

Coyote goes to the races

Date of recording: 1969 (Randy Bouchard)

Narrator: Martin Louie

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\ref	CR.01									
\ln	ixíʔ	sənkʰlíp	sx ^w uys			iʔ	kəl	səcǫʷǫʷúʔaʔxnaʔx.		
\mr	ixíʔ	s + n + kʰl-ip	s-	x ^w uy	-s	ý	kʰl	sc-	ǫʷ•ǫʷúʔaʔ-xn	-aʔx
\ge	there	Coyote	intt-	go	-3i	the	to	sc^aʔx-	race	-sc^aʔx
\gc	pcl	Istem	afx-	Istem	-afx	pcl	pcl	afx-	Istem	-afx
\sc	deictic	faun	intt-	time	-prsMrk	art	loc	asp-		-asp
\tr	Coyote went to the races.									

\ref	CR.02											
\ln	x ^w u•y	uʔ	scústsəlx			t	nəlk ^w útəm,	kʰpúʔəm	iʔ	t	kʰʂsiws.	
\mr	x ^w uy	uʔ	s-	cu + st	-s	-lx	t	n + lk ^w + ut + m	kʰ + púʔ + m	ý	t	kʰ + ʂs=iws
\ge	go	and	s^st-	call s.o.	-3erg	-pl	obl	place name	come to the end	the	obl	level country
\gc	Istem	pcl	afx-	Tstem	-afx	-afx	pcl	Mstem	Mstem	Istem	pcl	pcl
\sc	time	conj	asp-	+ st	-prsMrk	-number		geog	Mstem			
\tr	He went and they call it nəlk ^w útəm, at the end of a prairie.											

\ref	CR.03											
\ln	ixíʔ	wiks		ǎyǎʔ,	ití•ʔ	cx ^w úy		cənwaʔpmús		ʔa	cx ^w úy	
\mr	ixíʔ	wik + nt	-s	ǎyǎʔ	itíʔ	c-	x ^w uy	c-	n + waʔp + m=úsʔa	ʔa	c-	x ^w uy
\ge	there	see	-3erg	crawfish	there	actual-	go	actual-	go backwards	when	actual-	go
\gc	pcl	Tstem	-afx	Istem	pcl	afx-	Istem	afx-	Istem	pcl	afx-	Istem
\sc	deictic	+ nt	-prsMrk	faun		asp-	time	asp-		time	asp-	time
\tr	He saw Crawfish, he was going there, he was going backwards as it moved.											

\ref	CR.04	
\ln	kʰayncútəms.	
\mr	k + ʔay + ncút + m + nt	-s
\ge	laugh at	-3erg
\gc	Tstem	-afx
\sc	+ nt	-prsMrk
\tr	He laughed at him.	

\ref	CR.05							
\ln	cus:		"uɬ	ká ?kín	k ^w	sx ^w uyx?"		
\mr	cu + nt	-s	uɬ	ká ?kín	k ^w	s-	x ^w uy	-x
\ge	say to	-3erg	and	where to	2kn	intt-	go	-s [^] x
\gc	Tstem	-afx	pcl	phrasal	pcl	afx-	Istem	-afx
\sc	+ nt	-prsMrk	conj	dir	prsMrk	asp-	time	-asp
\tr	He said to him: "And where are you going?"							

\ref	CR.06												
\ln	uɬ	cúntəm	t	čáyǵa?:	"təx ^w	kən	sx ^w uyx		i?	kəl	cǵ ^w ǵ ^w úǵa?xnəm		
\mr	uɬ	cu + nt	-m	t	čáyǵa?	t ^x ^w	kn	s-	x ^w uy	-x	ǵ	kl	c- ǵ ^w •ǵ ^w úǵa?xn + m
\ge	and	say to	-impers	obl	crawfish	indeed	1kn	intt-	go	-s [^] x	the	to	actual- race
\gc	pcl	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	pcl	plc	afx-	Istem	-afx	pcl	plc	afx- Mstem
\sc	conj	+ nt	-prsMrk	?	faun	evid	prsMrk	asp-	time	-asp	art	loc	asp- Mstem
\tr	And Crawfish told him: "I am going to the races.												

\ref	CR.07						
\ln	way	k ^w u	səckáwstəm			t	sǵa?ǵákxən.
\mr	way	k ^w u	sc-	kaw + st	-m	t	s + ǵa?ǵák=xn
\ge	yes	4obj3erg	sc-	be beaten	-4obj3erg	obl	Frog
\gc	pcl	pcl	afx-	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem
\sc	intj	prsMrk	asp-	+ st	-prsMrk	?	faun
\tr	Frog's beating us.						

\ref	CR.08												
\ln	yayáɬ	k ^w u	ǵx ^w úpłtəm			i?	syúpstət,	uɬ	iklí?	kən	ɬ	sx ^w úyx."	
\mr	ya•yaɬ + t	k ^w u	ǵx ^w u + p + ɬt	-m	ǵ	sy=ups	-tt	uɬ	iklí?	kn	ɬ	s-	x ^w uy -x
\ge	all	4obj3erg	to beat	-4obj3erg	the	tail	-4in	and	there	1kn	that	s [^] x-	go -s [^] x
\gc	Istem	pcl	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	-afx	pcl	Istem	plc	pcl	afx-	Istem -afx
\sc	+ t	prsMrk	+ ɬt	-prsMrk	art	anat	-prsMrk	conj		prsMrk	comp	asp-	time -asp
\tr	He is beating all our tails, and that's where I am going.												

\ref	CR.09												
\ln	ka?ká?məntəm			t	sənkłíp,	cúntəm:	"uɬ	asq ^w əńǵ ^w ánt			k ^w	ɬa?	cx ^w úy
\mr	ka?•ká? + m + nt	-m	t	s + n + kł'ip	cu + nt	-m	uɬ	a-	s + q ^w ń•ǵ ^w añ + t	k ^w	ɬa?	c-	x ^w uy
\ge	make fun of	-impers	obl	Coyote	say to	-impers	and	2in-	pitifulness	2kn	when	actual-	go
\gc	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	Tstem	-afx	pcl	afx-	Istem	pcl	pcl	afx-	Istem
\sc	+ nt	-prsMrk	?	faun	+ nt	-prsMrk	conj	prsMrk-	+ t	prsMrk	time	asp-	

\ref	CR.13		
\ln	cúntəm:		"lút.
\mr	cu + nt	-m	lut
\ge	say to	-impers	no
\gc	Tstem	-afx	pcl
\sc	+ nt	-prsMrk	neg
\tr	He replied: No.		

\ref	CR.14						
\ln	waʔ	k ^w	cxʔit,		mi	k ^w	x ^w uy.
\mr	waʔ	k ^w	c-	xʔit	mi	k ^w	x ^w uy
\ge	ok	2kn	actual-	be first	future	2kn	go
\gc	pcl	pcl	afx-	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem
\sc	intj	prsMrk	asp-		time	prsMrk	time
\tr	You go first, you will go first.						

\ref	CR.15				
\ln	k ^w u	xíʔtmist,	ntəɬxíkəntsən.		
\mr	k ^w u	xíʔt + mist	n + tɬx-ik + nt	-s	-n
\ge	4kn	run	stand behind s.o.	-2obj	-1erg
\gc	pcl	Istem	Tstem	-afx	-afx
\sc	prsMrk	+ mist	+ nt	-prsMrk	-prsMrk
\tr	We'll run together, I'll stand right behind you."				

\ref	CR.16					
\ln	way	ixi?	st'wistsəlx.			
\mr	way	ixi?	s-	t'wist	-s	-lx
\ge	well	then	intt-	stand	-3i	-pl
\gc	pcl	pcl	afx-	Istem	-afx	-afx
\sc	intj	deictic	asp-		-prsMrk	-number
\tr	So they stood up.					

[illegible]

\ref	CR.18													
\ln	ixíʔ	sxíʔtmistsəlx;				cúntəm:		"ka	nqʷáqʷcən	iʔ	l	ítkʷət	ɬ	ʔamtcnítkʷ
\mr	ixíʔ	s-	xíʔt + mist	-s	-lx	cu + nt	-m	ka	n + qʷaqʷ=cn	y	l	ítkʷt	ɬ	ʔam=t=cn-ítʰʷ
\ge	then	intt-	run	-3i	-pl	say to	-impers	at	place name	the	loc	lake	that	next to shore
\gc	pcl	afx-	Istem	-afx	-afx	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem	pcl	Istem
\sc	deictic	asp-	+ mist	-prsMrk	-number	+ nt	-prsMrk	dir	geog	art	loc		comp	

\ln	ilí?	cmaʃcnít ^w ;		ilí?	mi	k ^w u	xəʔpstwíx ^w ."
\mr	ilí?	c-	maʃ=cn=ít ^w	ilí?	mi	k ^w u	xʔ + p + stwix ^w
\ge	there	actual-	rail on the shore	there	future	4kn	finish
\gc	loc	afx-	Istem	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem
\sc		asp-	Istem	loc	time	prsMrk	+ twix ^w
\tr	So they ran together; they said: "At nq ^w áq ^w cən at the lake shore there is a rail; there we will finish our race."						

\ref	CR.19														
\ln	ixíʔ	səntəʔqəncúts				sənkʰlíp,		cx ^w u ^w y,		məɬ	ksənʃač̣xkəncútaʔx,			məɬ	
\mr	ixíʔ	s-	n + tɾq + p + ncut		-s	s + n + kʰl-ip		c-	x ^w uy	mɬ	ks-	n + ʃač̣x=k̃n + cúť		-aʔx	mɬ
\ge	then	intt-	run fast		-3i	Coyote		actual-	go	and	ks^aʔx-	look behind oneself		-ks^aʔx	and
\gc	pcl	afx-	Istem		-afx	Istem		afx-	Istem	pcl	afx-	Istem		-afx	pcl
\sc	deictic	asp-	+ ncut		-prsMrk	faun		asp-	time	conj	tense-	+ cut		-tense	conj

\ln	ɬəmʃámstəm		t	čáyxaʔ,	cúntəm:		qícəlxəx,		cəɬ	ʔx ^w úpəntsən.		
\mr	ɬmaʃm + st	-m	t	čáyxaʔ	cu + nt	-m	qic + lx	-x	cɬ	ʔx ^w up + nt	-s	-n
\ge	yell at	-impers	obl	crawfish	say to	-impers	run	-isimptv	might	beat s.o.	-2obj	-1erg
\gc	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	Tstem	-afx	Istem	-afx	plc	Tstem	-afx	-afx
\sc	+ st	-prsMrk	?	faun	+ nt	-prsMrk	+ lx	-mood	dub	+ nt	-prsMrk	-prsMrk
\tr	So Coyote ran. He'd then look behind himself, and Crawfish will yell at him, he'd say: "Run, I'm beating you."											

\ref	CR.20		
\ln	alá?	ki?	cq ^w əlq ^w ílt.
\mr	alá?	ki?	c- q ^w l•q ^w il + t
\ge	there	that	actual- talk
\gc	Istem	pcl	afx- Istem
\sc	loc	rel	asp- + t
\tr	The voice is right there.		

\ref	CR.21							
\ln	tlaʔ	ixíʔ	itlíʔ	ntəʔqpəncút;	xʷúʷy	uʔ	kəwpmíntəm;	
\mr	tla	ixíʔ	itlíʔ	n + trq + p + ncut	xʷuy	uʔ	kʷ + pmi + nt	-m
\ge	from there	then	from there	run fast	go	and	not talk to	-impers
\gc	pcl	pcl	pcl	Istem	Istem	pcl	Tstem	-afx
\sc		deictic		+ ncut	conj		+ nt	-prsMrk
\tr	Then he runs; he went and he didn't talk to him again;							

\ref	CR.22									
\ln	qíʷcəlx,	uʔ iʔ	kəl	yaʕcín,	ixíʔ	kəl	sənkʔənwswísəlxtn	yəʔ	cmaʕcnítkʷ	
\mr	qic + lx	uʔ iʔ	kəl	yaʕ=cin	ixíʔ	kəl	sn + kʔ + n + wsʷwis + lx + tn	y	c-	maʕ=cn=ítkʷ
\ge	run	and then	to	shore	then	to	jump off place	the	actual-	rail on the shore
\gc	Istem	phrasal	pcl	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem	pcl	afx-	Istem
\sc	+ lx	conj	loc	geog	deictic	loc	+ tn	art	asp-	

\ln	cʔaʕəlməncút		sənkʔíp
\mr	c-	ʔaʕl + mn + cút	s + n + kʔ=ip
\ge	actual-	turn around	Coyote
\gc	Istem	Istem	
\sc	asp-	+ ncut	faun
\tr	Coyote ran, and [got] to the shore; he turned around at the jumping rail by the water;		

\ref	CR.23							
\ln	kłwníkstəm	čáyǵaʔ,	axáʔ	iʔ	kəl	kiw	ka	nǵəpǵwáʔtkʷ.
\mr	k + łwn=ikst + m	čáyǵaʔ	axáʔ	y	kl	kiw	ka	n + ǵpǵw=aʔtkʷ
\ge	let go of	crawfish	this	the	to	in the open	to	in the water with a splash
\gc	Mstem	Istem	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem	pcl	Istem
\sc		faun	deictic	art	loc		dir	phM
\tr	Crawfish let go [of Coyote's tail], and fell there in the middle of the water with a splash.							

\ref	CR.24											
\ln	way	ixíʔ	ilíʔ	smuts		sənkʔíp	waʷm	sʕaʔʕʕúsəms			ixíʔ	
\mr	way	ixíʔ	ilíʔ	s-	mut	-s	s + n + kʔ=ip	waʷm	s-	ʕaʔʕʕ=ús + m	-s	ixíʔ
\ge	well	then	there	intt-	sit	-3i	Coyote	in vain	intt-	look around	-3i	then
\gc	pcl	pcl	Istem	afx-	Istem	-afx	Istem	pcl	afx-	Mstem	-afx	pcl
\sc	intj	deictic	loc	asp-		-prsMrk	faun		asp-	Mstem	-prsMrk	deictic

\ln	təq ^w cinəms	"čá·yǵaʔ,	k ^w	kaʔkín."	
\mr	tq ^w =cin + m + nt	-s	čáyǵaʔ	k ^w	ka + ʔkín
\ge	holler for	-3erg	Crawfish	2kn	where
\gc	Tstem	-afx	Istem	pcl	pcl
\sc	+ m + nt	-prsMrk	faun	prsMrk	interr
\tr	Coyote sat there without seeing anything as he looked around, then he hollered: "Crawfish, where aaare you?"				

\ref	CR.25							
\ln	mat	ʔasíl	stəq ^w cíns,		məʔ	cúntəm:		
\mr	mat	ʔasíl	s-	tq ^w =cin	-s	mʔ	cu + nt	-m
\ge	maybe	two	intt-	holler	-3i	and	say to	-impers
\gc	pcl	Istem	afx-	Istem	-afx	pcl	Tstem	-afx
\sc	dub	num	asp-		-prsMrk	conj	+ nt	-prsMrk
\tr	Maybe twice he hollered, and then he (Crawfish) said:							

\ref	CR.26												
\ln	"way	k ^w u	cənmaʔmínaʔstx ^w ;				q̄sápiʔ	way	aláʔ	k ^w	isəckəʔim,		
\mr	way	k ^w u	c-	n + maʔ + mínaʔ + st		-x ^w	q̄sáp=iʔ	way	aláʔ	k ^w	i-	sc-	k̄l + ʔim
\ge	well	1obj	c^ + st-	bother one's ears		-2erg	long time	yes	here	2kn	1i-	sc-	wait for
\gc	pcl	pcl	afx-	Tstem		-afx	Istem	pcl	Istem	pcl	afx-	afx-	Istem
\sc	intj	prsMrk	asp-	+ st		-prsMrk	time	intj	loc	prsMrk	prsMrk-	asp-	
\tr	"You're sure bothering my ears. I've been waiting here for you a long time,												

\ref	CR.27							
\ln	aláʔ	kən	səcǵaʔncútaʔx,		uʔ iʔ	kən	tə́k ^w tk ^w əncút."	
\mr	aláʔ	kn	sc-	ǵaʔ + ncut	-aʔx	uʔ iʔ	kn	t̄k ^w •tk ^w + ncut
\ge	here	1kn	sc^aʔx-	cool	-sc^aʔx	and then	1kn	lie in the water
\gc	Istem	plc	afx-	Istem	-afx	phrasal	plc	Istem
\sc	loc	prsMrk	asp-	+ ncut	-asp	conj	prsMrk	+ ncut
\tr	I'm cooling myself off here, lying in the water."							

\ref	CR.28			
\ln	way	ti	paʔʔs	sə́nk̄líp.
\mr	way	ti	paʔs	s + n + k̄l-ip
\ge	well	just	surprised	Coyote
\gc	pcl	pcl	Istem	Istem
\sc	intj	evid		faun
\tr	Certainly Coyote was surprised.			

\ref	CR.36											
\ln	kəʔamtúːs	sənkʰíʔ,	uʔ	nstíls:	"way,	way,	way	ʔxˠúpən	axáʔ	iʔ	t	
\mr	kʰ + ʔamt=ús	s + n + kʰ=ip	uʔ	n + st=ils	way	way	way	ʔxˠu + p + nt	-n	axáʔ	ý	t
\ge	sit around	Coyote	and	think	yes	yes	yes	beat s.o.	-1erg	this	the	obl
\gc	Istem	Istem	pcl	Istem	pcl	pcl	pcl	Tstem	-afx	Istem	pcl	pcl
\sc		faun	conj		intj	intj	intj	+ nt	-prsMrk	deictic	art	?

\ln	isʰəʃʰáʃt,			mi	ʔxˠúpənəlx."		
\mr	i-	s + ʰxˠʰaʃ + t	mi	ʔxˠu + p + nt	-n	-lx	
\ge	1in-	friends	future	beat s.o.	-1erg	-pl	
\gc	afx-	Istem	pcl	Tstem	-afx	-afx	
\sc	prsMrk-	+ t	time	+ nt	-prsMrk	-number	
\tr	Coyote sat around, and he thought: "Well, well, I am going to beat him with my friends, I will beat him."						

\ref	CR.37													
\ln	way	ixíʔ	ssaʃˠts,			iklíʔ	kics		iʔ	sʰəʃʰáʃts,			cus:	"way
\mr	way	ixíʔ	s-	saʃˠ + t	-s	iklíʔ	kic + nt	-s	ý	s + ʰxˠʰaʃ + t	-s	cu + nt	-s	way
\ge	well	then	intt-	get down	-3i	there	reach s.o.	-3erg	the	friends	-3in	say to	-3erg	yes
\gc	pcl	pcl	afx-	Istem	-afx	Istem	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	-afx	Tstem	-afx	pcl
\sc	intj	deictic	asp-	+ t	-prsMrk		+ nt	-prsMrk	art	+ t	-prsMrk	+ nt	-prsMrk	intj

\ln	kˠu	ksqˠqˠúʔaʔxnaʔx."		
\mr	kˠu	ks-	qˠˠqˠúʔaʔx	-aʔx
\ge	4kn	ksˠaʔx-	race	-ksˠaʔx
\gc	pcl	afx-	Istem	-afx
\sc	prsMrk	tense-		-tense
\tr	So he went down, there got to his friends, he told them: "We are going to beat him."			

\ref	CR.38				
\ln	cúntəm:	"way	kˠ	qˠəncənmíst.	
\mr	cu + nt	-m	way	kˠ	qˠə-cn + mist
\ge	say to	-impers	yes	2kn	talk pitifully
\gc	Tstem	-afx	pcl	pcl	Istem
\sc	+ nt	-prsMrk	intj	prsMrk	+ mist
\tr	They told him: "You sure are talking pitifully.				

\ref	CR.39		
\ln	xʔit	ʔaʔt	sʔaʔrʔakʔən."
\mr	xʔit	ʔaʔt + t	s + ʔaʔrʔakʔ-ɣn
\ge	be first	fast	Frog
\gc	Istem	Istem	Istem
\sc		+ t	faun
\tr	First among the fast is Frog."		

\ref	CR.40							
\ln	cus:		"lút,	axáʔ	iʔ	kʔcwcáwtət.		
\mr	cu + nt	-s	lut	axáʔ	ý	kʔ-	cw•cawt	-tt
\ge	say to	-3erg	no	this	the	to-be-	one's way	-4in
\gc	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	pcl	afx-	Istem	-afx
\sc	+ nt	-prsMrk	neg	deictic	art	asp-	+ t	-prsMrk
\tr	He said: "No, this is what we'll do.							

\ref	CR.41								
\ln	ʔlap	put	cʔlap	iʔ	ʔyáʔnəx ^w ,	mi	k ^w u	xíʔtmist.	
\mr	ʔla + p	put	c-	ʔla + p	ý	ʔyaʔ-nx ^w	mi	k ^w u	xíʔt + mist
\ge	morning	just	actual-	stop	the	sun	future	4kn	run
\gc	Istem	pcl	afx-	Istem	pcl	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem
\sc	+ p		asp-	+ ap	art		time	prsMrk	+ mist
\tr	Tomorrow just when stops the sun stops, we will run.								

\ref	CR.42									
\ln	axáʔ	nɰí•xʷlaʔxʷən,			uʔ	ilíʔ	mi	ləq̣líq̣əʔmən		
\mr	axáʔ	n + ʔixʷ=laʔxʷ + nt	-n	uʔ	ilíʔ	mi	lq̣•liq̣ + nt	-ʔm	-n	
\ge	this	dig hole	-1erg	and	there	future	bury things	-5obj	-1erg	
\gc	Istem	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	pcl	Tstem	-afx	-afx	
\sc	deictic	+ nt	-prsMrk	conj	loc	time	+ nt	-prsMrk	-prsMrk	
\tr	I will dig holes, and I will bury you there.									

\ref	CR.43												
\ln	məʔ	nínwíʔs	ʔ	ʔlap	ʔ	cxíʔtmist,		nʔiʔ	atláʔ	k ^w	yúm̄miʔst,	məʔ	k ^w
\mr	mʔ	ní•nʔwíʔ + s	ʔ	ʔla + p	ʔ	c-	xíʔt + mist	ʔ	atláʔ	k ^w	yúm̄ + miʔst	mʔ	k ^w
\ge	and	whenever	when	morning	when	actual-	run		then	2kn	move	and	2kn
\gc	pcl	pcl	pcl	Istem	pcl	afx-	Istem		Istem	pcl	Istem	pcl	pcl
\sc	conj	time	time	+ p	time	asp-	+ mist		deictic	prsMrk	+ miʔst	conj	prsMrk

\ln	kaʃx ^w ám,	kən	ncəq̣laʔx ^w míst,	məʔ	q ^w ʔuʔ	iʔ	təmx ^w úlaʔx ^w ,
\mr	kaʃx ^w á + m	kn	n + c̣q̣=laʔx ^w + míst	mʔ	q ^w [ʔ]uʔ	ý	tmx ^w =úlaʔx ^w
\ge	holler at s.o.	1kn	jump	and	dusty	the	country
\gc	Mstem	plc	Istem	pcl	Istem	pcl	Istem
\sc	+ am	prsMrk	+ mist	conj	ʔInch	art	
\tr	And when tomorrow it's time to run, then you move, and you holler, I'll jump, and dust'll rise from the ground,						

\ref	CR.44									
\ln	məʔ	yaʔxis	iklíʔ	a	cliq̣		x ^w təʔpnúmt,	məʔ	ntəʔqpəncút.	
\mr	mʔ	ya + ʔxis	iklíʔ	ý	c-	liq̣	x ^w ṭ•ṭ + p + numt	mʔ	n + tṛq + p + ncut	
\ge	and	that there	there	the	actual-	buried	get up	and	run	
\gc	pcl	Istem	Istem	pcl	afx-	Istem	Istem	pcl	Istem	
\sc	conj	Amalg		art	asp-		+ numt	conj	+ ncut	
\tr	and the other one buried there will jump, and run.									

\ref	CR.45									
\ln	ńínwíʔ	txwílənts		k ^w	ənc̣q̣laʔx ^w míst,	q ^w aʔmənəcút	iʔ	təmx ^w úlaʔx ^w ,	iʔ	
\mr	ńínwíʔ	t + xwíl + nt	-s	k ^w	n + c̣q̣=laʔx ^w + míst	q ^w aʔṭ + m + ncút	ý	tmx ^w =úlaʔx ^w	ý	
\ge	while	go by	-2obj	2kn	jump	dusty	the	country	the	
\gc	pcl	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	Istem	pcl	Istem	pcl	
\sc	time	+ nt	-prsMrk	prsMrk	+ mist	+ cut	art		art	

\ln	astq ^w úʔxən,		məʔ	yaʔxis	x ^w təʔpnúmt	iʔ	knáqs,	kaʃx ^w ám.
\mr	a-	s + t + q ^w úʔ=xn	mʔ	ya + ʔxis	x ^w ṭ•ṭ + p + numt	ý	k=naqs	kaʃx ^w á + m
\ge	2in-	dust from feet	and	that there	jump up	the	one person	holler at s.o.
\gc	afx-	Istem	pcl	Istem	Istem	pcl	Istem	Mstem
\sc	prsMrk-		conj	Amalg	+ numt	art		+ am
\tr	When he passes by you, you jump, the ground will be dusty from your feet, and another will run one, and holler.							

\ref	CR.46												
\ln	ilíʔ	ǰílstəm,		uʔ	axáʔ	iʔ	knaqs	axáʔ	iʔ	l	kʔənwsʷisəlxtn	yaʔ	ćíwt
\mr	ilíʔ	ǰíl + st	-m	uʔ	axáʔ	ý	k-naqs	axáʔ	ý	ḷ	kʔ + n + ws•wis + lx + tn	ý	c + ʔiw + t
\ge	there	do thus	-impers	and	this	the	one person	this	the	loc	jumping place	the	the last one
\gc	Istem	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	pcl	Istem	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem	pcl	Istem
\sc	loc	+ st	-prsMrk	conj	deictic	art		deictic	art	loc	+ tn	art	+ t

\ln	mi	cilí?."	
\mr	mi	c-	ilí?
\ge	future	actual-	stay
\gc	pcl	afx-	Istem
\sc	time	asp-	loc
\tr	Then he'll do the same, and the other one there at the jumping (finish) place, the last one will stay there."		

\ref	CR.47
\ln	wáy.
\mr	way
\ge	yes
\gc	pcl
\sc	intj
\tr	So it was.

\ref	CR.48										
\ln	ixí?	sənǵəltcənwíx ^w s,		x ^w uy	cút:	"way,	way	síspəlk	islǵəǵlǵǵt,		i?
\mr	ixí?	s-	n + ǵlt-cn + wix ^w	-s	x ^w uy	cut	way	way	si•spłk	i-	s + lǵ•lǵǵ + t y
\ge	then	intt-	ask around	-3i	go	say	well	well	seven	lin-	friends the
\gc	pcl	afx-	Istem	-afx	Istem	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem	afx-	Istem pcl
\sc	deictic	asp-	+ wix ^w	-prsMrk	time		intj	intj	num	prsMrk-	+ t art

\ln	sypyúpscəlx,		uǵ	t	incá?	uǵ	timǵ.
\mr	s + yp•yups	-c	-lx	uǵ	t	in + cá	uǵ timǵ
\ge	tails	-3in	-pl	and	obl	I	and eight
\gc	Istem	-afx	-afx	pcl	pcl	Istem	pcl Istem
\sc	anat	-prsMrk	-number	conj	?	persRef	conj num
\tr	Then he started asking around, he went he said: "Well, there are seven of my friends, and seven tails of theirs, and with me it's eight.						

\ref	CR.49												
\ln	ńńńwí?s	k ^w u	ǵcənwíx ^w	ixí?	mǵ	ǵlap	put	sǵlap		i?	ǵyǵtǵnǵx ^w	mi	k ^w u
\mr	ńń•ńńwí? + s	k ^w u	ǵc + nwix ^w	ixí?	mǵ	ǵla + p	put	s-	ǵla + p	y	ǵyǵt-nx ^w	mi	k ^w u
\ge	soon	4kn	bet	then	and	morning	just	act-	stop	the	sun	future	4kn
\gc	pcl	pcl	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem	pcl	afx-	Istem	pcl	Istem	pcl	pcl
\sc	time	prsMrk	+ nwix ^w	deictic	conj	+ p		asp-	+ ap	art		time	prsMrk

\ln	q̣ʷq̣ʷúłaʔxnəm."
\mr	q̣ʷ•q̣ʷúłaʔ=xn + m
\ge	race
\gc	Mstem
\sc	Mstem
\tr	We will bet, tomorrow just when the sun stops we will race."

\ref	CR.50							
\ln	cúntəm	t	sṵárákxən:	"waỵ;	swswít	asl̥əʃl̥áʃtʔ"		
\mr	cu + nt	-m	t	s + wárák=xn	waỵ	sw•swit	a-	s + l̥x̣•l̥aʃ + t
\ge	say to	-impers	obl	Frog	ok	who pl	2in-	friends
\gc	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	pcl	Istem	afx-	Istem
\sc	+ nt	-prsMrk	?	faun	intj		prsMrk-	+ t
\tr	Frog said: "OK, who are your friends?"							

\ref	CR.51	
\ln	"həʔarsíkʷ."	
\mr	hł + ʔarsíkʷ	
\ge	the Turtles	
\gc	Istem	
\tr	"The Turtles."	

\ref	CR.52	
\ln	"a•,	wáỵ."
\mr	a	waỵ
\ge	?	yes
\gc	plc	pcl
\sc	intj	intj
\tr	"Ah, well."	

\ref	CR.53													
\ln	waỵ	ixíʔ	łaʔntís	iʔ	słaxts	iʔ	knaqs,	cus	iʔ	ḳʷíłtəm,				
\mr	waỵ	ixíʔ	łaʔ + nt	-is	ý	s + l̥aʃ + t	-s	ý	k-naqs	cu + nt	-s	ý	ḳʷił + t + m	
\ge	ok	then	fetch	-3erg	the	friend	-3in	the	one person	say to	-3erg	the	the rest	
\gc	pcl	pcl	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	-afx	pcl	Istem	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Mstem	
\sc	intj	deictic	+ nt	-prsMrk	art	+ t	-prsMrk	art		+ nt	-prsMrk	art		

\ln	"p	kwík ^w mist,	lut	kswík ^{tə} ms."			
\mr	p	k + wík ^w + mist	lut	ks-	wik + nt	-ɬm	-s
\ge	5kn	hide	no	ks [^] nt-	see	-5obj	-3erg
\gc	pcl	Istem	pcl	afx-	Tstem	-afx	-afx
\sc	pr ^s Mrk	+ mist	neg	tense-	+ nt	-pr ^s Mkr	-pr ^s Mrk
\tr	So he fetched his friend, one of them, he told the rest of them, "You hide, so he won't see you."						

\ref	CR.54											
\ln	way	ixí?	ɬkícxsts		i?	sɬaʔts,	"way	axá?	aksənq ^w q ^w úɬaʔxnəm."			
\mr	way	ixí?	ɬ + c + kic + x + st	-s	y	s + ɬaʔ + t	-s	way	axá?	a-	ks-	s + n + q ^w •q ^w úɬaʔ-xn + m
\ge	well	then	bring back	-3erg	the	friend	-3in	yes	this	2i-	fut-	racing opponent
\gc	pcl	pcl	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	-afx	pcl	Istem	afx-	afx-	Mstem
\sc	intj	deictic	+ st	-pr ^s Mrk	art	app,	+ t	-pr ^s Mrk	intj	deictic	pr ^s Mrk-	tense-
\tr	Then he brought back his friend, "This is the one you'll be racing with."											

\ref	CR.55							
\ln	cúntəm		t	s̀waʔɹáʔkxən:	"wáy,	way	k ^w u	q ^w q ^w úʔaʔxnəm."
\mr	cu + nt	-m	t	s + ̀waʔɹáʔk=xn	way	way	k ^w u	q ^w •q ^w úʔaʔ=xn + m
\ge	say to	-impers	obl	Frog	ok	yes	4kn	race
\gc	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	pcl	pcl	pcl	Mstem
\sc	+ nt	-prsMrk	?	faun	intj	intj	prsMrk	Mstem
\tr	He said to him Frog: "OK, we will race."							

\ref	CR.56									
\ln	nk ^w ək ^w ʔác	ixí?	sənɬíʔ ^w laʔx ^w əms,			uɬ	ixí?	nqmmúlaʔx ^w s		i?
\mr	n + k ^w •k ^w ʔac	ixí?	s-	n + ɬíʔ ^w -laʔx ^w + m		-s	uɬ	ixí?	n + qm•m-úlaʔx ^w + nt	-s ý
\ge	nighttime	there	intt-	dig holes		-3i	and	there	lay s.t. in the ground	-3erg the
\gc	Istem	pcl	afx-	Mstem		-afx	pcl	pcl	Tstem	-afx pcl
\sc		deictic	asp-	Mstem		-prsMrk	conj	deictic	+ nt	-prsMrk art

\ln	sɬəʔɬáʔts,		yayʔát	ʔkəwtús.
\mr	s + ɬə•ɬaʔ + t	-s	ya•yáʔ + t	ʔk + wt-us
\ge	friends	-3in	everybody	heads sticking out
\gc	Istem	-afx	Istem	Istem
\sc	+ t	-prsMrk		
\tr	At night he started digging holes, and then he laid his friends in the hole, all their heads sticking out.			

\ref	CR.57									
\ln	ǰlap	cnuʔís		ixíʔ	nxhíknhəms		iʔ	sʎaǰts,		ixíʔ
\mr	ǰla + p	c-	nʎwís	ixíʔ	n + xh=ikn + m + nt		-s	ý	s + ʎaǰ + t	-s
\ge	morning	actual-	sun is high	then	carry on one's back		-3erg	the	friend	-3in
\gc	Istem	afx-	Istem	pcl	Tstem		-afx	pcl	Istem	-afx
\sc	+ p	asp-		deictic	+ nt		-prsMrk	art	app, + t	-prsMrk

\ln	sxʷúysəlx				yaʔǰís	iʔ	kəl	sənxíʔtmistən,		ixíʔ
\mr	s-	xʷuy	-s	-lx	ya + ʔǰís	ý	kl	s + n + xíʔt + mist + n		ixíʔ
\ge	intt-	go	-3i	-pl	that there	the	to	finish line		then
\gc	afx-	Istem	-afx	-afx	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem		pcl
\sc	asp-	time	-prsMrk	-number	amalg	art	loc	+ tn		deictic

\lx	cɪkʷəntɪsəlx.			
\mr	c-	ɪkʷ + nt	-is	-lx
\ge	actual-	put s.t. down	-3erg	-pl
\gc	afx-	Tstem	-afx	-afx
\sc	asp-	+ nt	-prsMrk	-number
\tr	In the morning he picked his friend up and carried him on his back. They went past the finish, then he put him down.			

\ref	CR.58		
\ln	xʷuy	ixíʔ	ǰǰəláp.
\mr	xʷuy	ixíʔ	ǰ + ǰlap
\ge	time goes by	then	morning again
\gc	Istem	pcl	Istem
\sc	time	deictic	
\tr	Time passed and it was morning again.		

\ref	CR.59				
\ln	kaʎxʷám	ʔarsíkʷ,	nəq̣laʔxʷmíst,	ti	qʷuʷt.
\mr	kaʎxʷá + m	ʔarsíkʷ	n + əq̣=laʔxʷ + míst	ti	qʷuʷt
\ge	holler at s.o.	turtle	jump	just	dusty
\gc	Mstem	Istem	Istem	pcl	Istem
\sc	+ am	faun	+ mist	evid	
\tr	Turtle hollered, he dug in, it was sure dusty.				

\ref	CR.60										
\ln	kaʃx ^w ám,	uʃ	way	kłmi ^w ws,	tx ^w təpmíntəm		sᵛárákxən,	way	cx ^w saʃp		sᵛárákxən.
\mr	kaʃx ^w á + m	uʃ	way	kłm=iws	t + x ^w t + p + mi + nt	-m	s + wárák-xn	way	c-	x ^w s=aʃp	s + wárák-xn
\ge	holler at s.o.	and	yes	be half way	run after	-impers	Frog	yes	actual-	fast	Frog
\gc	Mstem	pcl	pcl	Istem	Tstem	-afx	Istem	pcl	afx-	Istem	Istem
\sc	+ am	conj	intj		+ mi + nt	-prsMrk	faun	intj	asp-		faun
\tr	Frog hollered, and got half way, he was running, Frog was awful fast.										

\ref	CR.61												
\ln	txwils		axá?	ka	nćq̄laʔx ^w míst,	uʃ	kaʃx ^w ám,	uʃ	yaʔxís	kaʃx ^w ám,	i?	knaqs	
\mr	t + xwil + nt	-s	axá?	ka	n + ćq̄-laʔx ^w + míst	uʃ	kaʃx ^w á + m	uʃ	ya + ʔxís	kaʃx ^w á + m	y	k-naqs	
\ge	run by s.o.	-3erg	this	to	dig in hard	and	holler at s.o.	and	that there	holler at s.o.	the	one person	
\gc	Tstem	-afx	Istem	pcl	Istem	pcl	Mstem	pcl	Istem	Mstem	pcl	Istem	
\sc	+ nt	-prsMrk	deictic	dir	+ míst	conj	+ am	conj	amalg	+ am	art		

\ln	nx ^w təlxúlaʔx ^w .												
\mr	n + x ^w t + lx-úlaʔx ^w												
\ge	jump out of the ground												
\gc	Istem												
\tr	He ran by the one buried in the ground, and he hollered, and that one hollered, the other jumped out of the ground.												

\ref	CR.62												
\ln	way	nq ^w m̄uʔtíkəñ,	way	ti	ilí?	xí ^w lstsəlx			uʃ	yaʔxís	i?	la	
\mr	way	n + q ^w m̄-wt=ikñ	way	ti	ilí?	xíl + st	-s	-lx	uʃ	ya + ʔxís	y	l	
\ge	yes	be far behind	yes	just	there	do thus	-3erg	-pl	and	that there	the	in	
\gc	pcl	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem	Tstem	-afx	-afx	pcl	Istem	pcl	pcl	
\sc	intj		intj	evid	loc	+ st	-prsMrk	-number	conj	amalg	art	loc	

\ln	nkłənwswísəlx̄tən		nćq̄laʔx ^w míst,	axá?	ti	q ^w ú ^w ʔ,	yaʔxí?	i?	l	
\mr	n + kł + n + ws ^w ís + lx + tn		n + ćq̄-laʔx ^w + míst	axá?	ti	q ^w uʔ	ya + ʔxí?	y	l	
\ge	finish line		jump	this	just	dusty	yonder	the	loc	
\gc	Istem		Istem	Istem	pcl	Istem	Istem	pcl	pcl	
\sc	+ tn		+ míst	deictic	evid		amalg	art	loc	

\ref	CR.69											
\ln	waʔ	ixíʔ	caŋkməncút,	cúntəm:		"naḵʷáʔ	uníxʷ	kiʔ	kʷ	ǰaʔǰáʔ,	kʷ	ǰaǰt.
\mr	waʔ	ixíʔ	cark + m + ncút	cu + nt	-m	naḵʷ + áʔ	wnixʷ	kiʔ	kʷ	ǰaʔ•ǰáʔ	kʷ	ǰaǰ + t
\ge	well	that	to writhe (in pain)	say to	-impers	indeed not	true	that	2kn	great	2kn	fast
\gc	pcl	pcl	Istem	Tstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	pcl	pcl	Istem	pcl	Istem
\sc	intj	deictic	+ ncut	+ nt	-prsMrk			rel	prsMrk		prsMrk	+ t
\tr	He [Frog] jumped around in pain, and [Coyote] said: "It's not true that you are powerful, (and) fast.											

\ref	CR.70									
\ln	kmix	kʷ	s̥aʔxmíxaʔx,		mi	kʷ	cənǰətpmítʰkʷ.			
\mr	kmix	kʷ	s-	ǰaʔx	-míxaʔx	mi	kʷ	c-	n + ǰip + m=itkʷ	
\ge	only	2kn	s̥míxaʔx-	ashamed	-ks̥míxaʔx	future	2kn	actual-	jump in the water	
\gc	pcl	pcl	afx-	Istem	-afx	pcl	pcl	afx-	Istem	
\sc		prsMrk	asp-		-iafx	time	prsMrk	asp-		
\tr	You're just embarrassed, and will jump in the water.									

\ref	CR.71						
\ln	ǰ	ǰalaʔxwílʰx	iʔ	s̥ǰəlsqílʰxʷ,	kʷ	ks̥waʔǰákʰxən."	
\mr	ǰ	ǰalaʔx + wílʰx	ǰ	s + ǰl + sqílʰxʷ	kʷ	ks-	s + waʔǰákʰ=xn
\ge	when	come to life	the	earth people	2kn	fut-	Frog
\gc	pcl	Istem	pcl	Istem	pcl	afx-	Istem
\sc	time	+ wilx	art	compd	prsMrk	tense-	faun
\tr	When the humans will come, you will be a frog."						

\ref	CR.72										
\ln	waʔ	ixíʔ	ɬ	pɣ̃˥˥əmɬí˥˥s		iʔ	sənqʰsíl˥˥	iʔ	syúpscəl˥˥.		
\mr	waʔ	ixíʔ	ɬ	pɣ̃˥˥ + m + ɬt	-is	ɣ̃	s + nqʰs=il˥˥	ɣ̃	sy=ups	-c	-lx
\ge	ok	then	when	distribute	-3erg	the	relative	the	tail	-3in	-pl
\gc	pcl	pcl	pclTstem	-afx	pcl	Istem	pcl	Istem	-afx	-afx	
\sc	intj	deictic	tim + m + ɬt	-prsMrk	art	kin	art	anat	-prsMrk	-number	
\tr	Then he passed around his relatives their tails.										

\ref	CR.73					
\ln	ixíʔ	ǰáǰənt,	scqʷilʰx		sənǰlǰip.	
\mr	ixíʔ	ǰaǰ + nt	sc-	qʷil	-x	s + n + ǰlǰ=ip
\ge	that	look	sc̣x-	cheat	-sc̣x	Coyote
\gc	pcl	Tstem	afx-	Istem	-afx	Istem
\sc	deictic	+ nt	asp-		-asp	faun
\tr	Look, Coyote cheated.					