LR: From the Moon to the Earth (LA49.003 = MP3 003)

1.1 **qa pálm̓as qa tíq̓q̓aati ucí' qá mah̓ḥíkcawí c̓ul , amqʰááwáté icóócíínóo**

    the at first the   doing the   sun   while

    def adv   def   ptcp def   n   coordconn

sticákasasẇacínóo ·

In the beginning the land was the moon, that was where he took care of us (shepherded us).

Audio: qá piqʰá qá c̓ul -- mah·íkcawí c̓ul. Then qa pálm̓as ʔi·cíʔ added at the end.

Formal style, final vowels fully articulated as long vowels, especially at end of sentence or clause.

1.2 **m̓á tístí waymi ís tyííkáácíní ·**

    plant good manner person were living

    Vroot adv adv   n   v

They were living in a proper way.

1.3 **tóólolmim tístí haẏ ucí 'ka ís tyííkáácíní ·**

    all of them good thinking doing agent person were living

    pro-form   adv onom   ptcp post   n   v

All of them lived making proper thoughts.

Audio: tó·lolmim tístí wínú·náʔ --tístí wínú·ʔ -- tístí winʔ -- ʔəʔ -- ʔan haẏ wínú·ci qa ʔís cʰík·á·cín·.

1.4 **tóóloll̓íní tywaam̓ííní qa tóólolĺíní qa támmi kúci tyúúcíín ·**

    everything planted   the everything the eat   future did

    pro-form   v   def pro-form   def ptcp   v

They planted everything, they had all kinds of food.

Transcript: tó·loll̓íníʔ in the first occurrence; qa tám·i kú.

1.5 **títʰalúúmá ámé 'kam ikʰim tattác̓ kú aawátca tyúúcííní qa kííṫac̓hé ·**

    work   lacking agent merely   future only   was   the at that time

    ptcp   adv   post   adv   Vpfx   adv   v   def adv

Without working, they just were digging only at that time.

Audio: títʰalú·má·mé·kam ʔikʰim·ə -- ʔikʰim tat·ác̓ kú ʔa·wátca cʰú·cí·ní .

Transcript: má added before ʔikʰim.

1.6 **má ánca we kʰam̓ tyúúcííní qa ís ·**

    and   so   then many was   the person

    coordconn adv adv quant v   def n

And so there were many people.

Audio: amqʰá·kam... kʰam̓ -- we· kʰam̓ cʰú·cí·ní qa ʔís changed to má ánca we· kʰam̓ cʰú·cí·ní qa ʔís in transcript.

1.7 **amqʰááwáté tyúúnííní qa céémul ·**

    while   arrived   the coyote

    coordconn   v   def n

Then along came Coyote.

Audio: má ánca qa kʰadʔ -- kʰam̓ qa ʔís cʰú·cí·ní, amqʰá·wáté cʰu cʰu cʰú·ní·ní qa cé·mul.

1.8 **álih̓wóq̓ẇací' , qá will̓á twiẏí qa céémul ·**

            the   he is the coyote

            def   cop   def n

Coyote was bad, the devil.

Audio: wil̓áh.

1.9 **amqʰá   tyúúnííní ·**

   but   came

   coordconn v

but he came.

1.10 **má   ánca   we   qa   cʰééka   l̇ítaapʰá   tyipsíwcíní   qa   ís   cẏééwa   ís**

   and   so   then the that kind(?) I'll teach! thought   the person in what way person

   coordconn adv   adv def n   v   v   def n   pro-form   n

tikkác   kúci ·

live   future

ptcp

And so he thought "I'll teach the people how to live."

Audio: qa cʰé·ka cʰí·ka cʰé·ka cʰí·ta·pʰa·cíní qa ʔís qa cʰé·wə cʰís tik·ác kúciʰ.

Glossed "upstart(?) tried to teach the people how to live". For "I'll teach, he thought" LR says "he tried to teach".

Wrote l̇ítahpa·

1.11 **amqʰá   tyíísííní   qa   kwán   čé   tuccó   tíítʰantʰi   qá   qʰahé   áliḣwóq̇wací   twiẏí ·**

   but   he said   the fox   not do   listen   the that one   he is

   coordconn v   def n   Neg v   ptcp   def deic   cop

Then Fox said "Don't listen to that one, he's bad."

Audio: repeats čé tuc·ó.

1.12 **tináyṁé   twiẏí   tyíísíín ·**

             he is   said

             cop   v

He'll lead you astray, he said.

Alternative recorded: cause death deceptively.

1.13 **áliḣẇóq̇ẇací   twiẏí ·**

                he is

                cop

He's bad.

1.14 **aamim   wíwmí   tkiẏí   tʰól   ís   tikkáácámé'   tkiẏí   tyíísíín   qa   kwán ·**

   immediately   you are long_time person   you are said   the fox

   adv   cop   adv   n   cop   v   def n

Fox said "You won't live out your full lifespan."

1.15 **ṁa   čé   tuccó   tyíísíín ·**

   and   not do   said

   coordconn Neg v   v

So don't do that, he said.

1.16 **amqʰá   kam   sil̇   tyimíícíní   qa   céémul   qa   cʰééka   titappʰaací**

   but   agent small movement kept doing (?) the coyote   the that kind(?) teach how

   coordconn post onom   v   def n   def n   ptcp

ẇa   ·

continue

Vroot

But Coyote persisted with that teaching (to the young ones).

Audio: Repeats ʔamqʰá·kam.

Wrote cʰiˑmíˑcíní

1.17 **má ánca qa ámittʰéẇcan tyálílláq̇tíni** , **amqʰákam ċé tyitucíínóó ċíllíq**

and	so	the	women		but	not	did	child
coordconn	adv	def	n		coordconn	Neg	v		n

tiiċiilaké ẇa ·

want	continue
ptcp	Vroot

And so he wanted a woman, but she didn't want to have children with him.

Audio: qa ʔámitʰˑéwcan ʔamqʰá, ʔámitʰˑéwcan tíˑʔíˑwa cʰíˑcíˑnˑ mánca ċílˑéq cʰíka cʰú syú taq ẏuwi qa ..
amitʰˑéwcan cʰú ci amqʰákam qámitʰéwcan ċílˑéq ċé tyitucˑíˑnó tálílˑéqtiʰ.

Transcript was uncertain if ċé tyi tucˑíˑnó or ċé tyitucˑíˑnó but see tyituˑcíˑnó three sentences farther, below.

1.18 **ċé tyíísííní qa kwán** , **ċé tuccóo tyíísííní** ·

not	said	the	fox	not	not do	said
Neg	v	def	n	Neg	v	v

No, said fox, don't do it, he said.

1.19 **áliḣwóq̇ẇací twiẏí** , **áliḣwóq̇ẇací uccí twiẏí qa mimú ċíllíq tyíísíín** ·

	he is		doing	he is	the	your	child	said
	cop		ptcp	cop	def	pers	n	v

He's bad, your children will turn out bad too, he said.

1.20 **ṁám ċé tyituucíínóo tínááluutʰi qa céémul** ·

	not	did not		pay attention to	the	coyote
	Neg	v		ptcp	def	n

So they didn't pay any attention to Coyote.

1.21 **ċé tyituucíínóo tílaháámiẏééwaci** ·

	not	did not		speak to
	Neg	v		ptcp

They didn't speak to him.

Audio: final syllable devoiced.

1.22 **amqʰá tyípsíwcíní qa céémul ċé syuwíumá tálílˑéq̇ti qa piqʰááwáté** ,

but	thought	the	coyote	not	they are wrt me		the	hereabout
coordconn	v	def	n	Neg	cop		def	adv

ṁa tíímaċq̇át kú syuwáátumá , **ít ká tsiẏí sáṅaḣíící** , **aḣíící' tsiẏí** , **it**

and		future	will be wrt me	I	indeed	I am	I lead		leading	I am	1sg
coordconn		Vpfx	v	pers	adv	cop	v		ptcp	cop	pers

aamáẏtu tyíísííní ·

likewise	he said
adv	v

But Coyote thought "they don't like me hereabout, they'll find out what I am to them, it's me that leads, I'm the head man", he said.

Audio: repeats first syllable of cʰípsíwcíní three times; repeats it twice; cʰiʔí sounds like cʰiá; ʔaḣéˑcíʔ cʰiʔí qá ʔit ʔamáẏtu cʰíˑsíˑn.

syuwáˑtumá higher pitch on the y, síyuwáˑtumáˑ

1.23 **mám tyúptééni ·**
  and   went away
  coordconn v

And he went away.
Audio: last syllable devoiced.

1.24 **má ánca cʰááẁa sa yatiicííní tupte ·**
  and so where? indefinite didn't know(?) going
  coordconn adv pro-form post v ptcp

And they didn't know where he went.

1.25 **má ánca we tʰól , masẁúc·can pʰitúúwí , ṫaqqʰa tyúúnííní qá**
  and so then for a long time year came back the
  coordconn adv adv adv n v def

piqʰá tííq̇aati qa mahíkcawí ċulláté ·
this earth the night-dwelling
deic n def adj

Then after a long time, maybe 20 years, he came back to this land on the moon.

má ánca we tʰól, haṁís, hak·íl pʰitúw·í·can cyú·ní·ní ṫaqʰapa cyu·tʰu·kíní qa piqʰá tíq̇·a·ti, qa moon ...

(chuckle at error)

At first LR said "one or two years" but she thought it was more than that.

1.26 **amqʰá tẏuwí qa piqʰá qa mahíkcawí ċul kitím ẏaṅááciimasẁaci , amqʰá**
  but it evidently is the this the moon still but
  coordconn cop def deic def n adv coordconn

qa páálá máttíkca ḷháál̇ííyaaci ·
the this_(day) day
def adv n

So it's this moon still traveling (through the sky) that we're looking at today.
Audio: amqʰá inserted before ləhá·lí·ya·ciʰ. Final syllable devoiced. Very fast delivery. Wrote ẏaṅá·cʰi·masẁaci.

1.27 **qʰé tẏánuwí ẁisííní qá itʰú aqʰoẁííwílóo ·**
  that it is the my
  deic cop def pers

That's it there, said my grandfather.

1.28 **timákẏa ẁisííní ·**
  look up
  v

Look up, he said.

1.29 **má ánca qʰééwáté ís tikkáácoẁoyí twiẏí qá ittʰú íssílóo ·**
  and so there person formerly live he is the my
  coordconn adv adv n ptcp cop def pers

And my people used to live up there.

1.30 **amqʰákam piqʰááwáté ís sḷháákaací we ẁisííní ·**
  but hereabout person we live then
  coordconn adv n v adv

But we live here (now) he said.

1.31 **áliḣẇóɋ̇wací ka amqʰákam tinimác kú styóówáátumá** ， **haẏ tinúúcí**

	agent	but	see	future	he will be to us		thinking	habitually do
	Nsfx	coordconn	ptcp	Vpfx	v		onom	ptcp

tuccííwáté amqʰá tíítʰuk kú ẏuwá ẇisííní ·

in not-doing but come back future it will be

ptcp coordconn ptcp Vpfx cop

You don't know when we'll see the bad one but he will come back, he said.

1.32 **amqʰá yáátʰuukí qá piqʰá máttíkcan** ·

	but	he has arrived	the	this	day
	coordconn	v	def	deic	n

And he's here today.

1.33 **piqʰá tnístáċciní qa áliḣẇóɋ̇wací ẇisííní** ·

	this	he was talking about	the	
	deic	v		def

This is who he was talking about, the bad ones, he said.

Audio: First member of ċc cluster is unreleased, but the second is too fully voiced for this to be a geminate as transcribed.

1.34 **piqʰá qa ṫíwíící ẏuwá amqʰá amqʰááwáté yáátʰuumí** ·

	this	the		it will be	but	while		they arrive
	deic	def		cop	coordconn	coordconn		v

This white (man) it will be (that he was talking about), and it's coming.

LR gave four translations for the last word: it's come to the end, he's come to the day he promised; he's coming to it; he's here now. (The first two were numbered 1, the others 2 and 3.)

1.35 **má ánca tyuwííííní qa céémul** ， **ċásti qa ámittʰéẇcan iikaalé' ka**

	and	so	came back	the	coyote		three	the	woman		having	agent
	coordconn	adv	v	def	n		quant	def	n		ptcp	Nsfx

tyuutʰuukíní ·

came back

v

So then Coyote came back, having three women with him he came back.

Audio: hakcan qa Ɂámitʰ·eẇcan, Ɂamqʰá -- nów ċásti qa ...

1.36 **má ánca tyítaapʰaacíní qa ámitʰéẇcan** ·

	and	so	taught		the	women
	coordconn	adv	v		def	n

And he taught the women.

1.37 **táálíílaẇáta qa tʰús icéécí' aṁá qa ẏályú tyíísííní** ， **má ċíllíq tiiċiláké** ，

	go after		the	good	appearing	but	the	man	she said		and		child	have
	v		def	n	ptcp	adv	def	n	v		coordconn		n	v

ṁá Ɨhíímaċɋ̇átay qa kwán ·

plant we'll show what we can do the fox

Vroot v def n

He told them "Go after just the good looking men, and raise children, and we'll show Fox!"

Audio: mámɁ .. tálí·laẇáta .. tálí·laẇáta qa qa qa Ɂámi -- ɁaɁé qa ítéwkʰu tʰús ití·ci aṁá kʰun talí·laẇáta .. Ɂís·ín,

1.38 **ká** **tsiẏí** **sínaḣéécí** **ẇapsíwci** **tyíísíín** ·

    indeed I am   said

    adv   cop   v

He thinks "I'm the head man"! he said

1.39 **qá** **kacʰú** **hatáácíẇáté** **áliḣwóq̇ẇací** **tyíícííní** **qa** **céémul** ·

    the his   was   the coyote

    def pers   v   def n

Coyote was bad in his heart.

Audio: hatá·cí alihóq̇ẇací

1.40 **mám** **cẏééwaamáẏtu** **qa** **ámitʰéwcan** **tyúúlúúcátumíní** **qa** **píláyuucóóluucan** ·

    and   in what way   the women   sought aggressively the young men

    coordconn adv   def n   def n

And those women went right after the young men everywhere.

Like a dog goes after a rabbit.

1.41 **má** **qa** **pílyucóólucan** **amqʰá** **tyálíwáyláqcíní** **qa** **íssáálu** **tucciiya** ·

    and   the young man   but   fell for   the beautiful doing

    coordconn def n   coordconn v   def ptcp   ptcp

And the young men fell for them , they being so beautiful.

When they saw how beautiful they were.

1.42 **mám** , **amqʰá** **tóólol** **amitʰéẇcan** **tyuwiẏííní** ·

    and   but   all   woman   made

    coordconn   coordconn quant   n   v

And so each of them took a wife.

Wrote cwiẏí·ní (all occurrences)

1.43 **má** **ánca** **we** **qa** **ċíllíq** **kʰaṁ** **tyúúcííní** **cwéstʰél** **pʰitúúwi** , **amqʰá** **kʰaṁ**

    and   so   then the child   many   was   several   a year   but   many

    coordconn adv   adv def n   quant v   adj   n   coordconn quant

tyúúcííní **kʰaṁ** **tyuwinííkáácíní** **qa** **ís** ·

was   many lived   the person

v   quant v   def n

And so they had many children for several years, they raised a lot of people.

cʰú·cí·n .. kʰaṁ ʔeʔ cʰú·cíní cwéstʰél pʰitú·wí

1.44 **má** **ánca** **we** **qa** **céémul** **ú** **ċíllíq** **aqċuumíʼ** **qa** **tóóloll̇íní** **wiẏí** **tyúúcííní** ·

    and   so   then the coyote POSS child   the everything it is   was

    coordconn adv   adv def n   Nsfx   n   def pro-form   cop   v

And so Coyote's children kept increasing, and they began doing things.

Audio: qa qʰé qa cé·mul ʔú ċíl·éq ʔamqʰá -- ʔamqʰá ʔaqċu·míʔ

1.45 **iḣiikáálí** **tyúúcííní** , **tyiḣiikáálíní** ·

    dancing   was   e

    ptcp   v   v

They were dancing, they danced.

Audio: wa·sítíʔ .. at beginning.

Transcript: verb at end added.

1.46 **íísáálu amá tyúúcííní ·**

    handsome but   was

    adj   adv   v

They were all handsome

Wrote ʔísˑaálu

1.47 **tiwíící amá tyúúcííní ·**

           but   was

           adv v

They were all white.

Audio: repeats tiwíˑcí.

1.48 **amqʰááwáté iḣiikáálí amá tyalil·áq̇tíní qá itʰúúni íssíílóo ·**

    while   dancing   but   the our   former people

    coordconn   ptcp   adv   def pers   n

And so our people liked the dancing.

Audio: ʔamqʰáˑwáté hikʰáˑlí ʔamqʰá ʔamqʰá cʰa ʔamqʰá cʰal ʔamqʰá cʰaliláq̇tíní qá .. qá piqʰá qá itʰúˑni ʔísˑíˑlóo.

Wrote hikʰáˑlí

1.49 **má ánca we cʰa'íl má ánca tyúúcíní ꞏ wé má ánca**

    and   so   then from that time (?) and   so   did   well and   so

    coordconn adv   adv   adv   coordconn adv v   adv   coordconn adv

qwáẏtu áliḣẇóq̇wací tyúúcíín ꞏ iiṫuuẏí tyúúcíní ·

from there   did   angry   did

adv   v   ptcp   v

From then on they did everything bad, they were mean

1.50 **ṁám tyaatẇííní amá qa ís ·**

               but   the person

               adv   def n

And they started killing people.

1.51 **qa kacʰúúnim ís tyatẇííní aṁa ·**

    the   their   person   but

    def pers   n   adv

They even killed their own kind of people.

1.52 **má ánca we tyáátíwcíwcí ·**

    and   so   then

    coordconn adv   adv v

And fighting each other.

Wrote tacʰáˑtíwcíwcí.

1.53 **má ánca we tóólolḷíní aka iicí tyúúcíín ꞏ ánúwámmí tyúúcíín ꞏ iléskí'**

    and   so   then   everything other   doing did   stealing   did   lying

    coordconn adv   adv   pro-form   pro-form ptcp v   ptcp   v   ptcp

tyúúcíín ·

did

v

And so they did just anything they wanted, stealing, lying.

Audio: [dóˑlolʔlína·giˑcíˑ] ʔíˑci cyúˑcíˑn, ẏánúwámˑí cyúˑcíˑn. Final vowel of cyúˑcíˑní or cyúˑcíˑnʰ lost.

1.54 **amqʰáwa we tyuwísayáámííní qa kwán** ·

with that one	then	got tired of		the	fox
coordconn	adv	v		def	n

From that time Fox got tired of it.

Audio: we· cʰiʔ -- we· cʰílaho suwí siyá·mí·ní qa kwán.

1.55 **aapóónákaha amqʰá tyuwitámmaakʰúúyíní** ·

coccoon man	but	told about it
name	coordconn	v

He told coccoon man about it.

LR also glosses this word "god".

1.56 **we cẏééwa cʰú sli'í tyíísííní qá kwán** ·

then	in what way	how	I should do	she said	the	fox
adv	pro-form	pro-form	v	v	def	n

What should I do about it, asked Fox.

Audio: repeats cʰé·wa. Corrected to cẏé·wa in transcription.

1.57 **qa céémul ẇáka qa amitʰéwcan ẏáátʰuukílín má ánca ċíllíq ẇaaċíláké qa**

the coyote	by	the woman		he brought	and	so	child		the
def n	Nsfx	def		v	coordconn	adv	n		def

piqʰááwáté tyíísíín ·

hereabout	said
adv	v

Coyote brought women and they raised children here, he said.

Transcript: LR transposed the words ẏá·tʰu·kílín qa ʔamitʰéwcan.

Audio: qa cé·mulẇáka qaʔ .. ʔamqʰáka .. mqʰákaẇ ʔánímaṁ má·ʔ ʔamitʰéwcan ẏá·tʰu·kíní, má ánca ċíl·eq ẇa·ċílá qa piqʰá·wáté.

1.58 **ṁa cʰú mów sliẏí tyíísííní qa kwán** ·

and	how	it might be	said	the	fox
coordconn	pro-form	cop	v	def	n

So what should I do, said Fox.

Audio: cʰúmó· sliʔí cʰí·sí·n .. mqʰá cʰí·sí·ní qa kwán.

1.59 **tííẏa** !

make!
v

Make it!

Make something to destroy with, perhaps a net.

1.60 **tííẏa** !

make!
v

Make it!

1.61 **ṁá tóólólli titámmaakúya** ·

plant	tell
Vroot	ptcp

Then tell everyone.

Wrote tám·a·kúya

1.62 **ṁl̓hiníícú tyíísíín** ·

     said
     v

Then we'll move away, he said.

Audio: repeats má, mám and l̓ihiní·c̓ú.

1.63 **má**   **ánca**   **we** , **l̓uẁiiⱦuuk̓a qá piqʰá qa tíq̓q̓aati** , **amqʰá**   **ml̓uẁiiⱦuuk̓a**

and	so	then		the	this	the		but	
coordconn	adv	adv		def	deic	def		coordconn	

tyíísííní ·

she said

v

And then I'll set fire to this land, I'll set fire to it, he said.

Wrote ma l̓uẁi·ⱦu·k̓a

1.64 **má**   **ánca**   **we**   **tyuwitámmaakuyíní qa ís**   **tóólóll̓a tyutʰuumíní qá kwán** ·

and	so	then	told about		the	person		went		the	fox
coordconn	adv	adv	v		def	n		v		def	n

And so he told the people, Fox went everywhere

Transcript: added qa ʔís.

1.65 **má**   **ánca cwís tícííní** ·

and	so
coordconn	adv

(unglossed)

1.66 **tístí waymi ís**   **tikkáácóo** ·

good	manner	person	live!
adv	adv	n	v

Live right!

1.67 **c̓ókcam aqʰcuumí' tlhiẏí**   **ís**   **tlhaakáácí**   **piqʰááẃáté tyíísíín** ·

extending	thou and I evidently are	person	we evidently live	hereabout	said
ptcp	cop	n	v	adv	v

We're living here a short while, he said.

Wrote tʰihiẏí ʔís tʰiha·ká·cí

1.68 **ma**   **ánca**   **we**   **tyíísíín** ·

and	so	then	said
coordconn	adv	adv	v

And then he spoke (further).

1.69 **má**   **ánca páálá ikúlóóqukí' ẁáté** , **amqʰááẃáté we'**   , **'iimátsa tyíísíín**

and	so	today	daybreak		while	then	wake up	said
coordconn	adv	adv	ptcp		coordconn	coordconn	v	v

·

Then at first break of dawn, at that time he said "wake up!".

Audio: pá·lá ʔaliláyikíʔ ẁáté "early in the morning" before pa·lá ʔikúló·qukíʔ.

1.70 **má**   **ánca tyuwiẏiiní qa l̓óqti** ·

and	so	made	the
coordconn	adv	v	def

Then he made a web.

1.71 **tyilúúciimíní**   **qá**   **l̓óqti** ·

stretched across large span	the	web
v	def	n

He stretched the web (far) across.

Transcript: replaced c̓ílahpi "spiderweb" with l̓óqti.

1.72 **má**   **ánca we pálm̓as alíllaykiiw̓áté amqʰááw̓áté tykamáátuuw̓aayíní** ·

and	so	then	at first		while
coordconn	adv	adv	adv		coordconn

And then in the early morning, that's when he woke them up.

Audio: má ánca we cyisi·n lóóqmi cyisi·n pálm̓as ʔaka pálm̓as ʔaliláyíʔ w̓áte

Wrote: ckamát·u·w̓a·yíní

1.73 **tóólol qa ís**   **palá'**   **wímmacq̓átí ka**   ,   **palá**   **tyúútaamátẏín** ·

all	the	person	already	one who knows	agent		already	came together
quant	def	n	adv	ptcp	Nsfx		adv	v

All the people, already knowing, already had gathered together.

Audio: repeats each pəláʔ several times.

1.74 **amqʰááw̓áté qa céémul má**   **ánca qa ámitʰéwcan máh̓h̓í 'ka**

while		the	coyote	and	so	the	women	night	agent
coordconn		def	n	coordconn	adv	def	n		n	post

yupsááyaw̓ooyí   ·

had been mingling togther

v

At the same time Coyote and the women had been mingling all night.

Audio: ʔamqʰá·w̓áté qa cé·mul ʔamqʰó ʔómitʰéwcan yéwcís máh̓·é·ka yupsá·yaʔo·yí.

1.75 **pʰé**   **aapástukí' w̓átém skaq̓ skaq̓ tyísc̓úúcín** ·

nearby	upon
adv	Vroot

Near sunup they were snoring.

Audio: Begins with qa.

1.76 **má**   **ánca amqʰá**   **wátéépalá' tyuwinúúkʰééní qʰawwa** ·

and	so	but		climbed in		someplace
coordconn	adv	coordconn		v		pro-form

And by then some had already climbed in.

Audio: piłʌʔ repeated.

Recorder off, then on. LR starts:

má ánca qa qʰé qa c̓iláh̓pi amqʰá c̓iliʔ c̓íʔ c̓íʔ -- ʔamqʰá·w̓áté piláʔ cwilóqmi

[Interrupted by Willard's voice asking her to switch on his microphone, BN saying "is it going?" then her apology, and resuming as follows. In transcription she omitted the following.]

ʔamqʰá pʰé ap·ástukíẏáté· .. ẏámswal̓kʰalcícícíná· qa táqmi, qa cé·mul ʔo·w̓a·tiʔ.

1.77 **amqʰááw̓áté palá'**   **qʰaawa tyuwinúúkʰééní** ,   **tyuwinúúcaatúmíní qa lóqti w̓áté** ,

while		already	some	climbed in		got on		the	web
coordconn		adv	quant	v		v		def	n

qa tíṅííkʰé ·

the
def

By then some had already climbed in, they had got on the web, the thing to go up with.

Audio: pɨ̇lʌʔ repeated three times, then again after cwinúkʰ·éní. Then tó·lol pɨ̇lʌʔ pini before the

following verb.

Transcript: replaced ċilaḣpi wáté with ɫóqti wáté.

1.78 **amqʰááwáté tyímátsíní** ·

    while   woke up
    coordconn   v

Then Coyote woke up (making lots of noise).

1.79 **qa ís   kʰaṁ ó   issí   tẇiẏí qa ís   ú   taamátyí qʰáwwa tyuwaṫíícíní** ,

    the person many (?)   talking he is the person POSS gather   some
    def n   quant Vpfx ptcp   cop def n   Nsfx ptcp   quant

amqʰááwa tyuwinimátsíní qa céémul ·

that's why   woke up   the coyote
coordconn   v   def n

people make a lot of talk when they're gathered together, some were crying, that's why Coyote woke up.

Audio: Sounds like "no" at the beginning. qa ʔís kʰama ʔó is·í twiʔí qá .. qa tíʔ [bló] ta·mátẏí·ka

Wrote ta·mátyíʔ

1.80 **táq mów   , táq wáli   tííẏi , kʰaṁ tílassaaċumi tyísiicíní** ·

    what it might be   what kind(?) make   many   said
    pro cop   pro   v   quant   v

What's wrong, what's going on with so much noise, he said.

Audio: táqẇa instead of táqẇáli, and kʰaṁ twice. Last word sounds like cyúsi·cínń.

Wrote táqẇáli

1.81 **tyuwinimátsíní mam   tyáċaċcíní** ·

    woke up   and
    v   coordconn

He woke up, and he got out of bed.

Transcript: cwinimátsíní mam added, prompted by similarity to the verb in the next sentence.

1.82 **tyuwinimáácíní qa ís   ú   tatikkʰé** ·

    saw   the person POSS go up
    v   def n   Nsfx ptcp

He saw the people going up.

1.83 **palá' tyatikkʰé**   ·

    already they were rising up
    adv   v

They were already rising in the air.

Audio: some repetition of first word.

1.84 **qʰááwa áliḣẇóq̇waciẇooyi qa ís   , qa tʰúsẏí titʰéésáámoẇoyamé' amqʰá**

    some   the person   the good   but
    A   def n   def adj   coordconn

tyucwatʰáákʰééní **má** **tyuwaťíícíni** ·
called out   and
v   coordconn
Some people who had been bad, not listening to the good, well they called out and were crying.

1.85 **čé**   **sl̓icáácí** **tilúmmááẁi** **tyíísíní** ·
     not   do to us   said
     Neg   v   v
Don't leave us behind, they said.
Wrote sʔicá·cí

1.86 **amqʰááqam** **tyitamáálóh̓čúci** **palá'**   ·
                            already
                            adv
But they were drifting upward in the air already.
Audio: cyitamálóhté·líní palá·. Corrected in transcript.
Like ash rising on the updraft from a fire.

1.87 **má**   **ánca** **tyuwatamáláh̓téémíní** **palá'**   ·
     and   so   already
     coordconn adv   adv
It was already floating along heavily.
Audio: cwatamáláh·é·mí.

1.88 **má**   **ánca** **qa** **piqʰá** **tííqaatiẃáté** **amqʰááwáté** **tyúúcaatumíní** ·
     and   so   the   this   in that way   got on
     coordconn adv   def deic   coordconn   v
And there in that land he got on.

1.89 **má**   **ánca** **we** **tyíícíní** ， **we** **ís**   **tyuwínííkáácíní** **qá** **piqʰá** **tííqaatí** **ẃáté** ·
     and   so   then did   then person began lifting   the   this   earth
     coordconn adv   adv v   adv   n   v   def deic   n
And so he did so, then it began lifting the people up from that land.

1.90 **amqʰá**   **tíímaami** **qa** **mah̓íkcawí** **ċul** **ẁimééláqsasẁaci** ，   **tóólol** **inúúmáámoẁoyí**
     but   look   the   moon   all
     coordconn ptcp   def   n   quant

'kam   ·
agent
post
When we look back at the moon we can still see light, even though it's all burned up.
Audio: ʔamqʰá cyuwí tí·ma·mé· [ċəsɨzɛə] qa mah·íkcawí ċul, ʔá·mame·láasasẁaci.

1.91 **ís**   **sa' ́ ancí** **tỷánuwí** **ẃisỷí** ·
     person lacking   it is   says
     n   adv   cop   v
There are no people there, he said.
"He said" added after pause, as though thinking of who told her the story.

1.92 **má**   **ánca** **we** **qa** **céémul** **aawátca** **tyúúcííní** **h̓ééwís** **amqʰá**   **čé**
     and   so   then the coyote   only   was   high   but   not
     coordconn adv   adv def n   adv   v   adv   coordconn Neg

ṁucííní   tinúmmáámi tucci   qa céémul ·

it might be doing   burn up   not doing   the coyote

v   ptcp   ptcp   def   n

Well, only Coyote got high up, but I don't think Coyote burned up.

Audio: má ánca we, cyící·ní we ... silkʰá qa cé·mul, cʰ cé·mul ʔa·wátca cyú·cí·ní qa hé·wís, ʔamqʰá čé mucí·n tinúm·á·mi qa cé·mul.

1.93 **cẏééwa   aamáẏtu** ·

     in what way   likewise

     pro-form   adv

How could it be otherwise?

Lit: In what (other) way could it be likewise?

2.1 **ma   ánca we   ís   tyuwinúúcííní qá piqʰá qa tííq̇aati wáté** ·

     and   so   then   person   became   the   this   the earth   at

     coordconn adv   adv   n   v   def   deic   def   n   adv

And then there came to be a lot of people on this earth.

2.2 **ma   ánca cwéstʰél sa   pʰitúúwí ·   ṁalússíl·a ·   qá mil   táácé** ·

     and   so   several   indefinite year   the thousand time span(?)

     coordconn adv   adj   post   n   def   quant

amqʰááwáté ċé   ṁucííní   tuci amqʰááwáté tyíísííní tístííwam ís   tikkáácóo ·

while   not   it might be doing   to do while   he said   in right way person   live!

coordconn   Neg v   ptcp   coordconn   v   adv   n   v

inúúq̇úútumíwcóo ·

do good to one another!

v

And then after some years, maybe ten, maybe a thousand, then it might be he said live properly, do good to one another.

Audio: after mil tá·cé adds mil mil tá·cé. amqʰá·wáté na· sisí·n tuci ís ticá·cóo

Wrote ʔinú·kú·tumíwcó·

2.3 **ṁá   télmiiq̇útẇíwcó ·   amqʰááwáté ís   tikkáácóo tyíísíín** ·

     plant   while   person live!   said

     Vroot   coordconn   n   v   v

And be compassionate to one another, so live right, he said.

Audio: ʔílmíq̇·útẇíwcóo, má .. télmiq̇·útẇíwcóo, ʔamqʰá·wáté ʔís tiká·cóo cyí·sí·nʰ.

2.4 **tóólolḷííní ẏuwí támmi kúci   tyíísíín** ·

     everything   it is   eat   future said

     pro-form   cop   ptcp   v

There's all kinds of food, he said.

Audio: sounds like qa tám·i kúci.

2.5 **amqʰááwáté tyuutʰuukíní** ·

     while   came back

     coordconn   v

Meanwhile, he came back.

Audio: voiceless final vowel.

2.6 **we   tyíísííní   álih̓óq̓ẁací   ka   tinmác   kú   styóówáátumá   tyíísííní** ·

then   she said   agent   find again   future   he will be to us   she said
adv   v   Nsfx   ptcp   Vpfx   v   v

Then he said, the bad ones are going to find us, he said.

Transcript: recorded w̓e.

2.7 **tic̓ílwílmíícámé'   twiẏí   tyíísííní   qa   kwán** ·

            he is   he said   the   fox
            cop   v   def   n

They're troublemakers, said Fox

Gloss: he's here and there; he's always someplace; he's always searching someplace for his own benefit.

lacking respect? What does a meddler lack?

Audio: tic̓ílwílmí·cámé? twiẏí cʰí·sí·ní qa cé·mul, tic̓ílwílmí·cámé? twiẏí cʰí·sí·ní .

2.8 **amqʰááka   qa   tiníslícóciká   m̓á   sẏiicínnímááci   tykisẏí** ·

therefore   the   plant   he might find us   said
coordconn   def   Vroot   v   v

He might do something to us again, he might find us, he said.

Audio: ?amqʰá·ka qə? .. tiníslícóciká m̓á sẏi·cín·ímá·ci ckisẏí. Devoiced final vowel.

Gloss: You can't tell what he'll do, be careful, he might find us/see us.

Transcript: tíslícóciká my transcription error, losing the sense of recurrence or repetition.

Agentive -ka? Maybe tiníslícó·cická ? Explains short vowels. slícó·cická, but tiní unexplained?

2.9 **amqʰá   tíwca   tyuttʰuukíní   qá   piqʰá   tíq̓q̓aati   wáté** ·

but   in fact   came back   the   this   at
coordconn   adv   v   def   deic   adv

But in fact he did come back to this earth.

2.10 **tyúúcaatumíní   qa   céémul** ·

got on   the   coyote
v   def   n

Coyote got on (the earth)

2.11 **ma   ánca   we   kitím   tyíícíín   ,   tóólollíní   tyúúcííní** ·

and   so   then   again   did   everything   was
coordconn   adv   adv   adv   v   pro-form   v

Well then he did the same things over again, and everything became as before.

2.12 **ma   ánca   we   qa   cʰééka   áyí   c̓íllíq   tyuwiẏííní** ·

and   so   then   the   that kind(?)   also   child   made
coordconn   adv   adv   def   n   adv   n   v

And he also made that kind of children too.

Audio: ma ánca tu -- we .. ?ámitʰ·éẁcan ?áyí cyuwa qa cʰé·ka ?áyí c̓íl·éq cwiẏí·nʰ.

cf. áká áyí? all kinds, assorted

2.13 **ma   ánca   we   tyúptééní   cẁéstʰél   can   pʰitúúwí   ,   c̓ástíl   can** ·

and   so   then   went   plural   year   three times   plural
coordconn   adv   adv   v   post   n   adv   post

Then he went away several years, maybe about four.

Audio: "maybe" at the end in English. Probably should be c̓é muw·í.

2.14 **ma   ánca wee qa céémul tyuutʰuukíní** ·

    and   so   lo   the coyote   came back

    coordconn adv   interj def n   v

And then Coyote came back.

Audio: amqʰáˑkam cyu -- cyuc .... má ánca we cyú -- qa céˑmul cyuˑtʰuˑkínʰ.

2.15 **ma   ánca kitím ṫééwa   tím   tyúútʰuukiliní   qa ámittʰéwcan** ·

    and   so   still in that way indeed(?) he brought with him the woman

    coordconn adv   adv   adv   adv   v   def n

And again he brought women along in the same way.

Audio: má ánca kitím ṫéˑwa, tím ṫéˑwa tím .. cyúˑtʰuˑkəlíní qa .. ʔaʔ ʔamitʰˑéwcan, cyúˑtʰuˑkɨlíníʰ

2.16 **ma   ánca wee tyíísííní ⁝ qá it sḷakálíl·áq̓ti ⸴ amqʰá   tʰúsẏí icééláywací'**

    and   so   lo   she said   the 1sg   but   good   pretty

    coordconn adv   interj v   def pers   coordconn adj   ptcp

ucí   tkiẏí   tyíísííní qa ámittʰéwcancóo ·

doing you are she said   the women

ptcp   cop   v   def n

If you'll want me, he said to the women, (I'll see that) you'll be nice and pretty.

Audio: qá it -- qá it -- qá it sḷakálíl·áq̓ti -- qá it sḷakálíl·áq̓ti, ʔamqʰá tʰúsẏí wə -- tʰúsẏí uciʔ -- tʰúsẏí ʔicéˑláywají ʔucí tkiẏí cyíˑsíˑniʰ .. cyíˑsíˑní qa ʔámitʰéwcancóˑo.

Gloss on transcript marks -cow or -cóo here as a plural morpheme. Note on "good and pretty" says "i.e. clothes".

2.17 **alíl·áywac   kucí   tkiẏí   tyíísííní** ·

    being beautiful future you are she said

    ptcp   cop   v

You'll be beautiful, he said.

2.18 **m̓á   ittʰúúwáté tucóo tyíísííní** ·

    plant my   do!   she said

    Vroot adv   v   v

So be on my side, he said.

Audio: m̓á ʔi .. m̓á ʔitʰú wáté tucó cʰíˑsíˑní.

2.19 **íísáálu   tyíícííní qa céémul ⸴ waẇá waq̓cí ⸴ eẖwíísí ⸴ waẇá waq̓cí ka   ⸴**

    handsome was   the coyote   big   grown   big   grown agent

    adj   v   def n   adj   ptcp   adj   ptcp Nsfx

íísáálu   ⸴ tyíícííní ·

handsome   was

adj   v

Coyote was handsome, tall, slender, a tall one, good looking he was.

2.20 **amqʰáka qa ámitʰéwcan ẇáka tyatálíl·áq̓tínó** ·

    but   the women   by

    adv   def n   Nsfx

So the women wanted him.

Audio: ʔamqʰág qa ʔámitʰéwcancóˑka cyatalil·áq̓tín.

2.21 **má   ánca c̓íllíq tyííc̓iilákééní** ·

    and   so   child had

    coordconn adv   n   v

And he had children.

2.22 **ma** **ánca** **wawá** **qʰé** **qa** **céémul** **u** **ċíllíq** , **aliḣwóḋwací** **tyúúcííní** ·
and so big that the coyote POSS child was
coordconn adv adj deic def n Nsfx n v

Then those children of Coyote grew up and became bad.

2.23 **tóólolĺíní** **áka** **iicí** **tyúúcííní** ·
everything all kinds doing was
pro-form adv ptcp v

They did all the same things.

2.24 **tóólolĺíní** **twiẏííní** , **ṁa** **tóólolĺíní** **aka** **iicí'** **tyúúcííní** ·
everything they were and everything other doing was
pro-form cop coordconn pro-form pro-form ptcp v

All of that they were (the same as in the other world), and all those things they did.

2.25 **máḣííká** **iḣiikáálí** **tyúúcííní** , **maḣííká** **iyassí'** **tyúúcííní** ·
was all night singing was
v adv ptcp v

They were dancing all night, singing all night.
Wrote ẏas·í?

2.26 **má** **ánca** **iyanawámmí'** **tyúúcííní** , **iléski** **tyúúcííní** ·
and so stealing was lying was
coordconn adv ptcp v ptcp v

They stole things, they lied.
Wrote ẏanawám·í? as though3rd person used as a participle, "one who steals: a thief"

2.27 **ma** **ánca** **yatwí** **tyúúcííní** , **tyatẇííní** **qa** **tímcan** **wíníícíícaní** **tyatẇíní**
and so he kills was the small faults{?} one doing
coordconn adv v v def pro-form ptcp

aṁá ·
but
adv

And they were killing people, even when someone did little things, they killed them.
Wrote témcan.

2.28 **amqʰá** **wa** **we** **tyuwísayáámííní** **qá** **kwán** ·
but instr then got tired of the fox
coordconn Nsfx adv v def n

Because of that, Fox got tired of it.

2.29 **má** **ánca** **we** , **cʰú** **sĺiẏí** **tyíísííní** **qa** **kwán** ·
and so then how she said the fox
coordconn adv adv pro-form v def n

And so fox said "what should I do?"
Says cé·mul by mistake

2.30 **ṫáqʰápá** **styéétʰuwwátumá** **qá** **kacʰú** **ċíllíq** , **amqʰá** **áliḣwóḋwací** **yuwí** **tyíísííní** **qa**
again he came back to us the his child but it is she said the
adv v def pers n coordconn cop v def

kwán ·

fox

n

He came back to us, and his children are awful mean, said Fox.

2.31

amqʰá	**tyíísííní**	**qa**	**aapóónákáha** ›	**we**	**sinássuyáumá**	**tyíísííní** ›	**háné'**	**ká**
but	he said	the	coccoon man	then	it bothers me	she said	in some way	indeed
coordconn	v	def	name	adv	v	v	adv	adv

l̇icusqáápaẏ	**am̓á**	**qa**	**pálm̓aswáẏtu**	**tyíísííní** ·
I'll drown them	but	the		she said
v	adv	def		v

And Coccoon Man said it bothers me too, maybe I'll just drown them from now on, he said.

Audio: amqʰá cʰí·sí·ní qa .. qa .. qa qə? .. qá apó·nákáha, we .. we sinás·uyáumá cʰí·sí·ní. háné?ká licusqá·pay am̓á, licusqá·pay qa pá·lá, qa pálm̓as wáẏtu .. cʰí·sí·ní.

2.32

m̓á ›	**ittʰú**	**aswú** ›	**amqʰá**	**íyéémóów̓ayam**	**tyíísííní** ·
plant	my	tree	but		he said
Vroot	pers	n	coordconn		v

You fell one of my trees, he said.

Audio: m̓á, qa itʰú·ni -- ʔitʰ·ú ʔasw̓ú, ʔamqʰá ʔíyé·mó·w̓ayam m̓á .. m̓á ánca .. m̓á áncaʔ .. we -- we, cʰí·sí·ní. Dual doesn't make sense. Expect té·mo·w̓áyam, q.v.

2.33

we	**tííẏa**	**qa**	**sáppʰi**	**waw̓ám**	**tyíísííní** ›	**waw̓á**	**qá**	**aswú**	**amqʰá**	**tííẏa**	**tyíísííní** ·
then	make!	the	boat		she said	big	the	tree	but	make!	she said
adv	v	def	n		v	adj	def	n	coordconn	v	v

Make a boat, a big one, he said, use the biggest tree, he said.

Redwood.

2.34

ma	**ánca**	**we**	**tyuwiẏííní** ·
and	so	then	made
coordconn	adv	adv	v

And so he did that.

2.35

cwéstʰélcan	**pʰitúwwí**	**tyuwiẏííní** ·
several	year	made
n	n	v

He worked on it for several years.

Audio and (unverified) transcript: cwéstʰélsan

2.36

ma	**ánca**	**tyíísííní**	**we**	**cẏééwa**	**st̓uptel**	**kú**	**qá**	**assáté**	**tyíísííní** ·
and	so	said	then	in what way		future	the	in water	said
coordconn	adv	v	adv	pro-form		Vpfx	def	adv	v

Then he said, how am I going to get it to the water?

Audio: some difficulty starting st̓uptel

2.37

qá	**as**	**ticúwaatu**	**kú**	**ẏuwá**	**amqʰá**	**ticuspal̇c̓úc**	**kú**	**ẏuwá**	**tyíísííní** ·
the	water	flood	future	it will be	but		future	it will be	she said
def	n	ptcp	Vpfx	cop	coordconn		Vpfx	cop	v

When the water rises, it will float up, he said.

Audio: Second kú is kúci.

2.38 **kitím qʰaẏmi sáppʰi tííẏa tyíísííní** ·

    still   right there boat   make! she said

    adv   adv   n   v   v

Just make the boat right there.

Audio: qʰáymi. lápʰis rather than sápʰ·i.

2.39 **mám tyuwinííyaawátíní qá kacʰú sáppʰi tííẏi yáté** ·

    and   moved close to   the his   boat   make loc

    coordconn v   def pers n   v   Vsfx

So he moved close to where he was working on the boat.

Audio: mám cwiníwá·tínʰ, cwiní·ya·míní qá kacʰú ...

2.40 **ma ánca we tytappʰaacíní qa ís** ·

    and   so   then taught   the person

    coordconn adv   adv   v   def n

And then he taught the people.

2.41 **ṁá stitapẇaacóo** !

    plant   help me

    Vroot v

So help me!

2.42 **ticusqáp kú ẏuwá qa ís tyíísííní** ·

    drown   future it will be the person she said

    ptcp   Vpfx   cop   def n   v

The people will drown, he said.

2.43 **qʰawa tyuwilííyummííní** ·

    some   laughed

    pro-form v

Some of them laughed.

2.44 **taq wáli t·tuwí tiwíísiimááké má t·tísẏí tyíísííní** ·

         kind(?) he evidently is supposing of himself and   said

             cop   ptcp   coordconn   v

What does he think he is, that he says that, they said.

Audio: taqwáli ttúw sinmá·kín

2.45 **amqʰákam tytappʰaacíní** ·

    but   taught

    coordconn   v

Nevertheless, he taught them.

Audio: má ánca ... ʔamqʰákam cʰítapʰ·a·cí·nīʰ.

2.46 **mam tʰúsẏí tucóo tyíísííní** ·

    and   good   do!   she said

    coordconn adj   v   v

Do good, he said.

2.47 **čé tuccó qa céémul ẇá ḣaẏ tuuci tyíísííní** ·

    not do   the coyote   continue thought do   she said

    Neg v   def n   Vroot   root   ptcp v

Don't think the way Coyote thinks, he said.

Audio: ċé tucʼó qa qa céˑmul ẁáˑ ha̓y̓ tuˑci amqʰá ha̓y̓ tuˑci cʰíˑsíˑnʰ.

2.48 pʰóc   mtuwaycóo qa céémul tyíísííní ·

distant may he be   the coyote   she said
adv   v   def n   v

Let Coyote be far off from you, he said.

Audio: pʰóc mituwaycó əqa céˑmul ċaʔ..q̓i əqa céˑmul cʰíˑsíˑnʰ.

2.49 má   ánca tyuwiẏííní qa sáppʰi ·

and   so   made   the boat
coordconn adv   v   def n

And he worked on the boat.

Audio: sáˑpʰi.

2.50 cẁéstʰélcan pʰitúwwí amqʰá   tyúúcííní qa sáppʰi wiẏí ·

several times year   but   was   the boat   it is
v   n   coordconn v   def n   cop

Several years he built the boat.

Audio cẁéstʰélsa -- cẁéstʰélsa pʰitúwˑí ʔamqʰá cʰúˑcíˑní qa sápʰˑi wiẏ̓..

2.51 ċókcánóówaka̓ qa sáppʰi ma   tulúúyéq̓ti kúcí ·

                  the boat   and   fut
                  def n   coordconn   adv

He tied on a small one too.

Audio: má ánca ċóẁinóˑwaka̓ qa sápʰˑi ma tulúˑyéq̓ti qa kəníˑy̓a cyísíˑnʰ.

2.52 amqʰá   tííy̓a tyíísííní amqʰá   tyuwiẏííní qa tulúúyéq̓ti kúci ·

but   make! she said but   made   the   future
coordconn v   v   coordconn v   def

He said to make it, so he made it to tie on.

ʔamqʰa cʰuwiẏíˑní qa tulúˑyéq̓ti kúciʰ

2.53 ma   ánca we · ẁé tattááċa tyíísííní ·

and   so   then   then she said
coordconn adv   adv   excl v

And then he said Gather your seeds!

2.54 tóólolĺíní amqʰá   tattááċa tyíísííní ·

everything but   she said
pro-form   coordconn   v

Gather all your seeds, he said.

2.55 qa tóólolĺíní qa támmi kúcí amqʰá   tattááċa tyíísííní ·

the everything the eat   fut   but   she said
def pro-form   def ptcp   adv   coordconn   v

Gather all kinds of food, he said.

2.56 am̓á kʰókcam   · am̓á íĺ   ah̓túkcaní' am̓á kʰam̓ kʰam̓ mám   tacissúúm̓a

but   small amount   but   hand   but   many many and
adv   quant   adv   n   adv   quant quant coordconn

tyíísííní ·

she said
v

Many of them, a small amount of each, not quite a handful, put in bags.

ʔíĺ ʔah̓tú·kéʔ handful

2.57

mám	lááquup̓iiwáté	am̓á	tacissúúm̓a	tyíísííní ·
and	in sack	but	put in bag	she said
coordconn	adv	adv	v	v

Put these in a sack, he said.

Audio: mám láʰ .. láq·u·p̓i wáté ʔamqʰá·wáté tiʔ -- ticis·ú·m̓a cʰí·sí·ní.

2.58

má	ánca	we	qa	tóósi	ú	nááċi	amqʰá	tyúúcííní ·
and	so	then	the	deer	POSS	seed	but	was
coordconn	adv	adv	def	ptcp	Nsfx	n	coordconn	v

And he was gathering seeds of the deer.

Audio: má ánca weʔ .. qa tówsi ʔúʰ .. ʔəmqʰá ʔúʰ .. ʔamqʰá .. ʔamqʰá ʔú ná·ċi ʔamqʰá cʰád .. ʔamqʰá cʰú·cí·ní.

2.59

qa	tóólolĺíní	qá	mah̓hoq̓	u	nááċi ,	tóólol	amqʰá	tyattáċcíní ,	má
the	everything	the	animal	POSS	seed	all	but		and
def	pro-form	def	n	Nsfx	n	quant	coordconn		coordconn

ánca	we	qʰe	tóólol	tyííċíím̓íní ·
so	then	that	all	
adv	adv	deic	quant	

Seeds of all kinds of animals, all of them they gathered from the ground, and those they took with them

Audio: qa tó·lolĺíní qa .. qa qá mah̓·oq̓ ʔú, amqʰa ʔú, ʔamqʰá ʔú ná·ċi, tó·lol ʔamqʰá ʔamqʰá .. ʔamqʰá cʰʔ ʔamqʰá cʰuʔ cʰuʔ cʰuwi .. cʰuwas·á·m̓íní, má ánca we qʰé cʰí·ċí·m̓ínʰ.

Audio: .

2.60

má	ánca	we	qʰééwáté	tyuwilúúyéq̓tíní ·
and	so	then	there	
coordconn	adv	adv	adv	

And then he loaded all that (in the small boat).

Audio: mánca we qʰé· wáté cwilú·yéq̓tínʰ .. we cyí·sínʰ.

2.61

má	ánca	we	qa	tóólolĺí	ítaskáumí	ka	we ,	tyúúċímcíní	we ·
and	so	then	the	all	finishing	agent	then		then
coordconn	adv	adv	def	quant	ptcp	Nsfx	adv		adv

And then, all having been finished, it began raining.

Added by LR at transcription time.

2.62

qa	tóólol	tyeetááċcíní	qa	nááċi ·
the	all		the	seed
def	quant		def	n

He gathered all the seeds.

má ánca we cyút̓íncíní we, qa tó·lol cwiniʔ cwiní· cwiʔ cwiné·sá·m̓íní (he picked up off the dirt) qa sídz -- qa náċ·i.

2.63

ma	ánca	tyilúúyéq̓tíní ·
and	so	
coordconn	adv	

And he put them in the boat.

má ánca we cwilú·yéq̓tínʰ.

2.64 **we tyíísííní** ⸴ **we yaačímci kúcí tyíísííní** ·

    then she said   then   fut   she said

    adv v   adv   adv v

Then he said It's going to rain.

we cyí·sí·nʰ … we yá·čímci kúcí cyí·sí·nʰ.

2.65 **ma ánca tyúúčímcííní** ⸴ **tyuwalúútʰímcíní** ⸴ **ikʰim tyuwalúútʰímcíní** ·

    and   so   poured down   merely poured down

    coordconn adv   v   adv   v

And then it rained, it poured down, it just poured down.

Audio: ʔikʰim cwalú·tʰímcíní qa lučímciʰ. (Devoiced final vowel.)

2.66 **částílcán máttíkca palá' ticúspal̓čúcíní** ·

                day   already

                n   adv

In about four days the boat was already floating.

2.67 **amqʰá qa ís ú tukkʰe tyúúcííní qá aq̓qo tyúúkʰééní** ⸴ **amqʰákam al·u**

    but   the person POSS climb was   the   climbed up   but

    coordconn def n   Nsfx ptcp v   def   v   coordconn

tyúúcííní ·

was

v

But the people were climbing, they climbed the mountain, but they were hungry.

Audio: ʔamqʰá qa ʔís ʔú tukʰe cʰú·cí·ní qá aq̓o ʔat qʰa aq̓o ʔamqʰáʔ cyú·kʰé· ʔamqʰákam al·u cyú·cí·nʰ.

2.68 **čé tyúúcííní tínah̓y̓i qa áẇ sa'áncí** ·

    not was   rebuild fire the wood lacking

    Neg v   ptcp   def n   adv

They couldn't even rebuild a fire, without wood.

2.69 **as kis̓táqkí' qa áẇ** ·

    water   the wood

    n   def n

The wood was soaked with water.

2.70 **čé tyúúcííní tínah̓y̓i** ·

    not was   rebuild fire

    Neg v   ptcp

They couldn't rebuild a fire.

2.71 **mám tyinánnéh̓m̓ícíní qʰawwa** ·

    and   someplace

    coordconn   pro-form

Some froze to death,.

2.72 **qá t̓iiẇáté tyinánnéh̓m̓ícíní** ·

    the in snow

    def adv

They froze to death in the snow.

2.73 **ma ánca we siĺ siĺ tyííċúúcíní** ·

and	so	then	small movement	small movement	it rose up
coordconn	adv	adv	onom	onom	v

And then little by little the water kept rising.

Transcribed as tyí·cú·cíní

2.74 **ma ánca we qá aq̇̇o tóólol tyicúsṗaĺċúcíní** , **tyicúúwalkíní** ·

and	so	then	the	all	water rose high above
coordconn	adv	adv	def	quant	v

Then the water covered the mountain, and rose high above it.

-wal paired, next to, -k hither, near = covering?

2.75 **mam tóólol tyúúkáákíní qa ís má ánca qá maḣḣoq̇** , **amqʰá qa**

and	all	were gone	the	person	and	so	the	animal	but	the
coordconn	quant	v	def	n	coordconn	adv	def	n	coordconn	def

ṫáqcání aq̇o ·

And they were all gone, the people, and the animals, and the high mountains.

2.76 **amqʰá tyúútasċúcíní amqʰákam alluu ẇa twííyuumííní tóólol** ·

but		but		continue	died (hearsay)	all
coordconn		coordconn		Vroot	v	quant

They went on top of the mountain, but they all died of hunger.

Wrote cwí·yu·mí·ní

2.77 **ma ánca we tóólol tyuuṗuĺq̇átíní** ·

and	so	then	all
coordconn	adv	adv	quant

And then everything was covered with water.

Audio: ma ánca we tó·lol cʰ cʰiyaʔ cʰiʔ cyú·ṗuĺʔ cyú·ṗuĺíní, cʰu·ṗuĺq̇átíní.

2.78 **ma ánca táq tinímmác kú tuccí tyúúcííní qa tóólolĺíní** ·

and	so	what	find	future	not do	was	the	everything
coordconn	adv	pro	ptcp	Vpfx	ptcp	v	def	pro-form

And they couldn't see anything, just water.

2.79 **ḣeẇ stʰááyuwí qa títámmak kúcí qa céémul** ·

forget	I evidently am	the	tell about	fut	the	coyote
n	cop		def	ptcp	adv	def	n

I forgot to tell you about Coyote.

2.80 **qa pálṁas ticusṗaĺċúciyáté tyúútʰuumíní qa kwán wáté** ·

the	at first		came to	the	fox	at
def	adv		v	def	n	adv

When it first flooded, he came to Fox.

Audio: qa pálṁas ticu -- qa palʔ-balʔ-pálṁas ticusṗaĺċúci yáté cyú·tʰu·míní qa kwán wáté.

2.81 **palá' tyúúcaatumíní qa kwán** ·

already	got on	the	fox
adv	v	def	n

Fox had already got in the boat.

Audio: paláʔ palá· ...

2.82

má	ánca，	qa	táqṁasaḳa，	kusa ，	ċiwéépʰuwaḳa	ẇisííní
and	so	the		you know	little mourning dove	
coordconn	adv	def		v	n	

ċiwéépʰuupʰuupʰuu	isí	ucííní	tissa	amqʰá ，	haṁís	ẏalyúú	ẇal	haṁís	amitʰéwcan
onom		saying	doing	talk!	but	one	male	and	one	woman
		ptcp	ptcp	v	coordconn	n	n	Nsfx	n

ẇal ·
and
Nsfx

And then the little whatchamacallit, you know, mourning dove said ċiwé·pu·pu·pu·, as they used to say, one male and one female.

Audio: haṁís -- haṁís ẏályú-ẇal

2.83

taq	sa	íliq̇q̇aatáké’	qa	ís	siiwa	pámmé’	suwí ，	hew	hew	suwí ·
	indefinite		the	person	manner	ignorant	I am		forget	forget	I am
	post		def	n	adv	adj	cop		n	n	cop

Whatʻs it called in Pit River, I don’t know, I forgot.

2.84

amqʰá	tyúúcaatumíní	qa	sáppʰi	wáté ，	má	ánca	tyuwiiċaalíní ，
but	got on	the	boat	at	and	so	hid
coordconn	v	def	n	adv	coordconn	adv	v

tyuwiiċaaĺíní ·
hid
v

Anyway, he got on the boat, and then he hid them, he hid them.

sápʰi·láté is wrong.

Audio: ʔamqʰá· ʔamqʰá· ʔamqʰácʔ cyú·ca·tumíní qa qa sápʰi·wáté, mánža cʰuwiʔca·ĺínʰ .. cʰuwi·ca·ĺíní.

2.85

má	ánca	tóólolĺíní	tyuwitáátááṗáyíní	amqʰááwáté	tyúúcaatumíní ，
and	so	everything		while	got on
coordconn	adv	pro-form		coordconn	v

tyihééyéstumíní	qá	céémul ·
	the	coyote
	def	n

Then he put everything in order (so as to conceal them), when Coyote got on, forced his way on the boat.

mánya tu tó·lolĺíní cwítá·ta·ṗáyíní amqʰá·wáté cwicá·tumíní əqa --cyahé·yéstumíní qa cé·mul.

2.86

láyyuuḳa	tím	tyíísííní ·
indeed(?)	she said	
adv	v	

Let me go with you, he begged.

2.87

ittʰú	tínííkʰé	tkíẏí	láẏẏuuḳa	tím	ittʰú	tínííkʰé	tyiisííní ·
my	upward moving	you are	indeed(?)	my	upward moving	said
pers	ptcp	cop	adv	pers	ptcp	v

Youʻre my way up, let me go with you, my way up, he said.

2.88

má	tyuwaṫíícííní ·
and	
coordconn	

and he cried.

2.89 **amqʰááwa** ， **tʰól** **ticusaswac** **kú** **suwá** **tʰól** **tyíísííní** ·

that's why for a long time float on water future I will be for a long time said

coordconn adv ptcp Vpfx v adv v

I'll be floating along on the water for a long time, he said, a long time.

Audio has kúci, but kú is better as it implies that circumstances would compel this.

2.90 **láttíl** **pʰitúwwí** ， **amqʰá** **ticuspal̇c̓úc** **kú** **ẏuwá** **tyíísííní** ·

five times year but future it will be said

adv n coordconn Vpfx cop v

The flood will last five years, he said.

2.91 **amqʰá** **láttíl** **pʰitúwwí** **wínúúm̓aatí** **tk̓iẏí** **amqʰá** **tuucátw̓am** ！

but five times year are you? but get on!

coordconn adv n cop coordconn v

Well, if you can sleep for five years, get in, he said.

2.92 **hooká** **tyíísííní** ·

OK said

interj v

OK, he said.

2.93 **tum̓ááta** ！

sleep!

v

Go to sleep!

2.94 **hoká** **tyíísííní** ·

OK said

interj v

OK, he said.

2.95 **hé** ， **tyíísííní** ， **tẇíl** **láttíl** **pʰitúwwí** **ká** **winúúm̓aatí** **tsiẏí** ， **ikʰim** **tẏánuwí**

hey said once five times year indeed I am merely it is

excl v adv adv n adv cop adv cop

qá **qʰéé** ， **tyíísííní** ·

the those said

def deic v

Sure, he said, I can be a sleeper for five years just like that, that's nothing, he said.

Audio: hé, cʰí·sí·ní, tẇíl lát·íl pʰitúw·í kúw·inú·m̓a·tídsiẏíikʰim tẏénəwíəqá qé·, cʰí·sí·ní.

2.96 **ma** **ánca** **we** **tyááleeq̓íní** **qa** **kwán** **ẇáka** ·

and so then covered with flat surface the fox by

coordconn adv adv v def n Nsfx

Then Fox covered him up.

Audio: ma ánca we cʰi cʰíʔ cʰá· cʰá·leq̓íní qa kwán ẇáka. qa man ..

leq̓ flat surface, as in a hide, cloth, or flat bread

2.97 **ma** **ánca** **ticééchástéim** **ámé'** **amqʰááwa** ， **qa** **táqm̓as** ， **amqʰáka** **páw** **wa**

and so see through without that's why the but elk instr

coordconn adv ptcp post coordconn def adv n Nsfx

tyitál·eeq̓ínó mam   qa ticéécʰaalás kuci ámé' ·

       and   the see through   future without

       coordconn   def ptcp   post

He couldn't see because he covered him with -- whatchamacallit (pause in tape) -- rather, he covered him with elk hide, and he couldn't see through it.

Audio: repeats páw wa. Wrote ticé·cʰástém̓

3.1 **amqʰáákam láttíl   pʰitúwwí ċé   tyúúcííní tuum̓ááti qa céémul** ·

    but   five times year   not   was   sleep   the coyote

    coordconn   adv   n   Neg   v   ptcp   def   n

But for five years, Coyote didn't sleep a wink.

3.2 **táq cʰú   ticci kúcí ání   tíiwá tyíísííní** ·

    what how   do   fut whatsoever be   she said

    pro pro-form ptcp adv   adv   ptcp   v

I *wonder* what he's going to do, he said.

Audio: táq mów túuwí cʰú tic·i kúcí ʔání· túuwí cʰí·sí·niʰ.

3.3 **ki   wáli tííwá' ání   tííċaal̓i tyípsíwcíní** ·

    who   kind(?) be   whatsoever   thought

    pro-form   ptcp adv   v

I wonder who he's hiding, he thought.

Audio: ki·wáli ʔání tí·wáʔ ...

3.4 **táqmó   túuwi tíċaal̓i am̓á tyítʰép̓tasẇacíní qa hatáácí ẇa   tyitʰép̓tíntiwíní qá**

    whatever be   but   the heart   continue   the

    pro-form ptcp   adv   def n   Vroot   def

kwán ·

fox

n

He listened sharp for whatever he was hiding, inwardly he followed Fox's movements by sound.

Audio: táqmó túuwi tíċa·l̓ am̓á cʰítʰép̓tasẇacíní qʰa atá·cí·waʔa·wá ticʰépt -- cʰitʰép̓tíntiwíní əqa -- qa kwán. titʰepti follow movements by sound, -ntiwi very much, etc.

3.5 **má   ánca tyassííní qá kwán** ·

    and   so   sang   the fox

    coordconn adv   v   def n

And then Fox sang.

3.6 **hininúúwina** ， **hininúúwina** ， **hininúúwina** ， **hininúúwina** ， **tyíísííní** ·

                                                     she said

                                                       v

hininúúwina, hininúúwina, hininúúwina, hininúúwina ... he sang

Transcribed with ḣ.

3.7 **má ánca táq tííwa téési** ?

    and then   what be   song

    coordconn pro   ptcp   ptcp

What's he singing?

spoken in an undertone

3.8 ḣininúúwina , ḣininúúwina , ḣininúúwina , tyíísííní qa céémul ·

				she said	the	coyote
				v	def	n

hininúúwina, hininúúwina, hininúúwina, hininúúwinasang Coyote.

spoken in an undertone

3.9 qʰé ml̓ís tyípsíwcíní ·

that	thought
deic	v

I'll sing that, he thought.

Audio: qʰé· ma l̓ís cʰípsíwcíní mám l̓i·wán .. ʔəʔ ..

3.10 amqʰá tíímac̓cí ẇa tyuucííní qa kwán u téési ·

but		continue	did		the	fox	POSS	song
coordconn		Vroot	v		def	n	Nsfx	ptcp

Because he wanted to learn Fox's song.

Audio: ʔamqʰá ti tití·maʔ tí·maʔ tsí·maʔ tí·mac̓cí· ẇa cʰu·cí·ní qa .. qa kwán ʔu té·sʰ.

Additional audio (could not be recognized, approximately): má ánca cʰú m̓ó kistí·nʰ

3.11 má ánca tyícuucaakééní qá kacʰú tʰiyyí , tyícuucʰaakééní , láttíl pʰitúwwí

and then	combed own hair	the	his	hair	combed self		five times	year
coordconn	v	def	pers	n	v		adv	n

tyícuucʰaakééní qá tʰiyí ·

combed self		the	hair
v		def	n

Then he combed his hair, he combed, for five years he combed his hair.

Audio: ... lát·íl pʰitu·wí cʰícu·cʰa·ké·ní qá tʰiyʰ

3.12 má ánca pi t̓áqẏé tyúúcííní , l̓áh̓ ẇít̓áqẏé' tyúúcííní ·

and then	here		was		head		was
coordconn	adv		v		n		v

And it got to be this big, it got to be as big as oneˀs head.

Audio: cʰuwíc·i·nə

3.13 láttíl pʰitúwwí pi t̓áqẏé tyúúcííní ·

five times	year		here		was
adv	n		adv		v

It got to be this big in five years.

Audio: initial qá lah omitted in transcript.

4.1 má ánca we tyáác̓ámcíní qá tuc̓címcí qa ásci tyáác̓ámcíní ·

and		so	then		the		the	rain	
coordconn		adv	adv		def		def	n	

Then the rain stopped coming down.

Audio: má ánca weʰ .. we cʰʔ .. weiz cʰicʰiciwciʔ cyá·c̓ámcíní qá tuc̓·ímcí qa ásci cyá·c̓ámcíníʰ.

4.2 ma ánca we tyípuuṫeeléq̓q̓íní qá kacʰú hásl̓i ·

and		so	then	flattened out		the	his
coordconn		adv	adv	v		def	pers

Then he flattened the dirt from his hair.

Audio: ma ánca we cʰiʔ mánca we cʰípu·ṫe·léq̓·ínʰ .. qá qʰé qá kacʰú, qá kacʰú, qá kacʰú tʰiyí qá kacʰú hásl̓i.

4.3 **amqʰá**   **tyípuuťeeléq̇q̇íní** ˏ   **wáhhac** **wíc**   **ẏééwa**   **iiťeeléq̇q̇í** **tyúúcíní** ·

but   flattened out   bread   resembling in manner(?)   did

coordconn v   n   ptcp   adv   v

So he flattened it out, it became flat like bread.

Audio: ʔamqʰá cʰí cʰípuˑťeˑléq̇ˑíní iˑťeˑléq̇, wáhˑac wíc ẏéˑwa iˑťeˑléq̇í cʰúˑcínʰ.

4.4 **ma**   **ánca** **we** **tyíítacʰíní**   **qá** **assáté** **qá** **kacʰú** **ticuucááкééẇoy** ·

and   so   then   put limp object in water the in water the his

coordconn adv   adv   v   def adv   def pers

Then he spread what he had combed from his hair onto the water.

Audio: ma ánca we cʰíˑtas cʰíˑtastíní qá .. qá ʔasˑáté cʰíˑtac cʰíˑtac .. I canˑt say it .. [break] má ánca we cʰíˑtacʰíní qá asˑáte [break, discussion with Willard about his microphone being turned off] má ánca we cʰíˑtacʰíní qá qʰé qa .. qa kacʰú ticucʰáˑkéˑẇoy.

4.5 **ma**   **ánca** **tyíkuutáámíní** **qá** **up**   ·

and   so   smoked   the tobacco

coordconn adv   v   def n

Then he smoked his tobacco.

Audio: ma ánca we cʰís,ma ánca cʰíkutˑáˑmíní qá ʔup.

4.6 **má**   **ánca** **ċástíl**   **tyáhaẇasóótíní** ·

and   so   three times

coordconn adv   adv

Then he blew smoke at it three times.

4.7 **we** **tóq̇ca** **tyíísííní** ·

then grow   she said

adv v   v

Now grow! he said.

4.8 **we** **tóólólla** **tóq̇ca** **aṁá** **tʰúsẏí** **tinúúcóo** **tyíísííní** ·

then   grow but good   become!   she said

adv   v   adv adj   v   v

Now grow all over, and become good, he said.

Audio: we tóˑlóla tóq̇ca máˑ .. má tʰúsẏí tinúˑcó .. tʰúsẏí tinúˑcó cʰíˑsíˑní.

4.9 **má**   **ánca** **we** **qá** **kacʰú** **tinéétááċi** **qa** **nááċi** **amqʰá**   **tywaaṁííní** ·

and   so   then the his   the seed   but   planted

coordconn adv   adv def pers   def n   coordconn v

Then he planted the seeds that he had gathered.

Audio: mánca cʰoʰ .. má ánca we qá kacʰú .. qá kacʰú tináˑpáˑċa qa náˑċi amqʰá tsʔ .. amqʰá cʰʔ .. amqʰá cʰəʔ .. amqʰá cəwaˑṁíˑní.

4.10 **ma**   **ánca** **tywáqʰcaayíní** ·

and   so   let grow

coordconn adv   v

Then he let it grow.

4.11 **wé** **tóq̇ca** ˏ   **tyíísííní** ·

well grow   she said

adv v   v

Now grow! he said.

Transcript says tóq̇caˑyi. Not in audio, and the added syllable doesn't make sense. má ánca cwaˑhyíˑní he built a

fire, out of place here,corrected to má ánca cwa·mí·ní. he planted. This resulted in repetion, omitted here.
Audio: qa qʰé qá kacʰu ti·táčhiʰ that which he had put in the water, lit. that his putting-in-water.

4.12 **we ṫaas ṫaas ṫaas tyíimííní qa tíq̇qaati ·**
    then   stretched the
    adv   v   def

Now stretch, stretch, stretch, the earth spread out wide.
Audio: ṫa·s ṫa·s ṫa·s cwá·mí·ní qa .. ʔaʰ .. qa qʰé qa kacʰu ti·táčhiʰ.

4.13 **tywáám̓ístumíní qá kacʰú tiiṫáčhi yáté ·**
    planted upon   the his   loc
    v   def pers   Vsfx

He planted on that which he had put in the water.
Inserted in transcript as correction.
Wrote cʰuwá·místumíní

4.14 **qa částíl   taẖaẇasóóti ṫas   tyíimííní ·**
    the three times   stretch did
    def adv   onom v

Blowing smoke three times he stretched it.
ṫa·s sinəqə qa částíl taẖẇasó·ti ṫas cyí·mí·nʰ.

4.15 **pala' píṫaq̇yé tyúúcííní ·**
        this big   was
        deic   v

It had already got this big.

4.16 **ma   ánca we tyuwaam̓ístumíní qa tóólol̓íní ·**
    and   so   then   the everything
    coordconn adv adv   def pro-form

Then he planted all kinds of things.

4.17 **ma   ánca we tyíícasṗiimíní qa nááči ,   qa maẖẖoq̇ ú   nááči ·**
    and   so   then   the seed   the animal   POSS seed
    coordconn adv adv   def n   def n   Nsfx   n

Then he turned loose the seeds of animals.

4.18 **má   ánca we tiléél̓i kú   má   ánca tóólol̓íní uci   kú   ,   ma**
    and   so   then   future and   so   everything doing future   and
    coordconn adv adv   Vpfx coordconn adv   pro-form ptcp Vpfx   coordconn

ánca we ,   we ís   tẏííkáácóo tyíísííní ·
so   then   then person live!   she said
adv   adv   adv   n   v   v

Then when everything would get wet, then "so live!" he said.

4.19 **má   ánca qa álúpẇam uci   kúcí ,   qá kacʰú íl̓la   tyíṫusq̇ót·tánumíní ·**
    and   so   the lake   doing fut   the his   with the hand
    coordconn adv def n   ptcp adv   def pers   adv

Then to make a lake, he punched a hole in the earth with his fist.
Audio: qá lake ... qa ʔálupẇam̓ ʔuci kúcí .. qa kacʰú ʔil̓·a cyíṫasq̇óttánnmínʰ.
Wrote . Where I heard ta "using (unspecified implement)" in the audio as above, in transrcription LR interpreted
it as ca "using fingers, grasping", but clearly ṫu "using fist" is correct for her free translation, "punched a hole".

A pipe sʠ́ót replicates a crater.

4.20 **má ánca we áẁííca ẁa tyuwál·iimííní qá as ú ticummi kúci** ·

and	so	then		continue	made a line		the	water	POSS	flow	future
coordconn	adv	adv		Vroot	v		def	n	Nsfx	ptcp	

Then he made a line with a little stick where the water would run.

Audio: má ánca we ʔá·ẃí·ca ẁɛ .. cʰi·yəʔ .. cʰiʔitɛ· .. cyi·la·mí·ní wic ẏe·wi cyi·la·mí· cwíl·a·mi·ni qá ʔasɨ ʔó ticum·i kúciʰ.

4.21 **má ánca tyíícuuċucẁáyíní qa tóólolĺíní qa as** ·

and	so		the	everything	the	water
coordconn	adv		def	pro-form	def	n

Then he made springs of water everywhere.

i-cu-ċúci + ẃáyi + íní

4.22 **ma ánca we tykúṁáátuuwáyíní qa céémul** ·

and	so	then	woke from sleep		the	coyote
coordconn	adv	adv	v		def	n

Then Coyote woke up.

Audio: ... qa qʰé qa cé·mul

4.23 **we tímmátsa** !

then	wake up
adv	v

Hey, wake up!

4.24 **İhááwásṁící qa itʰúúni sáppʰi tyíísííní** ·

	the	our	boat	she said
	def	pers	n	v

Our boat is breaking up, he said.

4.25 **İhááwásṁící wee tyíísííní** ·

	lo	she said
	interj	v

Hey, we're breaking up! he said.

4.26 **tímmátsa tyíísííní** ·

wake up	she said
v	v

Wake up! he said.

4.27 **hé tyíísííní** ·

hey	she said
excl	v

OK, he said.

4.28 **pálṁas wínów mów tyíísííní** ·

at first	it becomes	it might be	she said
adv	v	cop	v

Is this already the end of us? he said

wín·óumów

4.29 **má** **ánca** **tyásiiċúúcíní ·**
   and   so
   coordconn adv
And he jumped up.

cyási·ċú·tíntí^h

5.1 **m̓á** **ḣew̓** **st^hááyuwí** **qa** **titámmak** **kúcí** **qa** **táqmas** **·**
   plant forget I evidently am the tell   fut the something
   Vroot n   cop   def ptcp   adv def pro-form
But I forgot to tell you something.
Written titám·a, with k assimilated

kú is potential or unactualized, not future 'tense'

5.2 **qa** **pálm̓as** **we** **qa** **céémul** **íkúmáátuw̓w̓áẏ** **kúcí** **ka** **,** **we** **tyíísíín** **we** **tímmátsa**
   the at first then the coyote   fut agent   then said   then wake up
   def adv   adv def n   adv Nsfx   adv v   adv v

tyíísííní **,** **timmátsa** **,** **timmatsa** **we** **,** **má** **icupté** **tyíísííní ·**
she said   get up!   get up   then   and   you two go! she said
v   v   v   adv   coordconn ptcp   v
Before waking Coyote up, he said wake up! Get up! Get up and go away, he said.
Audio: qa pálm̓as we qa .. ʔíkúmá·tuw̓·áẏ kúcíʔka qa cé·mul, ʔíkúmá·tuw̓·áẏ kúcíʔka. (Spoken quietly.) we c^hí·sí·n^h, we tím·átsa c^hí·sí·n^h, tim·átsa, tim·atsa we, má ʔicupté c^hí·sí·n^h.

5.3 **áliḣwóq̓wací** **qa** **céémul** **ẏuwí** **tyíísííní** **,** **amq^hááwa** **ċé** **tucci** **tínímmáááẇaykáke**
               the coyote it is   she said   that's why   not   not doing
               def n   cop   v   coordconn Neg ptcp

tyíísííní ·
she said
v
Coyote is bad, he said, so don't let him catch sight of you, he said.
Audio: ʔá· qáʔáliḣwóq̓wací əqa cé·mul ʔamq^ha ẏuwí c^hí·sí·n^h, ʔamq^há·wa ċé tuc·i tíním·á·ẇaykáke c^hí·sí·n^h.

5.4 **ma** **ánca** **we** **t^hús** **tím** **iyalímcóo** **tyíísííní ·**
   and   so   then good indeed(?) hide!   she said
   coordconn adv adv n   adv   v   v
So hide yourselves well, he said.
Audio: ma ánca we t^hús i .. t^húš i .. ʔiyalímcó c^hí·sí·n^h.

5.5 **k̓alíímasẇací** **,** **áliḣẇúq̓wací** **ka** **tinmác** **ku** **kuwááticka** **tyíísííní ·**
                                 agent find again fut will be to you she said
                                 Nsfx ptcp   cop   v
You be careful, the evil one will find you, he said.
Should be tíním·ac kú
Wrote aliḣwóq̓wací

5.6 **m̓a** **ċé** **iyúúcóo** **táq** **sa** **am̓á** **c^hú** **sa** **am̓á** **tucóo** **issi** **kucí**
   and   not you two do! what indefinite but how   indefinite but do!   saying future
   coordconn Neg v   pro post   adv pro-form post   adv v   ptcp

ámqʰákam ċé iyúúcóo tyíísíín ·

but   not   you two do! said

coordconn   Neg v   v

Don't do whatever he tells you to do, don't do it, don't do it.

Audio: m̓a ċé 'iyú·có, m̓a ċé 'iyú·có 'amqʰá 'a· cʰúsa am̓á 'í'có k̓is·i kucí ámqʰá .. ċé 'iyú·có cʰí'sí·n.

5.7 ḣaw ḣaw tyíísííní , ḣaw ḣaw tyapʰúúḣáwsíícíní ·

   whisper   she said   whisper

   onom   v   onom

Whispering he said this, he whispered in their ears.

cʰapʰú·sí·cíníʰ (= blow in mouth)

5.8 ċé iyúúcóo tyíísííní ·

   not you two do! she said

   Neg v   v

Don't do it.

5.9 má ánca tyíícasṗiimíní ·

   and   so

   coordconn adv

Then he turned them loose.

5.10 m̓am tyititammííní qa qʰé qa ham̓issiḳa ċinétċííka sisẏí páála ḣeẇ suwí qá

        flew away   the that the   I said a while ago forget I am the

        v   def deic def   v   adv   n   cop def

tiliq̓q̓aatake ·

And that small kind of bird, I said it a while ago, I'm forgetting the name ...

Audio: m̓á ánca cʰícasṗi·míníʰ .. mám cʰiticam·í·nʰ .. cʰitita·mí·ní qa qʰé· əqa ... qa .. qa táqma .. qa ċinétċ .. ham̓ís·iḳa ċinétċí·ka sisẏí pá·la ḣeẇ suwí qe? qa qeki ...

5.11 amqʰá tyítammííní qa ċiwéépʰu , amqʰá tyítammííní ·

   but   flew away the mourning dove   but   flew away

   coordconn v   def n   coordconn v

The mourning doves flew away.

5.12 má ánca we , waẇá qa wíláálí' , qa wíláálí' amqʰá tyúúwaycíní

   and   so   then   big   the snag   the snag   but   made

   coordconn adv adv   adj   def v   def v   coordconn v

amqʰá tyuwaam̓ústumíní ·

but

coordconn

Then he made a big snag (dead tree) , and he set it up for them.

Audio: second amqʰá heard as qʰá.

5.13 amqʰááwáté tyiitaaq̓áátíní , má ánca qʰééwáté kacʰú tííyúmcíní qa wiláálí'

   while   roosted together   and   so   there   his   make a home the

   coordconn   v   coordconn adv adv   pers ptcp   def

ẇaté ·

That's where they roosted, and there on the snag they made their home.

Audio: ?amqʰá·wáté cyi·ta·q̓á·tíní, mánca qʰé? qʰé? qʰé·wáté cʰi tí·yúmcíní qa ?ówılá·lí? ẇateʰ.

5.14 **mam qa móóníkcan tywacúúlaatuwíní qa wíílááli ẇaté · qa waaḷíṫẏéimííẇáté**

and	the	children	played around		the	snag		the
coordconn	def	n	v		def	ptcp		def

amqʰááwáté aṁá tywinááwaq̇wámíní ·

while   but   were accustomed to play
coordconn adv   v

And their children played around on the limbs of the snag, that's where they played all the time.

Audio: mam qa mó·níkcan cwacú·la·tuwíní qa qʰé qa wí·lá·lí ẇaté, qa ... qa wal·í·tẏéemí ẇátém ʔamqʰá·wáté aṁá cwiná·waq̇·ámínʰ.

5.15 **má ánca cwéstʰélcan pʰitúwwí amqʰá tyúúcííní ·**

and	so	several	year	but	was
coordconn	adv	n	n	coordconn	v

So they continued this way several years.

Audio: mánca cwéstʰélsan pʰitúw·í qʰá cyú·cí·ní.

6.1 **amqʰááwáté tyúúnííní qa céémul ṫáqʰápá ·**

while	came	the	coyote	again
coordconn	v	def	n	adv

That's where Coyote came back again.

Audio: ʔamqʰá·wáté cyu·ní·ní qa cé·mul ṫaqʰábá.

progressively higher pich on the last word. Seems to be emphasis on "again".

6.2 **háné' ká ḷítáwáẏ tyípsíwcíní ·**

in some way	indeed	thought
adv	adv	v

Maybe he thought I'll go have a look.

Audio: hané?ká .. hané?ká ḷítáɛ̯wɛʔma cʰípsíwcínʰ. < ḷítáwáẏ aṁa

6.3 **it ẇal ẇitʰalúúmí amqʰá ḷíníṁṁááca tyípsíwcíní ·**

1sg	and	one who works	but		thought
pers	Nsfx	v	coordconn		v

I'll go see the one who works with me (i.e. Fox), he thought.

Audio: ʔit ẇal wí· .. ʔit ẇal ẇitʰálúúmí ʔamqʰá líním·á·cuc cʰípsíwcínʰ.

6.4 **má ánca tyaptééní ·**

and	so	went back
coordconn	adv	v

So he went.

Audio: mánya cyapté·nʰ.

6.5 **má ánca tyuttʰuumíní ·**

and	so	arrived
coordconn	adv	v

And he got there.

6.6 **amqʰá tyuwááchiimíní qá piqʰá qa tíq̇q̇aati tyuwááchiimíní ·**

but	traversed		the	this	the		traversed
coordconn	v		def	deic	def		v

But he traveled across, this earth he traveled across.

6.7 **amqʰáka lalaw tyítʰanmííní** ·

	but	sound	heard
	adv	onom	v

But then he heard a sound.

Audio: ʔamqʰáka cʰi lalaw cyítʰanmí·ní.

6.8 **qa móóníkcan tínnééwaq̇ẇámi má tilííyummi amqʰá lalaw tyítʰanmííní** ·

the	children	play		and	laugh	but	sound	heard
def	n	ptcp		coordconn	ptcp	coordconn	onom	v

He caught the sound of the children playing and laughing

Audio: qa mó·níkcan tín·é·waq̇ẇámi má tilí·yu·mi amqʰá lalaw cyítʰanmí·ní.

Louder on "children laughing and playing", softer on "he caught the sound".

Compare lalap cyu·cí·ní "he glimpsed it".

6.9 **háné' ká tyípsíwcí í , ís tʰáyuwí tyípsíwcíní** ·

in some way	indeed	thought	ih!	person	it evidently is	thought
adv	adv	v	excl	n	cop	v

Maybe he thought "Huh! There must be people here!"

Audio: hanéẏká cyípsíwcí ʔí·! ʔís tʰáyuwí! cʰípsíwcíní.

6.10 **má ánca tyááċámcíní** ·

	and	so
	coordconn	adv

So he stopped.

6.11 **má ánca tyítʰanaaẏííní** ·

	and	so	listened well
	coordconn	adv	v

Then he listened hard.

6.12 **ís tím twiẏí , ís tẏánuwí , móníkcan twiẏí wiḻiyummá tyípsíwcín** ·

person	indeed(?)	they are	person	they are	children	he is	he laughs	thought
n	adv	cop	n	cop	n	cop	v	v

Yes, it is people! It's people, that's children laughing, he thought.

Audio: ʔís tím twiẏí, ʔís tẏánuwí, móníkcan twiẏí wíliyu·má cyí·sí·nʰ -- cyípsíwcínʰ.

Change to inanimate verb unexplained.

6.13 **má ánca tywatuwááẏíní** ·

	and	so	he looked for
	coordconn	adv	v

Then he began searching for them.

Audio: má ánca cwitá·ẏí·nʰ.

6.14 **tóólóḻa qʰaẏmim tyíílaatumíní qa tuwááẏi** ·

all around	in that area	walked around	the	looking
adv	adv	v	def	ptcp

He walked all around that area looking for them.

6.15 **má ánca tyíímákẏíní qá waẇá qa wiilááḻí ẇáté , tyíímákẏíní** ·

	and	so	looked up	the	big	the	snag		looked up
	coordconn	adv	v	def	adj	def	ptcp		v

Then he looked up at the big snag, he looked up at it.

Audio: má ánca cyí·mákẏíní qá waẇá qa wi·lá·lí ate ... cyí·mákẏíní.

Vowels in -ate are entirely devoiced

6.16 **móóníkcan tyuwacúúlááatiwíní** ⸴ **tís** **ṫaqcaní tyuucííní qa móóníkcan** ⸴
    children   ran around playing   emph big   did   the children
    n   v   quant v   def n

tyuwacúúlaatiwíní ·
ran around playing
v

The children ran around, big kids they were; they ran around playing.

Audio: mó·níkcan cʰɨ cʰɨ cʰɨcwɨlá·tɵwní, tís ṫaqcaní ṫaqcaní cyu·cí·ní a mó·níkcan ... cwacú·lá·tuwíní.

6.17 **láttíwwáté haṁís áyéq̇ti tyuucííní qa ámitʰewcan** ⸴ **má** **ánca láttíwwáté**
    to five   one   did   the   and   so   to five
    adv   n   v   def   coordconn adv adv

haṁís áyéq̇ti tyuucííní qa yályúúcan ·
one   did   the boy
n   v   def n

There were six girls and six boys.

Wrote ẏályú·can

6.18 **amqʰá** **ú** **tilúpsááyi** ⸴ **ẏupsááyí** **wíc** **icéécí'** ·
    but   POSS mill around   they crowded resembling appearing
    coordconn Nsfx ptcp   v   ptcp   ptcp

But by milling around, they looked like a crowd

Audio: ʔamqʰá ú tilúpsá·yi, ẏupsá·yí wíc yewʰ.

6.19 **qʰahé sla'áámá** **háné'** **tyípsíwcín** ·
    that one would that I eat in some way thought
    deic   v   adv   v

I wish I could eat that one, he thought.

Audio: qʰéʔ qʰahé slaʔá·má hánéẏ cyípsíwcínʰ.

6.20 **háné'** **ká** ⸴ **háné'** **ká** **tyipsíwcín** ·
    wished for indeed   in some way indeed thought
    adv   adv   adv   adv   v

I wish, I wish, he thought.

6.21 **hé** **tyiisin** ⸴ **hé** **tyiisin** ·
    hey said   hey said
    excl v   excl v

Hey, said. Hey, he said.

6.22 **haṁís stáwwá** !
    one   give me
    n   v

Give me one!

6.23 **haṁís stáwwá** !
    one   give me
    n   v

Give me one!

6.24 **haṁís wawá wasci amqʰá stáwwá** !

one	big	grown	but	give me
n	adj	ptcp	coordconn	v

Just give me the biggest one!
Wrote wasċi

6.25 **ĺimisam ṁá ĺúpta tyíísíín qa céémul** ·

	plant	I'll go	said	the	coyote
	Vroot	v	v	def	n

Let me have a snack and I'll go, said Coyote.

6.26 **amqʰá tyíísííní qá ámitʰéwcan** , **támmi kú tuccí twiẏí qa ittʰúúni móóníkcan**

but	she said	the	women		food		not do	he is	the	our	children
coordconn	v	def	n		n		ptcp	cop	def	pers	n

tyíísííní ·

she said
v

But the woman said don't eat them, they're our children!
Audio: qʰá cʰíˑsíˑní əqá ʔámiˑtʰéwcan, támˑi kú tucˑí tẏánuwí, támˑi kú tucˑí twiẏí qa itˑú moníkcan cʰíˑsíˑnˑ.

6.27 **it ú ís twiẏí tyíísííní** ·

1sg	POSS	person	he is	she said
pers	Nsfx	n	cop	v

They're my people, she said.
Audio: cʰíˑsíˑnʰ

6.28 **ánákkáẏé tupté má támmá** , **ánákkáẏé qʰawwa tyíísííní** ·

elsewhere	go!	and	eat it!	elsewhere	someplace	she said
adj	v	coordconn	v	adj	pro-form	v

Go someplace else and eat, some other place, she said.

6.29 **haṁískʰám aawátca lhcóówááticka Ìhcóótʰíkĺicka haṁískʰám tyíísín** ·

alone	only	I will be to you		alone	said
adv	adv	v		adv	v

It'll only be one I'm asking you for, he said.
Audio: haṁískʰám ʔaˑwá lihcóˑwa ĺihicóˑtʰíkĺicka haṁískʰám cʰíˑsín.

6.30 **ma sápté tsiẏí qá piqʰá qá ċul ú tupte amqʰá sátííyiimí tyíísííní** ·

and	I go	I am	the this	the	sun	POSS	going	but	I'm chasing	she said
coordconn	v	cop	def deic	def	n	Nsfx	ptcp	coordconn	v	v

Then I'm going, I'm chasing the sunset, he said.
Audio: ma sápté cʰiʔí qá piqʰá qá ċul ʔú tupte ʔamqʰá sá sátíˑyiˑmí cʰíˑsíˑnʰ.

6.31 **ma qʰé aawátca haṁískʰám sistá** ·

and	that	only	alone	I mean
coordconn	deic	adv	adv	v

But just that one alone, I said.

6.32 **mĺúpta** ·

Then I'll go.
Wrote ma ĺúpta

6.33 **má** **ċé** **tucci** **tíínu** **kú** **tuccí** **suwá** ·

    and   not   not doing come back   future not do I will be

    coordconn Neg ptcp   ptcp   Vpfx   ptcp   v

And I'm not coming back.

6.34 **ma** **késtʰam** **lhóóláqcicka** **qʰé** **aawátca** **tyíísíín** ·

    and   end   I'm begging you that only   said

    coordconn adv   v   deic adv   v

And I'm begging you for just that one, he said.

6.35 **amqʰá** **tyíísííní** **qa** **ẏályú** ： **ma** **ċé** **skucci** **kú** **tiiḷaaci** ， **ma**

    but   she said the man   and   not   you do for me future   and

    coordconn v   def n   coordconn Neg v   Vpfx   coordconn

ċé **skucci** **kú** **tiiḷaaci** ， **má** **tukkʰéémátum** **kú** **lhcóówááticka** ，

not you do for me future   and   future I am wrt you

Neg v   Vpfx   coordconn   Vpfx   v

ma **tóólol** **tétẁi** **ku** **lhcóówááticka** **tyíísíín** ·

and   all   kill   fut I am wrt you   said

coordconn quant ptcp   v   v

But he said to the man, and if you don't feed me, if you don't feed me, then I'll climb up there and kill all of you.

6.36 **mam** **tyitʰéctiikíní** **qa** **ẏályú** **má** **ánca** **ċíllíq** **ú** **waẏẏí** **ma** **ánca**

    and   the man   and   so   child POSS father and   so

    coordconn   def n   coordconn adv   n   Nsfx n   coordconn adv

tyitʰéctiikíní **qa** **ámittʰéẁcan** ·

               the women

               def n

Then the man got scared, the children's father, and the woman got scared.

Audio: mam cyitʰécti·kíní qa ẏályú ... má ánca qá waẏ·í ma ánca cyitʰécti·kíní qa ʔámitʰ·éẁcan.

6.37 **táwwá** **hooká** **tyíísííní** ·

    give!   OK   said

    v   interj   v

OK, give it, he said.

Audio: ma táw·á ho·ká cyí·sí·nʰ.

6.38 **tylámmá** ， **tylúpta** **tyíísíín** ·

    let him eat   let him go said

    v   v   v

Let him eat, let him go, he said.

6.39 **mám** **tyíkuusaatánumíní** **qá** **waẃá** **wasċi** ·

    and   pushed down   the big   female animal

    coordconn v   def adj   n

And he pushed down the biggest one.

Audio: mám repeated; a vowels of last two words rounded toward o.

6.40 **mam** **cʰúúsaya** **tíícííní** **ċé** **ṁucííní** **tétẁi** **ma** **támmí** ， **cʰúúsaya**

    and   however   doing   not it might be doing kill   and   eating   however

    coordconn pro-form ptcp   Neg v   ptcp coordconn ptcp   pro-form

tííciíní ·
doing
ptcp
I don't know whether he killed him and ate him, or what.
LR: He might have adopted him to teach him his own ways.

6.41 **mam** **tyúptééní ma** **késtʰam lhuwááticka mhínímmááticka tyíísííní** ·

and	went	and	end	I am for you	I might see you	she said
coordconn	v	coordconn	adv	v	v	v

Then he went, and he said I won't see you any more.

6.42 **ma** **ánca cwéstʰél ċul ṫáqqʰápá tyúnííní** ·

and	so	several	sun		came
coordconn	adv	adj	n		v

But several months later he came back.
Audio: ma ánca cwéstʰél ċul, cwéstʰél ċul ṫáqʰ·ápá cʰúní·niʰ.

6.43 **má** **ánca qʰáẏtím** **tyááċámcíní má** **ánca tyíítʰákẏíní** ·

and	so	same place again		and	so	shouted up
coordconn	adv	adv		coordconn	adv	v

And he stopped in the same place again and hollered up.
Audio: mánca qʰáẏtím cyícaʔ .. qʰáẏtím qʰáẏtím cyá·ċámcíní, má ánca cʰí·tʰákẏíní.

6.44 **hé** ， **tyíísííní** ·

hey	said
excl	v

Hey, he said

6.45 **tyíímaatánumíní qá tatẏí tíẏẏi** ·

looked down	the	mother	their
v	def	n	pro

Their mother looked down.

6.46 **táq wáli muwá tyíísííní** ·

what	kind(?)	you will?	she said
pro		cop	v

What do you want? she asked.
Audio: dáqwáli muwá d(i)štšyi

6.47 **haṁís stáwwá** ， **haṁís wawá wasċi** **stáwwá** ， **İímmisam má** **İúpta**

one	give me	one	big	female animal	give me		and	I'll go
n	v	n	adj	n	v		coordconn	v

tyíísíín ·
said
v
Give me one, give me one big one, give me a snack and I'll go away, he said.

6.48 **ċé suwí tinúpte qá as tucci ya** ， **ċé suwí tinúúcúúlami** ·

not	I am	arrive at	the	water	not doing	emph		not	I am	cross over
Neg	cop	ptcp	def	n	ptcp	Nsfx		Neg	cop	ptcp

I didn't reach the water, I didn't cross over.
LR speculated this might mean the ocean.

Wrote tinú·cí·lami. -cu across. Looks like c fronts u to y, heard as i.

6.49 **ma titííyiimí , sééqacóócí tsiẏí qá ċul tyíísííní ·**

and	pursue		I go to meet	I am	the	sun	she said
coordconn	ptcp		v	cop	def	n	v

But in pursuit I'm going to meet the sun, he said.

Audio: ma tití·yi·mí, má sé·qacó·cí cyiẏí yá qá ċul cyí·sí·ní.

6.50 **ma ánca we tukkʰé ṁá támmi kú lhcóówááticka tyíísííní ·**

and	so	then	climb	plant	food		I am wrt you		she said
coordconn	adv	adv	v	Vroot	n		v		v

And I'm going to climb up and eat you, he said.

Audio: má ánca we .. má ánca weʔ .. tukʰ·e kátuw·íw yá á·taka cyí·sí·nʰ.

6.51 **ṁa tyílááḣaaĺíwcíní ·**

and
coordconn

And they argued with each other.

6.52 **má ánca késtʰam yá má suwá sééná tisóówoy tyiisííní ·**

and	so	end	emph	and		I will be	I go away	formerly say	said
coordconn	adv	adv	adv	coordconn		v	v	ptcp	v

And he said, you promised you're not going to come back any more.

6.53 **amqʰákam tyílááḣaaĺíwcíní mám tyuwáálóḣtánumíní haṁís ṫaqqʰápá qa**

but		and	threw down		one		the
coordconn		coordconn	v		n		def

ẏályúúcan ·

boy
n

But they argued, and they threw another boy down.

Audio: ... qa ẏalyú .. yalyú·can

6.54 **mam qʰé tyuwímissáámíní mám tyúptééní ·**

and	that	ate it up	and		went
coordconn	deic	v	coordconn		v

He ate it up and went away.

6.55 **ma ánca cwéstʰélsan pʰitúwwí kitím tyíícúúcíní ·**

and	so	several	year	still	it rose up
coordconn	adv	adj	n	adv	v

And every few years he'd come back.

6.56 **ḣaḱ kʰám tykwatáámííní , ẏalyúúcan ẇal amitʰéwcan ẇal tyuwapĺáámííní alí**

two	only	remained		male	and	woman	and
n	adv	v		n	Nsfx		Nsfx

tyuttʰuumíní ·

arrived
v

Only two were left, a boy and a girl remained, when he came back.

Audio: preceded by repetition (?) ʔíl cyí·ċú·cín· ḣaḱ kʰám ckwatá·mí·nʰ ... ẏalyú·can ẇal ʔamitʰéwcan ẇal cwaplá·mí·ní qa lí· cyu·tʰu·míní.

6.57 **amqʰá** **tyíísííní** **qa** **ámitʰéwcan** , **čé** **tuccó** **tyíísííní** , **čé** **tuccó** , **čé** **l̇húw**
  but said the women not do she said not do not
  coordconn v def n Neg v v Neg v Neg

tissáámi ⌐
give away
ptcp
But the woman said don't, don't do it, let's not give them away!

6.58 **we** **styátakáákumá** **tyíísííní** ·
  then he's eating us up said
  adv v v
He's eating us up, she said.
Audio: we sálu scátaká·kumá cyí·sí·ní.
we are eaten up by him

6.59 **tylúúkʰaẏ** **ka** **pʰííẇa** **má** **sẏcáwwám** , **ittʰúútam** **sẏicáwwám** **tyíísííní**
  let him climb agent here and let him eat us two us first let him eat us two said
  v Nsfx adv coordconn v pro-form v v
.
Let him climb up here and eat us two first, she said.
Audio: cyilu·kʰayka pʰí·ẇa má sẏicám· ... ʔit·ú·tam sẏicáw·ám cyí·sí·nʰ.

6.60 **l̇háákáákí** **tlhuwí** **tyíísííní** ·
  we two evidently are said
  v v
We're as good as dead anyway, she said.

6.61 **ṁa** **čé** **tuccó** **tyíísííní** ·
  and not do said
  coordconn Neg v v
So don't do it, she said.

6.62 **mám** **tywissamááliíní** ·
  and persisted
  coordconn v
And she wouldn't give it up.
Audio: mám cwətís·amá·lí·n
"Persist" might be wrong, the gloss "she wouldn't give it up" might mean "she refused [to give it]".

6.63 **ṁl̇úúkʰa** **tyípsíwcííní** **qa** **céémul** ·
  tried the coyote
  v def n
Coyote tried to climb up.
Wrote ma l̇úkʰ·a. Vowel quality identifies length, duration obscured by preaspiration.

6.64 **amqʰá** **čé** **tyúúcííní** **tínúúkʰe** **qá** **asẇú** ·
  but not was climb the tree
  coordconn Neg v ptcp def n
But he couldn't climb the tree.
Audio: čé not audible, final syllable voiceless.

6.65 **tyilúkkʰa**   **!**

let him climb!

v

Let him climb up (said the mother).

6.66 **lháálóʰtánumá tyíísííní** ， **ɫháálaátánumá** ， **má**   **ís**   **slhiiká**   **tyíísííní** ·

           said   and   person let us two live said

           v   coordconn n   v   v

Let's throw him down, said (the father), let's throw him down and let's us two live, he said.

táˑláˑtánumi, not -umá

6.67 **ís**   **tiikác kú**   **tuccí lhuwwa**   **lháálaatánumí**   **qá amqʰá**   **tyíísííní qa**

person live   future not do we two will be let's throw him down the but   said   the

n   ptcp   Vpfx ptcp v   v   def coordconn v   def

ámitʰéw̓can ·

woman

n

We won't live if we thrown them down, said the woman.

6.68 **ma**   **ċé**   **tuccó tyíísííní** ·

and   not do   said

coordconn Neg v   v

so don't do it, she said.

6.69 **má**   **ánca qa ittʰú móníkcan tyíísííní** ·

and   so   the my   children   said

coordconn adv   def pers   n   v

These are my children, she said.

LR tearful.

6.70 **qá kacʰú ċíllíq tykapsaykíní má**   **ánca aqtáwsu**   **tykaláál̓asw̓acíní** ，

the her   child grabbed   and   so   on either side

def pers   n   v   coordconn adv   adv

cyááṁusw̓acíní má   **ánca tykapsaykíní** ·

           and   so   grabbed

           coordconn adv   v

She grabbed her children on either side, hugged them, held them, and gathered them close in her wings.

Audio: ħakmim cwíˑyapsaykínʰ .. cwíˑtapsáˑyíní má ánca cyáˑṁusw̓acíní ..

6.71 **tukkʰááyak m̓a**   **tóólolmi stámmá tyíísííní** ·

climb up   and   all   eat us   said

v   coordconn quant   v   v

Climb on up and eat us all, she said.

Added by LR in transcript.

6.72 **má**   **ánca we tyíít̓uy̓cíní qa céémul** ·

and   so   then   the coyote

coordconn adv   adv   def n

And Coyote got mad.

6.73 **ṫaqʰa sííni kú ma tóólol tímicẇi kú lhcóówááticka tyíísííní** ·

	I come	future	and	all	eat up	future	I am wrt you	said
	v	Vpfx	coordconn	quant	ptcp	Vpfx	v	v

If I come back again, I'll eat all of you, he said.

Audio: Initial repetition of tó·lol. Wrote lhcó·wá·ticka

6.74 **sẏicímicẇa , sẏicímicẇa tyíísííní qa ámitʰéẇ** ·

		said	the
		v	def

Eat us up! Eat us up! said the woman.

Audio: Ɂisisi sẏicímicẇa, sẏicímicẇa cyí·sí·ní qa Ɂámitʰéẇ.

6.75 **ċé tyúúcííní tinúúkʰé mám tyúptééní** ·

not	was	climb up	and	went
Neg	v	ptcp	coordconn	v

He couldn't climb up, and he left.

Audio: participle tinúkʰ·e omitted.

6.76 **amqʰá twiẏí qa páálá máttíkca qá piqʰá qa céémul yáttuukí , má l̇ímícẇi**

but	he is	the	today	day	the	this	the	coyote	he comes	and
coordconn	cop	def	adv	n	def	deic	def	n	v	coordconn

styópsíwcumá tyíísííní ·

he's thinking about us	she said
v	v

But he's the one today, this same Coyote is coming, and he's thinking to eat you up.

LR, still weeping, stopped here on that night, taking the story up the next day. She begins in English "I left out something", then cyí·sí·ní mám apparently completing the sentence above and leading into the following.

6.77 **tyuwicapsááyíní qa kacʰú ċíllíq áqtáẇsu mám tyááṁaswacíní** ·

gathered		the	his	child		and
v		def	pers	n		coordconn

She gathered her children on either side and held them close.

6.78 **ma ċé tuccó tyíísíní , tylúúkʰaẏ ka má sẏcawám tyíláḣhaalíwcíní** ·

and	not	do	said	let him climb	agent	and	let him eat us
coordconn	Neg	v	v	v	Nsfx	coordconn	v

kac ṁi ·

he	you (singular)
pers	pers

And she said don't do it, let him climb up here and let him eat us, she herself argued with him.

Audio: ma ċé tuc·ó cyí·síní, cyilú·kʰaẏka má sl̇hilám·a pi cyíláḣ·a l̇íwcíní we kacṁi

6.79 **tukkʰááyak ṁá sẏicawám tóólolmi tukʰááyák má tyíísííní** ·

climb up	plant	eat us up	all	climb up	and	said
v	Vroot	v	quant	v	coordconn	v

Climb up and eat us all up, she said, climb up.

Wrote sẏicawám·

6.80 **mam má ánca l̇úkkʰa tyípsíwcíní qa céémul** ·

and	and	so		thought	the	coyote
coordconn	coordconn	adv		v	def	n

And then Coyote tried to climb up.

Audio: mam má ánca ĺúkʰ·aẏka cyípsíwcíní qa cé·mul.

6.81 **má ánca qʰá ĺúkkʰa týípsíwcí , amqʰákam ĺilis ĺilis týúúcííní mam ċé**
    and then   that   thought   but   slip   slip   was   and   not
    coordconn deic   v   coordconn onom onom v   coordconn Neg

týúúcííní tínnééyéɋtáke , ṁám tyuuċíítánumíní ·
was
v
He tried to climb, but it was too slippery, he couldn't get a grip and he fell back down.

6.82 **mám tyaqqééwíní qá uċímci pʰóc ·**
    and   got hurt   the   distant
    coordconn v   def   adv
And he got hurt when he fell a long way.
Written with aspirated long qʰ.

6.83 **mám tyaċċaccíní , wé ííṫúẏ týúúcííní ·**
    and   well   was
    coordconn   adv   v
And he fell, and he got mad.

6.84 **tíímaċɋát kú kuwá , tíímaċɋát kú kuwá qa sííni kú ,**
         future you would be   future you would be the I come future
         Vpfx   cop   Vpfx cop   def v   Vpfx

má míṫṫaċ tyíísííní ·
and   at that time said
coordconn adv   v
You'll see, you'll find out when I get back, he said.

6.85 **tíímaċɋát kú kuwá qa sííni kú , má míṫṫaċ tyíísííní ·**
         future you would be the I come future   and   at that time said
         Vpfx   cop   def v   Vpfx   coordconn adv   v
When I get back, you'll see, he said.

6.86 **mam tyúpcʰááċaccíní mám tyúptééní ·**
    and   and   went
    coordconn   coordconn v
And he got up and left.

7.1 **amqʰá tyíícííní tyuwíníítánumíní má ánca akkaẏé wíccí' tyúccííní**
    but   was   moved away   and   so   in a different place resemble did
    coordconn v   v   coordconn adv   adv   v   v
·
And then they moved someplace else.

7.2 **ma ánca we ís tyuwinúúcííní háné' ká qa kacʰú macẇé wílóo**
    and   so   then person became   in some way indeed the his   man's_si former
    coordconn adv   adv n   v   adv   adv   def pers n   Nsfx

amqʰá ĺúmmé tyuwiẏííní , mám ís tyuwinúúcíní ·
but   made   and   person became
coordconn   v   coordconn n   v

Then there came to be more people, maybe he made his sister his wife, and there were people.

7.3 **kʰaṁ tyúúcíní qa ċíllíq , cwéstʰél pʰitúwwí kʰaṁ tyuwínúúcíín ·**

many	did	the	child	several	year	many	became
quant	v	def	n	adj	n	quant	v

There were lots of children, several years later they were many.

Some words omitted in transcript.

7.4 **ṫééwa tím ma qá kacʰú waẏẏí íwíẇ ís tikkáácoẇoy ṫééwa**

in that way	indeed(?)	and	the	his	father		person	formerly live	in that way
adv	adv	coordconn	def	pers	n		n	ptcp	adv

tím ·

indeed(?)

adv

They lived together the same way as their father had lived.

7.5 **amqʰá ċíllíq tyuwiẏííní láttíwwáté haṁís áyéq̇ti tyúúcííní qa yályúúcan ,**

but	child	made	to five	one		was	the	boy
coordconn	n	v	adv	n		v	def	n

má ánca ámitʰéẇcan aṁáẏtu ṫééwa tím tyúúcííní ·

and	so			in that way	indeed(?)	was
coordconn	adv			adv	adv	v

He had children, six boys and likewise (six) girls.

Writen yályú·can, why yályúlcan?

7.6 **amqʰá ú móóníkcan ú móníkcan kʰáṁ tyúúcííní qa ċíllíq ·**

but	POSS	children	POSS	children	much	was	the	child
coordconn	Nsfx	n	Nsfx	n	quant	v	def	n

And of children's children there came to be many children.

7.7 **ma ánca we uusaayí' tyúúcííní qa tóólolĺíní amqʰá tyáámííní ,**

and	so	then	digging	was	the	everything	but	ate
coordconn	adv	adv	ptcp	v	def	pro-form	coordconn	v

cyáátááċcíní má tyáámííní ·

they gathered	and		ate
v	coordconn		v

Then they ate all kinds of things they dug and all kinds of things they gathered.

7.8 **ma tístí wa ís tyííkáácíní , cẏééwaamáẏtu ká , haṁískʰám wíc**

and	good	instr	person	were living	in what way		indeed	alone	resembling
coordconn	adv	Nsfx	n	v	adv		adv	adv	ptcp

ẏééwa kúcí qa kʰáṁ ẇáka qʰé qa tóólol taqqám wááwi ·

in manner(?)	fut	the	much	by	that	the	all	cousin	collectively
adv	adv	def	quant	Nsfx	deic	def	quant	n	adv

And they lived in the right way, no matter where from, all those many cousins as one.

Gloss "no matter where from" is uncertain.

Audio: cẏé·wamáẏtuká sounds like cé·mátuká.

7.9 **amqʰá ís tyííkáácín má tístí waymi ís tyííkáácíní ·**

but	person	lived	and	good	manner	person	were living
coordconn	n	v	coordconn	adv	adv	n	v

So they lived, and they lived right.

8.1 **amqʰááwáté tyúúnííní qa céémul** ·

while came the coyote

coordconn v def n

But then Coyote came back

8.2 **ma ánca we t̓ééwa tím tyuwátaḣwoq̓ẁámíní** ·

and so then in that way indeed(?)

coordconn adv adv adv adv

And in the same way, he made it ugly.

8.3 **aliḣwóq̓wací amqʰá tyuutʰuukilíní** ·

but brought

coordconn v

He brought bad things with him.

8.4 **ma ánca we t̓é ticci kú mam lhuwáticka tyíísííní** ·

and so then thus do future and I am wrt you said

coordconn adv adv adv ptcp Vpfx coordconn cop v

I'm going to do this to you, he said

8.5 **má ánca tyuwatʰéctiiḱááyíní** ·

and so

coordconn adv

He he was scary.

He tried to scare them with words.

8.6 **mám qa qʰé qa ámitʰéẃcan tyúútʰuukilíní , má ánca ámitʰéẃcan ċíllíq**

and the that the women brought and so child

coordconn def deic def n v coordconn adv n

tyuwiẏ́ííní ·

made

v

And he brought those women with him and the women had children.

8.7 **tʰúsẏí icééláywací' aṁá qa ámittʰéẃcan amqʰa tyuutʰuukilíní** ·

good pretty but the woman therefore brought

adj ptcp adv def n coordconn v

The women that he brought were very pretty.

8.8 **mam qʰé tyalúúẃáyláqcíní qa ẏályúúċò , qʰé lúmmé tyuwiẏ́ííní** ·

and that fell for the that wife made

coordconn deic v def deic n v

And the boys fell for them, and made wives of them

Written cwiẏ́í·ní (all occurrences)

8.9 **má ánca qa ámitʰéẃcan ċó 'ka amáẏtu qʰé tyálíl·áq̓tíní qa yályú** ·

and so the plural agent also that the man

coordconn adv def post post adv deic def n

And the women wanted those boys too,

8.10 **íssáálu tucciiya tyalíl·áq̇tíní** ·

    beautiful doing
    ptcp   ptcp

As they were handsome, they wanted them.

8.11 **mam   qʰe ẏályú tyuwiẏííní amqʰá   ú   ċíllíq , kʰám̓ tyúúcííní qa ċíllíq** ·

    and   that man   made   but   POSS child   many was   the child
    coordconn deic n   v   coordconn Nsfx n   adv   v   def n

When they raised children, they raised a lot of them.

8.12 **má   ánca we ṫééwa   tím   kʰam̓ tyúúcííní , qa cwéstʰélcan pʰitúwwí**

    and   so   then in that way indeed(?) many was   the several   year
    coordconn adv adv adv   adv   quant v   def n   n

kʰam̓ tyúúcííní ·

many was
quant v

And so they became many, after several years they were many.

Audio: ṫé·wa tím sounds like ṫé·way tím.

8.13 **má   ánca we tóóloli̇íní aka   iicí' tyúúcííní , tóóloli̇íní aka   iicí'**

    and   so   then everything other   doing was   everything other   doing
    coordconn adv adv pro-form pro-form ptcp v   pro-form pro-form ptcp

tyúúcííní ·

was
v

And then they did all kinds of things, they did all kinds of things.

Audio: tó·lollíní ʔaka ʔi·cíʔ sounds like tó·lolʔná· ki·cí.

8.14 **amqʰá   wa tyíícííní qa aapóóníkáha 'ka kacʰú ticusqáápááẏíní tóólol** ·

    but   instr was   the Coccoon man agent his   drown   all
    coordconn Nsfx v   def name   post pers ptcp   quant

That's why Coccoon-man had drowned them all.

Wrote ...pʰá·yíní

9.1 **amqʰááwáté L̇hiiċíumá   qa páálá ís   tikkááci tyáátʰuumí** ·

    in that way   we are becoming the today person live   it evidently arrives
    coordconn   cop   def adv   n   v   v

In that way we are becoming today, living is coming back to it.

9.2 **we qʰééwáté ittʰúni piláqmi ís   tikkáácoẇoy tíuwí L̇híċċíílammí wíc**

    then there   our   ancestor person formerly live   exist   resembling
    adv adv   pers   adj   n   ptcp   ptcp   ptcp

ẇittʰánuwí qa páálá máttíkcawáẏtu ·

          the today
          def adv

So for that reason we seem to be coming to the way our ancestors lived from today on.

9.3 **ma   kʰéstʰam** ·

    and   end
    coordconn adv

The end.

In English, LR said "That's all."