

LR: Bear, Deer, and their children (retold)

- 1.1 **wéé sintámmak kúci qá pi qa toósi wál qá woh wál amq^hááwa**
now I tell about future the here the deer with the grizzly bear with that's why
v v def adv def ptcp Nsfx def n Nsfx coordconn

tiyúmcíwoy paláqmim ·

formerly dwell long ago

ptcp adv

Now I'm going to tell this about Deer and Bear and how they used to live together long ago.

16.5

- 1.2 **qa pálmás tyííci 'ka tyktatíwwalmíwci** ·

the at the beginning did agent were neighbors

def adv v post v

At first they did things as neighbors.

22.4

Transcript: Wrote ?tyííci'ka with ? before ka crossed out. LR inserted tyktatíw'almíwci. Gloss uncertain.

- 1.3 **hakcan winín maníkan wiýí tyktúw , yályúúcan wál múút^haaqálcán wál**
two of them each toddler it is were boy with girl with
quant adv n cop cop n Nsfx n Nsfx

amq^há máníkan wiýí tyktúw ·

but child it is were

coordconn n cop cop

They each had two children, a boy and a girl each.

25.9

Wrote maníkan, yalyú?can

Phonetically in the recording, ya^hlu'can'wal' mo^ha'qálcán'wal' (palatalization transposed, the o nasalized, no trace of a following l lateral). 20180724

- 1.4 **amq^háka ís tyktáákááci , tyktatíwalmíwci , má qa toólollíní aka**
but person lived were neighbors and the everything other
adv n v v coordconn def pro-form pro-form

tííci mamúc amá tyktíntalúúmá ·

do together but did work

ptcp adv adv v

So they lived , were neighbors, and they did just all kinds of work together.

34.9

Audio: repeats mamúc amá

- 1.5 **álictíikí' kam qa toósi , tykááyíntíwí toólollíní áka tííci yaté , qa**
being frightened agent the deer went around everything all kinds doing loc the
ptcp post def ptcp v pro-form adv v Vsfx def

túusaayiica náté má ánca qa táálíica náté tyktínt^halúúmá máámúć ·

going to dig roots loc and then the go to gather seeds loc did work together

ptcp post coordconn def v post v adv

Even though she was afraid, Deer went around with her doing everything, going to dig roots, gathering seeds, they did the work together.

44.0

Audio: repeats álicti·kí? kam followed by amq^há·kam twice. tó·lol, amq^há tó·lol before ckə́tínt^həlúuma^h.

1.6 **má ánca qa táhtač tassáámí amq^há tyktáásáámí qa táhtač** ·

and then the acorn gather but gathered the acorn
coordconn def n ptcp coordconn v def n

And also gathering acorns, they gathered acorns.

01:00

Audio: sounds like she starts to say qa as'a.

1.7 **wííyasčúc kúci wissimáké 'ka amq^há tyktáátááci qa tóolollíni má ánca**

one winters fut prepares for winter agent but gather food the everything and then
ptcp adv v post coordconn v def pro-form coordconn

tyktíntáátáápááyí ·

put things away

v

For wintering over, as preparations for winter, they gathered all the food and stored it away.

01:09

Audio: watí·ya's -- wí·yasčúc kúci wín·íya? wín? wí·yasčúc kuci wis·i·má·ké? .. amq^ha tyktá·tá·cí (etc.)

1.8 **má ánca we lhát má allu suwí , lhát qa táhtač tykísýí qá**

and then then let's pound because hungry I am let's pound the acorn said the
coordconn adv v coordconn Vroot cop v def n v def

woh ·

grizzly bear

n

Then she said Let's pound, I'm hungry, let's pound acorns, said Bear.

1:19.8

Audio: repeats lhát. Pronounces wah then woh

1.9 **mám hé tykísýí qa tówsí** ·

and hey said the deer
coordconn excl v def n

And Deer said OK.

1:27.6

1.10 **lhát hooká tykisýí** ·

let's pound OK said
v interj v

OK, let's pound, she said.

1:29.4

1.11 **má ánca acúmmá wéétát amq^hááwáté mhát , húkýíh acúmmá wéétát**

and then river bank while let's us 2 pound yonder river edge
coordconn n adv coordconn v adv n n

móhyam qa tílaat^hít qá assaté ·

a little way the leach and drain acorn flour the in water
adv def n def adv

Then we'll pound by the river bank, yonder by the river bank the leaching place is close to the water.

1:31.5

Transcript: added the locative to as.

1.12 **wawá títlúumi qá as tánáláttaawi ma tóót^híimi tykisýi** ·
 big work the water carry and pour said
 A ptcp def n ptcp coordconn ptcp v

It's a lot of work carrying water and pouring it.

1:39.2

Transcript: tít^halúumit

Audio: sounds like ʔíno before qá ʔas. mám qa' tó·t^hí·mì

1.13 **mám héé tykisýi** ·
 and yes said
 coordconn excl v

And she agreed.

1:47

2.1 **má ánca we 'ó tykisýi qa tówsí qa kacc^hú cinnéqaka hakcan náána' c^híy**
 and then then said the deer the her little child two of them uh-oh! look out!
 coordconn adv verbprt v def n def pers n quant excl excl

tykisýi ·

said

v

Then the deer said to her two little ones, uh-oh, look out, she said.

1:48

Audio: "she said" in English, then phrase repeated.

2.2 **taq^há tím amá tsiyí séet^huukí tykisýi** ·
 almost but I am I return said
 adv adv cop v v

I might not come back some day.

1:58

Audio: Repeats taq^há·tím amá tsiyí sé·t^hú·kí tykisýi.

2.3 **ma tístí waymi ícisúpsaayáke tímcan sla'úw**
 and good manner you two take care of yourselves something bad might happen to me
 coordconn adv adv v pro-form cop

amq^háawaté tykisýi ·

there said

coordconn v

You two take good care of yourselves if something happens to me there.

Audio: tímcan slʔúw amq^há·ka .. amq^há·wáté tykisýi. [2.03]

2.4 **micist^húni wačíniwí wáte kicúpté c^hú sa amá sla'úw**
 your (two) mother's brother at you go how indefinite but might happen to me
 pers n Nsfx v pro-form post adv cop

amq^háawaté tykisýi ·

while said

coordconn v

If something happens to me, go to your uncle.

[2:10]

Alternative given by LR: wačí·ni·wí amq^há·wáté

Audio: c^húsa amá slʔú wá amq^ha tykisýi

2.5 **mám tykwacuucááké qá kac^hú t^hiyyí .**
 and was combing herself the her hair
 coordconn v def pers n

She was combing her hair.

2:16.5

2.6 **má áncia tykásqáátí qá kac^hú cucc^hé tykásqáátí .**
 and then set on the his comb set on
 coordconn v def pers n v

Then she set it down, she perched her comb on something.

2:19.5

2.7 **ma kicicéptaswaci qá piq^há tykísýí qá piq^há ýučiitánku kúw qá it^hú**
 and you two watch the this said the this falls down you are the my
 coordconn v def deic v def deic v cop def pers

cuucááké mám qa k^hést^ham syétwíumá , syétwí kúcimá .
 comb and the end kills me kill me fut plural
 n coordconn def adv v v

You watch this, she said, if this comb of mine falls down for you, then that's it, she kills me, she'll kill me.

[2:25.6]

Audio: qá it^hú tácu^h·á·ké amq^há yu·çi·t^hányu? kúw· .. mám qa kést^ham syétwí -- syétwí kúcumá

2.8 **má týúúci kú ýúúčiitánku kúw tykísýí .**
 and topple future falls down you are said
 coordconn ptc Vpfx v cop v

That's why it will fall, it will fall down for you, she said.

[2:38.8]

3.1 **slhímaslíícatáqí slhinááwaq^wámca , slhímmaslíícatáq kícísí tykísýí .**
 let's play smudge let's go play let's play smudge you two say said
 v v v v v

You two say Let's play "smoke one another", let's go play, let's play "smoke one another", she said.

[2:42.8]

Audio: má áncia .. ?ím·aslí·caka .. kicis·i hiná·waq^wámca, zlí·maslíca táq^ha amxa hina·waq^w·á bæ .. kicis·í tykísýí
 The word for the game is glossed "smoke one another" in one instance and "who can stand the longest" in the other.

3.2 **má áncia we mīst^húutam kicúúyíílamí má kícímasnīícatáqí tykísýí .**
 and then then your turn you two go in and you two play smoke said
 coordconn adv pro-form v coordconn v v

You go in for your turn, and play smoke she said.

Wrote kicú·yí·lumí. LR modified this sentence a lot, and my gloss is defective. Gloss given apparently for this and the next: "Don't make your stay too long, make it quick, she said." Perhaps compare ?isná·ní? "thick (mush)", maybe referring to thick smoke? For táqí perhaps compare tilátáqí "(threads) close together", ?íte·láqí? "flat".

[2:52]

Audio: má áncia we· it^h·ú·tam, mi?t mizt^h·ú·tam ?amq^há t^hal kucuwí· lil·a kucumísní·ca titá·ká tykis·í^h.

Also wrote kicú·yí·lamí in parallel. Compare kicú·yí·luki "you two come out"

3.3 **aamím wíccíími éé kícúccí t^hól tuwaỵci tykiṣyí** ·

in a short time not you two do for a long time make said
adv Neg v adv ptcp v

Quick-like, don't make it a long time, she said.

[2:59.7]

Audio: á·mím wíc·í·míl ʔamq^há é tykúccí t^hól tuwaỵci tykiṣyí

Probably best as one sentence with prior.

3.4 **má áncia wee micist^hu pá icúúyíílamí má kícímaslícataáqí kiciṣyí**
and then lo your indeed you two go in and you two play smoke you two say
coordconn interj pers adv v coordconn v v

tykiṣyí ·

said

v

Go right in for your turn and play smoke, she said.

[03:04]

3.5 **má áncia kiciwwasqaawáté tykiṣyí** · **kiciwwasqaawáté má áncia kicupté**
and then you two shut them in tight said you two shut them in tight and then you two go!
coordconn v v v coordconn v

tykiṣyí ·

said

v

You shut them in tight, and then go, she said.

[3:09.4] [LR 12.8-9]

3.6 **kicúpté micist^húúni maćíniíwí um** ·

you go your two mother's brother 's place
v pers Nrel post

Go to your uncle's place.

[3:14.7]

Audio continues [3:16.5]: i·pác mam kicúpté kicísha·cu·mi ma kicúpte tykiss^h

3.7 **má micist^húúni maćíniíwí kicitámmaakúyí tykiṣyí** ·

and your two mother's brother you tell about said
coordconn pers Nrel v v

And you tell your uncle what happened, she said.

[3:20.4]

LR inserted "your uncle" in transcript.

Audio continues: kicitám·a·kúyí qá mis·ún ma·ćí·niíwí ..

3.8 **amq^há palá' ýátwa itt^húúni tatýí kiciṣyí tykiṣyí** ·

but already killed our mother you two say said
coordconn adv v pers n v v

Say she's already killed our mother, she said.

[3:25.6]

Audio: amq^há asyé twiyí ama ýé· ýátwi ýátwa palá? t^hú·ni a it^hún· tatýí .. kicis·í tykiṣyí.

3.9 **mám hé tykiṣyí** ·

and hey said
coordconn excl v

Yes, she said.

[3:31.7]

Audio: mám hé· cʰəkuís

4.1 **mám tykápté qa táhtǎc aatʰaaci** ·
and went the acorn pounding
coordconn v def n ptcp

Then she went to pound acorns.

[3:32.9]

Audio: mám tykápté qá o? .. qá .. qá a·tʰa·cí əqa táhtǎc a·tʰa·cíʰ

Cf. tʰa "shout"

4.2 **má áncia tyktáatʰa qa táhtǎc acúmmá wéétát** ·
and then pounded the acorn river bank
coordconn v def n n adv

Then they pounded acorns by the side of the river.

[3:37.5]

Audio: LR inserted wé· after tyktá·tʰa.

4.3 **má áncia tykitáataaýíwyí tóólollíní qá ticci kú tykitílattʰa** ·
and then sifted everything the do future leach
coordconn v pro-form def ptcp Vpfx ptcp

Then they sifted it all and leached it.

[3:41]

Audio: tyktá·tʰa má áncia tyktá·tʰa e·ýí má áncia tó·lollíní amqʰá yuwe tykitó·tʰisci

só·tʰísti "I put water on". tílátʰi is preferred verb: "same thing, putting water on" but "easier" and "says everything".

Audio [3:47]: má áncia tykitó·tʰísti má .. [3:48.5] tykitíl·a·tʰah·.

4.4 **amqʰá tykisýí qá wóh kʰam kánciikuuyáké amqʰá aamíc umá**
but said the grizzly bear many you rub itch on yourself but body louse maybe (?)
coordconn v def n quant v coordconn n adv

íkííciiláka amá tkiyí kánciikuuyáké tykisýí ·
you must have but are you? you rub itch on yourself said
v adv cop v v

You're rubbing yourself a lot where it itches, said the bear, you must have lice, you're scratching, she said.

[3:50.8] [LR12.9]

LR glossed as rubbing an itch, said this is not the same as scratching.

Audio [4:03.2]: saná·sí·cí qa wó tis·i, amqʰá·ka wó lís 'I couldn't say it, let me talk it.' (Chuckle.)

4.5 **má áncia tykalííyaaci mám tykwamástuki qa láh há** ·
and then looked at and examined the head locative
coordconn v coordconn v def n post

Then she looked and examined her head.

[4:06.4]

Audio: Repeats má áncia 3 times. Last phrase sounds like qa (or xa) lah·ádk·in. Could not be a tk cluster; maybe nk?

Transcript: The tape was indistinct to both of us. I wrote qa ʔác [=ʔamíc].

Wrote lah·á

4.6 **o** , **k^hám t^hámiyí** **qa amíc** , **ma** **t^hámiyí** **k^hám kánciikuukáké**
 verbprt many it evidently is the louse and it evidently is many you scratch yourself
 adv cop def n coordconn cop quant v

tykisýí ·

said

v

Oh, there's lots of lice! That's why you scratch so much, she said.

[4:11.6]

Audio: ʔo· k^hám t^hémuw·í qa amq^háʔ t^hémuw·í əqa ʔác má ánc kó k^hám kanci ku·kúyaci is·

4.7 **noq** **tímmíícóo wiccí** , **noq** **tímmíícóo wiccí** , **má** **lhičwaaqúúcí**
 ducking lower resembling ducking lower resembling and I'll nibble
 adj v ptcp adj v ptcp coordconn v

· **lhičwaaqúúcí tykisýí** ·

I'll nibble said

v

v

Bend your head forward and I'll nibble them off, she said.

[4:16.7]

Compare perhaps tiním·íc kú, sundown, perhaps titanínmíci rainbow.

Chewing around, as with morsels on a bone, or as horses chew each others' manes. Contrast "chew, gnaw (on rock)" later in story.

4.8 **mám** **noq** **tykwammíici pala'** **ckwínámmacqáti** **qá kac** **tétwi kúci** ,
 and ducking went down knew the he kill future
 coordconn adj v v def pers v

amq^hákam noq **tykwammíici** ·

but ducking went down

coordconn adj v

She bent her head down, she already knew she was going to kill her but she bent her head down.

[4:22.9]

ckwam·í·cí written ckwam·íwci, but this is clearly wrong, and audio is plain.

4.9 **palá'** **tyktičwaatápqácuma** ·

already siezed neck with teeth

adv v

She had already grabbed her neck good with her teeth.

[4:29.5] Audio: m· mám tskíticwát·ápqácumá m pilaʔ, pilaʔ noq wam·í·ci pilaʔ tskíticwát·ápqácumá

5.1 **amq^háwáté** **qa** **maníkan** **inááwaqwámí** **tykáácímcí** **qá** **kac^húúni** **tatýí** **ú** **cucc^hé**
 at that time the toddler playing around fell down the their mother POSS comb
 v def n ptcp v def pers n Nsfx n

· **qá cucc^hé** **tikusqáátowoy** **púk** **tykwammíici** , **mám** **tykatánsiičúúci** ·
 the comb set up previously bump went down and two jumped up
 def n ptcp onom v coordconn v

As the children were playing around in the house, their mother's comb fell down, the comb that she had propped up fell with a bump, and the two children jumped up.

[04:36]

Audio: amq^háwáté qa maníkan iná·waqwámí əql ... tyká·címcí qá q^hé qa kac^hú·ni cʔ qá kac^húni tatýí ú ciʔ coʔ
 co cucc^hé .. aka at·usq·á·ta amq^há cók·ó·wis tykwam·í·ci, mim ma·m tykatási·čú·ci^h

5.2 **má áncá** , **wéé tykisýí** .

and then now said
coordconn v v

Well, she said.

[4:49.8] [LR12.11]

5.3 **wéé yátwá itt^húúni tatýí wílóo tykisýí** , **mám tyktánsiicúúci** .

now killed our mother former said and two jumped up
v v pers n Nsfx v coordconn v

Now she's killed our mother, she said, and they jumped up

[4:51.5]

Audio: last phrase is *mám tyktáns^h*

5.4 **mám tyktánsiitéimí** **mám tyktááwáámásti** .

and two ran outside and looked down from
coordconn v coordconn v

And they ran outside the house and looked down toward the river.

[4:55.2] Audio: *tyktá'wá'másti* .. *tyktánsi'téimí má áncá tyktá'wá'másti*.

Sounds like they were up on a 'bench' of land overlooking the riverbank.

5.5 **mám palá' tykyátwá** .

and already killed
coordconn adv v

And she had already killed her.

[4:57.9]

5.6 **mám tykwááluuc^húc'cumi** , **tykwatamímmá** , **tykwatahlúúpi** .

and dragged out gutted skinned
coordconn v v v

And she dragged her out, gutted her, and skinned her.

[5:00.8]

Audio: *məhám tuc' q'ahé tykwá'lu'c^húc'cumi*, *má áncá tywata* .. *tywata tykwatahlúmá tykwatamí'mí*

5.7 **amqhá tyktaalíyaací** , **tyktinímmááci** , **mám tyktéhuumí qá kac^húúni**

but looked at two saw and they two ran back the their
coordconn v v coordconn v def pers

tíyúmci .

dwelling

ptcp

But they looked at this, they saw it, and they ran back to their house.

5:07.2

Audio: *amqhá tkta'lí'ya'ci*, *mám tykwitíh* .. *tykd tykté'hu'mi qá kac^húni* .. *kac^húni ?a? tí'yúmci*, *manca*

6.1 **má áncá tykisýí lhímmaslícaataqta tykisýí** .

and then said let's play smoke said
coordconn v v v

Then she said let's play smoke.

[5:14.7] [LR12.11-12]

Audio: *má áncá tykisýí lhím'aslí'ca'taqta lhím'aslí'ca'taqta tykisýí*.

6.2 **héé tykisýí qa haḵ wohíicaka** .

OK said the two little grizzly bears
excl v def quant n

OK, said the two little bears.

[5:19.7]

6.3 **mám wímmaslíicatóqta** .

and one going to play smoke
coordconn ptcp

And they went to play smoke.

[5:22.1]

Audio: mám tykwín·ám·ad .. tyktám·aslí·ca dów taqcan tykwam·i· i·ca má ánca tiqhá

6.4 **mám tykwámmíwiccí má ánca tykwahýa qá kac^húni tíyúmci , qá woh**
and picked boughs and then built fire the their dwelling the grizzly bear
coordconn v coordconn v def pers ptcp def n

ú tíyúmci tykwahýa .

POSS dwelling built fire

Nsfx ptcp v

And they gathered fir boughs and built a fire, in the bear's house they built a fire.

[5:27.4]

Audio: tykwahýa qa qa? .. qa kac^húni tí·yúmci tykwahýa má ánca ... qa woh·ú tí·yúmci amq^há·wáté tykuwahýə
má ánca ..

6.5 **má ánca tóólol tykíy** .

and then all was the one who
coordconn quant cop

Then everything was ready.

[5:34.8]

Audio: tó·lolna·ka tykíy.

Glossed "they used everything".

6.6 **má ánca tykwimmáslíicatóqi** .

and then played smoke
coordconn v

Then they played smoke.

[5:38.3]

Audio: ma? manca ... má ánca tykwim·áslí·cataq^h

6.7 **itt^húútam , itt^húútam , itt^húútam slhímaslíicaataq tykisýí qa tóósiinaka** .

us first us first us first let's us play smoke said the little deer
pro-form pro-form pro-form v v def n

Us first, us first, us first, let's play smoke said the little deer.

[5:41.8]

Transcript: wrote slhímaslí·cam taq^h

6.8 **mám kac^húútam tyktammasníicatóqi** .

and their turn played smoke
coordconn pro-form v

And they took their turn being smoked.

[5:47.4]

6.9 **mám** **aamím̐mi** , **aamim** **wíccí'** **wé** **slhámasl̐kááti** , **tiwááqáćtúm** **tykisýí**
 and pretty soon immediately resemble well we two are choking open the door! said
 coordconn adv adv v adv v v v

Very quickly, they said We're choking! Open the door!

[5:50.7] [LR12.13]

Audio: Raised voiced on quoted verbs. Devoiced q is spirantized, effect of preaspiration & increased amplitude (airflow).

Transcript: tiwáq·áćtóm

6.10 **mám** **tyktínwááqáćtumí** **qa** **wohíícaḡa** .
 and the little grizzly bears
 coordconn def n

And the two little bears opened the door.

[5:55.8]

two opened the door

Audio: preaspirated 'q not spirantized with reduced amplitude/airflow.

6.11 **mám** **tyktééteemi** .
 and two came out
 coordconn v

The two little deer came out.

[5:58.3]

6.12 **mám** **m̐icist^hú** **pá** **tykisýí** .
 and you two indeed said
 coordconn pers adv v

And now it's your turn, they said.

[6:00]

Audio: mám m̐(3)ist^hú áwe· ti? .. wé· tykisýí

6.13 **mám** **tyktááyíílamí** **qá** **wohíícaḡa** **má ánc̐a** **tyktámáííitatáḡi** .
 and two went in the little grizzly bears and then two played smoke
 coordconn v def n coordconn v

And the two little bears went in and then they smoked them.

[6:02.6]

Audio, last word: tskú·lístí·catáḡ'

Wrote cktá·yí·lumi. Transcript, last word: cktámání·tatáḡi.

7.1 **slhímmasl̐catáḡ** , **slhímmasl̐catáḡ** , **slhímmasl̐catáḡ** , **slhímmasl̐catáḡ** , ...
 let's play smoke let's play smoke let's play smoke let's play smoke
 v v v v

tykisýí **qá** **yassí** **'ka** .
 said the one sings agent
 v def v post

(Singing) Let's play smoke, let's play smoke, let's play smoke, let's play smoke they said, singing.

[06:07.2]

Audio added at end: q^hé m̐astí·caḡm̐izi?

Those inside sang as well as those outside. They kept singing until they couldn't stand the smoke any more.

7.2 **má áncia wée wée wée tyktisýí** ·

and then now now now two said
coordconn v v v v

Then they said OK, OK, OK.

[6:22.3]

Audio [6:16.9]: má áncia we' ce' ... [6:19.9] má? .. má áncia we' tskɪˌɔɪʔˌɪzʔ..cko' wé' wé' tykisýí

7.3 **tyktámaslikááti wee** ·

two were choking lo
v interj

They were choking.

[6:23.5]

Audio: The m sounds like a nasalized w.

7.4 **wee tiwááqáctóm , tiwááqáctóm , slhámaslik^háátí tyktisýí** ·

lo open the door open the door we two are choking two said
interj v v v v

Open the door, open the door, we're choking! they said.

[6:24.8] [LR12.11]

Audio: Preaspirated ʔq. Singular tykisýí again.

Transcribed long q

7.5 **mám cáás tykúwí** ·

and silence it was
coordconn onom cop

No one answered.

[6:29.3]

Final vowel heard on recording, but not written in transcription with LR. Probably assumed so.

7.6 **tóólol tyktílniqqaaci , má áncia slaç slaç tyktincúúwaati qa tóólollíni**

all two locked up and then drive in drive in they pushed in(?) the everywhere
quant v coordconn onom onom v def ptc

taqqáwcana la'áspúttéema tykwapsíwci ·

with something I'll poke a hole through he tried

adv v v

They locked it up tight, and then they closed up every little air hole where they might try to knock a hole through with something.

[6:30.6]

Audio: repeats mám slaç slaç tyktincú·wa·ti qa taq·álkacan.

sálasla·tíci "I drive in (wedge, nail)"; tánwaslá·çi "hammer"; tituslá·çi "ramrod"; tálasla·çi "peg, nail"

Cf. wíná·wa·ti (belt) just fits

7.7 **má áncia tyktááhuumí qá wáćiniwí um , hééwís atwam umá wiyúmcí**

and then they 2 ran the mother's brother 's place Fall River valley maybe(?) he dwelt
coordconn v def Nrel post n v

tykiýí , amq^hááwáté tktápte ·

was to that place two went

cop coordconn v

Then they ran to their uncle's, he lived (maybe) in Fall River valley, that's where they went.

[6:47.8] ma áncia tyktá·lilí· .. tyktál·i ... ma áncia tyktáh·u·mí·, tyktáh·u·má we· .. qa kac^húni waći·niwí ʔú?m.

chá·wasa wíyúmci q^he·yé he·wí? he·? aaa ... hé·wís atwám ?umú wíyúmci tykiyí amq^ha, amq^ha·wáté tyktápti^h

7.8 **má ánca tktínsaačumi** ·

and then two rushed
coordconn v

They rushed.

[7:03.3]

8.1 **má ánca t^hól tykwaak^hát·támci** , **má ánca tykyáhtaaci** ,

and then for a long time she cut into pieces and then prepared acorn
coordconn adv v coordconn v

tykwíntamímmacwí 'ka ·

she finished butchering agent
v post

For a long time the bear was cutting up the deer, and when she had finished butchering she prepared acorn.

[7:05.3]

Audio: má ánca t^hól we tykyáhta·ci, we· tykwíné? tykwín· .. qá wah we· tykwín·..tamím·acwí, má ánca we· tó·l· tykwa·k^ha·támci má ánca we ..

Transcript: reordered so as to put cutting up first. I omitted t^hól . Wrote k^h· in the cut verb.

8.2 **tykañámáppúúli q^hááwa** ·

boiled some
v A

She boiled some of it.

[7:14.6]

má ánca we tykañá·pú·lí q^haw·a.

8.3 **tykañámáácaahi qá iswúñ** , **qá kac^húni tímíímíc kúci kac^hú cǐllíq wál** ·

simmered in broth the backbone the their breakfast future his child with
v def n def pers ptcp pers n Nsfx

She boiled the backbone slowly, simmering, for breakfast with her children.

[7:16.8]

Audio: ckañmatsa·hí qa .. qá ?is?úm ty(k)añámátsa·hí mánca .. we· kac^hún tímí·míc kúci qá mis·u^c [kílítáhwa]

8.4 **má ánca tykwíntapsááyí qa tóólol qa táhtač hamísq^hám** ·

and then gathered the all the acorn alone
coordconn v def quant def n adv

Then she gathered up all the acorns, including the deer's, for herself.

[7:24.8]

Audio: má ánca tykwíntapsá·yí qa tó·lol qa táhtač, qa táhtač amq^ha tó·lol kac^hú hamísq^hám tykwíntapsá·yí
[indistinct diphthong here]

8.5 **má ánca wée háné' ká lépta tykwapsíwci** ·

and then now in some way indeed I'm going back home thought
coordconn v adv adv v v

Then she thought I'm ready to go home.

[7:32.1]

8.6 **wáymi smhámmíica tykwapsíwci** ·

right here we'll come eat thought
adv v v

We'll come and eat right here, she thought.

[7:36.7]

Audio: waymi waymi smihám mí·ca waymi tykwapsíwci.

8.7 **má ánca wee tykyápte** ·

and then lo went

coordconn interj v

Then she went.

[7:39.7]

9.1 **icúwááqáctamí , icúwááqáctamí tykisýí** ·

open the door! open the door! said

v

v

v

Open the door, open the door, she said.

[7:42.5]

Audio: Raised voice. Fronted affricate sounds like s, and devoiced q is voiceless-released q', especially the first occurrence.

9.2 **čas tykúw** ·

silence she was

adv cop

Nobody answered.

[7:46.3]

9.3 **čas tykúw** ·

silence she was

adv cop

Everything was quiet.

[7:48.5]

9.4 **c^héyé ání titáptewóyí tykwapsíwci** ·

which way? whatsoever they went thought

pro-form adv v

v

I wonder where they went, she thought.

[7:50.6]

9.5 **má ánca tykwaat^háci c^héyé tmcóócowóoyí tykisýí** ·

and then shouted which way have you evidently done? said

coordconn v

pro-form v

v

Then she hollered, "where have you gone" she said.

[7:53.3]

Audio: c^héyé c^ha

cp. tó·ci do

9.6 **séét^huukí tykisýí** ·

I return said

v

v

I'm home, she said.

[7:56.8]

9.7 **tiwááqáctóm** ·

open the door

v

Open the door,

Wrote plain c

[7:58.6]

9.8 **támmi kúci ýuwí tykisýí** ·

eat future it is said
ptcp cop v

There's food, she said.

Glossed "It's time to eat".

[8:00.5]

9.9 **má áncia ás tykúw** ·

and then silence she was
coordconn adv cop

There was not a sound.

[8:02.1]

9.10 **má áncia c^héýé túuwí , c^hááwa túuwí tykwapsíwci** ·

and then which way being where? being thought
coordconn pro-form ptcp pro-form ptcp v

Which way did they go, where might they be, she thought.

[8:04.6]

9.11 **qá kac^hú tilííwaaci kacmim tykwacuutímcí** ·

the his pack basket she herself unpacked
def pers ptcp pers v

She unpacked her pack basket herself.

[8:09.5]

Audio: manca s qá kac^hú tykwíncut ímcí qá a ɣac^hú cíp'i [hagsíli·wa coháy] tykwacu·tímcí haý suwi
Transcript: LR corrected cíp'i to tilí·waaci. Wrote kacmim

9.12 **má áncia tykápte hamís tílúúci** ·

and then went one campsite
coordconn v n ptcp

Then she went to another home.

[8:15.0]

Transcript: Omitted máánca at end connecting to next sentence after pause and a couple of spirants.

9.13 **wílisqaawáke tykúw** ·

shut up tight she was
ptcp cop

It was all shut up tight.

[8:18.7]

9.14 **mám tykwáliqíslami** ·

and broke into
coordconn v

She broke into it.

[8:24.9]

Audio: mám tykwá·qacwáliq· cwáliq tykwáli·na· scared tykwáliqíslumí, má áncá ...

9.15 **má áncia tímislíicatáqowoy tykúw** ·

and then evidence of playing smoke she was
coordconn ptcp cop

She smelled where they had been playing smoke.

[8:26.0]

[8:27.7] Audio: timaslí·ca·tá·qowoy [tínwa·qáctum túwá há· cip su·lí·mí ca^hha^h tyímáslí·cataq̣ mám]

Extended section skipped by LR.

9.16 **tykááyíílum** ·

She went in.

[8:32.7]

9.17 **qá ahti úúpúlk^haykí tyktáámááwací kac^hú cínéqaká wílóo** ·

the	blood	flooded from below	lay there	his	little children	former
def	n	ptcp	v	pers	n	Nsfx

There lay her little children with their mouths full of blood.

[8:34.3]

Audio: yé· q^ha qá ahti ye ʔu·púlk^hayki ʔamq^ha tyktá·má·wá·cí kac^hú cíné·qaka wílóo.

9.18 **hééééé tykísýí** ·

cry of grief	said
excl	v

He· she cried out in grief.

[8:41.0]

9.19 **mám tykwañawámmístí q^haými** ·

and	danced around	right there
coordconn	v	adv

Right there, she danced around.

[8:42.3]

9.20 **má ánca tykwaluuwáwááyí** ·

and then	cried in mourning
coordconn	v

And she cried in mourning.

[08:45] [LR12.17]

9.21 **tykañawámmísti má ánca héé tykísýí** ·

danced around	and then	cry of grief	said
v	coordconn		v

She jumped and danced around and cried out héé.

[8:47.3]

9.22 **pálmas wínóo mów cé st^háyuwí haý tucci té ticci kúci**

at the beginning	it becomes	it might be	not	I evidently am	thoughts	not doing	thus	do	future
adv	v	cop	Neg	cop	n	ptcp	adv	ptcp	

tykísýí ·

said

v

I never thought it would happen like this, she said.

[8:50.5]

Audio: pálmas wínó muwí cé st^háyuwí haý tuci kúci té ti·ci kúci tykísýí.

9.23 **stitínímmáácumá , sticéptáswácumá tykísýí** ·

two evidently saw me	two evidently watched me	said
v	v	v

They must have seen me, they must have been watching me, she said.

[8:54.7]

Audio: stitiním·á·cumá, sticéptáswácumá tykwapsíw tykisyí.

9.24 **mám** **títápté** **tykwapsíwci** , **má áncá** **tykwamáqçuumí** .

and two went thought and then tracked
coordconn v v coordconn v

They're gone, she thought, and then she followed their tracks.

[8:58.9]

Audio: stitiním·á·cumá m tytápté tykwapsíwci, mám tykwamáqçumi

Transcript: LR replaced second mám with má áncá

9.25 **qá** **kac^húni** **ćíkkoḥ** **tuptóówōy** **amq^há** **thkwanímci** **tuptóówōy** .

the their foot former going but former going
def pers n ptcp coordconn ptcp

their footprints on the ground

[9:03.1] Audio: [má áncá skowamaxswəmh ... mánca .. tyé·ca pí tykwá·qá·la·qí kac^hún ćík·oh·aw qá ʔa·nisún
tuwi tuwá amq^ha pi tykwan·í·cūm^h ..] [9:10.6] [hálʔm] tykwitáptowō·yí

Transcript: LR could not hear tape.

9.26 **q^hééwáté** **títápté** **tykwapsíwci** .

there two went thought
adv v v

That's where they went, she thought.

[9:12.3]

Audio: q^hé tím tuwén· títápte tykwapsíwci^h

9.27 **tykyááyíílumí** **má áncá** **tykwáluuc^húc·cumi** **qá** **kac^hú** **ćíllíq** , **má áncá** **tykwálééqí** .

and then dragged aside the his child and then covered
coordconn v def pers n coordconn v

She went back in the house and dragged her two children away from the fire and covered them.

[9:15.4]

Audio: má áncá .. tsuwi tyka·yí·lum má áncá cí tykwálu·c^húccumi qá kac^hú ćíl·éq [LR12.18] mám má áncá
tykwálé·qí

[9:20.4]

Wrote ckyá·yí·lumí

9.28 **má áncá** **tykápte** .

and then went
coordconn v

Then she left.

[9:22.2] [LR12.18]

Audio: adds wé· at the end.

10.1 **tykwatííyiimí** .

ran after
v

She ran after them.

[9:23.8]

10.2 **tykwilúúmetéqti** .

ran as fast as possible
v

She ran as fast as she could go.

[9:25.6]

Audio: tilú·m̥e·téq̣ mizáká· tɪ? .. ʔayití·yí·mí .. q' alúʔm̥e·táq̣t' i^h

10.3 **palá' uulúp̣icooyí wáte** ·

already recently sunset in
adv ptcp Nsfx

It was already almost sunset.

[9:29.9]

Audio: amq^há .. bláʔ ʔú·lúp̣sicowic'íwáté·

Wrote: u·lúp̣ico·yí

10.4 **má áncá qa íp^huuní isááké amq^hááwáte palá' tím tykwamííci**

and then the Montgomery Creek at that place already indeed(?) jumped
coordconn def name deic adv adv v

tykwínćímááha ·

[9:33.5] Audio: má áncá q^hé qa .. c^há·wása tíyí qa ís si·wa tiliq̣a·take .. [9:40.8] h̥eẉ suw' .. cut it down <break>

[9:43.0] Audio: á· í·p^hu·ní ʔi? .. ʔi·sá·ké ʔamq^há·wáté s ... ʔamq^há·wáté we· paláʔ tykwi tím tykwam'í·ci má áncá tykwínćímááha^h.

10.5 **qa q^hé qa álisti wawá aćááwací twiyí** ·

the that the rock big standing up he is
def deic def n adj ptcp cop

That big rock was standing up

[9:50.1]

Audio: mám qa q^hé qa álisti wawá .. wawá' .. wawá ʔúʔ .. wawá aćá·wací twiyí ..

Transcript omits qa q^hé

... was standing up big? Note animate verb.

10.6 **qa álisti qa íp^huuní iisáákéwáté , amq^hááwáté tyktáák^hé** ·

the rock the Montgomery Creek named-at in that place two climbed up
def n def name adv v

At the rock named "Montgomery Creek", the two children climbed up on it

[9:56.3] Audio: qa ʔálisti qa ʔí·p'·u·ní ʔisá·ké wádh, [9:58.5] álisti amq^há·wáté tyktá·k^hé

Cp. JPH í·p^hurí

10.7 **qa múl^haaq̣álcan tykwakuusáḳyi** ·

the sister lifted onto
def Nrel v

He lifted his sister up onto it.

[10:00.7]

Audio: má áncá .. qa q^hé qa .. qa qa múl^haaq̣·álcan t^ham tykwaku·sáḳyí^h.

10.8 **má áncá kac^hú weénúnwí 'ka tyktúlúllásk^heumá** ·

and then his sister agent pulled him up
coordconn pers Nrel post v

Then his sister pulled him up.

[10:05.5]

Audio: qa kac^hú we·núnwí tykwaku·sáḳyi má áncá· má áncá we kac^hú c^hama kac^hú we·núnwíʔka tykwálí·ásk^hayku tykwálí·ásk^hayʔ .. wam hé·wís.

10.9 **má áncia qa álisti h́ééwís tyktáámaati** .

and then the rock high went to sleep
coordconn def n adj v

Then they went to sleep high up on the rock.

[10:13.7]

Audio: má áncia tyktə? h́i? h́é wís tyktá ma ta, á listi h́é wís tyktá ma ti

11.1 **amq^hááwáté tykwamáqyaami qá woh** .

to that place tracked the grizzly bear
coordconn v def n

The bear tracked them to there.

That was the end of the tracks.

[10:18.4] [LR12 end 18]

Audio: amq^há wáté tykwamáqya mi qa q^hé qa .. qá woh

11.2 **má áncia tykwiñímmááci** .

and then saw
coordconn v

Then she saw them.

[10:22.7]

11.3 **icíít^hánkí tykisýí , icíít^hánkí** .

two come down hither! said two come down hither!
v v v

Come down, she said, come down!

[10:24.5]

11.4 **wáluuk^huu tñicí qá mícist^húúni tatýí** .

hysterical she does the your two mother
ptcp v def pers n

Your mother's hysterical

[10:26.7]

Audio: wálú?wálu k^hú tya qá mis ún tatýí tykisýih, [10:29.9] wálu k^hú tyi' ..

11.5 **má cé yuwí tístí iipááćí' tucci , iipááćí' ka tinááyam síísáátumá ,**

and not it is good strong not doing strong agent run after I was told
coordconn Neg cop adv adj ptcp adj Nsfx ptcp v

amq^hááwa hicóónáykicka tykísýí .

that's why I ran after you two said

coordconn v v

And she's not in good condition, not strong enough to run after you, she told me, that's why I ran after you two, she said.

[10:31.1]

Audio: má? ... cé yuwí tístí éqwa lí tuc i, má eqwa lí? ka ti ná yam sí sá tumá, amq^há wa tyisó náyki tyki, amq^há wa wicó náykí cəka tykísýí.

LR said iqwa lí? "weak" glossed "strong"

11.6 **má icíímiici ma lhínáptéeca tykísýí** .

so two come down and we'll all go home said
coordconn v coordconn v v

So come down and we'll all go home, she said.

[10:40.5]

11.7 **máluuk^háátam micist^húúni tatýí tykisýí** ·

might have fainted your two mother said
v pers n v

she might have passed out, she said.

[10:44.0]

Audio: mólu·k^há·tam mis·ú·ni tatýí tykisýí.

She might have passed out from crying.

11.8 **palá' tkiyí kíwatwá it^húúni tatýí tykisýí** ·

already you are you killed our mother said
adv cop v pers n v

You already killed our mother, he said.

[10:46.6]

Audio: repeates palá?

12.1 **mám tykwaatúyí qá woh** , **má ánca íluuk^há tykwapsíwci** , **amq^hákam**

and got angry the grizzly bear and then I'll climb thought but
coordconn v def n coordconn v v coordconn

má tykyááćíť^hánki ·

and fell back down

coordconn v

Then the bear got mad, and she tried to climb up, but she fell back down.

[10:52.2] [LR12 end 19]

Audio: last syllable/suffix missing: tykyá·ći·ť^hán

12.2 **tykyááćiitánumi amá cwest^hélcán** ·

fell back down but several times
v adv v

She kept falling back down several times.

[10:55.3]

12.3 **má ánca we ik^hím tykwacwaaqóólíyá qá kac^hú ića wa** ·

and then then just gnawed the her tooth instr
coordconn adv adv v def pers n Nsfx

And then she just chewed on the rock with her teeth.

[10:58.3]

Audio: má ánca we·, má ánca we· ik^hím tykwacwaaqóó·líyáh .. qá kac^hú ića· wa.

12.4 **má ánca máh^hí 'ka tykwacwaaqóólíyá** , **má ánca álíllaykací wáté wánéhá**

and then night agent gnawed and then almost daylight locative toothache
coordconn n post v coordconn adv Nsfx ptcp

tykyúuwí ·

was

cop

She chewed on it all night long, and when it was almost daylight she had a toothache.

[11:05.3]

Audio: tykwancawaqó·líyá mah·í·ka ma· ti^h ... mah·í·sí wí·cí alí·l·áy·kací·wací wáté? .. amq^há·wá mah·é·waka tyktám·í·wam kac^hú i·ćáh.

12.5 **mám** **héé héé tykwapsíwci** .
and ow ow thought
coordconn excl excl v

Ow, ow, she thought.

[11:14.5]

12.6 **mám** **pálmás** **álíllaykací** **wáté** **kut** **tykúw** .
and at the beginning almost daylight locative asleep she was
coordconn adv adv Nsfx onom cop

And just before dawn she fell asleep.

[11:17.3]

Audio: álílaykaciwací wáté

12.7 **ṣtaq** **tykwamíci** .
flabby, loose moved
onom v

She was limp.

[11:21.6] [LR12.20 end]

12.8 **ćókca** **íássiíca** **tyktáap^haatánumi** **má áncia** **qa** **áásáwáté** **tykaačístumí** ,
small little bits of sand two dropped downward and then the on the eye fell onto
adj n v coordconn def adv v

amq^hákam **će** **tykúuwí** **mić** **tici** .

but not was twitch being
coordconn Neg cop onom ptcp

They dropped little bits of sand down and they fell on her eye, but she didn't twitch.

Transcript insertion.

13.1 **mám** **hawáy** **tyktinámíci** **qá** **hak** **tóósiinaka** .
and quick the two little deer
coordconn onom def quant n

[11:23.4] Audio: mám .. hawáy tyktam'íci qa ... qa qa tow? qa tówsí .. [inaudible, off mike] ...

[11:31.5] qa xe qa' hak to? tówsí naka .. hawáy tykti wám'íci'

13.2 **má áncia** **we** **tyktápte** , **tyktilúúmetki** .
and then then two went two ran
coordconn adv v v

Then they left, they ran.

[11:36.6]

13.3 **tyktilúúmetki** **má áncia** **tyktápte** **má** **tyktááhoomí** .
two ran and then two went and two kept running
v coordconn v coordconn v

They ran, then slowed a bit, then kept running.

[11:39.4]

Audio: tyktilúmetki má áncia tyktápte má tyktáptho'mí tyktá'ho'mí, má áncia ...

14.1 **má áncia** **p^hée** **uc^hícyákí** **wáté** **tykwíńímmátsi** **qá** **woh** .
and then this way noon locative woke the grizzly bear
coordconn adv ptcp Nsfx v def n

Then when the sun was way up high the bear woke up.

[11:43.3]

Audio: p^hé ʔé ʔuch^híçýáké? .. ʔamq^há wate tykwiñím ánsi qa'a qá woh

14.2 **te** **sicówoy** , **tsicówoy** **tykwapsíwci** .

thus was I doing I was doing thought
deic v v v

What was I doing? That's what I was doing! she thought.

[11:53.2]

Audio: te mów sic'ó'woy at sic'ó'woy tykwapsíwci

14.3 **tykásiicúúci** .

jumped up
v

She jumped up.

[11:56.1] [LR12.22]

14.4 **má áncá** **tykwammákýi** .

and then looked up
coordconn v

Then she looked up.

[11:59.1]

Audio [11:57.5] : h^hh h^hh má áncá .. má áncá tykwam tykwam ákýih.

14.5 **síi** **tykánuwí** , **palá'** **tyktápte** .

empty was already two went
adv v adv v

There was nothing up there, they had already left.

[12:01.1]

Audio: palá? twice.

14.6 **má áncá** **tykwamáqcuumí** .

and then tracked
coordconn v

Then she tracked them.

[12:03.5]

14.7 **q^hé tím** **t'tiýí** **t'tápté** **tykwapsíwci** .

right there they two are two go thought
adv cop v v

That's just where they've gone, to their uncle's, she thought.

[12:04.8]

Audio: tím repeated after ttápté

14.8 **má áncá** **qá** **kac^hú** **ticpálmé** **sil** **tykwalúúcuúci** , **tykáhoomí** ,

and then the his apron-dress gradually pulled up
coordconn def pers n adv v

tykwilúúmeetéqti , **tykwilúúmeetéqti** .

ran after ran after
v v

Then she hitched up her apron-dress above her knees, she ran, she ran her hardest, as hard as she could.

[12:07.4]

Audio: má áncá we tykwilú me tán tykwalíl' .. qá kac^hú qá kac^hú .. qá kac^hú ticpálmé ʔamq^há .. amq^há sil

tykwatú? .. skil̥ .. sil̥ tykwané·cu·ci opti mám tytá·ho·mi, tykwilú·me·táqti, tykwilú·me·téqti

14.9 **mám qá hak̥ tóósiinaka kitim tyktááhoomi** ·

and the two little deer still ran
coordconn def quant n adv v

And the two little deer were still running.

[12:21.0]

Audio: mám tyuwí qa qá hak̥ qa tówsí·naka má te tyktá·ho·mi

14.10 **tímááqíc wílíl tyktáhoomi** ·

look back while two ran
ptcp coordconn v

While running they looked back.

[12:24.8]

Audio adds: tímálqicu·lí tyktá·ho·mi

15.1 **má áncá tyktánsíyaami qá acúmmá** ·

and then two arrived at the river
coordconn v def n

Then they got to the river

[12:27.8]

Audio: má áncá tyktá· .. tyktási· .. tyktási·ya·mi qa .. a· .. qa kac^húni wačí·niu ʔu tí·yúmcih

Fall River

15.2 **kac^húni wačíniíwi éécim wíyúmci tykúw qá plaaqis** ·

their mother's brother on other side one dwelling she was the crane
pers Nrel adv ptcp cop def n

Their uncle was living on the other side, the Crane.

[12:34.9] [LR12.23]

Audio: ʔé·cim tykúw ʔas ʔé·cim wíyúmci tykúw^c

15.3 **qá kac^húni wačíni um tyktóót^haacumi** ·

the their mother's brother 's place two called across
def pers Nrel post v

They called across to their uncle's house on the other side.

[12:39.6]

Audio: qá kac^húni wačí·ni .. q^ha·wate tykwatá·t^ha·c^c tykwató·t^ha·cumi^c

15.4 **tilíc·cak wačíniíwica , tilíc·cak tykísýí** ·

paddle boat across uncle paddle boat across said
v n v v

Bring the boat over, uncle, bring the boat over, they said.

[12:44.9]

Audio: tilíccak, it^hún wačí·núca tilíccak tykísýí

15.5 **táq wáli titawá c^hú tiici tykwapsíwci , qa maníkan hakcan** ·

what kind(?) how doing thought the child two of them
pro pro-form ptcp v def quant

What in the world are they doing he thought, the two children.

Wrote táqwáli

[12:50.1]

15.6 **má áncá tykáátéemi** ·

and then he went out
coordconn v

Then he came out of his house.

[12:55.0]

15.7 **héé tykísýí** ·

hey said
excl v

Hey, he said.

[12:56.0]

15.8 **tilíc·cak wacííníwica , tilíc·cak tykísýí** ·

paddle boat across uncle paddle boat across said
v n v v

Row the boat over, uncle, bring the boat across, they said.

[12:57.4]

15.9 **styóónáykumá qá woh wáka styóónáykumá tykísýí** ·

she's chasing us the grizzly bear agent she's chasing us said
v def n Nsfx v v

She's chasing us, the bear is chasing us, they said.

Transcript omits qa and tykísýí

[13:00.7]

15.10 **palá' yátwa it^húni tatýí wílóo , yátwa má yáámá tykísýí** ·

already killed our mother former killed and he's eating said
adv v pers n Nsfx v coordconn v v

She already killed our mother, killed her and ate her, they said.

[13:05.5]

Audio: adds qa before it^húni; then palá yát'u ʔákmi ya·má tykísýí^h

Transcript omits palá? before yátwa;

15.11 **amq^há tilíc·cak tykísýí** ·

but paddle boat across said
coordconn v v

So bring the boat over they said.

[13:10.2]

Audio: mq^há stilíccak tykísýí

15.12 **mám ik^him tykwaaqíícumí qá acúmmá qá plaaqis** ·

and merely stepped across the river the crane
coordconn adv v def n def n

But the crane just stepped across the river.

[13:10.1] [LR12.24]

Audio reverses the order: qa plaq'is qá acúm·á

Audio: [13:19.0] kemi suwa·qítsu LR omitted from transcription

[Harrington (Harrington mf2r32:22 map)] identifies Sheep Rock, where crane put his leg across, when bear ran after deer. 5 m. upr of Silverth. F.

15.13 **amq^hááwáté tyktántííwalmi mám k^hip tyktóóc^hííci** .
 to that place walked across on and hop two jumped off
 coordconn v coordconn onom v

They walked across on his leg and hopped off on the other side.

[13:20.5]

-wal paired, next to, -m thither, away, apart?

15.14 **mám tykwínaaáíicumi qá plaaqís** .
 and stepped back the crane
 coordconn v def n

Then Crane stepped back.

[13:25.0]

Audio: initial ^hól (with dark l) omitted from transcript. Ends with mám s (fronted s) connecting to next sentence.

15.15 **mám tyktááyíílumí , mám tyktíntámmaaki qa toólollíni qá kac^húni tatýí**
 and two went in and two told about the everything the their mother
 coordconn v coordconn v def pro-form def pers n

c^hééwa tétwí , amq^há toólol tyktíntámmaaki .
 in what way kill but all two told about
 pro-form v coordconn quant v

Then they went in the house, and the two children told all that had happened, how their mother was killed, they told him about everything.

[13:30.2]

Audio: tyktá·yí·lumí, má án tyktíntám·a·ki .. qa tó·lollíni qá kac^hú c^húsa qá kac^hún tatýí ?u tétwí de amq^ha dé ?ó· c^hííndám·a·kih c^he·wa tétwí

15.16 **táhtač aat^hí má ánca wílatt^hí , toólol tyktíntámmaaki , amq^há**
 acorn pounding and then one who pounds acorn all two told about but
 n ptcp coordconn ptcp quant v coordconn

tétwí .

kill
 v

The acorn pounding, how she was pounding acorn, they him everything, and the death.

[13:39.8]

Audio: at^h·í táhtač at^h·í má wíla·t^hí· góu mq^há ma^c .. mxΛ té·twí šiΛh

Transcript has tykwintám·a·ki

[13:43.0]

16 **mám tykwaatuyuí qá plaaqís** .
 and got angry the crane
 coordconn v def n

Then Crane got mad.

[13:44.0]

17.1 **má ánca aamim wíccí' amq^há tykwaat^haacuki** .
 and then immediately resemble but shouted
 coordconn adv v coordconn v

Then, pretty soon they heard her shouting.

Wrote: á·mím & tykwa·t^ha·cuki

[13:48.9]

17.2 **tilíc'cak** , **tilíc'cak** **tykisýí** .
 paddle boat across paddle boat across said
 v v v

Paddle the boat over, bring the boat across, she said.

[13:51.5] [LR12.25]

Delivered with hoarse voice.

Audio: even high pitch across supposedly shouted verb.

17.3 **ćíllíq suwá sóónántiwi** , **ćíllíq suwá sóónántiwi** , **amq^{há} tilíc'cak**
 child I will be I chase child I will be I chase but paddle boat across
 n v v n v v coordconn v

tykisýí .

said

v

I'm chasing after kids, I'm chasing after kids, so paddle the boat across.

[13:55.1]

Audio: ćíl'eq suwá sólántiwi, ćíl'eq suwá sónántiwi, amq^{há} tilíccák tykisýí

17.4 **kac^húni tatýí wáluuk^{há}átí** , **iipááci' ka tinnááyam síísáátumá** ,
 their mother one crying hysterically strong agent chase I was told
 pers n v adj Nsfx ptcp v

amq^{há}áwa tsiýí sóónaykí tykisýí .

that's why I am I pursue here said

coordconn cop v v

Their mother is crying hysterically, you're strong enough to chase after them, she told me, that's why I've come for them, she said.

[14:03.0]

Audio: wáluk^há tí a' gídn tatýí wíló' eqwá'lí ?ka tín'á yam sí'sá tum amq^{há} wa tsi' só' naykí tykisýí.

Indecipherable at start of next: xán šəgó'əd, maybe amq^{há} tykúuwí with the d anticipating ćé

LR said iqwá'lí? "weak" glossed "strong"

17.5 **će tuccó** , **će tuccó tilíc'ciimi** **tyktisýí qá hak' ćíllíq** .
 not do not do paddle boat over there two said the two child
 Neg v Neg v v v def quant n

Don't, don't take the boat across, cried the two children.

[14:12.2]

Audio: ćé tuc'ó díli -- ćé tóuc'ó ǵ? qáscə'əhá'n tılıc'qé'lá qá ci mi tyktisýí qá hak' ćíl'eq

17.6 **tyktanééyáqtaké' qá kac^húni waćííni** **ú saayéh** , **će tuccó tílípćuumí**
 clung to the their mother's brother POSS leg not do send thither
 v def pers n Nsfx n Neg v ptcp

tykisýí .

said

v

The two children clung to their uncle's leg, holding him back. Don't send the boat across to her, they said.

[14:16.2]

Audio: tyktané'yéqtaké? qá kac^húni waćí' ní [ʔa' músłəʔyahedcəluw], ćé tílípta .. tílípci mi tykisýí

17.7 **tétwi kú styóówáátumá tyktisýi** .

kill future he will be to us two said
v Vpfx v v

She'll kill us all, they said.

[14:21.6]

17.8 **će tuccó tyktisýi** .

not do two said
Neg v v

Don't do it, they said.

[14:23.7]

Audio: has singular tykisýi, last syllable reduced to mere fronting and lengthening of the sibilant.

18.1 **amq^hákam tykwaaqícumí qá plaaqís , amq^hákam ik^him tykwaaqícumí , saayéh**

but stepped across the crane but merely stepped across leg
coordconn v def n coordconn adv v n

ha tykwaaqícumí .

with stepped across

post v

But Crane stepped across, he just stretched his leg across the river.

[14:25.2] [LR12.25-26]

Audio: amq^hákam tykwa·qé·cumí a^h .. qá pla·qís, c^həwa·qé·cumí, ik^him titi·ccí·mameʔkam wami·δeΛ kac^hu sa·yé^h
ha m tykwa·qé·cum^h.

18.2 **mám tykañátíwwalmi qá woh** .

and was near(?) the grizzly bear
coordconn v def n

And the bear got right on it. (?)

[14:35.2]

Audio: [clears throat] mám tykañ·a·tíw·ah· [voice getting hoarse]

No gloss. Compare tyktatíw·almíwci "they were neighbors". English version says she walked across on it.

18.3 **as tykiúwí tykwámmasliik^hááti** .

water wanted was choking
n v v

she wanted water, she was so dry she was choking.

[14:36.8]

Transcript has ʔas si·wa

Audio: tape stopped for water

18.4 **qá kac^hú súúwa tykwacasqéqcí·cáké má ánca tykañállátááwí , má ánca tykwassi**

the her basket cap pulled off cap and then dipped and then drank
def pers n v coordconn v coordconn v

qá as .

the water

def n

She took off her basket cap, dipped it in the river and drank the water.

[14:41.3]

Audio: má ánca we .. qa kac^hú? .. qa kac^hú sú·wa amq^há tykwacasqá·cící·ké má ánca tykañál·átá·wí, má ánca tykwás·i əqá as

Wrote tykwas'a

18.5 **tykwiñéssacwí má áncia tykanááwaatóóqi qá kac^hú súúwa sayé^h háte** .
finished drinking and then dusted off the his basket cap leg locative
v coordconn v def pers n n post

She finished drinking and then dusted her cap off on his leg.

[14:48.4] Audio: (tyk)was'ac'was'á má áncia .. tykwálu's ʔicu? ...

[14:52.4] tykwiñí'sacwí má ánc tykañá'wa'tó'qε qá kac^hú .. qá kac^hú sú'wa qa sayé^hháte^h

18.6 **amq^há tykísyí qa plaaqís táq wáli c^hú muwí tykisýí** .
but said the crane what kind(?) how are you? said
coordconn v def n pro pro-form cop v

Crane said what are you doing?

[14:57.6]

Audio: amq^há tykísýí qa .. qa pla'qís, táqwáli mówá tyiyí c'uwa c'wáysá' t'íi [15:02.9] c^há qá sa'yé^h tykisýí m' ...

18.7 **macwá yáacíwci qá sayé^h tykisýí** .
hurt they do the leg said
adj v def n v

Those things hurt my leg, he said.

[15:02.9]

Audio = [15:02.9] above

18.8 **t'wás tykwaćúúláqci qá kac^hú sayé^h** .
twist twisted the his leg
onom v def pers n

He twisted his leg.

[15:04.5]

Audio: tuwís' tkwaćwá'láqca qá kac^hú sayé^h

18.9 **mám tykaacíche qá woh** , **mám tykwáycussaymí** .
and fell in water the grizzly bear and was washed away
coordconn v def n coordconn v

The bear fell in the water and was swept away and drowned.

[15:07.2]

18.10 **mám kí taqca k^hám wímmacqátí tsiyí** .
and thus extent much one who knows I am
coordconn adv n quant ptcp cop

And that's as far as I know.

[15:10.6]