Elicitation: Ang story

Recorded Aug 27, 1955 by William Jacobsen
Playing time: 10 min
Parse: Emma Wilcox

June 11, 2015

(1) ʔāŋ degumdiʔye?  sısu t’anu  t’ēmʔhu?
 ʔāŋ digum-diʔye?  sısu t’anu  t’emlu-i?
Ang POSS.REFL-name bird person D.NMLZ-eat-ATTR
‘The bird’s name is Ang and it’s a people-eater.’

(2) haʔdáʔwo  dāʔaw  t’iyeliʔa  wáʔsiw  dāʔwa  ʔēʔa?  wáʔsiw
  haʔ-daʔaw-a  daʔaw  t’iyeliʔ-a  waʔsiw  daʔaw-a  ʔ-eʔ-a?
there-lake-LOC lake big-LOC Washo lake-LOC 3-be-AOR Washo
‘There in the lake, big lake of Washo, he was in the lake of Washo.’

(3) t’anu  p’iʔiyawamida  ʔlēʔšawama?  ʔlát’iyawama?
  t’anu  ʔ-p’iʔli-eweʔ-imiʔ-da  ʔl-iʔiš-eweʔ-imiʔ-a?  ʔl-azt’i-eweʔ-imiʔ-a?
person 3-fish.with.hook-go-out-there OBJ-net-go-out-AOR OBJ.-go-out-AOR
‘A man goes there to fish, goes there for netting, and goes there for spearing and
 gaffing.’

(4) ʔát’abî? ʔiduwéweʔ  gawduweʔida  ʔáwduweʔišge
  ʔat’abî? ʔ-ʔida-uweʔ-eweʔ ʔ-gawd-uweʔ-i-da  ʔ-gawd-uweʔ-i-ʃ-ge
fish 3-and-hence-go 3-over-hence-IPFV-there 3-over-hence-IPFV-SR-OBJ.REL
‘He goes over to look for fish, goes over the hill.’

(5) ʔiʔwuʃ  k’ēʔgi  sısu
  t’iʔi-wuʃ  K-3-eʔ-i-qi  sısu
3-eat-DUR K-3-be-IPFV-SUB.REL bird
‘And the bird then eats him.’

¹ not sure about ʔl- here and also parsing of -awam
"People couldn’t do anything about it, it catches people and it has a nest in the middle of the lake, takes people out there."

"People shot it with arrow, but still they couldn’t do anything about it."

"No matter what they did, they couldn’t kill it, it just ate up people."

"There was only light on the ground, so people build a fire."

2 why is W- capital in Wa7a7?

3 interesting construction wimayid, not sure what the parse is here, same with dayanga7e:s
The fire smoke was making fog and people were looking for flies along there.

People were looking for fish in the river, they were walking along and catching it, then take them out and eat them.

What are we to do, how are we going to kill that big bird?

In the future, if we don’t do something about it, it will keep taking us away and eating us, we can’t do anything with him.

There’s no way for us to kill him.

weird constriction i:duwe7-look for, there’s also i:giduwewe7 - look for, maybe it’s the same, but the speaker omits -gi-? what is da- in da7lopayam? why there’s no verb marker on it and t’i7iw?

why there’s no question marker?

not sure what is kele7mi7e:shuyaS, why is lA:da7 without verb marker? what is hu: in hugabigi?
(16) léw gámaʔgabidug Mík'iʔi sísu
lew ʔ-gamaʔ-gab-i-duk ʔ-Mík'iʔ-i sísu
1.PL 3-eat.up-DIST.FUT-IPFV-as.though 3-seem-IPFV bird
'It looks like the bird is going to eat us up.'

(17) ?uŋa diwáshuyigeluŋa diyuliyé:shahuyaš
?uŋa di-vaʔ-hu-i-ge-lu-ŋa di-yul-ess-ha-hu-aʔ-š
what 1-do-PL INCL-IPFV-OBJ.REL-INSTR-but 1-die-NEG-CAUS-PL.INCL-AOR-SR
ʔídaʔ?
ʔ-i:d-aʔ
3-say-AOR
"'There’s no way for us to kill him', he said.'

(18) gumLilélbidašíʔ géya gumc’ewešaʔ
gum-Lilelb-i-da-šíʔ ge-ya gum-c’eweš-aʔ
REFL-gather-IPFV-there-from 3OBJ.-about REFLE-scheme-AOR
'They called a gathering about it and they schemed.'

(19) lák’aʔ k’ídígi
lak’aʔ k’-id-i-gi
one 3-say-IPFV-SUB.REL
'One said.'

(20) léwhu lák’asíŋa ʔlópayamiš masát’i
lew-hu lak’aʔ-ši-ŋa ʔ-ʔlópayam-i-š masat’i
1.PL.-PL.INCL one-DUAL-NC 3-take.out-IPFV-SR arrowhead
dídá’c’iphuyigelu
di-dá’c’ip-hu-i-ge-lu
1-chop-PL.INCL-IPFV-OBJ.REL-INSTR
'Either one of us takes him out with arrowhead and we chop him up.'

(21) dahágaya diʔuʔlággalhuyäʔ k’iʔwášaʔ géya
di-haŋa-a di-ʔuʔlagal-hu-a-aʔ k’-iʔiw-ašaʔ ge-ya
3.POSS-mouth-LOC 1-throw-PL.INCL-LOC-AOR 3-eat-IMM.FUT 3.OBJ-that
té?ehuyudiš
le-eʔ-hu-ud-i-š
1-pat-PL.INCL-SEQ-IPFV-SR
'We’ll throw it in his mouth, when he is ready to eat and we’ll pat it on'
"Arrowhead by eating, this maybe the only thing that will kill him", he said.

"If he catches either one of us, if he takes either one of us, if he doesn’t kill us right away, we’ll do that", that’s what he said when they were talking.

"He bird caught one man, the one who had been talking and his friends while they were scheming", he said.'
'He took him out (into the lake) and there were already people there he had taken out (dead ones and live ones), he lays them down.'

(27) Pišda  gešígihaya?
?i-š-da  ge-šígi-ha-a?
SC-IPFV-SR-there 3.OBJ-put-CAUS-AOR
'There he put him with others.'

(28) Paš  lémluya?  gedúwamudi  t'ánu  ?ápiš  ?i?wa?
Paš  ?-emlu-a?  ge-guéwam-ud-i  t'ánu  ?-apš  ?-i?w-a?
and 3-eat-AOR 3.OBJ-take.out-SEQ-IPFV person 3.POSS-body 3-eat-AOR
'After he took him out there, then he ate, he ate human bodies.'

and 3.OBJ-look-AOR and 3-eye-close-AOR  INTRANST-by.biting-piece-DUR-AOR
?t'ánu  ?ápiš  ?i?wige  tuqíc’ima?
?t’ánu  ?-apš  ?-i?w-i-ge  0-tug-c’ec’im-a?
person POSS-body 3-eat-IPFV-OBJ.REL 3-eye-close-AOR
'And he was looking at it, he was clowing his eyes while he was biting pieces off human bodies he was eating, he was closing his eyes.'

0-?le-bi?-iwi?-i-ge  ?i?w-a?  ?-udi  0-k’ilá:a:dab-a?
3-by.biting-piece-eat-SUB.REL 3-eat-AOR SC-SEQ-IPFV 3-head-up-AOR
tuqíc’ima?  beműck’ala?  t’ewe?  yagíc’alyá?a?
0-tug-c’ec’im-a?  be-muk’ul-a?  t’ewe?  0-yagac’alya?-a?
3-eye-close-AOR  INDEF.OBJ-chew-AOR much 3-mouth.wide.open-AOR
'He had his head up, his eyes were closing, he was chewing with his mouth wide open.'

(31) Pišge  súzduma?
?i-š-ge  0-sudum-a?
SC-IPFV-SR-OBJ.REL 3-look.at-AOR
'He was looking at it.'

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10 not sure about the parse of last word, found Me7eS "lie down", but where's M-?
11 not sure about the last parse, what is Si:gi Maybe two different morphemes?
12 not sure about parse of ?um?lébi?uša - could be i:bi? - to come, but it makes no sense here
13 not sure about the parse of last word
(32) yúliŋaŋayidaŋi?
∅-yuli-ŋaŋa-i-da-∅-i?
3-die-pretend-IPFV-there-SR-ATTR
'He was pretending he was dead.'

(33) ūdi ūməlumámaʔudi Māʔsamida
ʔ-ud-i ʔ-emlu-mamaʔ-ud-i ∅-Meʔeʔ-am-i-da
SC-SEQ-IPFV 3-eat-finish-SEQ-IPFV 3-lie.down-∅-IPFV-there
ʔələsimleludi yásaʔ giiwuʔaʔ tʔaʔu
ʔ-ələsim-lel-ud-i yásaʔ ʔ-gii-ʔuuʔeʔ-ʔaʔ tʔaʔu
3-sleep-TRANSIT-SEQ-IPFV again 3-along-hence-AOR person
wiliiwuʔaʔ?
∅-wuʔ-ʔii-ʔuuʔeʔ-ʔaʔ?
3-3.sc pro-∅-hence-AOR
'Then, when he was done eating, he lay down, slept a little, before he went off again looking for people.'

(34) ʔəs wídiʔi tʔeləluʔʔakʔidáʔiʔiʔgi kʔéʔiɡi
ʔəs wídiʔi tʔeləluʔʔakʔ-ʔid-ʔay-ʔiʔiʔ-ʔiʔgi Kʔ-ʔeʔ-ʔiʔ-ʔiʔɡi
and this man ʔ-say-PLUPERF.-IPFV-SUB.REL K-3-be-IPFV-SUB.REL
Məluluyuyil dá: gumʔéʔiγiʃe
Məlul.RED-ʔuŋil da: gumʔ-ʔeʔ-ʔi-γiʃe
friend.PL-dead there REFL-lay-IPFV-SR-OBJ.REL
'And this man who did the talking, his friends were laying there dead.'

(35) mešgíc’edadiʔ masát’iʔ iyáʔyaʔ giiʔsa?
mešgíc’et-adiiʔ masat’iʔ ʔiʔaʔyaʔ gii-ʔsa?
arrow-from arrowhead ʔ-ʔ-PL-dead there REFL-lay-IPFV-SR-OBJ.REL
gasáʔiγahak’áa
ge-ʔaʔ-ʔi-γi-ʔhak’áa
3.OBJ-have-IPFV-SUB.REL-COMITTV
'From their arrows, he too had some arrows with him.'

(36) Pige déʔiʔdibaʔ gadac’iʔbaʔ k’adaʔéʔsibaʔ
ʔ-ʔ-eʔ-ʔiʔ-ʔdib-ʔaʔ ge-ʔdəc’b-ʔaʔ k’-ʔadaʔ-ʔeʔsib-ʔaʔ
SC-IPFV-OBJ.REL 3-with.hand-pound.small-AOR 3-break.up-AOR 3-do-ʔ-ʔAOR
Pige yáwbaʔ Pige sáʔaʔ
ʔ-ʔ-eʔ-ʔiʔ-ʔyawb-ʔaʔ ʔ-ʔ-eʔ-ʔiʔ-ʔsáʔaʔ-ʔaʔ
SC-IPFV-OBJ.REL 3-pack-AOR SC-IPFV-OBJ.REL 3-put.away-AOR

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14 not sure if -ʔiʔ is attributive here
15 what is -ʔam in Māʔsamida? Not sure about the last word’s parse
16 not entirely sure about the translation, also parse of ʔiyaʔyaʔ?
'He pounded it up small, broke it up in small pieces, fixed it up, wrapped it and put it away.'

again 3-fly-come-AOR evening-LOC and again same thing INTRANS?-?do-aor
tugú:c’ima?
∅-tug-c’ec’im-a?
3-eye-close-AOR
'Again it bird came flying in the evening, he did the same thing and he closed his eyes.'

∅-?muʔu-?laqgal-aʔ?  ŋ-i-ɡe  ∅-?le-biw-aʔ?  t’amu  ?-apš
3-around.mouth-throw-sc aor -IPFV-OBJ.REL 3-by.biting?-?AOR person POSS-body
'He put the food in his mouth, kept biting off pieces of human bodies.'

(39) ?aʔ tugú:c’imaʔ?  bemú:k’ulaš  daháŋya  gélu
∅-tug-c’ec’im-aʔ?  be-muk’ul-aʔ-š  di-haŋa-a  ge-lu
and 3-eye-close-AOR  INDEF.OBJ-chew-AOR POSS-mouth-LOC 3.OBJ.-INST
?u?lázgaɡisə?
∅-?muʔu?laqgal-ɡiš-aʔ?
3-around.mouth-throw-along-AOR
'And he closed his eyes while chewing in his mouth, he kept throwing it in.'

(40) masáʔi  dadá:č’ibiʔlu  daháŋya  t'ék’ɛ?lu
masáʔi  di-dac’ib-?lu  di-haŋa-a  t’ek’ɛ-?lu
arrowhead 1-chop-ATTR-INSTPM POSS-mouth-LOC much-INSTPM
?u?lázgaɡisəš
?uʔu?laqgal-ɡiš-aʔ-š
?-.throw-ALONG-AOR-SR
'He kept throwing in a lot of chopped up flint in his mouth.'

(41) ?aʔ ʔémluyé:wiyaš  Máʔšametiʔaʔ?  yá:sə?
∅-emlu-iweʔ-?aʔ-š  ∅-Maʔsam-etíʔ-aʔ?  yá:sə?
and 3-eat-stop-AOR-SR 3-lie.down-INCH-AOR again
'And then he stopped eating and lay down again.'
(42) **gesúdumáśdima?**  
ge-sudum-ašdim-a?  
3.OBJ-look.at-hide-AOR  
'He was looking at it while hidden, on the sly.'

(43) **sísu Máʔsametiyida**  
wetés wéwšas sísu gíbu  
sísu ʔ-Máʔsam-etiʔ-i-da wetés wewš-aʔ-š sísu ge-ʔi:bu  
bird 3-lie.down-INC-IPFV-there shortly slightly-AOR-SR bird 3-neck  
ʔadaʔíyawušganaʔa?  
ʔ-a:daʔ-ʔi:aw-uš-ganaʔ-a?  
3-do-still-DUR-start-AOR  
'Shortly after the bird lay down, its neck started to move.'

(44) **gumyuc’ic’iga? yagác’aľgap’ila? ?élšim**  
gum-uč’ic’ig-aʔ y-gac’aľ-gap’il-aʔ ?-elšim  
REFL-stretch-AOR TRANS-open-PSEUDO-DERIV.AUX.-AOR 3-sleep  
yagá:wagap’ilaʔ?  
y-garwa-gap’il-aʔ?  
TRANS-yawn-AROUND-AOR  
'He stretched, opened his mouth and yawned.'\(^{21}\)

(45) **ʔuqiludi gíbu ?ádaʔŋapágawa? gíbu ?itgégewil**  
-DEFUNCT-SEQ-IPFV 3-neck 3-do-pretend-start-AOR 3-neck NMLZ-twist  
gap’ilhayaʔ?  
gap’il-ha-aʔ?  
PSEUDO-DERIV.AUX.-CAUS-AOR  
'Then his neck started to move around every way, his neck twisted around'\(^{22}\)

(46) **tuʔmíc’iguwe?gap’ila?**  
0-tuʔm-ic’ig-uweʔ-gap’il-aʔ?  
0-m-ic’ig-uweʔ-gap’il-aʔ? ge-ált  
3-foot-stretch-hence-PSEUDO-DERIV.AUX.-AOR 3.OBJ.-wing  
má:maŋaʔádaʔaʔ?  
0-m-án:maŋaʔ-ʔa:daʔ-aʔ?  
3-INTRANS.-to.hit.with.body.part-on.smth-do-AOR  
'He stretched his legs out and his wings he did everything with'\(^{23}\)

\(^{21}\)not entirely sure about parses of yagac’aľgap’ilaʔ and yaga:wagap’ilaʔ  
\(^{22}\)what is ge:gewil?  
\(^{23}\)not sure about the parse of last word.'
'Then he got up and he was walking around.'

'He stopped in every direction and stretched his neck he did everything with.'

'Somehow it was already on him, it must have worked.'

'It started to hurt in his stomach.'

'He was stopping in every direction he flew up.'

24 why is there a question morpheme here?
'He landed back down, he came back, he lay down, he was lying in every direction.'

(53) mámaŋa?éʔuŋiligi
Ø-m-am-ŋaʔ-eʔ-ŋuŋil-i-gi
3-INTRANS.-to.hit.with.body.part-on.smth-be-DEFUNCT-IPFV-SUB.REL

gumdelikgá:giyu? hamu-tešiŋaʔ
REFL.?-AOR 3-feel.?-AOR

'He did everything, he didn’t know what to do with himself, he was restless'\textsuperscript{25}

(54) bukwéwe? deyéliʔ dewdiʔiš demék’iʔ k’éʔígi
bukwéweʔ t’iyeliʔ dewdiʔiš de-me:k’i K-3-eʔ-i-gi
log big tree POSS-nest K-3-be-IPFV-SUB.REL

'He had big logs on the trees for his nest.'

(55) mégiya yágaʔgap’ila?
me:k’i-a Ø-yágaʔ-gap’il-a?
nest-LOC 3-bump.into-PSEUDO-DERIV.AUX.-AOR

p’iliwʔgap’ilaʔ ?uŋiludi yá:
Ø-p’iliwʔ-gap’il-aʔ ?-uŋil-ud-i yá:
3-climb-PSEUDO-DERIV.AUX.-AOR 3-DEFUNCT-SEQ-IPFV yeah
wedukléplepgap’ila?
Ø-weduklep.RED-gap’il-a?
3-flap.CONT.-PSEUDO-DERIV.AUX.-AOR

'He flew up and down on his nest, climbed up and down and then he was flapping his wings'\textsuperscript{26}

(56) ?uŋiludi yá: yúliyuwaʔaʔ gáliŋlu weduklépleba?
Ø-uŋil-ud-i yá: Ø-yul-i-ufeʔ-aʔ ge-alŋ-lu Ø-weduklep.RED-a-a?
SC-DEFUNCT-SEQ-IPFV yeah 3-die-hence-AOR 3-arm-INSTRM 3-flap.CONT.-AOR

'By then he was almost dead, he was flapping his wings'

(57) bukwéwe? gitmégiyadiʔ medugelbáwdaʔyaʔ?
bukwéweʔ git-me:k’i-adiʔ Ø-medugelbawdaʔ-aʔ?
log NMLZ-nest-from 3-knock.off-AOR

'He knocked off logs with his wings.'\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{25}not sure about the parse of the last 2 words
\textsuperscript{26}last word is probably reduplicated, but not sure about the original morpheme
\textsuperscript{27}last word is polymorphemic but I don’t know what the morphemes are
(58) *gemedugélip gawday?dú:waʔaʔ*  
*ge-me-dugelip ʔ-gawd-ay?-ud-uweʔ-aʔ-ʔ*  
3.OBJ?-wing 3-over-INT.PST-SEQ-hence-AOR-SR  
weyuc’iic ’ushuliʔaʔ? ʔïthuliʔaʔ?  
we-uc’uc’uʔ-s-lu-li-aʔ? ʔ-ìd-lu-li-aʔ?  
static-hold-DIST.PST-long.ago-AOR 3-say-DIST.PST-long.ago-AOR  
ʔïdusgulayʔgi  diYámle  
ʔ-ìd-ùs-gul-ayʔ-i-ʔgi  di-Yám-le  
3-say-DUR-REM.PST-INT.PST-IPFV-SUB.REL 1-speak-REDNT  
’He almost pushed him (man) off with his wings, he was holding long ago, they said long ago, they used to say long ago, I am telling it.’²⁸

(59) *wášiw k’ïdígi*  
wašiw k’-ìd-i-ʔgi  
Washo 3.OBJ.-say-IPFV-SUB.REL  
’Washo people said this.’

(60) *ʔudiʔi ʔéʔuńilaga wawgáyamuweʔyaʔaʔ? geléweŋa*  
ʔ-ud-iʔi ʔ-éʔ-uńil-aʔa  ʔ-g-wawg-yam-uweʔ-ayʔ-ʔaʔ?  ñ-geléw-´eŋa  
3-SEQ-IPFV-SR 3-be-DEFUNCT-? 3-die-hence-INT.PST-AOR direction-LOC  
gumbiweʔgap ‘ilanilewetíʔaʔ?  yá:  
gum-b-iweʔ-‐gap’il-uńil-eweʔ-‐itiʔ-‐ʔaʔ?  yá:  
REFL-?-stop-PSEUDO-DERIV.AUX.-DEFUNCT-RESULT.-DOWN-AOR yeah  
geihep  Máthlutgawdaʔyetíʔaʔ?  
ge-iëheb  ʔ-g-Máthlut-gawd-ayʔ-‐etiʔ-‐ʔaʔ?  
3.OBJ-head 3-lie-over-INT.PST-INCH-AOR  
’Quite awhile ago he was dying, in all directions, he collapsed down and his head was lying to one side.’²⁹

(61) *Máʔsamaʔ gesú:dumaʔ*  
Ø-Maʔs-am-ʔaʔ?  ge-suːdum-aʔ?  
3-lie.down-AOR 3.OBJ.-look.at-AOR  
’He was lying down and he looked at it.’

(62) *ʔuńiligi*  
*gitšásudú:waʔaʔ?  gi: t’ánu*  
ʔ-uńil-i-ʔgi  git-šásu-ud-uweʔ-‐aʔ?  gi: t’ánu  
3-DEFUNCT-IPFV-SUB.REL 3.POSS.REFL-afraid-SEQ-HENCE-AOR 3.PRO person  
deyúilha  k’éʔesge  
d-yul-ʔha  K-ʔ-ेʔ-i-š-ge  
nMLZ-die-CAUS K-3-be-IPFV-SR-OBJ.REL

²⁸not sure about the parse of first 3 words  
²⁹not sure about the parse of wawgáyamuweʔyaʔaʔ and Máthlutgawdaʔyetíʔaʔ
'He was afraid of that person-killer that it was.'

(63) ฏn’iludi  dá:  gitgumbíkwama?
-ฏn’il-ud-i  da:  git-gum-bew-am-a?
3-DEFUNCT-SEQ-IPFV there 3.POSS.REFL-REFL-stride-away.to-AOR

'But anyhow then he walked up to him.'

(64) ฏíhep súduma?  dewígiya
t’-iheb ṭ-súrdum-a?  de-wígi-a
3-head 3-look.at-AOR 3.POSS-eye-LOC

'He looked at his head and in his eyes.'

(65) ฏn’líšgi  ?eʔnjawë:sa?  yúliyiyeʔi
-ฏn’il-i-š-gi  ṭ-ʔeʔnjaw-eς-a?  ṭ-yuli-i-eʔi
3-DEFUNCT-IPFV-SUB.REL 3-move-NEG-AOR 3-die-ʔ-REFL-IPFV
gíthámuya?
git-hamu-a?
3.POSS.REFL-feel-AOR

But it didn’t move, it was dead, he thought.'

(66) ฏpálaʔa?  wáʔsiʔlu  di  t’émaw?i  hésɡabíš
-ฏpáil-eʔi-a?  wa:šiw-lu  di  t’-imíʔi-a  heš-gab-i-š
3-DEFUNCT-be-AOR Washó-INSTR 1.PRO 3-out-IPFV Q-DIST.FUT-IPFV-SR
hés’tíʔiš  tešwagóʔomgibiʔaš
heš-tíʔ-i-š  teš-wag-aʔam-gibiʔ-aʔi
sc q-dist.fut.-ipfv-sr amount-ʔ-water-arrive-AOR-SR

'How will I get to the shore from here, maybe tomorrow, maybe today? It’s quite a distance out here.'

(67) ฏéwe?  gáʔamgibiʔ?  wáʔ?  leʔ?i  gíthámuya?
much 3.OBJ-water-arrive here L-3-be-IPFV 3.POSS.REFL-feel-AOR

'Quite a distance out here I am, he thought.'

(68) ฏn’iludi  t’áp’il  t’áŋadíʔ?  hésɡguʔjáši  hésli?  gé?  hésge?
-ฏn’il-ud-i  t’-ap’il  t’-alŋ-adíʔ?  heš guja-ší  heš li?  ge:  hešge?
3-DEFUNCT-SEQ-IPFV 3-tail 3-arm-from Q where-DU Q PRT 3.OBJ two

why are there two -i in yuliyiyeʔi, what does one of them mean?
not sure about the parse of last word

31
'Form his tail and his wing, from where, he pulled out feathers from his two wings.'

t’-ap’il-adi-?-he:Z li: ge-adi? git:yo:bol-a?-y-a? hesge?
3-tail-from Q PRT 3.OBJ.-from 3.POSS.REFL-pull.out-away-AOR two
be?lélbudi
∅-be?-lelb-ud-i
3-tie-together-SEQ-IPFV

'He pulled out two feathers from the tail and he tied them together.'

(70) géya git p’á:ša? mekgémay?hulí?a?
ge:-ya git ∅-p’a:š-a? ∅-mekge-m-ay?-lul-i?-a?
3.OBJ. 3.POSS.REFL 3-crawl-AOR 3-be.blown-throw-INT.PST-DIS.PST-ATTR-AOR
?íthulí?a?
?ídušgulay?gi
?-id-lul-li-a?
?-id-uš-gul-ay?-i-gi
3-say-DIS.PST-long.ago-AOR 3-say-DUR-REM.PST-INT.PST-IPFV-SUB.REL

'He crawled onto it and the wind blew him out (to shore), that’s what they used to say long ago.'

(71) wémel dá?aw c’iwgága? gitmekgémay?
dewesk’ím
welmel da?aw c’iwgága? git-mekge-m-ay?
dewesk’ím
north lake end 3.POSS.REFL-be.blown-throw-INT.PST wind
gemekgélip gemekgémayhayas
ge-mekge-lip ge-mekge-m-ay?-ha-a?-š
3.OBJ.-be.blown-? 3.OBJ-be.blown-throw-INT.PST-CAUS-AOR-SR

'Up north, where the lake end is, the wind blew him out, blew him along, blew him out (to the shore).'

(72) ?aš wídi? sísu t’íyeli? t’ánu t’í¡iw ?é?uílišge
?aš wídi? sísu t’íyeli? t’ánu t’-í¡iw ?-é?-uíli-i-š-ge
and this bird big person NMLZ-eat 3-be-DEFUNCT-IPFV-SR-OBJ.REL
?ítde:yi?éshaluli?a?
?ít-de:yi?-es-ha-lul-i?-a?
3.POSS.REFL-kill-NEG-CAUS-DIST.PST-ATTR-AOR
?ídušgulay?gi wášiw masát’ilu
?íd-uš-gul-ay?-i-gi wašiw masat’i-lu
3-say-DUR-REM.PST-INT.PST-IPFV-SUB.REL Washo arrowhead-INSTR

'And this big bird man-eater was killed long ago with the flint, that’s what Washo used to say.'

32 why are there two question markers?
33 not sure about the parse of mekgemay?huli?a?
34 not sure about the parse of ?ítde:yi?éshaluli?a? - why is there a negative? unless it’s not?
'This stone stood gray northward, a little westward out, that's where he had his nest.'

35 not sure about the parse of ga:7muwe7, ga7man; what is -7- in mek'i7ida?

36 what is -a:gu- in the first word?
'Washo young, not now, no matter how many years I tell this story, they might hear what I said.'

'I think I am telling this.'

'No matter how many years from when our language is about to be gone.'

'Young generation doesn’t speak our language, doesn’t understand what I say.'
'It will be here forever, this white man takes care of it, puts it down (on tape), my story will be here forever for Washo young, that’s all.'