

## LR: Spider and Lizard (LR9 = MP3 029)

- 1.1 **we síináálayahtúúmí tsiyí qá çaháawaka wál séqtána wál ú ís tikkáacowoy**  
then I tell story I am the small spider with lizard with POSS person prior living  
adv v cop def n Nsfx n Nsfx Nsfx n ptcp

**qa páláqmim** .

the long ago

def adv

I'm retelling a story about the life of spider and lizard long ago.

Audio: çaháawaka má áncia qa séqtána? ... ?u ís tiká'cowoy ə blá'qmim

The plain /k/ is voiceless.

Beginning in phonetic notes for this text, raised comma over a syllabic indicates laryngealization.

- 1.2 **mahánuucan tyktuwáací qa hakca** .

orphan were the two of them  
n v def quant

The two of them were orphan children.

- 1.3 **kac<sup>h</sup>úni waac<sup>h</sup>uwí amq<sup>h</sup>á wawá tíiwaci tykíy** .

their daughter's child but big rear was the one who  
pers Nrel coordconn adj ptcp cop

It was their grandfather who brought them up.

After finished raising a family, elderly parents retired to their respective childhood homes. These two orphans called each other brother, though they were not. Each was raised by his respective grandparents. The people valued boys highly. Valued girls too, but she had to go with her husband. An orphan stays with foster parents.

- 1.4 **kac<sup>h</sup>úúni wayyí qá tislíwci wáté amq<sup>h</sup>áawaté tétwóówoy maháanuucan** .

their father the war at while lately killed orphan  
pers n def ptcp adv coordconn ptcp n

Because their father was killed in a war, (they were) orphans.

Audio: ya tislíwci yáté

- 2.1 **wawá palá' tyktiúwí we , mam wawá paláqcaálu can tyktuwwí** .

big already became then and big boy plural they got to be  
adj adv cop adv coordconn adj n post cop

They grew up now, and they got to be young men.

Audio: mq<sup>h</sup>á tykti'wí wé' qə? .. wawá tyktiúwí we', mam wawá blaqca'lucan tyktuw'.

- 2.2 **má áncia tykísyí , ç<sup>h</sup>ú múw íhíy , ç<sup>h</sup>ú múw íhíy múw tykísyí** .

and then said how it must be how it must be it must be said  
coordconn v pro-form cop pro-form cop cop v

What shall we do, what shall we do? they said.

Audio: má áncia ç<sup>h</sup>əkis? .. ç<sup>h</sup>ú mowá líhí' , ç<sup>h</sup>ú mowá líhí' .. ç<sup>h</sup>əkíist

- 2.3 **ç<sup>h</sup>ááwa mow íhúpta , tykísyí** .

where? it might be Let's us two go (including you). said  
pro-form cop v v

Where shall we go? they said.

- 2.4 **mám tykísyí qa çaháawaka , itt<sup>h</sup>ú tupté waka síuwí ç<sup>h</sup>awámcan itt<sup>h</sup>ú tálíyaaci**

and said the small spider my go! I want someplace my look at  
coordconn v def n pers v v adv pers ptcp

**tucci wáté , amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté tupté wa síuwí tykísyí .**

not doing at while go! continue I want said  
ptcp adv coordconn v Vroot v v

Then Spider said I want to go someplace I've never seen, that's where I want to go, he said.

Audio: /a/ before it<sup>h</sup>ú might be reduced from qa.

**2.5 amq<sup>h</sup>á tykísyí qa séqtánaáwaka mlícéski háné' c<sup>h</sup>ááwa túuwi qa**

but said the little lizard I'll look around in some way where? be the  
coordconn v def n v adv pro-form ptcp def

**tuptét , amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté mhúpta tykísyí .**

where to go, the directions while we two will go said  
n coordconn v v

Then Lizard said, I'll look around to see where we can go, he said.

Audio: ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á·wáté mhupt .. ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á·wmə mhúpta lím'a lícíski, má áncia tykísy'

**2.6 hé tykísyí , té kiccí tykísyí .**

hey said thus you should do said  
excl v adv v v

OK, he said, you do that, he said.

**2.7 ma áncia tykwínceská qa séqtána c<sup>h</sup>ááwa tuptét .**

and so searched for the lizard where? where to go, the directions  
coordconn adv v def n pro-form n

Then Lizard searched for where to go.

Audio: má áncia we ckwínceská qa .. qa ... [break] qa séqtána ka ckwíncesk<sup>h</sup>

**2.8 ma áncia toólolla tykwíncéski , toólolla tykwíncéski qa tíqqaati .**

and so he searched he searched the  
coordconn adv v v def

And then he searched all around, he looked all over the land.

Audio: má áncia tó·lolla tykwám'a·ma ʔáka tytó·ma·mí qa tó:lólla tykwám'a·mi qa tí·qá·d'

Transcript: ckwám'a·má ʔáka corrected to ckwíncéski [ckwíncéska] by LR

**2.9 ma áncia we éécim tykwáámáácumí , ma áncia hinímááci qa ís**

and so then on other side he looked across and so he saw afar the person  
coordconn adv adv adv v coordconn adv v def n

**ú tattíwci , tétwíwci , má áncia tykwicuuhúúciwci q<sup>h</sup>ááwá , má áncia**

POSS fighting kill each other and then speared each other some of them and then  
Nsfx ptcp ptcp coordconn v pro-form coordconn

**tykwíntutísiwci má áncia tykwíntétwíwci .**

shot each other and then killed each other  
v coordconn v

Then he looked across and on the other side he saw far off how the people were fighting, killing, and some speared each other, and they shot each other, and they killed one another.

Audio: má áncia we qa ʔé·cim má áncia tykwám'a·cumí we' ... q<sup>h</sup>a tyakí əqa ʔís ʔəʔ .. ʔúlóqma má tyká·ta·máci má áncia c<sup>h</sup> .. tykwínit<sup>h</sup>·ci tykwinciwq<sup>h</sup>·ciwci q<sup>h</sup>a·wa, má áncia .. tykwíntút·isiwci', má áncia tykwínʔétwíwci'  
[break]

Wrote tykwícoq<sup>h</sup>úciwci

2.10 **qá as éécim amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté lhúpta tykisýí** ·  
 the water on other side while let's us two go! said  
 def n adv coordconn v

Let's go there on the other side of the water, he said.

2.11 **q<sup>h</sup>ééhéé twiyí t<sup>h</sup>ániyí tyáátíwci , má ánca wicuq<sup>h</sup>úúcíwci má ánca**  
 there he is he evidently is they fight each other and then and then  
 adv cop v v coordconn coordconn

**tóólollíni aka íccí yuwí , q<sup>h</sup>e wáté amq<sup>h</sup>á amq<sup>h</sup>á wáté lhímmaama tykisýí** ·  
 everything other it is that but in that way let's go see said  
 pro-form pro-form cop deic coordconn adv v v

There (I see) they fight each other, and they spear each other, and all kinds of things are going on there, so let's go see, he said.

Transcription: LR added ?amq<sup>h</sup>á wáté; q<sup>h</sup>e wáté is before a comma pause, ?amq<sup>h</sup>á is after, unclear if she was omitting these two words but they still work.

Wrote wícoq<sup>h</sup>úúcíwci

2.12 **híí tykisýí** ·  
 yes said  
 interj v

Yes, he said.

2.13 **q<sup>h</sup>éhé lhímmaamac , hooká tykisýí** ·  
 there let's us two go see OK said  
 adv v interj v

let's go there to see, OK, he said.

Audio: q<sup>h</sup>é lhé mi' .. q<sup>h</sup>éhé lhím a mac

2.14 **amq<sup>h</sup>ákam it<sup>h</sup>úúni wawá yuccí lhiit<sup>h</sup>íkli má ánca tykisýí** ·  
 but our big he does(?) let's us two ask and then said  
 coordconn pers adj v v coordconn v

But first let's ask our elders, he said.

Audio: ?amq<sup>h</sup>ákam ?it<sup>h</sup>úni ?it<sup>h</sup>úni mə ... ?it<sup>h</sup>úni wawó way lihi t<sup>h</sup>ák .. lihi t<sup>h</sup>ikli má ánca tykisýí.

3.1 **ma ánca we tyktóót<sup>h</sup>íklí qá kac<sup>h</sup>úní waq<sup>h</sup>úúwí hamís wínín** ·  
 and so then they asked the their mother's father one each  
 coordconn adv adv v def pers Nrel quant adv

Then each asked permission of his grandfather.

3.2 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykisýí qa waq<sup>h</sup>úúwí tíyí micist<sup>h</sup>úúni wach<sup>h</sup>úwí iciit<sup>h</sup>íklí tykisýí** ·  
 but said the mother's father be your two mother's mother you two ask said  
 coordconn v def Nrel cop pers Nrel v v

But their grandfathers said ask your grandmother.

3.3 **álihwúq<sup>h</sup>wací wáté tyktiýí qa caláheemí , álihwúq<sup>h</sup>wací wáté** ·  
 doing evil were the doing evil  
 ptcp cop def ptcp

That's a bad place where you're going, a bad place.

Audio: ?áleh'óq<sup>h</sup>wací wáté tkiciýí qa ciláh'e mí, álih'óq<sup>h</sup>wací wáté (/c/ and /k/ in tkiciýí an error for tkiýí)

3.4 **álihwúq̣wací ís twiyí qa ééciimíli' amq<sup>h</sup>á tykisýi** ·  
 doing evil person he is the across there but said  
 ptcp n cop def ptcp coordconn v  
 They're bad people over there, bad, she said.

3.5 **yatwí' tykuwáátiika , yatwí' tykuwáátiika tykisýi** ·  
 kills they are to you kills they are to you said  
 v cop v cop v  
 They'll kill you, she said.

Audio: mám yatwí? t'kwá·ti·ka' .. yatwí? t'kwá·ti·ka tyækis·  
 Expected tkuwá·ticka (tyk-uw-á·ticka)

3.6 **ma cé lhuwwícka tállílláqti q<sup>h</sup>éhé tupte** ·  
 and not I am for you like there going  
 coordconn Neg v ptcp adv ptcp  
 I don't like you going there.

Written lahu·wícka tállílláqti; audio clearly has a before q̣

3.7 **itt<sup>h</sup>ú wawá lhiiwáácicka amq<sup>h</sup>áwa lhuwááticka** ·  
 my big I reared you with that one I am for you  
 pers adj v coordconn v

I brought you up, that's why I'm (feeling that way) about you.

Audio: it<sup>h</sup>·ú wawá lhí·wá·ticka má .. ?am?·mamq<sup>h</sup>á .. ?éhówí? té tilá· cé yí· c tši·mi tykisý·

LR made corrections in transcript.

3.8 **tattíwci kú tucci slhuwwá , ik<sup>h</sup>im slhóóci kúci slhóómaamac kúci tykisýi** ·  
 fighting future not do he and I will merely fut we two watch fut said  
 ptcp Vpfx ptcp cop adv adv v adv v

We're not going to fight, we'll do nothing, we're only going to look on (from a distance), he said.

Audio: Begins cé ?ó? ..., but then only occasional repetition of individual words depart from transcript.

3.9 **mám tyktíiwapté** ·  
 and went back  
 coordconn v

Then they went back (to the grandmother).

Audio: some repetition. tyktíw·apt·

3.10 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykisýi qa séqtáná qa kac<sup>h</sup>ú waac<sup>h</sup>uuwí tupté wa slhíuwí qa as**  
 but said the lizard the his daughter's child go! continue we want the water  
 coordconn v def n def pers Nrel v Vroot v def n

**éécim tykisýi** ·

on other side said

adv v

So Lizard said to his grandmother, we want to go on the other side of the water.

Wrote wá·c<sup>h</sup>u·wí

3.11 **amq<sup>h</sup>áawaté slhápte kúci we tykisýi** ·  
 while we two go fut then said  
 coordconn v adv adv v

So we're going to go then, he said.

3.12 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykísýí qa wác<sup>h</sup>úwí tíyí nááná tyí tykísýí , álih<sup>w</sup>óq<sup>w</sup>ací twiyí qa**  
 but said the mother's mother be danger he is said bad he is the  
 coordconn v def n cop onom v v adj cop def

**q<sup>h</sup>ahée ééciimilí ís , álih<sup>w</sup>óq<sup>w</sup>ací twiyí tykísýí .**

there yonder on the other side person bad he is said  
 adj n adj cop v

Well, but their grandmother said that's dangerous, they're bad, those people over there, they're bad, she said.

Audio: amq<sup>h</sup>á tykísýí ʌɣ wá c<sup>h</sup>uʷ tí c̣̣̣̣ .. nạ̣̣̣́ c<sup>h</sup>í c<sup>h</sup>əkisý, ʔáɣhóq<sup>w</sup>ací t<sup>h</sup>úwí ɛɣə ʔé ci má qə ʔíʃwámkah óq<sup>w</sup>ací twiyí c<sup>h</sup>əkisỵ̣̣̣́

3.13 **yatwí tkíícóówááticka má éé lhuuwícka tálílláqti q<sup>h</sup>éhé tupte tykísýí .**

kills they will kill you both and not I am wrt you like there going said  
 v v coordconn Neg cop ptcp adv ptcp v

they'll kill the both of you, that's why I don't want you to go there, she said.

Audio: yatwí tkicó wá tiḳ̣̣̣ a má cé ləhué é ləhw ícka táliḷ̣̣̣ ʌqta q<sup>h</sup>éhé tupte c<sup>h</sup>əkisỵ̣̣̣́

3.14 **mam éé tuccó tykísýí .**

and not do said  
 coordconn Neg v v

So don't, she said.

3.15 **amq<sup>h</sup>ákam tyktálakúúyiimí .**

but they argued  
 coordconn v

But they argued.

Audio: ʔʌmq<sup>h</sup>ʌgam c<sup>h</sup>kətalá gú yi ṃ̣̣̣

3.16 **tupte kú tím slhuwá tykísýí qa cəh<sup>h</sup>háawaka , slhápte kúci tykísýí .**

going future indeed(?) we two will be said the little spider we two go future said  
 ptcp Vpfx adv cop v def n v v

We are going, said Spider, we two will go he said.

Audio: mə lé ṣ̣̣̣ tupte ...

3.17 **amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté tááyiiicum kú suwá tykísýí .**

while accompany future I will be said  
 coordconn ptcp Vpfx v v

Because I'm going with you, he said.

Audio: amq<sup>h</sup>á wátẹ̣̣̣́ táyi tá yị̣̣̣ c̣̣̣̣im kú suwá tygisỵ̣̣̣́

3.18 **we lhúpta tykísýí , lóqmim lhúpta**

then Let's us two go (including you). said early in the morning Let's us two go (including you).  
 adv v v adv v

**tykísýí .**

said

v

So let's go, he said, early in the morning let's go.

4.1 **má ánca we tykwinááya .**

and then then prepared  
 coordconn adv v

then he fixed (a web).

Audio: má ánca we' ckjín'á'ýə'

4.2 **táq<sup>h</sup>ápá tytóót<sup>h</sup>íklí qa kac<sup>h</sup>úni wáac<sup>h</sup>uuwí** .

again asked the their mother's mother  
adv v def pers Nrel

They asked their grandmother again.

Audio: má ánca we' ma anca t<sub>Δ</sub>xΛbΛ

4.3 **amq<sup>h</sup>a tykísyí qa wác<sup>h</sup>úwí tííyí qá tupté wá kicíuwí amq<sup>h</sup>a**

therefore said the mother's mother be the go! continue you two want but  
coordconn v def Nrel cop def v Vroot v coordconn

**ma cýééwa kicápte kúci tykísyí** .

and in what way you two go fut said

coordconn pro-form v adv v

Then his grandmother said, you want to go, how are you going to go, she said.

4.4 **qa tílohpi wa awátca amq<sup>h</sup>a tykísyí qá wáac<sup>h</sup>úwí tííyí , tóóyaamámé' twiyí**

the web instr but said the mother's mother be not extend to he is  
def ptcp Nsfx coordconn v def Nrel cop ptcp cop

**, phóc tyánuwí tykísyí** .

distant it is said  
adv cop v

the web won't reach by itself, said his grandmother, it's a long way, she said.

Audio: amq<sup>h</sup>a qá cílahpi' wa a'wátca .. q<sup>h</sup>a tykísyí qá áchuwí ti'yí c'e tuc'ó tykísyí' ... di? tó? tó'yá' tó'yí' ? (break)  
tó'ya:má:mé twiyí', phóc tyánuwí tykísyí'. amq<sup>h</sup>a tó'ya:má:mé twiyí', má' ...

4.5 **mílíluuqíl tykísyí , mílítmí tykísyí** .

I will gather said I will weave said  
v v v v

So I'll gather the materials and weave a basket, she said.

4.6 **má ánca tykwatmá qá cúutíípa wíc 'ánci'** .

and then wove the big flat gambling basket resemble  
coordconn v def n v

And then she wove what looked like a big flat basket.

Rolled up, it would be shaped like a football.

Audio: má ánca we' tykwa'cmá' qá e' qá cú'í'wú wic ?icé'cí' tykwatmá, wawá ?úl'í'mí tykwatma má ánca poq

4.7 **má ánca we tykwálúúpá , má ánca tykwakúúlúúlí , má ánca tykwanééyímci** ,

and then then coiled rope up and then rolled it up and then tied together  
coordconn adv v coordconn v coordconn v

**má ánca issi tykwanééyímci má ánca áqtáwsu táq<sup>h</sup>ápá tykwanééyímci** .

and then in the middle tied together and then bilaterally again tied together

coordconn adv v coordconn adv adv v

Then she gathered rope, then she rolled up (the basket) and tied it in the middle, and tied it again at each end.

Audio: má ánca tykwa', má ánca tyk tykwa' .. táqmas tykwálú'pá'

4.8 **má áncia tykwááp<sup>h</sup>úúwaymi áqtáwsu** ·  
 and then left openings bilaterally  
 coordconn v adv

she left openings at each end.

5.1 **má áncia we tykisýí wée icuuccáátumí tykisýí** ·  
 and then then said now you two get in said  
 coordconn adv v v v v

Now you can get in, she said.

Audio: repeats wé·

5.2 **má áncia we haqmim tyktáácáátumi** ·  
 and then then two of you or us got on  
 coordconn adv quant v

Then they both got in.

Written haqmim

cp. tu·cátwam "get on!" inviting someone to get in your car.

5.3 **piq<sup>h</sup>á íyéésa tykisýí** ·  
 this you two sing! said  
 deic v v

Sing this song, she said.

This sentence was originally after the sentence about their departure.

Audio: piq<sup>h</sup>á íyé·sa tykisýí, íyé·sa piq<sup>h</sup>á· ...

5.4 ( **amq<sup>h</sup>ákam hew ucí tsiýí qa téésóówoy** · )  
 but forget doing I am the lately sing  
 coordconn n ptcp cop def ptcp

But I've forgotten the song.

Audio: ... iye·si amq<sup>h</sup>ákam etc.

5.5 § **má áncia wé tykisýí we icupté tykisýí** ·  
 and then well said then you two go! said  
 coordconn adv v adv ptcp v

OK, then, she said, now go, she said.

Audio: we· tupté or maybe we· itupté

5.6 **má áncia tyknáwapááqumi** · **mam h́ééwís tyknáwapááqúcí qa cúúúíípa**  
 and then knocked hither and high knocked across the flat gambling basket  
 coordconn v coordconn adv v def n

**wíc 'áncí'** ·

resemble

v

Then she swung and hit it and it flew off and up high like a \_\_\_\_.

Audio: má áncia we· tykaná· .. tykanáp·í·? pí·numi taq·álcán a ?á ?á ?əbɔniʃiyé tykánawap·á·wá. mám s h́é·wis tykánawap·ááqúcí qa q<sup>h</sup>é qa .. qa táqsaya, tákí qá áchun tó·mákca mamcił mám ...

LR remembered the noun cú·típa at transcription time, but it was not glossed.

5.7 **mám tykáálípçumi** · **mám tyktápte** ·  
 and flew onward and two went  
 coordconn v coordconn v

And it went sailing on, and they left.

The sentence about the song was originally at this place.

5.8 **má áncia we tyktánaáciimí qá piq<sup>h</sup>á qá wawá as** ·

and then then two went across the this the ocean  
coordconn adv v def deic def n

And then they went across this big water.

Audio: some repetition. Ends with qá wawá ʔas yuwámkʰʌ

5.9 **má áncia issi táámé wawá tykwátuumúmcí , má tínímmác ku tucí**  
and then in the middle almost big got foggy and see fut not do  
coordconn adv adv adj v coordconn ptcp ptcp

**tykúw** ·

she was

cop

Then almost halfway across it got very foggy, and they couldn't see anything.

Audio: má áncia ʔisʰi tá·méʰ, ʔisʰi tá·ciʰ wí·píʰ áqʰʌʰ ... (break) wawá tykwád s wawá tykwát·u·mámci, mánjálʰ  
tíní·mác ku tucí tykúwʰ

5.10 **mam tykyáásá qa séqtána** ·

and sang the lizard  
coordconn v def n

And the lizard sang.

Audio: mám tykyá·saʰ, tykyá·sáʰ qa .. ʔaʰ .. (break) má áncia tykyá·sá qa séqtánʰ

5.11 **mám laay tykwammá qá attuumum** ·

and light he turned the  
coordconn adj v def

And the fog got lighter.

Audio: mám la·y tykwa·wí·cʰ ... la·y tykwa·cúci qa .. qá ʔa·tu·múm.

5.12 **má áncia tyktáptim** ·

and then went on  
coordconn v

And so they went on.

5.13 **tyktáptim , má áncia phóc húkýih táq<sup>h</sup>ápá tykwáátuumúmcí** ·

went on and then distant yonder again get foggy  
v coordconn adv adv adv v

They went on, then far away it got foggy again.

Written hú·k<sup>h</sup>ú. Audio: húkwí

5.14 **má áncia táq<sup>h</sup>ápá tykyáása , cwést<sup>h</sup>élcán tykyáása** ·

and then again sang several times sang  
coordconn adv v v v

And then he sang again, several times he sang.

Audio: cwést<sup>h</sup>élsaya tykyá·sáʰ

5.15 **má áncia tyktááciílam ééciimáytu** ·

and then arrived on the other side  
coordconn v adv

Then they got to the other side.

Audio: má áncia tykité·cí·lam, tykitá·cí·lam .. ʔé·ci·máytuʰ



6.1 **má ánca wawá aaqu úúliimí' , amq<sup>h</sup>á wáté tyktáásiicáátumi** .

and then big mountain in that way jumped off  
coordconn adj n adv v

It was on a big mountain ridge that they landed and jumped off onto.

Transcript: áqo

Audio: má ánca qá a'qo ?ú·li·mí, amq<sup>h</sup>á (wa)wá a'q'o ?ú·li·mí amq<sup>h</sup>á·wáté' .. ?amq<sup>h</sup>á·wáté' tyktá' .. tyktá·si·cá·tum'

6.2 **má ánca qwáytu tyktawáámásti** .

and then from there looked around  
coordconn adv

Then from there they looked around.

Audio: q<sup>h</sup>é· wáté· má ánca qwáytu hey .. tyktawá·mást'í

Transcript links qwáytu-hey

6.3 **mam amq<sup>h</sup>a tykiy lóóqmim pilíla' nam talíllaykiiyáté tykáátéimí qa islíwci'**

and therefore was early morning already yet at daybreak went forth the fighting  
coordconn coordconn cop adv adv adv adv v def ptc

Then in the early morning just at first light they marched out to war.

The people they were watching marched out to fight.

Audio: mám lóqmim amq<sup>h</sup>a tykí· ló·qmi bla' ? pilíla was talí·áykiwáté bilá' ? tyká·téymí qá islíwc'í?

6.4 **má ánca tywíhétwíwci** .

and then killed each other again  
coordconn v

Then they killed each other.

6.5 **má ánca tykáátaamátýí , má ánca wíntuutiisiwci aqtáwsu** .

and then gathered together and then shot each other on each side  
coordconn v coordconn v adv

The two sides came together and shot and slaughtered each other.

6.6 **aqtáwsu tykwáálimósŵaci qá wituŋtiisiwci** .

on each side lined up the  
adv v def

The ones shooting each other lined up on both sides.

Participial use of verb with w- prefix is clear here.

6.7 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tyktííssáámasŵaci** .

but kept observing  
coordconn v

So they kept watching.

Wrote ?amq<sup>h</sup>ac, with rearticulation of affricate, but this is not in the audio record at 5:50.

6.8 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykúwwí qa tíímaakántiwi palá' qa islíwci' ú títaspiimi , má ánca**

but was the look around already the fighting POSS quit and then  
coordconn cop def ptc adv def ptc Nsfx ptc coordconn

**tykáálúpćíc mam tykwataspiimi** .

(sun) set and quit  
v coordconn v

So it was when the fighting stopped that they looked all around, and they stopped fighting at sundown.

Audio: ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á tykúw í qa tím a kántiwi qaʔ ... qa paláʔ qə <break> qa ísʔíwcy ú titaspi mi, mán tyká lúpsi mi ckwaʔtaspi m<sup>ʔ</sup>

Written c<sup>h</sup>aká lúpc<sup>h</sup>íc

- 6.9 amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté qa ánumi aaqu issi wíccí' , amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté tykwaméécaswaci  
while the beyond mountain in the middle resemble while was shining  
coordconn def adv n adv v coordconn v

There far off almost in the middle of the mountain, there they saw a light.

Audio: ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á wáté aʔ qa ʔán mí əqa a ʔo díz ʔá ʔo ʔis iʔ, ʔis i' wíc iʔ,

LR 9.14 6:05

- 6.10 mállís wíc 'áncí' waméécaswaci húkýíh tykisýí .  
fire resemble one shines yonder said  
n v ptcp adv v

It looks like a fire shining over there, he said.

Wrote mál is wíc ʔáncíʔ wamé caswaciw húqyé

- 6.11 háné' ká lhímmaamac táq c<sup>h</sup>ú túuwí tykisýí .  
in some way indeed let's us two go see what how being said  
adv adv v pro pro-form ptcp v

Let's go see what it is, he said.

- 6.12 mam tyktápte , mam tyktóómaamací qa q<sup>h</sup>é qa íméécaswaci' , mállís  
and two went and went to see the that the shining fire  
coordconn v coordconn v def deic def ptcp n

wíc 'áncí' .

resemble

v

And they left, they went to see that glow that looked like fire.

- 7.1 amq<sup>h</sup>a tykíy ámit<sup>h</sup>éwcan wál waataawí iwíwci , wiyyúmcí tyktuwí .  
therefore was women with daughter together one dwelling two were  
coordconn cop n Nsfx Nrel adv ptcp cop

It was a woman and her daughter together who lived there.

Audio and transcription: wa ta wí with clear preaspiration, instead of expected wat a wí

Expected repetition of comitative wál on the second noun.

- 7.2 tyktáálíímaswaci , aaqu wáté tyktáálíímaswaci .  
mountain  
n

They were hiding in the mountains.

Audio: no glottalization in wáté. tyktinú is an error.

- 7.3 amq<sup>h</sup>á wáté tyktáát<sup>h</sup>uumi , má áncá tyktóómúntíwí .  
in that way arrived and then looked around  
adv v coordconn v

They arrived there and then scouted around.

Audio: q<sup>h</sup>á wáté tykidʔ tykita wa tykidʔ<sup>ʔ</sup> tykidʔ tykita wa tykitó' ... <break> tykitá t<sup>h</sup>u mi mánca tykitó mántíw<sup>ʔ</sup>

7.4 **úúlóqma we palá tim ímííci' wáté tyknááláátáawaci qa čísíícaní'**  
 evening then already indeed descending? at fetched water the girl  
 adv adv adv emph ptcp adv v def n

**tyknááláátáawaci qá as** .

dipped water the water  
 v def n

In the evening, already dusk, the girl was going to fetch water, dipping water.

Audio: héw ?ú·lókma bəlá? tím ?í·mí·ci wáté cuwe tskəlá·tá·wajy aqa .. qa čísí·caní? tywiníl·á·tá·waci qá as·.

Compare čup tímí·ci "duck down quick" čup wámí·ci "dove down; sank quickly"

7.5 **amqhá tóólol tyktalıíyaaci** .

but all observed closely  
 coordconn quant v

So they closely observed everything.

The took note of her habits.

7.6 **má ánca qa ááwíícan amqhá tykáátéemí má tykwácaapúúpi qa tatyi tíyi**  
 and then the but went out and picked up pieces the mother be  
 coordconn def coordconn v coordconn v def n cop

And she went out and picked up pieces of wood for her mother.

Audio: qa ní·nínca omitted before qa tatyi tí·yi

Picked up twigs, sticks, etc., any kind of wood. Compare wáca·qí·sí "broke off limbs", wácasacci "picked up (good wood)"

7.7 **má ánca tyktíñaahya amqhá qa kac'úúni tóhyi tykúuwí tykwaméécaswaci qa**  
 and then rebuilt fire but the their make fire was was shining the  
 coordconn v coordconn def pers ptcp cop v def

**kac'úúni titawaayi , taqqáwcan timmahqi , amqhá tykúuwí tykwaméécaswaci ,**  
 their cook anything roast but was was shining  
 pers ptcp n ptcp coordconn cop v

**amqhá tyktúuwí tyktiñímmáaci** .

but two were they two saw  
 coordconn cop v

Then she started building a fire, so it was their fire being built, they saw the light of their cooking, roasting something, so it was they saw a light, that's what they two saw.

Audio: má ánc tyktíñahh<sup>y</sup> táwa ?amqhá c<sup>h</sup> .. qa kac'ú·ni tóhyi tyəkú·wí tykwamé·caswaci qá titawa·ya qá kac'ú·tám·i· kúci, taq'áwcan tim·a·qé amqhá c<sup>h</sup>əkú·wí ckwamé·caswaci; qhá ckitú·wí ckituñim·á·ci

Written taqá·?ucan tim·aqe

7.8 **má ánca we íaq'hápá částílcan mahhíkca tykwatacéptaswaci** .

and then then again about three night they watched  
 coordconn adv adv quant n v

Then they watched again four nights or so.

Transcript: omitted amqhá tytál·í before tykwatacéptaswaci

7.9 **má ánca tyktápte** .

and then two went  
 coordconn v

Then they left.

8.1 **má áncá cýééwa múw c<sup>h</sup>ú lhí** ?  
 and then in what way it must be how let's do!  
 coordconn pro-form cop pro-form v

What in the world can we do?

8.2 **mám lhíítapwá qá piq<sup>h</sup>á qá ís yáttíwci** .  
 and we two might help the this the person ones who fight  
 coordconn v def deic def n v

We might help these people who are fighting.

Audio: mã· lhí· tap[w<sup>h</sup>]a· qá piq<sup>h</sup>a qa ?ís qa yá·túyc yá amq<sup>h</sup>·

Final yá amq<sup>h</sup>á omitted in transcription.

8.3 **amq<sup>h</sup>á cýééwa mów tykisýí** .  
 but in what way it might be said  
 coordconn pro-form cop v

But how could we do it, he said.

8.4 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykisýí qá çáhhááwaka lhínímíiwacíw tykisýí** .  
 but said the little spider let's us two get reborn said  
 coordconn v def n v v

So Spider spoke, saying let's get reborn.

Wrote glottalization on the corrected form lhíní·mí·wacíw (LR9.16 reverse)

Audio: q<sup>h</sup>á tykisýí əqa· qá çáhá·waka· .. lhíní·míiwac<sup>h</sup>·, lhíní·mí·nacíw<sup>h</sup>· .. tykisý<sup>h</sup>·

8.5 **má lhúpta q<sup>h</sup>é wáté ma smtínís q<sup>h</sup>é qa**  
 and let's us two go! that at and let her drink me accidentally that the  
 coordconn deic adv coordconn deic def  
**çisícaníwaka smtínís , má málínímína tykisýí** .  
 little girl let her drink me accidentally and let her give birth to me said  
 n coordconn v v

Let's go over there and let that girl accidentally drink me, and so let her give birth to me, he said.

Audio: mã· lhúpta mã q<sup>h</sup>é· wáté· ?əq<sup>h</sup>sil? .. mãm .. ? smítínís .. qa q<sup>h</sup>é qa çisí·caní·ka smítínís ... mám mám málínímí·na tykisý<sup>h</sup>·

8.6 **mám , hé tykisýí qa séqtána , té lhí hooká tykisýí** .  
 and hey said the lizard thus let's do! OK said  
 coordconn excl v def n adv v interj v

Yes, said Lizard, OK, let's do that he said.

Wrote glottalization on lhí

Audio: 'mq<sup>h</sup>ə tykisýí a· .. hé· tykisýí a· ... <break> hé tykisýí qa séqtán<sup>h</sup>· .. té lhí· ho·ká tykisýí

8.7 **mám tyktápte** .  
 and two went  
 coordconn v

And they went.

Audio: mã áncá tyktápte we<sup>h</sup>·

9.1 **má áncá qa çisícaní' tykáána qa ááláátááwací qá as** .  
 and then the girl was coming the fetching the water  
 coordconn def n v def ptcp def n

And then the girl was coming to fetch water.

Audio: mã áncá qa·? qo·? qa çsí·caní we tyká·ná qa a·la·tá·wací əqá ?as·

9.2 **tim tim tykwaacuukí** ·

indeed indeed arose hither  
emph emph v

In the dim light she came into view

Audio: voiceless final syllable.

Field gloss: "something coming (they saw)"; but cú seems to do with upward movement.

9.3 **má ánca as sííwa tykyááwayci qá çahháawaka wáka** ·

and then water want caused the little spider agent  
coordconn n v def n Nsfx

Spider made her feel dry for water.

Audio: má ánca ʔas sí wa cʰ tí c tykyá waycí əqáʰ .. çəhá waka wkaʰ .. ʔas sí wa cʰ í s tykyá waycí mám ..

9.4 **qa çisíicani' tykañál-áátáawí kacʰú tálaátaawí wa má ánca tykwassá** ·

the dipped out into his bucket instr and then sang  
def v pers ptcp Nsfx coordconn v

The girl dipped a little water in her bucket and drank.

Bucket (participle álá tá wí in audio looks like "water-fetching") is a tightly woven basket made waterproof with pitch.

Audio: qa qa çsí caní can álá tá wíʰ .. qá kacʰú .. tála ta wí wá má ánca cʰ tykawas a mám ..

9.5 **mam palá' kʰíp tykwaachaé qá tálaátaawí wa mam tykwíníssa qa**

and already plop jumped into water the bucket instr and drank up the  
coordconn adv onom v def ptcp Nsfx coordconn v def

**çisíicani' , tyktíníssíumá qá çahháawaka** ·

girl drank him down the little spider  
v def n

He had already jumped plop into the bucket, and she drank, she drank the spider down too.

Audio: palaʔ kʰíp tykwa çú cíʰ .. kʰíp tykwa çə há qə qʰé əqa tála ta wí cá ta wáté mám .. tykwín í s á qa qʰé qáʔ çisí caníʔ tyktínís íimá qá çə há waka.

9.6 **mám tykyápté qa séqtáná hamísqʰám** ·

and went home the lizard alone  
coordconn def n adv

And Lizard went back alone.

Audio: má ánca we tyktápt ɛ ... má ánca we tykyápté qá ... qa séqtáná hamísqʰám

10.1 **mam çástílcan máttíkcan palá' úcí' , amqʰááwáté tykísýí qa çisíicani** :

and about three day already while said the girl  
coordconn quant n adv coordconn v def n

**táq wáka sa stitúwáátum , myoq myoq wiýí , tykísýí** ·

something indefinite I am bothered by nudge nudge he is said  
pro-form post v onom onom cop v

After about three days, the girl spoke, something is bothering me, it's moving around, she said.

Audio: mam çástíl mát íkca bəlá ʔu .. bəlá ʔuciʰʰ ... qʰá wáté tykísýí a qa çsí canʰ táqʰ wákasa zdíduwá túwí myoq myoq ʔuwé tykísýí.

Glossed: about four

10.2 **qá ittʰú pínnoók myoq myoq wiýí tykísýí** ·

the my stomach nudge nudge he is said  
def pers n onom onom cop v

It's moving around in my stomach, she said.

- 10.3 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykisýí qa tatýí tíyí : sáwtu umá tkíuwí tykisýí .**  
but said the mother be pregnant maybe(?) you evidently want said  
coordconn v def n cop adj v v

Then her mother said maybe you're pregnant.

Audio: q<sup>h</sup>á tykisýí a amínínca, ə sáw<sup>h</sup>tu ʔumá tkíuwí tkuluwí tykisý<sup>h</sup>

Transcript: LR rejected tkuluwí, which I wrote as tkuw(i). Expect [participle] wa kíuwí = you want to [verb].

- 10.4 **táq sa ya t<sup>h</sup>túuwí tykisýí .**  
what indefinite emph said  
pro post Nsfx v

What in the world is it, she said.

Audio: táq sa yat<sup>h</sup>úuwí tykisýí<sup>h</sup>

- 10.5 **kí wáli qa ýályú ka tmowáátiika ?**  
thus kind(?) the man agent evidently is for you?  
adv def n Nsfx cop

Who is the man that did that to you?

Audio: ki<sup>h</sup>wáli .. qa ýályú<sup>h</sup> ka kiní<sup>h</sup> ki<sup>h</sup>wáli ʔa<sup>h</sup> c<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup> qá ýályú<sup>h</sup> ka tykwá<sup>h</sup>ti<sup>h</sup>ka tykisý<sup>h</sup>

Sounds like assimilation -á<sup>h</sup>ti<sup>h</sup>ka > -á<sup>h</sup>ti<sup>h</sup>ka > -á<sup>h</sup>ti<sup>h</sup>-ka (where -<sup>h</sup> is ʔ reduced to laryngealization) > -á<sup>h</sup>ti<sup>h</sup>ka. Note change in vowel quality from ɪ (target for short vowel) to i (target for long vowel in open syllable).

- 10.6 **cé suwí tínímmááci ýályú tykisýí .**  
not I am see man said  
Neg cop ptcp n v

I haven't seen a man, she said.

- 10.7 **cé ýuwí tykisýí .**  
not it is said  
Neg cop v

That's not it, she said.

- 10.8 **ikk<sup>h</sup>im tsuwí sáácaǎci tyíísíní .**  
nothing I am I got up she said  
n cop v v

It just happened to me, she said.

- 10.9 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykúuwí qa pín<sup>h</sup>nók wawá tykacééǎumi .**  
but was the stomach big began becoming  
coordconn cop def n adj v

Her stomach began getting bigger.

Audio: mam<sup>h</sup> .. q<sup>h</sup>á tykú<sup>h</sup>wí wawá<sup>h</sup> mánca tyuwi a pín<sup>h</sup>ók wawá tyka<sup>h</sup>cé<sup>h</sup>ǎum<sup>h</sup>

LR's gloss: commenced getting bigger

- 10.10 **sáwtu tím t<sup>h</sup>ííyuwí t<sup>h</sup>ááyuwí tykwapsíwci qa ámínínca .**  
pregnant indeed(?) it evidently is it evidently is thought the old woman  
adj adv v cop v def n

She's definitely pregnant, thought the old lady.

Sounds like tsíuwí but transcript (LR9.21) says t<sup>h</sup>í<sup>h</sup>yuwí

Transcript: LR omitted ... má áncia we<sup>h</sup> .. má áncia we kac pá "she indeed"

10.11 **má áncá cé tuccó k<sup>h</sup>am tímáqci , mám cé tuccó p<sup>h</sup>óc tupte tykisyí .**  
 and then not do many travel and not do distant going said  
 coordconn Neg v quant ptcp coordconn Neg v adv ptcp v

Don't walk a lot, and don't go far, she said.

Audio: mám qa cé qa ʔd .. mám cé tykisyí .. cé tuc'ó tim'áq cé tuc'ó có' có tuc'ó p<sup>h</sup>óc tupte tykisyí

10.12 **it mim mlááláátááwac tykisyí qa ámínínca .**  
 1sg only I will go for water said the old woman  
 pers adj v v def n

I'll go for water myself, said the old lady.

Audio: ʔit mim lálá'tá:waci' tykisyí ʌq ʌmínínca'

10.13 **mám kac mi tykánáláátááwaci .**  
 and he you (singular) fetched water  
 coordconn pers pers v

And she fetched water herself.

Audio: mám kác mi tsilá'tá:waci amq<sup>h</sup>a tykisyí ... (runs into next sentence).

11.1 **amq<sup>h</sup>a tykisyí qa séqtánááwaka : it pá , it pá , it pá**  
 but said the little lizard 1sg indeed 1sg indeed 1sg indeed  
 coordconn v def n pers adv pers adv pers adv

**háné' ká línímína tykisyí , má stuwaycáo tykisyí .**  
 in some way indeed I'll be born again said and let me be born! said  
 adv adv v v coordconn v v

Then Lizard said I'll be born again, I will, I will, I will, so let me be born too, he said.

11.2 **tykwaat<sup>h</sup>éewí pínnoók watém uci kam tykwaat<sup>h</sup>éewí , mam he tykisyí .**  
 heard stomach in doing agent heard and OK said  
 v n Nsfx ptcp post v coordconn loan v

(Spider) heard, even though he was in (the girl's) belly, he heard, and he said OK.

Audio: amq<sup>h</sup>a tykwa'thé'wí q<sup>h</sup>é a pín'ók watém ʔuci? kam tykwa'thé'wí' ... mám .. mám .. šawtu ɪd šʔ .. mám tykʌʔ .. hé' tykís'

11.3 **mam tykañáláátááwí qa ámínínca , má áncá tykwassá qá as .**  
 and dipped out into the old woman and then sang the water  
 coordconn v def n coordconn v def n

Then the old lady dipped water, and then she drank it.

Audio: mám tykañálá'tá:wí qa mínínca má áncá tykawas'á qá ʔas.

11.4 **amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté palá' k<sup>h</sup>ip tykwaacaa<sup>h</sup>í , mám tykwíníssá qa amínínca .**  
 while already hop jumped into water and drank up the old woman  
 coordconn adv onom v coordconn v def n

By then he had already jumped kip! into the water, and the old woman drank it up.

11.5 **qa séqtánááwaka tykitínísisúma .**  
 the little lizard was swallowed  
 def n v

Lizard was drunk up with the water.

Audio: táq<sup>h</sup>a lí' .. čhʔ .. qa séqtánáwaka tyktínís'íim'

12.1 **má áncia we částíl čul palá' sáwtuuwí' tykúuwí** ·

and then then three times sun already pregnant was  
coordconn adv adv n adv adj cop

Then in three months she was already visibly pregnant.

Written čul

Audio: má áncia we' částíl čul' blá' ? sáwtuw' i' ? tyəgúuw'

12.2 **mám hákím sáwtuwí tyktuwí** ·

and two of you or us pregnant two were  
coordconn quant adj cop

And both of them were pregnant.

Written hákím and ckituwí Audio: emphasis on last syllable of sáwtuwí, vs. lowered stress on tykiduw'

12.3 **má áncia we qa q'hé qa čisícáni amq'há ýalyúlcan tykááwayci** ·

and then then the that the girl but little boy gave birth  
coordconn adv def deic def coordconn n v

Then that girl bore a little boy.

Audio: má ... má áncia we' ?á q'hé ʌqa wa čs'icani? ... ?amq'há .. ýalyúlcan tyká wayci

12.4 **má áncia částílcan čul qa ámínínca kac pá ýalyúlcan tykááwayci kac ámánytu** ·

and then about three sun the old woman he indeed little boy gave birth he also  
coordconn quant n def n pers adv n v pers adv

And then in another three months the old woman herself bore a little boy as well.

Written čul

Audio: ə má áncia .. má áncia částílcan čul? ʌmq'há' a' qamínínca piq'há tykwayka' tykwačíl' é'p'h'i tykú'wi s i' ýalyúlcan tyká wayci kác ?a' máy' tu'

12.5 **mam tétwí kú styáuwaátumá tykisýí** ·

and future would be wrt us said  
coordconn Vpfx cop v

Audio: mam ... čyé' wa tétwí tétwúikúí scóuwá' tumá tykisý'

Written tétwúy' kú scáuwa' tuma (LR 9.23) "gonna kill it (from) us" and tétwúykí sc'hó' wá' tumá (LR 9.22 reverse) "they'll kill us all"

Elsewhere styóuwá' tumá

12.6 **qa piq'há wáslíwci amq'háka tinímmác kú ýuwá , má tit'héw kú ýuwá**  
the this but find future it will be and hear future it will be  
def deic adv ptcp Vpfx cop coordconn ptcp Vpfx cop

**qa tóó'íci' tykisýí** ·

the weep said  
def ptcp v

These soldiers will find (our babies), because they'll hear the crying, she said.

Audio: qa piq'há wáslíwci ?amq'háka .. tiním'ác kúci ýuwá , má tit'héw kú ýuwá qa tó'í'ci tykisýí .

12.7 **má lhíícal tykisýí** ·

and let's conceal said  
coordconn v v

Let's hide them, she said.



12.8 **cýééwa mów ihíícaí tykisýí** .  
 in what way it might be let's conceal said  
 pro-form cop v v

However are we going to hide them, she said.

12.9 **tíícaalí wa tykyúuwí amq<sup>h</sup>ákam , cé tyktuwí tíníícaalí** .  
 conceal continue was but not two were conceal again  
 ptcp Vroot cop coordconn Neg cop ptcp

They wanted to hide them, but they couldn't.

Audio: tí'ca'lí wa ckíyúuwí , ʔamq<sup>h</sup>ákam cé tyktuwí tíní'ca'lí .

12.10 **mám p<sup>h</sup>óc aamá tykáátéémílí qa amínínca , amá p<sup>h</sup>óc tykáátéémílí qá**  
 and distant entirely took them out the old woman but distant took them out the  
 coordconn adv adv v def n adv adv v def

**tit<sup>h</sup>éw kú tucci qa toótííci** .

hear future not doing the cry  
 ptcp Vpfx ptcp def ptcp

So the old woman took them far out, she took them far out where their crying wouldn't be heard.

Second clause audio: qa mám p<sup>h</sup>óc amá tykápté'lí -- this is "she went" plus unexplained -lí. Compare tytápté'ní (CG) "they went (remote past)".

For quite a while, until the boys were 3-4 years old, to a place where she could watch too.

12.11 **amq<sup>h</sup>a tykiý qa q<sup>h</sup>é qa ýályúłcan tístí wawá mékcihé' tykúúwí** .  
 but was the one who the that the boy good big more he was  
 coordconn cop def deic def n adv adj adv cop

So that boy was, in a good way he grew big .

Audio: ʔamq<sup>h</sup>a ... ʔə tykiý amq<sup>h</sup>a əqa ýályúłcan mam, tístí wawá mékcihé' c<sup>h</sup>akúuwó .

Bigger than one would expect for his age.

Written mékcihé'?

12.12 **láltíwcan aayáqti tykúw** .  
 five added on she was  
 n ptcp cop

He was over 5 years old.

Audio: maybe .. maybe ... lát'íwcanəwate ʔáyéqti' c<sup>h</sup>akúw' .

Flattening of pitch across wate (low) and ʔáyéqti' (high), the latter written ʔáyéqti'ʔi

12.13 **mam wisunt<sup>h</sup>ótke amq<sup>h</sup>a tykiý tykwaííci** .  
 and one who is mindful but was wept  
 coordconn ptcp coordconn cop v

Though he was old enough to understand, he cried loud.

Entire last word laryngealized up to the devoiced final syllable.

13.1 **amq<sup>h</sup>a tykisýí qa íslíwci' qa ýályú : tít<sup>h</sup>ánaáya tykisýí , sóot<sup>h</sup>éewí maníłcan**  
 but said the the man listen! said I heard child  
 coordconn v def def n v v v n

**waííci' wíc wit<sup>h</sup>anuwí** .

weeps resembling one was  
 v ptcp cop

So one of the men fighting spoke, he said "listen! I heard what sounds like a child crying."

Audio: só<sup>ˈ</sup>tʰé·wí ʔo<sup>ˈ</sup>t<sup>ˈ</sup> cʰkʷónikcàn wó·tí·cí wíc wi<sup>h</sup>anuwí tykisý<sup>ˈ</sup>

13.2 **we tykwat<sup>h</sup>ánaayíwci** ·

then listened together

adv v

They listened together.

Audio: wé· ckwát<sup>h</sup>·ana·ýi<sup>ˈ</sup>

Written ckwa·t<sup>h</sup>ána·ýiw<sup>ˈ</sup>·cí

13.3 **móníkcan tím twiyí tykisýí** ·

children indeed(?) he is said

n adv cop v

"It's a child, all right" they said.

Audio: mó·nikcan tím twií tykisý<sup>ˈ</sup>.

13.4 **má áncá tykwintúwááya toólól ła , tykwintúwááya qá aq̄o toólól ła** ·

and then they looked for everywhere they looked for the everywhere

coordconn v adj v def adj

Then they looked for it all over, they searched all over the mountain.

Audio: máncá, tykwintáwá·ya<sup>ˈ</sup> .. dó·lól̄la, tykwintáwá·ya qá aq̄o dó·lól̄la

13.5 **amq<sup>h</sup>áka tykwiñímmáaci we qá čisícani' , qa ýalyúlcan , líícal tykwapsíwci**

but saw then the girl the boy I'll hide! thought

adv v adv def n def n v v

So they found the girl and the little boy trying to hide.

Audio: má amq<sup>h</sup>áka tykwinʔím·á·ca we .. qá qəʔ čisí·cani<sup>ˈ</sup> .. qa ýalyúlcan cə amq<sup>h</sup>a<sup>ˈ</sup> .. lí·cal tykwapsíwci ·

"They were trying to hide" is literally "I'll hide' they thought"

13.6 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykitílúlástuwáumá má áncá tykaptéelí** ·

but dragged away from and then took

coordconn v coordconn v

Then they dragged him away from her, and took him.

Audio: ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á tykitílúlástuwáim<sup>ˈ</sup> · má áncá tykapté·l<sup>ˈ</sup> ·

13.7 **we tykwáámuucumí qa čisícani'** ·

then watched the girl

adv v def n

The girl watched.

Wrote časí·cani<sup>ˈ</sup>?

Audio: kapté·lí má áncá, máy tykwá·mú·čmí əqa qa q čí·caní cipt

13.8 **hééwís tykañáátikk<sup>h</sup>é , má áncá tykwáámástaswací** ·

high climbed up and then

adv v coordconn

She went higher up the mountain, and she was watching.

Audio: ʔá·listi hé·wís etc.

13.9 **má áncá tykwacéptaswaci ýuhhééwáytu** ·

and then watched

coordconn v

And then she was watching from hiding.

13.10 qa álisti ipʰeekaswací wáté tykwanééyístumi .

the rock	hung upon
def n	v

They tied him up on the face of a big rock.

Audio: weʔ I don't know qa ʔálisti .. ʔálisti ʔipheːkaswaci ʔamqʰáːwáté tykwanéːyístumː.

LR: they tied him on or hung him on where the big flat rock (like a cliff) was facing.

13.11 má áncá tykwíntuʔtʔíísiwci , toólol tykwatuswííli qa ʕíllíq wílóo .

and then	all	shot to pieces	the child	deceased
coordconn	quant	v	def n	post

Then they all shot at him, they shot the child's body to pieces with their arrows.

Audio: má áncá tykwíntuť í síwci , tó'lol tykwád' ku tykwač'iswí'lí əqa .. qa číl'ég wílóo .

14.1 má áncá we úlóqma mahhíkca wé tóólol tykyápte .

and then	then	evening	night	well	all	went
coordconn	adv	n	n	adv	quant	v

Then as night was falling they all left.

Audio: má ánca we ʔúlóqma mahékca wé tó·lol ckyápte (runs immediately into amq<sup>h</sup>á·wáté in the next sentence)

14.2 amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté háné' ká lím<sup>h</sup>maamac tykwapsíwci , taqqálcán umá  
 while in some way indeed I'm going to watch thought something maybe(?)  
 coordconn adv adv v v pro-form

**sli'íníumá tykwapsíwci ·**

I might find thought

$$V \quad V$$

Somehow I should look there, she thought, maybe I might find something, she thought.

14.3 **má áncia tykwacéptaswaci** .

and then watched  
coordconn v

Then she was keeping watch.

A break in the recording before this.

14.4 **má áncia tykáátánúmí .**

and then stepped down  
coordconn v

Then she stepped down.

Audio: má ánja tyká'tánmi.

14.5 tóólol qá islíwci' , amq<sup>h</sup>á tóólol tykyá , čas wíc ísunwí .

all	the	but	all	went	silence	resembling	sensing
quant	def	coordconn	quant	v	adv	ptcp	ptcp

All the fighting men, all of them had gone, it seemed quiet.

14.6 mam tykápté .

and went  
coordconn v

and she went.

Audio: devoiced final vowel.

14.7 q<sup>h</sup>é qa tíná húúcowoyyáté tykáát<sup>h</sup>uumí .

that the arrived thither  
deic def v

She came to the place where they hung him up.

Audio: qa q<sup>h</sup>é· qa tiné·yíqá [tné·yí?q<sup>h</sup>Λ] tíná h·ú·cowoy áté cká·t<sup>h</sup>um<sup>ʔ</sup>

14.8 má ánca tykwíncéskikántíwí .

and then looked around  
coordconn v

Then she searched around

14.9 qá cílahpíiwaté ahti coh icaatúmówóoyí' , amq<sup>h</sup>á tykwacáasaacci .

the on a leaf blood drip recently got onto but picked up  
def adv n onom ptcp coordconn v

Some blood had fallen on a leaf, so she picked it up.

Audio: qá cílahpí wáté .. ?amq<sup>h</sup>á·wáté coh ica·túmó?ó·yí? , ?amq<sup>h</sup>á ckwačasatš

14.10 má ánca qá t<sup>h</sup>iyyíwaka tykwíńímmáaci , q<sup>h</sup>é tykwacaasaacci , má ánca qa

and then the bit of hair saw that picked up and then the  
coordconn def n v deic v coordconn def

ahtiwaté tykwanééqaalí .

with blood wrapped up

adv v

Then she found a bit of hair, picked it up, and wrapped it up together with the blood.

Audio: má ánca qá t<sup>h</sup>iyyíwaka ?amq<sup>h</sup>á táq<sup>h</sup>ápá .. tykwíńí·má·ci , ma q<sup>h</sup>é· tykwacasaacci , má ánca qa a<sup>ʔ</sup> ... ?ahtiwaté tykwané·qá·lǝ .

Wrote ?ahtiwaté

14.11 má ánca mísuććika wílóo upliimowoyí' tykwíńímmáaci , ma q<sup>h</sup>é

and then piece of meat former former pieces saw and that  
coordconn n Nsfx n v coordconn deic

tykwácaasaacci .

picked up in hand

v

Then she found a small piece of flesh, the size of a little finger, and she picked that up.

Audio: má ánca mí·suććika wíló amq<sup>h</sup>á tkykə?·òp' lím·o?oyí amq<sup>h</sup>á tykwíńím·á·ci , ma q<sup>h</sup>é· tywínca·saacci .

Wrote mí·suććeka. tykwíncasaacci = picked it up again, corrected to tykwá·ca·saacci, with length probably hypercorrection.

14.12 cíwciwaka amq<sup>h</sup>áawaté cóónúnóówaka , cókca cíwciwaka wílóo

piece of bone while little one small piece of bone former  
n coordconn pro-form adj n Nsfx

tupsikwooyí' tykwíńímmáaci ma q<sup>h</sup>é tykwíncaasaacci .

recently break small piece found and that picked up

ptcp v coordconn deic v

She found a little piece of a small bone and picked that up too.

Audio: má ánca cíwci waka· ?amq<sup>h</sup>á·wáté? .. có·núnó·waka cíwci waka amq<sup>h</sup>á ... Λ tupsiko·yí? amq<sup>h</sup>á tykwíńím·á·ci ma q<sup>h</sup>é· tykíncasə?tšǝ .

14.13 **má áncia tykwanééqaaali , tykwanééqaaali má áncia tykyápte , tykyaptéélí .**  
 and then wrapped up wrapped up and then went took back  
 coordconn v v coordconn v v

Then she wrapped it all up (in moss), wrapped it up, and then went home, she took it back home with her.

Audio: má áncia tykwané·qá·lí ··· tykwané·qá·lí má áncia tykyápte , tykyapté·lí .

15.1 **má áncia qa kac<sup>h</sup>ú títáhiimi ithi tykwínáácali .**  
 and then the his pillow under side concealed  
 coordconn def pers ptcp n v

Then she hid it under her pillow.

Audio: máncia qa kac<sup>h</sup>ú títáhey tít .. qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú tít·á·hístumaswáciyáté ámq<sup>h</sup>á·wáté ithe .. tykwaku? .. tykwa tykwíná·ca·lí .

Field gloss: Bundled under her head at head of bed. Compare tilahístum· "where she put her head" (LR9.29 reverse)

15.2 **mám tykwálááhaací , cástíl mahhíkca tykwálááhaací .**  
 and slept with three times night slept with  
 coordconn v adv n v

And she slept with it several nights.

Audio: mám ckwálá·ha·cí , cástíl máhékca ckwálá·ha·cí .

15.3 **cástíl máttíkca má mahhíkca tykwálááhaací .**  
 three times day and night slept with  
 adv n coordconn n v

Three days and nights she slept with it.

Audio: q·a céwco? .. ce· əqa cástíl mát·íkca mát·íkca mah·íkca mq<sup>h</sup>a·wáté·

15.4 **myuq myuq tykiyi kac<sup>h</sup>ú títahiimiíyáté .**  
 nudge nudge was his at pillow  
 onom onom cop pers adv

She felt it stir where she laid her head.

audio: myoq myoq ?uci wíc tykiyi əqá kac<sup>h</sup>ú títah·e·mí yáté· .

15.5 **amq<sup>h</sup>ákam ik<sup>h</sup>im sáwaasáqcámí tsuwí tykwapsíwci .**  
 but merely I dream I am thought  
 coordconn adv v cop v

But she thought "I'm only dreaming".

Audio: ?əmq<sup>h</sup>ákam ik<sup>h</sup>im sáwa·sákcámí chuw·í· .. ckəwapsi·wci

15.6 **mam cé tykúuwí tínímmátsí wa tíci .**  
 and not was wake up continue doing  
 coordconn Neg cop ptcp Vroot v

She didn't want to wake up.

Audio: mamə? cé tykú·w ?əq<sup>h</sup>ákam? .. tyká·ma·ti

15.7 **tykáámaati .**  
 went to bed  
 v

She slept.

15.8 **sil** **tykáńáumá kac<sup>h</sup>ú tummááti** .

small movement be again his sleeping  
onom cop pers ptcp

She was trying to go back to sleep.

15.9 **će** **tykúuwí** **tálílláqti** **tínímmátsi** , **kítím** **ummaatí** **wíc** **yééwa** , **će**  
not was like wake up still sleeping resembling in manner(?) not  
Neg cop ptcp ptcp adv ptcp ptcp adv Neg

**tykúuwí myuq ticci** .

was nudge do  
cop onom ptcp

She didn't want to wake up, acting just as though asleep she didn't move

Audio: *će tykúuwí tálílláqti tínímmátsi* , *ʔuwantis* .. *s kítím c<sup>h</sup>* .. *ʔum'a'tí wícýé'wa ce tuçj* ... *će tykúw myoq tic'j* .

15.10 **amq<sup>h</sup>áakam myuq myuq tykiyí** .

but nudge nudge was  
coordconn onom onom cop

But it kept moving.

Audio: *ʔamq<sup>h</sup>áʔkam myoq myoq ma tykiyí má áncia we'* ...

15.11 **tykticáámáqcumá qa láh** , **tykticáámáqcumá qa t<sup>h</sup>iyyí** .

one touched her the head one touched her the hair  
v def n v def n

It touched her head, it touched her hair.

Audio: *ʔidctkicám'á'cuma qa láh* , *amq<sup>h</sup>á ckticám'á'cumaca qa t<sup>h</sup>iy'í* ... *ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á tykticám sxó'*

15.12 **qá t<sup>h</sup>iyyí amq<sup>h</sup>á tykticámćulumá** .

the hair but played with  
def n coordconn v

So it played with her hair.

Audio: *ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á tykticámćul'*

15.13 **má áncia tykwińímmátsí** .

and then woke up  
coordconn v

Then she woke up.

Audio: *má áncia tykwińímú'mátsi tó'lol*

15.14 **amq<sup>h</sup>áakam kítím tykááwaaci** , **kitím tykwincéépaahaswaci** .

but still sat still still kept eyes shut  
coordconn adv v adv v

But she just stayed still with her eyes closed.

Audio: *ʔamq<sup>h</sup>áakam kítím tyká'wa'ci* , *kitím tykwincéépaahaswaci* .

15.15 **má áncia qa áásá tykticáámáqcumá tóólól lá qa tóómamaké** .

and then the eye one touched her everywhere the face  
coordconn def n v adj def ptcp

Then it touched her face, all over her face.

Audio: *má áncia qa ʔá'sá c ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á* .. *tykticám'á'cuma tó'lólla qa á's'*

It seems clear that she didn't intend to contrast "eyes" with "face" but was using *á'sá* in the sense of "face".

15.16 **amq<sup>h</sup>á** **tykwapsíwci** **ís** **umá** **mínííkááci** , **má** **tṁuwwí** ,  
 but thought person maybe(?) might live and might evidently be  
 coordconn v n v coordconn v

**tykwapsíwci** .

thought

v

So then she thought maybe he's come to life, that might be what's happening.

Audio: ʔa cykísýː .. ckcːkamq<sup>h</sup>á tykwapsíwci ... ʔís ʔumá míníkáːci , má tṁuwí , tykwapsíwci

15.17 **má áncia** **astaymí** **wíccíími** **qá** **kac<sup>h</sup>ú** **íl** , **amq<sup>h</sup>á** **tykwínáássúúci<sup>h</sup>** , **kac<sup>h</sup>ú**  
 and then slowly resembling the his hand but caught hold of his  
 coordconn adv ptcp def pers n coordconn v pers

**íl** **staq** **tywácáásumi** .

hand sticking grabbed

n adj v

Then, slowly, she moved her hand, and caught hold of his hand, grabbed it.

Audio: má áncia ʔastaymí wíc yuwí qá kac<sup>h</sup>ú ʔíl, ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á tykwaːci .. tš cːoː tykwinːáːsúːci qá qːahe ʔíl ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á  
 staq tywácáːsoːmː

Wrote wíccíími ; wrote ʔílla (for the second occurrence, his hand)

Wrote: staq

15.18 **má áncia** **we** **tykalííyaaci** **qa** **kac<sup>h</sup>ú** **ćinnííqaka** **wílóo** .

and then then looked at the his little child former  
 coordconn adv v def pers n Nsfx

Then she looked at her lost little child.

15.19 **q<sup>h</sup>é** **tykúw** .

that she was  
 deic cop

It was him.

15.20 **má áncia** **tykwááćacci** , **má áncia** **tykwáámulki** .

and then got up and then hug  
 coordconn v coordconn v

Then she got up and embraced him.

15.21 **íkéená** **tykisýí** .

you came back said  
 v v

You came back, she said.

15.22 **híí'í** **tykisýí** .

yes said  
 excl v

Yes, he said.

15.23 **će** **skucci** **tíícaali** **tykisýí** .

not you shouldn't do me said  
 Neg v v

You shouldn't hide me any more, he said.

Audio: má ăc we će stucːó tíːcaːli weː tykisýí .

15.24 **it mim wináátapítaswacóóké' kucí tsiyí tykisýí** .  
 1sg only one takes care of self future I am said  
 pers adj v cop v

I'll take care of myself from now on, he said.

15.25 **mám cé tykúuwí tíícaali** .  
 and not was  
 coordconn Neg cop

And she didn't hide him.

16.1 **amq<sup>h</sup>ákam kac<sup>h</sup>ú wác<sup>h</sup>úúwí tíícaalí wa tykúuwí** .  
 but his conceal continue wanted  
 coordconn pers ptcp Vroot v

But her grandmother wanted to hide him.

Audio: ʔamq<sup>h</sup>ákam ʔamq<sup>h</sup>ákam qa amínínca tííca·lí wa tykúuwí<sup>ʔ</sup>

16.2 **má umá tykáátéemílí qá lóqmim áamá , tykwínáácaalí**  
 plant maybe(?) took them out the early in the morning nevertheless concealed again  
 Vroot v def adv coordconn v

**ámá , amq<sup>h</sup>ákam cé tykisýí tíícaalákí** .  
 nevertheless but not said conceal hither  
 coordconn coordconn Neg v ptcp

Then she took them out early in the morning, but she hid them nevertheless, though he said not to hide him.

Field gloss: (he) didn't want to be hid.

Audio: mómá tyká té mílí qá lóqmim ʔámá mǝ, tykwíná·cà·lí amq<sup>h</sup>ákam má c<sup>ʔ</sup> .. cé tykisýí tí·cà·láge<sup>ʔ</sup> .

Wrote mómá as má·má glossed "then" but it sounds like mómá. Final vowel sounds like voiceless e but could be i as written.

16.3 **má áanca we wawá mékcihé' tykúuwí** .  
 and then then big more was  
 coordconn adv adj adv cop

Then they grew up some more.

Audio: sounds like mékcihe (plain h, no final glottal stop)

Written mékcihe?

16.4 **málúsíl má amq<sup>h</sup>á tykúuwí wíc yééwa tykúuwí** .  
 about ten and but was resembling in manner(?) was  
 quant coordconn coordconn cop ptcp adv cop

They were about ten.

Audio: málúsíl lém? .. málúsíl m?.. málúsíl má .. ʔm? ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á tykúuw<sup>ʔ</sup> .. wícýé·wa tykúuw<sup>ʔ</sup>

16.5 **má áanca tykisýí wé tykisýí wé phóccááláytu únnówooyí' tsiyí tykisýí** .  
 and then said well said well from far away formerly coming I am said  
 coordconn v adv v adv adv ptcp cop v

Then he spoke, now I came from far away, he said.

Audio: má áanca tykisýí wé tykiss .. wé· phóc á·láytu ʔún·óʔo·yí<sup>h</sup> chiyí chagkiss.

16.6 **má tátapýi íwci wa tsóócííní qa séqtáná wal slháánííní tykisýí**  
 and help together continue I should have done the lizard with we two came said  
 coordconn ptcp adv Vroot cop def n Nsfx v v

I wanted to help, that's why Lizard and I came here, he said.



Audio: má ʔʰ ʔsː tátapː iʔéwci ʋa tšóːcíní sá ní ní tykisýí . slhá ní ní tykisýí , qa séqtánáwal slahá ní ní tykisýí .  
Transcript: also tátapýéʔíwci

I have merged this obvious correction of "I came" to "we two came, I and Lizard" into a single sentence, preserving the original in LR: Misc.

16.7 **má** **tít<sup>h</sup>alúúmi** **kú** **suwá** **tykisýí** .  
and work future I will be said  
coordconn ptcp Vpfx v v

Now I'm going to work, he said.

Audio: kúci instead of kú

Wrote epenthetic -t<sup>h</sup>ólúum-

16.8 **amq<sup>h</sup>á** **tykisýí** **qá** **tatýí** **tíyí** **cé** **tuccó** **tykisýí** **cé** **tuccóo** **tupte** **móhya**  
but said the mother be not do said not not do going near  
coordconn v def n cop Neg v v Neg v ptcp adv

**tikéemi** , **álihwóq̣wací** **twiyí** , **yatwí** **tkówááticka** **tykisýí** .  
be in spatial relationship he is kills are to you said  
ptcp cop v cop v

But his mother said don't, don't go near them! They're bad. They'll kill you, she said.

Transcript: omitted tupte; having two participles after cé tuc'ó may be ungrammatical. Wrote yatwí tkówá<sup>t</sup>hika

Audio: this and the next two sentences run on together with little pause, reflecting the speech of the upset mother.

Audio: ʔálihwóq̣wací twiyí déy yatwí yetwí kú wá ticka tykisýí

16.9 **amq<sup>h</sup>ákam** **tykwalakúúyiimí** .  
but kept arguing  
coordconn v

But he kept arguing.

Transcript: c<sup>h</sup>kwaː laː kúːyí mí

16.10 **má** **sápte** **kúci** **má** **tsisýí** **tykisýí** .  
and I'm going to go and I said said  
coordconn v coordconn v v

But I'm going, that's why I told you.

Field gloss: I'm gonna go | that's why I said

16.11 **má** **ticuccááké** **tykisýí** **qá** **kac<sup>h</sup>ú** **tatýí** **ticuucááké** , **má**  
and comb your hair! said the his mother comb oneself and  
coordconn v v def pers n ptcp coordconn

**téépástaycóóké'** **tykisýí** .  
tie your hair up in bun said  
v v

And he told his mother comb your hair and tie it up in a big knot on top.

Wrote ticuːc<sup>h</sup>áːké

17.1 **mam** **acpú** **tykwínt<sup>h</sup>anyá** **qá** **kac<sup>h</sup>ú** **tatýí** .  
and true she believed the his mother  
coordconn adj v def pers n

Then she believed he was telling the truth.

Audio: mam acpú tykwítanyá qá q<sup>h</sup>é əqa amín? .. qá tatýí tí yí (observe loss of nasalization)

Transcript: c<sup>h</sup>kuwínt<sup>h</sup>anyá

17.2 **mám** **tykwacuccááké** , **má áncá** **tykyaapástaycóóké** **qa** **t<sup>h</sup>iyyí** **tykyaapástaycóóké**  
 and combed and then tied hair up in bun the hair tied hair up in bun  
 coordconn v coordconn v def n v

Then she combed her hair and tied it up in a big bun.

17.3 **má áncá** **we** **tíníísak** **tykisýí** , **t<sup>h</sup>úší** **tíśaswaci** **tíníísak** **tykisýí** .  
 and then then get dressed! said good get dressed! said  
 coordconn adv v v adj v v

Then he said dress up! Get dressed in your best clothes, he said.

Wrote tíníśak

17.4 **tykwińíssiiké** **qá** **tatýí** **tííyí** .  
 dressed self again the mother be  
 v def n cop

His mother got dressed up.

Audio: tykwińíśi:ké qa ʔámínincʔ qá tatýí tíyí . tykwińíśi:ké amqhá daskuçi tíśaswaci

18.1 **má áncá** **we** **tupté** **tykisýí** , **tupté** **má áncá** **hay** **tucóómé'** **kam** **kúúyíílamí**  
 and then then go! said go! and then thoughts not do agent you should go in  
 coordconn adv v v coordconn n ptcp post v

**qa** **wíhííluucan** **ú** **tuukuuwaci** **yate** **tykisýí** .  
 the chief POSS sit at said  
 def v Nsfx ptcp post v

Then he said, go, go without thinking anything about it, go right in where the chief is sitting, he said.

Audio: má áncá we tupté tykisýí , tupté tykisýí ... tupté má áncá? ... táq hay tuc'ámé?kam kú'yí'lumí, kú'yí'lumí  
 qa q<sup>h</sup>é qa wíhélucan ʔú tiʔ tu'kwoʔoycé tí kú'yí'lumí tykisýí .

18.2 **amq<sup>h</sup>ááwa** **sač** **sač** **uci** **kúcí** **twiýí** , **mám** **myuq** **tíníici** **kúcámé'**  
 that's why scared scared doing fut he is and nudge do again will not do  
 coordconn Vstem Vstem ptcp adv cop coordconn onom ptcp post

**twaciwci** **tykisýí** .

they are said  
 cop v

Because of that, they'll feel a chill, and none of them will move.

Audio: kuci ámé? > kucyámé? > kucámé?

Wrote sasac

18.3 **ik<sup>h</sup>im** **talíyac** **kú** **ticéewíipaymi** **kú** **kuwááticka** **tykisýí** .  
 merely look future stare future will be to you said  
 adv ptcp Vpfx ptcp Vpfx cop v

They'll just look, just stare at you, he said.

Audio: taʔ .. ʔik<sup>h</sup>im talí'yac kú ticé'wíšpami kú kuwá'ticka tykisýí .

Wrote kuwá'tik'a

Field gloss: just look at you eyes glued on you

Cf. cé'wíp eyelash + -aymi

18.4 **mám** **kaacámci** , **kóóqiiwátúmi** **qá** **wíhííluucan** , **má áncá** **qa** **ipháté**  
 and you should halt you should approach the chief and then the in front of  
 coordconn v v def v coordconn def post

**kaáčámci tykisýí** ·

you should halt said

v v

You should stop walking, step up to the chief, and then right in front of him you stop walking, he said.

Audio: mám kaáčámci kó·qi·wátúmi qá q<sup>h</sup>é ʌqa wíhé·lu·can , má áncá qa ʔipháté ka·cámci· tykisýí .

18.5 **ó tissí wa lhuwááticka , má tsiyí sáaná** ·

(?) drink continue I am for you and I am I came

Vpfx ptcp Vroot v coordconn cop v

I'll talk for you, that's why I'm going.

Audio: ʔó tis·í·wa lhuwá·tig·a ləhá· sá·ná .

In lhuwá·ticka > lhuwá·tig·a voicing of the k in the final syllable is evidence of the (assimilated) preceding consonant, since a geminate k· would be devoiced. It also illustrates devoicing of plain stop with preaspiration.

18.6 **tínímmáaci wa lhuwá tílaháámiyééwaci wa lhiíwícka tykisýí** ·

see continue I am wrt you to talk with continue I want wrt you said

ptcp Vroot cop ptcp Vroot v v

I want to see you, I want to talk with you, he said

18.7 **kissí tykisýí** ·

you should sing said

v v

You say this, he said.

18.8 **nám kuci kú tíléskáumi amq<sup>h</sup>á wáté mlúúyííluka tykisýí** ·

yet future future in that way I will come in said

adv Vpfx adv v v

You'll still be talking when I'll come in, he said.

Audio: tĩ·k -- nám nám kuci kú tíléskáwmi ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á·wáté m blá· sip ma lim·í· tykisýí<sup>ʔ</sup> , ma lú·yí·luk·a tykisýí<sup>ʔ</sup> .

18.9 **mam kíitáámí tykisýí** ·

and you should go said

coordconn v v

Now you should go, he said.

18.10 **hé tykisýí qa tatýí tííyi** ·

hey said the mother be

excl v def n cop

His mother said yes.

Audio: mám he· tykisýí qa ʔa·mínínca<sup>ʔ</sup>

19.1 **mam tykápte** ·

and went

coordconn v

And she went.

19.2 **tykanáálictii·ki amq<sup>h</sup>ákam tykápte** ·

felt fear but went

v coordconn v

She was scared, but she went.

Wrote ʔamq<sup>h</sup>á·kam

Audio: tykaná·lictí·kí ʔamq<sup>h</sup>ákam tykápte, ʔálictí·kí·kam

19.3 **mam p<sup>h</sup>éesta háy tykúw** ·  
 and these things thoughts she was  
 coordconn pro-form n cop

She was wondering

LR: She was wondering what would happen, what he said, etc.

19.4 **má ánca tykwiñíqáctumí qa wihíílucan ú tuukuuwaci yaté** ·  
 and then opened door the chief POSS sit loc  
 coordconn v def v Nsfx ptcp Vsfx

Then she opened the door to the chief's council place.

Compare tíwáqáctóm̃ open the door!

Audio: **má ánca tykwiñíqáctumí éqá aqa wihé·lucan ?ú tu·ko·waci yaté** ·

19.5 **aqtáwsu tykwáálimmúsŵaci qá aatíwci kúcí** ·  
 on each side the fighting fut  
 adv def ptcp adv

Those who were going to fight were lined up on both sides.

LR: at both ends

19.6 **qa álih'wóq'wací tulúpciciwáytu tykwáálimmúsŵaci , má ánca qa t<sup>h</sup>úsýí qa ís**  
 the west lined up and then the good the person  
 def n v coordconn def adj def n

**amq<sup>h</sup>á qa cúl ú túúniiyaté tykwáálimmúsŵaci** ·

but the east lined up  
 coordconn def n v

The bad people were lined up in the west, and the good people were lined up in the east.

Audio: **qa ?álih'wóq'wací ?amq<sup>h</sup>á tulúpcici wáytu tulúpcici ka? ... ?amq<sup>h</sup>á·wáté tykwáálim·ó·sŵaci , má ánca qa t<sup>h</sup>úsí éqa ?is ?amq<sup>h</sup>á qa cúl ?ú tú·niyaté tykwá·lí·m·ó·sŵaci** ·

19.7 **má ánca amq<sup>h</sup>ááwáté tykááyími** ·  
 and then while entered  
 coordconn coordconn v

Then she went in.

This sentence is in audio but not in transcript. Gloss determined from parallel forms.

Audio: **má ánca q<sup>h</sup>á·wáté tyká·yí·mi**.

19.8 **amq<sup>h</sup>á tykiyí qa q<sup>h</sup>é qa ámit<sup>h</sup>éwcan wínímmááci' tóólol saç saç tykúw** ·  
 but was the that the one seen all scared scared she was  
 coordconn cop def deic def v quant Vstem Vstem cop

**má tykwááćámci má tykalííyaaci** ·

and stiffened and looked at  
 coordconn v coordconn v

When they saw that woman they all stiffened, scared, and looked at her.

Audio: **?amq<sup>h</sup>á tykiyí éqa q<sup>h</sup>é éqa tú·yí? qa ?amit<sup>h</sup>éwcan wíní·má·ci? .. tó·lol çaç·aç tykúw ... çaçaç tykúw má tykwá·ćámci mán tykalí·ya·ci**

They're sitting. For tykwá·ćámci, compare tykwá·ćá·waci if they were standing. (LR9.40) Would not use this for something inanimate growing stiff, or for rigor mortis.

Omitted sentence: **má ánca tyg šigwáa? tykwáaáké** .. (or tykwa·qé) **má ánja**

For çaç çaç tykúuwí, compare **sá·çáčćíní** I got up, I stood up; **ta·çáčćóo** get up; wake up; get out of bed!

19.9 **má áncia ipháté tykaacámci , má áncia ó tykísýí : ó tissi wa**  
 and then in front of halted and then (?) said (?) talk continue  
 coordconn post v coordconn Vpfx v Vpfx ptcp Vroot

**tłhíuwaáticka , lhínímáacocicka tykísýí .**

I want wrt you that's why I came to see you said  
 v v v

Then she stopped in front of him, and spoke: I want to talk with you, that's why I came to see you, she said.

Audio: *má áncia cip? šigwó? skwò·qe má ánžə má áncia ʔipháté tyəkáskímciʔ .. ʔa· tyəka·cámci* I mean, *tyká·cámci má áncia wó tykísýí : wó tisi wa dula ga· hí má co·cicka tykísýí .*

Wrote *lhínímá·co·cicka*

19.10 **ó tisí wa súwí tykísýí .**

(?) talk continue I want said  
 Vpfx ptcp Vroot v v

I want to talk, she said.

19.11 **ik<sup>h</sup>im tis tykwak<sup>h</sup>ayki qa q<sup>h</sup>é qa wi<sup>h</sup>éélucan .**

merely emph came up from below the that the chief  
 adv v def deic def n

The chief's eyes just blazed up.

Audio: ... *ʔik<sup>h</sup>im ci? tis ckwak<sup>h</sup>·ayk<sup>h</sup>i qa q<sup>h</sup>é· qa ʔhé·lu·cʔ .*

LR: he's thinking "what's happening to me now!" (LR9.40)

19.12 **mam palá' ipháté sip tykwáámíwci qwáytu sa tykíyí .**

and already in front of seep came down from there indefinite was  
 coordconn adv post onom v adv post cop

Then quickly he slipped down in front from nowhere.

Audio: *mam mam pila? sip ckwá·míwci, ʔipháté sip ckwá·míwci ... qwáytu sa təkíyí sip tímíwci, cwáytu sa tykíyí .*

19.13 **tépté tykísýí qa kac<sup>h</sup>ú tatýí , mám pal tykwaamá mám tykyáátáámí**

go back! said the his mother and first turned away and went out  
 v v def pers n coordconn adv v coordconn v

, **mam tykyápté .**

and went home  
 coordconn

Go home, he said to his mother, and first she turned away and went out, and then went back

Audio: *tépté tykísýí qa kac<sup>h</sup>ú c<sup>h</sup>ssí mám ... pal tykwíná·láqci qá tat? ti·yí mám cyá·tá· mam tykyáptę .*

Field transcript omits *kac<sup>h</sup>ú*

20.1 **mám tykwáálaháámiyééwaci .**

and talked to  
 coordconn v

So then he talked to him.

Audio: *mám c<sup>h</sup>e qa s tykwá·lahá·miyé·waci .*

20.2 **mám tóólóllíikam tyktiit<sup>h</sup>éésamma , qa t<sup>h</sup>úší wána 'ó tykísýí .**

and all about listened to the good way said  
 coordconn pro-form v def adj n verbprt v

And they all listened, he talked about the good way.

Audio: mám tó·lolí?kám tykiti·tʰé·sám, qa tʰúsí wá·na, qa tʰúsí wá·na wó tyəkísýʰ .

20.3 **tílayahtúúmi amqʰá wána 'ó tykísýí** ·

tell old story but way said  
ptcp coordconn n verbprt v

So he preached.

Audio: tílayahtú·mi wána wó cʰakísýjʰ .

LR added ?amqʰá while tape was being transcribed.

20.4 **mám qwáytu tykyápte , kacʰú tatýí um tykyápte** ·

and from there went his mother 's place went  
coordconn adv v pers n post v

And he left from there, went to his mother's.

Audio: mam ... má·m ..mam qwáytu <break, or microphone moved> má á·nca we· tykyápte, qa kacʰu qa tatýí ti qa tatýí ti tatyó ?um tykyápteʰ

20.5 **nám má á·nca we tykísýí qa kacʰú tatýí , má á·nca tykwatappʰaací** ·

yet and then then said the his mother and then taught  
adv coordconn adv v def pers n coordconn v

He still talked to his mother, and taught her.

Audio: má á·nca ó?mʰ?m má á·nca we tykísýí qa tʰacʰú tátýí tywál? .. tykwatápʰa·cǵi .

20.6 **cé kuccí táálictiki qa pálmawáytu tykísýí** ·

not you should do be afraid the said  
Neg v ptcp def v

From now on, don't be afraid, he said.

Audio: ce tuc·ó rather than the more polite cé kuc·i

20.7 **cé tucci kú kuwááticka tinaáluuci kú tucci kuwááticka tykísýí** ·

not not doing future will be to you notice future not doing will be to you said  
Neg ptcp Vpfx cop ptcp Vpfx ptcp cop v

They won't bother you any more, he said.

Transcript has tina·lu·tʰi· kú

Wrote kuwá·tik·a

21 **má á·nca we cé tuccó tálictiki mi á·máytu cé kuccí tálictiki**

and then then not do fear you (singular) also not you should do fear  
coordconn adv Neg v ptcp pers adv Neg v ptcp

**tykísýí qá kacʰú wacʰuuwí má á·nca qá kacʰú wacíniwi , cé tuccó tálictiki**

said the his mother's mother and then the his mother's brother not do fear  
v def pers Nrel coordconn def pers Nrel Neg v ptcp

**tykísýí** ·

said

v

Then to his grandmother also he said don't be afraid, and to his uncle he said don't be afraid.

Audio: má á·nca we cé tálictiki tykísýjʰ. mi ?ámáytu cé kuc·i tá·lictiki tykísýí qá kacʰú wacʰu·wí má á·nca qá kacʰú wací·niwó yeah wací·niwi kacʰú cʰu wací·niw amqʰa cé c·ó tálictiki tykiss .

22 **má piqʰá aawátca ó kússí tykísýí** ·

and this only (?) you should sing said  
coordconn deic adv Vpfx v v

But only talk this way, he said.

Audio: má piq<sup>h</sup>á wó kis'í, piq<sup>h</sup>á ʔawátca wó kis'í tykisýí .

- 23 **má áncia tykwátapp<sup>h</sup>aaci c<sup>w</sup>ést<sup>h</sup>él sa p<sup>h</sup>itúwwí amq<sup>h</sup>á tykwátapp<sup>h</sup>aaci .**  
and then taught indefinite year but taught  
coordconn v post n coordconn v

And so he taught for several years.

Written ckwata'p'a'ci

- 24 **má áncia ýalyú tykwnúuw .**  
and then man he became  
coordconn n cop

And he became a man.

Audio: má instead of má áncia. Sentence repeated.

- 25 **má áncia we tépte kú suwá tykisýí .**  
and then then go back future I will be said  
coordconn adv ptcp Vpfx v v

and then he said I'm going to go home.

Audio: má áncia we repeated.

- 26 **aamímmi wíccí' tépte kú suwá tykisýí .**  
pretty soon resemble go back future I will be said  
adv v ptcp Vpfx v v

It won't be long before I go back home, he said.

Audio: wíc'í' mim

- 27 **amq<sup>h</sup>á twiyí nám yuwwí títt<sup>h</sup>uuki .**  
but he is yet ye is return  
coordconn cop adv cop ptcp

But he hasn't come back yet.

Audio: nám repeated.

- 28 **mám k<sup>h</sup>ést<sup>h</sup>é t<sup>y</sup>ánuwí .**  
and end it is  
coordconn adv cop

And that's the end.

Wrote: mám k<sup>h</sup>ést<sup>h</sup>é·canmim, with gloss "then I slept"