LR: Grandmother's escape

1.1 (**paláqmim qa**) **ittʰú acʰuuẃí wílóo u ís tikkáácoẁoy suuwá**

	long ago	the	my	maternal grandmother	deceased	POSS	person	prior living	I will
	adv	def	pers	Nrel		post	Nsfx	n	ptcp	cop

sintámmaaki , **qá pálṁas amqʰá witámmaakíní qa kacʰú ís tikkáácoẁoy** ·

I tell about		the	at the beginning	but		she told about		the	his	person	prior living
v		def	adv		coordconn	v		def	pers	n	ptcp

I'm going to tell about my grandmother's life long ago, as she first told about her life.

Tape LR5 = LA 49.018.mp3. First transcribed from tape and then corrected with LR. First 9 pp. later copied more clearly with LR (judged at that time to be the first 29 sentences).

"Occurred just before Round Valley, in '40s" (verso, p. 1 of initial 1971 transcript). At this time, she had already moved to Goose Valley, married to one of the 5 brothers. They lived hidden in a canyon northwest of Goose Valley. LR's mother was born the following winter, when the drive to Round Valley occurred, which they escaped. [10.09]

"In slip box: RA [LR's daughter Reitha Amen] born 1925, 12 yrs old (1937) when Gmo (LR's mo) died at 96. So LR's mo was born in 1841. In 1839-1840 LR's Gmo was chased by soldiers with red jackets for uniform. PR Rangers? Spanish? [This was still in the Mexican period. Who was that far north?]

Jack Neefus m. Nancy Charles (LR's Gmo). Daughter Mary Neefus (LR's mo). Daughter Lela Grant.

[10.16] [recorded ʔís tiká·ch]. Wrote first word piláqmim.

1.2 **taahánmíwcawí** [**amqʰá wé**] **tniciíní qa ittʰú waacʰuuẃí wílóo** ·

abalone-shells-dweller		but	well	she was	the	my	mother's mother	former
n		coordconn	adv	cop	def	pers	Nrel	Nsfx

My late grandmother was from abalone-shell place.

[10.19] Started t of twiʔí, then the hesitation phrase in brackets.

Wrote ta·hánméwcawíʔ .. tʰanicí·ní, but verified by rehearing audio.

1.3 **kacʰú waċístééẃí amqʰá waẃá tííwaaċoẁoy tniciíní** ·

his	father's brother	but		big	having reared	do
pers	n		coordconn	adj	ptcp	v

Her uncle raised her.

[10.25] kacʰú waċísté·ẃí ʔú waẃá tí·ẁa·ch

Substituted waċí·niẃí.

1.4 **winílláátiwí ka tyatẃííní qá kacʰú waẏí wílóo** ·

white man		agent	killed	the	his	father	deceased
n		Nsfx	v	def	pers	Nrel	Nsfx

A white man killed her father.

[10.32]

1.5 **waasiimaẁooyí mám tyatẃííní** ·

he had been out hunting	and		killed
v		coordconn	v

While he was out hunting he killed him.

[10.35] Redundantly said wasi·maẁo·yí wílóo

1.6 [**mám amqʰá**] **mám maháánu can ċé muciíní ńáṁ ċókcanówaḱam** ,

and	but		and	orphan	plural	I guess	still	a little one
coordconn	coordconn		coordconn	n	post	adv	adv	n

mam	kacʰú	waċístééẃí	waẃá	tííwaacoẁoy ·	má ánca	kacʰú	tatẏí	wílóo
and	his	father's brother	big	having reared	and then	her	mother	deceased
coordconn	pers	n	adj	ptcp	coordconn	pers	n	Nsfx

aawátca ·
only
adv

So I guess she became an orphan when she was still a small child, so her uncle raised her, and her mother by herself.

[10.38] Inserted tuci after ċé m̓ucí·ní. At first said waċí·niẃí.

1.7
amqʰá	tyissííní ·
thus	said
coordconn	v

Thus she said.

[10.50] Recorded cʰíc·í·ní "she did" but translated "she said".

2.1
amqʰá	úúsaayí'	twicííní	pilaqííẃí	wílóo ·	t̓ééwa	wínáásat	ucóóké'
but	digging	he was	old-timer	former	in that way	made living	doing for self
coordconn	ptcp	v	n	Nsfx	adv	v	ptcp

amitʰéẃcan ·	úúsaayí'	twicííní	pahá ·	tinúúwí ·	st̓állíẃ ·	amqʰá	úúsaayí'
woman	digging	he was	anise	blue camas	turnip	but	digging
n	ptcp	v	n	n	n	coordconn	ptcp

twicííní ·
he was
v

The way women always used to make a living was by digging epos, camas, tubers, digging them up.

[10.50] Louder voice, quoting. First occurrence of ʔú·sa·yíʔ audio record is aka tici ʔú·sa·yíʔ "doing various things, digging". ʔiyuc·í·ní "they two were doing", referring to the two sisters, changed to twicí·ní.

2.2
ma	ánca	iyuptééní	qa	úúsaymí	qa	qítẇi ·	má ánca	tiniyascúúcééwa
and	so	they two went	the	digging thither	the	springtime	and then	(food) for wintering
coordconn	adv	v	def	ptcp	def	n	coordconn	ptcp

·

And so the two of them went out digging roots in in the springtime for winter food.

Audio: twací·ní tupté·ca qa ʔú·saymi "they went to dig" (?). False start qa ʔiẁá·mak changed to qitẇi. Following twicí·ní tici qa ʔú·sa·yi omitted (sounds like qo lú·sa·yh, but followed with repeated ʔú·sa·yi).

2.3
má ánca	qa	ẏalyúúcóó	icuuqʰúúċí'	twiẏí	qa	állís ·	ma	tówsi	amáẏtu ·
and then	the	menfolk	spearing	he is	the	salmon	and	deer	also
coordconn	def	n	ptcp	cop	def	n	coordconn	n	adv

And the menfolk were spearing salmon, and (hunting) deer as well.

Audio: ʔál·ís before the participle, we· instead of twiʔí.

Wrote icoq̓ú·ċíʔ

2.4
qʰé	qʰátím	yanáásat	ucóóké' ·
that	that way	made living	doing for self
deic	deic	v	ptcp

That's how they made their living.

2.5 **má ánca shúúsaayínóo wisííní** ˒ **shúúsaayínóo amqʰá qa túúsaayít** ·

and then	we two dug	he said	we two dug	but	the	root-digging place
coordconn v		v	v	coordconn	def	n

And so we two dug roots she said, we two dug roots that way (at) the root-digging place.

3.1 **amqʰááwáté úúsaayí'** ˒ **tyúnííní qa wasⱡíw** ˒ **má ánca tyinákapsááyíní wasííní**

while	digging	came	the	warrior	and then	they herded us together	she said
coordconn	ptcp	v	def	n	coordconn	v	v

˒ **caḣḣóóma** ·

with horses
adv

While we were digging, soldiers came on horseback, and they herded us together, she said. [transcribed /cahú·ma/.]

3.2 **má ánca státuⱡṫisíní qá tywátuⱡíísíní qá muⱡ muⱡ icí**

and then	they shot at us	the	shot	the	dodging motion	dodging motion	doing
coordconn	v	def	v	def	onom	onom	ptcp

ⱡípṫa ipsíwcí amqʰá ˒ **tituⱡṫisámci** ·

I'll dodge away!	thinking	but	shoot them down
adv	ptcp	coordconn	ptcp

Then they shot at us, they shot the ones dodging around trying to get away, shot them down.
Correction of verb. Second má ánca inserted in transcript, covering her embarrassment about the error.
Deleted from transcript: qá after státuⱡ·isíní, followed by a pause represented by a dash.

3.3 **má ánca** ˒ **aawátca haⱡ̇ wénúnẇí íwíwci** ˒ **itthú acʰuuẇí wílóo** ˒

and then	only	two	younger sister	together	my	maternal grandmother	former
coordconn	adv	quant	n	adv	pers	Nrel	Nsfx

amqʰá wappíswí iwíwci ˒ **styíínáásúúcínóo ẇisííní** ·

but	sisters	together	they caught us	she said
coordconn	n	adv	v	v

And so just the two sisters together, my grandmother said "they caught us."
Omitted kacʰú in transcript. Corrected from má ánca kacʰú -- ʔawac·a haⱡ wénúnẇí ʔíwíwci etc.

3.4 **má ánca we styakáálééⱡ̇umínóo ẇisííní** ·

and then	then	they took us away with them	she said
coordconn	adv	v	v

And so they drove us back with them, she said.

3.5 **má ánca haṁís yályú qa wasⱡíw amqʰá** ˒ **amqʰáka styacépṫasẇacínóo ẇisííní** ·

and then	one	man	the	warrior	but	but	he watched us	she said
coordconn	n	n	def	n	coordconn	adv	v	v

And then one man, a soldier, watched us, she said.

3.6 **má ánca caḣóóma tyúúcííní** ˒ **qa caḣḣúm tyinééyímcíní** ·

and then	horseback	was	the	horse	tethered
coordconn	adv	v	def	n	v

He was horseback, he tied up his horse.
Wrote caḣóm

3.7 **má ánca tyaatéq̇taayíní qa kacʰú q̇óssi** ， **má ánca styacépṫaswacínóo ẇisííní** ·

and then   leaned it against the his   gun   and then he watched us   she said

coordconn v   def pers n   coordconn v   v

Then he leaned his gun against a tree and he watched us, she said.

3.8 **má ánca sihííwaamíní** ·

and then   we got tired

coordconn v

Then we got tired.

3.9 **má ánca cʰú mów İhíẏ slhíílaháámícíní ittʰúúmi** ·

and then   how   it might be we shall do we discussed together ours

coordconn pro-form cop   cop   v   pers

And then we talked over what to do.

Audio sounds like sisihínú before "we discussed" (omitted here, perhaps starting slhis·i or the like) and wis·aq̇·acú?u at end (where itʰ·ú·mi is substituted in transcript).

3.10 **İhúúsay má İhám** ， **allu tuci kú lhuwá** ·

let's dig and   let's us two (incl.) eat!   hungry to do future we are

v   coordconn v   Vroot ptcp Vpfx cop

Let's dig roots and eat, we'll be hungry.

3.11 **čé lhuwí tíímacq̇áti qa itʰúúni cʰúútaċ támmi kúci** ， **támmáámé' kam tuci**

not we two are know   the our   when?   eat   future   without eating agent to do

Neg cop   ptcp   def pers   pro-form ptcp   adv   post ptcp

kú lhuwá amqʰá lhám ， **sisííní** ·

future we are but   let's us two eat   I said

Vpfx cop   coordconn v   v

We don't know when we're going to eat, we'll be without food, let's eat, I said [said my grandmother]. [amqʰá omitted in transcript.]

4.1 **ma slháċáċcíní** ·

and   we got up

coordconn v

And we got up.

4.2 **slhicassatcíní itʰúúni qásẇa** ·

we picked up   our   digging stick

v   pers   n

We picked up our digging sticks.

Transcript has qa kacʰúni taqwasis (?) or perhaps taqmas sisí in place of itʰú·ni qásẇa.

4.3 **styacépṫaswacínóo** ·

he watched us

v

He was watching us.

4.4 **má ánca we slhúúsaayíní má slhiskííní qa pahá** ·

and then   then we dug roots and   we chewed on the anise

coordconn adv v   coordconn v   def n

So we were eating epos root and eating it.

4.5 **yáámá** **twiy̓í** **ċé** **smícáácínóo** **tipsíwci** , **mám** , **ikʰím** ·

she's eating	he is	not	he might have done	think	and	just
v	cop	Neg	v	ptcp	coordconn	adv

"She's eating" I suppose he thought, "that's nothing."

4.6 **styacép̓tasẇacínóo** ·

he watched us

v

He watched us.

4.7 **tyúúk̓uuẇacíní** ·

he was sitting down

v

He was sitting down.

Audio: cʰicʰu·k̓·o·ẇaci scacính.

4.8 **má ánca** **we** , **pʰóc** **sil̓** **sil̓** **slhiitéémíní** **wasííní** ·

and then	then	distant	persistant	persistant	we were moving away	she said
coordconn	adv	adv	adv	adv	v	v

We were moving away little by little.

4.9 **kitím** **y̓ééwaymini** **sil̓** **sil̓** **slhiitéémíní** [**slhiiċúúmíní**] **qa** **úúsaayi**

still	in that manner	bit by bit	persistant	we were moving away			the	digging
adv	pro-form	adv	adv	v			def	ptcp

·

In the same way as we dug we were slowly inching away.

Audio: sounds like suwí following ʔú·sa·yiʔ.

4.10 **ma** **tyááċaċċíní** **we** ·

and	got up	then
coordconn	v	adv

Then he got up.

Written cʰá·ċaċcíní

4.11 **pʰóc** **sil̓** **slhíím̓uuyíní** **amqʰááwa** , **tyáċaċcíní** , **mán**

distant	bit by bit	we departed from him	that's why	got up	and
adv	adv	v	coordconn	v	coordconn

tywaaq̓iikántiwíní ·

walked around

v

Because we were getting farther away from him, he got up, and then he walked around.

4.12 **má ánca** **we** **styacép̓tasẇacínóo** ·

and then	then	he watched us
coordconn	adv	v

And he watched us.

Audio: mánca twice at the end.

4.13 **tywííliiswíláqcíní** , **qʰe** **itépté** **ċé** **m̓ucííní** **tissi** ·

pointed back behind		that	you two go back	not	it might be	talk
v		deic	v	Neg	v	ptcp

He pointed behind himself, I guess he must have said "Get back there".

Audio: cʰwíl·i·súílkáyláqcín·í, qʰé itépte ćímúcínn tis·iʔ tisyι.

4.14 tywííliiswílkáytinlááka qʰé itépté tissi ·

pointed behind self   that you two go back   talk

v   deic   v   ptcp

He pointed behind himself saying "you two come back here".

4.15 ... qʰé itépté issí wic ẏééwa ·

that you two go back talking furry in manner(?)

deic   v   ptcp   onom adv

He seemed to be saying "you two get back over there!"

Transcript reduced to ćé mucí·ní tis·i wicẏé·wa.

5.1 amqʰákam astaymi slhóóq̇iikántíwíní , má ánca yapte kúcí wic ẏééwa

but   slowly   we walked around   and then she comes back fut   furry in manner(?)

coordconn   adv   v   coordconn v   adv   onom adv

·

We dawdled, as though we were coming back.

5.2 ṫaqʰapa slhúúsaayíní , má ánca slhicépṫasẇacíní ·

however   we dug roots   and then   he watched us

coordconn   v   coordconn   v

But we kept digging roots, and he watched us.

Audio: sləhú·sa·yə́né·sa ma slhəcépṫasẇíní·si

5.3 mám halaċ tyíícíní ·

and   glancing did

coordconn onom   v

And he glanced at one of us.

Audio: máṁá hala·ʼcʰí·cí·n mánca ...

5.4 má ánca pʰóc wíccíʼ slhiikéiwíwcíní qa kacʰúṁi wisẏí ·

and then   distant resemble they were in spatial relationship the themselves he says

coordconn   adv   v   v   def   pers   v

And bit by bit they put more distance between themselves.

Need more examples of -i·ké·- relationships.

5.5 má ánca wé haḻaċ ćé kuci kú ticépṫasẇácí qa áásá sisííní wasííní ·

and then   well glance not future future watch   the eye   I said   she said

coordconn   adv   onom Neg   Vpfx   ptcp   def   n   v   v

"'With glances, watch his eye' I said", she said.

Audio: haḻa·ćé· ćé kuci kú ticépṫascá qa ʔá·sá sísí·ní wasʰ.

5.6 ćé kuci kú tállííyaci , mám tupté móhẏam wíccíʼ tẏánuwí qá

not future future watch   and   go!   nearby   resemble it is   the

Neg   Vpfx   ptcp   coordconn v   D   v   cop   def

tooḣoomít , ámqʰááwáté ḳóóḣoomí , ḳilúúṁetké ·

running-to-place   you must run   run fast

n   v   v

If he's not looking, then to, the place you must run to is nearby, run fast!

Audio: móhyam wíṫakca ṫánuwá qá wóltaḣ·ó·mít.

5.7

qá	aq̓q̓ó	úúlíínán	ucí	amqʰááwáté	mhííqaacíw	·
the	mountain	on top of	doing	while	we'll meet together	
def	n	adv	ptcp	coordconn	v	

We'll meet on top of the mountain.

Audio: Ending the previous or introducing this: suwí qa qʰé·hé· then quick breath. LR asked to omit cʰá·ẇasa "somewhere" after aq̓·o, "somewhere on top of the mountain"; she didn't know which mountain, but that's not part of the story.

Cp. úli·mí, úli·kí ridge.

5.8

álistííca	m̓lappástuma	ham̓íssáte	sisííní	,	cʰa	sa	umá	illáásí	ka
individual rock	I will place	on one	I said		where	indefinite	maybe(?)	being alive	agent
n	v	adv	v		pro	post		ptcp	Nsfx

sisííní	wasííní	·
I said	she said	
v	v	

"'If one of us is still alive' I said, 'I'll put one rock on another', I said" she said.

LR inserted the first clause (second clause in English) at transcription time.

5.9

má ánca	lhmáqẇásẇíwci	sihisííní	·
and then	let's wait a bit for each other	we agreed	
coordconn	v	v	

So we agreed to wait a bit (to look for sign, not long).

Transcript: q̓amáqẇásẇí.

5.10

ma	,	c̓é	kuci	kú	tíyóqtátẏuki	,	c̓ókcam	aqc̓úúmí
and		not	future	future	arrive from below right on time		a little while	extent
coordconn		Neg		Vpfx	ptcp		adv	n

aawátca	mihimmáqẇásẇíw	,	c̓é	kuci	kú	tíyóqtátẏuki	·
only	we should wait for each other		not	future	future	arrive from below right on time	
adv	v		Neg		Vpfx	ptcp	

Because we might be delayed, we should wait a little bit, not arriving from below on time.

5.11

mám	m̓lúptéécum̓a	sisííní	·
and	I will keep going back	I said	
coordconn	v	v	

"But then I'll keep going home" I said.

Audio: cʰísi·ni "She said"

5.12

ma	yúpté'cam	sísííní	,	má ánca	wíyóqtátẏi	kúcí	lhowááticka
and	you keep on going	I said		and then	one who catches up	fut	I will be wrt you
coordconn	v	v		coordconn	v	adv	cop

síísííní	·
I said	
v	

I'll catch up to you.

Audio: cʰísi·ni "She said". wíyóqtát kucí tləhowá·tika.

5.13

sínámmacq̓áti	qa	ittʰú	tuptét	síísííní	·
I know	the	my	where to go, the directions	I said	
v	def	pers	n	v	

I know how to get home, she said.
Audio: cʰísi·ni "She said"

5.14 **waẃá mékcihé' twiỷí** ·

big	more	he is
adj	adv	cop

She was older.
Tape has "you know" instead of /twiʔí/.

5.15 **má ánca we , ticép̓tasẃacóo qa áásá sisííní wisííní** ·

and then	then	watch!		the	eye	I said	he said
coordconn	adv	v		def	n	v	v

"And then I said 'watch his eye'" she said.

5.16 **ma ḣaⱡác̓ sííẃáátumá wisííní , ó tissi ya c̓é mucííní**

and	glancing (aside)	is wrt me		he said	(?)	talk	emph	I guess
coordconn	n	cop		v	Vpfx	ptcp	Nsfx	adv

ḣaⱡác̓ sííẃáátumá wisííní ·

glancing (aside)	is wrt me	he said
n	cop	v

I guess he looked because of our talking, she said.

5.17 **palá' ḣaⱡác̓ ticcii ya palá' póq tyíċúúcíní mám tywílúúm̓etkééní** ·

already	glancing (aside)	doing	emph	already	jump	jumped up	and	ran hard
adv	n		ptcp	Nsfx	adv	Vroot	v	coordconn	v

As soon as he glanced (at me), quick, she jumped up and ran hard.

5.18 **palá' póc wíccí' , lamúúsi titáácimi c̓é mucííní , palá' tasímííci** ·

already	close	resemble	ten	steps	perhaps	already	jump
adv	adv	v	quant	ptcp	adv	adv	ptcp

She was still close, maybe ten steps away, and already she jumped (to the side, evasively).
Audio: mám, amqʰá pəlá· lhú·ʔ ... pəlá· ʔísʔ ... pʰóc ya ... lamús·íw titá·ci·mi ʔantís ... c̓u mucí·ní pəlá tas·í·mi·ch.
titá·ci·mi "string of beads" measured from tip of nose to hand; hence, the length of a pace; about a yard.

5.19 **táwap̓áác̓ami wic ẏééwa tyúlulmíní** ·

ball thrown		furry	in manner	rolled
ptcp		onom	adv	v

She ran like a rolling ball.
Added during transcription, not in audio.

6.1 **línnaẏma tyípsíwcíní amqʰákam c̓é tyúúcííní tííyóqtátỷi** ·

he chased her	tried	but	not	was	catch up
v	v	coordconn	Neg	v	ptcp

He tried to chase her, but he couldn't catch up.

6.2 **mam súsp̓iimi , tyac̓amcini má ánca tywílmálqicíní** ·

and	he let her go	stopped	and then	looked back
coordconn	v	v	coordconn	v

Then he let her go, he stopped and looked back.
Wrote tywílmá·qicíní

6.3

ma	tíímálqíci	ya	poq	sóóċúúcíní	má	sááhoomíní	wisííní ·
and	look back	emph	jump	I jumped	and	I ran	she said
coordconn	ptcp		Nsfx	onom	v	coordconn	v	v

And when he looked back, I jumped up and ran.

Wrote tíma·qíci

6.4

mám	,	sítuutíísíníumá	,	amqʰákam	haaċíww	ċís	wáátíní	qa	lapĺé ·
and		he shot at me		but	zip!	bad	flew	the	gun
coordconn		v		coordconn	onom	adj	v	def	n

Then he shot at me, but zip! the bullet flew past me.

6.5

amqʰakam	sáptééċumíní	,	ċé	suwicííní	tíímálqici ·
but	I kept going home		not	I was	look back
coordconn	v		Neg	cop	ptcp

I kept going, I never looked back.

Wrote tí·ma·qíci

6.6

poq	poq	sóóċumíní	wasííní	,	ḱáníḱ	wic	ẏééwa	wisííní ·
jump	jump	I was going along	she said		rabbit	furry	in manner	he said
onom	onom	v	v		n	onom	adv	v

I kept jumping from side to side, she said, like a rabbit.

analysis of só·- as sá- wa -is speculative 11/18/2019. Perh. -uw-, cp LR Fath 3.6

6.7

tyahúúmíní	qa	kaccʰú	cahhóm	tínéyááwaci	yáté'	,	má ánca	tyasiicáátumini ·
ran thither	the	his	horse	stand tethered	at		and then	he jumped on
v	def	pers	n	ptcp	post		coordconn	v

He ran back to where his horse was tied up and (got on?).

Wrote cʰohó·míní and cʰasicʰá·tumini

6.8

ċé	mucííní	tácaċúúcini	qa	q̇ússi	,	mám	tínaymi ·
perhaps	picked up	the	gun		and	chase
adv	v	def	n		coordconn	ptcp

I guess he grabbed his gun, then he rode after me.

Subordinate t- 3rd person "that he picked up"

Wrote tácaċú·cili

6.9

iipáḱ	cwilúúṁetkeení	qá	cahóm	qa	kac	ínnaymí' ·
strongly	he ran fast	the	dog	the	he
adv	v	def	n	def	pers

The horse ran very fast, chasing just her.

6.10

ma	ánca	we	sahoomíní	wissííní	,	qa	tówsi	wíc	ẏééwa	silúúṁetkeeni
and	so	then	I ran	she said		the	deer	resembling	in manner	I ran fast
coordconn	adv	adv	v	v		def	n	ptcp	adv	v

wisííní ·

she said

v

So I ran, she said, I ran like a deer, she said.

6.11

má ánca	haẏ	sínúucííní	,	qa	álússa	ú	ticuumóówoy	haẏ	sínúuwí
and then	thoughts	I did again		the	creek	POSS		thinking	I was again
coordconn	n	v		def	n	Nsfx		onom	cop

wisííní ·

he said

v

Then I remembered the gully where water used to flow.

Where it flows in the wet season.

Wrote ʔálúˑsa

6.12

tínásičílamámé'	twiẏí	qa	caḣóm	sópsíwciní	mám	móẇ	sicííní	qa
unable to jump over	he is	the	dog	she thought	and	dodge	I did	the
ptcp		cop	def	n	v	coordconn	onom	v	def

ticuuqaaq̇eẇoy	wáté	sáptééní	·
formerly flow	at	I was going there	
ptcp	adv	v	

The horse won't be able to jump over it" I thought, and turned sharply toward the gully.

Wrote: sicéˑní

6.13

má ánca	waẇá	aqcúúci	tyúúcííní	tiiⱡiq̇yi	kúci	qá	as	ú	ticumóẇoy	·
and then	big	extent	was	reach with hand	future	the	water	POSS		
coordconn	adj	n	v	ptcp			def	n	Nsfx	

It was deep, the banks too high to reach with your hand.

Wrote ʔaq̇cúˑcíʔ

6.14

amqʰá	issi	sasímíícíní	qa	issi	·
but	in the middle	I jumped into	the	in the middle	
coordconn	adv	v	def	adv	

But I jumped into the middle.

6.15

čótóṁ	sosṁícini	·
splash	I landed in water	
onom	v	

Splash! I landed in water.

6.16

čókcam	ániimí	tyúúcííní	،	qʰaẇééⱡa	qa	laasúúlí	ẇicí	tyúúcíní	·
a little while	being deep	was		in some places	the	muddy	tend to be	did	
adv	ptcp	v		adv	def	adj	v	v	

It was a bit deep, in some places damp.

LR: kind of dry.

Wrote ʔáníˑmí

6.17

má ánca	qa	hásti	ma	taqqáẇcanmím	ínaaci	iipáċ	sásikʰééṁátúmíní
and then	the	grass	and	any little thing	growing	strongly	I jumped at it
coordconn	def	n	coordconn	pro-form	ptcp	adv	v

má	sṫaq̇	sácásúmíní	،	mám	lípsóóċúcíní	،	mam	ḣééwís	sásiicáátúmíní
and	sticking	I grabbed it		and	I leaped up		and	high	I jumped on top
coordconn	adj	v		coordconn	v		coordconn	adj	v

،	mam	sasiiċúúcíní	،	mam	saaḣuumíní	·
	and	I jumped up		and	I ran	
	coordconn	v		coordconn	v	

And so the I jumped and grabbed on to grass or any little thing growing that was strong, and I leaped up, and I jumped high on top, then I jumped to my feet, and I ran.

Written taq·álcanmím and ip·áċ
Wrote: staq̓

6.18 **sítúúṫíísumá ẇisííní** ·

he shot at me   she said

v   v

he shot at me she said.

6.19 **ċé   suwicííní tuċéq̓ti** ·

not   I was   hit

Neg   cop   ptcp

I never got hit.

6.20 **ċé   smítúcíínóo   tatʰéctiq̓ayi t·tici** ·

not   I guess he did to me frighten

Neg   v   ptcp

I guess he was trying to scare me.

Transcribed smítúċí·nóo

6.21 **mam   sílúúṁetkééní ẇisííní** ·

and   I ran fast   she said

coordconn v   v

Then I ran fast, she said.

6.22 **tímálqic ámé'   kam soḣoomíní** ,   **mam   poq poq sicuumíní má   wisẏí** ·

look back without agent I ran   and   jump jump I jumped   and   he says

ptcp   post   post v   coordconn onom onom v   coordconn v

I never looked back, I ran and jumped side to side, she said.

6.23 **má ánca isuptééní** ,   **wé sísaaċuumíní** ·

and then   rushing on   well I rushed

coordconn ptcp   adv   v

Racing, I rushed on.

7.1 **má ánca wéétát tááтʰuumací qá wéétát qá asẇúúwáté móḣyem**

and then   bank   approaching the bank   the   close

coordconn adv   ptcp   def adv   def   adv

sikéémíní   ẇisííní ·

I was in spatial relationship she said

v   v

And then I got almost to the edge of the pines.

7.2 **má ánca sínámmaamíní   ẇisííní** ,   **sínámmálqicíní ẇisííní** ·

and then   I looked over my shoulder she said   I looked back   she said

coordconn v   v   v   v

And I looked over my shoulder, I looked back, she said.

7.3 **ċáás   tyú̓ú̓cíní** ·

silence did

onom   v

There was not a sound.

7.4 **ċé** **sucíní** **tinímmááci** **tóólóll̇a** **ẇisííní** ·

    not   I did   finding   all around she said

    Neg   v   ptcp   adv   v

I didn't see him anywhere, she said.

7.5 **ṁám**   **chuusaya** **tííciiní** **ṁucċíċh̊íní**   **qá** **assáté** **tíllaacaymoẇoyáté**

    and   whatever   do   he might have fallen in liquid the in water where it used to flow

    coordconn adv   ptcp   v   def adv   v

ẇissííní ,   **wéé** **ṁásiċááh̊ayíní**   **umá**   **qa** **kach̊ú** **cah̊óm** **sopsíwcíní** ·

she said   now   he might have fallen in maybe(?) the his   dog   I thought

v   v   v   def pers n   v

I don't know what happened to him, maybe he fell in the water course, or then maybe his horse fell in (jumped in), I thought.

7.6 **amqʰákam** **sáh̊uumeeċumíní** ·

    but   I kept running

    coordconn   v

But I kept on running (didn't stop).

Note says h̊ here sounds like croup.

7.7 **síncokkʰésẇacíní** ·

    I ran back up the hill

    v

I ran back up the hill.

This was out of sequence, after the following sentence. LR said to omit it; I have instead put it here.

7.8 **má ánca** **issi**   **qa** **asẇú** **wáté** **síq̇q̇aatíní** **ẇisííní** ·

    and then   in the middle the tree   at   I got close to she said

    coordconn adv   def n   adv   v   v

Then I got close to the middle of the pine woods.

7.9 **má ánca** **qa** **aq̇q̇o**   **sacokkʰésẇacíní** ·

    and then   the mountain I kept on trotting

    coordconn def n   v

I kept on trotting up the mountain.

7.10 **palá'**   **sínciscásċúcíní** **ẇissííní** ·

    already I got on top   she said

    adv   v   v

Soon I got to the top, she said.

Wrote sínciscásċúcíní

7.11 **má ánca** **sáċċámcíní** ·

    and then   I stopped

    coordconn v

Then I stopped.

7.12 **sínámmaamí** **ẇissííní** ·

    I looked back   she said

    v   v

I looked back, she said.

7.13 **ċáás tyúcííní** ·

silence did

onom v

Everything was quiet.

7.14 **mám palá' tyasííyaqíní kacʰú wappísẁí wílóo** ·

and already came his older sister former

coordconn adv v pers Nrel Nsfx

And then her sister got there.

7.15 **mám l̇aasaaċináka slhéénííní ẁissííní** ·

and happily we came home she said

coordconn adv v v

And we came home, happy, she said.

Wrote slihi·ní·ní

7.16 **sus sus slhííċukíní , má ánca we sl̇héénííní tímmásútẁámé' kam**

jog jog we two (excl.) jogged and then then we went home without resting agent

onom onom v coordconn adv v ptcp post

sus sus slhííċukíní ·

jog jog we two (excl.) jogged

onom onom v

The two of us jogged, we went on without resting, trotting along.

Wrote sl̇hí·ċukini for first occurrence; wrote sl̇ihí·ní·ní

7.17 **cẏééwa amáẏtu qa ḣapoq ucí 'ka** ·

in what way also the giddy doing agent

pro-form adv def n ptcp post

How else, being excited.

In LR's examples, the /cẏé·wa amáẏtu/ idiom answers question like "can you do this?" with "of course I can!" or "are you going to go dance?" with "of course I am!" Recorded /cʰé·wa [ʔ]amáẏtu/.

7.18 **iipáċ iipáċ taḣoomi laq̇ tuccóómé tkiẏí** ·

strongly strongly run tired(?) without doing you are

adv adv ptcp v ptcp cop

You run strongly without tiring.

Wrote ʔiṗ·áċ

7.19 **mám slhéénííní ẁissííní , slhééḣookíní** ·

and we came home she said we jogged

coordconn v v v

And we came home she said, we jogged.

7.20 **palá' tulúpċic ámé' wátém , náṁ pʰéé hééẁací qá ċulláté sl̇hisííyamí qa**

already sunset without at yet this way elevated(?) the at the sun we arrived the

adv ptcp post Nsfx adv adv adv def adv v def

wéél̇ámukííẁa , slhínsiq̇áátíní ẁissííní ·

Goose Valley we ran to the end she said

name v v

Before sunset, the sun still kind of high, we got to Goose Valley, we ran all the way, she said.

7.21 **má ánca ċáás tyísuncíní** ·

and then silence felt

coordconn onom v

There was not a sound.

7.22 **tóólol qa yályúúcóo** , **tóólol qa tʰiyáw   wáwi palá' tywiníítánumíwcíní**

all   the men   all   the sibling (same sex) plural already went down together to

quant def n   quant def Nrel   Nsfx adv v

qa acúmmá ·

the river

def n

All the men, all the brothers had gone together down to the river.

-tánǹmíwcíní

Wrote y̓ályúʔcóo

7.23 **mo   qʰahéé   tyuwiyyúmcíní ma   tyáátáċcíní qa ál tínnáscúúcé   wissííní**

intnsv there yonder dwelt   and   gathered   the fish store winter food she said

v   coordconn v   def n ptcp   v

.

That's where they live and gather fish for winter food, she said.

Also recorded cʰátáċ·íní, cʰátá·ċíní

7.24 **amqʰá   qʰé kʰatímm wíttʰálúúmi** , **amqʰá wáté sihéétʰuumí wissííní** ·

but   that still one works   that time at we arrived she said

coordconn deic adv v   deic   adv v   v

So they were still there working when we arrived, she said.

7.25 **má ánca slhóótʰaaċíní wissííní** ·

and then   we two shouted she said

coordconn v   v

And then we shouted she said.

Wrote: sihó·ta·ċíní

7.26 **mam   styóótʰééwi mám   haṁís wáka   tyúúníín mámm   tyílíċciqíní**

and   he heard us   and   one agentive came   and   he rowed a canoe across

coordconn v   coordconn quant Nsfx v   coordconn v

.

Someone heard us and came, he rowed a canoe across.

7.27 **mám   táq cʰú   túw** , **táq cʰú   muwí tyíísííní** ·

and   what how   do   what how   are you? said

coordconn pro pro-form ptcp   pro pro-form cop   v

what's wrong, what's the matter with you, he said.

7.28 **cʰú   túw muwí tyissííní** ·

how   do are you? said

pro-form ptcp cop   v

What's happening with you? he said.

7.29 **mám   qa wasĺíw w̓áka palá' y̓átwaǩ tóólolṁi qa ámittʰéẃcan tyíísííní** ·

and   the warrior agent already they killed all   the woman   said

coordconn def n   Nsfx adv   v   quant   def n   v

And she answered, soldiers have just killed all the women.

7.30 **má ánca itʰúúni tatẏí palá' ċé múw tukʰááti** ·

and then   our   mother already not it must be died

coordconn   pers   n   adv   Neg   cop   ptcp

Maybe our mother has died (been cut off).

7.31 **yááċiimi › tuutẏísumá** ·

falls   shooting at her

v   ptcp

She fell when they shot at her.

7.32 **amqʰááwáté ma itʰú ís ċé mucíní títámmaaki qa kacʰúni téétʰamyi**

while   and   my person not might be tell about   the their   follow orders

coordconn   coordconn pers n   Neg cop   ptcp   def pers   ptcp

kú tííẏi ·

future make

Vpfx ptcp

And then I suppose my people said (the soldiers) would make them their slaves.

Recorded títám·a·qi

7.33 **amqʰákam slhácusaċci slhisẏí wasííní** ·

but   we 2 ran away we two said she said

coordconn   v   v   v

But we ran away, they said, she said.

Recorded slihi?í sisí·ní

7.34 **má ánca we › mam cʰééwa amáẏtu tóólol tywiníítʰeeẇaycíwcíní** ›

and then   then   and   in what way also   all   notified one another

coordconn adv   coordconn pro-form   adv   quant   v

mam tyíítʰaaċíní › mám tóólol sup tywínáátiẏíwcíní ·

and   shouted   and   all   quickly assembled, gathered

coordconn v   coordconn quant   adv   v

And then, well of course they all notified one another, and one hollered so they all quickly gathered.

Wrote cwíná·te?éwcíní. = tywíná·ti ?iwcíní ?

Why not tywíná·tíwcíní?

7.35 **tywínkupsááyíní qá kacʰúni láplé (qa kacʰúni lásċaaḱé) amqʰá tóólol** ›

gathered things together the their   arrow   the their   arrow   but   all

v   def pers   n   def pers   n   coordconn quant

we tywinákupsááyíní ·

then gathered things together

adv   v

They gathered up their bows and arrows, their arrows, well they got them together.

In their quivers= ċúmatí.

LR uncertain of láplé vs lásċa·ḱé , and she asked to omit the portion in parens and other material in audio but not noted here.

Wrote lásċaḱé.

7.36 **má ánca we ċé mucííní táálááti qá makkáȟ tím qá kacʰúni tééné qa**

and then	then	I guess	split	the pitch	indeed(?)	the	their	use	the
coordconn	adv	adv	ptcp	def n	adv	def	pers	ptcp	def

maȟȟíkca lat lat tawááci ·

night	split	split	making
n	onom	onom	ptcp

Then I guess they split pitch wood up to use at night, splitting pieces for torches).

But tó·cé "torch"

7.37 **tilíícuki haċé , ticokʰéwcíní palá' tyásittʰásċucíní qʰé qa aaɋo ·**

go across	on this side	running uphill	already	got up on top		that	the	mountain
ptcp	adv	ptcp	adv	v		deic	def	n

Going across on this side, running uphill, already they got up on top of that mountain.

7.38 **má ánca we te túúní ·**

and then	then	they	come
coordconn	adv	loan	ptcp

And then they came up to (Big Valley).

7.39 **ńáḿ lay ílaatuwí' ẇátém palá' tasiiyaami húkẏíh qa itʰuuni qa téétẇooẇoy wáte**

still	getting dark	at	already	arriving	yonder	the	our	the	killed ones	at
adv		Nsfx	adv	ptcp	adv	def	pers	def	ptcp	Nsfx

, tasiiyaami , má ánca we títóómásti qẇáẏtu ·

arriving		and then	then	looking all over	from then on
ptcp		coordconn	adv	ptcp	adv

It was just getting dark when they arrived up there where our dead were, arriving and scouting all around from there.

7.40 **má ánca ċás tísuncí ·**

and then	silence	sensing(?)
coordconn	adv	ptcp

And everything was quiet.

Expressively lengthened ċaaas

7.41 **má ánca we qa álílúcẇaċosċí' ka , má ánca itʰaalápí' ka , tyaaȟíícíní**

and then	then	the	fastest running again	agent	and then	most athletic	agent	took the lead
coordconn	adv	def	ptcp	Nsfx	coordconn	ptcp	Nsfx	v

, má ánca tywicéskééċumíní , ílúúciikake' ẇa ícaasá ka (tyuucííní).

and then	kept searching while going along		ready to shoot	instr	grasping	agent	did
coordconn	v		ptcp	Vsfx	ptcp	Nsfx	v

Then the fastest runner, the most athletic (of the 5 brothers) took the lead, searching (for soldiers), ready to shoot with (weapons) in his hand.

Last word optional. Those who were digging roots were from all over, but the men here were only the five brothers of LR's grandmother.

Wrote cʰa·hí·cíní and ʔílúcikakeʔwa

7.42 **má ánca ȟaẇaay tyiiɋaatíní ilúɋoɋɋáté qá as ú ticúmoẇoy wáté ·**

and then	tiptoe	approached	where water cut a ditch	the water	POSS		at
coordconn	adv	v	adj	def n	Nsfx		adv

Then he sneaked up to the gully.

LR wanted to omit qá as ʔú ticúmoʔoy wáté.

7.43 **má ánca tywicéskíní** ·

and then   was looking

coordconn   v

He was looking

tywicéskíní replaced ticéskiʰ "looking, to look" (final i devoiced).

7.44 **c̓áás   tyísuncí** ·

silence sensed

onom   v

Everything was quiet.

7.45 **má ánca   titooq̓ikántiwi   c̓ókcam   aqc̓úúmí'** ,   **ticéskikántiwi** ·

and then   walking around   a little while extending   searching around

coordconn   ptcp   adv   ptcp   ptcp

Then they walked around a while, searching around.

wrote ticískikántiwi

7.46 **c̓ás   tyúúcín** ·

silence did

adv   v

It was quiet.

7.47 **má ánca   c̓é mucííní   ta·wákʰaymíwci   má   tícéski** ·

and then   I guess   they went farther up and   looking

coordconn   adv   ptcp   coordconn   ptcp

Then I guess they went farther up the ditch, looking.

7.48 **assáté   titámmác̓ʰáki   tyuwinimáácíní   qa itʰú   tatʸí   wílóo** ·

in water   rolled into water found   the my   mother former

adv   ptcp   v   def pers   n   Nsfx

They found my mother where she rolled into the ditch.

titam·i fly, go in a line

7.49 **assáté   kítím suk   suk   ic̓úúcí tyuwinimáácíní** ·

in water still   breathing sound breathing sound rising   found

adv   adv   onom   onom   ptcp   v

They found her in the water, barely breathing.

7.50 **mám   qʰááwá   'ka   temotẇi** ,   **tineq̓aẇi** ,   **má ánca we tuuq̓ac̓ci** ·

and   some of them agent pick up   wrap up   and then   then carry on back

coordconn pro-form   post   ptcp   ptcp   coordconn adv   ptcp

So some of them picked her up, wrapped her up, and carried her.

7.51 **má ánca   we tííní** ,   **mam   qʰááwa ka   ticéskééc̓umi** ,   **cʰú   sa**

and then   then come home   and   some   agent search   how   indefinite

coordconn   adv   ptcp   coordconn A   Nsfx   ptcp   pro-form post

aṁá tíícíwcíní ·

but   they did

adv   ptcp

Then they came home, but some were still searching, whatever they were doing.

final vowels of last two verbs devoiced.

t-..íw = 'subordinate' per de A.

7.52 **kí ṫakca aawátca wímmacq̇áti tsiẏí cʰú sa aṁá tucóóẇoy qʰehee**

     thus distant only one who knows I am how indefinite but past doings those

     adv adj adv ptcp cop pro-form post adv ptcp deic

tálíímasẇaci [**tyiisííní**].

keep looking said

ptcp v

That's as far as I know, she said, I don't know what those still looking did.

Wrote tic·ó·ʔoy

7.53 **qʰe qa timáálímcimoẇoy ··· no ··· ámínínnáté tííṫʰuumi ·**

     that the burn down long ago no old woman place come home

     deic def name loan name ptcp

here at burnt-out-long-ago ... no, at old-woman-turned-to-stone they came home.

Old woman looked back when the world was burning, and was turned to stone.

tima·límci glossed as hide, vs. ta·límci = hide

7.54 **mam tílíícciimi qa sáppʰiwa ·**

     and row across the with a canoe

     coordconn ptcp def adv

And they rowed across with a canoe.

8.1 **qʰáyṁi tállíímasẇaci ·**

Right there we stayed, hid.

8.2 **cʰéẏé tuptéémé 'kam qʰáyṁi sḷhalíímasẇacínóo ẇisííní ·**

     which way agent we hid there

     pro-form post v

We stayed hiding right there without going anywhere, she said.

Difference: tupté·mé 'kam automatic long final e, tuc·ó·mé', tupté·me' short e at end of phrase

8.3 **mám haḳ ẏályú ka ḧééwís éécimmáláẏtu aaṁá cʰúúṫaċ yucííní '**

     and two man agent high on the other side but when? they were doing

     coordconn quant n Nsfx adv adj adv pro-form v

haḳcan aṁá wacéṗtasẇaci qa qʰé qa ẇaslíw ú túúni kúci ·

two of them but the that the POSS come future

quant adv def deic def Nsfx ptcp

And two young men always stationed themselves on a height across the river.

8.4 **amqʰá tícéṗtasẇaci haḳcan [haḳcan ámpak].**

     but two of them two of them

     coordconn quant quant

So two were watching.

LR corrected what sounds like ticúpsúṗtasẇaci to tícéṗtasẇaci

9.1 [**amq̇aakam má ánca we ',] má ánca we [tyiicííní ',] tyúúcííní qa qʰé qa**

     and then then and then then was was the that the

     coordconn adv coordconn adv v v def deic def

iiẁáámak , **amqʰá** **we qa ís** **ẁáka cwáníkaakántíwí** ·
autumn but then the person by made the rounds
n coordconn adv def n Nsfx v
However, that Fall a man went around delivering a message.

9.2 **táq wáli cʰú ṁicuwíumá** , **má tiḷiikaci tucci** ?
what kind(?) how and not doing
pro v coordconn ptcp
What's the matter with you, why don't you come join us?
Elsewhere: come for a handout
Wrote ṁicuw·íimá

9.3 **qa puẁááwí yatẁa qá wasḷíwcóo** ·
the ox the soldiers
def n def n
The soldiers are killing cattle.

9.4 **puẁááwí yátẁá má waḷaací qa ís tyíísííní** ·
ox and the person she said
n coordconn def n v
They're killing cattle and feeding the people, he said.

9.5 **amqʰá wáté Ḷkííḷiikac tyíísííní** ·
so at you should come receive she said
coordconn adv v v
So you should come get some, he said.

9.6 **má ánca tyíísííní qa itʰú aqʰoẁííwíló icámmá úmásmi** , **icámmá úmásmi ẁissííní**
and then she said the my eat! (plur.) go ahead! eat! (plur.) go ahead! she said
coordconn v def pers v excl v excl v
·
Then my grandfather said, you people go ahead and eat.

9.7 **táq allu** ⎡ **suwí** ⎤ **tucóómé' kam tsiɏí** ·
what hungry I am not do agent I am
pro Vroot cop ptcp post cop
I'm not hungry for that kind.

9.8 **sááḱuuẁácí** ·
I'm staying.
v
I'm staying right here.
written with q̇

9.9 **tóósiwcan aawátca mḷám** ·
piece of deer meat only
n adv
I'll just eat a bit of deer meat.
Wrote awátcan

9.10 **icámmá úmásmi** , **icámmá tyíísííní** ·
eat! (plur.) go ahead! eat! (plur.) she said
v excl v v

You people go ahead and eat, he said.

9.11

támmí	ẇa	kícíuwíumá	amqʰá	kicííl̓ám	tyíísííní ·
eating	continue	you pl. want	but		she said
ptcp	Vroot	v	coordconn	v	v

If you want to eat with them, you should eat with them.

Wrote kicí·l̓ám·

9.12

it	kástá	pi	sáámá	kʰaṁ	tyíísííní ·
1sg	oneself	here	I'm eating	much	she said
pers	emph	adv	v		v

I myself have plenty to eat here, he said.

Wrote qʰáṁ.

9.13

ma	kʰéstʰam ·
and	end
coordconn	adv

That's all.