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KUIYUIDłKADł (PYRAMID LAKE RESERVATION, NEVADA)

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The Pyramid Lake Reservation is about an hour's drive northeast of Reno, Nevada. As such, it lies close to the major isogloss boundary that separates Oregon Northern Paiute (including Bannock) from Nevada Northern Paiute (Paviotso). The lake, a remnant of ancient Lake Lahontan, is home to the endemic Lahontan cutthroat trout, known locally as *kuiyui*, and is a popular fishery.

The story of Cannibal Owl, along with a few others, was recorded on a wax cylinder around 1914 (Fowler 1986). This recording of Gilbert Natches from the Pyramid Lake Reservation was made by T. T. Waterman. Waterman had been collaborating with W. L. Marsden, the physician from Burns, Oregon, who had recorded hundreds of pages of notes, vocabularies, and texts with Captain Louie and other Northern Paiute speakers from that area. After Marsden's untimely death, Natches was enlisted to assist in analyzing the Burns materials, with mixed success, given the featural distinctions in dialect between the two varieties. Natches' transcription skills, however, resulted in the publication of a few stories in the same UCPAAE volume wherein appears a sample of the Marsden and Louie texts (Natches 1923; Marsden 1923).

This is the only story that has an accompanying audio recording. The audio quality is fair to good, considering the fact that it was recorded on a wax cylinder over a century ago. Natches utilizes the same system for writing as is used in the published Marsden materials, most notably the letter 'e' for phonetic [i]. The signature differences are that Natches includes accents (helpful in determining word and clitic boundaries) and utilizes small capital letters to indicate voiceless vowels (somewhat less helpful for being inconsistent). The English free translation is a slight modification of the original, as Natches' translation is quite stilted and difficult, at times, to follow.

CANNIBAL OWL

GILBERT NATCHES, NARRATOR

 Semégadewá su teá'ayU nináizAyáina. simi=ga tiwasu tia?ayu ninaiza-yai-na one=MOD again toddler bawl-HAB-PTCP
 'Once a child would not stop crying.'

¹ See the Introduction to this issue.

(2) Pemmítenitézunakena kai dza'éna yagána mi ená'wina; pɨmmi tɨ=nitɨzuna-kɨ-na kai tsa?ɨna RESTR:PL LOGO=tease-APPL-PTCP NEG ceasing yaga-na mii ɨna?wi-na, cry-PTCP QUOT wail-PTCP

'Due to their teasing, it did not cease crying, so it wailed;'

(3) tenábukwakásisapA nemé kúbayu yagána mi ená'wi.
tinapokwa-kaa-si=sapa nimi-kuba-?yu yaga-na
fall.asleep:PL-away-SEQ=MOD people-upon-from cry-PTCP
mii ina?wi
QUOT wailing

'and after all had lain down to sleep, it continued crying and wailing over the people.'

- (4) Yáisi su upiá odu'ínisé'a, yaisi su=u=pia u=du?i-ni-si?a then NOM=3SG.POSS=mother 3SG:ACC=try-IP/SPEECH-be.afraid 'Then so its mother tried to scare it, saying'
- (5) "Iná e kwaináde su muhú mi eníkina e má'no kai yagápaana."
 ina ii kwaina-di su=muhu mii
 here you afar-NMLZ NOM=owl QUOT
 ini-ki-na ii maa?no kai yaga-paana
 say-toward-PTCP you finish NEG cry-PROH
 - "The Owl (will hear) you from afar, and so you had better not cry."
- (6) "Ewíhuga!" mi su upiá odu'ínitámatsagati.²
 iwi-hu-gaa! mii su=u=pia
 sleep.SG-PFV-away QUOT NOM=3SG.POSS=mother
 u=du?i-nitama-tsagati
 3SG:ACC=try-tell-continuously
 - "Go to sleep!" so its mother tried to tell it all the time.
- (7) Yaisi su teá'ayU kai dzá'éna mi ena'wína. yaisi su=tia'ayu kai tsa'ina then NOM=toddler NEG ceasing mii ina'awi—na QUOT call.out—PTCP

'Then the child wailed without ceasing.'

(8) Yaísi su paidzó'o mi naniádE o nakátsaikina, yaisi su=paidzo?o mii na-nia-dithen NOM=cannibal QUOT MID-call-NMLZ

 $^{^2}$ In Liljeblad et al. (2012), tsagati appears as a free morpheme. It is notably absent from the northern (ONP) dialects.

o=nakatsai-ki-na 3SG:ACC=hear-toward-PTCP

'And so the Cannibal, (Paidzo'o) so called, came along hearing it,'

(9) su paidzó'oga ína hánakwana nemé nanémewágina mígA eníkina. su=paidzo?o=ga ina haanakwana nɨmɨ NOM=cannibal=MOD here from.wherever person nanɨmɨ—wa-gi-na mii=ga ɨni-ki-na relation-??-toward-PTCP QUOT=MOD say-toward-PTCP

'and the Cannibal must have (come along) here from somewhere to where the people were, and doing so came saying (something).'

(10) Yaísiga su opiá onakápana kái odékwi'I.

yaisi=ga su=u=pia u=naka=paana then=MOD NOM=3SG.POSS=mother 3SG:ACC=hear=PROH kai u=diikwi?i NEG 3SG:ACC=tell

'Then its mother may have heard it, but didn't tell (the child).'

(11) Yáisiga su paidzó'o ku nobíkwaitu tsibúigina. yaisi=ga su=paidzo?o ku nobi-kwai-tu then=MOD NOM=cannibal PTC house-AREA-to tsibui-gi-na emerge-toward-PTCP

'Then the Cannibal arrived at the house.'

- (12) Yáisi su teá'ayU omayéhU. yaisi su=tia'ayu u=mayi-hu then NOM=toddler 3SG:ACC=find-PFV 'Then the child perceived her.'
- (13) "Edá, ibiá hitáatu tsibúigina?" míiga.
 ida i=bia hitaatu tsibui-gi-na mii=ga
 Eda 1sG.Poss=mother what emerge.sG-toward-PTCP QUOT=MOD

 "Eda, my mother, what is that coming out of (there)?" it said.'
- (14) "Hitú Edá?" míga enísi su opiá otámi ododzágahu.
 hi-tu ida mii=ga ini-si su=u=pia
 thing-to Eda QUOT=MOD say-SEQ NOM=3SG.POSS=mother
 u-tami u=dodzaga-hu
 3SG-toward 3SG:ACC=shove-PFV

 "What Eda?" said (magkingky) its mather, and maked it

"What, Eda?" said (mockingly) its mother, and pushed it toward it."

(15) Yáisiga su páidzo'o tehkawónowaitu owenáihU tsibúikuha tenobítamisu.

yaisi=ga su=paidzo?o ti=kawono-wai-tu
then=MOD NOM=cannibal LOGO=burden.basked-AREA-to
u=winai-hu tsibuikuga ti=nobi-tami-su
3SG:ACC=throw:SG-PFV emerged LOGO=house-toward-ADV

'Then the Cannibal set it in its burden basket and went out toward her house.'

- (16) Yaísi yagámina.
 - yaisi yaga-mina then cry-go.around

'Then it cried.'

(17) Yaisi tenobíkwai pitégasi,

yaisi ti=nobi-kwai piti-ga-si then LOGO=house-AREA arrive-away-SEQ

'Then having arrived at her house,'

(18) yaisi tepíkuba odegé otsohó.

yaisi tipi-kuba u=digi u=tsoho

then rock-upon 3SG:ACC=put:SG 3SG:ACC=crush

'she placed it on a rock and crushed it.'

(19) Otsohóna yáisi ku ikídzopígi igítsagati.

u=tsoho–na yaisi ku iki tsopigi

3SG:ACC=crush_PTCP then PTC scoop brains igi_tsagati

scoop-continuously

'As she pounded it, she scooped out the brains.'

(20) Yaísi, "Mm! Pizákama!" míga enína ku ikídzopigikI igítsagati.

yaisi mm pisa-kama mii=ga ini-na ku then mm good-taste QUOT=MOD say-PTCP PTC

iki tsopigi–ki igi–tsagati

scoop brains-toward scoop-continuously

'Then "Mm! It tastes delicious!" so she said, continuing to scoop the brains out.'

(21) Mísu muhú nanátenitu'ibenó'o.

mii su=muhu na~na-tinitu?i pino?o QUOT NOM=owl DISTR~MID-teach as.well

'So it is, the Owl that they tell the story about.'