

deA: Creation (Henry Wohl/Wool, Fall River)

1.1 **tííq̣aati tykinánca** ·

earth was none
n n

There was no land.

té·qá·dé tsìkìnântsá

land | there was none

1. There was no land.

Sentences 1-52 re-elicited with Johnnie Craig and the Websters.

De Angulo's transcript, gloss, and translation are preserved in three Note fields.

His title: "Creation myth. Told by Henry Wohl, of the Adzumawi group."

Johnnie Craig and the Websters said ilmá·wi twiyí ("He was Ilmawi").

1.2 **as aawátca tykúuwí** ·

water only was
n adv cop

There was only water.

às àwátca tsìkû·wí

water | only | there was

2. There was only water.

1.3 **qa kwán sápp^hi láté tykwanááyúmcí hamísq^hám** ·

the fox boat locative dwelt alone
def n n Nsfx v adv

Fox was living in a boat by himself.

qá kúan sá·pìwádé tsìkùáná·yú·dzí hámísqàm

the | Fox | in a boat | he lived | one

3. Fox lived alone in a boat.

sáp^hi·wáté is universally deemed incorrect (JC, CG, EW, RW, LR, EC)

1.4 **qa céémul tykitítúwááyíumá** ·

the coyote was searching for him
def n v

Coyote was looking for him.

qà dzé·mùl tsìkìdùá'î·má

the | Coyote | he was searching for him

4. Coyote was looking for him.

1.5 **tykwátááláátiwíní** ·

he was flying around
v

He was flying around.

tsìkùíndállá'tùní

he was flying

5. He was flying around.

de Angulo's footnote: "The informant explained that Coyote and Fox had been living previously in a former world, but it as burnt." See BN text LR 2 From the moon to the earth.

1.6 **ǎstíl máttíkca tykwíntuuwááyá** .

three times day looked for
adv n v

For three days he looked for him.

tsástél mǎtí'sà tsikùíndúá'yá

three | days | he hunted

6. Three days he hunted.

1.7 **tykwiñímmáací q^hahé** .

found there yonder
v adv

He found him over yonder.

tsikùínímá'dzǐ qàhê

he found him | somewhere

7. He found him somewhere.

1.8 **má ánca qa kwán tykísýí ki tmiyí** .

and then the fox said you might you be
coordconn def n v pers cop

And then Fox said "Who are you?"

má'ndzà qà kùán tsàkís'í "gìtmǐ"

then | the | Fox | said | "Who are you"

8. Then Fox said, "Who are you"? [sic]

1.9 **qa céémul 'ó tykísýí sintaatíwkí** .

the coyote said I flew out of
def n verbprt v v

Then Coyote said "I flew out of there."

qà dzé'mùl ótsàkís'í "síndàhtéúgí"

the | Coyote | said thus | "I came here flying"

9. Coyote answered, "I came flying".

JC glossed this "I came flying out of ____; I flew out from ____"

1.10 **má ánca c^hú tahóóci kúci tykísýí qa céémul** .

and then how do fut said the coyote
coordconn pro-form v adv v def n

"What are we going to do?" asked Coyote.

má'ndzà "tsúdòhó'tsikúdzǐ" dzé'mùl tsàkís'í

then | "what are we going to do?" | Coyote | said

10. Then he asked, "What are we going to do?"

1.11 **má ánca sápp^hi láté ís tmháákác kúci tykísýí qa kwán** .

and then boat locative person we two live fut said the fox
coordconn n Nsfx n v adv v def n

Then Fox said "We'll live in the boat".

má'ndzà "sá'p^hwádé ís tùmàhákátsgúdzǐ" qà kùán tsàkís'í

then | "in boat | people | we will live" | the | Fox | said

11. "Let's lie here in this boat".

1.12 **cé sisúúhwuúqí qa sápp^{hi}iila tílílláátiwí tykisýí qa céémul** .
 not I like the with a boat wander around said the coyote
 Neg v def adv ptcp v def n

"I don't want to be wandering around in a boat" said Coyote.

tsésó'hwò'í qà 'sà·pìlà tílí·lá·tùwì" qa dzé·mùl tsàkís'í

"I don't want | the | by boat | wandering around | the | Coyote | said

12. "I don't want to wander around in a boat" said Coyote.

1.13 **qa kwán 'ó tykisýí slkítt^héw itt^hú 'ó tissi , tííqaaati iníímáácúúyí tsiyí**
 the fox said hear me! my talk earth finding for you I am
 def n verbprt v v pers verbprt ptcp n ptcp cop

lhuwááticka .

I am for you

v

Fox said "Listen to me, to my words, I'll find land for you."

qà kùán ótsàkís'í "slìgí·té·wí ittú ódìsì té·qá·dé ínímá·dzí tsìí lhùáditskà"

the | Fox | said thus | "if you hear | my | speaking | land | seeing | I am | I am to you

13. Fox then said, "If you listen to my words I will find land for you".

1.14 **háá'á , lhít^hééwa miimú 'ó tissi tykisýi qa céémul** .
 yes I'll hear you your talk said the coyote
 excl v pers verbprt ptcp v def n

Yes, I'll mind your words, said Coyote.

"hà lhíté·wá mì·mú ódìsì" qà dzé·mùl tsàkís'í

"Yes | let me hear | your | speaking | the | Coyote | said

14. "Allright! I will mind your words."

1.15 **qa kwán 'ó tykisýí tuumááta mám mhnímmaacúyá qa tííqaaati tykisýí** .
 the fox said sleep! and I'll find for you the earth said
 def n verbprt v v coordconn v def n v

Fox said "Sleep, and I'll find land for you."

qà kùán ótsàkís'í "tù·má·dà mám màhínímá·dzúwí qà té·qá·dé" tsàkís'í.

the | Fox | said thus | "sleep! | and | I'll find around | the | land | he said

15a. Fox then said "Sleep and I will be looking around for land,

síní·má·cí

1.16 **sínímmác kú qa tííqaaati mhikú mátsiwayá** .
 I find future the earth I'll shake you awake
 v Vpfx def n v

If I find land, I'll wake you up.

"sínímátsgú qà té·qá·démihikú mátsiwayá"

"having found | the | land | I will wake you up"

15b. and when I have found it I will wake you up".

síní·má·cí I saw him; síní·mác kú If I see him; síní·mác kúcí I'm going to see him

1.17 **má ánca tykáámaatí qa céémul sápp^{hi} láté** .
 and then went to sleep the coyote boat locative
 coordconn v def n n Nsfx

Then Coyote went to sleep in the boat.

má'ndzà tsìká·mà'dí qà dzé·mùl sá·pìwádé

then | he slept | the | Coyote | in the boat

16. Then Coyote went to sleep in the bottom of the boat.

1.18 **má áncá tykwaláphaací kac^hú t^hiyí qa kwán** ·

and then untied his hair the fox
coordconn v pers n def n

Then Fox untied his hair.

má'ndzà tsìkùàlápàhdzì kàtsú tìi qà kùán.

then | he took down | his | hair | the | Fox

Re-elicitation suggests hair was braided.

17. Fox then took down his hair.

De Angulo's footnote: The Achumawi Indians used to wear their long hair tied in a knot with a pin of manzanita wood. They combed it with a brush made of the tail of the porcupine.

1.19 **má áncá tykwáuccááké qa kwán qa kac^hú t^hiyí** ·

and then he combed himself the fox the his hair
coordconn v def n def pers n

Then Fox combed his hair.

má'ndzà tsìkùádžùtsí kùán

then | he combed | Fox | his | hair

18. and combed it.

tykwáuc'í as written means he combed someone else's hair.

1.20 **má áncá qa háslì tykwanáámíyí qa cuccé** ·

and then the greasy dirt in hair removed from the comb
coordconn def n v def v

Then he took the greasy dirt from the comb.

má'ndzà ɬasli tsìkùàná'mí qà dzùtsí

then | greasy dirt | he took out from | the | comb

19. Then he took the greasy dirt sticking to the comb.

ta'mí·yi saving it up

1.21 **má áncá tykyássá** ·

and then sang
coordconn v

Then he sang.

má'nca tsìkìássá

then | he sang

20. and he started singing,

1.22 **má áncá tykwakúllúúlí qa háslì** ·

and then rolled into ball the greasy dirt in hair
coordconn v def n

Then he rolled the dirt into a ball.

má'ndzà tsìkùàkúllú·lí qà ɬasli

then | he rolled into a ball | the | dirt

21. all the while rolling the dirt into a ball.

1.23 **má áncá tykyáássá** ·

and then sang
coordconn v

Then he sang.

má'ncá tsìkíáássá

then | he sang

22. He kept on singing,

1.24 **qá tikúllúúli wawá tykúuwí** ·

the rolled with hand big was
def ptcp A cop

The ball grew big.

qà dìgúllú'li wà'wá tsìgá'tsà

the | ball | big | it grew

23. and the ball started to grow bigger.

tykác'á < tuci ? Note says -é'cumi "did"

1.25 **má áncá qá sápp^hi ithè tykáápámci** ·

and then the boat under, underneath put down
coordconn def n n v

Then he put it under (his foot in) the boat.

Under something, e.g. under his feet, or under the seat. Maybe should be tyilú'yéq'tíní.

má'ndzà qà sá'pì ìthè tsìkápámdzí

then | the | boat | bottom | he put

24. He then put it in the bottom of the boat,

1.26 **má áncá tykwačíllúúli číkkoh^h ha téési wílíl** ·

and then rolled with foot foot with song also
coordconn v n post ptcp adv

Then he rolled it with his foot, still singing.

má'ndzà tsìkùàkúllú'lmí tsíkòhà dé'sìwálél

then | he continued to roll it [with hand] | with his foot | while singing

25. and rolled it with his foot, singing all the while,

1.27 **má áncá wawá tykúuwí** ·

and then big was
coordconn A cop

Then it grew big.

má'ndzà wà'wá tsìgá'tsá

then | big | it grew

26. and it grew bigger and bigger.

tykác'á < tuci ?

1.28 **má áncá tykwalúllástake má áncá assaté tykwaatáché** ·

and then pulled it out of and then in water laid on water
coordconn v coordconn adv v

Then he stretched it and laid it on the water.

má'ndzà tsikùàlúlástàké má'ndzà àsádé tsikùàtátshé

then | he stretched it | then | on the water | he laid it

27. Then he stretched it and laid it on the water.

ku- "with hand": "he must have held it down with his foot". Probably a word with ʔas. I don't know if tikúʔásci is a word, or tičíʔásci.

tyiʔáché'ní "laid it flat on water" (from LR's rendition)

1.29 **má ánca qa tííqaaati tʰúsýí yááci kúci tykisýí qa kwán** ·

and then the earth good does fut said the fox
coordconn def n adj v adv v def n

Then Fox said "The land will be good."

má'ndzà "qà té'qá'dé tús'ídʒìgúdʒí" tsàkís'í qà kùán

then | "a | land | it will be good" | he said | the | Fox

28. Then he said "It will be a good country".

1.30 **má ánca tykwanaááya qa aswú má ánca qa pʰááta** ·

and then made the tree and then the brush
coordconn v def n coordconn def n

Then he made the trees and the brush.

má'ndzà tsikùàná'yá qà às'u má'ndzà qà páttà

then | he made | the | trees | and | the | brush

29. Then he made the trees and the brush,

High tone mark absent on às'u in original

pʰáʔalóo "sagebrush", pʰáʔta the berry thereof.

1.31 **má ánca tykwanaááya qá aaqo má ánca atwam** ·

and then made the mountain and then valley
coordconn v def n coordconn n

Then he made the mountains and valleys.

má'ndzà tsikùàná'yá qà àqò má'ngà àtwàm

then | he made | the | mountains | and | the valleys

30. and the mountains and the valleys.

1.32 **má ánca tykwíntaskáumi qa títlúúmi** ·

and then finished the work
coordconn v def ptcp

Then he finished his work.

má'ndzà tsikùíndàskáumí qà dí'tùlú'mì

then | he was through working | the | work

31. At last he finished

1.33 **má ánca láttél pʰitúúwí tykáámaatí qa céémul sáppʰi láté** ·

and then five times year went to sleep the coyote boat locative
coordconn quant n v def n n Nsfx

Coyote slept in the boat for five years.

má'ndzà láttél pídú'wí tsiká'mà'dí qà dzé'mùl sá'pìwádé

then | five | years | he slept | the | Coyote | in the boat

32. Coyote had been sleeping for five years in the bottom of the boat.

1.34 **má ánca tóólol tykwínmáámá qá pat'ti** ·

and then all ripened the plum
coordconn quant v def n

All the wild plums ripened.

má'ndzà tó'lól tsikùín?má'má qà bàttì

then | all | they ripened | the | fruits

33. The fruits were now ripening (and hanging over the boat).

1.35 **kíířaché qa kwán tykwakumátuuwáyí qa céémul** ·

at that time the fox woke him up the coyote
adv def n v def n

That's when Fox woke Coyote.

dàtshékàkùán tsikùàgú·mátsíwáyá qà dzé·mùl

that's the time that Fox | woke up | the | Coyote

34. That's the time when Fox awakened Coyote.

1.36 **má ánca qa céémul t^hús tykwasuncá** ·

and then the coyote good rejoiced
coordconn def n n v

Then Coyote was happy.

má'ndzà qà dzé·mùl tústwàdzùmtsá

then | the | Coyote | was glad

35. Coyote was glad,

1.37 **má ánca allu tykáácá** ·

and then hungry became
coordconn Vroot v

Then he got hungry.

má'ndzà àllùtsìgá'tsá

then | he grew hungry

36. but he was hungry.

1.38 **má ánca k^hám tykáámá má ánca tykyánwammá** ·

and then many ate and then became satiated
coordconn adv v coordconn v

Then he ate a lot, and stuffed himself full.

má'ndzà qám tsìgǎ·má má'ndzà tsikùínwàmmá

then | plenty | he ate | and | he filled himself

For tykwínwam'á, RW and EW say tykyánwam'á is better. (But I wrote it without length on the m.)

37. He ate a lot and ate plenty.

1.39 **má ánca 'ó tykisýí qa kwán tuttááwa má ánca kímúntiwí qa tííqaati** ·

and then said the fox get out! and then you should look over the earth
coordconn verbprt v def n v coordconn v def n

Then Fox said "Get out of the boat! You should look the land over!

má'ndzà qà kùán ótsákís'í "tùtá·wà má'ndzà kímúntùwí qà tè·qá·dé

then | the | Fox | said thus | "get out! | and | look it over | the | land

RW and EW substituted tímúntíwa, the less polite imperative

38a. Then Fox said, "Get out and take a look at this world,

1.40 **cýééwa masúúla'áy kúcí** ·
in what way you might be glad fut
pro-form v adv

How do you like it?"

tsé·wà màsùlà'áíkúdzí

how | do you like it?

38b. and see how you like it".

1.41 **cé tykúuwí tinéécaacci** ·
not was get up
Neg cop ptcp

He couldn't get up.

tsétsàkû·wí dínétsà'dzì

he could not | get out

39. But Coyote could not get up,.

1.42 **tykwaníílúmci kac'hú tamēēha qa céémul** ·
was injured his side of back the coyote
v pers n def n

Coyote's side was hurt.

tsìkùálù'yá·mí kàtsú ìdìmìhà qà dzé·mùl

he was sore | his | side | the | Coyote

ta^hmē^hha = part of back; shoulder; hu·la^c = ribs, side; wa^lól^la·la = hip

40. His side was all sore and rotten.

1.43 **má áncá tykwaatííci** ·
and then wept
coordconn v

Then he cried.

má·ndzà tsìkùà·tí·dzí

then | he cried

41. He cried.

1.44 **c'hú muwí tykitiisáátumá kwán wáka** ·
how you might be said to fox agent
pro-form cop v n Nsfx

"What's the matter with you?" Fox asked him.

"tsúmùwí" tsìkìsátùmá qà kùán

"What's the matter with you?" | he said to him | the | Fox

So-called switch reference wáka to disambiguate

42. "What's the matter with you"? asked Fox.

1.45 **túnnóo mám stalííyaaców** ·
come here and look at me!
v coordconn v

"Come here and look at me!" [said Coyote]

"túnnô· mám stálíà·dzô·"

Vocal quality for Coyote would have disambiguated this. In sentence 44, Fox complies.

43. "Come and take a look at me!"

1.46 **má ánca tykápté kwán tykwalíyaací** ·

and then went fox examined
coordconn v n v

Then Fox examined him.

má'ndzà tsìkápté qà kwán tsikùàlì'ya'dzì

then | he went | the | Fox | he looked at him

RW and EW rejected qa here.

44. Fox went and took a look at him.

1.47 **tykwináátuupí qa tañeeha** ·

was rotted the side of back
v def n

Coyote's side and back was rotten.

tsikùàná'tù'pí qà dàmhèhà

It was rotten | the | side

45. His side was all rotted.

1.48 **ánca tykúuwí qa cíwci** ·

so was the bone
adv cop def n

Thus were the bones [exposed].

ámtsa tsàkù'wí qa dzú'tsì

in plain view | they were | the | bones

ámca unattested; nor placed in dictionary by Olmstead.

46. You could see the bones.

1.49 **qa q'hé ik^him tyánuwí itt^hú wáté tykisýí qa kwán , mhníyuscúyá** ·

the that merely it is my at said the fox I'll fix that for you
def deic adv cop pers adv v def n v

"That's nothing for me," said Fox, "I'll fix that for you."

RW: I'll fix it over for you

"qà qê kìm tyánúwí ittúwádé" tsàkís'í qà kùán "mìnínídzústúyá"

"the | here | nothing | it is | mine at" | he said | the | Fox | "I'll fix it for you!"

47. "Oh, that's nothing" said Fox, "I'll fix it for you".

1.50 **má ánca tykticaacíuma qa tañeeha má ánca ís tykwanúuwí qa céémul** ·

and then worked fingers on the side of back and then person was again the coyote
coordconn v def n coordconn n v def n

Then he rubbed his side, and he was whole again.

má'ndzà tsikìdìdzà'tsî'má qà dàmhè'hà má'ndzà ís tsàkùànúwí qà dzé'mùl

then | he rubbed him | the | side | then | person | he was again | the | Coyote

Re-elicited gloss for ís = "back to life"

48. He rubbed his side and Coyote was well again.

1.51 **má ánca tykitáwwíumá qa lúúhááwí**

and then gave him the belt
coordconn v def n

má·ndzà tsikìdáwî·má qà dílò·yûdzì qà kùán

tíloh'íntíwa = hold by a strap, lead (a kid) around; tíloh'í'ca = lead him; tíloh'íwci = jerk him back (with leash); tíloh'ímci = pull him down to ground.

2.1 lóh'háawí qa kwán .

2.2 **pi** , **táluuháwcóo** **má áncá** **kupteelí** **má áncá** **kooḥuukántiwí** .
 here put on belt! and then you should take it with you and then you should run around!
 adv v coordconn v coordconn v

50. "Here! Take this belt and run around for exercise."

2.3 **má áncá qa céémul tykaahuukántiwí qa tííqaati toólol tykwámúntíwí qá**
 and then the coyote ran around the earth all looked at the
 coordconn def n v def n quant v def

má·ndzà qà dzé·mùl tsigá'hò·kántùwí tó·lól qà té·qá·dé tó·lól tsíkùámúntúwí gídídáqmìm

51. Then Coyote ran around all over the world, looking at everything.

2.4 **má áncá tykyáát^huukí mám ’ó tykisýí qa céémul , tykitissáátumá qa kwán**
 and then returned and said the coyote told the fox
 coordconn v coordconn verbprt v def n v def n

lhínímmááci	qa	tííqaati	t^húsýí	tííqaati	,	amq^há	c^hú	tahóoci	kúci	,	sápp^hi	láté
we two found		the earth	good	earth		but	how	do	fut		boat	locative
v		def n	adj	n		coordconn	pro-form	v	adv		n	Nsfx

Then Coyote returned, and said to Fox, "We found land, a good country, but what are we going to do, are we going to live in a boat all the time?"

té.qá.dé àmqá tsúdhótsìgúdzí sá.pìwádé mihínáyú.mdzìgúdzí qà tòllím"

52. Then he came back and said, "This is a good country that we have found, but what are we going to do now?"

Are we going to live forever in a boat?

2.5 **sinámmacqáti qá ascúy c^hááwamcan tykisýi qa kwán** ·

I know about a winter house a certain place said the fox
v def n pro-form v def n

"I know where there's a winter house" said Fox.

"siná màsqádé qà àstsúy tsàwámtsà" tsàkís'í qà kùán

"I know | a | winter-house | somewhere" | he said | the | Fox

53. "I know where there is a winter-house somewhere" said Fox.

2.6 **má ánca tyktanííca qá ascúy wáté** ·

and then they two moved the winter house at
coordconn v def n adv

Then they moved to the winter house.

má'ndzà tsìkùàní'tsá qà àstsúywádé

then | they moved | the | at winter-house

tykwaní'ca = he moved

54. Then they moved into that winter-house.

2.7 **má ánca tykwanááyúmcí ascúy wáté** ·

and then dwelt winter house at
coordconn v n adv

Then they lived in the winter house.

má'ndzà tsìkùánáyú'mdzí àstsúywádé

then | they lived | in winter-house

55. Then they lived in that winter-house.

2.8 **má ánca tykisýi qa céemul kiiwáli t'tiýi p^hííwa tíyúmcí** ?

and so said the coyote who they two are here dwelling
coordconn adv v def n pro cop adv ptcp

Then Coyote asked "Who was living here?"

má'ndzà qà dzé'mùl "gìwá'litíí pí'wa díú'mdzì

then | the | Coyote | "who used | here | to live?

56a. "Who used to live here?" asked Coyote,

2.9 **ki ú tuccóówoy qá ascúy** ?

who POSS former doing the winter house
pro-form Nsfx ptcp def n

Who built this winter house?

gìy'údótsóóí qà àstsúy

who built | the | winter-house?

56b. "Who built this house?"

2.10 **lhituwááyíica qá ís , lhituwááyíica qa támmi kú , allu**
let's us two go search for the person let's us two go search for the eat future hungry
v def n v def ptcp Vpfx Vroot

suwí ·

I am

cop

Let's look for the people, let's look for food, I'm hungry.

lhìdùá'ítsà qà ís lhìdùá'ítsà qa dämmì·kú àllùsùwí"

let us search | the | people | let us search | the | food | I am hungry"

56c. Let's look for people! Let's look for food! I am hungry!"

2.11 **háá'á tykisýí qa kwán , ìituwáy ańá lóqmi** .

yes said the fox I'll search for but tomorrow
excl v def n v adv adv

OK, said Fox, I'll look for them, but tomorrow.

"há" tsákis'í qà kúan "lìdùá'yá·má qà lóqmì"

"All right!" | he said | the | Fox | "I will search | the | morning"

57. "All right" said Fox, "I'll look in the morning".

2.12 **má áncá lóqmi tykátteémí má áncá tykáákuuwací úúliimi ithe** .

and then tomorrow went out and then sat ridge under, underneath
coordconn adv v coordconn v ptcp n

Then the next day he went out and sat under a cliff

ma·ndzà lóh·mà tsìgá'téumí má·ndzà tsìká'kòàszí ílìlì·mí ithe

then | next day | he went out | and | he sat down | canyon wall | under

ílìlì·mí = grove or spinney of trees; but I did re-elicited the gloss "rim rock, ledge"

58. In the morning he went out and sat under a cliff.

2.13 **má áncá tykwahílaáwací** .

and then sit with head bowed
coordconn v

Then he sat there with his head bowed.

má·ndzà tsìkùàhíllá·wàdzí

then | he sat with head bent

59. He sat with his head bent,

2.14 **má áncá tykyássa wáhhac túlúltánók** .

and then sang bread roll down hither
coordconn v n v

Then he sang "Bread, roll down here!"

má·ndzà tsìkiássa "wáhàts túlúl·dánôk"

then | he sang | "bread | come rolling down!"

60. [unnumbered] and sang "Bread! Come roll down".

2.15 **má áncá tykálúltánki qa wáhhac** .

and then came rolling down the bread
coordconn v def n

Then bread came rolling down.

má·ndzà tsìgá·lúl·dángí qà wáhàts

then | it came rolling down | the | bread

61. Then bread came rolling down.

2.16 **má áncá tykáásaámí qa wáhhac má áncá tykanappáámí iiqilá waté** .

and so picked up the bread and then put repeatedly in carrying net at
coordconn adv v def n coordconn v n adv

má·ndzà tsìgá·pá·mí iqi'laàwádé

then | he put it | in a carrying-net

Other forms: iq̣'e·líwa, iq̣'i·láv

tykáp·á·mí = he put one in. cí·p'i = pack sack, tá·ka·cí = pack basket, si·tí·l'a = any kind of basket

62. Fox picked it up and put it in his bag.

2.17 **má ánca tykááqaǎcí** , **tykyááqaǎcúmí** .
and then he carried on his back brought back on his back
coordconn v v

Then he packed it on his back and carried it home.

má·ndzà tsìkáqà·dzí tsìgiápté·lí

then | he carried it | he went back with it

tykyápté·lí = carrying with his hand

63. He took it back home.

2.18 **má ánca tykwinkúúyiitánúmí** .
and then handed down to
coordconn v

Then he handed it down to him.

má·ndzà tsìgìdìgú·yà·wàdzùmá

then | he handed it down to him

tyktigú·ya·wacumá = he [just] gave it to him (not handing it down)

64. He handed it down to Coyote

De Angulo's footnote: In the old fashioned winter-house the entrance was through the smoke-hole in the roof, and you always "hand down" bundles to the occupants inside.

2.19 **má ánca tykyáátánúmí qa kwán** .
and then went down the fox
coordconn v def n

Then Fox went down [into the winter house].

má·ndzà tsìgiá'tānmí qà kùán

then | he went down | the | Fox

65. and he went down himself.

2.20 **má ánca tykwaláphaací qa iiq̣iilá** .
and then untie the carrying net
coordconn v def n

Then he untied the net bag.

má·ndzà tsìkùàláp̣hà·dzí qà ì'q̣ì·l'à

then | he untied | the | carrying-net

66. He untied the sac, [sic]

2.21 **má ánca tykwaníináápathíumí qa wáhhac** .
and then one took out from the bread
coordconn v def n

Then he took the bread out.

má·ndzà tsìkùàní·ná·páthéumí qà wáḥáts

then | he took out | the | bread

tykwátaḥ'ó·kí = he took (hither) out of container; -mi is "thither".

67. and took the bread out.

ckwati- n- ?

2.22 **má áncá haṁís wínín tyktinááýá** ·

and then one each made
coordconn quant adv v

Then he made [a division of] one each

má·ndzà ḥàṁíswánên tsìkìdìná'yá

then | divided | he made

tykwátáta·táw·cíní = they divided

68. He divided it

2.23 **má áncá lésta wínín tyktáwwíumá qa céémul** ·

and then half each gave to the coyote
coordconn quant adv v def n

Then he shared it with Coyote (gave half each to Coyote and himself).

má·ndzà léstàwánên tsìkìdà·wî·má qà dzé·mùl

then | one half | he gave to him | to the | Coyote

69. [unnumbered] and gave one half to Coyote.

2.24 **má áncá qà céémul tykwasúúla'áyí** , **tykwatúúla?áyí** , **tóólol tykwínmicwá** ·

and then the coyote was happy enjoyed taste all ate up
coordconn def n v v quant v

Then Coyote was happy, it tasted good to him, he ate it all up.

má·ndzà qà dzé·mùl tsìkùàsú·làáí tó·lól tsìkùénmìtswá

then | the | Coyote | he was glad | all | he ate it all up

tykwatú·la?áyí in re-elicitation

Inserted by JC at this point: pí tìkusó·qáci tykìsýí qa kwán. tywíntáhwá qa cé·mul kwán ú wá tis·i. Save some over for morning, said Fox. Coyote didn't understand (didn't hear).

70. Coyote was glad and ate it all up.

2.25 **máḥḥíika tykáámá nám tilíllám·cúci wáté** ·

all night ate yet sunrise at
adv v adv ptcp adv

He ate all night until daybreak.

máḥí·gà tsìgǎ·má nám tálílómdzô·tsìwádé

all night long | he ate | until | daybreak

71. All night long he ate, until daybreak.

2.26 **ilílúmcúci wáté nám allu tykúuwí qa céémul** ·

sun rising at yet hungry was the coyote
ptcp adv adv Vroot cop def n

At sunrise, Coyote was still hungry.

álílómdzô·tsìwádé nám àllùtsìkùwí qàdzé·mùl

at day-break | still | he was hungry | the | Coyote

72. When the day came Coyote was still hungry.

2.27 **cýééwa tmiyí tissúúci qa wáhhac tykisáátumá qa kwán** .
 in what way might you be take the bread said to the fox
 pro-form cop ptc def n v def n

"How did you get hold of the bread?" he asked Fox.

"tsé·wàtmíi dí·sú·dzì qà wá·hats"

"How | did you obtain | the | bread?"

Re-elicited alternative: c^ha wá·wí·mí cuwá tu·cé·la wáte (early transcript, no gloss)

Re-elicitation note: Coyote talks like kwán's son-in-law, uses dual for respect when talking to him. tisó·ho·yámi = rival, tíné·kta·yu = son-in-law? [wí·ma·wí is the word]

73. "How did you get the bread" he asked Fox.

2.28 **tykwaliíyummá qa kwán** .

he laughed the fox
 v def n

Fox laughed.

tsìkù·àlì·yù·má qà kù·án

he laughed | the | Fox

74. Fox laughed.

2.29 **kùpté qa ilíllimí wáté má ánca kúkuuwací ilíllimí ithe má ánca**
 you should go the cliff face at and then you should sit cliff face under, underneath and then
 v def n adv coordconn v n n coordconn

wáhhac túlú·tánók té kíssí .

bread roll down hither thus you should sing
 n v adv v

Go to the cliff face, sit under it, and sing "roll down bread!"

"kùpté qà ilíllì·mí·wádé má·ndzà kùkù·ád·zì ilíllì·mí it·hè má·ndzà 'wá·hàts túlú·l·wán·ôk' té·kíssí

go! | the | to canyon-wall | and | sit down | canyon-wall | under | and | "Bread | come rolling down!" | sing like that

75a. "Go to the cliff and sit under it, and sing like this: 'Bread, come rolling down',

2.30 **má ánca qa wáhhac tilulqát kú kuwáticka** .

and then the bread roll onto future will be for you
 coordconn def n ptc Vpfx cop

Then the bread will roll down for you.

má·ndzà qà wá·hats túlú·l·qát·gú·kù·át·tì·skà

then | the | bread | will come rolling for you

75b. and the bread will come rolling down for you.

2.31 **má ánca kaapáame iiqíila wáté má ánca kíiniini** .
 and then you should put into carrying net at and then you should come back
 coordconn v n adv coordconn v

Then put it in the carrying net and then come back home with it.

má·ndzà kà·pá·mé ì·qì·là·wádé má·ndzà kí·ni·ní ...

then | put it | in the carrying-net | then | come back with it

75c. Then put it in your bag and come back with it.

2.32 **ćé kuccí támmi qá aamím** .

not you should do eat the right now
Neg v ptcp def adv

Don't eat it on the spot.

tségùtsí dāmmì qāimì ...

Don't | eat it | right there ...

75d. Don't eat it right there and then ...

2.33 **ćé kuccí hew tucci qa itt^hú 'ó tissi** .

not you should do forget not doing the my talk
Neg v onom ptcp def pers verbprt ptcp

Don't forget what I said.

tségùtsí hèùdìdžì qà ittú ódìsì ...

don't | forget | the | my | words ...

75e. Don't forget my words ...

2.34 **ćé kuccí támmi qá aamim** .

not you should do eat the immediately
Neg v ptcp def adv

Don't eat it right away.

tségùtsí támmì qāimì ...

don't | eat | right there ...

75f. Don't eat it right there ...

2.35 **tóólol kíniiní** .

all you should come back
quant v

Come back with all of it.

tó'lol kí'nì'ní!"

all | come back with it!"

75g. Bring it all here!"

2.36 **háá'á tykisýí qa céémul , mhit^hécpì yúwá mímú 'ó tissi** .

yes said the coyote I mind you it will be your talk
excl v def n v v pers verbprt ptcp

Yes, said Coyote, I will mind your words.

"há" tsákís'í qa džé'mùl "màhìtítspìyúwá mì'mú ódìsì"

"All right" | he said | the | Coyote | "I will mind | your | words"

76. "Allright!" said Coyote, "I'll mind your words".

2.37 **má ánca tykápté** .

and then went
coordconn v

Then he went.

má'ndžà tsìgápté

then | he went

77. Then he went

2.38 **má ánca tykaakuwací ilílliimí ithe** .
 and then sat cliff face under, underneath
 coordconn v n n

He sat under the cliff wall.

má'ndzà tsiká'kùá'dzì ilílli·mí ithe

then | he sat | canyon-wall | under

78. and sat under the cliff.

2.39 **má ánca tykyássa wáhhac túlúltánók** .
 and then sang bread roll down hither
 coordconn v n v

He sang "bread, roll down here!"

má'ndzà tsikíássa "wáhàts túlú·dánô·k"

then | he sang | "Bread | come rolling down!"

79. Then he sang " Bread, come rolling down!"

2.40 **má ánca tykálultánkí qa wáhhac** .
 and then rolled down hither the bread
 coordconn v def n

Then the bread came rolling down.

má'ndzà tsikíálùl·dán·kí qà wáhàts

then | it came rolling down | the | bread

80. and the bread came rolling down.

2.41 **tóólol tykwánicipcítlátíwi qa wáhhac** .
 all broke into pieces the bread
 quant v def n

The bread all broke into little pieces all around.

tó'ólól tsikùánìtsìptsítládúwí qà wáhàts

all | it broke in little pieces | the | bread

81. It broke into a [sic] little pieces.

2.42 **má ánca tykyáásáámí má ánca tykáhtuucí qa iíqíila** .
 and then picked up and then filled the carrying net
 coordconn v coordconn v def n

He picked up [the pieces of bread] and filled the carrying net.

má'ndzà tsikíá'sá·mí má'ndzà tsikáhtù·dzì qa i'qì'la

then | he picked them up | and | he filled | the | carrying-net

82. Coyote picked them up and filled the bag.

2.43 **má ánca tykápté móhyam** .
 and then went a little way
 coordconn v adv

Then he went a little way.

má'ndzà tsigápté móhyà

then | he went | a little ways

83. Then he went a little ways.

2.44 **má ánca allu tykúuwí qa céémul** ·

and then hungry was the coyote
coordconn Vroot cop def n

Then Coyote was hungry.

má'ndzà àll tsikûwí qà dzé·mùl

then | hungry | he was | the | Coyote

84. Then he felt hungry.

2.45 **má ánca tykaakuwáci má ánca tykwapsíwci** ·

and then sat and then thought
coordconn v coordconn v

Then he sat down and thought.

má'ndza tsìgá'kòà·dzí má'ndza tsikùó·psyú·dzí

then | he sat down | and | he thought

85a. He sat down to think,

2.46 **sla'áamá k^hókcaní tykwapsíwci** ·

would that I eat a little bit thought
v pro-form v

"I might eat just a little" he thought.

"slă·má qóqtsìní" tsikùó·psyú

"I might eat | a little bit" | he thought

85b. "I might eat a little bit" he thought,

2.47 **qa kwán tímacqát ámé' twiyí** ·

the fox know about without he is
def n ptcp post cop

"Fox won't know."

"qà kùán dí·màs'áda·métwíi "

the | Fox | he will not know"

85c. "Fox will never find out!"

2.48 **má ánca k^hókcam tykáámá** ·

and then small amount ate
coordconn quant v

Then he ate a little bit.

má'ndza qóqtsà tsìgă·má

then | a little bit | he ate

86. And he ate a little bit.

2.49 **má ánca táq^há pá k^hókcam tykáámá** ·

and then again indeed small amount ate
coordconn adv adv quant v

And then he ate a little bit more.

má'ndza táqábá qóqtsì tsìgă·má

then | again | a little bit | he ate

87. Then he ate another little bit.

2.50 **má áncá tykyámmaswáci** ·

and then kept eating
coordconn v

And he kept eating.

má'ndzà tsìkìyǎ'màswàdzí.

then | he kept on eating

88. Then he kept on eating.

2.51 **má áncá tóólól tykwínmicwá** ·

and then all ate up
coordconn quant v

Then he ate it all up.

má'ndzà tó'lól tsìkìnmìtswá

then | all | he ate it all up

89. Then he ate it all up.

2.52 **má áncá t^hús twasuncí qa céémul** ·

and then good feel the coyote
coordconn n v def n

And Coyote felt good.

má'ndzà tústwàsùmdzí qà dzé'mùl

then | he felt pretty good | the | Coyote

90. Now he felt pretty good, Coyote.

2.53 **má áncá tykáámatwáci** ·

and then he fell sound asleep
coordconn v

Then he fell sound asleep.

má'ndzà tsìgá'mà'wàdzí

then | he laid down to sleep

91. He lay down to sleep.

As de A often dismissed glottalization he apparently misheard tw.

2.54 **kut tykúuwí** ·

asleep was
onom cop

He was conked out.

kùt tsàgûwí

sound asleep | he was

92. He was sound asleep.

2.55 **má áncá tykwámmátsi úúlóqma wíccí'** ·

and then woke up evening resemble
coordconn v adv v

Then he woke up near evening.

má'ndzà tsìkùámmátsé úlóqmàwídzí

then | he woke up | near evening

93. When he woke up it was near sundown.

2.56 **má áncá tykwapsíwci táq^há pá qa wáhhac slhís^wac** .
 and then thought again indeed the bread I should get
 coordconn v adv adv def n v

Then he thought "I'd better get some bread again."

má'ndzà tsìkùò'psyú·dzí "táqábá qà wáhàts slhís^wàts"

then | he thought | again | the | bread | I had better get"

94. He thought "I had better get some more bread",

2.57 **má áncá tykyépté ilíllimí wáté** .
 and then went back cliff face at
 coordconn v n adv

Then he went back to the cliff face.

má'ndzà tsìkìyépté ilíllimíwádé

then | he went back | to the canyon-wall

95. and he went back to the cliff.

2.58 **má áncá tykáákuuwací má áncá tykyássa wáhhac túlúltánók , té tykisýí** .
 and then sat and then sang bread roll down hither thus said
 coordconn v coordconn v n v adv v

Then he sat and sang "bread, roll down here", thus he said.

má'ndzà tsìgá'kòà·dzí má'ndzà tsìkiássa "wáhàts túlúl·dánôk" tétsàkissí

then | he sat down | and | he sang | "Bread | come rolling down!" | thus he sang

96. He sat down and sang "bread, come rolling down!"

2.59 **má áncá álisti tyktikúlulqátumá láh' áté** .
 and then rock rolled down on head locative
 coordconn n v n adv

Then rocks came rolling down on his head.

má'ndzà állisté tsìkìdìgúlùl·qádù má láhádé

then | rocks | came rolling down on him | on the head

97a. This time rocks came rolling down

2.60 **tykácéq^tí táq^há tím tyktétwíumá** .
 hit almost killed
 v adv v

It hit him, almost killed him.

tsìgátsé'tí dàqádím tsìkìdé·twî·má

they hit him | almost | killed him

97b. they hit him on the head, and nearly killed him dead..

2.61 **má áncá tykwáncittaymi** .
 and then crawled away
 coordconn v

Then he crawled away.

má'ndzà tsìkùánìdìtày^mí

then | he crawled away

98a. He crawled

2.62 **tykyáát^huumí qa ascúy** , **má áncá tykyáámiimí** .
 arrived the winter house and then went down
 v def n coordconn v

He got back to the winter house and went down.

tsìkìá·tò·mí qà àtsúy má·ndza tsìkìá·mì·mí
 he got back | to the | winter-house | and | he went down
 Not tykyá·tánumí "he went down"
 98b. back to the house and went in

2.63 **tykwaatííci** .

He cried

v

He cried.

tsìkùà·tí·dzí

he cried

98c. crying.

2.64 **staliíyaaców** !

look at me!

v

"Look at me!

"stiliá·dzô·

"Look at me!

99a. "Look at me,

2.65 **mimééka té skínánwací** .

you agentive thus you did to me

pers adv v

This is how you set me up!

mì'mé·gà té skínánwàdzí"

you | thus | you fixed me"

99b. You did that to me!

2.66 **tykwaliíyumma qà té tissi yaqa kwán** , **mimú te támwaci ya** .

he laughed the thus talk fox your thus emph

v def adv ptcp n pers deic ptcp Nsfx

Fox laughed at him, saying "It's your own fault.

tsìkùàlìumá qà té dìsìyà qà kùán "mì'mú tédámwàdzì·yá ...

he laughed at him | (because of) the | thus | saying | the | Fox | "your | own fault! ...

támwací unattested elsewhere, nor títámwací, etc.

100a. Fox laughed at him and said "That's your own fault!

2.67 **cé kuwí titt^hééwi itt^hú 'ó tissi** .

not you are hear my talk

Neg cop ptcp pers verbprt ptcp

You didn't listen to my words.

tsékùwí dítte·wì ittú ódìsì ...

you did not | listen | my | words ...

100b. You didn't mind my words. [Written after 100c]

2.68 **lhintámmáákúyicka** **cé** **kúccí** **támmi** , **tíit^hum** **kú** **má** **má áncá**
 I told you not you should do eat arrive home future but and then
 v Neg v ptcp ptcp Vpfx coordconn coordconn

kámmí **lhsááticka** .

you should eat I said to you

v v

I told you you shouldn't eat, but on arriving home, then you should eat, I said to you.

lhídámmâ·gúyìtskà tsékùtsí dámmini dí'tò·mgùmá má·ndzà kámmí ... lhsádìtskà

I told you | don't | eat | until getting home | then | you will eat ... | I told you"

100c. I told you not to eat till you got home. [Written before 100b]

2.69 **céémul** **tykwáátííci** .

coyote wept

n v

Coyote cried.

dze·mùl tsìkùà'tí·zì

Coyote | he cried

101a. [Merged into 101b.]

2.70 **stiniíya** **itt^hú** **láh** .

repair me my head

v pers n

Fix my head!

"stìni'yà ittú láh ...

"Fix me | my | head ...

101b. "Fix m up", cried Coyote,

2.71 **číkiiwálu** **tkiýí** .

doctor you are

n cop

You're a doctor.

tsìgì'wá·lu tkìí"

doctor | you are

101c. "you are a doctor".

2.72 **hé** **tykisýí** **qa** **kwán** .

OK said the fox

excl v def n

OK, said Fox.

"hě" tsàkíá'í qà kùán

"All right!" | he said | the | Fox

102. "Allright!" said Fox.

2.73 **tykticaacúma** **qa** **tóólol** .

worked fingers on the all

v def quant

He massaged all.

tsìkìdídžàhtsî·má qàtò·lól

he rubbed him | the | all

103. He rubbed him all over.

2.74 **túsýí tykwasunca** , **má áncá tykáámaatí qa céémul** .
good felt and then went to sleep the coyote
adj quant coordconn v def n

Coyote felt good, and he went to sleep.

tùs'í tsìkùàsùmtsá má'ndzà tsìgá'ma'dí qà dzé'mul [sic]

good | he felt | then | he slept | the | Coyote

104. Coyote felt better and went to sleep.

2.75 **má áncá lóqmim** **allu tykúuwí qa céémul** .
and then early in the morning hungry was the coyote
coordconn adv Vroot cop def n

Then early in the morning Coyote was hungry.

má'ndzà lóhmim àllù tsíkúwí qà dze'mùl

then | in the morning | hungry | he was | the | Coyote

105. In the morning Coyote was hungry.

2.76 **wawá salílláqti qa támmí assa** , **íé tykisýí qa céémul** .
big I wanted it the eating sugar-pine nuts thus said the coyote
A v def ptcp n adv v def n

"I'd really like to eat some sugar-pine nuts", that's what Coyote said.

"wà'wá sálílá'tí qa dāmmí àssà" tétsàkís'í qà dzé'mùl

much | I like | the | to eat | pine-nuts" | thus he said the Coyote

106. "I would like very much to eat some pine-nuts!" he said.

2.77 **héé tykisýí qa kwán** , **mhiswááci yá** .
OK said the fox I get for you emph
excl v def n v adv

"OK", said Fox, "I'll get some for you."

"hě" tsàkís'í qà kùán "mìhíswàdzù'yá"

"All right" | he said | the | Fox | "I'll get them for you!"

107. "Allright" said Fox, "I'll get some for you".

2.78 **má áncá qa kwán tykápté qa tíláátiyúmi wáté** **má áncá tykwacásaswací toóciími**
and then the fox went the rafter locative and then held up container
coordconn def n v def ptcp Nsfx coordconn v ptcp

walítwà ithe .

limb under, underneath

n n

Then Fox went to a rafter and held a container under limb.

má'ndzà qà kùán tsìgápté qà dílá'tí'yùmiwádé má'ndzà tsìkùásùtswàdzí tówt sí'mì àlítwà ithe.

then | the | Fox | he went | the | to the rafters | and | he held | a container | knot-hole | under

108. Then he went to the rafters and held a container under a knot-hole.

De Angulo's footnote: The "winter-house" was dug into the ground, to the depth of a man's shoulder. The roof started right at the rim, and therefore was within reach, all around the periphery.

2.79 **má áncá assa** **tííthók íé tykísýí** .
and then sugar-pine nuts arrive! thus said
coordconn n v adv v

Then he said this: "Sugar-pine nuts, arrive here!"

má·ndzà "àssà tí·tô·k" tétsàkís'í

then | "pine-nuts | arrive hither! | thus he said

109. Then he said, "Pine-nuts, come here!".

2.80 **má ánca tykwáhtúúci kac^hú toóóíími** ·

and then filled his container
coordconn v pers ptcp

Then he filled his container

má·ndzà tsìkuáhtsú·dzí kàtsú tówtsí·mí

then | he filled | his | container

110. When his pan was full

2.81 **má ánca k^héstam íé tykisýí** ·

and then that's all thus said
coordconn adv adv v

Then he said "Enough!"

má·ndzà "kístàm" tétsàkís'í

then | "Enough!" | thus he said

111. he said "That's enough!".

2.82 **má ánca tyktáwwíumá qa céémul** ·

and then gave to the coyote
coordconn v def n

Then he gave them to Coyote.

má·ndzà tsìkìdà·wî·má qàdzé·mùl

then | he gave it to him | the | Coyote

112. Then he gave it to Coyote.

2.83 **má ánca céémul tykáámá , tykáámaswací , má ánca toólol tykwínmicwá** ·

and then coyote ate kept eating and then all ate up
coordconn n v v coordconn quant v

Then Coyote ate, he kept eating, and he ate them all up.

má·ndzà dzé·mùl tsìgǎ·má tsìgǎ·màswàdzí má·ndzà to·lól tsìkìim·ìtswà.

then | Coyote | he ate | he kept on eating | and | all | he ate it all up

113. Coyote ate, kept on eating, at it all up.

2.84 **má ánca tykáámatqicóóké mám kút paláq tykúuwí** ·

and then caused self back to sleep and asleep immediately was
coordconn v coordconn onom adv cop

Then he lay back down to sleep

má·ndzà tsìgá·málqìdzô·ké mám kúts bàl'áqò tsàgûwí

then | he laid down to sleep | and | sound asleep | quick | he was

114. Then he lay down and went to sleep and was sound asleep.

2.85 **má ánca qa kwán tykáálací qa áw** ·

and then the fox went to get the wood
coordconn def n v def n

Then Fox went out to get wood.

má'ndzà tsìgá'ládží qà áú

then | the | Fox | he went after wood | the | wood

tyká'ací unattested.

115. Then Fox went out to gather firewood.

2.86 **má áncá qa céémul tykwámmátsí** .

and then the coyote woke up

coordconn def n v

Then Coyote woke up.

má'ndzà qàdžé'mùl tsikùámmátsí

then | the | Coyote | he woke up

116. When Coyote awoke,

2.87 **iipác allu tykúuwí** .

strongly hungry was

adv Vroot cop

He was very hungry.

ìpáts àllù tsìgúwí

very | hungry | he was

117. he was very hungry.

2.88 **má áncá tykápté walítwa láté** .

and then went limb locative

coordconn v n Nsfx

Then he went to the limb.

má'ndzà tsìgápté àlítwàwádé

then | he went | to the knot-hole

118. He went to the knot-hole,

2.89 **má áncá tykááwíkaswací qa tóóčíími walítwa ithe** .

and then was holding in hand the container limb under, underneath

coordconn v def ptcp n n

Then he held the container under the limb.

má'ndzà tsìgá'wíkàswàdží qà dówtsí'mì àlítwà ithe

then | he held | the | container | knot-hole | under

119. held the pan under it,

2.90 **má áncá assa tíít^hók té tykisýí** .

and then sugar-pine nuts arrive! thus said

coordconn n v adv v

Then he spoke thus: "pine-nuts, come!"

má'ndzà "àssà tí'tô'k" tétsàkí'í

then | "pine-nuts | arrive hither!" | thus he said

té tykiyí "thus he was" or perhaps "thus he did", unless the loss of s is de A's copying error.

120. and said, "Pine-nuts, come here!".

2.91 **má áncá qa assa tykáát^huukí** .

and then the sugar-pine nuts arrived

coordconn def n v

Then the pine-nuts came.

má'ndzà qà àssà tsìkà'tèùkí

then | the | pine-nuts | arrived

121. The pine-nuts came.

2.92 **má áncá éé tykúuwí tíslálámmi qà tóóćíími tahtúúćúumi** .

and then not was wait the container fill for
coordconn Neg cop ptcp def ptcp ptcp

Then he didn't wait for the container to fill for him

má'ndzà tsétsàkûwí díslálámmi qà tówtsí'mì dàhtú'dzú'mì

then | he did not | wait | the | container | to fill

122. Coyote did not wait for the pan to get full.

2.93 **tykáámítkééli iipácé tykáámá** .

ate immediately strongly ate
v adv v

He ate right away.

tsìgǎ'mítkéeli ipáts tsìgǎ'má

he ate right away | fast | he ate

123. He started to eat right away.

2.94 **yáát^húúkaswací qá assa** .

kept arriving the sugar-pine nuts
v def n

The pine-nuts kept coming.

yá'tèúgàswàdzí qà àssà

they kept arriving | the | pine-nuts

124. The pine-nuts kept on coming.

2.95 **tykáhtúúkí , tykwalúúmaymí tííqaaati wáté** .

filled up spilled earth at
v v n adv

They filled the container and spilled out on the ground.

tsìgáhtú'gí tsìkùàlú'màymí té'qá'déwádé

they filled up | they spilled | over the ground

125. They filled up the pan to the brim. They spilled upon the floor.

2.96 **éé tykúuwí tínéémí** .

not was able to eat
Neg cop ptcp

He was unable to eat more.

tsétsàkû'wí díné'mì

he could not | eat more

126. Coyote couldn't eat any more.

2.97 **kac^hú pínnúk yáhtúúkí** .

his belly was full
pers n v

His belly was full.

kàtsú pínnoq yáhtógi

his | belly | was full

127. His belly was full.

2.98 **má yáát^húúkaswací qá assa** .
and kept arriving the sugar-pine nuts
coordconn v def n

But the sugar-pine nuts kept arriving.

yá·tèúgàswàdʒí qà àssà

they kept arriving | the | pine-nuts

128. The pine-nuts continued to come.

2.99 **cé tykúuwí tímacqáti cýééwa taačámci** .
not was know in what way stop
Neg cop ptc pro-form ptc

he didn't know how to stop it.

tsétsàkû·wí dí·màs'ádè qà tsé·wà dàhtsámtsi

he could not | remember | the | how | to stop it

Remember would be he·w tykúuwí

129. Coyote couldn't remember what (to say to) stop them.

2.100 **má ánca qa assa púllúc wítakca tyaníumí** .
and then the sugar-pine nuts knee as far as mounted up to
coordconn def n n adv v

Then the pine-nuts got up to his knees.

má·ndzà qà àssà búllúts wítàqsà tsánìmmí

then | the | pine-nuts | knees | as far as | they got

130. The pine-nuts were now up to his knees,

2.101 **kac^hú pínnoq wítakca tyaníumí** .
his belly as far as mounted up to
pers n adv v

They got up to his belly.

kàtsú pínnoq wítàqtsà tsánìmmí

his | belly | as far as | they got

131. up to his belly,

2.102 **kac^hú hálloq wítakca tyaníumí** .
his throat as far as mounted up to
pers n adv v

They got up to his throat.

kàtsú hálloq wítàqtsà tsánìmmí

his | neck | as far as | they got

132. up to his neck.

2.103 **qa céémul táák^hé wa tywíntik^hé , tykwák^haykí** .
the coyote ladder instr climbed came out of hole
def n n Nsfx v v

Coyote climbed the ladder and came out the smoke hole.

qà dzé·mùl tákiwá tsùwíndiké tsákàygí

the | Coyote | ladder by | he climbs | he got out

133. Coyote climbed the ladder and got out.

2.104 **qá assa tyáhtúúki qa ascúy** .

the sugar-pine nuts filled the winter house
def n v def n

The pine-nuts filled up the house.

qà àssà tsáhtógi qà ástsúy

the | pine-nuts | they fill | the | winter-house

134. The pine-nuts filled the winter-house.

2.105 **wátamaq^héqláátiwí qa ascúy** .

it tore it to pieces all around the winter house
v def n

The winter-house burst asunder.

wádàmàqéqládúwí qà àstsúy

it burst asunder | the | winter-house

watámatúpécúci "exploded". "I'll q^héq you and I'll swáp you!" (LR's mother threatening Sampson Grant). látiwí around, here and there, all over (?)

135. The winter-house burst asunder.

2.106 **má áncá tykéét^huumí qa kwán** .

and then arrived back home the fox
coordconn v def n

Then Fox got back home.

má·ndzà tsìgé'tò·mí qà kùán

then | he arrived home | the | Fox

136. Soon Fox came home.

2.107 **tykwínámmacqáti kac té ticci , mám éé tykúuwí 'ó tissi** .

knew him thus do and not was talk
v pers adv ptcp coordconn Neg cop verbprt ptcp

He knew who did thus, but he didn't say anything.

tsìkùinámâ·s'ádé gàts tétìts'yí mám tsétsàkúwí ódìsì

he knew | who | did that | but | he did not | speak

137. He knew who had done that but he didn't say anything.

2.108 **qa céémul tykáát^huukí** .

the coyote arrived
def n v

Coyote came back.

qà dzé·mùl tsìká'tò·kí

the | Coyote | he arrived

138. Then Coyote arrived.

2.109 **táq c^hú túuwí qá assa tykisýi taacámci tucci** .

what how being the sugar-pine nuts said stop not doing
pro pro-form ptcp def n v ptcp ptcp

What's the matter with the pine-nuts, he said, they didn't stop.

"táqtsídûwí qà àssà" tsazkís'í "dàhtsámstìtùtsì"

"What's the matter | with the | pine-nuts?" he said | "they never stopped coming out"

139. What was the matter with those pine-nuts?" he said "They wouldn't stop coming out!"

2.110 **táqqááli tuccá ámé' tmuwí** , **íé tykisýí qa kwán** .

anything do without you evidently are thus said the fox
pro-form v post cop adv v def n

Plainly you are unable to do anything, thus said Fox.

"dàqálèdùtsá'mètmùwí" tétsàkís'í qà kwán

"you are no good!" | thus he said | the | Fox

140. "You are no good!" said Fox.

2.111 **má ánca qa kwán táqhá pá tykwaníyá qa ascúy hamís** .

and then the fox again indeed repaired the winter house one
coordconn def n adv adv v def n quant

Then Fox made the winter-house whole again.

má'ndzà qà kùán táqábá tsikùàní'yá qà àstsúy hamís

then | the | Fox | again | he made | the | winter-house | one

141. Then Fox rebuilt the house.

2.112 **má ánca tykinááyúmci** .

and then dwelt
coordconn v

Then they lived there.

má'ndzà tsikìnáyú'mdzí

then | they lived

142. They lived there.

2.113 **qa kwán tykwááçiláké amúyá amitt^héwcan** .

the fox possessed clay woman
def n v n n

Fox had a clay woman.

qà kùán tsikùá'tsì'lágé àmú'yá àmìtéùdzàn

the | Fox | he owned | clay | woman

143. Fox had a doll of clay,

2.114 **tykwanááçaalí táqmas wáté tíláátiiyumí ithe** .

hid repeatedly whatchamacallit at rafter under, underneath
v pro-form adv ptcp n

He hid her (every day) in something under the rafters.

tsikùánàhtsà'lí dáqmàswádé dí'lá'tí'yùmí ithe

he kept her hidden | somewhere | rafters | under

144. which he kept hidden somewhere under the rafters.

2.115 **tykwıncaasatwamí tóólol mahhíkca** .

took out with hand every night
v quant n

He took her out every night.

tsikùíndzàsà'téumí tó'lól máhí'sà

he took her out | every | night

145. He always took her out at night

2.116 **tykáámaataymí qa amúúyá amitt^héwcan** ·

slept with the clay woman
v def n n

He slept with the clay woman.

tsìgá'mà'dàymí qà àmú'yá àmìtéùdzàn

he slept with | the | clay | woman

146. and slept with her.

2.117 **qa lóqmim kítím tykwinaáácaalí** ·

the early in the morning again concealed
def adv adv v

In the morning, he hid her as before.

qà lóqmim qáítím tsìkùínà'tsà'lí

the | morning | same place | he hid her

147. In the morning he hid her away.

2.118 **tykwatt^hééwi qa máh^híika qa haw haw tiscúúci qa céémul** ·

heard the all night the whisper chatter the coyote
v def adv def onom ptcp def n

He heard them chattering in whispers all night long.

tsìkùàté'wí qà máh^hí'gà qà hàuhàu dístsúdzì qà dzé'mùl.

he heard | the | all night long | the | whisper | whispering | the | Coyote

148. All night long Coyote could hear them whispering.

2.119 **tykáásaaccí qa céémul mám aamím aamá tykwincéská** ·

got up the coyote and right now entirely looked around
v def n coordconn adv adv v

Every little while, Coyote got up and looked around

tsìgá'sàdzì qà dzé'mùl mám àmímàmá tsìkùínídzéská

he got up | the | Coyote | and | every little while | he peered

149. He would get up and peer,

2.120 **c^hú máh^hí wáté cé tykúuwí tínímmaáci** ·

how dark at not was see
pro-form n adv Neg cop ptcp

He couldn't see anything in the dark.

tsùmáhéwádé tsétsàkû'wí dínímá'dzì

in the dark | he could not | see

150. but it was too dark and he couldn't see anything.

2.121 **qa lóqmim tykwaat^híklí qa kwán táq m^huwí ó tiscúcaswaci**
the early in the morning asked the fox what it might be (?) continual whispering
def adv v def n pro cop Vpfx ptcp

máh^híika ·

all night

adv

In the morning he asked Fox, what's all that whispering all night long?

qà lóqmím tsìkùàtí'lí qà kùán "táqmùwí ódìstsúd'zàs'wàd'zì máhí'gà"

the | morning | he asked | the | Fox | "what are you | whispering all the time | all night long?

151. One morning he asked Fox, "What are you whispering about, all night long?"

2.122 **sík tykuwaaci qa kwán mám cé tykúuwí 'ó tissi** ·

smile did the fox and not was talk
onom v def n coordconn Neg cop verbprt ptcp

Fox smiled, but didn't say anything.

sì'g tsìgáwàtsí qà kùán mám tsétsàkùwí ódìsì

smile | he smiled | the | Fox | but | he did not | answer

wa- + tucì > tuwa'ci

152. Fox smiled, but he did not answer.

2.123 **lóqmím kút tykáccóóyámáké qa céémul amq^há tykwacéptaswací** ·

early in the morning asleep pretended to do the coyote but kept watching
adv onom v def n coordconn v

In the morning, Coyote pretended to be sound asleep, but he watched everything.

lóqmím kúts tsìgátsó'yá'mágé qà dzé'mùl àmqá tsìgùàtéptàs'wad'zì

in the morning | sound asleep | he pretended | the | Coyote | but | he kept watching

153. Next morning Coyote pretended to be sound asleep, but he was watching.

2.124 **tykwamámci qa tíícaale amúúyá amitt^héwcan** ·

placed (long object) the hiding place mud woman
v def ptcp n n

He placed the clay woman in hiding.

tsìkùàmúmd'zì qà dí'tsàlèàmú'yá àmìtéúdzàn

he saw him | the | hiding | clay | woman

154. He saw him hiding away the clay doll.

2.125 **má ánca qa kwán tykáálací qa áw** ·

and then the fox went to get the wood
coordconn def n v def n

Then Fox went to get wood.

má'ndzà qàkùán tsìgá'làd'zì qà áú

then | the | Fox | went to gather firewood | the | wood

155. Fox then went out to gather firewood.

2.126 **ma ánca qa céémul tykááca'ccí má ánca tykwínímmáací qa amúúyá**

and so the coyote got up and then found the mud
coordconn adv def n v coordconn v def n

amitt^héwcan ·

woman

n

Then Coyote got up and found the mud woman.

ma'ndzà qà dzé'mùl tsìgá'sàd'zì má'ndzà tsìkúánímá'd'zì àmú'yá àmìtéúdzàn

then | the | Coyote | got up | and | he found | clay | woman

156. Coyote then got up and found the clay doll.

2.127 **tykwícasaswací qa amúúyá amitt^héwcan** ·

held in hand the mud woman
v def n n

He held the mud woman in his hand

tsìgáwígàswàdʒí qà àmú·yá àmìtéùdzàn

he held in his hand | the | clay | woman

157. He held it in his hand.

2.128 **ki ìlìq̣q̣aatáké tmiyí té tykisýí qa céémul** ·

who naming might you be thus said the coyote
pers ptcp cop adv v def n

"What is your name?" asked Coyote.

"gì álé·qàtágé tmií" tétsakís'í qà dʒé·mùl

158. "What is your name? he asked.

2.129 **cé tykúuwí 'ó tissi qa amúúyá amitt^héwcan** ·

not was talk the mud woman
Neg cop verbprt ptcp def n n

The clay woman didn't speak.

tsétsàkù·wí ódìsì qà àmú·yá àmìtéùdzàn

she did not | answer | the | clay | woman

159. She made no answer.

2.130 **pi , 'ó tissa , té tykisýí qa céémul** ·

here talk! thus said the coyote
adv verbprt v adv v def n

"Here, talk!" said Coyote.

"bì' ótìs·à" tétsakís'í qà dʒé·mùl

"here! speak!" | thus he said | the | Coyote

169. [sic!] [de Angulo running translation=171.] "Here, answer me" said Coyote.

2.131 **cé tykúuwí 'ó tissi qa amúúyá amitt^héwcan** ·

not was talk the mud woman
Neg cop verbprt ptcp def n n

The clay woman didn't speak.

tsétsàkù·wí ódìsì qà àmú·yá àmìtéùdzàn

she did not | answer | the | clay | woman

170. [172] She did not answer.

2.132 **pi , 'ó tissa , amq^há lhisúmców** !

here talk! or else let's us two fuck!
adv verbprt v coordconn v

Here! Talk, or let's fuck!

"bì' ótìs·à àmqá lhisúmdʒô"

"here! speak! | otherwise | I'll fornicate you!"

171. [no running translation]

2.133 **cé tykúuwí 'ó tissi qa amúúyá amitt^héwcan** ·

not was talk the mud woman
Neg cop verbprt ptcp def n n

The clay woman didn't speak.

tsétsàkùwí ódìsì qà àmú'yá àmìtéùdzàn

she did not | speak | the | clay | woman

172. [no running translation]

2.134 **má áncá céémul wáka tyktisúmcumá qa amúúyá amitt^héwcan amq^há kac^hú**
and then coyote agent fucked the mud woman but his
coordconn n Nsfx v def n n coordconn pers

kúllúp wawá tykúuwí .

penis big was

n A cop

Then Coyote fucked the clay woman, but his penis was (too) big.

má'ndzà dzé'mùlwágà tsìkìdìsúmdzùmá qà àmú'yá àmìtéùdzàn àmqá kàtsú gúlúp wa'wá tsàkù'wí

then | Coyote | he fornicated her | the | clay | woman | but | his | penis | (too) big | it was

173. Then Coyote raped her, but his penis was too big.

2.135 **tóólol tykwintaqíúsi qa amúúyá amitt^héwcan .**

all broke the mud woman
quant v def n n

He broke her all up.

tó'lól tsìkùíndàqí'sí qà àmú'yá àmìtéùdzàn

all | he broke her | the | clay | woman

174. He broke her all up.

2.136 **má áncá tykéét^huumí qa kwán .**

and then arrived back home the fox
coordconn v def n

Then Fox got back home.

má'ndzà tsìgé'tò'mí qà kùán

then | he came back | the | Fox

175. When Fox came back,

2.137 **tykwínámmacqátítkééli mám cé tykúuwí 'ó tissi qa kwán .**

understood immediately but not was talk the fox
v coordconn Neg cop verbprt ptc def n

Fox understood right away, but he didn't say anything.

tsìkùánámâ's'ádé tkéèlí mám tsétsàkùwí ódìsì qà kùán

he knew | right away | but | he did not | speak | the | Fox

176. he knew right away but he said nothing,

2.138 **má áncá tykwapsíwci mlétwì qa piq^há céémul .**

and then thought I will kill the this coyote
coordconn v v def deic n

Then he thought "I'll kill this Coyote!"

má'ndzà tsìkùópsyú'dzì "màlétwì qà bìqá dzé'mùl"

then | he thought | "I'll kill | the | here | Coyote"

177. but he thought: "I am going to get rid of this Coyote!"

2.139 **má ánca tykáákuuwací tykwincutwááli qa titaayé** .
 and then sat rolled fibers into string the string
 coordconn v v def n

Then he seated himself to roll fibers into cord.

má'ndzà tsìká'kò'àdzí má'ndzà tsikúíndzùtwá'lí qà dìttà'é

then | he sat down | and | he made string | the | string

Radin attests tita'yé

178. Then he sat down and started to roll string.

De Angulo's footnote: Indians did not "spin" string or thread, but rolled it over the thigh.

2.140 **céémul tykwincéptaswací qa ticutwáále** .
 coyote kept watching the rolling fibers into string
 n v def ptc

coyote kept watching the string-making.

dzé'mùl tsikùíndzèptàsawàdzí qà dídžùtwá'lè

Coyote | he kept watching | the | making string

179. Coyote was watching him.

2.141 **má ánca tykwáácaáci qa kwán má ánca céémul um tykwínciçwátumí mám**
 and then got up the fox and then coyote 's place moved across to and
 coordconn v def n coordconn n post v coordconn

céémul u láh tykwanééwatí titaayé wa .
 coyote POSS head measured string instr
 n Nsfx n v n Nsfx

Then Fox got up and went over into Coyote's space and measured his head with the string.

má'ndzà tsìgá'sàdzí qà kùán má'ndzà dzé'mùlùm tsikùíndzìtsìwádùmí mám dzé'mùlú láh
tsikùàné'wàtí dìttà'é'wà

then | he got up | the | Fox | and | towards Coyote | he went across | and | Coyote's | head | he measured | with the string

tykwané'watí unattested, may be -aní'-wací, cf. tykwasaní'waci "they believed"

180. Fox then got up, went across to Coyote, and took the measure of his head with the string.

2.142 **má ánca íáq^há tykááciimí** .
 and then again crossed over
 coordconn adv v

Then he went back across again.

má'ndzà táqá tsìgá'tsimí

then | again | he went

titá'ci'mi = a string of beads

181a. Then he went back to his place

2.143 **tykáákuuwací má ánca tykwácutwááli íáq^há pá qa titaayé** .
 sat and then rolled fibers into string again indeed the string
 v coordconn v adv adv def n

Again he sat and rolled fibers to make thread.

tsìgá'kò'àdzí má'ndzà tsikùádžùtwá'lé

he sat down | and | he rolled string

181b. and rolled string again.

2.144 **táq c^hú miyí tmiyí tykisýí qa céémul** .

what how are you? might you be said the coyote
pro cop cop v def n

"What in the world are you doing?" asked Coyote.

"táqtsímì'ítmì" dzé'mùl tsàkís'í

"what are you doing?" | Coyote | said

182. "What are you doing" Coyote asked.

2.145 **sinááyá qa iiqíila qa wátwat tínítt^haaýi tykisýí qa kwán** .

I make the carrying net the rabbit capture said the fox
v def n def n ptcp v def n

I'm making a net to catch rabbits, said Fox.

"siná'yá qà ì'qì'là qà wáwàt dínítàè" qà kùán tsàkís'í

"I am making | a | net | the | rabbits | to catch | the | Fox | said

SV(O) word order is universally rejected.

183a. "I am making a net to catch rabbits.

2.146 **lóqmim mhúpta má ánca mhós** .

early in the morning we two will go and then we two will hunt
adv v coordconn v

We'll go hunting in the morning

"lóqmim màhúptà má'ndzà màhós"

"morning | let's go | and | we will hunt!"

183b. Let's go in the morning, and hunt!"

2.147 **háá'á tístí tyánuwí , allu suwí tykisýí qa céémul** .

yes good it is hungry I am said the coyote
excl adv cop Vroot cop v def n

Yes, that's a good idea, I'm hungry, said Coyote.

"há dístít tyánùwí àllùsùwí" qà dzé'mùl tsàkís'í

"Allright | fine | it is | I am hungry" | the | Coyote | said

184. "All right!" said Coyote, "That's fine! I am hungry."

2.148 **tóólol máhííka tykwiniíyá qa títayé** .

all during the night fashioned the string
quant adv v def n

All night long he worked with the string.

tó'lól máhí'gà tsikùání'yá qà dítà'lè

all | all night long | he made | the | string

185. All night long he made string.

2.149 **lóqmim kwán wáka tyktissáátumá qa céémul p^hííwaymi mlílliimó**

early in the morning fox agent said to the coyote over here I will extend
adv n Nsfx v def n adj v

iiqíila .

carrying net

n

Early in the morning, Fox told Coyote "I'll set up the net right here.

lóqmìm kùánwágà tsìkìdìsátùmá qà dzé·mùl "pí'waàymì màlìlì·mó ...

In the morning | Fox | he said to him | (to) the | Coyote | "Along here | I'll stretch | the | net ...

For tílì·mì, cf. ú·lì·mì, tú·lì·mì "ridge"; tílì·mì, tílìlì·mì "stand of trees"

186a. In the morning, Fox said to Coyote "I am going to stretch the net along here"

2.150 **má ánca tupté mám kílípěuukí qa wátwat** .
and then go! and you should send hither the rabbit
coordconn v coordconn v def n

Then go and send the rabbits this way.

má·ndzà tupté mám kíptsùkí qà wátwàt ...

then | go! | and | scare this way | the | rabbits ...

186b. You go and scare the rabbits this way.

2.151 **má ánca qa wátwat yuut^hum ku ma kícíwáácí** .
and then the snowshoe rabbit arrive fut and you should shout
coordconn def n v coordconn v

Then when the rabbits get here then shout.

má·ndzà qà wátwàt yùtùm·kùmá kídžíwátsí ...

then | the | rabbits | (when) they get near | you shout! ...

kícíwá·cí or kícíwá·hčí (below), tícíwá·cí unattested.

kiwás·í = "You (should) sing!". kít^há·cí = you shout!

186c. When they get near, you shout,

2.152 **má ánca kincepááhí mímú áásá** .
and then you should shut your eyes your eye
coordconn v pers n

Then shut your eyes!

má·ndzà kíndzé·pà·hí mì'mú á·sá ...

then | shut your eyes! | your | eyes ...

186d. shut your eyes,

2.153 **kícíwáácí mám iipác káhuumí** .
you should shout and strongly you should run
v coordconn adv v

Shout and run fast!"

kídžíwáhtsí mám ìpáts kàhó·mí"

shout! | and | fast | run!"

186e. shout, and run as fast as you can!"

2.154 **hee tykisýí qa céémul , té mlí** .
assent said the coyote thus I will do
excl v def n adv v

"OK", said Coyote, "I'll do that!"

"hě" tsàkís'á qà dzé·mùl "té màlì"

"All right" | he said | the | Coyote | "thus | I'll do!"

187a. Allright, I'll do that!" said Coyote,

2.155 **má ánca tykápté** .

and then went
coordconn v

Then he went.

má'ndzà tsìgápté

and | he went

187b. and he went.

2.156 **má ánca tykwíncasaykí qa wátwat** .

and then herded hither the snowshoe rabbit
coordconn v def n

Then he herded the rabbits back (to Fox).

má'ndzà tsìkùíngàsáykí qà wátwàt

then | he scared | the | rabbits

188. Then he scared the rabbits.

2.157 **qa táát^huumací tykwinceepaahí kac^hú áásá mám iipác tykááhuumí** .

the almost arrive shut eyes his eye and strongly ran
def ptcv v pers n coordconn adv v

When he got close, he closed his eyes and ran hard.

qà dáhtùmàdzì tsikùíndzè'pà'hí kàtsú á'sá mám ìpáts tsìgá'hò'mí

the | getting near | he shut his eyes | his | eyes | and | fast | he ran

189. When they got near the net he shut his eyes and ran as fast as he could.

-t^hu- arrive -ma + -ci cause

2.158 **má ánca tykaktewmicumí qa wátwat iiqíila wáté** .

and then went through holes the rabbit carrying net at
coordconn v def n n adv

Then the rabbits went through the holes in the net.

má'ndzà tsìgátéùmìdzùmí qà wátwàt ì'qì'là'wádé

then | they went through | the | rabbits | at the net

190. The rabbits went through the net,

2.159 **tykwaniítí qa céémul kac^hú lál' hā** .

got stuck the coyote his head with
v def n pers n post

Coyote got stuck by his head.

tsikùàní'tá dzé'mùl kàtsú lál'hà

he got caught | Coyote | his | by the head

taní'tí unattested. Would expect tám'ú'tí, cf. tám'u'té = net for small game, weir, trap

191. but Coyote got caught by the head.

2.160 **tykwaćííqalláatiwí má ánca tykwincíwóhci** .

kicked around and then hollered
v coordconn v

He kicked around and hollered.

tsikùàtsé'qalládúwí má'ndzà tsikùíndzìwóhtsì

he kicked around | and | he howled

192. He kicked around and howled.

2.161 **tykááhuukí qa kwán** .

ran hither the fox
v def n

Fox ran to him.

tsìgá'hò'gí qà kùán

he came running | the | Fox

193. Fox came running,

2.162 **tyktámmáálumá lah háte áw wa** .

hit head on wood instr
v n post n Nsfx

He hit him on the head with a piece of wood.

tsìkìdámâlmá láhádé áúwà

he hit him | on the head | with a piece of wood

194. and hit him on the head with a stick,

2.163 **tyktétwíumá qa céémul** .

killed the coyote
v def n

Coyote was killed.

tsìkìdé'twî'má qà dzé'mùl

he killed him | the | Coyote

195. and killed him.

2.164 **má ánca tóólol qa tííqaati wáté tykápté qa kwán** .

and then all the earth at went the fox
coordconn quant def n adv v def n

Then Fox went all over the world.

má'ndzà tó'lól qà té'qá'déwádé tsìgápté qà kùán

then | all | the | over the world | he went | the | Fox

196. Then he went all over the world,

2.165 **qa céémul ú tílascowoy cíkkoñ há tykwanićiqaaپی** .

the coyote POSS old urine-marking foot with rubbed away with foot
def n Nsfx ptcp n post v

He wiped out Coyote's urine markings with his foot.

qàdzé'mùlú tìlâstsôyì tsìkòhà tsìkùàní'tsìqàpí

the | Coyote's | urinating | with foot | he rubbed off

tílasci unattested. Urinate = tísóqci.

tìćiqapí unattested. ni = repeated, ċi = with foot.

197. and wherever the Coyote had urinated, Fox rubbed the place with his foot.

2.166 **má ánca tykyápte amq^há hamís casehlá cé tykúuwí tíćiqqaapi** .

and then went but one Big Lake not was efface with foot
coordconn v coordconn quant name Neg cop ptcp

Then he went, but there was one place that he didn't rub off.

má'ndzà tsìkìyâpté àmqá hàhmís sé'là tsétsàkù'wí títsì'qàpì

then | he went home | but | one | place | he did not | rub off

"Went home" should be tyképté.

sé'la "place" unattested. sí'la = mortar. Big Lake is north of McArthur.

198. Then he went home, but there was one place he had missed,

2.167 **húk'yíh lutwáámí iicísta amq^hááwáté tykyálláscí qa céémul** .
yonder Pitville island in that place mark with urine the coyote
adv name n adv v def n

Yonder (in) Pitville country on an island, Coyote left a urine mark.

hók'é lùtùámí idzístsà àmqáwádé tsìkìállástsá qà dzé'mul

over there | Lutuami | island | that's the place where | he urinated | the | Coyote

199a. over there on an island in Lutuam Lake, Coyote had urinated there

2.168 **paláqmim tykyállásci q^hé wáté** .
formerly marked with urine that at
adv v deic adv

Long before, he had urinated there.

bàláqmim tsìkìállástsá qé'wádé

a long time ago | he urinated | there

199b. once a long time ago.

2.169 **q^hééwáté cé tykúuwí tínímmááci qa kwán** .
there not was find the fox
adv Neg cop ptcp def n

Fox didn't find it there.

qé'wádé tsétsàkû'wí dínímá'dzì qà kùán

there | he could not | find it

200. Fox could not find the place.

2.170 **q^hé tím íllás tykwanúuwí qa céémul** .
right there reviving was again the coyote
adv ptcp v def n

Right there he came back to life.

qáítím íllás tsíkúánûwí qà dzé'mùl

there | alive | he was again | the | Coyote

201. That's where Coyote came back to life.

2.171 **částíl máttíkca íllás tykwanúuwí qa céémul** .
three times day reviving was again the coyote
adv n ptcp v def n

On the third day Coyote came back to life.

tsástsél máti'sa íllás tsikùànûwí qà dzé'mùl

third | aiya | alive | he was again | the | Coyote

Grave accent omitted in ms.

202. On the third day he came back to life.

2.172 **tykwaatúycí qa céémul** .
got angry the coyote
v def n

Coyote got mad.

tsìkùàhtùdʒí qà dʒé·mùl

he was mad | the | Coyote

203. He was mad.

2.173 **kac^{hú} tinih^{húú}wi tykwintíllíwí** ·

his power spirit called
pers n v

He called his power spirit.

ni- iterative, -hu- wind blows -wi dwelling

kàtsú díníhó·wì tsíkùíndíllí·wí

his | medicine | he called

204. He called his medicine.

2.174 **kac^{hú} tinih^{húú}wi mállís tykáácá** ·

his power spirit fire became
pers n n v

His power spirit manifested as fire.

mállís tsìgá'tsá

the fire | it was

205. His medicine was fire.

2.175 **tykyéét^huumí qa céémul** ·

returned the coyote
v def n

Coyote went back home.

tsìkié'tò·mí qà dʒé·mùl

he 206. went home | the | Coyote

Coyote went home.

2.176 **kac^{hú} tinih^{húú}wi tykititííyimi** ·

his power spirit followed
pers n v

His power spirit followed after.

kàtsú díníhó·wì tsìkìdìdî·má

his | medicine | followed him

207. His medicine followed.

2.177 **qa ascúy táát^huumací kac^{hú} tinih^{húú}wi tykwíntámmaakí taačámcoo** ·

the winter house approaching his power spirit told stop!
def n ptcp pers n v v

As they approached the winter house, he told his power spirit "Stop!".

àstsúy dáhtùmàdʒì kàtsú díníhó·wì tsíkùíndá·mâgé "dàhtsám̐tsô"

winter-house | getting near (to) | his | medicine | he told him | "Stop!"

208. When he was near the winter-house, he told his medicine to stop and wait for him.

2.178 **tykápté qà céémul má ánca tykwámmaatánuwí ascúy wáté** ·

went the coyote and then went down winter house at
v def n coordconn v n adv

Coyote continued and then went down into the winter house.

tsìgápté qà dzé·mùl má·ndzà tsìkùámàdânwí àstsúywádé

he went | the | Coyote | and | he went down | into the winter-house

209. Then Coyote went down into the winter-house.

2.179 **tykwaatíicaswací qa kwán tóólol qa islí tóólol ikuhóhátiké** .

was crying the fox all the pitch all being smeared over the face
v def n quant def n quant ptcp

Fox was weeping and had pitch smeared all over his face (in mourning).

tsìkùà'tí·dzàs·wàdzí qà kùán tó·lól qà islí tó·lól ìqúhóhádígí

he was crying | the | Fox | all | the | pitch | all | being smeared over the face

ku- with hands -áké on oneself, but -hóhátí- unattested.

210. Fox was in there crying, with his face smeared all over with pitch.

De Angulo's footnote: As a sign of mourning.

2.180 **táq c^hú muwí tykisýí qa céémul** .

what how are you? said the coyote
pro pro-form cop v def n

What's the matter with you, said Coyote.

"táqtsúmùwí"tsís'í qàdzé·mùl

"What's the matter with you?" | said | the | Coyote

211. "What's the matter with you?" asked Coyote."

2.181 **mi tkiyí tykisýí qa kwán** .

you sg. you are said the fox
pers cop v def n

It's you! said Fox.

"mì' tkíí" tsís'í qa kùán

"you are" | said | the | Fox ...

212a. "Oh! is that you?" cried Fox,

2.182 **minááyimá lhípsíwcicka** .

you died I thought about you
v v

I thought you died.

"mìnáimá lhípsyúdzìtskà

"that you were dead | I thought you ...

212b. "I thought you were dead!

2.183 **cé suwí t^húsýí tisunci** .

not I am good feel
Neg cop adj v

I don't feel good

tsésùwítùs'ídisùndzì

I do not | good | feel ...

212c. I felt so sad!

2.184 **lhitúúyááqicka** .

I hit you by mistake
v

I hit you accidentally.

lhìdúyáqìtskà

I hit you by mistake

Unattested. tú- is in various verbs for hitting, tapping, beating. -yáq is in some verbs for accidentally hitting.

212d. I hit you by mistake!"

2.185 q^hé tístí tyánuwí , cé suwí tíqqííwi tykisýí qa céémul .

that	good	it is	not	I am	be hurt	said	the	coyote
deic	adv	cop	Neg	cop	ptcp	v	def	n

That's all right, I'm not hurt, said Coyote.

"qé· dístí tyánuwí ... tsésùwí tígíwì" tsîs'í qàdzé·mùl.

"here | all right | it is... | I do not | to be hurt" | said | the | Coyote

213. "That's all right! I am not hurt!" said Coyote.

2.186 tykáátéémí má áncá tykwíndámmaakí kac^hú tinih^húúwi tépté itt^hú tinih^húúwi .

went out	and then	told	his	power spirit	go back!	my	power spirit
v	coordconn	v	pers	n	v	pers	n

He went back out and then told his power spirit, "Go back, my power spirit!"

tsìgátéù mí má·ndzà tsikùíndá·mâgé kàtsú díníhó·wì tepté ittú díníhó·wì

he went out | and | he told | his | medicine | "go back! | my | medicine"

214. Then he went out and sent his medicine away.