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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 NARRATIVE[1]

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 Wadatɨkaʔa band associated with Burns in the Harney Valley region in the southeastern portion of the state. Her reference to Tukwɨhaʔniʔi 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 [ɨ], 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

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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 Wadadɨka'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]
    nɨmmi=dimmaʔa ooʔnossu sai–dɨka–dɨ   nomoona
    1pl:EXCL=CLITIC long.ago tule–eat–NMLZ travel:PL

    'Long ago we used to travel through the Sahaptian[3] (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
      himma=tuʔi nooko–sso   yapa
      thing=any   all–ADV   wild.carrot

    'On the mountains (we) gathered various things, the cous[4] and anything, even wild carrots.'[5]

(4) máimoana is·unáana.
    maimoa–na i–su   naana
    hunt–PTCP   PROX–NOM men

    'The men went hunting.'

(5) nomóonady myʔnáʔwi ói nonóbikaaʔjakʷi.
    nomoona–dɨ   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.'

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[2] The correct form is *saidɨkadi*, 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 "bisquitroot." 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 tuʔítywau him·á tuʔí pakʷí hoáwaina pyn·óʔo him·á tyhíča hoáwaina.
naana   tuʔi=tɨwau   himma=tuʔi   pakʷi   hoawai–na
men   try=also   thing=any   fish   hunt–PTCP
  pɨnnoʔo   himma   tɨhiča   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 manína 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–tɨmɨ–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 píiʔjuu.
u=haitsi–gaa–na   u–ssu   piiʔyuu
3SG.POSS=friend–have–PTCP   3SG–NOM   Pii'yuu

'That (man) Piiʔyuu was a good friend of hers.'

(12) píiʔjuu háicigaana uká ibiá.
piiʔyuu   haitsi–gaa–na   u–ka   i=bia
Pii'yuu   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   pɨhɨ   ooʔno–sso
DEF   bison–PTCP   hide   long.ago–ADV
  u–baa–tɨ   himma–ʔyai–na
  3SG–by–LOC   obtain–HAB–PTCP

'Long time ago (he) used to get buffalo hides from her.'

(14) him·a tuʔí tyhíčaby him·a.
himma=tuʔi   tɨhiča–bɨɨ   himma
thing=any   deer–hide   thing

'Various things, tanned hides, anything.'

(15) him·á tuʔí únikuu ubáatus·úunikuu 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–kɨ–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 py´y umúnoo us·uʔ jybánodim·aʔa óʔno, jybáno óʔno,
   jybáno óʔnoo uká——[6]

u–ssu=yaissi=pɨɨ   umu–noo   u–ssu
3SG–NOM=then=EMPH   they–COM   3SG–NOM
   yɨbano=dimmaʔa   ooʔno
   autumn=CLITIC   at.the.time
   yɨbano   ooʔno   yɨbano   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.
tɨhiča   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·y´n·oʔo.
yaissi tɨwau   ooʔno=yaissi   tɨwau   i–ka   ssaibɨ=dɨwau
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.'

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[6] The dash represents interruption by the listener.

(20) haʔúhadiʔi kái oháčaaʔigaaʔjakʷi.
haʔuhadiʔi kai oha–čaaʔi–gaa–ʔyakʷi
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 tuʔí uwyw´yn·utagina
adotóon·a upitákʷana uʔubín·a óʔnojais·i kái konícaaʔma
húupim·atu uwywy´nutaki.
ooʔnoo tɨhoona–na u=wɨ~wɨnnutaki
at.the.time dig.roots–PTCP 3SG:ACC=DISTR~roll.up.in.bundles
iʔinanooʔo tuʔi u=wɨ~wɨnnutagi–na
just.so try 3SG:ACC=DISTR~roll.in.bundles–PTCP
a=dotoonna u=pitakʷa–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=wɨ~wɨnnutaki
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·akʷyus·ijais·i symy´udywau uhan·íwyn·y.
sɨmɨ–u hanni–mmakʷɨ–u–ssi=yaissi
one–ACC prepare–finish–PFV–SEQ=then
sɨmɨ–u=diwau u=hanni–wɨnnɨ
one–ACC=also 3SG:ACC=prepare–PROG:SG

'After having finished one, (she) worked with another.'

(25) óʔnojais·i umadúpuim·in·a kumamákʷyčaina umadúpuim·in·a jú
ujygʷím·in·a.
oʔno=yaissi u=madupui–mminna
at.the.time=then 3SG:ACC=IP/HAND:roll–go.along
ku=ma~makʷɨ–čai–na
3SG:ACC=DISTR~finish–HAB–PTCP

u=madupui–mminna   yuu
3SG:ACC=IP/HAND:roll–go.along   this.way
u=yɨgʷi–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 ujygʷim·inanajais·i, udotóonanajais·i.
uu   u=yɨgʷi–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·obíakubakʷai nan·ahanis·i uká mynomíčakuhaas·i, jáadim·a (us·ab) ukúbakʷai.
tɨ=nnobia–kuba–kʷai   na~nna–hani–ssi   u–ka
LOGO=pack–upon–AREA   DISTR~MID–prepare–SEQ 3SG–ACC
  mɨ=nobi–ča–kuhaa–ssi,   yaa=dimma   u–kuba–kʷai
  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·igubakʷai.
pɨ=tuissi–guba–kʷai
3PL.POSS=horse–upon–AREA

Listener: 'On top of their horses?'

(30) pytuís·igubakʷai nan·ádotoon·a.
pɨ=tuissi–guba–kʷai   na~nna–dotoonna
3PL.POSS=horse–upon–AREA   DISTR~MID–heap

'They were loaded on top of their horses.'

(31) jáis·i uká tom·ókʷyys·i jáis·i, [kan·i] unobítu.[7]
yaissi   u–ka   tommo–kʷɨɨ–ssi=yaissi   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.'

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[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=ssɨmmɨ   hanni–ssi
     pole=only   prepare–SEQ

     'All they had to get were the lodge poles,'

(33) him·a tuʔí wanápy ubidákʷaduis·i.
     himma=tuʔi   wanapɨ   u=bidakʷadui–ssi
     what=any   cloth   3SG:ACC=line–SEQ

     'and any kind of cloth to line it with.'

(34) sújais·i—[kái umúpaa huʔ] kái pas·áwewaʔniju.
     su=yaissi 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 drip[8].'

(35) umúpaas·u húuwynyʔjakʷi pisáa juípyniʔjakʷi.
     u–mupaa–ssu   huu–wɨni–ʔyakʷi   pisa   yui–pɨni–ʔyakʷi
     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=yaissi   tɨwau
     like.so   doing–go.around–RNDM–PTCP=then   also
       i–ka=yaissi   tɨwau tsuga   hani–nnoʔo
       PROX–ACC=then   also   biscuitroot prepare–TEMP
       ooʔno=yaissi   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 ugunákakʷai nobídygaas·i, uká cugá
     haním·akʷys·i.
     himma   passigoʔo=tuʔi   iwa   u=guna–ka–kʷai
     what   camas=any   much   3SG:ACC=firewood–have–AREA
       nobidi–gaa–ssi   u–ka
       living.place–have–SEQ 3SG–ACC
       tsuga   hani–mmakʷɨ–ssi
       biscuitroot prepare–finish–SEQ

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[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 camas[9] when they camped where there was
   plenty of wood after they had finished with the cous.'

(38) abas·ákyna iká cugá.
      a=bassa–kɨ–na   i–ka   tsuga
      4=dry–APPL–PTCP   PROX–ACC   biscuitroot

      'When they had dried it, the cous.'

(39) abas·akyna agotá.
      a=bassa–kɨ–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=dɨwau   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.
      tɨpi–kuba–ku   u–ka   tussu–dɨ
      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, (agʷa) abas·ágaaʔjakʷi
         adydyˊbaki úu ajygʷím·iʔjakʷi.
      tɨpi–kuba–ku   a=dussu–na=yaissi   a=gota–na=yaissi
      rock–upon–LOC   4=grind–PTCP=then   4=spread–PTCP=then
         a=bassa–gaa–ʔyakʷi   a=dɨ~dɨbaki   uu
         4=dry–away–HAB   4=DISTR~put.into   like.so
         a=yɨgʷi–mmi–ʔyakʷi
         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 óoʔnos·u iwáu úuniku tykápygaaʔjakʷi.
      nɨmmi   ooʔno–ssu   iwa–u
      we:EXCL   at.the.time–ADV   much–ACC
         uuni–ku   tɨkabɨ–gaa–ʔyakʷi
         that.kind–ACC   food–have–HAB

      'Long ago we used to have plenty of that kind of food.'

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[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—(kái)—myʔnáaʔwi úu
  maʔnáʔwičaimoona um·újais·i tytybíwadamis·u kočyˊkiʔjakʷi.
  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 tɨ=tɨbiwa–dami–ssu
   they=then LOGO=territory–toward–ADV
   koči–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 pyˊynoʔo múutu uká——
  nɨmmi pɨɨnoʔo 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 tukʷyˊaniʔi mí
  nymyˊ n·iás·an·a·.
  na–noo–gaʔa–ʔyakʷi su=yaissi Warm Springs mii
  MID–carry–away–HAB NOM=then Warm Springs QUOT
   ta=nnia–nna tukʷɨaniʔi mii nɨmɨ
   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 pyˊynoʔo míaʔjakʷi.
  uwi–tuu=čaissi nɨmmi pɨɨnoʔo mia–ʔyakʷi
  DEM–LOC=then we:EXCL as.well go–HAB

  'Then we, too, used to go in there.'

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[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 pɨnnoʔo tsuga–dɨhonna=dimmaʔa
      this.way–LOC go–SEQ as.well biscuitroot–dig.roots=CLITIC
         ooʔnosso pɨnnoʔo
         long.ago as.well

      '(We) went that way, and (we), too, dug cous with some (people)
      who were already there.'

(52) nanódykʷa nymínoo cabíkaas·i us·ú jáu jaʔípy puhágaʔju.
      na–nodɨkʷa nimi–noo   tsabi–kaa–ssi
      MID–wife   we:EXCL–COM join–away–SEQ
         u–ssu   yau yaʔi–pɨ   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) kʷytánimaty tyhónana tyhónana.
      nimmi=yaissi tɨhonna ta   kʷɨtani–ma–tɨ
      we:EXCL=then dig.roots we:DU ridge–on–LOC
         tɨhona–na   tɨhona–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   kɨmaa–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·ady´ʔy óoʔnoʔju tuʔí.
      ni=ssadiʔɨ   ooʔnoʔyu=tuʔi
      1PL:EXCL=dog   that.much=any

      'Our dog was just about that big.'

(57) sújais·i umátu míauʔjakʷi su sady´ʔy.
      su=yaissi   u–ma–tu   mia–u–ʔyakʷi su=sadiʔɨ
      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 ugʷájaʔa py´ynoʔo.
nɨmmi   u=gʷayaʔa   piinoʔo
we:EXCL 3SG:ACC=afar   as.well

'We were far from it ourselves.'

(60) uká ni·sady´ʔy nakíkys·ijais·i iká upitúhu nóoʔoko kykʷákau.
u–ka   ni=sadɨʔɨ   naki–kɨ–ssi=yaissi   i–ka
3SG–ACC   1PL=dog   chase–APPL–SEQ=then   PROX–ACC
    u=pituhu   nooʔo–ko   kɨkʷaka–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, jaʔiu.
ni=ssadɨʔɨ   oo   yaga–mia–u–bodo–na   jaʔi–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) tuʔí igós·ibana haʔús·akʷa maní múʔas·u pawíjaʔiudy.'
tuʔi   igossiba–na   haʔu=ssakʷa   mani   múʔassu
try   lick–PTCP   how=MOD   do   already
    pawi–yaʔi–u–dɨ
    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=tɨ=ssai   na–gɨ–hanni–u–ssi
ACC=LOGO=thigh   MID–IP/BITE–prepare–PFV–SEQ

'His hip was bitten off.'

(64) kadúʔu náana um·ú nymínooty mom·ókoʔnis·y´ʔmy py´y óotyu
    pukúgaana tyhónana.
kaduʔu   naana   ummu   nɨmi–noo–tɨ
gone   men   they   we:EXCL–COM–LOC
    mo~mmokoʔni=ssɨʔmɨ   pɨɨ   oo–tɨ–u
    PL~woman=only   RESTR   out.there–LOC–FOC
    puku–gaa–na   tɨhona–na
    horse–have–PTCP   dig.roots–PTCP

'There were no men with us, only women by themselves on horses
    digging (roots).'

(65) óotyu nidyhón·ajais·i háanomyʔnaʔwigaa nym·í ói.
      oo–tɨ–u   ni=dɨhonna=yaissi   haano
      out.there–LOC–FOC   1PL:EXCL=dig.roots=then   when
        miʔnaʔwi–gaa   nɨmmi   oi
        long.time–away   we:EXCL   DEM

      'There was our digging (place), and I do not know how long we were
         there.'

(66) sú. jais·i nipyáʔa (ca) us·ú puhágaku n·ody΄kʷa—(ty)—ny΄ym·ana—
         (tuu)—tuáʔadus·i.
      su=yaissi   ni=pɨaʔa   u–ssu   puha–ga–ku
      NOM=then   1PL:EXCL=friend   3SG–NOM   power–have–ACC
        nnodɨkʷa   nɨɨmma–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 ubíinatu unátyu tuáʔatu.
      u=huuza–huʔu   uga–u   obi–na–tu   una–tɨ–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 píawabi usukʷáhaʔina udybíŋ·y.
      u–ssu=yaissi   piawabi
      3SG–NOM=then   old.woman
        u=su–kʷahaʔi–na   u=tɨbiŋɨ
        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 utuáʔa.
su=yaissɨ   oi–tu   mia–ssɨ   yau=čaissɨ
NOM=then   DEM–to   go:SG–SEQ   here=then
   u=tuaʔa
   3SG.POSS=child

'When she then went there, there then (was) her child.'

(73) un·akáwaiku tuʔí (igy) uwíis·idu jaʔá un·akáwaiku [uzicágau] uká
     húupi wym·úguduis·i.
u=nnaka–wai–ku   tuʔi
3SG.POSS=ear–AREA–LOC   try
   u=wii–ssɨ=du   yaʔa
   3SG:ACC=drop–SEQ=also   this.way
   u=nnaka–wai–ku   [u=tsɨ–tsaga–u]
   3SG.POSS=ear–AREA–LOC   3SG:ACC=IP/SHARP–kill–PFV
   u–ka   huupi   wɨmmugudui–ssɨ
   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 tytuáʔa óiku uzicágau.
u–ka   tɨ=tuaʔa   oi–ku   u=tsɨ–tsaga–u
3SG–ACC   LOGO=child   DEM–LOC   3SG:ACC=IP/SHARP–kill

'In there she poked that child of hers (to death).'

(75) hmˆm.
aha

Listener: 'Yes.'

(76) us·ú tyháaʔju juʔúciʔi manídapi miʔí.[12]
u–ssu   tɨhaaʔyu   yuʔu–tsɨʔi   mani–dapi   miʔi
3SG–NOM   toddler   this.way–ADV   do–lie.SPL   QUOT

'That (little) child was lying like this (a little), they said.'

(77) óo hapí miʔí.
oo   hapi   miʔi.
over.there   lie:SG   QUOT

'There it was lying, they said.'

(78) upíajais·i pity´s·ijais·i uniky´s·ika.
u=pia=yaissɨ   piti–ssɨ=yaissɨ
3SG.POSS=mother=then   arrive:SG–SEQ=then

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[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–kɨssi–ka
3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH–scold–away

'Her mother then went back and scolded her.'

(79) unikyʹs·ɨka.
u=ni–kɨssi–ka
3SG:ACC=IP/SPEECH–scold–away

'She scolded her.'

(80) us·ú nanájais·i pyʹyno ói sagʷáaʔidim·aʔa.
u–ssu   nana=yaissi pɨino   oi   sagʷaaʔi=dimmaʔa
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—(haʔúu)—nymíbaaʔju miʔá.
oo–to=čaissi   nɨmmi   u–ssu=yaissi   haʔuu
DEM–LOC=then   we:EXCL   3SG–NOM=then   HESIT
    nɨmi–baa–ʔyu   miʔa
    we:EXCL–by–from   go:DUR

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

(82) kočyʹkaagaa, tytuís·i píabyguba kočyʹkaa nymíbaaʔju.
koči–kaa=gaa   tɨ=tuissi–piabɨ–guba   koči–kaa
return–away=MOD   LOGO=horse–female–on   return–away
    nɨmi–baa–ʔyu
    we:EXCL–LOC–from

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

(83) kokóčykaa nymíbaaʔju.
ko~koči–kaa   nɨmi–baa–ʔyu
DISTR~return–away   we:EXCL–by–from

'He was gone away from us.'

(84) uká ibía pym·í niníkysikas·i.
u–ka   i=bia   pɨmmi
3SG–ACC   1SG.POSS=mother 3.RESTR
    ni~ni–kɨsi–ka–ssi
    DISTR~IP/SPEECH–scold–away–SEQ

'After my mother had scolded him.'

(85) nym·ís·yʔmyčais·i uká nanánoo tywáu.
nɨmmi=ssiʔmɨ=čaissi u–ka   nana–noo   tɨwau
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   nɨmmi   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·adyʹyjais·i jaʔí.
ni=ssadɨɨ=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.
nɨmmi   oo   no–moo–čai–moo–na
we:EXCL   DEM IP/ROUND–travel:PL–go.around–RNDM:PL–PTCP
    yaissi   u–ka–u   tɨhaʔa–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=gɨssi–ka–ssi   uwi–u=čaissi   u–ssu   nana
    3SG:ACC=angry–away–SEQ DEM–FOC=then 3SG–NOM man
    u=dɨbizi–makʷɨ–kʷɨnai–pɨ
    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.
mɨ=nakaabi–ssi=yaissi   nɨmmi   pɨnnoʔo
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.
nɨmmi=yaissi   mɨʔnaaʔwi   ooʔnoo–na=yaissi
we:EXCL=then   long.time   at.that.time–PTCP=then

    nɨmmi   pɨnnoʔo   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   nɨmmi   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 waháʔju tuʔi
    waham·agoʔo.
su=saidukaʔa   uu   sissimmi–magoʔo   hɨɨ–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=dɨɨba–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=yɨkʷi
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 ujykʷí.
      uu   u=yɨkʷi
      like.so   3SG:ACC=do

      'That's the way (they) arranged it.'

(102) nym·íjais·i, úu um·ú maním·akʷys·ijais·i nym·í pyn·óʔo—
      tymámakʷys·idim·aʔa nin·obíatim·aʔa múʔas·u iwáʔju.
      nɨmmi=yaissi   uu   ummu
      we:EXCL=then   like.so   they
        mani–mmakʷɨ–ssi=yaissi
        do/make–finish–SEQ=then
        nɨmmi   pɨnnoʔo–
        we:EXCL   as.well
        tɨ–ma~makʷɨ–ssi=dimmaʔa
        ANTIP–DISTR~finish–SEQ=CLITIC
        ni=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 kočyʹkaa óʔnoojais·i nan·ápokai.
      nɨmmi=yaissi   pɨnnoʔo   koči–kaa   oʔnoo=yaissi
      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   pɨnnoʔo   muu–tu   miʔa
      they   as.well   DEF:DIR–to   go:PL

      'They went the other way by themselves.'

CATCHING SPARROW HAWKS[13]

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 Liljeblad 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 ['] preceeding the consonant, and (2) stress, being predictable, is left unmarked. Therefore, proclitics are written as separate words, whereas Liljeblad 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 apostophe ['] is used in the first tier (Nichols's transcription) in place of glottal stop.

(1) Ny'mi u'my u yytyyty tua'my
     nɨmmi   umɨ–u   itɨɨtɨ   tua–mɨ
     we:EXCL they–FOC sparrow.hawk child–PL

     'We, those sparrow-hawk chicks,'

(2) oo ty'pi'zkwai'ku, my hima'tua.
     oo   tɨpi–kwai–ku   mɨ=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.
     nɨmmi   yaisi mɨ=hima–si   nobi–kwai–tu
     we:EXCL then   PL=take.up–SEQ house–AREA–to

     'and we brought them to the house.'

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

(5) My hima'ki'si ny'mi u
    mɨ=hima–ki–si   nɨmmi   oo
    PL=take.up–toward–SEQ we:EXCL yonder

    'Having brought them there, we,'

(6) wopi'kwai my wy'ty'ma
    wobi–kwai   mɨ=wɨtima
    box–AREA   PL=enclose

    'shut them up in a box,'

(7) my wy'ty'mana, my ma'kaja'kwi.
    mɨ=wɨtima–na   mɨ=maka–ʔyakwi
    PL=enclose–PTCP PL=feed–HAB

    'shut them up and would feed them.'

(8) My ma'kajaina ymy naana pi'tyka.
    mɨ=maka–ʔyai–na   ɨmɨ   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.
    nɨmmi   maa–tɨ–tɨ   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   nɨmɨ   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   nɨmmi   yaisi mɨ=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   nɨmmi   mɨ=maka–yakwi   tɨɨtsi=tuʔi   tɨwa–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   ɨmɨ   u=maka–ʔyakwi   ɨmɨ–u
grasshopper   they   3SG:ACC=feed–HAB   they–FOC

'grasshoppers, they would feed them, those,'

(16) yytyyty tua'my,
ɨɨdɨɨdɨ   tua–mɨ
sparrow.hawk   child–PL

'sparrow-hawk chicks,'

(17) uni'ku ny'mi naana pi'tyka.
uuni–ku   nɨmmi   naana–pitɨ–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.
ɨmɨ   yaisi   naana–pɨ   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   yozɨ   manai–pitɨ–ga–si
like.so   do–ADV   fly:PL   happen–arrive–away–SEQ
    oo=su   yozɨ–bodo–ʔyakwi
    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.
tuʔi=haanano   tsiʔa–tɨyai–naʔa   jaa   nɨmɨ
any=when   hunger–die:SG–PTCP   here   people
    ma–tɨ–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,
      nɨmmi   yaisi   tɨwa–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   kammɨ–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   mɨ=ma–naana–pitɨ–ka–si   yaisi   nɨmmi
      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.
      ɨmɨ   yaisi   yozɨ–bodo–čakwi   tɨwa–su   oʔo
      they   then   fly:PL–around–HAB   also–ADV   yonder
         pi~pitɨ–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   pitɨ–mani–pitɨ–ga   ɨmɨ   gaa   mia–pɨ
      NEG   arrive–do–arrive–away   they   MOD   go–PERF

      'Then they didn't come; they must have left.'

(26) That's it