LR: Father finds the deer

1.1 **háné' ká tʰól ċikiiẁáálucan twicííní qa itʰú waaẏí wílóo** ·

in some way indeed for a long time doctor   he was   the my father former

adv   adv   adv   n   v   def pers n   Nsfx

For some long time my late father was a doctor.

CLA: LA49.1-11_1 English first, PR starts at 25:00

1.2 **wííyúmci twicííní** ·

one dwelling he was

ptcp   v

(An old Wintu doctor) was living there.

1.3 **amqʰáákam qa tóósi tétẁi** ， **tííqáálami** ， **ƚáásaċ tuci** ·

but   the deer kill   pack there   happy to do

coordconn   def ptcp v   ptcp   adj   ptcp

When they killed a deer and brought it back, he was happy.

Audio: ʔamqʰáˑkam .. ʔamqʰá tówsi .. mitʰúˑwiʔ .. qa tówsi tétẁi u tíˑqáˑlami, hi ƚáˑsaċ tuciʰ.

Final vowel devoiced.

tíˑqáˑlaki = pack back hither, tíˑqáˑlami thither.

1.4 **siǩ tuwaaci má tilííyummi** ·

smile make   and   laugh

onom ptcp   coordconn ptcp

He smiled and laughed.

Transcript: LR inserted siǩ tuwaˑci in transcription.

Audio: má ánca s ma tílíˑyumˑi.

1.5 **sáámi kúcí qa míssuċ kacʰú tipsíwciyaymi** ， **kacʰú ƚáásaċ tuci** ·

I eat   fut   the meat   his   think about   his   happy do

v   adv   def n   pers   ptcp   pers   adj   ptcp

Iˤm going to eat some meat, he was thinking, and he was happy.

1.6 **amqʰáákam qa lóqṁim kí wáli ú tiċċííwálmí tucci** ·

but   the in the morning thus kind(?) POSS walk next door not doing

coordconn   def adv   adv   Nsfx ptcp   ptcp

But in the morning, nobody came over (from that family).

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

1.7 **má ánca lóqṁi ťáqʰápá tiċíwwályammi tucci** ·

and then   tomorrow again   walk next door   not doing

coordconn adv   adv   ptcp   ptcp

And the next morning again, nobody came.

Audio: mánca nekst .. ʔuʔ .. lóqṁi ťáqʰábá tiċíwˑálakántúméʔ.

1.8 **má ánca ťáqʰápá ċástíl tílúpċíci tiċíwwályammi tucci tykúwwí** ·

and then   again   three times sunset   walk next door   not doing was

coordconn adv   adv   ptcp   ptcp   ptcp   cop

And for three sunsets nobody came over.

Audio: mánca ťáqʰáʔ .. ċástíl tílúpcíci tiċíwˑáˑlaˑtamˑeʔ .. [two inaudible syllables]. Initial of ťáqʰá sounds like a d.

Transcript: cʰakúwˑ

1.9 kʰaṁ yá ẏuwá ẏáámááẏámí   qá kacʰú móníkcan ·

many emph it will be he is causing to eat the his children
quant adv cop v def pers n

Well, he has a lot of children to feed.

1.10 kʰaṁ yá ẏuwá ẏáámááẏámí ，má ánca tóólol qá kacʰú ís amqʰá

many emph it will be he is causing to eat and then all the his person but
quant adv cop v coordconn quant def pers n coordconn

waḷaací ·

shares food
v

Heʻs feeding many, and he has to give food to all his people.

Interruption to give her a glass of water.

1.11 kʰaṁ ẏuwí ẏáámaayámmí má čé styúwwíumá ticépḷi tyipsíwciní ·

many it is heʻs feeding and not he is for me give a piece thought
quant cop v coordconn Neg cop ptcp v

He has a lot of mouths to feed,

Audio: [break] ẏúwí yá· čé scuʰ .. kʰaṁ ẏuwí ẏá·ma·ẏám·í máé twiy čé st .. čé st.. čé scúw·íimá ticépḷi ... cyipsíwciní.

1.12 má ánca we ḣeẇ tyúúcííní ·

and then then forget did
coordconn adv n v

And so he forgot.

Audio: má ánca .. má ánca we· ḣeẇ cyú·cí·nʰ.

1.13 čé tyúúcííní cʰú tipsíwcí，čé tyúúcííní qa álihẇóq̇wací ḣaẏ tucci ，

not did how think not did the bad thoughts not doing
Neg v pro-form ptcp Neg v def ptcp n ptcp

čé tipsíwci aawátca ·

not think only
Neg ptcp adv

He didnʻt think anything, he didnʻt think anything bad about it, thatʻs all he thought.

1.14 má ánca ṫáqʰápá tyatẇiini haṁís tóósi，ṫáqʰá tyuqqáálaamíní ·

and then again killed one deer again carried back
coordconn adv v quant ptcp adv v

And again, he killed a deer, again he packed it back.

Audio: mánca ṫáqʰábá cyatẇi·nʰ .. haṁís tówsi, ṫáqʰá cʰyuq·á·la·kínіʰ.

1.15 amqʰáka tʰús ma ḷáásaċ ṫáqʰápá pálṁas ánca mów stííḷac

but good and happy again at the beginning so it might be one gives to me
adv n coordconn adj adv adv adv cop v

kúcumá tywapsíwciní ·

future thought
v

Now he was feeling good, maybe this time he might give me a piece, he thought.

Audio: mqʰaka tʰi tʰús ma lá·saċ cyú·cín· maybe ṫáqʰábá mʔ pálṁas ʔánca mow stí·ḷac kúcumá cwapsíwciniʰ.

1.16 **má ánca   tyaasannaaẏaswacíní qa tiním̓míc kúci   wa** ·

  and then   waited expectantly   the sundown   future instr

  coordconn v   def ptcp   Nsfx

Along toward sunset he was waiting expectantly.

Audio: má ánca ... cyo cyus cyaˑsanˑaˑẏaswacíní qa íklate? qa tinímˑíc kúci yaʰ.

He was anxious, looking, waiting. It was getting sundown time, time to eat, and he kept looking over that way

1.17 **ma   tʰúsẏí l̓íním̓míc   kú   suwwá qa páálá tywapsíwcíní** ·

  and   good   I'll eat well! future I am   the today thought

  coordconn adj   v   Vpfx   cop   def adv   v

And he thought I'm going to eat good tonight!

Audio: ma l̓inímˑí, tʰúsẏí l̓inímˑíc kú suwˑáˑ qa páˑlá m̓áʰ páˑlá m̓á cwám cwapsíwcínʰ.

feast?

1.18 **amqʰáákam má ánca lóqm̓i   tyalílˑááwatíní ,   támmáámé ’kam** ·

  but   and then   tomorrow sun came up   fish-hook   agent

  coordconn   coordconn adv   v   n   post

But he went to sleep without eating any deer meat. And in the morning the sun came up, he didn't eat, no one gave him any.

Audio: ?amqʰáˑkam ?áncíˑkam tówsi támˑáˑmé ?kam cyáˑm̓aˑtí.

1.19 **tíílááci tucí ’kam** ·

          do   agent

          v   post

No one gave him any.

Could also leave off the suffix, leaving the implied-negative form of the participle to express the same meaning.

1.20 **c̓ásti cʰál   kitím tywaac̓úúcíní** ·

  three   times(?) still

  quant   n   adv

The same thing happened three times.

1.21 **c̓ástíl   tétw̓i ,   amqʰá   tisáácíní tétw̓i** ·

  three times kill   but   ceased(?)   kill

  adv   v   coordconn ptcp   v

Three times he killed a deer, but then he didn't kill any more.

Omitted, with no gloss: amqʰáˑwá ckwahatáˑtiˑciʰ.

2.1 **cʰú   ticci ya   stituwáátumá   stiil̓aaci tucci   tywapsíwcíní** ·

  how   do   emph is evidently wrt me   gives me   not doing thought

  pro-form ptcp Nsfx cop   v   ptcp   v

2.2 **má ánca   macẃá tyááciíní qá kacʰú hátáácí** ·

  and then   hurt   did   the his   heart

  coordconn adj   v   def pers   n

And his heart ached.

2.3 **má ánca   tywat̓íícíní** ·

  and then   wept

  coordconn v

And he cried.

2.4 ċé kuwí támmí ya , qa tóósi ċé kuwí támmí tywapsíwcíní ·

not	you are	eating	emph	the	deer	not	you are	eating	thought
Neg	cop	ptcp	Nsfx	def	ptcp	Neg	cop	ptcp	v

You won't eat, you won't eat any deer, he thought.

2.5 má ánca we tyáásííní , mahḣíkca tyáásííní ·

and then	then	sang	night	sang
coordconn	adv	v	n	v

Then he sang, that night he sang.

2.6 má ánca qa ṁákṁááka tywatíllííwíní ·

and then	the	pileated woodpecker	called
coordconn	def	n	v

Then he called the pileated woodpecker.

2.7 má ánca we tikaasááyama ma tííċááḻa qá piqʰá qa tóósi , ċé syuwíumá

and then	then	drive away	and	hide!	the	this	the	deer	not	he was wrt me
coordconn	adv	v	coordconn	v	def	deic	def	ptcp	Neg	cop

tiiḻaaci tywáásííní , amqʰá qa ṁákṁááka ílaháámaẏééwací' ·

share	sang	but	the	pileated woodpecker	
ptcp	v	coordconn	def	n	

Then "drive away these deer and hide them, he didn't give me any food," he sang, talking to the pileated woodpecker.

Wrote syuw·íimá

2.8 má ánca qa ṁákṁááka qa tóólol qa tóósi tywakassaymíní má ánca

and then	the	pileated woodpecker	the	all	the	deer	drove away	and then
coordconn	def	n	def	quant	def	ptcp	v	coordconn

tywinááċaaḻíní ·

hid

v

Then the woodpecker drove away all the deer and hid them.

Audio: má ánca qa ṁákṁá·ka qa tó·lol cwakús· .. cʰʔ .. cwakús· ... cwiná·ċa·ḻíní qa .. qa tówsi, cwakas·aymín· má cwiná·ċa·ḻínʰ.

2.9 aaṁá háḱíl pʰitúúwí wíc ẏééwa ċé slhúwíníumá támmi qa tóósi , tóósi

entirely		year	resembling	in manner	not	we were	eat	the	deer	deer
adv		n	ptcp	adv	Neg	cop	ptcp	def	ptcp	ptcp

támmáámé 'kam ·

fish-hook	agent
n	post

For something like two years, we didn't eat deer meat, we were without eating deer meat.

Audio: mam·á .. ctʰúwíl pʰitú·wí [etc]

2.10 yaaqáċẏakíní ·

My grandfather came.

Added in transcript.

2.11 táq cʰú túuwí , sí yánuwí qa tóósi , ċíkkoḣcan tínímmác kú tuccí

what	how	being	nothing	it is	the	deer	feet	see	future	not do
pro	pro-form	ptcp	Neg	cop	def	ptcp	n	ptcp	Vpfx	ptcp

ẏuwí   waasííní   qa   itʰú   waqʰuuẃí   wílóo ·
it is   he said   the   my   mother's father   former
cop   v   def   pers   Nrel   Nsfx

What's wrong, there are no deer, we can't even find tracks, said my grandfather.

Audio: táq cʰú· túw·, sat·úw·í má tuci , síyánuwí qa tówsi, čík·ohcan tíním·ác kú tuc·í ẏuwí wa·sí·ní qa itʰú aqʰoẃí·wílóo.

2.12   má ánca   palá'   ẃímmacq̓áti   qa   ís   tuci ·
        and then   already   knew   the   person   to do
        coordconn adv   v   def   n   ptcp

He already knew [he was a doctor], being Indian.

LR: because he's Indian, he knew he was a doctor.

Does this imply that he had not previously done work there as a doctor?

Audio: má ánca .. ʔamqʰa ʔís? .. palá? ẃím·acq̓áti qa ʔís· .. qa ʔís tuci, you know?

2.13   má ánca   wačíẃályakíní   qa   itʰú   waqʰuuẃí   wílóo ·
        and then   came over here   the   my   mother's father   former
        coordconn v   def   pers   Nrel   Nsfx

My grandfather came over in the evening.

Audio: má ánca amqá .. ʔamqʰá .. má ánca .. ca·cu - ẏá·yí - ẏačíẃályakíní qa itʰú aqʰ - itʰú aqʰoẃí·wílóo.

2.14   taačámc   ámé'   kam   ó   waasííní ·
        stop   without   agent   (?)   he spoke
        ptcp   post   post   Vpfx   v

He spoke in a rush.

He rushed in, didn't even stop or sit down.

2.15   má ánca   wacáálúl·íní   qá   up   ·
        and then   he rolled   the   tobacco
        coordconn v   def   n

Then he rolled tobacco.

2.16   má ánca   ẏááẃáyẃacíní   qá   ittʰú   waaẏí   wílóo ·
        and then   gave it to   the   my   father   former
        coordconn v   def   pers   n   Nsfx

Then he gave it to my father.

2.17   pi   wásííní ·
        here   he said
        adv   v

Here, he said.

2.18   amqʰá   twáásííní   qa   ittʰú   waaẏí   wílóo   táq   wáli   móuwá   waasííní ·
        but   said   the   my   father   former   what   kind(?)   might it be   he said
        coordconn v   def   pers   n   Nsfx   pro   cop   v

But my father responded what's wrong? what's going on?

Audio: amqʰá twá·sí·ní qa itʰú wa·ẏí·wílóo táqwáli mów wa·sí·niʰ.

2.19   táq   wáli   móuwá   cʰú   túuwí   wasííní ·
        what   kind(?)   might it be   how   being   she said
        pro   cop   pro-form   ptcp   v

What's going on, he asked.

2.20 **támmi kúci sí   yánuwí** ·

eat   future nothing it is

ptcp   Neg   cop

There's nothing to eat

2.21 **míssuċ sí   yánuwí** ·

meat   nothing it is

n   Neg   cop

There's no meat.

2.22 **tóólol sí   yánuwí** ·

all   nothing it is

quant   Neg   cop

It's all gone.

2.23 **ċíkkoḣcan ċé   yuwí tánímci** ·

feet   not   it is   find

n   Neg   cop   ptcp

We can't find even a sign of tracks.

2.24 **amqʰá   cʰú   túuwí t·túuwí** ·

but   how   being

coordconn pro-form ptcp

So what's wrong?

2.25 **amqʰá   titíssanaaẏi kúci ḷhuwááticka   ** ·

but   send a search   future I would that you

coordconn ptcp   v

I want you to look for them.

Audio: ʔamqʰá ḷuhuwá·ti·ka, titís·ana·ẏi kúci ḷuhuwá·ti·ka.

Not looking directly, must have something to look for them. Contrast , "look in person"

2.26 **lhiiċííwályawááticka wisííní** ·

I come over to you   he said

v   v

That's why I've come in the evening.

Audio: lihiċ·í·wályawáticka .. wasí·nʰ.

2.27 **má ánca wácassawẏácínní qá up   ťáqʰá** ·

and then   he hand to him   the tobacco again

coordconn v   def   n   adv

Then he handed him the tobacco again.

2.28 **winássúúcíní má ánca ċástíl   ẏánhaẁassóómíní** ·

he took it   and then   three times blew smoke

v   coordconn adv   v

He took it and he blew smoke three times.

2.29 **he   wásííní** ·

OK   he sang

loan v

OK, he said.

2.30

páálá'	nám	tilúpċíc	ámé'	ẇátém	k̇uskímcí	má	k̇ámmí	ẇaasííní
already	yet	sunset	without	at	you should sit down	and	you should eat	he said
adv	adv	ptcp	post	Nsfx	v	coordconn	v	v

Sit down and eat before sundown, he said.

Audio: tilúpcícamé·ẇáté

2.31

má ánca	tóólolmi	má ánca	páálá	úlúpċicóócí	ẇáté	,	páálá	qá	ċul	ulúpċící
and then	all	and then	already	(sun) recently setting	locative		today	the	sun	
coordconn	quant	coordconn	adv	ptcp	Nsfx		adv	def	n	

ẇáté	ml̇uskím	waasini ·
locative	I will sit down	he said
Nsfx	v	v

And so with everyone (whoever's going to sing) then already prepared before sunset, I'll sit down at sunset.

Notebook begins this sentence with wé·, but that's not from LR, it's an error from my initial transcript of the tape in 1970.

2.32

má ánca	tuskímc	amé'	kam	yáátáámíní	qá	itʰú	waqʰuuẇí	wíllóo	,
and then	sit		agent	he went out	the	my	mother's father	former	
coordconn	ptcp		post	v	def	pers	Nrel	Nsfx	

wínċííwalmíní ·
he went next door
v

My grandfather went out without sitting down, and went home.

Audio: má ánca mám mám .. tuskímcimé?kam yá·tá·míní qá itʰú aqʰoẇí·wíllóo, wínċí·walmínʰ.

LR: He never sat, when he got done he went home. (Suggests that sitting while visiting is usual and expected.)

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

3.1

mám	lóqṁi	ṫáqʰá	úúlóqṁa	ẏááṫʰuukíní	tóólol	,	ẏááṫʰuukíní	itʰúúni	tííyúmci
and	in morning	again	evening	they came	all		they came	our	dwelling
coordconn	adv	adv	adv	v	quant		v	pers	ptcp

And the next day in the evening they came again, they all came to our house.

Audio: mám ... ṫaq -- lóqṁi, ṫáqʰá ?ulóqṁa twiċ ẏá·tʰu·kíní tó·lol, tó·lol ẏá·tʰu·kí itʰú·ni tʰun tí·yúmci.

3.2

má ánca	palá	qa	áẇ	sináámuull̇ukíní ·
and then	already	the	wood	
coordconn	adv	def	n	

And we had piled firewood up inside.

Audio: má ánca palá qa qa ?áẇ siná·mu·l̇ukíní, má ánca ...

This looks like a 1st singular, plural should be slhná·mu·l̇ukíní

3.3

má ánca	qá	maqqáh̆	palá	slháácʰiiṗíníumá	,	maqqáh̆	palá'	ááláátaké	,
and then	the	pitch	already	we split		pitch	already	cut-up chunks	
coordconn	def	n	adv	v		n	adv	ptcp	

amqʰá	slawáẏciníumá ·
but	ready for us to use
coordconn	v

And we had already split pitch wood into kindling, pitch kindling was all split up ready for us to use.

Audio: qá maq·áh̆ palá slahá? slahá? s? [break, then, on resumption, wrong tape speed, playback too fast:

transcribing at 75%] mám kʰá bləʔá· kʰá·pinyam bləʔá·lá·qin[speed reverted]yi amqʰá slaháʔ slawáẏciním.

If the tape error is on the original, speed got switched on the Uher, and I corrected it while she was speaking.

3.4 **má ánca pálm̓as úúlúpċicí ẇáté qá ċul pálm̓as úúlúpċicí ẇáté , amqʰááẇáté**

and then	at first	(sun) setting		the	sun	at first	(sun) setting		while
coordconn	adv	ptcp		def	n	adv	ptcp		coordconn

ẏáskímcíní ·

he sat down

v

Then just at sunset, just as the sun was going down, at that time he sat down.

Wrote: ú·lúpcucí

3.5 **ma ánca we yáásííní ·**

and	so	then	he sang
coordconn	adv	adv	v

Then he sang.

3.6 **cʰéẏé mów muuċumíní wásííní ·**

which way	it might be	might continue on	he sang
pro-form	cop	v	v

Which way might it have gone, he sang.

Audio: cʰéẏé, cʰéẏé .. cʰá·ẇa mó· mu·ċumíní wásínʰ.

LR: Where did you see it go?

LR Gran 6.6 só·ċumíní : mó·ċumíní perh. -uw-

3.7 **waatʰimyíní qá cappaaḱá amqʰá tíssanaaẏi kúci qa cʰéẏé qa tówsi ú**

he hired		the	screech owl	but		look for	future	the	which way	the	deer	POSS
v		def	n	coordconn		ptcp		def	pro-form	def	n	Nsfx

tupte ·

going

ptcp

He hired a screech owl spirit to look for where the deer went.

Audio: wa·tʰimyíní qá .. qa táqmas .. pá·ca páʔ .. cap·a·ḱá [tap] kutínáʔ tinʔ tis .. tís·ana·ẏi kúci qa cʰéẏé· qa .. tówsi ʔú tupte.

3.8 **má ánca we cappaaḱá ka wintuwááẏíní ·**

and then		then	screech owl	agent	searched for
coordconn		adv	n	Nsfx	v

Then the screech owl searched for them.

3.9 **amqʰáákam yáátʰuukíní qá cappaaḱá ámím ·**

but		he came back	the	screech owl	immediately
coordconn		v	def	n	adv

But the screech owl soon came back.

3.10 **sí yánuwí wáásín ċé suwí tinímmááci waasini ·**

nothing	it is		he said	not	I am	finding		he said
Neg	cop		v	Neg	cop	ptcp		v

There aren't any, he said, I couldn't find them, he said.

3.11 **má ánca   wee   haṁís pá   walípċuumíní   t̓áqʰá** ,   **h̓ew̓   suwí   tíliq̓aatáké** ·

    and then   lo   another   he sent   other?   forget   I am

    coordconn   interj   quant   v   D   n   cop

Then he sent out another one, I forget what it was called.

Audio: má ánca we· haṁís walípċu·mín· t̓áqsa h̓ew̓ suwí tíliq̓a·táké^h.

3.12 **amqʰá   walípċuumíní** ·

    but   he sent

    coordconn   v

So he sent it out.

3.13 **amqʰáka   w̓ísanaay̓ííní** ·

    but

    adv

He had it look for the deer.

3.14 **sí   yánuwí   wáásín** ·

    nothing   it is   he said

    Neg   cop   v

There aren't any, he said.

3.15 **ċé   suwí   tinímmááci   wasín** ·

    not   I am   finding   he said

    Neg   cop   ptcp   v

I can't find any, he said.

3.16 **má ánca   we   qa   h̓uṁééwak̓a** ,   **haṁísiik̓á   h̓uuṁé   qa   táqsááya   tíísí** ·

    and then   then   the   small snake   snake   the   somehow   say

    coordconn   adv   def   n   n   def   pro-form   ptcp

Then [he sent out] a small snake, a small kind of snake, I don't know what it's called.

LR: not a common kind, sandy reddish(?) blind (?) ground snake 9 inches to a foot long.]

3.17 **qa   tíq̓q̓aati   ith̓im   upté'** ,   **w̓álaaṁúúsá   wíc   y̓ééwa** ,   **ílaaṁúsċumí** ·

    the   going   resembling   in manner(?)

    def   ptcp   ptcp   adv

going along underground like a mole, burrowing.

3.18 **amqʰá   w̓aatʰimyíní** ·

    but

    coordconn

So he hired that one.

3.19 **we   titúwááy̓a   we   ṁiṁééka   we   tííq̓aati   wáté   titúwááy̓a   w̓aasííní** ·

    then   look for it̩   then   then   earth   at   look for it̩

    adv   v   adv   adv   n   adv   v

I want you to look for it, you in the earth, look for it, he said.

Wrote: titáwá·y̓a

3.20 **mám   y̓áptééní   qa   qʰé   qa   wituwwááy̓i   kúcí** ·

    and   he went   the   that   the   one searches for   fut

    coordconn   v   def   deic   def   v   adv

And that searcher went out.

3.21 **aamím   wíccí'   yááthuukíní** ·

immediately resemble he came back

adv   v   v

He came back almost right away.

3.22 **qhé tháyuwí   sinímímáácí wasín** ·

that   it evidently is I found   he said

deic   cop   v   v

It's there, I found it, he said.

3.23 **amqháákam astaaqí' ẏuwí wasín** ·

but   hot   it is he said

coordconn   adj   cop   v

But it's hot, he said.

3.24 **haṁís yályú ka   twacépṫasẇací** , **palá' ẇilúúciikákéẇa'** , **ituuṫiisítkél kúcí** ,

one   man   agent   already   ready to shoot fut

n   n   Nsfx   adv   ptcp   adv

amqhá   walúúcasẇací páálá' wassin ·

but   already he said.

coordconn   adv   v

A man is watching, with his bow alrealdy drawn, ready to shoot, with his arrow already ready.

Audio: mm pá·lá céṗtasẇací twacéṗtas yaʔa haṁís yaʔ yalyú·ka twacéṗtascí, palaʔ ẇilú·ci·kákéẇaʔ kaʔ ʔitu·ṫi·skwílkéʔ tad -- ʔitu·ṫi·sítké·laké, ʔamqhá wəlú·casẇaci pálá· was·in.

He's aiming up at the smoke hole. That's why he doesn't see the snake below.

3.25 **má   sannúúmáámí qa áp   mám   tyíísííní wasín** ·

and   I burned   the mouth and   she said he said

coordconn v   def n   coordconn v   v

And I burned my mouth.

Audio: má san·ú·má·mí qa op'mum'ma· .. qa ʔáp mum chí·sí·ní was·ín.

3.26 **amqháákam we sanáq̇taaĺi wásííní** , **haṁís áásá sanáq̇taaĺi** ·

but   then   he sang   one   eye

coordconn   adv   v   n   n

And see, I was blinded in one eye.

Audio: ʔamqhá·kam we··.. sanáq̇ta·ĺí he·, sanáq̇ta·ĺí wásí·ní qa ʔá·sá ... haṁís ʔá·sá sanáq̇ta·ĺính. má ćintímáḱta·ĺi.

Added sentence glossed as "and I guess he was nearly blinded from the heat". LR said to omit it from the transcript.

3.27 **mám   ẏ́ááthuukíní** ·

and   he returned

coordconn v

So he got back.

Audio: mám tyá·thu·kính.

Transcription: LR removed the evidential prefix.

3.28 **má ánca we ṫáqhápá únní   mow**   ·

and then   then again   coming it might be

coordconn adv adv   ptcp   cop

Then maybe coming again.

Audio: ṫáqhábá úníʔ mow, piqhá ḱipĺasasẇací. piqhá ʔipĺasasẇací·ka ḱipĺasákẏukí haṁís cíẇci.

3.29 **piqʰá k̇ipl̇asasẇací** , **piqʰá ipl̇asasẇací ka** **k̇ipl̇asákẏukí hamís cíẇci** ·

this		this	agent		one	bone
deic		deic	Nsfx		n	n

Take this special main deer bone in your mouth and pull it down out of the fire.

Audio: piqʰá k̇ipl̇asasẇací, piqʰá ipl̇asasẇáka [clears throat, "excuse me"] qa piqʰá ipl̇aswasẇáka qa .. ʔamqʰáka, ʔiplaswákuki qa qʰé qa ... s˙ .. hamís cʰas˙ay táliqa˙tíní qa .. qa tówsi uʔú ċus -- qa tówsi ʔúʔ ... ʔa ... [break] qa tówsi u cíẇci.

LR: a particular bone, a main part of the body, couldn't remember name.

hamís cʰas˙ay "one piece". Starts to say ċústi "rib"

3.30 **amqʰá** **qʰahé tʰús iyalííyaacóo** , **má ánca we ilussíptánóm ẇaasííní** ·

but		that one	good	examine closely!		and then	then	pull down
coordconn		deic	n	ptcp		coordconn	adv	v

Look those bones over very carefully, and pull just that one down, he said.

Audio: ʔamqʰá qʰəhé tʰúz ʔí˙céska, mánca we˙ mqʰa ʔilus˙íptánóm ẇa˙si˙nʰ.

: ʔí˙céska "look them over well (in the distance)". The snake looks at these up close.

Is this a dual or plural imperative?

3.31 **mám** **ẏaptééní wíc** **witʰancííní qa qʰé qa homééwak̇a** ·

and		he went	resembling	one did		the	that	the
coordconn		v	ptcp	v		def	deic	def

And it sounded like that little snake went away.

Audio: mám ʔapté˙ní wíc wisuncí˙ní qa qʰé˙ qa homé˙wak̇h.

wíc wisuncí˙ní : "it looked like"

LR: it sounded like it in my father's speech.

3.32 **má ánca máácííni** **tupté** ·

and then		must have done	go!
coordconn		v	v

Then I heard that he went.

Audio: mánca má˙cí˙ni tʰ˙umʰ.

Probably titʰ˙u˙mi "arrive"

3.33 **má ánca tipl̇aasásẇací ka** **qa láák̇ac̣** , **tipl̇aasákẏukí má ánca tipl̇asíptánumi** ·

and then	hold in mouth	agent	the	ice		and then	slip down
coordconn	ptcp	Nsfx	def	n		coordconn	ptcp

And holding ice in his mouth the snake pulled out that bone and slipped it down in the ground.

Audio: mánca tipl̇a˙sásẇaci qa qʰé qa .. qa .. qa .. qa asc̣éʔ qa .. lá˙k̇ac̣, tipl̇asás ʔucí˙ka tipl̇as˙ámciʰ.

3.34 **ḣééwís tywammákẏasẇacíní má ánca tywalúúciikasẇacíní palá qá tituuṫíísítkél**

high			and then			already	the
adv			coordconn			adv	def

kúci ·

future

The man was looking upward, and he had his bow pulled back, already ready to shoot.

Audio: ʔam˙a ḣé˙wís cwam˙á˙masẇacíní mánca cwalú˙ci˙kas˙íní palá qá titu˙ṫí˙sítkél kúci.

cwam˙á˙masẇacíní corrected to cwam˙asẇacíní: "He was looking (horizontally, straight)"

3.35 **amqʰáákam ẇincépl̇asẇací ka** **maacínní tipl̇aasákẏukí mám** **síp tipl̇áátánumi**

but			agent		and		slide
coordconn			Nsfx		coordconn		ptcp

.

But the snake was watching him too, before he pulled that bone down and slipped it under.

Audio: ʔamqʰáˑkam ẁincéptasẁací'ka m̓aˑcínˑí tipl̓aˑsámci tilusˑíptum sip ticpáˑtánmʰ.

Perhaps better tipl̓aˑtánuki, from the snake's point of view (and SG's).

3.36

má ánca	inumá	ámé'	kam	tííqaaċuki	,	amqʰá	twicííní	qá	itʰú	waẏí	wílóo
and then	being burnt	without	agent			but	he was	the	my	father	former
coordconn	ptcp	post	post			coordconn	v	def	pers	Nrel	Nsfx

qá	yassí	'kam	ploq̓ ploq̓	ẁaakʰaykíní	qá	aḣti	·
the	one sings	agent			the	blood	
def	v	post			def	n	

Then he packed it back without getting burnt, but even while my father was singing blood spurted down out of his mouth.

Audio: má ánca tiʔ .. ʔinumáˑméʔkam tíˑqaˑċukiʰ, amqʰá twicíˑní qá itʰú waẏíˑwíló qá yasˑíʔkam ploq̓ ploq̓ ẁaˑkʰaykínˑí qá aḣti.

3.37

qá	aḣti	ploq̓ ploq̓	ẁaakʰaykíní	·
the	blood			
def	n			

The blood spurted down.

3.38

qa	qʰé	qa	ḣumééwak̓a	cwáácííní	tywanúúmáámíní	má	amqʰá	tyáácííní
the	that	the	little snake	he did	was burned	and	but	it did
def	deic	def	n	v	v	coordconn	coordconn	v

tywacuukʰaykíní	qá	aḣti	·
flowed up from below	the	blood	
v	def	n	

The little snake was the one that was burned, and that's why the blood came up.

Audio: qa qʰéˑ qa ḣoméˑwak̓a cwáˑcíˑní cwanúˑmáˑmíní má amqʰá qá ʔaḣti cwacuckʰaykíní qá amqʰá aẏtuʰ.

3.39

amqʰá	tyáácííní	qá	itʰú	waẏí	wílóo	tywincuukʰaykíní	qá	aḣti	qa	qʰé	ú
but	it did	the	my	father	former	flowed up from below	the	blood	the	that	POSS
coordconn	v	def	pers	Nrel	Nsfx	v		def	n	def	deic	Nsfx

ticuukʰayki	ya	·
liquid welling up	emph	
ptcp	Nsfx	

That's what made my father bleed from his mouth the way it did.

Audio: ʔamqʰát cʰáˑcíˑní qá itʰú waẏí wílóo cwincuˑkʰaykíní qá lah (?) qá aḣti qa qʰé ʔú ticuˑkʰayki ya.

Rearticulation of t before cʰáˑcíˑní confirms that this is tyáˑcíˑní. much as rearticulation before cʰiʔí confirms tsiʔí.

lah is surmised, hard to discern because of whispered voice.

3.40

mám	tywaasíní	tííqáálaki	wíc	wicéécíní	qa	wínássúúcíní	we	,	táqqálcan
and	sang	pack hither	resembling	appeared	the	he grasped it	then		something
coordconn	v	ptcp	ptcp	v	def	v	adv		pro-form

ẁissúúcí	wíc	ẏééwa	winássúúcíní	·
he grabbed	resembling	in manner(?)	he took it	
v	ptcp	adv	v	

And he sang it seemed like he came back holding it, he took it like he was grabbing something.

Audio: mám cwaˑsíˑn tíˑqʰáˑlaki .. wíc wisuncíˑní qa wínásˑúˑcíní weˑ -- táqˑálcan ʔeʔ .. ẁisúˑcí wíc ẏéˑ

winás·ú·cín[h].

3.41 **má ánca we waasííní má ánca wálah̓h̓áámay̓éwacíní** ·

    and then   then he said   and then

    coordconn adv v   coordconn

Then he spoke and he talked to the snake.

Audio: mánca we· wa·sín[h], má ánca ʔalh̓·á·miy̓éwicín[h] .. we· wa·sí·n[h].

3.42 **we yáát[h]uukílí qa tóósi waasííní** ·

    then he brought back the deer   he said

    adv v   def ptcp   v

Well he brought back the deer, he said.

Audio: we· ... we· kéʔ we· wiyá·t[h]u·kílí we· wiyá·t[h]u·kí qa tówsi wa·sí·ni[h].

3.43 **má kétw̓i kú qa tóósi , amq[h]ááwáté qá titw̓ámmim , čé iyúccóo m̓apsil**

    and   future the deer   while   the   not

    coordconn   Vpfx def ptcp   coordconn   def   Neg

tuci qá titw̓ámmim , amq[h]á ičííwáálátumí má timííčúúcóo k̓issí

to do the   but   and   you should sing

ptcp def   coordconn   coordconn   v

waasííní ·

he said

v

And if you kill a deer, even a ham from it, don't be stingy with the ham, but go to him with it and say "have some breakfast!" he said.

Audio: má ... má kétw̓i· kú qa tówsi, kétw̓i qa amq[h]á·wáté .. hak̓ wint ʔewi titw̓ám·im, čé ʔiyúc·óo tisʔ -- čé ʔiyúc·óo .. m̓apsil tuci .. qá titw̓ám·im, ʔamq[h]á muki? -- ʔamq[h]á ʔičí·wá·látumí má .. ti· timi' -- timí·čú·có· k̓is·í .. wa·sí·ní.

3.44 **waasííní qá yassí kam ik[h]im yáásííní , má ánca twaacííní wíntámmaakí** ·

    he said   the one sings agent merely he sang   and then   he did   one telling

    v   def v   post   adv   v   coordconn v   ptcp

That's what he said when he sang, then he told it.

3.45 **ma ánca we waasííní čé kuccí álih̓wóq̓w̓ací h̓ay̓ tuccí waasííní ,**

    and   so   then he said   not   thought not do he said

    coordconn adv   adv   v   Neg   root   ptcp   v

má tístí waymi k̓élmeq̓q̓ootíwí t[h]ús k̓élmeq̓q̓ootíwí ·

and   good   manner   good

coordconn adv   adv   n

Then he said don't have bad thoughts, he said, and be forgiving, have good compassion.

Audio: ma ánca we· sa·wa·sí·n[h] ... čé kuc·í·, čé kuc·í ʔálih̓wóq̓w̓ací h̓ay̓ tuc·í wa·sí·ní, má tístí· waymi k̓élmeq̓·o·tíwí· t[h]ús k̓élmeq̓·o·tíwí·.

LR: he did bad, but you deserved it. Treat him good nonetheless. Have forbearance, forgiveness.

3.46 **nám̓ píláyuucóólu tlhiy̓í** ·

    still   young man   thou and I evidently are

    adv   n   cop

We're still young men.

3.47

wáási	kúcí	sỉhiccíumá	qá	itʰú	kástá	má		čé	skícúccí	h̉aẏ	tucci	qa
one hunts	fut	we are		the	my	oneself	and	not	you do for us	thought	not doing	the
v	adv	cop		def	pers	emph	coordconn	Neg	v	root	ptcp	def

táwwawẏací	ẇa	·
give some to	continue	
ptcp	Vroot	

We can still hunt for ourselves, don't think about giving meat to us.

3.48

qʰé	ánca	íyáwwawẏacóo	qʰé	ánca	waasííní	·
that	so	you two give some to	that	so	he said	
deic	adv	v	deic	adv	v	

Just give meat to him, you and your wife, just to him alone, he said.

Audio: qʰé· ʔánca ʔíyáw·awẏacó qʰé· ʔánca he said

3.49

m̉ákm̉ááka	qa	tywáácííní	tóólol	tywakassaymíní	,	má	ánca	tywinááċaal̉íní	,
pileated woodpecker	the	he did	all	drove away		and then			
n	def	v	quant	v		coordconn			

má	ánca	we	tywinah̉ẏíínátíní	qa	cíẇci	·
and then	then			the	bone	
coordconn	adv			def	n	

It was the pileated woodpecker spirit that drove away all the deer and hid them, piled up the bones and put a ring of fire around them.

3.50

tycwinah̉ẏíínátíní	má		táqẇúm	ticáq̇ti	kú	tucci	tyáácííní	qa	cíẇci	·
	and		touch	future	not doing	it did	the	bone		
	coordconn		ptcp	Vpfx	ptcp	v	def	n		

He piled the bones up in the fire and nothing could touch them.

Audio: cwinah̉ẏí·nátíní má táqẇúm tin̉ camákdu wítú cʰi cyá·cí·ní qa cíẇci.

Wrote ticáq̇tu kú

3.51

má	ánca	qa	qʰé	qá	ímmaltánumí'	,	qa	witúwááẏí'	ímmaltánumí	,	amqʰá
and then		the	that	the	looking down		the	one searches for	looking down		but
coordconn		def	deic	def	ptcp		def	v	ptcp		coordconn

palá'	qa	hatáácí	ituut̉ís	kúcí	tyáácííní	qa	qʰé	qa	ẏályú	ka	qa	icéṗtasẇací	qa
already	the	heart		fut	it did	the	that	the	man	agent	the		the
adv	def	n		adv	v	def	deic	def	n	Nsfx	def		def

ẇísamáálí'	qa	tóósi	u	cíẇci	·
	the	deer	POSS	bone	
	def	ptcp	Nsfx	n	

And then anyone searching for them looking down in there, that man watching was all ready to shoot them in the heart, one who will never give up those deer bones.

Audio: má ánca qa qʰé· qá ʔím·altán̉·mí?, qa witáwá·ẏí? má ʔím·altán̉·mí?, mqʰá palá? qa hatá·cí ʔitut̉·ísí kúcí cyá·cí·ní qa qʰé· qa ẏályú·ka qa icéṗtasẇací qa ẇísamá·lí? qa tówsi u cíẇci.

Aiming for the heart, ready to shoot.

3.52

mám	tyálictiik̉ínní	qá	qʰé	qá	cappaak̉á	,	má	ánca	ham̉ís	amáẏtu
and		the	that	the	screech owl		and then		one	also
coordconn		def	deic	def	n		coordconn		n	adv

tyálictiikínní má   tyáániíní ·

	and	came back
	coordconn	v

Apparently the screech owl was afraid, and the other one also was evidently afraid and came back.

Audio: mám tʰáli -- tʰálicti·kín·í qá qʰé· qá cap·a·ká m tyá·ní·ní má ánca haṁís ʔamáy̓tu tʰálicti·kín·í má tyá·ní·nʰ.

3.53 **amqʰáákam qá piqʰá qá ḣuuṁééwaḳa qá tíq̓q̓aati ílaṁúsċumí' amqʰáka**

but		the	this	the	small snake	the		but
coordconn		def	deic	def	n	def		adv

twáácíní   tyáániiníní qa tóósi ·

he's the one who	brought back	the	deer
cop	v	def	ptcp

But this litle snake that burrows under the earth, rather he's the one who brought back the deer.

Audio: ʔamqʰá·kam qá piqʰá qá hoṁé·waka qá ciq̓·áhá tíq̓·a·ti laṁúsċumíʔ, ʔamqʰáka twá·cínʰ cyá·ni·níní qa tówsi.

3.54 **ma   ánca we twaacííní we sḷhínéémííníumá qa tóósi ·**

and		so	then	it was	then	we ate		the	deer
coordconn		adv	adv	v	adv	v		def	ptcp

And then we ate deer meat again.

Audio: ma ánca we· twa·cí·ní we· ʔihíné· - sḷihíné·mí·níimá qa tówsi.

A word for feasting? -iné·mí·ní-

3.55 **ċástíl   máttíkca íyámáqẇásẇa má ánca kicóósa   waasííní qá itʰú wayí ·**

three times	day			and then	you two drink		he said		the	my	father
adv	n			coordconn	v		v		def	pers	Nrel

Wait three days, and then go hunting, said my father.

Audio: ċástíl mát·íkca ʔíyámáqẇásẇa mánca kiyó·si·mí wa·sí·ní qá itʰú wayí wílóo.

3.56 **mám   tẇassiimíwcíní qa tóósi · haṁís qa tóósi tyátẇííní qá ittʰú waayí**

and		they went hunting	the	deer	one	the	deer		the	my	father
coordconn		v	def	ptcp	n	def	ptcp		def	pers	n

wílóo   ·

deceased

Nsfx

Then they went deer hunting, my father killed one deer.

Audio: mám twasˤsmá·cíní tówsi mé·ciyim tówsi tyá·tuẇí·ní ə itʰú wayí wilʰ.

3.57 **tʰól   támmáámé' sḷhuwíníumá qa tóósi ·**

for a long time	without eating	we were		the	deer
adv	adv	cop		def	ptcp

We hadn't eaten deer in a long time.

About two years. LR was about 15-17 years old, so this was around the turn of the 20th century.

4.1 **amqʰá   saḷííyaacíní · náṁ ċókcam wícy̓éékam saḷííyaacíní ẇisuntótké ka   ·**

but			still	one somewhat			agent
coordconn			adv	ptcp			Nsfx

amqʰáka cyóócíní   síntʰéésáámíní qa pi   ·

but   he was doing I listened   the here

adv   v   v   def adv

So I saw this while still a teenager, old enough to understand, but I listened to these things that he was doing.

LR: "I was just old enough to notice and understand."

Audio: ʔamqʰá saɭí·ya·cíní, qa nám̉ nám̉ nám̉ nám̉ c̉ókca wícỷí·kam saɭí·ya·cú suntótké·ka, ʔamqʰáka cyó·cíní síntʰé·sá·míní qá pi.

Interesting sandhi, assimiliating final -ini to initial wi- reduced to u.

For síntʰé·sá·míní contrast só·tʰé·wíní "I listened".

4.2 **ittʰú waỷí wílóo t̉é   iccí   twaacííní** ·

    my   father former that way striking he did

    pers   Nrel   Nsfx   deic   ptcp   v

That's the way my father used to do.

Wrote t̉e·cí