

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

PLT Ortho- graphy	IPA	PLT Ortho- graphy	IPA	PLT Ortho- graphy	IPA
a	[ɑ], [ə]	j	[dʒ]	ü	[i]
aa	[ɑ:]	ng	[ŋ]	üü	[i:]
c	[tʃ]	ngg	[ŋg]	y	[j]
tc	[tʃ]	o	[o], [ɔ]	'	[ʔ]
dz	[dz]	oo	[o:]	ai	[aj]
e	[ɛ]	r	[r]	oi	[oj]
ee	[ɛ:]	s	[s], ([ʃ])	au	[aw]
i	[i], [i]	u	[u], [ʊ]	iu	[iw]
ii	[i:]	uu	[u:]		

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) *-gim* 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

² For example, the patient nominalizer *-i*, when added to the verb stem *tük* 'eat', yields *tikiil* 'food' while the agent nominalizers *-(a)piüül* NMLZ.AG.TEMP and *-(i)biüül* NMLZ.AG.HAB combine with *tük* to yield *tükapiüül* 'one who is eating' and *tükibiüül* '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).

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Stefana told “Brownie and Girl.” The recordings were deposited by F.M. Voegelin at Indiana University in 1985.⁵ Sydney Lamb’s work on Pahka’anil includes a rough line-by-line English translation of this same “Brownie and Girl” text.⁶ 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.⁷

- 1) halü-kitc anghanil.
halü-at=gija anghanii-l
live-DUR=REP people-NCM:A
‘People are living.’⁸

- 2) wuuda-ta wala tsaamila.
wuud-at=da wal-a tcaami-l-a
pound-DUR=3PL.NOM DIST:ACC-ACC acorn.mush-NCM:A-ACC
‘They’re pounding that acorn mush.’⁹

⁵Specifically, 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>.

⁶Lamb’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.

⁷I 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.

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

⁹The 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) tsaamila tu'lüt.
 tcaami-l-a tu'lü-at
 acorn.mush-NCM:A-ACC make-DUR
 'They're making acorn mush.'
- 4) piniyu okogaim.
 piniyu oko~koim
 every COLL.PL~woman
 'All of the women.'
- 5) pic-kite-ta meta wanda okogaim 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 piniyu iimii haniip üwükümin wal tsaamila.
 met anghanii-l piniyu ii~miy haniib
 already people-NCM:A every MOM~go house-LOC

 ü~wükü-amin wal
 MOM~grab-ACT>GO DIST:ACC

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tcaami-l-a
acorn.mush-NCM:A-ACC

‘All the people already went home; they took that acorn mush.’

- 9) pic-kitc wa abuun ogon ma’a tooyüt tuugüt meda.
pic=gija wa’ aabuu-n ogon ma’a
then=REP DIST mother-3SG.POSS on.and.on that.one

tooy-at tuugü-at meeda
travel.about-DUR get.dark-DUR already

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

- 10) mina aanawicpit anangat.
mina aanawic-bi-t anang-at
also girl-DIM-NCM:B cry-DUR
‘The little girl is still crying.’

- 11) aabuun üwüüdü.
aabuu-n ü~wüüdü
mother-3SG.POSS MOM~be.angry
‘Her mother got angry.’

- 12) oo, ananga wah-gija’, üwükügimca-düng wa, wa, wa ananggiyat-gija’.
o anang-ah wah=gija
oh cry-IMP DIST:LOC=REP

ü~wükü-agiim-ica=düng wa’ wa’
MOM~grab-COME<ACT-FUT=2SG.ACC DIST DIST

wa’ ananggiyat=gija
DIST Ananggiyat¹⁰=REP

‘“Oh, cry there!” she said, “Ananggiyat will come and get you.”’¹¹

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 hanii-b
 MOM~take house-LOC
 ‘She took it home.’
- 16) pic oonoogim hayi wa tuibitam met üwükümin wa’ Brownie, wa’
 ananggiyat, 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’ ananggiyat ü~wükü-amin meeda
 DIST Ananggiyat MOM~grab-ACT>GO already
 ‘Then she came back, and no girl. The brownie, Ananggiyat, had already taken her and left.’¹²
- 17) uu, aajawaayininüümü-gija’.
 uu aadzayaaw-in-iniinüm=gija
 ooh yell-CAUS-here.and.there=REP
 ‘Ooh, she went here and there hollering for her.’

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.’

aanaa-iyi-n
 father-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS

‘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.’¹⁶
- 23) yumugiwal, *they call that animal, you know.*
 yuumuugiiwa-l
 spiritual.being-NCM:A
 ‘Spirit being.’
- 24) pic-kite 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-gite ahal, pic wahaai aayaau.
 ii~miy=gija aanawic-bi-t manügic wa’
 MOM~go=REP girl-DIM-NCM:B how.many DIST

 süwaa-l=gija 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’.
 egeewankoim meeda
 big woman already
 ‘She’s a grown woman now.’

¹⁶ Lamb’s translation: ‘That animal took her already.’

- 31) müügakina-gite 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.'¹⁹
- 33) *We call this* kaalok. woh-gite 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-gite wahaai wa' ananggiyat pinggüt met-düng aabuun 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

¹⁹ Lamb's translation: 'He put them under his arm (with arms folded) (gesture: as in hand game).'

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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, iimiinca-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).'²⁰

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) aabuuban.

aabuu-b-a-n
 mother-LOC-NREFL-3SG.POSS

'To her mother's place.'

41) olohoomala aabuun haniin ih.

o~lohoom-ala aabuu-n haniin-n ih
 MOM~enter-GO<ACT mother-GEN house-3SG.POSS here

'She entered into her mother's house here.'²¹

42) ümbü kutcwan haniil wah ütübüla wa ananggiyat wal koimi.

ümbü' kutcwa-n haniil-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).'

ü~tübü-ala wa' ananggayat
 MOM~put-GO<ACT DIST Ananggiyat

wal koim-i
 DIST:ACC woman-ACC

'That Ananggiyat went and put that woman there in another little house.'²²

- 43) olhomin wa wah-gitc naagaawüt.
 o~lohoom-in wa' wah=gija naagaawü-at
 MOM~enter-CAUS DIST DIST:LOC=REP sit.in.shade-DUR
 'He put here inside; she sat there in the shadow.'

- 44) pic aabuu-n anang-at pini'ik taa-l
 then mother-3SG.POSS cry-DUR every day-NCM:A
 'Then her mother cries every day.'

- 45) pic wahaai hainda-gitc uguuyala wah.
 pic wahaai hainda=gija u~ku'y-ala
 then DIST:LOC:from something=REP MOM~look.for-GO<ACT

wah
 DIST:LOC

'Then from there she went to look for something there.'

- 46) aamamüüinat agii, ama'amin wal koimi.
 aamamüüin-at agi a~ma'-amin
 grope.around-DUR who MOM~touch-ACT>GO

wal koim-i
 DIST:ACC woman-ACC

'She felt someone while groping around; she felt that woman.'²³

²² Lamb's translation: 'He got little house (shack), that's where they went (little house where they put food, not same as house in which they live).'

²³ Lamb's translation: 'Touching around (gesture indicates groping). Touch that lady.'

- 51) pic-ta üwükümin kuta.
 pic=da ü~wükü-amin ku-t-a
 then=3PL.NOM MOM~grab-ACT>GO light-NCM:B-ACC
 ‘Then they grabbed a light.’
- 52) halü, wicwa, wicwa, aanawict wa naagawüt, *girl, they call it* aanawict,
girl, naagawü-kija.
 halü aanawic-t wah naagaawü-at
 sit girl-NCM:B DIST:LOC sit.in.shade-DUR

 aanawic-t naagaaw-at=gija
 girl-NCM:B sit.in.shade-DUR=REP
 ‘That girl is sitting there in the shadows.’
- 53) *Good, good coat on.* tüwün kabooda’an.
 tüwü-n kabooda’-a-n
 good-3SG.POSS coat-POSSC2-3SG.POSS
 ‘Her coat is nice.’
- 54) tüwün-güic kabooda’an.
 tüwü-n=güic kabooda’-a-n
 good-3SG.POSS=supposing coat-POSSC2-3SG.POSS
 ‘Her coat is a nice one.’
- 55) kabooda’an wanangk.
 kabooda’-a-n wanaang
 coat-POSSC2-3SG.POSS long
 ‘Her coat is long.’
- 56) pic-ai, pic-ai-da pinggüt haica-p übü-l-gija abuu.
 pic=wahaai pic=wahaai=da
 then= DIST:LOC:from then= DIST:LOC:from=3PL.NOM
 pinggü-at haica=bi ü~pülü=gija
 say-DUR when=2SG.NOM MOM~arrive=REP

 aabuu-n
 mother-3SG.POSS
 ‘Then from there, “When did you arrive?” said her mother.’

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- 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!”'²⁵
- 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.'²⁶
- 63) pic meedak hac-gitc-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.'²⁷

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).'

- 64) pic-kitc inda haniitcingwan, haniitcingwan pinggüt mas-da want hac anangat mapil anangikwang-da piniik meedak ku ananga-ta.

pic=gija inda haniitcingwa-n
then=REP they neighbor-3SG.POSS

haniitcingwa-n pinggü-at mas=da
neighbor-3SG.POSS say-DUR why=3PL.NOM

wanda has anang-at mapil
DIST:PL:ACC NEG cry-DUR now

anang-ikwang=da pini'ik meedak kuu
cry-used.to=3PL.NOM every morning and

anang-at=da
cry-DUR=3PL.NOM

‘Then their neighbors, their neighbors say, “Why aren’t they crying now? They used to cry every day, and they cry.”’

- 65) amanükin mapil wanda anghanil has-da anangat-kija’.

a~maanükin mapil wanda anghanii-l
MOM~happen now DIST:PL:ACC people-NCM:A

has=da anang-at=gija
NEG=3PL.NOM cry-DUR=REP

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

- 66) too has üübüla tuumuun yits ma’-kija’.

tooh has üü~pülü tu’mu-n
I.don’t.know NEG MOM~arrive offspring-3SG.POSS

yets ma’a=gija
or that.one=REP

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

- 67) taaugülah-gitc-ta wal tciitci.

taawügü-ala-ah=gija=da wal tciitc-i
see-GO<ACT-IMP=REP=3PL.NOM DIST:ACC one-ACC

‘“Go see!” they say to one (person).’

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- 68) pic wahaai tciitc inggim aadaaugügim pic-gitc pinggüt.
 pic wahaai tciitc ing~kim
 then DIST:LOC:from one MOM~come

 aa~taawügü~agiim pic=gija pinggü~at
 MOM~see~COME<ACT then=REP say~DUR
 ‘Then from there one came to see, and he spoke.’
- 69) ku mas-puum has mapil anangat? ananga-puum piniik meedak ananga-puumu ku mas-puumu has mapil anangat-kija’.
 kuu mas=buumu has mapil anang~at
 and why=2PL.NOM NEG now cry~DUR

 anang~at=buumu pini’ik meedak
 cry~DUR=2PL.NOM every morning

 anang~at=buumu kuu mas=buumu has
 cry~DUR=2PL.NOM and why=2PL.NOM NEG

 mapil anang~at=gija
 now cry~DUR=REP
 ‘ “Why aren’t you all crying now? You all cry every morning, you cry, but why aren’t you crying now?” he said.’
- 70) Oo, üübül ayamuuts tuumuuts-kija so’obict.
 o üü~pülü aayamuuts
 oh MOM~arrive our

 tu’mu~ts=gija soobic~t
 offspring~1PL:INCL.POSS=REP old.woman~NCM:B
 ‘ “Oh, our daughter arrived,” said the old woman.’
- 71) old lady, so’bicta. üübül.
 soobic~t~a üü~pülü
 old.woman~NCM:B~ACC MOM~arrive
 ‘Old lady. She arrived.’

- 72) taaugiba'-kila'ang-gitc wa taaugiba'a-ki-gitc wa koim.
 taawü-gü-iba'-at=gila'ang=gija wa'
 see-want.to-DUR=2PL:EXCL=REP DIST

taawü-gü-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~taawü-gü
 then=3PL.NOM MOM~go MOM~see
 'Then they went to see her.'

- 74) haica-p üübül-kija'.
 haica=bi üü~pülü=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~pülü 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.'

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79) aanawicta üübül wal wün aabuun has anangat mapil yülaha-ta-kija’.

aanawic-t	üü~pülü	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.’

80) oo-küt-gitc piniuu-gitc-ta inggim taaugügimas.

o=güt=gija	piniyu=gija=da	ing~kim
oh=QUOT=REP	every=REP=3PL.NOM	MOM~come

taawügü-agiim-as
 see-COME<ACT-SS

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

81) pic-gitc-ta taaugüt wa. haica-p üübül?

pic=gija=da	taawügü-at	wa’	haica=bi
then=REP=3PL.NOM	see-DUR	DIST	when=2SG.NOM

üü~pülü
 MOM~arrive

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

82) tuugal-kija’.

tuugal=gija
 night=REP

‘“Last night,” she says.’

83) 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

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üüdzümi'-apaan=güt=gija=da
 be.a.long.time-IPFV=QUOT=REP=3PL.NOM

'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-kilulu 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-kitc wahaayu-lu met-ki aabaabü wal alaawiyilu-kija'.

o tüwü=güt=gija wahaai=lu met=gi
 oh good=QUOT=REP DIST:LOC:from=2PL.IMP already=1SG.NOM

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'müt.
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.”’²⁸

- 93) maagiba'a-pumu ku-bumu amaagica wo'okan.
maag-iba'-at=buumu kuu=buumu a~maag-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 iimiin wa' ananggiyat tündap-kija'.
wah=ni ii~miin wa'
DIST:LOC=1SG.ACC MOM~take DIST

ananggiyat tün-t-a-b=gija
Ananggiyat rock-NCM:B-ACC-LOC=REP

‘“That Ananggiyat took me there to the rock,” she said.’²⁹

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.’

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- 96) wah-nin wiliiwüla'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.” ’³⁰
- 97) kuu haainda-b ütuka-kü-kitc-ta wanda anghaniił.
 kuu hainda=bi ü~tǖk=güt=gija=da
 and what.ACC=2SG.NOM MOM~eat=QUOT=REP=3PL.NOM

 wanda anghanii-ł
 DIST:PL:ACC people-NCM:A
 ‘ “And what did you eat,” those people said.’
- 98) oo, tüka-ki takaai-kija'.
 o tǖk-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 tübǖt kaalokp wal woo taakahii-kija, müügükinas.
 pic=gija tübǖ-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 taaugüt üüdüwüla 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
 coat-POSSC2-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS=REP
 ‘“Then, don’t you see, he made my coat,” she said.’³¹
- 103) kabooda’in-nü’üng. *He had a nice coat.*
 kabooda’-a-iyi-n=nü’üng
 coat-POSSC2-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS=1SG.POSS
 ‘My coat.’
- 104) kabooda’in-nü’üng-gitc.
 kabooda’-a-iyi-n=nü’üng=gija
 coat-POSSC2-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS=1SG.POSS=REP
 ‘“My coat,” she said.’
- 105) pic-gitc wa piniyu wa hooijabün wadzin takaahin wünügima-ta.
 pic=gija wa’ piniyu wa’ hooijabü-n
 then=REP DIST every DIST topknot-3SG.POSS

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

 wün-agiim-at=da
 be-COME<ACT-DUR=3PL.NOM
 ‘Then all over the coat were quail’s topknots.’³²

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.’

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- 106) pinü-gitc ih tüüdzila, pinü wanangk, tuduuh.
 pinü=gija 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=güt=da mina tüwüpil=güt=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.’
- 109) pic-kitc-ta wal pee’jüt. maalap-pi üwük unduugala-gü-kitc-ta.
 pic=gija=da wal peejü-at
 then=REP=3PL.NOM DIST:ACC like-DUR
 maalap=bi ü~wükü
 where=2SG.NOM MOM~grab
 unduugal-a=güt=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’ipaan omok. tan has aawaaiwüt ku has muugaaiwüt ku
 tciitc taal paai’üt 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).’

maag-iba'-at		kuu		kam'ü-at
know-want.to-DUR		and		be.enough-DUR
mina=gija	meeda	woodaal tciitc	taa-l	
also=REP	already	two.daysone	day-NCM:A	
paai'yü-apaan	omok	tan	has	
be.left.over-IPFV	almost	if	NEG	
wai'wai'-at		kuu	has	muug-ahiwü-at
fall.down.dead-DUR		and	NEG	die-IRR-DUR
kuu	tciitc	taa-l	paai'yü-at	omok
and	one	day-NCM:A	be.left.over-DUR	almost
nü'üng	aaw-icka-n=gija			
1SG.POSS	gossip-NMLZ.AG.IRR-3SG.POSS=REP			

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

- 112) ka'müt tan-bum maagiba'at, ku, tüwüh.
 kam'ü-at tan=buumu maag-iba'-at kuu
 be.enough-DUR if=2PL.NOM know-want.to-DUR and
- tüwü
 good
 'That's enough. If you want to know, good.'
- 113) pic-gitc-düpü aawiin wah-nin iimiin wah ananggiyat tündap wah, wah-
 ki ayaau-kija'.
 pic=gija=dapü aaw-in wah=ni
 then=REP=3PL.ACC tell-CAUS DIST:LOC=1SG.ACC
 ii~miin wah ananggayat
 MOM~take DIST:LOC Ananggiyat
- tün-t-a-b wah
 rock-NCM:B-ACC-LOC DIST:LOC

³⁴ Lamb's translation: 'Have to tell three days, and if I tell in two days I die.'

i~pic
MOM~be.born

‘Then right away her little children came out.’³⁷

- 120) *Brownies*-kic wa, tuumupin woo-gija’.
Brownies=gija wa’ tu’mu-bi-n woh=gija
Brownies=REP DIST offspring-DIM-3SG.POSS two=REP
 ‘Those are Brownies, she had two of them as children.’
- 121) pic-kic wooma wal-da-gic wal inyaana wükü-lu, wükü-lu-gü-kic-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=güt=gija=da
 grab=2PL.IMP=QUOT=REP=3PL.NOM
 ‘Then right away, those Indians said, “Grab them, grab them!”’
- 122) mu wooma-gic-ta wal ündüümalaau wooma-gic *Brownie* wa ipcamin
 amaagaala-gic-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~maagüla 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.’³⁸
- 123) wanaang-da wa’ adminas-ta üwük tünda.
 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).’

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ü~wükü tün-t-a
 MOM~grab rock-NCM:B-ACC

‘They ran away far away; they grabbed rocks.’

124) *Rock. tünt.*
 tün-t
 rock-NCM:B
 ‘Rock.’

125) oo-gitc-tüpi 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~maaiigüla
 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.*

COYOTE AND WOLF

TOLD BY STEBAN MIRANDA, ORIGINALLY TRANSCRIBED BY CHARLES F. VOEGELIN, ANNOTATED BY MICHAEL AHLAND, BETHANY LYCAN, SERGIO SANDOVAL SANCHEZ AND NICHOLAS SINETOS

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.³⁹

“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.).⁴⁰ 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.

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. *Tübatulabal Myths and Tales. 1931-1933*).

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- 1) ict ti tübaitc anapadziim.
 iʃ-t ti tübaitʃ anapadzi:-m
 coyote-NCM:B and wolf brother-PL
 ‘Coyote and Wolf were brothers.’^{41 42}
- 2) pic tübaitc tohat tohila hac ümük tohila tübaitc.
 piʃ tübaitʃ toha-t tohi-l-a haʃ
 then wolf hunt-DUR deer-NCM:A-ACC NEG

 i~mik tohi-l-a tübaitʃ
 MOM~kill deer-NCM:A-ACC wolf
 ‘Wolf hunts deer but never kills deer... Wolf.’^{43 44}
- 3) pic too wahai omuula muualamiik wanang miyat omulat.
 piʃ to: wahai omu:la mu:ala-mi:k
 then no.idea DIST:LOC:from migrate mountain-toward

 wanaŋ miʃa-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.’⁴⁵
- 4) pic tübaitc tohaala-ma-güt icta.
 piʃ tübaitʃ toha-ala=ma=güt iʃ-t-a
 then wolf hunt-GO<ACT=JUSS=QUOT coyote-NCM:B-ACC
 ‘Then Wolf says to Coyote, “Let me go hunt!”’
- 5) pic hac haiinda ümük.
 piʃ haʃ haiind-a i~mik
 then no thing-ACC MOM~kill
 ‘But they didn’t kill anything.’⁴⁶

⁴¹ In Voegelin’s transcription, the noun tübaitc ‘wolf’ appears with a final [t] twice in line 2. The noun class for tübaitc 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 (kaawiiem ‘Kawaiisu’, Lindsay Marean, p.c.) and also possessed nouns (Voegelin 1935a:156).

⁴³ The negative hac and the verb mük were originally transcribed as /afomuk/ 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 /to: ~ 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: /haʃai?mta/.

- 6) pic übül ülü'üng.
 piʃ i~bil iliʔi-ŋ
 then MOM~arrive be.evening/late-DS
 'They arrived in the evening.'
- 7) pic ict tsulumat me'etak.
 piʃ iʃ-t tsulum-at meʔetak
 then coyote-NCM:B sleep-DUR in.morning
 'Coyote was sleeping in the morning.'
- 8) pic tübaitc icta oolü'-güt.
 piʃ tübaitʃ iʃ-t-a o:l-iʔ=gi-t
 then wolf coyote-NCM:B-ACC get.up-IMP=say-DUR
 'So Wolf says to Coyote, "Get up!"'
- 9) pic ict hac-güt me'eta-ki waagi'üt hayi nü'üng ooban.
 piʃ iʃ-t haʃ=gi-t meʔeta=ki
 then coyote-NCM:B NEG=say-DUR already=1SG

 wa:giʔi-t haji niʔiŋ o:ba-n
 be.skinny-DUR NEG 1SG.POSS muscle-3.POSS
 ' "No," says Coyote, "I am already lean and don't have any
 muscle." '47
- 10) yeu'wang ümbü tübaitc iimi toho'alac üdiu haniila.
 je:wa-ŋ imbi tübaitʃ i:~mi tohoʔ-ala-ʃ
 get.light-DS again wolf MOM~go hunt-GO<ACT-SS

 i~diu hani:-l-a
 MOM~find house-NCM:A-ACC
 'The next day, Wolf again went to hunt and found the house.'48 49

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 /iti/ 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 /tiwit/ 'look.for / find' would be /idiu/, 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.

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- 11) tciitc taatwal halit wah ege'ewan taatwal.
 tʃi:tʃ ta:twa-l hali-t wah
 one man-NCM:A live-DUR DIST:LOC
 egeʔewan ta:twa-l
 big man-NCM:A
 'One man lived there, a big man.'^{50 51}
- 12) üpülüla haniiban üpüli wa' tübaitc.
 i~bili-la hani:-b-an
 MOM~arrive-GO<ACT house-LOC-NREFL-3SG.POSS
 i~bil waʔ tibaitʃ
 MOM~arrive DIST wolf
 'He (Wolf) arrived at his house; he arrived, that wolf.'
- 13) yoowi tohiil.
 jo:wi tohi:-l
 many deer-NCM:A
 'There were a lot of deer.'⁵²
- 14) awaat tohiil tsungguf icta.
 a~wa'at tohi:-l tsunggu-ʃ
 MOM~run.away deer-NCM:A be.frightened-SS
 iʃ-t-a
 coyote-NCM:B-ACC
 'The deer ran away, being frightened of Coyote.'^{53 54}

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.

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.

⁵² In Voegelin's notes, this was transcribed as /jo:wi/.

⁵³ In Voegelin's notes, this verb is translated as 'broil,' but the verb should be translated as 'run away': *wa'ad-at*, 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 *acagüt* while the verb *awaat* means 'tell; gossip' (Marean 2015).

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'.
 ta:twa-l piŋgi-t kim-at loho:m-a?
 man-NCM:A say-DUR come-DUR enter-IMP.SG
 'The man says, "Enter!"'⁵⁵
- 16) pic üwük wohonta ama' tüka' tübaitc.
 piŋ i-wik wohon-t-a a~ma?
 then MOM~get pine.nuts-NCM:B-ACC MOM~give

 tik-a? tibaitŋ
 eat-IMP.SG wolf
 'Then he got pine nuts; he gave them, "Eat, Wolf!"'
- 17) tükat me'etak uubui.
 tik-at me?etak u?u~bui
 eat-DUR in.morning MOM~be.full
 'He eats and became full in the morning.'
- 18) tübaitc pinggüt taatwala wilala wohon, wilala'.
 tibaitŋ piŋgi-t ta:twa-l-a wilaal-a
 wolf say-DUR man-NCM:A-ACC climb-IMP.SG

 wohon wilaal-a?
 pine.nut.tree climb-IMP.SG
 'Wolf says to the man, "Climb the pine nut tree, climb!"'⁵⁶
- 19) pic tübaitc tohiila apayiiwin.
 piŋ tibaitŋ tohi:-l-a a~pajaw-in
 then wolf deer-NCM:A-ACC MOM~scatter-CAUS
 'Then Wolf scattered the deer.'
- 20) tohiil iimi awa'.
 tohi:-l i:~mi awa?
 deer-NCM:A MOM~go DIST
 'The deer went there.'⁵⁷

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. /wilaʔl / ~ /wilaal/) 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.

HEADER

- 21) pic cigaal inggim ala'ac.
 piʃ ʃiɡa-l i~ŋɡim alaʔaʃ
 then crack.in.rock-NCM:A MOM~come quickly
 'Then (he) came quickly into the rock shelter.'^{58 59}
- 22) pic wüüdüt taatwal.
 piʃ wi:di-t ta:twa-l
 then be.mad-DUR man-NCM:A
 'Then the man was mad.'
- 23) ümükca-gi-lüŋ-güt.
 i~mik-ʃa=gi=liŋ=ɡit
 MOM~kill-FUT=1SG=2SG.ACC=QUOT
 '“I will kill you,” he said.’⁶⁰
- 24) pic tübaite olohomamin tanding omoloogan.
 piʃ tibajtʃ o~lohóm-amin tand-iŋ
 then wolf MOM~enter-ACT>GO rock-GEN

 omolo:k-an
 underneath-3SG.POSS
 'Then Wolf went underneath a rock.'^{61 62}
- 25) cigaal ülü'üŋ ayanüt, nahatc iginüt-te ayanüt.
 ʃiɡa:-l iliʔi-ŋ ajan-it
 crack.in.rock-NCM:A be.evening-DS sing-DUR

 naha-tʃ igin-it=te ajan-it
 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.'⁶³

⁵⁸ This word is transcribed as /ʃiɡal/ in Voegelin's notes where it is glossed as 'rock shelter'. The word expected for 'rock shelter' is *tüŋgiil*. 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 [i] as in /=*liŋ*/.

⁶¹ In Voegelin's notes, the verb *lohóm* '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.

⁶² 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.

⁶³ Voegelin's notes show a final vowel [e] on this word. The form 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 paʔaje ʔam ʔam ʔam ʔam
 deer mountain.sheep ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
 'Deer, Mountain Sheep, ♪am, am, am, am♪.'⁶⁴
- 27) iginüt nahatc.
 igin-it naha-tʃ
 swing-DUR cane-REFL.POSS
 'He is swinging his cane.'
- 28) iimia-ta ikiik wanaa'.
 i:~mia=ta iki:k wanaa?
 MOM~go=3PL this.way far
 'They went very far away.'⁶⁵
- 29) tübaitc ümük tohiila.
 tibajtʃ i~mik tohi:-l-a
 wolf MOM~kill deer-NCM:A-ACC
 'Wolf killed the deer.'
- 30) pic iciigin toho'ila.
 piʃ i~ʃi:gin toho?-i-l-a
 then MOM~skin hunt-NMLZ-NCM:A-ACC
 'Then (he) then skinned the hunted one (deer).'
- 31) toho'iil mühü'at.
 toho?-i:-l mihi?-at
 hunt-NMLZ-NCM:A lie.down-DUR
 'The hunted one (deer) is lying down.'⁶⁷
- 32) ciiginat tübaitc ciiginat ict.
 ʃi:gin-at tibajtʃ ʃi:gin-at iʃ-t
 skin-DUR wolf skin-DUR coyote-NCM:B
 'Wolf is skinning; Coyote is skinning.'⁶⁸

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 *ciigin* 'skin' is transcribed with a short stem vowel [i]; in Mearns's (2015:20) lexicon, the vowel is long in most citations.

⁶⁷ Voegelin's notes show a lenited form /miiat/ for 'lie.down,' which appears to have been mis-translated as 'ran away' in his notebook.

⁶⁸ The verb *ciigin* '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 *ciigin* 'skin' (line 30), see discussion in footnote 66 above.

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- 33) ict ümbing aahya-ma-la ciiginiit.
 iʃ-t im~biŋ a:hja=ma=la
 coyote~NCM:B MOM~say abandon=JUSS=1DU.NOM
- ʃi:gin-i:-tʃ
 skin~NMLZ-1PL.POSS
 ‘Coyote said, “Let’s abandon our skinning.”’⁶⁹
- 34) wookan-kila’ aapaiw tünt wooyo-güt ict.
 wo:kan=kilaʔ a:~paiw tin-t
 pretty.soon=1DU.NOM MOM~turned.into rock~NCM:B
- wo:jo=git iʃ-t
 both=QUOT coyote~NCM:B
 ‘“Pretty soon, we will both turn into rocks”, said Coyote.’^{70 71 72}
- 35) yaa meeda oowok.
 ja: me:da o:~wok
 ready already MOM~be.ended
 ‘Already it is ended.’

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⁶⁹ The verb ‘skin’ here is transcribed with a short first vowel and a glottal stop after the nominalizer, followed by the short [i] [ʃigini:ʔitʃ].

⁷⁰ 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).

⁷¹ 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.

⁷² In Voegelin’s notes, the form ‘both’ is transcribed as /wo:ju/. This is very likely a variant of the more commonly attested *wooyo*.

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