

## deA: Coyote & the Coot Girls (Mary Martin, Big Valley)

### 1.1 **tykápté qa céémul** .

went the coyote  
v def N

Coyote left.

Coyote just lost a race with Porcupine in the previous story

tsikápté qà dzé·mùl

he went | the | Coyote

164. He went along.

de A Mary Martin 164

On ms. pp. 129-149, sentences 164-238 (segmentation and numeration per de Angulo). Sentences 1-163 are typescript, 164-238 are manuscript. 1-163 are the Porcupine story.

### 1.2 **tykwinímmááci ahpááci lámqo weenúnwí wáwi** .

found swimming coot younger sister plural  
v ptcp N N Nsfx

He came across the Coot sisters swimming

tsikúinímá·dzí éhpá·dzí lámqò wénúnwíwáwi

he saw | swimming | Coots | they are sisters

165. He saw some coots swimming, they were sisters together diving for fish

de A Mary Martin 165a

### 1.3 **winhímmíwciwci al** .

they were repeatedly diving together river trout  
v N

They were diving for trout.

winhímmíudzíudzí àl'

they are diving | for fish

Expect winhímmíwci. The -íwci on the stem may mean diving together.

de A Mary Martin 165b

### 1.4 **icíncésquíla tykisyí kac<sup>h</sup>ú tatyí , ímmáqcaswací qa céémul** .

look sharp! said her mother always traveling the coyote  
v v pers N ptcp def N

Look sharp, said their mother, Coyote is always traveling.

166. "dzíndzésekí·là" tsákís'í kàtsú dàtí "ímmáqtsàsawàdzí qàdzémul" tsákís'í

"You all watch out!" | she said | their | mother | he is always traveling | the | Coyote" | she said ...

166. Their mother had said to them: "You watch for Coyote. He is always traveling around. He is a bad one. He can change himself into an old woman."

de A Mary Martin 166a

### 1.5 **áliihúk<sup>h</sup>wací twiyí qa céémul tykisyí** .

bad he is the coyote said  
ptcp cop def N v

Coyote is bad, she said.

"hóqwàí tùwí qà dzé·mùl" tsákís'í

"bad | he is | the | Coyote" | she said

de A Mary Martin 166b

1.6 **wiyáacáálu úúmacwáké twiyí qa céémul tykisýí** ·

old woman transforming self he is the coyote said  
N ptcp cop def N v

He transforms himself into an old woman, she said.

"wiyásá·lò ú·màtsógé tùwí qa dzé·mùl" tsàkís'í

"Old woman | changing into | he is | the | the Coyote" she said

Cp. wòh tyúma·ké·ní she transformed herself into a bear, suggesting tú·ma·ki, otherwise unattested  
de A Mary Martin 166c

2.1 **tykwinímmááci céémul wáka** ·

saw coyote agent  
v N Nsfx

Coyote saw them.

tsikùínímá·dzí dzé·mùlwágà

167. he saw them | Coyote

167. Coyote saw them

de A Mary Martin 167

2.2 **tykaskímci** ·

he sat down  
v

He sat down.

tsiká'skímdzí

168. he sat down

de A Mary Martin 168

2.3 **c<sup>h</sup>ú stuwá tuci kúci itt<sup>h</sup>ú hiiwá tykisýí céémul wáka** ·

how I apparently am to do future my tapeworm said coyote agent  
pro-form cop ptcp pers N v N Nsfx

"What should I do, my tapeworm" said Coyote.

169. "tcústùwádzigúdzí ittú hì'wá" tsàkís'í dzé·mùlwágà

"What shall I do? my tapeworms | he said | Coyote

169. "What shall I do, my tapeworms?"

de A Mary Martin 169

2.4 **c<sup>h</sup>ú wé lkí tykisýí qa wawá hiiwá** ·

how well you could do said the big tapeworm  
pro-form adv v v def adj N

Well, what would you do, said the big tapeworm

170. "tsúwê·lìgí" tsàkís'í wà'wá hì'wá "àsádé tùwí tsàkís'í

"What can you do? | he said | the big | Tapeworm | "In the water | they are | he said

170. "You can't do anything!" said the older tapeworm, "they are in the water".

de A Mary Martin 170a

2.5 **assaté twiyí tykisýí** ·

in water he is said  
adv cop v

She is in the water.

"àsádé tùwí" tsàkís'í

"In the water | they are" | he said

de A Mary Martin 170b

2.6 **té wisýí aamá tkiýí** ·

thus he says entirely you are  
adv v adv cop

You are the kind who only talks thus!

"téwíssí àmátkíí"

Saying that | you always are

171. "Oh! You always talk like that. My middle tapeworm, you tell me!"

de A Mary Martin 171a

2.7 **itt<sup>h</sup>ú issi wawá hiiwá stintámmaákúya tykisýí** ·

my in the middle big tapeworm tell me about it for me said  
pers adv adj N v v

my middle big tapeworm, advise me, he said

"ittú issiwà'wá hì'wá stindámâgúyà" tsàkís'í

my | middle | tapeworm | tell me!

de A Mary Martin 171b

2.8 **kíntámmaákúyicka tykisýí qa issi wawá hiiwá** ·

you were told about it for your benefit said the in the middle big tapeworm  
v v def adv adj N

He advised you, said the middle-size tapeworm

"kíndámâ·gúyìtskà" tsàkís'í qà issiwà'wá hì'wá --

"He told you" | he said | the | middle | Tapeworm

172. "You heard what he said", answered the middle Tapeworm, "What could you do in the water? They are swimmers, but you will drown!"

de A Mary Martin 172a

2.9 **c<sup>h</sup>ú lkí assaté tykisýí** ·

how you could do in water said  
pro-form v adv v

What would you do in water, he said.

"tcúligí àsádé" tsàkís'í

"what can you do | in the water" | he said

de A Mary Martin 172b

2.10 **ihíímíci twiýí qa qhé tykisýí** ·

diving he is the that one said  
ptcp cop def deic v

They are divers, he said.

lit. heading down to (bottom)

"èhémídzí twií qà kéhé tsàkís'í

"Divers | they are | the | these | he said

de A Mary Martin 172c

2.11 **icusqáápumí tkiýí qá mî tykisýí** ·

being drowned you are the you (singular) said  
ptcp cop def pers v

You will be drowned, he said.

"idzùsqáapòmí tkíí qámi'" tsàkís'í

"Drowning | you will be | the | you" | he said

de A Mary Martin 172d

2.12 **ṭé wisýí aamá tkiyí tykisýí céémul wáka** ·

thus he says entirely you are said coyote agent  
adv v adv cop v N Nsfx

"You are the kind who only talks thus" said Coyote.

"téwissi àmátkii" tsákis'í dzé·mùlwàgà

"Saying that | always you are" | he said | Coyote

173. "Oh! That's what you always say. My youngest Tapeworm, what do you tell me?"

de A Mary Martin 173a

2.13 **itt<sup>h</sup>ú weskénca hiiwá c<sup>h</sup>ú smisýí** ·

my youngest tapeworm how do you say to me?  
pers adj N pro-form v

My youngest tapeworm how do you say to me?

weskénca unattested; cp. wískan, perh. upr. for "skunk" (1 occurrence, Harvey Griffith)

"ittú weskéndzà hì'wá tcúsmis'í"

"My | youngest | Tapeworm | what do you tell me?"

de A Mary Martin 173b

2.14 **c<sup>h</sup>ú m<sup>u</sup>wí wiyáácáálu tímacwáké tykitissáátumá** ·

how you might be old woman transform self was told  
pro-form cop N ptc v

"How might you transform yourself into an old woman?" he said.

"tsúmùwí wiyátsá·lò dí màtsógè" tsàkìdisátumá

"Why don't you | old woman | change into" | he told him

174. "Why don't you turn yourself into an old woman" answered the little Tapeworm.

de A Mary Martin 174

3.1 **má áncia súúwá tuutók tykisýí céémul wáka** ·

and then basket cap arrive! said coyote agent  
coordconn N v v N Nsfx

Then Coyote said "Basket-cap, come here!"

má·ndzà "sú·wà tùtòk" tsákis'í dzé·mùlwàgà

then "Woman's hat | arrive!" | he said | Coyote

175. Then Coyote called: "Woman's hat, come here!"

de A Mary Martin 175

3.2 **má áncia tuphááci tuutók tykisýí** ·

and then skirt arrive! said  
coordconn ptc v v

Then he said "Skirt, appear!"

má·ndzà "dùphá·dzì tùtòk" tsákis'í.

Then | "Skirt | arrive!" he said

176. Then he called: "Skirt, come here!"

de A Mary Martin 176

tuphááci rel to walaphááci untie

3.3 **má áncia qáswá tuutók tykisýí** ·

and then digging stick arrive! said  
coordconn N v v

Then he said "root digger, appear!"

má·ndzà "qáswà tùtòk" tsákis'í

then | "Digging-stick | arrive!" | he said  
177 Then he called "Digging-stick come here"  
de A Mary Martin 177

3.4 **má ánca cuukáye tuutók tykisýí** ·

and then pack basket arrive! said  
coordconn N v v

Then he said "pack basket, appear!"

má·ndzà "dzùkáé tùtòk" tsákís'í

then | "pack-basket | arrive! | he said

178. Then he called: "Pack-basket, come here!"

This word for pack basket attested only here

de A Mary Martin 178

3.5 **má ánca wiyáácáálu tykyaayímacwáké céémul wáka** ·

and then old woman he transformed himself coyote agent  
coordconn N v N Nsfx

Then Coyote transformed himself into an old woman.

má·ndzà wiyátsá·lò tsikiàí·màtsógé dzémùlwágà

then | old woman | he changed into | Coyote

179. Then he turned himself into an old woman

de A Mary Martin 179

3.6 **má ánca caacééha tuutók tykisýí** ·

and then baby basket arrive! said  
coordconn N v v

Then he said "baby basket, appear!"

ca·cé·há, tsàtséhá unattested, expect tuccá·mé and related words

má·ndzà "tsàtséhá tùtòk" tsákís'í

then | "Baby-basket | arrive" | he said

Then he called: "Baby-basket, come here!"

de A Mary Martin 180

3.7 **má ánca c<sup>h</sup>úúwí tuutók tykisýí** ·

and then deerhide with hair on it arrive! said  
coordconn N v v

Then he said "Hide basket, arrive!"

má·ndzà "tcúwì tùtòk tsákís'í

181. Then he called: "Sleeping blanket, come here!"

de A Mary Martin 181

3.8 **má ánca tykwac·cáámi kac<sup>h</sup>ú tisóqce** ·

and then laced up his penis  
coordconn v pers N

Then he laced up his penis in the baby basket.

má·ndzà tsikiùàtsá·mí kàtsú díso'tsi

then | he arranged in the baby-basket | his | pisser

tisóqci urinate, tisóqce that with which one urinates

182. Then he fixed his pissing-tool in the baby basket.

de A Mary Martin 182

3.9 **má áncá súúqat tykwánáá̃tuucálwámí , mám tykwakuutíkyáamáké .**  
 and then a medicine root he bashed apart and pressed to stick to self  
 coordconn N v coordconn v

Then he bashed a súúqat root open and pressed it to stick to himself [between his legs].

má ndzà tsúqat tsikùáná' dùtsálwámí mám tsikùàkùtíkyù·mágé

then | a turnip | he split in two | and | he put it between his legs

183. Then he took a turnip and split it in two and fixed it between his own legs.

de A Mary Martin 183

3.10 **má áncá islí tykwinááyá mám tykwakucpucwáké .**  
 and then pitch prepared and smeared on self  
 coordconn N v coordconn v

He prepared pitch and smeared it on his [face]

In a creation story, de A has ikuhóhátíké face smeared in mourning, and Olmstead has something like ticawó'qáké, none of these otherwise attested.

má ndzà islí t sikùiná'yá mám tsikùàkùtspùtsùágé

then | pitch | he made | and | he smeared it over his face

184. Then he took some pitch and smeared it over his face.

de A Mary Martin 184

3.11 **íáq<sup>h</sup>á tykwinááyá húk mám tykwakucpucwáké .**  
 again prepared coals and smeared on self  
 adv v N coordconn v

He prepared coal and smeared it on his [face]

táqá sikùiná'yá húk mám tsikùàkùtspùtsùágé

again | he made | charcoal | and | he smeared it over his face

185. Then he took some charcoal and smeared it over his face. ( )

( ) [= de A footnote] It made him look like a widow in mourning.

de A Mary Martin 185

3.12 **má áncá tykwataapáá̃i kac<sup>h</sup>ú tísóqce .**  
 and then he packed with him his penis  
 coordconn v pers N

Then he carried his wrapped-up penis.

má ndzà tsikùàdàpà·dzí kàtsú tísó'tsì

then | he nursed | his | pisser

186. Then he nursed his pissing tool "lelu .. lelu .. lelu" he crooned, "And you, you must say `gulup .. gulup'", he told the baby.

de A Mary Martin 186a

4.1 **léélu ... léélu ... léélu ... tykwassá .**  
 lullaby lullaby lullaby sang  
 onom onom onom v

Léélu, léélu, léélu, he sang.

"lé·lu...lé·lù...lé·lù..." tsikíwàssá.

"lé·lu... lé·lù ... lé·lù ... " he sang

de A Mary Martin 186b

4.2 **mi kúllúp ... kúllúp ... k'isýí tykintámmaakíumá kac<sup>h</sup>ú tísóqce .**  
 you sg. phallus phallus you should say! was told his penis  
 pers N N v v pers N

"You should say 'you phallus .. phallus'" he told his penis.  
 "mì' gúlúp ... gúlúp ... kisi'" tsàkìndàmâ·gúyùmá kàtsú tísó'tsì  
 "You | 'penis' ... | 'penis' ... | you must say" | he told | his | pisser  
 de A Mary Martin 186c

#### 4.3 **má ánca tykápté tahpáacityaté** ·

and then went to swimming place  
 coordconn v adv

Then he went to the swimming place.  
 má·ndzà tsikápté dèhpá·dzityádé  
 then | he went | to the swimming-place  
 187. Then he went to the swimming place.  
 de A Mary Martin 187

#### 5.1 **yááná ís tykisýí qa lámqo amt<sup>h</sup>élcán** ·

he comes person said the coot young woman  
 v N v def N N

"Somebody's coming," said the Coot girl.  
 "yǎ·ná ís" tsákís'í lámqò àmtéldzèn  
 "Comes | a person | said | Coot | girl  
 188. "There comes somebody" said a Coot girl, "it's an old woman."  
 de A Mary Martin 188a

#### 5.2 **wiyáácáálu tykisýí** ·

old woman said  
 N v

"An old woman," she said.  
 "wiyátsá·lò" tsákís'í  
 "an old woman" she said  
 de A Mary Martin 188b

#### 5.3 **q<sup>h</sup>é wistá qa nííní wíntamáákúyí céémul tim twiyí tykisýí qa ǎókca** ·

that one specifies the mother warned coyote indeed he is said the small  
 deic v def Nrel v N emph cop v def adj

That's the one that mother warned us about, he's Coyote for sure, said the little one.  
 "qé·wistá qà ní·ní wíndámâgúyí dzé·mùl dìm tùwí" tsákís'í qà tsó'tsà  
 "that's the one | the | mama | told about | Coyote | indeed | he is" | said | the | little one  
 189. "That's the one mama told us about, that must be Coyote" said the youngest Coot.  
 de A Mary Martin 189

#### 5.4 **ǎé túw má ttánuwí qa céémul , ǎíllíq uuqaalá ka twiyí tykisýí qa**

not do then might it be? the coyote child carrying agent he is said the  
 Neg ptc coordconn cop def N N ptc Nsfx cop v def

**wawá** ·

big  
 adj  
 "But that can't be Coyote, she's carrying a baby", said the big one.  
 má here is unclear  
 "tsédú·má tétánùwí qà dzé·mùl dzílléq ùqà·lágà tùwí" tsákís'í qà wà'wá  
 "Impossible | that he is thus | the | Coyote | baby | carrying | she is" | said | the | big one  
 190. "Impossible!" replied the oldest, "How could it be Coyote carrying a baby?"

5.5 lھےتھےا      تھكسئى قا ءوككا .

de A Mary Martin 191a

## 5.6 cé lhúccíica tíimúúláki .

de A Mary Martin 191b

5.7 má áncia qa wawá lhímúúlakca tím yá tykisýi .

de A Mary Martin 192

5.8 wé isyí t<sup>h</sup>ániyí .

de A Mary Martin 193

5.9 wé isýí ká twi'yí tykisýí qa wiyáácáálu .

de A Mary Martin 194

5.10 **chú**      **tísýí** **tííyí**      **tykisýí** **qa** **ćókca** .

"What can he say?" asked the little one.



"tsúdís'í tii" tsákís'í qa cókca

"What | saying | is he?" | said | the | big one

His tii is hard to be sure of. He unaccountably mixed big and small in the interlinear gloss and omitted either from the free translation.

195. What does he say?

de A Mary Martin 195

5.11 **háámút kicisááticka tykisýí qa wiyáácáálu** ·

neice, nephew	you plural are told	said	the	old woman
Nrel	v	v	def	N

"He calls you all aunt" said the old woman.

"hámút kèdzósáditskà', tsákís'í wiyátsá'lò

"Aunts | he calls you | said | old woman

196. "He calls you his aunties. I think I'll feed him now. I heard you at your fishing.

de A Mary Martin 196a

5.12 **mlámmááyamí sópsíwci tykisýí** ·

I will cause to eat	I'm thinking	said
v	v	v

"I think I'll feed him", she said.

"màlammâ'yámí swó'psyú" tsákís'í

"I'll feed him | I think | she said

de A Mary Martin 196b

6.1 **sóot<sup>h</sup>ééwí qa ál táat<sup>h</sup>ááci qa micist<sup>h</sup>úúni tykisýí [ qa céémul ]** ·

I heard	the	fish	shout	the	your plural	said	the	coyote
v	def	N	ptcp	def	pers	v	def	N

"I heard you shout about fish" said Coyote.

"sówté'wí qà al' dàtádžì qà mìdzìstú'ní" tsákís'í.

"I hear | the | fish | fishing | the | your | she said

de A Mary Martin 196c

6.2 **icááyícwak tykisýí qa lámqo amt<sup>h</sup>élcán** ·

two	wade across!	said	the	coot	young woman
v	v	v	def	N	N

"Wade across," said the Coot girl.

džá'yí tswàk" tsákís'í lámqò àmtéldžèn

"Wade across!" | she said | Coot | girl

197. "Wade across!" called the Coot girl.

de A Mary Martin 197

6.3 **háné' má c<sup>h</sup>ú ìaqca tániimí tykisýí qa wiyáácáálu** ·

wished for	and	how	extent	be deep	said	the	old woman
adv	coordconn	pro-form	pro-form	ptcp	v	def	N

That's what I want, but how deep is it, asked the old woman.

"hánê' má' tsúdàqtsádáni'mí" tsákís'í qà wiyátsá'lò

"I would like to! | but | how deep is it?" | said | the | old woman

198. "I would like to, but how deep is it?" said the old woman

de A Mary Martin 198

6.4 **icááyícwak** , **icááyícwak** .  
 two wade across! two wade across!  
 v v

Wade across hither! Wade across hither!

"dzá'yí'tswák dzá'yí'tswak"

"Wade across! wade across

199. "Wade across! Wade across!"

de A Mary Martin 199

The dual of respect.

6.5 **tykyááyícumí** .  
 waded across hither  
 v

She waded across.

tsikiáyítsùmí

She waded across

200. She started to cross.

de A Mary Martin 200

6.6 **taqca yániimí** , **wawá yániimí tykisýí qa wiyáácáálu** .  
 so much it is deep big it is deep said the old woman  
 pro-form v adj v v def N

"It is so deep, it's very deep," said the old woman.

"dàqtsáyáni' mì wa'wá yáni' mì" tsàkís'í qa wiyátsá' lò

"It is deep | big | it goes | said | the | old woman

201. "Oh! It is too deep!" she cried.

de A Mary Martin 201

6.7 **anúúk<sup>h</sup>aymí wááná icááyícwak tykisýí qa lámqo amt<sup>h</sup>élcán** .  
 upstream hither one goes two wade across! said the coot young woman  
 adv v v v def N N

"One goes upstream here. Wade across!" said the Coot girl.

'ánúkàymí wă ná dzá'yí'tswà" tsàkís'í qà lámqó àmtéldzèn.

"Upstream | one goes | wade across!" aid | the | Coot | girl.

202. "Go farther upstream, that's where the crossing is" cried the Coot girl.

de A Mary Martin 202

6.8 **ćókca mániimí** .  
 small is it deep?  
 adj v

Is it shallow?

"tsó'tsà máni' mì"

"Little deep | is it?"

203. "Is it less deep?"

de A Mary Martin 203

6.9 **ćókca tyániimí** .  
 small has depth  
 adj v

It's shallow.

"tsó'tsà tyáni' mì"

"Little deep | it goes"

204. "Yes, it is less deep."

de A Mary Martin 204

6.10 **iipáć wacúmmá as** .  
strongly it flows water  
adv v N

The water is flowing fast!

"ipáts wàdzù má às"

"Fast | it flows | river"

205. "Oh! It flows too fast!"

de A Mary Martin 205

7.1 **tykyááqátyamí lámqo amt<sup>h</sup>élcán tóólol** .  
approached coot young woman all  
v N N quant

The Coot girls went up to (the old woman)

tsikiyáqátyamí lámqò àmtéldzèn tó·lól

they went across | Coot | girls | all

206. Then the Coot girls went in to help her.

de A Mary Martin 206

7.2 **issi kóónúccí tykitissáátumá** .  
in the middle you should get positioned he told them  
adv v v

Get in the middle, they told her.

"issi kównúdzí" tsikidisátumá

207. "Get in the middle" they said.

de A Mary Martin 207

7.3 **itt<sup>h</sup>éeka mluuqacwac miimú éllíq tykisýí qa wawá** .  
I (agent) I'll bundle up your child said the big  
pro v pers N v def adj

"\_I'll\_ carry your baby" said the big one.

"itté'ga màlùqàtswàts mì'mú dzílléq" tsákis'í qà wà'wá

"I myself | I will carry | your | baby" | said | the | big one

208. "Let me carry the baby?" said the oldest one.

de A Mary Martin 208

7.4 **ćé uccí tsiýí , ćé suwí tálílláqti , má it mim młímmáćhi tykisýí qa**  
not doing I am not I am desire and I indeed I will drop in water said the  
Neg ptcp cop Neg cop Vroot coordconn pers v v def

**wiyáácáálu** .

old woman

N

I'm not doing that, I don't like it, and I'll be the one to drop him in the water [if anybody does], said the old woman.

"tsôwtsítsiì tsésùwí dálíla'tì má ittmim màlémátshì" tsákis'í qà wíyátsá'lo

"I won't do it | I do not | like | but | I myself | will drop him" | said | the | old woman

209. "No, no, I wouldn't do that! If anybody is to drop him I'll do it myself!" said the old woman.

de A Mary Martin 209

7.5 **táq<sup>h</sup>á cé tykíuwí qá issi tóónúcci** .  
 again not wanted the in the middle get positioned  
 adv Neg v def adv ptcp

Again, she didn't want to get in the middle.

táqá tsétsàkkyû wí qá issi dó·núdzì  
 again | she did not want | the | middle | to get in

210. Still she was afraid to get into the water.

de A Mary Martin 201

8.1 **má ánca céémul ká tkiyí cé micí tykitissáátumá qa cókca** .  
 and then coyote indeed you are not might it be he told them the small  
 coordconn N adv cop Neg cop v def adj

Then the youngest said "You're Coyote, aren't you!"

má·ndzà "dzé·mùl gáttkií tsémìdzì" tsikìdisátùmá qà tsó'tsà  
 then | "Coyote | you are the one | are you not?" | she told her | the | little one

211. "You are Coyote, aren't you?" asked the little one

de A Mary Martin 211

8.2 **pi tyánuwí qa céémul ání tykisýí qa wiyáácáálu** .  
 here it is the coyote whatsoever said the old woman  
 adv cop def N adv v def N

Sure, this is Coyote, said the old woman.

"pi' tyánùwí qàdzé·mùl àní" tsàkís'í qàwiyátsá·lò

"here | it is | the | Coyote | isn't it? | said | the | old woman

212. The old woman answered "Is this Coyote? Take a look!" she said, standing up, and she lifted her skirt.

de A Mary Martin 212a

8.3 **icímúntííwa** .  
 look it over!  
 v

Look it over all around!

"dzímúntí·wà"

"Look!"

de A Mary Martin 212b

8.4 **tykáácááwací** .  
 he stood up  
 v

she stood up.

tsiká·tsá'wàdzì

she stood up

de A Mary Martin 212c

8.5 **sìl tykwalúúcóóké kac<sup>h</sup>ú tuphááci** .  
 gradually pulled off of self her skirt  
 adv v pers ptcp

She slipped off her skirt.

sìl tsikùàlú·dzó·ké kàtsú dùphá·dzì

up | she lifted | her | skirt

de A Mary Martin 212d

8.6 **icímúntííwa tykisýí** ·

look it over! said

v v

Look it over, she said.

"dzímúntí·wà" tsàkís'í

"Look" | she said

213. "Take a good look" she said.

de A Mary Martin 213

8.7 **ánca tykúuwí kac<sup>h</sup>ú wacli** ·

so was his cunt

adv cop pers N

Her cunt was exposed.

ámtság tsàkû·wí kàtsú wàs'li

plain | it was | her | cunnus

214. There it was, in plain sight, her cunnus.

de A Mary Martin 214

8.8 **tslínímá mam tístí tslípsííwá tykwapsíw qa céémul** ·

let her see and good let her be satisfied he thought the coyote

v coordconn adv v v def N

"tsàlínímá·mám dístí tsàlípí·wá" tsikuó·psyú qà dzé·mì

"Let her see! | and | all right | let her be satisfied" | thought | the | Coyote

"Let her take a look and satisfy herself" thought Coyote.

These two verbs unattested. Curtin: al·u slhiníumá "we are hungry" suggests tsliníumá "they are" with a preceding word omitted.

de A Mary Martin 215

8.9 **má ánca icíllúhyací tykitissáátumá** ·

and then hold together! he told them

coordconn v v

Then he told them "hold me steady!"

má·ndzà "dzíllóhyàtsí tsikidísátumá

then | "hold together!" | he told them

2.16 Then "hold me together" he told them.

de A Mary Martin 216

íllúhyací suggests binding together as with a belt pulling close around. This is the dual volitional (plural would be icíllúhyaca).

8.10 **má ánca tykáát<sup>h</sup>uumí** ·

and then arrived thither

coordconn v

Then they got there

má·ndzà tsiká·tò·mí

and | they went

[Not included in de Angulo's free translation.]

de A Mary Martin 216

8.11 **tykáát<sup>h</sup>uumí wawá ániimí assaté** ·

arrived thither big extent in water  
v adj ptcp adv

He got to deep water.

tsíká·tò·mí wà'wá ánnì·mí àsádé

they went | big | it goes | in the water

217. They all went into deep water.

de A Mary Martin 217

8.12 **má áncá tykwanúúpiimáké kac<sup>h</sup>ú kúllúp** ·

and then his penis  
coordconn pers N

Then he put his penis back.

má·ndzà tsikùànú'pì·mágé kàtsú gúlúp

then | he put it back | his | penis

218. Then he put his penis back in its place

Unattested tkwanú'pì·máké, tinú'pì·mì, supposing -spì·m- "quit, release" and the s unheard

de A Mary Martin 218

8.13 **má áncá tykwaasúmcí qa wawá** ·

and then he fucked the big  
coordconn v def adj

Then he fucked the oldest

má·ndzà tsikùàsúmdzí qa wàwá

then | he fornicated | the | big one

219. Then he fornicated the older one.

de A Mary Martin 219

8.14 **táq tiyí tykisýí** ·

what might it be said  
pro cop v

what might it be, she said.

"táq tí" tsákís'í

"What | is it?" | she said

220. "What is it? she said "I feel something under me!" she said

de A Mary Martin 220a

8.15 **lilis síwáátumá tykisýí** ·

slip is wrt me said  
onom cop v

I feel something slippery, she said

"lilissí·wàtùmá" tsákís'í

"I feel something under me" | she said

de A Mary Martin 220b

8.16 **it aamáytu tykisýí qa cókca** ·

1sg likewise said the small  
pers adv v def adj

I too, said the youngest

"itt àmá ittú" tsákís'í qa tsó'tsà tsákís'í [sic]

"I | also | mine" said | the | little one | said [sic]

221. "Me too!" said the little one.

de A Mary Martin 221

8.17 **ál tmiyí tykisýí qa céémul wiyáácáálu** ·

fish might it be said the coyote old woman  
N cop v def N N

"It must be a fish" said the Coyote old woman.

"ál' tmií" tsákis'í qà dzé·mùl wiyátsá·lò

"Fish | it must be!" | said | the | Coyote | old woman

222. Oh! It must be the fishes" said Coyote old woman, "Press your legs together!"

de A Mary Martin 222a

8.18 **icinaacííyáála** ·

press your legs together!  
v

Press your legs together again!

"dzìdàtsí'yá'là"

"Press your legs together!"

de A Mary Martin 222b

Presumed n- iterative "again" çi- feet, legs, but -yál- unattested; cp. tíca·q<sup>hí</sup>·yá·la, tíla·q<sup>hí</sup>·yá·la, dig it out

8.19 **má ánca tóólol tykwaasúmci** ·

and then all he fucked  
coordconn quant v

Then he fucked them all.

má·ndzà tó·lól tsikùàsúmdzí

then | all | he fornicated

223. Then he fornicated them all.

de A Mary Martin 223

9.1 **ckwátaspiimí** ·

he quit  
v

he finished.

tsikùàdàspì·mí

he quit

224. Then he quit.

de A Mary Martin 224

9.2 **tsyuwíumá qa wiyáácáálu wámmáq misýí tykisýí** ·

she evidently is wrt me the old woman traveler did he say? said  
cop def N N v v

Did you say I'm the old woman who travels around? he said

"tsúwî·má qà wiyátsá·lò wímáqmìsyí" tsákis'í

"Is it me? | the | old woman | travelling" he said.

225. Then he laughed, "Is it me, the old wandering woman? That's me, Coyote! I can't be beaten!" and he went away.

de A Mary Martin 225a

9.3 **céémul ká tsiyí tykisýí** ·

coyote indeed I am said  
N adv cop v

Coyote, that's me! he said

"džémùlgátsi" tsákis'í

"Coyote indeed I am | he said

de A Mary Martin 225b

9.4 **cýééwa** **slkicóóćíca** .

in what way would you beat me

pro-form v

However would you overcome me?

"tsé wà sligitsô tsí tsà"

"Never | they can beat me!"

de A Mary Martin 225c

9.5 **mám** **tykáát<sup>h</sup>uumí** .

and arrived thither

coordconn v

And he got there.

mám tsiká tò mí

and | he went

"He went" would be a verb like tyká ná, but the -m suffix is "away"

de A Mary Martin 225d

10.1 **c<sup>h</sup>ú** **sticóósi** **kúcumá** **itt<sup>h</sup>úúni** **tatýí** **ka** **qa** **wawá** **tykisýí** .

how might say to 1st person future plural our mother agent the big said

pro-form v pers N Nsfx def adj v

What will our mother say to us? said the oldest.

"tsústidžô si gúdzumá ittú ní dàtígà" qà wà wá tsákis'í

"what will she say to us? | our | mother" | the | big one | said

Usually the subject noun is after the verb.

226. "What will our mother say?" cried the older sister.

de A Mary Martin 226

10.2 **tim** **tykááwaací** **qa** **issi** **wawá** **tykisýí** .

indeed it becomes the in the middle big said

emph v def adv adj v

It's getting dark, said the middle one.

"dím tsiká wà dzí" qà ìssiwà wá tsákí'í [sic]

"It must | be getting late | the | middle one | said

227. The middle one said: "It must be getting late ... never mind what she will say ... let's put our clothes on and go home!"

de A Mary Martin 227a

10.3 **c<sup>h</sup>ú** **sa** **aaamá** **ó** **mlís** **tykisýí** .

how indefinite entirely (?) let her say! said

pro-form post adv Vpfx v v

Let her say whatever (she wants), she said.

"tsúsámmá ómális" tsákis'í

"Whatever | let her say!" she said

de A Mary Martin 227b



10.4 **itt<sup>h</sup>úúni tisaswaci lhiniísííca mám lhéptééca** .  
 our clothes let's go put on and come on, let's go home!  
 pers ptcip v coordconn v

Come on, let's put our clothes on and go home!

"ittú ní disà swàdzì lhini'si'tsà mám lhépté dzà"

"our | clothes | let's put on | and | let's go home!"

de A Mary Martin 227c

10.5 **chá qa ál kac<sup>h</sup>úúni tatýí tykisýí** .  
 where the fish their mother said  
 pro-form def N pers N v

Where are the fish, said their mother

Should be kac<sup>h</sup>ú ní, and expect the subject noun after the verb, tykisýí qa kac<sup>h</sup>ú tatýí. Maybe de A asked who said it?

"tsà qá al'" kàtsú dàtí tsàkís'í

"Where | the | fish? | their | mother | said

229. "Where is the fish?" their mother asked.

de A Mary Martin 229.

10.6 **cé slhuwíumá tétwì qa ál qa cókca tykisýí** .  
 not we are kill the fish the small said  
 Neg cop v def N def adj v

We didn't kill any fish, said the youngest.

"tséslùhùwî má dé twì qà àl'" qà tsó'tsà tsàkís'í

"We did not | kill | the | fish" | the | little one | said

230. "We didn't catch any fish!" the little one said.

de A Mary Martin 230

10.7 **táq chù mciccíumá tykisýí kac<sup>h</sup>ú tatýí ka** .  
 what how you pl. might do said his mother agent  
 pro pro-form v v pers N Nsfx

What in the world were you doing? said her mother

cp. táq chù muwí what's wrong with you?

"táq tsúmìdzìtsî má" tsàkís'í kàtsú tàtígà

"What were you all?" | said | their | mother

231-first. "What were you doing then?" asked their mother.

de A Mary Martin 231-first

10.8 **wiyáacáálu yáaná qa cókca tykisýí , amq<sup>h</sup>á sisýí céémul twiyí sisýí** .  
 old woman he comes the small said but I said coyote he is I said  
 N v def adj v coordconn v N cop v

An old woman came, said the youngest, but I said that's Coyote, I said.

"wiyátsá:lò yá'ná" qà tsó'tsà tsàkís'í "àmqá sis'í dzé:mùl twií sis'í

"An old womabn | came | the | little one | said | "that one | I said | Coyote | he is | I said

231. "There came an old woman" the little one said, "and I said 'that must be Coyote, I saw him, let's go home', that's what I said, but this one said it couldn't be Coyote, 'Let's wait' she said" ...

de A Mary Martin 231a

10.9 **sinímmááci** .  
 I saw him  
 v

I saw him.

sínímá·dǵí

I saw him

de A Mary Martin 231b

10.10 **lhéptéeca**                      **sisýí qá it tykisýí** ·

come on, let's go home! I said the 1sg said

v                                      v        def pers v

Come on, let's go home! I said, she said.

lhépté·dǵà sis'í qà itt " tsákís'í

let's go home! | I said | the | I" | she said

de A Mary Martin 231c

10.11 **céémul tuccáámé' twiyí wisýí qá piq<sup>h</sup>á lhímúúlakca wisýí qá piq<sup>h</sup>á tykisýí** ·

coyote not do he is he says the this let's wait he says the this said

N ptcp cop v def deic v                      v        def deic v

That's not Coyote, this one said, let's wait, said this one, she said.

"dǵé·mùl dùtsá·mè twi'í wís'í qà biqá lhímú·láktsà wís'í qàbiqá" tsákís'í

"Coyote | being not | he is | she said | this one | let's wait | she said | this one" | she said

de A Mary Martin 231d

11.1 **k<sup>h</sup>éstam ó tissa** ·

end (?) talk!

adv Vpfx v

Stop talking!

"kístàm ótissà

"Enough | say!

232. "That will do! You have said enough! Your father eats fish only and I also am a fish eater, I don't eat deer! I don't eat mice! That's all he eats Coyote! Go! Follow him! I don't want Coyote for son-in-law!"

de A Mary Martin 232a

11.2 **q<sup>h</sup>ám ó kisýí tykisýí kac<sup>h</sup>ú tatýí** ·

much (?) you say said his mother

quant Vpfx v                      v        pers N

You talk too much! said her mother.

qám ókis'í tsákís'í kàtsú dàtí

too much | you say" | said | their | mother

de A Mary Martin 232b

11.3 **miimú waayí ál aawátca ámmaswací twiyí tykisýí** ·

your father fish only always eating he is said

pers N N adv ptcp cop v

Your father is always eating only fish, she said.

"mì'mú wái 'al' àwátsà ámmaswàdǵí twi'í" tsákís'í

"Your | father | fish | only | eating | he is" | she said

de A Mary Martin 232c

11.4 **it qá al ámmí tsiyí it aamáytu tykisýí** ·

1sg the river trout eating I am 1sg likewise said

pers def N ptcp cop pers adv v

I'm a fish eater too, I as well, she said.

"itt qá àl' ámmítiší itt àmáittú' tsákís'í

"I | the | fish | eater | I am | I | also my |  
de A Mary Martin 232d

11.5 **támmáámé' tsiyí toósi tykisýi** .

without eating I am deer said  
adv cop ptc v

I'm the kind that doesn't eat deer, she said

"dámmá·mè tsii tó·si" tsákis'í

"eating not | I am | deer | she said

de A Mary Martin 232e

11.6 **támmáámé' tsiyí yeeníiná tykisýi** .

without eating I am mouse said  
adv cop N v

I'm the kind that doesn't eat mice, she said

"dámmá·mè tsii yè·níná" tsákis'í

"eating not | I am | mice | she said

de A Mary Martin 232f

11.7 **íáncí aawátca ámmí qa céémul tykisýi** .

that kind only eating the coyote said  
pro-form adv ptc def N v

Only Coyote eats that kind, she said

"tánts'í áwátsà ámmí qà dzé·mùl" tsákis'í

"that kind | only | eating | the | Coyote" | she said

de A Mary Martin 232g

11.8 **icupté** .

you pl. go!  
ptcp

Go!

"dzupté

"go!

de A Mary Martin 232h

11.9 **icááyíícum** .

you pl. accompany him!  
v

Accompany him!

dzáyítsâm

follow him!

232i

11.10 **cé suwí tálílláqti qa céémul wímmaawí tíiyi tykisýi** .

not I am reach with hand the coyote son-in-law do said  
Neg cop Vroot def N Nrel v v

I don't want Coyote to be a son-in-law, she said

tsésuwí dálíllá·ti qà dzé·mùl wímawí dí·i" tsákis'í

I do not | like | the | Coyote | son-in-law | to make" | she said

de A Mary Martin 232j

Repeats tsákis'í on next page

12.1 **tykááhuumí** .

ran

v

She ran

tsiká'hò·mí

she ran

233. She ran to the water

de A Mary Martin 233a

Should be plural

12.2 **tykyáát<sup>h</sup>uumí assáte** .

arrived

at water

v

adv

She arrived at the water

tsikiá'tò·mí àsádé

she arrived | at the water

de A Mary Martin 233b

12.3 **tykwacaasaáčí kac<sup>h</sup>ú qáswà mám tyínwaačiimí assáte** .

picked up

her

digging stick

and

stuck it down

into water

v

pers

N

coordconn v

adv

She picked up her digging stick and stuck it down into the water

tsikùàtsàsàdžì kàtsú qáswà mám sìnwátsì·mí àsádé

she took | her | digging=stick | and | she plkunge | into the water

234-first. She took her digging stick and disappeared under the water.

sínwáçi·mí would be first person. de Angulo seems to interpret this as the mother's action

de A Mary Martin 234-first

12.4 **chú tuci kúcumá tykisýí qá wawá** .

how

to do future

said

the big

pro-form ptcp

v

def adj

What will we do? asked the big one.

"tsútìdžìgúdžùmá" tsákìs'í qà wà'wá

"What shall we do?" | said | the | big one

"What are we going to do now?" cried the older girl.

de A Mary Martin 234

12.5 **će lhuccíica ís tuci tykisýí qa čókca** .

not let's not do

person

to do said

the small

Neg v

N

ptcp v

def adj

Let's not be people, said the youngest

"tsélùhùtsí·džà ís dùdžì" tsákìs'í qà tsó'tsà

"Let's not be | people | to be" | said | the | little one

235. "Let's not be people any more!" said the little one, "I don't want to be Coyote's wife!"

de A Mary Martin 235a

12.6 **će suwí tállílaqti céémul ú lúmmé' tuci** .

not I am

reach with hand

coyote

POSS

maiden

to do

Neg cop Vroot

N

Nsfx

N

ptcp

I don't want to be Coyote's wife.

"tsésùwí dálílá'tì džé·mulú lúmmé didžì"

"I do not | like | Coyote's | wife | to be"

de A Mary Martin 235b

12.7 **tykwaliisíptéimí tóólol qa ćíllíq** ·

pulled out all the child  
v quant def N

They pulled out all the children

tsikùàltsípté·ùmí tó·lól dzílléq

They took out | all | children

Then they aborted their babies

de A Mary Martin 236

12.8 **céémul ú ćíllíq tykanámmááwí** ·

coyote POSS child laid on ground  
N Nsfx N v

They laid Coyote's children on the ground

dzé·mùlú dzílléq tsikánámmá·wí

Coyote's | children | they laid on the ground

237. Coyote's babies, they laid them on the shore.

de A Mary Martin 237

12.9 **tykánsiíwáámí tóólol assaté** ·

jumped back into all in water  
v quant adv

They all jumped back into the water again.

tsikánsi·wá·mí tó·lól àsádé

they went | all | into the water

238. They all plunged into the water.

de A Mary Martin 238