Wadadıka’a (Burns Paiute Reservation, Oregon)

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The Harney Valley, or tibidzi yipɨ (the True Valley), region of southeastern Oregon is a rich and varied landscape consisting of all the extremes one expects to find in the Great Basin—vast marshlands, high-elevation grasslands, alkali basins, pine forest, and ephemeral lakebeds and rivers. This high desert area attracts hundreds of thousands of water and other fowl (as well as birdwatchers) on their seasonal migration. Water has been, and remains, a source of tension in the region, as does the management of federal land more generally, including, in particular, the allocation of grazing rights. The occupation of the headquarters of the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge by an armed militia in January 2016 drew both national media attention and swift condemnation by the region’s original occupants, whose cultural sites had been violated by the takeover.

Some earmark features of the Northern Paiute dialect spoken here include the appearance of the palatal affricate [ʧ] (written as {ch} in the local orthography and /č/ in the transcription) corresponding to palatalized [kʲ] in other northern dialects and voiced fortis alveolar [dd] in the south. Prosodic vowel devoicing seems, impressionistically at least, more pervasive in this variety than elsewhere. Any obstruent-initial, unstressed syllable is a candidate, although typically devoicing only appears on the final one or two syllables of a three- or four-syllable word, respectively.

HOW COYOTE LOST HIS EYES

Captain Louie (Patotsi), Narrator

Captain Louie (b. ~1840, d. 1935), also known as Patotsi ‘Foam,’ was pressed into service by US Army General Crook for several years in his youth until after the Bannock War of 1878. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, he served as the primary language consultant to Dr. W. L. Marsden, a physician in the town of Burns, Oregon, who developed an interest, as well as some fluency, in the Northern Paiute language. After Marsden’s untimely death in 1913, his notes and typed texts were turned over to the University of California at Berkeley, where they remained mostly untouched in Alfred L. Kroeber’s office until Kroeber’s death in 1960.
Just five short texts make up part of the posthumously published “The Northern Paiute Language of Oregon” (Marsden 1923). One of these, “How Coyote Lost His Eyes,” appears here in both its originally rendered form in tier one and a parsed retranscription in tier two. Marsden (1923) provides the literal, word-by-word translation; the free translation provided here follows, in large measure, that provided by Michael J. P. Nichols and published in Heizer and Hester (1972). The interlinear analysis is that of the editors.

(1) Tibuitsitsi tepui tsutsayibahu² tugupa’atu obibuahu aizu yegwihu pitehu.
    tibuitsi ti=pui tsutsayiba–hu tugupa?a–tu purple.finch LOGO=eye pluck.out–PFV sky–LOC

‘Purple Finch plucked out his eyes and threw them into the sky and made them come back.’

(2) Usu idza’apeno’o mihusi enisi tepui tsutsayibahu tugupa’a obibuahu.

‘That Coyote, too, as it is said, plucked out his own eyes and threw them skyward.’

(3) Yaisi onadedehaku otibitsi nadedehaku.³

‘Then they were stolen from him, truly were stolen from him.’

(4) Onayu nanega idza’a puimayu.
    una–?yu na–niga idza?a pui–ma–?yu yonder–from MID–dance coyote eye–on–from

‘From over yonder was (heard) dancing over Coyote’s eyes.’

(5) Idza’a pui nadzakwinikuna omayuhu nanega idza’a puimayu.

² “Perhaps for tsatsibohu” (noted in Marsden 1923).
³ Marsden has /-ku/ here, but in line 2, the parsing line, I assume it is the applicative suffix /-ki/ in order to more readily account for the presence of both a direct object in the form of a proclitic alongside the middle/passive prefix, a detransitivizer. The applicative adds a malefactive object to the passive here. It is likely that the quality of the vowel has been misheard since the vowel of the applicative frequently surfaces as voiceless.
Coyote’s eyes were hung up to be danced over, over Coyote’s eyes.’


Idza’a yaisi onazu kima yaisi tekwi’i, “yau ne kima,” mi’i tekwi’ina.

Coyote then yonder—ADV come then tell

‘I came here to watch the people.’’

(7) ‘What’s the dancing about?’

(8) ‘Himayu nanega.’

(9) ‘Over whose eyes?’

(10) ‘I should see,” so spoke that Coyote.’

(11) ‘Then that man gave it to him, the Coyote’s eyes.’

(12) ‘Then Coyote said “Good!”’
(13) Haga pui mi’i yadua.
   who eye QUOT talk
   ‘‘Whose eyes?’’ so talked.’

(14) Yaisi yagana yaisi ogwuwu tebui yaisi poyoaga’a yaisi ohomanai kai
   then cry–PTCP then 3SG:ACC=get–PFV LOGO=eye
   yaisi poyo–gaʔa yaisi ohomanai
   then trot–away then dash
   kai iwi–hu ti=pui–kwai u=yigwi–ku–hu–si
   ‘Then (he) crying then (he) got them, his eyes, and trotted away and
   then ran off without placing them in his eye sockets first.’

(15) Idza’a wahu nodekwaigayu.
   coyote two wife–have–PRED
   ‘Coyote had two wives.’

(16) Onazu mia tepitu koipa onahu hoapitega.
   yonder–ADV go rock–LOC mountain.sheep
   una–hu hoa–piti–ga
   yonder–FOC seek–arrive–away
   ‘Yonder into the rocks went mountain sheep, going there in search (of
   food).’

(17) Usu wahayu momogotni yaisi yadua ya’atsagi’i koipa mihu yadua
   then talk
   3SG:NOM two–NOM PL–woman then talk
   yaʔa tsagiʔi koipa mii–hu yadua
   here close mountain.sheep QUOT–FOC talk
   u–ka mo~mogoʔni
   3SG–ACC PL–woman
   ‘Then those two women talked, “There are sheep nearby,” so saying,
   those women.’

   then coyote talk yes QUOT talk
   I 3SG:ACC=see QUOT talk
   ‘Then Coyote spoke, “Yes,” so talked, “I see them,” (he) said.’
Then Coyote talked, “You may sit here,” so spoke.

‘Coyote went yonder downwind nearby and smelled them (sheep) and then heard them in his ear, that Coyote, as the mountain sheep made noise; so (he) shot in that direction (i.e., of the sound), shooting many times and missing many times as his eyesight was poor.’

(He) killed one over there then.’

‘Then dressed it.’

‘Then that one, his woman, talked, “Why do you cut it like that?” so talked.’

Most likely kaŋadžakwi with the velar nasal here.
(24) Yaisi oka idza’a yadua ka me gwahu ne ka mahu mi’i yadua.
yaisi u–ka idza?a yadua ka=mi=kwahu
then 3SG–ACC coyote talk ACC=PL=two
ni름 ka=maa–hu miʔi yadua
I ACC=DEM–FOC QUOT talk
‘And that Coyote said, “Because there are two of you, I (do) thusly,” so talked.’

(25) Seme inakwanakwaitu semepeno’o inokwanakwaitu.
one this.way–DIR–AREA–to one=as.well this.way–DIR–AREA–to
‘One in this direction and one also in this direction.’

(26) Yaisi idza’a nobikwaitu mia ka mogotnino wahuno.
yaisi idza?a nobi–kwai–tu mia
then coyote house–AREA–to go
ka=mogoʔni–no waha–no
ACC=woman–COM two–COM
‘Then Coyote went to the house with the two women.’

(27) Nobikwai pitega idza’a onazu tabiewihu.
nobi–kwai pitɨ–ga idza?a una–su tabi–iwi–hu
house–AREA arrive–away coyote yonder–ADV day–sleep–PFV
‘When they arrived home, Coyote took a nap.’

(28) Yaisi oka mogotni pukabkwami tsotege ewihu.
yaisi u–ka mogoʔni pukabkwami tso–tigi iwi–hu
then 3SG–ACC woman lap.upon IP/HEAD–place sleep–PFV
‘Then (he) placed his head on that woman’s lap and slept.’

(29) Yaisi mogotni oka puni oka idza’a yaisi oka mayihu.
yaisi mogoʔni u–ka puni u–ka idza?a
then woman 3SG–ACC see 3SG–ACC coyote
yaisi u–ka mayi–hu
then 3SG–ACC find–PFV
‘Then the woman saw that, that Coyote, and discovered it (his eyes).’

(30) “Aha! Setako puidzaiyu,” mi’i.
aha sita–ku pui–ga–ʔyu miʔi
yes bad–ACC eye–have–PRED QUOT
“Aha! (He) has bad eyes,” (she) said.

(31) Yaisi oka tehama tekwi’i setayu mi’i oka idza’a pui setayu mi’i.
yaisi u–ka ti=hammaʔa tiikwiʔi sita–ʔyu miʔi
then 3SG–ACC LOGO=elder.sister tell bad–NOM QUOT
u–ka idza?a pui sita–ʔyu miʔi
3SG–ACC coyote eye bad–NOM QUOT

‘Then (she) told her older sister told, “(They’re) bad,” said, “that Coyote’s eyes are bad,” said.’

(32) Yaisi hama yadua, “wadzimimiahu ta mia,” miʔi.
yaisi hammaʔa yadua wadzí–mi–ma–hu
then elder.sister talk secretly–DISTR–go–PFV
ta mia miʔi
1DU go QUOT

‘Then the elder sister talked, “Sneakily (we will) go off, we two are going.” said.’

(33) Yaisi ohama otepitu yawikisi ya’a okuba otsotegekuti yaisi
wadzimimiahu.
yaisi u=hammaʔa u=tipi–tu
then 3SG.POSS=elder.sister 3SG.POSS=rock–TO
yakwi–ki–si yaʔa u–kuba
carry–toward–SEQ here 3SG–upon
u=tso–tigi–ki–ti yaisi
3SG:ACC=IP/HEAD–put:SG–APPL–TNS then
wadzi–mi–ma–hu
secretly–DISTR–go–PFV

‘Then her older sister brought her rock there and placed his head on it, then snuck away.’

(34) Owihupina tenodekwa wadsika owihupina yagana usu idza’a.
owi–hu–pina ti=nodikwa watsi–ka
DEM–FOC–be.so LOGO=wife hide–away
owi–hu–pina yaga–na u–su idzaʔa
DEM–FOC–be.so cry–PTCP 3SG–NOM coyote

‘It was there (that way) (he) lost his wife, and for that, crying, that one, Coyote.’

(35) Yaisi yadua neme usu no’oyuzu kasagayu hitui.
yaisi yadua nimi u–su noʔo–ʔyu–su
then talk people 3SG–NOM all–NOM–ADV
kassa–ga–ʔyu hii=tui
feather–have–PRED thing=any

‘Then the people talked, all those feathered ones.’

(36) Yaisi osutihaina oka idza’a yaisi usu pohinabi yaisi nana yadua aha
miʔi yadua yaisi tebui ogia.
yaisi u=suthai–na u–ka idzaʔa yaisi
then 3SG:ACC=pity–PTCP 3SG–ACC coyote then
u–su  pohinabi  yaisi  nana  yadua  aha
3SG–NOM  dance.chief  then  man  talk  yes
miʔi  yadua  yaisi  ti=puĩ  u=gia
QUOT  talk  then  LOGO=eye  3SG:ACC=give

‘Then the Dance-Chief took pity on him, that Coyote, and the men said, “Okay,” and gave him back his eyes.’

(37)  Mi’ipina  nanatenitsui.
miʔi–pina  na-na–tiničui
QUOT–be.so  DISTR–MID–tell.stories
‘So are the stories.’

THE PINE NUT MYTH

CAPTAIN LOUIE (PATOTSI), NARRATOR

Another version of the pine nut story is included here. Unlike “How Coyote Lost His Eyes,” Captain Louie’s version of “The Pine Nut Myth” has never before seen print except in English translation (Heizer and Hester 1972).

(1)  Oo’nosu  iwa  tebaga’yu  isu  kaibama,  seme’wa’a  kaiba.
oo’nosu  iwa  tiba–ga–yu  i–su
long.ago  many  pine.nut–have–NOM  PROX–NOM
kaiba–ma  simi?wa’a  kaiba
mountain–on  all.of  mountains

‘Long ago, there were pine nuts on this mountain, all these mountains.’

(2)  Yaisi  isu  mahimia  uka  tebapitu  nadedehakaasi,  isu  isa,  usu  idza’a,
isu  kwidagagai,  isu  wangi’i  isu  nakai’i,  isu  kwí’na’a,  isu  ada,  isu
adzaba,  isu  oha’adzaba,  isu  payaba;  seme’wa’a  hii  tui,  hii  tui
koda’a,  hii  tui  pondadzi.
yaisi  i–su  mahi–mia  u–ka  tibapi–tu
then  PROX–NOM  scout–go  3SG–ACC  pine.nut–LOC
na–di–di(ha)–kaa–si  i–su  isa  u–su  idza?a
i–su  kwidagagai  i–su  wangi’i
PROX–NOM  magpie  PROX–NOM  fox
i–su  nakai’i  i–su  kwí’na?a
PROX–NOM  hawk  PROX–NOM  eagle
i–su  ada  i–su  adzaba
PROX–NOM  crow  PROX–NOM  woodpecker
i–su  oha?adzaba  i–su  payaba
PROX–NOM  yellowhammer  PROX–NOM  mudswallow

5 Recorded by Dr. W. L. Marsden
'Then they (people) went looking for it, as the pine nut was stolen, this Wolf, that Coyote, Magpie, Fox, Hawk, Eagle, Crow, Woodpecker, Yellowhammer, Mudswallow, all of them, Squirrel, Mouse, all.'

(3) Yaisi unasu manipitegaa kuyuipaawaitu yaisi una kwayakwaitu u mayehu.

Then yonder do–arrive–away sucker–water–AREA–to

‘And so (they) went yonder, arriving at Pyramid Lake and beyond and found it.’

(4) Usu isa u pabi’ina uka idza’a kwanga’agaana.

That Wolf was the elder brother (and Chief) and he had that Coyote as a younger brother.

(5) Yaisi unasu nayakwina usu me pabi’i yaduaasi, “Seme’wa’a nayakwina!” mii yaduaasi.

And to that mouse, speaking, “You stay yonder,” so that Wolf was saying.

(6) Yaisi uka pongadzi yaduaasi, “Eh unasu nemi,” mii yaduaasi uka isa.

‘Then over there (they) were playing stick game when their Chief said, “Everybody gamble!” talking.’

(7) Yaisi uka pongadzi unasu watti tokano; tu ohanomaiku u mayehu;

‘And to that mouse, speaking, “You stay yonder,” so that Wolf was saying.’
tu=oha–nomai–ku u=mayi–hu
??=yellow–light–LOC 3SG:ACC=find–PFV
‘Then that mouse searched through the night until first light (he)
found it.’

(8) Unahu u mayehu u igwina.
una–hu u=mayi–hu u=igwi–na
yonder 3SG:ACC=find–PFV 3SG:ACC=smell–PTCP
‘(He) found it over there by smelling it.’

(9) Yaisi uka me pabi’i teekwi.
yaisi u–ka mi=pabi?i tiikwi
then 3SG–ACC PL=elder.brother tell
‘And he told the Chief.’

u=mayi–hu nii mii una na–watsi–tiki mii
3SG:ACC=find–PFV I QUOT yonder MM–hide–place QUOT
‘‘I found it,’’ (Mouse was) saying, ‘‘hidden over there,’’ so saying.’

(11) Yaisi me pabi’i yadua yaisi uka tu adzaba teekwi yaisi uka adzaba
tabatsibuikina u gwehetua yaisi u yakwikisi tanohomani.
yaisi mi=pabi?i yadua yaisi u–ka tu=adzaba
then PL=elder.brother talk then 3SG–ACC ??=woodpecker
tiikwi yaisi u–ka adzaba taba–tsibui–ki–na
tell then 3SG–ACC woodpecker sun–emerge–toward–PTCP
u=gwihi–tua yaisi u=yakwi–ki–si
3SG:ACC=grab–IRR then 3SG:ACC=carry–toward–SEQ
tanohomani
run
‘Then their Chief spoke and told that Woodpecker as the sun was
rising to go and grab it (the pine nut), having brought it back
running.’

(12) Yaisi nayakwide semewa’a kimahu yaisi u nagiki yaisi semewa’a u
patsakina otu pibeakina yaisi isa ina gwuhuna u moguna.
yaisi nayakwi–dí simiwa?a kima–hu
then stick.game–NMLZ everyone come–PFV
yaisi u=nagi–ki yaisi simiwa?a
then 3SG:ACC=chase–toward then all.of
u=patsa–ki–na o–tu
3SG:ACC=kill:SG–toward–PTCP 3SG–to
pibia–ki–na
throw:PL–toward–PTCP
'Then all of the gamblers came and chased him, and all of them came to kill him and discard him, but Wolf grabbed and put it in his mouth.'

(13) yaisi uka saipatzo u sainaga u tegehuki.
yaisi u–ka saipatzo u=sai–naga
then 3SG–ACC marsh.hawk 3SG.POSS=thigh–among
u=tigi–hu–ki
3SG:ACC=place:SG–PFV–toward

‘Then the Marsh hawk took and placed it in his thigh.’

(14) Saipadzo yotsihuna; yaisi uka saipadzo patsasi, yaisi inatu igwina, usu sida pihigwana.
saipadzo yotsi–hu–na yaisi u–ka saipadzo
marsh.hawk fly:SG–PFV–PTCP then 3SG–ACC marsh.hawk
pihi–gwana rotten–scent

‘Marsh hawk flew and (they) killed that Marsh hawk, smelled him, as he smelled rotten.’

kai=pina ka=himma na=tigi–wa?ni–?yu mii ini–na
NEG=be.so ACC=what MM–put:SG–SIMIL–PRED QUOT say–PTCP
o–tu wi–kwinai u=saibi–naga–tu
3SG–to RE–throw:SG 3SG.POSS=tule–among–to

‘It is not possible for something like that to have been put in there,” (they) were saying (before) tossing him into the tules.’

(16) Yaisi oo’noku pina yaisi usu yahu pite iwihu tebiwai uka tebapi kwehetuasi.
yaisi oo?nohu=pina yaisi u–su yaa–hu piti
then at.the.time=so.be then 3SG–NOM here–FOC arrive
iwi–hu tibi–wai u–ka tiba–pi
DEM–FOC homeland–AREA 3SG–ACC pine.nut–NCM
kwihi–tua–si
grab–IRR–SEQ

‘It was at that time then he (Wolf) arrived here at the home territory, having retrieved that pine nut.’
(17) Yaisi uka saipatzo sainagaku a gwehesi, yaisi usu isa, yadua, uka
tebapi gwehesi, yuutu, te maiwai yegwisi, yaisi yadua: “ne sakwa
tebapitu manimutu.”
yaisi u–ka saipatzo sai–naga–ku a=gwihi–si
then 3SG–ACC marsh.hawk tule–among–LOC 4=grab–SEQ
yaisi u–su isa yadua u–ka tiba–pi
then 3SG–NOM wolf talk 3SG–ACC pine.nut–NCM
gwihi–si yuu–tu ti=mai–wai yigwi–si
grab–SEQ this.way–LOC LOGO=hand–AREA do–SEQ
yaisi yadua ni=sakwa tiba–pi–tu manimutu
then talk I=MOD pine.nut–NCM–make create

‘And so having grabbed them from Marsh hawk among the tules,
the Wolf spoke, having grabbed the pine nuts doing like so, in
his hand. and spoke, “I shall create pine nuts.”’

(18) Yaisi uka kwanga’a yadua, “Ta sakwa,” mii.
yaisi u–ka kwanja?a yadua ta=sakwa mii
then 3SG–ACC younger.brother talk 1DU=MOD QUOT
‘Then talking to younger brother (Coyote), “We should!” saying.’

(19) Yaisi eme waha’yu nawanga’a.
yaisi imi waha–ʔyu na–wanja?a
then they two–NOM MM–younger.brother
‘Then those two brothers,’

(20) Yaisi iwa’yu ka yuu pemì u yegwisi, yaisi, “Ta sakwa tebapi
manimutu,” mii yadua.
yaisi iwa–ʔyu ka=yuu pimi u=yigwi–si
then much–NOM ACC=this.way PRO 3SG:ACC=do–SEQ
yaisi ta=sakwa tiba–pi manimutu
then we:DU=MOD pine.nut–NCM create
mii yadua
QUOT talk

‘Then in this way he made plenty and, “We should make pine nuts
(grow),” thusly spoke.’

(21) Kwanga’a peno’o, “Ne peno’o,” mii.
kwanja?a pinoʔo ni=pinoʔo mii
younger.brother as.well I as.well QUOT
Younger brother also, “I (shall) as well!” saying.

(22) Yaisi icha teka.
yaisi i–ka tika
then PROX–ACC eat

‘Then (he) ate this.’
(23) Yaisi uka idza’a yaatu himahusi, a gehusi, yaisi unatu kaiba pamusiana.

then 3SG–ACC coyote here–to get–PFV–SEQ
a=gi–hu–si yaisi una–tu kaiba pamusia–na
4=chew–PFV–SEQ then yonder–to mountain spew–PTCP

‘And that Coyote got over here, having chewed them up heaved them out on the mountains out there.’

(24) Yaisi inatu pamusia, usu idza’a.

yaisi ina–tu pamusia u–su idza’a
then hither–LOC spew 3SG–NOM coyote

‘Then toward this way, spewed the Coyote.’

(25) Usu kai yaa wogopi temazia, usu waapi ka yahu manimutua.

usu kai yaa wogo–pi timazia
3SG–NOM NEG here pine–NCM plant
usu waa–pi ka=nya–hu manimutua
3SG–NOM juniper–NCM ACC=here–FOC create

‘He didn’t plant pine trees here, but created the juniper instead here.’

(26) Isu isa unatu tuhina; usu ka tebatua ka una Reno waitu unakwana tehakaiba.

i–su isa una–tu tuhi–na u–su
PROX–NOM wolf yonder–LOC spit–PTCP 3SG–NOM
ka=tiba– tua ka=una Reno– wai–tu
ACC=pine.nut–create ACC=yonder Reno–AREA–to
u–nawatuna tiba–kaiba
3SG–direction pine.nut–mountain

‘This Wolf spat over that way, and he made pine nuts over toward Reno in the direction of Pine Nut Mountain.’

(27) Pongatzi u mayehusi ka tebapitu una nawatsitege una atsai de masunaiwai.

ponatzi u=mayi–hu–si ka=tiba–pi–tu una
mouse 3SG:ACC=find–PFV–SEQ ACC=pine.nut–NCM–to yonder
na–watsi–tigi uma atsa–idi masunai–wai

‘Mouse first found that pine nut where it was hidden over there in a red bow.’

(28) Oha’adzaba otu tatsi’yutua te mobima a toyawitua.

oha’adzaba o–tu tatsi?yu–tua ti=mubi–ma
yellowhammer DEM–to pick–IRR LOGO=beak–with

6 Some versions specify the bow as hanging up high and that Mouse was chosen for the task due to his ability to look in narrow places.
Yellowhammer went out and picked it up in his beak and brought it along.'

(29) Idza’a ene piwetzina, kai pisa te pamuzia.

idzaʔa ini piwizí–na kai pisa ti=pamuzia

coyote INT greedy–PTCP NEG good LOGO=spew

‘Coyote was very greedy and did no good by his spewing.’

(30) Isu isu una pisa tuhina tebapitu manimutu.

i–su isu una pisa tuhí–na

PROX–NOM wolf yonder good spit–PTCP

tiba–pi–tu manimutu

pine.nut–NCM–to create

‘This Wolf spat over there nicely and created pine nuts thusly.’

COYOTE, SPRUCE GROUSE, AND WILDCAT

Marian (Jim) Louie, Narrator

Marian Louie was the daughter-in-law of Captain Louie and his primary caretaker in his old age. As such, she heard many of the stories he shared with Dr. Marsden, as well as those she heard as a child. She was well known in her community for her abilities as a storyteller, and she taught others, native and non-native, about the history and traditions of the Wadateka’a. This and a great many other recordings of Mrs. Louie are housed in the California Language Archive at the University of California at Berkeley as part of the Michael Nichols Collection of Northern Paiute sound recordings (http://cla.berkeley.edu/item.php?bndlid=20131). This story, as well as several other Marian Louie recordings, has been transcribed and analyzed by Thornes with the assistance of two of the last remaining fluent speakers of the Burns dialect—Ruth Lewis and Rena Beers, both of whom have since passed away.

(1) Su idza’a ka oo miaunemimina

su=idzaʔa ka=oo mia–u–nimi–mina

NOM=coyote ACC=DEM go–PFV–RNDM:SG–go.along

‘The Coyote was walking along there.’

7 Recorded by Michael J. P. Nichols, Summer 1969, Burns Paiute Reservation
The grouse children went along yonder then.

to where the two of them sitting there.

Their mother went out hunting there, for them.

Coyote came up to them.

What kind of children are you?

Then they told him,

We are the children of frightened people,

The Coyote didn’t believe what the children were telling him;

and so (he) peed on them.
(11) Ome kuba’yu miausi, una: miano’o.
ômê kubâ–ʔyu mia–u–si una mia–noʔo
them upon–from go–PFV–SEQ out.there go–go.along
‘(Then Coyote) left them and went on his way.’

(12) Poodo miano, paa kemais(u), kaakwai.
poo–do mia–no, paa kimai–su kaa–kwai
road–LOC go–go.along water beside–EMPH edge–AREA
‘(He) went along the road beside the water, on a cliff edge.’

(13) Su me piabe yaisi, pideu.
su=mi=piabi yaisi pidi–u
NOM=PL=mother then arrive:SG–PFV
‘Then their mother arrived.’

(14) Unate omedu tehoawainemisi, pideu.
‘Having been hunting for them at (a place) out there, (she) arrived.’

(15) Me pu’nipitte.
mi=puʔni–pitti
PL=see:DUR–arrive:SG
‘When (she) came back (she) saw them.’

(16) “Hau me tabeachekwi?” mii me debinga.
hau mi=tabia–čikwi mii mi=dibîna
how PL=appear–HAB QUOT PL=ask
“How is it that you look that way?” so (she) asked them.

(17) “Kai su idza’a yuu ni ma’icha.”
kai su=idzaʔa yuu ni=maʔi–ča
NEG NOM=coyote this.way us:EXCL=do–away
‘ ‘That Coyote did it to us.’’

(18) “Nemmi kubatu siiuka,” mii me tuaki u deekwi.
nîmmi kuba–tu sii–u–ka mii mi=tuaki
we:EXCL upon–to urinate–PFV–away QUOT PL=kids
u=diikwi
3SG:ACC=tell
‘ ‘(He) peed on us!’ so the children told her.’

(19) “Mii debinga nemmi yaisi u deekwi; mii nemmi neme mamaze’a
 tuame mii nemmi u deekwi’i.”
mii dibîna nîmmi yaisi u=diikwi mii
QUOT ask we:EXCL then 3SG:ACC=tell QUOT
nimi nimi ma–ma–ziʔa–tua–mi
we:EXCL people DISTR–IP/HAND–afraid–child–PL
mii nimi u=diikwiʔi
QUOT we:EXCL 3SG:ACC=tell

‘ “So (Coyote) asked, and then we told him; so we told him we are frightened people’s children, we (said) so.” ’

(20) Su yaisi, “hippe ti’a me neme mamaze’a tuame,” mii enisi; “muu’ni ma’icha,” mii tia.’
   u–su yaisi hippi tiʔa mi=nimi
   3SG–NOM then doubt thusly PL=people
   ma–ma–ziʔa–tua–mi mii ini–si
   muuʔni maʔi–ča mii tiaʔa
   like.that do–away QUOT thusly

‘Then he, “(I) don’t believe they are frightened people’s children,” so (Coyote) said. “That’s why (I) did like that,” so saying.’

(21) Me pia setau! U nakicha.
   mi=pia sita–u u=naki–ča
   PL=mother anger–PFV 3SG:ACC=chase–away

‘The mother got mad! (And she) chased after him.’

(22) Su idza’a kai u setabui una,
   su=idzaʔa kai u=sitabui una
   NOM=coyote NEG 3SG:ACC=notice out.there

‘The Coyote didn’t notice that out there,’

(23) paa pakaakwaisu tenikwehenemimina.
   paa pa–kaa–kwai–su tinikwihi–nimi–mina

‘as (he went) along the water’s edge, singing along.’

(24) Usu yaisi umupa miausi, yaisi u kwayakwa kobina.
   u–su yaisi u–mupa mia–u–si
   3SG–NOM then 3SG–pass.by go–PFV–SEQ
   yaisi u=kwaya–kwa kobi–na
   then 3SG:ACC=far–LOC front–IN

‘She passed him and got far ahead of him.’

(25) Kadeu pitega hittuha sawaduha.
   kadi–u piti–ga hi–ttuha sawa–duha
   sit:SG–PFV arrive:SG–away thing–under sagebrush–under

‘(She) went and sat under some sagebrush.’
(26) Su idza’a uttami miaunemimina, yaisi
su=idaʔa u–tami mia–u–nimi–mina yaisi
NOM=coyote 3SG–toward go–PFV–RNDM–go.along then
‘The Coyote went along toward her, and’

(27) oo’no yaisi yodziusi,
ooʔno yaisi yodzi–u–si
at.the.time then arise–PFV–SEQ
‘at that moment, (she) got up and’

(28) ene kangiuka.
ini kaŋa–u–ka
INT clang–PFV–away
‘made a lot of noise.’

(29) Su idza’a yaisi ka se’aissi
su=idaʔa yaisi ka siʔai–si
NOM=coyote then ACC afraid–SEQ
‘The Coyote was startled then, and’

(30) nauenaituasi ka paa ude’yu hu’uwenne.
a=winai–tua–si ka=paa udi–ʔyu huʔu–winni
‘threw himself into the water flowing deep.’

(31) Ka pakaapida u huunadekwai miausi obi paawaite.
mia–u–si obi paa–wai–ti
go–PFV–SEQ DEM water–AREA–LOC
‘He went over the bank into the river and went along there into the water.’

(32) Padotsijapitega.
padotsi–ja–piti–ga
splash–have–arrive:SG–away
‘(With a) splash.’

(33) Usu yaisi, ka oo ma’isi,
u–su yaisi ka=oo maʔi–si
3SG–NOM then ACC=DEM do/injure–SEQ
‘She (Mother Grouse) then, having so injured/done so,’

(34) uma’yu su’ai.
u–maʔyu suʔai.
3SG–AT–from laugh
‘(she) laughed at him.’
“Ha’u ee mannai?” mii enisi uma’yu sua’isi.

haʔu ɨɨ mannai mii ini–si u–ma–ʔyu

how you happen QUOT say–SEQ 3SG–on–from

suaʔi–si

laugh–SEQ

‘What’s happened to you?’ she said laughing.’

‘Oo sapa kocheuka oo te tuamedamisu.

oo sapa koči–u–ka oo ti=tua–mi–dami–su

DEM MOD return–PFV–away DEM LOGO=child–PL–toward–ADV

‘So, (she) must have returned to her children again.’

Su idza’a yaisi ka oi,

su=idzaʔa yaisi ka=oi

NOM=coyote then ACC=DEM

‘Then the Coyote was in there,’

oiʔyu patsibuisi,

oiʔyu pa–tsibui–si

DEM–from IP/WATER–emerge–SEQ

‘and came out of the water,’

ene samisi yaisi,

ini sami–si yaisi

INT soak–SEQ then

‘and (he) was really soaked,’

oo paakemabatu miasi oo napasaketi.

oo paa–kimaba–tu mia–si oo na–pasa–ki–ti

dem water–BESIDE–to go–SEQ DEM MID–be.dry–APPL–TNS

‘and so, having gone out onto the bank, dried himself off.’

Napasakesi ka pasasi, yaisi usu habisi oi ewicha.

na–pasa–ki–si ka=pasa–si yaisi u–su

MID–be.dry–APPL–SEQ ACC=be.dry–SEQ then 3SG–NOM

habi–si oi iwi–ča

lie:SG–SEQ DEM sleep–away

‘Having dried himself, being dry, then he lay down in there and went to sleep.’

Taiwano oi ewitabina yaisi,

taiwa–no oi iwi–tabi–na yaisi

all.day–TEMP DEM sleep–lie:SPL–PTCP then

‘All day he lay in there sleeping then,’
(43) su tuhu’u yaisi,
su=tuhu?u NOM=wildcat yaisi then
‘and the Wildcat’

(44) ka una’yu ka u punisi umate kimasi yaisi,
ka=una=?yu ka=u=puni–si u–mati
ACC=out.there–from ACC=3SG:ACC=see–SEQ 3SG–PART
kima–si yaisi
come–SEQ then
‘saw him from somewhere where he was coming then,’

(45) uba pitte.
u–ba pitte 3SG–by arrive:DUR
‘arrived by him (where he was lying asleep).’

(46) U tu’i matebuni usu ewichape.
 u=tu?i=ma–tibuni u–su iwi–ča–pi
‘(Wildcat) tried to wake him up as he slept on.’

(47) Su tuhu’u yaisi,
su=tuhu?u NOM=wildcat yaisi then
‘Then the Wildcat,’

(48) “Yu’u sakwa tia’a ta tabe’a,” mii enina yaisi,
yu?=sakwa=tia?a=ta tabi?a mii ini–na yaisi
this.way=MOD=thusly=we:DU:INCL appear QUOT say–PTCP then
‘ ‘We might as well look like this!’ so saying then,’

(49) ka u mubi chaisi teetsi madunuiwene.
 ka=u=mubi chaisi tiitisi ma–dunui–wini
ACC=3SG.POSS=nose then small IP/HAND–roll–PROG:SG
‘as he (Wildcat) was rolling out his (Coyote’s) little nose (to make it long and sharp).’

(50) U pui tewasu teteekesi, tsakusu’nikey’u.
u=pui tiwa–su ti–tii–ki–si
3SG.POSS=eye also–ADV DISTR~small–APPL–SEQ
tsakusu?ni–ki–u squinty–APPL–PFV
‘And also made his eyes small, and squinty.’
(51) Usu yaisi umate teenahakasi miau.
>u–su yaisi u–mati ti–winaha–ka–si mia–u
3–NOM then 3SG–PART ANTIP–slice.off–away–SEQ go–PFV
‘Then he (Wildcat) cut off some of (Coyote’s flesh) and left.’

(52) Una’yu sakwa ne, [toki:] toki ka,
>una–ʔyu=sakwa ni toki ka
out.there–from=MOD I correct PTC
‘“From out there I ought to do right, and . . (which way? where?)”’

(53) “Himma’a igwino sakwa ne u kumahanija, tuku (u)su,” mii sunamina.
>himmǎʔa igwini=no=sakwa ni what smell–COM=MOD I
>u=ku–ma–hani–ja tuku u–su
>mii sunami–na QUOT think:SG–PTCP
‘“What I should do is cook this so he can smell it, the meat,” so thinking.’

(54) Ka hekwapa kimawenena kwai’yu yaisi,
>ka=hikwapa kima–wini–na kwai–ʔyu yaisi
ACC=wind come–PROG:SG–PTCP direction–from then
‘the direction the wind was coming (downwind) then,’

(55) oo u kwaseketi u noho.
>oo u=kwasिऍ–ki–ti u=noho
DEM 3SG:ACC=be.ready–APPL–TNS 3SG:ACC=roast
‘so, (he) prepared to roast it.’

(56) O’onooko pidasi oi’yu,
>ooʔnoo–ko pida–si oi–ʔyu
at.that.time–ACC build.fire–SEQ DEM–from
‘and then having built the fire there–’

(57) u (k)wazeketi.
>u=(k)wasi–ki–ti
3SG:ACC=be.ready–APPL–TNS
‘and got it all ready.’

(58) Usu yaisi saa’a oi’yu tebunisi, yaisi yotsisi
>u–su yaisi saaʔa oi–ʔyu tibuni–si
3SG–NOM then later DEM–from wake.up–SEQ
‘Then he (Coyote) woke up later and arose,’

(59) ka paawaite miakaina yaisi
ka=paa~wai~ti mia~kai~na yaisi
ACC=water~AREA~LOC go~around~PTCP then
‘and continued on by the water side and’

(60) uwiu hibiwene. Owiku yaisi namaye’u
uwi~u hibi~wini owi~ku yaisi na~mayi~u
DEM~FOC drink~PROG:SG DEM~ACC then MID~find~PFV
‘took a drink. There’s where was discovered’

(61) te mubi maye’u.
ti=mubi may~u
LOGO=nose find~PFV
‘(he) found his nose.’

(62) ‘Yaa ha’u ne tabe’a attazu,’’ mii su’namisi,
yaa haʔu nii tabiʔa atazu mii suʔnami~si
here how I appear differently QUOT think:SG:DUR~SEQ
‘ “How do I look different?” so thinking,’

(63) ‘i pui peno’o atazu ‘manipeni,’’ mii ja, su’nami.
i=pui pinoʔo atazu ʔmani~pini
1SG.POSS=eye also differently become~PROG
mii=ja suʔnami
QUOT=thusly think:SG:DUR
‘also my eyes became different,” so thusly he thought.’

(64) Kai, pisa totsasi i nanakwa
kai pisa totsasi i=nanakwa
NEG well fix.up 1SG.POSS=nephew
‘ “No, (this is) fixed up well, my nephew,” ’

(65) i mumubitu [ija’a, ija’a] i pui nokoso,” mii enina, pisa su’nami.
i=mu~mubi~tu pisa i=pui nookoso
1SG.POSS=PL~nose~make good 1SG.POSS=eye everything
mii ini~na pisa suʔnami
QUOT say~PTCP well think:SG:DUR
‘(you) made my nose pretty like this and my eyes and all,” so said,
feeling glad.’
Oi’yu miasi, oo
oi–ʔyu mia–si oo
DEM–from go–SEQ DEM

‘When he left, there’

oi’yu miasi oo, pisau tia’a igwiukaasi.
oi–ʔyu mia–si oo pisa–u tiaʔa
DEM–from go–SEQ DEM good–ACC thusly
igwi–u–kaa–si
smell–PFV–away–SEQ

‘left where he was and smelled something good.’

“Hii pisa’yu mannai nakuhani tekwa’ni.”
hii pisa–ʔyu mannai na–kuhani ti–kwaʔni
thing good–NOM happen MID–cook LOGO–SIMIL

‘It’s like something really good that’s cooking!’

“Kokwanapeni,” mii sunamina.
ko–kwana–pini mii sunami–na
IP/FIRE–smell(INTR)–PROG QUOT think:SG–PTCP

‘And smelling,’ like that he said.’

Uu, utami mi’a.
uu u–tami miʔa
that.way 3SG–toward go:DUR

‘Like so, he went towards it.’

Su tuhu yaisi oo’no ka uga usu tukumate kuhani katenemi.
su=tuhu yaisi ooʔno ka u–ga
NOM=wildcat then at.the.time PTC 3SG–GEN
u–su tuku–mati kuhani–kati–nimi

‘And then Wildcat was sitting around cooking some of his (Coyote’s) flesh.’

Uba pideugaasi,
u–ba pidi–u–gaa–si
3SG–by arrive:SG–PFV–away–SEQ

‘(Coyote) arrived by him (Wildcat),’

togi pepaa u pideugaasi, usu yaisi,
togi pi–paa u=pidi–u–gaa–si
u–su yaisi
3SG–NOM then

‘just at the place he got to, and then he,’
(74) u kwazeke yaatu hanni.
    u=kwasi–ki yaa–tu hanni
    3SG:ACC=be.ready–APPL here–to prepare
    ‘made it ready and took it out (of the fire).’

(75) ‘Hannote ee i nanakwa e muu’niku hanisi e pisa kukwanape’ni?’
    hanno–ti ii i=nanakwa i=muu–ʔni–ku
    where–LOC you 1SG.POSS=nephew you=that.way–SIMIL–ACC
    hann–si i=pisa ku–kwana–piʔni
    prepare–SEQ 2SG=good IP/FIRE–scent–PROG
    ‘How did you, my nephew, prepare this that your cooking smells so good?’

(76) ‘Ne yaa ettami kimmakai, igwina,” mii enina.
    nii yaa i–ttami kimma–kai igwi–na
    I here 2-toward come–along smell–PTCP
    mii ini–na
    QUOT say–PTCP
    ‘I come to you because of the smell,” so (Coyote) was saying.’

(77) Oo kattepite, kattepitegasi.
    oo katti–piti katti–piti–ga–si
    ‘Like so, (Coyote) went and sat down.’

(78) Usu yaisi, “Ne e makakwe ha’a ne,” mii su, “Aha,” mii (u)su u nittama.
    u–su yaisi nii i=maka–kwí haʔa ni
    3SG–NOM then 2SG=feed–FUT ?? I
    mii u-su aha mii= su u=nittama
    QUOT 3SG-NOM yes QUOT=EMPH 3SG:ACC=tell
    ‘He then, “I will feed you!” And he said “Yes!” told him.’

(79) Umate chaisi u makau.
    u–mati čaisi u=maka–u
    3SG–PART then 3SG:ACC=feed–PFV
    ‘Some of it, then (he, Wildcat) fed him.’

(80) Usu oo’no u tekawenena pisa kamma.
    u–su ooʔno u=tíka–wíní–na
    3SG–NOM at.the.time 3SG:ACC=eat–PROG:SG–PTCP good taste
    ‘And so he was eating it and (it) tasted really good.’

(81) Ukau su’ausi tewasu oite su tewau u makau.
    u–ka–u suʔa–u–si tiwa–su oi–ti
(82) Oo chaisi nooko makau, u su’au.
DEM then all–ACC feed–PFV 3SG:ACC=consume–PFV
‘He gave him all of it, and he devoured it.’

(83) Oo pemisu pematesu tekau
DEM RESTR–REFL RESTR–SOME–ADV eat–PFV
‘That was some of his own flesh that he ate.’

(84) Yaisi, o’y u naka’abi.
then DEM–from separately
‘And then, they went their separate ways.’

(85) Usu tuhu yaisi oi’yu peno’o mias si una miana tekakwai miana
then DEM–from also go–SEQ
yaisi ka=paba tekaapekudekwai peno’o.
then ACC=big cliff.edge–upon–AREA also
‘Then the Wildcat left from there and was going along a cliff’s edge
and up on top of a big cliff–hill.’

(86) Katena o ewicha.
DEM sleep–away
‘and fell asleep sitting up there.’

(87) Su idza’a ka u punina yaisi u nakwai peno’o miau.
3SG:ACC=see–PTCP then 3SG:ACC=follow
‘That Coyote saw him and followed along after him, too.’
(88) Oo chaisi pa’a powo’ni kudekwa nai teppikuba e’wi u maye’upitegasi,
oo čaisi paʔa powoʔni kudi–kwai ka=tippi–kuba
DEM then high hill upon–AREA ACC=rock–upon
iʔwi u=mayi–u–piti–ga–si
‘Then (Wildcat) was high upon the hill on top of a big rock sleeping and (Coyote) came along and found him,’

(89) peno’o tu’i matebuniwene.
pinoʔo tuʔi–ma–tibuni–wini
also try–IP/HAND–wake.up–PROG:SG
‘and (Coyote) tried waking (him).’

(90) Su tuhu peno’o ene: ewitabina sekwi yetsinganemi kai tebunina.
su=tuhu pinoʔo ini iwi–tabi–na
NOM=Wildcat also INT sleep–lie:SPL–PTCP
sikwi yitsiņa–nimi kai tibuni–na
just move/shake–RNDM:SG NEG wake.up–PTCP
‘But Wildcat was in a deep sleep just moving around when he (Coyote) tried to wake him up.’

(91) Usu yaisi peno’o ka, o koba,
u=su yaisi pinoʔo ka u=koba
3SG–NOM then also PTC 3SG.POSS=face
‘then he (Coyote did) the same to his (Wildcat’s) face,’

(92) pitsa’a mabatsipono’o toiwene.
pitsaʔa mabatsi–ponoʔo toi–wini
nice shape–round smooth–PROG:SG
‘(he) made (it) nice and round, smoothing (it).’

(93) “Yu’u tia’a su neme tabe’a,”
yuʔu tiaʔa su=nimi tabiʔa
this.way thusly NOM=person appear:DUR
‘“This is the way a person looks,”’

(94) mii enina peno’o.
mii iní–na pinoʔo
QUOT say–PTCP also
‘so (Coyote) was also saying.’

(95) Koba pitsa mamabatsiponokikesi,
koba pitsa ma–mabatsi–ponoki–ki–si
face nice DISTR–smooth–round–APPL–SEQ
‘(He) having made his face nice and round,’
(96) u kwasi naumakwaiku tewasu wega’akwenaikeu.
   3SG.POSS=tail midway–AREA–ACC also–ADV
   ‘also chopped off half of his tail and cast it aside.’

(97) Su tuhu’u peno’o saa’a o’yu tebunisi,
   NOM=wildcat as.well later DEM–from wake.up–SEQ
   ‘That Wildcat also woke up after that, and’

(98) yaisi u supidakwatu ka te koba manipenina usu peno’o.
   then 3SG:ACC=know ACC=LOGO=face make–PROG–PTCP
   u–su pino’o
   3SG–NOM as.well
   ‘then (Wildcat) knowing who it was made his face so as well.’

(99) “Usu tukwa yuu i mamatabui,” mii u supa ka idza’a.
   3SG–MOD this.way 1SG:ACC=DISTR~do.unto
   mii u supiça ka=idza’a
   QUOT 3SG:ACC=suspect ACC=Coyote
   ‘‘That one must have done it this way to me,’’ so (Wildcat) suspected
   him, the Coyote.’

(100) Oo chaisi su tuhu’u yaisi uuni’yuna ka uu pitsa’a,
    oo čaisi su=tuhu’u yaisi uuni’yu–na kai
    DEM then NOM=wildcat then like.that–PTCP NEG
    uu pitsa’a
    like.so nice
    ‘And so that’s why the Wildcat doesn’t (think) it’s good,’

(101) koba patsipono’o. tewau kai kwassiija’a.
    koba patsipono’o tiwa–u kai kwassi–ja’a
    having a round face, neither having a tail.’

(102) Uu su idza’a peno’o u yachegwi.
    that.way NOM=Coyote as.well 3SG:ACC=do.to
    ‘So it was that Coyote did that to him.’
This narrative was recorded at the home of the speaker, 81 years old at the time of the recording, and is autobiographical in nature. Mrs. Kennedy was born on September 15, 1918, in *Waatɨhaga, Juniper Draw,* north of the town of Burns. She asserts that at that time the Paiutes were sent out of town to avoid the 1918 influenza pandemic. Her memories from her youth are vividly detailed, as this narrative shows. This excerpt represents just under half of the entire narrative at this sitting, a narrative rich in ethnographic detail. Root-digging remains a vitally important cultural activity for the Burns Paiute community, involving time outdoors on the land with family and friends, contributing to community cohesion and well-being.

The first tier utilizes the practical orthography adopted by many in the community by using orthographic `<e>` for the high central unrounded vowel [ɨ]. It also utilizes a simple apostrophe for glottal stop and treats clitics as separate words, as preferred by speakers in the community who have learned to write the language. A major change from, say, the Liljeblad system, is that consonant gradation is represented as a contrast in voicing. Teachers and learners alike, it was found, prefer a system that is not purely phonemic, but rather more closely tied to broad patterns of phonetic realization for reasons explained in the introduction relating to consonant gradation.

1. *Ka owitu tia’a u nisupidakwatuna, ka tehonaga uuniku.*
   
   | ka=owi–tu=tiaʔa | u=nɨ–supidakwatu–na |
   | ACC=there–LOC=thusly | 3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH=know–PTCP |
   | ka=tɨhona–ga | uuni–ku |
   | ACC=dig.roots–away | that.kind–ACC |

   ‘He wants to learn about that (story), about going root-digging like that.’

2. *Nemmi ka o’o iwa’yua owi nokatena, mi piano su i mu’a, noo’yuna mi togo’o.*
   
   | nimmi | ka=oʔo | iwa–ʔyu–na | owi |
   | 1PL:EXCL | ACC=DIST | many–NOM–PTCP | there |
   | no–kati–na | mi=pia–no |
   | IP/HOUSE–sit:SG–PTCP | 1PL.POSS=mother–COM |
   | su=i=muʔa | noo–ʔyu–na |
   | NOM=1SG.POSS=grandmother | all–NOM–PTCP |

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8 Recorded April 1, 1999, Burns Paiute Reservation
mi=to goʔo
1PL.POSS=grandfather

‘We were out there, camping as a group, with my mother and maternal grandmother; everyone, our maternal grandfather.’

(3) Nemmi owi yongo’yaina me’na’wi nemmi owi, yaisi ka
tehonagakwesi nemmi awamoa.
nimmi owi yongo–yai–na miʔnaʔwi
1PL:EXCL there evening–HAB–PTCP quite.while
nimmi owi yaisi ka=tihona–ga–kwí–si
1PL:EXCL there then ACC=dig.roots–away–FUT–SEQ
nimmi awamoa
1PL:EXCL morning

‘We, out there we would camp for quite awhile; and then we would go root-digging in the morning.’

(4) Yoziyuina mi pia mii mi nittama, “Panoo!” mii mi nima’iyakwi.
yozi–u–yai–na mi=pia mii mi=nitama
fly:PL–PFV–HAB–PTCP 1PL=mother QUOT 1PL=tell
pa–noo mii mi=ni–maʔi–yakwi
IP/WATER–carry QUOT 1PL/IP/SPEECH–do–HAB

‘(We) all would get up when our mother told us, “Get water!” so (she) would instruct us.’

(5) Yaisi tewau nemmi, tenoona nemmi himma tekaba tewau tenoona
neme tekaba tenoona.
yaisi tiwau nimmi ti–noo–na nimmi himm
then also 1PL:EXCL ANTIP–pack–PTCP 1PL:EXCL what
tekaba tiwau ti–noo–na nimi tekaba
bread also ANTIP–pack–PTCP person bread
ti–noo–na
ANTIP–pack–PTCP

‘And then we packed something for lunch, bread, Indian bread (we) packed for lunch.’

(6) Yaisi tewau himma piikan a naumakwai tiunana.
yaisi tiwau himma piikan a=nauma–kwai tiuna–na
then also what bacon 4=midway–AREA put.under–PTCP

‘Then also, (we) put some bacon in between.’

(7) Uuniku nemmi tenoona sese’me tewau teematsia’a.
uuni–ku nimmi ti–noo–na
that.kind–ACC 1PL:EXCL ANTIP–pack–PTCP

9 On the paternal side, the terms for grandmother and grandfather are hutsiʔi and kinaʔa, respectively.
That’s what we packed, and sometimes spread (jam) also.’

(8) Nemmi tenoona yaisi,

‘We had our lunched packed then,’

(9) yaisi nemmi me mago’o nemmi noo’yuna,

‘and, all of us (had) our bags,’

(10) ya’a [mi] mi piko na’unakwai nemmi tsakenana.

‘like so (demonstrating), that we tied around our waist.’

(11) Owiu nemmi ka mi tenoona hanina.

‘That’s where/how we carried our lunch.’

(12) Yaisi tewau paa tewau nemmi, panoo tewau nemmi, ka kai nasupidakwatuna.

‘Then, too, we took along water, not knowing.’

(13) “Semena nemmi kai paagakwai pitegakwe,” mii ne sunamina; sunamina tia’a.

‘Perhaps we’ll get somewhere where there isn’t any water,” so I was thinking; thinking thusly.’

(14) Yaisi me tooge tewau nobiyausi, me tooge tewau tsahibikeukaasi,

tammii miagakwe,”’ mii.

‘“That’s what we packed, and sometimes spread (jam) also.’

(8) Nemmi tenoona yaisi,

‘We had our lunched packed then,’

(9) yaisi nemmi me mago’o nemmi noo’yuna,

‘and, all of us (had) our bags,’

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‘Then, too, we took along water, not knowing.’

(13) “Semena nemmi kai paagakwai pitegakwe,” mii ne sunamina; sunamina tia’a.

‘Perhaps we’ll get somewhere where there isn’t any water,” so I was thinking; thinking thusly.’

(14) Yaisi me tooge tewau nobiyausi, me tooge tewau tsahibikeukaasi,

tammii miagakwe,”’ mii.
tiwau tsahi–ki–u–ga–si
also  IP/GRASP–drink–APPL–PFV–away–SEQ
tammi mia–ga–kwi mii
1PL:INCL go–away–FUT QUOT

‘So then, “Once the dogs are packed up, and the dogs have gotten a drink, we’ll take off!” (I was) thinking.’

(15) Nemmi yaisi woyoa ka noo’yuna.
nimmi yaisi woyoa–ga–u ka=noo–ʔyu–na
1PL:EXCL then be.in.line–away–PFV ACC=all–NOM–PTCP

‘And we’d all go along in single file.’

(16) Me tehonagaade podo himana, ka himma kutsu pootu nemmi mi’a.
mi=thona–gaa–di podo hima–na
PL=dig.roots–away–NMLZ digging.stick take–PTCP
ka=himma kutsu poo–tu nimmi mi’a
ACC=what cow trail–LOC 1PL:EXCL go:PL

‘Those who are going digging carrying digging sticks, along that cow trail, we went.’

(17) A trail uuniku tia’a, uunitu nemmi miana obi moo~moo.
uuni–ku=tiaʔa uuni–tu nimmi
that.kind–ACC=thusly that.kind–LOC 1PL:EXCL
mia–na obi moo~moo–tu
go:SG–PTCP along.there DISTR~travel:PL–to

‘A trail, it was, along which we went as we travelled along.’

(18) Oo ka, yapawene’e mi te niana;
oo ka=yapa–winii–ʔi mii ti=nia–na
DIST ACC=wild.carrot–stand:SG–NMLZ QUOT LOGO=call–PTCP

‘Out there “Wild Carrot Standing” is its name;’

(19) obiu, owiu nemmi; ootiu tia’a.
obi–u owi–u nimmi oo–ti–u=tiaʔa
in.there–FOC there–FOC 1PL:EXCL DIST–LOC–FOC=thusly

‘that’s where we (went); just there.’

(20) Iwau su yapa wogowenne.
iwa–u su=yapa wogo–winni
many–FOC NOM=wild.carrot thickly–stand:SG

‘The carrots were plentiful and thick.’

(21) Ootiu ume tehonakwe mii enina.
oo–ti–u umi thona–kwi mii ini–na
DIST–LOC–FOC 2/3PL dig.roots–FUT QUOT say–PTCP

‘“Right there is where you–all will dig,” (they) were saying.’
(22) Ka kai ka ude na’ade yapa, ka pamaha yapa.
\[\text{ka=kai ka=udi na?a–di yapa} \]
\[\text{ACC=NEG ACC=tall grow–NMLZ wild.carrot} \]
\[\text{ka=pamaha yapa} \]
\[\text{ACC=pamaha wild.carrot} \]
‘Not the tall–growing wild carrot, but the “pamaha” wild carrot.’

\[\text{ti–tikitsi–?yu mi–mikitsi–?yu su=uuni–?yu yapa} \]
\[\text{PL~small–NOM PL~short–NOM NOM=that.kind–NOM carrot} \]
‘The little ones, the short ones, that kind of carrot.’

(24) Yaisi tewau, kwayakwa tewau nemmi tabinatu tewau nemmi tsuga tehona.
\[\text{yaisi tiwau kwa–kwa tiwau nimmim} \]
then also far.off–LOC also 1PL:EXCL
\[\text{tabi–natu tiwau nimmim tsuga tihona} \]
hillside–upon also 1PL:EXCL biscuitroot dig.roots
‘Then, too, further along up the hillside we also dug biscuitroot.’

(25) Tsuga nemmi tehonana; uu pisa neemapeni oo’no tabiduana.
\[\text{tsuga nimmim tihona–na u=pisa} \]
biscuitroot 1PL:EXCL dig.roots–PTCP 3SG:ACC=good
\[\text{nimmia–pini oo?no tabi–dua–na} \]
feel–PROG at.that.time day–IRR–PTCP
‘While we were digging biscuitroot, it was a good feeling then with the sunshine.’

(26) Nemmi tehona ootiu ka himma tsuga.
\[\text{nimmim tihona oo–ti–u ka=himma tsuga} \]
1PL:EXCL dig.roots DIST–LOC–FOC ACC=what biscuitroot
‘We dug that biscuitroot right there.’

(27) Oonosu hii unau su tenna; una inakwa wenepodoti.
\[\text{oono–su hii una–u su=tinna} \]
at.that.time–ADV thing yonder–FOC NOM=antelope
\[\text{una i–nakwa wini–podoti} \]
yonder PROX–side stand:SG–around
‘And at that time (there were) those things out there, the antelope out there nearby were just standing around here and there.’

(28) Oo ka unaku tuamegaa su tenna.
\[\text{oo ka=una–ku tua–mi–ga su=tinna} \]
DEM ACC=over.there–ACC child–PL–have NOM=antelope
‘And (they) had fawns out there, that antelope.’
(29) Oono, hayu enai’yaina pabatsi’i.
oono hayu inai–yai–na paba–tsi’i
at.that.time somehow say–HAB–PTCP loudly–ADVR
‘And it was making a loud noise somehow;’

(30) Enai’yaina, ka tiipe ha’u ma’iyakwi,
inai–yai–na ka=tiipi ha?u ma?i–yakwi
say–HAB–PTCP ACC=earth somehow do–HAB
‘While it was making noise, it was someway doing (stomping) the
ground,’

(31) te kaupama tia’a, te kobinate maa tia’a ka tiipe ha’u ma’iyakwi.
ti=kaupa–ma=tia?a ti=kobi–na–ti ma=tia?a
LOGO=leg–INS=thusly LOGO=foreleg–PTCP–LOC TOP=thusly
ka=tiipi ha?u ma?i–yakwi
ACC=earth somehow do–HAB
‘with its leg, thusly, its foreleg like so, doing (on) the ground some
way.’

(32) Oono mi pia mii ume, oo ti napo’ana usu, ka me inaku su tuamegaana
oono mi=pia mii umi oo
at.that.time I PL=mother QUOT 3PL DIST
 ti=napo?a–na u–su
 I PL:INCL=dislike–PTCP 3SG:NOM
 ka=mi=ina–ku su=tua–mi–gaa–na
 ACC=PL=over.here–ACC NOM=child–PL–have–PTCP
 oo uu manakwi
 DEM like.that doing
‘And then (our) my mother said (of them?), “There, (it) doesn’t like
us; because it has a fawn around here, it behaves like that.”’

(33) “Tammi ga u tsagi’yuna yau,” mii tia’a.
tammi=ga u=tsaki?i–i–?yu–na yau mii=tia?a
I PL:INCL=must 3SG:ACC=near–NOM–PTCP here QUOT=thusly
‘“We must be near to it here,” so (she) said.’

(34) “Ina ka hanoapa me watsitiunana me te tuame.”
ina=ga hanno=apa mi=watsi–tiuna mi=ti=tua–mi
over.here=must where=any PL=hide–put:PL PL=LOGO=child–PL
‘“Near here somewhere (she) is probably hiding them away, her
fawns.’

mau–su a=piabi muu ma?na?wi ma–no
DEF.DEF–NOM 4=female DEF.DEF do DEF.DEF–COM
mii=tiaʔa
QUOT=thusly
‘“There she (is); the female thusly did right there,” so (she) said.’

(36) Oo tiaʔa kwayaʔyu kai nagedza nemmi tsagiʔyu.
oo=tiaʔa kwayaʔyu kai nagidza nimmi tsakiʔiʔyu
DEM=thusly far.off=NOM NEG indeed 1PL:EXCL close=NOM
‘So, not really too far off, we were close by.’

(37) Nemmi u punni, uu ka oo’no be.
nimmi u=punni uu ka=ooʔno=bii
1PL:EXCL 3SG:ACC=see:DUR like.that ACC=at.that.time=FOC
‘We saw her; that’s what happened at that time.’

(38) Yaisi saʔa, tehona chaisi tewau nemmi.
yaisi saʔa tihona čaisi tiwau nimmi
then later dig.roots then again 1PL:EXCL
‘Then later on, we were root-digging again.’

(39) Yaisi me tooge peno’o una peno’o peesu tehawai me tooge.
yaisi mi=toogi pinoʔo una pinoʔo pii=su
then PL=dog also yonder also RESTR=EMPH
ti–hoawai mi=toogi
ANTIP–hunt PL=dog
‘And the dogs, too, were out there hunting on their own, those dogs.’

(40) Unau tehoawaina, unaku ga, tepituhaku ga ka me kide mayeuʔyaina.
una–u ti–hoawai–na una–ku=gai
yonder–FOC ANTIP–hunt–PTCP yonder–ACC=MUST
tipi–tuha–ku=gai
rock–under–ACC=MUST
ka=mi=kidi mayi–u–ʔyai–na
ACC=PL=groundhog discover–PFV–HAB–PTCP
‘Out there while hunting, (they) must have found some groundhog,
probably under the rocks somewhere out there;’

(41) Wohina mii enipeniyakwi
wohi–na mii ini–pini–yakwi
yelp–PTCP QUOT say–PROG–HAB
‘and by barking, (they) would continually make noise.’

(42) Me punina ga ka utuhaku ga me kide.
mi=puni–na=ga ka=u–tuha–ku=gai mi=kidi
PL=see–PTCP=MOD ACC=DIST–under–ACC=MOD PL=groundhog
‘(They) probably saw them underneath there, those groundhog.’
(43) Sa’a yaisi mi pia miu, “U pupunija!”
   ‘Later then, our mother said, “Go check it out!”’

   ‘What (they) are barking at, so (she) said. “Must have found a
groundhog,” said.’

(45) Yaisi, nemmi yaisi oitu temahija.
   ‘Then we then went over there to investigate.’

(46) Yaisi oo chaisi me tooge; oo temayeusi kide oo.
   ‘Then, so those dogs, having found a groundhog there,’

(47) yaisi oo’no nemmi tsanu, uuniku hiichaana,
   ‘and at the time we had a pulling instrument (gaff), that kind,’

(48) umau nemmi ka, u teppawaiku u tsanu’yuyakwi, ka me kide.
   ‘and using that, we would hook it in its mouth, the groundhog.’

(49) Yaisi nemmi obi:da u tsanuyuikina me tsanohoyegwina.
   ‘Then we pulled it slowly this way, yanking steadily.’
(50) Oo’no yegwina, ootu u tsatsibuasi me tooge yaisi peno’o uma kenakweheu.
At that time sit:DU–PTCP DIST–to 3SG:ACC=IP/GRASP–hold–SEQ
mi=toogi yaisi pino?o u–ma ki–na–kwihi–u
PL=dog then also 3SG:ON IP/BITE–MID–grab–PFV
‘At the time (they) steadily pulled and held fast to it, and those dogs,
too, grabbed a hold of it with their teeth.’

(51) U ku— u kuttawaiku u ketsagau, uu me tooge u supidakwatu.
mi=toogi u=supidakwatu
PL=dog 3SG:ACC=know/understand
‘(They) got it by the neck (biting into it) like that, those dogs know
how to do it.’

(52) Kai oo uu oo’no ku tia’a u ketsagauyakwi; kai tewau u teka.
NEG DEM like.so at.that.time–ACC thusly
u=ki–tsaga–u–yakwi kai tiwau u=tika
3SG:ACC=IP/BITE–kill/ pierce–PFV–HAB NEG also 3SG:ACC=eat
‘Not just like so; at that time, thusly (they) would bite onto it without
eating it.’

(53) Oo uu, me tooge peno’o u patsatabea’yakwi.
DEM like.so DEM like.so 3SG:ACC=kill:SG appear–HAB
mi=toogi pino?o u=patsa–tabia–yakwi
PL=dog also 3SG:ACC=eat
‘That’s the way those dogs as well would kill it.’

(54) Nemmi yaisi oo peno’o uu haniu’yakwi, ka kide.
1PL:EXCL then DEM also DIST do–PFV–HAB
nimmi yaisi oo pino?o uu hani–u–yakwi
ka=kidi
ACC=groundhog
‘So then we would take it as well, the groundhog.’

(55) Ka me tepatsana, nemmi hani’yakwi.
ka=mi=tì–patsa–na nimmi hani–yakwi
‘What was killed, we would take.’

(56) Yaisi tewau nemmi penausu mi tehonawaitu miasa tewau,
1PL:EXCL back–ADV 1PL=dig.roots–AREA–to
yaisi tiwau nimmi pinau–su mi=tìhona–wai–tu
then also
‘Then also we went back to our digging place again, and’

(57) ume yaisi miu, “Unatami miasi waatuha’yu tammi tekaga,” mii.
    umi yaisi miu una-tami mia-si
3PL then QUOT over.there–toward go:SG–SEQ
    waa–tuha–ʔyu tammi tika–ga mii
    juniper–under–NOM 1PL:INCL eat–away QUOT
they then said, “We’re going over there under the juniper to eat,”
said.’

    haba–na–ʔyu mii=tiaʔa
shade–PTCP–NOM QUOT thusly
‘To be in the shade,” said so.’

(59) Su mi tekana nemmi hanina nemmi, unau nemmi waatuhatu mia’a.
    su=mi=tika–na nimmi hani–na nimmi
    NOM=1PL=eat–PTCP 1PL:EXCL do–PTCP 1PL:EXCL
    una–u nimmi waa–tuha–tu maʔa
    yonder–FOC 1PL:EXCL juniper–under–LOC go:DUR
We took our food, and we went over there under the juniper.’

(60) Oo’no tewau ume miu, “Mate pisa iyaa’ina!”
    ooʔno tiwau umi miu ma–ti pisa iyaaʔi–na
at.the.time also 3 PL QUOT DEF–LOC good beware–PTCP
‘At that time, they said, “Be well aware around here!”’

(61) “Pekwai’yu katekwena inatu me tsagwede ka himma te mugu
    pi–kwai–ʔyu kati–kwi–na ina–tu mi=tsagwidi
    ka=himma ti=mugu kitsitai–ki–ti
    ACC=what LOGO=quill drop–APPL–TNS
‘ ‘Where (we) will be sitting; (there are) porcupines around here, and
they may have dropped some of their quills.’’

(62) “Eema sa’a weneudua, a sutsimana, matuhate kai ma tui sekwi
    ii–ma=sʔa wini–u–dua a=sutsimna–na ma–tuha–ti
    kai ma tui=sikwi kati–u–ʔyai–na
NEG DEF any=just/only sit:SG–PFV–HAB
‘(They) might jab you, (so you must) watch carefully, and don’t sit down just anywhere,” so (they) told us.’

So it was we were sitting there eating.

‘We sat and ate our lunch there, with water.’

Later on then we also finished eating and started to peel our roots.

‘When not really drying too quickly, (that’s) still good,’
(70) [mii ne] yabi natsakwete’i uu.
yabi na–tsakwitiʔi uu
hurry MID–pick.at like.that
‘and can quickly be peeled, like so.’

(71) Uu nemmi u hanitabea.
uu nimmi u=hani–tabia
like.that 1PL:EXCL 3SG:ACC=do–appear
‘That’s the way we did it.’