

## LR: Pumice-Stone Man (Obsidian-Polisher)

- 1.1 áw witt<sup>h</sup>alúumí tykíyí qá accát qa tóh<sup>y</sup>ii kúci .  
wood worker it was the ground squirrel the home fires fut  
n ptcp cop def n def n adv

Ground Squirrel was the fire tender.

Devoiced final syllable of verb and of sentence.

The recording of this story continues directly from the Mouse Brothers story. 2015-03.002.001 at 12:49

LR 8/12/73:19

- 1.2 qa iiwáamak immáák<sup>h</sup>úútí' tykíyí .  
the autumn burn ring around tree trunk was  
def n ptcp cop

In the Fall he would burn a ring around the trunk of a tree.

Devoiced final syllable.

LR 8/12/73:19

- 1.3 qá k<sup>h</sup>am waalítwa wiýí amá immáák<sup>h</sup>úútí' tykíy .  
the many branches it is but burn ring around tree trunk was the one who  
def quant n cop adv ptcp cop

(He'd pick out one with) a lot of limbs (and then he'd kill it by) burning a ring around the trunk. (LR 8/12/73:19)

Wrote mak<sup>h</sup>á·tí? for ʔim·á·k<sup>h</sup>ú·tí? again; ringing the tree by burning.

- 1.4 q<sup>h</sup>am taqq<sup>h</sup>ácqátákaaya tykiyááwáámí qa accát .  
much criticizing wearied of the ground squirrel  
quant ptcp v def n

Ground Squirrel got tired of a lot of criticism.

Audio: ac·átika "little Ground Squirrel".

Criticism from Coyote.

LR 8/12/73:20

- 1.5 slí·ínímmáácúc qá itt<sup>h</sup>ú taqqám , wináác<sup>h</sup>á t<sup>y</sup>uwí .  
the my cousin he's getting old it evidently is  
def pers n v cop

I ought to go see my cousin, he's getting old.

Devoiced final syllable.

LR 8/12/73:20

- 1.6 ít aamáytu sináác<sup>h</sup>á tsuwí .  
I likewise I'm getting old I am  
pers adv v cop

I'm getting old too.

Devoiced final syllable.

LR 8/12/73:20

- 1.7 mam m<sup>l</sup>ínímmáácuc páálá qítwi .  
and I will go see him today springtime  
coordconn v adv n

And so I'll go see him this Spring. (LR 8/12/73:20)

- 1.8 sát wičíflúúyí tykíyí qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú taqqám .  
knife smoother was the his cousin  
n n cop def pers n

His cousin was Pumice-Stone Man. (LR 8/12/73:21)

2.1 **má áncia we qa qítwi yúú'cuumak** ·

and then then the it arrived  
coordconn adv def v

And the springtime came. (LR 8/12/73:21)

2.2 **lóqmim tykwammátsi , má áncia tykwataapááci qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú táca'cuumil kúci**

in the morning got up and then he packed with him the his needed future  
adv v coordconn v def pers ptcp

·  
Early in the morning he got up and he packed what he needed to take with him.

Devoiced final vowel of both verbs.

Wrote ckwatá·páci.

LR 8/12/73:21

2.3 **kac<sup>h</sup>ú qás'wa má áncia kac<sup>h</sup>ú lúp'wííséh má áncia tóóniináke amq<sup>h</sup>á tykúúwí**

his digging stick and then his bow and then food but he was  
pers n coordconn pers n coordconn ptcp coordconn cop

**tykwataapááci** ·

he packed with him

v

He packed along his digging stick, his bow (and arrows), and food. (LR 8/12/73:22)

Devoiced final syllable of both verbs.

2.4 **má áncia we tykwammáásúúci má áncia tykáásááyí qá taqqáwcan mám**

and then then rested and then was digging roots the anything and  
coordconn adv v coordconn v def n coordconn

**tykwaaskéécumi** ·

ate while going along

v

And then he rested, and (while resting) he dug various (roots), and he ate as he went.

Devoiced final vowel. Wrote ckowa·ské·'cumh.

LR 8/12/73:22

2.5 **qá 'cul p<sup>h</sup>é' aapa'mi atissí wic<sup>h</sup>í apa'nú' amq<sup>h</sup>á wáté tykáát<sup>h</sup>uumi** ·

the sun in middle resembling in that way arrives  
def n adv ptcp adv v

Mid-afternoon, about mid-afternoon, he got there.

Transcript: added qá 'cul

Final vowel devoiced.

Wrote apa'mi, but that would be voiced p.

LR 8/12/73:23

2.6 **tykwaat<sup>h</sup>ééwí qa téési : hííníyááwínóó** ·

heard the song (song syllables)  
v def ptcp onom

he heard singing: (vocables).

LR 8/12/73:23

2.7 **íúúyííłama tykwapsíwci amq<sup>h</sup>ákam tykwíncappápwátíwci , ápp<sup>h</sup>ít wíc**  
 I'll go in thought but felt all over doorway resembling  
 v v coordconn v n ptcp

**icééci' kam amá cé tykúúwí tinúúníílam .**

appearing agent but not he was getting in  
 ptcp post adv Neg cop ptcp

He tried to get in but he felt over, it looked like there wasn't a door, he couldn't get in.

Indians never knock. If locked, "It's me, <name>". If not, just go in. If sleeping, then "It's me". Used to send a messenger first, if a very important person.

Devoiced final vowel of tykwíncap·ápwátíwci. Wrote ckwíncap·ápwátíwcih.

LR 8/12/73:24

2.8 **kí 'ka mów stituwáátuma ... té tiici , ís tisiñyi tucci , ki**  
 thus agent it might be he is to me thus doing person denying not doing who  
 adv post cop cop adv ptcp n ptcp ptcp pro-form

**wáli ka stituwáátuma tykwapsíwci .**

kind(?) agent he is to me thought  
 Nsfx cop v

Who is it doing this to me, he acts like I'm not human.

Devoiced vowel: wrote té ti·cih. Wrote kiwáli·?ka

LR 8/12/73:25

2.9 [ **ís cé síyúumá tisiñyi .** ]

person not he is to me deny  
 n Neg cop ptcp

He doesn't think I'm people. (LR 8/12/73:23)

2.10 [ **ís tuccóomé' sípsíwcuma .** ]

person not do thinks about me  
 n ptcp v

he thinks I'm not people. (LR 8/12/73:25)

2.11 [ **ik<sup>h</sup>im sípsíwcuma .** ]

nothing thinks about me  
 adv v

he thinks I'm nothing. (LR 8/12/73:25)

2.12 **álattáwci 'ka amq<sup>h</sup>áka té iici tyííwáátuma .**

Pittville people agent but thus doing they are wrt me  
 name post adv adv ptcp v

Pittville people would do that to me. (LR 8/12/73:26)

2.13 <sup>cha</sup>**mów t'tííyi , álattáwci 'ka aawátca amq<sup>h</sup>áka té iici' tsííwáátumá .**

it might be is it? Pittville people agent only but thus doing they are to me  
 cop cop name post adv adv adv ptcp cop

I wonder which one it could be, Pittville people are the only ones who would do that to me.

That is, who wouldn't be afraid of him.

Devoiced final vowel. Wrote ch<sup>h</sup>í·wá·tumah.

LR 8/12/73:26

- 3.1 **tykwíncááyááqí qá app<sup>h</sup>ít , má áncá tykwakuusaymí , má áncá**  
 touched by accident the doorway and then pushed and then  
 v def n coordconn v coordconn

**tykwaalááheeluumi .**

stuck head in

v

He just happened to touch the door, and he pushed it, and he stuck his head in.

Devoiced final vowel.

Wrote verbs: ckwíncá:yá qí, ckwíncá:yá qí, ckwa:lá'he'lu:mih.

LR 8/12/73:27

- 3.2 **qa íl tóólol ik<sup>h</sup>áátáké wíc tykánuwí qá ahti wa má áncá qa áásá .**  
 the hand all cut up resembling was the blood instr and then the eye  
 def n quant ptcp ptcp v def n Nsfx coordconn def n

his hands looked like they were all cut up with blood (on them), and his face.

LR 8/12/73:27

- 3.3 **má áncá tykwacpúúmaswaci qá app<sup>h</sup>ít<sup>h</sup>até tykwámmaamaswaci .**  
 and then was lying down the at the door was watching  
 coordconn v def adv v

And he was lying down, he was watching the door.

Devoiced final vowel of each verb.

LR 8/12/73:28

- 3.4 **mám tykiyáásaswaci .**  
 and was still singing  
 coordconn v

And he was still singing.

Devoiced final vowel.

LR 8/12/73:2

- 3.5 **tuuyíílak , tykisýí , huutá kastá kináýmóóci tykisýí .**  
 come in! said after a while oneself you'll die said  
 v v adv emph v v

Come in a while, he said, you'll die afterward.

Devoiced final syllable in both occurrences of c<sup>h</sup>ákisýih.

LR 8/12/73:28

- 3.6 **c<sup>h</sup>ú ya mlúw ipsíwci' tíici ki té tiici tykisýí qá accát .**  
 how emph I will be thinking do in that manner doing said the ground squirrel  
 pro-form Nsfx v ptcp ptcp adv ptcp v def n

How indeed will I be thinking of you who does this way, said Ground Squirrel.

LR gloss: Maybe that's why I do this way to you, said Ground Squirrel. Meaning maybe that's why I trouble to come to see you.

LR 8/12/73:29

- 3.7 **itt<sup>h</sup>úú tatýí yá twicóówoy , itt<sup>h</sup>úú weenúnwí wisóówoy má**  
 my mother emph used to do my younger sister used to say and  
 pers n adv v pers n v coordconn

**ʔutt<sup>h</sup>uukoowoy** , **má** **ʔúúsaayowoy** .  
 she used to come and she used to dig roots  
 v coordconn v

My sister told me my mother used to come here and dig roots.

LR 8/12/73:29

3.8 **amqháawaté** **sáyyíilakoowoy** **ma** **ʔisunt<sup>h</sup>otké** **'ka** .  
 I used to come with her and one who is mindful agent  
 v coordconn ptcp post

Those times I came with her too, and big enough to know.

LR 8/12/73:30

3.9 **amq<sup>h</sup>á** **ćé** **smuwwí** **wawá** **tíici** , **má** ... **mq<sup>h</sup>á** **hay** **sínúuwí** .  
 but not I might be big doing and but thinking I was again  
 coordconn Neg cop adj v coordconn coordconn onom cop

Then I guess I grew up, but I remember that.

Devoiced final vowel.

LR 8/12/73:30

3.10 **má** **yá** **tsiýí** .  
 and emph I am  
 coordconn adv cop

That's why I'm here.

When a vowel precedes, the t closes the preceding syllable and may seem to be rearticulated before the s: yát c<sup>h</sup>iýí. In any case, the s is clearly palatalized š, as is usually the case in the affricate.

LR 8/12/73:30

3.11 **l̥hilúllaýcowóoyá** **má** **lhooqántiwówóoyá** **itt<sup>h</sup>úuni** **tatýí** **ú** **túúsaayí** **yáté**  
 I used to lullaby you and I used to carry you around our mother POSS digging loc  
 v coordconn v pers n Nsfx ptcp Vsfx

**tykísýí qá accát** .  
 said the ground squirrel  
 v def n

I used to lullaby you and carry you around while our mothers dug roots, said Ground Squirrel.

LR 8/12/73:31

4.1 **qa sát** **wičíílúúyí'** **kap** **tykúúwí** [ **kac<sup>h</sup>ú** **téési** ] **má** **kitím**  
 the knife one who smoothes with feet shut mouth he was his song and still  
 def n ptcp onom cop pers ptcp coordconn adv

**tykáawaaci** , **má** **tykwaat<sup>h</sup>ánaayaswaci** .  
 sat still and listened  
 v coordconn v

Pumice-stone man shut up (his singing) and sat still and listened.

Devoiced final vowel of two verbs: wrote c<sup>h</sup>aká'wa'cih, má ckwa't<sup>h</sup>ána'yaswaci.

LR 8/12/73:31-32

4.2 **q<sup>h</sup>é** **ki té** **wissóowoy** **itt<sup>h</sup>ú** **tatýí** **wílóo** **álattáwci** **ís** **wiýí** **tkiýí**  
 that in that manner she used to say my mother former Pittville people person it is you are  
 deic adv v pers n Nsfx name n cop cop

### wissóówoy

one used to say

v

That's what my mother told me, Pittville people, you're one of them, she used to say.

LR 8/12/73:32

4.3 he ... kí té ka wissóówoy it<sup>h</sup>ú tatýí wílóo tykísýí qa sát

OK in that manner agent one used to say my mother former said the knife

loan adv Nsfx v pers n Nsfx v def n

### wicíílúúyí'

one who smoothes with feet

ptcp

Yes, that's what my mother used to say, said Pumice-stone man.

LR 8/12/73:32

4.4 táq mów máámi kúci tykísýí qa sát wicíílúúyi , piqq<sup>h</sup>á

what it might be you might eat future said the knife this

pro cop v v def n deic

líkám ... uýyááláké' tykísýí , qa sát uuýaaláké' ?

would you like to eat said the knife broken up

v

v

def n

ptcp

What shall you eat, said Pumice-stone man, would you like to eat this, broken pieces, broken up obsidian? (LR 8/12/73:33)

4.5 amq<sup>h</sup>á tykísýí qá accát héhé sálic̣tiikí qá q<sup>h</sup>ahé támmí tykísýí .

but said the ground squirrel chuckle I'm afraid the that one eating said

coordconn v def n onom def deic ptcp v

Oh, said Ground Squirrel, I'm afraid of that kind of food. (LR 8/12/73:33)

4.6 táq móuw máámi kúci , piq<sup>h</sup>á aawátca suwá sáámá qá it tykísýí qa

what it might be you might eat fut this only I will be I'm eating the 1sg said the

pro cop v adv deic adv v v def pers v def

### sát wicíílúúyí'

knife one who smoothes with feet

n ptcp

What are you going to eat then, this is the only kind I eat, said Pumice-stone man. (LR 8/12/73:34)

4.7 pi yá sócc̣iiláké sáásaayeećúki má áncia itt<sup>h</sup>úú tóóniinákóówoy pi sócc̣iiláké

here emph I have I dug it as I came and then my had for lunch here I have

adv adv v v coordconn pers ptcp adv v

ma tímiććúc kúci ayí' tykísýí qá accát

and eating breakfast future also said the ground squirrel

coordconn ptcp

adv v

def n

I have this, I dug some as I came, I have some here I took for lunch, and I have enough for breakfast too, said Ground Squirrel. (LR 8/12/73:34)

4.8 tykálíyyaaci qá accát ú tammi má áncia tykísýí táncí' amá ámmí

looked at the ground squirrel POSS food and then said that kind but eating

v def n Nsfx ptcp coordconn v deic adv ptcp

**twicííní qá it<sup>h</sup>ú tatýí wílóo tykísýí qa sát wićíílúúyí'**

he was the my mother former said the knife one who smoothes with feet  
v def pers n Nsfx v def n ptcp

He looked at Ground Squirrel's food and he said "My mother used to only eat that kind too", said Pumice-stone man. (LR 8/12/73:35)

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>əkísýíh.

4.9 **íáncí' ańá ćé múw titúúci túsaayah qá woh ú wattaawí tóólol**  
that kind but not it must be doing dig the grizzly bear POSS daughters all  
deic adv Neg cop ptcp ptcp def n Nsfx n quant

**máttikca úsaayí twiyí tykísýí** ·

day he is said  
n cop v

I guess that's the kind Bear's daughters dig all the time, he said.

Wrote cúmu

LR 8/12/73:36

4.10 **lóqmi q<sup>h</sup>é likímmaamac kíc<sup>h</sup>í uumá tmánnwí tykísýí** ·

tomorrow that you ought to go look maybe it might be said  
adv deic v adv cop v

Tomorrow, you ought to go look and see, maybe it's that kind, he said. (LR 8/12/73:36)

5.1 **sqoy tykúwwí qá accát , p<sup>h</sup>óc winnóówoyí mám tykwannááweh<sup>h</sup>i**  
sleepy was the ground squirrel distant one who had traveled and was nodding off  
adj cop def n adv cop coordconn v

Ground Squirrel was sleepy, he had traveled a long way, and he was nodding off.

LR 8/12/73:37

5.2 **máhé issi wíccí' amq<sup>h</sup>á tyktálaháámíci qa tóólollíni amq<sup>h</sup>á**  
night in the middle resemble but dis the everything but  
n adv v coordconn def pro-form coordconn

**tykwíntámmaaki** ·

tell about

v

Way to midnight they talked about everything, and told it all.

LR 8/12/73:37

5.3 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykúúwí sqoy tykúúwí** ·

but he was sleepy he was  
coordconn cop adj cop

But then he got sleepy. (LR 8/12/73:37)

5.4 **má tummááta tyktissáátuma , lóqmi mihípsayi tykísýí** ·

and sleep! said to him tomorrow we may converse said  
coordconn v v adv v v

And "go to bed" he told him, "we'll visit (more) tomorrow", he said. (LR 8/12/73:38)

5.5 **héhéé** **síla'acittáátumáyá'** **amq<sup>h</sup>ákam** **sálictíikí** **tykísýí** .

oh my! (sad sound) I want to crawl out but I'm afraid said  
excl v coordconn v v

"Oh, I want to crawl out, but I'm afraid" (of slipping on glass) he said. (LR 8/12/73:38)

5.6 **táq** **túuwí** **tálictíkwaci** ?

what being afraid  
pro ptcp ptcp

What are you afraid of? (LR 8/12/73:39)

5.7 **t<sup>h</sup>ús** **yááma** **tyánuwí** **tykísýí** .

good place it is said  
n cop v

It's a good place here, he said. (LR 8/12/73:39)

5.8 **iklaamí'** **yúwí** **qá** **ticáámáqci** **tykísýí** , **amq<sup>h</sup>á** **suwwá** **sálictíikí** **tykísýí** .

cutting it is the touch said but I am I'm afraid said  
ptcp cop def ptcp v coordconn cop v v

(Everything) is sharp-edged when I touch it, he said, that's why I'm afraid, he said. (LR 8/12/73:39)

5.9 [ **iyaapí'** **yúwí** . ]

soft it is  
adj cop

[Note for contrast: it's soft.] (LR 8/12/73:35)

5.10 **mám** **tykwááçacci** **qa** **sát** **wicíílúuyí** .

and got up the knife smoother  
coordconn v def n n

And Pumice-stone man got up.

Devoicing: tykwá'çaccih qa sát wicí'lú:yih

LR 8/12/73:40

5.11 **ííla** **tykwakúúyóóqí** **tóólol** **qá** **ápp<sup>h</sup>ít** **amq<sup>h</sup>á** **yoqyoq** **tykicúuwí** ,

with hands smoothed all the doorway but smooth was with hand  
v quant def n coordconn onom cop

**má áncia** **qá** **tuutáámít** **amq<sup>h</sup>á** **tóólol** **yoqyoq** **tykicúuwí** **ííla** .

and then the toilet but all smooth was with hand with hands  
coordconn def n coordconn quant onom cop

With his hands he smoothed the doorway, made it smooth, and he made the passageway all smooth with his hands.

Devoicing: ckwakú'yó:qih tó'lol qá ap<sup>h</sup>ít ?amq<sup>h</sup>á yoqyoq ckicúuwih

LR 8/12/73:40

5.12 **ma** **t<sup>h</sup>ús** **tykwatááwáámí** .

and good prepared nicely  
coordconn n v

And he made it nice.

LR 8/12/73:40

5.13 **wéé** **tykísýí** **tuttóm** **wéé** **tykísýí** .

now said go out! now said  
v v v v v



Now, he said, now you can go out. [lit. go out now] (LR 8/12/73:41)

Devoiced final syllable in cʰəkísýih.

5.14 **mám tykáátaámi mám tykiyááyíílukí tʰúśíwáté** .  
and he went out and came back in where (it was) good  
coordconn v coordconn v adv

And he went out and came back in (and it was) really nice. (LR 8/12/73:41)

5.15 **waymi likuumí 'ka tykísýí** .  
right here I'll float along agent said  
adv v post v

I'll just lie right here (by the fire) he said.

Devoiced final vowel in ka, and final syllable in cʰəkísýih.

LR 8/12/73:41

5.16 **huutá yá tykísýí qa sát wíciíluúyí' , má áncá tykwátahhóókí qá**  
after a while emph said the knife smooth with feet and then took out from container the  
adv adv v def n v coordconn v def

**wohheemáálu ú iimu** .

male grizzly bear POSS skin  
v Nsfx n

Just a minute! said Pumice-stone man, and then he dug out the hide of a big he-bear. (LR 8/12/73:42)

Devoiced final syllable in cʰəkísýih.

5.17 **má áncá tykwátahhóókí má áncá wee qʰééwa tykáámaati** .  
and then took out from container and then lo with that went to bed  
coordconn v coordconn interj adv v

And he took it out of its bag, and then he slept with that. (LR 8/12/73:42)

6.1 **lóqmi tyktóómátsi** .  
tomorrow two got up  
adv v

They two got up early. (LR 8/12/73:43)

6.2 **má áncá we tykitááteémi má áncá tykwakaléétachi qʰé wáté twi'cíyúúsaayí tykísýí**  
and then then went out and then demonstrated that at they dig said  
coordconn adv v coordconn v deic adv v v

, **úúsaayí' twiyí qʰééwáté tykísýí** .  
digging he is there said  
ptcp cop adv v

And then they went out, and he showed him, "that's where they dig" he said, "they dig over there" he said.

[twiʔcíyú·sa·yí for twi — ʔicíyú·sa·yí perhaps? ckwakalé·tachih may be ckwakalé·tachih]

Devoiced final syllable in cʰəkísýih.

LR 8/12/73:43

6.3 **qʰé wáté twicííni úúsaayíni qá itʰú tatýí wílóo** .  
that at he was digging the my mother former  
deic adv v ptcp def pers n Nsfx

"That's where my late mother used to dig." (LR 8/12/73:43)

6.4 **amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté líkímmaamac tyktisátumá qá accát** .  
 while you should go see he told him the ground squirrel  
 coordconn v v def n  
 "You ought to go over there and see it" he told Ground Squirrel. (LR 8/12/73:44)

6.5 **mám , héé tykísýí** .  
 and OK said  
 coordconn excl v  
 "OK", he said. (LR 8/12/73:44)

6.6 **mám tykápté** .  
 and went  
 coordconn v  
 And he went. (LR 8/12/73:44)

6.7 **má ánca , amq<sup>h</sup>á tallíyaaci qa táq wáli wíc tykicéewí wáámááké wic**  
 and then but dense(?) the what kind(?) resembling it seems planted furry  
 coordconn coordconn ptcp def pro ptcp cop ptcp onom  
**tykicéewí** .  
 it seems  
 cop  
 When you look at it, it looks thick, like something is planted.  
 Wrote <sup>h</sup>ukicéewih.  
 LR 8/12/73:44

6.8 **mám tykáásááyí** .  
 and was digging roots  
 coordconn v  
 And he dug (roots).  
 LR 8/12/73:45

6.9 **qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú qáswa ikk<sup>h</sup>im qáswáwyóo , amq<sup>h</sup>ááwa úúsaayí' cé tykúwwí**  
 the his digging stick nothing root-digger plant that's why digging not was  
 def pers n n n coordconn ptcp Neg cop  
**tinúúsaayi , k<sup>h</sup>ókcām tykwínúúsááyí** .  
 dig (repeatedly?) small amount he dug  
 ptcp quant v  
 His digging stick was only wood, that's why when he dug he couldn't dig, and he only got a little. (LR 8/12/73:45)

6.10 **mám tykyápté** .  
 and went home  
 coordconn  
 And he went home.  
 LR 8/12/73:45

6.11 **q<sup>h</sup>am̐ cé múw tínínnáaci tucci , má tkiyí k<sup>h</sup>ókcām kínúúsááyí**  
 much not it must be grow not doing and are you? small amount did you dig?  
 quant Neg cop ptcp ptcp coordconn cop quant v

tykísýí ·

said

v

"I guess it didn't grow much, is that why you only got a little?" he said. (LR 8/12/73:46)

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

6.12 t<sup>h</sup>úśíí qa qáswawa , winúúsaayi tsiyí ·

good the with digging stick able to dig I am  
adj def adv ptcp cop

"I could dig if I had a good digging stick." (LR 8/12/73:46)

6.13 itt<sup>h</sup>úú qáswa wíyuumóócí yuwí tykísýí ·

my digging stick no good it is said  
pers n ptcp cop v

"My digging stick is no good," he said. (LR 8/12/73:46)

6.14 q<sup>h</sup>éewaté tímaálam kítá táncí' wic 'áncí' 'ucí' twiyí ·

there look in! that kind resemble doing he is  
adv v deic v ptcp cop

"Look in there (in storeroom outside), looks like something like that" he said. (LR 8/12/73:47)

6.15 héé tykísýí , mám tykwámmaalamí ·

OK said and looked in  
excl v coordconn v

"OK," he said, and then he looked in. (LR 8/12/73:47)

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh. Wrote ckwám'a'lumí.

6.16 'amq<sup>h</sup>á tykwámmaalamí , 'amq<sup>h</sup>á tykúwwí qa qáswa ·

so looked in then was the digging stick  
coordconn v coordconn cop def n

So he looked in, and there were digging sticks there. (LR 8/12/73:47)

Wrote ckwám'a'lumí

6.17 c<sup>w</sup>ést<sup>h</sup>a sa tykúúwí qá qáswa , t<sup>h</sup>úśí aamá , qa sát wíc  
how many? indefinite he was the digging stick good entirely the knife resembling  
pro-form post cop def n adj adv def n ptcp

táncí' , q<sup>h</sup>awwa taqcaní' , q<sup>h</sup>awwa c<sup>ó</sup>óníkcan tykúwwí ·

that kind someplace so big someplace small ones was  
deic pro-form adj pro-form n cop

I don't know how many root diggers there were, only good ones, some big ones, some small ones there were. (LR 8/12/73:48)

6.18 mám tykwacámmúúyí , amq<sup>h</sup>á qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú tistii tinúúsaayí tykwacámmúúyí

and he selected but the his correctly dig he selected  
coordconn v coordconn def pers adv ptcp v

And he picked (one) out, he picked one just right for his digging. (LR 8/12/73:48)

6.19 má ánca tykísýí híínákca tykísýí ·

and then said thank you! said  
coordconn v excl v

Thank you! he said. (LR 8/12/73:49)

Devoiced final syllable in cʰəkísýih.

7.1 **má áncá we qa lóqmí lóqmim tykáátémí** ·  
and then then the tomorrow in the morning he went out  
coordconn adv def adv adv v

And so he went out early in the morning. (LR 8/12/73:49)

7.2 **má áncá tykáásááyí má áncá kacʰú cíppi tykáhtúúyací** ·  
and then was digging roots and then his root basket filled up  
coordconn v coordconn pers n v

And he dug, and he filled his pack basket. (LR 8/12/73:49)

8.1 **ki wáli ání tíwá ámittʰéwcan tíyí qa sát wíčílúúyíʼ tyktísýí qá**  
who kind(?) whatsoever be woman be the knife smooth with feet said the  
pro-form adv cop n cop def n v v def

**woh́ ú wattaawí** ·

grizzly bear POSS daughter  
n Nsfx Nrel

"I wonder who that woman is that Pumice-stone man has got" said Grizzly Bear's daughters.

LR 8/12/73:50

8.2 **nám túúsaayi tuuci yuwá yáásááyí , slhímáámááyí tslhiyí** ,  
yet dig roots do it will be he's digging we two let it ripen he and I evidently are  
adv ptcp ptcp cop v v cop

**má tslhiyí cé sluhuwwí túúsaayi tyktisýí** ·  
and we two are not we two are dig roots two said  
coordconn cop Neg cop ptcp v

"We haven't dug that yet, and she's digging it, we're letting that get ripe, that's why we haven't dug it" they said.

LR 8/12/73:50-51

8.3 **kacʰúni wayí tyktíntámmaakúyí** ·  
their father two told about  
pers Nrel v

They told their father about it. (LR 8/12/73:51)

8.4 **ʔaqcání týánuwí qá qʰahée** ·  
big one it is the there yonder  
n cop def

Those are big ones. (LR 8/12/73:51)

8.5 **loqmi kupté ma kílíyyóóqi tyktisýí** ·  
tomorrow you should go and scold her two said  
adv v coordconn v v

Tomorrow, go and tell her off! they said. (LR 8/12/73:51)

9.1 **lóqmim tykáátéemi má tykwínsaacuúmi qa túúsaayí** ·  
in the morning he went out and he was hurrying the digging  
adv v coordconn v def ptcp

(Ground Squirrel) went out early, he was hurrying with his digging (to get back before Fall). (LR 8/12/73:52)

Devoiced final on tú'sa'yih

9.2 **qá woh** 'ú **wattaawí lóqmim** **tykitaáatéemi** , **má** **tykitaáasááyí** .  
 the grizzly bear daughter in the morning went out and they two dug  
 def n Nrel adv v coordconn v

Grizzly Bear's daughters went out early , and they dug.

Compare LR: Pumice-Stone Man (34-54)

LR 8/12/73:52

9.3 **wé** , **palá'** **tyáásááyí** **tykísýí** .  
 well already is evidently digging said  
 adv adv v v

"Oh! She's already digging?" one said.

Devoiced final on tyá:sá:yíh

LR 8/12/73:53

9.4 **tíhómumá** **títammaakúya** **qá it<sup>h</sup>úúni** **waayí** , **má** **tylúpta** **má** **tylillíyóq**  
 run back tell! the our father and let him go and should scold  
 v v def pers n coordconn v coordconn v

**tíliikák kú yuwá** **tykísýí** .

all dug future it will be said

ptcp Vpfx cop v

"Run back and tell our father, let him go scold her, she'll have them all dug!" she said.

Probably the older one said this, the younger could run faster.

Written tíhóm<sup>h</sup>má

LR 8/12/73:53

9.5 **mám** **tykápté** **qá woh** **wilíyóóqaci** .  
 and went the grizzly bear one who scolds  
 coordconn v def n ptcp

Then Grizzly Bear went to scold him. (LR 8/12/73:54)

9.6 **ki** **wáli** **ka** **tmissááticka** **túúsáaya** **tissi** .  
 who kind(?) agent told you dig! talk  
 pro-form Nsfx v v ptcp

"Who told you to dig?" he said. (LR 8/12/73:54)

9.7 **qa sát** **wicíílúúyí** **tmissýí** , **túúsáaya** **misýíh** **tykísýí** **qá woh** .  
 the knife smoother you evidently said dig! did say? said the grizzly bear  
 def n n v v v v def n

"Did Pumice-stone man tell you to dig (here)?" said Grizzly Bear.

LR 8/12/73:54

9.8 **tuskímcóo** , **má** **tatitwámmícóo** **ma** **stacááluc'cica** **tykísýí** .  
 sit down! and let me sit on your lap and clean (roots) and feed me said  
 v coordconn v coordconn v v

"Sit down, let me sit on your lap, and clean those roots and feed them to me!" he said. (LR 8/12/73:54)

9.9 **má** **tykwat<sup>h</sup>éctiiki** , **mám** **tykanátitwámmící** , **amq<sup>h</sup>á wáté** **tykaskístumí**  
 and was frightened and sat and made a lap in that way he sat down on him  
 coordconn v coordconn v adv v

And he was scared, so he sat and fixed his lap, and (Bear) sat down on him.

LR 8/12/73:55

9.10 **má áncá wee stacáálúc'cíca tykísýí** ·  
 and then lo clean (roots) and feed me said  
 coordconn interj v v

And then he said "now, clean roots and feed me!"

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

LR 8/12/73:55

9.11 **mám tykwacállúc'cíci** ·  
 and  
 coordconn

So he cleaned roots and fed him.

LR 8/12/73:55

9.12 **tóólol tykiyámmicwá qá lóqmim tínúúsaayowoy** ·  
 all ate up the in the morning earlier digging  
 quant v def adv ptcp

He ate up all that he had dug earlier. (LR 8/12/73:56)

9.13 **mám tykwilípçuumi** ·  
 and he sent him home  
 coordconn v

Then he sent him home. (LR 8/12/73:56)

9.14 **k<sup>h</sup>ést<sup>h</sup>am kúúsaayí qa p<sup>h</sup>ííwa tykísýí** ·  
 end you should dig the here said  
 adv v def adv v

"Don't dig here any more" he said. [rec. k<sup>h</sup>ést<sup>h</sup>am]

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

9.15 **túúsáaya kissi kúcóo má kúúsay kú tétwi kú suwá qa sat**  
 dig! you say do! future and you dig future kill future I will be the flint  
 v v coordconn v Vpfx ptcp Vpfx v def n

**wičílúúyí tykísýí** ·

smoother said  
 n v

"If he tells you to dig, and you dig, I'm going to kill Pumice-stone man" he said. (LR 8/12/73:56)

9.16 **mám tykwat<sup>h</sup>éctiiki** ·  
 and was frightened  
 coordconn v

So he was afraid. (LR 8/12/73:57)

9.17 **c<sup>h</sup>ú mów slí'íy tykwapsíwcí** ·  
 how it might be shall I do? thought  
 pro-form cop v v

"What shall I do?" he thought.

Final syllable devoiced.

LR 8/12/73:57

9.18 **mám [ tykyapté ] tykyáát<sup>h</sup>uumí 'áncí' kam** ·  
 and went back arrived agent  
 coordconn v v ptcp post

So he went back home with nothing.

LR 8/12/73:57

10.1 **mqhá tykísýí qa sát wíííílúúyí táq cʰú túuwí , málíkkáákí qá**  
but said the knife smother what how being did she dig all? the  
coordconn v def n ptcp pro pro-form ptcp v def

**woh' 'ú wattaawí 'ka tykísýí .**

grizzly bear daughter agent said  
n Nrel post v

"But what happened, did Grizzly Bear's daughters dig it all?" he said.

Wrote má lik á ké

LR 8/12/73:58

10.2 **cé tykúuwí ó tissi qá accát .**  
not was (?) talk the ground squirrel  
Neg cop Vpfx ptcp def n

Ground Squirrel didn't say anything. (LR 8/12/73:58)

10.3 **álíctiikí wíc tykícéuwí qa tállíyaacih tywanéscúúpumaswaci .**  
being afraid resembling he resembled the looking at him held mouth differently  
ptcp ptcp v def ptcp v

He looked like he was afraid when you looked at him, he held his mouth differently.

Written cʰikícé wi

The way he held his mouth looked like something was wrong.

LR 8/12/73:59

10.4 **táq ání chu túuwí tykwapsíwci qa sát wíííílúúyí .**  
what whatsoever how being thought the knife smother  
pro adv pro ptcp v def n n

"I wonder what's wrong with him" thought Pumice-stone man. (LR 8/12/73:59)

10.5 **qá woh' wáka kílíyyóóqicka ?**  
the grizzly bear agent did he scold you?  
def n Nsfx v

"Did Grizzly Bear scold you?"

Wrote wohwáka

LR 8/12/73:60

10.6 **taqqáwcan cʰú missááticka tykísýí .**  
anything how did he say to you? said  
n pro-form v v

"Did he say anything to you?" he said.

Devoiced final syllable in cʰəkísýíh.

10.7 **tʰól áanca híí'í tykísýí .**  
for a long time so yes said  
adv adv excl v

Only after a long time, he said "Yes." (LR 8/12/73:60)

Devoiced final syllable in cʰəkísýíh.

10.8 **silíyyóóquma tykísýí .**  
he scolded me said  
v v

"He scolded me," he said. (LR 8/12/73:60)

10.9 **k<sup>h</sup>ést<sup>h</sup>am kúúsaayí síísáátumá tykísýí** .  
end you should dig I was told said  
adv v v v

"He told me not to dig here any more" he said. (LR 8/12/73:60)

10.10 **k<sup>h</sup>ést<sup>h</sup>am kúúsaayí kúúsaáticka** ?  
end you should dig did he say to you?  
adv v v

"Did he really say not to dig there any more?" (LR 8/12/73:61)

10.11 **hííyí tykísýí** .  
said  
v

"Yes," he said. (LR 8/12/73:61)

11.1 **c<sup>h</sup>a qáá múú qáswá lhuusaymá tykísýí** .  
where the your digging stick let's us two dig roots said  
pro def pers n v v

"Where's your root digger, let's go dig some roots," he said.

LR 8/12/73:61

11.2 **mám tyktápte ma tyktááwámmí , mám tykáásááyí** .  
and two went and two went into field and he dug roots  
coordconn v coordconn v coordconn v

And then they two went, they went in the field, and Ground Squirrel dug roots.

Squirrel dug while while Pumice-stone man hid.

LR 8/12/73:61

11.3 **ma túúsááya tykísýí ma p<sup>h</sup>íúwaymi íállím** .  
and dig! said and over here I'll hide  
coordconn v v coordconn adj v

"Dig!" he said, "and I'll hide over here." (LR 8/12/73:62)

11.4 **ma túnnii kúci yuwá tykísýí** .  
and come fut it will be said  
coordconn ptcp adv cop v

"And he'll come" he said. (LR 8/12/73:62)

11.5 **álictíikí' kam tykáásááyí** .  
being frightened agent was digging roots  
ptcp post v

Even though he was afraid (Ground Squirrel) dug roots.

Wrote ?álictí'kí' ?kam

LR 8/12/73:62

11.6 **túúsááya kissi kúcoo ma kúúsaay kú 'amq<sup>h</sup>a ... tétwí kú suwá**  
dig! you say do! future and you dig future so kill future I will be  
v v coordconn v Vpfx coordconn ptcp Vpfx v

**qa sát wííciíluúyí síísáátumá qá woh wáka tykísýí qá accát** .  
the knife smoother I was told the grizzly bear agentive said the ground squirrel  
def n ptcp v def n Nsfx v def n



"Bear told me 'if he tells you to go ahead and dig, and you dig, I'm going to kill that Pumice-stone man'" said Ground Squirrel.

LR 8/12/73:63

11.7 **palá' tyktáásááyí qá woh 'ú wattaawí .**  
already two were digging the grizzly bear daughter  
adv v def n Nrel

Grizzly Bear's daughters had started digging.

11.8 **palá' tyáásááyí !**  
already is evidently digging  
adv v

Look, he's already digging! (LR8/18/73:1)

11.9 **tííhóm má títammaakúya itt<sup>h</sup>úúni wayí tykísýí qá wawá .**  
run and tell! our father said the big  
v coordconn v pers Nrel v def adj

Run and tell our father, said the older (sister). (LR8/18/73:1)

11.10 **mám tykwintammaakúyí qa kac<sup>h</sup>úúni waayí .**  
and told about the their father  
coordconn v def pers n

Then she told their father about it. (LR8/18/73:2)

Devoiced final vowels in last two words.

11.11 **túúsááya tnisýí qa sát wićíílúúyi .**  
dig! must have said the knife one who smooths with feet  
v v def n ptcp

"Pumice-stone man must have told him to dig"

Literally: He must have said 'dig!'.

LR8/18/73:2

11.12 **má ánca ímmaamác tykísýí .**  
and then I'll go look and see said  
coordconn v v

And he said "I'll go look and see." (LR8/18/73:2)

11.13 **tykwíñacahnáqí qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú cahnááqí .**  
pulled onto head the his hat  
v def pers n

He slipped on his hat.

Wrote tykwíñacehnáqí ..cehná qí

LR8/18/73:2

11.14 **icéctíkwaci' tykíyí qá kac<sup>h</sup>úú cahnááqí .**  
fierce looking was the his hat  
ptcp cop def pers n

His hat was fierce looking.

LR: it would scare anybody.

Wrote cehná qí

LR8/18/73:3

11.15 **má áncá tykápte , mám tykwiñééyímacóóké wátil wátil**  
 and then went and he tried to make himself look big and strong swagger swagger  
 coordconn v coordconn v onom onom

**tykwaćúumí .**

he moved(?)

v

And then he went, and he tried to make himself look big and strong, he swaggered along.

LR8/18/73:3

11.16 **wee ýááná tykísýí qá accát .**  
 lo he's coming said the ground squirrel  
 interj v v def n

"Now he's coming" said Ground Squirrel.

LR8/18/73:4

11.17 **pítaqcihé' tykúwwí qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú hataáci wáka wílóo ... álietiiki .**  
 this size was the his heart agentive former fearing  
 adj cop def pers n Nsfx Nsfx ptcp

His little old heart shrunk up, afraid.

Devoiced final vowel of c<sup>h</sup>əkú·wh.

LR8/18/73:4

12.1 **túúsááya , túúsááya tnisýí qa sát wićíílúúyí .**  
 dig! dig! must have said the knife smoother  
 v v v def n n

"Pumice-stone man must have told you to dig."

Low, gruff voice for Grizzly Bear.

LR8/18/73:4

12.2 **tuskímcóo má stacállúc'cíca cwest<sup>h</sup>á sa ya amá kínúúsááyí amq<sup>h</sup>á**  
 sit down! and how many indefinite emph but did you dig? but  
 v coordconn pro-form post Nsfx adv v coordconn

**tykísýí .**

said

v

"Sit down and clean and feed me whatever you dug" he said.

LR8/18/73:5

I wrote aspirate c<sup>h</sup> in stacál'úcc<sup>h</sup>íca, but this verb is also recorded with a cc cluster. This is probably correct, as aspirates otherwise occur only word-initially or after vowel.

13.1 **tykwaáácac'ci qá sat wićíílúúyí má áncá téesa kóóćúúci tykísýí .**  
 the flint smoother and then that manner you should rise said  
 def n n coordconn deic v v

Pumice-stone man stood up and said "That's what you've been doing!" (LR8/18/73:5)

13.2 **k'wacállúc'cícaswaci , má tkiyí cé kuwwí tinúúsaayi**  
 you've been cleaning (roots) and feeding him and are you? not are you? dig (repeatedly?)  
 v coordconn cop Neg cop ptcp

**tykísyí qa sát wićíílúúyí .**

said the knife smother

v def n n

"You've been cleaning roots and feeding him, that's why you didn't dig many" said Pumice-stone man.  
(LR8/18/73:6)

I wrote aspirate <sup>h</sup> in *stacál-úcc<sup>h</sup>íca*, but this verb is also recorded with a *cc* cluster. This is probably correct, as aspirates otherwise occur only word-initially or after vowel.

13.3 **ćé suwwí , ćé suwwí kí té tissii má ánca kí té ticci .**  
not I am not I am in that manner saying and then in that manner do  
Neg cop Neg cop adv ptcp coordconn adv ptcp

"I didn't didn't say that, and I didn't do that either!" (LR8/18/73:6)

13.4 **ik<sup>h</sup>im tsiyí sóomáákací tílípwaacóóké wa 'umá mííuwí sópsíwci , má**  
merely I am I came to see help self continue maybe he might be I think and  
adv cop v ptcp Vroot adv cop v coordconn

**tsiyí sáaná .**

I am I came

cop v

"I just came to see, I thought maybe he needed help, that's why I came."

mát <sup>h</sup>iyí

LR8/18/73:7

13.5 **kícílípwaacoocí mlís sópsíwci twalúqqaatí má twiyí yáásááyí sopsíwci**  
you two help him I will drink I think craving roots and he is he's digging I thought  
v v v ptcp coordconn cop v v

"I was going to tell my daughters to help him, I thought he must have a nostalgic craving for roots, that's why he's digging" he said.

LR8/18/73:7

13.6 **té tmópsíwci amq<sup>h</sup>ákam ćé tmuwwí t<sup>h</sup>úśí haŷ tucci .**  
thus you must have thought but not you are (hearsay) good thinking not doing  
adv v coordconn Neg cop adj onom ptcp

That's what you think, but you didn't do the good thing that you think.

LR8/18/73:8

13.7 **má kálíwwiilaté qá piq<sup>h</sup>á yáásááyí , amq<sup>h</sup>á sóská má**  
and you leave him alone the this he's digging but I eat hard food and  
coordconn v def deic v coordconn v coordconn

**twiyí yáásááyí .**

he is he's digging

cop v

You just leave him alone when he's digging, I've been eating (roots), that's why he's digging." (LR8/18/73:8)

13.8 **tykwakúúyicci qá kac<sup>h</sup>úú lohqá , má ánca tépté tykísyí .**  
lifted in hand the his cane and then go back! said  
v def pers n coordconn v v

He raised up his cane and said "Go home!" (LR8/18/73:9)

13.9 **cé mǎw , cé mǎw , lépta tykísýí .**  
 not I will be not I will be I'll go home said  
 Neg cop Neg cop v v

"I won't do it! I won't do that! I'll go home!" he said.

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

LR8/18/73:9

13.10 **tykiyaptéýámáké .**  
 he pretended to go home  
 v

He pretended to go home.

LR8/18/73:9

13.11 **issiitáámé qa pássaté tykáásáymi ma tykwállaaacááwaci .**  
 halfway the in the willows he lay down and lay down  
 adv def adv v coordconn v

halfway, he went in the willows (and) lay down.

LR8/18/73:9

14.1 **túúsááya , lýíná uumá .**  
 dig! he might come back maybe  
 v v adv

"Dig! He might come back."

LR8/18/73:10

14.2 **p<sup>h</sup>íúwaymi lúkuuwa , mǎp tykísýí .**  
 over here I'll sit I will knap said  
 adj v v v

I'll sit right here and I'll fix arrowheads.

LR8/18/73:10

14.3 **yúúni kú má stacállúc'cíca kissi kúcó , kuskímci má**  
 future and you say do! future you should sit down and  
 Vpfx coordconn v v v coordconn

**t<sup>h</sup>ús kátúúmuuwayí .**  
 good prepare to push him over  
 n v

If he comes back and he says "clean roots and feed me", you sit down and get in a position where you can push him off (trip) him easily.

LR8/18/73:10

I wrote aspirate c<sup>h</sup> in stacál'úcc<sup>h</sup>íca, but this verb is also recorded with a cc cluster. This is probably correct, as aspirates otherwise occur only word-initially or after vowel.

15.1 **kuskístum kúcóo má áncá íl ahtúúké' kikuusuc'cí .**  
 you are sat on do! future and then hand full you should push into (mouth)  
 v coordconn n ptcp v

When he sits down, push a handful in his mouth. (LR8/18/73:11)

15.2 **tiitúyci kú ýuwá tykísýí .**  
 get angry future it will be said  
 ptcp Vpfx cop v

"He'll get mad" he said. (LR8/18/73:11)

15.3 [ **ámúúyá wílíl** ... **skuwwá skákussuc'cí tykísýí** .]  
mud also you are to me said  
n adv cop v

"You're feeding me mud and all!" (LR asked to cut this, "he said" is out of place) (LR8/18/73:11)  
Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

15.4 **kippáácací má kikuusec'cí tykísýí** .  
you use strength and you should push him off said  
v coordconn v

"Give all your strength and push him off" he said. (LR8/18/73:12)

15.5 **kohhookí tykísýí** .  
run to me said  
v v

"Run to me" he said. (LR8/18/73:12)

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

15.6 **mám málačcááwá pálá' tykísýí** .  
and I'll be standing up already said  
coordconn v adv v

"I'll already be standing up" he said. (LR8/18/73:12)

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

15.7 [\* **láláčcááwá** ; **mááácááwací** ; \* **máccááwá** ; **láčcááwá** .]  
(not a word) is he standing? (not a word) I'll stand up  
v v v v

[Note: \*(not a word); Is he standing?; \*(not a word); I'll stand up.] (LR8/18/73:12)

15.8 **hé tykísýí qá accát** .  
hey said the ground squirrel  
excl v def n

OK, said Ground Squirrel. (LR8/18/73:13)

16.1 **má áncia we qá woh tykwáácaacci** , **má áncia tykwíncéska** .  
and then then the grizzly bear got up and then looked around  
coordconn adv def n v coordconn v

Then Grizzly Bear got up, and he looked around (for Pumice-stone man).

Devoicing: ckwá'cacci, má áncia ckwíncéska

LR8/18/73:13

16.2 **tyaptewóoyí qa sát wííílúúyí tykwapsíwci** .  
must have gone the knife smoother thought  
v def n v v

"Pumice-stone man must have gone," he thought. (LR8/18/73:13)

16.3 **tyaptewóoyí tykwapsíwci mám tykwíncéhhaapi** .  
must have gone thought and couldn't find  
v v coordconn v

"He must have gone," he thought, because he didn't see him

LR8/18/73:13

16.4 **má áncá we tykwínásáqumi** ·

and then then came back angry

coordconn adv v

And then he came back, really mad. (LR8/18/73:14)

16.5 **ýálictiiḱí skópsíwci qá sát wićíílúúyí , ik<sup>h</sup>im tsiyí sálictiiḱayámáké**

he's afraid you think about me the knife smoother

v v

def n n

merely I am I pretended to be afraid

adv cop v

**tykísyí** ·

said

v

"You think I'm afraid of Pumice-stone man," he said, "I just pretended to be afraid." (LR8/18/73:14)

Devoiced final syllable in wićí·lú·yíh, c<sup>h</sup>ákísyíh.

16.6 **cwést<sup>h</sup>a minúúsááyíh** ?

how many? did you dig?

pro-form v

"How many did you dig?" (LR8/18/73:14)

16.7 **tuskímcóo má stacáálúc·cíca tykísyí** ·

sit down! and clean (roots) and feed me said

v coordconn v v

"Sit down, clean them and feed me!" he said. (LR8/18/73:14)

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísyíh.

I wrote aspirate c<sup>h</sup> in stacál·úcc<sup>h</sup>íca, but this verb is also recorded with a cc cluster. This is probably correct, as aspirates otherwise occur only word-initially or after vowel.

16.8 **mám tykaskímcí , mám ... t<sup>h</sup>ús ckwatúúmoṵoy** ·

and he sat down and good get in position

coordconn v coordconn n v

So he sat down and he positioned himself good so he could trip or push him. (LR8/18/73:15)

16.9 **amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté tykaskístumí qá woḥ** ·

while he sat down on him the grizzly bear

coordconn v def n

Grizzly Bear sat down there (on his lap). (LR8/18/73:15)

16.10 **wee stacáálúc·cíca tykísyí** ·

lo clean (roots) and feed me said

interj v v

"Now clean (roots) and feed me!" he said. (LR8/18/73:15)

I wrote aspirate c<sup>h</sup> in stacál·úcc<sup>h</sup>íca, but this verb is also recorded with a cc cluster. This is probably correct, as aspirates otherwise occur only word-initially or after vowel.

16.11 **mam íl aḥtúúké' tykwácaqqaqáýcí mám tykwakussuc'ci** ·

and hand full grabbed and

coordconn n ptc v coordconn

And he grabbed a handful (not even looking) and shoved it down (his throat).

Devoicing on ends of verbs

LR8/18/73:16

16.12 **táq wáli smuwwá c<sup>h</sup>ú ticci ámuúyáá wílíl stmuwá**  
 what kind(?) are you to me? how do also you evidently are to me  
 pro cop pro-form ptc adv cop

**stmóólaaci tykísýí** ·

you evidently feed me said

v

v

"What are you doing to me, you're feeding me mud and all!" he said.

Earlier (out of place and omitted from transcript) she said ?ámú·yá· wílíl ... skuw·á skákus·uccí tykísýí.

LR8/18/73:16

16.13 **wéé tykwappááćací qá accát mám tykwakuuséc·ci** ·

now act strongly the ground squirrel and pushed off

v

v

def n

coordconn

v

Then with all his strength Ground Squirrel pushed him off. (LR8/18/73:17)

16.14 **ki wáli smópsíwci , má tñisýí miimú íummé**

who kind(?) you think about me and you evidently said your maiden

pro-form

v

coordconn

v

pers

**skéénanya tykísýí qá accát** ·

you think I am? said the ground squirrel

v

v

def n

"Who do you think I am, you think I'm your wife, that's why you say that?" said Ground Squirrel.

Is it because you think I'm your wife?

LR8/18/73:17

16.15 **tykássiićúúćí mám tykááhoomi** ·

jumped up and ran

v

coordconn v

He jumped up and ran.

LR8/18/73:18

16.16 **tykáncittaćí qá woh** ·

picked himself up the grizzly bear

v

def n

Grizzly Bear picked himself up.

Lumbering, slow.

LR8/18/73:18

16.17 **ćé yá kuwwí ís tikkáaci tykísýí** ·

not emph you are person live said

Neg adv

cop

n

v

v

"You surely aren't going to live," he said.

Written ćéy·á

LR8/18/73:18

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>əkísýíh.

16.18 **ínnaymá tykwapsíwci** ·

I'll chase him thought

v

v

"I'll chase him," he thought.

Final syllable devoiced.

LR8/18/73:18

16.19 **amq<sup>h</sup>ákam tykwínimmáací qa sát wićíílúúyí ú taććááwaci** .  
but saw the knife smoother POSS  
coordconn v def n n Nsfx

But he saw Pumice-stone man standing up.

LR8/18/73:19

16.20 **mám tykwaacámci** .  
and he stopped  
coordconn v

And he stopped.

Written ckwaćámci

LR 8/18/73:19

16.21 **ik<sup>h</sup>im tsiyí kí té ticci kuci ámé' kam tsisyí** .  
merely I am in that manner do future without agent I said  
adv cop adv ptcp post post v

"I'm not going to do anything like I said I would." (I just said that, I didn't mean it.) (LR8/18/73:19)

16.22 **qa sát wićíílúúyí palá' tykwacasaswaci qá loqt<sup>h</sup>ii tánaćtíise** .  
the knife smoother already was already holding the switch whip  
def n v adv v def n ptcp

Pumice-stone man already had his switch in his hand (for) whipping.

Wrote tykwacasaswaci

LR8/18/73:20

16.23 **híí'í , kí té tmópsíwci tykísyí** .  
yes in that manner you must have thought said  
excl adv v v

"Yes, that must be what you think" he said. (LR8/18/73:20)

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísyíh.

16.24 **mám tykánaćtíísí mám tykááćiimí qá woh , mám**  
and he whipped him and he fell over the grizzly bear and  
coordconn v coordconn v def n coordconn

**tykwámmááwací wíyummí wíc icééćí'** .  
lay there is dead resembling appearing  
v v ptcp ptcp

Then he whipped him, and Grizzly Bear fell over and lay there as if dead. (LR8/18/73:20-21)

16.25 **túúsááyá' , huutá wíccí' mihépta tykísyí** .  
dig! after a while resemble we two will go home said  
v adv v v v

"Dig," he said, "after a while we'll go home.

Written wíć<sup>h</sup>í?

LR8/18/73:21

16.26 **mám tykáásááyí mám tykáhtuuyací qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú cíppi** .  
and was digging roots and filled up for the his root basket  
coordconn v coordconn v def pers n

And he dug, and he filled up the his pack basket for him. (LR8/18/73:21)



16.27 **wéé sáhtuuy'ací , wéé lhépta tykísyí .**  
 now I filled it now let's us two (incl) go back said  
 v v v v v

"Now I filled it up, now let's us two go home he said."

Wrote sáhtuuy'ací

LR8/18/73:22

16.28 **héé tykísyí qa sát wičíílúúyí má tykwácaasaacci qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú loqt<sup>h</sup>i tánáctíise**  
 OK said the knife smoother and picked up in hand the his switch whip  
 excl v def n n coordconn v def pers n ptcp

"OK", said Pumice-stone man, and he picked up his switch.

Wrote tánáctí·si<sup>h</sup>

LR8/18/73:22

16.29 **tykwááq̣eewátumi qa woh ámmááwaci , má ánca tykánnáctíísí .**  
 he walked up to the grizzly bear and then whipped  
 v def n coordconn v

He walked up to Grizzly Bear lying there and whipped him.

LR8/18/73:23

16.30 **timmátsa tykísyí .**  
 get up! said  
 v v

"Get up!" he said.

LR8/18/73:23

16.31 **qá woh tykwámmátsi mám tykáncikkuukáké ( qa láh ).**  
 the grizzly bear woke up and he scratched his head the head  
 def n v coordconn v def n

Grizzly Bear got up and scratched his head.

LR8/18/73:24

16.32 **í tykísyí .**  
 ih! said  
 excl v

Well! he said. (LR8/18/73:24)

16.33 **k<sup>h</sup>ést<sup>h</sup>am tylúw .**  
 end let him be  
 adv cop

Let this be the end!

LR8/18/73:24

16.34 **má kííni kú amq<sup>h</sup>á titacpum kú lhúwááticka tykitissáátumá qá wóh**  
 and future but finish future I am wrt you told the  
 coordconn Vpfx coordconn ptcp Vpfx cop v def

"And if you come back, I'll finish you" he told Grizzly Bear.

LR8/18/73:24

16.35 **mam** **tímmíínac** **ámé'** **tykúuwí** **qá** **woh** .  
 and show up without was the grizzly bear  
 coordconn ptcp post cop def n

And Grizzly Bear never showed up again.

LR8/18/73:25

16.36 **mám** **tyktiíwwapte** .  
 and two went home  
 coordconn v

And they went home.

LR8/18/73:22

17.1 **mám** **qwáytu** **tóólol** **máttííka** **tykáásááyí** **tóóllóllíní'** .  
 and from then on all day was digging roots everything  
 coordconn adv quant n v pro-form

From then on he dug everything every day.

LR8/18/73:22

17.2 **má áncá** **wee** **qá** **accát** **kac<sup>h</sup>ú** **túúsaayi** **wíc** **yééwa** **tykáásááyí**  
 and then lo the ground squirrel his dig roots resembling in manner(?) was digging roots  
 coordconn interj def n pers ptcp ptcp adv v

**tóólol** **máttííka** .

all day

quant n

Day by day Ground Squirrel dug the way he digs.

That is, he dug fast.

LR8/18/73:25

17.3 **héhéé** , **lááquupi** **sá'óccíiláké** **háné'** **tykísýí** .  
 oh my! (sad sound) sack would that I had in some way said  
 excl n v adv v

"Oh my! I wish I had a sack" he said.

LR8/18/73:25

17.4 **táq** **chú** **tóócé** **místá** **qá** **lááquupi** **tykísýí** **qa** **sát** **wíciíluúyí** .  
 what how want you mean? the sack said the knife smoother  
 pro pro-form ptcp v def n v def n v

"What do you want with a sack?" asked Pumice-stone man.

Wrote **tó·cé·**, **lá·qop'i**

LR8/18/73:26

17.5 **amq<sup>h</sup>á** **tykísýí** **qá** **accát** **itt<sup>h</sup>úú** **tínúúsaayii** **tóóciíimí** **sistá** **tykísýí** .  
 but said the ground squirrel my digging put in sack I mean said  
 coordconn v def n pers ptcp ptcp v v

"I want it for sacking all my diggings" he said.

LR8/18/73:26

17.6 **tímmáálam** **q<sup>h</sup>é** **waté** , **íáncí** **'umá** **tmánuwí** , **áttaqláké'** **úci** **twiyí** , **tykísýí**  
 look in! that at that kind perhaps it might be folded flat doing he is said  
 v deic adv pro-form adv cop ptcp ptcp cop v

**qa sát wićíílúúyí .**

the knife smoother

def n n

"Look in there, maybe it's that kind, they're all folded flat and piled" said Pumice-stone man.

LR8/18/73:27

17.7 **mám tykwámmaalami .**

and looked into

coordconn v

He looked in.

LR8/18/73:27

Wrote ckwám'a'łumi

17.8 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykúwwí puk tykwaććúúci qa áátaqláke' .**

but was neat (pile) stacked the folded flat

coordconn cop onom v def ptcp

They were all folded flat and piled up nicely.

LR8/18/73:27

17.9 **má áncá tykwacámmúúyí .**

and then he selected

coordconn v

And then he picked one out.

LR8/18/73:28

17.10 **tóóloołíní qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú táłílléqti amq<sup>h</sup>á tykúwí .**

all kinds the his like but it was

pro-form def pers ptcp coordconn cop

Everything he wanted was there.

LR 8/12/73:19

18.1 **úúłóqma tyktáákuuwací má áncá tyktálahháámííci .**

evening were sitting around and then two were discussing

adv v coordconn v

In the evening they were sitting around, and they were talking.

LR8/18/73:28

Wrote: tyktá'kowací

18.2 **sla'áamá háné' qa állís ǎah̄ya síuwí tykísýí qá accát .**

would that I eat in some way the salmon meat I want said the ground squirrel

v adv def n n v v def n

"I wish I could eat some salmon, I crave meat" said Ground Squirrel.

Transcription: added qá ac'át.

He had had too much sweet to eat.

LR8/18/73:29

18.3 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykísýí qa sát wićíílúúyí táq túuwí qa állís tykísýí .**

but said the knife smoother what being the salmon said

coordconn v def n n pro ptcp def n v

Then Pumice-stone man said "what is salmon?"

LR8/18/73:29

18.4 **qa píttac inéhyí' twiyí qa állís , q<sup>h</sup>áwwá taqcaní twiyí , pí taqcaní**  
 the this time of year spawning he is the salmon some big he is here big  
 def adv ptcp cop def n pro-form quant cop adv quant

**tykísyí .**

said

v

"At this season the salmon spawn, some this big, (some even) THIS big" he said.

Gesturing first two feet, then three feet.

LR8/18/73:30

18.5 **qa píttac ímmuucukí' twiyí qa yás wal qa hák wal aawaswací twiyí**  
 the this time of year watching for he is the weasel with the badger with holding he is  
 def adv ptcp cop def n Nsfx def n Nsfx ptcp cop

**hamís wáka qa toócée amq<sup>h</sup>á wáté hamís wáka icuuq<sup>h</sup>úúci twiyí qa állís amq<sup>h</sup>á**  
 one agent the torch in that way one agent spearing he is the salmon but  
 quant Nsfx def ptcp adv quant Nsfx ptcp cop def n coordconn

**iiliimí tsiyí .**

getting handout I am

ptcp cop

At this time, they watch them come up, Mink and Badger, one holding the torch, the other spearing the salmon, and I got a handout.

Wrote ?ico·q<sup>h</sup>ú·ci. Wrote ?i·li·mí tci<sup>h</sup>?ih with rearticulated /t/.

Got something to eat.

LR8/18/73:31

18.6 **áaa tykísyí qa sát wičíílúúyí , kí táncí' kící' c<sup>h</sup>ú múw t'tici q<sup>h</sup>am**  
 said the knife smoother thus that kind how it must be much  
 v def n n adv deic v pro-form cop quant

**yuwí qa acúmmá tykísyí .**

it is the river said

cop def n v

Ah! said Pumicestone man, you do that kind, it looks like there's a lot of them down in the river."

Wrote kí? táncí? kíc<sup>h</sup>-í? glossed it must be that kind

LR8/18/73:32

18.7 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykísyí qá accát táq wáli sa ya yályú wiýááké'**  
 but said the ground squirrel what kind(?) indefinite indeed man made of  
 coordconn v def n pro post emph n v

**stiiyí !**

I might be(?)

cop

But Ground Squirrel said "what kind of man am I!"

Transcription: added wiýá·ké?

LR8/18/73:32

18.8 **aasí tsiyí qá ticuuq<sup>h</sup>úúci .**  
 being unable I am the stab  
 ptcp cop def ptcp

"I can't spear fish."

LR8/18/73:32

18.9 **háné'** **ká** **mlímmáchaçpiimi** **umá** **hamíscan** **sli'ííçííyáq** **tykísýí qa**  
in some way indeed I will look in water maybe(?) one I might accidentally hit said the  
adv adv v quant v v def

**sát wiçíílúúyí** ·

knife smoother

n n

"Maybe I'll go down and look in the water, maybe I might be able to hit one accidentally with a rock" said Pumice-stone man.

LR8/18/73:33

18.10 **tumáata tykísýí qa sát wiçíílúúyí** ·  
sleep! said the knife smoother  
v v def n n

"Go to sleep" said Pumice-stone man.

LR8/18/73:34

18.11 **mám tykáámaatí qá accát** , **mám kút tykúwwí qá accát**  
and went to sleep the ground squirrel and asleep was the ground squirrel  
coordconn v def n coordconn onom cop def n

And Ground Squirrel went to sleep, he fell sound asleep.

LR8/18/73:34

18.12 **mám qa sát wiçíílúúyí'** **hawáy tykwatáámí** ·  
and the knife one who smooths with feet quickly tiptoed out(?)  
coordconn def n ptcp D v

Then Pumice-stone man tiptoed out.

LR8/18/73:34

18.13 **mám tykwácaacuumílí qá tiiqíilóo** ·  
and took with the fish net  
coordconn v def n

And he took the fish net with him.

Going to the river. Wrote ti·qi·lóo

LR8/18/73:34

18.14 **má áncia tykwáliqçqíílí hakcan qá wawá wasci qa állís** ·  
and then caught in net two of them the big grown the salmon  
coordconn v quant def adj ptcp def n

Then he netted two of the biggest salmon.

LR8/18/73:35

Wrote wusçi

18.15 **má áncia tykwatamíuma** , **má áncia tykyaptééli** , **má áncia tykwanáhhúucí**  
and then he gutted and then he took back home and then hung up  
coordconn v coordconn v coordconn v

**ápp<sup>h</sup>íttaté** ·

in the doorway

adv

Then he gutted them, and he took them back home, and he hung them up in the doorway.

Wrote ckwataṁím'a and áᵑʰít'áté

LR8/18/73:35

Expect áᵑ'í'ta, áᵑ'ít'áté

18.16 **má áncá tykwámmátsí lóqṁmim** , **má áncá tykwíñahýá** .

and then woke up in the morning and then he built a fire

coordconn v adv coordconn v

And he woke up early in the morning, and he built a fire.

LR8/18/73:35

18.17 **mám tykwámmátsi qá accát** .

and woke up the ground squirrel

coordconn v def n

And Ground Squirrel woke up (too).

LR8/18/73:36

18.18 **tykwáácaǎcí mám tykáátaami qá accát** .

got up and he went out the ground squirrel

v coordconn v def n

Ground Squirrel got up and he went out.

LR8/18/73:36

18.19 **hacéq tykluw** .

gasp he gasped(?)

onom v

He gasped.

Wrote ckálu'. When following vowel has low pitch, epenthetic vowel has high pitch.

LR8/18/73:36

18.20 **híínákca tykísýí** .

thank you! said

excl v

"Thank God!" he said. (LR8/18/73:36)

18.21 **tykanáccaaḥumí qa acúmmá** , **mám tykwacapsáací** .

went down to water the river and washed face with hands

v def n coordconn v

He went down to the river and he washed his face with his hands.

LR8/18/73:36

18.22 **má áncá wóó tykwíñisqáátáké** .

and then (?) he prayed for himself

coordconn v

Then he prayed for himself.

LR8/18/73:37

18.23 **cwést<sup>h</sup>él sa máttíkca tykañállaa<sup>h</sup>íísí** , **mám tykwassúúli** ,

indefinite day stripped fish (like jerky) and hung up

post n v coordconn v

**tykwinnáásuucáyí** .

he dried them

v

For several days he stripped fish, and hung and dried (the strips).  
Stripped the fish and dried like jerky.

LR8/18/73:37

19.1 **sla'áamá** **qa** **tówsí** **má** **sla'áwáácááyí** **tykísýí** .  
would that I eat the deer and would that I mix with salmon said  
v def n coordconn v

"I'd like to eat some deer meat, I'd like to mix and eat it with my salmon" he said.  
Devoiced final syllable in *cʰəkísýíh*.

LR8/18/73

19.2 **cʰú** **íáncí'** **qa** **tówsí** **amqʰá** **támmí** **wá** **ýuucí** **tmiyí** **tykísýí** .  
how that kind the deer but eating continue it does might you be said  
pro-form deic def n coordconn ptcp Vroot v cop v

"What kind of deer would you like to eat?" he said.

That is, fat, lean, doe, buck, etc.

LR8/18/73:38

19.3 **qa** **píttaç** **tyíuwí** **qá** **puwwááwí** **qa** **téhtaç** **ámmí** **amqʰá**  
the this time of year they evidently are the ox the acorn eating but  
def adv cop def n def n def n ptcp coordconn

**wíníphááci** **twiyí** **tykísýí** .

fat he is said  
v cop v

"This time of year the bucks that eat the acorns are surely fat!" he said.

Devoiced final syllable in *cʰəkísýíh*.

LR8/18/73:39

19.4 **kʰám** **aamá** **ýuwí** **qá** **atwam** **lóqmim** **aamá** **tykísýí** .  
many but it is the valley in the morning but said  
adv adv cop def n adv adv v

"There's a lot down in the valley (field) every morning" he said.

Wrote *qʰám*. Devoiced final syllable in *cʰəkísýíh*.

LR8/18/73:39

19.5 **héhéé** **tucci** **mámé** **twiyí** **qá** **itʰúú** **lúpwíisé** **kí** **íakca** **tykísýí** **qá**  
oh my! (sad sound) not doing without he is the my bow thus distant said the  
excl ptcp post cop def pers n adv adj v def

**accát** .

ground squirrel  
n

"Well, my bow won't shoot that far" said Ground Squirrel.

Devoiced final syllable in *cʰəkísýíh*. Wrote *tuç'í* *mámé*.

Transcription: added *qá* *ac'át*

LR8/18/73:40

19.6 **háné'** **ká** **íálíyá** **qá** **mimú** **lúpwíisé** **tykísýí** **qa** **sát** **wicíílúúyí'**  
in some way indeed I'll look at the your bow said the knife one who smoothes with feet  
adv adv v def pers n v def n ptcp

"Let me look at your bow" said Pumice-stone man.

LR8/18/73:40

19.7 **mám** **tykwááca̱cci** **qá** **accát** **má áncá** **tykwálussíptáwí** **kac<sup>h</sup>ú** **lúpwíisé**  
 and got up the ground squirrel and then slid out of container his bow  
 coordconn v def n coordconn v pers n

**kac<sup>h</sup>ú** **čamaatíiwáytu** **mám** **tykalííyawýaci** ·

his from quiver and showed to  
 pers adv coordconn v

Ground Squirrel got up and slipped his bow out of his quiver, and he showed it to him.

LR8/18/73:41

19.8 **mám** **tykalííyaaci** **qa** **sát** **wičíílúúyí** ·  
 and looked at the knife smoother  
 coordconn v def n n

And Pumice-stone man looked at it.

Wrote -lí·ya·̀ci

LR8/18/73:41

19.9 **má áncá** **tykwacámmaq̱ci** **qá** **tipp<sup>h</sup>i** , **amq<sup>h</sup>á** **tykúúwí** **qá** **tipp<sup>h</sup>i**  
 and then he felt of the arrowhead but he was the arrowhead  
 coordconn v def n coordconn cop def n

**p<sup>h</sup>isik<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>isik** **tykúúwí** ·

breaking in pieces he was  
 onom cop

He felt the arrowhead with his fingers, and the arrowhead fell to pieces.

LR8/18/73:41

19.10 **tykwilcíyummá** , **táq** **wáli** **t'túúuwí** **qá** **piq<sup>h</sup>á** **p<sup>h</sup>isik** **p<sup>h</sup>isik** **ucí'** **tuci** ·  
 laughed what kind(?) the this fragile fragile doing to do  
 v pro def deic onom onom ptcp ptcp

He laughed, "what is this made of, that it's fragile (brittle) like that?" he said.

LR8/18/73:42

19.11 **it<sup>h</sup>ú** **tipp<sup>h</sup>i** **tyánuwí** **a̱hpálcán** **accátcan** **tátuṯtiisí** **tykísýí** ·  
 my arrowhead it is piece of bark squirrel shoot said  
 pers n cop n n n ptcp v

"That's my arrowhead (made out of) bark to shoot squirrels" he said.

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>əkísýíh.

Clearly ac:át the man so named is not the same as ac:átcan the little squirrels that he shoots.

LR8/18/73:43

19.12 **illim** **aka** **tykwaččúúci** **qá** **accát** **qá** **kac<sup>h</sup>ú** **tissúúli** ·  
 outside other was busy the ground squirrel the his drying  
 adv pro-form v def n def pers ptcp

Ground squirrel was busy outside with his drying.

Word order: can transpose adverb to after the verb.

LR8/18/73:44

19.13 **amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté** **anúúyíílamí** **aamáytu** **qa** **sát** **wičíílúúyí'** **aka**  
 while inside likewise the knife one who smoothes with feet other  
 coordconn adv adv def n ptcp pro-form



**tykwaččúúcí** ·

was busy

v

Meanwhile, inside the house Pumice-stone man was busy too.

LR8/18/73:44

Wrote anú'yílumí

19.14 **má áncia t<sup>h</sup>úsýí qa lúpwíisé aamáytu tykwiñiýýúúyí qá accát** , **má áncia**  
and then good the bow likewise repaired for the ground squirrel and then  
coordconn adj def n adv v def n coordconn

**tykwiñúúlímí qá čmatítátéh** ·

put back in the in the quiver

v

def adv

He also fixed the bow for Ground Squirrel and put it back in the quiver.

LR8/18/73:45

19.15 **má áncia wee qá accát** **tóólol tykwátaskáumi qa kac<sup>h</sup>ú títt<sup>h</sup>alúumi** ·  
and then lo the ground squirrel all he finished the his work  
coordconn interj def n quant v def pers ptcp

And then Ground Squirrel finished all his work. (LR8/18/73:45)

19.16 **láttíw láák<sup>h</sup>ééké tykúwwí qá pahá** , **láttúú láák<sup>h</sup>ééké tykúwwí qa stállíw** ,  
five big sack was the anise five big sack was the Indian potatoes  
n n cop def n quant n cop def n

**má áncia we láttíw láák<sup>h</sup>ééké tykúwwí qa tówsí wisuččí'** , **állís aamáytu láttúú**  
and then then five big sack was the deer dried salmon likewise five  
coordconn adv n n cop def n ptcp n adv quant

**láák<sup>h</sup>ééké tykúwwí** ·

big sack was

n cop

Five big sacks of ipos root there were, five big sacks of turnips, and then five big sacks of dried deer meat, salmon as well five big sacks there were.

Devoiced final vowel of c<sup>h</sup>akú'wh.

LR8/18/73:46

20.1 **hew st<sup>h</sup>áyuwí qá títámmak kúcí qa toósi aaq<sup>h</sup>ítwí' ka tykwíntámáquuyí qa**  
forget I evidently am the tell about fut the deer butchering agent he didn't have the  
n cop def ptcp adv def ptcp ptcp Nsfx v def

**sát** ·

knife

n

I forgot to tell, when [Ground Squirrel] butchered the deer, he didn't have a sharp knife.

Devoiced final syllable of kúcí. Wrote a·q<sup>h</sup>ítwí'?, cp. a·qítwí'. Perh. -í'ka.

LR8/18/73:47

20.2 **t<sup>h</sup>úsýí qa sát slá'óóčiláké tykísýí** ·

good the knife would that I had said

adj def n v v

"I wish I had a good knife" he said.

LR8/18/73:47

20.3 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykísýí qa sát wićíílúúyí má táqwa tmiyí tálaac<sup>h</sup>íisi** .  
 but said the knife smoother and with what might you be cut up  
 coordconn v def n n coordconn adv cop ptcp

"Well, what have you been cutting with?" asked Pumice-stone man.

LR8/18/73:48

20.4 **piqq<sup>h</sup>ááwa yá tsiyí toósi ú ċustiilóo ó tykísýí** .  
 with this emph I am deer POSS old rib (?) said  
 adj adv cop ptcp Nsfx n Vpfx v

"I've been [doing it] with this old deer rib" he said.

LR8/18/73:48

20.5 **háné' ká lálíyyá tykísýí qa sát wićíílúúyí** .  
 in some way indeed let me look at it said the knife smoother  
 adv adv v v def n n

"Let me look at it" said Pumice-stone man.

LR8/18/73:48

20.6 **tykálíyyaaci katap tykwácáwáámí** .  
 looked at snap he broke it with fingers  
 v onom v

He held it in his hand and he broke it.

LR8/18/73:49

20.7 **tykánćíllóhamí qa cíwci , má áncia pal tykwammá má áncia tykwacaasaćci** .  
 he threw away the bone and then first he turned and then picked up  
 v def n coordconn adv v coordconn v

He threw away the rib, and he turned and he picked up (a knife).

LR8/18/73:49

20.8 " **piqq<sup>h</sup>á wa taak<sup>h</sup>ááta , hamís sóććiiláké** " **tykísýí** .  
 this instr cut it! one I have said  
 deic Nsfx v quant v v

"Cut with this one, I have another" he said.

LR8/18/73:49

20.9 **we itaskáumí' ka qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú ċmaťtiíaté tykwáppáámí** .  
 then agent the his in quiver placed  
 adv Nsfx def pers adv v

Now when he got through, he put it in his quiver.

Wrote itaskáwmí' ?ka

LR8/18/73:50

20.10 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykísýí qa sát wićíílúúyí " túnníina ik<sup>h</sup>im kooqántiwí** "  
 but said the knife smoother bring it merely you wear it around neck  
 coordconn v def n n v adv v

**tykísýí** .

said

v

"Give it here, you can just wear it around your neck" said Pumice-stone man.

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

LR8/18/73:50

20.11 **mám** **tykwacassawýací** ·  
and handed to  
coordconn v

And he handed it to him.

LR8/18/73:50

20.12 **tykwatámíllúúlí** **má áncia** **watt<sup>h</sup>aayí** **tykwatt<sup>h</sup>óqtí** ·  
drilled hole in and then string(?) tied  
v coordconn n v

He drilled a hole and he tied a string through it.

LR8/18/73:51

20.13 **amq<sup>h</sup>á** **ýuwá** **qa accát** **ýásiikaswaci** **hukíccí'** **qá** **kac<sup>h</sup>ú** **iqqússaté** ·  
but it will be the ground squirrel carries black the his on the back  
coordconn cop def n v adj def pers adv

That's why the digger squirrel will carry it black on his back. (LR8/18/73:51)

21.1 **má áncia** **wee** **tykitínmimmííci** **má áncia** **tykitálahháámíci** ·  
and then lo ate supper and then conversed  
coordconn interj v coordconn v

They ate supper and they talked.

LR 8/19/73:1

21.2 " **t<sup>h</sup>ól** **tsiyí** **sáákuuwací** **młépta** **lóqmi** " **tykísýí** ·  
for a long time I am I sit or stay I will go home tomorrow said  
adv cop v v adv v

"I've been away a long time; I'll go home tomorrow" he said.

LR 8/19/73:1

21.3 **amq<sup>h</sup>á** **tykísýí** **qa sát** **wicííllúúyí** " **líkáákaawací** **háné'** **wáymi** "  
but said the knife smoother I wish you would stay in some way right here  
coordconn v def n n v adv adv

**tykísýí** ·

said

v

Then Pumice-stone man said "I wish you would stay here all the time" he said.

LR 8/19/73:1

21.4 " **aamím** **ascuy** **tíicii** **kúci** **ýuwá** , **amím** **młíiná** **qá** **it<sup>h</sup>ú** **támmi** **kúci**  
right now winter do fut it will be I will come back the my eat future  
adv n ptcp adv cop v def pers ptcp

**wíswaací'** " **tykísýí** ·

one who gets said

v

v

Soon it will be winter, and I'm coming back soon to get my food" he said.

LR 8/19/73:2

21.5 **má áncá qá it asipwac kúci " tykísýí** ·  
 and then the 1sg helping carry fut said  
 coordconn def pers ptcp adv v

"And the ones who will help me carry it" he said.

LR 8/19/73:2

21.6 **amqhá tykísýí qa sát wičíílúúyí " qh'é tóólol winúqqaćci' tsiyí , mám**  
 but said the knife smotherer that all carries I am and  
 coordconn v def n n deic quant v cop coordconn

**mhuqqaćci yá " tykísýí** ·

I'll carry it for you emph said  
 v adv v

Then Pumice-stone man said "I can carry all of it, and I'll carry it for you" he said.

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>əkísýih.

LR 8/19/73:2-3

21.7 **amqhá tykísýí qá accát " asce yuwwí ma qa timéék<sup>h</sup>ayki**  
 but said the ground squirrel it becomes and the warm  
 coordconn v def n cop coordconn def ptcp

**sácaćcuukilowoy " tykísýí** ·

I have with me said  
 v v

"It's getting cold, and I have the heat with me" he said.

The source of heat. LR explained this saying he provides the wood. But in view of Radin's wame<sup>h</sup>ayki, I suspect this means he was carrying burning embers to relight a fire.

LR 8/19/73:3

21.8 **" má maaqááqáyí qa aʷ " tykísýí** ·  
 and they might lack the wood said  
 coordconn v def n v

"Maybe they're out of wood" he said.

LR 8/19/73:3

21.9 **mam lóqmim tykitóómati** ·  
 and early in the morning got up  
 coordconn adv v

(Next day) they got up early.

The /o/ of /lóqmim/ expressively prolonged.

LR 8/19/73:4

21.10 **má áncá we tykatanííyáací** ·  
 and then then bundled  
 coordconn adv v

And then they put bundles together.

LR 8/19/73:4

21.11 **má tóóloolíní qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú tipp<sup>h</sup>i amqhá palá' inííyáácoóké' tykúwwí** ·  
 and all kinds the his arrowhead but already packaging was  
 coordconn pro-form def pers n coordconn adv ptcp cop

And all his arrowheads were already packed.

LR 8/19/73:4

21.12 **má áncia qa sát mést<sup>h</sup>é wínín tykúwwí , má áncia qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú tipp<sup>h</sup>i mést<sup>h</sup>é**  
 and then the knife equal each was and then the his arrowhead equal  
 coordconn def n quant adv cop coordconn def pers n quant

**wínín tykúwwí .**

each was

adv cop

(Each pack) had equal amounts of arrowheads and knives.

LR 8/19/73:4

21.13 **má áncia qá accát ú ɛmaʔti ahtúúké' tykúwwí , má áncia qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú**  
 and then the ground squirrel POSS quiver full was and then the his  
 coordconn def n Nsfx n ptcp cop coordconn def pers

**tilúciimi kúci amq<sup>h</sup>á hamís ikúúlúúláké' tykúwwí .**

bowstring future but one was

ptcp coordconn quant cop

And Ground Squirrel's quiver was full, and his bowstrings were rolled into a ball.

Final syllable devoiced in c<sup>h</sup>əkúwh

LR 8/19/73:5

21.14 **tóólolíní qá kac<sup>h</sup>úúní títamááquuyi amq<sup>h</sup>á palá' iicíímáké' tykúwwí .**  
 everything the their need but already putting into sacks was  
 pro-form def pers ptcp coordconn adv ptcp cop

Whatever they would need was already put in sacks.

Final syllable devoiced in c<sup>h</sup>əkúwh

/tó·lol/ on tape is incorrect.

LR 8/19/73:5

21.15 **má áncia we qá titt<sup>h</sup>aayiiwa toólol [ amq<sup>h</sup>á ] tykwiñálúúyiimátýí .**  
 and then then the with string all but he tied up  
 coordconn adv def adv quant coordconn v

And then (Pumice-stone Man) tied them all up with string.

LR 8/19/73:6

21.16 " **wé , lhúpta " tykísýí .**  
 well let's us two go! said  
 adv v

"Now let's go" he said.

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>əkísýíh.

LR 8/19/73:6

21.17 **tóólol tykaaqaǎci qa sát wičíílúúyí 'ka , má áncia qá accát qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú**  
 all carried the knife smoother agent and then the ground squirrel the his  
 quant v def n n post coordconn def n def pers

**ɛmaʔti aawátca tykwiñúqqaǎci .**

quiver only carried (quiver)

n adv v

Pumice-stone man carried it all, and Ground Squirrel only carried his quiver.

He could only carry his quiver.

LR 8/19/73:6-7

21.18 **má áncia qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú qás<sup>w</sup>wa amq<sup>h</sup>á tykwí<sup>n</sup>ást<sup>h</sup>iikílí má áncia**  
 and then the his digging stick but kept possession of and then  
 coordconn def pers n coordconn v coordconn

**tyká<sup>n</sup>aawáy<sup>č</sup>i** .

he used it for a walking stick

But he wouldn't let go of his root-digger, and he used for a cane.

He cherished it, didn't want to forget it.

LR 8/19/73:7

21.19 **we p<sup>h</sup>é issi aapaamí wáté tykitéécaati qá laítáw** .  
 then nearby in the middle losing got as far as the Pittville  
 adv adv adv ptcp v def n

About midafternoon they got down to Pittville country.

Wrote ap'a mí wáté.

LR 8/19/73:7

21.20 " **íhímassúúyá čókcam** " **tykísýí** .  
 let's rest said  
 v v

"Let's rest a little" he said.

Final ? íhímas'úyá''; devoiced final syllable in č<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

LR 8/19/73:8

21.21 **má áncia tykísýí qa sát wičíílúúyí** " **wee č<sup>h</sup>ú ítaq<sup>h</sup>ca t'tánuwí** " **tykísýí**  
 and then said the knife smoother lo how distance(?) it is (evid) said  
 coordconn v def n n interj pro-form adv cop v

And then Pumice-stone man asked "how far is it?"

Devoiced final syllable in č<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

LR 8/19/73:8

21.22 " **q<sup>h</sup>é qá aq<sup>q</sup>úúyik<sup>k</sup>ka wic 'áncí' yuwí amq<sup>h</sup>á t<sup>y</sup>ánuwí qa tíllúúci tykísýí** .  
 that the knoll resemble it is but it is the home said  
 deic def n v cop coordconn cop def n v

"That which looks like a knoll over there is the house" he said.

Devoiced final syllable in č<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh. Wrote q<sup>h</sup>ée

LR 8/19/73:8

21.23 " **héé** " **tykísýí qa sát wičíílúúyí** , " **ma wáy<sup>t</sup>um lépta** " **tykísýí** .  
 OK said the knife smoother and from here I'll go home said  
 excl v def n n coordconn adv v v

"OK" said Pumice-stone man, "then I'll go home from here" he said.

LR 8/19/73:9

21.24 **ýáálúč<sup>h</sup>ící t<sup>y</sup>uw<sup>w</sup>í qá it<sup>h</sup>úúni waa<sup>y</sup>í tinímmáácáme' kam kíwapté** " **tykísýí** ,  
 it's getting late it is the our father agent will you go? said  
 v cop def pers n post v v

" **má tinímmáácóoca** !" .

and come and see!

coordconn v

"It's getting late, are you going home without seeing our father?" he asked, "come and see (him)!" he said.

LR 8/19/73:9

21.25 " **tíliyóq kú síwáátumá qá cé kuci kú túnníí amq<sup>há</sup> " tykísýí** ·  
 scold future is wrt me the not future future coming but said  
 ptcp Vpfx cop def Neg Vpfx ptcp coordconn v

"He's going to scold me if you don't come" he said.

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>əkísýíh.

LR 8/19/73:10

21.26 **tinímmaáciíwá síuwí amq<sup>há</sup> 'kam ílíí' suwá sálictíikí " tykísýí [ qa sát**  
 for to see I want but agent I will be I'm afraid said the knife  
 ptcp v coordconn post v v v v def n

**wicíílúúyí ]**·

smoother

n

I want to see him, but I'm afraid of one (of three) who doctors" said [Pumice-stone man].

LR 8/19/73:10

21.27 **cé tuccóo tálictíiki qá ílíí tykísýí qá accát** ·  
 not not do fear the doctoring said the ground squirrel  
 Neg v ptcp def ptcp v def n

"Don't be afraid of a doctor" said Ground Squirrel.

LR 8/19/73:11

21.28 **qá kac<sup>h</sup>úúnim hay tuci amq<sup>há</sup> ki té lí tipsíwci kuci ámé'**  
 the their thinking to do but in that manner I'll do think future without  
 def pers onom ptcp coordconn adv v ptcp post

**twacíwci tykísýí** ·

they are said

cop v

"They won't think to do anything like that by themselves" he said.

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>əkísýíh.

LR 8/19/73:11

21.29 **it<sup>h</sup>úúni waayí ú ó tisi kúci týánuwí tykísýí** ·  
 our father POSS (?) future it is said  
 pers n Nsfx Vpfx cop v

"That's what our father will tell them" he said.

They only do what he tells them.

LR 8/19/73:12

21.30 **it<sup>h</sup>úúni waayí ú hay tucciya tuccóomé' twiyí ílíí' ýuwwí tykísýí qa**  
 our father POSS thinking doing not do he is doctor it becomes said the  
 pers n Nsfx onom ptcp ptcp cop ptcp cop v def

**sát wicíílúúyí** ·

knife smoother

n n

"It wasn't our father's thinking for them to become doctors" said Pumice-stone man.

Transcript: added tykísýí qa sát wicíí-lú-yí

LR 8/19/73:12

21.31 **kac<sup>h</sup>úúnim tísáníwac kú týánuwíh , amq<sup>h</sup>á suwá sálictíikí tykísýí qa**  
 their do as they will future it is but I will be I'm afraid said the  
 pers ptcp Vpfx cop coordconn v v v def

**sát wićíílúúyí .**

knife smoother

n n

"They will do as they will, that's why I'm afraid" said Pumice-stone man.

That is, they have their own minds.

LR 8/19/73:12

21.32 **héé tykísýí mám tyktánaáseyéwci .**

OK said and parted from each other

excl v coordconn v

"OK" said (Ground Squirrel), and they said goodbye and parted.

LR 8/19/73:13

21.33 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykísýí qá accát wéé mahé isí tíit<sup>h</sup>um kú kuwá**  
 but said the ground squirrel now saying arrive home future you would be  
 coordconn v def n v ptcp ptcp Vpfx cop

**tykísýí .**

said

v

And then Ground Squirrel said "you'll be back at midnight".

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

Transcription: ranscribed mahé?si

LR 8/19/73:13

21.34 **tykwíílíyumma qa sát wićíílúúyí .**

laughed the knife smoother

v def n n

Pumice-stone man laughed.

LR 8/19/73:13

21.35 **nám túúlúpçic ámé' wátém tíit<sup>h</sup>um kú suwwá , mohyam týánuwí tykísýí**  
 yet sunset without arrive home future I am a little way it is said  
 adv ptcp post ptcp Vpfx cop adv cop v

"I'll be back before sundown [when still at sun going down], it's only a little way" he said.

Devoiced final syllable in c<sup>h</sup>ákísýíh.

LR 8/19/73:14

21.36 **wee qá accát qa sát tykwaniýýáctáwí .**

lo the ground squirrel the knife he opened

interj def n def n v

Then Ground Squirrel opened the (sack of) knives.

Perhaps: unpacked the knives.

LR 8/19/73:14

21.37 **má ánca wee tykyápté .**

and then lo went home

coordconn interj



And then he went home.

LR 8/19/73:14

22.1 **pálmás**                **titaawaayi** **yaté** **tykyáát<sup>h</sup>uumi** .  
at the beginning cooking loc arrived at  
adv ptcp Vsfx v

They were just starting cooking.

LR 8/19/73:15

22.2 **ik<sup>h</sup>im** **taṭ taṭ** **tykúwwí** **qa** **mállís** .  
merely all smoke was the fire  
adv onom cop def n

The fire wasn't burning well.

No coals, all smoke.

LR 8/19/73:15

22.3 **cýééwa**    **támahqí** **kú**    **muwá**    **qá** **ik<sup>h</sup>im** **qa** **mállís** **taṭ taṭ** **ucí**    **wátem** **tykísýí**  
in what way roast future you will? the merely the fire all smoke doing said  
pro-form ptcp Vpfx cop def adv def n onom ptcp v

"How are you going to roast your rmeat when your fire is just smoke?" he said.

There were no hot ashes.

LR 8/19/73:15

22.4 **má áncá** **tykwacúmyóhýi** **qa** **mállís** .  
and then stirred the fire  
coordconn v def n

And then he stirred the fire.

LR 8/19/73:16

22.5 **qá** **ticúmyóhýi** **pleq** **tykwaćúúci** **má**                **tykwapliií** **t<sup>h</sup>ús** .  
the stirring fire blaze got up and it blazed good  
def ptcp onom v coordconn v n

(When he) stirred it, it flared up, and it burned good.

It flared up, blazed up.

LR 8/19/73:16

22.6 **qá** **kac<sup>h</sup>ú** **tít<sup>h</sup>uumi** **amq<sup>h</sup>á**    **woq** **tykúúwí** .  
the his come home but warm he was  
def pers ptcp coordconn adj cop

When he got home, it got warm.

They felt warmth.

LR 8/19/73:16

22.7 **wicu<sup>h</sup>yístí'** **wíc**                **icéécí'**    **kam** ,    **hamís** **sát** **sip**    **tykwacááwáátí** **qá**  
stirs fire resembling appearing agent one knife seep passed with hand the  
v ptcp ptcp post quant n onom v def

**appóóníká** .

Cocoon

name

While appearing like the fire tender, he slipped a knife to Cocoon-man.

While seeming occupied with the fire with one hand, he slipped a knife from his belt with the other and gave it to Cocoon-man.

Cocoon is named after God: comes out with no hole, flies straight to heaven, looks like braided hair.

Wrote ckwacáawá'tí

LR 8/19/73:17

22.8 **qá kac<sup>hú</sup> tálléq̣ti tóólol ... amq<sup>h</sup>á hamís amá sip tykwacáawááti** ·  
the his prefer all but one but seep pass with hand  
def pers ptcp quant coordconn quant adv onom v

He also slipped one to every one that he liked.

To every one that he liked and who liked him, who treated him good.

LR 8/19/73:17

22.9 **hamíswáka tykwasaliíyaaci ... qa tálaac<sup>h</sup>íisi t<sup>h</sup>ús wataáwáámáké tykúwwí** ·  
one noticed the cut up good prepared nicely was  
pro-form v def ptcp n v cop

One noticed that the meat was cut up really nicely.

Final syllable devoiced in ckwasalí'ya'cih and c<sup>h</sup>akúwh

LR 8/19/73:18

22.10 **táqwa tmiyí tálaac<sup>h</sup>íisi tykísyí** ·  
with what might you be cut up said  
adv cop ptcp v

"What did you cut that with?" he asked.

Devoiced final syllable in tála'c<sup>h</sup>i'si and c<sup>h</sup>akísyíh.

LR 8/19/73:18

22.11 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykísyí qa yás piqq<sup>h</sup>ááwa yá tsiyí sálacc<sup>h</sup>íisi tykísyí , má**  
but said the weasel with this emph I am I cut it up said and  
coordconn v def n adj adv cop v v coordconn

**tykanćíllóháté qa cíwci kac<sup>h</sup>ú tálaac<sup>h</sup>íisilowoy** ·

threw at the bone his  
v def n pers

"I cut it with this" he said, and he threw the bone at him that he had always used to cut meat.

Construing qa yás as object rather than subject of tykísyí, but it could be an error by LR.

LR 8/19/73:18-19

23.1 **kíŋtaç úúlóq̣ma tykwintámmaakí qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú tuptóówoy , má ánca c<sup>h</sup>ú**  
at that time evening told the his former going and then how  
adv adv v def pers ptcp coordconn pro-form

**sa amá ticcóówoy** ·

indefinite but formerly do  
post adv ptcp

That evening he told about where he had gone and what he had done.

LR 8/19/73:20

23.2 **ma síínínúma qa páálá lóq̣mi tykísyí , mám qa q<sup>h</sup>é qa tánnísti**  
and I was brought back the today tomorrow said and the that the foothills  
coordconn v def adv adv v coordconn def deic def ptcp

**wítakca** ·

as far as

adv

"He brought me home this morning" he said, "as far as these foothills."

The /u/ of sí'ninumá assimilated to lengthened /n/ with low pitch.

LR 8/19/73:20

23.3 **ma c<sup>h</sup>ú tíyí má t'tíyíi tutt<sup>h</sup>uuki tucci tykísyí qa**  
and how be and he evidently is come here not doing said the  
coordconn pro-form ptcp coordconn cop v ptcp v def

**apóóníká** ·

cocoon man

n

"But where is he, why doesn't he come?"

LR 8/19/73:21

23.4 **mámm tykwíntámmaakúúya qa sát wičílúúyí ú ó tissi** ·  
and told about the knife smoother POSS (?) talk  
coordconn v def n n Nsfx Vpfx ptcp

And he told him what Pumice-stone man had said.

Falling pitch on doubled m of mámm.

LR 8/19/73:21

23.5 **mámm tóólol wákam tykwínt<sup>h</sup>ééyóóqi** ·  
and all agentive felt sorry  
coordconn quant v

They all felt sorry, sad.

Even the doctors felt sad about this.

Falling pitch on doubled m of mámm. Bracketed for omission.

LR 8/19/73:21

23.6 **íé tipsíwc ámé' tsiyí qá it tykísyí qa hamís ilííci'** ·  
thus think without I am the 1sg said the one doctor  
adv ptcp post cop def pers v def quant ptcp

One doctor said "I don't think that way."

LR 8/19/73:21)

23.7 **má áncá tykísyí qá hamís it aamáytu íé tipsíwc ámé' tsiyí** ·  
and then said the one 1sg likewise thus think without I am  
coordconn v def quant pers adv adv ptcp post cop

And then the other one said "I don't think that way either" he said.

Alternative word order: íé tipsíwcámé? tsiyí ?it ?a:máytu

LR 8/19/73:22

23.8 **táq c<sup>h</sup>ú ticci ya kí té sli'ipsíuwá qá itt<sup>h</sup>ú macwé**  
what how do emph in that manner I would think about it the my sibling of opposite sex  
pro pro-form ptcp Nsfx adv v def pers n

**ú maníkcan tykísyí tóólol cástim** ·

POSS said all three

Nsfx v quant quant

"Why would I think that way about my sister's child?" said all three.

Term for sister neither older nor younger, just "sister".

In /sliʔipsíuwá/ the /u/ assimilated to preceding /i/ with falling pitch.

LR 8/19/73:22-23

23.9 **tóólol cástim hamísq<sup>h</sup>ám yééwa tykwásaníw<sup>h</sup>aaci** ·

all three alone in manner(?) believed  
quant quant adv adv v

They all three believed the same way.

Or thought: haʔ tykúuwí (written c<sup>h</sup>əkúwh).

Devoiced final syllable.

LR 8/19/73:23

23.10 **má áncá wee lóqmim tykinásw<sup>h</sup>aacíwcí qa taamíwcan tánísti yáté** ·

and then lo in the morning went out to get the belongings foothills loc  
coordconn interj adv v def ptcp n Vsfx

And then they went out early to get the belongings (stuff, merchandise) at the foothills.

LR 8/19/73:23

23.11 **cýééwa t'tííyí tuqqa'cci tóólol tykísyí** ·

in what way might he be carry on back all said  
pro-form cop ptcp quant v

"HOW did he pack all of this?" they asked.

LR 8/19/73:23

23.12 **mam qwáy<sup>h</sup>tum st<sup>h</sup>íyyááná , qa hásti tó'lol twí<sup>h</sup>áqcú'náté qá itt<sup>h</sup>ú tí'yúmci** ·

and from there I the hay the my  
coordconn adv def n def pers

And then I came home from there, the grass was growing up around my house.

That is, I had work to do at home.

Final devoicing on tí'yúmci

LR 8/19/73:23