# Naahneesh Kowanyaakwilik 

# Analyzed Cahto Texts: <br> Volume 3 - Cultural Texts 

Sally Anderson

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## About This Document



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## 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 volume includes 10 of the stories Bill Ray told to Pliny Goddard (Goddard 1902,1906 and 1909).
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, wannabeism, 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 plus 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/Chief 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
May 17, 2023

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ..... 3
Cultural Texts ..... 7
Goddard Texts - Bill Ray .....  1
Creation: Part 1 .....  2
Creation: Part 2. ..... 44
Creation: Part 2 Addendum. ..... 224
The Placing of the Animals. ..... 229
The Supernatural Child. ..... 310
Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife ..... 411
Coyote and the Gambler (short version) (IV) ..... 552
Coyote Tricks the Girls ..... 557
Geese Carry off Raven ..... 566
The Diving Contest. ..... 579
Bibliography ..... 583
Appendix A - Discourse Charts. ..... 585
GT02a: Creation: Part 1 discourse chart ..... 586
GT02b: Creation: Part 2 discourse chart ..... 602
GT02b-add: Creation: Part 2 Addendum discourse chart. ..... 674
GT07: The Placing of the Animals discourse chart. ..... 678
GT08: The Supernatural Child discourse chart ..... 709
GT10: Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife discourse chart. ..... 752
GT13 NB: Coyote and the Gambler (short version) discourse chart. ..... 810
GT15: Coyote Tricks the Girls discourse chart ..... 813
GT22: Geese Carry Off Raven discourse chart ..... 817
GT23: The Diving Contest discourse chart ..... 823

## 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, Gill 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 exageration 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
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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!!

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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!

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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.

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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

| adj | adjective |
| :--- | :--- |
| $a d v$ | adverb |
| anim | animate |
| AUG | augmentative |
| $B R$ | Bill Ray consultant |
| $c f$. | confer/compare |
| conj | conjunction |
| Cu | Curtis, 1924 |
| cust. | customary |
| def. | definite/relativized |
| dem. | demonstrative |
| der. | derivative |
| dial. | dialect |
| dist. | distributive |
| Dr | Driver, 1939 |
| esp. | especially |
| ext | extension theme |
| GE | Goddard, 1912 (Elements...) |
| gen. | general/generic |
| GN | Goddard, fieldnotes (1902, 1906) |
| GR | Gil Ray consultant |
| GSl | Gene Sloan consultant |
| $G T$ | Goddard, 1909 (Kato Texts) |
| impf. | imperfective |
| indf. | indefinite |
| interj. | interjection |
| JPH | Harrington, papers (1942) |
| lit. | literal/-ly |
| Lo | Loeb, 1932 |
| loc. | locative |
| LR | Lucy Ray consultant/dialect |
| Me | Merriam, papers |
| mot | motion theme |
| $n$ | noun |

n a alienable noun
neg. negative
$n$ ia inalienable noun
num. number
obj. object
obl. oblique object
obv. "obviative"
opt. optative
perf. perfective
pl. plural
pos. position theme
poss. possessive
postp. postposition
prog. progressive
proh. prohibitive
pron pronoun/proform
recp. reciprocal
refl. reflexive
$R E P$. repetitive (activity aspect)
REV. reversative (modern aspect0
$R R \quad$ Rose Ray consultant
Sa Goddard \& Sapir, 1907-1908
sg. singular
sim. similar
sp. species
stat. stative theme
subj. subject
$v \quad$ verb
$v d$ descriptive verb
vi intransitive verb
$v p \quad$ passive verb, verb prefix
$v s \quad$ stative verb
$v t \quad$ transitive verb

## Cultural Texts

This third volume comprises a second selection of Bill Ray texts as texts, whether full stories, abbreviated versions, or an addendum to another story. The primary sources for the current texts are Pliny Goddard's published Kato Texts (1909) and his notebooks of work with Bill Ray (1906).
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 Ray/Goddard translation, and the original Ray/Goddard word for word translation (if provided), with notebook variants presented in brackets. Then finally the original author's transcription of the line(s). In the case of most of the 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.

## Creation: Part 1

Told by Bill Ray to Pliny Goddard in 1906 (and other times). Published as the first part of "II. Creation" in Goddard 1909 pp. 77-81, 184-185, with the original unpublished version (as story "XXVIII") in Goddard NBVII, pp.1-13
This text focuses on the creation of a new sky/Heaven, after the old one had worn out, the details of the creation of humans, and the establishment of weather phenomena. The previous sky (a giant sandstone slab on pillars with gaps for the winds to blow and paths for the summer and winter sun) has gotten worn out so Ch'eeneesh and Naaghaichow work together, under Ch'eeneesh's direction, to build a new one. The old sky is then untied and allowed to drop onto the earth. Then they set up some related weather patterns (clouds, fog, dew, halo) on the earth's surface. When Ch'eeneesh announces that he will be living up on a highter sky/Heaven and Naaghaichow on this lower sky/Heaven, Naaghaichow creates a human for someone to talk to. He creates the first person from dirt or clay and hot water with variously shaped lumps of clay (liver, kidneys, lungs), wads of patted grass (stomach, heart), a reed tube (trachea/windpipe), and ground ochre in water (blood) for the various organs. In the notebook version Naaghaichow asks Ch'eeneesh to make his creation alive, then male genitalia are made. The versions are confusing, but the model is possibly split in two to make Woman, too. Finally weather (rain, winds) and the sun and moon are created. Kwanlhaan at the end implies that this is potentially a separate text from the remainder of Goddard's "II. Creation", so it is treated as such here.
Some of the episodes of this text overlap with those of Bill Ray's The Deluge (Curtis, 1942) and Gill Ray's The Creation (Essene's notebook \#42, 1935), as well as some overlap with the next Ray/Goddard story to be treated, Creation: Part 2.

| 1.1 | see | ghindii | yaa'nii | see | see-tc'itc' ${ }^{\text {sen }}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| see | ghin..dii+TRTL.,PERF.,3 | yaa'nii | see | see-tc'iitc' |  |
| stone | become old | they say | stone | sandstone |  |
| na | vd | vt | na | na |  |
| rock | became old | they say | rock | sandstone |  |
| $[$ Subj] | $[V P$ | $]$ | $[$ Subj | $]$ |  |

The rock, the sandstone rock, was old, they say.
The sandstone rock which formed the sky was old they say. Rock / was old [rock old] / they say, / rock / sandstone.
se gûn dī ya nī se se tcīts
se gûn dī ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī se se tc'īts

GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

| 1.2 ch'teeghinii | yaa'nii | diidak' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ch'-ti-(ghin)..nii+PERF.,3INDF. | yaa'nii | diidak' |
| be thunder (v) | they say | east |
| vs | vt | direct |
| it thundered | they say | east |
| [VP] |  | [AdvP] |

It thundered in the east, they say.
It thundered in the east;
It thundered / they say / east.
tcit te gûn nī ya nī dī dûk
tc't te gûn nī ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī dī dûk’

| 1.3 ch'teeghinii | yaa'nii | diinak' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ch'-ti-(ghin)...nii+PERF.,3INDF. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | diinak' |
| be thunder (v) | they say | south |
| vs | vt | direct |
| it thundered | they say | south |
| [VP |  | [AdvP] |

## It thundered in the south, they say.

it thundered in the south;
It thundered / they say / south.
tcit te gûn nī̀ ya ni di nûk
tc't te gûn nī ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī dī nûk'

| 1.4 ch'teeghinii | yaa'nii | diisee' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ch'-ti-(ghin)..nii+PERF.,3INDF. | yaa'nii | diisee' |
| be thunder (v) | they say | west |
| vs | vt | direct |
| it thundered | they say | west |
| [VP | $]$ | [AdvP] |

It thundered in the west, they say.
it thundered in the west;
It thundered / they say / west.
tcit te gûn nī ya nī dī se
tc't te gûn nī ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī dī $\mathrm{se}^{\varepsilon}$

GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

| 1.5 ch'teeghinii | yaa'nii | diidee' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ch'-ti-(ghin)..nii+PERF.,3INDF. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | diidee' |
| be thunder (v) | they say | north |
| vs | vt | direct |
| it thundered | they say | north |
| [VP | $\quad]$ | [AdvP] |

It thundered in the north, they say.
it thundered in the north.
It thundered / they say / north.
tcit te gûn nī ya ni dī de
tc't te gûn $n \overline{1} y^{\text {y }}{ }^{\varepsilon} n \bar{n}$ dī $\mathrm{de}^{\varepsilon}$

| 1.6 | see | ghindii |
| ---: | :--- | :--- |
|  | see | ghin..dii+TRTL.,PERF.,3 |
|  | stone | become old |
|  | n a | vd |
|  | rock | became old |
|  | $[$ Obj | $\quad]$ |


"Let's fix the old rock," he said, they say, two of them, Naaghaichow and Thunder.
"The rock is old, we will fix it," he said. There were two, Nagaitcho and Thunder.
"Rock / is old [getting old] / we will fix it" [let us fix it] / he said / they say, / two /
Nagaitco, [devil] / Tcines. [thunder/God]
sûg gûn dī cū dûl le tcīn ya ni nûk ka na gai tcō tcenes
se gûn dī cū dûl le tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī nąk $\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ na gai tcō tc'e nes
Note The notebook version has sighindii, meaning something like "it has worn out",

$$
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 1 \text { - Bill Ray }
$$

instead of see ghindii "the rock has become old". (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.1)
1.7 " yooyiidak' yooyiidak' uutis far east over/beyond P stretch O out direct far east beyond it [AdvP] [PostP]
tc'eendiich'it'
tc'ee-n-(nin)..ch'it+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. vt
we stretch it
[VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
say
vt
they say
he said
vt
[VP
"We will stretch it above far beyond it to the east," he said, they say.
"We will stretch it above far to the east," one of them said.
"Far above [way up] / beyond it [way up across] / we stretch it" [stretch it out] / he said / they say.
yō yī dûk / ō tûs / tcen di kût tcin ya nī
yō yī dûk' ō tûs tc'en dī kût tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
1.8 tc'ee'ilhch'it' yaa'nii
tc'ee-(nin)..Ihch'it'+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
stretch O out
vt
they stretched it
[VP
They stretched it, they say.
They stretched it.
They stretched it [he pulled stretch] / they say.
tce iL tcût ya ni
tc'e il tcût ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 1.9 | yaah | kw' inaaghai | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yaah | P-k'it-naa-(s)..yaash/yaa+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBL. | $=$ i | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| sky | walk around on P | $=N R$ | they say |
| na | vi | encl | vt |
| sky | walked around on it |  | they say |
| $[\mathrm{NP}]$ | [VP |  |  |

They walked around on the sky, they say.

$$
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 1 \text { - Bill Ray }
$$

They walked on the sky.
Sky / on it he walked [he walked on it] / they say.
ya / kwon na gai ya ni
ya‘ ${ }^{\prime}$ 'wûn na gai ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\wedge} \overline{1}$

| 2.1 see | nchaagh | naa'tghilh' ${ }^{\prime}$ ' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| see | nchaagh ${ }_{2}$ | naa-d-(ghin)..lh' $\mathrm{aa}{ }^{\prime}$ ' aa ' + PERF.,3ANIM., 3 OBJ. |
| stone | large | stand O on end |
| na | adj | vt |
| rock | large/much | he stood it on end |
| [Obj | ] | [VP |
| yaa'nii | , diinak' |  |
| yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | diinak' |  |
| they say | south |  |
| vt | direct |  |
| they say | south |  |
|  | [AdvP] |  |

## He stood a large rock up on end, they say, in the south.

In the south he stood on end a large rock.
Rock [stone] / large [big] / he stood up [he stand it up] / they say, / south.
se $\underline{n}$ tcag / na te gûL a ya ni / dī nûk
se $n$ tcag na t gûL ${ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}$ ya $^{\varepsilon}$ nī dī nûk'

```
2.2 diisee' see naa'tghilh'aa'
    diisee' see naa-d-(ghin)..Ih'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
    west stone stand \(O\) on end they say
    direct na vt vt
    west rock he stood it on end they say
    [AdvP] [Obj] [VP
(, nees ).
    n..nees+PERF.,3 =i
    be tall \(=N R\)
    vd encl
    that is tall
    [AdjP]
```

He stood a large rock up on end in the west, they say, a tall one.

In the west he stood on end a large rock.
West / rock / he stood up / they say. (/ tall)
di se se / na te gûL a / ya nī / nej

## GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

dī $\operatorname{se}^{\varepsilon}$ se nat gû $L^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}$ ya $a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
Note The notebook version includes the word nees "tall". (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.2)


| 2.4 diidak' | naa'tghilh'aa' | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| diidak' | naa-d-(ghin)..Ih'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| east | stand O on end | they say |
| direct | vt | vt |
| east | he stood it on end | they say |
| [AdjP] | $[V P$ | $]$ |

see
see
stone
na
rock
[Obj]
In the east he stood up a rock, they say.
In the east he stood on end a large, tall rock.
East / he stood up / they say / rock.
dī dûk na te gûL a ya nī se
dī dûk' na t gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī se

GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

2.5 kwanlhang kwanlhaang every/all adj
all [Obj]
shoo'tc'ilaah
shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. fix O
vt
he fixed it well
[VP
yaa'nii yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ they say vt
they say
, tinii
tinii
trail
na
road/trail
[NP]
He fixed everything well, they say, (next) the roads.
He made everything properly.
All / he fixed [good he fix it] / they say, / road.
kwûn Lûn cō tcil la ya nī / tûn nī
kwûn Ląñ co ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' ${ }^{\prime}$ la la ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī tûn nī

| 2.6 | tinii | shoo'tc'ilaah |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tinii | shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| trail | fix O | they say |
| na | vt | vt |
| road/trail | he fixed it well | they say |
| $[$ Obj $]$ | $[V P$ | $]$ |

He fixed the roads well, they say.

He made the roads(215).
Roads / he fixed / they say.
tûn nī / cō tcīl la / ya nī
tûn nī cō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc'il la ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n̄̄
Note "215 It would seem that a new sky with four portals, four supporting columns, and summer and winter trails for the sun was prepared before the old worn out sky was caused to fall." (Goddard 1909, p.184)

```
2.7 diidee' tinii shoo'tc'ilaah
    diidee' tinii shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
    north trail fix O
    direct na vt
    north road/trail he fixed it well
    [AdvP] [Obj] [VP
```

GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

```
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 
they say
vt
they say
```

]

He fixed the road in the north well, they say.
He made a road to the north (where the sun travels in summer).
North / road / he fixed / they say.
dī de tûn nī / cō / tcil la / ya nī
dī de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tûn $n \bar{n}$ cos $^{\varepsilon}$ tc'il la ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note "(where the sun travels in summer)." (Goddard 1909, p.184)

"There will be no trees in the south," he said, they say.
"In the south there will be no trees
"South / trees / will not be" [none] / he said / they say.
dī nûk / tcûn dō bûn tcīn ya nī
dī nûk' tcûn dō bûñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī


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"Flowers / only / will be many" [lots be/for] / he said / they say. kit da ye / cûñ Lûm/La mûn tcin ya nī kit da ye cąñ la mûñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 3.3 | taahshaang | waach'aa-mang |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | taahshaang | P-ghaach' ${ }^{\text {aang }}+3$ Poss. | $=\mathrm{bang}_{2}$ |
|  | somewhere dem | hole through $P$ <br> na | $=\text { future predictive enclitic }$ encl |
|  | somewhere | will be a hole through it |  |
|  | [AdvP] | [VP] |  |

## "Where will the hole through it be?"

"Where will there be a hole through?"
ta cûn / wa tca mûñ
ta cąn wa tc'a mûñ

| 3.4 tc'in | yaa'nii |
| :--- | ---: |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| say | they say |
| vt | vt |
| he said | they say |
| [VP | $]$ |

he said, they say.
he asked.
"Where / hole through will be?" [hole sky] / he said / they say.
tcin ya n̄̄
tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
3.5 haidaa' ang waach'an
haidaa' ang P-ghaach'aang+3 Poss.
from the north hole through P
direct na
from the north hole through it
[AdvP] [Obj]
tc'istciin' yaa'nii
(s)..Ihtcii/tciin' + PERF.,3ANIM., +3 OBJ. make O
vt
he made it
[VP
they say
vt
they say
]

He made a hole through it from the north, they say.
At the north he made a hole through.
From the north [down this/toward us] / hole through [hole] / he made / they say. ha da ûñ wa tcûñ / tcis tcīñ ya nī hai da ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ûñ wa tc' ą̨ tc' is tcin ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 3.6 aah-bang ${ }^{\text {aah }=\text { bang }_{1}}$ | nchaagh w | waach'an |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathrm{nchaagh}_{2} \mathrm{P}$ | P-ghaach'aang+3 Poss. |
| cloud = purposive enclitic | large h | hole through P |
| na encl | adj n | na |
| for clouds | large/much h | hole through it |
| [PostP] | [Obj | ] |
| tc' istciin' | yaa'nii | , diidak' |
| (s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 | BJ. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | diidak' |
| make O | they say | $y$ east |
| vt | vt | direct |
| he made it | they say | $y$ east |
| [VP | ] | [AdvP] |

In the east he made a large hole through it for the clouds, they say.
East he made a large opening for the clouds.
For clouds [clouds let be] / large [big] / hole through [hole] / he made / they say, / east.
[east/up]
a bûñ ñ tcag wa tcûñ tcis tcīn ya nī dī dûk
$a^{e}$ bûñ $n$ tcag wa tc'ąn tc' is tcin ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n i ̄ ~ d i ̄ ~ d u ̂ k ' ~$

| 3.7 yiist'oot'-bang | waach'an |
| :---: | :---: |
| yiist'oot' $=$ bang $_{1}$ | P-ghaach'aang+3 Poss. |
| fog $\quad=$ purposive enclitic | hole through P |
| na encl | na |
| for fog | hole through it |
| [AdvP] | [Obj] |
| tc'istciin' | yaa'nii , diisee' |
| (s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ diisee' |
| make O | they say west |
| vt | vt direct |
| he made it | they say west |
| [VP | [AdvP] |

In the west he made a hole through it for the fog, they say.
West he made an opening for the fog.

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For fog [fog for] / hole through [hole] / he made / they say / west.
yīs tōt bûñ wa tcûn tcis tcin ya ni / dī ze
yis tōt bûñ wa tc'ąn tc'is tcin ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī dī se ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]
The clouds will go along from the west, and so the clouds can go along to
the west," he said, they say.
"To the west clouds shall go," he said.
"From the west [down that way] / clouds [cloud] / will go, [can go] / west / clouds / will go" [so it can go] / he said / they say.
hai siñ ûñ / a taj bûñ di ze a taj bûn kya tcin ya nī
hai siñ ûñ $a^{e}$ taj bûñ dī $\operatorname{se}^{\varepsilon} a^{e}$ taj bûn dja $a^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
4.1 keebil shoo'tc'ilaah yaa'nii
keebil shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
knife fix O
na vt
knife he fixed it well they say
they say
[Obj] [VP
]
He made a knife well, they way.
He made a knife.
Knife / he fixed [he made] / they say.

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```
ke bûl / cō tcil la ya ni
ke bûl cō}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ tc'il la ya nō
4 . 2 ~ s e e - b a n g
    see =bang
    stone = purposive enclitic
    na encl
    for rocks
    [AdvP]
shoo'tc'ilaah yaa'nii
shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii
fix O
vt
he fixed it well
[VP
```

yaa'nii yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ they say vt they say

```
[VP

\section*{He made it good enough for rocks, they say.}

He made it for splitting the rocks.
For rocks [rock for] / he fixed it [he fix it] / they say. se bûn / cō tcil la ya nī se bûñ co \(\bar{c}^{\varepsilon}\) tc'il la ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{-1}\)
4.3 keebil ntl'its'
keebil ( \(n\) )..tl' its' + PERF., \(3=i\)
knife be hard \(=\mathrm{NR}\)
na vd encl
knife strong
[Obj] [AdjP]
```

shoo'tc'ilaah yaa'nii
shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii
fix O
vt
he fixed it well

```
yaa'nii yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) they say vt they say
[VP
[VP ]
He fixed up the knife nice and strong, they say.
He made the knife very strong.
Knife / stout / he fixed / they say.
ke bûn/l nِ Lûts cō tcil la / ya nī
ke bûl \(n\) Lûts cō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'il la ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

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\section*{5.1 " danteeshaan-mang ?" \\ danteeshaan-mang \({ }_{1}\) \\ what will it be? \\ inter \\ what will it be? \\ [Sent]}
"What will it be like?"
"How will it be?"
dûn te ca mûñ
dąn te ca mûñ
5.2 tc'in yaa'nii ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
he said
[VP
he said, they say.
he considered.
"How will it be?" / he said / they say.
tciñ ya n̄̄
tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
"Go north!" he said, they say.
"You go north;
"North / you go" [go] / he said / they say.

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dī de tûn yac / tcin / ya nī
dīde \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tûn yac tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

"I'm done already," he said, they say.
"I have finished already," he said.
"Already / I have finished," [I finish] / he said / they say. dañ be nīL ke e / tcin yanī
dañ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) be nī̀ ke \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) e tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 5.6 " & see & nilhch'it' & tc'in \\
\hline & see & n-(nin)..lhch'it' +IMPF.,2sG., 3 OBJ. & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
\hline & stone & stretch O & say \\
\hline & na & vt & vt \\
\hline & rock & stretch it & he said \\
\hline & [Obj] & [VP] & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii , diidee'
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) diidee'
they say north
vt direct
they say north
] [AdvP]
"Stretch the rock in the north," he said, they say.
"Stretch the rock in the north.
"Rock / you stretch," [lie/you stretched] / he said / they say, / "north."
se nûn tcût tcin ya nī / dī de
se nûl tcût tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī dī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
Note The notebook version has ninch'it' "it extends stretched" instead of nilhch'it' "you (sg.) stretch it". (Goddard NBVII-stories28-33, p.4)
5.7 " naahinghaah-bang
naahi-(s)..ghaat+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ. \(=\) bang \(_{2}\)
loosen O
vt
\(=\) future predictive enclitic
encl
you (sg.) must untie it
[VP]
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
diisee',\("\) & tc'in & yaa'nii \\
diisee' & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
\end{tabular}
"You must untie it in the west," he said, they say.

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You must untie it in the west,
"You must untie it [so you can untie it] / west," / he said / they say. na hûñ a bûñ di ze tcin ya nī na hûñ a bûñ dī \(\operatorname{se}^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

"Let me untie it in the east," he said, they say.
I will untie it in the east."
"East / I will untie it [I untie] / I," he said / they say.
dī dûk / na hac cī gût ya cī
dī dûk' na hac gąt cī tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
6.1 " diishaan aah-bang
diishaang aah =bang 1
what? cloud = purposive enclitic
inter na encl
what? for clouds
[NP] [PostP]
dī cûn a bûñ
dī cąn \(a^{\circ}\) bûñ

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

```
"What will be clouds?" he said, they say.
"What will be clouds?" he asked.
"What / cloud will be?" [will be cloud] / he said / they say.
tcin ya ni
tc' \({ }^{\text {in }} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}\)
6.3 " naanlhit dee-k'aa !"
    naa-(nin)..Ihit+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ. dee-k'aa
    burn across land here/there
    vt
    you (sg.) burn around
    here/there
    [VP]
    [AdvP]
"Burn around here,"
"Set fires about here,"
"Burn around here" [burn around]
nan Lit de ka
nan Lût de k'a
6.4 tc'in yaa'nii
    ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
    say they say
    vt
    vt
    he said they say
    [VP
    ]
he said, they say. he told him.
he said / they say. tcin ya \(n \overline{1}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{lll}
6.5 naasIhit & yaa'nii & aah-bang \\
naa-(s)..Ihit+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii & aah =bang \({ }_{1}\) \\
burn over land & they say & cloud =purposive enclitic \\
vt & vt & na encl \\
he burned around & they say & for clouds \\
[VP & \(\quad]\) & {\([\) PostP] }
\end{tabular}

\section*{He burned around to make clouds, they say.}

On the upland they burned to make clouds.
He burned around / they say, / for cloud.
nas slût ya nī / a bûñ
nas Lût ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1} a^{c}\) bûñ
Note "When grass burned it made clouds." (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.5)
\begin{tabular}{lll}
6.6 shaahnaa' & teehs'isk'aan & yaa'nii \\
shaahnaa' & teeh-(s)..lhk' aa/k'aan+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
creek & build fire in water & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
creek & he build a fire in water & they say \\
[AdvP] & {\([V P\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
too'aah-bang & \(; \quad\) ( & shaa-baats'ee' \\
too'aah =bang \({ }_{1}\) & shaa-baats'ee'
\end{tabular}
(s)..Ihtcii/tciin' + PERF.,3NAT.PHEN.
make O
vt
it made it
[VP]
He made a fire in the creek to make mist, they say; (it made a halo around the sun.)
Along the creek bottoms they burned to make mist.
Creek / in water he made a fire / they say / for dew. [ring around the sun it made]
ca na te+ sûs kûn ya nī tō a' bûñ (ca ba tse yīs tcīn)
ca na \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) te \({ }^{\bullet} \mathrm{s}^{\prime}\) ûs k'ąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī tō \(\mathrm{a}^{e}\) bûñ
Note "When he made fire by creek it made fog and dew." (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33,

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p.5) The notebook includes "ca•ba tse yīs tcīn ring around the sun it made"
6.7 " nshoon-ee
n..shoon+PERF.,3 =yee
be good = eyewitness evid.
vd
encl
it is good
[VP]
"It is good!"
"It is good,"
"It is good," [it good]
nī cōne
n cō ne
6.8 tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
he said
[VP
he said, they say.
he said.
he said / they say.
tcin ya ni
tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}\)

will hurt

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\begin{tabular}{ll} 
shoo'tc'ilaah & yaa'nii \\
shoo' -(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
fix O & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he fixed it well & they say \\
{\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular}

\section*{He fixed it well so that they would not have headaches, they say.}

He made clouds so the heads of coming people would not ache.
Not / their heads [his head] / will be sick [so won't get hurt/so he won't have headache] /
he fixed [good he fix it] / they say.
dō ke sī ta dûn tca bûñ / cō tcil la ya nī
dō \(\mathrm{kum} \overline{\mathrm{sin}}^{\bar{\varepsilon}}\) da dûn tca bûñ cō\({ }^{\bar{\varepsilon}}\) tc'il la ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 7.1 & Ihaa' & nee' \(-k w\) 'it & yiidak' & yaa' \({ }^{\text {ii }}\) & Ch'eeneesh \\
\hline & Ihaa' & nee'+LOC. & yiidak' & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & Ch'eeneesh \\
\hline & another one & land & uphill & they say & Thunder (deity) \\
\hline & pron & na & direct & vt & na \\
\hline & another & on the land & up above & they say & Thunder (deity) \\
\hline & [AdvP & & & ] & [Subj] \\
\hline & dai-banghit & & & & \\
\hline & daa \(=\mathrm{i}\) & \(\mathrm{ang}_{2}\) & & =hit & \\
\hline sit & \(=\mathrm{NR}=\) & future predic & tive enclit & \(c\) = when & \\
\hline & encl e & & & encl & \\
\hline & en he will live & & & & \\
\hline [VP] & & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Thunder will live on another world up above, they say.
There is another world above where Thunder lives.
Another / world on / up they say, / Thunder [God] / will live. [so he can live there]
La ne kût yī dûk ya ni / tce nec / sûs dai bûñ hût
La \(^{\varepsilon}\) ne \(^{\varepsilon}\) k'wût' yī dûk' ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī tc'e nec s'ûs dai bûñ hût \(^{\prime}\)
\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
7.2 & niing & jang & kandintc & sindaa & niing \\
& niing & jaang & kandintc & sindaa & niing \\
& 2sg indep & here & close/near & live in place & 2sg indep \\
& pron & adv & adv & <Not Sure & pron \\
& you (sg.) & here & close/near & you live in place & you (sg.) \\
& {\([\) Subj \(]\)} & {\([\) AdvP } & \(]\) & {\([V P]\)} & {\([\) Subj] }
\end{tabular}

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

```
"As for you, you live here nearby," he said, they say.
"You will live here nearby," he told Nagaitcho.
"You / here / nearby [little way] / live, [you live] / you," / he said / they say.
nīñ kyûñ / kûn duntc / sûn da / nin / tcin ya nī
niñ djañ kûn dûntc sûn da niñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n̄
Note Ch'eeneesh telling Naaghaichow to live on the lower, nearer to earth sky. "nagai tcō live first sky, tce nīc live in 2nd sky" (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.7)
```

8.1 " too deedinkaash
too dee-d-(ghin)..kaash/kaan+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ.
water put contained $O$ on fire
na vt
water you (sg.) put a container on the fire
[Obj] [VP]

| deeding'ash | ), | too | sil |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dee-d-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ. | too | s..silh+IMPF.,3 $=$ =i |  |
| put solid O in fire | water | be hot | $=$ NR |
| vt | na | vd | encl |
| you (sg.) put it on the fire | water | be hot |  |
| $[\mathrm{VP}]$ | $[\mathrm{Obj}]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |  |

```
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
ilhtcii &,\("\) & tc'in \\
(ghin)..Ihtcii/tciin' + IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ. & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
make O & say & yaii \\
vt & vt & vt \\
vt & he said & they say \\
you (sg.) make it & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular}
"Put water on the fire, make hot water," he said, they say.
"Put water on the fire, heat some water," he said.
"Water / put on the fire, [boil/put on fire] / water / hot / you make," [make] / he said / they say.
tō de dûn ûc / tō sûl ûL tcī tcin ya nī
tō de dûn kac tō sûl ûL tcī tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

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Note Both the notebook's deeding' ash ("put a solid object on the fire") and the published version's deedinkaash ("put a contained liquid on the fire") refer to the modern type of heating by putting a pot on the stovetop or fire instead of the traditional Cahto boiling by putting hot stones into the basket of water.


\section*{He made a person out of dirt, they say.}

He made a person out of earth.
Ground / man [Indian] / he made / they say. ne+ / na nej tcis tcīn (bûL) ya nī ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) na nec tc' is tcin ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note "does not need bûL" (Goddard NBVII-stories28-33, p.8)

\[
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 1 \text { - Bill Ray }
\]
tca \(\bar{o}\) tcûn / kûn nûc yīc tcin ya nī \(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}\) tc' \({ }^{\prime} \tilde{n}^{\varepsilon}\) kûn nûc yīc tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note The interjections are different, but similar, between the notebook version (jaa') and the published version (kaa').
\begin{tabular}{lll}
8.4 wos & tc'istciin' & yaa'nii \\
*wos+3 POSS. & (s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
thigh & make O & they say \\
n ia & vt & vt \\
its thigh & he made it & they say \\
{\([\) Obj \(]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular}

\section*{He made his leg, they say.}

He made his right leg
Leg [leg (right)] / he made / they say.
woz tcistcin ya ni
wōs tc' is tcin ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
```

8.5 dikw'on' tc'istciin' yaa'nii
dikw'on' (s)..lhtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii
left side make O they say
na vt
left side he made it
[Obj] [VP

```
yaa'nii yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) they say
vt
they say
]

\section*{He made his arm, they say.}

He made his right arm
Arm [arm right] / he made / they say.
kwa/gwa nī tcis tcīn ya nī
kwa \(\mathrm{ni}^{\varepsilon}\) tc' is tcin ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}\)

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\section*{He made another on the left, they say.}
and his left arm.
(Left) [other side] / too / he made / they say.
dûk kwon La / tcis tcīn ya nī
dûk \(\mathrm{k}^{\prime}\) wōn \(^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{La}^{\varepsilon}\) tc' is tcin ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}\)
\begin{tabular}{lll}
8.8 & tl'oh & tc'ghinyiish \\
tl'oh & (ghin)..yiish+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
grass & break O off & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
grass & he broke off & they say \\
[Obj] & [VP &
\end{tabular}

He broke off some grass, they say.
He pulled off some grass.
Grass / he broke off [he broke] / they say.
\({ }_{\alpha}^{L} \bar{o}+\) tcī gûn yīc ya ni
Lō \({ }^{\circ}\) tc' gûn yīc ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```

8.9 dii-kwaalhsiing yaa'nii
dii-kwaa-(s)..lhsiin/siin'+PERF.,3,+ 3AREAL OBL. yaa'nii
do this they say
vi
he did this
they say
[VP
]

```

He did this (patting stomach), they say.
and wadded it up.
He did this [he did this way] / they say.
dī kwa sīn ya ni
dī kwal siñ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n̄̄
Note "he patted his stomach" (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.7)

\author{
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}
```

8.10 ch'aa-mang
ch'aan
belly/abdomen = purposive enclitic
na}\quad\mathrm{ encl
for a belly
[PostP]

```
yaa'nii yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) they say
vt they say
```

[VP

```
noolaa
```

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

```
[VP
```

He put it down for a belly, they say.
He put some of it in place for his belly.
For belly [paunch/stomach] / he put it [he put] / they say.
tca mûñ / nō la ya nī
tc'a mûñ nō la ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 8.11 | bit'-bang |  | tc'teelhbalh |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | *bit'+3 POSS. | $=\mathrm{bang}_{1}$ | ti-(s)..lhbalh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. |
|  | belly | $=$ purposive enclitic | hang O up |
|  | n ia | encl | vt |
|  | for a stomach |  | he hung it up |
|  | [PostP] |  | [VP |

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]
He hung it up for a stomach, they say.
He hung up some of it for his stomach.
For stomach / he hung it [he hang it] / they say.
bût bûñ tcit teL bûL / ya nī
bût' bûñ tc't tel bûl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

$$
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$$

```
8.12 uudjii'-bang
    *djii'+3 POSS. =bang
    heart = purposive enclitic
    n ia encl
    for its heart
    [PostP]
s'isbaat'-it , tl'oh uuyeeh
(s)..lhbaat'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =hit tl'oh *P-yeeh++ 3 OBL.
pat O =when grass under P
vt (bas.) encl na postp
when he had patted it grass under it
[VP]
noo'ng'an
noo-(nin)..'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii
put solid O down
vt
he put it down
[Obj] [PostP]
yaa'nii
they say
they say
[VP
When he had patted the grass he put it down underneath for his heart, they say.
When he had slapped some of the grass he put it in for his heart.
For his heart [heart for] / when he slapped it [slapping it flat] / grass / under / he put it / they say.
ū djī bûñ / sûs ba dût / Ḷō ū ye nō ûñ/nōñ ûñ ya nī ū djī bûñ s'ûs ba dût Lō \({ }^{\ominus}\) ū ye nō \({ }^{〔} \tilde{n}^{\varepsilon}\) ąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 8.13 & uuteehlee'-bang & & Iheetc & tboosh \\
\hline & *teehlee'+3 Poss. & \(=\) bang \(_{1}\) & lheetc & tboosh \\
\hline & liver & \(=\) purposive enclitic & mud & round \\
\hline & n ia & encl & na & adj \\
\hline & for its liver & & mud & round \\
\hline & [PostP] & & [Obj & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
```

GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

| 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 | $\quad]$ |

He put down a round piece of clay for his liver, they say.
He used a round piece of clay for his liver.
For his liver [his liver for] / clay [dirt] / round / he put it / they say. $\bar{u}$ te le bûñ Lets te bōj / nōñ ûn / ya nī ū te le ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ bûñ lets t bōj nōñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ an ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī


He put more down for his kidneys, they say.
He put in more clay for his kidneys.
For his kidney [his kidney] / again [another one] / he put it / they say.
ū tcō tciL bûñ / tcō yī ha / nōn ûñ / ya nī
$\bar{u}$ tcō tcilh bûñ tcō yī ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nō $\bar{o}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ an $^{\text {ya }}{ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n} \overline{1}$
8.15 uudjiishiishtee'
*djii'shiishtee'+3 POSS.
lungs
n ia
its lungs
[Obj]

## djee'ghint' aats'

djee-(ghin)..t'aas/t' aats' +PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
cut O in two
vt
he cut it in two
[VP]

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He pushed in a reed, they say.
He pushed in a reed (for a trachea).
Grass long / he pushed in / they say.
Lō nez / tcin gûl tcût ya nī
Lō ${ }^{\bullet}$ nes tc'n gûñ tcût ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note This is a hollow grass or reed for a trachea. The difference between the verb in the notebook, tc'nghilhtcit ("he pushed/maneuvered it in"), and the published version, tc'nghintcit ("he pushed it in"), is probably a subtle distinction in level of control.
9.1 "

## GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

"What kind of thing, what will be blood?",
"What sort will blood be?"
"What kind [like this/what is it] / what / blood will be?" [blood for]
dī kwon dī dī cañ / se lī mûñ
dī kwōn dī dī cañ sē lī mûñ

| 9.2 tc'in | yaa'nii |
| :--- | ---: |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| say | they say |
| vt | vt |
| he said | they say |
| [VP | $]$ |

he said, they say. he enquired.
he said / they say.
tcin ya $n \overline{1}$
tc' ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{n}_{\mathrm{ya}} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}$

| 9.3 | shiish | tc'ghinsit |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| shiish | (ghin)..sit+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| yaa' nii $_{1}$ |  |  |
| ochre | pound up O | they say |
| na | vt | vt |
| ochre | he pounded it up | they say |
| [Obj] | [VP | $]$ |

He pounded up ochre, they say
He pounded up ochre.
Ochre (?) [chalk, soft rock] / he pounded up [he pound it up] / they say.
cīc / tcī gûn sût ya nī
cīc tc' gûn sût ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
9.4

| kwshiish-bang | too |
| :--- | :--- |
| kwshiish =bang |  |
| ochre =purposive enclitic | too |
| na water |  |
| for his ochre | na |
| $[$ PostP $]$ | water |
|  | $[O b j]$ |


| oohlang | ,$"$ | tc'in |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| oo-n-(ghin)..lan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| yo after O | say | they say |
| vt | vt | vt |
| you (pl.) go after | he said | they say |
| [VP] | $[V P$ | $]$ |

"Get some water for his ochre," he said, they say.
"Get water for the ochre," he said.
"For ochre [rock for] / water / get," / he said / they say.
kwe cīc bûñ / tō ō lûñ tcin ya nī
ku cīc bûñ tō $\bar{o}^{\bullet}$ lą̣̃ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 9.5 | noolhtiing |
| :--- | :--- |
| noo-(ghin)..Ihtiish/tiin+PERF.,3,+3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| yaa'nii $1_{1}$ |  |
| put animate O to limit | they say |
| vt | vt |
| he laid him down | they say |
| $[$ VP | $]$ |

## He laid him down, they say.

He laid him down.
He laid him down / they say.
nōL tīñ ya nī
nōL tiñ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 9.6 | too | kwnaas'isbiil' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| too | P-naa-(s)..bilh/biil'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. | yaa'nii |
| yaa'nii |  |  |
| water | sprinkle O around P | they say |
| na | vt | vt |
| water | he sprinkled it around him | they say |
| $[\mathrm{Obj}]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ | $]$ |

He sprinkled water around on him, they say.
He sprinkled him with water.
Water / he sprinkled around him [on him he spill] / they say.
tō kwī na sis bīl ya ni
tō ku na s'is bīl' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

```
9.7 uudaa'
    *daa'+3 Poss.
    tc'istciin'
yaa'nii
    (s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
make O
vt
he made it
[VP
```

yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ they say vt they say ]

## He made his mouth, they say.

He made his mouth,
His mouth / he made / they say.
ū da + tcīs tciñ ya nī
$\overline{\mathrm{u}} \mathrm{da}^{\varepsilon}$ tc' is tcin ya $\mathrm{n}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$

| 9.8 bintc | tc 'istciin' | yaa' nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| *intc+3 POSS. | (s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| nose | make O | they say |
| n ia | vt | vt |
| his nose | he made it | they say |
| [Obj] | [VP | ] |

He made his nose, they say.
his nose,
His nose / he made / they say.
bûntc / tcis tcin / ya nī
bûntc tc' is tcin ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 9.9 uunaa' | tc'istciin' | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| *naa ${ }_{1}+3$ poss. eye | (s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+PERF.,ЗANIM.,+ 3 ObJ. make O | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ they say |
| n ia | vt | vt |
| his eyes | he made it | they say |
| [Obj] | [VP | ] |
| naakaa naakaa |  |  |
| two |  |  |
| num |  |  |
| two |  |  |
| [NP] |  |  |

He made his eyes, they say, two of them.
and two eyes.
His eyes [eye] / he made / they say, / two.

## GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

```
ō na / tcis tcīn / ya nī / nûk ka
ō na }\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ tc' is tcin ya}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}n\overline{1
9.10 " danteeshaan-mang
    danteeshaan-mang
    what will it be?
    inter
    what will it be?
    [Sent]
"What will it be?"
"How will it be?"
"How will it be?"
dûn te ca mûn
dąn te ca mûñ
\begin{tabular}{lr}
9.11 tc'in & yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP & \(\quad]\)
\end{tabular}
he said, they say.
he said.
he said / they say.
tcin ya ni
tc'in ya }\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}n\overline{1
9.12 (" knai
knai
living person/being
na
living person
[Obj]
tc' in
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
say
vt
he said
[VP
```

"Make him a living person," he said, they say.

## GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

[alive man high word] make him ke naí ûL tcī tcin ya ni

Note This line is only in the notebook version. Bill notes that knai ("living person") is a "high word". (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.10). This is Naaghaichow asking Ch' eeneesh to bring life to the created being.


| 9.14 | uutcok' | naakaa' | tc 'istciin' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | *tcok' +3 POSS. | naakaa' | (s)..lhtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3ANIM., 3 OBJ. |
|  | testicles | two | make O |
|  | n ia | num | vt |
|  | his testicles | two | he made it |
|  | [Obj | ] | [VP |

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

## GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

## He made his two testicles, they say.

He made them.
His testicles [balls] / two / he made / they say. ō tcōk / nûk ka / tcis tcīn / ya nī $\bar{o}$ tcōk nąk ka ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' is tcin ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

```
9.15 " djee'kwilhch'ilh
    djee-(ghin)..lhch'ilh/ch'eelh+IMPF.,2sG.,3AREAL
    split O in two
    vt
    you (sg.) split it in two
    [VP]
```

"Split it in two!"
He took one of the legs, split it, and made woman of it.
"Split it!" [he keep making it]
tce kûL tcīl
dje ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ kû̀ tcûL
Note Where does Goddard's English translation regarding making a woman come from?
Is this Naaghaichow asking Ch'eeneesh to split the being in two to create both man and
woman from the same clay model?

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

he said, they say.
he said / they say.
tcin ya $\mathrm{n} \overline{1}$
tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}$
9.17 kaa
$\mathrm{kaa}^{1}$
all right/OK
interj
all right/OK
[Interj]
"Hurry up!"

GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

```
"Quickly!"
ka }\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon
9.18 tc'in yaa'nii
    ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
    say they say
    vt vt
    he said they say
    [VP
    ]
```

he said, they say.
he said / they say.
tcin yani
tc' ${ }^{\text {in }}$ ya $^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}$
9.19 beeniilhkee'ee

P-ee-(nin)..lhkeegh/kee'+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL. =yee
finish $P$
vt
I've finished it
[VP]
tc' in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
say
vt
they say
vt
he said they say
[VP
"I've finished," he said, they say.
"I have finished," he said, they say.
"I have finished," [I got through] / he said / they say.
be nīL ke tcin ya nī
be nīl ke ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ e tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n̄

| 10.1 aah | kaasyaa | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }}$ | diidak' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| aah | kaa-n-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | diidak' |
| cloud | come up from underground | they say | east |
| na | vi | vt | direct |
| cloud | came up/rose | they say | east |
| [Subj] | [VP | ] | [AdvP] |

## GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

## Clouds came up in the east, they say.

Clouds arose in the east.
Cloud / came up [come up] / they say / east.
a' / kûs ya / ya nī / dī dûk
$a^{\bullet}$ kas ya ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī dī dûk'


Fog came up from the water (from below) from the west, they say.
Fog came up in the west.
Fog / in the west [west] / came up / they say.
yīs tōt / dī siñ ûn / kai is tûn ya nī
yis tōt dī siñ ûñ tai yis tąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note The verb in the notebook version is kaayiistaan ("fog came up from below") versus the published version's taayiistaan ("fog came up from the water").

```
10.3 " kaa' , totbilh ," tc' in
    kaa'1 ti-(s)..tbilh/biil' +OPT.,3 ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
all right/OK
interj
all right/OK
[Interj]
```

ti-(s)..tbilh/biil' + OPT.,3 rain (v)
vi
let it rain
[VP]
tc'in ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
say
vt
he said
[VP

## yaa'nii

```
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
"OK, let it rain," he said, they say.
```


## GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

"Well, let it rain,
"Well, / let it rain," / he said / they say.
ka tō tī bûL tcin yani
$\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ tōt bûl tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 10.4 " | waanintc'ii' | ch | waanintc' ii waanintc' ii wind ( n ) na wind [Subj] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | waanintc' $\mathrm{ii}{ }_{1}$ | ch'-n-(s)-Ihyoolh+OPT.,3INDF. |  |
|  | wind (n) | blow (of wind) |  |
|  | na | vi |  |
|  | wind | let it blow |  |
|  | [Subj] | [VP] |  |
| tc'in |  | yaa'nii |  |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. |  | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }} 1$ |  |
| say |  | they say |  |
| vt |  | vt |  |
| he said |  | they say |  |
| [VP |  | ] |  |

"Let the wind blow," he said, they say.
let the wind blow," he said.
"Wind / let it blow," [let it be windy] / he said / they say.
wa nûn tcī tcin nōL yōL / (wa nûn tcī) tcin ya nī
wa nûn tcī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc'n nōl yōl tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note The notebook version repeats the noun at the end, probably as emphasis.
10.5 " yiidak' yaahbii' ndoo'-bang
yiidak' yaah+Loc. ndoo' ${ }_{1}$ =bang ${ }_{2}$
uphill sky not exist $=$ future predictive enclitic
direct na vs encl
uphill in the sky it will not exist
[AdvP] [PostP] [VP]
uuyaashtc waanintc'ii'-bang ," tc'in
uuyaashtc $_{1}$ waanintc'ii' ${ }_{1}=$ bang $_{2}$..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
small wind ( n ) = future predictive enclitic say
adj na encl vt
small wind will be he said
[AdvP] [VP] [VP

GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

## yaa'nii

yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

## ]

"There will not be any up in the sky, there will be light wind," he said, they say.
"Up in the sky there will be none, there will be only gentle winds.
"Up / in sky [sky in] / shall not be, [let it not be] / little / shall be wind," [let it blow] / he said / they say.
yī dûk / ya bī n̄ dō bûñ / ō yaj wa nûn tcī bûñ / tcin ya nī yī dûk' ya ${ }^{\circ} \overline{\mathrm{c}}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$ dō bûñ ō yacts wa nûn tcī bûñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}$


## GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

It rained.
It rained / they say.
te tī bīl ya nī
tet bīl' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

## 10.8 doo-koghiis'iin' yaa'nii <br> doo= (ghees)..lh'iin/'iin" '+PERF.,3,+ 3AREAL OBJ. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ <br> negative $=$ be able to see they say <br> neg vi vt <br> one/they could not see an area they say <br> [VP

They could not see, they say.
One could not see.
One could not see [you can hardly see it/it was dark/one ... anything / they say.
dō kō gīs sīñ yan̄̄
dō kō gīs iñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
Note cf. Hupa xo:wehs'e'n, "it is becoming visible, coming into view (e.g., the landscape at dawn)"

| 10.9 | yaah-bii' ing' | kowinsilh | yaa' nii | ghint'ee | shaa |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | yaah bii'ing' | ko-ghin..silh+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | ghint'ee | shaa $_{1}$ |
|  | sky inside | weather to become warm | they say | now | sun |
|  | na nsuffix | vs | vt | adv | na |
|  | in the sky | it became warm | they say | now | sun |
|  | [PostP] | [VP | ] | [AdvP] | [Subj] |

## kaanaash

kaa-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,3 =i
come up from below $=N R$
vi
encl
coming up
[VP]
It became warm in the sky now, they say, the sun coming up.
It was hot in the sky. The sun came up now.
Sky in [up sky] / it was hot [it is getting hot] / they say / now. / Sun / came up. [sun coming up]
ya bī ûñ kō wûn sûL ya nī gûn te ca ka nac ya ${ }^{\circ} \overline{1}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\hat{1}} \tilde{n}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ kō wûn sûl ya $a^{\varepsilon}$ nī gûn t'ē ca ka nac

## GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

```
10.10 " diishaang shaa-bang
diishaang shaa \(_{1}=\) bang \(_{2}\)
what? moon = future predictive enclitic
inter na encl
what? will be the sun
[NP] [VP]
```

"What will be the sun?"
"What will the sun be?"
"What / sun shall be?" [what will be ?]
dī cûn ca bûñ
dī cąn ca bûñ

| 10.11 | tc'in | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | say | they say |
|  | vt | vt |
|  | he said | they say |
|  | [VP | ] |

he said, they say. he said.
he said / they say. tcin yan
tc' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{n}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n} \overline{1}$
10.12 " kwong' shoo'ooleeh
kwong' shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ.
fire fix O
na vt
fire you (sg.) fix it
[Obj] [VP]

| sil-bang | tc' in | yaa' nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sil $=\mathrm{bang}_{1}$ | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| heat $=$ purposive enclitic | say | they say |
| na encl | vt | vt |
| for heat | he said | they say |
| [PostP] | [VP |  |

"Fix a fire for heat," he said, they say.
"Make a fire so it will be hot.
"Fire / fix / for heat," / he said / they say.

## GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

kōn ${ }^{n}$ cō ûl le sûl bûñ tcin ya nī kwōñ $\tilde{n}^{\varepsilon}$ cos $^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}$ le sûl bûn tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

10.13 " | naaghai | tl'ee' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | naaghai | tl'ee' |
|  | moon | night |
|  | na | adv |
|  | moon | night |
|  | $[$ Subj] | [AdvP] |



| tc'in | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |

say
vt
he said they say
[VP
"As for the moon, the moon will go around at night," he said, they say.
The moon will travel at night."
"Moon / night / shall go [travel for] / moon," / he said / they say.
na gai' / Lxe na gai bûn / na gai / tcin ya ni
na gai $\mathrm{Le}^{\varepsilon}$ na gai bûñ na gai tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 10.14 | istin |
| :---: | :--- |
| s..tin+PERF.,3 | naaghai |
| be cold | moon |
| vd | na |
| it is cold | moon |
| $[\mathrm{VP}]$ | $[$ Subj $]$ |

## The moon is cold.

The moon is cold.
Cold / moon. [travel]
ûs tûn na gai
ûs tûn na gai

## GT02 - Creation: Part 1 - Bill Ray

11 kwanlhaan
kwanlhaang
all/the end
interj
all/the end
[VP]

## That is all.

All. [that is enough]
kwûn Lûn
kwûn ląn
Note typical ending to a story, regardless of genre

## Creation: Part 2

Told by Bill Ray to Pliny Goddard in 1906 (and other times). Published as the main body of "II. Creation" in Goddard 1909 pp. 81-94, 185-191, with the original unpublished version (as story "XXIX") in Goddard NBVII, pp.13-63 and notes in Goddard NBV, pp.1-10.
Compare this text with The Creation, told by Gill Ray in English, in Essene (1935) field notes ( 50 CU 23.1, Book \#42, pp.1-20); Compare paragraph 15 with the Coast Yuki story Origin Tale (Gifford, 1937, pp.117).
Many of the episodes in the Cahto creation stories are included in this text: challenges between Naaghaichow and Ch'eeneesh, creation of the new sky, falling of the old sky, the deluge, the creation of land on Soft Deer, the development of the current Human world; the placing of animals, plants, salt; creation of the ocean and its movements; creation of fresh water sources; Naaghaichow and his Dog, etc. Some of these overlap with Creation: Part 1 above and The Placing of the Animals below.

```
1.1 naanaaghityaa yaa'nii
    naanaa-(ghin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 yaa'nii1
    sg come down
    vi
    he came back down
    [VP
```

He came back down, they say.
He came down.
He came down / they say.
na na gût ya ya ni
na na gût ya ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}$

djee'yolhtaalh-kwosh
djee-(ghin)..Ihtaalh/taal' + OPT.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwosh
kick O open
vt
= perhaps/guess
encl
perhaps he can kick it open
[VP]

GT02-Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
"Who can possibly kick open a rock?"
"Who, I wonder, can kick open a rock?"
"Who / stone / can kick open I wonder?"
dûn cōha / se / tce yōL tûL kwīc
dąn co \(^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {ha }}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) se dje \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) yō L tąL kwûc
\begin{tabular}{ll}
1.3 & tc' \(\mathbf{i n}\) \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP &
\end{tabular}
he said, they say.
he said.
he said / they say.
tcin / ya nī
tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{rll}
1.4 " & \begin{tabular}{l} 
daanshoo'-haa' \\
daanshoo'-haa'
\end{tabular} & chin \\
& ching
\end{tabular}
djee' ot' aas-kwosh ?"
djee-(ghin)..t'aas/t'aats' +OPT.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwosh
cut O in two = perhaps/guess
vt
encl
can perhaps cut it in two
[VP]
"Who can possibly split open a tree?"
"Who can split a tree?"
"Who / tree / can split open I wonder?"
dûn cō ha / tcûn / tce ō tû̂s kwīc
dąn co \(^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}\) tcûn dje \(^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}\) t'as kwûc
```

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| 1.5 | tc'in |
| :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| say | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| say | they say |
| vt | vt |
| he said | they say |
| [VP | $]$ |

he said, they say.
he said / they say.
tcin / ya nī
tc' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{n}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$


| yaa'nii Naaghaichow <br> yaa'nii  | Naaghaichow <br> they say |
| :--- | :--- |
| vt | Great Traveller (deity) |
| they say | na |
| $\quad]$ | Great Traveller |
|  | $[$ Subj] |

"Well, let me try it," said Naaghaichow, they say.
"Well, I will try," said Nagaitcho.
"Well, I will try," [let me try/I will try] / he said / they say, / Nagaitcō.
tca / bec ai' / tcin / ya nī / na gai tcō
$\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ bec $^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{aic}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{tc}^{\prime}$ in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī na gai tcō
Note The notebook (jaa') and published versions (kaa') use different, but similar interjections.

```
2.2 doohaa' chin djee'ghint'aats'
doohaa' ching djee-(ghin)..t'aas/t'aats'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 ObJ.
do not! tree cut O in two
neg na vt
do not! trees he cut it in two
[IP] [Obj] [VP
```

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 
they say
vt
they say
```

    ]
    He couldn't split the tree, they say.
He couldn't split the tree.
He didn't [he never/didn't] / tree / split [split it] / they say. dōha / tcûn / tce gûn tû̀ / ya nī dō ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tcûn dje $^{\varepsilon}$ gûn t'as ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

"Just who could possibly be the strongest?"
"Who, I wonder, is the strongest?"
"Who / stoutest I wonder?"

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

dan cō ha / Lûts kwīc
dan cō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ Lûts kwûc
3.3 tc' in
yaa'nii , Ch'eeneesh
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
say
vt
he said
[VP
yaa'nii ${ }_{1} \quad$ Ch'eeneesh
they say Thunder (deity)
$\mathrm{vt} \quad \mathrm{na}$
they say Thunder (deity)
[Subj]

Thunder said, they say.
said Thunder.
he said / they say, / Thunder.
tcin / ya ni / tce nec
tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī tc'e nec


GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 
they say
vt
they say
    ]
```

He couldn't kick open the tree, they say.
Didn't / tree / didn't kick open [didn't break/kick open] / they say. dō ha / tcûñ / dō ha tce gûl tal / ya ni dō ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' ${ }^{\prime}$ un dō ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ dje $^{\varepsilon}$ gûl tal' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī


| yaa'nii | Ch'eeneesh |
| :--- | :--- |
| yaa'nii $1_{1}$ | Ch'eeneesh |
| they say | Thunder (deity) |
| vt | na <br> they say |
|  | Thunder (deity) |

"Let me try it," Thunder said, they say.
"Well, I will try," said Thunder.
"I / will try," [I will try] / he said / they say, / Thunder.
cī / bec ai / tcin / ya ni / tce nec
cī bec ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī tc'e nec
4.2 see naaniilhtal' yaa'nii
see naa-(nin)..Ihtaalh/taal' + PERF. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
stone kick O
na vt they say
rock he kicked it they say
[Obj] [VP
vt
]

He kicked the rock, they say.
Thunder kicked the rock.
Rock / he kicked / they say.

$$
\text { GT02-Creation: Part } 2 \text { - Bill Ray }
$$

se / na niL tûl / ya nī
se na nil tąl' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$
4.3 see djee'ghiltal' yaa'nii
see djee..ghiltaal'+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
stone be kicked in two they say
na vp
rock was kicked in two they say
[Subj] [VP
]
The rock was kicked in two, they say.
He kicked it open.
Rock / he kicked open / they say.
se / dje/tce gûl tûl / ya nī
se dje ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ gûl tạl' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
4.4 see ghishtyiil' yaa'nii
see ghi-sh-t-yiil' + PROG.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
stone break O to pieces they say
na vt vt
rock it broke to pieces they say
[Subj] [VP
The rock broke to pieces, they say.
It broke to pieces.
Rock / broke to pieces / they say.
se / gûc te gīl / ya nī
se gûc tyīl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
4.5 see oontghish
see oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc' + IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ.
stone look at O
na vt
rock you (sg.) look.at it
[Obj] [VP]
"Look at the rock."
"Go look at the rock," he said.
"Rock / go look at."
se / ōn te gûc
se ōnt gûc

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
5 " see djee'iilhtaal'
    see djee-(ghin)..Ihtaalh/taal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
    stone kick O open
    na vt
    rock he kicks it open
    [Obj] [VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
```

say
vt
he said they say
[VP ]

```
"He kicked the rock open," he said, they say.
"He kicked the rock open," one reported.
"Rock / he kicked open," / he said / they say.
se / dje \(\overline{1} L\) tal / tcin / ya nī
se dje \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) iL tal' tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```



```
"OK, let me try a tree," he said, they say.
"Well, I will try a tree," he said.
"Well, [let/Well] / tree I will try," [tree I try] / he said / they say.
ka / tcûm / mec ai / tcin / ya ni
\(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}\) tcûm mec \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \(\mathrm{c}^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
```

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
6.2 chin djee'ghilhtaal' yaa'nii
    ching djee-(ghin)..Ihtaalh/taal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii
    tree kick O open they say
    na vt vt
    trees he kicked it open they say
    [Obj] [VP
    ]
```

He kicked the tree open, they say.
He kicked the tree open.
Tree / he kicked open / they say. tcûñ / dje gûl tal / ya ni
tcûn dje ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ gûL tal' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 6.3 | chin | ghishtyiil' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ching | ghi-sh-t-yiil'+PROG.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| yaa' nii $1_{1}$ |  |  |
| tree | break O to pieces | they say |
| na | vt | vt |
| tree | it broke to pieces | they say |
| $[$ Subj] | $[V P$ | $]$ |

The tree broke to pieces, they say.
The tree split to pieces.
Tree / split to pieces [split to pieces/crumb up] / they say. tcûñ / gûc te gīl / ya nī tcûn gûc tyīl ya ${ }^{\text {nī }}$

| 7.1 | Ch'eeneesh | Naaghai | how |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Ch'eeneesh | Naaghaic |  |
|  | Thunder (deity) | Great Tra | eller (deity) |
|  | na | na |  |
|  | Thunder (deity) | Great Trav | eller |
|  | Subj |  | ] |
|  | naaghityaa naa-(ghin)..daas | a+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii yaa nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | come down |  | they say |
| vi |  |  | $v$ |
|  | came back dow |  | they say |
| [VP |  |  | ] |

Thunder and Naaghaichow each came back down, they say.
Thunder and Nagaitcho came down.
Thunder, / Nagaitcoo [devil] / came down / they say.
tce nīc / na gai tcō / na na gût ya ya nī tc'e nec na gai tcō na na gût ya ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

| 7.2 " | dii | kw' it | Naaghaichow | too |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | dii | * k 'it++ 3 OBL. | Naaghaichow | too |
|  | this | on P | Great Traveller (deity) | water |
|  | dem | postp | na | na |
|  | this/here | on it | Great Traveller | water |
|  | [PostP | ] | [NP] | [PostP |
| kw' it |  | noodintalh |  |  |
| *k'it++ | 3 OBL. | noo-d-(ghin)..ta | lh/taal' +IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 |  |
| on P |  | step on limit |  |  |
| postp |  | vt |  |  |
| on it |  | you (sg.) step on |  |  |
|  | ] | [VP] |  |  |

"Step on this, on the water, Naaghaichow."
You step on the water," he told Nagaitcho.
"This / on [just like this] / Nagaitcoo / water on / you step." [will stand on it]
dī kwûn / na gai tcō tō kût / nō dûn tûL
dī k'wûn na gai tcō tō k'wût' nō dûn tąL
Note The translation in Goddard 1909 (p.186) puts this sentence after the next as, "'Who can stand on the water? You step on the water,' Thunder told Nagaitcho." The standing on water contest comes before the tree and rock splitting contests in the notebook version.

noodotalh-kwosh
noo-d-(ghin)..taalh/taal' + OPT.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =kwosh
stand up on
= perhaps/guess
vt
encl
may perhaps stand up on it
[VP]
"I wonder who might be able to stand on the water?"
"Who can stand on the water, I wonder?"
"Who / water / can stand on?"
dûn cō ha tō nō dō tûL kwīc
dan co $^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ha}^{\varepsilon}$ tō nō dō tą̨ kwûc

| $8.1{ }^{\prime \prime}$ | heu' | tc' in | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | heu' | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }}{ }_{1}$ |
|  | yes (affirmation) | say | they say |
|  | interj | vt | vt |
|  | yes | he said | they say |
|  | [Interj] | [VP | ] |

"Yes," he said, they say.
"Yes, I will," Nagaitcho said.
"Yes," / he said / they say.
he $\bar{u} t c i n /$ ya $\bar{n}$
he $\bar{u}^{\varepsilon}$ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 8.2 | Naaghaichow | too |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Naaghaichow | too | kw'it |
| * k it++ 3 OBL. |  |  |
| Great Traveller (deity) | water | on P |
| na | na | postp |
| Great Traveller | water | on it |
| [Subj] | $[$ PostP | $]$ |

noo'tghintaal' yaa'nii
noo-d-(ghin)..taalh/taal' + PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
step on limit
vt
he stepped on it they say
vt
they say
[VP
Naaghaichow stepped on the water, they say.
He stepped on the water
Nagaitcoo / water / on / stood [he stand on it] / [he said] / they say. na gai $\mathrm{tco} /$ tō gûn nō t gûn tûl tcin ya nī na gai tcō tō $\mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ wûn nō t gûn tąl' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 8.3 | kwinyeehtc'ghintaal' | yaa' nii | baantoo' -bi |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | kwinyeeh-(ghin)..taalh/taal' +PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa' ${ }^{\text {iii }} 1$ | baantoo' =bii |
|  | sink stepping | they say | ocean $=$ in it |
|  | vi | vt | na nsuffix |
|  | he sank stepping | they say | in the ocean |
|  | [VP | ] | [PostP] |

He sank, they say, into the ocean.
and sank into the ocean.
In it he sank [he sank] / they say, / ocean in.
kwûn ye tce gûn tal ya ni / ban to bī
kwûn ye tc' gûn tal' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon} \overline{b i}^{\varepsilon}$


Thunder said, "Let me try it," they say.
"I will try", said Thunder.
Thunder / "I / I will try," [let me try] he said / they say.
tce nīc / cī bī/ec ai tcin ya ni
tc'e nec cī bec ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ai}^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 9.2 Ch'eeneesh | too | kw'it |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ch'eeneesh | too | ${ }^{*} \mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ it++ 3 OBL. |
| Thunder (deity) | water | on P |
| na | na | postp |
| Thunder (deity) | water | on it |
| Subj | $[$ PostP | $]$ |

noo'tghintaal' yaa'nii
noo-d-(ghin)..taalh/taal' + PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
step on limit
vt they say
vt
he stepped on it they say
[VP
Thunder stepped on the water, they say.
He stepped on the water.
Thunder / water / on / he stepped [he stood] / they say.

$$
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 2 \text { - Bill Ray }
$$

tce nic / tō kût / nō te gûn tûl ya nī tc'e nec tō $\mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ wût' nō t gûn tąl' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

|  | kwkwee' | Ihaa'haa' | kwilh |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | *kee ${ }_{1}+3$ ANIM. POSS. | Ihaa'haa' | *ilh+ACCOMP., + 3ANIM. OBL. |  |
|  | foot | one | instrumental |  |
|  | n ia | num | postp |  |
|  | his foot | one | with him |  |
|  | [PostP |  | ] |  |
| noo'tghintaal' |  |  |  | yaa'nii |
| noo-d-(ghin)..taalh/taal'+PERF.,3ANIM., ${ }^{\text {a }} 3$ OBJ. |  |  |  | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| stand up on |  |  |  | they say |
| vt |  |  |  | vt |
| he stood up on it |  |  |  | they say |
| [VP |  |  |  |  |

He stood on it with one foot, they say.
He stood on it with one leg.
His foot [his leg] / one / with / he stood [he stand] / they say.
kū kwe La ha / kwûL nō te gûn tal ya nī
ku kwe ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ La ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ kwûl nō t gûn tal' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
9.4 " beeniilhkee'ee

P-ee-(nin)..Ihkeegh/kee'+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL. =yee
finish $P$
vt
I've finished it
[VP]

| kaa' | ,$"$ | tc'in |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kaa' ${ }_{1}$ | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'yii <br> all |
| all right/OK | say | they say |
| interj | vt | vt |
| all right/OK | he said | they say |
| [Interj] | [VP | ] |

"OK, I have finished," he said, they say.
"I have finished quickly," he said.
"I have finished, [I finish] / hurry," / he said / they say.
be nīL ke e / ka / tcin ya nī
be nīı ke ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{e}^{e} \mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}$

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
10.1 ghilhgheel'
    ghin..lhghilh/gheel'+TRTL.,PERF.,3
    become evening
    vd
    it became evening
    [VP
```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

It was evening, they say.
It was evening.
It was evening [it getting late] / they say. gûL gel ya nī gû́ gel' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 10.2 | teetbiil' | yaa' nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ti-(s)..tbilh/biil' +PERF., 3 | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }} 1$ |
|  | rain (v) | they say |
|  | vi | vt |
|  | it rained | they say |
|  | [VP | ] |

## It rained, they say.

It rained.
It rained [it is raining] / they say. tet bīl ya $\bar{n} \overline{1}$ tet bīl' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

| 10.3 teetbiil' | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| ti-(s)..tbilh/biil' +PERF.,3 | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| rain (v) | they say |
| vi | vt |
| it rained | they say |
| [VP | $]$ |

And it rained, they say.
It rained.
It rained [it is rainn] / they say. tet bīl ya $\bar{n} \overline{1}$
tet bīl' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}$

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray


It rains every day and every evening, they say, and every night.
Every day, every night it rained.
Every / day, / every / evening [night] / it rained [it rains] / they say. Every / night.
kwûn Lûn djiñ kwûn Lûn ûL gûl tût bûL ya nī kwûn Lûn $\mathrm{L}_{x} \mathrm{e}$
kwûn Ląn djiñ kwûn lan ûl gûl tût bûl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī kwûn $\operatorname{Laqn} L e^{\varepsilon}$

| danteeshaan-mang danteeshaan-mang ${ }_{1}$ what will it be? inter what will it be? [VP] |  | daa' onees daa'onees what will inter what will [VP] | 'ang ang ppen? <br> ppen? | shoo' <br> shoo ${ }_{1}$ <br> very <br> adv <br> very <br> [AdvP] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| titbilh | hai | kwanlhan | yiilhk |  |
| ti-(s)..tbilh/biil' + IMPF.,3 | hai $_{1}$ | kwanlhaang | yiilhka |  |
| rain (v) | there | that many | dawn/ | morning |
| vi | dem | adj | adv |  |
| it rained | there | that many | nights |  |
| [VP] | [AdvP] | [AdvP |  |  |
| yaa'n | yaa'nii yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |  |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIS |  |  |  |  |
| say | they say |  |  |  |
| vt |  |  |  |  |
| they said | they say |  |  |  |
| [VP |  | ] |  |  |

"Whatever will happen, what might happen if it rained very much there

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

## that many nights?" they said, they say.

"Whatever will happen, it rains every day" they said.
"What will be, / what will happen, [what will it do] / too much [good/too much] / it rains /
the / every morning," [that many times night] / he said [they say] / they say.
dûn te ca mûn da ō nec ûn cō tût bûL / hai kwûn Lun yī̀L kai yan ya nī
dąn te ca mûñ da ō nec ûñ cō tût bû́ hai kwûn ląn yī̀ kai ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya $\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$


## Fog, somehow the fog spread well near the ground, they say.

The fog spread out close to the ground.
Some way [what is that] / fog / well [good] / ground / close to / spread [fog spreat] / they say, / fog.
dī/tī cōñ yis tōt cōñk ne ō tcin / nō īn tûn yani yīs tōt
dī cōñ yis tōt cōñk ne ${ }^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}$ tc'ûñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nō in tąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n 1 yis tōt

## 10.7 aah tghingeetc' yaa'nii

aah t-(ghin)..gish/geetc' + PERF., 3 yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
cloud be thick (of clouds) they say
n a vd vt
cloud they/clouds were getting thick they say
[Subj] [VP
The clouds were getting thick, they say.
The clouds were thick.
Clouds / were thick [getting thick] / they say.
a / te gûn getc/gûts ya nī
$a^{e} t$ gûñ getc $y^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

GT02-Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| 10.8 | ghint'ee | naahneesh | kwong' | nghindoo' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ghint'ee | naahneesh | kwong' | n-ghin..doo'+TRTL.,PERF.,3 | yaa'nii |
| yoa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |  |  |
| now | person | fire | become not | they say |
| adv | na | na | vs | vt |
| now | person | fire | it disappeared | they say |
| [AdvP] | $[$ Subj |  | $]$ | $[V P$ |

Now the people's fire had ceased to exist, they say.
The people then had no fire.
Now / people [Indian] / fire / was not [gone out] / they say. gûn te / na nec / kōn gûn dō ya nī gûn t'ē na nec kwōñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n gûn dō $^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 10.9 | uuyaashtc | kwong' | sliing' | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | uuyaashtc $_{1}$ | kwong' | (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF., 3 | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | small | fire | become | they say |
|  | adj | n a | vs | vt |
|  | small | fire | became | they say |
|  | [AdjP] | [Subj] | [VP | ] |

The fire became small, they say.
The fire became small.
Little / fire / became / they say.
ū yajtc kōn slīñ yanī
$\bar{u}$ yacts kwōñ ${ }^{\varepsilon} \operatorname{slin}^{\varepsilon}$ ya $^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 10.10 shaahnaa'-taah | Inteemin' | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| shaahnaa'-taah | Ihtee-(n)..bin/bin'+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii |
| creeks | be full reciprocally | they say |
| na | vd | vt |
| creeks | were full reciprocally | they say |
| $[$ Subj $]$ | $[V P$ |  |

The creeks were full to merging, they say.
All the creeks were full.
Creeks [creek around] / were full [raised/filled up] / they say. ca na ta / L te mûn ya nī ca ${ }^{a}$ na $^{\varepsilon}$ ta ${ }^{a}$ L te mûn ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya $a^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

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```
10.11 too kwonteelh-bii'k' too Iheeghees'aa'
    too kwonteelh}\mp@subsup{1}{1}{+LOC. too lhee-(ghees)..'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3
    water valley water encircle
    na na na vt
    water in the valley water it encircled it
    [Subj] [VP] [Subj] [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say
]
```

The water was in the valleys, and the water encircled them, they say.
There was water in the valleys. The water encircled them.
Water / valley in [valley around] / water / encircled / they say.
tō kwûn teL bī̀k / tō Le ges a ya nì
tō kwûn tel $b_{i}{ }^{\wedge} \mathrm{k}$ ' tō Le ges ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}$ ya $\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}$
11 " kaa' kaa' ${ }_{1}$
all right/OK
interj
all right/OK
[Interj]
beeniilhkee'ee
P-ee-(nin)..lhkeegh/kee' +PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL. =yee
finish $P$
vt
I've finished it
[VP]

| tc' $\mathbf{i n}$ | yaa' $\mathbf{n i i}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| say | they say |
| vt | vt |
| he said | they say |
| [VP | $\quad]$ |

"OK, I have finished it," he said, they say

## GT02-Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

"Well, I have finished," he said.
"Well, [hurry] / I finish," [I finish it] / he said / they say.
ka be niL ke e tciñ ya ni
$\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ be nīl $\mathrm{ke}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{e}^{e}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}$

| 12 Naaghaichow | ,$\quad "$ | heu' | ,$"$ tc'in |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Naaghaichow |  | heu' | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. |
| Great Traveller (deity) |  | yes (affirmation) | say |
| na | interj | vt |  |
| Great Traveller | yes | he said |  |
| [Subj] | [Interj] | $[$ [VP |  |

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

Naaghaichow said, "Yes," they say.
"Yes," Nagaitcho said.
Nagaitcoo / "Yes," / he said / they say. nagai tcō / he ū tcin ya nī na gai tcō he $\bar{u}^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$


GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say they say
vt
he said they say
[VP ]
"OK, you must jump up, you must jump up onto another sky," he said, they
say.
"Come, jump up. You must jump up to another sky," he said.
"Well, [come] / you must jump up, [jump up for] / another / sky on / you must jump to," /
he said / they say.
ka yaL dac bûñ / La ya kûk nōL dûc bûñ / tcin ya nī
ka}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ yal dac bûñ la}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ ya` k'wût' nōl dąc bûñ tc'in ya nī
13.2 \begin{tabular}{ll} 
shii Ihaa' \\
shii & Ihaa'
\end{tabular}
1sg indep another one
pron pron
I/me another
[Subj] [Obj]
kwashleeh-jaa'
P-aa-(0)..leegh/laagh}\mp@subsup{}{2}{+}+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. =jaa'
do P = volitive/optative
vi
encl
let me do thus
[VP
kwashneeh-jaa'
P-aa-(0)..leegh/laagh2+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. =jaa'
```

do $P$
vi
let me do thus
= volitive/optative
encl
]

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

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

"Me, too, let me do that," he said, they say.
"I, too, will do that," he said.
"I [me] / too / I will do that," [I will do] / he said / they say.
cì La kwûc ne tca tcin ya nī
cī $\mathrm{La}^{\varepsilon}$ kwûc le dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in yan ${ }^{\varepsilon} \overline{1}$
Note Two different forms of the verb are given: in the notebook kwashneeh-jaa' and the published version kwashleeh-jaa', with almost the same meaning


## GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

"At night when every kind is sleeping we will do it," he said, they say.
"At night when every kind of thing is asleep we will do it," he said.
"Night [night in when] / every / kind [everything] / when sleeps [sleeps when] / we will do it," [we will fix it] / he said / they say.
gûL gel ûñ ha / Lan ta kī / n tes laL de / a dûl le kya tcin ya ni


| 14.1 kwanIhan | titbilh |  | yaa' nii , k | wanlhang |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kwanlhaang | ti-(s)..tbilh | MPF.,3 | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | kwanlhaang |
| every/all | rain (v) |  | they say | every/all |
| adj | vi |  | vt a | adj |
| every/all | it rained |  | they say e | every/all |
| [AdvP] | [VP |  | ] [ | [AdvP |
| yiilhkai | kwanlhang | djiing | kwanlhang | tl'ee' |
| yiilhkai | kwanlhaang | djiing | kwanlhaang | tl'ee |
| dawn/morning | every/all | day | every/all | night |
| adv | adj | na | adj | na |
| dawn/morning | every/all | day | every/all | night |
| ] | [AdvP | ] | [AdvP |  |

It rained all the time, they say, every monrning, every day, every night.
Every day it rained, every night it rained.
Every / it rained [rains] / they say, / every / morning, [every day] / every / day, / every / night.
kwûn Lûn tût bûL ya nī kwûn Lûn yīL kai / kwûn Lûn djiñ / kwûn Lûn ${\underset{x}{x}}^{\text {e }}+$ kwûn Ląn tût bûl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī kwûn ląñ yī̀ kai kwûn ląñ djiñ kwûn Ląñ Le ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ Note Bill noted kwanlhang yiilhkai ("every day") as a "high word". (Goddard NBVIIstories 28-33, p.19) Yiilhkai basically means "early morning", but is used as the counting word for 24 -hour periods, as in English one would say "four days", in Cahto it would be "four early mornings".

| 14.2 | Iheenee'haa' | naahneesh | nteeslaalh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lheenee'haa' | naahneesh | n-ti-(s)..laalh+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii |
| yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |  |
| everyone | person | be asleep | they say |
| pron | na | vd | vt |
| everyone | person | is asleep | they say |
| $[$ Subj |  | $[V P$ | $]$ |

All the people went to sleep, they say.
All the people slept.
All / people / went to sleep / they say.
Le ne ha na nej $\underline{n}$ tes LaLya nī

Le ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ha $^{\varepsilon}$ na nec $n$ tes lal ya $a^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n}$

| 14.3 naach'ingkat' | yaa'nii | yaah |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| naa-ch'-(nin)..kat/kat'+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii $_{1}$ | yaah |
| drop down (as sky) | they say | sky |
| vi | vt | na |
| it fell down | they say | sky |
| [VP | $]$ | $[$ Subj $]$ |

The sky, it fell down, they say.
The sky fell.
It fell [dropped down] / they say, / sky. na tcûñ kût ya ni / ya na tc' ûn kût ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ya ${ }^{e}$


There was no land, they say.
The land was not.
Land [world] / was not [is not] / they say. ne $\underline{n}$ dō ya ni
$n e^{\varepsilon} n$ dō $^{\varepsilon}$ ya $^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}$

| 14.5 | neesding | nee' | ndoo' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| neesding | nee' | ndoo' ${ }_{1}$ | yaa'nii |
| far | land | not exist | they say |
| adv | na | vs | vt |
| far/high | land | not exist | they say |
| [AdvP] | [Subj] | $[V P$ | $]$ |

## Far away there was no land, they say

For a very great distance there was no land.
Far [long ways] / land / was not [no world/ground] / they say.
nes dûñ ne ñ dō ya nī
nes dûñ ne ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$ dō $\overline{\mathrm{y}}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}$

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| 14.6 too | shang | lheeng' ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ' | yaa' nii | baantoo' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| too | shaang $_{2}$ | Ihee-(nin)..' ${ }^{\text {aa+PERF.,3 }}$ | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | baantoo' |
| water | only | meet/merge | they say | ocean |
| na | adv | vi | vt | na |
| water | only | met/merged | they say | ocean |
| [Subj] | [AdvP] | [VP | ] | [NP |
| Iheedoong'too ). lheedoong'-too |  |  |  |  |
| salt water |  |  |  |  |
| na |  |  |  |  |
| salt water |  |  |  |  |
|  | ] |  |  |  |

The ocean waters (salt water) just met, they say.
The waters of the oceans came together.
Water / only / met / they say, / ocean.
tō cûñ Len a ya ni / ban tō (Le dōñ tō)
tō cąñ Leñ ${ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$
Note The parenthetical lheedong'-too ("salt water") is only found in the notebook version.

| 14.7Iheenee'haa' noonii teelaat <br> Iheenee'haa' noonii teelaat =i | yaa'nii |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| every/all | grizzly bear | drown =NR |

All the grizzlies drowned, they say.
All / grizzlies / drowned [drown] / they say.
Le ne ha nō nī / te lai / ya nī Le ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ha $^{\varepsilon}$ nō $n \overline{\text { in }}$ te lat ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note The Goddard 1909 translation doesn't go through the various animals.

| 14.8 jeeschow | Iheenee'haa' | teelaat | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jeeschow | lheenee'haa' | ti-(s)..laat+PERF. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| elk | every/all | drown | they say |
| na | pro-form | vi | vt |
| elk | all | it drowned | they say |
| $[$ Subj |  | $[V P$ | $]$ |

All the elk drowned, they say.

Elks / all / drowned / they say. ges tcō / Le ne ha / te lai / ya ni ges tcō le ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ te lat ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 14.9 | bitchow | Iheenee'haa' | teelaat | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | bitchow | Iheenee'haa' | ti-(s)..laat+PERF. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | mountain lion | every/all | drown | they say |
|  | na | pro-form | vi |  |
|  | mountain lion | all | it drowned | they say |
|  | [Subj | ] | [VP |  |

## All the mountain lions drowned, they say.

Panther / all / drowned / they say.
bût tcō / Le ne ha / te lai / ya nī bût tcō Le ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ te lat ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 14.10 | bittc | Iheenee'haa' | teelaat | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | bittc | Iheenee'haa' | ti-(s)..laat+PERF. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | bobcat | every/all | drown | they say |
|  | na | pro-form | vi | vt |
|  | bobcat | all | it drowned | they say |
|  | [Subj | ] | [VP |  |

All the bobcats drowned, they say.

Wildcats / all / drowned / they say. bûts / Le ne ha / te lai / ya nī bûts Le $^{n e^{\varepsilon}}$ ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ te lat ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n^{\overline{1}}$

| 14.11 | iintc 'ee' | Iheenee'haa' | teelaat | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | iintc'ee' | Iheenee'haa' | ti-(s)..laat+PERF. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | deer | every/all | drown | they say |
|  | na | pro-form | vi | vt |
|  | deer | all | it drowned | they say |
|  | [Subj | ] | [VP | ] |

## All the deer drowned, they say.

Deer / all / drowned / they say.
in tce / Le ne ha / te lai / ya ni
in tce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ Le ne $^{\varepsilon}$ ha $^{\varepsilon}$ [te lat] ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n \overline{1}}$

$$
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 2 \text { - Bill Ray }
$$

| 14.12 | Ihaan Intaahkii teelaat | yaa' nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ihaan Ihtaahkii | ti-(s)..laat+PERF. | yaa' ${ }^{2} i_{1}$ |
| every kind | drown | they say |
| pro-form | vi | vt |
| every kind | it drowned | they say |
| $[$ Subj $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ | $]$ |

All of every kind drowned, they say.
Animals of all kinds drowned.
All [lots] / every kind [all kinds] / drowned / they say.
Lan / Lta kī / te lai / ya ni
Lan $L$ ta ${ }^{\circ}$ kī te lat ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 14.13 | too | teesyaa-hit |  | chin | ndoo' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | yaa'nii

When the water came along there were no trees, they say.
Where the water went there were no trees.
Water / when it went [come when] / trees / were not [was not] / they say.
tō tes ya hût / tcûn dō ya nī
tō tes ya hût tcûn dō ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
14.14 nee' ndoo' yaa'nii
nee' ndoo' $_{1}$ yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
land not exist they say
na 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 $\underline{n}$ dō ya nī
ne ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$ dō ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}$

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| 15.1 |  | sliing' | yaa' nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | naahneesh | (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | person | become | they say |
|  | na | vs | vt |
|  | person | became | they say |
|  | [Subj] | [VP |  |

They became people, they say
People became.
People / became / they say. na nej / slin ya ni na nec sliñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$


Seal, sea-lion, and grizzly built a dance-house, they say, (at Kaatiniibii', Rockport).
Seal, sea-lion, and grizzly built a dance-house.
Seal, / sea-lion, / grizzly / dance-house / built / they say. bōtc t gīts / nō nī / yī tcō / gûl yī ya ni ka tin nī bī bōtc t yīts nō nī yī tcō gûl yī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya $a^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note Kaatiniibii' (Rockport) is named in this line in the notebook version, and in the related Coast Yuki story, Origin Tale.
15.3 shoo' yook' nee'k'aa yaa'ntei shoo' ${ }_{1}$ yook' nee'k'aa (nin)..tee+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST. =i

| in vain | way far | over the world | look | $=$ NR |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| adv | adv | adv | vi | encl |

in vain way far over the world they looked
[AdvP] [AdvP ] [VP

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 
they say
vt
they say
```


## ]

They looked all over the world in vain, they say.
They looked for a place in vain.
In vain / way / world over / they looked / they say. [they looked for place to build it] cō / yō ki ne ka ya n tē $\overline{1}$
cō yōk ne ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$ tē ya $\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}$ nī


| nee' | nshoong | Kaatiniibii' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nee' | -nshoong | Kaatineebii'+DIAL. VAR. OF |
| land | good (adjectival) | Rockport |
| na | nsuffix | na |
| land | good | Rockport |
| [ AdvCl |  |  |
| ghilsan |  | yaa' nii |
| ..ghils | an+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| find O | O be found | they say |
| vp |  | vt |
| it was | found | they say |

They built it there, they say, (at the coast) when good land was found at
Kaatiniibii' (Rockport), they say.
At Usal they built it for there the ground was good.
There / they built it [they build it] / they say. Ground / good / Usal / it was found [they find when] / they say.
hai gûl yī ya nī ne ṇ cōñ
hai gûl yī $\overline{i ́}^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \bar{~} n e^{\varepsilon} n$ cōñ ka tin nī $\overline{\mathrm{c}}^{\varepsilon}$ gûl sąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
Note The place name Kaatiniibii' refers to Rockport/Cottaneva Creek mouth area, not

## GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

Usal, as it is translated in the notebook and published version.
Note There is a rock with a cave at the Rockport Rocks called "Ukoshepen" (lit. "Ocean Assembly House"), "Hepenhehen" (lit. "Assembly House Underneath"), and "rock-sweathouse" in Coast Yuki, presumably refering to the same place and also figures in the Coast Yuki Creation story (Gifford 1939, p.296; Gifford 1937, p.117).
Note The notebook version includes the word baaghang ("coast"), and lacks the final clause Kaatiniibii' ghilsan yaa' 'nii.


When it was found, there came to be many sea-lions there, they say.
There are many sea-lions there.
It was found because [they find when] / there / are many [(that is why of lots of people there)] / they say, / sea-lions.
gûl sa nīt hai gûn Lûn ya ni t gīts [ NB V: gul sa nit t yìts]
gûl sa nīt hai gûn ląn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n i ̄ t y i ̄ t s$


GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| 15.7 | teehlaang | hai-hiit' | Ihk'aagh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| teehlaang | haihiit | ..lhk'aagh+IMPF.,3 | kw'aah |
| wh'aah |  |  |  |
| whale | because of that | be fat | fat |
| na | conj | vd | na |
| whale | because of that | is fat | fat |
| [AdvP | $\quad]$ | $[V P]$ | $[$ Subj] |

nchaagh
n..chaagh+PERF.,3
be large
vd
it is much
[VP]
Because of that whale they're fat, with much fat.
That is why women are so fat.
Whale / that is why / is fat [fat; NB V: is fat] / fat [hair; NB V: fat] / much. [lots] te lañ / haī hit L kag / kwa ṇ tcag [NB V: L ka' kwa'] te lañ hai hīt' Lk'ag k'wa' n tcag
Note Still known in the community that women are derived from whales and that is why women are fat, as mentioned unprompted by GS, 8/4/2019.

| 16.1 | noonii | ndoo' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| noonii | ndoo' $_{1}$ | yaa'nii |
| yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |
| grizzly bear | not exist | they say |
| n a | vs | vt |
| grizzly bear | not exist | they say |
| [Subj] | [VP | $]$ |

There were no grizzlies, they say.
There were no grizzlies.
Grizzlies / were not [was not] / they say. nō nī / n $\underline{\text { n }}$ dō / yan̄̄
nō $\mathrm{nī} \mathrm{n}$ dō ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}$

| 16.2 | Ihooyaashtc | tc' indin-naakaishtc | toonai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | lhoo'yaashtc | tc' indin-naakaashtc+UNSPEC. VAR. OF | toonai |
|  | sucker | Western skink | fish |
|  | na | na | na |
|  | (as) sucker | Western skink | fish |
|  | [AdvP] | [Subj] | [AdvCl |

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$$

| ndoo' ${ }^{\prime}$ hit | taalghal' | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ndoo' ${ }_{1}=$ hit | taa..ghilghaal'+PERF.,3,+3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| not exist $=$ when | be thrown into water (stick-like/animate O) | they say |
| vs | encl | vp |

when it did not exist was thrown into water (stick-like/animate O) they say
$\square$

## Skink, when there were no fish, was thrown into the water as sucker, they

## say.

There were no fish. Blue lizard was thrown into the water and became sucker
Suckers [NB V: surf fish] / blue lizards [big blue lizzards; NB V: blue lizard] / fish / were not when [was when] / were thrown [they throw in water]
Lō yajtc / sûn dûn na kajts / tōnai $\underline{n}$ dō hût talgûl ya nī [NB V: tcûn dûn na kaicts Lō yacts]
Lō yacts ts' ûn dûn na kaicts tō nai $n$ dō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ hût tal gąl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note " 216 In each case there is a superficial resemblance between the land animal and the water animal into which it is transformed. Many of these were pointed out. They are not mentioned in the myth, probably because an Indian audience is supposed to have them in mind." (Goddard 1909, p.186)


Fish / when were not [was not when] / "What [let this] / fish will be?" [be fish] tō nai nِ dō hût / dī cûñ tō nai bûñ [NB V: dī c+ûñ tō nai+ bûñ] tō nai $n$ dō ${ }^{\text {h }}$ hût dī cąn tō nai bûñ
16.4 ch'see'chow taalghaal' ..... yaa'nii
ch'see'chow taa..ghilghaal' + PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. ..... yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
bullsnake b be thrown into water (stick-like/animate O ) ..... they say

na vp
bullsnake it was thrown into water ..... vt
[Subj] [VP ..... they say
Bull-snake was thrown into the water, they say.
Bull-snake was thrown into the water
Bull-snake / was thrown in water / they say.
 tcici ${ }^{\bar{c}} \mathrm{se}^{\varepsilon}$ tcō tal gąl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

| 16.5 | too-bii' | gees | sliing' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| too+LOC. | gees | (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii |
| yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |  |

## In the water it became black salmon, they say.

and became Chinook salmon, they say.
In water / black salmon [NB V: (? come in winter] / became / they say. tō $\overline{\mathrm{i}}$ / ges / s liñ / ya nī [NB V: tō bī ${ }^{+\varepsilon}$ ges]
tō $\overline{\mathrm{a}}^{\varepsilon}$ ges sliñ $\tilde{n}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}$

| 16.6 | dilaantc | taalghaal' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dilaantc | taa..ghilghaal'+PERF.,3,+3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| salamander | be thrown into water (stick-like/animate O) | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| na | they say |  |
| nalamander | it was thrown into water | vt |
| [Subj] | $[$ VP | they say |

Salamander was thrown into the water, they say
Salamander was thrown into the water
Salamanders / were thrown in water / they say.
dûl lants / tal gûl / ya ni [NB V: dûl lańts]
dûl lants tal gąl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 16.7 | too-bii' | daatcaahaal | sliing' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| too+LOC. | daatcaahaal | (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii |
| yaa' nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |  |

## In the water it became coho salmon, they say.

 and became hook-bill salmon.Water in / hook-bill / became / they say.
tō $\overline{\mathrm{b}}$ / da tca hal sliñ / ya nī [NB V: da tca ${ }^{\varepsilon}+$ hû́l]
tō $\overline{\mathrm{i}}^{\bar{\varepsilon}}$ da tca ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ hal sliñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya $^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note "that makes the strips up side." (Goddard NBV, p.2)

## 16.8 naalhshoottc

naalhshoottc
common garter snake na
common garter snake [Subj]

## taalghaal'

taa..ghilghaal' + PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
be thrown into water (stick-like/animate O)
vp
it was thrown into water
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

Garter snake was thrown into the water, they say.
Grass-snake was thrown into the water
Grass-snake / was thrown in water / they say. na tcōtc / tal gûl / ya nī nal cōtc tal gąl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note In the notes this was rattlesnake, lh'ghish, see note to next line.


In the water it became steelhead, they say.

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and became steel-head salmon.
Water in / steel-head [spring salmon] / became / they say.
tō bī Lōk s līñ / ya nī [NB V: Lōk]
tō $\overline{1 r}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ Lōk' sliñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note "Le+ gûc rattlesnake make Lōk. Make white mouth" (Goddard NBV, p.3)

| 16.10 | saljiitc | taalghaal' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| saljiitc | taa..ghilghaal'+PERF.,3,+3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| fence lizard | be thrown into water (stick-like/animate O) | yaa'nii |
| na | vp | they say |
| fence lizard | it was thrown into water | they say |
| $[$ Subj $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ |  |

Lizard was thrown into the water, they say.
Lizard was thrown into the water
Lizard [lizzard] / was thrown in water / they say.
sûl gì̀ts tal gûl / ya nī [NB V: sûl gìts]
sąl gīts tal gąl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
16.11 too-bii' Ihoo'yaashgaitc bang

| too + LOC. | lhoo'yaashgaitc | $=\mathrm{bang}_{2}$ <br> water |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| trout | future predictive enclitic |  |
| na | na | encl |
| in water | trout | future predictive enclitic |
| [PostP] | $[$ [Obj] | [IP] |

In the water it will be trout, they say. and became trout.
Water in / trout / shall be.
tō bī / Lō yaj kaītc / bûñ [NB V: Lō yac kaits]
tō $\mathrm{bĩ}^{\varepsilon}$ Lō yac gaitc bûñ
Note "make big mouth." (Goddard NBV, p.3)
17.1 Lhoo'yaashtc tc'tceeh yaa'nii Ihoo'yaashtc (ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii $1_{1}$ trout cry they say
na
trout he cries
they say
[Subj]
[VP

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

## kwkwaak'ee' -bang

*kaak'ee' +3 ANIM. POSS. $=b^{2} \operatorname{bang}_{2}$
net $\quad=$ future predictive enclitic
n ia encl
for his net
[PostP]
Trout cried, they say, for his net.
Trout cried for his net.
Trout / cried / they say, / his net for.
Lō yajtc sit tce ya ni / kū ka ke / bûñ [NB V: $\breve{k} \bar{u}$ k̄wa ḳe]
Lō yactc tc' tce ${ }^{〔}$ ya $^{\varepsilon}$ nī ku ka k' ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ bûñ

| 17.2 ' | shkaak'ee' | tc'in | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | *kaak'ee'+1sG. Poss. OF | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }} 1$ |
|  | net | say | they say |
|  | $n$ ia | vt | vt |
|  | my net | he said | they say |
|  | [ NP ] | [VP |  |

"My net," he said, they say.
"ckak'e, ckak'e (my net, my net)" he said.
"My net!" / he said / they say.
$\overline{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{c}$ ka ke tcin ya nī [NB V: c ka ḳe+]
c ka k'e tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 17.3 | Ihaan | Ihtaahkii | shoo' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Ihaan | Ihtaahkii | shoo' ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | many | different kinds | in vain |
|  | <Not Sure> | pron | adv |
|  | many | different kinds | in vain |
|  | [Obj | ] | [AdvP] |

```
kwaayaa'aash-iit
P-ghaa-(nin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.,DIST.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. =hit+VAR. OF
give solid O to P = when
vt
```

= when
encl
they give solid O to him
[VP

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```
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 
they say
vt
they say
```


## ]

They gave him every kind of thing in vain, they say.
They offered him every kind of thing in vain. It was "my net" he said when he cried.
Many / every kind / in vain / they gave him [because] [they give him] / they say.
Lan L ta kī / cū kwa a cit ya nī [NB V: cōk $k^{w} w a y a^{\text {eacitit] }}$
Lan l ta ${ }^{\circ}$ kī cū kwa ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\text {cit ya }}{ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n} \overline{1}$
Note The words shkaak' ee' ("my net") and shkaangk' ee' ("my ribs") are very similar, so "Old man think that is what he meant and he feel there. No. Then he measure him and make net \& fit him." (Goddard NBV, p.3)

## 17.4 ch'kaak' ghilhtciin'-kwaan

ch'kaak' (ghees)..lhtcii/tciin' + PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
net (dipnet) make =inferred evid.
na vt
vencl
net they had made
[Obj] [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]

## They made a net, they say.

They made a net
Net / he had made [he cry for net] / they say.
tcī kak ûL tcīn kwûn ya ni
tc' kak' gû́ tcin kwan ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$
17.5 ch'kaak' ghilhtl' oon-it
ch'kaak'
(ghin)..Ihtl'oo/tl'oon+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =hit+VAR. OF
net (dipnet)
na
weave O
net when he wove it vt
= when
[AdvCl ]

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```
bii'nookowiltiin
bii'-noo-(ghin)..Itish/tiin+PERF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.
put animate O in P
vt
they put him in it
[VP
bii'nooghiltiin ) yaa'nii
bii'-noo-(ghin)..Itish/tiin+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. yaa'nii
put animate O in P
vt
they put it in it they say
```

When they wove the net they put him in it, they say.
and put him into it.
Net / when he wove [they wove] / he put him in [in they put him] / they say. tcī kak gûL ō nit / bī nō gûl tin / ya nī [NB V: gûL Ľxōn nit bī nō kú wûl/gûl tin] tc' kak' gûL Lō nit bī $\bar{c}^{\varepsilon}$ nō gûl tin ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$ Note The notes give "bī nō kū wûl/gûl tin", that is bii' nookowiltiin, with the more animate 3 rd person object kw-/ko-, consistent with other pronouns referencing him. Though both the notebook and published version have the less animate 3rd person object for bii' nooghiltiin, the form in the notes is the most appropriate.

```
17.6 tc'deengheel'
    d-ghin..gheel'+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii
    stop crying they say
    vs vt
    he stopped crying they say
    [VP ]
```


## He stopped crying, they say.

He stopped crying.
He stopped crying / they say.
tcit deñ il ya nī [NB V: tcit deñ ñel ya nī]
tc't deñ ñel' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

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17.7 taakwwilghaal' yaa'nii
taa..ghilghaal' + PERF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { be thrown into water (stick-like/animate O) } & \text { they say } \\ \text { vp } & \text { vt } \\ \text { he was thrown into water } & \text { they say }\end{array}$
[VP
]

He was thrown in the water, they say.
They threw the net and trout into the water.
He was thrown in water [they throw in net and all] / they say. ta kū gûl gûl ya nī [NB V: ta k ${ }^{w} \bar{u}$ wûl gûl ya $\left.+n \overline{1}\right]$
ta ku wûl gąl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 17.8 | hootaa | Ihooyaashtc |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hootaa | s'isliing' |  |
| then [subsequently] | trout | become |
| adv | na | vs |
| and then | trout/sucker | he became |
| [AdvP] | $[$ Obj] | [VP |

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

## ]

Then he became trout, they say.
He became trout.
Then / trout [suckers]/ he became / they say.
hō dxa / Lō yajtc sûs liñ ya nī [NB V: sûs sliñ $\left.{ }^{〔}\right]$
hō ta Lō yactc s'ûs liñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī


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```
too-bii' ?"
too+LOc.
water
na
in water
[PostP]
"What will grow in the water?"
"What will grow in the water?"
"What / will grow [will] / water in?" [ocean in]
dī cûñ kûl a bûñ tō bī [NB V: kûl a bûñ]
dī cąn kal }\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mp@subsup{a}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ bûñ tō bī
\begin{tabular}{lr}
18.2 tc'in & yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP & \(]\)
\end{tabular}
```

he said, they say. he asked.
he said / they say.
tcin ya $\mathrm{n} \overline{1}$
tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 18.3 laat | kaal'aa' | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }}$ | too-bii' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| laat | kaa-(ghin).I' ${ }^{\text {aa/'aa' }+ \text { IMPF., } 3}$ | yaa' ${ }^{\text {iii }} 1$ | too+LOC. |
| edible seaweed | grow up from below | they say | water |
| na | vi | vt | na |
| seaweed | grows up | they say | in water |
| [Subj] | [VP | ] | [PostP] |
| baantoo baantoo' |  |  |  |
| ocean |  |  |  |
| na |  |  |  |
| ocean |  |  |  |
| [AdvP] |  |  |  |

Seaweed grew in the water, they say, in the ocean.
Seaweeds grew in the water.
Sea-weed / grew [grow in] / they say, / water in, / ocean.
lût ka la ya nī tō bī / ban tō
lat ka l'a $\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}$ ya $\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}$ tō $\overline{\mathrm{c}}^{\varepsilon}$ ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

| 18.4 | yoo'tc'il'iing | kaal'aa' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yoo'tc'il'iing | kaa-(ghin).I'aa/'aa' + IMPF.,3 3 | yaa'nii |
| abaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |
| na | grow up from below | they say |
| abalone | vi | vt |
| $[$ Subj] | [VP | they say |
|  |  |  |

## Abalones grow, they say.

Abalones
Abalones / grew / they say.
yō tcil iñ / ka la / ya nī [NB V: yō+ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tcûl iñ́]


```
18.5 baanchow kaal'aa' yaa'nii
    baanchow }
    blue mussels grow up from below they say
    na
    mussels
                            grows up
    [Subj] [VP
baantoo'-bii'
baantoo' =bii'
ocean = in it
na nsuffix
in the ocean
[PostP]
In the ocean mussels grow, they say.
and mussels grew in the water.
Mussels / grew / they say, / ocean in.
ban tcō / ka la ya ni / ban tō bī [NB V: ban tcō]
ban tcō ka l'a \(a^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī ban tō \({ }^{\varepsilon} \overline{b i s}^{\varepsilon}\)
```


## kaal' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$

```
kaa-(ghin)..I' aa/' aa ' + IMPF., 3
grow up from below vi
grows up
[VP
```

```
18.6 teehkislee' too-yeeh
```

18.6 teehkislee' too-yeeh
teehkislee' too *P-yeeh+DIAL. VAR. OF
teehkislee' too *P-yeeh+DIAL. VAR. OF
bull kelp water under P
bull kelp water under P
na na postp
na na postp
bull kelp under water
bull kelp under water
[Subj] [PostP]

```
    [Subj] [PostP]
```

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 
they say
vt
they say
```

    ]
    Bull kelp grows under the water, they say.

Two kinds of kelp grew in the ocean.
Kelp / water under / grew / they say.
te kûs le tō ye / ka la / ya nī [NB V: tō ye' te kûs le+]
te kûs le ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tō ye ka l'a ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya $^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 18.7 silsiskwt'iing silsiskwt'iing feather boa kelp na feather boa kelp [Subj] | kaal' $a^{\prime}$ <br> kaa-(ghin)..I'aa/' $a a^{\prime}+$ IMPF., 3 <br> grow up from below vi <br> grows up <br> [VP | yaa'nii yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ they say vt they say |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| baantoo' -bii' <br> baantoo' =bii' <br> ocean $=$ in it <br> na nsuffix <br> in the ocean <br> [PostP] |  |  |
| In the ocean feather | a kelp grows, they say. |  |

(A kelp) [little kelp tassels on it; NB V: short kelp. eat] / grew / they say, / ocean in. sûl sûs kū tīñ / ka la / yanī / ban tō bī [NB V: sûl sûs kwtíñ] sûl sûs ku t'iñ ka l'a ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon} \overline{b i}^{\varepsilon}$
Note Another species of kelp is added in the notes, chingchow, which might have had its own line here: "tc ûñtcō (flat one kelp / eat." (Goddard NB V, p.4)

| 18.8 chinkwt'iing | kaal'aa' | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| chingkwt'iing | kaa-(ghin).I'aa/'aa' + IMPF.,3 | yaa'nii |
| tree kelp | grow up from below | they say |
| na | vi | vt |
| tree kelp | grows up | they say |
| $[$ Subj $]$ | $[V P$ |  |

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```
baantoo'-bii'
baantoo' =bii'
ocean = in it
na nsuffix
in the ocean
[PostP]
In the ocean sea-palm grows, they say.
```

| 18.9 | Ihaan | Ihtaahkii | kaal' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ | yaa' nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Ihaan | Ihtaahkii | kaa-(ghin)..l' $\mathrm{aa} /{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{aa}^{\prime}+$ IMPF., 3 | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | many | different kinds | grow up from below | they say |
|  | <Not Sure> | pron | vi |  |
|  | many | different kinds | grows up | they say |
|  | [Subj | ] | [VP |  |

Many different kinds grow, they say.
Many different kinds grew there.
Many / different kinds / grew / they say.
Lañ / Lta kī / ka la / ya nī
Lan l ta ${ }^{\circ}$ kī kal'a ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya $a^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n} \overline{1}$

| 18.10 | tl'oh-Ihtsow | kaal'aa' | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | tl'oh-Ihtsow | kaa-(ghin)..l'aa/' ${ }^{\text {aa' }}$ +IMPF., 3 | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | surf grass | grow up from below | they say |
|  | na | vi | vt |
|  | surf grass | grows up | they say |
|  | [Subj] | [VP | ] |
| baan baant | too' -bii oo' =bii |  |  |
| ocean <br> na | $=\text { in it }$ nsuffix |  |  |

in the ocean
[PostP]
In the ocean, surf-grass grows, they say

Grass blue [grass blue/green] / grew / they say / ocean in.

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Lō L tsō ka la ya nī ban tō bī
Lō Ltsō ka l'a $\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}$ nī ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{bíc}^{\varepsilon}$

| 19.1 " | diishan diishaang | Iheedoo-mang |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Iheedoong' | $=\mathrm{bang}_{2}$ |
|  | what? | salt | $=$ future predictive enclitic |
|  | inter | na | encl |
|  | what? | will be salt |  |
|  | [Subj] | [VP] |  |

"What will be salt?"
"What will be salt?"
"What / salt will be?" [salt for]
dī cûn / Le dō mûñ [NB V: Le dō mûñ+]
dī cąn le dō mûñ

| 19.2 tc'in | deeghinii | ) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | d..nii/nii'/niilh+PERF.,3 | yaa'ni |
| say | say | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| vt | vt | they say |
| he said | he said | vt |
| [VP |  | they say |

he said, they say.
he asked.
he said [they say] / they say.
de gûn nī ya nī
tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}$
Note The use of deeghinii ("he said" or "it made its characteristic sound") instead of tc' in ("he said") in the notebook version is interesting.

| 19.3 Ihaan | beeyaa'l'ai' | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lhaang | P-ee-(0)..I'ai'+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3 OBL. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| many of them | try P | they say |
| pro | vt | vt |
| many | they tasted them | they say |
| $[$ Obj $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ |  |

## They tasted many things, they say.

They tasted many things.
Many [All] / they tasted [they taste] / they say.
Lañ / be ya lai ya nī [NB V: be ya lai+]
Lan be ya $\mathrm{l}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{l}^{\prime} \mathrm{ai}^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}$

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$$

| 19.4 ch'woshtcee' ch'woshtcee foam na foam [NP | baantoo' baantoo ocean na ocean | ch'woshtcee ch'woshtcee foam na foam [Subj | hai <br> hai ${ }_{1}$ <br> that <br> dem <br> the/that | Iheedoong Iheedoong salt na salt [Obj] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sliing' <br> (s)..leegh/liin' + PERF | yaa'nii <br> 3 yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |  |
| become | they say |  |  |  |
| vs | vt |  |  |  |
| became | they say |  |  |  |
| [VP |  |  |  |  |

Ocean foam, that foam became salt, they say
The ocean foam became salr.
Foam / ocean / foam / that / salt / became / they say. tcō wūc tce / ban tō / tcō wōc tce / hai /Le dōñ / s liñ ya ni [NB V: tcū wōc tce+ Le dō+ñ] tc' wōc tce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ban to $\bar{c}^{\varepsilon}$ tc ${ }^{\prime}$ wōc tce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ hai le dōñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ sliñ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 19.5 | naahneesh | biiyee' | lheedoong' <br> naahneesh |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| biiyee' | hai |  |  |
| person | 3 POSS indep | salt | that |
| na | pron | na | dem |
| person | their | salt | that |

[Subj] [Obj

| beeyaal'ai' | ( beel'ai' |
| :--- | :--- |
| P-ee-(0)..I'ai' + IMPF., 3,DIST., +3 OBL. | P-ee-(0).I'ai' + IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBL. |
| try P | try P |
| vt | vt |
| they try it | he tries it |

[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]
The people tried that salt of theirs, they say.

The Indians tried their salt.
Indians [Indian] / their / salt / that / they tried [they try it] / they say.
na nec / bī ye Le dōñ / hai bel ai ya nī [NB V: be yal ai+] na nec bī ye ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ Le dōñ $\tilde{n}^{\varepsilon}$ hai bel ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ai}^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note Both the notebook and published versions have beel'ai' ("he/she/it/they tries it"), but the notebook gives the more precise plural form beeyaal'ai' ("they try it") also reflected earlier.

```
19.6 ch'aang bilh
    ch'aang}\mp@subsup{}{1}{*}\mp@subsup{\textrm{ilh}}{}{\prime}+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL
    food instrumental
    na postp
    food with it
    [Obj] [PostP]
```

```
naadeeltcaa-mang
naa-d-(ghis)..Itcaan+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =bang}
eat meal =future predictive enclitic
vt
they will eat a meal
[VP
ch'aaghaayaa-mang
ch'-(ghin)..yaan/yaan'+PERF.,3,DIST =bang2
eat st = future predictive enclitic
vt encl
```

they will eat st.
ch'aa-milh
ch'aang ${ }_{1}$ *ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR., $^{\prime}+3$ OBL.
food instrumental
n a
postp
with food
[PostP]
They will eat their food with it, with food.

They will eat their food with it.
Food [grub] / with it / they shall eat, [they eat] / food with.
tcañ beL tca gī ya mûñ tca mûL [NB V: ț́ + añ ? țca mûL bûL na del tca mûñ]
tc'añ bûl na del tca mûñ tc'a mûL
Note In this line and the next the notebook uses the general verb for eating, while the published version uses the verb for eating a meal.

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
19.7 naakoo-milh
    naakong *ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.
    clover accompaniment
    na postp
    with clover
    [PostP]
naadeeltcaa-mang
naa-d-(ghis)..Itcaan+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =bang}
eat meal =future predictive enclitic
vt encl
they will eat a meal
[VP
ch'aaghaayaa-mang
ch'-(ghin)..yaan/yaan'+PERF.,3,DIST =bang}
eat st
vt
they will eat st.
```


## ]

```
The will eat it with clover.
They will eat clover with it.
Clover with / they shall eat. [they eat] na kō mûL / tca ga ya mûñ na kō mûL na del tca mûñ
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 19.8 & hai & nshoon & yaa'nii & Iheedoong' & baantoo' \\
\hline & hai \({ }_{1}\) & n..shoon+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & Iheedoong' & baantoo' \\
\hline & that & be good & they say & salt & ocean \\
\hline & dem & vd & vt & na & na \\
\hline & the/that & is good & they say & salt & ocean \\
\hline & [Subj] & [VP & ] & [NP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
```

That ocean salt is good, they say.
It was good salt.
That / good [is good] / they say / salt / ocean.
hai $\underline{n}$ cōn ya ne / Le dōñ / ban tō
hai $n$ cōn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī Le dōñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

20.1 "

| daatiishaa-mang | too |
| :--- | :--- |
| danteeshaan-mang ${ }_{2}$ +UNSPEC. VAR. OF | too |
| how will it be? | water |
| inter | n a |
| how will it be? | water |
| [AdvCl] | [Subj] |

```
kwandiik'aas-mang
kwaan-di..k'aas+IMPF.,3,+ 3AREAL OBL. =bang
wave to fall back
vi
```

wave falls back
[VP]

| daadin' ${ }^{\text {aj'-mang }}$ | dii | baantoo' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| daadin'aa'mang | dii | baantoo |
| what will it do? | this | ocean |
| inter | dem | na |
| what will it do? | this/here | ocean |
| [VP] | [Subj | ] |

## How will it be with the waves falling back, what will this ocean do?

"How will the water of this ocean behave? What will be in front of it?"
"What will be [how is going to be] / water / --- / [what will it do] / this / ocean?" dan te ca/da dī ca mûn / tō kwûn dī kaz mûn da din+ a mûn / dī ban tō da tī ca mûñ tō kwûn dī kas mûñ da $\operatorname{din}^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}$ mûñ dī ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$
Note "Devil [Naaghaichow] did all about ocean tce nic [Ch'eeneesh] didn't do it." (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.27)

| 20.2 | tc'in |
| :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| say | yaa'nii |
| vt | they say |
| he said | vt |
| [VP | they say |

he said, they say.
he asked.
he said / they say.
de gûn nī ya ni
tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

```
20.3 " dee baantoo',
dee baantoo'
here ocean
dem na
here ocean
[AdvP] [Subj]
nai' aa'-bang
naa-yi..'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,3NAT.PHEN. =bang}\mp@subsup{2}{2}{
have waves =future predictive enclitic
vx encl
it will have waves
[VP]
tai'aash-bang
taa-yi-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,3NAT.PHEN. =bang2
recede (of ocean waves) = future predictive enclitic
vi
waves will recede
[VP]
kwanin'ing sai-bang \(\quad\)," tc'in
kwanin'ing sai =bang2 ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
up this way sand = future predictive enclitic say
adv na encl vt
up this way sand will be he said
[AdvP] [VP] [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say
```

"Here the ocean will have waves; it will settle back; up this way will be sand," he said, they say.
"The water will rise up in ridges. It will settle back again. There will be sand.
"This ocean. / It will have waves. [rough coming up] / It will settle back. [going down] /
Up this way [out on shore] / sand will be," [sand let be] / he said / they say.
de ban to / nai a bañ / tai ûc bûñ / kwûn nûn ûñ / ya nī / sai bûñ / tcin+ya nī [NB V: nai ai

$$
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 2 \text { - Bill Ray }
$$

bûñ sai]
de ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nai ${ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}$ bûñ tai ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ac bûñ kwûn nûn ûñ sai bûñ tc'in ya $^{\varepsilon}$ nī


## On top of the sand it glistened, they say.

On top of the sand it will glisten," he said.
Sand / on top / shone [shine] / they say.
sai / kōk tcin ûs dīñ ya nī [NB V: tcûñ ûs dī+ñ]
sai k'wût tcin ûs dīñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya $^{\varepsilon}$ nī
$\begin{array}{rll}20.5 " & \text { sidii } & \text { teehkislee' } \\ & \begin{array}{l}\text { s..dii+PERF.,3 } \\ \text { be old }\end{array} & \text { teehkislee' } \\ & \text { vs } & \text { bull kelp } \\ & \text { that is old } & \text { na } \\ & {[\text { Subj }} & \end{array}$
noolkit-bang $\quad, "$ tc'in
noo-(nin)..Ikit+IMPF.,3 =bang ${ }_{2}$..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
float ashore $\quad=$ future predictive enclitic say
vi encl
vt
will float ashore
[VP]
he said
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]
"Old bull kelp will float ashore," he said, they say.
"Old kelp will float ashore.
"Old / kelp / will float ashore," [let it come ashore] / he said / they say.
sût dī / te kûs le / nōl kûb bûn tcin ya nī
sût dī te kûs le ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nōl kûb bûñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

noolaah-bang ," tc'in
noo-(nin)..laat+IMPF., $3=$ bang $_{2}$..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
float ashore $\quad=$ future predictive enclitic say
vi encl
they will float ashore he said
[VP]
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
"Whales will float ashore when they are old," he said, they say.
Old whales will float ashore."
"Whales / old ones / will float ashore," / he said / they say.
te lañ / ût te yac tc / nō ûl la bûñ tcin ya ni [NB V: ût tī yac de+]
te lañ ût tyac nō la bûñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note The notes version is probably more accurate, adding -dee' ("when/if") for ityaashdee' ("when they are old"). (Goddard NB V, p.5)
Note The notebook version is a diminutive: ityaashtc, probably implying something like "old and feeble".
21.1 " naahneesh
21.1 " naahneesh
naahneesh
naahneesh
person
person
na
na
person
person
[Subj]
[Subj]

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray


GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

\section*{21.3 yaa'taa-manjaa' <br> | ..taan+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST. | $=$ banjaa' |
| :--- | :--- |
| eat (3sg) | $=$ let be/will be |
| vt | encl | <br> they will eat them <br> [VP]}

## Let them eat them.

They will eat them.
They will eat. [let them eat him]
ya ta mûn kya
ya $^{\varepsilon}$ ta mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$
21.4 nshoo-manjaa' $\quad, "$ tc'in yaa'nii
n..shoon+PERF.,3 =banjaa' ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
be good = let be/will be
vd encl
let it be good
[VP]
say they say
vt vt
he said they say
[VP

## Let it be good," he said, they say.

They will be good.
Good will be," [let it be good] / he said / they say. n̄ cō mûñ kya tcin ya nī n cō mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
21.5 " t'aan'tghilyoos , beekwsing-hiit
t'aan'tghilyoos P-ee-kw..sin+IMPF.,3AREAL,+ 3 OBL. =hiit
octopus be ugly =although
na vd (imprs.)
conj
octopus although it is ugly
[Subj] [AdvCl]
, nshoo-manjaa'
n..shoon+PERF.,3 =banjaa'
be good = let be/will be
vd
encl
let it be good
[VP]

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\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 2 \text { - Bill Ray }
$$

```
ch'aa-manjaa'
ch'-(ghin)..yaan/yaan'+IMPF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =banjaa'
eat st =let be/will be
vt
encl
let them eat it
[VP]
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tc'in & yaa'nii \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii
\end{tabular}
say
vt
he said they say
[VP
```


## "Octopus, although it is ugly, let it be good; let them eat it," he said, they

 say.Devil-fish, although they are ugly looking, will be good. The people will eat them.
"Devil-fish / ugly although / will be good. [let it be good] / They will eat it," [let them eat it] / he said, they say.
tan tgil yōs' / bek sûn hit n̄ cō mûn kya / tca mûn kya tcin ya nī $t^{\prime}$ 'ą t gûl yōs bek sûñ hīt $n$ cō mûn dja $a^{\varepsilon}$ tc'a mûn dja $a^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$


"Let there be many different kinds in the ocean, he said, they say.
"There will be many different kinds in the ocean.
"Many / different kinds / will be / ocean in," / he said / they say.
Lan Ltakī / bûn kya / ban tō bī / tcin / ya ni
Lan l ta ${ }^{c}$ kī bûn dja $a^{\varepsilon}$ ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ bī $\overline{1}^{\varepsilon}$ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

| 22.2 | too-bitchow Too-Bitchow | banjaa' =banjaa' | tc'in ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii <br> yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Water Panther | $=$ let be/will be encl | say | they say |
|  | Water Panther | let it be | he said | they say |
|  | [Subj] | [IP] | [VP |  |

"Let there be Water Panther," he said, they say.
There will be water-panther.

## GT02-Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

"Water-panther / will be," / he said / they say.
tō bī tcō / bûn kya tcin ya ni
tō bût tcō bûn $\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}$ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note "217 Evidently a mythical animal. Compare [story] XXXI below." (Goddard 1909, p.187)

```
22.3 seetoonai banjaa' , naahneesh
seetoonai =banjaa' naahneesh
swordfish \(=\) let be/will be person
na encl na
swordfish let it be person
[Subj] [IP] [Obj]
```

ch'ibee-bang
ch'-(ghin)..bee/bee' + IMPF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. $=$ bang $_{2}$
catch (like picking berries)
vt
he will catch
[VP]

| tc'in | yaa' $\mathbf{n i i}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| say | they say |
| vt | vt |
| he said | they say |
| [VP | $\quad]$ |

"Let there be swordfish; he will catch people," he said, they say.
There will be stone fish. He will catch people.
"'Stone fish' [sword fish/shark] / will be. / People [Indians] / he will catch," [let him catch/eat] / he said / they say.
se tō nai / bûñ kya / na nej / tce be bûn / tcin ya nī se tō nai bûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ na nec tc'e bē bûñ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n
22.4 "

| toonai-wo'nees <br> toonai-wo'nees | geeslhshing' <br> geesIhshing' | toonai <br> toonai | tyiits <br> tyiits |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| "long tooth fish" | black salmon | fish | sea lion |
| na | na | na | na |
| "long tooth fish" | black salmon | fish | sea lion |
| $[$ Subj] | $[O b j$ |  |  |

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```
ch'ibee-banjaa'
ch'-(ghin)..bee/bee'+IMPF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =banjaa'
catch (like picking berries) = let be/will be
vt
encl
let it catch
[VP]
tc' in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
```

say
vt
he said they say
[VP
say.
'Long-tooth fish', geslcûñ, will kill sea-lion.
"'Fish teeth long,' / gesLcun' [salmon black] / fish, / sea-lion / he will catch," [let him catch it] / he said / they say.
tō nai wo ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nes ges l cûn ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tō nai $t$ yīts tc'e bē bûn dja $a^{\varepsilon}$ tc' $^{\prime}$ in $y^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
22.5

```
taahtc'kwil' aash-banjaa'
taah-ko-(ghin)..I'aash/'aan+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3AREAL OBJ. =banjaa'
feel around in the water =let be/will be
vi
    encl
```

let him feel around in the water
[VP]
tc'in $\quad$ yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
say they say
vt
he said they say
[VP
]
"Let him feel around in the water," he said, they say.
He will feel around in the water.
"He will come out of the water," [in water let him feel] / he said / they say.
ta tcûl ûc bûñ kya tcin ya ni
ta tc' kwûl ${ }^{\text {ªcac }}$ bûn dja $a^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

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$$



GT02-Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| yaa'nii  shoo'tc' ilaagh-it <br> yaa' $\mathrm{nii}_{1}$   | shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | $=$ hit+VAR. OF |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| they say | fix O | $=$ when |

"If they told you, 'The mussels are sour,' they will become poison right there," he said, they say, when he fixed it well.
/ bitter / they tell you if / right there / poison / became / / he fixed it bañ tcō / tcûl ka ne / nûL de ga ne de / ha ta tcō ba / ûl le / bûñ tcin ya nī / cū tcil la gût

Note This line about mussel poisoning only appears in the notebook (Goddard NBVIIstories 28-33, p.29). It's unclear exactly where it fits in the ocean section, or if it's just a comment Ray made to Goddard in the context of the story.

"Let there be no trees in the ocean.
"There will not be trees in the ocean.
"Trees / will not be / ocean in.
tcûn / dō bûñ kya / ban tō bī
tcûn dō bûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ in $^{\varepsilon}$


GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| tc'in | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| say | they say |
| vt | vt |
| he said | they say |
| [VP | $\quad]$ |

Let there be rough water in the ocean," he sai, they say.
The water will be powerful in the ocean," he said.
Water rough [ocean rough] / will be, [let be] / ocean in," he said, they say. tō $\underline{\underline{n}}$ Lûts bûn kya / ban tō $\mathrm{b} \overline{\mathrm{i}} /$ tcin ya nī
tō $n$ Lûts bûn dja $a^{\varepsilon}$ ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon} \bar{b}^{\varepsilon} \overline{1}^{\varepsilon}$ tc' $^{\prime}$ in $y a^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 26.1 | gaashchow | naa'tghilh'aa' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gaashchow | naa-d-(ghin)..Ih'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| redwood | stand O on end | they say |
| na | vt | vt |
| redwood | he stood it on end | they say |
| [Obj] | [VP | $]$ |

## He stood up redwoods, they say.

He placed redwoods
Redwood / he stood up [it stood] / they say.
kûc tcō / na de gûL a / ya ni
gąc tcō na $\operatorname{t~gû̀~}{ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}$ ya $a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
26.2 tghaamaa tc'iibeetcing
tghaamaah tc'iibeetcing
along shore grand fir
adv $\quad \mathrm{na}$
along shore grand fir
[AdvP] [Obj
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
Along the shore he stood up fir trees, they say.
and firs along the shore.
Shore along [close to ocean] / fir / he stood up / they say.
te ga ma / sī be tciñ na ti gûL a ya ni
t ga ma tc ${ }^{\prime} \bar{i}$ be tciñ na t gû ${ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}$ ya $a^{\varepsilon}$ nī


## He went along making fir trees at Earth's Tail Place from the north, they

 say.At the tail of the earth, at the north, he made them grow.
Firs [pine coast not here] / earth tail place [world end] / north / he made along / they say. tcī be tciñ / ne ū tcī diñ / dī da ûñ / tcī gûL tciL ya ni
tc'ī be tciñ ne ${ }^{\varepsilon} \bar{u}$ tcī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ dûñ dī da ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ûñ tc' gûl tcīl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note These are the grand firs (Abies grandis) common along the coast, not the regular Douglas fir, as noted, "coast not here" in the notebook (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.30)

Note Nee' uuchii' ding ("Earth's Tail Place" or "Earth's River-mouth Place") is a sort of End of the World, at the northern limit of the Cahto created world, associated with the mouth of the Eel River and Humboldt Bay, where grand firs are far more common and extend much farther inland.

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

He stood them up, they say.
He stood it up [growing] / they say. na te gûL a ya ni nat gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}$ ya $a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray



He went along making banks of the land in front of the ocean, they say. He placed land in walls along in front of the ocean.
Land / ocean / in front of [close to] / slide [bank] / he made along [it is growing] / they say.
ne+ / ban tō / ū tciñ a / bûs tce gûL tcīL ya ni ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon} \bar{u}$ tciñ a bûs tc' gû̀ tcīl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī


He put down rocks along from the north, they say.
From the north he put down rocks here and there.
From the north / stones / he put down / they say.
yī da ûñ / se / nō wa ûc / ya nī [NB V: nō w/ga+ac]
yī da ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ûñ se nō ga ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ąc ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 26.7 | yoo' oong-haa' |
| :--- | :--- |
| yoo' oong-haa' | baantoo' |
| baantoo' |  |
| yonder | ocean |
| adv | n a |
| yonder | ocean |
| $[$ AdvP $]$ | $[$ Subj $]$ |

## GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| ninyiilhtsilh | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| nin-yi-(s)..lhtsilh/tsiil' + IMPF.,3NAT.PHEN., + 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| waves beat against O | they say |
| vt | vt |
| waves beat against it | they say |
| [VP | ] |

Over there the ocean pounds against them, they say.
Over there the ocean beats against them.
Yonder [way down] / ocean / beats against it [it hit it] / they say.
yōñ ha / ban tō / nûn yīL sûL / ya nī [NB V: yō ōñ ha]
yō ōn ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nûn yīL tsûl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 26.8 | yooyiinak' | kwaa'ghileelh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yooyiinak' | P-aa-(0)..leegh/laagh ${ }_{2}$ +PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. | yaa'nii |
| yaa'nii $1_{1}$ |  |  |
| far south | do P | they say |
| direct | vi | vt |
| far south | he does that | they say |
| $[$ AdvP $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ | $]$ |

## Far to the south he does that, they say.

Far to the south he did that.
Far south / it does that [it do that] / they say.
yō yī nûk / kwa gûl leL ya nī
yō yī nûk' kwa gûl lel ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
26.9 nee'dilbai naa'tghilh'aalh yaa'nii
nee'dilbai naa-d-gh.Ih'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii $1_{1}$
gray pine stand O up along they say
n a vt vt
gray pine he stood them up along they say
[Obj] [VP
He stood up grey pines along, they say.
He stood up pines along the way.
(A pine) [pine with nuts ground brown Sabiniana] / he stood up [it is growing] / they say. ne+ dûl bai / na te gûL ûL ya ni [NB V: ne+ dûl bai]
ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ dûl bai na t gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon} a^{2} L$ ya $^{\varepsilon}$ n

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| 26.10 | diltciik | naa'tghilh' aalh | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | diltciik | naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa' $\mathrm{nii}_{1}$ |
|  | yellow pine | stand O up along | they say |
|  | na | vt |  |
|  | ponderosa pine | he stood them up along | they say |
|  | [Obj] | [VP | ] |

He stood up ponderosa pines along, they say.
He placed yellow pines.
Yellow pine / he stood up / they say.
dûl tcīk / na te gûL ûL / ya nī
dûl tcīk na t gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon} a^{2} L$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 26.11 | neesding-haa' | naa'tghilh'aalh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| neesding-haa' | naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| far away | stand O up along | they say |
| adv | vt | vt |
| far away | he stood them up along | they say |
| [AdvP] | $[\mathrm{VP}$ |  |

He stood them up far away, they say.
Far away he placed them.
Far away [long way] / he stood up / they say. nes dûñ ha / na te gûL ûL / ya nī nes dûñ ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ na t gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon} a_{L}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 26.12 | ts'isnoo' | naa'tghilh'aalh | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ts'isnoo' | naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |
| mountain | stand O up along | they say |  |
| na | vt | vt |  |
| mountain | he stood them up along | they say |  |
| $[$ Obj] | $[\mathrm{VP}$ | $]$ |  |


| too | uutc' inghaa |
| :--- | :--- |
| too | *tc'inghaa++ 3 OBL. |
| water | before $P$, in front of $P$ |
| na | postp |
| water | in front of it |
| [PostP |  |

He stood up mountains, they say, in front of the water.
He placed mountains along in front of the water.
Mountains / he stood up [sticks he puts up] / they say, / water / in front of. [front]

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

tcûs nō / na te gûl ûL ya ni / tō tciñ a ts'ûs nō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ na t gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ąL ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī tō ū tciñ a

| 26.13 | hainak'aa hainak'aa far south direct far south [AdvP] | doo-tc' 00 ' dai doo= tc'oo..da negative $=$ give out/ neg vi he didn't give up [VP] | NEG.IM top |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { naa'tghilh'aalh } \\ & \text { naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ } 3 \text { OBJ. } \\ & \text { stand O up along } \\ & \text { vt } \end{aligned}$ |  |  | yaa'nii <br> yaa'nii $1_{1}$ <br> they say <br> vt |
| he stood them up along |  |  | they say |
| [VP |  |  |  |

He didn't give out, putting them up way to the south, they say.
He did not stop putting them up even way to the south.
Way south [all way south] / he didn't stop, [never give out] / he stood them up / they say. hai nûk ka / dō tcō dai / na te gûL ûL / ya nī hai nûk $\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}$ dō tcō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ dai na t gûL ${ }^{\varepsilon} a_{L}$ ya $^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}^{\overline{1}}$
27.1 kaaghil'alh yaa'nii kaa-gh..l'aalh+PROG.,3 yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
be growing up they say
vi
vt
they were growing up they say
[VP
They (mountains) were growing up, they say.
They grew up [mountain it grows] / they say.
ka gûl ûL ya nī [NB V: kwa gûl ûL]
ka gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon} a_{L}$ ya $^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 27.2 | gaashchow, | naadeel'tc, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| geashchow dilbai |  |  |
| naadeel'tc | nee'dilbai |  |
| redwood | shore pine | gray pine |
| na | na | na |
| redwood | shore pine | gray pine |
| $[$ Obj |  | $]$ |

$$
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 2 \text { - Bill Ray }
$$

| k'eeghilhyiil |  | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| k'ee-(ghin)..Ihyiilh+PERF.,3 | $=\mathrm{i}$ | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| plant/put O in a row | $=\mathrm{NR}$ | they say |
| vt | encl | vt |
| he planted them in a row |  | they say |
| [VP |  |  |

He planted redwoods, shore pines, and grey pines along in rows, they say.
Redwoods and various pines were growing.
Redwoods, / pines, [a pine on coast] / pines, / he placed in a row [plant along; NB V: like posts one after the other] / they say.
kûc tcō / na deltc / ne dûl bai / ke gûL yīL ya nī [NB V: kxe gûL yīl]
gąc tcō na deltc ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ dûl bai k'e gûl yīl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n̄̄

```
27.3 aatk'ee
    *k'ee++ REFL. OBL.
    back of P
    postp vi
    behind himself he was looking around they say
    [PostP] [VP
```

yaa'nii
tghin-naa' tghitgish
tghin-naa-d-gh..tgish/geetc' + PROG.,3ANIM. yaa'nii look around they say vi he was looking around [VP
they say
]
, kaaghil'alh yaa'nii
kaa-gh..l'aalh+PROG.,3 yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
be growing up they say
vi
they were growing up they say

```]
```


## He looked back around, they say, and they were growing, they say.

He looked back and saw them growing.
Back / he looked around [he looked] / they say, / were growing [it is growing] / they say. at ge / te gûn na / te gût gûc ya nī ka gûl ûL / ya ni [NB V: at kxe] at k'e t gûn na t gût gûc ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ka gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon} a_{\text {a }}$ ya $a^{\varepsilon} n \bar{i}$

| 27.4 | gaashchow | ghinees |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gaashchow | ghin..nees+TRTL.,3,PERF. | yaa'nii |
| yaa' $\mathrm{nii}_{1}$ |  |  |
| redwood | become tall | they say |
| na | vd | vt |
| redwood | became tall | they say |
| $[$ Subj] | $[V P$ | $]$ |

The redwoods had become tall, they say.
The redwoods had become tall.

## GT02-Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

Redwoods / were tall / they say. kûc tco / gûn nes ya nī gąc tcō gûn nes ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 27.5 | see | naa'tghilh'aalh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| see | naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| stone'nii | stand O up along | they say |
| na | vt | vt |
| rock | he stood them up along | they say |
| $[$ Obj] | $[$ VP | $]$ |

He stood stones up along, they say.
He placed stones along.
Stones / he stood up along [he stood up] / they say.
se / na te gûL ûL ya nī
se nat gûL ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ąL $^{L}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 27.6 | uuyaashtc | shaahnaa' | tc'tghilhtalh | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | uuyaashtc $_{1}$ | shaahnaa' | ti-gh..lhtaalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa' $\mathrm{nii}_{1}$ |
|  | small | creek | make O by dragging foot | they say |
|  | adj | $n \mathrm{a}$ | vt | vt |
|  | small | creek | he made it by dragging a foot | they say |
|  | [Obj | ] | [VP |  |

## He made small creeks dragging along his foot, they say.

He made small creeks by dragging along his foot.
Small / creeks / he made with his foot [mark with his foot] / they say. ū yajtc / ca na sīt gûL tûL ya nī [NB V: ū yacts ca na tice gûL tal] $\bar{u}$ yacts $\mathrm{ca}^{\circ} \mathrm{na}^{\varepsilon}$ ts't gûl tąL ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 27.7 | ch'ghiliin-teelhtaah |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ch'-(ghin)..liin+TRTL.,PERF.,3INDF | =teelh | -taah ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | flow | = will/shall | plural suffix |
|  | vi | encl | n:Any |
|  | places where it is going to flow |  |  |
|  | [AdvCl] |  |  |


| too | nshoo-manjaa' |  | tc'in | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| too | n..shoon+PERF.,3 | =banjaa' | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| water | be good | = let be/will be | say | they say |
| n |  | encl | vt |  |
| water | let it be good |  | he said | they say |
|  | [VP] |  | [VP |  |

## "Let this water be good at these places where it will flow," he said, they

say.
"Wherever they flow this water will be good," he said.
"They run down where [it runs where] / that [this] / water / will be good," [good let it be] / he said / they say.
tce gûl liñ / teL ta / dī tō ñcō bûñ kya tcin ya nī
tc' gûl lin tel ta ${ }^{\text {e }}$ dī tō n cō mûn $\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {n }}{ }^{\overline{1}}$
Note "218 Ocean water preëxisted but fresh water required an origin." (Goddard 1909, p.188)

Note The notebook uses the optative form of "let it be good" (nshoo' + banjaa'), while the published version has the stative (nshoon + banjaa').

```
\(27.8^{" ~ d i i ~ t a a n a a-m a n j a a ' ~}\)
    dii taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,3 =banjaa'
    this drink \(=\) let be/will be
    dem vi encl
    this let them drink
    [Obj] [VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
he said they say
[VP
"Let them drink this," he said, they say.
"They will drink this.
"This / they will drink," [let them drink] / he said / they say.
dī / ta na mûn kya / tcin ya nī
dī ta na mûn \(\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in \(\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\mathrm{n}} \overline{\mathrm{i}}\)
```

27.9 " \begin{tabular}{rll}
baantoo' \& shan <br>
baantoo' \& shaang ${ }_{2}$ <br>

\& \begin{tabular}{l}
ocean <br>
na

 \& 

only <br>
adv
\end{tabular} <br>

\& ocean \& only <br>
\& {$[$ Obj] } \& {$[A d v P]$}
\end{tabular}

doohaa'-taanaa-manjaa' ," tc'in
doohaa' taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,3 =banjaa' ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
do not ! drink = let be/will be say
neg vi encl vt
let them not drink! he said
[VP]
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

## ]

"It's only the ocean they must not drink," he said, they say.
Only the ocean they will not drink."
"Ocean / only / they will not drink," [let them not drink] / he said / they say. ban tō cûn dō ha ta na mûn kya / tcin ya ni ban tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ cąn dō ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ta na mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

```
28.1 kaal'aa'
tc'ghilhtciilh
    kaa-(ghin)..I'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,3
    gh..lhtciilh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
    grow up from below
    vi
    it grows up
    [VP]
        place O along making
        vt
        he places it along making
        [VP
```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]

He planted growing things along, they say.

He made trees spring up.
Growing up [growing] / he placed along [he plant] / they say.
kala / tcī gûL tciL ya nī
ka l'a ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' gûl tcī̀ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 28.2 tghin-naa'tgish |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tghin-naa-(s)..tgish/geetc + IMPF.,3ANIM. *k'ee++ REFL. OBL. |  |  |
| look back around back of P |  |  |
| vi postp |  |  |
| he looks back around behind himself |  |  |
| [VP] [PostP] |  |  |
| kaaghil'alh-kwan |  | 'nii |
| kaa-gh..l'aalh+PROG.,3 | =kwaan ya | 'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| be growing up | = inferred evid. th | say |
|  | vencl |  |
| it was growing up |  | say |
| [VP |  | ] |

He looked around behind himself and they were growing up, they say
When he looked behind himself he saw they had grown.
He looked around / behind himself; / they had grown along / they say. te gûn na ta gûc / at ke / ka gûl ûL kwûn ya nī $t$ gûn na $t$ gûc at k'e ka gûl ${ }^{\text {eaç }}$ kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$
Note Bill noted that "another three [tree?] grew every time he looked back" (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.33)


GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
aatc'ing'
*tc'ing'++ REFL. OBL.
toward P
postp
to himself
[PostP]
```

"Water Head Place is getting close," he says to himself alone, they say.
When he came near 'water-head-place' (south) he said to himself,
Water-head-place [World end south] / becoming near, [it is getting close] / alone [all
alone] / he talked [he talk to himself] / they say, / to himself. [tan oak]
tō $s i ̄$ diñ / kûn ûn dûn ne / sa dûñ ha / sī kin nēc/s ya nī / sa/a tciñ [NB V: tō sī+? dûn tce
$\mathrm{k}^{\text {wunn }}$ nec a $\underline{\text { țc }}+$ ûñ]
tō sī $^{\varepsilon}$ dûn kûn ûn dûn ne $\mathrm{sa}^{\circ}$ dûn ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ts' kûn nec ya $a^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}$ a tc' $\mathrm{u}^{\prime} \tilde{n}^{\varepsilon}$
Note Toosii' ding ("Water Head Place" or "Water Creek Source Place") is at the extreme
southern, upstream end of the Cahto world.
Note There's some confusion between the notebook version with "a tciñ" ("to himself")
being updated to "sa tciñ" ("tan oak") versus the published version with the "to himself"
form remaining. The notes page confirms "a tac+ûñ to himself" (Goddard NBV, p.6)
28.4 nshoon-ee
n..shoon+PERF.,3 =yee
be good = eyewitness evid.
vd encl
it is good
[VP]
kaaghil'aal-iit $\quad, "$ tc'in yaa'nii
kaa-gh..l'aalh+PROG.,3 =i =hit+VAR. OF ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
be growing up $=N R=$ because say they say
vi encl encl vt
because they are sprouting along
he said
[VP
vt they say
yaa' $n i$ yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ they say ]

## "It is good that they are growing up along," he said, they say.

"It is good that they are growing up."
"It is good [good] / they are growing along [because]," [growing] / he said / they say. ñ cō ne / ka gûl a lit / tcinya nī n cō ne ka gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ a lit tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

## GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| 29.1 | shaahn | tc'ghilhtciilh | yaa' nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | shaahnaa' | gh..Ihtciilh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 O | yaa'nii |
|  | creek | place O along making | they say |
|  | na | vt |  |
|  | creek | he places it along making | they say |
|  | [Obj] | [VP |  |

He goes along making creeks, they say.
He made creeks.
Creeks / he made along [he made] / they say.
ca na tcī gûL tcīL ya nī
$\mathrm{ca}^{\circ}$ na $^{\varepsilon}$ tc' gûl tcīl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
29.2 dii taanaa-manjaa'
dii taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,3 =banjaa'
this drink =let be/will be
dem vi encl
this let them drink
[Obj] [VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
say they say
vt
he said they say
[VP
"Let them drink this," he said, they say.
"This water they will drink," he said.
"This / they will drink," / he said / they say.
dī / ta na m/bûñ kya tcin ya nī
dī ta na mûn dja $^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in $y^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 29.3 | hai-hiit' | Iheenee'haa' | hai-hiit' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | haihiit | Iheenee'haa' | haihiit |
|  | because of that | everyone | because of that |
|  | nj | pron |  |
|  | because of that | everyone | because of that |
|  | [AdvP] | [Subj] | AdvP] |

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| taanan | yaa'nii | Ihaan | Intaahkii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,3 | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | Ihaan | Ihtaahkii |
| drink | they say | many | different kinds |
| vi | vt | <Not Sure> |  |
| they drink | they say | many | different kinds |
| [VP] | [VP] | [NP | ] |

Because of that everyone drinks it, they say, many different kinds.
That is why all drink, many different kinds of animals.
That is why / all / that is why / drink / they say. [/ many / different kinds.]
hai hit / Le ne ha Le ne ha haì hīt ta nûn ya nī / Lan / L ta kī [NB V: Le nē+ ha+] hai hīt' ${ }^{\prime}$ Le ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ hai hīt' ta nąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī lan l ta ${ }^{\circ}$ kī
29.4 "
too-nshoon-it too -nshoong =hit+VAR. OF water good (adjectival) $=$ when na nsuffix encl when it is good water [AdvCl]

| doo-dink' ootc'-iit |  | iintc'ee |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| doo= d..nk'ootc' + IMPF., 3 | =hiit | iintc'ee' |
| negative $=$ be salty | = although | deer |
| vd | conj | na |
| because it is not salty |  | deer |
| [AdvCl] |  | [Subj] |
| taanaa-manjaa' |  | eschow |

taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,3 =banjaa' jeeschow
drink $\quad=$ let be/will be elk
vi encl na
let them drink elk
[VP] [Subj]
taanaa-manjaa' ; bitchow
taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,3 =banjaa' bitchow
drink $\quad=$ let be/will be mountain lion
vi
let them drink
[VP]
encl na mountain lion
[Subj]

GT02-Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

"When the water is good, because it is not salty: let the deer drink; let the elk drink; let the mountain lions drink; let the fishers drink," he said, they say.
"Because the water is good, because it is not salt deer, elk, panther, and fishers will drink of it," he said.
"Water is good because [water good when] / it is not salt because: / deer / will drink; / elk / will drink; / panther / will drink; / fisher / will drink," / he said / they say.
tō $\underline{\underline{n}}$ cō nit / dō dûn kō tcit / īn tce ta na mûñ kya / ges tcō ta na mûn kya / bû tcō / ta na mûn kya sa tcō / ta na mûn kya / tcin ya nī [NB V: dō dûn kō tcit]
tō n cō nit dō dûn $\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \bar{o}$ tcit in tce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ta na mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ges tcō ta na mûn $\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}$ bût tcō ta na mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ sa tcō ta na mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 29.5 | chin | kaal'aa' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ching | kaa-(ghin)..I'aa/' aa'+IMPF.,3 | tc' ${ }^{\text {ghilhtciilh }}$ |
| gh..Ihtciilh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. |  |  |
| tree | grow up from below | place O along making |
| na | vi | vt |
| trees | grows up | he places it along making |
| $[$ Subj $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ |

## yaa'nii

yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

He made trees grow up along, they say.

## GT02-Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

He caused trees to grow up along.
Trees / grow up [growing] / he made along / they say.
tcûñ / ka la / tci gûL tcīL ya nī
tcûn ka l'a ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' gûl tcīl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
29.6 aatk'ee
*k'ee++ REFL. OBL.
back of P
postp
behind himself
[PostP]
ch'oonaaghitgish
oo-naa-(ghin)..tgish/geetc' + PERF.,3,+ INDF. OBL.
look back at O
vt
he looked back at st.
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

## He looked back behind himself, they say.

When he looked behind himself
Behind himself [back] / he looked [he look back] / they say.
at ke / tcō na gût gûc / ya nī
at k'e tc'ō na gût gûc ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 29.7 | kaaghil'alh-kwan <br> kaa-gh.I'aalh+PROG.,3 | $=$ kwaan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| be growing up | $=$ inferred evid. | yaa'nii |
| vi | vencl | they say |
| they were growing up |  | vt |
| [VP | they say |  |

## They were growing up, they say.

he saw they had grown up.
They had grown up along / they say.
ka gąl ûL ya nī / kwûn ya nī
ka gûL ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ąL kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note The lh- classifier (as "L") in the published form ("ka gûL ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ąL") is incorrect; the 1classifier is right in the notebook form ("ka gąl ûL").

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| 29.8 " | t'aa'kwl'iing t'aa'kwl'iing bird (gen) na bird (gen) [Subj | daatcang daatcaang raven/crow na raven/crow | ch'isai' <br> ch'isai red-tailed hawk na red-tailed hawk ] |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| taanaa-manjaa <br> taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,3 <br> drink |  | =banjaa' | ,$"$ tc'in ..nii/n+PERF.,ЗANIM. | yaa' $\mathbf{n i i}$ <br> yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  |  | = let be/will be | say | they say |
| drink <br> vi |  | encl | vt | vt |
| let them drink |  |  | he said | they say |
| [VP] |  |  | [VP | ] |

"Let the birds, ravens, and hawks drink," he said, they say.
"Birds will drink,
"Birds, / ravens, [crow] / chicken-hawks / will drink," / he said / they say. ta kwil liñ / da tcûñ / tcûs saí ta na mûñ kya ya ni
t'a kwil ĩn da tcą $\tilde{n}^{\varepsilon}$ tc' ${ }^{\prime}$ ûs sai ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ta na mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

"Let the grey-squirrels drink; let the ground squirrels drink," he said, they say.
squirrels will drink," he said.
"Grey-squirrels / will drink; / ground-squirrels / will drink," / he said / they say. da taits / tanamûn kya / s lûs /sûl lûs / ta na mûn kya tcin ya nī da taits ta na mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ slûs ta na mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc ${ }^{\prime}$ in $\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} \overline{1}$

"Let the California quail drink," he said, they say.
"Quail / will drink," / he said / they say.
dīctc / tanamûn kya tcin ya ni
dûctc ta na mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in $\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} \overline{\mathrm{i}}$

"Let many different kinds drink," he said, they say.
"Many different kinds will drink.

$$
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 2 \text { - Bill Ray }
$$

"Many / different kinds / will drink," / he said / they say. 1
Lañ / L ta kī / tanamûn kya tcin / ya nī
lan l ta ${ }^{\ominus}$ kī ta na mûn dja $a^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 29.12 " | too | ghiishtciilh | too-nshoong |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | too | gh..lhtciilh+PROG.,1sG.,+ 3 OBJ. | too-nshoong |
|  | water | place O along making | good water |
|  | n a | vt | na |
|  | water | I am placing along making | good water |
|  | [Obj] | [VP] | [NP] |

tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
say
vt
he said
[VP
"I am placing water along, good water," he said, they say.
I am placing good water along the way."
"Water / I place along, [he make along] / water / good," / he said / they say.
tō gīc tcīL / tō n conñ / tciñ ya nī
tō gīc tcīl tō $n$ cōñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī


## 30.2 kaaghil'alh kaa-gh..I'aalh+PROG.,3 be growing up vi <br> they were growing up <br> [VP <br> yaa'nii <br> yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ <br> they say <br> vt <br> they say <br> ```]```

They were growing up along, they say.
grew up.
They grew up along / they say.
ka gûl ûL ya nī ka gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon} a_{L}$ ya $^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 30.3 | hainak' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ | too | tc'ghilhtciilh | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | hainak' ${ }^{\text {a' }}$ | too | gh..lhtciilh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
|  | far south | water | place O along making | they say |
|  | direct | na | vt |  |
|  | far south | water | he places it along making | they say |
|  | [AdvP] | [Obj] | [VP |  |

## He placed water along far toward the south, they say.

He placed water along toward the south.
Toward the south [alway south] / water / he placed [he made] / they say.
hai nûk ka / tō tcī gûL tcīL ya nī
hai nûk $\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}$ tō tc' gûl tcīl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

```
30.4 saaktoo' naa'nghilhtal
    saaktoo' naa-n-(ghin)..Ihtaalh/taal' + PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =i
    spring (of water) kick out hole \(=\) NR
    na vt encl
    spring (of water) he goes along kicking out holes
    [Obj] [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
    ]
```

He went along kicking out holes for springs, they say.
He kicked out springs.
Springs / he kicked out [he kicked it ground] / they say.
sak tō / da / ne nañ gûL tûL yanī
sak tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nan gû̀ tąl' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n̄
Note The notebook version is a little different: saaktoo'-taah nee' naa'nghilhtalh yaa'nii.
("He went along kicking out holes along on the ground as places for springs.")

"There must be springs," he said, they say.
"There will be springs," he said.
"Springs will be," [spring let it be] / he said / they say. sak tō bûñ tcin ya nī sak tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ bûñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

30.6 ( | yiidaa' 'ang | nee' |
| :--- | :--- |
| yiidaa" ang | nee' |
| from the north | land |
| direct | na |
| from the north | land |
| [AdvP] | $[A d v P]$ |

naa'nghilhtal yaa'nii
naa-n-(ghin)..Ihtaalh/taal'+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =i yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
kick out hole $\quad=N R$ they say
vt
he goes along kicking out holes
encl vt
they say
[VP

| biiyee' | ch'nankat |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| biiyee' | ch'nangkat | banjaa' <br> =banjaa' |
| 3 POSS indep | deer lick | $=$ let be/will be |
| pron | na | encl |
| its/their | deer lick | let it be |
| [PossP | $\quad]$ | [IP] |

(He is going along from the north kicking out holes along on the ground, they say, "Let them be their deer-licks.")
[NB V: yī da+ ûñ ne na ûñ gûL tal ya' nī be ye / tce nûn kût / bûñ tca+]
[NB V: from n. deer lick]

## GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

Note This line is only included in the notes, presumably the introduction to the next line accidentally left out of the original telling.

"These will be the deers' property," he said, they say, regarding the deer-
licks.
"These will belong to the deer," he said of the deer-licks.
"This / deer / theirs is," [belong to] / he said / they say, / deer-licks.
dī / īn tce / bī yī ye tcin ya+ ni / tsin nûn' kût
dī in tce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ bī yī ye tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n i ̄ ~ t c ' ~ n u ̂ n ~ k u ̂ t ~$
31.1 kwloo
*loo+3ANIM. POSS.
dog
n ia
his dog
[Obj]
tc'ghilhteelh
gh.Ihteelh+PROG.,3ANIM.
take animate O along vt
he took it along
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

He took along his dog, they say.
He took along a dog, they say.
His dog / he took along / they say. kûl lố / tcī gûL teL ya nī [NB V: k' ló́]
ku lō tc' gû̀ tel ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 31.2 " | too | tainan | ,' | ilhtc' in | yaa' ni i |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | too | taa-(ghin)...naan+IMPF.,2SG. |  | ilhch'in | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | water | drink |  | tell X | they say |
|  | na | vi |  |  | vt |
|  | water | you (sg.) drink |  | he tells him | they say |
|  | [Obj] | [VP] |  | [VP |  |

## kwloo

*loo+3ANIM. POSS.
dog
n ia
his dog
[Obj]
"Drink some water," he told his dog, they say.
"Drink some water," he told his dog, they say.
"Water / drink," / he told him / they say, / his dog.
tō / tai nûn ûL tcin ya ni / kûl lō
tō tai nąn ûL tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ku lō


He himself drank some, too, they say.
He, himself, drank of it.
He drank / they say, / himself [NB V: him (G.R.)] / too.
ta gī nûn / ya nī / kīn' La [NB V: kīñ]
ta gī nąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī kīn la $^{\varepsilon}$


| Ihaan Ihtaahkii t' aa'kwl'iing |  | taanaa-manjaa' |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ihaan Ihtaahkii t'aa'kwl'iing |  | taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,3 | =banjaa' |
| every kind bir | bird (gen) | drink | = let be/will be |
| pro-form $\quad \mathrm{na}$ | na | vi | encl |
| every kind bir | birds | let them drink |  |
| [Subj | ] | [VP] |  |
| tc' ${ }^{\text {in }}$ | yaa'nii |  |  |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | וM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |
| say | they say |  |  |
| vt | vt |  |  |
| he said | they say |  |  |
| [VP | ] |  |  |

"Let everyone drink, let every kind of bird drink," he said, they say.
"All, many different kinds and birds, will drink of it," he said.
"All / will drink, [let them drink] / many / different kinds / birds / will drink," [let drink] / he said / they say.
Le ne ha / ta na mûn kya / Lan / Lta kī / ta kwi līñ / tana mûn kya tcin ya ní Le ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ha $^{\varepsilon}$ ta na mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ Lan l ta ${ }^{〔}$ kī t'a kwil īñ ta na mûn $\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}$ tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
32.1 chin kaaghil'alh yaa'nii ching kaa-gh..l'aalh+PROG.,3 yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
tree be growing up they say
na vi vt
trees they were growing up they say
[Subj] [VP ]
Trees were growing up along, they say.
Trees / grew up along [grew] / they say. tcûñ ka gûl ûL ya nī tcûn ka gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon} a_{c}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

```
32.2 saahching kaal'aa'
    saahching kaa-(ghin)..l'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,3
    tanbark oak grow up from below
    na
    tanoak grows up
    [Subj] [VP]
```


## GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

tc'ghilhtciilh gh..lhtciilh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. place O along making vt he planted them along making [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]

He went along planting tanbark oaks to grow up, they say.
Tanbark oaks he made to spring up along they way.
Tan-oaks [tan oak] / grow up / he made along [he planted] / they say. sût tcûñ / kal a / tci gûL tcīL ya nī sa tcûñ $\operatorname{kal}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}$ tc ${ }^{\prime}$ gûL tcīl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

```
32.3 Ihaan Ihtaahkii kaal'aa'
    Ihaan Ihtaahkii kaa-(ghin)..l'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,3
    every kind grow up from below
    pro-form vi
    every kind grows up
    [Subj] [VP]
tc'ghilhtciilh
yaa'nii
gh..Ihtciilh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii
place O along making they say
vt
vt
he planted them along making they say
[VP

He went along planting every kind (of plant) to grow up, they say. Many kinds,
Many [lots] / different kinds [kinds] / grow up / he made along / they say.
Lan / Ltakī / kal a tcī gûL tcīL / ya nī Lan l ta` kī kal \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\) tc' gûl tcīl ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llll}
32.4 tc'iibeetcing, & gaashchow, & tc'iibeetcing, & naadeelhtc \\
tc'iibeetcing & gaashchow & tc'iibeetcing & naadeelhtc \\
grand fir & redwood & grand fir & small pine tree \\
na & na & na & na \\
grand fir & redwood & grand fir & small pine tree \\
{\([\) Subj } & & & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

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\begin{tabular}{lll} 
kaal'aa' & tc'ghilhtciilh & yaa'nii \\
kaa-(ghin)..I'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,3 & gh..Ihtciilh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
grow up from below & place O along making & they say \\
vi & vt & vt \\
grows up & he planted them along making & they say \\
[VP] & {\([V P\)} &
\end{tabular}

\section*{He went along planting grand fir trees, redwoods, grand fir trees, and} small sugar pines to grow up, they say.
redwoods, firs, and pines he caused to grow.
Firs, [pine tree] / redwoods, / firs, / pines / grow up / he made along / they say.
tcī be tciñ / gûc tcō / tcī be tciñ / na deLts / kal a tcī gûL tcīL / ya nī
tc'ī̀ be tciñ gąc tcō tc'ī be tciñ na del \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ts ka l'a \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' gûl tcīl ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
32.5 & too & tc'ghilhtciilh \\
too & gh..lhtciilh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
water & place O along making & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
water & he places it along making & they say \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

He goes along making and placing water, they say.
He placed water along.
Water / he placed along / they say.
tō / tci gûl tcīL / ya nī
tō tc' gûl tcīl ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
32.6 & shaahnaa' -taah & tc'teeghilhtalh \\
shaahnaa'-taah & ti-gh..lhtaalh+PROG.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
creeks & make O by dragging foot & yaa'nii \\
na & vt & they say \\
creeks & he drags his foot along making them they say \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

He dragged his foot along making creeks, they say.
He made creeks with his foot.
Creeks / he dragged his foot / they say.
ca na ta / tcit te gûL tûL ya nī
\(\mathrm{ca}^{\circ} \mathrm{na}^{\varepsilon}\) ta \({ }^{\circ}\) ts't te gûl tąL ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

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So the water would flow he stood the land up along on its edge, they say.
To make valleys for the streams he placed land on the edge.
Water / will flow [run down] / land [mountain] / he placed along on edge [he put up] / they say.
tō / tce gûl liñ bûñ / ne nata gûL ûL ya nī tō tc' gûl lin bûñ ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) na t gûl \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{2}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī


He went along making trees grow up; and placed stones, they say.

Grow up / he made / trees, / stones [rock] / he placed [he put along] / they say.
kal a / tcī gûL tcīL / tcûñ / se / nō ga ûc ya ni


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}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
32.9 & ts'isnoo' & ghichaah \\
ts'isnoo' & ghitchaagh & yaa'nii \\
mountain & become large & they say \\
n a & vi & vt \\
mountain & became large & they say \\
[Subj] & [VP &
\end{tabular}

The mountains had become large, they say.
The mountains were large.
Mountains / were big / they say. sûs nō / gût tca ya nī
ts'ûs nō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) gût tca \({ }^{\circ}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```

32.10 kowiiyalh yaa'nii
ko-gh..yaalh ${ }_{2}$ +PROG.,3 yaa'nii 1
be growing (mountain) they say
vi
are growing they say
[VP
]

```

They were growing, they say.
They had grown.
Were growing / they say.
kō wī yûL ya nī [NB V: k ō wī yûL G.R.]
kō wī yąL ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
33.1 " ch'int'aang kwont'aa-manjaa'
ch'int'aang ko-n..t'aan+IMPF.,3 =banjaa'
acorn grow (acorns) = let be/will be
na vi encl
acorn let them grow/thicken
[Subj] [VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
he said they say
[VP
"Let acorns grow," he said, they say.
"Let acorns grow," he said.
"Acorns / will grow," [grow on it] / he said / they say.

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tcûn tañ / kwûn ta mûn kya tcin ya nī [NB V: tcûn tañ+ kwûn ta mûn tca+] tc' \({ }^{\prime}\) un t'añ kwûn t'a mûn \(\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \(\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note There is a possible addition, explanation, or suggested replacement above the verb in the notebook version: "ka gûl aL growing".

\(33.3^{\prime \prime}\)
    too nshoon-ee
    too n..shoon+PERF.,3 =yee too
    water be good = eyewitness evid. water
        na vd encl na
water it is good water
[Subj] [VP] [AdvCl
```

ghishtciil-eet
gh..lhtciilh+PROG.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee =hit+VAR. OF
place O along making = eyewitness evid. = because
vt
encl
encl
since I placed it along making it
]
taaghaanaa-mang ,"
taa-(ghin)..naan+PROG.,DIST. =bang}\mp@subsup{}{2}{
drink =future predictive enclitic
vi
encl
they will drink it
[VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say they say
vt
vt
he said they say
[VP ]
"The water is good; because I made the water they will drink it," he said, they say.
"The water is good, they will drink it," he said.
"Water / is good, / water / I place when [he made] / they will drink," [let them drink it] / he said / they say.
tō n cō ne / tō gûs tcī let / ta ga na mûñ / tcin ya nī
tō n cō ne tō gûc tcī let ta ga na mûñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 33.4 | gaashchow | naa'tghilh'aalh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gaashchow | naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,++3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| redwood | stand O up along | they say |
| na | vt | vt |
| redwood | he stood them up along | they say |
| $[\mathrm{Obj}]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ | $]$ |

He stood up redwoods along, they say.
He placed redwoods,
Redwoods / he stood up along / they say.
gûc tcō / na te gûL ûL / ya nī

```


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He stood up fir trees, tanbark oaks, and the land, they say.
firs, tanbark oaks along the way. He stood up land
Firs / tan-oaks, / land / he stood up along / they say.
tci be tciñ sa tcûñ / ne+ na te gûL aL ya nǐ
tc \({ }^{\prime} \overline{1}\) be tciñ sa tcûn ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) na t gûL \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
33.6 & ts'isnoo' & naa'tghilh'aalh \\
ts'isnoo' & naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
moun'nii
\end{tabular}

\section*{He stood up mountains along, they say.}
and made the mountains.
Mountains / he stood up along / they say.
sûs nō / na ta gûL ûL ya nī
ts'ûs nō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nat gûl \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL \(^{\text {y }}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{6}{*}{33.7} & nchaah-banjaa' & & tc \\
\hline & n..chaagh+PERF.,3 & =banjaa' & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
\hline & be large & \(=\) let be/will be & say \\
\hline & vd & encl & vt \\
\hline & let it be big & & he said \\
\hline & [VP] & & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

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}


He went along, they say, he went around the world, they say.
He went around the earth,
He went / they say. World / he went around / they say.
tcit tes ya ya ni / ne ō na sī ya / ya nī
tc't tes ya ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1} n^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) ū nas ya ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{lll}
34.2 & tc'teeghilhtalh & yaa'nii \\
ti-gh..lhtaalh+PROG.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii & too \\
make O by dragging foot & they say & water \\
vt & vt & na \\
he drags his foot along making them they say & water \\
[VP & & [AdvCl
\end{tabular}
\[
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 2 \text { - Bill Ray }
\]

\section*{niliin-teelhbang}
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
n..liin+IMPF., 3 & \(=\) teelh & \(=\) bang \(_{1}\) \\
flow & \(=\) will/shall & \(=\) purposive enclitic \\
vs & encl & encl
\end{tabular}
so that it will flow
```

]

```

He dragged his foot along for water to flow, they say.
dragging his foot to make the streams
He dragged his foot along [he kicked/dragged his foot] / they say, / water / will flow for. [to run for]
tcit tegûL tûL ya ni / tō nûl līn tel bûñ
ts't te gûl tąl ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī tō nûl lin tel bûñ
\begin{tabular}{lll}
34.3 & naadeelhtc & naa'tghilh'aalh \\
naadeelhtc & naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
small pine tree & stand O up along & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
small pine tree & he stood them up along & they say \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular}

\section*{He stood small sugar pines up along, they say.}

Pines / he stood up along / they say.
na deLtc / na te gûL ûL / ya nī
na del \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc na t gû \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
34.4 & gaashchow & naa'tghilh'alh \\
gaashchow & naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \\
redwood & stand O up along & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
redwood & he stood them up along & they say \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular}

\section*{tc' iibeetcing}
tc' iibeetcing
grand fir
na
grand fir
[NP]
He stood redwoods up along, they say, and fir tree.
and placing redwoods, firs,
\[
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\]

Redwoods / he stood up along / they say, / firs. gûc tcō / na te gûL ûL ya nī / tci be tcin gąc tcō na t gûl \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī tc \({ }^{\prime} \bar{i}\) be tciñ
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 34.5 & shaahnaa' & tc'ghilhtciilh & vaa'nii \\
\hline & shaahnaa' & gh..lhtciilh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline & creek & place O along making & they say \\
\hline & n & vt & \\
\hline & creek & he places it along making & they say \\
\hline & [Obj] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

He placed creeks along making them, they say.

Creeks / he made along / they say.
ca na / tci gûL tcīL ya nī
ca \({ }^{\circ}\) na \(^{\varepsilon}\) tc' gûl tcīl ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
34.6 nee' naa'nghilhtalh yaa'nii
nee' naa-n-(ghin)..Ihtaalh/taal'+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 obJ. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
land kick out hole they say
na vt
land he kicked out holes along they say
[AdvP] [VP
]
He kicked out holes along in the ground, they say.
Ground / he kicked out [he stamped (made spring)] / they say.
ne / na ûn gûL tuL ya nī
ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) na ûn gû́ tąL ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
34.7 saahchin naa'tghilh'aalh yaa'nii
saahching naa-d-gh..Ih'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
tanbark oak stand O up along they say
n a V
vt
vt
tanbark oak he stood them up along
they say
[Obj] [VP
]

\section*{He stood tanoaks up along, they say.}
oaks,
Tan-oaks / he stood up / they say. sa tcûñ / na te gûL ûL ya nī sa tcûn na \(\operatorname{gû}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL \(^{\text {y }}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

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\begin{tabular}{lll}
34.8 & nee'dilbai & naa'tghilh'aalh \\
nee'dilbai & naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
gray pine & stand O up along & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
gray pine & he stood them up along & they say \\
[Obj] & [VP &
\end{tabular}

He stood up grey pines along, they say.
pines,
Pines [tree one kind of sugar pine] / he stood up / they say.
ne dûl bai / na te gûL ûL ya nī
ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) dûl bai na t gû́ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
34.9 & tkoo'iishtc & naa'tghilh'aalh \\
tkoo'iishtc & naa-d-gh..Ih'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
chinquánii \({ }_{1}\) \\
na & stand O up along & vt
\end{tabular}

He stood up chinquapins (chestnuts) along, they say. and chestnut trees.
Chestnuts / he stood up / they say.
te kō icts / na te gûL ûL / ya nī [NB V: t k ō icts]
t kō icts na t gûl \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{2} L\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llll}
34.10 & see & nooghaa'aash & yaa'nii \\
see & noo-gh..'aash+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa' nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
stone & put solid O down to limit & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
rock & he puts them down along & they say \\
{\([\) Obj] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

He puts rocks down along, they say.
Rocks / he placed / they say.
se no ga ac ya \(\bar{n} \overline{1}\)
se nō ga \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{c}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} \bar{n}^{1}\)

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```

34.11 aatk'ee
*k'ee++ REFL. OBL.
back of P
postp
behind himself he looks along
[PostP]
tc'ooghitgish
oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc'+PROG.,3,+ INDF. OBL.
look at O
vt
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say
]

```
He looks along behind himself, they say.
When he looked back he saw
Behind himself / he looked [he look back at it] / they say.
at ke tcō gût gûc ya nī
at k'e tc'ō gût gûc ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
34.12 & ghitchaah & see \\
..ghitchaagh+TRTL.,PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \\
see & yaa'nii \\
become large & stone & they say \\
vp & na & vt \\
becomes large & rock & they say \\
[VP] & {\([\) Subj } & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

The rocks had become large, they say.
the rocks had become large,
Became large [it getting big] / rocks / they say.
gût tca se ya nī
gût tca \({ }^{\circ}\) se ya \(^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n i}\)
34.13 nee' naa'tghilh'aalh yaa'nii
nee' naa-d-gh..Ih'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
land stand O up along they say
n a \(\quad \mathrm{vt}\)
land he stood them up along they say
[Obj] [VP
vt
]

He stood up the ground along, they say.
and the mountains loomed up.
Ground / he stood up / they say.

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ne+ na te gûL aL ya nī
ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) na t gûl \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llll}
34.14 & too & shaahnaa' & taaghiinan \\
too & shaahnaa' & taa-(ghin)..naan+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \\
water & creek & drink & they say \\
na & na & vi & vt \\
water & creek & he drank & they say \\
{\([\) Obj } & & {\([V P\)} &
\end{tabular}

He drank some creek water, they say.
He drank of the water
Water, / creek / he drank / they say.
tō ca na / ta gī nûn ya nī
tō \(\mathrm{ca}^{c} \mathrm{na}^{\varepsilon}\) ta gī nąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 34.15 " & too too water na water [Subj] & \begin{tabular}{l}
nshoon-ee \\
n..shoon+PERF.,3 \\
be good \\
vd \\
it is good \\
[VP]
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
=yee \\
= eyewitness evid. encl
\end{tabular} \\
\hline tc' in .nii/n+P & ERF.,3AN & \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa'nii \\
IM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
\end{tabular} & \\
\hline say & & they say & \\
\hline vt & & vt & \\
\hline he said & & they say & \\
\hline [VP & & ] & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"The water is good," he said, they say.
and called it good.
"Water / is good," / he said / they say.
tō \(\underline{n}\) cō ne / tcin ya nī
tō n cō ne tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
34.16 diltciiktc
diltciiktc
small yellow pine
n ia
naa'tghilh' aalh
naa-d-gh..Ih'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
stand O up along
vt
small ponderosa pine he stood them up along
[Obj]
[VP

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```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say

```

He stood up small yellow pines, they say.
Pines / he stood up along / they say. dûl tcīkts na te gûL ûL ya nī dûl tcīkts na t gûL \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL \(^{L}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 34.17 & see & too \\
\hline & see & too \\
\hline & stone & water \\
\hline & na & na \\
\hline & rock & water \\
\hline & [Subj] & [Obj] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
uunaa'ai-bang
P-naa-(s)..' \({ }^{\text {aa/' }}\) aa' + IMPF., \(3,+3\) OBL. \(=\mathrm{i} \quad=\) bang \(_{2}\)
extend around \(\mathrm{P} \quad=\mathrm{NR}=\) future predictive enclitic
vs
encl encl
they will surround it
[VP]


\section*{GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray}
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
kineeshtc & ). \\
kineesh \(_{1}\) & -tc \\
talking & diminutive suffix \\
n ia & nsuffix
\end{tabular}
talking a little bit
    ]
"I am doing it so the rocks will be around the water," he said, they say, talking just to himself.
"I have arranged it that rocks shall be around the water," he said.
"Rocks / water / around will be [around run for] / I have made," [I do it for] / he said / they say, / himself / to himself / he talked. [he talk to himself] se tō / ō na aí bûñ a gûc lē le tciñ ya nī / kiñ ha a tciñ kin nējtc se tō ō na \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ai bûñ a gûc lē le tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī kiñ ha a tc'ûñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kin nec Note The notebook version ("kin nējtc") is as diminutive form for "talking", kineeshtc, like "talking a little bit".
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline \(34.18{ }^{\text {" }}\) & tainan & shlootc \\
\hline & taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,2sG. & *lootc+1sG. POSS. OF \\
\hline & drink & puppy \\
\hline & vi & n ia \\
\hline & you (sg.) drink & my puppy \\
\hline & [VP] & [NP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tc'in & yaa'nii \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP & \(\quad]\)
\end{tabular}

\section*{"Drink, my puppy," he said, they say.}
"Drink," he told his dog.
"Drink, / my dog," / he said / they say.
tai nûn cīl lōts / tcin / ya nī
tai nąn c lōts tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

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}
34.19 "
Ihaan Ihtaahkii
(n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 Ihtaahkii
be many different kinds
vd
many
[Subj
pron
mang
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
taanaa-mang & \\
taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,3 & \(=\) bang \(_{2}\) \\
& \(=\) future predictive enclitic
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
too-nshoong \\
too-nshoong
\end{tabular} \\
drink & good water \\
vi & na \\
they will drink & & good water
\end{tabular}
[VP]
[Obj]
"Many different kinds will drink the good water."
"Many animals will drink this good water."
"Many / different kinds / will drink / water / good."
Lan Ltakī / ta na mûñ tō n̄ coñ
Lan \(L^{\text {ta }}{ }^{\circ}\) kī ta na mûn tō n cōñ
\begin{tabular}{llll}
34.20 & see & nooghaa'aash & yaa'nii \\
see & noo-gh..'aash+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
stone & put solid O down to limit & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
rock & he puts them down along & they say \\
{\([\) Obj] } & {\([\) VP } & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

He placed rocks along, they say.
He placed rocks
Rocks / he placed / they say.
se nō ga ac ya nī
se nō ga \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{c}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}\)
34.21 bis nooghaa'aash yaa'nii
bis noo-gh..'aash+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
bank put solid O down to limit they say
na vt vt
bank/slide he puts them down along they say
[Obj] [VP
]
He placed banks along, they say.
and banks.
Banks / he placed [he put up] / they say.
bûs / nō ga ac ya nī
bûs nō ga \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ac ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
34.22 & seelhgai-uuyaashtc & nooghaa'aash \\
seelhgai-uuyaashtc & noo-gh..'aash+PROG.,3,+3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
pebbles (white) & put solid O down to limit & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
white pebbles & he puts them down along & they say \\
{\([\) Obj] } & {\([V P\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

\section*{He placed small white stones along, they say.}

He put along the way small white stones.
Stones white [white rock] small [little] / he placed / they say.
seL kai ō yajts / nō ga ac / ya nī
sel gai ō yacts nō ga \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{a c}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
34.23 & ch'int' aang & naa'tghilh'aalh \\
ch'int' aang & naa-d-gh..Ih'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
white oak & stand O up along & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
white oak & he stood them up along & they say \\
{\([\) Obj] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

He stood up white oaks along, they say.
He stood up white and black oaks.
White oaks / he stood up along / they say.
tcûn tañ / na te gûL uL / ya nī
tc'ûn t'an na t gûL \({ }^{\text {ªcal }}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
34.24 & naadiil' & Ihaa' haa'taah \\
naadiil' & lhaa'haa'taah & naa'tghilh'aalh \\
naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. \\
sugar pine & one at a time & stand O up along \\
na & adv & vt \\
sugar pine & one at a time & he stood them up along \\
{\([\) Obj \(]\)} & {\([A d v P]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)}
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say

He stood up sugar pines along one at a time, they say.

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Sugar pines and firs he planted one in a place.
Sugar-pines / one at a time / he stood up along / they say.
na dil / La ha ta / na te gûL aL yan
na dil' la ha ta na \(\operatorname{t~gûL~}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

\subsection*{34.25 Ihtaagh}

Ihtaagh
California black oak one at a time
na
California Black Oak one at a time
[Obj]
naa'tghilh' aalh
naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
stand O up along
vt
he stood them up along
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say

He stood up black oaks along one at a time, they say.

Black oaks / one at a time / he stood up along / they say.
Ltág ./ La ha ta na te gûL \(\mathrm{aL} /\) ya nī L tag la ha ta na t gûL \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) al ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
34.26 & saak'eenees & naa'tghilh'aalh \\
saak' eenees & naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
valley oak & stand O up along & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
valley oak & he stood them up along & they say \\
{\([\) Obj] } & {\([V P\)} &
\end{tabular}

\section*{He stood up valley oaks along, they say.}

Valley oaks [white oak; NB V: valley oak] / he stood up along / they say. sak ke nez' na te gûL aL ya nī [NB V: sak nēs] sak ke nes na t gûl \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{2} y a^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {n }}\)

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3 4 . 2 7 ~ t c ' u u b e e ~ n a a ' t g h i l h ' a a l h ~ y a a ' n i i ~
tc'bee+VAR. OF
Douglas fir stand O up along
vt
he stood them up along
[VP

```
yaa'nii yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) they say vt they say
```

Ihaa'haa'taah
Ihaa'haa'taah
one at a time
adv
one at a time
[AdvP]
He stood up Douglas firs along, they say, one at a time.
and firs he planted one in a place.
Firs [pine; NB V: D. Spruce ?] / he stood up along / they say, / one at a time.
tcū be / na te gûL aL / ya ni / La ha ta [NB V: tce ū bé ]
tc'ū be na t gûl ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ al ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī la ha ta

| 35.1 " | too | beesh'ai' | tc'in |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | too | P-ee-(0)..l'ai'+OPT.,1sG.,+ 3 OBL. | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. |
|  | water | try P | say |
|  | na | vt | vt |
|  | water | let me try it | he said |
|  | [Obj] | [VP] | [VP |

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]
"Let me taste the water," he said, they say.
"I will try the water," he said.
"Water / I will try," [I try] / he said / they say.
tō bec aí / tcin / ya ni
tō bec ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ai}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{tc}^{\prime}$ in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

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"Drink, my puppy!" he said, they say
"Drink, my dog."
"My dog, / drink!" / he said / they say. cil lōts / tai nûñ / tcin ya nī [NB V: tai nûñ] c lōts tai nąñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\(35.3^{\prime \prime}\) Iheenee'haa' Ihtaahkii
Iheenee'haa' Ihtaahkii
every/all different kinds
pro-form pron
all different kinds
[Obj
taanaa-mang
taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,3 =bang
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
drink & \(=\) future predictive enclitic \\
vi
\end{tabular}
they will drink
[VP]
tc'in
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
say
vt
he said
[VP
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
yaa'nii, & \begin{tabular}{l} 
too-nshoong \\
yaa'nii
\end{tabular} \\
too-nshoong
\end{tabular}
"All different kinds will drink," he said, they say, regarding the good

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\section*{water.}

The water was good.
"All / different kinds / will drink," / he said / they say, / water / good.
Le ne ha / Ltakī / ta na mûñ / tcin ya nī / tō n̄ cōñ
Le ne \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ha}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{L}^{\text {tac }}\) kī ta na mûñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n i ̄\) tō n cōñ
\begin{tabular}{ll}
35.4 & tc'teeghilhtalh \\
ti-gh..Ihtaalh+PROG.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
make O by dragging foot & yaa'nii \\
vt & they say \\
he drags his foot along making them & they say \\
[VP &
\end{tabular}

He dragged his foot along, they say.
He dragged along his foot,
He dragged his foot along [he kick along] / they say.
tcit te gûL tûL ya nī
tc't te gûl tąl ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{lll}
35.5 & shaahnaa' & nee' \\
shaahnaa' & nee' & naaanghilhtalh \\
creek & land & drag foot along \\
na & na & vt \\
creek & land & he drags his foot along \\
[AdvP] & {\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)}
\end{tabular}

\section*{yaa'nii}
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say

\section*{]}

He dragged his foot on the ground (to make) creeks, they say.
making creeks.
Creeks, / ground / he dragged his foot [he stomped] / they say.
ca na / ne / na añ gûL tûL ya nī
ca \(a^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon} n^{\varepsilon}\) na an gûl tąL ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

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}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
35.6 & see & nooghaa' aash \\
see & noo-gh..'aash+PROG.,3,+3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \(i_{1}\) \\
stone & put solid O down to limit & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
rock & he puts them down along & they say \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

He placed rocks along, they say.
He placed the rocks along
Rocks / he placed / they say.
se nō ga ac / yan̄̄
se nō ga \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{acc}^{\mathrm{ya}}{ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 35.7 & aatk'ee & tc'neelh'iing' & yaa' ni \\
\hline & *k'ee++ REFL. OBL. & n-(ghin)..Ih'iin/'iin'+PERF.,3ANIM., 3 ObJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline & back of P & look at O & they say \\
\hline & postp & vt & vt \\
\hline & behind himself & he looked at it & they say \\
\hline & [PostP] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{He looked behind himself, they say.}
and turned to look at them.
Behind himself / he looked [he look back at rock; NB V: he looked] / they say.
at kē se niL īñ ya nī [NB V: țe neL iñ ya nī] at k'e tc' nel iñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī

"Drink water, my puppy!" he said, they say.
"Drink, my dog," he said.

\section*{GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray}
"Water / drink, / my dog!" / he said / they say.
tō / tai nûn / cil lōts / tcin ya nī
tō tai nąn c lōts tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)


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\begin{tabular}{llll}
35.13 & ts'isnoo' & naa'tghilh'aalh & yaa'nii \\
ts'isnoo' & naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa' nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
mountain & stand O up along & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
mountain & he stood them up along & they say \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

\section*{He stood up mountains along, they say.}

He stood up the mountains.
Mountains / he stood up along / they say.
sûs nō / ne te gûL uL ya nī
ts’ûs nō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) na t gûl \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{2}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note If the page-long "note" (of Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.43) is part of the text it most likely fit in right after this line (and certainly between lines 35.4 and 35.14). Since both its status (part of the text accidentally left out, explanation or addendum) and exact location are unclear, it is included as a separate text, "Creation: Part 2 Addendum".
\begin{tabular}{lll}
35.14 & chin & tc' uubee \\
ching & tc'bee+VAR. OF & naa'tghilh'aalh \\
naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. \\
tree & Douglas fir & stand O up along \\
na & na & vt \\
trees & Douglas fir & he stood them up along \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}\)} & \(\quad]\) & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)}
\end{tabular}

\section*{yaa'nii}
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]

\section*{He stood up trees, Douglas firs, along, they say.}

He placed the trees along, the firs
Trees, / firs [D. Spruce ?] / he stood up along / they say.
tcûn / tci be / na te gûL aL ya nī [NB V: tce ū bé \({ }^{-}\)
tcûn tc'ū be na t gû \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {al }}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note The published version and the notes give the variant form tc' uubee while the notebook version has the more common form tc' bee (or tc' ibee).

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}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
35.15 & tciichaan & naa'tghilh'aalh \\
tciichaang & naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
Oregon'nii
\end{tabular}

\section*{He stood up white oaks along, they say.}
and the oaks.
White oaks [NB V: little white oak] / he stood up along / they say. tcī tcañ / na te gûL aL / ya nī [NB V: tccī tci añ] tc'ī tc'an nat gû́ \({ }^{\text {عą }}{ }^{2}\) ya \(a^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
35.16 & aan'ch' waichow & naa'tghilh'aalh \\
aan'ch'waichow & naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
canyon live oak & stand O up along & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
canyon live oak & he stood them up along & they say \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

He stood up maul oaks along, they say.

Maul oaks [sweet oak; NB V: make maul out of it] / he stood up along / they say.
ûn tcū wai tcō / na te gûL aL / yanī [NB V: ûn tcū wai tcō]
ûñ tc' wai tcō na t gûl \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL \(^{\text {L }}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
35.17 naadiil' kaal'aa'
naadiil' kaa-(ghin)..I'aa/' aa' + IMPF., 3
sugar pine grow up from below
na vi
sugar pine it grows up
[Subj] [VP]
tc'ghilhtciilh yaa'nii
gh..Ihtciilh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
make many O they say
vt
he makes them along they say
[VP ]

\section*{He makes sugar pines grow up along, they say.}

He caused the pines to grow up.

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Pines / grow up / he made along / they say.
na dil / ka la / tcī gûL tciL / ya nī
na dil' ka l'a \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' gûL \({ }^{\varepsilon} a_{\text {L }}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note The verb is oddly mis-corrected in the published version forming a hybrid of the correct tc' ghilh' tciilh and the naa'tghilh' aalh form of the adjacent lines. The dubious form tc'ghilh'aalh remains in the dictionary for exhaustiveness' sake.
```

35.18 gaashchow naa'tghilh'aalh yaa'nii
gaashchow naa-d-gh..Ih'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii
redwood stand O up along they say
na vt vt
redwood he stood them up along they say
[Obj] [VP

```
they say [VP
```

Ihaa'haa'taah
Ihaa'haa'taah
one at a time
adv
one at a time
[AdvP]

```

He stood up redwoods along, they say, one at a time.
He placed the redwoods one in a place.
Redwoods / he stood up along / they say, / one at a time.
gûc tcō na te gûL aL / ya nī / La ha ta
gąc tcō na \(t\) gû́ \({ }^{\varepsilon} a l\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī La ha ta
\begin{tabular}{lll}
36.1 & dilaantc & taaghilhghaal' \\
dilaantc & taa-(ghin)..lhghaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3,+3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
salamander & throw stick-like/animate O into water & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
salamander & he threw it into water & they say \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}
shaahnaa'
shaahnaa'
creek
na
creek
[AdvP]
He threw salamanders into the water, they say, into creeks.
He threw salamanders

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Salamander [water dog] / he threw in water / they say, / creeks.
dûl lántc / ta guL gal / ya nī / ca na
dûl lantc ta gûl gal ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī \(\mathrm{ca}^{\circ} \mathrm{na}^{\varepsilon}\)
Note Ray mentioned to Goddard a line from this section that he'd accidentally left out: "He threw in rock and it turned into frog every creek (he left it out)", only given in English, not Cahto. The Cahto would be "see taaghilhk' aas, yaa'nii; tc' aahaal sliing', yaa'nii, lheenee' haa' shaahnaa'" or a variation of that. (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.45)
\begin{tabular}{llll}
36.2 & ts'inteelh & taaghilhghaal' & yaa'nii \\
ts'inteelh & taa-(ghin)..Ihghaalh/ghaal' + PERF.,3,+3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
turtle & throw stick-like/animate O into water & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
turtle & he threw it into water & they say \\
{\([\) Obj] } & {\([V P\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

He threw turtles into the water, they say.
and turtles into the creeks.
Turtles / he threw in water / they say.
sûn teL / ta gûL gal / ya nī
ts'ûn tel ta gûc gal ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)


\section*{"Let lamprey (eels) come along in this stream," he said, they say.}
"Eels will live in this stream," he said.
"Eels / will come / this / creek," [NB V: little creek] / he said / they say.
be līñ / na dûL bañ kya / dī kwōt tcin ya nī [NB V: dì kwût]
be liñ na dûL bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) dī kwōt tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n̄̄

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"Let fish come in," he said, they say, "black salmon and hook-bill salmon."
"Fish will come into it. Hook-bill and black salmon
"Hook-bill, / black salmon, tō nai / hī hen dûL bûñ kya tcin ya nī / da tca hal / ges da tca \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) hal ges
Note The notebook version of the Cahto text and the published translation, with two sentences here make sense together.

"Let black salmon come into this creek," he said, they say. will run this creek. creek / this in / black salmon / will come in," / he said / they say. ca na / dī bī / ges ī hen dûL bûñ kya tcin ya nī

36.6 " \begin{tabular}{lll} 
Ihook' & haandataa' \\
& lhook' & haandataa' \\
& steelhead & last ones \\
na & pron \\
& steelhead & last ones \\
& {\([\) Subj] } & [AdvP]
\end{tabular}
```

tandilh-banjaa' ," tc'in
taa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel'+IMPF.,3 =banjaa' ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
du/pl come in water = let be/will be say
vi
let them come in water he said
[VP]
encl be/will be say
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii1
they say
vt
they say

```
"Let steelheads come in the water last of all," he said, they say.
Last of all steel-heads will swim in it.
"Steel-heads [big salmon] / last ones [last; NB V: way behind] / will come in," [come] / he said / they say.
Lōk / han dût ta / tûn dûL bûñ kya tcin ya nī [NB V: han dût ta+ Lōk]
Lōk' han dąt ta \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tûn dû́l bûn \(\operatorname{dja}^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
36.7 "
toonai
toonai
uuyaashtc tandilh-banjaa'
toonai uuyaashtc \({ }_{1}\) taa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel' + IMPF., 3 =banjaa'
fish small du/pl come in water =let be/will be
na adj vi
encl
fish small let them come in water
[Subj ] [VP]

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"Let small fish come in: small steelhead, crayfish, brook lamprey (small eels), and day-run lamprey (day eels).
"Crabs, small eels, and da-eels will come up."
"Fish / small / will come," [let them come] / he said / they say, / "(a fish) [another kind; NB V: steelhead]] / crawfish [crabs] / (small eels) [little eels] / day eels." [daytime eels] tō nai ō 1 ajts / tûñ dûL bûñ kya tcin ya nī / danL tûks/tûts / te ka' tce' / tcis gûntc / se kē nējtz [NB V: tañ L tûkts]
tō nai ō yacts tûn dûl bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī t'an l tûkts ta ka tce tcis gûntc ts'e k'e nects
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
37.1 & noonii & Ihaa-manjaa' & & dii \\
& noonii & (n)..lhaan+PERF.,3 & \(=\) banjaa' & dii \\
& grizzly bear & be many & \(=\) let be/will be & this \\
& na & vd & encl & dem \\
& grizzly bear & let there be many & & this \\
& {\([\) Subj \(]\)} & {\([V P]\)} & & [PostP
\end{tabular}
```

ts'isnoo'-kw'it
ts'isnoo' *k'it++ 3 OBL.
mountain on P
na postp
on the mountain
]

```
"Let there be many grizzlies on this mountain.
"Grizzlies will live in large numbers on this mountain.
"Grizzlies / will be many [lots will be] / this / mountain on. nō nī / La mûn kya dī sûs nō kût
nō nī la mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) dī ts'ûs nō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) k'wût'

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\begin{tabular}{llll}
37.2 & intc'ee' & Ihaa-manjaa' & dii \\
iintc'ee' & (n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 \(=\) banjaa' & dii \\
deer & be many & \(=\) let be/will be & this \\
na & vd & encl & dem \\
deer & let there be many & this \\
{\([\) Subj \(]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & {\([\) PostP }
\end{tabular}

\section*{ts' isnoo' \(-k w^{\prime}\) 'it \\ ts' isnoo' *k'it++ 3 OBL. \\ mountain on P \\ na postp \\ on the mountain}
]

\section*{Let there be many deer on this mountain.}

On this mountain will be many deer.
Deer / will be many / this / mountain on.
īn tce / La mûn kya / dī sûs nō kût
in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) La mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) dī ts'ûs nō \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {k'w wût' }}\)

\section*{37.3 yaa'taa-manjaa'}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
..taan+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST. & \(=\) banjaa' \\
eat (3sg) & \(=\) let be/will be \\
vt & encl
\end{tabular}
they will eat them
[VP]
Let them (people) eat them.
The people will eat them.
They may eat. [let everybody eat]
ya ta mûn kya
\(\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}\) ta mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
\begin{tabular}{lll}
37.4 & doohaa'-wichooyii-banjaa' & t'eeh \\
doohaa' wiichooyii =banjaa' & t'eeh \\
do not \(!\) gall bladder = let be/will be & raw/uncooked \\
neg na & encl & adj \\
let there not be a gall bladder & raw \\
{\([V P]\)} & [AdvP]
\end{tabular}

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}
```

yaa'taa-manjaa'
..taan+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST. =banjaa'
eat (3sg) = let be/will be
vt
encl
let them (people) eat them
[VP]

```

\section*{Let there not be a gall bladder, let them eat them raw.}

Because they have no gall they may be eaten raw.
No gall will have [don't let be gaul/other things] / Raw / they may eat. [let them eat raw] dō ha / wī tcố yī bûñ kya / te ya ta mûn kya
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) wī tcō yī bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{t}^{\prime} \mathrm{e}^{{ }^{\varepsilon}}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ta mûn \(\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\)
Note The deer and elk family (Cervidae) do not have gall bladders, so it doesn't have the chance to break and taint the meat during butchering.
```

37.5 iintc'ee' shoonk' dilkaa-manjaa'
iintc'ee' shoonk' d..Ikaan+IMPF.,3 =banjaa'
venison well be sweet tasting =let be/will be
na adv vd encl
venison well let it be sweet tasting
[Subj] [AdvP] [VP]

```

\section*{Let deer meat taste nicely sweet.}

Deer meat will be very sweet.
Deer / very / sweet will be. [let it taste sweet]
īn tce / cûnk tûl ka / mûñ kya
in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) cōñk tûl ka mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)


\section*{Let there be many mountain lions.}

Panthers will be numerous.
Panthers / will be many.
bûtcō / La mûn kya
bût tcō La mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)

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37.7 k'antaaghiitc Ihaa-manjaa' dii
k'antaaghitc (n)..lhaan+PERF.,3 =banjaa' dii
jackrabbit be many = let be/will be this
jackrabbit let there be many this
[Subj] [VP] [PostP
ts'isnoo' -kw'it
mountain on P
na postp
on the mountain
]
Let there be many jackrabbits on this mountain."
There will be many jackrabbits on this mountain," he said.
Jack-rabbits [rabbit] / will be many / this / mountain on."
kûn ta/tga gits / La mûñ kya / dī sûs nō kût [NB V: kxûn ta gīts]
$\mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ ûn ta gits la mûn $\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}$ dī ts'ûs nō ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ wût'
38.1 ts'isnaa
doo-kwdjii' yaang
ts' isnaa doo= P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
yellowjacket negative $=P$ to like/want $S$
na neg vt
yellowjacket he does not like it
[Obj]
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]
He didn't like yellowjackets, they say.
He did not like yellow-jackets.
Yellow-jackets / he didn't like [he don't like] / they say.
tsûs na / dō kī tci yûn ya nī [NB V: dō kwī djī+ yañ yanī]
tsûs na dō ku djī yan ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note "Never make yellow jack[et] he afraid" (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.48)

```
```

38.2 st' $\mathbf{0 0}$ ' djiiyiistik-it
st'oo' djii-(s)..Ihtik+PERF.,3OBV. =hit+VAR. OF
nearly kill O = at the time
adv vt encl
nearly he killed them at the time
[AdvP] [VP]

```
He almost killed them at the time.

He nearly killed them.
Nearly / he killed them.
is tō+ / tcī yīs tûk kit [NB V: stō \({ }^{+}\)]
st' \(\bar{o}^{\varepsilon}\) tcī yis tûk kût
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{5}{*}{38.3} & ban' Ihtcinchow ban'lhtcinchow & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{chin-s'isnaatc chin-s'isnaatc} \\
\hline & blue fly & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{little wood wasp} \\
\hline & na & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{n a} \\
\hline & blue fly & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{little wood wasp} \\
\hline & [Obj & & ] \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{ch'istciing'} & yaa'nii \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{(s)..lhtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ.} & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{make O} & they say \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{vt} & vt \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{he made} & they say \\
\hline [VP & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{He made big blue flies and little wood wasps, they say.}

He made blue-flies and wasps.
Blue flies [big blue fly] / wasps (?) [little wasp/yellow jacket; NB V: tree] / he made / they say.
bûn' tciL tciñ kyō tcin sis nats / tcis tciñ / ya ni [NB V: tcûn sis nats]
bûn \(L\) tciñ tcō tcûn sis nats tc' is tciñ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & naalhghii & kiiyee' & kilh \\
\hline & naalhghii & kiiyee' & *ilh++ 3ANIM. OBL. \\
\hline & dog & \(3 \mathrm{sg} / \mathrm{pl}\) possessive indep & instrumental \\
\hline & na & pron & postp \\
\hline & dog & his & with him \\
\hline & [PossP & ] & [PostP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

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}
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
ghilhdaalh & yaa'nii \\
gh-(s)..lhdaalh+PROG.,3 & yaa'nii \\
walk along & they say \\
vi & vt \\
it walks along & they say \\
[VP & \(\quad]\)
\end{tabular}

His dog walked along with him, they say.
His dog walked along with him.
Dog / his [his dog] / with him / walked [walk with him] / they say.
naL gī / kī ye / kûL gûL daL ya nī
naL gī kī ye \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kûL gûL daL ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

"Let the water be big in the creek," he said, they say.
"There will be much water in this stream," he sai.
"Water / will be big," [big let it be]/ he said / they say, / "creek."
tō n tca \({ }^{\circ}\) bûn tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī} \mathrm{ca}^{\circ}\) na \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
39.3 \begin{tabular}{rllllll} 
" & dii & kwot & waant'aa' & uuyaashtc & shaahnaa' & toonai \\
& dii & kwot & waant'aa' & uuyaashtc \({ }_{1}\) & shaahnaa' & toonai \\
& this & small stream & some & small & creek & fish \\
& dem & na & pron & adj & na & na \\
& this & stream & some & small & creek & fish \\
& {\([\) AdvP } & & & & & [Subj]
\end{tabular}
\[
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\]
```

hiiheendilh-banjaa' ,"
yeeh-n-(nin)..dilh/deel' +IMPF.,3NAT.PHEN. =banjaa'
run in (of fish)
vi
= let be/will be
encl
let them come in
[VP]
tc' in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say
vt
he said they say
[VP

```
"Let fish come into some of these small creeks and streams," he said, they
say.
"This will be a small creek and the fish will run in it.
"This / stream / some / small [little] / creek / fish / will go in," / he said, they say. dī kwot / wan ta ō yatc / ca na / tō nai / ī hen dûL bûñ kya tciñ ya nī [NB V: wûn tá+ ū yacts]
dī kwōt wan t'a \(\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}\) yacts ca \({ }^{\circ}\) na \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tō nai hī hen dûl bûn \(\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \(\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}\) n


\section*{yaa'nii}
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
"Let the fish be good," he said, they say.
The fish will be good.
"Fish / will be good," / he said / they say.
tō nai n̄ cō mûn kya / tcin ya ní
tō nai \(n\) cō mûn \(\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \(\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}\)

"Let there be many trout and let there be many suckers in this stream.
"There will be many suckers and trout in this stream."
"Trout / will be many, / suckers / will be many / this creek.
Lōyaj kaits La mûn kya / Lō yaj / La mûn kya dī kwot
Lō yac gaits la mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) Lō yac la mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) dī kwōt
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
40.1 & k'ai'doo'ii & kaal'aa'-banjaa' & dii \\
k'ai'doo'ii & kaa-(ghin)..I'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,3 & \(=\) banjaa' & dii \\
chamise & grow up from below & \(=\) let be/will be & this \\
na & vi & encl & dem \\
chamise & let it grow up from below & & this \\
[Subj] & [VP] & & [PostP
\end{tabular}
ts' isnoo' \(-k w^{\prime}\) it
ts' isnoo' *k'it++ 3 OBL.
mountain on P
na postp
on the mountain
]

\section*{"Let chamise brush grow up on this mountain.}
"There will be brush on this mountain," he said.
Brush [chimmese; NB V: chamise] / will grow up / this / mountain on."
kai dố \(\overline{1} / \mathrm{kal}\) a bûñ kya / dī / sûs nō kût [NB V: kai dō \(\overline{\overline{1}}\) ]
\(\mathrm{k}^{\prime}\) ai dō \(\overline{1} \mathrm{ka} \mathrm{l}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\) bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) dī ts'ûs nō \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{k}^{\prime}\) wût'
\[
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\]


He made common manzanita and buckbrush grow, they say.
He made manzanita and white-thorn grow there.
Manzanita, [manzanita brush] / white thorn / grow / he made / they say.
tō níc tûuñ / nal tcûl / kal a tcis tcīn ya nī [NB V: tûn nīc tûño + nal tacûl]
tûn nic t'ûñ nal tc'ûl ka l'a \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' is tcin ya \(a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 40.3 " & \begin{tabular}{l}
kwonteelh-banjaa \\
kwonteelh \(_{1}=\) banjaa
\end{tabular} & jaang jaang & tc'in ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
\hline & valley = let be/will be & here & say \\
\hline & na encl & adv & vt \\
\hline & let it be a valley & here & he said \\
\hline & [VP] & [AdvP] & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
"Let there be a valley here," he said, they say.
"Here will be a valley.
"Valley will be / here," / he said / they say.
kon teL bûn kya / kyañ tcin ya nī [NB V: kwōn tel]
kwûn tel bûñ dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) djañ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note "Slide his foot back and forth and make valley everywhere" (Goddard NBVIIstories 28-33, p.49)
\[
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 2 \text { - Bill Ray }
\]
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 40.4 " & iintc'ee iintc'ee deer na deer [Subj] & \begin{tabular}{l}
Ihaa-manjaa' \\
(n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 \\
be many \\
vd \\
let there be many \\
[VP]
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& =\text { banjaa' } \\
& =\text { let be/will be } \\
& \text { encl }
\end{aligned}
\] & \begin{tabular}{l}
jaang \\
jaang \\
here \\
adv \\
here \\
[AdvP]
\end{tabular} \\
\hline tc'in .nii/n+ & ERF.,3ANIM & \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa' \(\mathbf{n i}\) \\
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
\end{tabular} & & \\
\hline say & & they say & & \\
\hline vt & & vt & & \\
\hline he said & & they say & & \\
\hline [VP & & ] & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"Let there be many deer here," he said, they say.
Here will be many deer.
"Deer / will be many / here," / he said / they say.
īn tce La mûn kya / kyañ / tcin ya nī in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) La mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) djañ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 40.5 " & noonii noonii grizzly bear na grizzly bear [Subj] & \begin{tabular}{l}
Ihaa-manjaa' \\
(n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 \\
be many \\
vd \\
let there be many \\
[VP]
\end{tabular} & =banjaa' \(=\) let be/will be encl & \begin{tabular}{l}
jaang \\
jaang \\
here \\
adv \\
here \\
[AdvP]
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
tc' in \\
.nii/n+
\end{tabular} & ERF.,3ANIM. & \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa'nii \\
yaa' \({ }^{1 i_{1}}\)
\end{tabular} & & \\
\hline say & & they say & & \\
\hline vt & & vt & & \\
\hline he said & & they say & & \\
\hline [VP & & ] & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"Let there be many grizzly bears here," he said, they say.
There will be many grizzlies at this place.
"Grizzlies / will be many / here," / he said / they say.
nōnī / La mûn kya / kyan tcin yanī
nō nī la mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) djañ tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note "Made bear out of big stump boy burned" (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.49)
\[
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\]

"Let there be many rattlesnakes here," he said, they say.
Many rattlesnakes,
"Here / rattlesnakes / will be many.
tcañ / La gû́c / La mûn kya tcin ya nī
djañ L \(^{\varepsilon}\) gûc la mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
Note The notebook version includes "tc' in yaa' nii", left out of the published version.

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}
40.8 biinee'dooteel
biinee'tl' ohteeltc+VAR. OF
western aquatic garter snake
na
aquatic garter snake [Subj]

Ihaa-manjaa'
(n)..Ihaan+PERF., 3 =banjaa'
be many vd
\(=\) let be/will be encl
let there be many
[VP]
"Let there be many aquatic garter snakes.
and water-snakes will be in this place.
Water-snakes / will be many.
bī ne dō tel / La mûñ kya
bī ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) dō tel La mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
\begin{tabular}{llll}
40.9 & ch'see'chow & Ihaa-manjaa' & jaang \\
ch'see'chow & (n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 & \(=\) banjaa' & jaang \\
bullsnake & be many & \(=\) let be/will be & here \\
n a & vd & encl & adv \\
bullsnake & let there be many & & here \\
{\([\) Subj \(]\)} & {\([V P]\)} & [AdvP]
\end{tabular}

\section*{Let there be many bullsnakes here.}
bull-snakes,
Bull-snakes / will be many / here.
tcû se tcō / La mûñ kya kyañ [NB V: tcis se+ tcō]
tc se \(^{\varepsilon}\) tcō la mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) djañ
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
40.10 dii \\
dii \\
this \\
dem \\
this \\
[PostP
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
nee' -kw'it nee nee'+loc. nee' \\
na \(\quad \mathrm{na}\) \\
on the land land ] [Subj]
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
nshoo-manjaa \\
n..shoon+PERF.,3 =banjaa' \\
be good \(\quad=\) let be/will be vd encl \\
let it be good
[VP]
\end{tabular} \\
\hline tc'in .nii/n+PERF. & \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa'nii \\
ANIM. yaa'nii \(1_{1}\)
\end{tabular} & \\
\hline say & they say & \\
\hline vt & vt & \\
\hline he said & they say & \\
\hline [VP & ] & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Let there be good land on this world," he said, they say.
Here will be good land.
This / land on [this land on] / land / good will be," / he said / they say.

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dī ne kût / ne / ń cō bûn kya tcin ya ni dī ne \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{k}^{\prime}\) wût' ne \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}\) cō bûn dja \(a^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \(a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

"Let it be a valley."
It shall be a valley."
"Valley / will be." kōn teL bûñ kya kwûn tel bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 41.1 tc'iibee & naa'tghilh' aalh & yaa'nii \\
\hline tc'bee+VAR. OF & naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline Douglas fir & stand O up along & they say \\
\hline na & vt & \\
\hline Douglas fir & he stood them up along & they say \\
\hline [Obj] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

He stood up Douglas firs along, they say.
He placed firs trees,
Firs / he stood up along / they say.
tcī be / na te gûL aL / yanī
tc'ī be nat gûL \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 41.2 gaashchow & Ihaa'haa'taah & naa'tghilh' aalh \\
\hline gaashchow & Ihaa'haa'taah & naa-d-gh..lh'aalh+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. \\
\hline redwood & one at a time & stand O up along \\
\hline na & adv & vt \\
\hline redwood & one at a time & he stood them up along \\
\hline [Obj] & [AdvP] & [VP \\
\hline yaa' nii & & \\
\hline yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & & \\
\hline they say & & \\
\hline vt & & \\
\hline they say & & \\
\hline ] & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

He stood up redwoods along one at a time, they say.
\[
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 2 \text { - Bill Ray }
\]
and redwoods one at a place along the way.
Redwoods / one at a time / he stood up along / they say. gûc tcō / La ha ta na te gûL aL ya nī gąc tcō La ha ta na t gû́ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąL \(^{\text {y }}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī


He stood up Douglas firs, yellow pines, and maul oaks along, they say. yellow-pines, oaks,
Firs, / yellow-pines, / maul oaks [sweet oak trees] / he stood up along / they say. tcī be dûl tcīk / ûn tca wē tcō / na ta gûL aL ya nī tc'ī be dûl tcīk ûn tc' wai tcō na t gûl \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) al ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
41.4 & noonii-yaashtc & noo'ghilhghalh \\
noonii-yaashtc & noo-(ghin)..Ihghaalh/ghaal'+PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. \\
grizzly bear cub & throw down stick-like/animate O \\
na & vt \\
grizzly bear cub & he threw it down \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)}
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say

\section*{He tossed down grizzly bear cubs, they say.}

He put down small grizzly bears.
Grizzly small [bear small] / he threw down [he put down] / they say.
nō nī yajtc nō gûL gûL ya nī
nō nī yacts nō gûL gąL ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]

\section*{"Let the water be bad," he said, they say.}
"The water will be bad.
"Water / will be bad," [water no good] / he said / they say.
tō \(\underline{\underline{n}}\) ce bûn kya tcin ya nī [NB V: n ce+ bûn tca]
tō \(n\) tce \(e^{\varepsilon}\) bûn dja \(^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{5}{*}{41.6 "} & too & nshong-banjaa' & & jaang \\
\hline & too & n..shoon+PERF.,3 & =banjaa' & jaang \\
\hline & water & be good & = let be/will be & here \\
\hline & na & & encl & \\
\hline & water & let it be good & & here \\
\hline & [Subj] & [VP] & & [AdvP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
```

tc'in yaa'nii

```
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

\section*{"Let the water be good here," he said, they way.}

It will be black here," he said.
"Water / will be good [water black] / here," / he said / they say.
tō n̄ cûn / bûñ kya tcañ / tcin yanī
tō \(n\) cōñ bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) djañ tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n i \overline{ }\)
Note There seems to have been confusion (Goddard's?) due to the vowel reduction in unstressed nshong ("good"), resulting in it being connected with "black".
\[
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\]
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \(41.7{ }^{\prime \prime}\) & \begin{tabular}{l}
bischloo \\
bischloo \\
great horned owl \\
na \\
great horned owl \\
[Subj]
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
Ihaa-manjaa' \\
(n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 \\
be many \\
vd \\
let there be many \\
[VP]
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& =\text { banjaa' } \\
& =\text { let be/will be } \\
& \text { encl }
\end{aligned}
\] & \begin{tabular}{l}
jaang \\
jaang \\
here \\
adv \\
here \\
[AdvP]
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{tc' in ..nii/n+PERF.,ЗANIM. yaa} & \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{say they} & \\
\hline vt & vt & & & \\
\hline he said & they & & & \\
\hline [VP & & ] & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"Let there be many great horned owls here," he said, they say.
"There will be many owls here,
"Owls / will be many / here," / he said / they say.
bûs tce lō / La mûn kya / tcañ tcīn ya nī
bûs tc lō La mûn dja \(^{\varepsilon}\) djañ tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 41.8 " & bisbintc bisbintc spotted owl na spotted owl [Subj] & \begin{tabular}{l}
Ihaa-manjaa' \\
(n)..Ihaan+PERF., 3 \\
be many \\
vd \\
let there be many \\
[VP]
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& =\text { banjaa' } \\
& =\text { let be/will be } \\
& \text { encl }
\end{aligned}
\] & \begin{tabular}{l}
jaang \\
jaang \\
here \\
adv \\
here \\
[AdvP]
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
tc'in \\
.nii/n+
\end{tabular} & ERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & & \\
\hline say & & they say & & \\
\hline vt & & vt & & \\
\hline he said & & they say & & \\
\hline [VP & & ] & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"Let there be many spotted owls here," he said, they say. the barking-owl,
"Barking-owls / will be many / here," / he said / they say.
bûs bûntc / La mûn kya tcañ tcin ya nī
bûs bûntc La mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) djañ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \bar{i}\)

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\section*{"Let there be many screech owls here," he said, they say.} the screech-owl, "Screech-owl / will be many / here," / he said / they say. tcī lìl / La mûn kya tcan tcin ya nī tcī lil la mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) djañ tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)

"Let there be many pigmy owls and grosbeaks," he said, they say. and the little owl.
"Little owl, / grosbeak [blue bird/mountain robbin] / will be many," / he said / they say. tcī bō witc/gûts / djītc wōts La mûn kya / tcin ya nī tcī bō witc djitc wōts la mûn dja \(a^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)

"Let there be many scrub jays, and let there be many grouse, valley quail, and woodrats here on the mountain," he said, they say.
"There shall be many bluejays, grouse, and quails. Here on this mountain will be many wood-rats.
"Bluejays / will be many, / grouse, / quails, / wood-rats / will be many / here / mountain on," / he said / they say.
sûs saī tciñ La mûn kya / dûs tcō / dûstc / Lō n iL kai / La mûn kya tcûñ sûs nō kut tcīn ya nī
 \(\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}\)
\[
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\]

"Let there be many varied thrushes," he said, they say.
There shall be many varied robins.
"Varied robins [mountain robbin; NB V: pretty near like na cō ka] / will be many," / he said / they say.
tcaL nī La muñ kya tcin ya nī [NB V: tcaL nī]
tcal nī la mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 41.13 " & chinch'ghiichow chinch'ghiichow pileated woodpecker na pileated woodpecker [Subj] & \begin{tabular}{l}
Ihaa-manjaa' \\
(n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 =banjaa' \\
be many \(\quad=\) let be/will be \\
vd encl \\
let there be many \\
[VP]
\end{tabular} \\
\hline tc'in ..nii/n+P & \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa'nii \\
ERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \(1_{1}\)
\end{tabular} & \\
\hline say & they say & \\
\hline vt & vt & \\
\hline he said & they say & \\
\hline [VP & ] & \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{"Let there be many pileated woodpeckers," he said, they say.} \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{There shall be many woodcocks, "Woodcocks [wood cock] / will be many," / he said / they say. tcûn tca gī tcō / La mûn kya / tcin ya nī tcûn tc' gī tcō La mûn dja \(a^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

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}

\subsection*{41.14 " bintcbil Ihaa-manjaa'}
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
bintcbil & (n)..lhaan+PERF.,3 \(=\) banjaa' \\
flicker & be many & \(=\) let be/will be \\
na & vd & encl \\
flicker & let there be many & \\
[Subj] & [VP] &
\end{tabular}
"Let there be many flickers.
yellow-hammers,
"Yellowhammers / will be many.
bûntc bûl / La mûn kya
bûntc bûl La mûn \(\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\)

\subsection*{41.15 ch'laakii Ihaa-manjaa'}
ch'laakii (n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 =banjaa'
acorn woodpecker be many = let be/will be
na
vd encl
acorn woodpecker let there be many
[Subj]
[VP]

\section*{Let there be many acorn woodpeckers.}
and sap-suckers.
Sap-suckers / will be many.
tcil la kí La mûñ kya
tc' la kī \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) La mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)

\subsection*{41.16 chinch'baaghaa Ihaa-manjaa'}
chinch'baagh+VAR. OF
(n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 =banjaa'

Lewis' woodpecker na
be many \(\quad=\) let be/will be vd
encl
Lewis' woodpecker
let there be many
[Subj]
[VP]
"Let there be many Lewis' woodpeckers."
Lewis wood-peckers [black bird ?; NB V: like crow, eat acorns; Lewis Woodpecker \#408] / will be many.
tcûn tca bag La mun kya [NB V: tcûn tca ba ga; tcûn tcī bag]
tcûn tc' ba ga la mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)

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\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{41.17 seelhtcindinii seelhtcindinii} & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{tc' oolaakii tc'oolaakii} \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{\multirow[t]{2}{*}{yellow-breasted chat meadowlark}} \\
\hline & & & \\
\hline yellow-breas & ted chat me & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{meadowlark} \\
\hline [Subj & & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{]} \\
\hline Ihaa-manjaa' & & tc'in & yaa'nii \\
\hline (n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 & =banjaa' & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline be many & \(=\) let be/will be & say & they say \\
\hline vd & encl & vt & vt \\
\hline let there be many & & he said & they say \\
\hline [VP] & & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"Let there be many yellow-breasted chats and meadowlarks," he said, they say.
Here will be many "mockingbirds" and meadowlarks.
Mockingbird [mockingbird/kingfisher] / meadowlarks [lark] / will be many," / he said / they say.
seL tcûn dûn nī / tcō la kī La mûn kya tcin ya nī
sel tcûn dûn nī tc'ō la kī la mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī


\section*{"Let there be many great blue herons."}

Here will be herons
"Herons [crane] will be many.
seL tcō wí La mûn kya
sel tc'ō \(\overline{1}\) La mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)


Let there be blackbirds.

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}
and blackbirds.
Blackbirds / will be many.
tcō+ La mûñ kya
tc \({ }^{\prime}{ }^{\circ}{ }^{\text {c }}\) La mûn \(\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline 41.20 baanyoo baanyoo mourning dove na mourning dove [Subj] & \begin{tabular}{l}
Ihaa-manjaa' \\
(n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 =banjaa' \\
be many \(\quad=\) let be/will be \\
vd encl \\
let there be many \\
[VP]
\end{tabular} \\
\hline tc'in ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline say & they say \\
\hline vt & vt \\
\hline he said & they say \\
\hline [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Let there be many mourning doves.," he said, they say.
There will be many turtle-doves
Turtle-doves [doves] / will be many."
ban yō / La mûn kya tcin yanī
ban yō La mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 41.21 " & \begin{tabular}{l}
kwiiyiint \\
kwiiyiint \\
band-tailed pigeon na band-tailed pigeon [Subj]
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
Ihaa-manjaa' \\
( n )..Ihaan+PERF.,3 =banjaa' \\
be many \(\quad=\) let be/will be vd encl \\
let there be many \\
[VP]
\end{tabular} \\
\hline tc' in & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }}\) & \\
\hline ..nii/n+ & RF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & \\
\hline say & they say & \\
\hline vt & vt & \\
\hline he said & they say & \\
\hline [VP & ] & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"Let there be many band-tailed pigeons," he said, they say.
and pigeons.
"Pigeons [pidgeon] / will be many," / he said / they say. kwī yī̀nt La mûn kya tcin ya nī
kwī yīnt la mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
41.22 \begin{tabular}{lll} 
" & seelhkit'ii & toonai \\
& seelhkit'ii & toonai \\
& belted kingfisher & fish \\
na & na \\
& belted kingfisher & fish \\
& {\([\) Subj] } & {\([O b j]\)}
\end{tabular}
ch'ibee-banjaa'
ch'-(ghin)..bee/bee' + IMPF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =banjaa'
catch (like picking berries) = let be/will be
vt
encl
let it catch
[VP]

\section*{tc'in yaa'nii}
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
he said they say
[VP
]
"Let kingfishers catch fish," he said, they say.
The kingfishers will catch fish.
"Kingfishers [NB V: Belted kingfisher from bird book] / fish / will catch," / he said / they say.
seL kût dī tō nai tcī be / bûn kya tcin ya nī [NB V: seL kût ī]
sel k'ût dī tō nai tc' be bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
41.23 "
tc'intch'itseetcing , tc' intch'itseetcing daatcaang'
turkey vulture raven
na
na
turkey vulture raven
[Subj
]

\section*{Ihaa-manjaa'}
(n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3 =banjaa'
be many \(\quad=\) let be/will be
vd
encl
let there be many
[VP]

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}

\section*{"Let there be many vultures and ravens.}

There will be many buzzards and ravens.
"Buzzards, [buzzard (high word); buzzard] / ravens [crow] / will be many. tcûn de kûts ē tciñ da tcañ / La mûñ kya [NB V: tcûn de kûts sē tciñ] tcûn \(t\) kûts tsē tcûñ da tcañ La mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
Note Bill Ray noted this word for turkey vulture/buzzard was a "high word." (Goddard NBVII-stories 28-33, p.54)


There will be many robins.
"Robins [robbin] / will be many / here," / he said / they say. na cō ka / La mûn kya tcan tcīn yanī na co \(^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\mathrm{k}}\) 'a La mûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) djañ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

"Let there be many deer on this tall mountain," he said, they say.
On this high mountain there will be many deer," he said.
"Mountain tall [mountain high] / this on / deer / will be many," / he said / they say. sûs nō nez / dī kût / īn tce / La mûn kya tcin yanī ts'ûs no \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) nes dī k'wût' in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) La mûn dja \(a^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
42.1
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
jaang & kwonteelh-banjaa' \\
jaang & kwonteelh \({ }_{1}=\) banjaa' \\
here & valley \(\quad=\) let be/will be \\
adv & na & encl \\
here & let it be a valley \\
{\([\) AdvP] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)}
\end{tabular}
tc'in ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
say
vt
he said
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
"Let there be a valley here," he said, they say.
"Let there be a valley here," he said.
"Here / valley will be," / he said / they say. tcan kwûn teL bûñ kya / tcin ya nī
\[
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\]
djañ kwûn tel bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc \(^{\prime}\) in ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī

\begin{tabular}{lll} 
want'aa' & nchaah-banjaa' & \\
want' aa' & n..chaagh+PERF.,3 \(=\) =banjaa' \\
some & be large & \(=\) let be/will be \\
pron & vd & encl \\
some & let it be big & \\
{\([\) Subj \(]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} &
\end{tabular}
"Let (some of them) be small Douglas fir trees; and let some be big.
There will be fir trees, some small and some large.
"Firs small / will be. Some / large will be.
tcī be wi yajkts / bûñ kya / ō wañ wan tca bûñ tca tc \({ }^{\prime} \overline{1}\) be ū yacts bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) wan \(t^{\prime} a^{\varepsilon} n\) tca \({ }^{\circ}\) bûn \(\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\)
```

42.3 titbilh totbilh
titbil+VAR. OF ti-(s)..tbilh/biil'+OPT.,3
rain rain (v)
na vi
rain let it rain
[Subj] [VP]

```

\section*{Let the rain fall.}

Let the rain fall.
Rain / let fall. [let it rain]
tût bûL tō te bûL
tût bûL tōtbûL
42.4 otyaats
..tyaats+OPT.,3
snow (v)
vi
let it snow
[VP]

\section*{Let it snow.}

Let it snow.

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Let it snow.
ō tī yats
\(\overline{0}\) tyats
42.5 oloo
..loo \({ }_{1}+\) OPT.,3
hail (v)
vi
let it hail
[VP]

\section*{Let it hail.}

Let there be hail.
Let it hail. [frost]
\(\bar{o}\) lō
ō lō
\begin{tabular}{llll}
42.6 & aah & noyaa & ," \\
aah & n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+OPT.,3 & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
cloud & sg come/arrive back & say & they say \\
na & vi & vt & vt \\
cloud & let it come & he said & they say \\
{\([\) Subj] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & {\([V P\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

Let the clouds come," he said, they say.
Let the clouds come.
Clouds / let come," [let it be cloud] / he said / they say.
a' nōya tcin ya nī
\(a^{a}\) nō ya te'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
42.7 totbil-dee' taa'onyaang
ti-(s)..tbilh/biil'+OPT.,3 =i =dee' taa-n-(nin)..yaa/yaan+OPT.,3
rain (v) \(\quad=\mathrm{NR}=\) if rise (of water)
vi
encl conj vi
when it would rain
[ AdvCl ]

\section*{"When it would rain, let the water rise.}

When it rains let the streams increase,
"If it rain, / let streams rise. [let river raise]
tō te bûL te / ta ōn yañ
tōt bûl de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ta ōn yañ

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}
```

42.8 too ochaah
too n..chaagh+OPT.,3
water be large
na vd
water let it be large
[Subj] [VP]
Let the water be large.
let the water be high,
Water / let be large. [let be big]
tō\overline{ o tca}
tō ō tca
42.9 djaang oleeh
djaang (s)..leegh/liin'+OPT.,3
muddy water become
na vs
muddy water let there become
[Obj] [VP]

```

\section*{Let it become muddy.}
```

let it become muddy.
Mud / let become. [let be]
tcañ / ō le
tcañ ō le

| 42.10 titbil nee'oonyaan  <br> titbil nee-oo-(nin)..yaash/yaan+PERF.,3 $=\mathrm{i}$  <br> rain stop increasing $=N R$  <br> na vi encl  <br> rain it stops increasing   <br>  $[$ Subj] $[\mathrm{VP}]$  |
| :---: |
| took'ing-haa <br> too.. $\mathrm{K}^{\prime}$ in+IMPF., 3 =haa |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { stop raining } \quad \begin{array}{c} \text { encl } \\ \text { vi } \end{array} \end{aligned}$ |
| just as it stops raining |
| [AdvCl] |

```

The rainwater stopped increasing, just as it stops raining.
When the rain stops
It rains / it stops increasing, / it stops raining. [when it stops raining]

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}
tût bûl ne ōn yûn to ûñ ha tût bûl ne ōn yan tō k'ûn ha
```

42.11 too nshoong
too n..shoon+PERF.,3
water be good
na vd
water it is good

```
    [Subj] [VP]
naa'oleeh-jaa'
naa-(s)..leegh/liin'+OPT.,3 =jaa'
become again = volitive/optative
vi
    encl
let it become again
[VP]
Let the water become good again."
let the water become good again," he said.
Water / good / let it become again." [let be again]
tō / n cōñ / na ō le kya
tō n cōñ na ō le dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
```

4 3 . 1 ~ n a a n t y a a ~ y a a ' n i i ~
naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 yaa'nii
sg come back they say
vi vt
he came back they say
[VP
He came back, they say.
He came back.
He came back [he got back] / they say.
na ti ya ya nī
nan tya ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n \overline{1}}$

```
```

43.2 hai kaal'aa'

```
43.2 hai kaal'aa'
    hai }\mp@subsup{1}{}{\prime}\mathrm{ kaa-(ghin)..l'aa/' aa'+IMPF.,3
    hai }\mp@subsup{1}{}{\prime}\mathrm{ kaa-(ghin)..l'aa/' aa'+IMPF.,3
    that grow up from below
    that grow up from below
    dem vi
    dem vi
    that grows up
    that grows up
    [AdvCl
```

    [AdvCl
    ```
    ]

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}
```

tc'istciin'-ding naantyaa
(s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =ding naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3
make O
vt
where he made it
]

```

\section*{naantyaa}
naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3
sg come back
vi
he came back
[VP
```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]

```

He came back to that place where he made things grow up, they say.

That / grow / he made place [he make grow place] / he came back / they say.
hai / kala / tcis tcin dûñ / na ti ya / ya nī
hai ka l'a \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' is tcin dûñ nan tya ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\(43.3^{\prime \prime}\) shlootc
shitl'aa'
*lootc+1sG. POSS. OF *tl'aa'+1sG. POSS. OF
puppy right behind \(P\)
nia
postp
my puppy
right behind me
[NP]
[PostP]
naandaalh
naa-gh..daalh+PROG.,2sG.
sg come back
vi
you (sg.) come back along
[VP]
"Walk along behind me, my puppy.
"Walk behind me, my dog," he said.
"My dog / my back [behind me] / come along.
cìl lōts / cīt La nan daL
c lōts cit La nan daL

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43.4 oodittgee
.1
oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc' +OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
look at O
vt
let us look at it
[VP]
Let us look around at it."
We will look at what has taken place."
We will look." [let us go look at it; NB V: let us look]
\(\bar{o}\) ??na dûg gī ?? tca [NB V: ō dût te ge+]
\(\bar{o}\) dût \(\mathrm{tge}^{\varepsilon}\)
43.5 kaal' \(\mathbf{a a}\) '-eekwaanaang
kaa-(ghin)..I'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow up from below =eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vi
encl vencl
they had grown up
[VP]
The plants had grown up.
Trees had grown.
Vegetation had grown. [grow had]
kala ē kwa nañ
ka l'a \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) è kwa nañ
\begin{tabular}{llll}
43.6 & toonai & naasdeeleeh-kwaanaang & shaahnaa'-taah \\
toonai & naa-(s)..dileegh+PERF.,3 & \(=\) kwaanaang & shaahnaa'-taah \\
fish & pl. swim around & \(=\) kwaan-nan--clitic & creeks \\
na & vi & vencl & na \\
fish & they swam around underwater & creeks \\
{\([\) Subj \(]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & {\([A d v P]\)}
\end{tabular}

Fish were swimming around in the creeks.
Fish were in the streams.
Fish / had become [was swimming around] / creeks in.
tō na / nas dē lē kwa nañ / ca na ta
tō nai nas dē lē kwa nañ \(\mathrm{ca}^{\circ}\) na \(^{\varepsilon}\) ta \({ }^{\circ}\)

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}
```

4 3 . 7 ~ s e e
see
stone
na
rock
[Subj]
ghinchaagh-eekwaanaang
ghin..chaagh+TRTL.,PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
become large = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vd
encl
vencl
had become large
[VP]
The rocks had become big.
The rocks had become large.
Rocks / had become large. [became big]
se / gûn tcage kwa nan
se gûn tca ge kwa nañ

```

\section*{43.8 nghinshoon-eekwaanaan}
```

n-ghin..shoon'+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
become good = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic vd
encl vencl
had become good
[VP]
It had become good.
It was good.
It had become good.
ngûn cō ne kwan nûn
n gûn cō ne kwa nan
44.1 kaakw tc'galh yaa'nii
kaakw gaalh ${ }_{1}$ +PROG.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
quickly 3 sg walk they say
adv vi
vt
quickly he walks along they say
[AdvP] [VP
]
He traveled quickly.
He travelled fast
Fast / he walked they say.

```

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}
ka tcī gûL ya nī [NB V: ka kwntc gûL]
kaku tc' qą̨ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 44.2 kaakw & kowinyaalh & shlootc \\
\hline kaakw & ko-gh..yaalh + +PROG.,2SG. & *lootc+1SG. POSS. OF \\
\hline quickly & sg be walking & puppy \\
\hline adv & vi & n i \\
\hline quickly & you (sg.) be walking & my puppy \\
\hline [AdvP] & [VP] & [NP] \\
\hline ilhtc' in & yaa' nii & \\
\hline ilhch' in & yaa' \({ }^{\text {iii }} 1\) & \\
\hline tell X & they say & \\
\hline vi & vt & \\
\hline he tells him & they say & \\
\hline [VP & ] & \\
\hline "Walk quick & kly, my dog," he told him, the & say. \\
\hline "Come, walk & fast, my dog," he said. & \\
\hline "Fast / walk [ & [walk fast] / my dog," / he told hi & e said] / they say. \\
\hline ka kō win yaL & cil lots ûL tcin ya nī & \\
\hline kaku kō win y & yal c lōts ûl tc' in ya \({ }^{\text {n }}\) n̄ & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
44.3 nee' nghinshoon-eekwaanaan
nee' n-ghin..shoon'+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
land become good =eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
na vd
encl vencl
land had become good
[Subj] [VP]
The land had become good.
The land had become good.
Land [place] / was good.
ne \(\underline{n}\) gûn coñ ne kwa nûn
ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n gûn cō nē kwa nan

\section*{44.4 kwonteelh}
kwonteelh \({ }_{1}\)
valley
na
valley
[Subj]
\[
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\]
```

sliin'-eekwaanan
(s).leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
become = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
had become
[VP]
There had come to be valleys.
The valleys had become broad..
Valleys / had become. [became]
kwon teL s lī ne kwûn nûn
kwûn tel slī nē kwa nąn

```

\section*{44.5 kaal' \({ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}\) 'eekwaanan}
```

    kaa-(ghin)..I'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
    grow up from below = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
    vi
    encl vencl
    had grown up from below
    [VP]
    Iheenee'haa' Ihtaahkii
Iheenee'haa' Ihtaahkii
every/all different kinds
pro-form pron
all different kinds
[Subj
]
All different kinds (of plants) had grown up.
All kinds of trees and plants had sprung up.
Had grown up / all / different kinds.
kal a ē kwa nûn / Le ne ha / L takī
$\mathrm{kal}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\bar{e}}$ kwa nąn Le ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ha $^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ ta ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{k} \overline{1}$
44.6 too
too
water
na
water
[Subj]

```

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}
```

nghisliin-eekwaanang

```
```

n-(ghees)..liin+TRTL.,PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang

```
n-(ghees)..liin+TRTL.,PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
start flowing = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
start flowing = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vi
vi
had started flowing
[VP]
Water had started flowing.
and water was flowing.
Water / had begun to flow. [run]
tō / ñ ûs lī nē kwûn nûn [NB V: tō ñ+ûs lī nē kwa nuñ]
tō n ûs lī nē kwa nąn
4 4 . 7 ~ s a a k t o o '
    saaktoo'
    spring (of water)
    na
    spring (of water)
    [Subj]
```


## sliin-eekwaanan

```
(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
become & \(=\) eyewitness evid. \\
vs & encl
\end{tabular}
had become
[VP]
Springs had come into being.
Springs had become
Springs / had become.
sak tō / s lī nē kwa nûn
sak tō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) slī nē kwa nąn
```



```
"Let me taste the water again.
"Again I will try the water," he said.
"Again / water / I try.
```


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```
tcō yī ha / tō / bec aī
tcō yī ha ' tō bec }\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mp@subsup{\textrm{a}}{}{\varepsilon
\begin{tabular}{llll}
44.9 & niing & lhaa' & tainang \\
niing & lhaa' & taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,2sG. & tc'in \\
2sg indep & too & driink & ni/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
pron & pron & vi & say \\
you (sg.) & too & you (sg.) drink & vt \\
[Subj] & {\([\) AdvP \(][\mathrm{VP}]\)} & he said \\
& & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)}
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say
    ]
You drink, too," he said, they say.
"You, too, drink."
You, / too, / drink," / he said / they say.
nīn La / tai nûñ / tcin ya nī
niñ ca' tai nąñ tc'in ya}\mp@subsup{\mp@code{Ma}}{}{\varepsilon
44.10 ts'ii'
    ts'ii'
    brush
    na
    brush
    [Subj]
kaal'aa'-eekwaanan
kaa-(ghin)..I'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow up from below = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vi
had grown up from below
[VP]
Brush had grown up.
Brush had sprung up.
Brush / had grown up.
tsī / kala e / kwa nûn
ts'i}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mp@subsup{\textrm{ka l'口}}{}{\prime}\mp@subsup{\textrm{a}}{}{\varepsilon
```

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| 44.11 | kaakw | tc'gaalh | yaa' ${ }^{\text {iii }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | kaakw | gaalh ${ }_{1}$ +PROG.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | quickly | 3sg walk | they say |
|  | adv | vi | vt |
|  | quickly | he is walking | they say |
|  | [AdvP] | [VP | ] |

He was traveling quickly, they say.
He traveled fast.
Fast / he walked [walk fast] / they say.
kak tcì gaL / ya nī
kaku tc'qaL ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
45.1 " nee'
nee'
land
na
land
[Obj]

"I made the land good, my puppy," he said to his dog, they say.
"I have made a good earth, my dog," he said.
"Land [ground] / I made good, [good I fixed] / my dog," / he said to him / they say, / his dog.
ne cō gī la ge / cìl lōts / ûL tcīn yani kwì ló ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ co $^{\varepsilon}$ gī la ge c lōts ûL tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ku lō

$$
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$$



Pine cones / were hanging.

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```
na dil/deL / na gī sa ne kwa nañ
na dīl' na gī sa ne kwa nañ
45.5 nonk'tcing
    nonk'tcing
    tarweed seed
    na
    tarweed seed
    [Subj]
neesyaan-eekwaanaang
n-(s)..yaan+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow/ripen = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vd
encl vencl
had ripened
[VP]
Tar-weed seeds had ripened.
Tar-weeds / were ripe. [ripe] nōñ tcûñ / nes ya nē / kwa nañ
nōñ \(k\) tcûñ nes ya nē kwa nañ
```

```
45.6 tkoo'iishtc neesyaan-eekwaanaang
```

45.6 tkoo'iishtc neesyaan-eekwaanaang
tkoo'iishtc n-(s)..yaan+PERF.,3 =yee
tkoo'iishtc n-(s)..yaan+PERF.,3 =yee
=kwaanaang
=kwaanaang
chinquapin grow/ripen = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
chinquapin grow/ripen = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
na
na
vd
vd
encl
encl
vencl
vencl
chinquapin had ripened
chinquapin had ripened
[Subj] [VP]

```
    [Subj] [VP]
```


## Chinquapins (chestnuts) had ripened.

The chestnuts were ripe.
Chestnuts / were ripe. [ripe]
t kōcts / nes ya nē / kwa nañ
t kō īcts nes ya nē kwa nañ
45.7 k'ai' nshoon-eekwaanaang
$\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{ai}^{\prime}{ }_{1} \mathrm{n}$..shoon+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { hazelnut be good } & \text { = eyewitness evid. } & =\text { kwaan-nan--clitic } \\ \text { na } & \text { vd } & \text { encl }\end{array}$
vencl
hazelnut they were good
[Subj] [VP]

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## The hazelnuts were good.

The hazelnuts were ripe.
Hazelnuts [hazzle] / were good. [good]
kxaī $^{\text {/ n n }}$ cō nē / kwa nañ
k'aí ${ }^{n}$ cō nē kwa nañ

## 45.8 tinish <br> tinish <br> manzanita <br> na <br> manzanita

[Subj]
eetgai-eekwaanaang
ee..tgai+TRTL.,IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
become white = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vd
encl
vencl
they had become white
[VP]
Manzanita berries had become white.
The manzanita berries were getting white.
Manzanita berries [manzanita] / were getting white. [is getting white] tûn nû́c / et ka ye / kwa nañ
tûn nûc et ga ye kwa nañ

| 45.9 | Iheenee'haa' | Ihtaahkii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Iheenee'haa' | Ihtaahkii |
|  | every/all | different kinds |
|  | pro-form | pron |
|  | all | different kinds |
|  | [Subj | ] |

nshoon-eekwaanaang
n..shoon+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
be good = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vd encl vencl
they were good
[VP]

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```
tghaayaa-mang
tghaayaan =bang
eat = purposive enclitic
v encl
for eating
[AdvCl]
```

All different kinds of things were good for eating.
All sorts of food had become good.
All / different kinds / were good, / for eating. (?) [to eat]
Le ne ha / L ta kī / n cōne / kwunnun / tga ya mûñ
Le ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ha $a^{\varepsilon}$ L ta ${ }^{c}$ kī $n$ cō nē kwa nañ t ga ya mûñ
45.10 laashee'
laashii' + VAR. OF
buckeye
na
buckeye
[Subj]
nghinshoon-eekwaanaang
n-ghin..shoon'+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
become good =eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vd
encl vencl
they had become good
[VP]
Buckeye nuts had become good.

The buckeyes were good.
Buckeyes / were good. [was good]
la ce / gûn cō ne / kwûn nan
la $\mathrm{ce}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$ gûn cō ne kwa nañ

```
45.11 antcin
    aantcing
    peppernut
    na
    peppernut
    [Subj]
```

$$
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$$

```
eetshiin-eekwaanan
ee..tshin+TRTL.,IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
become black = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vd
encl
    vencl
they had become black
[VP]
Peppernuts had become black.
The peppernuts were black.
Peppernuts / were black. [turn black]
ûn tûñ / et cí nē kwûnnûn
ûn tcûn et cī nē kwa nąn
\begin{tabular}{llll}
45.12 & tl'ohchow & neesdaan-eekwaanang & \\
tl'ohchow & n-s..daan \(+^{* * *}=\) yee & =kwaanaang \\
bunch grass & be ripe & \(=\) eyewitness evid. & \(=\) kwaan-nan--clitic \\
na & vd & encl & vencl \\
bunch grass & were ripe & & \\
{\([\) Subj] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & &
\end{tabular}
The bunch grass seeds were ripe.
The bunch grass was ripe.
Bunch grass / was ripe. [ripe]
Lō tcō / nes dá nē kwannûñ
Lō tcō nes da nē kwa nąñ
45.13 aadiits
aadiits
grasshopper
na
grasshopper
[Subj]
kwiiyaan-eekwaanan
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
ko-ghin..yaan+IMPF., 3 & \(=\) yee & \(=\) kwaanaang \\
grow up & \(=\) eyewitness evid. & \(=\) kwaan-nan--clitic \\
vi & encl & vencl
\end{tabular}
they had grown up
[VP]
Grasshoppers had grown up.
The grass-hoppers were growing.
Grasshoppers / were growing. [is growing]
```

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```
a dīts / kwī ya nē kwa nûñ
a dīts kwī ya nē kwa nąn
4 5 . 1 4 \text { naakwong}
    naakong
    clover
    na
    clover
    [Subj]
bindaayee'-eekwaanang
bi-(nin)..daayee'+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL. =yee =kwaanaang
be with seed = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vi (imprs.)
encl vencl
were in bloom/with seed
[VP]
The clover was in bloom (with seed).
The clover was in bloom.
Clover / was with seed. [got flower on]
na kōñ / bûn da ye e / kwûn nûñ
na kwōñ bûn da ye ē kwa nąñ
```


### 45.15 shaasht'ang' <br> shaasht'ang' <br> bull clover <br> na <br> bull clover <br> [Subj]

```
nghinshoon-eekwaanang
n-ghin..shoon'+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
become good =eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vd
encl vencl
had become good
[VP]
The bull clover ("bear clover") had become good.
The bear-clover was good.
Bear-clover / was good.
cac dûñ / \(\underline{n}\) gûn cō ne / kwûn nûñ
cac dûñ n gûn cō ne kwa nąñ
```

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
45.16 ts'isnoo'
    ts'isnoo'
    mountain
    na
    mountain
    [Subj]
kwiiyaan-eekwaanang
ko-ghin..yaan+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow up = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vi
    encl vencl
had grown up
[VP]
Mountains had grown up.
The mountains had grown.
Mountains / had grown. [grow]
sûs nō / kwī ya nē kwa nûñ
ts'ûs nō}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ kwī ya nē kwa nąn
\begin{tabular}{llll}
45.17 & see & kwiiyaan-eekwaanang & \\
see & ko-ghin..yaan+IMPF.,3 \(=\) yee & \(=\) kwaanaang \\
stone & grow up & encl & encl \\
na & vi & & vencl \\
rock & had grown up & & \\
{\([\) Subj \(]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & &
\end{tabular}
```


## The rocks had grown up.

The rocks had grown.
Rocks / had grown.
se / kwī ya nē / kwa nûñ se kwī ya nē kwa nąñ

| 45.18 | Ihtaahkii <br> Ihtaahkii |
| :--- | :--- |
| ch'ghaayaang'  <br> different kinds ch' <br> pron eat st |  |
| different kinds | they eat them |
| $[$ Obj $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |

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```
nghinshoon-eekwaanang
n-ghin..shoon'+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
become good = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vd
    encl vencl
had become good
[VP]
The different kinds of things had become good to eat.
All kinds that are eaten had become good.
Different kinds / they eat [to eat] / were good.
L takī / tci ga yûñ / ng gûn cō nē / kwa nuñ
L ta \(a^{\circ}\) kī tc ga yañ n gûn cō nē kwa nąñ
45.19 " shlootc
*lootc+1SG. POSS. OF
puppy
n ia
my puppy
[NP]
shoo'iidilaagh-ee
shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
```

fix O
vt
= eyewitness evid.
encl

```
we fixed it well
[VP]
"We made it well, my puppy."
"We made it good, my dog."
"My dog, / we made it good." [good we fixed it]
cìl lōts cō ī dûl la ge
c lōts cō ī dûl la ge
45.20 toonai kwiiyaan-eekwaanang
toonai ko-ghin..yaan+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
fish grow up =eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
na vi
encl
vencl
fish had grown up
[Subj] [VP]
```

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```
ch'aaghaayaa'-mang
ch'-(ghin)..yaan/yaan'+PERF.,3,DIST =bang
eat st
vt
    = purposive enclitic
    encl
for them to eat them
[AdvCl]
```

Fish had grown up for them to eat.
Fish for the people to eat had grown in the streams.
Fish / had grown / they will eat. [to eat]
tō nai / kwī ya nē / kwûn nûñ / tca ga ya mûñ
tō nai kwī ya nē kwa nąñ tce ga mûñ
$46.1 \begin{array}{ll}\text { " } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Toosii' ding } \\ \\ \\ \\ \text { Toosii' ding }\end{array}\end{array}$
Water Head Place
na
Water Head Place
[AdvP]

```
naaniideel'-ee ghint'ee .
```

naa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel' ${ }_{2}+$ PERF.,1PL. =yee ghint'ee
$\underset{\mathrm{vi}}{\mathrm{du} / \mathrm{pl} \text { come back } \quad=\text { eyewitness evid. }}$
we came back
encl
[VP]
ghint'ee
du /pl come back
vi
now
adv
now
[AdvP]

## "We came back to Water Head Place now."

"We have come to tōsīdûñ (south) now," he said.
"Water-head-place [end of world south] / we have come [they got back] / now."
tō sī dûñ / na nī dē le gûn te
tō $\mathrm{sic}^{\varepsilon}$ dûñ na nī dē le gûn $\mathrm{t}^{\prime} \mathrm{e}$
Note Toosii' ding is the southern end of the created world.

### 46.2 Ihtaahkii

## Ihtaahkii

different kinds
pron
different kinds
[Subj]

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```
neesyaan-eekwaanang
n-(s)..yaan+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow/ripen = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vd encl vencl
had grown
[VP]
Different kinds of things have ripened.
All the different kinds were matured.
Different kinds / are ripe.
Lta kī / nes ya nē / kwûn uñ̀
L ta \({ }^{\circ}\) kī nes ya nē kwan nąñ
\begin{tabular}{lll}
46.3 naaheesdeel' & yaa'nii &, \\
kwloo \\
naahi-(s)..dilh/deel'+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii & *loo+3ANIM. POSS. \\
du/pl go back home & they say & dog \\
vi & vt & nia \\
they started back home & they say & his dog \\
{\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(\quad]\) & {\([\) PostP }
\end{tabular}
hilh
*ilh+ACCOMP.,+ 3 OBL.X
accompaniment
postp
with it
]
```

They started back home, they say, with his dog.
They started back, he and his dog.
They went back / they say, / his dog / with him. na hes del ya nī / kwī lō' / hûL
na hes del' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ku lō hûL

| 46.4 | naidilh | " tc' in | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | naa..dilh/deel' + OPT.,1PL. | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | du/pl go home | say | they say |
|  | vi | vt | vt |
|  | let us go back home | he said | they say |
|  | [VP] | [VP |  |

"Let's go back home," he said, they say.
"We will go back," he said.
"We will go back," [let's go back] / he said / they say.

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nai dûL / tcin / ya nī nai dût tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

"The mountains have grown quickly," he said, they say.
"The mountains have grown up quickly.
"Quickly, [quick] / mountains / have grown," [grown] / he said / they say.
kakw / sûs nō / kwì yanē kwa nuñ / tcin yanī
kaku ts'ûs nō $\bar{\varepsilon}^{\varepsilon}$ kwī ya nē kwa nąñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
46.6 " kwonteel-eekwaanang
ko-n..teelh+PERF.,3AREAL =yee =kwaanaang
be flat (land) =eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
had be(come) flat
[VP]
nee'
nee'
land
na
land
[Subj]

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"The land has become flat.
The land has become flat.
Flat had become [big valley] / land.
kwûn tē le kwûn nûn / ne+
kwûn tē le kwa nąñ ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

```
46.7 Ihoo'yaashgaitc
    lhoo'yaashgaitc
    trout
    na
    trout
    [Subj]
kwiiyaan-eekwaanang
ko-ghin..yaan+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow up = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vi
encl
vencl
```

have grown up
[VP]

## Trout have grown up.

The trout have grown.
Trout / had grown. [grown]
Lō yac kaists kwī ya nē / kwa nûñ
Lō yac gaicts kwī ya nē kwa nąñ

## 46.8 too-nshoong

too-nshoong
good water
na
good water
[Subj]
nghisliin-eekwaanan

| n -(ghees)..liin+TRTL.,PERF., 3 | $=y e e$ | =kwaanaang |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| start flowing | $=$ eyewitness evid. | $=$ kwaan-nan--clitic |
| vi | encl | vencl |

has started flowing
[VP]
Good water has started flowing.
Good water is flowing.
Water / good / was flowing. [running down]

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```
tō n_ cōn gûs lī ne kwûn nûn
tō n cōn n gûs lī ne kwa nąn
46.9 kaakw kowinyaalh
    kaakw ko-gh..yaalh }\mp@subsup{}{1}{+PROG.,2SG.
    quickly sg be walking
    adv vi
    quickly you (sg.) be walking
    [AdvP] [VP]
Walk quickly!
Walk fast.
Fast / walk. [walk fast]
kak kō wûn yaL
kaku kō win yaL
46.10 Ihtaahkii
    Ihtaahkii
    different kinds
    pron
    different kinds
    [Subj]
nghinshoon-eekwaanang
n-ghin..shoon'+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
become good = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vd encl vencl
they have become good
[VP]
shoo'iidilaagh-eekwaanang
shoo'-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
make O well = eyewitness evid.
vt
    encl
=kwaanaang
= kwaan-nan--clitic
vencl
we have made them well
[VP]
```

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shlootc
*lootc+1sG. POSS. OF
puppy
n ia
my puppy
[NP]
The different kinds of things have become good; we have made them well, my puppy.
All things have become good. We have made them good, my dog.
Different kinds / have become good, / we have made them good, [good we fix] my dog.
L takī / ñ gûn cō nē / kwa nûñ cō ī dûl lage kwa nûñ cillōts
L ta` kī n gûn cō nē kwa nąñ cō ī dûl la ge kwa nąñ c lōts

### 46.11 kowinsil-ee

ko-ghin..silh+PERF.,3 =yee
weather to become warm = eyewitness evid.
vs encl
weather became warm
[VP]

## It got warm outside.

It is warm outside.
It is warm.
kū wûn sûl lē
kō wûn sûl le
46.12 nee' nghinshoon-ee
nee' n-ghin..shoon'+PERF.,3 =yee
land become good = eyewitness evid.
na vd
encl
land it became good
[Subj] [VP]
The land became good."
The land is good."
Land [ground] / is good." [good]
ne $\underline{n}$ gûn cō nē
ne ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$ gûn $\mathrm{cō}$ ne

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```
47.1 ts'ii' neesyaan-eekwaanang
    ts'ii' n-(s)..yaan+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
    brush grow/ripen = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
    na vd
    encl vencl
    brush it had grown
    [Subj] [VP]
The brush had grown.
The brush had grown.
Brush / has grown. [grow]
tsī nes ya nē / kwa nûñ
ts' \({ }^{\imath}\) n \(n\) nes ya nē kwa nąñ
```


### 47.2 Ihtaahkii

```
Ihtaahkii
different kinds
pron
different kinds
[Subj]
kaal'aa' -eekwaanang
kaa-(ghin)..l'aa/'aa' +IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow up from below = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vi
encl vencl
had grown up
[VP]
Different kinds of plants had come up.
Various things had sprung up.
Different kinds / have come up.
Ltakì kal a ē / kwa nûñ
l ta kī ka l'a \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) è kwa nąñ
47.3 noonii
noonii
grizzly bear
na
grizzly bear
[Subj]
```

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```
ghinlhaan-eekwaanang
ghin..Ihaan+TRTL.,PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
many = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vt
encl vencl
had become many
[VP]
There had become many grizzly bears.
Grizzlies had increased in numbers.
Grizzlies / have become many.
nōnī / gûn La nē kwa nûñ
nō nī gûn la nē kwa nąñ
```


## 47.4 t'aa'kwil'iing

```
t'aa'kwl'iing
bird (gen)
na
birds
[Subj]
```


## Iheekwiiyaan-eekwaanang

```
Ihee-kw..yaan+PERF.,3AREAL =yee =kwaanaang
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
grow up \\
vi
\end{tabular}\(\quad=\) eyewitness evid. \(\underset{\text { encl }}{=}\) kwaan-nan--clitic
flocks had grown
[VP]
```


## Flocks of birds had grown.

```
Birds had grown.
Birds / have all grown. [all grown]
ta kwi līñ / Le kwī ya nē kwa nûñ
t'a kwil īñ le kwī ya nē kwa nąñ
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 47.5 too & nghinshoon' -eekwaanan & \\
\hline too & n-ghin..shoon'+PERF.,3 =yee & =kwaanaang \\
\hline water & become good = eyewitness evid. & = kwaan-nan--clitic \\
\hline water & had become good & \\
\hline [Subj] & [VP] & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
```

The water had become good.
The water had become good.

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Water / has become good.
tō / n gûn cō + ne / kwa nûñ
tō n gûn cō nē kwa nąn

```
47.6 tl'oh kwiiyaan-eekwaanang
    tl'oh ko-ghin..yaan+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
    grass grow up = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
    na vi
    encl vencl
    grass had grown up
    [Subj] [VP]
```


## Grass had grown up.

The grass was grown.
Grass / has grown.
Lō kwī ya nē kwa nûñ
Lō ${ }^{\bullet}$ kwī ya nē kwa nąñ

for them to eat them
[ AdvCl ]
Many deer are walking around for them (people) to eat.
Many deer for the people to eat walked about.
Deer / many [lots] / walk / they will eat. [to eat]
in tce / La na ga yē tcē ga ya mûñ
in tce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ Lan na ga ye tc'e ga yan mûñ
47.8 Iheenee' haa'

Iheenee'haa'
every/all
pro-form
every/all
[Subj]

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```
neesyaan-eekwaanang
n-(s)..yaan+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow/ripen = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vd encl
it had grown
[VP]
Everything had grown.
```

All / have grown.
Le ne ha / nes ya nē / kwa nûñ Le ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nes ya nē kwa nąñ

```
47.9 Ihaan Ihtaahkii tl'oh
    Ihaan Ihtaahkii tl'oh
    every kind grass
    pro-form na
    every kind grass
    [Subj ]
kaal'aa'-eekwaanang
kaa-(ghin).I'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow up from below = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vi
```

had grown up
[VP]
Every kind of herb had sprouted up.
Many kinds of herbs had grown.
Many / different kinds / grass / have grown.
Lan / Ltakī / Lō ka la ē / kwa nûñ
Lan l ta` kī Lō ${ }^{\top}$ ka l'a ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ e ${ }^{\text {enwa nąñ }}$


$$
\text { GT02 - Creation: Part } 2 \text { - Bill Ray }
$$

| doo-kwiinaayeedoo= $=$ kwiinaayee |  | wan | kwaanang |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | wang $_{2}$ | =kwaanaang |
| gative $=$ | grow | some | = kwaan-nan--clitic |
| neg | vs | pron | vencl |
| ungrowing |  | some | were/had been |
| [NP] |  | [NP] | [IP] |

Some were small and some were "ungrowing ones."
Some kinds remained small.
Some / were small / could not grow / ---[did not grow??] / some / were.
wûn dō bûn nē kwa nun / dō kwī naye wûñ kwûn nûn wûn dō bûn nē kwa nąñ dō kwī na ye wûn kwa nąñ

### 48.1 Ih'ghish

tl'ghish+DIAL. VAR. OF
rattlesnake
na
rattlesnake
[Subj]
ghinlhaan-eekwaanang
ghin.Ihaan+TRTL.,PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
many $\quad=$ eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vt
encl vencl
had become many
[VP]

## Rattlesnakes had become many.

Rattlesnakes had multiplied.
Rattlesnakes [snakes] / have become many. [lots]
L gûc gûn La nē / kwa nûn
$L^{\varepsilon}$ gûc gûn la nē kwa nąñ
48.2 biinee' dooteel
biinee'tl'ohteeltc+VAR. OF western aquatic garter snake
na
aquatic garter snake
[Subj]

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ghinlhaan-eekwaanang
ghin.Ihaan+TRTL.,PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
many $\quad=$ eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vt
encl vencl
had become many
[VP]

## Aquatic garter snakes had become many.

Water-snakes had become numerous.
Water-snakes / have become many. [lots]
bī ne dō tel gûn La ne kwûn nûñ
bī nē ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ dō tel gûn la nē kwa nąñ

## 48.3 ts'inteelh taach'ilh'aatc'-eekwaanang ts'inteelh taah-ch'-(s)..Ih'aash/'aatc' +PERF.,3ANIM. =yee turtle animal come out of water = eyewitness evid. na vi encl <br> turtle =kwaanaang <br> [Subj] = kwaan-nan--clitic <br> vencl <br> came out of the water

[VP]
, ghinlhaan-eekwaanang
ghin.Ihaan+TRTL.,PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
many $\quad=$ eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vt
encl vencl
had become many
[VP]

## Turtles had come out of the water and become many.

Turtles had come out of the water and increased in numbers.
Turtles / have come out of water / have become many.
sûn teL / ta tcûL a tcē / kwa nûñ / gûn La nē / kwa nûñ
ts'ûn tel ta tc'ûL atc ē kwa nąñ gûn la nē kwa nąñ

### 48.4 Ihaan Ihtaahkii <br> Ihaan Ihtaahkii <br> every kind <br> pro-form <br> every kind <br> [Subj]

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```
kwiiyaan-eekwaanang
ko-ghin..yaan+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow up = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vi
encl vencl
had grown up
[VP]
Many kinds of things had grown up.
Various things had grown.
Many / different kinds / have grown.
Lan Lta kī kwī ya nē / kwa nûñ
Lan l ta` kī kwī ya nē kwa nąñ
48.5 ts'isnoo'
    ts' isnoo'
    mountain
    na
    mountain
    [Subj]
kwiiyaan-eekwaanang
ko-ghin..yaan+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow up = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vi
encl vencl
had grown up
[VP]
The mountains had grown up.
The mountains had grown.
Mountains / have grown.
sûs nō kwī ya nē kwa nûñ
ts'ûs nō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kwī ya nē kwa nąñ
```


## 48.6 kwonteelh

```
kwonteelh \(_{1}\)
valley
na
valley/flat
[Subj]
```


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```
sliin-eekwaanang
(s).leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
become = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vs
encl vencl
had become
[VP]
Valleys had come to be.
The valleys had become.
Valleys / have become.
kwûn teL / s lī nē kwa nûñ
kwûn tel slī nē kwa nąñ
49.1" kaakw ghinyaalh
    kaakw gh..yaalh+PROG.,2sG.
    quickly go along
    adv vi
    quickly you (sg.) go.along
    [AdvP] [VP]
"Walk quickly!"
"Come fast.
"Fast / walk. [come quick]
ka' gûn yaL
kaku}\mathrm{ gûn yaL
49.2 too taashnang
    too taa-(ghin)..naan+IMPF.,1SG.
    water drink
    na vi
    water I drink it
    [Obj] [VP]
I drink water.
I will drink water.
Water / I drink.
tō / tac nûñ
tō tac ną\tilde{ }
```

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You drink, too," he said to his dog, they say.
You, too, drink," he told his dog.
You, / too, / drink," / he said / they say / his dog.
nīn La / tai nûñ / tcin ya nī kwì lṑ
niñ la $^{\varepsilon}$ tai nąn tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ku lō
49.4 " ghint'ee naaniidil-ee
ghint'ee naa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel' ${ }_{2}+$ IMPF., 1 PL.
now du /pl come back
adv vi
now we come back
[AdvP] [VP]
"Now we are coming back.
"Now we are getting back,
"Now / we are coming back. [we coming home]
gûn te / nañ ī dûl le
gûn t'ē na nī dûl le
49.5 kandintc naasdiliin' -ee
kandintc naa-(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,1PL. =yee
close/near become again =eyewitness evid.
adv vi
encl
close/near we got close again
[AdvP] [VP]

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

```
shlootc
*lootc+1SG. POSS. OF
puppy
n ia
my puppy
[NP]
We are close, my puppy.
we are close home, my dog.
Close [little way] / we are, [we get back] / my dog.
kûn guntc / nas dûl lī nē / clōts
kûn dûntc nas dûl lī nē c lōts
4 9 . 6 ~ o o n t g i s h ~ d e e - k ' a a ~
    oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc' +IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ. dee-k'aa
    look at O here/there
    vt dem
    you (sg.) look at it here/there
    [VP]
    [AdvP]
Look right here.
Look here, Look / here. ōn tī gûc dè ka ōnt gûc de k'a
49.7 ts'isnoo' kwiiyaan-kwaang
ts'isnoo' ko-ghin..yaan+IMPF.,3 =kwaan
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
mountain & grow up & vi \\
na & vinferred evid.
\end{tabular}
mountain had grown
[Subj] [VP]
```

The mountains have grown.
the mountains have grown.
Mountains / have grown. [have grow]
sûs nō / kwī yan kwañ
ts'ûs nō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ kwī yan kwañ

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

| 49.8 | neesyaan | Ihtaahkii |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| n-(s)..yaan | Ihtaahkii |  |
| grow/ripen | different kinds |  |
| vd | pron |  |
| is grown | different kinds |  |
| [VP] | [Subj] |  |

## Different kinds of things have grown ripe.

Have grown / different kinds.
nes yañ / L ta kī
nes yan lta ${ }^{\text {kī }}$
49.9 see kwiiyaan-eekwaanaan
see ko-ghin..yaan+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
stone grow up =eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
na vi encl vencl
rock have grown
[Subj] [VP]
The stones have grown.
The stones have grown.
Stones / have grown.
se / kwī ya nē / kwa nan
se kwī ya nē kwa nan
49.10 ts'ii'
ts'ii'
brush
na
brush
[Subj]
kaal'aa'-eekwaanan
kaa-(ghin)..l'aal'aa'+IMPF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow up from below =eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
vi
encl vencl
had grown up from below
[VP]

## Brush has sprouted up.

Brush has come up.
Brush / has come up.

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 - Bill Ray

tsī kal a ē / kwa nûñ
ts ${ }^{\prime} \overline{1}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{kal}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\mathrm{e}}$ kwa nąn

| 49.11 | Iheenee'haa' | Ihtaahkii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lheenee'haa' | Ihtaahkii |  |
| everyone | different kinds |  |
| pron | pron |  |
| everyone | different kinds |  |
|  | SUbj |  |

neesyaan-eekwaanang
n-(s)..yaan+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
grow/ripen = eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic vd
it had grown
[VP]

## All different kinds of things have grown up."

All kinds of thing are grown.
All / different kinds / are growing." [walking]
Le ne ha / L ta kī / nûs ya ē / kwa nûñ
Le ne ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ha $^{\varepsilon}$ L ta ${ }^{\circ}$ kī nes ya ē kwa nąñ
50.1 naaniidilh-teilee
naa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel' ${ }_{2}+$ IMPF.,1PL. =teilee
du /pl come back = will/shall
vi
encl
we are about to arrive back
[VP]
"We are about to arrive back.
"We are about to arrive.
We are about to arrive. [we come home]
na nī dûL te le
na nī dû́ tē le

| 50.2 kan'indin-ee | , | shlootc |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kan..ndin+PERF.,3 | yee | *lootc+1SG. POSS. OF |
| become near | $=$ eyewitness evid. | puppy |
| vs | encl | nia |
| it became near |  | my puppy |
| $[\mathrm{VP}]$ | $[\mathrm{NP}]$ |  |


| ilhtc'in | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| ilhch'in | yaa'nii |
| tell X | they say |
| vi | vt |
| he tells him | they say |
| [VP |  |

## It is near, my puppy," he said to him, they say.

We are close home, my dog," he said.
It is near, [it is close] / my dog," / he said to him / they say. kûn ûn dûn ne / clōts / ûL tcin ya nī kûn ûn dûn ne c lōts ûL tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$


## "I'm about to get back to the north.

"I am about to get back north.
"I am about to get back / north."
nac dac tē le hai de
nac dac tē le hai de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$


## I'm about to get back to the north.

I am about to get back north.
"I am about to get back / north."
nac dac tē le / hai de
nac dac tē le hai de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

| 50.6 " | naashdaash-teilee |  |  | haidee haidee |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,1sG. =teilee |  |  |  |
|  | sg come back |  | $=\mathrm{will} / \mathrm{shall}$ <br> encl | downriver/north direct |
|  | I am about | o come ba |  | north |
|  | [VP] |  |  | [AdvP] |
| tc'in |  | yaa'nii | aatc 'ing' |  |
| ..nii/n+ | ERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | *tc'ing' ++ REFL. OBL. |  |
| say |  | they say | toward P |  |
| vt |  |  | postp |  |
| he said |  | they say | to himself |  |
| [VP |  | ] | [PostP] |  |

## I'm about to get back to the north," he said to himself, they say.

"I am about to get back north," he said to himself.
"I am about to get back / north," / he said / they say, / to himself.
nac dac tē le hai de / tcin ya nī a tciñ
nac dac tē le hai de $\varepsilon^{\varepsilon}$ tc' $^{\prime}$ in $y^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī a tc' ${ }^{\prime} \tilde{n}^{\varepsilon}$
51 kwanlhang
kwanlhaang
all/the end
interj
all
[VP]
That is all.

That is all.
All.
kwûn Lûñ
kwûn Ląñ

## Creation: Part 2 Addendum

This is a page-long "note" of Cahto text, untranslated, on p. 43 of Goddard NBVII-stories $28-33$, opposite the text for paragraphs 35.4 to 35.14 . At the end is a note "(goes all through story)", which is unclear. Is this part of an explanation that Bill Ray gives for the whole story? Is this a refrain that repeats through the whole story? Is this an important part of the story that he missed the first time, so he says it and then repeats the rest of the entire story from this point?

```
1.1 ch'daayee' kaal'aa
    ch'daayee',}\mp@subsup{}{1}{}\mathrm{ kaa-(ghin)..l'aa/'aa'+3
    bloom grow up from below
    na
                    vi
tc'ilhtcii
(ghin)..lhtcii/tciin'+IMPF.,3ANIM.
cause X
    flower/bloom grow up from below
    [Subj]
        [VP]
        he causes
        [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 
they say
vt
they say
```


## He makes flowers grow, they say.

kitdá ye / kala tciL tcī / ya nī

```
1.2 nonk'tcing kaal'aa
    nonk'tcing 
    lol
    na vi
tc'ilhtcii
    (ghin)..Ihtcii/tciin'+IMPF.,3ANIM.
```



```
    tarweed seed grow up from below
    [Subj]
    [VP]
    cause X
    vt
        he causes
    Subj]
yaa'nii
yaa'nii1
they say
vt
they say
```

He makes tarweed grow, they say.
nōñ tcûñ / kala tciL tcī / ya nī


He makes bunchgrass grow, they say.

Lō tcō / kal a tciL tcī / yanī


He makes naalhbas plant grow, they say.
naL bûs / kal a tciL tcī / ya nī
Note Naalhbas is an unidentified plant species. Rose Ray described it, "top good to eat grows at Laytonville not here pretty ones." (Goddard, 1906, NB4)

```
1.5 tinish kaal'aa tc'ilhtcii
    tinish kaa-(ghin)..l'aa/'aa'+3 (ghin)..lhtcii/tciin'+IMPF.,3ANIM.
    manzanita grow up from below cause X
    na vi
    vi vt
    manzanita grow up from below he causes
    [Subj] [VP] [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say
```


## He makes manzanita grow, they say.

tûn núc / kal a tciL tcī / ya nī

| 1.6 k'ai' | kaal'aa | tc'ilhtcii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{ai}^{\prime}{ }_{1}$ | kaa-(ghin)..l' ${ }^{\text {aal' }}$ aa' ${ }^{\text {+ }}$ 3 | (ghin)..lhtcii/tciin' +IMPF.,3ANIM. |
| hazel shrub | grow up from below | cause X |
| na | vi | vt |
| hazel shrub | grow up from below | he causes |
| [Subj] | [VP] | [VP |
| yaa'nii yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |
| they say |  |  |
| vt |  |  |
| they say |  |  |

He makes hazel shrubs grow, they say.
kai+ / kala tciL tcī / ya nī

GT02 - Creation: Part 2 Addendum - Bill Ray

```
1.7 ninkwostiin kaal'aa
    ninkwostiing kaa-(ghin)..l'aa/'aa'+3
    chokecherry grow up from below
    na vi
    chokecherry grow up from below
    [Subj] [VP] [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say
]
```

He makes chokecherries grow, they say.
nûn kwōs tīn / kala tciL tcī / ya nī


GT02 - Creation: Part 2 Addendum - Bill Ray
He throws down small brush, saying, "for the grasshoppers to eat," they say.
țx

## The Placing of the Animals

Told by Bill Ray to Pliny Goddard in 1906; Published in Goddard 1909, pp.108-114,199-201 as "VII: The Placing of the Animals"; original as "XIX" in notebooks Goddard stories 11-20 (pp.32-61) and NBV (pp. 16-22)
Characters:
The Old Man
The Chief
several boys ( 2 of whom are turned into young deer)
the fathers of the boys
7+ Ch' naalhdaang/Pubescent Girls
several Old Men
an Old Woman
some women and girls
Much of this story feels like a potential play, involving dialog and exchanges between several major characters and a number of supporting characters. The story begins with The Old Man catching a couple of boys in deer snares, turning them into deer, and going through the process from deer to food. Everyone tries the deer meat and organs, even people (first menstruation girls, old women, old women) who would in future times have some taboos against it. The story details the use of every part, even the pounding of the small bones for bone hash, breaking the bones for marrow, giving the remaining bones to the dogs, and using the deer hide. The only part not used are the antlers, which are hidden away in the brush. Then some of the bones are thrown in each direction and various animals and plants called into being in the directions. The story has many directions for how people should live, make tools, preserve food, etc. The Old Man here is in a comparable role to Naaghaichow in related stories of such creation and cultural instruction.


## Two boys went away, they say.

Two boys went away.
Boys / went [they went] / they say, / two. is kī̀ts teL kût ya nī nûk ka [NB V: na ka+]
s kīk tel kût ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī nąk ka $^{\varepsilon}$

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray


He (the old man) carried some ropes, they say.
An old man carried some ropes.
Ropes / he carried [they carry] / they say.
beL te gī la / ya ni [NB V: tcit tes lai ya nī]
bel tc't tes lai ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n̄̄
Note The incorrect form in the notebook version is noted, "tcit tes lai ya nī (te gī la wrong)" (Goddard NB V, p.16).

```
2.2 ghilk' aan
    gh..Ik'aan+PERF.,3 yaa'nii
    fire to be built they say
vp
    vt
    a fire was built they say
    [VP
```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

A fire was built, they say.
There was a fire there.
A fire was [they build fire] / they say.
kûl kûn ya nī [NB V: sûs kañ ya nī]
gûl k'ąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
2.3 kaashkiitc : " naach'ohtl'oo
kaashkiitc naa-ch'-(s)..tl'oo/tl'oon+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
old man
na
old.man
[NP]
ch'ileektc
ch'ileektc
boy (before puberty)
na
set snare
vt
you (pl.) set snares
[VP]
; naakaa'taahaa
naakaa'taahaa
two in a place
num
pre-teen boy
[NP]
two in a place
[AdvP]

```
ch'olii' -jaa'
ch' \(-(\mathrm{s}) . . \mathrm{lii}{ }^{\prime}+\mathrm{OPT} ., 3,+3\) INDF. OBJ. =jaa'
catch st /deer in noose = volitive/optative
vt
    encl
let him catch
[VP]
```

The old man: "Set snares, boys; let two be caught in each place.
"Set snares," he told his young men. "Let there be two in a place.
Old man, / "Set snare / boys, / two in a place [2 at a time] / let be caught. [let catch him] kûc kīts / na tcō L̄ / ki le a kûts / nûk ka ta ha / tcō lī tca [NB V: tcō lī tca ?? tya] kąc kīts na tc' $\bar{o}^{c}$ Lō k'̄̄ lekts nąk ka ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ta ha tc' $\bar{o} \overline{1}^{\overline{1}}{ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}$

```
2.4 naakaa' chin
    naakaa' ching
```

    two stick
    num na
    two sticks
    [Obj
    naadolh'aa'-bang ,"
naa-d-(ghin)..Ih'aa/'aa' +IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. $=$ bang $_{2}$
stand O on end $\quad$ future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
you (pl.) must stand them on end
[VP]
naakaa' naakaa'
naakaa'naakaa'
four
num
four
[NP]

## You all must stand two sticks on end," - four total, they say.

Set up two sticks -- four all together."
Two / sticks / let stand on end." [put it up] / Four nûk ka / tciñ / na dōL a bûñ / nûkka nûk ka nąk ka ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tcûn na dō $L^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}$ bûñ nąk ka ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nąk $k a^{\varepsilon}$

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray

```
2.5 teesdeel' yaa'nii , ts'ii'-bii'
    ti-(s)..dilh/deel'+PERF.,3 yaa'nii }\mp@subsup{}{1}{\prime}\mathrm{ ts'ii'+LOC.
    du/pl go along they say bush
    vi
    they went along
    [VP
naa'tghitl'oon
naa-d-(ghin)..ttl'oo/tl'oon+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
set snares
vi
they set snares
yaa'nii
they say
they say
[VP

They went along, they say and set snares in the brush, they say.
They went away and set the snares in the brush.
went [they went] / they say. / Brush in / he set snares [they set snare] / they say.
tes del / ya nī / tsī bī / natī gûL Lōn / ya ni [NB V: tsī bī na tī gût \(\begin{aligned} & \underline{\underline{L}} \mathrm{n} n]\end{aligned}\)
tes del' ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n i \overline{1}\) ts \({ }^{\prime} \overline{1}{ }^{\varepsilon} \operatorname{bic}^{\varepsilon}\) na t gût Lōn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{ll}
2.6 ch'islii' & yaa' \({ }^{\prime}\) nii \(^{\prime}\) \\
ch'-(s)..lii' +PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
catch st /deer in noose & they say \\
vt & vt \\
they caught in a noose & they say \\
[VP & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

They caught one in a snare, they say.
One was caught.
He caught [he caught it] / they say, / one.
tcûs lī / ya nī / La [NB V: țcûs lī̀+]
tc'ûs \(\overline{1 i ̄}^{\varepsilon}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}^{\text {La }}{ }^{\varepsilon}\)
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
2.7 \begin{tabular}{l} 
Ihaa' \\
Ihaa'
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
ch'oyii-haa' \\
ch'oyii-haa'
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
bintghiiyoot \\
P-in-t-(gh)..yoot+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL. \\
another one
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
again & run P down
\end{tabular} \\
pron & adv & vt \\
another & again & they ran them down \\
{\([\) AdvP \(]\)} & {\([A d v P]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)}
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
ch' \({ }^{\prime}\) 'lii' & yaa' \({ }^{\prime}\) nii \(^{\prime}\) \\
ch'-(s)..lii' +PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. & yaa' nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
catch st /deer in noose & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he caught in a noose & they say \\
[VP &
\end{tabular}

Another time, again they drove them and caught one in a noose, they say. Again they drove one in, and it was caught.
Again / he drove, [they driving them] / he caught [caught it] / they say. tcō yī ha / bûn te gī yōt / tcûs lī ya nī
tcō yī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) bûn t gī yōt tc' ûs lī \(^{\varepsilon}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
2.8 & ts'ii' & kw'it-noo'ang \\
ts'ii' & P-k'it-noo-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+PERF.,3,+3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. & \begin{tabular}{l} 
yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
yaa'nii
\end{tabular} \\
brush & place solid O on top of \(P\) & \\
na & vt & \\
brush & he put it on him & vt
\end{tabular}

He put brush on him (one of the boys), they say, and he looked along to the south, they say.
He put brush on one of the boys and looked away to the south.
Brush / on he placed [on him they put] / they say. / South / he looked / they say.
sī+ / kwûn no ûn / ya nī / dī nûk /tes iñ / ya ni [NB V: tşĭ k wun nō+uñ dī nûk tce tes iñ]
ts \({ }^{\prime} \overline{1}^{\varepsilon}\) k'wûn nō \({ }^{\varepsilon} a_{\text {an }}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī dī nûk' tc't tes \(\overline{1} n^{\varepsilon}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{cl}
2.9 & ch'oyii-haa' \\
ch'oyii-haa' & ts'ii' \\
ts'ii \\
again & brush \\
adv & na \\
again & brush \\
{\([\) AdvP \(]\)} & {\([O b j]\)}
\end{tabular}

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
```

kw'it-noo'an yaa'nii
P-k'it-noo-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.
place solid O on top of P
yaa'nii}\mp@subsup{}{1}{
they say
vt
vt
he put it on him they say
[VP
He put brush on him again (on the other boy), they say.
Then he put brush on the other one.
Again / brush / on he put [he put on] / they say.
tcō yī ha / tsī+ / kwûn nō ûn / ya nī

```

```

2.10 ' kaa'
kaa' }\mp@subsup{}{1}{
all right/OK
interj
all right/OK
[Interj]
wandoh'aash ts'ii',"
P-ghaan-d-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. ts'ii'
take solid O off of P
brush
vt
you (pl.) take it off
brush
[VP]
[Obj]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say
vt
they say
vt
he said they say
[VP
]
"OK, you all take the brush off of him," he said, they say.
"Quick, take the brush off," he said.
"Quick, / take off [take it off quick] / brush," / he said / they say. ka wûn do ac / sī / tcin / ya nī [NB V: wûn dō' $\left.{ }^{\prime}+\mathrm{ac}\right]$

```

```

2.11 " ch'oyii-haa'
ch'oyii-haa'
again
adv
again
[AdvP]
wandoh'aash
P-ghaan-d-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.
take solid O off of P
vt
you (pl.) take it off
[VP]
dee'soostc , ch'oyii-haa' deelkishtc
dee'soostc
spike buck (two year old)
na
spike buck
[IO]
wantghin'an
ch'oyii-haa' deelkishtc
again fawn
adv na
again fawn
again fawn
[AdvP] [IO]
ts'ii'

```
ts'ii'
brush
na
brush
[Obj]
wantghin'an
P-ghaan-d-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.
take solid O off of P
vt
he took it off of it
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 1
they say
vt
they say
```

[VP
]

```
"Again, you all take the brush off (the other boy)." He took it off of a spike buck, and again a fawn, they say.
"Again, take the brush off the other one." When they took the brush off, one had become a spike buck and the other a fawn.
"Again / take off [take it off] / brush." Spike buck. Again / fawn [forked horn; NB V: fawn] / he took it off [he take it off] / they say.
tcō yī ha \({ }_{\text {x }}\) wûn dō ac / sī de sōstc / tco yī ha / del kûc / wûn te gûn ûn / ya nī [NB V:
de+sōcts dûl kûcts]
tcō yī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) wûn dō \({ }^{\bullet}\) ac ts \({ }^{\prime}{ }^{\imath}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) de \(^{\varepsilon}\) sōctc tcō yī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) del kûcts wûn t gûn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}^{\overline{1}}\)
Note Bill Ray gives the explanation, "Boys were caught and turned into deer." (Goddard NBstories 11-20, p.33)

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{llr}
3.1 & shkiik & naanyaa \\
skii+1SG. POSS. OF & naanyaa & yaa'nii \\
baby.PL & come back/arrive & they say \\
na & v & vt \\
my boys & he came back & they say \\
[Subj] & {\([\) VP } & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

The boys each came back, they say.

Boys / came [came there] / they say.
ic kīk / nûn ya / ya nī
c kīk nan ya ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```

3.2 taahjii teesyaa
taahjii ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3
where? sg go along
inter vi
where? he went along
[AdvP] [VP]
doohaa'-naantyaa
doohaa' naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3
do not! sg come back
neg vi

```
he did not come back
[VP]
"Where did he go along that he hasn't come back?"
"Where did he go that he hasn't come back?" the father of one of the boys asked.
Where / did he go? [where they] / He hasn't come back," [never did come back]
ta kī tes ya dō ha nûn ti ya [NB V: ta tcī tes yai]
ta \({ }^{\circ}\) tcī tes ya dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nan t ya
3.3 tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
he said
[VP
they say
vt
they say
]
he asked, they say.
he said / they say
tcin / ya ni
tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n} \overline{1}\)
Note the father of one of the boys changed into young deer
\begin{tabular}{rlll}
4.1 " & taahjii & Ihaa' & doohaa' -naantyaa \\
taahjii & lhaa' & doohaa' naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 & \\
& where? & another one & do not! sg come back \\
inter & pron & neg & vi \\
& where? & is another & he did not come back \\
& {\([\) AdvP] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)}
\end{tabular}

\section*{"Where is the other one that hasn't come back?"}
"Where did he go that he hasn't come back?" asked the other father.
"Where [where is] / other one / he hasn't come back?" [didn't come back]
ta tcī / La / dō ha nûn ti ya
ta \({ }^{\text {ctī }} \mathrm{La}^{\varepsilon}\) dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nąn t ya
4.2 tc' in
yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
he said
they say
vt
they say
[VP
]
he asked, they say.
he said / they say.
\(\operatorname{tcin} /\) ya nī
tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n} \overline{1}\)
Note the father of the other boy who became a young deer
4.3
taahjii
tc'teesyaa taahjii ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM.
where? sg go along
inter vi
where? he went along
[AdvP] [VP]
shiiyee'
shiiyee'
1sg possessive indep
pron
mine
[Subj

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
shkiitc
?'
shkii-tc+1SG. POSS. OF
baby
n a
my boy
]
"Where did my boy go?"
"Where did my boy go?"
"Where / did he go, [he went] / my / boy?"
ta tcī / tcit tes ya cī ye / ic kīts
ta tci tc't tes ya cī ye \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{c}\) kīts
Note one of the fathers
```

5 " diidee' tc'teesdeel'-ee
diidee' ti-(s)..dilh/deel'+PERF. =yee
north du/pl go along =eyewitness evid.
direct vi encl
north they went along
[AdvP] [VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
say
vt
he said they say
[VP

```
"They went north," he said, they say.
"They went north," some one said.
"North / they went," / he said / they say.
dī de / tcit tes dē le / tcin / ya nī
dī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc't tes dē le tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note Someone said.

\begin{tabular}{lll} 
kwee' & tc'ilhsaan-kwan & \\
\({ }^{*}\) kee \(^{\prime}{ }_{1}+3\) POSS. & (0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & \(=\) kwaan \\
track (n) & find O & \(=\) inferred evid. \\
n ia & vt & vencl \\
his tracks & he found it & \\
{\([\) Obj] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say

\section*{]}
"Well!, let me track them." He did not find their tracks, they say.
"Well, I will look for the tracks," said one father. He did not find tracks.
"Well, / I will track him." [I track them; NB V: I will track] Not / track / he found [he didn't find track] / they say.
kya tcûc ke [NB V: ? tûc ke+?] dō ha / kwe / sûL san kwûn / ya nī [NB V: kwe+]

Note one of the fathers
Note There are different, but similar, interjections in the notebook (jaa') and the published version (kaa').
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 7.1 " & \begin{tabular}{l}
jaa' shii \\
jaa' shii
\end{tabular} & Ihaa Ihaa & \begin{tabular}{l}
tishkee \\
ti-(s)..Ihkee/kee' +OPT.,1sG.,+ 3 OBJ.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l}
well! 1sg indep \\
interj pron
\end{tabular} & another one pron & \begin{tabular}{l}
\[
\text { track } \mathrm{O}
\] \\
vt
\end{tabular} \\
\hline & well! I/me & another & let me track it \\
\hline & [Interj] [Subj & ] & [VP] \\
\hline ," " & \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{\begin{tabular}{l}
ndoo'-yee \\
n..doo' + IMPF., 3 =yee
\end{tabular}} \\
\hline & \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{\begin{tabular}{ll} 
not exist & \(=\) eyewitness evid. \\
vt & encl
\end{tabular}} \\
\hline & \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{it does not exist} \\
\hline & \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{[VP]} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
```

doohaa'-isaan ," tc'in
doohaa' (0)..lhsis/saan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
do not ! find O
neg vt
I did not find them
[VP]

```
tc'in ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
say
vt
he said
[VP
```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

```
]
"Well!, let me also track them." "There are none; I didn't find them," he said, they say.
"Well, I, too, will look for tracks." "There were none," he reported. "I did not find human tracks
"Well, / I / too [other one] / will track." [I will track] "There is none. [it isn't] / I didn't find it," [I never find] / he said / they say.
tca cī La / tûc ke \(\underline{n}\) dō ye / dō ha ûs san / tcin ya nī
\(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{cī}^{\mathrm{L}} \mathrm{La}^{\varepsilon}\) tûc \(\mathrm{ke}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}\) dō ye dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ûs san tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note said the other father.
Note Again, the notebook has the interjection jaa', while the published version has kaa'.
7.2 "
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
noonii & kwee' \\
noonii & \({ }^{*}\) kee \({ }^{\prime}+3\) POSS. \\
grizzly bear & track ( n ) \\
na a & n ia \\
grizzly bear & its tracks
\end{tabular}
[Obj ]
ishsaan-ee
(0)..Ihsis/saan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
find O
vt
I found it
[VP]
," tc'in
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
say
vt
he said
[VP
```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say
]
"But I found grizzly tracks," he said, they say.
but I saw grizzly tracks."
"Grizzly [bear] / track / I found," [find] / he said / they say.
nō n\overline{1}/ / kwe / ûc san ne / tcin / yanī
nō nī kwe cerc san ne tc'in ya n nī

```

```

"Human [Indian] / track / was not," [is not] / he said / they say. na nec / kwe / ñ dō ye / tcin / ya nī na nec $\mathrm{kwe}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$ dō ye tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

```

\section*{7.4 naantyai}
```

    naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,2sG. =i
    ```
sg come back vi
he came back
[VP]

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray


He came back having not found their tracks.

He came back. / He didn't find / track.
nan ti yai / dō ha sûL san / kwe
nąn tyai dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ts'ûL san kwe \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
\(8.1^{(")}\) taaht'aas
taa-(s)..t'aas/t' aats+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
cut O (in butchering)
vt
you (pl.) cut it up
[VP
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
taast'ats' & ) & iintc' ee' & naakaa' .(") \\
taa-(s).t'aas/t'aats+PERF., \(3,+3\) OBJ. & iintc'ee' & naakaa' & \\
cut O (in butchering) & deer & two & \\
vt & na & num & \\
he cut it up & deer & two & \\
\(\quad \quad \quad\) & {\([O b j\)} & &
\end{tabular}
"You all butcher the two deer." OR He butchered the two deer.
The old man butchered the deer.
"Butcher [he butchered them; NB V: he ~] / deer / two."
ta t'ûs / īn tce / nûk ka [NB V: tas tâts]
ta \({ }^{\circ}\) t'as in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nąk ka \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
Note The published translation, with the old man doing the butchering (3rd person), is at odds with the published Cahto text, with him telling his boys to do it (2nd person plural). The notebook version does little to help, with the 3rd person translation and ambiguous Cahto transcription. The notes in NB V give a 3rd person perfective form, taast'ats'. (Goddard NB V, p.17)
8.2
shoo'nshoong kwaahlaah
shoo'nshoong P-aa-(0)..leegh/laagh \({ }_{2}+\) PERF.,2PL.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
very well do \(P\)
adv
very well
[AdvP]
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
iintc'ee', & shkiik &,\("\) & tc'in \\
intc'ee' & skii+1SG. POSS. OF & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
\end{tabular}
"You did very well with the deer, my boys," he said, they say.
"You did well with deer, my boys," he told his sons.
"Very well [good] / you did [you did it is good; NB V: good luck] / deer / my boys," [boys] / he said / they say.
cō in cōñ kwa/ka la / īntce / īc kīk / tcin / ya nī [NB V: cō n coñ ḱwa la] cō \(n\) cōñ kwa la in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{c}\) kīk tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

\section*{8.3 waa' ang' aang}

P-ghaa-(nin)..'aash/' aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.
give solid O to P
vt
he gave it to them
[VP]

\section*{He gave them some (of the meat).}

He gave pieces of the meat to the boys.
He gave them. [he give them]
wa ûñ añ
wa ûñ \({ }^{\text { }}\) กn

\section*{8.4 ghilk'aan kwong \\ gh..lk'aan+PERF.,3 kwong' \\ fire to be built fire \\ vp na \\ a fire was built fire \\ [VP] \\ [Subj]}

A fire was built.
There was a fire there.

Fire was [they build fire] / fire.
gûl kan / kōñ
gûl k'an kwōñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
```

8.5 " bit'-bang
*bit'+3 POSS. =bang
belly = purposive enclitic
n ia encl
for its stomach
[AdvP
uuteehlii' -bang
*teehlii'+3 POSS. =bang
liver = purposive enclitic
n ia encl
for its liver
]
ch'eelhnaa'
ch'ee-(ghin)..Ihnaa/naa'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
roast
vt
you (pl.) roast it
[VP]

```

\section*{"You all roast its stomach and liver."}

They roasted the stomach and the liver for him.
"Stomach for, [for his guts] / its liver for [for his liver for] / roast." [cut it up]
bût bûñ / ō te lī / bûñ / keL na [NB V: tceeL na']
bit' bûñ ō te lī̌ bûñ tc'el na \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
Note Again the translation is a statement in third person, the Cahto is a request to second person.
\(8.6^{\prime \prime}\) beedil'ai'
P-ee-(0)..I'ai' +OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBL.
try P
vt
let us try it
[VP]

\section*{"Let's taste it.}
"Let us try it.
"Let us try it. [let us taste it]
be dûl ai be dûl \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ai}^{\varepsilon}\)


It's starting to smell good," he said, they say.
It smells good," he said.
Good / it smells," [smells good] / he said / they say.
\(\underline{n}\) cōñ / gûl cûn ne / tcīn / ya nī
\(n\) cōn gûl cûn ne tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
8.8 beeteeghatc'

P-ee-t-(s)..ghash/ghatc' +PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.
bite P
vt
he bit against it
[VP]
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline ghin'aal' & yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
\hline ghin)..'aalh/'aal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline hew O & they say \\
\hline (bas.) & vt \\
\hline e chewed it & they say \\
\hline & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
[VP
tc'ghilkit'
(ghin)..lkit/kit'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
swallow O
vt
he swallowed it
[VP]

\section*{He bit it, chewed it, they say, and swallowed it.}

He bit into it. He chewed it and swallowed it.
He bit it. / He chewed it [he chewed]/ they say. / He swallowed it. [he swallowed] be te gûts tcī gûn al / ya ni / tcī gûl kût be te gûts tc' gûn al' ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī tc' gûl kût'

"It is good; put some in your mouth," he said, they say.
"It is good, he said, "put it in your mouth."
"It is good. [good] / You / put in your mouth," [put your]/ he said / they say.
ñ cōn ne / nĩñ sûñ ûc tcin / ya ni
n cōn ne niñ sąñ \(\tilde{n}^{\text {acc }}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 9. & \begin{tabular}{l}
jaa' \\
jaa'
\end{tabular} & shii shii & beesh'ai' P-ee-(0).I' & shii shii \\
\hline & \begin{tabular}{l}
well! \\
interj
\end{tabular} & 1sg indep pron & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { try } \mathrm{P} \\
& \mathrm{vt}
\end{aligned}
\] & 1sg indep pron \\
\hline & well! & I/me & let me try it & I/me \\
\hline & [Interj] & [Subj] & [VP] & [NP] \\
\hline , & tc' in ..nii/n+PERF & ANIM. yaa & & \\
\hline & say & they & say & \\
\hline & vt & vt & & \\
\hline & he said & they & say & \\
\hline & [VP & & ] & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"Well, let me taste it, too," he said, they say.
"Well, I will try it," he said.
"Well, [let] / I [me] / will try it, [let me taste it] / I," [me] / he said / they say. tca/kya / cī / bec ai / cì̀ / tciñ / ya nī \(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{cī}^{\mathrm{b}} \mathrm{bec}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ai}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) cī tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī Note Again the notebook version has jaa' and the published version kaa'.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
9.2 ch'naalhdan \\
ch'naalhdang =i
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
shii \\
shii
\end{tabular} & \\
\hline girl (at menarche) \(=\) NR & 1sg indep & \\
\hline na encl & pron & \\
\hline pubescent girl & I/me & \\
\hline [ NP ] & [Subj] & \\
\hline beesh'ai' & ," tc'in & yaa' ni \\
\hline P-ee-(0)..I'ai'+OPT.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL. & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline try P & say & they say \\
\hline vt & vt & vt \\
\hline let me try it & she said & they say \\
\hline [VP] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{A pubescent girl said, "Me, let me taste it," they say.}
"I will try it," said the adolescent girl.
Tc' naLdûñ / "I [me] / I will try it," [I will taste] / she said / they say. tcin naL dûñ / cī / bec ai / cin / ya nī tc'n nal dûn cī bec \({ }^{\varepsilon} a i^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline \[
10.1 \text { " } \begin{aligned}
& \text { shii } \\
& \text { shii }
\end{aligned}
\] & Ihaa Ihaa' & beesh'ai' P-ee-(0)..I'ai' +OPT.,1sG.,+ 3 OBL. \\
\hline 1sg indep & too & try P \\
\hline pron & pron & vt \\
\hline I/me & too & let me try it \\
\hline [Subj] & [AdvP] & [VP] \\
\hline tc' \({ }^{\text {in }}\) & yaa'nii & \\
\hline ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & \\
\hline say & they say & \\
\hline vt & vt & \\
\hline she said & they say & \\
\hline [VP & ] & \\
\hline "Me, too, let me ta & ste it," she & said, they say. \\
\hline "I, too, will try it.["] & & \\
\hline "I, [me] / too, / I will cī / La / bec ai / tcin / & try it," [I tas ya nī & e] / she said / they say. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
cī \(\mathrm{La}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {bec }}{ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {ai }}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n i}\)
Note "224 This was strictly against the customs of this region. Such girls were not allowed to speak of deer or meat, much less eat it." (Goddard 1909, p. 199 fn .). "Not now tcun naL dûñ eats meat. Then she taste it. Never talk about deer meat." (Goddard NBstories 11-20, p.38)
\begin{tabular}{lll}
10.2 & dii'in' & ees'aa' \\
dii'ing' & ee-(s)..'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \\
yaa' \({ }^{\prime} i_{1}\) \\
up there & be a row & they say \\
adv & vx & vt \\
up there & there was a row & they say \\
{\([\) AdvP] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular}

There was a line up there, they say.
She was sitting up there.
Up there / a row was [in a row] / they say. dī ûn es á + / ya nī
dī ûn es \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 11.1 & \begin{tabular}{l}
shii \\
shii
\end{tabular} & Ihaa Ihaa & beesh'ai' P-ee-(0)..l'ai' + OPT.,1sG.,+ 3 obL. \\
\hline & 1sg indep & too & try P \\
\hline & pron & pron & vt \\
\hline & I/me & too & let me try it \\
\hline & [Subj] & [AdvP] & [VP] \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{"Me, too, let me taste it."} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"I, [me] / too, / I will try it. [I taste]
\(\mathrm{ci} / \mathrm{La} / \mathrm{bec}\) ai
cī \(\mathrm{La}^{\varepsilon}\) bec \(^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 11.2 " & nshoong-'anjii & & tc'in & yaa'nii \\
\hline & n..shoon+PERF., 3 & ='anjii & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa' \(\mathrm{nii}_{1}\) \\
\hline & be good & \(=\mathrm{MIR}\) & say & they say \\
\hline & & encl & vt & \\
\hline & it is really good & & she said & they say \\
\hline & [VP] & & [VP & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"It's really good!" she said, they say.
"It is good," she said.
It is good," [good it is] / she said / they say.
n̄ coñ / ûñ gī / tcin / ya n̄̄
\(n\) cōñ ûñ gī tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray

tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say they say
vt
vt
she said they say
[VP
Another pubescent girl said, they say, "Me, too, let me taste it," she said,

\section*{they say.}

Another adolescent girl said. "I will try it."
Another [one] / again / tc'naLdûñ / she said / they say. "I, / too, / I will try it," [I will taste] / she said / they say.
La / tcō yī / tcin naL dûñ / tcin / ya nī / cī / La / bec ai / tciñ / ya nī

Note The notebook version has ch'oyii ("another, again") and the published version ch'oyii-haa' ("again, too"), with the notebook version making more sense in the context.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \(14{ }^{\prime \prime}\) & shii shii & Ihaa Ihaa & \begin{tabular}{l}
beesh'ai' \\
P-ee-(0)..I'ai' +OPT.,1sg.,+ 3 obl.
\end{tabular} \\
\hline & 1sg indep & too & try P \\
\hline & pron & pron & vt \\
\hline & I/me & too & let me try it \\
\hline & [Subj] & [AdvP] & [VP] \\
\hline tc' in .nii/n & EERF.,3ANIM & \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa'nii \\
M. yaa'nii \(1_{1}\)
\end{tabular} & ch'naalhdang ch'naalhdang \\
\hline say & & they say & y girl (at menarche) \\
\hline vt & & vt & na \\
\hline she s & & they say & adolescent girl \\
\hline [VP & & ] & [Subj] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"Me, too, let me try it," a pubescent girl said, they say.
"I, / too, / I will try it," [I taste] / she said / they say, / tc'naLdûñ.
\(\mathrm{ci} / \mathrm{La} / \mathrm{bec}\) ai / cin / ya nī / tcin naL dûn
cī La \(^{\varepsilon}\) bec \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ai}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {tc }}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī tc'n nal dûñ

"Me, too, let me try it," she said, they say.
"I will try it, [I taste] / I, / too," / she said / they say. bec aí / ci / La / tcin ya nī bec \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ai}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{cĩ}_{\mathrm{L}} \mathrm{La}^{\varepsilon}\) tc' \({ }^{\prime}\) in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 16 tc'yaantc tc' yaantc & shii shii & beesh'ai' P-ee-(0)..I'ai'+OPT.,1sG.,+ 3 ObL. \\
\hline old woman & 1sg indep & try P \\
\hline na & pron & vt \\
\hline old woman & I/me & let me try it \\
\hline [Subj] & [Subj] & [VP] \\
\hline tc' \({ }^{\text {in }}\) & yaa'nii & \\
\hline ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & \\
\hline say & they say & \\
\hline vt & vt & \\
\hline she said & they say & \\
\hline [VP & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

An old woman said, "Let me try it," they say.
The old woman said, "I, too, will try it."
Old woman, / "I will try it," [taste it] / she said / they say. sì yántc cī / bec ai / ciñ / ya n̄̄
tc' yantc cī bec \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ai}^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
17 kashkiitc-taah : " shii kaashkiitc -taah \({ }_{1}\) shii
old man plural suffix 1sg indep
na n:Any
old men
pron
[Subj]
[Subj]
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
beesh'ai' & iintc' \({ }^{\prime} e^{\prime}\) & uusii' & shii \\
P-ee-(0)..l'ai' + OPT.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL. & iintc'ee' & *sii' +3 POSS. & shii \\
try P & deer & head & 1sg indep \\
vt & na & n ia & pron \\
let me try it & deer & its head & I/me \\
{\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{Obj}\)} & \(\quad]\) & {\([\) Subj \(]\)}
\end{tabular}

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{2}{*}{Ihaa Ihaa} & beesh'ai' & & bit' \\
\hline & P-ee-(0)..l'ai & +OPT.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL. & *bit'+3 POSS. \\
\hline too & try P & & stomach \\
\hline pron & vt & & n ia \\
\hline too & let me try it & & its stomach \\
\hline [AdvP] & [VP] & & [Obj] \\
\hline tc'in & & yaa'nii & \\
\hline ..nii/n+ & PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa' \(\mathrm{nii}_{1}\) & \\
\hline say & & they say & \\
\hline vt & & vt & \\
\hline he said & & they say & \\
\hline [VP & & ] & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

One of the old men said, "Let me taste the deer's head, let me taste its stomach, too," they say.
"I will try the head of the deer, I will try the stomach," said the old man.
Old men / "I, [old man where] / will try [I taste] / deer / its head [head] / I, [me] / too, / I will try [I taste] / stomach," [paunch] / he said / they say.
kûc kīts / ta cī / bec ai / íntce / ō sī cī / La / bec ai / bût / tcin / ya nī



GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray


\section*{"Well, I pound up its feet.}

I will pound the feet.
"Well, [let] / I [me] / feet / I will pound.
kya / cī / kwe / ûs sût
\(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {cī }} \mathrm{kwe}^{\varepsilon}\) ûs sût
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline \[
\begin{gathered}
18.4 \text { jaa' } \\
\text { jaa' }
\end{gathered}
\] & \begin{tabular}{l}
shii \\
shii
\end{tabular} & uusoo
*soo'+3 POSS. \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
well! \\
interj
\end{tabular} & 1sg indep pron & \begin{tabular}{l}
tongue \\
n ia
\end{tabular} \\
\hline well! & I/me & its tongue \\
\hline [Interj] & [Subj] & [Obj] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{\multirow[t]{2}{*}{deediishtang dee-d-(ghin)..tish/taan+PERF.,1sG.,+ 3 OBJ.}} & kwo'-mii' \\
\hline & & kwong' =bii' \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{put stick-like O in fire} & fire \(=\) in it \\
\hline vt & & \(\mathrm{na} \quad\) nsuffix \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{I put it in fire} & in the fire \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{[VP]} & [PostP] \\
\hline tc'in & yaa' nii & \\
\hline ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & \\
\hline say & they say & \\
\hline vt & vt & \\
\hline he said & they say & \\
\hline [VP & ] & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Well, I put its tongue in the fire," he said, they say.
I will put the tongue in the fire to roast.
Well, [let] / I [me] / its tongue [tongue] / I will put in fire [put in fire] / fire in," / he said / they say.
kya cī / ō sō+ / de dīc tûñ / kōñ/kwō mī / tciñ / ya nī \(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}\) cī \(\overline{\mathrm{o}} \mathrm{so}^{\varepsilon}\) de dic tûn \(\mathrm{kw} \bar{o}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{mi}^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
18.5 " \begin{tabular}{ll} 
ch'ishgot' \\
ch'..got'+OPT.,1SG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. & uusits' \\
& *sits' +3 POSS. \\
stretch O/hide & hide \\
vt & na \\
I stretch the hide & its hide \\
{\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & {\([O b j]\)}
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tc'in & yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP & \(\quad]\)
\end{tabular}
"I stretch its hide," he said, they say.
I will stretch the hides.
"I will stretch [I going to stretch hide] / its hide," [hide] / he said / they say.
tcûc kōt / ō sûts / tcin / ya nī
tc'ûc qōt' \(\bar{o}\) sûts tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray

"Their two hides are good for my blanket," he said, they say.
The two hides are good. They will be my blanket."
"Two / hides / are good, [it is good] / my / blanket," / he said / they say. nûk ka / ō sûts / ñ cō nī / cī ye / \(\mathrm{t}^{!}\)e / tcin / ya nī nąk \(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}\) sûts n cō ne ci ye \(\mathrm{e}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{t}^{\prime} \mathrm{e}^{\varepsilon}\) tc \({ }^{\prime}\) in ya \(\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}\)

"You all pound acorns.
"Pound acorns
"Pound acorns.
tcō sût / kin tañ [NB V: tcoō' sût tcûn tañ]
tc' \({ }^{\circ}\) ' sût tc'ûn t'añ

\section*{19.2 bii'noohlheeh}
bii' -noo-(ghin)..Iheegh/lheek' +IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL. soak mush vt you (pl.) soak mush [VP]

\section*{You all soak meal."}
and soak the meal," he told the women,
Soak them.
bī nō Le
bī nō \({ }^{\text {Le }}{ }^{\text {e }}\)
19.3 ch'dilts'eegh-bang
ch'-(ghin)..Ihts'eegh+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. \(=\) bang \(_{2}\)
eat mush
vt
let us eat mush
[VP]

\section*{"Let's eat acorn soup."}
"that we may eat mush."
We will eat soup. [us to eat it / for]
kit dûl seg / bûñ [NB V: tcit dul tseğg]
\(k^{\text {ct }}\) dûl ts'eg bûñ

\section*{19.4 naalhghi}
waah'aash

P-ghaa-(nin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ., +3 OBL.
dog bone give solid O to P
na \(n a\)
dog bone you (pl.) give it to it
[IO] [Obj] [VP]
\(\begin{array}{ll}\text { yoghash } & , " \text { tc'in } \\ \begin{array}{ll}\text { (ghin)..ghash/ghatc' }+ \text { OPT.,3OBV., }+3 \text { OBJ. } . & \\ \text { chew O } & \text { nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. } \\ \text { vt } & \text { say } \\ \text { let it chew them } & \text { vt } \\ {[\mathrm{VP}]} & \text { he said } \\ \end{array} \quad[\mathrm{VP}\end{array}\)
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
"Give the bones to the dog, let it chew them," he said, they say.
Give the bone to the dog. Let him chew them."
Dog / bones / give. [give you] / Let him chew them," / he said / they say. naLī gī / sûñ / wa ac / yō gûc / tcin / ya nī [NB V: țַûñ wa' +ac yō wac]
naL gī ts'ûñ wa \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ac yō gąc tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

\section*{19.5 noo'inghiing}
noo-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
put load O down
vt
she put the load down
[VP]

\section*{She put the load of them down.}

She put them down.
She put them down. [he put it down; NB V: he carry over there and put down] no iñ yiñ [NB V:? nō iñ yīñ] nō iñ yiñ
19.6 naalhghii yaan
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
naalhghii & (ghin)..yaan/yaan' + IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. & iintc'ee' ts'ing \\
dog & eat O & deer bones \\
na & vt & na \\
dog & it eats them & deer bones \\
{\([\) Subj] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)}
\end{tabular}

\section*{And the dog ate the deer bones.}

The dog ate the deer bones.
Dog / ate [eat it] / deer / bones.
na Lī yañ / īn tce / sûñ
naL gī yan in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ts'ûñ
19.7
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
taahjii & \begin{tabular}{l} 
bilh \\
taahjii
\end{tabular} \\
*ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL. \\
where? & accompaniment \\
inter & postp \\
where? & with it \\
[AdvP] & [PostP]
\end{tabular}
sk'ee' ?"
sk'ee'
acorn soup
na
is acorn soup
[VP]
"Where is the acorn soup with it?"
"Where is the mush to be eaten with it?"
Where / with / mush?" [where is mush]
ta tcī bûL is ke+
ta \({ }^{\circ}\) tcī bûl sk' \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{lr}
19.8 tc'in & yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP & \(]\)
\end{tabular}
he asked, they say. he asked.
he said / they say.
tcin / ya nī
tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}\)
19.9 kashghaankaash

P-ghaa-(nin)..kaash/kaan+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3PL. OBL.
give contained O to P
vt
you (sg.) give it to them
[VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say they say
vt
vt
he said they say
[VP
"Give them a container of it," he said, they say.
"Give it to them."
"Give them," [go give them] / he said / they say.
kûc gûñ kûc / siñ / ya nī
kąc gûn kąc tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{6}{*}{19.10} & ch'naadilyeegh & & iintc'ee' \\
\hline & ch'-naa-(s)..lhyeegh+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. & =i & iintc'ee' \\
\hline & drive deer & \multirow[t]{4}{*}{\[
\begin{aligned}
& =\mathrm{NR} \\
& \text { encl }
\end{aligned}
\]} & deer \\
\hline & vt & & \\
\hline & let us drive them & & deer \\
\hline & [VP] & & [Obj] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
kwaa' &,\("\) & tc'in \\
kwaa' \({ }_{3}\) & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
for P & say & nii \\
por
\end{tabular}
"Let's drive deer for him," he said, they say.
"We will drive deer for him," he said.
"We will drive [let us hunt] / deer / for him," [for] / he said / they say.
tcin na dûl ye / in tce / kwa / tcin / ya nī
tc'n na dûl yeg in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{kwa}^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 19.11 ' & \begin{tabular}{l}
Ihaang \\
Ihaang \\
many/much \\
adj \\
many \\
[Subj]
\end{tabular} & ```
tohyaash
ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL.
sg go along
vi
you (pl.) go along
[VP]
``` \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{\begin{tabular}{l}
"Come, \\
"Many [lots] / go. \\
Lañ tō yûc \\
Lañ tō \({ }^{\text {c }}\) yac
\end{tabular}} \\
\hline \[
19.12 \mathrm{k}
\] & \begin{tabular}{ll} 
k'aa' & tohbil- \\
k'aa' & ti-(s)..bi \\
arrow & carry b \\
na & vt \\
arrow & you (pl \()\) \\
[Obj] & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)}
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
//biil' + IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =hit \\
ketfull O along \(\quad=\) at the time encl carry a basketfull of them then
\end{tabular} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

And carry (quivers full of) arrows.
carry arrows.
Arrows / carry. [pack them]
\(\mathrm{k}!\mathrm{a} /\) tō bûl lût
\(\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\) tō bûl lût

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray


\section*{Each of you put a knife in a net bag and carry it," he said, they say.}

Put a knife in a sack and carry it.
Knife / carry [pack it] / sack in / put it," [put in] / he said / they say.
kûcts / tō gûc / te lē bī / nō aj / tcin / ya nī [NB V: nō' + ac]



GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline taaghitt' aats'-bang taa..ghitt'aats' + PERF., 3 & \(=\) bang \(_{2}\) & tc' in .nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
\hline be butchered & \(=\) future predictive enclitic & say \\
\hline vp & encl & vt \\
\hline will be butchered & & he said \\
\hline ] & & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
vt
"Each of you carry two fire-sticks to build a fire when a deer is shot and will be butchered," he said, they say.
"Take the two fire-sticks, so you can build a fire when the deer is shot and be ready for butchering."
"Fire-sticks / carry [take] / two. / You will build a fire. [make fire for] / Deer / is shot [shoot] / will be butchered," [butcher for] / he said / they say.
bûL gûl a gûs / tō tīj na ka / ōL kan bûñ / in tce / gût tca ne / ta gut t'ats / bañ / tciñ / ya nī [NB V: tō tīc gût tca ne]
 Note "Always build a fire while they butcher." (Goddard NBstories 11-20, p.43)
\begin{tabular}{lll}
20.1 & ch'oyii-haa' & intc'ee' \\
ch'oyii-haa' & iintc'ee' & ..ghitch'aang \\
again & deer & be shot \\
adv & na & vp \\
again & deer & it was shot \\
{\([\) AdvP \(]\)} & {\([\) Subj \(]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)}
\end{tabular}

\section*{A deer was shot again.}

A deer was shot.
Again / deer / was shot. [he shot]
tcō yī ha / in tce / gût tcañ [NB V: gût țcañ]
tcō yī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) gût tc' an

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{llll}
20.2 & ch'oyii-haa' & iintc'ee' & ghitch'aan \\
ch'oyii-haa' & iintc'ee' & ..ghitch'aan+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
agaa'nii & deer & be shot & they say \\
adv & na & vp & vt \\
again & deer & was shot & they say \\
[AdvP] & [Subj] & {\([V P\)} &
\end{tabular}

A deer was shot again, they say.
Again one was shot.
Again / deer / was shot [he shot] / they say.
tcō yī ha / in tce / gût tcan / ya nī
tcō yī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) gût tc'an ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
20.3 " naalhghii tolhtish
naalhghii ti-(s)..lhtish/tiin+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
dog take animate O along
na vt
dog you (pl.) take it
[Obj] [VP]
"Take the dog along.
"Take the dog
"Dog [NB V: dog (straight)]/ take.
na Lī gī / tōL tûc [NB V: ? na L gí]
nal gī tō tûc
Note Chief speaking
```

20.4 iintc'ee'
iintc'ee'
deer
na
deer
[Obj]
yiilhchit-bang
..lhchit/cheet+IMPF.,+ 3OBV. OBJ.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang}
catch O =future predictive enclitic
vt
encl

```
he will catch it
[VP]
He will catch the deer.
to catch the deer.

Deer / he will catch. [to catch for; NB V: so he catch] in tce / yīL tca būñ [NB V: yiL tcûb bûñ] in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) yil tcûb bûn
```

20.5 taaht' as
taa-(ghin)..t'aas/t' aats' +IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
butcher/cut up O
vt
you (pl.) butcher it
[VP]

```
Butcher it.
Butcher it.
Butcher.
ta \(t^{\prime}\) ûs
ta' t'ąs
20.6 ch'wohbilh
    ch'-(ghin)..bilh/biil'+PROG.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
    carry basketfull O
    vt
    you (pl.) be carrying it
    [VP]
yeeh-bii'ing' yeeh bii'ing house inside na nsuffix inside the house [PostP]

You all carry it into the house.
Carry it to the house.
Carry it [pack it] / house in. [house to]
tcō wō bûL / ye bī ûñ [NB V: țcō wō' bûL]
tc' wō \({ }^{\bullet}\) bûl ye bī \(\overline{\mathrm{r}}^{\varepsilon}\) ûñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)

\section*{20.7 tc'yaankii}
tc' yaankii
women
na
women
[Subj]

\section*{yaa-mang}
(ghin)..yaan/yaan'+IMPF.,3,+3 OBJ. \(=\) bang \(_{2}\)
eat \(\mathrm{O} \quad=\) future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
they will eat it
[VP]
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tc'in & yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP & \(\quad]\)
\end{tabular}

The women will eat it," he said, they say.
The women will eat it.
Women / will eat," [can eat] / he said / they say.
tci yûñ / kī ya mûñ / tciñ ya n̄̄
tc' yąn kī ya mûñ tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
20.8 ch'eelhnaa'
ch'ee-(ghin)..Ihnaa/naa' + IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
roast
vt
you (pl.) roast it
[VP]

\section*{"You all roast it.}

Cook it.
"Cook it. [cut it up]
tceL na
tc' \({ }^{\prime}\) na \(^{\varepsilon}\)

\section*{20.9 ntohlalh}
n-ti-(s)..laalh+IMPF.,2PL.
be asleep
vd
you (pl.) be asleep
[VP]
Go to sleep.
Go to sleep.
Go to sleep. [sleep]
nn tō lûL
n tō \({ }^{\text {c lą }}\)

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray


You all are tired from the deer," he said, they say.

Deer / under / you are tired," [stretch up on stick; NB V: give out pack deer] / he said / they say.
īn tce / ya to to go/tō gō / ya nī [NB V: ya dō gō he+e]
in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon} \bar{u}\) ye ya dō gō \({ }^{c}\) he \(^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{e} \mathrm{tc}^{\prime}\) in ya \(\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}\)
20.11 " yaa'ntohghilalh
n-ti-(s)..laalh+PROG.,DIST.,2PL.
be asleep
vd
you all be asleep
[VP]
"You all go to sleep.
"Go to sleep.
yan tō laL [NB V: yan tō gûl lûl̂] \(y^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {n }}\) tō \({ }^{\bullet}\) gûl ląL
\begin{tabular}{ll}
20.12 & kashbii' \\
kaashbii' + DIAL. VAR. OF & sohdaa-bang \\
s..daa+PERF.,2PL. =bang \\
tomorrow & live in a place (sg) = future predictive enclitic \\
adv & vi \\
tomorrow & you (pl.) will live in a place \\
{\([\) AdvP \(]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)}
\end{tabular}

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
kashbii' &,\("\) & tc'in \\
kaashbii' + DIAL. VAR. OF & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
tomorrow & say & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
\end{tabular}

\section*{ninkaa't'iining \\ ninkaa't'iining \\ chief}
na
chief
[Subj]
"As for tomorrow, tomorrow you will stay home," said the chief, they say.
"You will stay at home tomorrow," said the chief. "Sit down, Tomorrow / you will stay, [you stay home; NB V: stay hr] / tomorrow," / he said / they say, / chief. [captain]
kûc bī / sō ta bûñ / kûc bī́ / tcin / ya nī / nûñ ka tī nûñ [NB V: kûc bī+ sō' da bûñ+]
kąc bī \(\bar{i}^{\varepsilon} \operatorname{soc}^{\circ}\) da bûñ kąc bī \(^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī nûn ka t'ī nûñ
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 20.13 & ```
naahkee'
naa-(ghin)..kee'+IMPF.,2PL.
bathe (pl)
vi
you (pl.) bathe
[VP]
``` & \begin{tabular}{l}
t'eekii \\
t'eek \\
teen girl.pl \\
na \\
teen girl \\
[NP]
\end{tabular} & Iheenee'haa Iheenee'haa everyone pron everyone [NP] \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{\multirow[t]{3}{*}{```
naahbee
naa-(ghin)..bee/bee'+IMPF.,2PL.
bathe sg
vi
```}} & tc' in ..nii/n+PERF., & yaa'nii NIM. yaa'nii \(1_{1}\) \\
\hline & & say & they say \\
\hline & & vt & vt \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{\multirow[t]{2}{*}{each of you (pl.) bathe [VP]}} & he said & they say \\
\hline & & [VP & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"Bathe, teen girls; every one of you bathe," he said, they say.
girls. All go and bathe.
"Bathe [let down; NB V: you swim] / girls / all / swim," [(swim) Diving on water] / he said / they say.
na ke / te kī / Le ne ha / na be / tcin / ya nī [ṇa' bé']

```

20.14 " nohsii'
*sii'+1/2PL. POSS.,1PL. POSS.
head of hair
n ia
your (pl.) head of hair
[Obj]

```
```

teehnaach'olhdeeh

```
teehnaach'olhdeeh
teeh-naa-ch'-(s)..Ihdeegh+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
teeh-naa-ch'-(s)..Ihdeegh+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
wash O
wash O
vt
vt
you (pl.) wash something
you (pl.) wash something
[VP]
[VP]
tc'in
tc'in
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
say
say
vt
vt
he said
he said
[VP
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
they say
vt
vt
they say
```

they say

```
    ]
"You all wash your hair," he said, they say.
"Your heads / wash," [wash your head] / he said / they say.
nō sī / te na tcōL / de / tcin / ya nī [NB V: nō sī̀+ te na tcōL de+]
nō \(\mathrm{sic}^{\bar{c}}\) te \({ }^{\text {e }}\) na tcōL de tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
20.15 " kashbii'
shang
kaashbii' + DIAL. VAR. OF shaang \(_{2}\)
tomorrow only
adv adv
tomorrow only
[AdvP] [AdvP]
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
taa' ohyash-bang & & haibaang \\
taa-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL. & \(=\) bang \(_{2}\) & \begin{tabular}{l} 
haibaang
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
sg go to water \\
vi
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
encl \\
you (pl.) will go to water
\end{tabular} & \\
[VP] & & after that \\
adv
\end{tabular}

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
Seek'ang &,\("\) & tc'in \\
Seek'aang & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa' \({ }^{\prime}\) yii \\
Black Rock & say & they \\
na & vt & they \\
Black Rock & he said & they say \\
[AdvP] & [VP &
\end{tabular}
"Tomorrow you all will only go to the river, after that Black Rock," he said, they say.
Tomorrow you will go to Black rock.
"Tomorrow / only / you will live by the river [go back home; NB V: sound like live in river right though] / after that [for that] / Black rock," / he said / they say. kûc bī / cûñ ta ō yûc bûn / hai bañ / se kû́ñ / tcin / yani [NB V: ta+ō' yac bûn sê kxuñ] kąc bī \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) cąñ ta \(\bar{o}^{`}\) yąc bûñ hai bañ se k'ûñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note So the Cahto were basically commanded to get their obsidian from Black Rock. This was one of the encroachments that was a cause of the last war the Cahto were involved in before the Whites arrived. (cf. Bill Ray in Kroeber, 1928, pp.37-40; Gill Ray in Essene, 1935 Book \#42)

\subsection*{20.16 " dindai \\ dindai \\ arrowhead \\ na \\ arrowhead \\ [Obj]}
olhtcii-bang
(s)..Ihtcii/tciin' + IMPF.,2PL., +3 OBJ. \(=\) bang \(_{2}\)
make O
vt
you (pl.) will make
[VP]
tc' in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
he said they say
[VP
"You all will make arrowheads," he said, they say.

You will make arrowheads."
"Arrowheads [flints] / you will make," [make for] / he said / they say. dûn dai / ōLtcī / bûñ / tcin / ya n̄̄ dûn dai ōl tcī bûñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
21.1 naakwong
naakong
clover
na
clover
[Obj]
ch'ohyaa-mang
ch'-(ghin)..yaan/yaan' + IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =bang 2
eat st \(\quad=\) future predictive enclitic
vt encl
you (pl.) will eat st.
[VP]
"You all will eat clover.
"You may eat clover.
"Clover / you will eat. [you eat for]
na kwûñ / tcō ya mûñ [NB V: na kōñ]
na kwōñ tc'ō' ya mûñ
21.2 slis
slis
ground squirrel
na
ground squirrel
[Obj]
ch'ohyaa-mang
ch'-(ghin)..yaan/yaan' + IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =bang 2
eat st =future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
you (pl.) will eat st.
[VP]
You all will eat ground squirrels.
You may eat ground-squirrels.
Ground-squirrel / you will eat. [so you can eat]
slûs / tcō ya mûñ
slûs tc'ō \({ }^{`}\) ya mûñ

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray

ch'ohyaa-man
ch'ohyaan \(=\) bang \(_{2}\)
eat \(\quad=\) future predictive enclitic
v encl
you (pl.) will eat st.
[VP]
uudjii'olhtik-bang ,"
P-djii-(ghin)..Ihtik+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL. =bang 2
kill \(\mathrm{P} \quad=\) future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
you (pl.) will kill them
[VP]
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tc'in & yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP & \(\quad]\)
\end{tabular}

You all will kill and eat (many) jackrabbits," he said, they say.
You may kill and eat many jack-rabbits.
Many / jack-rabbits / you will eat, [you may eat] / you will kill," [to kill them; NB V: not quite heart] / he said / they say.
kûn ta gits / tcō ya mûñ / ō tcī ōL tûk / bûñ / tcin / ya n̄̄ [NB V: ō djī \(+\bar{o}\) 'L tûk bûñ]

Note The word lhaang ("many") only appears in the published version, not the notebook.
```

21.4 shaasht'ang'
shaasht'ang
bull clover
na
bull clover
[Obj]

```
```

ch'wohbilh-bang
ch'-(ghin)..bilh/biil'+PROG.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =bang2
carry basketfull O = future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
you (pl.) will carry basketfulls of it
[VP]
"You all will carry basketfulls of bull clover ("bear clover").
You may bring bear-clover.
"Bear-clover / you will carry. [pack]
cac dûñ / tcō wō bûL bûñ
cac dûñ tc' wō` bûL bûñ
21.5 ghilk'otc'tcing
ghilk'otc'tcing
angelica shoots
na
angelica shoots
[Obj]
ch'wohbilh-bang
ch'-(ghin)..bilh/biil'+PROG.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =bang2
carry basketfull O = future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
you (pl.) will carry basketfulls of it
[VP]
You all will carry basketfulls of angelica shoots.
You may bring angelica shoots.
(Angelica) [angelica (eat it)] / you will carry. [pack it]
gûl kōts tcûñ / tcō wō bûL bûñ
gûl kōtc tcûñ tc' wō ${ }^{\text {© }}$ bûl bûñ
21.6 haidaa" ang tciigheeltcaantc
haidaa" ang tciighiltcaantc+VAR. OF
from the north bulb sp (edible, tciighiltcaantc)
direct $n$ a
from the north tciighiltcaantc edible bulb
[AdvP]
[Obj]

```

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
```

ch'wohbilh-bang
ch'-(ghin)..bilh/biil'+PROG.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =bang2
carry basketfull O = future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
you (pl.) will carry basketfulls of it
[VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say
vt
he said they say
[VP

```

You all will carry basketfulls of tciighiltcaantc bulbs from the north," he said, they say.
From the north you may bring bulbs.
From the north [down this way] / (bulbs) [Indian potatoes] / you will carry," [pack it] / he said / they say.
hai da ûñ / tcī gel tcûntc / tcū wō bûL bûñ / tsiñ / ya ni hai da \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ûñ tcī gel tcantc tc' wō bû́ bûñ tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
21.7 " \(\begin{aligned} & \text { dishchow } \\ & \text { dishchow }\end{aligned}\)
grouse
na
grouse
[Obj]
uudjii' olhtik-bang
P-djii-(ghin)..Ihtik+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL. =bang 2
kill P = future predictive enclitic
vt
you (pl.) will kill them
[VP]
```

tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say they say
vt
he said they say
[VP
]
"You all will kill grouse," he said, they say.
You may kill grouse.
"Grouse / you will kill," / he said / they say. dûc tcō / ō tcī ōL tûk bûñ / tcin / ya nī dûc tcō ō djī ${ }^{\ulcorner }$ōl tûk bûñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
21.8 uuweeshii
*gheeshii' +3 POSS.
egg
n ia
their eggs
[Obj]

```
```

wohghilh-bang

```
wohghilh-bang
gh..gheelh+PROG.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang
carry load O along =future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
you (pl.) will carry a load of
[VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say
vt
he said they say
[VP
"You all will carry loads of their eggs," he said, they say.
You may bring their eggs.
"Eggs / you will carry," [packs] / he said / they say.
ō we cī / wō gûL bûñ / tcin / ya nī
o we cī wō \({ }^{`}\) gûL bûñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
```

```
21.9 "
dishtc weeshee'
dishtc weeshee'
quail eggs
na
quail eggs
[Obj]
wohghilh-bang
gh..gheelh+PROG.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang}\mp@subsup{)}{2}{
carry load O along =future predictive enclitic
vt
    encl
you (pl.) will carry a load of
[VP]
"You all will carry loads of quail eggs.
You may bring quail eggs.
"Quail / eggs / you will carry.
daicts we ce / wō gûL bûñ
dûcts we ce wō \({ }^{`}\) gûL bûñ
```

```
21.10 Ihoon'Ihgai
```

21.10 Ihoon'Ihgai
Ihaang
Ihaang
Ihoon'Ihgai Ihaang
Ihoon'Ihgai Ihaang
bushy-tailed woodrat many/much
bushy-tailed woodrat many/much
na
na
adj
adj
bushy-tailed woodrat many
bushy-tailed woodrat many
[Obj
[Obj
]
]
uudjii'olhtik-bang
P-djii-(ghin)..lhtik+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL. =bang}\mp@subsup{}{2}{
kill P

```
vt
```

you (pl.) will kill them
[VP]

| tc'in | yaa' $\mathbf{n i i}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| say | they say |
| vt | vt |
| he said | they say |
| [VP | $\quad]$ |

You all will kill many woodrats," he said, they say.

```

You may kill many wood-rats."
Wood-rats / many [lots] / you will kill," [kill] / he said / they say.
Lōñ L kai / Lañ / ō tcī ōL tûk bûñ / tcin / ya n̄̄
Lōn l gai lañ ō djī \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ōl tûk bûñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n̄̄
\begin{tabular}{llll}
22.1 & ts'ing & iintc'ee' & kaashkiitc, \\
ts'ing & iintc'ee' & kaashkiitc & ts'ing \\
bone & deer & old man & bone \\
na & na & na & na \\
bone & deer & old.man & bone \\
{\(\left[\begin{array}{lll}\text { NP } & & ]\end{array}\right.\)} & {\([\) Subj \(]\)} & {\([O b j]\)}
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline tc'teelhghaal' & yaa'nii & diidak \\
\hline ti-(s)..lhghaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3ANIM., 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & diidak' \\
\hline throw stick-like/animate O & they say & east \\
\hline vt & vt & direct \\
\hline he threw it & they say & east \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
[VP
] [AdvP]
The old man threw bones to the east, they say, the deer bones.
The old man threw bones of the deer to the east.
Bone / deer / old man, / bone / he threw [he broke] / they say, / east. tsûñ / in tce / kac kīts / tsûñ / tce/ke teL gal / ya ni / dī dûk [NB V: kxe teL gal] ts'ûñ in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kac kīts ts'ûñ tc' tel gal ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī dī dûk'
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 22.2 ts'ing & tc'teelhghaal' & yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
\hline ts'ing & ti-(s)..llighaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }}{ }_{1}\) \\
\hline bone & throw stick-like/animate O & they say \\
\hline na & vt & vt \\
\hline bone & he threw it & they say \\
\hline [Obj] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
diidee'
diidee'
north
direct
north
[AdvP]
He threw bones to the north, they say.
He threw them to the north.
Bone / he threw / they say, / north.
tsûñ / tce teL gal / ya ni / di de+
ts'ûñ tc' tel gal ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \bar{n}\) dī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
```

22.3 ts'ing tc'teelhghaal' yaa'nii
ts'ing ti-(s)..lhghaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
bone throw stick-like/animate O they say
na vt
bone he threw it
they say
[Obj] [VP

```
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say

\section*{diinak'}
```

diinak'
south
direct
south
[AdvP]
He threw bones to the south, they say.
He threw them to the south.
Bone / he threw / they say / south.
tsûn / tce teL gal / ya ni / dī nûk
ts'ûñ tc' tel gal ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī dī nûk'

```
```

22.4 ts'ing tc'teelhghaal' yaa'nii

```
22.4 ts'ing tc'teelhghaal' yaa'nii
    ts'ing ti-(s)..lhghaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
    ts'ing ti-(s)..lhghaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
    bone throw stick-like/animate O
    bone throw stick-like/animate O
    na vt
    na vt
    bone he threw it
    bone he threw it
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
they say
vt
vt
they say
they say
[Obj] [VP
[Obj] [VP
baaghang
baaghang
baaghang
baaghang
coast
coast
na
na
coast
coast
[AdvP]
```

[AdvP]

```

He threw bones to the coast, they say.
He threw them to the coast.
Bone / he threw / they say, / coast. [west]
tsûn / tce teL gal / ya ni / ba gûñ
ts'ûñ tc' tel gal ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī ba gûñ

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray

yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
"Let there be grizzly bears in the east," he said, they say.
"Grizzlies will be to the east," he said.
"Grizzly / east / will be," [can live] / he said / they say.
nō nī / dī dûk / bûñ kya / tcin ya nī [NB V: ? bûntca+]
nō nī dī dûk' bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 22.6 & & & & \\
\hline 22.6 & bitchow bitchow & diidak diidak & \begin{tabular}{l}
banjaa \\
=banjaa
\end{tabular} & tc' in ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
\hline & mountain lion & east & \(=\) let be/will be & say \\
\hline & na & direct & encl & vt \\
\hline & mountain lion & east & let it be & he said \\
\hline & [Subj] & [VP & ] & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 1
they say
vt
they say
]
"Let there be mountain lions in the east," he said, they say
"Panthers will be to the east.
"Panther / east / will be," [live] / he said / they say.
bût tcō / dī dûk / bûñ kya / tcin ya nī
bût tcō dī dûk' bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray

"Let there be bobcats in the east," he said, they say.
Wildcats will be to the east.
"Wildcat / east / will be," [can live] / he said / they say.
bûts / dī dûk / bûñ kya / tcin / ya nī
bûts dī dûk' bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \(22.8{ }^{\prime \prime}\) & noonii noonii & diidee diidee' & banjaa =banjaa & tc' in .nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
\hline & grizzly bear & north & = let be/will be & say \\
\hline & na & direct & encl & vt \\
\hline & grizzly bear & north & let it be & he said \\
\hline & [Subj] & [VP & ] & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say

\section*{("Let there be grizzly bears in the north," he said, they say.}

Note Inserting the diidee' version of the three lines here, based on the note, "Should also be dī de. Called Bill's attention to it and he said he missed it out." (Goddard NBstories 11-20, p.50)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{6}{*}{22.9} & bitchow & diidee' & banjaa' & tc'in \\
\hline & bitchow & diidee' & = banjaa' & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
\hline & mountain lion & north & = let be/will be & say \\
\hline & na & direct & encl & vt \\
\hline & mountain lion & north & let it be & he said \\
\hline & [Subj] & [VP & ] & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say

```
    ]
"Let there be mountain lions in the north," he said, they say.


yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
"Let there be grizzly bears in the south," he said, they say.
Grizzlies will be to the south.
"Grizzly [bear] / south / will be," [may live] / he said / they say. nō \(\bar{n}\) / dī nûk bûn kya / tcin ya ni
nō nī dī nûk' bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 22.12 " & \begin{tabular}{l}
bitchow \\
bitchow
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
diinak' \\
diinak
\end{tabular} & banjaa' =banjaa & tc'in .nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
\hline & mountain lion & south & = let be/will be & say \\
\hline & na & direct & encl & vt \\
\hline & mountain lion & south & let it be & he said \\
\hline & [Subj] & [VP & ] & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{yaa'nii}
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
"Let there be mountain lions in the south," he said, they say.
Panthers will be to the south.
"Panther / south / will be," [may live] / he said / they say.
bût tcō dī nûk / bun kya / tcin / ya ni
bût tcō dī nûk' bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
22.13 " bittc diinak' banjaa' ," tc'in yaa'nii
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
bittc & diinak' & =banjaa' & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
bobcat & south & \(=\) let be/will be & say & they say \\
na & direct & encl & vt & vt \\
bobcat & south & let it be & he said & they say \\
[Subj] & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(\quad]\) & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular}
"Let there be bobcats in the south," he said, they say.
Wildcats will be to the south.
"Wildcat / south / will be," [may] / he said / they say.
bûts / dī nûk / bun kya / tcin / ya nī bûts dī nûk' bûn \(\operatorname{dja}^{\varepsilon}\) tc \({ }^{\prime}\) in ya \(a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 22.14 " & baaghang baaghang & \begin{tabular}{l}
bitchow \\
bitchow
\end{tabular} & banjaa =banjaa & tc'in .nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
\hline & coast & mountain lion & = let be/will be & say \\
\hline & na & na & encl & vt \\
\hline & coast & mountain lion & let it be & he said \\
\hline & [AdvP] & [VP & ] & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa' nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
"Let there be mountain lions on the coast," he said, they say.
Panthers will be near the coast.
"Coast [west] / panther / will be," [may live] / he said / they say.
ba gûñ / bût tco / buñ kya / tcin / ya nī
ba gûñ bût tcō bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \[
22.15 \text { " }
\] & noonii noonii & banjaa' =banjaa & baaghang baaghang & tc'in ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
\hline & grizzly bear & = let be/will be & coast & say \\
\hline & na & encl & na & vt \\
\hline & grizzly bear & let it be & coast & he said \\
\hline & [VP & ] & [AdvP] & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 1
they say
vt
they say
]
"Let there be grizzly bears on the coast," he said, they say.
Grizzlies will be near the coast.
"Grizzly / will be [may live] / coast," [west] / he said / they say. nō nī / bûn ka / ba gûñ / tcin / ya ni nō nī bûndja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ba gûñ \(t c^{\prime}\) in ya \(a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray

yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
"Let there be bobcats on the coast," he said, they say.
Wildcats will be near the coast."
"Wildcat / will be [may live] / coast," [west] / he said / they say.
bûts / bûñ kya / ba gûñ / tcin / ya nī
bûts bûn dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ba gûñ tc \({ }^{\prime}\) in ya \(a^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
23.1 & saahchow & diidak' & sliin' & yaa'nii \\
& saahchow & diidak' & (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 & yaa' nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
fisher & east & become & they say \\
na & direct & vs & vt \\
fisher & east & it became & they say \\
[Subj] & [AdvP] & [VP & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

Fishers came into being in the east, they say.
Fishers became in the east.
Fisher / east / became / they say.
sa' tcō / dī dûk / sliñ / ya nī
sa‘ tcō dīdûk’ slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
23.2 Ihtsoghing diidak' sliin' yaa'nii

Ihtsoghing diidak' (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
gray fox & east & become & they say \\
na & direct & vs & vt \\
gray fox & east & it became & they say \\
[Subj] & [AdvP] & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular}

Foxes came into being in the east, they say.
Foxes became in the east.
Fox / east / became / they say.

L sō gûñ / dī dûk / slīñ / ya ni
L tsō gûñ dī dûk' slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llll}
23.3 & laa'nees & diidak' & sliin' \\
& yaa'nii \\
laa'nees & diidak' & (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \\
raccoon & east & become & they say \\
na & direct & vs & vt \\
raccoon & east & it became & they say \\
{\([\) Subj] } & [AdvP] & {\([V P\)} &
\end{tabular}

\section*{Raccoons came into being in the east, they say.}

Raccoons became in the east.
Raccoon [coon] / east / became / they say.
la nez / dī dûk / slīñ / ya nī [NB V: la+ nēs]
la \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nes dī dûk' slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n̄̄
\begin{tabular}{llll}
23.4 & ch'siitcing & diidak' & sliin' \\
ch'siitcing & diidak' & (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \(1_{1}\) \\
coyote & east & become & they say \\
n a & direct & vs & vt \\
coyote & east & it became & they say \\
{\([\) Subj \(]\)} & [AdvP] & [VP & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

\section*{Coyotes came into being in the east, they say.}

Coyotes became in the east.
Coyote / east / became ts
tcī sī tcûñ / dī dûk / slīn / yanī [NB V: ? tce sī tcûñ]
tc' sī tcûñ dī dûk' slīñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llll}
23.5 & slee'Inkishtc & diidak' & sliin' \\
slee'Ihkishtc & diidak' & (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \\
striped skunk & east & become & they say \\
n a & direct & vs & vt \\
striped skunk & east & it became & they say \\
[Subj] & [AdvP] & [VP &
\end{tabular}

\section*{Striped skunks came into being in the east, they say.}

Skunks became in the east.
Skunk / east / became / they say.
sle kûsts / dī dûk / sliñ ya nī [NB V: sle+ L kûcts]
sle \(^{\varepsilon}\) L k'ûcts dī dûk' \(\operatorname{slī}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 23.6 & siis & diidak' & sliin' & yaa' nii \\
\hline & siis & diidak' & (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }} 1\) \\
\hline & otter & east & become & they say \\
\hline & na & direct & vs & \\
\hline & river otter & east & it became & they say \\
\hline & [Subj] & [AdvP] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Otters came into being in the east, they say.
Otters became in the east.
Otter / east / became / they say.
sīs / dī dûk / sliñ / ya nī
sīs dī dûk’ slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī


Black bears came into being in the east, they say.
Black bears became in the east.
Bear [Black bear] / east / became / they say.
dō lī / dī dûk / slin / ya nī [NB V: dō lē]
dō lī dī dûk' slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{6}{*}{23.9} & chin-yaantc & diidak' & sliin' & yaa'nii \\
\hline & chin-yaantc & diidak' & (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 & yaa' \({ }^{\text {iii }} 1\) \\
\hline & brown phase black bear & east & become & they say \\
\hline & na & direct & vs & \\
\hline & brown phase black bear & east & it became & they say \\
\hline & [Subj] & [AdvP] & [VP & \\
\hline .) & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{(Brown bears came into being in the east, they say.)}
[eat stick Brown bear]
kin yantc
Note Inserted on the basis of note, "kin yantc eat stick Brown bear (He missed)" (Goddard NBstories 11-20, p.52)
\begin{tabular}{llll}
23.10 & Ih'ghish & diidak' & sliin' \\
tl'ghish+DIAL. VAR. OF & diidak' & (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \(i_{1}\) \\
rattlesnake & east & become & they say \\
na & direct & vs & vt \\
rattlesnake & east & it became & they say \\
[Subj] & [AdvP] & [VP &
\end{tabular}

\section*{Rattlesnakes came into being in the east, they say.}

Rattlesnakes became in the east.
Rattle-snake [NB V: snake] / east / became / they say.
L gû́c / dī dûk / sliñ / yanī [NB V: ? La
\(\mathrm{L}^{\varepsilon}\) gûc dī dûk’ slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
23.11 ch'see'chow diidak' sliin' yaa'nii
ch'see'chow diidak' (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
bullsnake & east & become & they say \\
n a & direct & vs & vt \\
bullsnake & east & it became & they say \\
[Subj] & [AdvP] & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

Bull-snakes came into being in the east, they say.
Bullsnakes became in the east.
Bull-snake / east / became / they say. tci se+ tcō / dī dûk / sliñ / ya nī tc se \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tcō dī dûk’ slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
23.12 biinee' dooteeltcing
biinee'tl' ohteeltc+VAR. OF
western aquatic garter snake
na
aquatic garter snake
[Subj]
sliin'
(s)..leegh/liin' + PERF., 3
become
vs
it became
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
diidak'
diidak'
east
direct
east
[AdvP]
Aquatic garter snakes came into being in the east, they say.
Water-snakes became in the east.
Water-snake / became / they say, / east.
bī ne dō tel tciñ / sliñ / ya ni / dīdûk
bī ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) dō tel tcin slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī dī dûk'
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
23.13 & t'aadilk' its & diidak' & sliin' & yaa'nii \\
& t'aadilk' its & diidak' & (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \\
& kingsnake & east & become & they say \\
na & direct & vs & vt \\
kingsnake & east & it became & they say \\
& {\([\) Subj \(]\)} & [AdvP] & {\([V P\)} &
\end{tabular}

Kingsnakes came into being in the east, they say.
Adders became in the east.
Milk-snake / east / became / they say.
tca dûL kûts / dī dûk / slin / ya nī [NB V: ta duL kxûts]
t'a dûl k'ûts dī dûk' slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llll}
23.14 & saljiitc & diidak' & sliin' \\
saljiitc & diidak' & (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \\
fence lizard & east & become & they say \\
na & direct & vs & vt \\
fence lizard & east & it became & they say \\
{\([\) Subj] } & [AdvP] & [VP &
\end{tabular}

Lizards came into being in the east, they say.
Lizards became in the east.
Lizard [lizzard] / east / became / they say.
sûl tcīts / dī dûk / sliñ / yanī [NB V: sûl gīts]
sûl gīts dī dûk' slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī


\section*{Frogs came into being in the east, they say.}

Frogs became in the east.
Frog / east / became / they say.
tca hûl / dī dûk / sliñ / ya nī [NB V: țca hûl]
tc'a hąl dī dûk' slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llll}
23.16 & \begin{tabular}{ll} 
dilaantc \\
dilaantc
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
diidak' \\
diidak'
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
sliin' \\
(s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
salamander & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii
\end{tabular}\({ }_{1}\)
\end{tabular}

\section*{Salamanders came into being in the east, they way.}

Salamanders became in the east.
Salamander [water dog] / east / became / they say.
dûl lantc / dī dûk / sliñ / yanī
dûl lantc dī dûk' slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
23.17 bee'liing , ts'eek'eeneestc
bee'ling ts'eek'eeneestc
Pacific lamprey night eel run Pacific lamprey day eel run
na
night-run lamprey
[Subj
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
Ihoo'yaashtc & diidak' & sliin' & yaa'nii \\
Ihoo'yaashtc & diidak' & (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
sucker & east & become & they say \\
na & direct & vs & vt \\
suckerfish & east & it became & they say \\
& ] & [AdvP] & [VP
\end{tabular}

Night eels, day eels, and suckers came into being in the east, they say.

Eels, day eels, and suckers became in the east.
Eel, / day eel, [daytime/night] / sucker [trout] / east / became / they say. be liñ / se kût nez/se kē nejts / Lō yajc / dī dûk / sliñ / ya nī [NB V: be+ līñ ? tse ke nects] be \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) linñ ts'e k'e nects Lō yacts dī dûk' slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note Ray and/or Goddard notes that ts'eek' ee' neestc is derived from ts'eekee' ("navel") + nees ("long"), "se kût nez long navel" (Goddard NBstories 11-20, p.55).


Trout, hook-bill salmon, and black salmon came into being in the east, they say.
Trout, hook-bill salmon, and black salmon became in in the east.
Trout, [trout white] / hook-bill, / black salmon / became / they say, / east.
Lō yaj kaij́tc / da tca hûl / ges / slīñ ya ni dī dûk [NB V: da tcá hûl]
Lō yac gaitc da tca \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) hąl ges slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī dī dûk'
\begin{tabular}{llll}
23.19 & Ihook' & sliin' & yaa'nii \\
lhook' & (s)..leegh/liin'+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & diidak' \\
diidak' \\
steelhead & become & they say & east \\
na & vs & vt & direct \\
steelhead & it became & they say & east \\
{\([\) Subj] } & [VP & & [AdvP]
\end{tabular}

\section*{Steelheads came into being in the east, they say.}

Spring salmon became in the east.
Steelhead [spring salmon] / became / they say, / east.
Lōk / slīñ ya nī / dī dûk [NB V: Lōǩ dī dûk̃]
Lōk’ slīn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \(a^{\varepsilon}\) nī dī dûk'
```

24.1" see ohlaang
see oo-n-(ghin)..lan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
stone get O
n a vt
rock you (pl.) get
[Obj] [VP

| woh'aalh | ts'ing ghaasit |
| :---: | :---: |
| gh..' ${ }^{\text {aalh+PROG.,2PL.,+ }} 3$ ObJ. | ts'ing (ghin)..sit+INF-COMP.,+ 3 OBJ.,DIST |
| carry solid O along | bone pound up O |
| vt | na vt |
| you (pl.) carry it along | bone to pound them up |
| ] | [ AdvCl |
| kogheesih-bang | ). |
| (ghin)..sit+INF-COMP.,+ 3AREAL | OBJ. =bang |
| pound up O | = purposive enclitic |
| vt | encl |
| for pounding (everything) up |  |
| ] |  |

"You all get (carry along) some stones to pound up (for pounding up) the
bones.
"Get some stones," he said.
"Stones / get [go after; NB V: get] / bones / to pound. [pound; NB V: to pound]
se ō a lañ / sûñ / ga sût [NB V: sê wō+aL kō ge sûb buñ]
se o`` lañ ts'ûñ ga sût
Note The verb in parentheses, woh'aalh ("you all carry it along") is from the notes, and is
based on a completely different verb stem. (cf. Goddard NB V, p.21)
Note The verb in parenthesis, kogheesih-bang ("for pounding (everything) up") is also
from the notes, another way of saying the same thing but emphasizing the extend of
pounding. (cf. Goddard NB V, p.21)
24.2 ts'ing ohsit ," tc'in yaa'nii
ts'ing (ghin)..sit+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii

| bone | pound up O | say | they say |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| na | vt | vt | vt |
| bone | you (pl.) pound up! | he said | they say |
| $[\mathrm{Obj}]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ | $]$ |

```
"Pound the bones," he said, they say.
"Pound the bones.
Bones / pound," / he said / they say.
sûn / ō sût / tcin ya nī
ts'ûñ \({ }^{\circ}\) c sût tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
24.3 " nshoon-ee
n..shoon+PERF.,3 =yee
be good = eyewitness evid.
vd encl
they are good
[VP]
"They are good.
They are good.
"It is good. [good it is]
n cō nē
n cō ne


You all pound up its backbone," he said, they say.
Pound the backbone.
Bone / back / pound," / he said / they say.
sûñ / bī ne / ō sût / tcin / ya nī [NB V: bī ne+]
ts' ûñ bī ne \(e^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}^{c}\) sût tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 24.5 " & got' & ohsit & tc'in \\
\hline & *got'+3 POSS. & (ghin)..sit+IMPF.,2PL., +3 OBJ. & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
\hline & knee & pound up O & say \\
\hline & n ia & vt & vt \\
\hline & its knee & you (pl.) pound up! & he said \\
\hline & [Obj] & [VP] & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
"You all pound up its knee," he said, they say.
Pound the knee.
"Knee / pound," / he said / they say.
kōt / ō sût / tcin / ya ni
qōt' \({ }^{\circ}\) º sût tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

"You all pound up its other knee," he said, they say.
Pound the other knee.
"Other / knee / pound," / he said / they say.
La / kōt / ō sût / tcin / ya ni
La \(^{\varepsilon}\) qōt' \({ }^{-}{ }^{c}\) sût tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
```

24.7 " kwee' ohsit ,"
*kee' +'3 POSS. (ghin)..sit+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
foot
n ia
its foot
you (pl.) pound up!
[Obj]
[VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say
vt
he said they say
[VP ]
"You all pound up its feet," he said, they say.
Pound the foot.
"Foot / pound," / he said / they say.
kwe / ō sût / tcin / ya nī
kwe $^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}^{c}$ sût tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n} \overline{1}$

| 24.8 " | uulaa' | ohsit | tc'in |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | *laa' +3 Poss. | (ghin)..sit+IMPF.,2PL., +3 OBJ. | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. |
|  | forefoot | pound up O | say |
|  | n ia | vt | vt |
|  | its forefoot | you (pl.) pound up! | he said |
|  | [Obj] | [VP] | [VP |

yaa'nii
yaa'nii 1
they say
vt
they say
]
"You all pound up its forefeet," he said, they say.
Pound the hand.
"Its hand [his hand] / pound," / he said / they say.
ō la / ō sût / tcin / ya nī
$\bar{o}$ la $a^{\varepsilon}{ }^{-}{ }^{c}$ sût tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

```
```

24.9 " t'inding-haa'
t'inding-haa'
all the time
adv
all the time
[AdvP]
ohsit-bang ts'ing
(ghin)..sit+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang ${ }_{2}$ ts'ing
pound up $\mathrm{O} \quad=$ future predictive enclitic bone
vt
you (pl.) must pound it up
encl
[VP]

```
ts'ing
ts'ing bone
na bone
[Obj]
"You all must always pound up the bones.
All the time you must pound the bones.
"All the time / you will pound [pound] / bones. [brisket] \(\mathrm{t}^{\text {tûn }}\) dûñ ha / ō se / bûñ sûñ [NB V: tûn dûñ ha ō sûb buñ]
t'ûn dûñ ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\circ}{ }^{c}\) sûb bûñ ts'ûñ

\subsection*{24.10 doohaa'-tcin' daalhtish-bang}
doohaa' tcin'daa-(ghin)..Ihtish/tiin+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang 2
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
do not ! waste O \\
neg & vt
\end{tabular}
you (pl.) must not waste them
[VP]
You all must not waste them.
You must not waste them.
Do not waste them. [don't spoil it]
dō ha tcin da_L tûc bûñ
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' \(n\) dal tûc bûñ
24.11 nshoon-ee
\(\begin{array}{ll}\text { n..shoon+PERF.,3 } & =\text { yee } \\ \text { be good } & =\text { eyewitness evid. }\end{array}\)
vd
it is good
[VP]
encl
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
iintc'ee' & ts'ing &,\("\) \\
iintc'ee' & ts'ing & \\
deer & bone & \\
na & na & \\
deer & bone & \\
[Subj & &
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tc'in & yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP & \(\quad]\)
\end{tabular}

Deer bones are good," he said, they say.
Deer bones are good.
Are good [good] / deer / bones," / he said / they say.
\(\underline{n}\) cō ne / intce / sûñ / tciñ / ya nī
n cō ne in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ts'ûñ tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī


\section*{olhtcang}
..Ihtcan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
clean out stomach (of animal)
vt
you (pl.) clean out the paunch
[VP]
You all clean out its paunch (inside its stomach).
Clean out the stomach.
"Stomach [his paunch] / clean out.
bût (di) tcō / ōL tcûñ [NB V: bût bī́ tcō]
bût' dī tcō ōL tcûñ
Note Bit' diichow ("rumen, paunch") is found in the notebook version and the published version, but the notes give the alternate word bit' bii' chow ("in its stomach"). (Goddard NB V, p.21)
```

24.13 uutc'iik'ee' ohtl'00
*tc'iik'ee'+3 POSS.
small intestine
n ia
its small intestines
[Obj]

```
ohtl' 00
(s)..tl'oo/tl'oon+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
weave O; weave
vt
you (pl.) weave it
[VP]

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray

\section*{You all braid its small intestines.}

Braid the small intestines.
Small intestines [narrow guts] / braid. [make like rope Pretty near like basket] ō tcī ké+ / ō Lō [NB V: ō djī \(\mathrm{ke}_{\mathrm{e}}\) ō \(\mathrm{L}_{\mathrm{x}} \overline{\mathrm{o}}\) ]
\(\bar{o}\) djī \(\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{e}^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}^{-}\)Lō
```

2 4 . 1 4 ~ s h o o n g ~ k w a a l h ' i i n g
shoong P-aa..lh'in/'iin'+IMPF.,2PL.,3AREAL
well do P
adv vi
well you (pl.) do thus
[AdvP] [VP]

```

You all do it well.
Do it well.
Well [good] / do it.
cōñ / kwa Liñ [NB V: kwuL īñ ?]
cōñ kwa Liñ
```

24.15 uudee' ch'an'oh'ash
*dee' }\mp@subsup{}{1}{}+3\mathrm{ POSS. ch'aa-n-(nin)..'aash/' aan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
horn/antler take solid O away
n ia
its horn you (pl.) take it away
[Obj]
[VP]
ts'ii'-bii' yiiheeh'ash
ts'ii'+LOC. yeeh-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
bush put stick-like O in
na vt
in the brush you (pl.) put it in
[PostP] [VP]
beenoohsing
P-ee-noo-(ghin)..sin+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.
hide P
vt
you (pl.) hide it
[VP]

```

You all take away its antlers, take them into the brush, and hide them.
Take away the horns and hide them in the brush.
Its horn [horn] / take away. [hide/take away] / Brush in / take them. [take it] / Hide them.
[hid it]
\(\bar{o}\) de / tcûn ō ûc / tsī bī ī he ûc / be nō sûñ [NB V: ī he +ûc]
\(\bar{o}\) de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tcûn \(\bar{o}^{\odot}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąc ts \({ }^{\prime} \overline{1}^{\varepsilon}\) bī \(\bar{i}^{\varepsilon}\) yī he \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąc be nō \({ }^{\circ}\) sûñ


Deer tallow is good tallow," he said, they say.
Deer tallow is good.["]
Tallow [fat] / is good [good is] / deer / tallow," / he said, they say.
\(\mathrm{kwa}+\) / \(\underline{\mathrm{n}}\) cō ne / intce / kwa+ tcin / ya ni [NB V: kwa+]
\(\mathrm{k}^{\prime}\) wa \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}\) cō ne in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{k}^{\prime}\) wa \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

"You all kill deer all the time," he said, they say.
"Kill deer all the time.
"All the time / kill / deer," / he said / they say.
\(t^{!}\)ûn dûñ ha / ō gûñ / in tce / tciñ / yani
\(t^{\prime}\) ûn dûñ ha \({ }^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}^{\bullet}\) gąñ in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
```

25.2 " k'aa' ch'olht'aa
k'aa' ch'-(s)..Iht'aa+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
arrow fletch arrow
na vt
arrow you (pl.) fletch arrows
[Obj] [VP]

```
"You all put feathers on arrows.
Feather arrows.
"Arrows / put feathers. [put flint]
\(k^{!} \mathrm{a} /\) tcōL t'a
k' \(a^{\varepsilon}\) tcō \(t^{\prime}\) 'a
```

25.3 kashtc taahshit
kaashtc taa-(s)..shit+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
obsidian knife flake/knap
na vt
obsidian knife you (pl.) flake/knap them
[Obj]
[VP]

```

\section*{You all flake obsidian knives.}

Make knives.
Knife / make. [work]
kûsts / ta tcit
kącts ta \({ }^{\circ}\) cût
25.4 s'ilhtiing' ohghas
ts'ilhtiing'
bow scrape O
na vt
bow you (pl.) scrape them
[Obj] [VP]

\section*{You all scrape bows.}

Scrape bows.
Bow / scrape.
sûL tīn / ō' gûs
s'ûl tiñ̃ \({ }^{\text {o }} \bar{o}^{\bullet}\) gąs
```

25.5 teelee' ohtl'00 ," tc'in
teelee' (s)..tl'oo/tl'oon+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ
net bag weave O; weave say
na vt
net bag you (pl.) weave it
[Obj] [VP]
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
vt
he said
[VP

```
yaa'nii
ga' iii 1
they say
vt
they say
    ]
You all weave net bags," he said, they say.
Make sacks.
Sack [bag] / weave," / he said / they say.
te le / o Lo / thin / ya ni
te le \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{-}\)Loo tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
25.6 " sii'bii's'aang ohtl'oo ,"
    sii' bii's' lang (s)..tl'oo/tl' oon+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
    head net weave O; weave
    na vt
    head net you (pl.) weave it
    [Obj]
[VP]
tc' in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
he said they say
[VP ]
"You all weave head nets," he said, they say.
Weave head-nets.
"Head net [hair net] / weave," / he said / they say.
sī̀ bīs an / ob Lō / tcin / ya nī [NB V: sī bī + s+añ]
sis \(^{\bar{\varepsilon}}\) bis \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) an \(\bar{o}^{c}\) Lo tc' in ya \(a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
```

25.7 kiitsaa' ohtl'00 ,"
kiitsaa' (s)..tl'oo/tl'oon+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
basket pot weave O; weave
na vt
basket pot you (pl.) weave it
[Obj] [VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii
say
vt
he said they say
[VP
]
"You all twine basket pots," he said, they say.
Make basket-pots.
"Basket-pot [basket] / twine," [weave] / he said / they say.
kī tsa / o Lō / tcin / ya nī [NB V: kī tsa+]
kī tsa }\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mp@subsup{\overline{o}}{}{c}\mathrm{ Lō tc'in ya }\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\textrm{n}\overline{1

| 25.8 " | uu'eest | olhsilh | tc'in |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | uu'eest | (s)...lhtsilh/tsiil' + IMPF.,2PL., 3 OBJ. | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM |
|  | pestle | peck stone | say |
|  | na | vt | vt |
|  | pestle | you (pl.) peck stone | he said |
|  | [Obj] | [VP] | [VP |

yaa'nii
yaa'nii 1
they say
vt
they say
]
"You all peck stone pestles," he said, they say.
Peck pestles.
"Pestle / peck," [pound/make round] / he said / they say.
ō est / ōL sûL / tcin / yanī [NB V: ū+ est]
$\bar{o}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ est' $^{\prime}$ ō sûl tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

```

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray

they say
"You all twine parching trays and twine sifting baskets," he said, they say. Weave basket-pans. Weave the small basket-pans.
"Basket-pan [pan] / twine, / small basket-pan [sifting tray] / twine," / he said / they say. tcī ga' / o Lō / tcì gáts / o Lō / tcin ya nī [NB V: tacī ga' tccī gats] tc' ga \(\bar{o}^{c}\) Lō tc' gats \(\bar{o}^{c}\) Lō tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```

25.11 kiitsaa'chow , kitsaa'yaashtc
kiitsaa'chow kiitsaa'yaashtc
large cooking basket small cooking basket
na}n
large cooking basket small cooking basket
[Obj
]

```

\section*{ohtl' 00}
(s)..tl'oo/tl' oon+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 obJ.
weave O; weave
vt
you (pl.) weave it
[VP]
"You all twine large cooking baskets and small cooking baskets.
Weave the large basket-pots. Weave the small basket-pots.
"Large basket-pot [cook basket] / small basket-pot [dipper] / twine.
kī tsa tcō / kī tsa yaj / ō Lō
kī tsa \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tcō kī tsa \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) yacts \(\bar{o}^{c}\) Lō


You all twine basket-dippers and seed-beaters," he said, they say.
Weave the basket-dipper and seed-beaters.
Basket-dipper, [dipper] / seed-beater [with he beaten/pounds] / twine," / he said / they
say.
cī nec - tcil iñ / bûL tsûL tcī / ō Lō / tcin / ya nī [NB V: c nec tcûl īñ] c nec tsel īñ bûl sûl tcī \(\bar{o}^{c}\) Lō tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
25.13 "
ts'aal'
ts'aal'
basket cradle, baby basket
na
basket cradle
[Obj]
ohtl' 00
(s)..tl'oo/tl'oon+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
weave O; weave
vt
you (pl.) weave it
[VP]
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline skiitc-yaash & baa & tc'in & yaa'nii \\
\hline skiitc-yaash & \(\mathrm{P}-\mathrm{aa}-1_{1++} \mathbf{3} \mathrm{OBL}\). & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline small baby & for P & say & they say \\
\hline na & v :(12-incorp) & vt & vt \\
\hline baby (small) & for them & he said & they say \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
[IO
[VP
"Twine basket-cradles for small children," he said, they say.
Make the basket-cradle for the small children.["]
"Basket-cradle [baby basket] / twine / baby small [baby] / for," / he said / they say. tsûl / ō Lō / is kitj yaj / ba / tciñ / ya nī [NB V: ? ts \(\left.+\hat{\mathrm{u}}{ }^{\varepsilon}\right]\)
ts'al ō \({ }^{\text {c }}\) Lō s kīts yac ba tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```

26.1 iintc'ee' uudee'
iintc'ee' *dee' }\mp@subsup{}{1}{\prime}+3\mathrm{ POSS.
deer horn/antler shed antlers
na nia vt
deer its horn they shed antlers
[Subj] [Obj]

```
bii'tc'een'aang
bii'-tc'ee-(nin)..' 'aash/'aan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL. shed antlers
vt
they shed antlers
[VP]
```

, dilsow yaa'nii
d..lsow yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
be brown they say
vd vt
orangeish-brown they say
[AdvP
]

```
"The orangeish-brown deer shed their antlers, they say.
"The deer when blue shall shed their horns.
Deer / their horns [horn] / they shed [shed off] / blue / they say. in tce / \(\bar{o}\) de / bī tceñ añ / dûl sō / ya nī in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}^{\text {de }}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) bír \(^{\varepsilon}\) tcen \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) añ dûl sō ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n̄̄

\section*{26.2 uudee' yiiteelhdeel'}

P-dee' yii-ti-(s)..lhdilh/deel' +PERF.,3NAT.PHEN.
P's antlers to fall off
vi
its antlers fall off
[VP]
kai-Ih'at
kai-tl' at+DIAL. VAR. OF
winter season (mid-winter)
adv
mid-winter
[AdvP]
Their antlers fall off in the middle of winter."
In mid-winter they will fall off."
Their horns [horns] / fall off / winter middle. [in winter]
\(\bar{o}\) de \(/ \overline{1}\) teL del / kai L ût
ō de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) yī tel del' kai Lêut'
```

27.1 intc'ee' ch'teebiil'
iintc'ee' ch'-ti-(s)..bilh/biil' + PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
deer gather up basketfull O
na vt
deer they gathered up basketfulls of it
[Obj] [VP]

```

They gathered up the deer in baskets.
They gathered up the deer.
Deer / they gathered up. [they pack it]
in tce / ki te bīl
in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{k}^{\prime}\) t te bīl'

\section*{27.2 naatc'isgheel'}
naa-(s)..Ihgheelh+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
make O into a pack/load
vt
they made it into a pack/load
[VP]
They made it (deer meat) into packs.
They made the meat into bundles.
They made into a pack. [tie it up]
na tcis gel [NB V: na țcûs gel]
na tc'ûs gel
27.3 tc'teesghiing ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM. carry load O along vt
they carried a load along they say [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) they say
vt

They carried it away, they say.
They carried it away.
They carried / they say.
tcit tes giñ / ya nī
tc't tes giñ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 27.4 & naak & teeghing & yaa \\
\hline & naakaa' & ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF., 3 & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline & two & carry load O along & they say \\
\hline & num & vt & \\
\hline & two & they carried a load along & they say \\
\hline & [Subj] & [VP & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Two of them carried it along, they say.
Two of them
Two / carried it [carry it] / they say.
nûk ka / te giñ / ya nī
nąk ka \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) te giñ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
27.5 yeehding naaghiing
yeehding naa..ghish/ghiin \({ }_{1}+\) PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
home bring load O
\(\mathrm{na} \quad \mathrm{vt}\)
home they brought it
[AdvP] [VP]

\section*{They brought it home.}
brought it home.
House place [house where] / they brought it. [they bring] ye dûñ / na giñ
ye dûñ na giñ
```

27.6 " ch'eelhnai'
ch'ee-(ghin)..lhnaa/naa'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =i
roast =NR
vt encl
you (pl.) roast it
[VP]

```
"You all roast it."

They roasted it.
It is roasted. [roast it; NB V: (say cut it up] tcel naí [tcel nai]
tc'el nai \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
27.7 yaa'ghinyaang
(ghin)..yaan/yaan'+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3 OBJ.
eat O
vt
they ate it
[VP]
They all ate it.
Men,
They ate it. [they eat]
ya gûn yañ
ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) gûn yañ

\section*{27.8 tc'eek yiighinyaang}
tc'eek (ghin)..yaan/yaan'+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.
woman eat O
na vt
woman they ate it
[Subj] [VP]
Women ate it.
women,
Women / ate it. [eat]
tcek / yě gûn yañ
tc'ek yī gûn yañ

\section*{27.9 skiitc yeeghinyaang}
skiitc (ghin)..yaan/yaan' +PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.
baby eat O
na vt
baby they ate it
[Subj] [VP]
Children ate it.
and children ate it.
Children [baby] / ate it. [eat]
is kītj / ye gûn yañ
s kīts ye gûn yañ
\begin{tabular}{lll}
27.10 & ch'gheegot' & uusits' \\
ch'..got'+PROG.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. & "sits' +3 POSS. & yaa'nii \\
stretch O/hide & hide & they say \\
vt & na & vt \\
they stretched hide & its hide & they say \\
{\([V P]\)} & {\([O b j]\)} & vt
\end{tabular}

They stretched the hides, they say.
They stretched the hides.
They stretched [they stretch] / its hide / they say.
tce ga gōt / ū sûts / ya nī [NB V: tce ge gōt]
tc' ge qōt ū sûts ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 27.11 beelh & Ihaang & ghiddits & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }}\) \\
\hline beelh & lhaang & ..ghiddits+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }}{ }_{1}\) \\
\hline rope & many/much & be twisted (rope) & they say \\
\hline na & adj & & \\
\hline rope & much & it is twisted (rope) & they say \\
\hline [Subj & ] & [VP & ] \\
\hline iidaakii iidaakii & yiidaahdintc yiidaah-d-(nin) & \[
\text { ..tcee+PERF.,+ } 3 \text { OBJ. }
\] & \\
\hline rope (type) & cord to be tw & sted down the thigh & \\
\hline na & vi & & \\
\hline rope (type) & cord is twiste & down the thigh & \\
\hline [Subj] & [VP] & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Much rope was twisted, they say; iidaakii rope was twisted down the thigh.
They twisted many ropes.

Rope / much [lots] / is twisted [lay along (grass) never see here] / they say, / (a kind of rope) [rope; NB V: the down stroke on the thigh] / is made (?). [other rope] beL / Lañ / gût tûts / ya ni / \(\overline{1}\) da kī / \(\overline{1}\) da + din tce [NB V: gût dûts \(\overline{1}\) da kī] bel lañ gût dûts ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī 1 da kī \(\overline{1}\) da din tce
```

28.1 iintc'ee' ghitch'aang
iintc'ee' ..ghitch'aan+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.
deer be shot
na vp
deer it was shot
[Subj] [VP]

```
A deer was shot.
A deer was shot.
Deer / was shot. [shoot]
intce / gût tcañ
in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) gût tc'añ
28.2 naakai teesyai yaa'nii
    naakai \({ }_{2}\) ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 =i yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
    alive sg go along \(=N R\) they say
    adj vi
    encl vt
    alive it went along
        they say
    [AdvP] [VP
    ]

It went away still alive, they say.
It ran away crippled.
Alive [cripple; NB V: alive] / it went [went away] / they say. na kaí / tes yai / ya nī [NB V: nakaí] na kai tes yai ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{ll}
28.3 ghiltc'at & yaa'nii \\
(ghin)..Itc'aat+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
shout & they say \\
vi & vt \\
they shouted & they say \\
[VP & \(\quad]\)
\end{tabular}

They shouted, they say.
They shouted.
They shouted [they called him] / they say.
gûl tcût / ya ni
gûl tcąt ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

GT07 - The Placing of the Animals - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 28.4 teelkee' & iintc'ee' & yaa' & undee \\
\hline ..teelkee'+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ. & iintc'ee' & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & \({ }^{*}\) dee \({ }_{1}+3\) Poss. \\
\hline be tracked & deer & they say & horn/antler \\
\hline vp & na & vt & \\
\hline it was tracked & deer & they say & its horn \\
\hline [VP] & [Subj & ] & [PossP \\
\hline nchaagh nchaagh \(_{3}\) & & & \\
\hline large one pro-form & & & \\
\hline large one & & & \\
\hline ] & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

The deer was tracked, they say, one with big antlers.
They tracked, it. Its horns were large.
Was tracked [tracking him] / deer / they say, / its horn [horn] / large. [big] tel ke+ / inn tce / ya nī / ō de / in tcag tel \(\mathrm{ke}^{\varepsilon}\) in tce \(^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī \(\bar{o}\) de \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}\) tcag
\begin{tabular}{lll}
28.5 & naalhghii & yiilhchit \\
naalhghii & ..lhchit/cheet+IMPF.,+ 3OBV. OBJ.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
dog & catch O & they say \\
na & vt & vt \\
dog & it caught it & they say \\
{\([\) Subj \(]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

The dog caught it, they say.
The dog ... He caught it.
Dog / caught it [caught] / they say.
naLi gī / yīL kī / ya nī [NB V: nalgī yiL tcût ya nī]
naL gī yil tcût ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
28.6 yeehghintcin yaa'nii
yeeh-(ghin)..tciish/tcin+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
smell
vt
he smelled it they say
[VP
they say
vt

He smelled it, they say.
smelled it.
He smelled it [he smelled him; NB V: he smelled it] / they say.
gûn tcin / ya nī [NB V: ye gûn tcûn]
ye gûn tcûn \(\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\mathrm{n}} \overline{1}\)
29 kwanlhang kwanlhaang all/the end
interj
all
[VP]

\section*{That is all.}

That is all.
All.
kwûn Lûñ
kwûn Ląñ

\section*{The Supernatural Child}

\section*{Kashghantghinii}

Told by Bill Ray to Pliny Goddard in 1906; Published as VIII. "The Supernatural Child in Goddard 1909, pp.114-121, 201-205; original version as "XXIV" in notebook Goddard NBII, pp.17-55, and notes in NBV, pp.23-46
Kaashghantghinii ("He Exhorted Them" or "Exhortation") is the title of this story (Goddard Notebook V, p.33). Nin'tc 'isdaitcing (possibly "Sits On The Ground"?) is the name of the main character (Goddard Notebook V, p.33), Essene field notes 50 Cu 23.1 pp. 21-27 Book \#42 - "Story About 'Sit On The Ground'"
Goddard notes: " 225 This is said to be a 'Wailaki' story, probably meaning that it belonged to the people north of Kato, not those on Main Eel river. When first told and a year afterward Bill insisted that it was not a story, but that it really happened not very long ago. Nevertheless he volunteered the information that the boy became the one who makes a noise in winter like thunder. Evidently he is the establisher of fishing places if not the creator of fish. Babies were so exposed if they gave appearance of not being normal or truly human." (Goddard 1909, p.201)
This text switches back and forth between dialogue, observer/limited narration with kwaan indicating observed results and evidences of actions, and sections of objective or omniscient narration with no evidential other than the story quotative yaa'nii, including switching narrators within what functions as a single paragraph (eg. paragraph 30). After the strange baby is abandoned two parallel stories are unfolding: 1 , the story of the mother and community searching for the baby again; and 2 , the story of the baby growing and learning rapidly, teaching himself all of the tasks and skills needed for riverside life and fishing. In the end the baby settles under the waterfall Toonchaagh Naanaaghiliing far in the north and causes the various fishes, turtles, and crawfish to come from the north.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 1.1 skiitc & tceeh & yaa'nii \\
\hline skiitc & (ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3 & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline baby & cry & they say \\
\hline na & vi & vt \\
\hline baby & he cries & they say \\
\hline [Subj] & [VP & ] \\
\hline The baby & cries, they say. & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

The baby cried night and day.
Baby / cried [crying] / they say. is kītz tceg ya \(\bar{n} \overline{1}\)
skīts tce \({ }^{c}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

\section*{1.2 djiing neesdin , tl'ee' neesdin djiing neesding tl'ee' neesding all day long all night long \\ adv \\ adv \\ all day long \\ all night long [AdvCl}
yiighilhkaal-it
yi-gh..lhkaalh+PROG.,3NAT.PHEN. =hit

\section*{day to break}
vi
when day was breaking
skii tceeh
skii (ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3
\(=\) when baby cry
encl na vi
baby he cries
] [Subj] [VP

\section*{yaa'nii}
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
All day long, all night long, and when the day was breaking, the baby cries, they say.
All day long it kept crying.
Day / long, [all day long] / night / long [all night] / it got light when [when it gets
daylight] / baby / cried [crying] / they say.
tcīn nes dûn / L'e nes dûñ / yī gûL k'a lit is kī / tce' ya nī djīñ nes dûn \(\mathrm{Le}^{\varepsilon}\) nes dûn yī gû́ ka lit skī tce \(\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 1.3 ch'oyii-haa' & yaa'tghilhtish & yaa' \({ }^{\text {ii }}\) \\
\hline ch'oyii-haa' & t-(ghin)..Ihtish/tiin+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST., + 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline again & carry animate O around & they say \\
\hline adv & vt & \\
\hline again & they carry it (animate) around & they say \\
\hline [AdvP] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

They carried it around again, they say.
They carried it in their arms.
Again [some of you] / they carried it around [take this baby] / they say.
tcō yī da ya te gûL tûc ya nī
tcō yī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) t gûl tûc ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
Note It is worth following the different types of handling of the baby, paying attention to

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
the classificatory verb stems. Here they are handling the baby itself in, as an animate being.
\begin{tabular}{rll}
1.4 " \begin{tabular}{ll} 
daahtyaashaang \\
daahtyaashaang
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
skii \\
skii
\end{tabular} \\
& what is the matter? & baby \\
inter & na \\
& \\
& what is the matter? & baby \\
& {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{NP}]\)}
\end{tabular}

\section*{"What is the matter, baby?"}
"What is the matter with it?"
"What is the matter, [What is the matter I like to know] / baby?"
da tī ya s' ûñ is kī da tya cąñ skī
```

1.5 yaa'n yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST. yaa'nii}\mp@subsup{}{1}{
say they say
vt vt
they said they say
[VP

```
they asked, they say.
they asked.
they said, / they say.
yan / ya nī
ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
2.1 " naach'ohbilh
    naa-ch'..bilh/biil' + IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
    take basketfull O again
    vt
    you (pl.) take it back
    [VP]
"You all take it back."
"Take it again," she said.
"Take it again!" [take it back]
na tō bûL
na tc' \({ }^{\circ}\) ' bû́

Note Here they are handling the baby in a cradle basket.

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

2.2 naabee yaalhtcii yaa'nii
naa-(ghin)..bee/bee'+CAUS.,3,DIST. yaa'nii
bathe sg they say
vi
they caused it to bathe they say
[VP

```

\section*{yaa'nii}
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
```

[VP
]

```

They bathed it, they say.
They bathed it.
It swim [to swim] / they made [make] / they say. na be / yaL cī / ya nī na be yal tcī ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llr}
2.3 kw'ittaah & kaayaa'ntee & yaa'nii \\
kw'ittaah & kaa-n-(nin)..tee+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
all over/on places & look for O & they say \\
adv & vi & vt \\
all over/on places & they look for it & they say \\
[AdvP] & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

\section*{They examined all over it, they say.}

They looked it all over.
On it places [all over it] / they looked / they say.
kwût ta / ka ya ûn te / ya nī
\(\mathrm{kw}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ût}\) ta \(\mathrm{ka} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}\) tē ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 2.4 & uulaa'bii' \({ }^{\prime}\) & kwee' \({ }^{\prime}\) bii' \({ }^{\prime}\) \\
\hline & *laa'bii'k' +3 poss. & *kee'bii'k' +3 Poss. \\
\hline & palm of hand & sole of foot \\
\hline & n ia & n ia \\
\hline & its palms & its soles \\
\hline & [PostP] & [PostP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
kaa'intee yaa'nii
kaa-n-(nin)..tee+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
look for O
they say
vi
vt
they look for it they say
[VP
They examined the palms of its hands and the soles of its feet, they say.
They looked at the palms of its hands, at its feet,

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}

Its hands in, [hand inside] / its feet in [foot inside] / she looked [looked] / they say. ō la bì̀k / kwè bìk kan te / ya nī

```

2.5 uusii' kw'ittaah
*sii'+3 POSS. kw'ittaah
head all over/on places
n ia adv
its head all over/on places
[PostP ]

```
kaayaa'ntee yaa'nii
kaa-n-(nin)..tee+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
look for O
vi
they look for it
[VP
```

they say
they say
vt

```

They examined all over its head, they say. on its head,
Its head [his head] / over / they looked / they say.
\(\bar{o}\) sī+ ka ya ûn tē ya nī
\(\overline{0}\) sī \(\bar{i}^{\varepsilon}\) k'wût ta ka ya \(n\) tē ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
2.6 uutcghee'-bii'k' kaayaa'ntee
*tcghee'+LOC.,3 POSS. kaa-n-(nin)..tee+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3 OBJ.
ear look for O
n ia vi
inside its ears they look for it
[PostP]
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say

They examined inside its ears, they say.
and in its ears.
Its ears in [his ears in] / they looked / they say. \(\bar{o}\) tce ge bīk / ka ya ûn te / ya nī


\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 3.1 " shghiiyaal-ee (ghin)..yaalh+PERF.,1SG. & =yee & niing niing \\
\hline O be sleepy vi & \[
\begin{aligned}
& =\text { eyewitness evid. } \\
& \text { encl }
\end{aligned}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& 2 \text { sg indep } \\
& \text { pron }
\end{aligned}
\] \\
\hline I am sleepy & & you (sg.) \\
\hline [VP] & & [Subj] \\
\hline intang' & skii & \\
\hline (nin)..tan' + IMPF.,2SG., +3 OBJ. & skii & \\
\hline hold O & baby & \\
\hline vt & na & \\
\hline you (sg.) hold it & baby & \\
\hline [VP] & [Obj] & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"I am sleepy, you hold the baby.
"I am sleepy," said its mother, "you take the baby.
"I am sleepy. / You / take [you hold it] / baby.
se gì ya lē / niñ ûn tûñ is kī
c gī ya lē niñ ûn tąñ skī

\section*{3.2 doo-skii-yee-kwolish-ee \\ doo= skii =yee =kwolish \\ negative = baby = eyewitness evid. = I guess (usually enclitic) \\ neg na encl encl \\ =yee \\ = eyewitness evid. \\ encl \\ it doesn't seem to be a baby \\ [Sent]}

It doesn't seem to be a child.
It does not seem like a child.
It does [not] seem like baby. [it isn't baby it looks like]
dōc kī ye / kwûl lûc ce
dō skī ye kwûl lûc ce
\begin{tabular}{cl}
3.3 nohing & ohtang' \\
nohing & (nin)..tan'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. \\
2pl indep & hold O \\
pron & vt \\
2pl indep & you (pl.) hold it \\
{\([\) Subj \(]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)}
\end{tabular}

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

You all hold it.
You hold it.
You (pl.) / hold it.
nō hiñ / ō` tûñ
nō hiñ o}\mp@subsup{}{}{\circ}\mathrm{ tąñ

```

\section*{3.4 shghiiyaal-ee}
```

        (ghin)..yaalh+PERF.,1SG. =yee
    O be sleepy vi
I am sleepy
[VP]
I am sleepy.
I am sleepy.
I am sleepy.
sī gī ya le
c gī ya lē

```

```

I wasn't asleep
[VP]
I haven't slept that many nights.
I have not slept a single night.
That / many / days [daylight] / I have not slept. [I never sleep] hai kwûn Lûñ / yis kan dō ûn tûc la le hai kwûn ląñ yis kan dō $n$ tûc la le

```

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

3.6 nohin nolh'iing
nohing n-(ghin)..Ih'iin/'iin' + IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
2 pl indep look at O
pron vt
you (pl.) you (pl.) look at it
[Subj] [VP]

```

\section*{You all look at it.}

You examine
You (pl.) / look at it. [watch him]
nō hīn / nōL iñ
nō hin nōL īñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{3.7 shkii shiiyee'} \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{skii+1SG. POSS. OF shiiyee'} \\
\hline baby 1sg possessive & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{1sg possessive indep} \\
\hline na pron & & \\
\hline my baby mine & & \\
\hline [PossP & ] & \\
\hline daahtyaashoo' -kwosh & ," tc'in & yaa' nii \\
\hline daahtyaashoo' =kwosh & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }} 1\) \\
\hline something is wrong = perhaps/guess & say & they say \\
\hline dem encl & vt & \\
\hline something is wrong perhaps & she said & they say \\
\hline [VP] & [VP & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Something may be wrong with my baby," she said, they say.
my baby. Something is wrong with it.
Baby / mine / something is wrong," [something wrong must be] / she said / they say. is \(\mathrm{k} \overline{1} / \mathrm{ci}\) ye / datyac cōks tcin / ya nī ckī cī ye \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) da t ya cō kwûc tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llll}
4.1 & daanshaang & skii & dii \\
& daanshaang & skii & dii \\
& some kind (of person) & baby & this \\
& pron & na & dem \\
& some kind & baby & this/here \\
& {\([V P\)} & & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

This is some (unusual) kind of baby.
It is some kind of a child.
"Some kind [why] / baby / this.

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
dan cañ ic kī dī
dan cañ skī dīi \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)

\section*{4.2 diikwang' -yaaslaah}
diikwang -yaa-s..laagh+INDEF. OF
be broken
vd
it is broken
[VP]

\section*{It is broken.}

Maybe something is broken.
It may be broke. [he must be broke]
dī kōñ yac la
dī kwûñ̃ yas la \({ }^{\bullet}\)

\section*{4.3 naahghee'}
naa..ghish/ghiin \({ }_{2}+\) IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
carry load O around
vt
you (pl.) carry it around
[VP]

\section*{You all carry it around.}

You carry it.
Carry it. [pack it around]
na ge
na \({ }^{\circ}\) Ge
Note Here they are carrying it as a pack on the back

\section*{4.4 ch'dilht'ooh-kwosh}
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ch'-d..Iht'oogh+IMPF.,3INDF.,+ } 3 \text { OBJ. } \\
& \begin{array}{ll}
\text { sting O } & =\text { kwosh } \\
\text { vt } & \text { encl }
\end{array}
\end{aligned}
\]
something stung it I guess
[VP]
```

yaa'n yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST. yaa'nii}\mp@subsup{1}{1}{
say
vt
they said
[VP

```

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
"Maybe something stung it," they said.
Something may have stung it.
Something stung it I guess," [something must stung it] / they said / they say.
tcīt dûL to kwûc yan ya nī
tc't dûl t'o \({ }^{-}\)kwûc yan ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
5.1 " doo-kwnissin-ee
doo= \(n-(s) . . s i n / s i n '+I M P F ., 1 S G .,+3 A R E A L\) OBJ. \(=y e e\)
\(\begin{array}{ll}\text { negative }= & \text { know } \mathrm{O} \\ \text { neg } & =\text { eyewitness evid } .\end{array}\)
I don't know it (area/circumstance)
[VP]

\section*{"I don't know it.}

I do not know what ails it.
"I do not know. [I don't know]
dō kwin nûs sûn ne
dō kwin nûs sąn ne

\section*{5.2 bilh-oohtyiing}

P-ilh-(ghin)..tyiin+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.
doctor P
n a
you (pl.) doctor it
[VP]

\section*{You all doctor it.}

Doctor it.
Doctor it. [doctor him]
bûL ō' tō yiñ
bûlo \(\bar{o}^{\text {c }}\) t yiñ
5.3 Ihaan yiilhkai
(n)..Ihaan+PERF., 3 yiilhkai
be many dawn/morning
vd
adv
many
nights
[AdvP

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

tees'iin-ee
ti-(s)..'iin/'iin'+PERF.,1sG. =yee
look along
vi
I looked along
[VP]
= eyewitness evid.
encl
skii uutc'ing

```

\section*{I have watched awake many nights on account of the baby.}
```

I have stayed awake many nights on its account.
Many [lots time] / mornings [daylights] / I have looked [I look] / baby [my baby] / on account of.
Lan yīL kai tes ī ne / s kī ū tcûñ
Lan yīl kai tes ī ne skī ū tc' ${ }^{\prime} \tilde{n}^{\varepsilon}$

| 5.4 | diishaandii | skii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| diishaandii | skii |  |
| some kind/what kind | baby |  |
| pron | na |  |
| some kind/what kind | baby |  |
| $[$ VP |  | $]$ |

It is some (unusual) kind of baby.
It is some kind of a child.
Some kind [what is this] / baby.
tī/dī cûn dī / is kī
tī cąn dī skī

```

\section*{5.5 doo-skii-yeekwaanang}
```

doo= skii =yee =kwaanaang
negative $=$ baby $=$ eyewitness evid. =kwaan-nan--clitic
neg na encl vencl
it is clearly not a baby
[VP]
It is clearly not a (normal human) baby.
It is not a human baby.
It is not baby. [it isn't like]
dō ic kī ye kwûn nûñ
dō skī ye kwa nąñ

```

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

5.6 hai kwanlhang yiilhkai
hai
that that many days/nights
dem adj na
the/that that many days/nights
[AdvP
]
doo-ntishlaal
doo= n-ti-(s)..laalh+IMPF.,1SG. =i
negative = be asleep =NR
neg vd encl
I am not asleep
[VP]
I have not slept that many nights.
I have not slept a single night.
This [that] / many [many times] / nights [daylight] / I have not slept. [I didn't sleep]
hai kwûn Lûñ yīL kai / dō ûn tûc lal
hai kwûn ląñ yī̀ kai dō n tûc lal

```

\section*{5.7 ch'ilht' oot}
```

    ch'-(s)..lht'oot/t' oot'+IMPF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
    suckle
    vt
    it suckles
    [VP]
    Olhtcii
(s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
make O
vt
you (pl.) make it
[VP]

```

\section*{You all make it nurse.}
```

Make it nurse.
It suck / make. [make him nurse]
tciL tōt ōL tcī
tc'il t'ōt ō tc tī

```

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

5.8 ntishlaalh
n-ti-(s)..laalh+IMPF.,1sG.
be asleep
vd
let me sleep
[VP]
Let me sleep.
I will sleep.
I will sleep. [I going sleep]
ûn tûc laL
n tûc laL

```
5.9 naabee
naa-(ghin)..bee/bee' +IMPF.,3
bathe sg
vi
it bathes
[VP]
olhtcii
(s)..Ihtcii/tciin' + IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
make O
vt
you (pl.) make it
[VP]

\section*{You all bathe it.}
```

Bathe it.
It bathe / make. [make him swim] na be ōL tcī
na be ōl tcī

```
[VP]
```

```
5.10 danteeshoo'-kwoshit
```

5.10 danteeshoo'-kwoshit
daanteeshoo' =kwosh =hit+VAR. OF
daanteeshoo' =kwosh =hit+VAR. OF
something is wrong = perhaps/guess = because
something is wrong = perhaps/guess = because
vi encl encl
vi encl encl
perhaps because something is wrong
perhaps because something is wrong
[AdvCl]
[AdvCl]
ang-kwosh
ang-kwosh
aa-(0)..nii/n+IMPF.,3 =kwosh
aa-(0)..nii/n+IMPF.,3 =kwosh
cry thus = perhaps/guess
cry thus = perhaps/guess
vt encl
vt encl
it cries thus perhaps

```
it cries thus perhaps
```

Perhaps it's crying like that because something is maybe wrong.
It cries because something is wrong, I guess.
Something wrong I guess because [something wrong] / it cries I guess. [why he cry]

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

dûn te cōks kwûc cût / añ kwûc dąn te cō kwûc cût añ kwûc
5.11 daahtyaashaang dii
daahtyaashaang dii
what is the matter? this
inter dem
what is the matter? this/here my baby
[VP] [NP

## What is the matter with my baby here?

[This baby is some kind.]
Some kind [something wrong] / this / baby. [this baby] da tī ya cûñ dīc kī
da $t$ ya cąñ dī ckī

```
5 . 1 2 ~ n o h i i n ~ n a a l h t e e
    nohing naa..Ihtee+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
    2pl indep carry animate O around
    pron vt
    you (pl.) you (pl.) carry it (animate) around
    [Subj] [VP]
naalhtee
naa..Ihtee+iMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
2 pl indep carry animate O around
pron vt
you (pl.) you (pl.) carry it (animate) around
[Subj] [VP]
```

You all carry it around."
You carry it around."
You (pl.) / carry it. [carry around]
nō hiñ / naL te
nō hīn nal te
Note Here we are back to carrying the baby as a living being, like carrying it in the arms.
6.1 " kaakosiileegh-ee
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { 6.1 } & \text { kaakosiileegh-ee } \\ & \text { kaa-kw-(s)..leegh+PERF.,1SG. =yee }\end{array}$
ghint'ee
ghint'ee
be sick =eyewitness evid.
vi
I am sick
[VP]
shkii
skii+1sG. POSS. OF
baby
na
encl
adv
now
[AdvP]

## "Now I am getting sick.

"I am sick now.
I am sick [I am getting sick] / now.
ka ko sī le ge gûn te
ka kō sī le ge gûn t'ē

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

## 6.2 naahodinaash diidee <br> naahi-(s)..naash/naa'+OPT.,1PL. <br> move back home north <br> vi <br> let us move back home <br> direct <br> north <br> [VP] <br> [AdvP]

## Let's move back north.

[Let's] Move north.
We will move [let us move] / north.
na hō tûn nûc / dī de
na hō tûn nąc dī de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

| 6.3 tolhbalh | skii | ts'aal' -bilh'aa ." |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ti-(s)..Ihbalh+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. | skii | ts'aal'-bilh'aa |
| hang O up | baby | cradle and all |
| vt | na | adv |
| you (pl.) hang it up | baby | cradle and all |
| [VP] | $[O b j]$ | [AdvP] |
| You all hang up the baby, cradle and all." |  |  |

Hang up the baby, basket and all."
Hang up [hang him up] / baby / basket-cradle and all." [basket and all] tōL bûL s kī / sal bûL a
tōL bû́ skī ts'al bûl a
Note Ray noted to Goddard, "They hang in tree to let it die because it didn't look right. Used to do that way sometimes. They used to think if they saved twins they must save both. If they killed one the other was sure to die." (Goddard NB II, p.21)


[^0]
## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray



They moved to a place in the north.
They moved north.
North toward / they moved.
hai de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' $^{\prime} \mathrm{u}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ nō nûn yiñ
Note They moved to a "Spring this side of Bell's Springs on ridge" (Goddard NB V, p.26).

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

| 8.2 ${ }^{\text {" }}$ | naahindaash | skii |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
|  | naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,2sG. | skii |
|  | sg go back home | baby |
|  | vi | na |
|  | you (sg.) go.back | baby |
|  | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ | $[\mathrm{Obj}]$ |

oontgish-bang
oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc' + IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ. $=$ bang $_{2}$
look at $\mathrm{O} \quad=$ future predictive enclitic
vt encl
you (sg.) must look at it
[VP]
"Go back, you must look at the baby.
"Go back and look at the baby.
"Go back. / Baby / see.
na hûn dac skī ōn t gûc bûñ
8.3 beeding-kwosh

P-ee..din+IMPF.,+ 3 OBL. =kwosh
P to die =perhaps/guess
vi encl
perhaps it died
[VP]
I guess it is dead.
I guess it is dead.
It is dead I guess.
be dûñ kwic

## 8.4 kwinyeehdiltish-teel

kwinyeeh-(ghin)..Ihtish/tiin+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =teelh =i
bury animate O
vt

$$
=\text { will } / \text { shall }=N R
$$

encl encl
we are going to bury it
[VP]
We are going to bury it."
We will bury it," said the mother.
We will bury it."

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
kwûn ye dûl tûc tel


He went back home to the baby.
Her husband went back to the child.
He went back. Baby / close by
na hes tyai skī ū tc'ûñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

| 9.2 | bii'tc' eenyaa-kwaan | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| P-ii'-tc'ee-n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3,+3 OBL. | $=k w a a n$ | yaa'nii |
| sg come out from inside P | $=$ inferred evid. | they say |
| vi | vencl | vt |
| it had come out from inside it |  | they say |
| [VP |  |  |

, ts'aal'-bii' haitaah
ts'aal' +Loc.
basket cradle, baby basket there amongst
n a
basket cradle
[PostP]
naaghisniish-kwaan
naa-ghis..niish+PERF.,3 =kwaan
vi
he had been playing
[VP
haitaah

## haitaah

haitaah
there amongst
dem
there amongst
[AdvP]
yaa' $\mathbf{n i}$
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
= inferred evid. they say
vencl
vt
they say

It had come out from inside the cradle basket, and had been playing around there.
It had crawled out of the basket and had been playing about. he had come out, / they say, / basket in. / There / he had been playing / they say.
bī tceñ ya kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$ ts'ąl $\bar{b}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ hai ta na gûs nûc kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

Note "156 That the incidents which befell the child are inferred from the evidence left on the ground is indicated throughout this tale by the suffix -kwan. The suffix -xō lan is used in a similar manner in a Hupa story (I, 185)." (Goddard 1909, p.115)

| 9.3 saaktoo' -bii' | naaghisniish-kwaan |  | yaa'nii <br> yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| saaktoo' + LOC. | naa-ghis..niish+PERF.,3 | =kwaan |  |
| spring (of water) | play | = inferred evid. | they say |
| na | vi | vencl |  |
| in a spring (of water) | he had been playing |  | they say |
| [PostP] | [VP |  | ] |

## It had been playing in the spring, they say.

It had played in the spring.
Spring in / he had been playing / they say.
..... kwûn ya nī
sak tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ bī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ na gûs nīc kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 9.4 tl'oh | tc'teet' aats'-kwaan |  | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tl'oh | ti-(s)..t' aas/t' ${ }^{\text {aats }}$ +PERF.,3ANIM. | =kwaan | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| grass | cut off O | = inferred evid. | hey say |
| na |  | vencl |  |
| grass | he had cut it off |  | they say |
| [Obj] | [VP |  | ] |
| He had cut | some grass, they say. |  |  |

It had cut some grass,
Grass / he had cut off [he cut off] / they say.
$L^{!} \bar{o} /$ kì̀ te $t^{!}$ûts kwûn ya $n \overline{1}$
Lō ${ }^{\text {© }}$ tc' te t' ats kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note switch in person referring to the baby from default 0 - (well translated "it") to tc'(better translated "he")

| 9.5 | ch'ishteelh-kwaan | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ch'-(s)..lhteelh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. | $=$ kwaan | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| spread bedding | $=$ inferred evid. | they say |
| vi (prs.) | vencl | vt |
| he had spread bedding |  | they say |
| [VP |  |  |

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

```
too-bii'
too+LOc.
water
na
in water
[PostP]
He had spread it flat in the water, they say.
spread it down in the water
He had spread [spread out] / they say. / Water in
kûc teL / tō bī
tc'ûc tel kwąn ya n nī tō bī}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon
9.6 s'isdaa-kwaan yaa'nii
    s..daa+PERF.,3ANIM. =kwaan yaa'nii
    sit (sg) = inferred evid. they say
    vi
        vencl
    he had sat
    they say
    [VP
    ]
```


## And he had sat (on it), they say.

```
and had sat on it.
he had sat [he sat] / they say.
sûs da kwûn ya nī
s'ûs da kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note "He had spread the grass he cut and sat down on it" (Goddard NB II, p.22)
```

9.7 tc'teesyaa-kwaan yaa'nii
tc'teesyaa =kwaan
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
go = inferred evid. they say
v vencl vt
he had gone they say
[VP
He had gone on, they say.
It had gone away.
He had gone / they say. kit tes ya / kwûn ya nī tc’t tes ya kwąn ya ${ }^{\text {nī }}$

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

```
9.8 shaahnaa' yaashtc
    shaahnaa' yaashtc
    small creek
    na
    small creek
    [AdvP]
naa'inghilh'aa'-kwaan yaa'nii
naa-n-(ghin)..lh'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii
build fish weir =inferred evid. they say
vt vencl
he had built a fish weir
vt
they say
[VP
He had made a weir in a small creek, they say.
It had made a weir in a small stream.
Creek little [little creek] / he had made a weir [he make a dam] / they say. ca na yacts / na ûñ gûL \(+\mathrm{a} / \mathrm{kwûn} \mathrm{ya} \mathrm{nī}\) \(\mathrm{ca}^{\ominus}\) na \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) yacts na ûn gû́ \(\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\) kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```


## 9.9 chinsii'ts

```
chinsii'tc
cone (of conifer)
na
cone (of conifer)
[Obj]
noolaa-kwaan yaa'nii
noo-(nin)..lash/laa+CONT,IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
put \(\mathrm{pl} /\) rope-like O to limit \(\quad=\) inferred evid. they say
vt
vencl
he had put them down
they say
[VP
]
He had put down pine cones, they say.
It had put pine cones in the water for fish.
Pine cones [bark] / he had put down [he put down] / they say.
tcûn sīts nō la kwûn ya nī
tcûn sī̄ts nō la kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note The cones turned into fish.
```


## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

```
9.10 naakaa' ch'kaak'-baats'ee'
    naakaa' ch'kaak'-baats'ee'
    two net bow
    num na
    two net bow
    [Obj ]
yeehtc'ghin'aang-kwaan yaa'nii
yeeh-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii
put stick-like O in
vt
    = inferred evid.
    vencl
he had put it in
```

yaa'nii yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ they say vt they say

```
[VP

He had put two net hoops in, they say.
It had made two net poles
Two / net-poles [net sticks] / he had put in [he put in] / they say. nûk ka / tcī kak ba tse / ye tcī gûn ûñ / kwûn ya nī nąk ka \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' kak' ba tse ye tc' gûn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąñ kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{clll}
9.11 & ch'kaak' & tl'oh & bilh \\
ch'kaak' & tl'oh & *ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL. \\
net (dipnet) & grass & instrumental \\
na & na & postp \\
net & grass & with it \\
{\([\) Obj] } & {\([\) PostP } & \(]\)
\end{tabular}
s'istl'oong-kwaan yaa'nii
(s)..tl'oo/tl'oon+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
weave O; weave =inferred evid. they say
vt
vencl
vt
he had woven
they say
[VP
He had woven a net with grass, they say.
and woven a net of grass.
Net / grass / with / he had woven [he wove] / they say.
tcī kak / L \({ }^{!}\)ō bûL sûs \(L{ }^{!}\)ōn kwûn ya nī
tc' kak' Lō \({ }^{\text {© }}\) bûl s'ûs Lōñ kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

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\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & tc'teesyai-kwaan & & & yiidee' & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }}\) \\
\hline & ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. & =i & =kwaan & yiidee' & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline & sg go along & \(=\mathrm{NR}\) & = inferred evid. & north & they say \\
\hline & vi & & vencl & direct & \\
\hline & he had gone along & & & north & they say \\
\hline & [VP] & & & [AdvP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{He had gone along north, they say.}

He had gone out.
He had gone / down / they say.
tcit tes yai / yī de / kwûn ya nī
tc't tes yai kwąn yī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
Note The notebook version has the -kwaan clitic at the end of the sentence after the adverb, an unusual position for it.
```

10.2 ch'eek'aas tc'istciing' -kwaan
ch'eek'aas (s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =kwaan
brush fence make O =inferred evid.
na
vt
vencl
brush fence he had made it
[Obj] [VP

```
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
    ]

\section*{He had made a brush fence, they say.}

Brush fence [brush fence for deer] / he had made [he made] / they say.
tcē kûs / tcís tcīñ kwûn yanī
tc'e \(k\) 'as tc' is tciñ kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)


\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say

```
    ]

He had set rope snares, they say.
He set ropes for snares ...
Ropes / he had put [he put] / they say.
beL nōn ûñ kwûn ya nì̀
bel nō \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) ąn kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

\section*{10.4 ch'eek' aas tc'istciing'-kwaan}
ch'eek'aas (s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =kwaan
brush fence make O
\(\mathrm{na} \quad \mathrm{Vt}\)
vt = inferred evid.
brush fence he had made it
[Obj]
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
He had built a brush fence, they say.
and [he] built a fence of brush leading to them.
Fence / he had made [he made] / they say.
tce kás / tcis tcin kwûn ya nī
tc'e kąs tc'is tciñ kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{ll}
10.5 & tc'teesyaa-kwaan \\
tc'teesyaa =kwaan & yaa'nii \\
go =inferred evid. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
v \(\quad\) they say \\
he had gone & vt \\
{\([\) VP } & they say \\
&
\end{tabular}

He had gone along, they say
He had gone on to the north.
He had gone / they say.

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tcit tes ya / kwûn / yanī
tc't tes ya kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
10.6 s'isk' aan-kwaan yaa'nii
(s)..lhk'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
build fire
vt
he had built a fire
\(=\) inferred evid.
vencl
[VP
they say
vt
they say

He had built a fire, they say.
He had built a fire.
He had built fire [he built fire] / they say.
sûs kañ / kwûn ya nī
s'ûs k'an kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
10.7 & naa'nghilh'aa'-kwaan & yaa'nii \\
naa-n-(ghin)..Ih'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3ANIM. & \(=\) kwaan & yaa'nii \\
build fish weir & = inferred evid. & they say \\
vt & vencl & vt \\
he had built a fish weir & & they say \\
[VP & &
\end{tabular}

He had built a weir, they say.
He had built a weir.
He had made a weir [fish dam he made] / they say.
na ûñ gûL a / kwûn yanī
na ûñ gûL \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
10.8 s'isk' aan-kwaan
yaa' \(\mathbf{n i}\)
(s)..lhk'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
build fire
vt
he had built a fire
= inferred evid.
vencl
[VP
they say
vt
they say

He had built a fire, they say.
Again he had built a fire.
He had built fire / they say.
sûs kañ kwûn ya nī
s'ûs k'an kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

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\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

10.11 teehtaanchow
teehtaanchow
river
na
river
[AdvP]
kw'ittc'ghinyai-kwaan
P-k'it-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. =i =kwaan
sg go down to $P \quad=N R=$ inferred evid.
vi
encl vencl
he had gone down to it
[VP]

```

\section*{He had gone down to the big river.}
```

He had gone down where the streams are large.
Stream large [creek big] / he had come down to [he went down] / they say. te tûn tcō kwis gûn yai kwûn ya nī te tąn tcō kwûts gûn yai kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n̄̄

```
```

10.12 naa'inghilh' aa'-kwaan

```
10.12 naa'inghilh' aa'-kwaan
    naa-n-(ghin)..Ih'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
    naa-n-(ghin)..Ih'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
    build fish weir =inferred evid.
    build fish weir =inferred evid.
    vt
    vt
    vencl
    vencl
    he had built a fish weir
    he had built a fish weir
    [VP
    [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
yaa'nii1
yaa'nii1
they say
they say
vt
vt
they say
they say
    ]
    ]
He had built a weir, they say.
He had built a weir.
He had built a weir [he make dam] / they say. na ûn gûL a kwûn yani
na ûñ gû́ \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}\) kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```


## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray



## He had lain with his head downhill, they say.

He had lain with his head downhill.
Downhill head [down hill] / he had lain [he lay; he lay head down hill] / they say. tsûn te sī̀ sûs tīn / kwûn yan̄̄
ts'ûn $\mathrm{t} \mathrm{si}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{s}^{\prime}$ ûs tiñ kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}$

| 10.15 | kwkwee' | ghinchaagh-kwaan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *kee' ${ }_{1}+3$ ANIM. POSS. | ghin..chaagh+TRTL.,PERF.,3 | $=$ kwaan |
| foot | become large | $=$ inferred evid. |
| n ia | vd | vencl |
| his foot | had become large |  |
| $[$ Subj $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ |  |

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```
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 
they say
vt
they say
]
His foot had become large(r), they say.
His foot had become large.
His foot had become large [his foot big] / they say.
kū ke gûn tcag kwûn yanī
ku kwe \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) gûn tcac kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\(\left.\begin{array}{rll}10.16 & \text { kwong' } & \text { uuyaashtc } \\ \text { kwong' } & \text { uuyaashtc }{ }_{1} \\ \text { fire } & \text { small } \\ & \text { na } & \text { adj } \\ & \\ \text { fire } & \text { small } \\ & {[\mathrm{Obj}} & \end{array}\right]\)
s'isk'aan-kwaan yaa'nii
(s)..lhk'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii
build fire = inferred evid. they say
vt
he had built a fire
```

yaa' nii yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ = inferred evid. they say
vencl
vt they say

```
[VP

He had built a small fire, they say.
Fire / small [little] / he had built [he build] / they say. kōñ ō yajtc / sûs kañ / kwûn yan̄̄ kwōñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ō yacts s'ûs k'an kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{cll}
10.17 & tc'teesyai & yiidee' \\
tc'teesyaa & \(=\mathrm{i}\) & yiidee' \\
go & \(=\mathrm{NR}\) & north \\
v & encl & direct \\
he went along & north \\
{\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & & {\([\) AdvP] }
\end{tabular}

\section*{He went along to the north.}

He had gone on toward the north.
He went / north

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```

tcit tes yai / yī de
tc't tes yai y\overline{1}}\mathrm{ de
10.18 chin-swoltc naakaa'
chin-swoltc naakaa'
small stick two
n a num
small stick two
[Obj ]
noolaa-kwaan yaa'nii
noo-(nin)..lash/laa+CONT,IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii
put pl/rope-like O to limit = inferred evid. they say
vt
he had put them down
vencl vt
they say

```
```

[VP

## He had put down two stubby sticks, they say.

He had put down [two] short sticks[, which turned into fish.]
Stick / small [little] / two / he had put down [he put down] / they say.
tcûn s wōltc na ka nō la kwûn yanī
tcûn swōltc na ka ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nō la kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$
Note The sticks turned into fish.

| 10.19 | ch'ghaats'ee' | ch'kaak' | bilh |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ch'ghaats'ee' | ch'kaak' | *ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR., +3 OBL. |
|  | iris | net (dipnet) | instrumental |
|  | na | na | postp |
|  | iris | net | with it |
|  | [NP] | [Obj] | [PostP] |

s'istl'oon-kwaan
yaa'nii
(s)..tl'oo/tl'oon+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 obJ. =kwaan yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
weave O; weave =inferred evid. they say vt
he had woven it [VP

## He had made a net with iris fiber cord, they say.

He had made a net of iris fiber.
Iris [Indian rope] / net / with / he had woven [he made] / they say. tcī ga tse / tcī kak / bûL / sûs Lōn / kwûn ya nī tc' gat ts'e ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' kak' bûl s'ûs Lōn kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

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Note a real net made with strong cord

| 10.20 | Ihoo' yaashtc lhoo' yaashtc sucker n a suckerfish [Obj | kwaak'ee' <br> *kaak'ee' +3 poss. <br> net <br> $n$ ia <br> its net | uuyaashtc uuyaashtc ${ }_{1}$ small adj small ] |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $s^{\prime}$ istl (s)..tl weav he ha [VP | oon-kwaan oo/tl'oon+PERF O; weave d woven it | $\begin{aligned} \text { 3ANIM. }+3 \text { OBJ. } & =\mathrm{ky} \\ & =\mathrm{in} \\ & \text { vencl } \end{aligned}$ | an erred evid. | yaa'nii <br> yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ <br> they say <br> vt <br> they say |

## He had woven a small net for suckers, they say.

Suckers [trout] / its net / small [little] / he had woven [he made] / they say.
Lō yajts kwa ke / ō yajts sûs Lōñ / kwûn ya nī
Lō yacts kwa k'e ${ }^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}$ yacts s'ûs Lōn kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

## 11.1 k'aa' ch'ist'aa-kwaanhit

k'aa' ch'-(s)..lht'aa+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =kwaanhit
arrow fletch arrow $=$ when S had V
na vt
encl
arrow when he had fletched arrows
[AdvCl ]
noo'intaan-kwaan yaa'nii
noo-(nin)..tish/taan 2 +PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii $1_{1}$
put stick-like/enclosed O down =inferred evid. they say
vt
he had put it down
vencl vt
they say
[VP
When he had feathered some arrows he had left them, they say.
Having feathered arrows he had left them there.
Arrows / he had feathered when [he put flint on when] / he left there [he put it on] / they say.
$k^{!} \cdot{ }^{\prime}+$ kûs $t^{!}$a kwûn hût / nō ûn tûñ kwûn ya ni
$\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}$ tc' u s t'a kwąn hût nō ûn tąn kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray



He had put down a bow in the path where he had walked, they say.
In the road where he had walked he had left a bow.
Road in / he had walked place [where walked] / bow / he had put down [he put it down] / they say.
ta nī bī si kûL kwûn dûñ sûL tiin nō ûñ tûñ / kwûn ya nī tûn nī bī $\bar{i}^{\varepsilon}$ ts' kąL dûñ $s^{\prime}$ ûl tiñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nō ûn tąn kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
Note The published version leaves off the -kwaan evidential from tc 'kalh-ding.

| 11.3 | tc'teesyaa-kwaan |
| :--- | :--- |
| tc'teesyaa =kwaan | yaa' nii |
| go | yaa'nii $i_{1}$ |
| v inferred evid. | they say |
| he had gone | vt |
| $[\mathrm{VP}$ | they say |

He had gone on, they say.
He had gone on.
He had gone / they say.
tcit tes ya / kwûn ya nī
tc't tes ya kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

## 11.4 kaashtc <br> kaashtc

obsidian knife
na
knife
[Obj]

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| noo' ${ }^{\prime}$ g' aan-kwaan | yaa'nii |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| noo-(nin)..'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | $=$ kwaan | yaa'nii |
| put solid O to a limit | $=$ inferred evid. | they say |
| vt | vencl | vt |
| he had put it down |  | they say |
| [VP |  |  |

## He had put down a knife, they say.

He had put down a knife.
Knife / he had put down [he put it down] / they say.
kacts nōn añ / kwûn ya nī
kacts nō $\bar{\varepsilon}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {E an }}$ kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

| 11.5 |  | tc'galh-ding |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gaalh ${ }_{1}+$ PROG.,3ANIM. | $=$ ding | bilhghilghis |
| 3sg walk | $=$ place | fire sticks |
| vi | suffix | na |
| where he walked |  | fire sticks |
| [VP] |  | $[\mathrm{Obj}]$ |

naa'tghilh'aa'-kwaan yaa'nii
naa-d-(ghin)..lh'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
stand $O$ on end $=$ inferred evid. they say
vt
he had stood it on end
vencl vt
they say
[VP
He had stood up a set of fire sticks where he walked, they say.
"Where he had walked he had stood up fire sticks in the ground.
He had walked place [where he walked] / firesticks / he had stood up [he stood it up] / they say.
cī kûL dûñ bûL gûl a gûs / na ti gûL a kwûn ya nī tc' kąl dûñ bûl gûl gûs na t gûL ${ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}$ kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n̄

| 12 | ghint'ee | skii | teesyaa-yee |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ghint'ee | skii | ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 | $=$ yee |
| now | baby | sg go along | $=$ eyewitness evid. |
| adv | na | vi | encl |
| now | baby | has gone along |  |
| $[$ AdvP $]$ | $[$ Subj] | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |  |

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

| shiiyee shiiyee' | haidee' haidee' | naalhcheeh-bang <br> naa..Ihchit+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1sg possessive indep pron | downriver/north direct | catch again <br> vt |
| mine | downriver/north | you (pl.) catch it again |
| [PossP] | [AdvP] | [VP] |
| shaa | tc' ${ }^{\text {in }}$ | yaa'nii |
| P-aa-1++ 1SG. OBL. | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| for P | say | they say |
| v :(12-incorp) | vt | vt |
| for me | she said | they say |
| [PostP] | [VP | ] |

"Now my baby has gone north; you all must catch him for me," she said, they say.
"Now I know my baby has gone north. You must catch him for me," she said.
"Now / baby / went / mine / north / you must catch [you catch him] / for me," [me for] / she said, / they say.
gûn te s kī tes ya yē cī ye / hai de naL tce bûñ ca / tcin / ya nī gûn t'è skī tes ya yē cī ye ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ hai de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nal tce bûñ ca tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

```
13 " doo-dilsis-hee
    doo= (0)..lhsis/saan+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. doo-..-hee
    negative = see/catch sight of negative
    neg vt
    encl
    we did not see him
    [VP]
"We did not see it."
"We did not see him," they replied.
"We didn't see him." [we never see]
dō dûl sûs sehe
dō dûl sûs he
14 " tolhkee'-bang
    ti-(s)..lhkee/kee'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang}\mp@subsup{}{2}{
    track O =must
    vt
    encl
    you (pl.) must track him
    [VP]
"You all must track him."
```


## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

"You must track him," she insisted.
"You must track him." [follow him/track him]
tō' Lke bûñ
tōL $\mathrm{ke}^{\varepsilon}$ bûñ

| 15.1 | dooyiideehee'-ee doo-(gh)..hee'+IMPF.,1PL. =yee |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | be tired  <br> vd $=$ eyewitness evid. <br> encl  |
|  | we are tired |
|  | [VP] |

"We are tired.
"We are tired.
"We are tired." [we tired]
dō yī de he
dō yī de he ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ e
15.2 nee' -nchaagh
nee nchaagh+VAR. OF
large country
na
large country
[AdvP]

```
teesdilkee'-ee
teesdilkee'-ee
```

ti-(s)..lhkee/kee'+PERF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
track O =eyewitness evid.
vt
encl
we tracked him
[VP]
We tracked him over a large territory."
We tracked him over much country," they said.
"Land is large, [long way] / we tracked him." [we track]
ne $\underline{n}$ tcag tes dûl ke e
ne ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$ tcag tes dûl $\mathrm{ke}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{e}$

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

| $16^{\prime \prime}$ | naawohtloos-bang |  | tc'in |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | naa-gh..tloos+PROG.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. | $=$ bang $_{2}$ | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. |
|  | lead O back | = must | say |
|  | vt | encl | vt |
|  | you (pl.) must lead him back |  | she said |
|  | [VP] |  | [VP |

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]
"You must lead him back," she said, they say.
"You must bring him back," she said.
"You must bring him back," [you bring him back] / she said, / they say.
na wō te lōs bûñ tcin ya nī
na wō ${ }^{\bullet}$ t lōs bûñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
17 doo-dilsis-hee
doo= (0)..lhsis/saan+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. doo-..-hee
negative $=$ see/catch sight of negative
neg vt
encl
we did not see him
[VP]

| niiyee' | skii ${ }^{\text {siiyee' }}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| skii |  |

2sg possessive indep baby
pron na
2sg possessive indep baby
[PossP ]
"We did not find your baby."
"We did not see your baby."
"We didn't see him, [we never see] / your [yours] / baby."
dō dûl sûs he
dō dûl sûs he nī ye ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ skī

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

daahtiiyaajii
?"
daahtyaajii
why?/what is the matter?
inter
why?/what is the matter?
[VP]
"What is the problem?"
"What is the matter?"
"What is the matter?"
dût hī ya dji
dût hī ya djī
19.1
doo-yee
doo =yee
no = eyewitness evid.
interj encl
no
[Interj]

## "Nothing.

"Nothing.
"No,
dō ye
dō ye

## 19.2 tceeh-kwaa'

| (ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3 | $=$ kwaa' |
| :--- | :--- |
| cry | $=$ until |
| vi | vencl |

she cried until
[VP]
yiighilhkaal-ee
yi-gh..lhkaalh+PROG.,3NAT.PHEN. =yee
day to break
vi
= eyewitness evid.
the day breaks
[ AdvCl ]

## She cries until day break.

She cries all night.
she cried until [crying] / day. [all night]

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tce kwa yī gûL ka le tce ${ }^{\circ}$ kwa $^{\varepsilon}$ yī gût ka le

| 19.3 | laa'Ihbaa'ang |
| :--- | :--- |
| laa'lhbaa'ang | yiilhkai |
| yiilhkai |  |
| ten | days/nights |
| num | na |
| ten | nights |
| [AvdP |  |


| kwastcigh-ee |  | skii | hai |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| P-aa-(s)..tceegh+PERF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBL. | $=$ yee | skii | hai |
| cry about P | $=$ eyewitness evid. | baby | there |
| vi | encl | na | dem |
| she has cried about it |  | baby there |  |
| $[$ VP $]$ | [AdvCl |  |  |

kwaanee-teelkwaanhit
P-aa-(0)..leegh/laagh ${ }_{3}+$ PERF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBL. =teel kwaang
do thus
vi
$=$ hit
= because
encl
because he was going to have done thus

Ten nights she has cried about it, because the baby was going to have done thus.
Ten nights she has cried for her baby."
Ten / nights / she has cried about it. [that way] / Baby / that [that way] / he did because. [he going to become]
laL ba ûñ yīL kai / kwûc tcûg ge / c kī hai kwa ne teL kwañ hût $\operatorname{la}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{L}$ ba ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ûñ yī̀ kai kwûc tcûg ge skī hai kwa ne tel kwan hût

[^1]
## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray


"The baby looks very pale."
"The baby was very white.
"Baby / good / white / is like. [long time]
s kī / cōñ L kai dañ ha skī cōñ l gai dañ ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

| 20.2 doo-shiiyee' | skii-kwaanhit |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| doo $=\quad$ shiiyee' | skii =kwaanhit |  |
| negative $=$ | 1sg possessive indep |  |
| neg | baby = because of N |  |
| not mine |  |  |
| AdvCl |  |  |
| na encl |  |  |

Because (of that) it is not my child.
It was not my child.
Not mine [it isn't mine] / baby because. [baby] dō cī ye is kī kwan hût
dō cī ye ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ skī kwan hût

```
20.3 diishoo' skii-yeekwaanang
    diishoo' skii =yee =kwaanaang
    something baby =eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
    pron na encl vencl
    something it is a baby
    [Sent ]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say
vt
she said they say
[VP
```

```
It was some (unusual) kind of a baby," she said, they say.
It was some kind of a baby, ' ' she said.
Some kind [some kind of] / baby it was," [baby] / she said / they say. dī cō ic kī ye kwûn nûn / tcin ya nī
dī cō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) skī ye kwąn nąn tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
21 doohaa'-kwohtciih
doohaa' (ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.
do not! cry for O
neg vt
do not cry for him!
[VP]
doo-skii-yeekwaanang
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
doo \(=\) & skii \(=\) yee & =kwaanaang \\
negative \(=\) & baby \(=\) eyewitness evid. & \(=\) kwaan-nan--clitic \\
neg & na & encl
\end{tabular}
it is clearly not a baby
[Cl]
"Do not cry for him, it wasn't a (normal human) baby."
"Do not cry," they told her, "it was some kind of a child."
"Do not cry for it [don't cry about him] / not baby it is." [it isn't baby] dō ha kwût ō tcī dōc/s kī ye kwûn nûn
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ku ō tcī dō skī ye kwąn nąn
```


## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

## 22.1 "

shoodjiighinyaan-ee
P-oo-djii-(ghin)..yaan+PERF.,3,+ 1sG. OBL. =yee
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { P like/love S } \\ \text { vt } & =\text { eyewitness evid. } \\ \text { encl }\end{array}$
I love it
[VP]

| shiiyee' | shkii |
| :--- | :--- |
| shiiyee' | skii+1SG. |
| 1sg possessive indep | baby |
| pron | na |
| mine | my baby |
| [Obj | $\quad]$ |

"I love my baby.
"I love my baby.
"I love [I like it] / my / baby. cōt tcī gûn ya nī cī ye ic kī cō tcī gûn ya ne cī ye ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ckī}$

## 22.2 doohaa'-deengheel' -ee

doohaa' d-ghin..gheel'+PERF.,3 =yee
never have stop crying =eyewitness evid.
neg vs encl
it never stopped crying
[VP]
It would not stop crying.
It would not stop [crying].
It did not stop. [never stop]
dō ha deñ el le
dō ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ deñ ñel le

```
22.3 st'00' tceehnohninghaan-ee
    st'oo' tceeh-(nin)..ghaan+PERF.,3,+ 1PL. OBJ. =yee
    nearly kill pl O by crying =eyewitness evid.
    adv vt encl
    nearly it killed us crying
    [AdvP] [VP]
```


## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

```
tceeh-bilh
(ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3 =bilh
cry = when
vi
    conj
with crying
[PostP]
It almost killed us with crying.
It nearly killed us with its crying.
Nearly [near] / it killed us [kill all of us] / crying with.
istō tce nō nûn a ne tce bûL
st'}\mp@subsup{\overline{o}}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ tce nō`` nûn a ne tce bûL
22.4 doohaa'-nteesdilaal-ee
    doohaa' n-ti-(s)..laalh+PERF.,1PL. =yee
    was not able be asleep
    part. vd encl
    we were not able to sleep
    [VP]
```


## We could not sleep.

```
We did not sleep.
We did not sleep. [we never sleep]
dō ha ñ tes dī lale
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}\) tes dī la le
```

22.5 Ihaang

Ihaang
yiilhkai
yiilhkai
many/much days/nights
adj
many
[AdvP

```
teesdii'iin-ee
ti-(s)..' iin/'iin' + PERF., 1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
look along =eyewitness evid.
vi
encl
we watched it
[VP]
We watched it awake many nights."
We stayed awake with it many nights."
Many [lots] / nights [daylights] / we watched it. [we look]
```


## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

Lañ yīL kai / tes dī ī nē
Lañ yī̀ kai tes dī ī ne

"The baby is some (unusual) kind of baby.
"It is some kind of a child.
Baby / some kind it is / baby."
ic kī / dī cō ye kwûn nûn / iskī
skī dī cō ye kwąn nąn skī

```
23.2 doohaa'-kwansheeh
    doohaa' P-aa-(s)..tceegh+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3AREAL OBL.
    do not! cry about P
    neg vi
    do not cry for it
    [VP]
shiiyee
    tc'eek
shiiyee' tc'eek
1sg possessive indep woman
pron na
mine woman
[PossP

Do not cry for it, my wife."
Do not cry for it, my wife," said the father.
"Do not for it cry, [do cry about it] / my / woman." [wife]
dō ha kwû ûn ce cī ya tcek
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ku ûn ce cī ye \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'ek
24 doo-kwashtceeh-teilee doo= oo-(ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. =teilee
negative \(=\) cry/mourn for \(\mathrm{O} \quad=\) will \(/\) shall neg
encl
I am not going to cry for him
[VP]
"I am not going to cry about him."
"I will not cry," she said.
"I will not cry." [I am not going/about to cry him]
dō kō ûc tce tē le
dō ku ûc tce tē le
```

25.1 s'isk' aan-kwaan yaa'nii
(s).lhk'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii
build fire = inferred evid. they say
vt
he had built a fire
vencl vt
they say
[VP
uuyaashtc
uuyaashtc}\mp@subsup{}{1}{
small
adj
small
[AdjP]

```

\section*{He had built a small fire, they say.}
```

He had built a small fire.
He had built fire, [he build fire] / they say, / small. [little]
sûs kan / kwûn ya ni / ō yacts
s'ûs k'an kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī $\overline{o ̄}$ yacts

```
vt
they say
```

25.2 ching swoltc

```
25.2 ching swoltc
    ching swoltc
    ching swoltc
    stick be small/short
    stick be small/short
    na vd
    na vd
    stick short
    stick short
    [Obj ]
    [Obj ]
noolaa-kwaan yaa'nii
noolaa-kwaan yaa'nii
noo-(nin)..lash/laa+CONT,IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii
noo-(nin)..lash/laa+CONT,IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii
put pl/rope-like O to limit = inferred evid. they say
put pl/rope-like O to limit = inferred evid. they say
vt
vt
    vencl
    vencl
he had put them down
he had put them down
[VP

\section*{He had put down short sticks, they say.}

He had put down short sticks.
Sticks / small [short] / he had put down [he lay there] / they say.
tcûñ s wōltc nō la kwûn ya nī

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tcûñ swōltc nō la kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note The baby has placed sticks to turn into fish.
```

25.3 ooltc'wai uuchii'-bii'
ooltc' wai *chii'+3 POSS.,LOC.
fish trap tail
n a n ia
fish trap on its tail
[Obj] [PostP]
s'islii'-kwaan yaa'ni
(s)..lii'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii
tie/bind O = inferred evid. they say
vt
he had tied it
vencl vt
they say
[VP
s'istl'oong-kwaan yaa'nii , nees
(s)..tl'oo/tl'oon+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii }\mp@subsup{}{1}{\prime}\mathrm{ nees
weave O; weave = inferred evid. they say long
vt
he had woven
[VP

```
yaa'nii , nees
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) nees \(_{1}\)
vt adj
they say long one
] [NP]
```

, too-bii' noo'intaan-kwaan
too+LOC. noo-(nin)..tish/taan 2 +PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
water put stick-like/enclosed O down =inferred evid.
na vt
vencl
in water he had put it down
[PostP] [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]

```

He had tied down a long fish trap by its tail end, they say -- he had woven it, they say -- a long one, he had placed it in the water.
He had made long eel-pots and fastened them by the bottom.
Eel-pot [long basket] / its bottom in [in bottom] / he had tied [he tie up] / they say. He

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had woven [he woven] / they say. / Long, / water in / he had put [he put] / they say. \(\bar{o} l\) tcwa \(\overline{1} / \bar{o}\) tcī bī sûs \(\overline{\overline{1}} /\) kwûn yanī / sûs Lōñ kwûn ya ni / nez tō bī / nō ûn tûñ kwûn ya nī

\begin{tabular}{ll}
25.4 & chinsii'tc \\
chinsii'tc & toonai \\
cone (of conifer) & foonai \\
nash \\
na & na \\
conifer cone & fish \\
{\([\) Obj] } & {\([\mathrm{AdvCl}\)}
\end{tabular}
tc' oolhyii' -kwaanhit
oo-(ghin)..Ihyii/yii' +PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaanhit
give \(O\) a name
vt
\(=\) when S had V
encl
when he had given them the name
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
tc' \({ }^{\prime}\) kaash-kwaan & yaa'nii \\
(ghin)..kaash/kaan+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & \(=\) kwaan & yaa'nii \\
catch fish in net & \(=\) inferred evid. & they say \\
vt & vencl & vt \\
he had netted them & & they say \\
[VP &
\end{tabular}

He had netted the pine cones when he had called them "fish", they say.
He had caught the pine-cones which he had put in the water and called fish.
Tree-heads (cones) [pine head little/cones] / fish / he had named when [he called been] / he caught [he catch in net] / they say.
tcûn sītz tō nai tcōL yī / kwûñ hût kûc kwûn ya nī tcûn sī̀ ts tō nai tc' \({ }^{\prime}\) L yī kwąn hût tc' kacc kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
25.5 & ch'ghaats'ee' & ch'kaak' \({ }^{\prime}\) bii' \\
ch'ghaats'ee' & ninch'it' & ch'kaak'+LOC. \\
ninch'it' \({ }_{1}\) \\
iris & net (dipnet) & string \\
na & na & na \\
iris & in net & string \\
{\([\) AdvP \(]\)} & {\([O b j\)} &
\end{tabular}

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\begin{tabular}{lll} 
ts'istciing-kwaan & & yaa'nii \\
(s)..lhtcii/tciin' + PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & \(=\) kwaan & yaa' \({ }^{\prime} i_{1}\) \\
make O & \(=\) inferred evid. & they say \\
vt & vencl & vt \\
he had made & & they say \\
[VP &
\end{tabular}

\section*{He had made the strings in the net of iris fiber, they say.}

He had made strings for the net of iris.
Iris [rope] / net in [net] / strings / he had made [he made] / they say. tcī gá tse / tcī kak bī k nûn tcût sis tcīñ kwûn yanī
tc' ga ts' \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' kak' bī \(\bar{i}^{\varepsilon}\) nûn tc'ût ts'ûs tciñ kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
25.6 bilh-teegot tc'ghindits-kwaan
bilhteegot (ghin)..dis/dits+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
net rope twist O/thread =inferred evid.
na vt vencl
net rope he had twisted
[Obj] [VP

\section*{yaa'nii}
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]

\section*{He had twisted the net-rope, they say}

The rope that passes around the net he made by twisting.
Net rope [croquet neddle] / he had twisted [he made] / they say.
bûL te (ga) gōt / tcī gûn dûts kwûn ya nī
bûL te qōt tc' gûn dûts kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 25.7 & tc'teesyaa & yiidee' \\
\hline & ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. & yiidee' \\
\hline & sg go along & north \\
\hline & vi & direct \\
\hline & he went along & north \\
\hline & [VP] & [AdvP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{He went along north.}

He went on toward the north.
He went / north.

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```

tcit tes ya / yī de
tc't tes ya yī de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$
25.8 Too-nchaagh-bii'
too nchaagh $_{2}=$ bii' $^{\prime}$
water large $\quad=$ in it
na adj nsuffix
In Eel River
[PostP]

| naalh' ${ }^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ 'kwaan |  | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| naa-n-(ghin)..Ih'aa/'aa' + IMPF., $3,+3$ OBJ.. | $=$ kwaan | yaa'nii |
| build fish weir | $=$ inferred evid. | they say |
| vt | vencl | vt |
| he had made a fish weir |  | they say |

[VP
]

```

He had made a weir in Eel River, they say.
In Eel river he had made a weir.
Water large in [water big] / he had made weir [he make dam] / they say.
tō \(\underline{n}\) tcag bī naL a kwûn yanī
tō \(n\) tcag bī \(\overline{\mathrm{c}}^{\varepsilon}\) nal \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\) kwąn ya \(\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}\)


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"I hung up my baby in a tree becase it cried so many nights," she said, they say.
"I hung my baby up in a tree because it cried so many nights, ' ' the mother said.
"Baby / mine / I hung up [I hang it up] / it cried because [it cry because] / many [lots of] / nights," / she said / they say.
s kī cī ye / te sīL bûl lē / tce gût Lan yīL kai tciñ ya nī skī cī ye \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) te sī̀ bûl lē tce \({ }^{\subset}\) gût lan yī̀ kai tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\(27^{\prime \prime}\) tolhkee' -bang
ti-(s)..Ihkee/kee'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. \(=\) bang \(_{2}\)
track O =must
vt
encl
you (pl.) must track it
[VP]
```

yaa'n
yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST. yaa'nii,
say they say
vt
they said
they say

```
[VP
]
"You all must track him," they said.
"You must track him," they said.
"You must track it," [track it] / they said / they say.
tō \(L\) ke/kaī bûn yan ya nī
tō \(\operatorname{ke}^{\varepsilon}\) bûñ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
28.1 uutcooniitcaan-ee
P-tcoo-n-(ghin)..chiish/chaan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL. =yee
leave/abandon \(P \quad=\) eyewitness evid.
vt
encl

I abandoned it
[VP]
```

dooyiihee'-et
;

```
doo-(gh)..hee'+IMPF.,1sG. =hit+VAR. OF
be tired =because
vd encl
because I am tired
[AdvCl]

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```

naahishdaash-teilee
naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,1SG. =teilee

| sg go back home | $=$ will/shall |
| :--- | :--- |
| vi |  |

I am going to go back home

```
[VP]
"I abandoned it because I am tired; I am about to go home.
"I will leave. I will go back because I am tired.
"I will leave it [I leave him] / I am tired because. [I am tired] / I will go back. [I am going home]
ō tcō nī sa nē dō yī he et / na hûc dac tē le
\(\bar{o}\) tcō nī tca nē dō yī he \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) et na hûc dac tē le

\section*{28.2 naalhkat-dee' vi [AdvCl] \\ yaa'nii \\ ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\ say \\ vt \\ she said [VP}
naawohtloos-bang
naa..lhkat+IMPF.,2sG. =dee' naa-gh..tloos+PROG.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang \({ }_{2}\)
pl walk back \(\quad=\) if lead O back \(=\) must
encl when you (pl.) walk back you (pl.) must lead him back

When you all come home you must bring it back," she said, they say.
When you come back you must bring it with you.
You come back if [walk around] / you must bring it back," [you bring home for] / he said / they say.
naL kût de / na wō te lōs bûn tcin ya nī naL kût de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) na wō \({ }^{\ominus} t\) lōs bûñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
28.3 " \begin{tabular}{llll} 
neesding & teesolhkee'-dee' & \\
& neesding & ti-(s)..lhkee/kee'+PERF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. & \(=\) dee' \\
& far & track O & \(=\) if \\
& adv & vt & conj \\
& far & when/if you track it & \\
& {\([\) AdvCl } & &
\end{tabular}

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
```

uutcoonohtchiish-bang ,"
P-tcoo-n-(ghin)..tchiish/chaan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL. =bang}
let P escape
vt
you (pl.) must let it go
[VP]

```

```

tc'in ll, " ll shkii
say
vt
she said they say my baby
[VP ] [NP]
[VP ] [NP]
=must
encl
"As for my baby, if you all have tracked him far you may let him go," she said, they say.
After you have tracked him far you may let him go."
"Far / you track it if [you want track (if)] / you may leave it," [so you can leave him] / he said, / they say, / "baby."
nes dûñ te sōL ke de ō tsō nō tsīc bûn tcin ya n̄̄ / ic kī
nes dûñ te sṑ $\mathrm{ke}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{de}^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}$ tcō nō tcīc bûñ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ckī
29.1 ch'oyii
ch'oyii
another
pron
another
[Subj]

```

\section*{nanyaa-yeekwaanang}
```

naa-n-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 =yee =kwaanaang
come back
vi
= eyewitness evid. = kwaan-nan--clitic
it had come back
[VP]

```

\section*{Another had come back.}
```

He came back.
Another / came. [come been]
tcō/kō ȳ̄ / nûn ya yē / kwûn nûñ
tcō yī nûn ya ye kwąn nąn

```

\author{
GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
}
29.2 " hai
hai \({ }_{1}\)
that
dem
the/that
[Obj]

\section*{uutcooniitcaan-ee}
P-tcoo-n-(ghin)..chiish/chaan+PERF.,1sG.,+ 3 OBL. =yee
leave/abandon \(P\)
vt
I abandoned it
[VP]
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
neesding & teesyaa-hit &,\("\) & tc'in \\
neesding & ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 & \(=\) hit & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
far & sg go along & \(=\) because & say \\
adv & vi & encl & vt \\
far & because he went along & & he said \\
[AdvCl & \multicolumn{1}{c}{\(\quad]\)} & & {\([V P\)}
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
"I left that one, because he had gone far," he said, they say.
"Because I had gone far I gave him up," he said.
"That [this] / I left [I leave him] / far / he went because," [he went] / he said / they say. hai / ō tcō nī tca nē / nes dûn / tes ya hût / tcin ya nī hai ō tcō nī tca nē nes dûñ tes ya hût tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```

29.3 " kwanlhang , uutcoodichaan
kwanlhaang P-tcoo-n-(ghin)..chiish/chaan+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBL.
enough leave/abandon $P$
adv vt
enough let's leave it
[Interj] [VP]

```

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tc' \(\mathbf{i n}\) & yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP & \(\quad]\)
\end{tabular}
"Enough, let's let him go," he said, they say.
"It is enough; we will let him go.
"Enough, / we will leave it," [let us leave him let us quit] / he said / they say. kwûn Lûn ō tsō dût cûñ tcin ya nī kwûn Ląñ ō tcō dût tcąn tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
sg go back
vi
let's go back
[VP]
house inside
na nsuffix
inside the house
[PostP]

\section*{"Let us go back into the house.}

We will go back to the house.
"We will go back [let us go home] / house toward. [to house]
na dût ya ye bī ûñ
na dût ya ye bī \(\overline{\mathrm{c}}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{un}^{\varepsilon}\)
29.5 dooyeehee'-ee
doo-(gh)..hee'+IMPF.,1SG. =yee
be tired = eyewitness evid.
vd
encl
I am tired
[VP]
I am tired.
I am tired...
I am tired.
dō ye he e
dō ye he \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) e

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

29.6 too-wang tghiibaa'-ee
too-wang t-(ghin)..baa'+PERF.,1SG. =yee
for water be thirsty = eyewitness evid.
adv vi (prs.) encl
for water I am thirsty
[PostP] [VP]
I'm thirsty for water.
and thirsty.
Water for / I am thirsty. [I am dry for water]
tō wûñ t gī ba e
tō wûñ t gī ba e
29.7 neesding teesiiyaa-hit
neesding
ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,1SG. =hit
far sg go along =because
adv vi
encl
far because I went along
[AdvCl
]
dooyeehee'-ee
doo-(gh)..hee'+IMPF.,1sG. =yee
be tired = eyewitness evid.
vd encl
I am tired
[VP]
I am tired because I went very far.
I am tired because I went so far.
Far / I went because, [I went] / I am tired.
nes dûn te sī ya hût / dō ye he e
nes dûñ te sī ya hût dō ye he e
29.8 shchaaghan-teilee
..cha-(ghin)-ghan/ghan'+IMPF.,+ 1SG. OBL. =teilee
P to sleep
vi
= will/shall
encl
I am going to sleep
[VP]
I am going to sleep."
I will sleep."
I will sleep." [I am going asleep]

```

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
s tca gûn tē le stca gûn tē le
30.1 shaahnaa' kw'ittc'ghinyai-kwaan
shaahnaa' P-k'it-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. =i =kwaan
creek sg go down to \(P \quad=N R=\) inferred evid.
n a vi
encl vencl
creek he had gone down to it
[AdvP] [VP

\section*{yaa'nii}
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
He (the baby) had gone down to the stream, they say.
He had gone down to a stream.
Creek / he had gone down to [he went down] / they say.
ca na kwûts gûn yai kwûn ya nī
\(\mathrm{ca}^{\circ}\) na \(^{\varepsilon}\) kwûts gûn yai kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)

[VP
, ch'kaak' noo'intaan-kwaan ch'kaak' noo-(nin)..tish/taan \({ }_{2}+\) PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
net \\
na
\end{tabular} & put stick-like/enclosed O down & vt inferred evid. \\
net & he had put it down & vencl
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say

He had built a weir, they say, and set a fishing net, they say.
He had built a weir and put in a net.
He had made a weir [he make dam] / they say. / Net / he had put in [he put in] / they say. na ûn gûL a / kwûn ya nī / tcī kak / nō ûn tûñ kwûn ya nī na ûn gûl \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}\) kwąn ya \(a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\) tc \({ }^{\prime}\) kak' nō ûn tąn kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
30.3 s'isk'aan-kwaan
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
(s)..lhk'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
=kwaan
= inferred evid. they say
vencl
he had built a fire
[VP
vt
they say

He had built a fire, they say.
He had built a fire.
He had built fire [he build fire] / they say.
sûs kûn kwûn yanī
s'ûs k'an kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī


He had gone, they say, to the north, far to the north.
He had gone on toward the north.
He had gone, / they say, / north, / way north.
tcit tes ya kwûn ya nī / yī de / yō yī de
tc't tes ya kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\) yī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) yō yī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
\begin{tabular}{llll}
30.5 & neesding & yoo' oong & shaahnaa' \\
neesding & yoo'oong & shaahnaa' & nchaagh \\
nchaagh \({ }_{2}\) \\
far & over there & creek & large \\
adv & adv & na & adj \\
far & over there & creek & large/much \\
[AdvP & \(\quad]\) & {\([O b j\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
naaninyaa-kwaan & & yaa'nii \\
naa-n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 & \(=\) kwaan & yaa'nii \\
sg come across & \(=\) inferred evid. & they say \\
vi & vencl & vt \\
he had come across & & they say \\
[VP & &
\end{tabular}

Far over there he had crossed a large creek, they say.
Far to the north he crossed a large creek.
Far / over there / creek / large [big] / he had crossed [he crossed] / they say.
nes dûñ / yōñ ca na na tcag na nûn ya kwûn yanī
nes dûñ yō ōñ ca \({ }^{\bullet} \mathrm{na}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}\) tcag na nûn ya kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}\)
30.6 doohaa'-naanghilh'aa'-kwaan
doohaa' naa-n-(ghin)..lh'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
never have build fish weir =inferred evid.
neg vt vencl
he had not built a weir
[VP

\section*{yaa'nii}
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
He had not built a weir, they say.
He did not build a weir.
He did not make weir [he didn't make dam] / they say.
dō ha nan gûL a kwûn ya nī
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nan gû́ \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}\) kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
30.7 tc'ii-yaashtc tc'teestaan

yaa'nii
tc' \(\mathrm{ii}-\mathrm{ya}\) ashtc ti-(s)..tish/taan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
small canoe take stick-like/enclosed O along na vt
small canoe he carried it along
[Obj] [VP
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) they say
vt
they say
]
```

yiidee'
yiidee'
north
direct
north
[AdvP]
He carried his canoe to the north, they say.
He carried his canoe north.
Canoe\#\# / he took, [he took it] / they say, / north.
tsī yacts / sī tes tûñ ya nī / yī de
tc' $\overline{1}$ yacts ts' tes tąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī yī de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

```
```

3 0 . 8 ~ c h ' t e e l h c h o o t ~ y a a ' n i i ~

```
3 0 . 8 ~ c h ' t e e l h c h o o t ~ y a a ' n i i ~
    ch'-ti-(s)..lhchood+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. yaa'nii1
    ch'-ti-(s)..lhchood+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. yaa'nii1
    steal st
    steal st
    vt
    vt
    he stole it
    he stole it
    [VP
```

    [VP
    ```

\section*{He stole it, they say.}

He stole it.
He stole it [he steal] / they say.
kī teL kyōt ya nī
k' tel tcōt ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llll}
30.9 & neesding & tc'teesyaa & yaa'nii \\
neesding & ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & yooyiidee' \\
far & sg go along & they say & far north \\
adv & vi & vt & direct \\
far & he went along & they say & far north \\
{\([\) AdvP] } & {\([V P\)} & \(]\) & [AdvP]
\end{tabular}

He went far away, they say, far to the north.
He went away to the north.
Far / he went, / they say, / way north.
nes dûñ / tcit tes ya / yani / yō yī de
nes dûñ tc't tes ya ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī yō yī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 30.10 & doohaa' & kwkwee' & ghilsaan & yaa' ni \\
\hline & doohaa' & *kee \({ }_{1}+3\) ANIM. POSS. & ..ghilsaan+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline & do not! & track (n) & be seen & they say \\
\hline & neg & n ia & vp & \\
\hline & do not! & his track & it was.found & they say \\
\hline & [AdvP] & [Subj] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

His tracks could not be found, they say.
His track was not found.
Not / his track [track] / was found [they found] / they say. dō ha \(k \bar{w} / k w e ~ k w e ~ g u ̂ l ~ s u ̂ n ~ y a n i ̄ ~\)
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ku kwe \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) gûl sąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
30.11 & taahshaang & tc'teesyaa \\
taahshaang & ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
somewhere & sg go along & they say \\
dem & vi & vt \\
somewhere & he went along & they say \\
{\([\) AdvP \(]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

He went somewhere, they say.

Somewhere [where I like to know] / he went / they say.
tas yûñ tcit tes ya yan̄̄
ta cąñ tc't tes ya ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 30.12 & kwkwee' & shoo' & kaan'ntee \\
\hline & *kee \({ }_{1}+3\) ANIM. POSS. & shoo' \({ }_{1}\) & kaa-n-(nin)..tee+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. \\
\hline & track (n) & in vain & look for O \\
\hline & n ia & adv & vi \\
\hline & his track & in vain & he looked for it \\
\hline & [Obj] & [AdvP] & [VP \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
They looked for his tracks in vain, they say.
They looked for it in vain.
His foot [his track] / in vain / they looked for [he was looking for track] / they say.

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kū kwe cō kan \(\underline{n}\) te ya nī
ku kwe \(^{\varepsilon}\) cō kan n tē ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{ll}
30.13 \begin{tabular}{ll} 
doo-yaalhsis & (0)..lhsis/saan+IMPF.,3,DIST.,+ 3 OBJ. \\
doo \(=\) & yaa'nii \\
negative \(=\) find \(O\) & they say \\
neg & vt
\end{tabular} & vt \\
they did not find it & they say \\
{\([\) VP } &
\end{tabular}

They did not find them, they say.
They did not find [his tracks.]
They did not find [they didn't find] / they say.
dō yaL sûs yanī
dō yal sûs ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}\)
30.14 " daahtaabeesyaa-kwosh
daah-taah-P-ee-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL. =kwosh
sg climb on bank P =perhaps/guess
vi
encl
he climbed up on it perhaps
[VP]
yaa'n yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
they said they say
[VP they say
vt
"Maybe he climbed up (a tree)," they said, they say.
"He must have climbed up somewhere," they said.
"On the bank he climbed I guess," [may be he climbed a tree] / they said / they say. da ta bes sī ya kwūc yan ya nī da ta bes ya kwûc ya \(a^{\varepsilon}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
30.15 " \begin{tabular}{llll} 
diidee' & too-bii' & tinyaash \\
diidee' & too+LOC. & ti-(S)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2SG. \\
& \begin{tabular}{ll} 
north & water
\end{tabular} & sg go along \\
& direct & na & vi
\end{tabular}

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
yaa'kwilhch'in & yaa'nii & siis \\
P-Ih-ch'..in+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & siis \\
tell O X & they say & otter \\
vt & vt & na \\
they told him & they say & river otter \\
[VP & \(]\) & {\([N P]\)}
\end{tabular}
"You go north in the water," they told river otter, they say.
"You go north through the water," they told otter.
"North / water in / you go," [go] / they told him [they tell them] / they say. / "Otter, dī de / tō bī tûñ yac / ya kwûL sin yani / sīs
dī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tō bī \(\bar{c}^{\varepsilon}\) tûn yac ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kwûl tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī sīs

"You go north," they told mink, they say.
"You go north," they told mink.
you / go / north," / they told him [they told] / they say. / Mink, niñ tûñ yac di de / ya kwûL sin yani / sa+ts niñ tûn yac dī de \(\mathrm{de}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}\) kwûl tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\) sa \({ }^{\circ}\) ts
30.17 naalhghii-Ihgai , " jaa' niing
naalhghii-lhgai jaa' niing
common merganser well! 2sg indep
na
common merganser
interj pron
well! you (sg.)
[NP]
[Interj] [Subj]

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

timiish
ti-(s)..biish/biin+IMPF.,2sG.
swim along
vi
you (sg.) swim along
[VP]

```
diidee' diidee'
north
direct
north
[AdvP]

To merganser, "Well, you swim north."
"You swim north," they told white duck.
ducks white, / "Well, / you [you better] / swim / north.
naL gī L kai tca niñ tûm mic / dī de
nal gī lgai ka \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) niñ tûm mīc dī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
Note The original notebook version has the interjection jaa', while the published version has kaa'.
```

3 0 . 1 8 ~ n a a k w i l h s i s - b a n g ~
naa-(0)..lhsis/saan+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. =bang}
find O =must
vt
encl
you (sg.) must find him
[VP]
"You must find him."
"You must find him."
You must find him." [you might find]
na kwûL sûs bûñ
na kwûL sûs bûñ

```

```

niibiin-ee
n-(nin)..biish/biin+PERF.,1SG.
sg swim
vi
I swam
[VP]
"No, I swam far in vain."

```

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
"No, I swam far in vain," he reported.
"No. [nothing] / Far / in vain / I swam." [I swim there] \(\underline{n}\) dō ye nes dûñ / cō nī bī ne \(n\) dō ye nes dûñ cō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī bī ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 32.1 & taahshoo'-kwosh & ' tc'in & yaa'nii \\
\hline & taahshoo' =kwosh & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa' nii \(_{1}\) \\
\hline & somewhere = perhaps/guess & say & they say \\
\hline & dem encl & vt & vt \\
\hline & perhaps somewhere & he said & they say \\
\hline & [Sent] & [VP & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"Perhaps he is somewhere," he said, they say.
"Somewhere I guess," [I don't where] / he said / they say.
ta cū kwûc / tcin ya nī
ta cō kwûc tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
32.2
kwkwaa' -naahlhit
P-kaa'-naa-(s)..Ihit+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
build a signal fire for P
vt
you (pl.) build a signal fire for him
[VP]
"You all build a signal fire for him.
"Build a signal fire for him," he said.
"For him / you burn. [you/theyburn]
kū kwa / nas/s Lût
ku kwa \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) na \({ }^{\text {c }}\) Lût
\begin{tabular}{lll}
32.3 taahshoo' -kwosh &,\("\) tc'in & yaa'nii \\
taahshoo' =kwosh & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
somewhere = perhaps/guess & say & they say \\
dem \(\quad\) encl & vt & vt \\
perhaps somewhere & he said & they say \\
[Sent] & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular}

Perhaps he is somewhere," he said, they say.
"He must be somewhere."
Somewhere I guess," [where he is] / he said / they say.
ta cū kwûc tcin yani
ta cū kwûc tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
33.1 & yooyiidee' & neesding & ghilsaan & yaa'nii \\
yooyiidee' & neesding & ..ghilsaan+PERF.,+3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
far north & far & find O/O be found & they say \\
direct & adv & vp & vt \\
far north & far & it was found & they say \\
[AdvP] & [AdvP] & [VP &
\end{tabular}

He was seen far off in the north, they say.
Far away to the north he was seen.
Way north / far / he was seen [they find] / they say
yō yī de nes dûn / gûl sûn ya nī
yō yī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nes dûñ gûl sąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
33.2 yooyiidee' skiitc gaal-ee
yooyiidee' skiitc gaalh \({ }_{1}\) +PROG.,3 =yee
far north baby 3sg walk =eyewitness evid.
direct \(n\) a vi encl
far north baby it is walking along
[AdvP] [AdvP] [VP]
\(\begin{array}{ll}\text { ghilhgheel'-it } & , " \\ \text { tc'in } \\ \text { ghin..Ihghilh/gheel'+TRTL.,PERF., } 3=h i t+V A R . ~ O F ~ & . . n i i / n+P E R F ., 3 A N I M . ~\end{array}\)
become evening = when say
vd
when it became evening
[AdvCl]
encl vt
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline yaa'nii yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) & Ihaa'haa Ihaa'haa & naahneesh naahneesh & yiidaa' \({ }^{\prime}\) ang yiidaa" \({ }^{\prime}\) ng \\
\hline hey say & one & person & from the north \\
\hline vt & num & na & direct \\
\hline they say & one & person & from the north \\
\hline ] & [NP & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
ninyaa-hit
n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 =hit+VAR. OF
sg come/arrive back = when
vi
encl
when it arrived
[AdvCl]
"Far in the north a baby was walking along in the evening," said a person

\section*{when he arrived from the north, they say.}
"Far to the north the child was walking in the evening," said a person who came from there.
"Far north / baby / is walking [come walking] / evening when," [near night] / he said, / they say, / one / person [Indian] / from north. He came when, [come]
yō yī de / ic kitz ka le / gûL gel lit tcin ya nī / La ha / na nej yī da ûn / nûn ya hût yō yī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) skīts qa le gûl gel lit tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī La ha \(^{\varepsilon}\) na nēc yī da \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ûn nûn ya hût

    ]

He had taken (the canoe) out of the water, they say, and had built a fire in his canoe, they say.
He had taken [his canoe] from the water and had built a fire in it.
he had taken from the water [he take out] / they say / In / canoe in [canoe little in]/ he had built fire [he built a fire] / they say.
tatśs sûs tûñ kwûn ya nī bī sī yacts / bī sûs kûñ kwûn yanī
tąt s'ûs tąn kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \bar{i} \overline{b i}^{\varepsilon}\) tc'ī yacts \(\overline{b i c}^{\varepsilon} s^{\prime}\) ûs k'an kwąn ya \(a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}


He had gone north, they say.
He had gone north.
He had gone, / they say, / north.
tcit tes ya kŵn ya nī / yī de
tc't tes ya kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī yī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
33.5 naasIhit-kwan yaa'nii
naa-(s)..Ihit+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii \(1_{1}\)
burn over land =inferred evid. they say
vt
he had burned over land vencl
[VP
vt
they say

He had burned over the ground, they say.
He had burned the ground over.
He had burned [he burns] / they say.
nas Lût kwûn ya nī
nas Lût kwûn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
34.1 " \begin{tabular}{lll} 
daanshang \\
daanshaang & naisIhit & naa-(s)..Ihit+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.
\end{tabular}
"Who is it that burned over the ground?"
"Who is burning the ground over?"
"Who [who is] / is burning?" [burning around] dan cûñ nai Lit dan cąn nais Lût

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

34.2 yaa'n yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST. yaa'nii,
say they say
vt
vt
they said they say
[VP

```
they said, they say.
they asked.
they said / they say.
yan ya nī
ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n a} a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
35.1 " \begin{tabular}{lllll} 
diidee' & ch'ileek \\
diidee' & ch'ileek & gaal-ee & gaalh 1 +PROG.,3 =yee
\end{tabular}
\(k^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} a^{\prime}\) yiighileel-ee
k'aa' gh..leelh+PROG.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
arrow carry pl/rope-like O along =eyewitness evid.
na vt encl
arrow he is carrying them along
[Obj] [VP]
\(s^{\prime}\) 'ilhtiing' - milh
diidee' ," tc'in
ts'ilhtiing' *ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL. diidee' ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
bow accompaniment north say
na postp
with a bow
[PostP]
direct
north he said
[AdvP] [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
"A boy was walking along carrying arrows and a bow in the north," he

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
said, they say.
"A boy is walking north carrying bow and arrows," he said.
"North / boy / was walking. [walking] / Arrows / he was carrying [packing] / bow / with [with it] / north," / he said / they say.
di de / kileak ka le / k'a yī gûl lē le / sûL tīñ mûL / dī de tcin ya nī
dī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) k'il lek qa le \(\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\) yī gûl lē le \(\mathrm{s}^{\prime}\) ûl tiñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) mûl dī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \(\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}\)
35.2
doo-oodilts'it-ee
doo oo-(ghin)..Ihts'it+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
no know person/O =eyewitness evid.
interj vt
encl
we didn't know him
[VP]

\section*{"We did not know him.}
"We did not know him.
"We didn't know him.
dō ō dûl sût de
dō ō dûl tsût de
```

35.3 daanshoo'-kwosh
daanshoo' =kwosh
someone = perhaps/guess
pron encl
perhaps someone
[VP]

```

\section*{Maybe he is a stranger.}

He was a stranger.
Stranger. [somebody]
dan cōks
dan cō kwûc
35.4
doo-tc' ing' -kinidiiyiish-ee
doo= *tc'ing'++ 3 OBL. k-n-(ghin)..yiish/yii+IMPF.,1PL. =yee
negative \(=\) to \(P \quad\) speak \(\quad=\) eyewitness evid.
neg postp
vi
encl
we did not speak to him
[VP]

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```

uutc'ing'
*tc'ing'++ 3 OBL.
to P
postp
to him
[PostP]
We did not speak to him.
We did not speak to him."
We did not speak [we didn't talk to him] / to him.
dō tcûñ kûn nût dī yī ce / gū tsûn
dō tc'ûñ^n}\mathrm{ kûn nût dī yī ce ū tc'ûñn

```

```

yaanin
..nii/n+PERF.,3,DIST.
say
vt
they said
[VP]
He was walking along far to the north," they said.
He had walked far to the north.
Far [long] / way north / he was walking," [over north walking] / they said.
nes dûn / yō yī de ka lē / ya nûn
nes dûñ yō yī de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ qa le ya nûn

| 36.1 | taanchow | kw'ittc'ghinyaa-kwaan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| taanchow | P-k'it-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. | $=$ =kwaan |
| river | sg go down to P | = inferred evid. |
| na | vi | vencl |
| river | he had gone down to it |  |
| $[\mathrm{Obj}]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ |  |

```

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say
]

```

He had come down to a river, they say
He had come down to a large river.
River / he came down to [he came down] / they say. tan tcō kwûts tsī gûn ya kwûn ya nī tan tcō kwûts ts' gûn ya kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{lll}
36.2 & naanghilh'aa' -kwaan & yaa'nii \\
naa-n-(ghin)..lh'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. & \(=\) kwaan & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
build fish weir & \(=\) inferred evid. & they say \\
vt & vencl & vt \\
he had made a weir & & they say \\
[VP &
\end{tabular}

He had built a weir, they say.
He had built a weir.
He had made weir [he make a dam] / they say.
nañ gûL a kwûn ya nī
nan gû́ \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}\) kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```

36.3 kwong' uuyaashtc s'isk'aan-kwaan
kwong' uuyaashtc ${ }_{1}$
fire small build fire = inferred evid.
na adj
fire small he had built a fire
[Obj ] [VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]

```

He had built a small fire, they say.
He had made a small fire there.
Fire / small [little] / he had built [he build] / they say.

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
kōn wī yajts sûs kañ kwûn ya nī kwōñ \(\tilde{}^{\varepsilon} \bar{u}\) yacts s'ûs k'an kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
```

36.4 chin-swoltc naakaa'
chin-swoltc naakaa'
small stick two
n a num
small stick two
[Obj ]
noolaa-kwaan yaa'nii
noo-(nin)..lash/laa+CONT,IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii
put pl/rope-like O to limit = inferred evid. they say
vt
he had put them down
vencl vt
they say

```
```

[VP

## He had put down two short sticks, they say.

He had put down two small sticks.
Stick [sticks] / small [short] / two / he had put down [he put] / they say. tcûñ tcwōltc nûka nō la kwûn ya nī tcûn swōltc nąk ka ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nō la kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

```
36.5 Ihoo'yaashtc tc'ghinkaan
    lhoo'yaashtc (ghin)..kaash/kaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
    sucker catch fish in net
    na vt
    sucker he caught fish in net
    [Obj]
        [VP]
tc'neelhyaang
n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =i
eat O up =NR
vt encl
he ate it up
[VP]
```


## He caught suckers in the net and ate them up.

```
When they had turned to suckers he had caught them in a net and eaten them.
Suckers / he had netted. [he caught it] / He ate up. [he eat up]
Lō yajts / sī gûñ kañ / sī neL yañ
Lō yacts tc' gûn kan ts' nel yañ
Note "Maybe sticks turn into fish" (Goddard NB II, p.42)
```

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

| 36.6 | uusii' | kwong' ${ }^{\text {-mii' }}$ | s'aan | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | *sii' +3 POSS. | kwong' =bii' | s..'aan+PERF.,3 | yaa' ${ }^{\text {ii }}{ }_{1}$ |
|  | head | fire $\quad=$ in it | lie motionless (solid O) | they say |
|  | n ia | nsuffix | vs | vt |
|  | its head | in the fire | it lay | they say |
|  | [Subj] | [PostP] | [VP |  |

Their heads lay in the fire, they say.
The heads lay in the fire.
Its head [head] / fire in [fire by] / lay [laying] / they say.
ō sī kōñ(mī / sûn ya ni


| 36.7 | yiidee' | tc'teesyaa |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yiidee' | ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. | uutis-kwaan |
| north | sg go along | beyond P OBL. =kwaan = inferred evid. |
| direct | vi | postp |
| north | he went along | had ... beyond it |
| $[$ AdvP $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ | $[$ PostP |

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]
He had gone farther north beyond there, they say.
He had gone further north.
North / he had gone / beyond it [past it] / they say.
yī de / sit tes ya / ō tûs kwûn ya nī
yī de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ts't tes ya ō tûs kwan ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 36.8 | shaahnaa' | kw'ittc'ghinyaa-kwaang |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| shaahnaa' | P-k'it-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. | $=$ kwaan |
| creek | sg go down to P | = inferred evid. |
| na | vi | vencl |
| creek | he had come down to it |  |
| $[\mathrm{Obj}]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ |  |

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

```
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 
they say
vt
they say
    ]
```

He had come down to a stream, they say.
He had come down to a stream
Creek / he had come down to [he came down] / they say. ca na kwûts sī gûn ya / kwûn ya nī ca ${ }^{\circ}$ na $^{\varepsilon}$ kwûts gûn ya kwąñ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

```
36.9 naa'inghilh'aa' -kwaan
    naa-n-(ghin)..Ih'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
    build fish weir = inferred evid. they say
    vt
vencl
he had built a fish weir
```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

```
[VP

\section*{He had built a weir, they say.}
where he had built a weir.
He had made weir [he made fish dam] / they say.
na ûñ gûL a kwûn ya nī
na ûñ gûL \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}\) kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
36.10 ch'kaak' -bilh
ch'kaak' *ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.
net (dipnet) instrumental
na postp
with a dipnet
[PostP]
nootc'intaan-kwaan yaa'nii
noo-(nin)..tish/taan 2 +PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
hold O (with net) = inferred evid. they say
vt
he had held it
vencl vt
they say
[VP

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
Ihook' & tc'ghinkaang-kwaan & \\
lhook' & (ghin)..kaash/kaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. & \(=\) kwaan \\
steelhead & catch fish in net & \(=\) inferred evid. \\
na & vt & vencl \\
steelhead & he had caught fish in net & \\
[Obj] & [VP] &
\end{tabular}

He had fished with a net, they say, and had caught a steelhead.
He had fished with a net and caught a salmon.
Net with / he had held [he fished with] / they say. / Salmon [sp salmon] / he had caught. [he caught]
tcī kak bûL / nō tcûn tañ / kwûn ya nī Lōk cī gûn kûñ kwañ tc' kak' bûl nō tcûn tąn kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī Lōk' tc' gûn kąñ kwañ
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 36.11 & uusii' & kwong'-minghaa & s'aan & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }}\) \\
\hline & *sii' +3 POSS. & kwong' -binghaa & s..'aan+PERF., 3 & yaa' \({ }^{\text {iii }} 1\) \\
\hline & head & fire before & lie motionless (solid O) & they say \\
\hline & \(n\) ia & na nsuffix & vs & \(v\) \\
\hline & its head & before the fire & it lay & they say \\
\hline & [Subj] & [PostP] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Its head lay in front of the fire, they say.}

Its head lay before the fire.
Its head [head] / fire before [fire close to] / lay / they say.
\(\bar{o}\) sī kō~mûñ a sûñ kwûn ya nī
\(\bar{o}\) sī \(^{\varepsilon}\) kwōñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) mûñ a \(s^{\prime}\) an ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
36.12 yiidee' tc'teesyaa-kwaan yaa'nii
yiidee' tc'teesyaa =kwaan yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
north go = inferred evid. they say
direct v vencl vt
north he had gone they say
[AdvP] [VP

\section*{He had gone north, they say.}

He had gone on toward the north.
North / he had gone / they say.
yī de / si tes ya / kwûn ya nī
yī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc't tes ya kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}

\subsection*{36.13 shaahnaa' kw'ittc'ghinyaa-kwaan \\ shaahnaa' P-k'it-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. =kwaan \\ creek sg go down to \(P \quad=\) inferred evid. \\ na vi \\ vencl}
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say
]
He had come down to a creek, they say.
He had come down to a stream.
Creek / he had come down to [he came down] / they say. ca na / kwûts sī gûn ya / kwûn ya nī ca \(^{\bullet}\) na \(^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{k}^{\prime}\) wûts ts' gûn ya kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)

\subsection*{36.14 naa' inghilh' aa'}
naa-n-(ghin)..Ih'aa/' aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
build fish weir
vt
he built a fish weir
[VP]

\section*{He built a weir.}

He had built there a weir.
He made weir [he made dam]
na ûñ gûL a
na ûn gûL \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}\)
\begin{tabular}{cl}
36.15 & ch'kaak' \\
ch'kaak' & ch'kaak'biinee' \\
ch'kaak'biinee' \\
net (dipnet) & handle of net \\
na & na \\
net & handle of net \\
{\([\) Obj] } & [AdvCl
\end{tabular}

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

tc'istciing' -kwaanghit
(s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =kwaan =hit
make O = inferred evid. = when
vt
vencl encl
when he had made it
yeehtc'ghin'aan-kwaan yaa'nii
yeeh-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
put stick-like O in
vt
= inferred evid. they say
vencl
he had put it in

```

\section*{yaa'nii}
```

yeehtc ghin aan-kwaan
yeeh-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,, 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa nii
put stick-like O in
vt
he had put it in

- inferred evid. they say
[VP

| gees | tc'ghinkaan |
| :--- | :--- |
| gees | (ghin)..kaash/kaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. |
| king salmon | catch fish in net |
| na | vt |

```

Chinook salmon he caught fish in net
[Obj]
[VP]
When he had made a net handle he had put the net in, they say, and caught a black salmon.
When he had made a pole for the net he had put it into the net and caught a black salmon.
Net / net's back-bone [net stick] / he had made when [he made] / he had put in [he put it in] / they say. / Black salmon / he had caught. [he caught]
tcī kak tcī kak/bī ne sis tciñ kwañ hût ye tsī gûn ûñ kwûñ ya nī / ges si gûn kwan

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 36.16 & uusii' & kwong'-minghaa & s'aan & yaa' nii \\
\hline & *sii' +3 POSS. & kwong' -binghaa & s..'aan+PERF., 3 & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline & head & fire before & lie motionless (solid O) & they say \\
\hline & \(n\) ia & na nsuffix & vs & vt \\
\hline & its head & before the fire & it lay & they say \\
\hline & [Subj] & [PostP] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
gees & nchaagh & uusii' \\
gees & nchaagh \(_{2}\) & \({ }^{*}\) sii' \(^{2}+3\) Poss. \\
king salmon & large & head \\
na & adj & n ia \\
Chinook salmon & large & its head \\
[PossP & &
\end{tabular}

Its head lay in front of the fire, they say, the head of a big black salmon.
There lay before the fire a large black salmon's head.
Its head / fire before / lay, / they say, / black salmon / large / its head.
\(\bar{o}\) sī kon mûn a / sûn ya nī ges ñ tcag / ō sī

```

3 6 . 1 7 ~ b e e ' l i i n g ~
bee'liing
Pacific lamprey night eel run
na
night-run lamprey
[Obj]

```
tc'ghinkaan-kwaan yaa'nii
(ghin)..kaash/kaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
catch fish in net =inferred evid. they say
vt
vencl vt
he had caught fish in net
[VP
they say
yaa'nii yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) they say vt they say

\section*{He had caught a night-run lamprey in a net, they say.}

He had caught eels in a net.
Eel / he had caught / they say.
be liñ tcī gûn kañ / kwûn ya ni
be \(^{\varepsilon}\) liñ tc' gûn kan kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{llll}
36.18 & kwo' & & s'binghaa \\
kwong'+DIAL. VAR. OF & -binghaa & s.Ihtiinn+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
fire & before & lie down & they say \\
na & nsuffix & vt & vt \\
before the fire & & it lay down & they say \\
{\([\) PostP] } & {\([V P\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

It lay in front of the fire, they say.
They lay before the fire.
Fire before / it lay [is laying] / they say.

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
```

kō bûñ a sûL tiñ ya ni
kwō}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ bûñ a s'ûL tin ya}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}n\overline{1

```
36.19 naakaa' ts'eek'eeneestc
```

    naakaa' ts'eek'eeneestc
    two Pacific lamprey day eel run
    num na
    two day-run lamprey
    [Obj
        ]
    tc'ghinkaan-kwaan yaa'nii
(ghin)..kaash/kaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii
catch fish in net =inferred evid. they say
vt
he had caught fish in net
vencl vt
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { tc'ghinkaan-kwaan } & \text { yaa'nii } \\ \text { (ghin)..kaash/kaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ } 3 \text { OBJ. =kwaan } & \text { yaa'nii }{ }_{1}\end{array}$
catch fish in net =inferred evid. they say
vt
[VP

```

\section*{He had caught two day-run lamprey, they say.}

He had caught two day-eels.
Two / day eels [eel/long navel] / he had caught / they say.
nûk ka / se kē nēcts sī gûn kûn kwûn yani
nąk ka \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ts'e k'e nēcts ts' gûn kan kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
36.20 ch'kaak' -bii' \({ }^{\prime}\) kwo' \(^{\prime}\)-minghaa
ch'kaak' +LOC. kwong' -binghaa
net (dipnet) fire before
na na nsuffix
in net before a fire
[PostP] [PostP]

\section*{In the net in front of the fire.}

They lay in the net before the fire.
Net in / fire before. [fire near]
tci kak bì kō mûn a
tc \({ }^{\prime}\) kak' \(\overline{b i}^{\varepsilon} k w \bar{o}^{\varepsilon}\) mûñ a
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 37.1 & ghint'ee & kan'indin & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }}\) \\
\hline & ghint'ee & kan..ndin+PERF.,3 & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }} 1\) \\
\hline & now & become near & they say \\
\hline & adv & vs & vt \\
\hline & now & they became near & they say \\
\hline & [AdvP] & [VP & \(]\) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

They got near him now, they say.

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

Those following were near him now.
Now / it is near / they say.
gûn te / kûn ûn dûñ ya nī
gûn \(\mathrm{t}^{\prime} \mathrm{e}\) kûn ûn dûn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 37.2 & kwee' & yaa'neelh'iing' & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }}\) \\
\hline & *kee \({ }_{1}+3\) POSS. & n-(ghin)..Ih'iin/'iin' +IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline & track (n) & look at O & they say \\
\hline & n ia & vt & vt \\
\hline & his tracks & they looked at them & they say \\
\hline & [Obj] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

They saw his tracks, they say.
They saw his tracks.
Track / they saw [they see] / they say.
kwe ya neL īn ya n̄̄
kwe \(^{\varepsilon}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nel īñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{clll}
38.1 & naakaa' & naahneesh & ch'int' aang \\
naakaa' & naahneesh & ch'int' aang \\
two & person & acorn \\
num & na & na \\
two & person & acorn \\
{\([\) AdvCl } & &
\end{tabular}

\section*{yaa'ch'bee-ding}
ch'-(ghin)..bee/bee'+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =ding
pick
vt
= place
where they pick them
]
ghilsaan yaa'nii
..ghilsaan+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
be seen
vp
it was found they say
[VP

\section*{He was found where two people were gathering acorns, they say.}

Two persons gathering acorns saw him.
Two / persons [Indian] / acorns / they were picking where [they picking where] / was seen [they found] / they say.

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na ka na nej tcûn tañ / ya tcī bē / dûñ gûl sûn ya nī ną \(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}\) na nēc tc' ûn t'an ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' be dûñ gûl sąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 38.2 & daanshoo daanshoo & \begin{tabular}{l}
gaal-ee \\
gaalh \({ }_{1}+\) PROG.,3 \(=y e e\)
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
yiinaa'ang \\
yiinaa'ang
\end{tabular} \\
\hline & someone pron & \[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { 3sg walk } & =\text { eyewitness evid. } \\
\text { vi }
\end{array}
\] & from the south direct \\
\hline & someone & it is walking along & from the south \\
\hline & [Subj] & [VP] & [AdvP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{"Whoever is walking from the south?}
"Who is that man walking from the south?
"Some one [somebody] / walks [coming] / from the south. [from south] dan cō ga lē yī na ûñ dan cō \(^{\varepsilon}\) qa lē yī na ûñ
```

38.3 uutc'ing'
*tc'ing'++ 3 OBL.
to P
postp
to him
[PostP]
konohyiish
k-n-(ghin)..yiish/yii+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.
speak
vi
you (pl.) speak to him
[VP]

```

\section*{You all speak to him."}

Speak to him."
To him / speak." [talk to him]
\(\bar{o}\) sûñ kō nō īc
\(\bar{o}\) ts'ûñ̃ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kō nō \({ }^{\text {c }}\) c
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 39.1 & heu' & uutc' \({ }^{\text {ing }}\) ' & kinishyiish \\
\hline & heu' & *tc'ing' ++ 3 OBL. & k-n-(ghin)..yiish/yii+OPT.,1sG. \\
\hline & yes (affirmation) & to P & speak \\
\hline & interj & postp & vi \\
\hline & yes & to him & let me talk to him \\
\hline & [Interj] & [PostP] & [VP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{"Yes, let me speak to him."}
"Yes, I will speak to him."
"Yes, / to him / I will speak." [I am going to talk to him]
he \(\overline{\mathrm{u}} / \bar{o}\) tsûn kûñ nûc yīc
he \(\bar{u}^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}\) ts'ûñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kûn nûc yīc

"Just where are you going?
"Where are you going?
"Where [where you going] / you walking, [where you walking] / you?
ta tcō kûñ gûn yaL a niñ
ta cō ûñ gûn yal a niñ
\begin{tabular}{lll}
39.3 \begin{tabular}{ll} 
yooyiinak' & teesing'its \\
yooyiinak' & ti-(s)..'its \({ }_{1}\) +PERF.,2sG.
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii
\end{tabular} \\
far south & run along & they say \\
direct & vi & vt \\
far south & you (sg.) ran along & they say \\
[AdvP] & {\([V P\)} &
\end{tabular}

\section*{You ran along from far to the south, they say}

They say you ran off from way south of here.
Way south / you ran off," [you run/ran off] / they say. yō yī nûk / te sûn ûts ya nī yō yī nûk' te sûñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ûts ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
39.4 taahshoo'ing' ghinyaalh
taahshoo'ing' gh..yaalh+PROG.,2sG.
where? go along
inter vi
where? you (sg.) go.along
[AdvP] [VP]
Where are you going?
Where are you going?
"Where [where going] / you walking? [walking]
ta tcō \(\mathrm{k}^{!}\)ûñ gûn yaL
ta cō ûñ gûñ yal
```

3 9 . 5 ~ n a a n g ~ u u t c ' i n g ' ~ n a a h i n d a a s h
*naang+2sG. POSs. *tc'ing'++ 3 OBL.
mother
n ia
to P
postp
your mother to her
[PostP
naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,2SG.
sg go back home
vi
you (sg.) go.back
[VP]

```

\section*{Go back to your mother."}

Go back to your mother."
Your mother [your (?) mother] / toward / go back." [go home]
nañ ō tciñ / na han dac
nañ ō tc' \({ }^{\text {unñ }}\) na hûn dac
40.1 " doo-naahishdaash-teilee doo= naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,1SG. =teilee
\(\underset{\text { neg }}{\text { negative }}=\underset{\text { vi }}{\operatorname{sg}}\) go back home \(\quad=\) will/shall

I am not going to go back home
[VP]

\section*{"I am not going to go back.}
"I will not go back.
"I will not go back. [I am not going home]
dō na hac dac tē le [NB V: dō na hûc dac tē lé]
dō na hûc tē le
Note The published version is missing the verb stem -daash, possibly in error, as it is included in both the original notebook version and in the notes in notebook V (Goddard NB V, p.32).
```

40.2 diidee' shnaang-yee
diidee' *naang+1SG. POSS. OF =yee
north mother = eyewitness evid.
direct n n ia encl
north my mother is
[AdvP] [VP]

```
My mother is in the north.

My mother is in the north.
North / my mother is.
dī de c nûñ ye
dī \(\operatorname{de}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{c}\) nąñ ye

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

40.3 shnaan-tc'ing'
*naang+1SG. POSS. OF *tc'ing'
mother to P
nia
postp
to my mother
[PostP]
naashdaal-ee
naa-gh..daalh+PROG.,1SG. =yee
sg go back along = eyewitness evid.
vi
encl
I am going back along
[VP]
I am going to my mother.
I am going to my mother.
My mother toward / I am going.
c nûn tcûñ/sûñ nac da le
c nąn tc'ûñ` nac da le
40.4 neesding naashdaal-ee
neesding naa-gh..daalh+PROG.,1SG. =yee
far sg go back along = eyewitness evid.
adv vi
encl
far I am going back along
[AdvP] [VP]
I have traveled far."
I have traveled far."
Far [long ways] / I am going." [I go]
nes dûñ / nac da le
nes dûñ nac da le

| 41.1 | ntaa' | tceegh-ee |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | *taa'+2SG. POSS. | (ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,3 |
|  | father | cry |
|  | nia | vi |
|  | your (sg.) father | he cries |
|  | $[$ Subj] | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |

"Your father is crying.
"Your father cries for you.
"Your father / cries. [crying]

```

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
\(\underline{n}\) ta + / tce/sē ge
n ta \(\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\) tce ge

\section*{41.2 naahindaash}
naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,2sG.
sg go back home
vi
you (sg.) go.back
[VP]
Go back home."
Go back."
You go back." [you go home]
na hûn das
na hûn das


My father is in the north."

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}

My father is north."
North / my father is." [my father]
dī de is ta ye
dī de \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{c}\) ta ye
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{6}{*}{43 "} & taatjii & naandilh-teelh \\
\hline & taatjii & naa..dilh/deel' + IMPF.,2SG. =teelh \\
\hline & when? & du/pl go home = will/shall \\
\hline & inter & vi encl \\
\hline & when? & you (pl) are going to go home \\
\hline & [AdvP] & [VP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{"When are you going to go home?"}
"When are you going back?"
"When [where are you] / are you going home?" [you going home]
tût yī / nan dûL teL
tat djī nan dûc tel
44.1 " doo-naashdilh-teilee
doo= naa..dilh/deel'+IMPF.,1SG. =teilee
negative \(=\mathrm{du} / \mathrm{pl}\) go home \(\quad=\) will \(/\) shall
neg vi encl
I am not going to go back
[VP]
"I am not going to go back.
"I am not going back.
"I am not going back. [I am not going home]
dō nac dûL tē le
dō nac dû́ tē le


I am going to stay in no such place.
I shall not stay there.
Not any place / I will stay. [I am not going to stay anyplace]
dō ta cō sī da tē le
dō ta cō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) sī da tē le

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
44.3 & diidee' & shiiyee' & nee'-yee \\
diidee' & shiiyee' & nee' =yee \\
north & 1sg possessive indep & country = eyewitness evid. \\
direct & pron & na encl \\
north & mine & country is \\
{\([\) AdvP] } & {\([\) PossP } & \(C\)
\end{tabular}

The north is my country.
This northern country is mine.
North / my / country is. [country]
dī de / cī ye / ne ye
dī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) cī ye \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ye


Here in the north there is much land and whose is it but my mothers."
Here in the north is much land that is my mother's.
Country / here / much [lots] / north. / Who / hers / my mother / hers?"
ne ye / tcañ La ne dī de dan tcī bī ye c nûñ / bī ye
ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ye djañ la ne dī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) dan djī bī ye \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) c nąn bī ye \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
\begin{tabular}{lr}
44.5 & tc'in \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
say & yaa'nii \\
vt & they say \\
he said & vt \\
[VP & they say \\
lr
\end{tabular}
he said, they say.
he said / they say.
tciñ ya n̄̄
tc' \({ }^{\text {in }}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}\)
44.6 dijiji binaashtolh'aa
dijijii P-naa-ti-(s)..lh'aa/' aa' + IMPF.,2PL.,+ 1sG. OBJ.,+ 3 OBL.
why? send \(O\) back to \(P\)
inter vt
why? you (pl.) send me back to her
[AdvP] [VP
naashtolh' aa
)?
naa-ti-(s)..Ih'aa/' \({ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }_{2}+\) IMPF.,2PL.,+ 1 SG. OBJ.
send O back
vt
you (pl.) send me back
]
"Why would you send me back (to her)?
Why did she leave me?
"Why / you take me back? [you send me]
dī djī nac tōL a
dī djī bûn nac tōl a
Note The notebook has a straightforward Cahto verb, naashtolh' aa ("you send me back"). The published version has a sort of northern-ized or Wailaki-ized verson of it with the oblique 3rd person object bi- (= Cahto uu-), binaashtolh' aa ("you send me back to her"), which would be uunaashtolh' aa in straight Cahto.

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

44.7 doo saahding ghidai
doo saahding gh..daa+INF-COMP. =i
no alone stay =NR
interj adv vi encl
no alone to stay/staying
[Interj] [Cl
]

```
shdjiiyaan-ee
P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3,+ 1SG. OBL. =yee

P to like/want S
vt

\section*{I do not want it}
[VP]

\section*{No, I do not want to stay alone.}

I did not like to be alone.
Not alone / stay / I like. [I don't like it alone] dō tcī ya ō sa' dûñ [NB V: dō sa' dûñ gût dai c djī ya ne; dō s djī ya nē] dō \(\mathrm{sa}{ }^{\circ}\) dûñ gût dai c djī ya ne
Note The notebook version is mangled, and is corrected in the notes and the published version.


\section*{I went north.}

I went north.
I went / north.
te sī yai / dī de
te sī yai dī de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
```

44.9 toonai tandilh
toonai taa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel'+IMPF.,3
fish du/pl come in water
na vi
fish they come in water
[AdvCl

```

\section*{GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray}
```

ishtcii-teilit
(s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =teelh =i =hit+VAR. OF
cause X = will/shall =NR = when
vt
when I will cause
]
yiidaa"'ang tandilh-bang
yiidaa"'ang taa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel'+IMPF.,3 =bang2
from the north du/pl come in water = future predictive enclitic
direct vi encl
from the north they must come in water
[AdvP] [VP]
When I am going to cause the fish to come, they must come from the
north.
I will make the fish come. They must come from the north.
Fish / come [coming] / I will make. [I make] / From north / must come. [so they run]
tō nai tûn dûL / ûc tcī tē lit yī da ûñ tûn dûl bûñ
tō nai tûn dûL ûc tcī tē lit yī da}\mp@subsup{\mp@code{q}}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ ûñ tûn dûL bûñ

```
44.10 gees
gees
king salmon
na
haidaa" ang
haidaa' 'ang
from the north
direct
```

Chinook salmon from the north
[Subj]
[AdvP]

```

\section*{tandilh-bang}
```

taa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel' + IMPF., $3=$ bang $_{2}$
$\mathrm{du} / \mathrm{pl}$ come in water $\quad=$ future predictive enclitic
vi
encl
they will come in water
[VP]

```

\section*{King salmon will come from the north.}
```

Black salmon shall come from the north.
Black salmon [black sal.] / here from north [down] / must come. [so they run] ges / hai da ûñ / tûn dûl bûñ
ges hai da ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ûñ tûn dû́ bûñ

```

GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
```

44.11 daatcaahaal haidaa''ang
daatcaahaal haidaa"ang
coho salmon from the north
na
direct
coho salmon from the north
[Subj] [AdvP]

```
```

tandilh-bang

```
tandilh-bang
taa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel' +IMPF.,3 =bang}\mp@subsup{}{2}{
taa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel' +IMPF.,3 =bang}\mp@subsup{}{2}{
du/pl come in water = future predictive enclitic
du/pl come in water = future predictive enclitic
vi
vi
    encl
    encl
they will come in water
[VP]
Hookbills/Coho will come from the north.
Hookbills will come from the north.
Hook-bill / here from north [down] / must come. [so they run]
da tcē hal / hai da ûñ tûn dûl bûñ
da tca}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ hal hai da}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ ûñ tûn dûL bûñ
\begin{tabular}{ll}
44.12 & \begin{tabular}{l} 
Ihook' \\
lhook'
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
haidaa' 'ang \\
steelhead \\
naidaa' ang
\end{tabular} & from the north \\
steelhead & direct \\
[Subj] & [AdvP]
\end{tabular}
tandilh-bang
taa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel' +IMPF.,3 =bang}\mp@subsup{}{2}{
du/pl come in water = future predictive enclitic
vi encl
they will come in water
[VP]
Steelheads will come from the north.
Spring salmon will come from the north.
Spring salmon [spring] / here from north / must come.
Lōk / hai da ûñ / tûn dûl bûñ
Lōk' hai de ĉunn tûn dûL bûñ
```

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

### 44.13 Ihoo'yaash tandilh-bang <br> Ihoo'yaash taa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel' + IMPF., $3=$ bang $_{2}$ <br> sucker fish du/pl come in water $=$ future predictive enclitic <br> na vi encl <br> sucker fish they will come in water [Subj] [VP] <br> Suckers will come in water. <br> Suckers will come from the north. <br> Suckers [trout] / must come. <br> Lō yaj / tûn dûl bûñ <br> Lō yac tûn dûL bûñ <br> 44.14 bee'liing <br> bee'liing <br> Pacific lamprey night eel run <br> na <br> night-run lamprey <br> [Subj] <br> tandilh-bang <br> taa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel' + IMPF., $3=$ bang $_{2}$ <br> $\mathrm{du} / \mathrm{pl}$ come in water $\quad=$ future predictive enclitic <br> vi <br> encl <br> they will come in water <br> [VP] <br> Night-run lampreys will come.

Eels will come.
Eels / must come. be līñ tûn dûl bûñ be ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ liñ̃ tûn dûL bûñ

| 44.15 | haidaa' ${ }^{\text {ang }}$ | Ihoo' yaashgaitc |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | haidaa" ${ }^{\text {ang }}$ | lhoo'yaashgaitc |
|  | from the north | trout |
|  | direct | na |
|  | from the north | trout |
|  | [AdvP] | [Subj] |

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

```
tandilh-bang
taa-n-(nin)..dilh/deel'+IMPF.,3 =bang}
du/pl come in water = future predictive enclitic
vi
    encl
they will come in water
[VP]
Trout will come from the north.
Trout will come from the north.
Here from north / trout white [small] / must come.
hai da ûñ / Lō yaj kaits / tûn dûl bûñ
hai da \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ûñ \(\operatorname{lo}\) yac gaits tûn dûl gûñ
\begin{tabular}{ll}
44.16 & \begin{tabular}{ll} 
haidaa"'ang & ts' inteelh \\
haidaa'"ang & ts'inteelh
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
from the north & turtle \\
direct & na
\end{tabular} \\
from the north & turtle \\
[AdvP] & {\([\) Subj] }
\end{tabular}
```


## til' aash-bang

```
ti-(s)..I'aash/'aatc' + IMPF., \(3=\) bang \(_{2}\)
animals walk \(\quad=\) future predictive enclitic
vi
encl
they will walk along
[VP]
```


## Turtles will walk from the north.

```
Turtles will walk from the north.
Here from north / turtles / must walk. [so many walk along] hai da ûñ / sûn teL / tûl aj bûñ hai da \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ûñ ts'ûn tel tûl ac bûñ
Note "Used to eat turtle" (Goddard NB II, p.50)
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 44.17 & haidaa' 'ang haidaa' 'ang & teehkaatc'ee teehkaatc'ee & haidaa" \({ }^{\prime}\) ng haidaa' 'ang \\
\hline & from the north & crab & from the north \\
\hline & direct & na & direct \\
\hline & from the north & crab & from the north \\
\hline & [AdvP] & [Subj] & [AdvP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
```


## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

tc'til' aash-bang

| ti-(s)..I'aash/'aatc'+IMPF.,3ANIM. | $=$ bang $_{2}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| animals walk | $=$ future predictive enclitic |
| vi | encl |

they will walk along
[VP]

## Crawfish will walk along from the north."

Crabs [crayfish] will crawl from the north.
Here from north / crabs / here from north / must walk. [so they walk]
hai da ûñ / te ká tce / hai da ûñ / tcit tûl aj bûñ
hai da ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ûñ te ${ }^{\prime}$ 'a tce hai da ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ûñ tc't tûl ac bûñ
Note Note the duplicate adverb before and after the subject.
45.1 too taahtsit'-banjaa'

| too | taah-(s)..tsit' + IMPF.,3 | $=$ banjaa' | shiing-hit+*** |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| water | water to dry up | $=$ let be/will be | summertime |
| na | vi | encl | na |
| water | let the water dry up | summertime |  |
| [Subj] | [VP] | [AdvP] |  |

## "Let the water dry up in the summertime.

"The water of the creeks will dry up in the summer-time.
Water / will dry up [let dry let it be] / summertime.
tō / tat sût bûñ kya cīñ hût
tō tat sût' bûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ciñ hīt'

| 45.2 | shaahnaa' | too | istim-manjaa' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| shaahnaa' | too | s..tin+PERF.,3 $=$ banjaa' |  |
| creek | water | be cold | $=$ let be/will be |
| na | na | vd | encl |
| creek | water | let it be cold |  |
| [AdvP] | $[$ Subj] | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |  |

## Let the water in creeks be cold.

[The water of creeks will be cold.]
Creek / water / will be cold. [be cold]
ca na / tō ûs tûm mûñ kya
$\mathrm{ca}^{a} \mathrm{na}^{\varepsilon}$ tō ûs tûm mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

```
45.3 saaktoo' too istim-manjaa'
    saaktoo
    too s..tin+PERF.,3 =banjaa
    spring (of water) water be cold = let be/will be
    spring (of water) water let it be cold
    [AdvP] [Subj] [VP]
```

Let the water in springs be cold.
The water of springs will be cold.
Spring / water / will be cold. [let be cold]
cak tō tō ûs tûm mûñ kya
sak tō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tō ûs tûm mûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$
45.4 taanchow too silh-banjaa'

| taanchow | too | S..silh+IMPF.,3 $=$ =banjaa' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| river | water | be hot | $=$ let be/will be |
| na | na | vd | encl |
| river | water | let it be hot |  |
| [AdvP] | [Subj] | [VP] |  |

## Let the water in rivers be warm.

The water of large rivers will be warm.
River / water / will be warm. [warm let it be]
tan tcō tō sûL bûñ kya
tan tcō tō sûl bûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

| 45.5 | shoo | shoonk' | nidoo'-banjaa' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| doo $=$ | shoonk' | n..doo'+PERF.,3 | =banjaa' |
| negative $=$ | well | not exist | $=$ let be/will be |
| neg | adv | vt | encl |
| no | well | let it not exist |  |
| $[$ IP] | $[$ AdvP $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |  |

## Let it not completely disappear.

The water shall not entirely vanish.
Not entirely will vanish. [don't let all the water out] dō coñk nût tō bûñ kya
dō cōñk nût dō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ bûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

| 45.6 | wantaah | too | noonash-banjaa' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wantaah | too | noo-(nin)..naash/naa+IMPF.,3 | $=$ banjaa' |
| some places | water | water to be standing | $=$ let be/will be |
| pron | na | vi | encl |
| some places | water | let water be standing |  |
| $[$ AdvP $]$ | $[$ Subj $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |  |

## Let water be standing in some places.

It shall stand in some places.
Some places [some time] / water / will be standing. [like pond let it be] wûn ta / tō / nō nûc / bûñ kya wûn ta tō nō nûc bûn $\mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}$

| 45.7 | wantaah | too | niliin-tcwoltc |  | niliin-banjaa' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wantaah | too | niliin-tcwoltc | n.liin+IMPF.,3 | $=$ banjaa' |  |
| some places | water | short riffles | flow | $=$ let be/will be |  |
| pron | na | na | vs | encl |  |
| some places | water | short riffles | let it flow |  |  |
| $[$ AdvP] | [Subj] | [AdvP] | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |  |  |

## Let water flow as short riffles in some places.

Short riffles shall still flow [in some places]."
Some places [sometime] / water / riffles short [short riffle short] / will flow." [riffle let it be]
wûn ta / tō / nûl līn tcwōltc nûl līn bûñ kya
wûn ta tō nûl līn tcwōltc nûl līn bûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

| 46.1 | neesding | too | naanaaghiliin-ee |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |
| neesding | too | naanaa-(ghin)..liin+PROG.,3 | $=$ yee |
| far | water | flow down | = eyewitness evid. |
| adv | na | vx | encl |
| far | water | it flows down |  |
| $[$ AdvP $]$ | $[$ Subj $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |  |

yiidee
yiidee
north
direct
north
[AdvP]
Far away the water falls in the north.
Far to the north the water falls.

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

Far [long ways] / water / runs down [running down] / north.
nes dûñ / tō / na na gûl lī nē yī de
nes dûñ tō na na gûl lī nē yī de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$


## Under the standing rocks, somewhere, who knows where, it becomes

## foggy, they say.

Under the vertical rocks there is mist.
Rocks [stone] / stand up [standing] / under. / Somewhere / where [I like to know where is at] / it is foggy, / they say.
se / na dai ye da cō ta cō ût / yī gûn tōt / ya nī
se na dai ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ye ū ye da cō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ta cō $^{\varepsilon}$ ût yī gûn t'ōt ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

## 47.1 kowintin

ko-ghin..tin+TRTL.,PERF.,3AREAL
become cold
vs
it becomes cold
[VP]

## It gets cold.

It is cold.
it is cold. [cold]

> GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray
kō wûn tûn
kō wûn tûn


When it is going to rain and the fish are going to come, the water increases, they say.
It will rain. The fish will come. The water rises.
It rains when, [going to rain] / fish / will come when [going to come] / water / rises [raise] / they say.
tût bûL tē lit / tō nai / tcī le tē lit / tō tûn yañ ya nī tût bûl tē lit tō nai tc'ī le tē lit tō tûn yañ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī


## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

```
Laashee'Ihgaitc
Laashee'lngaitc
1-September/October "Buckeyes White"
na
1-September/October "Buckeyes White"
```

Geesnaa

```Geesnaa'2-October/November "Salmon Eye"
na
2-October/November "Salmon Eye"
```

Shaaneeschow
Shaaneeschow
4-December/January "Big Long Month"

```na4-December/January "Big Long Month"
```

Yiinaading-Kwolkitchow
Yiinaading-Kwolhkitchow+VAR. OF
4-December/January "Slippery Doorway" na
4-December/January "Slippery Doorway"
, Chiilhtciik
Chilhtciik
5-January/February "Red Stick"
na
5-January/February "Red Stick"
, T'an'Ihtik , TI'oh-Dilk'is
T'an'Ihtik Tl'oh-Dilk' is
7-March/April "Leaves Burst"
na na
7-March/April "Leaves Burst"

8-April/May "Brown Grass Month" na
8-April/May "Brown Grass Month"

```
daang'
daang'
already, long ago, some time ago, a while ago
adv
already
```



| Naaghitlhit-it | tc'ninyai |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Naaghitlhit-it | n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. $=\mathrm{i}$ |  |
| 10-June/July "Burnt Around" | sg come/arrive back | $=$ NR |
| na | vi | encl |
| 10-June/July "Burnt Around" | he arrived |  |
| $\quad$ ] | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |  |

## Wintertime, in the Fall -- Buckeyes White month, Salmon Eye month, Big

Long Month, Slippery Doorway month, Red Stick month, Leaves Burth month, Brown Grass month -- when it had already become spring, midsummer, Burnt Around month, he arrived.
Winter-time when fall has come, after the month of buckeyeswhite, of salmon-eye, of long moon, of entrance-slippery, of brush-red (tûn l tûk), of grass-brown, long after it was spring, in the middle of summer, when the ground had been burned he came. Wintertime, / fall becomes, [fall] / buckeye white, [buckeye white (a moon)] / salmon eye, [black sal. eye (a moon)] / moon long, [in long moon] / entrance slippery, [hole slippery (a moon)] / stick red, [red stick (a moon)] / leaves die (?), [spring month (May)] / grass dry, [grass dry] / long ago [long time] / spring was, [spring open] / summer middle, [middle summer] / it is burned over when [burning around] / he came.
kai hût / gûn tûñ kût / la ce L kaits / ges na / ca nes tcō / yī nat dûñ / kwûL kût tcō / tcī L cīk / tûnL tûk / L'o dûl k'ûs dañ gûn da nit / cīn Lût / na gût Lût ût / sin nûn yai kai hīt' gûn tûn $\mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ ût la ce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ L gaits ges na ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ca nes tcō yī nat dûn kwûl kût tcō tcīl tcīk tûn $L$ tûk Lō ${ }^{\bullet}$ dûl k'ûs dañ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ gûn da nit cin $L^{\varepsilon}$ ût na gût lût ût tc' nûn yai

[^2]

As he went inside under Big Water Flows Down falls, two women saw him
in the foam in the bad land place nobody is able to enter, they say.
Under the great water-fall two women saw him go in amidst the foam where no one is able to enter.
Water great [water big] / runs down [running down] / under / he went in. / Women / saw him [look at him] / two / foam in [big water fall in] / ground bad place [where bad place] / nobody / can go in [where nobody can come in] / is that kind [like] / they say. tō $\underline{n}$ tcag / na na gûl līñ / ō ye ye tcī gûn yai / sī yûn kī / tcen tī get / nûk ka / tcō wōc bī / ne in ce dûñ / dō dûn cōk / ī hûn nûc kûn tē ya nī
 ne ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \operatorname{ce}^{\varepsilon}$ dûñ dō dąn co $^{\varepsilon}$ kwûc yī hûn nąc kûn t'ē ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
Note "This is the fellow who makes noise like thunder in winter." (Goddard, NB V, p.34)
Note Toonchaagh Naanaaghiliing is a giant waterfall at the northern end of the created

## GT08 - The Supernatural Child - Bill Ray

world (Nee'uuchii' ding): "tō $\underline{\underline{n}}$ tcag nana gûl līñ is at ne ō kī dûn end of world" (Goddard NB II, p.53)
48 kwanlhang kwanlhaang all/the end interj
all
[VP]

## That is all.

That is all.
All.
kwûn Lûñ
kwûn Ląñ

## Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife

Told by Bill Ray to Pliny Goddard in 1906; Published in Goddard, 1909, pp.133-143,211-217; original in notebooks NBIII (pp.1-31) and stories 11-20 (pp.62-75)
Characters:
Raven (wife)
Coyote
Wolf
Treefrog (Raven's mother)
two young boys (Raven \& Coyote's)
Wolf's mother and family
Raven's neighbor
Compare the Coast Yuki story Coyote Loses His Wife (Gifford, 1937, pp.127-129). This play-like story is the most theatrical and dialog-filled of the entire Bill Ray corpus. It includes many examples of daily life words and phrases for various circumstances. It is the story of one husband who cheats his own family out of food, and another who provides well for all around him and is concerned about others' well-being, and Raven's choice to leave the one husband for the better one. There are episodes of fishing and building fish weirs, acorn preparation, cooking, provisioning for long stays without resupply, provisioning and preparing for a journey, hospitality, and daily life, as well as some bits of humor relating to Coyote's efforts and his comeuppance.

```
1.1 Ch'siitcing tc'teelhbaang
    Ch'siitcing ti-(s)..lhbaa/baan+PERF.,3ANIM.
    Coyote (character) be lame
    na}\mathrm{ vi
    Coyote (character) he went along lame
    [Subj] [VP]
Coyote went along lame.
Coyote walked as if he were lame.
Coyote / was lame [he was cripple]
tci si tcin / tcit teL bañ
tc' sī tcûñ tc't tel bañ
Note pretending
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
1.2 \begin{tabular}{l} 
Daatcaang' \\
Daatcaang'
\end{tabular},\(\quad " \quad\)\begin{tabular}{l} 
shtinghish \\
ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 1sG. OBL. \\
Raven (character)
\end{tabular} & carry load O along \\
na a & vt \\
Raven (character) & you (sg.) carry me along \\
{\([\mathrm{NP}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)}
\end{tabular}
```


## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
teeheeng
teeheeng
to a stream
adv
to a stream
[AdvP]
To Raven, "Carry me to the creek."
"Carry me to the creek," he told his wife, Raven.
Raven. [Crow] "Carry me [pack me] / creek to. [to creek]
da tcûñ / ic tûñ ûs / te Xeñ
da tcąñ}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}c\mathrm{ tcûñ ûs te heñ
Note Raven is Coyote's wife.
1.3 naashaa'
    naa-(s)..yaa/yaa'+OPT.,1SG.
    sg go around/about
    vi
    let me go around
    [VP]
"Let me go around."
"I will stay down there.
I will go about. [I go]
naca
na ca
\begin{tabular}{lll}
1.4 & shaa & ts'ii' \\
P-aa- \({ }_{1}++\) 1SG. OBL. & ts 'sii' & (ghin)..Ihtcii/tciin' + IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ. \\
for P & brush & gather \\
v:(12-incorp) & na & vt \\
for me & brush & you (sg.) gather it \\
{\([\) PostP] } & {\([\) Obj] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)}
\end{tabular}
```


## Gather some brush for me.

Get some brush [for me].
For me / brush / make.
ca / sī iL tcī
ca ts' $\overline{1}^{\varepsilon}$ ûl tcī

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
1.5 toonai ts'ii'
    toonai ts'ii'
    fish brush
    na na
    fish brush
    [Obj ]
shdjiighinyaan-ei
P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+PERF.,3,+ 1SG. OBL. =yee =i
P to like/want S
vt
= eyewitness evid. = NR
encl encl
I want it
[VP]
I want some fish brush.
I want brush for a fish-weir.
Fish / brush / I want. [I want to eat]
tō nai / sī̀ is tcī gûn ya nē
tō nai ts'ī \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{s}\) tcī gûn ya nē
Note brush to make a fish weir
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1.6 ghilhk'aang & kwong', & ishteelii-'ang & \\
gh..Ink'aan+PROG.,2sG. & kwong' & ..d-lii+OPT.,1SG. ='ang \\
build fire & fire & be cold & \(=\) might be \\
vt & na & vd & encl \\
you (sg.) build a fire & fire & I might be cold & \\
[VP] & {\([\mathrm{NP}]\)} & {\([V P]\)}
\end{tabular}
```


## Build a fire, I might be cold.

```
Build a fire. I may be cold.
Build a fire [build fire]/ fire. / I might be cold (?) [I might get cold]
gûL kûñ kōñ / ic te lī́ ûñ
gûl k'ąñ kwōñ̃ ûc te \(1 \overline{1 ̊}^{\varepsilon}\) ûñ
1.7 naashbaan-ei
naa-(s)..lhbaan+IMPF.,1SG. =yee =i
be lame
vi
= eyewitness evid. =NR
I am lame
[VP]
I am lame.
I am lame.
```

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

I am lame. [I am cripple]
nac ba nē
nac ba nē


Put the spear heads on the spear pole, fish might swim along.
Put the spear-points on the pole. Fish may come.
Spear head [spear] / put on [put on pole] / spear pole. [pole] / Fish / may come. [might come down]
bel gét / kwûn nō lûc / bel kats / tō nai / na ōn te lế ûñ
bel get k'wûn nō ląc bel kats tō nai na ōn te lē‘ ûñ

| 1.9 naaning'ai' | kwaangk'ee' | oohlang |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| naaning'ai' | *kaangk'ee'+3 POSs. | oo-n-(ghin)..lan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. |
| fish weir | ribs | go after O |
| na | nia | vt |
| fish weir | its ribs | you (pl.) go after |
| $[\mathrm{Obj}$ | $\quad]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |

## Go after some fish-weir poles.

Get poles for the fish-weir.
Fish-weir [dam] / its poles [round poles] / go after.
na nûñ ai / kwûñ ke / ō lûñ
na nûñ ${ }^{\text {ai }}$ kwûñ $\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{e}^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}^{c}$ ląñ
Note Coyote must be addressing his mother-in-law here, using the plural "you".

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
1.10 k'ing' bilh
    k'ing' *ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.
    withes instrumental
    na postp
    withes with it
    [PostP ]
ghilii'-bang
..ghilii'+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang}\mp@subsup{}{2}{
be tied = future predictive enclitic
vp encl
it must be tied
[VP]
```


## It must be tied with hazel withes.

```
Get the hazel with which the poles are to be fastened to the stringer of the fish-weir.
Hazel [hazel (split)] / with / must be tied. [to tie with]
\(\mathrm{k}^{\text {! } ̂ \text { ûñ / bûL / gûl lī bûñ }}\)
\(\mathrm{k}^{\prime}\) ûñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) bûl gûl lī̌ bûñ
Note so Coyote will need Raven to get hazel withes, too
```


### 1.11 ch'ghilteel

```
ch'-(s)..Ihteelh+PROG.,2sG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =i
spread bedding \(=N R\)
vi (prs.)
encl
you (sg.) spread bedding
[VP]
```


## Spread a bed.

```
[Spread a bed.[
Spread a bed. [spread leaves out]
tcī gûl tel
tc' gûl tel
Note leaves for bedding
```

```
1.12 noohlash
```

1.12 noohlash
noo-(nin)..lash/laa+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
noo-(nin)..lash/laa+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
put pl/rope-like O to limit
put pl/rope-like O to limit
vt
vt
you (pl.) put them to a limit
you (pl.) put them to a limit
[VP]
[VP]
Put them (wood for fire) down.

```

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

Spread down some dirt.
Put them down. [put it down]
nō līc
no \({ }^{\text {c }}\) lic
Note addressing his mother-in-law again

]
Make a pile of dirt; there will be a fire soon," he said, they say.
Make a pile of it for the fire which we shall have soon."
Earth [dirt] / pile [pile up] / make. / Fire will be [fire (high word) for] / soon," / he said / they say.
Letc / dañ ûL cī / kwai le bûñ / kût de / tciñ / ya nī Lets dañ û́ tcī kwai lûb bûñ \(\mathrm{k}^{\prime}\) ąt de \(\mathrm{e}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{tc}^{\prime}\) 'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note addressing his mother-in-law. Kwailih is the "high word" for "fire", and kwong' the "common word".
2.1 " naaning'ai' biinee' oodilang
naaning'ai' biinee' oo-n-(ghin)..lan+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
stringer of weir go after \(O\)
na
vt
stringer of weir let us go after it
[Obj]
[VP]

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}

\section*{"Let's go after the stringer.}
"We will go after the 'back-bone' of the weir.
"Fish-weir [dam] / its back [backbone] / we will get. [let us go after]
na nûñ ai / bī ne / ō de lûñ
na nûñ \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) bī ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ō de ląñ
Note The stringer is the long tree trunk(s) that comprises the top surface of the weir.

\section*{2.2 ch'kaak'-baats'ee'}
oohlang
ch'kaak'-baats'ee'
oo-n-(ghin)..lan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
net bow
na
net bow
go after O
vt
[Obj]
you (pl.) go after it
[VP]

\section*{Go after the net bow.}

Bring [me] the bow for the net.
Net bow [net stick] / bring.
tcût k'ak / ba tse / ō lûñ
tc' kak' ba tse ō \({ }^{\text {c }}\) ląñ
Note "bent stick for net is 'ba tse'" (Goddard NBstories 11-20, p.64); addressing his mother-in-law again
```

2.3 kaa' , naandil' aa'
kaa'1 naa-n-(ghin)..lh'aa/'aa'+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
all right/OK build fish weir
interj vt
all right/OK let us build the fish weir
[Interj] [VP]

```

\section*{OK, let's build the fish weir.}

Come, we will put it across.
Quickly, [hurry] / we will put across. [let us make dam]
ka / nûn dil la
\(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}\) nan dil \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\)
```

2.4 ts'ii' shghaaghilash
ts'ii' P-ghaa-gh..lash/laa+PROG.,2SG.,+ 1SG. OBJ.
brush give pl/rope-like to P
na vt
brush you (sg.) give pl/rope-like to me
[Obj] [VP]

```
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tc'in & yaa'nii \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP & \(\quad]\)
\end{tabular}

Hand me the brush," he said, they say.
Pass me the brush."
Brush / hand me," [give me] / he said / they say.
sī / cga gûl lûc / tciñ ya nī
ts' \(\bar{i}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{c}\) ga gûl lacc tc \({ }^{〔}\) in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
3.1 beeniilhkee'-ee

P-ee-(nin)..Ihkeegh/kee'+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL. =yee
finish \(P \quad=\) eyewitness evid.
vt
encl
I have finished it
[VP]

\section*{"I have finished it.}
"I have finished."
"I have finished. [I finished]
be nīL ke e
be nīl \(\mathrm{ke}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{e}\)
```

3.2 ch'daa'
ilhtcii
*daa' +3 INDF. POSS. (ghin)..lhtcii/tciin'+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ.
mouth
n ia
vt
something's mouth you (sg.) make it
[Obj]
[VP]

```

Make a mouth.
Make its mouth.
Mouth make.
tcit da \(/\) / ûL tcī
tc't da \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ûl tcī
Note the opening in the fish weir for a net
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
```

3.3 djeeh oodilang
djeeh oo-n-(ghin)..lan+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
pitchwood get O
na vt
pitchwood let us get
[Obj] [VP]

```

\section*{Let's get pitch-wood.}

We will get pitch-wood.
Pitch-wood / we will get. [let us get]
tce/dje+ / ō dil lûñ
dje \({ }^{\circ}\) ō dil ląã
```

3.4 sk'ee' oolang
sk'ee' oo-n-(ghin)..lan+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ.
acorn soup bring O
n a vt
acorn soup you (sg.) go after it
[Obj] [VP]
shghiinaa'-ei =i ," tc'in
be hungry = eyewitness evid. =NR say
vs
I am hungry
[VP]

```
he said
[VP
```

yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]

```

Go after some acorn mush, as I'm hungry," he said, they say.
Bring me the acorn mush. I am hungry.
Mush / bring. [get it] / I am hungry," / he said / they say.
is ke \({ }^{\prime}\) / \(\bar{o}\) lûñ / cī gī na ē / tciñ / ya nī
sk' \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}\) ląñ c gī na \(\overline{\mathrm{e}}\) tc' \({ }^{\prime} \mathrm{in} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}\) nī

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline \multirow[t]{6}{*}{\(3.5{ }^{\prime \prime}\)} & Ihaakwiit & beesh'ai' \\
\hline & Ihaakwiit & P-ee-(0)..I'ai' + OPT., 1sG., +3 OBL. \\
\hline & anyway & try P \\
\hline & conj & vt \\
\hline & anyway & let me try it \\
\hline & [Interj] & [VP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Anyway, let me taste it.}

I will taste it at least.
"Anyway, / I will try. [I am going to try/taste]
La kwīt bec ai
La kwīt bec \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) a \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
3.6 naahindaash , uudjiing-kwosh
naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,2SG. uudjiing =kwosh
sg go back home
vi
you (sg.) go back home about day = perhaps/guess
na encl
[VP]
it is perhaps about day
Go home; it's about daytime.
You go home. It is late.
Go home. About day probably. [might be late] na hûn dac / ō djiñ kwic
na hûn dac ō djiñ kwic
3.7 naashbaan-ei
naa-(s)..lhbaan+IMPF.,1SG. =yee =i
be lame = eyewitness evid. = NR
vi
[Cl]

I am lame
[VP]
I am lame."
I am lame," he told his wife.
I am lame."
nac ba nē
nac ba nē

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

4.1 k'an doo-kwaat'iin
k'an doo= P-aa-(nin)..t'iin/'iin'+IMPF.,3,+ 3AREAL OBL. =i
before negative = do thus =NR
adv neg vi encl
before he did not do that way
[AdvP] [VP]

```

\section*{He didn't act that way before.}

He was not that way before.
Before [while ago] / he didn't do that. [he was not]
\(\mathrm{k}^{!}\)ûñ / dō kwa tīn
k'ûn dō kwa t'īn
\begin{tabular}{ll}
4.2 & naas'its \\
naa-(s)..Ih'its+PERF.,3 3 & yaa'nii \\
yaa' \({ }^{\prime} i_{1}\) \\
run around, run about & they say \\
vi & vt \\
he ran around & they say \\
[VP & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

He ran around, they say.
[He was running about.]
He ran about [he ran around] / they say.
nas+ûts / ya nī
nas \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ûts ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī
4.3 tc'eek kwniilh'iing' yaa'nii
tc'eek n-(ghin)..lh'iin/'iin'+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
woman look at O
they say
na vt
woman she looked at him
vt
[Subj] [VP ]
The wife looked at him, they say.
His wife watched him.
Wife [woman] / looked at him [she looked at him] / they say. tcek / kwin nīL īñ / ya nī
tc'ek ku nīl iñ̃ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 4.4 ts 'ii' -bii' & s'isk' aan & yaa'nii \\
\hline ts'ii' + LOC. & (s)..lhk \({ }^{\text {aan+PERF.,3ANIM., }} 3\) OBJ. & yaa' \({ }^{\text {nii }} 1\) \\
\hline bush & build fire & they say \\
\hline na & vt & vt \\
\hline in the brush & he built a fire & they say \\
\hline [PostP] & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{He built a fire in the brush, they say.}

He built a fire in the brush.
Brush in / he built a fire [he build in] / they say.
tsī bī̀ / sûs kûn / ya nī
ts'ī \(\overline{\mathrm{a}}^{\varepsilon}\) s'ûs k'ąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
```

4 . 5 ~ n a a s ' i t s ~ y a a ' n i i ~
naa-(s)..lh'its+PERF.,3 yaa'nii}\mp@subsup{1}{1}{
run around, run about they say
vi
he ran around they say
[VP

```
He ran around, they say.

He was running about.
He ran about [he run around] / they say. nas+ûts / ya nī nas \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ûts ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī


The wife watched him for a long time, they say.
His wife watched him for a long time.
Long time / wife [woman] / looked at him [look at him] / they say. ha gī / tcek / kwin neL īn / ya nī ha gī tc'ek ku nel \(\overline{1 ̃}^{\varepsilon} \tilde{y}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}\)
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{llll}
4.7 & tc'eek & naaheestyai & yaa'nii \\
tc'eek & naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 & \(=\mathrm{i}\) & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
woman & sg go back home & \(=\) NR & they say \\
na & vi & encl & vt \\
woman & she went back home & & they say \\
{\([\) Subj] } & {\([\) VP } & & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

The wife went back home, they say.
The woman started home.
Wife / went home / they say.
tcek / na hēs tī yai / ya n̄̄
tc'ek na hes tyai ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
5.1 Ch'siitcing naas'its

Ch'siitcing naa-(s)..Ih'its+PERF.,3
Coyote (character) run around, run about
na
vi
Coyote (character) he ran around
[Subj]
[VP]

\section*{Coyote ran around.}

Coyote ran around.
Coyote / ran about. [ran around]
kī tsī tcûñ / nas ûts
tc' sī tcûñ nas \({ }^{\text {ûts }}\)
```

5.2 see nchaagh
see nchaagh ${ }_{2}$
stone large
na adj
rock large/much
[Obj ]
naa'inghilh' aa' -ei
naa-n-(ghin)..lh'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee =i
put O across
vt
= eyewitness evid. = NR
encl encl

```
he put across
[VP]

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
```

nchaagh
nchaagh
large one
pro-form
large one
[NP]
He put big rocks across the stream, big ones.
He put large rocks across the stream.
Stones (?) [rocks] / large [big] / he put across, [he making dam] / large. [big]
tsē / n tcag / na ûñ gûL a e / n n tcag/k
sen tcag na ûñ gûL ${ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{e} n$ tcag
Note making a rock dam

```

\section*{5.3 doo-naalhbaan-ei}
```

doo= naa-(s)..Ihbaan+IMPF.,3 =yee =i
negative $=$ be lame $\quad=$ eyewitness evid. $=N R$
neg vi
he is not lame
[VP]

```

\section*{He wasn't lame.}
```

He was not lame.
He wasn't lame. [he wasn't]
dō naL ba ne
dō nal ba nē

```
```

5.4 skoloo'-eikwang

```
5.4 skoloo'-eikwang
    sko-(0)..loo/loo'+PERF.,3 =yee =i =kwaan
    sko-(0)..loo/loo'+PERF.,3 =yee =i =kwaan
    pretend = eyewitness evid. = NR = inferred evid.
    pretend = eyewitness evid. = NR = inferred evid.
    vi
    vi
    encl encl vencl
    encl encl vencl
    he had pretended
    he had pretended
    [VP]
```

    [VP]
    ```

\section*{He had pretended.}
```

He was pretending.
He was pretending. [he fool me]
s kō lō ē kwûñ
skō lō ē kwąñ

```

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
```

6.1 tc'eek toonai yoonghilaang yaa'nii
tc'eek toonai oo-n-(ghin)..lan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.,DIST.
woman fish go after O =NR they say
na na vt encl vt
woman fish she went after them they say
[Subj] [Obj] [VP ]
, ch'oyii yeeh-bii'
ch'oyii yeeh+LOC.
neighboring house
adj na
neighboring in the house
[PostP
]

```

The wife went to the house next door to get some fish.
The woman went to a neighbor's to get some fish.
Wife / fish / went after / they say, / again/ house in.
tcek / tō nai / yōñ gẹ lañ / ya nī / tcō yī / ye bī
tc'ek tō nai yōñ gę lañ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī tcō yī ye bí \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
6.2 " Ch'siitcing

Ch'siitcing
Coyote (character)
na
Coyote (character)
[Subj]
naanghilh'aa' -ei
naa-n-(ghin)..lh'aa/'aa'+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =yee =i
build fish weir =eyewitness evid. = NR
vt encl encl
he built a fish weir
[VP]
"Coyote has built a fish weir.
"Coyote has built a fish-weir.
"Coyote / has built a dam. [he build dam]
ki tsī tcûñ / nañ gûL a ē
tc' sī tcûñ nan gû́ \({ }^{\varepsilon} a^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\bar{e}}\)

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{lll}
6.3 naahishdaa &,\("\) tc'in & yaa'nii \\
naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+OPT.,1SG. & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \(i_{1}\) \\
sg go back home & say & they say \\
vi & vt & vt \\
let me go back & she said & they say \\
[VP] & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

Let me go back home," she said, they say.
I am going home," she said.
I go back," [I am going home] / she said / they say.
na hûc da / tcûñ / yanī
na hûc da tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```

6.4 taatc'kwilhtaan yaa'nii
taa-kw..Ihtaan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3AREAL OBJ. yaa'nii1
not be at home they say
vt vt
he is not at home they say
[VP

```
Nobody was home, they say.
There was no one there.
(Nobody at home) / they say.
tûts kwiL tûn / ya nī
tąts kwûL tąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

\section*{6.5 yiiskaan-it}
yi-(s)..Ihkaa/kaan+PERF.,3OBV. =hit+VAR. OF
be daylight
vd
\(=\) when
encl
when it was daylight
[AdvCl]
doohaa'-naantyaa yaa'nii
doohaa' naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
never have sg come back they say
neg vi
he did not come back they say
[VP
He had not come back when it was daylight, they say.
He had not come back by daylight next morning.
It was day when [day light when] / he didn't come back [nobody come back] / they say.

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
yīs ka nit / dō ha nan tī ya / ya nī
yīs ka nit dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nan \(t\) ya ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
6.6 " \(\begin{aligned} & \text { jaa' } \\ & \text { jaa' } \\ & \text { well! } \\ & \text { interj } \\ & \text { well! } \\ & {[\text { Interj] }}\end{aligned}\)
kwooshtgee'-jaa'
oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc' + OPT.,1sG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. =jaa'
watch for O = volitive/optative
vt
encl
I'd better watch him
[VP]
"Well, I'd better watch him.
"Well, I will watch him.
"Well / I will watch him. [I will go see]
kya kōc tûg gē tca
\(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}\) kwûc \(\mathrm{tge}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\)
Note The interjections are different, but similar in meaning, between the notebook (jaa') and the published version (kaa').
6.7 taahdinshoo'kwosh ,
taahdinshoo' kwosh
for some reason
conj
for some reason
[AdvP]
kwooshtgee'-jaa'
oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc' +OPT.,1SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. =jaa'
watch O
vt
I'd better watch him
[VP]
```

Ch'siitcing
Ch'siitcing
Coyote (character)
na
Coyote (character)
[Obj]
For some odd reason I'd better watch Coyote."
Something is up; I will watch him," she said to herself.
Something is wrong. [what is he doing] / I will watch [I going to see] / Coyote."
t'a dīn cō ks/kûc / kồc tûg gē tca / kī tsī tcun
t'a din cō }\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ kwic kwûc t ge dja}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ tc' sī tcûñ
Note she says to herself, suspicious of Coyote

| 7.1 | skiitc | kwilhsdai | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| skiitc | P-ilh-s..daa+PERF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBL. $=$ i | yaa' nii $i_{1}$ |  |
| baby | sg sit with P | $=$ NR | they say |
| na | vi | encl | vt |
| baby | they stayed with him |  | they say |
| [Subj] | $[V P$ |  | $]$ |

```

The boys stayed with him, they say.
The boys had stayed with him.
Boys / with him stayed [stay with him] / they say
is kītj / kwûL stai / ya nī
skīts kwûl stai ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{lll}
7.2 & naakaa' & toonai \\
naakaa' & toonai \\
two & fish & \\
num & na & \\
two & fish & \\
{\(\left[\begin{array}{lll}\text { Obj } & & \end{array}\right]\)}
\end{tabular}
tc'kaash-kwaan yaa'nii
(ghin)..kaash/kaan+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
catch fish in net =inferred evid. they say
vt
he had netted them
[VP
vt
they say

He had netted two fish, they say.
He caught two fish in the net.
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
two. / Fish / he had netted [he caught in net] / they say. nûk ka / tō nai / k!ac kwûñ / ya nī nąk ka \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tō nai tc' kac kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)


\section*{He cut the fish open and ate them, they say, as the boys were asleep, they} say.
He cut them open and ate them while the boys were asleep.
He cut them. [he cut it up] / Fish / he ate [he eat up] / they say. / Boys / were asleep [sleep] / they say.
t!as stûs / tō nai / sīt tûñ kwûn / yan̄̄ / is kīts / n n tes laL / kwûn / ya nī tas t'ąs tō nai ts't tąn kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī skīts ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n\) tes laL kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llll}
7.4 unnaa' & tc'taan-kwaan & & yaa'nii \\
*naa' \({ }_{2}++3\) OBL. & ..taan+IMPF.,3ANIM. & \(=\) kwaan & yaa'nii \\
by oneself, alone & eat (3sg) & \(=\) inferred evid. & they say \\
postp & vt & vencl & vt \\
by himself & he had eaten & & they say \\
{\([\) PostP] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular}

\section*{He had eaten them by himself, they say.}

He ate them by himself.
Alone / he had eaten [he eat] / they say.
ō na' / tcit tûñ kwûn / ya nī
\(\overline{0}\) na \(^{\varepsilon}\) tc't tąn kwan ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
```

8.1 skiitc tc'ee'nsit' yaa'nii
skiitc tc'ee-(nin)..sit/sit'+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii }\mp@subsup{1}{}{\prime
boy wake up they say
na vi vt
boy he woke up they say
[Subj] [VP
]

```

\section*{A boy woke up, they say.}

The older boy woke up.
Boy / woke up / they say.
ic kītj / tsen sût / ya nī
skīts tc' \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}\) nût' ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 8.2 & Ihaa' & uuyaash & tc'ee'nsit' & yaa' nii \\
\hline & Ihaa' & uuyaash & tc'ee-(nin)..sit/sit'+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline & another one & small & wake up & they say \\
\hline & pron & adj & vi & \\
\hline & another & small one & he woke up & they say \\
\hline & [Subj & ] & [VP & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

The other one, the younger, woke up, they say.
The younger one woke up.
Another / small [small/little] / woke up / they say.
La / ū yaj / tcen sût / ya nī
La \(^{\varepsilon} \bar{u}^{\text {und }}\) yac tc'e \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n}\) sût' ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
8.3 toonai uusing' yiilhsaan yaa'nii
toonai *sing'+3 POSS. (0)..Ihsis/saan+3obV. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
fish meat/flesh find O they say
\(\mathrm{na} \quad \mathrm{nia} \quad \mathrm{vt}\)
fish its meat/flesh they found it they say
[Obj ] [VP
vt
yaa'nii yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) they say vt they say

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}

"There are fish!"
"There are fish," they said.
"Fish are." [fish is]
tō nai yē
tō nai yē

tc' in yaa'nii
    ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \(1_{1}\)
say they say
vt
he said they say
[VP
"This is *not* meat," he said, they say.
" This is not meat, " he said.
"It is not meat [that is no] / this," / he said / they say.
dō ū sûñ ȳ̄ dī / tcin / ya nī
dō ū sûñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) yī dī tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
9.2 doo-yii
doo =yii
no \(=\) (assertive enclitic)
interj encl
it is not
[VP]

\section*{"It is not!}
"No.
"It is not. [was not]

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
dō yī
dō yī
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
9.3 doo-toonai &, \\
doo \(=\) toonai & Ihishdiichow \\
negative \(=\) fish & rotten log \\
neg & na \\
it is not fish & rotten log \\
{\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & {\([\) Subj \(]\)}
\end{tabular}
, tc'in ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
say
vt
he said
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say

It is not fish; it's a piece of rotten wood," he said, they say.
It is not fish. It is a piece of rotten wood.
Not fish, [no fish] / rotten log / it appears," [it is] / he said / they say.
dō tō nai / Lûc dī tcō ûn te ye / tcun / ya nī
dō tō nai lûc dī tcō ąn t'ē ye tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```

9.4 " dooyee
doo =yee
no = eyewitness evid.
interj encl
it is not
[VP
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
say
vt
he said they say
[VP
they say
vt
toonai-yee
toonai =yee
fish = eyewitness evid.
na encl
it is fish
]

```
say
vt
he said
they say

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
"It is not fish," he said, they say.
No, they are not salmon eggs.
"It is not [none] / fish," [fish is] / he said / they say.
dō ye / tō nai ye / tcin / ya nī
dō ye tō nai ye tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{llll}
9.5 uunaa' & tc'taang-kwaang & & yaa'nii \\
*naa' \({ }_{2}++3\) OBL. & ..taan+IMPF.,3ANIM. & \(=\) kwaan & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
by oneself, alone & eat (3sg) & = inferred evid. & they say \\
postp & vt & vencl & vt \\
by himself & he had eaten & & they say \\
{\([\) PostP] } & {\([\) VP } & &
\end{tabular}
(He had eaten it all up by himself, they say.)
[He ate them by himself.]
By himself / he had eaten [he eat it all up] / they say.
dī kwōñ na+ tsûñ / ya nī
ū na \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc't tañ kwañ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note The Cahto text in the notebook is completely different and confusing, though the translation given there is the same.

"It is not! They are the madrone berries you played with yesterday."

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}

Those are the madrone berries you played with yesterday."
"It is not [none] / madrone berries / it is [looks like] / you played with [you play with] / yesterday."
dō ye / dûs te kō ne / ûn tē ye / na w/gō nuc/nic / kwûn dûñ
dō ye dûs t'e kō ne ąn t'e ye na \(\mathrm{Go}^{-}\)nic k'ûn dûñ
Note not salmon eggs
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
9.7 teeh \\
teeh \\
in water \\
adv \\
in water [AdvP]
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{lll} 
toonai & ch'ghintcok'-kwaan & \\
toonai & ch'-(ghin)..tcok'+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. & \(=\) kwaan \\
fish & string fish & \(=\) inferred evid. \\
na & vt & vencl \\
fish & he had strung fish-strings & \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} &
\end{tabular} \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa'nii \\
yaa'niii \\
they say \\
vt \\
they say
\end{tabular} & teehnoonaaloos-kwaan teeh-noo-naa-(nin)..loos+IMPF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan drag O around to limit in water =inferred evid. vt vencl he had dragged it around to a limit in water [VP \\
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa' \({ }^{\prime}\) ii \\
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
they say \\
vt \\
they say
\end{tabular} & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{He had strung the fish in the water, they say, and dragged them away} under water, they say.
He had strung the fish and dragged them away under the water.
In water / fish / he had strung [he strung/string up he did] / they say. / He had dragged in water [he put in water] / they say.
te tō nai / tcī gûn cûk kwûn / ya nī / te nō na lōs kwûn / ya nī
te tō nai tc' gûn cûk kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\) te \({ }^{c}\) nō na lōs kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)

\section*{10.1 yiiskaan \\ yi-(s)..lhkaa/kaan+PERF.,3OBV. \\ be daylight \\ vd \\ it was daylight \\ [VP]}

\section*{It was daylight.}

It was morning.
It was day. [daylight]
yīs kañ
yīs kan
10.2 " ndoo'-yee
n..doo' + IMPF. 3 =yee
not exist = eyewitness evid.
vt
encl
there are none
[VP]
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
naahohdilh &,\("\) & \begin{tabular}{l} 
ilhtc'in \\
naahi-(s)..dilh/deel' + IMPF.,2PL.
\end{tabular} \\
ilhch'in & yaa'nii \\
du/pl go back home & tell X & they say \\
vi & vi & vt
\end{tabular}
"There are none; you two go home," he told them, they say.
"There are none.
"None. [is none] / Go home," / he told them / they say. \(\underline{n}\) dō ye / na hō dûL / (b)ûL tcûñ / ya nī \(n\) dō ye na hō \({ }^{\text {c }}\) dûl ûL tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
10.3 nohnaan
*naang+1/2PL. POSS.
mother
n ia
your (pl.) mother
[Obj]
kwolhkolhnik-ban
P-ilh-kwi..Ihnik+OPT.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. =bang \({ }_{2}\)
tell P
vt
you (pl.) must tell her about it
[VP]

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

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

```
"You must tell your mother," he said, they say.

Go home and tell your mother," he told the boys.
"Your mother / you will tell," [tell her] / he said / they say.
nō nûñ / kwōL kōL nûk bûñ / tciñ / ya n̄̄
nō \({ }^{\circ}\) nąn kwōl kṑ nûk bûn tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
11 jaa' kwooshtgee'-jaa'
jaa' oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc' +OPT.,1SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. =jaa'
well! see to O
interj vt
= volitive/optative
well! I'd better watch him
[Interj] [VP]
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
Ch'siitcing & k'ai'tbilh \\
Ch'siitcing & k'ai'tbilh \\
Coyote (character) & \begin{tabular}{l} 
open-twined burden basket \\
na
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
na \\
Coyote (character) & open-twined burden basket \\
[Obj] & [Obj]
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tishghee'
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{l} 
ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,1SG. \\
carry load O along
\end{tabular} &
\end{tabular}
vt
let me carry it along
[VP]
"Well! I'd better watch Coyote, let me carry along a burden basket."
"Well, I will watch Coyote," said the woman. "I will carry the burden-basket. ' '
"Well, / I will see [I will go see] / Coyote. / Burden-basket [basket] / I will carry."
dja kwōc tûg ge dja / kī tsī tciñ / kai te bûL / tûc ge
\(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{kwō}^{\mathrm{t}} \mathrm{ge}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\) tc' sī tcûñ k'ai t bû̀ tûc \(\mathrm{ge}^{\varepsilon}\)
Note This is said by their mother upon receiving the news, planning to thwart Coyote by stealing a basket full of fish. The interjection is different, but similar, between the notebook (jaa') and the published version (kaa').

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray


He had cut up the fish and put them on a frame to dry. There were many fish there.
He had been cutting up [he been drying salmon] / they say. / He had put on a frame [he throw on flat form] / they say / many / fish.
kûn neL tûts kwûn / ya nī / da nōL dēL kwûn / ya nī / Lāã / tō nai
kûn nel \(t^{\prime}\) 'ąts kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī da nṑ dḕ kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī lañ tō nai
\begin{tabular}{lll}
12.2 & teehnak' & tc'teesyaa \\
teehnak' & ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \(1_{1}\)
\end{tabular}

He went along upstream, they say.
He had gone up stream.
Upstream [up creek] / he went / they say.
tē nûk / tcit tes ya / yanī
te \({ }^{\text {c }}\) nûk' tc't tes ya ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

kowantc'teelhchoot
P-ghan-ti-(s)..Ihchood+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 ObJ.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
steal O from P
vt
she stole it from him
[VP]
The wife brought down the burden basket, the wife stole it from him.
The woman brought down the burden-basket. She stole the fish
Wife [woman] / burden-basket [basket] / brought down [she bring on] / wife [woman] /
from him she stole. [she steal/stole it then]
tcek / kai t bûL / kwī gûn īn / tcek /kwûn tcit teL tcōt
tc'ek k'ai t bûl ku gûn īñ tc'ek kū wąn tc't tel tcōt
\begin{tabular}{lll}
13.2 \begin{tabular}{ll} 
yeeh-bii'ing' \\
yeeh bii'ing' & hiiteesghiin \\
ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3OBV., + 3 OBJ. & yaa'nii \\
house inside & carry load O along \\
na nsuffix & vt
\end{tabular} & they say
\end{tabular}

She carried it into the house, they say.
and carried them to the house.
House to / she carried them [she took it home] / they say.
ye bī ûñ / ī tes gĩñ / ya nī
ye \(\bar{b}^{\bar{\varepsilon}} \hat{u}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} h \overline{1}\) tes gin ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
13.3 " Ch’siitcing
Ch'siitcing
Coyote (character)
na
Coyote (character)
[Subj]
ch'ineelht' aats' -eikwaanang
ch'-n-(s)-lht' aas/t' aats' + PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =yee
=i
cut up st into strips =eyewitness evid. \(=\mathrm{NR}\)
vt
encl
encl
=kwaan =nang
= inferred evid. = definite enclitic?
vencl encl
he had cut it into strips
[VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say they say
say they say
vt
vt
    vt
    vt
she said they say
she said they say
[VP
[VP
]
]
"Coyote had been cutting fish into strips," she said, they say
"Coyote had been cutting fish to dry," she told them.
"Coyote / had been cutting up (fish)" / she said / they say.
kī tsī tcûñ / kin neL \(t^{\prime}\) ats ē kwa nûñ / tcin ya nī
tc' sī tcûñ kin nel t'ats ē kwa nąñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī


> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
taanaan'odaa'-uuleeng' &,\("\) & tc'in \\
taa-naa-n-(nin)..daash/tyaa+OPT.,3ANIM. & \(=\) uuleeng' & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. \\
sg come back out of water & \(=\) lest & say \\
vi & encl & vt \\
in case he comes back from the creek & & she said \\
[AdvCl] & [VP \\
yaa'nii . & \\
yaa'nii & \\
they say & \\
vt & \\
they say &
\end{tabular}
"Hide the fish in case he comes back from the creek," she said, they say. "Hide the fish. He might come again."
"Hide [hide it] / fish. / He might come again," [he might come back] / she said / they say. be nō sûñ / tō nai / ta nan ō da ū leñ / tciṇ̃ / yanī be nō sûñ tō nai ta nan \(\bar{o}\) da \(\bar{u}\) leñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' \({ }^{\prime}\) n ya \(^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)
```

13.5 Tc'aahaal-Ihtsowitc toonai
Tc'aahaal-Ihtsowitc toonai
Treefrog (character) fish
n a n a
Treefrog (character) fish
[IO] [Obj]

```
kowaatc'ghaabiil'
P-ghaa-gh-bilh/biil' +PROG.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
give basketfull O to P
vt
she gave a basketfull to her
[VP]

\section*{She gave a basket of fish to Treefrog.}

She gave some of them to Tree-toad, her mother.
Frog blue small [frog blue little] / fish / she gave. [she give it/her fish]
tca hûl tsō witc / tō nai / kwa tcū ga bīl
tc'a hąl L tsō wit tō nai kū wa tc' ga bīl \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
Note "[F]rog was crow's mother" (Goddard NBstories11-20, p.68)

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{lll}
13.6 ch'eeghinsit & ch'int'aang & yaa'nii \\
ch'-(ghin)..sit+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. & ch'int'aang & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
pound acorns & acorn & they say \\
vt & na & vt \\
she pounded acorns & acorn & they say \\
{\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{Obj}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

She pounded acorns, they say.
She pounded acorns.
She pounded [she pound] / acorns / they say.
ke gûn sût / tcûn tañ / ya nī
k'e gûn sût tc'ûn \(t^{\prime}\) añ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

tc' ninghiing
n-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ.
bring load/O
vt
he brought it
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
they say
vt
they say

Wolf brought a load of venison jerky strips, they say.
Wolf came bringing dried venison.
Wolf / venison [deer] / cut in strips [he been drying] / he brought [he bring] / they say.
yīcts / ìn tce / kin nel t ats / tcin nûñ iñ / ya ni
yīcts in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kin nel t'ats tc'n nûñ iñ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{ll}
14.2 beenooghisin & iintc'ee' \\
P-ee-noo-(ghin)..sin+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBL. & iintc'ee' \\
hide P & deer \\
vt & na \\
she hid it & deer \\
[VP] & {\([O b j]\)}
\end{tabular}

She hid the venison.
"Hide the venison.
She hid [she hide it] / venison. [deer]

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
be nō gûs sûn / in tce
be nō gûs sûn in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
14.3
doohaa'-tc' olhsaan-jaa'
doohaa' (0)..Ihsis/saan+OPT.,3ANIM.,+ 3 obJ. =jaa'
do not ! see/catch sight of = volitive/optative
neg vt
encl
he'd better not find it!
[VP]
```

tc'in yaa'nii

```
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say they say
vt
vt
she said they say
[VP
"He'd better not find it!" she said, they say.
Do not let him find it," said Coyote's wife.
"Do not let him find it," [don't let him find it] / he said / they say.
dō ha tcōL sûn kya / tciñ / ya nī
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' \({ }^{\prime} \mathrm{L}\) sąn dja \(\mathrm{c}^{\varepsilon}\) tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
15.1
" naahishdaa
naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+OPT.,1SG.
sg go back home
vi
let me go back
[VP]

\section*{"Let me go home.}
"I am going home," said Wolf.
"I am going home. [I going home]
na hûc da
na hûc da
15.2 taahshoo' naashdaa'-jaa' taahshoo' naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+OPT.,1SG. =jaa'
sometime sg come back = volitive/optative
dem vi
encl
sometime let me come back
[AdvP] [VP]

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tc' \(\mathbf{i n}\) & yaa'nii \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
he said & they say \\
[VP &
\end{tabular}

I'm not sure when I'll come back," he said, they say.
"Some day I will come again.
Sometime / I will come again," [I don't know when I come back] / he said / they say. tûc cō nas da kya / tcin / ya nī tąc \(\mathrm{co}^{\varepsilon}\) nac da dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' \({ }^{\text {in }}\) ya \(^{\varepsilon}\) nī

"I may be back by the time you all have eaten up the venison," he said, they say.
By the time you have eaten the venison up I will probably be back again.
"Venison [deer] / you will have eaten up when [you eat up if] / I may come back," [I might come] / he said / they say.
īn tce / ne sō L yûñ kwûn de / ne ca kwûc / tcin / ya nī in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ne sōl yąn kwąn de \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ne ca \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kwûc tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}\)

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
```

15.4 "( too )
too
water
na
water
[AdvP]
teehnoon'aash-bang
teeh-noo-(nin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang}
put solid O to limit in water = future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
you (sg.) must put it down in water
[VP]
ch'int' aang
ch'int'aang
acorn
na
acorn
[Obj]
"You must put some acorns in the water.
You must put acorns in the water.
"You must put in water [put acorns in water for]/ acorns.
tō te nōn ûc bûñ / tcûn tañ
te nōn 'ąc bûñ tc' ûn t'añ
Note The notebook version includes the word too "water".

```

\section*{15.5 noo'ilhshii' -bang}
```

noo..Ihshii' + IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ. $=$ bang $_{2}$
put O in the ground $\quad=$ future predictive enclitic vt
encl
you (sg.) must put it in the ground
[VP]
You must bury them in the ground.
You must bury them in the ground.
You must put in the ground. [put on ground]
nō ûL cī bûñ
nō ûL cī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ bûñ

```

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
```

15.6 Ihaang
lhaang
many/much
adj
many
[Obj]

```

\section*{taadighish-bang}
```

taah-t-(s)..ghish/ghiin+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang}\mp@subsup{}{2}{
carry load O from water = future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
we will carry it from water
[VP]
We will carry away many loads.
We will carry away many acorns.
Many [lots]/ we will carry. [we can carry]
Lañ tût dẹ gûc bûñ
Lañ tąt dę gûc bûñ

```

\section*{15.7 ch'int' aang}
```

ch'int' aang
acorn
na
acorn
[Obj]
ch'ilhdik'-bang
ch'-(s)..Ihdik' + IMPF.,2SG., +3 INDF. OBJ. $=$ bang $_{2}$
crack acorns =future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
you (sg.) must crack
[VP]
tl'ee'it ch'ilhdik'-bang
tl'ee'it ch'-(s)..Ihdik' +IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =bang ${ }_{2}$
nighttime crack acorns $\quad=$ future predictive enclitic
adv vt
encl
nighttime you (sg.) must crack
[AdvP] [VP]

```
```

ch'int' aang
ch'int'aang
acorn
na
acorn
[Obj]
You must crack acorns and you must crack acorns at night.
You must crack them during the night.
Acorns / you must crack. [so we can crack] / Night in [in night] / you must crack [to crack] / acorns
tcûn tañ / tcûL tûk bûñ / L'e ût / tcûL tûk bûñ / tcûn tañ tc'ûn t'añ tc'ûL tûk bûñ Le ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ût tc'ûl tûk bûñ tc'ûn t'añ

```

\section*{15.8 kwanlhaang}
```

kwanlhaang
enough
adv
enough
[VP]

```

\section*{That's enough.}
```

That is enough.
Every [is enough]
kwûn Lûñ
kwûn Lą̃̃

| 15.9 | yiilhkai |
| :---: | :--- |
| yiilhkai | shoonk' |
| dawn/morning | well |
| adv | adv |
| dawn/morning | well |
| $[$ AdvP] | $[A d v P]$ |

kwaalh'iin-mang
P-aa...Ih'iin/iin' + IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3AREAL OBL. $=$ bang $_{2}$
be able to see thus =future predictive enclitic
vi
encl
you (sg.) will be able to see like
[VP]

```

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

naadighee' -bang
naa..ghish/ghiin}\mp@subsup{2}{2}{+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =bang}\mp@subsup{\mp@code{m}}{}{\prime
carry load O around = future predictive enclitic
vt
encl
we must carry them around
[VP]
daahkw'itch'ilhsai-bii' daahbii'nooghinkaash-bang
daahkw'itch'ilhsai-bii' daah-P-ii'-noo-(ghin)..kaash/kaan+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBL.

```
drying platform
na
in a drying platform
[PostP]

\section*{daahbii' nooghinkaash-bang}
daah-P-ii'-noo-(ghin)..kaash/kaan+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBL.
place (contained) up inside \(P\) on surface
vt
\(=\) bang \(_{2}\)
\(=\) future predictive enclitic
encl
you (sg.) will put them up in it
[VP]

\section*{In the daylight you'll be able to see well; we must carry them and you'll} put them up on the drying platform.
When it is daylight and we can see well we will carry them to the drying platform.
day [daylight] / well / you must do it. [take good care you must] / We will carry them. [so we pack]/ Drying platform [platform] / we will put them on. [put it on]
yīL kai / cōnk kwał ī nwûñ/mûñ / na ti gaī bûñ / da / kût djûL sai bī / da bī nō gûñ kûc bûñ
yīl kai cōñk' kwal ī mûñ na dę ge \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) bûñ da k'wût djûl sai \(\overline{\mathrm{i}}^{\varepsilon}\) da bī \(\bar{i}^{\varepsilon}\) nō gûñ kac bûñ
15.10 olsai-jaa'

\(\underset{\mathrm{vd}}{\text { dry up }} \quad=\) volitive/optative
let them dry
[VP]

Iheenee'haa'
lheenee'haa'
every/all
pro-form
all
[Subj]

Let them all be dry.
Let them all dry.
Let them dry [let it be dry] / all.
ōl sai kya / Le nē ha
\({ }^{\circ} 1\) sai dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) Le ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ha \(^{\varepsilon}\)
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 15.11 intc'ee iintc' ee deer na deer [Subj] & \begin{tabular}{l}
Ihaan-ee \\
(n)..Ihaan+PE \\
be much vd there is much [VP]
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
\text { RF. } 3 & =\text { yee } \\
& =\text { eyewitness } \\
& \text { encl }
\end{aligned}
\] & \\
\hline shghanding *ghanding+1sG. & POSS. OF & tc' in ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
\end{tabular} \\
\hline home & & say & they say \\
\hline n ia & & vt & vt \\
\hline my home & & he said & they say \\
\hline [PossP] & & [VP & ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

There is a lot of venison at my home," he said, they say.
There is much venison at my house," he told her.
Venison [deer] / much [lots] / my house," [my house/where I live] / he said / they say. īn tce / La ne / cī gûn dûñ / tcin / ya nī
in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) La ne c gûn dûñ tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 15.12 " & ntisloos-teilee & haandit \\
\hline & ti-(s)..loos+IMPF.,1sG.,+ 2sG. OBJ. =teilee & haandit \\
\hline & lead O along = will/shall & next time \\
\hline & vt encl & \\
\hline & I am going to lead you (sg.) along & next time \\
\hline & [VP] & [AdvP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
"Next time I'm going to take you along.
"Next time I will take you with me.
"I will take you / next time.
ñ tûs lōs te le / han dût
\(n\) tûs lōs tē le han dût
\begin{tabular}{clll}
15.13 & neesding & tiidilh-teilee & \\
& daasiit \\
neesding & ti-(s)..dilh/deel'+IMPF.,1PL. & \(=\) teilee & daasiit \\
far & du/pl go along & = will/shall & sometime/soon \\
adv & vi & encl & adv \\
far & we will go along & & soon \\
{\([\) AdvP] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & & \\
& & &
\end{tabular}

We will go a long way soon.
We will go a long way.
Far [long way] / we will go [we are going] / soon.
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
nes dûñ / tī diL te le / da sīt nes dûñ tī dûl tē le da sīts Note Daasiit "soon" has the diminutive (as daasiits) in the published version, not in notebook version.


\section*{You will bring both children with us," he said, they say.}

You shall take both the children with you."
With us [your with you] / children / both [2] / you will bring," [bring] / he said / they say. nī hûL / ic kīk / na ka+ ha / gûl lōs tē le / tcin / yanī n hûl s kīk na \(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}\) ha \(^{\varepsilon}\) gûl lōs tē le tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 16.1 & naahneesh naahneesh & ch'oyii ch'oyii & \begin{tabular}{l}
ninyai \\
ninyaa \(_{2}\)
\end{tabular} & =i & yaa'nii yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
\hline & person & another & come/arrive & \(=\mathrm{NR}\) & they say \\
\hline & na & pron & \(\checkmark\) & encl & vt \\
\hline & person & another & he arrived & & they say \\
\hline & [Subj & ] & [VP & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

The other person arrived, they say.
Again someone came.
Person [Indian] / again [another] / came / they say. na nej tcō yī / nûn yai / ya nī na nec tcō yī nûn yai ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
```

16.2 " taahjii Ch'siitcing
taahjii Ch'siitcing
where? Coyote (character)
inter na
where? Coyote (character)
[AdvP] [VP]
"Where is Coyote?"
"Where is Coyote?" he asked.
"Where [where is] / Coyote?"
ta tjī / ttci tsī tcin
ta djī tc' sī tcûñ
$17.1^{\prime \prime}$ dooyee
doo =yee
no = eyewitness evid.
interj encl
he is not (here)
[VP]
"He is not (here).
"He is not at home.
"He is not. [is not]
dō ye
dō ye

```

\section*{17.2 dook'ang ch'teegot}
```

dook'ang ch'-ti-(s)..got+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
long ago go spearing fish
adv vt
long ago he went spearing fish
[AdvP] [VP]

```

\section*{He left to spear fish a long time ago.}

Sometime ago he went to spear fish.
Not recently [long time] / he went spearing. [he went fishing] dō kûñ / kit te gōt
dō k'ûñ k't te qōt
```

17.3 doo-naa'indaash-ee
doo= naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,3ANIM. =yee
negative = sg come back = eyewitness evid.
neg vi
encl
he hasn't come back
[VP]

```
He hasn't come back.

He has not come back.
He doesn't come back. [ne never come home]
dō na ûn da je
dō na ûn da ce
17.4
doo-kwooshtgish-ee
doo= oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc' \(=1\) IMPF.,1SG., + 3ANIM. OBJ. \(=y e e\)
negative \(=\) watch for O
neg vt
= eyewitness evid.
I am not looking for him
[VP]

\section*{I am not looking for him.}

I do not go to see him.
I do not go to see him. [I never go see him]
dō kōc tẹ gûc ce
dō kwōc t gûc ce

\section*{17.5 taahdinshoo' kwosh}
taahdinshoo' kwosh
for some reason
conj
for some reason
[AdvP]
teelhbaan-ei
ti-(s)..lhbaa/baan+PERF.,3 =yee =i
be lame =eyewitness evid. = NR
vi
encl encl
he is lame
[VP]
For some reason he's walking lame
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

For some reason he is lame.
For some reason [I wonder what he does] / he is lame. [he went along]
ta dī cō kwōc / teL ba nē
t'a din cō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kwûc tel ba nē
```

17.6 doo-shdjiikwyaan-ei
doo= P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.,+ 1SG. OBL.
negative $=P$ to like/want $S$
neg vt
=yee =i
= eyewitness evid. = NR
encl
encl
I don't like him
[VP]
doo-kwnish'iin'-teilee
doo= n-(ghin)..Ih'iin/'iin' +IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. =teilee
negative $=$ look at $\mathrm{O} \quad=$ will $/$ shall
neg vt encl

```

I am not going to look at him
[VP]
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
tc' \(\mathbf{i n}\) & yaa' \(\mathbf{n i i}\) \\
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
say & they say \\
vt & vt \\
she said & they say \\
{\([\) VP } & \(\quad]\)
\end{tabular}

\section*{I Do Not Like Him. I Am Not Going To Look At Him," she said, they say.}

I do not like him. I won't see him.
I do not like him. I will not look at him," / she said / they say.
dō sī kwī ya nē
dō c djī ku ya nē dō kuu nûc īn \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tē le tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note Bill Ray noted these as "high words" (Goddard NBstories 11-20, p.71). Could this be a formal expression equivalent to divorce?

\section*{\(17.7^{\prime \prime}\) taahshoo' \\ taahshoo' \\ sometime \\ dem \\ sometime}
[AdvP]

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

kwooshtgee'-jaa'
oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc' +OPT.,1SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. =jaa'
watch for O = volitive/optative
vt
encl
I'd better watch him
[VP]
"Sometime ago (I thought,) 'I'd better watch him.'
Sometime ago I did go to see him.
"Sometime [someday] / I will see him. [I go to see him]
ta cō / kōc tûg gī tca
ta $\mathrm{co}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{kwo}^{\mathrm{c}} \mathrm{tge}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}$
17.8 toonai
toonai
fish
n a
fish
[Obj]
ch'oonghiilaan-ei
ch'-oo-n-(ghin)..laan/laan'+PERF.,1SG.,+ INDF. OBL. =yee =i
go after/get =eyewitness evid. = NR
vt encl encl
I went after something
[VP]
, toonai ndoo'-yee
toonai n..doo' + IMPF.,3 =yee
fish not exist = eyewitness evid.
na vt encl
fish there are none
[Subj] [VP]

```

\section*{I went after some fish, and there were no fish."}
```

I went after some fish and there were none," she told him.
Fish / I went after. [he went after] / Fish / were not. [none]"
tō nai / tcōñ gī la nē / tō nai / ñ dō ye
tō nai tc'ōñ gī la nē tō nai $n$ dō ye

```

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray


There are lots of fish at my house," said the one man when he arrived, they say.
There are a lot [of fish] at my house," said the man who had come.
Fish / many [lots] / my house," / he said / they say / person [Indian] / one / came when. tō nai / Lañ / cī gûn diñ / tcin / ya ni / na nej / La ha / nûn ya hût tō nai lan c gûn dûñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī na nec \(\mathrm{La}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ha}^{\varepsilon}\) nûn ya hût


There are lots of fish," he said, they say.
There are plenty fish."
Fish / are plentiful," / he said / they say.
tō nai Lañ ûn \(\mathrm{g} \overline{1} / \mathrm{tcin} /\) ya nī
tō nai Lañ ûñ gī tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
19.1 " Ch'siitcing

Ch'siitcing
Coyote (character)
na
Coyote (character)
[Obj]
```

doo-shdjiikwyaan-ei
doo= P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.,+ 1SG. OBL.
negative = P to like/want S
neg vt
=yee =i
= eyewitness evid. = NR
encl
encl
I don't like him
[VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}

```
say
vt
she said they say
[VP
"I Do Not Like Coyote," she said, they say.
"I do not like Coyote.
"Coyote / I do not like," [I don't like] / she said / they say.
kī tsī tciñ / dō+ sī kī ya nē / tcin / yanī
tc' sī tcûñ dō s djī ku ya nē tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note repeating the formal "high words"
19.2 " taahshoo' tishyaash-teilee
taahshoo' ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,1sG. =teilee
sometime sg go along = will/shall
dem vi
encl
sometime I am going to go away
[AdvP] [VP]
tc' \(k\) woloo' \(\mathbf{- i t}\)
sko-(0)..loo/loo' + PERF.,3ANIM. \(=\) hit+VAR. OF
pretend =because
vi
encl
because he pretended
[AdvCl]
"Sometime I am going to go away because he pretended.
Some day I shall go away because he fooled me.
"Sometime [some day] / I will go away, [I am going] / he pretended because. [he fool me when]

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
ta cō / tûc ûc tē lī / tcī kwûl lō+ût
ta cō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tąc yąc tē le tc' kwûl lō \({ }^{\text {eût }}\)
```

19.3 neesding teeghiiyai
neesding tee-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,1SG. =i
far sg go away $=N R$
adv vi encl
far me to go away
[RelCl ]
shdjiiyaan-ei
P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 1sG. OBL. =yee =i
P to like/want S = eyewitness evid. = NR
vt
encl encl

```
I want
[VP]
I want to go far away.

Far [long time] / I will go [I want go] / I like.
nes dûñ / te gī yai / stcī ya nē
nes dûñ te gī yai \(s\) djī ya nē
19.4 doo-shnolh'iing' -kwosh
doo= n-(ghin)..Ih'iin/'iin'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 1SG. OBJ. =kwosh
negative \(=\) look at O
neg vt
= perhaps/guess
you (sg.) perhaps will not see me
[VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say they say
vt
vt
she said they say
[VP
You may not see me," she said, they say.
You will not find me here, ' ' she said.
You will not see me," [you not to see me] / she said / they say. dō cī nōL iñ kwûc / tcin / ya nī
dō c nōl īñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kwûc tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & ch'oyii-haa ch'oyii-haa' & Yiishtc Yiishtc & iintc'ee iintc' \(e \mathrm{e}\) \\
\hline & again & Wolf (character) & venison \\
\hline & adv & na & na \\
\hline & again & Wolf (character) & venison \\
\hline & [AdvP] & [Subj] & [Obj] \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{tc' ninghiing} & \\
\hline \multicolumn{4}{|l|}{n-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. ya} \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{bring load/O} & \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{vt} & vt \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{he brought it} & \\
\hline \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{[VP} & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Wolf brought a load of venison again, they say.
Wolf came again bringing venison.
Again / wolf venison [deer] / brought [he brought] / they say. tcō yī ha / yīcts / in tce / tcin nûñ iñ tcō yī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) yīcts in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'n nûñ iñ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
    iintc'ee' n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
    venison eat O up
    na vt
    venison you (pl.) ate it up
    [Obj] [VP]
"You all have eaten up the venison.
"Have you eaten up the venison?" he asked.
"Venison [deer] / you have eaten up? [you eat it up]
īn tce / ne sōL yûn
in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ne sōL yąn
Note not marked as a question in Cahto


\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

nooniighiin-ee
noo-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
put load O down = eyewitness evid.
vt
encl
I put a load down
[VP]
I put a load of venison outside, in the brush.
"I left some venison outside in the brush.
Venison [meat] / outside [more] / brush in / I put. [I put it]
in tce / ( $\bar{o}$ dai) / sī bī / nō nī gī ne
in tce ${ }^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}$ dai $^{\varepsilon}$ ts' $\overline{1}$ bī $\bar{c}^{\varepsilon}$ nō nī gī ne

```
I arrived
[VP]
Not just now, I arrived a while ago.
I did not come just now. I have been here sometime.
Not recently / sometime ago, [I long time]/ I came. [I come]
dō kûñ dañ nī ya ye
dō k'ûñ dañ \({ }^{\text {n }}\) nī ya ye
20.5 noonish'iin-ee
noo-n-(nin)..' iin/'iin' +IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
look at O
vt = eyewitness evid.
```

```
20.4 dook'ang daang'
```

20.4 dook'ang daang'
dook'ang daang'
dook'ang daang'
long ago already, long ago, some time ago, a while ago
long ago already, long ago, some time ago, a while ago
adv adv
adv adv
long ago already
long ago already
[AdvP] [AdvP]
[AdvP] [AdvP]
niiyaa-yee
niiyaa-yee
n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,1SG. =yee
n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,1SG. =yee
sg come/arrive back = eyewitness evid.
sg come/arrive back = eyewitness evid.
vi
vi
encl
encl
I looked at you
[VP]
I looked at you.
I looked at you.
I looked at you. [I look at you]

```
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
no nic ī ne
nō nûc ī ne
Note This is probably like, "I checked on you," then continuing to do helpful chores mentioned
```

2 0 . 6 ~ t o o ~ o o n g h i i l a a n - e e
too oo-n-(ghin)..lan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
water go after O = eyewitness evid.
na vt encl
water I went after it
na vt

```

I went after some water.
I brought you some water.
Water / I brought. [I went after]
to oñ gī la ne
tō ōn gī la ne
```

20.7 nish'iin-ee
n-(ghin)..Ih'iin/'iin'+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 2sG. OBJ. =yee

```
look at O
vt
I looked at you
[VP]
tc' \(\mathbf{i n}\)
```

yaa'nii

```
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
he said
[VP they say
vt
they say

I looked at you," he said, they say.

I looked at you," [I see you] / he said / they say.
nûc ī ne / tcin / ya nī
nûc ī ne tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
20.8 " \begin{tabular}{lll} 
intc'ee' & ooshlang \\
iintc'ee' & oo-n-(ghin)..lan+OPT.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. \\
& venison & go after O \\
& na & vt \\
& venison & let me go after it \\
& {\([\) Obj] } & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)}
\end{tabular}
"Let me go after the venison.
I will go for the venison.
"Venison / I go after.
in tce / ōc luñ/lañ
in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ōc ląñ
20.9 kandintc
kandintc
close/near
adv
close/near
[AdvP]

\section*{nooniighiin-ee}
noo-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
put load O down =eyewitness evid.
vt
encl
I put a load down
[VP]

\section*{I put the load of it down nearby.}

I put it down not far away.
Near by [little ways] / I put it down. [I put it]
kûn dûntc / nō nī gī ne
kûn dûntc nō nī gī ne
20.10 shilhghinyaalh ?

P-ilh-gh..yaalh+PROG.,2sG.,+ 1sG. OBL.
sg go with \(P\)
vi
you (sg.) are going with me
[VP]

\section*{You're going with me.}

Will you go with me?
With me will you go? [you better go with me]
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
cûL gûn yaL
cûL gûn yaL
Note not marked as question in Cahto
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline \[
\begin{array}{r}
20.11 \text { doo } \\
\text { doo }=
\end{array}
\] & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 'ang } \\
& \text { ='ang }
\end{aligned}
\] & Ch'siitcing Ch'siitcing \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { negative = } \\
& \text { neg }
\end{aligned}
\] & = yes/no question marker encl & \begin{tabular}{l}
Coyote (character) \\
na
\end{tabular} \\
\hline no & yes/no? & Coyote (character) \\
\hline [IP & ] & [Subj] \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{doo-naa'indaash} \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{doo= naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,3ANIM.} \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{negative \(=\) sg come back} \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{neg vi} \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{he has not come back} \\
\hline \multicolumn{3}{|l|}{[VP]} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\section*{Hasn't coyote come back?"}

Coyote has not come back?"
Not [he don't come yet] / Coyote / come back?" [he never come yet?] dō ûñ / kī sī tciñ / dō na ûn tûc
dō ûñ tc' sī tcûñ dō na ûn dąc
21 doo-yii
doo =yii
no = (assertive enclitic)
interj encl
it is not
[Interj]
doo-naa'indaash-ee
doo= naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,3ANIM. =yee
negative \(=\) sg come back \(\quad=\) eyewitness evid.
neg vi encl
he hasn't come back
[VP]
"No, he hasn't come back."
"No he has not been back."
"No. / He hasn't been back." [he never come back]
dō yī / dō na ûn ta/da je
dō yī dō na ûn da ce

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

22.1 " daanjii toonai
daanjii toonai
who? fish
inter na
who? fish
[Subj] [Obj]
inghai' aash
P-ghaa-(nin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 2sG. OBL.
give solid O to P
vt
one gives it to you
[VP]
"Who gives you fish?"
"Has any one given you fish?"
"Somebody [nobody] / fish / given you?" [give you?]
dûn tcī / tō nai / ûñ ai yac
dąn djī tō nai ûñ ai qac
22.2 tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say they say
vt
he said
they say
[VP
he asked, they say. he enquired. he said / they say. tcin / ya nī tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}$
23.1 toonai doo-daanshoo'
toonai doo-daanshoo'
fish nobody
na pron
fish nobody
[Obj] [Subj]

```

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}

\section*{shghai' aash-ee}

P-ghaa-(nin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 1sG. OBL.
give solid O to P
vt
he gives it to me
[VP]

\section*{"Nobody gives me fish.}
"No one has given me fish.
"Fish / nobody / gives me. [give me]
tō nai / dō dûñ cō / c gai a ce
tō nai dō dąn \(\overline{c o}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{c}\) gai \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}\) ce
\begin{tabular}{llll}
23.2 & iintc'ee' & hai & ninghiing \\
iintc'ee' & hai \(_{1}\) & n-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ. & \(=\mathrm{i}\) \\
venison & that & bring load/O & \(=N R\) \\
na & dem & vt & encl \\
venison & the/that that you (sg.) brought & \\
{\([\) RelCl } & & &
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
k'andiit' & hai
\end{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} 
shaang \\
k'andiit'
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
hai \\
shaang
\end{tabular} 2
\end{tabular}
ch'daayaan-ee
ch'-(ghin)..yaan/yaan'+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =yee
eat st =eyewitness evid.
vt encl
we eat
[VP]
The venison you brought us before is the only thing we eat."
We have been eating nothing but the venison you brought us before."
Venison / that / you brought [you put there] / before [other day] / that / only / we eat." in tce / hai nûn iñ / kûn dīt / hai / cûñ / tcit tai/dai ya nī in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) hai nûñ iñ k'ûn dīt hai cąñ tc't dai ya ne

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
24 doohaa' -ch'teesiigood-ii doohaa' ch'-ti-(s)..got+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =yii never have go spearing fish \(\quad=\) (assertive enclitic) neg vt
encl
I haven't gone spearing!
[VP]
"Haven't I ought to go spearing!"
"I might go and spear some," he suggested.
"I might go spearing." [I ought to go fishing]
dō ha kit te sī qō tī
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\text {k't te }}\) sī qō dī
25.1 \begin{tabular}{ll} 
" \begin{tabular}{l} 
dooyee \\
doo =yee
\end{tabular} & Ch'siitcing \\
& no = eyewitness evid. \\
interj encl & Coyote (character) \\
no & na \\
{\([\) Interj] } & Coyote (character) \\
& {\([\) Subj] }
\end{tabular}
ndjiitc' olhtik-'ang
P-djii-(ghin)..Ihtik+OPT.,3ANIM.,+ 2sG. OBL. ='ang
kill P
vt
he might kill you
[VP]
"No, Coyote might kill you.
"No, Coyote will kill you.
"No. / Coyote / might kill you.
dō ye / kī sī tciñ / tcōL tûk ûñ
dō ye tc' sī tcûñ n djī tc'ōl tûk ûñ
Note informal/singular "you"
\begin{tabular}{clll}
25.2 & doohaa' & toonai & oohlaang \\
doohaa' & toonai & oo-n-(ghin)..lan+IMPF.,2PL.,+3 OBJ. \\
do not! & fish & go after O \\
neg & na & vt \\
do not! & fish & you (pl.) go after them \\
{\([\mathrm{IP}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)}
\end{tabular}
Don't go after fish.

Do not go after fish.
Do not [don't] / fish / go after. [bring]
dō ha / tō nai ō lûñ
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tō nai \(\bar{o}^{c}\) ląñ
Note With the formal/plural "you", this might be spoken by Treefrog as mother-in-law to be.


\section*{This is a lot of venison.}

There is plenty of venison."
This / venison / is much. [we got lots of meat]
dī ha / īn tce / La ne
dī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) La ne
25.4 Ihaanhiit aant'ei-yee

Ihaanhiit aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,3 =i =yee
much be thus =NR = eyewitness evid.
adv vs (pers.) encl encl
much it is thus
[AdvP] [VP]
There is plenty."
"There seems to be much of it.
Much [lots] / it appears." [look that way]
Lan hit ûn te ye
Lan hit ąn t'e ye

```

waan'aash-'ang
P-ghaa-(nin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. ='ang
give solid O to P
vt
= yes/no question marker
encl
did you (sg.) give it to her?
[VP]
?"
"Did you give this old woman some venison?"
Did you give some to this old woman?" he asked.
"This / old woman [woman] / venison [deer] / did you give?" [you give ?]
dī tcī yûntc / intce / wûn ûc ûñ
dī tc' yąntc in tcee wąn 'ąc ûn
Note Wolf asking
27.1 " heu'
heu'
yes (affirmation)
interj
yes
[Interj]
waash'aash-ee
P-ghaa-(nin)..'aash/'aan+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. =yee
give solid O to P = eyewitness evid.
vt
encl
I give it to her
[VP]

| nchaagh | ,$"$ | tc'in |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nchaagh $_{1}$ | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa' ${ }^{\prime}$ yii |
| much (in quantity) | say | they say |
| <Not Sure> | vt | vt |
| much | she said | they say |
| $[O b j]$ | $[V P$ | $\quad]$ |

"Yes, I gave her a lot," she said, they say.
"Yes, I gave her a lot," said the woman.
"Yes. / I gave / large," [lots] / she said / they say.
he $\overline{\mathrm{u}}$ / wac a ce $\underline{n}$ tcag / ya nī̀ / tciñ / ya ni he $\bar{u}^{\varepsilon}$ wac $^{\varepsilon}$ a ce $n$ tcac tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

```

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
\begin{tabular}{llll}
27.2 " & \begin{tabular}{ll} 
taatjii \\
taatjii
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
naahindaash-teelh \\
naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,2sG.
\end{tabular} & =teelh \\
& when? & sg go back home & = will/shall \\
inter & vi & encl
\end{tabular}
"When will you go back home?"
"When will you go back?" she enquired.
"When / will you go back?" [when you go home]
tat tcī/tût djī na hûn dac teL
ta tcī na hûn dac tel
\(28.1^{\prime \prime}\) haaghee' siidaa-teilee
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
haaghee' & s..daa+PERF.,1SG. & \(=\) teilee \\
long time & sit (sg) & will/shall \\
encl \\
adv & vi & \\
long time & I am going to stay & \\
[AdvP] & [VP]
\end{tabular}
"I am going to stay a long time.
"I shall stay sometime.
"Long time [long ways] / I will stay. [I am going] ha ge / sī da ha ge sī da tēle
```

28.2 taahshoo' naahishdaa'-kwosh
taahshoo' naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+OPT.,1sG. =kwosh
sometime sg go back home = perhaps/guess
dem vi encl
sometime perhaps I'll go back home
[AdvP] [VP]
tc'in
yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say
vt
he said they say
[VP
Perhaps I'll go back some time," he said, they say.
I will go back after a while, ' ' he said.
Sometime / I will go back," / he said / they say. [ Idon't know when I go back / he said /

```

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
they say]
tûc cō / na hûc da kwûc / tcin / ya ni
ta co \(^{\varepsilon}\) na hûc da kwûc tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
29
ch'int'aang tinghish-bang
ch'int' aang ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+IMPF.,2sG. =bang 2
acorn carry load O along = future predictive enclitic
na
vt
encl
acorn
[Obj]
you (sg.) will carry a load
[VP]
\begin{tabular}{llll} 
naaheesintyaa-dee' &,\("\) & tc'in & yaa'nii \\
naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,2sG. & \(=\) dee' & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
sg go back home & \(=\) when & say & they say \\
vi & conj & vt & vt \\
when you (sg.) go back home & & she said & they say \\
[AdvCl] & [VP &
\end{tabular}

\section*{"You will carry a load of acorns when you go back," she said, they say.}
"You will carry some acorns when you go back?" she asked.
"Acorns / you will carry [you pack / for]/ if you go back [when you go back] ," / he said / they say.
tcûn tañ / tûñ ûc / bûñ / na he sûñ tī ya de / tcin / ya ne tc' ûn t'añ tûñ ûc bûñ na he sûn \(t\) ya de \(\mathrm{de}^{\varepsilon}\) t'in ya \(\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\) nī

"Yes," he said, they say, "I am going to go back home sometime."
"Yes," he said, "I will go back."
"Yes," / she said / they say. "I will go back / sometimes."

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
he \(\bar{u} /\) tcin / ya nī na hûc dûc tē le / tûc ō

```

$31^{\prime \prime}$ aal ishtcii'
aal (s)..Ihtcii/tciin'+OPT.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
firewood gather O
na vt
firewood let me gather it
[Obj] [VP]

```
"Let me gather some firewood."
"Sometime I will get wood," the woman said.
"Wood / I will make."
ûl / ûc tcī
ąl ûc tcī \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
32.1 \begin{tabular}{llll} 
nilh & tishaa' & aal \\
& *ilh+ACCOMP.,+ 2SG. OBL. & ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+OPT.,1sG. & aal \\
& accompaniment & sg go along & firewood \\
& postp & vi & na \\
& with you (sg.) & let me go along & firewood \\
& {\([\) PostP] } & {\([V P]\)} & {\([O b j]\)}
\end{tabular}
oondilang
oo-n-(ghin)..lan+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ.
get O
vt
we get it
[VP]
"Let me go with you and we'll get firewood.
' I will go with you to get wood.
"With you / I will go. / Wood / we will get. [let us get] nûc tûc a / ûl / ōn dûl lûñ nûL \(\operatorname{tąca}^{\mathrm{ca}^{\varepsilon}}\) ąl \(\overline{\mathrm{O}} \mathrm{n}\) dûl ląñ
\begin{tabular}{lll}
32.2 & k'ai'tbilh & ghingheelh \\
k'ai'tbilh & gh..gheelh+PROG.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ. & djeeh \\
open-twined burden basket & carry load O along & pitch \\
na & vt & na \\
open-twined burden basket & you (sg.) carry a load along & pitch \\
{\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{VP}]\)} & {\([\mathrm{Obj}]\)}
\end{tabular}

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
```

shaa ilhtcii
P-aa-1++ 1sG. OBL. (ghin)..lhtcii/tciin'+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ.
for P
v:(12-incorp)
for me
[PostP]
gather
vt
you (sg.) gather it
[PostP] [VP]
You carry the burden-basket and gather some pitchwood for me.
You take the burden-basket. Make some pitch-wood for me.
Burden-basket / you carry [you take] . Pitchwood [pitch] / for me / make.
kai t bûl / gûñ el / tce / ca / ûl tcī
k'ai $t$ bûl gûñ el dje ${ }^{\text {c }}$ ca uL tcī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

```
```

32.3 k'atdee'

```
32.3 k'atdee'
    k'atdee'
    k'atdee'
    soon
    soon
    adv
    adv
    soon
    soon
    [AdvP]
    [AdvP]
ghishgheel-bang
gh..gheelh+PROG.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =i =bang
carry load O along =NR = future predictive enclitic
vt
I will carry the load along
[VP]
I will carry it soon.
```

Soon [by \& by] / I will carry it. [for I pack]
kût de / gûc gel bûñ
k'ąt de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ gûc gel bûñ

| 32.4 | taahjii | nshoong |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| taahjii | n..shoon+PERF.,3 | nisht'aan |
| n..t'aan+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. |  |  |
| where? | be good | get fire |
| inter | vd | vt |
| where? | good | I get fire |
| $[$ AdvP $]$ | $[$ AdvP $]$ | $[V P]$ |

# GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray 

| nshoong | kwong' ? |
| :--- | :--- |
| n..shoon+PERF.,3 | kwong' |
| be good | fire |
| vd | na |
| good | fire |
| $[$ Obj | $\quad]$ |

Where is a good place for me to have a nice fire?
Somewhere I will have a good fire.
Where [Where is it] / good / I get it [I got] / good / fire?
ta djī / n $\underline{\text { cōñ / nûc tûñ / nn cōñ / kōñ }}$
ta djī n cōñ nûc tąn n cōñ kwōñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

| 32.5 | chinsits' | oodilang |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| chinsits' | oo-n-(ghin)..lan+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. | Ihsai |
| lhsai |  |  |
| bark (of tree) | get O | dry |
| na | vt | adj |
| bark (of tree) | let us get it | dry |
| $[$ Obj] | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ | [AdjP] |

## Let's get some dry bark.

We will get some dry bark.
Bark / we will get [let us get] / dry.
tcûñ sûts / ō dûl lûñ / L sai
tc'ûn sûts ō dûl ląñ l sai
Note kindling for fire


The maul and elk-horn wedge, the punkwood is good."
Rotten wood is good. Pass me the elk-horn wedge and maul.
Maul, [pestle] / elkhorn wedge, [big elk horn wedge] / dry bark [rotten log] / is good.
ō ēst / bûL tcō / kûl lûs se / n cooñ
$\bar{o}^{\text {e }}$ est bûl tcō kûl lûs se ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$ cōñ
Note rotten wood as tinder for fire

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
33.1 " k'ai'tbilh
k'ai' tbilh
open-twined burden basket
na open-twined burden basket [Obj]
tc'in yaa'nii ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
say
vt
he said
[VP

## nin'inghish

nin'-(s)..ghish/ghiin+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ.
pick up load O
vt
you (sg.) pick a load up
[VP]
'Pick up the burden basket," he said, they say.
"Take up the burden-basket," he said.
Burden-baset / take up," [pick it up] / he said / they say.
kai te bûL / nûñ ûñ ûc tcin / yanī
k'ai $t$ bûl nûn ûñ ûc tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

"There is a lot of wood, a lot."
"There is a lot of wood. ' '
"Much / wood, / many /
ûn Lûn / ûl / La ne
n Ląñ ąl la ne

34.1 | seekaat' | shaa | oohlang |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | seekaat' | P-aa-1++ 1sG. OBL. | oo-n-(ghin)..lan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ. |
|  | mortar slab | for P | get O |
|  | na | v:(12-incorp) | vt |
|  | mortar slab | for me | you (pl.) get it |
|  | $[$ Obj $]$ | $[$ PostP $]$ | $[V P]$ |

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
,"
tc'in
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
say
vt
she said
[VP

## yaa'nii

yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ they say
vt
they say
]
"You all get a mortar slab for me," she said, they say.
"Get a grinding stone for me," she said.
mealing stone [big flat rock to pound acorns on] / for me / get," / she said / they say. /
se kût / ca / ō lûñ / tcin / ya nī
se k'ût ca $\bar{o}^{c}$ lạ̃̃ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
$34.2^{" ~ c h ' i n t ' a a n g ~ t i d e e g h e e ' ~ n e e s d i n g ~}$
ch'int'aang ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,1PL. neesding
acorn carry load O along far
na vt adv
acorn let us carry the load along far
[Obj] [VP] [AdvP]

## "Let's carry the load of acorns far away.

"We will carry acorns a long way.
"Acorns / we will carry [lets pack] / far. [long ways]
tcûn tañ / tût te ge / nes dûñ
tc' ûn t'añ tût de $\mathrm{ge}^{\varepsilon}$ nes dûñ

## 34.3 noodilshii' yiibaang <br> noo..Ihshii' +OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. yiibaang <br> put $O$ in the ground other side <br> vt <br> let us put it in the ground <br> [VP] <br> adv <br> other side <br> [AdvP]

Let's put them in the ground on the other side there.
We will put them down over there.
We will put down [let us put on ground] / over there.
nō+ dûl cí / yī bûñ
nō dûl cī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ yī bąñ

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
34.4 ch'ilhdik'
daahtceelh
    ch'-(s)..lhdik'+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
    crack acorns
    vt
    you (sg.) crack acorns
    [VP]
daahtceelh
storage bin
[VP]
storage bin
[AdvP]

Crack acorns, storage bin (to dry).
Crack them and put them up to dry.
Crack them. [crack it] Storage bin. [pour up high]
tcûL tûk / da tcéL
tc'ûl tûk da tcel
34.5 doo-tcoo' ishchiish-teel
doo= tcoo-n-(ghin)..chiish/chaan+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =teel
negative \(=\) leave/abandon \(\mathrm{O} \quad=\) will, shall
neg vt encl
I am not going to leave them
[VP]
ch'int' aang
ch'int' aang
acorn
na
acorn
[Obj]
I am not going to leave acorns."
I am not going to leave acorns."
I am not going to leave [I am not going to leave it] acorns.
dō tcō tcìs tel / tcûn tañ
dō tcō ic tcīs tel tc'ûn t'añ
35 " \begin{tabular}{llll} 
daalh'injii & iintc'ee' & shaanii \\
daalh'injii & iintc'ee' & shaanii \\
what are you doing? & venison & only \\
inter & na & adv \\
& what are you doing? & venison & only \\
& {\([\) Interj] } & {\([O b j]\)} & {\([\) AdvP \(]\)}
\end{tabular}
```

ch'inyaan-'angkwaan
ch'-(ghin)..yaan/yaan'+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. ='ang
eat st =yes/no question marker
vt encl
=kwaan
= inferred evid.
vencl
have you (sg.) eaten it?
[VP]
"What are you doing? have you eaten nothing but venison?"
"Why have you eaten only venison?" he asked.
Why [what you doing] / venison [deer] / only [nothing but] / you have eaten?" [you eat] daL in $\mathrm{gī} / \mathrm{dj} \overline{1}$ / in tce / ca n̄̄ / tcûn yañ ûñ kwûn daL iñ gī in tce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ca nī tc'ûn yan ûñ kwąn

```
```

36 shoo' Ihaang iintc'ee' ninghish
shoo' 1 lhaang iintc'ee' n-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ.
too many/much venison bring load/O
adv adj na vt
too much venison you (sg.) bring it
[AdvP ] [Obj] [VP]
,"
"You bring too much venison."
"You bring too much venison," she told him.
"In vain, [why] / much [lots] / venison [deer] / you bring."
cō Lañ / intce / nûñ ûc
cō}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ Lañ in tce }\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ nûñ ûc
Note Raven speaking
37.1

| " | iintc'ee' | lhaang |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| iintc'ee' | lhaang |  |
| deer | many/much |  |
| na | adj |  |
| deer | many |  |
| $[$ Obj |  |  |

```

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}

\section*{ishghaan-ei}
(nin)..ghaan+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee =i
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
kill pl O & \(=\) eyewitness evid. \\
vt & \(=N R\) \\
encl
\end{tabular}

I kill them
[VP]
"I kill many deer.
"I kill many deer," he said.
"Deer / many [lots] / I kill.
in tce / Lan / ûc ga nē
in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) Lañ ûc ga nē
37.2 toonai Ihaan-ee
toonai (n)..lhaan+PERF.,3 =yee
fish be many = eyewitness evid.
\(\mathrm{na} \quad \mathrm{vd}\)
encl
fish there are many
[Subj] [VP]

\section*{shghanding}
*ghanding+1SG. POSS. OF
home
n ia
my home
[PossP]
There are lots of fish at my home.
"There are many fish at my house.
Fish / are many [lots/much] / my house.
tō nai / La ne / cī gûn dûñ
tō nai la ne c gûn dûñ

\section*{37.3 jeeschow ch'ineelt' aats'}
jeeschow ch'ineelt' aats'
elk cut in strips (dried elk meat strips)
na
dried elk meat strips
[Subj]

\title{
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
}
```

Ihaan-ee
(n)..lhaan+PERF.,3 =yee
be much = eyewitness evid.
vd encl
there is much
[VP]
k'ai'tbilh-Ihgai-bii'
k'ai'tbilh-lhgai+LOC.
new open-twined burden basket ("white" = new)
na
in a new open-twined burden basket
[PostP]
Ihaan-ee
(n)..lhaan+PERF.,3 =yee
be much = eyewitness evid.
vd encl
there is much
[VP]
There is a lot of elk meat jerky in new burden baskets, a lot of it.
Much dried elk meat is in new burden-baskets.
Elk / cut in strips [dry] / is much / burden basket white in [basket white in] / is much.
[lots/much]
djes tcō / kin nel t'ats / La ne / kai te bûL L kai bī / Lane
ges tcō kin nel t'ats la ne k'ait bûL lgai b\overline{i}}\mp@subsup{}{}{\imath}\mathrm{ La ne
Note "New basket they call white" (Goddard NBIII, p.3)
37.4 nonk'tcing Ihaan-ee
nonk'tcing (n)..lhaan+PERF.,3 =yee

| tarweed seed | be many | $=$ eyewitness evid. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| na | vd | encl |

tarweed seed there are many
[Subj] [VP]
tc'aalaa Ihaan-ee
tc'aalaa (n)..lhaan+PERF.,3 =yee
narrowleaf compassplant be many = eyewitness evid.
na
vd
encl
narrowleaf compassplant
[Subj]

```
there are many
[VP]


There are a lot of tarweed seeds, there are a lot of sunflower seeds at my home, and there are a lot of chinquapins/chestnuts at my home.
There is also much tarweed seeds, sunflower seeds, and many chestnuts at my house.
Tarweed seed [tarweed] / is much. [lots/much] / Sunflower seed [sunflowers] / is much [lots/much] / my house. / Chestnuts / are many [many] / my house.
nō \(\mathrm{kwī} / \mathrm{kī}\) tcûñ / Lane / tca la / La ne / cī gûn dûñ / t kō īcts / La ne / cī gûn dûñ
nōñ \(k\) ' tcûñ la ne tc'a la la ne c gûn dûn \(t\) kō icts la ne \(c\) gûn dûñ
37.5 Ihaan-ee
(n)..Ihaan+PERF., 3 =yee be many vd = eyewitness evid. encl there are many [VP]

\section*{naahneesh}
naahneesh
person
na
person
[Subj]
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
yiichowyeeh-it &,\("\) & tc'in \\
yiichowyeeh =hit+VAR. OF & ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. & yaa'nii \\
yaa'nii \(1_{1}\)
\end{tabular}

And there are many people there, because there's a dance house," he said, they say.
Many people are also there for a dance-house is in the village.
Are many [many] / people [Indian] / dance-house because," [sweathouse in] / he said / they say.
La ne / na nej / yī tcō ye hût / tcin / yanī
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

La ne na nec yī tcō ye hût tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī


He told the woman, they say, "Soon let me take you to a place where there are many people because there is a lot of food."
I will take you where there are many people and much food," he told the woman.
Wife [woman] / he told / they say. / "People / many [where lots of them] / I will take you. [let me take you] / Sometime [someday] / food [grub] / much. [lots] tcek / ûL tcin / yani / Lan dûñ / na nej / ûn tûs lôs te le / da/t'a sītś / tcañ / La ne hut tc'ek ûL tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī na nec lan dûñ \(n\) tûs lō tē le da sīts tc'an la ne hût.
\(38^{\prime \prime}\)
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\begin{tabular}{l} 
taahshaan-haa' \\
taahshaan =haa'
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l} 
ghiidilh \\
(ghin)..dilh/deel'+PROG.,1PL. \\
where \(? \quad=\) just, only
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{ll} 
du/pl go \\
inter & encl
\end{tabular} & vi \\
what way & we are going along \\
{\(\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { RelCl } & \quad\end{array}\right.\)}
\end{tabular}

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

doo-kwnisin-ee
doo= n-(s)..sin/sin'+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3AREAL OBJ. =yee
negative = know O
I do not know it
[VP]
"I don't know what way we're going along."
"I do not know how we shall go."
What way / we go / I do not know. [I don't know]
tac tcûñ/ta cûñ ha gī diL / dō kwī nûs sûn ne
ta cąn ha gig dûl dō ku nûs sûn ne
Note as in what route we will take
39 " kwinyeeh'iidilh-kwosh
kwinyeeh-(nin)..dilh/deel'+OPT.,1PL. =kwosh
du/pl go underground =perhaps/guess
vi
encl
perhaps we should go underground
[VP]

| Ch'siitcing | naanohtc'ilhkee'-uuleeng' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ch'siitcing | naa-(s)..lhkee/kee'+OPT.,3ANIM.,+ 1PL. OBJ. | $=$ uuleeng' |
| Coyote (character) | track O around | $=$ lest |
| n a | vt | encl |

Coyote (character) lest he track us around [ AdvCl ]

## "We should go underground, so Coyote can't track us."

```
"We better go underground. Coyote might track us," said the woman.
Underground we will go. [we might go/we go in a hole] / Coyote / might track us. [he track us might]"
kwun yī hī dûL kwûc / kī tsī tcun / na nō tcûL ke / ō leñ
kwûn ye ī dûl kwûc tc' sī tcûñ na nō tc'ûl ke \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ū leñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
Note This -uuleeng' is something like the older English word "lest".
```


## tahnaa'tyai

taah-naa-(s)..daash/yaa+OPT.,3ANIM. =i
sg go back from water vi

### 40.1 Ch'siitcing Coyote (character) na

he went back from water
[VP]

```
40.1 Ch'siitcing
```

40.1 Ch'siitcing
Ch'siitcing
Ch'siitcing
Coyote (character)
Coyote (character)
na
na

$$
1
$$

```

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}

\section*{Coyote went back from the water.}

Coyote came up from the stream.
Coyote, / he went from water. [he went out from water]
ki sī tcin / tûn nac ti yai
tc' sī tcûñ tąn na t yai
```

40.2 toonai-biinee'-shwoltc ch'kaak'-bii'
toonai-biinee'-shwoltc ch'kaak'+LOc.
"little round back" fish net (dipnet)
n a n a
"little round back" fish in net
[Obj] [PostP]

```
noo'intaan-kwaan yaa'nii
noo-(nin)..tish/taan \({ }_{2}+\) PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
put stick-like/enclosed O down =inferred evid. they say
vt
he had put it down vencl
[VP
yaa'nii yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) they say
vt
they say

He had put down the net with a little round back fish in it, they say.
He had put down the net with the short back-bone of a sore-tailed fish in it.
Fish / back [backbone] / small [short] / net in / he had put [he put in] / they say. tō nai / bī ne / tcwūlts / tcī kak bī / nō ûn tûn kwûn / yanī tō nai bī ne \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) cwūlts tc' kak' bī \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nō ûn tąn kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```

40.3 chiilgaitc
chiilgaitc
sore-tail salmon
na
sore-tail salmon
[Obj]

```
beech'isgheelh-kwaan yaa'nii
P-ee-(s)..gheelh+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. =kwaan yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
tie up a load =inferred evid. they say
vt
    vencl
he had tied it up as a pack
vt
they say
[VP
He had tied up a sore-tail salmon to pack, they say.

Sore tail [white tail a fish] / he had tied up [he tied up] / they say.

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
tcīl kaitc / be tcus geL kwûn / ya ni tcīl gaitc be tc' ûs gel kwąn ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) n \(\overline{1}\)
\begin{tabular}{ll}
40.4 naaghiltbaang & yaa'nii \\
naa-(ghin)..Itbaan+PERF.,3 & yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) \\
walk lame & they say \\
vi & vt \\
he walked lame & they say
\end{tabular}
[VP ]
He limped along, they say.
He came limping along.
He limped along / they say.
na gûl te bûn / ya nī
na gûl \(t\) bąñ ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 41 skiitc , & shnaan & Ch'siitcing \\
\hline skiitc & *naang+1SG. POSS. OF & Ch'siitcing \\
\hline boy & mother & Coyote (character) \\
\hline na & n ia & na \\
\hline boy & my mother & Coyote (character) \\
\hline [ NP ] & [NP] & [Subj] \\
\hline naaghidaal naa-gh..daalh & ROG.,3 =i & \\
\hline sg come back & \[
=N R
\] & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
he is coming back
[VP]
A child (said), "Mother, Coyote is coming back."
"Mother, Coyote is coming," said one of the boys.
Boy [baby] / "My mother, / Coyote / is coming back!" [is come home]
is kitj / c nûn / ki sī tcin / na gût dal
skīts c nąn tc' sī tcûñ na gût dal
Note "The boys saw C. coming home" (Goddard NB III, p.5)
42 " sk'ee' bii'ohlitc
sk'ee' P-ii'-(ghin)..litc+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBL.
acorn soup urinate in \(P\)
na vi (prs.)
acorn soup you (pl.) urinate in it
[Obj] [VP]
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

\section*{"You all, pee in the acorn mush."}
"Urinate in the mush," she told him.
"Mush / in urinate." [you (boys) urinate in mush]
skē / bī ō lûts
\(\mathrm{sk}^{\prime} \mathrm{e}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{b} \overline{\mathrm{i}}^{\varepsilon} \bar{o}^{c}\) lûts

\section*{43.1 yiinaaghityai}
yeeh-naa-(ghin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 =i
sg go back in \(=N R\)
vi
encl
he went back in
[VP]

\section*{He went back inside.}

He came in.
He came in.
yī nagût yai
yī na gût yai
43.2 nolhook'ee
niighiin-ee
*Ihook'ee+1/2PL. POSS. n-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
salmon bring load/O
nia vt
you all's salmon I brought a load of it
[Obj]
[VP]
"I am bringing a load of you all's salmon.
"I am bringing your fish," he said.
"Your salmon / I bring. [I bring it]
nō Lō ke / nīgī ne
nō Lō k'e nī gī ne
43.3 haakw bilhdai'ding
haakw bilhdai'ding
right here by entrance
dem adv
right here by the entrance
[AdvP] [AdvP
( yiidaading ) yeehdaading+VAR. OF
by the door
adv
by the door
]

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

nooniighiin-ee
noo-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
put load O down = eyewitness evid.
vt
encl
I put a load down
[VP]

```

I put a load of it down right here by the door.
"I put it down out there by the entrance.
Out there / by the door / I put down. [I put it down]
hakwa / yī da dûñ / nō nī gī ne
hakw bû́ dai \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) dûñ nō nī gī ne
Note Different words were used for "by the door/entrance" between the notebook
(yiidaading) and published version (bilhdai' ding), but with the same general meaning.
```

43.4 toonai ch'neesiilht' aats'
toonai ch'-n-(s)-Iht'aas/t'aats'+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =i
fish cut up st into strips $=N R$
na vt encl
fish that I cut up into strips
[RelCl ]
ch'teelhchoot-yeekwaanang
ch'-ti-(s)..Ihchood+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =yee
steal st
vt
=kwaan =nang
= inferred evid. = definite enclitic?
vencl encl
s/he has stolen it
[VP]
Someone has stolen the fish I cut up to dry."
Someone stole the fish I had cut up to dry."
Fish / I cut up [I cut it up] / someone had stolen." [he stole it somebody has stollen] tō nai / tcin ne sīL t ats / tcī tel tcōt ye kwa nûñ
tō nai tc'n ne sī̀ t'ats tc' tel tcōt ye kwa nąñ

```

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
```

43.5 sk'ee' kaaghilhts'eegh bilh , "
sk'ee' kaa-(ghin)..Ihts'eegh+PERF.,3,+ 3 ObJ.
acorn soup taste O/mush = when
na vt
acorn soup he tasted the mush
when
[AdvCl
]
teeghink'ootc-ee
teeh-(ghin)..k'ootc+PERF.,3 =yee
be sour liquid = eyewitness evid.
vd encl
it (liquid) became sour
[VP]
When he tasted the acorn mush, "It's gone sour."
He tasted the mush. It was sour.
Mush / he tasted [he eat] / when / it was sour. [it got sour]
s ke / ka gûL seg / bûL / te gûñ kō tce
sk'e}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ ka gûL tseg bûL te gûn k'ō tce

```

\section*{kwiteeseelhsit'}
```

P-k'-ti-s-(s)..Ihs 'it/s'it' + PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.
fall off from $P$
vt
it fell off from it
[VP]

```

\section*{It nearly landed at Kibesillah.}
```

It landed nearly in the creek by CeLciyetodun, he threw it so hard.
CeLciiyetooduN [down at coast on hill] / nearly / it fell off. [creek it fell in] ceL ci tō dûñ / is tō / te kwût seL sût cel cī ye tō dûñ st' ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ kwût te sel sût'
Note Coyote had thrown it so hard that it landed that far away.

```
```

43.6 Sheelhshiiyeetooding st'0o'

```
43.6 Sheelhshiiyeetooding st'0o'
    Shilhshiiyeehtooding+VAR. OF st'oo'
    Shilhshiiyeehtooding+VAR. OF st'oo'
    Kibesillah nearly
    Kibesillah nearly
    na
    na
    Kibesillah
    Kibesillah
        adv
        adv
        nearly
        nearly
    [AdvP]
    [AdvP]
    [AdvP]
```

    [AdvP]
    ```

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
44.1 doohaa'-yeehgheeghiin yaa'nii doohaa' yeeh-(ghin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\) do not ! carry load O in they say neg vt vt she did not bring the load in they say [VP
She did not bring the load in, they say.
She did not bring in his fish.
She didn't bring it in [she never bring it in] / they say.
dō ha ye gẹ gīn / yanī
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) ge gin ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note The published version is missing the yeeh- "in" prefix of the notebook version and translation.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
44.2 & yiiskaan & haataah & sghiin \\
yiiskaan \(_{1}\) & haataah & s..ghiin+PERF.,3 3 & yaa'nii \\
morning & right there & load O to lie & they say \\
adv & dem & vt & vt \\
morning & right there & the load was & they say \\
[AdvP] & [AdvP] & {\([\mathrm{VP}\)} & \(]\)
\end{tabular}

The load was right there in the morning, they say.
It was still there next morning.
Daylight / there [yet] / it was [it is sitting right there] / they say.
yis kañ / ha ta sgīn / ya ni
yīs kan ha ta s gin ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
```

44.3 doo-daanshoo' tait' aas
doo-daanshoo' taa-(ghin)..t'aas/t' aats' +IMPF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ.
nobody butcher/cut up O
pron vt
nobody $\quad$ s/he cut it up
[Subj]
[VP]

```

\section*{Nobody had cut it up.}
```

No one had cut it.
Nobody / cut it.
dō dan cō tai t'as
dō dan cō ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tai t'as

```
45.1 "
ch'olhkeeghaang
ch'..Ihkeeghaan+IMPF.,2PL.,+ INDF. OBL. dislike
vt
you (pl.) dislike it
[Cl]
aanoht'ee
aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,2PL.
be thus
vs (pers.)
you (pl.) are thus
[VP]
"It's the case that you all don't like it.
"For some reason you do not like it," he said.
"You do not like it [must be you? don't like it] / you are.
cōL/tcōL ke bañ/gañ / a nō te
tc'ōl ke gañ a nō \({ }^{\text {t' }}\) 'e
Note Coyote speaking
45.2 naahishdaash-teilee
naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,1SG. =teilee
sg go back home vi
= will/shall
encl

I am going to go back home
[VP]
beenaash'ai' -teilee
P-ee-naa-(0)..I'ai' + IMPF.,1sG.,+ 3 OBL. =teilee
try P again
vt
\(=\) will/shall
encl

I am going to try it again
[VP]
I am going to go back and try again.
"I will go back. I will try again.
I am going back. [I am going home] I will try again. [I try again] na hûc dac te le / be nac ai te le na hûc dac tē le be nac \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}\) tē le
\begin{tabular}{lll}
45.3 haaghee' 'kwosh & naakaa' & shaa \\
haaghee' =kwosh & naakaa' & shaa \(_{1}\) \\
long time = perhaps/guess & two & month \\
adv encl & num & na \\
perhaps a long time & two & month \\
{\([\) AdvP \(]\)} & {\([S u b j\)} &
\end{tabular}

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

bee'odin-kwosh
P-ee..din+OPT.,+ 3 OBL. =kwosh
P to die = perhaps/guess
vi encl
perhaps will die
[VP]

```

\section*{Perhaps after a while, perhaps after two months.}
```

After a while probably, when two moons have died, I shall be back.
Long time probably / two / moons / will die. [going to die I guess]
ha wī kwic / nûk ka / ca / be ō dûn kwic
ha ge kwûc nąk $\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ ca be ō dûn kwûc

```
```

45.4 nohdjiidoo'osit-ding

```
45.4 nohdjiidoo'osit-ding
    P-djii-doo-(nin)..sit+OPT.,3,+ 2PL. OBL. =ding
    P-djii-doo-(nin)..sit+OPT.,3,+ 2PL. OBL. =ding
    \(P\) to be lonesome = place
    \(P\) to be lonesome = place
    vd
    vd
                                    suffix
                                    suffix
    don't you (pl.) be lonesome here
    don't you (pl.) be lonesome here
    [VP]
    [VP]
naashaa' -kwaanghiit
naashaa' -kwaanghiit
naa-(s)..yaa/yaa' +OPT.,1sG. =kwaan =hiit
naa-(s)..yaa/yaa' +OPT.,1sG. =kwaan =hiit
sg go around/about =inferred evid. = although
sg go around/about =inferred evid. = although
vi
vi
vencl conj
vencl conj
because I could be going around
because I could be going around
[AdvCl
[AdvCl
aant'ei-bangkwosh ,"
aant'ei-bangkwosh ,"
aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,3 =i =bangkwosh
aa-n-(nin)..t'ee+PERF.,3 =i =bangkwosh
be thus \(\quad=N R=\) will be perhaps (future predictive)
be thus \(\quad=N R=\) will be perhaps (future predictive)
vs (pers.) encl encl
```

vs (pers.) encl encl

```
it will perhaps be the case
                                    ]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say they say
vt
vt
he said they say
[VP
Don't you all be lonesome here, because it might be that I'll be around," he
said, they say.
Do not be lonesome. Perhaps I shall be around," he said.
Do not be lonesome. [don't get lonesome] I may be around [I might be around] / it will be," [some day] / he said / they say.
nō tcī dō ō sût dûñ / na ca kwañ hīt / ûn bûñ kwic / tcin / ya nī nō djī dō ō sût dûñ na ca \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kwañ hīt ąn t'e bûñ kwûc tc' in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & naaheestyaa & teehing & ch'kaak \\
\hline & naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 & teeheeng+VAR. OF & ch'kaak' \\
\hline & sg go back home & to a stream & net (dipnet) \\
\hline & vi & adv & n a \\
\hline & he started back home & to a stream & net \\
\hline & [VP] & [AdvP] & [ AdvCl \\
\hline tees & ghiin-it & & \\
\hline & ..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3 =hit+VAR. & & \\
\hline carry & load O along = when & & \\
\hline & encl & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
when he carried a load along

\section*{He went back to the creek when he was carrying the net.}

He went back to the creek carrying the net.
He went back [he went home] / stream to [creek to], net / he carried. [he packed] na hes tī ya / te ûñ / tcī kak / tes gī nût na hes t ya te \({ }^{\bullet}\) hûñ tc' kak' tes gī nût
```

4 6 . 1 ~ n a a n t y a i ~ Y i i s h t c
naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,2sG. =i Yiishtc
sg come back
vi
he came back
[VP]
=NR Wolf (character)
encl na
Wolf (character)
[Subj]

```

\section*{Wolf came back.}

Wolf came again.
Came back, [he got back] / Wolf.
nan tī yai / yīcts
nan t yai yīcts

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

46.2 "
doo-'an-naa'indaash
doo-'ang naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,3ANIM.
isn't? sg come back
part. vi
hasn't he come back?
[VP]
shindiikoo , Ch'siitcing
*indiikoo+1SG. POSS. OF Ch'siitcing
cousin Coyote (character)
n ia na
my cousin Coyote (character)
[Subj]
[NP]

```

\section*{"Hasn't my cousin Coyote come back?"}
```

' Has not my cousin, Coyote, been back ? ' ' he asked.
"Hasn't he been back, [he never come back ?] / my cousin / Coyote?"
dō ûn na ûn dac / cûn dī kō / kī sī tcûñ
dō ûn na ûn dac cûn dī kō tc' sī tcûñ

46.3 " \begin{tabular}{llll}
ch'int'aang <br>
ch'int'aang

 kaashbii' 

kaashbii'

 

tidighee' <br>
ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,1PL. <br>
<br>
<br>
acorn
\end{tabular}

"Tomorrow let's haul a load of acorns.
"We will carry acorns tomorrow.
"Acorns / tomorrow / we will carry. [we will let us pack]
tcûn tañ / kûc bī / tût tẹ gẹ
tc'un t'añ kąc bī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tût dę ge ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

```
```

46.4 neesding noodilshii' -jaa'

```
46.4 neesding noodilshii' -jaa'
    neesding noo..lhshii' +OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =jaa'
    neesding noo..lhshii' +OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =jaa'
    far put O in the ground = volitive/optative
    far put O in the ground = volitive/optative
    adv vt
    adv vt
    vt encl
    vt encl
    far we should put it in the ground
    far we should put it in the ground
    [AdvP] [VP]
```

    [AdvP] [VP]
    ```

\section*{We should put them in the ground far away.}

We will put them down far away.
Far / we will put in the ground. [let us put on ground]

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nes dûñ / nō dûl tcī tcă
nes dûñ nō dûl cī \(\bar{i}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\)
\begin{tabular}{lll}
46.5 & ch'oyii-haa' & ch'int'aang \\
ch'oyii-haa' & ch'int' aang & ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,1PL. \\
again & acorn & carry load O along \\
adv & na & vt \\
again & acorn & let us carry a load along \\
{\([\) AdvP \(]\)} & {\([O b j]\)} & {\([V P]\)}
\end{tabular}

\section*{Let's carry a load of acorns again.}

Again we will carry them far Again / acorns / we will carry. [let us carry] tcō yī ha / tcûn tañ / tût ti gẹ tcō yī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' ûn t'añ tût dę ge \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
```

46.6 neesding noodilshii'-jaa'
neesding noo..lhshii' + OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =jaa'
far put O in the ground = volitive/optative
adv vt
encl
far we should put it in the ground
[AdvP] [VP]
tc' ${ }^{\prime}$ n
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
say
vt
he said
[VP
We should put them in the ground far away," he said, they say. and put them down [far away].
Far / we will put down," [we put on ground] / he said / they say. nes dûñ / nō dûl cī tca / tcin / yanī nes dûñ nō dûl cī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ dja $^{\varepsilon}$ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

```
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 46.7 " & ch'oyii-haa ch'oyii-haa' & ch'int'aang ch'int'aang & \begin{tabular}{l}
tidighee' \\
ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,1PL.
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
neesding \\
neesding
\end{tabular} \\
\hline & again & acorn & carry load O along & far \\
\hline & adv & na & vt & adv \\
\hline & again & acorn & let us carry a load along & far \\
\hline & [AdvP] & [Obj] & [VP] & [AdvP] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
```

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

```
"Let's carry a load of them far away again," he said, they say.
We will carry them far.
"Again / acorns / we will carry [let us carry] / far," [long way] / he said / they say.
tcō yī ha / tcûn tañ / tût te gẹ / nes dûñ / tcin / yanī
tcō yī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'ûn t'añ tût dę ge \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nes dûñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
\(46.8^{\text {" }}\) ch'oyii-haa' ch'int'aang tidighee' ch'oyii-haa' ch'int'aang ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,1PL. again acorn carry load O along adv na vt again acorn let us carry a load along [AdvP] [Obj] [VP]
teehnoodighee' ," tc'in
teeh-noo-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.
put load O to limit in water
vt
let's put a load down in water
[VP]
say
vt
he said
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 1
they say
vt
they say
]
"Let's carry a load of acorns again and let's put them in water," he said, they say.
We will carry them far. We will put them in the water.
"Again / acorns / we will carry [let us carry] / we will put in water," [let us put in water] / he said / they say.
tcō yī ha / tcûn tañ / tût ti gẹ / te nō tûg ge / tcin / yan̄̄
tcō yī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'ûn t'añ tût dę ge \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) te \({ }^{\subset}\) nō dûg ge \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc' \(^{\prime}\) in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
```

46.9 " tghaat
(ghin)..tghaat+***
be moldy (acorns)
vd
they are moldy (acorns)
[Cl]
ilhtcii-teel
(s)..lhtcii/tciin'+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =teel
cause X = will, shall
vt encl
you (sg.) will cause X
[VP]
You're going to make them be moldy.
You will make them get mouldy.
"Mouldy / you will make. [you going to make]
t gat / ûL tcī tel
t gat ûL tcī tel
46.10 kaashbii' tinghish-bang
kaashbii' ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+IMPF.,2sG. =bang ${ }_{2}$
tomorrow carry load O along = future predictive enclitic
adv vt
encl
tomorrow you (sg.) will carry a load
[AdvP] [VP]

```

Tomorrow you must haul them.
Tomorrow you will carry them [to the stream].
Tomorrow / you will carry. [you to bring far]
kûc bī / tûñ ûc bûñ
kąc bī̌ tûñ ûc bûñ
46.11 sk'ee'-dink'otc'
sk'ee'-dink'otc'
sour mush
na
sour mush
[Obj]

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
```

shdjii'yaan-ee
P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 1SG. OBL. =yee

```

P to like/want S
vt
I like it
[VP]
I like sour mush."
I like sour mush," he said.
Mush / sour / I like. [I make [sic]]
s ke / dûn kōts / is tcī / ya ni
sk' \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) dûn k'ōts s djī ya ne
Note mush or soup of fermented/moldy acorns
47 "
daant'eejii tc'yaantc
daant'eejii tc'yaantc
how? old woman
inter na
how? old woman
[AdvP] [Subj]
s'isdaa-bang
s..daa+PERF.,3ANIM. =bang 2
live in a place ( sg ) = future predictive enclitic vi
encl
she will live in a place
[VP]
"How will the old woman live there?
"How will the old woman live?" he asked.
How [what is the matter] / old woman / must stay?" [he stay for] dûn te gī / tcī yantc / sûs da bûñ
dąn te \(\mathrm{gī}\) tc' yantc s'ûs da bûñ
48 "
kwaa
*kaa++ 3 OBL.
iintc'ee' Ihaan
*kaa++ 3 OBL.
iintc'ee' (n)..Ihaan+PERF.,3
for/after \(P\) venison be much
postp
for her
[PostP]
na vd
venison much
[Obj ]

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

kwilh
*ilh+ACCOMP.,+ 3ANIM. OBL.
instrumental
postp
with her
[PostP]
noonaadighee' -jaa'
noo-naa-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =jaa'
leave load O
vt
= volitive/optative
encl
we should leave loads
[VP]
"We should leave many loads of venison with her."
"We will leave much venison with her."
"For her / venison [deer] / much [lots] / with her / we will leave."
kya / in tce / Lañ / kwûL / nō na tûg gẹ tca
kwa in tce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ Lan kwûl nō na dûg $\mathrm{ge}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}$

```
```

49.1 " tc' yaantc

```
49.1 " tc' yaantc
    tc' yaantc
    tc' yaantc
    old woman
    old woman
    na
    na
    old woman
    old woman
    [NP]
    [NP]
doohaa'-waankwilik-bangjaa'
doohaa' P-ghaan-(ghin)..lik+IMPF.,2sG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. =banjaa'
do not ! tell O about P = let be/will be
neg vt encl
you (sg.) must not tell him about it
[VP]
bilh hiinak' neesding
*ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.
hiinak' neesding
instrumental south far
postp
with her
south far
[RelCl
```

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

## tiidilh-teilee

```
ti-(s)..dilh/deel' + IMPF.,1PL. =teilee
\(\mathrm{du} / \mathrm{pl}\) go along \(=\) will/shall
vi
    encl
we are going to go along
    ]
```

"Old woman, you must not tell him that we are going to go far to the south with her.
"Old woman, you must not tell him we have gone together far to the south."
"Old woman / you must not tell him [don't you tell him about] / when / south / far [long ways] / we shall go. [we go]
tcī yantc / dō ha wan kwûl lûk bûñ kya bûL / hī nûk / nes dûñ / tī dûL te le
tc' yantc dō ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ wan kwûl lûk bûñ dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ bûL hī nûk’ nes dûñ tī dûl tē le

## 49.2 saahding sindaa-bangjaa'

saahding s..daa+PERF.,2sG. =banjaa'
alone live in a place (sg) = let be/will be
adv vi encl
alone you (sg.) should live in a place
[AdvP] [VP]
You should live here alone."
"I will stay alone.
Alone / you will stay." [let her stay]
sa` dûñ / is ta bûñ kya
sa dûñ sûn da bûñ dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$
50.1 doo-shdjiidoosit-teilee doo-..-hee P-djii-doo-(nin)..sit+IMPF.,3,+ 1SG. OBL. =teilee negative $P$ to be lonesome $\quad=$ will/shall encl vd encl
I am not going to be lonesome
[VP]
"I am not going to be lonely.
"I will not be lonesome.
"I will not be lonesome. [I am not going to be lonesome] do stcī dō sût tè le dō s tcī dō sût tē le

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
50.2 kwaataah tinyaash
    kwaataah ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2sG.
    any way sg go along
    pro-form vi
    anyway you (sg.) go along
    [AdvP] [VP]
shtcoonchiish
P-tcoo-n-(ghin)..chiish/chaan+IMPF.,2SG.,+ 1SG. OBL.
leave/abandon P
vt
you (sg.) leave me
[VP]
Anyway, you go and leave me.
You may go anyway. You may leave me.
Any way [for him] / you go. [you can go] You may leave me. [you can leave me]
kwa ta / tûn yac / is tcōn tcītc
kwa ta tûn yac s tcōn tcīc
```

```
50.3 Ch'siitcing
```

50.3 Ch'siitcing
Ch'siitcing
Ch'siitcing
Coyote (character)
Coyote (character)
na
Coyote (character)
[Subj]
shdjiitc'olhtik-jaa' kwataah ,"
P-djii-(s)..lhtik+OPT.,3ANIM.,+ 1SG. OBL. =jaa'
kill P
vt
let him kill me
[VP]
=volitive/optative any way
encl
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say they say
vt
she said they say
[VP
]
Let Coyote (try to) kill me, anyway," she said, they say.

```

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}

Anyway let Coyote kill me," said the old woman.
Coyote / let him kill me [can kill me] / anyway," [anyhow] / she said / they say. ki sī tciñ / is tcī tcōL tûk kya / kwa ta / tcin / ya nī tc' sī tcûñ s tcī tc'ōl tûk dja \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kwa ta tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
50.4 " doohaa'-naandaash-bang
doohaa' naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+IMPF.,2sG. =bang 2
\(\begin{array}{ll}\text { do not ! } \\ \text { neg } & \text { sg come back } \\ \text { vi } & =\text { future predictive enclitic } \\ \text { encl }\end{array}\)
you (sg.) must not come back
[VP]

\section*{"You must not come back.}
"You must not come back," she told her daughter.
"You must not come back. [don't you come]
dō ha nan dac bûñ
dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nan dac bûñ
Note to her daughter, Raven
50.5 shghandaanii
*ghandaan+1SG. POSS. OF
son-in-law
n ia
my son-in-law
[Subj]
shch' oo' otgee' -jaa'
oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc' +OPT.,3,+ 1SG. OBJ.,+ INDF. OBL. =jaa'
see to O
vt
he should come to see me
[VP]

\section*{My son-in-law should come to see me.}
"Let my son-in-law come to see me.
My son-in-law / let him come to see me. [let him come and see me]
c gûn da nī / is tcō ō te ge tca
c gûn da nī s tcō \(\bar{o} \operatorname{tge} \mathrm{e}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\)
```

50.6 iintc'ee' tc'noghee'-jaa'
iintc'ee' n-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =jaa'
venison bring load/O = volitive/optative
na
vt
encl
venison he should bring loads
[Obj] [VP]
shtc'ing'
*tc' ing' ++ 1SG. OBL.
to P
postp
to me
[PostP]

```

\section*{He should bring loads of venison to me.}

Let him bring me some venison.
Venison / let him bring / to me. [for me]
in tce / tcin nō gẹ tca / is tcûñ
in tce \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) tc'n nō ge \(^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{dja}^{\varepsilon}\) S tc' \({ }^{\prime}\) ũ
```

50.7 doo-daanshoo' shdjiiyiilhtik-teilee
doo-daanshoo' P-djii-(s)..Ihtik+IMPF.,3OBV.,+ 1SG. OBL. =teilee
nobody
pron
nobody
[Subj]
s/he is going to kill me
[VP]

```

\section*{Nobody is going to kill me."}

No one will kill me."
Nobody / will kill me."
do dan cō / is tcī yīL tûk tē le dō dan cō \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) s tcī yī̀ tûk tē le
51 " ch'int'aang
ch'int' aang
acorn
na
acorn
[Obj]

\section*{GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray}
```

doo-tcooshchiish-teilee
doo= tcoo-n-(ghin)..chiish/chaan+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =teilee
negative = leave/abandon O = will/shall
neg vt encl

```
I am not going to leave them
[VP]
lhaang
Ihaang
many/much
adj
many
[AdjP]
"I am not going to leave many acorns behind."
"I will leave many acorns."
"Acorns / I will not leave. [I am not going to leave] / Many
kyûn/tcûn tañ / dō tcō s tcī+c te le / Lañ
tc'ûn t'añ dō tcōs tcīc tē le lañ
Note negative or positive meaning???
52.1 " ch'int'aang ch'eeghitghaan-ee
    ch'int'aang ch'-ghin..tghaan/ghaan'+TRTL. =yee
    acorn become moldy =eyewitness evid.
    na vs
                                    encl
    acorn have become moldy
    [RelCl
                        ]
yiilhchit-naagheeyai-bang
..lhchit/cheet+IMPF.,+ 3OBV. OBJ.,+ 3 OBJ. naa-gh..yaa+3 =i
catch O sg go about =NR
vt
vi encl
\(=\) bang \(_{2}\)
\(=\) future predictive enclitic
encl
he must catch them go
[VP]
"He must take (catch-and-go) the acorns that have become moldy.
"Many of them are mouldy.
Many / acorns / are mouldy / you will take.
tcûn tañ / tce gût te gun ne / yīLtcût na ya bûñ

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
tc'ûn t'añ tce gût t gan ne yīl tcût na ge yai bûñ
Note a delicacy or special food
```

52.2 naaneelhyaang , nshoong nilh
naaneelhyaang nshoong
sprouted acorns good one accompaniment
na nia postp
sprouted acorns good ones with you (sg.)
[NP] [Subj] [VP]
teehnooniighiin-ee
teeh-noo-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,1sG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
put load O to limit in water = eyewitness evid.
vt
encl
(that) I put down in water
[ RelCl ]
The good sprouted ones that I put in the water are with you.
You will take those, the sprouted ones I put in the water.
Sprouted, / good / with you. / I put in water.
na nēL yañ / ñ cōñ / nēL/nûL / te nō nī gī ne
na nēL yañ n cōñ nû́ te nō nī gī ne

```
let him carry a load along
[VP]
```

```
52.3 k'ai'tbilh-bii' laashii'
```

52.3 k'ai'tbilh-bii' laashii'
k'ai'tbilh =bii' laashii'
k'ai'tbilh =bii' laashii'
open-twined burden basket = in it buckeye
open-twined burden basket = in it buckeye
na nsuffix na
na nsuffix na
in a burden basket buckeye
in a burden basket buckeye
[RelCl
[RelCl
teehnooniighiing
teehnooniighiing
teeh-noo-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
teeh-noo-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
put load O to limit in water
put load O to limit in water
vt
vt
that I put a load down in water
that I put a load down in water
]
]
toghish-bang
toghish-bang
ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,3 =bang}\mp@subsup{}{2}{
ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,3 =bang}\mp@subsup{}{2}{
carry load O along = future predictive enclitic
carry load O along = future predictive enclitic
vt
vt
encl

```
    encl
```


## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

## He must haul the buckeyes that I soaked in the burdenbasket.

The buckeyes in the burdenbasket that I put in the water you will let him carry.
Burden basket in [ basket / in] / buckeyes / I put in water. [water I put in] / Let him carry. [you can pack for]
kai te bûL / bī / la cī / te nō nī giñ / tō gûc bûñ
k'ai t bûL bī $\bar{c}^{\varepsilon}$ la cī ${ }^{\bar{c}}$ te ${ }^{c}$ nō nī giñ tō gûc bûñ

he should gather it
[VP]

```
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}\mp@subsup{}{1}{
```

say
vt
she said they say
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt

## Some day when my firewood runs out, my son-in-law should get some

 more for me." she said, they say.Some day when my wood is gone, let my son-in-law get some more for me.
If some day [some day] / wood / is gone if [all gone] / my son-in-law / for me / wood / let him get," / she said / they say.
ta cō de / ûl / ûñ dō e / c gan dane / is tcû́ ñ / al / tcōL tcī kya / tcin / yanī


## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
52.5 " aal
    aal
    firewood
    na
    firewood
    [Obj]
shdjiiyaan-ei
P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 1SG. OBL. =yee =i
P to like/want S = eyewitness evid. = NR
vt
encl
encl
I want it
[VP]
titbilh-teilit
ti-(s)..tbilh/biil'+IMPF.,3 =teel =i =hit+VAR. OF
rain (v) = will, shall =NR = because
vi
encl encl encl
because it is going to rain
[AdvCl]
"I want to get firewood because it is going to rain.
I like wood. It will rain.
"Wood / I like. [I want to get / I aim to get] It will rain. [going to rain]
al / is tcī ya nē / tût te bûL tē lit
al s tcī ya nē tût bûl tē lit
```

```
52.6 djeeh shdjiiyaan-ee
```

52.6 djeeh shdjiiyaan-ee
djeeh P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3,+ 1SG. OBL. =yee
djeeh P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3,+ 1SG. OBL. =yee
pitch $P$ to need $S$ = eyewitness evid.
pitch $P$ to need $S$ = eyewitness evid.
na vt
na vt
encl
encl
pitch I need it
pitch I need it
[Obj] [VP]
[Obj] [VP]
naach' nindiin-bang
naach' nindiin-bang
naa-ch'-n-(nin)..diin+PERF., $3=$ bang $_{2}$
naa-ch'-n-(nin)..diin+PERF., $3=$ bang $_{2}$
be light/shine =future predictive enclitic
be light/shine =future predictive enclitic
vi
vi
encl
encl
it will be light
it will be light
[AdvCl]
[AdvCl]
I need some pitchwood for light.

```
I need some pitchwood for light.
```


## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

I like pitch-wood so that there will be a light.
Pitchwood / I like. [I want to get] / It will be light. [for light] dje+ / is tcī / ya ne / na kī/tcī nûn dīn bûñ dje $s$ tcī ya ne na tc’ nûn dīn bûñ

```
52.7 tl'ee' siidai
    tl'ee' s..daa+PERF.,1sG. =i
    night sit (sg) = NR
    adv vi encl
    night I sit
    [AdvP] [VP]
```

ch'ishdik' -ee
ch'-(s)..Ihdik' +IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. =yee
crack acorns =eyewitness evid.
vt
encl

I crack acorns
[VP]

| tc'in | yaa' $\mathbf{n i i}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii $1_{1}$ |
| say | they say |
| vt | vt |
| she said | they say |
| [VP | $\quad]$ |

## At night I sit and crack acorns," she said, they say.

I will sit and crack acorns at night. ' '
At night [night] / I sit. / I crack them," [I crack it] / she said / they say. L!e / sī dai / tcûc dûk e / tcin / ya nī
$\mathrm{Le}^{\varepsilon}$ sī dai tc'ûc dûk e tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
$53.1^{\text {" sii }}$ tghintcaad-ee
*sii'+1sG. POSS. OF d-ghin..tc'aat+PERF.,3
head become sore
n ia
my head becomes sore
[Subj] [VP]

## "I'm getting a headache.

"My head aches.
"Head / is sick. [I get head ache]
sī+ / te gûn ca de

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
sī̀ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ t gûn tca de

```
53.2 doo-shkaakee'-ee
    doo= ..kaakee'+1SG. =yee
    negative = be healthy = eyewitness evid.
    neg vd encl
    I am not well
    [VP]
I am not well.
I am sick.
I am not well. [I don't feel well]
doj ka ke e
dō c ka ke e
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 53.3 & k'andang' & doo & aal \\
\hline & k'andang' & doo= & aa \\
\hline & yesterday & negative \(=\) & firewood \\
\hline & adv & neg & na \\
\hline & yesterday & no & firewood \\
\hline & [AdvP] & [IP] & [Obj] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
```


## ishtcii-yee

(s)..Ihtcii/tciin' + IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
gather O
vt
I gather it
[VP]

## Yesterday I didn't gather firewood.

Yesterday I did not get wood.
Yesterday / not / wood / I made. [wood I don't get]
kûn dañ / dō ûl ic tcī ye
k'ûn dûñ dō ąl ûc tcī ye

## 53.4 aal <br> Ihaang <br> aal Ihaang

firewood many/much
na adj
firewood much
[Obj ]

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
shdjiiyaan-ee
P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3,+ 1SG. OBL. =yee
P}\mathrm{ to need S = eyewitness evid.
vt
    encl
I need it
[VP]
I need a lot of firewood.
I want much wood.
Wood / much [lots] / I want. [I want to make]
ûl/ Lañ / is tcī ya ne
ąl Lañ stcī ya ne
53.5 doo-daanshoo' naashii
    doo-daanshoo' n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,3 =yii
    nobody sg come/arrive back = (assertive enclitic)
    pron vi
    encl
    nobody he comes!
    [Subj] [VP]
Nobody came!
Nobody came.
Nobody / came (?). [nobody come]
dō dan cō na ce
dō dan cō}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ na cī
53.6 ishtciigh-ee
    (ghin)..tceegh+IMPF.,1SG.
    cry
    vi
    I was crying
    [VP]
I was crying.
I cried.
I cried. [I was crying]
ûc tcì ge
ûc tcī ge
```


## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
53.7 shdjiidoosit
    P-djii-doo-(nin)..sit+IMPF.,3,+ 1SG. OBL.
    P to be lonesome
    vd
    I am lonesome
    [VP]
I was lonely.
I was lonesome.
I am lonesome. [I get lonesome]
is tcī dō sût
s tcī dō sût
53.8 wantaah tl'ee' siidaa-yee , tl'ee'
    wantaah tl'ee' s..daa+PERF.,1sG. =yee tl'ee'
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
some places \\
pron
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
night \\
adv
\end{tabular} & \[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { sit (sg) } \\
& \text { vi }
\end{aligned}
\] & = eyewitness evid. encl & \begin{tabular}{l}
night \\
adv
\end{tabular} \\
\hline some & night & I sat & & night \\
\hline [AdvP & & [VP] & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
neesding
neesding
far
adv
all ... long
    ]
```


## Some nights I sat up all night long.

Sometimes I sat up all night long.
Some [once in a while] / nights / I sit, [I sit up] / night / long.
wûn ta / L!e / sī da ye / Le / nes dûñ
wûn ta $\mathrm{Le}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{sin}^{\text {da }}$ ye $\mathrm{Le}^{\varepsilon}$ nes dûñ

|  | siidai <br> s..daa+PERF.,1SG. |  | naakaa naakaa | yiilhkai <br> yiilhkai |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | sit (sg) | $=\mathrm{NR}$ | two | dawn/morning |
|  | vi | encl | num | adv |
|  | I sat |  | two | nights |
|  | [VP] |  | [AdvP | ] |

## I sat up two nights.

I have been up two nights.
I sit, / two nights.
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
sī dai / nûk ka / yīL kai
sī dai nąk $\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ yī̀ kai

| 53.10 shghiiyaal | ,$"$ tc'in | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (ghin)..yaalh+PERF.,1SG. | ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| O be sleepy | say | they say |
| vi | vt | vt |
| I am sleepy | she said | they say |
| [VP] | $[\mathrm{VP}$ | $]$ |

I am sleepy," she said, they say.
I am sleepy," was the old woman's plaint.
I am sleepy," / she said / they say.
sgī yāl / tciñ ya nī
s gī yal tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
54 " taatjii naahohtinaash-teelh
?"
taatjii naahi-(s)..dnaash/naa' + IMPF.,2PL. =teelh
when? move back home = will/shall
inter vi encl
when? you (pl.) are going to move back home
[AdvP] [VP]
"When are you all going to move home?"
"When will you move?"
"When / will you move?" [you going to move]
tût djī/(tcī) / na hō tûn nûc teL
tąt djī na hō tûn nąc tel
55.1 ch'int' aang
ch'int' aang
acorn
n a
acorn
[Obj]

```
doo-diltaagh-ee
doo= ..Ihtaagh+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
negative = carry O = eyewitness evid.
neg vt
encl
```

we did not carry
[VP]
"We have not moved all the acorns.

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
""We have not yet carried all the acorns.
"Acorns / we have not carried. [we never move all]
tcûn tañ / dō dûl ta ge
tc'ûn t'añ dō dûl ta ge


## Soon, I think, six more baskets are left.

It probably will be soon. There are only six baskets left.
Soon / will be. [quick I think] Six only [six more] / burden baskets [baskets] / are left. kak bûñ kwûc / ī ban Laha / kai te bûL / nōn tī na e
kakw bûñ kwûc yī ban $\operatorname{La}^{\varepsilon}$ ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ k'ai $t$ bûl nōn $t a^{\varepsilon} e^{e}$

```
55.3 kaashbii' tidighish-teilee
    kaashbii
    tomorrow
    adv
    ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =teilee
carry load O along
    vt
will/shall
    encl
    tomorrow we are going to carry a load along
    [AdvP] [VP]
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say
vt
she said they say
[VP
We are going to haul a load tomorrow," she said, they say.
We will carry them again tomorrow," said the daughter.
Tomorrow / we will carry," [we will move] / he said [she said]/ they say. kác bi / tût dụ̂ gûc tē le / tciñ / yani
```

GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
kac bī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tût dûg gûc tē le tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī Note Raven speaking

55.4 " | ch'oyii-haa' | tidighish-teilee |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ch'oyii-haa' | ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. | $=$ teilee |  |
|  | again | carry load O along | = will/shall |
| adv | vt | encl |  |
|  | again | we are going to carry a load along |  |
|  | $[$ AdvP $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |  |

## "We are going to haul some again.

"Again / we will carry. [we got to take]
tcō yī ha / tût du gûc tē le
tcō yī ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tût dûg gûc tē le


There are going to be four burden baskets.
"There are only four baskets.
Burden baskets [basket] / two-two [2 / 2] / burden baskets will be. [basket]
kai te bûL / nûk ka / nûk ka / kai te bûL tē le
k'ai t bû̀ nąk $\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ nąk $\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\mathrm{k}}$ 'ai t bû̀ tē le

| 55.6 | naakaa naakaa | ch oyii-haa ch'oyii-haa | k'ai'tbilh <br> k'ai'tbilh |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | two | again | open-twined burden basket |
|  | num | adv | na |
|  | two | again | open-twined burden basket |
|  | [AdjP] | [AdvP] | [Obj] |

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
tidighish-teilee
ti-(s)..ghish/ghiin+IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ. =teilee
carry load O along = will/shall
vt
encl
we are going to carry a load along
[VP]
We're going to haul two burden baskets again.
We will carry two again.
Two / again / burden baskets [baskets] / we will carry." [we got to take] nûk ka tcō yī ha / kai te bûL / tût dû gûc tē le nąk ka tcō yī ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) k'ai \(t\) bûl tût dûg gûc tē le
```

```
55.7 shnaang
```

55.7 shnaang
*naang+1SG. POSS. OF
*naang+1SG. POSS. OF
mother
mother
n ia
n ia
my mother
my mother
[NP]
[NP]
ntcoonditciish-teilee kaashbii'
ntcoonditciish-teilee kaashbii'
P-tcoo-n-(ghin)..chiish/chaan+IMPF.,1PL.,2SG. =teilee kaashbii'
P-tcoo-n-(ghin)..chiish/chaan+IMPF.,1PL.,2SG. =teilee kaashbii'
leave/abandon P = will/shall tomorrow
leave/abandon P = will/shall tomorrow
vt encl adv
vt encl adv
we are going to leave you (sg.)
we are going to leave you (sg.)
tomorrow
tomorrow
[VP]
[VP]
[AdvP]

```
[AdvP]
```

My mother, tomorrow we are going to leave you.
My mother, tomorrow we will leave you.
"My mother, / we will leave you [we going to leave you] / tomorrow. cnûñ / ng tcon dût tcic tē le / kûc bī c nąñ n tcōn dût tcīc tē le kąc bī $\overline{\mathrm{r}}^{\varepsilon}$
$\left.\begin{array}{ll}55.8 & \text { k'ai'tbilh } \\ \text { k'ai'tbilh } & \text { naakaa' } \\ \text { open-twined burden basket } & \text { naakaa' } \\ \text { na } & \text { num } \\ \text { open-twined burden basket } & \text { two } \\ {[\text { Subj }} & \end{array}\right]$
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
noontnaa'-ei
noo-(nin)..tnaa'+PERF.,3 =yee =i
remain = eyewitness evid. = NR
vi encl encl
they remain
[VP]
Two burden baskets are left.
There are only two baskets left.
Burden baskets [basket] / two / are left. [left]
kai te bûL / nûk ka / nōn tī na ē
k'ai \(t\) bû́ nąk \(\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}\) nōn \(\mathrm{t} \mathrm{na}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{e}\)
```



We are going to go, my mother, we're going to go underground in a hole, we're going to go along underground.
We shall go through a tunnel under the ground."
We will go. [we go] / My mother / hole in [in hole / in] / we will go. [we go in] / Ground under / we will go." [we go.]
tī dûL tē lē / cnûñ / tcakût / bī / yī/yi he dûL tē lē / nûñ kī / gī dûL tē lì
tī dûL tē le c nąñ tc'a kût bī̊ kwûn ye hī dû́ tē le nûn kwī ye gī dûL tē le

GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
56 " neesding niiktc ghinyaalh neesding niiktc gh..yaalh+PROG.,2sG.
far slowly go along
adv adv vi
far slowly you (sg.) go.along
[AdvP] [AdvP] [VP]
"Travel carefully far away."
"You must go with care."
"Far [long way] / slowly [slow] / you go." nes dûñ / nīktcī gûn yaL
nes dûñ nīkts gûn yaL
57.1

| doo-nheelhkee'-teilee <br> doo $=$ <br> (ghin)..lhkee' +IMPF.,3,+ 1PL. OBJ. | $=$ teilee |
| :--- | :--- |
| negative $=$ | track O |
| vt | $=$ will/shall |
| neg | vt |

he is not going to track us
[VP]
"He is not going to catch up with us tracking.
"He will not track us.
"He won't track us, [he won't catch up with us]
dōn heL ke tē le
dō n hel kee tè le
57.2 doo-nohtc'ghilhkee'-teilee
doo= (ghin)..lhkee'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 1PL. OBJ. =teilee
negative $=$ track $\mathrm{O} \quad=$ will/shall
neg vt encl
he is not going to track us down
[VP]

| Ch'siitcing | ; | neesdin-ei |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ch'siitcing | neesding | =yee |
| Coyote (character) | be far $\quad=$ eyewitness evid. | $=$ = |
| n a | encl |  |
| Coyote (character) | vs | it is far |
| [Subj] | [VP] |  |

## Coyote is not going to track us down; it is far.

Coyote will not track us. It is far.
he won't track us along, [he won't track us along] / Coyote." "It is far. [long ways]
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
dō nō tcī gûL ke tē le / kisī tciñ nes dû nē dō nō tc' gûl ke ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tē le tc' sī tcûñ nes dûn ē
57.3 ts'isnoo' nchaagh-ee
ts'isnoo' n..chaagh+PERF.,3 =yee
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { mountain } & \text { be large } & =\text { eyewitness evid. } \\ \text { na } & \text { vd } & \text { encl }\end{array}$
mountain is large
[Subj] [VP]

## The mountains are large.

The mountains are large.
Mountain / large. [big]
sûs nō / n tca ge
ts'ûs nō ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$ tca Ge

```
57.4 neeseek'aa' ts'ii' ntcee'-ee
    neeseek'aa' ts'ii' n..tcee'+PERF.,3 =yee
    the long way brush be bad =eyewitness evid.
    adv na vd encl
    the long way brush it is bad
    [AdvP] [AdvCl
haihiit tishaash-ee
haihiit ti-(s)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,1sG. =yee
because of that sg go along = eyewitness evid.
conj vi
encl
because of I go along
    ] [VP]
I go the long way because the brush is bad.
I go the longer way because the brush is difficult.
The long way [long / ways] / brush / bad [no good] / because / I go. [I always go]
ne se / ka(k) / sīn n tce e hai hit / t ca ce
ne se k'a ts'î}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\textrm{n}\mathrm{ nte }\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ e hai hīt' t ca ce
```


## 57.5 naadilyiish

```
naa-(ghees)..lyiish/yiitc' + OPT., 1PL.
rest
vs
let us rest
[VP]
Let's rest.
```

We will rest.
We will rest. [let us rest]
na dûl yīc
na dûl yīc
Note "Bill always stopped when the story say 'he rested'" (Goddard NBIII, p.18)
57.6 ninsaat
n-(s)..saat+IMPF.,2sG.
sit down
vi
you (sg) sit down
[VP]

## Sit down.

Sit down.
Sit down.
nûn sût
nûn sąt

| 58.1 | kaa' | beedilh | kwaant' eihit |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | kaa' ${ }_{1}$ | P-ee-(s)..dilh/deel' + IMPF.,1PL.,+ 3 OBL. | kwaant' 'ihit |


| shii | ghishgheelh | k'ai'tbilh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| shii | gh..gheelh+PROG.,1sG.,+ 3 OBJ. | k'ai'tbilh |
| 1sg indep | carry load O along | open-twined burden basket |
| pron | vt | na |
| I/me | I carry the load along | open-twined burden basket |
| [Subj] | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ | $[\mathrm{Obj}]$ |

## "OK, when we have climbed up I'll haul the burden basket.

"Come, when we have climbed up I will carry the basket.
Come, [quick] / we have climbed when [let us climb / that is all right] / I / I will carry [let me pack it] / burden basket. [basket] $\mathrm{ka} / \mathrm{bī} / \mathrm{bē}$ dûL / kẉûn tē hit / cī gûc geL / kai te bûL $\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ be dûl kwąn tē hit cī gûc gel k'ai t bûL

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray


## Are you tired?"

Are you tired?"
Are you tired?" [you tired]
dō ñ he ûñ heñ/niñ
dōñ he ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ûñ
Note The word niing ("you (sg.)") in the notebook version did not appear in the published version.

59
dooyiihee'-ee
doo-(gh)..hee'+IMPF.,1sG. =yee
be tired = eyewitness evid.
vd
encl
I am tired
[VP]
"I am tired."
"I am tired."
"I am tired."
dō ī he e
dō yī he ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{e}$
60.1 tk'angding kaasiideel'
tk' aanding kaa-(s)..dilh/deel'+PERF.,1PL.
on a ridge $\mathrm{du} / \mathrm{pl}$ come up from below
adv vi
on a ridge we came up from below
[AdvP] [VP]

## "We have come up onto the ridge.

"We have climbed to the top of the ridge.
"Ridge [on side hill] / we came up.
t kûn dûn / ka sī del
t k'ûñ dûñ ka sī del ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
60.2 yoo'oong
Ihit ilhsaang yoo oong lhit
(0)..Ihsis/saan+PERF.,2sG.,+ 3 OBJ.
over there smoke see/catch sight of
adv
na vt
over there smoke you (sg.) see it
[AdvP] [Obj] [VP]
```


## You see the smoke way over there."

Do you see the smoke yonder?"
Way over [way off] / smoke / do you see?" [did you find]
yōñ / Lût / ûL tsûñ
yō ōñ Lût ûL są̃̃
Note Not marked as a question in Cahto

| 61 " | heu heu | Ihit Ihit |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | yes (affirmation) | smoke |
|  | interj | na |
|  | yes | smoke |
|  | [Interj] | [Obj] |

isaan-ee
(0)..Ihsis/saan+PERF.,1sG.,+ 3 OBJ. =yee
see/catch sight of
vt
$=$ eyewitness evid.
encl

I saw it
[VP]
"Yes, I saw the smoke."
"Yes, I see the smoke."
"Yes, / smoke / I see." [I find]
hē $\bar{u} / L$ ût / ûs sa nē
he $\bar{u}^{\varepsilon}$ Lût ûs sa nē
62 nee'nchaahding ninyaa-kwaang
nee'nchaahding n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,2sG. =kwaan
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { large country } & \text { sg come/arrive back } & =\text { inferred evid. } \\ \text { na } & \text { vi } & \text { vencl }\end{array}$
large country you (sg.) have come
[AdvP] [VP]
"You have come (through) a large country."
"It is a large country you have traversed."

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

"Country large [long ways] / you have come."
ne ûn tca dûn / nûn ya kwañ
ne ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n}$ tca ${ }^{\circ}$ dûñ nûn ya kwañ
63 dooyiihee'-'anjii
doo-(gh)..hee'+IMPF.,1sG. ='anjii
be tired
$=$ MIR
vd
encl
I am really tired
[VP]
"I am really tired."
"I am tired."
"I am tired."
dō yī he ûn $g \overline{1}$
dō yī he ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ûñ $\mathrm{gī}$

"Let's cross the creek.
"We cross the stream.
"Creek / we cross.
ca na / na nī dûL
$\mathrm{ca}^{\bullet} \mathrm{na}^{\varepsilon}$ na nī dûL
64.2 naanishghee' , alhtee
naa-n-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,1SG.,+ 2sG. OBJ. alhtee
carry O across piggyback
come on!
vt
let me carry you (sg.) across piggyback
interj
come on!
[VP]
[Interj]
daa'indishghee'
daah-d-(ghin)..ghish/ghiin+OPT.,1SG.,+ 2sG. OBJ.
pick up/take up load O onto back
vt
let me pick you up piggyback
[VP]

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

Let me carry you across piggyback, come on, let me pick you up on my back.
I will carry you across, let me take you up.
I will carry you across. [let me carry you across] / Well. [come on] / I take you up. [let me pick you up]
na nic ge / ûL te / da ûn dic ge
na nic ge $^{\varepsilon}$ ąL te da ûn dic ge $^{\varepsilon}$

## 64.3 ghilhgheel' -ee

ghin..lhghilh/gheel'+TRTL.,PERF.,3 =yee
become evening
vd
= eyewitness evid.
it's becoming evening
[VP]

## It's becoming evening.

It is evening.
It is evening. [getting late]
gûL ge le
gû́ ge le

## 64.4 ghinyaalh kwaant'eihit <br> gh..yaalh+PROG.,2sG. kwaant'eihit <br> go along nevertheless <br> vi <br> you (sg.) go.along <br> [VP]

encl

Lût / ûn sûL tcīc
Lût ûn sûL tcīc

| 64.6 tc'in | yaa' $\mathbf{n i i}$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| say | they say |
| vt | vt |
| he said | they say |
| [VP | $]$ |

he asked, they say.
Do you smell the smoke ?" he asked.
Smoke / you smell?" / he said / they say.
tcin / ya nī
tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}$

| 64.7 | yeeh yeeh | s'aan-ei <br> s..'aan+PERF.,3 | =yee | =i | yoo' oong yoo' oong |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | house <br> na | be situated vs | = eyewitness evid. encl | $\begin{aligned} & =\mathrm{NR} \\ & \text { encl } \end{aligned}$ | over there adv |
|  | house | that is situated |  |  | over there |
|  | [ RelCl |  |  |  | ] |


| shiiyee' | yeeh | hai <br> shiiyee' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yeeh | hai $_{1}$ |  |
| 1sg possessive indep | house | that |
| pron | na | dem |
| mine | house | that |
| [PossP |  | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |

"The house that lies over there is the one that's my house.
"The house [you see] is mine.
"House / stands [is there I see]/ yonder [way over] / mine / house / that.
ye / sa nē / yōñ / cī ye / ye hai
ye $s^{\varepsilon}$ a nē yō ōñ cī ye ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ye hai
64.8 kaa'
$\mathrm{kaa}_{1}$
quickly/hurry
interj
quickly let us go along
[Interj]
tiidilh
ti-(s)..dilh/deel'+OPT.,1PL.
du/pl go along
vi
[VP]

## Let's hurry up.

We will go fast.
Quickly [quick] / we go. [let us go]
ka / tī dûL
$\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ tī dû̀
64.9 tcaakwilhghilh-teilee
tcaa-ko-(ghin)..lhghilh/gheel' + IMPF.,3AREAL =teilee
be very dark = will/shall
vd
encl
it is going to get very dark
[VP]

## It is going to get dark.

It will soon be dark.
It will be dark. [it is going to get dark]
tca kwûL gûL te le
tca kwûl gûL tē le
64.10 naaghai s'aan-'anjii
naaghai s..'aan+PERF.,3 ='anjii
moon be situated = MIR
na vs encl
moon is there!
[Subj] [VP]

## At least there's a moon.

There is a moon.
Moon / is.
nagai / san an ûñ gi
na gai $\mathrm{s}^{\text {s}}{ }^{\text {an }}$ ûñ $\mathrm{g} \overline{1}$

| 64.11 | tinii | nshoon-i |  | hai' ang |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | tinii | n..shoon+ |  | hai' ang |
|  | trail | be good | $=($ assertive enclitic $)$ | over there |
|  | na | vd | encl |  |
|  | road/ | it is good |  | over there |
|  | [Subj] | [VP] |  | [AdvP] |

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
tc'in yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii}
say they say
vt
he said they say
[VP ]
The trail is good over there," he said, they say.
The trail over there is good.
Trail [road] / is good [it is good] / over there," / he said / they say.
ta nī / ng cō nī / hai ûñ / tcin / ya nī
tûn nī n cō nī hai ûñ tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{n} \overline{1}\)
64.12 " \begin{tabular}{lll} 
hai-'anjii & alhtee \\
hai \(_{1}=\) =anjii & alhtee \\
there =MIR & come on! \\
dem encl & interj \\
there! & come on! \\
& {\([\) AdvP] } & {\([\) Interj] }
\end{tabular}
doohaa' -kashninlh'iing'
doohaa' n-(ghin)..Ih'iin/'iin' +PERF.,2SG.,+ 3PL. OBJ.
do not! look at O
neg vt
do not look at them
[VP]
Well, don't look at them over there.
Well, do not try to look at it.
"Over there [over that way] / well [come on] / don't look at them.
hai ûñ gī / ûL te / dō ha kûc nûn Liñ'
hai ûñ gī ąL te dō ha \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) kûc nûn Liñ \({ }^{\varepsilon}\)
64.13 shkee' -haa'
```


## ghinyaalh

```
*kee' \({ }_{1}+1\) SG. POSS. OF =haa'
gh..yaalh+PROG.,2sG.
track ( n )
n ia \(=\) just, only go along
right in my tracks encl
[AdvP]
```

you (sg.) go.along
[VP]

```
Walk right in my tracks."
Walk in my tracks," he told her.
Behind me [my track/behind me] / you walk.
```


## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

is ke ha / gûn yaL
ske $^{\varepsilon}$ ha $^{\varepsilon}$ gûn yal
65.1 doohaa' -kaanoontyaang
doohaa' kaa-noo..tyaan+IMPF.,2sG.
do not! ashamed
neg vd
you (sg.) do not be ashamed
[VP]
"Don't be shy.
"Do not be ashamed.
Do not be ashamed.
dō ha ka nōn hī/tī yûñ
dō ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ka nōn t yąñ

## 65.2 yeeheenyaash

yeeh-(nin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2SG.
sg come in
vi
you (sg.) come inside
[VP]

## Come inside.

Come in.
Come in.
hī hen yas
ye hen yac
65.3 yeeh-bii' ninsaat ."
yeeh+LOC. n-(s)..saat+IMPF.,2SG.
house sit down
n a vi
in the house you (sg) sit down
[PostP] [VP]
Be seated in the house."
Be seated," he told his new wife.
House in / sit down.
ye bī / nûn sat
ye bī̀ nûn sat

kwong' noo-naa-(nin)..lash/laa+IMPF.,2sG.
fire put $\mathrm{pl} /$ rope-like O back to a limit
na vt
fire you (sg.) put them down again
[AdvP] [VP]
"Put some more wood on the fire.
"Put wood on the fire," he told his mother.
Fire / put wood on.
kōñ / kō nō nal lûc
kwōñ ${ }^{\text {e nō nal lạc }}$
66.2 taahkit too taahjiit too where? water inter n a where? water [AdvP] [VP]
Where is some water?
"Where is the water?
Where [where is] / water?
ta kit/tcit / tō
ta kit tō
66.3 taaghiibaa'
taa-(ghin)..baa'+PERF.,1sG.
be thirsty
vi (prs.)
I am thirsty
[VP]
I am thirsty."
I am thirsty."
I am thirsty."
ta gī ba
ta gī ba

"You (must be) tired, my wife, from being under the burden basket."
"Are you tired, my wife, from being so long under the burden- basket?"
"Wife [woman] / mine [my] / you tired / burden basket / under?"
tcek / cī ye / dōñ he / kai te bûL / (w)ū ye
tc' ek cī ye ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ dōñ he ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ k'ai t bûl ū ye
Note not marked as a question in Cahto
68 daanjii jeeschow
daanjii jeeschow
who? elk
inter na
who? elk
[Subj] [Obj]
yiisch' aang-kwaan
(s)..ch'aash/ch'aan+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
shoot
vt
he has shot it
[VP]
"Who has shot the elk?"
"Who killed the elk?"
"Who / elk / shot?" [killed]
dûn tcī / djestcō / yīs tcûñ kwûñ
dąn tcī ges tcō yīs tc'ąñ kwąñ
Note Wolf to his mother

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
69.1 "
ncheel'
*cheel' +2 sG. POSs. younger brother n ia your younger brother he shot it [Subj]
[VP]
k'andang
k'andang' yesterday
adv
yesterday
[AdvP]
"Your younger brother shot it yesterday.
"Your younger brother shot it yesterday.
"Your younger brother / shot it / yesterday.
n tcal / sûs tcañ / kûn dûñ
n tcel $^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{s}^{\prime}$ ûs tc'añ k'ûn dûñ

| 69.2 | noonii |
| :--- | :--- |
| noonii | seilghiing |
| grizzly bear | kill sg. Ighee/ghiin+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ. |
| n a | vt |
| grizzly bear | he killed it |
| $[\mathrm{Obj}]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |

He killed a grizzly.
He killed a grizzly and also a panther he saw, ' ' she replied.
Bear / he killed.
nō nī / sē lī giñ
nō nī sēl giñ

| 69.3 bitchow | ghilsaang |
| :--- | :--- |
| bitchow | ..ghilsaan+PERF.,+ 3 OBJ. |
| mountain lion | find O/O be found |
| n a | vp |
| mountain lion | it was found |
| $[$ Obj] | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |

uudjii' ghiltik
P-djii..ghiltik+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBL.
$P$ to be killed
vp
it was killed
[VP]
And a mountain lion was found and killed."
and also [he killed] a panther he saw," she replied.

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

Panther / he found. / He killed it." bût tcō gûl sañ / ō djī gûl tûk bût tcō gûl sañ ō djī gûl tûk

```
70.1 taahjii sk'ee'
    taahjii sk'ee'
    where? acorn soup
    inter na
    where? acorn soup
    [AdvP] [VP]
"Where is the acorn soup?
```

"Where is the mush?
"Where [where is] / mush?
ta djī / s k!e
ta djī sk' ${ }^{\varepsilon}$
70.2 shdjiighinyaang
P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+PERF.,3,+ 1sG. OBL.
P to like/want S
vt
I want it
[VP]
I want some.

I want it. [I want to eat]
is tcī gûn yañ
$s$ tcī gûn yañ
70.3 shghiinaa'
sh-(ghin)..naa'+PERF.,1sG.
be hungry
vs
I am hungry
[VP]
I am hungry."
I am hungry.
I am hungry.
c gī na
c gī na ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
70.4 neesding naaheestyai
    neesding naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 =i
    far sg go back home =NR
    adv vi encl
    far he went back home
    [AdvP] [VP]
```

(He went back home a long way.)
I have come a long way.
Long ways [long way] / I started back. [I came back]
nes dûñ / na hes tī yai
nes dûñ na hes tyai
70.5 tc'eek teesiilhchoot
tc'eek ti-(s)..lhchood+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
woman steal (as a wife)
na vt
woman I stole her
[Obj] [VP]
"I stole a wife."
I stole a woman."
Woman / I stole." [I steal]
tcek / tes sīL tcōt
tc'ek te sī̀ tcōt

| 71.1 | "taahjii tc'teelhkat <br> taahjii ti-(s)..lhkat+PERF.,3ANIM. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | where? | pl go along |
|  | inter | vi |

"Where did they go?"
[Where they went] ta tcī tcit teL kût ta tcī tc't tel kût

| 71.2 tc'in | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| say | they say |
| vt | vt |
| he said | they say |
| [VP | $]$ |

he said, they say.
"Where did they go?" asked Coyote.
"Where / did they go?" / he said / they say.
tcin / ya ni
tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}$
Note Coyote talking

| 71.3 | seekaat' | doo-kineesh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | seekaat' | doo $=\quad$ k-n-(ghin)..yiish/yii+IMPF.,3 |
| mortar slab | negative $=$ speak | yaa'nii |
| yaa'nii |  |  |

## seekaat'

seekaat'
mortar slab
na
mortar slab
[NP]
The mortar slab didn't speak, they say, a mortar slab (of all things).
The grinding stone he had addressed did not reply.
Mealing-stone [rock flat] / didn't speak [it can't talk] / they say, / mealing-stone. [rock flat]
se kût / dō kin nec / ya ni / se kût
se k'ût dō kin nec ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī se k'ût

| 71.4daatcaang' dinii | yaa'nii |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| daatcaang' | d...nii/nii'/niilh+IMPF.,3 | yaa'nii |
| raven/crow | make characteristic call | they say |
| na | vt | vt |
| raven | it made its call | they say |
| [Subj] | [VP | $]$ |

A raven croaked, they say.

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

A raven croaked.
Raven [Crow] / croaked [spoke] / they say. da tcûñ / dûn nī / ya nī da tcąñ̃ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ dûn nī ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

71.5 | " | alhtee | , |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| alhtee |  |  |
|  | come on! | dee |
|  | interj | here |
|  | come on! | dem |
|  | here |  |
|  | $[$ Interj] $]$ | $[$ AdvP] |

naach' kwnimilh
naa-ch'-n-(nin)..bilh/biil' + IMPF.,2SG.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.,+ 3AREAL OBJ.
bring basketfull O back
vt
you (sg.) bring a basketfull back
[VP]

| tc'in | yaa' $\mathbf{n i i}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| say | they say |
| vt | vt |
| he said | they say |
| [VP | $\quad]$ |

Come on, bring them back here in a basket," he said, they say.
"Well, bring them back," he said.
"Well, [come on] / here / bring them back," / he said / they say.
aL te / de na kwī nûm mûL / tcin / ya ni
aL te de na tc' ku nûm mûl tc' in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
$\begin{array}{llll}71.6 \text { aal noonilit } & , & \text { taahjii } & \text { naasaang } \\ \text { aal noonilit } & & \text { taahjii } & \text { naa-(s)..saan+IMPF.,3 } \\ \text { unburned firewood } & \text { where? } & \text { move (to another place) } \\ \text { n a } & \text { inter } & \text { vi } \\ \text { unburned firewood } & \text { where? } & \text { they move } \\ \text { [NP] } & \text { [AdvP] } & \text { [VP] }\end{array}$
To the unburned firewood, "Where did she move?"
Wood / unburned, / "Where / they moved?"
al / non nûl lût ta tcī / na sûñ
al nō nûl lût ta tcī na sąn

| 71.7 | tc'in |
| :--- | :--- |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa' nii |
| say | they sai |
| st | vt |
| vt | they say |
| [VP | $\quad]$ |

he said, they say.
"Where did they move?" he asked the partly burned wood of the fireplace.
he said / they say.
tcin ya $\mathrm{n} \overline{1}$
tc' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{n}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n} \overline{1}$

| 71.8 | uu | 号 | yaa' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | uu'eest | nin'-(s)..tish/taan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | pestle | pick up stick-like O from ground | hey say |
|  | na | vt |  |
|  | pestle | he picked it up from the ground | they say |
|  | [Obj] | [VP |  |

## He picked up a pestle, they say.

He picked up a pestle.
Pestle / he picked up [he picked it up] / they say.
$\bar{o}$ est / nûn sûs tañ / ya nī
$\bar{o}^{\varepsilon}$ est nûn $\mathrm{s}^{\prime}$ ûs tañ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}$
$71 .{ }^{\text {" }}$

| taahjii | naasaang |
| :--- | :--- |
| taahjii | naa-(s)..saan+IMPF.,3 |
| where? | move (to another place) |
| inter | vi |
| where? | they move |
| [AdvP] | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |

"Where did they move?"
"Where did they move?" he demanded.
"Where / they moved?"
ta tcī na sûñ
ta tcī na sąñ

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

| 71.10 | uu'eest | yaa'ghilhghaal' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | | yaa'nii |
| :--- |
| uu'eest | | yaa-(ghin)..lhghaalh/ghaal' +PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

He threw the pestle up in the air, they say.
He threw the pestle up
Pestle / he threw up / they say.
$\bar{o}$ est / ya gûL gal / yanī
$\bar{o}^{\text {e est }}$ ya gûL gal ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
71.11 tc'tees'iing' yaa'nii , yaah-bii'ing'
ti-(s)..' 'iin/'iin' + PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ yaah bii'ing'
look along they say sky inside
vi vt
he looked along they say in the sky
[VP ] [PostP]
He looked along at it in the sky, they say.
and was looking into the sky after it,
He looked up [he look up] / they say, / sky in. [sky toward]
tcit tes īñ ya nī ya bī ûñ

$\begin{array}{ll}71.12 & \text { kwsint' aa' } \\ \text { *sint' aa' }+3 \text { ANIM. POSS. } & \text { naineelhghaal' } \\ \text { naa-n-(s)..lhghaalh/ghaal'+PERF.,3OBV.,+ } 3 \text { OBJ. } \\ \text { forehead } & \text { beat O } \\ \text { n ia } & \text { vt } \\ \text { his forehead } & \text { it beat him } \\ {[\mathrm{Obj}]} & {[\mathrm{VP}} \\ \text { yaa'nii . } & \\ \text { yaa'nii } & \\ \text { they say } & \\ \text { vt } & \end{array}$
]
And it hit him on his forehead, they say.
when it fell and hit him on the forehead.
His forehead / it struck [it hit] / they say.
GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
kwût sûn t!a / nai neL gûl / ya nī ku sûn $t^{\prime} a^{\varepsilon}$ nai nel gal ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

|  | ch'aakaa-kat | kaanailash |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ch'aang ${ }_{2}+\mathrm{VAR}$. OF | kaa-naa-(ghin)..lash/laa+IMPF.,3OBV.,+ 3 OBJ. |
|  | hole | take pl O back up from underground |
|  | na |  |
|  | in a hole | she takes them back up from underground |
|  | [PostP] | [VP] |

ch'int' aang
ch'int' aang
acorn
na
acorn
[Obj]

## She was digging out acorns from a hole.

The old woman was digging acorns from a hole in the house.
Hole from [in a hole] / she was digging out [she digging it out] / acorns.
tca ka kût / ka nai lûc / tcûn tañ
tc'a ka kût ka nai ląc tc'ûn t'añ

| 72.2 yeehtc'ghinyaiyeeh-(ghin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM |  | tc'yaantc tc' yaantc |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |
| sg go in | $=\mathrm{NR}$ | old woman |
| vi | encl |  |
| he went in |  | old woman |
| [VP] |  | [Obj] |
| tc'eelhchiih | yaa' ni |  |
| ..lhchit/cheet+IMPF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa' ${ }^{\text {ii }}{ }_{1}$ |  |
| catch O | they say |  |
| vt | vt |  |
| he caught her | they say |  |
| [VP | ] |  |

He went in and caught the old woman, they say.
He came in and caught her.
He came in, / old woman / he caught / they say. ye tcī gûn yai / sī yantc / seL tci ya nī ye tc' gûn yai tc' yantc tc'el tcī ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
72.3 " daanjii shoolhchit
    daanjii oo-(ghin)..lhchit+IMPF.,3,+ 1SG. OBJ.
    who? catch O
    inter vt
    who? s/he catches me
    [Subj] [VP]
"Who caught me?
```

"Who / caught me? [catch me (head in hole) (he catch behind)]
dan djī cōL tcût
dan djī cōl tcût
72.4 nhooshtgee'
oo-n-(nin)..tgish/geetc' +OPT.,1SG.,+ 2PL. OBJ.
look at O
vt
let me look at you (pl.)
[VP]

## Let me look at you."

"Let me see you, you who have caught me, ' ' the old woman demanded.
I will look at you." [I like to see you/let me see you]
ûñ hōc tûg ge
n hōc $\mathrm{tge}{ }^{\varepsilon}$
73.1

```
doo-yaashtc' oolhgish-'ang'
doo= oo..lhgish/geetc'+IMPF.,3ANIM.,DIST.,+ 1SG. OBJ. ='ang'
negative = look at O = it is/was
neg vt
    encl
```

it is the case that s/he can't see me
[VP]
"Nobody can see me."
"No one sees me," he said.
"Nobody looks at me."
dō yac tcōL te gûc ûñ cī
dō yac tc'ōl gûc ûñ

```
73.2 tc'eenaa'nlhaah yaa'nii
    tc'ee-naa-(nin)..lhaat+PERF.,3ANIM.
    run back out from
    vi
    he ran back out from inside
    [VP
```


## yaa'nii

yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say
]

He ran back outside, they say.
He ran out.
He ran out they say. [he jump out] tce na $\underline{n} \mathrm{La} /$ ya nī
tc'e na $n$ la ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

```
73.3 tc'ghintcang' yeeh-bii'
    (ghin)..tcan'+PERF.,3ANIM. yeeh+LOC.
    defecate
    vi
    he defecated
                                in the house
    [VP]
                            [PostP]
```


## He pooped in the house.

He defecated in the house.
He defecated [he defecate] / house in.
si gûn cûñ / ye bī
ts' gûn tcąñ ye bī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

| 73.4 | shtcaa'nii | ta | naasaang |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | *tcaa'nii+1sG. POSS. OF | taahjii | naa-(s)..saan+IMPF.,3 |
|  | excrement | where? | move (to another place) |
|  | n ia | inter | vi |
|  | my excrement | where? | they move |
|  | [PossP] | [AdvP] | [VP] |

"My poop, where did they move?"
"My faeces, / where / moved?"
is tca $n \overline{1} /$ ta tcī na sûñ
$\mathrm{stca}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ta tcī na sąñ

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

| 73.5 | tc'in |
| :--- | ---: |
| ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa' $\mathbf{n i i}$ |
| say | yaa'nii |
| vt | they say |
| he said | vt |
| [VP | they say |

he said, they say.
"My faeces, where have they moved ?" Coyote asked.
he said / they say.
tc' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{n}$ ya $a^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
74.1 diisee' ch'aakaa-bii' kwinyeehninyiing
diisee' ch'aang ${ }_{2}+$ LOC. kwinyeeh-(nin)..yeesh/yiin+PERF.,3
west hole travel underground
direct na vi
west in a hole they traveled underground
[AdvP] [PostP] [VP]

| Yiishtc | tc' ${ }^{\prime}$ eek |
| :--- | :--- |
| Yiishtc | tc'eek |
| Wolf (character) | woman |
| na | na |
| Wolf (character) | woman |
| [Subj |  |

"Wolf and the woman went underground to the west in a hole.
"They went down here through a tunnel," it replied.
"Down here / hole in [in a hole] / they went in [they went] / Wolf, / woman.
dī se / tca ka bī kwun ya ya niñ / yīcts / tcek
dī se ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc'a ka bī $\bar{i}^{\varepsilon}$ kwûn ye nûn yiñ yīcts tc'ek
Note Coyote's dung replying

| 74.2 | tc'teeloos-ee | skiitc |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ti-(s)..loos+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | $=$ yee | skiitc |
| lead O along | $=$ eyewitness evid. | boy |
| vt | encl | na |
| he led her along |  | boy |
| [VP] | $[O b j$ |  |

naakaa' - haa'
naakaa'-haa'
both
adj
both
]

## He led her away and both of the boys.

[Wolf] led away the woman and the two boys.
He led along [led along] / boys / both. [two both]
sī te lōs se / s kītj / nûk ka ha
tc' te lōs se skīts nąk $\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ha}^{\varepsilon}$

```
74.3 TI'ohkaastkw'it naasaan-ee
    Tl'ohkaastkw'it naa-(s)..saan+IMPF.,3 =yee
    Tl'ohkaastkw'it move (to another place) = eyewitness evid.
    na vi encl
    Tl'ohkaastkw'it they moved
    [AdvP] [VP]
tc' \({ }^{\prime}\) n
    yaa'nii
..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
say they say
vt
it said they say
[VP
    ]
They moved to Tl'ohkaastkw'it." it said, they say.
They went to Lokastkwut."
Lokastkwut [dry grass] / they moved," / it said / they say.
Lō kast k'wût' na sa ne tc'in ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
Note an unknown place name, "Dry Grass On It"
75.1 " Ch’siitcing Ch'siitcing
Coyote (character)
na
Coyote (character)
[Subj]
```

```
kwins'isnolhkee' -kwosh
P-in-(s)..Ihkee'+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 1PL. OBJ. =kwosh
track O chasing
vt
    = perhaps/guess
    encl
perhaps he tracked chasing us
[VP]
"Perhaps Coyote tracked us."
"Coyote may track us," observed Wolf.
"Coyote / might track us. [he might track us]
tce si tcin / kwûñ sis nōL ke kwûc
tc' sī tcûñ kwûn s'ûs nōL ke}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ kwûc
Note Wolf speaking
\begin{tabular}{lll} 
75.2 Ch'siitcing & tc'ninyaa-dee' & \\
Ch'siitcing & n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. \(=\) dee' \\
Coyote (character) & sg come/arrive back & \(=\) if \\
na & vi & conj \\
Coyote (character) & if he comes & \\
{\([\mathrm{Cl}\)} &
\end{tabular}
kwaachih-bang iintc'ee'
P-ghaa-(nin)..chit+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3ANIM. OBL. =bang i intc'ee'
feed P =must venison
vt
you (pl.) must feed him
    encl na
                                    venison
[VP]
[Obj]
sk'ee'
sk'ee'
acorn soup
na
acorn soup
[Obj]
kw'innaadeebilh-jaa'
P-k'it-naa-d-(s)..bilh/biil'+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. =jaa'
sprinkle O on top of P = volitive/optative
vt
encl
we should sprinkle it on top of him
[VP]
```

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
"If Coyote comes you must feed him venison and we should sprinkle acorn soup on him.
"If he comes we will pour mush on him.
Coyote / if he comes / you must feed him / venison. [deer] / Mush / we will pour on him. [on him spill it]
tce sī tcin / tcin nûn ya de / kwa tcûb bûñ / īn tce / $\mathrm{s}^{\prime}$ ke / kwûn na te bûL tca tc' sī tcûñ tc' nûn ya de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ kwa tcûb bûñ in tce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ sk' $^{\prime} \mathrm{e}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ wûn na te bûL dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

| 75.3 | kiitsaa' chow | bilh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kiitsaa' chow | *ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL. |  |
|  | large cooking basket | instrumental |
| n a | postp |  |
| large cooking basket | with it |  |
|  | $[$ PostP | $\quad]$ |

## kw'itnaadeebilh-jaa'

P-k'it-naa-d-(s)..bilh/biil'+OPT.,1PL.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. =jaa'
sprinkle O on top of $\mathrm{P} \quad=$ volitive/optative
vt
encl
we should sprinkle it on top of him
[VP]

## We should 'sprinkle' it on him from a large basket-bowl.

We will pour it on him from a large basket-bowl.
Basket-bowl large [xaitsakyo basket] / with / we will spill on him.
kī tsa tcō bûL / kwût na te bûL tca
kī tsa ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tcō bû́ k'wût' na te bûL dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$
Note In the notebook Goddard glosses the basket name with the corresponding Hupa term "xaitsakyo" (modern spelling: xayts'a'-kyoh), a large mush basket.

```
75.4 nookwolh'aa'-bang
    noo-(nin)..Ih'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. =bang 2
    seat O at a limit \(\quad=\) future predictive enclitic
    vt
    encl
    you must seat him
    [VP]
```


## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
yeeh-tagit
yeeh-tagit
house-middle
na
in the middle of the house
[PostP]
You must seat him in the center of the house."
You must give him a seat in the center of the house."
Place him [tell him to sit down] / house middle." [in house middle]
no kōL a bûñ / yī tûk kût
nō kwōL }\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mp@subsup{\textrm{a}}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ bûñ ye tûk kût
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline 76.1 ' & shnaang & Ch'siitcing \\
\hline & *naang+1sG. POSS. OF & Ch'siitcing \\
\hline & mother & Coyote (character) \\
\hline & n ia & na \\
\hline & my mother & Coyote (character) \\
\hline & [NP] & [Subj] \\
\hline tc' \({ }^{\text {nin }}\) & ai-'anjii & \\
\hline n -(nin) & .yaash/yaa+PERF.,3ANIM. & ='anjii \\
\hline sg com & /arrive back & NR = MIR \\
\hline vi & & encl \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
he has come!
[VP]
"My mother, Coyote has come here!
"My mother, Coyote is coming," called out one of the boys.
"My mother, / Coyote / is coming.
c nûñ / tce tsē tciñ / tcûn nûn yai ûñ gī
c nąñ tc' sī tcûñ tc'n nûn yai ûñ gī
76.2 alhtee toonai-biinee' -shwoltc
    alhtee toonai-biinee'-shwoltc
    come on! "little round back" fish
    interj n a
    come on! "little round back" fish
    [Interj] [Obj]
```


## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
tc'ninghiing-'anjii
n-(nin)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. ='anjii
bring load/O = MIR
vt
encl
```

he brought it as a load
[VP]

## Come on! He actually brought the little round back fish!

"He is carrying a short piece of the back of a fish.
Well, [come on] / fish / back [backbone] / short / he is bringing." [he packed] ûL te / tō nai / bī ne / tcō gōl tce / tcē nûñ iñ ûñ gī ąL te tō nai bī ne $^{\varepsilon}$ cwōltc tc' nûñ iñ ûñ $g \overline{1}$


It's the one he was saying 'your little salmon' about that he's bringing!
'This is your small salmon,' he is saying, that one he is bringing here."
"Your little salmon [your salmon little] / he said / that one [bring them] / here / he brings. nō Lō kets / tcin nī / ûñ gī / ûn te de / kwa nû lōs
nō Lō k'ets tc'n nī ûñ gī ąn t'e de kwa nûl lōs
77.1 doo-shdjjikwyaan-'anjii
doo-..-hee P-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.,+ 1SG. OBL. ='anjii
negative $P$ to like/want $S \quad=$ MIR
encl vt encl
I do not like him!
[VP]

## "I really Do Not Like Him.

"I do not like him.

I don't like him.
dō+ is tcī kwī yañ ûñ gī
dō s tcī ku yan ûñ gī
Note the "high words" expression again

| 77.2 | yook yook | naaghaa-bang naa-(s)..yaa/yaa' +IMPF.,3 | $=\text { bang }_{2}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | way far adv | sg go around/about vi | $\begin{aligned} & =\text { must } \\ & \text { encl } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | way far | he must walk around |  |
|  | [AdvP] | [VP] |  |

## He must walk way off.

He must keep at a distance.
Way off / he must walk. [let him walk]
yōk na ga bûñ
yōk' na ga bûñ
77.3 dookwniish'iin'-teel
doo= n-(ghin)..Ih'iin/'iin'+IMPF.,1SG.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. =teel
negative $=$ look at O
neg vt
$=$ will, shall
I am not going to look at him
[VP]

## I Am Not Going To Look At Him.

I will not look at him.
I will not look at him. [I won't look at him]
dō kwī nīc iñ tel
dō ku nīc īn ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tel

## 77.4 doo-shdjiikwyaan <br> doo= $\quad$-djii-(ghin)..yaan+IMPF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBJ.,+ 1sG. OBL. <br> negative $=P$ to like/want $S$ <br> neg vt <br> I do not like him <br> [VP]

```
Ch'siitcing
Ch'siitcing
Coyote (character)
na
Coyote (character)
[Obj]
I Do Not Like Coyote."
```

I do not like this Coyote who has come," said his former wife.
I do not like him [I don't like him] / Coyote."
dō is tcī kwā yan / ki sī tciñ
dō stcī ku yan tc' sī tcûñ
78.1 " daanjii ninyaa
daanjii n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3
who? sg come/arrive back
inter vi
who? he arrived
[Subj] [VP]
"Who has come?
"Who / came?"
dûn gī nûn ya
dąn djī nûn ya

## 78.2 yeeheelh' aa

yeeh-(nin)..Ih'aa/'aa'+IMPF.,2PL.
come in
vi
you (pl.) come in
[VP]
Come in.
"Come in," he called to him.
"Come in.
$\overline{1}$ heL a
ye hel a
Note formal/plural "you" in addressing Coyote from here on

## 78.3 kwistin-'anjii

ko-s-tin+PERF.,3AREAL ='anjii
be cold weather $=$ MIR
vd
encl
it is really cold weather
[VP]

## It's really cold out.

"It is cold.
It is cold.
kwûs tûn ûñ gī
kwûs tûn ûñ gī
78.4 dee nohyaash
dee $n$-(nin)..yaash/yaa+IMPF.,2PL.
here sg come/arrive back
dem vi
here you (pl.) come
[AdvP] [VP]

## Come over here.

Have you come here?
Here / come. [come over here]
dé nō yac
de nō ${ }^{-}$yac
Note "185 The plural is used to the stranger for politeness. It is used to all relations-inlaw in this region for the same purpose." (Goddard 1909, p.143)

## 78.5 kowintin

ko-ghin..tin+TRTL.,PERF.,3AREAL
become cold
vs
it's become cold
[VP]

## It's getting cold.

It is turning cold.
It is getting cold. [getting cold]
kū wûn tûn
kū wûn tûn

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
78.6 daanjii aanoht'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 djī a nō te
dąn djī a nō` t'e
```


although you (pl.) are thus
]
OK, sit down, because you are a stranger"

Well, sit down since you are a stranger."
Well, / sit down. [sit down here] / Stranger / you are." [you are stranger]
tca no' sût / tcō nûñ hīt a nō te hīt
$\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ nō ${ }^{\bullet}$ sat tcō nûñ hīt a nō ${ }^{-}$t'ē hīt
Note You can almost hear the stage-wink here between the formal you and the double hiit "because".
79.1 " naahneesh ninyai
naahneesh n-(nin)..yaash/yaa+PERF.,3 =i
person sg come/arrive back =NR
na vi encl
person he arrived
[Subj] [VP]
"A person has come.

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray
"Somebody has come.
"Person [Indian] / came.
na nej / nûn yai
na nec nûn yai


Feed him some venison and give him a bowl of acorn soup."
Give him venison and mush," Wolf told them.
Give him [feed him] / venison. [meat] Mush / give him."
wa tcit / in tce / s' ke / wa kac
wa tcût in tce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ sk' $^{\text {' }}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ wa kac

| 79.3 | yaah-bii'k' | naach'aalh | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | yaah+Loc. |  | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | sky | chew O | they say |
|  | na | vt | vt |
|  | in the sky | he chews it along | they say |
|  | [PostP] | [VP | ] |

He chews along, in the sky, they say.
Coyote chewed away, looking toward the sky.
Sky in / chewing / they say.
ya bīk / natcaL / ya nī
ya ${ }^{\circ} \overline{b i}^{\varepsilon} k^{\prime}$ na tcal ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n}$
Note "looking up in the sky and chewing around" (Goddard NBIII, p.24)

> GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

Woman / his [his wife] / made mush [making mush] / they say. / White stones [white rock] / she put in water. / Hot / his head / they will pour on. [on they going to pour] tcek / kī ye / ta tcī bûl / yanī / seL kai / ta ya iL dûl / sûl / ki sī tcûñ / kwī sī / ka / na ga bīl te lit
tc'ek kī ye ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ta tc ${ }^{\prime}$ bûl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī sel gai ta ya il dûl sûl ku sī $\overline{i n}^{\varepsilon}$ ' wûn na ga bīl tē lit Note Coyote's name added in the notebook version.

| 79.5 | Ch'siitcing | iintc'ee' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ch's'taan-eet |  |  |
| Chiitcing | iintc'ee' | ..taan+IMPF.,3A |
| Coyote (character) | venison | eat (3sg) |
| na | na | vt |
| Coyote (character) | venison | when he eats |
| [AdvCl |  |  |


| sk'ee' | ch'ilhts'eegh-eet |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sk'ee' | ch'-(ghin)..Ihts'eegh+IMPF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. | $=h i t+V A R . ~ O F$ |
| acorn soup | eat mush | $=$ when |
| na | vt | encl |

acorn soup when he eats mush
[AdvCl
kwsii'
*sii' +3 ANIM. POSS. head
$n$ ia
his head
[PossP]
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

While Coyote was eating venison and eating mush they poured it down onto his head, they say.
While he was eating venison and mush they poured it on his head.
Coyote / venison [meat] / he was eating when / mush / he was eating when / his head / on it they poured [on they put it] / they say.
tci sī tciñ in tce / tcit ta net / s' ske / kûL se get / kwī sī / kût na ga bīL / yanī tc' sī tcûñ in tce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc't ta net sk' ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ k'ûL ts'e get ku sī $\bar{i}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ wût na ga bīl ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

```
79.6 nins'istk'ai' , taaghinlhaah
    nin'-(s)..tk'ai'+PERF.,3ANIM. taa-(ghin)..Ihaat+PERF.,3
    jump up from ground jump into water
    vi
    he jumped up from the ground
    [VP]
        he jumped into the water
    [VP]
```


## He jumped up and jumped into the water.

He jumped up, ran to the river, and jumped in.
He jumped up. / Water he jumped in. [water he jump in] nûs/nûn sûst kai / ta gûn La nûn s'ûs t k'ai $\mathrm{a}^{\varepsilon}$ ta gûn La

| 79.7 | too-bii' | t'eeshee | yaalkat | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| too+LOC. | t'eeshee | yaa-(ghin)..Ikit+IMPF.,3 | yaa'niii | yibaang |
| water | coals | float up | they say | other side |
| na | na | vi | vt | adv |
| in water | coals | they float up | they say | other side |
| $[$ PostP $]$ | $[$ Subj $]$ | $[V P$ |  | [AdvP] |

## taanaastyai

taah-naa-(s)..daash/yaa+PERF.,3
sg go back from water
vi
they come back from the water
[VP]
Coals floated up in the water, they say, and came out of the water on the other side.
He floated on the water, and only coals came out on the other side of the stream.
Water in / coals / floated [float] / they say. / Other side / he came out of water. [he came out]
tō $\overline{\mathrm{b}}$ / te ce / yal kût / ya ni / yī bañ / ta nas tī yai
tō $\overline{b i}^{\varepsilon}$ t'e ce yal kût ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī yī bañ ta nas $t$ yai
Note "The coals of him float on the water .." (Goddard NBIII, p.26)
80.1" shghaa'
*ghaa'+1sG. POSS. OF
hair
n ia
my hair
[Subj]

## GT10 - Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife - Bill Ray

## sheenaantbilh

P-ee-naa-(ghin)..tbilh/biil' +IMPF.,2sG.,+ 1SG. OBJ.
come back to me [after singeing]
vi
you (sg.) come back to me
[VP]
"My hair, come back to me!"
"My hair, grow again," he said.
"My hair / come to me again." [grow again]
c ga / ce nan te bûL
c ga ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ce nan $t$ bûl
80.2 naaheelh'its yaa'nii
naahi-(s)..Ih'its+PERF.,3 yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
run back they say
vi vt
he ran back they say
[VP
]

## He ran back, they say.

He ran off.
He ran off [he run away] / they say.
na heL ûts / yanī
na hel ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ûts ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
81 kwanlhaang
kwanlhaang
all/the end
interj
all/the end
[VP]
That is all.
That is all.
All.
kwûn Lûñ
kwûn Ląñ

## Coyote and the Gambler (short version) (IV)

Told by Bill Ray to Pliny Goddard in 1906; short version in notebook Goddard stories 1-10, p. 9
This is the abbreviated notebook version of the text published as "XIII. Coyote and the Gambler" (Goddard, 1909; Anderson, 2021 v.1), a quick grass game episode in which Coyote comes out on top, for a change.

| 1.1 tl'oh-n'ai | $k^{\prime}$ eech' ist' aats' | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tl'oh-n'ai | k'ee-ch'-(s)..t' ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ( ${ }^{\text {a }}$ /t' aats' +PERF., 3, + 3INDF. OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| grass game | cut (grass game) | they say |
| na | vt |  |
| grass game | he cut something off | they say |
| [Obj] | [VP |  |

He cut a grass game, they say.
grass game cut it
Lō na ai | ke djûs t'ats | ya nī

| 1.2 | hai-bilh | Ihaa' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hai-bilh | ll'oh-n'ai | tl'oh-n'ai |
| same one | another one | grass game |
| pro-form | pron | na |
| same one | another | grass game |
| [AdvP] | $[$ Obj | $]$ |

k'eech'ist'aats' yaa'nii
k'ee-ch'-(s)..t'aas/t' aats' + PERF., $3,+3$ INDF. OBJ. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
cut (grass game)
they say
vt
he cut something off
vt
they say
[VP
]
In the same way, he cut another grass game, they say. (same one) other grass game he cut
xai bûL | La | Lō na ai | ke djûs t!ats | ya ni

GT13 - Coyote and the Gamber (NB short version) - Bill Ray

| 1.3 tl'oh-n'ai | yeehtc'ighin'ang | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tl'oh-n'ai | yeeh-(ghin)..'aash/'aan+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| grass game | put stick-like O in | they say |
| na | vt | vt |
| grass game | he put a stick in | they say |
| [AdvP] | $[\mathrm{VP}$ | $]$ |

He put a stick in the grass game, they say.
g. h. he took it in

Lō na ai | ye tce gûn ûñ | ya nī

```
1.4 kineesiilhyan
    k-n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
    win gambling
    vi
    I won
    [VP]
uukineesiilhyang
P-k-n-(s)..lhyaan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBL.
win P at gambling
vt
I won it
[VP]
kineesiilhyang
k-n-(s)..lhyii/yaan+PERF.,1SG.,+ 3 OBJ.
win gambling
vi
I won
[VP]
"I won! I won it! I won!"
I win ) I break them I am going to win
kûn ne sīL yûn |ō kûn ne sīL yûñ | kûn ne sīL yûñ
```

GT13 - Coyote and the Gamber (NB short version) - Bill Ray

|  | ch'eeghilei' |  | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ch'ee-(ghin)..lee/lee'+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF. OBJ. | =i | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  | sing | $=\mathrm{NR}$ | they say |
|  | vi | encl | vt |
|  | he sang |  | they say |
|  | [VP |  | ] |

He sang, they say.
he start to sing
tce gûl lē | ya ni

| 2.1 naa'ch'isdeeh | yaa'nii | tc'eek |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| naa-ch'i-(s)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. | yaa'nii | tc'eek |
| win back (in gambling) | they say | woman |
| vt | vt | na |
| he won it back | they say | woman |
| [VP |  | $[$ Ubj] |

He won back the wife, they say. he win back wife
na djis te | ya ni | tcek

| 2.2 naa'ch'isdeeh | yaa'nii | yeeh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| naa-ch'i-(s)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | yeeh |
| win back (in gambling) | they say | house |
| vt | vt | na |
| he won it back | they say | house |
| [VP | $]$ | $[O b j]$ |

He won back the house, they say.
he won back house
na djis te | ya nī | ye

GT13 - Coyote and the Gamber (NB short version) - Bill Ray

| 2.3 naa' ${ }^{\text {ch }}$ 'isdeeh |  | yaa'nii <br> yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ <br> they say |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| naa-ch'i-(s)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. win back (in gambling) |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| vt |  |  |
| he won it | back | they say |
| [VP |  | ] |
| Iheenee'haa' | Ihtaahkiitc |  |
| lheenee'haa' | Ihtaahkiitc |  |
| everyone | different kinds |  |
| pron | pron |  |
| everyone | different kinds |  |
| [Obj | ] |  |

He won back all the different things, they say. he won back all every thing
na djis te | ya ni | Le ne xa $\mid$ (ta kī)/iL ta kītc

| 2.4 | beelh | naa'ch'isdeeh |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| beelh | naa-ch'i-(s)..Ideegh+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3INDF. OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| yaa'nii |  |  |

He won back the rope, they say.
rope he won back
beL | na djis te | ya ni

3 kwanlhang
kwanlhaang
all/the end
interj
all
[VP]
That is all.
all

GT13 - Coyote and the Gamber (NB short version) - Bill Ray
kwûn Lûñ

## Coyote Tricks the Girls

Told by Bill Ray to Pliny Goddard in 1906; Published in Goddard, 1909, pp.147148, 219; original in notebook Goddard stories 1-10, pp.10-12
Compare the similar episode in the Coast Yuki story Coyote Causes Daylight (Gifford, 1937, pp.124)' Compare the Yuki story Three Coyote Episodes, episode 1 (Kroeber, 1932, pp.938). Coyote the tricky lothario makes his appearance in this one, and walks away with only a curse.

| 1.1 ghilk'aan | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| gh..lk' aan+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii |
| fire to be built | they say |
| vp | vt |
| there was a fire | they say |
| [VP | $]$ |

There was a fire, they say.

Fire was / they say.
gûl kan / ya ni
gûl $\mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ an $\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}$

| 1.2 see-kw'it | ghilk'aan | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| see *k'it++ 3 OBL. | gh..Ik'aan+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| stone on P | fire to be built | they say |
| na postp | vp | vt |
| on a stone | there was a fire | they say |
| $[$ PostP] | $[\mathrm{VP}$ | $]$ |

The fire was on top of a rock, they say.

Rock on / fire was / they say. se / ke / gûl kûñ / ya nī se k'wût' gûl k'ąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 1.3 | laashii' |
| :--- | :--- |
| laashii' | kwong'ding |
| kwong'ding |  |
| buckeye | fireplace/fire pit |
| n a | na |
| buckeye | fireplace |
| $[$ Obj $]$ | $[$ AdvP $]$ |

## GT15 - Coyote Tricks the Girls - Bill Ray

| naa'tghilghaal' | yaa'nii <br> naa-d-(ghin)..Ighaalh/ghaal' + PERF.,3ANIM.,+ <br> pour pl O down |
| :--- | :--- |
| yaa'nii |  |
| vt | they say |
| they poured it down | vt |
| [VP | they say |

They poured buckeyes down on the fireplace, they say.
Upon the stones in the fireplace the young women poured down the buckeyes
Buckeyes / fire place / she poured down [he spill in] / they say.
la cī / kōn dûn / na te gûl gûl / ya ni
la cī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ kwōñ $\tilde{n}^{\varepsilon}$ dûñ na t gûl gąl ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 1.4 ghittcaa | yaa'nii | Iheetc |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ..ghittcaa+PERF., +3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | Iheetc |
| be buried | they say | mud |
| vp | vt | na |
| they were buried | they say | mud |
| [VP | ] | [PostP |
| bilh | . |  |
| *ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL. |  |  |
| instrumental |  |  |
| postp |  |  |
| with it |  |  |
| ] |  |  |

They were covered up with soil, they say.
and covered them with soil.
Were covered up [he cover up] / they say, / earth [dirt] / with. gût ca / ya nī / Letc / bûL gût tca ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī letc bûL

| 1.5 kaanaaghilaa | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| kaa-naa-(ghin)..lash/laa+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| take pl O back up from underground | they say |
| vt | vt |
| they took it back up from underground | they say |
| [VP |  |

They took them out, they say.
When they were cooked they took them out She took them out [he took them out] / they say.

## GT15-Coyote Tricks the Girls - Bill Ray

ka na ga la / ya nī
ka na ga la ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n \overline{1}}$

## 1.6 bii'nooghitlheek' <br> yaa' $\mathbf{n i}$

bii' -noo..ghitlheek' +PERF.,+ 3 OBJ.,+ 3 OBL. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ be soaked vp they soaked they say
vt
they say
[VP
They soaked the flour, they say.
and soaked the flour obtained by pounding them.
She soaked them [he put in water] / they say.
bī nō gût Lek / ya nī
bī nō gût Lek ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

2 ch'siitcing ts'aal' -bii' ch'siitcing ts'aal'+LOC. $\begin{array}{ll}\text { coyote } & \text { basket cradle, baby basket } \\ \text { na }\end{array}$ coyote in a basket cradle [Subj] [PostP]
tc' nilaat
n-(nin)..laat+PERF.,3ANIM.
float arriving
vi
he arrived floating
[VP
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

## Coyote floated there in a basket cradle, they say.

Coyote was floating as a baby in a baby-basket.
Coyote / baby-basket in / floated there [float there] / they say.
kī tsī tcûñ / sal bī / tcin nûl lat / ya ni
tc' sī tcûñ ts'al bī $\overline{\mathrm{c}}^{\varepsilon}$ tc'n nûl lat ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
3.1 " daanjii
biiyee'
daanjii biiyee' skii n-(nin)..laat+IMPF.,3
who? 3 POSS indep baby float arriving
inter pron na vi
who? its/their baby it is arriving floating
[Subj ] [VP]
"Whose baby is floating here?"

## GT15 - Coyote Tricks the Girls - Bill Ray

```
"Somebody's baby is floating,"
"Whose / his / baby / floats?" [float]
dan djī bī ye / skī / nûl lat
dan djī bī ye}\mp@subsup{}{}{\varepsilon}\mathrm{ skī nûl lat
\(3.2\left(\begin{array}{ll}\text { yaa'n } & \text { yaa' } n i i \\ \text {..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST. } & \text { yaa'nii }{ }_{1} \\ \text { say } & \text { they say } \\ \text { vt } & \text { vt } \\ \text { they said } & \text { they say } \\ {[\text { VP }} & \end{array}\right.\)
```


## (they asked,) they say.

one said.
they asked/ they say.
ya $\mathrm{n} \overline{1}$
yán ya $^{\varepsilon}{ }^{n} \overline{1}$
Note The notebook version lacks yaa'n ("they said").

| 3.3 taaghikaan | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| taah-gh..kaan+*** | yaa'nii |
| take contained O out of water | they say |
| vt | vt |
| they take it out of water | they say |
| [VP |  |

She took it out of the water, they say.

She took it out of water [take it out of water] / they say. ta guk kûn / ya ni
ta gę kąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 3.4 | skii | ts'aal' ${ }^{\prime}$ bilh | taaghikaan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| skii | ts'aal' | -bilh | taah-gh..kaan+ ${ }^{* * *}$ <br> baby |
| basket cradle, baby basket | with | take contained O out of water |  |
| na | na | nsuffix | vt |
| baby | with a basket cradle |  | they take it out of water |
| $[$ Obj $]$ | $[$ PostP $]$ |  | $[V P$ |

## GT15 - Coyote Tricks the Girls - Bill Ray

```
yaa'nii
yaa'nii 
they say
vt
they say
]
```

She took the baby out with the basket cradle, they say.
They took up the basket with the baby.
Baby / basket with / she took out [he took out] / they say. skī / sal bûL / ta gạ kûn / ya ni
skī ts'al bûl ta gę kąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

```
3 . 5 ~ s k i i ~ t c e e h ~ y a a ' n i i ~
    skii (ghin).tceegh+IMPF.,3 yaa'nii,
    baby cry they say
    na vi vt
    baby it cries they say
    [Subj] [VP
        ]
```

The baby cried, they say.
It cried.
Baby / cried / they say.
skī / tce / ya nī
skī tce ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

### 3.6 Naalhghii-Ihgai <br> Naalhghii-Lhgai

Common Merganser (character)
n
Common Merganser (character)
[Subj]
daahkwtkaan yaa'nii
daah-d-(ghin)..kaash/kaan+PERF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
carry contained O up on surface they say
vt vt
she carried it around (in the basket) they say
[VP
Merganser carried it around (in the basket), they say.
White duck carried it about
White duck / carried it about [he carry around] / they say.

## GT15 - Coyote Tricks the Girls - Bill Ray

na Lī kai / da kwī tûn/kûn / ya nī
naL gī lgai da kur t kąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

## 3.7 tc'deengheel' yaa'nii

d-ghin..gheel'+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
stop crying they say
vs
he stopped crying they say
[VP
He stopped crying, they say.
to quiet it.
It stopped crying [he stop crying] / they say.
tcit deñ ẏel / ya ni
tc't deñ ñel ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
4.1 ghilhgheel' yaa'nii
ghin..lhghilh/gheel'+TRTL.,PERF.,3 yaa'nii $1_{1}$
become evening they say
vd
it became evening
vt
[VP
they say

It was evening, they say
When it was dark
It was evening [it was dark] / they say.
gûL gûl / ya nī
gû́ gel' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
4.2 yaa'nteeslaalh yaa'nii
n-ti-(s)..laalh+PERF.,3ANIM.,DIST. yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
be asleep
vd they say
uey were aslep
they were asleep they say
[VP
]
They slept, they say.
and went to sleep.
They slept [they sleep] / they say.
yan tes lal / ya ni
yan tes laL ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}$

## GT15 - Coyote Tricks the Girls - Bill Ray

```
4.3 skii nooghikaan
    skii noo-(ghin)..kaash/kaan+PERF.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
    baby put down contained O
    na vt
    baby she put it down
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say
vt
they say
[Obj] [VP
]
```

She put down the baby (in the cradle), they say.
they put it down
Baby / she put down (basket) [he put down] / they say. skī / nō ga kûn / ya nī skī nō gę kąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 4.4 yiiskaan | yaa'nii. |
| :--- | :--- |
| yi-(s)..Ihkaa/kaan+PERF.,3OBV. | yaa'nii $1_{1}$ |
| be daylight | they say |
| vd | vt |
| it was daylight | they say |
| [VP | ] |

It was early morning, they say.

It was day [daylight] / they say.
yīs kûn / ya nī
yīs kąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 4.5 ch'ghistcii' | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| ch'-ghis..tcii'+TRTL.,PERF.,3INDF. | yaa'nii |
| become red/dawn | they say |
| vi | vt |
| it became red/dawn | they say |
| [VP | ] |

It was just before dawn, they say.
As soon as the east reddened
It was red [pretty near daylight] / they say.
tce gûs tcī / ya nī
tc' gûs tccī ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

## GT15 - Coyote Tricks the Girls - Bill Ray

## 4.6 naaheestyaa yaa'nii <br> naahi-(s)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ <br> sg go back home they say <br> vi <br> he started back home <br> vt <br> they say <br> [VP

He started back home, they say.
Coyote went home.
He went back / they say. na xis ti ya / ya nī
na hes tya ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
5.1 " dijjii ch'ohyaan
diijii ch'-(ghin)..yaan/yaan' + IMPF.,2PL.,+ 3INDF. OBJ.
what? eat st
inter vt
what? you (pl.) eat
[Subj] [VP]

## What did you all eat?

"What have you eaten
"What / you eat?
dī djī / tcwō yûn
dī djī tc'ō' yąn

| 5.2 | nohbit' | ghinchaah-kwang |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| *bit'+1/2PL. POSS. | ghin..chaagh+TRTL.,PERF.,3 | $=$ kwaan |
| belly | become large | $=$ inferred evid. |
| n ia | vd | vencl |
| your (pl.) belly | they have become large |  |
| $[$ PossP] | $[\mathrm{VP}]$ |  |

Your bellies are big."
that your stomachs are so big?" they were asked.
Your bellies / are big."
nō bût / gûn tca
nō` bût’ gûn tca kwąñ
Note That is, the girls have all become pregnant.
Note The evidential -kwaan does not appear in the original notebook version.

## GT15-Coyote Tricks the Girls - Bill Ray


"May you die, Coyote!"
"May you die, Coyote!"
"You die / Coyote."
ne ō dûn kya / kī sī tciñ
ne ō dûn dja ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc ${ }^{\prime}$ sī tcûñ
7 kwanlhaang
kwanlhaang
all/the end
interj
all/the end
[VP]
That is all.

All.
kwûn Lûñ
kwûn Ląñ

## Geese Carry off Raven

Told by Bill Ray to Pliny Goddard in 1906; Published in Goddard, 1909, pp.159, 224-225; original in notebooks Goddard pg 88-152 (pp.51-54) and Goddard stories 1-10 (pp.13-16)
Compare Essene's field notes 50 Cu 23.1 , pp.51-53 "Story Of A Chipmunk" (told by Gill Ray). This is a much shorter, less detailed version of the story than the Gill Ray's version in English, and Chipmunk, at least, survives.
1.1 Silts'intc Silts' intc
Chipmunk (character) na
Chipmunk
[Subj]
s'isloos
(s)..loos+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. keep (child/pet)
vt
he kept/led it
[VP
skiitcyaash
skiitc *yaash
baby diminutive for young of animals
na nsuffix
little baby
[Obj]
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

## Chipmunk kept a small child, they say.

The husband, Chipmunk, stayed at home and took care of the baby.
Chipmunk / child small [boy / baby] / he kept [he keep home] / they say.
sû sûnz / iskīts / yajz / sûs lōs / ya nī
sûl sûntc s kīts yac s'ûs lōs ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
1.2 chinsits' kwbit'
chinsits' *bit'+3ANIM. POSS.
bark (of tree) belly
na $\quad n$ ia
bark (of tree) his belly
[Subj] [PossP]
naineelhk'its-kwang
naa-n-(s)..lhk'its+PERF.,3OBV.,+ 3 obJ. =kwaan yaa'nii $1_{1}$
stick O in X = inferred evid. they say
vt
it had stuck in it
vencl vt
they say
[VP

## GT22 - Geese Carry Off Raven - Bill Ray

He (Chipmunk) had a piece of bark stuck in his belly, they say.
He had stuck a piece of bark stuck in his belly
Bark / his belly [his stomach] / had stuck in [stick in] / they say.
tcûn sût / ke bût / nai neL kûts / ya nī
tcûn sûts kum bût' nai nel k'ûts kwąñ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note Note the lack of -kwaan evidential in the notebook version.

| 1.3 sees'ilhtiin | ( ${ }^{\prime}$ 'ilhtiin | ) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| si-(s).Ihtish/tiin+PERF.,3ANIM. | s.Ihtiin+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| be sick | lie down | they say |
| vi | vt | vt |
| he was sick | he lay down | they say |
| [VP] | [VP |  |

## He was sick (he lay down), they say.

and had hurt himself so badly that he was obliged to lie down.
He lay down / they say.
se sûL tīn / ya nī
s'ûL tīn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note The notebook has sees'ilhtiin ("he was sick" or "he lay sick") versus just s'ilhtiin ("he lay down") in the published version, but the published translation supports the notebook form.

| 1.4 tc'eek | Daatcaang' | chinsits' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tc'eek | Daatcaang' | chinsits' |
| woman | Raven (character) | bark (of tree) |
| na | na | na |
| woman | Raven (character) | bark (of tree) |
| [Subj | [Obj] |  |

The wife, Raven, went to get bark, they say.
The wife, Raven, went after bark.
Woman / raven [crow] / bark / went after [he went after] / they say.
tcek / da tcûñ / tcûn sût / tcōn ûl lañ/yōñ ûl lañ / ya nī
tc'ek da tcąñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tcûn sûts tcōn gûl lañ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ n $\overline{1}$

## GT22 - Geese Carry Off Raven - Bill Ray

| 1.5 kaah | diidaa" ${ }^{\text {ang }}$ | naakaa' | tc' nindeel' -kwang |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kaah | diidaa''ang | naakaa' | tc'nindeel' =kwaan |
| goose | from the north | two | come/arrive = inferred evid. |
| n a | direct | num | v vencl |
| goose | from the north | two | they had come |
| [ NP ] | [AdvP] | [Subj] | [VP |
| yaa'nii |  |  |  |
| yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |  |
| they say |  |  |  |
| vt |  |  |  |
| they say |  |  |  |
| ] |  |  |  |

Two geese had come from the north, they say.
Two geese had come from the north.
Geese / from north / two / had come / they say.
ka dī da ûñ / naka / tcin nûn del / ya ni
ka ${ }^{\circ}$ dī $^{\text {da }}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ ûñ na $\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ tc'n nûn del' kwąñ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note The notebook form lacks -kwaan, as above.

| 1.6 chin <br> ching <br> tree <br> na <br> trees <br> [Obj | ```chuunaa ching uunaa tree around/encircling \(P\) na postp around a tree ]``` | ) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| uunaasyaa |  | yaa'nii |
| P-naa-(s)..yaa/yaa' +PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBL. sg go around $P$ |  | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
|  |  | they say |
| vi |  | vt |
| she went around it |  | they say |
| [VP |  | ] |

She went around a tree, they say.
When Raven was about to take the loaded basket upon her back
Tree / she went around [he went around tree go around] / they say.
tcōn na / ō na sī ya / ya nī
tcûn $\bar{u}$ nas ya ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
Note The notebook version has chuunaa ("around a tree") in addition to uunaa- ("around it") on the verb.

## GT22 - Geese Carry Off Raven - Bill Ray

```
1.7 chin-wo'
    chin-wo'
    wooden hook for hunting
    na
    wooden hook for hunting
    [PostP
ghishaah
(ghis)..shaagh+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ.
catch with hook
vt
they caught it with a hook
[VP
```

```
    bilh
```

    bilh
    ```
*ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.
```

*ilh+ACCOMP.,INSTR.,+ 3 OBL.
instrumental
instrumental
postp
postp
with it
with it
]
]
yaa'nii , k'ai'tbilh
yaa'nii , k'ai'tbilh
yaa'nii
yaa'nii
they say open-twined burden basket
they say open-twined burden basket
vt na
vt na
they say open-twined burden basket
they say open-twined burden basket
] [Obj]

```
] [Obj]
```


## They caught the burden-basket with a wooden hook

the Geese reached out from behind a tree and caught the basket with a hook.
Hook / with / they caught / they say, / burden-basket. [hook / basket / he hooked]
tcûñ wō / kai ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ bûL / yaL tcût/tcī ya nī
tcûn wo ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ bûl gûs ca ${ }^{a}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \bar{i}$ k'ai t bûL
Note The notebook text for the next few lines is minimal, doesn't necessarily line up with the full text, and is in the form of a note. (Goddard NB stories 1-10, p.13)

```
1.8 nins'isghiin yaa'nii
    nin'-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii
    pick up load O they say
    vt
    she picked up the load they say
    [VP
```

She lifted it up to her back, they say.
She lifted up / they say.
nûn $\mathrm{s}^{\prime}$ ûs giñ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 1.9 ch'oyii-haa' | ghishaah | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ch'oyii-haa' | (ghis)..shaagh+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| again | catch with hook | they say |
| adv | vt | vt |
| again | they caught it with a hook | they say |
| [AdvP] | [VP | $]$ |

Again, they hooked it, they say.

> GT22 - Geese Carry Off Raven - Bill Ray

Again / they caught it / they say.
tcō yī ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ gûs ca ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}$ nī

"This is heavy!" she said, they say.
"It's heavy," she said,
"Heavy / this," / she said / they say.
$n$ das $s i ̄ d \overline{1}$ tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 1.11 | tc'eenaamiil' |
| :--- | :--- |
| tc'ee-naa-(nin)..bilh/biil'+PERF.,3,+3 OBJ. | yaa'nii |
| yaa'nii $1_{1}$ |  |
| take basketfull O back out from | they say |
| vt | vt |
| she took a basketful back out from it | they say |
| [VP | $]$ |

She took out a bundle, they say.
and threw out some pieces.
She emptied out / they say. [bark / crow / she throw away]
tcûn sût / da tcûñ / tce ûL gût / ya nī
tc'e na mīl' ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

> GT22 - Geese Carry Off Raven - Bill Ray

| 1.12 nins' isghiing | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| nin'-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| pick up load O | they say |
| vt | vt |
| she picked up the load | they say |
| [VP | $]$ |

She lifted it up to her back, they say.
As she lifted it
She lifted up / they say.
nûn $s^{\prime}$ ûs giñ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 1.13 ch'oyii-haa' | ghishaah | yaa' ${ }^{\text {gii }}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ch'oyii-haa' | (ghis)..shaagh+PROG.,3,+3 OBJ. | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }}{ }_{1}$ |
| again | catch with hook | they say |
| adv | vt | vt |
| again | they caught it with a hook | they say |
| $[$ AdvP $]$ | $[\mathrm{VP}$ |  |

k'ai'tbilh
k'ai' tbilh
open-twined burden basket
na
open-twined burden basket
[Obj]
Again, they hooked the burden basket, they say.
they caught it again.
Again / they caught it / they say / burden-basket.
tcō yī ha ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ gûs ca $\mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon}$ nī k'ai t bûL

| 1.14 | naakaa' | nolhtinaa' |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| naakaa' | noo..Ihtinaa'+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii |
| yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |  |  |
| two | remain | they say |
| num | vi | vt |
| two | remained | they say |
| $[$ Subj $]$ | $[$ VP | $]$ |

Two (bundles of bark) were left, they say.
She threw out more of the bark. Finally there were only two pieces were left.
Two / were left / they say. [ bark / she threw away]

> GT22 - Geese Carry Off Raven - Bill Ray
naka / tcûn sûts / tce ûL gût / ya nī nąk ka $^{\varepsilon}$ nōl tin na ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya $^{\varepsilon}$ nī

```
1.15 ghishaah yaa'nii
    (ghis)..shaagh+PROG.,3,+ 3 OBJ. yaa'nii
    catch with hook they say
    vt vt
    they caught it with a hook they say
    [VP
    ]
```

They hooked it, they say.

They caught it / they say.
gûc ca ${ }^{e} \mathrm{ya}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{nī}$

| 1.16 nins'isghiing | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| nin'-(s)..ghish/ghiin+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ |
| pick up load O | they say |
| vt | vt |
| she picked up the load | they say |
| [VP | $]$ |

She lifted it up, they say.

She lifted up / they say.
nûn $\mathrm{s}^{\prime}$ ûs giñ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\mathrm{n}}{ }^{\overline{1}}$
$\begin{array}{ll}1.17 \text { ghishaah } & \text { yaa'nii } \\ \text { (ghis)..shaagh+PROG.,3,+ } 3 \text { OBJ. } & \text { yaa'nii }\end{array}$
catch with hook they say
vt
vt
they caught it with a hook they say
[VP
k'ai'tbilh
k'ai' tbilh
open-twined burden basket
na
open-twined burden basket
[Obj]
They hooked the burden basket, they say.

> GT22 - Geese Carry Off Raven - Bill Ray

This time when they caught the basket They caught it / they say / burden-basket.
gûc ca ${ }^{\circ}$ ya $^{\varepsilon}$ nī ${ }^{\prime}$ 'ai t bûl


## Both geese caught her.

they seized her
Caught her [he get caught] / they say / both / geese.
kwil tci / ya nī
kō wûl tcût ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī na $\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ha}^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ka}^{{ }^{\text {e }}}$

| 1.19 kwteeghiiloos | yaa'nii | diidee' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ti-gh..loos+PROG.,3OBV.,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ | diidee' |
| lead O along | they say | north |
| vt | vt | direct |
| they lead her along | they say | north |
| [VP | $]$ | AdvP |

They led her along to the north, they say. and led her away to the north.
They took her along [he take] / they say / north.
kwa te gī lōs / ya ni / dī de
ku te gī lōs ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī dī de ${ }^{\varepsilon}$

GT22 - Geese Carry Off Raven - Bill Ray

```
2.1 " daa'yaa'nteeliichow aayaashiilaagh
    daa'yaa'nteeliichow yaa-(ghin)..leegh/laagh+PERF.,3,DIST.,+ 1SG. OBJ.
geese
na
geese
[Subj]
,"tc'in
yaa'nii
    ..nii/n+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii
    say
    vt
    she said
    [VP
        they say
    vt
    she said they say
    ]
```

"Flat mouths (geese) took me up!" she said, they say.
"Flat mouths are taking me north," she said.
"Flat mouths [Flat mouth wild geese] / took me up" [he pack me] / she said / they say. da yan $n$ tel / ī tcō / a ya cī lag / tcin / ya nī [da ${ }^{\varepsilon} n$ tel lī tcō a ya cī lag] da ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya $^{\varepsilon} n$ tel $\overline{1}$ tcō a ya cī lag tc'in ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$

| 2.2 yiichow-bii' | yeehkwilyoos | yaa'nii |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| yiichow+LOC. | yeeh-(ghin)..lyoos+IMPF.,3,+ 3ANIM. OBJ. | yaa' ${ }^{\text {nii }} 1$ |
| dance-house | lead O inside | they say |
| na | vt |  |
| in the dance-house | they led her inside | they say |
| [PostP] | [VP | ] |
| Nee'uuchii'ding |  |  |
| Nee'uuchii' ding |  |  |
| World Its Tail Place |  |  |
| na |  |  |
| World Its Tail Place |  |  |
| [AdvP] |  |  |

They took her into the dance-house, they say, at World Its Tail Place.
They took her into the dance-house at the northern end of the world.
Dance-house [sweathouse] / they took her in [he take in] / they say, / world-its-tail-place.
[(north)]
yī tcō bī / ye kō lōs / ya nī ne ū tcī dûñ
yī tcō $\overline{b i s}^{\varepsilon}$ ye kwil yōs ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1} n^{\varepsilon} \bar{u}$ tcī ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ dûñ
Note Nee' uuchii' ding is the northern point of the created world.

GT22 - Geese Carry Off Raven - Bill Ray

```
2.3 ghilhgheel' -it
    ghin..lhghilh/gheel'+TRTL.,PERF.,3 =hit+VAR. OF
become evening vd
when it became evening
[AdvCl]
ch'nghindaash yaa'nii
n-ghin..daash+PERF.,3INDF. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
dance
vi
there was a dance they say
[VP
When it was evening there was a dance, they say.
At night they danced.
Evening when / was a dance [they danced] / they say. gûL gel lût / tcin gûn dûs / ya nī gûl gel lût tc'n gûn das ya \({ }^{\varepsilon}\) nī
2.4 tc'eenaa'nt' aah yaa'nii
tc'ee-naa-(nin)..t' aagh+PERF.,3ANIM. yaa'nii \({ }_{1}\)
fly back out from they say
vi
she flew back out from it
vt
[VP
they say
```

She flew out, they say.
She flew out [he flew out] / they say.
tce nan $t^{!} \mathrm{a}$ / ya nī tc'e na ${ }^{\varepsilon} n t^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ ya $^{\varepsilon}$ nī
2.5 yiichow-bii'
yiichow+LOC.
dance-house smoke-hole of dance house
na
<Not Sure>
in the dance-house smoke-hole of dance house
[PostP]

GT22 - Geese Carry Off Raven - Bill Ray

| tc'eenaa'nt'aah | yaa'nii |
| :--- | :--- |
| tc' 'ee-naa-(nin)..t'aagh+PERF.,3ANIM. | yaa'nii |
| fly back out from | they say |
| vi | vt |
| she flew back out from it | they say |
| [VP |  |

She flew out the smoke-hole window of the dance-house, they say.
She flew out the upper opening of the dance-house
Dance-house [sweathouse] / door [window] / she flew out [he fly out] / they say. yī tcō be / wût se kût / bī tce na $t^{\prime}$ a / ya nī [yī tcō bī tce na'n t'ag se ke bī] yī tcō bī $\bar{i}^{\varepsilon}$ ts'e k'e bī $\bar{i}^{\varepsilon}$ tc'e na ${ }^{\varepsilon} n$ t'a ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

```
2.6 naantyaa yaa'nii
    naa-(nin)..daash/tyaa+PERF.,3 yaa'nii
    sg come back they say
    vi
vt
    she came back they say
    [VP ]
```

She came home, they say. and returned.
She came home [he came home] / they say. na ni / na ti a / ya nī nan tya ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} \mathrm{ni}$

```
2.7 skiitcyaash
    skiitc *yaash_
    baby diminutive for young of animals Chipmunk (character)
    na nsuffix
    little baby
    [Obj]
s'isloos-kwan
(s)..loos+PERF.,3ANIM.,+ 3 OBJ. =kwaan
keep (child/pet) = inferred evid. they say
vt
vencl
he had kept it
```


## Silts' intc

Silts' intc
Chipmunk (character) n a
Chipmunk (character)
[Subj]
yaa'nii
yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$
they say
vt
they say

```
[VP
Chipmunk had kept the baby, they say.
Chipmunk had tried to care for the baby,
Child small [its boy baby] / chipmunk / he had kept [he keep at home] / they say.
```

> GT22 - Geese Carry Off Raven - Bill Ray
ic kītz (tcī / yaj / sûl sûnz / sûs lōs kwan / yani
s kīts yac sûl sûntc s'ûs lōs kwan ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī


Chipmunk had made the baby suck on venison, they say. giving it pieces of venison to suck.
Chipmunk / venison [deer] / it suck [he sucked] / he had made / they say.
sûl sûnz / īn tce / tceL tōt / tcûL cī kwan / ya nī
sûl sûnts intce ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' e lt'ōt tc' ûl tcī kwan ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī

| 2.9 | skiitc | beenaadin |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| skiitc | P-ee-naa..din+IMPF.,3,+3 OBL. | yaa'nii |
| yaba' nii $_{1}$ |  |  |
| baby | P to die again | they say |
| na | vi | vt |
| baby | it died (again) | they say |
| $[$ Subj $]$ | $[V P$ | $]$ |

The baby died, they say.
The child died.
Child [boy] / died [was dead] / they say.
is kītz / be na dûn / ya nī
$s$ kīts be na dûn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī
3 kwanlhaang ,
kwanlhaang
all/the end
interj
all/the end
[VP]
That is all.

That is all.
All.
kwûn Lûñ
kwûn Ląñ

## The Diving Contest

Told by Bill Ray to Pliny Goddard in 1906; Published as "XXIII" in Goddard 1909, p.159, 225; original in notebook Goddard stories 1-10, pp.6-8
"Duck + otter were sparking and entered into competition" (NB stories 1-10, p.6).
This very short story illustrates a Cahto way of judging competitions as "the observers said", as well as the type of catching fish by hand underwater from which Bill Ray was named (Daatcaahaal-Kwaa'ch'ileeh, "Diving for Hookbill Salmon").

[VP

## Duck and Otter swam underwater, they say, going along catching fish,

 they say.Duck and Otter, rivals in love, engaged in a diving contest to see which could secure the more fish.
Blue duck [(ducks any kind)] / otter / swam under water [swim under the water] / lake in [water in] / they say. / Fish / they were catching [they pack up] / they say. na kē ētc sis / kwûn ye djil lē / tō bī / ya n̄̄ / tō nai / na til gel / ya ni
na kē ētc sīs kwûn ye tc' gûl lē tō $\overline{\mathrm{i}}^{\varepsilon}{ }^{\varepsilon}$ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n i \bar{i}$ tō nai na tc' tel gel ya ${ }^{\varepsilon} n \overline{1}$
Note "Duck \& Otter were sparking and enter into competition." (Goddard NBstories 1-
10, p.6)

GT23 - The Diving Contest - Bill Ray


## According to the observers, Duck swam back up having strung two strings

 worth of fish, they say.The watching people saw Duck come up with two strings which he had filled.
They watched them / they say. / Duck / came up / they say. / Two / he had filled / they say / fish.
kai yatc kū līñ / ya nī / na kē tc / ka na gûl lī / ya nī / na ka / sī gûn tcûk / kwûn / ya ni / tō nai
kai ya tc' ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{ku}$ līñ ya $a^{\varepsilon}$ nī na kē ēts ka na gûl le ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī na $\mathrm{ka}^{\varepsilon}$ tc' gûn tcōk kwąn ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī tō nai

| 1.3 kaayaach'kwl'iing' | yaa'nii | Siis |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kaayaach'kwl'iing' | yaa'nii | Siis |
| observers | they say | Otter (character) |
| na | vt | na <br> observers |
| they say | Otter (character) |  |
| $[\mathrm{Cl}$ | $]$ | $[$ Subj $]$ |


| kaanaaghileeh |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kaa-naa-(ghin)..leegh+PERF.,3 | yaa'nii ${ }_{1}$ taak' |  |  |
| swim back up from underwater | they say three |  |  |
| vi | vt |  |  |
| swam back up from underwater | they say three |  |  |
| [VP | ] [ AdvCl |  |  |
| ch'ghintcok' -kwaan <br> ch'-(ghin)..tcok'+PERF.,3,+ 3INDF | OBJ. =kwaan | toonai toonai | yaa'nii yaa' ${ }^{1 i_{1}}$ |
| string fish | = inferred evid. | fish | they say |
| vt | vencl | na | vt |
| he had strung fish-strings |  | fish | they say |

## According to the observers, Otter swam back up having strung three

 strings worth of fish, they say.Otter dived and the people waited. After a long time he came up with three strings he had filled.
They watched him / they say. / Otter / came up / they say. / Three / he had filled / fish / they say.
kai yatc kū līn / ya nī / sīs / sīs / ka na yī/gûl le/li / ya nī / tak / c gûn tcûk / tō nai' / ya nī kai ya tc' kul līñ ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī sīs ka na gûl le ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī tak' tc' gûn tcōk kwañ tō nai ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī


They went back home, they say, dragging the fish into the house, they say.
They went home dragging the fish into the house.
They went back / they say. / House in / they dragged them [they drag] / they say / fish.
na XeL kût / ya ni / ye bî́ ûñ / cī te los / ya ni / tō nai
na hel kût ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī ye bī $^{\varepsilon}$ ûñ ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ tc' te lōs ya ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ nī tō nai

## 1.5 kwanlhaang

kwanlhaang
all/the end
interj
all/the end
[VP]
That is all.

All.
kwûn Lûñ
kwûn Ląñ

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## 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 preposed) 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.

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| \# | Pre-nuclear |  | Nucleus |  |  | Post-nuclear |  |  | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Outer | Inner | Subject | Object/ <br> Complement | Verb | Inner | Outer | Post |  |
| 1 |  |  | see <br> rock |  | ghindii <br> became old |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 2 |  | $\gg$ | see <br> rock <br> see-tc' 'iitc' <br> sandstone |  | ch'teeghinii it thundered (ch'-) |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | diidak <br> east |  |
| 3 |  | $\rightarrow>$ | --- |  | ch'teeghinii it thundered (ch'-) |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | diinak south |  |
| 4 |  | $\rightarrow>$ | --- |  | ch'teeghinii it thundered (ch'-) |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | diisee <br> west |  |
| 5 |  | $\gg$ | --- |  | ch'teeghinii it thundered (ch'-) |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | diidee <br> north |  |
| 6a |  |  | [see <br> rock |  | ghindii |  |  |  |  |
| 6b |  |  | --- |  | shoodileeh ] we will fix it |  |  |  |  |



Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| 11 | diisee <br> west | --- | see <br> rock | naa'tghilh'aa' <br> he stood it on end ( $\mathrm{tc}{ }^{\text {² }}$-) | yaa'nii <br> they say | nees <br> that is tall |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 12 |  | $\left.\right\|_{---} ^{---}$ | $\gg$ | diidee' (tc' - ) <br> north | naa'tghilh'aa' <br> he stood it on end yaa'nii they say | see <br> rock nchaagh <br> large/much <br> nees <br> that is tall |  |
| 13 | diidak <br> east | --- | $\gg$ | naa'tghilh'aa <br> he stood it on end <br> (tc ${ }^{\prime}$-) | yaa'nii <br> they say | see <br> rock |  |
| 14 |  | --- | kwanlhang all $\gg$ | shoo'tc'ilaah <br> he fixed it well <br> (tc' ${ }^{\prime}$ ) | yaa'nii <br> they say | tinii road/trail |  |
| 15 |  | --- | tinii <br> road/trail | shoo'tc'ilaah <br> he fixed it well <br> (tc ${ }^{\prime}-$ ) | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 16 | diidee <br> north | --- | tinii <br> road/trail | shoo 'tc'ilaah <br> he fixed it well <br> (tc ${ }^{\prime}$-) | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 17a | $\frac{\text { [diinak' }}{\text { south }}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \frac{\text { chin }}{\text { trees }} \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | doo-bang ] will not exist (0-) |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| 17b |  | --- | [17a] | tc' in ( $\mathrm{tc}^{\prime}-$ ) <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 18a |  | [ch'daayee' <br> flower/bloom shaang only |  | Ihaa-mang ] will be many $(0-)$ |  |  |  |
| 18b |  | --- | [18a] | tc' in (tc $\left.{ }^{\prime}-\right)$ <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 19a | [taahshapang <br> somewhere | --- |  | waach' $\mathbf{a a}-\mathrm{mang}$ <br> will be a hole through it ] |  |  |  |
| 19b |  | --- | [19a] | tc ${ }^{\prime}$ in (tc ${ }^{\prime}$-) <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 20 | haidaa' ${ }^{\prime}$ ang <br> from the <br> north | --- | waach'an <br> hole through it | tc 'istciin' (tc' ${ }^{\prime}$ ) <br> he made it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 21 | aah-bang <br> for clouds | --- | nchaagh <br> large/much <br> waach'an <br> hole through it | tc' istciin' (tc'-) <br> he made it | yaa'nii <br> they say | diidak <br> east | directional gets bumped by purposive |
| 22 | yiist'oot'bang <br> for fog | --- | waach'an hole through it | tc' istciin' (tc'-) <br> he made it | yaa'nii <br> they say | diisee west | directional gets bumped by purposive |

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| 23a | [ haisiing'ang from the west | aah <br> cloud <br> ... |  | taash-bang $\qquad$ will go along |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 23b | diisee' <br> west | aah <br> clous |  | taash-banjaa' ] <br> will go along <br> (0-) |  |  |
| 23c |  | --- | [23a-23b] | tc ${ }^{\prime}$ in ( $\left.\mathrm{tc}^{\prime}-\right)$ <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 24 |  | --- | keebil <br> knife | shoo'tc'ilaah <br> he fixed it well $\left(\mathrm{tc}^{\prime}-\right)$ | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 25 | see-bang <br> for rocks | --- |  | shoo 'tc' ilaah <br> he fixed it well $\left(\mathrm{tc}^{\prime}-\right)$ | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 26 |  | --- | keebil ntl'its knife strong | shoo'tc'ilaah <br> he fixed it well $\left(\mathrm{tc}^{\prime}-\right)$ | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\underline{27 a}$ |  | [--- |  | danteeshaanmang what will it be? $\qquad$ ] |  |  |
| 27b |  | --- | [27a] | tc in (tc ${ }^{-}$) <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 28a | [diidee' <br> north | --- |  | tinyaash <br> you (sg.) go along ] |  |  |

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| 28b |  | --- | [28a] | tc ${ }^{\prime}$ in (tc ${ }^{-}$) <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 29a | $\frac{\text { [diinak' }}{\text { south }}$ | $\geq>$ |  | taashaa <br> I go in water |  | shii ] <br> I/me |  |
| 29b |  | --- | [29a] | tc in (tc $\left.{ }^{\prime}-\right)$ <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 30a | [daang' <br> already | --- |  | beeniilhkee'ee ] <br> I've finished it |  |  |  |
| 30b |  | --- | [30a] | tc' in (tc $\left.{ }^{\prime}-\right)$ <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 31a | $[\gg$ | --- | $\frac{\text { see }}{\text { rock }}$ | nilhch'it' ] <br> stretch it |  |  |  |
| 31b |  | --- | [31a] | tc' in (tc $\left.{ }^{\prime}-\right)$ <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say | diidee <br> north |  |
| 32a |  | --- |  | naahinghahaahbang <br> you (sg.) must untie it |  | diisee' ] <br> west |  |
| 32b |  | --- | [32a] | tc in (tc $\left.{ }^{\prime}-\right)$ he said . . | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 33a | $\frac{\text { [diidak' }}{\text { east }}$ | $\geq \geq$ |  | naahaaashghaaat <br> let me untie it |  | shii ] <br> I/me |  |
| 33b |  | --- | [33a] | tc in (tc ${ }^{\prime}$-) <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| 34a |  | [diishhaann <br> what? |  | aah-bang ] <br> for clouds |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 34b |  | --- | [34a] | tc ${ }^{\prime}$ in ( $\left.\mathrm{tc}^{\prime}-\right)$ <br> he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 35a |  | [--- |  | naanlhit <br> you (sg.) burn around |  | dee-k'aa ] <br> here/there |  |
| 35b |  | --- | [35a] | tc ${ }^{\prime}$ in ( $\left.\mathrm{tc}^{\prime}-\right)$ <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 36 |  | --- |  | naasIhit <br> he burned around | yaa'nii <br> they say | aah-bang <br> for clouds |  |
| 37 | shaahnaa <br> creek | --- |  | teehs'isk'aan <br> he build a fire in water $\left(\mathrm{tc}^{\prime}-\right)$ | yaa'nii <br> they say | too'aah-bang for dew | purposive <br> bumped by <br> location? |
| 38 |  | --- | shaabaats'ee halo | yiistciin <br> (0-) <br> it made it |  |  |  |
| 39a |  | [--- |  | nshoon-ee <br> it is good |  |  |  |
| 39b |  | --- |  | tc' in ] <br> he said |  |  |  |
| 39c |  | --- | [39a-39b] | tc ${ }^{\prime}$ in (tc $\left.{ }^{\prime}-\right)$ <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| 40a | $\begin{gathered} \text { [doo } \\ \text { no } \end{gathered}$ |  | kwsii' daa <br> crown of his <br> head |  | dintc' aah-bang ] will hurt (0-) |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 40b |  |  | --- | [40a] | shoo 'tc ilaah <br> he fixed it well (tc ${ }^{\prime}-$ ) | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 41a |  | [lhaa' <br> another nee' -kw'it on the land yiidak' up above | $\left.\right\|_{----} ^{---}$ |  | --- | yaa'nii ] <br> they say |  |  |
| 41b |  | [41a] | Ch'eeneesh <br> Thunder (deity) |  | s'isdai-banghit when he will live (tc' - ) |  |  |  |
| 42a | [niing <br> you (sg.) | jang <br> here <br> kandintc <br> close/near | $\ll \gg$ |  | sindaa <br> you live in place |  | $\frac{\text { niing }}{\text { you (sg.) }}$ | independent subject pronoun both preposed and postposed |
| 42b |  |  | --- | [42a] | tc ${ }^{\prime}$ in ( $\left.\mathrm{tc}^{\prime}-\right)$ <br> he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| 43a |  |  | [--- | too <br> water | deedinkaash you (sg.) put a container on the fire deeding'ash you (sg.) put it on the fire |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 43b |  |  | --- | too <br> water | sil <br> hot |  |  |  |
| 43c |  |  | --- |  | ilhtcii ] <br> you (sg.) make it |  |  |  |
| 43d |  |  | --- | [43a-43c] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 44 |  | nee <br> earth | --- | naahneesh <br> person | tc istciin <br> he made it | bilh with it | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 45a | [jaa' <br> well! |  | --- | uutce'ing to him | kinishyyiish $]$ <br> let me speak |  |  |  |
| 45b |  |  | --- | [45a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 46 |  |  | --- | wos <br> its thigh | tc' istciin' <br> he made it |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 47 |  |  | --- | dikw'on' <br> left side | tc' istciin he made it |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 48 |  |  | --- | kwaanii' <br> his arm | tc' istciin <br> he made it |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 49 | dikw'on <br> left side | Ihaa <br> another | --- | $\ll$ | tc' istciin he made it |  | yaa'nii they say |  |

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| 50 |  | --- | tl'oh grass | tc' ghinyiish <br> he broke off |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 51 |  | --- |  | dii-kwaalhsiing he did this |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 52 | ch'aa-mang for a belly | --- |  | noolaa <br> he put it down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 53 | bit'-bang <br> for a stomach | --- |  | tc'teelhbalh <br> he hung it up |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 54a | [uudjii' -bang <br> for its heart | --- | $\gg$ | s'isbaat'-it <br> when he had patted it | tl'oh ] <br> grass |  |  |
| 54b | [54a] | --- | uuyeeh <br> under it | noo'ng'an <br> he put it down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 55 | uuteehlee'bang <br> for its liver | --- | Iheetc tboosh mud <br> round | noo'ng'aan <br> he put it down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 56 | uudjodjiilhbang <br> for its <br> kidneys | --- | ch'oyii-haa more | noo'ng' aan <br> he put it down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 57a |  | --- | uudjiishiishte e its lungs | djee'ghint'aats <br> he cut it in two |  |  |  |
| 57b |  | --- |  | noo'ng'aan <br> he put it down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 58a |  | --- | tl'ohnees <br> tall grass | tc' nghintcit he pushed it in |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| . Part 1 Discour |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 58b |  |  | --- |  | tc' nghilhtcit <br> he maneuvered it in | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 59a | [diikwoondii <br> what kind? |  | diishaang what? |  | seelii-mang ] <br> will be blood |  |  |  |
| 59b |  |  | --- | [59a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 60 |  |  | --- | shiish <br> ochre | tc'ghinsit <br> he pounded it up | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 61a |  | [ <br> kwshiiish- <br> bang <br> for his ochre | --- | too <br> water | oohlang ] <br> you (pl.) go after |  |  |  |
| 61b |  |  | --- | [61a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 62 |  |  | --- |  | noolhtiing <br> he laid him down | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 63 |  |  | --- | too <br> water | kwnaas'isbiil' he sprinkled it around him | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 64 |  |  | --- | uudaa <br> his mouth | tc 'istciin <br> he made it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 65 |  |  | --- | bintc <br> his nose | tc' istciin he made it | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 66 |  |  | --- | uunaa <br> his eyes | tc' istciin <br> he made it | yaa'nii they say | naakaa' <br> two |  |


| Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 67a |  | [--- |  | danteeshaananmang what will it be? ] |  |  |
| 67b |  | --- | [67a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 68a |  | [--- | knai <br> living person | ilhtcii ] <br> you (sg.) make it |  |  |
| 68b |  | --- | [68a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 69a |  | [--- | uulai' <br> his penis | $\frac{\text { ilhtcii }}{\text { you (sg.) make it }}$ |  |  |
| 69b |  | --- | [69a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 70 |  | --- | uutcok <br> his testicles <br> naakaa' <br> two | tc 'istciin <br> he made it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 71a |  | --- |  | djee 'kwilhch'ilh you (sg.) split it in two |  |  |
| 71b |  | --- |  | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 72a | [kaa' <br> all right/OK | --- |  | ---] |  |  |
| 72b |  | --- | [72a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| 73 a |  |  | [--- |  | beeniilhkee'ee ] <br> I've finished it |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 73b |  |  | --- | [73a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 74 |  | $\rightarrow>$ | aah <br> cloud |  | kaasyaa <br> came up/rose | yaa'nii <br> they say | diidak <br> east |  |
| 75 | yiist'oot' fog | diisiing' ang from the west | $\ll$ |  | taayiistan <br> fog came up from water <br> kaayiistan <br> fog came up from below | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 76a | [kaa' <br> all right/OK |  | --- |  | totbilh ] <br> let it rain |  |  |  |
| 76b |  |  | --- | [76a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 77 a |  |  | [waanintco ${ }^{\prime}$ ii' <br> wind $\geq \geq$ |  | ch'nolhyoolh <br> let it blow |  | waanintectioi' ] <br> wind |  |
| 77b |  |  | --- | [77a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 78a |  | [yiidak' <br> uphill | .--- | yaahbii' <br> in the sky | ndoo -bang it. will not exist |  |  |  |
| 78 b |  | uuyaashhtc small | --- |  | waanintc 'ii'bang wind will be ] |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart

| 78c |  |  | --- | [78a-78b] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 79a | [kaa' <br> all right/OK |  | --- |  | totbilh <br> let it rain | yiist'oot'-bii'. ] <br> in the fog |  |  |  |
| 79b |  |  | --- | [79a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 80 |  |  | --- |  | teetbiil <br> it rained |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 81 |  |  | --- |  | doo-koghiis' in one/they could not see an area |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 82a |  | [82b] | --- | yaah-bii' ing in the sky | kowinsilh <br> it became warm |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 82b |  | [ghint'ee now | shaa <br> sun |  | kaanaash ] <br> coming up |  |  |  |  |
| 83a |  |  | [diishaaang what? |  | shhaa-bang ] <br> will be the sun |  |  |  |  |
| 83b |  |  | --- | [83a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 84a |  |  | [-- | kwong' <br> fire | shoo'ooleeh you (sg.) fix it | sil-bang ] <br> for heat |  |  |  |
| 84b |  |  | --- | [84a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 85a | [naaghai <br> moon | tl'ee' night | $\ll \gg$ |  | naaghai-bang it will wander |  |  | naaghai ] <br> moon |  |
|  |  |  | ... |  | $600$ |  |  |  |  |


| Creation: Part 1 Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 85b | --- | [85a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 86 | $\rightarrow>$ |  | istin <br> it is cold |  | naaghai <br> moon |  |
| 87 | --- |  | kwanlhaan <br> all/the end |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| \# | Pre-nuclear |  | Nucleus |  |  | Post-nuclear |  |  | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Outer | Inner | Subject | Object/ <br> Complement | Verb | Inner | Outer | Post |  |
| 1 |  |  | --- |  | naanaaghityaa <br> he came back down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 2a |  |  | [ <br> daanshoo'- <br> haa <br> who? | $\frac{\text { see }}{\text { rock }}$ | diee yolhtaalhkwosh <br> perhaps he can kick it open ] |  |  |  |  |
| 2b |  |  | --- | [2a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 3a |  |  | [ daanshoo'- <br> haa' <br> who? | $\frac{\text { chin }}{\text { trees }}$ | diee 'ot'aaskwosh <br> can perhaps cut it in two ] |  |  |  |  |
| 3 b |  |  | --- | [3a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 4 a | [jaa' <br> well! |  | --- |  | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |  |  |  |  |
| 4b |  |  | $\rightarrow>$ | [4a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | Naaghaichow <br> Great Traveller |  |
| 5 |  | doohaa' <br> do not! | --- | chin <br> trees | djee'ghint'aats <br> he cut it in two |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 6a | $\frac{[j a a '}{\text { well! }}$ | shii <br> I/me | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |


| Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6b |  |  | $\gg$ | [6a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say | Ch'eeneesh <br> Thunder <br> (deity) |  |
| 7 a |  |  | [ danshoo'-haa just who? |  | tl'its' -kwosh ] is perhaps strong |  |  |  |
| 7b |  |  | $\gg$ | [7a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say | Ch'eeneesh <br> Thunder <br> (deity) |  |
| 8 | Naaghaich <br> OW <br> Great <br> Traveller | doohaa <br> do not! | $\ll$ | see <br> rock | taaskaal <br> he broke it | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 9 |  | doohaa <br> was not able | --- | chin <br> trees | doohaa'djee'ghiltaal' <br> he was not able to kick it open | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 10a |  |  | [shii <br> I/me |  | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |  |  |  |
| 10b |  |  | $\gg$ | [10a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii they say | Ch'eeneesh <br> Thunder <br> (deity) |  |
| 11 |  |  | --- | see <br> rock | naaniilhtal he kicked it | yaa nii they say |  |  |
| 12 |  |  | --- | see <br> rock | djee'ghiltal' <br> was kicked in two | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 13 |  |  | see <br> rock |  | ghishtyiil <br> it broke to pieces | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 14a |  |  | [--- | see <br> rock | oontghish <br> you (sg.) look.at it ] |  |  |
| 14b |  |  | --- | [14a] | --- |  |  |
| 15a |  |  | [--- | see <br> rock | djee'iilhtaal' ] <br> he kicks if oper-- |  |  |
| 15b |  |  | --- | [15a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 16a | [kaa' <br> all right/OK |  | --- |  | chim-meesh' ${ }^{\prime}$ ai' ] <br> let me try a tree |  |  |
| 16b |  |  | --- | [16a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 17 |  |  | --- | chin <br> trees | djee'ghilhtaal <br> he kicked it open | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 18 |  |  | chin <br> tree |  | ghishtyiil <br> it broke to pieces | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 19 |  |  | Ch'eeneesh Thunder (deity) Naaghaichow Great Traveller |  | naanaaghityaa <br> he came back <br> down | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 20a | $\begin{aligned} & \underline{\text { [dii }} \\ & \text { this/here } \\ & \frac{\mathrm{kw}^{\prime} \text { it }}{\text { on it }} \end{aligned}$ | Naaghaicho <br> w <br> Great <br> Traveller | --- | too kw'it <br> water on it | noodintallh <br> you (sg.) step on it ] |  |  |


| Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 20b |  | --- | [20a] | -- |  |  |  |
| 21a |  | [ danshoo -haa just who? | $\frac{\text { too }}{\text { water }}$ | noodotalhkwosh <br> may perhaps stand up on it ] |  |  |  |
| 21b |  | --- | [21a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 22a | [heu' <br> yes | --- |  | ---] |  |  |  |
| 22b |  | --- | [22a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 23 |  | Naaghaichow Great Traveller | too kw'it <br> water on it | noo'tghintaal he stepped on it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 24 |  | --- | $\gg$ | kwinyeehtc' ghi ntaal' <br> he sank stepping | yaa'nii <br> they say | baantoo' -bii' <br> in the ocean |  |
| 25a |  | Ch'eeneesh Thunder (deity) |  | --- |  |  |  |
| 25b |  | [shii <br> I/me |  | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |  |  |  |
| 25c |  | << | [25b] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 26 |  | Ch'eeneesh Thunder (deity) | too kw'it <br> water on it | noo'tghintaal he stepped on it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 27 | kwkwee' <br> his foot <br> Ihaa'haa' <br> one <br> kwilh <br> with him | --- |  | noo'tghintaal he stood up on it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 28a |  | [--- |  | beeniilhnee'ee I've finished it |  | $\underbrace{\text { kaa' }}_{\text {all right/OK }}]$ |  |
| 28b |  | --- | [28a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 29 |  | --- |  | ghilhgheel' <br> it became evening | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 30 |  | -- |  | teetbiil <br> it rained | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 31 |  | --- |  | teetbiil <br> it rained | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 32 | kwanlhan every/all djiing day kwanlhan every/all ilhghil evening/night $\gg$ | --- |  | titbilh <br> it rained | yaa'nii <br> they say | kwanlhan <br> every/all <br> tl'ee' <br> night |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 33a |  |  | [--- |  | danteeshaanmang <br> what will it be? |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 33b |  |  | --- |  | daaa'oneesh'ang <br> what will <br> happen? |  |  |  |  |
| 33 c |  | shoo' <br> very | --- |  | titbilh <br> it rained | hai <br> there |  | kwan!han <br> that many <br> yiilhkai ] <br> nights |  |
| 33d |  |  | --- | [33a-33c] | yaa'n <br> they said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 34 |  | diishoong some way | yiist'oot fog | shoonk' nee well land uutc 'ing' close to it | noo' iintan <br> it/fog spread to a limit |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | yiist'oot' <br> fog |  |
| 35 |  |  | aah <br> cloud |  | tghingeetc <br> they/clouds were getting thick |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 36 |  | ghint'ee <br> now | naahneesh <br> person <br> kwong' fire |  | nghindoo <br> it disappeared |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 37 | uuyaashtc small |  | kwong' fire | $\ll$ | sliing <br> became |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 38 |  |  | shaahnaa'taah creeks |  | Ihteemin <br> werefull <br> reciprocally |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 43a |  | [shii <br> I/me | Ihaa another | kwashleeh-jaa' <br> let me do thus kwashnneeh-jaa let me do thus ] |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 43b |  | --- | [43a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 44a |  | [--- |  | ghilhgheel'anghaa <br> just when it might become evening |  |  |
| 44b |  | Ihaan Ihtaahkii every kind | --.....- | nteeslaalh-dee <br> when they will sleep |  |  |
| 44c | [44a-44b] | --- |  | aadileeh-jaá' ] <br> let us do thus |  |  |
| 44d |  | --- | [44a-44c] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii they say |  |



Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 51 |  | Iheenee'ha' <br> all <br> noonii <br> grizzly bear | teelaat <br> they drowned | yaa'nii <br> they say |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 52 |  | jeeschow elk Iheenee'haa every | teelaat <br> it drowned | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 53 |  | bitchow <br> mountain lion <br> Iheenee'haa' every/all | teelaat <br> it drowned | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 54 |  | bittc <br> bobcat <br> Iheenee'haa <br> every/all | teelaat <br> it drowned | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 55 |  | iintc' ee deer <br> Iheenee'haa every/all | teelaat <br> it drowned | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 56 |  | Ihaan Ihtaahkii every kind | teelaat <br> it drowned | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 57a |  | [too water | teesyaa-hit <br> when it went along ] |  |  |
| 57b | [57a] | chin <br> trees | ndoo <br> not exist | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 58 |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { nee' } \\ & \text { land } \end{aligned}$ | ndoo <br> not exist | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 59 |  |  | naahneesh <br> person |  | sliing <br> became |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 60 |  |  | boo'tc <br> harbor seal <br> tyiits noonii <br> sea lion bear | yiichow <br> dance-house | ghilyii' <br> build a house | $\gg$ | yaa'nii they say | Kaatiniibii <br> Rockport |  |
| 61 | shoo' <br> in vain | yook <br> way far nee'k' $a \mathrm{a}$ over the world | --- |  | yaa'ntei they looked |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 62a |  | hai <br> there | --- |  | ghilyii' <br> they built a house | [62b] | yaa'nii they say | baaghang <br> coast |  |
| 62b |  |  | [nee' <br> land <br> nshoong <br> good | Kaatiniibii <br> Rockport | ghilsan <br> it was found |  | yaa'nii ] <br> they say |  |  |
| 63a |  |  | \|[--- |  | ghilsaan-iit <br> when it was <br> found <br> ] |  |  |  |  |
| 63b | [63a] | hai <br> there | $\gg$ |  | ghinlhan <br> they become many |  | yaa'nii they say | tyiits <br> sea lion |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 64 |  | teehlaang whale | naahneesh <br> person <br> tc'eek <br> woman | sliing <br> became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 65a | teehlaang <br> whale <br> hai-hiit' <br> because of <br> that | -- |  | lhk aagh is fat |  |  |
| 65b |  | kw'aah fat |  | nchaagh it is much |  |  |
| 66 |  | noonii grizzly bear |  | ndoo <br> not exist | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 67a | Ihooyaashtc sucker | tc' indinnaakaishtc <br> Western skink |  | --- |  |  |
| 67b |  | [toonai fish |  | ndoo'-hit <br> when it did not exist ] |  |  |
| 67c | [67b] | $\ll$ |  | taalghal <br> was thrown into water (stick-like) animate O) | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 68a |  | [toonai fish |  | ndoo'-hit <br> when it did not exist |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 68b |  | [diishaann <br> what? |  | toonai-bang ] <br> will be fish |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 68c | [68a-68b] | --- | [68b] | --- |  |  |
| 69 |  | ch'see'chow <br> bullsnake |  | taalghaal <br> it was thrown <br> into water | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 70 | too-bii' <br> in water | --- | gees <br> Chinook <br> salmon | sliing <br> became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 71 |  | dilaantc <br> salamander |  | taalghaal <br> it was thrown into water | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 72 | too-bii' <br> in water | --- | daatcaahaal <br> coho salmon | sliing <br> became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 73 |  | naalhshoottc <br> common garter snake |  | taalghaal <br> it was thrown into water | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 74 | too-bii <br> in water | --- | Ihook <br> steelhead | sliing <br> became | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 75 |  | saljiitc <br> fence lizard |  | taalghaal <br> it was thrown into water | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 76 | too-bii' <br> in water | --- | Ihoo yaashgai tc | bang <br> future predictive enclitic |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 77 |  |  | Lhoo'yaashtc trout |  | tc'tceeh he cries | yaa'nii they say | kwkwaak'ee -bang <br> for his net |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 78a | [shkaak'ee' my net |  | --- |  | ---] |  |  |  |
| 78b |  |  | --- | [78a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 79 | Ihaan <br> many <br> Ihtaahkii <br> different <br> kinds | shoo' <br> in vain | --- | $\ll$ | kwaayaa'aashiit <br> they give solid O to him | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 80 |  |  | --- | ch'kaak net | ghilhtciin'kwaan <br> they had made | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 81a |  |  | [--- | ch’kaak net | ghilhtl'oon-it ] <br> when he wove it |  |  |  |
| 81b |  | [81a] | --- |  | bii' nookowiltiin they put him in it bii'nooghiltiin they put it in it | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 82 |  |  | --- |  | tc' deengheel' <br> he stopped crying | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 83 |  |  | --- |  | taakwwilghaal <br> he was thrown into water | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 84 | hootaa <br> and then | --- | Ihooyaashtc trout/sucker | s'isliing <br> he became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 85a |  | $\frac{\text { [diishan }}{\text { what? }}$ | $\geq \geq$ | kaal'aa'-bang it will grow |  | $\left.\frac{\text { too-bii' }}{\text { in water }}\right]$ |  |
| 85b |  | --- | [85a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 86 |  | laat <br> seaweed | $\gg$ | kaal' $\quad a a^{\prime}$ <br> grows up | yaa'nii they say | too-bii' <br> in water <br> baantoo <br> ocean |  |
| 87 |  | yoo'tc'il'iing abalone |  | kaal'aa' <br> grows up | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 88 |  | baanchow mussels | $\gg$ | kaal' $\quad$ a <br> grows up | yaa'nii they say | baantoo'-bii' in the ocean |  |
| 89 |  | teehkislee <br> bull kelp | too-yeeh <br> under water | kaal'aa <br> grows up | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 90 |  | silsiskwt'iing <br> feather boa kelp | $\rightarrow>$ | kaal'aa' <br> grows up | yaa'nii <br> they say | baantoo'-bii' in the ocean |  |
| 91 |  | chinkwt' iing tree kelp | $\gg$ | kaal'aa <br> grows up | yaa'nii <br> they say | baantoo'-bii' in the ocean |  |
| 92 |  | Ihaan <br> many <br> Ihtaahkii <br> different kinds |  | kaal'aa <br> grows up | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 93 |  | t\|' oh-lhtsow surf grass | $\gg$ | kaal'aa <br> grows up | yaa'nii <br> they say | baantoo'-bii' in the ocean |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 94a |  | $\frac{\text { [diishan }}{\text { what? }}$ |  | Iheedoo-mang ] will be salt |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 94b |  | --- | [94a] | tc' in <br> he said <br> deeghinii <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 95 |  | Ihaan many |  | beeyaa'l'ai <br> they tasted them |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 96 | ch'woshtce e foam baantoo' ocean | ch'woshtcee <br> foam <br> hai <br> the/that | Iheedoong salt | sliing <br> became |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 97 |  | naahneesh person | biiyee <br> its/their <br> Iheedoong <br> salt <br> hai <br> the/that | beeyaal'ai' they try it beel'ai' he tries it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 98 |  | --- | ch'aang <br> food <br> bilh <br> with it | naadeeltcaamang <br> they will eat a meal <br> ch'aaghaayaamang <br> they will eat st. | ch'aa-milh with food |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 99 |  | --- | naakoo-milh <br> with clover | naadeeltcaamang <br> they will eat a meal <br> ch'aaghaayaamang <br> they will eat st. |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 100 |  | hai <br> the/that |  | nshoon <br> is good | yaa'nii they say | Iheedoong salt baantoo' ocean |  |
| $\underline{101}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ | [ <br> daatiishaaamang <br> how will it be? | \|too <br> water |  | kwandiik' aasmang <br> wave falls back |  |  |  |
| $\frac{101}{\mathrm{~b}}$ |  | $\geq \geq$ |  | daadin'aa'mang <br> what will it do? |  | dii <br> this/here <br> baantopo. ] <br> ocean |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 101 \\ & c \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [101a-101b] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\underline{102}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ | $\frac{\text { [dee }}{\text { here }}$ | baantoo ocean |  | nai'aa'-bang <br> it will have waves |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{102} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | tai' aash-bang waves will recede |  |  |  |
| $\frac{102}{c}$ | kwaninn'ing up this way | --- |  | sai-bang ] <br> sand will be |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\underline{108}$ |  |  | --- |  | yaaa'taa-maniaaa' <br> they will eat them <br> nshooo-manjaá ] <br> let it be good |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 109 |  |  | --- | [106-108] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\underline{110}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { [ } \\ & \text { t'aan'tghilyo } \\ & \underline{\text { os }} \\ & \text { octopus } \end{aligned}$ | beekwsinghiit <br> although it is ugly | --- |  | nshoo-manjaa let it be good |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{110} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- |  | ch'aa-maniaa' ] <br> let them eat it |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 110 \\ & c \end{aligned}$ |  |  | $\cdots$ | [110a-110b] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\underline{111}$ | [toonai <br> fish | baantoo'-bii' <br> in the ocean | --- |  | lhk' aahbangjaa' let it be fat ] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 111 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [111a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{112} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [--- |  | nshoo-manjaá ] <br> let it be good |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 112 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [112a] | --- |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\begin{array}{\|l} \underline{113} \\ \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{array}$ |  | [lhaan <br> many <br> lhtaahkii <br> different kinds |  | banjaa' <br> let it be | baantoo'-bii' ] <br> in the ocean |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 113 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [113a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{array}{\|l} \underline{114} \\ \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{array}$ |  | [too-bitchow Water Panther |  | banjaa' ] <br> let it be |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 114 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [114a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{115} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | [seetoonai swordfish |  | banjaa <br> let it be |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{115} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  | -ー- | naahneesh <br> person | ch'ibee-bang.] he will catch |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 115 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [115a-115b] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{array}{\|l} \underline{116} \\ \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{array}$ | [ toonai- wónees "long tooth fish" geeslhshing black salmon toonai fish | tyiits sea lion | $\leq<$ | ch'ibee-banjaa'. ] <br> let it catch |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{121} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [baanchow mussels |  | ch'ilkaan-ee <br> they are sour/ bitter |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{121}$ $\underline{b}$ |  |  | --- | [121a] | nilhdeeghaanee -dee <br> if they told you |  |  |  |  |
| $\underline{121}$ | [121a-121b] | haataah <br> right there | --- | ch'oopabaah <br> poison | ileeh-bang ] <br> it will become |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 121 \\ & \mathrm{~d} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | \|---- | [121a-121c] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | [121e] |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 121 \\ & \mathrm{e} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [--- |  | shoo' tc' 'ilaagh-it when he fixed it ] |  |  |  |  |
| 122 |  |  | $\frac{\text { [chin }}{\text { trees }}$ |  | ndoo'-banjaa let it not exist | baantoo'-bii in the ocean |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{123} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | too-ntl' its rough water |  | banjaa' let it be | baantoo'-bii' ] <br> in the ocean |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 123 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [122-123a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 124 |  |  | \|--- | gaashchow <br> redwood | naa'tghilh'aa' <br> he stood it on end |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 125 |  | tghaamaa <br> along shore | --- | tc' iibeetcing grand fir | naa'tghilh'aa' he stood it on end |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 126 | tc' iibeetcin g grand fir | Nee'uuchii ding <br> World Its Tail Place diidaa" ang from the north | --- | $\ll$ | tc' ghilhtciilh <br> he places it along making | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 127 |  |  | --- |  | naa'tghilh'aa' he stood it on end | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 128 |  | nee' <br> land baantoo' <br> ocean <br> uutc'inghaa <br> in front of it | --- | bis <br> bank/slide | tc' ghilhtciilh <br> he places it along making | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 129 |  | yiidaa" ang <br> from the <br> north | --- | see <br> rock | nooghaa'ash he put them down along | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 130 |  | yoo oonghaa' <br> yonder | baantoo <br> ocean |  | ninyiilhtsilh <br> waves beat against it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 131 |  | yooyiinak <br> far south | --- |  | kwaa'ghileelh he does that | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 132 |  |  | --- | nee' dilbai gray pine | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |


| Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 133 |  |  | diltciik <br> ponderosa pine | naa'tghilh'aalh <br> he stood them up along | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 134 | neesdinghaa' <br> far away |  |  | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 135 | $\gg$ |  | ts' isnoo <br> mountain | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along | yaa'nii they say | too <br> water <br> uutc'inghaa <br> in front of it |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 136 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ | hainak'aa <br> far south |  |  | doo-tc' oo' dai <br> he didn't give up |  |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 136 \\ & b \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | --- |  | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 137 |  | --- |  | kaaghil' alh <br> they were <br> growing up | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 138 |  | --- | gaashchow <br> redwood naadeel'tc shore pine nee'dilbai gray pine | k'eeghilhyiil <br> he planted them in a row | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 139 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ | aatk'ee <br> behind <br> themselves | --- |  | tghinnaa'tghitgish <br> he was looking around | yaa'nii they say |  |  |


| Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 139 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | kaaghil'alh <br> they were growing up | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 140 |  | gaashchow redwood |  | ghinees <br> became tall | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 141 |  | --- | see <br> rock | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 142 |  | --- | uuyaashtc <br> small <br> shaahnaa <br> creek | tc' tghilhtalh <br> he made it by dragging a foot | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\underline{143}$ |  | [--- |  | ch'ghiliinteelhtaah <br> places where it is going to flow |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{143} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ | [143a] | dii too <br> this water |  | nshoo-manjaá ] <br> let it be good |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 143 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [143a-143b] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{144} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | [--- | dii <br> this/here | taanaa-manjaa' <br> let them drink ] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 144 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [144a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\underline{145}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ | [baantooo' <br> ocean | shan <br> only | --- | $\leq<$ | doohhaá -taananaaamanjaa' <br> let them not drink! ] |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 145 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [145a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 146 |  |  | --- | kaal'aa <br> it grows up | tc'ghilhtciilh <br> he places it along making |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 147 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- |  | tghin-naa' tgish <br> he looks back around | aatk'ee <br> behind himself |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 147 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- |  | kaaghil' alhkwan <br> it was growing up |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{148}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  |  | [ <br> Toosii' ding <br> Water Head Place |  | kan'indin-ee ] <br> became near |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 148 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | saahdinhaa' <br> alone | --- | [148a] | tc ' kineesh he speaks | $\gg$ | yaa'nii <br> they say | aatc' 'ing' <br> to himself |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{149} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | \|[--- |  | nshooon-ee <br> it is good |  |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\underline{149}$ $\underline{b}$ |  | --- |  | kaaghil' aal-iit because they are sprouting along ] |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 149 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [149a-149b] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 150 |  | --- | shaahnaa' creek | tc' ghilhtciilh he places it along making | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{151}$ $\underline{a}$ |  | [--- | dii <br> this | taanaa-manjaa <br> let them drink <br> ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 151 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [151a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 152 | hai-hiit <br> because of <br> that | Iheenee'haa everyone hai-hiit' because of that | $\rightarrow>$ | taanan <br> they drink | yaa'nii <br> they say | Ihaan <br> many <br> Intaahkii <br> different kinds |  |
| $\underline{\underline{153}}$ |  | \|[--- |  | too-nshoon-it when it is good water |  |  |  |
| $\underline{\underline{153}}$ | [153a] | --- |  | doo-dink 'ootc'- <br> iit <br> because it is not <br> salty |  |  |  |
| $\frac{153}{c}$ | [153a-153b] | $\frac{\text { iintc'ee' }}{\text { deer }}$ |  | taanaa-manjaa <br> let them drink |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\underline{153}$ |  | jeeschow <br> elk |  | taanaa-manjaa <br> let them drink |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{153} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{e}} \end{aligned}$ |  | bitchow <br> mountain lion |  | taanaaa-manjaad <br> let them drink |  |  |
| $\underline{153 f}$ |  | saahchow <br> fisher |  | taanaa-manjaa' <br> let them drink ] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 153 \\ & \mathrm{~g} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [153a-153f] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 154 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | [chin <br> trees |  | kaal'aa' ] <br> grows up |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 154 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [154a] |  <br> he places it along making | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 155 | aatk'ee <br> behind <br> himself | --- |  | ch'oonaaghitgis h <br> he looked back at st. | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 156 |  | --- |  | kaaghil' alhkwan <br> they were-----growing up | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

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Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\underline{161}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | [--- | too <br> water | ghhiishthtciillh <br> I am placing <br> atom-thakikng -- |  | too-nshoong. ] <br> good water |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 161 \\ & b \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | --- | [161a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{162} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | [Ihaan <br> many gaaashchow redwood |  | kaaghil'alh <br> they were <br> gForwinnat ----- <br> ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 162 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [162a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 163 |  | --- |  | kaaghil' alh <br> they were <br> growing up | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 164 | hainak'aa <br> far south | --- | too <br> water | tc'ghilhtciilh <br> he places it along making | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 165 |  | --- | saaktoo' <br> spring (of <br> water) | naa'nghilhtal <br> he goes along <br> kicking out holes | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{166} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | [--- |  | saaktoo'-bang <br> there must be springs ] |  |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 166 \\ & b \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | --- | [166a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 167 a | yiidaa" ang <br> from the north | nee <br> land | --- |  | naa'nghilhtal <br> he goes along <br> kicking out holes | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 167 |  |  | [biiyee |  | banjaa' ] |  |  |  |
| b |  |  | its/their ch'nankat deer lick |  | let it be |  |  |  |
| $167$ <br> c |  |  | --- | [167b] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\underline{168}$ $\underline{a}$ |  |  | $\frac{\text { [dii }}{\text { this }}$ | iintc' ee deer | biiyiii-yeee ] is their property |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 168 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [168a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say | ch'nankat deer lick |  |
| 169 |  |  | --- | kwloo <br> his dog | tc' ghilhteelh he took it.along | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\underline{170}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  |  | [--- | too <br> water | tainan ] <br> you (sg.) drink |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 170 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | [170a] | --- | $\rightarrow>$ | ilhtc 'in he tells him | yaa'nii <br> they say | kwloo his dog |  |
| 171 |  |  | $\rightarrow>$ | -...-...- | taaghiinan he drank | yaa'nii <br> they say | kiin Ihaa he too |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{172} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [lheenee'haa' everyone |  | taanaa-manjaa <br> let them drink |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\underline{172}$ $\underline{b}$ |  | Ihaapn Ihtaahhkii every kind t' aa' kwl' iing birds |  | taanaa-manjaa <br> let them drink ] |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 172 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [172a-172b] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 173 |  | chin <br> trees |  | kāāghil'āth <br> they were growing up | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 174 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | [saahching -tan̄ōâk---- |  | kaal'aa' ] <br> grows up |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 174 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [174a] | tc' ghilhtciilh <br> he planted them along making | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 175 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | [ Ihaan Intaahkii every kind |  | kaal'aa' ] <br> grows up |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 175 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [175a] | tc'ghilhtciilh <br> he planted them along making | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |



Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\underline{185}$ |  |  | $\frac{[\text { too }}{\text { water }}$ |  | nshonop-eee <br> it is good |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{\underline{185}}{\underline{b}}$ |  |  | too <br> water |  | ghishtciil-eet since I placed it along making it |  |  |  |  |
| $\underline{185}$ |  |  | --- |  | taaghaanaamang they will drink it ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 185 \\ & \mathrm{~d} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [185a-185c] | tc'in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 186 |  |  | --- | gaashchow <br> redwood | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 187 |  |  | - | tc' iibeetcing <br> grand fir saahchin <br> tanbark oak nee' <br> land | naa'tghilh'aalh <br> he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 188 |  |  | --- | ts' isnoo <br> mountains | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{189} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [--- |  | nchaaah-banjaá ] <br> let it be big |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 189 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | ----- | [189a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | gaashchow <br> redwood |  |

Creation: Part_2 Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & 189 \\ & \hdashline c \\ & c \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | tc'teesyaa <br> he went along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 189 \\ & \mathrm{~d} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | nee' <br> World | uunaasyaa <br> he went around it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 190 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | tc'teeghilhtalh <br> he drags his foot along making them | [190b] | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 190 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | [too water |  | niliin-teelhbang <br> so that it will flow ] |  |  |  |  |
| 191 |  | --- | naadeelhtc small pine tree | naa' tghilh'aalh he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 192 |  | --- | gaashchow <br> redwood | naa'tghilh'alh <br> he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii they say | tc' 'iibeetcing grand fir |  |
| 193 |  | --- | shaahnaa creek | tc' ghilhtciilh <br> he places it along making |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 194 | nee <br> land | --- |  | naa'nghilhtalh he kicked out holes along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 195 |  | --- | saahchin <br> tanbark oak | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 196 |  | --- | nee'dilbai gray pine | naa'tghilh'aalh <br> he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 197 |  | --- | tkoo 'iishtc chinquapin | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 198 |  | --- | see <br> rock | nooghaa'aash <br> he puts them down along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 199 | aatk'ee <br> behind <br> himself | --- |  | tc' ooghitgish he looks along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 200 |  | $\gg$ |  | ghitchaah <br> becomes large | see <br> rock | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 201 |  | --- | nee' <br> land | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along |  | yaa nii they say |  |
| 202 |  | --- | too <br> water <br> shaahnaa' <br> creek | taaghiinan <br> he drank |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{203} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | [too |  | nshoon-ee ] <br> it is good |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 203 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [203a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 208 |  |  | --- | see <br> rock | nooghaa'aash <br> he puts them down along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 209 |  |  | --- | bis bank/slide | nooghaa' aash he puts them down along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 210 |  |  | --- | seelhgaiuuyaashtc <br> white pebbles | nooghaa' aash he puts them down along |  | yaa nii they say |  |  |
| 211 |  |  | --- | ch'int'aang white oak | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 212 | naadiil <br> sugar pine | Ihaa'haa'taa h one at a time | --- | $\ll$ | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 213 | Ihtaagh <br> California <br> Black Oak | Ihaa'haa' taa h one at a time | --- | $\ll$ | naa'tghilh'aalh <br> he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 214 |  |  | --- | saak'eenees valley oak | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 215 |  |  | --- | tc' uubee Douglas fir | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along | $\gg$ | yaa'nii they say | Ihaa'haa'taa h <br> one at a time |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{216} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [--- | too <br> water | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |  |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline 216
b \& \& \& --- \& [216a] \& \begin{tabular}{l}
tc' in \\
he said
\end{tabular} \& \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa'nii \\
they say
\end{tabular} \& \& \\
\hline \[
\begin{aligned}
\& \underline{217} \\
\& \underline{a}
\end{aligned}
\] \& \begin{tabular}{l}
[shlootc \\
my puppy
\end{tabular} \& \& --- \& \& tainang ]
you (sg.) drink \& \& \& \\
\hline \[
\left.\right|_{2} ^{217} \begin{aligned}
\& \mathrm{b}
\end{aligned}
\] \& \& \& --- \& [217a] \& \begin{tabular}{l}
tc' in \\
he said
\end{tabular} \& \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa'nii \\
they say
\end{tabular} \& \& \\
\hline \[
\frac{218}{\underline{a}}
\] \& \& \& [--- \& Iheenee 'haa all Ihtaahkii different kinds \& \begin{tabular}{l}
taanaa-mang ] \\
they will drink
\end{tabular} \& \& \& \\
\hline \[
\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned}
\& 218 \\
\& \mathrm{~b}
\end{aligned}\right.
\] \& \& \& --- \& [218a] \& \begin{tabular}{l}
tc' in \\
he said
\end{tabular} \& \begin{tabular}{l}
yaa'nii \\
they say
\end{tabular} \& too-nshoong good water \& \\
\hline 219 \& \& \& ---

--- \& \& \begin{tabular}{l}
tc'teeghilhtalh <br>
he drags his foot along making them ...........

 \& 

yaa'nii <br>
they say
\end{tabular} \& \& <br>

\hline 220 \& \& shaahnaa creek \& --- \& | nee |
| :--- |
| land | \& | naa' aanghilhtal h |
| :--- |
| he drags his foot along | \& | yaa'nii |
| :--- |
| they say | \& \& <br>


\hline 221 \& \& \& -- \& | see |
| :--- |
| rock | \& | nooghaa'aash. |
| :--- |
| he puts them down along | \& | yaa'nii |
| :--- |
| they say | \& \& <br>


\hline 222 \& \& | aatk'ee |
| :--- |
| behind himself | \& --- \& \& tc' neelh' iing he looked at it \& | yaa'nii |
| :--- |
| they say | \& \& <br>

\hline
\end{tabular}

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \underline{223} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  |  | [--- | too <br> water | tainan <br> you (sg.) drink |  | shlootc ] <br> my puppy |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\left.\right\|_{2} ^{223} \begin{aligned} & \mathrm{b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [223a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \underline{224} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}\right.$ | [shii <br> I/me | $\frac{\text { Ihaa' }}{\text { too }}$ | $\leq<$ |  | taashnaan ] <br> I drink |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 224 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [224a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{225} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [noonii grizzly bear |  | taanaa-mang <br> they will drink |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{225} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | Ihaan <br> many <br> Ihtaahkii <br> different kinds |  | taanaa-mang they will drink $\qquad$ |  |  |  |

$\qquad$

| : Part 2 Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{225}{c}$ | naahneesh person |  | taanaa-mang ] <br> they will drink |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 225 \\ & d \end{aligned}$ | --- | [225a-225c] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 226 $\underline{a}$ | [--- | too <br> water | ghiishtcciil-ee <br> I place it along making | dii <br> here |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{226} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ | Ihaan <br> many <br> lhtaahkii <br> different kinds | [226a] | taanaa-mang they will drink |  |  |  |
| $\frac{227}{a}$ | --- | see <br> rock | nooghaaash'aas h-ee <br> I put them down along | too <br> water <br> uutc' inghaaa ] <br> in front of it |  |  |
| 227 <br> b | --- | [226a-227a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 228 | --- | ts' isnoo <br> mountain | naa'tghilh'aalh <br> he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 229 | --- | chin <br> trees <br> tc'uubee <br> Douglas fir | naa'tghilh'aalh <br> he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 230 | -- | tciichaan <br> Oregon white oak | naa'tghilh'aalh <br> he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & 237 \\ & -7 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [237a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say | [237c] |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{237}{c}$ |  |  | [--- |  | --- |  | daatcaahaaal <br> coho salmon <br> gees <br> Chinook <br> salmon <br> ] |  |
| $\underline{238}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | [shaahnaaa' <br> creek <br> dii-bii' <br> in this | gees <br> Chinook salmon |  | hiiheendilh- <br> banjaa' <br> let them come in ] |  |  |  |
| 238 |  |  | --- | [238a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{239}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ | [lhook <br> steelhead | haandataa <br> last ones | --- |  | tandilh-banjaa' <br> let them come in water 1 . |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 239 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [239a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{240} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [toonai <br> fish <br> uuyaashtwt small |  | tandilh-banjaa' <br> let them come in water ] | - |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 240 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [240a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say | [240c] |  |



Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\underline{264}$ |  |  | ch'see 'chow bullsnake |  | Ihaa-manjaaa' <br> let there be many | jaang <br> here |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{265}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | dii <br> this <br> nee'-kw'it <br> on the land | nee' <br> land |  | nshooo-manjaá ] <br> let it be good |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 265 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | -- | [263-265a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{266} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [kwonteelh valley/flat |  | banjaa' ] <br> let it be |  |  |  |
| $266$ <br> b |  |  | --- | [266a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 267 |  |  | --- | tc' 'iibee <br> Douglas fir | naa'tghilh'aalh he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 268 | gaashchow <br> redwood | Ihaa'haa'taa h <br> one at a time | --- | $\ll$ | naa'tghilh'aalh <br> he stood them up. along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 269 |  |  | --- | tc'bee <br> Douglas fir diltciik <br> ponderosa pine <br> aan'ch' waich <br> ow <br> canyon live <br> oak | naa'tghilh'aalh <br> he stood them up along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\underline{291}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | [naa'shook'aa robin |  | Ihaa-manjaaa <br> let there be many | jaang ] <br> here |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\left.\right\|_{b} ^{291}$ |  | --- | [291a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{292} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ | [ <br> ts' isnoo'nee <br> s <br> tall mountain <br> dii-kw' it <br> on this | $\frac{\text { iintc'ee' }}{\text { deer }}$ |  | Ihaa-manjaá <br> let there be many ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 292 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ | - | --- | [292a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{293} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ | [jaang <br> here | --- |  | kwonteelh- <br> banjaa' <br> let it be a valley <br> ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 293 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [293a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{294} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | [ tc 'iibeeuuyaashhtc small Douglas fir |  | banjaa' <br> let it be |  |  | uuwang some of them |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{294} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  | want' ${ }^{\prime}$ a' <br> some |  | nchaah-banjaa' <br> let it be big |  |  |  |  |
| $\underline{295}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { titbilh } \\ & \text { rain } \end{aligned}$ |  | totbilh <br> let it rain |  |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\underline{296}$ |  | --- |  | otyaats <br> let it snow |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{297}$ |  | --- |  | oloo <br> let it hail |  |  |
| $\underline{298}$ |  | $\frac{\text { aah }}{\text { cloud }}$ |  | $\left.\frac{\text { noyaa }}{\text { let it come }}\right]$ |  |  |
| 298 |  | --- | [294a-298a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{299} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | [--- |  | totbil-dee <br> when it would <br> rain------ |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{299} \\ & \underline{b} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | [299a] | --- |  | taa onyaang <br> let the water rise <br> ----------- |  |  |
| 300 |  | too water |  | ochaah <br> let it be large |  |  |
| 301 |  | djaang <br> muddy water |  | oleeh <br> let there become |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \frac{302}{\underline{a}} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l\|} \hline \text { titbil } \\ \text { rain } \\ \hdashline \ldots . . . \end{array}$ |  | nee oonyaan <br> it stops increasing |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \frac{302}{} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{~b}} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | took' ing-haa <br> just as it stops <br> raining |  |  |
| $\underline{303}$ |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l\|} \hline \text { too } \\ \text { water } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | nshoong <br> it is good |  |  |


| Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{303}$ $\underline{b}$ |  |  | --- |  | naa'oleeh-jaa' <br> let it become again ] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 303 \\ & c \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [299a-303b] | --- |  |  |
| 304 |  |  | --- |  | naantyaa <br> he came back | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\text { a } \begin{aligned} & 305 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [hai that |  | kaal' ${ }^{\prime}$ ' <br> grows up |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 305 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [305a] | tc 'istciin' -ding where he made it ] |  |  |
| $\left.\right\|_{c} ^{305}$ |  | [305a-305b] | --- |  | naantyaa <br> he came back | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 306 | shlootc my puppy | shitl' $a a^{\prime}$ <br> right behind me | --- |  | naandaalh <br> you (sg.) come <br> back along |  |  |
| 307 |  |  | --- |  | oodittgee <br> let us look at it |  |  |
| 308 |  |  | --- |  | kaal'aa'eekwaanaang <br> they had grown up |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 309 |  | toonai <br> fish |  | naasdeeleehkwaanaang <br> they swam around underwater | shaahnaa'taah <br> creeks |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 310 |  | see <br> rock |  | ghinchaagheekwaanaang <br> had become <br> large |  |  |  |  |
| 311 |  | --- |  | nghinshooneekwaanaan <br> had become good |  |  |  |  |
| 312 | kaakw quickly | --- |  | tc'galh <br> he walks along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{313}$ $\underline{a}$ | $\frac{\text { 「kaakw }}{\text { quickly }}$ | --- |  | kowinyaallh you (sg.) be walking |  |  | shlootc I <br> my puppy |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 313 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [313a] | ilhtc in he tells him |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 314 |  | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \text { nee' } \\ \text { land } \end{array}$ |  | nghinshooneekwaanaan <br> had become good |  |  |  |  |
| 315 |  | kwonteelh valley |  | sliin'eekwaanan <br> had become |  |  |  |  |
| 316 |  | $\rightarrow>$ |  | kaal'aa'eekwaanan <br> had grown up from below |  |  | Iheenee'haa all Ihtaahkii different kinds |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 317 |  |  | too <br> water |  | nghisliineekwaanang <br> had started <br> flowing |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 318 |  |  | saaktoo' <br> spring (of <br> water) |  | sliineekwaanan <br> had become |  |  |  |
| 319 |  | [ch'oyii-haa' again | \| --- | too <br> water | beesh'ai <br> let me try it |  |  |  |
| 320 <br> $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ | niing <br> you (sg.) | $\frac{\text { Ihaa' }}{\text { too }}$ | --- |  | tainang ] <br> you (sg.) drink |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 320 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [319-320a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 321 |  |  | ts' ii ' brush |  | kaal'aa'eekwaanan <br> had grown up from below |  |  |  |
| 322 |  | kaakw <br> quickly | --- |  | tc' gaalh <br> he is walking | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\underline{323}$ $\underline{a}$ |  |  | [--- | nee' <br> land | shoo'ghiilaaghee <br> I fixed it |  | shlootc ] <br> my puppy |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 323 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [323a] | ilhtc 'in he tells him | yaa'nii they say | kwloo <br> his dog |  |
| $324$ <br> a |  | [kaakw quickly | --- |  | kowinyaaalh you (sg.) be walking |  | shlootc ] <br> my puppy |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 341 $\underline{a}$ | [shhlootc <br> my puppy |  | --- |  | shoó iidililaaghee we fixed it well ] |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $341$ <br> b |  |  | --- | [341a] | --- |  |  |  |  |
| $342$ <br> a |  |  | toonai <br> fish |  | kwiiyaaneekwaanang <br> had grown up | [342b] |  |  |  |
| $342$ <br> b |  |  | [--- |  | ch'aaghaayaa'mang <br> for them to eat them ] |  |  |  |  |
| 343 |  | Toosii' ding <br> Water Head Place | --- |  | naaniideel'-ee we came back | ghint'ee <br> now |  |  |  |
| 344 |  |  | Ihtaahkii <br> different kinds |  | neesyaaneekwaanang <br> had grown |  |  |  |  |
| 345 |  |  | --- |  | naaheesdeel <br> they started back home | $\rightarrow>$ | yaa'nii they say | kwloo hilh his dog with it |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{346} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [--- |  | naidilh <br> let us go back home ] |  |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\left.\right\|_{b} ^{346}$ |  | --- | [346a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{347} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | [kaakw quickly | ts' isnoo mountain |  | kwiiyaaneekwaanang had grown up ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 347 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [347a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 348 |  | $[\geq>$ |  | kwonteeleekwaanang <br> had be(come) flat |  | nee <br> land |  |
| 349 |  | Ihoo'yaashgaait <br> c <br> trout |  | kwiiyaananeekwaanang have grown up |  |  |  |
| $\underline{350}$ |  | too-nshoong good _water |  | nghislilineekwaananan <br> has started flowing |  |  |  |
| 351 | kaakw quickly | --- |  | kowinyaal! you (sg.) be walking |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{352} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | Ihtaahkii different kinds |  | nghinsshooneekwaanang they have become good |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{352} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\because-$ |  | shoo'iidilaagheekwaanang. we have made them well |  | shlootc <br> my puppy |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart



## Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 373 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | --- | [371-373a] | tc ' in he said | $\rightarrow>$ | yaa'nii <br> they say | kwloo <br> his dog |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 374 | [ghint'ee <br> now | --- |  | naaniididi-ee <br> we come back |  |  |  |  |
| 375 | kandintc close/near | --- |  | naasdiliin'-ee we got close again |  |  | shlootc <br> my puppy |  |
| 376 |  | --- |  | oontgish <br> you (sg.) look at it | dee-k'aa <br> here/there |  |  |  |
| 377 |  | ts' isnoo <br> mountain |  | kwiiyaankwaang <br> had grown |  |  |  |  |
| 378 |  | $\geq \geq$ |  | neesyaan <br> is grown |  |  | Intaahkiii <br> different kinds |  |
| 379 |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \frac{\text { see }}{\text { rock }} \end{array}$ |  | kwiiyaaneekwaanaaan have grown |  |  |  |  |
| 380 |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ts'ii' } \\ & \text { brush } \end{aligned}$ |  | kaal' $\quad$ aa' - <br> eekwapanan <br> had grown up <br> from below |  |  |  |  |
| -381 |  | Iheenee'haa' <br> everyone <br> Hhtaahkii <br> different kinds |  | neesyaaneekwaanang it had grawn ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 381 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | --- | [374-381a] | --....... |  |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart


Creation: Part 2 Discourse Chart

| 388 |  | $\ldots$ | kwanlhang <br> all |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Creation. Part 2 Addendum Discourse Chart

Creation: Part 2 Addendum Discourse Chart

| \# | Pre-nuclear |  | Nucleus |  |  | Post-nuclear |  |  | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Outer | Inner | Subject | Object/ <br> Complement | Verb | Inner | Outer | Post |  |
| 1a |  |  | [ch'daayee ~ower/bloom |  | kaal'aa <br> grow up from below ] |  |  |  | Embedded <br> Clause of |
| 1b |  |  | --- | [1a] | tc 'ilhtcii he causes |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  | Periphrastic Causative |
| 2a |  |  | [nonk'tcing tarweed seed |  | kaal'aa <br> grow up from below ] |  |  |  |  |
| 2b |  |  | --- | [2a] | tc 'ilhtcii he causes |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 3a |  |  | [t]'ohchow <br> bunch grass |  | kaal'aa <br> grow up from below ] |  |  |  |  |
| 3 b |  |  | --- | [3a] | tc 'ilhtcii he causes |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 4a |  |  | [naalhbas <br> plant sp |  | kaal'aa <br> grow up from below ] |  |  |  |  |

Creation: Part 2 Addendum Discourse Chart



The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| \# | Pre-nuclear |  | Nucleus |  |  | Post-nuclear |  |  | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Outer | Inner | Subject | Object/ <br> Complement | Verb | Inner | Outer | Post |  |
| 1 |  |  | skiik >> <br> boys |  | teelhkat went along |  | yaa'nii they say | naakaa <br> two |  |
| 2 |  |  | --- | beelh rope | tc'teeslai <br> he carried them along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 3 |  |  | --- |  | ghilk' aan <br> a fire was built |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 4a |  |  | kaashkiitc <br> old.man | [4b-4c] | --- |  |  |  |  |
| 4b |  |  | [--- |  | naach'ohtl'oo you (pl.) set snares |  |  | ch'ileektc pre-teen boy |  |
| 4c |  | naakaa'taah aa <br> two in a place | ---- |  | ch'olii'-jaa' ] <br> let him catch |  |  |  |  |
| 5 |  |  | --- | naakaa' <br> two <br> chin <br> sticks | naadolh' ${ }^{\prime a}$ 'bang <br> you (pl.) must stand them on end |  |  | naakaa'naak aa' <br> four |  |
| 6a |  |  | --- |  | teesdeel <br> they went along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 6b |  |  | --- | ts'ii' -bii' <br> in the brush | naa'tghitl'oon they set snares |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 7 |  |  |  |  | ch'islii' <br> they caught in a <br> noose | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8a | Ihaa <br> another | ch'oyii-haa again |  |  | bintghiiyoot <br> they ran them down |  |  |  |
| 8 b |  |  |  |  | ch'islii' <br> he caught in a noose | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 9a |  |  | --- | ts' ii ' <br> brush | kw'it-noo'ang he put it on him | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 9b |  | diinak <br> south |  |  | tc'tees'iin' he looked along | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 10 |  | ch'oyii-haa again |  | ts'ii' <br> brush | kw'it-noo'an he put it on him | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 11a | [kaa' <br> all right/OK |  | --- |  | wandoh'aash you (pl.) take it off |  | $\left.\frac{\mathrm{ts}^{\prime} \mathrm{ii}}{\text { brush }}\right]$ |  |
| 11b |  |  | --- | [11a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 12a |  | ch'oyii-haa again | --- | $\rightarrow>$ | wandoh'aash you (pl.) take it off |  | ts' ii brush |  |
| 12b | dee'soostc spike buck | ch'oyii-haa again | --- | deelkishtc <br> fawn | wantghin' an he took it off of it | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 13 |  | shkiik <br> my boys |  | naanyaa <br> he came back | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 14a | [taahjii <br> where? | --- |  | teesyaa <br> he went along |  |  |  |
| 14b |  | --- |  | doohaaa'- <br> naantyaa <br> he did not come <br> back <br> ] |  |  |  |
| 14c |  | --- | [14a-14b] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 15a | [taahjii <br> where? | --- |  | Ihaa <br> another |  |  |  |
| 15b |  | $\left.\right\|_{----} ^{---}$ |  | doohaa'naantytyaa <br> he did not come back ] |  | - |  |
| 15c |  | --- | [15a-15b] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 16 | taahjii <br> where? | $\rightarrow>$ |  | tc'teesyaa he went along |  | shiiyee <br> mine <br> shkiitc <br> my boy |  |
| 17a | diidee <br> north | --- |  | tc'teesdeel' -ee they went along |  |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 17b |  |  | --- |  | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 18a | 「jaa’ <br> well! |  | --- |  | tishkee’ ] <br> let me track it |  |
| 18b | [18a] | doohaa <br> did not | --- | kwee' <br> his tracks | tc 'ilhsaan-kwan he found it | yaa'nii <br> they say |
| 19a | [jaa' well! |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { shii } \\ & \text { I/me } \end{aligned}$ | Ihaa another | tishkee <br> let me track it |  |
| $\underline{19 b}$ |  |  |  |  | ndoo'-yee <br> it does not exist |  |
| $\underline{19 \mathrm{c}}$ |  |  | --- |  | doohaá -isaann <br> I did not find them ] |  |
| 19d |  |  | --- | [19a-19c] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |
| 20a |  |  | [--- | noonii <br> grizzly bear <br> kwee' <br> its tracks | ishbsaan-ee ] <br> I found it |  |
| 20b |  |  | --- | [20a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |
| 21a |  |  | [naahnneesh person <br> kwee' <br> his tracks |  | ndoo'-yee ] <br> it does not exist |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 21b |  | --- | [21a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 22a |  | --- |  | naantyai <br> he came back |  |  |  |  |
| 22b |  |  | $\gg$ | doohaa'ts'ilhsaan <br> having not found |  |  | kwee <br> his tracks |  |
| 23 |  | --- | $\gg$ | taaht'aas <br> you (pl.) cut it up <br> taast'ats' <br> he cut it up |  |  | iintc'ee' <br> deer <br> naakaa' <br> two |  |
| 24a | [ shoo'nshoon g very well | --- |  | kwaahlaah <br> you (pl.) did | iintc' ee' deer |  | $\frac{\text { shkiik }}{\text { my boys }}$ |  |
| 24b |  | --- | [24a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 25 |  | --- |  | waa' ang' aang <br> he gave it to them |  |  |  |  |
| 26 |  | --- | $\rightarrow>$ | ghilk' aan <br> a fire was built |  |  | kwong' fire |  |
| 27 | bit'-bang <br> for its stomach uuteehlii' bang <br> for its liver | --- |  | ch'eelhnaa you (pl.) roast it |  |  |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 28 |  | --- |  | beedil'ai <br> let us try it |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 29a |  | \| [--- |  | nshoon ] <br> is good | -...- |  | - |  |
| 29b |  | --- | [29a] | [ ghilihshinn-ee <br> it comes to smell X ] |  |  |  |  |
| 29c |  | --- | [29b] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 30a |  | --- |  | beeteeghatc <br> he bit against it |  |  |  |  |
| 30b |  | --- |  | tc'ghin'aal he chewed it |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 30c |  | --- |  | tc'ghilkit' he swallowed it |  |  |  |  |
| 31a |  | [--- |  | nshoon-ee <br> it is good |  |  |  |  |
| 31b |  | niing <br> you (sg.) |  | sang'ash <br> you put it in mouth ] |  |  |  |  |
| 31c |  | --- | [31a-31b] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 32a | [iaa' <br> well! |  | $\frac{\text { shii }}{\text { I/me }} \geq \geq$ |  | beesh'ai' <br> let me try it |  | $\left.\frac{\text { shii }}{\mathrm{I} / \mathrm{me}}\right]$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 32b |  |  | --- | [32a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 33a |  |  | ch'naalhdan pubescent gir! |  | --- |  |  |  |
| 33 b |  |  | \| [shii $\mathrm{I} / \mathrm{me}$ |  | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |  |  |  |
| 33c |  |  | $\ll$ | [33b] | tc' in she said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 34a | $\underline{\text { [shii }}$ | $\frac{\text { Ihaa' }}{\text { too }}$ | $\leq$ |  | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |  |  |  |
| 34b |  |  | --- | [34a] | tc' in she said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 35 |  | dii' in up there | --- |  | ees'aa <br> there was a row | yaa'nii they say | - |  |
| 36a | $\frac{\text { Ishii }}{\text { I/me }}$ | $\frac{\text { lhaa' }}{\text { too }}$ | --- |  | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |  |  |  |
| 36 b |  |  | --- | [36a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 37a |  |  | [--- |  | nshoong-'anjuii ] it is really good |  |  |  |
| 37b |  |  | --- | [37a] | tc' in <br> she said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 38a |  | [ t'eeh raw/uncooked | $\geq \geq$ |  | beesh'ai let me try it |  |  | shii ] <br> I/me |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 38b |  |  | --- | [38a] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 39a |  | Ihaa <br> another | ch' oyii another ch'naalhdang adolescent girl |  | tc' in she said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 39b | [shii <br> I/me | Ihaa' <br> too | $\leq<$ |  | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |  |  |  |  |
| 39c |  |  | --- | [39b] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii they say | -. |  |
| 40a | [shii <br> I/me | $\frac{\text { Ihaa' }}{\text { too }}$ | $\leq<$ |  | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |  |  |  |  |
| 40b |  |  | $\rightarrow>$ | [40a] | tc' in she said |  | yaa'nii they say | ch'naalhdang adolescent girl |  |
| 41a |  | $[\geq \geq$ | $\geq>$ |  | beesh' ai <br> let me try it | shii <br> I/me |  | Ihaa' ] too |  |
| 41b |  |  | --- | [41a] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 42a |  |  | tc' yaantc old woman |  | --- |  |  |  |  |
| 42b | .- |  | [shii <br> I/me |  | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |  |  |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 42c |  |  | $\ll$ | [42b] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 43a |  |  | kashkiitc-taah <br> old men |  | --- |  |  |  |  |
| 43b |  |  | $\frac{\text { [shii }}{\text { I/me }}$ | $\geq \geq$ | beesh'ai <br> let me try it |  |  | iinto'ee' <br> deer <br> uusii' <br> its head |  |
| 43c | shii <br> I/me | $\frac{\text { Ihaa' }}{\text { too }}$ | $\leq<$ | $\geq \geq$ | beesh'ai <br> let me try it |  |  | $\frac{\text { bit' }}{\text { its stomach }}$ |  |
| 43d |  |  | $\ll$ | [43b-43c] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 44a |  |  | [--- | ts'ing <br> bone | tashkaalh I break | biighee' ] <br> its marrow |  |  |  |
| 44b |  |  | --- | [44a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 45a | 「iaa' <br> well! |  | shii <br> I/me | uutcghee <br> its ears | beesh'ai' ] <br> let me try it |  |  |  |  |
| 45b |  |  | --- | [45a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 46 | 「jaa' well! |  | shii <br> I/me | kwee' <br> its foot | isit <br> I pound up |  |  |  |  |
| 47a | jaa' <br> well! |  | shii <br> I/me | uusoo <br> its tongue | deediishtang <br> I put it in fire | kwo'-mii' ] <br> in the fire |  |  |  |
| 47b |  |  | --- | [46-47a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 48a |  | [--- | $\geq \geq$ | ch'ishgot' <br> I stretch the hide |  |  | $\frac{\text { uusits' }}{\text { its hide }}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 48b |  | --- | [48a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 49a |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { [naakakaa'. } \\ & \text { two } \\ & \text { uusits' } \\ & \text { their hides } \end{aligned}$ |  | nshoon-ee <br> it is good | shiiyee <br> mine <br> t'ee' ] <br> blanket |  | . |  |
| 49b |  | --- | [49a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 50 |  | --- | $\gg$ | ch'ohsit you (pl.) pound acorns | -..... - |  | ch'int'aang <br> acorn |  |
| 51 |  | --- |  | bii' noohlheeh you (pl.) soak mush |  |  |  |  |
| 52 |  | --- |  | ch'dilts'eeghbang <br> let us eat mush |  |  |  |  |
| 53a | [naalhahii dog | --- | ts'ing <br> bone | waah'aash you (pl.) give it to it |  |  |  |  |
| 53 b |  | --- |  | yoghash ] <br> let it chew them |  |  |  |  |
| 53c |  | --- | [53a-53b] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 54 |  | --- |  | noo' inghiing she put the load down |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 55 |  | naalhghii <br> dog | $\gg$ | yaan <br> it eats them |  |  | iintc'ee ts' ing <br> deer bones |  |
| 56a | $\frac{\text { taahiii }}{\text { where? }}$ | --- | bilh <br> with it | $\frac{\text { sk'ee' }}{\text { acorn soup }} \text { ] }$ |  |  |  |  |
| 56 b |  | --- | [56a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 57a |  | [--- |  | kashghaankaas h <br> you (sg.) give it to them ] |  |  |  |  |
| 57b |  | --- | [57a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 58a | $[\geq \geq$ | --- | $\geq \geq$ | ch'naadilyeegh let us drive them | iintc'ee deer |  | $\frac{\text { kwaa' }}{\text { for him }}$ |  |
| 58b |  | --- | [58a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 59 |  | [lhaang <br> many |  | tohyaash <br> you (pl.) go along |  |  |  |  |
| $\underline{60}$ |  | --- | $\overline{\frac{k^{\prime} \text { aa' }}{\text { arrow }}}$ | tohbil-it <br> you (pl.) carry a bāskētfūil of them then |  |  |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 61a |  | --- | kaashtc <br> knife | tohghish <br> you (pl.) carry it <br> along |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 61b | teelee'-bii' <br> in a net bag | --- |  | noph'aash ] <br> you (pl.) put it |  |  |  |
| 61c | --------- |  | [59-61b] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 62a |  | [--- | billhghilghis fire sticks $\rightarrow>$ | tohtiish <br> you (pl.) take it <br> along |  | naakaa' <br> two |  |
| 62b |  | --- |  | ohnk'aan-bang for you (pl.) to build a fire |  |  |  |
| 62c |  | --- | iintc'ee deer | ghitch aan-ee <br> is shot |  |  |  |
| 62d |  | --- |  | taaghitt' ${ }^{\prime}$ ats' bang <br> will be butchered <br> ] |  |  |  |
| 62e |  | --- | [62a-62d] | tc in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 63 | ch'oyii-haa' again | --- | iintc'ee <br> deer | ghitch' aang <br> it was shot |  |  |  |
| 64 | ch'oyii-haa' again | --- | iintc'ee <br> deer | ghitch'aan <br> was shot | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 65 |  | [--- | naalıghnhii $\operatorname{dog}$ | tolhtish <br> you (pl.) take it |  |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 66 |  | --- | iintc' ee deer | yvillhchit-bang <br> he will catch it |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 67 |  | --- |  | taaht' as <br> you (pl.) butcher <br> ------------ |  |  |  |
| 68 | $\geq \geq$ |  |  | ch'wohbililh you (pl.) be carrying it |  | yeeh-bii'ing <br> inside the <br> house |  |
| 69a |  | tc' yaankii women |  | yaa-mang ] |  |  |  |
| 69b |  | --- | [65-69a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 70 |  | [--- |  | ch'eelhnaa' you (pl.) roast it |  |  |  |
| 71 |  | \|--- |  | ntohlalh <br> you (pl.) be <br> asleep |  |  |  |
| 72a | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { iintc'ee' } \\ & \hline \text { deer } \end{aligned}$ | --- |  | uuyeeh yaadooghohhee -e <br> you all are tired from handling it ] |  |  |  |
| 72b |  | --- | [70-72a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 73 |  | [--- |  | yaa'ntohghilalh you all be asleep |  |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 74a |  | kashbii' <br> tomorrow $\geq \geq$ | --- |  | sohdaa-bang you (pl.) will live in a place |  | kashbii' ] <br> tomorrow |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 74b |  |  | $\gg$ | [73-74a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii they say | ninkaa't'iinin g chief |
| 75a |  |  | [--- |  | naankee you (pl.) bathe |  | t'eekii <br> teen girl |
| 75b |  |  | Iheenee'haa' everyone |  | naahbee <br> each of you (pl.) bathe ] |  |  |
| 75c |  |  | --- | [75a-75b] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 76a |  |  | [--- | nohsii' <br> your (pl.) head <br> of hair | teehnaach'olhd eeh <br> you (pl.) wash something ] |  |  |
| 76 b |  |  | --- | [76a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 77a | [kashbiii' <br> tomorrow | shang only | --- |  | taa' ohyashbang you (pl.) will go to water |  |  |
| 77b | haibapang <br> after that | Seek'ang <br> Black Rock | --- |  | ---] |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart


The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| $\underline{82}$ |  | [--- | shaasht'ang <br> bull clover | ch'wohbobilh-bang you (pl.) will carry basketfulls of it |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 83 |  | --- | ghilk otoc tcing angelica shoots | ch'wohbilh-bang you (pl.) will carry basketfulls of it |  |  |
| 84a | haidaa' ${ }^{\text {ang }}$ from the north |  | tciigheeltcaant <br> © <br> tciighiltcaantc edible bulb $\qquad$ | ch'wohbibilh-bang you (pl.) will carry basketfulls of it ] |  |  |
| 84b |  | --- | [82-84a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 85a |  | [--- | dishchow <br> grouse | uudijii'olhtikbang <br> you (pl.) will kill them ] |  |  |
| 85b |  | --- | [85a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 86a |  | [--- | uuweeshii <br> their eggs | wohghilh-bang you (pl.) will carry a load of ] |  |  |
| 86b |  | --- | [86a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| $\underline{87}$ |  |  | [--- | dishtc weesheé <br> quail eggs | wohghilh-bang you (pl.) will carry a load of |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 88a |  |  | --- | Ihoon' Ihgai <br> bushy-tailed <br> woodrat <br> Ihaang <br> many | uudiii'olohtikbang <br> you (pl.) will kill them ] |  |  |  |
| 88b |  |  | --- | [87-88a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 89a | ts' ing <br> bone <br> iintc' ee ' <br> deer |  | kaashkiitc <br> old.man | ts'ing <br> bone | tc'teelhghaal <br> he threw it |  |  |  |
| 89b |  |  | --- |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | diidak <br> east |  |  |
| 90 |  | $\gg$ | --- | ts'ing <br> bone | tc'teelhghaal he threw it | yaa'nii <br> they say | diidee <br> north |  |
| 91 |  | $\gg$ | --- | ts' ing bone | tc'teelhghaal he threw it | yaa'nii <br> they say | diinak <br> south |  |
| 92 |  | $\gg$ | --- | ts'ing bone | tc'teelhghaal he threw it | yaa'nii <br> they say | baaghang <br> coast |  |
| 93a |  |  | n̄noonii <br> grizzly bear |  | $\frac{\text { diidak' }}{\text { east }} \frac{\text { banjaa' }}{\text { let it be }}$ |  |  |  |
| 93b |  |  | --- | [93a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart


The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| $\underline{100}$ |  | [bitchow <br> mountain lion |  | $\frac{\text { diinak }}{\text { south }} \frac{\text { banjaa' }}{\text { let it be }}$ |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 100 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [100a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\frac{101}{\underline{a}}$ |  | $\frac{\underline{\text { bittc }}}{\text { bobcat }}$ |  | $\frac{\text { diinak }^{\prime}}{\text { south }} \frac{\text { banjaa' }}{\text { let it be }}$ |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 101 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [101a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\frac{102}{\underline{a}}$ | [baaghang <br> coast | --- |  | bitchow <br> mountain lion <br> banjaa' ] <br> let it be |  |  |  |
| $102$ <br> b |  | --- | [102a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{103}$ $\underline{a}$ | $[\geq \geq$ | --- |  | noonii <br> grizzly bear <br> banjaa <br> let it be |  | baaghang ] <br> coast |  |
| $103$ |  | --- | [103a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\frac{104}{\underline{\mathrm{a}}}$ | [ $\geq$ ? | --- |  | bittc banjaa bobcat let it be |  | baaaghang ] <br> coast |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 104 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [104a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 105 | saahchow <br> fisher | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 106 | Ihtsoghing gray fox | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 107 | laa'nees <br> raccoon | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 108 | ch'siitcing coyote | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 109 | slee'Ihkisht <br> C <br> striped <br> skunk | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 110 | siis <br> river otter | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 111 | saahtc <br> mink | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 112 | doolii <br> black bear | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 113 | chin-yaantc <br> brown phase <br> black bear | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 114 | Ih'ghish rattlesnake | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 115 | ch'see'cho <br> w <br> bullsnake | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 116 |  | $\rightarrow>$ | biinee'dooteel tcing <br> aquatic garter snake | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say | diidak <br> east |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 117 | t' aadilk' its kingsnake | diidak east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 118 | saljiitc <br> fence lizard | diidak <br> east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 119 | tc'aahal frog (gen ) | diidak east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 120 | dilaantc <br> salamander | diidak east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 121 | bee'liing <br> night-run <br> lamprey <br> ts'eek' eene estc <br> day-run <br> lamprey <br> Ihoo'yaasht <br> c <br> suckerfish | diidak east | $\ll$ | sliin <br> it became | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart


The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart


The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| $\underline{131}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | [--- | uulaa' <br> its forefoot | ohsit <br> you (pl.) pound up! <br> ] |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\left.\right\|_{131} ^{131}$ |  | --- | [131a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{132}$ | [ <br> t'inding-haa <br> all the time | --- | $\geq \geq$ | ohsit-bang <br> you (pl.) must <br> pound it up |  | ts'ing <br> bone |  |
| $\begin{array}{\|l} \underline{133} \\ \underline{a} \end{array}$ |  | $\geq \geq$ | ....... | doohaaa'tcin' daalhtishbang you (pl.) must not waste them nshoon-ee it is good |  | iintc'ee' <br> deer <br> ts'ing ] <br> bone |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 133 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [132-133a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 134 |  | [--- | bit' diichow <br> its rumen <br> bit' bii' chow <br> in the stomach | ollhtcang <br> you (pl.) clean out the paunch |  |  |  |
| $\underline{135}$ |  | --- | uutc' iik' ee' <br> its small intestines | ohtl'00 <br> you (pl.) weave it |  |  |  |
| 136 | shoong well | --- |  | kwaalh'iing you (pl.) do thus |  |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| $\underline{137}$ $\underline{a}$ |  | \|... | uudee' its horn | ch'an'oh'ash you (pl.) take it away |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{137}{\underline{b}}$ |  | --- | $\frac{\text { ts 'ii'-bii' }}{\text { in the brush }}$ | yiiheeh'ash <br> you (pl.) put it in |  |  |  |
| $\underline{137}$ |  | --- |  | beenoohsing <br> you (pl.) hide it |  |  |  |
| $\underline{138}$ $\underline{a}$ |  | $\frac{\mathrm{kw}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{aa}^{\prime}}{\text { tallow }} \gg$ |  | nshoon-ee <br> it is good |  | iintc'ee kw' aah deer tallow ] |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 138 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | --- | [134-138a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{139}$ | [ t'inding-haa' all the time | --- | $\geq \geq$ | ohghang <br> you (pl.) kill them |  | iintco 'ee'. ] <br> deer |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 139 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [139a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 140 |  | \|[-- | $\overline{\frac{\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \text { aa' }}{\text { arrow }}}$ | ch'olht'aa you (pl.) fletch arrows |  |  |  |
| 141 |  | --- | kashtc <br> obsidian knife | taahshit <br> you (pl.) flake/ <br> knap them |  |  |  |
| $\underline{142}$ |  | $\cdots$ | S'ilhting <br> bow | ohghas <br> you (pl.) scrape <br> them |  |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| $\underline{143}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | --- | teelee' <br> net bag | ohtl'oo <br> you (pl.) weave it <br> ] |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $143$ <br> b |  | --- | [140-143a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \frac{144}{2} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ | ----------- | [--- | sii' bii's'aang. <br> head net | ohtl'oo <br> you (pl.) weave it <br> ] |  |  |  |
| $144$ <br> b |  | --- | [144a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \frac{145}{\underline{a}} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | [--- | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\text { kiitsaa' }}{\text { basket pot }} \end{aligned}$ | ohtl' oo <br> you (pl.) weave it <br> ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 145 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\cdots$ | [145a] | tc'in ..... <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{146}$ $\underline{a}$ |  | $\frac{[-\cdots}{\cdots}$ | $\frac{\text { uu'eest }}{\text { pestle }}$ | olhsilh <br> you (pl.) peck <br> stone <br> ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 146 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [146a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \frac{147}{\underline{a}} \\ & \underline{2} \end{aligned}$ |  | [--- | ch'istts <br> mortar hopper <br> basket | ohtl'oo <br> you (pl.) weave it <br> ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 147 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [147a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| $\underline{148}$ |  | [--- | ch'ghaah <br> basket parching tray | ohtl'oo <br> you (pl.) weave it |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{149}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | --- | ch'ghaattc sifting basket | ohtl'oo <br> you (pl.) weave it ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 149 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [148-149a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{150}$ |  | [--- | kiitsaá chow <br> large cooking basket <br> kiitsaaa'yaaasht C <br> small cooking basket | ohtl'oo <br> you (pl.) weave it |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{151} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | shneeeshtc'eel'ing basket dipper billhtililhtctii'. basket scoop | ohtl'oo <br> you (pl.) weave it ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 151 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | -- | [150-151a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{152} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | $[\geq>$ | --- | ts'aal' <br> basket cradle | ohtl'oo <br> you (pl.) weave it |  | skiitc-yaash h <br> baby (small) <br> baa ] <br> for them |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 152 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [152a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 153 |  | iintc'ee deer | uudee' its horn | bii'tc' een' aang they shed antlers | dilsow <br> orangeishbrown | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 154 |  | --- |  | uudee yiiteelhdeel' <br> its antlers fall off | kai-lh' at <br> mid-winter |  |  |  |
| 155 |  | --- | iintc'ee deer | ch'teebiil they gathered up basketfulls of it |  |  |  |  |
| 156 |  | --- |  | naatc' isgheel' <br> they made it into <br> a pack/load |  |  |  |  |
| 157 | $\cdots$ | --- |  | tc'teesghiing <br> they carried a load along |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 158 |  | naakaa' <br> two |  | teeghiing <br> they carried a load along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 159 |  | --- | yeehding <br> home | naaghiing <br> they brought it |  |  |  |  |
| 160 |  | --- |  | ch'eelhnai' you (pl.) roast it |  |  |  |  |
| 161 |  | --- |  | yaa'ghinyaang they ate it |  |  |  |  |
| 162 |  | tc'eek woman |  | yiighinyaang they ate it |  |  |  |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 163 |  | skiitc <br> baby |  | yeeghinyaang <br> they ate it |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\left\{\begin{array}{l} 164 \\ \mathrm{a} \end{array}\right.$ |  | --- | $\gg$ | ch'gheegot' <br> they stretched hide | uusits <br> its hide | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 164 \\ & b \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | --- | beelh lhaang rope much | ghiddits <br> it is twisted (rope) |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 164 \\ & c \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | iidaakii <br> rope (type) | yiidaahdintcee <br> cord is twisted down the thigh |  |  |  |
| 165 |  | --- | iintc'ee deer | ghitch'aang <br> it was shot |  |  |  |
| 166 | naakai alive | --- |  | teesyai <br> it went along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 167 |  | --- |  | ghiltc' at they shouted |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 168 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\rightarrow>$ |  | teelkee <br> it was tracked | iintc'ee' deer | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 168 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | uudee <br> its horn |  | nchaagh <br> large one |  |  |  |
| 169 |  | naalhghii dog |  | yiilhchit <br> it caught it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 170 |  | --- |  | yeehghintcin <br> he smelled it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

The Placing of the Animals Discourse Chart

| 171 |  | -- | kwanlhang <br> all |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| \# | Pre-nuclear |  | Nucleus |  |  | Post-nuclear |  |  | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Outer | Inner | Subject | Object/ <br> Complement | Verb | Inner | Outer | Post |  |
| 1 |  |  | skiitc <br> baby |  | tceeh <br> he cries |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 2 |  | djiing neesdin <br> all day long <br> tl'ee' neesdin <br> all night long yiighilhkaalit <br> when day <br> was breaking | skii <br> baby |  | tceeh <br> he cries |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 3 |  | ch'oyii-haa again | --- |  | yaa'tghilhtish <br> they carry it (animate) around |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 4a |  |  | [--- |  | daabhtyaashhaaang <br> what is the matter? |  |  | $\left.\frac{\text { skii }}{\text { baby }}\right]$ | non-V predicate |
| 4b |  |  | --- | [4a] | yaa'n <br> they said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 5a |  |  | [--- |  | naach'ohbibilh <br> you (pl.) take it back ] |  |  |  |  |
| 5b |  |  | --- | [5a] | --- |  |  |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 6 |  | --- |  | naabee yaalhtcii <br> they caused it to bathe | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 7 | kw'ittaah all over/on places | --- |  | kaayaa'ntee they look for it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 8 | uulaa'bii'k its palms kwee' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} k$ its soles | --- |  | kaa'intee <br> they look for it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 9 | uusii' its head kw'ittaah all over/on places | --- |  | kaayaa'ntee they look for it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 10 | uutcghee'bii' ${ }^{\prime}$ <br> inside its ears | --- |  | kaayaa'ntee they look for it | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 11a |  | [--- |  | shghhiiyaal-ee I am sleepy |  |  |  |
| 11b |  | niing you (sg.) | $\geq \geq$ | intang you (sg.) hold it |  | skii <br> baby |  |
| $\underline{12}$ |  | --- |  | doo-skiii-yee-kwolish-ee <br> it doesn't seem to be a baby |  |  | non-V predicate |
| $\underline{13}$ |  | nohing 2 pl indep |  | ohtang' you (pl.) hold it |  |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| $\underline{14}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 15 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 21a |  | --- |  |  | ch'dilht'oohkwosh <br> something stung it I guess ] |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 21b |  | --- |  | [18-21a] | yaa'n <br> they said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| $\underline{22}$ |  | [--- | ... |  | doo-kwnissin-ee <br> I don't know it (area) <br> circumstance) |  |  |  |
| $\underline{23}$ |  | --- |  |  | bilh-oohtyiing you (pl.) doctor it |  |  |  |
| $\underline{24}$ | Ihaan yiilhkai many nights | --- |  |  | tees' iin-ee <br> I looked along | skii <br> baby <br> uutč 'ing. <br> on account of it |  |  |
| $\underline{25}$ |  | --- |  |  | diishaaandii <br> some kind/what <br> kind <br> skii <br> baby |  |  | non-V predicate |
| $\underline{26}$ |  | --- | - |  | doo-skiiyeekwaanang <br> it is clearly not a baby |  |  | non-V predicate |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart


The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 32 |  |  | $\geq \geq$ |  | daahtyaashhaaang what is the matter? |  | dii <br> this/here <br> shkii <br> my baby | non-V predicate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 33 a |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { nohiin } \\ \text { you (pl.) } \end{array}$ |  | naalalhtee <br> you (pl.) carry it (animate) around ] |  |  |  |
| 33b |  |  | --- | [28a-33a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 34 |  |  | [--- |  | kaakosiileeghee <br> I am sick | ghint'ee now |  |  |
| 35a |  |  | --- |  | naahodinaash <br> let us move back <br> home | $\frac{\text { diidee' }^{\prime}}{\text { north }}$ |  |  |
| 35b |  |  | --- | [34-35a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 36a |  | $[\geq \geq$ | --- | $\geq \geq$ | tolhbalh you (pl.) hang it up | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { skii } \\ \hline \text { baby } \end{array}$ | ts' aal'-bilh' aa <br> cradle and all ] |  |
| 36b |  |  | --- - | [36a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 37 | $\begin{array}{\|l} \frac{\text { Iheu' }}{} \\ \hline \text { yes } \end{array}$ |  | --- |  | tishbalh let me hang it up |  |  |  |
| 38a |  | jaang <br> here | --- |  | intceeen-bang ] you (sg.) will cry |  |  |  |
| 38 b |  |  | --- | [37-38a] | --- |  |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart


The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 45a |  | --- | $\gg$ | bii'tc'eenyaakwaan <br> it had come out from inside it | yaa'nii <br> they say | ts'aal' -bii <br> basket cradle |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 45b | haitaah there amongst |  |  | naaghisniishkwaan <br> he had been playing | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 46 | saaktoo'-bii' in a spring (of water) | --- |  | naaghisniishkwaan <br> he had been playing | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 47 |  | --- | tl'oh <br> grass | tc'teet' aats'kwaan <br> he had cut it off | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 48 |  | --- |  | ch'ishteelhkwaan <br> he had spread bedding | yaa'nii they say | too-bii' <br> in water |  |
| 49 |  | --- |  | s'isdaa-kwaan he had sat | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 50 |  | --- |  | tc'teesyaakwaan <br> he had gone | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 51 | shaahnaa'y aashtc <br> small creek | --- |  | naa'inghilh' aa'kwaan <br> he had built a fish weir | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 52 |  |  | --- | chinsii' ts <br> cone (of <br> conifer) | noolaa-kwaan <br> he had put them down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 53 |  |  | --- | naakaa <br> two <br> ch'kaak'baats'ee' <br> net bow | yeehtc'ghin'aa ng-kwaan <br> he had put it in |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 54 | ch'kaak' <br> net | tl'oh bilh <br> grass with it | --- | $\ll$ | s' istl' oongkwaan <br> he had woven |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 55 |  |  | --- |  | tc'teesyaikwaan <br> he had gone along | yiidee <br> north | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 56 |  |  | --- | ch'eek'aas brush fence | tc 'istciing'kwaan <br> he had made it |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 57 |  |  | --- | beelh rope | noo'n'angkwaan <br> he had put it down |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 58 |  |  | --- | ch'eek'aas brush fence | tc 'istciing'kwaan <br> he had made it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 59 |  |  | --- |  | tc'teesyaakwaan <br> he had gone |  | yaa'nii they say |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart


The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 67a |  |  | --- |  | naitghilh'aa <br> he stood it on end |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 67b |  |  | --- | ch'kaak' <br> net | yiitc' ghin'aankwaan <br> he had put it (stick) in |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 68 |  | ts' intsii' <br> head <br> downhill | --- |  | s'istiing-kwaan he had lain |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 69 |  |  | kwkwee' <br> his foot |  | ghinchaaghkwaan <br> had become large |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 70 |  |  | --- | kwong' <br> fire <br> uuyaashtc <br> small | s'isk' aankwaan <br> he had built a fire |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 71 |  |  | --- |  | tc'teesyai he went along | yiidee north |  |  |
| 72 |  |  | --- | chin-swoltc <br> small stick <br> naakaa' <br> two | noolaa-kwaan <br> he had put them down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 73 | ch'ghaats'e e <br> iris $\qquad$ | ch'kaak net | --- | $\ll \frac{\text { bilh }}{\text { with it }}$ | s'istl' oonkwaan <br> he had woven it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | interacting preposing and postposing |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 74 |  | --- | Ihoo'yaashtc suckerfish kwaak ee' its net uuyaashtc small | s'istl' oonkwaan <br> he had woven it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 75a |  | [--- | k'aa' <br> arrow | ch' ist' aakwaanhit when he had fletched arrows ] |  |  |
| 75b | [75a] | --- |  | noo'intaankwaan <br> he had put it down | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 76a | [tinii-bii' <br> in the trail | --- |  | tc' galhkwanding <br> where he had <br> walked ] |  |  |
| 76b | [76a] | --- | s'ilhtiing bow | noo'intaankwaan <br> he had put it down | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 77 |  | --- |  | tc'teesyaakwaan <br> he had gone | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 78 |  | --- | kaashtc <br> knife | noo'ng' aankwaan <br> he had put it down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 79a |  | [--- |  | tc'galh-ding ] <br> where he walked |  |  |  |  |
| 79b | [79a] | --- | bilhghilghis fire sticks | naa'tghilh'aa'kwaan <br> he had stood it on end |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 80a | [ghinint'ee <br> now $\geq \geq$ | $\frac{\text { skii }}{\text { baby }} \geq \geq$ |  | teesyaa-yee has gone along | shiiyee <br> mine |  | haidee <br> downriver/ <br> north |  |
| 80b | $\geq \geq$ | --- |  | naalhcheehbang you (pl.) catch it again | shaa ] <br> for me |  |  |  |
| 80c |  | --- | [80a-80b] | tc' in she said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 81a |  | [--- |  | doo-dilsis-hee <br> we did not see <br> him <br> ] |  |  |  |  |
| 81b |  | --- | [81a] | --- |  |  |  |  |
| 82a |  | [--- |  | tolhkee'-bang <br> you (pl.) must <br> track him <br> ] |  |  |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 82 b |  | --- | [82a] | --- |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 83 |  | [-- |  | dooviideehee':- <br> ee <br> we are tired |  |  |  |
| 84 a | nee'- <br> nohaagh <br> large country | --- |  | teesdilikee'-ee ] <br> we tracked him |  |  |  |
| 84b |  | --- | [83-84a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 85a |  | $\underline{-}$ |  | naawohtlooosbang <br> you (pl.) must <br> lead him back <br> ] |  |  |  |
| 85b |  | -- | [85a] | tc in she said | yaa’nii they say |  |  |
| $86{ }^{8}$ |  | --- | $\geq \geq$ | doo-dilsis-hee <br> we did not see <br> him |  | niiyee' <br> 2 sg possessive <br> indep <br> skii ] <br> baby |  |
| 86b |  | --- | [86a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 87a |  | -- |  | daahtiiyaajiil <br> why?/what is the <br> matter? <br> ] |  |  |  |
| 87b |  | --- | [87a] | -- |  |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart


The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 94a | diishoo <br> something | --- |  | skii- <br> yeekwaanang <br> it is a baby <br> ] |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 94b |  | --- | [92-94a] | tc' in <br> she saich---- |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 95a |  | $[---$ |  | doohaa'kwohtciilih <br> do not cry for him! |  |  |  |  |
| 95b |  | --- |  | doo-skiiyeekwaanang <br> it is clearly not a baby ] |  |  |  |  |
| 95c |  | --- | [95a-95b] | --- |  |  |  |  |
| $\underline{96}$ |  | $[---$ | $\xrightarrow{\gg}$ | shooodjiighininyaaan -ee <br> I love it |  |  | shiiyee <br> mine <br> shkii <br> my baby |  |
| $\underline{97}$ |  | \|-- |  | doohaa' -deengheel'-ee <br> it never stopped crying |  |  |  |  |
| $\underline{98}$ | $\frac{\text { st'oo' }^{\prime}}{\text { nearly }}$ | --- |  | tceehnohningha an-ee <br> it killed us crying | tceeh-bilh <br> with crying |  |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| $\underline{99}$ |  | --- |  | doohaa' -nteesdilaal-ee <br> we were not able to sleep |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{100} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | Ihaang <br> many <br> yiilhkai <br> days/nights | --- |  | teesdii' iin-ee ] <br> we watched it |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 100 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [96-100a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\underline{101}$ |  | $[\geq>$ | skii <br> baby | diishoo'yeekwaananan <br> it is some kind |  | $\frac{\text { skii }}{\text { baby }}$ | non-verb predicate |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{102} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | :-: |  | doohaa'kwansheeh <br> do not cry for it | --------- | shiiyee <br> mine <br> tc'eek ] <br> woman |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 102 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [101-102a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\frac{103}{\underline{\mathrm{a}}}$ |  | [-- |  | doo- <br> kwashtcteenteelee <br> I am not going to cry for him ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 103 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [103a] | --- |  |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 104 |  |  | --- | $\gg$ | s'isk' aankwaan <br> he had built a fire | yaa'nii <br> they say | uuyaashtc small |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 105 |  |  | --- | ching swoltc stick short | noolaa-kwaan <br> he had put them down | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 106 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ | ooltc' wai fish trap | uuchii' -bii on its tail | --- | $\ll$ | s'islii' -kwaan he had tied it | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 106 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | $\gg$ | s'istl' oongkwaan <br> he had woven | yaa'nii <br> they say | nees <br> long one |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 106 \\ & c \end{aligned}$ |  | too-bii' <br> in water | --- |  | noo' intaankwaan <br> he had put it down | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 107 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | chinsii' tc conifer cone | --- |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{107} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [--- | toonai <br> fish | tc' oolhyii'kwaanhit <br> when he had given them the name ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 107 \\ & c \end{aligned}$ |  | [107b] | --- | $\ll$ | tc' kaash-kwaan <br> he had netted them | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 108 | ch'ghaats'e e' iris | --- | ch'kaak'-bii' <br> in net <br> ninch'it' <br> string | ts' istciingkwaan he had made |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 109 |  | --- | bilh-teegot <br> net rope | tc' ghinditskwaan <br> he had twisted |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 110 |  | --- |  | tc’teesyaa <br> he went along | yiidee' <br> north |  |  |
| 111 | Too-nchaagh-bii <br> In Eel River | --- |  | naalh' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ kwaan <br> he had made a fish weir |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| $\underline{112}$ <br> a |  | [--- | skii shiiyee <br> baby mine | teesiilhbil-ee I hung it up |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{112} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | tceegh-it <br> because it cries | Ihaan <br> many <br> yiilhkai ] <br> days/nights |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 112 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [112a-112b] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{113} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | [--- |  | tolhkee'-bang you (pl.) must trāc̄kit----] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 113 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [113a] | ȳāā"n <br> they said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| $\underline{114}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | [--- |  | uutcooniitcaanee <br> I abandoned it |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{114} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | dooyiihee'-et <br> because I am tired |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{114} \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | naahishdadaashteilee <br> I am going to go back home |  |  |
| $\underline{115}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | \|--- |  | naalhkat-dee <br> when you (pl.) <br> walk back |  |  |
| $\underline{\underline{115}} \underline{\underline{b}}$ |  | $\left.\right\|_{----} ^{---}$ |  | naawohtlooosbang <br> you (pl.) must leã him back ] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 115 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [114a-115b] | tc' in <br> she said | yaa'nii they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{116} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ | [neesding <br> far | \|--- |  | teesolhkee'dee' <br> when/if you track it |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{116} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{~b}} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | $\geq>$ | uutcoonohtchiis h-bang <br> you (pl.) must let it go ] |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 116 $c$ |  |  |  | [116a-116b] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | [116d] | interrupted quotation with object of one or both clauses postposed |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{116}{\underline{d}}$ |  |  | [--- |  | --- |  |  | $\text { shkii }]$ my baby |  |
| 117 |  |  | ch'oyii <br> another |  | nanyaayeekwaanang <br> it had come back |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{118} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [--- | hai <br> the/that | uutcooniitcaanee <br> I abandoned it |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{118} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  | neesding <br> far | --- |  | teesyaa-hit <br> because he went along ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 118 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [118a-118b] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{119} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | Ikwan!hang enough |  | --- |  | uutcoodichaana ] let's leave it |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 119 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [119a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{120}$ |  |  | [--- |  | naadityaa <br> let's go back | yeeh-bi'ing' <br> inside the house |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | ... |  | 730 |  |  |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| $\underline{121}$ |  | --- |  | dooyeehee'-ee <br> I am tired |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{122}$ | too-wang <br> for water | --- |  | tghiibaa'-ee <br> I am thirsty |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{123} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | neesding <br> far | ---- |  | teesiiyaa-hit <br> because I went along |  |  |
| $\frac{123}{\underline{b}}$ |  | --- |  | doopyeephee- -ee <br> I am tired |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{124} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- <br>  <br> .- |  | shchaaghan- <br> teilee <br> I am going to sleep ] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 124 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\cdots$ | [120-124a] | ---- |  |  |
| 125 | shaahnaa creek | --- |  | kw'ittc' ghinyaikwaan <br> he had gone <br> down to it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\left\{\begin{array}{l} 126 \\ \mathrm{a} \end{array}\right.$ |  | --- |  | naa'inghilh' ${ }^{\prime}$ 'kwaan <br> he had built a <br> fish weir | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 126 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | --- | ch'kaak <br> net | noo' intaankwaan <br> he had put it down | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 127 |  | -- |  | s'isk' aankwaan <br> he had built a fire | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 128 |  | --- |  | tc'teesyaakwaan <br> he had gone | yaa'nii <br> they say | yiidee' <br> north <br> yooyiidee' <br> far north |  |
| 129 | neesding far yoo'oong over there | --- | shaahnaa' <br> creek <br> nchaagh <br> large/much | naaninyaakwaan <br> he had come across | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 130 |  | --- |  | doohaa'-naanghilh'aa'kwaan <br> he had not built a weir | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 131 | $\gg$ | --- | tc' ii-yaashtc small canoe | tc' teestaan he carried it along | yaa'nii <br> they say | yiidee <br> north | omniscient narration section |
| 132 |  | --- |  | ch'teelhchoot he stole it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 133 | neesding far $\gg$ | --- |  | tc'teesyaa <br> he went along | yaa'nii <br> they say | yooyiidee <br> far north |  |
| 134 | doohaa <br> do not! | --- | kwkwee' <br> his track | ghilsaan <br> it was.found | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 135 |  | taahshaang <br> somewhere | --- |  | tc'teesyaa <br> he went along |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 136 | kwkwee his track | shoo <br> in vain | --- | $\ll$ | kaan'ntee <br> he looked for it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 137 |  |  | --- |  | doo-yaalhsis <br> they did not find it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{138} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [--- |  | daahtaabeesyaa -kwosh <br> he climbed up on it perhaps ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 138 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  |  | -- | [138a] | yaa'n <br> they said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 139 $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | [diidee' <br> north |  | too-bii' <br> in water | tinyaash <br> you (sg.) go along ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 139 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | -- | [139a] $\gg$ | yaa'kwilhch' in they told him |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | siis <br> river otter |  |
| 140 $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ | [niing <br> you (sg.) |  | --- |  | tinyaash <br> you (sg.) go along $\qquad$ | $\left[\frac{\text { diidee }}{\text { north }}\right]$ |  |  |  |
| $140$ |  |  | --- | [140a] $\gg$ | yaa'kwilhch' in they told him |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | saahtc mink |  |
| $141$ <br> a | naalhghiiIhgai <br> common <br> merganser |  | --- | [141b] | --- |  |  |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart


The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart


The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & 149 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | tahtts' istaankwaan <br> he had taken it out of water |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 149 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ | bii' <br> in it | --- | tc' ii-yaashtcbii <br> in a small canoe | s'isk' aankwaan <br> he had built a fire |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 150 | $\gg$ | --- |  | tc' teesyaakwaan <br> he had gone |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | yiidee <br> north |  |
| 151 |  | --- |  | naaslhit-kwan <br> he had burned over land |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{152}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | [daanshang <br> who is it? |  | naislhit <br> someone burned over land ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 152 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [152a] | yaa'n <br> they said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{153}$ | [diidee' <br> north | ch'ileek <br> boy/young man |  | gaal-ee <br> it is walking along |  |  |  |  |
| $\underline{153}$ $\underline{b}$ | $\geq \geq$ | -- | $\text { k'aa' }^{\prime}$ <br> arrow | yiighileeel-ee <br> he is carrying them along | s'ilhting'-miln with a bow |  | diidee' ] <br> north |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 153 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [153a-153b] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| $\underline{154}$ |  | [--- |  | doo-oodilts it-ee <br> we didn't know him |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{155}$ |  | --- |  | daanshoo'kwosh <br> perhaps someone |  |  |  |  |
| $\underline{156}$ |  | --- |  | doo-tc'ing'-kinidiiiyiish-ee we did not speak to him | uutc'ing <br> to him |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{157} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | neesding <br> far <br> yooyiidee <br> far north | --- |  | gaal-ee <br> it is walking along ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 157 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [154-157a] | yaanin <br> they said |  |  |  |  |
| 158 |  |  | taanchow river | kw'ittc'ghinyaakwaan <br> he had gone down to it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | . |  |
| 159 |  | --- |  | naanghilh'aa'kwaan <br> he had made a weir |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 160 |  |  | kwong' fire uuyaashtc small | s'isk'aankwaan <br> he had built a fire |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 161 |  |  | chin-swoltc <br> small stick <br> naakaa <br> two | noolaa-kwaan <br> he had put them down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 162 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | Ihoo yaashtc sucker | tc'ghinkaan <br> he caught fish in net |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 162 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | tc'neelhyaang he ate it up |  |  |  |
| 163 |  | uusii its head | kwong'-mii in the fire | s'aan it lay |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 164 |  | --- | yiidee' >> <br> north | tc'teesyaa he went along | uutis-kwaan had ... beyond it | yaa'nii <br> they say | evidential after the postpositional adverb |
| 165 |  | --- | shaahnaa <br> creek | kw' ittc' ghinyaakwaang <br> he had come down to it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 166 |  | --- |  | naa'inghilh' aa 'kwaan <br> he had built a fish weir |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 167 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ | ch'kaak'bilh <br> with a dipnet | --- |  | nootc' intaankwaan <br> he had held it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & 167 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | Ihook <br> steelhead | tc'ghinkaangkwaan <br> he had caught fish in net |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 168 |  | uusii <br> its head | kwong'minghaa $\qquad$ | s'aan it lay | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 169 |  | --- | yiidee <br> north | tc'teesyaakwaan <br> he had gone | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 170 |  | --- | shaahnaa creek | kw'ittc' ghinyaakwaan <br> he had gone down to it | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 171 |  | --- |  | naa' inghilh' aa <br> he built a fish weir |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 172 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | ch'kaak' <br> net | --- |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 172 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | [--- | ch' kaak' biine e' <br> handle of net | tc 'istciing'kwaanghit when he had made it ] |  |  |
| $\left.\right\|_{\mathrm{c}} ^{172}$ | [172b] | --- | $\ll$ | yeehtc'ghin'aa n-kwaan <br> he had put it in | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & 172 \\ & \mathrm{~d} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | gees <br> Chinook salmon | tc'ghinkaan <br> he caught fish in net |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 173 |  | uusii >> <br> its head | kwong'minghaa <br> before the fire | s'aan <br> it lay | yaa'nii <br> they say | gees <br> Chinook <br> salmon <br> nchaagh <br> large <br> uusii' <br> its head |  |
| 174 |  | --- | bee'liing <br> night-run <br> lamprey | tc'ghinkaankwaan <br> he had caught fish in net | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 175 |  | --- | kwo'-binghaa before the fire | s'ilhtiin <br> it lay down | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 176 |  | --- | naakaa <br> two <br> ts'eek 'eenee stc <br> day-run <br> lamprey | tc'ghinkaankwaan <br> he had caught <br> fish in net | yaa' nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 177 | ch'kaak'-bii' in net | --- | kwo' minghaa <br> before a fire | --- |  |  | no VP |
| 178 | ghint'ee now | --- |  | kan'indin <br> they became near | yaa nii they say |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 179 |  |  | --- | kwee' <br> his tracks | yaa'neelh'iing they looked at them |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 180 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [naakaa' <br> two <br> naahneesh <br> person | ch'int' aang acorn | yaa'ch'bee-ding <br> where they pick <br> them <br> ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 180 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | [180a] | --- |  | ghilsaan <br> it was found |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\underline{181}$ |  |  | [daanshoo' <br> someone |  | gaal-ee <br> it is walking along | yiinaáang <br> from the south |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{182} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | uutc'ing to him | konohyyisth <br> you (pl.) speak to him ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 182 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [181-182a] | --- |  |  |  |  |
| $\underline{183}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ | [heu' <br> yes |  | --- | uutč ing to him | kinishyiish <br> let me talk to him ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 183 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [183a] | --- |  |  |  |  |
| $\underline{184}$ |  |  | $\frac{[---}{}$ | taahshoo 'ing where? | ghinyaalh-'aa you (sg.) are just going along |  |  | niing you (sg.) |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 185 |  |  | yooyiinak <br> far south | teesing' its <br> you (sg.) ran <br> along | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 186 |  | --- | taabhshoo' ing' where? | ghinyaaaln <br> you (sg.) go.along |  |  |
| $\underline{187}$ |  | --- | naang <br> your mother <br> uutce ing' <br> to her | naahindaash ] you (sg.) go.back |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 187 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [184-187a] | --- |  |  |
| 188 |  | [-- |  | doo- <br> naahishthdaash- <br> teilee <br> I am not going to <br> go back home |  |  |
| $\underline{189}$ | diidee' <br> north | --- |  | shnaaang-yee my mother is |  |  |
| $\underline{190}$ |  | --- | shnaan-tc' ing' <br> to my mother | naashdaal-ee <br> I am going back <br> along |  |  |
| $\underline{191}$ | neesding <br> far | --- |  | naashdaal-ee <br> I am going back <br> along <br> ] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 191 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [188-191a] | --- |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart


The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| $\underline{199}$ |  |  | diidee' <br> north |  | shiiyee' <br> mine <br> nee'-yee <br> country is |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{\underline{200}}$ |  |  | nee -yee country is | jaang here | Ihaan-eee <br> there is much | diidee north |  |  |
| $\underline{201}$ | daanjiibiiyee' |  | --- | --.-... | shnaan <br> my mother <br> biiyee' ] <br> hers |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 201 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | \|-- | [197-201a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 202 |  | diijii why? | --- |  | binaashtolh' aa you (pl.)" send me back to her naashtolh'aa you (pl.) send me back |  |  |  |
| $\begin{array}{\|l} 203 \\ \mathrm{a} \end{array}$ | doo <br> no |  | --- |  | --- |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 203 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | [saahding <br> alone | --- |  | ghidai ] <br> to stay/staying |  |  |  |
| 203 |  |  | --- | [203b] | shdjiiyaan-ee <br> I do not want it |  |  |  |
| 204 |  |  | --- |  | teesiiyai <br> I went along | diidee <br> north |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart


The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| 212 |  | haidaa" ang from the north | ts' inteelh turtle | $\ll$ | til' aash-bang they will walk along |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 213 |  | haidaa'"ang <br> from the north | teehkaatc'ee crawfish | haidaa' ${ }^{\prime}$ ang <br> from the north | tc' til' aash-bang they will walk along |  |  |  |
| 214 |  |  | too <br> water |  | taahtsit'- <br> banjaa <br> let the water dry <br> up | shiing-hiit <br> summertime |  |  |
| 215 |  | shaahnaa creek | too <br> water |  | istim-manjaa <br> let it be cold |  |  |  |
| 216 |  | saaktoo' <br> spring (of <br> water) | too <br> water |  | istim-manjaa <br> let it be cold |  |  |  |
| 217 |  | taanchow <br> river | too <br> water |  | silh-banjaa' <br> let it be hot |  |  |  |
| 218 | doo <br> no | shoonk <br> well | --- |  | nidoo'-banjaa <br> let it not exist |  |  |  |
| 219 |  | wantaah some places | too <br> water |  | noonashbanjaa <br> let water be standing |  |  |  |
| 220 |  | wantaah some places | too <br> water | niliin-tcwoltc short riffles | niliin-banjaa <br> let it flow |  |  |  |
| 221 |  | neesding far | too <br> water |  | naanaaghiliinee it flows down | yiidee <br> north |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| $\text { a } \begin{aligned} & 222 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [see <br> rock | naat ai' -yee <br> that are standing up | uuyeeh ] <br> under it |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 222 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ | [222a] | [taahshoo' <br> somewhere | --- | taahshoo' -it ] <br> where it is? |  |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 222 \\ & c \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | [222b] | --- | yiighint' oot it becomes foggy |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 223 |  |  | --- | kowintin it becomes cold |  |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 224 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  |  | [--- | titbilh-teilit <br> when it is going to rain |  |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 224 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  |  | toonai <br> fish | ch'leeh-teilit when fish are going to come in ] |  |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 224 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | [224a-224b] | too <br> water | tanyaang <br> it rises |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 225 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | [ kai-hit winter season | --- | --- |  |  |  |

The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

aashee'lhgai tc
1- September/
October
"Buckeyes
White"
Geesnaa
2- October/
November
"Salmon Eye"
Shaaneescho
w
4-December
January "Big
Long Month"
Yiinaading Kwolkitchow

4-December/
January
"Slippery
Doorway"
Chiilhtciik
5-January/
February "Red
Stick"
T'an' Ihtik
7-March/April
"Leaves Burst"
Tl' oh-Dilk' is
8-April/May
"Brown Grass
妵


The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & 225 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ | daang <br> already | --- |  | ghindaanit <br> when it has become spring ] |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 225 \\ & \mathrm{~d} \end{aligned}$ | shiin-lh'at <br> mid-summer <br> Naaghithit-it <br> 10-June/July <br> "Burnt <br> Around" <br> [225a-225c] | --- |  | tc'ninyai <br> he arrived |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 226 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | \| [--- | Toonchaagh Naanaaghiliin g <br> Big Water Flows Down uuyeeh under it | yeehtc'ghinyai ] <br> he went in |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 226 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ | [226a] | tc' yaankii <br> women <br> $\gg$ | [226c-226d] | tc' eentgeetc' <br> they looked out from | naakaa <br> two |
| $\begin{aligned} & 226 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ | [ch'wosh-bii' in the foam nee'ntcee' di ng <br> bad ground | doodaanshoo' -kwosh perhaps nobody |  | yiihinaash <br> is coming in |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 226 \\ & \mathrm{~d} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | kant'ee ] <br> is like that |  |


| The Supernatural Child Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 226 | --- | --- | yaa' nii <br> they say |  |
| 227 | --- | kwanlhang |  |  |

## Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| \# | Pre-nuclear |  | Nucleus |  |  | Post-nuclear |  |  | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Outer | Inner | Subject | Object/ <br> Complement | Verb | Inner | Outer | Post |  |
| 1 |  |  | Ch'siitcing Coyote (character) |  | tc'teelhbaang he went along lame |  |  |  |  |
| 2a |  | Daatcaang <br> Raven <br> (character) | --- | [2b-7] | --- |  |  |  |  |
| 2b |  |  | [--- |  | shtinghish <br> you (sg.) carry me <br> along | teeheeng <br> to a stream |  |  |  |
| 3 |  |  | --- |  | naashaa' <br> let me go around |  |  |  |  |
| 4 |  | shaa <br> for me | --- | $\frac{\text { ts'ii' }}{\text { brush }}$ | ilhtcii <br> you (sg.) gather it |  |  |  |  |
| 5 |  |  | --- | $\frac{\text { toonai }}{\text { fish }} \frac{\mathrm{ts}^{\prime} \mathrm{i}{ }^{\text {brush }}}{}$ | shdojiighininyaaan-ei I want it |  |  |  |  |
| 6a |  |  | --- | $\geq \geq$ | ghilhk'aang you (sg.) build a fire |  |  | kwong' <br> fire |  |
| 6b |  |  | --- |  | ishteelii-'ang <br> I might be cold |  |  |  |  |
| 7 |  |  | --- |  | naashbaan-ei ] <br> I am lame |  |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 8a |  | [--- | beelgeet <br> spear head | kw'innooolash <br> you (sg.) put it on top of it | beelkaats <br> spear shaft |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8b |  | toonai fish |  | naá onteeleehang they might swim along |  |  |  |
| $\underline{9}$ |  | --- | naaning'ai <br> fish weir <br> kwaangk'ee' <br> its ribs | oohlang <br> you (pl.) go after |  |  |  |
| $\underline{10}$ | $\mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ ing' bilh <br> withes with it | --- |  | ghiliii'-bang <br> it must be tied |  |  |  |
| $\underline{11}$ |  | --- |  | ch'ghiltee! you (sg.) spread bedding |  |  |  |
| $\underline{12}$ |  | --- |  | noohhlash <br> you (pl.) put them <br> to a limit |  |  |  |
| 13a |  | --- | Iheetc daang mud pile | olhtcii <br> you (pl.) make it |  |  |  |
| 13b |  | \| --- |  | kwailih-bang fire will be | k'atdee' ] <br> soon |  |  |
| 13c |  | --- | [8a-13b] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 14 |  | [--- | naaning'ai biinee <br> stringer of weir | oodilang <br> let us go after it |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 22 | [hhaakwiit anyway |  | --- |  | beesh'ai <br> let me try it |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 23a |  |  | --- |  | naahindaash <br> you (sg.) go back <br> home |  |  |
| 23b |  |  | --- |  | uudjiing-kwosh it is perhaps about day |  |  |
| 24a |  |  | --- |  | naashbaan-ei ] <br> I am lame |  |  |
| 24 b |  |  |  | [22-24a] | --- |  |  |
| 25 |  | k'an <br> before | --- |  | doo-kwaat'iin <br> he did not do <br> that way |  |  |
| 26 |  |  | --- |  | naas 'its <br> he ran around | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 27 |  |  | tc'eek <br> woman |  | kwniilh'iing she looked at him | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 28 |  |  | --- | ts'ii'-bii <br> in the brush | s'isk' aan <br> he built a fire | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 29 |  |  | --- |  | naas' its <br> he ran around | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 30 |  | haaghii <br> long time | tc'eek <br> woman |  | kwneelh'iing she looked at him | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 31 |  | tc'eek <br> woman |  | naaheestyai <br> she went back home | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 32 |  | Ch’siitcing Coyote (character) |  | naas'its <br> he ran around |  |  |  |
| 33 |  | --- | see <br> rock <br> nchaagh <br> large/much | naa'inghilh' aa 'ei <br> he put across |  | nchaagh large one |  |
| 34 |  | --- |  | doo-naalhbaanei <br> he is not lame |  |  |  |
| 35 |  | --- |  | skoloo'eikwang <br> he had pretended |  |  |  |
| 36 | $\gg$ | tc'eek <br> woman | toonai <br> fish | yoonghilaang <br> she went after them | yaa'nii <br> they say | ch oyii neighboring yeeh-bii in the house |  |
| $\underline{37}$ |  | [ Ch'siitcing Coyote (character) |  | naananghilh'aá -ein <br> he built a fish weir |  |  |  |
| 38a |  | --- |  | naahishdaa ] let me go back |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 38b |  |  | --- | [37-38a] | tc' in <br> she said | yaa' nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 39 |  |  | --- |  | taatc' kwilhtaan <br> he is not at home | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 40a |  |  | [--- |  | yiiskaan-it <br> when it was <br> daylight <br> ] |  |  |  |
| 40b |  | [40a] | --- |  | doohaa'naantyaa <br> he did not come back | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 41 | [jaa' well! |  | --- |  | kwooshtgee'- <br> jaa <br> I'd better watch him |  |  |  |
| 42a |  | taahdinshoo <br> kwosh <br> for some <br> reason | --- | $\geq \geq$ | kwooshtgee - <br> jaa' <br> I'd better watch him |  | Ch'siitcoing <br> Coyote <br> (character) <br> ] |  |
| 42b |  |  | --- | [41-42a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 43 |  |  | skiitc $\gg$ <br> baby |  | kwilhsdai <br> they stayed with him | yaa'nii they say | naakaa <br> two |  |
| 44 |  |  | --- | toonai <br> fish | tc' kaash-kwaan <br> he had netted them | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 45a |  | --- |  | taast' aas <br> he cut them |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 45b | [45c] | --- | toonai <br> fish | tc' taan-kwaan <br> he had eaten | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 45c |  | [skiitc <br> boy |  | yaa'nteeslaalhkwaan <br> they were asleep | yaa'nii ] <br> they say |  |  |
| 46 | ūūn̄āā <br> by himself | $\cdots$ |  | tc' taan-kwaan he had eaten | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 47 |  | skiitc boy |  | tc'ee'nsit' he woke up | yaa'nii they say | - |  |
| 48 |  | Ihaa' <br> another <br> uuyaash <br> small one |  | tc'ee'nsit' he woke up | yaa’nii they say |  |  |
| 49 |  | --- | toonai <br> fish <br> uusing <br> its meat/flesh | yiilhsaan <br> they found it | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 50a |  | [--- |  | toonai-yei ] <br> there are fish |  |  |  |
| 50b |  | --- | [50a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 51a |  | $\underline{\square}$ |  | doo-uusing'- yiii it is not its meat |  | $\left.\frac{\text { dii }}{\text { this }}\right]$ |  |
| 51b |  | --- | [51a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 52 |  | [--- |  | $\frac{\text { doo-yii }}{\text { it is not }}$ |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 53a |  | --- |  | doo-toonai <br> it is not fish |  |  |  |
| 53b |  | Ihishdiichow rotten log |  | aant'ei-yee ] <br> it is thus |  |  |  |
| 53c |  | --- | [52-53b] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 54a |  | [--- |  | dooyee <br> it is not <br> toonai-yee ] <br> it is fish |  |  |  |
| 54b |  | --- | [54a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 55 | uunaa <br> by himself | --- |  | tc taangkwaang he had eaten |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 56a |  | E- |  | dooyee <br> it is not |  |  |  |
| 56 b |  | dist' eehkoon'ee madrone berries |  | aant ee-yee <br> it is thus |  |  |  |
| 56c |  | --- |  | naaghohniish you (pl.) played with | k'andang'. ] <br> yesterday |  |  |
| 56d |  | --- | [56a-56c] | --- |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 57a | teeh <br> in water | --- | toonai <br> fish | ch'ghintcok'kwaan <br> he had strung fish-strings | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 57b |  | --- |  | teehnoonaaloos -kwaan <br> he had dragged it around to a limit in water | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 58 |  | --- |  | yiiskaan it was daylight |  |  |
| 59a |  | [--- |  | ndoo'-yee <br> there are none |  |  |
| 59b |  | --- |  | naabohohdilh <br> you two go back home ] |  |  |
| 59c |  | --- | [59a-59b] | ilhtc 'in he tells him | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 60a |  | [--- | nohnaan <br> your (pl.) <br> mother | kwolhnkolhnikban <br> you (pl.) must tell her about it ] |  |  |
| 60b |  | --- | [60a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 61a | jaa <br> well! |  | --- | $\gg$ | kwooshtgee'jaa' <br> I'd better watch him |  | Ch'siitcing <br> Coyote <br> (character) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 61b |  |  | --- | k'ai'tbilh open-twined burden basket | tishghee <br> let me carry it along |  |  |  |
| 62a |  |  | --- | $\gg$ | ch'ineelht' aats -kwaan <br> he had cut it up into strips | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 62b |  |  | --- |  | daahnoolhdeelh -kwaan <br> he had put them up on a frame | yaa'nii <br> they say | Ihaang many toonai fish |  |
| 63 |  | teehnak <br> upstream | --- |  | tc'teesyaa he went along | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 64a |  |  | tc'eek | k'ai'tbilh open-twined burden basket | kwghinghiing <br> she brought it down |  |  |  |
| 64b |  |  | tc'eek <br> woman |  | kowantc'teelhc hoot <br> she stole it from <br> him |  |  |  |
| 65 |  |  | --- | yeeh-bii' ing <br> inside the <br> house | hiiteesghiin <br> she carried it along | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 66a |  | [ Ch'siitcing Coyote (character) |  | ch'ineelht'aats' eikwaanang <br> he had cut it into strips ] |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 66b |  | --- | [66a] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 67a |  | [--- | $\geq \geq$ | beenoohsing <br> you (pl.) hide it |  |  | toonai <br> fish |  |
| 67b |  | --- |  | taanaan'odaa'uuleeng' <br> in case he comes back from the creek ] |  |  |  |  |
| 67c |  | \|--- | [67a-67b] | tc' in <br> sshē sāīc ${ }^{------~}$ |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 68 | Tc'aahaalIhtsowitc Treefrog (character) | --- | toonai <br> fish | kowaatc' ghaabi il' <br> she gave a <br> basketfull to her |  |  |  |  |
| 69 |  | --- | $\rightarrow>$ | ch'eeghinsit <br> she pounded acorns | ch'int' aang acorn | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 70 |  | Yiishtc <br> Wolf <br> (character) | iintc'ee' ch'ineelt' aats venison cut in strips | tc'ninghiing he brought it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 71 |  | --- | $\gg$ | beenooghisin <br> she hid it |  | iintc'ee <br> deer |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 72a |  | [--- |  | doohaa'- <br> tc' olhsaan-jaa' <br> he'd better not <br> find it! <br> ] |  |  |  |
| 72b |  | --- | [72a] | tc in <br> she said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 73 |  | [--- |  | naahishdada <br> let me go back |  |  |  |
| 74a | taahshoo' sometime | --- |  | naashdaa -jaad <br> let me come back <br> 1 |  |  |  |
| 74b |  | -- | [73-74a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 75a |  | [--- | iintc'ee deer | neesolhyaankwaandee <br> when you (pl.) <br> will have eaten it <br> up |  |  |  |
| 75 b | [75a] | --- |  | neeshaa'-kwosh <br> I may arrive <br> ] |  |  |  |
| 75c |  | --- | [75a-75b] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |


| Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 76 | [too water | --- | $\geq \geq$ | teehnoon' aashbang <br> you (sg.) must put it down in water |  | ch'int' aang acorn |  |
| 77 |  | --- |  | noo'ilhshiii'-bang you (sg.) must put it in the ground |  |  |  |
| 78 |  |  | lhaang many | taadighish-bang we will carry it from water |  |  |  |
| 79a |  | --- | ch'int'aang acorn | ch'ilhdik'-bang you (sg.) must crack |  |  |  |
| 79 b | tl'ee'it nighttime | --- | $\geq \geq$ | ch'ilhdik'-bang you (sg.) must crack |  | ch'int'aang acorn |  |
| 80a |  | --- |  | kwanlhaang ] enough |  |  |  |
| 80b |  | --- | [76-80a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 81a | [ <br> yiilhkai <br> dawn/ <br> morning | --- | shoonk' well | kwaalh'iin-mang you (sg.) will be able to see like |  |  |  |
| 81b |  | --- |  | naadighee'bang <br> we must carry them around |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife_Discourse Chart

| 81c |  | -- | daahkw' t tch' il hsai-bii' <br> in a drying <br> platform | daanhbii' nooghin kaash-bang <br> you (sg.) will put them up in it |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{82}$ |  | $\geq \geq$ |  | olsai-jaa' <br> let them dry |  |  | Iheenee'haa' all |  |
| 83a |  | iintc'ee' deer | ---- | Ihaan-ee <br> there is much | shnghanding ] <br> my home |  |  |  |
| 83b |  | \|--- | [81a-83a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 84 | -.. | $[--$ |  | ntisloos-teilee <br> I am going to lead you (sg.) along | haandit <br> next time |  |  |  |
| 85 | neesding far | --- |  | tiidilh-teilee we will go along | daasiit <br> soon |  |  |  |
| 86a | nhilh <br> with us | --- | skiik <br> boys <br> naakaa'-haa' <br> both | ghiloos-teilee- <br> you (sg.) will lead them along ] |  |  |  |  |
| 86b |  | --- | [84-86a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 87 |  | naahneesh <br> person ch'oyii <br> another |  | ninyai <br> he arrived |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


| Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 94b |  | $\left.\right\|_{---} ^{--}$ |  | doo-kwnish'iin'teilee <br> I am not going to look at him ] |  |  |  |
| 94c |  | --- | [89-94b] | tc' in she said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 95a | [taahshoo <br> sometime | --- |  | --- |  |  |  |
| 95b |  | --- |  | kwooshtgee'jaa' <br> I'd better watch him |  |  |  |
| 95c |  | --- | toonai <br> fish | ch'oonghiilaanei <br> I went after something |  |  |  |
| 95d |  | töonai <br> fish |  | ndoo'-yee ] <br> there are none |  |  |  |
| 95e |  | --- | [95a-95d] | --- |  |  |  |
| 96 |  | $\frac{\text { Itoonai }}{\text { fish }}$ |  | \|haanga-'anjiii there are many! |  |  |  |
| 97a |  | toonai <br> fish |  | Ihaan <br> äre many | shghanding ] <br> my home |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 97b | [97c] |  | [96-97a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say | naahneesh <br> person <br> Ihaa'haa' <br> one |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 97c |  | [--- |  | ninyaa-hit ] when he arrived |  |  |  |
| $\underline{98}$ |  | [sityighii-haa the only ones | toonai <br> fish | kee'ndoo-kwaan you (sg.) do not have |  |  |  |
| 99a |  | toonai <br> fish |  | Ihaang-'annjii ] there are many! |  |  |  |
| 99b |  | --- | [98-99a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{100} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | [--- | Ch'siitcing <br> Coyote <br> (character) | doo- <br> shhdjiikwyaaan-ei <br> I don't like him ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 100 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [100a] | tc' in <br> she said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{101} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | [taahshoo <br> sometime | ------... |  | tishyaash-teilee I am going to go -away |  |  |  |
| $\frac{101}{\mathrm{~b}}$ |  | --- |  | tc 'kwoloo'-it <br> because he pretended |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{102} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | neesding <br> far | --- |  | teeghiiyai me to go away |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & 110 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  | [105-110a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii they say |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 111 |  |  |  | iintc'ee <br> venison | ooshlang <br> let me go after it |  |  |
| 112 |  | kandintc <br> close/near |  |  | nooniighiin-ee <br> I put a load down |  |  |
| 113 |  |  | --- |  | shilhghinyaalh you (sg.) are going with me |  |  |
| 114 |  | doo 'ang no yes/no? | Ch'siitcing Coyote (character) |  | doonaa'indaash <br> he has not come back |  |  |
| $\underline{115}$ $\underline{a}$ | $\frac{\text { doo-yii }}{\text { it is not }}$ |  | --- |  | ```doo- he hasn't come back ]``` |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 115 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [115a] | --- |  |  |
| $\underline{116}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  |  | daanjii <br> -who? | toonai <br> fish | inghai' aassh <br> one gives it to you ] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 116 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [116a] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 122 |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { dii-haa' } \\ & \text { this } \\ & \text { iintc'ee' } \\ & \text { venison } \end{aligned}$ |  | lhaan-ee <br> there is much |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{123}$ |  |  | --- | Ihaanhiit much | aant'ei-yee ] <br> it is thus |  |  |  |
| 123 |  |  | -- | [120-123a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\underline{124}$ |  | [dii this <br> tc' yaantc <br> old woman | --- | iintc'ee <br> venison $\qquad$ | waan' aash-'ang <br> did you (sg.) give it to her? <br> ] |  |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 124 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | -------- | --- | [124a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\underline{125}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { Iheu' } \\ \text { yes } \end{array}$ |  | --- |  | waash'aash-ee <br> I give it to her |  | nchaaagh ] <br> much |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 125 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [125a] | tc' in <br> she said | yaa'nii <br> they say | .- |  |
| $\underline{126}$ |  | [taatjii when? | $\left.\right\|_{-\ldots} ^{---}$ |  | naahindaashteelh <br> you (sg.) will go back home ------] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 126 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [126a] | --- |  |  |  |


| Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{127}$ |  | [haaghee <br> long time | -- |  | siidaa-teilee <br> I am going to stay |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{array}{\|l} \underline{128} \\ \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{array}$ |  | taahshoo <br> sometime | --- |  | naapishdadaa':- <br> kwosh <br> perhaps I'll go <br> back home <br> ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 128 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [127-128a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{129}$ $\underline{a}$ |  |  | [-- | ch'int'aang acorn | tinghish-bang you (sg.) will carry a load |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{129} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- |  | naaheesintyaapdee <br> when you (sg.) go back home ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 129 \\ & c \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [129a-129b] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\begin{array}{\|l} \underline{130} \\ \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{array}$ | $\frac{\text { 「heu' }}{\text { yes }}$ |  | --- |  | ---] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 130 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [130a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii they say | [130c] |  |
| $\frac{130}{c}$ |  |  | [-- |  | naahishdaashteilee <br> I am going to go back home | taahshoo' ] <br> sometime |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 142 |  |  | --- |  | noodilshii' <br> let us put it in the ground | yiibaaang <br> other side |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 143 |  |  | --- |  | ch'ilhdik. <br> you (sg.) crack <br> acorns | daabhtceellh <br> storage bin |  |  |
| $\begin{array}{\|l\|l} 144 \\ \mathrm{a} \end{array}$ |  |  | --- | $\geq>$ | $\frac{\text { doo- }}{\text { tcoo ishchiish- }}$ <br> teel <br> I am not going to <br> leave them |  | ch'int'aang. ] <br> acorn |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 144 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [141-144a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\underline{145}$ |  |  | [--- |  | daalh'njijii <br> what are you <br> doing? |  |  |  |
| $\frac{145}{\underline{b}}$ | iintc'ee <br> venison | shaanii <br> only | --- | $\leq$ | ch'inyaañ'angkwaan <br> have you (sg.) eaten it? ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 145 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [145a-145b] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{146} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [-- | shoo' $\frac{\text { thaang }}{\text { much }}$ tintc'ee' venison | ninghiswh <br> you (sg.) bring it |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{151} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | yiichowyeeh-it <br> because there's a dance house ] |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 151 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | --- | [147-151b] | tc' in he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 152 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ | tc'eek <br> woman | - |  | ilhch'in <br> he told her | yaa'nii <br> they say | [152b-152d] |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{152} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  | [naahnneesh person |  | Ihaananding <br> where there are many |  |  |  |
| $\frac{152}{c}$ | [152b] | --- |  | ntishloos-teilee <br> I am going to lead you along |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{152} \\ & \underline{d} \end{aligned}$ | daasiits <br> soon | ch'aan <br> food |  | Ihaan-eehit <br> when there is much -] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{153} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | [ <br> taahshaan- <br> haa' <br> what way | --- |  | ghiidilh <br> we are going along |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{153} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{~b}} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [153a] | doo-kwnisin-ee ] <br> I do not know it |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 153 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [153a-153b] | --- |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\underline{154}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  |  | [--- |  | kwinyeeh'iidililhkwosh <br> perhaps we should go underground |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{154} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | Ch'siiitcing <br> Coyote <br> (character) |  | naanontex illhkee -uuleeng <br> lest he track us around ] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 154 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [154a-154b] | --- |  |  |
| 155 |  |  | Ch'siitcing Coyote (character) |  | tahnaa'tyai <br> he went back from water |  |  |
| 156 | toonai-biinee'shwoltc <br> "little round back" fish | ch'kaak' -bii' in net | --- | $\ll$ | noo'intaankwaan <br> he had put it down | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 157 |  | - | \|-- | chiilgaitc <br> sore-tail <br> salmon | beech'isgheelh -kwaan <br> he had tied it up as a pack | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 158 |  |  | --- |  | naaghiltbaang he walked lame | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 159 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | skiitc <br> boy | [159b] | --- |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\underline{164}$ $\underline{b}$ |  | --- |  | ch'teelhchootyeekwaanang <br> s/he has stolen it ] |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $164$ <br> c |  | --- | [162-164b] | --- |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 165 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | \| [--- | sk'ee' <br> acorn soup | kaaghilhts'eegh <br> he tasted the <br> mush <br> bilh ] <br> when |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 165 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ | [165a] | --- |  | teeghink ootcee <br> it (liquid) <br> became sour |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 165 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ | Sheelhshiiye etooding <br> Kibesillah <br> st'oo' <br> nearly | --- |  | kwiteeseelhsit <br> it fell off from it |  |  |
| 166 |  | --- |  | doohaa'yeehgheeghiin <br> she did not bring the load in | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 167 | yiiskaan <br> morning | -- | haataah <br> right there | sghiin <br> the load was | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 168 |  | doodaanshoo' <br> nobody |  | tait' aas <br> s/he cut it up |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 169 |  | --- | ch'olhkeegha ang <br> you (pl.) <br> dislike it | aanoht'ee you (pl.) are thus |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 170 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | naahishdaashteilee <br> I am going to go back home |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 170 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | beenaash'ai'teilee <br> I am going to try it again |  |  |
| 171 | haaghee' kwosh <br> perhaps a <br> long time | naakaa' <br> two <br> shaa <br> month |  | bee'odin-kwosh perhaps will die |  |  |
| $\underline{172}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | [--- |  | nohdjiidoo'ositding don't you (pl.) be lonesome here |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{172} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | naashaa'kwaanghiit <br> because I could be going around | aant' eibangkwosh <br> it will perhaps be the case ] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 172 \\ & c \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [172a-172b] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & 173 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | $\rightarrow>$ | naaheestyaa <br> he started back home | teehing <br> to a stream | [173b] |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\left.\right\|_{b} ^{173}$ |  |  | [--- | ch'kaak' <br> net | teesghiin-it <br> when he carried a load along ] |  |  |  |
| 174 |  |  | $\gg$ |  | naantyai <br> he came back |  | Yiishtc <br> Wolf <br> (character) |  |
| $\underline{175}$ |  |  | $[\geq \geq$ |  | doo-'annaa'indaashn <br> hasn't he come back? |  | shindiikoo <br> my cousin <br> Ch'siitcoing <br> Coyote <br> (character) <br> ] |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 175 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [175a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\underline{176}$ | [ch'int'aang acorn | kaashbiii' tomorrow | --- | $\leq<$ | tidighee' <br> let us carry a load along |  |  |  |
| $\underline{177}$ |  | neesding <br> far | --- |  | noodilshii'-jaa we should put it in the ground |  | - |  |
| $\underline{178}$ |  | ch'oyii-haa' again | --- | ch'int'aang acorn | tidighee <br> let us carry a load along |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\underline{179}$ $\underline{a}$ | neesding far | \|-. |  | noodilshii' -jaa' <br> we should put it <br> in the ground <br> ] |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 179 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [176-179a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\underline{180}$ | [ch'oyii-haa' again | --- | ch'int'aang acorn | tidighee <br> let us carry a load along | neesding ] <br> far |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 180 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [180a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\underline{181}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { [ch'oyii-haa' } \\ & \text { again } \end{aligned}$ | --- | ch'int'aang <br> acorn | tidighee' <br> let us carry a load along |  |  |  |
| $\frac{181}{\underline{b}}$ |  | \|--- |  | teehnoodighee' <br> let's put a load down in water ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 181 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [181a-181b] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 182 |  | [--- | tghaat <br> they are moldy <br> (acorns) | ilhtcii-teel <br> you (sg.) will <br> cause X |  |  |  |
| 183 | kaashbii' <br> tomorrow | --- |  | tinghish-bang <br> you (sg.) will <br> carry a load |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


| Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{188}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ | saahding <br> alone | --- |  | sindaa-bangiaá <br> you (sg.) should live in a place ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 188 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [187a-188a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\underline{189}$ |  | [--- |  | doo-shdjjiidooositteilee <br> I am not going to be lonesome |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{190} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | kwaataanh anyway | --- |  | tinyaash <br> you (sg.) go along |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{190} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | shthtoononchiishn you (sg.) leave me |  |  |  |
| $\underline{191}$ |  | Ch'siitcing Coyote (character) |  | shdjiitc ollhtikjaa' <br> let him kill me | kwaataah ] anyway |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 191 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [189-191a] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\underline{192}$ |  | [--- |  | doohaa'- <br> naaandaash- <br> bang <br> you (sg.) must not come back |  |  |  |
| 193 |  | shghandaannii my son-in-law |  | shch'oo'otgee'jaa' <br> he should come to see me |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 198 |  |  | naaneelhyaan g <br> sprouted acorns nshoong >> good ones |  | nilh - - <br> with you (sg.) | teehnooniighii n-ee <br> (that) I put down in water |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 199 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | [ <br> k'ai' tbilh-bii' <br> in a burden <br> basket | --- | laashii' <br> buckeye | teehnooniighiing <br> that I put a load down in water ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 199 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [199a] | toghish-bang <br> let him carry a <br> load along |  |  |  |
| $\underline{200}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | [ taahshoo'de e' whenever | aal <br> firewood |  | ghindoo'-dee <br> when it becomes <br> not |  |  |  |
| 200 $\underline{b}$ | shghandaan ee my son-inlaw | shttc'ing <br> to me | $\leq<$ | aal <br> firewood | tc 'olhtcii' -jaa <br> he should gather it ] | [200a] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 200 \\ & c \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [200a-200b] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 201 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | aal <br> firewood | shdjiiyaan-ei <br> I want it | [201b] |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\underline{208}$ |  | doo- <br> daanshoo' <br> nobody |  | naashii <br> he comes! |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 209 |  | --- |  | ishhtciigh-ee <br> I was crying |  |  |  |
| $\underline{210}$ |  | --- |  | shdjiitodoosit <br> I am lonesome |  |  |  |
| $\underline{211}$ | wantaah <br> some <br> tl'ee <br> night | \|... |  | siidaa-yee I sat | tl'ee' night neessding all ... long |  |  |
| $\underline{\underline{212}}$ |  | --- | .......... | siidai <br> I sat | naakaáa'. <br> two <br> yiilhkai <br> nights |  |  |
| $\frac{213}{\underline{a}}$ |  | \|--- |  | shghiiiyaaal ] <br> I am sleepy |  |  |  |
| $\left.\right\|_{b} ^{213}$ |  | --- | [204-213a] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{214} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ | [taatiji <br> when? $\qquad$ | \|=:-: |  | naaphohtinapaashteelh <br> you (p1.) are going to move back home ] | -...... |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 214 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [214a] | --- |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\underline{215}$ |  |  | [--- | ch'int'aang acorn | doo-diltaagh-ee we did not carry |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{216} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | kaakw <br> quickly | --- |  | bangkwosh <br> will be perhaps |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{216} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | yiibaan- <br> lhaa'haa <br> six <br> k' ai' tbilh <br> open-twined <br> burden basket |  | noontnaa -ee <br> they remain |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{217} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | kaashbii' tomorrow |  |  | tidighish-teilee we are going to carry a load along ] |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 217 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- - - - | [215-217a] | tc' in <br> she said | yaa'nii they say |  |
| $\underline{218}$ |  | [ch'oyii-haá <br> again | --- |  | tidighish-teilee we are going to carry a load along |  |  |
| $\underline{219}$ |  |  | k'ai' tbilh <br> öpen-twined burden basket naakaa'naaka a four |  | k'ai'tbillh-teilee are going to be burden baskets |  |  |
| 220 | naakaa' <br> two | ch'oyii-haa' again | \|--- | k'ai'tbilh <br> open-twined burden basket | tidighish-teilee we are going to carry a load along |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 221 | shnnaaang my mother |  | --- |  | ntcoonditciishbteilee we are going to leave you (sg.) | kaashbii' <br> tomorrow |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 222 |  |  | K'ai'tbilh <br> open-twined <br> bürden basket <br> naakaa <br> two |  | noontnaá-ei they remain |  |  |  |
| $\underline{223}$ |  |  | --- |  | tiidillh-teilee we are going to go along |  | shnaaang my mother |  |
| $\frac{223}{\underline{b}}$ |  | ch'aakat-bii' <br> in a hole | --- |  | kwinyeehiidilihteilee we are going to go underground |  |  |  |
| $\frac{223}{\mathrm{c}}$ |  | ninkwiiyeeh underground | --- |  | ghiidilih-teilee <br> we are going to go along ] |  |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 223 \\ & \mathrm{~d} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  |  | --- | [218-223c] | --- |  |  |  |
| 224 $\underline{a}$ | [neesding \| far | niiktc <br> slowly | ---- |  | ghinyaaalh <br> you (sg.) go.along <br> ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 224 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [224a] | --- |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\underline{225}$ |  |  | [--- |  | doo-nheelhkee' teilee <br> he is not going to track us |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 226 $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  |  | $\geq>$ |  | doo- <br> nohtco ghilhkee'teilee <br> fee is not going to track us down |  | Ch'siitcing <br> Coyote <br> (character) |  |
| $\frac{226}{\underline{b}}$ |  |  | --- |  | neesdin-ei <br> it is far |  |  |  |
| $\underline{227}$ |  |  | ts' isnoo' <br> mountain |  | nchaagh-ee <br> is large |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{228} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | neeseek' aad <br> the long way | --- |  | --- |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{228} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ts'ii' }^{\text {ts }} \\ & \text { brush } \end{aligned}$ |  | ntcee' -ee <br> it is bad | haihiit <br> because of |  |  |
| $\frac{228}{c}$ | $\leq<$ |  | --- |  | tishaash-ee <br> Ïgo along |  |  |  |
| $\underline{229}$ |  |  | =----* |  | naaadilyiisth <br> let us rest |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{230} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- |  | $]_{\text {yinsaat }}^{\text {you }(\mathrm{sg}) \text { sit down }}$ |  |  |  |
| $230$ <br> b |  |  | --- | [225-230a] | --- |  |  |  |
|  | [kaa' <br> all right/OK |  | --- |  | --- |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\underline{231}$ $\underline{b}$ |  |  | --- |  | beedilh <br> we climb up it | kwaant'eihit nevertheless |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{231}{\mathrm{c}}$ | $\stackrel{-}{<}$ |  | s̄hiii <br> I/me <br> ... | $\geq \geq$ | ghishgheelh <br> I carry the load along |  | k'ai'tbilh <br> open-twined burden basket |  |
| $\frac{232}{\underline{\mathrm{a}}}$ |  |  | $\geq>$ |  | doonghee'-'ang are you (sg.) tired |  | $\underline{\text { niing }}_{\text {you (sg.) }}$ |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 232 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [231a-232a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{233} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [--- |  | dooyiihee'-ee ] <br> I am tired |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 233 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [233a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\underline{234}$ |  | [tk'angding on a ridge | --- |  | kaassiideel <br> we came up from below |  |  |  |
| $\frac{235}{\underline{a}}$ |  | yoo oong <br> over there | \|--- | Ihit <br> smoke | ilhsaang ] <br> you (sg.) see it |  |  |  |
| $235$ |  |  | --- | [234-235a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{236} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | [heu' <br> yes |  | --- | Ihit <br> smoke | issaan-eee ] <br> I saw it |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 236 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [236a] | --- |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


| Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 243 b |  |  | --- | [239-243a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{244} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | $\frac{\text { yyeeh }}{\text { house }}$ |  | s'aan-ei <br> that is situated | yoo oong over there |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{244} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | [244a] | shiiyee' yeeh mine house | hai <br> that |  |  |  |
| 245 | kaa' <br> quickly/ <br> hurry |  | --- |  | tiidilh <br> let us go along |  |  |  |
| $\underline{246}$ |  |  | --- |  | tcaakwilhghilhteilee it is going to get very dark |  |  |  |
| $\underline{247}$ |  |  | naaghai <br> moon |  | s'aan-'anjii <br> is there! |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{248} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | tinii road/trail |  | nshoon-iil it is good | hai'ang ] <br> over there |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 248 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [244a-248a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| $\underline{249}$ | [hai-'aniii <br> there! | alhtee <br> come on! | --- |  | doohaaa'kashninn\|h'ing. <br> do not look at them |  |  |  |
| $\begin{array}{\|l} \underline{250} \\ \underline{a} \end{array}$ |  | shkee'-haa <br> right in my <br> tracks | --- |  | ghinyyaalh <br> you (sg.) go.along ] |  |  |  |



Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\underline{262}$ | [taahiji <br> where? | --- |  | sk'ee' <br> acorn soup |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{263}$ |  | --- |  | shdjiighinnyaang <br> I want it |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{264} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | shghiinnaa'. ] <br> I am hungry |  |  |  |
| $264$ <br> b |  | --- | [262-264a] | --- |  |  |  |
| 265 | neesding far | --- |  | naaheestyai <br> he went back home |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{266} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | [--- | tc'eek <br> woman | teesiilhchoot ] <br> I stole her |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 266 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [266a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\frac{267}{a}$ | [taahjii <br> where? | --- |  | tc'teelhkat ] they went along |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 267 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | -- | [267a] | tc' in <br> he said | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 268 |  | seekaat' <br> mortar slab |  | doo-kineesh <br> it doesn't speak | yaa'nii <br> they say | seekaat' <br> mortar slab |  |
| 269 |  | daatcaang' <br> raven |  | dinii <br> it made its call | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 270 $\underline{a}$ | [alhtee <br> come on! | $\frac{\text { dee }}{\text { here }}$ | --- |  | naach' kwnimilh <br> you (sg.) bring a <br> basketfull back <br> ] |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 270 |  |  | --- | [270a] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\left.\right\|^{271} \mathrm{a}$ | aal noonilit <br> unburned <br> firewood |  | --- |  | --- |  |  |  |  |
| $\frac{271}{\underline{b}}$ |  | [taahijii where? | --- |  | naasaang ] <br> they move |  |  |  |  |
| ${ }^{271} \mathrm{c}$ |  | $\ll$ | --- | [271b] | tc' in <br> he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 272 |  |  | --- | uu'eest <br> pestle | nins' istaang he picked it up from the ground |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $273$ |  | [taahijii where? | --- |  | naasaang. ] <br> they move |  |  |  |  |
| 273 |  |  | --- | [273a] | --- ------ | -- - |  |  |  |
| 274 |  |  | --- | uu'eest <br> pestle | yaa'ghilhghaal he threw it up in the air |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 275 |  |  | --- |  | tc'tees' iing <br> he looked along | $\rightarrow>$ | yaa'nii <br> they say | yaah-bii' ing in the sky |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 276 |  | --- | kwsint' aa <br> his forehead | naineelhghaal it beat him | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 277 | ch'aakaakat <br> in a hole | --- | $\gg$ | kaanailash <br> she takes them <br> back up from <br> underground |  | ch'int'aang acorn |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 278 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | yeehtc'ghinyai <br> he went in |  |  |  |
| $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & 278 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | --- | tc' yaantc <br> old woman | tc'eelhchiih he caught her | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{\underline{279}}$ |  | $\frac{\text { [daanjii }}{\text { who? }}$ |  | shoolhchit <br> s/he catches me |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{280} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | nhooshtgee. <br> let me look at you (pl.) ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 280 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [279-280a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\underline{281}$ $\underline{\mathrm{a}}$ |  | [--- |  | doo- <br> yaashtc' ool\|hgis <br> h-'ang' <br> it is the case that s/he can't see me ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 281 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [281a] | --- |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| 282 |  |  | --- |  | tc' eenaa' nlhaa h <br> he ran back out from inside |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 283 |  |  | -- |  | tc'ghintcang he defecated | yeeh-bii' <br> in the house |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{284} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ | [ shhtcaa'nii my excrement | taahjii <br> where? | --- |  | naasaang. ] <br> they move |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 284 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [284a] | tc' in he said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\underline{285}$ |  | [diisee <br> west | $\geq \geq$ | ch'aakaa-bii' in a hole | kwinyeehninyiin <br> g <br> they traveled underground |  |  | Yiishtc <br> Wolf <br> (character) <br> tc'eek <br> woman |  |
| $\underline{286}$ |  |  | --- | $\geq \geq$ | tc'teeloos-ee he led her along |  |  | skiitc <br> boy <br> naakaa'-haa' <br> both |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{287} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | Tl'ohkaastk w'it <br> Tl'ohkaastkw'i t | --- |  | naaasaan-ee ] <br> they moved |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 287 \\ & \mathrm{~b} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [285-287a] | tc' in <br> it said |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{288} \\ & \underline{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | [ Ch'siitcing Coyote (character) - = - |  | kwins isnolhnkee -kwosh <br> perhaps he tracked chasing us ] |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & 288 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- | [288a] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{289} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{a}} \end{aligned}$ |  | [ Ch'siitucing Coyote (character) |  | tc' ninyaa-dee if he comes |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{289} \\ & \underline{b} \end{aligned}$ | [289a] | --- | $\geq \geq$ | kwaachih-bang you (pl.) must feed him |  | iintc'ee' <br> venison |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{289} \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | sk'ee' <br> acorn soup | kw' innaadeebilh -jaa <br> we should sprinkle-it oritop of him |  |  |  |
| $\underline{290}$ | kiitsaa'chow <br> large cooking <br> basket <br> bilh <br> with it | $\left.\right\|_{----} ^{---}$ |  | kw'itnaadeebilhjaa' <br> we should sprinkle it on top of him |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \underline{291} \\ & \underline{a ̈} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | nookwolh'aa'bang <br> you must seat him | yeeh-tagit <br> in the middle of the house ] |  |  |



Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| -305 | kaa' <br> all right/OK |  | --- |  | nohsaat <br> you (pl.) sit down |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{305}$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ch'oning-hint } \\ & \text { although a } \\ & \text { stranger } \end{aligned}$ |  | aanoht'ei-hitt although you (pl.) are thus ] |  |  |  |
| $\text { \| } 305$ |  |  | --- | [299-305b] | --- |  |  |  |
| $\underline{306}$ |  |  | [naahneesh person |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ninyai } \\ & \text { he arrived } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |
| $\underline{307}$ |  |  | --- | $\geq \geq$ | waahchit <br> you (pl.) feed him <br> it |  | iintcc'ee' <br> venison |  |
| $\underline{\frac{307}{\underline{b}}}$ |  |  | --- | sk'ee' <br> acorn soup | waahkaaash you (pl.) give him a container of it ] |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 307 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | --- | [306-307b] | --- |  |  |  |
| 308 |  | yaah-bii' $k$ <br> in the sky | --- |  | naach'aalh he chews it along | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 309 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | tc'eek kiïyee <br> woman his/her |  | taach' bil she cooks mush/ soup | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart

| $\begin{aligned} & 309 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  |  | seelhgai <br> white rock | taayaa'ilhdil <br> she puts them in water | sil <br> hot |  | [309c] |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\text { l } \begin{aligned} & 309 \\ & \mathrm{c} \end{aligned}$ |  | [--- | Ch'siitcing Coyote (character) kwsii' his head | kw'innaaghaabii I'-teilit <br> when she is about to pour it down on it ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{array}{l\|l} 310 \\ \mathrm{a} \end{array}$ |  | [ <br> Ch’siitcing <br> Coyote <br> (character) | iintc'ee <br> venison | tc'taan-eet when he eats |  |  |  |  |
| $\left\{\begin{array}{l} 310 \\ \mathrm{~b} \end{array}\right.$ |  |  | sk'ee acorn soup | ch'ilhts' eegheet <br> when he eats mush ] |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 310 \\ & c \end{aligned}$ | kwsii' <br> his head | --- |  | kw' itnaaghaabii I' they poured it down onto it | [310a-310b] | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 311 \\ & \mathrm{a} \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | nins'istk' ai <br> he jumped up <br> from the ground |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 311 \\ & b \end{aligned}$ |  | --- |  | taaghinlhaah <br> he jumped into the water |  |  |  |  |

Wolf Steals Coyote's Wife Discourse Chart


Coyote and the Gambler (short version) Discourse Chart

Coyote and the Gambler (short version) Discourse Chart

| \# | Pre-nuclear |  | Nucleus |  |  | Post-nuclear |  |  | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Outer | Inner | Subject | Object/ <br> Complement | Verb | Inner | Outer | Post |  |
| 1 |  |  | --- | Tl'oh-n'ai grass game | k'eech'ist'aats he cut something off |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 2 |  | Hai-bilh <br> same one | --- | Ihaa' <br> another <br> tl'oh-n'ai <br> grass game | k'eech'ist'aats' <br> he cut something off |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 3 |  | Tl'oh-n'ai grass game | --- |  | yeehtc 'ighin'an g <br> he put a stick in |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 4a |  |  | [--- |  | Kineesiilhyan I won |  |  |  |  |
| 4b |  |  | --- |  | uukineesiilhyang I won it |  |  |  |  |
| 4c |  |  | --- |  | kineesiilhyang ] <br> I won |  |  |  |  |
| 4d |  |  | --- | [4a-4c] | ch'eeghilei' he sang |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 5 |  |  | --- | $\rightarrow>$ | Naa' ch'isdeeh he won it back |  | yaa nii they say | tc' eek woman |  |
| 6 |  |  | --- | $\rightarrow>$ | Naa' ch'isdeeh he won it back |  | yaa'nii they say | yeeh house |  |

Coyote and the Gambler (short version) Discourse Chart


Coyote Tricks the Girls Discourse Chart

Coyote Tricks the Girls Discourse Chart

| \# | Pre-nuclear |  | Nucleus |  |  | Post-nuclear |  |  | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Outer | Inner | Subject | Object/ <br> Complement | Verb | Inner | Outer | Post |  |
| 1 |  |  | --- |  | ghilk'aan <br> there was a fire |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 2 |  |  | --- | see-kw' it <br> on a stone | ghilk'aan <br> there was a fire |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 3 |  | laashii' <br> buckeye | --- | kwong'ding fireplace | naa'tghilghaal' <br> they poured it down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 4 |  |  | --- |  | ghittcaa <br> they were buried |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | Iheetc bilh mud with it |  |
| 5 |  |  | --- |  | kaanaaghilaa <br> they took it back up from underground |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 6 |  |  | --- |  | bii'nooghitlheek they soaked |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 7 |  |  | ch'siitcing coyote | ts'aal' -bii' <br> in a basket cradle | tc'nilaat <br> he arrived <br> floating |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 8a |  |  | [daanjii <br> who? <br> biiyee' skii <br> its/their baby |  | nilaat <br> it is arriving <br> floating <br> ] |  |  |  |  |

Coyote Tricks the Girls Discourse Chart


Coyote Tricks the Girls Discourse Chart


Geese Carry Off Raven Discourse Chart

Geese Carry Off Raven Discourse Chart

| \# | Pre-nuclear |  | Nucleus |  |  | Post-nuclear |  |  | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Outer | Inner | Subject | Object/ <br> Complement | Verb | Inner | Outer | Post |  |
| 1 |  |  | Silts' intc <br> Chipmunk | skiitcyaash <br> little baby | s'isloos <br> he kept/led it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 2 |  |  | chinsits' <br> bark (of tree) | kwbit' <br> his belly | naineelhk itskwang <br> it had stuck in it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 3 a |  |  | --- |  | sees 'ilhtiin <br> he was sick |  |  |  |  |
| 3 b |  |  | --- |  | s'ilhtiin <br> he lay down |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 4 |  |  | tc'eek <br> woman <br> Daatcaang' <br> Raven <br> (character) | chinsits <br> bark (of tree) | tc' oonghilaang she brought it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 5 | kaah <br> goose | diidaa" ang <br> from the <br> north | $\underbrace{}_{\text {two }} \ll \text { naakaa' }$ |  | tc'nindeel'kwang <br> they had come |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 6 |  |  | --- | chin <br> trees <br> chuunaa <br> around a tree | uunaasyaa <br> she went around <br> it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |

Geese Carry Off Raven Discourse Chart

| 7 | chin-wo' <br> wooden hook <br> for hunting <br> bilh <br> with it | --- | $\gg$ | ghishaah <br> they caught it with a hook |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | k' ai' tbilh open-twined burden basket |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8 |  | --- |  | nins' isghiin <br> she picked up the load |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 9 | ch'oyii-haa again | --- |  | ghishaah <br> they caught it with a hook |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 10a |  | [--- |  | ndaas-ii <br> it is heavy! | $\left.\underline{\text { dii }}_{\text {this/here }}\right]$ |  |  |  |
| 10b |  | --- | [10a] | tc' in <br> she said |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 11 |  | --- |  | tc'eenaamiil' <br> she took a <br> basketful back <br> out from it |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 12 |  | --- |  | nins' isghiing <br> she picked up the load |  | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 13 | ch'oyii-haa again | --- | $\rightarrow>$ | ghishaah <br> they caught it with a hook |  | yaa'nii they say | k'ai'tbilh open-twined burden basket |  |
| 14 |  | naakaa <br> two |  | nolhtinaa <br> remained |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |

Geese Carry Off Raven Discourse Chart

| 15 |  | --- |  | ghishaah <br> they caught it with a hook | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 16 |  | --- |  | nins'isghiing <br> she picked up the load | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 17 |  | --- | $\gg$ | ghishaah <br> they caught it with a hook | yaa'nii they say | k'ai' tbilh open-twined burden basket |  |
| 18 |  | $\rightarrow>$ |  | koowilchit <br> they caught her | yaa'nii <br> they say | naakaa'-haa' both kaah goose |  |
| 19 | $\gg$ | --- |  | kwteeghiiloos they lead her along | yaa'nii they say | diidee north |  |
| 20a |  | [ daa'yaa'nteelii chow geese |  | aayaaashiil\|aagh they took me up into air ] |  |  |  |
| 20b |  | --- | [20a] | tc' in <br> she said | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |  |
| 21 | $\rightarrow>$ | --- | yiichow-bii' <br> in the dancehouse | yeehkwilyoos <br> they led her inside | yaa'nii they say | Nee'uuchii'di ng <br> World Its Tail Place |  |

Geese Carry Off Raven Discourse Chart

| 22a |  |  | [--- |  | ghilhgheel'-it <br> when it became evening ] |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 22b |  | [22a] | --- |  | ch'nghindaash <br> there was a dance | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 23 |  |  | --- |  | tc'eenaa'nt' aah she flew back out from it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 24 |  |  | --- | yiichow-bii <br> in the dance- <br> house <br> ts'eek'ee-bii' <br> smoke-hole of <br> dance house | tc'eenaa'nt' aah she flew back out from it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 25 |  |  | --- |  | naantyaa <br> she came back | yaa'nii they say |  |
| 26 | skiitcyaash little baby |  | Silts' intc <br> Chipmunk <br> (character) | $\ll$ | s'isloos-kwan he had kept it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| 27a |  |  | [Silts' intc <br> Chipmunk |  | iintc' ee' tc' eelht' oot it sucks on venison ] |  |  |
| 27b |  |  | --- | [27a] | tc 'ilhtcii-kwan he had made it | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |

Geese Carry Off Raven Discourse Chart

| 28 |  |  | skiitc <br> baby | beenaadin <br> it died (again) | yaa'nii <br> they say |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 29 |  |  | --- | kwanlhaang <br> all/the end |  |  |

The Diving Contest Discourse Chart

The Diving Contest Discourse Chart

| \# | Pre-nuclear |  | Nucleus |  |  | Post-nuclear |  |  | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Outer | Inner | Subject | Object/ <br> Complement | Verb | Inner | Outer | Post |  |
| 1a |  |  | Naakee' eetc <br> Duck <br> (character) <br> Siis <br> Otter <br> (character) |  | kwonyeehtc' ghi leeh <br> are diving underwater | too-bii' <br> in water | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 1b |  |  | --- | toonai <br> fish | naa'ch'teelghe el are catching swimming underwater |  | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 2a |  |  | [ kaayaach'kwl'i ing' observers |  | --- |  | yaa'nii ] <br> they say |  |  |
| 2b |  | [2a] | Naakee' eetc <br> Duck <br> (character) |  | kaanaaghileeh <br> swam back up from underwater | [2c] | yaa'nii they say |  |  |
| 2c |  |  | [--- | naakaa' >> <br> two | ch'ghintcok'kwaan <br> he had strung fish-strings |  | yaa'nii <br> they say | toonai ] <br> fish |  |
| 3 a |  |  | [ kaayaach'kwl'i ing' observers |  | --- |  | yaa'nii ] <br> they say |  |  |




[^0]:    "Yes, let me hang it up.
    "Yes, I will hang it up."
    "Yes, / I will hang it up."
    he $\bar{u} /$ tûc bûL
    he $\bar{u}^{\varepsilon}$ tûc bûL

[^1]:    19.4 skii
    skii
    baby
    n a
    baby
    [Obj]

[^2]:    47.4 Toonchaagh Naanaaghiliing uuyeeh Toonchaagh Naanaaghiliing
    *P-yeeh++ 3 OBL.
    Big Water Flows Down na
    Big Water Flows Down
    under $P$
    postp
    [AdvCl
    under it

