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## Duck Valley Reservation (Owyhee, Nevada)

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The Shoshone-Paiute community of Duck Valley includes reservation territory that straddles the Idaho-Nevada border. Recordings of the Duck Valley com-munolect were made at the home of the speaker’s niece in the presence of sev-eral extended family members, including speakers, passive bilinguals and non-speakers alike, as well as children. The speaker was 60 years old at the time and clearly enjoyed recounting Coyote stories. That said, a few of the stories were considered by her family to be a bit too lurid to include here.

### COYOTE AND BEAVER<sup>1</sup>

†PHYLLIS ASTARLOA, NARRATOR

In this story, the emphasis, according to the speaker, is on the consequences of lying—something Coyote, of course, is known for. The story is somewhat incom-plete, by the admission of the speaker, and exhibits expressions of uncertainty, inference, and other interesting features of metanarration. The orthographic con-vention is the same as that adapted for Burns.

- (1) Seme yaisi su idza’a tewau mi’i idza’a unaa,  
simi yaisi su=idzaʔa tiwau miʔi idzaʔa una  
one then NOM=Coyote again QUOT Coyote out.there  
‘Once again, the Coyote, it is said, Coyote out there,’
- (2) me idza’a ka pemitu punni, mino’o pemitu punnisi ka unaa miana,  
mi=idzaʔa ka=pimi-tu punni minoʔo pimi-tu  
PL=coyote ACC=they-LOC see now they-LOC  
puni-si ka=una mia-na  
see-SEQ ACC=out.there go-PTCP  
‘as when you see coyotes going along, now, yonder going,’
- (3) himma ikwinachodamina, ikwitachoda tui hannotui miaugaa.  
hikka ikwi-načoda-mina ikwi-tačoda tui hanno=tui  
what smell-track-go.along smell-track any where=any

<sup>1</sup> Recorded August 25, 1999, Duck Valley Indian Reservation, Owyhee, Nevada

miau-gaa  
go-away

‘tracking something by scent, tracking (nose down) while going along just anywhere.’

- (4) Uu ka manigyana yaisi.

uu ka=mani-gya-na yaisi  
like.so ACC=do-away-PTCP then

‘So, that’s what he was doing.’

- (5) Una ka huude kimaba pideugaa mi, una pideugaa.

una ka=huu-di kimaba pidi-u-gaa mii  
out.there ACC=flow-NMLZ beside arrive-PFV-away QUOT  
una pidi-u-gaa  
out.there arrive-PFV-away

‘So where the water was coming, they say, that’s where he arrived.’

- (6) Unau chaisi tenikwehewene mii.

una-u čaisi tinikwihi-wini mii  
out.there-FOC then sing-PROG:SG QUOT

‘And that’s where he was singing, it is said.’

- (7) Usu . . . hii gya. . . Hayu usu nani’a?

u-su hii=gya hayu u-su na-ni?a  
3SG-NOM thing=MOD how 3SG-NOM MID-call

‘What was that . . . What is it called?’

- (8) *Beaver? What do you call “beaver”?*

- (9) Ha’ngiisa!

haʔɲiisa  
beaver

‘Beaver!’

- (10) Ha’ngisa kobaba kemaba’yuna, hipe himmaga huupi himmaga watti,

haʔɲisa koba-ba kimaba-ʔyu-na hipi  
beaver face-by beside-from-PTCP thing  
himmaga huupi himmaga watti  
what=MOD stick what=MOD search:DUR

‘Next to the beaver’s face, looking for a stick or something,’

- (11) yah, himma e tenikwehewenenemi.

yah himma i=tinikwihi-wini-nimi  
yes what 2SG=sing-PROG:SG-RNDM:SG

‘continuing to sing walking about.’

- (12) Ha'ngisa ka tenikwehewene.  
 haʔŋiisa ka=tinikwihi-wini  
 Beaver ACC=sing-PROG:SG  
 'So the beaver was singing.'
- (13) Himma sa'a 'yu'yuhu puni, himma sa'a 'yu'yuhu punigyaina mi oo.  
 himma=sა?a ʔyu~ʔyuhu puni himma=sა?a  
 what=MOD PL~fat see what=MOD  
 ʔyu~ʔyuhu puni-gyai-na mii oo  
 PL~fat see-HAB-PTCP QUOT DEM  
 'Looking for something fat, carefully searching for something fat,  
 (they) say so.'
- (14) Idza'a u nakkau, ka ene idza'ana.  
 idzaʔa u=nakka-u ka=ini idzaʔa-na  
 Coyote 3SG:ACC=hear-PFV ACC=INT coyote-PTCP  
 'The Coyote heard him, because that's how coyotes really are!'
- (15) "Ah, hau e manakwi?" mi.  
 ah hau i manakwi mii  
 ah how you act:DUR QUOT  
 '“So, what are you doing there?” (he) asked.'
- (16) "Kai ne yaa, sekwimiakainemi," mii gya sa'a ha'ngisa.  
 kai ni yaa sikwi-mia-kai-nimi  
 NEG I here only-go-ABOUT-RNDM:SG  
 mii=gya=sა?a haʔŋisa  
 QUOT=MOD=MOD Beaver  
 '“I'm not doing a thing, just going along,” so that Beaver must have  
 been saying.'
- (17) "Oo himma e kwattina?" mii.  
 oo himma i=kwatti-na mii  
 DEM what 2SG=search-PTCP QUOT  
 '“So, what are you looking for?” saying.'
- (18) "Kai du ne himma. E chaisi hayu?"  
 kai du ni himma i čaisi hayu  
 NEG also I what you then how  
 '“I'm not (doing) a thing. And you?”'
- (19) [Teekwi-] u tenikwehe chaisi, eetu, nagedza pisa'yu eniwene mi.  
 u=tinikwihi čaisi i-tu nagidza pisa-ʔyu ini-wini  
 3SG:ACC=sing then you-LOC truly good-NOM say-PROG

mii  
QUOT

‘“What are you singing along that sounds so good?” (Coyote) said.’

- (20) “Kai, himma sokona inate wattina, himma sa kadu’u watti,” mi.

kai himma soko-na ina-ti watti-na  
NEG what go.afoot-PTCP here-AT search-PTCP  
himm=sa kadu?u watti mii  
what=MOD gone search:DUR QUOT

‘“So, what should I be looking for in this spot?” saying.’

- (21) “Kai! Kai nana— nagedza pisa enikima,” mi.

kai kai nagidza pisa ini-kima mii  
NEG NEG truly good say-come QUOT

‘“No, indeed it sounds too good (better than you say)!” saying.’

- (22) Ha’ngisa kai u teekwi.

ha?ngisa kai u=tiikwi?i  
Beaver NEG 3SG:ACC=tell

‘Beaver didn’t tell him.’

- (23) Yaisi, idza’a setahu, idza’a setahu, miu.

yaisi idza?a sita-hu idza?a sita-hu mi-u  
then Coyote bad-PFV Coyote bad-PFV QUOT-FOC

‘And so Coyote got mad, Coyote got mad, it is said.’

- (24) Himm=sa?a yu-yuhu-gi-na himm=sa?a

what=MOD RE-fat-toward-PTCP what=MOD  
yu~yuhu-gi-na  
DISTR~fat-toward-PTCP

‘“So, where’s the fat! Where’s the fat?”’

- (25) “Miu ha e?” mi.

mii-u=ha ïi mii  
QUOT-FOC=Q you QUOT

‘“Is that what you’re saying/thinking?” said.’

- (26) Oono yaisi gya, ha’ngisa u deegweu, “aha, uu manina,” mi.

oono yaisi=gya ha?ngisa u=diigwi-u  
at.the.time then=MOD Beaver 3SG:ACC=tell-PFV  
aha uu mani-na mii  
yes like.so do-PTCP QUOT

‘So, therefore, the Beaver told him, “Yes, that’s what I am doing,” said.’

- (27) Oo ka yaisi ka kutsu sii unate ga te sayana ka paawaitu ka woisana pisa.

oo ka=yaisi ka=kutsu sii  
 DEM ACC=then ACC=cow stomach  
 una-ti=ga ti=sayana  
 there-LOC=MOD LOGO=guts  
 ka=paa-wai-tu ka=woisa-na pisa  
 ACC=water-AREA-to ACC=wash-PTCP good

'So, then, the cow's belly,<sup>2</sup> inside (there), (he) took it and washed it somewhere in the water very well.'

- (28) Hau ga yaisi una uka huupi watti, miausi.

hau=ga yaisi una u-ka huupi watti  
 how=MOD then there 3SG-ACC stick search  
 mia-u-si  
 go-PFV-SEQ

'So, it must have been as he went to look for the stick.'<sup>3</sup>

- (29) Ka te chuhugaana oisu 'ma'wiukaasi.

ka=ti=čuhu-gaa-na oi-su ?ma?wi-u-kaa-si  
 ACC=LOGO=fat-have-PTCP DEM-EMPH leave-PFV-away-SEQ

'The fat he had collected, he left there.'

- (30) Me patunapa ga peno'o oi'yu koohau, u sayana ka kadu'u 'mani [yai]si u su'au.

mi=patunapa=ga pino?o oi-?yu kooha-u  
 PL=intestine=MOD as.well DEM-from pick.up-PFV  
 u=sayana ka=kadu?u ?mani  
 3SG.POSS=guts ACC=gone do  
 yaisi u=su?a-u  
 then 3SG:ACC=consume-PFV

'So, they also came and got it, the guts, and left; and there was nothing left, having gone and consumed all of it.'

- (31) Usu yaisi oi pittegaasi, u sayana kadu'u.

u-su yaisi oi pittī-gaa-si u=sayana kadu?u  
 3SG-NOM then DEM arrive-away-SEQ 3SG.POSS=guts gone

'When he got over there, the *sayana* was all gone.'

<sup>2</sup> Translator was uncertain of the exact body part reference here for the term *sayana*.

<sup>3</sup> A side comment by the speaker.

- (32) Oono ka ha'ngisa peno'o ka idza'a settakiu, u wadzi susagwaipeni,  
ka hayu niitama ga.

oono ka=haʔŋisa pinoʔo ka=idzaʔa  
at.the.time ACC=beaver as.well ACC=Coyote  
sitta-ki-u u=wadzi su-sagwai-pini  
bad-toward-PFV 3SG:ACC=hide DESID-angry-PROG  
kai hayu nitama=ga  
NEG how tell=MOD

'And then the Beaver got angry with Coyote, but kept his anger hidden  
and didn't let on'

- (33) Oo chaisi, oo teka tewawa nazu'akeu.

oo čaisi, oo tika tiwawa na-zuʔa-ki-u  
DEM then DEM eat collect MID-consume-APPL-PFV

'So then, all that he had gathered was eaten up.'

- (34) Oo ka yaisi issayaino oo pe kima'yusu oi'yu koohau.

oo ka=yaisi issayai-no oo  
DEM ACC=then lie-TEMP DEM  
pi=kima-ʔyu-su oi-ʔyu kooha-u  
RESTR=come-from-EMPH DEM-from pick.up-PFV

'Because when he lied, someone came along and stole it.'

- (35) Mi'i usu peno'o usu.

miʔi u-su pinoʔo u-su  
QUOT 3SG-NOM as.well 3SG-NOM

'And that's that story as well.'

- (36) Kai kwaya nanateekwina usu oo.

kai kwaya na~na-tiikwi-na u-su oo  
NEG afar DISTR-MID-tell-PTCP 3SG-NOM DEM

'That's not a story from too far back.'<sup>4</sup>

- (37) Oo ugau manina peno'o.

oo u-ga-u mani-na pinoʔo  
DEM 3SG-GEN-FOC do-PTCP as.well

'That's his doings (that Coyote).'

<sup>4</sup> Translator also gave the additional comment, "It could mean that it's not far from being the real truth."