PAHKA’ANIL (TÜBATULABAL): TWO TEXTS

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Tübatulabal (TUB, ISO 639-3) is an exonym for the Uto-Aztecan language spoken in the Kern River drainage, centered around present-day Lake Isabella, California, USA; the endonym is Pahka’anil. Pahka’anil is considered by some to be its own branch within Uto-Aztecan (see, e.g., Munro 1977; Mithun 1999:539) while others consider the language to be one of the four branches of Northern Uto-Aztecan (Campbell 1997:134). Pahka’anil is currently spoken by a dedicated team of second-language speakers, language teachers, and other members of the Tübatulabal community; Pahka’anil’s EGIDS status is “Reawakening.”

The Pakanapul Language Team orthography was developed in 2006 and is elaborated in Table 1 (symbols whose use matches IPA use are omitted).

TABLE 1
Pakanapul Language Team Orthography

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No upper-case letters are used except in the case of names borrowed from other languages. A hyphen is used to indicate clitic boundaries.

While most grammatical abbreviations used in the interlinearization conform to IJAL guidelines, there are a few glosses that require discussion. Four associated motion suffixes have been identified in Pahka’anil.1 These suffixes indicate either subsequent or concurrent motion associated with an event: 1) -kin ACT>COME: subject performs an action followed by subsequent motion toward the deictic center; 2) -min ACT>GO: subject performs an action followed by subsequent motion away from deictic center (involving durative verbs) and can

1 For a typologically-informed discussion of associated motion, see Guillame (2016).
also mean that the action is completed (involving momentaneous verbs) near the speaker (cf. Voegelin 1935a:119); 3) -giim COME<ACT: subject moves toward deictic center while performing action; 4) -la GO<ACT: subject moves away from the deictic center while performing the action (involving a durative verb) or subject moved away (involving a momentaneous verb) in order to perform an action (cf. Voegelin 1935a:118).

Pahka’anil nouns can be in citation form (Voegelin’s ‘absolute’ form), marked with -l, -t, or zero, depending on their noun class, or marked as possessed (Voegelin’s ‘relative’ form). We use the glosses NCM:A and NCM:B for the two morphologically-marked noun classes corresponding to -l and -t.

The gloss POSSC2 refers to a suffix that is used only with nouns which take the zero absolute/citation suffix and that require this suffix in possessed forms; in Voegelin’s (1935a) work these are called C2 nouns. The gloss NMLZ.PAT and NMLZ.AG refer to patient and agent nominalizations, respectively.2

There are two cliticized elements that appear to be related to the verb pinggüt ‘say’: the quotative =güt (QUOT) and the evidential reportative =gija (REP). The reportative form is used for non-eyewitnessed events and is thus particularly frequent in genres such as myths and folktales (Lycan 2018). Finally, we have departed from Voegelin’s (1935a) basic verb stem types (telic vs. atelic), using instead momentaneous (MOM) and durative (DUR) as the primary aspectual opposition in keeping with Golla (cf. 2011:187; 216).

BROWNIE AND GIRL

TOLD BY STEFANA MIRANDA SALAZAR, ANNOTATED BY LINDSAY MAREAN

The story “Brownie and Girl” was originally told by Stefana Miranda Salazar (1894-1957), a community leader who defended her family’s allotment from sale and cared for many of her community’s children during her life. She was the daughter of Steban Miranda who was popularly considered to be the last Tübatulabal traditional chief.3 Steban Miranda was a survivor of the 1863 Keyesville massacre and also served as linguistic and cultural consultant for many researchers over the decades, including J.P. Harrington, C.F. Voegelin, and E. Wheeler-Voegelin. Stefana translated for her father when he was working with E. Wheeler-Voegelin on her Tübatulabal Ethnography (1938).4

In September 1954, Hansjakob Seiler recorded several fieldwork sessions with Stefana and with Mary Chico; it was during one of these that

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2 For example, the patient nominalizer -i, when added to the verb stem tük ‘eat’, yields tükiil ‘food’ while the agent nominalizers -(a)püül NMLZ.AG.TEMP and -(i)büül NMLZ.AG.HAB combine with tük to yield tükapüül ‘one who is eating’ and tükibüül ‘one who habitually eats’, respectively.

3 In reality governance has continued to this day, with Robert Gomez currently serving as Chairman of the Tübatulabal Tribe.

4 Interestingly, Stefana’s brother Mike Miranda (Yukaya) was also instrumental in early language research: he served as C.F. Voegelin’s primary consultant for his Tübatulabal Grammar (1935a) and provided many of Voegelin’s Tübatulabal Texts (1935b).
Stefana told “Brownie and Girl.” The recordings were deposited by F.M. Voegelin at Indiana University in 1985. Sydney Lamb’s work on Pahka’anil includes a rough line-by-line English translation of this same “Brownie and Girl” text. It is unclear whether Lamb was present during Seiler’s original recording sessions or whether he worked off that recording at a later date; it is also unclear whether he was working with Stefana or a different Pahka’anil speaker.

In 2011 and 2012, armed with both Seiler’s recording and Lamb’s field notes, I undertook a careful transcription, analysis, and free translation of this text for presentation at a series of workshops on traditional stories of the southern Sierra held as part of the Nüümü Yadoha Program of the Owens Valley Career Development Center. Members of the Pakanapul Language Team helped tremendously with this task; during that time the team consisted of Bertha Eller, Elizabeth Johnson, the late Anthony Stone, Sherry Click, and Virgie Russell, with Dale Johnson serving as a media technician.

The text is presented phonemically in the Pakanapul Language Team’s orthography. The transcription, parsing, glossing, and translation are my own. Where Lamb’s translation departs notably or where there is extra information provided, I comment in footnotes.

1) halü-kitc anghanil.
   halü–at=gija  anghanii–l
   live–DUR=REP  people–NCM:A
   ‘People are living.’

2) wuuda-ta wala tsaamila.
   wuud–at=da         wal-a     tcaami–l–a
   ‘They’re pounding that acorn mush.’

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5 Specifically, in the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University in 1985, as part of the C.F. and F.M. Voegelin Archives of the Languages of the World, accession number 85-615-F. Copies of these recordings are also available as part of the Sydney M. Lamb and Hansjakob Seiler collection of Tubatulabal sound recordings, collection number LA 80, Berkeley Language Center, University of California, Berkeley. They can be accessed at http://cla.berkeley.edu/collection/10101.

6 Lamb’s translation can be found in his field notebook archived in the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, University of California, Berkeley, item number Lamb.003.020, pages 46-52 and 54-63.

7 I am delighted to be able to present this text for publication here, thanks to Stefana Salazar’s willingness to tell the story, several researchers’ fieldwork in Tübatulabal Country over the past century and their resulting publications, the work of archivists in Indiana and California in caretaking and cataloguing the recordings and field notes, and the dedication and linguistic and cultural knowledge of the Pakanapul Language Team in Lake Isabella. I am also indebted to Michael Ahland and his students for their thoughts on analysis and glossing conventions.

8 Lamb’s translation: ‘All the people are home.’

9 The double accusative marking is noteworthy; elsewhere (such as in Line 8) wal corresponds to an object without the accusative suffix (cf. Voegelin 1935a:181).
3) tsaaamila tu’lüt.
tcaami–l–a tu’lüt–at
acorn.mush–NCM:A–ACC make–DUR
‘They’re making acorn mush.’

4) piniiyu okogoim.
piniyu oko–koim
every COLL.PL~woman
‘All of the women.’

5) pic-kite-ta meta wanda okogoim tcaamila ayawa’.
pic=gija=da meeda wanda oko–koim
then=REP=3PL.NOM already DIST:PL:ACC COLL.PL~woman

tcaami–l–a a–ya’awa
acorn.mush–NCM:A–ACC MOM~finish
‘Then those women finished the acorn mush.’

6) pic wa tciitc koim has woogami ya’awat met-kite uuduugu’.
pic wa’ tciitc koim has woogami
then DIST one woman NEG yet

ya’awa–at met=gija uu~duugü
finish–DUR already=REP MOM~get.dark
‘Then that one woman hasn’t finished yet; it already got dark.’

7) pic-kite anangat wa tuumupin, aanawicpit, they call it, little girl.
anawicpit ananga-kija’.
pic=gija anang–at wa’ tu’mu–bi–n
then=REP cry–DUR DIST offspring–DIM–3SG.POSS

aanawic–bi–t aanawic–bi–t anang=gija
girl–DIM–NCM:B girl–DIM–NCM:B cry=REP
‘Then her child, that little girl, cries. The little girl cries.’

8) met anghanil piniiyu iimii haniip üwükümin wal tsaaamila.
met anghanii–l piniyu ii–miy hanii–b
already people–NCM:A every MOM~go house–LOC

ü–wüükü–amin wal
MOM~grab–ACT>GO DIST:ACC
‘All the people already went home; they took that acorn mush.’

‘Then her mother is still wandering on foot; it’s already dark.’

‘The little girl is still crying.’

‘Her mother got angry.’

‘ “Oh, cry there!” she said, “Ananggiyat will come and get you.” ’

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10 Ananggiyat is the name of a particular spiritual creature, specifically, the one that kidnaps the girl. In Line (19) below Lamb notes that Salazar describes Ananggiyat as a little brownie, but later as “a big woman.” Note that Ananggiyat presumably impregnates the girl and is therefore most likely a man; Salazar uses gendered pronouns in English inconsistently with the gender of their antecedents throughout this text. Ananggiyat may be a conflation of several spiritual creatures: a woman who kidnaps crying or naughty children, a type of little people (“brownies”), and the creature in this specific story, who impregnates the girl.

11 Lamb’s translation: ‘Oh, cry right there, she says (mother says to child) brownie gone to get her.’
13) anangah!
anang-ah
cry-IMP
‘Cry!’

14) pic-kite üwükümin wala tcaamila.
   pic=gija ü~wükü–amin wal–a
   then=REP MOM~grab–ACT>GO DIST:ACC–ACC
   tcaami–l–a
   acorn.mush–NCM:A–ACC
   ‘Then she grabbed her acorn mush and left.’

15) iimiin haniip.
   ii~miin hani–b
   MOM~take house–LOC
   ‘She took it home.’

16) pic oonoogim hayi wa tuibitam met üwükümin wa’ Brownie, wa’ anangggiyat, üwükümin meda.
   pic oo~noo’o–agiim hayi wa’
   then MOM~turn.back–COME<ACT nothing DIST
   tu’ibitam met ü~wükü–amin wa’
   baby already MOM~grab–ACT>GO DIST
   wa’ ananggayat ü~wükü–amin meeda
   DIST Anangggiyat MOM~grab–ACT>GO already
   ‘Then she came back, and no girl. The brownie, Anangggiyat, had already
taken her and left.’

17) uu, aajawaayininüümü=gija’.
   uu aadzayaaw–in–iniinüüm=gija
   ooh yell–CAUS–here.and.there=REP
   ‘Ooh, she went here and there hollering for her.’

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12 Lamb’s translation: ‘She went back and she didn’t find that little girl. Anangiat, a big woman,
takes people, puts them in rocks, took her already.’
maa-bi, maa-bi, tuumuu, maa-bi-kija. malap allaawica yu wa met iimii. 
ma’=bi ma’=bi tu’mu
where=2SG.NOM where=2SG.NOM offspring

ma’=bi=gija malap alaa’w–ica yuu
where=2SG.NOM=REP where talk–FUT oh.well

wa’ met ii~miy
DIST already MOM~go

‘“Where are you, where are you, child, where are you,” she says. Where will she speak, well she already left.’

met iimiin wa ananggiyat.
met ii~miin wa’ ananggayat
already MOM~take DIST Ananggiyat
‘That Ananggiyat already took her.’

yühaawal wa’.
ya’hü’üwa–l wa’
little.people–NCM:A DIST
‘That is a yühaawal.’

uu, pic-kitc wahaaai oonoola aabuuun, ananga-kija’ haayi met tuumuuts-kitc wal anaayin.
uu pic=gija wahaaai oo~noo’o–ala
ooh then=REP DIST:LOC:from MOM~turn.back–GO<ACT

aabuu–n anang–at=gija hayi met
mother–3SG.POSS cry–DUR=REP nothing already

tu’mu–ts=gija wal
offspring–1PL:INCL.POSS=REP DIST:ACC

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13 Lamb’s translation: ‘Where you at, where you at, daughter. She (daughter) can’t say nothing, she’s gone.’
14 Lamb’s translation: ‘Little brownie took her already (now says Ananggiyat is big woman).’
15 According to E. Voegelin (1938), *yuumuugiiwal* is the generic term for spiritual creatures; one type of these are “small dwarfs or ‘brownies’ (*ya’ hü’üwal*) about 3 ft. high, who ‘looked like Indians’” (p. 61). Salazar may be indicating that Ananggiyat, is related to these little people. Lamb’s translation for this line: ‘That’s that brownie.’
‘Ooh, then her mother went back. She’s crying. “We have no child already,” she said to the girl’s father.’

22) met üwükümin yumugiwal–gija.
met ü–wükü–amin yuumuugiiwa–l=gija
already MOM~grab–ACT>GO spiritual.being–NCM:A=REP
‘A spirit being took her.’

23) yumugiwal, they call that animal, you know.
yuumuugiiwa–l spiritual.being–NCM:A
‘Spirit being.’

24) pic-kitc wahaai iimii wala little girl.
pic=gija wahaai ii–miy wal–a
then=REP DIST:LOC:from MOM~go DIST:ACC–ACC
‘From there that little girl went.’

25) iimii–gija aanawicpit, manügic wa cüwaal–gitc ahal, pic wahaai aayaau.
ii–miy=gija aanawic–bi–t manügic wa’
MOM~go=REP girl–DIM–NCM:B how.many DIST
süwaa–l=gitc a~halü pic
years–NCM:A=REP MOM~live then
wahaai a~ayaaw
DIST:LOC:from MOM~grow
‘The little girl left, how many years she lived, well from there she grew.’

26) egeewan koim meda’.
engeewa koim meeda
big woman already
‘She’s a grown woman now.’

16 Lamb’s translation: ‘That animal took her already.’
27) Brownie, wal-gitc ananggiyat yüpat wal tünggiila, we call that tünggiila, his house, tünggiil.

wal=gija ananggayat yühp–at wal
DIST:ACC=REP Ananggiyat close–DUR DIST:ACC

tünggil–l–a–b
tünggil–l–a

tünggil
rock.ledge–NCM:A

‘That Ananggiyat shut her in a rock ledge (which was his house).’

28) pic-kitc meedak miiyat pic wahaayu müügülam-bee wala takaai-gü-kija’.

pic=gija meedak miy–at pic wahaai
then=REP morning go–DUR then DIST:LOC:from

mü’ügü–ala–ama=bee wal–a
kill–GO<ACT–JUSS=after.a.while DIST:ACC–ACC

takaah–i=güt=gija
valley.quail–ACC=QUOT=REP

‘Then in the morning he goes, and he says, “Let me go in a while and kill those quail.” ’

29) You know what takaah?

takaah
valley.quail

‘Do you know what takaah means?’

30) takaai-ma müügülah!

takaah–i=ma mü’ügü–ala–ah
valley.quail–ACC=JUSS kill–GO<ACT–IMP

‘ “Let me go kill quail.” ’

17 Lamb’s translation: ‘Big rock house.’

18 This clitic appears related to the verb pinggüt ‘he/she says’ and has some verbal behavior, such as triggering accusative marking on nouns whose referents are being addressed, and interacting with following clitics in a way that is otherwise unique to the durative suffix -(a)t.
31) müügakina-gitc woh.
   mü’ügü–akin–at=gija          woh
   kill–there.then.come–DUR=REP two
   ‘He kills two on his way back.’

32) pic-kite tübüt
   pic=gija           tübü–at
   then=REP           put–DUR
   ‘Then he puts them.’  

33) *We call this* kaalok.   woh-gitc ih tübüt.
    kaaluk woh=gija       ih   tübü–at
    armpit two=REP       here put–DUR
    ‘We call this an armpit. He puts two here.’

34) yuuwut uudzumi.
    yüüw–at   üüdzümi
    hold–DUR   long.time
    ‘He holds them there for a while.’

35) koimi mahat, koim tükat.
    koim–i  maha–at  koim  tük–at
    woman–ACC give–DUR   woman  eat–DUR
    ‘He hands it to the woman; the woman eats it.’

36) piniik taal, piniik taal.
    pini’ik   taa–l   pini’ik  taa–l
    every day–NCM:A   every day–NCM:A
    ‘Every day, every day.’

37) pic-gitc wahaai wa’ ananggiyat pinggüt met–düng aabuuun kuuyat
    pooba’at tüütüsiyin–gü–gija.
    pic=gija  wahaai    wa’ ananggayat
    then=REP DIST:LOC:from DIST Ananggiyat
    pinggü–tmet=düng        aabuu–ing
    say–DUR already=2SG.ACC mother–2SG.POSS

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19 Lamb’s translation: ‘He put them under his arm (with arms folded) (gesture: as in hand game).’
ku’y–at   poo’–iba’–at
want–DUR   kindle.a.fire–want.to–DUR

üü–tüsi–iyi–n=güt=gija
COLL.PL~clothes–NREFL.ACC.POSS–3SG.POSS=QUOT=REP
‘Then from there that Ananggiyat says, “Already your mother is looking
for you, she wants to burn your clothes,” he says.’

38)  aa, tüwü=gitc wal koim, iiimiinca-gi-lüng.
    aa   tüwü=gija      wal      koim
    ah   good=REP       DIST:ACC      woman

    ii–miin–ica=gi=düng
    MOM~take–FUT=1SG.NOM=2SG.ACC
    ‘“Ah, OK,” says the woman. “I will take you,” (says Ananggiyat).’

39)  pic  inggin tuugal.
    pic    ing~kin    tuugal
    then  MOM~bring    night
    ‘Then he brought her at night.’ ['She (the brownie) brought her at night
time.‘]

40)  aabuuuban.
    aabuu–b–a–n
    mother–LOC–NREFL–3SG.POSS
    ‘To her mother’s place.’

41)  oloohoomala aabuun haniin ih.
    o~loohoom–ala    aabuu–n    hani–n    ih
    MOM~enter–GO<ACT    mother–GEN    house–3SG.POSS    here
    ‘She entered into her mother’s house here.’

42)  ümbü kutcwan haniil wah üttübula wa ananggiyat wal koimi.
    ümbü’    kutcwa–n    hani–l    wah
    again    little–3SG.POSS    house–NCM:A    DIST:LOC

20 Lamb’s translation: ‘That woman told her okay, I’m gone take you.’
21 Lamb’s translation: ‘He went inside his mother’s house that girl (brownie took the girl to mother’s house).’
‘That Ananggiyat went and put that woman there in another little house.’

‘He put here inside; she sat there in the shadow.’

‘Then her mother cries every day.’

‘Then from there she went to look for something there.’

‘She felt someone while groping around; she felt that woman.’
47) owopügülakin maa. aa, agii halüt ih-kija’. 
 o~wopügül–akin maa–i aa
 MOM~pull.back–ACT>COME hand–REFL.POSS.ACC ah

 agi halü–at ih=gija
 who sit–DUR here=REP

 ‘She pulled her hand back. “Ah, who is sitting here?” she said.’

48) pic-ai ipicamin süüba, wahkiik wal taaugüç ii kumuui. 
 pic=wahaai i~pic–amin süüba
 then= DIST:LOC:from MOM~come.out–ACT>GO back.again

 wah–kiik wal taawügü–as ih
 there:LOC–towardDIST:ACC see–SS here

 kumuu–i
 father–REFL.POSS.ACC

 ‘Then from there she went back out to see her husband there.’

49) oo-kija’, agii-gija wünü aama’-gija’, ickiina’aban-gija’. 
 o=gija agi=gija wün aa–ma’=gija
 oh=REP who=REP be MOM~touch=REP

 ickiina’–b–n=gija
 corner–LOC–3SG.POSS=REP

 ‘ “Oh,” she said, “who, someone is there,” she said, “in the corner.” ’

50) oo, wo’bas tuumuuts pülüc-gitc tahambic taaugülamala. 
 o wo’bas tu’mu–ts pülü–as=gija
 oh maybe offspring–1PL:INCL.POSS arrive–SS=REP

 tahambic taawügü–ala–ama–gila
 old.man see–GO<ACT–JUSS–1DU:INCL

 ‘ “Oh, maybe it’s our child arriving home,” he said. “Let’s go look.” ’

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24 Lamb’s translation: ‘Ooo she said, I don’t know who I touch in the corner (or oo I wonder who I touch somebody in the corner).’
‘Then they grabbed a light.’

‘That girl is sitting there in the shadows.’

‘Her coat is nice.’

‘Her coat is a nice one.’

‘Her coat is long.’

‘Then from there, “When did you arrive?” said her mother.’
57) Oo, mapil-kija.
   o mapil=gija
   oh now=REP
   ‘“Oh, now,” she said.’

58) maai-bi inggim-gija.
   ma’=bi ing~kim=gija
   where=2SG.NOM MOM~come=REP
   ‘“Where did you come from?” she said.’

59) has pinggüh-gija, has pinggüh.
   has pinggü–ah=gija has pinggü–ah
   NEG say–IMP=REP NEG say–IMP
   ‘“Don’t say that,” she said, “Don’t say that!” ’

60) has-ki aawiba’at wogami-gija’.
   has=gi aaw–iba’–at woogami=gija
   NEG=1SG.NOM tell–want.to–DUR yet=REP
   ‘“I don’t want to tell yet,” she said.’

61) tüwüh, aabuun ononoomin.
   tüwü aabuu–n o–noo’o–amin
   good mother–3SG.POSS MOM~turn.back–ACT>GO
   ‘“OK.” Her mother went back.’

62) pic-kija wal-da halüt.
   pic=gija wal=da halü–at
   then=REP DIST:ACC=3PL.NOM stay–DUR
   ‘Then they stayed there.’

63) pic meedak hac-gite-da anangat.
   pic meedak has=gija=da anang–at
   then morning NEG=REP=3PL.NOM cry–DUR
   ‘Then in the morning they don’t cry.’

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25 Lamb’s translation: ‘Tell me.’
26 The use of the accusative form *wal* rather than nominative *wa* is surprising here.
27 Lamb’s translation: ‘In the morning they didn’t cry (they used to).’
Then their neighbors, their neighbors say, “Why aren’t they crying now? They used to cry every day, and they cry.”

“What’s happening with those people; they’re not crying,” they said.’

‘Who knows but what their daughter came back, or something,” they said.’

‘Go see!” they say to one (person).’
‘Then from there one came to see, and he spoke.’

‘Why aren’t you all crying now? You all cry every morning, you cry, but why aren’t you crying now?’ he said.’

‘Oh, our daughter arrived,’” said the old woman.’
72) taaugiba’-kila’ang-gitc wa taaugiba’a-ki-gitc wa koim. taawügü–iba’–at=gi=gija wa’ see–want.to–DUR=2PL:EXCL=REP DIST taawügü–iba’–at=gi=gija wa’ koim see–want.to–DUR=1SG.NOM=REP DIST woman ‘ “We want to see,” says that one, “I want to see,” says that woman.’

73) pic-da iimii aadawüük. pic=da ii–miy aa~taawügü then=3PL.NOM MOM~go MOM~see ‘Then they went to see her.’

74) haica-p üübül-kija’. haica=bi üü~püü=gija when=2SG.NOM MOM~arrive=REP "When did you arrive?" they asked.

75) oo, tuugal-kija’. o tuugal=gija oh night=REP ‘ “Oh, last night,” she said.’

76) Oo-gija’, pic ipcakin. o=gija pic i–pic–akin oh=REP then MOM~go.out–ACT>COME ‘ “Oh,” she said; then she went out.’

77) iimii haniitcingwap pic-gitc pinggüt üübül wa aanawict-gija’. ii–miy haniitcingwa–p pic=gija pinggü–at MOM~goneighbor–3PL.POSS then=REP say–DUR üü~püü wa’ aanawic–t=gija MOM~arrive DIST girl–NCM:B=REP ‘She went to the neighbors and she said, “That girl came back.” ’

78) Girl, aanawict, we call it. aanawic–t girl–NCM:B ‘Girl.’
aanawicta üübül wal wün aabuun has anangat mapil yülaha-ta-kija’.
aanawic–t üü–püül wal wün

girl–NCM:B MOM~arrive DIST:ACC be

aabuu–n has anang–at mapil

mother–3SG.POSS NEG cry–DUR now

yalaha–at=da=gija be.happy–DUR=3PL.NOM=REP

‘ “The girl came back, that’s why her mother isn’t crying now. They’re happy,” she said.’

oo-küt-gitc piniiu-gitc-ta inggim taaugügimas.
o=güti=gija piniyu=gija=da ing~kim

oh=QUOT=REP every=REP=3PL.NOM MOM~come
taaugü–agiim–as see–COME<ACT–SS

‘ “Oh,” they said. They all came to look.’

pic-gitc-ta taaugüt wa. haica–p üübül?
pic=gija=da taaugü–at wa’ haica=bi

then=REP=3PL.NOM see–DUR DIST when=2SG.NOM

üü–püül MOM~arrive

‘Then they see her. “When did you arrive?”’

tuugal-kija’.
tuugal=gija	night=REP

‘ “Last night,” she says.’

maai–bi inggim–güt, yaa maai–bi inggim malap–bi halüpaan–gija’?

ma’=bi ing~kim=güt yaa ma’=bi

where=2SG.NOM MOM~come=QUOT well where=2SG.NOM
'“Where did you come from?” they said, “Well, where did you come from? Where were you living?” they said.'

'Oh, don’t you all say that,” she said. “Don’t ask me.”'

‘“I can’t tell you yet,” she said.’

‘Three, you all wait three days, then I will tell you all,” she said.’

\begin{verbatim}
84) oo, has-lu pinggü-kija has-lu-ni ohtah.
o has=lu pinggü–ah=gija
oh NEG=2PL.IMP say–IMP=REP
has=lu=ni ohta–ah
NEG=2PL.IMP=1SG.ACC ask–IMP
' “Oh, don’t you all say that,” she said. “Don’t ask me.” '

85) has-ki-lulu aawiniba’at woogami-kija’.
has=gi=dulu aaw–in–iba’–at woogami=gija
NEG=1SG.NOM=2PL.ACC tell–CAUS–want.to–DUR yet=REP
‘ “I can’t tell you yet,” she said.’

86) paai, paai-daal wiihü–lu, paai-daal pic-ki-lulu aawinca-gija'.
paai paaidaal wiihü=lu paaidaal
three three.days wait=2PL.IMP three.days
pic=gi=dulu aaw–in–ica=gija
then=1SG.NOM=2PL.ACC tell–CAUS–FUT=REP
‘ “Three, you all wait three days, then I will tell you all,” she said.’

87) inyaana-gitc-ta-di kimat malap-pi halüpaan malap-pi, maai-bi inggim malap üwün halüpaan meta uudzumiyapaan-gü-kitc-ta.
inyaana=gija=da=tii kim–at malap=bi
Indian=REP=3PL.NOM=and come–DUR where=2SG.NOM
halü–apaan malap=bi ma’=bi
live–IPFV where=2SG.NOM where=2SG.NOM
ing~kim malap wün halü–apaan meeda
MOM~come where be live–IPFV already
\end{verbatim}
‘The Indians come. “Where were you living? Where did you come from? Where is it that you were living? Already you were gone a long time,” they said.’

88) oo, has-lu pinggüh-kija has-ki wooma aawiba’at.
   o has=lu pinggü–ah=gija has=gi
   oh NEG=2PL.IMP say–IMP=REP NEG=1SG.NOM

wooma aaw–iba’–at
right.away tell–want.to–DUR
‘ “Oh, don’t you all say that,” she says, “I don’t want to tell right away.” ’

89) tciitc taal, woogam paai’üt-kija’, met woo-daal, tciitc taal paai’üt pic-ki-lulu aawinca-kija’.
   tciitc taa–l woogami paai’yü–at=gija
   one day–NCM:A yet be.left.over–DUR=REP

met woodaal tciitc taa–l
already two.days one day–NCM:A

paai’yü–at pic=gi=dulu
be.left.over–DUR then=1SG.NOM=2PL.ACC

aaw–in–ica=gija
tell–CAUS–FUT=REP
‘ “One day is still left,” she said. “Already two days, one day is left; then I will tell you,” she said.’

90) has inyaana yahnat, ohtat, ohtat.
   has inyaana yaan–at ohta–at ohta–at
   NEG Indian believe–DUR ask–DUR ask–DUR
‘The Indians don’t believe her; they ask and ask.’

91) oo, tüwü–gü–kît c wahaayu–lu met-ki aabaabü wal alaawiyilu-kija’.
   o tüwü=güt=gija wahaaai=lu met=gi
   oh good=QUOT=REP DIST:LOC:from=2PL.IMP already=1SG.NOM
22 EVEN PAGE HEADER

aa~paabü wal
MOM~be.tired DIST:ACC

alaa’w–i–iyi–ulu=gija
talk–NMLZ.PAT–NREFL.ACC.POSS–2PL.POSS=REP
‘“Oh, OK,” she says. “From there I already got tired of your talk.”’

92) meta aabaabü alaawiiyilu-gü ka’mü.
meeda aa~paabü
already MOM~be.tired

alaa’w–i–iyi–lu=güt
talk–NMLZ.PAT–NREFL.ACC.POSS–2PL.POSS=QUOT

kam’ü–at
be.enough–DUR
‘“I already got tired of your talk,” she said, “that’s enough.”’

93) maagiba’a-pumu ku-bumu amaagica wo’okan.
maag–iba’–at=buumu kuu=buumu a~maa–ica
know–want.to–DUR=2PL.NOM and=2PL.NOM MOM~know–FUT

wookan
pretty.soon
‘“You all want to know, and you’re going to know right away.”’

94) pic-gitc-tüpü aawin.
pic=gija=dapü aaw–in
then=REP=3PL.ACC tell–CAUS
‘Then she told them.’

95) wah-nin iiimiin wa’ ananggiyat tündap-kija’.
wah=ni ii~miin wa’
DIST:LOC=1SG.ACC MOM~take DIST

ananggayat tün–t–a–b=gija
Ananggiyat rock–NCM:B–ACC–LOC=REP
‘“That Ananggiyat took me there to the rock,” she said.’

28 Lamb’s translation: ‘I’m tired, you’re asking, and it’s all right.’
29 Lamb’s translation: ‘That brownie took me up the rocks she told ‘em.’
96) wah-nin wiliwula’ang tündap ananggiyat.
   wah=ni wil’la–iw–ala–ng
   DIST:LOC=1SG.ACC grab.while.going–PASS–GO<ACT–DS
   tün–t–a–b ananggayat
   rock–NCM:B–ACC–LOC Ananggiyat
   ‘ “There where I was carried to the rocks, Ananggiyat.” ’

97) kuu haainda-b ütüka-kü-kite-ta wanda anghaniil.
   kuu hainda=bi ü~tük=gü=gija=da
   and what.ACC=2SG.NOM MOM~eat=QUOT=REP=3PL.NOM
   wanda anghani–l
   DIST:PL:ACC people–NCM:A
   ‘ “And what did you eat,” those people said.’

98) oo, tüka-ki takaai-kija’.
   o tük–at=gi takaah–i=gija
   oh eat–DUR=1SG.NOM valley.quail–ACC=REP
   ‘ “Oh, I eat quail,” she said.’ ['Oo I’m eatin’ quail, she said.’]

99) müügülas wa-gitc wal ananggiyata.
   mü’ügü–ala–as wa=gija wal
   kill–GO<ACT–SS DIST=REP DIST:ACC
   ananggayat–a
   Ananggiyat–ACC
   ‘ “When Ananggiyat goes and kills them,” she said.’

100) pic-gitc tübüt kaalokp wal woo taakahii-kija, müügükinas.
    pic=gija tübü–at kaaluk–b wal woh
    then=REP put–DUR armpit–LOC DIST:ACC two
    takaah–i=gija mü’ügü–akin–as
    valley.quail–ACC=REP kill–ACT>COME–SS
    ‘ “Then he puts two quail in his armpits,” she said, “when he is coming
    from killing them.” ’

30 Lamb’s translation: ‘She said that brownie took her to the rock.’
101) wal-gi tükat-gija’.
wal=gi tük–at=gija
DIST:ACC=1SG.NOM eat–DUR=REP
‘“That’s what I eat,” she said.’

102) pic nü’üng-bum has taawügü üüdüüwüla nü’üng kabooda’an-kija’.
pic nü’üng=buumu has taawügü–at
then 1SG.POSS=2PL.NOM NEG see–DUR

uu~tuulu nü’üng
MOM~make 1SG.POSS

kabooda’–a–iyi–n=gija
goat–POSSC2–NREFL.ACC.POSS–3SG.POSS=REP
‘“Then, don’t you see, he made my coat,” she said.’

103) kabooda’in-nü’üng. He had a nice coat.
kabooda’–a–i–iyi–n=nü’üng
goat–POSSC2–NREFL.ACC.POSS–3SG.POSS=1SG.POSS
‘My coat.’

104) kabooda’in-nü’üng-gtc.
kabooda’–a–i–iyi–n=nü’üng=gija
goat–POSSC2–NREFL.ACC.POSS–3SG.POSS=REP
‘“My coat,” she said.’

105) pic-gtc wa piniiyu wa hooijabün wadzin takaahin wünügima-ta.
pic=gija wa’ piniiyu wa’ hooijabü–n
then=REP DIST every DIST topknot–3SG.POSS

wa’ading takaah–n
DIST:GEN valley.quail–GEN

wün–ägiim–at=da
be–COME<ACT–DUR=3PL.NOM
‘Then all over the coat were quail’s topknots.’

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31 Lamb’s translation: ‘Don’t you see, he made my coat, he (the girl) told these guys.’
32 Lamb’s translation: ‘All the little top knot all over his coat.’
106) pinü-gitc ih tüüdzila, pinü wanangk, tuduuh.
   pinü=gi ja ih tüüdzi–l–a pinü wanaang
   like=REP here store–NCM:A–ACC like long

   tuduuh
   long
   ‘Like here in a store, that long, long.’33

107) Nice-gü-ta mina, tüwüpil-gü-ta.
   Nice=gü=da mina tüwüpil=gü=da
   Nice=QUOT=3PL.NOM also pretty=QUOT=3PL.NOM
   ‘ “Nice,” they say, and also “pretty,” they say.’

108) tüwüpil-gija kabooda’an.
   tüwüpil=gija kabooda’–a–n
   pretty=REP coat–POSSC2–3SG.POSS
   ‘Her coat is pretty.’

   pic=gija=da wal peejü–at
   then=REP=3PL.NOM DIST:ACC like–DUR

   malap=bi ü~wükü
   where=2SG.NOM MOM~grab

   unduugal–a=gü=gija=da
   that.one–ACC=QUOT=REP=3PL.NOM
   ‘Then they like that. “Where did you get that?” they said.’

110) has-lu pinggü-gija’.
    has=lu pinggü=gija
    NEG=2PL.IMP say=REP
    ‘ “Don’t say that,” she said.’

111) pic-düpü aawin tan-bum maagiba’at ku ka’müt mina-kija meta woo-daal,
    tciitc taal paa’ipaa omok. tan has aawaaaiwüt ku has muugaaaiwüt ku
    tciitc taal paa‘ü omok nü’üng aawickan-kija’.
    pic=dapü aaw–in tan=buumu
    then=3PL.ACC tell–CAUS if=2PL.NOM

33 Lamb’s translation: ‘Look like tailor shop, he says. Long way down (coat is long).’
Then she told them, "If you want to know, but that’s enough, and it’s already two days; even though one day was left. If I might fall down dead, might die, but one day is left anyway for when I ought to tell."

34 Lamb’s translation: ‘Have to tell three days, and if I tell in two days I die.’
Then she told them, “Ananggiyat took me there to the rocks; I grew up there,” she said.

Then she came and put me here.

Then she is already pregnant.

About to give birth. That woman.

Then when she finished telling them, she fell over backwards (dead).

Upon saying that, she lay down, she flipped over backwards.

When she told them, she lay flat (i.e. she died) on the ground.

She lay flat.
120) Brownies-kitc wa, tuumupin woo-gija’.
Brownies=REP  DIST offspring–DIM–3SG.POSS two=REP
‘Those are Brownies, she had two of them as children.’

121) pic-kitc wooma wal-da-gtc wal inyaana wükü-lu, wükü-lu-gü-ktc-ta.
pic=gija  wooma  wal=da=gija
then=REP  right.away  DIST:ACC=3PL.NOM=REP
wal  inyaana  wükü=lu
DIST:ACC  Indian  grab=2PL.IMP
wükü=lu=gü=gija=da
grab=2PL.IMP=QUOTE=REP=3PL.NOM
‘Then right away, those Indians said, “Grab them, grab them!” ’

122) mu wooma-gtc-ta wal ündüümalaau wooma-gtc Brownie wa ipcamin amaagiagaal-gtc-ta wükükcabüün.
wooma=gija=da  wal  ün-tümalaaw
right.away=REP 3PL.NOM  DIST:ACC  MOM–chase
wooma=gija  Brownie wa’  i–pic–amin
right.away=REP  Brownie DIST  MOM–go.out–ACT>GO
a–maaigüla  wükü–akca–büü–n
MOM–run  grab–SS.INTER–NMLZ.AG.HAB–3SG.POSS
‘Right away they chased them. Those Brownies came out and ran as soon as they saw them.’

123) wanaang-da wa’adminas-ta üwük tünde.
wanaang=da  wa’ad–amin–as=da
far.away=3PL.NOM  run.away–ACT>GO–SS=3PL.NOM

37 Lamb’s translation: ‘And then little kids come out (little brownies).’
38 Lamb’s translation: ‘When they see those brownies (they ran) then little brownies got out and they went running. (They couldn’t catch ‘em, they ran away from the peoples).’
‘They ran away far away; they grabbed rocks.’

124) *Rock.* tünt.

‘Rock.’

125) oo-gitc-tüpü paai ebeeya undzunggu-gict-ta ahya-ta pic wahaai-da aamaigala muuwalap ti ümühüüi.
o=gija=dapü paai e~pee’
oh=REP=3PL.ACC three MOM~hit.by.throwing

un~tsungg=gija=da aahy–at=da
MOM~be.scared=REP=3PL.NOM quit–DUR=3PL.NOM

pic wahaai=da aa~maaigüla
then DIST:LOC:from=3PL.NOM MOM~run

muwaa–l–a–b tii
mountain–NCM:A–ACC–LOC and

ü~mühüüy
MOM~mountain.climb

‘Oh, they hit three of them. They (the people) got scared and quit. Then from there they (the little people) ran to the mountain and climbed up.’

126) *That’s the end.*
This “Coyote and Wolf” text is attributed to Steban Miranda (a chief of the Tübatulabal) and appears as the first text in Charles Voegelin’s unpublished field notes, which were recently located in the American Philosophical Society’s (APS) Native American Materials in Philadelphia. In his notebook, Voegelin translated the title as “Coyote and First Man,” but the Pahka’anil rendering is clearly “Coyote and Wolf”. While Voegelin does offer a hand-written transcription and word-by-word gloss, there is no morphological parsing, and no free translation is provided with the text. Given that this is the first text in the first of Voegelin’s notebooks at APS, this text should be seen as representative of Voegelin’s early work in the language; this fact has perhaps contributed to the number of issues with the details of the original transcription and the translation—all of which are discussed in detail in the footnotes.

“Coyote and Wolf” is an abbreviated version of the text “Hoarded Game,” previously published by Voegelin (1935b) and attributed to Steban Miranda. There is some likelihood, however, that the published version may have actually been told by Mike Miranda (Steban Miranda’s son, Yukaya). There is an unpublished English rendering of “Hoarded Game” that perfectly matches the published version and which is clearly attributed to Mike Miranda (Lindsay Marean, p.c.). An important structural difference between the version included here and Voegelin’s published version is that “Coyote and Wolf” does not include any use of the =gija reportative. This is a feature found throughout the published version and thus supports the notion that the texts may be from different storytellers.

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39 This work would not have been possible without the support of the Pakanapul Language Team, especially Robert Gomez (Tribal Chair), Tina Guerrero (Tribal Vice-Chair), and Betsy Johnson, all of whom have lent their voices and language expertise to enable digitization of older, previously unrecorded, texts. Tina Guerrero provides the recording for this text. We are also deeply indebted to Lindsay Marean who has very graciously shared her databases (lexical and textual) and her expertise in the Pahka’anil language with our team. Many thanks are also due to Brian Carpenter, Curator of the Native American Materials of the American Philosophical Society, for helping to locate and make available Charles Voegelin’s notebooks to the Tübatulabal tribal leadership and the Pakanapul Language Team, who in turn shared them with our team.

40 The unpublished English version of “Hoarded Game” can be found in the Bancroft Library University Archives at UC Berkeley (Voegelin, C.F. and Wheeler-Voegelin, E. Tubatulabal Myths and Tales. 1931-1933).
ict ti tübaite anapadziːm.
if–t ti tübaite anapadziː–m
coyote–NCM:B and wolf brother–PL
‘Coyote and Wolf were brothers.’

pic tübaite tohat tohila hac ümük tohila tübaitec.
pif tübaite toha–t tohi–l–a haj
then wolf hunt–DUR deer–NCM:A–ACC NEG

i~mik tohi–l–a tübaite
MOM~kill deer–NCM:A–ACC wolf
‘Wolf hunts deer but never kills deer...Wolf.’

pic too wahai omuula muualamiik wanang miyat omulat.
pif toː wahai omuːla mu:ala–miːk
then no.idea DIST:LOC:from migrate mountain–toward

wananja mija–t omula–t
far.away go–DUR migrate–DUR
‘So for some reason, they left there (the country) going toward the mountains, going far away.’

pic tübaitec tohaala=ma=güt icta.
pif tübaite toha=ala=ma=git if–t–a
then wolf hunt–GO<ACT=JUSS=QUOT coyote–NCM:B–ACC
‘Then Wolf says to Coyote, “Let me go hunt!” ’

pic hac haiinda ümük.
pif haj haiind–a i~mik
then no thing–ACC MOM~kill
‘But they didn’t kill anything.’

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41 In Voegelin’s transcription, the noun tübaite ‘wolf’ appears with a final [t] twice in line 2. The noun class for tübaite should not carry the final absolutive /-t/, so the status of this variant with [t] is unclear.
42 This plural marker appears to be limited in productivity, applying to some proper names (kaawiicm ‘Kawaiisu’, Lindsay Marean, p.c.) and also possessed nouns (Voegelin 1935a:156).
43 The negative hac and the verb mük were originally transcribed as /aʃomuk/ in Voegelin’s notebook.
44 We have followed Voegelin in glossing the ubiquitous utterance-initial discourse marker pic as ‘then.’ In discourse, pic is one of the devices frequently found marking the main event line (see Sanchez 2018; Sinetos 2018) in narrative (and as such can begin narratives) in addition to highlighting sequential relationships (in line with its ‘then’ gloss).
45 This form /toː ~ tooh/ can function as an exclamation in response to a question, meaning something like “Hell if I know!” or “How would I know?!” (Lindsay Marean, p.c.).
46 In Voegelin’s notebook, the negative and the noun are transcribed as phonologically bound: /haʃaiʔonta/. 
6) pic übül ülüˈüng.
piʃ iːbil iliʔiːŋ
then MOM~arrive be.evening/late–DS
‘They arrived in the evening.’

7) pic ict tsulumat meˈetak.
piʃ iʃ–t tsulum–at meʔetak
then coyote–NCM:B sleep–DUR in.morning
‘Coyote was sleeping in the morning.’

8) pic tübaite icta oolüˈgüt.
piʃ tibaitʃ iʃ–t–a oːl–iʔiːgi–t
then wolf coyote–NCM:B–ACC get.up–IMP=say–DUR
‘So Wolf says to Coyote, “Get up!” ’

9) pic ict hac-güt meˈeta-ki waagiˈüt hayi nüˈüng ooban.
piʃ iʃ–t haj=gi–t meʔeta=ki
then coyote–NCM:B NEG=say–DUR already=1SG

waːgiʔiː–t haji niʔiŋ oːba–n
be.skinn–DUR NEG 1SG.POSS muscle–3.POSS
‘ “No,” says Coyote, “I am already lean and don’t have any muscle.” ’

10) yeuˈwang ümbü tübaite icmi tohoˈalac üdüu haniila.
jeːwaŋ iʃ–mi tibaitʃ iːmi tohoʔiː–alaʃ
get.light–DS again wolf MOM~go hunt–GO<ACT–SS

iːdiu haniː–l–a
MOM~find house–NCM:A–ACC
‘The next day, Wolf again went to hunt and found the house.’

47 In Voegelin’s notes, the [a] vowels on the two negatives in (9) are unexpectedly long; perhaps this is due to emphasis.
48 This form was originally transcribed as /iːti/ and glossed as ‘for his’ in Voegelin’s notebook--such a form with this meaning has not yet been found in any other sources. However, the momentaneous form of the verb /tiːwit/ ‘look for / find’ would be /iːdiu/, and this fits very clearly with the event line.
49 In Voegelin’s notes, the syllable [oʔ] glottal stop is transcribed after the [h] in ‘hunt’. In Marean’s lexicon the verb ‘hunt’ includes [a], without any glottal stop: /toha/ (2015:110). This same form translated as ‘hunt’ is also seen nominalized in lines 30 and 31.
11) tciic taatwal halit wah ege’ewan taatwal.
   \textit{tʃiːtʃ \textit{taːtwa–l hali–t wah}}
   \textit{one man–NCM:A live–DUR DIST:LOC}

   \textit{egeʔewan \textit{taːtwa–l}}
   \textit{big man–NCM:A}

   ‘One man lived there, a big man.’\textsuperscript{50} \textsuperscript{51}

12) üpülüla haniiban üpüli wa’ tübaitec.
   \textit{i–bili–la haniː–b–an}
   \textit{MOM~arrive–GO<ACT house–LOC–NREFL–3SG.POSS}

   \textit{i–bil waʔ tibaitʃ}
   \textit{MOM~arrive DIST wolf}

   ‘He (Wolf) arrived at his house; he arrived, that wolf.’

13) yoowi tohiil.
   \textit{joːwi tohiː–l}
   \textit{many deer–NCM:A}

   ‘There were a lot of deer.’\textsuperscript{52}

14) awaat tohiil tsungguʃ icta.
   \textit{a~wa’at tohiː–l tsunggu–ʃ}
   \textit{MOM~run.away deer–NCM:A be.frightened–SS}

   \textit{ʃ–t–a}
   \textit{coyote–NCM:B–ACC}

   ‘The deer ran away, being frightened of Coyote.’\textsuperscript{53} \textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{50} In Voegelin’s notes, this word is transcribed as /ageʔawan/--a variant pronunciation of the more commonly attested ege’ewan, as found in multiple texts and in Marean’s (2015) lexicon.

\textsuperscript{51} The word taatwal ‘man’ was originally transcribed with a short vowel in the second instance in this sentence and in lines 15, 18 and 22 as well. Based on other texts in Voegelin 1935b as well as Marean’s lexicon (2015), the long vowel is expected.

\textsuperscript{52} In Voegelin’s notes, this was transcribed as /joːwi/.

\textsuperscript{53} In Voegelin’s notes, this verb is translated as ‘broil,’ but the verb should be translated as ‘run away’; \textit{wa’ad-at\textsuperscript{55}}, run.away-DUR. A similar form (without the final [t]) is reported as ‘broil’ in Voegelin’s grammar (1935a:67). In other versions of this same tale (cf. Voegelin 1935b:192ff), the verbs used for this event include ‘move’ and ‘scattered’. The notion of ‘broil’ does not fit with the narrative at all. The verb for ‘broil’ or ‘roast’ is \textit{acagüt} while the verb \textit{aawat} means ‘tell; gossip’ (Marean 2015).

\textsuperscript{54} Voegelin’s notes give the form /tumbuʃ/. Given the meaning and context, and the fact that icta ‘coyote’ is clearly an object, we believe this to be either a mis-transcription or a hypo-articulated variant of the verb ‘be.frightened’ /tsunggu + -(a)ʃ/ ‘be.frightened-ss’ with the same-subject subordinator.
15) taatwal pinggüt kimat lohoma'.
   taːtwa–l  pingi–t  kim–at  lohoː:m–aʔ
   man–NCM:A  say–DUR come–DUR  enter–IMP.SG
   ‘The man says, “Enter!” ’

16) pic üwük wohonta ama’ tūka’ tūbaic.  
pijʃ  i–wik  wohon–t–a  a–maʔ
   then  MOM~get  pine.nuts–NCM:B–ACC  MOM~give
   tik–aʔ  tibaitʃʃ  
eat–IMP.SG  wolf
   ‘Then he got pine nuts; he gave them, “Eat, Wolf!” ’

17) tūkat me’etak uubui.
   tik–at  meʔetak  uʔu~bui
   eat–DUR in.morning  MOM~be.full
   ‘He eats and became full in the morning.’

18) tūbaic pinggüt taatwala wohon, wohon, wohon.’
   tibaitʃʃ  pingi–t  taːtwa–l–a  wilaal–a
   wolf  say–DUR man–NCM:A–ACC  climb–IMP.SG
   wohon  wilaal–aʔ
   pine.nut.tree  climb–IMP.SG
   ‘Wolf says to the man, “Climb the pine nut tree, climb!” ’

19) pic tūbaic tohiila apayiiuwin.
   pijʃ  tibaitʃʃ  tohiː–l–a  a~pajaw–in
   then  wolf  deer–NCM:A–ACC  MOM~scatter–CAUS
   ‘Then Wolf scattered the deer.’

20) tohiil iimi awa’.
   tohiː  iː~mi  awaʔ
   deer–NCM:A  MOM~go  DIST
   ‘The deer went there.’

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55 Voegelin’s transcription doesn’t include the /ʔ/ of the singular imperative.
56 The command to ‘climb!’ appears twice in this line. In Voegelin’s notes, a glottal stop is reported for the imperative suffix for the second form, wilala’, but not for the first, wilala. The glottal stop of the singular imperative is elided in line 15, as well. There is also some variation in the word ‘climb’ where a glottal stop is inconsistently attested (e.g. /wiːlala/ ~ /wiːlala/ in Marean’s lexicon (2015:143)).
57 In Voegelin’s notes, this reduplicated /i/ is not transcribed as long. In other texts and Marean’s lexicon (2015), this vowel is long. A short vowel is also seen in Voegelin’s transcription for line 28 below.
21) pic cigaal inggim ala’ac.
   then crack.in.rock–NCM:A MOM~come quickly
   ‘Then (he) came quickly into the rock shelter.’

22) pic wüüdüt taatwal.
   then be.mad–DUR man–NCM:A
   ‘Then the man was mad.’

23) ümükca-gi-lüng-güt.
   MOM~kill–FUT=1SG=2SG.ACC=QUOT
   ‘“I will kill you,” he said.’

24) pic tübaitec olohomamin tanding omoloogan.
   then wolf MOM~enter–ACT>GO rock–GEN
   ‘Then Wolf went underneath a rock.’

25) cigaal ülü’üng ayanüt, nahatc iginüt-te ayanüt.
   crack.in.rock–NCM:A be.evening–DS sing–DUR
   cane–REFL.POSS swing–DUR=and sing–DUR
   ‘In the rock shelter, the man is singing in the evening, swinging his own cane and singing.’

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58 This word is transcribed as /ʃɨ gal/ in Voegelin’s notes where it is glossed as ‘rock shelter’. The word expected for ‘rock shelter’ is tünggiil. The form cigaal is associated with a crack in a rock, (see Marean 2015:20). In her lexicon, Marean notes that she is not sure of the absolute noun class suffix for this form. It is clear from this text that this noun takes the A-class /-l/, glossed as NCM:A. This word is also found in line 25.

59 This form may actually be the verb alalüü’üt ‘hurry’ with the same-subject subordinate suffix -ac.

60 The second person singular object enclitic is transcribed with the [i] vowel instead of the expected [ɨ] as in /=lɨŋ/.

61 In Voegelin’s notes, the verb lohom ‘enter’ is not transcribed with the [ho] syllable in the root. In other texts and in Marean’s (2015) lexicon, however, all variants do show the [ho] syllable. The word ‘under’ / ‘underneath’ is not represented with a long vowel in Voegelin’s notes; it is consistently represented with a long [o] in Marean (2015) and in other texts.

62 The word appears to function as a conjunction and is likely related to the conjunction /tii/--the expected form (based on other texts published by Voegelin (1935b)); this form can also be cliticized as /=di/.
26) tsukaye pa’aye ’am ’am ’am ’am
   tsukaje pa?aje ?am ?am ?am ?am
deer mountain.sheep ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
‘Deer, Mountain Sheep, ♪am, am, am, ♪.’64

27) iginüt nahatec.
   igin–it naha–tʃ
swing–DUR cane–REFL.POSS
‘He is swinging his cane.’

28) iimia-ta ikiik wanaa’.
iː~mia=ta ikiːk wanaʔ
MOM~go=3PL this.way far
‘They went very far away.’65

29) tübaitec ümük tohiila.
tibajtʃ i~mik tohiː–l–a
wolf MOM~kill deer–NCM:A–ACC
‘Wolf killed the deer.’

30) pic ićiigin toho’ila.
pij i~ʃiːgin toho–i–l–a
then MOM~skin hunt–NMLZ–NCM:A–ACC
‘Then (he) then skinned the hunted one (deer).’66

31) toho’iil mühü’at.
toho–i–l mihiʔ–at
hunt–NMLZ–NCM:A lie.down–DUR
‘The hunted one (deer) is lying down.’67

32) ciिििat tübaitec ciिििat ict.
ʃiːgin–at tibajtʃʃiːgin–at ʃʃ–t
skin–DUR wolf skin–DUR coyote–NCM:B
‘Wolf is skinning; Coyote is skinning.’68

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64 This song was recorded by J.P. Harrington circa 1916 and is included in the materials housed at the Smithsonian: https://anthropology.si.edu/naa/harrington/sound.html.
65 This word ‘far’ was transcribed as /wonaʔ/ in Voegelin’s notebook.
66 In Voegelin’s notes, the verb ciििि ‘skin’ is transcribed with a short stem vowel [i]; in Marean’s (2015:20) lexicon, the vowel is long in most citations.
67 Voegelin’s notes show a lenited form /mɨiʔ/ for ‘lie.down,’ which appears to have been mis-translated as ‘ran away’ in his notebook.
68 The verb ciििि ‘skin’ is transcribed with a [k] instead of a [g] for both instances in Voegelin’s notes in this line. Additionally, Voegelin transcribes a short first vowel for the first instance of ciििि ‘skin’ (line 30), see discussion in footnote 66 above.
ict ümbing aahya-ma-la ciiginiit.

\[
\begin{align*}
\mathrm{if} & \ & \mathrm{im} & \ & \mathrm{a}: \mathrm{hja} & \ & \mathrm{ma} & \ & \mathrm{la} \\
\text{coyote} & \ & \text{MOM} & \ & \text{say} & \ & \text{abandon} & \ & \text{JUSS} & \ & \text{1DU.NOM} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'\text{Coyote said, “Let’s abandon our skinning.”}' \footnote{The verb ‘skin’ here is transcribed with a short first vowel and a glottal stop after the nominalizer, followed by the short [i] [ʃiginiːʔ it].}

wookan-kila’ aapaiw tünt wooyo-güt ict.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wo:kan=kila} & \ & \mathrm{a}: \ & \mathrm{~paiw} & \ & \mathrm{tin} & \ & \mathrm{t} \\
\text{pretty.soon} & \ & \text{MOM} & \ & \text{turned.into rock} & \ & \text{NCM:B} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘“Pretty soon, we will both turn into rocks”, said Coyote.’ \footnote{The word wookan ‘pretty soon’ is transcribed with a short vowel in Voegelin’s notes; Marean’s lexicon represents this word with a long vowel (2015:146).}

yaa meeda oowok.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja:} & \ & \text{me:da} & \ & \mathrm{o}: \ & \text{~wok} \\
\text{ready} & \ & \text{already} & \ & \text{MOM} & \ & \text{be.ended} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Already it is ended.’

References:


\footnote{The verb ‘skin’ here is transcribed with a short first vowel and a glottal stop after the nominalizer, followed by the short [i] [ʃiginiːʔ it].}

\footnote{The word wookan ‘pretty soon’ is transcribed with a short vowel in Voegelin’s notes; Marean’s lexicon represents this word with a long vowel (2015:146).}

\footnote{In Voegelin’s notes, tünt ‘rock’ is transcribed as having a velar nasal, not an alveolar nasal. Based on other texts and language materials, the alveolar is expected.}

\footnote{In Voegelin’s notes, the form ‘both’ is transcribed as /woːju/. This is very likely a variant of the more commonly attested wooyo.}


SINETOS, NICHOLAS. 2018. Pic, topicality and discourse in Pahka’anil (Tübatulabal). MA Qualifying Paper, California State University, Long Beach.

