Glossed Conversational Data in Nłeʔkepmxcín*

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Abstract: Nłeʔkepmxcín, from the Northern Interior sub-family of the Salish languages, has a very limited amount of glossed data available. This work introduces 20 minutes of fully glossed conversational data. The speakers involved were two friends who discussed image prompts supplied by the fieldworkers. Data of this kind offers several advantages not conferred by regular elicitation data. Since it is less controlled by the fieldworker, it permits the possibility of a greater variety of vocabulary, sentence structures, etc. CONVERSATIONAL data also provides a body of data from which we can study phenomena not found in isolated sentences, such as question-and-response patterns and natural prosody. In future, the glossed transcriptions, audio recordings, and image prompts can be packaged together to provide learning resources for students of the language. And of course, this work adds to the too-limited body of glossed texts in the language.

Keywords: Nłeʔkepmxcín, Salish, conversation, text

1   Background

Nłeʔkepmxcín (also known as Thompson River Salish; ISO 639-3: thp) is a Northern Interior Salish language spoken along the Thompson river in British Columbia, with around 100 fluent speakers remaining (Gessner et al. 2023). Though there are only a handful of first-language speakers, language revitalization efforts are ongoing. Thus, there is an urgent need to document the language in order to support present and future learners. It is particularly useful to have *glossed* data, which consists of not only Nłeʔkepmxcín text and its English translation, but a more detailed breakdown of each meaningful unit in the Nłeʔkepmxcín text. At present, there is very little glossed data available, even compared to the other Northern Interior languages. There is only a single book of glossed text available (Egesdal et al. 2011), along with the limited glossed examples that appear in various linguistics papers on the language.

We thus begin remedying this dearth of glossed data by presenting a collection of glossed conversational data. Though any glossed data is certainly useful, our hope is that the conversational nature of the data gives it additional utility. Most glossed data that exists (that which typically occurs in linguistics papers) is from very structured elicitation sessions, where the fieldworker is studying a particular phenomenon in the language and is asking the consultant to perform discrete

tasks such as giving translations or providing judgments. This data tends to be in the form of isolated sentences, and is not spontaneously offered by the consultant (either because the sentence was created by the fieldworker, or created by the consultant in a fairly contrived setting). Thus, this data can fail to capture some more natural components of speech in the language. Eliciting conversational data is a means to try to avoid some of these limitations from typical elicitation data. The more spontaneous nature of the speech may reveal some aspects of the language that do not come up in fieldworker-controlled language tasks. As well, the continuous, back-and-forth nature of conversation allows the data to include some components of language use that wouldn't be present in other kinds of data, such as question-and-response patterns (San Roque et al. 2012), and various prosodic structures (Caldecott & Koch 2014). Finally, the friendly dynamic between the speakers permits more creative language use (including joking and singing) that allows us to see the language being used joyfully, rather than just in the more sterile elicitation setting. The structure of this paper is as follows: Section 2 deals with the methodology we employed for eliciting these conversations, as well as a note on glossing and transcription conventions followed throughout the paper. Section 3 discusses interesting linguistic elements about Nłeʔkepmxcín featured in the conversational data. Section 4 presents the conversational data using a four-line gloss. Section 5 concludes.

2   Methodology

2.1   Elicitation practice

The following data comes from a single elicitation session with two speakers of the Nicola Valley dialect of Nłeʔkepmxcín. The speakers knew one another outside of their consulting work. The elicitation approach we used comes from Caldecott and Koch's (2014) discussion of fieldwork methodologies that facilitate both the investigation of linguistic phenomena often missing from elicitation data (e.g., prosody, discourse structure) and the creation of accessible language-learning resources. We selected one of their methodologies for guided conversation: asking the consultants to have a conversation between themselves, but prompting them with images in order to give them a starting point (to prevent the awkwardness of being asked to "have a normal conversation"). Caldecott and Koch (2014) also note that this prompted approach avoids the potential pitfalls of bringing up personal topics (which the speakers may not be comfortable discussing in data that will be shared with the community) or having conversations they've already had (as may be the case if they're asked to discuss the weather, what they've been up to lately, etc.). The conversation data and accompanying images can also be shared with communities to provide a learning resource. With this in mind, royalty-free images were chosen — these are easy to find online and can be shared without copyright concerns. We tried to select photos that had enough going on to prompt conversation and involved content that would be relevant (or at least familiar) for the speakers.

Over Zoom, we would screenshare one image at a time and ask the consultants to talk to one another about what they saw in the photo. They would chat for a few minutes per photo and then let the fieldworkers know once they had nothing more to say. The photos used are presented in Figures 1 to 4 (in order of use).

Figure 1: A group playing instruments, singing, and dancing.[1]

Figure 2: A family of geese setting off into the water.[2]

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[1] Photo URL: https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-europe-ireland-kerry-dingle-an-irish-music-session-in-a-local-pub-11812014.html

[2] Photo by pixabay user Ronile: https://pixabay.com/photos/canada-goose-chick-branta-canadensis-273732/

Figure 3: Another family of geese swimming, this time with older offspring.[3]

Figure 4: A smiling cat holds a fish while a birthday cat glowers in the background,
set in an outdoor scene including the Fraser River.[4]

2.2 Glossing and transcription conventions

The data was recorded in Zoom. It was transcribed at the sentence-level in ELAN. It was then glossed using a four-line approach: Nłeʔkepmxcín sentence, morpheme-by-morpheme segmentation, gloss corresponding to each segmented morpheme, and an English translation of the sentence (see example (90)).

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[3] Photo by pixabay user Kapa65: https://pixabay.com/photos/geese-canada-geese-family-2346322/

[4] Author Reed Steiner's own work, assembled from miscellaneous images.

(90) CMA: *ʔúkʷuntes*   *e sxəqxiq*

         ʔúkʷu-n-t-Ø-es   e=s-x̣əq~x̣iq

         deliver-DRV-TR-3OBJ-3ERG DET=NMLZ-PL~duck

             e scmeẏts   *wə qʷoʔ*

             e=s-cm-eẏt-s   wə=qʷoʔ

             DET=NMLZ-small-agent-3POSS to=water

        'They brought their children to the water.'

The Nłeʔkepmxcín transcription (used in the first two lines) is written in a version of the North American Phonetic Alphabet (NAPA) which is standard for the language. The primary differences between this orthography and the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) are as follows: NAPA uses <c> for IPA [tʃ], <s> for [ʃ], <c̣> for [ts], <ṣ> for [s], <x> for <χ>, and <λ̣> for [tɬ'] (aspiration is specified in this last case, as the unaspirated variant does not exist in the language). The Leipzig glossing rules (Comrie et al. 2008) were followed as much as possible. Glosses used in this paper that do not appear in the Leipzig Glossing Rules are listed in footnote 5.[5] As for stress marking, we marked primary stress (using an acute accent), following the style of the Nłeʔkepmxcín-English dictionary (Thompson & Thompson 1996).

There are a number of phonological processes at work in Nłeʔkepmxcín whereby certain morphemes are often phonologically unrealized. Instances where underlying morphemes are present but phonologically unrealized will be indicated within square brackets in line 2 of the gloss (i.e., the morpheme-by-morpheme segmentation line). Pauses in speech are represented only in line 1 (the orthographic line) by ellipses. Repeated words are often included, but false starts for sentences that appear later in full are not. Where consultants follow up Nłeʔkepmxcín utterances with English ones, these have been left in as they are still meaningful parts of the conversation. As a result, not all translations are particularly literal (such as 246). Music notes (♪) in the gloss indicate that a particular utterance was sung. Square brackets in the fourth line of the gloss (i.e., the English translation) indicate linguistic metadata. Regular parentheses indicate missing context. All errors in glossing are our own.

3   Analysis

Eliciting in this way allowed us to observe some linguistic features that we had not hitherto come across in our other elicitation sessions. A selection of these features are commented on below.

3.1   Potential discourse markers

The consultants frequently used the phrase *e meł nes*, glossed here as INT CNSQ INCIP, e.g., (59), (62), (75), (79), (112), (141), (172). The consequential morpheme is described by Thompson and Thompson as meaning "change from present situation: anyway, anyhow; despite the evidence,

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[5] Such glosses are as follows: AFF = affective, ANT = anticipatory, ASP = aspectual, AUG = augmentative, AUT = autonomous, CTR.MID = control middle, CNJ = conjunctive, CNSQ = consequential, CONTR = contrastive, D/C = determiner/complementizer, DIR = directive, DISC = discourse marker, DRV = directive, EMPH.INT = emphatic introductory predicate, EXCM = exclamative, INCIP = incipient, IM = immediate, INH = inherent, INT = introductory predicate, LCTL = limited control transitivizer, MOD = modal, NCTL = non-control predicate, NEUT = "semantically neutral stem to which certain lexical suffixes are added" (Thompson & Thompson 1996:1), OOC = out of control, PRP = proportional, PRSM = presumptive, REP = reportative, RLT = relational, SENSE = sensory evidential, TAG = tag question, UNR = unrealized.

contrary to expectations" (1992:139), whereas the incipient is described with "depart, go toward" (1992:142). The prevalence of this phrase in our conversational data in particular suggests it could have a discourse-related role. It seems that it may be used to connect events, e.g., (62), (112), (173). Its function could be a fruitful direction for further study.

Additionally, consultant CMA used the word *téywey* (119), which is seemingly unattested in Thompson and Thompson (1992, 1996) but which she described as meaning "oh gosh", expressing surprise, wonder, anger, etc. For this reason, we have presently glossed it as EXCM. Interestingly, she also told us that the word is not appropriate for young speakers to use.

Finally, a very lengthened *ʔo* was also used by CMA, and our suspicion that it could be a discourse marker was reinforced by the use of a similar morpheme in St'át'imcets, another Northern Interior Salish language (Lisa Matthewson, p.c.). We have glossed it as DISC for now based on this theory, but more data is needed. If it is indeed a discourse marker, then eliciting more conversational data in future should provide further instances to study.

3.2 Evidentials

Something else of note is that consultants sometimes prefer to translate sentences containing evidential morphemes, particularly *nke* and *nukʷ*, as utterances indicating speaker certainty.[6] This is seen particularly in Conversation 1, and in lines (1), (11) to (13), (16), (188), (199), and (255). These sentences all seem to be oriented towards either the near future, e.g., (1), (11) to (13), (16), (188), or the present, e.g., (199) and (255). There are also instances of consultants choosing to use a modal when translating sentences containing evidentials, as in (122), (161), (165), (186), and (206). In these instances, utterances containing the inferential evidential *nke* are translated using the strong English modal 'must'. This pattern of evidentials acting as modals in contexts compatible with epistemic conversational backgrounds is observed in a neighbouring language, St'át'imcets (Matthewson et al. 2007). Utterances translated as 'maybe', a weaker English modal, also use *nke*, as in (5) and (14), as do those translated with 'probably' (167). There are also two instances of *nke* being used to indicate some kind of conjecture on the part of the speaker as to the actions or states of the various subjects in the picture. This usage is seen in (181) and (192); (181) is translated using 'seems to be', and (192) as 'looks like'; these could both be regarded as inferential statements on the part of the speakers based on the evidence provided by the picture, which is in line with the labelling of *nke* as an inferential evidential (Littell et al. 2010).

These conversations also feature some instances of the reportative evidential, *ekʷu* (sometimes realized as *wkʷu* or *kʷu*). As predicted by the name, this evidential appears most commonly in contexts where a speaker is relaying a story or event that they have found out about through another person, i.e., they are passing on information that they obtained from a second- or third-hand source. Examples of this are seen particularly clearly in (26) and (27), where the speaker is recounting an event that was told to her by another person. There are also examples of the reportative evidential in contexts where it is less clear who the reported information was obtained from, as in (40), or (109). Another instance of the reportative is found in (222), where participants are discussing the birthday hat that one of the pictured cats is wearing, particularly referring to the fact that it is a birthday hat. More research into the exact functions of the reportative is needed, and these glossed conversations represent a first step in and a valuable resource for examining these functions.

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[6] Nłeʔkepmxcín evidentials are discussed further in Hannon and Smith (2023).

3.3 Determiners and demonstratives

For the sake of glossing, we follow Kroeber (1997) in treating *(h)e=*, *ł(ə)=*, and *k=* as base determiners, and in segmenting *t=e=* ⟨*te*⟩, [*t*]=*ł=* ⟨*tł*⟩, and *t=k=* ⟨*tək*⟩ into base determiners preceded by oblique prepositions. We gloss the elements introducing complement and adjunct clauses as D/C for determiner/complementizer, following Henry Davis (p.c.). However, due to the complexity of the conversational sentences and the lack of standardization in glossing conventions, we expect mistakes.

One interesting point of analysis is that the *(h)e=* determiner is far more variable in rapid speech. Attested forms include *he=*, *ʔe=*, *hə=*, *ʔə=*, *e=*, and *ə=*. It often phonologically blends into the previous word, sometimes to the point of dropping entirely (especially if the previous word ends in a vowel). This is especially common after demonstratives, which consultants use very frequently. The demonstratives are often chained together in strings preceding the DP, as in (217), (234), and (243).

3.4 Other morphemes

In the conversational data, there are some novel morphemes that were previously unattested in the dictionary (Thompson & Thompson 1996). One such example is visible in (240) and (241). At first, we assumed the *-sut* morpheme was reflexive, but the translation did not indicate reflexivity. Matthewson (p.c.) notes that it looks like the St'át'imcets out-of-control suffix *-sut*, which makes more sense in this context, but is unattested in the grammar (Thompson & Thompson 1992).

Some morphemes also occurred in unexpected new contexts. Typically, we translated the word *xeym*[7] as 'indeed' (54, 78, 122). However, it received two very different translations in (166) and (246). In (166), the consultants volunteered the translation "there's a balance", acknowledging the circle of life. In (246), however, the same morpheme appears inflected as *xeymxímus* (possibly using an indirective *-xí* and a conjunctive *=us*) to mean "[that's what] people did". In each case, the root seems to mean something like "that's how it is", but depending on the context and inflection, it can achieve new unexpected meanings.

Other new morphemes include *q̓axném* 'holler' (61), *k^wyxus* '?' (110), *senk* 'mean-tempered' (119), *k̓^wmi* 'small' (160), *st^wúsc* 'face' (190), *sk̓^wúċs* 'log' (199), and *stustks* 'a wire snare trap used for catching squirrels'(252).

4 Data

The data presented in this section represent approximately 20 minutes of conversation between two speakers, CMA and KBG. The breakdown by image is as follows: 6 minutes 35 seconds for Figure 1, 4 minutes 40 seconds for Figure 2, 1 minute 50 seconds for Figure 3, and 6 minutes for Figure 4.

4.1 Conversation 1

The conversational data collected is numbered according to the order the sentences were uttered after the initial image prompt. The image used to prompt this conversation is reiterated below.

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[7] This word may be *xiy* 'behave (a particular way)' (with the MDL suffix -m).

Figure 1: A group playing instruments, singing and dancing.

(1)   KBG: *xʷúy̓ nke*   *ʔiƛ̓ʔiƛ̓tis*
                      xʷúy=nke   ʔiƛ̓~ʔiƛ̓-t-i-s
                      FUT=INFER   PL~sing-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
                      'They're going to sing to us.'

(2)   KBG: *xʷúy̓*   *néʔ*   *ʔi*   *séy̓siʔ*
                      xʷúy̓   néʔ   ʔi   séy̓siʔ
                      FUT   DEM   still   play
                      'They're going to play.'

(3)   KBG: *séy̓siʔ*
                      séy̓siʔ
                      play
                      'They're playing.'

(4)   CMA: *ʔéy*
                      ʔéy
                      yes
                      'Yep.'

(5)   KBG: *kéʔ us nke*
                      kéʔ=us=nke
                      Q=CNJ=INFER
                      'Maybe.'[8]

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[8] Translation not volunteered by consultant but form recognized by authors from previous elicitations.

(6) KBG: *téʔe né? fiddle peł łe sté? us nke*   *he guitar*
              téʔe né? fiddle peł łe=s-té?=us=nke   he=guitar
              NEG DEM fiddle INH D/C=NMLZ-what=CNJ=INFER DET=guitar
              'I don't know the word for fiddle or guitar.'

(7) CMA: *te? nsχəksténe*   *xé?e guitar*
              te? n=s=χəks-t-Ø-éne   xé?e guitar
              NEG LOC=NMLZ=know-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG   DEM guitar
              'I don't know the word for guitar.'

(8) KBG: *ʔéy*
              ʔéy
              yes
              'Yep.'

(9) KBG: *ƛuʔ xʷúy̓ xé? ʔiƛ̓ʔiƛ̓m*
              ƛu? xʷúy̓ xé? ʔiƛ̓~ʔiƛ̓-m
              until FUT DEM PL~sing-CTR.MID
              'They are going to sing.'

(10) KBG: *ʔéy*
              ʔéy
              yes
              'Yep.'

(11) CMA: *xʷúy̓ nukʷ... xʷúy̓ nukʷ ʔiƛ̓m ʔeł séy̓si?*
              xʷúy̓=nukʷ xʷúy̓=nukʷ ʔiƛ̓-m ʔeł séy̓si?
              FUT=SENSE FUT=SENSE sing-CTR.MID and play
              'They are going to sing and play.' [indicating their instruments]

(12) CMA: *xʷúy̓ nukʷ né? ʔiƛ̓m ʔeł séy̓si?*
              xʷúy̓=nukʷ né? ʔiƛ̓-m ʔeł séy̓si?
              FUT=SENSE DEM sing-CTR.MID and play
              'They are going to sing and play.'

(13) KBG: *ʔeł xʷúy̓ nukʷ kt t nmimł ʔiƛ̓m ʔe ƛú?*
              ʔeł xʷúy̓=nukʷ=kt t=nmimł ʔiƛ̓-m ʔe=ƛú?
              and FUT=SENSE=1PL.SBJ OBL=1PL.EMPH sing-CTR.MID DET=also
              'And we are going to have to sing too.'

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[9] This morpheme, *ƛu?*, can have a range of meanings from 'only', to 'until', to 'just', and curiously, can also mean 'also'. It is unclear whether the *ƛu?* meaning 'only' and the *ƛu?* meaning 'also' are two distinct morphemes. More research needs to be done into *ƛu?*. For now, we have glossed each instance of *ƛu?* according to the meaning it has in that particular sentence; therefore, there are varying glosses of 'only', 'until', 'just', and 'also'.

(14) KBG: *e ké? us nke*
e=ké?=us=nke
DET=Q=CNJ=INFER
'Maybe.'[10]

(15) CMA: *ské us nke   nəst*
ské=us=nke   nəst
PRSM=CNJ=INFER   TAG
'I suppose they will (won't they?).'

(16) KBG: *ʔeł   xʷúẏ nke   né?e   ʔiƛ̓m   né?   sté?   xʷúẏ*
ʔeł   xʷúẏ=nke   né?e   ʔiƛ-m   né?   s-té?   xʷúẏ
and   FUT=INFER DEM   sing-CTR.MID   DEM   NMLZ-what FUT
       he square dancing
       he=square dancing
       DET=square.dancing
'We're gonna have to sing while we're square dancing.'

(17) KBG: ♪   *súwle   ke tete?   e?snúk̓ʷe?*   ♪[11]
súwle   ke=te~té?   e?-s-núk̓ʷe?
spin.around DET=PL~DEM   2SG.POSS-NMLZ-friend
'Swing your partner round and round.'

(18) KBG: ♪   *súwle   ke tete?   e?snúk̓ʷe?*   ♪
súwle   ke=te~té?   e?-s-núk̓ʷe?
spin.around DET=PL~DEM   2SG.POSS-NMLZ-friend
'Swing your partner round and round.'

(19) KBG: *sté?   xwúẏce?*
s-té?   xwúẏce?
NMLZ-what   more
'What else?'

(20) KBG: *ʔex   wi?   né?   ti   e fiddle*
ʔex   wi?   né?   ti   e=fiddle
be   EMPH   DEM   INT   DET=fiddle
'And there's a fiddle.'

(21) CMA: *ʔeł   square dancing*
ʔeł   square dancing
and   square dancing
'And square dancing.'

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[10] Translation not volunteered by consultant but form recognized by authors from previous elicitations.
[11] Music notes indicate that this was sung by the consultant.

(22) KBG: *ʔéy*
          ʔéy
          yes
          'Yep.'

(23) CMA: *ʔex xʷúy̓ néʔ ʔiƛ̓m   t e dosie do   e...   e snúk̓ʷeʔ*
          ʔéx=xʷúy̓ néʔ ʔiƛ̓-m   t=e=dosie do   e   e=s-núkʷeʔ
          be=FUT   DEM sing-CTR.MID   OBL=DET=dosie.do DET   DET=NMLZ-friend
          'They are going to sing dosie do with their friend(s).'[12]

(24) KBG: *ʔéy*
          ʔéy
          yes
          'Yep.'

(25) CMA: *ʔéy*
          ʔéy
          yes
          'Yep.'

(26) KBG: *ʔex   ƛ̓əp   néʔ   cút   nskíxzeʔ   ekʷu   ʔeł ł nsk̓wóz   May*
          ʔéx   ƛ̓əp   néʔ   cú-t   n-skíxzeʔ   ekʷu   ʔeł ł=n-skʷóz   May
          be   MOD   DEM   say-TR 1POSS-mother   REP   and DET=1POSS-aunt May
          '[My mother said that] my Aunt May used to call at square dances.'

(27) KBG: *nem ekʷu   cunwéns   xéʔe*
          nem=ekʷu   cu-nwén-s   xéʔe
          very=REP   tell-NCTL-3POSS DEM
          'She was really good at it.'

(28) KBG: ♪   *súwle   ke teteʔ   eʔsnúk̓ʷeʔ   súwle*
          súwle   ke=te~téʔ   eʔ-s-núkʷeʔ   súwle
          spin.around   DET=PL~DEM   2SG.POSS-NMLZ-friend   spin.around
                ke teteʔ   eʔsnúk̓ʷeʔ   ʔeł
                k=te~te   eʔ-s-nukʷeʔ   ʔeł
                D/C=PL~DEM   2SG.POSS-NMLZ-friend and
                    ł ncum̓qsete   ♪
                    ł=n=c̓úm̓-qs-e-t-Ø-e[s]
                    D/C=LOC=bump-nose-DIR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
          'Swing your partner round and round, swing your partner round and round and give
          her a kiss.'

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[12] This verb, *ʔex*, is glossed as either 'be' or progressive depending on the context in which it appears.

(29) KBG: *pút*
    pút
    be.enough
    'Enough.'

(30) CMA: *teɬ*   *te* *pút kn*   *se* *ʔex* *he...*
    teɬ   te pút=kn   se ʔex he
    extend.straight NEG be.enough=1SG.SBJ PRSM be DET
      eh *sté?*   *ƛə́m̓* *e dance*
      eh s-té?   ƛə́m̓ e=dance
      eh NMLZ-what PERF DET=dance
    'I haven't done enough dance.'

(31) KBG: *ʔéy*
    ʔéy
    yes
    'Yep.'

(32) CMA: *ƛ̓éy*
    ƛ̓éy
    women's.dance
    'Women's dance.'

(33) KBG: *sƛ̓éy*
    s-ƛ̓éy
    NMLZ-women's.dance
    'Women's dance.'

(34) CMA: *sƛ̓éy.*
    s-ƛ̓éy
    NMLZ-women's.dance
    'Women's dance.'

(35) CMA: *ƛ̓uʔ* *pút kn*   *cúw* *e kn*   *sƛ̓éy*
    ƛ̓uʔ pút=kn   cúw e=kn   s-ƛ̓éy
    only be.enough=1SG.SBJ do DET=1SG.SBJ NMLZ-women's.dance
      ɬ k̓ʷmíʔmeʔ un
      ɬ=k̓ʷm~íʔmeʔ=un
      DET=small~PRP=1SG.CNJ
    'When I was little, I didn't do enough dancing.'

(36) KBG: *ʔéy*
    ʔéy
    yes
    'Yep.'

(37) CMA: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(38) CMA: *tə́teʔ sxə̀ksténe   xéʔe*
təteʔ   s-xək-s-t-Ø-éne   xéʔe
NEG   NMLZ-know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG DEM
'I don't know that.'

(39) KBG: *λ̓úʔ   xéʔe*
λ̓úʔ   xéʔe
only DEM
'Just that one.'

(40) KBG: *ʔéy   λ̓úʔ   ʔex kʷu   ʔex kʷu   xʷúy̓   e cúwnwén̓xʷ*
ʔéy   λ̓úʔ   ʔex=kʷu   ʔex=kʷu   xʷúy̓   e=cúw-nwén̓-xʷ
yes   only be=REP   be=REP   FUT   D/C=do-NCTL-2SG.ERG
                stéʔ   xʷúy̓   λ̓əm̓   xéʔ   e Irish jig
                s-téʔ   xʷúy̓   λ̓əm̓   xéʔ   e=Irish jig
                NMLZ-what FUT   PFV   DEM   DET=Irish jig
'But you know how to do the Irish jig.'

(41) CMA: *the   Irish...   cúwte   ʔéy*
the   Irish   cúw-t-e   ʔéy
the   Irish   do-TR-1SG.ERG yes
'Yeah, the Irish jig.'

(42) CMA: *yeah   e ćíy   téʔe   k̓émeɫx̌émeɫ   xéʔe*
yeah   e=ćíy   téʔe   k̓émeɫ~x̌émeɫ xéʔe
yeah   D/C=like.that NEG   CONTR~AUG   DEM
'Yeah, like that, not like this.'

(43) CMA: *ćé   λ̓ixʷeλ̓ixʷes   xéʔe*
ćé   λ̓ixʷe~λ̓ixʷe-s   xéʔe
EMPH.INT   different~PL-3POSS DEM
'They're different.'

(44) KBG: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(45) CMA: *ʔéy   ʔes   e...   nem   ʔes xə̀ksténe   wéʔ*
ʔéy   ʔes   e…   nem   ʔes-xək-s-t-Ø-éne   wéʔ
yes   STAT eh…   very   STAT-know-CAUS-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG DEM
'But I know the motions of that [square dancing].'

(46) CMA: *ẏémíns   xéʔ   eh eh and eh… ẏémíns*
          ẏé-mín-s   xéʔ   eh eh and eh… ẏé-mín-s
          good-RLT-3ERG DET   eh eh and eh… good-RLT-3ERG
             e séytknmx ws   ʔex   wéʔ   e témṅ   ʔes…
             e=séytkn-mx=ws   ʔex   wéʔ   e=témṅ   ʔes…
             DET=people-person=CNJ   be   DEM   D/C=then STAT
          'The people used to, they like(d) that kind of music.'

(47) KBG: *ʔéy*
          ʔéy
          yes
          'Yep.'

(48) CMA: *ʔe séẏsiʔs*
          ʔe=séẏsiʔ-s
          D/C=play-3POSS
          'They would play.'

(49) KBG: *ʔéy*
          ʔéy
          yes
          'Yep.'

(50) CMA: *siʔséẏsiʔs   e   meł   nʔéye ukt*
          siʔséẏsiʔ-s   e   meł   nʔéye u=kt
          several.play-3ERG   INT CNSQ   here   to=1PL.SBJ
          'They're playing their instruments.'

(51) KBG: *ske   wéwetiyxs   e séytknmx*
          ske   wéw-[n]-t-iyxs   e=séytkn-mx
          PRSM   call-DIR-TR-3PL   DET=people-person
          'They call the people.'

(52) KBG: *ċé   ł wéw   wə   ʔéye néʔ piʔstéʔ us   e   ks*
          ċé   ł=wéw   wə   ʔéye néʔ piʔstéʔ us   e   k=s
          EMPH.INT   D/C=call   PREP here DEM when   CNJ   INT D/C=NMLZ
             ł xʷúẏ k   ċé   séẏsiʔme   xʷúẏ te móqʷíyxs
             ł=xʷúẏ=k   ċé   séẏsiʔ-me   xʷúẏ t=e=móqʷ-íyxs
             D/C=FUT=D/C   EMPH.INT   play-INDF.ERG   FUT   OBL=DET=gather-3PL
                ʔeł   t xʷúẏkt   séẏsiʔ
                ʔe   t=xʷúẏ=kt   séẏsiʔ
                and   OBL=FUT=1PL.SBJ   play
          'They call the people that they were going to gather and they were going to play
          the instruments.'

(53) CMA: *ʔéy*
       ʔéy
       yes
       'Yep.'

(54) CMA: *e xʷúy̓   témṅ   k séws   eh séytknmx   xwúy̓ xeym té*
       e=xʷúy̓   témṅ   k=séw-s   eh séytkn-mx   xʷúy̓ xeym té
       DET=FUT then   D/C=ask-3ERG eh people-person FUT   indeed DEM
            témṅ   e   meł   snes   wéʔ…   mín   pumínms…
            témṅ   e   meł   s=nes   wéʔ   mín   pu-mín-m-s
            then   INT CNSQ   NMLZ=INCIP DEM   RLT   drum-RLT-INDF.ERG-3POSS
       'They asked the people, and they began to drum.'

(55) CMA: *téʔə*
       téʔə
       NEG
       'Nope.'

(56) KBG: *ʔéy*
       ʔéy
       yes
       'Yep.'

(57) CMA: *…te loud*
       t=e=loud
       OBL=DET=loud
        'It was loud.'

(58) CMA: *pumínms   te…   tk   […] e*
       pu-mín-m-s   t=e…   t=k   […] e
       drum-RLT-INDF.ERG-3POSS OBL=DET OBL=DET   INT
            k sqeʔníms   tékm   e séytknmx   e   meł   néʔ
            k=s=qeʔním-s   tékm   e=séytkn-mx   e   meł   néʔ
            D/C=NMLZ=hear-3POSS all   DET=people-person INT CNSQ DEM
       'They were drumming so all the people can hear.'

(59) CMA: *x̣ʷúy̓tx̣ʷúy̓t   ƛ̓əṁ   stéʔ   wéʔ ʔex citxʷ x̣ʷúy̓*
       x̣ʷúy̓t~x̣ʷúy̓t   ƛ̓əṁ   s-téʔ   wéʔ ʔex citxʷ x̣ʷúy̓
       PL~go.out   PERF NMLZ-what DEM be   house FUT
            ks ʔes néʔis   ʔes cút   ċiye   e   meł   nes
            k=s-ʔes-néʔis   ʔes-cút   ċiye   e   meł   nes
            DET=NMLZ-STAT-people.go STAT-get.ready EMPH.INT INT CNSQ INCIP
       'They would go out the doors and hear the drum and they'd know so they'd all get
       ready to go out for the evening.'

(60) CMA: *ʔes pumínems*   *tékm swét*   *ʔeł ʔiƛ̓m*
      ʔes-pu-mín-em-s   tékm s-wét   ʔeł ʔiƛ-m
      STAT-drum-RLT-INDF.ERG-3POSS   all   NMLZ-who and sing-CTR.MID
      'They all would drum and sing.'

(61) CMA: *ʔeł   q̓axném*[13] *oo* *tk q̓axném*   *ʔes ew̓kt*
      ʔeł   q̓axném   oo   t=k=q̓axném   ʔes-ew̓=kt
      and   holler   oh   OBL=D/C=holler STAT-gather=1PL.SBJ
               te séytknmx
               t=e=séytkn-mx
               OBL=DET=people-person
      'And some would be able to holler.'

(62) CMA: *ʔeł   e   meł   nes   ʔes...*
      ʔeł   e   meł   nes   ʔes…
      and   INT   CNSQ   INCIP STAT
      'And then they would…'

(63) CMA: *łépne*   *ƛ̓əm̓*   *ʔex* *nwéntne*   *dance*
      łép-ne   ƛ̓əm̓   ʔex   nwén-t-Ø-ene   dance
      forget-1SG.ERG   PFV   be   NCTL-TR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG dance
      'I forgot the word for dance.'

(64) KBG: Square dancing?

(65) CMA: *…sƛ̓éy*
      s-ƛ̓éy
      NMLZ-women's.dance
       'The *sƛ̓éy*.'

(66) CMA: Hm?

(67) KBG: *square dancing us*
      square dancing=us
      square dancing=CNJ
      'Square dancing [suggestion].'

(68) CMA: *te...   téʔe*
      te   téʔe
      NEG   NEG
       'No... no.'

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[13] This word does not appear in the dictionary (Thompson & Thompson 1996); this translation was given by the consultant.

(69)   CMA: *eh   ɫ ʔex us...*
              eh   ɫ=ʔex=us
              eh   D/C=be=CNJ
              'And then they would...'

(70)   KBG: *kéʔ us   stéʔ*
              kéʔ=us   s-téʔ
              Q=CNJ   NMLZ-what
              'Which one?'

(71)   CMA: *néʔ   ʔéy*
              néʔ   ʔéy
              DEM   yes
              'That one.'

(72)   KBG: *ƛ́íxʷeɫ   ʔíy   néʔe*
              ƛíxʷeɫ   ʔíy   néʔe
              different   yes   DEM
              'That one's different.'[14]

(73)   KBG: *ƛ́íxʷeɫ   e wiʔ   xéʔe   s̓ƛ́éy*
              ƛíxʷeɫ   e=wiʔ   xéʔe   s-ƛ́éy
              different   D/C=EMPH   DEM   NMLZ-women's.dance
              'The *s̓ƛ́éy* is different.'

(74)   CMA: *heʔéy   s̓ƛ́éy*
              heʔéy   s-ƛ́éy
              yes   NMLZ-women's.dance
              'Yes, the *s̓ƛ́éy*.'

(75)   CMA: *e   meɫ   nes   ʔe   k s̓ƛ́éy   ʔes wə*
              e   meɫ   nes   ʔe   k=s-ƛ́éy   ʔes=wə
              INT   CNSQ   INCIP   INT   D/C=NMLZ-women's.dance   STAT=PREP
                  e smumúɫec
                  e=s-mu~múɫec
                  DET=NMLZ-PL~woman
              'And the women would dance with each other.'

(76)   CMA: *ʔex   ʔiƛ́m*
              ʔex   ʔiƛ-m
              be   sing-CTR.MID
              'They would sing.'

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[14] Speech from lines (68) to (73) is overlapping and difficult to decipher due to this. What is presented here is what could be deciphered (both by the authors and the consultants).

133

(77)　KBG:　*ʔéy*
　　　　　　　ʔéy
　　　　　　　yes
　　　　　　　'Yep.'

(78)　CMA:　*ʔeł　xeym　tʔé　tʔé　témṅ　swéwtiyxs　　e séytknmx*
　　　　　　　ʔeł　xeym　tʔé　tʔé　témṅ　s=wéw-t-iyxs　　e=séytkn-mx
　　　　　　　and　indeed　DEM　DEM　then　NMLZ=call-TR-3PL　DET=people-person
　　　　　　　　　kʷntiyxs　　　e néʔ　　eh　s　ʔe sutn
　　　　　　　　　kʷn-t-iyxs　　e=néʔ　　eh　s　ʔe=sutn
　　　　　　　　　get-TR-3PL　D/C=DEM　eh　s　DET=thing
　　　　　　'Long time ago, when the women used to gather and dance, they would call the
　　　　　　people, and they grabbed something.'

(79)　CMA:　*e violin　　e　　meł　　nes　　qeʔnímetiyxs　　e séytknmx*
　　　　　　　e=violin　　e　　meł　　nes　　qeʔním-e-t-iyxs　e=séytkn-mx
　　　　　　　DET=violin　INT　CNSQ　INCIP　hear-DIR-TR-3PL　DET=people-person
　　　　　　　　　ʔes…　ʔes néʔís　　cúw　ċiy　ʔeł　xəkstíyxs
　　　　　　　　　ʔes…　ʔes=neʔís　　cúw　ċiy　ʔeł　xək-s-t-íyxs
　　　　　　　　　STAT　STAT=people.go　do　EMPH　and　know-CAUS-TR-3PL
　　　　　　'Someone would play the violin, and the neighbours would be able to hear it from
　　　　　　across the river and up the valley, and they'd know it was time to gather.'

(80)　CMA:　*xʷúy̓　néʔís　　e sxʷákʷs　　　　t skʷís　　　ʔiƛ̓m*
　　　　　　　xʷúy̓　néʔís　　e=s=xʷákʷ-s　　　t=s-kʷís　　ʔiƛ-m
　　　　　　　FUT　people.go　D/C=NMLZ=desire-3POSS　OBL=NMLZ-fall　sing-CTR.MID
　　　　　　　　　ʔeł　xʷúy̓　k qeʔním　néʔ　néʔ　tk ʔiy….　　eh　tk…
　　　　　　　　　ʔeł　xʷúy̓　k=qeʔním　néʔ　néʔ　t=k=ʔiy　　eh　t=k
　　　　　　　　　and　FUT　D/C=hear　DEM　DEM　OBL=D/C=good　eh　OBL=D/C
　　　　　　　　　　　tk siƛ̓m　　　　　　ʔeł　łe　ʔeł　xʷúy̓
　　　　　　　　　　　t=k=s-iƛ-m　　　　　ʔeł　łe　ʔeł　xʷúy̓
　　　　　　　　　　　OBL=D/C=NMLZ-sing-CTR.MID　and　DEM　and　FUT
　　　　　　　　　　　k sƛ̓éy　　　　　　ʔéy
　　　　　　　　　　　k=s=ƛéy　　　　　　ʔéy
　　　　　　　　　　　D/C=NMLZ=women's.dance　yes
　　　　　　'They would gather and people would sing and dance and people would feel good.'

(81)　KBG:　*ʔéy*
　　　　　　　ʔéy
　　　　　　　yes
　　　　　　　'Yep.'

(82)　CMA:　*ʔiy　e　meł　xéʔ*
　　　　　　　ʔiy　e　meł　xéʔ
　　　　　　　good　INT　CNSQ　DEM
　　　　　　　'It was good.'

(83) KBG: *ʔeł naʕʔíp néʔ łaʔx̣stis* *e słaʔx̣áns*
                ʔeł naʕʔíp néʔ łaʔx̣-s-t-i-s e=s-łaʔx̣-áns
                and always DEM eat-CAUS-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG DET=NMLZ-eat-tooth
                     k̓ʷmíʔmeʔ *t e...* *te słaʔx̣áns* *ʔéy*
                     k̓ʷm~íʔmeʔ t=e t=e=s-łaʔx̣-áns ʔéy
                     small~PRP OBL=DET OBL=DET=NMLZ-eat-tooth yes
                'And they would always bring food with them, they would bring out a little bit of food each.'

(84) CMA: *ʔéy*
                ʔéy
                yes
                'Yep.'

(85) KBG: *ʔéy*
                ʔéy
                yes
                'Yep.'

4.2 Conversation 2

Figure 2: A family of geese setting off into the water.[15]

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[15] Photo by pixabay user Ronile: https://pixabay.com/photos/canada-goose-chick-branta-canadensis-273732/

(86) CMA: *ʔe sx̣íq*
       ʔe   s-x̣íq
       DET   NMLZ-duck
       'Duck.'

(87) KBG: *sx̣əqx̣íq*
       s-x̣əq~x̣íq
       NMLZ-PL~duck
       'Ducks.'

(88) CMA: *ʔéy*
       ʔéy
       yes
       'Yep.'

(89) CMA: *sx̣əqx̣íq*
       s-x̣əq~x̣íq
       NMLZ-PL~duck
       'Ducks.'

(90) CMA: *ʔúkʷuntiyxs*   *e sx̣əqx̣íq*
       ʔúkʷu-n-t-Ø-iyxs   e=s-x̣əq~x̣íq
       deliver-DIR-TR-3OBJ-3PL   DET=NMLZ-PL~duck
           e scmeýts   *wə qʷoʔ*
           e=s-cm-eýt-s   wə=qʷoʔ
           DET=NMLZ-small-agent-3POSS   to=water
       'They brought their children to the water.'

(91) CMA: Did that sound right?

(92) CMA: *ʔúkʷuntiyxs*   *ʔe scmeýts*
       ʔúkʷu-n-t-Ø-iyxs   ʔe=s-cm-eýt-s
       deliver-DIR-TR-3OBJ-3PL   DET=NMLZ-small-agent-3POSS
           ʔe sx̣əqx̣íq
           ʔe=s-x̣əq~x̣íq
           DET=NMLZ-PL~duck
       'They brought their children.'

(93) KBG: I would say…

(94) KBG: *nem nuk*   *q̓íym*   *neʔ* *xéʔe…* *cmíʔmeʔ…*
       nem=nukʷ   q̓íy-m   neʔ xéʔe   cm~íʔmeʔ
       very=SENSE cook-CTR.MID DEM DEM   small~PRP
           tə sx̣əqx̣íq
           t=ə=s-x̣əq~x̣íq
           OBL=DET=NMLZ-PL~duck
       'My dad really liked to eat the ducklings.'

(95)   CMA: Must be getting close to noon, Bernice, you getting hungry?

(96)   KBG: *łéʔe* *wíkne*   *xéʔe* *meł*   *nes*   *téyt*
               łeʔe wík-∅-ne   xéʔe meł   nes   téy-t
               DEM see-3OBJ-1SG.ERG   DEM CNSQ INCIP hunger-IM
               'I haven't seen that for a while and now I'm hungry.'

(97)   CMA: *ʔéy*   *ʔéy*
               ʔéy   ʔéy
               yes   yes
               'Yes, yes.'

(98)   KBG: *ʔex* *xʔe* *ʔúpis*   *n-sqáczeʔ*
               ʔex xʔe ʔúpi-∅-s   n-s-qáczeʔ
               be   DEM eat-3OBJ-3ERG   1SG.POSS-NMLZ-father
               'My father used to eat those.'

(99)   CMA: Oh?

(100)   KBG: *ʔéy*
               ʔéy
               yes
               'Yep.'

(101)   KBG: *łúmes*   *néʔe* *sćém*
               łúm-[n-t]-∅-s   néʔe s-ćém
               slurp-DIR-TR-3OBJ-3ERG   DEM NMLZ-bone
               'He would slurp the bone.'

(102)   CMA: *míłəm*
               míłəm
               ?[16]
               'Yes.'

(103)   KBG: *ʔéy*
               ʔéy
               yes
               'Yep.'

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[16] The consultant said in her translation that this is a way to agree after hearing some new information, similar to something like "Oh, really?" or "Oh, I see."

(104) KBG: *ʔeɬ   e ʔeʔúseʔs*   *nem*
ʔeɬ   e=ʔe~ʔ-úseʔ-s   nem
and   DET=AFF~NEUT[17]-small.round.object-3POSS   very

    ẏemíns   *xéʔe*
    ẏe-mín-[t]-∅-s   xéʔe
    good-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG   DEM

'And the duck eggs, he really liked those.'

(105) CMA: Mmm.

(106) KBG: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(107) CMA: *ċiy nke   te nsqáczeʔ   ncéweʔ   e meɬ*
ċiy=nke   te=n-s-qáczeʔ   ncéweʔ   e=meɬ
be.like=INFER   DET=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-father   1SG.EMPH   D/C=CNSQ

    s... nescút   *ċíy*   *témṅ*   *when he's trapping*
    s=nes-[t-s]út   ċíy   témṅ   when he's trapping
    NMLZ=go-TR-REFL   be.like   then   when he's trapping

'My father used to go get the eggs when he was trapping.'

(108) KBG: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(109) CMA: *ʔes kʷném   cú   xʷéʔe... nem ekʷu...*
ʔes=kʷné-m   cú   xʷéʔe   nem=ekʷu
STAT=grasp-CTR.MID   say   DEM   very=REP

'He gets some eggs from the nest.'

(110) CMA: *tk xʷúsxʷəs-t   xéʔe   ʔe   kʷyxus   e xúʔu*
t=k=xʷús~xʷəs-t   xéʔe   ʔe   kʷyus   e=xúʔu
OBL=D/C=fierce~CHAR-IM   DEM   INT   ?   DET=?

    kʷném   *tuxʷə*   *ʔeʔúseʔs*
    kʷné-m   tuxʷə   ʔe~ʔ-úseʔ-s
    grasp-CTR.MID   from   AFF~NEUT-small.round.object-3POSS

'Those ducklings are really mean when you go to grab the eggs.'

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[17] This is a "semantically neutral stem to which certain lexical suffixes are added" (Thompson & Thompson 1996).

(111)   KBG: *heʔéy   néxʷm*
           heʔéy   néxʷ-m
           yes   intense-CTR.MID
           'Yes.'

(112)   CMA: *ʔo   cut   ł nsqáczeʔ   te ʔo   ʔe   meł   nes*
           ʔo   cut   ł=n-s-qáczeʔ   t=e=ʔo   ʔe   meł   nes
           DISC   say   D/C=1POSS-NMLZ-father   OBL=DET=DISC   INT   CNSQ   INCIP
               kʷném   ʔe   meł   nes   ʕlíyxeyxʷ
               kʷné-m   ʔe   meł   nes   ʕl-íyx-eyxʷ
               grasp-CTR.MID   DET   CNSQ   INCIP   run.fast-AUT-people
           'My father said he took some eggs and he ran!'

(113)   KBG: *náq̓ʷm*
           náq̓ʷ-m
           steal-CTR.MID
           'He stole them.'

(114)   CMA: *ʔéy*
           ʔéy
           yes
           'Yep.'

(115)   KBG: *ʔéy   xéʔe   náq̓ʷms   e sx̣iq   xéʔ   ʔú*
           ʔéy   xéʔe   náq̓ʷ-m[in]-t-∅-s   e=s-x̣iq   xéʔ   ʔú
           yes   DEM   steal-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG   DET=NMLZ-duck   DEM   EXCM
           'He used to steal the eggs.'

(116)   CMA: *ʔéy*
           ʔéy
           yes
           'Yep.'

(117)   KBG: *ʔéy*
           ʔéy
           yes
           'Yep.'

(118)   KBG: *ʔe   meł   neʔ   wiʔ   púystem   e sx̣iq*
           ʔe   meł   neʔ   wiʔ   púys-t-∅-em   e=s-x̣iq
           INT   CNSQ   DEM   EMPH   kill-TR-3OBJ-1PL.ERG   DET=NMLZ-duck
           'We killed the ducks.'

(119) CMA: *senk*   *wiʔ*   *xéʔe*   *témn̓*   *téywey*
            senk   wiʔ   xéʔe   témn̓   téywey
            mean.tempered[18]   EMPH   DEM   then   EXCM[19]
                   nem   *e sx̣íqs*
                   nem   e=s-x̣íq-s
                   very   DET=NMLZ-duck-3POSS
            'They're very mean (when we steal their eggs).'

(120) KBG: *ʔéy*
            ʔéy
            yes
            'Yep.'

(121) CMA: *ʔéy*
            ʔéy
            yes
            'Yep.'

(122) CMA: *ʔeł*   *ʔex nke*   *cuntíyxs*   *e scmey̓ts...*
            ʔeł   ʔex=nke   cun-t-íyxs   e=s-cm-ey̓t-s
            and   be=INFER   say-TR-3PL   DET=NMLZ-small-agent-3POSS
                   xʷuy kʷ   *xeym*   *ʔel*   *ʔíy*   *łeʔe*   *e keʔ s...*
                   xʷuy=kʷ   xeym   ʔeł   ʔíy   łeʔe   e=keʔ=s
                   FUT=2SG   indeed   and   good   DEM   DET=Q=NMLZ
            'The mother duck must be telling her ducklings [this] is what they have to do.'

(123) CMA: Oh no.

(124) CMA: Swim.

(125) KBG: *séxʷm*
            séxʷ-m
            bathe-CTR.MID
            'Swim.'

(126) CMA: *ʔéy*   *keʔ*   *e séxʷm...*   *ne qʷoʔ*
            ʔéy   keʔ   e=séxʷ-m   n=e=qʷoʔ
            yes   DEM   DET=bathe-CTR.MID   in=DET=water
            'Swim in the water.'

---

[18] This word was not found in the dictionary (Thompson & Thompson 1996); the meaning given was provided by the consultant.
[19] Same as above.

(127) CMA: *nem y̓e xéʔ tək sʔíʔtm̓ xéʔe e sx̣əqx̣iq...*
  nem y̓e xéʔ tə=k=s-ʔí~ʔtm̓ x̣eʔe e=s-x̣əq~x̣iq
  very good DEM OBL=DET=NMLZ-PL~parent DEM DET=NMLZ-PL-duck

  ʔes k̓ʷeństíyxs
  ʔes=k̓ʷeń-s-t-íyxs
  STAT=look-CAUS-TR-3PL

  'The parents of the ducklings look after their ducklings really good.'

(128) KBG: *ʔéy*
  ʔéy
  yes
  'Yep.'

(129) CMA: *scmey̓tíyxs*
  s-cm-ey̓t-íyxs
  NMLZ-small-agent-3PL.POSS
  'Their kids.'

(130) CMA and KBG overlap here, so it's difficult to make out what they're saying.

(131) CMA: I diminuized the *k̓ʷmíʔmeʔ* [k̓ʷm~íʔmeʔ; small~prp]. I said *tumíʔmeʔ*.

(132) CMA: I haven't used that word in, oh my gosh, a long time. *tumíʔmeʔ*.

(133) KBG: *təteʔ k k scukʷs nmímɬ xéʔe...*
  təteʔ k k=s=cukʷ-s nmímɬ xéʔe
  NEG UNR D/C=NMLZ=finish-3POSS 1PL.EMPH DEM

  ʔes naq̓ʷntm
  ʔes=naq̓ʷ-n-t-Ø-m
  STAT=steal-DIR-TR-3OBJ-INDF.ERG
  'We're not the only ones that steal the eggs.'

(134) CMA: Mhm.

(135) KBG: *ʔeʔúseʔ ċe ƛ̓uʔ xéʔe snk̓y̓ep*
  ʔe~ʔ-úseʔ ċe ƛ̓uʔ xéʔe s-nk̓y̓ep
  AFF~NEUT-small.round.object EMPH.INT also DEM NMLZ-coyote
  'The coyote does too.'

(136) CMA: *ʔéy*
  ʔéy
  yes
  'Yep.'

(137) CMA: *ʔeł   e sq̓awm*
              ʔeł   e=s-q̓awm
              and   DET=NMLZ-wolf
              'And the wolf.'

(138) KBG: *ʔéy   tékm   xéʔe*
              ʔéy   tékm   xéʔe
              yes   all   DEM
              'All the animals.'

(139) CMA: *ʔeł   e sʔéʔeʔ*
              ʔeł   e=s-ʔéʔeʔ
              and   DET=NMLZ-crow
              'And the crow.'

(140) KBG: *ʔéy*
              ʔéy
              yes
              'Yep.'

(141) CMA: *nem   xéʔ   tək ʔa   sté?   sʔéʔeʔ...   e meł*
              nem   xéʔ   tə=k=ʔa   s-té?   s-ʔéʔeʔ   e=meł
              very   DEM   OBL=D/C=DISC   NMLZ-what   NMLZ-crow   D/C=CNSQ
                     nes   cmixʷetíyxs   e citxʷíyxs   xéʔe
                     nes   cm-ixʷe-t-íyxs   e=citxʷ-íyxs   xéʔe
                     INCIP   small-?-TR-3PL   DET=house-3PL.POSS   DEM
              'The crow messes up the duck's nest.'

(142) KBG: *ʔéy*
              ʔéy
              yes
              'Yep.'

(143) CMA: Oh, poor little things.

(144) KBG: *ʔeł   e heléẃ*
              ʔeł   e=heléẃ
              and   DET=eagle
              'And the eagle.'

(145) KBG: *ʔéy*
              ʔéy
              yes
              'Yep.'

(146) CMA: *ʔeɬ   e heléw̓   ʔéy*
ʔeɬ   e=heléw̓   ʔéy
and   DET=eagle   yes
'And the eagle, yes.'

(147) KBG: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(148) CMA: *kʷném   tə xʷéʔ...   ʔeɬ   kʷném   tə xʷéʔ*
kʷné-m   t=ə=xʷéʔ   ʔeɬ   kʷné-m   t=ə=xʷéʔ
grasp-CTR.MID   OBL=DET=DEM   and   grasp-CTR.MID   OBL=DET=DEM
         t cmíʔmeʔ   tək   ci   téʔe
         t=cm~íʔmeʔ   tə=k   ci   téʔe
         OBL=small~PRP   OBL=DET   EMPH   DEM
'They even take the little ducklings.'

(149) KBG: *ʔéy   néxʷm*
ʔéy   néxʷ-m
yes   intense-CTR.MID
'That's right.'

(150) CMA: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(151) CMA: *qʷənqʷént*
qʷən~qʷén-t
AUG~poor-IM
'Poor little thing.'

(152) KBG: *ƛ̓uʔ   nem   y̓e   tək sɬaʔx̣áns*
ƛ̓uʔ   nem   y̓e   tə=k=s-ɬaʔx̣-áns
also   very   good   OBL=DET=NMLZ-eat-tooth
'They are good to eat.'

(153) CMA: Mmm.

4.3 Conversation 3

Figure 3: Another family of geese swimming, this time with older offspring.[20]

(154) KBG: ċi nuk^w   téʔe   te ƛ̓əxƛ̓axt   ʔeyɫ   ʔe s–
            ċi=nuk^w   téʔe   t=e=ƛ̓əx̣~ƛ̓ax̣-t   ʔeyɫ   ʔe=s
            EMPH=SENSE   DEM   OBL=DET=PL~tall-IM   now   DET=NMLZ
            'They seem to be a little bit bigger–'

(155) CMA: heʔéy
            heʔéy
            yes
            'Yes.'

(156) CMA: təteʔ   k sx^wuẏcx^wúẏce   heʔéy   nəst
            təteʔ   k=s-x^wuẏc-x^wúẏce   heʔéy   nəst
            NEG   DET=NMLZ-AUG-more   yes   TAG
            'There seems to be less of them.'

(157) CMA: séy   keʔɫés   mús   ċeɫ   cíks   ƛ̓uʔ
            séy   keʔɫés   mús   ċ=eɫ   cí-ks   ƛ̓uʔ
            two   three   four   EMPH=and   open-hand   also
            'Two, three, four, five.'

(158) KBG: ʔéy
            ʔéy
            yes
            'Yep.'

(159) CMA: ʔéy
            ʔéy
            yes
            'Yep.'

(160) CMA: kém̓eɫ   k̓^wmi   cmíʔmeʔtus   ʔes cíy   stéʔ   xwúẏceʔ
            kém̓eɫ   k^wm-i   cm~íʔmeʔ-t=us   ʔes=cíy   s-téʔ   xwúẏceʔ
            CONTR   small-ʔ[21]   small~PRP-IM=CNJ   STAT=be.like   NMLZ-what   more
            'When they were younger, there was more of them.'

---

[20] Photo by pixabay user Kapa65: https://pixabay.com/photos/geese-canada-geese-family-2346322/
[21] This may be the start of the same form as the next word.

144

(161) CMA: *nem nke*   *tumíxwətem*   *e sté?*   *té?e*
              nem=nke   tumíxwə-t-em   e=s-té?   té?e
              very=INFER   kill.one.by.one[22]-TR-INDF.ERG DET=NMLZ-what   DEM
              'Something must've killed them off.'

(162) KBG: *?éy*
              ?éy
              yes
              'Yep.'

(163) CMA: *?éy*
              ?éy
              yes
              'Yep.'

(164) CMA: *qʷənqʷənem*   *s*   *aw*
              qʷən~qʷən-[t-∅]-em   s   aw
              PL~pity-[TR-3OBJ]-1PL.ERG   ?   aw
              'I feel sorry for them.'

(165) KBG: *téyt nke*   *wi?*
              téy-t=nke   wi?
              hunger-IM=INFER   EMPH
              'They must've been hungry.'

(166) CMA: *xeym*
              xeym
              indeed
              'There's a balance.'

(167) KBG: *ċe nke*   *ƛə́p*   *he snk̓ýep*   *or*   *heléẃ*
              ċe=nke   ƛəp   he=s-nk̓ýep   or   heléẃ
              EMPH=INFER   MOD   DET=NMLZ-coyote   or   eagle
              'It's probably the coyote or the eagle.'

(168) CMA: *?eł*   *ƛ̓u?*   *wé?e...*   *qʷílxqn*
              ?eł   ƛu?   wé?e   qʷílxqn[23]
              and   also   DEM   wolverine
              'And the same with the wolverine.'

---

[22] This word was not found in the dictionary (Thompson &Thompson, 1996); the meaning given was provided by the consultant.
[23] This word may contain the lexical suffix *-q(i)n* 'head' (Thompson & Thompson 1996:295).

(169)   KBG: *e sté?*
               e=s-té?
               DET=NMLZ-what
               'What?'

(170)   CMA: *qʷílxqn*
               qʷílxqn
               wolverine
               'The wolverine.'

(171)   KBG: *ʔéy*
               ʔéy
               yes
               'Yep.'

(172)   CMA: *ʔe   xʷuẏ   témṅ   t e me   súm̓es   tekm*
               ʔe   xʷuẏ   témṅ   t=e=me   súm̓-[n-t]-Ø-s   tekm
               INT   FUT   then   OBL=DET=?   sniff-[DIR-TR]-3OBJ-3ERG   all
                      sté?   ci   te snkẏep   e meł   nes
                      s-té?   ci   t=e=s-nkẏep   e=meł   nes
                      NMLZ-what   EMPH   OBL=DET=NMLZ-coyote   D/C=CNSQ   INCIP
                      nescút   ċíy   xʷitlə   sq̇ós   e qʷó?
                      nes-[t-s]út   ċíy   xʷitlə   sq̇ó-s   e=qʷó?
                      go-TR-REFL   be.like   ?   ?-3POSS[24]   DET=water
               'They smell everything just like the coyote. They go beside the water, on the other side of the water.'

(173)   CMA: *ʔes púnms   ʔupi   né?   łe k̇ʷmí?me?*
               ʔes=pún-m[in]-[t]-Ø-s   ʔupi   né?   łe=k̇ʷm~í?me?
               STAT=find-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG   eat   DEM   DET=small~PRP
                      cmí?me?t...   e meł   nes   sła?xáns
                      cm~í?me?-t   e=meł   nes   s-ła?x-áns
                      small~PRP-IM   D/C=CNSQ   INCIP   NMLZ-eat-tooth
               'And they find some. They find the little ones, and they eat them up.'

(174)   KBG: *ʔéy*
               ʔéy
               yes
               'Yep.'

(175)   CMA: *ʔéy   ċiy   t e xé?e   λ̇u?*
               ʔéy   ċiy   t=e=xé?e   λ̇u?
               yes   same   OBL=DET=DEM   also
               'They do the same thing as the coyote.'

---

[24] The consultant said that *xʷitlə sq̇ós* refers to 'the other side'.

(176) KBG: *ʔeɬ   nem   nxʷuʔxʷúʔxʷs   xéʔe*
       ʔeɬ   nem   n=xʷuʔ~xʷúʔxʷ-s   xéʔe
       and   very   LOC=PL~odour-3POSS   DEM
       'They are really smelly.'

(177) KBG: *néxʷm   wey   [inaudible]   mim   nem   nxʷuʔxʷúʔxʷs*
       néxʷ-m   wey   [inaudible]   mim   nem   n=xʷuʔ~xʷúʔxʷ-s
       intense-CTR.MID   ?[25]   [inaudible]   ?   very   LOC=PL~odour-3POSS
       'It's true; people say they really smell.'

(178) CMA: *ʔéy*
       ʔéy
       yes
       'Yep.'

(179) CMA: *stéʔusnke   xwúy̓ceʔ*
       s-téʔ=us=nke   xwúy̓ceʔ
       NMLZ-what=CNJ=INFER   more
       'What else are we gonna talk about?'

4.4 Conversation 4

Figure 4: A smiling cat holds a fish while a birthday cat glowers in the background, set in an outdoor scene including the Fraser River.[26]

(180) CMA: *nk̓ətním̓   e pús*
       n=k̓ətní-m̓   e=pús
       LOC=fish-CTR.MID   DET=cat
       'The cat went fishing.'

---

[25] This could be another form of *téywey*, 'exclamatory'.
[26] Author Reed Steiner's own work, assembled from miscellaneous images.

(181) KBG: *ʔex neʔ*   *tʔe nke*   *he weasel*
ʔex=neʔ   tʔe=nke   he=weasel
STAT=DEM   DEM=INFER   DET=weasel
'It seems to be a weasel.'[27]

(182) KBG: *sté ʔ...*   *sté ʔ*   *wiʔ*   *ƛ̓əm̓*   *he weasel*
s-téʔ   s-téʔ   wiʔ   ƛ̓əm̓   he=weasel
NMLZ-what   NMLZ-what   indeed   PERF   DET=weasel
'What's the weasel called again?'

(183) CMA: Oh, because she's white?

(184) CMA: *spíq...*   *ʔes spíq*
spíq   ʔes=spíq
white   STAT=white
'[S]he's white.'[28]

(185) KBG: Oh yeah, mhm.

(186) KBG: *c̓e nke*   *xeʔ*   *néxtm...*   *e pús*
c̓e=nke   xeʔ   né-x-t-Ø-em   e=pús
EMPH=INFER   DEM   give-IND-TR-3OBJ-INDF.ERG   DET=cat
     e...   *e swéw̓ł*
     e   e=swéw̓ł
     DET   DET=fish
'She must have gave the cat the fish.'

(187) CMA: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(188) KBG: *c̓e nke*   *swéw̓ł*   *ʔe məl*   *néʔe ws*   *kʷukʷscútc*
c̓e=nke   swéw̓ł   ʔe=məl   néʔe=ws   kʷukʷ-s-cút-s
EMPH=INFER   fish   INT=CNSQ   DEM=CNJ   be.saved-CAUS-REFL-3POSS
     e pús
     e=pús
     DET=cat
'The cat is gonna enjoy the fish.'

---

[27] Throughout both the conversation and subsequent elicitations, the animal in the foreground of the image has been lovingly identified as several different animals, including a cat, a weasel, a groundhog, and an owl (both in English and Nłeʔkepmxcín). The animal in the background is always identified as a cat.

[28] Because Nłeʔkepmxcín pronouns do not encode gender, consultants used "he" and "she" interchangeably in their translations to refer to the foreground cat/weasel/groundhog/owl (the background cat is always assumed male). To make the narration easier to follow, I assume the foreground cat/weasel/groundhog/owl uses she/her pronouns and updated the translations accordingly.

(189)   [KBG and CMA laugh]

(190)   CMA: *ẏe   wiʔ   he sxʷáwkʷs   –   kʷéṅete   te...*
               ẏe   wiʔ   he=s-xʷáwkʷ-s   kʷeṅ-et-e   t=e
               good   indeed   DET=NMLZ-heart-3POSS   look-TR-IMP   OBL=DET
                     e stʷúsc
                     e=stʷ-ús-s
                     DET=[?]-face-3POSS
               '[S]he is so happy — look at [her] face!'

(191)   KBG: *ʔéy,   néʔe*
               ʔéy   néʔe
               yes   DEM
               'Yes, that.'

(192)   CMA: *c̓íy   te ʔéx nke   sqʷíƛ̓sm*
               c̓íy   t=e=ʔex=nke   s-qʷíƛ̓-s-m
               be.like OBL=DET=be=INFER   NMLZ-smile-face-CTR.MID
               'It looks like [s]he's smiling.'

(193)   KBG: *heʔéy*
               heʔéy
               yes
               'Yes.'

(194)   CMA: ♪   *xʷúẏ kn   ʔex   wéʔ   kʷukʷscút*   ♪
                   xʷuẏ=kn   ʔex   wéʔ   kʷukʷ-s-t-sút
                   FUT=1SG.SBJ   be   DEM   be.saved-CAUS-TR-REFL
                   'I [the cat] am going to be very thankful.'[29]

(195)   KBG: *ʔéy*
               ʔéy
               yes
               'Yep.'

(196)   KBG: *ʔił   xʷúẏ néʔe   e snmiʔes   ƛ̓uʔ*
               ʔił   xʷuẏ néʔe   e=s=n=miʔ-[t-Ø]-és   ƛ̓uʔ
               then   FUT   DEM   DET=NMLZ=LOC=share-TR-3OBJ-3ERG   until
               'Then [s]he is going to share it out.'[30]

---

[29] The consultant is singing on behalf of the cat.
[30] Consultant KBG offered many translations, all of which used 'share it out', presumably due to the *ƛ̓uʔ* at the end. How that meaning is accessed from this preposition is unclear.

(197) CMA: *heʔéy*
he$ʔ$éy
yes
'Yes.'

(198) KBG: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(199) CMA: *ʔex nke*   *e pús*   *ʔes míceq*   *ɬə́n̓e*   *sk̓ʷúc̓s*
ʔex=nke   e=pús   ʔes=míceq   ɬə́n̓e   s-k̓ʷúc̓-s
be=INFER   DET=cat   STAT=sit   there   NMLZ-[crooked?]-3POSS
'The cat is sitting on the log.'

(200) KBG: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(201) KBG: *k̓ymínc*
k̓y-mín-t-∅-s
wait-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG
'He's waiting for someone.'

(202) CMA: *ʔes k̓ymínc*   *e sqʷiqʷnt*
ʔes=k̓y-mín-t-∅-s   e=sqʷiqʷnt
STAT=wait-RLT-TR-3OBJ-3ERG   DET=groundhog
'The groundhog is waiting for someone.'

(203) CMA: *təteʔ,*   *təteʔ*   *k stpíq*
təteʔ   təteʔ   k=s-tpíq
NEG   NEG   DET=NMLZ-weasel
'No, it's not a weasel.'

(204) KBG: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(205) CMA: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(206) CMA: *cút nke* [ə] *xʷuý kt* *wiʔ...* *xʷuý kt* *wiʔs...*
cút=nke [ə]=xʷuý=kt wiʔ xʷuý=kt wiʔ-s
say=INFER D/C=FUT=1PL.SBJ indeed FUT=1PL.SBJ indeed-3POSS

      snək̓ʷnúk̓ʷeʔ – (207)[31] – *xʷuý kt* *wiʔ kt*
      s-nək̓ʷ~núk̓ʷeʔ xʷuý=kt wiʔ=kt
      NMLZ-PL~friend FUT=1PL.SBJ indeed=1PL.SBJ

      snək̓ʷnúk̓ʷeʔ *tes n̓cín*
      s-nək̓ʷ~núk̓ʷeʔ t=e=s=n̓-t-si-en
      NMLZ-PL~friend OBL=DET=NMLZ=give-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.ERG

      te swéw̓ł
      t=e=swéw̓ł
      OBL=DET=fish

'Must've said we're going to be friends because I gave you a fish.'

(207) KBG: *heʔéy*
heʔéy
yes
'Yes.'

(208) KBG: *heʔéy*
heʔéy
yes
'Yes.'

(209) CMA: *stéʔ* *k xy* *néʔ* *k scuts* *te témn̓*
s-teʔ k=xy néʔ k=s=cut-s t=e=témn̓
NMLZ-NEG DET=ask.for DEM DET=NMLZ=say-3POSS OBL=DET=then
'Don't ask her [the weasel] for it because of what he [the cat] said.'[32]

(210) KBG: *ʔéy* *nexʷm̓*
ʔéy nexʷ-m̓
yes intense-CTR.MID
'Yes, you're right.'

(211) KBG: *c̓iy nukʷ* *xéʔe te nʔéye* *te tmixʷ*
c̓iy=nukʷ xéʔe t=e=n-ʔéye t=e=tmixʷ
be.like=SENSE DEM OBL=DET=LOC-here OBL=DET=land
'It feels like the land is close by.'

---

[31] This indicates that sentence (207) interrupted at approximately sentence (206) at about this point.

[32] CMA clarifies that although the grumpy cat wants the fish, it would not be appropriate for him to ask for it directly.

(212) CMA: *nəst*
nəst
TAG
'Isn't it?'

(213) KBG: *nʔéy   wéʔe   wə ɬ ƛ̓q̓ə́mcín*
n-ʔéy   wéʔe   wə=ɬ=ƛq̓ə́mcín
LOC-here   DEM   at=DET=Lytton
'[It's] in Lytton way.'

(214) CMA: *ʔéy,   ʔéy*
ʔéy   ʔéy
yes   yes
'Yes, yes.'

(215) KBG: *néʔe*
néʔe
DEM
'There.'

(216) CMA: [inaudible] *kn   ʔeɬ   ƛ̓uʔ   téʔe*
[inaudible]=kn   ʔeɬ   ƛ̓uʔ   téʔe
[inaudible]=1SG.SBJ   and   until   DEM
'And I'm going along (doing whatever — I don't know).'[33]

(217) CMA: *ʔeɬ us...   s-tem̓n̓   xéʔ   néʔ   néʔ   he s...*
ʔeɬ=us   s-tem̓=n̓   xéʔ   néʔ   néʔ   he=s
and=CNJ   NMLZ-what=Q   DEM   DEM   DEM   DET=NMLZ

    he ssəqs   e...   e q̓ʷumqns   e pús
    he=s-səq-s   e   e=q̓ʷum-qn-s   e=pús
    DET=NMLZ-sitting-3POSS   DET   DET=head-top-3POSS   DET=cat

    sté?   wi?   xé?
    s-té?   wi?   xé?
    NMLZ-what   indeed   DEM
'What is that sitting on top of the cat's head? What is that?'

(218) CMA: *qemút n'   xéʔe*
qemut=n'   xéʔe
hat=Q   DEM
'Is that a hat?'

---

[33] CMA was not able to provide a full translation for this sentence, since the first part is inaudible.

(219) KBG: *e qemúts*
e=qemut-s
DET=hat-3POSS
'His hat.'

(220) CMA: *e qemúts*
e=qemut-s
DET=hat-3POSS
'His hat.'

(221) CMA: *k̓ʷmiʔmeʔ   néʔ   te qemút*
k̓ʷmiʔmeʔ   néʔ   t=e=qemút
little   DEM   OBL=DET=hat
'A little hat.'

(222) KBG: *y̓ekʷu   néʔ   e kʷísitus*
y̓=ekʷu   néʔ   e=kʷís-it=us
good=REP   DEM   DET=fall-baby=CNJ
'[It's] referring to happy birthday.'

(223) KBG: *ʔe meł   xéʔe sxʷuy̓s   ʔiƛ̓m*
ʔe=meł   xéʔe s=xʷuy̓-s   ʔiƛ-m
INT=CNSQ   DEM NMLZ=FUT-3POSS   sing-CTR.MID
'And then she starts to sing.'

(224) KBG: ♪   *y̓e   y̓e   te síƛ̓q̓t   e kʷísituxʷ*   ♪
y̓e   y̓e   t=e=síƛ-q̓t   e=kʷís-it=uxʷ
good   good   OBL=DET=day-sky   DET=fall-baby=2SG.CNJ
'It was a good day that you were born.'

(225) KBG: ♪   *nem   y̓e   síƛ̓q̓t   e kʷísituxʷ*   ♪
nem   y̓e   síƛ-q̓t   e=kʷís-it=uxʷ
very   good   day-sky   DET=fall-baby=2SG.CNJ
'It was a very good day that you were born.'

(226) CMA: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(227) KBG: *ʔéy*
ʔéy
yes
'Yep.'

(228) CMA: *nəst*
nəst
TAG
'Right?'

(229) KBG: *heʔéy*
heʔéy
yes
'Yes.'

(230) CMA: ♪ *y̓e ʔeył nsxʷáwkʷ*
y̓e ʔeył n-s-xʷáwkʷ
good now 1SG.POSS-NMLZ-heart
te snkʷisit-cn[34]   ♪
t=e=s=n=kʷis-it-t-si-en
OBL=DET=NMLZ=LOC=fall-baby-TR-2SG.OBJ-[PASSIVE?]
'My heart feels good that you were born.'

(231) CMA: That's cute!

(232) KBG: *heʔéy*
heʔéy
yes
'Yes.'

(233) CMA: *tu y̓e xeʔ*
tu y̓e xeʔ
still good DEM
'That's good.'

(234) CMA: *nem məqʷmoqʷixm   ʔeł neʔ k sy̓e...*
nem məqʷ~moqʷ-ix-m   ʔeł neʔ k=s=y̓e
very PL~gather-AUT-CTR.MID   and DEM DET=NMLZ=good
ʔe k scutes   e sła ʔxáns   ʔe məł
ʔe k=s=cu-t-Ø-es   e=s-ła ʔx-áns   ʔe məł
ANT DET=NMLZ=fix-TR-3OBJ-3ERG   STAT-NMLZ-eat-tooth   INT CNSQ
néʔ séy̓siʔs
néʔ k=séy̓siʔ-s
DEM DET=play-3POSS
'And then he's gonna fix the food and then they're gonna play.'

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[34] The stem ends in a very audible *cn*. We originally interpreted this as a first-person ergative/second-person-singular object ending (as if a mother is singing "my heart feels good that I birthed you") but this is likely not accurate, since the translation is very clearly patient-oriented. We suspect the *-en* might be a homophonous morpheme that passivizes the construction, although testing is necessary.

(235) KBG: *ʔéy*
        ʔéy
        yes
        'Yep.'

(236) KBG: *ʔeł   ʔiƛ̓m   ʔeł   sƛ̓éy*
        ʔeł   ʔiƛ̓-m   ʔeł   s-ƛ̓éy
        and   sing-CTR.MID   and   NMLZ-women's.dance
        'And they sang and they danced.'

(237) CMA: *ʔéy*
        ʔéy
        yes
        'Yep.'

(238) CMA: *ʔéy*
        ʔéy
        yes
        'Yep.'

(239) KBG: *néʔe*
        néʔe
        DEM
        'There.'

(240) KBG: *q̓uyʔcút–*
        q̓uyʔ-t-sút
        laugh-TR-OOC
        'He laughed –'

(241) CMA: [inaudible]   *q̓uyʔcút*   *ʔe*   *məł*   *nes*   *ẏés*
        [inaudible]   q̓uyʔ-t-sút   ʔe   məł   nes   ẏé-s
        [inaudible]   laugh-TR-OOC   INT   CNSQ   INCIP   good-3POSS
              e sxʷéwkʷiyxs
              e=s-xʷéwkʷ-iyxs
              DET=NMLZ-heart-3PL
        'They laughed and they will feel better.'

(242) KBG: *ʔéy*
        ʔéy
        yes
        'Yep.'

(243) KBG: *ʔeł   wéʔe   wə ł qʷoʔ   e   meł   neʔ   wiʔ   sẏés*
              ʔeł   wéʔe   wə=ł=qʷoʔ   e   meł   neʔ   wiʔ   s=yé-s
              and   DEM   at=D/C=water INT   CNSQ   DEM   indeed NMLZ=good-3POSS
                     s ʕʷoẏts   *ʔéye ł qʷoʔ ws*
                     s=ʕʷoẏt-[t]-Ø-s   ʔeye ł=qʷoʔ=ws
                     STAT=sleep-TR-3OBJ-3ERG   here DET=water=CNJ
              'And over there by the water they're gonna sleep really good.'

(244) CMA: *cu kt   ƛ̓uʔ   xeʔ   néʔ   wiʔ   qeʔnímes   e qʷoʔ*
              cu=kt   ƛ̓uʔ   xeʔ   néʔ   wiʔ   qeʔním-es   e=qʷoʔ
              say=1PL.SBJ only DEM   DEM   indeed hear-3ERG   DET=water
              'And that's all he's gonna hear is the water.'

(245) KBG: *heʔéy*
              heʔéy
              yes
              'Yes.'

(246) CMA: *téʔ   xeymxím us   e séytknmx   téteʔ stéʔ*
              téʔ   xeymxím=us   e=séytkn-mx   téteʔ s-téʔ
              what   [people.did]=CNJ   DET=people-person   NEG   NMLZ-what
                     k ʔex téʔe   cukʷ   ƛ̓uʔ   neʔ   xeʔ   qʷoʔ e qeʔnímetiyxs
                     k=ʔex=téʔe   cukʷ   ƛ̓uʔ   neʔ   xeʔ   qʷoʔ e=qeʔním-et-Ø-iyxs
                     D/C=be=NEG   finish until DEM   DEM   water D/C=hear-TR-3OBJ-3PL
              'That's what our people used to do: sleep by the water and there was nothing
              around.'[35]

(247) KBG: *ʔéy*
              ʔéy
              yes
              'Yep.'

(248) KBG: *ʔéy*
              ʔéy
              yes
              'Yep.'

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[35] Although the volunteered translation includes 'sleep', we do not see the root for 'sleep' in the sentence. Similarly, we do not see the root for 'hear' reflected in the translation. We suspect the translation is more idiomatic.

(249) CMA: *peẏ us   snéʔe   e sqeʔnímetiyxs*
          peẏ=us   s-néʔe   e=s=qeʔním-et-Ø-iyxs
          one=CNJ   NMLZ-DEM   DET=NMLZ=hear-TR-3OBJ-3PL
                  e...   e snk̇ẏép
                  e   e=snk̇ẏép
                  DET   DET=coyote
          'Once in a while they would hear a coyote.'

(250) CMA: *ʔaw! ʔaw! ʔaw! ʔawww!*
          (imitating a coyote howling)

(251) KBG: *ʔéy*
          ʔéy
          yes
          'Yep.'

(252) KBG: *ʔe   məł   néʔe sʔexs   noxʷnoxʷ   e stpíq*
          ʔe   məł   néʔe s=ʔex-s   noxʷ~noxʷ   e=s-tpíq
          INT CNSQ DEM NMLZ=PROG-3POSS   PL~run   DET=NMLZ-weasel
                  ʔex us   te kʷun   wə ł né   stustks
                  ʔex=us   t=e=kʷun   wə=ł=né   s-tustk-s
                  PROG=CNJ   OBL=DET=protrude to=D/C=DEM   NMLZ-wire.trap-3POSS
          'The little white weasel is running along until she got to the wire trap.'

(253) KBG: *kʷukʷscút   neʔ   ʔeył... tekm   e spzspzúʔ*
          kʷukʷ-s-cút   neʔ   ʔeył   tekm   e=spz~spzúʔ
          be.saved-CAUS-REFL   DEM   now   all   DET=PL~animal
          'All the animals are treating themselves very well.'

(254) CMA: *nəst??*
          nəst
          TAG
          'Aren't they?'

(255) KBG: *ċi nukʷ   e cukʷ   ʔeył*
          ċi=nukʷ   e=cukʷ   ʔeył
          EMPH=SENSE   DET=finish now
          'It's finished.'

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have presented four glossed and annotated conversations in Nłeʔkepmxcín. With this, we begin to fill a gap that exists in the availability of glossed texts in the language, as well as providing both Nłeʔkepmxcín learners and scholars of linguistics with spontaneous, naturalisitc speech data. Elicitation sessions targeting spontaneous, naturalistic speech are essential in language documentation, as they reveal features of the language that are often not evident in elicitations

targeting only specific linguistic phenomena. We have discussed a small selection of the linguistic features our conversations uncovered; there are certainly many more to be found and commented on.

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