

Naahneesh Kowanyaakwilik

Analyzed Cahto Texts:

Volume 1 - Cultural Texts

Sally Anderson

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Cover Image: View toward Tintaahding (Laytonville, California) from Kiik (Cahto Peak, Signal Mountain), taken by the author, May 14, 2004 (CC-by-nc: 2004 Sally R. Anderson)

Preface

The Cahto (also spelled "Kato") language is a California Athabaskan language of the Eel River group in northern Mendocino county, California. This collection of analyzed texts is the result of the author's twenty-one years' evening and weekend research on the language, and a final year of work, thanks to NEH funding (see Acknowledgements). This is the first collection of Cahto texts analyzed beyond the level of word by word literal glosses (as Goddard 1909), and the first collection to bring together the various texts and micro-texts from the different sources of Cahto language material. The present two volumes include 17 of the stories Bill Ray told to Pliny Goddard (Goddard 1902,1906 and 1909), the 29 micro-texts from Loeb (1932), a micro-text from Harrington (1942-43), and in the second volume wordlist-like materials including various micro-texts in the form of inflected forms and simple sentences from Goddard's notebooks (Goddard 1902,1906), Merriam (1850-1974), and Sapir (Goddard & Sapir 1907-1908). The text collection attempts to be a clear window, without censoring filters, on the available information on a language and culture. This can run into some opposition on at least four fronts: 1) not wanting to see or be reminded of awful things done in the past, 2) it is very difficult (or impossible) to present the beliefs and practices of a culture not one's own without opening oneself up to competing accusations of romanticization, wannabe-ism, dismissal or patronization, 3) some of the past sources do not always have the most pluralistic and respectful attitudes and sometimes vocabulary, 4) Cahto culture and religion have changed drastically several times over the past two+ centuries and what is sacred and possibly not to be discussed has also changed. Most of traditional Cahto culture was in the common human range of beautiful, interesting, neutral, or, at worst, not too bad, and it appears that the Cahto tended not to seek conflict and warfare. But there are occasional things that fall in the equally common human range of awful to many readers. The text collection cannot leave these out. I have quoted older sources without editing. Regarding the fourth point, the main consultants who discussed sacred and traditionally secret matters with researchers worked repeatedly with different researchers, knowing that they were documenting their language and culture to future generations and a broad, open audience. As leaders within the Tribe, and in Bill Ray's case not just a Captain but a Doctor, it is presumed that they knew what they were doing, had the authority to do so, and felt that the need of ensuring that future generations could know their language, stories, and traditions outranked the need for secrecy. It would be difficult, and counterproductive to return things to secrecy in the text collection. But it is reasonable to leave secret matters out of casual materials like texts for language learning, and I welcome feedback on materials to be simplified or avoided in such materials.

Sally Anderson, compiler/editor
June 19, 2021

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Acknowledgements

These Cahto texts and micro-texts represent the compiled knowledge and work of a vast number of people through time. Since the early years of the 20th century, Cahto leaders (e.g. Captain Bill Ray, Gil Ray) and other speakers and community members have taken an active role in seeing to it that their Cahto knowledge (language, stories, and traditions) are passed on to future generations, whatever the changes and vicissitudes of history that time may bring for the Cahto people. These have been complemented by various researchers focussing either broadly (e.g. Goddard, Curtis) or specifically on certain topics (e.g. Gifford, working on kinship terms), who have seen to it that this knowledge is preserved for present and future use through publication and archiving.

In particular, Captain Bill Ray spent countless hours working with various researchers, most notably Pliny E. Goddard: documenting traditional stories and religion, cultural practices and history, locations, travelling all over Cahto territory pointing out and discussing significant locations. The Bill Ray - Pliny Goddard collaboration represents the largest body of material in the language, the only documented Cahto language texts beyond a few lines long, the only instrumental phonetic study of the language. It is not an exaggeration to state that without Bill Ray and Pliny Goddard, re-establishing the historical Cahto language would be impossible.

Two of Bill Ray's children, Gill Ray and Martina (Ray) Bell, worked with several researchers over the years. They provided vast amounts of information about Cahto culture, religion, and locations, mostly through the medium of English, as well as hundreds of words and many micro-texts. They grew up in a different dialect area from Bill Ray, and it is primarily their dialect that was passed down to the present generations of the Cahto Tribe, through Gill Ray's descendents. Most of the words and micro-texts in the Loeb, Harrington, and Merriam sections are from them.

Rose (Stevenson) Ray, Gill Ray's wife, grew up near Westport on the coast speaking another dialect. She worked for a short while with Pliny Goddard, mostly providing colloquial speech forms, including many forms and structures not otherwise attested. The vocabulary and micro-texts from her are presented in volume 2.

Lucy (Cook) Ray, Bill Ray's wife, from Tenmile on the southern part of the coast, appears to have represented still another Cahto dialect region. She worked with Loeb for his study of the Western Kuksu cult. It's unclear which forms in Loeb's study come from Lucy or from his other main informant, Martina.

In addition to these, there are unnamed individuals who provided Cahto words and phrases/micro-texts to various researchers. These people merit equal thanks, though their identity may be hidden under masks like, "and others".

Coming into recent years, both Victor Golla and myself had the privilege of meeting with one of the recently passed elders, a granddaughter of Gil & Rose Ray. Honoring traditional Cahto custom, these Acknowledgements show respect to grieving family members and the community by avoiding use of her name. In the very brief time we each were able to spend with her we were able to document over 50 words and phrases, including 23 unique forms. Her passing greatly underscores the urgency of working with the elders and others who have knowledge to share about the language and customs. She advocated for years for the Tribe to secure a grant to fund a language program, including classes, and

was a major part of the delegation to the Center for Indian Community Development at Humboldt State University that triggered the author's focus on working on Cahto and creating materials for the Tribe to use. She taught many words to her children, grandchildren, and others in the community, doing what she could with the resources available. Profound thank you to her, the elder woman who passed in 2014!

A number of other adults in the community have assisted the author over the years. Names are withheld, pending permission to name individuals. But you know who you are.

To the one who acted as a sort of concierge for me as a visitor, arranged for a place to stay, and generally took me on to look after, and even feed a lovely meal with family: Thank you so much for your help and hospitality!!

To the one who zipped me over to the coast so we could look at sea creatures, many of which you knew the Cahto names for: Thank you, that was such a delight!!

To the one who opened their home to me, took me around the backroads of Cahto territory for me to go around taking pictures without getting shot at (which I understand now was not just a joking concern!), and who showed me how to completely debone a cooked surffish in one pull: Thank you in particular for keeping this naak'ai (crazy person) alive while poking around and taking photos in areas where unknown/outsider photographers might not be very welcome!!

To the Konkow Maidu couple from Oroville, catching surffish with the traditional nets: Thank you for showing me how your nets work, and especially for sharing some of your catch with me. I told them I'd be happy to accept a couple, one for me, one for my host. I think they loaded me up with eight or ten, and my host and I shared a delicious pan-fried smelt feast!

To all the kids and young folks at the Tribal Center after school in 2003 and 2004 who took delight in showing off their knowledge of Cahto words, and testing mine, and enjoying chatting during the Coast Walk, and all. Also to all the kids and adults in 2017 through 2021 who are learning, to the delight of the adults I hear from: Thank you for your enthusiasm, your fun, and your promise of the future!!

To those of you who got me involved in setting up the the campsite for the Coast Walk, participating alongside, like any other community member: Thank you so much!!

To the family who took me on a field trip into northwestern Cahto Territory, led me on a hike that featured a fresh mountain lion territorial scratch in the dirt (!), shared many photographs, and hosted me overnight: Thank you so much for offering to show me around! The northwestern area (including village areas of Goddard's "These not visited on Jackson valley creek") is gorgeous, and I had a lovely time!

To the many, many of you in the Cahto, Laytonville, and wider community who made me feel very welcome in the community and the Coast Walk: Thank you for your hospitality and welcome!

To Gene Sloan, who knows a number of Cahto words and a vast amount of culture, history, and fishing, and to his wife Alice, who knows what he knows and can remind him of things to talk about, as well as conducting research of her own: Thank you both so much for your friendship, hospitality, knowledge, and desire to help all Cahto people know their history and language!

To those of you who have been in contact with me over the years in email, asking questions, sharing words you or your relatives know, expressing interest in the dictionary and language materials, etc.: Thank you very much for your interest, engagement, and patience!! You all have a history of emailing

me with something interesting just at points when I've become discouraged, giving me some motivation and inspiration to keep plugging forward.

Thanks are also due to all of the researchers who have worked on documenting aspects of Cahto language, culture, history, etc. Most especially, vast thanks to Pliny E. Goddard, who created the only published works of Cahto grammar and language texts, based on his collaboration with Bill Ray, in addition to a large array of unpublished field notes (some with Rose Ray), photographs, and other materials. Many thanks also to Harold Driver, Frank Essene, Edward W. Gifford, J.P. Harrington, Alfred L. Kroeber, Edwin Loeb, C. Hart Merriam, William E. Myers (working with Edward S. Curtis), and Edward Sapir, each of whom documented significant amounts of the language and/or culture. Many thanks also to those who documented smaller bits about Cahto, or comparable information from neighboring cultures and related languages.

I reserve special thanks for Victor Golla, who first inspired me to direct my Athabaskan interests towards the southern California Athabaskan languages (Wailaki/Eel River and Cahto), and then more specifically to Cahto, as the Tribe had gotten in touch with them at the Center for Indian Community Development seeking a linguist to work on creating materials in the language. I also wish to thank the CICD's Ruth Bennett, for her role in helping to develop a writing system that would maximally represent the Tribe's interest in having something based on Goddard's but without the diacritics, as well as being adequate to distinguish the sounds of the language.

I wish to thank Victor Golla and the 2003 Athabaskan Languages Conference in Arcata, California for selecting me as an invited speaker. The conference provided funds to cover travel there, which allowed me to finally travel to the area and visit the Tribe and the Laytonville area in person for the first time.

Over the years I have been inspired, challenged, and delighted by conversations with a constellation of professors, colleagues and friends, discussing all sorts of aspects of the Cahto project from the Linguistic to the Technical. Thank you all for your help and ideas. Some of you I will want to single out by name, if I may.

I am exceedingly grateful to the Cahto Tribe's leadership, the Tribal Executive Committee and other leaders who have supported the language project through the years, including facilitating my trips there and more recently with an official Executive Committee decision and letters of support as I sought grant/fellowship funding to finish this dictionary. A marvelous development over the past year has been the establishment of regular Cahto language lessons/meetings and Social Media presence in collaboration with the Tribal Executive Committee and various community members, as the use of online meetings has become normalized during the COVID-19 Pandemic.

Finally, my inspiration and reason for life, soulmate, lifemate, and the "lucky" one who gets to listen to my linguistic ramblings and musings, my wife Abbie, thank you more than can be told!! She has a Folklore/Ethnomusicology background, and Music, and interest in linguistics, so we have all sorts of wonderful discussions bouncing ideas around. I love you, Abbie! Thank you for being my partner in everything!!



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Abbreviations

<i>adj</i>	adjective	<i>na</i>	alienable noun
<i>adv</i>	adverb	<i>neg.</i>	negative
<i>anim</i>	animate	<i>nia</i>	inalienable noun
AUG	augmentative	<i>num.</i>	number
BR	Bill Ray consultant	<i>obj.</i>	object
<i>cf.</i>	confer/compare	<i>obl.</i>	oblique object
<i>conj</i>	conjunction	<i>obv.</i>	"obviative"
<i>Cu</i>	Curtis, 1924	<i>opt.</i>	optative
<i>cust.</i>	customary	<i>perf.</i>	perfective
<i>def.</i>	definite/relativized	<i>pl.</i>	plural
<i>dem.</i>	demonstrative	<i>pos.</i>	position theme
<i>der.</i>	derivative	<i>poss.</i>	possessive
<i>dial.</i>	dialect	<i>postp.</i>	postposition
<i>dist.</i>	distributive	<i>prog.</i>	progressive
<i>Dr</i>	Driver, 1939	<i>proh.</i>	prohibitive
<i>esp.</i>	especially	<i>pron</i>	pronoun/proform
<i>ext</i>	extension theme	<i>recp.</i>	reciprocal
<i>GE</i>	Goddard, 1912 (Elements...)	<i>refl.</i>	reflexive
<i>gen.</i>	general/generic	<i>REP.</i>	repetitive (activity aspect)
<i>GN</i>	Goddard, fieldnotes (1902, 1906)	<i>REV.</i>	reversative (modern aspect0)
<i>GR</i>	Gil Ray consultant	<i>RR</i>	Rose Ray consultant
<i>GSl</i>	Gene Sloan consultant	<i>Sa</i>	Goddard & Sapir, 1907-1908
<i>GT</i>	Goddard, 1909 (Kato Texts)	<i>sg.</i>	singular
<i>impf.</i>	imperfective	<i>sim.</i>	similar
<i>indf.</i>	indefinite	<i>sp.</i>	species
<i>interj.</i>	interjection	<i>stat.</i>	stative theme
<i>JPH</i>	Harrington, papers (1942)	<i>subj.</i>	subject
<i>lit.</i>	literal/-ly	<i>v</i>	verb
<i>Lo</i>	Loeb, 1932	<i>vd</i>	descriptive verb
<i>loc.</i>	locative	<i>vi</i>	intransitive verb
<i>LR</i>	Lucy Ray consultant/dialect	<i>vp</i>	passive verb, verb prefix
<i>Me</i>	Merriam, papers	<i>vs</i>	stative verb
<i>mot</i>	motion theme	<i>vt</i>	transitive verb
<i>n</i>	noun		

Cultural Texts

This first volume of two comprises the texts as texts, whether full stories, short songs, cultural phrases and prayers. The major sources for such texts are Pliny E. Goddard (1909, 1906; working with Bill Ray), Edwin M. Loeb (1932; working with Lucy (Cooke) Ray, Martina (Ray) Bell, and Gill Ray) and John P. Harrington (1942; working with Martina (Ray) Bell and Gill Ray).

The Cahto words are transcribed into the Community's standard writing system, then in the second line broken into major word parts, then glossed according to the breakdown, and then with a whole word gloss below, and finally grammatical category. After this there follows a somewhat modernized translation, the original author's translation, and the original author's word for word translation (if provided). Then finally the original author's transcription of the line(s). In the case of many of the Goddard texts there are two original transcription lines, one from the published text collection (1909) and one from the field notebooks (1906).

Goddard Texts - Bill Ray

This is a selection of the Bill Ray texts from Goddard 1909, Kato Texts. In most cases the texts appear in both the published volume and the notebooks, so there are two lines of original orthography. The first of these is the version from the notebooks and the second line is that from the published texts.

Some of the Bill Ray/Goddard texts relate to English language versions in other works. In particular Frank Essene's fieldnotes contain English versions of several told by Bill Ray's children Gill Ray and Martina (Ray) Bell, and the stories from Bill Ray and others in Curtis (Curtis & Hodge, 1924 vol.14). These related texts have been referenced and annotated with the relevant lines or sections of the Cahto language texts.

GT01: The Coming of the Earth

Goddard 1909, pp.71-77, 183-184; Goddard NBVIII, pp.17-25

"Bill got story of earth Coming from his father" (Goddard pg 88-152, p.36)

Compare Curtis version "The Creation" related by Bill Ray (Curtis & Hodge 1924, p.165-6). "BR/Curtis" in the notes relates to this version. The BR/Curtis version starts earlier than this story, including the origin of Naaghaichow, and goes on beyond it into other creation episodes.

1.1	too	teesyai		yaa'nii	, §
	too	ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	=i	yaa'nii ₁	
	water	sg go along	=NR	they say	
	n a	vi	encl	vt	
	water	went along		they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

The water went along, they say.

Water came they say.

Water / went/ they say.

tō tes yai ya nī

tō tes yai ya^εnī

1.2	too	shoonk'	lheeng'ai'		yaa'nii	, §
	too	shoonk'	lhee-(nin)..aa+PERF.,3	=i	yaa'nii ₁	
	water	well	meet/merge	=NR	they say	
	n a	adv	vi	encl	vt	
	water	well	they came together		they say	
	[Subj]	[AdvP]	[VP]	

The waters merged completely, they say.

The waters completely joined everywhere.

Waters / well / met, / they say.

tō cōñk L eñ ai ya ni

tō cōñk' Leñ^εai^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.3 **nee' ndoo' yaa'nii** §
 nee' ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 land not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 land not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There was no land, they say.

There was no land

Land / was not / they say.

ne+ n̄ dō ya nī
 ne^ε n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.4 **too shaanii haakwdang' , ts'isnoo' ndoo' yaa'nii** , §
 too shaanii haakwdang' ts'isnoo' ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 water only then mountain not exist they say
 n a adv adv n a vs vt
 water only then mountain not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP] [AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

There was only water then, there were no mountains, they say.

or mountains or rocks, but only water.

Water / only / then, / mountains / were not, / they say

tō ca nī | ha k dûñ | sūs nō n̄ dō ya nī
 tō ca nī haku dûñ^ε ts'ûs nō^ε n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.5 **see ndoo' yaa'nii** , §
 see ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 stone not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 rock not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no stones, they say.

or rocks

Stones / were not, / they say

se n̄ dō ya nī
 se n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.6 **chin ndoo' yaa'nii** , §
 ching ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 tree not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 trees not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no trees, they say.

Trees

Trees / were not, / they say.

tcûn ñ dō ya nī
 tcûn n dō ya^ε nī

- 1.7 **t'oh ndoo' yaa'nii** , §
 t'oh ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 grass not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 grass not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There was no grass, they say.

and grass were not.

Grass / was not, / they say

L!ō ñ dō ya nī
 Lo^c n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.8 **toonai ndoo' yaa'nii** , §
 toonai ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 fish not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 fish not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no fish, they say.

There were no fish,

Fish / were not, / they say.

tō nai | ñ dō ya nī
 tō nai n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.9 iintc'ee' ndoo' yaa'nii , §

iintc'ee'	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁
deer	not exist	they say
<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>
deer	not exist	they say
[Subj]	[VP]

There were no deer, they say.

or land animals, or birds.

Deer / were not, / they say.

in tce ŋ dō ya nī

in tce^ε n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.10 jeeschow ndoo' yaa'nii , §

jeeschow	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁
elk	not exist	they say
<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>
elk	not exist	they say
[Subj]	[VP]

There were no elk, they say.

Elk / were not, / they say.

jes tcō ŋ dō ya nī

ges tcō n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.11 noonii ndoo' yaa'nii , §

noonii	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁
bear	not exist	they say
<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>
bear	not exist	they say
[Subj]	[VP]

There were no grizzlies, they say.

Grizzlies / were not, / they say.

nō nī ŋ dō ya nī

nō nī n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.12 **bitchow** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 bitchow ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 mountain lion not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 mountain lion not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no panthers, they say.

Panthers / were not, / they say.

bût tcō n dō ya nī
 bût tcō n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.13 **yiishtc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 yiishtc ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 wolf not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 wolf not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no wolves, they say.

Wolves / were not, / they say.

yīcts n dō ya nī
 yīcts n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.14 **doolii** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 doolii ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 black bear not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 black bear not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no black bears, they say.

Bears / were not, / they say.

dō lī n dō ya nī
 dō lī n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.15	naahneesh	teelhkit	yaa'nii	, §
	naahneesh	ti-(s)..lhkit+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	person	be washed away in flood	they say	
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vi</small>	<small>vt</small>	
	person	were washed away	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

Human beings had been washed away, they say.

Human beings and animals alike had been washed away.

People / were washed away, / they say.

na nej tel kût ya nī
na nec tel kût ya^ε nī

1.16	noonii	teelhkit	yaa'nii	, §
	noonii	ti-(s)..lhkit+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	bear	be washed away in flood	they say	
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vi</small>	<small>vt</small>	
	bear	were washed away	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

Grizzlies had been washed away, they say.

Grizzlies / were washed away, / they say.

nō nī tel kût ya nī
nō nī tel kût ya^ε nī

1.17	bitchow	teelhkit	yaa'nii	, §
	bitchow	ti-(s)..lhkit+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	mountain lion	be washed away in flood	they say	
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vi</small>	<small>vt</small>	
	mountain lion	were washed away	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

Panthers had been washed away, they say.

Panthers / were washed away, / they say.

bût tcō tel kût | ya nī
bût tcō tel kût ya^ε nī

1.18	iintc'ee'	teelhkit		yaa'nii	, §
	iintc'ee'	ti-(s)..lhkit+PERF.,3		yaa'nii ₁	
	deer	be washed away in flood		they say	
	n a	vi		vt	
	deer	were washed away		they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

Deer had been washed away, they say.

Deer / were washed away, / they say.

in tce tel kût | ya nī

in tce^ε tel kût ya^ε nī

1.19	ch'siitcing	ndoo'	yaa'nii	,	haakwdang'	,	§
	ch'siitcing	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁		haakwdang'		
	coyote	not exist	they say		then		
	n a	vs	vt		adv		
	coyote	not exist	they say		then		
	[Subj]	[VP	]		[AdvP]		

There were no coyotes then, they say.

Coyotes / were not, / they say, then

t si tciñ ŋ dō ya nī

tc' sī tcûn n dō^ε ya^ε nī hakw dûñ^ε

1.20	daatcaang'	ndoo'	yaa'nii	,	§
	daatcaang'	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁		
	raven/crow	not exist	they say		
	n a	vs	vt		
	raven/crow	not exist	they say		
	[Subj]	[VP]		

There were no ravens, they say.

Ravens / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | da tcûñ ŋ dō ya nī

da tcañ^ε n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.21 **bischloo** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §

bischloo	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
great horned owl	not exist	they say	
<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>	
great horned owl	not exist	they say	
[Subj]	[VP]	

There were no great horned owls, they say.

Owls / were not, / they say.

bûs tce ló ñ dō ya nī
bûs tc lō n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.22 **tc'intch'itseeetcing** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §

tc'intch'itseeetcing	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
turkey vulture	not exist	they say	
<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>	
turkey vulture	not exist	they say	
[Subj]	[VP]	

There were no buzzards, they say.

Buzzards / were not, / they say.

tcûn tī kûts ē tcûñ | ñ dō ya nī
tc'ûn t kûts tsē tciñ n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.23 **ch'isai'** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §

ch'isai'	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
red-tailed hawk	not exist	they say	
<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>	
red-tailed hawk	not exist	they say	
[Subj]	[VP]	

There were no red-tailed hawks, they say.

Chicken-hawks / were not, / they say.

tcûs sai ñ dō ya nī
tc'ûs sai^ε n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.24 **seelhch`woi ndoo` yaa`nii** , §
 seelhch`woi ndoo`₁ yaa`nii₁
 great blue heron not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 great blue heron not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no great blue herons, they say.

Hérons / were not, / they say.

seL tcwoī n̄ dō ya nī
 seL tc`ōī n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.25 **chaalhnii ndoo` yaa`nii** , §
 chaalhnii ndoo`₁ yaa`nii₁
 varied thrush not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 varied thrush not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no varied thrushes, they say.

Varied robins (?) / were not, / they say.

tcaL nī | n̄ dō ya nī
 tcaL nī n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.26 **dishchow ndoo` yaa`nii** , §
 dishchow ndoo`₁ yaa`nii₁
 ruffed grouse not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 ruffed grouse not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no grouse, they say.

Grouse / were not, / they say.

dûc tsō | n̄ dō ya nī
 dûc tcō n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.27 **dishtc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §

dishtc	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁
California quail	not exist	they say
<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>
California quail	not exist	they say
[Subj]	[VP]

There were no California quail, they say.

Quails / were not, / they say.

daictc n̄ dō ya nī
 dûctc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.28 **ch'isai'tcing** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §

ch'isai'tcing	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁
scrub jay	not exist	they say
<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>
scrub jay	not exist	they say
[Subj]	[VP]

There were no scrub jays, they say.

Bluejays / were not, / they say.

tcûs sai tciñ n̄dō yanī
 tc'ûs sai^ε tciñ n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.29 **naakee'itc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §

naakee'itc	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁
duck (gen)	not exist	they say
<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>
duck (gen.)	not exist	they say
[Subj]	[VP]

There were no ducks, they say.

Ducks / were not, / they say.

na kaitc n̄ dō ya nī
 na kē its n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.30 **bintcbil ndoo' yaa'nii** , §
 bintcbil ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 flicker not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 flicker not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no flickers, they say.

Yellow-hammers / were not, / they say.

bûntc bûl n dō ya nī
 bûntc bûl n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.31 **tc'intyaash ndoo' yaa'nii** , §
 tc'intyaash ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 condor not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 condor not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no condors, they say.

Condors / were not, / they say.

tcûn tī yaj n dō ya nī
 tc'ûn t yac n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.32 **chiibowitc ndoo' yaa'nii** , §
 chiibowitc ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 pigmy owl not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 pigmy owl not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no pygmy owls, they say.

Screech owls [snow bird big kind] / were not, / they say.

tcī bō witc | n dō ya nī
 tcib bō witc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.33 **chinch'ghiichow ndoo' yaa'nii** , §
 chinch'ghiichow ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 pileated woodpecker not exist they say
n a vs vt
 pileated woodpecker not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no pileated woodpeckers, they say.

Woodcocks / were not, / they say.

tcûn tcī gī tcō | n̄ dō ya nī
 tcûn tc' gī tcō^ε n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.34 **chinnilhtcintc ndoo' yaa'nii** , §
 chinnilhtcintc ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 Lewis' woodpecker not exist they say
n a vs vt
 Lewis' woodpecker not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no Lewis' woodpeckers, they say.

Woodpeckers / were not, / they say.

tcûn nûL tcûnts | n̄ dō ya nī
 tcûn nûL tcûnts n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.35 **naa'shook'aa ndoo' yaa'nii** , §
 naa'shook'aa ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 robin not exist they say
n a vs vt
 robin not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no robins, they say.

Robins / were not, / they say.

na cō ka | n̄ dō ya nī
 na cō^ε k'a n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.36	djiitcwotc	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	djiitcwotc	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	grosbeak	not exist	they say	
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>	
	black-headed grosbeak	not exist	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

There were no grosbeaks, they say.

(A bird) [redhead bird] / were not, / they say.

tcītc watc | n̄ dō ya nī
 tcitc watc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.37	haakwdang'	tc'oolaakii	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	tc'oolaakii	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	meadowlark	not exist	they say	
	<small>adv</small>	<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>	
	then	meadowlark	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no meadowlarks, they say.

Then / meadow-larks [lark] / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | tsō la kī n̄ dō ya nī
 hakw dûñ^ε tc'ō la kī n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.38	haakwdang'	see'eedintc	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	see'eedintc	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	sparrowhawk	not exist	they say	
	<small>adv</small>	<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>	
	then	sparrowhawk	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no sparrow-hawks, they say.

Then / sparrow-hawks / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | se ē dûntc n̄ dō ya nī
 hakw dûñ^ε se ē dûntc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.39 **haakwdang'** **chinch'baagh** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **chinch'baagh** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then Lewis' woodpecker not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
then Lewis' woodpecker not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no Lewis' woodpeckers, they say.

Then / woodpeckers [big black back ?] / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | tcûn tcī bag | ñ dō ya nī
hakuw dûñ^ε tcûn tc bag ñ dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.40 **haakwdang'** **bitck'ai'** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **bitck'ai'** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then sea gull not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
then sea gull not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no gulls, they say.

Then / seagulls / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | bûts kai | ñ dō ya nī
hakuw dûñ^ε bûtc k'ai^ε n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.41 **haakwdang'** **tkaashchow** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **tkaashchow** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then pelican not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
then pelican not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no pelicans, they say.

Then / pelicans [shags] / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ tcī kac tcō ñ dō ya nī
hakuw dûñ^ε t kac tcō ñ dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.42 **shlee'** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 shlee' **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
 Bullock's oriole not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 Bullock's oriole not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no orioles, they say.

Orioles / were not, / they say.

cí lé' n̄ dō ya nī
 cle^ε n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.43 **haakwdang'** **seelhtcindinii** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 haakwdang' **seelhtcindinii** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
 then yellow-breasted chat not exist they say
 adv n a vs vt
 then yellow-breasted chat not exist they say
 [AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no yellow-breasted chats ("mockingbirds"), they say.

Then / mocking-birds / were not, / they say.

hak dûñ | seL tcin dûn nī | n̄ dō ya nī
 hakw dûñ^ε seL tcûn dûn nī n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.44 **k'ai'ts'eehtc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 k'ai'ts'eehtc **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
 wrentit not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 wrentit not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no wrentits, they say.

Wrens / were not, / they say.

kai setc n̄ dō ya nī
 k'ai^ε ts'etc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.45 **djiidingooyaantc** , **tc'oh** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 djiidingooyaantc tc'oh ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 Swainson's Thrush blackbird not exist they say
n a n a vs vt
 Swainson's Thrush blackbird not exist they say
 [Subj] [Subj] [VP]

There were no Swainson's thrushes or blackbirds, they say.

Russet-back thrushes [worms on his breast], / black-birds [blackbird] / were not, / they say.

tcī dūn kō yantc tcō+ n dō ya
 djī dūñ gō yantc tc'ō' n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.46 **haakwdang'** **daatcaan'tc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 haakwdang' daatcaan'tc ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 then crow not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
 then crow not exist they say
 [AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no crows, they say.

Then / crows [little crow] / were not, / they say.

hak dūñ | da tcūntc n dō ya nī
 haku dūñ^ε da tcān^εtc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.47 **haakwdang'** **tleelintc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 haakwdang' ch'leelintc ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 then hummingbird not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
 then hummingbird not exist they say
 [AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no hummingbirds, they say.

Then / humming-birds / were not, / they say.

hak dūñ | tcī lē lintc n dō ya nī
 haku dūñ^ε tc lē lintc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.48 **bisbintc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 bisbintc ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 spotted owl not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 spotted owl not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no spotted owls, they say.

(A small owl) [little owl] / were not, / they say.

bûs bûntc | ñ dō ya nī
 bûs bûntc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.49 **haakwdang'** **t'ee'bil** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 haakwdang' t'ee'bil ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 then curlew not exist they say
 adv n a vs vt
 then curlew not exist they say
 [AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

Then there were no curlews, they say.

Then / curlews [wood duck] / were not, / they say.

hak duñ | t'é bûl ñ dō ya nī
 haku dûñ^ε t'e bûl n dō^ε ya^ε nī

- 1.50 **haakwdang'** **seelhtcindinii** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 haakwdang' seelhtcindinii ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 then yellow-breasted chat not exist they say
 adv n a vs vt
 then yellow-breasted chat not exist they say
 [AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no yellow-breasted chats ("mockingbirds"), they say.

Then / mocking-birds / were not, / they say.

hak dûñ | sel tcûn dûn nī ñ dō ya nī
 haku dûñ^ε sel tcûn dûn nī n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.51 **naatc'aitc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 naatc'aitc **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
 swallow (bird) not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 swallow (bird) not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no swallows, they say.

Swallows / were not, / they say.

na tc'aitc | n̄ dō ya nī
 na tc'aitc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.52 **baansiitc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 baansiitc **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
 shorebird not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 shorebird not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There were no shorebirds (sandpipers & killdeer), they say.

Sandpipers [snipe] / were not, / they say.

ban sīts n̄ dō ya nī
 ban sīts n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.53 **haakwdang'** **tc'oolaakii** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
 haakwdang' **tc'oolaakii** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
 then meadowlark not exist they say
 adv n a vs vt
 then meadowlark not exist they say
 [AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no meadowlarks, they say.

Then / meadow-larks [lark] / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | tcō la kī | n̄ dō ya nī
 hakw dûñ^ε tc'ō la kī n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.54 **haakwdang'** **lhtsoghing** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **lhtsoghing** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then gray fox not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
then gray fox not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no foxes, they say.

Then / foxes / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | L sō gûñ | ñ dō ya nī
hakuw dûñ^ε L tsō gûñ n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.55 **haakwdang'** **bittc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **bittc** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then bobcat not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
then bobcat not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no bobcats, they say.

Then / wild-cats [wild cat] / were not, / they say.

hak dûñ bûtç ñ dō yan nī
hakuw dûñ^ε bûtç n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.56 **haakwdang'** **siis** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **siis** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then otter not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
then river otter not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no river otters, they say.

Then / otters / were not, / they say.

hak dûñ | sīs | ñ dō ya nī
hakuw dûñ^ε sīs n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.57 **haakwdang'** **saahtc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **saahtc** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then mink not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
then mink not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no minks, they say.

Then / minks [mink] / were not, / they say.

hak dûñ | sa'tc n dō ya nī
haku dûñ^ε sa'tc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.58 **haakwdang'** **jeeschow** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **jeeschow** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then elk not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
then elk not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no elk, they say.

Then / elks / were not, / they say.

hak dûñ ges tcō n dō ya nī
haku dûñ^ε ges tcō n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.59 **haakwdang'** **k'antaaghiitc** , **daahtaitc** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **k'antaaghitc** **daahtaitc** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then jackrabbit gray squirrel not exist they say
adv n a n a vs vt
then jackrabbit gray squirrel not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there were no jackrabbits or grey squirrels, they say.

Then / jack-rabbits [rabbit] / grey squirrels [ray squirrel] / were not, / they say.

hak dûñ | kûn ta gits | da taitc | n dō ya nī
haku dûñ^ε k'ûn ta gits da taitc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.60	haakwdang'	slis	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	slis	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	ground squirrel	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	ground squirrel	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no ground-squirrels, they say.

Then / ground-squirrels [ground squir] / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | s lûs ñ dō ya nī
 hakuw dûñ^ε slûs n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.61	haakwdang'	gaashchow-kw'it-kwiyaaghic	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	gaashchow-kw'it-kwiyaaghic	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	Douglas squirrel	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	Douglas squirrel	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no red squirrels, they say.

Then / red squirrels [redwood squirrel] / were not, / they say.

ḱûc tcō kwût kwī ya gits ñ dō ya nī
 hakuw dûñ^ε gac tcō k'wût kwī ya gits n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.62	haakwdang'	silts'intc	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	silts'intc	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	chipmunk	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	chipmunk	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no chipmunks, they say.

Then / chipmunks / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | sûl sûntc ñ dō nī
 hakuw dûñ^ε sûl sûntc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.63	haakwdang'	lhoon'lhgai	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	lhoon'lhgai	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	bushy-tailed woodrat	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	bushy-tailed woodrat	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no woodrats, they say.

Then / woodrats / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | LōnL kai ñ dō ya nī
 hakw dûñ^ε Lōn Lgai n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.64	haakwdang'	naalhton'tc	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	naalhton'tc	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	kangaroo rat	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	kangaroo rat	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no kangaroo-rats, they say.

Then / kangaroo-rats / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | naL tōnts | ñ dō ya nī
 hakw dûñ^ε naL tōn^εts n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.65	haakwdang'	lhoon'tcghee'neestc	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	lhoon'tcghee'neestc	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	deer mouse	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	deer mouse	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no deer mice, they say.

Then / "long-eared mice" [long ear mouse] / were not, / theysay.

hakw dûñ Lōntce ge nējtc ñ dō yani
 hakw dûñ^ε Lōn tc ge^ε nectc n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.66	haakwdang'	ch'laakii	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	ch'laakii	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	acorn woodpecker	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	acorn woodpecker	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no acorn woodpeckers, they say.

Then / sapsuckers [lark] / were not, / they say.

hakw dũñ | tcī lá kī | ñ dō yanī
 haku dũñ^ε tc' la kī n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.67	haakwdang'	kwiiyiint	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	kwiiyiint	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	band-tailed pigeon	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	band-tailed pigeon	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no band-tailed pigeons, they say.

Then / pigeons / were not, / they say.

hakw dũñ | kwī y'ínt ñ dō ya nī
 haku dũñ^ε kwī y'ínt n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.68	haakwdang'	k'ai'koslitc	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	k'ai'koslitc	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	bird sp	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	bird sp.	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no k'ai'kooslitc-birds, they say.

Then / (a bird) [bird in mountn] / were not, / they say.

hakw dũñ | kai kōs lûtç | ñ dō ya nī
 haku dũñ^ε kai kōs lûtç n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.69	haakwdang'	isch'ighiiyiits	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	sch'ighiiyiits+SP. VAR. OF	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	warbler spp	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	warbler spp.	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no warblers, they say.

Then / warblers [linnet blue bird (up ground fast)] / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | is tcûg gí yīts | ñ dō ya nī
 hakw dûñ^ε s tc'ûg gí yīts n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.70	haakwdang'	kaah	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	kaah	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	goose	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	goose	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no geese, they say.

Then / geese [wild geese] / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | ka | ñ dō ya nī
 hakw dûñ^ε ka' n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.71	haakwdang'	deelh	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	deelh	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	sandhill crane	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	sandhill crane	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no cranes, they say.

Then / cranes / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | deL | ñ dō yani
 hakw dûñ^ε deL n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.72	haakwdang'	naagoltciik	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	naagoltciik	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	spotted towhee	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	spotted towhee	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no spotted towhees, they say.

Then / (a bird) [a red bird] / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ || na kōl tcīk n dō ya nī
 hakuw dûñ^ε na gōl tcīk n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.73	haakwdang'	main	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	main+SP. VAR. OF	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	badger	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	badger	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no weasels, they say.

Then / weasels / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | main | n dō yanī
 hakuw dûñ^ε main n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.74	haakwdang'	waanintc'ii'	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	waanintc'ii' ₁	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	wind (n)	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	wind	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there was no wind, they say.

The wind did not then blow through the portals of the world,

Then / wind / was not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | wa nûn tcī | n dō yanī
 hakuw dûñ^ε wa nûn tcī^ε n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.75 **haakwdang'** **yaahs** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **yaahs** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then snow not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
then snow not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there was no snow, they say.

nor was there snow,

Then / snow / was not, / they say.

hakw dûñ yas ñ dō ya nī
haku dûñ^ε yas n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.76 **haakwdang'** **loo** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **loo** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then ice not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
then frost not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there was no frost, they say.

nor frost,

Then / frost / was not, / they say.

hakw dûñ lō ñ dō ya nī
haku dûñ^ε lōō n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.77 **haakwdang'** **titbil** **ndoo'** **yaa'nii** , §
haakwdang' **titbil** **ndoo'**₁ **yaa'nii**₁
then rain not exist they say
adv n a vs vt
then rain not exist they say
[AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

At that time there was no rain, they say.

nor rain.

Then / rain / was not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | tût bûl | ñ dō yan nī
haku dûñ^ε tût bûl n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.78	haakwdang'	doo-naitgeet	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	doo= nai..tgeet+IMPF.,3NAT.PHEN.	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	negative= thunder (v)	they say	
	adv	neg vs	vt	
	then	it did not thunder	they say	
	[AdvP]	[VP]	

At that time it didn't thunder, they say.

It did not thunder

Then / it didn't thunder [never thunder], / they say.

hakw dûñ dō nai te get ya nī
 hakw dûñ^ε dō nai t get n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.79	haakwdang'	chin-ndoo'-hit	,	doo-ch'dinii
	haakwdang'	ching ndoo' ₁ =hit		doo= ch'-d..nii+IMPF.,3INDF.
	then	tree not exist =when		negative= be thunder (v)
	adv	n a vs encl		neg vs (imprs.)
	then	when trees did not exist		it did not thunder
	[AdvCl	]		[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

Since there were no trees to be struck, it did not thunder, they say.

Since there were no trees to be struck, it did not thunder.

Then / trees were not when / it didn't thunder, / they say.

hakw dûñ | tcûn dō hût | dō tc'it dûn nī ya nī
 hakw dûñ^ε tcûn dō hût dō tc'it dûn nī n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.80	doo-ch'tilk'ish	yaa'nii	, §
	doo= ch'tilk'ish	yaa'nii ₁	
	negative= lightning	they say	
	neg n a	vt	
	there was no lightning	they say	
	[VP]	

There was no lightning, they say.

nor did it lighten.

It didn't lighten, / they say.

dō tcit tūL kûc ya nī
dō tc't tūL k'ûc ya^ε nī

1.81	haakwdang'	aah	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	haakwdang'	aah	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	then	cloud	not exist	they say	
	adv	n a	vs	vt	
	then	cloud	not exist	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

At that time there were no clouds, they say.

There were neither clouds

Then / clouds / were not, / they say.

hakw dûñ | a' ñ dō ya nī
hakw dûñ^ε a' n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.82	yiist'oot'	ndoo'	yaa'nii	, §
	yiist'oot'	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	fog	not exist	they say	
	n a	vs	vt	
	fog	not exist	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

There was no fog, they say.

nor fog,

Fog / was not, / they say.

yīs tōt ñ dō ya nī
yīs tōt n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.83	doo-nootcook-ee	yaa'nii	, §
	doo= noo-(nin)..tcook+IMPF.,3 =hee	yaa'nii ₁	
	negative= sun/light appear	they say	
	neg vi	=negative enclitic	
	it does not appear	vt	
	[VP	they say]

It did not get light out, they say.

nor was there a sun.

It didn't appear, / they say.

GT01 - The Coming of the Earth - Bill Ray

2.1 **shaa ndoo'-hit , dii nee' nin'isdik'ee'**
shaa₁ **ndoo'**₁ =hit **dii** **nee'** **nin'**-(s)..dik'ee'+PERF.,3
 sun not exist =when this land get up
 n a vs encl dem n a vi
 sun when it did not exist this/here land he got up
 [AdvCl] [Subj] [VP]

yaa'nii , uudee' nchaagh nees , §
yaa'nii₁ ***dee'**₁₊₃ POSS. **nchaagh**₂ **nees**₁
 they say horn/antler large long
 vt n ia adj adj
 they say its horn large/much long
] [AdjP]

*Then, while the sun did not exist yet, this earth got up, they say, with its large horns.
 Then it was that this earth with its great, long horns got up
 Sun / was not when / this / earth / got up, / they say,/ its horn / large / long.*

ca n̄ dō h̄ut dī né+ n̄un ūs d̄uk ke ya n̄ī | ō de n̄ tcag nes

ca n dō h̄ut dī ne^ε n̄un ūs d̄uk k'e^ε ya^ε n̄ī ū de^ε n tcag nes

Note: BR/Curtis version: "In that place, unknown to Nághai-cho, was Ínchě-tánân ['deer soft'], a very large deer with enormous horns."

2.2 **diidaa''ang gaalh yaa'nii .**
diidaa''ang **gaa**lh₁ **yaa'nii**₁
 from the north 3sg walk they say
 direct vi vt
 from the north it walked they say
 [AdvP] [VP]

*It walked from the north, they say.
 and walked down this way from the north.
 From the north / it walked / they say.*

dī da ūñ kaL ya n̄ī

dī da^ε ūñ qaL ya^ε n̄ī

Note: BR/Curtis version: "To this animal Chěněsh said: 'Walk southward. When you get far enough, I will stop you.'"

2.3 § **kwonsaat hiiheenaash-taah**

kwonsaat	yeeh-(nin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,3OBV.	-taah ₁
deep place	sg come in	plural suffix
n a	vi	n:Any
deep place	places where it goes in	
[AdvCl]	

uudiishee'	hai	nooch'too'
*diishee'+3 POSS.	hai ₁	noo-ch'-(nin)..too/too'+IMPF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
shoulder	that	water to reach limit
n ia	dem	vt
its shoulder	the/that	water reaches to
[Obj	]	[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

Going into the deep places the water reached its shoulder, they say.
As it walked along through the deep places the water rose to its shoulders.
Deep [deep water] / it went places / its shoulder [his shoulder] / there / water reached [water came there] / they say.

kwûn sat | hī hen nûc ta ò dī ce | hai nō kī/tcī tō ya nī
 kwûn sat hī hen nâc ta ū dī ce^ε hai nō tc't tō^ε ya^ε nī
 Note: BR/Curtis version: "So the Deer went toward the south, and in some places the water was so deep that only the tips of its horns were visible,"

2.4 **kwontishkaataah kaaghinaash** **yaa'nii** , §

kwontishkaataah	kaa-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
shallow places	come up from below	they say
n a	vi	vt
shallow places	it come up from below	they say
[AdvP]	[VP]

It came out into the shallows, they say.
When it came up into the shallower places,
Shallow places / it came out, / they say.

kwûn tûc ka ta | ka gûn nûc ya nī
 kwûn tûc ka ta ka gûn nâc ya^ε nī

Note: BR/Curtis version: "but in other places its whole body stood out."

2.5	yaa'ghitghish		yaa'nii , §
	yaa-gh..tgish+PROG.,IMPF.,3ANIM.		yaa'nii ₁
	look up		they say
	vi		vt
	it looks up		they say
	[VP]

It looked up, they say.

it looked up.

It looked up / they say.

ya gût tgûc ya nī
 ya^ε gût t gûc ya^ε nī

2.6	yiidaa''ang	too	yoo'oong-haa'	yiilhsit
	yiidaa''ang	too	yoo'oong-haa'	yi-(ghin)-lhsit+IMPF.,3NAT.PHEN.
	from the north	water	yonder	wave to break
	direct	n a	adv	vi
	from the north	water	yonder	waves break
	[AdvP		]	[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

Off in the north waves were breaking, they say.

There is a ridge in the north upon which the waves break.

From the north / water / yonder / broke / they say.

yī da ûñ | tō | yō ñ ha | yī sût ya nī

yī da^ε ûñ tō yō ñ ha^ε yīL sût ya^ε nī

2.7	nee'tl'at	ninyaa-hit		diidak'
	nee'tl'at	n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	=hit+VAR. OF	diidak'
	middle of the earth	sg come/arrive back	=when	east
	adv	vi	encl	direct
	middle of the earth	when it arrived		east
	[AdvCl	]		[AdvP

	shaa-uuyeehing	yaa'ghitghish		yaa'nii , §
	shaa-uuyeehing	yaa-gh..tgish+PROG.,IMPF.,3ANIM.		yaa'nii ₁
	under the sun	look up		they say
	adv	vi		vt
	under the sun	it looks up		they say
	]	[VP]

When it came to the middle of the world, in the east under the rising of the sun it looked up again, they say.

When it came to the middle of the world, in the east under the rising of the sun it looked up again.

Earth middle / it came when / east / sun under / it looked up / they say.

ne lût | nûn ya hût dī dūk | ca ū ye hûñ ya gût te gûts ya nī
 ne^ε l^εût nûn ya hût dī dūk' ca ū ye hûñ ya^ε gût t gûc ya^ε nī

2.8	nee'	nchaagh-teelit		baaghang'ing'
	nee'	n..chaagh+PERF.,3	=teelh	=hit+VAR. OF
	land	be large	=will/shall	=when
	n a	vd	encl	encl
	land	when it is about to be large		coastwards
	[AdvCl	]		adv
				coastwards
				[AdvP

	kandintc	yaa'ghitghish		yaa'nii , §
	kandintc	yaa-gh..tgish+PROG.,IMPF.,3ANIM.		yaa'nii ₁
	close/near	look up		they say
	adv	vi		vt
	close/near	it looks up		they say
	]	[VP]

There where it looked up will be a large land near to the coast, they say.

There where it looked up will be a large land near to the coast.

Earth / getting large when / coast / near / it looked up / they say.

ne+ n tcag tē lit | ba gûñ ûñ | kûn dûnts ya gût te gûts ya nī
 ne^ε n tcag tē lit ba gûñ ûñ kûn dûnts ya^ε gût t gûc ya^ε nī

2.9	diinak'	neesding	yaa'ghitghish	yaa'nii	, §
	diinak'	neesding	yaa-gh..tgish+PROG.,IMPF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
	south	far	look up	they say	
	direct	adv	vi	vt	
	south	far/high	it looks up	they say	
	[AdvP		[VP]

*It looked far off to the south, they say.
Far away to the south it continued looking up.
South / far / it looked up / they say.*

dī nûk nes dûñ ya gût te gûts ya nī
dī nûk' nes dûñ ya^ε gût t gûc ya^ε nī

2.10	uudee'	kw'it	tooghaa	s'aan	yaa'nii	,
	*dee' ₁ +3 POSS.	*k'it++ 3 OBL.	tooghaa'	s..'aan+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	horn/antler	on P	water moss	be situated	they say	
	n ia	postp	n a	vt	vt	
	horn/antler	on it	moss	is situated	they say	
	[AdvP		[Subj]	[VP]

There was moss on its horns, they say.

Its horn / on / moss / was / they say.

ō de+ kût tō ga sūn ya nī
ū de^ε k'wût' tō ga s'ān ya^ε nī

2.11	lhbaa'ang-haa'	uudee'	lhbaa'ang-haa'	tooghaa	yaa'nii
	lhbaa'ang-haa'	*dee' ₁ +3 POSS.	lhbaa'ang-haa'	tooghaa'	yaa'nii ₁
	both sides	horn/antler	both sides	water moss	they say
	adv	n ia	adv	n a	vt
	both sides	horn/antler	both sides	moss	they say
	[AdvP]	[AdvP		[Subj	

, **nchaagh** .
nchaagh₂
large
adj
large/much
[VP]

Moss was on both sides of its horn, they say, a lot of it.

Both sides / its horn, / both sides / moss / they say, / large.

L ba ûñ ha | ò de | iL ba ûñ ha | tō ga/wa ya nī n tcag
 L ba^ε ûñ ha^ε ū de^ε L ba^ε ûñ ha^ε tō ga ya^ε nī n tcag

2.12 §	ninkwiiyeeh	dii	gaalh	yaa'nii	, yiidaa'ang	§
	ninkwiiyeeh	dii	gaalh ₁ +PROG.,3	yaa'nii ₁	yiidaa'ang	
	underground	this	3sg walk	they say	from the north	
	adv	dem	vi	vt	direct	
	underground	this/here	it walked	they say	from the north	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP	]	[AdvP]	

This one walked under the ground, they say, from the north.

It walked under the ground. Having come from the north

Underground / this / walked / they say, / from the north.

nûñ kī yī | dī gûL ya ni | yi da ûñ
 nûn kwī ye dī qāL ya^ε nī yī da^ε ûñ

3.1	yooyiinak'	neestiing	yaa'nii	, §
	yooyiinak'	n-(s)..tiish/tiin+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	far south	lie down	they say	
	direct	vi	vt	
	far south	it lay down	they say	
	[AdvP]	[VP]	

It lay down far in the south, they say.

it traveled far south and lay down.

Far south / it lay down / they say.

yō yī nûk | nes tīn ya nī
 yō yī nûk' nes tiñ ya^ε nī

Note: BR/Curtis version: "Far in the south it stopped and lay down,"

3.2	Naaghaichow	kw'it	ts'siing	yaa'nii	, §
	Naaghaichow	*k'it++ 3 OBL.	s..yiin+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
	Great Traveller (deity)	on P	stand	they say	
	n a	postp	vs	vt	
	Great Traveller	on it	he stood	they say	
	[Subj]	[AdvP]	[VP]	

Naaghaichow stood on it, they say.

Nagaitcho, standing on earth's head

Nagaitco / on it / stood / they say.

na gai tcō | kwût tsûs siñ ya nī

na gai tcō k'wût' ts' siñ ya^ε nī

Note: BR/Curtis version: "and at that instant Chěněsh was beside it." --

3.3 kwolhghilh

gh..lhghilh+PROG.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.

carry O along

vt

it is carrying him

[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

It carried him, they say.

had been carried

It carried him / they say.

...L gûL ya nī

kwûL gûL ya^ε nī

3.4 yiinak' ninyaa-ding

yiinak' n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 =ding

south sg come/arrive back

direct vi

south where it arrived

[AdvCl

=place

suffix

, uusii'

*sii'+3 POSS.

head

n ia

its head

[AdvCl

shoo'tc'leeh-teelit

shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.

fix O

vt

when he was about to fix it

]

=teelh

=will/shall

encl

=hit

=when

encl

shoonk'

shoonk'

well

adv

well

[AdvP]

uusii'

*sii'+3 POSS.

head

n ia

its head

[Obj]

noo'aash

noo-(nin)..aash/'aan+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.

put solid O down

vt

he places it

[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

When he was about to fix its head he placed its head well in the south where it had arrived.

to the south. Where earth lay down Naghaitcho placed its head as it should be

GT01 - The Coming of the Earth - Bill Ray

South / it came where / its head / he was going to fix when / well / its head / he placed, / they say.

yī nûk nûn ya dûñ | ò sī | cō ic/tcī le tē lit | cōñk | ū sī nō ûc ya nī
 yī nûk' nûn ya dûñ ò sī^ε cō^ε tc' le tē lit cōñk' ū sī^ε nō ^εac ya^ε nī

Note: BR/Curtis version: "Though there had been in the world no trees nor stones nor soil, Chéněsh had a pine tree and two stones. He laid the tree down and told the animal to rest its forehead on the trunk, and he placed a stone on each side of the deer."

3.5 **lheetcbaa uunaa'-tagit**

lheetcbaa	*naa' ₁ +3 POSS.	*tagit
gray clay	eye	between P
n a	n ia	postp
gray clay	between its eyes	
[Obj]	[PostP]	

noo'ng'aan

noo-(nin).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
 put solid O to a limit
 vt
 he put it down
 [VP]

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

*He placed grey clay between its eyes, they say.
 and spread gray clay between its eyes
 Grey clay / its eyes between / he placed / they say.*

Lets ba | ò na tûk kût | nō ûñ ûn | ya nī
 Letc ba ò na^ε tûk kût nō^εñ ^εqn ya^ε nī

3.6 **uudee'-kw'it**

*dee'₁+LOC.,3 POSS.
 horn/antler
 n ia
 on its horn
 [PostP]

noo'ng'aan

noo-(nin).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
 put solid O to a limit
 vt
 he put it down
 [VP]

yaa'nii

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

, **lheetcbaa** , §

lheetcbaa
 gray clay
 n a
 gray clay
 [Obj]

He placed on its horn, they say, grey clay.

and on each horn.

Its horn on / he placed / they say / grey clay.

ū de kwût nōn ûn ya nī | Letc ba
 ū de^ε k'wût' nō^εñ^ε an ya^ε nī Letc ba

3.7	lhaa'	uudee'-kw'it	lheetcbaa
	lhaa'	*dee' ₁ +LOC.,3 POSS.	lheetcbaa
	another one	horn/antler	gray clay
	pron	n ia	n a
	another	on its horn	gray clay
	[PostP	]	[Obj]

noo'ng'aan	yaa'nii , §
noo-(nin).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
put solid O to a limit	they say
vt	vt
he put it down	they say
[VP]

He put grey clay on its other horn, they say.

Other / its horn on / grey clay / he put / they say.

La ū de kwût | Lets ba | nōñ an ya nī
 La^ε ū de^ε k'wût' Letc ba nō^εñ^ε an ya^ε nī

3.8	tl'ohkaa'lhgai	kaa'ghimee'	yaa'nii ,
	tl'ohkaa'lhgai	kaa-(ghin).. bee/bee'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	white root	gather up from underground	they say
	n a	vt	vt
	white rooted sedge	he gathered	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

He gathered white-rooted sedge roots, they say.

White reeds [grass white] / he gathered / they say.

Lō kaL kai ka gûm me ya nī
 Lō' kaL gai ka gûm me ya^ε nī

3.9 uusii'daa-kw'it

*sii'daa'+3 POSS. kw'it₂
 crown of head on it
 n ia postp
 on the crown of its head
 [PostP]

noo'ng'aan

noo-(nin).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
 put solid O to a limit
 vt
 he put it down
 [VP]

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

*He put it on the crown of its head, they say.
 Upon the clay he placed a layer of reeds
 Crown of its head on / he put / they say.*

ū sī ta kūt nōñ ûn ya nī
 ū sī^ε da k'wût' nō^εñ^ε ɛan ya^ε nī

3.10 kw'it

*k'it++ 3 OBL.
 on P
 postp
 on it
 [PostP]

lheetc

lheetc
 clay
 n a
 clay
 [Obj]

noolai

noo-(nin)..lash/laa+CONT,IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
 put pl/rope-like O to limit
 vt
 he put it
 [VP]

=i
 =NR
 encl

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

*He put clay on it, they say.
 and then another layer of clay.
 On it / earth / he put / they say.*

kwût | Letc nō lai ya nī
 k'wût' Letc nō lai ya^ε nī

Note: The verb root √LAA implies either plural pats of clay or clay rolled into rope-like form (as in some pottery).

3.11 **tl'oh-lhtsow uusii'daa-kw'it**
 tl'oh-lhtsow *sii'daa'+3 POSS. kw'it₂
 green grass crown of head on it
 n a n ia postp
 green grass on the crown of its head
 [Obj] [PostP]

naa'tghilh'aa'	yaa'nii , §
naa-d-(ghin)..lh'aa'/aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
stand O on end	they say
vt	vt
he stood it on end	they say
[VP]

He stood green grass on the crown of its head, they say.
In this he placed upright blue grass,
Blue grass / crown of its head on / he stood up / they say.

L!ō L sō ō sī | tûk kût | na te gûL a ya nī
 Lō' Ltsō ō sī^ε da k'wût' na t gûL ^εa^ε ya^ε nī

3.12 chin naa'tghilh'aa'	yaa'nii , §
ching naa-d-(ghin)..lh'aa'/aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
tree stand O on end	they say
n a vt	vt
trees he stood it on end	they say
[Obj] [VP]

He stood trees up, they say.
, and trees.
Trees / he stood up / they say.

tcûñ na te gûL a | ya nī
 tcûn na t gûL ^εa^ε ya^ε nī

4.2 "	dii-kw'it	,	uusii'-kw'it		ts'isnoo'		oleeh	,	§
	dii-kw'it		*sii'+3 POSS.,LOC.		ts'isnoo'		(s)..leegh/liin'+OPT.,3		
	on this		head		mountain		become		
	adv		n ia		n a		vs		
	on this		on its head		mountain		let there become		
	[PostP]		[PostP]		[Subj]		[VP]		

"Let there be mountains on this one, on its head.

"Let there be mountain peaks here on its head.

"This on, / its head on / mountain / let be.

dī kūt ū sī kūt sūs nō ō le
dī k'wūt' ū sī^ε k'wūt' ts'ūs nō^ε ō le

4.3	yoo'oong-haa'	too
	yoo'oong-haa'	too
	yonder	water
	adv	n a
	yonder	water
	[AdvP]	[Subj]

ninyilhtsilh-bang

nin-yi-(s)..lhtsilh/tsiil'+IMPF.,3NAT.PHEN.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang₂
waves beat against O =future predictive enclitic
vt encl
waves will beat against it
[VP]

tc'in		yaa'nii	,	§
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.		yaa'nii ₁		
say		they say		
vt		vt		
he said		they say		
[VP]		

Waves should break against it over there," he said,they say.

Let the waves of the sea break against them."

Yonder / water / shall break against it," / he said/ they say.

yōñ ha | tō nūn yīL sūL būñ tciñ ya nī
yō òñ ha^ε tō nūn yīL tsūL būñ tc'in ya^ε nī

4.4	ts'isnoo'	sliing'	yaa'nii	, §
	ts'isnoo'	(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	mountain	become	they say	
	n a	vs	vt	
	mountain	became	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

Mountains came into being, they say.

The mountains became

Mountain / became / they say.

sûs nō sliñ ya nī

ts'ûs nō^ε sliñ^ε ya^ε nī

4.5	ts'ii'	kaal'aa'	yaa'nii	, §
	ts'ii'	kaa-(ghin)..l'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	brush	grow up from below	they say	
	n a	vi	vt	
	brush	grows up	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

Brush grew up, they say.

and brush sprang up on them.

Brush / came up / they say.

tsī | ka la ya nī

ts'ī^ε ka l'a^ε ya^ε nī

4.6	uusii'-kw'it	see-uuyaashtc
	*sii'+3 POSS.,LOC.	see-uuyaashtc
	head	pebble
	n ia	n a
	on its head	pebble
	[PostP]	[Obj]

noo'ng'an-kwan

noo-(nin)..aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
 put solid O to a limit
 vt inferred evid.

he had put it

[VP

He had put small stones on its head, they say.

The small stones he had placed on its head

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

Its head on / stone small / he had put / they say.

ō sī kūt | se wī yajts nō ûñ ûn kwûn ya nī
 ō sī^ε k'wût' se ū yacts nō^εñ^ε ʔan kwʌn ya^ε nī

4.7	see	ileeh-teelit		nchaagh	,
	see	(s)..leegh/liin'+IMPF.,3	=teelh	=hit+VAR. OF	nchaagh ₂
	stone	become	=will/shall	=when	large
	n a	vs	encl	encl	adj
	rock	when it is about to become			large/much
	[AdvCl]

uusii'	,	jeeschow	yaa'nii	,	nghindoo'		yaa'nii
*sii'+3 POSS.		jeeschow	yaa'nii ₁		n-ghin..doo'+TRTL.,PERF.,3		yaa'nii ₁
head		elk	they say		become not		they say
n ia		n a	vt		vs		vt
its head		elk	they say		it disappeared		they say
[Subj]		[AdjP	]		[VP]

As the stones were becoming large its elk-like head disappeared, they say.

became large. Its head was buried from sight.

Stones / were becoming when / large, / its head / elk/ they say, / was not, / they say.

se ûl le tē lit n tcag ū sī | gûs tcō ya nī n gûn dō ya nī
 se ûl le tē lit n tcag ū sī^ε ges tcō ya^ε nī n gûn dō^ε ya^ε nī

Note: BR/Curtis version: "Then gradually the creature turned into soil and rock, and it became the earth, and in time all the water sank and left the earth dry. Earthquakes are caused by this deer turning on its side."

5.1	"	shoo'ghiilaagh-ee		,	"
		shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.	=yee		
		fix O			eyewitness evid.
		vt			encl
		I fixed it			
		[VP]			

tc'in		yaa'nii	,	§
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.		yaa'nii ₁		
say		they say		
vt		vt		
he said		they say		
[VP]		

"I am fixing it," he said, they say.

"I am fixing it," he said.

"I am fixing it," / he said, / they say.

cō gī la ge tcin ya nī
cō^ε gī la ge tc'in ya^ε nī

5.2 "	kaa'	,	diidee'	naaheeshdaa
	kaa' ₁		diidee'	naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+OPT.,1SG.
	all right/OK		north	sg go back home
	interj		direct	vi
	all right/OK		north	I go back/home
	[Interj]		[AdvP]	[VP]

shoo'ooshleeh		tghaamaa	hiidee' , "
shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+OPT.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.		tghaamaah	hiidee'
fix O		along shore	north
vt		adv	direct
let me fix it		shore (along shore)	north
[VP]		[AdvP]

tc'in	yaa'nii , §
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
say	they say
vt	vt
he said	they say
[VP]

"Well, I will go north and fix it along the northern shore," he said, they say.

"I will go north. I will fix things along the shore."

Well, / north / I will go / I will fix it / along shore/ north," / he said / they say.

ka dī de | na hec da | cō ûc le | te ga ma | hī de | tcin ya nī
ka^ε dī de^ε na hec da cō^ε ûc le' t ga ma hī de^ε tc'in ya^ε nī

5.3	yooyiidee'	naaheestyaa	yaa'nii , §
	yooyiidee'	naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	far north	sg go back home	they say
	direct	vi	vt
	far north	he started back home	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

He started back to the far north, they say.

He started back to the far north.

Far north / he started back / they say.

yō yī de | na hes tī ya ya nī
 yō yī de^ε na hes t ya ya^ε nī

5.4 " **uunaa** **naashdaa** ,"
 P-naa++ 3 OBL. naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+OPT.,1SG.
 around/encircling P sg go back
 postp vi
 around it let me go back
 [PostP] [VP]

tc'in **yaa'nii** , §
 ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii₁
 say they say
 vt vt
 he said they say
 [VP]
"I will go around it," he said, they say.
"I will go around it," he said.
"Around it / I will go," / he said / they say.

ō na nac da tcin ya nī
 ō na nac da tc'in ya^ε nī

5.5 " **yook-wiit'akw** **shoo'ooshleeh** ,"
 yook-wiit'akw shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+OPT.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
 far above fix O
 direct vt
 far above let me fix it
 [AdvP] [VP]

tc'in **yaa'nii** , §
 ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii₁
 say they say
 vt vt
 he said they say
 [VP]
"Far above I will fix it," he said, they say.
"Far above I will fix it."
"Far above / I will fix it," / he said / they say.

yōk ū tūk_w/wī dūk | cō ōc le | tcūn ya nī

yōk wī t'ûkwū cō^ε ōc le tc'in ya^ε nī

5.6	uut'akw	shoo'tc'ilaah	yaa'nii
	uut'akw	shoo ² -(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	above/beyond P	fix O	they say
	adv	vt	vt
	above it	he fixed it well	they say
	[PostP]	[VP]

He fixed above it, they say.

He fixed the world above.

Above / he fixed it, / they say.

ō tūk | cō tcil la+ ya nī
 ō t'ûkwū cō^ε tc'l la ya^ε nī

5.7	"	nshoon-ee	
		n..shoon+PERF.,3	=yee
		be good	eyewitness evid.
		vd	encl
		it is good	
		[VP]	

shoo'ghiilaagh-eet			,
shoo ² -(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.	=yee	=hit	
fix O	eyewitness evid.	=because	
vt	encl	encl	
because I have fixed it			
[AdvCI]			

tc'in	yaa'nii	,
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
say	they say	
vt	vt	
he said	they say	
[VP]	

"Since I have fixed it, it is good," he said.

"I have made it good," he said.

"Good / I made it," / he said / they say.

n cō ne | cō gī la get tcin ya nī
 n cō ne cō^ε gī la get tc'in ya^ε nī

6.1	uut'akw	yooyiinak'	naaheestyaa-hit	
	uut'akw	yooyiinak'	naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3	=hit+VAR. OF
	above/beyond P	far south	sg go back home	=when
	adv	direct	vi	encl
	above it	far south	when he went back home	
	[AdvCl]	

see	naa'tghilh'aa'	yaa'nii	, §
see	naa-d-(ghin)..lh'aa'/aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	
stone	stand O on end	they say	
n a	vt	vt	
rock	he stood it on end	they say	
[Obj]	[VP]	

When he went back far to the south he erected stones,they say.

When he went back far south he stood stones on end.

Above / far south / he went back when / stones / he stood up / they say.

ō tûk | yō yī nûk | na hes tī ya hût | se na te gûl a ya nī

ō t'ûkuu yō yī nûk' na hes t ya hût se na t gûl ^εa^ε ya^ε nī

6.2	chin	kaal'aa'	tc'istciin'
	ching	kaa-(ghin)..l'aa'/aa'+IMPF.,3	(s)..lhtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
	tree	grow up from below	cause X
	n a	vi	vt
	trees	grows up	he caused
	[Obj]	[VP]

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He made trees grow up, they say.

He made trees

Trees / grow up / he made / they say.

tcûñ ka la | tcis' tcin ya nī

tcûn ka l'a^ε tc'is tcin ya^ε nī

6.3	ts'ii'	kaal'aa'	tc'istciin'
	ts'ii'	kaa-(ghin)..l'aa'/aa'+IMPF.,3	(s)..lhtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
	brush	grow up from below	make O
	n a	vi	vt
	bush	grows up	he made it
	[Obj]	[VP]	

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He made brush grow up, they say.

and brush spring up.

Brush / grow up / he made / they say.

tsī+ ka la | tcis tsīn ya nī

ts'ī^ε ka l'a^ε tc'is tcin ya^ε nī

6.4	ts'isnoo'	naa'teelh'aa'	yaa'nii , §
	ts'isnoo'	naa-ti-(s)..lh'aa'/aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	mountain	stand O up along	they say
	n a	vt	vt
	mountain	he stood up along	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]]

He erected mountains, they say.

He placed the mountains

Mountains / he stood up / they say.

sūs nō | nat tēL a | ya nī

ts'ūs nō^ε na tēL^ε a^ε ya^ε nī

GT04-2nd: The Securing of Light (2nd version)

Goddard 1909, pp.101-102, 195; Goddard NB 1, pp. 38-44

1.1	diisee'	kwsii'	noong'ang
	diisee'	*sii'+3ANIM. POSS.	noo-(nin).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
	west	head	put solid O down
	direct	n ia	vt
	west	his head	he put it down
	[AdvP]	[Obj]	[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He lay with his head to the west, they say.

He (Coyote) slept with his head toward the west,

West / his head / he placed / they say.

dī sé kwī sī | nōñ ûñ | ya nī

dī se^ε ku sī^ε nōñ ^εañ ya^ε nī

Coyote sleeping with his head towards various directions

1.2	diidee'	kwsii'	noong'ang
	diidee'	*sii'+3ANIM. POSS.	noo-(nin).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
	north	head	put solid O down
	direct	n ia	vt
	north	his head	he put it down
	[AdvP]	[Obj]	[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He lay with his head to the north, they say.

the north,

North / his head / he placed / they say.

GT04.2 - The Securing of Light (2nd version) - Bill Ray

dī de kwī sí nōñ ûn ya nī
 dī de^ε kuu sī^ε nōñ^ε aqñ ya^ε nī

1.3	diinak'	kwsii'	noong'ang
	diinak'	*sii'+3ANIM. POSS.	noo-(nin).. ^ε aash/ ^ε aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
	south	head	put solid O down
	direct	n ia	vt
	south	his head	he put it down
	[AdvP]	[Obj]	[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He lay with his head to the south, they say.

the south,

South / his head / he placed / they say.

dī nûk kwī sī nōñ ûñ ya nī
 dī nûk' kuu sī^ε nōñ^ε aqñ ya^ε nī

1.4	diidak'	kwsii'	noong'ang
	diidak'	*sii'+3ANIM. POSS.	noo-(nin).. ^ε aash/ ^ε aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
	east	head	put solid O down
	direct	n ia	vt
	east	his head	he put it down
	[AdvP]	[Obj]	[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He lay with his head to the east, they say.

the east," he said.

East / his head / he placed / they say.

dī dûk kwī sī nōñ ûñ ya nī
 dī dûk' kuu sī^ε nōñ^ε aqñ ya^ε nī

1.5	ghinsilh	yaa'nii	kwsint'aa'
	ghin..silh+TRTL.,PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	*sint'aa'+3ANIM. POSS.
	become warm	they say	forehead
	vd	vt	n ia
	it became warm	they say	his forehead
	[VP	]	[Subj]

His forehead became hot, they say.

When he slept with his head toward the east his forehead grew warm.

It became hot / they say / his forehead.

gûn sûL | ya nî | kwî sûn da
gûn sûL ya^ε nî kwî sûn da^ε

2	"	uunaasiilaal-ee	shaa	,"
		P-naa-(s)..laalh+PERF.,1SG. =yee	shaa ₁	
		dream about P	eyewitness evid.	sun
		vt	encl	n a
		I dreamed about it		sun
		[VP]		[Obj]

"I dreamt about the sun."

"I dreamed about the sun in the east," he said.

"I dreamed / sun."

ō na sī la lē | ca
ō na sī la lē ca

3.1	diidak'	tc'teesyaa	yaa'nii	, §
	diidak'	ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
	east	start off	they say	
	direct	vi	vt	
	east	he started off	they say	
	[AdvP]	[VP]	

He started off to the east, they say.

He started away.

East / he started / they say.

dī dûk | tcit tes ya ya nî
dī dûk' tc't tes ya ya^ε nî

3.2	lhoon'tcghee'neestc	taak'	s'ilhsaang
	lhoon'tcghee'neestc	taak'	(0)..lhis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
	deer mouse	three	find O
	n a	num	vt
	deer mouse	three	he found
	[Obj	]	[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He found three deer mice, they say.

Finding three field-mice

Long-eared mice / three / he found / they say.

Lōn tcī ge nējtc | tak | sūL sūn ya nī

Lōn tc' ge^ε nectc tak' s'ūL sañ ya^ε nī

3.3	kwloo	tc'teelhtiin	yaa'nii , §
	*loo+3ANIM. POSS.	ti-(s)..lhtish/tiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	dog	take animate O along	they say
	n ia	vt	vt
	his dog	he took it along	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

He took them along (as) his dogs, they say.

he took them with him for dogs.

His dogs / he took along / they say.

klō tcit tel tīn ya nī

klō tc't tel tīn ya^ε nī

3.4 " **shdjii'-nools'id-ee** **taak'**
 *djii'+1SG. POSS. OF **noo-(ghin)..ls'it+IMPF.,3 =yee** **taak'**
 heart fall down eyewitness evid. three
 n ia vi encl num
 I am glad three
 [VP] [AdvCl]

shloo **iisaan-ii** ,"
 *loo+1SG. POSS. OF (0)..lhis/saan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yii
 dog find O =(assertive enclitic)
 n ia vt encl
 my dogs I found them

*"I am glad because I found my three dogs."
 "My heart is glad because I found you, my three dogs," he told them.
 My heart / falls / three / my dogs / I find.*

is tcī | nōl sitde | tak clō ī sa nī
 s tcī^ε nōl sūt de tak' clō ī sa nī

Note: This idiom for "be glad" is something like, "my heart falls into place" or "my heart settles". The complement adverbial clause is unmarked, lacking -hit or other subordination markers, at least in this occurrence.

3.5 **tc'teelhtiin** **yaa'nii** , §
 ti-(s)..lhtish/tiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. **yaa'nii₁**
 take animate O along they say
 vt vt
 he took it along they say
 [VP]

*He took them along, they say.
 He took them
 He took along / they say.*

tcit tel tī ya nī
 tc't tel tīn ya^ε nī

3.6	shaa	uuyeeh	##	tc'ninyaa	yaa'nii , §
	shaa ₁	*P-yeeh++ 3 OBL.		n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	sun	under P		sg come/arrive back	they say
	n a	postp		vi	vt
	sun	under it		he came back	they say
	[PostP	]		[VP]

He came underneath the sun.

to the place of the sunrise.

Sun / under / he came / they say.

ca ō ye tc̄ nin ya ya ni

ca ō ye tc' nin ya ya^e nī

where the sun rises in the east

3.7 **beelh**

beelh

rope

n a

rope

[Obj]

k'eech'inghaash-bang ,

k'ee-ch'-(nin)..ghaash/ghaatc'+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang₂

gnaw O off

vt

you (sg.) must gnaw it off

[VP]

=future predictive enclitic

encl

naandaash-bang ,

naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,2SG. =bang₂

sg come back

vi

you (sg.) must come back

[VP]

=future predictive enclitic

encl

shingoh-bang

(s)..got+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 1SG. OBJ. =bang₂
 poke O =future predictive enclitic
 vt encl
 you (sg.) must poke me
 [VP]

nintc

*intc+2SG. POSS.
 nose
 n ia
 your (sg.) nose
 [PostP]

bilh

, §
 *ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.
 instrumental
 postp
 with it
]

"You must gnaw off the ropes, come back, and poke me with your nose."

"You must gnaw off the ropes and then poke me with your noses."

Ropes / you must bite off, / you must come back, / you must poke me / your noses / with.

bel | ke tcin nac bũñ nan dac bañ cũñ gō bũn nũns bũL

bel k'e tcin nac bũñ nan dac bũñ cũñ qō bũñ nũntc bũL

Note: "The sun was tied up in blanket" (Goddard NBI, p.39). "The mice were to put their noses against his leg to let him know" (Goddard NBI, p.41). Note that this uses singular you, either addressing the leader of the three mice or addressing them as individuals.

3.8 **waa'chow**

waa'aang

tc'oolhyoolh

yaa'nii

waa'chow

*ghaa'ang++ 3 OBL.

oo-(ghin)..lhyoolh+IMPF.,3ANIM.

yaa'nii₁

blanket

through P

blow

they say

n a

postp

vi

vt

blanket

through it

he blows

they say

[PostP

]

[VP

]

He blows through a hole in the blanket, they say.

Blowing through a hole in a blanket he sang:

Blanket / [hole] through / he blew / they say.

wa tcō | wa añ tcōL yōL ya ni

wa tcō wa^ε añ tc'ōL yōL ya^ε nī

3.9 **ntohlaal-ee** ,

n-ti-(s)..laalh+IMPF.,2PL. =yee
 be asleep eyewitness evid.
 vd encl
 you (pl.) sleep
 [VP]

ntohlaal-ee !

n-ti-(s)..laalh+IMPF.,2PL. =yee
 be asleep eyewitness evid.
 vd encl
 you (pl.) sleep
 [VP]

(singing) "Go to sleep, go to sleep."

"You sleep, you sleep."

You sleep, / you sleep.

n tō la lē n tō la lē

n tō' la le n tō' la le

"Sing this way"; "He looked through a blanket" (Goddard NBI, p.39)

4.1	diidaa'ang	tc'teesghiin	yaa'nii , §
	diidaa'ang	ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
	from the east	carry load O along	they say
	direct	vt	vt
	from the east	he carried a load along	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

He carried it from the east, they say.

He carried the sun from the east.

From the east / he carried it / they say.

dī da ûn | tcit tes gin ya nī

dī da ûñ tc't tes gin ya^ε nī

4.2 " **shaa teeghiin-ee** "

shaa ₁	ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3	=yee
sun	carry load O along	eyewitness evid.
n a	vt	encl
sun	he carried	
[Obj]	[VP]	

ch'inaa-yee , §

..naa+IMPF.,3INDF. =yee
 say eyewitness evid.
 vt encl
 something says
 [VP]

*"He carried away the sun," someone says.
 "It is carried off," somebody was heard to shout.
 "Sun / he is carrying" / one says. [I hear]*

ca | te gī ne | tcin na ye
 ca te gī ne tcin na ye

4.3 **baaghang tc'ninyaa yaa'nii** ,

baaghang	n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
coast	sg come/arrive back	they say
n a	vi	vt
coast	he came back	they say
[AdvP]	[VP]]

He arrived back at the coast, they say.

Coast / he came / they say.

ba gūn | tcin nin ya | ya ni
 ba gūn tc' nin ya ya^ε nī

5 " **st'oo' shoo'ghillaagh-ee** ,"

st'oo'	shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.	=yee
nearly	fix O	eyewitness evid.
adv	vt	encl
nearly	I fixed it	
[AdvP]	[VP]	

*"I almost fixed it."
 "I was fixing it," she said.*

"Nearly / I fixed it."

is tō cō gī la ge
st'ō^ε cō gī la ge

6.1 " **beenoonsin-kwaang'anjii** , §

P-ee-noo-(ghin)..sin+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBL. =kwaang'anjii
hide P =is/are (surprisingly)
vt encl
you (sg.) were hiding it
[VP]

"You were hiding it!

"You were hiding it.

You were hiding it.

be nōn sūn kwañ ûñ gī
be nōn sūn kwañ ûñ gī

6.2 **see ohlee-bang**

see	(s)..leegh/liin'+IMPF.,2PL.	=bang ₂	hai
stone	become	=future predictive enclitic	hai ₁
n a	vs	encl	there
rock	you (pl.) must become		there
[NP]	[VP]		[AdvCl]

sohyiin-dinhaa' ,"

s..yiin+PERF.,2PL. =ding =haa'
stand =where =just, only
vs suffix encl
right where you (pl.) stand
]

"You must turn into stones right there where you are standing!"

Both of you become stones right where you are standing," he told them.

Stones / become / the / you stand place."

se ō le | būñ | hai sō yin dūn xa

se ō' le būñ hai sō' yin dūn ha^ε

"(two of them)" (Goddard NBI, p.40)

7	teesghiin	yaa'nii ,	shaa ,
	ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	shaa ₁
	carry load O along	they say	sun
	vt	vt	n a
	it carried it along	they say	sun
	[VP	]	[Obj]

He carried the sun off, they say.

He carried the sun along.

He carried / they say / sun.

tes gin ya ni ca

tes gin ya^ε nī ca

8.1 "	Kaaldaash ,	Aatciighichikchow ,	Son'lhaantc ,
	Kaaldaash	Aatciighitcikchow	Son'lhaantc
	Morning Star	North Star	Pleiades
	n a	n a	n a
	Morning Star	North Star	Pleiades
	[NP]	[NP]	[NP]

Sitildaash , **gooyaanee'** , " §

Sitildaash gooyaanee'

Evening Star (Planet) star

n a n a

Evening Star star

[NP] [NP]

"Morning Star, North Star, Pleiades, Evening Star, stars."

"Kaldac, atcīgūttcūktcō, sūnlans, sūtūldac, gōyane," he said (naming them as he cut them from the mass).

"Morning star, / atciiguttcutkoo [star name] [North star] , /sunLans [star name = Pleiades] [dipper] / evening star, / stars."

kal daj a tcī gūt tcūk tcō/djō | sūn lanz sūt tūl daj | gō ya ne

kal dac a tcī gūt tcūk tcō sūn lans sūt tūl dac gō ya ne^ε

Note: cutting the stars off from the sun mass and naming them

8.2	s'isdaa	yaa'nii , §
	s..daa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
	sit (sg)	they say
	vi	vt
	he sat	they say
	[VP]

He sat down, they say.

He sat down

He sat / they say.

sûs da | ya^ε nī

s'ûs da ya^ε nī

8.3	kw djii'-naan'aa	yaa'nii ,
	P-djii'-naa-n-(nin).. 'aa/aa'+PERF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBL.	yaa'nii ₁
	P to ponder	they say
	vt	vt
	he pondered	they say
	[VP]

He pondered, they say.

and studied about the matter.

His mind / moved about / they say.

kwī tcī nūn a ya ni

kuu tcī^ε nən ^εa ya^ε nī

9.1	"	naaghai ,	shaa	beent'aah
		naaghai	shaa ₁	P-ee-(nin)..t'aagh+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBL.
		moon	sun	fly up against P
		n a	n a	vi
		moon	sun	you (sg.) fly up against it
		[NP]	[NP]	[VP]

yaah-bii'k' , §

yaah+LOC.

sky

n a

in the sky

]

"Moon, sun, each of you fly up into the sky."

"Moon, sun, fly into the sky.

Moon, / sun, / you fly up / sky in.

na gai ca ben t!a ya bīk
na gai ca ben t'a ya bī^εk'

Note: Singular "you" occurs in this sentence, addressing each of moon and sun individually.

9.2 **beeninlhaah**

P-ee-n-(nin)..lhaat+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBL.
jump up against
vi
you (sg.) jump up against it
[VP]

gooyaanee' !

gooyaanee'
star
n a
star
[NP]

Jump up, you stars!"

Stars become many in it.

You jump up [go up all over] / stars.

be nûn La | gō ya nī

be nûn La gō ya ne^ε

Note: again addressing each individually with singular "you"

9.3 **tl'ee'dan'**

kaasinyaash-bang

tl'ee'dang'	kaa-n-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2SG.	=bang ₂
morning	come up from underground	=future predictive enclitic
adv	vi	encl
morning	you (sg.) must come up (heavenly body)	
[AdvP]	[VP]	

k'eeninyaash-bang

k'ee-n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2SG. =bang₂
go down (heavenly body) =future predictive enclitic
vi encl
you (sg.) must go down (heavenly body)
[VP]

, **Nee'**

nee'
World
n a
World
[Obj]

biinaahindaash-bang

biinaah-(ghin)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBL. =bang₂
go around (heavenly body) =future predictive enclitic
vi (imprs.) encl
you (sg.) must go around (heavenly.body)
[VP]

, §

"You (sun) must come up in the morning, go down, and go around the World.

In the morning you shall come up. You shall go down. You shall go around the world.

Morning / you must come up, / you must go down, / world [ground] / you must go around [under you go].

Le dūn | ka sūn yac būñ | ke nin yac būñ | ne bī na | xūn dac būñ
 Le dūn ka sūn yac būñ k'e nin yac būñ ne^ε bī na hūn dac būñ

9.4 **diidak' t'ee'dan'**
 diidak' t'ee'dang'
 east morning
 direct adv
 east morning
 [AdvP] [AdvP]

kaanaasindaash-bang , §

kaa-naa-s-(s)..tyaash/yaa+IMPF.,2SG. =bang₂
 come back up from below (heavenly body) =future predictive enclitic
 vi encl
 you (sg.) must come back up from below (heavenly body)
 [VP]

You must come up again in the east in the morning.

In the east you shall rise again in the morning.

East / morning / you must come up again [go up again].

dī dūk | Le dūn | ka na sūn dac būñ
 dī dūk' Le dūn ka na sūn dac būñ

9.5 **shaa-ndiin-manjaa'** ,"

shaa-n..diin+PERF.,3 =bang₂ =jaa'
 sun to shine =future predictive enclitic =volitive/optative
 vi encl encl
 let there be sunshine!
 [VP]

Let there be sunshine!"

You shall furnish light."

Sunshine shall be [daylight must be]."

can dī mūn da/kya
 can dī mūn dja^ε

10.1	skiitc	tc'eeninyaa	yaa'nii	,	uudai'	,
	skiitc	tc'ee-n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁		uudai' ₂	
	baby	sg come out	they say		outside/outdoors	
	n a	vi	vt		adv	
	baby	he came out	they say		outside/outdoors	
	[Subj]	[VP	]		[AdvP]	

A boy came outside, they say.

The boy went outside.

Boy / went out / they say, / outside.

is kítz | tce nûn ya ya nî | ò dai
s kîts tc'e nûn ya ya^ε nî ò dai^ε

10.2	"	dijji	,	shtaa'	?"
		dijji		*taa'+1 SG. POSS. OF	
		what?		father	
		inter		n ia	
		what?		my father	
		[Subj]		[NP]	

"What is it, father?"

"What is it, father?" he asked.

"What, / my father?"

dî djî is ta⁺
dî djî s ta^ε

11.1	tc'yaantc	tc'eeninyaa	yaa'nii	,	§
	tc'yaantc	tc'ee-n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁		
	old woman	sg come out	they say		
	n a	vi	vt		
	old woman	she came out	they say		
	[Subj]	[VP]		

The woman came out, they say.

The woman went out.

Woman / went out / they say.

si yantc tce nûn ya ya ni
tc' yantc tc'e nûn ya ya^ε nî

11.2 "	gooyaanee'	kaal'aa'-kwaang'anjii	
	gooyaanee'	kaa-(ghin)..l'aa'/aa'+IMPF.,3	=kwaang'anjii
	star	spring up in the sky	=is/are (surprisingly)
	n a	vi	encl
	star	is springing up (surprisingly)	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

yaah-bii'k' ,"

yaah+LOC.

sky

n a

in the sky

[PostP

"Stars are springing up in the sky."

She saw stars had sprung out of the sky.

"Stars / have sprung forth / sky in."

kō/gō ya nī ka la | kwañ ûñ gī | ya bīk

gō ya ne^ε ka l'a^ε kwañ ûñ gī ya bī^εk'

12	lheenee'haa'	kwa'a'aa	
	lheenee'haa'	P-ghaa-(nin)..aa'/aa'+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.	
	everyone	give extending to P	
	pron	vt	
	everyone	gives to him	
	[Subj]	[VP	

yaa'nii lhtaahkii ,

yaa'nii₁ lhtaahkii

they say different kinds

vt pron

they say different kinds

] [Obj]

Everybody gave him different kinds of things.

All the people made him presents of all kinds.

All / gave him / they say / different things.

Le ne Xa | kwa a ya nī il ta kī

Le ne^ε ha kwa ^εa ya^ε nī L tah kīh

Note: handing Coyote all kinds of gifts in thanks for his bringing the sun, moon, and stars.

GT04alt. The Securing of Light (NB1 alternate)

Goddard NB 1, pp. 27-31

This is an abbreviated version of the story, unpublished. It is almost a highlights form, not always in the chronological order of the full story. This version is particularly valuable in that it has some vocabulary and possibly an idiom not documented elsewhere, and the specific connection of the sun being in the "middle of the sky" at (up) mealtime.

1	uunaaslaal		yaa'nii	.
	P-naa-(s)..laalh+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.	=i	yaa'nii ₁	
	dream about P	=NR	they say	
	vt	encl	vt	
	he dreamed about it		they say	
	[VP]

He dreamed about it, they say.

he dreamed

o nas lal/ō na slûL ya ni

2.1	tc'teesyai		yaa'nii	.
	tc'teesyaa =i	yaa'nii ₁		
	go =NR	they say		
	v	encl	vt	
	he went along	they say		
	[VP]

He went along, they say.

he went

he went

tcit tes yai ya ni

2.2	Lhoon'tcghee'neestc	s'ilhsaan		yaa'nii	.
	lhoon'tcghee'neestc	(0)..lhis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁		
	deer mouse	find O	they say		
	n a	vt	vt		
	deer mouse	he found it	they say		
	[Obj]	[VP]

He found deer mice, they say.

mouse he found

mouse he found

lō tcī gē nētc sūL sūn ya ni

2.3	taak'	naalghii	tc'teelhtiin	yaa'nii
	taak'	naalghii	ti-(s)..lhtish/tiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	three	dog	take animate O along	they say
	num	n a	vt	vt
	three	dog	he took it along	they say
	[Obj	]	[VP]

He took three along as dogs, they say.

3 dog he took along

3 dog he took along

tak na lī tcit tel tīŋ ya nī

3.1	lhoong'	baa	tc'ighindiis	yaa'nii
	lhoong'	P-aa- ₁ ++ 3 OBL.	(ghin)..diis+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	squirrel	for P	cook/singe O	they say
	n a	v:(12-incorp)	vt	vt
	squirrel	for them	he cooked/singed it	they say
	[Obj]	[IO]	[VP]

He cooked a squirrel for them, they say.

squirrel for them he cooked

squirrel for them he cooked

lōn ba tcī gūn dīs ya ni

3.2	doohaa'	ghinyaan'	yaa'nii
	doohaa'	(ghin)..yaan/yaan'+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	never have	eat O	they say
	neg	vt	vt
	never	he/she ate it	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

They never ate it, they say.

he never eat.

he never eat

dō Xa gūn yūn ya nī

4.1 **tc'teelhtiin** **yaa'nii** .
 ti-(s)..lhtish/tiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. **yaa'nii**₁
 take animate O along they say
 vt vt
 he took it along they say
 [VP]

He took them along, they say.

he took along.

he took along

siL tEL tīn ya nī

4.2 " **shdjii'-nools'it** , " **yaa'nii** , " **taak'**
 P-djii'-noo-(ghin)..ls'it+IMPF.,3,+ 1SG. OBL. **yaa'nii**₁ **taak'**
 P to be glad because X they say three
 vd vt num
 I am glad they say three
 [VP] [AdvCl

shloo **iisaanit** ."
 *loo+1SG. POSS. OF (0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =hit
 dog find O =because
 n ia vt encl
 my dogs because I found them

"I am glad," (he said), they say, "because I found my three dogs."

he was glad / my heart drop / dog

he was glad / my heart drop

is tcī nōlsūt ya nī tak slō ī sa nit

Note: In this instance the adverbial clause complement is marked with =hit.

5 (**iitees** **yaa'nii** .)
yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 he took them along they say
 [VP]

He took (the mice/dogs) along, they say.

he took dog

i tes ya ni

Note: Is this a transcription error in "i tes", leaving off the verb stem? The expected form is yiiteelhtiin, "he took (animate) along", taking the mice along as dogs.

6.1	uunaaslaalh		yaa'nii .
	P-naa-(s)..laalh+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.		yaa'nii ₁
	dream about P		they say
	vt		vt
	he dreamed about it		they say
	[VP]

He dreamed about it, they say.

I am going after

ō na slûl ya nīq̄

6.2	diidee'	kwsii'	noo'ng'aan
	diidee'	*sii'+3ANIM. POSS.	noo-(nin)..aash/aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
	north	head	put solid O to a limit
	direct	n ia	vt
	north	his head	he put it down
	[AdvP]	[Obj]	[VP

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He put his head down to the north, they say.

north his head he put.

dī de kwī sī noñ ûn yanī

6.3	diinak'	kwsii'	noo'ng'aang
	diinak'	*sii'+3ANIM. POSS.	noo-(nin).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
	south	head	put solid O down
	direct	n ia	vt
	south	his head	he put it down
	[AdvP]	[Obj]	[VP

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He put his head down to the south, they say.

south

dī nûk kwī sī non ûñ ya ni

6.4	diisee'	kwsii'	noo'ng'aang
	diisee'	*sii'+3ANIM. POSS.	noo-(nin).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
	west	head	put solid O down
	direct	n ia	vt
	west	his head	he put it down
	[AdvP]	[Obj]	[VP

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He put his head down to the west, they say.

west

dī se' kwī sī' noñ ûñ ya ni

6.5	diidak'	kwsii'	noo'ng'aang
	diidak'	*sii'+3ANIM. POSS.	noo-(nin).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
	east	head	put solid O down
	direct	n ia	vt
	east	his head	he put it down
	[AdvP]	[Obj]	[VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He put his head down to the east, they say.

east his head

dī dūk kwi sī nōñ ûn ya nī

6.6	uunaaslaalh	yaa'nii	lhoon'tcghee'neestc
	P-naa-(s)..laalh+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁	lhoon'tcghee'neestc
	dream about P	they say	deer mouse
	vt	vt	n a
	he dreamed about it	they say	deer mouse
	[VP]	]	[Obj]

s'ilhsaan	yaa'nii	taak'
(0)..lhis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	taak'
find O	they say	three
vt	vt	num
he found it	they say	three
[VP]	]	[Obj]

tc'teelhtiin	yaa'nii	.
ti-(s)..lhtish/tiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	
take animate O along	they say	
vt	vt	
he took it along	they say	
[VP]]	
<i>He dreamed about it, they say, that he found mice and took three along, they say.</i>		
<i>he dreamd</i>		

ō na slûl ya nī lō tcī ga nic sūL sūn ya ni tak tcit teL tīn ya nī

7.1	uudaa'	s'ilhsaan	yaa'nii .
	*daa'+3 POSS.	(0)..lhis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	voice	find O	they say
	n ia	vt	vt
	its mouth	he found it	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

Its mouth he found, they say.

ō da sūL sūn ya n

7.2	uudaa'	sinteelhaalh	yaa'nii .
	*daa'+3 POSS.	n-ti-(s)..laalh+PERF.,2SG.	yaa'nii ₁
	voice	be asleep	they say
	n ia	vd	vt
	its voice	???	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

? He put its voice to sleep ?

ō da sūn teL lūL ya nī

7.3	uudaa'	tc'oonyoolh	yaa'nii .
	*daa'+3 POSS.	oo-n-(ghin)..yoolh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	voice	dope O	they say
	n ia	vt	vt
	its voice	he doped it	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

He doped its mouth, they say.
he doped
he doped

ō da tsōn yoL ya nī

7.4	tc'ninyaa	yaa'nii .
	n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	sg come/arrive back	they say
	vi	vt
	he came back	they say
	[VP]

He came back, they say.
he get there

tcī/tci nūn ya ya nī

7.5	tc'gheelh	yaa'nii .
	gh..gheelh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	carry load O along	they say
	vt	vt
	she is carrying it along	they say
	[VP]

He's carrying it along, they say.
he pack it

tci gelya ni

7.6	tc'ninyaa	yaa'nii	baaghang .
	n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	baaghang
	sg come/arrive back	they say	coast
	vi	vt	n a
	he came back	they say	coast
	[VP	]	[AdvP]

He came back to the coast, they say.
he got to the coast

tse nin ya ya ni ba gūñ

8.1 " **shoo'ghiilaaghii** .

shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yii
 fix O =(assertive enclitic)
 vt encl
 I fixed it
 [VP]

I fixed it.

co gī la gī

8.2 **st'oo'** **shoo'ghiilaaghii**

st'oo' shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yii
 nearly fix O =(assertive enclitic)
 adv vt encl
 nearly I fixed it
 [AdvP] [VP]

," **yaa'nii** .

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

"I have nearly fixed it", they say.

neary I fix

is tō cō gī la gī ya nī

8.3 **st'oo'** (**doo**)

st'oo'	doo=
nearly	negative=
adv	neg
nearly	no
[AdvP]	[VP]

shoo'ghaalaah-kwaa'

shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.	=kwaa'	'anjii
fix O	=until	=MIR
vt	vencl	encl
he had fixed it yet		MIR
]

He actually hadn't nearly fixed it yet.

is tō (dō) co ga la kwa in̄ gī

Note: Mirative in a contrafactual

9 " **see** **ohleeh** !"

see	(s)..leegh/liin'+IMPF.,2PL.
stone	become
n a	vs
rock	you (pl.) become
[NP]	[VP]

Turn into stone! (pl.)

stone become

se ō'le

10	Kaaldaash	, Aatciighitcik	, Sitildaash	, yaah-bii'k'
	Kaaldaash	Aatciighitcik	Sitildaash	yaah+LOC.
	Morning Star	North Star	Evening Star (Planet)	sky
	<small>n a</small>	<small>n a</small>	<small>n a</small>	<small>n a</small>
	Morning Star	North Star	Evening Star	in the sky
	[NP]	[NP]	[NP]	[AdvP]

beeninlhaan

P-ee-(nin)..lhaan+TRTL.,3,+ 3 OBL.

be many up against P

vd

they become many up against it

[VP]

Morning Star, North Star, Evening Star, they become many all over the sky.

he cut a piece morning North Star evening sky all over made become

kal daj a tcī gūt sūk sūt tūl daj ya bīk be nūn lūn

11.1	uudaa'	tl'oolh	beelh	kailhjees	yaa'nii
	*daa'+3 POSS.	tl'oolh	beelh	kaa-(ghin)..lhjees+IMPF.,3OBV.	yaa'nii ₁
	mouth	strap	rope	chew off	they say
	<small>n ia</small>	<small>n a</small>	<small>n a</small>	<small>vt</small>	<small>vt</small>
	its mouth	strap	rope	?they chewed off?	they say
	[Subj]	[NP	]	[VP]

Their mouths chewed off the ropes (straps), they say.

ō da lōl bel kailges ya ni

11.2	uudaa'	shaa	teesghiin	yaa'nii
	*daa'+3 POSS.	shaa ₁	ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	voice	sun	carry load O along	they say
	<small>n ia</small>	<small>n a</small>	<small>vt</small>	<small>vt</small>
	its voice	sun	it carried it along	they say
	[AdvP]	[Obj]	[VP]

It carried the sun along in its mouth, they say.

sun | he pack

ō da ca tes gin ya nī

12.1	dii'antc'ing'	tc'gheelh	yaa'nii .
	dii'antc'ing'	gh..gheelh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	toward this	carry load O along	they say
	adv	vt	vt
	toward this	she is carrying it along	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

*He is carrying it along this way, they say.
this way*

dī ûn tçuñ tce giL ya nī

12.2	baaghan	tc'ninyaa	yaa'nii .
	baaghang	n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	coast	sg come/arrive back	they say
	n a	vi	vt
	coast	he came back	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

He came back to the coast, they say.

ba gûn tci nin ya ya nī

13 " **st'oo'** **shoo'nguishlaaghii-laa**
st'oo' shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PROG.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yii
 nearly fix O =(assertive enclitic)
 adv vt encl
 nearly =laa
 [AdvP] =(unknown enclitic)
 encl
 I am fixing it
 [VP]

shkiitc ."
 shkii-tc+1SG. POSS. OF
 baby
 n a
 my boy
 [NP]
I have nearly fixed the sun, my boy.
 boy

istō congûc la gī la ic kī'ts

14.1 **tc'eenyai** **yaa'nii** .
 tc'ee-n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 =i yaa'nii₁
 sg come out =NR they say
 vi encl vt
 he came out they say
 [VP]
He (the boy) came out, they say.

tcen yai ya nī

14.2 " **dijii** **shtaa'** ," **yaa'nii** .
 dijii *taa'+1SG. POSS. OF yaa'nii₁
 what? father they say
 inter n ia vt
 what? my father they say
 [Subj] [NP] [VP]
"What, my father?" (he asked), they say.

dī gī ista' ' ya nī

15	tc'yaantc	tc'eenyai		laa'-saaljeetc-tcii
	tc'yaantc	tc'ee-n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	=i	
	old woman	sg come out	=NR	
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vi</small>	encl	
	old woman	he came out		see note
	[Subj]	[VP]		[AdvP?]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say

The old woman went out ???, they say.

sī yantc tceyai la tsāl gets tsi ya nī

Note: This "la tsāl gets tsi" looks like "she makes lizard hands". Could that be an idiom for holding the hands, fingers spread, in front of the eyes to partially block bright light?

16	shaa	kaanaash	t'ee'dang'	yiiskaan	yaah .
	shaa ₁	kaa-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,3	t'ee'dang'	yiiskaan ₁	yaah
	sun	come up from below	morning	dawn	sky
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vi</small>	<small>adv</small>	<small>n a</small>	<small>n a</small>
	sun	it comes.up	morning	dawn	sky
	[Subj]	[VP]	[AdvP	]	[AdvP]

The sun comes up in the sky at dawn in the morning.

ca ka nac te L'e dūn yis kanya

- 17 **lheenee'haa' kwaa'aa**
 lheenee'haa' P-ghaa-(nin)..aa'aa'+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
 everyone give extending to P
 pron vt
 everyone gives to him
 [Subj] [VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

Everyone gave him gifts, they say.

Le na kwa ga ya ni

- 18.1 " **tl'ee'dang' kaasinyaash-bang**
 tl'ee'dang' kaa-n-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2SG. =bang₂
 morning come up from underground =future predictive enclitic
 adv vi encl
 morning you (sg.) must come up (heavenly body)
 [AdvP] [VP]

In the morning you will come up.

Le dûñ ka siñ yac bûñ

- 18.2 **diik'aa ghinyaalh-bang** .
 diik'aa gh..yaalh+PROG.,2SG. =bang₂
 this way go along =future predictive enclitic
 adv vi encl
 this way you will go along
 [AdvP] [VP]

You will go along this way.

this way you come

di ka gûn yaL bûñ

18.3	yaah-tl'at	daahdolhshaang	=	haa'	.
	yaah -tl'at	daah-d-(ghin)..ltcaan+IMPF.,2PL.		=haa'	
	sky middle of X	eat a meal, eat lunch		=just, only	
	<small>n a nsuffix</small>	<small>vi</small>		<small>encl</small>	
	middle of the sky	eat a meal, eat lunch		just/only	
	[AdvP]	[VP]	

Be in the middle of the sky right when you eat!
sky middle you eat

ya (te) lût da dōl cûn ga

Note: i.e., at noon. The more usual word for eating a meal has the "down/vertical" prefix set (**naa-d-(ghin)..**), where this one has the "up/above" prefix set (**daah-d-(ghin)..**). Was the noon meal sometimes called the "Up Meal", along with the "Down Meal" term? Compare the words for "noon": **naadeelshaan-noon' ai** and **djiin-naatghiishchaang**.

18.4	k'eeninyaash-bang	.
	k'ee-n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2SG.	=bang ₂
	go down (heavenly body)	=future predictive enclitic
	<small>vi</small>	<small>encl</small>
	you (sg.) must go down (heavenly body)	
	[VP]	

You (sun) will go down.

ke nûn yac bûñ

18.5	kaanaasindaash-bang	."
	kaa-naa-s-(s)..tyaash/yaa+IMPF.,2SG.	=bang ₂
	come back up from below (heavenly body)	=future predictive enclitic
	<small>vi</small>	<small>encl</small>
	you (sg.) must come back up from below (heavenly body)	
	[VP]	

You (sun) will come up again.

ka na sũn dac bũn

19 " **shaa-ndiin-manjaa'** !"

shaa-n..diin+PERF.	=bang ₂	=jaa'
sun to shine	=future predictive enclitic	=volitive/optative
vi	encl	encl

let there be sunshine!

[VP]

Let there be sunshine!

light

cũn dũ mũn gya

GT05: The Stealing of Fire

Goddard 1909, pp.102-105, 195-196; Goddard pg 88-152, pp.8-16; Goddard stories 11-20, pp.1-4

In the Lassik version of this story the "orphan child, a little green frog, sat crying because whenever she went where people were eating they made her go away." (Essene, Lassik Field Notes, Nancy Dobeys's version of The Man From The North, p.4)

1.1 kwong' ndoo' yaa'nii , §
 kwong' ndoo'₁ yaa'nii₁
 fire not exist they say
 n a vs vt
 fire not exist they say
 [Subj] [VP]

There was no fire, they say.

There was no fire.

Fire / was not ts

koñ | ñ dō ya ni
 kwōñ^ε n dō^ε ya^ε nī

1.2 kwong' ndoo'-hit , skii naachil ghilghee'
 kwong' ndoo'₁ =hit skii naachil ..ghilghee'+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.
 fire not exist =when baby orphan be whipped
 n a vs encl n a n a vp
 fire when it did not exist baby orphan he was whipped
 AdvCl] [Subj] [VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

When there was no fire an orphan boy was whipped, they say.

An orphan boy was whipped

Fire / was not when / boy / orphan / was whipped / they say.

kōñ
 kwōñ^ε n dō^ε hût skī na tcûl gûl ge^ε ya^ε nī

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire - Bill Ray

Note: "The word [naachil] seems to be used of one entirely without relatives." (Goddard 1909, p.102)

1.3	tc'eelghaal'	yaa'nii , §
	tc'ee..ghilghaal'+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	be thrown out	they say
	vp	vt
	he was thrown out	they say
	[VP]

He was thrown out (of the house), they say.
and put outside of the house.
He was thrown out ts

tc'el gal ya^ε nī

1.4	tceeh	yaa'nii , §
	(ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	cry	they say
	vi	vt
	he cries	they say
	[VP]

He cried, they say.
He cried there where he was thrown out.
He cried ts

tce' ya^ε nī

1.5	tees'iing'	yaa'nii , §
	ti-(s)..iin/'iin'+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	look along	they say
	vi	vt
	he looked along	they say
	[VP]

He looked, they say.
He looked
He looked ts

tes iĩ^ε ya^ε nī

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire - Bill Ray

1.6 " kwong' s'aanii ,"
 kwong' s'aan =yii
 fire lie motionless (3D r) =(assertive enclitic)
 n a v encl
 fire it lies
 [Subj] [VP]

tc'in yaa'nii ,
 ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii₁
 say they say
 vt vt
 he said they say
 [VP]
"Fire is lying there," he said, they say
and began saying, "Fire lies over there. I see fire."
"Fire lies," hsts "Fire / I find, ' / he says. / Boy / who / whipped?"

kwōñ^ε s'a nī tc'in ya^ε nī

2.1 " ' kwong' isaan , '
 kwong' (0)..lhis/saan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
 fire find O
 n a vt
 fire I found it
 [RelCl]

tc'inii skii daanjii olhghee' ?
 ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. =i skii daanjii ..lhghee'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
 say =NR baby who? whip O
 vt encl n a inter vt
 the one who said baby who? you (pl.) whip him
 [Obj] [Subj] [VP]

"Who whipped the boy who is saying, 'I found fire'?"
"Who whipped that boy? Go and find out what he is saying."

kwōñ^ε ûs san tc'ûn nī skī dan tcī ōL ge^ε

Note: Relative clause including a direct quotation. OSV order

2.2 **tc'eenohyaash**

tc'ee-n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL.

sg come out

vi

you (pl.) come out

[VP]

oohtgish

!"

oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.

look at O

vt

you (pl.) look at it

[VP]

Go out and look!"

Go and find out ...

Go out. / Look."

tc'e nō' yas ō' t gûc

3.1 **tc'eenyai**

, §

tc'ee-n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 =i

sg come out

=NR

vi

encl

he came out

[VP]

He went out.

One went out

He went out.

tc'en yai

3.2 " **taahjii kwong' ilsaan**

?"

taahjii kwong' (0)..lisis/saan+PERF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ.

where? fire see O

inter n a vt

where? fire you (sg.) saw it

[AdvP] [Obj] [VP]

(asking) "Where did you see fire?"

and asked, "Where did you see fire?"

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire - Bill Ray

"Where / fire / did you see?"

ta tcī kwōñ^ε ūl san

4 " **diidee' kwong' isaang** ,
 diidee' kwong' (0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
 north fire find O
 direct n a vt
 north fire I found it
 [AdvP] [Obj] [VP]

oontgish !"
 oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc'+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
 look at O
 vt
 you (sg.) look at it
 [VP]

"I saw fire in the north; look!"
"I saw fire toward the north. Look."
"North / fire / I saw. / Look."

dī de^ε kwōñ^ε ūs sañ ōn t gūc

5 " **oohtgish** **lheenee'haa'** , **skii**
 oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. **lheenee'haa'** **skii**
 look at O everyone baby
 vt pron n a
 you (pl.) look at it everyone baby
 [VP] [NP] [Subj]

kwong' yiihsang-kwang ,"
 kwong' (0)..lhsis/saan+3OBJ. =kwaan
 fire find O inferred evid.
 n a vt vencl
 fire he has found it
 [Obj] [VP]

"Look, everyone: the boy has found fire!"
"Everybody look. The boy has found fire."
"Look, / all. / Boy / fire / has found." "So it is. / Go after / fire."

ō' t gûc le ne^ε ha^ε skī kwōñ^ε yiL sañ kwañ

6.1 "	lh'ang-haa' ,	oonohlang	kwong' , §
	lh'ang-haa'	oo-n-(ghin)..lan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.	kwong'
	it is so	go after O	fire
	interj	vt	n a
	it is so	go after it	fire
	[Interj]	[VP]	[Obj]

"So it is; go after the fire!

"So it is," said the chief. "Go after fire.

L^εûñ ha^ε ō nō' lañ kwōñ^ε

6.2	taahjii	ch'siitcing	?
	taahjii	ch'siitcing	
	where?	coyote	
	inter	n a	
	where?	coyote	
	[AdvP]	[NP]	

Where is Coyote?

Where is Coyote?

Where / Coyote?

ta tcī tc'sī tcûñ

Note: Verbless

6.3	kwaatohyaash	, §
	P-kaa-ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.	
	sg go after P	
	vt	
	you (pl.) go after him	
	[VP]	

Go after him.

Go after him.

Go for him.

kwa tō' yac

6.4 **ch'leelintc taahjii** ?
 ch'leelintc taahjii
 hummingbird where?
 n a inter
 hummingbird where?
 [NP] [AdvP]

Where is Hummingbird?
Where is Humming-bird?
Humming-bird / where?

tc' lē lintc ta tcī
 Note: Verbless

6.5 **kwoonohlan** ,"
 oo-n-(ghin)..lan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.
 go after O
 vt
 go after him
 [VP]

Go after him."
Get him."
Get him." "Well, / Humming-bird / came.

kwō nō' lan

7.1 " **kaa' ch'leelintc tc'ninyai** , §
 kaa'₁ ch'leelintc n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 =i
 all right/OK hummingbird sg come/arrive back =NR
 interj n a vi encl
 all right/OK hummingbird has arrived
 [Interj] [Subj] [VP]

"OK, Hummingbird arrived.
"Humming-bird has come.

ka^ε tc lē lintc tc' nūn yai

7.2 **ch'siitcin** **tc'gaal** ,"
 ch'siitcing gaalh₁+PROG.,3ANIM. =i
 coyote 3sg walk =NR
 n a vi encl
 coyote he is walking
 [Subj] [VP]

Coyote is walking."

Coyote is coming."

Coyote / walks."

tc' sī tcûn tc' qal

8 " **laa'lhbaa'an** **tohyaash** , **kwong'**
 laa'lhbaa'ang ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL. kwong'
 ten sg go along fire
 num vi n a
 ten you (pl.) go along fire
 [Subj] [VP] [Obj]

oonohlang ,"
 oo-n-(ghin)..lan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
 go after O
 vt
 go after it
 [VP]

"Ten## of you go and get fire."

"Eleven of you go and get fire," commanded the chief.

"Ten / go. / Fire / get."

la^εL ba^ε ûn tō' yas kwōñ^ε ō nō' lañ

Note: It is unclear why Goddard's free translation has "eleven", when the Cahto word means "ten", as glossed in the word-for-word translation.

- 9.1 **tc'teesyai** **yaa'nii** , §
 tc'teesyaa =i yaa'nii₁
 go =NR they say
 v encl vt
 he went along they say
 [VP]

They went off, they say.

They set out.

They went / they say

tc't tes yai ya^ε nī

- 9.2 **tc'ninyaa** **yaa'nii** , **Shiishbií'** , §
 n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 yaa'nii₁ Shiishbií'
 sg come/arrive back they say Red Mountain
 vi vt n a
 he came back they say Red Mountain
 [VP] [AdvP]

They arrived at Red Mountain, they say.

They arrived at Red Mountain.

They arrived / they say / Red mountain.

tc' nûn ya ya^ε nī cīc bī^ε

- 9.3 **kwaanee'** **ch'islaa** **yaa'nii** , §
 *gaanee'+3ANIM. POSS. ch'-s..laa+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii₁
 arm arms to be held around they say
 n ia vs vt
 his arm arms were held around they say
 [Subj] [VP]

His arms were held around it, they say.

...with his arms clasped around it.

His arms / be held around it / they say.

kwa ne^ε ts'ûs la ya^ε nī

9.4	kwong'	kw'it	,	Djiikwong'chow	kwong'	kw'it
	kwong'	*k'it++ 3 OBL.		Djiikwong'chow	kwong'	*k'it++ 3 OBL.
	fire	on P		Fire-Heart Spider	fire	on P
	n a	postp		n a	n a	postp
	fire	on it		Fire-Heart Spider	fire	on it
	[PostP]	]		[Subj]	[PostP]

s'istiing	yaa'nii	,
s..tii/tiin+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
lie (animate O)	they say	
vs	vt	
it lay	they say	
[VP]	

On the fire, Fire-Heart Spider lay on the fire, they say.

Big spider was lying on the fire...

Fire / on / Spider / fire / on / lay / they say

kwōñ^ε k'wût' djī kwōñ tcō kwōñ^ε k'wût' s'ûs tññ ya^ε nī

10.1	tc'nilkat		yaa'nii	,	§
	n-(nin)..lkat+PERF.,3ANIM.	=i	yaa'nii ₁		
	pl come/arrive	=NR	they say		
	vi	encl	vt		
	they came		they say		
	[VP]		

They arrived, they say.

When they had come there...

They arrived / they say

tc' nûl kût ya^ε nī

10.2	"	ch'siitcing	aashoo'ileeh	,	"
		ch'siitcing	aat-shoo-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+IMPF.,2SG.,+ REFL. OBL.		
		coyote	dress oneself		
		n a	vi		
		coyote	you (sg.) dress yourself		
		[Subj]	[VP]		

"Coyote, get dressed up!"

...they said to Coyote, "Coyote, dress yourself."

"Coyote / dress yourself."

tc' sī tcũñ a cō^ε ũl le'

11 "	aatshoo'ishleeh		chin
	aat-shoo-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+OPT.,1SG.,+ REFL. OBL.		ching
	dress oneself		tree
	vi		n a
	let me dress myself		trees
	[VP]		[PostP]

uunoo'	,"	tc'in		yaa'nii	,
-noo'++ 3 OBL.		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.		yaa'nii ₁	
behind P (hidden)		say		they say	
nsuffix		vt		vt	
behind it		he said		they say	
		[VP]

"I will get dressed behind a tree," he said, they say.

"I will dress myself behind a tree," he said.

"I will dress myself / tree / behind," / he said / they say

a tcō ũc le' tcũn ũ nō^ε tc'in ya^ε nī

12 "	heu'	,"	tc'in		yaa'nii	,
	heu'		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.		yaa'nii ₁	
	yes (affirmation)		say		they say	
	interj		vt		vt	
	yes		he said		they say	
	[Interj]		[VP]

"Yes," he said, they say.

"Yes," they said.

"Yes," / he said / they say

he ũ^ε tc'in ya^ε nī

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13.1	kwsii'	nees	sliin'-kwan		yaa'nii
	*sii'+3ANIM. POSS.	nees ₁	(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3	=kwaan	yaa'nii ₁
	head	long	become	inferred evid.	they say
	n ia	adj	vs	vencl	vt
	his head	long	had become		they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

, §

His hair (head) had become long, they say.

His head (hair) became long...

His head / long / had become / they say

kuu si^ε nes slin kwən ya^ε nī

13.2

aadee'ch'istl'oo-kwan

aad-ch'-(s)..tl'oo/tl'oon'+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ REFL. OBJ.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.	=kwaan
belt oneself	inferred evid.
vt	vencl
he had belted himself	
[VP	

yaa'nii ,

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He had put on a belt, they say.

...and he put on a belt.

He had girded himself / they say

a de^ε tc'ûs Lō kwən ya^ε nī

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14 "	oohtgish	shghaa'
	oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.	*ghaa'+1SG. POSS. OF
	look at O	hair
	vt	n ia
	you (pl.) look at it	my hair
	[VP]	[Obj]

shiiyee'	shinditc	," tc'in	yaa'nii
shiiyee'	*inditc+1SG. POSS. OF	..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
1sg possessive indep	man's male cross cousin	say	they say
pron	n ia	vt	vt
mine	my cousin	he said	they say
]	[NP]	[VP]]

'
"Look at my hair, cousin," he said, they say.
"Cousin, look at my hair," he said when he came out.
"Look at / my hair / mine, / cousin," / he said / they say

ō' t gûc s ga^ε cī ye^ε cûn dûtc tc'in ya^ε nī

15 "	ch'leelintc	, kaa'	, niing
	ch'leelintc	kaa' ₁	niing
	hummingbird	all right/OK	2sg indep
	n a	interj	pron
	hummingbird	all right/OK	you (sg.)
	[NP]	[Interj]	[Subj]

aashoo'ileeh	,"
aat-shoo-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+IMPF.,2SG.,+ REFL. OBL.	
dress oneself	
vi	
you (sg.) dress yourself	
[VP]	

"OK, Hummingbird, you get dressed up."
"Humming-bird, come, you dress."
"Humming-bird, / come, / you / dress yourself."

tc lē lintc ka^ε nīñ a cō^ε ûl le'
 Note: Independent Subject pronoun

16 " **heu'** **chuunoo'** ,"
heu' **chuunoo'**
 yes (affirmation) behind a tree
 interj adv
 yes behind a tree
 [Interj] [PostP]

"Yes, behind the tree."

"Yes, behind the tree."

"Yes, / tree behind."

he ũ^ε tcū nō^ε

17 **lhtsow** **s'isliin'-kwaan** **yaa'nii** ,
lhtsow (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3ANIM. =kwaan **yaa'nii**₁
 blue/green become inferred evid. they say
 adj vs vcncl vt
 blue/green he had become they say
 [AdjP] [VP]

He had become blue, they say.

He became blue.

Blue / he had become / they say

L tsō s'ûs lin kwan ya^ε nī

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18 " **lhtciik isleeh** , " **tc'in**
 ..lhtciik (s)..leegh/liin'+IMPF.,1SG. =i ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
 be red become =NR say
 vd vs encl vt
 red I become he said
 [AdjP] [VP] [VP]

yaa'nii , **ch'leelintc** , "
yaa'nii₁ **ch'leelintc**
 they say hummingbird
 vt n a
 they say hummingbird
] [Subj]

shohtigish !"
 oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 1SG. OBJ.
 look at O
 vt
 you (pl.) look at me
 [VP]

"I became red," Hummingbird said, they say, "Look at me!"
"I have become red. Look at me," Humming-bird said.
"Red / I am," / he said / they say, / Humming-bird. / "Look at me."

L tcik ûs le' tc'in ya^ε nî tc lē lintc cō' tûg gûc

19 " **kaa'** , **nohdoo'** , **olhk'aan**
kaa'₁ **nohdoo'** (s)..lkh'aan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
 all right/OK come/go ahead! build fire
 interj interj vt
 all right/OK come/go ahead! (pl.) you (pl.) build a fire
 [Interj] [VP] [VP]

, **nishdaash** , "
 n-(nin)..daash+OPT.,1SG.
 dance
 vi
 let me dance
 [VP]

"OK, go ahead and build a fire; let me dance."
"Go on, build a fire, I am going to dance," one of them told Spider.
"Well, / go ahead, / build a fire, / I will dance."

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ka^ε nō dō^ε ōL k'an nūc dac

20 " kwong' ndoi'-'anjii ,"
kwong' n..doo'+IMPF.,3 =i ='anjii
fire not exist =NR =MIR
n a vt encl encl
fire does not exist
[Subj] [VP]

"There is no fire."

"There is no fire," Spider said.

"Fire / is not."

kwōn̄^ε n dōi ûn gī

21.1 " taahjiikaa ?

taahjiikaa

where?

inter

where?

[AdvP]

"Where is it?..."

ta tcī ka

Note: Verbless sentence

21.2	k'ang	kwong'	ndil'iing'	,
	k'an	kwong'	n-(ghin)..lh'iin/iin'+OPT., 1PL., + 3 OBJ.	
	recently	fire	look at O	
	adv	n a	vt	
	recently	fire	let us look at it	
	[AdvP]	[Obj]	[VP]	

tc'in	yaa'nii	,
..nii/n+PERF., 3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
say	they say	
vt	vt	
he said	they say	
[VP]	

We just saw the fire, " he said, they say.

"Where is the fire we just saw now?" they replied.

"Where? / Just now / fire / we saw," / he said / they say

k'ũñ kwõñ^ε n dûl iñ^ε tc'in ya^ε nī

22.1	"	nishdaash	;	lheenee'haa'
		n-(nin)..daash+OPT., 1SG.		lheenee'haa'
		dance		everyone
		vi		pron
		let me dance		everyone
		[VP]		[Subj]

shnolh'iing' , §

n-(ghin)..lh'iin/iin'+IMPF., 2PL., + 1SG. OBJ.

look at O

vt

you (pl.) look at me

[VP]

"Let me dance; everyone look at me!

"Everybody watch me. I will dance.

"I will dance / all / look at me.

nûc dac le ne^ε ha^ε c nōL iñ^ε

22.2	ch'dohlee		yiibaantaak' ,
	ch ² -d-(ghin)..lee/lee ² +IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.		yiibaan-taak'
	sing		eight
	vi		num
	you (pl.) sing		eight
	[VP]		[Subj]

ch'dohlee		shaa
ch ² -d-(ghin)..lee/lee ² +IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.		P-aa ₋₁ ++ 1SG. OBL.
sing		for P
vi		v:(12-incorp)
you (pl.) sing		for me
[VP]		[IO]

nishdaash	,"	kaashghantghinii	,
n-(nin)..daash+OPT.,1SG.		P-ghan-d-(ghin)..nish/nii+PERF.,3,+ 3PL. OBL.	
dance		exhort P	
vi		vt	
let me dance		he exhorted them	
[VP]		[VP]	

Eight of you sing, sing for me and let me dance," he exhorted them.

Eight of you sing for me," he told them.

Sing / eight / sing / for me. / I will dance," / he exhorted them.

tc' dō' le yī ban tak' tc' dō' le ca nūc dac kac gūn t gūn nī

23	"	heu'	,"	yaa'n		yaa'nii	,
		heu'		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.		yaa'nii ₁	
		yes (affirmation)		say		they say	
		interj		vt		vt	
		yes		they said		they say	
		[Interj]		[VP]]	

"Yes," they said, they say.

"Yes," they replied.

"Yes," / they said / they say.

he ū^ε ya^εn ya^ε nī

24.1	lheenee'haa'	ninyai	, §
	lheenee'haa'	n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	=i
	everyone	sg come/arrive back	=NR
	pron	vi	encl
	everyone	came back	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

All of them came.

They all came to the dancing place.

All / came.

le ne^ε ha^ε nûn yai

24.2	tc'ghindaash	yaa'nii	, §
	n-ghin..daash+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
	dance	they say	
	vi	vt	
	he danced	they say	
	[VP]	

He danced, they say.

He danced.

He danced / they say

tc' gûn dac ya^ε nî

24.3	ghint'ee	kwong'	gaal	,
	ghint'ee	kwong'	gaalh ₁ +PROG.,3	
	now	fire	3sg walk	
	adv	n a	vi	
	now	fire	walked along	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

Now Fire walked along.

Then Spiders came with the fire.

Now / fire / walked.

gûn t'ē kwōñ^ε qal

Note: "In the use of 'fire' for djī kwōn tcō, its possessor, we may see a figure of speech or an actual identification of the two." (Goddard 1909, p.103)

25 " **chin naadohlh'aa'** ,"
 ching naa-d-(ghin)..lh'aa'/aa'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
 tree pile O up
 n a vt
 trees you (pl.) pile it up
 [Obj] [VP]

"Pile up some wood!"

"Pile up some wood," the leader said.

"Wood / pile up."

tcûn na dōL εaε

26 " **heu'** ,"
 heu'
 yes (affirmation)
 interj
 yes
 [Interj]

"Yes!"

"Yes," they replied.

"Yes."

he ūε

27.1 **chin naa'tghilh'ai'** , §
 ching naa-d-(ghin)..lh'aa'/aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =i
 tree pile O up =NR
 n a vt encl
 trees he piled it up
 [Obj] [VP]

They piled up the wood.

The wood was piled up.

Wood / was piled up.

tcûn na t gûL εaiε

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27.2	tc'ghindaash	yaa'nii	,	ch'siitcing	,	§
	n-ghin..daash+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁		ch'siitcing		
	dance	they say		coyote		
	vi	vt		n a		
	he danced	they say		coyote		
	[VP	]		[Subj]		

Coyote danced, they say.

Coyote danced ts

He danced / they say, / Coyote.

tc' gûn dac ya^ε nī tc' sī tcûñ

27.3	ch'leelintc	chin	naa'tghilh'ai'			
	ch'leelintc	ching	naa-d-(ghin)..lh'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	=i		
	hummingbird	tree	pile O up	=NR		
	n a	n a	vt	encl		
	hummingbird	trees	that he piled up			
	[Subj]	[AdvCl				

uulai'	tc'neesdaa	yaa'nii	,	§
lai' ₁ ++ 3 OBL.	n-(s)..daa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁		
top of P	sit down	they say		
postp	vi	vt		
on top of it	he sat down	they say		
]	[VP]		

Hummingbird sat on top of the wood they'd piled up, they say.

Humming-bird sat on top of it while Coyote danced.

Humming-bird / wood / piled up / its top / he sat / they say

tc lē lintc tcûn na t gûL ^εai^ε ū lai^ε tc' nes da ya^ε nī

Note: Subj-AdvCl-VP Order

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27.4	ch'siitcing	kwdiishee'	tc'ilhnaat
	ch'siitcing	*diishee'+3ANIM. POSS.	(s)..lhnaat'+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
	coyote	shoulder	lick O
	n a	n ia	vt
	coyote	his shoulder	he licks it
	[Subj]	[Obj]	[VP]

naakaa'-haa'	yaa'nii	, §
naakaa'-haa'	yaa'nii ₁	
both	they say	
adj	vt	
both	they say	
[AdjP]

Coyote licked both of his shoulders, they say.
Coyote began licking his shoulders to make them laugh.
Coyote / his shoulders / licked / both / they say.

tc' sī tcũñ kuu dī ce^ε tcũL nat' na ka^ε ha^ε ya^ε nī
 Note: kw- = tc' - antecedent = Coyote

27.5	kwong'	doo-slaang	diikwaang	yaa'nii	, §
	kwong'	doo=	(s)..laan+PERF.,3	diikwaang	yaa'nii ₁
	fire	negative=	laugh	what he did	they say
	n a	neg	vs	dem	vt
	fire	he did not	laugh	what he did	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]		[Obj]

Fire did not laugh whatever he did, they say.
Spider held to the fire and did not laugh.
Fire / did not laugh / what he did / they say

kwōñ^ε dō slañ dī kwañ ya^ε nī

27.6	ch'leelintc	ch'siitcing	lh'ing'
	ch'leelintc	ch'siitcing	lh'ing'
	hummingbird	coyote	together, toward each other
	n a	n a	adv
	hummingbird	coyote	together, toward each other
	[NP]	[NP]	[VP]

keeneesh	,	"	niidaash-dee'		kwong'
k-n-(ghin)..yiish/yii+IMPF.,3			n-(nin)..daash+PERF.,1SG.	=dee'	kwong'
speak			dance	=if	fire
vi			vi	conj	n a
speaks			when I dance		fire
]			[AdvCI]		[Obj]

tc'eelht'ash-bang ,"
 tc'ee-(ghin)..lht'aash/t'aan/t'aa'/t'aa'/t'aalh+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
 take fire out from
 vt
 =bang₂
 =future predictive enclitic
 encl
 you (sg.) must take fire out from
 [VP]

Hummingbird and Coyote talked together: "When I dance, you must take the fire outside."

Coyote and Humming-bird had talked together. "When I dance, you must carry the fire outside," Coyote said.

Humming-bird / Coyote / together talked / "I dance when / fire / you must carry out."

tc lē lintc tc' sī tcũñ L tc'ũñ^ε ke nec nī dac de^ε kwõñ tc'eL təc būñ

28.1	ch'siitcing	tc'nindaash	,	§
	ch'siitcing	n-(nin)..daash+PERF.,3ANIM.		
	coyote	dance		
	n a	vi		
	coyote	he danced		
	[Subj]	[VP]		

Coyote danced.

Coyote danced.

Coyote / danced.

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tc' sī tcũñ tc' nũn dac

28.2	kwtcok'	s'isnaat'	yaa'nii , §
	*tcok'+3ANIM. POSS.	(s)..lhnaat'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	testicles	lick O	they say
	n ia	vt	vt
	his testicles	he licked	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

He licked his testicles, they say.

He kept licking himself. When he reached his privates and licked them,

His testicles / he licked / they say

kuu tcõk s'ûs nat' ya^ε nĩ

Note: kw- = tc' - antecedent = Coyote

28.3	kwong'	tc'ghilaang	yaa'nii , §
	kwong'	(ghin)..laan+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
	fire	laugh	they say
	n a	vi	vt
	fire	laughed	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

Fire laughed, they say.

Spider laughed.

Fire laughed / they say

kwõñ^ε tc' gũl lañ ya^ε nĩ

Note: tc' - antecedent = Fire Spider

28.4 **ch'leelintc kwong'**
 ch'leelintc kwong'
 hummingbird fire
 n a n a
 hummingbird fire
 [Subj] [Obj]

tc'ee'iilht'an

tc'ee-(ghin)..lht'aash/t'aan/t'aa/t'aa'/t'aalh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
 take fire out from
 vt
 he took fire out
 [VP

yaa'nii ,
 yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

Hummingbird took the fire outside, they say.
Humming-bird seized the fire and went out with it.
Humming-bird / fire / he took out / they say

tc lē lintc kwōñ^ε tc'e il tən ya^ε nī
 Note: tc' - antecedent = Hummingbird

28.5 **s'isk'aan**

(s)..lhk'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
 build fire
 vt
 they built a fire
 [VP

yaa'nii , §
 yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

He built a fire, they say.
He built a fire.
He built a fire / they say

s'ûs k'an ya^ε nī

28.6 **naaghilkaal**

naa-gh..lkaalh+PROG.,3
 pl walk back along
 vi
 they walked back along
 [VP]

haidaa'ang

haidaa'ang
 from the north
 direct
 from the north
 [AdvP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

They walked back from the north, they say.

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*As they came back from the north...
He walked back / from the north / they say*

na gûl kal hai da^ε ûñ ya^ε nī

Note: In the similar Lassik story there is a character "The Man Who Came From the North".

28.7 **ts'isnoo'** **staghinlhil** ,
 ts'isnoo' sta-(ghin)..lhilh+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =i
 mountain set on fire =NR
 n a vt encl
 mountain he set it on fire
 [Obj] [VP]

naaghilhilh **yaa'nii** , §
 naa-gh..lhilh+PROG.,3 yaa'nii₁
 burn over land they say
 vt vt
 he burned over the land they say
 [VP]

*They set the mountains on fire and they burned over the land, they say.
They burned the mountains over.
Mountains / he set on fire. / He burned over / they say*

ts'ûs nō^ε s tûg gûn Lûl na gûL LûL ya^ε nī

28.8 **haidaa'ang** **lheenee'haa'** **naahneesh** **kwong'**
 haidaa'ang lheenee'haa' naahneesh kwong'
 from the north everyone person fire
 direct pron n a n a
 from the north everyone person fire
 [AdvP] [Subj] [Obj]

yeehteelht'aan **yaa'nii** ,
 yeeh-ti-(s)..lht'aash/t'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii₁
 take fire inside they say
 vt vt
 took fire inside they say
 [VP]

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From the north all the people took some fire inside, they say.

Everybody along the way got some of the fire.

From the north / all / people / fire / took / they say

hai da^ε ûñ Le ne^ε ha^ε na nec kwōñ^ε ye tEL tan ya^ε nī

Note: Each household brought some in for their own hearth fire.

29.1 " **nshoong**

-nshoong

good (adjectival)

nsuffix

good

[AdvP]

kwaa'laagh-ee

P-aa-(0)..leegh/laagh₂+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. =yee

do P

eyewitness evid.

vi

encl

he did thus

[VP]

ch'siitcing , **kwong'** , §

ch'siitcing kwong'

coyote fire

n a n a

coyote fire

[Subj] [NP]

"Coyote did well regarding fire."

"Coyote and...

Well / he did / Coyote / fire.

n cōñ kwa^ε la ge tc' sī tcûñ kwōñ^ε

Note: Praise or congratulations form: Subj "did well" (regarding) Complement

29.4 **naahneesh** **lheenee'haa'** **kwong'**
naahneesh **lheenee'haa'** **kwong'**
 person everyone fire
 n a pron n a
 person everyone fire
 [NP] [NP]

biiyee'-bang ,"

biiyee' =bang₂
 3 POSS indep =future predictive enclitic
 pron encl
 will be theirs
 [AdjP]

Fire must belong to all the people.
Fire will belong to all people.
People / all / fire / theirs / will be.

na nec le ne^ε ha^ε kwōñ^ε bī ye^ε būñ
 Note: Verbless sentence

30 " **heu'** **kaashbii'** **tishlhilh-jaa'** ,"
heu' **kaashbii'** **ti-(s)..lhit+PROG. =jaa'**
 yes (affirmation) tomorrow burn O along =volitive/optative
 interj adv vt encl
 yes tomorrow I will be burning along
 [Interj] [AdvP] [VP]

Yes, I will burn tomorrow.
Yes, tomorrow I will set fires.
Yes, / tomorrow / I will burn.

he ū^ε kac bī^ε tūc lūL dja^ε

31 " yook' nee'
 yook' nee'
 way far land
 adv n a
 way far land
 [AdvP] [Obj]

uunaaninlhit-bang ,"

P-naa-n-(nin)..lhit+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBL. =bang₂
 burn around P (land) =future predictive enclitic
 vt encl
 you (sg.) must burn around it
 [VP]

yaa'kwolhch'in

P-lh-ch'..in+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.
 tell O X
 vt
 he told them
 [VP]

yaa'nii ,

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

"You must burn all around the earth," he told them, they say.
"You must burn entirely around the world," the chief told them.
"Way / earth / around you must burn," / they told him / they say

yōk' ne^ε ū na nūn lūb būñ ya^ε kwōL tc'in ya^ε nī

32 **tc'teelhit**

ti-(s)..lhit+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ,
burn O along	yaa'nii ₁
vt	they say
he burned along	vt
[VP	they say
]	

They burned along, they say.
They set fires along.
He burned along / they say

tc't te Lūt ya^ε nī

33.1 "	uut'akw	ghint'ee	nee'-lh'at
	*t'aakw++ 3 OBL.	ghint'ee	nee'tl'at
	beyond/way back of P	now	middle of the earth
	postp	adv	adv
	beyond/way back of it	now	middle of the earth
	[PostP]	[AdvP]	[AdvP]

naaniilhit-ee , §

naa-(nin)..lhit+PERF.,1PL. =yee
 burn across land eyewitness evid.
 vt encl

we burned across the land
 [VP]

"Now we have burned all the way back to the middle of the earth.

"We have burned around to the middle of the world.

"Way back / now / earth middle / we have burned.

ō t'ûkui gûn t'ē ne^ε L^εût na nī Lût de

33.2	lheenee'haa'	kwong'
	lheenee'haa'	kwong'
	everyone	fire
	pron	n a
	everyone	fire
	[NP]	[Obj]

yeehteelht'aan-ee , "

yeeh-ti-(s)..lht'aash/t'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
 take fire inside eyewitness evid.
 vt encl

took fire inside
 [VP]

tc'in	yaa'nii ,
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
say	they say
vt	vt
he said	they say
[VP]

Everyone has taken some fire inside," he said, they say.

Everybody has fire."

All / fire / have taken," / he said / they say

Le ne^ε ha^ε kwōñ^ε ye TEL ta ne tc'in ya^ε nī

- 34.1 " **ghint'ee naaniidil-ee** , §
 ghint'ee naa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel₂+IMPF.,1PL.
 now du /pl come back
 adv vi
 now we come back
 [AdvP] [VP]

"Now we are getting back.

"Now we are getting nearly back.

"Now / we are getting back.

gûn t'ē na nī dûl le

- 34.2 **kaakw ghinyaalh** , §
 kaakw gh..yaalh+PROG.,2SG.
 quickly go along
 adv vi
 quickly you (sg.) go.along
 [AdvP] [VP]

Walk quickly.

Walk fast.

Quickly / walk.

kaku gûn yaL

- 34.3 **kandin-ee iighiilit-'anjii** ,"
 kanding =yee yiighi..lit+1PL. ='anjii
 near eyewitness evid. burn =MIR
 adv encl vi encl
 near we burn it
 [AdvP] [VP]

We are burning nearby."

We are burning close by now."

Close / we are burning."

kûn dûn ne ī gī lût ûñ gī

35 " **heu'** **naaniideel'-eekwaanang**
heu' **naa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel'₂+PERF.,1PL.** =yee =kwaan
 hello du /pl come back eyewitness evid. inferred evid.
 interj vi encl vencl
 hello =nang
 [AdvP] =definite enclitic?
 encl
 we have come back
 [VP]

,"

"Yes, we have come back home."

"Yes, we are arriving."

"Yes, / we are getting back."

he ũ^ε na nī de lē kwān nāñ

36 " **naaniideel'-ee** ,"
naa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel'₂+PERF.,1PL. =yee
 du /pl come back eyewitness evid.
 vi encl
 we came back
 [VP]

"We have gotten back."

"We have arrived."

We are back."

na nī de le

37 **kwanhang** ,
 kwanhaang
 all/the end
 interj
 all
 [Interj]

That is all.

That is all.

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire - Bill Ray

All.

kwûn Lạĩ

GT06: Making the Valleys

Goddard 1909, pp.105-7, 197-9; "XXVII" in Goddard NBVIII, pp.26-31; Notes: Goddard NB V, pp.11-15

1.1	kwiiyaang ,	tc'yaank'ashtc ,	lheenee'haa'	diibaang
	kwiiyaang	tc'yaank'aashtc	lheenee'haa'	diibaang
	old men	old women	everyone	to the other side
	n a	n a	pron	direct
	old men	old women	everyone	to the other side
	[Subj		]	[AdvP

iintc'ee'	uutc'ing'	naasang	yaa'nii ,
iintc'ee'	*tc'ing'+3OBL.	naa-(s)..saan+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
deer	to/toward P	move (to another place)	they say
n a	postp	vi	vt
deer	toward it	they move (to another place)	they say
	]	[VP]

lhaan ,
lhaang
 many of them
 pro
 many
 [NP]

The old men and old women, lots of them, all moved to the other side, toward the deer, they say.

The grown men and grown women all moved to the other side of the stream to hunt deer. Old men [old fellows], / old women, / all / to other side [across] / deer / to them [to it] / moved / they say / many [lots].

kwī/kī yāñ | tcī yūn kūctš | Le ne ha | dī bañ in tce | ō tcūñ | na sūn | ya nī | Lañ
 kwī yañ tc' yān k'ūctš Le ne^ε ha^ε dī bañ in tce^ε ō tc'ūñ^ε na sañ^ε ya^ε nī Lañ

1.2 "	shkiik	noh'iil-bang	
	skii+1SG. POSS. OF	n-(nin)..iilh/'iil'+IMPF.,2PL.	=bang ₂
	baby.PL	stay (pl)	=future predictive enclitic
	n a	vi	encl
	my boys	you (pl.) must stay	
	[NP]	[VP]	

"My children, you must stay (here).

"You must stay," the chief told the children.

"My children, / you must stay.

ic kīk | nō īl būñ

c kīk nō' īl būñ

Note: said the chief

1.3 **lhaa'haa' nhee'olhkaa-kwosh** ."

lhaa'haa'	P-ee-yi-(s)..lhkaa/kaan+OPT.,+ 1PL. OBL.	=kwosh
one	P to spend the night	=perhaps/guess
num	vi	encl
one	we will spend the night, I guess	
[NP]	[VP]	

We will stay only one night, I guess."

"We will only be gone one night."

One only [one] / we will pass the night [night we stay I guess]."

La ha ŋ he ōL ka kwuc/kwic

La^ε ha^ε n he ōL ka kwic

2.1 (**doohaa'**) **yiiskaan-iit**

doohaa'	yiiskaan ₁	=hiit
do not !	daylight	=although
neg	n a	conj
do not!	although it was daylight	
[Interj]	[AdvCl]	

taakwilhtaan

yaa'nii , §

taa-kw..lhtaan+PERF.,3,+ 3AREAL OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
not be at home	they say
vt	vt
they were not home	they say
[VP]

Though it was dawn, they weren't at home, they say

When it was day they did not come back.

Daylight when / they were not home / they say [When daylight again they never come]

dō ha yīs ka nit | ta kwil tūn ya nī

yīs ka nit' ta kwil tūn ya^ε nī

Note: Doohaa' (never/don't) is present in the notebook version, absent in the published text. The verb itself is the negative "not be at home", so the explicit negative is unnecessary to that extent.

2.2 ghilhgeel'	yaa'nii , §
ghin..lhghilh/gheel'+TRTL.,PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
become evening	they say
vd	vt
it became evening	they say
[VP]

It became evening, they say.

It was evening;

It was evening / they say

gûL gel ya nī

gûL gel' ya^ε nī

2.3 tcaakwghilhgeel'	yaa'nii , §
tcaa-ko-(ghin)..lhghilh/gheel'+PERF.,3AREAL	yaa'nii ₁
be very dark	they say
vd	vt
it was very dark	they say
[VP]

It was very dark, they say.

it was very dark;

It was very dark / they say [it getting very dark]

tca kwût gûL gel ya nī

tca ku gûL gel' ya^ε nī

2.4 yiiskan	yaa'nii , §
yi-s..kaan+PERF.,3OBV.	yaa'nii ₁
be daylight	they say
vd	vt
it was daylight	they say
[VP]

It was daylight, they say.

it was morning.

It was day / they say [daylig]

yis kûn ya nī

yis kaŋ ya^ε nī

2.5	ch'oyii-haa'	yiighilhalh	yaa'nii	, §
	ch'oyii-haa'	yi-gh..lhkaalh+PROG.,3NAT.PHEN.	yaa'nii ₁	
	again	day to break	they say	
	adv	vi	vt	
	again	the day was breaking	they say	
	[AdvP]	[VP]	

Dawn was breaking again, they say.

Again it was day.

Again / it was daylight / they say

tcō yī ta yī gūL kūL ya nī

tcō yī ha^ε yī gūL kaL ya^ε nī

Note: Ch'oyii-taah (other places) in the notebook version, instead of ch'oyii-haa'.

2.6	"	shdjidoonsit-ii		,"
		P-djii-doo-(nin)..sit+PERF.,3,+ 1SG. OBL. =yii		
		P to be lonesome	=(assertive enclitic)	
		vd	encl	
		I am lonesome		
		[VP]		

yaa'tceeh	yaa'nii	, §
(ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST.	yaa'nii ₁	
cry	they say	
vi	vt	
they cry	they say	
[VP]	

"I am lonesome," they cried, they say.

"I am lonesome," each was saying.

"I am lonesome," / they cried / they say

is tcī dōn sūt | dī ya dji | ya nī

s djī dōn sūt dī ya^ε tce' ya^ε nī

2.7	shoo't	naayailhk'an	yaa'nii	, kwong'
	shoo't	naa-(s)..lhk'aan+PERF.,3OBV.,DIST.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	kwong'
	in vain	build fire again	they say	fire
	adv	vt	vt	n a
	in vain	they built the fire again	they say	fire
	[AdvP]	[VP	]	[Obj]

As to the fire, they built the fire up again in vain, they say.

In vain they built a fire.

In vain / they built a fire, / they say, / a fire.

cōt na yaiL k!ûn | ya ni kōñ
cōt na yaiL k'ʌn ya^ε nī kwōñ^ε

2.8 **ilhghil-it**

..lhghilh+IMPF.,3 =hit+VAR. OF
be evening =when
vi encl
when it was evening
[AdvCI]

yaa'hees'iing'

(ghees)..iin/iin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.
look
vi
they looked
[VP]

yaa'nii

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

djiing-hit

djiing-hit
daytime
adv
daytime
[AdvP]

uunan

*naang+3 POSS.
mother
n ia
their mother
[PostP]

kwaa'

kwaa'₃
for P
postp
for him
]

uutaa'

*taa'+3 POSS.
father
n ia
their father
[PostP]

kwaa' , §

kwaa'₃
for P
postp
for him
]

When it was evening they looked for their mothers and for their fathers, they say, and in the daytime (too).

When it was evening they looked. During the day they watched for their fathers and mothers.

It was evening when [every evening] / they looked [they look], / they say; / day time, / mother / for / father / for.

ûL gûl lût | ya hes iñ ya nī tcûñ hût | ò nûn kwa | ò ta^ε kwa
ûL gûl lût ya^ε hes iñ^ε ya^ε nī djiñ hût ò nʌn kwa^ε ò ta^ε kwa^ε

2.9 **doo-naaneesh**

doo= naa-n-(nin)..yeesh/yiin+IMPF.,3
negative= move camp back
neg vi
they did not move back
[VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

They didn't move back home, they say.

Did not come back / they say

dō na nec ya nī
dō na nec ya^ε nī

3	"	ndidaash	,	"	tc'in	.	yaa'nii	.
		n-(nin)..daash+OPT., 1PL.			..nii/n+PERF., 3ANIM.		yaa'nii ₁	
		dance			say		they say	
		vi			vt		vt	
		let us dance			he said		they say	
		[VP]			[VP]	

"Let's dance," he said, they say

"Come let us dance," said one of them.

"Let us dance," / he said / they say,

n̄ tūt dac | tcin ya nī
n̄ dūt dac tc'in ya^ε nī

said one of the children

4	ch'ileektc	,	kwiiyaantc	,	t'eektc	,	"	heu'	,	"
	ch'ileektc		kwiiyaantc		t'eektc			heu'		
	boy (before puberty)		older boy		little girl			yes (affirmation)		
	n a		n a		n a			interj		
	pre-teen boy		older boy		little girls			yes		
	[Subj				]			[Interj]		

tc'in	yaa'nii	,
..nii/n+PERF., 3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
say	they say	
vt	vt	
he said	they say	
[VP]	

The boys, older boys, and girls said, "Yes!", they say.

"Yes," said the boys and girls.

"boys, / older boys, / girls." / "Yes," / he said / they say

ki leaks | kwī yants tceaks | hē ū tcin ya nī
k'ī leaks kwī yants t'ekts he ū^ε tc'in ya^ε nī

5 "	lhaan	tohyaash	,	ndidaash
	lhaang	ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL.		n-(nin)..daash+OPT.,1PL.
	many/much	sg go along		dance
	adj	vi		vi
	many	you (pl.) go along		let us dance
	[Subj]	[VP]		[VP]

,"	tc'in	yaa'nii	,
	..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
	say	they say	
	vt	vt	
	he said	they say	
	[VP]	

"Many of you go along, let's dance," he said, they say.

"Many of you come and we will dance," he said.

"Many [lots] / come, / we will dance [let us dance] ," / he said / they say

Lûn tō` yac | n dût dac tcin ya nī
 Lan tō' yas n dût dac tc'in ya^ε nī

6.1	see'eedintc	ch'eeghilee'	yaa'nii	:	§
	see'eedintc	ch'ee-(ghin)..lee/lee'+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁		
	sparrowhawk	sing	they say		
	n a	vi	vt		
	sparrowhawk	he sang it	they say		
	[Subj]	[VP]		

Sparrowhawk sang, they say.

Sparrow-hawk sang.

Sparrow-hawk [little chicken hawk] / sang [singing] / they say

se ē dūntc | tce gûl le ya nī
 se ē dūntc tc'e gûl le^ε ya^ε nī

6.2 "	dee	nohyaash	,	shkiik	,
	dee	n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL.		skii+1SG. POSS. OF	
	here	sg come/arrive back		baby.PL	
	dem	vi		n a	
	here	you (pl.) come		my boys	
	[AdvP]	[VP]		[NP]	

t'eehtc	,	dee	nolhkat	,	tc'in
t'eehtc		dee	n-(nin)..lhkat+IMPF.,2PL.		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
little girl		here	pl come		say
n a		dem	vi		vt
little girls		here	you (pl.) come		he said
[NP]		[AdvP]	[VP]		[VP]

yaa'nii , §
yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

"Come here, my boys; girls come here," he sang, they say.

"Come here, my boys and girls," he said.

"Here / come [come here] / my boys / girls / here / come [come here]," / he said / they say

de nō yac | ĩc kĭk | tekc | de nōL kūt tcin ya nī | (Song)

de nō' yas c kĭk t'ekts de nōL kūt tc'in ya^ε nī

The song Sparrowhawk sang for the dance.

6.3	nghindaash	yaa'nii	,	lhaang	,	§
	n-ghin..daash+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁		lhaang		
	dance	they say		many of them		
	vi	vt		pro		
	they danced	they say		many of them		
	[VP]	]		[Subj]		

They danced, they say, many of them.

A large number danced.

They danced [they dance] / they say, / many [lots].

n gûn dac ya nī Lañ

n gûn dac ya^ε nī Lañ

6.4 " **shnang**

*naang+1SG. POSS. OF
 mother
 n ia
 my mother
 [NP]

doohaa'-naa'intyaa-yee

, §

doohaa' naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,2SG. =yee
 never have sg come back eyewitness evid.
 neg vi encl
 you (sg) never came back
 [VP]

"My mother, you never came back home.

"My mother, you haven't come.

"My mother [mama] / you haven't come home [never come back].

c' nũñ | dō ha na ûn dī ya +ye
 c nañ dō ha^ε na ûn t ya ye

6.5 **shtaa'**

*taa'+1SG. POSS. OF
 father
 n ia
 my father
 [NP]

doohaa'-naa'intyaa-yee

, §

doohaa' naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,2SG. =yee
 never have sg come back eyewitness evid.
 neg vi encl
 you (sg) never came back
 [VP]

My father, you never came back home.

My father, you haven't come home.

My father, / you haven't come home [never come back].

ic ta dō ha na ûn dī ya ye
 c ta^ε dō ha^ε na ûn t ya ye

6.6	ndidaash	lhaan	yiilhkai	,	"
	n-(nin)..daash+OPT.,1PL.	lhaang	yiilhkai		
	dance	many/much	dawn/morning		
	vi	adj	adv		
	let us dance	many	dawn/morning		
	[VP]	[AdvP]			

Let's dance many days."

We will dance many days."

We will dance [let us dance] / many [lots of] / days."

dût dac | LAN yīL kai
n dût dac LAN yiL kai

7.1	See'eedintc	kwsii'daa'	t'aa'
	See'eedintc	*sii'daa'+3ANIM. POSS.	t'aa'
	Sparrowhawk (character)	crown of head	feather
	<small>n a</small>	<small>n ia</small>	<small>n a</small>
	Sparrowhawk	crown of his head	feather
	[Subj]	[PostP]	[Obj]

walhk'its	yaa'nii	,	§
P-ghaa-(nin)..lkh'its+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁		
place/poke through P	they say		
vt	vt		
he poked it through it	they say		
[VP]			

Sparrowhawk put feathers on top of his head.

Sparrow-hawk put feathers in his hair.

Sparrow-hawk [l.c.h.] / his head [his head on]/ feather / put in [he put it in] / they say.

se e dûntc | kwis sī da | t!a +wûL kûts ya ni
se ē dûntc kuu sī^ε da^ε t'a^ε wāL k'ûts ya^ε nī

feathers poked through his hair, and possibly hairnet.

7.2	nindaash-kwaandin	t'ee'	djiing-hit	yaa'nii	,	
	n-(nin)..daash+PERF.,3	=kwaan	=ding	t'ee'	djiing-hit	yaa'nii ₁
	dance	inferred evid.	=where	night	daytime	they say
	vi	vencl	suffix	adv	adv	vt
	where they had danced			night	daytime	they say
	[VP]			[AdvP]		

Where they had danced in the night and the day, they say,

They danced day and night.

They danced [dance where] / night, / day-time [day] / they say

nûn dac kwûn tân L!e tciñ hût ya nī

nûn dac kwạn tân Le^ε djiñ hût ya^ε nī

<p>7.3 " tidaa'aa' ti-(s)..³aash/²aan+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. take solid O along vt let us take it along [VP]</p>	<p>diisee' , " § diisee' west direct west [AdvP]</p>
--	---

"Let's take it (the dance) to the west."

"We will take the dance west," said the leader.

"We will take it [lets take it] / west

tût da ă | dī se

tût da ^εa^ε dī se^ε

<p>7.4 Kwonteelhbii'ing' Kwonteelhbii'²+ADESS. Long Valley n a toward Long Valley [AdvP]</p>	<p>nindaash , § n-(nin)..daash+PERF.,3 dance vi they danced [VP]</p>
---	--

They danced toward Long Valley.

They danced at Rancheria flat..

valley in." / They danced.

kwûn tel bi iñ | ñ ûn dac

kwûn tel bī^ε ûñ^ε nûn dac

Note: The "ñ ûn dac" in the notebook VIII version indicates a similar form nghindaash, also meaning, "they danced".

7.5	tghinnais'an		yaa'nii ,
	tghin-naa-(s).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3NAT.PHEN.		yaa'nii ₁
	solid O turn back around		they say
	vi		vt
	it turned back around		they say
	[VP]

Nee'nshee'chowbii' , §

Nee'ntcee'chowbii'

Big Mud Spring Valley

n a

Big Mud Spring Valley

[AdvP]

It turned back around, they say, in Big Mud Spring Valley.

They circled in the water at Mud Springs.

They turned around [turn around with it water] / they say, / Mud springs in [Mud Springs].

te gûn ais ûn | ya ni | ne ŋ ce tcō bī

t gûn nais ɛʌn yaɛ nī neɛ n ceɛ tcō bīɛ

Note: The former mud springs "in Redemeyer's pasture, northwest of Laytonville" that dried up after the 1906 earthquake. (Goddard 1909, pp.106, 197)

7.6	too	nootc'ilhtaal'		yaa'nii , §
	too	noo-(nin)..lhtaalh/taal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁
	water	kick out hole		they say
	n a	vt		vt
	water	let them kick out a hole		they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

They stomped the water out, they say.

They stamped the water out.

Water / they kicked out [lets kick open] / they say

tō ō nō ī tcuL tal ya nī

tō nō tc'ûL tal yaɛ nī

Note: reducing the spring to mud with their dancing.

7.7	haisee'	yiitees'aang	yaa'nii , §
	haisee'	ti-(s).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	downhill	take solid O along	they say
	direct	vt	vt
	downhill	they took it along	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

They took it downhill, they say.

They took the dance down the hill.

Down hill / they took it [that it down] / they say

hai se | yī tes añ ya nī

hai se^ε yī tes ^εañ ya^ε nī

Note: taking the dance to the west

7.8	Sais'aanbii'	nghindaash	yaa'nii , §
	Sais'aanbii'	n-ghin..daash+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	Sand Lies Valley	dance	they say
	n a	vi	vt
	Sand Lies Valley	they danced	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

They danced in Sand Lies Valley, they say.

They danced on the drifting sand.

Sand in / they danced / they say

sais an bī | n gûn dac ya nī

sais ^εan bī^ε n gûn dac ya^ε nī

7.9	tghinnais'an	yaa'nii , §
	tghin-naa-(s).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3NAT.PHEN.	yaa'nii ₁
	solid O turn back around	they say
	vi	vt
	it turned back around	they say
	[VP]

It turned back around, they say.

They circled around.

They turned around [turned around] / they say

te gûn ais un ûñ ya nī

t gûn nais ^εan ya^ε nī

7.10	haidee'	yiitees'ang	yaa'nii , §
	haidee'	ti-(s).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	downriver/north direct	take solid O along vt	they say vt
	downriver/north [AdvP]	they took it along [VP]	they say]

They took it north, they say.
They took the dance north
North / they took it / they say

hai de | yī tes ûn | ya ni
 hai de^ε yī tes ^εañ ya^ε nī

7.11	Kwonteelhtcbii'	haibaan-haa'
	Kwonteelhtcbii'	haibaan-haa'
	Streeter Creek Valley n a	other side adv
	Streeter Creek Valley [AdvP]	other side [AdvP]

nainin'ang	yaa'nii , §
naa-n-(nin).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
take solid O across vt	they say vt
they took it across [VP]	they say]

They took it across to Streeter Creek Valley and the other side (of the creek), they say.
to the mouth of Ten mile creek and then to the other side of the river.
"Valley small" [Valley low pasture] / the other side [across] / they took it across [that take across] / they say.

kwûn tel ts bī | hai bañ ha | nai nûñ ûñ ya nī
 kwûn telts bī^ε hai ban ha^ε nai nûn ^εañ ya^ε nī

Note: Goddard regularly refers to Streeter Creek as "Ten mile creek".

7.12	haidaa'ang , §	yiidaa'ang	yiitees'ang
	haidaa'ang ₁	yiidaa'ang	ti-(s).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.
	this way	from the north	take solid O along
	direct	direct	vt
	this way	from the north	they took it along
	[AdvP	]	[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

They took it along this way from the north, they say.

They brought the dance back from the north.

From the north, / from the north / they took it / they say

ha da ûñ yī da ûñ | yī tes añ ya nī
hai da^ε ûñ yī da^ε ûñ yī tes ^εqñ ya^ε nī

7.13	kowinteeh	kwee'	bilh
	kowinteeh ₂	*kee' ₁ +3 POSS.	*ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.
	flat/level ground	foot	instrumental
	n a	n ia	postp
	flat/level ground	his foot	with it
	[AdvP]	[PostP]

nais'aan

naa-(s).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.
take solid O around
vt
they took it around
[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

They took it around flat ground with their feet, they say.

They made a level place with their feet.

Level [valley] / feet [foot] / with / they took it around [standing around] [they made it flat with their feet] / they say

kō wûn tel kwe bûL | nais a | ya ni
kō wûn tel kwe^ε bûL nais ^εan ya^ε nī

Note: "they made it flat with their feet" (Notebook VIII, p.28)

7.14	Kwonteelhbii'k'	diinak'	yiitees'aang
	Kwonteelhbii' -k' ₂	diinak'	ti-(s).. 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.
	Long Valley on	south	take solid O along
	n a	n>adv direct	vt
	in Long Valley	south	they took it along
	[AdvP]	[AdvP]	[VP]

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

They took it along to the south in Long Valley, they say.

They went south through Long Valley with the dance.

Valley in [valley inside] / south / they took it / they say

kwûn tel bī k | dī nûk | yī tes ûñ | ya nī

kwûn tel bī^εk' dī nûk' yī tes ^εañ ya^ε nī

7.15	yiinak'	yiighaa'alh	yaa'nii ,
	yiinak'	gh..'aalh+PROG.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	south	carry solid O along	they say
	direct	vt	vt
	south	they were carrying it along	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]]

They were carrying it along south, they say.

South / they were carrying it [packing] / they say

yī nûk | yī ga ûL | ya nī

yī nûk' yī ga ^εaL ya^ε nī

8	ch'ing	deeghitts'an	yaa'nii ,
	ch'ing	d-(ghin)..tts'is/ts'aan+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	noise	sound to be heard	they say
	n a	vt	vt
	noise	a sound was heard	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]]

The sound was heard, they say.

The old people heard the sound of the dance.

Sound [hear soun] / they heard [they hear] / they say

tc'ũñ/tc+ũñ | de gût sùn ya nī
 tc'ũñ de gût ts'ʌn ya^ε nī

9.1 "	shkiik	nghindaash-kwaang	, §
	skii+1SG. POSS. OF	n-ghin..daash+PERF.,3	=kwaan
	baby.PL	dance	inferred evid.
	n a	vi	vencl
	my boys	they have danced	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

"My children have been dancing.

"My children have been dancing," the chief said.

"My children [my boys] / have been dancing [been dancing].

is kīk | gûn dac kwañ
 s kīk n gûn dac kwañ

9.2	doohaa'	uutc'in'	naaheesintyai	, "
	doohaa'	*tc'ing'+ 3 OBL.	naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,2SG.	=i
	never have	toward P	sg go back home	=NR
	neg	postp	vi	encl
	never have	toward them	you (sg) went back home	
	[AdvP]	[PostP]	[VP]	

tc'in	yaa'nii	, §
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
say	they say	
vt	vt	
he said	they say	
[VP]	

"You never went back home to them," he said, they say.

"You did not go home to them."

Not / to them / you went home, [you ought to go home to them" / he said / they say

dō ha ō sùn na hes sùnt yai | tcin ya nī
 dō ha^ε ō ts'ũn^ε na hes sùnt yai tc'in ya^ε nī

9.3	naalkat		yaa'nii , §
	naa-(nin)..ldkat+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁
	pl come back		they say
	vi		vt
	they came back		they say
	[VP]

They came back, they say.

They came home

They came back [come back] / they say

nal de kût | ya nî

nal t kût ya^ε nî

9.4	nee'	ghinteelh	yaa'nii , §
	nee'	ghin..teelh+TRTL.,PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	land	become flat	they say
	na	vd	vt
	land	became flat	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

The ground became flat, they say.

and found the ground was now flat

Ground [world] / was flat [getting flat] / they say

ne' | ûn tel ya nî

ne^ε gûn tel ya^ε nî

9.5	kwonteelh	sliing'	yaa'nii , §
	kwonteelh ₁	(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	valley	become	they say
	na	vs	vt
	valley/flat	became	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

Valleys had come to be, they say.

and that valleys had become.

Valley / became [it is flat] / they say

kwûn tel sliñ ya nî

kwûn tel sliñ ya^ε nî

9.6	diinak'	kineesh-ghilsilh	yaa'nii	,	diinak'	,	§
	diinak'	kineesh-..ghilts'ilh+PROG.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁		diinak'		
	south	talking to be heard	they say		south		
	direct	vp	vt		direct		
	south	talking was heard	they say		south		
	[AdvP]	[VP			[AdvP]		

South, talking was heard in the south, they say.

They heard the noise of talking to the south.

South / talking was heard [they hear they talk] / they say, / south.

dī nûk | kin nec kel sī ya nī | dī nûk
 dī nûk' kin nec gûl sûL ya^ε nī dī nûk'

9.7	diidak'	kineesh-ghilsilh	yaa'nii	§
	diidak'	kineesh-..ghilts'ilh+PROG.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	
	east	talking to be heard	they say	
	direct	vp	vt	
	east	talking was heard	they say	
	[AdvP]	[VP		

Talking was heard in the east, they say.

They afterwards heard it to the east.

East / talking was heard / they say

dī dûk | kin nec kel sī | ya nī
 dī dûk' kin nec gûl sûL ya^ε nī

Note: "over little ridge" (Notebook VIII, p.28)

9.8	uuyaashtc	yaa'ch'oosilhs'aan
	uuyaashtc ₁	ch'-oo-(s)..lhts'is/ts'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
	small	hear O
	adj	vi
	small	they heard
	[AdvP]	[VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

They heard it a little, they say.

It grew faint

Little / they heard [they hear it] / they say

ō yajts | ya tcō sūL sañ ya nī
 ō yacts ya^ε tc'ō sūL san ya^ε nī

9.9 **nitdoo'** , §

nitdoo'
 all gone
 interj
 all gone
 [VP]

It was all gone.

and ceased.

It was gone [it is all gone / not hear it].

nūt dō+

nūt dō^ε

9.10	uudaa'	kaanalhts'ii'	yaa'nii , §
	*daa'+3 POSS.	kaa-naa-(ghin)..lhts'ii'+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	voice	sound to come up again	they say
	n ia	vt	vt
	its voice	sound comes up again	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

The sound of voices come up again, they say.

They heard the voices again

Voices [soun] / they heard again [again they hear] / they say

ō da+ ka nūL tsī ya nī

ō da^ε ka nḁL ts'ī^ε ya^ε nī

9.11	diidee'	uudaa'	tisilh	yaa'nii , §
	diidee'	*daa'+3 POSS.	ti-(s)..ls'ilh+PROG.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	north	voice	voices to come	they say
	direct	n ia	vi	vt
	north	its voice	voices are coming along	they say
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]

Voices were coming along in the north, they say.

North / voices / came [they hear going voice] / they say

dī de | ū da tūl sūL ya nī
 dī de^ε ū da^ε tūl sūL ya^ε nī

9.12	uut'aakw	yiidee'	uudaa'	ghilsilh
	*t'akw++ 3 OBL.	yiidee'	*daa'+3 POSS.	..ghilts'ilh+PROG.,+ 3 OBJ.
	beyond P	north	voice	be heard along
	postp	direct	n ia	vp
	beyond it	north	its voice	are heard along
	[PostP]	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

*Voices were heard farther north, they say.
 as the voices went way around to the north.
 Beyond / north / voices / came / they say*

ō takw yī de | ō da kel sūt | ya nī
 ō t'akw yī de^ε ō da^ε gūl sūL ya^ε nī

9.13	neesding	uut'aakw	yiidee'	uuyaashtc
	neesding	*t'akw++ 3 OBL.	yiidee'	uuyaashtc ₁
	far	beyond P	north	small
	adv	postp	direct	adj
	far/high	beyond it	north	small
	[AdvP]		]	[AdvP]

naayaa'diits'eegh

naa-d..ts'eegh+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3 OBJ.
 hear O again
 vt
 they hear it again
 [VP

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

*They hear it again faintly even farther off to the north, they say.
 The sounds they heard were faint.
 Far / beyond / north / little / they heard again [they hear] / they say*

nes dūñ | ō takw yī de | ō yajts | na ya dī tseg yanī

nes dûñ ò t'akuu yī de^ε ò yacts na ya^ε dī ts'eg ya^ε nī

9.14	haaghee'dang'	uudaa'	yeehnaalts'ilh
	haaghee'dang'	*daa'+3 POSS.	yeeh-naa-(ghin)..lts'eegh/ts'ilh+PROG.,3
	long time	voice	sound to come back in
	adv	n ia	vi
	long time	its voice	sound is coming back in
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

The voices were coming back in for a long time, they say.

They heard them for some time

Long time / voices / come again [they hear it yet] / they say

Ha ge dûñ | ò da ye nalt sūL ya nī

ha ge^ε dûñ^ε ò da^ε ye nal tsūL ya^ε nī

9.15	nitdoo'	yaa'ch'oosilhs'aang
	nitdoo'	ch'-oo-(s)..lhts'is/ts'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
	all gone	hear O
	interj	vi
	all gone	they heard something
	[VP]	[VP]

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

It was all gone, they heard, they say.

and then they ceased again.

It was gone [all gone] / they heard [they hear it again] / they say

nūt dō+ ya tcō sūL sañ ya nī

nūt dō^ε ya^ε tc'ō sūL sañ ya^ε nī

9.16	diinak'	neesding	uudaa'	ghilsilh	yaa'nii
	diinak'	neesding	*daa'+3 POSS.	..ghilts'ilh+PROG.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	south	far	voice	be heard along	they say
	direct	adv	n ia	vp	vt
	south	far/high	its voice	are heard along	they say
	[AdvP	]	[Subj]	[VP]

Far off in the south voices were heard along, they say.

Far north the voices came again.

South / far / voices / came / they say

dī nûk | nes dûñ | ò da kel sī yani
 dī nûk' nes dûñ ò da^ε gûl sûL ya^ε nī

9.17	haaghee'dang'	uudaa'
	haaghee'dang'	*daa'+3 POSS.
	long time	voice
	adv	n ia
	long time	its voice
	[AdvP]	[Subj]

yeehnaalhts'ilh	yaa'nii , §
yeeh-naa-(ghin)..lhts'eegh/ts'ilh+PROG.,3	yaa'nii ₁
sound to come in again	they say
vi	vt
sound is coming in again	they say
[VP]

The voices were coming in again for a long time, they say.

A long time they heard the noise

Long time / voices / came again / they say

ha ge dûñ | da+ ye naL sûL ya nī
 ha ge^ε dûñ^ε ò da^ε ye naL tsûL ya^ε nī

9.18	Kwonteelchowbii'	hiinak'	uudaa'
	Kwonteelchowbii'	hiinak'	*daa'+3 POSS.
	Round Valley	south	voice
	<small>n a</small>	<small>direct</small>	<small>n ia</small>
	Round Valley	south	its voice
	[AdvP]	[AdvP]	[Subj]

yiinaalhts'ilh	yaa'nii , §
yi-naa..lhts'ilh+PROG.,3NAT.PHEN.	yaa'nii ₁
sound to come again	they say
<small>vi</small>	<small>vt</small>
sound is coming again	they say
[VP]

*In Round Valley the voices were coming again from the south, they say.
coming from Round Valley.*

Round valley in [Round Valley] / south / voices / came [they hear again] / they say

kwûn TEL tcō bī hī nûk | ō da+ yī nalt sûL yani
kwûn TEL tcō bī^ε hī nûk' ō da^ε yī nAL tsûL ya^ε nī

9.19	Koolk'ooschowbii'	kwonteel-teelit		
	Koolk'ooschowbii'	ko-n..teelh+PERF.,3AREAL	=teelh	=hit+VAR. OF
	Little Lake Valley	be flat (land)	=will/shall	=when
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vd</small>	<small>encl</small>	<small>encl</small>
	Little Lake Valley	when it is about to be flat (land)		
	[Subj]	[VP]		

kwonteelh	nchaagh-teelit		haaghee'dang'
kwonteelh ₁	n..chaagh+PERF.,3	=teelh	=hit+VAR. OF
valley	be large	=will/shall	=when
<small>n a</small>	<small>vd</small>	<small>encl</small>	<small>encl</small>
valley/flat	when it is about to be large		long time
[Subj]	[VP]		adv
			long time
			[AdvP]

nindaash	yaa'nii ,
n-(nin)..daash+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
dance	they say
<small>vi</small>	<small>vt</small>
they danced	they say
[VP]

*When Little Lake Valley (Willits) was about to be flat and about to be a large valley,
they danced a long time, they say.*

*When Little Lake Valley was becoming flat and large, they danced a long time.
Little Lake / valley becoming when [going to flat] / valley / to be large when [big valley
going to be] / long time / they danced / they say*

kōl kōtc tcō bī | kōn tel tē lit kwûn tel ɲ tcag tē lit | ha ge dûñ | nûn dac ya nī
kōl gōtc tcō bī^ε kwûn tel tē lit kwûntel n tcag tē lit ha ge^ε dûñ^ε nûn dac ya^ε nī

10.1	yooyiinak'	neesding	nghindoo'	yaa'nii ,
	yooyiinak'	neesding	n-ghin..doo'+TRTL.,PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	far south	far	become not	they say
	direct	adv	vs	vt
	far south	far/high	it disappeared	they say
	[AdvP	]	[VP]

yook'ang **yooyiinak'** , §

yook'ang yooyiinak'

far off far south
adv direct

far off far south

[AdvP]

Far away to the south it disappeared, they say, far off in the distant south.

Far south the sound vanished.

Far south / far away / it vanished [it is gone] / they say, / way off [way down] / far south.

yō yī nûk | nes dûñ | n gûn dō+ ya nī | yō kûñ yō yī nûk

yō yī nûk' nes dûñ n gûn dō^ε ya^ε nī yō k'ûñ yō yī nûk'

10.2	yiinaa'ang	uuyaashtc	naadeeghitts'aan
	yiinaa'ang	uuyaashtc ₁	naa-d-(ghin)..tts'is/ts'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
	from the south	small	hear O again
	direct	adj	vt
	from the south	small	they heard it again
	[AdvP]	[AdvP]	[VP]

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

They heard it again a little from the south, they say.

They went way to the south. They heard it faintly again coming back from the south.

From the south [from south] / little / they heard again [they hear again] / they say

yī na ûñ | ò yajts | na de gût san ya nī
 yī na ûñ ò yacts na de gût tsan ya^ε nī

10.3 **nee'-kw'it**

nee'+LOC.

land

n a

on the land

[AdvCl

naasliing'-itkwanhit

naa-(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3	=hit+VAR. OF	=kwaan	=hit
become again	=when	inferred evid.	=because
vi	encl	vencl	encl

because it had become again]

naaghitchaah

naa-(ghin)..tchaagh+TRTL.,PERF.,3

become large again

vd

it became large again

[VP

yaa'nii

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]]

ch'ing , §

ch'ing

noise

n a

noise

[Subj]

As they had come to be on the land again it became big again, they say, the noise.

As they came back into the world the sound grew.

Land on [on land] / it was again because [they hear again /be come again] / it was big again [hear] / they say, / noise.

ne kût | nas liñ ût kwûñ hût | na gût tca ya ni tcûñ
 ne^ε k'wût' nas liñ^ε ût kwąn hût na gût tca' ya^ε nī tc'ûñ

10.4	nee'-lh'at	naasliing'-kwaanhit		ch'ing
	nee'tl'at	naa-(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3	=kwaanhit	ch'ing
	middle of the earth	become again	=when S had V	noise
	adv	vi	encl	n a
	middle of the earth	when it had become again		noise
	[AdvCl	]		[Subj]

ghinchaah , §

ghin..chaagh+TRTL.,PERF.,3

become large

vd

it became large

[VP]

When it had come to be in the middle of the land, the noise became large.

When they were in the middle of the world the noise became greater.

World middle / it had become when [he come] / noise [tree] / increased [dance is big].

ne lût | nas liñ kwûn hût tcûn | gûn tca

ne^ε L^εût nas liñ^ε kwan hût tc'ûñ gûn tca'

10.5	ghint'ee	kanding	naasliing'	yaa'nii , §
	ghint'ee	kanding	naa-(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	now	near	become again	they say
	adv	adv	vi	vt
	now	near	it became again	they say
	[AdvP]	[AdvP]	[VP]

Now it got to be close again, they say.

Now / close / it became [coming] / they say

gûn te | kûn dûñ nas liñ | ya nī

gûn t'ē kûn dûñ nas liñ^ε ya^ε nī

10.6	naighaa'alh	yaa'nii , §
	naa-gh..'aalh+PROG.,3OBV.,DIST.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	bring solid O back along	they say
	vt	vt
	they were bringing it back along	they say
	[VP]

They were bringing it back along, they say.

They were bringing back the dance.

They were bringing it back / they say

nai ga ûL | ya nī
 nai ga ʔqL ya ʔ nī

10.7	yiinaa'ang	uut'aakw	yiidee'
	yiinaa'ang	*t'akw++ 3 OBL.	yiidee'
	from the south	beyond P	north
	direct	postp	direct
	from the south	beyond it	north
	[AdvP	]	[AdvP]

naighaa'alh	yaa'nii , §
naa-gh..'aalh+PROG.,3OBV.,DIST.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
bring solid O back along	they say
vt	vt
they were bringing it back along	they say
[VP]

They were bringing it back farther north, from the south, they say.

From the south they were taking it way around to the north.

From the south / beyond / north [over north] / they were bringing it back [they bring back] / they say

yī na ûñ | õ tûk wī de | nai ga ûL ya nī
 yī na ûñ õ t'akw yī de ʔ nai ga ʔqL ya ʔ nī

10.8	Nee'uuchii'ding	haidaa''ang	naihees'ang
	Nee'uuchii'ding	haidaa''ang	naahi-(s)..ʔaash/'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
	World Its Tail Place	from the north	take solid O back
	n a	direct	vt
	World Its Tail Place	from the north	they took it back
	[AdvP]	[AdvP]	[VP

yaa'nii ,	haidaa''ang ,
yaa'nii ₁	haidaa''ang
they say	from the north
vt	direct
they say	from the north
]	[AdvP]

From the north they took it back from World Its Tail Place, they say, from the north.

They brought it back from Neūtċidûñ.

"World-its-tail-place" [end of world] / from the north [from north] / they took it back [they bring it back] / they say, / from the north [from n].

ne+ ū tcī dũñ | hai da ûñ | nai hes ûn ya nī | hai da ûñ
 ne^ε ū tcī dũñ hai da^ε ûñ nai hes ^εqñ ya^ε nī hai da^ε ûñ

11.1	wang	ghitiiyaash	yaa'nii	, §
	wang ₂	ghin..tyaash+TRTL.,PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	some	become old	they say	
	pron	vd	vt	
	some	became old	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

Some grew up, they say.

Some were becoming grown.

Some / became old [getting old] / they say

wũñ gũt tī yac | ya nī

wũn gũt tī yac ya^ε nī

Note: Some of the children dancing grew up to become humans.

11.2	wang	iintc'ee'	ghileeh	yaa'nii	, §
	wang ₂	iintc'ee'	ghin..leegh+TRTL.,PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	some	deer	become	they say	
	pron	n a	vt	vt	
	some	deer	became	they say	
	[Subj]	[NP]	[VP]	

Some became deer, they say.

Some became deer.

Some / deer / became / they say

wũñ in tce gũl le | ya nī

wũñ in tce^ε gũl le ya^ε nī

11.3	uuts'inee'	yaa'dooming	yaa'nii	, §
	*ts'inee'+3 POSS.	doo-n..bin+TRTL.,PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.	yaa'nii ₁	
	leg	become small	they say	
	n ia	vs	vt	
	their legs	became small	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

Their legs became small, they say.

Their legs became small.

Their legs / became small [get little] / they say

ōts ne ya dō mûñ ya nī
 ō ts'in ne ya^ε dō mûñ ya^ε nī

11.4	tc'ninash	yaa'nii ,	ts'ii'-bii'	noonii
	n-(nin)..naash+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	ts'ii'+LOC.	noonii
	run off	they say	bush	grizzly bear
	vi	vt	n a	n a
	they ran off	they say	in the brush	grizzly bear
	[VP	]	[AdvP]	[Obj]

ghileeh	yaa'nii , §
ghin..leegh+TRTL.,PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
become	they say
vt	vt
became	they say
[VP]

They ran off, they say, in the brush and became grizzly bears, they say.

Others ran away into the brush and became grizzlies.

They ran off [going to run off] / they say / Brush in [brush into] / grizzlies [bear] / they became [becoming] / they say

tcûn ûn nûs ya nī | tsī bī | nō nī gûl le ya nī
 tc' nûn n̄s ya^ε nī ts'ī^ε bī^ε nō nī gûl le ya^ε nī

11.5	kandin	naasliing'	yaa'nii , §
	kanding	naa-(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	near	become again	they say
	adv	vi	vt
	near	it became again	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

They became near again, they say.

They were coming near.

Near / it became [coming] / they say

kûn dûn nas liñ ya nī
 kûn dûn nas liñ^ε ya^ε nī

11.6	ts'isnoo'	bii'taah	yeehghinash	yaa'nii	, §
	ts'isnoo'	bii'taah	yeeh-gh..naash+PROG.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	mountain	inamongst	be coming in	they say	
	n a	adv	vi	vt	
	mountain	in among it	they are coming in	they say	
	[PostP	]	[VP]	

They were going in among the mountains, they say.

They went in among the mountains.

Mountains [Mountain] / among / they went in [they going in] / they say

sûs nō | bī ta ye gûn nûc ya nī
ts'ûs nō^ε bī ta^ε ye gûn nâc ya^ε nī

11.7	diidaa''ang	kandintc	naasliing'	yaa'nii	, §
	diidaa''ang	kandintc	naa-(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	from the north	close/near	become again	they say	
	direct	adv	vi	vt	
	from the north	close/near	it became again	they say	
	[AdvP]	[AdvP]	[VP]	

It became a bit close again from the north, they say.

They were very close as they came from the north.

From the north [from north] / very close [close by] / it became [coming] / they say

dī da ûñ | kûn dûntc nas liñ ya nī
dī da^ε ûñ kûn dûntc nas liñ^ε ya^ε nī

11.8	Ch'ing-Kiinooldeel'	, haidak'	yeehghiinaï'		
	Ch'ing-Kiinooldeel'	haidak'	yeeh-(ghin)..naa/naa'+PERF.,3OBV.		
	Noise Went Down spring	east, up	move in		
	n a	direct	vi		
	Noise Went Down spring	east/up	they went in		
	[AdvP]	[AdvP]	[VP]	

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

They went in to the east at Noise Went Down spring, they say.

They went into the mountains to the east.

Noise / went [they run in Where they throw/fall stick up]. East / they went in / they say

tcũñ kī nōl del hai dūk | ye gī nai ya nī

tc'ũñ kī nōl del hai dūk' ye gī nai^ε ya^ε nī

a spring in the Cahto Valley area, up the mountain to the east

11.9	yiinak'	yiighinash	yaa'nii	, §
	yiinak'	yeeh-gh..naash+PROG.,3OBV.	yaa'nii ₁	
	south	be coming in	they say	
	direct	vi	vt	
	south	they are coming in	they say	
	[AdvP]	[VP]	

They were coming in to the south, they say.

They went into the mountains to the south.

South / they went in [they run up] / they say

yī nūk yī gūn nūc ya nī

yī nūk' yī gūn nāc ya^ε nī

11.10	hainak'aa'	Seetaahding	yeehghiinaï'	
	hainak'aa'	Seetaahding	yeeh-(ghin)..naa/naa'+PERF.,3OBV.	
	far south	Little Rock Creek village	move in	
	direct	n a	vi	
	far south	Little Rock Creek village	they went in	
	[AdvP]	[AdvP]	[VP]

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

They went in far south at Little Rock Creek village, they say.

South along Rock Creek they went in.

South along [down south] / Rock creek [rock creek] / they went in [they run in] / they say

hai nūk ka | se ta dũñ ye gī na ya nī

hai nūk k'a^ε se ta' dũñ ye gī nai^ε ya^ε nī

11.11	nghindoo'	yaa'nii ,
	n-ghin..doo'+TRTL.,PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	become not	they say
	vs	vt
	it disappeared	they say
	[VP]

It vanished, they say.

The noise was gone.

It vanished [all gone turn to deer] / they say

n gûn dō ya nī
n gûn dō^ε ya^ε nī

12 **kwanlhang** ,
kwanlhaang
all/the end
interj
all
[Interj]

That is all.

That is all.

All.

kwûn lûñ
kwûn Lạñ

GT13: Coyote and the Gambler

Goddard 1909, pp.146-7, 218-9; Goddard pg 88-152, pp.44-45

The Grass Game or Hand Game is still very popular, with intertribal tournaments, usually of a Pomo version. Traditional Cahto grass games are still remembered in the community.

Right back here, where my grandfather, grandparents stayed, they used to play grass games back here.. for days. (Gene Sloan, August 4, 2019 STE-001_2019_08_04 from timestamp 4:34)

1.1 Kowantc'ghildeeh

P-ghaan-(ghin)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
win O from P
vt
he won them from him
[VP

yaa'nii , k'aa' .
yaa'nii₁ k'aa'
they say arrow
vt n a
they say arrow
] [Obj]

He [Gambler] won arrows from him [Coyote], they say.

He won his arrows,

From him he won / they say, / arrows.

kō wūn tc gūl de' ya nī / k'a'

kō wān tc' gūl de' ya^ε nī k'a^ε

Note: In this first part of the story the Gambler is winning everything from Coyote.

1.2 Kowantc'ghildeeh

P-ghaan-(ghin)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
win O from P
vt
he won them from him
[VP

yaa'nii ,
yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

s'ilhtiing' lhaa'haa' .

ts'ilhtiing' lhaa'haa'

bow one

n a num

bow one

[Obj]

He won a bow from him, they say

and then [he won] his bow,

From him he won / they say, / bow / one.

kō wūn tc gūl de yanī sūL tin lai ha

kō wən tc' gûl de' ya^ε nī s'ûL tīn^ε La^ε ha^ε

- 1.3 **Beelh** **kowantc'ghildeeh** **yaa'nii** .
 beelh P-ghaan-(ghin)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. yaa'nii₁
 rope win O from P they say
 n a vt vt
 rope he won them from him they say
 [Obj] [VP]
He won rope from him, they say.
and [he won] a quantity of rope.
Rope / from him he won / they say

beL kō wûn tc gûl de' ya nī
 beL kō wən tc' gûl de' ya^ε nī

- 1.4 **Yoo'** **kowantc'ghildeeh** **yaa'nii** .
 yoo' P-ghaan-(ghin)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. yaa'nii₁
 bead win O from P they say
 n a vt vt
 bead he won it from him they say
 [Obj] [VP]
He won beads from him, they say.
Finally he won his beads
Beads / from him he won / they say

yō' kō wûñ tc gûl de yanī
 yō^ε kō wən tc' gûl de' ya^ε nī
 Note: clamshell beads as used for money

- 1.5 **T'aa'sits** **kowantc'ghildeeh**
 t'aa'sits P-ghaan-(ghin)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
 quiver (for arrows) win O from P
 n a vt
 quiver (for arrows) he won them from him
 [Obj] [VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

He won a quiver from him.

[He won his quiver.]

Tasuts / from him he won / they say

ta s̄uts | kō w̄un tc gul de' ya n̄i

ta s̄uts kō w̄an tc' ḡul de' ya^ε n̄i

- 1.6 **Sii'biis'aang** **kowantc'ghildeeh** **yaa'nii**
 sii'biis'aang P-ghaan-(ghin)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. yaa'nii₁
 head net win O from P they say
 n a vt vt
 head net he won them from him they say
 [Obj] [VP]]

He won a head net from him, they say.

and [he won his] net-headdress.

Head net / from him he won / they say

s̄i' b̄is 'añ kō w̄un tc ḡul de' yan̄i

s̄i^ε b̄is ^εañ kō w̄an tc' ḡul de' ya^ε n̄i

- 2.1 **K'eech'ist'aats'** **tl'oh-n'ai** .
 k'ee-ch'-(s)..t'aas/t'aats'+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. tl'oh-n'ai
 cut (grass game) grass game
 vt n a
 he cut something off grass game
 [VP] [NP]

He [Coyote] cut grass for the grass game.

Coyote cut fresh grass for the grass game.

He cut / grass game.

ke tc'ûs t'ats L'ô'n'ai | ke tcis t'ats
k'e tc'ûs t'ats Lô' n'ai

Note: Coyote preparing for a new game, hopefully changing his luck. "he went and got new grass to play with so as to change luck" (Goddard NB pg 88-152, p.43)

2.2 "	Shiiyee'	tc'eeek	ch'ishbee'	,
	shiiyee'	tc'eeek	ch'..bee'+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.	
	1sg possessive indep	woman	bet something	
	pron	n a	vt	
	mine	woman	I bet	
	[Obj	]	[VP]	

shiiyee'	yeeh	ch'ishbee'	,
shiiyee'	yeeh	ch'..bee'+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.	
1sg possessive indep	house	bet something	
pron	n a	vt	
mine	house	I bet	
[Obj	]	[VP]	

tc'in	yaa'nii	.
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
say	they say	
vt	vt	
he said	they say	
[VP]	

"I bet my wife, I bet my house," he said, they say.

I bet my wife," he said, "and my house."

"My / wife / I bet. / My / house / I bet," / he said / they say.

cī ye' tcek tcic be' cī ye' ye tcûc be' tcûn yanī
cī ye^ε tc'ek tc'ûc be^ε cī ye^ε ye' tc'ûc be^ε tc'in ya^ε nī

2.3 " **Kineesiilhyaan** ,
 k-n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
 win gambling
 vi
 I won
 [VP]

uukineesiilhyaan ,
 P-k-n-(s)..lhyaan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL.
 win P at gambling
 vt
 I won
 [VP]

kineesiilhyaan ,
 k-n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
 win gambling
 vi
 I won
 [VP]

uukineesiilhyaan !"
 P-k-n-(s)..lhyaan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL.
 win P at gambling
 vt
 I won
 [VP]

"I won! I won it! I won! I won it!"
"I win, I win, I win," Coyote sang.
"I won! / I won it! / I won! / I won it!"

kûn ne sĭL yan ō kûn ne sĭL yan | repeat | kun ne sĭL yûñ
 kûn ne sĭL yan ō kûn ne sĭL yan kûn ne sĭL yan ō kûn ne sĭL yan
 Note: Coyote singing. "kun ne sĭL yûñ is Wailaki talk" (Goddard NB pg 88-152, p.43)
 "song." (ibid. p.45)

3.1 Naa'ch'isdeeh	yaa'nii ,	tc'eeek .
naa-ch'i-(s)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	tc'eeek
win back (in gambling)	they say	woman
vt	vt	n a
he won it back	they say	woman
[VP	]	[Obj]

He [Coyote] won back the wife, they say.

*He won his wife and [he won his] house.
He won back / they say, / wife.*

na' tcûs de' ya nī tcek
na^ε tc'ûs de' ya^ε nī tc'ek

3.2 **Naa'ch'isdeeh**

naa-ch'i-(s)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
win back (in gambling)
vt
he won it back
[VP

yaa'nii	,	yeeh	,
yaa'nii ₁		yeeh	
they say		house	
vt		n a	
they say		house	
	]	[Obj]	

ch'oyee

ch'oyii =yee
again eyewitness evid.
pron encl
again
[AdvP]

*He won the house back again.
and [he won his] house.
He won back / they say, / house, again.*

na tcus de' ya ni ye | kī ye
na^ε tc'ûs de' ya^ε nī ye' tcō ye

3.3 **Lheenee'haa' lhtaahkii**

lheenee'haa'	lhtaahkii
every/all	different kinds
pro-form	pron
every	different kinds
[Obj]

naa'ch'isdeeh

naa-ch'i-(s)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
win back (in gambling)
vt
he won it back
[VP

yaa'nii	.
yaa'nii ₁	
they say	
vt	
they say	
]

*He won back every kind of thing [that he'd lost], they say.
He won all the various things he had lost.*

GT13 - Coyote and the Gambler - Bill Ray

All, / every kind / he won back / they say

Le ne ha L ta kī na tcūs de ya nī
 Le ne^ε ha^ε L ta' kī na^ε tc'ūs de' ya^ε nī

3.4	K'aa'	,	beelh	,	s'ilhtiing'	,	naa'ghii	,	yoo'	,
	k'aa'		beelh		ts'ilhtiing'		naa'ghii		yoo'	
	arrow		rope		bow		quiver (for arrows)		bead	
	<small>n a</small>		<small>n a</small>		<small>n a</small>		<small>n a</small>		<small>n a</small>	
	arrow		rope		bow		quiver (for arrows)		bead	
	[Obj]									

sii'biis'aang	,	lheenee'haa'
sii'biis'aang		lheenee'haa'
head net		every/all
<small>n a</small>		<small>pro-form</small>
head net		everything
]

naa'ch'isdeegh		yaa'nii	.
naa-ch'i-(s)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.	=i	yaa'nii ₁	
win back (in gambling)	=NR	they say	
vt	encl	vt	
he won it back		they say	
[VP]	

He won back everything, his arrows, rope, bow, quiver, beads, and head net, they say.
His arrows, rope, bow, quiver, beads, and net-headress he won back.
Arrows, / rope, / bow, / quiver, / beads, / head net, / all / he won back / they say

k'a' beL / sùL tīñ / na' gī | yō' | sī' bis añ | Lenē ha na tcūs deg
 k'a^ε beL s'ùL tīñ^ε na^ε gī yō^ε sī^ε bīs^ε añ Le ne^ε ha^ε na^ε tc'ūs deg ya^ε nī

4 **Kwanlhaang** .
 kwanlhaang
 all/the end
 interj
 all/the end
 [Interj]
That is all.
That is all.
All.

GT13 - Coyote and the Gambler - Bill Ray

kwûn Lạñ

GT14: Coyote Competes with Grey-Squirrels

Goddard 1909, p.147; Goddard stories 1-10, pp.1-4

Compare Essene's field notes 50 Cu 23.1, pp.48-49 "Story About A Coyote: Told by Martinza Bell." "MB/Essene" in the notes relates to the first episode in this story.

1.1	dahtaitc	s'isk'aan	yaa'nii ,	chin
	dahtaitc	(s)..lhk'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	ching
	gray squirrel	build fire	they say	tree
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vt</small>	<small>vt</small>	<small>n a</small>
	gray.squirrel	they built a fire	they say	trees
	[Subj]	[VP	]	[PostP

uuyeeh	s'isk'aan	.
*P-yeeh++ 3 OBL.	(s)..lhk'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	
under P	build fire	
<small>postp</small>	<small>vt</small>	
under it	they built a fire	
]	[VP]	

Grey squirrels built a fire, they say, they built a fire under trees.

Some grey squirrels built a fire between two trees.

Grey-squirrel / built fire / they say / Tree / under / he built fire.

da taitc | sis kan | ya nī | tcū / tciñ | wī yī | sis kan

da taitc s'ûs k'an ya^ε nī tcûn ū ye s'ûs k'an

Note: MB/Essene version: "These squirrels had a big fire on the ground between two big trees."

1.2 §	yiibaan-lhaa'haa'	naaninlhaah	yaa'nii .
	yiibaan-lhaa'haa'	naaninlhaat ₁	yaa'nii ₁
	six	jump across	they say
	<small>num</small>	<small>v</small>	<small>vt</small>
	six	they jumped across	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

Six of them jumped across, they say.

There were six of them amusing themselves by jumping from one tree to another over the fire.

Six / jumped across [they jump across] / they say

ban laXa | na nûn la | ya nī

yī ban lha^ε ha^ε na nûn la ya^ε nī

GT14 - Coyote Competes with Grey-Squirrels

Note: MB/Essene version: "Several feet above the fire these squirrels were jumping from one tree to the other."

1.3 §	Ch'siitcing	tc'ninyaa	yaa'nii ,
	Ch'siitcing	n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	Coyote (character)	sg come/arrive back	they say
	_{na}	_{vi}	_{vt}
	Coyote (character)	he came back	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

Coyote came there, they say.

Coyote came along.

Coyote / came there / they say

sīs tciñ | tcī nûn ya | ya nī
 tc' sī tcûñ tc'n nûn ya ya^ε nī

2.1 " **teeheehee'ii** !

teeheehee'ii

laughing sound

interj

laughing sound

[Interj]

"Ha-ha-ha!"

"Ha, ha, ha," he cried. [(he laughed)]

"Hah-hah-hah!"

tē xe xe ī

te he he ī

GT14 - Coyote Competes with Grey-Squirrels

2.2 **dook'ang shtcootcing**

dook'ang *tcootcing+1SG. POSS. OF
long ago maternal grandmother
adv n ia
long ago my maternal grandmother
[AdvCl

naasloos-it

naa-(s)..loos+PERF.,3,+ 1SG. OBJ. =hit
lead O around =when
vt encl
when she lead me around
]

kwaasht'iing

P-aa-(nin)..t'iin/'iin'+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
do thus
vi
I do thus
[VP]

"I did that long ago when my maternal grandmother was leading me around.

"I used to do that when my maternal grandmother was still leading me around.

Long ago / my grandmother / led me around when [used to take me around] / I did that [She used to do].

dō kañ | stcō tciñ | nas lō sit kwas/kwûc tĩñ

dō k'añ stcō tciñ nas lō sit kwac t'ĩñ

Note: MB/Essene version: "The coyote spoke to the squirrels, saying: 'You are just learning to do that. I used to do that a long time ago when my grandmother and I lived around here.'"

GT14 - Coyote Competes with Grey-Squirrels

2.3 § **beeshohloos** ,

P-ee-(s)..loos+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 1SG. OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.

lead O up against

vt

you (pl.) lead.me up.it

[VP]

shindiitc ."

*indiitc+1SG. POSS. OF

friend

n ia

my friend

[NP]

Lead me up it, friends."

Take me up, my friends."

Lead me up [take me up], / my friend [my friends].

be cō lōs | cūn dīts

be cō' lōs cūn dīts

3 " **heu'** ."

heu'

yes (affirmation)

interj

yes

[Interj]

"Yes."

"Yes," they said.

Yes,

Xe ū

he ū^ε

Note: said the ground squirrels

GT14 - Coyote Competes with Grey-Squirrels

4 "	beeshohloos	,	shindiitc
	P-ee-(s)..loos+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 1SG. OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.		*indiitc+1SG. POSS. OF
	lead O up against		friend
	vt		n ia
	you (pl.) lead.me up.it		my friend
	[VP]		[NP]

."

"Lead me up it, friends."

"Take me up, my friends," Coyote insisted.

lead me up, [take me up] / my friend. [my frns]"

be cō lō | cûn dīts

be cō' lōs cûn dīts

Note: Coyote said

5.1 "	beekohloos	,"	tc'in
	P-ee-(s)..loos+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
	lead O up against		say
	vt		vt
	you (pl.) lead him up against it		he said
	[VP]		[VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

"Lead him up it," he said, they say.

' Well, bring him up, ' ' one said.

"Lead him up, [bring him up]" they say

be kō lōs | ya nī

be kō' lōs tc'in ya^ε nī

Note: One of the grey squirrels said it.

GT14 - Coyote Competes with Grey-Squirrels

5.2 §	hootaa	naaninlhaah	yaa'nii ,
	hootaa	naa-n-(nin)..lhaat ₂ +PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	then [subsequently]	jump across	they say
	adv	vi	vt
	and then	he jumped across	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

hootaa	naaninlhaagh-it	
hootaa	naa-n-(nin)..lhaat ₂ +PERF.,3	=hit+VAR. OF
then [subsequently]	jump across	=when
adv	vi	encl
and then	when he jumped across	
[AdvCl]	

tc'teelhs'it	yaa'nii ,	hootaa	kwong'	bii'
ti-(s)..lhs'it+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	hootaa	kwong'	=bii'
fall	they say	then [subsequently]	fire	=in it
vi	vt	adv	n a	nsuffix
he fell	they say	and then	fire	in it
[VP	]	[AdvP]	[PostP]

nools'it
noo-(ghin)..ls'it+IMPF.,3
fall down
vi
he fell down
[VP]

Then he jumped across, they say, and then when he jumped across he fell, they say, and then he fell down into the fire.

They brought him up, and he tried to jump across, but failing, fell into the fire.

Then / he jumped across [he jumped over when] / they say / Then / he jumped across when / he fell [he fell off] they say / Then / fire / in / he fell.

xō ta | na nûn La gût | sī/s tel sit | ya nī | Xō ta | kōn | bī nōl sit

hō ta na nûn La ya^ε nī hō ta na nûn La gût tc' tel sût ya^ε nī hō ta kwōñ^ε bī^ε nōl sût

Note: In the MB/Essene version Coyote refused to jump through his turn twice after being helped up into the tree and then "Finally about all of them were behind him and when they all jumped together they pushed the coyote out of the tree."

GT14 - Coyote Competes with Grey-Squirrels

5.3 §	ooslit	yaa'nii	.
	oo-s..lit+PERF.	yaa'nii ₁	
	burn up	they say	
	vi	vt	
	he burned up	they say	
	[VP]

He burned up, they say.

He burned up.

He burned up / they say

ōs slīt | ya nī

ōs līt ya^ε nī

Note: MB/Essene version "He couldn't jump to the other tree so he fell into the fire far below and burned up."

5.4 §	hootaa	t'eesh	taanaasdjool'
	hootaa	t'eesh	taah-naa-(s)..djoolh/djool' ³ +PERF.,3
	then [subsequently]	coals	roll back out of fire/water
	adv	n a	vi
	and then	coals	they rolled back out of fire/water
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]

yaa'nii ,

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

Then the coals rolled back out of the fire, they say.

The coals which remained of him rolled out of the fire.

Then / coal [coals] / rolled out [rolled out of fire] / they say

xō ta | tēc | tūn nas djōn | ya nī

hō ta t'ec tən nas djōl ya^ε nī

Note: MB/Essene version: "A few minutes later a little coal popped out of the fire and rolled on the ground."

GT14 - Coyote Competes with Grey-Squirrels

6	hootaa	,	"	shghaa'	,
	hootaa			*ghaa'+1SG. POSS. OF	
	then [subsequently]			hair	
	adv			n ia	
	and then			my hair	
	[AdvP]			[NP]	

sheenaantbilh ,"

P-ee-naa-(ghin)..tbiłh/biil'+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 1SG. OBJ.

come back to me [after singing]

vi

you (sg.) come back to me

[VP]

Then, "Come back to me, my hair!"

' ' Come back, my hair, ' ' he called.

Then, / "My hair, / come back to me [come back]."

xō ta | c`ga } cī nūn te bûL

hō ta cga^ε ce nūn t bûL

Note: MB/Essene version: "Soon this little live coal began to talk. It repeated over and over, 'Hair grow on me again.' Suddenly the little coal turned into a coyote and started out on the road north. The squirrels called to the coyote and asked him to come back and play some more with them but friend coyote went right on without even looking back."

7 **kwanlhaang** ,

kwanlhaang

all/the end

interj

all/the end

[Interj]

That is all.

[That is all.]

All [That is all].

kwûn Lûñ

kwûn Lqñ

GT18: Turtle's Exploit

Goddard 1909, pp.154, 222; Goddard pg 88-152, pp.48-49; Goddard stories 1-10, p.5

This same story is told by the Wailaki, set at See-nees (Split Rock on North Fork Eel River between Wilson and Horse Creeks): "Two places are mentioned in connection with tales. Just below senes, Turtle used to throw a stone up the hillside and let it roll back, catching it on his breast. Coyote insisted that he be allowed to play the game. He dodged the stone the first time through fear, and the second time was knocked into the river, and drowned." (Goddard 1923, pp.96-7)

Compare Essene's field notes 50 Cu 23.1, pp.49-50 "Story About A Coyote: Told by Martinza Bell." "MB/Essene" in the notes relates to the second episode in this story.

1.1	Ts'inteeh	see	yaa'lhk'aas		yaa'nii	,
	Ts'inteeh	see	yaa-(ghin)..lhk'aas+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁	
	Turtle	stone	throw stick-like O up in the air		they say	
	n a	n a	vt		vt	
	Turtle	rock	he throws it up in the air		they say	
	[Subj]	[Obj]	[VP]

see yaa'ghilhk'aas-it

see	yaa-(ghin)..lhk'aas+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	=hit+VAR. OF
stone	throw stick-like O up in the air	=when
n a	vt	encl
rock	when he threw it up in the air	
[AdvCl]

kwaanii'	dii	kwaalaagh
*gaanee'+3ANIM. POSS.	dii	P-aa-(0)..leegh/laagh ₂ +PERF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
arm.PL	this	do P
n ia	dem	vi
his arm	this/here	he did thus
[Subj]	[NP]	[VP

yaa'nii	.
yaa'nii ₁	
they say	
vt	
they say	
]

Turtle was throwing a stone up in the air, they say, and when he threw the rock up in the air his arm did like this, they say.

Turtle was throwing up a stone and letting it bounce off his shoulder when it fell.

GT18 - Turtle's Exploit - Bill Ray

*Turtle / stone [rock] / he threw up / they say. / Stone / he threw up when / "shoulder"
(actually= his arm) [his shoulder] / this / he did [he did this way] / they say.*

sûn tel | se | ya il kas | ya nî | se | ya gûl ka sit | kwa nî | dî kwa la | ya ni
ts'ûn tel se ya^εL k'as ya^ε nî se ya^ε gûl k'a sit kwa nî^ε dî kwa lag ya^ε nî

Note: MB/Essene version: "The coyote traveled north a number of days. One day he came to where some turtle were playing. These turtles were throwing big rocks high into the air; sometimes these rocks would come down and hit the turtle on the back and sometimes the little turtle would catch the rocks."

Traveling "north a number of days" could set this story in the area of the Wailaki story.

1.2 §	kwdiishee'	bilh	see
	*diishee'+3ANIM. POSS.	*ilh+ACCOMP., INSTR., + 3 OBL.	see
	shoulder	instrumental	stone
	n ia	postp	n a
	his shoulder	with it	rock
	[PostP	]	[Obj]

yaa'ghilhk'aas	,	kwdiishee'
yaa-(ghin)..lhk'aas+PERF., 3ANIM., + 3 OBJ.		*diishee'+3ANIM. POSS.
throw stick-like O up in the air		shoulder
vt		n ia
he threw it up in the air		his shoulder
[VP]		[AdvP]

naalhchit	yaa'nii
naa..lhchit+IMPF., 3, + 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
catch again	they say
vt	vt
he catches it again	they say
[VP]

He threw it up with his shoulder and catches it again on his shoulder, they say.

He threw it with his shoulder and caught it again.

"His arm" (actually = his shoulder) / with it [his arm with] / stone / he threw up. / "His arm" (actually = his shoulder) / he caught it [he caught again] / they say.

kwa di je bûl | se | ya gûl kas | kwa di je | naL tî/tcit | yanî
kuu dî ce^ε bûl se ya^ε gûl k'as kuu dî ce^ε naL tcût ya^ε nî

1.3 §	hootaa	wangyii	yaa'nii ,
	hootaa	wangyii	yaa'nii ₁
	then [subsequently]	some of them	they say
	adv	pron	vt
	and then	some of them	they say
	[AdvP]	[Subj]

wanyeeneeljit	yaa'nii .
P-ghaan-ee-n-(s)..ljit+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁
be afraid of P	they say
vt	vt
they were afraid of it	they say
[VP]

Then some of them were afraid of (doing) it, they say.

The others were afraid to try it.

Then / others were [some of them (rest of them)] / they say. / They were afraid of it [were afraid] / they say.

xō to/a | wa/wûñ yī | ya ni wûñ ye nil djit | ya nī
hō ta wûñ yī ya^ε nī wûñ ye nel git ya^ε nī

2 "	teeheehei	,"	tc'in	yaa'nii ,
	teeheehee'ii+VAR. OF		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
	laughing sound		say	they say
	interj		vt	vt
	laughing sound		he said	they say
	[Interj]		[VP]

Ch'siitcing	,	"	kaa'	,	shii
Ch'siitcing			kaa' ₁		shii
Coyote (character)			all right/OK		1 sg indep
n a			interj		pron
Coyote (character)			all right/OK		I/me
[Subj]			[Interj]		[Subj]

beesh'ai'	,	"	tc'in	yaa'nii .
P-ee-(0)..l'ai'+OPT.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL.			..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
try P			say	they say
vt			vt	vt
let me try it			he said	they say
[VP]			[VP]

"Te-he-hei (laughing)," said Coyote, "OK, let me try," he said, they say.

"Tehehe," laughed Coyote, "I will try that."

"Tehehe," / he said / they say, / Coyote. / "Well, / I / will try," / he said / they say.

te he hē | tcin | ya ni | tc sī tcûñ tca' | cī bec'ai' | tcin | ya nī

te he he tc'in ya^ε nī tc' sī tcûñ ka^ε cī bec'ai^ε tc'in ya^ε nī

Note: Direct Quotation. The exclamation is chaa' (well!) instead of kaa' "ok!" in the field notebook. (Goddard NB pg 88-152, p.48)

MB/Essene version: "The coyote laughed at the turtle and said to them, 'Are you just learning to play that game? I used to play that game a long time ago when my grandmother and I used to travel around here.' Mr. Coyote said to one of the turtle, 'If you will throw a rock into the air I will show you how to catch it.'"

3 "	heu'	,	tc'in		yaa'nii	,	Ts'inteeh	.
	heu'		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.		yaa'nii ₁		Ts'inteeh	
	yes (affirmation)		say		they say		Turtle	
	interj		vt		vt		n a	
	yes		he said		they say		Turtle	
	[Interj]		[VP		]		[Subj]	

"Yes," said Turtle, they say.

"Very well," replied Turtle.

"Yes," / he said / they say / Turtle.

he ū | tcin | ya nī | tsûn tel |

he ū^ε tc'in ya^ε nī ts'ûn tel

Note: Direct Quotation

4.1	Ch'siitcing		nins'is'aang		yaa'nii	,		.
	Ch'siitcing		nin'-(s)..aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁			
	Coyote (character)		pick up solid O		they say			
	n a		vt		vt			
	Coyote (character)		he picked it up		they say			
	[Subj]		[VP]			

see	,	yaa'ghilhk'aas		yaa'nii	.
see		yaa-(ghin)..lhk'aas+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁	
stone		throw stick-like O up in the air		they say	
n a		vt		vt	
rock		he threw it up in the air		they say	
[Obj]		[VP]	

Coyote picked up the stone, they say, and threw it up in the air, they say

Coyote took the stone up and threw it into the air.

Coyote / took up [picked up] / they say / stone. / He threw it up [he threw up] / they say.

tc sī tcûn | nûn sûs 'ûñ || ya nī | se | ya' gûL kas | yanī

tc' sī tcûñ nûn sûs ʼañ ya^ε nī se ya^ε gûL k'as ya^ε nī

Note: In the MB/Essene version Coyote has one of the little turtles throw the rock up for him to catch.

4.2 §	kowantagit	ch'ghilk'aalh	yaa'nii ,
	*ghantagit+3ANIM. POSS.	ch ² -(ghin)..lk'aalh+PERF.,3INDF.	yaa'nii ₁
	middle of P's back	stick-like O to fall on (stick-like O)	they say
	postp	vi	vt
	middle of his back	it fell on	they say
	[PostP]	[VP]

	kwilh	kwinyeehtc'ilhsiil'	yaa'nii
	*ilh+ACCOMP.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.	kwinyeeh-(ghin)..lhsilh/siil'+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
	instrumental	pound O into the ground	they say
	postp	vt	vt
	with him	it pounded into the ground	they say
	[PostP]	[VP]

,	see	yaa'ghilk'aas-it	
	see	yaa-(ghin)..lhk'aas+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	=hit+VAR. OF
	stone	throw stick-like O up in the air	=when
	n a	vt	encl
	rock	when he threw it up in the air	
	[AdvCl		

	kowantagit	ch'iighilhk'aalh
	*ghantagit+3ANIM. POSS.	ch ² -gh..lhk'aalh+PERF.,3NAT.PHEN.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
	middle of P's back	strike st
	postp	vt
	middle of his back	it struck
	]	[VP

yaa'nii .
yaa'nii ₁
they say
vt
they say
]

It fell on the middle of his back, they say, and the stone pounded into the ground with him, they say, when he threw it up in the air and it struck the middle of his back, they say.

It fell in the center of his back and drove him into the ground.

His middle [middle] / it fell / they say. / With him / it pounded into the ground [draws in the ground] / they say. / Stone / he threw up when / his back / it struck [it hit] / they say.

kō wûn tûk kût | tcē gûl kaL yanī kwûL | kwûn ye tcûL sîl yani se | ya gûL ka sit | kwûn ta kīt | tcī gûL kûl | ya nī

kū wûn tûk k'ût tc' gûl k'al ya^ε nī kwûL kwûn ye tc'ûL sîl ya^ε nī se ya^ε gûl k'a sit

kō wûn tûk kût tc'îL k'âl ya^ε nī

Note: MB/Essene version: "But the coyote didn't catch the rock when it came down and it struck him and knocked him into a deep hole of water. The coyote had a hard time getting out of the water but finally he got out, and then he walked away. The turtle called to him, asking him to come back and try it again but the coyote made no answer and just kept on down the road."

5 **kwanlhaang** .

kwanlhaang

all/the end

interj

all/the end

[Interj]

That is all.

That is all.

All.

kwûn lûñ

kwûn lûñ

GT25: The Great Horned Serpent

Goddard 1909, pp.160-163, 226-227, oddard NB II, pp. 5-16

This is a potentially dangerous story about a very dangerous being (Tl'ghishnees, literally "Long Rattlesnake"). Mitigating the danger includes restrictions when telling the story against drinking plain water, sitting in the shade while telling it, and telling it after noon.

"When tell story never drink water for 5 days. Never sit in shade.

Quit at noon. Bad place there" (Goddard NBII, p.16)

Other cultural restrictions relate to the potential dangers of this species of monster.

People, especially girls, are taught not to go near tule beds or make use of tule for mats.

Feathered serpent lived in tule beds, seduced young girls; only men

"with power" went near tule. (Essene 1942, p.61)

Dreams of the Great Horned Serpent (as "Feathered serpent") were the most dangerous (Essene 1942, p.38).

This story takes place just south of Cahto territory, in Huchno'm territory near modern-day Longvale and up Dutch Henry Creek (called Tl'ohdai'kwot "Tarweed Creek" and Diineeschowkwot "Big Willow Creek" in Cahto).

"Lō dai kwût other side George Knight south. About 20 miles from Laytonville." "tse gûc nes this horned snake" (Goddard NBII, p.14)

The origin of the Great Horned Serpent in this southerly location is mentioned in Curtis version "The Creation" related by Bill Ray (Curtis & Hodge 1924, p.165-6), Naaghaichow instructing his dog to place the snake.

"I want to catch that woman. You must hurry to the south ahead of her and stretch Tlkûs-něs ['rattlesnake long'] across her path, and stop her. I will follow you as I am able." This snake was of immense length, with horns like those of an elk.

Compare the version in Essene's field notes 50 Cu 23.1, pp.74-76 "Story Of A Big Snake." "GR/Essene" in the notes relates to this story.

Compare also Gene Sloan's story about the big snake in Cahto Lake (Toodjilhbii'):

[SRA: You'd mentioned it at one point in connection with the lake at Winchester Flat] Ah! Yeah, there used to be a big snake out. That's how the canyon formed. Momma said them Indians got tired of the snake killin' people, I guess, and they dug a ditch. And over time the erosion made that canyon. That's how it drained that lake. Yeah, momma told me that. Been hundreds of years, I guess, cause that canyon is big! ... The old road used to go around it [the lake].

GT25 - The Great Horned Serpent - Bill Ray

[conversation determining that this is the canyon beside the old fallen-in road heading north out of Winchester Flat] Yeah, that's the canyon. Yeah, it used to be a big lake back there. At least, my mom said. The story's handed down. That was before her time, too.... It's just a big snake, that's all I know. Huge snake! [SRA: and it killed people?] Yeah. [SRA: just by biting people, or by poisoning?] Probably ate 'em or crushed 'em like a boa constrictor or anaconda. [SRA: Did the people go after it?] They tried, I imagine; ?cause? Indians like to hunt. (Gene Sloan, August 4, 2019 STE-003_2019_08_04 from timestamp 4:59)

1.1	Tl'ohdaichii'	nooninyiing	yaa'nii
	Tl'ohdai'chii'	noo-n-(nin)..yeesh/yiin+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	Dutch Henry Creek Mouth village	move to a limit	they say
	_{na}	vs	vt
	Dutch Henry Creek Mouth village	they moved to a limit	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

They lived at Tl'ohdaichii', they say.

They were living at Lodaiki.

Lodaiki / they lived / they say

L!ō dai kī | nō nūn yiñ | ya ni

Lō' dai kī^ε nō nūn yiñ ya^ε nī

Note: Tl'ohdaichii' means "Tarweed Creek Mouth", a Huchno'm and/or Yuki village near current Longvale. "The former Yuki village of Lōdaikī (its Kato name) [Tl'ohdaichii'] was on main Eel river near or at the mouth of Dutch Henry creek. Such serpents are believed in far north of the Kato." (Goddard 1909, p.226)

GR/Essene version: "A long time ago a great number of people lived along a creek. The water in this creek was very cold and made fine drinking water."

1.2	naahneesh	kw'ittghaalh	yaa'nii
	naahneesh	P-k'it..tghaalh+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁
	person	pl keep dying	they say
	_{na}	vi	vt
	person	they keep dying	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

The people kept dying, they say.

The people kept dying.

Persons / kept dying [died] / they say

na nec | kwût te gûL | ya ni

na nec k'wût t gaL ya^ε nī

Note: GR/Essene version: "During the time these people lived along this creek they were dying off fast, sometimes two or three in one day. Nobody could understand this. The people became sick and were sick only a short time and then died. The doctors couldn't find out what was the matter with the sick people."

1.3	t'eeekii	bii'nooch'teelheek'	yaa'nii ,
	t'eeek	bii'-noo-ch'-ti-(s)..lheegh/lheek'+PERF.,+ 3,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁
	teen girl.PL	make mush	they say
	n a	vt	vt
	teen girls	they made mush	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

	laashee'	bii'nooghitlheek'	yaa'nii .
	laashii'+VAR. OF	bii'-noo..ghitlheek'+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁
	buckeye	be soaked	they say
	n a	vp	vt
	buckeye	they are soaked	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

The teen girls made mush, they say; the buckeyes were soaked, they say.

The girls were soaking buckeye flour.

Girls / were making mush / they say / Buckeyes / they were soaking / they say

te kī bi | nō tel la kī / nō tcin lek | ya ni | la cī | bi nō gûL lek | ya ni

t'e kī bī^ε nō tc' te lek ya^ε nī la ce^ε bī^ε nō gûL lek ya^ε nī

1.4 lhoo'yaashgai	naakaa'	lhoo'yaashgai
lhoo'yaashgai	naakaa'	lhoo'yaashgai
rainbow trout (resident)	two	rainbow trout (resident)
n a	num	n a
rainbow trout	two	rainbow trout
[NP]	[Subj]

beeding-kwaang		yaa'nii .
P-ee..din+IMPF.,+ 3 OBL.	=kwaan	yaa'nii ₁
P to die	inferred evid.	they say
vi	vencl	vt
had died		they say
[VP]

Two trout had died, they say.

Two dead trout were lying there.

Trout / two / trout / were dead / they say

Lō yac kaī | nûk ka | Lō yac kai be dûñ kwûñ / be tûn kwûñ | ya ni

Lō yac gai nək ka^ε Lō yac gai be dûñ kwān ya^ε nī

Note: GR/Essene version: "One day a man and his wife and their two children were walking along this stream and they saw a big trout floating down the stream."

1.5 naakaa'	dee'tghiltiin	yaa'nii .
naakaa'	dee-d-(ghin)..ltish/tiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
two	put animate O in fire	they say
num	vt	vt
two	put animate in fire	they say
[Obj]	[VP]

They put the two in the fire, they say.

The girls put them in the fire to roast.

Two / they put in fire / they say

nûk ka | dē tī gûl tûñ | ya ni

nək ka^ε de t gûl tîn ya^ε nī

Note: roasting the trout

GR/Essene version: "This man caught the trout and took it home and his wife cooked the fish and the two children ate some of it."

1.6	hiineelhyaan		yaa'nii .
	n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁
	eat O up		they say
	vt		vt
	she ate it up		they say
	[VP]

She ate it up, they say.
[When they were cooked they] ate them up.
She ate them / they say

hī nel yûn | ya ni
 hī nel yaŋ ya^ε nī
 Note: one of the girls

1.7	beeding		yaa'nii .
	P-ee..din+IMPF.,+ 3 OBL.		yaa'nii ₁
	P to die		they say
	vi		vt
	it died		they say
	[VP]

She died, they say.
First one [and then the other] died.
She died / they say

be tûñ | ya ni
 be dûn ya^ε nī
 Note: GR/Essene version: "The next morning the children were dead."

1.8	ch'oyii-haa'	hiineelhyaan		yaa'nii .
	ch'oyii-haa'	n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁
	again	eat O up		they say
	adv	vt		vt
	again	she ate it up		they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

Again, she ate it up, they say.
[When they were cooked they] ate them up.
Again [another one] / she ate [they eat] / they say

la yī | hī nel yûn | ya^ε nī
 tcō yī ha^ε hī nel yaŋ ya^ε nī
 Note: another of the girls

1.9 beeding	yaa'nii , hai lhaa' .
P-ee..din+IMPF.,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁ hai ₁ lhaa'
P to die	they say that another one
vi	vt dem pron
it died	they say the/that another
[VP	] [Subj]

That other one died, they say.
[First one] and then the other died.
She died, / they say, / the / other.

be tân | ya ni
 be dũn ya^ε nĩ hai La^ε

2.1 " tishaa'	diidak' ; shaahnaa' diishaan
ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+OPT.,1SG.	diidak' shaahnaa' diishaang
sg go along	east creek what?
vi	direct n a inter
let me go along	east creek what?
[VP]	[AdvP] [AdvP] [Subj]

stiing	diidak' ."
s..tii/tiin+PERF.,3	diidak'
lie (animate O)	east
vs	direct
was lying	east
[VP]	[AdvP]

"Let me go along to the east; something is lying in the creek, to the east."
"I am going up the creek, east," said the chief.
"I am going / here east. Creek / something / lies / east."

tũc ca de dũk ca na dĩ cũnt stĩn (dĩ dũk)
 tũc ca^ε dĩ dũk' ca' na^ε dĩ caⁿ stĩn dĩ dũk'
 Note: said by the chief

2.2	lhoo'yaashgai	naakaa'	tc'ilhsaan
	lhoo'yaashgai	naakaa'	(0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
	rainbow trout (resident)	two	find O
	n a	num	vt
	rainbow trout	two	he found it
	[Obj]	]	[VP

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He found two (dead) trout, they say.

He found two dead trout.

Trout / two / he found / they say

lō yac kai nûk ka sûl/tcîl sîn ya ni

lō yac gai nək ka^ε ts'ûl sən ya^ε nī

2.3	lhaa'haa'	tc'ilhsaan	yaa'nii ,	ch'oyii-haa'
	lhaa'haa'	(0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	ch'oyii-haa'
	one	find O	they say	again
	num	vt	vt	adv
	one	he found it	they say	again
	[Obj]	[VP	]	[AdvP]

lhaa'haa' **tc'ilhsaan**

lhaa'haa' (0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.

one find O

num vt

one he found it

[Obj] [VP

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

He found one, they say, and again he found one, they say.

and then one by itself, and still farther on, another.

One / he found / they say / Again / one / he found / they way

La ɣa sûl sîn ya ni tcō yī ha La ha sûl sîn ya ni

La^ε ha^ε ts'ûl sən ya^ε nī tcō yī ha^ε La^ε ha^ε ts'ûl sən ya^ε nī

2.4	ch'oyii-haa'	tc'teesyaa	yaa'nii	,	toonai	taak'
	ch'oyii-haa'	ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁		toonai	taak'
	again	sg go along	they say		fish	three
	adv	vi	vt		n a	num
	again	he went along	they say		fish	three
	[AdvP]	[VP	]		[Obj]

tc'ilhsaan	yaa'nii	.
(0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	
find O	they say	
vt	vt	
he found it	they say	
[VP]	

Again he went along, they say, and he found three fish, they say.

After that he found three.

Again / he went / they say / Fish / three / he found / they say

tcō yī ha tcit tes ya ya ni tō nai tak sūL sūn ya ni
 tcō yī ha^ε tc't tes ya ya^ε nī tō nai tak' ts'ūL sən ya^ε nī

2.5	naagheesyitc'	yaa'nii	.
	naa-(ghees)..lyiish/yiitc'+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	rest	they say	
	vs	vt	
	he rested	they say	
	[VP]	

He rested, they say.

He sat down to rest.

He rested / they say

na gis yīts/tc ya ni
 na ges yītc ya^ε nī

2.6	sit'	tc'teesyaa	yaa'nii	.
	sit'	ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
	little while	sg go along	they say	
	adv	vi	vt	
	little while	he went along	they say	
	[AdvP]	[VP]	

In a little while he went on, they say.

After a short time he went on.

Little way [little while] / he went / they say

sût | tcit tes yai | ya ni
sût' tc't tes ya ya^ε nī

2.7	lhoo'yaashgai	tc'ilhsaan	yaa'nii ,
	lhoo'yaashgai	(0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	rainbow trout (resident)	find O	they say
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vt</small>	<small>vt</small>
	rainbow trout	he found it	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

lhaa'haa' .

lhaa'haa'

one

num

one

[AdjP]

He found a trout, they say, just one.

He found a single dead trout again.

Trout / he found, / they say, / one only.

lō yac kai sūL sun ya ni La ha

lō yac gai ts'ûL sən ya^ε nī La^ε ha^ε

2.8	tc'teesyaa	yaa'nii ,	lhoo'yaashgai
	ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	lhoo'yaashgai
	sg go along	they say	rainbow trout (resident)
	<small>vi</small>	<small>vt</small>	<small>n a</small>
	he went along	they say	rainbow trout
	[VP	]	[Obj

naakaa'	tc'ilhsaan	yaa'nii .
naakaa'	(0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
two	find O	they say
<small>num</small>	<small>vt</small>	<small>vt</small>
two	he found it	they say
]	[VP]

He went on, they say, and found two trout, they say.

Going on again he found two more.

He went [he went on] / they say / Trout / two / he found / they say

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tcit tes ya | ya ni | Lō yac kai | nûk ka | s̄ul s̄un | ya ni
 tc't tes ya ya^ε nī Lō yac gai nək ka^ε ts'ûl sən ya^ε nī

2.9 tc'teesyaa	yaa'nii ,	lhoo'yaashgai
ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	lhoo'yaashgai
sg go along	they say	rainbow trout (resident)
vi	vt	n a
he went along	they say	rainbow trout
[VP	]	[Obj

k'eech'inyaan-kwaan

k'ee-ch'-(nin)..yaan+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.	=kwaan
be bitten off	inferred evid.
vi	vencI
had been bitten off	
]	

tc'ilhsaan

(0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii .
find O	yaa'nii ₁
vt	they say
he found it	vt
[VP	they say
]

He went on, they say, and found a trout that had been bitten in two, they say.
Having gone forward again he found two trout that had been bitten in two.
He went / they say / Trout / bitten off / he found / they say

tcit tes ya | ya ni | Lō yac kai | ketc gī yún | s̄ul s̄un | ya ni
 tc't tes ya ya^ε nī Lō yac gai k'e tc'ûn yən kwən ts'ûl sən ya^ε nī

2.10	tc'teesyaa	yaa'nii	,	lhaa'haa'
	ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁		lhaa'haa'
	sg go along	they say		one
	vi	vt		num
	he went along	they say		one
	[VP	]		[Obj]

tc'ilhsaan	yaa'nii	,	lhoo'yaashgai	.
(0)..lhis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁		lhoo'yaashgai	
find O	they say		rainbow trout (resident)	
vt	vt		n a	
he found it	they say		rainbow trout	
[VP	]		[NP]	

He went on, they say, and found one trout, they say.

[Twice,] farther on, he found one by itself.

He went / they say / One only / he found, / they say, / trout.

tcit tes ya | ya ni | La xa | s̄ul s̄un | ya ni | Lō yac kai

tc't tes ya ya^ε nī La^ε ha^ε ts'ûL s̄an ya^ε nī Lō yac gai

2.11	ch'oyii-haa'	tc'teesyaa	yaa'nii	,	lhaa'haa'
	ch'oyii-haa'	ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁		lhaa'haa'
	again	sg go along	they say		one
	adv	vi	vt		num
	again	he went along	they say		one
	[AdvP]	[VP	]		[Obj]

tc'ilhsaan	yaa'nii	,	lhoo'yaashgai	.
(0)..lhis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁		lhoo'yaashgai	
find O	they say		rainbow trout (resident)	
vt	vt		n a	
he found it	they say		rainbow trout	
[VP	]		[NP]	

He went along again, they say, and found one trout, they say.

[Twice,] farther on, he found one by itself.

Again / he went / they say / One only / he found, / they say, / trout.

tco yī ha | tcit tes ya | ya ni | La ha | s̄ul s̄un | ya ni | Lō yac kai

tcō yī ha^ε tc't tes ya ya^ε nī La^ε ha^ε ts'ûL s̄an ya^ε nī Lō yac gai

2.12	tc'neesdai		yaa'nii	.
	n-(s)..daa+PERF.,3ANIM.	=i	yaa'nii₁	
	sit down	=NR	they say	
	vi	encl	vt	
	he sat down		they say	
	[VP]	

He sat down, they say.

He sat down.

He sat down / they say

tcin nes dai | ya nī

tc'n nes dai ya^ε nī

2.13	ghint'ee	shaahnaa'	uuyaashtc	sliing'	yaa'nii	.
	ghint'ee	shaahnaa'	uuyaashtc ₁	(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3	yaa'nii₁	
	now	creek	small	become	they say	
	adv	n a	adj	vs	vt	
	now	creek	small	became	they say	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[AdjP]	[VP]	

Now the creek got a little smaller, they say.

The creek was now small.

Now / creek / small / became / they say

gûn tē | ca na | ō yacts | slīn̄ | ya ní

gûn t'ē ca' na^ε ō yacts slīn̄^ε ya^ε nī

Note: Adjectival complement

2.14	tc'teesyaa		yaa'nii	.
	ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.		yaa'nii₁	
	sg go along		they say	
	vi		vt	
	he went along		they say	
	[VP]	

He went along, they say.

He went on.

He went / they say

tcit tes ya | ya ni

tc't tes ya ya^ε nī

2.15	ghint'ee	tc'ilhsaan	yaa'nii	,	chiileek'ee
	ghint'ee	(0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁		chiileek'ee
	now	find O	they say		slime
	adv	vt	vt		n a
	now	he found it	they say		slime
	[AdvP]	[VP			[Obj]

Now he found some slime, they say.

He found slime.

Now / he found, / they say, / slime.

gûn tē | sūL sūn | ya ni | kīl lē_a ke
gûn t'ē ts'ûL sən ya^ε nī tcīl lē k'e

2.16	tc'teesyaa	yaa'nii	.
	ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
	sg go along	they say	
	vi	vt	
	he went along	they say	
	[VP]

He went along, they say.

He went on.

He went / they say

tcit tes ya | ya ni
tc't tes ya ya^ε nī

2.17	toonai	,	lhoo'yaashgai	nghindoo'	yaa'nii
	toonai		lhoo'yaashgai	n-ghin..doo'+TRTL.,PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	fish		rainbow trout (resident)	become not	they say
	n a		n a	vs	vt
	fish		rainbow trout	it disappeared	they say
	[Subj		]	[VP]

The fish, the trout had disappeared, they say.

There were no trout.

Fish, / trout / were not / they say

tō nai | Lō yac kai | +ûn gûn dō+ | ya ni
tō nai Lō yac gai n gûn dō^ε ya^ε nī

2.18	tc'teesyaa	yaa'nii ,
	ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
	sg go along	they say
	vi	vt
	he went along	they say
	[VP]

tc'teesyaa	yaa'nii ,	kaasyaa
ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	kaa-n-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3
sg go along	they say	come up from underground
vi	vt	vi
he went along	they say	he came up
[VP	]	[VP

yaa'nii ,	nee'-lai'	noo'tghintaal'-it	
yaa'nii ₁	nee'-lai'	noo-d-(ghin)..taalh/taal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	=hit
they say	summit	step on limit	=when
vt	n a	vt	encl
they say	summit	when he stepped along to a limit	
]	[AdvCl]	

He went along, they say, and went along, they say, he went up, they say, until he stepped up to the summit.

He went on climbing up until he stood on the summit.

He went / they say / He went / they say / He came up / they say / Earth top / he stood when /

tcit tes ya | ya ni | tcit tes ya | ya ni | kas ya | ya ni | n+e lai | nō te gûn ta lût

tc't tes ya ya^ε nī tc't tes ya ya^ε nī kas ya ya^ε nī ne^ε lai^ε nō t gûn ta lût

Note: GR/Essene version: "A few weeks later the father of these children took a walk along this creek and after he had gone a quite a distance up stream he came to a place where a little stream ran into this main creek."

2.19	tc'tees'iing'	yaa'nii .
	ti-(s)..i'in/iin'+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
	look along	they say
	vi	vt
	he looked along	they say
	[VP]

He looked around, they say.

He looked around.

he looked / they say

tsit tes iñ | ya ni
ts't tes iñ^ε ya^ε nī

2.20	too	tc'ilhsaan	yaa'nii .
	too	(0)..lhis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	water	find O	they say
	n a	vt	vt
	water	he found it	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

He found water (a pond), they say.

He found a pond there.

Lake / he found / they say

tō | siL sūn | ya ni
tō tc'ûL saŋ ya^ε nī

Note: GR/Essene version: "The man walked along this new little stream for a while and before long he came to a big spring. This spring of water came from the mountains. There were lots of tules and willows and all kinds of fern growing near this spring. It was a pretty place."

2.21	uudee'	tc'ilhsaan	yaa'nii .
	*dee' ₁ +3 POSS.	(0)..lhis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	horn/antler	find O	they say
	n ia	vt	vt
	its horn/antler	he found it	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

He found its horn, they say.

He found its horn.

Its horn / he found / they say

ō de | sūL sūn | ya ni
ō de^ε ts'ûL saŋ ya^ε nī

Note: GR/Essene version: "While thsi fellow was walking along this creek he looked out over the water and saw a pair of horns sticking out of the water."

2.22	tc'neelh'iing'	yaa'nii .
	n-(ghin)..lh'iin/'iin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	look at O	they say
	vt	vt
	he looked at it	they say
	[VP]

He looked at it, they say.

He looked at it.

He looked at it / they say

tcin neL iñ | ya ni
tc'n neL iñ^ε ya^ε nī

2.23	yiinak'	tees'iing'	yaa'nii	.
	yiinak'	ti-(s)..iin/iin'+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	south	look along	they say	
	direct	vi	vt	
	south	he looked along	they say	
	[AdvP]	[VP]	

It was looking along to the south, they say.

It was looking toward the south.

South / it was looking / they say

yī nûk | tes iñ | ya ni
yī nûk' tes iñ^ε ya^ε nī

2.24	uudee'	nees	,	uudee'	lhgai
	*dee' ₁ +3 POSS.	n..nees+PERF.,3		*dee' ₁ +3 POSS.	..lhgai+3
	horn/antler	be long		horn/antler	be white
	n ia	vd		n ia	vd
	its horn	is long		its horn	is white
	[Subj]	[VP]		[Subj]	[VP]

yaa'nii

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

Its horn was long, and its horn was white, they say.

The horn was long and white.

Its horn / long, / its horn / white / they say

ū de | nez | ō de L kai | ya ni
ū de^ε nes ō de^ε L gai ya^ε nī

Note: GR/Essene version: "The horns looked to him like elk horns only they had a lot of points. Finally the man could see a big head and neck and then part of a body. As he looked the man saw that the body was the body of a big snake. This snake was lying in

the water and moving its head. That's why the man happened to notice the horns, because they were moving."

3.1 **naaheestyaa-hit**

naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3
sg go back home
vi
when he went back home
[AdvCl]

=hit+VAR. OF
=when
encl

tc'tceeh

(ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3ANIM.
cry
vi
he cries
[VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

When he went back home he was crying, they say.

He went home crying.

He started back when / he cried / they say

na hes tī ya hût | tcit tcé | ya ni
na hes t ya hût tc' tce' ya^ε nī

3.2 **naantyyaa**

naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3
sg come back
vi
he came back
[VP]

yaa'nii ,

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

waantc'kwolik

P-ghaan-(ghin)..lik+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3AREAL,+ 3 OBL.
tell O about P
vt
he tells about it
[VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

He came back home, they say, and tells about it, they say.

He came home and told his experiences.

He came back [he came home] / they say / He told about it [he tell about it] / they say

nan tī ya | ya ni | wûntc kōl lûk | ya ni
nan t ya ya^ε nī wān tc' kwōl lûk ya^ε nī

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Note: GR/Essene version: "The man went back home and told the people in camp what he had seen and some of the men went up to see the snake. When they got there the snake was still there and they had a good look at it. Then they went home and everybody was very excited about what they had seen."

4.1 "	kwaatohyaash	Naahneesh !
	P-kaa-ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.	Naahneesh
	sg go after P	Indian person
	vt	n a
	you (pl.) go after him	Indian person
	[VP]	[Obj]
	"Go get the People!	
	<i>[Go get the people.]</i>	
	<i>"Go after them / people!</i>	

kwa tō yûc | na nēc

kwa tō' yac na nec

Note: GR/Essene version: "All the people got together and talked about killing the snake."

4.2	Lhtc'iishtc'eetinding	kwaatohyaash	!
	Lhtc'iishtc'eetinding	P-kaa-ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.	
	Sherwood valley	sg go after P	
	n a	vt	
	Sherwood valley	you (pl.) go after him	
	[Obj]	[VP]	
	<i>Go get the Sherwood Valleys.</i>		
	<i>"Go to Sherwood valley and get the people.</i>		
	<i>Sherwood valley / go after them!</i>		

sic sē tûn dûñ | kwa tō yac

L tcic tc' tûn dûñ kwa tō' yac

Note: GR/Essene version: "They sent out messengers to people for miles around. Also they sent word to the best doctors in many different places, to come to this meeting."

- 4.3 **Naahneesh Toodjihbii'**
 Naahneesh Toodjihbii'
 Indian person Cahto Valley/Winchester Flat
 n a n a
 Indian person Cahto Valley/Winchester Flat
 [Obj]

kwaatohyaash !

P-kaa-ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.

sg go after P

vt

you (pl.) go after him

[VP]

Go get the Cahto Valley People!

Go to Cahto valley [and get the people].

People [Indian] / Cahto / go after!

na nec | tō tcûL bī | kwa tō yac

na nec tō tcûL bī^ε kwa tō' yac

- 4.4 **Ch'intc kwaatohyaash** !
 Ch'intc P-kaa-ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.
 Round Valley Yuki tribe sg go after P
 n a vt
 Round Valley Yuki tribe you (pl.) go after him
 [Obj] [VP]

Go get the Round Valley Yukis.

Go and get the Yuki.

Yuki / go after!

tc!in+tc | kwa tō yac

tc'intc kwa tō' yac

- 4.5 **Koolk'ooschowbii' kwaatohyaash** !"
 Koolk'ooschowbii' P-kaa-ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.
 Little Lake Valley sg go after P
 n a vt
 Little Lake Valley you (pl.) go after him
 [Obj] [VP]

Go get Little Lake Valleys!"

Go to Little Lake valley for help, ' ' he commanded.

Little Lake / go after!"

kōl kōtc tcō bī | kwa tō yac
 kōl kōtc tcō bī^ε kwa tō^ε yac

5.1 **chin ghilhtciing yaa'nii** .
 ching ..ghiltciin'+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii₁
 pole be made they say
 n a vp vt
 pole were made they say
 [Subj] [VP]

Spear-poles were made, they say.

Poles were made.

Poles / were made / they say

tcûn | gûl tciñ | ya ni
 tcûn gûl tciñ ya^ε nī

Note: GR/Essene version: "After they had all gathered together they tried to plan just what would be the best way to kill this big snake. Some of the men got busy and made bows and arrows and some of the doctors learned different doctoring songs. These doctors were supposed to be very educated men."

5.2 **laa'lhbaa'ang , ch'oyii-haa' laa'lhbaa'ang , ch'oyii-haa'**
 laa'lhbaa'ang ch'oyii-haa' laa'lhbaa'ang ch'oyii-haa'
 ten again ten again
 num adv num adv
 ten again ten again
 [NP] [NP] [NP]

laa'lhbaa'ang chin , ch'oyii-haa' laa'lhbaa'ang chin .
 laa'lhbaa'ang ching ch'oyii-haa' laa'lhbaa'ang ching
 ten pole again ten pole
 num n a adv num n a
 ten pole again ten pole
] [NP]

Ten, and ten again, and again ten poles, and again ten (more) poles.

Four times they made ten poles.

Ten, / again / ten, / again / ten / poles, / again / ten / poles

laL ba ûñ | tcō yī ha | laL ba ûñ | tcō yī ha | laL ba ûñ | tcûn | tcō yī ha | laL ba ûñ | tcûn
 la^εL ba^ε ûñ tcō yī ha^ε la^εL ba^ε ûñ tcō yī ha^ε la^εL ba^ε ûñ tcûn tcō yī ha^ε la^εL ba^ε ûñ tcûn

Note: total of (at least) forty spear poles made for the venture

GR/Essene version: "After a few days the people and the doctors were ready and all started out for this place where they had seen the big snake with horns."

5.3 tc'teelhkat	yaa'nii , chin
ti-(s)..lhkat+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁ ching
pl go along	they say pole
vi	vt n a
they went along	they say pole
[VP	] [Obj]

tc'teebiil'	yaa'nii , k'aa'
ti-(s)..bilh/biil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁ k'aa'
carry basketfull O along	they say arrow
vt	vt n a
he carried it	they say arrow
[VP	] [Obj]

tc'teebiil'	yaa'nii , kaashtc
ti-(s)..bilh/biil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁ kaashtc
carry basketfull O along	they say obsidian knife
vt	vt n a
he carried it	they say knife
[VP	] [Obj]

tc'teebiil'	yaa'nii .
ti-(s)..bilh/biil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
carry basketfull O along	they say
vt	vt
he carried it	they say
[VP]

They went along, they say, and carried a bunch of spear-poles, they say, and carried a bunch of arrows, they say, and carried a bunch of obsidian knives, they say.

They started carrying poles, arrows, and knives.

They went / they say / Poles / they carried / they say / Arrows / they took / they say / Knives / they took / they say

tcit/sil tel kût | ya ni | tcûñ | kit te bīl/l ya ni | k!a kī te bil | ya ni | kactc | ki te bil | ya ni
 tc't tel kût ya^ε nī tcûn tc't te bīl' ya^ε nī k'a^ε tc' te bīl' ya^ε nī kactc tc' te bīl' ya^ε nī

5.4	tc'nilkat		yaa'nii	,	lheenee'haa'	chin
	n-(nin)..lkat+PERF.,3ANIM.	=i	yaa'nii ₁		lheenee'haa'	ching
	pl come/arrive	=NR	they say		everyone	pole
	vi	encl	vt		pron	n a
	they came		they say		everyone	pole
	[VP		]		[Subj]	[Obj]

	daahteeghaabiil'		yaa'nii	,	
	daah-d-(ghin)..bilh/biil'+PERF.,3,DIST.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁		
	pick up/take up basketfull O onto surface		they say		
	vt		vt		
	they lifted them up		they say		
	[VP]		

	ghigoh		yaa'nii	.
	gh..got+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁	
	spear along		they say	
	vt		vt	
	they were spearing		they say	
	[VP]	

They came, they say, and everyone lifted up the spear-poles, they say, and were spearing it, they say.

When they came to the place they all took up the poles and speared it.

They came there / they say / All [all the people] / poles / took up / they say / They speared / they say

tsûn nûl kût | ya ni | le ne ha | kûn | da te ga bîl | ya ni | gə kō | ya ni
 tc' nûl kût ya^ε nî le ne^ε ha^ε tcûn da te ga bîl' ya^ε nî gə qō ya^ε nî

Note: GR/Essene version: "The people got on both sides of the creek and shot arrows into the snake from every direction, also threw knives into its body."

5.5	ch'oyii-haa'	ghigoh		yaa'nii	.
	ch'oyii-haa'	gh..got+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁	
	again	spear along		they say	
	adv	vt		vt	
	again	they were spearing		they say	
	[AdvP]	[VP]	

Again they were spearing, they say.

[again] They speared [and shot, speared and shot, speared and shot.]

Again / they speared / they say

tcō yī ha | gə kō | ya ni

tcō yī ha^ε gɛ qō ya^ε nī

5.6 ghitch'aang	yaa'nii .
..ghitch'aan+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
be shot	they say
vp	vt
it was shot	they say
[VP]

It was shot, they say.

[*They shot it.*]

They shot / they say

gɛ tcũñ | ya ni
gɛ tc'añ ya^ε nī

5.7 ghigoh	yaa'nii .
gh..got+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
spear along	they say
vt	vt
they were spearing	they say
[VP]

They were spearing it, they say.

[*They speared it.*]

They speared / they say

gɛ kō | ya ni
gɛ qō ya^ε nī

5.8 ghigoh	yaa'nii .
gh..got+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
spear along	they say
vt	vt
they were spearing	they say
[VP]

They were spearing it, they say.

[*They speared it.*]

They speared / they say

gɛ kō | ya ni
gɛ qō ya^ε nī

5.9	ghitch'aang		yaa'nii	.
	..ghitch'aan+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁	
	be shot		they say	
	vp		vt	
	it was shot		they say	
	[VP]

It was shot, they say.

[They shot it.]

They shot / they say

gɛ tsûn | ya ni
gɛ tc'añ ya^ɛ nī

5.10	ghigoh		yaa'nii	.
	gh..got+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁	
	spear along		they say	
	vt		vt	
	they were spearing		they say	
	[VP]

They were spearing it, they say.

[They speared it.]

They speared / they say

gɛ kō | ya ni
gɛ qō ya^ɛ nī

5.11	kaashkiitc	yiist'aats'		yaa'nii	.
	kaashkiitc	(s)..t'aas/t'aats'+PERF.,3OBJ.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁	
	old man	cut O		they say	
	n a	vt		vt	
	old.man	he cut it		they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]

The old man cut it, they say.

The old man cut it.

Old man / cut it / they say

kac kīts | yīs t!ûts | ya ni
kac kīts yīs t'âts ya^ɛ nī

5.12	ghigoh		yaa'nii .
	gh..got+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁
	spear along		they say
	vt		vt
	they were spearing		they say
	[VP]

They were spearing it, they say.

They speared it.

They speared / they say

gɛ kō | ya ni

gɛ qō ya^ɛ nī

5.13	kaashkiitc	yiist'aats'		yaa'nii .
	kaashkiitc	(s)..t'aas/t'aats'+PERF.,3OBJ.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁
	old man	cut O		they say
	n a	vt		vt
	old.man	he cut it		they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

The old man cut it, they say.

The old man cut.

Old man / cut it / they say

kac kīts | yīs t!ûts | ya ni

kac kīts yīs t'qts ya^ɛ nī

5.14	tc'aaheelhsheegh		yaa'nii .
	tc'aah-(ghees)..lhtceegh+PERF.,3		yaa'nii ₁
	squeal		they say
	vi		vt
	it squealed		they say
	[VP]

It squealed, they say.

It squealed.

It squealed / they say

tca/ka heL ceg | ya ni

tca heL ceg ya^ɛ nī

Note: GR/Essene version: "But the snake didn't seem to move. Finally it raised its head out of the water, but it didn't try to fight any of the people. It struggled around in the water for a while and then jumped up into the air."

5.15	uudee'	bilh	too
	*dee' ₁ +3 POSS.	*ilh+ACCOMP., INSTR., + 3 OBL.	too
	horn/antler	instrumental	water
	n ia	postp	n a
	its horn	with it	water
	[PostP	]	[Obj]

naaneelhsiil'	yaa'nii
naa-n-(ghin)..lhsilh/siil'+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
strike down on O	they say
vt	vt
it struck down on it	they say
[VP]

It struck down on the water with its horn, they say.

It thrashed the water with its horn.

Its horn / with / water / it struck / they say

ō de | bûL tō | ne nEL sī | ya nī

ō de^ε bûL tō na nEL sīl' ya^ε nī

Note: thrashing

GR/Essene version: "When the head of this big snake hit the ground its horns made a big mark on a rock and then the snake died. The marks that the horns of this big snake made on the rocks along this creek are still there today."

5.16	beeding	yaa'nii
	P-ee..din+IMPF.,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁
	P to die	they say
	vi	vt
	it died	they say
	[VP]

It died, they say.

It died.

It died / they say

be tûñ | ya nī

be dûñ ya^ε nī

5.17	ts'ii'	ch'eenyiish	yaa'nii
	ts'ii'	ch'ee-n-(nin)..yiish/yii+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	brush	break O off	they say
	n a	vt	vt
	brush	it breaks it off	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

uudee'	bilh
*dee' ₁ +3 POSS.	*ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.
horn/antler	instrumental
n ia	postp
its horn	with it
[PostP]

It breaks the brush with its antlers, they say.

It had broken the brush with its horn.

Brush / it broke, / they say, / its horn / with.

tsī | tce nīc | ya ni | ō de | bûL

ts'ī^ε tc'en yīc ya^ε nī ō de^ε bûL

6.1	kwong'	ghilk'aang	yaa'nii
	kwong'	gh..lk'aan+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	fire	fire to be built	they say
	n a	vp	vt
	fire	fire was built	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

A fire was built, they say.

A fire was burning there.

Fire / was burning / they say

kōñ | gûl kûñ | ya nī

kwōñ^ε gûl k'añ ya^ε nī

Note: GR/Essene version: "The doctors figured that this snake had poisoned the water and that was why so many of the people who were drinking the water had died."

6.2	uunaaghilhit	yaa'nii
	P-naa-(ghin)..lhit+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁
	be burned around P (land)	they say
	vd	vt
	is burned around it	they say
	[VP]

It was burned around it, they say.

They burned a clear space around the body.

Around it was burned / they say

ō na gûl Lût | ya nī

ō na gę Lût ya^ε nī

Note: The ground was burned as "a clear space around the body."

6.3	uusii'	kw'it	uuniitcit	ghilk'aang
	*sii'+3 POSS.	*k'it++ 3 OBL.	*P-niitcit++ 3 OBL.	gh..lk'aan+PERF.,3
	head	on P	middle of P	fire to be built
	n ia	postp	postp	vp
	its head	on it	middle of it	fire was built
	[PostP		]	[VP

yaa'nii	,	uuchii'		kw'it		ghilk'aang		yaa'nii	.
yaa'nii ₁		*chii'+3 POSS.		*k'it++ 3 OBL.		gh..lk'aan+PERF.,3		yaa'nii ₁	
they say		tail		on P		fire to be built		they say	
vt		n ia		postp		vp		vt	
they say		its tail		on it		fire was built		they say	
		[PostP		]		[VP]

A fire was built on the middle of its head, they say, and a fire was built on its tail, they say.

On the middle of its head and on its tail they built a fire.

Its head / on / its middle / was fire / they say / It's tail on / was fire / they say

ō sī+ | kûl | ō nī tcût | gûl kûñ | ya nī | ō tcī kûl | gûl kûñ | ya nī

ō sī^ε k'wût ō nī tcût gûl k'ąn ya^ε nī ō tcī k'wût gûl k'ąñ ya^ε nī

7.1	naaheestyaa	yaa'nii
	naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	sg go back home	they say
	vi	vt
	he started back home	they say
	[VP]

They started back home, they say.

They started back.

He started back [he went home] / they say

na hes tī ya | ya ni

na hes t ya ya^ε nī

7.2	naa'intyaa		yaa'nii	,	yeeh-bii'
	naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,2SG.		yaa'nii ₁		yeeh+LOC.
	sg come back		they say		house
	vi		vt		n a
	he came back		they say		in the house
	[VP		]		[PostP]

tceeh		yaa'nii	,	lheenee'haa'	.
(ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3		yaa'nii ₁		lheenee'haa'	
cry		they say		everyone	
vi		vt		pron	
he cries		they say		everyone	
[VP		]		[Subj]	

They came back, they say, and everyone was in the house crying, they say.

They came back and all sat in the house crying.

He came back / they say / House in / he cried, / they say, / all.

na ûn t̄i ya | ya ni | ye | bī | tce | ya ni | Le ne ha
na ûn t̄ ya ya^ε nī ye bī^ε tce' ya^ε nī Le ne^ε ha^ε

8.1	"	doohaa'	jaang
		doohaa'	jaang
		do not !	here
		neg	adv
		do not!	here
		[AdvP]	[AdvP]

noonaa'tneesh-bang

noo-naa-(nin)..neesh/yiin+IMPF.,1PL.	=bang ₂
live in a place	=future predictive enclitic
vi	encl

we must live in a place

[VP]

"We must never live here!

"We will not live here.

"Not / here / we will live.

dō ha kyûñ | nō na ti nec bûn
dō ha^ε djañ nō na t nec bûñ

8.2 **too ntcee'-ee** .
 too n..tcee'+PERF.,3 =yee
 water be bad eyewitness evid.
 n a vd encl
 water it is bad
 [Subj] [VP]

The water is bad.

The water is bad.

Water / is bad [no good] .

tō | ûñ tce +é'
 tō n tce^e e

8.3 **kw'eehtning too ntcee'-ee** ." ."
 kw'eehtning too n..tcee'+PERF.,3 =yee
 afterward, after this water be bad eyewitness evid.
 adv n a vd encl
 afterward, after this water it is bad
 [AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

After this the water is bad."

After this the water will be bad, ' ' the old man said.

After this / water / is bad [no good]."

kwe ti nûñ | tō | ûñ tse e
 kwe t nûñ tō n tce^e e
 Note: said by the old man

9.1 **laa'lhbaa'ang naaheestyai yaa'nii** ,
 laa'lhbaa'ang naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 =i yaa'nii₁
 ten sg go back home =NR they say
 num vi encl vt
 ten he went back they say
 [Subj] [VP]]

kw'innaalk'aang , **ch'oyii-haa' uusii'**
 P-k'it-naa-(ghin)..lk'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL. ch'oyii-haa' *sii'+3 POSS.
 be fire on P again again head
 vs adv n ia
 fire was on it again again its head
 [VP] [AdvP] [Obj]

kw'innaalk'aang	yaa'nii , uuchii'
P-k'it-naa-(ghin)..lk'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁ *chii'+3 POSS.
be fire on P again	they say tail
vs	vt n ia
fire was on it again	they say its tail
[VP]
	[Obj]

kw'innaalk'aang	yaa'nii .
P-k'it-naa-(ghin)..lk'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁
be fire on P again	they say
vs	vt
fire was on it again	they say
[VP]

Ten of them went back, they say, and fire was on it again, and a fire was on its head again, they say, and a fire was on its tail again, they say.
Ten of them went back and built a fire on its head and tail.
Ten / went back / they say / On it was fire again / they say / Again / its head / on it was fire again / they say / Its tail / on was fire again / they say

laL ba ûñ | na hes t̄i yai | ya ní | kwûn nal kûñ | ya ni | tcō yī ha | ō sī | k'wûn nal k'añ ya^ε nī
 ō tcī k'wûn nal k'añ ya^ε nī
 la^εL ba^ε ûñ na hes t̄i yai ya^ε nī k'wûn nal k'añ tcō yī ha^ε ō sī^ε k'wûn nal k'añ ya^ε nī ō tcī
 k'wûn nal k'añ ya^ε nī

9.2 naaheestyaa	yaa'nii , yeeh-bii'ing' .
naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁ yeeh biï'ing'
sg go back home	they say house inside
vi	vt n a nsuffix
he started back home	they say inside the house
[VP]
	[PostP]

They went back home and into the house, they say.
They went back to the house.
He went home, / they say, / house in.

na hes t̄i ya ya^ε nī ye bī^ε ûñ^ε

10.1 "	naasdilk'aan	,	yaa'n
	naa-(s)..lhk'aan+PERF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ.		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.
	build fire again		say
	vt		vt
	we built fire again		they said
	[VP]		[VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

"We built the fire again," they said, they say.

"We have built a fire on it again," they said.

"We will build fire again," they said, / they say.

nas dûl k'an ya^εn ya^ε nī

10.2	naasaang	yaa'nii ,	waakw
	naa-(s)..saan+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii₁	P-ghaakw++ 3 OBL.
	move (to another place)	they say	to one side of P
	vi	vt	postp
	they move	they say	to one side of it
	[VP	]	[AdvP]

naasaang

yaa'nii .

naa-(s)..saan+IMPF.,3

yaa'nii₁

move (to another place)

they say

vi

vt

they move

they say

[VP

]

They moved away, they say, and moved to the other side, they say.

They moved away and lived in another place.

They moved / they say / Away / they moved / they say

na sañ ya^ε nī wakw na sañ ya^ε nī

Note: GR/Essene version: "After the people had killed the big horned snake they moved away from their camp along that creek. They lived in another place for a few years and then returned to their old camp."

10.3 **naaheestyaa** **yaa'nii** ,
 naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 **yaa'nii**₁
 sg go back home they say
 vi vt
 he started back home they say
 [VP]

kw'innaalk'aang **yaa'nii** , **uusii'**
 P-k'it-naa-(ghin)..lk'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL. **yaa'nii**₁ *sii'+3 POSS.
 be fire on P again they say head
 vs vt n ia
 fire was on it again they say its head
 [VP] [PostP]

kw'it **naalk'aang** **yaa'nii** .
 *k'it++ 3 OBL. **naa..lk'aan+IMPF.,3** **yaa'nii**₁
 on P burn again they say
 postp vs vt
 on it it burns again they say
] [VP]

They started back, they say, and a fire was on it again, they say, it was burning again on its head, they say.

They went there again and built a fire on its head.

He went back / they say / On it was fire again / they say / Its head on / was fire again / they say

na hes t ya ya^ε nī k'wûn nal k'qñ ya^ε nī o sī^ε k'wût' nal k'qñ ya^ε nī

10.4 **ts'isnoo'** **oolit** **yaa'nii** .
ts'isnoo' **oo-s..lit+IMPF.,3** **yaa'nii**₁
 mountain be burned they say
 n a vi vt
 mountain is burned they say
 [Subj] [VP]

The mountain is burned over, they say.

The mountain was burned over.

Mountain / they burned / they say

sûs nō | ō lût | ya ni
 ts'ûs nō^ε ō lût ya^ε nī

10.5	naaheestyaa		yaa'nii .
	naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3		yaa'nii ₁
	sg go back home		they say
	vi		vt
	he started back home		they say
	[VP]

They started back home, they say.

They came home.

He went back / they say

na hes t̄i ya | ya ní

na hes t ya ya^ε n̄i

10.6	shoong	oolit-kwaan		yaa'nii .
	shoong	oo-s..lit+IMPF.,3	=kwaan	yaa'nii ₁
	good	be burned	inferred evid.	they say
	adj	vi	vencl	vt
	good	had been burned over		they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

It had been well burned over, they say.

[The mountain] was well burned over; they found.

Well / it was burned / they say

cōñ | ò lût kwûn | ya ní

cōñ ò lût kw̄n ya^ε n̄i

11.1	teelee'-biil'	yeech'ooghibiil'
	teelee'+LOC.	yeeh-oo-(ghin)..bilh/biil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,3INDF.,3OBV.
	net bag	put O in container
	n a	vt
	in a net bag	he put it in
	[PostP]	[VP

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

They put it in a bag, they say.

He put it (the horn) in a sack.

Sack in / he put it in / they say

te le | bī | ī ye | tcō gō bīl | ya nī

te le^ε bī^ε ye tcō gē bīl' ya^ε nī

Note: the horn

11.2	naaheelhtkat	yaa'nii	, ghisit
	naahi-(s)..lhtkat+PERF.	yaa'nii ₁	(ghin)..sit+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
	pl go back	they say	pound up O
	vi	vt	vt
	they went back	they say	were pounding it up
	[VP	]	[VP

yaa'nii	, baaghang'ang	teeghiing	yaa'nii
yaa'nii ₁	baaghang'ing'	ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
they say	coastwards	carry load O along	they say
vt	adv	vt	vt
they say	coastwards	they carried it along	they say
]	[AdvP]	[VP]

They went back, they say, they were pounding it up, they say, and carried it along to the coast, they say.

When they came back he pounded it up and carried it to the coast.

They went back / they say / He pounded it / they say / Coast to / he carried it / they say

na hīL kūt | ya nī | gūs sūt | ya nī | ba gūn ûñ | te giñ | ya nī

na heL t kūt ya^ε nī gē sūt ya^ε nī ba gūn ûñ te giñ ya^ε nī

11.3	ch'oobaagh-Naahneesh	ch'oobaagh	ghiltciin
	ch'oobaagh-Naahneesh	ch'oobaagh	..ghiltciin'+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.
	Indian poison	poison	be made
	n a	n a	vp
	Indian poison	poison	was made
	[NP]	[Subj]	[VP

yaa'nii	.
yaa'nii ₁	
they say	
vt	
they say	
]	

Poison was made, "Indian poison", they say.

They made "Indian poison" of it.

Poison / Indian / poison / was made / they say

tcō bûg | na nec | tco bûg | gûl tciñ | ya nī

tcō bağ na nec tcō bağ gûl tc'in ya^ε nī

Note: from the ground up horn

11.4 beeding	yaa'nii ,	lheenee'haa' .
P-ee..din+IMPF.,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁	lheenee'haa'
P to die	they say	everyone
vi	vt	pron
it died	they say	everyone
[VP	]	[Subj]

They died, they say, everyone.

Those people all died.

Died, / they say, / all.

be d/tûñ | ya ní | Le ne ha

be dûñ ya^ε nī Le ne^ε ha^ε

11.5 biyee'	sliing'	yaa'nii .
biyee'	(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
3 POSS indep	become	they say
pron	vs	vt
its/their	became	they say
[PossP]	[VP]

It became theirs, they say.

It became the property [of the coast people].

Theirs [their property] / it became / they say

bī ye slīñ ya nī

bī ye^ε slīñ^ε ya^ε nī

Note: The poison became the property of the Coast Yuki when the people who'd killed the Serpent and made the poison had all died there.

Note: Possessive complement

12 **kwanlhaang** .

kwanlhaang

all/the end

interj

all/the end

[Interj]

That is all.

That is all.

All.

kwûn lûñ

kwûn ląñ

GT30: Rattlesnake Husband

Goddard 1909, pp.175-7, 234-235; Goddard stories 11-20, pp.4-12

This story illustrates the Cahto wedding/marriage process well: marriage usually informally arranged by the couple themselves, the groom coming to the girl at night in her family house and trying to keep it secret a few nights, the groom or his mother hanging up gifts for the girl and her family, valuable and well-made items.

"Animals and monsters are thought likely to form attachments for adolescent girls.

Marriages between human beings and rattlesnakes are not unusual incidents. The snake of course are usually in their human form." (Goddard 1909, p.234)

Compare Essene's field notes 50.2 Cu 23.1, pp.104- 6 "Story Of A Man and His Family," which relates a similar rattlesnake husband story. This English-language Gill Ray version has very different details: including that the snake was not killed, visitors, the rattlesnake man helping the family with deer, the girl's father becoming a rattlesnake man, etc. "GR/Essene" in the notes relates to this story, but most of the story is too different to connect to specific lines or sections.

1.1	ch'naalhdang	stiing	yaa'nii	saahding-haa'
	ch'naalhdang	s..tii/tiin+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	saahding-haa'
	girl (at menarche)	lie (animate O)	they say	all alone
	<small>n a</small>	vs	vt	adv
	adolescent girl	was lying	they say	alone
	[Subj]	[VP	]	[AdvP]

An adolescent girl was lying all alone, they say.

An adolescent girl was lying alone.

Adolescent girl / was lying, / they say, / alone.

tcin naL dûn | stiñ | ya ni | sa' dûñ | ha

tc' naL dûñ stiñ ya^ε nī sa' dûñ ha^ε

Note: GR/Essene version: "This man and his family went camping. They were out to get food for winter. There were only three in the man's family, his wife, one daughter and himself. These people camped in Signal Mountain."

1.2	lh'ghish	ninyaa	yaa'nii
	tl'ghish+DIAL. VAR. OF	n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	rattlesnake	sg come/arrive back	they say
	<small>n a</small>	vi	vt
	rattlesnake	it comes	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

A rattlesnake came, they say.

A rattlesnake came
Rattlesnake / came / they say

Le gûc | nûñ ya (ni) | ya nī
 L^ε gûc nûn ya ya^ε nī

1.3	tc'eeek	bilh	tc'neestiing
	tc'eeek	*ilh+ACCOMP., INSTR., + 3 OBL.	n-(s)..tiish/tiin+PERF., 3ANIM.
	woman	accompaniment	lie down
	n a	postp	vi
	woman	with her	he lay down
	[PostP	]	[VP

yaa'nii .
yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

He lay with the woman, they say.
and lay with her.
Woman / with / he lay / they say.

tcek | bûL | tcin nes tiñ | ya nī
 tc'ek bûL tc' nes tiñ ya^ε nī

2.1	"	daantshaang	neestiing	?"
		daantshaang	n-(s)..tiish/tiin+PERF., 3	
		who?	lie down	
		inter	vi	
		who?	it lay down	
		[Subj]	[VP]	

"Who lay down?"
"Who lay down?"
"Who / lay down?"

dan te cûñ | nes tiñ
 dan t cañ nes tiñ

2.2 yoonii	yaa'nii .
oo-n-(ghin)..yii+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
think X	they say
vi	vt
she thought	they say
[VP]]

she thought, they say.

she thought.

she thought / they say

yō yī | ya nī

yō nī ya^ε nī

2.3 ch'naalhdang	s'iswotc	yaa'nii .
ch'naalhdang	(s)..wotc+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
girl (at menarche)	tickle	they say
n a	vt	vt
adolescent girl	he tickled her	they say
[Obj]	[VP]]

He tickled (caressed) the adolescent girl, they say.

He tickled her [the adolescent girl].

Tc'naɫduñ / he tickled [he tickld her] / they say

kin naɫ dũñ | sūs wōtc/gōtc | ya ni

tc' naɫ dũñ s'ūs wōtc ya^ε nī

Note: GR/Essene version: "They had been there about three days and then one night the man and his wife heard their daughter laughing."

3.1 lh'ghish	nin'isdik'ee'	, too
tl'ghish+DIAL. VAR. OF	nin'-(s)..dik'ee'+PERF.,3	too
rattlesnake	get up	water
n a	vi	n a
rattlesnake	he got up	water
[Subj]	[VP]	[Obj]

yiighintoo'	yaa'nii .
(ghin)..too/too'+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
drink up water	they say
vt	vt
he drank up the water	they say
[VP]]

The rattlesnake got up and drank up all the water, they say.

The rattlesnake got up and took a drink of [all the] water.

Rattlesnake / got up [he got up], / water / he drank all / they say

Le gûc | nûn ûs dûk ke | tō | yī gûn tō | ya nī

L^ε gûc nûn ûs dûk k'e^ε tō yī gûn tō^ε ya^ε nī

3.2 "	too	ooshlang'	,	tc'in
	too	oo-n-(ghin)..lan+OPT.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
	water	bring O		say
	n a	vt		vt
	water	let me bring it		he said
	[Obj]	[VP]		[VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

"I'll get some water," he said, they say.

"I will bring some water," he said.

"Water / I will get," / he said / they say

tō | ōc lûñ | tcin | ya ni

tō ōc lûñ^ε tc'in ya^ε nī

4.1 "	daanjii	aanoh't'ee	?"
	daanjii	aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,2PL.	
	who?	be thus	
	inter	vs (pers.)	
	who?	you (pl.) are	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

"Who are you?"

"Who are you?"

"Who / are you?"

dûn tcī/gī | a nō te

dạn djī a nō' t'e

4.2	ch'naalhdang	tc'in	yaa'nii .
	ch'naalhdang	..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
	girl (at menarche)	say	they say
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vt</small>	<small>vt</small>
	adolescent girl	he said	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

*the adolescent girl asked, they say.
asked the girl.*

tc'nalduñ / said / they say

tcin nal dûñ | tcin^ | ya ni
tc' nal dûñ tc'in ya^ε nī

5.1	"	Tl'ghish	aasht'ee-ye	,
		Tl'ghish	aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,1SG.	=yee
		Rattlesnake	be thus	eyewitness evid.
		<small>n a</small>	<small>vs (pers.)</small>	<small>encl</small>
		Rattlesnake	I am thus	
		[Subj]	[VP]	

tc'in	yaa'nii .
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
say	they say
<small>vt</small>	<small>vt</small>
he said	they say
[VP]

"I am Rattlesnake," he said, they say.

"I am rattlesnake, " he said.

"Rattlesnake / I am, " / he said / they say

Le gûc | ac te ye | tcin | ya ni
L^ε gûc ac t'ē ye tc'in ya^ε nī

5.2	"	tl'ee'	nilh	siitiin-ee
		tl'ee'	*ilh+ACCOMP.,+ 2SG. OBL.	s..tii/tiin+PERF.,1SG.
		night	accompaniment	lie (animate O)
		<small>adv</small>	<small>postp</small>	<small>vs</small>
		night	with you (sg.)	I lie
		[AdvP]	[PostP]	[VP]

"I lay with you at night.

"I lie with you at night.

"Night / with you / I lie.

L!e | nûL sī tī ne

Le^ε nûL sī tī ne

5.3 **doo-kwninsin-ee**

?

doo=	n-(s)..sin/sin'+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3AREAL OBJ.	=hee
negative=	know O	=negative enclitic
neg	vt	encl
you (sg.) do not know it		
[VP]		

You didn't know it.

Did you not know it ?

You did not know it.

dō kwûn nûn sûn ne

dō kwûn nûn sûn ne

5.4 **shiiyee'**

tc'EEK aanint'ee-yee

shiiyee'	tc'EEK	aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,2SG.	=yee
1sg possessive indep	woman	be thus	eyewitness evid.
pron	n a	vs (pers.)	encl
mine	woman	you (sg.) are	
[Subj]	]	[VP]	

You are my wife.

You are my wife.

My / woman [my wife] / you are.

cī ye | tsek | a nûn te ye

cī ye^ε tc'ek a nûn t'e ye

5.5 **doo-daanshoo' shilhshis-ee**

doo-daanshoo'	(0)..lhsis/saan+IMPF.,3,+ 1SG. OBJ.	=yee
nobody	see/catch sight of	eyewitness evid.
pron	vt	encl
nobody	sees me	
[Subj]	[VP]	

Nobody can see me.

No one must see me.

Nobody / sees me.

dō dūn cō+ | cūL sūs e

dō dan cō^ε cūL sūs e

5.6 **dooḥaa'-shghankiinik-bang**

dooḥaa' P-ghaan-(ghin)..lik+PERF.,2SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.,+ 1SG. OBL.

do not ! tell O about P

neg vt

=bang₂

=future predictive enclitic

encl

you must not tell about me

[VP]

You must to tell about me.

You must not tell about me.

You must not tell about me.

dō ha cū gūn kī nūk būñ

dō ha^ε c gūn kī nūk būñ

5.7 **nee'odin-nan**

P-ee..din+OPT.,+ 2SG. OBL. =nang

P to die

vi

you may die

[VP]

=definite enclitic?

encl

wankwnik-dee'

P-ghaan-(ghin)..lik+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. =dee'

tell O about P

vt

if you (sg.) tell about it

[AdvCI]

=if

conj

You will die if you tell about me."

If you do [tell about it], you will die."

You will die / you tell about when."

ne ō dūn nūn wūñ kwī nūk de/te

ne ō dūn nūn wūn kuw nūk de^ε

6.1	yoo'	tc'teelhbalh-kwaan		yaa'nii	.
	yoo'	ti-(s)..lhbalh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	=kwaan	yaa'nii ₁	
	bead	hang O up	inferred evid.	they say	
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vt</small>	<small>vencl</small>	<small>vt</small>	
	bead	he had hung it up		they say	
	[Obj]	[VP]

He had hung up beads, they say.
Some one [he] had hung up beads they saw.
Beads / he had hung up / they say

yō | tcit tel bûl kwun | ya ni
 yō^ε tc' tel bûl kwən ya^ε nī

6.2	yoo'ghittl'oong	tc'teelhbalh-kwaan		yaa'nii	
	yoo'ghittl'oong	ti-(s)..lhbalh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	=kwaan	yaa'nii ₁	
	bead belt	hang O up	inferred evid.	they say	
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vt</small>	<small>vencl</small>	<small>vt</small>	
	bead belt	he had hung it up		they say	
	[Obj]	[VP]

He had hung up a beaded belt, they say.
Some one [he] had hung up beads woven together they saw.
Beads / woven [belt] / he had hung up / they say

yō | gûl L!ō ñ | tcit tel bûl kwûn | ya ni
 yō^ε gûl Lōñ tc' tel bûl kwən ya^ε nī

6.3	ghilhgheel'-it		ch'naalhdang
	ghin..lhghilh/gheel'+TRTL.,PERF.,3	=hit+VAR. OF	ch'naalhdang
	become evening	=when	girl (at menarche)
	vd	encl	n a
	when it became evening		adolescent girl
	[AdvCl]		[PostP]

bilh		tc'neestiing-kwaan	
*ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.	n-(s)..tiish/tiin+PERF.,3ANIM.	=kwaan	
accompaniment	lie down	inferred evid.	
postp	vi	vencl	
with her	he had lain down		
]	[VP		

yaa'nii .
yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

When it was evening he had lain down with the adolescent girl, they say.
When it was night some one had lain with the girl.
Evening when [at night] / tc'nalduñ / with / had lain down / they say

gûL gel lût | tcin nal dûñ | bûL | tcin nes tiñ/tiñ kwuñ/kwûñ | ya nī
gûL gel lût tc' nal dûñ bûL tc' nes tiñ kwɔn ya^ε nī

6.4	ch'naalhdang	tl'ee'	kineesh	yaa'nii .
	ch'naalhdang	tl'ee'	k-n-(ghin)..yiish/yii+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	girl (at menarche)	night	speak	they say
	n a	adv	vi	vt
	adolescent girl	night	she talks	they say
	[Subj]	[AdvP]	[VP]

The adolescent girl talked in the night, they say.
In the night she [adolescent girl] had talked.
Tc'nalduñ / night / talked / they say

tcin nuL dûñ | L!e | kin nec | ya nī
tc' nal dûñ Le^ε kin nec ya^ε nī

6.5	yiiskaan	naaheestyai-kwaan			yaa'nii
	yiiskaan ₁	naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3	=i	=kwaan	yaa'nii ₁
	morning	sg go back home	=NR	inferred evid.	they say
	adv	vi	encl	vencl	vt
	morning	he had gone home			they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

He had gone back home in the morning, they say.

In the morning he had gone away again.

It was day [daylight] / he had gone home [he went home] / they say

yīs kan/kun | na hes tī yai kwûn | ya nī
yīs kan na hes t yai kw̩n ya^ε nī

6.6	yiiskaan	naa'intyai-kwaan			
	yi-s..kaan	naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	=i	=kwaan	
	be daylight	sg come back	=NR	inferred evid.	
	vd	vi	encl	vencl	
	morning	he had come back			
	[AdvP]	[VP			

yaa'nii .
yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

He came back in the morning, they say.

He came back.

Morning / he had come back / they say

yīs kañ | na ûn tī yai kwûn | ya nī
yīs kan na ûn t yai kw̩n ya^ε nī

6.7	kiitsaa'	daahsidintaang			
	kiitsaa'	daah-s'it-n-(nin)..tish/taan+PERF.,3			
	basket pot	stick-like/enclosed to stand upright			
	n a	vs			
	basket pot	it was standing upright			
	[Subj]	[VP]			

The water basket pot was standing there.

The water basket was there.

Basket-pot [xai tsa] / was standing [he pick it].

kī tsa | da sīt dũñ tañ
kī tsa^ε da sit dũn tañ

6.8	too	tc'oonghilaang		tc'EEK	baa
	too	oo-n-(ghin)..lan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.		tc'EEK	P-aa- ₁ ++ 3 OBL.
	water	bring O		woman	for P
	n a	vt		n a	v:(12-incorp)
	water	he brought		woman	for her
	[Obj]	[VP]		[PostP]

He brought water for the woman.

He had brought water for his wife.

Water toward [water] / he brought [toward he went for] / woman / for.

tō | tcũñ ûl lañ | tcek | bá
tō tc'ũñ^ε õñ gũl lañ tc'ek ba

6.9	naaheestyai		,	ghilhgheel'
	naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3	=i		ghin..lhghilh/gheel'+TRTL.,PERF.,3
	sg go back home	=NR		become evening
	vi	encl		vd
	he went back home			it became evening
	[VP]			[AdvCl]

,	naa'intyai		.
	naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3ANIM.	=i	
	sg come back	=NR	
	vi	encl	
	he came back		
	[VP]		

He went back home and came back in the evening.

He went away and came again in the evening.

He went back. / Evening. / He came back.

na hest yai | gũL gel | na ûn tī yai
na hes t yai gũL gel' na ûn t yai

7	lheenee'haa'	naahneesh	nteeslaal-it		tc'EEK
	lheenee'haa'	naahneesh	nteeslaalh	=hit+VAR. OF	tc'EEK
	everyone	person	sleep	=when	woman
	pron	n a	v	encl	n a
	everyone	person	when they were asleep		woman
	[AdvCl			]	[PostP

bilh

tc'neestiing

*ilh+ACCOMP., INSTR., + 3 OBL.

n-(s)..tiish/tiin+PERF., 3ANIM.

instrumental

lie down

postp

vi

with it

he lay down

]

[VP]

When all the people were asleep, he lay down with the woman.

When all the people were asleep, he lay down with the woman.

All / people [Indians] / were asleep when [went to sleep when] / woman / with / he lay down [he lay].

Le ne ha | na nec | ûn tes lal lût | tcek bûL tcin nes tiñ

Le ne^ε ha^ε na nec n tes lal lût tc'ek bûL tc' nes tiñ

8.1	tl'ee'	,	"	ch'naalhdang	kineesh-'anjii	.
	tl'ee'			ch'naalhdang	k-n-(ghin)..yiiish/yii+IMPF.,3	= 'anjii
	night			girl (at menarche)	speak	=MIR
	adv			n a	vi	encl
	night			adolescent girl	she is talking	
	[AdvP]			[Subj]	[VP]	

In the night, "The adolescent girl is talking."

[In the night, "Hmm, the adolescent girl is talking."

Night / "Tc'nalduñ / is talking."

L!e | kin naL dûñ | kin nec inye

Le^ε tc' naL dûñ kin nec ûñ gī

8.2	kwnaang	,	"	daahiinjii		shiiyaatc'ee'tc
	*naang+3ANIM. POSS.			daahiinjii		*yaatc'ee'tc+1SG. POSS. OF
	mother			what do you say?		woman's daughter
	n ia			inter		n ia
	her mother			what do you say?		my daughter
	[NP]			[VP]		[NP]

?"

Her mother, "What did you say, my daughter?"

"Why were you talking, my girl?"

Her mother / "what you say [what for] / my girl?"

kwin nûñ | da din tcī | cī ya tcetc/setc

kui nañ da hin tcī cī ya tcetc

Note: GR/Essene version: "The next morning the mother asked her daughter what she had been laughing at the night before but the girl didn't answer."

9.1	"	Tl'ghish	aasht'ee-yee	.
		Tl'ghish	aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,1SG.	=yee
		Rattlesnake	be thus	eyewitness evid.
		n a	vs (pers.)	encl
		Rattlesnake	I am thus	
		[NP]	[VP]	

"I am Rattlesnake."

"I am rattlesnake.

"Rattlesnake / I am.

Le gûc | ac te ye

L^ε gûc ac t'e ye

Note: NP complement

9.2	naahneesh	kinishyiish-yee	.
	naahneesh	k-n-(ghin)..yiish/yii+OPT.,1SG.	=yee
	person	speak	eyewitness evid.
	n a	vi	encl
	person	I speak a language	
	[Obj]	[VP]	

"I speak the people's language."

I talk human language.

People / I talk.

na nec | kûn nec yĭj ye
 na nec kûn nûc yĭc ye

9.3	shiiyee'	tc'eeek	aanint'ee-yee	
	shiiyee'	tc'eeek	aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,2SG.	=yee
	1sg possessive indep	woman	be thus	eyewitness evid.
	pron	n a	vs (pers.)	encl
	mine	woman	you (sg.) are	
	[NP	]	[VP]	

You are my wife.

You are my wife.

My / woman / you are.

cĭ ye tcek | a nûn te ye
 cĭ ye^ε tc'ek a nûn t'e ye

Note: Possessive phrase as NP complement

9.4	doohaa'-shdjiighiltik-banjaa'	
	doohaa' P-djii..ghiltik+PERF.,+ 1SG. OBL.	=banjaa'
	do not ! P to be killed	=let be/will be
	neg vp	encl
	do not let me be killed	
	[VP]	

Do not let me be killed!

Do not let me be killed.

Do not let me be killed.

dō ha | s tcĭ gûl tûk bûn tca
 dō ha^ε s tcĭ gûl tûk bûn dja^ε

9.5 **nee'odin-nang**

P-ee..din+OPT.,+ 2SG. OBL. =nang
 P to die =definite enclitic?
 vi encl
 you may die
 [VP]

shdjiighiltik-dee' ."

P-djii..ghiltik+PERF.,+ 1SG. OBL. =dee'
 P to be killed =if
 vp conj
 if I am killed
 [AdvCI]

If I am killed you may die."
You will die if you tell about me."
You will die / if they kill me."

ne ō dūn ũñ sī gûl tûk de/te
 ne ō dūn nũñ s djī gûl tûk de^ε

10.1 **yoo' teelhsaang yaa'nii , lhaang yoo' ,**
 yoo' ti-(s)..lhsaan+PERF.,3 yaa'nii₁ lhaang yoo'
 bead be hanging they say many/much bead
 n a vi vt adj n a
 bead were hanging they say many bead
 [Subj] [VP]] [NP]

yoo'ghittl'oong , seelhkit , yoo'lhtciik , yoo'dai'itc .
 yoo'ghittl'oong seelhkit yoo'lhtciik yoo'dai'itc
 bead belt magnesite bead magnesite small-flower beads
 n a n a n a n a
 bead belt magnesite bead magnesite small-flower beads
]

Beads were hanging there, they say: many beads, a bead belt, magnesite gold beads, red magnesite beads, small flower beads.

Beads were hanging there. Beads woven together were hanging there. There were "gold beads," red beads, and small ones.

"Beads / were hanging / they say / Many / beads, / beads woven [beads belt], / (gold-beads) [Ind gold beads] / beads red, / beads-flowers-small [long beads/beads flowers]."

yō | tel sūn | ya nī | lañ | yō | yō gûl Lōñ | sel kûl | yō tcīk | yō | dai yits
 yō^ε tel sũñ ya^ε nī lañ yō^ε yō^ε gûl Lōñ sel kûl yō^ε L tcīk yō^ε dai^ε yitc

10.2	naanghityai		yaa'nii	,	yoo'
	naa-n-(ghin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3	=i	yaa'nii ₁		yoo'
	sg come home	=NR	they say		bead
	vi	encl	vt		n a
	he came home		they say		bead
	[VP		]		[Obj]

tc'neelh'iing'		yaa'nii	.
n-(ghin)..lh'iin/iin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁	
look at O		they say	
vt		vt	
he looked at it		they say	
[VP]	

One came home, they say, and saw the beads, they say.
One of the family came home and saw the beads.
One came home / they say / Beads / he saw / they say

nañ gût yai | ya ni | yōtc nel iñ | ya ni
 nañ gût yai ya^ε nī yō^ε tc' nel iñ^ε ya^ε nī

11	"	daantshaan	yoo'	yiiteelhalh-kwaang		?"
		daantshaang	yoo'	ti-(s)..lhbalh+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.	=kwaan	
		who?	bead	hang O up	inferred evid.	
		inter	n a	vt	vencl	
		who?	bead	he had hung up		
		[Subj]	[Obj]	[VP]		

"Who has hung up the beads?" he asked.
"Who hung up the beads?" he asked.
"Who [Who I wonder] / beads / hung up?"

dûnte cûn | yō | tel bûl kwañ
 dạn t cạn yō^ε yī tel bûl kwañ

12.1	lhaa'haa'	sii'biis'aang-kaah	teelhalh		yaa'nii	.
	lhaa'haa'	sii'biis'aang-kaah	ti-(s)..lhbalh+PERF.,3		yaa'nii ₁	
	one	feather hairnet	be hanging		they say	
	num	n a	vi		vt	
	one	feather hairnet	it was hanging		they say	
	[Subj	]	[VP]	

A feather hairnet was hanging there, they say.

A hair-net [was] hanging there

One / hair-net / feathers / was hanging / they say

La ha | sī bīs añ | ka' teL/l bûl | ya ni

La^ε ha^ε sī^ε bī^ε s^εañ ka' teL bûL ya^ε nī

12.2	snee'bilhghilii'	,	k'aa'	naalhsis
	snee'bilhghilii'		k'aa'	naa-(ghin)..lhsis+IMPF.,3
	anklet/garter		arrow	hang down
	<small>n ia</small>		<small>n a</small>	<small>vd</small>
	anklet/garter		arrow	it hangs down
	[Subj		]	[VP]

naa'ghii-bilh		yaa'nii	.
naa'ghii	-bilh	yaa'nii ₁	
quiver (for arrows)	with	they say	
<small>n a</small>	<small>nsuffix</small>	<small>vt</small>	
with a quiver		they say	
[PostP]	

Garters and arrows were hanging there, along with a quiver, they say.

garters were hanging there besides arrows and a quiver

"My leg with is tied," [that is my garters] / arrows / hanging / quiver [packing / arrowskin] with / they say

s ne bûL gûl lī+ | k!a | naL sûs na gī/gai bûL | ya ni

sne^ε bûL gûl lī^ε k'a^ε naL sûs na gī bûL ya^ε nī

12.3	tl'ohteelh-sii'biis'aang	,	seegot'	teelhalh
	tl'ohteelh sii'biis'aang		seegot'	ti-(s)..lhalh+PERF.,3
	basket hat		bead veil headdress	be hanging
	<small>n a</small>		<small>n a</small>	<small>vi</small>
	basket hat		bead veil headdress	it was hanging
	[Subj		]	[VP]

yaa'nii	.
yaa'nii ₁	
they say	
<small>vt</small>	
they say	
]	

A basket hat and a bead veil headdress were hanging there, they say.

[basket-hat], and a headdress [were hanging there].

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Bear grass / hat, / headdress [rock knee] / was hanging [he hung] / they say

L!ō tel | sī bīs añ | se q/kōt | tel bûl | ya nī

Lō' tel sī^ε bī^ε s'añ se qōt tel bûl ya^ε nī

12.4	kaashtc-lhtsow	teelee'-bii'	s'aan	yaa'nii'
	kaashtc-lhtsow	teelee'+LOC.	s..'aan+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	blue knife	net bag	be situated	they say
	<small>n a</small>	<small>n a</small>	<small>vi</small>	<small>vt</small>
	blue knife	in a net bag	is situated	they say
	[Subj]	[AdvP]	[VP]

A blue knife lay there in a sack, they say.

A blue knife was in a sack.

Knife / blue / sack in / lay / they say

kai+ctc L sō | te le | bī sūn | ya nī

kactc L tsō te le^ε bī^ε s'ān ya^ε nī

12.5	bilhghilghis	staan	yaa'nii
	bilhghilghis	s..taan+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	fire sticks	lie (stick-like O)	they say
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vs</small>	<small>vt</small>
	fire sticks	were lying	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

A set of fire-sticks lay there, they say.

Fire sticks were lying there.

Fire-sticks [fire sticks (Indian match)] / lay [laying there] / they say

bûl gûla gûs | s tûn | ya nī

bûl gûl gûs s tãn ya^ε nī

13	ghilhgeel'	tc'EEK
	ghin..lhghilh/gheel'+TRTL.,PERF.,3	=i tc'EEK
	become evening	=NR woman
	vd	encl n a
	having become evening	woman
	[AdvCI]	[PostP]

bilh	s'istiin	yaa'nii
*ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.	s..tii/tiin+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
accompaniment	lie (animate O)	they say
postp	vs	vt
with her	he lay down	they say
]	[VP]

In the evening he lay down with the woman, they say.

When it was night he lay down with the woman.

Evening [night] / woman / with / he lay / they say

gûL gel | tcek | bûL | sûs tîn | ya ni
 gûL gel' tc'ek bûL s'ûs tin ya^ε nî

14 "	doohaa'-shdjiihiltik-banjaa'	,'
	doohaa' P-djii..ghiltik+PERF.,+ 1SG. OBL.	=banjaa'
	do not ! P to be killed	=let be/will be
	neg vp	encl
	do not let me be killed	
	[VP]	

tc'in	yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
say	they say
vt	vt
he said	they say
[VP]

"Do not let me be killed," he said, they say.

' ' Do not let me be killed, ' ' he said.

"Do not let me be killed," [don't tell about me] / he said / they say

dō ha stī gûL tûk bûn tca | tcin/sin | ya ni
 dō ha^ε stcī gûL tûk bûn dja^ε tc'in ya^ε nî

15 " **shiiyaatc'ee'tc** , **lh'ghish** ,
 *yaatc'ee'tc+1SG. POSS. OF **tl'ghish**+DIAL. VAR. OF
 woman's daughter rattlesnake
 n ia n a
 my daughter rattlesnake
 [NP] [NP]

doohaa'-nin'indik'ee' , **nilh**
 doohaa' nin'-(s)..dik'ee'+IMPF.,2SG. *ilh+ACCOMP.,+ 2SG. OBL.
 do not ! get up accompaniment
 neg vi postp
 do not get up! with you (sg.)
 [VP] [PostP]

neestiin-eekwaanaang ."
 n-(s)..tiish/tiin+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
 lie down eyewitness evid. =kwaan-nan--clitic
 vi encl vencl
 he had lain down
 [VP]

"My daughter, rattlesnake!, do not get up! It has lain down with you!"

"My daughter, do not get up. A rattlesnake has lain down with you."

"My daughter, / rattlesnake. / Do not get up. / With you / he has been lying [lay]."

cī ya tcetc | Le gûc | dō ha nún ûn dûk ke | nûL | nes tī ne kwûn nûñ
 cī ya tcetc L^ε gûc dō ha^ε nûn ûn dûk k'e^ε nûL nes tī ne kwûn nûñ
 Note: said by her mother; NP used as interjection

16.1 " **doo-lh'ghish-yee** .
 doo tl'ghish+DIAL. VAR. OF =yee
 no rattlesnake eyewitness evid.
 interj n a encl
 it is not a rattlesnake
 [VP]

"It is not a rattlesnake.

"It is not a rattlesnake.

"It is not rattlesnake. [not snake]

dō Le gûc ye

dō L^ε gûc ye

Note: noun + clitic used as verb

16.2 **naahneesh-yee**

naahneesh =yee
 person eyewitness evid.
 n a encl
 it is a person
 [VP]

It is a person!

It is a person.

Person it is. [it is is Indian]

na nec ye

na nec ye

Note: noun + clitic used as verb

16.3 **doohaa'-uudjii'olhtik**

doohaa' P-djii-(ghin)..lhtik+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.
 do not ! kill P
 neg vt
 do not kill it!
 [VP]

Don't kill it!

Do not kill it.

Do not kill it.

dō ha ō djī ōL tûk

dō ha^ε ō djī ōL tûk

16.4 " **nee'oding**

P-ee..din+OPT.,+ 2SG. OBL.
 P to die
 vi
 you may die
 [VP]

He told me, "You may die."

'You will die,' he told me.

'You will die,' / he said /

ne ō dûñ tcīn ye

ne ō dûñ tc'in ye

, " **tc'in-yee**

..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. =yee
 say eyewitness evid.
 vt encl
 he said (to me)
 [VP]

16.5	lh'ghish	uudjiisolhtik-dee'	,
	tl'ghish+DIAL. VAR. OF	P-djii-(s)..lhtik+PERF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.	=dee'
	rattlesnake	kill P	=when
	n a	vt	conj
	rattlesnake	when you (pl.) kill it	
	[AdvCI]	

shee'eedin-teilee

P-ee..din+CUST.,+ 1SG. OBL.	=teilee
P to die	=will/shall
vi	encl
I will die	
[VP]	

uudjii'olhtik-dee'	."
P-djii-(ghin)..lhtik+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.	=dee'
kill P	=if
vt	conj
if you (pl.) kill it	
[AdvCI]	

When you kill the rattlesnake, I will die if you kill it.

If you kill the rattlesnake, I shall die.

rattlesnake / you kill if [if you kill]. / I shall die [I will die] / you kill it if [if you kill].

le gûc | ò djī sōL tûk de | ce e dûn te le | ò djī òL tûk de
 L^ε gûc ò djī sōL tûk de^ε ce e dûn tē le ò djī òL tûk de^ε

17.1 "	shee'odin-nang	,	"	tc'in
	P-ee..din+OPT.,+ 1SG. OBL.	=nang		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
	P to die	=definite enclitic?		say
	vi	encl		vt
	I am dying			he said
	[VP]			[VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii ₁
they say
vt
they say
]

I am dying," she said, they say.

am dying now," she said.

I am dying [I will die], " / she said / they say

ce ó dún nũñ | tcin | ya ni
ce ó dún nũñ tc'in ya^ε nĩ

17.2 **naanghilghaal'**

naa-n-(ghin)..lhghaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
beat O
vt
they beat it
[VP]

, **lh'ghish**

tl'ghish+DIAL. VAR. OF
rattlesnake
n a
rattlesnake
[Obj]

uudjii'ghiltik

P-djii..ghiltik+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.
P to be killed
vp
it was killed
[VP

yaa'nii

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

He beat the rattlesnake and it was killed it, they say.

He beat the rattlesnake and killed it.

He beat it. [they hit it] / Rattlesnake [snake] / he killed [they killed] / they say

nañ gũl gal | Le gũc ó djĩ gũl tũk | ya nĩ
nañ gũl gal' L^ε gũc ó djĩ gũl tũk ya^ε nĩ

17.3 **tc'teelghaal'**

ti-(s)..lghaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
throw away stick-like/animate O
vt
he threw it away
[VP]

chin-milh

ching *ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.
stick instrumental
n a postp
with a stick
[PostP

yaa'nii

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

He threw it away with a stick, they say.

He took it up with a stick and threw it away.

He threw it away [they threw it] / stick with / they say

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tc̄i tel gal | tc̄um m̄ul | ya n̄i
 tc' tel gal' tc̄um m̄ul ya^ε n̄i

<p>18 " naalhghaalh naa-(s)..lhghaalh/ghaal'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. beat O again vt hit it again! [VP]</p>	<p>naach'k'ing' ," naa-ch'..k'in'+IMPF.,3 writhe vi it is writhing [VP]</p>
---	---

yaa'nii .
 yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]
"It is writhing, hit it again!" they say.
"It is writhing, hit it again."
"Hit again, / it is writhing, " / they say

naL ḡul na tc̄i k!ûñ | ya n̄i
 naL gaL na tc' k'ûñ ya^ε n̄i

<p>19.1 tc'EEK beeding tc'EEK P-ee..din+IMPF.,+ 3 OBL. woman P to die n a vi woman she died [Subj] [VP]</p>	<p>yaa'nii . yaa'nii₁ they say vt they say]</p>
--	---

The woman died, they say.
The woman died.
Woman / died / they say

tcek | be t̄un ya ni
 tc'ek be d̄un ya^ε n̄i

19.2 " doohaa'-uudjii'olhtik , "

doohaa' P-djii-(ghin)..lhtik+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.
do not ! kill P
neg vt
do not kill it!
[VP]

dishnii'-anjii	,	" tc'in	yaa'nii	.
d..nii/nii'/niilh+IMPF.,1SG.	= 'anjii	..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
say	=MIR	say	they say	
vt	encl	vt	vt	
I said!		he said	they say	
[VP]		[VP]	

"I told you, 'Do not kill it!'" she said, they say.

" 'Do not kill it,' I told you," she said.

"Do not kill it' / I said," / she said / they say

dō ha ō djī ōL tūk | dūc nī ũñ djī | tcin | ya ni
dō ha^ε ō djī ōL tūk dūc nī ũñ gī tc'in ya^ε nī

20 **kwanlhaang** ,

kwanlhaang
all/the end
interj
all/the end
[Interj]

That is all.

That is all.

All.

kwûn Lûñ
kwûn Lqñ

GT31: Water-panther - Too-Bitchow

Goddard, 1909, pp.177, 235; Goddard stories 11-20, pp.26-28

1.1	naakaa'	naahneesh	iintc'ee' uusii'	teeghiing	yaa'nii
	naakaa'	naahneesh	iintc'ee' uusii'	ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	two	person	deer head	carry load O along	they say
	num	n a	n a	vt	vt
	two	person	deer head	carried along	they say
	[Subj	]	[Obj]	[VP]

, **ch'ining'** .
 ch'ining'
 deer head disguise
 n a
 deer head disguise
 [NP]

Two Indians were wearing deer heads, they say, deer head disguises.
"Two Indians were hunting with deer-heads."
Two / Indians / deer / heads / were carrying / they say, / stuffed heads.

na ka na nec | in tcē | ō sī+ | te giñ ya nī | tcin nûñ
 na ka^ε na nec in tce^ε ō sī^ε te giñ ya^ε nī tcin nûñ^ε
 Note: "Wear deer head when they hunt so deer will come up. A White man at Little Lake killed any Indians who was dressed that way." (Goddard stories 11-20, p.26)

1.2	bitchow	ghilsaang	yaa'nii	, naakaa'
	bitchow	..ghilsaan+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	naakaa'
	mountain lion	find O/O be found	they say	two
	n a	vp	vt	num
	mountain lion	it was found	they say	two
	[Subj]	[VP	]	[Obj

naahneesh .
 naahneesh
 person
 n a
 person
]

A mountain lion was seen, they say, by the two people.
They saw a panther.

1.5	bitchow	nchaagh	, baantoo'bi'	bitchow	, Too-Bitchow
	bitchow	nchaagh ₂	baantoo'bi'	bitchow	Too-Bitchow
	mountain lion	large	in the ocean	mountain lion	Water Panther
	n a	adj	adv	n a	n a
	mountain lion	large/much	in the ocean	mountain lion	Water Panther
	[NP]	[AdjP]	[PostP]	[NP]	[NP]

It was a big mountain lion, a mountain lion (that lives) in the ocean, the Water Panther.

It was a big panther that lives in the ocean.

Panther large, / ocean in, / panther, / water panther.

bût tcō n tcag | ban tō bī | bût tcō | tō bût tcō

bût tcō n tcag ban tō^ε bī^ε bût tcō tō bût tcō

Note: Verbless sentence

1.6	yeehnaatyaa	yaa'nii	, see-bii'
	yeeh-naa-(ghin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	see+LOC.
	sg go back in	they say	stone
	vi	vt	n a
	sg go back in	they say	on a stone
	[VP	]	[PostP]

He went in, they say, in the rock.

He went into the rock. 243

He went in / they say / rock in.

ye nat ya ya nī | se bī

ye nat ya ya^ε nī se bī^ε

Note: Seelhk'itstoo'bi' - "sel kûts tō bī big split rock hole" (Goddard stories 11-20, p.26)

"243 A huge, split rock on Redemeyer's ranch. There are supposed to be underground means of communication between certain ponds and the ocean which these mythical animals use." (Goddard, 1909, p.235)

1.7	kowinin	yaa'nii	, yoo'oong
	ko-(ghin)..nii/nin+PERF.,3AREAL	yaa'nii ₁	yoo'oong
	ground to jar	they say	over there
	vi	vt	adv
	the ground jarred	they say	over there
	[VP	]	[AdvP]

The ground jarred, they say, over there.

*The ground jarred with the shock.
Ground jarred / they say / way over.*

kwū nûñ ya nī | yō (kûñ)
kō wûn nûñ ya^ε nī yō òñ

1.8 **ch'aan-mii'** **yaa'ch'oosilhs'aang**
 ch'aang₂+LOC. ch'-oo-(s)..lhts'is/ts'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
 hole listen
 n a vi
 in a hole they listened
 [PostP] [VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

*They listened in the hole, they say.
They listened over the hole.
Hole in / they listened / they say.*

tca mī yûñ ya tcō sūL sañ ya ni
 tc'a mī^ε ya^ε tcō sūL sañ ya^ε nī

2 " **inch'aash** ,"
 (s)..ch'aash/ch'aan+IMPF.,2SG.
 shoot
 vt
 you (sg.) shoot
 [VP]

yaa'lhilch'ing
 P-lh-ch'..in+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ RECP. OBJ.
 tell O X
 vt
 they told each other
 [VP]

yaa'nii .
 yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

*"You shoot!" they told each other, they say.
' You shoot, ' ' they told each other.
"You shoot," / they told one another / they say.*

ûn tcac ya Lûl siñ ya ni
 ûn tc'ac ya^ε Lûl siñ ya^ε nī

3 **beeniljit** **yaa'nii** .
 P-ee-n-(s)..ljit+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBL. **yaa'nii**₁
 be afraid of P they say
 vt vt
 they were afraid of it they say
 [VP]

They were afraid of it, they say.
They were afraid.
They were afraid / they say.

be nûl djût ya nī
 be nûl git ya^ε nī

4 " **hai-haa' kwintee-bang** ,"
haihaa' ko..tee+IMPF.,2SG. =bang₂
 that release/let O go =future predictive enclitic
 dem vt encl
 that you (sg.) must release it
 [Obj] [VP]

yaa'n **yaa'nii** .
 ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST. **yaa'nii**₁
 say they say
 vt vt
 they said they say
 [VP]

"You must let that one go!" they said, they say.
"Let it go," they said.
"That / let it go," / they said / they say.

hai ha kwûn te bûñ yan ya ni
 hai ha kwûn tē bûñ ya^εn ya^ε nī

5 **kwanlhaang** ,

kwanlhaang

all/the end

interj

all/the end

[Interj]

That is all.

That is all.

All.

kwûn Lûñ

kwûn Lạñ

GT32: Milk-snake among the Eels

Goddard, 1909, pp.178, 235-236; Goddard stories 11-20, pp.29-31

"Old story" (Goddard stories 11-20, p.30)

Gene Sloan's recollection of lamprey/eels being caught in Cahto Creek:

But I remember 'em catchin' eels right back here, and my mom used to bake 'em up, and they're oily, fatty. I never did eat any. But she loved 'em. ... In summer time you used to catch 'em. Yeah, Cahto Creek. [SRA: How big were they?] a stake, Yeah, they were like a stake. [showing hands about 3ft apart]. [SRA: And how did they catch 'em?] They had a little hook like that on a pole. And you got a fire burnin' alongside the creek there and the light reflects out in the water and you can see 'em comin' down and just hook 'em. Yeah, catch 'em at night. [SRA: So the fire is long along the bank?] No, it's just little, but it !shines! You put it below the riffle and you can see 'em comin' down. That's how they catch the salmon, too, at night time. (Gene Sloan, August 4, 2019 STE-000_2019_08_04 from timestamp 30:39)

1.1	ts'ii'	ghiltciing		yaa'nii	, §
	ts'ii'	..ghiltciin'+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁	
	brush	be gathered		they say	
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vp</small>		<small>vt</small>	
	brush	was gathered		they say	
	[Obj]	[VP]

Brush was gathered, they say.

They were cutting brush.

Brush / they made / they say,

tsī+/sī gûl tciñ ya nī

ts'ī^ε gûl tciñ ya^ε nī

Note: for kindling

1.2	laa'lhbaa'ang	naahneesh	aal	ghiltciing	yaa'nii
	laa'lhbaa'ang	naahneesh	aal	..ghiltciin'+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	ten	person	firewood	be gathered	they say
	<small>num</small>	<small>n a</small>	<small>n a</small>	<small>vp</small>	<small>vt</small>
	ten	person	firewood	was gathered	they say
	[Obj	]	[Subj]	[VP]

Firewood was gathered by ten people, they say.

2.2	lhaa'haa'	nileeh	yaa'nii	, §
	lhaa'haa'	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	one	swim	they say	
	num	vi	vt	
	one	it swims	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

One was swimming there, they say.

One eel by itself was swimming.

One swam there / they say.

La ha | nûl lē ya nī
 La^ε ha^ε nûl lē ya^ε nī

2.3	taak'	nileeh	yaa'nii	, §
	taak'	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	three	swim	they say	
	num	vi	vt	
	three	it swims	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

Three were swimming there, there say.

Three were swimming.

Three / swam there / they say.

tak nûl lē ya nī
 tak' nûl lē ya^ε nī

2.4	laa'saanii	nileeh	yaa'nii	, §
	laa'saanii	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	five	swim	they say	
	num	vi	vt	
	five	it swims	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

Five were swimming there, they say

Five were swimming.

Five / swam there / they say.

la sa nī nûl lē ya nī
 la^ε sa nī nûl lē ya^ε nī

2.5	laa'lhbaa'ang	nileeh	yaa'nii	§
	laa'lhbaa'ang	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	ten	swim	they say	
	num	vi	vt	
	ten	it swims	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

Ten were swimming there, they say.

Ten were swimming.

Ten / swam there / they say.

laL ba ûñ nûl lē ya nī
 la^εL ba^ε ûñ nûl lē ya^ε nī

2.6	lhaa'haa'	nileeh	yaa'nii	§
	lhaa'haa'	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	one	swim	they say	
	num	vi	vt	
	one	it swims	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

One was swimming there, they say.

One swam by itself.

One / swam there / they say.

La ha nûl lē ya^ε nī
 La^ε ha^ε nûl lē ya^ε nī

2.7	ndoo'	yaa'nii	.
	ndoo' ₁	yaa'nii ₁	
	not exist	they say	
	vs	vt	
	not exist	they say	
	[VP]	

There were none, they say.

There were none.

None was / they say.

n̲ dō ya nī
 n̲ dō^ε ya^ε nī

3.1	haaghee'	lhaa'haa'	nileeh	yaa'nii , §
	haaghee'	lhaa'haa'	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	long time	one	swim	they say
	adv	num	vi	vt
	long time	one	it swims	they say
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]

One was swimming for a long time, they say.

One swam by itself for a long time.

Long time / one / swam there / they say.

hañ e La ha nûl lē ya nī

ha ge La^ε ha^ε nûl lē ya^ε nī

3.2	naakaa'	nileeh	yaa'nii , §
	naakaa'	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	two	swim	they say
	num	vi	vt
	two	it swims	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

Two were swimming there, they say.

Two swam there.

Two / swam there / they say.

nûk ka | nûl lē ya nī

nək ka^ε nûl lē ya^ε nī

3.3	laa'lhbaa'ang	nileeh	yaa'nii , §
	laa'lhbaa'ang	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	ten	swim	they say
	num	vi	vt
	ten	it swims	they say
	[Subj]	[VP]

Ten were swimming there, they say.

Ten swam there.

Ten / swam there / they say.

laL ba ûñ nûl lē ya ni

la^εL ba^ε ûñ nûl lē ya^ε nī

3.4	naahdin-laa'lhbaa'ang	lhaang	nileeh	yaa'nii .
	naahdin-laa'lhbaa'ang	lhaang	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	twenty	many/much	swim	they say
	num	adj	vi	vt
	twenty	many	it swims	they say
	[NP]	[Subj]	[VP]

Twenty, many were swimming there, they say.

Twenty swam there.

Twenty / many [lots] swam there / they say.

na dûn laL ba ûñ lañ nûl lē ya nī

na dûn la^εL ba^ε ûñ lañ nûl lē ya^ε nī

Note: It is unclear how the "twenty" and "many" relate, whether they are in an appositive, additive or modifying relationship.

4.1	t'aadilk'its	nileegh-it	yaa'nii ,	naahneesh
	t'aadilk'its	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3	=hit+VAR. OF	yaa'nii ₁
	kingsnake	swim	=when	they say
	n a	vi	encl	vt
	kingsnake	when it swims		they say
	[AdvP]
				person
				n a
				person
				[Subj]

tsinteelhdeel' **yaa'nii** , §

tsin-ti-(s)..lhdiilh/deel'+PERF.,3 **yaa'nii**₁

du /pl run away they say

vi vt

they ran away they say

[VP]

When a kingsnake/milksnake came swimming, they say, the people ran away, they say.

When a milk-snake swam there the people ran off.

Milk-snake / swam when [came] / they say / people / ran off [run off] / they say.

ta dûL kûts | nûl lē gût ya nī na nej | sùn tel del ya nī

ta dûL k'ûts nûl lē gût ya^ε nī na nec ts'ûn tel del' ya^ε nī

4.2	naakaa'	naahneesh	teesin	yaa'nii , §
	naakaa'	naahneesh	teeh-(ghin)..sin+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	two	person	stand in water	they say
	num	n a	vi	vt
	two	person	are standing in water	they say
	[Subj	]	[VP]

Two people were standing in the water, they say.

Two persons were standing in the water.

Two / persons / stood in water / they say.

nûk ka | na nec | t+e siñ ya nī

na:k ka^ε na nec te sin ya^ε nī

4.3	t'aadilk'its	nileeh	yaa'nii	, §
	t'aadilk'its	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	kingsnake	swim	they say	
	<small>n a</small>	<small>vi</small>	<small>vt</small>	
	kingsnake	it swims	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

The kingsnake/milksnake was swimming there, they say.

The milk-snake swam there.

Milk- snake / swam there / they say.

ta dûL kûs nûl lē ya nī

ta dûL k'ûts nûl lē ya^ε nī

4.4	uutcoonghitchaang	yaa'nii	, §
	P-tcoo-n-(ghin)..chiish/chaan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.	yaa'nii ₁	
	leave/abandon P	they say	
	<small>vt</small>	<small>vt</small>	
	they left them	they say	
	[VP]	

They left them, they say.

They left.

They left them / they say.

ō tsōñ gût sañ ya nī

ō tsōñ gût tcañ ya^ε nī

Note: abandoning the many lampreys/eels they'd caught

4.5 "	naawohdaalh	,"	tc'in	yaa'nii	§
	naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PROG.,2PL.		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
	sg go back		say	they say	
	vi		vt	vt	
	you (pl) go back		he said	they say	
	[VP]		[VP]	

"You all go home!" he said to the people, they say.

' ' Go home, ' ' they said.

"Go home," / he said / they say, / persons.

na wō daL tcin | ya nī | na nej

na wō^ˈ daL tc'in ya^ε nī na nec

4.6	doo-yiilhkai	tcoonghitchaang
	doo-yiilhkai	tcoo-n-(ghin)..tchiish/chaan+PERF.,3
	pre-dawn	quit the chase
	adv	vi
	pre-dawn	they quit the chase
	[AdvP]	[VP]

beeniljit-it

P-ee-n-(s)..ljit+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBL. =hit+VAR. OF

be afraid of P =when

vt encl

because they were afraid of it

[AdvCl]

Before dawn they quit because they were afraid of it.

Before it was morning the people quit fishing because they were afraid.

Not day / they quit / they were afraid because.

dō yiL k?ai | tcon iL tcañ | beñ ûl djit ût

dō yiL kai tcōn gę tcañ be nûl git ût

Note: "Rose said one way [beñ ûl djit ût] and Bill the other [beñ ûl git ût]" (Goddard stories 11-20, p.31)

5 **kwanlhaang** ,

kwanlhaang

all/the end

interj

all/the end

[Interj]

That is all.

That is all.

All.

kwûn lûñ

kwûn lãñ

GT33: Stealing of the Baby

Goddard 1909, pp.179, 236; Goddard stories 11-20, pp.13-15

"tc̄in ta nac te batc/nast b̄uts woods in wild man" (Goddard stories 11-20, p.14); "The being who appeared as a woman and asked for the baby is said to be the sort described in the next story." (Goddard 1909, p.236)

Compare Gene Sloan's recollection of stories about n̄a:nitʃ' ʌntʃin stealing kids:

Just from my old people who used to lay around the stove, down and tell us stories about "n̄a:ni-tʃ' ʌntʃin" stealin' kids. I don't know what they did with, if they ate them, or what, raised 'em?. But they were hairy. So that's how I figure that they were bear people. Used to hear a lot of stories about that. And you can smell 'em. That's before science came out with the deal that you can smell them "Bigfoot", that they stink. I heard stories way before that came out. [SRA: And, the "n̄a:ni-tʃ' ʌntʃin", are they the same as "Bigfoot"?] I think so; the Caucasians call 'em "Bigfoot", and they see them all over. So it has to be a tribe. (Gene Sloan, August 4, 2019 STE-003_2019_08_04 from timestamp 36:30)

1.1	laa'lhbaa'ang	tc'yaankii	laashii'
	laa'lhbaa'ang	tc'yaankii	laashii'
	ten	women	buckeye
	num	n a	n a
	ten	women	buckeye
	[Subj	]	[Obj]

bii'nooghilheegh

bii'-noo-(ghin)..lheegh/lheek'+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBL.

soak mush

vt

soak mush

[VP

Ten women were soaking buckeye flour, they say.

Ten women were soaking buckeye flour at the creek.

Ten / women / buckeyes / were soaking / they say.

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

laL ba ûñ sī yûñ kī la cī | bī nō gûL leg | ya ni

la^εL ba^ε ûñ tc' yañ kī la cī^ε bī^ε nō gûL leg ya^ε nī

GT33 - Stealing the Baby - Bill Ray

1.2 **skii tceeh yaa'nii** , §
skii (ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3 **yaa'nii**₁
 baby cry they say
 n a vi vt
 baby he cries they say
 [Subj] [VP]]

A baby cries, they say.

[A man was tending the baby in the house.] The baby cried.

Baby / cried / they say.

is kī tce ya ni

s kī^ε tce' ya^ε nī

Note: "A man was tending the baby in the house."

1.3 " **dee ilhtish skii** ," **tc'eeek** , "

dee (ghin)..lhtish/tiin+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ. **skii** **tc'eeek**
 here give animate O baby woman
 dem vt n a n a
 here give it baby woman
 [AdvP] [VP] [Obj] [Subj]

dee ilhtish skii ," **tc'in**
dee (ghin)..lhtish/tiin+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ. **skii** ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
 here give animate O baby say
 dem vt n a vt
 here give it baby he said
 [AdvP] [VP] [Obj] [VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]]

"Give the baby here," a woman said, "give the baby here," they say

Some one came in keeping her face turned away and said, ' ' Here, give the baby to me. "

"Here / give it," / baby / woman, / "here/ give it / baby," / she said / they say.

de eL tûc is kī tcek de eL tûc is kī tsīn ya ni

de ûL tûc s kī tc'ek de ûL tûc s kī tc'in ya^ε nī

2 " naa'aa' ," (ditc'eegee')
 naa'aa' *tc'eegee'
 take it! wife/woman
 interj n ia
 take it! this wife
 [Interj] [NP]

waalhtiin

P-ghaa-(nin)..lhtish/tiin+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. =i
 give animate O to P =NR
 vt encl
 his giving it to her
 [AdvCl]

yaa'nii

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

"Take it," as he gave it to her, they say.
"Take it, ' ' he said, and put it in her arms.
"Take it." / He gave it to her / they say.

na +a+ tut se(g) e | wal tīn ya^ε nī
 na ^εa^ε wal tīn ya^ε nī

3.1 **tcaakowilhgeel'**

tcaa-ko-(ghin)..lhghilh/gheel'+PERF.,3AREAL
 be very dark
 vd
 it was very dark
 [VP]

tc'eeek

tc'eeek
 woman
 n a
 woman
 [Subj]

nintyaa

n-(nin)..tyaash/yaa+PERF.,3
 sg come
 vi
 she came/arrived
 [VP]

yaa'nii , §

yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

It got very dark and the woman came home, they say.
It was quite dark when the woman came home.
Very it became dark. / Woman / came home [came back] / they say.

tca kō wûl gel | tcek | nûn ti ya | ya nī
 tca kō wûl gel' tc'ek nûn t ya ya^ε nī

3.2 " taahjii shkii ?
 taahjii skii+1SG. POSS. OF
 where? baby
 inter n a
 where? my baby
 [AdvP] [NP]

"Where is my baby?

"Where is the baby?

"Where / my baby?

ta tcīc kī/ta tīc kī

ta tcī c kī

Note: verbless sentence

3.3 nteeslaalh-'ang ?"
 n-ti-(s)..laalh+PERF.,3 ='ang
 be asleep =yes/no question marker
 vd encl
 is it asleep?
 [VP]

Is it asleep?"

Asleep?"

Is it asleep?"

ûn tes laL ûñ

n tes laL ûñ

3.4 tc'in yaa'nii .
 ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii₁
 say they say
 vt vt
 he said they say
 [VP]

she asked, they say.

she asked.

she said / they say.

siñ | ya ni

tc'in ya^ε nī

4 " **daan'**
daang'
 already, long ago, some time ago, a while ago
 adv
 long ago
 [AdvP]

nghaaniilhtiing ."
 P-ghaa-(nin)..lhtish/tiin+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 2SG. OBL.
 give animate O to P
 vt
 I gave it to you
 [VP]
"I gave it to you a while ago."
"I gave it to you long ago."
"Long ago / I gave it to you."

dañ ña niL tiñ
 dañ^ε na niL tiñ

5.1 " **doo-shghaalhtish-'anjii** ,"
 doo P-ghaa-(nin)..lhtish/tiin+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 1SG. OBL. = 'anjii
 no give animate O to P =MIR
 interj vt encl
 you did not give it to me!
 [VP]

tc'in	yaa'nii , §
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
say	they say
vt	vt
he said	they say
[VP]

"You did not give it to me!, she said, they say.
"You did not give it to me," she said.
"You didn't give it to me" / she said / they say.

dō c gal tūc | siñ | ya nī
 dō c gal tūc ûñ gī tc'in ya^ε nī

5.2 " doo-shghaalhtish ."

doo P-ghaa-(nin)..lhtish/tiin+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 1SG. OBL.
 no give animate O to P
 interj vt
 you didn't give it to me
 [VP]

"You didn't give it to me."
"You did not give it to me," she said.
"You did not give it to me."

dō c gûL tûc
 dō c gạL tûc

6.1 kaayaa'intee ,

kaa-n-(nin)..tee+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3 OBJ.
 look for O
 vi
 they look for it
 [VP]

doo-ghilsaang	yaa'nii , §
doo ..ghilsaan+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
no find O/O be found	they say
interj vp	vt
it was not found	they say
[VP]

They looked for it (but) it wasn't found, they say.
They looked for it a long time, but did not find it.
They looked for it. / They did not find it [never find it] / they say.

ka ya ûn tē | dō gûl sañ ya nī
 ka ya^ε ûn te dō gûl sañ ya^ε nī

6.2 skii tceeh yaa'nii , yiisee' , §

skii (ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	yiisee'
baby cry	they say	west
n a vi	vt	direct
baby he cries	they say	west
[Subj] [VP	]	[AdvP]

"My baby cries in the west," they say.
They heard the baby crying toward the west

6.4	yiisee'	neesding	kwinyaayool		
	yiisee'	neesding	P-in-gh..yoolh+PROG.,3,DIST.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.	=i	
	west	far	follow P along	=NR	
	direct	adv	vt	encl	
	west	far/high	they followed it		
	[AdvP	]	[VP]		

neesding	tcaakowilhgeel'-bii'		yaa'nii	, §
neesding	tcaa-ko-(ghin)..lhghilh/gheel'+PERF.,3AREAL	=bii'	yaa'nii ₁	
far	be very dark	=in it	they say	
adv	vd	nsuffix	vt	
far/high	in the dark of night		they say	
[AdvCl]	

They followed it far to the west, far into the dark night, they say.

They followed it far into the dark night toward the west.

West / far / they followed / far / very dark in / they say.

yī se | nes dûñ kwûn ya yōl | nes dûñ | tca kwûL gel bī ya nī

yī se^ε nes dûñ kwûn ya yōl nes dûñ tca kwûL gel' bī^ε ya^ε nī

6.5	kwtoonghitcaang		yaa'nii	.
	P-tcoo-n-(ghin)..chiish/chaan+PERF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBL.		yaa'nii ₁	
	give up P		they say	
	vt		vt	
	they gave it up		they say	
	[VP]	

They gave it up, they say.

They finally gave it up.

They left it / they say.

kwût sōñ gût tcañ ya nī

kuu tcōn gût tcañ ya^ε nī

7	kwanlhaang	,
	kwanlhaang	
	all/the end	
	interj	
	all/the end	
	[Interj]	

That is all.

That is all.

GT33 - Stealing the Baby - Bill Ray

All.

kwûn Lûñ
kwûn Lạñ

GT34: The Man Eater

Goddard 1909, pp.179-180, 236-237; Goddard stories 11-20, pp.16-20

Compare Essene's field notes 50 Cu 23.1, pp.67-68 "Story Of A Bear Woman And A Hunter." "MB/Essene" in the notes relates to the second episode in this story.

Compare Curtis version related by an unidentified "informant", possibly Bill Ray (Curtis & Hodge 1924, p.13). "NA/Curtis" in the notes relates to this version.

1.1	beelh	naa'tghitt'oon		yaa'nii	.
	beelh	naa-d-(ghin)..ttl'oo/tl'oon+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁	
	rope	set snares		they say	
	n a	vi		vt	
	rope	they set snares		they say	
	[Obj]	[VP]

They were setting rope snares (for a deer drive), they say.

They were setting snares for deer.

Rope / they were tying / they say.

beL na te gûL Lôn ya nī

beL na t gûL Lôn ya^ε nī

Note: MB/Essene version: "One day a long time ago a number of men were out hunting deer. These men had a certain place to meet after they were through hunting, and they always gathered there so as to go home together."

1.2	lheenee'haa'	naahneesh	iintc'ee'	oonghilang	,
	lheenee'haa'	naahneesh	iintc'ee'	oo-n-(ghin)..lan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.	
	everyone	person	deer	go after O	
	pron	n a	n a	vt	
	everyone	person	deer	went after	
	[Subj		[Obj]	[VP	

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

All the people went after deer, they say.

All the people had gone after deer.

All / persons / deer / went after / they say.

GT34 - The Man Eater - Bill Ray

le ne ha | na nec | in tce | òñ ī lûñ ya nī

le ne^ε ha^ε na nec in tce^ε òn gī lañ ya^ε nī

Note: MB/Essene version: "This particular day all the men had come to this place with the exception of one;"

2	saahding-haa'	tc'gaalh	yaa'nii
	saahding-haa'	gaalh ₁ +PROG.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
	all alone	3sg walk	they say
	adv	vi	vt
	all alone	she is walking	they say
	[AdvP]	[VP]

He was walking all alone

He was walking alone.

Alone / she walked / they say.

sa' dûn ha | s kûL | ya nī

sa' dûñ ha^ε ts' qal ya^ε nī

Note: tc- = human hunter

MB/Essene version: "one of the party didn't show up. This happened early in the morning. The men waited for a while and were about ready to start out looking for the missing one when they decided to wait a little longer. Suddenly this man came running toward them and he was very scared. He told the other men that a bear had caught him, but he got away. Then he told them how it happened." -- setting up a different framing for the story as a story within a story.

NA/Curtis version: "Ûtsaíts, a young man known to my father, was the last in a line of hunters who were driving deer toward some snares."

3.1	tbilh	yeegheelh	yaa'nii
	tbilh	gh..gheelh+PROG.,3OBJV.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	close-twined burden basket	carry load O along	they say
	n a	vt	vt
	close-twined burden basket	she was carrying it along	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

Someone was carrying a burden basket along, they say.

Some one was carrying a burden-basket.

Basket / she was carrying / they say.

te bûL | yē gûL ya nī

t bûL ye gel ya^ε nī

Note: yi- = the Man Eater

GT34 - The Man Eater - Bill Ray

MB/Essene version: "He said that when he was busy with the last trap he had set for deer a big woman came along and started chasing him. 'Finally she caught me,' said this man, 'but she didn't try to hurt me. This woman had a big basket on her back and when she caught on her back and when she caught me she put me in the basket and started up over the mountain.'"

NA/Curtis version: "As he passed a tree a chũntanástepats [Chintaah-Naastbaats'] leaped upon him, threw him over her shoulder into a very large basket, and carried him off."

3.2	tits'	tc'ghilhtiih	yaa'nii	.
	tits'	gh..lhtiih+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	
	cane	take stick-like O along	they say	
	n a	vt	vt	
	cane	she takes it along	they say	
	[Obj]	[VP]	

She walks along with a cane, they say.

She was walking along with a cane.

Cane / she walked with / they say.

tûts s gûL tîL ya nî

tûts tc' gûL tîL ya^ε nî

Note: tc' - = the Man Eater now ,as she assumes the dominant/most animate role.

3.3	tbilh	taaloon	tc'gheelh
	tbilh	taaloon	gh..gheelh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
	close-twined burden basket	soft	carry load O along
	n a	adj	vt
	close-twined burden basket	soft	she is carrying it along
	[Obj]	]	[VP

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

She was carrying a soft burden basket along, they say.

She was carrying a soft burden-basket.

Basket / soft / she carried.

ta bûL | tal lôn(s) tce gel | ya nî

t bûL tal lôn tc' gel ya^ε nî

4.1 "	shiiyee'	iintc'ee'	,"	tc'in	yaa'nii	.
	shiiyee'	iintc'ee'		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
	1 sg possessive indep	deer		say	they say	
	pron	n a		vt	vt	
	mine	deer		he said	they say	
	[NP	]		[VP]	

"My deer," she said, they say.

"My deer," she said.

"My / deer" / she said / they say.

cī ye | īn tce tsin | ya nī
cī ye^ε in tce^ε tc'in ya^ε nī

4.2	tc'eelhchit	yaa'nii	,
	..lhchit/cheet+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁	
	catch O	they say	
	vt	vt	
	she catches it	they say	
	[VP]	
	nins'istiing	,	tbilh-bii'
	nin ² -(s)..lhtish/tiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.		tbilh+LOC.
	pick up animate O		close-twined burden basket
	vt		n a
	she picked him up		in a close-twined burden basket
	[VP]		[PostP]

noolhtiing
noo-(ghin)..lhtiish/tiin+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
put animate O to limit
vt
she laid him down
[VP]
She caught him, they say, and took him up and put him in the basket.
She caught him and put him in the basket.
She caught him / they say. / She took him up, / basket in / she put him,

tceL tcût ya nī nûn sûs tîñ | te bûL bī | nōL tîñ
tc'EL tcût ya^ε nī nûn s'ûs tîñ t bûL bī^ε nōL tîñ

4.3 tc'teesghiing	yaa'nii .
ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁
carry load O along	they say
vt	vt
she carried it along	they say
[VP]

She carried it along, they say.

She carried him off.

she carried him / they say.

sis tes giñ ya nī
tc' tes giñ ya^ε nī

4.4 ching-kiiboo'istc	uuyeehtaah
ching-kiiboo'istc	uuyeehtaah
bent down tree	places underneath
n a	n a
bent down tree	places underneath
[AdvCl	

waaghighish

P-ghaa-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+INF-COMP.,IMPF.,+ 3 OBL.
carry load through P
vt
to carry it through
]

tbiłh

tbiłh
close-twined burden basket
n a
close-twined burden basket
[Obj]

nintc'ilhghaal'-uutc'inghaa

nin-(s)..lhghaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
whip O
vt
she whipped beyond it
[VP

*tc'inghaa++ 3 OBL.
beyond P
postp

yaa'nii .
yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say
]

To carry it through under bent over branches she whipped over the basket.

When she had to carry the basket under the branches of trees she whipped over her shoulder with her cane.

Tree bent down [Stick little] / under places [under it] / carrying through [stooping down] / basket/ she whipped / over it / they say.

tcũñ kī bō istc ō ye ta wa gę gũc te bũL | nũn tcũL gal ō tcũñ a ya nī
tcũñ kī bō istc ō ye ta' wa gę gũc t bũL nũn tc'ũL gal^ε ō tc'ũñ a ya^ε nī

GT34 - The Man Eater - Bill Ray

Note: whipping with her cane to prevent the human from escaping into overhanging branches" She was afraid when she went under the limbs he would get out so she whipped" (Goddard texts 11-20, p.17)

NA/Curtis version: "She kept striking the edge of the basket with a heavy stick, so that he dared not attempt to escape lest the club crush his skull.

4.5	tc'gheelh		yaa'nii	,	yiidak'	.
	gh..gheelh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁		yiidak'	
	carry load O along		they say		uphill	
	vt		vt		direct	
	she is carrying it along		they say		uphill	
	[VP		]		[AdvP]	

She carried it along uphill, they say.

She went east up the hill.

She carried / they say / up hill.

tce geL ya nī | yī dūk

tc' geL ya^ε nī yī dūk'

Note: NA/Curtis version: "Up the mountainside she went."

4.6	chin	uuyeeh
	ching	*P-yeeh++ 3 OBL.
	tree	under P
	n a	postp
	trees	under it
	[AdvCl	

waa'inghiing		chin
P-ghaa-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.	=i	ching
carry load through P	=NR	tree
vt	encl	n a
as she carried it through it		trees
]		[Obj]

yiilhchit

..lhchit/cheet+IMPF.,+ 3OBV. OBJ.,+ 3 OBJ.

catch O

vt

he caught it

[VP]

daahkidilbash

daah-d-(ghin)..lbash+IMPF.,3,+ 3AREAL OBJ.

embrace O up

vt

it embraced up to it

[VP]

As she carried it through under a tree, he caught the tree and hugged up onto it.

When she went under a tree, he caught it and climbed up on it.

Tree / under / she carried through [under it] / tree / he caught. / He embraced it [he spring up on it].

tcũñ wī ye wa ûn ïñ tcũñ yĪL tcût da kit dûl bûc

tcũñ ū ye wa ûn ñiñ tcũn yĪL tcût da kit dûl bûc

Note: MB/Essene version: "Finally, after a long time, the woman walked under the big limb of a tree,' continued the young man, 'and this limb was low enough so I could grab to it and so I thought that was my chance. I grabbed this limb and pulled myself out of the basket.'"

NA/Curtis version: "He noticed that when she came to a nearly prostrate tree or log, she would never walk around it, but always crept under it. So he awaited his chance, and when she passed under a certain leaning live-oak of which he knew, he threw his arms about it and drew himself out of the basket."

4.7	wang-haa'	naaghidaalh	yiidak' ,
	wang-haa'	naa-gh..daalh+PROG.,3	yiidak'
	anyhow	sg go back along	uphill
	adv	vi	direct
	anyhow	it went back along	uphill
	[AdvP]	[VP]	[AdvP]

nintc'ilhghaal'	tits'
nin-(s)..lhghaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	tits'
whip O	cane
vt	n a
she whipped it	cane
[AdvCl]	

bilh

*ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.

instrumental

postp

with it

]

Anyhow, she went back along uphill, whipping with the cane.

She went on just the same, whipping with her cane.

Anyhow [with him] / she went on / up hill. / She whipped [she feel in] / cane / with.

wûñ ha na gût d/tûL yī dūk nûn tcûL gal tûts bûL

wûñ ha na gût dâL yī dūk' nûn tc'ûL gal^e tûts bûL

Note: NA/Curtis version: "She went on."

5 "	tc'kooneesnee'	tc'in
	ko-oo-n-(s)..nee'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3AREAL OBJ.	..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
	find out O	say
	vt	vt
	she found out	he said
	[VP]	[VP]

yaa'nii

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

"She found out what happened," he said, they say.

*She found out what had happened.
She found out / she said (?) / they say.*

tsī kōn des ne | tcin ya nī
ts' kōn nes ne tc'in ya^ε nī

6.1	naaghildaal		haidaa'ang , "	shiiyee'
	naa-gh..ldaalh ₂ +PROG.,3	=i	haidaa'ang ₂	shiiyee'
	run back	=NR	downhill	1 sg possessive indep
	vi	encl	direct	pron
	as she runs back		downhill	mine
	[AdvCl		]	[NP

iintc'ee' taahjii ?"
iintc'ee' taahjii
deer where?
n a inter
deer where?
] [AdvP]

*As she is running back down, "Where is my deer?"
She ran back down the hill. "Where is my deer?"
She ran back / down hill / "My / deer / where?"*

na gûl dal hai da ûñ cī ye | īn tce | ta' kī
na gûl dal hai da ûñ cī ye^ε in tce^ε ta tcī

6.2	tc'in		yaa'nii .
	..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.	yaa'nii ₁	
	say	they say	
	vt	vt	
	he said	they say	
	[VP]	

*she said, they say.
... she said.
she said / they say.*

tcin | ya nī
tc'in ya^ε nī

7.1	dii	naahneesh	daahbeesyaa	
	dii	naahneesh	daah-P-ee-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.	
	this	person	sg climb up onto P	
	dem	n a	vi	
	this/here	person	it climbed up onto it	
	[Subj	]	[VP]	

chin-kw'it .

ching *k'it++ 3 OBL.

tree on P

n a postp

on a tree

[PostP]

This man climbed up into the tree.

The man climbed the tree.

This / man [Indian] / climbed on [I will climb] / tree on.

dī na nec | da bes ya | tcûñ kût

dī na nec da bes ya tcûn k'wût

Note: MB/Essene version: "I sat there in the tree for a few moments and when the old woman was out of sight I jumped to the ground and ran down the hill a short distance. Here I climbed into a big tree and looked around and pretty soon I saw the old woman coming back down the hill."

NA/Curtis version: "Ûtsaíts then came back as rapidly as he could, and reaching a double-trunked oak he climbed into it with the intention of crossing to the other bole if she pursued him."

7.2	lhishdiichow	tc'ghilhtaal'	yaa'nii .
	lhishdiichow	(ghin)..lhtaalh/taal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
	rotten log	kick O	they say
	n a	vt	vt
	rotten log	he kicked it	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

She kicked a rotten log, they say.

She kicked against a rotten log thinking he might be under it.

Rotten log / she kicked / they say.

Lûc dī tcō/Lûc tco tce gûL tal ya nī

Lûc dī tcō tc' gûL tal ya^ε nī

Note: thinking the human might be hiding under it "She thought he might be in rotten tree." (Goddard stories 11-20, p.19)

MB/Essene version: "'The old woman was following my tracks,' went on the man, 'and when she came to the tree where I was sitting she stopped and looked around and began talking to herself. She talked the same language I do.'"

NA/Curtis version: "Soon she came running back, looking here and there, but she could not see him. She began to repeat the movements she had made in passing there before, saying, 'Here I stepped this way, here I stepped so, here I stopped.' And all the time she made grotesque motions with the purpose of making him laugh if he were thereabouts, and so betray his hiding-place."

8.1	shaa	kaasyai		yaa'nii	.
	shaa ₁	kaa-n-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3	=i	yaa'nii ₁	
	sun	come up from underground	=NR	they say	
	n a	vi	encl	vt	
	sun	came up		they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]	

The sun came up, they say.

The sun came up.

Sun / came up / they say.

ca kûs yai ya nî

ca kqs yai ya^ε nî

Note: MB/Essene version: "The young man rested a while and then he continued: 'By this time the sun was just starting to come up.'"

NA/Curtis version: "At last, however, she went on, and the young man ran to the village."

8.2	t'ee'	kwnaa'		uutc'inghaa
	t'ee'	*naa' ₁ +3ANIM. POSS.		*tc'inghaa++ 3 OBL.
	robe	eye		before P, in front of P
	n a	n ia		postp
	robe	her eyes		in front of it
	[Obj]	[PostP]

	naalhchoos			yaa'nii	,
	naa-(ghin)..lhchoos+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.			yaa'nii ₁	
	put fabric-like O down			they say	
	vt			vt	
	she put it down			they say	
	[VP]	

kaanoo'tyaan	,	naaheelh'its	yaa'nii	,
kaa-noo..tyaan+IMPF.,3ANIM.	=i	naahi-(s)..lh'its+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
ashamed	=NR	run back	they say	
vd	encl	vi	vt	
as she is ashamed		she ran back	they say	
[AdvCI]		[VP]	

haidak' yaa'nii	.
haidak' yaa'nii ₁	
east, up	they say
direct	vt
east/up	they say
[AdvP]

She put the blanket down over her eyes, they say, as she was ashamed, and ran back uphill here, they say.

She covered her face with her blanket because she was ashamed and ran up here east. Blanket / her eyes [her face] / over them [over] / she put / they say. / She was ashamed. / She ran back / they say, / here up / they say.

t!e+ kwī na | gū tsũñ a | naL tcōs ya ni | ka nō tī yûn/yan na hel ûts ya ni | hai dûk ya ni
t'e^ε kuu na^ε ū tc'ũñ a naL tcōs ya^ε nī ka nō t yan na hel ^εûts ya^ε nī hai dûk' ya^ε nī
Note: "She was ashamed of sun and quit following." (Goddard stories 11-20, p.19)

MB/Essene version: "This old woman seemed to be afraid of the sun. I heard her talking to herself; she seemed to be mumbling over and over again that she must be going home. And so she started up over the mountain and when she was out of sight I climbed down from the tree and ran here as fast as I could, where I was supposed to meet you men."

9	kwanlhaang	,
	kwanlhaang	
	all/the end	
	interj	
	all/the end	
	[Interj]	
	<i>That is all.</i>	
	<i>That is all.</i>	
	<i>All.</i>	

kwûn Lûñ
kwûn Lqñ

Note: MB/Essene version: "After listening to the young man's story all the hunters went home together."

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NA/Curtis version: "At first the people would not believe his story, but when he led them up the hill and showed them the tree in which he had concealed himself, and his bow and arrows thrown aside, then they believed."

GT35: Description of Man Eater

Goddard 1909, pp.180-181,237; Goddard stories 11-20, pp.21-23

This monster is remembered in the community, but under the name Noonii-Tcyaantcin (literally "Bear Old Woman"), and sometimes translated as "Bigfoot" or "Sasquatch".

Well, like the story about the "Bigfoot" you guys call it; We call 'em "nɑːni-tʃʰ ʌntʃɪn". When I was little they used to say that they were hairy people that came and stole kids. My grandpa used to tell me stories about that. That's why they don't want us to walk around in the night time. And you couldn't whistle at night; bad luck. Never whistle. Never sweep night time. I don't know what that did, but you weren't allowed to. Yeah, so, I never could figure what that "nɑːni-tʃʰ ʌntʃɪn" was. "nɑːni" I know means "bear", but the "tʃʰ ʌntʃɪn" part, that's what gets me. ... That's why I thought "man" was called "tʃʰ ʌntʃɪn", "nɑːni-tʃʰ ʌntʃɪn", "Bear Man". ... I guess he [Bill Ray] told it to my grandfather and my grandfather and my grandfather and grandma [Gill and Rose Ray] used to lay around the stove, old wood stove and kerosene lamp, and they'd tell us stories about the old times. (Gene Sloan, August 4, 2019 STE-000_2019_08_04 from timestamp 4:26)

1.1 tc'nighish

n-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
bring load/O
vt
she brings it/load
[VP]

She brings it to her home.

She brings it to her home.

She brings it / her home [home].

kowanding

*ghanding+3ANIM. POSS.
home
n ia
his home
[AdvP]

tcin nûg gûs kwûn dûñ

tc'n nûg gûs kû wûn dûñ

Note: "This is the way she always did -" (Goddard stories 11-20, p.20)

1.2 uulaa'	tc'neelhyiil'
* laa' +3 POSS.	n-(s)..lhyiil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,3
hand	eat O up
n ia	vt
its hand	he eats it up
[Obj]	[VP]

naaghaa-kwaa'

naa-(s)..yaa/yaa'+IMPF.,3	=kwaa'
sg go around/about	=yet
vi	vencl

it still walking
[AdvP]

She eats up its hands while it's still alive.

She eats up its hands while it's still alive.

Its hands / she eats up / yet alive [while living].

ō la tcin nel yī | na g/wa ka/kwa

ō la^ε tc'n nel yī^ε na ga kwa^ε

Note: "212 This form seems to refer to customary action; tc'n nel yañ, below, to the single act."

1.3 uulaa'	naakaa'-haa'	tc'neelhyiil'
* laa' +3 POSS.	naakaa'-haa'	n-(s)..lhyiil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,3
hand	both	eat O up
n ia	adj	vt
its hand	both	he eats it up
[Obj	]	[VP]

She eats up both of its hands.

She eats up both its hands.

Its hands / both / she eats up.

ō lā na ka ha tcin nel yī

ō lā^ε na ka^ε ha^ε tc'n nel yī^ε

1.4 kwee'	tc'neelhyiil'
* kee' ₁ +3 POSS.	n-(s)..lhyiil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,3
foot	eat O up
n ia	vt
its foot	he eats it up
[Obj]	[VP]

She eats up its foot.

She eats up its foot.

Its foot / she eats up.

kwe tcin nel yī
kwe^ε tc'n nel yīl^ε

1.5	lhaa'	kwee'	tc'neelhyiil'
	lhaa'	*kee' ₁ +3 POSS.	n-(s)..lhyiil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,3
	another one	foot	eat O up
	pron	n ia	vt
	another	his foot	he eats it up
	[Obj	]	[VP]

She eats up its other foot.

She eats up its other foot.

Other / its foot / she eats up.

la kwe tcin nel yī
la^ε kwe^ε tc'n nel yīl^ε

1.6	uunaa'	tc'eenaal'aash
	*naa' ₁ +3 POSS.	tc'ee-naa-(nin)..l'aash/'aan+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
	eye	take solid O back out from
	n ia	vt
	its eyes	she takes solid O back out from
	[Obj]	[VP]

naakaa'-haa'

naakaa'-haa'

both

adj

both

AdjP]

She takes out its eyes, both of them.

She takes out both of its eyes.

Its eyes / she takes out / both.

ō na | tcī nal lûc | na ka ha
ō na^ε tc'e nal ^εac na ka^ε ha^ε

1.7	bit-tc'ee'aash	,	uutc'iik'ee'		tc'neelhyiil'
	*bit-tc'ee'aash+3 POSS.		*tc'iik'ee'+3 POSS.		n-(s)..lhyiil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,3
	intestines (of animal)		small intestine		eat O up
	n ia		n ia		vt
	its intestines		its small intestines		he eats it up
	[Obj]		[Obj]		[VP]

She eats up its large and small intestines.
She eats up its large and small intestines.
Its intestines, / small intestines / she eats up.

bût tce aj | ò djī ke | s̄un nel yī
 bût tce ^εac ò djī k' ^εe^ε tc'n nel yī^ε

1.8	uuteehlee'	,	uudjii'		tc'neelhyiil'
	*teehlee'+3 POSS.		*djii'+3 POSS.		n-(s)..lhyiil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,3
	liver		heart		eat O up
	n ia		n ia		vt
	its liver		its heart		he eats it up
	[Obj]		[Obj]		[VP]

She eats up its liver and heart.
She eats up its liver and heart.
Its liver, / its heart / she eats up.

ò te le | ò djī+ ts̄un nel yī
 ò te le^ε ò djī^ε tc'n nel yī^ε

1.9	uudeeskee'		tc'neelhyiil'		
	*deeskee'+3 POSS.		n-(s)..lhyiil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,3		
	lungs		eat O up		
	n ia		vt		
	its lungs		he eats it up		
	[Obj]		[VP]		

She eats up its lungs.
She eats up its lungs.
Its lungs / she eats up.

ò des ke | s̄un nel yī
 ò des ke^ε tc'n nel yī^ε

1.10	uusii'	tc'neelhyiil'	yaa'nii .
	*sii'+3 POSS.	n-(s)..lhyiil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,3	yaa'nii ₁
	head	eat O up	they say
	n ia	vt	vt
	its head	he eats it up	they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

She eats up its head, they say.

She eats up its head, they say.

Its head / she eats up / they say.

ō sī sūn nel yī | ya nī

ō sī^ε tc'n nel yī^ε ya^ε nī

1.11	kwong'	kw'itnoolaash	
	kwong'	P-k'it-noo-(ghin)..lash/laa+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.	=i
	fire	put rope-like O on top of P	=NR
	n a	vt	encl
	fire	she put it on it	
	[Obj]	[VP	

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

She builds a fire, they say.

She lays a fire, they say.

Fire / she puts on [she build] / they say.

kōñ kwûn nō la ya ni

kwōñ^ε k'wûn nō lac ya^ε nī

1.12	see	kwong'ding	noolaa
	see	kwong'ding	noo-(nin)..lash/laa+CONT,IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
	stone	fireplace/fire pit	put pl/rope-like O down
	n a	n a	vt
	rock	fireplace	he put it down
	[Obj]	[AdvP]	[VP]

yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

She puts a stone on the fireplace, they say.

She puts a stone on the fireplace, they say.

Stone / fire place / she puts / they say.

se kwũn dũñ | nō la ya nī

se kwõñ^ε dũñ nō la ya^ε nī

1.13	see-nteel	see-bii'	ghilk'aan
	see-nteel	see+LOC.	gh..lk'aan+PERF.,3
	flat stone	stone	fire to be built
	n a	n a	vp
	flat stone	on a stone	there was a fire
	[AdvP	]	[VP]

She builds the fire on a flat stone in the rocks.

She builds the fire on a flat stone in the rocks.

Stone / flat / rock in / she builds fire [she build fire].

se n tel | se bī | gũl kañ

se n tel se bī^ε gũl k'an

- 1.14 **teelit** **yaa'nii** .
 ti-(s)..lit+PERF.,3 yaa'nii₁
 fire to blaze they say
 vi vt
 it blazed they say
 [VP]

It blazed up, they say.

It blazes up, they say.

It blazes / they say.

te lit ya nī

tē lit ya^ε nī

- 1.15 **bit-tc'eeng'aang** **yaa'nii** .
 bit-tc'ee-(nin)..²aash/²aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii₁
 disembowel they say
 vt vt
 she disemboweled it they say
 [VP]

She disembowels it, they say.

She disembowels it, they say.

She disembowels it [she takes guts] / they say.

bût tcen ûñ ya nī

bût tceñ^εañ ya^ε nī

- 1.16 **tc'neelhyaan** **yaa'nii** .
 n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =i yaa'nii₁
 eat O up =NR they say
 vt encl vt
 she ate it up they say
 [VP]

She ate it up, they say.

She eats it up, they say.

She eats it up / they say.

tsin nel yûn ya ni

tc' nel yān ya^ε nī

GT35 - Description of the Man Eater - Bill Ray

1.17	uuteehlee'	tc'neelhyaang		yaa'nii
	*teehlee'+3 POSS.	n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	=i	yaa'nii ₁
	liver	eat O up	=NR	they say
	n ia	vt	encl	vt
	its liver	she ate it up		they say
	[Obj]	[VP]

She ate up its liver, they say.

She eats up its liver, they say.

Its liver / she eats up / they say.

ō te le tcin nel yûñ ya ni
 ō te le^ε tc'n nel yañ ya^ε nī

1.18	uudeeskee'	tc'neelhyaang		
	*deeskee'+3 POSS.	n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	=i	
	lungs	eat O up	=NR	
	n ia	vt	encl	
	its lungs	she ate it up		
	[Obj]	[VP		

yaa'nii .
 yaa'nii₁
 they say
 vt
 they say
]

She ate up its lungs, they say.

She eats up its lungs, they say.

Its lungs / she eats up / they say.

ō des ke | tcin nel yûñ ya nī
 ō des ke^ε tc'n nel yañ ya^ε nī

GT35 - Description of the Man Eater - Bill Ray

1.19	uudjii'	tc'neelhyaan		yaa'nii	.
	*djii'+3 POSS.	n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	=i	yaa'nii ₁	
	heart	eat O up	=NR	they say	
	n ia	vt	encl	vt	
	its heart	she ate it up		they say	
	[Obj]	[VP]	

She ate up its heart, they say.

She eats up its heart, they say.

Its heart / she eats up / they say.

ō djī | tcin nel yûn | ya ni

ō djī^ε tc'n nel yaŋ ya^ε nī

2.1	naatiikang	yaa'nii	.
	naatiikang	yaa'nii ₁	
	sausage ?	they say	
	n a	vt	
	blood & giblets sausage ?	they say	
	[VP?]	

(blood & giblets sausage?), they say.

??, they say

(?) / they say.

na ti kûñ ya nī

na tī kûñ ya^ε nī

Note: The word looks like something like "liquid contained along". Based on the word, the description of the process, and the lack of any attested word for the blood & giblets cooked in the paunch/stomach sausage, it seems this should be the term for either the sausage itself or the bits of innards chopped up for inclusion in it.

2.2 **ch'ghint'aats'**

ch²-(ghin)..t'aas/t'aats'+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ.

cut O up

vt

she cut it up

[VP]

She cut it up

She cut it up.

She cut it up.

djī gûn táts

tc' gûn t'ats

2.3 **see ch'isteelh kw'itnoolhtiing**

see ch'isteelh₂ P-k'it-noo-(ghin)..lhtish/tiin+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.

stone flat way put animate O down on P

n a

adv

vt

rock flat way she put it down on it

[Obj]

[AdvP]

[VP]

She put a stone down flat way.

She put a stone flat on top of it (as a cover).

Stone / flat way / she put it on.

se kûs TEL kwûn nōL tiñ

se k'ûs TEL k'wûn nōL tiñ

2.4 **tc'ghintcai**

(ghin)..tcaa+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =i

bury O to cook

vt

she buried it

[VP]

see-bii'

see+LOC.

stone

n a

on a stone

[PostP]

nooteelghaal'

noo-ti-(s)..lhghaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.

throw stick-like/animate O to limit

vt

throw stick-like/animate O to limit

[VP]

She buried it and threw it in the rocks.

She buried it. She threw it in the rocks.

She buried it. Rock in / she threw it.

s gûn tcai se bi nō tel gal

tc' gûn tcai se bi^ε nō tel gal^ε

Note: She made an earth oven and tossed the foods on the heated stone bed.

2.5 **ist'ee-ii**

i-(s)..t'ee+PERF.,3 =yii

be cooked =(assertive enclitic)

vd encl

it is cooked

[VP]

kaanaaghilai

kaa-naa-(ghin)..lash/laa+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =i

take pl O back up from underground =NR

vt encl

she took it back up from underground

[VP]

It is cooked. She took it back up from underground.

It is cooked. She took it out.

It is cooked. She took it out.

ûs t!e ī ka na gûl lai

ûs t'e ī ka na gûl lai

2.6 **tc'isai**

(s)..lhsai+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.

dry O

vt

she dried it

[VP

yaa'nii

yaa'nii₁

they say

vt

they say

]

She dried it, they say.

She dried it, they say.

She dried it / they say.

sûs sai ya ni

tc'ûs sai ya^ε nī

2.7	daahnoolaa		yaa'nii	.
	daah-noo-(ghin)..lash/laa+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.		yaa'nii ₁	
	place/put up pl/rope-like O on surface		they say	
	vt		vt	
	she put them up on surface		they say	
	[VP]

She put it up (on a platform to dry), they say.

She put it up (on platform to dry), they say.

She put it up / they say.

da nō la ya ni

da nō la ya^ε nī

2.8	kw'aa'	nchaagh	yaa'nii	.
	kw'aa' ₂	n..chaagh+PERF.,3	yaa'nii ₁	
	tallow	be large	they say	
	n a	vd	vt	
	tallow	is large/much	they say	
	[Subj]	[VP]

There is much fat, they say.

There is much fat, they say.

Fat / is much / they say.

k!w+a+ ûn tcag ya nī

k'wa^ε n tcag ya^ε nī

2.9	ghilhsai	k'ai'tbilh	bii'	daang
	ghin..lhtsai+TRTL.,PERF.,3	k'ai'tbilh	=bii'	daang ₂
	become dry	open-twined burden basket	=in it	pile
	vd	n a	nsuffix	n a
	it becomes dry	open-twined burden basket	in it	pile
	[VP]	[PostP		[Obj]

tc'istciin'

(s)..lhtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.

make O

vt

he made it

[VP]

It becomes dry. She made a pile of it in an open-work burden basket.

It is dry. She makes a pile of it in an open-work burden basket

It is dry. Burden-basket / in / pile / she makes.

gûL sai kai te bûL | bi | dañ cis tcī
 gûL sai k'ai t bûL bī^ε dañ tc'is tcin

2.10 noo'inghiing	yaa'nii .
noo-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.	yaa'nii ₁
put load O down	they say
vt	vt
she put the load down	they say
[VP]

She put it down, they say.

She put it down, they say.

She put it down / they say.

nō ûñ iñ ya nī
 nō ^εñ ñiñ ya^ε nī

3 haihiit	nohkwa
haihiit	*kaa++ 1PL. OBL.
because of that	for P
conj	postp
because of	for us
[AdvP]	[IO]

ch'naadilyeegh	, nohkwa'ah
ch'-naa-(s)..lhyeegh+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =i	kw'aah+1/2PL. POSS.
drive deer	fat
vt	n a
let us drive them	our fat
[VP]	[AdvCl]

nchaagh-it	.
n..chaagh+PERF.,3 =hit	
be large	=because
vd	encl
because it is much	
]	

That is why 'let us drive them' for us, because we have a lot of fat.

*That is why she always hunts us. Because we have a lot of fat.
That is why / for us / she always hunts. Our fat / is much because.*

hai hit | nō kwa | tcin na dūl yeg | nō k+wa+ ûn tca gût
hai hīt' nō kwa tc'n na dūl yeg nō k'wa^ε n tca gût

4.1	kwkwee'	noonii .
	*kee' ₁ +3ANIM. POSS.	noonii
	foot	bear
	n ia	n a
	her foot	bear
	[NP]	[NP]

Her foot is (like) a grizzly's.

Her foot is like a Grizzly Bear's.

Her foot / grizzly.

kū ke nō nī
kū kwe^ε nō nī

Note: NP-NP comparisons the next four lines.

4.2	kwlaa'	naahneesh .
	*laa'+3ANIM. POSS.	naahneesh
	hand	person
	n ia	n a
	her hand	person
	[NP]	[NP]

Her hand is (like) a human's.

Her hand is like a human's.

Her hand / human.

kū la | na nec
kū la^ε na nec

4.3	kwwo'	naalghii-wo' .
	*wo'+3ANIM. POSS.	naalghii-wo'
	tooth	dog teeth
	n ia	n a
	her teeth	dog teeth
	[NP]	[NP]

Her teeth (are like) dog teeth.

Her teeth are like dog teeth.

Her teeth / + dog, / + dog teeth.

kū wō na Li gī na lī gī wo
 ku wo^ε naL gī wō^ε

4.4 **naahneesh uusii'** .
 naahneesh *sii'+3 POSS.
 person head
 n a n ia
 person its head
 [NP] [NP]

Her head (is like) a human's.
Her head is like a human's.
Human / her head.

na nec | ū sī
 na nec ū sī^ε

4.5 **dindai aat'aa'** **tc'ilghiing** **yaa'nii**
 dindai *t'aa'+REFL. POSS. ..lghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii₁
 flint pocket carry load O they say
 n a n ia vt
 flint her own pocket she carried it they say
 [Obj] [AdvP] [VP]

She carries flint in her pocket, they say.
She carries flint in her pocket, they say.
Flint [bullets flint] / her pocket / she carries [she pack] / they say.

dûn dai a t!a+ tcûL giñ ya ni
 dûn dai^ε a t'a^ε tc'ûl giñ ya^ε nī

4.6 **kwnaa'** **lhshiik** **yaa'nii** .
 *naa'+3ANIM. POSS. ..lhshiik+IMPF.,3 yaa'nii₁
 eye shine they say
 n ia vi vt
 her eyes shine they say
 [Subj] [VP]

Her eyes shine red, they say.
Her eyes glow red, they say.
Her eyes / shine [= are red] / they say.

kwûn na lL cīk ya nī

kuu na^ε L cīk ya^ε nī

4.7	Chintaah-Naastbaats'	,	sghaa'	nees	.
	Chintaah-Naastbaats'		sghaa'	n..nees+PERF.,3	
	Man Eater ogress		head hair	be long	
	<small>n a</small>		<small>n a</small>	<small>vd</small>	
	Man Eater ogress		head hair	is long	
	[NP]		[Subj]	[VP]	

Chintaah-Naastbaats (lit. "Roll Around in the Forest"), her hair is long
Chintaah-Naastbaats, her hair is long.

Trees among (?) ["The name of the monster."] / her hair / long.

tcin/kûn ta nac te bats | kwa nez

tcûn ta' nac t bats* s ga^ε nes

Note: "* The name of the monster."

4.8	kwtcghee'		naalghii	,	kwtcghee'
	*tcghee'+3ANIM. POSS.		naalghii		*tcghee'+3ANIM. POSS.
	ear		dog		ear
	<small>n ia</small>		<small>n a</small>		<small>n ia</small>
	her ears		dog		her ears
	[NP]		[NP]		[Subj]

kant'ee		yaa'nii	.
P-aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBL.		yaa'nii ₁	
be like P		they say	
<small>vt</small>		<small>vt</small>	
is like that		they say	
[VP]	

Her dog ears, that is what her ears are like, they say.

Her ears are like a dog's, her ears are like that, they say.

Her ears / dog, / her ears / she is like [look like]/ they say.

kwa tcī ge naL ī gī kwa tcī ge kûn tī/kwûn tī ya nī

kuu tc' ge^ε naL gī kuu tc' ge^ε kûn t'ē ya^ε nī

Note: NP-NP comparison followed by form with verb of comparison.

GT36: A Prayer for Eels

Goddard pp.181-182, 237; Goddard stories 11-20, pp.76-77

Goddard/Ray notes before the notebook version: "No connection with story) A prayer they make when first come any kind . eels, yellow jacket etc.", "(Nagaitcō say that)"

1.1 "	bee'liing	diidaa'ang	nileeh
	bee'liing	diidaa'ang	n-(nin)..leegh+IMPF.,3
	Pacific lamprey night eel run	from the north	swim
	n a	direct	vi
	female lamprey	from the north	it swims
	[RelCl]		

shoonk' neeshyii-jaa'

shoonk'	n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+OPT.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.	=jaa'
well	eat a certain food	=volitive/optative
adv	vt	encl
well	let me eat it	
]	[VP]	

Let me eat the lampreys swimming from the north well.

"May I eat the eels that swim up the stream with good fortune..

"Eels / from north / swim / well / let me eat.

be liñ | di da ne lē cōñk nes yīk ka

be liñ dī da^ε ûñ nûl lē cōñk' nes yī dja^ε

Note: complex relative clause as object

1.2 **toonai shoonk'-kwaa**

toonai	shoonk'-kwaa
fish	well
n a	adv
fish	well
[Obj]	[AdvP]

neeshyii-jaa'

n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+OPT.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.	=jaa'
eat a certain food	=volitive/optative
vt	encl
let me eat a certain food	
[VP]	

Let me eat fish well.

May I eat the fish with good fortune.

Fish / well / let me eat.

tō nai cōñ kwa nes yīk kya

tō nai cōñ kwa nes yī dja^ε

1.3 **skiitc yoyang-jaa'**

skiitc	(ghin)..yaan/yaan'+OPT.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.	=jaa'
boy	eat O	=volitive/optative
<small>n a</small>	<small>vt</small>	<small>encl</small>
boy	may they eat	
[Subj]	[VP]	

May the boys eat it.

May the boys ...

Boys / may they eat.

is kīk yō yūñ kya^ε

s kīk yō yañ dja^ε

1.4 **t'EEKII shoONK'**

t'EEK	shoONK'
teen girl.PL	well
<small>n a</small>	<small>adv</small>
teen girl	well
[Subj]	[AdvP]

yoyang-jaa'

(ghin)..yaan/yaan'+OPT.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.	=jaa'
eat O	=volitive/optative
<small>vt</small>	<small>encl</small>
may they eat	
[VP]	

May the girls eat it well.

... and girls eat them with good fortune.

Girls / well / may they eat.

te kī | cōñk yō yūñ kya

t'e kī cōñk' yō yañ dja^ε

2.1	iintc'ee'	shoonk'-kwaa	nooshkit	
	iintc'ee'	shoonk'-kwaa	P-oo-(ghin)..lkit/kit'+OPT.,1SG.,+ 2SG. OBJ.	
	deer	well	swallow P	
	n a	adv	vt	
	deer	well	let me swallow you (sg.)	
	[Obj]	[AdvP]	[VP]	

Deer, may I swallow you well.

Deer, may I swallow you with good luck.

Deer / well / may I swallow you.

in tce | cōñk kwa nōc kû

in tce^ε cōñk' kwa nōc kû

2.2	ch'aang	shiiyee'	aanint'ee-yee	
	ch'aang ₁	shiiyee'	aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,2SG. =yee	
	food	1sg possessive indep	be thus	eyewitness evid.
	n a	pron	vs (pers.)	encl
	food	mine	you (sg.) are	
	[NP	]	[VP]	

,	shiiyee'	lhkan	
	shiiyee'	..lhkan	
	1sg possessive indep	be sweet tasting	
	pron	vd	
	mine	sweet tasting	
	[NP]	

You are my food, my sweet thing.

You are mine. My food is sweet.

Food / my / you are / mine / sweet.

tcañ cī ye | a nûn tē-ye tcī ye | L kûn

tcañ cī ye^ε a nûn t'e-ye cī ye^ε L kûn

3.1	doohaa'-bee'odin-jaa'	
	doohaa'	P-ee..din+OPT.,+ 3 OBL. =jaa'
	do not !	P to die =volitive/optative
	neg vi	encl
	do not let it die	
	[VP]	

Let it not die!

Do not let it die.

GT36 - A Prayer for Eels - Bill Ray

Do not let it die.

dō ha | be ō dũñ kya
 dō ha^ε be ō dũn dja^ε

3.2	nshoo-banjaa'		, "	tc'in		yaa'nii	.
	n..shoon+PERF.,3	=banjaa'		..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.		yaa'nii ₁	
	be good	=let be/will be		say		they say	
	vd	encl		vt		vt	
	let it be good			he said		they say	
	[VP]			[VP]	

Let it be good," he said, they say

Let it be good," he said.

Let it be good," he said they say.

n cō bũñ kya tcin | ya nī

n cō bũn dja^ε tc'in ya^ε nī

Note: "Nagaitcō say that" (Goddard notebook Stories 11-20, p.77)

GT37: A Supernatural Experience

Goddard 1909, pp.182,237; Goddard NBII, pp.56-60; English version: Goddard NB 1, pp. 53-56

"Happened to Bill when he was young boy (12 years old)" (Goddard NBII, p.56)

1.1	saljiitc	deeghaang	.
	saljiitc	(nin)..ghaan+IMPF., 1PL., + 3 OBJ.	=i
	fence lizard	kill pl O	=NR
	n a	vt	encl
	fence lizard	we were killing	
	[Obj]	[VP]	

We were killing lizards.

We were killing lizards.

Lizards / we were killing. [killing]

sal kítz | de gãñ

sûl gīts de gãñ

1.2	teelee'-bii'	nooshghee'		lhaang
	teelee'+LOC.	noo-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+OPT., 1SG., + 3 OBJ.		lhaang
	net bag	carry load O to limit		many/much
	n a	vt		adj
	in a net bag	I carried		many
	[PostP]	[VP]		[Obj]

saljiitc

saljiitc

fence lizard

n a

fence lizard

]

I was carrying many lizards in a sack.

I was carrying the sack. We had many of them.

Sack in / I carried / many / lizards.

te le bī | noc gē | lañ | sûl kítz

te le^ε bī^ε nōc ge^ε lañ sûl gīts

1.3 **teelee'** **teesdilbing**

teelee' ti-(s)..lhbin/bin'+PERF., 1PL., + 3 OBJ.
 net bag fill O along
 n a vt
 net bag we filled it
 [Obj] [VP]

We filled the sack.

The sack was full.

Sack / we filled. [I fill it]

te lē tes dûl bûn

te le^ε tes dûl bûñ

1.4 **haa'haa'** **uuyaashtc** **uudjii'stiltik**

haa'haa' uuyaashtc₁ P-djii-(s)..lhtik+PERF., 3ANIM., 1PL., + 3 OBL.
 one small kill P
 num adj vt
 one small he killed it
 [Obj]] [VP]

We killed one young one.

He killed a small one.

One / small [little] / he killed. [I kill it]

La ha | wī yajts ō tcī stûl tûk

La^ε ha^ε ū yacts ō tcī s tûl tûk

1.5 **baan** **teelh'its** , **yoo'oong** **neestiing**

baang ti-(s)..lh'its+PERF., 3 yoo'oong n-(s)..tiish/tiin+PERF., 3
 its mother run off over there lie down
 n a vi adv vi
 its mother it ran off over there it lay down
 [Subj] [VP] [AdvP] [VP]

Its mother ran off and lay down over there.

Its mother ran off and lay nearby.

Female / ran. Yonder [over there] / it lay. [it lay down]

bûn | teL ûts yōñ | nes tiñ

bạn teL ^εûts yō òñ nes tiñ

2.1 "	taahjii	neestiing		nchaagh-yii	?"
	taahjii	n-(s)..tiish/tiin+PERF.,3		nchaagh ₂ =i	=yii
	where?	lie down		large	=NR =(assertive enclitic)
	inter	vi		adj	encl encl
	where?	it lay down		the large one is	
	[AdvP]	[VP]		[Subj]	

"Where did the big one lie down?"

"Where is the big one lying?"

ta djī nes tīñ | ñ tca ge yī

ta djī nes tiñ n tcag yī

2.2 **shilhtc'nii**

P-ilh..nii+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 1SG. OBJ.

ask P X

vt

he asks me

[VP]

he asked me.

he asked me.

"Where / does it lie / big one?" / he asked me.

sûL sùn nī

cûL tc' nī

3 " **yoo-yee**

yoo₁ =yee

over there eyewitness evid.

dem encl

over there

[AdvP]

"It's over there," I said.

"There it is," I said.

"There it is," I said.

," **dishnii**

d..nii/nii'/niilh+IMPF.,1SG.

say

vt

I say

[VP]

yō ye | dûc nī

yō ye dûc nī

4 **tc'ch'aash-teel**

(s)..ch'aash/ch'aan+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =teelh =i
 shoot =will/shall =NR
 vt encl encl
 he is going to shoot it
 [VP]

He was going to shoot it.

He was about to shoot it.

He was about to shoot it. [he was going to shoot it]

tcī tcac tel
 tc' tc'ac tel

5.1 " **doohaa'-shdjii'ilhtik**

doohaa' P-djii-(ghin)..lhtik+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 1SG. OBL.
 do not ! kill P
 neg vt
 do not kill me!
 [VP]

"Don't kill me!

"Do not kill me.

"Do not kill me.

dō ha + s tcī ûl tûk
 dō ha^ε s tcī ûl tûk

5.2 **daang'**

daang'
 already, long ago, some time ago, a while ago
 adv
 already
 [AdvP]

shyaashtc

*yaashtc+1SG. POSS. OF
 son (of woman)
 n ia
 my child(ren)
 [Obj]

uudjiisilhtig-ee

P-djii-(s)..lhtik+PERF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBL. =yee
 kill P eyewitness evid.
 vt encl
 you killed
 [VP]

You already killed my child.

Already you have killed my little one.

Already [long ago] / my little one [my boy] / you have killed. [you killed]

dañ sī yajtc ō sī tūL tūk ge
 dañ^ε c yactc ō djī sūL tūk ge

5.3 **shii-yii** **kishnaa** ."

shii	=yii	k-(s)..naa/naa'	+OPT.,1SG.
1sg indep	=as for	live	
pron	encl	vs	
as for me		let me live	
[Obj]		[VP]	

As for me, let me live."
I would live," she said.
It is I / I will live." [I want to live]

cīyī kūc na
 cī ye kūc na
 Note: said the mother lizard

6.1 **uudaa'-bi'** **kwong'** **ghilhtik** .

*daa'	+LOC.,3 POSS.	kwong'	(ghin)..lhtik+PERF.,3
mouth		fīre	burst
n ia		n a	vi
in its mouth		fīre	it burst
[PostP]		[Subj]	[VP]

Fire burst out from inside its mouth.
Fire burst out of its mouth.
Its mouth in [in his mouth] / fire / burst.

ō da bī kōñ | gūL tūk
 ō da^ε bī^ε kwōñ^ε gūL tūk

6.2 **keelhk'as-kwaang**

kee..lhk'aas+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
 drop stick-like O inferred evid.
 vt vencl
 I dropped it
 [VP]

teelee'-bii' ,

teelee'+LOC.
 net bag
 n a
 in a net bag
 [PostP]

naaheesiilh'its-kwaang

naahi-(s)..lh'its+PERF.,1SG. =kwaan
 run back inferred evid.
 vi vencl
 I had run back
 [VP]

yiidak' .

yiidak'
 uphill
 direct
 uphill
 [AdvP]

I dropped it in the sack and ran back uphill.

I dropped the load in the sack and ran up the hill.

I dropped [I drop] / sack in. I ran back [I ran back been] / up hill. [up]

kēL kūs kwan/kan | tē le | bī na he sī L its kwañ | yī dûk
 kēL k'as kwañ te le^ε bī^ε na he sīL ^εûts kwañ yī dûk

6.3 **kaakosiileeh-kwaang** .

kaa-kw-(s)..leegh+PERF.,1SG. =kwaan
 be sick inferred evid.
 vi vencl
 I had been sick
 [VP]

I had become sick.

I was sick.

I became sick.

ka kōs sī le | kwañ
 ka kōs sī le kwañ

6.4 **shilhyaa'tyiing-kwaang** .

P-ilh-(ghin)..tyiin+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 1SG. OBL. =kwaan
 doctor P inferred evid.
 n a vencl
 they had doctored me
 [VP]

They had doctored me.

They doctored me.

With me they stood. [they doctor me]

cûL ya tī yĩñ kwañ

cûL ya^ε t yĩñ kwañ

6.5 **doo-kwinishsing**

doo= n-(s)..sin/sin'+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3AREAL OBJ.

negative= be insensible

neg vi

I was insensible

[VP]

sheeding-kwanghit

P-ee..din+IMPF.,+ 1SG. OBL. =kwaan =hit

P to die inferred evid. =when

vi vencl encl

when I had died

[AdvCI]

I was senseless, because I had died

I didn't know anything because I had died.

I did not know anything. I must have died.

dō kwin nûc sũn ce dûñ | kwûñ hût

dō kwin nûc sũñ ce dûñ kwañ hût

6.6 **shnaang**

*naang+1SG. POSS. OF
mother
n ia
my mother
[Obj]

ooshts'aang

oo-(0)..ts'is/ts'aan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
hear X
vt
I heard
[VP]

tceegh-it

(ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3 =hit
cry =because
vi encl
when it cries
[AdvCl]

, " **shyaashtc** ,"

*yaashtc+1SG. POSS. OF
son (of woman)
n ia
my child(ren)
[AdvCl]

tc'in-hit

..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. =hit
say =when
vt encl
when she said
]

I heard my mother when she was crying, when she said, "My little boy!"

I heard my mother when she cried and said, "My little boy."

My mother / I heard [I hear] / she cried when, [crying] / "My boy," / she said when. [she said]

c' nũñ | òc tsañ | tse gũt | cĩ yajts | tcũñ hũt
c nañ òc tsañ tce gũt c yacts tc'in hũt

6.7 **tcaakwolhgheel'**

tcaa-ko-(ghin)..lhghilh/gheel'+PERF.,3AREAL
be very dark
vd
it was very dark
[VP]

It was very dark.

It was very dark.

Very it was dark. [awful dark]

tca kwōL gel
tca kwûL gel'

6.8	haakwan	shnang	,	shtaa'	'ang'	;
	haakwan	*naang+1SG. POSS. OF		*taa'+1SG. POSS. OF	= 'ang'	
	up there	mother		father	=it is/was	
	adv	n ia		n ia	encl	
	up there	my mother		my father	it is/was	
	[AdvP]	[NP]		[NP]	[VP]	

yoo'oong	siighiing	,	see	chinee'ding	ts'ii'
yoo'oong	(s)..ghiin+PERF.,1SG.		see	*chinee'ding	ts'ii'
over there	stand around		stone	base of P	brush
adv	vi		n a	postp	n a
over there	I stood around		rock	at the base of	brush
[AdvP]	[VP]		[PostP	]	[PostP

uunoo'

-noo'++ 3 OBL.

behind P (hidden)

nsuffix

behind it

]

Up there were my mother and father; I stood over there, at the base of a rock hidden behind some brush.

My father and mother were standing over there. I was standing at the base of the rock behind a bush.

Up there / my mother; / my father / it was, / yonder/ I stood, / rock / its base / brush / behind.

ha kwũñ | c nũñ | ic tá | ûñ | yõñ sī giñ se kin né dûñ | sī wī nō
 ha kw̃an c nañ c ta^ε ûñ yō õñ sī giñ sē kin nē dûñ ts'ɪ^ε ũ nō^ε

7.1	diidaa''ang	diishoo'	nint'aagh	.
	diidaa''ang	diishoo'	n-(nin)..t'aagh+PERF.,3	
	from the north	something	arrive flying	
	direct	pron	vi	
	from the north	something	arrived flying	
	[AdvP]	[Subj]	[VP]	

Something came flying from the north.

From the north something flew there.

From north / something / flew there.

dī da ûñ | dī cō nũn tag
 dī da^ε ûñ dī cō^ε nũn t'ag

7.2 **sheek' shghilhk'its**

sheek' (ghin)..lhk'its+PERF.,3,+ 1SG. OBJ.
 saliva spit on
 n a vt
 saliva it spat on me
 [Obj] [VP]

It spat spittle on me.

It spit over me.

Spit / he spit on me.

cek | ceg L kûts
 cek' c gûL k'ûts

8.1 " **nt'aa' kaal'aa'-teilee**

t'aa'+2SG. POSS.	kaa-(ghin)..l'aa'/aa'+IMPF.,3	=teilee
feather	grow up from below	=will/shall
n a	vi	encl
your (sg.) feather	will sprout	
[Subj]	[VP]	

"Your feathers are going to sprout up.

"Your feathers will grow.

"Your feathers / will grow.

n t'a kûl a te lē
 n t'a^ε kəl^ε a^ε tē le

8.2 **beent'aah-teilee**

P-ee-(nin)..t'aagh+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBL. =teilee
 fly up against P
 vi
 you (sg.) will fly up against it
 [VP]

diidak'	yaah-bii'ing'
diidak'	yaah bii'ing'
east	sky inside
direct	n a nsuffix
up	in the sky
[AdvP]	[PostP]

You will fly up into the sky.

You will fly up into the sky.

You will fly / up / sky in.

ben t'a tē le dī dûk | ya bī ûñ
 ben t'a tē le dī dûk' ya bī^ε ûñ^ε

8.3 **ch'idaayee**

ch'..daayee'+IMPF.,3INDF.

bloom

vi

something blooms

[VP]

There are flowers.

There are flowers.

Flowers are.

tcit da ye

tc't da ye

8.4 **nshoon-ee**

n..shoon+PERF.,3 =yee

be good

vd

it is good

[VP]

eyewitness evid.

encl

It is beautiful.

It is a good place.

It is good.

n̄ cō ne

n cō ne

8.5 **ch'ildjii-ye**

ch'..ldjii/djiin+IMPF.,3INDF. =yee

shine

vs (imprs.)

it shines

[VP]

eyewitness evid.

encl

It is light.

It is light.

tcûl djī ye

tcûl djī ye

8.6 **shaa-ndiin-ee** .

shaa₁ n..diin+3 =yee
 sun shine eyewitness evid.
 n a vi encl
 sun shines
 [VP]

The sun shines.
There is sunshine.
Sun shines.

sûn dī ne
 cûn dī ne

8.7 **nshoon-ee**

n..shoon+PERF.,3 =yee
 be good eyewitness evid.
 vd encl
 it is good
 [VP]

It is a good country.
It is a good land."
It is good / land."

ḡ cō̇ ne ne+
 n cō̇ ne ne^ε

nee' ."

nee'
 land
 n a
 land
 [Subj]

9 **ch'oyii-haa' nchaagh nint'aagh** .

ch'oyii-haa' nchaagh₃ n-(nin)..t'aagh+PERF.,3
 again large one arrive flying
 adv pro-form vi
 again a large one arrived flying
 [AdvP] [Subj] [VP]

And again, a large one came flying.
Again, a large one flew there.
Again / large one / flew there.

tcō̇ yī ha | ḡ tcag nûn t'ag
 tcō̇ yī ha^ε n tcag nûn t'ag

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10	daang'		'ang
	daang'		= 'ang
	already, long ago, some time ago, a while ago		=yes/no question marker
	adv		encl
	already		yes/no?
	[AdvP]

aakwilaah ?"
 aa-(0)..leegh/laagh₂+PERF.,2SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.
 fix/repair O
 vt
 you fixed him
 [VP]
 "Did you already prepare him?"
 "Have you fixed him already?" he asked.
 "Already [/ question particle] / you fixed him?" "Yes, / already / I fixed him.

dañ ûn a kwûl la
 dañ^ε ûñ a kwûl la

11.1	"	heu'	,	daang'
		heu'		daang'
		yes (affirmation)		already, long ago, some time ago, a while ago
		interj		adv
		yes		already
		[Interj]		[AdvP]

aakwishlaagh-ee
 aa-(0)..leegh/laagh₂+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. =yee
 fix/repair O eyewitness evid.
 vt encl
 I fixed him
 [VP]
 "Yes, I already prepared him.
 "Yes, I fixed him some time ago..

he ū | dan a kwûc la ge
 he ū^ε dañ^ε a kwûc la ge

11.2	haihiit	doo	t'aa'
	haihiit	doo=	t'aa'
	because of that	negative=	feather
	conj	neg	n a
	because of	no	feather
	[AdvP]	[Subj]

kaal'aa'-yee

?"

kaa-(ghin)..l'aa'/aa'+IMPF.,3 =yee
 grow up from below eyewitness evid.
 vi encl
 grew up from below
 [VP]

That's why feathers haven't sprouted?"

Why have not the feathers come out?"

Why / not / feathers / have come out?" "Listen, / with him two are standing. [= two are doctoring him]

hai hīt | dō t'a kûl a ye
 hai hīt' dō t'a^ε kəl^ε a ye

12.1 **tcaa'**

chaa'₂
 listen!
 interj
 listen!
 [Interj]

kwilhyaa'naakaa'ghityiin-ee

P-ilh-naakaa'-(ghin)..tyiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.,DIST. =yee
 two doctor P eyewitness evid.
 vi encl
 two doctored him
 [VP]

"Listen! There are two doctoring him.

"Listen, two are doctoring him.

tca/ḡ tca kwûl ya nûk ka gût yī ne
 tca^ε kwûl ya^ε nək ka^ε gût yī ne

- 12.2 **kaa'** **kwtoonditcaang**
kaa'₁ P-tcoo-n-(ghin)..tchiish/chaan+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
all right/OK let P escape
interj vt
all right/OK let's let him escape
[Interj] [VP]

Okay, let's leave him alone.

Well, we must leave him.

Well, / we will leave him.

ka kwī sōn dūt cañ
ka^ε kuu tsōn dūt tcañ

- 12.3 **yaakwolht'aah** ."
yaa-(ghin)..lht'aagh+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.
make O fly up
vt
you (pl.) make him fly up
[VP]

Make him fly up."

Make him fly up now."

Make him fly."

ya kwōL t'a
ya kwōL t'a

- 13.1 **dee-k'aa** **noonaaniikaats'** ,
dee-k'aa noo-naa-n-(nin)..kaats'+PERF.,1SG.
here/there fall back to limit
dem vi
here/there I fell back to limit
[AdvP] [VP]

doo-kwnisin-hit

doo-...-hee n-(s)..sin/sin'+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3AREAL OBJ. =hit
negative know O =when
encl vt encl
because I did not know
[AdvCl]

I fell back there, because I didn't know how.

I fell back because I did not know how (to fly).

There / I fell back. I did not know how because.

de ka | nō na nī kats dō kwī nūs sūn hūt
de k'a nō na nī k'ats dō kuu nūs sūn hūt

- 13.2 **doo-taahshoo'** **taashaash** .
 doo-taahshoo' taa-(nin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF., 1SG.
 nowhere go in water
 adv vi
 nowhere I go in water
 [AdvP] [VP]

I didn't go anywhere.

I did not go anywhere.

Not anywhere / I went.

dō ta cō ta caj
dō ta cō^ε ta cac

- 13.3 **haataah** **doo-kwneising'** .
 haataah doo= n-(s)..sin/sin'+PERF., 1SG., + 3AREAL OBJ.
 right there negative= know O
 dem neg vt
 right there I did not know
 [AdvP] [VP]

I was right there, unconscious

I was senseless right there.

Right there / I was senseless.

ha ta | dō kwī ne sūn
ha ta dō kuu nē sūn

- 14 **kwanhang** .
 kwanhaang
 all/the end
 interj
 all
 [Interj]

That is all.

That is all.

All.

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kwûn L ûñ
kwûn Lạñ

Loeb Microtexts - Lucy (Cook) Ray, Martina (Ray) Bell, Gill Ray

In the course of documenting a group of related religions of northern and central California, Edwin Loeb documented a great deal about Cahto (as "Kato") culture, including many songs, ceremonies, and prayers. His main consultants were Lucy (Cook) Ray (Bill Ray's wife) and her and Bill Ray's children Martina (Ray) Bell and Gill Ray. Loeb's transcriptions of Cahto sounds miss many distinctions, but the literal translations he provides generally make it clear what words are involved. Other than Loeb, there are very few documented Cahto songs, prayers, or lines from ceremonies, making this an invaluable resource.

Lo01: Poisoning Dance Song

Lo01: Nooch'i'aang

Loeb, p.16

Before engaging in combat the Kato held a dance (nociañ) to poison the enemy. For the poisoning a human arm bone was exhumed and the dry sinew of a coyote placed in it. The evening before the battle the warriors met and danced throughout the night. Two or three of the men pointed toward the enemy with the bone, and others with their bows and arrows. One man had an arrow with a wretched piece of flint attached to it. He also pointed at the enemy with this arrow. The dancers then joined in song, expressing their desire that the enemy on the morrow would have similar arrowpoints. At the conclusion of the song all held up their hands toward the enemy and shouted: yo o o e hau i no, e hau i no, he gwana culgwas cuña notintale, arrow poor stand in-front-of-me yo ho he ni no, ni e.

"Before engaging in combat the Kato held a dance (nociañ [Nooch'i'aang]) to poison the enemy. For the poisoning a human arm bone was exhumed and the dry sinew of a coyote placed in it. The evening before the battle the warriors met and danced throughout the night. Two or three of the men pointed toward the enemy with the bone, and others with their bows and arrows. One man had an arrow with a wretched piece of flint attached to it. He also pointed at the enemy with this arrow. The dancers then joined in song, expressing their desire that the enemy on the morrow would have similar arrowpoints. At the conclusion of the song all held up their hands toward the enemy and shouted: yo o o e hau i no, e hau i no, he gwana culgwas cuña notintale, arrow poor stand in-front-of-me yo ho he ni no, ni e."

1.1 yoo oo oo

(vocables)

yo o o

1.3 ee hau ii noo , ee hau ii noo ,

(vocables)

Loeb 1 - Nooch'i'aang - Poisoning Dance Song

e hau i no, e hau i no

2.1	hee k'waa'	naach'ilhgwaas	shinghaa
	k'aa'+3 POSS.	naach'ilhgwaas	*inghaa++ 1SG. OBL.
	arrow	poor quality (of arrow)	before P
	n a	vi	postp
	their arrows	poor.quality.(of.arrow)	before me

noodintaalee

noo-d-(ghin)..taalh/taal'+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =i =yee
 step at a limit =NR =eyewitness evidential
 vt encl encl
 (may) you stand at a limit
Their poor-quality arrow, (may) you stand at a limit (battle-line) before me.
arrow poor stand in-front-of-me

he gwana culgwas cuña notintale

2.3 **yoo hoo hee nii noo , nii ee**

(vocables)

yo ho he ni no, ni e.

Lo02: Taunting with Scalp

Loeb, p.17

Once the enemy was sighted, it was deemed essential to arouse their anger. All joined in taunting the foe, except the chief, who merely talked to his own people. A scalp was produced, tossed from one warrior to another, and exhibited to possible relatives among the enemy. The Kato would taunt, "He is here. He is all right. He has just come to see you." (cuncone conan tietce kanastiai ye, he good, he sees you, he has come back again.) (Loeb, p.17)

"Once the enemy was sighted, it was deemed essential to arouse their anger. All joined in taunting the foe, except the chief, who merely talked to his own people. A scalp was produced, tossed from one warrior to another, and exhibited to possible relatives among the enemy. The Kato would taunt, "He is here. He is all right. He has just come to see you." (cuncone conan tietce kanastiai ye, he good, he sees you, he has come back again.)"

1 tc'ingshoon-ee

n..shoon+PERF.,3ANIM. =yee
 be good =eyewitness evidential
 vd encl
 he is well

He is well.

he good,

cuncone

2 tc'oonintgheetc'-ee

oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 2SG. OBJ. =yee
 look at O =eyewitness evidential
 vt encl
 he saw you

He saw you.

he sees you,

conan tietce

Loeb 2 - Taunting with Scalp

3 **kaanaa'stiyaa-yee**

kaa-naa-s-(s)..tyaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. =yee

sg come back up from underground

vi

he came back up from below

=eyewitness evidential

encl

He came back up again.

he has come back again.

kanastiai ye

Lo03: Scalp Dance Song

kantai si buL yitac

Lo03: Kaa'indai Sii'-bilh Ghidaash

Loeb, p.18

The scalp dance (kantai si buL yitac, dead-man head for dance), was the emotional climax of Kato warfare. When the time arrived for the scalp dance, the scalper took the trophy into the dance house. A woman who had lost a relative in the war first took the object in her teeth, bit it, and danced with it dangling from her mouth. After this all the relatives who had suffered bereavement danced with the scalp, tossing it from one to another while they danced. They sang a taunting song: ha no a, no hi ya, ha no hi ya, ho hanen. nañ ciñcone, your mother is well, ta ciñcone, your father is well, nonuñ ciñcone, your brother is well, tece ciñcone, your sister is well. nahitac tele hi anintele, you-are-going-back soon you will-be-all-right. (Loeb, pp.17-18)

Kaa'indai Sii'-bilh Ghidaash

"The scalp dance (kantai si buL yitac [Kaa'indai Sii'-bilh Ghidaash], dead-man head for dance), was the emotional climax of Kato warfare. When the time arrived for the scalp dance, the scalper took the trophy into the dance house. A woman who had lost a relative in the war first took the object in her teeth, bit it, and danced with it dangling from her mouth. After this all the relatives who had suffered bereavement danced with the scalp, tossing it from one to another while they danced. They sang a taunting song: ha no a, no hi ya, ha no hi ya, ho hanen. nañ ciñcone, your mother is well, ta ciñcone, your father is well, nonuñ ciñcone, your brother is well, tece ciñcone, your sister is well. nahitac tele hi anintele, you-are-going-back soon you will-be-all-right."

1 haa noo aa , noo hii yaa , haa noo hii yaa , hoo haanen .

(vocables)

ha no a, no hi ya, ha no hi ya, ho hanen

2	naang	tc'ingshoon-ee	
	*naang+2SG. POSS.	n..shoon+PERF.,3ANIM.	=yee
	mother	be good	=eyewitness evidential
	n ia	vd	encl
	your mother	he is well	

Your mother is well.

Loeb 3 - Kaa'indai Sii' -bilh Ghidaash - Scalp Dance Song

your mother is well

nañ ciñcone

3	ntaa'	tc'ingshoon-ee	
	*taa'+2SG. POSS.	n..shoon+PERF.,3ANIM.	=yee
	father	be good	=eyewitness evidential
	n ia	vd	encl
	your (sg.) father	he is well	

Your father is well.
your father is well

ta ciñcone

4	noonang	tc'ingshoon-ee	
	*oonang+2SG. POSS.	n..shoon+PERF.,3ANIM.	=yee
	older brother	be good	=eyewitness evidential
	n ia	vd	encl
	your older brother	he is well	

Your older brother is well.
your brother is well

nonuñ ciñcone

5	nt'eeshii'	tc'ingshoon-ee	
	*t'eeshii'+2SG. POSS.	n..shoon+PERF.,3ANIM.	=yee
	younger sister	be good	=eyewitness evidential
	n ia	vd	encl
	your younger sister	he is well	

Your younger sister is well.
your sister is well

tece ciñcone

Loeb 3 - Kaa'indai Sii' -bilh Ghidaash - Scalp Dance Song

6 naahidaash-teelee

naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,3	=teelh	=yee	hii
sg go back home	=will/shall	=eyewitness evidential	the
vi	encl	encl	dem
he is about to go back home			the

aanin-teelee

aa-(nin)..0+PERF.,3	=teelh	=yee
be thus	=will/shall	=eyewitness evidential
vi	encl	encl
he is about to be thus		

He will go back home, he will be that way (well).
you-are-going-back soon you will-be-all-right.

nahitac tele hi anintele

Lo05: Winter New Moon Prayer - Djeeh Kwaat'aash

Loeb, p.21

"At the time of a new moon-in winter, a special prayer and ceremony were held. The rite was called tje kwa toc [Djeeh Kwaat'aash] (pitch give blazing). Boys and girls went out of doors and threw blazing pitch at the new moon as it rose. They prayed at the same time, natai konk natabund, blazing fire carrying. The people wished to give the new moon fire, so that the month would be warm. Only boys and girls who had been born in the warm summer months were allowed to participate in this ceremony."

1	Naat'ai		kwong'k'
	naa-(s)..t'aa+IMPF.,3	=i	kwong' -k' ₁
	carry fire around	=NR	fire manner suffix
	vt	encl	n a suffix
	carrying fire around		by fire

naat'aa-bang

naa-(s)..t'aa+IMPF.,3 =bang₂
 carry fire around =future predictive enclitic
 vt encl
 it will carry fire around
By carrying fire around it will carry fire around.
blazing fire carrying

natai konk natabund

Lo06: Rest Days Exhortation - Nailyiish

Loeb, p.21

"The first of every month, that is, at the time of a new moon, there was a rest period of four days. These days were considered unlucky. At the beginning of the period the chief went around the village and called out "nailyic, nailyic" [Nailyiish, nailyiish] (rest, rest). During this time the people were not allowed to hunt, fish, or gather food. They lay around and patched up twine and buckskin. They ate, rested, gambled, and danced if they wished. There was no taboo on sexual intercourse."

1	Nailyiish	,	nailyiish	!
	naa-(ghees)..lyiish/yiitc'+OPT.,3		naa-(ghees)..lyiish/yiitc'+OPT.,3	
	rest		rest	
	vs		vs	
	let them rest		let them rest	
	<i>Let them rest, let them rest!</i>			
	<i>rest, rest</i>			

nailyic, nailyic

Lo07: Earthquake Song - Nee'teelii'

Loeb, p.22

Song sung during an earthquake [Nee'teelii'] by men who had been through doctor's school; accompanied by dancing and striking the ground. "An earthquake was called ne tli, ground shaking. The shock was thought to have been caused by a big deer moving under the earth. The deer was called intce teloñ, deer soft. Upon feeling the ground shake, everyone picked up an acorn pestle or stick and pounded the earth. Men who had received a 'secondary education,' having been through the doctors' school, hit the ground, danced, and sang, 'He yo wi o.'" (Loeb, p.22)

1 Hee yoo wii oo

(vocables)

He yo wi o

Lo08: Clown Song - Yiichow Waaneesaan song

Loeb, p.27

Among the Kato all boys about the age of twelve were put in the dance house, and kept there all winter. This was the "elementary school" for boys, and it was called keate.³¹ Every male member of the tribe, but no females, went through this school. There were about twenty or thirty boys in the school at the same time. It is not known how often the school was held among the Kato, but the last was about sixty years ago, at a place called totclukbi. The chief directed the school. Before it began he presented a little stick to every boy who was to attend that year. If the boy failed to appear at the school, he would experience life-long bad luck. The father, or some other male relative, escorted the boy into the dance house and left him there. Then the father returned home. After this his sole duty was to take food for the boy to the dance house. There seem to have been but four adults who remained in the dance house to watch the boys and four ghosts (tai kehañ, outside people) who came down from the hills every night. The chief was in attendance every evening and personally gave the boys instructions in the morning. Two, firetenders (konwanesañ) took turns in caring for the fire and the dance house. Two men in the dance house acted as clowns before the ghosts came down from the hills. These men were called yitco wanesa (dance house watchers). The boys, after they had been received in the dance house, were made to lie down on the right hand side of the fire and were covered with straw. For the first four days they were not allowed to drink any water. After that they were given only a little water at a time; this they consumed together. They were given very little acorn soup and pinole during the first four days, but after that their ration of these foods was increased. The boys were kept blackened and painted up, and were compelled to make use of the scratching stick. They were allowed to leave the house; at night only to satisfy their natural needs. In the course of the six months they became very weak, "like dead people." The chief had to turn the row of boys over every morning. The clowns and the ghosts enacted their part every night during the six months. The clowns painted themselves in the dance house, and stuck twigs in their noses and ears. They danced, sang, and made jokes. If the boys laughed at them, they were liable to become sick. The song of the clowns was: heu gi hola gi, gice gice, hola ge. (Loeb, pp.26-7) The song sung by the clowns that danced every night of the six month long boy's "elementary school" [kee'aat'eeh].

1 Heu jii hoolaa jii , jiiishee jiiishee , hoolaa jee
(vocables?)

heu gi hola gi, gice gice, hola ge

Lo09: Calling Ghosts - Haiyaantc'in!

Loeb, p.27

Each evening of the Boy's Primary School, after the Clown Song
Next the chief called for the ghosts from the roof of the dance house. The four ghosts on the hills whistled to him in reply. The chief kept calling a long time. He cried, "haiyancin, haiyancin" (come over here, come over here). The clowns kept calling at the same time, in a peculiar manner, from inside the dance house. (Loeb, p.27)

1 Haiyaantc'in' , haiyaantc'in' !
haiyaantc'in' haiyaantc'in'
over here! over here!
vi vi
over here! over here!

Over here! Over here!

come over here, come over here

haiyancin, haiyancin

Lo10: Prayer for Child's Growth - Tc' -tc' -tc' -tc'yaan-ee

Loeb, p.32

The boys' high school was very dangerous, and women and children were not only not allowed to witness it, but women, even women doctors, were also not supposed to know about it. An occasional middle-aged man, however, who was not a member of the society, was allowed to enter and witness the ghost eeremony. The outsider was forced to pay for this privilege by depositing a handful of beads at the center post upon entering. It was strictly understood that the non-initiate witnessed these dangerous activities at his own risk. If he so much as smiled his mouth remained permanently crooked. After the visitor returned home he at once purified himself with pepperwood leaves and angelica.. The Indian who dared witness the ghost ceremony did not do it from idle curiosity, but in order to obtain good luck for himself and his family. After the purification he went to his children and shook their hands, saying ch ch ch ch yane. This communicated the blessing to the children. (Loeb, p.32)

1 Tc'-tc'-tc'-tc'yaan-ee .

..yaan+IMPF.,3ANIM. =yee

grow =eyewitness evidential

vi encl

he grows

H-h-h-he grows.

ch ch ch ch yane

Lo11: Naaghaichow Song - Naaghaichow Yaach'k'inooloos

Loeb, p.36

Doctoring was called yatckinolos (bring-him-down) when it was a matter of spirit impersonation. Spirits were summoned only for severe sickness or in case of an epidemic. Nagaitco was the chief spirit called upon in curing. In order to effect a cure by means of spirit impersonation, the patient was either taken into the dance house or into a brush house. The women were not supposed to see Nagaitco at work. Twelve men, called kulcut, went up into the mountains to look for Nagaitco. These men were all doctors, and wore black stripes across their foreheads. Four of these doctors continually kept singing Nagaitco songs, and dancing. The Nagaitco song went: ha ino, ha ina, yo ha, ha ino. The other eight men devoted all their energy to looking for the god. Finally Nagaitco answered from far up in the mountains. Then he came down, surrounded by the twelve doctors. He seemed to be walking on air, and he kept revolving and flitting from place to place. Sometimes he turned around so quickly that the wind he created knocked one of his escorts down. (Loeb, pp.35-6)

1 haa iinoo , haa iinaa ,

(vocables)

ha ino, ha ina,

2 yoo haa , haa iinoo

(vocables)

yo ha, ha ino

Lo12: Naaghaichow's voice - Naaghaichow Uudaa'

Loeb, p.36

Nagaitco talked in a secret language and made a queer noise, u u u u, in a thin high voice.
(Loeb, p.36)

1 uu uu uu uu
(noises in thin high voice)

u u u u

Lo13 Affirmation of Naaghaichow Wand - Haangaa'-yee

Loeb, p.36

Sometimes Nagaitco was not called in personally for a cure, but an effigy of Nagaitco was used. This, however, was done only in an emergency. If twelve doctors were not available, and an Indian was near death, three or four doctors undertook to cure him in the following manner. A stick with condor feathers on the end was used. This stick was called ketaltnes, sharp heels (the nickname of Nagaitco). The doctors carried the stick around the patient four times, and up and down him four times. They called out, "haña ye, haña ye" (that is he, that is he!). The cure was said. to be effective only if the person actually believed that the stick was the god Nagaitco in person.⁴⁰ (Loeb, p.36)

1 Haangaa'-yee

hang+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=haa'	=yee
3sg indep he, him	=just, only	=eyewitness evidential
pron	encl	encl
it just/truly he!		

That is truly he,

that is he,

haña ye,

2 Haangaa'-yee

hang+UNSPEC. VAR. OF	=haa'	=yee
3sg indep he, him	=just, only	=eyewitness evidential
pron	encl	encl
just/truly he!		

That is truly he!

that is he!

haña ye

Lo14: Prayer Before Eating

Loeb, p.40

The Kato were in the habit of making frequent prayers. They prayed before rising, before going to bed, and before eating. A simple form of grace was: *cunka nadic cuñ sta'*, I-wish eat good father. Before rising the correct formula was: *cunka ictake dja*, I-wish get-up I-wish. A sneeze meant good luck. It also meant that someone was talking about you. When a Kato sneezed, he prayed: *kucna dja sta'*, let-me-live I-wish father. (Loeb, p.40)

1	Shoonk'aa'	naadiishtcang	,
	shoonk' =haa'	naa-d-(ghis)...ltcaan+IMPF., 1SG., + 3 OBJ.	
	well =just, only	eat meal	
	adv encl	vt	
	well	let me eat a meal	

Shtaa'

Shtaa'

My Father (God)

ⁿ

My Father

Let me eat well, My Father.

I-wish eat good father

cunka nadic cuñ sta',

Lo15: Prayer Before Getting Up

Loeb, p.40

The Kato were in the habit of making frequent prayers. They prayed before rising, before going to bed, and before eating. A simple form of grace was: *cunka nadic cuñ sta'*, I-wish eat good father. Before rising the correct formula was: *cunka ictake dja*, I-wish get-up I-wish. A sneeze meant good luck. It also meant that someone was talking about you. When a Kato sneezed, he prayed: *kucna dja sta'*, let-me-live I-wish father. (Loeb, p.40)

1	Shoonk'aa'		ishdik'ee'-jaa'	
	shoonk' =haa'		(s)..dik'ee'+OPT.,1SG. =jaa'	
	well =just, only	get up	=volitive/optative	
	adv encl	vi	encl	
	well	let me get up		

Let me get up well.
I-wish get-up I-wish.

cunka ictake dja,

Lo16: Prayer After Sneezing

Loeb, p.40

The Kato were in the habit of making frequent prayers. They prayed before rising, before going to bed, and before eating. A simple form of grace was: cunka nadic cuñ sta', I-wish eat good father. Before rising the correct formula was: cunka ictake dja, I-wish get-up I-wish. A sneeze meant good luck. It also meant that someone was talking about you. When a Kato sneezed, he prayed: kucna dja sta', let-me-live I-wish father. (Loeb, p.40)

1	Kishnaa-jaa'	,	Shtaa'	.
	k-(s)..naa/naa'+OPT.,1SG. =jaa'		Shtaa'	
	live	=volitive/optative	My Father (God)	
	vs	encl	n	
	let me live		My Father	
	<i>Let me live, My Father.</i>			
	<i>let-me-live I-wish father</i>			

kucna dja sta'

Lo17: Naatloos Dance Song

Loeb, p.42

Natlos ("leading one another"), ordinary dance, held in dance or brush house by men, women, children; donned feathers around fire, singing hone e ya hu; joined hands, danced around fire. Main singer, cele, used split-stick rattle.

1 hoonee ee yaa huu

(vocables)

hone e ya hu

Lo18: Neeching Dance Song

Loeb, p.42

Necuñ by 6 men, one side of fire, 6 men or women, other side; women danced from side to side in row; men similar flrst; ended hopping around fire. Sang: hai hi yo, hai hi yo, hi yi hi.

1 hai hii yoo ,

(vocables)

hai hi yo,

2 hai hii yoo ,

(vocables)

hai hi yo,

3 hii yii hii

(vocables)

hi yi hi

Lo19: Prayer After Epidemic - Tc'eenasilsaas

Loeb, p.48

Epidemic. Survivors purified with ceremony (cena silsas, sickness sweep out): decorated houses with beads, ornaments for Nagaitco to see; ate outside; left food on ground for Nagaitco; extinguished fire, strew hot ashes, fire around house (scare off sickness), prayed: tec nona baic acteye, coals roll-out roll I am here (" I am the only one left here, all the coals have rolled out," i.e., sickness everywhere in village, petitioner wishes to remain well). New fire of pepperwood made on hearth; house swept. (Loeb, p.48)

1	T'eesh	noonaabaash	
	t'eesh	noo-naa-(nin)..baas/baats'+IMPF.,3	=i
	charcoal	roll back out to limit	=NR
	n a	vi	encl
	charcoal, coals	having rolled back out	

aash'tee-yee

aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,1SG. =yee
 be thus =eyewitness evidential
 vs (pers.) encl
 I am thus

The coals having rolled back out, still I am here.

coals roll-out I am here ('I am the only one left here, all the coals have rolled out')

tec nona baic acteye

Lo20: Welcome to Visiting Trade-Party

Loeb, p.49

When the visiting tribe reaches the site of a trade gathering, the hosting tribe's chief welcomes the visiting tribe at the camp with these words.

In camp, chief welcomed visitors thus: nun sat, nun sat ne ince e, "sit down, sit down (even though) no good-place." (Loeb, p.49)

1	Ninsaat	,	ninsaat		nee'
	n-(s)..saat+IMPF.,2SG.		n-(s)..saat+IMPF.,2SG.		nee'
	sit down		sit down		World
	vi		vi		n a
	you (sg) sit down		you (sg) sit down		earth, ground

ntcee'-ee

n..tcee'+PERF.,3 =yee

be bad =eyewitness evidential

vd encl

it is bad

Sit down, sit down, in this bad/unworthy place.

sit down, sit down (even though) no good-place.

nun sat nun sat ne ince e

Lo21: Trade Gathering Dialog

Loeb, p.49

First evening, all went outdoors, tribes sat facing. Yuki chief said: First trade, then games; cautioned his people to behave (gambling; molestation of women caused strife often). Kato chief replied: haicuñ geniyai e, heu heu, cone, cone, "this come-out yes yes good good" (We have come here for this purpose, it is well.) Yuki chief said: kosbi telagal ocibut, "tomorrow trade much. " (Loeb, p.49)

1.1	Haitc'ing'	tc'eeniyai-yee		
	haitc'ing'	tc'ee-n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,1SG.	=i	affirmative
	for this purpose	sg come out	=NR	encl
	adv	vi		encl
	for.this.purpose	I have come out		

heu'	,	heu'	.
heu'		heu'	
yes (affirmation)		yes (affirmation)	
interj		interj	
yes		yes	

I have come out for this reason, yes, yes.
this come-out yes yes

haicuñ geniyai e, heu heu

1.2	Nshoon-ee		
	n..shoon+PERF.,3	=yee	
	be good	=eyewitness evidential	
	vd	encl	
	it is good		

nshoon-ee	.
n..shoon+PERF.,3	=yee
be good	=eyewitness evidential
vd	encl
it is good	

It is well, it is well.
good good (We have come here for this purpose, it is well)

Lo21 - Trade Gathering Dialog

cone cone

2 **Kaashbii' teelaaghaal ohtcii-bat**
kaashbii' teelaaghaal (s)..lhtcii/tciin'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =bat
tomorrow much trade make O =future
adv n a vt encl
tomorrow much trade you (pl) will make
Tomorrow you (pl.) will trade much.
tomorrow trade much

kosbi telagal ocibut

Lo22: Lullaby - Sleepy Old Lady - Soolh-Tc'yaantc

Loeb, p.51

Cradle songs: un un un . . . sotlcianc nabi nan tlaule nañ kuntelbi tesyaye, sleepy old woman eye sleep again your mother valley gone. ("Sleepy old woman, you have sleep in your eyes; your mother has gone to the valley.") (Loeb, p.51)

1 an an an

(vocables)

un un un

2 Soolh-tc'yaantc

√SOOLH+UNSPEC. VAR. OF tc'yaantc
hollow old woman
rt n a
sleepy old woman

naa'biï'

*naa'₁+2SG. POSS. =biï'
eye =in it
n ia nsuffix
in your eye

naantlaal-ee

naa-n-ti-(s)..laalh+PERF.,3 =yee
sleepy again =eyewitness evidential
vi encl
it is sleepy again

naang

*naang+2SG. POSS.
mother
n ia
your mother

konteelbiï'

kwonteelh₁+LOC.

valley
n a

to the valley

teesyaa-yee

ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 =yee

sg go along
vi

has gone along

=eyewitness evidential
encl

*Sleepy old woman, it is sleepy in your eyes again; your mother has gone to the valley.
sleepy old woman eye sleep again your mother valley gone. ('Sleepy old woman, you
have sleep in your eyes; your mother has gone to the valley.')*

sotlciantc nabi nan tlaule nañ kuntelbi tesyaye

Lo23: Lullaby - Lizard - Saljiitc

Loeb, p.51

Cradle songs:soltcic nabi nan tlaule, lizard eye sleep again. ("The lizard has gone to sleep in the baby's eye.") (Loeb, p.51)

1	Saljiitc	naa'bi'	
	saljiitc	*naa' ₁ +2SG. POSS.	=bii'
	fence lizard	eye	=in it
	n a	n ia	nsuffix
	fence lizard	in your eye	

naantlaal-ee

naa-n-ti-(s)..laalh+PERF.,3 =yee
 sleepy again =eyewitness evidential
 vi encl

it is sleepy again

A lizard has gone to sleep in your eye again.

lizard eye sleep again. ('The lizard has gone to sleep in the baby's eye.')

soltcic nabi nan tlaule

Lo24: Warning to Infants

Loeb, p.51

Infant taught to be quiet when noise outside: mother said "abi, abi" (be quiet). When older, frightened into obedience with: "dico notlcutuk" (something will catch you). At 2-3 years taught not to wet bed; taken outside, regular intervals. Child-whipping by hand, switch; occasional. Older children not punished. (Loeb, p.51)

1	Aabii	,	aabii	!
	aabii		aabii	
	beware!		beware!	
	interj		interj	
	stop!/danger!		stop!/danger!	

Danger, danger!

be quiet

abi, abi

Lo25: Warning to Children

Loeb, p.51

Infant taught to be quiet when noise outside: mother said "abi, abi" (be quiet). When older, frightened into obedience with: "dico notlcutuk" (something will catch you). At 2-3 years taught not to wet bed; taken outside, regular intervals. Child-whipping by hand, switch; occasional. Older children not punished. (Loeb, p.51)

1 Diishoo'

diishoo'

something

pron

something, anything; some kind

noolhchit-ik

oo-(ghin)..lhchit+IMPF.,3,+ 2SG. OBJ. =hik

catch O

vt

it will catch you (sg)

Something will catch you.

something will catch you

=future?/potential?

encl

dico notlcutuk

Lo26: Men's Love Song - Yeehliinding Shweeyekii - My Y. Sister-in-law

Loeb, p.52

Men's love songs: he ni no ya he ni noye lentuñ cweyeki cweyeki, down slide sister-in-law hai cuni na culktukuñ, only that-person-will-do-everythingyani, that-is-what-they-say. (Loeb, p.52)

1 hee nii noo yaa hee nii noo

(vocables)

he ni no ya he ni no

2	Yeehliinding	shweeyekii	,
	Yeehliinding	*gheeyekii+1SG. POSS. OF	
	Flows In Place village	sister-in-law (of man)	
	<small>n a</small>	<small>n ia</small>	
	Yeehliindin [flow into-place]	my sister-in-law	

shweeyekii ,
*gheeyekii+1SG. POSS. OF
sister-in-law (of man)
n ia
my sister-in-law
*My sister-in-law at Yeehliinding, my sister-in-law,
down slide sister-in-law*

ye lentuñ cweyeki cweyeki

Lo26 - Yeehliinding Shweeyekii - My Yeehliinding Sister-in-law love song

3 Hai shanii

hai₁ shaanii+VAR. OF
that only
dem adv
the/that only

naa'ch'ilk'it'-ik'ang

naa-ch'..lk'it'+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =hik
have sex around =future?/potential?
vi encl

='ang

=yes/no question marker
encl

will maybe go around having sex
Only that one will go along having sex,
only that-person-will-do-everything

hai cuni na culktukuñ

4 Yaa'nii .

yaa'nii₁
they say
vt
they say

they say
that-is-what-they-say.

yani

Lo27: Women's Love Song - Kaayaa'-yee

Loeb, p.52

Women's [love song]:kayaye kayaye, come up come up Yakcañtiñyi (a place name in the north)hañ kwic, that-is-he perhaps. ('A man from the north is approaching. He may be my lover.') (Loeb, p.52)

1 Kaayaa'-yee

kaa-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+3,OPT. =yee
come up from below =affirmative
vi encl
let him come up from below

kaayaa'-yee

kaa-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+3,OPT. =yee
come up from below =affirmative
vi encl
let him come up from below

*Let him come up from below, let him come up from below,
come up come up*

kayaye kayaye

2 Yaakchaangdingyii

Yaakchaangdingyii
Yaakchangdingyii village
n a
Yaakchangdingyii.village
*Yaakchaangdingyii (in the north),
(a place name in the north)*

Yakcañtiñyi

3 Hang

hang kwosh
=kwosh
3sg indep he, him =perhaps/guess
pron encl
he/him perhaps/guess

Lo27 - Women's Love Song

Perhaps it is he (my lover).
that-is-he perhaps.

hañ kwic

Lo28: Greetings Outdoors

Loeb, p.53

Greetings.-Upon meeting, one shouted to other, who replied: na ca i (I am walking around). First said: nanya kam, nanya kam (you have been walking around); munsut dicot cilkimut (sit-down something tell-me). Both sat, talked.

1 Naashai

naa-(s)..yaa/yaa'+IMPF.,1SG. =i
 sg go around/about =NR
 vi encl
 I go around

I go around.

I am walking around

na ca i

2 Naanyaa-kaang

naa-(s)..yaa/yaa'+2SG. =kwaan
 sg go around/about =inferred with certainty from evidence evidential
 vi vcncl
 you (sg.) have gone around/about

naanyaa-kaang

naa-(s)..yaa/yaa'+2SG. =kwaan
 sg go around/about =inferred with certainty from evidence evidential
 vi vcncl
 you (sg.) have gone around/about

ninsaat

n-(s)..saat+IMPF.,2SG. diishoo'
 sit down something
 vi pron
 you (sg) sit down something

shilhch'imat

P-lh-ch'..in+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.,+ 1SG. OBL. =bat
 tell O X =hortative
 vt encl
 you (sg) tell me st.

Lo28 - Greetings Outdoors

You've been walking around, you've been walking around; sit down and tell me something.

you have been walking around ... sit-down something tell-me

nanya kam, nanya kam, munsut dicot cilkimat

Lo29: Husband Returning Home

Loeb, p.53

Man, returning after absence, spoke to wife: yuk nacai nani-tiai-ye (around way-around come-back). Wife: Wě (yes). (Loeb, p.53)

1 **Yook'** **naashai**
yook' naa-(s)..yaa/yaa'+IMPF.,1SG. =i
way far sg go around/about =NR
adv vi encl
way far away I go around

naaniitiyai-yee
naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,1SG. =i =yee
sg come back =NR =eyewitness evidential
vi encl encl
I have come back
I've gone around far away, and I've returned home.
around way-around come-back

yuk nacai nani-tiai-ye

2 **Wee**
uuwei+DIAL. VAR. OF
yes!
interj
Yes
Yes.
yes

Wě

J.P. Harrington Microtext

J.P. Harrington's Cahto materials, from Martina (Ray) Bell and Gill Ray, were oriented towards a project he was engaged in documenting Native place names along the Pacific coast. The archival materials are in the form mostly of hundreds of notes as he worked with various consultants documenting each place name. There appears to be only one real text, a micro-text in Harrington's notes on Cahto place names and other vocabulary, a short love song associated with a particular place name, that of Rockport or Cottaneva in the northern part of Coast Yuki territory.

JPH01: Cottaneva love song - Kaatineebii'

JPH, reel 3, im.480B

"Gill k'á'tt'annē'br', trail goes right over the hill or knoll. From t'nî, trail, road. There is a love-song mentioning this place. The song says k'á'tt'annē'br' lí'dzi' 'ínt'o' A man of here had a girl over at Cott and he made this song+ everybody sang it -- he said milkhe wanted to go there. Lucy Perry sing this all the time.

Love song related by Gill Ray to Harrington. A Laytonville/Cahto man was in love with a girl at Cottaneva/Kaatineebii' on the coast, "and he made this song & everybody sang it... he wanted to go there." "Lucy Perry sing this all the time."

1.1 Kaatineebii'

Kaatineebii'

Rockport

n a

Rockport

At Rockport

k'á'tt'annē'br'

1.3 liidjii'

liidjii'

milk (cow's)

n a

milk (cow's)

'íint'oo

ch'-(ghin)..t'oogh+2SG.

stir O

vt

you stir

You are stirring milk.

lí'dzi' 'ínt'o'

Appendix A - Discourse Charts

The full-length texts have been charted using the built in format of SIL's Flex/FieldWorks language database software. The columns in these charts represent relative positions of elements in the sentence. The first two columns (Pre-nuclear) tend to be filled by pre-posed elements, interjections, or addresses (the first column "Outer") and adverbials and locatives ("Inner"). The next three columns contain the nucleus of the sentence, following the Cahto basic word order, Subject-Object-Verb. The final three columns ("Post-nuclear") begin with an "Inner" column generally filled with descriptions, apositives, adverbials, and locatives. Next is the "Outer" column, most generally filled with sentence/clause-final enclitics, especially the quotative yaa'nii. The final column ("Post") is most frequently filled by post-posed or focused subjects or objects.

Moved elements are represented by a ">>" (for post-posed elements) or "<<" (for pre-posed) and then the element appears in red lettering. Clauses are marked on separate lines in different colors for different sorts of clause (e.g. blue for dependent clauses, green for quotations, purple for songs) and the corresponding line number appears in the position of the main clause where such an element would normally occur. In certain cases there are further grammatical notations (in yellow) for things the author wishes to keep track of in the process of continuing to analyze Cahto grammar.

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			too water		teesyai (PERF) went along		yaa'nii they say	
2			too water	shoonk' well	lheeng'ai' they came together (PERF)		yaa'nii they say	
3			nee' land		ndoo' (PERF) not exist		yaa'nii they say	
4a			too water		shaanii only	haakwdang' then		
4b			ts'isnoo' mountain		ndoo' (PERF) not exist		yaa'nii they say	
5			see rock		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
6			chin trees		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
7			t'oh grass		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
8			toonai fish		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
9			iintc'ee' deer		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
10			jeeschow elk		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
11			noonii bear		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
12			bitchow mountain lion		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
13			yiishtc wolf		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

14			doolii black bear		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
15			naahneesh person		teelhkit were washed away (PERF)		yaa'nii they say
16			noonii bear		teelhkit were washed away (PERF)		yaa'nii they say
17			bitchow mountain lion		teelhkit were washed away (PERF)		yaa'nii they say
18			iintc'ee' deer		teelhkit were washed away (PERF)		yaa'nii they say
19			ch'siitcing coyote		ndoo' (PERF) not exist		yaa'nii they say
20		haakwdang' then	daatcaang' raven		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
21			bischloo great horned owl		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
22			tc'intch'itseeetcin g turkey vulture		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
23			ch'isai' red-tailed hawk		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
24			seelhch'woi great blue heron		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
25			chaalhnii varied thrush		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
26			dishchow ruffed grouse		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
27			dishtc California quail		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

28			ch'isai'tcing scrub jay		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
29			naakee'itc duck (gen)		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
30			bintcbil flicker		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
31			tc'intyaash condor		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
32			chiibowitc pigmy owl		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
33			chinch'ghiichow pileated woodpecker		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
34			chinnilhtcintc Lewis' woodpecker		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
35			naa'shook'aa robin		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
36			djiitcwotc black-headed grosbeak		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
37		haakwdang' then	tc'oolaakii meadowlark		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
38		haakwdang' then	see'eedintc sparrowhawk		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
39		haakwdang' then	chinch'baagh Lewis' woodpecker		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
40		haakwdang' then	bitck'ai' sea gull		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
41		haakwdang' then	tkaashchow pelican		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
42			shlee' Bullock's oriole		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

43		haakwdang' then	seelhtcindinii yellow-breasted chat		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
44			k'ai'ts'eehtc wrentit		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
45			djiidingooyaantc Swainson's Thrush tc'oh blackbird		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
46		haakwdang' then	daatcaan'tc crow		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
47		haakwdang' then	ch'leelintc hummingbird		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
48			bisbintc spotted owl		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
49		haakwdang' then	t'ee'bil curlew		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
50		haakwdang' then	seelhtcindinii yellow-breasted chat		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
51			naatc'aitc swallow (bird)		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
52			baansiitc shorebird		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
53		haakwdang' then	tc'oolaakii meadowlark		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
54		haakwdang' then	lhtsoghing gray fox		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
55		haakwdang' then	bittc bobcat		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
56		haakwdang' then	siis river otter		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
57		haakwdang' then	saahtc mink		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

58		haakwdang' then	jeeschow elk		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
59		haakwdang' then	k'antaaghiitc jackrabbit daahitc gray.squirrel		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
60		haakwdang' then	slis ground squirrel		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
61		haakwdang' then	gaashchow- kw'it-kwiyaaghitc Douglas squirrel		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
62		haakwdang' then	silts'intc chipmunk		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
63		haakwdang' then	lhoon'lhgai bushy-tailed woodrat		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
64		haakwdang' then	naalhton'tc kangaroo rat		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
65		haakwdang' then	lhoon'tcghee'ne estc deer mouse		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
66		haakwdang' then	ch'laakii acorn woodpecker		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
67		haakwdang' then	kwiiyiint band-tailed pigeon		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
68		haakwdang' then	k'ai'koslitc bird sp		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
69		haakwdang' then	isch'ighiiyiits warbler spp		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
70		haakwdang' then	kaah goose		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
71		haakwdang' then	deelh sandhill crane		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

72		haakwdang' then	naagoltciik spotted towhee		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
73		haakwdang' then	main badger		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
74		haakwdang' then	waanintc'ii' wind		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
75		haakwdang' then	yaahs snow		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
76		haakwdang' then	loo frost		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
77		haakwdang' then	titbil rain		ndoo' (PERF) not exist		yaa'nii they say
78		haakwdang' then	---		doo-naitgeet it did not thunder (IMPF)		yaa'nii they say
79		haakwdang' then chin-ndoo'-hit when trees did not exist	---		doo-ch'dinii it did not thunder (IMPF)		yaa'nii they say
80			---		doo-ch'tilk'ish there was no lightning (IMPF)		yaa'nii they say
81		haakwdang' then	aah cloud		ndoo' (PERF) not exist		yaa'nii they say
82			yiist'oot' fog		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say
83			---		doo-nootcook- ee it does not appear (IMPF)		yaa'nii they say
84			gooyaanii' star		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

85			---		tcaakwolhgheel' it was very dark (PERF)	yaa'nii they say	
86a			[shaa sun		ndoo'-hit] when it did not exist		
86b		[86a]	dii nee' >> this/here land		nin'isdik'ee' he got up	yaa'nii they say	uudee' its horn nchaagh nees large/much long
87		diidaa''ang from the north	---		gaalh it walked	yaa'nii they say	
88		kwonsaat deep place hiiheenaash- taah places where it goes in	---	uudiishee' its shoulder hai the/that	nooch'too' water reaches to	yaa'nii they say	
89		kwontishkaataa h shallow places	---		kaaghinaash it come up from below	yaa'nii they say	
90			---		yaa'ghitghish it looks up	yaa'nii they say	
91		yiidaa'ang from the north too water yoo'oong-haa' yonder	---		yiilhsit waves break	yaa'nii they say	
92a		[nee'ti'at middle of the earth	---		ninyaa-hit] when it arrived		
92b	[92a]	diidak' east shaa-uuyeehing under the sun	---		yaa'ghitghish it looks up	yaa'nii they say	

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

93a			[nee' land		nchaagh-teelit when it is about to be large]		
93b	[93a]	baaghang'ing' coastwards kandintc close/near	---		yaa'ghitghish it looks up		yaa'nii they say
94		diiinak' neesding south far/high	---		yaa'ghitghish it looks up		yaa'nii they say
95		uudee' kw'it horn/antler on it	tooghaa moss		s'aan is situated		yaa'nii they say
96	lhbaa'ang-haa' both sides	uudee' horn/antler lhbaa'ang-haa' both sides	tooghaa moss		>>		yaa'nii they say nchaagh large/much
97	ninkwiiyeeh underground	>>	dii this/here		gaalh it walked		yaa'nii they say yiidaa'ang from the north
98		yooyiinak' far south	---		neesting it lay down		yaa'nii they say
99			Naaghaichow Great Traveller	kw'it on it	ts'siing he stood		yaa'nii they say
100			---		kwolhghilh it is carrying him		yaa'nii they say
101a		[yiinak' south	---		ninyaa-ding] where it arrived		
101b		[101a]	[---	uusii' its head	shoo'tc'leeh-teelit when he was about to fix it]		
101c	[101b]	shoonk' well	---	uusii' its head	noo'aash he places it		yaa'nii they say

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

102	lheetcbaar gray clay	uunaa'-tagit between its eyes	---	<<	noo'ng'aan he put it down		yaa'nii they say	
103		uudee'-kw'it on its horn	---	>>	noo'ng'aan he put it down		yaa'nii they say	lheetcbaar gray clay
104		lhaa' another uudee'-kw'it on its horn	---	lheetcbaar gray clay	noo'ng'aan he put it down		yaa'nii they say	
105			---	tl'ohkaa'lhgai white rooted sedge	kaa'ghimee' he gathered		yaa'nii they say	
106		uusii'daa-kw'it on the crown of its head	---		noo'ng'aan he put it down		yaa'nii they say	
107		kw'it on it	---	lheetc clay	noolai he put it		yaa'nii they say	
108	tl'oh-lhtsow green grass	uusii'daa-kw'it on the crown of its head	---	<<	naa'tghilh'aa' he stood it on end		yaa'nii they say	
109			---	chin trees	naa'tghilh'aa' he stood it on end		yaa'nii they say	
110			---	ts'ii' brush	naa'tghilh'aa' he stood it on end		yaa'nii they say	uusii'-kw'it on its head
111a			[---		beegheeshkeegh -ee I am finishing it]			
111 b			---	[111a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
112		[dii-kw'it on this uusii'-kw'it on its head	ts'isnoo' mountain		oleeh let there become			

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

113a		yoo'oong-haa' yonder	too water		ninyilhtsilh-bang waves will beat against it]		
113 b			---	[112-113a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say
114			ts'isnoo' mountain		sliing' became		yaa'nii they say
115			ts'ii' brush		kaal'aa' grows up		yaa'nii they say
116		uusii'-kw'it on its head	---	see-uuyaashtc pebble	noo'ng'an-kwan he had put it		yaa'nii they say
117a			[see rock		ileeh-teelit when it is about to become nchaagh] large/much		
117b		[117a]	[uusii' jeeschow its head elk		---		yaa'nii] they say
117 c			[117b]		nghindoo' it disappeared		yaa'nii they say
118a			[---		shoo'ghiilaagh- ee I fixed it]		
118 b			---	[118a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say
119a	[kaa' all right/OK	diidee' north	---		naaheeshdaa I go back/home		
119b			---		shoo'ooshleeh let me fix it	tghaamaa shore (along shore) hiidee'] north	

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

119 c			---	[119a-119b]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say
120	yooyiidee' far north		---		naaheestyaa he started back home		yaa'nii they say
121a	[uunaa around it		---		naashdaa] let me go back		
121 b			---	[121a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say
122a	[yook-wiit'akw. far above		---		shoo'ooshleeh] let me fix it		
122 b			---	[122a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say
123	uut'akw above it		---		shoo'tc'ilaah he fixed it well		yaa'nii they say
124a			[---		nshoon-ee it is good		
124 b			---		shoo'ghilaagh- eet because I have fixed it]		
124 c			---	[124a-124b]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say
125a	[uut'akw above it yooyiinak' far south		---		naaheestyaa-hit when he went back home]		
125 b	[125a]		---	see rock	naa'tghilh'aa' he stood it on end		yaa'nii they say
126			chin trees		kaal'aa' grows up tc'istciin' he caused		yaa'nii they say

GT01 - The Coming of Earth discourse chart

127			ts'ii' bush		kaal'aa' grows up tc'istciin' he made it		yaa'nii they say	
128			---	ts'isnoo' mountain	naa'teelh'aa' he stood up along		yaa'nii they say	
129		too water uutc'inghaa in front of it	---	nee' land	naa'tghilh'aa' he stood it on end		yaa'nii they say	
130			---		kwanlhaang all/the end			

GT04-2nd - The Securing of Light (2nd version) discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1		diisee' west	---	kwsii' his head	noong'ang he put it down		yaa'nii they say	
2		diidee' north	---	kwsii' his head	noong'ang he put it down		yaa'nii they say	
3		diinak' south	---	kwsii' his head	noong'ang he put it down		yaa'nii they say	
4		diidak' east	---	kwsii' his head	noong'ang he put it down		yaa'nii they say	
5			>>		ghinsilh it became warm		yaa'nii they say	kwsint'aa' his forehead
6			---	>>	uunaasiilaal-ee I dreamed about it			shaa sun
7		diidak' east	---		tc'teesyaa he started off		yaa'nii they say	
8			---	lhoon'tcghee'ne estc deer mouse taak' three	s'ilhsaang he found		yaa'nii they say	
9			---	kwloo his dog	tc'teelhtiin he took it along		yaa'nii they say	
10a			---		shdjii'-nools'id- ee I am glad	[10b]		
10b			[---	taak' shloo three my dogs	iisaan-ii] I found them			
11			---		tc'teelhtiin he took it along		yaa'nii they say	
12		shaa uuyeeh sun under it	---		tc'ninyaa he came back		yaa'nii they say	

GT04-2nd - The Securing of Light (2nd version) discourse chart

13a			---	beelh rope	k'eech'inghaash -bang you (sg.) must gnaw it off		
13b			---		naandaash- bang you (sg.) must come back		
13c			---		shingoh-bang you (sg.) must poke me	nintc your (sg.) nose bilh with it	
14		waa'chow blanket waa'aang through it	---		tc'oolhyoolh he blows		yaa'nii they say
15			---		ntohlaal-ee you (pl.) sleep ntohlaal-ee you (pl.) sleep		
16		diidaa'ang from the east	---		tc'teesghiin he carried a load along		yaa'nii they say
17a			[---	shaa sun	teeghiin-ee] he carried		
17b			---	[17a]	ch'inaa-yee something says		
18		baaghang coast	---		tc'ninyaa he came back		yaa'nii they say

GT04-2nd - The Securing of Light (2nd version) discourse chart

19	st'oo' nearly	---		shoo'ghiilaagh- ee I fixed it beenoonsin- kwaang'anjii you (sg.) were hiding it			
20a		---	see rock	ohlee-bang you (pl.) must become	[20b]		
20b	[hai there	---		sohyiin-dinhaa' right where you (pl.) stand]			
21		---	>>	teesghiin it carried it along		yaa'nii they say	shaa sun
22			Kaaldaash Morning Star Aatciighichikcho w North Star Son'lhaantc Pleiades Sitildaash Evening Star gooyaanee' star	s'isdaa he sat		yaa'nii they say	
23		---		kwdjii'-naan'aa he pondered		yaa'nii they say	
24			naaghai shaa moon sun	beent'aah you (sg.) fly up against it	yaah-bii'k' in the sky		
25		>>		beeninlhaah you (sg.) jump up against it			gooyaanee' star

GT04-2nd - The Securing of Light (2nd version) discourse chart

26a		tl'ee'dan' morning	---		kaasinyaash- bang you (sg.) must come up (heavenly body)			
26b			---		k'eeninyaash- bang you (sg.) must go down (heavenly body)			
26c			---	Nee' World	biinaahindaash- bang you (sg.) must go around (heavenly.body)			
27	diidak' east	tl'ee'dan' morning	---		kaanaasindaash -bang you (sg.) must come back up from below (heavenly body)			
28			---		shaa-ndiin- manjaa' let there be sunshine!			
29		>>	skiitc baby		tc'eeninyaa he came out	yaa'nii they say	uudai' outside/outdoors	
30			dijji what?		---	shtaa' my father		
31			tc'yaantc old woman		tc'eeninyaa he came out	yaa'nii they say		
32		>>	gooyaanee' star		kaal'aa'- kwaang'anjii is springing up (surprisingly)		yaah-bii'k' in the sky	
33			lheenee'haa' everyone	>>	kwaa'aa gives to him	yaa'nii they say	lhtaahkii different kinds	

GT04-alt - The Securing of Light (NB1 alternate) discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			---		uunaaslaal he dreamed about it		yaa'nii they say	
2			---		tc'teesyai he went along		yaa'nii they say	
3			---	Lhoon'tcghee'ne estc deer mouse	s'ilhsaan he found it		yaa'nii they say	
4			---	taak' naalghii three dog	tc'teelhtiin he took it along		yaa'nii they say	
5			---	lhoong' baa squirrel for them	tc'ighindiis he cooked/singed it		yaa'nii they say	
6		doohaa' never	---		ghinyaan' he/she ate it		yaa'nii they say	
7			---		tc'teelhtiin he took it along		yaa'nii they say	
8a			---		shdjii'-nools'it I am glad	[8b]	yaa'nii they say	
8b			[---	taak' shloo three my dogs	iisaanit because I found them]			
9			---		iitees he took them along		yaa'nii they say	
10			---		uunaaslaalh he dreamed about it		yaa'nii they say	
11		diidee' north	---	kwsii' his head	noo'ng'aan he put it down		yaa'nii they say	
12		diinak' south	---	kwsii' his head	noo'ng'aang he put it down		yaa'nii they say	
13		diisee' west	---	kwsii' his head	noo'ng'aang he put it down		yaa'nii they say	

GT04-alt - The Securing of Light (NB1 alternate) discourse chart

14	diidak' east	---	kwsii' his head	noo'ng'aang he put it down	yaa'nii they say	
15a		---		uunaaslaalh he dreamed about it	yaa'nii they say	[15b-15c]
15b		[---	lhoon'tcghee'nee stc deer mouse	s'ilhsaan he found it	yaa'nii they say	
15c		---	taak' three	tc'teelhtiin he took it along	yaa'nii] they say	
16		---	uudaa' its mouth	s'ilhsaan he found it	yaa'nii they say	
17		---	uudaa' its voice	sinteelhaalh ???	yaa'nii they say	
18		---	uudaa' its voice	tc'oonyoolh he doped it	yaa'nii they say	
19		---		tc'ninyaa he came back	yaa'nii they say	
20		---		tc'gheelh she is carrying it along	yaa'nii they say	
21	>>	---		tc'ninyaa he came back	yaa'nii they say	baaghang coast
22		---		shoo'ghiilaaghii I fixed it		
23	st'oo' nearly	---		shoo'ghiilaaghii I fixed it	yaa'nii they say	
24	st'oo' nearly	---		doo no shoo'ghaalaah- kwaa' he had fixed it yet 'anjii MIR		

GT04-alt - The Securing of Light (NB1 alternate) discourse chart

25			---	see rock	ohleeh you (pl.) become		
26	Kaldaash Morning Star Aatciighitcik North Star Sitildaash Evening Star	yaah-bii'k' in the sky	---		beeninlhaan they become many up against it		
27		uudaa' its mouth	---	t'oolh beelh strap rope	kailhjees ?they chewed off?	yaa'nii they say	
28		uudaa' its voice	---	shaa sun	teesghiin it carried it along	yaa'nii they say	
29		dii'antc'ing' toward this	---		tc'gheelh she is carrying it along	yaa'nii they say	
30		baaghan coast	---		tc'ninyaa he came back	yaa'nii they say	
31		st'oo' nearly	---		shoo'nglishlaag hii-laa I am fixing it	shkiitc my boy	
32			---		tc'eenyai he came out	yaa'nii they say	
33			dijji what?		---	shtaa' my father	yaa'nii they say
34			tc'yaantc old woman		tc'eenyai he came out	laa'-saaljeetc-tcii see note	yaa'nii they say
35			shaa sun		kaanaash it comes.up	t'ee'dang' morning yiiskaan dawn	yaah sky
36			lheenee'haa' everyone		kwaa'aa gives to him	yaa'nii they say	

GT04-alt - The Securing of Light (NB1 alternate) discourse chart

37	tl'ee'dang' morning	---		kaasinyaash- bang you (sg.) must come up (heavenly body)		
38	dliik'aa this way	---		ghinyaalh-bang you will go along		
39	yaah-tl'at middle of the sky	---		daahdolhshaang eat a meal, eat lunch	haa' just, only	
40		---		k'eeninyaash- bang you (sg.) must go down (heavenly body)		
41		---		kaanaasindaash -bang you (sg.) must come back up from below (heavenly body)		
42		---		shaa-ndiin- manjaa' let there be sunshine!		

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			kwong' fire		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
2a			[kwong' fire]		ndoo'-hit when it did not exist]			
2b		[2a]	skii naachil baby orphan		ghilghee' he was whipped		yaa'nii they say	
3			---		tc'eelghaal' he was thrown out		yaa'nii they say	
4			---		tceeh he cries		yaa'nii they say	
5			---		tees'iing' he looked along		yaa'nii they say	
6a			[kwong' fire]		s'aanii] it lies			
6b			---	[6a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
7a			[---	' kwong' *** fire	isaan '] I found it ***			
7b			---	[7a]	tc'inii the one who said			
7c	<< skii baby		daanjii who?		olhghee' you (pl.) whip him (2pl.)			
8a			---		tc'eenhyaash you (pl.) come out (2pl.)			
8b			---		oohtgish you (pl.) look at it (2pl.)			
9			---		tc'eenyai he came out			

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire discourse chart

10		taahjii where?	---	kwong' fire	ilsaan you (sg.) saw it (2sg.)		
11a		diidee' north	---	kwong' fire	isaang I found it		
11b			---		oontgish you (sg.) look at it (2sg.)		
12a			---		oohtgish you (pl.) look at it (2pl.)		lheenee'haa' everyone
12b			skii baby	kwong' fire	yiilhsang-kwang he has found it (yi-obv)		
13	lh'ang-haa' it is so		---	>>	oonohlang (2pl.) go after it		kwong' fire
14		taahjii where?	Ch'siitcing Coyote (character)		---		
15			---		kwaatohyaash you (pl.) go after him (2pl.)		
16		>>	Ch'leelintc Hummingbird (character)		---	taahjii where?	
17			---		kwoonohlan go after him (2pl.)		
18	kaa' all right/OK		Ch'leelintc Hummingbird (character)		tc'ninyai has arrived		
19			Ch'siitcin Coyote (character)		tc'gaal he is walking		

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire discourse chart

20a			laa'lhbaa'an ten		tohyaash you (pl.) go along (2pl.)		
20b			---	kwong' fire	oonohlang (2pl.) go after it		
21			---		tc'teesyai he went along		yaa'nii they say
22		>>	---		tc'ninyaa he came back		yaa'nii they say Shiishbii' Red Mountain
23			kwaanee' his arm		ch'islaa arms were held around		yaa'nii they say
24		kwong' kw'it fire on it	Djii kwong'chow Fire-Heart Spider	kwong' kw'it fire on it	s'istiing it lay		yaa'nii they say
25			---		tc'nilkat they came		yaa'nii they say
26	Ch'siitcing Coyote (character)		---		aashoo'ileeh you (sg.) dress yourself (2sg.)		
27a			[---		aatshoo'ishleeh let me dress myself	chin uunoo'] trees behind it	
27b			---	[27a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say
28a	[heu' yes		---		---		
28b			---	[28a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say
29			kwsii' his head	nees long	sliin'-kwan had become		yaa'nii they say

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire discourse chart

30			---		aadee'ch'ist'oo-kwan he had belted himself		yaa'nii they say	
31a			[---	>>>	oohtgish you (pl.) look at it (2pl.)	shghaa' shiiyee' my hair mine		shinditc] my cousin
31b			---	[31a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
32	Ch'leelintc Hummingbird (character)	kaa' all right/OK	niing you (sg.)		aashoo'ileeh you (sg.) dress yourself (2sg.)			
33	heu' yes	chuunoo' behind a tree	---		---			
34			---	lhtsow blue/green	s'isliin'-kwaan he had become		yaa'nii they say	
35a			[---	lhtciik red	isleeh] I become			
35b			---		>>			
35c			>>	[35a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	Ch'leelintc Hummingbird (character)
35d			---		shohtigish you (pl.) look at me (2pl.)			
36a	kaa' all right/OK		---		nohdoo' come/go ahead! (pl.) (2pl.)			
36b			---		olhk'aan you (pl.) build a fire (2pl.)			

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire discourse chart

36c			---		nishdaash let me dance		
37			kwong' fire		ndoi'-'anjii does not exist		
38a		[taahjiikaa where?	---		---		
38b		k'ang recently	---	kwong' fire	ndil'iing'] let us look at it		
38c			---	[38a-38b]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say
39a			---		nishdaash let me dance		
39b			lheenee'haa' everyone		shnoh'iing' you (pl.) look at me (2pl.)		
40a			[---		ch'dohlee .(2pl.) you (pl.) sing		
40b			yiibaantaak' eight	≧≧	ch'dohlee .(2pl.) you (pl.) sing	shaa for me	
40c			---		nishdaash] let me dance		
40d			---	[40a-40c]	kaashghantghini i he exhorted them		
41a	[heu' yes		---		---		
41b			---	[41a]	yaa'n they said		yaa'nii they say
42			lheenee'haa' everyone		ninyai came back		
43			---		tc'ghindaash he danced		yaa'nii they say

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire discourse chart

44		ghint'ee now	kwong' fire		gaal walked along			
45			---	chin trees	naadohlh'aa' you (pl.) pile it up (2pl.)			
46	heu' yes		---		---			
47			---	chin trees	naa'tghilh'ai' he piled it up			
48			>>		tc'ghindaash he danced		yaa'nii they say	Ch'siitcing Coyote (character)
49a			Ch'leelintc Hummingbird (character)		---			
49b			[---	chin trees	naa'tghilh'ai' that he piled up	uulai'] on top of it		
49c			<<	[49b]	tc'neesdaa he sat down		yaa'nii they say	
50			Ch'siitcing Coyote (character)	kwdiishee' his shoulder	tc'ilhnaat he licks	naakaa'-haa' both	yaa'nii they say	
51			kwong' fire	>>	doo-slaang he did not laugh	diikwaang what he did	yaa'nii they say	
52a			Ch'leelintc Hummingbird (character) Ch'siitcing Coyote (character)		lhtc'ing' together, toward each other keeneesh speaks			[52b-52c]
52b			[---		niidaash-dee' when I dance			
52c		[52b]	---	kwong' fire	tc'eelht'ash-bang you (sg.) must take fire out from]			

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire discourse chart

53			Ch'siitcing Coyote (character)		tc'nindaash he danced		
54			---	kwtcok' his testicles	s'isnaat' he licked		yaa'nii they say
55			Kwong' fire		tc'ghilaang laughed		yaa'nii they say
56			Ch'leelintc Hummingbird (character)	kwong' fire	tc'ee'iilht'an he took fire out		yaa'nii they say
57			---		s'isk'aan they built a fire		yaa'nii they say
58			---		naaghilkaal they walked back along	haidaa''ang from the north	yaa'nii they say
59a			---	ts'isnoo' mountain	staghinlhil he set it on fire		
59b			---		naaghilhilh he burned over the land		yaa'nii they say
60		haidaa''ang from the north	lheenee'haa' everyone naahneesh person	kwong' fire	yeehteelht'aan took fire inside		yaa'nii they say
61		≥	>>	nshoong good	kwaa'laagh-ee he did thus	Ch'siitcing Coyote (character)	kwong' fire
62a			Ch'leelintc Hummingbird (character)	nshoong good	kwaa'laagh-ee he did thus		
62b			---	kwong' fire	ch'teelhchoot-ee he stole st.		
63		diinak' south	---		tinlhil you (sg.) burn along (2sg.)		Ch'siitcing Coyote (character)

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire discourse chart

64	naahneesh person Iheenee'haa' everyone		kwong' fire	<<	biiyee'-bang will be theirs		
65	heu' yes	kaashbii' tomorrow	---		tishlhilh-jaa' I will be burning along		
66a		[yook' way far	---	nee' land	uunaaninlhith- bang you (sg.) must burn around it ↓ (2sg.)		
66b			---	[66a]	yaa'kwolhch'in he told them	yaa'nii they say	
67			---		tc'teelhit he burned along	yaa'nii they say	
68	↓ uuf'akw beyond/way back of it	ghint'ee now	---	nee'-lh'at middle of the earth	naaniilhit-ee we burned across the land		
69a			Iheenee'haa' everyone	kwong' fire	yeehteelht'aan- ee took fire inside ↓		
69b			---	[68-69a]	tc'in he said	yaa'nii they say	
70		ghint'ee now	---		naaniidil-ee we come back		
71		kaakw quickly	---		ghinyaalh you (sg.) go.along (2sg.)		
72		kandin-ee near	---		iighiilit-'anjii we burn it		

GT05 - The Stealing of Fire discourse chart

73	heu' greeting		---		naaniideel'- eekwaanang we have come back			
74			---		naaniideel'-ee we came back			
75	kwanlhang all		---		---			

GT06 - Making the Valleys discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			kwiiyaang old men tc'yaank'ashtc old women lheenee'haa' everyone	diibaang to the other side iintc'ee' uutc'ing' deer toward it	naasang they move (to another place)		yaa'nii they say	lhaan many
2	shkiik my boys		---		noh'iil-bang you (pl.) must stay			
3			---	lhaa'haa' one	nhee'olhkaa- kwosh we will spend the night, I guess			
4a	[doohaa' do not!		---		yiisakaan-iit although it was daylight]			
4b		[4a]	---		taakwilhtaan they were not home		yaa'nii they say	
5			---		ghilhgheel' it became evening		yaa'nii they say	
6			---		tcaakwghilhghe el' it was very dark		yaa'nii they say	
7			---		yiiskan it was daylight		yaa'nii they say	
8		ch'oyii-haa' again	---		yiighilhkalh the day was breaking		yaa'nii they say	
9a			[---		shdjiiidoonsit-ii] I am lonesome			
9b			---	[9a]	yaa'tceeh they cry		yaa'nii they say	

GT06 - Making the Valleys discourse chart

10		shoo't in vain	---	>>	naayailhk'an they built the fire again		yaa'nii they say	kwong' fire
11a			[---		ilhghil-it] when it was evening			
11b		[11a]	---	>> >>	yaa'hees'iing' they looked		yaa'nii they say	djiing-hit daytime
11c			---	uunan their mother kwaa' for him	---			
11d			---	uutaa' kwaa' their father for him	---			
12			---		doo-naaneesh they did not move back		yaa'nii they say	
13a			[---		ndidaash] let us dance			
13b			---	[13a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
14a				ch'ileektc pre-teen boy kwiyaantc older boy t'eektc little girls	---			
14b	[heu' yes		---		---			
14c			<<	[14b]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
15a			[lhaan many		tohyaash you (pl.) go along			

GT06 - Making the Valleys discourse chart

15b			---		ndidaash] let us dance			
15c			---	[15a-15b]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
16			See'eedintc Sparrowhawk		ch'eeghilee' he sang it		yaa'nii they say	
17a		[dee here	---		nohyaash you (pl.) come			
17b			shkiik t'eeetc my boys little girls	dee here	nolhkat] you (pl.) come			
17c			---	[17a-17b]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
18			>>		nghindaash they danced		yaa'nii they say	lhaang many of them
19	shnang my mother		---		doohaa'- naa'intyaa-yee you (sg) never came back			
20	shtaa' my father		---		doohaa'- naa'intyaa-yee you (sg) never came back			
21			---		ndidaash let us dance	lhaan many yiilhkai dawn/morning		
22	See'eedintc Sparrowhawk	kwsii'daa' crown of his head	---	t'aa' feather	walkh'its he poked it through it		yaa'nii they say	
23			---		nindaash- kwaandin where they had danced	t'ee' djiing-hit night daytime	yaa'nii they say	

GT06 - Making the Valleys discourse chart

24			---		tidaa'aa' let us take it along	diisee' west	
25		Kwonteelhbii'ing , toward Long Valley	---		nindaash they danced		
26			---		tghinnais'an it turned back around	yaa'nii they say	Nee'nshee'chow bii' Big Mud Spring Valley
27			---	too water	nootc'ilhtaal' let them kick out a hole	yaa'nii they say	
28		haisee' downhill	---		yiitees'aang they took it along	yaa'nii they say	
29		Sais'aanbii' Sand Lies Valley	---		nghindaash they danced	yaa'nii they say	
30			---		tghinnais'an it turned back around	yaa'nii they say	
31		haidee' downriver/north	---		yiitees'ang they took it along	yaa'nii they say	
32		Kwonteelhtcbii' Streeter Creek Valley haibaan-haa' other side	---		nainin'ang they took it across	yaa'nii they say	
33	haidaa'ang this way	yiidaa'ang from the north	---		yiitees'ang they took it along	yaa'nii they say	
34	kowinteeh flat/level ground	kwee' bilh his foot with it	---		nais'aan they took it around	yaa'nii they say	
35		Kwonteelhbii'k' in Long Valley diinak' south	---		yiitees'aang they took it along	yaa'nii they say	

GT06 - Making the Valleys discourse chart

36		yiinak' south	---		yiighaa'alh they were carrying it along	yaa'nii they say	
37			---	ch'ing noise	deeghitts'an a sound was heard	yaa'nii they say	
38				shkiik my boys	nghindaash- kwaang they have danced		
39a	[doohaa' never have	uutc'in' toward them	---		naaheesintyai you (sg) went back home]		
39b			---	[39a]	tc'in he said	yaa'nii they say	
40			---		naalkat they came back	yaa'nii they say	
41				nee' land	ghinteeh became flat	yaa'nii they say	
42			---	kwonteeh valley/flat	sliing' became	yaa'nii they say	
43		diinak' south	---		kineesh-ghilsilh talking was heard	yaa'nii they say	diinak' south
44		diidak' east	---		kineesh-ghilsilh talking was heard	yaa'nii they say	
45		uuyaashtc small	---		yaa'ch'oosilhs'a an they heard	yaa'nii they say	
46			---		nitdoo' all gone		
47				uudaa' its voice	kaanalhts'ii' sound comes up again	yaa'nii they say	

GT06 - Making the Valleys discourse chart

48		diidee' north	uudaa' its voice		tilsilh voices are coming along		yaa'nii they say
49		uut'aakw yiidee' beyond it north	uudaa' its voice		ghilsilh are heard along		yaa'nii they say
50	neesding far/high uut'aakw yiidee' beyond it north	uuyaashtc small	---		naayaa'diits'eeg h they hear it again		yaa'nii they say
51		haaghee'dang' long time	uudaa' its voice		yeehnaalts'ilh sound is coming back in		yaa'nii they say
52		nitdoo' all gone	---		yaa'ch'oosilhs'a ang they heard something		yaa'nii they say
53		diinak' neesding south far/high	uudaa' its voice		ghilsilh are heard along		yaa'nii they say
54		haaghee'dang' long time	uudaa' its voice		yeehnaalhts'ilh sound is coming in again		yaa'nii they say
55	Kwonteelchow bii' Round Valley	hiinak' south	uudaa' its voice		yiinaalhts'ilh sound is coming again		yaa'nii they say
56a			[Koolk'ooschowbii' Little Lake Valley		kwonteel-teelit when it is about to be flat (land)		
56b			kwonteelh valley/flat		nchaagh-teelit when it is about to be large]		
56c	[56a-56b]	haaghee'dang' long time	---		nindaash they danced		yaa'nii they say

GT06 - Making the Valleys discourse chart

57		yooyiinak' far south neesding far/high	---		nghindoo' it disappeared		yaa'nii they say	yook'ang far off yooyiinak' far south
58	yiinaa'ang from the south	uuyaashtc small	---		naadeeghitts'aa n they heard it again		yaa'nii they say	
59a		[nee'-kw'it on the land	---		naasling'- itkwanhit because it had become again]			
59b		[59a]	>>		naaghitchaah it became large again		yaa'nii they say	ch'ing noise
60a		[nee'-lh'at middle of the earth	---		naasling'- kwaanhit when it had become again]			
60b		[60a]	ch'ing noise		ghinchaah it became large			
61	ghint'ee now	kanding near	---		naasling' it became again		yaa'nii they say	
62			---		naighaa'alh they were bringing it back along		yaa'nii they say	
63	yiinaa'ang from the south	uut'aakw yiidee' beyond it north	---		naighaa'alh they were bringing it back along		yaa'nii they say	
64	Nee'uuchii'ding World Its Tail Place	haidaa''ang from the north	---		naihees'ang they took it back		yaa'nii they say	haidaa''ang from the north
65			wang some		ghitiyaash became old		yaa'nii they say	

GT06 - Making the Valleys discourse chart

66			wang some	iintc'ee' deer	ghileeh became		yaa'nii they say	
67			uuts'inee' their legs		yaa'dooming became small		yaa'nii they say	
68			---		tc'ninash they ran off		yaa'nii they say	
69			ts'ii'-bii' in the brush	noonii grizzly bear	ghileeh became		yaa'nii they say	
70		kandin near	---		naasliing' it became again		yaa'nii they say	
71		ts'isnoo' mountain bii'taah in among it	---		yeehghinash they are coming in		yaa'nii they say	
72	diidaa'ang from the north	kandintc close/near	---		naasliing' it became again		yaa'nii they say	
73	Ch'ing- Kiinooldeel' Noise Went Down spring	haidak' east/up	---		yeehghiina' they went in		yaa'nii they say	
74		yiinak' south	---		yiighinash they are coming in		yaa'nii they say	
75	hainak'aa' far south	Seetaahding Little Rock Creek village	---		yeehghiina' they went in		yaa'nii they say	
76			---		nghindoo' it disappeared		yaa'nii they say	
77			---		kwanlhang all			

GT13- Coyote and the Gambler discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			---	>>	Kowantc'ghildee h he won them from him		yaa'nii they say	k'aa' arrow
2			---	>>	Kowantc'ghildee h he won them from him		yaa'nii they say	s'ilhtiing' bow lhaa'haa' one
3			---	Beelh rope	kowantc'ghildee h he won them from him		yaa'nii they say	
4			---	Yoo' bead	kowantc'ghildee h he won it from him		yaa'nii they say	
5			---	T'aa'sits quiver (for arrows)	kowantc'ghildee h he won them from him		yaa'nii they say	
6			---	Sii'biis'aang head net	kowantc'ghildee h he won them from him		yaa'nii they say	
7			---		K'eech'ist'aats' he cut something off	tl'oh-n'ai grass game		
8a			[---	Shiiyee' tc'eeek mine woman	ch'ishbee' I bet			
8b			---	shiiyee' yeeh mine house	ch'ishbee'] I bet			
8c			---	[8a-8b]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	

GT13- Coyote and the Gambler discourse chart

9a			---		Kineesiilhyaan I won			
9b			---		uukineesiilhyaan I won			
9c			---		kineesiilhyaan I won			
9d			---		uukineesiilhyaan I won			
10			---	>>	Naa'ch'isdeeh he won it back		yaa'nii they say	tc'eeek woman
11	>>		---	>>	Naa'ch'isdeeh he won it back	yaa'nii they say	yeeh house	ch'oyee again
12			---	Lheenee'haa' every Ihtaahkii different kinds	naa'ch'isdeeh he won it back		yaa'nii they say	
13			---	K'aa' beelh arrow rope s'ilhtiing' bow naa'ghii quiver (for arrows) yoo' bead sii'biis'aang head net Iheenee'haa' everything	naa'ch'isdeegh he won it back		yaa'nii they say	
14			---		Kwanlhaang all/the end			

GT14 - Coyote Competes with Grey-Squirrels discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			daahtaitc gray.squirrel		s'isk'aan they built a fire		yaa'nii they say	
2		chin uuyeeh trees under it	---		s'isk'aan they built a fire			
3			yiibaan-lhaa'haa' six		naaninlhaah they jumped across		yaa'nii they say	
4			Ch'siitcing Coyote (character)		tc'ninyaa he came back		yaa'nii they say	
5a	[teeheehē'i laughing sound		---		---			
5b	[5a]	[dook'ang long ago	shtcootcing my maternal grandmother		naasloos-it when she lead me around]			
5c		[5b]	---		kwaasht'iing I do thus			
6			---		beeshohloos you (pl.) lead.me up.it (2pl.)	shindiitc my friend		
7			---	heu' yes	---			
8			---		beeshohloos you (pl.) lead.me up.it (2pl.)	shindiitc my friend		
9a			[---		beekohloos you (pl.) lead him up against it](2pl.)			
9b			---	[9a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	

GT14 - Coyote Competes with Grey-Squirrels discourse chart

10		hootaa and then	---		naaninlhaah he jumped across	yaa'nii they say	
11a		[hootaa and then	---		naaninlhaagh-it when he jumped across]		
11b		[11a]	---		tc'teelhs'it he fell	yaa'nii they say	
12	hootaa and then	kwong' bii' fire in it	---		nools'it he fell down		
13			---		ooslit he burned up	yaa'nii they say	
14		hootaa and then	t'eesh coals		taanaasdjool' they rolled back out of fire/water	yaa'nii they say	
15a		hootaa and then	---	[15b]	---		
15b	[shghaa' my hair		---		sheenaantbilh you (sg.) come back to me].(2sg.)		
16			---		kwanlhaang all/the end		

GT18 - Turtle's Exploit discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			Ts'inteeh Turtle	see rock	yaa'lhk'aas he throws it up in the air		yaa'nii they say	
2a			[---	see rock	yaa'ghilhk'aas-it when he threw it up in the air]			
2b	[2a]	kwaanii' his arm	---	dii this/here	kwaalaagh he did thus		yaa'nii they say	
3		kwdiishee' his shoulder bilh with it	---	see rock	yaa'ghilhk'aas he threw it up in the air			
4		kwdiishee' his shoulder	---		naalhchit he catches it again		yaa'nii they say	
5		hootaa and then	wangyii some of them yaa'nii they say		wanyeeneeljit they were afraid of it		yaa'nii they say	
6a			[---	teeheehei laughing sound	---			
6b			>>	[6a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	Ch'siitcing Coyote (character)
7a		[kaa' all right/OK	shii I/me		beesh'ai'] let me try it			
7b			---	[7a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
8a			[---	heu' yes	---			
8b			>>	[8a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	Ts'inteeh Turtle

GT18 - Turtle's Exploit discourse chart

9a		Ch'siitcing Coyote (character)	>>	nins'is'aang he picked it up		yaa'nii they say	see rock
9b		---		yaa'ghilhk'aas he threw it up in the air		yaa'nii they say	
10a		[---	kowantagit middle of his back	ch'ghilk'aalh it fell on		yaa'nii they say	
10b	kwilh with him	---		kwinyeehtc'ilhsiil' it pounded into the ground		yaa'nii they say	
10c		---	see rock	yaa'ghilk'aas-it when he threw it up in the air]			
10d	[10a-10c]	---	kowantagit middle of his back	ch'iighilhk'aalh it struck		yaa'nii they say	
11		---		kwanlhaang all/the end			

GT25 - The Great Horned Serpent discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1		Tl'ohdaichii' Dutch Henry Creek Mouth village	---		nooninyiing they moved to a limit		yaa'nii they say	
2			naahneesh person		kw'ittghaalh they keep dying		yaa'nii they say	
3a			t'EEKII teen girls		bii'nooch'teelhe ek' they made mush		yaa'nii they say	
3b			---	laashee' buckeye	bii'nooghithleek' be soaked		yaa'nii they say	
4	lhoo'yaashgai rainbow trout		naakaa' two lhoo'yaashgai rainbow trout		beeding-kwaang had died		yaa'nii they say	
5			---	naakaa' two	dee'tghiltiin put animate in fire		yaa'nii they say	
6			---		hiineelhyaan she ate it up		yaa'nii they say	
7			---		beeding it died		yaa'nii they say	
8		ch'oyii-haa' again	---		hiineelhyaan she ate it up		yaa'nii they say	
9			>>		beeding it died		yaa'nii they say	hai lhaa' the/that another
10a			---		tishaa' let me go along	diidak' east		
10b		shaahnaa' creek	diishaan what?		stiing was lying	diidak' east		

GT25 - The Great Horned Serpent discourse chart

11			---	lhoo'yaashgai rainbow trout naakaa' two	tc'ilhsaan he found it		yaa'nii they say	
12a			lhaa'haa' one		tc'ilhsaan he found it		yaa'nii they say	
12b		ch'oyii-haa' again	lhaa'haa' one		tc'ilhsaan he found it		yaa'nii they say	
13a		ch'oyii-haa' again	---		tc'teesyaa he went along		yaa'nii they say	
13b			toonai taak' fish three		tc'ilhsaan he found it		yaa'nii they say	
14			---		naagheesyitc' he rested		yaa'nii they say	
15a		sit' little while	---		tc'teesyaa he went along		yaa'nii they say	
15b			---	lhoo'yaashgai rainbow trout	tc'ilhsaan he found it		yaa'nii they say	lhaa'haa' one
16a			---		tc'teesyaa he went along		yaa'nii they say	
16b			---	lhoo'yaashgai rainbow trout naakaa' two	tc'ilhsaan he found it		yaa'nii they say	
17a			---		tc'teesyaa he went along		yaa'nii they say	
17b			lhoo'yaashgai rainbow trout		k'eech'inyaan- kwaan had been bitten off			
17c			---		tc'ilhsaan he found it		yaa'nii they say	

GT25 - The Great Horned Serpent discourse chart

18a			---		tc'teesyaa he went along	yaa'nii they say	
18b			---	lhaa'haa' >> one	tc'ilhsaan he found it	yaa'nii they say	lhoo'yaashgai rainbow trout
19a	ch'oyii-haa' again		---		tc'teesyaa he went along	yaa'nii they say	
19b			---	lhaa'haa' >> one	tc'ilhsaan he found it	yaa'nii they say	lhoo'yaashgai rainbow trout
20			---		tc'neesdai he sat down	yaa'nii they say	
21	ghint'ee now	shaahnaa' creek		uuyaashtc small	sliing' became	yaa'nii they say	
22			---		tc'teesyaa he went along	yaa'nii they say	
23	ghint'ee now		---	>>	tc'ilhsaan he found it	yaa'nii they say	chiileek'ee slime
24			---		tc'teesyaa he went along	yaa'nii they say	
25		toonai fish lhoo'yaashgai rainbow trout			nghindoo' it disappeared	yaa'nii they say	
26a			---		tc'teesyaa he went along	yaa'nii they say	
26b			---		tc'teesyaa he went along	yaa'nii they say	
26c			---		kaasyaa came up	yaa'nii they say	[26d]
26d	[nee'-lai' summit		---		noo'tghintaal'-it when he stepped along to a limit]		

GT25 - The Great Horned Serpent discourse chart

27			---		tc'tees'iing' he looked along		yaa'nii they say	
28			---	too water	tc'ilhsaan he found it		yaa'nii they say	
29			---	uudee' its horn	tc'ilhsaan he found it		yaa'nii they say	
30			---		tc'neelh'iing' he looked at it		yaa'nii they say	
31		yiinak' south	---		tees'iing' he looked along		yaa'nii they say	
32a			uudee' horn/antler		nees is long			
32b			uudee' horn/antler		lhgai is white		yaa'nii they say	
33a			[---		naaheestyaa-hit when he went back home]			
33b		[33a]	---		tc'tceeh he cries		yaa'nii they say	
34a			---		naantyya he came back		yaa'nii they say	
34b			---		waantc'kwolik he tells about it		yaa'nii they say	
35			---	>>	kwaatohyaash you (pl.) go after him			Naahneesh Indian person
36			---	Lhtc'iishtc'eetind ing Sherwood valley	kwaatohyaash you (pl.) go after him			

GT25 - The Great Horned Serpent discourse chart

37			---	Naahneesh Indian person Toodjihbii' Cahto Valley/ Winchester Flat	kwaatohyaash you (pl.) go after him		
38			---	Ch'intc Round Valley Yuki tribe	kwaatohyaash you (pl.) go after him		
39			---	Koolk'ooschowbi i' Little Lake Valley	kwaatohyaash you (pl.) go after him		
40			---	chin pole	ghilhtciing were made		yaa'nii they say
41a			---	laa'lhbaa'ang ten	---		
41b		ch'oyii-haa' again	---	laa'lhbaa'ang ten	---		
41c		ch'oyii-haa' again	---	laa'lhbaa'ang ten chin pole	---		
41d		ch'oyii-haa' again	---	laa'lhbaa'ang ten chin pole	---		
42a			---		tc'teelhkat they went along		yaa'nii they say
42b			---	chin pole	tc'teebiil' he carried it		yaa'nii they say
42c			---	k'aa' arrow	tc'teebiil' he carried it		yaa'nii they say
42d			---	kaashtc knife	tc'teebiil' he carried it		yaa'nii they say

GT25 - The Great Horned Serpent discourse chart

43a			---		tc'nilkat they came	yaa'nii they say	
43b			lheenee'haa' everyone	chin pole	daahteeghaabiil' they lifted them up	yaa'nii they say	
43c			---		ghigoh spearing	yaa'nii they say	
44		ch'oyii-haa' again	---		ghigoh spearing	yaa'nii they say	
45			---		ghitch'aang it was shot	yaa'nii they say	
46			---		ghigoh spearing	yaa'nii they say	
47			---		ghigoh spearing	yaa'nii they say	
48			---		ghitch'aang it was shot	yaa'nii they say	
49			---		ghigoh spearing	yaa'nii they say	
50			kaashkiitc old.man		yiiist'aats' cut it	yaa'nii they say	
51			---		ghigoh spearing	yaa'nii they say	
52			kaashkiitc old.man		yiiist'aats' cut it	yaa'nii they say	
53			---		tc'aaheelhsheeg h it squealed	yaa'nii they say	
54		uudee' bilh horn/antler with it	---	too water	naaneelhsiil' it struck down on it	yaa'nii they say	
55			---		beeding it died	yaa'nii they say	

GT25 - The Great Horned Serpent discourse chart

56		>>	---	ts'ii' brush	ch'eenyiish it breaks it off		yaa'nii they say	uudee' bilh its horn with it
57			---	kwong' fire	ghilk'aang fire was built		yaa'nii they say	
58			---		uunaaghilhit is burned around it		yaa'nii they say	
59a		uusii' kw'it its head on it uuniitcit middle of it	---		ghilk'aang fire was built		yaa'nii they say	
59b		uuchii' kw'it its tail on it	---		ghilk'aang fire was built		yaa'nii they say	
60a			---		naaheestyaa he started back home		yaa'nii they say	
60b			---		naa'intyaa he came back		yaa'nii they say	
60c		yeeh-bii' in the house	>>		tceeh he cries		yaa'nii they say	lheenee'haa' everyone
61	doohaa' do not!	jaang here	---		noonaa'tneesh- bang we must live in a place			
62			too water		ntcee'-ee it is bad			
63		kw'eehtning afterward, after this	too water		ntcee'-ee it is bad			
64a			laa'lhbaa'ang ten		naaheestyai he went back		yaa'nii they say	
64b			---		kw'innaalk'aang fire was on it again			
64c	ch'oyii-haa' again	uusii' its head	---		kw'innaalk'aang fire was on it again		yaa'nii they say	

GT25 - The Great Horned Serpent discourse chart

64d		uuchii' its tail	---		kw'innaalk'aang fire was on it again		yaa'nii they say	
65		>>	---		naaheestyaa he started back home		yaa'nii they say	yeeh-bii'ing' inside the house
66a			[---		naasdilk'aan] we built fire again			
66b			---	[66a]	yaa'n they said		yaa'nii they say	
67a			---		naasaang they move		yaa'nii they say	
67b		waakw to one side of it	---		naasaang they move		yaa'nii they say	
68a			---		naaheestyaa he started back home		yaa'nii they say	
68b			---		kw'innaalk'aang fire was on it again		yaa'nii they say	
68c		uusii' kw'it its head on it	---		naalk'aang it burns again		yaa'nii they say	
69			---	ts'isnoo' mountain	oolit is burned		yaa'nii they say	
70			---		naaheestyaa he started back home		yaa'nii they say	
71		shoong good	---		oolit-kwaan had been burned over		yaa'nii they say	
72		teelee'-bii' in a net bag	---		yeech'ooghiiil' he put it in		yaa'nii they say	
73a			---		naaheelhtkat they went back		yaa'nii they say	

GT25 - The Great Horned Serpent discourse chart

73b			---		ghisit were pounding it up		yaa'nii they say	
73c		baaghang'ang coastwards	---		teeghiing carried along		yaa'nii they say	
74	ch'oobaagh- Naahneesh Indian poison		---	ch'oobaagh poison	ghiltciin was made		yaa'nii they say	
75			>>		beeding it died		yaa'nii they say	lheenee'haa' everyone
76			---	biyee' its/their	sliing' became		yaa'nii they say	
77			---		kwanlhaang all/the end			

GT30 - Rattlesnake Husband discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1		>>	ch'naalhdang adolescent girl		stiing was lying		yaa'nii they say	saahding-haa' alone
2			lh'ghish rattlesnake		ninyaa it comes		yaa'nii they say	
3		tc'eek bilh woman with her	---		tc'neestiing he lay down		yaa'nii they say	
4a			[daantshaang who?		neestiing] it lay down			
4b			---	[4a]	yoonii she thought		yaa'nii they say	
5			---	ch'naalhdang adolescent girl	s'iswotc he tickled her		yaa'nii they say	
6a			lh'ghish rattlesnake		nin'isdik'ee' he got up			
6b			---	too water	yiighintoo' he drank up the water		yaa'nii they say	
7a			[---	too water	ooshlang'] let me bring it			
7b			---	[7a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
8a			[daanjii who?		aanoh'tee] you (pl.) are			
8b			ch'naalhdang adolescent girl	[8a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
9a			[lh'ghish Rattlesnake		aash'tee-yee] I am thus			
9b			---	[9a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	

GT30 - Rattlesnake Husband discourse chart

10.	[t'ee' night	nih with you (sg.)	---		sjiitiin-ee I lie		
11.			---		doo-kwninsin-ee you (sg.) do not know it		
12.			shiiyee' tc'eeek mine woman		aanint'ee-yee you (sg.) are		
13.			doo-daanshoo' nobody		shilhsis-ee sees me		
14.			---		doohaa'- shghankiinik- bang you must not tell about me		
15a			---		nee'odin-nan you may die		
15b			---		wankwnik-dee' if you (sg.) tell about it]		
15c			---	[10-15b]	---		
16a			---	yoo' bead	tc'teelbalh- kwaan he had hung it up	yaa'nii they say	
16b			---	yoo'ghittl'oong bead belt	tc'teelbalh- kwaan he had hung it up	yaa'nii they say	
17	ghilhgeel'-it when it became evening	ch'naalhdang adolescent girl bilh with her	---		tc'neestiing- kwaan he had lain down	yaa'nii they say	
18	>>		ch'naalhdang adolescent girl	t'ee' night	kineesh she talks	yaa'nii they say	

GT30 - Rattlesnake Husband discourse chart

19	yiiskaan morning		---		naaheestyai- kwaan he had gone home		yaa'nii they say	
20	yiiskaan morning		---		naa'intyai- kwaan he had come back		yaa'nii they say	
21			kiitsaa' basket pot		daahs'idintaang it was standing upright			
22			---	too water	tc'oonghilaang he brought	tc'eek baa woman for		
23a			---		naaheestyai he went back home			
23b			[---		ghilhgheel' it became evening			
23c	[23b]		---		naa'intyai he came back			
24a			[lheenee'haa' everyone naahneesh person		nteeslaal-it when they were asleep]			
24b	[24a]	tc'eek bilh woman with it	---		tc'neestiing he lay down			
25a	t'ee' night		---	[25b]	---			
25b			[ch'naalhdang adolescent girl		kineesh-'anjii] she is talking			
26a		kwnaang her mother	---	[26b]	---			
26b			[>>>		daahinjii what do you say?	shiiyaatc'ee'tc] my daughter		
27.			[Tl'ghish Rattlesnake		aash't'ee-yee I am thus			

GT30 - Rattlesnake Husband discourse chart

28.			---	naahneesh person	kinishyiish-yee I speak a language			
29.			shiiyee' tc'EEK mine woman		aanint'ee-yee you (sg.) are			
30.			---		doohaa'- shdjiighiltik- banjaa' do not let me be killed			
31a			---		nee'odin-nang you may die			
31b			---		shdjiighiltik-dee'] if I am killed			
31c			---	[27-31b]	---			
32			yoo' >> bead		teelhsaang were hanging	yaa'nii they say	lhaang yoo' many bead yoo'ghittl'oong bead belt seelhkit magnesite bead yoo'lhtciik magnesite yoo'dai'itc small-flower beads	
33a			---		naanghityai he came home	yaa'nii they say		
33b			---	yoo' bead	tc'neelh'iing' he looked at it	yaa'nii they say		
34a			[daantsshaan who?	yoo' bead	yiiteelhalh- kwaang he had hung up]			
34b			---	[34a]	---			

GT30 - Rattlesnake Husband discourse chart

35			lhaa'haa' one sii'bii's'aang- kaah feather hairnet		teelhalh it was hanging		yaa'nii they say	
36			snee'bilghilii' anklet/garter k'aa' arrow		naalhsis it hangs down	naa'ghii-bilh with a quiver	yaa'nii they say	
37			tl'ohteelh- sii'bii's'aang basket hat seegot' bead veil headdress		teelhalh it was hanging		yaa'nii they say	
38		>>	kaashtc-lhtsow blue knife	teelee'-bii' in a net bag	s'aan is situated		yaa'nii they say	
39			bilghilghis fire sticks		staan were lying		yaa'nii they say	
40	ghilhgheel' having become evening	tc'eek bilh woman with her	---		s'istiin he lay down		yaa'nii they say	
41a			[---		doohaa'- shdjiighiltik- banjaa' do not let me be killed]			
41b			---	[41a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
42a	shiiyaatc'ee'tc my daughter	lh'ghish rattlesnake	<<		doohaa'- nin'indik'ee' do not get up!			

GT30 - Rattlesnake Husband discourse chart

42b		nilh with you (sg.)	---		neestiin- eekwaanaang he had lain down		
43			---		doo-lh'ghish-yee it is not a rattlesnake		
44			---		naahneesh-yee it is a person		
45			---		doo ^h aa'- uudjii'olhtik do not kill it!		
46a			[---		nee'oding] you may die		
46b			---	[46a]	tc'in-yee he said (to me)		
47a			[---	lh'ghish rattlesnake	uudjiisolhtik-dee' when you (pl.) kill it]		
47b	[47a]		---		shee'eedin- teilee I will die	[47c]	
47c			[---		uudjii'olhtik-dee'] if you (pl.) kill it		
48a			[---		shee'odin-nang] I am dying		
48b			---	[48a]	tc'in he said	yaa'nii they say	
49a			---		naanghilghaal' they beat it		
49b			---	lh'ghish rattlesnake	uudjii'ghiltik it was killed	yaa'nii they say	
50			---		tc'teelghaal' he threw it away	chin-milh with a stick	yaa'nii they say

GT30 - Rattlesnake Husband discourse chart

51a		[---		naalhghaalh hit it again!		
51b		---		naach'king'] it is writhing		
51c		---	[51a-51b]	---		yaa'nii they say
52		tc'eek woman		beeding she died		yaa'nii they say
53a		[---		doohaa'- uudjii'olhtik do not kill it!		
53b		---	[53a]	dishnii-'anjii] I said!		
53c		---	[53a-53b]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say
54		---		kwanlhaang all/the end		

GT31 - Water-panther - Too-Bitchow discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			naakaa' two naahneesh person	iintc'ee' uusii' >> deer head	teeghiing carried along		yaa'nii they say	ch'ining' deer head disguise
2			---	bitchow mountain lion	ghilsaang it was found		yaa'nii they say	naakaa' two naahneesh person
3			bitchow mountain lion		nchaagh it is large			
4a			iintc'ee' deer kowantak between his shoulders		---		yaa'nii they say	
4b			<<	kwchii'lai'k' tail end/tip of his tail	noochiimiil'- kwan it reached to the tail		yaa'nii they say	
5			bitchow mountain lion		nchaagh large/much	baantoo'bi' in the ocean bitchow mountain lion		Too-Bitchow Water Panther
6			---		yeehnaatyaa sg go back in		yaa'nii they say	see-bii' on a stone
7			---		kowinin the ground jarred		yaa'nii they say	yoo'oong over there
8		ch'aan-mii' in a hole	---		yaa'ch'oosilhs'a ang they listened		yaa'nii they say	
9a			[---		inch'aash] you (sg.) shoot			

GT31 - Water-panther - Too-Bitchow discourse chart

9b			---	[9a]	yaa'lhilch'ing they told each other		yaa'nii they say	
10			---		beeniljit they were afraid of it		yaa'nii they say	
11a			[---	hai-haa' that	kwintee-bang you (sg.) must release it]			
11b			---	[11a]	yaa'n they said		yaa'nii they say	
12			---		kwanlhaang all/the end			

GT32 - Milk-snake among the Eels discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			ts'li' brush		ghiltciing was gathered		yaa'nii they say	
2	laa'lhbaa'ang ten naahneesh person		---	aal firewood	ghiltciing was gathered		yaa'nii they say	
3			---		ghilk'aang fire was built		yaa'nii they say	
4a			[---		ghilhgeel'-it when it became evening]			
4b	[4a]		naakaa' two		nileeh it swims		yaa'nii they say	
5			lhaa'haa' one		nileeh it swims		yaa'nii they say	
6			taak' three		nileeh it swims		yaa'nii they say	
7			laa'saanii five		nileeh it swims		yaa'nii they say	
8			laa'lhbaa'ang ten		nileeh it swims		yaa'nii they say	
9			lhaa'haa' one		nileeh it swims		yaa'nii they say	
10			---		ndoo' not exist		yaa'nii they say	
11	haaghee' long time		lhaa'haa' one		nileeh it swims		yaa'nii they say	
12			naakaa' two		nileeh it swims		yaa'nii they say	

GT32 - Milk-snake among the Eels discourse chart

13			laa'lhbaa'ang ten		nileeh it swims		yaa'nii they say	
14			naahdin- laa'lhbaa'ang twenty lhaang many		nileeh it swims		yaa'nii they say	
15a			[t'aadilk'its kingsnake		nileegh-it when it swims		yaa'nii] they say	
15b	[15a]		naahneesh person		tsinteelhdeel' they ran away		yaa'nii they say	
16			naakaa' two naahneesh person		teesin are standing in water		yaa'nii they say	
17			t'aadilk'its kingsnake		nileeh it swims		yaa'nii they say	
18			---		uutcoonghitchaa ng they left them		yaa'nii they say	
19a			[---		naawohdaalh] you (pl) go back			
19b			---	[19a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
20a	doo-yiilhkai pre-dawn		---		tcoonghitchaang they quit the chase	[20b]		
20b			[---		beeniljit-it because they were afraid of it]			
21			---		kwanlhaang all/the end			

GT33 - Stealing of the Baby discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			laa'lhbaa'ang ten tc'yaankii women	laashii' buckeye	bii'nooghilheegh soak mush		yaa'nii they say	
2			skii baby		tceeh he cries		yaa'nii they say	
3a		[dee here	---	---	ilhtish give it	skii] baby		
3b			tc'eek woman	[3a]	---			
3c		[dee here	---	---	ilhtish give it	skii] baby		
3d			---	[3c]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
4a			[---		naa'aa'] take it!			
4b	[4a]		---	ditc'eegee' this wife	waalhtiin his giving it to her		yaa'nii they say	
5a			---		tcaakowilhgheel' it was very dark			
5b			tc'eek woman		nintyaa came/arrived		yaa'nii they say	
6a	[taahjii where?		shkii my baby		---			
6b			---		nteeslaalh-'ang] is it asleep?			
6c			---	[6a-6b]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
7	daan' long ago		---		nghaaniilhtiing I gave it to you			

GT33 - Stealing of the Baby discourse chart

8a			[---		doo- shghaalhtish- 'angii you did not give it to me!]		
8b			---	[8a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say
9a			[---		doo-shghaalhtish you didn't give it to me]		
9b			---	[9a]	---		
10a			---		kaayaa'intee they look for it		
10b			---		doo-ghilsaang it was not found		yaa'nii they say
11			skii baby		tceeh he cries		yaa'nii they say yiisee' west
12	tcaakowilhgheel' -bii'ing' in the dark of night		bischloo great horned owl		dinii it made its call		yaa'nii they say
13			---		tghiniilh it kept making its call		yaa'nii they say
14		yiisee' needding west far/high	---		kwinyaayool they followed it	needding far/high tcaakowilhgheel' -bii' in the dark of night	yaa'nii they say
15			---		kwtcoonghitcaa ng they gave it up		yaa'nii they say
16			---		kwanlhaang all/the end		

GT34 - The Man Eater discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			---	beelh rope	naa'tghitl'oon they set snares		yaa'nii they say	
2			lheenee'haa' everyone naahneesh person	iintc'ee' deer	oonghilang went after		yaa'nii they say	
3		saahding-haa' all alone	---		tc'gaalh she is walking		yaa'nii they say	
4			---	tbilh close-twined burden basket	yeegheelh she was carrying it along		yaa'nii they say	
5			---	tits' cane	tc'ghilhtiih she takes it along		yaa'nii they say	
6			---	tbilh close-twined burden basket taaloon soft	tc'gheelh she is carrying it along		yaa'nii they say	
7a			[---	shiiyee' iintc'ee' mine deer	---]			
7b			---	[7a]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	
8a			---		tc'eelhchit she catches it		yaa'nii they say	
8b			---		nins'istiing she picked him up			
8c		tbilh-bii' in a close-twined burden basket	---		noolhtiing she laid him down			
9			---		tc'teesghiing she carried it along		yaa'nii they say	

GT34 - The Man Eater discourse chart

10a		[ching-kiiboo'istc bent down tree uuyeehtaah places underneath	---		waaghighish] to carry it through		
10b	[10a]		---	tbilh close-twined burden basket	nintc'ilhghaal'- uutc'inghaa she whipped beyond it		yaa'nii they say
11			---		tc'gheelh she is carrying it along		yaa'nii they say yiidak' uphill
12a		[chin uuyeeh trees under it	---		waa'inghiing as she carried it through it]		
12b	[12a]		---	chin trees	yiihchit he caught it		
12c			---		daahkidilbash it embraced up to it		
13a	wang-haa' anyhow		---		naaghidaalh it went back along	yiidak' uphill	[13b]
13b			[---		nintc'ilhghaal' she whipped it	tits' bilh] cane with it	
14a			[---		tc'koonesnee'] she found out		
14b			---	[14a]	tc'in he said	yaa'nii they say	
15a			[---		naaghildaal as she runs back	haidaa'ang] downhill	
15b	[15a]		[shiiyee' iintc'ee' mine deer		taahjii] where?		
15c			---	[15b]	tc'in he said	yaa'nii they say	

GT34 - The Man Eater discourse chart

16			dii this/here naahneesh person	>>	daahbeesyaa it climbed up onto it	chin-kw'it on a tree	
17			---	lhishdiichow rotten log	tc'ghilhtaal' he kicked it		yaa'nii they say
18			shaa sun		kaasyai came up		yaa'nii they say
19a	t'ee' robe	kwnaa' her eyes uutc'inghaa in front of it	<<		naalhchoos she put it down		yaa'nii they say [19b]
19b			[---		kaanoo'tyaan] as she is ashamed		
19c			---		naaheelh'its she ran back	>>	yaa'nii they say haidak' yaa'nii east/up they say
20			---		kwanlhaang all/the end		

GT35 - Description of Man Eater discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			---		tc'nighish she brings it/load	kowanding his home		
2a			---	uulaa' its hand	tc'neelhyiil' he eats it up			[2b]
2b			[---		naaghaa-kwaa'] it still walking			
3			---	uulaa' its hand naakaa'-haa' both	tc'neelhyiil' he eats it up			
4			---	kwee' its foot	tc'neelhyiil' he eats it up			
5			---	lhaa' kwee' another his foot	tc'neelhyiil' he eats it up			
6			---	uunaa' its eyes	tc'eenaal'aash take solid O back out from			naakaa'-haa' both
7			---	bit-tc'ee'aash its intestines uutc'iik'ee' its small intestines	tc'neelhyiil' he eats it up			
8			---	uuteehlee' its liver uudjii' its heart	tc'neelhyiil' he eats it up			
9			---	uudeeskee' its lungs	tc'neelhyiil' he eats it up			
10			---	uusii' its head	tc'neelhyiil' he eats it up		yaa'nii they say	
11			---	kwong' fire	kw'itnoolaash she put it on it		yaa'nii they say	

GT35 - Description of Man Eater discourse chart

12	see rock	kwong'ding fireplace	---	<<	noolaa he put it down	yaa'nii they say	
13		see-nteel flat stone see-bii' on a stone	---		ghilk'aan there was a fire		
14			---		teelit it blazed	yaa'nii they say	
15			---		bit-tc'eeng'aang she disemboweled it	yaa'nii they say	
16			---		tc'neelhyaan she ate it up	yaa'nii they say	
17			---	uuteehlee' its liver	tc'neelhyaang she ate it up	yaa'nii they say	
18			---	uudeeskee' its lungs	tc'neelhyaang she ate it up	yaa'nii they say	
19			---	uudjii' its heart	tc'neelhyaan she ate it up	yaa'nii they say	
20a			[---	naatikang blood & giblets sausage ?	---	yaa'nii] they say	
20b			---	[20a]	ch'ghint'aats' she cut it up		
21	see rock	ch'isteelh flat way	---	<<	kw'itnoolhtiing she put it down on it		
22a			---		tc'ghintcai she buried it		
22b		see-bii' on a stone	---		nooteelhghaal' throw stick-like/ animate O to limit		
23a			[---		ist'ee-ii] it is cooked		

GT35 - Description of Man Eater discourse chart

23b	[23a]		---		kaanaaghilai she took it back up from underground		
24			---		tc'isai she dried it		yaa'nii they say
25			---		daahnoolaa she put them up on surface		yaa'nii they say
26			kw'aa' tallow		nchaagh is large/much		yaa'nii they say
27a			[---		ghilhsai] it becomes dry		
27b	[27a]	k'ai'tbilh open-twined burden basket bii' in it	---	daang pile	tc'istciin' he made it		
28			---		noo'inghiing she put the load down		yaa'nii they say
29a	haihiit because of	nohkwaa for us	---		ch'naadilyeegh let us drive them		[29b]
29b			[nohkwaah our fat		nchaagh-it] because it is much		
30			kwkwee' his foot	noonii bear	---		
31			kwlaa' her hand	naahneesh person	---		
32			kwwo' her teeth	naalghii-wo' dog teeth	---		
33		naahneesh person	uusii' its head		---		

GT35 - Description of Man Eater discourse chart

34	dindai flint	aat'aa' her own pocket	---	<<	tc'ilghiing she carried it	yaa'nii they say	
35			kwnaa' her eyes		lhshiik shine	yaa'nii they say	
36	Chintaah- Naastbaats' Man Eater ogress		sghaa' head hair		nees is long		
37			kwtcghee' her ears	naalghii dog kwtcghee' her ears	kant'ee is like that	yaa'nii they say	

GT36 - A Prayer for Eels discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1	[bee'liing female lamprey	diiidaa'ang from the north	<<		nileeh it swims			
2		shoonk' well	---		neeshyii-jaa' let me eat it			
3	toonai fish	shoonk'-kwaa well	---	<<	neeshyii-jaa' let me eat a certain food			
4			skiitc boy		yoyang-jaa' may they eat			
5	t'EEKII teen girl	shoonk' well	<<		yoyang-jaa' may they eat			
6	iintc'ee' deer	shoonk'-kwaa well	---	<<	nooshkit let me swallow you (sg.)			
7			---	ch'aang shiiyee' food mine	aanint'ee-yee you (sg.) are	shiiyee' mine lhkan sweet tasting		
8a			---		doohaa'- bee'odin-jaa' do not let it die			
8b			---		nshoo'-banjaa'] let it be good			
8c			---	[1-8b]	tc'in he said		yaa'nii they say	

GT37 - A Supernatural Experience discourse chart

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear		
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Object/Complement	Verb	Inner	Outer	Post
1			---	saljiitc fence lizard	deeghaang we were killing			
2		teelee'-bii' in a net bag	---	>>	nooshghee' I carried	lhaang many saljiitc fence lizard		
3			---	teelee' net bag	teesdilbing we filled it			
4			---	lhaa'haa' one uuyaashtc small	uudjii'stiltik he killed it			
5a			baan its mother		teelh'its it ran off			
5b		yoo'oong over there	---		neestiing it lay down			
6a		[taahjii where?	>>>		neestiing it lay down			nchaagh-yii] the large one is
6b			---	[6a]	shilhtc'nii he asks me			
7a		[yoo-yee over there	---		---			
7b			---	[7a]	dishnii I say			
8			---		tc'ch'aash-teel he is going to shoot it			
9			[---		doohaa'- shdjii'ilhtik do not kill me!			

GT37 - A Supernatural Experience discourse chart

10	daang' already		---	shyaashtc my child(ren)	uudjiisilhtig-ee you killed		
11a			shii-yii as for me		kishnaa] let me live		
11b			---	[9-11a]	---		
12		uudaa'-bii' in its mouth	kwong' fire		ghilhtik it burst		
13a			---		keelhk'as- kwaang I dropped it	teelee'-bii' in a net bag	
13b			---		naaheesiilh'its- kwaang I had run back	yiidak' uphill	
14			---		kaakosiileeh- kwaang I had been sick		
15			---		shilhyaa'tyiing- kwaang they had doctored me		
16a			---		doo-kwinishsing I was insensible	[16b]	
16b			[---		sheeding- kwanghit when I had died]		
17a			---	shnaang my mother	ooshts'aang I heard	[17b]	
17b			[---		tceegh-it] when it cries	[17c-17d]	
17c	[shyaashtc my child(ren)		---		---		
17d			---	[17c]	tc'in-hit] when she said		

GT37 - A Supernatural Experience discourse chart

18			---		tcaakwolhgheel' it was very dark		
19a		haakwan up there	shnang my mother shtaa' my father		'ang' it is/was		
19b		yoo'oong over there	---		siighiing I stood around	see chinee'ding rock at the base of ts'ii' uunoo' brush behind it	
20		diidaa''ang from the north	diishoo' something		nint'aagh arrived flying		
21			---	sheek' saliva	shghilhk'its it spat on me		
22			nt'aa' your (sg.) feather		kaal'aa'-teilee will sprout		
23			---		beent'aah-teilee you (sg.) will fly up against it	diidak' up yaah-bii'ing' in the sky	
24			---		ch'idaayee' it blooms		
25			---		nshoon-ee it is good		
26			---		ch'ildjii-yee it shines		
27			---		shaa-ndiin-ee sun shines		
28			>>		nshoon-ee it is good	nee' land	
29		ch'oyii-haa' again	nchaagh a large one		nint'aagh arrived flying		

GT37 - A Supernatural Experience discourse chart

30		daang' 'ang already yes/no?	---		aakwilaah you fixed him		
31	heu' yes	daang' already	---		aakwishlaagh- ee I fixed him		
32	haihiit because of	doo no	t'aa' feather		kaal'aa'-yee grew up from below		
33	tcaa' listen!		---		kwilhyaa'naakaa 'ghityiin-ee two doctored him		
34	kaa' all right/OK		---		kwtcoonditcaan g let's let him escape		
35			---		yaakwolht'aah you (pl.) make him fly up		
36a		dee-k'aa here/there	---		noonaaniikaats' I fell back to limit	[36b]	
36b			[---		doo-kwnisin-hit because I did not know]		
37		doo-taahshoo' nowhere	---		taashaash I go in water		
38		haataah right there	---		doo-kwneising' I did not know		
39			---		kwanlhang all		

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