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# FREELAND'S CENTRAL SIERRA MIWOK MYTHS

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edited by  
Howard Berman

Report #3  
Survey of California and Other Indian Languages

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of California and Other Indian Languages

Edited by Alice Schlichter, Wallace L. Chafe, and Leanne Hinton

Report #3

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## Introduction

I first met L. S. Freeland in 1970 when I was a graduate student doing fieldwork on Central Sierra Miwok. Despite the difference in our ages we struck up a friendship based on our common interests. At that time Freeland was working on a volume of Sierra Miwok myths. She permitted me to make a copy of her manuscript in the hope that I could eventually have the material published. It is my pleasure here to carry out Freeland's wishes.

Freeland's manuscript contained the first twelve texts in this volume. I have made only minor changes to correct a few obvious errors, some of which were probably introduced by my hasty copying. I have also tried to make the English read more smoothly in a few places. Interested readers may consult my copy, which I have deposited in the Library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. I do not know what became of Freeland's original manuscript.

For texts I, III, IX, and XI, Freeland apparently intended to include both her own free translations and those of her late husband Jaime de Angulo which had appeared in the Hudson Review in 1952. However, she had written out her own free translations only for text I and part of text III. No free translations at all were provided for texts X or XII.

In general, Freeland's manuscript followed the orthography of Freeland, Language of the Sierra Miwok (1951). I converted this to the orthography of Freeland and Broadbent, Central Sierra Miwok Dictionary with Texts (1960), because it was easier to type. However, I am not entirely satisfied with this decision. In particular, the choice of ʔ to indicate an apico-alveolar stop at the same

point of articulation as n and l is misleading. Central Sierra Miwok as spoken by John Kelly and Viola Wessell has no retroflex consonants. See also the comments of Silverstein, IJAL 45 (1979), 198 n. 25.

In one set of words Freeland's manuscript failed to distinguish between consonant length and vowel length. Sequences of vowel length followed by a glottal stop (·ʔ) and glottal stop followed by length (ʔ·) were both written as question marks (?) with the length mark underneath the glottal stop. I have disambiguated these as best I could, but in two instances the correct spelling is uncertain. See footnotes 1 and 8 to the texts.

I have added three short texts which I recorded in December 1969. Text XV, "The Coyote and the Lizard," was first told by George Wessell in English and was then translated into Central Sierra Miwok by his wife Viola.

I believe that the reader will be able to analyze these texts with the aid of Freeland (1951) and Freeland and Broadbent (1960). In fact, many of the example sentences in Freeland (1951) are taken from these texts. I have inserted footnotes to explain the few forms which do not occur in Freeland (1951) and I have added a glossary of the words which are not found in Freeland and Broadbent (1960).

#### Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, which supported my fieldwork on Central Sierra Miwok, and to Catherine Callaghan, who helped me analyze my field notes

and tapes. Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz wrote the biographical sketch of L. S. Freeland at my request on short notice. Both she and Eric Hamp gave advice and encouragement when problems arose. Jean Luther read a portion of the manuscript and made a number of helpful suggestions. The publishing company of Farrar, Straus, and Giroux generously granted permission to reprint the myths translated by Jaime de Angulo and charged only a fraction of their standard reprint fee.

I am especially indebted to John Kelly of Sonora, California, and to George and Viola Wessell of Tuolumne City for their kindness, patience, and hospitality. We are also indebted to Tom Williams, Lena Cox, and the unnamed Southern Sierra Miwok informant, who first told these stories to L. S. Freeland.

Finally I wish to thank the editors of the Reports of the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages for accepting this volume for publication.



## Abbreviations

A	adverb
AA	American Anthropologist
B	Broadbent, Sylvia M. 1964. The Southern Sierra Miwok Language. UCPL 38. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
cf.	compare
coll.	collective
EC	East Central
ed.	editor
F	Freeland, L. S. 1951. Language of the Sierra Miwok. IUPAL 6. Baltimore: Waverly Press.
FB	Freeland, L. S. and Sylvia M. Broadbent. 1960. Central Sierra Miwok Dictionary with Texts. UCPL 23. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
intr.	intransitive
IUPAL	Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics
JAF	Journal of American Folklore
JSAP	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
N	noun
n.	note
n. d.	no date
NRC	National Research Council
obj.	object

p. page  
pp. pages  
sect. section  
subj. subject  
trans. transitive  
UCPAAE University of California Publications in American  
Archaeology and Ethnology  
UCFL University of California Publications in Linguistics  
V verb  
WC West Central  
x times



L. S. Freeland in 1925

(Photograph courtesy of Gui de Angulo)

## A Biographical Sketch of L. S. Freeland

Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

University of Wisconsin at Parkside

Lucy Shepard Freeland was born on August 18, 1890, in East Orange, New Jersey.<sup>1</sup> Her parents were Theodore Hart Freeland, who was a Civil War veteran and at one time president of the American Bank Note Company, and Caroline Griffen Freeland. She entered Vassar College in 1908, graduating four years later with a major in history. During the next several years she took courses in art and drama in New York City and travelled in Italy and Scotland. On the boat to Scotland a spiritualist told her that her "proper" name was Nancy, rather than Lucy. She adopted Nancy as her first name, not being particularly fond of her given name, but never changed it legally. As a result, her published work appeared under the name of "L. S. Freeland" even though she was known from then on as Nancy.

In the spring of 1915 Freeland joined her sister Helen in Carmel, California, where they set up a rooming house for summer visitors. There she joined a local theater group and was in several performances. That fall both sisters decided to take graduate courses at the University of California at Berkeley, where among other subjects Freeland took courses in anthropology from Alfred L. Kroeber and Paul Radin. In the summer of 1916 she joined the Archaeology Field School in New Mexico, but then she returned to New York to study commercial art; while there she became involved with the pacifist movement against the war. By the summer of 1917 she was discouraged

with both pacifism and commercial art and decided to return to Berkeley and anthropology.

Freeland had met Jaime de Angulo and his wife Cary in the summer of 1915 when they had visited the rooming house in Carmel. She had seen them periodically during the next several years, and it is possible that it was de Angulo's influence which led her to study anthropology seriously. (He had a degree in medicine but was interested in linguistics and anthropology. He taught two courses at Berkeley in anthropology in the summer of 1920 at Kroeber's request.) Whatever the reason, the next several years were spent as a full-time graduate student in the Berkeley anthropology department, where she eventually became both a teaching fellow and a research fellow.<sup>2</sup> As part of her graduate work she studied the Eastern Pomo, Nisenan, and Sierra Miwok and Lake Miwok languages and cultures, and prepared several manuscripts (one of which was published).<sup>3</sup>

Kroeber thought highly of her ability, so much so that when Franz Boas was planning a trip to California to work on Yurok in the spring of 1922 and asked for a student who would be able to not only assist him but later complete the work alone, Kroeber responded: "We really have no one able to do this except Miss Freeland and she is so involved in southern Maidu and Miwok that it would be wiser for her to bring some of her work to completion before launching on a new venture, especially with so complicated a language as Yurok."<sup>4</sup>

Miwok had become Freeland's specialty by then and the material she gathered was to form the basis of her doctoral dissertation. The summer of 1922 was spent doing fieldwork with Sierra Miwok

and Lake Miwok, under the direction of Kroeber and E. W. Gifford, and that fall she began analyzing her data. In January of 1923 she passed her preliminary exams for the doctorate and was actively writing up her dissertation in March when she received word that her mother was seriously ill. She immediately left for the east coast but arrived after her mother's death. At that time her dissertation was essentially complete and Kroeber predicted that she would formally receive the Ph.D. in the summer of 1923.

Because of this expectation, Kroeber suggested that while Freeland was in the East she visit Earl F. Zinn of the Committee for Research on Sex Problems to discuss the possibility of applying for a grant to study sex from the anthropological viewpoint. At the same time he suggested that she apply for one of the newly established National Research Council (NRC) fellowships in the biological sciences, designating anthropological sex research as her subject of investigation. Zinn was in favor of her proposal to study the sex life of uncivilized peoples in either a Hopi or Zuni community and then write up the material in Berkeley under the supervision of Kroeber. He was eager for the NRC to fund the research, which could then be carried on in connection with, but at no expense to, his Committee. But the NRC did not agree with this approach, and the proposal was sent back and forth between them several times, each suggesting that the other fund her project. Both were interested but could not agree on who should support the research.

Before any action had been taken, de Angulo arrived in New Jersey and complicated matters further. He had been in Mexico doing linguistic research under Manuel Gamio and was passing through New York on

his way to visit Cary and their daughter Ximena in Switzerland. (Cary had taken Ximena and left California in 1921 to study with Carl Jung in Zurich, and remained there to become a translator of his work; she and de Angulo had discussed separation several years earlier but were not formally divorced until 1922.) Due to a series of misunderstandings and the intervention of a concerned relative, de Angulo had, possibly unintentionally, resigned from the job in Mexico, even though when he had left there it was with Gamio's permission to take six months leave without pay. He and Freeland went to Zinn to request that her proposal be altered to include him as well. Zinn was willing to add de Angulo to the grant proposal and wrote Kroeber for an evaluation. Kroeber was angry over the way de Angulo had handled matters in Mexico, however, and refused to give a favorable recommendation, hoping that this would force de Angulo to return to Mexico to complete his work there. The situation was still unresolved when Freeland and de Angulo suddenly were married, and then caught a boat to Europe. (They had talked of marriage previously, once it was clear that de Angulo would be getting a divorce from Cary, but had never made definite plans.)

They first stopped in Paris, where de Angulo had been born, then went to Zurich, where he arranged for and may have begun analysis with Jung. They then traveled to Spain to visit de Angulo's family, but by then Freeland was pregnant and uncomfortable and decided to return to America. They planned for de Angulo to return to Switzerland for his analysis and then to leave for home by December, in plenty of time for the baby's birth. But in September, shortly

after her return to the States, the house Freeland had built in Berkeley only a few years earlier was destroyed in a fire, and she escaped with only the nightgown she was wearing at the time. (Luckily, the majority of her linguistic materials were safe in the vaults of the anthropology department at the time, and only a single Sierra Miwok myth was burned.) De Angulo responded immediately by leaving Europe to rebuild the house in time for the birth of their son, Alvar, in February of 1924. On his way through New York he stopped in to see Zinn and requested that the grant proposal be withdrawn due to personal circumstances which would prevent them from doing the study during the next year. Zinn was disappointed, having wanted someone to study the subject, but complied.

After Alvar's birth and the successful completion of the new house in Berkeley, de Angulo felt a need for a vacation and made arrangements to begin studying the Taos language. That summer, de Angulo, Freeland, and the baby returned to Taos to record the language, but it is unlikely that Freeland actively took part in the work. This was only the first of many family trips to different Native American groups. During the summer of 1925, for example, they received private funding to do research on the Achumawi language, a large part of which was used to build the "Auto Blanche." This was a combination house and car on a truck chassis, similar to a modern camper but heavier. It served as transportation and residence for several field trips during the summers of 1925 and 1926. That first summer it was used for a trip to the Achumawi, with stops to visit some of the Miwok that Freeland already knew.

In the spring of 1927 de Angulo was given a grant by the Committee



on Research in Native American Languages to record the Karok language. The three men in charge of this committee were Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, and Leonard Bloomfield. De Angulo had not met any of these men at the time but had corresponded for several years with both Sapir and Boas and they had seen some of his work. He and Freeland left for the field early in May in order to return before her second pregnancy became too far advanced to prohibit her active participation. (Their daughter Gui was born in November.) Because of this they left before final approval by the Committee had been granted, although Sapir notified them informally that the grant would be approved. Only after they had returned from the field was it discovered that there was a conflict of interest: John P. Harrington had done previous work on Karok. In order to avoid duplication of effort the Committee changed the grant assignment to Shasta, even though some previous work had been done on that language by Roland B. Dixon. During their trip de Angulo and Freeland had begun research on Shasta in order to analyze its relationship to Achumawi (with full knowledge that they were "poaching" on Dixon's territory). The Committee decided that they would be better able to collect additional material on the language than Dixon and asked them to revise Dixon's earlier work. Most of this task fell to Freeland. Boas arranged for a collection of the texts Dixon had gathered years before to be sent to her, and she obtained new translations and corrected the original data sporadically throughout the next several years.

Also in the summer of 1927, after their return from the field, Freeland and de Angulo had a chance to meet both Boas and Sapir for the first time. Boas was invited to give a series of lectures

at Mills College, but no one had arranged for his transportation to and from Berkeley. Freeland and de Angulo were happy to chauffeur him in exchange for the opportunity to discuss anthropology with him. Freeland reports that "Mostly it was Dr. Boas who talked, because Jaime was humbled by his greatness. I know I came to love our rider, and his keen, kind, scarred face."<sup>5</sup> Later that summer Sapir was in California to do his own field work on Hupa and made a point of meeting them.

At the same time that the Committee decided to grant de Angulo funds, Sapir suggested giving Freeland money to complete her Miwok research. He knew of its existence and incomplete status from Kroeber, who, when asked to summarize linguistic research in California for the Committee, had included the paragraph: "Miwok - An excellent comparative treatment of all dialects was more than half completed by L. S. Freeland some years ago, but interrupted by her marriage to Dr. de Angulo. It is not impossible that she may resume in time. Her ability is unusual. If she can get back to work, it will be the most desirable course."<sup>6</sup> But when Sapir made the suggestion that the Committee would be willing to fund the remainder of her research, Kroeber responded that the situation was terribly complicated and that since the project had been started under University funding it would be inappropriate for additional funding to be granted by the Committee for the same work (although in similar situations this is exactly what was done in order to encourage various people to complete projects they had started.) His final comment was that "I would appreciate it if your Committee would leave to me the initiative of any steps directed toward resumption of Mrs.

De Angulo's work, if at any time such seems desirable."<sup>7</sup> It is clear from correspondence with Boas that Kroeber was angry with Freeland for postponing her graduate studies in order to marry de Angulo and that he felt she had been adequately paid for her research on Miwok and should finish it without the expenditure of additional monies. In deference to his request the Committee never granted Freeland any funding directly, although they were well aware that any grants made to de Angulo often resulted in their being given the work of two qualified researchers for the price of one.

Between them de Angulo and Freeland turned in several manuscripts on Shasta and Karok to the Committee and so were rewarded with many grants on other languages. During the summer of 1928 there was money for Achumawi, at de Angulo's request, so that he might continue the comparative study of that language and Shasta which he had begun the previous year. At the end of 1928 there was money for Tfalati Kalapuya, at Boas' suggestion, so that the reported last speaker of that language, "Konoi" (Louis Kenoyer), might be contacted before he died (being elderly and alcoholic and so unlikely to live long). It turned out that despite reports to the contrary "He was no more than barely middle-aged -- a pleasant, rather quiet individual, and obviously healthy. As for alcohol, as I remember he never touched it."<sup>8</sup> The language was essentially recorded in a matter of weeks, but Konoi stayed all winter, often acting as a baby sitter. Freeland describes how "Sitting of a morning, with his glasses on, reading the Chronicle, in his dark suit and vest, he looked a bit like a member of the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce."<sup>9</sup>

In 1929 the Committee granted money for Atsugewi (related to Achumawi) in order to extend the comparative study of Achumawi and Shasta. In 1930 there was money for Chichimeco and in 1931 and 1933 for a comparative study of the seven Pomo languages. Freeland definitely helped with the Tfalati Kalapuya and Eastern Pomo in addition to the Shasta and Karok begun in 1927, but there is only indirect evidence that she did any work on the other languages.<sup>10</sup> The Committee was essentially out of funds by the early 1930's, and it is certain that by 1935 there was no more money forthcoming from that source (although Boas was able to arrange for some funding through Columbia University to continue research on several of the Pomo languages during the early 1930's.)

In addition to the work for the Committee through the late 1920's and early 1930's, both Freeland and de Angulo studies several other languages at the same time. Both of them analyzed the material that de Angulo had collected while in Mexico and one of Freeland's manuscripts based on his data as well as two joint articles were published. (Freeland had written up some comments on Mixe and sent them to Sapir for critique and suggestions. He responded with further examples and comments and encouraged her to prepare the manuscript for publication, which she did.)<sup>11</sup> There was also some work on Lutuami, Patwin, Northern Paiute, and Yurok, in addition to the Taos previously mentioned. Again, it is difficult to ascertain exactly how much, if anything, Freeland had to do with the work on these languages.<sup>12</sup> Much of the work on them was funded either by Freeland's independent income or through friends who were interested in the linguistic work they were doing.

De Angulo went to the International Congress of Americanists in Hamburg in the summer of 1930, where he met Hans-Jørgen Uldall, a Danish phonetician who had just been hired by the Committee to study one of the California languages. They became friends, and de Angulo sent him to stay with Freeland in Berkeley while he went on for a short visit to family members in France. Since he was to study Nisenan, Freeland sent him to her old informant Bill Joe. During the next several years Uldall was to work with both Freeland and de Angulo on their own research, checking their phonetic analyses of Achumawi, Sierra Miwok, and Eastern Pomo.

By the time she met Uldall, Freeland had finally returned to work on her Sierra Miwok material at Sapir's urging. In May of 1930 she wrote Kroeber that she would like to continue where she had left off, if he had no other plans for the material she had collected. She made new field trips to gather more data and decided: "I am so glad I never did complete it before, Kroeber, for what with the work I have done this winter (on all three of the dialects), and the help I have had from Hans-Jørgen, it does both you and me much more credit than it would have before."<sup>13</sup>

It was June of 1933 before she had completed the Sierra Miwok Grammar. She gave it to Kroeber, who responded: "I have read your Miwok Grammar through as a whole, and want to congratulate you on having done one of the best executed pieces of work in American linguistics, and perhaps the very best expressed one."<sup>14</sup> (This was not just friendly sentiment expressed to the author, for in writing to Boas years later Kroeber said of this manuscript: "The quality is A-one. She is sounder than her husband and much the

finer-edged workman."<sup>15</sup>) Kroeber was interested in publishing the manuscript in the UCFAAE series, and in fact this was approved. However, it was never actually published in that series due to a lack of funds.

During these years of intensive linguistic research in the late 1920's and early 1930's, Freeland and de Angulo were a part of the academic community at the anthropology department of Berkeley, albeit informally. This was an outgrowth from the earlier period from 1916 on when Freeland was a graduate student there and more formally associated with the department. In the early 1920's they were frequently visited by Kroeber, Radin, Paul-Louis Faye, and T. T. Waterman. During the later years it was more likely to be students of Kroeber and Radin who showed up, and the guest list included such names as Carl Voegelin, George Herzog, Duncan Strong, Julian Steward, and Walter Dyk among many others. Even occasional visitors to Berkeley, such as Bronislaw Malinowski, stopped in when they were in town. At the same time they both corresponded regularly with Boas and Sapir and so kept in touch with the larger academic scene as well. (It was not only anthropologists who regularly visited and partied at the house in Berkeley, but many others from the general community; most often these were artists, musicians, or poets.)

In August of 1933 there was a terrible car accident which resulted in the death of Freeland's son Alvar and a broken arm and leg for de Angulo. It was to be many years before Freeland returned to linguistics. After de Angulo's release from the hospital they went to the ranch at Big Sur which de Angulo had homesteaded in

1916 and remained there for the next six years, doing very little linguistic work and gradually losing contact with the majority of their academic friends. There are several explanations for this, the most important ones probably being the emotional impact of the accident, the lack of funds caused by the depression, and the informal standing de Angulo and Freeland had in academia. (Neither had ever received a degree in anthropology at a time when it was becoming unusual for those without degrees to continue being accepted as qualified researchers.) During the late 1930's Freeland periodically worked on the Sierra Miwok manuscript, making additions and changes, but did no new field work for it and little work on other languages. During the winter of 1936-1937 they both did some work on Cantonese, reviving an early interest in Chinese on de Angulo's part, but the appearance of a grammar of the language at that time reduced the need for their work and it was never completed.

In 1939 Freeland returned to live permanently in Berkeley, but de Angulo stayed at the ranch in Big Sur. In 1943 they both joined the war effort and worked in the Richmond shipyards. By then it was clear that their marriage was ending and in the fall of that year they were divorced, Freeland staying in Berkeley and de Angulo living at the ranch. In 1948 de Angulo contracted cancer and returned to Berkeley to live with Freeland, who nursed him until his death in 1950. Much of the time in the years between 1948 and 1950 was spent in efforts to get de Angulo's writings published (primarily his poetry and fiction). Freeland as well as de Angulo carried on an active correspondence with Ezra and Dorothy Pound, Marianne Moore, and others in the attempt to see that at least a portion

of his work would be published before he died.

Freeland's Miwok was finally published starting in the late 1940's; first an article on Lake Miwok in 1947, and then, at the suggestion of Carl Voegelin, her grammar of Sierra Miwok in 1951. A Central Sierra Miwok dictionary based on her data was prepared by Sylvia Broadbent and published in 1960 along with a few of the texts Freeland had collected.<sup>16</sup>

After de Angulo's death Freeland joined her daughter Gui on a trip to Europe. While in the south of France she felt a revival of her early interest in history and after her return to the United States she began extensive readings in medieval French literature, history, and poetry. She started a biography of the French poet Charles d'Orléans and spent much of her time during the next twenty years working on this. Only a single article was published as a result of her research; the majority of her biography remains incomplete.<sup>17</sup> These years were spent at Berkeley, where Freeland rejoined the academic community (again informally), often renting to anthropology or linguistics graduate students, who kept her up to date on current events. Her ability to get around became severely limited by degenerative hip disease, but her intellectual powers remained undiminished to the end. She died peacefully on December 18, 1972.

#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>I would like to thank Gui de Angulo for her cooperation in providing otherwise inaccessible information concerning both of her parents and for her willingness to clarify many points throughout



the past year. This article is much improved as a result of her contributions. The responsibility for any remaining inaccuracies is of course my own.

<sup>2</sup>According to the Office of Admissions and Records at the University of California at Berkeley, Freeland was a graduate student in anthropology during the following semesters: 1915-1916 second semester; 1917-1918 first semester; 1919-1920 both semesters; 1920-1921 both semesters; 1921-1922 first semester; 1922-1923 first semester. She was a teaching fellow in 1920 and a research fellow in 1920-1921 according to UCPAAE 20 (1923): xv.

<sup>3</sup>The published article is "Pomo Doctors and Poisoners" UCPAAE 20 (1923): 57-73. There are several unpublished manuscripts available at Berkeley which are the result of her graduate research: "Notes on the Culture of the Eastern Pomo" by L. S. Freeland, A. L. Kroeber, H. Story, and R. Greiner, 1922-1923 (part 3: "Mythology" and part 4: "The Pomo Kuksu Ceremonial System" are by Freeland), Museum of Anthropology Archives, manuscript #9; and "Southern Misenan Ethnographic Notes and Vocabularies" by A. L. Kroeber, A. H. Gayton, and L. S. Freeland, 1925, 1929 (part 5: "Vocabulary and Ethnographic Notes" is by Freeland), Museum of Anthropology Archives, manuscript #120.

<sup>4</sup>3/21/22 Kroeber-Boas, Museum of Anthropology Archives, University of California at Berkeley.

<sup>5</sup>n.d. Freeland-Gui de Angulo, in the possession of Gui de Angulo.

<sup>6</sup>5/4/25 Kroeber-Boas, Franz Boas Collection at the American Philosophical Society.

<sup>7</sup>5/16/27 Kroeber-Boas, Franz Boas Collection at the American Philosophical Society.

<sup>8</sup>n.d. Freeland-Gui de Angulo, in the possession of Gui de Angulo.

<sup>9</sup>n.d. Freeland-Gui de Angulo, in the possession of Gui de Angulo.

<sup>10</sup>Five publications came out of Freeland's work on these languages, all published with de Angulo as co-author: "Miwok and Pomo Myths" JAF 41 (1928): 232-52; "Karak Texts" IJAL 6 (1931): 194-226; "A New Religious Movement in North-Central California" AA 31 (1929): 265-70; "The Achumawi Language" IJAL 6 (1931): 77-120; "Two Achumawi Tales" JAF 44 (1931): 125-36. There were also many unpublished manuscripts as a result of this field work (again authored jointly with de Angulo), all of which are currently located in the Franz Boas Collection at the American Philosophical Society: "The Tfalati dialect of Kalapuya", "Comparison between Tfalati-Kalapuya and Chinook Jargon", "The 'Clear Lake' Dialect of the Pomo Language in North-Central California", "The Shasta Language", "Conversational text in Achumawi", "Achumawi Texts", "Appendix of Addenda and Corrigenda to the Grammar of the Achumawi Language", "The Atsugewi Language." In the same collection there is in addition a manuscript entitled "Shasta Texts" which is attributed to Freeland alone, consisting of her corrections of Dixon's original text material.

<sup>11</sup>The article published by Freeland based on de Angulo's material is "The relation of Mixe to the Pemutian Family" IJAL 6 (1930): 28-33. The articles co-authored with de Angulo are "The Chontal Language (Dialect of Tequixistlan)" Anthropos 20 (1925): 1032-52 and "The Zapotecan Linguistic Group" IJAL 8 (1935): 1-38 and 111-30.

<sup>12</sup>Freeland is listed as joint author on one publication for these languages: "Notes on the Northern Paiute of California" JSAP 21 (1929): 313-35. She is listed as joint author on two unpublished manuscripts, both of which are located in the Franz Boas Collection at the American Philosophical Society: "A Short Vocabulary in Yurok" and "A Sketch of the Taos Language." In addition Freeland says that she worked on Wintun in IJAL 6 (1930): 30.

<sup>13</sup>n.d. /mid 1931/ Freeland-Kroeber, Museum of Anthropology Archives, University of California at Berkeley.

<sup>14</sup>2/26/35 Kroeber-Freeland, Museum of Anthropology Archives, University of California at Berkeley.

<sup>15</sup>7/25/42 Kroeber-Boas, Franz Boas Collection at the American Philosophical Society.

<sup>16</sup>"Western Miwok Texts with Linguistic Sketch" IJAL 13 (1947): 31-46; Language of the Sierra Miwok, IUPAL 6, 1951; and L. S. Freeland and Sylvia M. Broadbent, Central Sierra Miwok Dictionary with Texts, UCPL 23, 1960.

<sup>17</sup>"Charles and Jean D'Orléans: an attempt to trace the contacts between them during their captivity in England" in Miscellanea di Studi e Recherche sul Quattrocento Francese, ed. Franco Simone, Torino, Italy: Giappichelli Editore, 1966, pp. 61-92. This one article is published under the name of "Lucy de Angulo" rather than "L. S. Freeland" like the others. The incomplete biography is in the possession of Gui de Angulo.

TEXTS IN THE WEST CENTRAL DIALECT

TOLD BY TOM WILLIAMS

## I. The Water Spirit and the Married Man

1. ʔoš·aʔnij nuná·šaʔ·ij šýj·eñiš·yʔ huš·e·piʔ ʔaké·maš šawá·j.  
2. ʔís·ak jo·: "tín·yʔnaʔ-ʔaʔ nuná·šaʔ·ij manàʔ limá·jy·?" káč·y mív·yʔ. 3. "ʔa--šýjñejaʔ?" káč·y·, "ʔyšé·my kán·ij tín·yʔ ʔís·ak míč·y·t." 4. káč·y mív·yʔ huš·e·pi·j, "tín·yʔ míč·y·š?" káč·y·.  
5. "henýj né·koj limá·jy·m," káč·y huš·e·piʔ. "wé·lumuš·wok wýkšyti·," káč·y mív·yʔ, "ʔošá·jumu·š," káč·y·. 6. "ʔéw·ytyʔ," káč·a·š, mív·yʔ hysý·ty huš·e·pij nét·ykaʔ. náknuk·aš mív·y·ŋ, ʔís·ak hysý·ty huš·e·piʔ, kík·ym ʔupín·uk·u·. 7. ʔál·am·aʔyj kík·yʔ lemè·m paʔý·ty·, hyján·uk·u pýš·ik·ot mív·y·ko·t, wičýʔ·ajle·ko·t,<sup>1</sup> hé·jeʔhejeʔma·ko·t, há·ma·wa·meti·t. 8. hí·ki·metiʔ načál·al·y·. ʔís·ak ʔoš·aʔ náj·y kasý·ʔy·ta·na·š. 9. "ʔaŋ·aʔ šekýjñeʔa·j: ʔíʔ·ok·lek kanýŋ čukú·ʔ." ʔís·akyj walá·metiʔ šók·et·iʔ lákʔy mív·y·j. 10. hojé·non wičýʔ·ajlek<sup>1</sup> lemín·uk·uj·iŋky·p.<sup>2</sup>  
11. ʔís·akyŋ mív·yŋ ʔypýjšaʔ nočú·p ʔytajšaʔ. hój·up ʔywýš·ej ʔyšý·maʔi·j.  
12. ʔýš·a· hiʔé·maj mitók·oj ná·ka·š, "wóʔle·ŋ, jónñej·iŋ ʔesél·y·n," káč·y huš·e·piʔ. "ʔaŋ·ač·yʔjiʔ-lek kojó·wupokšuʔa·j, čamyš·i·n, nuná·šaʔ·ij ʔynyʔ·it·e·n." 13. nún·aʔnuŋ·eʔpa·k, hasú·luŋ·eʔpa·k, kojó·wupo·ša·. "šáj·en·aʔ kojó·wupo·maʔ, čámše·maʔ ʔíw·in!" ʔytajšaj ʔypýjšaj kačýʔny·. 14. "kán·ij-lek tín·yʔ·iŋ wél·any·te·š:" kójwomaʔ čámšy·.  
15. ʔopóʔ·oʔ·oʔ lúpnina· ʔočé·š, mákta·. waʔákxaʔjiʔ lúpnina·, ʔáw·om·uš lákša·, jýn·ana·. 16. pič·ak·aʔ lúpnina·, šók·et·iʔ šúm·akal·iʔ. ʔót·uka· čámšyʔpa·k. 17. lúpniš pákta·, ʔé·pa· wél·ij čamyš·e·j.  
18. ʔís·akyŋ huš·e·piŋ wél·any·š. šýj·eñiš·yk jo·, ʔoʔí·ko·koŋ

wý·nak šýj·eníš·yk.

#### Literal translation

1. A-married-man(obj.) repeatedly used-to-see a-Water-Spirit as-he-was-crossing-the-stream on-the-rocks. 2. He then: "For-what- apparently repeatedly someone gets-willow?" says the-human-one. 3. "Should-I-go-to-see?" he-says, "Perhaps me in-some-way she concerns-me." 4. Says the-human-one [to]-the-Water-Spirit, "What art-thou- doing?" he-says.

5. "Merely these I-gather-willow," says the-Water-Spirit. "I-take-thoe-then we-go," says the-man, "I-marry-thee," he-says. 6. "No," when-she-says, the-man draws-by-the-hand the-Water-Spirit this-way. As-makes-her-reach-him the-man, she draws-him Water-Spirit, in-the-water makes-him-plunge. 7. Underneath the-water to-the-hills she-takes-him, brings-him to-[the-land-of]-strange people, to-the-Goblins, to-the-One-legged-Imps, to-the-Water-Serpents. 8. The-dragons are-growling. She the-woman scolds-them when-they(impersonal)- try-to-bite. 9. "Do-not fear! This-indeed of-me my-pet." Him water-snakes all lick-as-to-the-hand man(obj.). 10. On-the-morrow the-Goblins take-him-out-to-hunt.

11. Of-him of-the-man his-father(subj.) they-cry his-mother(subj.). They-think having-eaten-him bear.

12. Later-on day(obj.) several(obj.) when-it-reaches, "Go-home, go-to-visit-thy-child," says Water-Spirit. "Do-not-indeed, tell- about-thyself, else-thou-wilt-die, and-all-the-time thou-wilt-come- back-to-me." 13. But-when-he-was-repeatedly-questioned, when-he- was-asked, he-told-about-himself. "Let-me-do-it-in-spite-of-everything

let-me-tell-about-myself, let-me-die now!" his-mother(obj.) his-father(obj.) he-says-to. 14. "Me-indeed, a-Supernatural-Being took-me!" Telling-it he-dies.

15. Tadpoles filled-up his-belly, he-swelled. Toads filled-him-up, from-his-mouth came-out, killed-him. 16. Lizards filled-him-up, all-[sorts-of] eels-also. He-split as-he-died. 17. When-they-filled-him he-burst-open, they-spread-out over-the-ground after-he-was-dead.

18. She Water-Spirit took-him. People-used-to-see-them then, when-they-two were-walking they-used-to-see-them.

Free translation by L. S. Freeland

1. Water Spirit used to watch a certain married man all the time whenever he crossed the stream at the stepping stones. 2. At last the man began to ask himself, "I wonder why she's always here getting willow. 3. Perhaps I ought to go and see," he said. "It might have something to do with me." 4. So the man said to Water Spirit, "What are you doing here?"

5. "Why, I'm just gathering willows," she replied. But the man said, "I'm going to take you then. Let's go. I want to marry you," he said. 6. And when she says no, the man draws her by the hand, brings her close to him, and then suddenly it is Water Spirit drawing him, plunging him into the water. 7. Underneath the water, back under the hills she takes him, brings him to the land where strange people live, the Goblins, the one-legged imps, and the Water Serpents. 8. The dragons are growling, and the woman scolds them when they try to bite. 9. "Don't be afraid, these are my

pets." And then the Water Snakes all lick his hands. 10. The following day the Goblins take him hunting.

11. That man's father and mother are crying for him. They think a bear must have eaten him.

12. Later on, after several days, Water Spirit says, "You may go home now, you may go to visit your child. But don't tell about yourself or you will die and come back to me always." 13. But when the man was repeatedly questioned, when he was asked what had happened, he told them all about it. "No matter what happens to me, I have to tell about it. Let me die for it now," he said to his mother and his father. 14. "It was a supernatural being that stole me away." And as he tells about it he dies.

15. Tadpoles filled up his belly. He swelled. Toads filled him up and came out through his mouth, killing him. 16. Lizards filled him up, and all sorts of eels too. He split slowly as he died. 17. As they filled him, he burst open, and they spread out all over the ground around him after he was dead.

18. Water Spirit took him. After that, people used to see the two of them walking together.

Free translation by Jaime de Angulo

A Water Spirit used to watch a married man whenever he went across the stream on the stepping stones. "I wonder who she is and why she's always gathering willow wands," said the man to himself. "I had better go and see," he said, "maybe she is doing something that concerns me." Said the man to the Spirit: "What are you doing?"

"I'm just gathering these willow wands," said the Water Spirit.



"Well, I'm going to take you with me, we are going together," said the man; "I'm going to have you for my woman," he said.

And when she said "No," the man drew her toward him by the hand.

But suddenly, as he was leading her away, it was the Water Spirit drawing him, making him dive into the water. Under the water, in under the hills she takes him, to a land where strange people live, the Goblins, the One-legged Imps, and the Serpent Monsters. The Monsters growled when he came near, but the woman scolded them when they snapped at him. "You mustn't be afraid," she said; "these are my pets," and then the water snakes all began to lick his hands. The next day the Goblins took him out to hunt with them.

But that man's father was crying for him, and his mother too. They thought bears must have eaten him. After a time, when several days had passed, the Water Spirit said to him: "You may go now, you may go and visit your child. But you must not tell them about all that has happened to you, or you will die, and come back to me for always."

But when they kept asking him, and questioning him about it, he told them everything. "I must tell, even though I die for it," he said to his mother and his father. "It was a Supernatural Being who stole me away!" And as he was telling it, he died.

Frogs filled up his belly. He swelled. Toads filled him up, they came out at his mouth, they killed him. Lizards filled him up, and all sorts of water snakes. Slowly he split, dying; and when they had filled him, he burst, and they spread out over the ground after he was dead.

And the Water Spirit took him away. People used to see them afterward, used to see the two of them, walking together.

## II. The Old Woman and the Monsters

1. ?onoč·okčij wáŋšy·i?pak ?él·yš·yk kéŋ·et·i·j.
2. "?amač·iš·yj·?aŋl· hi?é·me·ti·č!" káč·yš·yk hé·jeŋhejeŋma·ko·ŋ.  
paŋy·mak puší·naj píč·ak·a·j ?ám·y?yk ?onoč·okčij hé·jeŋhejeŋma·k.
3. ?yŋ·yš·y·š, šekýjŋe?pa·k; mičýknan·iš·ši·? "?amač·iš·yj welyš·kajtič  
?yŋy·ja·š" káč·yš·y·k.
4. hý·jana· kawý·lyj ?yšý·maŋi? ?onoš·oŋ wyké·toš kóm·u·ša·.  
?onoš·o? kósla· mátwilnaš hakíspyŋ·eša·ky·ŋ. 5. ?onoš·oŋ čikí·akčij  
pínŋe·t, wykem wí·ke·t. wý·ket ?yšý·maŋi·j. hywá·tyt ?yšý·maŋi·ŋ,  
wýkty?pak čámšy·i·kat halè·m.
6. "tín·yŋ·i? hý·jak·ete?, ?yn·l·č!" káč·yš·y·š.
7. ?ís·ak·ot·iko·koŋ ŋjé·tu·koŋ kénkemej halè·m, wý?·anyk ?ičá?  
hé·jeŋhejeŋma·ko·ŋ, ?etál·any·k. lakýš·anyk lolé·?a·koŋ wičý?·aj-  
le·ko·ŋ, hé·jeŋhejeŋma·koj wý?·eko·j. 8. "?amač·iš·y·! ?amač·iš·y·!  
?amač·iš·y·! ?amač·iš·y·!" káč·yp lakšy?pa·k. ?unu?tumak wíč·ap  
lumé·lap ?onoč·o·j. 9. wíč·y?pak ló·pa·p, helékny·na·p.
10. ?yta?·yni·koŋ wáŋšyš·yš·ak·oŋ káč·yš·y·k; "?ytač·ij jónŋejti·č!"
11. šekýjŋe?·anyk ?yta?·yni·koŋ lakšy?pak lumél·yč·aš wičý?·aši·ŋ.
12. ("kojó·wupokšu?aj ?áŋ·ač·y?ŋi? ?esél·y·metiŋny· hý·jani·k!")
13. "?ytač·ij·ŋaŋl·tín·yŋ míc·e·t!" káč·y·te·k. 14. ?esél·yŋšy·  
šotókŋe?pak jól·ol·aš wičý?·aši·ŋ, "tín·yŋ míc·yš·y·ni·š?" káč·y·.
15. "kán·ij·lek tín·yŋ·iko·koŋ lešýmŋe?·any·te·k!" káč·y ?onoč·o?.
16. káč·y·ma? čámšy·.

### Literal translation

1. Old-woman(obj.) going-to-attend-a-Big-Time(subj.) they-left  
alone.

2. "Our-old-grandmother(obj.) let-us-visit!" said One-legged-Imp-they. They-bringing rats(obj.) lizards(obj.) they-come-to-make-a-gift-to old-woman(obj.) One-legged-Imp-they. 3. She-ate, being-afraid(subj.); what-could-she-do-else? "Our-old-grandmother(obj.) let-us-go-look-for-her by-means-of-deer" they-said.

4. He-has-arrived at-night Bear old-woman's at-her-fire he-has-warmed-himself. Old-woman glimpsed-him when-he-had-his-face-turned-away being-bothered-by-the-smoke. 5. Old-woman little-stick(obj.) she-picked-up-in-her-fingers, in-the-fire she-put-it. She-burned Bear. He-was-running Bear, burning he-went-to-die in-the-open.

6. "Something-monstrous happened-to-me, come!" she-said [addressing her absent relatives].

7. They-little-ones they-coming-from-sleeping one-night in-the-woods, they-went again One-legged-Imp they, they-returned. They-appeared crowd-they Goblin-they, after-One-legged-Imp-they they-had-gone.

8. "Our-old-grandmother! Old-grandmother! Old-grandmother! Old-grandmother!" they-say as-they-appear. As-soon-as-they-arrived they-plucked-her picked-clean-about-the-face-and-head old-woman(obj.)

9. As-they-plucked-her they-stripped-her, they-examined-her-all-over.

10. They-her-children they-attending-Big-Time they-said: "Our-mother(obj.) let-us-go-to-visit!" 11. They-were-afraid children-they arriving when-she-is-picked-clean-about-the-head she-having-been-plucked. 12. ("To-tell-about-yourself do-not-do-it-later when-thy-children arrive!") [the Monsters had said to the old woman,]

13. "Our-mother-I-wonder what happened-to!" they-had-been-saying.

14. Her-child-one-of-them surprised when-she-looked-red after-having-been-plucked, "What happened-to-you?" says. 15. "Me-indeed Monster-

they they-abused-me!" says old-woman.

16. Saying-it she-dies.

Free translation

1. When the people set out to go to the Big Time, they left the old woman home alone.

2. "Let's go and visit our old grandmother," said the one-legged imps, and the imps come to visit her bringing rats and lizards for a present. 3. She ate what they brought because she was afraid. What else could she do? Then they left. "Let's go out and get deer for her," they said.

4. That night, Bear came and warmed himself at the old woman's fire. The old woman caught a glimpse of him when he had his face turned away because of the smoke in his eyes. 5. The old woman picked up a little stick in her fingers and stuck it in the fire, and then threw it at Bear. She set fire to Bear and he ran away, still burning, ran outside to die in the open.

6. "Oh, terrible things are happening to me! Come home!" she cried to her far-away family.

7. And those little one-legged imps, after sleeping one night in the woods, came back to visit her again. And after the one-legged imps had gone, came a crowd of Goblins. 8. "Old grandmother, old grandmother, old grandmother, old grandmother!" they cry as they appear. Right away they start plucking her. They pick out all the hair. They pluck her clean about the face and head. 9. And as they pluck her they stripped her naked and examined her all over.

10. Meanwhile, her children, who were attending the Big Time,

said to each other, "We'd better go and see Mother." 11. When they got home and saw her all plucked clean, they were frightened. 12. (Before they went away, the monsters had said to her, "Don't tell anything about all this when your children come home.")

13. "I wonder what happened to Mother," they said. 14. And one of them, surprised at how red she looked after having all her hair plucked out, said "What happened to you?" 15. She said, "It was monsters! They abused me!"

16. And as she says it, she dies.

### III. Adventures of the Two Brothers

1. hóm·omokwilaq ʔyný·šeš·yš ʔoló·win·y·k.
2. "wý·ti· hí·šy·m! ʔymýj·im ʔýw·yʔnaʔ·l·j," káč·yš·y·š.
3. ʔyn·yʔpak nán·yš·yš há·lušu·j. "ʔaʔ·mén·apòʔ!" tá·číš káč·yš·y·š. hót·oš hák·a·jaq kí·l·iš pájpuj ʔisíkmýʔ ʔíš·ʔok máʔta há·lušu·j.  
4. "tín·yʔ néʔ·ykyt, tá·čl·ʔ?"  
"ʔíʔ·ok-lek ʔýw·yʔnaʔ hák·a·jaʔ," káč·y· wí·ky·, hėw·e múk·uj šók·et·ij ʔynʔy·k.  
5. ʔynʔy·to·k, "tín·yʔ néʔ·ykyt, tá·čl·ʔ?"  
"ʔymýj·jaʔ ʔýw·yʔnaʔ," káč·y tačíjšaʔ.  
6. "tín·yʔ néʔ, tá·čl·ʔ?" káč·y·  
"šól·o·číʔ," káč·y tá·čí·š.  
"tín·yʔ néʔ·ykyt, tá·čl·ʔ?" káč·y·  
"pátkajyʔ," káč·y tá·čí·š.  
7. "tín·yʔ néʔ·ykyt, tá·čl·ʔ?" káč·y·  
"ʔíʔ·ok-lek ʔašė·liʔ," káč·y tá·čí·š.  
"tín·yʔ néʔ·ykyt, tá·čl·ʔ?" káč·y·  
"ʔíʔ·ok-lek húq·uʔ," káč·y tá·čí·š.  
8. "tín·yʔ ʔíʔ·ok-lek néʔ·ykytʔ?"  
"ʔíʔ·ok-lek jýn·aʔlʔ wák·a·lłʔ," káč·y tačíjšaʔ.  
9. "kačýʔ·it tín·yj nán·eʔ·l·iʔ. šýj·yč·oʔ-no·k, ká·le·màʔ!"  
káč·y, wák·a·lłj ká·lyʔpa·k.  
10. "tín·yʔ néʔ·ykyt, tá·čl·ʔ?" káč·y·  
"ʔíʔ·ok-lek há·ma·waʔ kás·yʔlʔ," tačíjšaʔ káč·y·  
11. šýjʔeniʔ-nok-lėk kí·k·ym tín·yj šíl·e·ni·j!" (ʔó·siq síl·eš ʔól·olut ʔučü·, kuš·ilyʔ šíl·e·š.) "šýj·yč·òʔ, ʔakú·pe·màʔ!"

ʔaký·lyʔpak tačfjśaj kač·y·. ʔakú·pa·š, hutélŋe ʔó·siʔ, hutélŋe,  
nakéʔ·it hutélŋe·.

12. "tá·čl·, tŋn·yʔ néʔ·ykyt, lól·uč·u·?" kač·y·.

"ʔʔ·ok-lek ʔŋw·yʔlʔ ʔŋšý·maʔiʔ," kač·y tá·či·š.

13. "tá·čl·, m̀anaʔ ʔóš·aʔ néʔ·ykyt?" kač·y·.

"tŋn·yʔ·lʔ. ʔáŋ·aʔ tólak·yʔa·j! páʔ·ytiʔ kí·k·y·m, huš·e·piʔ,"  
kač·y tačfjśaʔ.

14. "wél·i·m̀aʔ! ló·te·m̀aʔ! lý·k·y·m!" kač·y tačfjśa·j.

"ʔoša·j·m̀:" kač·y·.

"tŋn·yʔ·lʔ! ʔáŋ·aʔ tólak·yʔa·j! wykšyti·, má·nyti·," kač·y  
tačfjśaʔ.

15. "tŋn·yʔ·lʔ-ʔ̀aʔ? ʔoma·j̀yʔ! kál·ek ʔoša·j·m̀, míʔ-lek  
šekýjnenlʔ!" hysý·ta·, hysý·taš hysý·ta· ʔóš·aʔ, wakál·al·en·uk·una·.<sup>3</sup>  
"tá·čl·! tá·čl·!" kač·a· páʔ·ytaš kí·k·y·m, pól·ukmuʔ lepŋn·uk·à·š.  
lepŋn·uk·uk·eŋ kí·k·y·m, paʔý·ta· lemè·m.

16. "mičýknan·aʔ̀c̀aʔ čalénʔi·jʔ" kač·y tačfjśaʔ. "ʔupí·kantý·!"  
kač·y šatán·aŋ·a·j. šatán·aŋ·aʔ ʔúp·lʔpak húl·uka·, ʔetá·la·  
lá·mam·ýʔ.

17. "míʔ-ʔaʔl· jōš·lʔ!" kač·a· pá·pa·li·j húl·uka·. (táptup  
ʔúp·it·a·n.)

"míʔ-ʔaʔl· jōš·lʔ!" kač·a· ʔól·oʔša·ji·j. húl·uka· ʔól·oʔša·jiʔ.

18. "míʔ-ʔaʔl· jōš·lʔ!" kač·a· ʔáp·anʔa·j. "míʔ-ʔaʔl· jōš·lʔ!"  
kač·a· mysýn·yn·a·j.

wý·ša· mysýn·yn·aʔ. há·j·e·toš hý·jana· týl·aš kawí·naš huš·e·pl̄·ŋ.  
ʔún·ičikčlʔ kýč·yčyʔ ʔiwěšpana· mysýn·yn·a·j. wél·a·, wél·a·  
miný·ta·j, wý·ša· lí·leʔ. 19. wé·kemys ʔimí·šyŋ ʔálkaš ʔýʔ·yʔ·lʔ  
ʔŋšý·maʔi·ŋ. tá·či·toš ʔimí·šyt mysýn·yn·aŋ hyján·uk·aš kýč·yčy·j,



řalkat lú?ki. nočá·ja·kyn paťy·tet kyč·yčyj řún·ičikčij řalka·t.

20. řyn?y·toš tá·člřšy. nočá·ja·ky·ŋ. lokóť·oť·ut řalka·m.

"tín·y?·řa? lokóť·oť·u?" káč·yt tačlřša·ŋ. wé·kemy·toš, lokóť·oť·u·t.

"tín·y?·řa? lokóť·oť·u?" káč·yš·yš řók·u?pa·k.

21. "tá·čl, řýj·enà·k! tá·čl, řýj·enà·k!" káč·y řálnl?pak řalkam·y?

"řýj·enà·š! wél·any·ni·š tín·yť·l·ŋ!" káč·y tá·čl·š.

"wý·ti. řw·in, tá·čl, kučlím·y?" káč·y.

22. "tá·čl, tín·y? né?·ykyt?" káč·y.

"řf?ok-lek řw·y?na?, pičé·ma?, hí·šyto·kon řw·y?na·k," káč·y tá·čl·š. "řf?ok-lek waŋl?, řw·y?nak hí·šyto·ko·ŋ."

23. "tá·čl, tín·y? né?·ykyt?"

"tín·yť·l?, řán·a? lóť·a·j, wykýt·l·m!" káč·y tá·čl·š, "řýlkiw·a? řywý·ja? lynát·a?!"

24. "kál·ek wé·lyj·l·t, řywý?·l·t!" wé·ly, lóť·a. paťy·ta·š, nój·nymlš náknuk·a·š, wýkta·wál·l?. péť·a·š, řetá·la·wykè?

25. "tín·y? né?·ykyt, tá·čl·?" káč·y.

"řf?ok-lek hí·li·ča?, " káč·y tačlřša?, "hý·janaktl·kočáť·l·t," káč·y čaléjša·j.

26. "tá·čl, tín·y? né?·ykyt lé·lisa·jit řučù·?"

"řán·ač·y?jl? tó·lak·y?a·j, wykýřpa?a·j!" káč·y tačlřša?.

řf?ok-lek řw·y?nať·l? řoťl·me·ŋ! řán·ač·y?jl? wykýřpa?ate·j!" káč·y. řý·ča·pijá·taš čaléjša·j. "kan wýkšy·m," káč·y.

petú·pu?pak má?tana·kúč·u·j. má?taš waká·ly?·nymlš řyn·a·křč·awy?

27. řf?ok-jo·čalèš řók·upo·ša·šyčá·nyš tá·člřšy. múřpana<sup>4</sup> pájpu·j.

28. "čáleť·řà·mújřena·?" tačlřša? káč·y. héřřena·čaléjša?

ʔòma. lúʔ.a. kuč·uj tá·či·š, sým·ityj wél·a., póškoj ʔó·j·is·aj  
ʔéjša. paʔý·ty ʔí·j·ʔok sým·ity·j, nočá·jak ʔýn·y waká·lyʔeki·j.  
čaléjšaj kušŋe.

29. "čalénʔij-ʔà· mín·it·oʔ naný·i·t?" kač·y.

ʔí·ʔok kuč·uŋ kíč·awýš·yš wakálmutopušnuʔ·anu·š. menó·ket tá·čiŋšy·  
waká·lyʔeki·j, wélšyʔpak čaléjšaj nočá·ja·ky·ŋ. nán·yš·yš mín·ito·kot  
ʔoló·win naké·toš waká·ly·ŋ.

30. "ʔuk-ʔuk-ʔuk-ʔuk!" kač·yt kýč·yčyŋšy·. (jýw·yt ʔíw·ymšy·t),  
naný·tupokšuʔpak tačfjšaj kač·y·t. ʔéw·ytyt·iŋ ʔóč·ukuʔwaŋ  
kýč·yčyʔekiŋ čawél·yč·y·t. 31. ʔí·ʔok·jo· nán·yʔpak wákta čaléjšaj  
sým·ity·š. "tín·yʔ-ʔaʔ kán·ij míč·y·t?" kač·y kýč·yčyʔekiʔ,  
pyšá·kupokšu wáktaš tá·čiŋšy·. ʔí·ʔok wákta ʔičaʔ tá·či·š.

32. "tín·yʔ-ʔaʔ kán·ij míč·y·t?" kač·y. lótwapokšu tá·čiŋšy·  
wáktaš hájʔemši·j. ʔí·ʔok jo· míw·ypušnu tačfjšaj wáktaš. wák·ana·  
šók·et·ij, ló·tuʔpak, sým·ity·š.

33. "pát, tá·čl·, kál·ek ʔý·j·enà·k!" kač·y híʔ·aʔpa·k, tá·čiŋšy·  
wák·a·š "tá·čl·, čélke·mà·ʔ!"

34. "kočáʔ·ij máŋtu·m, ʔelú·tu·m," kač·y. ʔòma ʔetálnuk·u  
ʔím·uʔok čaléjša·j. hyján·uk·aš kòča·m; "ʔíw·in míč·yʔwa·ji·t!"  
kač·y tačfjšaj. hí·jaʔ·anyk ʔís·akmyʔ máʔtaʔa·to·š, tín·yj  
micý·šeʔwa·ŋ. ʔúč·uš·uk hèný·j. tá·čiŋšy· mýl·iʔpuʔ·uʔ·anyš,  
mýl·iš·yš wýnšeš·yk šók·et·ij.

35. "tá·čl·, tín·yj·čaʔ míč·e·ti·?" kač·y tačfjšaj mýl·iʔpuʔ·a·š.

"púj·aniʔkè,<sup>5</sup> ʔókat ʔúč·ùʔ! wélšyj·it ʔičaʔ," kač·y tačfjšaj.  
wélšyj·iʔ·anyš máʔtaʔa·š. čalém·aʔyʔ nán·y ʔokašpuʔej tačfjšaj  
máʔtaʔap·uteš, tačfjšaj wýʔ·e·j. 36. čaléjšaʔ wely·šaʔ, nán·y  
ʔúj·anakči·j. ʔúj·anakčij lešýmŋe nán·yʔpa·k. lešýmŋe tín·yʔ·i·j.

pájpu·šuš hýlja šáwtalmy?. ʔonó·mu hyláj·e·ŋ, jó·šu ʔičáʔ hýlja·.

37. "pu-pu-pu-pu! ʔéj·utěʔ-lek né·šyš·ýʔ," kač·y·. šípí·tyʔpak wá·niʔ paťý·ta· wyjě·m. hyján·uk·aš ʔúj·anaŋ wá·niʔ wyjěm kasýt·anyk tǫn·yť·i·koŋ ʔýw·yʔi·meti·ŋ.

38. "manáj-čaʔ jėj·an·àʔʔ" kač·y tačǫjsaʔ jónŋeʔpa·k. "tǫn·yť·iŋ-ʔiš čalénťij wél·any·š!" kač·y. paťýt·anyš tól·ok·oj tá·čǫšy·. ʔú·ket hú·ťijaj tó·ponuj paťý·ma·ŋ.

39. ʔehél·el·yʔ·anyk tǫn·yť·i·koŋ wá·niʔ, tól·ok·oj ʔyšájŋeʔpa·k. paʔým·anyš tól·ok·oŋ lykŷč·at hú·ťija·j. paʔým·anyš wá·niʔnyk. katŷč·yč·ak hawí·jak·aj šó·pana· wŷkem hú·ťija·j. čamŷ·eko·j, lutěš·anyš tól·ok·o·ŋ.

40. "wýl·e·ʔ! šýjŋej·à·n!" kač·yš·yš tá·čǫš·.

póʔ·alyʔ·anyš tačǫjsaŋ wélšyʔpa·k. ʔŷš·a· nán·yš·yš jušékčǫŋ ʔúčaš kýt·y·to·š, kýt·y·toš tǫn·yť·iŋ šáč·amsa·š. jušékčǫj wél·anyš kén·ekčǫ·j. ʔòkat ʔáلكat topón·any·š, paťýt·anyš kočá·tok topón·e·ŋ.

41. ʔíʔ·ok ʔoká·šy·nyʔ·any·š, líw·aš·yš ʔáلكam·ýʔ. "pát! ʔýj·ena·k, tá·čǫš!" kač·yš·yš ʔičáʔ hý·jaʔpak, jušékčǫš·y·ŋ.

#### Literal translation

1. By-Redheaded-Woodpecker it-was-come-by-him from-west.

2. "Let-us-two-go east! We-go-to-eat that-eaten-habitually-by-us," he-said.

3. Coming he-perceived antelope. "Try-thou-thyself!" his-elder-brother he-said-to. His-blunt-arrow-point of-elk its-antler at-arrow on-end with-it he-kills antelope.

4. "What is-this, elder-brother?"

"It-indeed is-habitually-eaten elk," he-says. He-gets-him,

he-dries-meat along-trail along-all along-their-way.

5. On-their-way, "What is-this, elder-brother?"

"Is-deer is-habitually-eaten," says his-elder-brother.

6. "What is-this, elder-brother?" he-says.

"Is-rabbit," says his-elder-brother.

"What is-this, elder-brother?" he-says.

"Is-coon," says his-elder-brother.

7. "What is-this, elder-brother?" he-says.

"It-indeed is-coyote," says his-elder-brother.

"What is-this, elder-brother?" he-says.

"It-indeed is-wolf," says his-elder-brother.

8. "What it-indeed is-this?"

"It-indeed is-habitual-killer is-rattlesnake," says his-elder-brother.

9. I-shall-do something when-we-perceive-it. Just-watch-thou, let-me-stamp-on-it!" he-says, rattlesnake as-he-stamps-on-it.

10. "What is-this, elder-brother?" he-says.

"It-indeed is-Serpent is-habitual-biter," his-elder-brother says.

11. Only-look-thou-at-indeed in-water something having-trap!"

(Of-Sky-Monster his-trap in-spring it-stays, is-rope his-trap.)

"Watch-thou, let-me-shoot-up-at-him!" looking-up his-elder-brother he-says-to. As-he-shoots-up-at-him, rolls Sky-Monster, rolls, to-horizon he-rolls.

12. "Elder-brother, what this, stands-in-a-group?" he-says.

"It-indeed is-habitual-eater is-bear," says his-elder-brother.

13. "Elder-brother, who-is woman this?" he-says.

"Is-Supernatural-Being. Do-not-thou bother-her! Habitually-

takes-away into-water, is-water-spirit," says his-elder-brother.

14. "Let-me-take-her! Let-me-catch-her! I-love-her!" he-says-to his-elder-brother. "I-marry-her!" he-says.

"Is-Supernatural-Being! Do-not-thou bother-her! We-two-go-on, we-two-pass-her-by," says his-elder-brother.

15. "Supernatural-Being? she-is-forever! I-indeed I-marry-her, thou-indeed fear-thou!" He-has-pulled-her-by-the-hand, as-he-pulls-her has-pulled woman(subj.), has-caused-him-to-cry-out. "Brother! Brother!" he-has-said as-she-keeps-taking-him-away into-water, into-lake as-she-causes-him-to-sink. She-after-having-caused-him-to-sink into-water, has-taken-him into-hills.

16. "What-let-me-do-about my-younger-brother?" says his-elder-brother. "Dive-thou-for-me!" he-says-to Water-Beetle. Beetle as-he-dives has-failed-to-reach, has-returned from-halfway-point.

17. "Thou-indeed proceed-thou-to-do-it!" he-has-said-to Water-Skater he-has-failed-to-reach. (They-float when-trying-to-dive.)

"Thou-indeed proceed-thou-to-do-it!" he-has-said-to Frog. Has-failed-to-reach Frog(subj.).

18. "Thou-indeed proceed-thou-to-do-it!" he-has-said-to Salamander. "Thou-indeed proceed-thou-to-do-it!" he-has-said-to Whirligig.

Has-gone Whirligig. In-her-vicinity he-has-arrived as-she-is-mashing-bones as-she-is-in-the-midst-of-doing-it Water-Spirit. Little bone flew-out-at Whirligig. He-has-taken-it, has-taken-it at-once, he-has-gone up. 19. Is-brought-along-by-him by-Black-Phoebe [the elder brother] its-hide(subj.) big-one(subj.) of-bear. To-his-elder-brother to-Black-Phoebe when-Whirligig brings bone, into-hide he-drops-it. Crying-along he-took bone little in-hide.

20. On-his-way his-elder-brother was-crying-along. It-rattled inside-sack. "What-ever rattles?" was-saying his-elder-brother. Inside-that-brought-along-by-him, it-rattled. "What-ever rattles?" he-said as-he-untied-it.

21. "Elder-brother, I-fell-asleep! Elder-brother, I-fell-asleep!" he-says waking-up from-the-hide.

"Thou-didst-fall-asleep! She-took-thee-away Supernatural-Being!" says his-elder-brother.

"Let-us-two-go-on now, elder-brother, [behaving]-properly." he-says.

22. "Elder-brother, what-is this?" he-says.

"It-indeed is-habitually-eaten, is-meat, easterner-them-by is-habitually-eaten-by-them," says his-elder-brother. "It-indeed is-mountain-sheep, is-habitually-eaten-by-them easterner-by-them."

23. "Elder-brother, what-is this?"

"Is-Supernatural-Being, do-not-thou catch-it, [else]-we-will-burn!" says his-elder-brother, "Is-Blazing-One Deer Striped-One!"

24. "I-indeed I-am-going-to-get-it, I-shall-eat-it!" He-takes-it, he-has-caught-it. When-he-carries-it-away, along-over-there-as-it-were when-he-reaches-with-it, has-caught-on-fire world. When-he-drops-it, has-retreated fire.

25. "What-is this, elder-brother?" he-says.

"It-indeed is-mountain-lion," says his-elder-brother, "We-two-have-arrived at-our-home," he-says-to his-younger-brother.

26. "Elder-brother, what this against-future-daybreak stays?"

"Do-not-thou-later bother-it, [or]-go-up-to-it!" says his-elder-brother. "It-indeed is-what-is-eaten-by-us by-thee-and-me! Do-not-

thou-later go-after-me!" he-says. He-has-tied with-rope his-younger-brother. "I I-set-out," he-says. Sneaking-up-on-him he-has-shot-dead Monster. As-he-shot flood-as-it-were has-come blood.

27. He-then his-younger-brother has-untied-from-himself that-tied-by-him by-his-elder-brother. He-has-swum-after arrow.

28. "My-brother? has-drowned?" his-elder-brother says. He-has-been-floated-away his-younger-brother forever. Has-skinned Monster his-elder-brother(subj.), fat he-has-taken, ball four he-has-made. He-takes the fat, crying he-comes along-flood-only. His-younger-brother he-grieves-for.

29. "My-younger-brother? in-what-place shall-I-find?" he-says.

It of-Monster his-erstwhile-blood became-river. Continued his-elder-brother along-flood-only, seeking his-younger-brother crying-along. He-discovered-him in-[land-of]-dweller-in-unknown-country-them in-west at-its-end of-flood.

30. "Tuk tuk tuk tuk!" was-saying his-skeleton. (On-willow it-was-hanging), making-itself-known-to its-elder-brother it-was-saying. Naked fleshless bone-only it-was-like-dry-brush. 31. He-then perceiving-it throws-at his-younger-brother by-means-of-fat. "What-indeed me is-happening-to-me?" says skeleton, it-rubs-itself as-throws-[fat] his-elder-brother. He throws again his-elder-brother.

32. "What-indeed me is-happening-to-me?" it-says. It-grabs-itself-all-over as-its-elder-brother throws so-frequently. It then becomes-person as-his-elder-brother throws. He-has-smearred-him all-over, taking-hold-of-him, with-fat.

33. "Pat! Elder-brother, I-indeed I-fell-asleep!" he-says coming-to-life, as-his-elder-brother smears-him, "Elder-brother, let-me-stop!"

34. "Our-home we-have-passed, we-have-left-it-behind," he-says. Forever he-makes-return from-there his-younger-brother. He-brings-him home: "Now I-shall-not-do-anything!" he-says-to his-elder-brother. They-arrived at-it-[the place] in-which-it-was-shot-by-him, anything he-not-having-done. They-stayed merely. His-elder-brother continuously-sang, he-sang-about [places]-visited-by-them all-[places].

35. "Elder-brother, what-next let-us-do?" he-says-to his-elder-brother as-he-sings-along.

"Stir-thou-not, right-here stay-thou! I-am-going-to-seek-it again," says his-elder-brother. He-went-to-seek that-shot-by-him. The-younger-one perceives same-kind by-his-elder-brother same-as-that-shot-by-him, his-elder-brother after-having-gone. 36. His-younger-brother seeking, finds little-old-man. Little-old-man he-teases when-he-finds-him. He-teases Supernatural-Being. With-his-arrow he-pokes-him in-testicles. He-hides after-having-poked-him, he-proceeds again he-pokes-him.

37. "Pu pu pu pu! Is-joker-indeed this-fellow," says [the old man]. Dragging-him inside he-has-taken-him into-burrow. As-brings-him Old-Man inside in-burrow they-bit-him Monster-they habitual-eaters.

38. "Whom let-me-call?" says his-elder-brother missing-him. "Monster! my-younger-brother(obj.) took-away!" he-says. He-took lizard his-elder-brother(subj.). [Lizard]-entered tobacco wrapped-in-bundle bringing.

39. They-were-growling-around Monster-they inside, Lizard(obj.) detesting. He-smoked Lizard(subj.) in-stone-pipe tobacco. He-smoked from-inside. As-they-gnash-their-teeth all-around he-has-dumped in-fire tobacco. Them-having-died, went-out Lizard.



40. "Go-on! go-to-see!" he-said-to his-elder-brother.

He-slit-many-open his-elder-brother seeking-him. Finally he-found when-a-little-hair was-staying on-its-teeth, on-its-teeth of-Monster when-it-remained-caught. Little-hair he-took one-little-one. Right-there in-hide he-wrapped-it, he-took-it to-their-house after-having-wrapped-it. 41. He did-the same-thing, he-spoke from-hide. "Pat! I-fell-asleep, elder-brother!" he-said again when-he-arrived, erstwhile-little-hair.

Free translation by L. S. Freeland

1. Red-headed Woodpecker came up to this country from the west.

2. "Let's both go east," he said to his elder brother. "We'll go find our meat, the kind we always eat."

3. As they came along, the younger one saw Antelope. "Try that one," he said to his elder brother. Black Phoebe's arrow had a blunt arrow point of elkhorn, and with this he kills the antelope.

4. "What is this coming along, Elder Brother?"

"That's Elk. We always eat elk," he said. He gets the elk, and they dry the meat all along the trail on their way.

5. "And what's this, Elder Brother?" says the young one as they go along.

"It's Deer, and that is good food," says his elder brother.

6. "And what's this, brother?" he said.

"That's Rabbit," said Black Phoebe.

"And what's this, brother?"

"That's Raccoon," says the elder one.

7. "And what's this, brother?" he says.

"That's Coyote," says his elder brother.

"And what is this, Elder Brother?"

"Why, that's Wolf," says the elder one.

8. "And what's this?"

"What we have here is Rattlesnake, and it kills people."

9. "I'll get something to tease him when we get to him. Just watch, let me step on him," he says as he stamps on the rattlesnake.

10. "And what's this, Elder Brother?" he says.

"That is Serpent. He bites."

11. "Oh, just look in the water there! There's something with a trap." (The sky monster Osi has his trap set in the spring. It's made of rope.) "Watch! I'll shoot up at him!" And as he shoots up at the Osi, the monster starts rolling. He rolls all the way to the horizon.

12. "Elder Brother, who are all these standing in a group?"

"They're the ones that always eat. They're Bears," says Black Phoebe.

13. "Elder Brother, who is this woman?"

"She's a supernatural being. Don't bother her. She steals people away into the water. She's Water Spirit," says his elder brother.

14. "Let me take her! Let me get hold of her! I'm in love with her," he says to his elder brother. "I'm going to marry her," he says.

"She's a supernatural being. Don't trouble her. We're going right on, we're going to pass her right by," says his elder brother.

15. "Well, what if she is a supernatural being? You can be

scared if you want to, but I'm going to marry her." He grasps her hand and pulls her, and as he pulls she pulls the other way, making him call out, "Brother! Brother!" as she keeps dragging him off into the water, making him sink into the lake. And after getting him into the water, she takes him away under the hills.

16. "Oh, what can I do about my younger brother?" says the elder one, and he says to Water Beetle, "You dive for me." The beetle dives, but he doesn't reach them, came back from half way.

17. "You try it," said Woodpecker to Water Skater, but the Water Skaters failed to reach them. When they try to dive, they float.

Then Black Phoebe asked Frog to go, and when Frog failed he asked Salamander and then he asked Whirligig.

18. So Whirligig tried it, and got to the Water Spirit just as she was in the midst of mashing up bones. And a little piece of bone flew out at Whirligig. He caught it, and took it at once, going back up to the elder brother.

19. Black Phoebe, the elder brother, had brought along a big bear hide, and when Whirligig came back with the bit of bone

(unfinished)

Free translation by Jaime de Angulo

It happened the time Redheaded Woodpecker came up from the west.

"Let's go east," he said to Timici the Black Phoebe--that's his elder brother--"We'll go find the sort of food we like to eat." As they were going along, he caught sight of an antelope.

"Let's see you try your strength on that!" said Woodpecker. The elder brother had only a blunt point of elk-horn on his arrow,

the kind they use for shooting birds. But he killed the antelope with it.

"What's this over here, Brother?" says Woodpecker.

"That's good to eat, that's elk,"--and he gets him too. He cuts the meat in strips and hangs it out to dry along the trail all along their way.

"And what's this, Brother?" the young one asks again as they go on their way.

"It's deer, it's good to eat," says the elder.

"What's this one, Brother?"

"It's rabbit."

"What's this one here?"

"It's coon."

"What's this one, Brother?"

"That, why that's coyote!"

"What's this, Brother?"

"That's wolf!"

"And this one here?"

"That's one that kills people, it's rattlesnake."

"Well, I'm going to do something to it when we find where it is. Just watch me jump on it!" says the little one--and he jumps on the rattler!

"What's this, Brother?" he asks again.

"That one's Serpent, and he bites!" says his brother.

"Oh look at this over here! Something's got a trap in the water!" (Osi, the Sky Monster, keeps a trap down in the spring. It's made of bark string, his trap.) "Just you watch, I'm going to take

a shot at him!" the youngster says, looking up in the sky. He shoots up, and the Osi starts to roll, he rolls and rolls till he hits the horizon.

"Brother, what are these over here, standing in a bunch?"

"Those are bears, they're eaters!"

"Brother, there's a woman over there! Who is she?"

"She's not a woman, she's a Spirit. And don't you bother her, she carries people off into the water, she's Water Spirit," says his elder brother.

"Well, I'm going to catch her and take her along," says the youngster, "I'm in love with her and I'm going to marry her!"

"She's a Spirit, I tell you! Don't bother her! We're going to pass right by her and go on."

"What if she is a Spirit! You can be afraid of her if you want to, but I'm going to marry her!" And he takes her by the hand and pulls her toward him, but while he pulls her she pulls too. She is dragging him away! "Brother! Brother!" he cries, as she carries him off into the lake and plunges him under the water. And when she has him under the water, she takes him back under the hills.

"What am I going to do about my little brother!" says Timici to himself. He calls Water Beetle. "You dive down for me," he says, and Beetle tries it, but he can't reach him. He turns back when he gets half-way.

"You go ahead and try," he asks the Water Skaters, but they can't go far enough either. They all float when they try to dive.

"Now you try," he says to Frog, but Frog can't get far enough.

"You try," he says to Salamander, and "You try it," he says to Whirligig.

So Whirligig goes down, and he comes upon the Water Spirit just as she is in the midst of mashing the bones of the little Woodpecker. A little sliver of bone flies out at Whirligig. Now he's caught it, and up he goes! Timici has brought along a big bear-hide, and when Whirligig brings him the bit of bone, he drops it in the hide. And he goes on, crying, carrying the little bone in the bear-hide.

And so he went on his way, the elder brother, crying. Suddenly, there was a rattling in the hide. "I wonder what's rattling?" he said. Inside his bundle something rattled and rattled. "I wonder what it is, rattling?" and he untied it.

"Why Brother, I must have been asleep!" says the youngster waking up inside the sack. "Asleep! It was a Spirit, carried you off!"

"Well, let's go on now, Brother, and we'll behave better after this."

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"Brother, what is this?"

"That's good to eat, it's meat, it's what the easterners eat. It's mountain sheep, the easterners eat it."

"Brother, what's this?"

"It's a monster, don't catch hold of it, or we'll burn up. That's the Blazing Striped Deer!"

"Well, I'm going to catch it, and try eating it!" and he catches hold of it. And when he takes it and gets as far as about over there with it, the earth catches on fire. When he lets go, the fire disappears.

"What's this, Brother?"

"That's mountain lion, but look, here we are at home again."

"Brother, what's that, standing over there against the sunrise?"

"Let it alone! Don't go up to it! That's the food for you and me. I'm going to get it, but don't you follow me." He ties his little brother with a rope. "Good-bye," he says. He goes and sneaks up on the Kutcu Monster, and shoots him dead. The minute he shoots him, the blood comes flowing like a flood! And what does the little brother do but twist himself loose from the rope and swim out after the arrow!

"Has he drowned, that little brother of mine?" He has been swept out by the flood, far away. The elder brother skins the Monster and takes the fat and makes four balls of it. He takes them with him and he sets out, crying, following along the edge of the flood. He's mourning for his little brother.

"Where will I ever find my brother?" he says.

The blood of the dead Monster was turning into a river. The elder brother went on, following the stream, looking for the little brother and crying as he went. Away off in the west in an unknown land at the end of the stream he found him.

"Tuk tuk tuk tuk!" his skeleton was saying. There it was, hanging, caught in the willows. "Tuk tuk tuk tuk! it was saying, trying to attract its elder brother's attention. Naked and fleshless, nothing but bone, there he was like a pile of dry brush.

Timici takes the fat that he had brought along and starts right in to throw it at his little brother. "I wonder what is happening to me?" says the skeleton, beginning to rub himself as his elder

brother slings the fat against his bones. And the elder brother slings more fat at him.

"I wonder what can be happening to me?" And he grabs himself all over as the elder brother slings more and more fat. He is turning back into a person again. The elder brother stops slinging the fat. He is holding him in his hands now and smearing it on.

"Brother! I must have been asleep!" he says, coming to life as his brother smears him. "Brother, I'll stop all this, I won't do anything more!"

"We're a long way from home," says Timici. "We've come a long way." And he leads his little brother away. They leave that land forever. "I'm not going to do anything any more," says the little brother when they reach their own country. And they get as far as the place where the Kutcu was shot without his doing anything. And for a while they just stayed there, doing nothing. The elder brother sang all the while, sang about all the places where they had been.

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"Brother, what'll we do next?" says the little one, as his brother is singing along.

"Don't you stir! You stay right here! I'm going out to get my meat again," says his elder brother, and he goes out to get the game he has just shot. When he's gone, the little brother sees another, the same kind his brother shot, and he goes after it. And as he's looking for it, he comes on a little old man. He starts to tease the little old man. It's a Supernatural Being he's teasing! With his arrow, he pokes him in the testicles, and



then he hides. Then he looks out and pokes him again.

"Pu pu pu pu! This fellow seems to be a practical joker!" says the Old Man, and he drags him away and takes him down into his hole, and down there, there were dreadful Things that snapped at him. They were the kind that eat people.

"It looks as though a Monster has carried off my brother," says Timici when he finds him gone. "I wonder who to call on this time!" He takes Lizard with him, and he sends him into the hole. Lizard takes in some tobacco with him, tied up in a bundle. Inside, the Dreadful Things are growling. Lizard smokes tobacco in his stone pipe, filling the hole with smoke, and then while they gnash their teeth all around him, he dumps the tobacco in the fire. After they are all dead he goes out.

"You can go in now," he says to the elder brother. "Go and see if he's in there."

One after another, Timici slits open the Dreadful Things, looking for his little brother. At last he finds a little hair caught in the teeth of one of them. He takes it, one single little hair, and wraps it up, and he takes the bundle home.

And then the little brother does the same thing he did before, he speaks up inside the hide: "Ho! I must have gone to sleep again, Big Brother!" he says, when they get home, he who had just been nothing but a little hair!

#### IV. Evening Star in the Land of the Deer People

1. ʔáp·anʔaŋ tót·ojet ʔywy·jaj ló·tut·an tylá·ja·to·š.

2. "maní·ša·! ʔywy·jaj šekýj·aj tót·ojak tulá·ja·to·ť.

"nyŋ·aš-ʔá·?" kač·y maní·ša·š. 3. ʔyš·a·-jo wekú·tuŋ<sup>6</sup> šól·ukuš  
tulá·ja·tok sokút·any·š. ʔywy·jaŋ háť·eŋšy· ʔéw·yte·t. 4. šáj·e-  
pat·i·t, šók·et·ij wál·ij wélšyj·i·ka·t háť·e·j. mŋn·ito·kot hój·a·muŋ  
háť·ej nán·yš·yš ʔýť·yť·i·j. 5. háť·eʔekiš wý·anyš sok·oʔpak  
ʔím·uʔ-ʔok. ʔyš·a· nakáp·anyš ʔywy·jať·iť·ij nán·e·t.

6. hó·numes wí·ka· háť·e·to·š. ká·waj·iš ká·waj·iš ká·waj·iš  
ká·waj·iš-- 7. "ťél·yč·oč·nòk tá·čič·i·j. hojèʔ ʔónpu, ťél·yč·oč-  
nòk·i!" ká·waj·iš kač·y·p. 8. (čalèš čikíšmuʔ, čalé·metiš  
tují·pip·iʔ). 9. "ťél·yč·oč·nòk tá·čič·i·j:" kač·y·p. "ʔunún·uk·u·  
hojèʔ néj-ʔok, helá·me·tl·č·i:"

10. hý·jap hawfj·ak·aj pól·ajy·j. ʔyn·y šýj·ič·ak ʔywy·jať·iť·iʔ.

11. néj·jo ná·kaš tyjáŋpap šók·et·ik jočí·ťyp kí·i·š. šíʔó·wup  
kík·y·m, wípsi šíʔó·wa·k. 12. čikíšmuʔ kí·im jótmu·, tují·pip·i·metiʔ  
kí·im jótmu·. ťún·ičít·ikopušnu·! 13. wýkšy ʔywy·jaʔ wipís·e·ŋ.  
jótmap tují·peti·naš·yʔ čikíšmuš·uʔ kí·i·to·š.

14. hačŋena· té·teš netý·wak, koléʔjaʔ hačŋena· notý·wak, háť·eš  
ʔywy·jaŋ ká·witoŋší·tok šátpa·.

15. "ʔuťù·č: jojén·ik nóť·oť·i:" kač·y týša·n. 16. (sým·ityʔ  
ʔywy·jaŋ·yʔ šokúk·ašiš taná·jaŋ nóť·o·š.) nomóť·u·č, "ʔyn·l·iʔ:"  
kač·y·p, "míč·yʔwa·jinl·m."

17. kaťí·lupokšuk·e·ŋ, ʔyn·a· ká·wito·j, ká·witoj·jo·. ná·kaš  
ló·tap taná·ja·j.

18. "ʔypý·! háť·taniʔ kúš·ily·j:" kač·y·p. šýč·ekoŋ paťý·tap  
lfl·em·yʔ.

19. tá·čičš řán·uka· wélsýřpak. šók·et·ij wál·ij wý·na· wýnšš·y·š.
20. tywé·jyp túj·uš šók·et·i·š. řyšý·šy·.
21. "haká·jyj húlwm, řypýřmok řýw·y·mà?" kač·y·. (řúř·anař·iř pačá·kyřek1ř řypý·k.)
22. "řypý·! řýwyn né·ykyt, hakářne·," kač·yp řypýř·yni·k.
23. "wí·ka·nič kót·oř né·t," řís·ak kač·y taná·jař. "hús·e·sým·ityn řó·nim ná·kèř?" kéř·eš pářpuš řám·yřp, kéř·eš pářpuš mářta řúř·ana·j.
24. "řuřù·č, wé·lyř·àř!" kač·y·.
- "řéw·ytyř, wélkař·ini·k," kač·yřp, "luřú·kan·išnł·k, kičáwpař·in·łř," kač·yřp.
25. "hyřáč·it·on·řàř kan lúř·u·m," kač·y·. lúř·uřpak soku·ka·, nóř·oš řéřša·, řýw·y·ša·.

\* \* \*

26. tá·čičš wélsý řín·ito·ko·t. ná·ky šók·et·i·j, nakéř·ij wélsý·. wýnřymaj tá·čičš kuš·ilyř líwta·. "né·šýřřiš wél·anyš čaléřti·j!" kač·y líw·iš kuš·ilyř. wýřšy kuš·ilyt řít·ořk líř·em·yř čaléřřař nán·yj·iř. mýř·iřřpak čél·ukwař, kawý·lyt mýř·i·.
27. "řýř·łř, tá·čič! řín·yř·i·koř wél·any·te·k!" kač·y tačřřša·j, hý·jaš líř·em·yř.
- "řín·iř šól·uku·nř?" kač·y tačřřšař.
28. "ká·win ném·al řučü·," kač·y tačřřša·j. (tačřřšař·lek řý·ječýš řót·ina hý·jařřak.)
29. "hý·janiř řawís·a·to·ř!" kač·y čaléřřša·j. řořř·kok hý·jap řawís·a·to·š. wál·im wýřšyřp.
30. wořlu· jýř·aj·iř kočá·to·š. hý·jana· kočá·to·š, řún·uřřumař nekú·ta· jým·i·j. kéřřpumsa·š, wojú·ta· hú·pa řáp·anřaj manřřša·š.

## Literal translation

1. Salamander repeatedly-missed deer trying-to-catch-it at-his-hunting-place.

2. "Son-in-law! Deer Powerful repeatedly-I-have-missed at-my-hunting-place.

"Dost-thou-speak-the-truth?" says his-son-in-law. 3. Later-then coming-from-unhanging his-bow-and-arrows at-their-hunting-place he-sought-tracks. Of-deer its-track was-lacking. 4. He-went-wild, over-all over-world he-went-to-see tracks. At-[place-of]-them-dwellers-in-unknown-[land] old tracks he-found big-one. 5. By-means-of-tracks-only he-set-out following-him from-there. Finally he-overtook Great-Deer he-perceived-him.

6. His-crystal he-has-placed on-his-track. As-he-goes-to-shout shout shout-- 7. "Just-listen-to our-elder-brother. Already he-chases, just-listen!" as-he-goes-to-shout they-say. 8. (His-younger-brother is-Towhee, his-many-younger-brother is-Bushtit.) 9. "Just-listen-to our-elder-brother!" they-say. "He-makes-him-come already this-way, let-us-all-head-him-off!"

10. They-arrived [i.e. placed themselves] all-around pond. Comes as-they-watch Great-Deer. 11. This-way-then as-he-reaches they-jump-at-him all-they they-seize his-antlers. They-duck-him in-water, he-tosses as-they-duck-him. 12. Towhee on-his-antler clings, Bushtit-many on-his-antlers clings. Turns-into-many-little-things! 13. Goes-on deer after-having-tossed. They-have-stuck erstwhile-Bushtit erstwhile-Towhee on-his-antlers.

14. She-has-taken-her-stand his-[Deer's]-elder-sister on-the-near-side, younger-sister has-taken-her-stand on-the-far-side,

his-tracks of-deer in-their-midst-together has-disappeared.

15. "Get-out-of-the-way-you! It-will-melt my-shirt(subj.);" he-says in-vain. 16. (Fat that-of-deer stripped-off-by-him of-Evening-Star it-is-his-shirt.) Having-head-lowered, "Come-on!" they-say, "we-will-not-do-anything-to-thee."

17. After-having-given-himself-up, he-has-come-on in-between, in-between-then. As-he-reached-them they-have-seized Evening-Star.

18. "Father! Throw-thou rope!" they-say. They-after-having-tied-him they-have-taken-him to-sky.

19. His-elder-brother has-become-tired seeking-him. Every place he-has-visited visited-previously-by-him-[Evening-Star].

20. They-bring-him-a-marriage-meal by-means-of-powdered-seeds by-means-of-all-[kinds]. He-does-not-want-it.

21. "Hunger(obj.) I-die-of, your-father(obj.) let-me-eat!" he-says. (Monstrous-old-man is-nothing-but-rheum their-father.)

22. "Father! Eats-thee this-one, he-hungers," they-say father-possessor-they.

23. "Go-you-to-place-him over there," he says Evening-Star. "Abracadabra fat-thou to-hoof reach-thou!" With-one with-arrow they-present-him, with-one with-arrow he-shoots-dead old-man.

24. "Get-you-out-of-the-way, let-me-go-to-get-him!" he-says.

"No, they-will-go-to-get-him-for-thee," they-say, "Let-them-skin-him-for-thee, else-it-will-bleed-on-thee," they-say.

25. "Will-you-do-it-right? I-myself I-skin-him," he says. As-he-skins-him he-has-pulled-off-[the-fat], his-shirt he-has-made, he-has-eaten.

\* \* \*

26. His-elder-brother seeks-him among-inhabitants-of-unknown-[land].  
He-reaches everywhere, through-Great-End [i.e. the end of the world]  
he-seeks-him. Him-going his-elder-brother(obj.) rope has-tripped-him.  
"This-indeed took my-younger-brother!" he-says as-it-trips-him rope.  
He-sets-out on-rope on-it to-sky his-younger-brother that-he-may-  
go-to-find. As-he-sings he-never-stops, all-night he-sings.

27. "Come-thou, elder-brother! Monster-they they-took-me!"  
he-says-to his-elder-brother, as-he-arrives above.

"Where thy-bow-and-arrows," says his-elder-brother.

28. "In-the-middle there it-stays," he-says-to his-elder-brother.  
(His-elder-brother with-sleeping-powder he-has-scattered as-he-gets-  
there.)

29. "Get-thou in-my-arrow-cleft!" he-says-to his-younger-brother.  
They-two they-get in-his-arrow-cleft. To-earth they-go.

30. He-goes-home going-to-kill-someone to-his-house. He-has-arrived  
at-his-house, he-on-coming has-made-a-hole-for-roasting-in hot-ashes.  
As-he-[Salamander]-was-sleeping-by-the-fire, [Evening-Star]-has-  
taken-him-in-his-arms has-put-him-in-the-ashes-to-roast Salamander(obj.)  
his-son-in-law(subj.)

#### Free translation

1. Salamander kept missing the deer he was trying to get out  
at his hunting-place.

2. "Son-in-law! There's a terrible deer out at my hunting-place!  
I've been shooting but I miss him every time."

"Is that so?" says his son-in-law Evening Star. 3. Later on,  
after taking down his bow and arrows, he went out to their hunting-

place looking for the tracks. There were no deer tracks there at all.

4. Evening Star went wild; he went all over the whole world looking for the track. At last far away in a strange land he found it-- an old footprint of a very big deer. 5. Following the tracks closely, he went from there, and at last he caught up with him and saw him, the Great Deer!

6. Evening Star has placed his magic crystal on the track, and then he begins to call out, to call, call, call. 7. As he calls, his little brothers hear him and they say: "Just listen to our big brother! He's out hunting already, just listen!" 8. (Evening Star's younger brother is Towhee, and all his little brothers are Bushtits.) 9. "Just listen to that big brother of ours!" they say, "already he's driving the game in this direction. Let's go and head them off!"

10. They scatter and take positions all around the pond, and while they watch for him, the Great Deer comes along. 11. When he gets close to them, they all jump at him and grab his antlers. They duck him in the water, and as they duck him he tosses his head to shake them off. 12. But Towhee sticks on and all the Bushtits stick on too. They are changing, becoming little things the size of birds. 13. The Deer goes on after tossing his head, the birds that once had been Towhee and the Bushtits still clinging to his antlers.

14. The Deer's elder sister has taken her stand on one side of the trail and his younger sister has taken her stand on the other. The deer tracks have disappeared between them.

15. "Get out of my way!" calls Evening Star, "I'm afraid my

shirt is going to melt!" 16. (Evening Star's shirt is made of strips of fat that he rips off of the deer he shoots.) But he calls in vain! With lowered heads, the Deer Girls say, "Come on! We're not going to do anything to you!"

17. Evening Star gave up then. He went on, in between them, and when he reached them they grabbed him.

18. "Father! Throw a rope!" they cry, and after they have tied up Evening Star they take him to the sky.

19. Meanwhile his elder brother had grown tired looking for him. He has looked in every place that Evening Star had been.

20. The Deer People make up a marriage meal of all sorts of powdered seeds, and they give it to Evening Star. He refuses it.

21. "I'm dying of hunger," he says. "Let me eat your father." (The father is a monstrous old man, nothing but rheum.)

22. "Father, this man is hungry. He is going to eat you," his children say.

23. "Go and put him over there," says Evening Star. "Abracadabra! Let the fat grow and reach all the way to the hoofs!" They give him one arrow, and with the one arrow he shoots the old man dead.

24. "Get out of my way! Let me get to him!" he says.

"No, they will get it for you," say the Deer People. "Let them skin him for you; otherwise you'll get all bloody."

25. But Evening Star says "No, I don't trust you to do it right. I'll skin him myself." And as he skins him, he pulls off the fat that he would use to make a shirt. Then he eats his dinner.

\* \* \*

26. His elder brother has looked everywhere in the lands of



strange people; to the end of the world he looks for his brother. As he was going along, he tripped over a rope. "Aha!" he said, "This is what took my little brother." And he sets out climbing the rope. He climbs on it up to the sky, thinking that he may find his younger brother there. And all the time he sings without stopping; all night long he sings.

27. "Oh, come! Come and find me, big brother. Monsters stole me away," says Evening Star to his big brother as he reaches the sky.

"Where is your bow and arrows?" asks the elder brother.

28. "It's lying right there in the middle," he says to his elder brother, who has been scattering sleeping powder all around.

29. "Climb into my arrow cleft." So the two climb into the arrow cleft, and away they go to Earth.

30. Evening Star goes home, ready to kill someone. As he gets to the house, he stops to make a hole in the ashes, ready for roasting meat. Salamander was there sleeping by the fire, and Evening Star picked him up in his arms and dumped him in the ashes to roast.

V. Hawk Chief's Journey to the South World

1. ʔašé·liʔ je·jý·čeʔ.

2. "mičýʔ·i·nʔ mltan liwáʔ·i·nʔ wíp·aja·kyʔ hajá·poʔ hakájŋe,"  
kač̣·y·t. ʔašé·liŋ liw·aš·y·š. "né·koj šý·lety·metij tú·le·tok·o·ŋ,  
wélkantok·oŋ hék·e·ke·š!" kač̣·yš·yš ʔašé·li·ŋ.

3. (ʔís·ak·lek hajá·poʔ wékwekyʔ ʔuč̣·u· lí·leʔ.)

4. hí·l·a hí·l·uw·i·j, hí·l·a šák·aš·aki·j, pič̣ínŋe·j, hí·ŋ·u·j,  
je·jý·čeʔ hí·l·a·, "šýš·y·j wí·kèʔ!" ká·kulu·j, pál·awišy·j, wél·ene·  
šýš·y·j.

5. ʔojá·typ hajá·po·j. "tín·yš ʔywyʔnyʔ·i·kʔ" kač̣·y ʔašé·liʔ.  
"tín·yš hináʔ·i·mʔ" kač̣·y ʔašé·liʔ. "sún·e·niš ʔáp·anŋàʔ!" tá·čiš  
kač̣·y ʔašé·liʔ kén·ej ʔič̣àʔ ʔašé·li·j. "weké·teʔ láš·a·j!"

6. híš·ina· hàlem pál·awišy·j, híš·ina· hàlem šák·aš·aki·j. (láš·aʔniʔ  
ŋajšmuʔ.)

7. "kál·ek šyné·toj wóʔleŋ·lʔ, máŋ·epokšuʔ·it ʔyšý·maŋi·j,"  
kač̣·y pič̣ínŋe·eʔ. "kíč̣te·te·š, šéŋ·uŋ·eʔ·it šeŋé·wila·toš sák·y·ŋ."

8. "ʔoŋl·m!" kač̣·y šúš·uʔ, "kíč̣te·me·š, kál·ek ŋá·šaj·yʔ·i·t,  
ʔál·anŋij wýʔ·ik heŋy·j," kač̣·y šúš·uʔ. ʔí·jʔok wóʔlup šyné·to·j.

9. "sunú·met·l·č̣!" wíp·aja·kyʔ kač̣·y salí·meti·ko·j. ʔíkʔok·jò·,  
"híŋ·aŋ·e·!" kač̣·y·p, hé·j·ym·ak "ʔéw·yt·e šýš·yʔ! ŋúč̣·umuʔ kén·eʔ."

10. háč̣ŋe ŋá·wýšak múk·u·m. "mič̣ýknan·aʔ·č̣àʔʔ ʔóš·aput·i·maʔ·  
ʔišŋà·ŋʔ" kač̣·y kén·eʔ ašé·liʔ, ʔojá·tyšak hajá·poj wékweky·j.

11. "té·tè! wélʔyk·òʔ! lákšy ném·ʔal!" wélʔyk·y hí·ján·uk·u  
ʔál·am·yš hajá·po·ŋ, ŋój·ny·j weké·ma·j. hináʔnyʔ·anyk hék·e·ke·š.  
hináʔnyʔ·ašij ʔywy·. ká·kuluʔ šý·j·yč·y·.

12. "néʔ·al·lek ʔóš·aʔwaʔ! ʔašé·liʔ! ŋák·ajè·č̣!" kač̣·y·.  
ŋajá·ny·, "ŋák·janlč̣!" kač̣·yŋ·eʔpa·k.

13. ʔím·uʔ-ʔok wykýš·anyš wékweky·ŋ, ʔél·ip·ut·i·t. wýʔ·anyš tám·yle·ko·t, nákeš pól·ukun wýʔ·anyš. hý·jaʔ·anyš té·te·toš pýš·it čým·eto·kot nakét·i·t. čukúʔ·uniʔ há·ma·waj ʔèneš lóp·oʔ. ká·wýš tól·ok·òʔ.

14. "wýkšym ʔypý·tɪŋ čamýš·eš·y·to·š!" wýkšy nakét·i·t. pòh·ohu·ša·kyj ʔujá·nyj·lʔ, wý·čen naké·toš ʔujá·nyj·lʔ.

15. "ʔesél·yʔ ʔýn·a·, móʔ·aj·i·t!" káč·y šúk·umlʔ. hý·ja, ʔís·akyt lét·ajy·ša·kyt. "hús·e· ʔýn·iʔ kán·ymy·n: ʔýt·yʔ·in hènán ʔýn·iʔ!" káč·y, "hús·e ʔýn·iʔ ʔýt·yʔ·in ló·kila·n!" wékwekyʔ: "hí·lykyn ʔýt·yʔ·in ʔýn·lʔ!" káč·y. "tokó·ʔèʔ, ʔýt·yʔ·in hènán ʔýn·lʔ!"

16. pó·haj·y ʔís·ak wý·čen nakè·š. ʔís·ak·jo· wý·ny·. "wé·k! we·k!" káč·y, ʔujá·nyʔpak ném·yʔ. ʔís·akyt ʔypý·člš móʔ·aʔpak pať·y ty koč·a·m.

17. "wiʔó·pe·màʔ tám·ylè·j," káč·y waŋlʔ, móʔkiʔpa·k. móʔtuʔpak nakét·im·yʔ wékwekyʔ wyjén·e· sýw·ityjʔ nakét·i·t. wýj·e sýw·ytyʔ. "pó·čèʔ! káč·y ʔypýjšaj šúk·uml·j.

18. ʔesý·ty ʔúj·ujuʔ wékweky·j, huł·uw·iʔ ʔesý·ty·, pýš·iʔ čým·etoʔ koč·a·ja·k, ʔapíčkananaʔ ʔesý·ty·, šák·aš·akiʔ ʔesý·ty·. lohó·pup wyjéʔ·ašlš sýw·ytyŋ čým·eto·k. ló·ta wékwekyʔ waŋl·j. wykèʔ wyká·nyʔ ʔučù·.

19. "hyʔýmnanť!" káč·y. "ʔypýn ʔowó·šaj kànŋ hyʔýmnanl·t, káč·a·teš 'ná·kyt né·j!'"

20. "hón·oJunťij ná·kyt!" káč·y. "ná·kyt líp·ityntj·j!" káč·y. "ná·kyt šój·uk·antj·j!" káč·y. "lotónťij ná·kyt!" káč·y. "wýškinťij ná·kyt!" káč·y. "lól·antjij ná·kyt!" káč·y. "ná·kyt niťónťij

lí·le·š:" kač·y. "há·j·et šýntynti·j:" kač·y. kač·a·š, nópta  
wýkem wanl·j.

21. "kó·nasymší·m," ʔís·ak·lek, "ʔetá·ly·m," kač·y wékwekyʔ  
ʔypýjša·j. jynaš·eŋ wanl·j, ʔoká·šyʔ noču·. lúťše wýʔšeš·y·š,  
ʔetáltuŋ hý·ja ʔenéjša·t.

22. hý·ja·š, "jél·it·ej tó·ko·j!" kač·y tól·ok·oʔ. háʔta wýkej  
kík·y·m, ʔím·uʔok ʔé·py wýkeʔ.

23. "wýké·, ʔómpèʔ!" kač·y tól·ok·oʔ. wýkeʔ ʔýn·y ʔé·čaš ʔýt·yť·lʔ.  
ʔošájšaj ʔél·a·. (ʔoš·aš hó·koʔ.) ʔelý·šeš·yʔ, jùšes̄ ʔúp·a· ʔoš·aʔ,  
háʔtana· jùšes̄ ʔé·ča·to·š, pól·ukuput·a·, kát·ana· wýke·j, šók·et·iʔ  
wál·iʔ pól·ukuput·a·.

24. hýš·ina· lí·čič·ij húl·uw·il·ij ʔotí·ko·ko·j. ʔýpšaš kawí·na·š,  
hý·jana·p, hó·koŋ ʔelý·šeš·y·ŋ. húl·uw·iʔ lí·čič·il·iʔ woʔúlnuk·up  
hó·ko·j, ʔýpsa·metiš wékwekyŋ kočam woʔúlnuk·u·p.

25. hý·janit kočá·toš lutaktu·ŋ. (kòčas̄ wakí·myʔ.) koč·ak·yʔ·ànyš  
hý·jaʔpa·k.

#### Literal translation

1. Coyote is-official-speaker.

2. "What-wilt-thou-do? When wilt-thou-speak? Black-Eagle chief  
hungers," they-were-saying. Coyote spoke. "These birds drive-you-  
them-later, get-you-for-him by-means-of-quail!" said Coyote.

3. (He chief Hawk lives above.)

4. He-orders Dove, he-orders Oriole, Wren, Wolf, Speaker(subj.)  
orders, "Wood get-thou!" Crow, Horsefly, he-tells-to-get wood.

5. [Women]-are-coming-to-marry chief. "With-what will-he-feed-them?"  
says Coyote. "With-what shall-we-cook-it?" says Coyote. "Let-him-

get-wood Salamander!" his-elder-brother he-says-to Coyote(subj.)  
one again Coyote(obj.). "Pack-along net!" 6. He-has-sent into-woods  
Horsefly, he-has-sent into-woods Oriole. (Net-owner is-Bluejay.)

7. "I-indeed in-evening when-thou-and-I-go-home, I-shall-overcome  
bear," says Wren. "When-he-springs-at-me, I-shall-hide-in-crack  
in-cracks-in-bark-of-it of-digger-pine."

8. "Thou-and-I!" says Bee, "when-he-springs-at-us, I-indeed  
I-shall-rise-up-on-long-legs, under-me he-will-go merely," says  
Bee. Thus they-go-home in-the-evening.

9. "Get-wood-on-your-way-home!" Eagle says-to young-man-them.  
They-then, "It-is-hard!" they-say, others-they "Is-lacking wood!  
Is-stump one."

10. He-stands planning-a-trick in-trail. "What-do-I-want-to-do?  
Will-I-turn-into-a-woman-I-wonder?" says one Coyote. He-is-going-  
as-wife-to chief Hawk.

11. "Elder-sister! Go-thou-to-receive-her! She-comes hither!"  
She-receives-her brings-her below chief, basket packing. They-cooked-  
for-her by-means-of-quail. What-has-been-roasted she-eats. Crow  
watches-her.

12. "This-indeed is-not-woman! Is-Coyote! Club-her!" he-says.  
She-jumps, "Strike-her!" having-it-said-of-her.

\* \* \*

13. From-there went-away Hawk, he-went-wandering-from-shame.  
He-went to-the-land-of-the-northerners, along-its-shore of-sea  
he-went. He-arrived at-[home-of]-his-elder-sister at-stranger-one  
at-[land-of]-southerners at-end-of-world. Is-possessing-as-dog  
Supernatural-Rattlesnake his-aunt(subj.) Woodtick. His-brother-in-law

is-Lizard.

14. "I-go of-my-father to-his-death-place!" He-goes to-the-end-of-the-world. Through-continually-opening-place he-goes-to-jump, of-sky at-its-end he-goes-to-jump.

15. "My-child has-come, I-am-going-to-meet-him!" says Owl.

He-arrives, at-it at-the-one-grinding-its-teeth-continually.

"Abracadabra come-thou gale-thou! Great-thou wind-thou come-thou!" he-says, "Abracadabra come-thou great-thou west-wind-thou!" Hawk: "East-wind-thou great-thou come-thou!" says. "Do-thou-with-violence, great-thou wind-thou come-thou!"

16. Opens-slowly it of-sky its-end. He-then proceeds. "Wek! wek! he-says, jumping from-there. Him his-old-father(subj.) meeting takes-him to-house.

17. "Let-me-play-football-against northerner," says Mountain-Sheep, challenging-him. Answering-him from-the-end-of-the-earth Hawk tells-to-dig-burrow Gopher(obj.) to-[other]-end-of-earth. Digs-burrow Gopher. "He-is-a-good-kicker!" he-says-to his-father Owl.

18. He-helps Roadrunner Hawk, Dove helps-him, other-one southerner dweller, Kingbird helps, Oriole helps. They-bog-into burrow-dug-by-him by-Gopher southerner-they. He-has-caught Hawk(subj.) Mountain-Sheep. Fire previously-lit is-there.

19. "Make-me-comfortable!" says-[Mountain-Sheep]. "Thy-father previously I I-made-him-comfortable, when-he-said-to-me 'As-far-as this!'"

20. "My-knees as-far-as!" says-[Mountain-Sheep]. "As-far-as my-thighs!" he-says. "As-far-as my-hip-joint!" he-says. "My-belly as-far-as!" he-says. "My-heart as-far-as!" he-says. "My-neck

as-far-as!" he-says. "As-far-as of-my-nose its-above!" he-says. "Near my-eyes!" he-says. As-he-says-it, [Hawk]-drops into-fire Mountain-Sheep.

21. "I-am-enemies-with-him," he-indeed, "I-return," says Hawk to-his-father. After-having-killed Mountain-Sheep, same-one cries. He-goes-out place-gone-by-him, after-coming-from-returning he-arrives at-house-of-his-aunt.

22. As-he-arrives, "Cursed excessively!" says Lizard. He-throws fire in-water, from-there spreads-out fire.

23. "Fire, chase-thou-him!" says Lizard. Fire comes along-in-his-rear big-one. His-wife he-has-left-behind. (His-wife is-White-Duck.) Left-behind, her-hair she-has-plucked-out woman, has-thrown her-hair to-her-rear, it-has-become-lake, it-has-shut-off fire, all world has-become-lake.

24. He-has-sent Hummingbird Dove-together two-them. As-she-is-swimming as-she-is-in-the-midst-of-doing, they-have-arrived, Duck left-behind. Dove Hummingbird-together they-bring-home Duck, his-nephews of-Hawk to-house they-bring-her-home.

25. He-arrived at-his-home after-coming-direct. (His-home is-Wakimi.) He-stayed-home arriving.

#### Free translation

1. Coyote is the Speaker for the Chief.

2. "What are you going to do? When are you going to give the orders? Chief Eagle is hungry," the people were saying to him. So at last Coyote spoke; "Go out and drive birds, get quail for him!" said Coyote.

3. (Eagle is the Hawk Chief of the Sky World.)

4. Coyote gives orders to Dove, to Oriole, to Wren, to Wolf.

As Speaker, he gives the orders. "Get firewood!" he says to Crow, to Horsefly, he tells them to get wood.

5. Two women are coming to marry the Chief. "What will he give them to eat? What are we going to cook it with?" says Coyote. His elder brother, that other Coyote, says to Coyote: "Have Salamander get wood." "Take along your carrying net!" says Coyote. 6. He has sent out Horsefly into the brush, has sent Oriole into the brush. (Bluejay is the one who owns the net.)

7. "Tonight when you and I are on our way home I'm going to get past Grizzly Bear," Wren says to Bee. "When he starts to spring at me, I'll hide in the cracks in the bark of a digger pine."

8. "Both of us!" says Bee. "When he starts to spring at us, I'll just rise up on long legs and let him go by underneath me." That's the way they get home at evening time.

9. "Bring in wood on your way home!" Eagle says to the young men. But they say: "It's too hard!" and others say: "There isn't any wood, only one stump."

10. The one stump standing in the trail is planning mischief. It is that other Coyote, saying to himself: "What am I going to do next? Shall I turn into a woman I wonder?" He is coming to marry Hawk Chief!

11. "My wife is coming! Go to meet her, Sister!" The Chief's elder sister receives her and accompanies her to the Chief with her basket still on her back. The people cooked quail for her, she eats what they have cooked. Crow is watching her.



12. "This is no woman! It's Coyote! Club him!" says Crow.

When he hears them say 'Club him', Coyote jumps up and runs away.

\* \* \*

13. Hawk Chief went away from the place, went wandering crazy with shame. He went to the North Land, went along the shore of the sea. He came at last to the place of his elder sister, the other elder sister who lives in the South Land, at the very end of the earth. His aunt, Woodtick, keeps a Supernatural Rattlesnake as a pet. His brother-in-law is Lizard.

14. "I am going to the place where my father died!" says Hawk. He goes on to the edge of the world, he is going to jump through the place at the horizon that is always opening and closing again.

15. "My child has come!" says his father Owl. "I must go to meet him!"

Hawk Chief gets to the place that is forever grinding its teeth. "Great gale, come, I conjure you! Great wind, come!" he says. "I conjure you, you great wind from the west, come! Come great wind from the east!" says the Hawk, "Come and blow mightily!"

16. Slowly it opens, the end of the sky. The Hawk Chief advances. "Wek! Wek!" he says, as he jumps through from this side. His old father is there, and meeting him, takes him home.

17. "Let me play football against the northerner!" says Mountain Sheep shouting a challenge. As he answers the challenge, Hawk gives the order to Gopher to dig a burrow from this end of the earth to the other end. Gopher digs the burrow. "He is a fine kicker!" Hawk says to his father Owl.

18. Roadrunner is playing on Hawk's side, Dove is on his side

(the foreign ones who live in the South World), Kingbird is on his side, Oriole is on his side. The Southerners all bog down into the burrow that Gopher dug. Hawk is about to cook Mountain Sheep. There is a fire already lighted.

19. "Handle me carefully!" says Mountain Sheep. "I took great care for your father long ago, when he said to me 'Only this far!'"

20. "Up to my knees!" says Mountain Sheep. "As far as my thighs!" he says. "As far as my hips!" he says. "Only to my belly!" he says. "Up to my heart!" he says. "Up to my neck!" he says. "As far as above my nose!" he says. "Close to my eyes!" says Mountain Sheep. As he says it, Hawk drops him in the fire.

21. "We always were enemies," says Hawk to his father. "I'm going back now." He, the one who killed Mountain Sheep, is crying for him. He leaves by the same way that he went in; after getting back on this side, he comes to the place where his aunt lives.

22. As he comes up, Lizard says: "Bad luck to him!" He tosses burning brands into the water, fire spreads out from there.

23. "Follow him, Fire!" says Lizard. A great fire comes along behind Hawk Chief. Hawk has outdistanced his wife. (His wife is White Duck.) The wife, left behind, plucked out some of her hair, threw it behind her. It has become a lake, it has shut off the fire. The whole world has become a lake.

24. Hawk has sent back Hummingbird and Dove, the two of them. They come upon Duck, who had been left behind, find her as she swims along. Dove and Hummingbird, Hawk's nephews, bring Duck home.

25. As for Hawk Chief, he came directly home. (His home is Wakimi.) On returning there, he stayed home from that time on.

## VI. The Theft of Fire

1. pīč·ak·aŋ nán·yt wykè·j.
  2. "čáskana! čáskana!" kač·yt wýkej nán·y?pa·k. ?epét·yč·yt líl·em·y? šawà·j.
  3. "wytè·yť·e·niŋ·tať<sup>8</sup> nán·yn·in ?yš·yť·y·niŋ šynty·m!" kač·yš·yš kátwa·ŋ.
  4. "još·i·k, šýj·yč·oč·nòk!" kač·yš·yš pīč·ak·a·ŋ.
  5. ?íj?ok·jo há·kampuj wyl·et lúl·a?iŋ, ?ój·is·aj lúl·aj paťýt·any·š. hý·janit ?ís·akmy?. mól·okuŋ ?ój·is·aŋ katak·yt ká·pu·j. šók·et·i? čukùk wyké·?·yni·koŋ, há·ma·wa?, wák·a·li?, ?yšý·maťi?, hí·ki?. 6. kýjwanit ?ój·is·aj kíčkičýj ?ú·ku?pak ká·pum·u?. ?ój·is·aj lúl·aj lupín·anyš kúl·aš. lupín·eŋ lukát·any·š.
  7. wý?·e·j, "wylá·ŋap·ù·m!" kač·yš·yš kočá·ja·kyŋ tín·yť·i?. ?onúp·anyk šók·et·iko·ŋ. ?ewýt·any·k, mín·im ?ewýt·any·k. 8. nýk·aj hýš·init kočá·jak·oŋ. "wél·a·wykè·j!" kač·yš·y·k. há?tanit kík·ym lúl·aj ?ój·is·aj nýk·aŋ nákpa·š. 9. ?etá·laš nýk·aŋ nákpaša·ky·ŋ, wý?·e·j, lúl·aš·y·š. nunáp·u?apan, maléŋše?wà?. 10. hý·janit wakí·my? haŋl·m. ká·pum·u? lúl·aš, kúl·aŋ čujúj·uj·e·t, wýktet wá·ni? hàŋi·j.
  11. "lúpninl? maní·kè?!" lúpninl? maní·kè?!" kač·y ?ašé·li?.
  12. čélke·t, maníkše?wa·ŋ. wýkeŋ wýktet wá·ni?. kóm·uš·u·k, kóm·uš·uk háj·ek·yšak·oŋ ká·win, háj·ek·yšak·oŋ wýktaš wykè·ŋ.
  13. kát·iš·yk liwá?pak hí·šyto·ko·ŋ. pýš·ij líw·aš·y·k, tám·ylè·koŋ pýš·ij líw·aš·y·k. čým·eto·koŋ pýš·ij líw·aš·y·k. kát·iš·yk liwà·j. ?oló·wito·koŋ kát·iš·yk liwà·j. 14. ?é·čaka? ?uč·uš·uk komúčše?wa·koŋ wykè·j.
- ?í?·ok míw·ypušnuš·eš·ý·k.

Literal translation

1. Lizard perceived fire.

2. "Has-flown-a-spark! Has-flown-a-spark!" he-said Fire perceiving.  
He-was-lying-on-his-belly upon rock.

3. "Thou-stupid-apparently thou-canst-see thou-bad in-eyes!"  
said Coyote.

4. "It-will-proceed, watch-you-indeed!" said Lizard.

5. Then secretly went flute-player, four flute he-took. He-arrived  
there. Condor four kept-closed smoke-hole. All is-their-dog of-them-  
possessing-fire, Supernatural-Serpent, Rattlesnake, Bear, Dragon.

6. He-cut-off four pin-feathers as-he-came-in from-smoke-hole.

Four flute he-filled with-burning-coals. Having-filled-them he-went-

out. 7. Him-having-gone, "They-have-stolen-from-us!" said owner-  
of-the-house supernatural-one. They-gave-chase all-they. They-

failed-to-find-him, in-any-place they-failed-to-find-him. 8. Rain

sent house-owner-they. "He-has-taken Fire!" they-said. He-threw

into-water flute four when-rain overtook-him. 9. As-it-was-going-back

rain the-one-catching-up, after-it-had-gone, he-played-flute.

Still-there, it-never-became-extinguished. 10. He-arrived Wakimi

at-earth-covered-house. From-smoke-hole when-he-played-flute,

coals poured-out-in-a-string, burned inside house.

11. "Fill-up do-more! Fill-up do-more!" says Coyote.

12. He-stopped, not-having-done-it-more. Fire caught-fire inside.

They-warmed-themselves, they-warmed-themselves they-the-ones-being-near

in-middle, they-the-ones-being-near while-burned fire. 13. They-

became-confused when-speaking Easterner-they. Different-[language]

they-spoke, Northerner-they different-[language] they-spoke.

Southerner-they different-[language] they-spoke. They-confused language. Westerner-they they-confused language. 14. On-the-outside they-stayed they-not-having-warmed-themselves-at Fire.

This-is time-at-which-it-was-become-people-by-them.

Free translation

1. It was Lizard who first saw Fire.

2. "There came a spark! There came a spark!" he said when he noticed the Fire. He was lying on his belly on a rock.

3. "You must be crazy," said Coyote. "You can't be seeing it. Something is wrong with your eyes!"

4. "It will do it again," said Lizard. "Watch for it, all of you!"

5. Then it was that Mouse the Flute-Player set out secretly. He took along four flutes, and he got to that place where the Fire was. Four Condors were there keeping the smoke hole closed. The people who had the Fire kept all sorts of watch dogs; Supernatural Serpent, Rattlesnake, Bear, Dragon. 6. Flute-Player cut four pin-feathers from the Condors' wings and so entered at the smoke hole. He filled the four flutes with burning coals, and after he had filled them he went out again. 7. "They've stolen Fire from us!" said the Monster who was the owner of the house after he was gone. Everyone gave chase, but they didn't find him, didn't find him anywhere. 8. The people who lived in the house sent Rain after him. "He has taken away Fire!" they said. Mouse had thrown the four flutes into the water by the time Rain overtook him. 9. When the Rain that was following him receded, after it was gone, he

took the flutes and played on them. The Fire was still there, it hadn't been extinguished. 10. He went back to Wakini. There at the ceremonial house as he played his flute through the smoke hole, the burning coals streamed down, and Fire burned inside the house.

11. "Heap it up higher! More! More!" said Coyote.

12. Mouse stopped, without adding any more. Fire was blazing inside the round house. The people warmed themselves, all those who were near the middle of the house, those who were near the burning Fire. 13. The others became confused in their speech. The people to the East spoke a different way. The people to the North spoke a different way. The people to the South spoke a different way. The people to the West mixed up the language. 14. They all mixed up the language who stayed away at the edges of the round house not warming themselves at the Fire.

It was then, having found Fire, that they became people.

## VII. The Story of Shochocho the Giant

1. šó·čočoŋ ʔýn·yš·yš ʔoló·winʔynyk ʔó·liwe·t.
2. ʔák·aw·aʔ ʔoš·amsik ʔɔma· ʔučü·p. ʔoš·aš júk·uluʔ ʔák·aw·a·ŋ.
3. ká·wajlja·kyn ʔýn·yt šó·čočo·ŋ. ʔís·akyn ʔák·aw·aŋ moʔút·anyš káwŋe·š: "ʔýn·lʔ kojó·wè·ŋ!" káč·yš·y·š.
4. "pičé·mantlj-ʔa mójkina·k?" káč·yš·yš šó·čočo·ŋ.
5. "tín·yť·lʔ-ʔa ʔýn·a·t?" káč·yš·yš šýjŋeʔpak ʔák·aw·a·ŋ.  
hý·janit kočá·to·š.
6. "kót·oʔ, wyknyjni·," káč·y ʔák·aw·àʔ.
7. "míʔ kót·oʔ, ʔýn·ana·š," káč·y šó·čočoʔ
8. "kót·oʔ míʔ. ʔýn·ana·š! kán·ši· kočá·jaktèʔ!" káč·y ʔák·aw·aʔ šó·čočo·j.
9. "kányŋ-lek kočáʔ-ʔawa·ť! míʔ kót·oʔ, ʔynáʔ·i·n," káč·y šó·čočoʔ. šekýjŋe ʔák·aw·aʔ ʔýša·n. (kén·ej ʔesél·yniʔ<sup>9</sup> ʔák·aw·aʔ, ʔoš·akči·j.)
10. ʔák·aw·aʔ "míʔ-ʔa ʔýn·aʔwaŋky·š?" káč·y hójŋeʔpa·k. hójŋe jo·. kawá·čiš wé·ly jýn·ana· ʔokáť·oʔ.
11. "wélʔyk·o·tù·! pičé·mantlj mójkina·k," kačýʔny šó·čočoʔ ʔoš·aš ʔák·aw·a·ŋ.
12. ʔól·ana· hýŋ·yčyʔaŋšy· ʔál·am·y·š, ʔečél·ykčlj ʔokó·ja·. náŋ·aš·yšyš hináʔny ʔoš·aj ʔýša·n.
13. "wélšyjt·it pičé·mať·l·j," káč·y·. hín·ana· ʔywý·jaj wýʔ·e·j. lém·ana·, ʔokó·ja· ʔál·am·yʔ. wéltuʔ lákšy mív·y·ko·j, náŋ·aš·yko·j, moté·ŋeť·ikoš·uko·j. ʔošájsaj hináʔny mív·yš·yko·š.
14. "wélʔyk·o·tù· pó·ti·hať·eť·l·j!" káč·y·. ʔesél·yš ʔám·y ʔywý·jaš hál·ešy·to·š.<sup>10</sup> ʔoš·aj ʔís·ak ʔýša·n "kollʔ mín·lʔ?" káč·y·, "lowó·te·màʔ! ʔunù· kollʔ!" káč·y ʔýša·n.
15. čalè·š ʔúkču ʔák·aw·a·ŋ. ʔoló·winʔynyk ʔýn·y·, jón·eŋyʔ

tačjjsa.j. ʔúkčuʔpa.k, ʔúkču jýn.aŋ.e.š.

16. wý.ša. hãlem šó.čočoʔ, wýntyj.iʔ mív.y.ko.j. kát.a wýkšyʔpak šawaš ká.pu.j. čaléjšaʔ hý.ja ʔolójšat ʔukučtuʔ.

17. "kát.apoč ʔýť.y.š: mív.iʔiš ʔukúj.aʔmò.kʔ"

"ʔýn.lʔ: tív.yť.iŋ wél.any.me.š: jýn.aš.yš tá.či.n."

18. "mív.iʔ-ši ʔís.a.kʔ" káč.y ʔák.aw.aʔ, ʔolójšaj hasú.lu.

"lóp.anlʔ sít.ik.iniwa.j:" káč.y ʔák.aw.aʔ ʔolójša.j.

19. ʔesélŋy ʔoťí.ko.koš já.ja.liʔ, háť.em hé.lyʔpa.k. ʔesél.yt.ikon ʔojá.šes hó.po.piʔ. ʔíʔ-ʔok ʔák.ajy., ʔák.ajy. čaléjšaʔ, hó.po.pit.ikoj jýn.a. ʔák.ajy. tyšã.n čám.yšwanŋy.p!

20. "tív.ym-ťat henáʔ.yni.kʔ" káč.y ʔák.aw.aʔ ʔolójša.j. nenaʔny.

21. ʔáš.in-ťák.janlʔ káť.ala.la.m:" ʔák.ja káť.ala.la.m, čámšy.p.

22. "mičý.jaš lákšy." káč.y. ʔák.aw.aʔ, ʔolójšaj hasú.luʔpa.k.

23. "lú.ťij walí.sas lákšy, lú.ťij híʔmekan lákšy, mív.y.koj lú.piʔna.koj paťý.maʔ."

24. wýj.ena. ʔák.aw.aʔ hawít.y.t. lút.eša. kočã.j. ʔolójšaj hýš.ina. ʔoló.wín.

25. "kót.òʔ wýl.èʔ:" káč.a. wyješ.eŋ mók.ošuj ʔálwana. mók.ošuj paťýk.y., háč.kajny ʔeč.am.aťyj ʔák.aw.aʔ.

26. "pičé.maʔkan<sup>ll</sup> hý.jana. ʔičãʔ:" káč.y nán.yʔpak šó.čočoʔ. ʔís.ak ʔú.ku ʔák.aw.aʔ ʔís.akŋ háj.e.š. wá.niʔ ʔúk.ej ʔú.ku šó.čočoʔ.

27. kát.ana. ʔukúj.aj šó.čočoʔ, lutěš.ika.š. hó.ju jýn.aj.i.ŋ. lúktana. wyjéʔ.aši.to.š.

28. "pat: mív.im wý.ša.ʔ" káč.y šó.čočoʔ.

"ʔàť.kalá.ŋeʔ: mičýknaš kalá.ŋyʔpa.kʔ" káč.y ʔák.aw.aʔ. 29. ká.puj lút.ešy. kalá.ŋyʔpak šó.čočoʔ.

30. "hýlí.neʔ-ʔaťl: hán.an wí.kèʔ líf.ekan: hájý.nyš ʔyšé.my.



mànik lile·kè? lól·a·n!" káč·y řák·aw·à?. 31. kalá·řaš mók·ošuš řákjanà, sýn·a· hán·aš řák·aw·à?. 32. hém·ena· jynáš·eŋ řís·akyj šó·čočoš·u·j. hewěš·eŋ kík·ym řý·yja· hán·a·š.

\* \* \*

33. wičý·ajlek<sup>1</sup> řúčkáp tá·či·k. "pat! wél·epat·a· tá·čič·l?. řywý·tuk·ujtí·č!" káč·y·p. "tá·čič·l? jòše?" káč·y·p. 34. řýn·ap lolé·a·k, řýn·ap hóhlaní·k. řýw·y·šap hý·ja·řpak wičý·ajlek<sup>1</sup> tá·čiš·y·k.

35. "kál·ek heléwne·m." káč·y řún·ičíkčl·m·ařy?. řywýš·ekoŋ řušúj·iŋkyp řól·olmu?. nán·yp hán·aš·yš šó·čočo·ŋ.

36. "tá·čič·lš·yj řýw·y·šaktí·č!" káč·y·p. "mín·ito·koŋ jýn·aš·y·mè·k?" káč·y·p. 37. "řýj·entí·č!" káč·ymší·p, "mín·ito·koŋ jýn·aš·y·mè·k? řín·yj·ča? noč·u·tí·č?" "nočú·tič sá·saj!" "říj·ok noč·u·wauŋkýtí·č, noč·u·tíč lé·ka·j!" 38. řýš·yřykčl? jú·pesy·šyš wák·apokšu, čiwé·ly? jú·pesy·š. "řín·yj·ča? noč·u·tí·č?" "waká·lyj nočú·tí·č!" "řín·yj·ča? noč·u·tí·č?" "sí·saj nočú·tí·č!"

39. "řýj·entí·č! řúkče·tič manák·oŋ jýn·aš·y·mè·k!" řúkču řún·ičíkčl?

"řoló·wito·koŋ jýn·aš·y·mè·k!" káč·y·.

40. "řolóč·l? ná·ky lá·ma·m," káč·y·p. "wý·tí·č, nákpajtí·č!"

"hýl·ana·t!" káč·y·p, hylá·tymší·p.

41. "řolóč·l? kót·o·nè?: ló·tè·č!" káč·ymší·p. ló·tup řoló·k, ló·tu·tà·nak řót·i sít·ik·iniwa·š. hywá·ty řotíš·eŋ wenú·tumší·k.

42. řónpup řičá·?. nákpá·tà·nak řót·i sít·ik·iniwa·š. čířú·tumšíp šýntym řotí·aší·š.

43. háj·e kočá·j, řís·ak řoš·a?. řú·kaš totó·ju·p, ló·tu·tà·nak řú·ku·.

44. tól·ok·o? ʔúk·ej ʔoš·aj sí·liṭy·šyš pelú·ja· haŋl·j.

45. "čámše·niškò·! ʔýn·l? heñà·n!" káč·y tól·ok·o?. ʔfjʔok  
hohá·lyʔpak heñaj čelúkna·p.

46. "nýk·an ʔýt·yṭ·in ʔýn·l?, ṭýn·an·iškò·!" káč·y tól·ok·o?.

"ʔýn·i? ké·la·n:" káč·y tól·ok·o?. 47. "ʔýn·i? sá·wine·n:

ʔýt·ykytaṭ·iko·n! jýn·anl? ʔís·ak·o·j! waká·lyn ʔýt·yṭ·in ʔýn·i?  
hépnèn·iškò·!"

48. jýn·ana· waká·ly? ʔís·ak·o·j.

#### Literal translation

1. Shochocho-[the-giant] came west-from in-storm.

2. Chipmunk wife-together-they lonely live-they. His-wife  
Meadowlark-is of Chipmunk.

3. Shouting-continuously he-was-coming Shochocho. He Chipmunk  
answered-him when-he-shouted; "Come-thou that-thou-mayest-speak!"  
he said.

4. "My-meat? I-have found" said Shochocho.

5. "Monster? has-come-to-me" said seeing-him Chipmunk(subj.).  
He-arrived at-his-house.

6. "Go-ahead, let-me-go-to-build-thee-a-fire," says Chipmunk.

7. "Thou go-ahead, thou-hast-frozen," says Shochocho.

8. "Go-ahead thou. Thou-hast-frozen! I-indeed house-owner-I!"  
says-to Chipmunk(subj.) Shochocho(obj.)

9. "My-indeed house-not-my! Thou go-ahead, thou-wilt-freeze,"  
says Shochocho. He-fears Chipmunk(subj.) to-no-purpose. (One(obj.)  
child-possessing-is Chipmunk(subj.), little-girl(obj.).)

10. Chipmunk(subj.) "Thou? art-not-cold" says taking-the-lead.

He-takes-the-lead then. With-pestle he-takes he-has-killed-him at-that-very-spot.

11. "Come-and-help-me! My-meat I-have-obtained," he-says-to Shochocho(subj.) his-wife(obj.) of-Chipmunk.

12. She-has-dug-a-shaft of-place-where-she-sits at-its-underneath, baby(obj.) she-has-hidden. By-means-of-her-erstwhile-man he-roasts-meal-for woman in-vain.

13. "I-am-going-to-get our-meat," he-says. She-has-roasted deer-meat him-having-departed. She-has-saved-some, she-has-hidden-it below [in the shaft]. Coming-back-from-getting he-appears person-them, erstwhile-man-them, great-pregnant-women-erstwhile-them. His-wife he-roasts-meal-for by-means-of-erstwhile-people-them.

14. "Come-and-help-me-with big-pregnant-woman!" he-says. Her-child(obj.) she-presents with-deer-meat in-house-when-left-by-him. Woman(obj.) he in-vain "Girl-child where?" says-to, "Let-me-take-her-on-my-lap! Give child!" he-says in-vain.

15. His-younger-brother has-a-dream of-Chipmunk. From-west he-comes, coming-to-visit his-elder-brother. When-he-dreams, he-dreams that-[Chipmunk]-is-being-killed.

16. He-has-gone to-wilderness Shochocho, going-hunting person-them. He-closes as-he-goes with-rock smoke-hole. His-[Chipmunk's]-younger-brother arrives-at his-sister-in-law coming-from-dreaming.

17. "Shut-yourselves-in very! Where-is-indeed your-door?"

"Come! Monster got-us! He-killed thy-brother."

18. "Where-is-indeed he?" says Chipmunk, his-sister-in-law he-questions. "Pound-up obsidian!" says-to Chipmunk(subj.) his-sister-in-law(obj.)

19. He-makes-her-children by-means-of-two-them giant(subj.),  
in-foot touching-her. Babies(coll.)-of their-name is-Hopopi.  
That-one(subj.) clubs-them, clubs-them his-younger-brother(subj.),  
little-Hopopies he-kills. He-clubs in-vain, they-are-not-dying!

20. "At-what-place-I-wonder do-they-have-their-breath?" says-to  
Chipmunk(subj.) his-sister-in-law(obj.). She-shows-him.

21. "Indeed-strike in-ankle!" He-strikes in-ankle, they-die.

22. "When-it-is-what-time he-appears?" says Chipmunk, his-sister-  
in-law(obj.) asking.

23. "Sometimes when-it-is-getting-toward-morning he-appears,  
sometimes by-day he-appears, person-them full-load-them bringing."

24. He-has-dug-burrow Chipmunk in-different-directions. Here-  
and-there-he-has-made-exit-from house. His-sister-in-law he-has-  
sent west.

25. "Far-away go-thou-hence!" he-has-said. After-digging-burrow  
[a-stick-of]-manzanita he-has-split-off. Manzanita-stick he-takes,  
he-is-walking-about outside Chipmunk(subj.).

26. "My-meat has-arrived again!" says perceiving-him Shochocho(subj.).  
He enters Chipmunk(subj.) as-he approaches. Inside him-having-entered  
enters Shochocho. 27. He-has-closed door Shochocho, so-that-[Chipmunk]-  
should-not-go-out. He-thinks he-going-to-kill-him. He-[Chipmunk]-  
has-gone-out at-burrow-made-by-him.

28. "Pat!" Where has-he-gone?" says Shochocho.

"Indeed-dance! What-dost-thou-do when-dancing?" says Chipmunk.

29. Smoke-hole he-repeatedly-comes-out as-he-dances Shochocho.

30. "Do-it-to-a-greater-extent-indeed! Thy-head put-thou higher!  
Thou-art-not-exerting-thyself perhaps. More raise-thou thy-neck!"

says Chipmunk. 31. As-he-dances with-manzanita-[pole] he-has-struck-him, has-chopped-off his-head Chipmunk(subj.). 32. He-has-dried after-having-killed him erstwhile-Shochocho. Having-dried-him in-water he-has-put his-head.

\* \* \*

33. Goblin-they they-have-dreamed-about their-elder-brother. "Pat! He-has-obtained-much our-elder-brother. Let-us-go-to-eat-at-his-expense!" they-say. "Our-elder-brother killer-is!" they-say. 34. They-have-come crowd-they, they-have-come howling-they. They-have-eaten on-arriving Goblin-they their-erstwhile-elder-brother.

35. "I-indeed I-thirst!" says little-fellow. Having-eaten-they they-go-to-drink at-spring. They-find his-ex-head of-Shochocho.

36. "Our-erstwhile-elder-brother we-have-eaten!" they-say. "People-of-what-country-they they-killed-us?" they-say. 37. "Let-us-go-to-sleep!" they-say-to-one-another, "People-of-what-country-they they-killed-us? What-indeed let-us-cry?" "We-cry live-oak!" "That we-do-not-cry, let-us-cry white-oak!" 38. Little-rascal with-his-saliva paints-himself, it-is-tears his-saliva. "What-indeed let-us-cry?" "Flood we-cry!" "What-indeed let-us-cry?" "Creek we-cry!"

39. "Let-us-go-to-sleep! Let-us-dream who-they they-killed-us!" He-dreams little-fellow.

"Westerners-they they-killed-us!" he-says.

40. "Our-sister-in-law is-reaching to-halfway-point," they-say. "Let-us-go, let-us-overtake-her!"

"[Something]-has-stuck-me-in-the-foot!" they-say, they-remove-slivers-from-each-other's-feet.

41. "Our-sister-in-law-is away-over-there! Catch-you-her!"  
they-say-to-one-another. They-catch their-sister-in-law, as-they-try-to-catch-her she-throws-at-them with-obsidian. She-runs after-having-thrown-it while-they-pick-it-out-of-each-other's-eyes.  
42. They-chase-her again. When-they-are-almost-caught-up she-throws with-obsidian. They-clean-from-one-another in-eyes what-was-thrown-by-her.  
43. Approaches house, she woman. As-she-enters they-fail-to-reach-her, as-they-try-to-catch-her she-enters.

44. Lizard her-having-entered woman with-his-saliva has-sealed-up round-house.

45. "Let-them-die! Come-thou wind-thou!" says Lizard. That(obj.) when-they-howl wind(obj.) they-make-it-stop.

46. "Rain-thou great-thou come-thou, let-them-freeze!" says Lizard. "Come-thou snow-thou!" says Lizard. 47. "Come-thou hail-thou! Big-ones-thou! Kill-thou them! Flood-thou great-thou come-thou! Let-them-be-floated-away!"

48. It-has-killed flood them.

#### Free translation

1. Shochocho came up from the west in a heavy storm.
2. Chipmunk and his wife Meadowlark were living there all alone.
3. Shochocho kept coming, shouting continually as he came, and Chipmunk answered his shout, "Come over here so I can speak to you."
4. "My meat, I found my meat," cried Shochocho.
5. "Oh, it's a monster coming," said Chipmunk when he got a good look at him.

6. "Go ahead, let me build a good fire to warm you," says Chipmunk.

7. "Then you go ahead, you must be freezing cold," says Shochocho.

8. "Go ahead, I'm the owner of the house and you're the one that must be cold," says Chipmunk.

9. "No indeed, it's not my house. You go ahead before you freeze," says Shochocho. Chipmunk is afraid, but all in vain. (Chipmunk has one child, a little girl).

10. Chipmunk says "Aren't you cold?" He takes the lead, and goes into the house, and Shochocho takes his pestle and kills him on the spot.

11. Shochocho calls to the wife of Chipmunk, "Come and help me, I brought in meat."

12. But Meadowlark has already dug a shaft underneath the spot where she is sitting, and in the shaft she has hidden her baby girl. Shochocho cooks a meal for the woman Meadowlark from the meat of her late husband, but he cooks all for nothing.

13. "Well, I'm going out hunting for our meat," he says, but as soon as he is gone she roasts some deer meat and saves some of it which she hides down below in the shaft. Shochocho comes back from hunting with a big load of meat, meat that had once been men or great pregnant women, and he cooks a meal again for Chipmunk's wife of this human meat.

14. "Come and help me with this great pregnant woman" he says. But she feeds her child with deer meat in the house when he is out. He says to the woman, "Where is the little girl? Let me take her on my lap. Give me the child," he says. But Meadowlark doesn't bring him the child.

15. Far away, Chipmunk's younger brother has had a dream, and he comes, coming from the west, coming to visit his elder brother. In his dream he saw Chipmunk being killed.

16. Shochocho has gone out into the wilderness hunting people again. As he goes, he closes the smokehole with a rock. It was closed when Chipmunk's younger brother arrived at his sister-in-law's house, coming from his dreaming.

17. He yells, "You certainly shut yourselves in tight! Where is the door?"

"Oh come, a monster got us and killed your brother."

18. "Where is this monster?" says Chipmunk, questioning his sister-in-law. "Found out some obsidian."

19. Shochocho makes her two children by touching her in the foot. The babies are called Hopopi. But Chipmunk's younger brother clubs them, trying to club them to death. He can't do it. They are not dying.

20. "I wonder where they keep their breath," says Chipmunk to his sister-in-law, and she shows him.

21. "Strike them in the ankle," she says, and he strikes them in the ankle and they die.

22. "What time does he get back?" Chipmunk asks his sister-in-law.

23. "Sometimes he shows up when it's getting toward morning, sometimes by daylight, bringing a full load of people."

24. Chipmunk starts to dig burrows in all different directions while the giant is out, and in several places he has made doors from the house. His sister-in-law and the baby he sent west.

25. "Get as far away from here as you can," he said. After



digging his burrows he cuts a staff of manzanita wood and walks about outside with it.

26. "Aha! My meat has come to me again!" says Shochocho, coming home. Chipmunk goes back into the house as the giant approaches. After he enters, Shochocho follows him in. 27. Shochocho has closed the door so that Chipmunk should not escape. He thinks he's going to kill him. But Chipmunk has gone out by way of the burrow.

28. "Pat! Where has he gone?" says Shochocho.

"Hey, go ahead and dance for me!" says Chipmunk. "Let me see how you dance!" 29. As the giant dances, his head keeps coming out at the smokehole.

30. "Oh, do it harder than that. Lift your head up higher. You're not half trying. Stretch your neck more!" 31. So Chipmunk calls to him, and as he dances he strikes him with the manzanita pole and chops his head right off. 32. And after having killed him, he dries him and puts the head in the water.

\* \* \*

33. The goblins, the little brothers of the giant, have had a dream about their brother. "Pat! Our big brother has been getting a lot of meat. Let's go help him eat it," they say. 34. They have come in a big crowd, come howling. When they got there, the goblins ate up their elder brother.

35. "Well, I'm thirsty," said the little fellow. So when they'd finished eating they went to drink at the spring. There they found what had been the head of Shochocho.

36. "We've been eating our elder brother!" "Who are these people who have killed him? 37. Let's go to sleep," they say to one another,

"and dream who they are, these people who have killed him." "Yes, let's cry. What shall we cry?" "We'll cry, 'Live oak.'" "No, we won't cry that, let's cry 'White oak.'" 38. The littlest rascally one even paints his face with spit. His spit does for tears. "Well, what shall we cry?" "We'll cry 'Flood.'" "What shall we cry?" "We'll cry 'Creek.'"

39. "Let's all go to sleep. Let's dream who they were that killed him." The little fellow has a dream.

"Westerners! They killed him!" he says.

40. "Our sister-in-law is reaching the half-way point," they say. "Let's go after her. We can catch her."

"Something stuck me in the foot," they say. As they go along they keep having to stop to take slivers from each other's feet.

41. "Our sister-in-law is away over there. Let's catch her," they say to one another. They grab for their sister-in-law, but as they try to catch her she throws all the obsidian at them and then runs on while they pick it out of each other's eyes. 42. They chase her again, but again when they have almost caught up with her she throws the slivers and then clean each other's eyes.

43. She gets to Lizard's house, and gets in just as they are trying to catch her.

44. After she was inside, Lizard sealed over the round house with his spit.

45. "Let them die," says Lizard. "Come now big wind!" But when they howl they make the wind stop.

46. "Come now great rain, make them freeze!" says Lizard. "And come now, snow!" says Lizard. 47. "Come hailstones, big ones!"

Kill them! Come great flood, let them be floated away!"

48. It was the flood that killed them.

TEXTS IN THE EAST CENTRAL DIALECT

TOLD BY LENA COX

VIII. Bear Woman and Deer Woman

1. "wý·ti· ʔolò·, kó·kujti· kó·koču·j. kučǫksym kan kó·koču·j. wý·ti·, kó·koču·j wé·lyjti·." "wý·ti·, kó·koču·j wé·lyjti·."

2. "ʔél·e·ti· ʔòkat ʔéslej·a·meti·n. ʔéč·ati·nik hyťý·jaj ʔéwřit·iko·k."

3. "wýksyma·š, wé·lyj·im kó·koču·j," káč·e·t. "ʔòkat ʔuč·ù·č. ʔetáltu·jim ʔèna·t."

"wý·ti·, ʔetáltu·jim·lek šynè·m."

4. hy·jak hujèʔ, "ťó·ʔak·ati·, hé·sak·ati·!" káč·yt ʔysý·mařiŋ ʔywý·ja·j. "šý·jak·aty·, kət·yʔ·ynit ʔysé·my·."

5. "hyť, ʔýn·lʔ! wél·še·ni· kət·y·n!" nán·et kət·yj hán·a·toš ʔysý·mařiŋ. ʔól·oʔša·jiŋ kət·yŋšý·. nán·yʔpak kət·yš ʔól·oʔša·ji·j, háʔ·atyt hùjeʔ.

6. ʔysý·mařiŋ hasú·lu·t, "háʔ·atys·ʔa· kət·yjkà·n?" káč·y·t.

"ʔéw·yťʔ!" káč·yt ʔywý·ja·ŋ, "ťelé·jys tát·aŋ ʔýn·yŋ·e·š."

7. "wél·iʔ ʔájtuj. ʔýť·yʔ kət·yʔkà·n. šý·mèʔ!" ʔywý·jaŋ šý·me·t. hasú·let ʔičáʔ, "tín·yj háʔ·aty·s?" káč·e·t.

8. "háʔ·atewàŋkym tín·y·j. ťelé·jys šó·wiŋ ʔýn·yŋ·e·š."

"šý·mas ʔájtuj kət·yjkà·n! heš·yš·e hán·aʔkà·n." háʔ·atyt ʔywý·jaŋ ʔól·oʔša·ji·j.

9. "ʔať·le·, mí·nij kətme·ní·!" káč·et ʔysý·mařiŋ ʔywý·jaj ʔolójša·j.

10. "hyť!" káč·y·t. "šý·jak·aty·!" "ʔýť·yʔ mí·niŋ·yʔ," káč·y·t. ʔywý·jaŋ kət·yŋšý· ké·tek·eta·ŋ. wél·it ʔysý·mařiŋ ké·tek·eta·j kət·y·š.

11. "ʔýť·yʔ kət·y·n," káč·et ʔysý·maři·ŋ, "ʔysé·my· ʔájtuj wél·yʔewàŋkyn·iʔkan kət·y·n. ʔať·le· pásme·ní·! wél·yʔewàŋkyn·iʔkan

ʔájtú.j. ʔimýť.yťʔok-lek wé.lyn.iʔkan ʔýť.yʔ sikè.j. nomó.ťèʔ!  
pásme.ni. jùše.n! ʔáŋ.aʔ šekýjŋeʔa.j! nomó.ťèʔ mén.akon.i. pásme.ni.!"

12. nomó.ťet ʔywý.ja.ŋ. howó.jet, kučíknašŋeʔpa.k. šý.jak.at  
ʔysý.maťi.ŋ, ʔywý.jaŋ jùšeš pásme.t. 13. pásmýša.kyŋ jýl.et seče.m.  
ʔenýjnapo.t. ʔysý.maťiŋ ʔýw.y.šit ʔájtú.j, kýl.aš-lek paťý.tet  
ʔú.ču.m. kó.kočuš wí.ket líl.em.yʔ kýl.aj cí.kale.to.š. 14. wólet  
ʔú.čum watýŋ lépní.š. kýl.aŋ cí.kele.toš ʔučü.t, ʔál.am.yš kó.kočü.ŋ.

15. "kó.kè.č! ʔýw.y.č!" kač.et ʔéwťit.iko.j. "ʔytaʔmok-lek  
ʔéw.yť.e, lák.yšewaný.y, pojéʔmeʔ-wè.s. hýjʔykasytos ʔytajmo.k,"  
kač.yť ʔysý.maťi.ŋ, ʔú.čum hý.jaʔpak, kojównuʔpak ʔéwťit.iko.j.

16. ʔýw.y.šit ʔéwťit.ikon kó.kočü.j. ʔywýʔpak nán.et kýl.aj  
sá.ča.toš cí.kele.ŋ, ʔenát.ymin.aťy.ŋ, "ʔeneč.iʔ jýn.ana. ʔytač.i.j!"  
kač.e.t. ʔýť.yť.iŋ ʔéwťi.ŋ: "ʔotť.mej ʔičaʔ jýn.an.imes ʔeneč.i.ŋ!"

17. ʔwyť kó.kočü.j menó.ke.t. ʔenát.ymin.aťy.ŋ: "kan šekýjŋe.m!"  
kač.e.t. "wý.ti.-mè pá.pač.i.t!" kač.e.t. "ʔytač.iŋ močjeʔ čýl.aš  
ʔájtú ʔalú.na.š. hó.kak.àʔ wý.ti.ŋ!" kač.e.t. "wý.ti., jynáʔ.im.èʔ  
ʔeneč.iʔ."

18. wý.šit ʔéwťit.ikon čýl.aj paťý.ma.koŋ ʔalú.ma.metiš.jo.  
ʔytáŋko. ʔél.et kén.ej ʔalú.ma.i. ʔokát.oʔ wí.ke.t. woʔúltun  
ʔysý.maťiŋ šý.jyčte.jayni.t. 19. ʔewý.te.t, ʔéwťit.iko.koj wýʔ.eko.j.  
háť.ek sók.okot ʔónpet jo. ʔé.ča.k. wýʔ.ej kót.okan ná.ka.š, ʔalú.maŋ  
kujá.ke.t. ʔetalet ʔysý.maťiŋ hywá.tet šýjŋej.i.ka.t. "ʔetáltuk  
ʔáne.!" kač.e.t.

20. wýʔ.ekoŋ ʔučü.ʔa.tok háʔ.atap ʔalú.ma.metij hawíj.aka.j.  
nán.yj.i.ka.t, wý.šit ʔičaʔ, ʔysý.maťiŋ ʔetálp.o.t. wýksaš kawí.naš  
kujá.ket čýl.a.ŋ. howó.jut ʔéwťit.ikon kujá.kaš múk.uj ʔé.ča.š.

21. hojí.čak.at ʔysý.maťiŋ. "ʔík-ʔok kán.i.j ʔejúťŋep.ut ʔoš.at.iko.k.

nákpakot ʔwyʔ·it ʔís·ak·oj ʔoš·at·iko·koj!" kujá·kuʔpak ʔulújpanit ʔalú·ma·ŋ.

22. "hywáʔ·y·šlʔ ʔaté! háj·e·ti· pá·pač·iŋ ʔú·ču·š:" káč·et tetéjša·ŋ.

23. ʔysý·maŋiŋ háj·eksyt hyʔy·jaj šýj·y·šit háj·ek ʔú·čuš pá·paŋko·. ʔís·akyn noč·u·šit šýj·yč·yʔpak<sup>12</sup> háj·e·k. ʔéwʔit·ikoŋ lákšet ʔú·ču·toš pá·paŋko·.

24. "katú·tèʔ, pá·pà!"

"lí·em·yʔ ʔukúj·aʔkà·n. ʔú·kè·č!" káč·y·t. ʔéwʔit·ikoŋ čý·met lí·eʔ ká·pu·toš pá·paŋkò·, kojówmuni·t; "ʔysý·maŋiʔ jynáš·eʔ ʔytájma·š! ʔónpa·m!"

25. pá·paŋko· šák·aŋiŋ hóŋ·okot pú·kijaj wykè·m. ʔéwʔit·ikok šýj·y·šit. háj·e·toš ʔóʔ·uč·ut háʔ·taš ʔoŋf·koj pú·kijaj·j.

26. ʔysý·maŋiŋ lákšet hoŋoš·ej pú·kijaj ʔoŋf·ko·j. ʔysý·maŋi<sup>13</sup> hasú·le·t; "ʔéwʔit·ikok-ʔa lákšap nét-ʔok? páʔyjnym ʔú·čum ʔytá·to·k. mín·it katà·n?"

27. šák·aŋiŋ kojówmuni·t;

"lí·emʔnyk kataʔkan." čý·met ʔysý·maŋiŋ lí·em·yʔ. nočú·t, "ʔwyŋ·iʔkan ʔís·ak·o·j!" káč·e·t. "mín·im·yʔ ʔú·kun·iʔkà·n?" hyjá·ket šák·aŋi·ŋ; "sýmpeʔ šýntyn ʔená·toš·uʔ há·haj·eʔ ʔáw·o·n, hý·taj·èʔ! ʔúk·in wá·niʔ miný·ŋa·j!"

28. sýmpet šýntyŋsý·, há·haj·et ʔáw·o·suš, ʔú·ket wá·niʔ.

"hylí·nèʔ! mànik há·haj·èʔ!" šák·aŋiŋ haʔátmynit ʔáw·o·toš hóŋ·oʔa·sýš pú·kija·s. 29. mýʔtet kén·ej pú·kijaj·j, kón·ej mamý·tet pú·kijaj·j. ʔysý·maŋiŋ huŋé·lak·at lí·emʔnyk ʔú·čuš hùjeʔ.

30. "čámša·!" káč·et šák·aŋiŋ, ʔáčé·metiš kojówmuni·t. wý·šit ʔečā·m, lúŋ·uj·i·kat ʔysý·maŋi·j.

Literal translation

1. "Let-us-two-go sister-in-law, let-us-two-go-gather-clover clover(obj.). I-like I clover. Let-us-go, clover let's-go-get."

2. "Let's-leave here thy-children. They-are-always-following-thee continually fawn-children."

3. "We-are-leaving, we-go-to-get clover," they-said [to the fawns]. "Here you-stay. We-will-return soon."

"Let's-go, we-will-be-back in-evening."

4. When-they-arrive down, "Let's-sit-down, let's-rest!" said-to Bear(subj.) Deer(obj.). "Look-at-me, I-have-lice perhaps."

5. "Yes, come! Let-me-search-thee-for thy-lice!" She-found lice in-her-head of-Bear. Were-toads her-lice. Finding her-lice toads, keeps-throwing down.

6. Bear asked, "Art-thou-throwing? my-lice?" she-said.

"No!" said Deer, "Thou-hearest leaves falling."

7. "Get all. Much my-lice. Take!" Deer took-them. Asked again, "What thou-art-throwing?" said.

8. I-am-not-throwing-away anything. Thou-hearest pine-cones fall."

"Thou-hast-taken-away all my-lice! Feels-light my-head." Throw-away Deer toads.

9. "Now-for, thee let-me-louse-thee!" said-to Bear(subj.) Deer(obj.) her-sister-in-law.

10. "Yes!" she-said. "Look-thou-at-me!" "Many thine-are," she-said. Deer's her-lice were-wood-ticks. Took Bear wood-ticks her-lice.

11. "Many thy-lice," said Bear, "Maybe all I-can-not-get thy-lice.



Now-for let-me-nibble-thee! I-can-not-get all. In-that-fashion-indeed I-can-get many so-very. Bend-over! Let-me-nibble-thee thy-head-hair! Do-not fear! Bend let-me-try-thee let-me-nibble-thee!"

12. Stooped Deer. She-expected, being-well-treated. Searched Bear, Deer's head nibbled. 13. Nibbling she-bit-her in-the-neck. She-was-carried-away. Bear ate all, her-liver-however she-took home. Her-clover she-put on-top-of liver in-her-pack-basket. 14. She-reached home of-sun its-setting. Liver in-her-pack-basket remained, at-its-underneath of-the-clover.

15. "Have-clover! Eat!" said-to Fawn-children, "Your-mother-however is-not-here, she-does-not-appear, slow-is-indeed. You-know your-mother," said Bear, home arriving, talking-to little-Fawns.

16. Ate Fawn-children clover. Eating found liver in-bottom of-basket, younger-one; "Our-aunt has-killed our-mother!" said, Big Fawn; "Us-two also she-might-kill-us our-aunt!" 17. Ate clover she-continued. Younger-one: "I I-fear!" said. "Let's-go to-our-grandfather!" said. "Of-mother pick-up her-awl all her-baskets. Get-ready let's-go!" said. "Let's-go, she-will-kill-us our-aunt."

18. Went Fawn-children awl taking her-many-baskets-then of-their-mother. Left-behind one basket, right-there put-it. Returning bear looked-about. 19. There-was-no-one, Fawn-children having-gone. Their-tracks she-traced following then outside. Having-gone distance when-she-had-reached, basket whistled. Went-back Bear she-ran she-looked-about. "They-have-returned maybe!" she-said.

20. After-they-left their-dwelling they-have-thrown many-baskets in-all-directions. She-went-to-find-them, went again, Bear had-followed-back-of-them. As-she-is-going as-she-is-in-the-midst

whistled awl. She-thought fawns were-whistling trail away-from.

21. Got-angry Bear. "Those me they-are-teasing-me girls. If-I-catch-them I-will-eat those girls!" Whistling delayed-her baskets.

22. "Hurry younger-sister! We-are-approaching grandfather's his-house!" said her-older-sister.

23. Bear was-approaching all-the-time she-watched-them as-they-approached his-house of-their-grandfather. She cried seeing-them as-they-approached-it. Little-fawns appeared at-his-house of-their-grandfather.

24. "Open-door, grandfather!"

"On-top my-door-is. Come-in!" said. Little-fawns climbed up to-his-smoke-hole of-their-grandfather. They-told-him; "Bear killed our-mother! She-has-followed-us!"

25. Their-grandfather Lizard heated cooking-rocks in-fire. Little-Fawns watched-him. In-his-vicinity were-sitting as-he-threw-in two stones. 26. Bear appeared as-were-hot stones two. Bear asked; "Little-fawns? have-appeared here? I-have-come-to-take-them home to-their-mother. Where is-thy-door?"

27. Lizard told-her;

"Up-here is-my-door." She-climbed Bear on-top. She-was-shouting, "I-could-eat them!" said. "Where can-I-come-in?" Cried-out Lizard; "Close thine-eye at-once open thy-mouth, do-it-more! Thou-wilt-enter inside at-once!"

28. Closed her-eyes(subj.), she-opened as-to-her-mouth, came inside. "Do-it-hard! More open-it!" Lizard threw-at-her in-her-mouth with-what-he-had-heated with-stones. 29. She-swallowed one stone, one she-took-in-her-mouth stone. Bear rolled from-above his-house down.

30. "She-has-died;" said Lizard, his-grandchildren he-spoke-to.  
He-went outside, went-to-skin Bear.

Free translation

1. "Let's go, sister-in-law. Let's go to gather clover. I like clover. Let's go and gather it."

2. "Let's leave your children here. Those fawns follow you everywhere."

3. "We're going out," said Deer Woman to her children. "You stay here. We'll be back soon."

"Let's go, we'll be back by evening."

4. When they got down to the meadow, Bear Woman said to Deer Woman, "Let's sit down, let's rest. Look in my fur, maybe I have lice."

5. "Yes, come on, I'll look for your lice." And she found lice in Bear's head. Bear's lice were toads. Finding that the lice were toads, Deer Woman kept throwing them away.

6. Bear asked, "Are you throwing away my lice?"

"No," said Deer. "What you hear is leaves falling."

7. "Get them all," said Bear, "I have lots of lice." And Deer took them. But Bear asked again, "What are you throwing away?"

8. "I'm not throwing anything away. What you hear are pine cones falling."

"You've taken away all my lice. My head feels light." But Deer was throwing away all the toads.

9. "Now it's your turn, now let me louse you," said Bear to Deer, her sister-in-law.

10. "All right. You look through my hair," said Deer. "You have lots of lice," said Bear. Deer's lice are wood-ticks. Bear took all the wood-tick lice.

11. "You have lots of lice," said Bear. "Maybe I won't be able to get them all. Let me nibble at them. That's the only way I can get them all. Bend over and let me nibble your hair. Don't be afraid. Let me try to nibble you."

12. Deer stooped over. She thought Bear meant well by her. Bear searched, nibbling Deer's head. 13. As she nibbled she bit her in the neck. It was a sudden impulse, but Bear continued and ate her sister-in-law, all except the liver. This she took home in her basket with the clover on top of the liver. 14. She reached home about sunset, the clover in her pack basket and the liver still underneath.

15. "Here you are," she said to the fawn children. "Have some clover. Eat your supper. Your mother's not here yet. You know how slow she is, your mother," said Bear, arriving home and talking to the fawns.

16. The fawns ate the clover, and as they were eating they found the liver in the bottom of the basket. "Our aunt has killed our mother," said the younger one. "She might kill us too," said the bigger fawn. 17. She went on eating clover. The younger one said, "I'm scared. Let's go to grandpa," she said. "Gather up all mother's things, her awl, her baskets, get ready and we'll start," she said. "Let's go, or our aunt will kill us."

18. The fawns set out, taking with them the awl and all their mother's baskets, but one basket they left behind, and they put

it right in the middle of the house. When Bear came back, she looked about. 19. But there was no-one there, since the fawns had gone. She found their tracks and followed them outside. When she'd gone a little distance, the basket in the house whistled and Bear ran back home to look. "Maybe they came back," she said.

20. After they'd left home they began throwing the baskets in all directions. Bear went back again to find them, and as she was going along the awl whistled. "Those fawns are running away from me," she thought. 21. Bear got angry, thinking the little girls were teasing her. "If I catch those girls I'm going to eat them." But the whistling baskets delayed her.

22. "Hurry up, little sister. We're approaching our grandfather's house," said the elder sister.

23. Bear was getting nearer all the time. She could see them, getting near their grandfather's house. She cried as she watched them approach it. The fawns came up to their grandfather's house.

24. "Open the door, Grandpa!"

"My door is on top of the house," he said. "Come in!" The fawns climbed up to their grandfather's smokehole. They told him their story. "Bear killed our mother. She's following us."

25. Grandfather Lizard heated cooking stones in the fire. The fawns sat close by, watching him heating two stones. 26. As the two stones were getting hot, Bear appeared. "Did the fawns get here?" she asked. "I've come to take them home to their mother. Where is your door?"

27. Lizard told her.

"My door is up on top." Bear climbed up on top. She was shouting,

"I could eat them," she said. "Where can I get in?" Lizard answered, "Close your eyes and open your mouth, and you'll get in right away."

28. Bear closed her eyes and opened her mouth, and came inside.

"Open it more!" Lizard threw at her the two stones that he had been heating. 29. One stone she swallowed, and one she had in her mouth. Bear rolled down from the top of the house.

30. "Well, she's dead," said Lizard to his grandchildren. He went outside. He went to skin Bear.

## IX. Coyote Steals the Sun

1. wàty? lák·yšewaš·y? ʔoló·win, kóme? jo·. puší·ʦašy<sup>14</sup> nuna·šaj.  
luʦí·sašy<sup>14</sup> ʔitá·non-ʔok.

2. ʔašé·li? wýn·yʦíš·y? ʔýn·yʦíš·y? hí·šy·m. lá·ma·metij háj·eʔa·k,  
hí·šy·m ʔéʦ·uj šyjé·eš·y? 3. ʔitán-ʔok hý·jak·eš·y? lí·lem·y?  
lème·t, šyjé·eš·y? ʔitàn ʔéʦ·u·j. šyjé·eš·y? lú·ʦí·koj mív·y·ko·j.

4. ʔetáltu·ŋ, kojówmunit hajá·po·š. "tín·yj-ši mǐč·yjny·s?"  
kačýš·eš·y? hajá·poš ʔašé·li·ŋ.

5. ʔašé·liŋ: "wýksyn·iʔka·n," kač·y·, "wylá·ŋyj·iŋkyn·iʔkan  
ʔíʦ·ok watýj, wylá·tyn·iš ʔájtuj tól·e·j!"

6. ʔašé·liŋ jé·apewañkyt kojónnaš mív·y·ko·ŋ. ʔís·akyn wý·šit  
týntyn·yʔpak kén·et·i·ŋ. wý·ši·t, wý·ne·t, ʔéʦ·uj šýjŋej·i·ka·t.

7. woʦí·let lá·maŋ ʔál·am·y·to·š, luʦí·sypoksuʔa·k. hajá·pon  
woʦúltuŋ múk·ukčij ʔunu·tuŋ ʔýš·a·. 8. péj·ymaj šýš·yj paʦý·tet  
ʔú·ču·toš šýš·y·ji·š. wý·ket ʔíj-ʔok kawý·ly·j. šýš·yŋšy· ʔí·šyŋ-ʔok  
séptupo·t. 9. hojí·ket šýš·y·kčl·j. ʔí·šyŋ-ʔok ʔówlet wykéj  
hawím·aʦy·j. wí·ket weké·let šýš·y·j. 10. ʔíšyŋ-ʔok hačí·tet  
lilét·y·t, ʦíw·y·ši·t. ʦýj·eʦit hajá·pon ʔýʦ·ys ʦýj·ekot·jò·.  
ʦyjé·munkaš ʔašé·liŋ šýjŋeʔa·k, luʦí·sypo·t.

11. ʔašé·liŋ šý·jak·at watýj ʔitàn hywátkunit ʔéčam. hajá·pon  
tál·i·t, wýksaš šý·jak·a·t. ʔašé·liŋ hýw·aŋ mánik mív·y·koj  
hywá·tyʔpak ʔél·e·t. 12. hý·jakot pú·šiʦat tól·e·t, mív·y·koŋ·jo·  
šeký·jak·at pú·šiʦa·j. ʔetáltuŋ lákšet ʔú·ču·toš ʔís·akyn hájna·k.  
13. wí·ket hójkin·y·toš hajá·pon ʔú·čuŋsu· watù·j. háʦ·e·syš  
čík·ako·t.

"tín·yj-ši kučl? ʔí-ʔok?" kač·e·t.

14. ʔašé·liŋ kač·e·t, "welát·im watù·j," kač·e·t, "wél·aty·j!?"

ʔašé·liŋ ʔóʃše·t. "wàtyʔ wýn·ik lí·leṭ·i·j," káč·e·t. "hí·šym lakýš·ik, ʔoló·win wýʔ·i·k," káč·e·t. ʔynýʔ·ik ʔá·laṭ·i·j, ʔetal·ik hí·šy·m," káč·e·t. ʔóʃše·t. 15. "ʔynýʔ·ik ʔá·laṭ·i·j," káč·e·t. "ʔetal·ik·jo·, hí·šym ʔetal·i·k."

#### Literal translation

1. Sun used-not-to-appear in-the-west, moon then [also]. It-was-dark always. It-was-different at-that-time.

2. Coyote used-to-hunt used-to-come in-the-east. Tree-many approaching, in-the-east sunlight he-saw. 3. Then he-arrived on-the-top on-the-mountain, he-saw then sunlight. He-saw strange people.

4. Coming-from-returning, he-told his-chief. "What you-wish-to-do?" said his-chief of-coyote.

5. Coyote: "I-would-go," says, "I-would-go-to-steal that sun, it-would-light-up whole world!"

6. Coyote(obj.) they-did-not-believe when-he-told-them people(subj.). He went pondering along. He-went, he-went-along, sunlight he-went-to-see. 7. He-lay-down of-a-tree at-its-bottom, transforming-himself. Chief came-from-going-home little-trail came-from-coming after-a-while. 8. Broken-at-the-fork firewood he-took at-his-house [for]-his-future-firewood. He-made-a-fire that night. His-firewood it got-itself-out. 9. He-put-in-again little-firewood. It circled fire every-side. He-put he-laid-crosswise firewood. 10. It got-up upward, it-stood-on-end. Was-sleepy Chief much fall-asleep-then. When-he-was-asleep Coyote seeing, transformed-himself.



11. Coyote saw Sun then he-ran-with-it outside. Chief awoke, as-he-went he-saw-him. Coyote swift more people running he-outdistanced-them. 12. He-arrived at-dark at-land, people-then were-afraid-of dark. Coming-from-returning he-appeared at-his-home he slowly. 13. He-put at-its-in-front of-chief of-his-house Sun. By-means-of-his-foot he-pointed.

"For-what is-good it?" he-said.

14. Coyote said, "We-will-have-it-for-light Sun," he-said, "It-will-be-a-light!"

Coyote fixed-it. "Sun will-go-along our-above [above us]," he-said. "In-east it-will-appear, in-west it-will-go," he-said. It-will-come our-below [below us], it-will-return in-east," he-said. He-fixed-it. 15. "It-will-come our-below," he-said. "It-will-return-then, in-east it-will-return."

Free translation by Jaime de Angulo

The sun used not to come over to the West, or the Moon either. It was dark all the time. It was different in those days.

Coyote used to hunt, used to go East. When he got near the timber line, he saw sunlight to the east. Then he reached the top of the mountain range, and there he saw the sunlight, and strange people.

When he had returned home he told his chief about it. "What do you want to do about it?" said Coyote's chief.

"I would go," Coyote said, "I would go to steal that Sun. It would light up the whole world!"

The people did not believe Coyote when he told them this. He

set out alone, pondering over it. He set out, he travelled along, he went to see the sunlight. He lay down underneath a tree, changing himself into a stick of wood. After a while, the chief of that land came along the little trail on his way home. He took home the broken stick for his firewood. He made a fire that night-- that stick jumped out of the fire. He put the little stick in again--it circled itself around the fire. He put the stick in again, he laid it crosswise, but it stood up, it raised itself and stood on end. The chief was very sleepy, and he dropped off to sleep. When Coyote saw that the chief was asleep, he changed himself into Coyote again.

Coyote saw the Sun then, and he ran outside with it. The chief awoke, and saw him as he went. But Coyote was a better runner than the people, and he outdistanced them as he ran. He came to the dark land, and the people were afraid of the dark. So he returned from there, and up to his home he came, slowly. He laid the Sun down in front of the chief's house. The chief pointed at it with his foot.

"What is it good for?" he asked.

Coyote said: "We will have the Sun for light." He said, "It will be a light!"

Coyote fixed it. "The Sun will travel along above us," he said. "It will appear in the East, and it will travel to the West," he said. "Then it will go below us and return to the East," he said. He fixed it that way. "It will go below us," he said, "and so return, return to the East."

X. East Central Dialect, Fragments of Stories

1. huš·e·pi? ʔwy·jakčij ʔwy·. šawáñti·ʔi? kík·ym huš·e·pij  
šýjñej·i? lóp·a?puř·a·š. ʔwy·jakčiš·yj lóp·a·. čičkakčič ʔwʔyksy·  
šawáñti·ʔi?. 2. šýj·yč·y lóp·aš kučíkšy·, šýj·yč·y lóp·aš  
ʔwy·jakčič·j. ʔywa·š, nət·o? ʔáw·om hý·ja kýč·yčykčič·?

3. "tín·yj ʔím·y?" kač·y čičkakčič·j.

"ʔéw·yte!" 4. wý·ša·, wé·la· ʔáw·om čička? lí·le?, tačijšaj  
ʔám·a ʔún·ičkčičš kýč·ičkčičš·s. nép·uře? ʔalú·ma? ʔýř·yř·i?  
ʔít·ok wýlkina· kýč·yčykčič·j, jašpana·, čý·sa·. lotót·ot·a!

5. lákšy ʔwy·jakčič·? lákša·, "me!" nočū·. nočū·, nočū·, ʔýř·a  
nočū·, tá·čičš nočū· "hí·ana·, wý·ša· halèm ʔwy·ja?"

\* \* \*

6. ʔákma ʔwén·ily? míw·y·j. jýn·ana·, čí·kele·toš wí·ka·,  
wík·una· čikó·ma?. 7. háʔtana· wykè·m. moté·neř·ikoj ʔečél·yt·ikoj  
ʔén·e·t. 8. jýl·a· ʔw·y·ša· míw·yj ʔákma·. wý·ša· ʔeča?, wél·yj·a·  
ʔwén·ily? šó·čočo?. "kójkoj·ù·, míʔka·n!"

9. ʔisí·najy? ʔákma ʔwén·ilyš·y·j.

\* \* \*

10. tín·y?·lek ʔonoš·ò· lí·le?, míčýšpuře?? pó·kily? pó·kily?  
nép·uře? pó·kily?!" 11. "míč·ys čý·myʔa·j? čý·me? lí·le?, kó·tan  
lí·le? nət·o?: wíkji? ʔawářji? ʔujánji? lí·leʔnyk!"

12. ʔujá·ny wál·im tó·lem, čámša· ʔašé·li?. ʔošájša? wý·ša·.  
"hé!: míč·a·k, ʔonoš·ò·? čámšak·řiš·."

Literal translation

1. Water-Spirit little-deer is-about-to-eat. Wren in-water  
Water-Spirit goes-to-watch as-she-pounds-along. Little-erstwhile-

deer pounds. Little-bird is-hungry Wren. 2. Watches as-she-pounds wants-it, watches as-pounds little-deer. As-she-eats, here into-mouth arrives little-bone.

3. "What(obj.) there?" she-says-to little-bird.

"There-isn't-any!" 4. Went, took in-mouth Bird up, elder-brother gave with-little with-bone. This-kind basket big. In-it put-fire little-bone, covered, cooked. It-boiled!

5. Appears little-deer. Appeared, "... " he-cries. Cries, cries, ... cries, his-brother cries "He-has-come-alive, he-has-gone into-brush deer."

\* \* \*

6. Devoured giant people. Has-killed, in-his-pack-basket put, has-put cooking-basket. 7. Has-thrown in-fire. Pregnant-women children ... . 8. Has-bitten has-eaten people has-devoured. Has-gone outside, has-gone-to-take giant Shochocho. "..., ... !"

9. Ants have-devoured erstwhile-giant.

\* \* \*

10. What-is-it old-woman up, what-kind? Bunch bunch this-kind bunch!" 11. How climb? Climb-then up, away up right-here! Put-later ... jump-later from-up!"

12. Jumps on-ground on-ground, has-died coyote. His-wife has-gone. "... ! What-have-I-done, old-woman? I-have-died-apparently."

**TEXTS IN SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK**

## XI. The Journey of the Soul

1. čamý·hati? hí·emhy ʔojís·aj haméh·eme·j. ʔojísnýtho·j,  
wýksy heč·i?hy tamá·lin wýksyʔat·o?hy· čamý·hati·ŋ.

2. hý·ja ʔykýtwač také·ma·j. ʔítʔok háčŋe mív·yʔ, hasú·lu ʔíʔok:  
"tín·yč mičú·tuni? ʔunú·tuni?ʔ mičŋ·eh·yni? sikén·eh·yni?ʔ" kač·y·  
"čamŋ·eh·yni?ʔ" kač·y·.

3. "hy?y, čamŋ·eh·ytè? ʔunú·tute?–tə? nətʔok."

4. "ʔŋ·e<sup>15</sup> nət·o? ʔypŋkun·i·," kač·y·. lép·athoj ʔýphyʔajhy·,  
"ʔoká·hy·j, také·me? nej také·ma·j. wý·ʔ hý·yč hojít·y·t. ken  
ʔelé·wajmyni? péř·aŋ·ejni?. 5. menó·ke? wý·ʔ ʔítʔok kotó·wak.  
ʔuč·u kéŋ·e? mív·yʔ ʔítʔok. hý·jajni?, ʔíʔok ʔypŋnuk·ujni· hó·a·j."

6. ʔítʔok-lek hý·ja·, ʔíʔok hó·aj hasú·lu·: "mičú·tuni?ʔ"  
kač·y·. ʔíʔok ʔypŋnuk·u, ʔitánʔok ʔíʔok hó·aj ʔypŋnuk·u·.

7. ʔitánʔok kojównu·: "ʔinít·o? wy? ʔíw·in hó·aj ʔíʔok  
ʔypŋkun·ihni·ŋ," kač·y·. 8. ʔitánʔok ʔítʔok wýksy·, ʔítʔok ʔýphy·,  
ʔítʔok mó·ta mív·yʔhy·.

9. "mičŋ·eh·yni? tín·y·j? sikén·eh·yni?ʔ" kač·up·u· mív·yj·a?hy·  
hý·ja?hy·. 10. "nətʔok-lek čŋty? ʔuč·u?mah·i·. kalá·ŋmah·i·,  
hinó·wumah·i·, čŋtyj sikej ʔuč·umah·i·. nətʔok čŋty? manik ʔinímʔok  
ʔuč·uř·i·j. 11. mičŋksŋ·le· mív·yj·ař·i?ʔ mičŋksa?kò· ʔynŋ·eni?,  
čŋtŋ·yč·yp·u·-ə· ʔájtu?ʔ"

### Literal translation

1. Dead(plural) remain four-[days] we-having-buried-[them].  
Reaching-four, go it-being-daybreak north to-his-place-of-going  
of-dead.

2. Arrives at-this-end bridge. There stands man, asks he: "What

hast-thou-done hast-thou-come? What-didst-thou-do didst-thou-fall-sick?" says. "Didst-thou-die?" says.

3. "Yes, I-died I-have-come-it-seems to-this-place."

4. "Come here! Let-me-bathe-thee," says. Finishing bathing-him, "Enough, cross this bridge. Go looking ahead. Not glancing-about-thee [or] thou-wilt-fall. 5. Continue go to-it far-side. Is one man there. Thou-wilt-arrive, he will-bathe-thee again."

6. There-then he-arrives, he again asks: "What-dost-thou-come-from-doing?" says. He bathes-him, then he again bathes-him. 7. Then says-to-him: "That-way go now again he that-he-may-bathe-thee," says. 8. Then there he-goes, there he-bathes, there meet-him his-people.

9. "What-didst-thou-do what? Didst-thou-fall-sick?" they-say his-many-people as-he-arrives. 10. "Here-indeed good is-our(exc.)-life. We-dance, we-gamble, well to-such-a-degree we-live. Here is-good more-than over-there our(incl.)-life. 11. How-are our(incl.)-people? When-they-were-how you-left, they-are-well? all?"

Free translation by Jaime de Angulo

The Dead remain for four days, after we have buried them. When they have reached the fourth day, they go north at daybreak to the Land of the Dead.

The dead man comes to this end of a bridge. There, a man is standing, and he asks: "Why have you come here? Did you have some sickness?" he says. "Why did you die?" he asks.

"Yes, it seems that I have died and have come to this place."

"Come here, let me bathe you," he says. And when he has finished

bathing him: "Good! Now cross this bridge. Go, and look straight ahead of you. Do not look about you, or you will fall. Keep on to the other side. There is a man there. You will reach him, and he will bathe you again."

So he arrives there, and again one asks him: "Why have you come?" The second man bathes him then, bathes him again. Then he tells him: "Go on again still farther so that one again may bathe you." And on he goes, and there again he bathes, and his people meet him.

"What did you do, were you sick?" his people say when he gets there. "In this place our life is good. We dance, we play gambling games, so well we live! It is better here than our life over there. And how are all our people? How were they when you left them; are all of them well?"



XII. Southern Sierra Miwok, Fragments of Stories

1. ʔahé·liʔ pá·pač·iʔ. ʔenyh·eh·yme·, wík·eh·yme· nétʔok hál·et.  
ʔenyh·eh·yme· jó·woku·j. 2. jó·woku·j júw·eh·yʔ, lú·pujʔej  
ʔenyh·eh·yme·, hewéh·eh·yme·. ʔitánʔok líw·aʔewa·me·ŋ. "líw·akoč·í·!"  
kačyh·eh·yme·. "kél·ek liwán·iʔmah·i·!"

3. ʔitánʔok-lek sák·y·j wynýt·eh·yʔ; ʔitánʔok sák·y·j ʔíjʔok  
wynýt·e·ŋ, sykýk·eh·yʔ sák·y·j. ʔitánʔok lól·eh·yʔ míw·y·j.

4. "liwán·iʔmok·o·-ʔà·ʔ" kačyh·eh·yʔ. ken míw·yʔ mičýkna·t,  
hýj·yč·yt·hà·k. ʔitánʔok-lek ʔahé·liʔ kalán·eh·yʔ. 5. "hýj·yh·ič·í·  
nej sák·y·j peťák·yč·yha·ky·j!" kačyh·eh·yʔ ʔahé·liʔ. 6. ʔitánʔok  
kalán·eh·yʔ ʔahé·liʔ, ʔitánʔok kalán·eŋ sáw·eh·yʔ; "je·j! je·j!  
je·j!" kačyh·eh·yʔ.

7. míw·yhoʔ<sup>16</sup> sáw·eh·yʔ. ʔitánʔok liwáh·eh·yʔ míw·yʔ, ʔitánʔok  
ʔokáh-ʔíj liwáh·eh·yʔ.

\* \* \*

8. ʔywél·in ʔywýh·eh·yʔ míw·y·j. ʔahé·liʔ ʔynýh·eh·yʔ ʔoló·winʔýnyk  
jó·haʔhy· míw·y·j. (humélnapoksu ʔýn·ythoj ʔoló·winʔýnyk.)

hý·jak·eh·yʔ, čí·kelet ʔyjý·maʔ čýl·aj hý·jak·eh·yʔ. 9. ʔesél·ytit  
ʔytátko· molí·taʔhy· hý·jak·eʔ ʔahé·liʔ. ʔukín·eh·yko· pičé·mas  
míw·y·s. 10. ʔyhýh·eh·yʔ ʔahé·liʔ, núʔ·eh·yʔ, ken ʔywýh·eh·yʔ.

11. hýjnej·ik·eh·yʔ míw·y·j, huťew·eh·yʔ, ʔyjý·ni·metij ʔokál·eh·yʔ,  
huťew·eh·yʔ. ʔitánʔok-lek ʔahé·liʔ jóh·eh·yʔ ʔywél·iny·j. ʔájtʔ  
míw·yʔ kylíh·eh·yʔ.

12. ʔahé·liʔ salít·eh·yʔ jóh·e·ŋ. líf·epoksu·. ʔahé·liʔ  
ʔetál·eh·yʔ híspapyŋ hów·oťu·s, salít·eh·yʔ.

Literal translation

1. Coyote is-our-grandfather. He-made-us, he-put-us on-this on-earth. He-made-us [of]-mud. 2. Mud he-stirred, ... he-made-us, he-dried-us. At-that-time we-did-not-talk. "Speak!" he-said-to-us. "Not we-can-speak!"

3. Then digger-pine-cones fetched; then pine-cones it after-having-fetched, ... pine-cones. Then brought-together people.

4. "Can-you-speak?" he-said. Not people did-anything, watched-merely. Then-indeed Coyote danced. 5. "Watch-you these pine-cones lying-in-a-row!" he-said Coyote. 6. Then danced Coyote, then having-danced shouted; "Hey! hey! hey!" said.

7. People-also shouted. Then they-spoke people, then same they-spoke.

\* \* \*

8. Giant ate people. Coyote came from-west as-he-was-killing people. (He-makes-self-old coming from-west.) Arrived, in-pack-basket carrying awls he-arrived. 9. At-children at-their-mothers as-it-was-getting-dark arrived Coyote. They-cooked-for-him with-meat with-human-flesh. 10. He-disliked-it Coyote, he-hid-it, not he-ate.

11. He-went-to-see people, ..., the-many-bonds he-untied, ... . Then-indeed Coyote killed giant. All people came-back-to-life.

12. Coyote grew-young after-killing. He-decks-himself-with-beads. Coyote returned having-decked-self with-beads, became-young.

**ADDITIONAL TEXTS**  
**IN THE WEST CENTRAL DIALECT**

### XIII. The Kuksu Dance

told by John Kelly

1. šyjėn·anyt kėnkemej kúksuju·j. ?íj?ok šyj·enwat mitá·no·n, jún·ičikčinky?pa·k. 2. mešá·jam kalá·ny·to·š. ?ošá?pu? kėn·e? kalá·ny kúksuju·j. wó?·o·či? kalá·ny ?iča? kúksuju·j, kálŋa·š.
3. ?íj?ok šyjėn·anyt ?oma· kėnkeme·j. mitá·non šyj·enwat mani·k.
4. ?íj?ok hám·eš·yk mešá·ja·m, ?oš·akčij čany·šan mešá·ja·to·š.
5. ?omá· ?íj?ok šyjėn·any·t.

#### Literal translation

1. I-saw once Kuksu-dance. It I-not-see ever, being-little.
2. In-graveyard he-was-dancing. Freak one dances Kuksu-dance. Clown dances also Kuksu-dance, his-dance. 3. It I-saw just once. Ever I-not-see-it more.
4. Him they-buried in-graveyard, of-girl of-dead-person in-her-graveyard.
5. Just this I-saw.

#### Free translation

1. I saw the Kuksu dance once. I never used to see it when I was little.
2. He was dancing in a graveyard. One Freak is dancing the Kuksu dance. A Clown also dances the Kuksu dance, his dance.
3. That was the only time I saw it. I never saw it any more.
4. They buried him in a graveyard, in the graveyard of a dead girl.
5. That's all I saw.

#### XIV. Preparing Acorns

told by Viola Wessell

1. ʔywét·im ʔelé·lij, ʔó·ʔuj·im tamá·lin, pís·aj·im ʔól·im ʔelé·lij, páš·aj·im hojé·non, pík·aj·im. 2. šýš·yj hój·im wýk·aj, šawá·metij tawán·a·j. kík·ym šawàj wík·im. 3. ʔáčé·metiʔkan<sup>17</sup> mó·nukuj wélkaj·i·tek moláp·anʔij katý·my·j. šawá·metiš kúk·im híntyniʔ nýp·aj ʔylè·j. 4. ʔylèj wík·im ʔýʔ·yʔ·it pulák·a·t. kík·yš ʔál·ymeš lupín·i·m. 5. lép·anit ʔepnà· ʔwyj·im hojé·no·n.

#### Literal translation

1. We-will-give-a-dinner [of]-acorns, we-go-to-gather in-the-north, we-go-to-crack we-will-shell acorns, we-go-to-pound tomorrow, we-go-to sift. 2. Firewood we-will-haul to-build-a-fire, rock-several to-heat. In-water rocks we-will-put. 3. My-grandchild-several cedar-[boughs] they-go-to-get-for-me for-me-to-leach acorn-kernels. By-means-of-rock-several we-will-cook preparing acorn-soup [or] acorn-bread. 4. For-acorn-bread we-will-put-in [the acorn meal] in-big in-basket. By-means-of-water by-means-of-cold we-will-fill-it. 5. Finishing then we-go-to-eat tomorrow.

#### Free translation

1. We will give an acorn dinner. We're going to gather acorns north of here. We're going to crack and shell the acorns. We're going to pound acorns tomorrow. We're going to sift the acorns. 2. Then we'll haul wood so we can build a fire, so we can heat the rocks. Then we'll put the hot rocks in the water. 3. My grandsons will get me some cedar boughs so I can drain the bitter out of

the acorn meal. With the rocks we're going to cook the acorn meal for either acorn soup or acorn bread. 4. For the acorn bread we will put the acorn meal in a big basket and fill it up with cold water. 5. Then when we get through we're going to have our dinner the next day.

#### XV. The Coyote and the Lizard

told by Viola Wessell

1. náj·ymšíʔ·anyk kátwaŋ ʔím·yʔ<sup>18</sup> šák·aʔi·ŋ. "ʔís·yk míw·y·koŋ kanỳŋ ʔíp·uʔe·jiʔ" kač·y·teš kátwa·ŋ. šák·aʔiŋ: "kanỳŋ ʔíp·uʔe·jiʔ" kač·yš·y·š. 2. hojícŋeʔpak jo· kátwaŋ ʔonúp·anyš šák·aʔi·j. šák·aʔiŋ wykš·anyš šawa·m. ʔól·u·ta·ny·teš šák·aʔi·j. 3. ʔím·yʔ wyk·any·š, wykèj hinýt·any·š, wý·ky·tan šák·aʔi·j. ʔól·u·teš ʔičaʔ. wykýt·anyš háʔ·eš·yŋšy čelúk·any·š. 4. ʔitànʔok šák·aʔiŋ hywát·any·š. ʔitànʔok ʔís·yʔ·ynim<sup>19</sup> šák·aʔiŋ ʔíp·uʔe·j.

#### Literal translation

1. They-quarreled Coyote and Lizard. "Their-hands of-the-people of-me future-this-kind," said Coyote. Lizard: "Of-me future-this-kind" said. 2. Getting-angry then Coyote chased Lizard. Lizard went into-rocks. He-tried-to-dig-[out] Lizard. 3. Then he-built-a-fire, fire he-made, trying-to-burn-[out] Lizard. He-dug again. Got-burned his-erstwhile-paw he-stopped. 4. Then Lizard ran. Then hand-possessor-we of-Lizard this-kind,

Free translation

1. The coyote and the lizard quarreled. "Hands of the people will be like mine" said the coyote. The lizard said, "They will be like mine." 2. The coyote got angry and chased the lizard. The lizard went into the rocks. He tried to dig the lizard out. 3. He built a fire, made a fire, trying to burn the lizard out. He tried to dig him out again. His paws got burned and he stopped digging. 4. And then the lizard ran away. That's why we have hands like the lizard.

#### Footnotes to the Texts

1. (I 10, VII 33, 34). It was unclear in Freeland's manuscript whether this word is wičýʔ·ajle- or wičý·ʔajle-. I have chosen the first of the two possibilities on the assumption that it is derived from wičýʔ·-, the second stem of the verb wíč·y- 'to pluck'.

2. (I 10). This is the second stem of lémni- 'to hunt' plus -n·uk·u- 'causative' (F sect. 51.1), -j·i·- 'andative' (33.I.5), -ŋky- 'verbalizer' (55.I), and -p 'third plural indicative'. I would have expected lemíŋnuk·uj·iŋky·p with a -ŋn- cluster, but perhaps the first nasal assimilated to the second one. Usually Sierra Miwok consonants do not undergo assimilative changes.

3. (III 15). This word is formed from wakál·al·e·-, the volitional stem of the complex verb wakál·al·y- 'to weep copiously, to cry out' (F sect. 50.4.a), plus -n·uk·u- 'causative' (51.1), and -na· 'third singular perfect'. F does not describe the use of the volitional stem with the causative suffix.

4. (III 27). This form is transcribed mýŋpana· in F p. 120. I have not changed the spelling here because I believe it may represent free variation in the spoken language.

5. (III 35). Note the negative particle -ke·. F p. 144 says that this particle occurs "in the east central and northern dialects"; this should be emended to read "in the west central and northern dialects".

6. (IV 3). This is the reventive of wekú·t- 'to unhang, to take down' in the possessive case. The expected form according to F sect. 33.I.7 would be wekút·uŋ.

7. (V 17). Elsewhere in this text (V 17 and 18) and in FB this



word is spelled sýw·yty-. The form sýw·ity- may represent free variation or it may be an error.

8. (VI 3). It was unclear in Freeland's manuscript whether this word is wyté·yť·e- or wyté·?yť·e-. In the transcription here I have arbitrarily chosen the first of these two possibilities.

9. (VII 9). This is ?esél·y- 'child' plus -?·yni-, -?ni- 'one who has, the possessor of' (F sect. 58.I.B.14). The form expected according to F would be ?esél·y?ni-. The predicative use of a noun in the subjective case (F sect. 15.A.2) with this suffix is the usual way of translating the English verb 'to have'.

10. (VII 14). This appears to be a passive of há·l- 'to leave a house' plus -to- 'definite locative' and -š 'third singular possessive'. However, I have not found such a form in F.

11. (VII 26). This is pičé·ma? 'meat' in the subjective case plus -kan 'first singular possessive'. -kan is the regular first singular possessive suffix in the East Central dialect (F sect. 22.1) but it also occurs sporadically in the West Central and Southern dialects. Other examples in the West Central dialect include ?áčé·meti?kan 'my grandchildren' (XIV 3) and ?ýpsa?kan 'my nephew' (F p. 44). In the Southern dialect -kan is used to express the agent in a passive verb form (F p. 177 n. 56).

12. (VIII 23). This is the continuative verb šýj·yč·y- 'to watch' plus the present subordinate suffix -?pak referring to the subject of the main clause. Usually verbs formed with the continuative suffix -yč·y- do not take the present subordinate suffix (F sect. 36.I.B.2, 52.1). The expected present subordinate form would be šýj·yč, as in the example in F p. 84, repeated on p. 126.

13. (VIII 26). The subjective ʔyšý·maŋiʔ 'bear' is used here as the subject of the verb hasú·le·t 'asked', which is in the perfect narrative. In Central Sierra Miwok the subject of the perfect narrative is usually in the possessive case. In Southern Sierra Miwok, however, the subject of the perfect or imperfect narrative is regularly in the subjective case; cf. ken mív·yʔ mičýkna·t 'the people didn't do anything' (XII 4).

14. (IX 1). puší·ŋašyʔ 'it was dark' and luŋí·sašyʔ 'it was different' are based on puší·ŋ- 'to get dark' and luŋí·s- 'to change', but I have not found the formation in F.

15. (XI 4). This is the regularly formed second person singular volitional of ʔyn·y- 'to come'. In Central Sierra Miwok the volitional of this verb is irregular (F sect. 46.I.A).

16. (XII 7). This consists of mív·y- 'people' and -hoʔ 'also, and'. From the examples in B p. 126 sect. 802 it appears that the noun mív·y- in this construction should be followed by a case ending, hence the expected form is mív·yʔhoʔ, with the subjective ending -ʔ-.

17. (XIV 3). See footnote 11.

18. (XV 1). F p. 162 n. 162 reports that ʔím·yʔ is used as a connective 'and' in Northern Sierra Miwok. This is the only example of this usage that I have found in Central Sierra Miwok. Usually ʔím·yʔ means 'then' or 'there' in the West Central dialect, as in XV 3 and F p. 173.

19. (XV 4). This is ŋís·y- 'hand' plus -ʔ·yni- 'one who has, the possessor of' (F sect. 58.I.B.14) and -m 'first person plural of the nominal series, subjective case' (18.A). According to F p. 155

the suffix *-ʔ·yɨ-* is weakened to *-ʔɨ-* in the West Central dialect whenever it follows an unstressed syllable. This apocope is optional, as is shown by the form here as well as *ʔýp·yʔ·yɨʔ* 'one who has a father' (F sect. 58.I.B.14).

## Glossary

This glossary contains all words found in the preceding texts which are not in FB or B, or which differ in form or meaning from the listings in those volumes. Where differences occur I have indicated them. I have also added forms from my own field notes where these were relevant. The Roman numerals refer to the texts and the Arabic numerals refer to the divisions of the texts.

It should be noted that FB and F sometimes differ from each other in the spelling of a word. In such instances the texts usually agree with F. I believe these agreements indicate that F is correct in such cases. Curiously, the Miwok-to-English and English-to-Miwok sections of FB occasionally differ from each other, the English-to-Miwok section being the more reliable. Sometimes, however, it is not clear which of several forms is to be preferred. In these cases additional fieldwork is indicated.

### West Central dialect

čamý·ša- N dead person XIII 4, also F p. 149.

čipú·t- V to clean from (the eye) VII 42. Cf. čitú·t- to remove something from the eye F p. 151 and FB.

hajý·n- V not to exert oneself VII 30.

háj·e- N vicinity III 18.

haká·jy- N hunger IV 21.

hawí·jak·aj, hawíj·ak·aj A all around III 39, IV 10, also VIII 20 (EC).

há·kampuj A secretly VI 5.

hé·jeṭhejeṭma- N one-legged imp I 7, II 2 (2x), II 7 (2x), also

F p. 152 n. 151a.

hínty- V to make, to prepare XIV 3, XV 3.

híř·at·e- V to be hard V 9.

hí·li·ča- N mountain lion III 25. Cf. hí·liča- FB.

hó·j·u- V to think I 11. Cf. hó·j- to think VII 27, also to expect,  
to believe, F pp. 66, 69, and FB.

hó·j- V to haul XIV 2.

hús·e, hús·e· A abracadabra IV 23, V 15 (2x), also hús·e· would  
that F p. 103. Cf. hú·se· would that F p. 169 and FB. Are  
these forms in free variation?

jél·iř·e- N cursed V 22.

jořé·- N killer VII 33, also F p. 159

jýlkiw·a- N blazing one III 23.

kač·y·ma- N saying II 16. Cf. kač·y·ma- F p. 91.

katý·my- N acorn kernel XIV 3.

ká·wa- V to shout IV 6 (4x), IV 7. This verb appears to belong  
to the class of irregular verbs described in F sect. 46.II.A.

Cf. the unusual continuative ká·wajíja·k- shouting F sect. 37.B.4.

kolé·ja- N younger sister IV 14. Cf. kolé- younger sister FB.

kóslu- V to glimpse II 4. Cf. kósla- to notice FB.

kót·o- V to go ahead VII 6, 7, 8, 9. This is a third conjugation  
verb and should be added to the list in F p. 100. It appears  
to be defective, occurring only in the volitional.

kót·o·ně· A away over there VII 41.

kúkřuju- N Kuksu dance XIII 1, 2 (2x). Cf. kúksuju- FB.

kučím·y- N behaving properly III 21. Cf. kuč·im·y· well, properly,  
in a well-behaved manner, F p. 171 and FB. John Kelly defined

- kučím·y- as well-behaved, with good manners.
- kú·k- V to cook XIV 3. This is a loanword from English.
- lákty- V to lick the hand I 9.
- lém·a- V to save VII 13.
- lilé·k- V to raise VII 30.
- líwty- V to trip IV 26. Cf. líwta- to trip up F p. 91 and FB.
- lól·a- N neck V 20, VII 30.
- lól·uč·u- V to stand in a group III 12, also F p. 154. Cf.  
 lúl·uč·u- FB.
- lóp·o- N wood tick V 13.
- lúl·a- V to play the flute VI 5, 9, 10. Cf. lúl·a- flute and  
 lúl·a?i- mouse, flute-player, FB. The latter is the habitative  
 (F sect. 33.I.4) of this verb.
- lú·pi?na- N full load VII 23.
- lynát·a- N striped III 23. Cf. lynát?·a- striped crosswise FB  
 in the Miwok-to-English section, but lynát·a- in the English-  
 to-Miwok section.
- mákty- V to swell I 15.
- mešá·ja- N graveyard XIII 2, (X).
- mičý·j- V to be what time VII 22.
- miný·ta·j A at once III 18.
- mín·ito- N a dweller in an unknown land, a person from a strange  
 country or from far away III 29, IV 4, 26, VII 36, 37, also  
 F p. 154.
- mitá·non A ever XIII 1, 3.
- mólpa- V to leach XIV 3. Cf. mólpa?- to spread out acorns, buckeye  
 nuts, FB in the Miwok-to-English section, but mólpa- in the

English-to-Miwok section and in F p. 150.

nany't- V to make known III 30.

na'kyt A as far as V 19, 20 (7x), also F p. 173 (2x). Cf. ná'kit  
F p. 172 and FB.

niťó- N nose V 20, also F p. 35, but nitó- FB. John Kelly pronounced  
this word niťó-.

notý'wak A on the far side IV 14. Cf. notú'wak F p. 173 and FB.

These forms are probably in free variation.

nunáp'u'apan A still there VI 9.

nymis A as it were III 24, 26. Cf. nymis as though, as it were,  
like, F p. 169 and FB in the English-to-Miwok section, but nymís  
in the Miwok-to-English section.

pákty- V to burst open I 17. Cf. pákty- to burst FB. John Kelly  
pronounced this word pákty-.

pál'awišy'- N horsefly V 4, 6, also F p. 162 and FB in the English-  
to-Miwok section, but pál'aw'išy'- FB in the Miwok-to-English  
section.

páš'a- V to pound XIV 1.

pá'pa'li- N water skater III 17, also F p. 47. Cf. pá'pa'ly-  
FB in the English-to-Miwok section but pá'paly- in the Miwok-  
to-English section.

pičínŋeť'e- N wren V 4, 7.

pís'a- V to crack acorns XIV 1.

pó'če- N good kicker V 17.

pó'ti'hať'e- N pregnant woman VII 14.

pulák'a- N basket XIV 4. John Kelly said that this was a type  
of big basket.

- pusí'na- N rat II 2. Cf. pús·i·na- F p. 63 and FB. John Kelly pronounced this word pús·i'na-.
- pysá·k- V to rub III 31. Cf. pušá·k- to stroke FB. John Kelly pronounced this word pysá·k-.
- sá·wine- N hall VII 47, also F p. 149, but sáv·ine- FB.
- sít·ik·iniwa- N obsidian VII 18, 41, 42, also FB p. 57 sect. 15, but sít·ik·iniwa- F p. 110 and FB. John Kelly pronounced this word sít·ik·iniwa-.
- sí·liṭy- N saliva VII 44, also F p. 24, but sí·liṭy- FB.
- sokút·any·š he sought tracks IV 3. This is the third person singular of the distant past (F sect. 36.IV.A). The underlying verb could be sóktu- or soku't-. Cf. sók·o- to track FB.
- sokú·k- V to pull off IV 25. Cf. šokú·k- to strip off, tear off, F p. 75 and FB. John Kelly pronounced this word šokú·k-.
- sýṅ·y- V to chop off VII 31.
- šāč·amšy'- V to remain caught III 40.
- šatāṅ·aṅ·a- N water beetle III 16 (2x). Cf. čatāṅ·aṅ·a- FB. Viola Wessell pronounced this word čatāṅ·aṅ·a-.
- šeṭé·wila- N crack in bark v 7.
- šyné·toj A in the evening V 7, 8.
- tawá·n- V to heat XIV 2.
- tín·y'na? A for what I 2.
- tují·peti·na- N bushtit IV 13. Cf. ṭyjí·peti·na- bushtits FB.
- tují·pip·i- N bushtit IV 8, 12. Cf. ṭyjí·pip·i- F p. 13 and FB.
- tulá·ja-, tylá·ja- N hunting place IV 1, 2, 3. These forms are in free variation.
- tyjá·ṅ- V to jump IV 11. Cf. ṭujá·ṅ- V 12, 14 (2x), 16, and X 11,



- 12 (EC), also F p. 90 and FB. John Kelly pronounced this word  
 ʔjǎ́·ŋ-.
- tyšá·n, tyšá·n A to no purpose, in vain VII 9, 12, 14, 19, and  
 F p. 66. Cf. ʔyšán in vain F p. 164 and FB, tyšá·n- to fail  
 to do FB, and ʔyšá·n- to do in vain F p. 164 and FB. I believe  
 that all of these words should have initial t and that the forms  
 with ʔ were typographical errors in F p. 164 which were repeated  
 in FB.
- tywé·j- V to bring a marriage meal IV 20.
- ʔál·yme- N cold XIV 4. John Kelly preferred the form ʔál·ymy-.
- ʔán·uŋ·e- V to become tired IV 19, also to have one's strength  
 give out F p. 133. Cf. ʔán·yŋ·e- to be tired FB. John Kelly  
 pronounced this word ʔán·uŋ·e-.
- ʔiwěšpa- V to fly at III 18, also F p. 120. Cf. the third singular  
 perfect tiwěšpana· FB.
- ʔó·l- V to shell XIV 1.
- ʔúp·u- V to pluck out V 23, also F p. 100. Cf. túp·u- to pull  
 out (hair) FB in the Miwok-to-English section, but ʔúp·u- in  
 the English-to-Miwok section. John Kelly pronounced this word  
 ʔúp·u-.
- ʔý·ječý- N sleeping powder IV 28.
- walá·- N water snake I 9. John Kelly said that this water snake  
 was reputed to be 40 feet long and a foot across.
- wenú·t- V to pick out of the eye VII 41.
- wičý·ajle- N goblin I 7, 10, II 7. The correct transcription  
 of this word is uncertain. See footnote 1 to the texts.
- wó·o·čī- N clown XIII 2. In FB in the text on p. 66 this is

translated 'coyote impersonator.'

wyl·y- V to go, to go on, to go hence III 40, VI 5, VII 25. wyl·i-  
to go along FB is based on a typographical error in F p. 194  
n. 39. The future subordinate wyl·et in F p. 191 must be derived  
from a stem wyl·y-.

wyté·yt·e- or wyté·yt·e- N stupid VI 3. It is uncertain which  
of these forms is correct. See footnote 8 to the texts.

ʔéj·ute- N joker III 37.

ʔepnà· A then XIV 5.

ʔéw·yt·e-, ʔéw·yte- V to be lacking, not to be here IV 3, V 9,  
also VIII 15, X 3 (EC). Cf. ʔéw·yt·e- to not be, there isn't  
any, F p. 66 and FB.

ʔim·uʔok from there III 34, V 22, also F pp. 50, 191 sect. 5,  
and FB p. 55 sect. 5. Cf. ʔim·uʔ-ʔok IV 5, V 13, F p. 24, and  
FB. These forms appear to be in free variation.

ʔip·uʔe- N this kind XV 1 (2x), 4.

ʔiw·ymsy·- V to hang (intr.) III 30.

ʔočé·- N belly I 15.

ʔomá·jyʔ she is forever III 15.

ʔosáʔpu- N freak XIII 2. Cf. ʔosáʔpe- the woman dancer in the  
Kuksuyu F p. 151.<sup>1</sup>

ʔót·uʔe- V to split (intr.) I 16, also F p. 133 and FB in the  
English-to-Miwok section, but ʔót·uʔe- in the Miwok-to-English  
section.

ʔowó·šaj A previously V 19.

ʔót·t- V to gather XIV 1. John Kelly translated this 'to scoop,  
to scoop up.'

- ʔunúʔtuma- N arriving II 8. Cf. ʔún·uʔtuma- IV 30 and F p. 91.
- ʔunù· give! give me! VII 14, also FB p. 55 sect. 3. This is perhaps a second person singular volitional similar in formation to ʔujù· 'get out of the way!' F sect. 46.III.B. ʔunù· is used of giving children and the word for the child is in the subjective case.
- ʔysájne- V to detest III 39.
- ʔýt·y·š A very VII 17.
- ʔywe't- V to give a dinner XIV 1.

#### East Central dialect

- čiké·ma- N cooking basket X 6.
- čík·a- V to point IX 13.
- čý·s- V to cook X 4, also FB. šý·s- to cook F p. 113 (citing this passage) and FB appears to be a typographical error in F which was repeated in FB.
- hájna·k A slowly IX 12.
- hawíj·aka·j A all around VIII 20. See also in the WC glossary.
- hé· (interjection) X 12.
- hojí·k- V to put in again IX 9.
- hójkim·y- N in front IX 13.
- howó·j- V to expect, to think VIII 12, 20. The WC form in FB is given as howó·- to expect, to count on. However, from the examples in F p. 65 it appears that this is a third conjugation verb hów·o-, although it is not in the list of third conjugation verbs in F p. 100. Cf. also howó·j- to think, to believe, to be of the opinion that B.

huťélŕe- V to roll VIII 29, also F p. 66. Cf. hutélŕe- to roll

FB, also hutél- to roll (trans.) F p. 165 and FB.

hýjʔyksy- V to know VIII 15. The WC form is hýjʔyk'y-.

hyť A yes VIII 5, 10. The WC form is hy' (John Kelly).

hý'taj'y- V to do more VIII 28.

katú't- V to open the door VIII 24. In F p. 84 and FB this is

incorrectly translated 'to close the door.' Note the incongruity of the translation in F p. 84: "bidding thee enter, I closed the door."

kójkoj'ù' (meaning unknown) X 8.

kó'tan A away X 11.

kučík'sy- V to like VIII 1, X 2. The WC form is kučík'y-.

kýč'ičíkčiči- N little bone X 4. Cf. kýč'yčykčiči- little bone X 2,

4, and kýč'yčy- bone FB. This alternation probably represents free variation.

me (interjection) X 5.

míčyšpuťe- N what kind X 10.

míč'ys A how X 11.

miný'ťa'j A at once VIII 27. Cf. miný'ta'j at once III 18 (WC).

mí'ka'n (meaning unknown) X 8.

pó'kily- N bunch X 10 (3x).

sikè'j A so very VIII 11.

šý'm- V to take VIII 7 (2x), 8. Cf. šú'm- to take away FB.

tát'a- N leaf VIII 6. Cf. tá'ta- F p. 85 (citing this passage)

and FB, but tát'a- B. John Kelly pronounced this word tát'a-.

This appears to be a typographical error in F which was repeated in FB.

tól·e- N world, land IX 5, 12, tó·le- ground X 12.

týntyn·y- V to ponder IX 6, also in the example sentence in F

p. 113. Cf. týntyn·y- to ponder, to be sad, to worry, F p. 14,  
in the list of verbs in F p. 113, and FB.

tyjé·mu- N asleep IX 10, also F p. 152.

watù- N sun IX 13, 14, also watỳ- IX 1, 5, 11, 14, and FB.

weké·l- V to lay crosswise IX 9.

welát·im V we will have it for light IX 14. This is the first  
person plural of the future (F sect. 33.I.1), but the underlying  
verb is uncertain and could be either welá·t- or wé·lta-. Cf.  
welá·t- to light a candle and wé·la- a candle, a light, (John  
Kelly) from Spanish vela 'candle.'

wél·aty- N a light IX 14.

wík·u- V to put X 6. Cf. wí·k- to put FB.<sup>2</sup>

wýksy- V to go VIII 3, IX 5, 11. The WC form is wýkšy-.

wylá·t- V to light up (trans.) IX 5. Cf. welát·im we will have  
it for light.

wýlki- V to put fire X 4. Cf. wýlki- to light a fire B.

ʔáne· A maybe VIII 19. Cf. ʔaneʔ dubitative FB.

ʔaťíʔ A now for VIII 9. Cf. ʔaťí· now for VIII 11 and FB 'hortative?'

ʔawátjǰ V (meaning unknown) X 11. This is a future imperative  
(F sect. 37.A.1). The underlying verb could be either ʔawátj-  
or ʔáwta-.

ʔečá·t- V to follow VIII 2, also F p. 68.

ʔená·toš·uʔ A at once VIII 27.

ʔenýjnapoksu- V to be carried away VIII 12.

ʔén·et V (meaning unknown) X 7. This appears to be either the

perfect narrative of a verb ʔén·y- or the imperfect narrative of a verb ʔén·e-.

ʔéw·yt·e-, ʔéw·yte- V not to be here, there isn't any VIII 15,

X 3. See also in the WC glossary.

ʔéw·yṭyʔ A no VIII 6. Cf. ʔéw·yṭyʔ F p. 196 n. 93 and ʔéw·yṭy- FB.

ʔé·čak A outside VIII 19.

ʔitá·non A at that time IX 1.

ʔówlu- V to circle IX 9.

ʔýn·yṇ·e- V to fall VIII 6, 8, also F p. 85.

ʔýṭ·a (meaning unknown) X 5.

#### Southern Sierra Miwok

heč·1- V to be daybreak, to dawn XI 1, also F p. 85.

híspapy- N having decked oneself XII 12.

híʔ·emhy- V to remain, to spend the day XI 1, also F p. 131.

hów·oṭu- N beads XII 12.

humélnapoksu- V to make oneself old XII 8. In F p. 84 sect. 36.I.C

this verb is incorrectly translated 'he makes himself young.'

huṭéw·eh·yʔ V (meaning unknown) XII 11 (2x). This is the third person singular of the distant past, F sect. 33.II.2. The underlying verb could be huṭwe- or huṭéw- and is probably derived from the same root as hýṭky- to break a string or rope B.

hyʔy A yes XI 3. Cf. hy·ʔy· yes B.

líṭ·epoksu- V to deck oneself with beads XII 12, also F p. 128.

lú·puṭej (meaning unknown) XII 2.

peṭák·yč·y- V to lie in a row XII 5.

syký·k- V (meaning unknown) XII 3.

take·m- V to cross XI 4. Cf. take·m-aH- bridge B and take·m-  
to cross a stream (on rocks or bridge) FB.

tyj·ni- N bond XII 11, also F p. 159. Cf. tý·j- to tie B. Was  
this perhaps a recording error by Freeland?

ʔelé·wajny- V to glance about, to look about one XI 4, also F  
pp. 117-18.

-ʔij (enclitic adverb) XII 7. Cf. -ʔi· (postfix) definite B.

ʔíjʔok N him (objective case) XII 3. Cf. ʔíʔok B pp. 94-5.

ʔíʔok N he (subjective case) XI 2, 5, 6 (3x), 7. In Freeland's  
manuscript this form is ambiguous and could be either ʔíʔok  
or ʔíʔok. I have written ʔíʔok following F pp. 55, 115.

ʔojísný- V to reach four XI 1.

ʔokáí·eh·yʔ V he untied XII 11. This is the third person singular  
of the distant past, F sect. 33.II.2. The underlying verb could  
be ʔókla- or ʔoká·l-.

ʔúčʔu- N life XI 10 (2x).

ʔukín·eh·yko· V they cooked for him XII 9. This is the third  
person plural of the distant past, F sect. 33.II.2. The underlying  
verb could be ʔúkni- or ʔukí·n-.

ʔyhý·h- V to dislike XII 10.

ʔykýtwaK A at this end, on this side XI 2, also F p. 173.

#### Footnotes

1. In a letter of October 16, 1970, Freeland suggested that  
ʔošáʔpu- was a slip for ʔošáʔpe-. She added that she was under  
the impression that this was not really a woman dancer, but rather  
a female impersonator, and this might account for John Kelly's

translation 'freak'.

2. Or is *wík·una·* 'has put' an error for *wík·uka·* 'has been put', the third person singular perfect of the passive verb *wík·uŋ·e·* 'to be put' (F sect. 53.I)? This would explain why *čiké·ma?* 'cooking basket' is in the subjective rather than the expected objective.