Elicitation: Story about the Bear and the Deer

Speaker: Bertha Holbrook
Recorded July 18, 1956 by William Jacobsen
Playing time: 2 and 1/4 min
Parse: Emma Wilcox

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(1)  *muˇ se:gew  ?lémi?gišuwa?aša?a?
*muˇ se:gew  ∅-?lemi?-giš-uwe?-aša?-a?
bear  3-gather.food-along-hence-NEAR.FUT-AOR
'A bear was about to go gathering food.'

(2)  *git-na?mi?niŋ  bōnyige  wehigii:git:hay:
*git-na?mi?niŋ.RED  ∅-bo:nyi-i-ge  ∅-wehigii:git-ha-a?
3.REFL POSS-child.PL 3-call-IPFV-OBJ.REL 3-tell.them.what.to.do-CAUS-AOR
'She called her cubs (children) whom she told what to do.'

le-iyə?-uwe?-ud-i-š  ke:  ha:da  wi?-si  memde:wi
1-go-hence-SEQ-IPFV-SR TOPIC.CHANGE DMSTR-there 3.PRO-DUAL deer
ŋa?mi?niŋ.RED  ʔum-do:baʃ:ha-ud-i
child.PL  2-burn.to.death-CAUS-SEQ-IPFV
'Once I’m gone, you will burn those two deer’s children there.'

(4)  *lé:  mimdác’awéwe?haya?
*lé:  mi-m-dac’awewe?-ha-a?
le:  2-OBJ-2-pound.up.meat-CAUS-AOR 1-gather.food-come-AOR
lé?ewti?gi
' "Then pound them up for me and I will eat them when I come back from gathering food", a bear-mother said.'

1I am not sure about the parse of mimdác’awéwePhayaP. Jacobsen talks about 2nd person prefix m-
(5) ³iyewaʔaš
¿-iyeʔ-uweʔ-aʔ-š
3-go-hence-AOR-SR
'She went away.'

(6) dip’áyt’iʔushulew digumyáqimyáqahuya?  
di-p’ayt’iʔ-uš-hulew di-gum-yąqim-ŋaqa-lu-a?  
1-play-DUR-all 1-REFL-smoke-pretend-PL.INCL-AOR 1-play-DUR-all
?pí:digeduŋ wáʔgaqaʔa?
¿-i:d-i-ge-duŋ ø-waʔ-ŋaqaʔa?
3-say-IPFV-OBJ.REL-similar 3-do-start-AOR
' "Let’s (all) play! Let’s pretend we’re smoking one another! Let’s (all) play!", they said and so they began to do."²

(7) m¿: mísihiluk háʔ-da gaʔmósuwaʔaš
mi: mi-si-hiluk haʔ-da geʔ-ʔmu-iʔiš-uweʔ-aʔ-š
2.PRO 2.PRO-DUAL.INCL-FIRST DMSTR-there IMP-walk-forward-hence-AOR-SR
léši miyáqimhi ?pí:digeduŋ wáʔgaqaʔa?
le-ši mi-yąqim-hi ¿-i:d-i-ge-duŋ ø-waʔ-ŋaqaʔa?
1-DUAL.INCL 2-smoke-OPT 3-say-IPFV-OBJ.REL-similar 3-do-start-AOR
' "You, you two first, go in there, and then we two, will smoke you", they (bear) said and so they began to do.'

(8) gumséwaʔa?  
gawyácqimhaʔaš
ø-gum-se-waʔ-aʔ?  
ge-w-yąqim-ľaʔ-aʔ-š
3-REFL-by.fire-do-AOR 3OBJ.-N.DERIV-smoke-CAUS-AOR-SR
'They made a fire. They made it (house) smokey.'³

(9) gi: mendé:wį̃ yaʔmiiʔniŋ li:
gi: mendé:wį̃ yaʔmiŋ.RED li:
3.PRO deer child.PL already
gadámalbáqayiyeʔi ki?:ʔi
ge-damal-bága-iyeʔ-i-gi K-ʔ-eʔ-i-gi
3.OBJ.-hear-instructions-VISUAL-IPFV-SUB.REL K-3-be-IPFV-SUB.REL
'These deer children already had heard it (bears’ mother’s instructions).’⁴

and also 2nd person Objective Prefix me- that attaches before m- to form a 2nd person possessor. This construction forms unrestricted nouns (Jacobsen 1964, p.414)
²-hu can either be Plural Inclusive or Intensive-Assertive. Seems like both fit the context.
³-w- could be static or could be noun-deriving prefix. I think the latter is more plausible.
⁴What is ba:ga here, in dictionary it’s "cow", here it’s "instructions", maybe ba:ga + iyeʔ gives that translation?
At the bottom edge of the house they made holes.\(^5\)

And they stuck their noses out and then, after quite a while, they ran out unharmed.\(^6\)

"So, now you, you two also, go in there!", they (bear) say and it was so.'

The bear children went in and now knowing how it was, they burned to death'

"Afterwards, the deer children did it, they pounded up the bear children."\(^6\)

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\(^5\)I am not sure about the parse of gewgumémihayida - seems that there's no verb?

\(^6\)dac'awa7 is now shortened but meaning is the same "pound up”. Suspecting that dac'awewe7 consists of several morphemes. Maybe it is dac'aw+i-ewete7 (resultative)? Also why is Wa7 - "do” with voiceless /w/?
They pounded, they pounded up and put away both of them for their (bear’s) mother, they pounded them up and put them away and then they ran away from there.

The bear came.

‘She started to eat.’

'Oh my, my children listened to me, I see that they’ve pounded them up and put them away for me’, she said.7

'She was eating voraciously'8

7I am not sure about the parse of ladámaléPwaPaP, seems strange to have hear-be-do all together.
8hamu seems to have a different meaning in this story, not ”feel”
'And then she felt her child’s claw in her mouth.'

(21) dayáː dáːwa? diŋa?miŋ?miŋ ʔeq k’áːdaʔiyeʔi
dayaː daːwa? di-ŋa?miŋ.RED keq k’-aːdaʔ-ijeʔ-i
oh my my own 1.POSS-child.PL just 3OBJ.-do.make-VISUAL-IPFV
laŋdáːc’awé-wahayiːge  Láːdaʔi
le-m-dac’awe-ʔ-á-s-ge  L-aːdaʔ-i
1.OBJ-2-pound.up.meat-CAUS-IPFV-OBJ.REL 1.OBJ.-do.make-IPFV
léʔiwiyeʔi  ṭːdaʔ
le-iʔiw-ijeʔ-i  ṭː-id-aʔ
1-eat-VISUAL-IPFV 3-say-aor
'”Oh my, right there just my children, I see they’ve done it to them, they pounded up and put away for me, I did it, I see I’ve eaten it”, she said.’

(22) ?udi  memdéːwi  yaʔmiŋ?miŋ méʔšuwaʔaʔ?
ʔ-ud-i  memdeːwi  yaʔmiŋ.RED ʔ-će-iʔiʔ-ųʔ-ųʔ-aʔ?
SC-SEQ-IPFV deer child.PL 3-track-forward-hence-AOR
'Then she tracked the deer children.’

(23) wáːt’aya  gené-wamida  Lítlel  memdéːwi
wat’a-ʔa  ge-me-w-am-i-da  L-ʔîlel  memdeːwi
river-LOC 3.OBJ.-track-PERS.PL-away.to-IPFV-there 1.OBJ.-beside deer
yaʔmiŋ?miŋ  yeʔitiʔuʔaʔ?  méʔ?  ṭʔduʔgiš-aʔ?
yaʔmiŋ.RED ʔ-yeŋ-itiʔ-uʔ-ʔ-aʔ?  meʔ?  ṭ-ʔid-uʔ-ʔiʔ-aʔ?
child.PL 3-run-down-ĐUR-AOR meh 3-say-ĐUR-along-AOR
'She tracked them down to the river; on the other side, the deer children kept running downstream, ”Meh”, they kept saying along’

(24) ʔas k’aːkáʔ? dáː  gë-ge-liːʃe  yáːmaʔ?
ʔas k’aːkaʔ? daː  ʔ-geːgel-iː-ș-ge  ʔ-yaːm-aʔ?
so heron there 3-sit-IPFV-SR-OBJ.REL 3-speak-AOR
'So she spoke to a heron who was sitting there.’

(25) ?uŋa  ?ehéːsáʔ?  wíʔũši  yaŋáʔaduweʔiyeʔiʔi  dúːʔ?
ʔuŋa  ʔ-eʔ-HECK-ςʔ?  wíʔũši  ʔ-yeŋ-ahad-uweʔ-ijeʔ-iʔi  duʔ?
what 3-be-Q-AOR 3.PRO-DUAL 3-run-across-hence-VISUAL-IPFV there
dítlel  ṭídɨddeʃ
D.ʔítlel  ṭ-ʔid-iʔiʔi
D.NMLZ-beside 3-say-IPFV-SR

9Not sure about the parse gemewamida, found w- "personal plural" and -am - "away to" in Jacobsen grammar, seems like it fits the context here.
'"How was it, these two have apparently run across over there, on the other side?", she asked'

PRT what-3-be-NEG-AOR this there REFL-across-hence-CAUS-IPFV-SR-there
ya?áhaduwe?legí ?édi?e duñwàa?
∅-yeñ-ahad-uwe?-leg-i ?-iđ-i-ge ∅-duñ-wa?-a?
3-run-across-hence-REC.PST-IPFV 3-say-IPFV-OBJ.REL 3-like-do-AOR
'"There was nothing to it; this (leg) here I put across and there they ran across", she said and so she did.'

mi:s-sa-? da: ?um-p'-ahad-uwe?-ga?lam-heš-i
2.PRO.-too there 2-walk(four-legged-animal)-across-hence-want-Q-IPFV
'You too, do you want to walk across there?'

(28) dik'é:?a? ke k'é?le k'é?i ?iđa?
di-k'-e?-a-? ke K-?-e?-le K-e?-i ?-iđ-a?
1.-?-be-AOR TOPIC.CHANGE K-3-be-REDNT K-be-IPFV 3-say-AOR
'"I was as I am," she said'¹⁰

∅-tu?m-ahad-uwe?-eti?-i-š mušé:gew da: t'-ahl-a
3-foot-across-hence-INCH-IPFV-SR bear there 3-leg-LOC
p'áhaduwe?gišuwa?a?
∅-p'-ahad-uwe?-giš-uwe?-a?
3-walk(four-legged-animal)-across-hence-along-hence-AOR
dukméhi?igelu gadumYamgiša?
diM-ehi?-i-ge-lu ge-dum-Yam-giš-a?
REFL-cane-IPFV-OBJ.REL-ISTRM 3.OBJ.-?-poke-along-AOR
'She put her leg down across, and then Bear was walking across there, on her leg with a cane she was poking her along.'¹¹

(30) damók'oyaŋ gadumYámiš mušé:gew k'ídigi ?ené?
da-mók'o-a-ŋ ge-dum-Yam-i-š mušé:gew k'-iđ-i-gi ?ené?
NMLZ-knee-LOC-just 3OBJ.-?-poke-IPFV-SR bear 3-say-IPFV-SUB.REL ouch
?ítlela?
∅-iđ-iel-a?
3-say-TRNSTR-AOR

¹⁰not sure what that k' morpheme is here.
¹¹not sure about the translation of ehi7-, Yam and dum-
'Right on her knee, she poked her and the Heron said it, "Ouch!", she said briefly.'

(31) **gáhil**  
poss.refl-leg **p’i?luklelhayaś**  
3-walk(four-legged-animal)-go-return-trnstr-caus-aor-sr  
**mušé:gew wát’aya pát’umuwe?ida műskehluliʔa?**  
bear river-LOC 3-fall-down.in-hence-ipfv-there 3-drown-dst.pst-attr-aor  
**ʔidíšgi k’ēʔi**  
3-say-ipfv-sub.rel K-3-be-ipfv  
'She twisted her leg a little and the Bear fell into the river and there she drowned long ago, it is said.'

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12I am not sure about the parse of **muśekluliPaP** - it could be lu- and li- for "quote awhile ago", but then what is extra -7 doing there? It can be lul-i7, but Attr. doesn’t make sense there either