

LR: Fox and Hungry Coyote (LA49.002 = MP3 002)

- 1.1 **kwán aawátca tykíí qa pálmas ís tikkáací .**
fox only he was the at the beginning person live
n adv cop def adv n ptcp

Fox was the only one alive.

LR says she was born in 1886. That would make her 85 in this year, 1971. (If in fact she was saying she was 86 that year, then she would have been born in 1885.)

- 1.2 **kwán qa tíqqaátí winíyácwí 'ka má ánca tóólol tykwámmaakántíwí .**
fox the country finished making agent and then everywhere looked around
n def n Vstem post coordconn quant v

When Fox had finished making the earth, he looked around everywhere.

Audio: winíyácwí?ka ckwani'ya mánc.

- 1.3 **háné' ka t'úsýí muwí tykwapsíwci .**
in some way agent good it may be thought
adv Nsfx adj cop v

There might be something good, he thought.

Audio: The y is quite evident in t'úsýí. Devoiced i in ckwapsíwch.

- 1.4 **amqháawaté tykáána qa céémul .**
while was coming the coyote
coordconn v def n

Then along came Coyote.

Audio: initial máncia omitted in transcript.

- 1.5 **táq wáli túuwí allu suwí , táq wáli móóčilákí qa támmi kúci tykisýí .**
what kind(?) being hungry I am what kind(?) you might have the eat future said
pro ptcp Vroot cop pro v def ptcp v

What's going on, I'm hungry, what do you have to eat, he said.

Audio: high leveling intonation, final vowel devoiced.

- 1.6 **táq támmáámé' kam yá tsiyí , ik'hím sáwácwááyiikántiwi tsiyí tykisýí qa kwán**
what without eating agent emph I am just I pick up things around I am said the fox
pro adv post adv cop adv v cop v def n

I haven't got anything to eat, I just pick up anything here and there, said Fox.

- 1.7 **kwán , cé tuccóo te tissi , táq támmáámé' kam ís tikkáácáme' tkiyí .**
fox not not do thus talk what without eating agent person you are
n Neg v deic ptcp pro adv post n cop

Fox, don't talk that way, you can't live without food.

- 1.8 **táq wáli muwwá támmí tykisýí .**
what kind(?) you might be eating said
pro cop ptcp v

What are you eating?

- 1.9 **lhám tykisýí .**
let's us two eat said
v v

Let's eat, he said.

1.10 **lôqmi áanca mlítawáy qa támmi kúci tykisýí** ·

tomorrow so I'll look for the eat future said
adv adv v def ptcp v

Tomorrow I'm going to go look for food, he said.

Wrote litawáy

1.11 **má tumááta tykisýí** ·

then sleep! said
coordconn v v

Well, go to sleep, he said.

1.12 **allu ucí 'ka smámaati qá pi , allu suwí tykisýí** ·

hungry doing agent I might go to sleep(?) the here hungry I am said
Vroot ptcp post v def adv Vroot cop v

I don't want to go to sleep when I'm hungry, he said.

1.13 **amq^hákam tykáámaati , má mahhé' ka tykwámmaamaswací** ·

but went to bed but agent lay awake
coordconn v coordconn Nsfx v

Nevertheless he went to bed, but all night he was awake (he had his eye open).

Is this -matswací ? Cp. ti mátsi wake up

1.14 **háné' ká c^hú tíci kú tykwapsíwci , háné' ká táq támmi kúci**

in some way indeed how doing future thought in some way indeed what eat future
adv adv v Vpfx v adv adv pro ptcp

tunnááyi , támmi kúci towaččílláké tykwapsíwci ·

prepare food eat future possess thought
ptcp ptcp ptcp v

He's doing it somehow, in some way he's fixing food, he has some food, he thought.

LR omitted tun á'yi from transcript.

1.15 **má áanca tykáállámci mam haWAY tykwaacúúci qa kwán** ·

and then day dawned and lightly got up the fox
coordconn v coordconn D v def n

At dawn, Fox got up very quietly.

1.16 **má áanca tykwahýá , má áanca tykwínmáátiici , má áanca wée lúpta tykísýí** ·

and then built fire and then got warm and then now I'm going said
coordconn v coordconn v coordconn v v v

Then he built a fire and warmed himself, and then said "I'm going now."

1.17 **lácwááyaama tykisýí** ·

I'll eat whatever I find said
v v

I'll eat whatever I can pick up, he said.

1.18 **héhéé , slááyuuka tykisýí** ·

oh my! (sad sound) I want to go too said
excl v v

Oh, I'd like to go too, he said. [Transcript: LR omitted amq^hákám following slááyuuka.]

- 1.19 **chú** **lkíllaatiw** , **timáásutwa** , **timáásútwa yá'** **tykisýí** .
 how can you move around rest rest! indeed said
 pro-form v v v emph v

It'll be hard on you (when you're worn out, you're not rested), rest, take it easy, he said.

Audio: devoiced final vowel of ckiší.

Transcript: omitted 2 repetition, the last of which sounds like wik'o ʔacúm'á timá'sútwa ckiší.

- 1.20 **mám** **hawáy** **tykwačúúcí** **mam** **tykápti** .
 and lightly got up and went
 coordconn D v coordconn v

He got up quickly and left.

Audio: mám ckápt hawáy ckwačú'cí mam ckápti. Devoiced final vowel.

- 1.21 **lááyuuma** **tykwapsíwci** **amq^há** **tyktilípláqcumá** .
 I'll follow thought but sent back
 v v coordconn v

I'll follow, he thought, but he sent him back.

Audio: devoiced final vowel.

- 1.22 **mám** **tykápti** .
 and went
 coordconn v

So he went.

- 1.23 **má** **ánca qá aq̣qo** **úúliimí'** **qa álisti iléeyiisaci'** , **amq^hááwáté** **tykápte**
 and so the mountain the rock while went
 coordconn adv def n def n coordconn v

- má** **ánca qá aq̣qo** **tykwaq̣qúskáti** .
 and so the mountain turned back to
 coordconn adv def n v

Then in a rough, rugged place of stones on the mountain ridge, there he sat with his back to the mountain.

Transcript: omitted repetition qá ... qá aq̣'o ckwaq̣'úsq̣áti. Transcribed ckwaq̣'úsq̣áti (early hearing, 10/6/71).

- 1.24 **má** **ánca stiilaacóo** **qa wáhhac** **tykisýí** .
 and so send to me the bread said
 coordconn adv v def n v

And then he said "give me some bread!"

Audio: q of qa very soft voiced spirant.

- 1.25 **aapóónákáhaawáté** **tykwaat^hákýi** .
 to Cocoon Man prayed
 adv v

He prayed to Cocoon Man.

Audio: ckwa't^hákýi qa ... qa ap'ó'nikaha, amq^há'wate ckwač'á.

- 1.26 **stiilaacóo wáhhac** , **stiilaacóo wáhhac** **tykisýí** .
 send to me bread send to me bread said
 v n v n v

Give me bread, give me bread he said.

1.27 **amq^há tykisýí qa appónikaha tímákya** !
 but said the cocoon man look on top of
 coordconn v def name v

And Cocoon man said Look up!

1.28 **chú taqyé muwwá tálílléqti tykisýí** .
 how extent you would be like said
 pro-form n cop ptc v

How big do you want it, he said.

Audio: chacya ?amcwá, chú·taqyé má ?ím·áktaka qa wáh·ac ckiší.

1.29 **tístí waymi cókcam , k^hókcaníímam stiilaacóo tykisýí** .
 good manner small ones not too much send to me said
 adv adv adj adj v v

Give me medium size ones, small ones, not too much, he said.

Audio: ?istí waymi cókcaní·mam k^hókcaní·mam stiila·cáo ckiší.

1.30 **má ánca tykáálúltánki qa wáhhac** .
 and so rolled down the bread
 coordconn adv v def n

Then bread rolled down.

Audio: omitted repetition sounds like wapám qa wáh·ac cká·lúltánki.

1.31 **q^hé k^héstam tykisýí** .
 that enough said
 deic adv v

That's enough, he said.

1.32 **má ánca qá kac^hú c^hamaatiiláté tykanáápáámi** .
 and so the his in quiver drop into container
 coordconn adv def pers adv v

Then he put them in his quiver.

Audio: Manca ckwa ní? .. ckwa ... qá kac^hú, kac^hú táqmas, a· kac^hú (break). má ánca cká·lí·mí qá kac^hú c^hmathiwáté cyaná·pá·mí.

Verb was glossed "drop small round objects in". Wrote c^hmathil láté

1.33 **má ánca tykyápti** .
 and so went back
 coordconn adv v

Then he went.

Audio: devoiced final vowel.

2.1 **má ánca tykwıncaapúpi qa áw má ánca tykwínahya** .
 and so gathered small sticks the wood and so rebuilt fire
 coordconn adv v def n coordconn adv v

Then he gathered small sticks and rebuilt the fire (in the same place).

Audio: má ánca ckwínahya qa ?áw, ckwinca·púpi má ánca ckwínahya, má ánca we· ckiší.

2.2 **wé támmá tykisýí** .
 well eat it! said
 adv v v

Now eat, he said.

2.3 **hamís tikúúlúúli támmá tykisýí** ·

one loaf eat it! said
n ptcp v v

Eat one small loaf, he said.

Audio: tám·á, we· hamís ckiší. hamís tikúl·ú·li tám·á ckiší.

2.4 **tykwammááwaci** ·

was lying down
v

he was lying down.

2.5 **héhée tykisýí qa céémul** ·

aha said the coyote
excl v def n

Aha! said Coyote.

Audio: hée ckiší qa cé·mul.

(A happy sound.)

2.6 **c^haawááwí kúwá tykisýí** ·

how in the world are you? said
adv cop v

How in the world did you do that? he said.

Audio: c^ha·wá·wí kuwá, c^ha·wá·wí kuwá ckiší.

2.7 **íssiícan múwwí amq^hááwáté tmiýí tmóóliimí tykisýí** ·

people might be in the place where might it be you evidently ate with them said
n cop coordconn cop v v

There must be some people there where evidently you ate with them, he said.

2.8 **qa kwán tykwilííyummá** ·

the fox laughed
def n v

Fox laughed.

Audio: ckwil·í·yum·a. Repeats qa kwán at end.

2.9 **cé suwwí tykisýí** ·

not I am said
Neg cop v

I never did, he said.

2.10 **ís sí yánuwí tykisýí** ·

person nothing it is said
n Neg cop v

There are no people, he said.

Audio (repeating the prior): cé suw·í ckiší, ?ís syán tyánuwí, syán tyánuwí ckiší. Adds mám plus something to the end.

2.11 **má c^hééwa tmiýí , c^hééwa piq^há táwáhhaaci tykisýí** ·

and in what way might you be in what way this said
coordconn pro-form cop pro-form deic ptcp v

But how did you make this bread, he asked.

Audio: má c^hé·wa tmi·?í, c^hé·wa piq^há qa q^hámtin (?) tawah·a·ci.

2.12 **qa paláqmim yawahhaacíní twicííni qa ámitt^héwcan wáka twicííni yawahhaacíni**
 the long ago she made bread he was the woman agent he was she made bread
 def adv v v def n Nsfx v v

qa paláqmim ·

the long ago

def adv

Long ago a woman always made bread, it was the women who made bread long ago.

Audio: yawah·a·cí·ní twicí·ní qa paláqmim, qa paláqmim.

LR said the story should have something about digging roots before this episode.

2.13 **qa tinúúwí yúúsaayíni** ·

the blue camas they always dug

def n v

They dug camas.

2.14 **má ánca qa toólollíni yúúsaayíni má twicííni witaawaaýíni** ·

and so the everything they dug and he was they cooked

coordconn adv def pro-form v coordconn v v

They dug all kinds of things, and cooked them.

3.1 **amq^há iyámííni** ·

but they two ate

coordconn v

But then they ate.

Audio: sounds like amq^há yuci ʔəhám·á.

3.2 **amq^há cyééwa tmiyí tíiyi qá pi** ?

but in what way might you be do the here

coordconn pro-form cop v def adv

How did you get this?

Wrote ché·wa

3.3 **sínááyá ká tsiyí tykisýi** ·

I made it indeed I am said

v adv cop v

In fact, I made it, he said.

Audio: ká tchíʔí , retaining the underlying t-s-.

3.4 **sápte qá aq̣qo wawá álisti úúliimi' , má ánca sóóqúsqátí qa**

I went the mountain big rock ridge and so I pressed my back against the

v def n adj n ptcp coordconn adv v def

álisti úúliimi ·

rock ridge

n ptcp

I went to the mountain ridge of big rocks, and I pressed my back against the ridge of rocks.

She glossed it "I turned my back to the ridge of rocks."

3.5 **má ánca sisýi tanáálúltánók , tanáálúltánók , qa wáhhac mów stiiláácóo**

and so I said let it roll down let it roll down the bread it might be send to me

coordconn adv v v v def n cop v

• **tanáálúltánók** , **tanáálúltánók sisýí** .

let it roll down	let it roll down	I said
v	v	v

And then I said [singing this song] Let it roll down! Let it roll down! Bread freely give to me! Let it roll down! Let it roll down!

móo or mó' added to make it rhyme.

Audio: the y glide is very evident in sisýi here, so it is clearly not a glottalized s.

3.6 sóóqúsqátí q^hé má áncia sisýí .

I pressed my back against that and so I said
v deic coordconn adv v

And I turned my back to that, I said.

Transcript: só'qú'sqátí mánca c^his'ýh. LR had trouble hearing tape.

3.7 **haha , haha tykisýí .**

said
v

Aha! Aha! said Coyote.

3.8 ik^him yá tǵánuwí qa kí té ticci .

merely	emph	it is	the	in that manner	do
adv	adv	cop	def	adv	ptcp

That's nothing for you to do that!

Audio: té ti'ch (voiceless i final).

3.9 **lóqmim m̥lúpta it m̥im , má áncá m̥lís̥wac qa tám̥mi kúci tykis̥yí**
 early in the morning I will go 1sg only and so I will get the eat future said
 adv v pers adj coordconn adv v def ptcp v

Tomorrow I'll go and get the food myself, he said.

Audio: lóqmim ma lúpta ?it̥mim, ?it̥mim ma lúpta, má áncá ... má áncá, má áncá ma lísʷac qa tám'i kúci ckisýi.

4.1 má áanca lóqmim tykwammátsi , mám tykápte .

and	so	early in the morning	got up	and	went
coordconn	adv	adv	v	coordconn	v

Then he got up early and went out.

Audio: sounds like lóqmim ckwam'átsi, ló'qmim ckwam'átsi mánca pa'mals wíyóqmilámi sikáp .. mánca ckápth.

Marginal note says both ckápti and ckápte were heard.

4.2 má áanca tykáát^huumi qa álisti qa táq^há úúliimi qa álisti qá taqcaní

and	so	arrives	the rock	the same	ridge	the rock	the big
coordconn	adv	v	def n	def adv	ptcp	def n	def adj

amq^hááwáté tykáát^huumí .

while	arrived thither
coordconn	v

Then he got to the rocks, the same ridge, the big stones, he arrived at those big stones.

Transcript: Má áncá qá wawá álisti ú·li·mi·wáté ckápte.

4.3 **má áanca tykwaaqúsqátí má áanca tykyáásá** ·
 and so put his back against and so sang
 coordconn adv v coordconn adv v

Then he sat with his back against it and sang:

4.4 **tanálúltánók , tanálúltánók , wawá mim tanálúltánók** ·
 let it roll down let it roll down big only let it roll down
 v v adj adj v

Let them roll down, let them roll down, big ones, let them roll down.

Audio: wawámi ·

4.5 **allu suwí , allu suwí , tanálúltánók qá wawá qa wáhhac tykisýí** ·
 hungry I am hungry I am let it roll down the big the bread said
 Vroot cop Vroot cop v def adj def n v

I'm hungry, I'm hungry, let the big loaves of bread roll down, he sang.

Audio and transcript: final word cki ·

4.6 **mám tykáálúltánki qa wawá qa wáhhac tykáálúltánki , má áanca**
 and rolled down the big the bread rolled down and so
 coordconn v def adj def n v coordconn adv

iqqússaté tykitéépíumá qa má áanca tykitáy'yuqtánumá ·
 on the back hit him the and so knocked him right down
 adv v def coordconn adv v

And the big loaves of bread rolled down and hit him on the back and knocked him right down on the ground.

Transcript: má áanca ckité'píimá qá ?iq'ús'até má áanca ckitáy'yuqtánumá. mám ckwín'ayma.

Audio: ckitáy'yuqtánnmá, with low pitch over the second n.

4.7 **mám tykwínnaýma** ·
 and suffocated
 coordconn v

And he died. (He suffocated.)

5.1 **pálmás úlúpcici wáté , amq^hááwáte tykyañappáámuk** ·
 already (sun) setting locative at that place revived
 adv ptcp Nsfx deic v

The sun was already going down when he came back to life.

5.2 **héé tykisýí , héhéé tykisýí** ·
 oh! said oh my! (sad sound) said
 excl v excl v

Oh, he said, oh me, he said.

5.3 **stitapwáácóo !**
 help me!
 v

Help me!

5.4 **stitapwáacóo itt^hú wayí ka stitapwáacóo tykisýí** ·
 help me! my father agent help me! said
 v pers Nrel Nsfx v v

Help me, my father, help me, he said (praying).

5.5 **qa támmi kúci suwá sásanaayá , amq^{há} tsuwí siwáqqíwí qá pi** .
 the eat fut I will be I was searching for but I am I'm hurt the this
 def ptcp adv v v coordconn cop v def adv

I was looking for food and from that I got hurt this way.

Audio: qa tám'i kúci sácana sásana:yá, ?amq^{há} c^{hu}wi qá piq^{há} ?isiwáq'í wícisi?.

5.6 **stitáp^{wá}ácóo tykisýi** .

help me! said
 v v

Help me, he said.

5.7 **mam tykitéécačcúcwáimá** .

and raised him up
 coordconn v

he raised him up.

5.8 **tⁿⁱcówoy tⁿⁱcówoy qa p^ál^áq^{mi} tⁿⁱcówoy tⁿⁱcówoy** .

used to do used to do the long ago used to do used to do
 v v def adv v v

They didn't do that long ago.

5.9 **ámitt^héwcan wáka tⁿⁱców'oy wítaawaaýowoy** .

woman agent used to do one who formerly cooked
 n Nsfx v ptcp

Women used to do the cooking.

5.10 **má áncá ýanálúúwi-mcowoy qa támmi kúci** .

and so they set down the eat fut
 coordconn adv v def ptcp adv

And then they set down good things to eat.

Transcript: LR added tám'i kúci to end.

5.11 **amq^{há} lhámmóówoy qa yályú tykisýi** .

but we would eat the man said
 coordconn v def n v

Then we men would eat, he said.

Audio: slhám'ó?oy.

6.1 **mám tóólol álisti tykyáámíci** .

and all rock turned back into
 coordconn quant n v

and all (the bread) turned back into stones.

6.2 **ánci' kam tykyapti** .

lacking agent went back
 ptcp post v

he went back with nothing.

6.3 **tykwílúúsaacumáké** .

dragged self back
 v

he dragged himself back.

6.4 **táq wáli c^hú muwí tykisýí qa kwán** ·
 what kind(?) how are you? said the fox
 pro pro-form cop v def n

What's the matter with you? said Fox.

What happened to you?

Wrote táqwáli

6.5 **támmi kúci wá sanaayamowoyí yá tsiyí** ·
 eat fut for emph I am
 ptcp adv post adv cop

I went looking for food.

Audio: yátch^hih. Transcript: yátch^huwí this happened to me.

6.6 **sanaayamowoyí tsiyí , çis kóólaatiwí qa támmi kúci 'ísanaayí' , amq^hákam**
 I am bad you move around the eat fut searching for but
 cop adv v def ptcp adv ptcp coordconn

lhita^hp^hwá lhipsíwcicka má tsiyí ·

I'll help you I thought wrt you that's why I am
 v v coordconn cop

I went looking for food, I did, you're burdened with looking for food, I though I'd help you out, that's why I did it.

Audio: amq^há lhínítáltaq^hwá lihípsíc tskwam·áya c^hi?í ckisýí.

Wrote lhípsíwticka

6.7 **ánci 'kam ma támmaámé' kam tyktáámaati** ·
 lacking agent and without eating agent went to sleep
 adj post coordconn adv post v

with nothing, and without eating, they went to sleep.

Transcript: LR added ma.

7.1 **lóqmim tykwááçacci qa kwán , mám tykápti** ·
 early in the morning got up the fox and went
 adv v def n coordconn v

Early in the morning, Fox got up and went out.

7.2 **má áncia cókca qá çamaííca^hka tykyátwa** ·
 and so small the small fawn killed
 coordconn adv adj def n v

Then he killed a little fawn.

7.3 **cókca çamaííca^hka tykyátwa má tykyáát^huumíli** ·
 small small fawn killed then took home
 adj n v coordconn v

He killed a small fawn and took it home.

Transcript: repetition of preceding sentence not included but ckyá·th^h·míli added.

7.4 **amq^há pi titapsáaya má titaawáaya , lhám tykisýí** ·
 but here clean (game animal) and cook! let's us two eat said
 coordconn adv v coordconn v v v

And he said here, gut and skin this, and cook it, let's eat!

7.5 **t^húsýí sa tkicí it^húúni tííqqaati tykisýí** ·

good indefinite you will be! our earth said
adj post cop pers n v

How good you are, our earth, he said.

Glossed Our earth is good!

7.6 **t^húsýí támmi kúci sa kíççááwáci , amq^hááwatém allu smhuuci tykisýí** ·

good eat future indefinite you are here nevertheless hungry we two do said
adj ptcp post v coordconn Vroot v v

How good the food you should _____, yet we're still hungry, he said.

Audio: repeats phrase, sounds like q'así instead of kíççááwáci.

Glossed How good you are, our earth, yet we're still hungry, he said.

7.7 **má ánca tykwataw'waaýi** ·

and so cooked
coordconn adv v

Then he cooked it.

Audio: a following ckwa'tí·miç'·i and mam wi·nú· má ánca ckwataw'a·ýi omitted.

7.8 **tóólol wííci' tykwataw'waaýi tykwammah'qa** ·

all resemble cooked roasted
quant ptcp v v

He roasted almost all of it.

7.9 **má ánca tykitáámá** ·

and so ate
coordconn adv v

Then he ate.

8.1 **mm , héhéé téhtaç lhóóçiláké háné' tykisýi** ·

oh my! (sad sound) acorn I wish I had in some way said
excl n v adv v

Oh, I wish I had some acorn, he said.

8.2 **téhtaç sla'áálápsííli háné' , téhtaç qá piqq^há wa tykisýi** ·

acorn I wish we could in some way acorn the this instr said
n v adv n def deic Nsfx v

I wish we could eat acorn mush with our fingers, some acorn with this (deer meat), he said.

8.3 **tánci wiñinnác kúci týánuwí , wiwáámi kúci týánuwí qa téhtaç timáámi kú**

that kind it grows fut it is ripens fut it is the acorn ripen future
pro-form v adv cop v adv cop def n ptcp Vpfx

ýuwá , piq^há wá iiwáámak timáámi kúci ·

it will be this with autumn ripen future
cop deic Nsfx n ptcp

That kind grows, the acorn ripens, it will ripen, with the fall season it will ripen.

Audio: sounds like this sentence ends with deb xabi, that is, something plus qá pi. ?íwá·mak

Wrote wimá·mi

8.4 **kassáámi , ma áw kaat^hi tykisýi** ·

you pick them up and wood you pound them said
v coordconn n v v

You pick them up, and you pound them (with a) wood (pestle), he said.

8.5 **héhéé** **tykisýí** ·

oh my! (sad sound) said
excl v

oh my! he said.

8.6 **ís** **tla'áacahalowoy** , **ámitt^héwcan** **áyí** **ís** **tla'áacá** **háné'** , **amq^há**
person I wish they were woman also person I wish in some way but
n v n adv n v adv coordconn

itt^hiimí **tlhiyí** **qa** **ámitt^héwcan** **wáka** **itaawaayúúyí'** **styóuwáátumá** **tykisýí** ·

hiring thou and I evidently are the woman agent cooking would be wrt us said
ptcp cop def n Nsfx ptcp cop v

I wish there were people here like before, I wish there were some women too, we would hire them to cook for us.

9.1 **má** **ánca** **we** **lóqmim** **tykwammátsi** , **mám** **tykitínmiiciwci** ·
and so then early in the morning got up and they ate up
coordconn adv adv adv v coordconn v

And then he got up early, and they ate up (the deer meat).

Transcript: ckitínmiicú'ci, má ánca instead of mám, final vowel of ckápté devoiced. Audio: ckáptik. Translation "eat up" derived from other notes, LR just said "they ate breakfast".

cp. swallow

9.2 **mam** **tykitáámá** , **má** **ánca** **we** **tykápté** ·
and ate and so then went
coordconn v coordconn adv adv v

So he ate, and then (Fox) went.

Transcript: má ánca instead of mám, final vowel of ckápté devoiced.

Audio: ckáptik. Edna Webster once put k on the end of tya·nuwík but this was unsupported by other experience with her or others.

9.3 **cýééwa** **tmiyí** , **cýééwa** , **cýééwa** **tétwi** **qá** **piq^há** **qa** **tóosi** **qa** **láp^lé**
in what way might you be in what way in what way kill the this the deer the arrow
pro-form cop pro-form pro-form v def deic def ptcp def n

sa **áncíwáté** **tykisýí** ·

indefinite while lacking said
post adv v

How did you do it, how, how did you kill this deer, not having any bow and arrows, he said.

9.4 **cýééwa** **tmiyí** **tykisýí** ·
in what way might you be said
pro-form cop v

How did you do it, he said.

9.5 **ikk^him** **sálissuuyátumí** **yá** **tsiyí** , **mám** **yááciimí** **tykisýí** ·
nothing I point at it with my finger emph I am and it falls down said
n v adv cop coordconn v v

It's nothing, I just point at it with my finger and it falls down, he said.

9.6 **həhə** , **ikk^him tǵánuwí** , **té sliǵí amq^há tykisǵí** .
 huh-huh nothing it is thus I can be but said
 excl n cop adv cop coordconn v

huh-huh, that's nothing, I can do that, he said.

9.7 **lóqmim mlúpta tykwapsíwci** .
 in the morning I will go thought
 adv v v

I'm going to go first thing in the morning, he thought.

Wrote ma lúpta

9.8 **héhé tykisǵí mám tykápte** .
 chuckle said and went
 onom v coordconn v

he chuckled and went out.

9.9 **háné' ká laslillaatiwi** , **háné' ká laslillaatiwi tykisǵí qa**
 in some way indeed I'll take a stroll in some way indeed I'll take a stroll around said the
 adv adv v adv adv v v def

céémul .

coyote

n

I'm going to take a little stroll, just a little stroll, said Coyote.

9.10 **má áanca tykápté** .
 and so went
 coordconn adv v

Then he went out.

9.11 **háné' ká c^hú tíici kú tykwapsíwci qa kwán tykwacéptaswaci** .
 in some way indeed how doing future thought the fox watched
 adv adv pro-form v Vpfx v def n v

Fox thought whatever he might do, he'd watch him.

9.12 **tykwatííyíimí mám tykwacéptaswaci** .
 followed and watched
 v coordconn v

He followed him and watched him.

9.13 **má áanca wawá qa toósi** , **qa páw ú wátúnístaka wíc táncí'**
 and so big the deer the elk POSS antlers resembling that kind
 coordconn adv adj def ptcp def n Nsfx ptcp ptcp deic

tykwááćááwací .

stood before him

v

And then a big deer with antlers like an elk stood up in front of him.

Audio: qa páw ʔú ʔátúnístaka wíc ʔáncíʔ wíyánu ckwá'ćá wací ʔá.

This is a deer with more than six points.

9.14 **qa kwán wáka má áanca tykwapsíwci** , **tykwálissuuyátumi mám titutíísi**
 the fox agent and so thought pointed his finger and shoot
 def n Nsfx coordconn adv v v coordconn ptcp

wic yééwa ·

furry in manner(?)

onom adv

Then he thought of Fox (what he had said), he pointed his finger as though shooting.

Audio: qá kwán wákak

9.15 **tykwááluucićcóóké mám ckááćiimi qa páw** ·

lifted itself up and he fell down the elk
v coordconn v def n

The elk reared up and fell down.

LR meant deer.

Cp. wa'ćićci comes up

9.16 **mám tykánsiwwáátumí** ·

and rushed at it
coordconn v

He rushed at it.

9.17 **amq^há tykiyí slay slay tykwállaatíwí qa páw ticitacćí wa** ·

but was wobble wobble tried to get up the elk struggle instr
coordconn cop onom onom v def n ptcp Vsfx

The deer was groggy with his neck flopping around, struggling to get up.

9.18 **tykwínássíwci , má áncia ticaatúsi tykwapsíwci** ·

grabbed and so twist his neck thought
v coordconn adv ptcp v

he grabbed it and tried to twist its neck.

Audio: ticakwapk^hayki "wring neck and snap off head, like a chicken".

9.19 **mám tykyááćacćí qa tóósi** ·

and got up the deer
coordconn v def ptcp

Then the deer got up.

Transcript: added mám. Omitted preceding ckwá'ćí'cakó qa tówsí, probably ckwá'ćí'caké, perhaps "he got himself up", with vowel change before qa plus effects of self-correction.

9.20 **íáálóhmi tykwapsíwci** ·

I'll throw it down thought
v v

He thought "I'll throw it down".

9.21 **qá kac^hú puwwá tykwínássúúci** ·

the his horn grabbed
def pers n v

He grabbed his horn.

9.22 **qá kac^hú puwwá tykwínássúúci , amq^hákam iipááćí tykúwí , qa kac^hú puwá**

the his horn grabbed but strong it was the his
def pers n v coordconn adj cop def pers

wa tóólol tykitícooqúúćumá má áncia hééwís swílay swílay tykitáwáállaatíwí ·

instr all hooked him and so high swoosh swoosh swung him around
Nsfx quant v coordconn adv adj onom onom v

mám tykáák^hááti ·

and died

coordconn v

He grabbed his antlers, but he was too strong, he got hooked with the antlers and then he swung him high up and around swoosh swoosh, and he died.

As transcribed, except LR omitted *tó·lol* in transcription.

Audio: *ʔi·pá·cí ckúwí qa wamówá* (unidentified word); *hé·wís* transposed to a position after *ckitáwá·la·tíwí*.

9.23 **má ánca tykitáálohumá kac^hú puwwááwa mám tykáptí** ·

and so slung him off his with horn and went

coordconn adv v pers adv coordconn

Then he slung him off his horn and left.

Audio: *ckáptí táq^há qá puw* (presumably *qá puwá·wí*) "the buck went away again"

9.24 **má ánca tééwa tím úúlúp̣cicoociiwáté tykiyaanáápáámukí** , **má**

and so in that way indeed(?) almost at sunset revived

coordconn adv adv adv adv v and coordconn

ánca tyápte , **tykwilúúsaaćumáké** ·

so went dragged self home

adv v v

Then, just as before, almost at sunset he revived and left, he dragged himself home.

Transcript: omits *té·wa·tím*.

should be *tykyápté*

9.25 **híhéé** , **híhéé** , **híhéé tykisýí qa ýapté 'ka** ·

pained grunt pained grunt pained grunt said the goes agent

onom onom onom v def v post

Unh! Unh! Unh! he grunted all the way home.

9.26 **má ánca tykyaayíłumí qá ascúy** ·

and so went into the winter house

coordconn adv v def n

And then he went into the house.

Audio: *mám* before *má ánca*

Wrote *ckya·yí·lumí*

9.27 **táq wáli c^hú muwí** , **kınáćqálumí ckitisáátumá** ·

what kind(?) how are you? did you fall down? he responded to him

pro cop v v

What happened to you, did you fall? he asked him.

Transcript: *kınáćqálumí*; omitted *ckitité·wá*, *ʔe·* after *muwí*.

9.28 **sáwaasiimí yá tsiyí** , **tóósi wassíyí yá tsuwí** ·

I was hunting emph I am deer one looking for emph I am

v adv cop ptcp ptcp adv cop

I was hunting, I was looking for deer, I was.

9.29 **síyétwíumá qá wawá puwwááwí 'ka tykisýí** ·

he killed me the big buck agent said

v def adj n post v

A big buck killed me.

9.30 **sílíqqóqumá , tóólólla sílíqqóqumá tykisýí .**

he gored me all around he gored me said
v adv v v

he gored me, he poked holes in me all over, he said.

9.31 **íééwa tmicóówoy tmóósóówoy qa paláqmim , íééwa tmicóówoy .**

in that way used to do used to hunt the formerly in that way used to do
adv v v def adv adv v

They didn't use to do that way, hunt that way in former times, they didn't do that way.

Written mó'só'woy

9.32 **íééwa tuccóóme' twicííní wáasííní qa it^húúni ís tykisýí .**

in that way he was hunted the our person said
adv v v def pers n v

That's not the way they used to do, that's not the way our people used to hunt, he said.

Mythical past vs. tmicó'oy wásó'oy "they used to hunt (several years ago)".

9.33 **ýályú 'ka ýuutéemíní má áncia qá kac^hú láplé wa má áncia**

man agent he goes out into the woods and so the his instr and so
n post v coordconn adv def pers Nsfx coordconn adv

wílúúciikíní mám wituútiisíní tykisýí .

he draws bow and he shoots said
v coordconn v v

A man went out in the woods and with his arrows then he would draw back his bow and he'd shoot.

Transcript: omitted twicí'ní from ýályú'ka twicí'ní ýu'té'míní Audio: ?amq^há-wa wílú'ci·kíní má áncia witu'ti·síní.

9.34 **qa páálá máttíkca ki té wa hé kínaáyá , táncí' kínaáyá ,**

the today day in that manner instr hey you're making it that kind you're making it
def adv n adv Nsfx excl v deic v

amq^há ámitt^héwcan wákam uptéimí twiyí má áncia ílissuuyátumí twiyí

but woman agentive going through he is and so pointing at he is
coordconn n ptcp cop coordconn adv ptcp cop

mám tállílléqt ámé' twiyí qa ýályú , tállílléqt ámé' twiyí tykisýí .

and desire without he is the man desire without he is said
coordconn ptcp post cop def n ptcp post cop v

The way you're making it today, that way women could go out and just point at game and they won't want a man to hunt for them, he said.

Transcript: omits ki té'wa hé kína'ýá and repetition of tállí'éqtáme? twi'í.

wrote ?ut'éimí

9.35 **éé tykúuwí táncí tuci .**

not was that kind to do
Neg cop A ptcp

That was the end of that kind of way of doing things. [Audio: éé ckúuwí qa táncí tuci.]

9.36 **kwán u tóólollíní aka lí tipsíwci kacc^hé 'ka aña tykwíncukaýcúci .**

fox POSS everything other I'll do think he agent just he confounds
n Nsfx pro-form pro-form v ptcp pers post adv v

Whatever Fox tried to do, he screwed it up.

Audio: ʔéʔ, tó·lollíní qa kwán ʔilakalí tipsíwci amqhá tó·loí ckwíncugwayćúci kacʰéʔka aʔmh.

10.1 **má áanca ámitʰéwcaní tykúw** ·
and so getting married she was
coordconn adv ptcp cop

Fox got married.

10.2 **qa kacʰú ascúy amqhá láscaaké wa tykwacuuqʰóqtéimi qá kacʰú**
the his winter house but arrow instr poked hole through the his
def pers n coordconn n Nsfx v def pers

ascúy ·

winter house

n

He poked a hole through his winter house with an arrow.

Transcript: replaced what sounds like qa aswú·cú with qá kacʰú ʔascúy. Marginal note says "tape wrong, has 'bullet'".

Wrote -qʰóq-

10.3 **má áanca qá ćul timéétánki** , **qá ćul timéétánki ya** ·
and so the sun shone down through the sun shone down through emph
coordconn adv def n ptcp def n ptcp Nsfx

Then the sun shone down through the hole.

Transcript: omits repetition.

10.4 **amqhá ámittʰéwcan tykúw** ·
but woman she was
coordconn n cop

But it became a woman.

10.5 **tílastípmíci lúmmé' tykwáliqqaati** ·
sunbeam maiden named
ptcp n v

He named her Sunbeam Woman.

Audio: begins with má áanca qa ... mqhá qa

10.6 **qhé qa héwíísí wálwaałá lúmmé' tykíy** ·
that the heavenly butterfly maiden was the one who
deic def adj n n cop

That was the Heavenly Butterfly Woman.

Marginal note says: definitely plain h

Audio: repeats Heavenly Butterfly Woman. Transcript: substitutes ʔamqháka for má áanca qa ... qʰé qa hé·wí·sí ... that was the Heavenly

10.7 **amqhá tykúwwí lúmmé' tykwinnááya qá kwán** ·
but was maiden made the fox
coordconn cop n v def n

So Fox was the one who made the woman.

10.8 **má áanca we tykwáttʰá qa téhtać** ·
and so then pounded the acorn
coordconn adv adv v def n

then she was pounding acorn.

Transcript: added we·, LR saying that it sounded better.

10.9 **kulumm kulumm kulumm kulumm tykwasçuuci qá tatt^{hi}** .
 thump thump thump thump made sound the pound acorn
 onom onom onom onom v def ptcp

Thump, thump, thump, thump went the pounding.

10.10 **íí , ki wáli ání t'tiyí tatt^{hi} tykwapsíwci qa céémul** ,
 do who kind(?) whatsoever they two are pound acorn thought the coyote
 Vroot pro-form adv cop ptcp v def n

ki wáli .
 who kind(?)
 pro-form

who could it be, I wonder, pounding acorn, thought Coyote.

Transcript: ?aní? added

10.11 **ámitt^héwcan twakálléélaki , ámitt^héwcan twakálléélaki** .
 woman he evidently brought in woman he evidently brought in
 n v n v

He must have brought some woman in.

Transcript: repetition omitted.

10.12 **tykyáámiimi** .
 went back inside
 v

he went back in the house.

10.13 **íssáálu qa ámitt^héwcan tykwáát^haswaci** .
 beautiful the woman kept pounding
 ptcp def n v

The [...] woman, beautiful, was pounding acorn. The beautiful woman was pounding acorn.

LR's transcript revision.

Audio: ?á?álishá·wací qa ?ámit^h·éwcan, ?ís·á·lu ?amq^h·á ckwá·t^haswaci.

First word, as heard 2013, sounds like ?á?álishá·wací, ?á?áli silá·wací, or ?álishá·wací, etc. with stutter.

10.14 **tímmaccámé 'kam tykwáát^haswaci** .
 agent kept pounding
 post v

She kept pounding acorn without knowing (without looking up at him).

Audio: ckəwá·th.

Transcript: ckwát^h·aswaci.

10.15 **cé tykitúwwíumá hałac ticci** .
 not was to him glance do
 Neg cop onom ptcp

She never looked up at him.

10.16 **'ihéhe 'ihéhe tykwasłáátíwí , 'ihéhe , qa kac^hú hálloq titáákééwí qa hałac**
 ehem ehem made sound ehem the his throat clear throat the glance
 excl excl v excl def pers n ptcp def onom

tucóóké wá .
 do to self instr
 ptcp Vsfx

Ehem, ehem, he made a noise clearing his throat to make her look at him.

Audio: qa kac^hú hal' oq titá' ké' wí. Transcript: qa haláç ticó' ké' wa. I've included both here.

10.17 **má áanca we ó tykisýí** .
and so then (?) said
coordconn adv adv Vpfx v

Then he spoke.

Audio: mánc^h kác ?u ?ó' c^hækis?h.

10.18 **haláç slití tykwapsíwci** .
glance she will do me thought
onom v v

"She'll look at me" he thought.

Audio: c^hə haláç.

10.19 **amq^háka cé tyktuwwíumá haláç ticci** .
but not was wrt him glance do
adv Neg cop onom ptc

But she didn't look at him.

Audio: cé ckituwím' á. with rising pitch and emphasis on the -umá suffix.

10.20 **má áanca lóqmí amáytu kítím tykiý** .
and so in the morning also still was the one who
coordconn adv adv adv adv cop

Again in the morning she did the same.

10.21 **kitím tykwaméétéwkaswaci amq^hááwate aamá kitím tykááwaati** .
again sunbeam shone then entirely still was there
adv v coordconn adv adv cop

Again she was there when the sunbeam shone.

Audio for this and next: taq^h·a qa mécesnúci wámé·té?kam ?amq^h·á·wáté ?amá ckúw'í qa ?ámith·ewcan qa q^he, ?eu·c^hí ckúw'í te? ?amq^h·á·wáté ?amá cká·t^hu·mi. qa q^he qa .. timé·céste·mi ckúw kac^hú ascúywáté.

Uncertain of mécesnúci, wámé·té?kam, ?eu·c^hí, te?. (false start?), timé·céste·mi.

10.22 **uuc^hícyakííwáté amá tykáát^huumi tykwapsíwci qa céémul** .
sunrise but arrives thought the coyote
adv adv v v def n

She only comes at sunrise, thought Coyote.

10.23 **má áanca amá tykwataawaayi , taqqáwcan tykwataawaayi** .
and so but cooked anything cooked
coordconn adv adv v n v

and she always cooked, she cooked anything.

Transcript: omitted repetition, added mim: taq·áwcanmim.

10.24 **íssáálu tíloqyúúmi 'ka amq^háka p^hóc tyktuptélumá** .
beautiful be tempted agent but distant carried him away
ptcp ptc post adv adv v

temptation carried him away.

Audio: ?ís·á·lu cé ckúw'í simplified to first word, p^hóc omitted in transcription.

Wrote c^hkuptélma

10.25 **mám** **tykáát^huuwáti** , **má** **ánca** **líkuutílqí** **tykwapsíwci** .
 and approached and so push over thought
 coordconn v coordconn adv v v

He went up to her, and he thought "I'll try to push her over."

10.26 **amq^há** **kítím** **tykwaaćúúci** **hapoq** **hapoq** **tykwacáálaatíwí** .
 but still was cooking snatch(?) snatch(?) couldn't catch
 coordconn adv v onom onom v

But she was still cooking, he couldn't catch her, couldn't touch her.

Marginal note says: hapoq ckuw "he lost his sense"

wa ćúci looks like "sprang up" or the like

10.27 **má** **ánca** **tykisýí** **táq** **wáli** **ámitt^héwcan** **wiyáké** **tmiýí** **qa** **ticáámáqci**
 and so said what kind(?) woman made of might you be the touch
 coordconn adv v pro n ptcp cop def ptcp

kú **tuccí** **tuci** **tykisýí** .

future not do to do said

Vpfx ptcp ptcp v

What kind of woman are you made of, that no one can touch you?

Transcript: omits qa.

Wrote qa ticáámáqtu kú tucí tuci

10.28 **má** **ánca** **tykwámmákýi** , **hééwís** **tykwámmákýi** .
 and so looked up high looked up
 coordconn adv v adv v

Then he looked up high.

Transcript: LR omitted first occurrence of the verb.

10.29 **táq** **t'tíy** **qá** **piqq^há** **tykisýí** .
 what the this said
 pro def deic v

What's this? he said.

10.30 **qá** **usćaalí** **amq^há** **tykwińímmaáci** .
 the small hole but saw
 def ptcp adv v

He saw the little hole.

Audio: ends with mám.

10.31 **hééwís** **tykááteémi** , **má** **ánca** **tykwacúúméqtéimi** .
 high he went out and so punched hole through
 adv v coordconn adv v

He went out on top and punched a big hole through.

Audio: ckwacut'é wíté mi.

But LR said she heard ckwatuq'ísté mi. "He broke through (glass, a board)" on tape.

10.32 **háp** **tykúwí** **qa** **ámit^héwcan** .
 disappearing it was the women
 onom cop def n

The woman vanished.

Audio: begins with what sounds like hapuwi.

10.33 **k^hést^ham** , **ćé** **tykúuwí** **tíimíínaci** .
 end not was appear
 adv Neg cop ptcp

She never appeared again.

10.34 **má** **ánca** **tykyáámiimi** .
 and so went back inside
 coordconn adv v

Then he went back inside.

11.1 **ýé** **tykisýí** .
 any? said
 v

eh, he said.

11.2 **ćé** **tykúuwí** **o** **tissi** **qa** **kwán** , **tykyáát^huumi** **qá** **kac^hú** **tínassímcí** **amq^há**
 not was verbprt talk the fox arrived at the his hunting but
 Neg cop ptcp def n v def pers ptcp coordconn

tykyááqáálumi .
 put load down
 v

Fox said not a word when he came back from his hunting, he put down his load.

Transcript: kac^hú·ni "their".

11.3 **ćás** **tykuw** .
 silence was
 adv cop

Everything was quiet.

11.4 **tyápté** **qá** **piq^há** **qa** **ámitt^héwcan** , **tyápté** **qa** **ámitt^héwcan** , **tyápte** **tykisýí** .
 she's gone the this the woman she's gone the woman went said
 v def deic def n v def n v v

That woman has gone, the woman left, she's gone, he said.

Transcript: minú ?ámit^héwcan tyápté ckisýí.

11.5 **áw** **sánaataamí** .
 wood I went to get
 n v

I went to get wood.

Audio continues: pá·lá qa ?áw ?amq^há ticé·wi.

11.6 **q^hé** **iipác** , **iipác** **sinállóhcátumi** **amq^há** **twiyí** **qá** **ascúy** **ýáálímtánki**
 that strongly strongly I threw it down onto but he is the winter house it fell through
 deic adv adv v coordconn cop def n v

tykisýí .
 said
 v

I threw it down hard and it fell down through the roof of the house, he said.

Audio: ?it^h·u kiwa·tánki qá ?ascúy ckisýí.

Marginal note in transcript: ?dubil? ?wádangi, LR says "sounds like a board house".

11.7 **amq^hááwa cé múw ticussaǎci tykisýí** ·
 that's why not it must be get frightened said
 coordconn Neg cop ptcp v

I guess that's why she got scared and ran away, he said.

11.8 **hehee tykisýí** ·

hehey said
 excl v

hehey, he said.

11.9 **ámitt^héwcan twiyí tykisýí** ·

woman he is said
 n cop v

That's a woman, he said.

11.10 **ámitt^héwcan twiyí kítím tylí tykisýí** ·

woman he is only let her do said
 n cop D v v

A woman will always do what she wants, he said.

Written ^{ch}ilí

11.11 **wéé wisyáámí 'ka 'icusaǎcí twiyí tykisýí** ·

now is bored agent running away he is said
 v v post ptcp cop v

When she's tired of you she always leaves, he said.

she's always running away

11.12 **má qa alílláqti 'ka aawátca c^hú sa amá ici mim , amq^hááwáté**

but the desiring agent only how indefinite but doing only while
 coordconn def ptcp post adv pro-form post adv ptcp adj coordconn

alílléqti cé mow uukuuwací twiyí má itaawaayí twiyí tykisýí ·

desiring not it might be staying is and cooking he is said
 ptcp Neg cop ptcp cop coordconn ptcp cop v

But I guess she stays home cooking only when she likes it, whether you do right or not, he said.

Transcript: ʔalíl-áqtiʔka ʔa-wátca c^húsa ʔamá ʔicími, ʔu-ʔu-wací twiʔi má ʔita-wa-yí twiʔi ckisýí.

11.13 **ámitt^héwcan tykisýí** ·

woman said
 n v

Women! he said.

Audio: repeated.

11.14 **má áanca támmaáme 'kam tykitáámaatí** ·

and so without eating agent went to bed
 coordconn adv ptcp post v

And they went to bed without eating.

Audio: mám.

12.1 **má áanca we táq^ha pá ámitt^héwcan tykwinaáya** ·

and so then again indeed woman prepared
 coordconn adv adv adv adv n v

Then he made another woman.

12.2 **má áanca ís sa'áncí wátém ikk^him ámit^héwcan tykááwayci , titáqmim qa**
 and so person lacking at nothing woman made some(?) the
 coordconn adv n adv Nsfx n n v quant def

ámit^héwcan tykááwayci .

women made
 n v

It was before there were people, there were just women, just a few women.

12.3 **qa kwán má áanca tykwinkááléélami .**
 the fox and so took home
 def n coordconn adv v

Fox took her home.

Audio: repeats last word.

12.4 **má áanca wíiyuumóc'caníími qa ámit^héwcan tykááwayci , íssáálu tuccóomé'**
 and so the women made beautiful not do
 coordconn adv def n v ptcp ptcp

Then he made the woman plain looking, not beautiful.

Audio: adds mám cká'wayci.

12.5 **má áanca tykwálissáámí , ýályú wal ámitt^héwcan wal tykwálissáámí .**
 and so made pregnant man with woman with made pregnant
 coordconn adv v n Nsfx n Nsfx v

Then he made her pregnant, with a boy and a girl he made her pregnant.

12.6 **čílleq tykwaaciilákí .**
 child he had
 n v

children were born.

Audio: begins with mám.

Ends in English with "And that's 'bout's far as I know."