to represent this everyday real talk in written form, so ably assisted by the editing team, the second edition represents another interaction for us with the speakers. Again all errors are my doing, but we hope you will use it, improve it as you need and mostly enjoy this gift from the elders.

Sxwoxwelches tset la thutl'òlem kw'es oxwestólxwes. Shxwemlóxchexw.

Susal (Susan) Russell
Vancouver, BC, January, 2021

Editor's Preface

by E.A. Guntly

Indigenous language documentation frequently includes legends and elicited sentences, which are valuable in their own way, but fail to show how people *talk* to each other. Everyday talk is, sadly, the missing component of many language documentation efforts. As a researcher, I had begun creating recordings of natural conversations of people talking about their lives, and I was then faced with a more daunting question of what to do next. So when Henry Davis mentioned this project to me, I was intrigued and excited. Susan Russell and Siyamiyateliyot Elizabeth Phillips presented part of this work as a paper at the 51st International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages, and it was there that Susan and I sat down together and were faced with the same question: what next.

What came next is this book. Both the conversation and the way it is presented in this book—using Conversation Analysis (CA) in addition to glossing—are important in many respects and to many audiences, and our task was to figure out how to present it in a maximally accessible way. We thought about what a learner from the community would need in addition to the conversation, and how to arrange all the necessary components so that they would help a learner approach the material.

The book opens with Siyamiyateliyot Elizabeth Phillips's story, as told in Halq'emeylem (although certain features of speech have been omitted for purposes of readability). It is presented entirely in Halq'emeylem because it was important to give pride of place to Siyamiyeteliyot's story and the Halq'emeylem language, to

let them stand at the beginning and without reference to English. Siyamiyateliyot's daughter, Sa:yisatlha, retold her mother's story in English, and this retelling follows in a separate chapter.

Susan's introduction, which follows this Preface, describes the problem of the conversation gap in indigenous language documentation. It goes on to document the history of this particular conversation and to describe the rationale behind using conversation analysis techniques. The Conversation Analysis chapter is intended as a quick primer to CA; it provides the reader with enough understanding of the notational conventions of CA to read the conversation as it is notated, and a glimpse into the field more broadly. To assist readers in working through the conversation, the inside back cover includes a key to the CA conventions that readers will encounter in the text.

The conversation itself is presented twice, first in Halq'emeylem with CA notation and an English translation, and then with an interlinear gloss. In trying to present the conversation with the CA notation *and* an interlinear gloss simultaneously, it became apparent that the sheer amount of specialized information would quickly become disorienting for most readers. We decided to present the conversations with CA notation first so that readers could both follow the thread of the discourse and observe its structural patterns—pauses, overlapping speech, laughter—that the speakers used. The interlinear gloss is added in the following chapter to allow students of the language to break down the utterances in more fine-grained detail, hopefully without losing the overall flow of the discourse. To help readers with both of iterations of the conversation, a reference list of CA notation has been included in the back cover.

The first entry in the appendix is a basic introduction to the Halq'emeylem language, written by Strang Burton, who also prepared the interlinear gloss. To understand the conversation in Halq'emeylem requires that readers already have some level of understanding of the language, so this section is intended as a reference, not a teaching tool. The second entry in the appendix is the original (although slightly edited) paper that Susan and Siyamiyateliyot presented in Sliammon. The project comes full circle.

E.A. Guntly
Vancouver, BC, June, 2017

Author's Preface

by Susan Russell

Why should we collect everyday conversation in indigenous languages?

Talking matters. Everyday talk is where our languages most often live. Everyday conversation is the goal for most learners of any language, and people in indigenous communities are no different. They repeatedly say that talking is what they want to be able to do. I found this out the hard way—for everyone.

For some years I had been working through Simon Fraser University with First Nations communities to deliver courses in about ten British Columbia aboriginal languages and a few in the Yukon. Everywhere I went people expressed the longing to be able to just speak, to do what the elders in Bella Bella called ‘conversate.’ Gradually I realized this means to call someone up on the phone and find out what they are doing; to chat with other speakers in the line-up to Safeway where no one else knows what you are saying; to hang out with a few guys in a hallway at school and joke in your own language. I learned this means to speak to the trees when you take their bark, the fish when you cast your nets; to thank them and to honour them in the ancestral language. Ultimately, I learned it also means to be able to speak to those who have passed before you, to speak in the language that those spirits understand.

So people were interested in taking language courses, or ‘linguistic’ courses, but often these courses were a terrible disappointment. We had all embarked on

these courses with great hopes. Despite occasional moments of success, (articulatory phonetics was usually helpful, along with various classes in teaching methods and some morphology), often courses did not lead to being able to talk or even to any talk at all. Learners were kind, appreciative, but firm in their assessment. What they wanted and needed was speaking fluency- and culturally grounded teaching materials to support that. Knowing a language in the real world is knowing how to talk to one another in it. Meanwhile, few fluent native speakers remained. A few people with very busy lives were in charge of reviving languages, rebuilding communities, teaching new learners and learning their traditional indigenous language themselves. I was in danger of wasting people's time; people who had critically important work to do.

Talking matters for children learning a language naturally.

Bill Turnbull says: "It is in and through talking with others that children come to learn their language and culture, and that persons come to express and negotiate their identities, their social relationships and their culture" (personal communication by e-mail). We know that language nests and immersion programs help recreate that oldest and first path of growing into a language and culture. Language nests and immersion programs try to recreate the natural context in which language is learned initially, unconsciously, naturally and universally by members of a speaking community. There are other paths to learn a language of course, but these immersion programs focus on providing realistic opportunities for everyday talk in ordinary life. Having culturally based experiences in a language with other people you know intimately helps children grow and languages survive, and builds community health.

Adult learners' rights

Adult learners also have a basic human right to connect to their language and culture, express identity and negotiate social relationships through their own indigenous language. Adults have their own challenges in learning languages but one challenge for adults in many indigenous communities is finding adequate materials to support their language learning through culturally grounded activities and authentic human interactions. In other words, the goal for everyone is finding ways eventually to facilitate everyday conversation. Unfortunately there are few models in most indigenous languages now of how such a conversation might sound.

Where is the talk?

In my own work with communities I found many archived materials of word lists, some dictionaries (sometimes in multiple orthographies), usually a grammar, generally various pedagogical grammars, lots of recordings of traditional stories or interviews and everywhere a plethora of linguistic papers. Such texts are valuable for archiving proper usage and for passing on traditional stories. But they can represent just one voice, or idiolect, and perhaps one era of speakers. People normally talk together. I learned, through my own linguistic study and through observing other linguists, the process and protocols of ‘eliciting’ data. However, the patterns and constructions of language concluded from these exercises, though useful for other purposes, were not necessarily or literally indigenous to the community. That is, they did not arise out of any real-life context of use. People usually talk for a reason. So to support talk, we need to look for real-life situations that require relevant interaction.

Testing external linguistic theories also motivated much of the work of linguists. Even for these linguists or archivists, I wondered how this elicited data mattered without the indigenous first data: without a record of people actually talking, using their language in ordinary everyday conversation. There was an obvious gap: a gap of ordinary everyday talk.

Using Conversation Analysis with indigenous languages

The field of Conversation Analysis (CA) provided us with an alternative approach to understanding ‘talk’. It gives a way of looking at how everyday talk is really structured. Instead of talking about words, or vocabulary, or grammar rules or even learning activities, we start by looking at how people organize their everyday talk. We see that people talk, before they even know any language, in turns. People take turns in all kinds of activities, but specifically, we find that language must be designed to function in some system of turn-taking. Interactants, that is, people who are involved in some way together, must listen to each other’s turns at talk to make sense together, or to ‘do things’ together. This applies to shared activities from the syncopated turns of Inuit throat singing (*katajjak*) to overlapping turns in some contexts to the highly structured solitary turns of legal contexts or debates, to the unequal turns of people in different positions of power, to the finely tuned turns of everyday conversation. In ordinary conversation turns at talk are followed by an other person’s response. A further response to that begins to build a mutual understanding of what is happening between two people, of what they are demon-

strably doing or accomplishing in their talk together. Talk is accomplished not by 'speakers', but by interactants, people interacting together.

The method: collecting everyday talk

Collecting ordinary conversation is a different job from asking people how they would say things in an imaginary situation, or asking them to remember what they said on some earlier occasion, or asking for a performance of a traditional story. It is a different job from creating a dialogue, or writing a script. It involves recording people talking as they do it in real time and then observing how they make sense together and how they use their talk to 'do' things. The idea is not to presuppose what is happening but to witness and observe how some people really used a language in the course of their everyday lives.

Siyamiyateliyot Elizabeth Phillips and I determined to document this kind of talk in Halq'emeylem. Siyamiyateliyot arranged a visit with Xwoyalemot Tillie Gutierrez at her home for us to record a conversation. So the request-granting sequence documented in this conversation had an extended series of pre-sequences: preliminary phone calls, arrangements to meet, the initial meeting and official request and signed consent to tape record and use the data. The resulting recording of over one hour of conversation (78 minutes) has about 45 minutes completely in Halq'emeylem. The rest is in a mixture of Halq'emeylem and English. It starts with an official request to record the language spoken by the two fluent speakers and continues with a granting of that request through many tellings, stories, remembrances, discussions and reflections. In other words, it records a conversation in Halq'emeylem between two women who knew each other for many years and documents what they talked about that one day on May 27, 2005.

It has been vital to get Siyamiyateliyot's expertise in the transcription and translation. Siyamiyateliyot and I have been working for years now transcribing and translating, but when Vivian Williams (Sayisattha), Siyamiyateliyot's daughter, joined us it really helped our work immeasurably. Her early and lengthy exposure to the language living with her grandmother really gives her a native speaker ear and fluency. She was able to clarify many uncertain translations and 'do repair' work on the spot with us. She became a vital co-author of our project.

Using a Conversation Analysis (CA) transcription system

The process of transcribing and translating was interwoven with another part of the project: doing a conversation analysis (CA) type of transcription for the conver-

sation. A CA transcription is, for practical purposes, an unedited record of exactly what people said. Usually speech is ‘cleaned up’ for reading or learning purposes. All the ums and ahs, the pauses and reformulations, partial constructions and ‘errors’ are removed. But CA shows that those partial starts, reformulations, ums and ahs are actually meaningful. They help do the work that talk is doing, and we can witness how interactants use this information and react accordingly.

This kind of detailed transcription shows how people speak in real time, as well as other phonetic features of the talk. It shows where the talk is overlapping, or where it follows immediately without pause (is ‘latched’) onto previous talk. It marks the pauses between turns at talk or within utterances in tenths of a second. With a CA transcription we have a pretty good feel for the timing and sound of the conversation, one step removed from the recording. More than learning just the individual phonetic sounds, once we are familiar with the transcription conventions, we can recreate more realistically the stress, rhythmic, intonational and timing patterns of the language. It’s hard to imagine doing without this kind of transcription for developing dramatic works, puppet shows, movies, or music set to the language. The conventions for doing this are provided in the appendix.

Why do CA?

The position of CA is that understanding any language should be based on empirical evidence about how people use any language. The position in this chapter is that developing teaching materials that foster conversational facility might benefit from understanding how talking in a language is actually structured, or managed. CA gives us some tools to look at ordinary conversation and see how people manage their talk. It also provides a closer ‘sense’ of the language to people learning it when they can see and hear how fluent speakers talked in their everyday lives.

Looking at three major notions from CA can help inform some of the curriculum being developed to revitalize endangered languages.

1. Talk (language) is used to do things.
2. Talk (conversation) has its own structure.
3. Social interaction happens in talk.

We can look at the particular language constructions that people use to do those things.

1. Language is used to do things:

In the everyday world people talk for a reason, that is, to do something. We can recognize the sort of social actions that somehow people manage everywhere: they greet each other and manage partings; they extend invitations and accept or avoid them; they make requests and agree or decline; they make announcements, offer up topics, tell news, complain, reminisce, scold, praise or self-deprecate. Somehow people seem to manage to organize these actions in whatever language they speak. They do these things through interacting with each other. Talk happens in interaction.

2. Talk has its own structure:

CA came out of the field of sociology rather than linguistics or any traditional ‘grammar’ teaching. It is based on a model of meaning in language as something that is co-constructed by people interacting together, to ‘do’ things. Of course a language is also constructed over eons, developing into long term patterns of use, but the meaning of what people do through talk-in-interaction, here and now, is seen in how they interpret it together, here and now.

2.a Turn-taking

Rather than describing language in terms of grammatical categories that, for example, babies would never use, and most people do not think about in their everyday lives, CA takes account of the structures of interaction that every baby in every culture learns to notice: how to take turns, how to listen and react to what someone has said to you. Then babies (and language learners) can learn: how do you take an appropriate turn-at-talk in this culture and when? How much wait time is normal? When do speakers overlap turns or latch? How do those speakers treat different timing choices? How do they seem to relate to respect and politeness? So CA looks at turn-taking in talk.

2.b Sequencing of turns at talk

Whether these turns are phrases, words, sentences or sighs is not the point. The point is that the meaning of the language used in any utterance is relevant and understandable according to the surrounding turns. Turns happen in sequences of turns. How someone responds to a turn is how they show their understanding of the meaning- and how the first person interprets that understanding. A second

turn makes sense in terms of how it relates (or ‘orients’) to a previous turn. When someone (in English) says ‘oh’ it is usually because they have recognized a previous turn as some piece of new information. Turns at talk may have pre-sequences which set up the interactants to be ready or available for some social act (such as asking if someone is available to be asked for a favour). If someone asks you (in ‘western’ culture) if some item of clothing makes them look fat, and you say nothing for a longer than usual pause, you may notice a further turn in the form of a complaint that they have understood you criticized their weight. Turns can be expanded or make a move towards closure of an interaction, but they only make sense in the context of the sequence of turns. So CA looks at sequences of turns in talk.

2.c Repair

How do people display that they understood, or didn’t, or in general manage trouble in establishing mutual understanding? In many classrooms or community functions learners of an indigenous language have a lot of qualms about speaking their language because of fear of making ‘mistakes’ in public, or in front of elders. By refocusing what people often think of as ‘mistakes’ as a natural process of doing ‘repair’, learners find out that fluent native speakers are constantly revising, reformulating and self-repairing trouble spots in talk. Learners find that this is characteristic of real human interaction and a language skill. The conversation documented here has many examples of the interactants doing a self-repair (fixing their own ‘repairable’). An example is 36:4 when Xw uses a possibly non-target form of a verb, pauses for 1 second, and then fixes it. Other examples are of doing an ‘other-repair’, such as helping the other person recall a term in Halq’emeylem, (fixing the other person’s ‘repairable’). So CA looks at the structures of doing repairs.

3. Social interaction happens in talk

How do people indicate they agree or disagree with prior turns or that they want to tell you something? And how do they indicate that they are available to listen or not? How do they raise topics, support a topic or change topics? Much of the daily work of social interaction happens in talk. How does it happen in Halq’emeylem? In the conversation presented in this volume, certain social acts appear: the speakers ask for and grant permission to record (5:1-10), they take turns telling stories (30: 1-6), (42: 1-17) among others, they reminisce (17:9-13), bear wit-

ness (36:4-11), bemoan ignorance (32:9-16), repair (49:2-3), self-deprecate (16:1-10) and reassure (16:11-15).

But they also have this conversation itself for a larger purpose: to make a recording of fluent speakers having a conversation in order to preserve the language. This was part of their life-long work to archive and revitalize Halq'emeylem. They do this in the historical and social context of the near complete loss of that language through the residential school system. Much of the talk is deeply situated in that reality. A further observation from this work was that the speakers 'do a justification' and witness for each other the source of their knowledge about the language and culture. They are the ones responsible for preserving it in this form. They were the last people able to record it in this form, and they demonstrate their ability to do that in this conversation.

Summary

So, a conversation analysis perspective looks at how people take turns, how they make sense of what they are doing through the sequencing of those turns, how they repair misunderstandings, how they work together to make sense of what is happening and how they 'do' specific social actions in specific situations. Then we can look at the language constructions used to do what they do.

The next chapter introduces how to do CA using detailed examples from the conversation. A final appendix on story-telling looks at how the talk was structured in story telling; how turns were sequenced and expanded and topics nominated. Stories were co-constructed by both the teller and the recipient. Far from one person talking and the other silently listening, most often stories were built out of the active work of both interactants. The chapter also looks at specific language constructions used.

Susan Russell
Vancouver, BC, May, 2017

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Susan Russell
Vancouver, BC, August 2017

Chapter 1

Doing Conversation Analysis

by Susan Russell

1.1 Introduction

Talk functions to do work, or achieve social actions for its interactants. Different situations require different and almost infinite actions. Some of these social actions were noted in the Author's Preface, both seemingly universal actions and some specific actions identified in this conversation.

The importance, frequency or particular forms of social actions required are determined by the culture of the participants and provided by that culture. Their appropriate performance becomes a shared responsibility in any community. So talk has a social function and a cultural context. But it also has its own structure.

1.2 Structures of talk

Three basic resources or practices of talk are *turn-taking*, *adjacency* and *repair*. The concepts of preference and alignment show how interactants make sense through these interactional practices and display their understanding of what they are doing. As well, and critically for an endangered language, we are interested in the

actual bits of language that the speakers use. So a conversation analysis (CA) looks at what people say to each other, how they sequence their turns and how they indicate to each other through their conversational structures their own interpretations, indigenous to that talk, of what is happening, of what they are ‘doing’.

But structures of talk happen within other structures. Turns at talk happen in sequences of turns that construct social interactions. But these also play out within other larger goals and forces. The social interactions are one category to analyze and recognize, but not the last.

1.2.1 Turn-taking

A major observation of CA is that interactants speak in turns. Whether these turns are phrases, words, grunts, sighs or sentences is not the point. The point is that the meaning of the language used in any utterance is relevant and understandable according to the surrounding turns. The utterances are understood in that context and also construct their own context. As Turnbull says, “a turn at talk is both context-shaped and context-shaping” (Turnbull, 2003, p.140).

CA uses its own vocabulary to work with this approach. Turns at talk are composed of *turn-constructual units*, (TCUs). The end of a TCU is termed a *turn-relevance place* (TRP). At that point the same speaker may nominate another speaker, or carry on speaking, or another speaker may take a turn. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) first described this system in their “Simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation.” Interactants seem pretty good at timing when they can take next turns. Because people listen to each other they can project where a TRP will come. Or perhaps people have to listen to each other in order to coordinate turn-taking. The fact that people do listen to each other in ordinary conversation allows them to coordinate their turns in ways that become significant: overlapping, latching or pausing briefly. The following examples show these timing options.

35: 11-14 Short pauses between turns

- (11) Xw: ey yéysele alhtel (TRP) (.4) lheq’elh íwesthalem (.3) (TRP)
the two of them I used to be taught by them
- (12) S: a’a:: (.8) (TRP)

- (13) Xw: a:: lheq' tset omet (1.5) (TRP) qe íwesthoxes etl' li te Puchil
(.4) (TRP)
yes, sometimes we sat and they taught me eh? up in Yale
- (14) S: ew li te Puchil (TRP) [a'a:
oh, at Yale, yes

In the above example, in which Xw is talking about the elders she learned from, there are short pauses at turn relevance places and between turns. The longest turn is within Xw's turn at line 13, when she may be working on a self-repair of the verb to a more target form.

Sometimes turns overlap a bit, but this seems to happen just at a TRP.

22: 4-5 Overlapping turns

- (4) S: le hoy (TRP) [te sayems
the pain is gone
- (5) Xw: [mm 'a
yes

The acknowledgement murmur is overlapped by Xw here at the end of a TRP. S's following noun phrase *te sayems* 'her pain' is redundant or additional to *le hoy* 'it's gone', after which there is a turn-relevant place, or first potential place to take the next turn. And that is where Xw puts her turn.

Sometimes turns are latched onto with no break.

24: 20-22 Latching turns

- (20) S: [a'a ey xwela li s-la (.) ts'ekwts'ekwthet te' kwelow
(TRP)=
yes it is good for when your skin gets sores all over
- (21) Xw: =o a'[a
oh yes

- (22) S: [a'a (.)
yes

Here Xw and S are talking about a particularly good medicine. Xw latches onto the S's explanation of what it is good for with what may be a 'receipt of information' token *o* and an affirmation token *a'a* 'yes' and S overlaps the agreement token with her own. The latching and overlapping seem to display their close affiliation or agreement about the worth of the medicine. The timing of the turn-taking embodies the alignment of their mutual positive assessment about the medicine.

Sometimes there are pauses between turns. The length of the pause seems to convey meanings which people orient to, or treat as significant.

49: 2-3 Pauses and gaps matter too

- (2) Xw: oh:: temtam kw'es la teyaqel xwlam (1.8)
oh so when was someone transferred
- (3) S: a:: tsel e mélqelxw tl'ó (.3) te táls te (Name) it qwoqwéles
 qe tl'ó te méles (.)
oh, I forget: are we talking about (Name)'s mother or her daughter?

There is a longer pause of 1.8 second (called a *gap*) after Xw talks about someone being moved to a care facility. This usually indicates trouble, or a *repairable*. And the trouble is explicitly raised in the next turn when S asks Xw to clarify who she is actually talking about. They have mentioned two people, a mother and a daughter, both with the same name. It is not until 49:10 (6 turns later) that Xw completes the repair by clarifying which of them she is talking about.

The whole question of the timing of turn taking needs further analysis. What is treated as a 'normal' rhythmic pause between turns seems much longer in Halq'emeylem than in English. A pause of .2 seconds is treated as trouble in English (see Schegloff, 2007, among many other data sets). This conversation indicates much overlapping and latching, but also much longer pauses within turn and between turns.

The fact that people can time their turns at talk and that this timing may be relevant to what interactive work they are doing depends on another vital factor. It seems to presuppose that people share a common language, or have some facility in and familiarity with a shared language. And although the actual language peo-

Counters

Although questions project answers, and often form at least the base form of an adjacency pair, interactants may use a strategy to avoid providing the expected SPP. This is called a *counter*. Anecdotally, in our house, a frequent site for a counter in lieu of an SPP is a common question construction: what do you want (for supper/to watch/to do). The counter is: what do *you* want to do (watch, eat etc.).

9: 1-7 A counter

- (1) Xw: kw'es (stas) tl'eláxws tl'oqays (.)
are residing (stopped) now
- (2) S: chokw te shxwliis alh[tel
they are far away
- (3) Xw: [a'a: (.3) a'a (2.1)
yes
- (4) S: li chexw la kw'atset te swas temexw alhtel? (.4) ← base FPP
did you go visit their land?
- (5) Xw: li-lh e chexw e lam? (1) ewe (.3) ← counter FPP
did you go? no?
- (6) S: ewe lixw i lam o? (.3) tsel ew kw'etslexw (.) te'a'altha (.) te
Hundred mile
didn't you go? I just saw Hundred Mile myself
- (7) Xw: (yeah) [ilh tsel ew li. (.4) ← base SPP
I was there too.

It appears that when S asks Xw if she visited her relatives when they were staying at Hundred Mile, Xw defers the expected SPP with a counter. That is, she redirects the question back to S and asks her if she went there. Although Xw provides the base SPP to the base question at 7, the oddness of its placement is accounted

death. S responds with o:::, which confirms that both participants are orienting to this interaction, at this moment, as a telling.

17: 9-13 A pre-reminisce

- (9) S: [li chexw hakweles kw'etelh la sku:l (.5) ←pre-reminisce
do you remember that we went to school
- (10) Xw: [a'a
yes
- (11) S: [sq'o te (Name) (.3)
with (Name)
- (12) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (13) S: =a'a=
yes

This pre comes after S has reminded Xw that they are the only two people left from the language work that ten elders used to do. Xw has already confirmed that (in a pre-pre?) and then S asks a recognizable pre-reminisce: *li chexw hakweles kw'etelh la sku:l*, 'do you remember when (in the past) we went to school'. When Xw affirms that memory, S overlaps with additional detail, that (the course) was with Brent Galloway. They both affirm with closely latched *a'a*-s and the reminiscence, now established as such, reiterates that there are only the two of them left and moves into recalling another person from that time. Then the reminiscence moves step-wise from a remembering, to a related concern- who managed to get to that person's mother's funeral. So while the question *li chexw hakweles kw'et*, 'do you remember when we...' is syntactically a question and structurally the FPP of a question-answer adjacency pair, it can also be analyzed interactionally, and is treated by the interactants, as the pre-sequence to a shared reminiscence.

Post-expansions

Some interactions follow with a type of expansion which is designed to close the action which has just been achieved. Often in English this could be an ‘oh’ or other token of closure, sometimes appearing in a sequence closing third (SCT) position. In many cases in Halq’emeylem there is a post-expansion after the answer, but often in a rhythmic pattern of a series of sequence closing adjacency pairs.

12: 20-25 Closing sequence

- (20) Xw: eletse te (.4) (Na[me) ← Question FPP *where is (Name)?*
where is (Name)?
- (21) S: [e::: li te (.3) Kwikwetl'em (.4) ← Answer SPP
she is in Coquitlam
- (22) Xw: o::[:: ← receipt of information SCT
- (23) S: [a'a li te tha skw'e stas = ← post-expansion
yes, that's where she is staying
- (24) Xw: =o::::::
- (25) S: o ew xwelitem te malyi- (.)tes qe ew (.6) kwelates o te skwix
 (.3) Shaw (.4)
(oh) she married a white.person/Caucasian and she carries the same name. Shaw.

In 20:20-25 Xw asks about one of S's sisters in a FPP of an adjacency pair question and answer. The second pair part is followed by what sounds like the ‘receipt of information token’ *o*. However, in this excerpt S then reiterates the base SPP in a syntactically expanded form at 4: *a'a li te tha skw'e stas*, ‘yes, it is there that she is staying’. This post-expansion reiteration may also serve as a topic closer, as after another *o:::* with even longer duration, the topic shifts to the marital status of the person being discussed.

30: 19-22 Sequence-closing adjacency pair

- (4) Xw: o ey (.)
oh good
- (5) S: a'a=
yes
- (6) Xw: =a'a la tl'al su o (1.2) l- helems ← insert expansion
te li ti etl'
yes, it is going on going over to there, eh (the CD burner)
- (7) S: a'a, la tl'al la te tha te sqwal (.4) ← insert SPP
te sqwelqwetel tset (.4)
yes, the words are going on over there, our conversation
- (8) Xw: a:= ← closing sequence FPP
yes
- (9) S: =a'a ← closing sequence SPP
(3.4)
yes
- (10) Xw: uh ilh i kwel mele, ← base Request granted SPP
su itet ikw'elo (.5)
uh my son was here, then he slept over here

At the start of the data set, S asks Xw for permission to record the conversation. There had already been several turns of pre-sequences projecting the official request to proceed before the recording started. So at 2 above Xw gives a go-ahead token, possibly to the overall request, or possibly a go-ahead to articulate the request. This is followed by a paired affirmation *o ey* 'oh, good' and *a'a* 'yes' sequence. In the context of a request to record, this adjacency pair not only does an acceptance of the request but a recognition that the request has been properly witnessed to be delivered and accepted.

Next at line 6, Xw launches a clarification about the agreed upon request-acceptance about where and how the conversation is being recorded. This can be

nominated as a topic for discussion is already known to Xw. The first mention of her is with the name in Halq'emeylem. As there is a significant pause (.9), S appears to treat the name as problematic and repeats it, (self-repairs again) in English.

However, Xw defers her SPP with another pause (.9). Her insert expansion, begins with *oh*, another pause (.5 seconds) before her own FPP of a self-initiated other-repair, *wat?* 'who?'. S delivers the appropriate SPP to that with a complete name of the person, again in English, whereupon Xw then gives the SPP to the base FPP question, *a'a*, 'yes'. The repair is complete, through the adjacency pair structure of an insertion sequence. The base FPP question is answered, and the telling continues.

This description focuses on the insert expansion in lines 12-13, which does an other-initiated self-repair. However it is inside yet another insertion (and repair) sequence in which S does a pre-telling insertion sequence to avoid trouble ahead by establishing that the listener knows who she is about to talk about.

Preference

A failure to respond in the appropriate or inferred structure to the FPP of any adjacency structure (such as not to give an answer to a question or response to a greeting), is usually oriented to as some kind of trouble, or what may be treated by the interactants as a 'dispreferred' response. Such a response typically has more extensive linguistic markers, such as a delayed delivery, many preliminaries or hedges and accounts of why what is expected is not being proffered.

The notion of preference assumes that structures of talk impose a strong tendency for certain types of response structures onto following talk. This notion implies that SPPs be congruent with the trajectory of the FPP. So a preferred response to a request is an agreement, a preferred response to an invitation is an acceptance. But preference extends even further into the 'polarity' structure of utterance. The form of a question (*li chexw kw'etslexw kw'e* 'did you see so and so?') invites, or projects a yes. Contrast that structure in English with the negative projecting 'didn't you see her?'.

If a 'no' SPP is forthcoming to a 'positive polarity' question, it would be a 'dispreferred' response. Such a non-congruent response will usually be delayed, as seen below. Another strategy for speakers is to pre-empt a dispreferred response by anticipating it and switching the polarity of the question (as when Xw reformulates her initial question to project an anticipated negative with *ewe?* , 'no?' at line 6 below).

7: 6-8 A dispreferred response anticipated, speaker reformulates

- (6) Xw: li chexw (.) kw'etslexw kw'e (.5) (Name) (1.1) ewe? (.3)
did you see (Name) no?
- (7) S: o ewe! [ewe lil kw'etslexw
oh no, I didn't see her
- (8) Xw: [o tl'o swas (.4) tl'o swas imeth (.7) kw'e la kwutes
 kwthel mele qas (.3)
*ah it is her own it is her own grand(daughter) that my
 daughter went back to get and*

Here Xw's question to S about whether she has seen someone receives no answer for 1.1 seconds. As a consequence of Xw's reformulation, her question now projects a negative response (now the preferred trajectory of the SPP). And the delay is much shorter in S's reply, which then continues with the opposite of a delay, in overlapping talk at lines 7 and 8.

Compare this example with a similar adjacency pair which gets a 'preferred' second pair part to the initial question. This question is constructed to project an affirmative answer, (yes).

30: 19-22 A preferred response, no delay

- (19) Xw: =li chexw kw'etslexw=
did you see her?
- (20) S: =a'a [tsel ew kw'etslexw thutl'o
yes, I did see her
- (21) Xw: [(a'a) a'a [(ewe)
(yes no)
- (22) S: [a'a (1)
yes

The SPP is latched onto the FPP question and the talk continues in overlapping confirmation tokens or extension..

A final point about preference. As it is used in CA, preference has nothing to do with the psychological preferences of speakers, about which CA makes no claims of knowing anything. It refers to the structures of interaction. A general clue is that preferred structures put less onus on speakers, require less ‘work’, whereas dispreferred structures require more interactional work. This work takes the form of delays, excuses, hedges, such as ‘I dunno’, extensive accounts for having taken a dispreferred action or, as seen above in example 7:6-8, reformulations of a first pair part to simply avoid precipitating a dispreferred second.

1.2.5 Alignment

The work of interactants to coordinate preference trajectories is one area of alignment in interaction. Alignment is a shared stance of interactants toward the social action they are constructing at any moment. Many of the structures of interaction can be analyzed as ways of achieving alignment about what is happening. The very fact that someone responds to a greeting, answers a questions, mutters ‘oh’ to a piece of proffered information indicates that the interactants are aligned in their interpretation about what is happening. They are agreeing to embark on an interaction in a greeting-response, or agreeing to make themselves available to interact. An answer to a question displays an understanding of the FPP as a question. The suspension of turn-taking and frequent interpolations of continuers *a’a*, ‘yes’, or *ō::* display that the recipient is orienting to the other speaker as doing an extended telling or story.

30: 1-9 The alignment function of repair

- (1) Xw: tlósetu yóyesmet e kwalh (Name) (.) so (.5) kwelét te (.7) te
xpa:y ste’a te’i (.4)
*we were working on (Name) and them (we) took the cedar (bough)
like this*
- (2) S: a’a
yes

- (3) Xw: su stí te'a te'i tutl'otl'em (.5) xwilex (.5)
then (this is how) (we worked on) the wee one standing
- (4) S: a'a (.5)
yes
- (5) Xw: ewe chexw (.75) kwoy~~x~~thetexw (.9)
don't you move.yourself (don't make any movement)
- (6) S: a'a (.3)
yes
- (7) Xw: thithome tsel (asu) ((xwmeqsélem)) (1.3) ~~x~~t'ástexw te'i (e)
 xwe'i (tem o) (.8) ta' (.)
I will fix you then ((s.o. blows nose)) just do this to your
- (8) S: thothel?= ← repair
mouth?
- (9) Xw: =a'a (.)
yes

This excerpt is part of a long story that Xw is telling S about a healing she performed on someone. Mostly S provides continuers, *a'a*, 'yes', which display her understanding to Xw that a story is underway. A telling requires the alignment of a teller and a listener. Another tool for alignment is shared syntactic completion. At line 7 Xw has a pause before a possible lexical search. S finishes her syntactic phrase, with an optional lexical search term at line 8. Xw orients to that at line 9 with her *a'a*, 'yes', accepting what is also an example of an other-repair. So repair is also a strong indicator of alignment. Interactants can both work to create even the syntax of each others turns, and constantly monitor their own and each others' turns for trouble spots. Although such a repair as this one, a self-initiated other-repair, is less common (apparently) in English, it is understood in the context where speakers try to remember terms in a language they do not get the chance to speak often, and in which one speaker is more fluent.

Another example of alignment is the work of doing an assessment. An assessment is a summing up of the value of something, or summary of the way the world is. One person's assessment is often matched with an upgrade by the other person. This seems to confirm that the interactants see the world in the same way.

32: 3-5 Assessments: Doing an upgrade

- (3) Xw: wa xwixw helem o wiyoth (.4) o su ewéte o shwelis te'
esqwoxthet (1)
(?if you are always going whatever you are doing doesn't matter, (is not going right)??
- (4) S: the'it (.3)
true
- (5) Xw: wel the'it (.)
very true

Xw has just been discussing someone who had received a lot of (academic) recognition but it was not reflected in the same level of practical skill. The first turn at 1 is some kind of aphorism we have not been able to translate. However, S provides an assessment of the previous turn with *the'it*, 'true' at line 4. Xw gives an upgrade to S's agreement token with *wel the'it*, 'very true' at 5, and S confirms that upgrade. Interestingly, this assessment 'upgrade' is provided by the person doing the original assessment. Doing an agreement, upgrading and affirming the upgrade all do the work of alignment and display a similar stance to the state of affairs being discussed. Perhaps in this situation though the direction of the self-upgrade suggests more a recognition of Xw's stance to the state of affairs being described.

In the next excerpt Xw is doing an extended assessment about someone who is using some medicine and gives an implied critique of where they got the knowledge and right to use it.

32: 9-16 Doing alignment work

- (9) Xw: a- o (.7) skw'ay kw'es (.5) la hokwex xet'ewelh tl'o(se) 'e swa
(.5) [ewe
yes- really, it is said that you can't use it unless it is your own
- (10) S: [a'a
yes
- (11) Xw: ewe (1.2)
no
- (12) S: a'a (.65)
yes
- (13) Xw: skw'a::y (1.3) tl'o te chichelh siyam lhez'elexwes is te elet's'e
(.) kw'es me kwelexw
you can't only the Creator knows where it comes from, what you have received (1.3)
- (14) S: a tl'o: tl'osu te shxw'as (.)
yes, that's how it is
- (15) Xw: (x:[x)
- (16) S: [a'a (1) °tl'o su te [shxw'as
yes, that's how it is

When Xw makes a claim about the (lack of) an appropriate source of the knowledge being claimed (by someone), she first presents it as an authorised view, *xetewelh*, 'it has been said'. Later she makes a case for the Creator as the source of knowledge. S gives several alignment tokens: *a'a*, 'yes', *tl'o: tl'osu te shxw'as*, 'that is how it is', and later, *ste'a ta sqwoqwel*, 'it is like you say (your speaking)', recognizing Xw's assessment of the state of affairs. With these pieces of language, S and Xw co-construct here a shared assessment of the state of the world. They affirm a stance that for all practical purposes, we understand that we operate in a shared world. At this moment they display their alignment; they affirm that they know what each other means.

1.3 The larger picture

An insight of CA is that talk does not just happen in a ‘context’ but that talk is co-constructing or creating that context as people interact. A conversation analysis gives a window to look closely at how they are doing that moment by moment through structures of adjacency sequences and resources of turn-taking, repair and alignment.

But what is happening beyond these moment-by-moment sequences? Where is the larger picture? Schegloff reminds us that something else transcends all the “sequences of sequences” (op.cit. p. 244). Why are they doing this, or as Schegloff refers to it, the “why that now” question remains.

Two major themes appear to me in this conversation. The first is that the whole data set is part of a request-granting to record ordinary talk for the purpose of preserving and revitalizing the language. This theme was self-evident from the start. The second theme is that part of this work to revitalize Halq’emeylem depends on the language being provided by people who are appropriately authorized speakers and knowers of the language. To record that, the speakers do a justification of that knowledge, which is witnessed and recorded. The second theme is only apparent after reading (to an outsider anyway) though it also was self-evident to the speaker. Justifying your claim to knowledge is a familiar part of the cultural know-how in any culture. This traditionally oral culture seems to support and institutionalize many ways of sourcing authority to know, and bearing witness to those claims.

28: 18-21 How do you know what you know?

(18) S: áts’ela! (1.2) telelítse kwa se télexw te thá st’élmexw (1) [(x)-
oh my goodness! where did you learn about this medicine?

(19) Xw: [tse-
(.4) chu² tólt ò ta’áltha (.6)
I- I just
taught myself

(20) S: ô:::[::

²EP would use tsel lu for Xwoyalemot’s chu.

- (21) Xw: [tl'ó ta ǎltha il tolt (.5) ilh t'wa

I must have learned it myself

Xw had just been doing an extensive telling about her work healing some people and the medicines she used. At this point S asks her where she learned all this, in effect asking for an account of her (traditional cultural) knowledge. Xw starts with a claim she just taught herself, but after another telling she references the angels, the Creator and finally cites the elders up at Yale who were the real authorities and who taught her everything she knows.

36: 4-11 Doing a justification (1)

- (22) Xw: qeloqtel alhtel ye (1.9) (Name) (.4) and (Name) (.6) o
íwesthàlèm (.) elhtel (1) we iwethóxelh (.) (Name) (.5)

uh (Name) and (Name) siblings they (Name) and (Name) oh I was taught by them, when they taught me, (Name)

- (23) S: a'a (.)

- (24) Xw: o iwethóxes kw'elh (Name) (1)

oh (Name) taught me

- (25) S: a'a=

- (26) Xw: =a:: (1) telí tl'- (.4) teli (t)te tha kw'els me tol kw'e qex̣ (.9)

from (her)it's from her that I learned so much

- (27) S: o::: a'a=

- (28) Xw: a:: (.9)

- (29) Xw: teli te Vancouver kw'else ekw'elulh tel (.5) mele, (1.7) me
kwol me se ewe is aylexw kw'e hith (welh) la hiqsel t'ot'
(.4) me se ewe is aylexwe hith kw'elh la hiqsel t'ot' (.6)

*she came from Vancouver when I lost my child in birth (miscarriage)
when she was born she was not alive long (and) already she died the
poor thing was not alive long (until) the poor little one passed away*

As well as eventually a tragic telling and a sharing of a life, this extended telling is also a response to a call for authority, and a display of why these speakers know what they know and are the proper authorities of the language in a time of crisis.

S also does a justification or a telling of how she came to know the language (from birth) and how she came to be involved in translating between English and Halq'emeylem even as a child.

42: 1-17 Doing a Justification (2)

- (1) S: o su lo le (.7) t'okwe kw'es ts'ets'el silyo:lexwa te
kwemethoyxes su ts'ets'el qex te lil qí:lemt [i tel sxóyes
*that's because it was the real elders that raised me so there was a lot I
stored away in my head*
- (2) Xw: [la (?)
- (3) S: a'a (.6) te li kw'el su:slh[alheq' ò (.5)
yes, since I was in the cradle
- (4) Xw: [a'a
yes
- (5) S: xwelelá::met alh tel qwulqweltel (.3)
I was listening to their talking
- (6) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (7) S: =xwelís emí te xwelitem mi te lalem (.3) xwe lis laplit qew
(.8) [xwlis te lis te li te siyám thet te
*whether it was the white people or whether it was the priest or whether
it was the government people*
- (8) Xw: [xxx](we li)
(?) when it was

- (9) S: a'a (.) [thet te]
yes, lots of
- (10) Xw: [xx]
- (11) S: (Name) (.3)
(Name)
- (12) Xw: a' (.9)
yeah
- (13) S: xet'e (.8) xet'estxwes thel talelh te mali (.5)
was saying- my father told my mother
- (14) Xw: [o-
- (15) S: tl'o te ile sqwoqwels te xwelitem (.5) su xwi tl'o sta xwelitem
yethestes te sqwoqwels th[el talelh (.)
*this is what the whiteman is saying then my father said the same way
to the whiteman*
- (16) Xw: [o
oh
- (17) S: q'olq'fl thet ò (.5) su la xwa líleq kw'els theyt
back and forth so it became easy that I put it

This telling recounts how S managed to develop into the authority on the language that she is recognized today as being; how she learned from birth on *te li kw'el su:slh[alheq'ò*, 'since I was in a cradle' and who she learned from; how her parents were very involved with interpreting between the white and Halq'emeylem communities and how she was involved in that process from an early age. Xw gives continuers to support and witness this account, just as S did for her earlier.

1.4 Conclusion

Some practices of ordinary, everyday talk seem universal in human interaction : turn-taking, paying attention to the sequencing of turns, doing repairs, navigating preference structures and seeking alignment. But how these practices are realized by interactants is culturally variable and sensitive to their own situation. There is some indication that the timing of turn-taking has a much wider variation in Halq'emeylem than in English, for example. What often appear as sequence-closing-thirds in English may be organized as sequences of paired sequence-closing structures in this data. Upgrades which are delivered in English more familiarly by recipients to initial assessments may be appropriately self-upgraded in another context. And the need to do a justification of the provenance of knowledge or ownership may carry a heavier load in an oral culture.

The suggestion of doing CA is that we do not assume the context before hand. Rather, it is worthwhile to look carefully at how the interactants display to each other their own understandings of what is happening and see what social actions emerge to them and us- and how they bring this about together 'here and now' in their everyday talk.

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Chapter 2

The Conversation

Siyamiyateliyot Elizabeth Phillips and
Xwiyalemot Tillie Gutierrez

This is a natural conversation between Siyamiyateliyot Elizabeth Phillips and Xwiyalemot Tillie Gutierrez¹, recorded by Susan Russell on May 27, 2005. It was later transcribed by Siyamiyateliyot Elizabeth Phillips, Susan Russell, Laura Wealick and Sa:yisatlha Vivian Williams.

Track 5

(1) S: lu iyolem etl' kw'es (.)
 it is ok, eh, that

(2) Xw: a'a (.4)
 yes

¹Note S=Siyamiyateliyot, Xw=Xwiyalemotelh. Siyamiyateliyot speaks the Tait language and Xwiyalemotelh spoke the Chawathil Dialect

- (3) S: qwu:l- (.3) qwélqweltel² tset tl'oqays
we (start) talking now?
- (4) Xw: ō ey (.)
oh good
- (5) S: a'a=
yes
- (6) Xw: =a'a la tl'al su o (1.2) l- helems te li ti etl'
yes, it is going on going over to there, eh (the CD burner)
- (7) S: a'a, la tl'al la te tha te sqwal (.4) te sqwelqweltel tset (.4)
yes, the words are going on over there, our conversation
- (8) Xw: a:=
yes
- (9) S: =a'a
yes (3.4)
- (10) Xw: o ilh i kwel mele, su itet ikw'elo (.5)
ah my son was here, then he slept over here
- (11) S: a'[a
yes
- (12) Xw: [si-] sisimetes alhtel (.) te shxwexwos (.5)
they were afraid of the weather

²EP has given these terms for conversation: *sqwelqweltel* 'conversation', *qwulqwel* 'telling news' and *tset alxem tloqays* 'we are discussing things now' such as the work on this paper, or *elelxem* for a larger gathering.

- (13) S: ō::[:
 (14) Xw: [osu li te chachu te (.9) eh (.8) te swas lalem (.2)
 so at his house by the riverbank
 (15) S: ō:: a'a=
 oh: yes
 (16) Xw: =xwe'i te shxwexwos t'osu (.) tawel ste'a te'i (.5) su sisi
 (es)(ye) mameles (.4) (es) ew sisi tutl'o (.3)
 there was a storm (a storm got here), so brightness just like this so his
 kids were afraid, also him
 (17) S: a'a
 yes
 (18) Xw: e: su (me) t'iw alhtel me xwe ikw'elo (.3) e li kw'e chichelh
 te tha (.7)
 then they ran away they came here it was up there
 (19) S: kw'es
 that

Track 6

- (1) S: la itet alh[
 they slept
 (2) Xw: [a- kwthe mamele-s
 yeah- his kids (fem/distal)
 (3) S: ō::[:

- (4) Xw: [yeysele mameles itet li te tha e osu í te í tutl'o (.)
his two kids sleeping, over there ((gesturing)) and him right here
- (5) S: a'a (.) ew ste'a te tha (.) la
yes, that is like...
- (6) Xw: [tsel me xwi (.)
I woke up
- (7) S: [ō
- (8) Xw: tsel me xwi y t'l'oqays (.) -qulh la (.8) eweta! (.9) eh ilh
 xet'a sla::m-s kwe (.6) Hundred Mile t'l'o cha su la (1) o
 lepetsel kwthe- the mele-s (.9) o qas kwthe (.7) shali qas te
 pipi-s³ alhtel(.4)
*I woke up and now they were already all gone he was saying (he
 would) go to Hundred Mile it's (he will go) ah, catch a ride the kids
 and (the woman) and their own baby*
- (9) S: ō::[:
- (10) Xw: [cha me] [mestexwes
he will bring them here
- (11) S: [a'a
yes
- (12) Xw: a'a me t'okw' xwela (.4) la (ch)xwelam te (1.4) e::h (1.9)
 (toyí) (.9) li te seabird island (.3)
yes, (they) are coming home toward eh (?) to Seabird Island
- (13) S: ew sq'ewqel (.3)
oh (you mean) Sq'ewqel

³EP would use te sqaqele-s alhtel 'their baby'

- (14) Xw: a'a (.)
yes
- (15) S: a'a
yes
- (16) Xw: ((throat clear)) sq'ewqel eh
Sq'ewqel hh
- (17) S: a'a
- (18) Xw: [((laughter))]
- (19) S: [((laughter)) (.7)]

Track 7

- (1) S: li te tha kw'e tl'elewx qe yalh tset mi kw'e lò (.4)
it was there that we stopped just/then before we came here
- (2) Xw: a::h
- (3) S: a'a
yes
- (4) Xw: ô::
- (5) S: a'a (.7)
yes
- (6) Xw: li chexw (.) kw'etslexw kw'e (.5) (Name) (1.1) ewe? (.3)
did you see (Name) no?

- [illegible]

⁴EP would use: ...sq'otels tel swa imeth, ... 'is with my grandson'

[illegible]

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- (11) S: [õ:(.9)
- (12) Xw: (last Name) (.) te skwixs (.8)
 his last name is (Name)
- (13) S: te lhet'eqw' (.4)
 the other half (of his name)
- (14) Xw: a'a=
- (15) S: =õ:h ó:la (.)
 oh really
- (16) Xw: (Name) (.8) and uh (4.7) o su lets'e te meles alhtel (.8)
 so then they have one child
- (17) S: õ::[::
- (18) Xw: [iioletse swiwique⁶ (.3)
 a little man (one-classif- little.man)
- (19) S: a'a (2) õ:: ó:[la
 yes oh really
- (20) Xw: [lulh t'wa ts'imel kwe's imexs (.5)
 he must be already almost walking
- (21) S: a'a=
 yes
- (22) Xw: =ilh ts'etem kw'es xwikw'elo alhtel qesu la (1.1) t'ekwstexwes
 la::m te Hundred mile (1) li te tha (alhtel)
 *he was crawling when they got here but they took him to hundred
 mile there they*

⁶EP would say 'iioletse sqequele'.

Track 9

- (1) Xw: kw'es (stas) tl'eláxws tl'oqays (.)
are residing (stopped) now
- (2) S: chokw te shxwllis alh[te]
they are far away
- (3) Xw: [a'a: (.3) a'a (2.1)
yes
- (4) S: li chexw la kw'atset te swas temexw alhtel? (.4)
did you go visit their land?
- (5) Xw: li-lh e chexw e lam⁷? (1) ewe (.3)
did you go? no?
- (6) S: ewe lixw i lam o? (.3) tsel ew kw'etslexw (.) te'a'altha (.) te
Hundred mile
didn't you go? I just saw Hundred Mile myself
- (7) Xw: (yeah) [ilh tsel ew li. (.4)⁸
I was there too.
- (8) S: [a'a
yes
- (9) S: ō=
- (10) Xw: =a'a (.9)
yes

⁷EP visited Hundred Mile but not to them.

⁸EP: "we were not really listening to each other here."

(11) S: ilh li te tha tel setl'etel kw'eselh smamelyi. (.5)

oh: there my older.brother married

(12) Xw: õ::? =

(13) S: =te (Name) (.4)

(14) Xw: õ =

(15) S: =a'a ilh li te tha kw'es mamelyi (.4)

yes, he got married there

(16) Xw: yeah (.3)

(17) S: (Name) te skwixselh te stoles[elh

his wife's name was (Name)

(18) Xw: [ah (.3) ah =

(19) S: =a'a (2)

yes

(20) Xw: õ:

(21) S: te [(xxx)

(22) Xw: [t'wa li kw'e mameles o? (.5)

they must have kids?

(23) S: a'a li?(.)

yes, they must

(24) Xw: õ =

(25) S: =li? (.9)

(26) Xw: õ (1)

- (27) S: a'a, kw'es la q'oy tel stiwel su xwe'i yutl'olem (.5)
yes, when my nephew died then they came here
- (28) Xw: [ō
- (29) S: [teli te tha (.5)
from there
- (30) Xw: ō::[::]
- (31) S: [e'e, mi] te Sts'ailes alhtel (1)
yes, they came here to Chehalis

Track 10

- (1) Xw: ō::[:: [tl'o li
- (2) S: [a'a, tsel kw'[etslexw la xwa siwíqe tl'oqays
yes, I see that they are all men now
- (3) Xw: ō
- (4) S: ilh emomel kw'els (o) (.6) kw'els i kw'etslexw alhtel
last time I saw them they were little
- (5) Xw: m::
- (6) S: a'a (1.2)
yes
- (7) S: kwa tl'oqays xwe siwí:qe
now they have become men
- (8) Xw: my (.) (1.5)

- (9) S: a'[a
yes
- (10) Xw: [li mekw siwí:qe (.)
are all men
- (11) S: a'a!=
yes
- (12) Xw: =ō=
- (13) S: =a'a (.9)
yes
- (14) Xw: a:h my (1.8)
- (15) S: lolets'e o te slhali meles (.)
that's (my brother's) only daughter
- (16) Xw: ō:=
- (17) S: =a'a (1)
- (18) Xw: ō::[:
- (19) S: [li te um- (2) a:h s:- (2.3) Sq'ewlets kw'es sta thutl'ō (.4)
(Name) te skwix-s=
she is staying in Skowlitz, her name is (Name)
- (20) Xw: =ō::=
- (21) S: =a'a (.7) malyi: xwe la te (Name) (.5)
yes, she is married to (Name)
- (22) Xw: ō:::

(23) S: [loye slhali meles=
she is his only daughter

(24) Xw: =ō:

Track 11

(1) S: a'[a

(2) Xw: [ō- (.7) a li te Sq'ewlets
at Skowlitz

(3) S: a'a=
yes

(4) Xw: =ō::[::=

(5) S: [a'a
yes

(6) Xw: =my (5) ((+clears throat))

(7) S: chexw la te sqeylema:ls kw'es q'oy te (.5) tl'o la s'ukw's tel o
 (.5) sa se- tel setl'atel (.) te (Name) (.4)
*you went to his funeral when he died (when) he was gone, my ah my
 older brother (Name)*

(8) Xw: ō a'a (.3)
oh yes

(9) S: li chexw la xwililomet te sq'eylemals=
did you manage to get to his funeral

- (10) Xw: =ewe
no
- (11) S: =ewe?
(.3) no?
- (12) Xw: li e q'eylemtem (.3)
(.3) was he put away ?
- (13) S: li te o shxwchiyo:m=
at Cheam
- (14) Xw: =ō:[:::=
- (15) S: [a'a
yes
- (16) Xw: =[(li o la)
- (17) S: [li te tha kw'es q'eylemtem [tut'o
he was put away there
- (18) Xw: [ewe tsil me áts'lexw (.)
I didn't hear about that
- (19) S: ō! ewe! o?=
oh! no, eh?
- (20) Xw: =ewe! (.)
no!
- (21) S: ō: my: =
- (22) Xw: =ewe lis hith etl' (.5)
it hasn't been long, eh?

- (8) Xw: my (.4)
- (9) S: a'a (1.7) su loye te slhellhali el (.3) satl'atel tl'oqays (.)
yes so now I only have only sisters
- (10) Xw: õ=
- (11) S: =a'a (.3) te (Name)
yes, (Name)
- (12) Xw: (Name) a'a
(Name) yes
- (13) S: a'a um (.3) (Name) (.)
yes um (Name)
- (14) Xw: ↓(Name) (.5)
(Name)
- (15) S: [lheq'elh (.)
(nickname)
- (16) Xw: [xx
- (17) S: (nickname) te skwixs (.) th- (.)
her name is (Name) sh-
- (18) Xw: [(õ)
- (19) S: [-utl'o (.7) a'[a
-e yes
- (20) Xw: [eletse te (.4) (Na[me)
where is (Name)?

- (21) S: [e::: li te (.3) Kwikwet'em
(.4)
she is in Coquitlam
- (22) Xw: ō[::
- (23) S: [a'a li te tha skw'e stas =
yes, that's where she is staying
- (24) Xw: =ō:::
- (25) S: ō ew xwelitem te malyi- (.)tes qe ew (.6) kwelates o te skwix
(.3) Shaw (.4)
(oh) she married a white.person/Caucasian and she carries the same name. Shaw.
- (26) Xw: ō[:
- (27) S: [(Name) (.2)
- (28) Xw: ō[:
- (29) S: [xwelitem (.) (Name) te malyite[s=
she married a xwelitem (Name)
- (30) Xw: [yeah (.2)
- (31) S: a'a (.4)
yes

Track 13

- (1) Xw: we txwo:ye talhwelep (.) te (.6) welh lhe (.2)
(contrast) it's only you (pl) left (yet remaining)

- (2) S: (Name) (.47)
- (3) Xw: ō=
- (4) S: =li te xw-chiyo:m (.3)
at Cheam
- (5) Xw: ō=
- (6) S: lhewéle⁹ (.6) tel satl'atel (.3) tl'oqays
us two (me and) my older sister now
- (7) Xw: ō[:::]:::=
- (8) S: [a'a]
yex
- (9) Xw: my↓
- (10) S: a'a (.)
yex
- (11) Xw: (wet xw) (.8) um:: we t̥xwo:ye telhwelep (s)lhellhali (.3)
there's only you (pl), women
- (12) S: loy e [tl'oqay[s
only just now
- (13) Xw: [o- [ō::[:: 1.3) my=
- (14) S: [a'a
yex

⁹EP changed this to yeysele, 'us two.'

- (15) S: m:::: (te) ewe::te o ye siwi:qe
there are no brothers
- (16) Xw: =(ilh):: tsel xet'e (wels) petamethome i su ey o te (Name) (.)
I was going to ask you if (Name) was okay
- (17) S: ō:: (.65)
- (18) Xw: kw'els ilh kw'etslexw (.) yoswe las (1.5) las (em) (2.8) tem
(1.6) temkw'olekw'es (.5)
(last time) I saw him was maybe a month in the summer
- (19) S: ō a'[a
oh yes
- (20) Xw: [eh (.8) kw'els ilh kw'etslexw (.5)
(since?) I saw him
- (21) S: a'a
yes
- (22) Xw: (x) (.68) kw'el kwe lal lets'e
it's been one
- (23) ?:: (al e)=
- (24) Xw: =si[lolem e (.3)
year (gone?) eh?
- (25) S: [(x)
- (26) S: silolem=
year

(27) Xw: =a'a (.5)

yes

Track 14

(1) S: ō xwe'i ta' swaqeth=¹⁰

oh your husband has arrived

(2) Xw: ō[aha:: (.) (x) (.8) (x) (1.9)

(3) S: [a'a

yes

(4) Xw: yeah (.) lets'e silolem kw'els ilh kw'etslexw te Name (.4) qesu
ewe lis ey ts'a (1) xet'es(.)thalem (kw'es) q'oq'ey li te (.6) i te
(.7) kw'élas (.3)

*yeah, it's been one year since I saw name and I heard he has not been
good, that he was sick in the- in the belly*

(5) S: ō a'a

oh yes

(6) Xw: a'a (1.4) kw'élas (we) te (1.7) what do they call them (1.6)
shxw-eh (2)he couldn't control himself anyway (.6)

(7) S: °ō-

(8) Xw: ↓a'a (3) ((cough)) so he had to (1.5) go away

(9) S: a'a (.)

yes

¹⁰Xw's husband's voice had just been audible in another room.

(10) Xw: a'a (.6)

yeʂ

(11) S: ō:[:::]:

(12) Xw: [“tl'olsu q'oq'iy es skw'a::y kw'els (.)su o:met o(s) (1.3)
skw'ay kw'els i o” (.6)

“so then ¹¹I’m sick so I just can’t sit down” “I can’t stay (stay put, here or there, anywhere)”

(13) S: a'a (.4)

yeʂ

(14) Xw: tl'o kw'els q'oq'ey ey tel (.4) í ti (.3)

I was sick, right here

Track 15

(1) S: a'a (1)

yeʂ

(2) Xw: welh iyolem kw'els la:m t'okw=

“it is already ok to go home”

(3) S: =chexw lheq'èlexw kw'es skw'a...y kw'es ho:ystxwes te (.) te
qel sqoqe (.)

you know how impossible it is to not have any more alcohol

(4) Xw: ō=

¹¹This may be comparable to : So he's like, I'm sick, I just can't stay put...

- (5) S: a'a a- tutl'o (1.4)
yes (for) him
- (6) Xw: xet'estem sqetl'e? (.5)
it's called sxatl'e?
- (7) S: ew tl'o t'wa, e[wetel lheqelhexw=
*o it must be- I don't know that (word)*¹²
- (8) Xw: [ō =a'a (.)
yes
- (9) S: a'a (3.6)
yes
- (10) Xw: (sya-) (.6)
- (11) S: ō::=
- (12) Xw: =it's uh diarrhea (.5)
- (13) S: a'a
yes
- (14) Xw: a:
- (15) S: tl'axtem? wiyoth?
got diarrhea? always?
- (16) Xw: a'a
yes
- (17) S: ō::

¹²EP says she thought Xw meant 'alcohol.'

- (18) Xw: o that's what I'm trying to say!
- (19) S: ō ((laughter 5.4))
- (20) Xw: how do you say it? (.5)
- (21) S: ō tl'axtem
diarrhea
- (22) Xw: ō yea=
- (23) S: =tl'a:xtem=
diarrhea
- (24) Xw: =ō a'a=
oh yes
- (25) S: =a'a (1.8) a'[a
yes yes
- (26) Xw: [I was saying syatl'=
- (27) S: [((laughter))
- (28) Xw: [((laughter))- whatever that means=
- (29) e.o.: ((laughter))

Track 16

- (1) Xw: ((laughter, cough))
ilh layem tset (1)
we're (still) laughing

- (2) S: a'a (1.6)
yes
- (3) Xw: kw'elses sqe'iqel xwela te li (.3) te li kw'el sqwal (.4)
that I have wrong usage in some of my words
- (4) S: a'a
yes
- (5) Xw: (it's o) lats' o tel sqwal ((laughter)) (.2) qel o (.5) o (.8) qel
liliyem o yel (.) sq'e'q'oxel
*my words are strange just bad o bad the people with me are laughing
(at them)*
- (6) S: a'a
yes
- (7) Xw: (a'a) (.3)
yes
- (8) S: a'a (.)
yes
- (9) Xw: ewe is ste'a te tha xet'e (.5)
that isn't how you say it, they say
((laughter))
- (10) S: qa chexw xwe ey (.3)
you're doing okay
- (11) Xw: a'a

- (12) S: t'l'o the um (.6) a' (Name) l'heqel'h xet'e (.6) a ts'elil o kw'es
iyaqs te sqwal su lam o xwe skw'ay
that's what (Name) used to say: just a little (off) in the words and they have gone awry (it's impossible)
- (13) Xw: a'a
yes
- (14) S: l'heqel'h xet'estoxwes
that's what she used to say to us
- (15) Xw: a'=
- (16) S: =sesu ts'ets'el (.6)
and then a little

Track 17

- (1) S: um totilt kw'a sqwal qa yalh a' sqwal (xet'e) [((laughter))]
um think about your words before you say it
- (2) Xw: [((laughter))]...e t'wa
e st'l'i [((laughter))]
(that's what I want)
- (3) S: [((laughter))]
- (4) Xw: ō my (.3)
- (5) S: ((laughter)) o my (1)
- (6) Xw: lulh(.6)
already

- (7) S: loye telewe qas te'altha ilh te li te opále (.5) la te sku:l (.3)
only you and I were in the only ones left of the ten people that went to school
- (8) Xw: a'a (.3) [ō:
yes oh
- (9) S: [li chexw hakweles kw'etelh la sku:l (.5)
do you remember that we went to school
- (10) Xw: [a'a
yes
- (11) S: [sq'o te (Name) (.3)
with (Name)
- (12) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (13) S: =a'a=
yes
- (14) Xw: a: (.9) ilh (sq'o) (.7) tsel kw'axt alhtel=
yeah- I was counting them
- (15) S: =a'a=
yes
- (16) Xw: =a: (.7) we t̥xwo:ye telewe qes ta'altha etl'=
yeah- be.remaining. only you and me, right?
- (17) S: =we lo:ye: [: =
only

(18) Xw: [(a:]

(19) S: =yeysele tset [a'a
us two, yes

(20) Xw: [(yeah) my=

(21) S: =u[huh

(22) Xw: [ō! (.) qes qa (.4) ilh e o halem kw'elh (.6) s- (.4)
(Name) (1.1)
oh and was (Name) attending?

(23) S: ō: tl'o ilh yayas li te Coqalitza
oh she was working at Coqalitza

Track 18

(1) S: ilh 'e kw'eselh sq'eq'ometoxwes [the (Name)
(Name) worked with us (then)

(2) Xw: [ō:: ilh ya:yes
oh she was working

(3) S: a'a
yes

(4) Xw: [ō::

(5) S: [e'e (.6) mhm
yes

- (6) Xw: a'a(.4) kwa (.4) li te Sq'ewqel tl'oqa:ys (kw'es iwes) (.8) iwes
ye mameles (1.4)
*yes, anyway she's teaching nowadays at Seabird teaching (her) chil-
dren (it's at Seabird that she is teaching the children nowadays)*
- (7) S: kw'es [yo:yes (.4)
that she is working
- (8) Xw: [Sqewqel
Seabird
- (9) S: thutl'o a'a
(she) yes
- (10) Xw: a' (.7) xwi tl'o li te the kw'ses íwes (.7)
yeah- she's employed there now
- (11) S: ey (.4)
good
- (12) Xw: a'a (.3) xwelam te sqwal tset (.5)
yes, for our language
- (13) S: a'a=
yes
- (14) Xw: =ō xexeyals (.5)
she just does the writing
- (15) S: stsewot xexeyels [thutl'otl'em
she is so smart at writing, her (endearingly)
- (16) Xw: [ō::a'a
oh yes

- (17) S: a'a (2) ewe lili xwelilomet te sqilemals the tals (.2)
yes, I didn't make it to her mother's funeral
- (18) Xw: ô::=
oh
- (19) S: =li chexw we lam?=
you went?
- (20) Xw: =a'a (.3)
yes
- (21) S: te (Name) [kw'es ewete (.4)
when (Name) passed away
- (22) Xw: [a'a a'a (.8)
yes yes
- (23) S: ewe li li xwelilomet te'althe (.3)
I didn't manage to go
- (24) Xw: ô::
- (25) S: a'a
yes
- (26) Xw: kw'es ilh q'oq'ey ta' sq'oxel (1)(helem) (.4) kw'es is (.7) li
 xwel (.3) eylexw
*because your husband (walking partner) was sick(did he go) or did
 he get better?*

Track 19

- (1) Xw: (Name) (the) (.5)
(Name)?
- (2) S: ewete tel sq'oxel
my husband (walking partner) has passed away
- (3) Xw: ō
oh
- (4) S: a'a, tsel yet'ilem li te (.7) 2003 kw'es ewete (.4)
yes, I was widowed in 2003 because he died
- (5) Xw: ō:: =
oh
- (6) S: a'a (.8)
yes
- (7) Xw: my
- (8) S: a'a (.9)
yes
- (9) Xw: ō:: a three (.6)
- (10) S: a'a two thousand three (.5)
yes, 2003
- (11) Xw: (x)
- (12) S: two thousand five tl'oqa:ys=
it's 2005 now
- (13) Xw: =a'a=
yes

- (2) S: xwe'it thutl'o (.7)
what happened to her?
- (3) Xw: (kw'es) xet'e kw'es me xelh te sxoyes i ti (1.2)
she said that her head was hurting here
- (4) S: ō::=
- (5) Xw: su lam te (.5) te- (.7) te (.3) doctor li te tha kw'eses (1)
e (.4) kw'atsetes te doctor (.5) su thetstem (.5) ey kw'es la
t'okw (.6) ewe skw'ay olu sayem te i ti xet'e
*so she went to the the doctor there who checked her over then he
said(you can just)go home I can't do anything about the pain here he
said*
- (6) S: ō::[::
- (7) Xw: [sayem te i te eqw'elets, sayem te ikw'elo (1.2)
there was pain here, in her back, pain here
- (8) S: ō::
- (9) Xw: skw'ay kw'els thiyt xet'e ey (.3) i xwelám o t'okw' (2.8) su
la:: me xwe'i (1.4) me wayel qew e::y t'ot' (.9) te imex (.4)
*I can't do anything he said head off now for home then she left
and arrived here (at Chewothel) the day came and the poor thing is
walking*
- (10) S: [a'a
yes
- (11) Xw: [kw'ses (1) sta'a kw'u (.2) yayes o (te) kw'etslexwes tel sq'oxel
(.8) imex li te s'atl'q' (3.2) la kwetxwilem qulh
*when she (was like ?) working, my husband saw her walking out-
doorsthen she comes inside or*

Track 21

- (1) Xw: me etl'qel qulh a::y (.5) sqwalewel kw'es ya:yes (.4)
comes right outside again, she thinks she is working
- (2) S: a'a (.)
yes
- (3) Xw: qe: (ye:?) t'wa imex (.7) li kw'es (1.2) a:=
and walking I guess it is that
- (4) S: =le hoy tes (.5) [xelhéleqel=
her headache is over (she's not in pain anymore)
- (5) Xw: [(x-) =a'a (.)
yes
- (6) S: ō::[:
- (7) Xw: [(ilh xwe) ey iselh emikw'elo ilh (.3) ilh t'wa iyolem
kw'els thiyt (.3)
*it would have been good if she could have come here (it must be)
I could have fixed her up (made her better)*
- (8) S: a'a
yes
- (9) Xw: a'a (1.3) i kw'els a-
yes I ah
- (10) S: ō (1)
- (11) Xw: hakwex te ey st'elmexw tl'oqa:ys (.3)
use good medicine now

- (12) S: a'a
yes
- (13) Xw: (alh ilh) lis mi sayem tel swa tl'osu (.5) thiyt ikw'elo (.4)
where it hurts on myself so then I've fixed it here
- (14) S: a'a (.5)
yes
- (15) Xw: tl'o xta o te tha qulh la (.5)
it went (didn't stay long)
- (16) S: la hoy [ta' sʰelheleqel=
"your headache is finished"
- (17) Xw: [a'a =a'a (1.1) a'a wel eyst'elmexw te (tha) (.6) o sta'a
tel (.7) tel sʰele
yes yes, yes (I) made it better there the same as my foot/leg
- (18) S: a'a=
yes
- (19) Xw: a::: su me (1) o ilh welh sayem kw'e chelaqelhelh el su kwut
tetha st'olmexw kw'els xtástexw te'i
*ah then it was already yesterday that I took that medicine and did
like this ((gesturing))*

Track 22

- (1) Xw: (x) lam ò i éyel (.9)
it just got better

- (2) S: a'a (.)
yes
- (3) Xw: ewe is wel (.) i éyel (e) (.4) hoy te sayems (.2)
it just isn't better (it's) the pain is gone
- (4) S: le hoy [te sayems
the pain is gone
- (5) Xw: [mm [a
yes
- (6) S: [ō:: a'a (3)
oh yes
- (7) Xw: a- sulh ey (5) ayxw (.) welh(.) wel (.) tl'istem te (.) st'emlexw
(1.5) teli te (2)
*so the medicine (was already really good (??)) already real expensive
it comes from the*
- (8) S: tl'o te xwelitemelh st'elmexw
it 's the white people's medicine
- (9) Xw: a'a (.4)
yes
- (10) S: ō (.3)
- (11) Xw: li te (1.8) hope (.2) li te xet'estem o (2) medicine tree (.6)
*it's from Hope it's from they call it ah Medicine tree it's a health store
(.4)*
- (12) S: ō a'a::[:=
oh yes

The Conversation, Track 23

- (13) Xw: [=yeah (1.7)
- (14) S: ȕ:[:::
- (15) Xw: [you ask for it and they give it to you you know (.5)
- (16) S: a'a (.)
yes
- (17) Xw: yeah (1.7)
- (18) S: stam te skwixs (.6)
what's its name
- (19) Xw: um::: (2.1)

Track 23

- (1) Xw: lemme see now (3) I lost the bottle too (.3)
(2) S: um::=
(3) Xw: =yeah (.6) but it's oil (.5)
(4) S: a'a
(5) Xw: yeah real oil (.6)
(6) S: õ::=
(7) Xw: I put it a::ll on my head (.8) put a hat on:: an(d)[(x) (.3)
(8) S: [a'a
yes
(9) Xw: sleep (.8)

- (10) S: ō:: (.7)
- (11) Xw: let is wor::k (.7) next day I go in the shower and wash it
 all off
- (12) S: mhm? (1.1) ō:[o
- (13) Xw: [(you) (.5) (hel) (3.6) [hel
- (14) S: [(a'a) ((clears throat)) (1.3)
- (15) Xw: the Vicks is good too (.4)
- (16) S: ō a'a (.)
- (17) Xw: yeah=
- (18) S: (a) lheq tsel hokwex te th[á
 I usually use that
- (19) Xw: [ō: [te Vick's?
 Vicks?
- (20) S: [a'a
 yes
- (21) Xw: a'a=
 yes
- (22) S: =a'a (1)
 yes
- (23) Xw: put it a::ll over too (.7)
- (24) S: a'a (.7)
 yes

- (25) Xw: mm (2.5) lu wel ey te thá Vicks (.9) li-ew
it's really good that Vicks
- (26) S: lu the'it
that's true

Track 24

- (1) S: te ey (.4) [st'elmexw (.3) te thá (1.5)
that's good medicine
- (2) Xw: [a'a
yes
- (3) S: lheq eylexwlolexw li (.4)
it always cures us (fixes us up)
- (4) Xw: ayxw ew tl'istem welh! (.6)
(but it's already (?) expensive!)
- (5) S: ew li (.) [li mekw' ò stem tl'oqays la xwe tl'i (.7)
it sure is. everything has gotten expensive nowadays
- (6) Xw: [a:::
yeah
- (7) S: mekw'=
every
- (8) Xw: =stam a'a=
-thing yes

- (9) S: qe_x tale (.4)
lots of money
- (10) Xw: a'a (.4)
yes
- (11) S: a'a (2.3) the um (.3) li chxw xwu lheq'elexw the o (.) (Name)
(.9) (Name) (.) (Name) (.9)
yes the o did you know (Name)
- (12) Xw: ō (.5) wat? (.4)
oh who?
- (13) S: (Name) (.) (Name)? (.)
- (14) Xw: a'a (.6)
yes
- (15) S: lalh lheq' thaytes te st'elmexw (.2)
she usually made medicine
- (16) Xw: ō::=
- (17) S: =a'a (.6)
yes
- (18) Xw: ō::
- (19) S: [te li te chewó:lh_p (.8) te (e)mekweqel (.4) t'l'o e thiytes
(.4)
out of cottonwood the buds it is made
- (20) Xw: ō[o

- (21) S: [a'a ey xwela li s-la (.) ts'ekwts'ekwthet te' kwelow=
yes it is good for when your skin gets sores all over
- (22) Xw: =ō a'[a
oh yes
- (23) S: [a'a (.)
yes
- (24) Xw: yeah (.)
- (25) S: yalh kw'as tl'o s-lis li xwela um la te swiwel (.4) kw'e hith
 (.3)
now its for um (when you) go in the sun for a long time

Track 25

- (1) S: tl'o ew shxwe'ey's (.3) (sta we yat'l'q't ò ta' selxwiws=
it's good to just smear it on your body
- (2) Xw: ō:[:
- (3) S: [kwthe (k)chewō:- (.) chewō:llp (.2)
that cottonwood tree
- (4) Xw: chewō:llp=
cottonwood tree
- (5) S: a'[a
yes
- (6) Xw: [ō:: (.)

- (7) S: te li te chewō:llp (.)
 it comes from the cottonwood tree
- (8) Xw: uhuh=
- (9) S: =a'a (.)
 yes
- (10) Xw: ō:: (2.2)
- (11) S: kw'etsthome te (.6) te shxwta'es kw'es thaytes thútl'ò (8.5)
 (ewe)tel lheq'elewx li su iyólem kw'as (.5) kw'atset¹³ (.5)
 I'll show you the recipe that she made I don't know if you can see it
 ok
- (12) Xw: a'a (1.3)
 yes
- (13) S: lu sta kw'u (.8) hikw kwes xexeyel (5.1)
 it's like it's written big
- (14) Xw: beeswax=
- (15) S: =a'a (1.4)
 yes
- (16) SR: (yalh yuxw kw'as hoy)
 thank you
- (17) S: a'a
 yes
 (10.3)

¹³She could have used kwixet also, 'read'. (EP)

Track 26

(1) S: eczema te swa s- ah-sq'oq'ey (.6) thel imeth (.)
my granddaughter has eczema

(2) Xw: ô:: [imeth]
oh- granddaughter

(3) S: [tsel oxwest] a'a=
I gave it to her yes

(4) Xw: =ô:: we su oxwesthom te ile (.)
oh, you were given this

(5) S: a'a (.)
yes

(6) Xw: ô::[::

(7) S: [setu¹⁴ thiyt yeylele kw'es thiyt (.4)
so she made lots, we both made it

(8) Xw: ô::[::

(9) S: [a'a (.4)
yes

(10) Xw: qesu (.7) la (e) i'eyelh (.4) la kwa ta'a'althe (.6)
so then she got better , anyway as for me

(II) S: a'a
yes

¹⁴EP feels setu is one word. Her example: setu la kwe tawel. 'We're going to town.'

- (12) Xw: kwelates te (1.6) Gino we te (.7) te sta'a ti (.6)
(then) Gino got it (all over here) ((gesturing))
- (13) S: a'a (1.1)
yes
- (14) Xw: (ō) excema (.5)
- (15) S: ō[::]
- (16) Xw: [uh- he had it in] (.) bi::g] (.9)
- (17) S: ō::[:::]:]
- (18) Xw: [hikw ste'a te í ō:] (.7)
big like just here
- (19) S: [a'a
yes
- (20) Xw: [all over (.4)
- (21) S: a'a (.3)
yes
- (22) Xw: t'l'olsu xókw'et te élh'tel (.5) (I mean) xwelam te (.9) te (1.4)
 q'emō:lh[p
so then I used (them?) I mean for the the maple medicine
- (23) S: q'emō:lh[p
maple
- (24) Xw: [a'a (.7) tsel (.)
yes, I

(25) S: ò[

(26) Xw: [qwelst
 boiled it

Track 27

(1) Xw: ò kw'elews yoswe i ste'á te í (.5)
 oh, maybe like this is (on?) his skin

(2) S: a'a (.)
 yes

(3) Xw: qelsu (1) qwelst! (.8) qelsu lewex lam te (.) sxokw'ems (.3)
 so then I boil it then I put it in his bath

(4) S: a'[a
 yes

(5) Xw: [(a sye) (.5) li te tha (.8)se-axeth kwa (.7) yoswa lis la (.6)
 over there lying down anyway maybe around half an hour (.4) he
 lies down there for maybe half hour

(6) S: a'a (.4)
 yes

(7) Xw: la:: wel (1) la wel la xwe lheqw' te (.6) te sq'oq'ays (.7)
 his sickness gets soaked

(8) S: a'a (.2)
 yes

- (9) Xw: á su me má
and then it came off
- (10) S: ō:[::=
- (11) Xw: [(is kwa) me má (.5) o su
anyway, it comes off, so
- (12) S: =ō my::
- (13) Xw: qesu ewes ixw iqw'et ste'a te í (.3)
and then don't wipe it (rub it) like this
- (14) S: a'a
yes
- (15) Xw: loy kw'e su (.2) kwútes qesu ↓(lóysexw) xt'ástexw ō te í (.7)
just take it and you have to do it like this ((gesturing))
- (16) S: ō[::
- (17) Xw: [a'a (.4) á su (.6) ste'a te thá kw'e (.7) yoswe lis (h-)
(.9) half an hour kw'e ste'a te thá (.5)
yes rec. past so it's like maybe half an hour like that
- (18) S: a'a (.)
yes
- (19) Xw: xwílex(.5)
standing (he stood?)
- (20) S: a'[a
yes

- (21) Xw: [t'l'ósu kwelátes (.5) shxw'ópestel ò
so then he held the towel

Track 28

- (1) Xw: su x'tástexw te'í
he did it like this ((gesturing))
- (2) S: ō[:::
- (3) Xw: [ewe chexw ixw iqw'et=
you don't rub it
- (4) S: ewe ixw [iqw'iwst¹⁵
you don't rub it
- (5) Xw: [yeah:::a'a
yes
- (6) S: ō ōla (.4)
oh, just goes
- (7) Xw: a'a (.6) o su (.6) hoy kw'e su t'l'o te (1.5) te:: (2.3) lotion (.6)
yes, so then it's all finished, the lotion
- (8) S: a'a (.5)
yes
- (9) Xw: oy::: (1.5) te tha (.5) t'l'o xet'estem vitamin E? (.4)
 (?) *that, it's called Vitamin E*

¹⁵EP self-repaired this to: ewe ixw iqw'iwsem, 'don't rub at yourself.'

- (10) S: ō:: [a'a
 oh yes
- (11) Xw: [a'a a'a (1)
 yes yes
- (12) S: ō::: (1.7)
- (13) Xw: o su i ayel(.7)
 ah, so he got better
- (14) S: a'a::=
- (15) Xw: =(xx) (.2) i ayel tl'oqays su (.7) [a'a
 he is all cured now, yes yes
- (16) S: [ō hoy t'elmexwem (.4)
 no more medicating oneself (it's
 finished)
- (17) Xw: á'a (.3)
 yes
- (18) S: áts'ela! (1.2) telel'tse kwa se télexw te thá st'elmexw (1) [(x)-
 oh my goodness! where did you learn about this medicine?
- (19) Xw: [tse-
 (.4) chu¹⁶ tólt ò ta'altha (.6)
 I- I just
 taught myself
- (20) S: ō[::

¹⁶EP would use tsel lu for Xwoyalemot's chu.

- (21) Xw: [tɬ'ó ta ǎltha il tolt (.5) ilh t'wa
I must have learned it myself

Track 29

- (1) Xw: ey il (.3) (t'at¹⁷) (.7) qelsu (t'at) (.8) e su eylexw (.8)
(It was good) I tried and I tried and then she got better
- (2) S: ǒ[: my:::
- (3) Xw: [a' (1.5) so (.8) ilh ew sta'a te tha (.8) kw'allh (Name)
me xwe'i (.4)
and it was like then that when (Name) came here
- (4) S: a'[a
yes
- (5) Xw: [su ste'a te'í poythet (.4)
so then it was like her mouth was crooked
- (6) S: a'a (.2) a'a
yes, yes
- (7) Xw: ste'a te tha (.6) [(to-¹⁸)
like
- (8) S: [stroke! (.3)

¹⁷The target word is t'at, 'try to', (EP) but [tɬ'at] is heard on the recording.

¹⁸EP says Xw is trying to recall lheq'oyiws, 'half-of-body.'

- (9) Xw: a'[a
yes
- (10) S: [a'a (.6)
yes
- (11) Xw: e su me xwe'i ikw'elò qes the meles (.) ò makwelh thutl'ò
(.5) xwe sayem te (1.3) ikw'elò (1.6) hip
*and then she and her daughter arrived here, oh she had.an.accident
(she) got sore here (hip)*
- (12) S: ò lhezq'la[ts
hip (part.of.bum)
- (13) Xw: [a'a (.4)
yes
- (14) S: a'a (.3)
yes
- (15) Xw: skw'ay kw'es wel imexs (.6)
she can't walk
- (16) S: a'a (1)
yes
- (17) Xw: lhezq ò te'i kw'es imexs (.9) su yethest thel mele "tl'os"¹⁹ (1.5)
yoysme" (.6)
walking half like this, so I told my daughter "work (on her)"
- (18) S: a'a (.5)
yes

¹⁹Tl'os means these were her actual words to EP, so I used quotation marks. (SR)

- (19) Xw: t'l'osetu xakw'et alhtel xwelam te (1.7) te q'emolhp (.5)
we bathed them in the the maple (medicine)
- (20) S: ō::[::.....]::
- (21) Xw: [tes te
 (?)]

Track 30

- (1) Xw: tl'osetu y'oyesmet e kwalh (Name) (.) so (.5) kwelét te (.7) te
 xpa:y ste'a te'i (.4)
*we were working on (Name) and them (we) took the cedar (bough)
 like this*
- (2) S: a'a
yes
- (3) Xw: su stí te'a te'i tutl'otl'em (.5) xwilex (.5)
then (this is how) (we worked on) the wee one standing
- (4) S: a'a (.5)
yes
- (5) Xw: ewe chxw (.75) kwoyx̣thetexw (.9)
don't you move.yourself (don't make any movement)
- (6) S: a'a (.3)
yes
- (7) Xw: thithome tsel (asu) ((xwmeqsélem)) (1.3) x̣t'ástexw te'i (e)
 xwe'i (tem o) (.8) ta' (.)
I will fix you then ((s.o. blows nose)) just do this to your

- (8) S: thothel?=
mouth?
- (9) Xw: =a'a (.)
yes
- (10) S: tsemxóythel (.)
chin
- (11) Xw: ((noise)) qelsu kwelat te cedar-s ((noise)) (2.7) qw'oqwet te íkwelò
and then I took her cedar hit it (whipped it) here
- (12) S: a'a (1.2)
yes
- (13) Xw: °↓qwo - qw'oqwet te íkw'elò, qw'oqwet te'í
hit- hit it here hit it here
- (14) S: a'a
yes
- (15) Xw: e::su hoy (.4) su la t'okw (2.6) kwa la thiytel (.5) tl'oqays
and so then they went home (to make each other well)
- (16) S: [(m:::)]
- (17) Xw: [ewe is ewe is ste'a te'í
it's not- it's not like this
- (18) S: a'a=
yes
- (19) Xw: =li chexw kw'etslexw=
did you see her?

(20) S: =a'a [tsel ew kw'etslexw thutl'o
 yes, I did see her

(21) Xw: [(a'a) a'a [(ewe)
 (yes no)

(22) S: [a'a (ɪ)
 yes

(23) Xw: la hoy shxwte'as
 her paralysis is gone

Track 31

(1) S: mm ɔ::[::

(2) Xw: [qesu thiylem kwa t'l'oqays su xet'estem doctor (.8)
 and she was fixed anyway, now she is called doctor

(3) S: a'a (.) teluwe ((laughter))
 yes you!

(4) Xw: (x) ta'althe yeah
 me, yeah

(5) S: ((laughter))

(6) Xw: the'it t'ot you know (.4)
 it's true, poor thing

(7) S: a'a (.5)
 yes

- (8) Xw: qesu o t'ot (.3) thutl'o kwelem te skwixs doctors (.5)
and now poor thing, she is just holding the name doctor
- (9) S: ō ((laughter)) a'a ((laughter)) iselh tl'o telewe!=
oh yes it should have been you!
- (10) Xw: =ō ilh t'wa (.4)
oh it should
- (11) S: ((laugh[ter]))
- (12) Xw: [ays tl'o xet'e tsel (.3)
I said that's fine.ok
- (13) S: ((laughter))
- (14) Xw: (x) skway kw's il (.7) o thilexwes ewátes we lis t'ates (.7)
she can't cure anyone (even) if she tried
- (15) S: a'a
yes
- (16) Xw: we lo:y kw's [(x)
if only that...
- (17) S: [skw'ay kw's aylexw- lexwes [kwewátes (.3)
she sure couldn't make- make anyone better
- (18) Xw: [a- a'[a
yes
- (19) S: [a'a (1.2)
yes

(20) Xw: (the'[it)

it's true

(21) S: [the'it (.)

it's true

(22) Xw: that's why I (.5) always *xet'estexw* (1.4) *ew lo:y xwelam te*
(.6) *te aylexwthom* (.6) *qe yelhes(iyem)*²⁰ (1)

*that's why I always say whenever someone starts to cure you (before
you have your strength)*

Track 32

(1) Xw: -iyem (1)

(get.your.strength)

(2) S: a'a

yes

(3) Xw: *wa xwixw helem o wiyoth* (.4) *o su ewéte o shwelis te'*
esqwoxthet (1)

*(?if you are always going whatever you are doing doesn't matter, (is
not going right)??)*

(4) S: the'it (.3)

true

(5) Xw: *wel the'it* (.)

very true

²⁰EP would say *yalhelsthet*, 'get your strength'

- (6) S: a'a (.2)
yes
- (7) Xw: skw'ay::kw'es (.5) e oxwesthom te st'emlexw tl'osu (.7) tl'osu
xolhmet tl'o swa (.3)
*she can't give you the medicine – it's, then she then she (has to?) look
after her own*
- (8) S: ō tl'o
really, it is
- (9) Xw: a- ō (.7) skw'ay kw'es (.5) la hokwex xet'ewelh tl'o(se) 'e swa
(.5) [ewe
yes- really, it is said that you can't use it unless it is your own
- (10) S: [a'a
yes
- (11) Xw: ewe (1.2)
no
- (12) S: a'a (.65)
yes
- (13) Xw: skw'a:y (1.3) tl'o te chichelh siyam lheq'elelexwes is te elets'e
(.) kw'es me kwelexw
*you can't only the Creator knows where it comes from, what you have
received (1.3)*
- (14) S: a tl'o: tl'osu te shxw'ás (.)
yes, that's how it is
- (15) Xw: (x:[x])

- (16) S: [a'a (1) °t'l'o su te [shxw'as
yes, that's how it is
- (17) Xw: [ewéte lhez'ellexwes t'l'oqays te mekw'at
(.7) loye (.7) ta'althe (.3)
nobody knows any more, only me
- (18) S: a'a
yes
- (19) Xw: loye ta'althe (.)
only me
- (20) S: a'a (.). a'a (.4)
yes, yes
- (21) Xw: melkwelexwes álhtel kw'e (le) chichelh siyam (.8)
they have forgotten the Creator
- (22) S: the'i:t (.)
true
- (23) Xw: a:a=
yes
- (24) S: =the'it
it's true

Track 33

- (1) Xw: t'l'o (.). t'l'o wel teli tetha kw'esés me oxwesthom ta'
shxwe'iyems (.5)
it is it's from there (Chichelh Siyam) you get your strength

- (2) S: a'a (.3)
yes
- (3) Xw: yeah (.)
- (4) S: we melqelexwexw kw'as we ewe lis ey
if you forget (that) it isn't good
- (5) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (6) S: ste'a ta' sqwoqwel (.5)
I agree (it is the same as your thinking?)
- (7) Xw: [a-
- (8) S: [loythet te alhtel (1) a'a loy kw'esu loye (.7) ey (.5)
they are making themselves the only ones who are good
- (9) Xw: [a-
- (10) S: [kw'es xet'es alhtel (2) malqelexwes kw'e siyam (.)
they are saying they forget the Creator
- (11) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (12) S: =a'a (2.1) ewe lis iyólem (1.3)
yes, it is not right
- (13) Xw: kw'elsu (1) wiyoth 'e (.7) tl'o kwa te (.6) pipe ste'a te'i tsel
e ts'iyelh (.6) [(xxx) (.7)
so anyway I'm always holding the paper like this I'll be praying, so then I (?)

- (14) S: [a'a
yes
- (15) Xw: xwelam te (.6) qewis tl'o tel la (1) o (.5) how do you say (.5)
prayer pits' (.)
facing the ... until it is my ah my prayer beads
- (16) S: ō lasúpeli=
oh- rosary
- (17) Xw: =a'a (.)
yes
- (18) S: a'a (.5)
yes
- (19) Xw: a'=
ye-
- (20) S: =tsel ew ts'iyelh wiyóth (.56)
I am always praying
- (21) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (22) S: la amest(lexw)
it keeps going

Track 34

- (1) S: (te) lu lasúpeli
the rosary

- (2) Xw: a'a=
- (3) S: =a'a tsel o xet'e tetha ta'althe (.2)
yes, that is what I also do
- (4) Xw: a'a (.)
- (5) S: a'a (.6)
- (6) Xw: tsel axeth skw'ay kw'els itetel su tl'os hokwex (.3)
when I lie down and can't sleep I use it
- (7) S: a'a (1.2)
yes
- (8) Xw: xwewa lis la iyeqsel qe tsel ulh itet t'wa (.3) [((laughter)) a'a]
it's not yet done and it seems I am asleep yes
- (9) S: [((laughter)) tl'o]
ta' lisosela (.45)
angel
it's your guardian
- (10) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (11) S: =ti hoy ta' supeli (.2)
that finishes your rosary
- (12) Xw: a'[a
- (13) S: [a'a (.7)
- (14) Xw: a- (.)

- (15) S: xét'elh ukw's lheq's tl'o (.7) la hihoyt (.7) ta' lisos (.)
 they say it is your angel that finishes it (sometimes?)
- (16) Xw: a-=
- (17) S: =a'a (.5)
- (18) Xw: ō::=
- (19) S: a'a [((laughter))=
- (20) Xw: [ey etlh (.3)
 it's good isn't it?
- (21) S: e:y (.)
 it's good
- (22) Xw: a:a=
 yes
- (23) S: =ey te shxwtalíms (.)
 that's the way it is
- (24) Xw: a:a (.)
 yes
- (25) S: a'a (9.4)
 yes
- (26) Xw: te es- (.7) tes (txw) te lis ta' swa (.5) s'íwes yuxw télexw...
 that must be where all your own knowledge (comes from)

- (1) Xw: t'l'oqays (.4)
now
- (2) S: a'a
yes
- (3) Xw: a'- te li (lh) (.6) Mali (.3)
from Mary
- (4) S: a'a=
- (5) Xw: =a'a
- (6) S: a'a (.3)
- (7) Xw: ō te li te tha tel swa qas te (.6) qas (.) Name (.3)
oh, from there my own and Name
- (8) S: ō Auntie (Name)=
- (9) Xw: =a'a=
- (10) S: =a'a (.)
- (11) Xw: ey yéysele alhtel (.4) lhez'elh íwesthalem (.3)
the two of them I used to be taught by them
- (12) S: a'a:: (.8)
- (13) Xw: a:: lhez' tset omet (1.5) qe íwesthoxes etlh li te Puchil (.4)
yes, sometimes we sat and they taught me eh? up in Yale
- (14) S: ew li te Puchil [a'a:
oh, at Yale, yes

- (15) Xw: [(a-) (.)
yes
- (16) a- (.4)
- (17) S: ay:: (1)
- (18) Xw: t'l'o kwa (1.8) la (1.1) iwáyés is t'l'o el (.7) e- elhtel lu su t'l'o
kwallh (.5) (Name)? (.7)
anyway it's if it isn't them so it's (Name)?
- (19) S: ô:: (Name)=
- (20) Xw: =a'a=
- (21) S: =a'a=
- (22) Xw: =kw'e kw'es s::qiquéqs t'wa etlh (.5) (called) (Name) (.6)
that must have been her younger (baby?) sister eh? (Name)
- (23) S: (Name)=
(Name)
- (24) Xw: =a'a=
yes
- (25) S: =a'a (.5)
yes
- (26) Xw: e:s ô- yeysele alhtel (.4)
oh those two
- (27) S: a'a (1.1)
yes

- (28) Xw: qeloqtel
were siblings

Track 36

(.9)

- (1) S: a'a (.4)
yes
- (2) Xw: ō (Name) qes te (Name) (1)
- (3) S: ō a'a=
- (4) Xw: qeloqtel alhtel ye (1.9) (Name) (.4) and (Name) (.6) ō
 íwesthàlèm (.) elhtel (1) we iwesthóxelh (.) (Name) (.5)
*uh (Name) and (Name) siblings they (Name) and (Name) oh I was
 taught by them, when they taught me, (Name)*
- (5) S: a'a (.)
- (6) Xw: ō iwesthóxes kw'elh (Name) (1)
oh (Name) taught me
- (7) S: a'a=
- (8) Xw: =a:: (1) telí tl'- (.4) teli (t)te tha kw'els me tol kw'e qex̣ (.9)
from (her)it's from her that I learned so much
- (9) S: ō a'a=
- (10) Xw: a:: (.9)

- (11) Xw: teli te Vancouver kw'else ekw'elulh tel (.5) mele, (1.7) me
kwol me se ewe is aylexw kw'e hith (welh) la hiqsel t'ot'
(.4) me se ewe is aylexwe hith kw'elh la hiqsel t'ot' (.6)
*she came from Vancouver when I lost my child in birth (miscarriage)
when she was born she was not alive long (and) already she died the
poor thing was not alive long (until) the poor little one passed away*
- (12) S: a'a (.2)
yes
- (13) Xw: a- su lam tel sqoxel i lám te vancouver su t'l'o te kw'oxwe
me kwelates (.6)
so my partner/husband went to Vancouver and he brought the coffin
- (14) S: a'a=
yes
- (15) Xw: =te su ewe is (1) um:: qex tale kw'es (we) ey (.4)
so it wasn't much money (to)
- (16) S: a'a=
yes
- (17) Xw: (kwela)tes o te kw'oxwe (.3)
(just bring) the coffin

Track 37

- (1) S: a'a=
yes
- (2) Xw: ewete lheq'élexwes i (1.5) i 'elo:lh li te kyo kw'es pipi te sliw
i te tha (.)
noone knew that there was a baby aboard in the car

- (15) S: a'a (3)
- (16) Xw: sucking his thumb he's just this big (.6)
(saset'átes te mekwémélches)
- (17) S: ô:: [my::
- (18) Xw: [my (.5) he's so cute (1)

Track 38

- (1) S: ô::[::
- (2) Xw: [and- he lived only eleven days (1)
- (3) S: my::: (1.2)
- (4) Xw: he passed away (1.8) and o (1.3) ses la (1.5) qeylemels sesu
 tl'o te lipelit te oxwest te skwixs [xx
(we) did the funeral and the priest gave him his name
- (5) S: [a'a (1)
- (6) Xw: (Name) (.9)
- (7) S: [(Name)
- (8) Xw: [kwes s_xeyel li te (.8) tel (.3)
(Name) that was written on my
- (9) S: la kwil=
the cross
- (10) Xw: =a'a (.3)
yes

- (11) S: ō::=
- (12) Xw: =yeysele alhtel (.7) sqeqeqs (.4)
 they were two babies
- (13) S: ō my:[:
- (14) Xw: [slhelhelyolh (.6)
 little girls
- (15) S: a'a=
- (16) Xw: =a'a (.5) ew me (.3) qwol tutl'otlem esu (1.1) ew me sq'oq'ey
 kw'es me xwe'í (.4)
 *again they (just) said (?) they were little ones and so again they were
 stillborn when they arrived*
- (17) S: m:::[:
- (18) Xw: [a' (1.6)
- (19) S: my::=
- (20) Xw: =a'a (2) is t'wa xwe'ít cha (.6) we tl'o su (.) doctor yoswe
 lis (.8) e q'oytes te pipi (.8) shxwmeq²¹ (1.8)
 *yes, it must be what he did maybe it was the doctor who killed the
 baby (?) (1.7)*

Track 39

- (1) Xw: tl'o kw'es kwelates te chalex ste'á te 'i tl'(o)su (.5)
 because he held him in his hand like this, so then

²¹EP suggests a target utterance here might be: shxwmethoxes, 'this is what he did to me here', i.e. exerting too much pressure during examination.

- (2) S: a'a (1.2)
yes
- (3) Xw: ste'a te'i (1) xtásthoxes te'i (.9)
he did this to me here like this
- (4) S: [õ]=
- (5) Xw: =ewe lis me te (le) one week qulh me xwe'i te pipi q'ay
(.7) sq'oq'ey
there was only one week and the baby was arrived dead (stillborn?)
- (6) S: a'a (1) õ: my: (1.4) alets'e chexw kw'e se la la te docta la
kw'e lheq'álets (.3)
yes where did you go to go to the doctor? (to Vancouver?)
- (7) Xw: a'[a
yes
- (8) S: [ewéte docta stetís (.7) li te Hope ewéte (.3)
there is no doctor near, none in Hope (Ts'eqóls)
- (9) Xw: o:: (.3)
- (10) S: ewéte li te Alámix (.4) Agassiz? (.8)
there's none in Agassiz
- (11) Xw: [õ]=
- (12) S: =ewéte docta slenti:s? (.4)
no doctor nearby
- (13) Xw: [õ] (.4) lu li qex 'i docta li te Hope [tl'oqays]
oh there's lots of doctors now in Hope

(14) S: [ō:] a'a (.)
oh yes

(15) Xw: and kw'el selh (.7) la (2.9) um (.9) ō- (1.9) s-
and when I went, um oh

Track 40

(1) Xw: kw'eses la tes to Vancouver (ilh) (.8) ilh (.8) (lh) (1.7)
when he went to Vancouver

(2) S: ō::=

(3) Xw: =operation is

(4) S: caesar[ean?

(5) SR: [caesarean?=

(6) Xw: =ewe=
no

(7) S: =caesarean ewe? (.3)
caesarean no?

(8) Xw: ewe te pipi (.9) skw'ay kw'es (.9) lepexes stames kw'eselh (.7)
ikw'eló su la me t'l'al (.6) ewe ewelh loy halem (1) helem=
no the baby he couldn't eat anything it's here it got stuck going, it was
just never going

(9) S: =ō=

- (10) Xw: =la sulh (.6) lam te Vancouver la su (.7) ((noise)) thiytem
 (.9) ((noise)) xet'e (kw'es) sthethiy te (.7) te (.7) te siyoys te
 doctor (.4)
*so went to Vancouver (to fix?) he said to get fixed up properly (by) the
 doctor's work*
- (11) S: a'a (.)
yes
- (12) Xw: qa ewe (.9) iyem (.4) sayem xwelam te pipi (qa sulh) (.6)
 hiqsel t'ot (.4)
*but he didn't get better. It was too painful for the baby and so the
 poor little thing died.*
- (13) S: ō=
- (14) Xw: =yeah=
- (15) S: =my:=
- (16) Xw: =yeah (.8)
- (17) S: ō (2.6) my (.7)
- (18) Xw: yeah (2.3) so I lost two (of)

Track 41

- (1) Xw: on the births like that , but I lost altogether, eight (.7)
 miscarriag[es]
- (2) S: [ō:: ts'ets'el [qex
so many
- (3) Xw: [eight (.3) eight miscarriages (.7)
I had ten (.7) [alive

- (4) S: [a'a (.) a'a (.3)
yes yes
- (5) Xw: and that eight that were miscarried
- (6) S: ō ts'ats'el qex (.5)
o: so many
- (7) Xw: yeah
- (8) S: a'a (.5)
yes the other two were born dead an one lived eleven days (.5)
- (9) S: a'a (.7)
yes
- (10) Xw: an then (1.9) (x:) the other six were miscarriage (.7)
- (11) S: ō leq'aywelh
o miscarriage
- (12) Xw: ahuh (.)
- (13) S: xet'estem (.6) etlh (.5)
it is said, eh?
- (14) Xw: what do they call it? (.4)
- (15) S: leq'aywelh (.)
miscarriage
- (16) Xw: ō leq'aywelh=
oh miscarriage

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- (4) Xw: [a'a
yes
- (5) S: xwelelá::met alh tel qwulqweltel (.3)
I was listening to their talking
- (6) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (7) S: =xwelis emí te xwelitem mi te lalem (.3) ewe lis laplit qew
(.8) thet te
whether it was the white people who came to the house or whether it was the priest, he said
- (8) Xw: [xxx](we li)
(?) when it was
- (9) S: a'a (.) thet te
yes, he said
- (10) Xw: [xx]
- (11) S: (Name) (.3)
(Name)
- (12) Xw: a' (.9)
yeah
- (13) S: xet'e (.8) xet'estexwes thel talelh te mali (.5)
was saying- my father told my mother
- (14) Xw: [ō-

- (15) S: t'l'o te íle sqwoqwels te xwelítem (.5) su xwi t'l'o sta xwelítem
yethestes te sqwoqwels th[el talelh (.)

*this is what the whiteman is saying then my father said the same way
to the whiteman*

- (16) Xw: [õ

o

- (17) S: q'olq'íl thet ò (.5) su la xwa líleq kw'els theyt

back and forth so it became easy that I put it

Track 43

- (1) i te pipe t'l'oqays=
on to paper now (translate)

- (2) Xw: =õ::=

- (3) S: =a'a (.7)
yes

- (4) Xw: my=

- (5) S: =a'a (2.3) qe::x:: te líl télexw te líl yutl'ólem (.4)
yes I learned (such) a lot from them

- (6) Xw: mm (.3)

- (7) S: a'a, seventy five years old te (Name) kw'es q'ay (.3)
yes, (Name) died when he was 75 years old

- (8) Xw: õ:[:=

- (9) S: [1966 (.)

- (10) Xw: my=
- (11) S: =a'a=
- (12) Xw: =[ō
- (13) S: [a'a (.6) tel malelh (.3)
yes, he is (still) my father
- (14) Xw: yeah=
- (15) S: =a'a (1.5) tsel lu isá:le o swayel kw'es kwuthoxes te Patlik te
wel mal (.5)
yes, I was two days old when my real father Patrick took me (to them)
- (16) Xw: [ō
- (17) S: [su (e)mesthóyxes te Sq'éwqel (.6) [su oxwesthoyxes la tel
shxwewáli (.5)
then they brought me to Seabird and gave me to my parents
- (18) Xw: [ō
oh
- (19) S: isá:le ò swayel (.6)
just two days
- (20) Xw: ō::=
- (21) S: =a'a (1.4)
yes
- (22) ((cough?)) hmm
- (23) S: xwa lílſes ye tha te mali kw'es te (Name) (.4)
when (Name) arrived to my father

(24) Xw: ò=

(25) S: =i xwela te tha kwe la li iyólem kwa' es kw'emet (.5)
"here is the baby. Can you raise her?"

(26) Xw: ò::[o

(27) S: [sul te li te tha
so that's who

Track 44

(1) S: kw'es kwuthoyxes elhtel=
they gave me to

(2) Xw: =ò::=

(3) S: =a'a (.7)
yes

(4) Xw: huh (.4)

(5) S: ò, t'l'ò shxwtás la xweli te sq'ewqel te'áltha (.7)
so that's how I got to Sq'owqel

(6) Xw: ò t'l'ò ew ilh ew kwelates tha' (t'l'a) tha' mele (Name) (.3)
it was (there) you had your daughter (Name)

(7) S: a'a (.)
yes

(8) Xw: o:x(lh) i iyelhomex (.) [ò my
oh my she was beautiful

- (9) S: [(laugh_{ter})] a'a (.)
- (10) Xw: a'=
ye=
- (11) S: =a'a (1.1) o:: lhewelhsxa qes te tu:xw maqa thut'l'o kw'es
q'oy (.7) te (Name)=
yes, she was 39 years old when she died
- (12) Xw: =kw'il? (.7)
how old?
- (13) S: lhéwelhsxá qas [te tu:xw
thirty nine
- (14) Xw: [ō:: ō::[::
- (15) S: [a'a 'e te cancer tl'o la (.5)
yes, it was the cancer that
- (16) Xw: kwutem
took her (she was taken)
- (17) S: a'a
yes
- (18) Xw: ō::[: my::
- (19) S: [a'a
yes (1.3)
- (20) Xw: 'i 'i kwe kw'el i ō my
so very pretty
- (21) S: ((laugh[ter]))

(22) Xw: [((laughter)) (.6) qas tl'oqa:ys te mameles
 and now her daughters

(23) S: a'a=
 yes

(24) Xw: =tsel kw'etslexw li te (1) [a] Sqwah (.3)
 I've seen them at the Landing

(25) S: a'a
 yes

Track 45

(1) Xw: emómel ste'á te i
 they were this size ((gesturing))

(2) S: a'a (.)
 yes

(3) Xw: lu xwel ste'á te i te máqels
 her hair was always like this

(4) S: sq'elq'á:lp
 curly

(5) Xw: ((laugh[ter]))

(6) S: [a'a
 yes

(7) Xw: ((laughter)) o my

(8) S: ((laughter))

- (9) Xw: tsel xet'e t'l'o t'wa yalh swas the (Name) te'í la mámele (.)
the (Name) mamele yelo
I said it must be (Name)'s children (there) (passed by?)
- (10) S: a'a (.4)
yes
- (11) Xw: (kw'e)sta'á::: te'í [(laughter)]
- (12) S: [te maqels=
because their hair is like this
- (13) Xw: =a'a=
- (14) S: =a'a (.6)
- (15) Xw: o xwló:yemes élhTEL [ō my
they were smiling
- (16) S: [a'a ((laughter))]
- (17) Xw: it just hit me right here=
- (18) S: =((laughter)) (.3) uhuh (1.2) yeah (1.2) texw ewéte o te
shxwewélis yutl'ólem t'l'o[qá:ys
they don't have any parents now
- (19) Xw: [a'a::a'a=
yes yes
- (20) S: =la hélem te (Name) (.5)
(Name) has gone/passed on/left
- (21) Xw: ō=

- (22) S: =a'a (.) la hélem (.5)
 yes he has gone
- (23) Xw: li (.6)
 he has
- (24) S: a'a (.5) la sqwálewel kw'es xet'e álhtel kw'es ew tl'ò te
 pneumonia (.6) e kwélexwes (.3)
 yes (I have a feeling) they said that it was the pneumonia that got him
- (25) Xw: ō::=
- (26) S: =a'a (1.1) a'a
 yes, yes

Track 46

- (1) Xw: hm (.6) tl'- tl'ò texwwat o kwa seltl'ò méle, (.5) tl' (Name)
 tl'oqá:ys (.4)
 hmm it's it's anyway who is the oldest child of (Name) now?
- (2) S: o (Name) (.5)
 ah (Name)
- (3) Xw: ō tl'ò (.)
 oh it's him
- (4) S: a'a
 yes
- (5) Xw: ō::[:]
- (6) S: [a'a (.3) (Name) (.3) um (1.1) (Name) (1) (Name) (1.2)
 (Name) (.9) a:nd (Name) (.6)]

- (7) Xw: ō::=
(8) S: =isále o máqe te Name kw'es ewéte the táselh=
 (Name) was only two years old when his mother died
(9) Xw: =ō::my=
(10) S: =mhm (1.4) kw'e tl'oqá:ys t'wa le kwe ópel qas te (1.2) xwelís
 ópel qas te isále máqes tl'oqá:ys?=
 mhm, now he might have been – might be twelve years old now
(11) Xw: =ō=
(12) S: =te sqwá:lewl (.5) [a'a
 is my thinking yes
(13) Xw: [ō my=
(14) S: =mhm (1.2) mhm (.)
(15) Xw: ewéte lhek'elexw (1) te thá (.8) swa tl' (Name) mámele (1.4)
 skw'áy kw'els télexw wewátes lóy kw'els kw'étslexw tes (.6)
 te me[qel ((laughter))
 *(noone knows that)? if it is (Name)'s children I can only tell (who it
 is) if I see hair*
(16) S: [meqels (.5)
 their hair

- (1) S: [te tɬ'ò (thutɬ'o?)=
it's her
- (2) Xw: [((laughter))

- (3) S: =a'a...
 yes
- (4) Xw: (sta'a te tha)
 they are like that
- (5) S: te emímeths a'a [(xx)
 her grandkids, yes
- (6) ?: [(xx)
- (7) Xw: i'iyelhómex, etlh=
 they are really pretty, aren't they?
- (8) S: =((laughter)) a'a ((laughter)) o my (1.7) áts'ele (.7)
 yes, very
- (9) Xw: tu xwel ay kw'alh (Name) o? (.6)
 there's more than one (Name) (kw'alh = plural)
- (10) S: li? (.)
 there is?
- (11) Xw: ō=
- (12) S: =li (.)
- (13) Xw: ō::
- (14) S: li kw'e Lheq'álets the (Name) (.7) t'l'o swa swáyel the (Name)
 t'l'owá:yel (.6) is twa kw'il máqe (.4)
 *(Name) is in Vancouver, today is (Name)'s birthday, she must be how
 old*
- (15) Xw: ō::[::

- (16) S: [$\text{xet}^{\text{'e}}$ swas álhtel little (Name) (.5)
 they call her Little (Name)
- (17) Xw: \bar{o} =
- (18) S: = $\text{a}^{\text{'a}}$? (.8) méles te (Name) (.3)
 yes? (Name's) child
- (19) Xw: $\text{a}^{\text{'a}}$ =
 yes
- (20) S: = $\text{a}^{\text{'a}}$ =
 yes
- (21) Xw: = $\text{tl}^{\text{'o}}$ meqes $\text{tl}^{\text{'owá:yel}}$ (.4)
 it is her year today
- (22) S: e $\text{tl}^{\text{'ò}}$ swa swáyel $\text{tl}^{\text{'owá:yel}}$ (.3)
 it is her birthday today
- (23) Xw: \bar{o} ::[::] my=
- (24) S: [$\text{a}^{\text{'a}}$] mhm (.8) is twa eletse (1.1) ewétel lheqélexw lis li
 the $\text{Th}^{\text{'éwálí}}$ kw'e (ste'ás)
 yes, yes, she must be where. I don't know if she is staying at
 Soowahlie

Track 48

- (1) Xw: \bar{o} ::
- (2) S: $\text{a}^{\text{'a}}$ (.9)
 yes

- (3) Xw: li li Lheq'álets teloqá:ys kwallh²³ (Name) (.3)
are are (Name) and them still in Vancouver?
- (4) S: li? (.5) kwa [xwe'ít?
they are? what is she doing anyway?
- (5) Xw: [li (.6) li [te
she is in the
- (6) S: [a::::=
- (7) Xw: =q'òq'eyá:wtxw? (.4)
hospital?
- (8) S: a:: (1.4) ewete lheq'élexw sul wel tl'alexw li te Lheq'álets (.3)
I don't know if she is (actually?) staying in Vancouver
- (9) Xw: ò=
- (10) S: =a'a (.4)
yes
- (11) Xw: yoswe we lis shxwelis (.6) (xx) (.5) (iwel) (.8) xet'estem (1.6)
xollhme'awtxw ((cough?))
*perhaps she may be (or: I am thinking she may be in) it's called a
care home*
- (12) S: ò:: (.5) kwe'á:: (.4) ewéte lheq'élexw=
oh (?) I don't know
- (13) Xw: =(whatizit) (2.4) I think it is (.7) xet'estem (.7) xélhema:wtxw
(1.3)
called care home where they take care of em (.3) elders you know (.6)

²³We are translating this kwallh (Name) idiomatically in English as '(Name) and them.'

- (14) S: ō::[::]
- (15) SR: [xolhemawtxw? (.5)
 care home
- (16) Xw: a-=
- (17) S: =a'a (.6)
 yes
- (18) Xw: o li kwelh [o
 (they are all just?)
- (19) SR: [(care home) (.7)
- (20) S: care home (1.1) mhm?=
(21) Xw: =yeah (.3)
- (22) S: a'a (1.4) ey t'wa wel
 yes it must be really good (?) (<we'ol)

Track 49

- (1) S: lilh li ta' kw'es (.8) kw'es o (.5)
 was it (?) that ah...
- (2) Xw: ō temtam kw'es la teyaqel xwlam (1.8)
 oh so when was someone transferred
- (3) S: a:: tsel e mëlqellexw tl'ó (.3) te táls te (Name) it qwoqwéles
 qe tl'ó te méles (.)
 oh, I forget: are we talking about (Name)'s mother or his daughter?

- [illegible]

- (16) Xw: =ō=
 (17) S: =tl'ō te mámeles e xalhmet=
it is her children that are looking after her
 (18) Xw: =ō=
 (19) S: =a'a (.6) a'a kwelh el sqwalewel kw'es tl'ō te méles ixw
yes, yes, I thought it was the children you were
 (20) Xw: ew[e (ewe) ewe
no no no
 (21) S: [qwoqwéles (.6)
talking about
 (22) Xw: [a'a
yes
 (23) S: [ō::

Track 50

- (1) Xw: tl'ō tálselh (.) (Name) (.7)
it was (Name)'s mother
 (2) S: a'a (.8) lulh xollhmetem ò (.4) te [éqs mémeles=
yes, her children are already looking after her
 (3) Xw: [(x)
 =(Name) (.4)
 (4) S: a'a

- (5) Xw: a'=
 (6) S: =(name, name)
 (7) Xw: a' (.3)
 (8) S: (na-name) (1.6)
 (9) Xw: more (Name, Name) lives downstairs (.3)
 (10) S: a'a=
 yeʒ
 (11) Xw: =su li te chichelhelh (1.7) ò li te tha me hilem kwelh (.6)
 (Name)-elh (.4)
 from upstairs right down to there she tumbled, (Name) eh?
 (12) S: a'a (.5)
 yeʒ
 (13) Xw: tl'ò su makwelh t'òt (1.7) li te eqwelets (.3)
 she was injured, poor thing, on her back
 (14) S: ò (.7) my=
 (15) Xw: =she's on a wheelchair now (1)
 (16) S: ò::
 (17) Xw: (Name)? (1.3)
 (18) S: a'a=
 (19) Xw: =yeah=
 (20) SR: =ò:[:

- (21) S: [tsel ets'lexw (.7) you know her too?=
I heard about it
- (22) SR: =yeah=
- (23) S: =yeah? (1.8) ô:[:
- (24) Xw: [she was visiting =
- (25) SR: =Katie (.7)
- (26) Xw: visiting (Name) when (.5) (Name) lost (Name).

Chapter 3

The Conversation with Interlinear Gloss Glosses by Strang Burton

This is the same conversation presented in the previous chapter, but the interlinear glosses have been added as appropriate. Where the meaning was clear and no morphemic breakdown was required, no interlinear gloss has been provided. Where the utterance transcribed in the first line includes what might be called “non-morphemic” information—“false starts,” hesitations, pauses—an additional line has been added between the transcription and the glosses to clarify the glossing of the utterance. However, in most cases, it was sufficient to add a single line of glossing between the utterance and translation. (E.A.G)

Track 5

- (1) S: lu iyolem etl' kw'es (.)
 AUX alright eh that
 it is ok, eh, that
- (2) Xw: a'a (.4)
 yes

- (3) S: qwu:l- (.3) qwélqweltel¹ tset tl'oqays
 speaking we now
we (start) talking now?
- (4) Xw: ò ey (.)
 oh good
- (5) S: a'a=
 yes
- (6) Xw: =a'a la tl'al su o (1.2) l- helems te li ti etl'
 yes AUX on so going-3AGR ART there eh
yes, it is going on going over to there, eh (the CD burner)
- (7) S: a'a, la tl'al la te tha te sqwal (.4) te sqwelqweltel
 yes AUX on AUX there ART word(s) DET
 tset (.4)
 language our
yes, the words are going on over there, our conversation
- (8) Xw: a:=
 yes
- (9) S: =a'a
 yes (3.4)
- (10) Xw: uh ilh i kwel mele, su itet ikw'elo (.5)
 AUX-PST AUX my child so sleep here
uh my son was here, then he slept over here

¹EP has given these terms for conversation: *sqwelqweltel* 'conversation', *qwulqwel* 'telling news' and *tset alxem tloqays* 'we are discussing things now' such as the work on this paper, or *elalexem* for a larger gathering.

(11) S: a'[a
yeʂ

(12) Xw: [si-] sisimetes alhtel (.) te shxwexwos (.5)
afraid.of-3AGR they ART thunder/thunderbird
they were afraid of the weather

(13) S: ō::[::

(14) Xw: [osu li te chachu te (.9) eh (.8) te swas
so AUX ART beach/shore ART ART own-3AGR
lalem (.2)
house
so at his house by the riverbank

(15) S: ō:: a'a=
oh: yeʂ

(16) Xw: =xwe'i te shxwexwos tl'osu (.) tawel ste'a te'i (.5) su sisi
arrive ART thunder FOC-so bright like this
(es)(ye) mameles (.4) (es) ew sisi tutl'o (.3)
there was a storm (a storm got here), so brightness just like this so his kids were afraid, also him

(17) S: a'a
yeʂ

(18) Xw: e: su (me) tl'iw alhtel me xwe ikw'elo (.3) e li
PRT so AUX run.away they AUX come.to here PRT AUX
kw'e chichelh te tha (.7)
ART high there
then they ran away they came here it was up there

- (19) S: kw'es
that

Track 6

- (1) S: la itet alh[te]l
 AUX sleep they
they slept

- (2) Xw: [a- kwthe mamele-s
 ART children-3POSS
yeah- his kids (fem/distal)

- (3) S: ō:[:

- (4) Xw: [yeysele mameles itet li te tha e osu í te'í
 two children-3POSS sleep AUX there PRT so AUX here
 tutl'ō (.)
 him

his two kids sleeping, over there ((gesturing)) and him right here

- (5) S: a'a (.) ew ste'a te tha (.) la
 yes EMPH like that AUX
yes, that is like...

- (6) Xw: [tsel me xwi (.)
 I AUX wake.up
I woke up

- (7) S: [o

- (8) Xw: tsel me xwiy t'loqays (.) -qulh la (.8) eweta! (.9)
 I AUX wake.up now already AUX gone/nothing
 eh ilh xet'a sla::m-s kwe (.6) Hundred Mile t'lo
 AUX-PST say NOM-go-3POSS ART Hundred Mile FOC
 cha su la (i) o lepetsel kwthe- the mele-s (.9) o qas
 FUT so AUX catch.a.ride ART ART child-3POSS and
 kwthe (.7) slhali qas te pipi-s² alhtel(.4)
 ART woman and ART baby-3POSS they

I woke up and now they were already all gone he was saying (he would) go to Hundred Mile it's (he will go) ah, catch a ride the kids and (the woman) and their own baby

- (9) S: ō::[:

- (10) Xw: [cha me] [mestexwes
 FUT AUX bring-3AGR
he will bring them here

- (11) S: [a'a
yes

- (12) Xw: a'a me t'okw' xwela (.4) la (ch)xwelam te (1.4) e::h
 yes AUX come.home for AUX towards ART
 (1.9) (toyi) (.9) li te seabird island (.3)
 P ART Seabird Island
yes, (they) are coming home toward eh (?) to Seabird Island

- (13) S: ew sq'ewqel (.3)
 EMPH Sq'ewqel
oh (you mean) Sq'ewqel

²EP would use te sqaqele-s alhtel 'their baby'

- (14) Xw: a'a (.)
yes
- (15) S: a'a
yes
- (16) Xw: ((throat clear)) sq'ewqel eh
Sq'ewqel hh
Sq'ewqel hh
- (17) S: a'a
- (18) Xw: [((laughter))]
- (19) S: [((laughter)) (.7)]

Track 7

- (1) S: li te tha kw'e tl'elxw qe yalh tset mi kw'e lò (.4)
P there ART stop and just/then we come here
it was there that we stopped just/then before we came here
- (2) Xw: a::h
- (3) S: a'a
yes
- (4) Xw: ō::
- (5) S: a'a (.7)
yes
- (6) Xw: li chexw (.) kw'etslexw kw'e (.5) (Name) (1.1) ewe? (.3)
Q you see ART (Name) no
did you see (Name) no?

(7) S: ō ewe! [ewe lil kw'etslexw
 no NEG AUX-1SUBJ see
oh no, I didn't see her

(8) Xw: [o t'l'o swas (.4) t'l'o swas imeth (.7)
 FOC own-3POSS FOC own-3POSS grandchild
 kw'e la kwutes kwthel mele qas (.3)
 that AUX take-3AGR ART-1POSS child and
 *ah it is her own it is her own grand(daughter) that my
 daughter went back to get and*

(9) S: ō::[:: (Name) eh?=
 yes

(10) Xw: [yeah =a'a. [t'l'o t'l'o swas imeth kw'the (.6) q'ami
 FOC FOC own-3POSS grandchild ART girl
 (1)
 yes oh the young lady is her granddaughter ah

(11) S: [o:: (la)
 yes

(12) Xw: a' (.9) kwelates³ tel swa (.) imeth (.8) [swi:qe
 hold/take-3AGR my own grandchild boy
 she is with my grandson

(13) S: [o:: a'a=
 oh, yes

(14) Xw: =a'a (.4) kwelotel alhtel (.) t'l'o[qays
 yes couple they now
 they are a couple today

³EP would use: ...sq'otels tel swa imeth, ... 'is with my grandson'

- (15) S: [ō li o: [la
oh yes oh
oh, I understand
- (16) Xw: [a'a (.9)
yɛs
- (17) Xw: te (x) (1.7) kwélexwes⁴ alhtel te (.5) i'axwil stl'itl'eqelh (.6)
get-3AGR they ART very.small little.child
tl'o pipis (1.3) swiwiqe (.4) sta'a te'i (.5)
FOC baby-3POSS little.man like this
ah they've got a small child it is a (baby), little man, about like this
((gestures))

Track 8

- [illegible]

⁴EP would say instead: *e xwe si sémele alhtel swiqolh*, 'they had a baby, a boy'

(17) S: ð::[::

(18) Xw: [iloletse swiwique⁵ (.3)
 one little.man
 a little man (one-classif- little.man)

(19) S: a'a (2) ð:: ó:[la
 PRT AUX
 yes oh I understand

(20) Xw: [lulh t'wa ts'imel kwe's imexs (.5)
 already must.be almost that walk-3AGR
 he must be already almost walking

(21) S: a'a=
 yes

(22) Xw: =ilh ts'etem kw'es xwikw'elo alhtel qesu la (1.1)
 AUX-PST crawl that get-here they and.so AUX
 t'ekwstexwes la::m te Hundred mile (1) li te tha
 get.home-CAUS-3AGR go ART Hundred Mile P there
 (alhtel)
 (they)
 *he was crawling when they got here but they took him to hundred
 mile there they*

Track 9

(1) Xw: kw'es (stas) t'l'eláxws t'l'oqays (.)
 that reside/stay-3AGR stop-3AGR now
 are residing (stopped) now

⁵EP would say 'iloletse sqequele'.

- (2) S: chokw te shxwli alh[_{tel}
 far ART place-3POSS they
they are far away
- (3) Xw: [a'a: (.3) a'a (2.1)
yes
- (4) S: li chexw la kw'atset te swas temexw alhtel? (.4)
 Q you AUX look.at ART own-3POSS earth/land they
did you go visit their land?
- (5) Xw: li-lh e chexw e lam⁶? (1) ewe (.3)
 Q-PST PRT you PRT go no
did you go? no?
- (6) S: ewe lixw i lam o? (.3) tsel ew kw'etslexw (.)
 no AUX come.to go PRT I EMPH see
 te'a'altha (.) te Hundred mile
 myself ART Hundred Mile
didn't you go? I just saw Hundred Mile myself
- (7) Xw: (yeah) [ilh tsel ew li. (.4)⁷
 AUX-PST I EMPH there
I was there too.
- (8) S: [a'a
yes
- (9) S: ō=

⁶EP visited Hundred Mile but not to them.

⁷EP: "we were not really listening to each other here."

- (10) Xw: =a'a (.9)
yes
- (11) S: ilh li te tha tel set'etel kw'eselh smamelyi. (.5)
 AUX-PST AUX there my older.sibling that-PST married
oh: there my older.brother married
- (12) Xw: õ::?=
- (13) S: =te (Name) (.4)
- (14) Xw: õ=
- (15) S: =a'a ilh li te tha kw'es mamelyi (.4)
 yes AUX-PST P there that married
yes, he got married there
- (16) Xw: yeah (.3)
- (17) S: (Name) te skwixselh te stoles[elh
 (Name) ART name-PST ART wife-PST
his wife's name was (Name)
- (18) Xw: [o (.3) ah=
- (19) S: =a'a (2)
yes
- (20) Xw: õ:
- (21) S: te [(xxx)
- (22) Xw: [t'wa li kw'e mameles o? (.5)
 must.be Q ART children-3POSS PRT
they must have kids?

- (23) S: a'a li?(.)
yes, they must
- (24) Xw: ō=
- (25) S: =li? (.9)
- (26) Xw: ō (1)
- (27) S: a'a, kw'es la q'oy tel stiwel su xwe'i yutl'olem (.5)
yes when AUX die my nephew so come.here they
yes, when my nephew died then they came here
- (28) Xw: [ō
- (29) S: [teli te tha (.5)
from there
- (30) Xw: ō::[::]
- (31) S: [e'e, mi] te Sts'a'fles alhtel (1)
yes come ART Chehalis they
yes, they came here to Chehalis

Track 10

- (1) Xw: ō:[: [tl'o li
FOC AUX
- (2) S: [a'a, tsel kw'[etslexw la xwa siw'iqe tl'oqays
yes I see AUX become men now
yes, I see that they are all men now
- (3) Xw: ō

- (4) S: ilh emomel kw'els (uh) (.6) kw'els i kw'etslexw allhtel
 AUX-PST little that-I that-I AUX see them
 last time I saw them they were little
- (5) Xw: m::
- (6) S: a'a (1.2)
 yes
- (7) S: kwa tl'oqays xwe siwí:qe
 anyway now become men
 now they have become men
- (8) Xw: my (.) (1.5)
- (9) S: a'[a
 yes
- (10) Xw: [li mekw siwí:qe (.)
 AUX all men
 are all men
- (11) S: a'a!=
 yes
- (12) Xw: =o=
- (13) S: =a'a (.9)
 yes
- (14) Xw: a:h my (1.8)
- (15) S: lolets'e o te slhali meles (.)
 one.person/alone just ART woman/female child-3POSS
 that's (my brother's) only daughter

(4) Xw: =ō::[::=

(5) S: [a'a
yes

(6) Xw: =my (5) ((+clears throat))

(7) S: chexw la te sqeylema:ls kw'es q'oy te (.5) tl'o la
you AUX ART funeral-3POSS when/that die ART FOC AUX
s'ukw's tel o (.5) sa se- tel setl'atel (.) te (Name) (.4)
(finished?) my my elder.sibling ART (Name)
*you went to his funeral when he died (when) he was gone, my ah my
older brother (Name)*

(8) Xw: ō a'a (.3)
oh yes

(9) S: li chexw la xwililomet te sq'eylemals=
Q you AUX get.to-manage.to ART funeral
did you manage to get to his funeral

(10) Xw: =ewe
no

(11) S: =ewe?
(.3) no?

(12) Xw: li e q'eylemtem (.3)
Q PRT put.away-PASS
(.3) was he put away ?

(13) S: li te o shxwchiyo:m=
P ART Cheam
at Cheam

- (14) Xw: =o:[::=
- (15) S: [a'a
yeʃ
- (16) Xw: =[(li o la)
- (17) S: [li te tha kw'es q'eylemtem [tutl'o
AUX there that put.away-PASS he
he was put away there
- (18) Xw: [ewe tsil me áts'lexw (.)
no I AUX hear.about
I didn't hear about that
- (19) S: ô! ewe! o?=
oh! no, eh?
- (20) Xw: =ewe! (.)
no!
- (21) S: ô: my: =
- (22) Xw: =ewe lis hith etlh (.5)
not AUX-3AGR long.time eh
it hasn't been long, eh?
- (23) S: ewe lis hith kw'es ewete tl'oqays [a'a
not AUX-3AGR long.time that gone/nothing now yes
it hasn't been long now since he passed
- (24) Xw: [ô:: (ilh) (1.1) li su xet'e
oh AUX-PST AUX so say
kw'els petamethome is we ey o (.6)
that.I ask-you AUX-3AGR SBJV good PRT
I was saying that I was going to ask you how he was

(25) S: o:[:: la ewéte
oh AUX nothing/gone
oh:: (he has gone)

(26) Xw: [ō:: (.6) ō (.5)

Track 12

(1) S: a'a (.) kwelexwes te pneumonia tutl'o (.4)
yes get/catch-3AGR ART he
yes, he got pneumonia

(2) Xw: ō:=

(3) S: =tl'o su (.9) li te q'oq'eyawtxw (.4)
FOC so P ART hospital
it was then, he was at the hospital

(4) Xw: li su heyqsel [o=
AUX so pass.on
so he passed on

(5) S: [a'a
yes

(6) Xw: =o:[:::

(7) S: [a'a su heyqsel o (1.2)
yes so pass.on PRT
yes, he passed on

(8) Xw: my (.4)

- (9) S: a'a (1.7) su loye te slhellhali el (.3) satl'atel tl'oqays (.)
 yes so only ART women me elder.sibling(s) now
yes so now I only have only sisters
- (10) Xw: ō=
- (11) S: =a'a (.3) te (Name)
 yes ART (Name)
yes, (Name)
- (12) Xw: (Name) a'a
(Name) yes
- (13) S: a'a um (.3) (Name) (.)
yes um (Name)
- (14) Xw: ↓(Name) (.5)
(Name)
- (15) S: [lheq'elh (.)
 use.to-PST
(nickname)
- (16) Xw: [xx
- (17) S: (nickname) te skwixs (. th- (.)
 ART name-3POSS
her name is (Name) sh-
- (18) Xw: [(o)
- (19) S: [-utl'o (.7) a'[a
-e yes

(20) Xw: [eletse te (.4) (Na[me)
 where.is ART (Name)
where is (Name)?

(21) S: [e:::: li te (.3) Kwikwet'em(.4)
 P ART Coquitlam
she is in Coquitlam

(22) Xw: õ[::

(23) S: [a'a li te tha skw'e stas =
 yes P there that staying-3AGR
yes, that's where she is staying

(24) Xw: =õ:::~:::

(25) S: õ ew xwelitem te malyi- (.)tes qe ew (.6)
 oh EMPH white.person ART marry get.to and EMPH
 kwelates o te skwix (.3) (Name) (.4)
 have/hold-3AGR PRT ART name (Name)
(oh) she married a white.person/Caucasian and she carries the same name. (Name).

(26) Xw: õ[::

(27) S: [(Name) (.2)

(28) Xw: õ[::

(29) S: [xwelitem (.) (Name) te malyite[s=
 white.person (Name) ART marry-TRANS-3AGR
she married a xwelitem (Name)

(30) Xw: [yeah (.2)

- (31) S: a'a (.4)
yes

Track 13

- (1) Xw: we txwo:ye talhwelep (.) te (.6) welh lhe (.2)
SBJV only.remaining you.PL ART already PRT
(contrast) it's only you (pl) left (yet remaining)
- (2) S: (Name) (.47)
- (3) Xw: ò=
- (4) S: =li te xw-chiyo:m (.3)
P ART Cheam
at Cheam
- (5) Xw: ò=
- (6) S: lhewéle⁸ (.6) tel satl'atel (.3) tl'oqays
two my elder.sibling now
us two (me and) my older sister now
- (7) Xw: ò[:::]:=
- (8) S: [a'a]
yes
- (9) Xw: my↓
- (10) S: a'a (.)
yes

⁸EP changed this to yeysele, 'us two.'

- (11) Xw: (wet xw) (.8) um:: we tɣwo:ye telhwelep (s)lhellhali
CONT be.only.remaining you-pl women
(.3)

there's only you (pl), women

- (12) S: loy e [tɬ'oqay[s
only PRT now
only just now

- (13) Xw: [uh- [õ::[: 1.3) my=

- (14) S: [a'a
yes

- (15) S: m::: (te) ewe::te o ye siwi:qe
(?) no ART PRT men/males
there are no brothers

- (16) Xw: =(ilh):: tsel xet'e (wels) petamethome i su ey o
AUX-PST I say really-3AGR ask-you AUX so good PRT
te (Name) (.)
ART (Name)
I was going to ask you if (Name) was okay

- (17) S: o:: (.65)

- (18) Xw: kw'els ilh kw'etslexw (.) yoswe las (1.5) las
that-I AUX-PST see maybe AUX-3AGR AUX-3AGR
(ẽm) (2.8) tem (1.6) temkw'olekw'es (.5)
time/was.when summer
(last time) I saw him was maybe a month in the summer

- (19) S: õ a'[a
oh yes

(22) Xw: (x) (.68) kw'el kwe lal lets'e
my anyway AUX-I one
it's been one

(24) Xw: =si[lolem e (.3)
year (gone?) eh?

(26) S: silolem=
year

(1) S: ō xwe'i ta' swaqeth=ʔ
 arrive your husband
 oh your husband has arrived

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- (3) S: [a'a
yes
- (4) Xw: yeah (.) lets'e silolem kw'els ilh kw'etslexw te Name
 one year that/since.I AUX-PST see ART (Name)
 (.4) qesu ewe lis ey ts'a (1) xet'es(.)thalem (kw'es)
 and-so NEG AUX-3 good it.is.said tell-1PSV that
 q'oq'ey li te (.6) i te (.7) kw'élas (.3)
 sick P ART P ART belly-3POSS
*yeah, it's been one year since I saw name and I heard he has not been
 good, that he was sick in the- in the belly*
- (5) S: ō a'a
oh yes
- (6) Xw: a'a (1.4) kw'élas (we) te (1.7) what do they call them
 yes belly-3POSS (if) ART
 (1.6) shxw-eh (2)he couldn't control himself anyway (.6)
- (7) S: °ō-
- (8) Xw: ↓a'a (3) ((cough)) so he had to (1.5) go away
- (9) S: a'a (.)
yes
- (10) Xw: a'a (.6)
yes
- (11) S: ō:[:::::::

- (12) Xw: [“tl’olsu q’oq’iy es skw’a::y kw’els (.)su o:met o(s)
 FOC-I-so sick just can’t that.I so sitting.down just
 (1.3) skw’ay kw’els i o¹⁰” (.6)
 can’t that.I here just
“so then I’m sick so I just can’t sit down” “I can’t stay (stay put, here or there, anywhere)”

- (13) S: a’a (.4)
 yes

- (14) Xw: tl’o kw’els q’oq’ey ey tel (.4) í ti (.3)
 FOC that.I sick ? my here
I was sick, right here

Track 15

- (1) S: a’a (1)
 yes
- (2) Xw: welh iyolem kw’els la:m t’okw=
 already ok that.I go return.home
“it is already ok to go home”
- (3) S: =chexw lheq’elewx kw’es skw’a...y kw’es ho:ystxwes
 you know that can’t/impossible that finished-CAUS-3AGR
 te (.) te qel sqoqe (.)
 ART ART bad drink
you know how impossible it is to not have any more alcohol
- (4) Xw: o=

¹⁰This may be comparable to : So he’s like, I’m sick, I just can’t stay put...”

- (5) S: a'a a- tutl'o (1.4)
yɛs (for) him
- (6) Xw: xet'estem sqetl'e? (.5)
 call/tell-3PSV
it's called sqatl'e?
- (7) S: ew tl'o t'wa, e[wetel lheqelhexw=
 EMPH FOC/it.is must.be nothing-my knowledge
oh it must be- I don't know that (word)¹¹
- (8) Xw: [ō =a'a (.)
yɛs
- (9) S: a'a (3.6)
yɛs
- (10) Xw: (sya-) (.6)
- (11) S: ō::=
- (12) Xw: =it's uh diarrhea (.5)
- (13) S: a'a
yɛs
- (14) Xw: a:
- (15) S: tl'axtem? wiyoth?
 got.diarrhea? always?
got diarrhea? always?

¹¹EP says she thought Xw meant 'alcohol.'

- (16) Xw: a'a
yes
- (17) S: ō::
- (18) Xw: oh that's what I'm trying to say!
- (19) S: ō ((laughter 5.4))
- (20) Xw: how do you say it? (.5)
- (21) S: ō t'l'axtem
diarrhea
- (22) Xw: o yea=
- (23) S: =t'l'a:xtem=
diarrhea
- (24) Xw: =ō a'a=
oh yes
- (25) S: =a'a (1.8) a'[a
yes yes
- (26) Xw: [I was saying syatl'=
- (27) S: [((laughter))
- (28) Xw: [((laughter))- whatever that means=
- (29) e.o.: ((laughter))

Track 16

((laughter, cough))

- (1) Xw: ilh layem tset (1)
 AUX-PST laughing we
we're (still) laughing
- (2) S: a'a (1.6)
 yes
- (3) Xw: kw'elses sqe'iqel xwela te li (.3) te li kw'el
 that.I-3AGR s-qel/DIM-oythel for ART P ART P my
 sqwal (.4)
 word(s)/language
that I have wrong usage in some of my words
- (4) S: a'a
 yes
- (5) Xw: (it's o) lats' o tel sqwal ((laughter)) (.2) qel o (.5) o (.8)
 strange just my word(s) bad just
 qel liliyem o yel (.) sq'e'oxel
 bad laughing just my.PL partners/those.with.me
*my words are strange just bad ah bad the people with me are laughing
 (at them)*
- (6) S: a'a
 yes
- (7) Xw: (a'a) (.3)
 yes
- (8) S: a'a (.)
 yes
- (9) Xw: ewe is ste'a te tha xet'e (.5)
 NEG AUX-3AGR like that say
that isn't how you say it, they say

((laughter))

(10) S: qa chexw xwe ey (.3)
and you become good
you're doing okay

(11) Xw: a'a

(12) S: tl'o the um (.6) a' (Name) lheqelh xet'e (.6) a ts'elil o
FOC ART (?) (Name) used.to say PRT maybe just
kw'es iyaqs te sqwal su lam o xwe skw'ay
that change-3AGR ART word(s) so go PRT become can't/impossible
*that's what (Name) used to say: just a little (off) in the words and
they have gone awry (it's impossible)*

(13) Xw: a'a
yex

(14) S: lheqelh xet'estoxwes
use.to tell
that's what she used to say to us

(15) Xw: a' =

(16) S: =sesu ts'ets'el (.6)
and.so very
and then a little

Track 17

(1) S: um totilt kw'a sqwal qa yalh a' sqwal (xet'e)
think/learn your word(s)/speech before your word(s)/speech say
[[((laughter))]]

um think about your words before you say it

- (2) Xw: [((laughter))... e
PRT
t'wa e stl'i [((laughter))
must.be PRT want
(*that's what I want*)
- (3) S: [((laughter))
- (4) Xw: ō my (.3)
- (5) S: ((laughter)) o my (i)
- (6) Xw: lulh(.6)
already
- (7) S: loye telewe qas te'altha ilh te li te opále (.5) la
only you.EMPH and I.EMPH AUX-PST from ART ten.people go
te sku:l (.3)
ART school
only you and I were in the only ones left of the ten people that went to school
- (8) Xw: a'a (.3) [ō:
yes oh
- (9) S: [li chexw hakweles kw'etelh la sku:l (.5)
Q you remember when-we-PST go school
do you remember that we went to school
- (10) Xw: [a'a
yes
- (11) S: [sq'o te (Name) (.3)
with ART (Name)
with (Name)

- (12) Xw: a'a=
yeʂ
- (13) S: =a'a=
yeʂ
- (14) Xw: a: (.9) ilh (sq'o) (.7) tsel kw'axt alhtel=
AUX-3AGR (with) I count them
yeah- *I was counting them*
- (15) S: =a'a=
yeʂ
- (16) Xw: =a: (.7) we t̥xwo:ye telewe qes ta'altha etl'=
SBJV only you and I eh
yeah- *be.remaining. only you and me, right?*
- (17) S: =we lo:ye: [: =
only
- (18) Xw: [(a:)
- (19) S: =yeysele tset [a'a
two.people we yes
us two, yeʂ
- (20) Xw: [(yeah) my=
- (21) S: =u[huh
- (22) Xw: [õ! (.) qes qa (.4) ilh e o halem kw'elh (.6) s-
and and AUX-PST PRT PRT going ?
(.4) (Name) (1.1)
oh and was (Name) attending?

- (8) Xw: [Sqewqel
Seabird
- (9) S: thutl'o a'a
(she) yes
- (10) Xw: a' (.7) xwi tl'o li te the kw'ses íwes (.7)
 become FOC P there that-3AGR teach
yeah- she's employed there now
- (11) S: ey (.4)
good
- (12) Xw: a'a (.3) xwelam te sqwal tset (.5)
 yes for ART language/word(s) our
yes, for our language
- (13) S: a'a=
yes
- (14) Xw: =ō xexeyals (.5)
 oh writing
she just does the writing
- (15) S: stsewot xexeyals [thutl'otl'em
 smart/skilled writing-3AGR she.DIM
she is so smart at writing, her (endearingly)
- (16) Xw: [o::a'a
oh yes
- (17) S: a'a (2) ewe lili xwelilomet te sqilemals the tals (.2)
yes, I didn't make it to her mother's funeral

(18) Xw: ō::=

oh

(19) S: =li chexw we lam?=

AUX you SBJV go

you went?

(20) Xw: =a'a (.3)

yes

(21) S: te (Name) [kw'es ewete (.4)

ART (Name) that nothing/gone

when (Name) passed away

(22) Xw: [a'a a'a (.8)

yes yes

(23) S: ewe li li xwelilomet te'althe (.3)

NEG AUX AUX go.there-manage.to I.EMPH

I didn't manage to go

(24) Xw: ō::

(25) S: a'a

yes

(26) Xw: kw'es ilh q'oq'ey ta' sq'oxel (1)(helem) (.4) kw'es

that/because AUX-PST sick your partner going) that

is (.7) li xwel (.3) eylexw

AUX-3AGR AUX still get.better

because your husband (walking partner) was sick(did he go) or did he get better?

Track 19

- (1) Xw: (Name) (the) (.5)
(Name)?
- (2) S: ewete tel sq'oxel
my husband (walking partner) has passed away
- (3) Xw: ō
oh
- (4) S: a'a, tsel yet'ilem li te (.7) 2003 kw'es ewete (.4)
yes I be.widowed P ART 2003 that/because gone/nothing
yes, I was widowed in 2003 because he died
- (5) Xw: ō:: =
oh
- (6) S: a'a (.8)
yes
- (7) Xw: my
- (8) S: a'a (.9)
yes
- (9) Xw: ō:: a three (.6)
- (10) S: a'a two thousand three (.5)
yes, 2003
- (11) Xw: (x)
- (12) S: two thousand five tl'oqa:ys=
it's 2005 now

(13) Xw: =a'a=

yes

(14) S: =a'a (.9) ewe:te tel sqoxel (.4)

yes gone/nothing my partner

yes, my husband has passed

(15) Xw: (mhm)

(16) S: a'a (.9) ↓a'a (2.3)

yesyes

(17) Xw: kwthe (.8) (just)(.5) two thousand four (kw)ses helém

ART.FEM

that-3AGR going

kw'elh (.5) Tinyelh (.4)

ART-PST

it was just 2004 that Tiny left

(18) S: a'a [el sqwalewel (.3)

yes my thoughts/feelings

yes, I think so

(19) Xw: [mmmm (.9)

(20) S: a'a (2)

yes

(21) Xw: ō helem qe (.8) te s- (.8) se lilh li ti (.5) xet'estem o

oh going and ART

AUX-PST there

tell-3PSV

(Name)? (.2)

(Name)

oh ah they say (Name)- oh she passed too

- (22) S: o xwel q'ami o qa [ewete
still girl PRT and gone/nothing
ah she was still just a young girl and passed on

- (23) Xw: [a'a
yes

Track 20

- (1) ulh la hiqsel t'ot (.9)
already AUX die poor.thing
she already died poor thing
- (2) S: xwe'it thutl'o (.7)
what.happened her
what happened to her?
- (3) Xw: (kw'es) xet'e kw'es me xelh te sxoyes i ti (1.2)
that say that AUX hurt ART head here
she said that her head was hurting here
- (4) S: õ::=
- (5) Xw: su lam te (.5) te· (.7) te (.3) doctor li te tha kw'eses
so go ART ART ART P there that-3AGR
(1) e (.4) kw'atsetes te doctor (.5) su thetstem (.5) ey
PRT look.at-3AGR ART so tell-3PSV good
kw'es la t'okw (.6) ewe skw'ay olu sayem te i ti xet'e
that AUX go.home NEG can't very sore ART here say
so she went to the the doctor there who checked her over then he said (you can just) go home I can't do anything about the pain here he said
- (6) S: õ::[::

- (7) Xw: [sayem te'i te eqw'elets, sayem te ikw'elo (1.2)
 sore here ART back sore ART here
there was pain here, in her back, pain here

- (8) S: ō::

- (9) Xw: skw'ay kw'els thiyt xet'e ey (.3) i xwelám o t'okw'
 can't that.I fix say good P for PRT go.home
 (2.8) su la:: me xwe'i (1.4) me wayel qew e::y
 so AUX AUX arrive.here AUX become.day and-EMPH good
 t'ot' (.9) te imex (.4)
 poor.thing ART walk
*I can't do anything he said head off now for home then she left
 and arrived here (at Chewothel) the day came and the poor thing is
 walking*

- (10) S: [a'a
 yes

- (11) Xw: [kw'ses (1) sta'a kw'u (.2) yayes o (te)
 when/that-3AGR like and-EMPH working PRT (ART)
 kw'etslexwes tel sq'oxel (.8) imex li te s'atl'q' (3.2) la
 see-3AGR my partner walk P ART outside AUX
 kwetxwilem qulh
 come.inside and-EMPH-PST
*when she (was like ?) working, my husband saw her walking out-
 doorsthen she comes inside or*

Track 21

- (1) Xw: me etl'qel qulh a::y (.5) sqwalewel kw'es
 AUX go.outside and-EMPH-PST going.along thoughts that
 ya:yes (.4)
 working
comes right outside again, she thinks she is working
- (2) S: a'a (.)
 yes
- (3) Xw: qe: (ye:?) t'wa imex (.7) li kw'es (1.2) a:=
 and PRT must.be walking AUX that
and walking I guess it is that
- (4) S: =le hoy tes (.5) [xelhéleqel=
 AUX finished/over get.to headache
her headache is over (she's not in pain anymore)
- (5) Xw: [(x-) =a'a (.)
 yes
- (6) S: ô::[:
- (7) Xw: [(ilh xwe) ey iselh emikw'elo ilh (.3)
 AUX-PST become good AUX-3AGR-PST come.here AUX-PST
 ilh t'wa iyolem kw'els thiyt (.3)
 AUX-PST must.be alright that.I fix.it
*it would have been good if she could have come here (it must be)
 I could have fixed her up (made her better)*
- (8) S: a'a
 yes
- (9) Xw: a'a (1.3) i kw'els a-
 yes AUX that.I
yes I ah

(10) S: ō (1)

(11) Xw: hakwex te ey st'elmexw t'l'oqa:ys (.3)
 use ART good medicine now
 use good medicine now

(12) S: a'a
 yes

(13) Xw: (alh ilh) lis mi sayem tel swa t'l'osu (.5) thiyt ikw'elo
 AUX-PST AUX-3AGR AUX sore my own FOC-so fix here
 (.4)
 where it hurts on myself so then I've fixed it here

(14) S: a'a (.5)
 yes

(15) Xw: t'l'o xta o te tha qulh la (.5)
 FOC say PRT there and-EMPH-PST AUX
 it went (didn't stay long)

(16) S: la hoy [ta' sʰelheleqel=
 AUX finished your headache
 "your headache is finished"

(17) Xw: [a'a =a'a (1.1) a'a wel cyst'elmexw te (tha) (.6) o sta'a
 yes yes yes very make.better there oh like
 tel (.7) tel sʰele
 my my foot/leg
 yes yes, yes (I) made it better there the same as my foot/leg

(18) S: a'a=
 yes

- (19) Xw: a:: su me (1) o ilh welh sayem kw'e chelaqelhelh el
 so AUX oh AUX-PST already sore ART yesterday my
 su kwut tetha st'olmexw kw'els xtástexw te'i
 so take.it that medicine (that.I) do.sthg here
 *ah then it was already yesterday that I took that medicine and did
 like this ((gesturing))*

Track 22

- (1) Xw: (x) lam ò i éyel (.9)
 go just AUX get.better
 it just got better
- (2) S: a'a (.)
 yes
- (3) Xw: ewe is wel (.) i éyel (e) (.4) hoy te
 NEG AUX-3AGR very AUX get.better PRT finish/end ART
 sayems (.2)
 pain-3POSS
 it just isn't better (it's) the pain is gone
- (4) S: le hoy [te sayems
 AUX finish ART pain
 the pain is gone
- (5) Xw: [mm [a
 yes
- (6) S: [õ:: a'a (3)
 oh yes

- (7) Xw: a- sulh ey (5) ayxw (.) welh(.) wel (.) tl'istem te (.)
 so-already good (?) already very expensive ART
 st'emlexw (1.5) teli te (2)
 medicine from ART

*so the medicine (was already really good (??)) already real expensive
 it comes from the*

- (8) S: tl'o te xwelitemelh st'elmexw
 FOC ART white.person/people-PST medicine

it 's the white people's medicine

- (9) Xw: a'a (.4)
 yes

- (10) S: ō (.3)

- (11) Xw: li te (1.8) hope (.2) li te xet'estem uh (2) medicine
 P ART AUX ART call-3PSV
 tree (.6)

*it's from Hope it's from they call it uh Medicine tree it's a health store
 (.4)*

- (12) S: ō a'a::[:=
 oh yes

- (13) Xw: [=yeah (1.7)

- (14) S: ō::[:::

- (15) Xw: [you ask for it and they give it to you you know (.5)

- (16) S: a'a (.)
 yes

- (14) S: [(a'a) ((clears throat)) (1.3)]
- (15) Xw: the Vicks is good too (.4)
- (16) S: ō a'a (.)
- (17) Xw: yeah=
- (18) S: (a) lheq tsel hokwex te th[á
usually I use that
I usually use that
- (19) Xw: [ō::: [te Vicks?
Vicks?
- (20) S: [a'a
yes
- (21) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (22) S: =a'a (1)
yes
- (23) Xw: put it a::ll over too (.7)
- (24) S: a'a (.7)
yes
- (25) Xw: mm (2.5) lu wel ey te thá Vicks (.9) li-ew
AUX-EMPH very good that AUX-EMPH
it's really good that Vicks
- (26) S: lu the'it
AUX-EMPH true
that's true

Track 24

- (1) S: te ey (.4) [st'el̥mexw (.3) te thá (1.5)
 ART good medicine that
 that's good medicine
- (2) Xw: [a'a
 yes
- (3) S: l̥heq ey̯lexwlol̥xw li (.4)
 always cure-us AUX
 it always cures us (fixes us up)
- (4) Xw: ay̯xw ew tl'istem welh! (.6)
 (?) EMPH expensive already
 (but it's already (?) expensive!)
- (5) S: ew li (.) [li mekw' ò stem tl'oqays la xwe tl'i
 EMPH it.is AUX everything just now AUX become expensive
 (.7)
 it sure is. everything has gotten expensive nowadays
- (6) Xw: [a:::
 yeah
- (7) S: mekw'=
 every
- (8) Xw: =stam a'a=
 mekw'stam =
 -thing yes

- (9) S: qex tale (.4)
lots.of/much money
lots of money
- (10) Xw: a'a (.4)
yes
- (11) S: a'a (2.3) the um (.3) li chexw xwu lheq'elexw the
AUX you PRT-EMPH know ART
uh (.) (Name) (.9) (Name) (.) (Name) (.9)
(Name)
yes the ah did you know (Name)
- (12) Xw: ǝ (.5) wat? (.4)
oh who?
- (13) S: (Name) (.) (Name)? (.)
- (14) Xw: a'a (.6)
yes
- (15) S: lalh lheq' thaytes te st'elmexw (.2)
AUX-PST usually making-3AGR ART medicine
she usually made medicine
- (16) Xw: ǝ::=
- (17) S: =a'a (.6)
yes
- (18) Xw: ǝ:[::

- (19) S: [te li te chewó:lhɸ (.8) te (e)mekweqel (.4) tl'ò
 from ART cottonwood-tree ART bud(s) FOC
 e thiytes (.4)
 PRT make-3AGR
out of cottonwood the buds it is made

(20) Xw: ò[ò

- (21) S: [a'a ey xwela li s-la (.) ts'ekwts'ekwthet te'
 yes good for AUX NOM-AUX getting.sores-self your
 kwelow=
 skin
yes it is good for when your skin gets sores all over

(22) Xw: =ò a'[a
oh yes

(23) S: [a'a (.)
yes

(24) Xw: yeah (.)

- (25) S: yalh kw'as tl'ò s-lis li xwela um la te
 now that.you FOC NOM-AUX-3AGR AUX for AUX ART
 swiwel (.4) kw'e hith (.3)
 sunshine ART long.time
now its for um (when you) go in the sun for a long time

Track 25

- (1) S: tɬ'o ew shxwe'eyɬ (.) (sta we yatɬ'q't ò ta'
 FOC EMPH what.it's.good.for-3POSS be.like if smear.on just your
 selxwiws=
 body
 it's good to just smear it on your body
- (2) Xw: ɔ̃:[:
- (3) S: [kwthe (k)chewō:- (.) chewō:llp (.)
 that cottonwood-tree
 that cottonwood tree
- (4) Xw: chewō:llp=
 cottonwood tree
- (5) S: a'[a
 yɛs
- (6) Xw: [o::: (.)
- (7) S: te li te chewō:llp (.)
 from ART cottonwood-tree
 it comes from the cottonwood tree
- (8) Xw: uhuh=
- (9) S: =a'a (.)
 yɛs
- (10) Xw: ɔ̃:: (2.2)

- (11) S: kw'etsthome te (.6) te shxwta'es kw'es thaytes thútł'ò
 show-you ART ART how.its.made that make-3AGR she
 (8.5) (ewe)tel lheq'elewx li su iyólem kw'as (.5) kw'atset¹²
 nothing-my knowing AUX so alright that.you look.at.it
 (.5)

*I'll show you the recipe that she made I don't know if you can see it
 ok*

- (12) Xw: a'a (1.3)
yes

- (13) S: lu sta kw'u (.8) hikw kwes xexeyel (5.1)
 AUX-EMPH be.like that-EMPH big that writing
it's like it's written big

- (14) Xw: beeswax=

- (15) S: =a'a (1.4)
yes

- (16) SR: (yalh yuxw kw'as hoy)
thank you

- (17) S: a'a
yes (10.3)

Track 26

- (1) S: eczema te swa s- ah-sq'oq'ey (.6) theł imeth (.)
 ART own sickness my.FEM grandchild
my granddaughter has eczema

¹²She could have used kwixet also, 'read'. (EP)

- (2) Xw: ō:: [imeth]
 oh-granddaughter
- (3) S: [tsel oxwest] a'a=
 I give.to yes
 I gave it to her yes
- (4) Xw: =ō:: we su oxwesthom te ile (.)
 oh PRT so give-2PASS this
 oh, you were given this
- (5) S: a'a (.)
 yes
- (6) Xw: ō::[:]
- (7) S: [setu¹³ thiyt yeyle kw'es thiyt (.4)
 so-very make both [=two people] that
 so she made lots, we both made it
- (8) Xw: ō::[:]
- (9) S: [a'a (.4)
 yes
- (10) Xw: quesu (.7) la (e) i'eyelh (.4) la kwa ta'a'althe (.6)
 and-so AUX getting.better AUX anyway me.EMPH
 so then she got better , anyway as for me
- (11) S: a'a
 yes

¹³EP feels setu is one word. Her example: setu la kwe tawel. 'We're going to town.'

- (12) Xw: kwelates te (1.6) Gino we te (.7) te sta'a ti (.6)
 get.hold.of-3AGR ART PRT ART ART like this
(then) Gino got it (all over here) ((gesturing))
- (13) S: a'a (1.1)
yes
- (14) Xw: (o::) excema (.5)
- (15) S: ô::]
- (16) Xw: [uh- he had it in] (.) bi::g] (.9)
- (17) S: ô::[:::::::]
- (18) Xw: [hikw ste'a te í ô:] (.7)
 big like this here just
big like just here
- (19) S: [a'a
yes
- (20) Xw: [all over (.4)
- (21) S: a'a (.3)
yes
- (22) Xw: tl'olsu xókw'et te élhTEL (.5) (I mean) xwelam te (.9)
 FOC-I-so used.it ART ? for ART
 te (1.4) q'emō:lhP (.7)
 ART maple-tree
so then I used (them?) I mean for the the maple medicine
- (23) S: q'emō:lh[p
maple

(24) Xw: [a'a (.7) tsel (.)
yes, I

(25) S: ō[

(26) Xw: [qwelst
boiled it

Track 27

(1) Xw: ō kw'elews yoswe i ste'a te i (.5)
 oh skin-3POSS maybe AUX like this
oh, maybe like this is (on?) his skin

(2) S: a'a (.)
yes

(3) Xw: qelsu (i) qwelst! (.8) qelsu lewex lam te (.) sxokw'emis
 and-I-so boil (it) and-I-so put (it) P ART bath-3POSS
 (.3)

so then I boil it then I put it in his bath

(4) S: a'[a
yes

(5) Xw: [(a sye) (.5) li te tha (.8) se-axeth kwa (.7) yoswa
 (?) P there lie.down anyway maybe
 lis la (.6)
 AUX-3POSS AUX

*over there lying down anyway maybe around half an hour (.4) he
 lies down there for maybe half hour*

(6) S: a'a (.4)

yeʃ

(7) Xw: la:: wel (ɪ) la wel la xwe lheqw' te (.6) te
AUX very AUX very AUX become soaked/wet ART ART

sq'oq'ays (.7)

sickness-3POSS

his sickness gets soaked

(8) S: a'a (.2)

yeʃ

(9) Xw: á su me má
so AUX come.off

and then it came off

(10) S: õ:[::=

(11) Xw: [(is kwa) me má (.5) o su
AUX-3AGR become AUX come.off so

anyway, it comes off, so

(12) S: =õ my::

(13) Xw: qesu ewes ixw iqw'et ste'á te í (.3)
and.so NEG-AGR AUX-you wipe (it) like this

and then don't wipe it (rub it) like this

(14) S: a'a

yeʃ

- (15) Xw: loy kw'e su (.2) kwútes qesu ↓(lóysexw) xt'ástexw ò te í
 only that so take-3AGR and-so have.to do.sthg just this
 (.7)

just take it and you have to do it like this ((gesturing))

- (16) S: ò[::

- (17) Xw: [a'a (.4) á su (.6) ste'á te thá kw'e (.7) yoswe lis
 yes so like that ART maybe AUX-3AGR
 (h-) (.9) half an hour kw'e ste'á te thá (.5)

yes rec. past so it's like maybe half an hour like that

- (18) S: a'a (.)
yes

- (19) Xw: xwílex(.5)
standing (he stood?)

- (20) S: a'[a
yes

- (21) Xw: [tl'ósu kwelátes (.5) shxw'ópestel ò
 FOC-so hold-3AGR towel PRT
so then he held the towel

Track 28

- (1) Xw: su xt'ástexw te'í
 so do this
he did it like this ((gesturing))

- (2) S: ō[::
- (3) Xw: [ewe chexw ixw iqw'et=
 NEG you AUX-2SUBJ rub
 you don't rub it
- (4) S: ewe ixw [iqw'iwst¹⁴
 NEG AUX-2SUBJ rub (it)
 you don't rub it
- (5) Xw: [yeah::a'a
 yes
- (6) S: ō ōla (.4)
 oh, just goes
- (7) Xw: a'a (.6) o su (.6) hoy kw'e su tl'o te (1.5) te:: (2.3)
 yes PRT so finished ART so FOC ART ART
 lotion (.6)
 yes, so then it's all finished, the lotion
- (8) S: a'a (.5)
 yes
- (9) Xw: oy::: (1.5) te tha (.5) tl'o xet'estem vitamin E? (.4)
 ? that FOC tell/call-3PASS
 (?) *that, it's called Vitamin E*
- (10) S: ō:: [a'a
 oh yes

¹⁴EP self-repaired this to: ewe ixw iqw'iwsem, 'don't rub at yourself'

(11) Xw: [a'a a'a (1)

yes yes

(12) S: ō::: (1.7)

(13) Xw: o su i ayel(.7)
so AUX get.better

ah, so he got better

(14) S: a'a:::=

(15) Xw: =(xx) (.2) i ayel tl'oqays su (.7) [a'a
AUX get.better now so

he is all cured now, yes yes

(16) S: [ō hoy t'elmexwem (.4)
finish medicate-3PASS

no more medicating oneself (it's finished)

(17) Xw: á'a (.3)

yes

(18) S: áts'ela! (1.2) telelítse kwa se télexw te thá st'elmexw (1)
oh.my from-where that.you learn.of that medicine

[(x)-

oh my goodness! where did you learn about this medicine?

(19) Xw: [tse-

(.4) chu¹⁵ tólt ò ta'altha (.6)
teach just me.EMPH I AUX-EMPH

taught myself

I- I just

(20) S: ō[::

(21) Xw: [tl'ó ta'áltha il tolt (.5) ilh t'wa
 FOC me.EMPH AUX-I teach AUX-PST must.be
 I must have learned it myself

Track 29

(1) Xw: ey il (.3) (t'at¹⁶) (.7) qelsu (t'at) (.8) e su eylexw
 good AUX-I try and-I-so try PRT so get.getter
 (.8)

(It was good) I tried and I tried and then she got better

(2) S: ō[:: my:::

(3) Xw: [a' (1.5) so (.8) ilh ew sta'a te tha (.8) kw'alh
 so AUX-PST emph like that ART-PST
 (Name) me xwe'i (.4)
 (Name) AUX come.here

and it was like then that when (Name) came here

(4) S: a'[a
 yes

(5) Xw: [su ste'a te'i poythet (.4)
 so like this went.crooked
 so then it was like her mouth was crooked

¹⁵EP would use tsel lu for Xwoyalemot's chu.

¹⁶The target word is t'at, 'try to', (EP) but [tl'at] is heard on the recording.

(6) S: a'a (.2) a'a

yes, yes

(7) Xw: ste'a te tha (.6) [(to-¹⁷)

like

(8) S: [stroke! (.3)

(9) Xw: a'[a

yes

(10) S: [a'a (.6)

yes

(11) Xw: e su me xwe'i ikw'elò qes the meles (.) ò makwelh
so AUX arrive here and ART.FEM child-3POSS get.hurt

thutl'ò (.5) xwe sayem te (1.3) ikw'elò (1.6) hip
she become sore ART here

*and then she and her daughter arrived here, oh she had.an.accident
(she)got sore here (hip)*

(12) S: ò lhezq'la[ts

hip (part.of.bum)

(13) Xw: [a'a (.4)

yes

(14) S: a'a (.3)

yes

(15) Xw: skw'ay kw'es wel imexs (.6)

can't that really walk-3AGR

she can't walk

¹⁷EP says Xw is trying to recall lhezq'oyiws, 'half-of-body.'

(16) S: a'a (1)

yes

(17) Xw: lheq ò te'í kw'es imexs (.9) su yethest thel mele
half just here that walk-3AGR so tell my.FEM child

"tl'os¹⁸ (1.5) yoysme" (.6)

FOC-3AGR work.on

walking half like this, so I told my daughter "work (on her)"

(18) S: a'a (.5)

yes

(19) Xw: tl'osetu xakw'et alhtel xwelam te (1.7) te
FOC-PRT-we-EMPH bathe them in/for ART ART

q'emolhp (.5)

maple-tree

we bathed them in the the maple (medicine)

(20) S: ò::[::::]:::

(21) Xw: [tes te
get.to ART

(?)

Track 30

(1) Xw: tl'osetu yóyesmet e kwallh (Name) (.) so (.5)
FOC-PRT-we-EMPH working.on PRT ART-PST(?) (Name) so

kwelét te (.7) te xpa:y ste'a te'i (.4)

tke ART ART cedar like this

*we were working on (Name) and them (we) took the cedar (bough)
like this*

¹⁸Tl'os means these were her actual words to EP, so I used quotation marks. (SR)

- (2) S: a'a
yes
- (3) Xw: su stí tē'a tē'i tutl'otl'em (.5) xwilex (.5)
so like.this/DIM this they standing
then (this is how) (we worked on) the wee one standing
- (4) S: a'a (.5)
yes
- (5) Xw: ewe chxw (.75) kwoyx̣thetexw (.9)
NEG you.SG move-self-2SG
don't you move.yourself (don't make any movement)
- (6) S: a'a (.3)
yes
- (7) Xw: thithome tsel (asu) ((xwmeqsélem)) (1.3) x̣t'ástexw tē'i (e)
fix-you I so blow.nose do.it this
xwe'i (tem o) (.8) ta' (.)
arrive time just your
I will fix you then ((s.o. blows nose)) just do this to your
- (8) S: thothel?=
mouth?
- (9) Xw: =a'a (.)
yes
- (10) S: tsemxóythel (.)
chin

- (11) Xw: ((noise)) qelsu kwelat te cedar-s ((noise)) (2.7) qw'oqwet
 and-I-so take ART -3POSS whip(it)
 te íkwelò
 ART here
and then I took her cedar hit it (whipped it) here
- (12) S: a'a (1.2)
 yes
- (13) Xw: °↓qwo - qw'oqwet te íkw'elò, qw'oqwet te'í
 whip (it) ART here whip (it) here
hit- hit it here hit it here
- (14) S: a'a
 yes
- (15) Xw: e::su hoy (.4) su la t'okw (2.6) kwa la thiytel (.5)
 so finish so go.home anyway AUX fix-each.other
 tl'oqays
 now
and so then they went home (to make each other well)
- (16) S: [(m:::)]
- (17) Xw: [ewe is ewe is ste'a te'í
 NEG AUX-3AGR NEG AUX-3AGR like this
it's not- it's not like this
- (18) S: a'a=
 yes
- (19) Xw: =li chexw kw'etslexw=
 Q you see
did you see her?

(20) S: =a'a [tsel ew kw'etslexw thutl'o
 yes I EMPH see she
 yes, I did see her

(21) Xw: [(a'a) a'a [(ewe)
 (yes no)

(22) S: [a'a (I)
 yes

(23) Xw: la hoy shxwte'as
 AUX finished like.that
 her paralysis is gone

Track 31

(1) S: mm õ::[::

(2) Xw: [qesu thiylem kwa tl'oqays su xet'estem doctor
 and.so fix-3PSV anyway now so call/say-3PSV
 (.8)

and she was fixed anyway, now she is called doctor

(3) S: a'a (.) teluwe ((laughter))
 yes you!

(4) Xw: (x) ta'althe yeah
 me, yeah

(5) S: ((laughter))

- (6) Xw: the'it t'ot you know (.4)
true poor.thing
it's true, poor thing
- (7) S: a'a (.5)
yes
- (8) Xw: qesu o t'ot (.3) thutl'o kwelem te skwixs
and-so just poor.thing she hold ART name-3POSS
doctors (.5)
doctor-3POSS?
and now poor thing, she is just holding the name doctor
- (9) S: ō ((laughter)) a'a ((laughter)) iselh tl'o telewe!=
AUX-NOM-PST FOC you.EMPH
oh yes it should have been you!
- (10) Xw: =o ilh t'wa (.4)
AUX-PST must.be
oh it should
- (11) S: ((laugh[ter]))
- (12) Xw: [ays tl'o xet'e tsel (.3)
(?) FOC say I
I said that's fine.ok
- (13) S: ((laughter))
- (14) Xw: (x) skway kw's il (.7) o thilexwes ewátes we lis t'ates
can't that AUX fix -3AGR no-one if AUX-3AGR
(.7)
try-3AGR
she can't cure anyone (even) if she tried

(15) S: a'a
yes

(16) Xw: we lo:y kw's [(x)
if only that
if only that...

(17) S: [skw'ay kw's aylexw-lexwes [kwewátes (.3)
can't that cure-NCTRtr-3AGR anyone
she sure couldn't make- make anyone better

(18) Xw: [a- a'[a
yes

(19) S: [a'a (1.2)
yes

(20) Xw: (the'[it)
it's true

(21) S: [the'it (.)
it's true

(22) Xw: that's why I (.5) always xet'estexw (1.4) ew lo:y xwelam
say/tell EMPH only for
te (.6) te aylexwthom (.6) qe yelhes(iyem)¹⁹ (1)
ART ART cure-you and (?) -strength
*that's why I always say whenever someone starts to cure you (before
you have your strength)*

Track 32

¹⁹EP would say yalhelsthet, 'get your strength'

- (1) Xw: -iyem (1)
strong
(*get.your.strength*)
- (2) S: a'a
yes
- (3) Xw: wa xwixw helem o wiyoth (.4) o su ewéte o
if-Q AUX-you.SG going PRT always so it doesn't matter
shwelis te' esqwoxthet (1)
your (?)self
(*?if you are always going whatever you are doing doesn't matter, (is not going right) ??*)
- (4) S: the'it (.3)
true
- (5) Xw: wel the'it (.)
very true
- (6) S: a'a (.2)
yes
- (7) Xw: skw'ay::kw'es (.5) e oxwesthom te st'emlexw tl'osu (.7)
can't that PRT give-you ART medicine FOC-so
tl'osu xollhmet tl'o swa (.3)
FOC-so look.after FOC own
she can't give you the medicine – it's, then she then she (has to?) look after her own
- (8) S: o tl'o
oh, it is

- (9) Xw: a- o (.7) skw'ay kw'es (.5) la hokwex xet'ewelh tl'o(se)
 PRT can't that AUX use say- (already?)

'e swa (.5) [ewe
 FOC your own

yes- really, it is said that you can't use it unless it is your own

- (10) S: [a'a
 yes

- (11) Xw: ewe (1.2)
 no

- (12) S: a'a (.65)
 yes

- (13) Xw: skw'a::y (1.3) tl'o te chichelh siyam lheq'ellexwes is
 can't FOC ART high.up leader know-3AGR AUX-3AGR
 te elets'e (.) kw'es me kwelexw
 ART where that AUX get

you can't only the Creator knows where it comes from, what you have received (1.3)

- (14) S: a tl'o: tl'osu te shxw'as (.)
 yes FOC FOC-so ART how.it.is
 yes, that's how it is

- (15) Xw: (x:[x])

- (16) S: [a'a (1) °tl'o su te [shxw'as
 yes FOC so ART how.it.is
 yes, that's how it is

- (17) Xw: [ewéte lhez'elxwes t'òqays te
nothing know-3AGR now ART
mekw'at (.7) loye (.7) ta'althe (.3)
everyone only me.EMPH
nobody knows any more, only me

- (18) S: a'a
yes

- (19) Xw: loye ta'althe (.)
only me.EMPH
only me

- (20) S: a'a (.) a'a (.4)
yes, yes

- (21) Xw: melkwelexwes álhtel kw'e (le) chichelh siyam (.8)
forget-3AGR they the AUX high.up leader
they have forgotten the Creator

- (22) S: the'i:t (.)
true

- (23) Xw: a:a=
yes

- (24) S: =the'ít
it's true

Track 33

- (1) Xw: t'l'o (.) t'l'o wel teli tetha kw'esēs me oxwesthom ta'
 FOC FOC very from there that-3AGR AUX give-you your
 shxwe'iyems (.5)
 strength
it is it's from there (Chichellh Siyam) you get your strength
- (2) S: a'a (.3)
 yes
- (3) Xw: yeah (.)
- (4) S: we melqelexwexw kw'as we ewe lis ey
 if forget-you that SUBJ NEG AUX-3AGR good
if you forget (that) it isn't good
- (5) Xw: a'a=
 yes
- (6) S: ste'a ta' sqwoqwel (.5)
 like your speaking
I agree (it is the same as your thinking?)
- (7) Xw: [a-
- (8) S: [loythet te alhtel (1) a'a loy kw'esu loye (.7) ey (.5)
 only-self ART they yes only that-EMPH only good
they are making themselves the only ones who are good
- (9) Xw: [a-
- (10) S: [kw'es xet'es alhtel (2) malqelexwes kw'e siyam (.)
 that say-3AGR they forget -3AGR ART leader
they are saying they forget the Creator

- (11) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (12) S: =a'a (2.1) ewe lis iyólem (1.3)
yes NEG AUX-3AGR alright
yes, it is not right
- (13) Xw: kw'elsu (1) wiyoth 'e (.7) tl'o kwa te (.6) pipe ste'a
that-I-so always PRT FOC anyway ART paper like
te'i tsel e ts'iyelh (.6) [(xxx) (.7)
this I PRT pray
so anyway I'm always holding the paper like this I'll be praying, so then I (?)
- (14) S: [a'a
yes
- (15) Xw: xwelam te (.6) qewis tl'o tel la
for ART and-EMPH-AUX-3POSS FOC my AUX
(1) uh (.5) how do you say (.5) prayer pits' (.5)
prayer beads
facing the ... until it is my uh my prayer beads
- (16) S: ō lastúpeli=
oh- rosary
- (17) Xw: =a'a (.5)
yes
- (18) S: a'a (.5)
yes
- (19) Xw: a'=
ye-

(20) S: =tsel ew ts'iyelh wiyóth (.56)
 I EMPH pray always
 I am always praying

(21) Xw: a'a=
 yes

(22) S: la amest(lexw)
 AUX keep.going
 it keeps going

Track 34

(1) S: (te) lu lasúpeli
 the rosary

(2) Xw: a'a=

(3) S: =a'a tsel o xet'e tetha ta'althe (.2)
 yes I PRT do that I.EMPH
 yes, that is what I also do

(4) Xw: a'a (.)

(5) S: a'a (.6)

(6) Xw: tsel axeth skw'ay kw'els ítetel su t'os hokwex (.3)
 I lie.down can't that.I sleep-I so FOC-3AGR huse.it
 when I lie down and can't sleep I use it

(7) S: a'a (1.2)
 yes

- (8) Xw: xwewa lis la iyeqsel qe tsel ulh ítet t'wa (.3)
 not.yet AUX-3AGR AUX (?) and I already sleep must.be
 [((laughter)) a'a]
 yes
it's not yet done and it seems I am asleep yes
- (9) S: [((laughter)) tl'o] ta' lisosela (.45)
 FOC your angel
it's your guardian angel
- (10) Xw: a'a=
 yes
- (11) S: =ti hoy ta' supeli (.2)
 AUX finished your rosary
that finishes your rosary
- (12) Xw: a'[a
- (13) S: [a'a (.7)
- (14) Xw: a- (.)
- (15) S: xét'elh ukw's lheq's tl'o (.7) la hihoyt (.7) ta'
 say-PST finished-3AGR sometimes FOC AUX finishing your
 lisos (.)
 (angel)
they say it is your angel that finishes it (sometimes?)
- (16) Xw: a-=
- (17) S: =a'a (.5)
- (18) Xw: ô::=
- (19) S: a'a [((laughter))=

(20) Xw: [ey etlh (.3)
 good eh
it's good isn't it?

(21) S: e:y (.)
it's good

(22) Xw: a:a=
yes

(23) S: =ey te shxwtalims (.)
 good ART how.it.is-3POSS
that's the way it is

(24) Xw: a:a (.)
yes

(25) S: a'a (9.4)
yes

(26) Xw: te es- (.7) tes (txw) te lis ta' swa (.5) s'íwes
 get.to ART AUX-3AGR your own knowledge
 yuxw télexw...
 PRT-2SUBJ know
that must be where all your own knowledge (comes from)

Track 35

(1) Xw: tl'oqays (.4)
now

(2) S: a'a
yes

- (3) Xw: a'- te li (lh) (.6) Mali (.3)
from Mary
- (4) S: a'a=
- (5) Xw: =a'a
- (6) S: a'a (.3)
- (7) Xw: o te li te tha tel swa qas te (.6) qas (.) Name (.3)
 oh from there my own and ART and (Name)
oh, from there my own and (Name)
- (8) S: o Auntie (Name)=
- (9) Xw: =a'a=
- (10) S: =a'a (.)
- (11) Xw: ey yéysele alhtel (.4) lheq'elh íwesthalem (.3)
 good two.people they used.to-PST teach-IPSV
the two of them I used to be taught by them
- (12) S: a'a:: (.8)
- (13) Xw: a:: lheq' tset omet (1.5) qe íwesthoxes etlh li te
 yes sometimes we sat and teach-me-3AGR eh P ART
 Puchil (.4)
 Yale
yes, sometimes we sat and they taught me eh? up in Yale
- (14) S: ew li te Puchil [a'a:
 EMPH P ART Yale yes
oh, at Yale, yes

- (15) Xw: [(a-) (.)
yɛs
- (16) a- (.4)
- (17) S: ay:: (1)
- (18) Xw: tɬ'o kwa (1.8) la (1.1) iwáyɛs is tɬ'o el (.7) e-
 FOC anyway AUX (?) AUX-3AGR FOC my
 elhtel lu su tɬ'o kwalh (.5) (Name)? (.7)
 they AUX-EMPH so FOC (3pl) (Name)
anyway it's if it isn't them so it's (Name)?
- (19) S: ɔ:: (Name)=
- (20) Xw: =a'a=
- (21) S: =a'a=
- (22) Xw: =kw'e kw'es s::qiqéqs t'wa etlh (.5) (called) (Name) (.6)
 that that little.sibling must.be eh
that must have been her younger (baby?) sister eh? (Name)
- (23) S: (Name)=
 (Name)
- (24) Xw: =a'a=
yɛs
- (25) S: =a'a (.5)
yɛs
- (26) Xw: e:s o- yeysele alhtel (.4)
 PRT-3AGR two.people they
oh those two

(27) S: a'a (1.1)

yes

(28) Xw: qeloqtel

were siblings

Track 36

(.9)

(1) S: a'a (.4)

yes

(2) Xw: uh (Name) qes te (Name) (1)
(Name) and ART (Name)

(3) S: o a'a=

(4) Xw: qeloqtel alhtel ye (1.9) (Name) (.4) and (Name) (.6) o
siblings they ART.PL (Name) (Name)

íwesthàlèm (.) elhtel (1) we iwesthóxelh (.) Dolly (.5)
teach-IPSV they SBJV teach-me-PST

*uh (Name) and (Name) siblings they Dolly and Minnie oh I was
taught by them, when they taught me, Dolly*

(5) S: a'a (.)

(6) Xw: ò iwesthóxes kw'elh Minnie (1)
teach-me-3AGR ART-PST(?) Minnie

oh Minnie taught me

(7) S: a'a=

- (8) Xw: =a:: (1) teli tɬ' - (.4) teli (ɬ)te tha kw'els me tol kw'e qex
 from from there that.I AUX learn ART much
 (.9)

from (her)it's from her that I learned so much

- (9) S: $\bar{o} \ a'a=$

- (10) $X_w: a:: (.9)$

- (11) Xw: teli te Vancouver kw'else ekw'elulh tel (.5) mele,
 from ART Vancouver when/that.I-PRT lose-PST my child
 (1.7) me kwol me se ewe is aylexw kw'e hith
 AUX born AUX PRT NEG AUX-3AGR alive ART long.time
 (welh) la hiqsel t'ot' (.4) me se ewe is aylexwe
 already AUX die(?) poor.thing AUX PRT NEG 3AGR alive
 hith kw'elh la hiqsel t'ot' (.6)
 long.time when.PST AUX die poor.thing

she came from Vancouver when I lost my child in birth (miscarriage)
when she was born she was not alive long (and) already she died the
poor thing was not alive long (until) the poor little one passed away

- (I2) S: a'a (.2)
yes

- (13) Xw: a- su lam tel sqoxel i lám te vancouver su t'lo te
so go my partner AUX go ART so FOC ART
kw'oxwe me kwelates (.6)
box/coffin AUX get-3AGR

so my partner/husband went to Vancouver and he brought the coffin

- (I4) S: a'a=
yes

- (15) Xw: =te su ewe is (1) um:: qe_x tale kw'es (we) ey (.4)
 so NEG AUX-3AGR much money that EMPH good
so it wasn't much money (to)
- (16) S: a'a=
yes
- (17) Xw: (kwela)tes o te kw'oxwe (.3)
 take-3AGR just ART box
(just bring) the coffin

Track 37

- (1) S: a'a=
yes
- (2) Xw: ewete lheq'élexwes i (1.5) i'elo:lh li te kyo kw'es
 nothing/no-one know-3AGR AUX on.board P ART car that
 pipi te sliw i te tha (.)
 baby ART inside P there
noone knew that there was a baby aboard in the car
- (3) S: ō a'a (.5)
right, yes
- (4) Xw: me xwe'ikw'elò su tl'o the (Name) kw'e thiyt (.7) wel
 AUX arrive-here so FOC ART that make.it really
 thiytes te (.9) (xx) kwelexwes kw'e xews kw'oxwes
 make.it-3AGR ART take-3AGR ART new box
 (e[se] te li te (1.2)
 PRT ART AUX ART
*when they arrived there it was (Name) that did everything, really
 did it all took his new box and in it*

- (5) S: [a'a
yes
- (6) Xw: esu t'wa te (1.3)
so must.be ART
and so I guess the
- (7) S: lexwtel (.)
blanket
- (8) Xw: a'a (.9) thiytes i te tha su p'áth'etes (.4)
yes make.it-3AGR P there so sew.it-3AGR
yes made it there and then sewed it
- (9) S: a'a (1.3)
- (10) Xw: lam te ts'ehéyelhawtxw tu su li te the kw'e tset q'eylemt
go ART church EMPH so P there that we buried
te pipi (.9)
ART baby
we went to church and did the burial ceremony for the baby
- (11) S: ō my=
- (12) Xw: =i'axwíl kw'es me kwol (.4)
very.small that AUX born
he was just tiny (who I bore)
- (13) S: a'a (.)
- (14) Xw: kwelates te (.6) te nurse ste'a te'i (.9)
hold-3AGR ART ART like.this
the nurse held him like this ((gesturing))
- (15) S: a'a (3)

(16) Xw: sucking his thumb he's just this big²⁰ (.6)

(17) S: ō:: [my::

(18) Xw: [my (.5) he's so cute (1)

Track 38

(1) S: ō::[::

(2) Xw: [and- he lived only eleven days (1)

(3) S: my::: (1.2)

(4) Xw: he passed away (1.8) and uh (1.3) ses la (1.5)
PRT-3AGR AUX

qeylemels sesu tl'o te lipelit te oxwest te skwixs
funeral-3POSS PRT-so FOC ART priest ART give ART name-3POSS
[xx

(we) did the funeral and the priest gave him his name

(5) S: [a'a (1)

(6) Xw: (Name) (.9)

(7) S: [(Name)

(8) Xw: [kw'es s_xeyel li te (.8) tel (.3)
that written P ART my

(Name) that was written on my

¹⁹EP translated this as “saset'ates te mekwmeélches.”

(9) S: la kwil=
the cross

(10) Xw: =a'a (.3)
yes

(11) S: o::=

(12) Xw: =yeysele alhtel (.7) sqeqeqs (.4)
two.people they babies
they were two babies

(13) S: o my:[:

(14) Xw: [slhelhelyolh (.6)
little girls

(15) S: a'a=

(16) Xw: =a'a (.5) ew me (.3) qwol tutl'otlem esu (1.1) ew me
EMPH AUX say they PRT-so EMPH AUX
sq'oq'ey kw'es me xwe'i (.4)
dead that AUX arrive
*again they (just) said (?) they were little ones and so again they were
stillborn when they arrived*

(17) S: m:::[:

(18) Xw: [a' (1.6)

(19) S: my::=

- (20) Xw: =a'a (2) is t'wa xwe'ít cha (.6) we tl'o su (.)
 AUX-3AGR must.be what.do FUT SBJV FOC so
 doctor yoswe lis (.8) e q'oytes te pipi (.8)
 maybe AUX-3AGR PRT kill-3ERG ART baby
 shxwmeq²⁰ (1.8)
 (?)
yes, it must be what he did maybe it was the doctor who killed the baby

Track 39

- (1) Xw: tl'o kw'es kwelates te chalex ste'a te'i tl'(o)su (.5)
 FOC that hold-3AGR ART hand like.this FOC-so
because he held him in his hand like this, so then
- (2) S: a'a (1.2)
yes
- (3) Xw: ste'a te'i (1) xtásthoxes te'i (.9)
 like this do.sthg.to.me-3AGR here
he did this to me here like this
- (4) S: [o::]=
- (5) Xw: =ewe lis me te (le) one week qulh me xwe'í
 NEG AUX-3AGR AUX ART AUX already AUX arrive
 te pipi q'ay (.7) sq'oq'ey
 ART baby die dead
there was only one week and the baby was arrived dead (stillborn?)

²⁰EP suggests a target utterance here might be: shxwmethoxes, 'this is what he did to me here', i.e. exerting too much pressure during examination.

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- (15) Xw: and kw'el selh (.7) la (2.9) um (.9) o- (1.9) s-
 that/when-I PRT-PST AUX
and when I went, um oh

Track 40

- (1) Xw: kw'eses la tes to Vancouver (ilh) (.8) ilh (.8)
 that-3AGR AUX get.to AUX-PST AUX-PST
 (lh) (1.7)

when he went to Vancouver

- (2) S: õ::=

- (3) Xw: =operation is

- (4) S: caesar[ean?

- (5) SR: [caesarean?=

- (6) Xw: =ewe=

no

- (7) S: =caesarean ewe? (.3)

caesarean no?

- (8) Xw: ewe te pipi (.9) skw'ay kw'es (.9) lepexes stames kw'eselh
 NEG ART baby can't that eat-3AGR anything that-PST
 (.7) ikw'eló su la me t'l'al (.6) ewe ewelh loy halem (1)
 here so AUX AUX stuck NEG never only going

helem=

going

no the baby he couldn't eat anything it's here it got stuck going, it was just never going

(9) S: =ō:::=

(10) Xw: =la sulh (.6) lam te Vancouver la su (.7) ((noise))
 AUX so-PST go ART Vancouver AUX so
 thiytem (.9) ((noise)) xet'e (kw'es) sthethiy te (.7) te (.7)
 fix-3PSV say that fixed.up ART ART
 te siyoys te doctor (.4)
 ART work-3POSS ART doctor
so went to Vancouver (to fix?) he said to get fixed up properly (by) the doctor's work

(11) S: a'a (.)
 yes

(12) Xw: qa ewe (.9) iyem (.4) sayem xwelam te pipi (qa sulh)
 and NEG get.better pain for ART baby (and so.PST)
 (.6) hiqsel t'ot (.4)
 die poor.thing
but he didn't get better. It was too painful for the baby and so the poor little thing died.

(13) S: ō=

(14) Xw: =yeah=

(15) S: =my:=

(16) Xw: =yeah (.8)

(17) S: ō (2.6) my (.7)

(18) Xw: yeah (2.3) so I lost two (of)

Track 41

- (1) Xw: on the births like that , but I lost altogether, eight (.7)
miscarriag[es
- (2) S: [ō:: ts'ets'el [qex
very many
so many
- (3) Xw: [eight (.3) eight miscarriages (.7)
I had ten (.7) [alive
- (4) S: [a'a (.) a'a (.3)
yex yex
- (5) Xw: and that eight that were miscarried
- (6) S: ō ts'ats'el qex (.5)
so very many
o: so many
- (7) Xw: yeah
- (8) S: a'a (.5)
yex the other two were born dead an one lived eleven days (.5)
- (9) S: a'a (.7)
yex
- (10) Xw: an then (1.9) (x:) the other six were miscarriage (.7)
- (11) S: ō leq'aywelh
oh miscarriage PRT-PST
o miscarriage
- (12) Xw: ahuh (.)

- (13) S: xet'estem (.6) etlh (.5)
 it is said, eh?
- (14) Xw: what do they call it? (.4)
- (15) S: leq'aywelh (.)
 miscarriage
- (16) Xw: ō: leq'aywelh=
 oh miscarriage
- (17) S: =(x) a'a=
 yes
- (18) Xw: =ō (.)
- (19) S: a'a (.9) mhm (.9)
 yes
- (20) Xw: my (.9)
- (21) S: a'a=
 yes
- (22) Xw: =te sqwal il (.) qex te sqwal il (.) ewete²¹
 ART language AUX-I lots ART language AUX-I nothing
 lheq'elexw (.)
 know
 the language I, a lot of the language I, don't know
- (23) S: ō:: ((cough)) a'a (.7)
 o, yes

²¹EP would say: qex te sqwal ewe il lheq'elexw, 'a lot of the language I don't understand.'

(24) Xw: a little

Track 42

(1) S: o su lo le (.7) t'okwe kw'es ts'ets'el silyo:lexwa te
 so AUX-EMPH AUX it.was that very Elder(s) ART
 kwemethoyxes su ts'ets'el qex te lil qí:lemt [i tel sxóyes
 raise-me-3AGR so very much ART AUX-I store P my head
*that's because it was the real elders that raised me so there was a lot I
 stored away in my head*

(2) Xw: [la (?)

(3) S: a'a (.6) te li kw'el su:slh[alheq' ò (.5)
 yes ART P my cradle just
yes, since I was in the cradle

(4) Xw: [a'a
yes

(5) S: xwelelá::met alh tel qwulqweltel (.3)
 listening PRT-PST my talking
I was listening to their talking

(6) Xw: a'a=
yes

- (7) S: =xwelís emí te xwelitem mi te lalem (.3) xwe
 become-there-3AGR come ART white.people P ART house come
 lis laplit qew (.8) [xwlis te lis te
 AUX-3AGR priest or become-there-3POSS ART AUX-3AGR ART
 li te siyám thet te
 AUX ART leader(s) said ART

*whether it was the white people who came to the house or whether it
 was the priest or whether it was the government people*

- (8) Xw: [xxx](we li)
 (?) *when it was*

- (9) S: a'a (.) [thet te]
 said ART
 yes, he said

- (10) Xw: [xx]

- (11) S: (Name) (.3)
 (Name)

- (12) Xw: a' (.9)
 yeah

- (13) S: xet'e (.8) xet'estexwes thel talelh te mali (.5)
 say tell-3AGR my mother-PST ART [Mary?]
 was saying- my father told my mother

- (14) Xw: [õ-

- (7) S: a'a, seventy five years old te (Name) kw'es q'ay (.3)
yes that die
yes, (Name) died when he was 75 years old
- (8) Xw: ô:[:=
- (9) S: [1966 (.)
- (10) Xw: my=
- (11) S: =a'a=
- (12) Xw: =[ô
- (13) S: [a'a (.6) tel malelh (.3)
yes my father-PST
yes, he is (still) my father
- (14) Xw: yeah=
- (15) S: =a'a (1.5) tsel lu isá:le o swayel kw'es kwuthoxes
I AUX-EMPH two just days that take-3AGR
te Patlik te wel mal (.5)
ART Patrick ART real father
yes, I was two days old when my real father Patrick took me (to them)
- (16) Xw: [ô
- (17) S: [su (e)mesthóyxes te Sq'éwqel (.6) [su oxwesthoyxes la
so bring-me-3AGR ART Seabird.Island so give-me-they AUX
tel shxwewáli (.5)
my parents
then they brought me to Seabird and gave me to my parents
- (18) Xw: [o
oh

- (19) S: isá:le ò swayel (.6)
 two just day(s)
 just two days
- (20) Xw: ò::=
- (21) S: =a'a (1.4)
 yes
- (22) ((cough?)) hmm
- (23) S: xwa lílses ye tha te mali kw'es te (Name) (.4)
 arrive-3AGR there ART father that ART (Name)
 when (Name) arrived to my father
- (24) Xw: o=
- (25) S: =i'xwela te tha kwe la li iyólem kwa' es kw'emet (.5)
 here there (?) AUX Q alright that.you raise.her
 "here is the baby. Can you raise her?"
- (26) Xw: ò::[o
- (27) S: [sul te li te tha
 so-I from there
 so that's who

Track 44

- (1) S: kw'es kwuthoyxes elhtel=
 that give-me-3AGR they
 they gave me to
- (2) Xw: =ò::=

- (3) S: =a'a (.7)
yeʒ
- (4) Xw: huh (.4)
- (5) S: o, tl'o shxwtás la xweli te sq'ewqel te'altha (.7)
FOC how.it.is AUX come.to ART Seabird.Island I.EMPH
so that's how I got to Sq'owqel
- (6) Xw: ō tl'o ew ilh ew kwelates tha' (tl'a) tha'
PRT FOC EMPH AUX-PST EMPH have-3GR your.FEM
mele (Name) (.3)
child
it was (there) you had your daughter (Name)
- (7) S: a'a (.)
yeʒ
- (8) Xw: o:x(lh) i iyellhomex (.) [ō my
? AUX beautiful
oh my she was beautiful
- (9) S: [(((laughter))] a'a (.)
- (10) Xw: a'=
ye=
- (11) S: =a'a (I.I) o:: lhexasxa qes te tu:xw maqa thutl'o kw'es
thirty and ART nine year(s) she that/when
q'oy (.7) te (Name)=
die ART (Name)
yes, she was 39 years old when she died
- (12) Xw: =k w'il? (.7)
how old?

- (13) S: lhéwelhsxá qas [te tu:xw
thirty nine
- (14) Xw: [õ:: õ::[::
- (15) S: [a'a 'e te cancer tl'o la (.5)
 yes PRT ART cancer FOC AUX
yes, it was the cancer that
- (16) Xw: kwutem
 take-3PSV
took her (she was taken)
- (17) S: a'a
yes
- (18) Xw: õ::[: my::
- (19) S: [a'a
yes (I.3)
- (20) Xw: 'i'i kwe kw'el i o my
 cute PART my AUX
so very pretty
- (21) S: ((laugh[ter))
- (22) Xw: (((laughter)) (.6) qas tl'oqa:ys te mameles
 and now ART children-3POSS
and now her daughters
- (23) S: a'a=
yes

(24) Xw: =tsel kw'etslexw li te (1) [a] Sqwah (.3)
 I see P ART Sqwah
 I've seen them at the Landing

(25) S: a'a
 yes

Track 45

(1) Xw: emómel ste'á te'i
 little like this
 they were this size ((gesturing))

(2) S: a'a (.)
 yes

(3) Xw: lu xwel ste'á te'i te máqels
 AUX-EMPH very like this ART hair-3POSS
 her hair was always like this

(4) S: sq'elq'á:lp
 curly

(5) Xw: ((laugh[ter]))

(6) S: [a'a
 yes

(7) Xw: ((laughter)) o my

(8) S: ((laughter))

- (9) Xw: tsel xet'e t'l'o t'wa yalh swas the (Name) te'í la
 I say FOC must.be finished own-3AGR ART (Name) here AUX
 mámele (.) the (Name) mamele yelo
 child ART (Name) child PRT-?
I said it must be (Name)'s children (there) (passed by?)
- (10) S: a'a (.4)
yes
- (11) Xw: (kw'e) sta'a::: te'í [(laughter)
 ART like this
- (12) S: [te maqels=
 ART hair-3POSS
because their hair is like this
- (13) Xw: =a'a=
- (14) S: =a'a (.6)
- (15) Xw: o xwló:yemes éllhtel [o my
 PRT smiling they
they were smiling
- (16) S: [a'a ((laughter))
- (17) Xw: it just hit me right here=
- (18) S: =((laughter)) (.3) uhuh (1.2) yeah (1.2) texw ewéte o te
 just nothing PRT ART
 shxwewélis yutl'ólem t'l'o[qá:ys
 parents-3POSS them now
they don't have any parents now
- (19) Xw: [a'a::a'a=
yes yes

(20) S: =la hélem te (Name) (.5)

AUX going ART (Name)

(Name) has gone/passed on/left

(21) Xw: ô=

(22) S: =a'a (.) la hélem (.5)

yes AUX going

yes he has gone

(23) Xw: li (.6)

he has

(24) S: a'a (.5) la sqwálewel kw'es xet'e álhtel kw'es ew t'l'ò

yes AUX thoughts/feelings that say they that EMPH FOC

te pneumonia (.6) e kwélexwes (.3)

ART PRT get-3AGR

yes (I have a feeling) they said that it was the pneumonia that got him

(25) Xw: ô::=

(26) S: =a'a (1.1) a'a

yes, yes

Track 46

(1) Xw: hm (.6) t'l'- t'l'o texwwat o kwa seltl'o méle, (.5) t'l'

FOC who(?) PRT anyway eldest child ART

(Name) t'l'oqá:ys (.4)

(Name) now

hmm it's it's anyway who is the oldest child of (Name) now?

(2) S: o (Name) (.5)

ah (Name)

- (15) Xw: ewéte lheq'eləxw (1) te thá (.8) swa tɬ' (Name)
 nothing/know.one knows that own ART (Name)
 mámele (1.4) skw'áy kw'els télexw wewátes lóy kw'els
 children can't that.I know/figureout who only that.I
 kw'étslexw tes (.6) te me[qel ((laughter))
 see get.to ART hair
(noone knows that)? if it is (Name)'s children I can only tell (who it is) if I see hair

- (16) S: [meqels (.5)
 hair-3POSS
their hair

Track 47

- (1) S: [te tɬ'ò (thutɬ'o?)=
 ART FOC she
it's her
- (2) Xw: [((laughter))
- (3) S: =a'a...
yes
- (4) Xw: (sta'á te thá)
they are like that
- (5) S: te emímeths a'a [(xx)
 ART grandchildren-3POSS yes
her grandkids, yes
- (6) ?:
 [(xx)

- (7) Xw: i'yelhomex, etlh=
pretty-looking eh
they are really pretty, aren't they?
- (8) S: =((laughter)) a'a ((laughter)) o my (1.7) áts'ele (.7)
yes very
yes, very
- (9) Xw: tu xwel ay kw'alh (Name) uh? (.6)
PART still (?)
there's more than one (Name) (kw'alh = plural)
- (10) S: li? (.)
there is?
- (11) Xw: o=
- (12) S: =li (.)
- (13) Xw: ô::
- (14) S: li kw'e Lheq'álets the (Name) (.7) t'lo swa swáyel the
P ART Vancouver ART (Name) FOC own day ART
(Name) t'owá:yel (.6) is twa kw'il máqe (.4)
(Name) now AUX-3AGR must.be how.many years/snows
(Name) is in Vancouver, today is (Name)'s birthday, she must be how old
- (15) Xw: ô::[::
- (16) S: [xet'e swas álhtel little (Name) (.5)
say own-3POSS they
they call her Little (Name)
- (17) Xw: ô=

(18) S: =a'a? (.8) méles te (Name) (.3)
 yes? child-3POSS ART
 yes? (Name's) child

(19) Xw: a'a=
 yes

(20) S: =a'a=
 yes

(21) Xw: =tl'o meqes tl'owá:yel (.4)
 FOC snow/year-3POSS now
 it is her year today

(22) S: e tl'ò swa swáyel tl'owá:yel (.3)
 PRT FOC own day today
 it is her birthday today

(23) Xw: õ::[::] my=

(24) S: [a'a] mhm (.8) is twa eletse (1.1) ewétel
 yes AUX-3POSS must.be where noting-my
 lheqélexw lis li the Th'éwálí kw'e (ste'ás)
 knowing AUX-POSS P ART Soowahlie that (living/staying)
 yes, yes, she must be where. I don't know if she is staying at Soowahlie

Track 48

(1) Xw: õ::

(2) S: a'a (.9)
 yes

- (3) Xw: li li Lheq'álets teloqá:ys kwalh²² (Name) (.3)
 Q P Vancouver now
are are (Name) and them still in Vancouver?
- (4) S: li? (.5) kwa [xwe'ít?
 Q? anyway what.doing
they are? what is she doing anyway?
- (5) Xw: [li (.6) li [te
 AUX P ART
she is in the
- (6) S: [a::::=
- (7) Xw: =q'oq'eyá:wtxw? (.4)
hospital?
- (8) S: a:: (1.4) ewete lheq'elexw sul wel tl'alexw li te Lheq'álets
 yes nothing know so-I really stop/stay P ART Vancouver
 (.3)
I don't know if she is (actually?) staying in Vancouver
- (9) Xw: ō=
- (10) S: =a'a (.4)
 yes

²²We are translating this kwalh (Name) idiomatically in English as '(Name) and them.'

- [illegible]

(21) Xw: =yeah (.3)

(22) S: a'a (1.4) ey t'wa wel
yes good must.be very/really
yes it must be really good (?) (<we'ol)

Track 49

(1) S: lilh li ta' kw'es (.8) kw'es o (.5)
AUX-PST AUX your that that
was it (?) that uh...

(2) Xw: ō temtam kw'es la teyaqel xwlam (1.8)
when that AUX change.course for
oh so when was someone transferred

(3) S: a:: tsel e mélqelxw tl'ó (.3) te táls te (Name)
oh I forget FOC ART mother-3POSS ART (Name)
it qwoqwéles qe tl'ó te méles (.)
AUX-we talking.about or FOC ART child-3POSS
oh, I forget: are we talking about (Name)'s mother or her daughter?

(4) Xw: ō::=

(5) S: =yéysele kw'es (Name) (.7)
two.people/both that (Name)
they are both (Name)

(6) Xw: ō::[:::.....]

(7) S: [(Name)] te tals qew (Name) (.) te
ART mother-3POSS and-EMPH (Name) ART
méles=
child-3POSS
(Name) his mother and (Name) his daughter

- (8) Xw: =ō::
- (9) S: [a'a tl'okwe elétse te íxw (.6) qwoqwéles (.6)
FOC-that who ART AUX-you talking.about
yes (because) which one are you talking about?
- (10) Xw: ō:: tl'okwe the (.7) em (1.6) swatl' em (1.1) te li te
oh FOC-that ART own-3POSS (?) from ART
Sqwa (.7)
Skwa
oh, (because) his (mother?)...the one who is at Sqwa
- (11) S: a'[a
yes
- (12) Xw: [a' (.) the tals tl'alh (Name) (.7) [(Name)
yes ART.FEM mother-3POSS ART-PST(?)
yes, (Name)'s mother and them, (Name)
- (13) S: [o::: el sqwalewel
my thoughts/feelings
kw'es o li e te swas lálem (.)
that just P PRT ART own-3POSS house
oh, I think they are at her house
- (14) Xw: li=
they are
- (15) S: =a'a=
yes
- (16) Xw: =ō=

- (17) S: =tl'ò te mámeles e xalhmet=
 FOC ART children-3POSS PRT look.after
 it is her children that are looking after her
- (18) Xw: =õ::==
- (19) S: =a'a (.6) a'a kwelh el sqwalewel kw'es tl'ò te
 yes yes that-PST my thoughts/feelings that FOC ART
 méles ixw
 child-3POSS AUX-you
 yes, yes, I thought it was the children you were
- (20) Xw: ew[e (ewe) ewe
 no no no
- (21) S: [qwoqwéles (.6)
 talking about
- (22) Xw: [a'a
 yes
- (23) S: [õ::

Track 50

- (1) Xw: tl'ò tálselh (.) (Name) (.7)
 FOC mother-3POSS-PST
 it was (Name)'s mother
- (2) S: a'a (.8) lulh xolhmetem ò (.4) te [éqs mémeles=
 yes already care.for-3PSV just ART (?) children-3POSS
 yes, her children are already looking after her

- (3) Xw: [(x)
=(Name) (.4)]
- (4) S: a'a
- (5) Xw: a'=
- (6) S: =(name, name)
- (7) Xw: a' (.3)
- (8) S: (na-name) (1.6)
- (9) Xw: more (Name, Name) lives downstairs (.3)
- (10) S: a'a=
yeʔ
- (11) Xw: =su li te chichelhelh (1.7) ò li te tha me hilem kwelh
so P ART high/upstairs just AUX there AUX fall the-PST
(.6) (Name)-elh (.4)
(Name)-PST
from upstairs right down to there she tumbled, (Name) eh?
- (12) S: a'a (.5)
yeʔ
- (13) Xw: tl'o su makwelh t'ot (1.7) li te eqwelets (.3)
FOC so injured poor.thing AUX ART back
she was injured, poor thing, on her back
- (14) S: ò (.7) my=
- (15) Xw: =she's on a wheelchair now (1)
- (16) S: ò::

- (17) Xw: (Name)? (1.3)
- (18) S: a'a=
- (19) Xw: =yeah=
- (20) SR: =o:[:
- (21) S: [tsel ets'lexw (.7) you know her too?=
 I hear.about
 I heard about it
- (22) SR: =yeah=
- (23) S: =yeah? (1.8) o:[:
- (24) Xw: [she was visiting =
- (25) SR: =Katzie (.7)
- (26) Xw: visiting (Name) when (.5) (Name) lost (Name).

Appendix A

Background on Language

by Strang Burton

A.1 The language

Halq'eméylem, also known as *Upriver Halkomelem* or *Stó:lō Halq'eméylem*, is the traditional language of the Stó:lō people of the Fraser Valley region in Southern British Columbia, Canada.

The language is one of three mutually intelligible varieties of what linguists call the broader *Halkomelem* language, consisting of Halq'eméylem (Upriver Halkomelem), Hənqəmínən or Hənqəmínəm (Downriver Halkomelem), and Həl'qəmí nən (Island Halkomelem). This language is one of 23 languages in the Salish family, spoken in Southern BC and neighbouring areas.

A.2 Sound system and writing

Consonants

The Halq'eméylem consonant system is different from English (and most European languages) in a number of ways. In particular:

- Halq'eméylem makes sounds at the uvula (further back in the mouth than k). These include a uvular stop (written q) and a uvular fricative (written x in the language, corresponding to IPA /χ/).
- Halq'eméylem also distinguishes rounded consonants (made with the lips rounded simultaneous with the consonant). In Halq'eméylem these are written as kw, qw, xw, kw' qw', and xw. (corresponding to the IPA symbols /k^w, q^w, x^w, k^{w'}, q^{w'}, and /χ^w/).
- The glottal stop (a catch in the throat) is a distinctive sound in the language, written with the apostrophe ' as in s'álhtel - *food* (corresponding to the IPA /ʔ/).
- Halq'eméylem also includes ejectives, a kind of 'popped' sound that you make by combining the sound with the glottal stop. In the writing system (as in the IPA) the ejectives are written p', t', k', q'. The rounded sounds also have ejective counterparts, written kw' and qw' (IPA /k'^w/ and /q'^w/).
- There are no b, d, g, v, of z sounds in the language, and no equivalent of the th sound in English *this* or *that* (in linguistic terms, there are no 'voiced stops' or 'voiced fricatives'). The language also has no equivalent of r or f. (The th sound exists, but is always pronounced as in English *think*, equivalent to the IPA /θ/.)
- The sound lh is like a 'hissy' version of the regular l (corresponding to the IPA symbol ɬ; in linguistic terms, the sound is a voiceless lateral fricative).
- The sound sh (equivalent to IPA /ʃ/) is common in the language, but it occurs only before the sound xw (in linguistic terms, /ʃ/ if a variant of /s/, in the sense that /s/ becomes /ʃ/ before /x^w/).
- The sound /n/ was recently lost in Upriver Halq'eméylem, due to a historical change where all /n/ sounds became /l/'s. (The two other main dialects of the language did not have this change, and so they still have /n/ sounds).

Vowels

The Halq'eméylem vowels are similar to English, but the Halq'eméylem writing system writes some of the vowels quite differently (in some but not all cases the vowel symbols are similar to the IPA):

- i – as in English *see, be, ski* (IPA /i/)
- u – as in English *who, boot* (IPA /u/)
- e – as in English *the* (IPA /ə/ (this vowel becomes /ʊ/, as in English *hook*, before rounded sound, and it becomes /ɪ/, as in English *hit*, before /l/ and some other environments)
- a – as in English *fat* (IPA /æ/; speakers sometimes pronounce the vowel more like the vowel in English *head*, which in the IPA is /ɛ/)
- o – as in English *hot, cot, shop* (equivalent to IPA /ɑ/ or /a/).
- ɔ – as in English *tone, so* (equivalent to the IPA /o/)

Other features of the sound system

The language sometimes has distinctively long vowels (marked with a colon in the writing system, e.g. i:). The system also includes some instances of distinctive pitch, i.e. at least some limited use of tone.

A.3 Verb and Noun Endings

Object endings

To mark the object (e.g. the thing or person acted on in an action sentence), Halq'eméylem speakers use the following endings:

- -óx – *me*
- -óme -- *you* singular (i.e. addressing one person)
- -óle – *you* plural (i.e. addressing two or more people)
- -ólxw or -óxw – *us*

Third person objects (which can be separate nouns, often just understood in context) do not require any special ending.

Possessives

Some common possessive forms are:

- tel – *my*
- ta' – *your* (there are various ways of pronouncing this, including te', or just ta)
- tset – *our* (this is the same as the ending for *we*, though the other possessives are different)

For *your* plural, you use the form above but also add the ending -elep onto the noun. For third person possessives (his, their, etc.) you add the ending -s onto the noun, e.g. te ma:ls tutl'o – *his wife*.

There are some variations on these possessives, including shortened forms (el, a', etc., used at the start of the sentence) and forms that start with kw' (for remote or possible objects).

Transitive verb endings

Many verbs in Halq'eméylem have the following endings:

- -lexw - indicates some limited degree of control, including accidental action
- -stexw - literally 'cause to'
- -em – a passive or intransitive marker, sometimes used when the action is not directed to a specific action
- -t – a 'transitive' marker, indicating the action is directed towards a specific object

1st and 2nd person subject endings

1st and 2nd person subject endings

Halq'eméylem adds certain endings onto the verb to mark the subject, including:

- -tsel – for *I*

- -chexw – for *you* (talking to one person)
- -chap – for *you* (talking to a group)
- -tset – for *we*

These subject endings sometimes occur separately, and they can also appear at the start of the sentence.

Subordinate Subjects

Subjects are different in subordinate sentences (i.e. sentences embedded in larger sentences, as for example *You walk* in a larger sentence like *I know that you walk*). These are the subject forms you use in subordinate clauses:

- kw'as – *that you*
- kw'els – *that I*
- kw'et – *that we*

When using addressing multiple people, you can use the same form above, but also add the ending -elep onto the verb in the subordinate sentence.

3rd person subject agreement markers (-s and -es)

3rd person subject agreement markers (-s and -es)

If the subject is someone other than I or you (i.e. a 'third person' noun or pronoun), then certain verbs take special endings (what linguists call 'third person agreement' endings). These endings are:

- -es – used only with transitive verbs (usually these verbs end in -lexw, -stexw, or -t, as described above)
- -s – used with any verb with a 'third person' subject, but only in subordinate sentences (sentences embedded in larger sentences, like *I know he walks*).

Instead of putting the -s on the subordinate verb, you can also add it onto kw'es – *that*, to make kw'ses.

A.4 Word order, auxiliaries, and particles

Common word orders

Some of the common word order include the following patterns:

- Statements in the language commonly start with the verb

E.g. Imex tútl'o – *He walks*, literally 'walk(s) he'

- Yes/no questions commonly start with the auxiliary li

E.g. Li imex tútl'o? – *Does he walk?*, literally *AUX walk(s) he?*.

- Wh-questions commonly start with a wh-word that links to a subordinate clause

E.g. Aléts'e kw'es imexs tutl'o – *Where does he walk?* literally 'Where (is it) that walk(s) he?

- Negatives start with ewe – *no, negation*, then an auxiliary with a special subject marker (-l for *I*, --xw for *you* sg., -p for *you* plural, and -s for 3rd person)

E.g. Ewe (tsel) il imex – *I don't walk*

Ewe (chap) ip imex – *You pl. don't walk*

- Conditionals (if... sentences) have a similar structure to negatives, but begin with we – *if*

E.g. We il imex – *If I walk*

We ip imex – *If you pl. walk*

For commands (imperatives), speakers sometimes just use the subject ending -chexw (*you*), but there are also a series of special imperative endings, including -lha, which attach to the verb.

Auxiliaries, particles, and tags

There are a number of auxiliary ('helper') verbs and similar words that linguists call 'particles'. These occur very often in the language, and connect the language to subtle contextual features, and include:

- li – used as a yes/no question marker as noted above, but also used in some statements. Related to the spatial meaning *there*
- i – used similar to li, but related to the spatial meaning *here*
- me, me – related to the meaning *come*
- le, la – related to the meaning *go*
- xwe – related to the meaning *become, get to be*
- etlh – equivalent to English *eh?*, *innit?*

Apart from the last item, these words do not usually directly translate into English.

Appendix B

Revised paper from the 51st International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages

The following paper is a slightly modified version of the paper that Susan Russell and Siyamiyateiyot Elizabeth Phillips presented at the 51st International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages (ICSNL), presented in Tla'amin, BC, in August, 2016. In addition to several minor edits, a conclusion has also been added. The original paper can be found in the conference proceedings and is available for download here: <http://linguistics.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2016/08/ICSNL2016-fullonline.pdf>.

Telling stories in a Halq'emelem conversation: Doing beginnings and a bit about endings

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Abstract: A conversation analysis of forty-five minutes of a recorded conversation with the last two known fluent native speakers of an endangered language looks at the structures of doing a story telling in everyday talk in Halq'emelem. Specifically, we look at the kinds of language used to situate story-tellings in previous talk, to negotiate the turn-taking space to do a telling through pre-sequences and other strategies, to initiate and connect topics, with some notes on the tellings.

Keywords: conversation analysis, Halq'emeylem, story-telling in conversation, pre-sequences.

1 Introduction

This conversation in Halq'emelem happened as part of a project to record everyday conversation between fluent speakers of an endangered language.¹ Two speakers were invited over various interactions, mostly managed by E.P., to have a conversation in Halq'emeylemqel. The resulting conversation was full of stories, or tellables: about births, deaths, miscarriages, sicknesses, healings and failed healings. Stories led into other stories. This paper looks at some characteristics of these stories, or tellables, as they arose in this conversation, by asking these questions:

1. How does the story come to be told?
 - a. how is the topic generated?
 - b. who generates it?
2. What kind of social actions are performed through story telling?

¹ We are grateful to the speakers of Halq'emelem who provided this conversation. It was originally recorded May 27, 2005 by S. Russell. The translation was done by a team of the three authors of the current paper. Laura Wee Lay Laq was also in the team for the first transcription work. Funding was provided by a SSHRCC grant awarded to Marianne Ignace, SFU. Susan Russell provided the CA transcription and all errors are hers. The entire corpus will follow with additional interlinear morpheme glosses provided by Strang Burton.

3. What language constructions are used ?
4. How might a CA description of these tellings look ?

The transcript is written in a basic version of the Conversation Analysis (CA) transcript symbols, which was developed by Gail Jefferson (as described in Atkinson & Heritage 1984:ix–xvi). See the appendix on CA transcript symbols.

We add CD track numbers from the recording to the stories, or newsworthy tellings. Lines are identified by track and utterance number. For example, (5:2) is track 5, utterance 2.

The transcription is in the Halkomelem practical orthography, developed by Brent Galloway. Names are removed. S in the transcriptions is Siyamiyateliyot, Xw is Xwoyalemotelh. Siyamiyateliyot speaks the Tait dialect, Xwoyalemotelh spoke the Chawathil dialect of Halq'emeylem.

In general, from a CA perspective, talk is the locus and means of social actions, the social acts of human interaction. Some examples of social acts constructed in talk are summons-answer sequences, or sequences which perform “assertion-agree/disagree, invitation-acceptance/rejection, question-answer/no answer, and request-granting/refusal” (Turnbull 2003:148). These acts are constructed in turns-at-talk.

When Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) first posed their “simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation” (Sacks et al. 1974:696) they used a model of an economy, in which turns at talk were the valuables and a turn-taking system allocates them and thus determines their distribution. Turns in talk, or “the turn-constructive component” (TCUs) are constituted of projectable chunks of primarily language, in English, “sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions” (Sacks et al. 1974:702). They have a projectable end, termed a transition relevance place (TRP). This projectable end both motivates speakers to listen to each other (anticipating the current turn’s potential end) and enables the efficient transference of turns at talk. (Further rules complete the turn-taking system for conversation).

Turns-at-talk are themselves co-constructed and understood as such by participants through the resource mechanism of adjacency pairs. That is, turns are treated as meaningful in the context of preceding turns at talk and oriented to in following turns.

Within this model, story-telling sequences within a conversation are described as involving a negotiated cessation of the turn-taking system for a “right to an extended turn” (Nofsinger 1991:157). Initially the speakers may collaborate with a story preface-sequence (Nofsinger 1991, Liddicoat 2007) to undertake a telling (and to ensure complementary listening). Subsequently the story recipient continues to defer taking a turn by “withholding talk at each successive TRP, by producing overlapping appreciation tokens (such as laughter), or by producing continuers (‘uh huh’) or other responses that treat the teller’s turn as extendible” (Nofsinger 1991:160).

2 Opening: How does the story come to be told?

A salient characteristic of story-telling in conversation is that somehow the teller and the recipient of the telling must arrange cooperatively an extended turn for the teller to override the turn-taking mechanism of talk (Sacks et al. 1974). Some suspension of this system must happen to enable a story to be told. Following the work of Liddicoat (2007), we looked for the following strategies in this conversation:

1. after pre-sequence(s)
2. teller-initiated
3. listener-initiated
4. step-wise progression out of the talk

One option is for the teller to nominate an extended turn through a preface sequence or pre-sequence (Nofsinger 1991; Schegloff 1984). Rather than asking the question directly, interactants may ‘sound out’ the potential recipient to see if the projected action is welcome or likely to be taken up.

Another option is for the teller to introduce a story, often with some marker that a noteworthy event has occurred to her or him (e.g. *guess what?* in English). Liddicoat (2007:281) describes disjunct markers “such as *oh, by the way*” in English serving to indicate that something has come to mind, (a possible telling) but is not related to the previous talk.

Alternatively, the recipient may elicit the telling. Button and Casey (1984) have identified a three-part sequence; with a topic initial elicitor (e.g. *any news?* in English), a second part which nominates a possible topic and a third part which “topicalizes the prior possible topic initial” (Button and Casey 1984:167).

Perhaps more generally, the story may be triggered by some previous telling or aspect of the talk. It may arise out of the natural flow of topics as one thing reminds either participant of other things. It may be a “tellable”, that is, it may be new to the other, or it may be a shared reminiscence, savoured in the joint telling. Stories lead into other stories.

2.1 Pre-sequences

In this recorded conversation, the first story, and in a sense all the stories that followed, arose out of an extended series of preface sequences in English and Halq’emelem. These functioned to ask for and grant permission to do a taping of a conversation in Halq’emelem.

Arrangements to talk were arranged ahead of time by E.P. When we met there was a preliminary discussion in English about the difficulty (for someone else) to keep in the language (*Xwelmxwqel*,) because she had been punished in school for speaking her language. Xw shares that the same thing happens to her: “when I go to the schools I talk Indian, to the kids, and before I’m finished I’m talking English to them” (not included in transcription).

Both speakers contextualized this as part of their own struggle in the larger history of language loss through residential schools. After a short insertion offer to make a tape or burn a CD, which Xw declines, (she doesn’t have a tape recorder anymore and a CD player is ‘too modern’), a pre-pre-sequence adjacency pair in English functions to request the speakers to begin. The following two lines at (4:1–2) are not included in the complete data set of the conversation as transcribed.

2.1.1 A pre-pre sequence: invitation to begin the conversation

Track 4

(20) S.R.: well do you (.6) do you two want to (.5)
can you start now? (.6)

(21) S: mhm

4:1–2 not included in the transcription

The first pair part invites or requests a start to the conversation, the second pair part agrees to the request. The taping began after this.

A final pre-sequence requests and confirms permission to record the conversation in Halq'emelemqel. The extended series of pre-sequences authorizes the taped language session that followed.

2.1.2 A pre-sequence to a telling: asking permission

Track 5

- (1) S: lu iyolem etl' kw'es (.)
 it is ok eh that
- (2) Xw: a'a
 yes
- (3) S: qwul (.3) qwélqweltel² tset tl'oqays
 (?) we (start) talking now
- (4) Xw: oh ey
 oh good
- (5) S: a'a=
 yes
- (6) Xw: =a-a-la tl'al su::ah (1.2) l- helems te li ti etl'?
 yes- so it is going on, go- is going over there, eh?
- (7) S: a'a, la tl'al la te tha te sqwal (.4) te sqwelqweltel tset
 (4)
 yes, the words are going on over there- our
 conversation
- (8) Xw: a:=
 yes
- (9) S: =a'a
 yes

 (3.4)

² E.P. has given these terms for conversation: *sqwelqweltel* 'conversation', *qwulqwel* 'telling news' and *tset alxem tloqays* 'we are discussing things now', such as the work on this paper, or *elelxem* for a discussion in a larger gathering.

The request at (5:1–3) includes a statement *lu iyolem* ‘it is ok’ with a confirmation particle *ell* ‘eh?’ and *kw’es* ‘that’, which projects a subordinate structure in English but introduces a nominalized clause in Halq’emeylem. This request is doubly granted; first, right after *kw’es* ‘that’ with *a’a* ‘yes’ and next, at the grammatical projection of the next possible turn relevance place (TRP) *qwélqwel³ tset tl’oqays* ‘we talk now’, with *oh ey* ‘oh, good’. (The coordination of syntax and prosody in determining which TRP is not investigated here).

The double consent at (5:2) and (5:4) may reflect that the consent had previously been given, and the question was only a formal recognition of the agreement to proceed and to tape the talk for future language teaching purposes. Conversely the first *a’a* may just be an acknowledgement of the previous turn rather than agreement (cf. Pomerantz 1984:92).

So the first tellable follows considerable interactional work and a series of pre-sequences. A negotiated sequence of adjacency pairs makes arrangements, contextualizes the work being done within a history of language loss and desire to teach the next generations, clarifies the taping process, witnesses (and records) the request to speak and be recorded and the agreement to do so. All of these project the possibility of ordinary talk in Halq’emeylem.

Finally, after a pause of 3.4 seconds Xw begins to give an account of an incident in her family the night before. The silence and ‘turn-beginning element’ *uh* is treated by the participants as a story-telling precursor. That is, they both move into a story-telling interactional format in which one person does a telling and the other acknowledges the progression of the telling. The story has begun.

2.1.3 Following a pre-sequence: granting permission: *su itet ikwelo*

Track 5

(3.4)

- (10) Xw: *uh ilh i kwel mele, su itet ikwelo*
 uh my son was here, then he slept over here

³ E.P. recalls that she started to say *qwulqwel* for ‘telling news’ but switched to *qwélqwel³* ‘conversation’. In that case the nominalizer *s-* is separated back at (5:1).

- (11) S: a'[a
yes
- (12) Xw: [si-] sisimetes alhtel (.) te shxwexwos (.5)
they were afraid of the weather
- (13) S: ō::[::
- (14) Xw: [osu li te chachu te (.9) eh (.8) te swas lalem (.2)
so at his house by the riverbank
- (15) S: ō:: a'a=
oh: yes
- (16) Xw: =xwe'i te shxwexwos tl'osu (.) tawel ste'a te'i (.5)
a storm came, so brightness just like this

su sisi (es)(ye) mameles (.4) (es) ew sisi tutl'o (.3)

so his kids were afraid, also him
- (17) S: a'a
yes
- (18) Xw: e: su (me) tl'iw alhtel me xwe ikwelo (.3)
then they ran away, they came here

e li kw'e chichelh te tha (.7)
it was up there
- (19) S: kw'es
that

Track 6

- (1) S: la itet alh[tel
they slept
- (2) Xw: [a- kwthe mamele-s
yeah- his kids
- (3) S: ō::[::

- (4) Xw: [yeylese mameles itet li te tha
his two kids sleeping, over there ((gesturing))

e osu i te i tutl'o (.)
and him right here
- (5) S: a'a (.) ew ste'a te tha (.) la
yes, that is like...
- (6) Xw: [tsel me xwi (.)
I woke up
- (7) S: [ah
- (8) Xw: tsel me xwi y tl'oqays (.) ↑ qulh la (.) eweta! (.9)

I woke up and now they were already all gone

eh ilh xeta sla::m-s kwe (.6) hundred mile
he was saying they would go to 100 Mile

tl'o cha su la (1) ah lepetsel
they will go ah, catch a ride

kwthe- the mele-s (.9) ah qas kwthe (.7)
the kids and the

slhali qas te pipi-s alhtel⁴ (.4)
woman and their own baby
- (9) S: ō::[:
- (10) Xw: [cha me]
he will

[mestexwes
bring them here
- (11) S: [a'a
yes

⁴ E.P. would say *te sqaqe-le-s alhtel* 'their baby'

- (12) Xw: a'a me t'okw' xwela (.4) la (ch)xwelam te (1.4)
yes, (they) are coming home toward

e::h (1.9) (toyì) (.9)
eh (?)

li te seabird island (.3)
to Seabird Island
- (13) S: ew sq'ewqel (.3)
oh (you mean) Sq'ewqel
- (14) Xw: a'a (.)
yes
- (15) S: a'a
yes
- (16) Xw: ((throat clear)) sq'ewqel eh [[(laughter)]
Sq'ewqel haha
- (17) S: [[(laughter)]

The story begins at line (5:10), after a (3.4) second pause, with 'uh', a "pre-beginning element (which can) project the onset of talk" (Schegloff 1996:92) or (in English) serve to initiate a turn (Schegloff 1996). In this instance it continues directly into a telling, introducing the topically relevant person, Xw's son, in the incident: *ilh i kw'el mele...* 'my son was here'. S indicates her cooperation as receiver of the telling by giving acknowledgement particles, *a'a*, *ō*: at almost each potential 'turn relevance place' (TRP).

The telling proceeds through the expected suspension of turn-taking, with three exceptions: a collaboratively produced summary, an attempt to introduce another telling, and a repair.

In the sequence at lines (5:18–6:2) the interactants collaboratively reiterate the already-known background, that the son and family were having a sleep-over. It jointly summarizes where the telling has got to and projects the climax (that when she woke up they were gone). They do this by sharing a syntactic construction, the first teller with the declarative main clause and the second teller with the subordinate clause.

This strategy of collaborative completion of “syntax of certain utterances ... in two parts ... allows the other participants to project what the second component might be” (Nofsinger 1991:122–123).

Track 5

(18) Xw: *e li kw'e chichelh te tha* (.7)
 it was up there

(19) S: *kw'es*

Track 6

(1) S: *la itet alh[tel*
 that they slept

(2) Xw: [a- *kwthe mamele-s*
 yeah- his kids

Alignment work: Collaborative completion of background to story

Nofsinger (1991:122) calls this collaborative telling a kind of ‘alignment device’. The notion of alignment does not mean agreement with what has said but rather displays an understanding of what the other is saying. Aligning actions help actors become ‘interactants’. They not only repair difficulties in conversation, but construct ‘intersubjective understandings’ (Nofsinger 1991:112), or at least display that such a mutual understanding is being co-constructed.

S has exhibited her understanding of the preceding talk and displayed her understanding by jointly summarizing with Xw where the story is “at”. The first pair part starts at (5:18) with a past particle *e* and the location: *li kw'e chichelh te tha* (.7) ‘it was up there’. S completes the projected second part: *kw'es la itet alh[tel* ‘where they slept’. This is overlapped with part of an agreement particle *a-* ‘yeah’ and a further detail of the state of affairs told so far *kwthe mamele-s* ‘(with) his children’. This collaborative work indicates that the story is well underway, the background to the telling is mutually established and the coast is clear for the climax.

However, when Xw is describing where they were sleeping at (6:4), S starts to nominate another similar experience at (6:5) as a possible

tellable with *a'a* (.) *ew ste'a te tha* (.) *la* 'yes, it was like that...'. Speakers often use a comparable example to the previous telling to nominate a related topic for the next tellable option. So *ew ste'a te tha* functions as a topic entry strategy for a linked telling. However, this proposed tellable is not recognized, or allowed entry here into the story sequence. Xw continues into the climax of her own event.

S continues to proffer only affirmation tokens, which keep the story going until the teller has a lexical difficulty and switches to English to identify where the family are returning (i.e. to Seabird Island). This immediately becomes a *repairable* (Turnbull 2003:162) at (6:12). A goal of this conversation and the speakers was to archive a conversation for the use of the community and language teachers. The speakers constantly discuss the danger of losing the language, the perceived threat of language loss, the important work of the few people in the community who are learning and teaching the language. So the situation supports an other-initiated other-repair structure when the cause is a lexical (memory?) problem. The teller has already indicated trouble with a series of pauses, that might be seen to invite repair. The problem which is being repaired is not an impediment to understanding or a lack of hearing. It is just not in the target language. The listener (S) orients to it a repairable item by quickly supplying the target language term at line (6:13) prefaced with the particle *ew*.

In this context *ew* may carry its contrastive sense. E.P. translated it as 'oh- you mean'. Xw accepts the appropriate term with *a'a* 'yes', a repetition of the repair *Sq'ewgel* and the repair ends in joint laughter.

So the story is ended for now with an other-initiated other-repair structure, its acceptance through a three-part affirmation, and joint laughter. After the repair sequence, the affirmations and joint laughter serve to re-establish alignment of the interactants in their overall shared goal to record the language.

2.2 Teller-initiated

Another tellable starts after a five second pause and a throat clearing. It follows a telling about S's brothers, their families and where they live. It is initiated by the teller with a question.

2.2.1 Teller-initiated: *Li chexw la xwililomet te sq'eylemals?* 'Did you get to his funeral'?

Track 11

- (1) Xw: =my
(5) ((clears throat))
- (2) S: chexw la te sqeylema:ls kw'es q'oy te (.5)
you went to his funeral when he died

tl'o la s'ukw's tel ah (.4) sa- se- tel setl'atel te (name)
(.5)
(when) he was gone, bro- bro- my older brother
(Name)
- (3) Xw: ō a'a
oh yes
- (4) S: li chexw la xwililomet te sq'eylemals=
did you manage to get to his funeral
- (5) Xw: =ewe=
no
- (6) S: =ewe? (.3)
no?
- (7) Xw: li e q'eylemtem (.)
was he put away ?
- (8) S: li te ah shxwchiyo:m=
at Cheam
- (9) Xw: ah
- (10) S: [a'a
yes
- (11) Xw: [(xx)
- (12) S: li te tha kw'es q'eylem[tem tutl'o
he was put away there

- ## Track 12

- 245

- (6) Xw: =ō:[:::
- (7) S: [a'a su heyqsel o (1.2)
 yes, he passed on
- (8) Xw: my (.4)
- (9) S: a'a (1.7)
 yes
- su loye te slhellhali el (.3) satl'atel tl'oqays (.)
 so I only have sisters now
- (10) Xw: ō=

This tellable begins with an adjacency pair that looks like a question-answer sequence at (11:2), or may be ambiguous to the speakers, but is demonstrated at (11:3) by the speakers to be a statement-confirmation sequence. So *a'a* 'yes' is not treated here as an answer to a question about whether Xw went to S's brother's funeral. When S repeats the question using a clarifying interrogative *li* and the non-control transitive suffix on the intransitive *xwili:ls* 'to reach, get to', *li chexw la xwililomet te sq'eylemals* 'did you manage to get to his funeral?', the answer is a 'bald-on-record'⁵ *ewe* 'no', given with no pause at all but latched onto the question. This negative reply is further questioned (by S) and after a short pause Xw shifts the topic by asking for details of the funeral.

When S. gives a report of where her brother was buried Xw gives a post-hoc authorization of the telling at line 13 with *ewe tsil me áts'lexw* 'I didn't hear about that'. So the story begins as teller-initiated but the story start is also supported and the telling justified by the listener. She did not know about it. So both teller and listener have co-established the need for this telling.

The story moves through three sets of backgrounding sequences at (11:14–21) before the story climax. First there is a three-part confirmation that the tellable is new to Xw: 1. *oh ewe ah?* 'oh no ah?' 2. *ewe!* 'no!', 3. 'oh::my'.

⁵ This term is used to describe a way of talking without any extraneous politeness strategies. Turnbull (2003:110) describes it as: "an action which is easily recognized and unambiguous" and used in situations that involve low face-threatening actions (FTAs). It does not seem to fit such a situation here.

Then there is a clarifying adjacency pair: The first part, Xw: *ewe lis hith etl'* 'it hasn't been long, eh?' is followed by S: *ewe lis hith kw'es ewete tl'oqays a'a* 'it hasn't been long since he died, yes' (overlapped – and linked – with a confirmation adjacency pair of *a'a* and *o::*).

In another three-part pre-sequence to the climax at (11:19–21) Xw says

li su xete kw'els petamethome is we ey o (.6) 'I was saying that I was going to ask you how he was' and S responds with the obvious *o:: la ewéte*, 'he has gone', overlapping with Xw's *o::* (.6) *o* (.).

So 'oh' in line 3 is not functioning as the 'oh' of the English reception of new information, but is rather another acknowledgement token. Both participants already know the brother is deceased.

S provides a further tellable that Xw has not previously heard at (12:1).

Track 12

- (1) S: *a'a, kwelexwes te pneumonia tutl'o* (.4)
yes, he got pneumonia

Climax: *kwelexwes te pneumonia tutl'o* 'he got pneumonia' (12:1)

She provides one more detail about where he died (in the hospital). Then a collaborative closing sequence begins with the listener co-telling the outcome *su heyqsel o* 'so he passed away'. S confirms *a'a* and echoes *su heyqsel o* 'so he passed on' and both speakers conclude the telling with a rhythmic reiteration of agreement tokens, first by the receiver of the news and then by the teller.

- (3) S: = *tl'o su* (1) *li te q'oq'eyawtxw* (.4)
it was then, he was at the hospital

- (4) Xw: *li su heyqsel* [o=
so he passed on

- (5) S: [a'a
yes

- (6) Xw: =*ō::*[::::

- (7) S: [a'a *su heyqsel o* (1.2)
yes, he passed on

(8) Xw: my (.4)

(9) S: a'a (1.7)

A collaborative pre-ending sequence (12:3–9)

After a pause of 1.7 seconds, a length which the interactants treat as a closing of the topic, S gives an assessment conclusion starting with *su loye te*... 'so I only have'. This sums up the state of affairs.

(9) S: su loye te slhellhali el (.3) satl'atel tl'oqays (.)
so I only have only sisters now

The summary assessment: *su loye te* 'so I only have...' (end of 12:9)

The assessment leads to a new topic: the names of the sisters, who they married, where they live, and later, further reminiscences about the deceased brother and his sickness. It finally ends with a lexical struggle to remember a word, which S provides. The speakers then discuss and affirm the importance of thinking about your words and how you express things, which leads into a new topic, another reminiscence about their teacher training sessions (with Brent Galloway). So the story is not quite finished, but is perhaps provisionally finished, until the participants recollect it again or want to consider deeper questions about its significance.

Another tellable account begins out of a fond reminiscence about a mutual friend and colleague. The friend is jointly remembered. Then S reports that she missed the friend's mother's funeral. The two speakers do a collaborative excuse: S's husband's health was failing. The teller-initiated telling though also proceeds out of the previous telling and precedes other troubles tellings. All the stories proceed 'step-wise' out of previous talk.

2.2.2 Teller-initiated: *ewe lili xwelilomet* 'I didn't make it'

Track 18

(15) S: stsewot xexeyels [thutl'otl'em
she is so smart at writing, her (endearingly)

(16) Xw: [ō:: a'a
oh yes

- (17) S: a'a
yes

(2)
ewe lili xwelilomet te sqilemals the tals (.2)
I didn't make it to her mother's funeral
- (18) Xw: ō::=
oh
- (19) S: =li chexw we lam?=
you went?
- (20) Xw: =a'a (.3)
yes
- (21) S: te (Name) [kw'es ewete (.4)
when (Name) passed away
- (22) Xw: [a'a a'a (.8)
yes, yes
- (23) S: ewe li li xwelilomet te'althe (.3) te sqilemals the tals⁶
I didn't manage to go to her mother's funeral
- (24) Xw: ō:::
- (25) S: a'a
yes
- (26) Xw: kw'es ilh q'oq'ey ta' sq'oxel (1)
because your husband (walking partner) was sick

(qwelem) (.4)
(?)

⁶ An earlier version mis-transcribed *te sqilemals the tals* 'her mother's funeral' as *te sqilemals the' tal* 'your mother's funeral', resulting in a major analytic repairable! S.R. interpreted it as a "disjunctive topic" and headed off fighting her own windmills of confusion, until it was repaired by E.P. All for a misheard glottal stop and -s.

kw'es is (.7) li xwel (.3) eylexw
did he get better

(name)? (the) (.5)
(Name)

(27) S: ewete tel sq'oxel
my husband (walking partner) has passed away

(28) Xw: ō:::
oh

(29) S: a'a, tsel yet'ilem li te (.7)
yes, I am widowed

two thousand and three kw'es ewete (.4)
because he died in 2003

(30) Xw: ō:: =
oh

(31) S: a'a (.8)
yes

(32) Xw: my

(33) S: a'a (.9)
yes

A two second pause after the reminiscence about the mutual friend at (18:17) closes the previous topic from a potential troubles telling. The o:: receipt of news token by Xw at (18:18) is latched onto a question by S about whether Xw went (to the funeral). S reiterates that she was not able to go and the speakers jointly do an excuse, initially by Xw, who knew that S's husband was too sick for her to leave. After asking if he is got better S does a brief telling of how she is now widowed.

So a teller-nominated topic is extended here at (18:26) by a listener elicitation of a further update to the telling. The listener's question about whether S's husband got better, *kw'es is (.7) li xwel eylexw* '(because did he), did he get better?' change the work of topic elicitation to the listener.

S's use of the term *sq'oxel* lit.: 'walking partner' for 'husband' shows a common alignment strategy whereby speakers adapt some of their co-participants expressions, lexical items or phonetic features. The

- (9) Xw: a'[a
yes
- (10) S: [a'a (.6)
yes
- (11) Xw: e su me xwe'i ikwelò qes te meles (.)
and then she and her daughter arrived here

oh me qelh tutl'o (.5)
she had an accident

xwe sayem te (1.3) ikw'elò (1.6) *hip*
(she) got sore here
- (12) S: ō::: lheq'la[ts
oh, hip
- (13) Xw: [a'a (.4)
yes
- (14) S: a'a (.3)
yes
- (15) Xw: skw'ay kw'es wel imexs (.6)
she can't really walk
- (16) S: a'a (1)
yes
- (17) Xw: lheq o te'i kw'es imexs (.9) su yethest thel mele (1.5)
walking half like this, so I told my daughter:

tl'os (1.5) yoysmet (.6)
work on her
- (18) S: a'a (.5)
yes
- (19) Xw: tl'osetu xokwet elhtel xwelam te (1.7) te q'emōlhp (.5)
then we bathed them in the the maple (medicine)
- (20) S: ō::[:.....]:::

This telling is a specific (and further) example of how Xw was able to do a healing. It is discussed later as part of a closing strategy of ‘doing a justification’ but it also constitutes a new story, introduced as a further example to a previous claim by the teller. After a previous telling Xw introduces the example at (29:3) with *ilh ew sta’a te tha kw’elh (name) me xwe’i* ‘it was like that when (Name) arrived here’. This is the same construction S tried in the first telling: *ew ste’a te tha* ‘that is like...’, which was not given the go-ahead, but here S gives a go-ahead (with an acknowledgement particle *a’a* ‘yes’) at (29:4) which Xw seizes by overlapping at 29:5 with the first detail of her telling: *su ste’a (te’i) poythet* ‘the person was like, partially paralyzed’. She reiterates the construction *ste’a te tha* before a word-search at (29:7). So *ste’a te i* introduces an example (possibly with a gesture) and *ste’a te tha* (‘it’s like that’) may indicate a lexical repairable.

Another gesture by Xw and locative *ikw’elo* ‘here’ at (29:11), is oriented to as a repairable by S at (29:12). She provides the target term *lheq’lats* ‘hip’. This is followed by a repair sequence of an overlapping *a’a* ‘yes’ by Xw and a paired *a’a* by S.

After a lengthy discussion of available medicines, (‘Vicks’, some *xwelitemelh st’emlexw* ‘white people’s medicine’ purchased at a Hope health food store, as well as traditional medicines), and how expensive everything has become, S introduces a new tellable with a direct question.

2.2.4 Teller-initiated: *Li chexw lheq’elewx (Name)?* ‘Did you know (Name)?’

Track 24

(2.3)

(11) S: the um (.3) *li chexw lheq’elewx* the uh (.)
(fem. article) ah, did you know

(*xwelmexw* Name) (.9)
(*Xwelmexw* name)

(12) Xw: *ō* (.5) wat? (.4)
oh who?

(13) S: (English first name) (.) (last name)? (.)

- (14) Xw: a'a (.6)
yes
- (15) S: lalh lheq' thaytes te st'elmexw (.2)
she usually made medicine
- (16) Xw: ō::=
- (17) S: =a'a (.6)
yes
- (18) Xw: ō::[:]
- (19) S: [te li te chewō:lh p (.8)
from the cottonwood tree
- te (e)mekweqel (.4) tl'o e thiytes (.4)
it is made from the buds
- (20) Xw: ō::[:]
- (21) S: [a'a ey xwela li s-la (.) ts'ekwts'ekwthet te'
kwelow=
yes it is good for when your skin gets sores all over
- (22) Xw: =ō a'[a
oh yes
- (23) S: [a'a (.)
yes
- (24) Xw: yeah (.)
- (25) S: yalh kw'as tl'o s-lis li xwela um la te swiwel (.4)
now its for um (when you) go in the sun
- kw'e hith (.3)
for a long time

Track 25

- (1) S: tl'o ew shxwe'ey s (.3) sta we yatl'q't o ta' selxwiws=
it's good to just smear it on your body

- (2) Xw: ō:[:
- (3) S: [kwthe) (k)chewō:- (.) chewō:lh (.)
 the cotton- cottonwood tree
- (4) Xw: chewō:lh=
 cottonwood tree
- (5) S: a'[a
 yes
- (6) Xw: [ō::: (.)
- (7) S: te li te chewō:lh (.)
 it comes from the cottonwood tree
- (8) Xw: uhuh=
- (9) S: =a'a (.)
 yes
- (10) Xw: ō:: (2.2)
- (11) S: kw'etsthome te (.) te shxwta'es kw'es thaytes thutl'ò
 I'll show you the recipe that she made
 (8.5)
- (ewe)tel lheq'elexw li su iyolem kw'as (.) kw'atset⁹
(.5)
 I don't know if you can see it ok
- (12) Xw: a'a (1.3)
 yes
- (13) S: lu ste'a kw'u (.8) hikw kw'es xexiyl (5.1)
 it's like- it's written big
- (14) Xw: beeswax=
- (15) S: =a'a (1.4)
 yes

⁹ She could have used *kwixet* 'read it' also (EP).

This telling has a clear beginning. There is a 2.3 second pause after the previous related talk. S begins at (24:11) with *the um*, which both introduces the feminine article for the person's name, who is the pending topic (*the*, 3rd person, feminine, present, visible, article) and 'um' which also seems to serve as a turn beginning element, or turn holding particle. A .9 second pause follows before Xw indicates with *ō* (.5) *wat?* 'who?' (.4) at (24:12) that she doesn't recognize the reference. S then gives the full English name of the person, which Xw recognizes with *a'a* 'yes'. The telling has switched speakers with this telling. S continues to give a report about a person who is well known for making a particular medicine.

At (24:21), (24:25), and (25:1) S describes what it is used for and how to use it.

Track 24

(19) S: [te li te chewō:lh p (.8)
from the cottonwood tree

te (e)mekweqel (.4) tl'o e thiytes (.4)
it is made from the buds

(20) Xw: ō::[:

(21) S: [a'a ey xwela li s-la (.) ts'ekwts'ekwthet te'
kwelow=
yes it is good for when your skin gets sores all over

Teller-initiated: *te li te chewō:lh p, te (e)mekweqel, tl'o e thiytes*, 'it's made out of cottonwood buds' (24:21)

Meanwhile, Xw only adds acknowledgement markers, which serve as turn-continuers (*a'a*, oh:: yeah). S offers to show Xw the recipe that (Name) made *kw'etsthome te* (.6) *te shxwta'es kw'es thaytes thutl'o*, and after an 8.6 second gap, they look at it. This insertion sequence ends in a round of acknowledgement tokens of *a'a* and thanks from me. Further examples of healings continue (not included here).

2.3 Listener-elicited

Stories may be elicited by listeners. The following story is elicited by the listener but also arises out of the preceding talk. It follows track 18, the data example in Section 2.2.2. The listener elicits further details of a story, which itself arises from a previous telling.

2.3.1 Listener-elicited: *Xwe'it thutl'o?* 'What happened to her?'

Track 19

(20) Xw: *ō helem qe (.8) te s- (.8) se lilh li ti (.5)*
(she passed?)

xetestem ah (Name)? (.2)
so they say (Name)

(21) S: *↑ ah xwel q'ami o qa [ewete*
ah she was still just a young girl and passed on

(22) Xw: *[a'a*
yes

Track 20

(1) Xw: *ulh la hiqsel t'ot (.9)*
she already died poor thing

(2) S: *xwe'it thutl'o (.7)*
what happened to her?

(3) Xw: *kw'es xet'e kw'es me xelh te sxoyes i ti (1.2)*
she said that her head was hurting here

(4) S: *ō::=*

(5) Xw: *su lam te (.5) te (.7) te (.3) doctor li te tha kw'eses (1) e:*
(.4)
so she went to the the doctor there who

kw'atsetes te doctor (.5) su thetstem (.5)
checked her over, then he said

ey kw'as la t'okw (.6)
(you can just) go home

ewe skw'ay olu sayem te i ti xete
I can't do anything about the pain here he said

- (6) S: ō::[::
- (7) Xw: [sayem te i te eqw'elets, sayem te ikw'elo (1.2)
there was pain here, in her back, pain here
- (8) S: ō::
- (9) Xw: skw'ay kw'els thiyt xete ey (.3) i xwelám o t'okw' (2.8)
I can't do anything he said head off now for home
- su la:: me xwe'i (1.4)
then she left and arrived here (at Chewothel)
- me wayel qew e::y t'ot' (.9) te imex (.4)
the day came when (there was the poor thing walking)
- (10) S: [a'a
yes
- (11) Xw: [kw'ses (1)
when she
- sta'a kw'u (.2) yayes o (te) kw'etslexwes tel sq'oxel
(.8)
was like working, my husband saw her
- imex li te s'atl'q' (3.2) la kwetxwilem qulh
walking outdoors, then she comes inside or

Track 21

- (1) me atl'qel qulh a::y (.5)
comes right outside again,
sqwalewel kw'es ya:yes (.4)
she thinks she is working
- (2) S: a'a (.)
yes
- (3) Xw: qe: (ye:?) t'wa imex (.7) li skw'es (1.2) a:=
and walking I guess, she can't ah

- (4) S: =le hoy tes (.3) [xelhéleqel=
 her headache was finished
- (5) Xw: [(x-)=a'a (.)
 (?) yes
- (6) S: ō::[:

A pre-sequence invokes a shared telling about something that is already known: a quite young woman has died. The topic arises out of the previous talk in a “step-wise manner”. Sacks says topics arise in conversation usually not by beginnings and closings, followed by a new beginning, “but by a step-wise move, which involves linking up whatever is being introduced to what has just been talked about” (Harvey Sacks, quoted in G. Jefferson 1984:198). In this conversation the story of the young woman is introduced in a step-wise move out of the story of S’s husband’s death.

At (19:20) Xw uses *xetestem* ‘they say, it is said’ to indicate she has heard this from others. The story takes the form of a joint telling to start. The speakers are jointly recalling, talking over together what they heard.

However, at (20:2), S specifically elicits more details and a new telling with *xwe’it thutl’o* ‘what happened to her?’ The request/inquiry *xwe’it thutl’o* functions as a topic elicitor by the recipient of the telling. Xw’s response *kw’es xet’e kw’es me xelh te sxoyes i ti* ‘she said that her head was hurting here’ may function as a “newsworthy event report” in the terms of Button and Casey (1984:168) but since the report of the event is already underway it adds new material to the event here.

What has changed at that point is the stance of the interaction. A report from others was marked linguistically at (19:20) with the passive structure *xetestem* ‘it is said’. This was oriented to by S at (19:21) as being shared news, and affirmed by Xw in her *a’a* ‘yes’ which overlaps what would be critical information, *ewete* ‘she died’, if it were not already shared information. At (20:3) Xw uses the active verb *xete* ‘she said’, with a direct quote from the person in question: *kw’es xet’e kw’es me xelh te sxoyes i ti* ‘she said that her head was hurting here’ to do a tellable, or give a noteworthy news report to someone who did not already know the whole story.

From then on the story continues with only acknowledgement tokens from S. Xw recounts a botch-up of inadequate health care delivery, resulting in the young woman’s death.

2.4 Conclusion

Our data do not offer mutually exclusive ways of starting stories according to the proposed original outline. Some certainly follow a variety of pre-sequences. One of those is a clear granting of a request to speak in Halq'emeylem. It starts when the story-teller offers up a new topic of a recent event in her family. This is also the consequence a pre-request.

Some stories, or tellings, are initiated by the story-teller herself without an explicit pre-sequence. However, even the status of these fluctuates. The teller may initiate a telling but for example, in 2.2.1 the listener shares the work of motivating and justifying the telling. She clarifies she had not heard about the details; she was going to ask the teller for an update. This confirms the shared understanding for the need for a specific telling.

One story was clearly elicited by the listener asking *xwe'it thull'o*, 'what happened to her'. A listener at (18:26) also elicited further details after the teller-initiated topic.

The interactants shared stories about births, deaths, troubles and reminiscences in a series of interconnected tellings. They almost all come in a step-wise manner out of the context of previous tellings and out of the context of the original first request-granting.

One specific sub-type of tellings arising out of the context of talk was giving an example to justify a point or to share a similar experience.

So our story-telling strategies look more like this:

- 1: After pre-sequences (request-grant)
- 2: Step-wise progression out of the tellings
 - 2a: Teller-initiated
 - 2.2.1 question (but listener also elicits)
 - 2.2.2 reminisce
 - 2.2.3 giving an example (to support a claim)
 - 2.2.4 recommend a medicine provider
 - 2b: Listener-elicited
 - 2.3.1 elicit a telling (what happened)

3 Social actions though talk-in-interaction

We have looked at several kinds of social acts in this documented talk-in-interaction. People made a specific request and granted it. They performed the request by nominating topics to talk about

and then pursuing those topics. This being the normal course of things in everyday life, we were able to record speakers and listeners nominating topics, embarking on stories and telling others as they arose organically out of the ongoing talk.

As well, a larger social action was constructed as an inherent aspect of the encompassing original request. I have previously called it “doing a justification” (Russell 2009) and transcribed examples in a record of classroom talk in some Upriver Halkomelem classes. There learners and teachers did justifications for specific classroom procedures, sometimes prior to such activities, as well as meta-justifications for the whole process of learning and teaching the language.

Here, this conversation session exhibited the speakers in a sense documenting their experience and authority to speak *in* and *for* the language. This is a critical question in a community with (at the time) only two known absolutely fluent native speakers left. Many other people have to start to take on the responsibility of learning and teaching in rebuilding a thriving speaking community. But the question always remains of how that is done and with what kind of authority. The knowledge of the elder fluent speakers, speakers with a deep intuitive awareness of cultural knowledge and appropriate use of language constructions are obviously highly valued by communities. Arguably, the speakers in this recorded conversation, produced to help document a particular kind of extended everyday language – a normal conversation between friends – were particularly aware of the importance of their own knowledge in passing on the language to the following generations who have to “learn” it consciously. At least the speakers oriented to this situation by producing a lengthy series of tellings that in fact function to do a series of justifications, or authorizations of knowledge and expertise. Within that overall trajectory of “doing a justification” were a series of stories or tellables, some quite long. Each of them arose out of previous talk, or were offered as examples, contained insertion sequences, offered assessments and (mostly) confirmed them. They were all wonderfully rich examples of the language and (sometimes tragic) accounts of lives led.

One telling (not included here) gives an account of how S acquired very early in life an authoritative and careful knowledge of her language (Halq'emeylemqel) as well as an early ability (and necessity) to translate. Before and around this telling Xw provides an accounting of how she acquired her traditional knowledge of medicines. The tellings are opened by a question answer sequence, the first part posed by S.

3.1 Doing a justification: opening sequence

Track 28

- (18) S: ats'ela! (1.2)
 oh my goodness!
- telelitse kwa se telexw te tha st'elmexw (1)
 where did you learn about this medicine?
- [(x)-
- (19) Xw: [tse- (.4) chu¹⁰ tolt o ta'alha (.6)
 I- I just taught myself
- (20) S: ō:::[::
- (21) Xw: [tl'o ta'alha il tolt (.5) ilh t'wa
 I must have learned it myself

The second pair part to the opening first-pair part (question) from S is rapidly produced. It overlaps with S at (28:19) and simply attributes her knowledge to her own effort. She then produces the story of healing (Name) who came to see her after a stroke. This was previously noted as Giving an example: *ilh ew sta'a te tha* 'it was like that with (Name)'. However, it is also part of a series of 'doing a justification'. Her example telling gives an account of a reportedly successful healing. That justification ends with a joke, an assessment (not shown here) and an aphorism at (32:3) which we cannot currently translate but which seems to serve as a topic closer. The assessment receives its own assessment and upgrade assessment at (32:4) and (32:5) as follows:

Track 32

- (3) Xw: wa xwixw helem o wiyoth (.4)
 if you are always going
- ō su ewéte o shwelis te' esqwo:yxthet¹¹(1)
 it doesn't matter, your (?)

¹⁰ Xwoyelemot's *chu* would be *tsel lu* for Siyamiyateliyot.

¹¹ sqwo:yxw, meaning unknown (Galloway, B.D. 2009:531).

- (4) S: the'it (.3)
true
- (5) Xw: wel the'it (.)
very true
- (6) S: a'a (.2)
yes

So the closing of the telling is achieved through alignment work. The speakers confirm (whatever the aphorism claimed) with an assessment *the'it* 'true' at (32:4) and an upgraded assessment *wel the'it* 'very true' at (32:5). The assessments and the confirmation particle *a'a* 'yes' again provide a closing strategy to this telling by which the interactants display an agreement on the issue. A second longer justification follows.

3.2 Doing a justification: *Chichelh Siyam* 'The Creator'

Track 32

- (13) Xw: skw'a::y (1.3)
it's not possible
- tl'o te chichelh siyams lheq'elexwes is te elets'e (.)
it's the Creator, who only knows (where from)
- kw'es me kwelexw (1.3)
we got this.
- (14) S: a tl'o: tl'osu te shxw'ás (.)
yes, that's how it is
- (15) Xw: (x:[x])
- (16) S: [a'a (1) °tl'o su te [shxw'as
yes, that is how it is

The observation is confirmed again by a reiterated assessment of the state of affairs: the idiomatic expression *tl'osu te shxw'ás* 'that's how it is'. This assessment is followed by more than an upgraded assessment. Xw then makes a general complaint about the attitude of some people who have forgotten this source of traditional knowledge.

3.3 Doing a complaint: *ewéte lheq'elexwes tl'oqays te mekw'at* 'nobody knows anymore'

Track 32

- (17) Xw: [ewéte lheq'elexwes tl'oqays te mekw'at (.7)
nobody knows any more,

loye (.7) ta'althe (.3)
only me
- (18) S: a'a
yes
- (19) Xw: loye ta'althe (.)
only me
- (20) S: a'a (.) a'a (.4)
yes, yes

S follows this complaint with more confirmation tokens, recognizing her distress. This further series of agreement moves opens a further series of alignment actions.

3.4 Doing another justification: *tl'o wel teli tetha* 'it comes from there'

Track 33

- (1) Xw: tl'o (.) tl'o wel teli tetha
it is- it's from there (Chichelh Siyam)

kw'eses me oxwesthom ta' shxwe'iyems (.5)
that you get your strength
- (2) S: a'a (.3)
yes
- (3) Xw: yeah (.)
- (4) S: we melqelewxewxw kw'as we ewe lis ey
if you forget (that) it isn't good

- (5) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (6) S: ste'a ta' sqwoqwel (.5)
I agree (it's the same as your thinking)?
- (7) Xw: [a-
ye-
- (8) S: [loythet te alhtel (1) a'a loy kw'esu loye (.65) ey (.)
they are (making themselves?) the only ones who are
good
- (9) Xw: [a-
yes
- (10) S: kw'es xetes alhtel (2) malqelxwes kw'e siyam (.)
they are saying they forget the Creator
- (11) Xw: a'a=
yes
- (12) S: =a'a (2) ewe lis iyólem (1)
yes, it is not right
- (13) Xw: kw'elsu (.9) wiyoth 'e (.65) (tl'e qo te) (.6)
so then always (?)
- kwelat o pipe ste'a te'i tels e ts'iyelh (.45) tl'olsu
holding the paper like this I'll be praying-so then I

This accounting of and justification for her traditional knowledge is attributed by Xw to *kw'e Chichel Siyam* 'the Creator'. Again the speakers both reaffirm their alignment (33:2–9). S affirms in another assessment upgrade that *ste'a ta' sqwoqwel* 'it's the same (as) your thinking'. The last two speakers give a meta-justification here for the need for spiritual guidance in their work. After a shared complaint about others who forget this and fall prey to self-aggrandizing, Xw begins by (33:15) to invoke the rosary and continues as well to mention a guardian angel (not included here). But her most extensive justification, which includes a tragic story of eight miscarriages, references how she learned what she learned from the elders.

3.5 Doing a justification: *Teli te tha kwels me tol kw'e qex* 'It's from her that I learned so much'

Track 36

- (4) Xw: qeloqtel alhtel ye (1.9) (name) (.4) and (name) (.6)
they were siblings (Name and Name)

ō iwesthàlèm (.) elhtel (1)
oh I was taught by them

we iwesthóxelh (.) (name) (.5)
when they taught me, (Name)

- (5) S: a'a (.)
yes

- (6) Xw: ō iwesthóxes kw'elh (name) (1)
oh (Name) taught me

- (7) S: a'a=
yes

- (8) Xw: =a:: (1)
yes

teli tl'- (4) teli (t)te tha kw'els me tol kw'e qex (.9)
from (her) it's from her that I learned so much

- (9) S: ō::: a'a=
oh yes

- (10) Xw: a:: (.8)
yeah

teli te Vancouver kw'else ekw'elulh tel (.5) mele, (1.7)
she came from Vancouver when I lost my child in birth

me kwol me se ewe is aylexw kwe hith
when she was born she was not alive long

(welh) la hiqsel t'ot'.
(and) already she died the poor thing

me se ewe is aylexwe hith kw'elh la hiqsel t'ot' (.6)
was not alive long (until) the poor little one passed
away

(11) S: a'a (.2)
yes

(12) Xw: a- su lam tel sqoxel i lám te vancouver su tl'o te
so my husband (walking partner) went to Vancouver
and

kw'oxwe(mex) kwelates (.56)
(got) the coffin there

(13) S: a'a=
yes

(14) Xw: =te su ewe is (1) um:: qex tale kw'es (we) ey (.4)
so it wasn't much money

(15) S: a'a=
yes

(16) Xw: kwelates o te kw'oxwe (.3)
and he just got the coffin

Track 37

(1) S: a'a=
yes

(2) Xw: ewete lheq'élexwes i (1.5)
no one knew

i 'elox li te kyo kw'es pipi te sliw i te tha
that aboard there was a baby in the car

(3) S: ō::: a'a
oh, yes

(4) Xw: me xwe íkw'elò su tl'o the (name) kw'e thiyt (.7)
when they arrived there it was (Name) that did
everything,

wel thiytes te (.8)
really did it all

(xx) kwelexwes kw'e xews kw'oxwes (e[se] te li te (1)
took his new box and in it

(5) S: [a'a
yes

(6) Xw: esu t'wa te (1.3)
and so I guess the

(7) S: lexwte|=
blanket

(8) Xw: a'a (.5) thiytes i te tha su p'áth'etes
yes, she made it there and then sewed it

(9) S: a'a (1.2)
yes

This final story is a new telling of personal loss and grief during eight miscarriages and deaths. It gives an account of her close relationship with some elders and specifically with a very knowledgeable elder who helped her in this difficult time, who came and did what had to be done when she lost a child after childbirth.

The story starts by naming the elders, using a passive structure *iwesthalem* 'I was taught by them' at (36:4). Xw reiterates with an active but possibly (?) not quite target form *iwesthoxelh*. S offers no repair here, just an affirmation token. Xw does a self-initiated self-repair to *oh iwesthoxes* 'she taught me' in (36:6) to cite the second person specifically. Then at (36:8) she attributes her language and knowledge to (Name): *teli te tha kw'els me tol kw'e qex* 'it's from her that I learned so much'. Then she tells the story of how her husband *tel sq'oxel* 'my husband/walking partner' went to Vancouver to get a coffin, how that elder looked after everything for her, how the baby died and how she lost seven others.

During this telling, the listener S returns to the attending stance of the first story. As soon as Xw begins the telling of the elders she learned from, S only gives continuer (or acknowledgement) markers. She continues to withhold any turn-taking as the final troubles telling story

pours out. She bears witness to the telling and supports it through her witness.

The story is not finished here. The tragedy continues, as do other losses. The story is just beginning. But this telling also serves here to do a justification of what was experienced and the knowledge that grew from it. It both begins a telling but also begins a meta-closing. Here we hear how the speakers came to know what they know. The stories of these lives are passed on. The knowledge of the telling in Halq'emeylem is recognized and authorized. Perhaps from Chichelh Siyam, perhaps from religious observances, but finally- ultimately- from those elders who went before.

4 Conclusion

So how can this be put to use in learning and teaching Halq'emeylem? One way may be just to look at what kinds of language constructions were used to do what kinds of work. An initial charting of language constructions with translations, CA structures of talk and apparent corresponding social actions, gives a first picture of how these fluent speakers did the work of story telling in Halq'emeylem. It follows below.

Track No & line	Language construction	Translation	CA structure	Social action
5:1	lu iyolem etl' kw'es...	it's ok eh that...	pre-sequence FPP	ask permission
	a'a	yes	go-ahead particle	continuer
5:3	qwelqweltel tset tl'oqays	we talk now?		finish request
5:4	oh ey	oh good	pre-sequence SPP	grant permission
5:5	a'a	yes		confirm

5:6	helems te li ti etl'	it's going over there eh?	insertion expansion sequence FPP	request clarification
5:7	... te sqwelqwetel tset	... our conversation	insertion squence SPP + increment	clarify
5:7	la tl'al te tha te...sqwalqwetel tset	our conversation is going over there	insertion expansion sequence SPP	confirm
5:10	uh	uh	turn-beginning element	Start a telling
5:10	ilh i kwel mele	my son was here	start the telling	introduce main character
6:5	ew ste'a te tha...	it was like that	FPP (disjunct marker?)	new telling gambit
6:12-17	li te Seabird Island	to Seabird island	pauses, non-target word repairable	language focus-word search
6:13	ew, Sq'ewqel ew, Sq'ewqel	oh, you mean (Seabird island)	O-I O-R (other-initiated other-repair	repair non-target language
11:9	li chexw la xwililomet te sq'eylema:ls	did you manage to get to his funeral?	teller-initiated topic	ask question
11:12	li e q'eylemtem?	was he put away?	counter?	topic shift
11:18	ewe tsil me ats'lexw	I didn't hear about that	listener-supported telling	authorize telling/give an excuse

12:1	kwelexwes te pneumonia tutl'o	he got pneumonia	(note use of transitive construction)	move plot forward to climax
12:9	su loye te slhellhali el satl'atel tl'oqays	so now I only have sisters	summarize state of affairs	conclude telling
29:3	ilh ew ste'a te tha	it was like that then (when...)	teller-initiated telling	giving an example
29:5	su ste'a te'i poythet	her (mouth) was crooked like this		
19:20	o helem qe...se lilh li ti xetestem (passive structure)	they say she passed away	post-expansion sequence FPP	doing a joint telling
19:21	xwel q'ami o qa [ewete	she was just young when she passed	post-expansion sequence SPP	
20:1	ulh la hiqsel t'ot'	the poor thing already died	increment	
20:2	xwe'it thutl'o	what happened to her?	FPP	elicit topic
20:3	kw'es xete kw'es me xelh te sxoyes (active structure)	she said that her head hurt...	SPP	newsworthy event report
20:5- 21:1	o, a'a		suspension of turn-taking	cause & account of death
21:4	le hoy tes (.3) xelheleqel	her headache is finished	doing an assessment	orienting to story end?
21:5-6	a'a, o		paired tokens	doing an ending?

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Table 1: IPA Key to the Halq'emeylem orthography

Alphabet	IPA (North American)
p	[p]
p̣	[p̣]
t	[t]
ṭ	[ṭ]
ts	[c]
tṣ	[c̣]
ch	[ç]
cḥ	[ç̣]
k	[k]
ḳ	[ḳ]
kw	[kʷ]
kẉ	[ḳʷ]
m	[m]
n	[n]
l	[l]
lh	[ɬ]
y	[y]
s	[s]
sh	[ʃ] (allophone of /s/ before [xʷ])
th	[θ]
tḥ	[ṭθ̣]
tḷ	[ɬ̣]
x	[xy]
xw	[xʷ]
x	[χ] or [χ̣]
xw	[χʷ] or [χ̣ʷ]
,	[ʔ]
a	[æ] under stress, [ɛ] when not stressed
e	[ɪ] between palatals [ʊ] between labials [ə] elsewhere
i	[i]
o	[ɑ]
ō	[o]
u	[u]
:	length
'	stress