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Bannock (Fort Hall, Idaho)

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The Bannock, whose precontact territory centered around the Snake River plain of southwestern Idaho and the Boise River valley, speak the variety of Northern Paiute most influenced by its close linguistic relative, Shoshoni. This influence may be due to a combination of factors, including the overlapping nature of aboriginal territories, the acquisition of the horse and buffalo-hunting culture, and the later impact of a one-way bilingualism that was present on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation, whereby nearly all Bannock speakers also spoke (and speak) Shoshoni, but not the reverse. The number of Bannock speakers, currently, may be no more than a dozen, although there is a dedicated group of language learners and teachers.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE¹

LIZZY EDMO, NARRATOR

Lizzie Edmo was nearly 90 years old when this narrative was recorded. She appears to confirm informal accounts by relatives in Oregon of her strong ties to the Wadatika?a band associated with Burns in the Harney Valley region in the southeastern portion of the state. Her reference to Tukwiha?ni?i in line (48), a prominent feature east of Harney Valley, known locally as Castle Rock, provides further confirmation. Mrs. Edmo worked with Dr. Sven Liljeblad, a Swedish folklorist, as his primary Bannock consultant for several years, mostly during the 1950s. This narrative was included in Liljeblad (1966) as a translation exercise for students of the language, and so the first tier for each numbered line preserves his system of transcription, using the letter *y* for the high central unrounded vowel [i], and fortis/geminate consonants marked with a following raised dot [·]. Liljeblad also marked primary stress with an acute accent, despite its high level of predictability (see the introduction to this supplement). This is a necessary consequence of including proclitics with prefixes as part of the word.

The line selections have been preserved from the original despite the fact that some lines may consist of a single clause, whereas others contain several (e.g., 22, 36). The free translation preserves that provided by Liljeblad, and the

¹ Recorded by Sven Liljeblad, November 24, 1959, Fort Hall, Idaho.

interlinear analysis is that of Thornes. The listener, who occasionally provides back-channeling, is unnamed.

One feature of autobiographical narratives such as this one (and Nepa Kennedy's "Root-Digging Time," including in the Wadadika'a stories herein) is the frequent marking of verbs with one or the other of two habitual aspect suffixes, *-ʔyakʷi* and *-ʔyai*. Something unique to Mrs. Edmo's narrative here is her use of the enclitic *=t/dimmaʔa*, of unknown function (here glossed simply as "clitic").

- (1) *nym·ídim·aʔa óoʔnos·u sáidukadu nomóona.*²
nimmi=dimmaʔa ooʔnossu sai-díka-dí nomoona
 1pl:EXCL=CLITIC long.ago tule-eat-NMLZ travel:PL
 'Long ago we used to travel through the Sahaptian³ (territory).'
- (2) *sáidukanoo móočaimooʔjakʷi.*
sai-duka-noo moo-čai-moo-ʔyakʷi
 tule-eat-COM travel:PL-around-RNDM:PL-HAB
 '(We) used to move about with the Sahaptians.'
- (3) *káibadutim·aʔa iká him·á hoáwaina iká cugá him·a tuʔí nóoʔkos·o*
japá.
kaiba-du=timmaʔa i-ka himma
 mountain-LOC=clitic PROX-ACC thing
hoawai-na i-ka tsuga
 hunt-PTCP PROX-ACC biscuitroot
himmá=tuʔí nooko-ssó yapa
 thing=any all-ADV wild.carrot
 'On the mountains (we) gathered various things, the cous⁴ and anything, even wild carrots.'⁵
- (4) *máímoana is·unáana.*
maimoa-na i-su naana
 hunt-PTCP PROX-NOM men
 'The men went hunting.'
- (5) *nomóonady myʔnáʔwi ói nonóbikaaʔjakʷi.*
nomoona-dí miʔnaʔwi oi no~nobi-kaa-ʔyakʷi
 travel:PL-NMLZ long.time DEM PL~house-away-HAB
 'Traveling about for a long time (in search of our winter supplies), there (we) used to camp.'

² The correct form is *saidikadi*, lit., "tule-eaters."

³ Specific reference to the Umatilla (TT), and perhaps also the Nez Perce.

⁴ *Lomatium cous* (Couture 1978). Widely known by the common term "biscuitroot." Sometimes spelled *kows*.

⁵ *Perideridia bolanderi*, also known in the region by the Shoshoni name, *yampa*.

- (6) úu maʔnáʔwičaimooʔjakʷi.
 uu maʔnaʔwi-čai-moo-ʔyakʷi
 like.so act-around-RNDM:PL-HAB
 ‘That’s how (we) used to do (camp) day after day.’
- (7) náana tuʔiʔtywau him-á tuʔi pakʷi hoáwaina pyn-óʔo him-á tyhiča
 hoáwaina.
 naana tuʔi=tiwau himma=tuʔi pakʷi hoawai-na
 men try=also thing=any fish hunt-PTCP
 pinnoʔo himma tihiča hoawai-na
 as.well thing deer hunt-PTCP
 ‘The men for their part did some fishing, and they hunted deer and
 anything (they could get).’
- (8) nomóočaimooʔjakʷi.
 nomoo-čai-moo-ʔyakʷi
 travel:PL-around-RNDM:PL-HAB
 ‘(We) traveled and camped here and there.’
- (9) úus-u maníʔna myčy´m-iʔjakʷi myčy´m-iʔjakʷi.
 uu=ssu mani-na mičimmi-ʔyakʷi mičimmi-ʔyakʷi
 like.so=EMPH do-PTCP drift.along-HAB drift.along-HAB
 ‘(We) kept on doing that drifting along further and further.’
- (10) uká ibíanoo naty´myʔjaina pukú.
 u-ka i=bia-noo na-timi-ʔyai-na puku
 3SG-ACC 1SG.POSS=mother-COM MID-exchange-HAB-PTCP horse
 ‘Together with my mother (they) traded (various things) with each
 other (such as) horses.’
- (11) uháicigaana us-ú piiʔjuu.
 u=haitsi-gaa-na u-ssu piiʔyuu
 3SG.POSS=friend-have-PTCP 3SG-NOM Piiʔyuu
 ‘That (man) Piiʔyuu was a good friend of hers.’
- (12) piiʔjuu háicigaana uká ibiá.
 piiʔyuu haitsi-gaa-na u-ka i=bia
 Piiʔyuu friend-have-PTCP 3SG-ACC 1SG.POSS=mother
 ‘My mother was a good friend of Piiʔyuu’s.’
- (13) máʔaʔ kucúna pyhy´óoʔnos-o ubáaty him-áʔjaina.
 maʔa kutsu-na pihi ooʔno-ssó
 DEF bison-PTCP hide long.ago-ADV
 u-baa-ti himma-ʔyai-na
 3SG-by-LOC obtain-HAB-PTCP
 ‘Long time ago (he) used to get buffalo hides from her.’

- (14) him-a tuʔi tyhíčaby him-a.
 himma=tuʔi tihíča-bii himma
 thing=any deer-hide thing
 ‘Various things, tanned hides, anything.’
- (15) him-á tuʔi úníkuu ubáatus-uúníkuu umaníkyʔjakʷi.
 himma=tuʔi uni-kuu u=baa-tu-ssu uuni-ku
 thing=any that.kind-ACC 3SG:ACC=by-to-ADV that.kind-ACC
 u=mani-ki-ʔyakʷi
 3SG:ACC=do-APPL-HAB
 ‘Anything like that (they) brought to her (and then they might come back and trade it with her again).’
- (16) us-újais-i pyʔy umúnoo us-uʔ jybánodim-aʔa óʔno, jybáno óʔno,
 jybáno óʔnoo uká—⁶
 u-ssu=yaissi=píi umu-noo u-ssu
 3SG-NOM=then=EMPH they-COM 3SG-NOM
 yibano=dimmaʔa ooʔno
 autumn=CLITIC at.the.time
 yibano ooʔno yibano oʔnoo u-ka
 autumn at.the.time autumn at.the.time 3SG-ACC
 ‘She herself then along with them in the fall of the year, long ago in the fall, (did) that. . . .’
- (17) tyhíča namáim-oanoʔo.
 tihíča na-maimmoa-noʔo
 deer MID-hunt-TEMP
 Listener: ‘In the deer-hunting season?’
- (18) aháa óoʔnoo.
 ahaa ooʔnoo
 yes at.that.time
 ‘Yes, that is when it was.’
- (19) jáis-i tywáu óoʔnoojais-i tywáu ikas-aibydywau kʷis-iʔjakʷi
 ukʷas-yʷn-oʔo.
 yaissi tiwau ooʔno=yaissi tiwau i-ka ssaibi=diwau
 then also at.that.time=then also PROX-ACC tule=also
 kʷissi-ʔyakʷi u=kʷassi-nnoʔo
 weave-HAB 3SG:ACC=ripe-TEMP
 ‘And then also, at that time, they also used to weave the tule when it got ripe.’

⁶ The dash represents interruption by the listener.

- (20) haʔúhadiʔi kái oháčaaʔigaaʔjak^{wi}.
 haʔuhadiʔi kai oha-čaaʔi-gaa-ʔyak^{wi}
 know.how NEG yellow-have-away-HAB
 ‘I guess you know it turns yellow.’
- (21) aháa.
 aha
 Listener: ‘Yes.’
- (22) óoʔnoo tyhóonana, uwywy´n-utaki iʔínanooʔo tuʔi uwywy´yn-utagina
 adotóon-a upiták^wana uʔubín-a óʔnojais-i kái konícaaʔma
 húupim-atu uwywy´nutaki.
 ooʔnoo tihoonana u=wi-winnutaki
 at.the.time dig.roots-PTCP 3SG:ACC=DISTR~roll.up.in.bundles
 iʔínanooʔo tuʔi u=wi-winnutagi-na
 just.so try 3SG:ACC=DISTR~roll.in.bundles-PTCP
 a=dotoonna u=pitak^wa-na uʔ=ubi-nna
 4=heap.up 3SG:ACC=bottom-LOC 3SG:ACC=DEM-LOC
 oʔno=jaissi kai konitsaaʔma huupi-mma-tu
 at.the.time=then NEG get.bent stick-INS-to
 u=wi-winnutaki
 3SG:ACC=DISTR~roll.up.in.bundles
 ‘Then, when they had discovered (a good spot of) it, they rolled it
 up in (small) bundles just so big; and after they had rolled it up
 in bundles, they put it away (piling it up) at the bottom end of it
 (and then) they would wrap it around a stick in the middle of it
 so that it would not bend (and break).’
- (23) únikuu uhanína udodótuuna.
 uni-kuu u=hani-na u=do~dotuuna
 that.kind-ACC 3SG:ACC=prepare-PTCP 3SG:ACC=DISTR~heap.up
 ‘That is how they did with it and piled it on top of each other.’
- (24) symy´u han-ím-ak^wyus-ijais-i symy´udywau uhan-íwyn-y.
 simi-u hanni-mmak^{wi}-u-ssi=yaissi
 one-ACC prepare-finish-PFV-SEQ=then
 simi-u=díwau u=hanni-winni
 one-ACC=also 3SG:ACC=prepare-PROG:SG
 ‘After having finished one, (she) worked with another.’
- (25) óʔnojais-i umadúpuim-in-a kumamákw^wýčaina umadúpuim-in-a jú
 ujy^wím-in-a.
 oʔno=yaissi u=madupui-mminna
 at.the.time=then 3SG:ACC=IP/HAND:roll-go.along
 ku=ma~mak^{wi}-čai-na
 3SG:ACC=DISTR~finish-HAB-PTCP

u=madupui-mminna yuu
 3SG:ACC=IP/HAND:roll-go.along this.way
 u=yig^{wi}-mminna
 3SG:ACC=work-go.along

‘And then (she) rolled it up; after (she) had finished it, she rolled it up
 (one after the other), this is how (she) worked with it.’

- (26) haháa.
 aha

Listener: ‘Yes.’

- (27) úu ujy^{wim}-inanajais-i, udotóonanajais-i.
 uu u=yig^{wi}-mmina-na=yaisi
 like.that 3SG:ACC=make-go.along-PTCP=then
 u=dotoona-na=yaisi
 3SG:ACC=heap.up-PTCP=then

‘That is how (they) made them and how (they) then piled them up.’

- (28) tyn-obíakubak^{wai} nan-ahanis-i uká mynomíčakuhaas-i, jáadim·a
 (us-ab) ukúbak^{wai}.
 tí=nnobia-kuba-k^{wai} na~nna-hani-ssi u-ka
 LOGO=pack-upon-AREA DISTR~MID-prepare-SEQ 3SG-ACC
 mí=nobi-ča-kuhaa-ssi, yaa=dimma u-kuba-k^{wai}
 PL=home-away-INCEP-SEQ here=CLITIC 3SG-upon-AREA

‘(They) were then placed on top of their packing, when they began to
 move camp, here on top of it.’

- (29) pytuís-igubak^{wai}.
 pí=tuissi-guba-k^{wai}
 3PL.POSS=horse-upon-AREA

Listener: ‘On top of their horses?’

- (30) pytuís-igubak^{wai} nan-ádotoon·a.
 pí=tuissi-guba-k^{wai} na~nna-dotoonna
 3PL.POSS=horse-upon-AREA DISTR~MID-heap

‘They were loaded on top of their horses.’

- (31) jáis-i uká tom-ók^{wyys}-i jáis-i, [kan-i] unobítu.⁷
 yaissi u-ka tommo-k^{wii}-ssi=yaisi u=nobi-tu
 then 3SG-ACC winter-FUT-SEQ=then 3SG.POSS=house-make

‘And then, when they were going to spend the winter, they made
 houses of it.’

⁷ The speaker first uses the Shoshoni word for ‘house,’ *kani*, then self-corrects using the proper Northern Paiute-Bannock word *nobi*.

- (32) watás·ym·y han·is·i.
 wata=ssimmi hanni--ssi
 pole=only prepare--SEQ
 ‘All they had to get were the lodge poles.’
- (33) him·a tuʔí wanápy ubidák^waduis·i.
 himma=tuʔi wanapi u=bidak^wadui--ssi
 what=any cloth 3SG:ACC=line--SEQ
 ‘and any kind of cloth to line it with.’
- (34) sújais·i—[káí umúpaa huʔ] kái pas·áwewaʔniju.
 su=yaisi kai u=mupaa=huʔ kai passawe--waʔni--yu
 NOM=then NEG 3SG-passed=flow NEG drip--SIMIL--PRED
 ‘Then it wouldn’t leak through and drip⁸.’
- (35) umúpaas·u húuwynyʔjak^wi písáa juʔpyniʔjak^wi.
 u=mupaa--ssu huu--wini--ʔyak^wi pisa yui--pini--ʔyak^wi
 3SG-passed--ADV flow--PROG:SG--HAB good warm--PROG--HAB
 ‘(The rain) just runs (down) over it, and it is nice and warm (inside).’
- (36) úu maʔnáʔwičaimoona jáis·i tywáu ikájais·i, tywáu cugá hanín·oʔo
 óoʔnojais·i iká cugá him·a tuʔí iká japá nóoʔokos·o.
 uu maʔnaʔwi--čai--moo--na=yaisi tiwau
 like.so doing--go.around--RNDM--PTCP=then also
 i-ka=yaisi tiwau tsuga hani--nnoʔo
 PROX--ACC=then also biscuitroot prepare--TEMP
 ooʔno=yaisi i-ka tsuga himma=tuʔi
 at.the.time=then PROX--ACC biscuitroot what=any
 i-ka yapa nooʔoko--sso
 PROX--ACC carrot all.of.it--ADV
 ‘That’s the way (they) were doing (day after day as they were)
 wandering about, and then again (they gathered) anything they
 could think of, for example the cous, when the cous was yielding,
 and everything including the wild carrots.’
- (37) him·á pas·igoʔo tuʔí, iwáa ugunákak^wai nobídygaas·i, uká cugá
 haním·ak^wys·i.
 himma passigoʔo=tuʔi iwa u=guna--ka--k^wai
 what camas=any much 3SG:ACC=firewood--have--AREA
 nobidi--gaa--ssi u--ka
 living.place--have--SEQ 3SG--ACC
 tsuga hani--mmak^wi--ssi
 biscuitroot prepare--finish--SEQ

⁸ Northern Paiute–Bannock, at least of the variety Lizzie spoke, ought to have used a different vowel, [i], to form *passawi* here, and not [e]—likely an indication of Shoshoni influence.

'The matter came to camas⁹ when they camped where there was plenty of wood after they had finished with the cous.'

- (38) abas·ákyna iká cugá.
 a=bassa-ki-na i-ka tsuga
 4=dry-APPL-PTCP PROX-ACC biscuitroot
 'When they had dried it, the cous.'
- (39) abas·akyna agotá.
 a=bassa-ki-na a=gota
 4=dry-APPL-PTCP 4=spread.out
 'When they had spread it out to dry it.'
- (40) kajapádywau tus-una, agotá.
 ka=yapa=diwau tussu-na a=gota
 ACC=wild.carrot=also grind-PTCP 4=spread.out
 'They also ground the wild carrot on the metate and spread it out (for drying).'¹⁰
- (41) typíkubaku uká tus-údy.
 tipi-kuba-ku u-ka tussu-di
 rock-upon-LOC 3SG-ACC grind-NMLZ
 'They ground that kind on the rock.'
- (42) haháa.
 aha
 Listener: 'Yes.'
- (43) typíkubaku adus·únajais-i, agotánajais-i, (ag^{wa}) abas·áгаа?jak^{wi}
 adydy 'baki úu ajyg^{wim}-i?jak^{wi}.
 tipi-kuba-ku a=dussu-na=yaissi a=gota-na=yaissi
 rock-upon-LOC 4=grind-PTCP=then 4=spread-PTCP=then
 a=bassa-gaa-?yak^{wi} a=di~dibaki uu
 4=dry-away-HAB 4=DISTR~put.into like.so
 a=yig^{wi}-mmi-?yak^{wi}
 4=do-go.and-HAB
 'So they ground it on a rock, and then they dried it; and when it dried, they sacked it up, that's the way they used to do with it.'
- (44) nym-í oo?nos-u iwáu úuniku tykápyгаа?jak^{wi}.
 nimmi oo?no-ssu iwa-u
 we:EXCL at.the.time-ADV much-ACC
 uuni-ku tikabi-gaa-?yak^{wi}
 that.kind-ACC food-have-HAB
 'Long ago we used to have plenty of that kind of food.'

⁹ *Camassia quamash*. Traditionally, the bulbs are roasted underground for a few days until they release a sweet-tasting syrup, similar in taste to licorice.

¹⁰ *Daucus carota* is often dried or eaten fresh.

- (45) jáis-i—úu manínajais-i nan-áimutatim·aʔa—(káí)—myʔnáaʔwi úu
 maʔnáʔwičaimoona um-újais-i tytybíwadamis-u kočý kíʔjakwi.
 yaissi uu mani-na=yaissi na-nnaimuta=timmaʔa
 then like.so do-PTCP=then MID-move.off.from=CLITIC
 miʔnaaʔwi uu maʔnaʔwi-čai-moo-na
 long.time like.so act-around-RNDM:PL-PTCP
 ummu=yaissi ti=tibiwa-dami-ssu
 they=then LOGO=territory-toward-ADV
 kočí-ki-ʔyakwi
 return-toward-HAB
 ‘And they, when (they) had done that, (they) separated and took
 off in every direction, (this they) did moving about that way for
 a long time, and then they returned to their home country.’
- (46) nym-í py'ynoʔo múutu uká—
 nimmi p̄inoʔo muu-tu u-ka
 we:EXCL as.well this.way-LOC 3SG-ACC
 ‘We too separated and. . .’
- (47) nanóogaʔaʔjakwi.
 na-noo-gaʔa-ʔyakwi
 MID-carry-away-HAB
 Listener: ‘Broke camp?’
- (48) nanóogaʔaʔjakwi, sújais-i Warm Springs mí tan-ían·a tukwy'aniʔi mí
 nymy' n-ías·an·a.
 na-noo-gaʔa-ʔyakwi su=yaissi Warm Springs mii
 MID-carry-away-HAB NOM=then Warm Springs QUOT
 ta=nnia-nna tukw'ianiʔi mii n̄imi
 1DU=call-PTCP Dark.Point QUOT person
 nnia-ssa-nna
 call-??-PTCP
 ‘(We) broke camp and (went to) Warm Springs, as people call it, or
 Dark Point as the Indians call it.’¹¹
- (49) aháa.
 aha
 Listener: ‘Yes.’
- (50) uwítuučais-i nym-i py'ynoʔo míaʔjakwi.
 uwi-tuu=čaiissi nimmi p̄inoʔo mia-ʔyakwi
 DEM-LOC=then we:EXCL as.well go-HAB
 ‘Then we, too, used to go in there.’

¹¹ This appears to be Castle Rock, about 40 miles east of Burns, not Warm Springs. The Paiute there know of it as a sacred place for vision quests, and it remains a prominent visual landmark in the region.

- (51) múutu mías-i pyn-óʔo cugádyhon-adim-aʔa óotynoos-o pyn-óʔo.
 muu-tu mia-ssi pinnoʔo tsuga-dihonna=dimmaʔa
 this.way-LOC go-SEQ as.well biscuitroot-dig.roots=CLITIC
 ooʔnosso pinnoʔo
 long.ago as.well
 ‘(We) went that way, and (we), too, dug cous with some (people)
 who were already there.’
- (52) nanódyk^wa nymínoo cabíkaas-i us-ú jáu jaʔípy puhágaʔju.
 na-nodik^wa nimi-noo tsabi-kaa-ssi
 MID-wife we:EXCL-COM join-away-SEQ
 u-ssu yau yaʔi-pi puha-gaʔyu
 3SG-NOM here die-PERF power-have
 ‘A man and his wife got together with us, that medicine man who
 died here.’
- (53) us-ú nymíma cabíkaas-i us-ú mogóʔni noʔágaʔju.
 u-ssu nimi-ma tsabi-kaa-ssi u-ssu
 3SG-NOM we:EXCL-INS join-away-SEQ 3SG-NOM
 mogoʔni noʔa-gaʔyu
 woman fetus-have
 ‘When he joined us, the woman was pregnant.’
- (54) nym-íjais-i tyhón-a (táa) k^wytánimaty tyhónana tyhónana.
 nimmi=yaissi tihonna ta k^wítani-ma-ti
 we:EXCL=then dig.roots we:DU ridge-on-LOC
 tihona-na tihona-na
 dig.roots-PTCP dig.roots-PTCP
 ‘And then we (started) digging on the ridge, (we) dug and dug.’
- (55) nym-ídu kaʔizáʔa tuám-ygaku kymáabaa.
 nimmi=du ka=ʔidzaʔa tua-mmi-ga-ku kima-baa
 we:EXCL=MOD ACC=coyote child-PL-have-ACC beside-by
 ‘We must have been close to a coyote with little ones.’
- (56) nis-adyʔy óoʔnoʔju tuʔí.
 ni=ssadiʔi ooʔnoʔyu=tuʔi
 IPL:EXCL=dog that.much=any
 ‘Our dog was just about that big.’
- (57) sújais-i umátu míauʔjak^wi su sadyʔy.
 su=yaissi u-ma-tu mia-u-ʔyak^wi su=sadiʔi
 NOM=then 3SG-on-to go-PFV-HAB NOM=dog
 ‘He then went toward it, the dog (did).’

- (58) aháa.
aha
Listener: 'Yes.'
- (59) nym·í ug^wája?a py'yno?o.
nimmi u=g^waya?a piino?o
we:EXCL 3SG:ACC=afar as.well
'We were far from it ourselves.'
- (60) uká ni·sady'ʔy nakíkys·ijais·i iká upitúhu nóo?oko kyk^wákau.
u-ka ni=sadi?i naki-ki-ssi=yaiissi i-ka
3SG-ACC 1PL=dog chase-APPL-SEQ=then PROX-ACC
u=pituhu noo?o-ko kik^waka-u
3SG.POSS=hip all-ACC bite.off-PFV
'And then (the coyote) chased our dog and bit his entire hip off.'
- (61) nis·ady'ʔy óo jagámiaubodona, ja?iu.
ni=ssadi?i oo yaga-mia-u-bodo-na ja?i-u
1PL.POSS=dog out.there cry-go:SG-PFV-to.from-PTCP die:sg-PFV
'Our dog was running around crying and died.'
- (62) tu?í igós·ibana ha?ús·ak^wa maní mú?as·u pawíja?iudy.'
tu?i igossiba-na ha?u=ssak^wa maní mú?assu
try lick-PTCP how=MOD do already
pawi-ya?i-u-di
vein-die:SG-PFV-NMLZ
'He tried to lick it, but what could he do (as he) already bled to death.'
- (63) katys·ái nagy'han·ius·i
ka=ti=ssai na-gi-hanni-u-ssi
ACC=LOGO=thigh MID-IP/BITE-prepare-PFV-SEQ
'His hip was bitten off.'
- (64) kadú?u náana um·ú nymínooty mom·óko?nis·y?my py'y óoty
pukúgaana tyhónana.
kadu?u naana ummu nimi-noo-ti
gone men they we:EXCL-COM-LOC
mo~mmoko?ni=ssi?mi pií oo-ti-u
PL~woman=only RESTR out.there-LOC-FOC
puku-gaa-na tihona-na
horse-have-PTCP dig.roots-PTCP
'There were no men with us, only women by themselves on horses digging (roots).'

- (65) óotyú nidyhón·ajais-i háanomyʔnaʔwigaa nym-í ói.
 oo-ti-u ni=dihonna=yaissi haano
 out.there-LOC-FOC 1PL:EXCL=dig.roots=then when
 miʔnaʔwi-gaa nimmi oi
 long.time-away we:EXCL DEM
 ‘There was our digging (place), and I do not know how long we were there.’
- (66) sújais-i nipyáʔa (ca) us-ú puhágaku n·odykʷa—(ty)—nyʷym·ana—
 (tuu)—tuáʔadus-i.
 su=yaissi ni=piáʔa u-ssu puha-ga-ku
 NOM=then 1PL:EXCL=friend 3SG-NOM power-have-ACC
 nnodikʷa niimma-na tuaʔa-du-ssi
 wife feel.pain-PTCP child-create-SEQ
 ‘And our partner, the medicine man’s wife was in pain giving birth to a baby.’
- (67) (tu) pabá usóohuʔu.
 paba-u soo-huʔu
 big-ACC cottonwood-flow:DUR
 ‘There was a big cottonwood creek.’
- (68) uhúuzahuʔu.
 u=huuza-huʔu
 3SG:ACC=birch-flow:DUR
 ‘A stream of water where birch grew.’
- (69) uhúuzahuʔu ugáu ubiínatu unátyu tuáʔatu.
 u=huuza-huʔu uga-u obi-na-tu una-ti-u
 3SG:ACC=birch-flow:DUR its-FOC DEM-LOC-to DEM-LOC-FOC
 tuaʔa-tu
 child-make
 ‘The birch creek, in the middle of it, somewhere in there, she bore a child.’
- (70) us-újais-i piáwabi usukʷáhaʔina udybín-y.
 u-ssu=yaissi piawabi
 3SG-NOM=then old.woman
 u=su-kʷahaʔi-na u=tibiŋi
 3SG:ACC=IP/MIND-suspect-PTCP 3SG:ACC=question
 ‘And then that old woman was suspicious of her and questioned her.’
- (71) jáis-i uwahá.
 yaissi u=waha
 then 3SG:ACC=tell
 ‘And then she told it.’

- (72) sújais-i óitu mías-i jáučais-i utuá?a.
 su=yaissi oi-tu mia-ssi yau=čaiissi
 NOM=then DEM-to go:SG-SEQ here=then
 u=tua?a
 3SG.POSS=child
 ‘When she then went there, there then (was) her child.’
- (73) un-akáwaiku tu?í (igy) uwíis-idu ja?á un-akáwaiku [uzicágau] uká
 húupi wym-úguduis-i.
 u=nnaka-wai-ku tu?i
 3SG.POSS=ear-AREA-LOC try
 u=wii-ssi=du ya?a
 3SG:ACC=drop-SEQ=also this.way
 u=nnaka-wai-ku [u=tsi-tsaga-u]
 3SG.POSS=ear-AREA-LOC 3SG:ACC=IP/SHARP-kill-PFV
 u-ka huupi wimmugudui-ssi
 3SG-ACC stick made.sharp-SEQ
 ‘Right into its ear, when it was born, here into its ear she poked it
 after she had sharpened that stick.’
- (74) uká tytuá?a óiku uzicágau.
 u-ka ti=tua?a oi-ku u=tsi-tsaga-u
 3SG-ACC LOGO=child DEM-LOC 3SG:ACC=IP/SHARP-kill
 ‘In there she poked that child of hers (to death).’
- (75) hm^m.
 aha
 Listener: ‘Yes.’
- (76) us-ú tyháa?ju ju?úci?i manídapi mi?í.¹²
 u-ssu tíhaa?yu yu?u-tsi?i mani-dapi mi?i
 3SG-NOM toddler this.way-ADV do-lie.SPL QUOT
 ‘That (little) child was lying like this (a little), they said.’
- (77) óo hapí mi?í.
 oo hapi mi?i.
 over.there lie:SG QUOT
 ‘There it was lying, they said.’
- (78) upájais-i pity’s-ijais-i uniky’s-ika.
 u=pia=yaissi piti-ssi=yaissi
 3SG.POSS=mother=then arrive:SG-SEQ=then

¹² This particular suppletive form of the verb ‘lie’ only appears in the secondary verb position where it functions as a marker of continuative aspect with some verbs, while retaining postural semantics with others.

u=ni-kissi-ka
3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH-scold-away

'Her mother then went back and scolded her.'

(79) uniky's-ika.

u=ni-kissi-ka
3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH-scold-away

'She scolded her.'

(80) us-ú nanájais-i py'yno ói sag^wáa?idim-a?a.

u-ssu nana=yaissi p̄hno oi sag^waa?i=dimma?a
3SG-NOM man=then as.well DEM angry=CLITIC

'And then the man himself also got mad.'

(81) óotočais-i nym-í—us-újais-i—(ha?úu)—nymfbaa?ju mi?á.

oo-to=čaiissi nimmi u-ssu=yaissi ha?uu
DEM-LOC=then we:EXCL 3SG-NOM=then HESIT
nimi-baa-?yu mi?a
we:EXCL-by-from go:DUR

'And there then we . . . he then . . . left us.'

(82) kočy kaagaa, tytuís-i píabyguba kočy kaa nymfbaa?ju.

koči-kaa=gaa ti=tuissi-piabi-guba koči-kaa
return-away=MOD LOGO=horse-female-on return-away
nimi-baa-?yu
we:EXCL-LOC-from

'He went back on his mare; he went back from us.'

(83) kokóčykaa nymfbaa?ju.

ko~koči-kaa nimi-baa-?yu
DISTR~return-away we:EXCL-by-from

'He was gone away from us.'

(84) uká íbía pym-í ninfkysikas-i.

u-ka i=bia pimmi
3SG-ACC 1SG.POSS=mother 3.RESTR
ni~ni-kisi-ka-ssi
DISTR~IP/SPEECH-scold-away-SEQ

'After my mother had scolded him.'

(85) nym-ís-y?myčais-i uká nanánoo tywáu.

nimmi=ssi?mi=čaiissi u-ka nana-noo tiwau
we:EXCL=only=then 3SG-ACC man-COM also

'We were alone with that man again.'

- (86) háaʔnoʔjunagaa nym-í, óono móočaimoʔo.
 haaʔno-ʔyu-naga nimmi oono
 how.many-NOM-among we:EXCL at.the.time
 moo-čai-moʔo
 travel:PL-go.around-RNDM:PL
 ‘I don’t know how many of us there were moving about there and camping.’
- (87) nis-adyʔyjais-i jaʔí.
 ni=ssadii=yaissi yaʔi
 our=dog=then die:SG
 ‘Then our dog died.’
- (88) (jai) nym-í óo nomóočaimoona jáis-i ukáu tyháʔaku um-ú uzipím-a.
 nimmi oo no-moo-čai-moo-na
 we:EXCL DEM IP/ROUND-travel:PL-go.around-RNDM:PL-PTCP
 yaissi u-ka-u tihaʔa-ku ummu u=tsipimma
 then 3SG-ACC-FOC toddler-ACC they 3SG:ACC=bury
 ‘And as we were moving about and camping there, then they buried it, that child.’
- (89) uzipím-a hikʷáiciʔi umadútas-i.
 u=tsipimma hii-kʷai-tsiʔi u=maduta-ssi
 3SG:ACC=bury thing-AREA-DIM 3SG:ACC=wrap-SEQ
 ‘They wrapped it in some little thing.’
- (90) sumogóʔnijais-i us-ú nanádim-aʔa ugys-ikas-i uwíučais-i us-ú naná
 udybízimakʷykʷynaipy.
 su=mogoʔni=yaissi u-ssu nana=dimmaʔa
 NOM=woman=then 3SG-NOM man=CLITIC
 u=gissi-ka-ssi uwi-u=čaiissi u-ssu nana
 3SG:ACC=angry-away-SEQ DEM-FOC=then 3SG-NOM man
 u=dibizi-makʷi-kʷinai-pi
 3SG:ACC=indeed-finish-cast.aside:SG-PERF
 ‘And that woman then, that man in fact got angry at her, and from then on that man left her for good.’
- (91) Hm^m
 aha
 Listener: ‘Yes.’
- (92) úus-apa nakáabikʷati.
 uu=ssapa nakaabi-kʷati
 like.so=MOD separately.go-together
 ‘In that way they separated and went in opposite directions.’

- (93) mynakáabis·ijais·i nym·í pyn·óʔo.
 mi=nakaabi-ssi=yaissi nimmi pinnoʔo
 PL=separately.go-SEQ=then we:EXCL as.well
 ‘And when they had separated, then we were with him.’
- (94) nym·íjais·i myʔnáaʔwi óoʔnoonajais·i nym·í pyn·óʔo múʔas·u iwáa
 cugáhanis·i.
 nimmi=yaissi miʔnaaʔwi ooʔnoo-na=yaissi
 we:EXCL=then long.time at.that.time-PTCP=then
 nimmi pinnoʔo múʔassu iwa
 we:EXCL as.well already much
 tsuga-hani-ssi
 biscuitroot-prepare-SEQ
 ‘We then (stayed) there for a long time by ourselves until we had prepared plenty of cous.’
- (95) óotubin·a nym·í—pas·ígooʔnohona óoʔju nan·ápokai.
 oo-tu=binna nimmi passigoo-ʔnoho-na
 DEM-to=it.was.so we:EXCL camas-roast-PTCP
 oo-ʔyu na~nnapokai
 DEM-from DISTR~disperse
 ‘Oh, yes, then it was where we baked the camas, from there we separated.’
- (96) susáidukaʔa úu sys·y´m·ymagoʔo hy´yʔju tuʔí wahaʔju tuʔi
 waham·agoʔo.
 su=saidukaʔa uu sissimmi-magoʔo hii-ʔyu=tuʔi
 NOM=Nez.Perce like.so one.each-bag few-NOM=any
 waha-ʔyu=tuʔi waha-mmagoʔo
 two-NOM=any two-sack
 ‘The Nez Perce would have two sacks.’
- (97) óoʔnojais·i udy´ybana, unan·áʔamu.
 ooʔno=yaissi u=diiba-na u=na~nnaʔamu
 at.the.time=then 3SG:ACC=remove-PTCP 3SG:ACC=DISTR~divide
 ‘And then as they took it out they would divide it.’
- (98) unan·áaʔmu.
 u=na~nnaaʔmu
 3SG:ACC=DISTR~divide
 Listener: ‘Half and half?’
- (99) unan·áaʔmu ujykʷí.
 u=na~nnaaʔmu u=yíkʷi
 3SG:ACC=DISTR~divide 3SG:ACC=do
 ‘They divided it half and half.’

- (100) unáamudim-aʔa uká pas-ígoʔo.
 u=naamu=dimmaʔa u-ka passigoʔo
 3SG:ACC=divide=CLITIC 3SG-ACC camas
 ‘They had it half and half, that camas.’
- (101) úu ujk^{wí}.
 uu u=yik^{wí}
 like.so 3SG:ACC=do
 ‘That’s the way (they) arranged it.’
- (102) nym-íjais-i, úu um-ú maním-ak^{wys}-ijais-i nym-í pyn-óʔo—
 tymámak^{wys}-idim-aʔa nin-obíatim-aʔa múʔas-u iwáʔju.
 ním^{wi}=yaissi uu ummu
 we:EXCL=then like.so they
 mani-mmak^{wi}-ssi=yaiissi
 do/make-finish-SEQ=then
 ním^{wi} pínnoʔo-
 we:EXCL as.well
 tí-ma~mak^{wi}-ssi=dimmaʔa
 ANTIP-DISTR~finish-SEQ=CLITIC
 ní=nnobia=timmaʔa múʔassu iwa-ʔyu
 1PL:EXCL=pack=CLITIC already much-NOM
 ‘We then, after they had finished doing this, we ourselves . . . after
 (we) had finished, our packing was already much.’
- (103) nym-íjais-i pyn-óʔo kočy'kaa óʔnoojais-i nan-ápokai.
 ním^{wi}=yaissi pínnoʔo kočí-kaa oʔnoo=yaiissi
 we:EXCL=then as.well return-away at.the.time=then
 na~nnapokai
 DISTR~disperse
 ‘Then we, too, returned, and then at that time (we) separated going
 in opposite directions.’
- (104) nan-ápokais-i nan-áʔimuta miʔá.
 na~nnapokai-ssi na~nnaʔimuta miʔa
 DISTR~disperse-SEQ INT~opposite(ly) go:PL
 ‘We separated, and then we went in all directions.’
- (105) um-ú pyn-óʔo múutu miʔá.
 ummu pínnoʔo muu-tu miʔa
 they as.well DEF:DIR-to go:PL
 ‘They went the other way by themselves.’

CATCHING SPARROW HAWKS¹³

GRANT MARTIN, NARRATOR

The source material for transcription and translation of this narrative, as well as a preliminary analysis, appears in Nichols (1974:245–48). The audio recording is part of the Nichols collection in the California Language Archive. This recording was made sometime in the late summer or early fall of 1969, when Michael Nichols paid a visit to Sven Liljebblad while the latter was teaching at Idaho State University in Pocatello, just a few miles from the Fort Hall Reservation. Nichols has adopted the same general conventions for transcription as in the preceding text, with two notable exceptions: (1) fortition (gemination) is marked by a straight apostrophe ['] preceding the consonant, and (2) stress, being predictable, is left unmarked. Therefore, proclitics are written as separate words, whereas Liljebblad includes both prefixes and proclitics alike as part of the word to which they attach. This is significant, since prefixes, but not proclitics, draw primary stress leftward. Nichols (1974) also includes dashes at morpheme boundaries in his transcription, but these are left out of the first tier for consistency with the other texts. A standard apostrophe ['] is used in the first tier (Nichols's transcription) in place of glottal stop.

- (1) Ny'mi u'my u ytytyt tua'my
 nimmi umi-u ititi tua-mi
 we:EXCL they-FOC sparrow.hawk child-PL
 'We, those sparrow-hawk chicks,'
- (2) oo ty'pi'zkwai'ku, my hima'tua.
 oo tipi-kwai-ku mi=hima-tua
 yonder rock-AREA-LOC PL=take.up-IRR
 'over there in the rocks, would gather them up.'
- (3) Waha'juna;
 waha-ʔyu-na
 two-NOM-PTCP
 'There were two of us.'
- (4) Ny'mi jai'si my hima'si, nobi'kwai'tu.
 nimmi yaisi mi=hima-si nobi-kwai-tu
 we:EXCL then PL=take.up-SEQ house-AREA-to
 'and we brought them to the house.'

¹³ Recorded by Michael J. P. Nichols, Summer 1969, Fort Hall, Idaho.

- (5) My hima'ki'si ny'mi u
 mi=hima-ki-si nimmi oo
 PL=take.up-toward-SEQ we:EXCL yonder
 'Having brought them there, we,'
- (6) wopi'kwai my wy'ty'ma
 wobi-kwai mi=witima
 box-AREA PL=enclose
 'shut them up in a box,'
- (7) my wy'ty'mana, my ma'kaja'kwi.
 mi=witima-na mi=maka-ʔyakwi
 PL=enclose-PTCP PL=feed-HAB
 'shut them up and would feed them.'
- (8) My ma'kajaina ymy naana pi'tyka.
 mi=maka-ʔyai-na imi naana-piti-ka
 PL=feed-HAB-PTCP they grow-arrive-away
 'By feeding them they came to grow.'
- (9) Oo ja'kwija'kwi jai'si.
 oo yakwi-yakwi yaisi
 yonder sit:DU-HAB then
 'There the two would stay then.'
- (10) Ny'mi ma'ty'ty u'su jai'si ci'ajaina.
 nimmi maa-ti-ti u-su yaisi tsia-yai-na
 we:EXCL DEF-LOC-LOC 3SG-NOM then hunger-DEBIL:SG-PTCP
 'We were there for they were always hungry.'
- (11) Oo, nymy upuni'si,
 oo nimi u=puni-si
 yonder people 3SG:ACC=see-SEQ
 'So, upon seeing people,'
- (12) Usakwaikuhaja'kwi,
 u=sakwai-kuha-ʔyakwi
 3SG:ACC=protest-INCEP-HAB
 '(they) would start in crying out,'
- (13) ka ci'atya'aina; ny'mi jai'si myma'kajakwi.
 ka=tsia-tiyʔaʔi-na nimmi yaisi mi=maka-ʔyakwi
 ACC=hunger-die:SG-PTCP we:EXCL then PL=feed-HAB
 'due to hunger; we then would feed them.'

- (14) A'tuku ny'mi myma'kaja'kwi ty'citu'i tywa'su,
 a=tuku nimmi mi=maka-yakwi tiitsi=tu?i tiwa-su
 4=meat we:EXCL PL=feed-HAB small=any also-ADV
 'Meat, we would feed them, small things also.'
- (15) ho'aatata, ymy uma'kaja'kwi. Y'my u
 hoadada imi u=maka-?yakwi imi-u
 grasshopper they 3SG:ACC=feed-HAB they-FOC
 'grasshoppers, they would feed them, those.'
- (16) ytytyty tua'my,
 iidiidi tua-mi
 sparrow.hawk child-PL
 'sparrow-hawk chicks.'
- (17) uni'ku ny'mi naana pi'tyka.
 uuni-ku nimmi naana-piti-ga
 that.kind-ACC we:EXCL grow-arrive-away
 'that kind we came to raise.'
- (18) Y'my jai'si naana'py mani'si; uu kai miana, u'su ja'kwija'kwi.
 imi yaisi naana-pi mani-si uu
 they then grow-PERF do-SEQ like.so
 kai mia-na
 NEG go-PTCP
 oo=su yakwi-yakwi
 yonder=EMPH sit:DU-HAB
 'And then they grew up, like so, but wouldn't leave, and just stayed put.'
- (19) Umani'su josy manai pi'tyka'si, u'su josy'potoja'kwi.
 uu mani-su yozi manai-piti-ga-si
 like.so do-ADV fly:PL happen-arrive-away-SEQ
 oo=su yozi-bodo-?yakwi
 yonder=EMPH fly:PL-around-HAB
 'So it was they came to know how to fly, but they would just fly around.'
- (20) Tu'ihaanano ci'atua'aina'a jaa nymy ma'ty'tyu hauna.
 tu?i=haanano tsi?a-tiyai-na?a jaa nimi
 any=when hunger-die:SG-PTCP here people
 ma-ti-u hau-na
 DEF-LOC-FOC how-PTCP
 'Whenever they got hungry, (they) just came here to where people were.'

- (21) Ny'mi jai'si tywau a'tu'ku myma'kaja'kwi,
 nimmi yaisi tiwa-u a=tuku
 we:EXCL then also-FOC 4=meat
 himma maka-ʔyakwi -yai-na
 what feed-HAB-ASP-PTCP
 'We then, too, would continue to feed them stuff, meat.'
- (22) ka hima ka'my'tuk'u;
 ka=himma kammi-tuku
 ACC=what jackrabbit-meat
 'that stuff, jackrabbit meat.'
- (23) u-ni'ku my manaana pi'tyka'si u'su jai'si ny'mi.
 uuni-ku mi=ma-naana-piti-ka-si yaisi nimmi
 that.kind PL=IP/HAND-grow-arrive-away-SEQ then we:EXCL
 'in that way, we came to hand-raise them then.'
- (24) Y'my jai'si josy'potoja'kwi tywa'su pipityujaina.
 imi yaisi yozi-bodo-čakwi tiwa-su oʔo
 they then fly:PL-around-HAB also-ADV yonder
 pi~piti-u-ʔyai-na
 DISTR~arrive-PFV-HAB-PTCP
 'They then would fly around and come back again.'
- (25) Kai pi'tymani pi'tyka, y'myka mia'py.
 kai piti-mani-piti-ga imi gaa mia-pi
 NEG arrive-do-arrive-away they MOD go-PERF
 'Then they didn't come; they must have left.'
- (26) That's it