

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE LANGUAGE
OF OREGON

BY

W. L. MARSDEN

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EDITOR'S NOTE

During twenty-two years of successful practice of medicine in Burns, Oregon, Dr. W. L. Marsden came into frequent contact with the Northern Paiute of the vicinity. He helped them, received their liking and confidence, became interested in their language, acquired a fairly fluent speaking knowledge of it, and devoted himself to its recording and analysis. Finding kindred interests at the University of California, he entered into relations with the Department of Anthropology, which were long maintained with mutual sympathy and satisfaction. As one outcome of the coöperation thus established, Professor T. T. Waterman, in 1910, during a stay of Dr. Marsden in San Francisco, with his practical assistance undertook a laboratory study of the phonetic elements of Northern Paiute, the results of which were published in volume 10 of this series. On Dr. Marsden's untimely death in 1913, his valuable collection of interlinear texts and grammatical notes was given to the University by Mrs. Marsden. Dr. Marsden having begun only shortly before a revision of his orthography and the ordering of his grammatical notes, the carrying out of this task fell to the University as his scientific heir; but the bulk of the materials has as yet prevented completion of the editing, and delayed publication. The present paper furnishes a brief sample of Dr. Marsden's important assemblage of data, to the extent of five of his forty or more texts and a check list of the principal formative and grammatical elements found in the dialect, the latter serving the analysis of the texts. The orthography is that employed by Professor Waterman in his phonetic investigation, except that the characters *ü* and *ty* have been replaced by *e* and *ts*. It should be added that the study by Mr. Gilbert Natches of the Northern Paiute dialect of Nevada, which follows Dr. Marsden's paper in this volume, was initiated to supplement the latter's labors.

FORMATIVE AND GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS

PREFIXES

Instrumental, on verb stems:

- A. ma-|,¹ with the hand
- B. ni-:|,¹ with speech
- C. su-:, with mental action.
- D. ta-:, with the foot
- E. to-:, with a long object
- F. tsa-:, by sustained force
- G. tsi-|, with a point
- H. tso-:, with the head
- I. we-:, with the body, broadly

Grammatical, on verbs:

- J. na-|, reflexive; reciprocal; passive. When the number is dual or indeterminate, na- is used; for a specific plural, nana-; nai- also occurs
- K. nama-|, dative reflexive, for oneself. Perhaps J + A

Pronominal, on verbs and nouns:

- L. i-|, me, my
- M. s-i-|, s-e-:, my, your, on subjective nouns
- N. ki-|, my, on oblique nouns
- O. e-:, you, your, singular
- P. te-:, his, her; proclitic, does not affect the accent
- Q. te-|, him, indefinite object, making transitive; incorporated element, drawing the accent
- R, S, T. a-|, o-|, u-|, third person objective; a-:, o-:, third person possessive. These elements are of demonstrative origin.
- U. mi-:, us, our, inclusive
- V. ta-:, us, our, exclusive
- W. me-|, third person plural, second person singular, objective and possessive.

¹ The symbol "1" in this list indicates that a following organically indeterminate stop becomes sonant and so briefly occluded as to sound almost fricative; the symbol ":" that the stop becomes surd and its occlusion prolonged, other sounds, such as n and s, appearing also to be lengthened, and w appearing as kw. This is in accord with Waterman's discrimination of the two types of stops and Sapir's law (*Am. Anthr.*, n.s., xvii, pp. 102 ff., 1915), determined first in Southern Paiute but apparently applicable to the Shoshonean languages generally, that stopped consonants occurring medially after voiced vowels assume three forms: geminated or lengthened, spirantized, and nasalized. Which form they assume seems to be in the main dependent on something in the quality or history of the stem which they follow. Thus, in Southern Paiute, tümpi, stone, lengthens, añka, red, spirantizes, and ovi, wood, nasalizes, an immediately following stop. In Northern Paiute the nasalized stops do not occur, and the spirantized ones only approach this quality, being rather sonant stops with brief and loose articulation; hence the orthographies b, d, g, gw, dz. The gemination has not been indicated in the texts here presented: every medial p, t, k, kw, ts is to be read as wholly surd and long. Medial kw has two sources in Northern Paiute. Organic w becomes kw when it follows a stem that lengthens, remains w after one that "spirantizes." Organic kw lengthens to kw, spirantizes to gw.

SUFFIXES PRIMARILY OF VERBS²*Tense, Mode, Aspect, Derivation:*

1. -na, incomplete action; -na-su (1+74), durative
2. -pe, completed action
3. -hu, aorist, past and present tense
4. -si, narrative preterite; perhaps also conditional
5. -kwe, impending or intended action; often future, but can be past, "was about to."
6. -tua, future of certainty
7. -sa'a, future of uncertainty
8. -puni, continuative, characteristic state
9. -ka, dubitative, quotative; perhaps often preterite
10. -wa, dubitative, quotative, inferential
11. -pa-na, compulsion or prohibition
12. -kuha, begin to
13. -sa-kwa, obligation, should
14. -sa-pa, permissive, imperative, may
15. -ku, -ku-ti, causative
16. -no'o, pe-no', kwi-no'o, also, too, the same; like; with (on noun)
17. -su-sa'a, (cf. 7), again
18. -watni, be able, be like
19. -tui, all kinds, every way, somehow, indefinitely
20. -sani, repeatedly
21. -ya-ga, strong desiderative; perhaps to "cry for"
22. -yai, the same meaning as the last
23. -ha'a, interrogative
24. -mani, durative, usitative
25. -yekwi, to do, do thus, cause
26. -we-na, -wene, be in the condition of, continue to be
27. -ka, away, off; going from
28. -ki, -ki-na, toward, hither; coming to
29. -mi, mi-na, along, moving along, continuing
30. -tu, make, cause to be (cf. 19)
31. -ta'a, he who, that which (transitive)
32. -ti'a, he who, that which (intransitive)
33. -pi-na, he who (emphatic)
34. -tiwa, again
35. -te, customary agent

² No suffix is limited to any part of speech. Any suffix or enclitic can be attached to any stem, apparently, if the meaning warrants. In the same way stems which we should classify as substantival, verbal, etc., are indiscriminately compounded, verb with verb, noun with noun, noun with verb, pronoun with adverb.

"Suffixes" of position and motion (evidently verb stems):

- 36. -tapi, lying
- 37. -hapi, lying, singular
- 38. -kwabi, lying, dual
- 39. -pukwa, lying, plural
- 40. -kate, sitting, singular
- 41. -yigwi, sitting, dual
- 42. -ata, sitting, plural
- 43. -wini, standing, singular
- 44. -wami, standing, dual
- 45. -kono, standing, plural
- 46. -nemi, moving, singular (cf. 29)
- 47. -mo, moving, dual or plural
- 48. -podo, around, moving in a circle

SUFFIXES PRIMARILY OF NOUNS

Formative:

- 49, 50, 51. -pa, -pe, -pi, noun endings
- 52. -tsi, tsi'i, diminutive; respect, endearment
- 53. -nau, friend
- 54. -bañi, privative

Number:

- 55. -me, plural (on a few nouns)
- 56. -ki'i, dual (on a few nouns)

Adverbial "Cases":

- 57. -ma, instrumental (cf. prefix A)
- 58. -ma, maiyu, -matu, in, on, to
- 59. -wai, (-kwai), in
- 60. -tu, -wai-tu, at
- 61. -pi, in
- 62. -pa, -pa-tu, at, place of, where
- 63. -ku-ba, on
- 64. -tami, toward
- 65. -nakwa, toward, beyond, behind
- 66. -ko-pi-na, before
- 67. -tuka, under
- 68. -naga, within
- 69. -kemaba, alongside

Possession:

- 70. -ka, possession, if not inherent (-ka-na, -ka-yu, -ka-ku = ka + 66, 67, 68)
- 71. -na, -naha, exclusive or restricted possession

SUFFIXES PRIMARILY OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

- 72. -yu, animate
- 73. -ku, inanimate, collective
- 74. -su, adverbial; also ending of demonstratives and reflexive pronoun.

SUFFIXES PRIMARILY OF PRONOUNS

Personal:

- 75. -ka, ending of first person singular; also on demonstratives
- 76. -mi, ending of first person plural, etc.
- 77. -me, ending of third person plural, etc., (cf. 54)
- 78. -ti, ti-u, emphatic, absolute

Demonstrative:

- 79. -hu, manner (thus)
- 80. -no, -no'o, -t-no, measure, time (so much), (cf. 16)
- 81. -na, at (there)
- 82. -wi, about (thereabout)
- 83. -pi, in (therein)

TEXTS

1. THE CAVE MYTH

1. Eme isa tekwañano onazu miana yipuwaitu yaisi onazu patehetsa maiyihuna yaisi idza'a oka maiyihu ne patehetsa ya'a tsagi'i. 2. Yaisi pabi'i nedza'a mi'i nedza'a kwati mi'i. 3. Yaisi oka kwaña nano ta mi'i. 4. Yaisi ya'atu mia yaisi tsagi'i yaisi ogwati nano. 5. Otnohupina patehetsa opatsasi yaisi onazu mia nobikwaitu. 6. Yaisi onazu pabi'i tebiña hau'u e ipabi'i ka tehetsa yegwina kai kwitsoaikuti mi'ipina. 7. Onazu ne mia oka tepidu ne atsakwunaihu otnohu usu tehetsa ya'a tetsibuikina mi'i opabi'i otekwi'i oka idza'a. 8. Otnohupina ne patsa mi'i semene patsasi togi mi'ipina oka oka idza'a tekwi'ina. 9. Otnohupina ne owitu atsakwunaihu mi'ipina oka tekwaña'a tekwi'ina. 10. Otnohu piza mi'i tekwi'ina. 11. Yaisi tekwaña mia. 12. Ne opunikwe mi'i. 13. Yaisi onazu obuni. 14. Yahukwino'o mi'i usu idzaa. 15. Yaisi piza ne sunami mi'i usu idzaa mihu yatuana. 16. Yaisi atsakwunaisi tsagi'i katipuni. 17. Yaisi usu tehetsa kima yaisi usu okwati usu idzaa otehomaina. 18. Yaisi semewaa atsakwunaihu oka natsatima yaisi oka tehetsa iwaiyu kima hitui koipatui hitui tinatui hitui patehetsatui hitui sona'atui hitui woyunatui hitui ikwitsikwidzatui hitui tokakwidzatui. 19. Yaisi isu kaiba kusi timataina yaisi usu pabi'i opunina oka kusiba yaisi piza osopidakwatu. 20. Usu idza'a kai sunamina atsakwunaihu mihu usu sunami usu pabi'i. 21. Otnohupina sagwaii. 22. Isa nobikwai habidza. 23. Yaisi usu idza'a ka tehetsa tsipuikisi iwa akwipana kai tegwati.
24. Otnohupina ka mihu yadua hi yaisi kai tu'igwina mi'ipina yaduana yaisi yotsihu yaisi tekwua yu'u yegwina matsiginana. 25. Otnohupina temadonunuinoma iwa'a patsisi onatu tepabi'ino nobikwaitu mia. 26. Yaisi tepabi'iba pitega. 27. Opabi'i isamotsakwati'itapi. 28. Yaisi usu idza'a pite. 29. Ya'a ne tehetsanaginit-saga'a neno pite mi'i yadua. 30. Mihupina usu idza'a yaduana. 31. Ya'a tedeka mi'i yotsisi mi'i. 32. Yaisi usu isa onazu habi sagwaiina.

TRANSLATION

1. THE CAVE MYTH

1. They, Gray-Wolf and-his-brother, yonder were-going, in-the-valley, and yonder an-elk finding, then Coyote: "That found I an-elk there close-by." 2. Then the-older-brother: "I-am-going," he-said, "I-am-going to-shoot," he-said. 3. Then that the-younger-brother: "Both we," said. 4. Then there-to (they)-went, then, close; and that-shot both. 5. Then-it-was, the-elk having-killed, then yonder went to-the-house. 6. Then yonder the-older-brother (he)-asked, "How-(do)-you, my-brother, the deer manage not you-cause-them-to-escape?" he said. 7. "Yonder I go; those rocks I remove, then the deer there come-out," so his-older-brother him-told, him Coyote. 8. "Then-it-is I kill," he-said, "(when)-one have-killed, it-is-well," he-said to-him, to-him, Coyote, told. 9. "Then-it-is I in-there (the-rocks)-throw," so-it-was to-him, his-younger-brother, telling. 10. "Then good," so-he was-telling. 11. Then his-younger-brother went. 12. "I that-will-see," he-said. 13. Then yonder that-saw. 14. "Here-(it-is)!" he-said, he, Coyote. 15. Then, "Good I feel," he-said, he, Coyote; this talking. 16. Then having-thrown-away-(the rocks), close-by sat-down. 17. Then the deer came; then he them-shot-at, he, Coyote; them-missing. 18. Then every-one (he)-threw-away that door, and-then the deer many-of-them came; some-things, mountain-sheep; some-things, antelope; some-things, elk; some-things, bear; some-things, bear-cubs; some-things, black-bear; some-things, brown-bear. 19. Then these mountains dust showing (?), then he, the-older-brother, that-seeing, that dust, then well understood. 20. "He, Coyote, no sense-(having), has-opened-(the-door)," this he thought, he, the-older-brother. 21. Then-it-was (he)-was-angry. 22. Gray-Wolf in-house (went-and)-lay-down. 23. Then he, Coyote, the deer having-come-out, many had-to-shoot-at; not them-hit.

24. Then-it-was he this talked: "What now, not it-smelling?" so-it-was he-was-talking; then he-rose-up; then membrum-virile in-this-way doing, shaking. 25. Then-it-was his-fire-drill-with a-fawn having-killed, there-to his-older-brother-with in-the-house went. 26. Then his-older-brother's-home-at arrived. 27. His-older-brother was-lying-covered-with-a-wolf-skin. 28. Then he, Coyote, came. 29. "Here I a-deer-fawn I-with come," so-he talked. 30. This-it-was he, Coyote, was-talking. 31. "Here, we-eat," he-said, after-(you)-get-up," he-said. 32. Then he, Gray-Wolf, yonder lay, angry-being.

33. Otnozupina panitogokwa tokayu setayu hitui nemedzohotitui hitui pa'oha'atui mihu nanatenitsuiba. 34. Otnozu iwayu ibitu tipogiwaitu tibiwayayu no'okozu hitui. 35. Pabayu nana hitu'i manimutu togokwatu'i hitui panitogokwatui himatui kutsunatui hitui pa'oha'atui uniyuhupina usu neme na.

36. Tipetu manimutu ya'atu wogopitutui. 37. Mi'i yaduana epina setaiyu neme mi'i yaduana. 38. E obi tibiwaga mi'i yaduana. 39. Obi tawagana kumazu tipewaitu mi'i pabayu nana yaduana. 40. Obitu mia obitu tibiwaga mi'i yaduana usu nememanimututi. 41. Esa'a ya'atu neme suatua mi'i yaduana. 42. Otnohupina obi odaya. 43. Obina obunina usu nememanimutute usu nemedzohoti ya'atu suana otnohupina obitu tayana. 44. Ona kuyui pawaitu inakwa usu tipe-tawagana ona semekwaitu namanakapa inakwa tabatsibuinakwa usu teputawagana. 45. O'opina oga setako to. 46. Ohu oga pabayu nana tenimatigupe.

47. E idzaa kai ibitu miapana mi'ipina usu pabi'i isu isa mihu onitamana oka tekwaña'a. 48. Otnohupina ka idzaa yau iwihu tipeawaitu sudzaii mi'i kai tekapana mi'i otnohu usu idza'a kayahu iwihu tepewaitu kai omugua hano mia yahuzu usu mogua iwihuzu. 49. Mihupina natenitsui. 50. Otnohu usu idza'a mugua yahu kaiyaiwatniyu yaazu nemetuana usu mogua eme timataipena. 51. Usu idzaa himatui seta mayigwina otnohu kai ibitu mia obi tsoapatipewawaitu.

52. Owihu usu opabi'i ozagwaiikusi uhupina usu nememanimutute ka tepe mayigwina oga tipe pabatipogi tawagakina owitu oga setako tayapu. 53. Otnohu usu setaiyu miapu usu hitui nemedzohoti usu hi nemetekade usu nemewatinizu tabe'ade usu setayu usuhu hisapaga uniyuhu. 54. Usuhuzu usu nememanimutute usuhu mihu neme tenitsui.

55. Patepogi pa'oha'a tipewa mihu nania otnozu patipogi mi'i otnozu umu mumuakimade. 56. Iwayu mi'i obunina owihu kai isaya'i. 57. Mihupina usu pa'oha'a titanobina o'otui tikuyana.

33. Of-old-it-was the-lake-rattlesnake a-hole-had; bad something, Indian-crushers-(Giants); something, Water-babies (water-imps); so-are the-traditions. 34. Of-old many-(there-were) in-there in-Malheur-Cave lived; all-of (these)-things. 35. The-Great Man things created: snakes; something, the-lake-rattlesnake; some-things, the-buffalo; something, the-Water-babies; this-kind-it-was he, the-people's Father.

36. Rocks created; there, fire-wood, the-pine-trees. 37. So he-talked: "You-are evil people," so he-talked. 38. "You in-there live," so-he talked. 39. "In-that hole; a-different country-in," so the-Great Man talked. 40. "In-there go! In-there live!" so he-talked, he, the-Indian-Creator. 41. "You-will here the-people destroy-will," so he-talked. 42. Then-it-was in-there them-sent. 43. There-it-was them-seeing, he, the-Indian-Creator, them the-Indian-crushers, there destroying, then-it-was in-there sending. 44. Yonder Sucker-Lake-at (Pyramid Lake) this-way the earth-hole-is; yonder one-hundred miles on-this-side, sun-rise-direction, the earth-hole. 45. There-it-is that bad hole. 46. There the-Great Man (them)-sentenced.

47. "You, Coyote, not in-there must-go!" so-it-was he, the-older-brother, the Gray-Wolf, this to-him-told, him, his-younger-brother. 48. Then-it-was to-him, Coyote: "Now here on-this-earth freeze-to-death," he-said; "not eat-must," he-said, then he, Coyote, here in-this country; not his-soul anywhere goes; here-is the soul, in-this-place. 49. So-is-the tradition. 50. Then he, Coyote's, soul here cannot-die; here is-being-created, the soul strong conjured-being. 51. He, Coyote, some-things bad doing, then not in-there go into the-Spirit-country.

52. About-that he, his-older-brother, him-having-been-made-angry, so-it-was he, the-Indian-Creator, that earth made; that earth a-great-cave excavating; into-it those evil-things sent. 53. Then they the-evil-ones are-gone, he, some-thing, the-Indian-crusher; he, thing, the-Indian-eater, he, (he-who)-an-Indian-like appeared, he, the-evil-one; he-was something-unknown kind. 54. It-was-by-him, him, the-Indian-Creator; he-it-was this the-people taught.

55. The-Water-Cave-(Malheur-Cave), the-Water-babies' country, this-was named of-old; the-water-cave, so of-old they, first-comers-(fore-fathers). 56. Many they-said them-seeing in-there no lie. 57. So-it-is they, the-Water-babies, build-with-rocks; somewhere piling-up-rocks.

58. Obinakwa tipetawaga obihupina isu kuma'azu neme mihupina nanatenitsui. 59. Iwayu pukugayu mi'i iwayu tehetsagayu mi'i. 60. Mihi usu nememanimutute usuhu mihi tetu'ame tenitsui. 61. Nemewatnizu tabe'a mi'i tetu'ame tenitsui. 62. Kuma'azu mi'i obituzu neme mi'i kai nega tu'ame mi'i. 63. Mihupina oka tetu'ame tenitsui otnozu neme manimutusi. 64. Kai tepagayu mi'i onitama okwitakina odeka mi'i ohutui odekanasapa uniyuhu mi'i usu nememanimutute. 65. Ibitu katohu pa mi'i pabayu pa katohu mi'i ibitu pizayu pahutu mi'ipina patsona mi'i pizayu. 66. Usu nega tepe imayigwina. 67. Mihi oka tetu'ame tenitsui. 68. Owituhu ne oga setaku tayabibu'a.

2. THE THUNDER BADGER

1. Usu niniaba sakwaiina ka oka tapi pasape oka kai osogokaku osogokakukwesi oka pa pasape.

2. Usu niniaba paumaba pabi'i kumiba pidakwabatu tibiwayagu. 3. Husiabagayu usu niniaba mataiti hunakwatnizu tabe'ada paumaba temataiti usu niniaba. 4. Tihiwisi tugupa'atu anuna otnohu ka kumiakina yaisi paumakina oka tipe nasagwai'ikukina niniabakina tukwukwitsikina seda enikina.

5. Usu tibitsi huna semezu motohawoyua ibitu hupodotu. 6. Usuta'a sikwi huna uniyuhu. 7. Usu niniaba mataiti oka tipe pasape kai pizapi tehuwina ku atsimapanana. 8. Otnohu ka tugupa'atu anudzakwi ka paumabituna yaisi ka kumiakina.

3. THE SACRED WOLF-TRACKS

1. Yaisi ka nememanimutute mia kwaia'a oka mogotnino onat kwaia'at pamanapatu. 2. Mihi nanatenitsui.

3. Yaisi ka kamuazu isu maiyupana nai'i yaisi isu tipe kutyuma mihi.

58. Inside the-earth-hole inside-there-are these different people; so-are the-traditions. 59. Many horses-have, they-said; many deer-have, they-say. 60. This he, the-Indian-Creator, he-was this-was to-his-children taught. 61. "People-like (they)-appear," so his-children taught. 62. "Different," he-said, those-in-there people," he-said, "Not my children," he-said. 63. This-it-is them, his-children, taught, of-old (after)-the-people were-created. 64. "No mouths-(they)-have," he-so told-them; "through-their-nostrils they-eat," he-said; "there they-are-used-to-eat; (they)-are-this-kind," he-said, he, the-Indian-Creator. 65. "Inside-there there-is-no-water," he-said; "great water there-is-none," he-said; "in-there good river," so-it-is, "springs," he-said, "good-(ones)." 66. "That, my earth, I-made." 67. This his his-children taught. 68. "Into-that-place I those evil-things sent."

2. THE THUNDER BADGER

1. He, the-Thunder, when-is-angry that, that earth has-dried-up; that not moist-earth-has, that-moist-earth-he-desires-to-cause, that water dried-up.

2. He, the-Thunder, the-Rain Chief, the-cloud surface-on lives. 3. (He)-has-frost; he, the-Thunder sorcerer, a-badger-like appears; the-Rain Sorcerer, he, the-Thunder. 4. After-he-digs, to-the-sky he-lifts-his-head-up, then the clouds-come; then the-rain-comes; that earth cursing-comes; the-Thunder-comes; the-lightning-comes, evil saying-comes.

5. He, the-real badger, alone white-stripes-on-his-nose-(and) in-here on-the-back. 6. He-it-is just the-badger; this-kind-(it-is). 7. He, the-Thunder Sorcerer, that earth dried-up (does)-not like, (when)-digging, in-that-manner scratching. 8. Then that sky-to raising-his-head, that the-rain-makes; then that cloud-comes.

3. THE SACRED WOLF TRACKS

1. Then he, the-Indian-Creator, went far-away his woman-with yonder afar-off across-the-water. 2. Thus-are the-traditions.

3. Then he of-old this everything-in-the-world burned; then this earth was-burned-to-ashes; thus.

4. Yaisi usu isa ka neme nana oka tabano yaduana isusakwa pasakwa apatazopaka mi'i. 5. Yaisi otno isu pa ka yu'u mani mi'ipina. 6. Yaisi pasaka yaisi usu taba ka ono isano aha usakwatui eme tuameku mi'i masu taba oka isa nitama. 7. Yaisi aha mi'i. 8. Yaisi otnohu itsa manimutu itsa wogopitu itsa wapitu itsatui suñabitui himatui, sobitui, himatui, subitui, hima patsonatui teheteatui; hima ho'okozu patsugutui himatui kohi'itui hima no'okozu agaitui nookozu kaipatui hima sonaatui.

9. Yaisi manimutu makwe otnohupina eme otuame ka seta manakwi puzu na'akwi huaidima. 10. Yaisi usu mena sagwai'isi otnohu ka naimuta me tapibuahu. 11. Mi'ipina. 12. Otnohu isu nemetui ka iwaiyutui. 13. Yaisi otnohupina ka mia ona panakwahu-kwapawaitu. 14. Yaisi ka yagana kai ne iduame punikwe mi'i enisi yaisi ka mogotnipeno'o yaga iduame ya'azu mi'i enina. 15. Yaisi ona pawaitu we'idza mi'i nawahade. 16. Yaisi ka pakubakwai mia mi'ipina nanatenitsuida.

17. Ka itsa manimutusi itsa kaiba wogokodakwa yaisi iwihu ne miakwe ya'a itsahu inemupasa'a iduame puni mi'i enina. 18. Ka ohu ne nanabuniga okahu isu neme puni. 19. Epenoo soyapo'o obuni. 20. Uhupina.

21. Itsahu tipewaitu yahu manimutu mi'i tiwazu nanatenitsui itsa kutsuna tibitsi kutsuna inokohuzu pukunokozu ya'atu manimutu.

22. Usu taba isano nememanimutuna. 23. Mihu pina isu tipe nanatenitsui. 24. Otnozu isu kaiba patatsopida mi'i kai kaibagayu kato'o tipe. 25. Yaisi pasamina yaisi usu kaiba ma'uniyuhu. 26. Yaisi isu pa ya'a pakumagayu kai pamaniwatniyu.

4. THE COYOTE AND THE DOG

1. Idza'a yadua e inanakwe e pehe igia e itsa nega pehe etsata'a koso'i kadenemikwe. 2. E pehe igia inanakwe. 3. Yaisi tepehe ogia oka teatsi. 4. Usu sade'e oatsidzayu oka idzaa. 5. Oka tepehe nabidogayegwi. 6. Nebina edzetsetukwai nemikwe kwaia kaibama onayu ne yagakwé. 7. Usa'a nakatua. 8. Kame ne tekakwesi yagakwe upina ne tekakwesi ne yagakwe tsiaya'ina. 9. Himasakwa ne teka mihu ne sunamina.

4. Then he, the-Gray-Wolf, the Indian man, him the-Sun-with talked: "This-should, dry-place, flood," he-said. 5. Then at-that-time this water it in-this-way was, it-is-said. 6. Then dried; then he, the-Sun, he him-with Gray-Wolf-with: "Yes; you-should those children-cause-to-be," so he, the-Sun, to-him, Gray-Wolf, declared. 7. Then: "Yes," he-said. 8. Then at-that-time these created: these, pine-trees; these, juniper-trees; these-things, aspen-tree-things, some-things, cottonwood-tree-things; some-things, willow-things; some-things, springs; deer-things; things (of)-all-kinds; otter; some-things, beaver; things, all trout; all mountain-sheep; things, bear.

9. Then the-creation completed, then-it-was they, the-children, they wrong did; among-themselves fought with-bows. 10. Then he, their-father, being-angry, at-that-time them apart them kicked-out. 11. So-it-is-said. 12. At-that-time the Indian-tribes they were-many. 13. Then at-that-time-it-was he went there to-the-south. 14. Then he cried: "Not I my-children am-going-to-see," so having-said, then she, the-woman-too cried: "My-children are-here!" so saying. 15. Then yonder into-the-water descended, so the-reports. 16. Then they on-the-surface-of-the-water went, it-is-said (in)-the-traditions.

17. He these having-created, this mountain, pine-covered-summit, then: "In-there I am-going; there these my-tracks-after-awhile my-children will-see," so saying. 18. "That there I have-tracked; that these Indians see. 19. You-too, white-men, that-see." 20. So-it-was.

21. This country-in here created, so also the-teachers, these buffalo, real buffalo, this-with horses-with here created.

22. He, the-Sun, Gray-Wolf-with were-creating. 23. This they-are this country's traditions. 24. At-that-time these mountains covered-with-water, they-said; no mountains-had; not-any land. 25. Then gradually-dried; then the mountains were-like-that. 26. Then this water there banks-had; not water-being-like.

4. THE COYOTE AND THE DOG

1. Coyote talked: "You, my-nephew, your skin give-me; you this, my skin, you-are-the-one-who (by)-the-fire are-going-to-sit. 2. Your skin give-me, my-sister's-son." 3. Then the-skin to-him-gave, him, (the)-mother's-brother. 4. He, Dog, him-(for)-mother's-brother-had, him Coyote. 5. (With)-him his-skin a-trade-made. 6. "I-it-is in-the-cold-place am-going-to-stay; far-away (in)-the-mountains; yonder I shall-cry. 7. You-then will-hear-(me). 8. Rabbit I want-to-eat, I-will-cry; so-it-is (when)-I want-to-eat, I will-cry being-hungry. 9. What-things-shall I eat? this I thinking."

10. Otnozupina idza'a nobikwai nemina munau nemina. 11. Sade'e yadua ne nobikwai neme nobikwai ne manikwe esakwa idza'a mani. 12. Mi'ipina usu sadiu yaduana. 13. Yaisi ta tepehe nabido-gayegwi.

14. Mi' oka idza'a nitama. 15. Mihu nanatenitsui. 16. Yaisi usu idza'a yadua inanakwe mi'i e peme igia etsata'a koso'i katenemikwe mi'i. 17. Netsata'a edzsetsetukwai nemikwe mi'ipina oka tenanakwe nitamana. 18. Otnohu oka teatsi yaga usu sadiu ozutihaina yaga-peno'o seda omatu puiwesunamina.

5. HOW COYOTE LOST HIS EYES

1. Tibuitsitsi tepui tsutsayibahu³ tugupa'atu obibuahu aizu yeg-wihu pitehu. 2. Usu idza'apeno'o mihusi enisi tepui tsutsayibahu tugupa'a obibuahu. 3. Yaisi onadedehaku otibitsi nadedehaku.

4. Onayu nanega idza'a puimayu. 5. Idza'a pui nadzakwinikuna omayuhu nanega idza'a puimayu. 6. Idza'a yaisi onazu kima yaisi tekwi'i yau ne kima mi'i tekwi'ina. 7. Yau ne neme puniki. 8. Himayu nanega. 9. Haga puimayu. 10. Nesakwa puni mi'i yadua oka idza'a. 11. Yaisi oka nana ogia ka idza'a pui. 12. Yaisi yadua idza'a piza. 13. Haga pui mi'i yadua. 14. Yaisi yagana yaisi ogwuhu tebui yaisi poyoaga'a yaisi ohomanai kai iwihu tepuikwai oyegwi-kuhusi.

15. Idza'a wahu nodekwaigayu. 16. Onazu mia tepitu koipa onahu hoapitega. 17. Usu wahayu momogotni yaisi yadua ya'a tsagi'i koipa mihu yadua oka momogotni. 18. Yaisi idza's yadua aha mi'i yadua ne obuni mi'i yadua. 19. Yaisi idza'a yadua yahusapagakate mi'i yadua. 20. Onazu mia idza'a okwunakwatu tsagi'i oigwina yaisi onakahu tenakatu usu idza'a inazu koipa kanadzakwi owitu yaisi kwatiwena iwa kwatiwena iwa tehomaina tegai tebutubuina. 21. Onadu yaisi seme patsahu. 22. Yaisi oduhaniwena. 23. Yaisi oka temogotni yadua hau'u e mahu ozudzahu mi'i yadua. 24. Yaisi oka idza'a yadua ka me gwahu ne ka mahu mi'i yadua. 25. Seme inakwanakwaitu semepeno'o inokwanakwaitu. 26. Yaisi idza'a nobi-kwaitu mia ka mogotnino wahuno. 27. Nobikwai pitega idza'a onazu tabiewihu. 28. Yaisi oka mogotni pukabakwami tsotege ewihu. 29.

³ Perhaps for tsatsibohu.

10. At-that-time-it-was Coyote in-the-house was-staying, a-long-time staying. 11. Dog talked: "I in-the-house, person's house-in, I am-about-to-be; you-shall Coyote be." 12. So-it-was he, Dog, talked. 13. Then: "We his-skin make-a-trade."

14. This to-him, Coyote, told. 15. Thus the-story. 16. Then he, Coyote, talked: "My-sister's-son," he-said, "your skin give-me; you-are-the-one-who (by)-the-fire will-sit," he-said. 17. I-am-the-one-who in-the-cold-place am-going-to-stay," he-said, to-him, his-sister's-son, told. 18. At-that-time-(then) to-him his-mother's-brother crying, he, Dog, was-sorry-for-him: crying-too: bad to-him his-heart-was-feeling.

5. HOW COYOTE LOST HIS EYES

1. Purple-Finch his-eyes plucked-out-(and) (into)-the-sky them-threw; back caused-(them) to-come. 2. He, Coyote-too, (after)-so saying, his-eyes plucked-out-(and) (into)-the-sky threw-them. 3. Then they-were-stolen, indeed were-stolen.

4. Yonder-(was) a-dance Coyote's eyes-over. 5. Coyote's eyes were-hung-up; over-them-was the-dance, Coyote's eyes-over. 6. Coyote then yonder came; then told-(them): "Now I come," so was-telling-(them). 7. "Now I people come-to-see. 8. What-about the-dance? 9. Whose eyes-over? 10. I-should see," so (the)-talk by-that Coyote. 11. Then by-that man that-given that Coyote's eyes. 12. Then talked Coyote: "Good! 13. Whose eyes?" so talked. 14. Then cried; then them-got, the-eyes, then trotted away; then ran-fast, not in-here, the-eye-place, them-first-having-placed.

15. Coyote two-was wives-having. 16. Yonder went in-the-rocks mountain-sheep, there-were to-feed-come. 17. Those two women then talked: "There close-by mountain-sheep," this talked by-them, women. 18. Then Coyote talked: "Yes," so talked, "I them-see," so talked. 19. Then Coyote talked: "You-may-sit-here," so talked. 20. Yonder went Coyote on-the-lee-side close-by; them-smelling; then them-heard in-his-ear, he, Coyote, this-direction-(in) mountain-sheep a-noise-made, there then was-shooting, many-times was-shooting, many-times missing, he-not clear-seeing. 21. Yonder then one killed. 22. Then that-dressed. 23. Then that-one, his-woman, talked: "Why you thus that-cut?" so talked. 24. Then that Coyote talked: "Because you two-are I that way-am," so talked. 25. "One in-this-direction; one-also in-this-direction." 26. Then Coyote to-house went the women-with two-with. 27. In-house arrived, Coyote yonder day-slept. 28. Then

Yaisi mogotni oka puni oka idza'a yaisi oka mayihu. 30. Aha setako puidzaiyu mi'i. 31. Yaisi oka tehama tekwi'i setayu mi'i oka idza'a pui setayu mi'i. 32. Yaisi hama yadua wadzimimiahu ta mia mi'i. 33. Yaisi ohama otepitu yawikisi ya'a okuba otsotegekuti yaisi wadzimimiahu.

34. Owihupina tenodekwa wadsika owihupina yagana usu idza'a. 35. Yaisi yadua neme usu no'oyuzu kasagayu hitui. 36. Yaisi osutihaina oka idza'a yaisi usu pohinabi yaisi nana yadua aha mi'i yadua yaisi tebui ogia.

37. Mi'ipina nanatenitsui.

(on)-that woman's lap head-laid-(and) slept. 29. Then woman that saw, that Coyote; then that found. 30. "Aha! bad-ones eyes-has," she-said. 31. Then that her-older-sister told: "Are-bad," she-said, "that Coyote's eyes are-bad," she-said. 32. Then older-sister talked: "Slyly-go-away we go," she-said. 33. Then her-older-sister her-rock having-brought, there on-top-of-it his-head-caused-to-be-placed, then they-went-away-slyly.

34. It-was-there his-wife (he)-lost; it-was-there he-was-crying, he, Coyote. 35. Then talked people, they all-(that) feathers-have things [birds]. 36. Then for-him-being-sorry, that Coyote, then he, the-pohinabi, then to-the-men talked; "Yes," he-said, talked, then his-eyes gave.

37. So-are the-stories.