deA: Coyote & Porcupine (Mary Martin, Big Valley)

1.1 **tykwinascúúci   ascúywáté   céémul   ẃáka** ·

was wintering	in winter house	coyote	agent
v	adv	N	Nsfx

Coyote was wintering in a winter house.

tsìkùínàstsú·dzí dʒé·mùlwágà

He was wintering | in the winter-house | Coyote

1. Coyote was wintering in his house

"Told by Mary Bieber Martin, of the Atwamdzini group." [Bieber (name of town) crossed out.] On Gui de Angulo's testimony (*Indians in Overalls* p.104) this was on his first field trip in 1921. His original field record is unavailable, so we can't assess his undoubted later rectification.

The segmentation and numbering of sentences are de Angulo's. Sentences 1-163 (English on ms. pp. 87-102, interlinear on pp. 103-128) are a typescript of this Porcupine story, which de Angulo recognized as a separate story in his published children's book, except that he turned tapeworms into maggots. On pp. 164-238 is Mary's story about Coyote seducing the Coot girls, entirely manuscript, not (yet?) typed. She ran on from one story to the next, in the manner of Coyote stories, like stringing beads.

The first three Note fields preserve de Angulo's information, as follows.1. His transcription. (In this text, this is mostly still to be inserted. Ms. at https://www.dropbox.com/s/jbhdm4v1q6pijzr/de.A.Porcupine.pdf?dl=0.)

2. His interlinear gloss. 3. His 'fluent English' translation.

1.2 **áẃ   tykwáálaací** ·

wood	went to gather (wood)
N	v

He went to get firewood.

áú tsìkùá·là·dzí

wood | he went to gather

Perh. typed tsìkùáˁlà·dzí, but glottalization would obviously be an error.

2. He went out after firewood

deA: Coyote & Porcupine

1.3 **ćé   tykúuwí   áẃ   tykwállaaci** ·

not	was	wood	he gathered wood
Neg	cop	N	v

He wasn't gathering wood.

tsétsìkùí áú tsìkùá·là·dzí

he does not | wood | gather

3. He didn't get any

This gloss suggests he couldn't find any. Rather, he got distracted, so "he wasn't gathering wood".

1.4 **ckwínmáqmíci   almóóq̇a** ·

he was followng tracks on the ground	sandals
v	N

He was following tracks of sandals.

tsìkùínmàhmí·tsí àlmó·qà

he is tracking | sandals

The Winns (Ilmawi) said amló·q̇a (EC 20.1 1/17/72)

4. He was following the tracks of some sandals.

^{1.5} **púllééwi ú   tykiẏí almóóq̇a** ·

porcupine POSS was   sandals
N   Nsfx cop   N

They were Porcupine's sandals.

púllééwíú tsàkìí àlmó·qà

Porcupine's | they were | sandals.

They were Porcupine's sandals.

^{1.6} **amqʰá   tykwapsíwci tʰúsẏí qa qʰiláál̇a tykwapsíwci** ·

but   thought   good   the shoes   thought
coordconn v   adj   def N   v

This is what he was thinking, "those are good shoes" he thought.

"àmqá" tsìkùópsyú·dzí "tùs'í qà qilá·là" tsìkùó·psyú·dzí

"Those" | he thought | "good | the | shoes" | he thought

5. [duplicate sentence number] "Those are nice shoes", Coyote thought.<footnote>

Footnote: Evidently Coyote had never seen a pair of àlmó·qà before, and his fancy was attracted by the pattern made on the snow by the soles of woven grass. His own qilá·là were of course much better if he had only known it.

^{1.7} **mám   ckwínmáq̇ċuumí**   ·

and   he followed the tracks along closely
coordconn v

He followed the tracks closely.

mám tsìkùínmáhtsù·mí

and | he tracked around

6. He followed the tracks around.

^{1.8} **ckwínmáq̇ẏaamí   ascúy   , púllééwi ú   ascúy**   ·

he followed tracks right up to winter house   porcupine POSS winter house
v   N   N   Nsfx N

He tracked them right up to a winter house, Porcupine's winter house.

tsìkùínmáhyà·mí àstsúy búllé·wíú àstsúy

he tracked along | winter-house | Porcupine's | winter-house

7. He followed the tracks up to a winter-house, it was Porcupine's house.

^{1.9} **ckyáámiimí** ·

he went down
v

He went down.

tsìkíá'mì·mí

he went in

8. He went in.

^{1.10} **tykyááṫʰasẇací púllééwí ka   , tykyááṫʰasẇací mám   tykáámá assa**   ·

was pounding nuts porcupine agent   was pounding nuts and   ate   sugar-pine nuts
v   N   Nsfx   v   coordconn v   N

Porcupine was pounding, he was pounding and occasionally eating sugar-pine nuts.

tsìkìá·tàswàdzí búllé·wíga tsìkìá·tàswàdzí

he was grinding | Porcupine | he was grinding

Others have w- instead of y-, tykwá·tʰasẇaci. Grinding = tuw·á·yi

9. Porcupine was grinding pine-nuts. 10. Then he ate them

"Once the seeds were removed from the cones, the seeds were parched on a basketry tray with coals, winnowed, and then either stored in woven sacks or pits, or ground into a flour from which bread or soup could be made." [http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/1048] They "pulverized the nuts, shell as well as meat, in a mortar until they had the consistency of peanut butter, but a darker color. " [Barrett & Gifford 1933 https://www.yosemite.ca.us/library/miwok_material_culture/conifers.html]
He had them on the ṫawááẏa basket tray used for parching, eating them as well as putting batches of them in the mortar.

2.1

ṁi	tkiẏí	kápté	tykisẏí	céémul	ẁáka ·
you (singular)	you are	you go	said	coyote	agent
pers	cop	v	v	N	Nsfx

Was it you who went (there), asked Coyote.

"You! | you are | you go" | he asked | Coyote
11. Was it you who went by there" Coyote asked.

2.2

háá'á	tykisẏí	púllééwi	ka	,	it	tsiẏí	,	it	ká	tsiẏí	áẁ	sóólaací
yes	said	porcupine	agent		1sg	I am		1sg	indeed	I am	wood	I go to gather (wood)
excl	v	N	Nsfx		pers	cop		pers	adv	cop	N	v

áẁ	·
wood	
N	

"Yes", said Porcupine, it was I, wood I certainly was gathering, wood.

"Yes" | he said | Porcupine | "I | I am | I | the | I am | wood | I gather | wood"
12. "Yes" said Porcupine, "It was I, I went to gather wood".

2.3

assa	stáwwá	tykisẏí	qa	céémul ·
sugar-pine nuts	give me	said	the	coyote
N	v	v	def	N

Give me some pine nuts, said Coyote.

"pine-nuts | give me! | he said | the | Coyote
13. "Give me some pine-nuts" said Coyote.

2.4

lháwwi	kúcicka	tykisẏí	qa	pullééwi ·
	future wrt you	said	the	
		v	def	

I will give some to you, said Porcupine.

I will give you" | he said | the Porcupine
14. "Allright" said Porcupine.

2.5

tykííĺáácumá	assa	ṫawááẏa	wáté ·
he handed him	sugar-pine nuts	basket pan	place
v	N	N	adv

He handed him the sugar-pine nuts in the winnowing and parching basket.

he gave him | pine-nuts | in a basket
15. He gave him pine-nuts in a basket.

2.6 **tykiyámmicẃá** ·

    ate up

    v

he ate them up.

he gobbled them up
16a. Coyote gobbled them up.

2.7 **má ánca cʰá   tuwí   tʰúsẏí tici qa qlááĺa tykisẏí** ·

    and then   where   it might be good doing the shoes   said

    coordconn pro-form v   adj   ptcp def N   v

Then he said where might there be such good shoes?

Then | "where are | good | being | the | shoes?" he said.
16b. "Where are those nice shoes?" he asked.

2.8 **tykwalííyuumí qa púllééwi** ·

    he smiled   the porcupine

    v   def N

Porcupine smiled.

he smiled |the | Porcupije [sic]
17. Porcupine smiled.

2.9 **tykwacaasáċci** ·

    he picked up

    v

he picked them up.

he picked them up
18. He picked them up.

2.10 **tykwincillóóh́ati** ·

    he tossed to

    v

He tossed them to him.

he threw them over
19. He threw them over to Coyote.

2.11 **pi** ·

    here

    adv

Here!

"Here ...
20a. "Here they are.

2.12 **cʰú   muwí** ·

    how   are you?

    pro-form cop

How are you?

... are they?
20b. So you like them?

2.13 **tʰúsẏí tuci tmánuwí qa pi** ·

good   to do   it might be   the   this here
adj   ptcp   cop   def   adj

These are manifestly good

good | being | are they? the here ...
20c. [no running translation]

2.14 **tíímúntíwa** ·

look it over!
v

Look them over!

... look at them!
20d. Well, look at them!"
De Angulo's translation for the 4 parts of 20: "Here they are. So you like them? Well, look at them".

2.15 **pi tmánuwí qa qláál̓a tykisẏí céémul ẇáka** ·

here   it might be   the   shoes   said   coyote   agent
adv   cop   def   N   v   N   Nsfx

Are these the shoes? asked Coyote.

"Here | are they? | the shoes" | he said | Coyote
21. "Are these the ones?"

2.16 **háá'á** ， **qʰé tím tẏánuwí ittʰú qláál̓a** ， **mám qʰé 'ka tím suwá**

yes   right there   it is   my   shoes   and   that   agent   indeed(?)   I will be
excl   adv   cop   pers   N   coordconn   deic   post   adv   v

sóóċiiláké tykisẏí púllééwi ka ·

I possess   said   porcupine   agent
v   v   N   Nsfx

Yes, those are my shoes right there, and I definitely am the one who owns them, said Porcupine.

Yes | indeed | they are | my | shoes | and | certainly | I am | I possess"
22. "Certainly! They are the only shoes I have".

2.17 **má ḣuká lhínámmátsí tykisẏí céémul ẇáka** ·

and   OK   let's us two trade!   said   coyote   agent
coordconn   interj   v   v   N   Nsfx

OK, let's trade, said Coyote.

"Well then | lets trade!" | he said | Coyote.
23. "Well then lets trade!"said Coyote.
Cp. LR 1973 1.69, 1.70

2.18 **háá'á tykisẏí púllééwí ka** ·

yes   said   porcupine   agent
excl   v   N   Nsfx

Porcupine said "Yes".

"All right" he said
24. "Allright" said Porcupine.

2.19 **tykwáqláĺtaaẇáké** ·

took off shoes

v

he took off his shoes.

he took off his shoes
25. Coyote took off his shoes.

2.20 **má ánca   tykwaqláĺci   qa   céémul   ẇáka** ·

and then   he put shoes on   the   coyote   agent

coordconn   v   def   N   Nsfx

and then he put shoes on.

then | he put the shoes on | the | Coyote
26. He put Porcupine's shoes on.

2.21 **tykwaċícpúúmí**   ·

he put his feet straight into them

v

he put his feet straight into them (without padding).

he put nothing inside
27. He didn't put anything inside.

Footnote: The mocassins [sic] of woven rushes were so rough that it was always necessary to stuff the inside with moss to avoid chafing. Coyote did not know this.

2.22 **tykwániqláĺtaawáke   céémul   ẇáka** ·

he took his shoes right off coyote   agent

v   N   Nsfx

Coyote took his shoes right off.

he took off his shoes | Coyote
28. Coyote took off his shoes.

2.23 **tykwacaasáċci   púllééwi   ka**   ·

he picked up   porcupine   agent

v   N   Nsfx

Porcupine picked them up.

he picked them up | Porcupine | ...
29a. Porcupine picked them up and

2.24 **tykwíntaaꞇááᵽáᶌí**   ·

he put them away neatly

v

he put them away neatly.

he put them away
29b. put them away

2.25 **má ánca lépta tykisỳí qa céémul** ·

    and then   I'm going back home   said   the coyote

    coordconn v   v   def N

Then Coyote said I'm going home!

then "I'll go home" | he said | the | Coyote
30. Coyote went off on a run.

2.26 **it aamáỳtu sóólaací pálm̓as tykisỳí qa púllééwí** ·

    1sg   likewise   I go to gather (wood) now   said   the porcupine

    pers adv   v   adv   v   def N

Me too, I'm going to gather (wood) now said Porcupine.

"I | also | I go after wood | soon" | said | the | Porcupine
31. "I am going out too after wood pretty soon" said Porcupine.

3.1 **mám tykááh̓uumí iipáċ céémul ẃáka** ·

    and   ran   strongly coyote   agent

    coordconn v   adv   N   Nsfx

Then Coyote ran fast.

then | he ran | fast | Coyote
32. Coyote went off on a run

3.2 **má ánca tykwácúsṗiimí** ·

    and then   he stopped running

    coordconn v

he stopped running .

then | he stopped
33. Then he stopped.

3.3 **tykwínmáqmícóóké** ·

    he tracked himself

    v

he followed his own tracks.

he tracked himself back
34. He went back along his tracks.

3.4 **tístí sínwáámúúyí tykwápsíwcí** ·

    truly I took advantage of him he thought

    adv   v   v

I really robbed him blind, he thought

"well | I beat him" | he thought
35. "I beat him allright!" he thought,
deA: Coyote & Porcupine
Cp. sínwámmí "I steal" úúyí "benefactive"

3.5 **winímmááci tooqímcóó'oy** ·

    he saw it   footprints

    v   ptcp

he saw his footprints

seeing | the tracks

35b. looking at his own tracks

De Angulo takes this to be a subordinate clause, but the 3rd person subordinate is 3rd person subordinate is t-, and this is the ordinary 3rd person, often with stative meaning, and winímmááci is "he saw" or "he found".

3.6 **iipáċ   tykááḣuumí ṫáqʰá** ·

    strongly ran   again

    adv   v   adv

He ran fast again.

fast | he ran | again

36. He started to run again, fast.

3.7 **tykwáápááyimí ippí kacʰú** ·

    laid out   tail   his

    v   N   pers

He laid his tail out behind.

he laid out | tail | his

37. He laid out his tail.

Put his tail in a dropped state: pa put, drop y change state -m down/thither

Word order is unique to this sentence in the database. Perh. a speaker's correction or repetition ippí – kacʰú ippí misheard during manual transcription.

3.8 **páİ tykwínalláqci** ·

    now he turned back

    adv   v

now he turned back.

soon | he turned ...

38. Pretty soon he stopped again ...

3.9 **ṫáqʰá tykwínmáqmícóóké** ·

    again   he tracked himself

    adv   v

he tracked himself again.

again | he tracked himself back

38b. and retraced his steps.

3.10 **tykwinímmááci aḣti ṫí   wáté** ·

    saw   blood snow place

    v   N   N   adv

He saw blood on the snow.

he saw | blood | on the snow ...

39. He saw blood on the snow.

3.11 **tykwáálu̇hyá** ·

    it chafed him

    v

(The tule shoes) chafed him.

tsìkùa·lùhyá

he was chafed.

40. His feet were chafed.

The lengthening of the vowel is probably expressive.

4.1 **mám**   **tykyúwapte** **púllééwí** **ú**   **ascúy**   ·

    then   went back   porcupine   POSS   winter house

    coordconn   v   N   Nsfx   N

Then he went back to Porcupine's house.

then | he went back | Porcupine's | winter-house

41. Then he went back to Porcupine's house

4.2 **tykyáátʰuumí** ·

    arrived

    v

he arrived.

41a. he arrived, ...

4.3 **ckyáámiimí** ·

    he went down

    v

he went down

he entered

41b. he entered, ...

Re-elicited with LR in the 'creation' story.

4.4 **ckáskímci** ·

    he sat down

    v

he sat down.

he sat down

41c. he sat down.

4.5 **ḣúkwaaẏí** **tẏánuwí** **qá** **pi**   **tykísẏí** ·

    bad   it is   the   this here   said

    adj   cop   def   adv   v

These are bad, he said.

"Bad | they are | the | here" he said ...

43a. "These shoes are no good" he said.

4.6 ṫáqʰá pi lhiwanámmátsí tykisýí ·
　　again here let's trade back said
　　adv adv v v
let's trade these back again he said.

"again | here | let's trade!" | he said
43b. [Not translated]

4.7 ċé tykuwí tííatʰanti qa púllééwí ·
　　not he was pay attention to the porcupine
　　Neg cop ptcp def N
Porcupine wasn't paying attention.

he did not | pay attention | the Porcupine
44. Porcupine didn't pay any attention to him.

4.8 mám macẃá suwi tykisýí céémul ẃáka , má yá ṫe sisýí ·
　　and hurt I am said coyote agent and emph thus I said
　　coordconn adj cop v N Nsfx coordconn adv deic v
Then Coyote said "I'm hurting, that's why I said that."

then | "I am hurt" | he said | Coyote | "that's why | I said that"
45. "I am urt" said Coyote " I am telling you!"

4.9 ċé tykuwí tííatʰanti qa púllééwí ·
　　not he was pay attention to the porcupine
　　Neg cop ptcp def N
Porcupine wasn't paying attention.

he did not | pay attention | the Porcupine
46. Porcupine didn't pay any attention.

4.10 mám ċé kuwí tálílláɋti qa tinámmátsi amqʰá lhinííẃíw ·
　　and not you are like the trade but let's us two compete!
　　coordconn Neg cop ptcp def ptcp coordconn v
If you don't want to trade, then, let's race!

then | " You don't | like | the | trading | then | let's race!"
47. "If you dont [sic] like to trade them back, then let's race for them?" said Coyote.
deA: Coyote & Porcupine

4.11 ċé tykuwí tííatʰanti qa púllééwí ·
　　not he was pay attention to the porcupine
　　Neg cop ptcp def N
Porcupine wasn't paying attention.

he did not | pay attention | the Porcupine
48. Porcupine didn't pay any attention.

4.12 **waaⱡaaẏé** **ⱡicááyéꝗti** **mám** **lhinííẇíw** , **assa**

tump-line	I'll add on by hand	and	let's us two race!	sugar-pine nuts
N	v	coordconn	v	N

ċícċáákí' .

gunny sack; soft tick bag

N

I'll add on a tump-line and let's race, (against) a sack of sugar-pine nuts.

"tump-line | I'll add | and | let's race | pine-nuts | bet!" | he said | Coyote.
49. "I'll throw in my tump-line as a side-bet and you throw in some nuts, and then we will race!" said Coyote. De Angulo's títsak glossed "bet!" may be ċícċáákí' a soft sack, with the counter-bet implicit. tííċak "bite" or even "bite hither" seems unlikely. "Gamble" = tíiꝗúúli.
tínéétaayi "tie a bundle"

5.1 **tʰúsẏí suwá** , **qláál̇a sínááẏá** .

good	I will be	shoes	I manifested
adj	v	N	v

I'm good! I got myself some shoes!

"I am allright | shoes | I have
50. "My shoes are allright, I am satisfied" said Porcupine.

5.2 **áliiⱨúkẇací tsiẏí tykwapsíw púllééwí ka** , **ċikiiẇálu ká tsiẏí** ·

bad		I am	he thought	porcupine	agent	doctor	indeed	I am
ptcp		cop	v	N	Nsfx	N	adv	cop

Porcupine was thinking "I'm a bad one, I'm a magician."
"A mean one | I am" | he thought | Porcupine | "Magician | a | I am"
51. At the same time he was thinking " am a hard one! I am a magician!".

5.3 **má ánca háá'á tykisẏí** ·

and then	yes	said
coordconn	excl	v

Then he said yes.

then | "allright" | he said
52. Then, "Allright!" he said.

5.4 **má ánca tyktináácíwcíw** ·

and then	they bet
coordconn	v

then they bet

they bet
53. So they made their bets.

5.5 **mháⱨiilaymá** **tykisẏí céémul ẇáka** ·

I'll give you a head start	said	coyote	agent
v	v	N	Nsfx

Coyote said "I'll give you a head start".

"I'll give you a handicap!" | he said | Coyote

54. "I had better give you a handicap" said Coyote.

5.6

tístí	síísáátumá	tykwapsíwci	púlééwí	ka	mám	tykwínwaḣelmí ·
right, correct	I was told	thought	porcupine	agent	and	he started out
adv	v	v	N	Nsfx	coordconn	v

"He told me right!" thought Porcupine, and he started out.

"Allright | he told me" thus he thought | Porcupine
55. "Never mind" Porcupine thought, and he started.

5.7

tykwacíptiicumí	qópin ，	qópin ，	qópin ·
he went lazily along	plod	plod	plod
Vstem	onom	onom	onom

He plodded lazily along.

tskùàdzéptì·dzùmí qó·pìn ... qó·pìn ... qó·pìn ...
he ambled along qó·pìn ... qó·pìn ... qó·pìn ...
56. He ambled along qoobin..qoobin..qoobin..

5.8

taaḣóm	tykisẏí	céémul	ẇáka ·
run!	said	coyote	agent
v	v	N	Nsfx

"Run!" said Coyote.

"Run!" | said | Coyote
57. "Run!" cried Coyote.

5.9

qópin ，	qópin ，	qópin	tykwaċuumí	qa	púlééwí ·
plod	plod	plod	he crept along	the	porcupine
onom	onom	onom	v	def	N

Qo..bin, qo..bin, qo..bin, Porcupine crept along.

qó·pìn ... qó·pìn ... qó·pìn ... | he kept going | the | Porcupine
58. Porcupine kept going qoobin..qoobin..qoobin..

5.10

mlilúmmóóyáma	qa	céémul	tykwapsíw	amqʰá	ťé	waċum	ku	má
I'll make him lose	the	coyote	he thought	therefore	thus	he creeps	fut	and
v	def	N	v	coordconn	adv	v		coordconn

tykwapsíwcí	mám	tykwinilúḣḣííwací ·
thought	and	he tightened his belt
v	coordconn	v

I'll beat him easily, thought Coyote, if he creeps along like that, he thought, and he tightened his belt.

"I'll beat him"| the | Coyote |hethought | "if he runs like that" | he thought | and | he put on his belt
59. "I'll berat him easy if doesnt [sic] run any faster than that!" and he put on his belt.
tilummááẇi beat someone, óóyáma combines volitional and causative, without ẇi stative.

5.11

má ánca	tykááḣuumí	céémul	ẇáka ·
and then	ran	coyote	agent
coordconn	v	N	Nsfx

and then Coyote ran

then | he ran | Coyote

60. He started running.

5.12 **tykwiniyóqtátу̧́í** ·

    he caught up

    v

he caught up.

He caught up with him
61. He caught up with him

5.13 **tístí tuccáámé' tykwapsíw** ·

    good not do   he thought

    adv   ptcp   v

That's no good, he thought.

"Well | being not" he thought.
62. "He is no good!" he thought.

5.14 **má ánca ckwínwahΐílaymí ṫaqʰápá qa céémul** ·

    and then   he gave him a head start again(?)   the coyote

    coordconn v   adv   def N

Then Coyote gave him a head start again.

then | he gave him a handicap | again | the | Coyote
63. He gave him a handicap again.

5.15 **ckyááḣuumí céémul wáka mám ckwiniyóqtátу̧́í** ·

    he ran   coyote   agentive and   he caught up with him

    v   N   Nsfx   coordconn v

Coyote ran and he caught up with him.

he ran | Coyote | and | he caught up with him
64. Once more he caught up with him.

5.16 **tupté aamím ckisу̧́í qa céémul** , **pi** , **cʰistéé ẇal tу̧́ánuwí** ·

    go!   right now he said the coyote   here   with it is

    v   adv   v   def N   adv   Nsfx cop

Go now, said Coyote. Here, it's even.

"Go! | fast" | he said | the | Coyote | "here | together | it is"
65. "Go on fast! here we are together again!" he said.

5.17 **má ánca ckwínwahΐílaymí ṫáqʰápá qa céémul** ·

    and then   he gave him a head start again   the coyote

    coordconn v   adv   def N

Then Coyote gave him a head start again.

then | he gave him a handicap | again | the | Coyote
66. Again he have [sic.] him a handicap.

5.18 **ckyááḣuumí céémul wáka mám ckwiniyóqtátу̧́í** ·

    he ran   coyote   agentive and   he caught up with him

    v   N   Nsfx   coordconn v

Coyote ran and caught up with him.

he ran | the | Coyote | and | he caught up with him
67. Again he ran and he caught up with him.

5.19 **má ánca ckitááċámci mám   cktilaháámíwci** ·

and then	he stopped	and	they talked
coordconn	v	coordconn	v

Then he stopped and they talked

then | he stopped | and | they talked
68. Then they stopped and talked.

5.20 **wé tiḣúm ckisý́í qa céémul** ·

well	run!	he said	the	coyote
adv	v	v	def	N

Now run! said Coyote

"Now | run again!" | he said | the | Coyote
69. "Now tryu again" said Coyote.

6.1 **mám   ckyííḣuumí púllééwí ka** ·

and	he ran	porcupine	agent
coordconn	v	N	Nsfx

And Porcupine ran.

and | he ran again | Porcupine
70. Porcupine started again.

6.2 **ckááċááẁací céémul ẁáka** ·

he stopped	coyote	agent
v	N	Nsfx

Coyote stayed put.

he lay down | Coyote
71. Coyote lay down

6.3 **ckwacíptiicumí púllééwí ka   qópin , qópin , qópin** ·

he ambled along	porcupine	agent	plod	plod	plod
v	N	Nsfx	onom	onom	onom

Porcupine shambled along, qo..bin, qo..bin, qo..bin .

he went along | Porcupine | qóbin..qó·bin ..qó·bin .. [sic. short vowel on first occurrence]
72. Porcupine kept on running.

6.4 **pat·ti tylúw   ckwapsíw qa púllééwí qa ċikiiẁálu** ·

plum	let him be	he thought	the	porcupine	the	doctor
N	cop	v	def	N	def	N

"Let there be plums!" thought Porcupine, the doctor.

"Plums | let them be! | he thought " the " Porcupine " the " magician.
73. "Let ther[sic] be plums!" he thought, Porcupine the magician.

6.5 **má ánca puȴ   tylúw   ckwapsíw** ·
    and then   choke cherry let him be he thought
    coordconn N   cop   v
Then he thought, "Let there be cherries!"

Then | "Cherries | let them be!" | he thought.
74. "Let there be cherries!"

6.6 **má ánca ááċa tylúw   ckwapsíw** ·
    and then   locust let him be he thought
    coordconn N   cop   v
Then he thought "Let there be locusts!"

Then | "Crickets | let them be!" | he thought
75. "Let there be crickets!"

6.7 **má ánca kʰéstam ckwapsíw** ·
    and then   enough   he thought
    coordconn adv   v
Then he thought "Enough!".

Then | "Enough!" | he thought
76. "And that's enough!" he thought.

6.8 **ckwíncaapalqáké   púllééwí** ·
    he was endowed with ability to manifest porcupine
    v   N
Porcupine had magical power.
tsikuínsapalwáké
he had power | Porcupine
77.
tíláqti "sorcery"=láq "turn, reverse" + t "directed" (Curtin dilékdi). de A's form would require ínsapalwí, requiring in turn something like sa "indefinite" (??) + pal "flip" + w "stative", where pal is otherwise found only before ċú in e.g. waċiipalċúcí "turns it over with foot". Is it a reduction of *palqċú ? pa "fall, drop, place" + l doesn't make sense, and speculative itiyáápalẇáké "dance costume" (Bauman eedeeyapal'wage) seems unrelated.

6.9 **má ánca ckííȴhuumí iipáċ , qópin , qópin , qópin ckyaaċuumí púllééwí ka**   ·
    and then   he ran   strongly   plod   plod   plod   he went along porcupine agent
    coordconn v   adv   onom onom   onom v   N   Nsfx
Then he ran fast, Porcupine went along, qóbin .. qóbin .. qóbin.

then | he an again | fast |qóbin .. qóbin .. qóbin | he went along | Porcupine
78. Then he started again to run fast, qobin,qobin,qobin, [sic] he went along.

6.10 **má ánca aalú ckááwaací** ·
    and then   cloud he made
    coordconn N   v
Then he made clouds

then | a cloud | he made by magic
79. Then he made a cloud by magic

6.11 **má ánca   ckííh̓uumí móh̓ya kacʰú ascúy**   ·

    and then   he ran   near   his   winter house
    coordconn v   adv   pers   N

Then he ran to his nearby house.

then | he ran home | close by | to his | winter house
80. Then he ean home to his winter-house, close by.

6.12 **ckéétʰuumí**   ·

    he arrived home

    v

He arrived home.

he arrived home
81. He got there.

6.13 **ckyáámiimí** ， **ckaskímci** ·

    he went down   he sat down
    v   v

he went down into the house, he sat down

he entered | he sat down
82a. He entered, he sat down,

6.14 **kʰuhuháy ckisẏí** ， **salúmmááẃí céémul** ·

    phew!   he said   I beat him   coyote
    excl   v   v   N

"Phew!" he said, "I beat him!"

"Pheww!" | he said | "I beat him". coyote
82b. "Phewww!" he said, "I beat him!".
It's possible that Mary intended the noun to go with the next sentence and be repeated there, as de Angulo wrote it.

7.1 **iipáċ   waah̓uumí tím   yá   tsiẏí ckwapsíw céémul ẇáka** ， **iipáċ**

    strongly one runs   indeed(?) emph I am he thought coyote agent   strongly
    adv   v   adv   adv cop v   N   Nsfx   adv

uuh̓uumíwálu tsiẏí ckwapsíwci ·

runner   I am he thought
N   cop   v

"I'm a really fast runner" Coyote thought, "I'm a strong-running man" he thought.

Coyote | fast | runner | indeed | I am | he thought | Coyote. | "Fast | running-man | I am" | he thought
83. Coyote was thinking, "I am a fast riunner, I am the best runner!".

7.2 **ckááh̓uumí** ； **ckwínsaaċumí** ； **tinsaaċumi ckwapsíw** ·

    he ran   he hurried   hurry   he tried
    v   v   ptcp   v

he ran, he hurried, he tried to hurry.

he ran | he hurried | "Hurrying along" | he thought.

84. He started to run fast, "Doing pretty well" he thought..

7.3 **ckyáátaamáké** ·

he lost his sense of direction

v

he lost his sense of direction.

he lost his bearings
85. Then he lost his bearings.
ta go in a direction. -áké sometimes suggests 'mistakenly'.

7.4 **ckanááq̇atċumí** **asẁú wáté** ·

he kept bumping into tree place

v N adv

he kept running into trees

tsikanánqa·tsumí

he ran around

86. He kept running in a circle around the trees

Possibly ckanátqaacumí = nat "go around (behind)" (so far is attested only in slot 3) + qac "close, lock"

7.5 **má ánca ckyááḣuumí qa céémul** ·

and then he ran the coyote

coordconn v def N

Then Coyote ran

then | he ran | the | Coyote
87. But he kept on running.

7.6 **méétʰuumí ckwapsíwci ; smitilúúmáumá ckwapsíw qa céémul** ·

he might get home he thought he might beat me he thought the coyote

v v v v def N

He might get home, he might beat me, thought Coyote.

"Did you arrive home?" | he thought " | "He'll beat me!" | he thought | the | Coyote
88. Then he thought "I wonder if you are home already? I wonder if he'll beat me?".

7.7 **ckwánsiisáyimí pʰááṫa láté** ·

he jumped into sagebrush locative

v N Nsfx

He jumped into sagebrush.

he ran into | into sagebrush
89. He ran into a patch of sage-brush.

7.8 **ckyáámá ; ckwínwammá qa puⱡ ṫáqʰá pá ckwinímmááci** ·

he ate he ate up the choke cherry on the other hand he found

v v def N coordconn v

He ate them; he ate up the cherries that he also found.

90. he ate | he filled himself | the | cherries | somehow | he saw
90. He found some cherries and stopped to eat them, and filled himself.

7.9 **má ánca ááċa ckwinímmááci mám   ckwínwammá** ·

    and then   locust he found   and   he ate up
    coordconn N   v   coordconn v

Then he saw crickets, and he gobbled them up.

91. then | crickets | he saw | and | he filled himself
91. Then he found crickets and ate them until he filled himself.

7.10 **haṁis pá aaṁá ckáámá** ·

    one at a time   he ate
    quant   v

he ate them one at a time.

92. one at a time | he ate them
92. One by one he ate them.

7.11 **má ánca   pat·ti ckwinímmááci haṁís pá aaṁá ckáámá ckwínwammá** ·

    and then   plum   he found   one at a time   he ate   he ate up
    coordconn N   v   quant   v   v

Then he fiound the plums and ate them one at a time, he gobbled them up.

93. then | plums | he saw | one at a time | he ate them | he filled himself
92. [sic] Then he saw plums and ate them one by one until he was full.

7.12 **má ánca   stitillummááẇumá   ckwapsíwci** ·

    and then   he must have has beaten me he thought
    coordconn v   v

Then he thought "he must have won!"

94. "I wonder if he is going to beat me" | he thought.
93. Then he thought again, "I wonder if he might beat me?"
s- "me" t- "he" t- "inferential",
Cp. stitínímmáácumá "they must have seen me", stayáámá "I must have eaten it",

7.13 **ckááḣuumí iipáċ**   ·

    he ran   strongly
    v   adv

he ran fast.

95. he ran | fast
94. He started to race again..

7.14 **ilílliimí ckyááwaací púllééwi ka   ,   ilílliimí aḣtúúké' ka   atumúmcí** ·

    cliff face he made   porcupine agent   cliff face full   agent fog
    N   v   N   Nsfx   N   ptcp   Nsfx   ptcp

Porcupine made a cliff filled over with fog.

96. a canyon | he made by magic | Porcupine | a canyon | full | fog
95. Then Porcupine made a canyon by magic, a canyon full of fog.

7.15 **ckáá́huumí iipá́c qa céémul ẇáka** ·

    he ran   strongly the coyote   agent
    v   adv   def N   Nsfx

Coyote ran hard.

97. he was running | fast | the | Coyote
96. Coyote was racing along.

7.16 **kacʰú ḣiiẇá ka úú qúc** !

    his   tapeworm agent ooh! oops!
    pers   N   Nsfx excl excl

Ooh! Watch out! said his tapeworm.

98. his | tapeworm | "oooh | look out!"
98. [sic] His tapeworms warned him "Ooooh! Look out!"( )
( ) marks de A's footnote: Coyotes, like dos, are full of tapeworms. The Coyote of the myths had three pet ones, whose advice he always asked.

7.17 **má ánca ckwámaatánumí céémul ẇáka** ·

    and then   coyote agent
    coordconn   N   Nsfx

Then Coyote looked down.

99. then | he looked down | Coyote
99. Coyote looked down.

7.18 **má ánca ckwámmakyumí** ·

    and then
    coordconn

Then he looked up.

100. then | he looked up
100. Then he looked up.

7.19 **má ánca ckwámmactumi** ·

    and then
    coordconn

Then he looked around.

101. then | he looked ariound.
101. Then he looked around.

7.20 **má ánca ckáá́huumí** ·

    and then   he ran
    coordconn v

Then he ran.

103. then | he ran
102. má·ndza is crossed out at the end of the line, and the typist mistakenly began the next line with 103.
103.[sic] Then he started to run again.

7.21 **ckáciitánumicumí** ·

    he went flailing downward

    v

he went flailing downward.

104. He flew whirling downward.

104. He went down flying in a whirl.

7.22 **má ánca ckwináḣúktami** ·

    and then   he dangled full length

    coordconn Vstem

Then he fetched up and dangled full length.

tsikuináhóktamí

105. then he caught himself.

105. Then he caught hold of the canyon wall and hung there.

This seems to have three directional morphemes: -k "hither", -ta "extending in a line", -m "downward" (or perhaps "thither"). The image seems to be of him dangling stretched out full length.

8.1

má ánca	**ittʰú**	**wawá**	**ḣiiẁá**	**ckwatílliíwí**	**stintámmaakúya**	**ckwáwaaṫííci**	**cʰú**
and then	my	big	tapeworm	he called him	explain to me	he cried	how
coordconn	pers	adj	N	v	v	v	pro-form

stuwááci kúci ·

should I do? future

cop

Then he called his big tapeworm, "Explain this to me!"; he cried; "What should I do?".

má·ndza "ittú wa'wá hi'wa" tsikuadílli·wi· "stindammagúya" tsikuáwa'tí·dzí "tsústuwátsigúdzí"

106. then | "My | big | tapeworm" | he called | "Tell me!" | he cried | "what am I going to do?"

106. "My eldest Tapeworm" he cried, "Tell me! "[sic]What am I going to do?"

sintámmaaki I tell about it, stintámmaak tell me about it! stintámmaakúya tell me about it for my benefit tuwááci make, manifest, stuwááci could be inferential "what have I done" but stuwááci kúci is future.

8.2

ínííẁíwcí	**ka**	**yáámá**	**tkiẏí**	'	**ṫáncimámé'**	**ínííẁíwcí**	**ka**	**ckisẏí**	**qa**	**wawá**	**ḣiiẁá**
racing	agent	one eats	you are		no such	racing	agent	he said	the	big	tapeworm
ptcp	Nsfx	v	cop		adv	ptcp	Nsfx	v	def	adj	N

·

You are one who eats while racing, you can't do that while racing, said the big tapeworm.

"Racing eating | you are | that's not the way | racing" | he said | the | big | tapeworm

107. The oldest Tapeworm answered, "You stop to eat in a race, that's no way to race!"
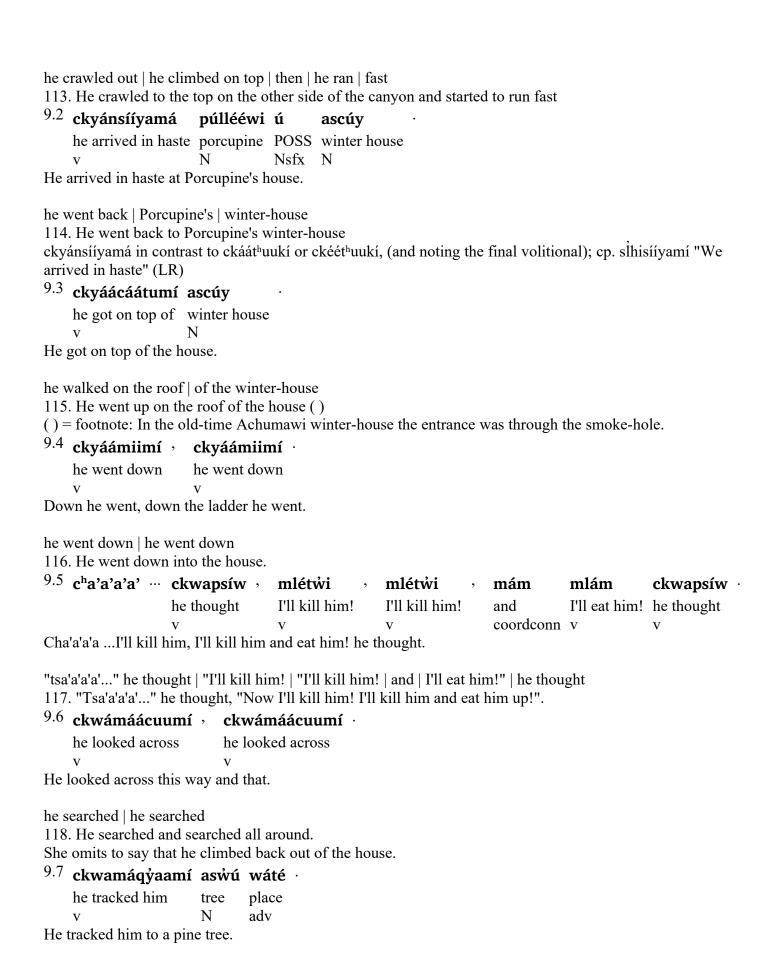
8.3

má ánca	**ittʰú**	**issi**	**wawá**	**ḣiiẁá**	**cʰú**	**stuwááci**	**kúci**	'	**stintámmaakúya**
and then	my	in the middle	big	tapeworm	how	should I do?	future		explain to me
coordconn	pers	adv	adj	N	pro-form	cop			v

ípsíílé ·

Then my middle-size tapeworm, what should I do, quick, tell me!

then | "My | middle | tapeworm | what am I going to do | tell me! | quick!"

108. "My middle Tapeworm! What shall I do? Tell me quick!"

8.4 cʰú   wé lkí   ckisẏí qa issi   wawá ḣiiẃá   ·

how   lo you could do he said the in the middle big   tapeworm

pro-form adv v   v   def adv   adj   N

What can you do, said the middle-size tapeworm.

"What | thus | can you do?" | he said | the | middle | tapeworm.
109. "You can't help it now!" said the middle Tapeworm.

8.5 ṫé   wisẏí   aaḿá tkiẏí   ckisẏí céémul ẃáka ·

thus one says only   you are he said coyote   agent

adv v   adv   cop   v   N   Nsfx

That's all you ever say, said Coyote.

110.(a)"saying that | you always are" he said | Coyote
110."Oh, that's what you always say! ...

8.6 ittʰú ċókca ḣiiẃá   stintámmaakúya cʰú   stuwááci kúci ·

my   small tapeworm explain to me   how   should I do? future

pers adj   N   v   pro-form cop

My small tapeworm, explain to me what I should do!

110. (b) "My | little | tapeworm | tell me! | what shall I do?"
110. ... My little Tapeworm, you tell me! What shall I do?"

8.7 talaatóq̇ta   mám   tawatánóm , tiċitqitq̇áta áliicʰáḣha ·

lean full length against it! and   go down!   dig in your feet with claws

v   coordconn v   v   adv

Lean flat against the cliff and go down, dig your feet in with your claws!

"turn on your side! | and | climb down!| dig in your toes! | canyon-wall"
111. "Turn sideways, dig your toes in the canyon-wall and climb down!"
ċi with feet tqit ? q̇át press against

8.8 má ánca ckwanaatánumí qa céémul ẃáka , ckwanáácuumí , ckwánsiitááwí as

and then he went down   the coyote agent   he went across   he jumped out   water

coordconn v   def N   Nsfx   v   v   N

wéwta   ·

on the other side

adv

Then Coyote went down, he went across and jumped out of the water on the other side.

then | he climbed down | the | Coyote | he went across | he jumped across
112. Then Coyote climbed down, he jumped over across the river.
ckwanááciimí: ná go ci acting floppy -m down or thither; or ná iterative/intensive. But ckwanáácuumí is well
attested and suits part of his gloss.
yánsiitááwi it jumps out (Radin); wéwta unattested

9.1 ckwáncittákẏi ,   ckyatasċúúcí má ánca ckááḣuumí iipáċ   ·

he crawled out   he got on top   and then he ran   strongly

v   v   coordconn v   adv

He crawled out, he got on top and then he ran hard.

he crawled out | he climbed on top | then | he ran | fast
113. He crawled to the top on the other side of the canyon and started to run fast

9.2 **ckyánsííyamá** **púllééwi ú** **ascúy** ·

he arrived in haste   porcupine   POSS   winter house
v   N   Nsfx   N

He arrived in haste at Porcupine's house.

he went back | Porcupine's | winter-house
114. He went back to Porcupine's winter-house
ckyánsííyamá in contrast to ckáátʰuukí or ckéétʰuukí, (and noting the final volitional); cp. sl̀hisííyamí "We arrived in haste" (LR)

9.3 **ckyáácáátumí** **ascúy** ·

he got on top of   winter house
v   N

He got on top of the house.

he walked on the roof | of the winter-house
115. He went up on the roof of the house ( )
( ) = footnote: In the old-time Achumawi winter-house the entrance was through the smoke-hole.

9.4 **ckyáámiimí** ， **ckyáámiimí** ·

he went down   he went down
v   v

Down he went, down the ladder he went.

he went down | he went down
116. He went down into the house.

9.5 **cʰa'a'a'a'** ⋯ **ckwapsíw** ， **mlétẁi** ， **mlétẁi** ， **mám** **mlám** **ckwapsíw** ·

                he thought   I'll kill him!   I'll kill him!   and   I'll eat him!   he thought
                v   v   v   coordconn   v   v

Cha'a'a'a ...I'll kill him, I'll kill him and eat him! he thought.

"tsa'a'a'a'..." he thought | "I'll kill him! | "I'll kill him! | and | I'll eat him!" | he thought
117. "Tsa'a'a'a'..." he thought, "Now I'll kill him! I'll kill him and eat him up!".

9.6 **ckwámáácuumí** ， **ckwámáácuumí** ·

he looked across   he looked across
v   v

He looked across this way and that.

he searched | he searched
118. He searched and searched all around.
She omits to say that he climbed back out of the house.

9.7 **ckwamáqẏaamí** **asẁú** **wáté** ·

he tracked him   tree   place
v   N   adv

He tracked him to a pine tree.

he tracked him | to a pine-tree

119. He tracked him outside to a pine-tree.

9.8

ckwínímmááci	anúúkʰé	iwááyasẇací	assa	·
he saw him	climbing up	always grinding	sugar-pine nuts	
v	ptcp	ptcp	N	

he saw him grinding sugar-pine nuts where he had climbed up.

he saw him | way up | grinding | pine-nuts

120. And there he saw him way up, grinding pine-nuts.

Translation misses the continuous grinding, "grinding away" doesn't work.

9.9

táq	cʰú	miẏí	tmiẏí	kuci	mów	،	miniċúúcí	ckisẏí	céémul	ẇaka
what	how	are you?	might you be	future	you might be		go	he said	coyote	agent
pro	pro-form	cop	cop		cop		Vroot	v	N	

·

What in the world are you – might you – will you do? Are you relocating?

táqtsúmií tmií kídzímô·mínítsú·dzí tsalós·ó dzé·mulwága

"What doing | are you? | moving camp

121. What for did you move camp?

9.10

lhilaslállámicka	ckisẏí	púllééwí	ka	·
I waited long for you	he said	porcupine	agent	
v	v	N	Nsfx	

I waited a long time for you, said Porcupine.

122a. "I waited for you" he said Porcupine

122. "I was waiting for you" said Porcupine, "but there were too many lice and I had to move. But where have you been? I beat you!"

Cp. tíslálámmi wait for. I take the extra lá in de Angulo's record to refer to extent of waiting, but it may be spurious.

9.11

qa	qʰáṁ	aaṁíċ	yuwí	،	táncí'	síníċúúci	·
the	many	body louse	it is		that kind	I relocated	
def	quant	N	cop		deic	v	

There are many lice, (because of) that kind I relocated.

122b. "the | many | lice | are | that's why | I moved camp

9.12

má	lhiluumááwicka	،	mám	cʰéẏé	tmiẏí	ckisẏí	·
and	I beat you		and	which way	might you be	he said	
coordconn	v		coordconn	pro-form	cop	v	

"But I beat you, and wherever were you?" he said.

122c. but | I beat you | and | where | were you?" | he said

9.13

pat·ti	sínímmáácí	ckisẏí	،	mám	sáámá	،	puẏ	sinímmááci	mám
plum	I saw	he said		and	I'm eating		choke cherry	I see	and
N	v	v		coordconn	v		N	v	coordconn

sáámá	˴	ááċa	wílíl	sinímmááci	mám		sáámá	qa	tóólol	ckisẏí	·
I'm eating		locust	also	I see	and		I'm eating	the	all	he said	
v		N	adv	v	coordconn		v	def	quant	v	

I saw plums and I ate them, I saw cherries and I ate them, I saw locusts too, and I ate all of them.

123a. "plums | I saw | he said | "and | I ate them" | he said | "cherries | I saw | and | I ate them | crickets also | I saw | and | I ate | the | all" ...

123. "I found some plums and I stopped to eat" Coyote said, "Then I found some cherries and I ate of that, and then some crickets and I ate them too, I saw that you were running not far, that's why I stopped to eat".

9.14
lhinímmáácicka	pʰííẇa	kááḣuumí	mám		sáámá	˴	mám	tsiẏí	sáámá	·
I saw you	here	you ran	and		I'm eating		and	I am	I'm eating	
v	adv	v	coordconn		v		coordconn	cop	v	

I saw you run nearby and I ate, of course I ate.

123b. "I saw you | right near | you run | and | I ate | and | that's why I ate"

9.15
ḳicci		mów	mámmí	inííẇíwcí	ka	˴	máámúċ	twiẏí	iyááḣuumí	qa
you should not do		it might be	you might eat	competing	agent		together	it is	two run	the
v		cop	v	ptcp	Nsfx		adv	cop	v	def

inííẇíwcí	ka	·
competing	agent	
ptcp	Nsfx	

You shouldn't be eating when you're competing, when two competitors run it's together.

"You mustn't eat | when you are racing | together it is | two men run | the | racers"

124. "You have no business to eat when you are in a race! When two men race they are supposed to keep together!"

10
allu	suwí	˴	assa	stííl̓á	˴	mlám	ckisẏí	céémul	ẇáka	·
hungry	I am		sugar-pine nuts	hand me some		I will eat!	he said	coyote	agent	
Vroot	cop		N	v		v	v	N	Nsfx	

I'm hungry, give me some pine nuts, I will eat them, said Coyote.

"I am hungry | pine-nuts | give me? | I'll eat | he said | Coyote

125. Well, I am hungry anyhow, give me some pine-nuts to eat!"

11.1
amqʰáka	lhillúúmáwicka	˴	ká	tlhuwáticka	·
but	I beat you		indeed	that is our state	
adv	v		adv	v	

But I beat you, that's the way things are.

126a. "That way | I beat you | that's what I did to you

126. But Porcupine would not, "I beat you, didn't I? This is now the fall of the year when things are ripe. It was last winter when we started to race, with snow on the ground. Do you suppose I was going to wait for you that long?"

11.2
páálá	mów	iiẇáámak	tuci	wiṁáámi	·
today	it might be	autumn	to do	ripens	
adv	cop	N	ptcp	v	

Now it's autumn, it ripens

126b. only now | in autumn | to be | it ripens...

11.3 **mákʰuya ascuy tí uci wáté tihiẏí**   **?**

    remember? winter snow doing place are you and I (we two)?

    interj   N   N   ptcp   adv   cop

Remember? We were in winter snow.

126c. last | winter | snow | everywhere

11.4 **lhiníííẁíwci** ·

    we competed

    v

we competed.

126d. we race...

11.5 **amqʰáka slkísnayaswa**   **ḱisẏí**   **?**

    but   you would have me keep waiting for you? you say?

    adv   v   v

But you say you want me to keep waiting for you?

126e. that way | you would like me to wait | you say"

tísanaaẏi look for, wait for

12 **allu suwí lhissááticka** , **assa**   **stíílá**   **ckisẏí céémul ẁáka** ·

    hungry I am I say to you   sugar-pine nuts hand me some he said coyote   agent

    Vroot cop   v   N   v   v   N   Nsfx

I'm hungry I told you, give me some pine nuts, said Coyote.

"I am hungry | I told you | pine-nuts | give me!" he said | Coyote

127. "I am hungry I am yelling [sic] you! Give me some pine-nuts!"

13 **lhillúúmáwicka** , **ká**   **tlhuwáticka ckisẏí púllééwí ka**   ·

    I beat you   indeed that is our state he said porcupine agent

    v   adv   v   v   N   Nsfx

I beat you, that's where we are, said Porcupine.

"I beat you | that's what I did to you | he said | Porcupine

128. But Porcupine only answered "I beat you didn't I?"

14.1 **tíímacq́át ku kuwá**   **ckwapsíw céémul ẁáka** , **tétẇi kú**   **lhuwááticka** ·

    know about fut you would be he thought coyote   agent   kill   future I am for you

    ptcp   cop   v   N   Nsfx   ptcp   Vpfx v

You'll find out! thought Coyote, I'm going to kill you.

"You will be finding out" | he thought | Coyote | "I will be killing you"

129. "Allright!" thought Coyote, "You'll find out! I am going to kill you!"

14.2 **ckwaaq́íícumí** ·

    he walked away

    v

he walked away.

he walked away
130. He walked away.

14.3 áẇ   ckwiinímmááci ·
    wood he found
    N   v
he found some wood

wood | he saw
131. He found some firewood
see, look for, find are all in the range of meaning

14.4 ckyááṁuċcumí   ·
    He carried it across
    v
He carried it over

132a. he packed it
132. He brought it and made a fire at the foot of the tree.( )
( ) = footnote: The Achumawis had no axers. They felled trees by burning the base of the trunk.
An overstatement. Cp. description by LR, chopping a ring around to kill the tree, and repeatedly chopping to expose frayed fibers to be burned.

14.5 ckwaḣyéq̇tí   asẇú ·
    he built a fire against tree
    v   N
He built a fire against the tree

132b. he made a fire | (at the foot of) pine-tree

14.6 máḣḣííka ckwacépṫasẇaci púllééwí ka   ·
    all night   he watched   porcupine agent
    adv   v   N   Nsfx
Porcupine watched him all night.

all night | he stayed aloft | Porcupine
133. Porcupine stayed aloft all night.

14.7 ckááná tál̇íllámci ·
    it came   dawn
    v   ptcp
Dawn came.

it came | dawn
134. Dawn came.
titaalámci lightning, téél̇ámci spirit

14.8 sq̇oẏ ckúw iipaċ céémul ẇáka ·
    sleepy he was veru   coyote   agent
    adj   adv   N   Nsfx
Coyote was very sleepy

sleepy | he was | very | Coyote
135. Coyote was very sleepy.

14.9 **ckwacúúmáq̓ti** ·

    he thrust against it, feeling it

    v

He tested the strength of the tree

136a. he poked the fire

136. He poked the fire, "The tree will fall today" he thought.

mállís tacuumítke fire poker, ticáámáq̓ti touch, yáálamáq̓ti it echoes, tiléémáq̓ti repeat, recite

14.10 **máttíkca tuuċim ku ẏuwá ckwapsíw qa céémul** ·

day	fall!	fut	it will be	he thought	the	coyote
N	v		cop	v	def	N

today the tree will fall, thought Coyote

136b. "To-day | it will be falling" | he thought | the | Coyote

14.11 **stiticépt̓aswacumá ckwapsíw púllééwí ka** ·

Is he watching me?	he thought	porcupine	agent
v	v	N	Nsfx

Porcupine thought "Is he watching me?"

"Is he watching me go?" | he thought | the | Porcupine

137. Porcupine thought "Is he watching me?"

14.12 **ckwasl̓aqʰáq̓ci qa céémul** ·

he snored	the	coyote
v	def	N

Coyote was snoring.

he snored | the | Coyote

138. Coyote snored.

14.13 **mám ckitittʰééwumá isl̓aqʰaq̓ci púllééwí ka** ·

and	he heard him	snoring	porcupine	agent
coordconn	v	ptcp	N	Nsfx

And Porcupine heard him snoring.

and | he heard him | snoring | Porcupine

139. Porcupine heard him snore.

14.14 **mám ckwínaatánukí** ·

and	he came down
coordconn	v

And he came down.

and | he came down

140. Then he came down.

14.15 **má ánca** **ckyááqaaċumí** **állisti** **láté** **kacʰú** **támmi ku** ， **amqʰááwáté**
and then | he packed thither | rock | locative | his | food | | that's where
coordconn | v | N | Nsfx | pers | N | | coordconn

ckááqaalumí ·
he dragged it there
v
Then he dragged his food into the rocks, that's where he dragged it.

then | he packed it around | among the rocks | his | food | thereat | he packed it in
141. He came down with some of his grub and cached it away among the rocks.

14.16 **má ánca** **ckwináswaci** ， **ckáákʰe** **ṫáqʰá aswú** **wáté** **mám** **ckwinááqaatánuki** ·
and then | he kept going | he went up | again | tree | place | and | he packed it down
coordconn | v | v | adv | N | adv | coordconn | v
Then he kept going, he went up the tree again and repeatedly packed it down.

then | he kept on going | he climbed | again | the | pine-tree | and | he packed it down
142. He kept going up and down the tree, carrying away his provisions.

14.17 **qʰáẏtím** **ckyáptééli** **tóólol** ·
same place again | he carried away | all
adv | v | quant
He carried all away to the same place.

in the same way | he took it | all
143. He packed all down that way.

15.1 **má ánca** **ckáátiimí aswú** ·
and then | tree fell | tree
coordconn | v | N
Then the tree fell.

then | it fell down | the tree.
144. Then the tree crashed down.

15.2 **ckwatʰéélúctáwí** **qa céémul ẁáka** ·
he jumped out of camp at the sound | the | coyote | agent
v | def | N | Nsfx
Coyote jumped out of his camp bed at the sound.

he jumped in fright | the | Coyote
145. Coyote jumped up in fright.

15.3 **ckááḣuumí aswú ú** **tilááḣímci** **tántan** ·
he ran | tree | POSS | head on the ground | toward
v | N | Nsfx | ptcp | post
he ran toward the head of the tree on the ground.

he ran | to the tree's | head | direction
146. He ran to the tree's head.

15.4 **ckwanċííẁalwácí** ·

    he kept crossing back and forth

    v

He kept crossing back and forth.

he rand [sic] all around
147. Then he went around it

15.5 **cʰááẁa**   **tiiẏí**   **ckwapsíwcí** ·

    where?   he could be he thought

    pro-form ptcp   v

Where could he be, he thought.

"Where is he?" he thought.
148. "Where ishe ?" [sic] he thought

15.6 **ċé**   **ckúuwi** **tinímmááci** ·

    not   he was   finding

    Neg   v   ptcp

He couldn't find him

he could not | find him
149. He could not find him.

15.7 **ckwíntaahaaṗayí**   ·

    he had vanished away

    v

he had vanished away.

he searched for him
150. He searched for him.
The more usual term tykwíncééhaaṗi "he disappeared" can't be used because Coyote didn't see him that morning before he disappeared.

15.8 **má ánca** **ckyápté** **qa** **timmáák^húútí**   **tucóo** **wáté** **má ánca** **ckwínmaqwáti**   ,

    and then   he went   the burn ring around tree do!   place and then   he tracked around about

    coordconn v   def ptcp   v   adv   coordconn v

ckwínmáqmíci   ,   **ckwínmáqċuumí**   ,

he was followng tracks on the ground   he followed the tracks along closely

v   v

ckwínmáqẏaamí   **áliste** **wáté** ·

he followed tracks right up to rocks   place

v   N   adv

He went to where he had burned around the tree and then he tracked around about, he followed the tracks on theground, he followed them along closely, he followed the tracks right up to a place among the rocks.

then | he went back | the } burnt place | and | he started tracking |he tracked ahead | he tracked along | he kept tracking | among the rocks
151. Then he went back to the burnt place, and from ther he starated tracking him, he tracked ahead, he tracked along, he kept a-tracking among the rocks.

deA: Coyote & Porcupine

15.9 **ckwámáátánuwí** **mám** **ckwinímmááci** **iwááyaswací** ·
he looked down and he found always grinding
v coordconn v ptcp

he looked down and he found him grinding away.

he looked down | and | he saw him | grinding nuts
152. Then he looked down and he saw him in a hole grinding pine-nuts.

15.10 **táq** **cʰú** **muwí** **ma** **tmóólaatiwí** **ckisy̓í** **céémul** **w̓áka**
what how are you? so that you evidently move from place to place he said coyote agent
pro pro-form cop coordconn v v N Nsfx
·

"What's wrong with you, that you move from place to place?" said Coyote.

"What for | are you | moving camp around?"
153. "What! Moving camp again?" said Coyote.

15.11 **c̓é** **ckuwí** **tíítʰanti** **púllééwí** **ka** ·
not he was pay attention to porcupine agent
Neg cop ptcp N Nsfx

Porcupine paid no attention.

he did not | pay attention | Porcupine
154. Porcupine did not pay any attention.

15.12 **stííl̓a** ， **l̓ám** **ckisy̓í** **céémul** **w̓áka** ·
give me! let me eat! he said coyote agent
v v v N Nsfx

Hand me some, let me eat! said Coyote

"Give me!" [sic] | I will eat!" | he said | Coyote
155. "Give me something to eat!" said Coyote.

15.13 **c̓e** **ckuwí** **tíítʰanti** **qa púllééwi** ·
fall he was pay attention to the porcupine
Vroot cop ptcp def N

Porcupine paid no attention.

he did not | pay attention | the | Porcupine
156. Porcupine didn't pay any attention.

15.14 **c̓é** **kuwí** **tuci** **kú** **tíítʰanti** **amqʰá** **tétw̓i** **kú** **lhuwááticka** **ckisy̓í** **qa**
not you are to do future pay attention to but kill future I am for you he said the
Neg cop ptcp Vpfx ptcp coordconn ptcp Vpfx v v def

céémul ， **tínátááṁa** **kú** **lhuwááticka** ·
coyote smoke future I am for you
N ptcp Vpfx v

If you won't pay attention to me, I'll kill you, I'll smoke you.

"(if) You will not pay attention | then | I will kill you" |he said | the | Coyote | "I will smoke you to death"

157. "If you don't pay attention to me I am going to kill you, I'll smoke you to death!"
It's odd that she uses the verb for smoking tobacco.

15.15 **Má ánca áẁ ckwakúúlúlyamí** , **ckwaċíwcí** , **ckwinámúúlamí** ,

and then	wood	he made logs roll	he stacked them together	he piled them inside
coordconn	N	v	v	v

mám ckwaḣyéɋtí ·

and	he built a fire against it
coordconn	v

Then he rolled logs, stacked them up, piled them inside the hole, and built a fire against them.

then | wood | he rolled | he packed | he pushed | and | he set it afire
158. Then he went to get some firwood, he rolled it over, he pushed it in and set fire to it.
Cp. LR qa aẁ slhináámuuḷakíní "We piled wood up inside (the house).

15.16 **má ánca ckwaḣuucáátaykí qa púllééwi ka** ·

and then	he caused north wind	the	porcupine	agent
coordconn	Vstem	def	N	Nsfx

Then Porcupine made the north wind blow.

then | he made it north wind | the | Porcupine
159. Then Porcupine made the north wind rise.
The 'causative' ayam appears to include y stative, attaining (a state).

15.17 **wáḣuuyáumí qa maaqíċ** ·

it was blown thither	the	smoke
v	def	N

The smoke was blown away

it blew away | the | smoke
160. It blew away the smoke.

15.18 **má ánca ckwátasṗiimí céémul ẁáka** ·

and then	he quit	coyote	agent
coordconn	v	N	Nsfx

Then Coyote was finished.

then | he quit | the | Coyote
161. Then Coyote quit.

15.19 **ckyááwáámí céémul ẁáka** ·

he was tired	coyote	agent
v	N	Nsfx

Coyote was tired.

he was tired | Coyote
162. He was tired.

15.20 **ckápté** ·

he went
v

he went.

he went
163. He went away.