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Wadad̥ka'a (Burns Paiute Reservation, Oregon)

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The Harney Valley, or *tibidzi yipi* (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 [tʃ] (written as {ch} in the local orthography and /ç/ 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 EYES¹

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.

¹ Recorded by Dr. W. L. Marsden around 1900, Burns, Oregon

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.
 tibuitsitsi ti=pui tsutsayiba-hu tugupaʔa-tu
 purple.finch LOGO=eye pluck.out-PFV sky-LOC
 o=bibia-hu aisu yigwi-hu piti-hu
 3SG:ACC=throw:PL-PFV back do-PFV arrive-PFV
 ‘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.
 u-su idzaʔa=pinoʔo mii-hu-si ini-si ti=pui
 3SG-NOM coyote=as.well QUOT-PFV-SEQ say-SEQ LOGO=eye
 tsutsayiba-hu tugupaʔa o=bibia-hu
 pluck.out-PFV sky.high 3SG:ACC=throw:PL-PFV
 ‘That Coyote, too, as it is said, plucked out his own eyes and threw them skyward.’
- (3) Yaisi onadedehaku otibitsi nadedehaku.³
 yaisi o=na-didiha-ki o=tibitsi-na-didiha-ki
 then 3SG:ACC=MID-steal-APPL 3SG:ACC=indeed-MID-steal-APPL
 ‘Then they were stolen from him, truly were stolen from him.’
- (4) Onayu nanega idza’a puimayu.
 una-ʔyu na-niga idzaʔa pui-ma-ʔyu
 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.
 idzaʔa pui na-dza-kwini-ku-na
 coyote eye MID-IP/GRASP-hang-PROSP-PTCP

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.

u-ma-ʔyu-hu

3SG-on-from-FOC

na-niga idzaʔa pui-ma-ʔyu

MID-dance coyote eye-on-from

'Coyote's eyes were hung up to be danced over, over Coyote's eyes.'

- (6) Idza'a yaisi onazu kima yaisi tekwi'i, "yau ne kima," mi'i tekwi'ina.
 idzaʔa yaisi una-su kima yaisi t̃ikwiʔi
 coyote then yonder-ADV come then tell

yaa-u nii kima miʔi t̃ikwiʔi-na
 here-FOC I come QUOT tell-PTCP

'Coyote came along and then told (them), "Here I come," so telling.'

- (7) "Yau ne neme puniki."

yaa-u nii nimi puni-ki
 here-FOC I people see-toward

'"I came here to watch the people."'

- (8) "Himayu nanega."

hima-ʔyu na-niga
 what-NOM MID-dance

'"What's the dancing about?"'

- (9) "Haga puimayu."

haga pui-ma-ʔyu
 who eye-on-from

'"Over whose eyes?"'

- (10) "Nesakwa puni," mi'i yadua oka idza'a.

ni=sakwa puni miʔi yadua u-ka idzaʔa
 I=MOD see QUOT talk 3SG-ACC coyote

'"I should see," so spoke that Coyote.'

- (11) Yaisi oka nana ogia ka idza'a pui.

yaisi u-ka nana u=gia ka=idzaʔa pui
 then 3SG-ACC man 3SG:ACC=give ACC=coyote eye

'Then that man gave it to him, the Coyote's eyes.'

- (12) Yaisi yadua idza'a piza.

yaisi yadua idzaʔa piza
 then talk coyote good

'Then Coyote said "Good!"'

- (13) Haga pui mi'i yadua.
 haga pui mi?i yadua
 who eye QUOT talk
 '“Whose eyes?” so talked.'
- (14) Yaisi yagana yaisi ogwuhu tebui yaisi poyoaga'a yaisi ohomanai kai
 iwihu tepuikwai oyegwikuhusi.
 yaisi yaga-na yaisi u=gwii-hu ti=pui
 then cry-PTCP then 3SG:ACC=get-PFV LOGO=eye
 yaisi poyoa-ga?a yaisi ohomanai
 then trot-away then dash
 kai iwi-hu ti=pui-kwai u=yigwi-ku-hu-si
 NEG DEM-FOC LOGO=eye-AREA 3SG:ACC=do-PROSP-PFV-SEQ
 '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.
 idza?a wahu nodikwa-ga-?yu
 coyote two wife-have-PRED
 'Coyote had two wives.'
- (16) Onazu mia tepitu koipa onahu hoapitega.
 una-su mia tipi-tu koipa
 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'a tsagi'i koipa mihu yadua
 oka momogotni.
 u-su waha-?yu mo~mogo?ni yaisi yadua
 3SG-NOM two-NOM PL-woman then talk
 ya?a tsagi?i koipa mii-hu yadua
 here close mountain.sheep QUOT-FOC talk
 u-ka mo~mogo?ni
 3SG-ACC PL-woman
 'Then those two women talked, “There are sheep nearby,” so saying,
 those women.'
- (18) Yaisi idza'a yadua, “Aha,” mi'i yadua, “ne obuni,” mi'i yadua.
 yaisi idza?a yadua aha mi?i yadua
 then coyote talk yes QUOT talk
 nii u=punni mi?i yadua
 I 3SG:ACC=see QUOT talk
 'Then Coyote spoke, “Yes,” so talked, “I see them,” (he) said.'

- (19) Yaisi idza’a yadua yahusapagakate mi’i yadua.
 yaisi idzaʔa yadua yaa-hu=sapa=ga kati
 then coyote talk here-FOC=MOD=MOD sit:SG
 miʔi yadua
 QUOT talk
 ‘Then Coyote talked, “You may sit here,” so spoke.’
- (20) Onazu mia idza’a okwunakwatu tsagi’i oigwina yaisi onakahu
 tenakatu usu idza’a inazu koipa kanadzakwi⁴ owitu yaisi
 kwatiwena iwa kwatiwena iwa tehomaina tegai tebutubuina.
 una-su mia idzaʔa okwu-nakwa-tu tsagiʔi
 yonder-ADV go coyote downwind-DIR-to close
 u=igwi-na yaisi u=naka-hu
 3SG:ACC=smell-PTCP then 3SG:ACC=hear-PFV
 ti=naka-tu u-su idzaʔa ina
 LOGO=ear-LOC 3SG-NOM coyote this.way
 su=koipa kanadzakwi
 NOM=mountain.sheep make.noise
 owi-tu yaisi kwati-wina iwa kwati-wina
 DEM-to then shoot-PROG:SG many shoot-PROG:SG
 iwa tihomai-na ti=kai ti-butubui-na
 many miss-PTCP LOGO=NEG ANTIP-sight-PTCP
 ‘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.’
- (21) Onadu yaisi seme patsahu.
 una-du yaisi simi patsa-hu
 yonder-LOC then one kill-PFV
 ‘(He) killed one over there then.’
- (22) Yaisi oduhaniwena.
 yaisi u=tihani-wini
 then 3SG:ACC=dress-PROG:SG
 ‘Then dressed it.’
- (23) Yaisi oka temogotni yadua hau’u e mahu ozudzahu mi’i yadua.
 yaisi u-ka ti=mogoʔni yadua hauʔu ʔi
 then 3SG-ACC LOGO=woman talk why you
 maa-hu u=sudza-hu miʔi yadua
 DEM-FOC 3SG:ACC=slice-PFV QUOT talk
 ‘Then that one, his woman, talked, “Why do you cut it like that?” so
 talked.’

⁴ Most likely *kanadzakwi* 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
 nii ka=maa-hu mi?i 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.
 simi ina-kwana-kwai-tu simi=pino?o ina-kwana-kwai-tu
 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=mogo?ni-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 piti-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 pukabakwami tsotege ewihu.
 yaisi u-ka mogo?ni pukabakwami 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 mogo?ni 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-?yu mi?i
 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=hamma?a tiikwi?i sita-?yu mi?i
 then 3SG-ACC LOGO=elder.sister tell bad-NOM QUOT

u-ka idzaʔa 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," mi'i.
 yaisi hammaʔa yadua wadzi-mi~mia-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~mia-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
 mi'i yadua yaisi tebui ogia.
 yaisi u=sutihai-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
 mi?i yadua yaisi ti=pui 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.
 mi?i-pina na~na-tiničui
 QUOT-be.so DISTR~MID-tell.stories
 'So are the stories.'

THE PINE NUT MYTH⁵

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 kwi'na'a, isu ada, isu
 adzaba, isu oha'adzaba, isu payaba; seme'wa'a hii tui, hii tui
 koda'a, hii tui pongadzi.
 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
 MM-RE-steal-away-SEQ PROX-NOM wolf 3SG-NOM coyote
 i-su kwidagagai i-su wangi'i
 PROX-NOM magpie PROX-NOM fox
 i-su nakai'i i-su kwi'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

simi?wa?a hii=tui koda?a hii=tui poṅadzi
all.of thing=any squirrel thing=any mouse

‘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.

yaisi una-zu mani-piti-gaa kuyui-paa-wai-tu
then yonder-ADV do-arrive-away sucker-water-AREA-to
yaisi una kwaya-kwai-tu u=mayi-hu
then yonder afar-AREA-to 3SG:ACC=find-PFV

‘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.

u-su isa u=pabi’i-na u-ka idza?a
3SG-NOM Wolf 3SG.POSS=elder.brother-PTCP 3SG-ACC coyote
kwaṅa?a-gaa-na
younger.brother-have-PTCP

‘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 yaduasi, “Seme’wa’a nayakwina!” mii yaduasi.

yaisi una-su nayakwi-na u-su mi=pabi’i
then yonder-ADV stick.game-PTCP 3SG-NOM PL=elder.brother
yadua-si simi?wa?a nayakwi-na mii yadua-si
talk-SEQ all.of stick.game-PTCP QUOT talk-SEQ

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

- (6) Yaisi uka poṅadzi yaduasi, “Eh unasu nemi,” mii yaduasi uka isa.

yaisi u-ka poṅadzi yadua-si ḥ una-su
then 3SG-ACC mouse talk-SEQ you yonder-ADV
nimi mii yadua-si u-ka isa
remain QUOT talk-SEQ 3SG-ACC wolf

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

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

yaisi u-ka poṅadzi una-su watti tokano
then 3SG-ACC mouse yonder-ADV search nighttime

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.’

- (10) “U mayehu ne,” mii, “Una nawatsiteke,” mii.

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-tsbui-ki-na
 tell then 3SG-ACC woodpecker sun-emerge-toward-PTCP

u=gwih-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-di 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

yaisi isa ina gwihi-na u=moguna
 then wolf this.way grab-PTCP 3SG:ACC=mouth.put

'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 saipatzō u sainaga u tegehuki.
 yaisi u-ka saipatzō 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) Saipadzō yotsihuna; yaisi uka saipadzō patsasi, yaisi inatu igwina, usu sida pihigwana.
 saipadzō yotsi-hu-na yaisi u-ka saipadzō
 marsh.hawk fly:SG-PFV-PTCP then 3SG-ACC marsh.hawk
 patsa-si yaisi ina-tu igwi-na u-su sida
 kill:SG-SEQ then over.here-LOC smell-PTCP 3SG-NOM bad
 pihi-gwana
 rotten-scent

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

- (15) "Kai pina ka himma nategewa'ni'yu," mii enina otu wekwenai u saibenagatu.
 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=sai-bi-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'nohu 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 kwaŋaʔa 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-waŋaʔa
 then they two-NOM MM-younger.brother

‘Then those two brothers.’

- (20) Yaisi iwa’yu ka yuu pemi 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.

kwaŋaʔa pinoʔo nii 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.
yaisi u-ka idza?a yaa-tu hima-hu-si
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.
u-su kai yaa wogo-pi timazia
3SG-NOM NEG here pine-NCM plant
u-su waa-pi ka=yaa-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 *Renowaitu* unakwana
tebakaiba.
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-nakwana 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 atsaide masunaiwai.
pongatzi u=mayi-hu-si ka=tiba-pi-tu una
mouse 3SG:ACC=find-PFV-SEQ ACC=pine.nut-NCM-to yonder
na-watsi-tigi una atsa-idi masunai-wai
MM-hide-put:SG yonder red-NMLZ wrapping-AREA
‘Mouse first found that pine nut where it was hidden over there in a red
bow.’⁶
- (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.

a=toyawi-tua
4=bring-IRR

‘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 piwitzi-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 isa una pisa tuhina tebapitu manimutu.
i-su isa una pisa tuhi-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 WILDCAT⁷

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

- (2) Me kahe'e tuame, yaisi oo miaunemi,
 mi=kahiʔi tua-mi yaisi oo mia-u-nimi
 PL=spruce.grouse child-PL then DEM go-PFV-RNDM:SG
 'The grouse children went along yonder then,'
- (3) pekwai waha'yu yekkwī.
 pi-kwai waha-ʔyu yikkwi
 RESTR-AREA two-NOM sit:DU
 'to where the two of them sitting there.'
- (4) Su me piaba una: tehoawainemi, omedu.
 su=mi=piaba una ti-hoawai-nimi omi-du
 NOM=PL=mother there ANTIP-hunt-RNDM:SG them-LOC
 'Their mother went out hunting there, for them.'
- (5) Su idza'a yaisi omeba pideu.
 su=idzaʔa yaisi omi-ba pidi-u
 NOM=coyote then them-by arrive:SG-PFV
 'Coyote came up to them.'
- (6) "Yau himma tuame?" mii me debinga me tuaki.
 ya-u himma tua-mi mii mi=dibiŋa mi=tuaki
 here-FOC what child-PL QUOT PL=ask PL=kids
 '“What kind of children are you?” so asked them, those kids.'
- (7) Ome yaisi mii u deekwi,
 omi yaisi mii u=dīkwī
 they then QUOT 3SG:ACC=tell
 'Then they told him,'
- (8) "Nemi neme mamazeatuame," mii u deekwi.
 nimi nimi ma~ma-zia-tua-mi mii u=dīkwī
 we:EXCL people DISTR~IP/HAND-afraid-child-PL QUOT 3SG:ACC=tell
 '“We are the children of frightened people,” (they) told him.'
- (9) Su idza'a yaisi kai me ni'oichikena, himma tuame tia'a me mii enisi,
 su=idzaʔa yaisi kai mi=ni-ʔoiči-ki-na
 NOM=coyote then NEG PL=IP/SPEECH-believe-APPL-PTCP
 himma tua-mi tiaʔa mi=mii ini-si
 what child-PL thusly PL=QUOT say-SEQ
 'The Coyote didn't believe what the children were telling him;'
- (10) omegubatu siiuka.
 omi-guba-tu sii-u-ka
 them-upon-to urinate-PFV-away
 'and so (he) peed on them.'

- (11) Ome kuba'yu miausi, una: miano'o.
 omi kuba-?yu mia-u-si una mia-no?o
 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.
 una-ti omi-du ti-hoawai-nimi-si pidi-u
 out.there-LOC them-for ANTIP-hunt-RNDM:SG-SEQ arrive:SG-PFV
 'Having been hunting for them at (a place) out there, (she) arrived.'
- (15) Me pu'nipitte.
 mi=pu?ni-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=dibiŋa
 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=idza?a yuu ni=ma?i-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.
 nimmi kuba-tu sii-u-ka mii mi=tuaki
 we:EXCL upon-to urinate-PFV-away QUOT PL=kids
 u=diiikwi
 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 dibiŋa nimmi yaisi u=diiikwi mii
 QUOT ask we:EXCL then 3SG:ACC=tell QUOT

nimmi nimi ma~ma~ziʔa~tua~mi
 we:EXCL people DISTR~IP/HAND~afraid~child~PL
 mii nimmi 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 tiʔa me neme mamaze’a tuame,” mii enisi; “muu’ni ma’icha,” mii tia.’

u~su yaisi hippī tiʔa mi=nimi
 3SG~NOM then doubt thusly PL=people
 ma~ma~ziʔa~tua~mi mii ini~si
 DISTR~IP/HAND~afraid~child~PL QUOT say~SEQ
 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
 water IP/WATER~edge~AREA~ADV sing~RNDM:SG~go.along
 ‘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=idzaʔa 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 kangauka.
 ini kaŋa-u-ka
 INT clang-PFV-away
 'made a lot of noise.'
- (29) Su idza'a yaisi ka se'a isi
 su=idzaʔa yaisi ka siʔai-si
 NOM=coyote then ACC afraid-SEQ
 'The Coyote was startled then, and'
- (30) nawenaituasi ka paa ude'yu hu'uwenne.
 na-winai-tua-si ka=paa udi-ʔyu huʔu-winni
 MID-throw:SG-IRR-SEQ ACC=water deep-NOM flow:DUR-PROG:SG
 'threw himself into the water flowing deep.'
- (31) Ka pakaapida u huunadekwai miausi obi paawaite.
 ka=pa-kaa-pida u=huu-na-di-kwai
 ACC=IP/WATER-edge-over 3SG:ACC=flow-PTCP-NMLZ-AREA
 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-ma-ʔyu suʔai.
 3SG-AT-from laugh
 '(she) laughed at him.'

- (35) "Ha'u ee mannai?" mii enisi uma'yu sua'isi.
 haʔu ii 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.'
- (36) Oo sapa koči-u-ka oo ti=tua-mi-dami-su
 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.'
- (37) Su idza'a yaisi ka oi,
 su=idzaʔa yaisi ka=oi
 NOM=coyote then ACC=DEM
 'Then the Coyote was in there,'
- (38) oi'yu patsibuisi,
 oi-ʔyu pa-tsibui-si
 DEM-from IP/WATER-emerge-SEQ
 'and came out of the water,'
- (39) ene samisi yaisi,
 ini sami-si yaisi
 INT soak-SEQ then
 'and (he) was really soaked,'
- (40) 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.'
- (41) 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.'
- (42) 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 yaisi
 NOM=wildcat 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 pitti
 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
 3SG:ACC=try-IP/HAND-wake.up 3SG-NOM sleep-away-PFV
 '(Wildcat) tried to wake him up as he slept on.'
- (47) Su tuhu'u yaisi,
 su=tuhu?u yaisi
 NOM=wildcat then
 'Then the Wildcat.'
- (48) "Yu'u sakwa tia'a ta tabe'a," mii enina yaisi,
 yu?u=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 tiitsi 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'nike'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.
 himmaʔa igwi-no=sakwa ni
 what smell-COM=MOD I
 u=ku-ma-hani-ja tuku u-su
 3SG:ACC=IP/FIRE-IP/HAND-prepare-away meat 3SG-NOM
 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=kwasi-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

yaisi yotsi-si
then arise-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 mayi-u
LOGO=nose find-PFV
‘(he) found his nose.’
- (62) “Yaa ha’u ne tabe’a atazu,” mii su’namisi,
yaa ha?u nii tabi?a atazu mii su?nami-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 pino?o atazu ?mani-pini
1SG.POSS=eye also differently become-PROG
mii=ja su?nami
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 su?nami
QUOT say-PTCP well think:SG:DUR
‘(you) made my nose pretty like this and my eyes and all,” so said,
feeling glad.’

- (66) Oi'yu miasi, oo
 oi-ʔyu mia-si oo
 DEM-from go-SEQ DEM
 'When he left, there'
- (67) 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.'
- (68) "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!”'
- (69) "Kokwanapeni," mii sunamina.
 ko-kwana-pini mii sunami-na
 IP/FIRE-smell(INTR)-PROG QUOT think:SG-PTCP
 '“And smelling,” like that he said.'
- (70) Uu, utami mi'a.
 uu u-tami miʔa
 that.way 3SG-toward go:DUR
 'Like so, he went towards it.'
- (71) Su tuhu yaisi oo'no ka uga usu tukumate kuhanikatenemi.
 su=tuhu yaisi ooʔno ka u-ga
 NOM=wildcat then at.the.time PTC 3SG-GEN
 u-su tuku-mati kuhani-kati-nimi
 3SG-NOM meat-PART cook-sit:SG-RNDM:SG
 'And then Wildcat was sitting around cooking some of his (Coyote's) flesh.'
- (72) Uba pideugaasi,
 u-ba pidi-u-gaa-si
 3SG-by arrive:SG-PFV-away-SEQ
 '(Coyote) arrived by him (Wildcat),'
- (73) togi pepaa u pideugaasi, usu yaisi,
 togi pi-paa u=pidi-u-gaa-si
 correct RESTR-by 3SG:ACC=arrive:SG-PFV-away-SEQ
 u-su yaisi
 3SG-NOM then
 'just at the place he got to, and then he,'

- (74) u kwazeke yaatu hanni.
 u=kwasī-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
 hani-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 kimmā-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
 DEM sit:SG:DUR-arrive:SG sit:SG:DUR-arrive:SG-SEQ
 ‘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-kwi haʔa ni
 3SG-NOM then I 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=tika-wini-na pisa kamma
 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
 3SG-ACC-U consume-PFV-SEQ again-ADV DEM-LOC

- u-su tiwau u=maka-u
that-NOM again 3SG:ACC=feed-PFV
'Then (Coyote) ate it all up and then wanted more to eat.'
- (82) Oo chaisi nooko makau, u su'au.
oo čaisi noo-ko maka-u u=suʔa-u
DEM then all-ACC feed-PFV 3SG:ACC=consume-PFV
'He gave him all of it, and he devoured it.'
- (83) Oo pemisu pmatesu tekau
oo pi-misu pi-mati-su tika-u
DEM RESTR-REFL RESTR-SOME-ADV eat-PFV
'That was some of his own flesh that he ate.'
- (84) Yaisi, oi'yu naka'abi.
yaisi oi-ʔyu nakaʔabi
then DEM-from separately
'And then, they went their separate ways.'
- (85) Usu tuhu yaisi oi'yu peno'o miasi su una miana tekakwai miana
 yaisi ka paba tekaapekudekwai peno'o.
u-su tuhuʔu yaisi oi-ʔyu pinoʔo mia-si
3SG-NOM wildcat then DEM-from also go-SEQ
u-su una mia-na
3SG-NOM out.there go-PTCP
tikaa-kwai mia-na
edge-AREA go-PTCP
yaisi ka=paba tikaa-pikudi-kwai pinoʔo
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 oi ewicha.
kati-na oi iwi-ča
sit:SG-PTCP DEM sleep-away
'and fell asleep sitting up there.'
- (87) Su idza'a ka u punina yaisi u nakwai peno'o miau.
su=idzaʔa ka=u=puni-na yaisi u=nakwai
NOM=coyote ACC=3SG:ACC=see-PTCP then 3SG:ACC=follow
pinoʔo mia-u
also go-PFV
'That Coyote saw him and followed along after him, too.'

- (88) Oo chaisi pa'a powo'ni kudekwai ka 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
 sleep:DUR 3SG:ACC=find-PFV-arrive:SG-away-SEQ
 '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 yitsiŋa-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 ini-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.
 u=kwasi nauma-kwai-ku tiwa-su
 3SG.POSS=tail midway-AREA-ACC also-ADV
 wi-gaʔa-kwinai-ki-u
 IP/HAND-cut-throw:SG-APPL-PFV
 'also chopped off half of his tail and cast it aside.'
- (97) Su tuhu'u peno'o saa'a oi'yu tebunisi,
 su=tuhuʔu pinoʔo saaʔa oi-ʔyu tibuni-si
 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.
 yaisi u=supidakwatu ka=ti=koba mani-pini-na
 then 3SG:ACC=know ACC=LOGO=face make-PROG-PTCP
 u-su pinoʔo
 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.
 u-su=tukwa yuu i=ma-matabui
 3SG-NOM=MOD this.way 1SG:ACC=DISTR~do.unto
 mii u=supiča ka=idzaʔa
 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 kai uu pitsa'a,
 oo čaisi su=tuhuʔu yaisi uuniʔyu-na kai
 DEM then NOM=wildcat then like.that-PTCP NEG
 uu pitsaʔa
 like.so nice
 'And so that's why the Wildcat doesn't (think) it's good,'
- (101) koba patsipono'o. tewau kai kwassija'a.
 koba patsiponoʔo tiwa-u kai kwassi-jaʔa
 face rounded also-FOC NEG tail-have
 '(having) a round face, neither having a tail.'
- (102) Uu su idza'a peno'o u yachegwi.
 uu su=idzaʔa pinoʔo u=yačigwi
 that.way NOM=coyote as.well 3SG:ACC=do.to
 'So it was that Coyote did that to him.'

ROOT-DIGGING TIME⁸

†NEPA KENNEDY, NARRATOR

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 *Waatihaga*, '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 [i]. 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=ni-supidakwatu-na
ACC=there-LOC=thusly	3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH-know-PTCP
ka=tihona-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	

⁸ Recorded April 1, 1999, Burns Paiute Reservation

mi=togoʔo
 1PL.POSS=grandfather

'We were out there, camping as a group, with my mother and maternal grandmother; everyone, our maternal grandfather.'⁹

- (3) Nemmi owi yongo'yaina me'na'wi nemmi owi, yaisi ka
 tehonagakwesi nemmi awamoa.

nimmi owi yonjo-yai-na miʔnaʔwi
 1PL:EXCL there evening-HAB-PTCP quite. awhile
 nimmi owi yaisi ka=tihona-ga-kwi-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) Yoziuyaina 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
 tikaba tiwau ti-noo-na nimi tikaba
 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 piikana a naumakwai tiunana.

yaisi tiwau himma piikana 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 *kinuʔu*, respectively.

sisiʔmi tiwau ti-wi-matsiʔa
 sometimes also ANTIP-IP/LONG-spread

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

- (8) Nemmi tenoona yaisi,
 nimmi ti-noo-na yaisi
 1PL:EXCL ANTIP-pack-PTCP then
 ‘We had our lunched packed then,’
- (9) yaisi nemmi me mago’o nemmi noo’yuna,
 yaisi nimmi mi=magoʔo nimmi noo-ʔyu-na
 then 1PL:EXCL 1PL.POSS=bag 1PL:EXCL all-NOM-PTCP
 ‘and, all of us (had) our bags,’
- (10) ya’a [mi] mi piko na’unakwai nemmi tsakenana.
 yaʔa mi=piko naʔuna-kwai nimmi
 here 1PL.POSS=waist around-AREA 1PL:EXCL
 tsa-kina-na
 IP/GRASP-attach-PTCP
 ‘like so (demonstrating), that we tied around our waist.’
- (11) Owiu nemmi ka mi tenoona hanina.
 owi-u nimmi ka=mi=ti-noo-na hani-na
 there-FOC 1PL:EXCL ACC=1PL.POSS=ANTIP-pack-PTCP do-PTCP
 ‘That’s where/how we carried our lunch.’
- (12) Yaisi tewau paa tewau nemmi, panoo tewau nemmi, ka kai
 nasupidakwatuna.
 yaisi tiwau paa tiwau nimmi pa-noo tiwau
 then also water also 1PL:EXCL IP/WATER-carry also
 nimmi ka=kai na-supidakwatu-na
 1PL:EXCL ACC=NEG MID-know-PTCP
 ‘Then, too, we took along water, not knowing.’
- (13) “Semena nemmi kai paagakwai pitegakwe,” mii ne sunamina; sunamina
 tia’a.
 simina nimmi kai paa-ga-wai piti-ga-kwi
 maybe 1PL:EXCL NEG water-have-AREA arrive-away-FUT
 mii ni sunami-na sunami-na=tiaʔa
 QUOT I think.SG-PTCP think:SG-PTCP=thusly
 ‘“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 tshahibikeukaasi,
 tammi miagakwe,” mii.
 yaisi mi=toogi tiwau nobiya-u-si mi=toogi
 then PL=dog also pack.up-PFV-SEQ PL=dog

tiwau tsa-hibi-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 woyoagau ka noo'yuna.
 nimmi yaisi woyoa-ga-u ka=noo-?yu-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=tihona-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 moomootu.
 uuni-ku=tia?a 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-wini-?i 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=tia?a
 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 tihona-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.
 ka=kai ka=udi naʔa-di yapa
 ACC=NEG ACC=tall grow-NMLZ wild.carrot
 ka=pamaha yapa
 ACC=pamaha wild.carrot
 'Not the tall-growing wild carrot, but the "pamaha" wild carrot.'
- (23) Tedeketsi'yu, "short," tedeketsi'yu, mimiketsi'yu su uuni'yu yapa.
 ti~tikitsi-?yu mi~mikitsi-?yu su=uuni-?yu yapa
 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.
 yaisi tiwau kwaya-kwa tiwau nimmi
 then also far.off-LOC also 1PL:EXCL
 tabi-natu tiwau nimmi 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.
 tsuga nimmi tihona-na u=pisa
 biscuitroot 1PL:EXCL dig.roots-PTCP 3SG:ACC=good
 niima-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.
 nimmi tihona oo-ti-u ka=himma tsuga
 1PL:EXCL dig.roots DIST-LOC-FOC ACC=what biscuitroot
 'We dug that bisquitroot right there.'
- (27) Oonosu hii unau su tenna; una inakwa wenepodoti.
 oono-su hii una-u su=tinna
 at.that.time-ADV thing yonder-FOC NOM=antelope
 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 tuameгаа su tenna.
 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 oo uu manakwi.
 oono mi=pia mii umi oo
 at.that.time 1PL=mother QUOT 3PL DIST
 ti=napo?a-na u-su
 1PL: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-?yu-na yau mii=tia?a
 1PL: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 watsitunana 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.'
- (35) "Maa usu a piabe muu ma'na'wi maano," mii tia'a.
 mau-su a=piabi muu ma?na?wi ma-no
 DEF.DEM-NOM 4=female DEF.DEM do DEF.DEM-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 nagedza nimmi tsakiʔiʔyu
 DEM=thusly far.off-NOM NEG indeed IPL:EXCL close-NOM
 ‘So, not really too far off, we were close by.’
- (37) Nemmi u punni, uu ka ooʔno be.
 nimmi u=punni uu ka=ooʔno=bi
 IPL: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 IPL:EXCL
 ‘Then later on, we were root-digging again.’
- (39) Yaisi me tooge penoʔo una penoʔo peesu tehawaii 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=ga
 yonder-FOC ANTIP-hunt-PTCP yonder-ACC=MUST
 tipi-tuha-ku=ga
 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=ga 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!"
 saʔa yaisi mi=pia miu u=pu~puni-ga
 later then 1PL:EXCL=mother QUOT 3SG:ACC=DISTR~see-away
 'Later then, our mother said, "Go check it out!"'
- (44) "Himma wohina," mii ena'wi; "Kide gaina mayeusi," mi'i.
 himma wohi-na mii inaʔwi
 what yelp-PTCP QUOT say
 kidi=gaina mayi-u-si miʔi
 groundhog=MIRAT discover-PFV-SEQ QUOT
 '“What (they) are barking at,” so (she) said. “Must have found a
 groundhog,” said.'
- (45) Yaisi, nemmi yaisi oitu temahija.
 yaisi nimmi yaisi oi-tu ti-mahi-ga
 then 1PL:EXCL then there-LOC ANTIP-investigate-away
 'Then we then went over there to investigate.'
- (46) Yaisi oo chaisi me tooge; oo temayeusi kide oo.
 yaisi oo čaisi mi=toogi oo ti-mayi-u-si
 then DEM then PL=dog DEM ANTIP-discover-PFV-SEQ
 kidi oo
 groundhog DEM
 'Then, so those dogs, having found a groundhog there,'
- (47) yaisi oo'no nemmi tsanu, uuniku hiichaana,
 yaisi ooʔno nimmi tsanu
 then at.that.time 1PL:EXCL gaff
 uuni-ku hii-čaa-na
 that.kind-ACC thing-have-PTCP
 'and at the time we had a pulling instrument (gaff), that kind,'
- (48) umau nemmi ka, u teppawaiku u tsanu'yuyakwi, ka me kide.
 u-ma-u nimmi ka u=tippa-wai-ku
 3SG-INS-FOC 1PL:EXCL PTC 3SG.POSS=mouth-AREA-ACC
 u=tsanuʔyu-yakwi ka=mi=kidi
 3SG:ACC=pull.fast-HAB ACC=PL=groundhog
 'and using that, we would hook it in its mouth, the groundhog.'
- (49) Yaisi nemmi obi:da u tsanuyuikina me tsanohoyegwina.
 yaisi nimmi obida u=tsanuyui-ki-na
 then 1PL:EXCL slowly 3SG:ACC=pull-toward-PTCP
 mi=tsanoho-yigwi-na
 PL=yank-sit:DU-PTCP
 'Then we pulled it slowly this way, yanking steadily.'

- (50) Oo'no yegwina, ootu u tsatsibuasi me tooge yaisi peno'o uma
kenakweheu.
oo?no yigwi-na oo-tu u=tsa-tsibua-si
at.that.time sit:DU-PTCP DIST-to 3SG:ACC=IP/GRASP-hold-SEQ
mi=toogi yaisi pino?o u-ma ki-na-kwih-i-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.
u=kutta-wai-ku u=ki-tsaga-u uu
3SG.POSS=neck-AREA-ACC 3SG:ACC=IP/BITE-kill-PFV like.that
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'noku tia'a u ketsagauyakwi; kai tewau u teka.
kai oo uu oo?no-ku=tia?a
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.
oo uu mi=toogi pino?o u=patsa-tabia-yakwi
DEM like.so PL=dog also 3SG:ACC=kill:SG-appear-HAB
'That's the way those dogs as well would kill it.'
- (54) Nemmi yaisi oo peno'o uu haniu'yakwi, ka kide.
nimmi yaisi oo pino?o uu hani-u-yakwi
1PL:EXCL then DEM also DIST do-PFV-HAB
ka=kidi
ACC=groundhog
'So then we would take it as well, the groundhog.'
- (55) Ka me tepatsana, nemmi hani'yakwi.
ka=mi=ti-patsa-na nimmi hani-yakwi
ACC=PL=ANTIP-kill:SG-PTCP 1PL:EXCL do-HAB
'What was killed, we would take.'
- (56) Yaisi tewau nemmi penausu mi tehonawaitu miasi tewau,
yaisi tiwau nimmi pinau-su mi=tihona-wai-tu
then also 1PL:EXCL back-ADV 1PL=dig.roots-AREA-to

- mia-si tiwau
go:SG-SEQ 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-?yu 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.'
- (58) "Habana'yu," mii tia'a.
haba-na-?yu mii=tia?a
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 mia?a
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!"
oo?no tiwau umi miu ma-ti pisa iyaa?i-na
at.the.time also 3PL 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
ketsitaiketi."
pi-kwai-?yu kati-kwi-na ina-tu mi=tsagwidi
RESTR-AREA-NOM sit:SG-FUT-PTCP over.here-LOC PL=porcupine
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
kateu'yai," mii mi nittama.
ii-ma=sa?a wini-u-dua a=sutsima-na ma-tuha-ti
2SG-on=MOD stand:SG-PFV-SBJ 4=heed-PTCP DEF-under-LOC
kai ma tui=sikwi kati-u-?yai-na
NEG DEF any=just/only sit:SG-PFV-HAB

mii mi=nitama
 QUOT 1PL=tell

“(They) might jab you, (so you must) watch carefully, and don’t sit down just anywhere,” so (they) told us.’

- (63) Oo tia’a nemmi o’o aatana nemmi tekka.
 oo=tiaʔa nimmi oo aata-na nimmi tika
 so=thusly 1PL:EXCL DEM sit:PL-PTCP 1PL:EXCL eat
 ‘So it was we were sitting there eating.’
- (64) Tekana aata nemmi owiu ka mi tenoona, paanoku.
 tika-na aata nimmi owi-u
 eat-PTCP sit:PL 1PL:EXCL there-FOC
 ka=mi=ti-noo-na paa-no-ku
 ACC=1PL:EXCL=ANTIP-pack-PTCP water-COM-LOC
 ‘We sat and ate our lunch there, with water.’
- (65) Sa’a yaisi tewau nemmi, tekamakweu tewau me tewau
 tetsakido’akuha ka te tehonana.
 saʔa yaisi tiwau nimmi tika-makwi-u tiwau
 later then also 1PL:EXCL eat-finish-PFV also
 mi=tiwau ti-tsakidoʔa-kuha ka=ti=tihona-na
 PL=also ANTIP-peel.root-INCEP ACC=LOGO=dig.roots-PTCP
 ‘Later on then we also finished eating and started to peel our roots.’
- (66) Kai ene, passa ume ka pahibawai;
 kai ini passa umi ka=pahiba-wai
 NEG INT dry 3PL ACC=canvas-AREA
 ‘They weren’t quite dry on that canvas;’
- (67) pahiba mago’okwai uuniwai usu me tehonana,
 pahiba magoʔo-kwai uuni-wai u-su
 canvas bag-AREA that.kind-AREA DIST-NOM
 mi=tihona-na
 PL=dig.roots-PTCP
 ‘into a canvas bag, that sort of place, what was dug,’
- (68) nemmi tiunana.
 nimmi tiuna-na
 1PL:EXCL put:PL-PTCP
 ‘we put (them).’
- (69) Su kai ene yabi passana toisu pisa’yu.
 su=kai ini yabi passa-na toisu pisa-ʔyu
 NOM=NEG INT hurry dry-PTCP still good-NOM
 ‘When not really drying too quickly, (that’s) still good,’

- (70) [mii ne] yabi natsakwete'i uu.
 yabi na-tsakwiti'i 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.'