

UTE TRADITIONAL NARRATIVES

EDITED BY

T. GIVÓN

PUBLISHED BY UTE PRESS  
IGNACIO, COLORADO

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SOUTHERN UTE INDIAN TRIBE

IGNACIO, CO, 81137

## EDITOR'S PREFACE

With the publication of this volume, we finally bring to a close the first phase of our Ute Language Program, following our Ute Dictionary (1979) and Ute Reference Grammar (1980). Traditional Ute materials had found their way into partial collections as early as the 1870s (in John Wesley Powell's Uintah notes). But this is the first comprehensive collection presenting a large body of these oral texts, rigorously edited in both Ute and English. What is more, this collection is well grounded in an extensive grammatical analysis of the Ute language. Our work is still far from finished; we hope to eventually enlarge it and incorporate into it older materials, as well as texts collected on other Ute reservations.

In addition to the story-tellers who contributed to this collection, and who are acknowledged separately, many tribal members participated in this project in various ways. We would like to hereby acknowledge their contribution: Edna Russell Baker, Lorraine Cloud Baker, Fritz Box, Julius Cloud, Mollie Buck Cloud, Neil Cloud, Annabelle Eagle, Bertha Groves, Martha Myore, Pat Rael, Harry Richards, Sunshine Cloud Smith, Euterpe Taylor, Daisie Watts, Ellen and Max Watts. We would, in particular, like to remember here the two old-time Ute Language Committee members who are not with us any more -- ka-'iya-na-wa-tu-my, ka-paga'ni-wa-tu-my 'ura-yis -- Frances Buck and Ralph N. Cloud. May they rest in peace.

This work comes out of a long-term collaboration between a professional linguist and the Southern Ute people. It is the centerpiece of our attempt to preserve the Ute language and tradition for future generations. I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the help and support I received from my Ute friends in and around Ignacio. This is your work, this is your language. I feel privileged to have been trusted with these texts, and to have been allowed to live with you and, hopefully, learn.

Various organizations have supported our Ute Story Collection project over the years. Among them are: The National Endowment for the Humanities (research grant "Ute Traditional Narratives and Word-Order Change", 1980-1985); the Office of Indian Education (Title IV grant, 1976-1977); the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Title VIII grant 1978-1979); the Ignacio School System (Title VII grant, 1978-1980); the American Indian Studies Center, UCLA (research grants, 1979-1980); The UCLA Academic Senate (research grants 1976-1980); the Faculty Research Committee, University of Oregon (research grant 1981-1982). And, last but not least, the Southern Ute Tribal Council and its former long-time Chairman Leonard C. Burch, who authorized the Ute Language Program in 1975, bailed us out on more than one occasion, and stayed with us through thick and thin. Toḡoyaḡ.





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## INTRODUCTION

## I. COLLECTING AND PRESENTING THE UTE ORAL TRADITION

The stories presented here, a small fraction of the vast Ute oral tradition, were recorded, transcribed, translated and edited between 1973 and 1985 on the Southern Ute Reservation around Ignacio, Colorado. The story-tellers are all tribal members, most of them tribal elders. With few exceptions, these are traditional Ute stories that have been transmitted orally since time immemorial. They were most commonly told by older people to the young, over campfire, in the long Colorado winter night. Their topics vary, but a number of common threads run through. First, these are educational stories, aiming to instruct, socialize and caution the young. Second, they mean to entertain, commenting succinctly on the quirks, foibles and above all hilarity of human behavior. Third, they are a repository of cultural information, concerning the environment, fighting for survival, attitudes, customs and spiritual matters. As such, these stories reveal -- indirectly, unobtrusively yet unmistakably -- The Old Way, the world of The Old Ones, wíi-núci-u.

The presentation of an oral tradition for the first time in a written form requires a number of hard decisions. Cultures with an established literary tradition develop, over time, a wide range of styles. At one extreme lies the formal written style, at the other an informal conversational style. And what is appropriate in one may not "sound right" in the other. While Ute -- like other oral cultures -- indeed has a range of styles, from the conversational to the highly polished oratorical, those are all oral styles. They are used, characteristically, in face-to-face communication; they take advantage of the hearer's proximity, familiarity, shared background, and facial, gestural and verbal contributions. In editing this collection, we have consciously elected to present this style as much as possible the way it was practiced by the story-tellers. Over two summers, the Ute Language Committee met as an editorial body, listening to the stories and making comments -- and the most minimal corrections. In many instances, the story-tellers themselves participated actively in these editorial sessions. While we are firmly convinced that there would be nothing outrageous in eventually developing a formal written style for Ute, we have elected to present these stories as a faithful document of the old oral tradition. They are thus reproduced here essentially as they were told, with repetitions, self corrections, pauses and indications of gesture.

We have restricted commentary to the absolute minimum, relegating it to notes. And we have corrected grammar only sparingly, and always in a clearly marked fashion, so that the original text can be judged on its own merit.

## II. THE UTE ALPHABET AND THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE STORIES

### 1. THE THREE-LINE TRANSCRIPTION

The stories are presented here in a three-line transcription. The first line is the Ute text. The second is the "grammar line", given primarily for the benefit of either professional linguists, or persons who wish to understand the structure of the language. In following this "grammar line", one is strongly urged to use our Ute Reference Grammar (Ute Press: Ignacio, 1980). The short list of abbreviated grammatical terms supplied below cannot, in the long run, replace the use of our grammar book. The third line supplies a free English translation. We have chosen to make it echo, as much as possible, the informal oral style of the Ute original. At the same time we mean it to reflect the equivalent oral style of present-day American English.

### 2. UTE SOUNDS AND THE UTE ALPHABET

The Ute alphabet used here was developed during work on our Ute Dictionary (Ute Press: Ignacio, Colorado, 1979) and Ute Reference Grammar (Ute Press: Ignacio, Colorado, 1980). The introductions to both of these books contain detailed description, motivation and exemplification of the Ute sound system and its rendition into writing. We reproduce below only a compressed version of that fuller description.

#### THE UTE CONSONANT SYSTEM

		POSITION OF ARTICULATION					
manner	voicing	labial	dental	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stop	voiceless	p	t	c	k	q	'
fric.	voiced	v	r		g	ḡ	
fric.	voiceless		s		x	ḡ	h
nasal	voiced	m	n				
glide	voiced	w	y				

## THE UTE VOWEL SYSTEM

	POSITION OF ARTICULATION				
	front		mid	back	
height	rounded/unrounded			unrounded/rounded	
high		i		ɥ	u
high-mid	ɘ				o
low-mid		ɛ			
low			a		

WORD-STRESS: In a Ute word, either the first or second vowel carries the primary word-stress. Since words with second-vowel stress are by far the most common, we mark here only the stress which falls on the first vowel in the word. Thus compare:

sá-ǵa-ry "white" (first-vowel stressed)

'aqa-ǵa-ry "red" (second-vowel stressed)

SILENT ("DE-VOICED") VOWELS: Many word-final vowels, as well as some other vowels, are "silenced" in Ute. In our Ute writing system, a silent vowel is underscored. Thus compare:

mamaci ta'waci pɯnikya-pɯga  
 woman/SUBJ man/OBJ see-REMOTE  
 'The woman saw the man'

in the word for 'woman' above, the final vowel (belonging to the animate suffix -ci) is silent. In the word for 'man', the very same vowel is fully voiced.

DOUBLE VOWELS: Ute vowels may be either single ('short') or double ('long'). We mark long vowels as double. Thus compare:

'u-vwaa-ty "toward that place"  
 'úu-pa "in that direction"  
 tyka-vaani "(he) will eat"  
 tygaay-vaani "(he) will approach"

### 3. HYPHENATION INSIDE THE WORD

We elected to represent, as much as possible, the grammatical structure of Ute words, by hyphenating between parts of the word that carry distinct portions of the total meaning. Most commonly, one large chunk of the word is the lexical stem (noun, verb, adjective or adverb). Its meaning is rendered, in the second -- "grammar-line" -- transcription, in lower-case English. The other components of the word, which precede ("prefix") or follow ("suffix") the lexical stem, represent mostly grammatical or derivational elements ("morphemes"). Whenever an exact equivalent in English is found, they are also rendered in lower-case English. More commonly, however, their abbreviated grammatical label is given in upper-case English. The full interpretation of that label may be found in the List of Abbreviated Grammatical Terms, below. As already noted, the list is no real substitute for our grammar book. Finally, when it is impossible to slice between the end of one "morpheme" and the beginning of another, in the second "grammar line" the two meanings are separated by a slash (/) rather than by an hyphen (-). Thus compare:

karu! "Sit down!"  
sit/IMP

karu-nu "Do sit down"  
sit-IMP

The imperative ("command") form in the first example above does not add any visible morpheme to the lexical stem (karu- 'sit'); while in the second example the imperative suffix (-nu) is clearly present.

### 4. THE USE OF DOUBLE PARENTHESES

In only a few cases, when the grammar -- for the sake of either clarity or correctness -- would have required an element that is clearly missing from the actual oral text, that missing element has been added to the written Ute text in double parentheses ((...)), and then glossed normally in the second "grammar-line".

### 5. ABBREVIATIONS OF GRAMMATICAL TERMS

As noted above, in the second line of our transcription we put in upper-case English the abbreviated labels of grammatical categories and/or "morphemes". The full value of the abbreviated terms is given below, together with some supplementary information.

## ABBREVIATIONS OF GRAMMATICAL TERMS

- ADJ(ective) the -ni or -ry suffixes on adjectival stems  
 AN(imate) most commonly the de-verbal noun suffix -mɥ  
 ANT(erior) the perfect/anterior verb suffix -ka-  
 ASP(ect) the verb suffixes -kwa-, -'a- or -'wa-  
 BEN(efactive) the verb suffix -kɥ-  
 BKGR (background) the aspectual verb suffix -vaci  
 CAUS(ative) the verb suffix (or "defective verb") -ti-  
 COMP(lement) see also SUB(ordinate)  
 CONC(lusion) the aspectual verb suffix -aḡa-  
 CONJ(unction) the suffix -sɥ or -s  
 DEFUN(ct) the "dead" or "defunct" noun suffix -gapy  
 DIM(inutive) the noun suffixes -taa, -raa, -pɥ or -ci  
 DIR(ectional) the locative-object suffixes -pa and -tɥ  
 EMPH(asis) the emphatic suffixes -kɥ, -ga or -kwa  
 EXHORT(ative) a number of exhortative verb-forms  
 FUT(ure) the future verb suffix -vaa(-ni) or -paa(-ni)  
 GEN(itive) the genitive/possessive suffix of nouns or pronouns  
 GER(und) the gerund/participle verb suffix -ga  
 HAB(itual) the habitual verb suffix -mi(a) or -na  
 HORT(ative) the hortative form 'uvwiya- "let's"  
 II the dual form of pronouns  
 IMM(ediate) the immediate-aspect verbal suffix -i or -y  
 IMP(erative) the verbal command form or the verb suffix -nɥ  
 INCEP(tive) the verb suffix or "defective verb" -(k)u(caa/kwa)-  
 INCH(oative) the verb suffixes -ri-, kwa-, -wi-, 'wa-  
 INSTR(umental) the noun suffix -'napɥ  
 INT(ensive) the intensive verb suffix -'ni-  
 INTJ (interjection) various exclamations with no exact meaning  
 LOC(ative) locative-object noun suffix, -vaa, paa, -na, -ma, -n  
 MASS the mass/plural verb suffix -navici  
 MOD(al) the "doubt" or "hedge" suffixes -sapa and -kway  
 NEG(ative) either kac, the prefix ka- or the verb suffix -wa  
 NOM(inal) most commonly the de-verbal noun suffixes -tɥ, -pɥ  
 OBJ(ect) the object form (or suffix) of nouns or pronouns  
 ONLY the suffix combination -yis  
 OWN the possessive-reflexive object-noun suffix -av  
 PART(itive) the partitive/genitive noun suffix -a-  
 PASS(ive) the verb suffix -ta-; occasionally -ka-  
 POSS(ession) the possession prefix 'ini- or 'uni-  
 Q(uestion) the yes/no question suffix -aa  
 QUANT(ity) the quantity question form  
 RECIP(rocal) the reciprocal verb prefixes na-, nana-, nawa-  
 RED(uplicated) the reduplicated form of the verb or noun  
 REFL(exive) the reflexive object pre-position nanɔ-(s) or nani-  
 REL(ative) the object-relative-clause verb suffix -na,  
 or the indirect-object relative prefix pɥ-  
 REM(ote) the remote-past verb suffix  
 SUB(ordinate) the subordinate clause verb suffixes -xw, -ku, -ci  
 SUBJ(ect) the subject form of nouns, pronouns or modifiers  
 TOP(ic) the noun or pronoun suffixes -unuv, -sa, -ga, -kɥ/-gɥ  
 WH the various WH-question forms

### III. THE UTE ORAL TRADITION

#### 1. PRELIMINARIES

It is presumptuous and somewhat premature to say now the final word about the oral literature presented below. To begin with, we have so far collected only a fraction, and it remains to be seen how much more can be rescued before the present generation of elders bid us farewell. Some of the texts collected earlier, by J. W. Powell, Sapir and Kroeber, are yet to be integrated into an overall comprehensive collection of Ute oral tradition. The same is true of much of the texts recorded more recently on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation. Finally, the significance of these stories within their proper cultural-spiritual-historical context is yet to be carefully assessed. Thus, the few introductory notes given below are, at best, tentative.

To the extent possible, I have attempted to forego deep interpretation of the text, electing at this point to recognize some major themes and a few of the recurring participants. The entire collection of 26 texts is divided into a number of "cycles", each one with a certain thematic integrity of its own. I will discuss them now in order.

#### 2. THE STORY CYCLES

##### a. The Sinawav Cycle

The most intriguing feature of this story cycle, here comprising of 11 texts, is the transformation undergone by the main character, Sinawav. He begins as a major Deity -- The Creator -- in story #1/2, where his little brother, Coyote, fumbles the task and causes great havoc in the universe. Coyote is consequently banished by Sinawav, a theme somewhat reminiscent of Lucifer's Fall. In story #3, Sinawav is already a human, though a chief, responsible for bringing the fire to his people (during the sun's eclipse); he is thus a Prometheus-like hero. In story #4, Sinawav undergoes an extreme transformation, due to incestuous dallying with his own daughter, and becomes a despicable, ridiculed outcast of rather unsavory reputation. As such, he contributes one droll act of symbolic creation in story #5, by naming the trees and bushes. Story #6 marks Sinawav's emergence as the bumbling, inept Copycat, a role he retains thereafter. Stories #7 through #11 further record his various misadventures in that role.

##### b. The Coyote Cycle

Following his banishment, Coyote retains a stable, rather vivid character, that of the malevolent trickster, as he appears in our stories #12 through #18. He is forever up to no good, intent on hurting others just for the fun of it.

Quite often, Coyote meets his match and collects his just deserts. Thus, he is tricked by Skunk in story #12/13, outfoxed by Rabbit in story #14, crushed by the Rock-Mother in story #15, humbled by Horned-Toad and ridiculed by Wolf in story #17, and repaid in full by Bobcat in story #18. Nonetheless, it would be premature to read an unambiguous ethical -- be it even utilitarian -- cautionary moral into the Coyote cycle. The storytellers may be merely noting the inevitable existence of evil, and the havoc it inevitably causes.

#### c. The Anger and Vengeance Cycle

This short cycle contains four texts, two of them different versions of the same story. If there is a theme to these stories, it is that of anger, and the irrational, vengeful behavior that erupts when one's ire is triggered, by whatever means. Story #19/20 tells of Rabbit -- the prototype angry avenger -- and his destructive journey eastward, to punish the Sun for real or imagined infractions. In the course of that journey, Rabbit inflicts great pain on many others, who inadvertently address him by his "Mad-Name". Story #21 pursues a somewhat related topic, that of blood revenge. Night-Hawk undertakes to avenge the death of his kinsman, Bat, by conferring upon the killers -- the Pinyon-Jays -- their permanent, dreaded "Mad-Name". The fact that the Pinyon-Jays had a legitimate grievance against Bat (he repeatedly tried to seduce their wives) hardly matters. What matters is avenging the death of one's blood-relative. A similar theme is sounded in story #22, concerning the somewhat ambiguous seductive behavior of Mountain-Lion's wife. Both Mountain-Lion and Bear seem to have been taken for a ride by her, the former to the detriment of his honor, the latter all the way to his final demise.

#### d. The Ceremonial Cycle

The three stories in this cycle deal with the two major traditional ceremonies of the Utes, the age-old Bear-Dance, and the relatively new and somewhat mis-named Sundance. Story #23 relates how the Bear-Dance was brought to the Ute people by two brothers, one of whom learned it from the She-Bear. Story #24 is a reminiscence, by a Ute elder, of how the Bear-Dance used to be performed in his youth, before its age-old spiritual component was more or less supplanted by the Sundance. Story #25 relates how the Southern Ute people acquired the Sundance. This account traces the ceremony's origins to the late 1800s, to a particular locale on the Reservation, to a particular Ute person who received the instruction, and to Jesus Christ as the source. The Devil also appears briefly, in the guise of a black-clad cowboy.

### e. The War Story

Our collection concludes with a received eye-witness account of a historical battle, in which a roving raiding-party of either Cheyenne or Comanche attempted to ambush a band of Kapuuta Utes, near the Rio Grande east of Antonito, Colorado, in the 1890s. The story-teller heard the account in his youth from an old Mexican man who participated in the fighting on the Ute side. A site-visit by the Ute Language Committee in 1982, including the story-teller, seems to confirm the amazing accuracy of the remembered geographic details, including the location of the Cheyenne/Comanche fortifications at the ambush site. The account is also rich in details concerning traditional practices of warfare and war-medicine. Two maps, drawn at the site, are enclosed.

### 3. STYLE AND VARIATION

Unlike a number of other oral traditions, in either Africa or the Orient, the Ute oral texts were probably never memorized. Rather, we deal here with a loose, improvizational tradition, in which the main thread of the narrative is more-or-less adhered to, but detail, coloration, embellishment and interpretation are left up to the individual story-teller. The final product thus depends heavily on skill, mood and memory, the occasion, the specific audience and the nature of their response. The few double versions of the same story which we included in this collection amply illustrate the improvised, highly individual aspects of the narrative. In their traditional setting, most likely, these stories must have been told to an audience who had heard them many times before; so that the gist of the performance lay not in the repetition of "exact" detail, but rather in the story-teller's ability to embellish, weave, and -- above all -- "make it come alive in front of your eyes".

Ignacio, Colorado  
August 31, 1985

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and  
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## ① THE UTE CREATION STORY

Told by: Ralph Cloud  
 Date recorded: 5-7/8-81  
 Recorded by: T. Givón  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

wíitʏs-'uru 'ura-pʏga-vaci, tʏvʏci wíitʏs;  
 past-that be-REM-BKGR very past  
 it was long ago, long time ago;

'uni-pʏga-tʏ-'ura sinawavi 'ura-pʏga-vaci; 'uway  
 do-REM-NOM/REL-be sinawav be-REM-BKGR that/OBJ  
 the one who did it ((created everything)) was Sinawav;

caʔaci-'u-av yoʒovʏci-wa kani-gyaa-pʏga-vaci-mʏ,  
 younger-brother-his-OWN coyote-with house-have-REM-BKGR-they  
 he lived with his younger brother Coyote,

'icʏ tʏvʏpʏ-vwan paʒa-'ni-pʏga-vaci-mʏ;  
 this/OBJ earth/OBJ-on walk-INT-REM-BKGR-PL  
 they were roaming the earth together;

'umʏ-tʏ-s paʒa-'ni-pʏga-vaci-'ura 'úvway-aʔ-'ura;  
 them-NOM/PART-CONJ walk-INT-REM-BKGR-be then-it-be  
 only the two of them were roaming around then;

'icʏ-'uru tʏvʏpʏ-vwan-amʏ paʒa-'ni-gya,  
 this/OBJ-that earth/OBJ-on-they walk-INT-GER  
 they were roaming this earth,

'icʏ tʏvʏpʏ-vwaa-tʏ ka-nuu-'way-kw;  
 this/OBJ earth/OBJ-LOC-DIR NEG-person-have/NEG-SUB  
 when no one else was (alive) yet on this earth;

ka-nuu-'wa-pʏga, 'umʏ-tʏ-s 'ura-pʏga;  
 NEG-person-have/NEG-REM them-NOM/PART-CONJ be-REM  
 there was nobody (there), only the two of them;

x-'ura-'uru 'uwas 'áy-pyga, sinawavi 'u, 'uway  
 then-be-that he say-REM sinawav that that/OBJ  
 so then he said, Sinawav did,

caḡaci-av yóovuci: "'ymuy-sa maavy cūkūr'a-ḡwa,  
 younger-brother/OBJ-OWN coyote/OBJ you-TOP brush/OBJ cut-go/IMP  
 to his younger brother Coyote: "Go cut some brush,

pa'a-manu-xw-taa-s maavy 'icay tūvūpū-vwan  
 complete-all-OBJ-PART-CONJ brush/OBJ this/OBJ earth/OBJ-on  
 all kinds of brush that grows on this earth,

nana-rū, mīi-miah-pū cūkūr'a-nū-aḡ-'uru,  
 grow-ADJ/OBJ RED-small-NOM/OBJ cut-IMP-it-that  
 cut it all into real small pieces,

to-toḡo-paa-taa-ni; ka-suuva-taa-paa-y, manu-xw-ta  
 RED-right-DIR-be-like NEG-other-be/like-DIR-OBJ all-OBJ-PART  
 exactly like that; not other kinds, just from all the

maavy 'icay tūvūpū-vwa-tū; tūvwagaci 'u-naaḡa  
 brush/OBJ this/OBJ earth/OBJ-on-DIR pack/IMP there-in  
 brush (growing) on this earth; then pack them into

kunavy-naaḡa";  
 bag/OBJ-in  
 this bag here";

'uwas-'ura 'uni-'a-pyga, 'ú-'uni-vōrō-na-pyga,  
 he-be do-ASP-REM RED-do-walk-HAB-REM  
 so Coyote did as he was told, he kept walking around doing it,

máa-pa paḡa-'ni-na-pyga; wūga-rux 'aḡa-vaa-sapa  
 there-DIR walk-INT-HAB-REM hill-along WH-LOC-MOD  
 he kept walking all over; through the hills, wherever it be,

manu-xw-taa-s kwacyavy maavy 'ú-ra-taa-ni  
 all-OBJ-PART-CONJ white-blossom/OBJ bush/OBJ that-be-OBJ-like  
 he kept gathering all the white-blossom bushes and the like;

'uni-na-pyga; kac-'ura máy-na-pya-'uru, sinawavi:  
 do-HAB-REM NEG-be say-ANT/NEG-REM/NEG sinawav  
 Sinawav had never told him:

"'ú-ra-tu-ku 'ara-'ay"; ka-may-pya, kacu-'u  
 that-be/like-NOM/OBJ-it be-IMM NEG-say-REM/NEG NEG-him  
 "Do it exactly like that"; he didn't tell him, he had

máy-na-pya;  
 say-ANT/NEG-REM/NEG  
 never told him (how to do it exactly);

pina-xw-'uru kunavv-'u kuiki-puga; x-'ura 'uwas-'u  
 later-go-that bag/OBJ-his fill-REM then-be he-him  
 so finally Coyote filled up his bag; then Sinawav

máy-puga pina-xw-'uru, kuiki-kyay-kw-'uru:  
 say-REM later-go-that fill-ANT-SUB-that  
 told him, afterwards, when he had filled up the bag:

"'umuy-sa cañaci-n, máa-pa kwáy-'a-'ura,  
 you-TOP younger-brother-my there-DIR go-ASP/IMP-be  
 "Now my little brother go on that-a-way,

'ağa-vaa-tu-aa-sapa-'uru... yúaa-vaa-tu,  
 WH-LOC-DIR-PART-MOD-that plains-LOC-DIR  
 whichever direction it be, over the open country,

máa-va-tugwa-xw-'ura ca-caa'mi-ny" máy-pugay-'u,  
 there-LOC-go/to-go-be RED-dump-IMP say-REM-him  
 and keep dumping (the sticks) all over there" he told him,

"'icay 'ivici yáa'wa-xa-na-av, ca-caa'mi-ny-añ  
 this/OBJ stick/OBJ carry-ANT-REL-OWN RED-dump-IMP-it  
 "Those sticks that you've gathered, dump them

ma-vaa-tux" máy-puay-ağay-'ura;  
 there-LOC-to say-REM-CONCL-be  
 over there" he told him;

'uwas-'ura 'uni-'a-pugay-kw, 'uwas-'ura:  
 he-be do-go-REM-SUB he-be  
 so when Coyote went ahead, he (began wondering):

"'ipy-va 'ara-'ay?" máy-pugaa-ni, yogovuci 'u,  
 WH-LOC be-IMM say-REM-like coyote that  
 "Where is it?" he thought, Coyote did,

"'fpy 'ara-'ay máry? 'fpy 'ara-'ay?"

WH be-IMM that/INAN WH be-IMM

"What is this (that I'm carrying)? What is it all about?"

máy-pygaa-ni-'ura; "pynikya-vaa-qa-n-ux" máy-pygaa-ni;

say-REM-like-be see-FUT-ANT-I-it say-REM-like

he kept thinking; "Perhaps I should open it and take a look?"  
he thought;

ma-vaa miyā-tyka-'wa-ci-'uru, kacu-'u pynikya-nay-kw  
there-LOC far-reach-ASP-SUB-that NEG-him see-ANT/NEG-SUB  
so when he had gotten further away, when Sinawav could not

'uway sinawavi, cawu'na-pygay-ku, cawu... 'uni-puga,

that/GEN sinawav/GEN open-REM-it open do-REM

see him any more, he opened it, he opened... he did,

tapica'a-ḡa-tḡ 'uru cawu'na-puga; 'anḡ cawu'na-ḡay-kw,

tie-ANT-NOM/OBJ that/OBJ open-REM just open-ANT-SUB

he undid the knot (that tied the bag); as soon as he opened it,

'úu-pa 'ú-'uni-'wa-puga, 'úniguni-'ura núuci-u

there-DIR RED-do-ASP-REM lo-be person-PL

out they rushed,

'ura-puga! núuci-u, manu-xw-tḡ núuci-u-s,

be-REM person-PL all-OBJ-NOM/GEN person-PL-CONJ

they were people! people, all kinds of people,

wa-wacigi-navici-puga, 'apaḡa-ni... na-nana-ḡa-ni

RED-whoop-MASS-REM speak-like RED-RECIP-have-like

whooping and hollering together, speaking...

wágygā-rḡ-mḡ 'uni-'wa-puga, wa-wacigi-kya-puga;

speak/PL-ADJ-PL do-ASP-REM RED-whoop-PL-REM

speakers of many different tongues, they whooped and hollered;

súu-'ava'na-tḡ-mḡ civuxwa-kwa-puga,

very-many-NOM-PL escape-ASP-REM

very many of them escaped,

ka-'ava'na-ci-wa-tḡ-mḡ 'úu-pa-s ca'a-puga,

NEG-many-NOM-NEG-NOM-PL/OBJ there-DIR-CONJ catch-REM

he caught only very few of them there

'uru kunavu 'u-naaga-su-mu tuwa-xw-puga 'u-vwaa-s;  
 that/OBJ bag/OBJ there-in-CONJ-them lock-ASP-REM there-LOC-CONJ  
 and locked them back inside the bag;

'uvus 'uwaa-pa 'uni-xw-u-puga;  
 end him-DIR do-ASP-ASP-REM  
 but the great majority managed to escape;

'úmu-'ura-'uru pina-xw-'uru... 'umu suuva-tu-mu  
 those-be-that later-go-that those/OBJ other-NOM-PL/OBJ  
 nowthe remaining ones, later on... after the others

ka-'iya-na-wa-kw-'uru, núu-nawaa-kw 'umu, 'úru  
 NEG-there-LOC/be-NEG-SUB-that person-crowd-SUB those/GEN that  
 had all escaped, that big crowd of peoples,

ca'ay'mi-puga, ka-'ava'na-ci-wa-tu-mu...  
 scatter-REM NEG-many-SUB-NEG-NOM-PL/OBJ  
 then he dumped them out, the few remaining ones...

'uvus páyuki-puga-s, kani-vug-tu-'uru;  
 end return-REM-CONJ house-LOC-DIR-that  
 and then he went back home;

sinawavi 'u pucucugwa-pugay-'u, pupa-'uru  
 sinawav that know-REM-him way-that  
 now Sinawav knew (about) him, (about) the way

'uni-'wa-kwa-nu-y; máy-puga: "'umu-nugway 'u-'uni-kya,  
 do-ASP-ASP-REL-OBJ say-REM you-TOP RED-do-ANT  
 he had acted; so he said: "You did it, didn't you?"

wug'?" "'uu" máy-puga 'uwas, "mamu-nugway 'úu-pu  
 Q yes say-REM he those-TOP there-DIR  
 "Yes" said Coyote, "when those guys ran away on me,

'uni-kwa-xw, na-nana-gu-ni wáygyu-ru-mu núuci-u,  
 do-go-SUB RED-RECIP-have-like speak/PL-ADJ-PL person-PL  
 those speakers of all different tongues,

wa-wacigi-kya-y; ka-'ava'na-ci-wa-tu-mu piyu-'way,  
 RED-whoop-PL-IMM NEG-many-NOM-NEG-NOM-PL remain-IMM  
 whooping and hollering; only a few remained,

'umy-'ura ny 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s ca-caa'mi-pyga";  
 those/OBJ-be I there-LOC-go/to-CONJ RED-dump-REM  
 and those ones I then dumped out too";

"'a<sup>g</sup>a-ni-'ura ka-n<sup>u</sup>ka-wa-t<sup>y</sup>-m<sup>y</sup>?"  
 WH-do-be NEG-hear-NEG-NOM-you  
 "How come you never listen to me?"

máy-p<sup>u</sup>ay-a<sup>g</sup>ay-'ura;  
 say-REM-CONC-be  
 Sinawav asked;

"'áav<sup>y</sup>-'ura 'ú<sup>m</sup>y 'uu-r<sup>y</sup>-gwa-vaani"  
 now-be those arrow-make-PL-FUT  
 "Now they will all start making arrows"

máy-p<sup>u</sup>ay-a<sup>g</sup>ay-'u, "'áav<sup>y</sup>-'ura 'ú<sup>m</sup>y-sa  
 say-REM-CONCL-him now-be you/OBJ-EMPH  
 he told him, "and soon they'll be fighting you,

nagukwi-kya-ta-vaa-rami, tami-gya" 'á<sup>y</sup>-p<sup>u</sup>ay-a<sup>g</sup>ay-'ura;  
 fight-PL-PASS-FUT-us/II us/II-TOP say-REM-CONC-be  
 (they'll be fighting) you and me" he said;

'uwas-'ura 'uu-r<sup>y</sup>-p<sup>y</sup>ga, 'uni-p<sup>y</sup>gay-ku; pina-xw-'ura  
 he-be arrow-make-REM do-REM-it later-go-be  
 so Coyote made arrows (preparing for war); and later

yúaa-vay nagukwi-ta-pyga, 'ú<sup>m</sup>y-'ura k<sup>y</sup>maaci-u  
 plain-LOC fight-PASS-REM those-be Comanche-PL  
 they all fought each other on the plains, those were Comanches,

'ura-vaci-m<sup>y</sup>, s<sup>u</sup>uva-t<sup>y</sup>-m<sup>y</sup>... manu-xw-t<sup>y</sup> núuci-u-s  
 be-BKGR-PL other-NOM-PL/OBJ all-OBJ-NOM/OBJ person-PL-CONJ  
 and others as well... all kinds of indians

'i-v<sup>a</sup>g-ci-m<sup>y</sup>, tava-mawisi-p<sup>a</sup>g-t<sup>y</sup>-m<sup>y</sup>,  
 here-LOC-NOM-PL sun-rise-LOC-NOM-PL  
 from around here, from the east,

máa-pa-t<sup>y</sup> t<sup>y</sup>v<sup>y</sup>p<sup>y</sup>-a<sup>g</sup>a-t<sup>y</sup> m<sup>y</sup> 'ura-p<sup>y</sup>ga;  
 there-LOC-DIR country/OBJ-have-NOM-PL be-REM  
 and from that country over there ((gesture));

'umy-'ura ka-'ava'na-ci-wa-tu-my núuci-u  
 those-be NEG-many-NOM-NEG-NOM-PL ute-PL  
 but those few ones ((who remained last in the bag))  
 were the Utes,

'ura-puga, 'ú nuuci-u-'ura 'fi-pa-tu-my; 'uwas-'ura  
 be-REM true ute-PL-be here-LOC-NOM-PL he-be  
 the real Utes from around here; so

sinawavi máy-puga: "máa ka-'ava'na-wa-yi-sapa  
 'ú sinawav say-REM that NEG-many-NEG-IMM-MOD  
 Sinawav said: "Those few ones,

ka-piyá-ǰa-vaa-wa-tu-my nagukwi-ta-xw-'uru;  
 NEG-surpass-ANT/PASS-NEG-NOM-PL fight-PASS-SUB-that  
 no one will surpass them in fighting;

'inǰ núuci ka-'ava'na-ci-way-sapa,  
 this/AN ute NEG-many-NOM-NEG-MOD  
 this Ute (tribe) that is so small,

kwǰ'ǰy-pǰga-paa-tu-my  
 slaughter-walk-NOM-PL  
 they will keep slaughtering

'umy súuva-tu-my-aa-ni" 'ǰy-puga;  
 those/OBJ other-NOM-PL-OBJ-like say-REM  
 all the others" he said;

'uwayas 'uway yoǰovuci tǰsu'a-paa-tu 'uni-kw-u-puga;  
 his that/GEN coyote/GEN think-LOC-DIR do-ASP-ASP-REM  
 it was all Coyote's doing, he had done it;

'úniguni 'úu-pa-ni 'ura-tu 'ara-vaci;  
 lo there-DIR-like be-NOM be-BKGR  
 and lo -- that's the way it turned out;

'ura-na-puga-vaci, wfitǰs-'uru nagukwi-kya-tu-my,  
 be-HAB-REM-BKGR past-that fight-PL-NOM-PL  
 that's the way it used to be, long ago they were fighters,

'inǰ núuci, ka-piyá-qa-na-pǰa-vaci; 'umy kǰmaci-u  
 this ute NEG-surpass-ANT/PASS-HAB-REM/NEG-BKGR those/OBJ comanche-PL  
 this Ute (tribe), nobody could ever beat them; they used to fight

manu-xw-ṭ-ṃ-aa-s nagukwi-kya-na-av,  
 all-OBJ-NOM-PL-OBJ-CONJ fight-PL-REL-OWN  
 the Comanches and everybody else,

qwa-x̣ẉ 'ay-ta-pāga-na-p̣uga-vaci; 'uru p̣uupa-av  
 RED-slaughter-PASS-walk-HAB-REM-BKGR that/OBJ way-OWN  
 they used to slaughter them; that's the way

m̄ay-p̣u-'u 'uwayas 'uru, 'uway, sinawavi,  
 say-NOM/REL-he he/GEN that/OBJ that/GEN sinawav/GEN  
 he told it, that one, Sinawav,

p̣uupa m̄ay-p̣u-'u-pa; 'úu-pa 'ura-p̣uga-vaci;  
 way say-NOM/GEN-he-LOC there-DIR be-REM-BKGR  
 the way he predicted; that's the way it was;

m̄ay-kya-ṇ-s-'ura-sapa;  
 say-ANT-I-CONJ-be-MOD  
 I've spoken;

## ② UTE CREATION STORY

Told by: Julius Cloud  
 Date recorded: 6-16-83  
 Recorded by: T. Givón  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uwas-'ura 'ura-pyga-vaci, núu-marogoma-pyga-tu 'u,  
 he-be be-REM-BKGR person-create-REM-NOM/REL that  
 this is about him, the One who Created the People,

'áy-kya-mi-py-aa? 'uru wíitys 'ura-pyga-vaci 'uru,  
 say-PL-HAB-NOM/REL-Q that/OBJ past be-REM-BKGR that/OBJ  
 that's how they call him, isn't it? it all happened long ago,

'i-vaa-na-'uru tɔvɔpɔ-vwan-amy-'uru...  
 here-LOC-LOC/be-that earth/OBJ-on-they-that  
 they were here on this earth...

núuci-cy-pyga 'uwas, núuci 'uni-pyga; x-'ura...  
 person/OBJ-make-REM he person/OBJ do-REM then-be  
 he made the people, he made them; well...

wiyavɔ-m-amy 'uni-pyga, 'ava'na-amy-'ura  
 mud/OBJ-with-them do-REM many-them-be  
 he made them out of mud, he made

'uni-pyga;  
 do-REM  
 many of them;

x-'ura 'uwas pina-xw 'uwas 'áy-pyga, caɣaci-av 'uway,  
 the-be he later-go he say-REM younger-brother/OBJ-OWN him  
 so then, later on, he told his younger brother,

yoɣovɔci: "'uvwi-aɣ 'icay tu'uma-xwa máa-pa";  
 coyote/OBJ HORT-it this/OBJ take-go there-DIR  
 Coyote: "Take this over there ((gesture))";

'ivici 'ura-pɔga 'ica-ta-ni, cuwaxi-kya-pɔga,  
stick be-REM this/OBJ-be-like stuff-ANT/PASS-REM  
they were sticks like this, they had been stuffed,

kunavɔ-naaḡa-amɔ-'ura, kunavɔ-naaḡa-amɔ 'icay,  
bag/OBJ-inside-they-be bag/OBJ-inside-they this/OBJ  
inside a bag, inside this bag,

tɔvwaḡaci-pɔga...  
stuff/fill-REM  
he had stuffed (them)...

"máni nɔḡ'a-nɔ-aḡ 'uru" 'áy-pɔga,  
do/Like/IMP carry-IMP-it that/OBJ say-REM  
"here carry it for me like this" Sinawav told him,

"máa-pa nɔḡ'a-nɔ, tɔvɔci wɔga-aḡa-tux,  
there-DIR carry-IMP very/OBJ hill-have-to  
"carry it over that-a-way, where there are very steep hills,

toḡo-kuvua-vaay-aḡ-'ura mani-'wa-nɔ" máy-pɔga 'uwas...  
right-tip-LOC-it-be do/like-ASP-IMP say-REM he  
and right at the top there do like this" he said  
((gesture of opening the bag and releasing its contents))...

'úɔɔ... 'úu-pa-xwa-pɔga 'uwas 'u-na-taruxwa;  
INTJ there-DIR/pass-go-REM he there-LOC-up  
eeeeh... so Coyote went up that way;

'i-vaa-s 'áy-pɔga((-ni)):  
here-LOC-CONJ say-REM-like  
and once there, he thought to himself:

"'ípy x-'ura-kway? pɔti'a-xu-kɔ" 'áy-pɔga 'uwas,  
WH then-be-MOD heavy-it-EMPH say-REM he  
"What is this (that I'm carrying)? It sure is heavy" he said,

×yoḡovɔci, "'icay-nugway..." 'ḡaa... mani-pɔga,  
coyote this/OBJ-TOP INTJ do/like-REM  
"this thing..." eeeeh... he did like this ((gesture)),

táa tɔvwa, ca'aymi-pɔgay-ku;  
INTJ down dump-REM-it  
down that way, he dumped (the contents of the bag) out;

x-'ura-'uru ca'aymi-maku-kway-kw-'uru, 'úu-pa  
 then-be-that dump-finish-ANT-SUB-that there-DIR  
 later, after dumping out (the contents of the bag),

kuma-yas wáygya-ry-my, myrukaci-u, kukwaci-u  
 different-GEN speak/PL-NOM-PL english-PL spanish-PL  
 (they were) speakers of different languages, English, Spanish

wáygya-ry-my-'uru kwáa manu-x-tu-my-s...  
 speak/PL-NOM-PL-that INTJ all-OBJ-NOM-PL-CONJ  
 speakers and all of those...

kumaci-u... tşo x-'ura pina-xwa... pina-xwa  
 comanche-PL INTJ then-be later-go later-go  
 Comanches... then later... later on

núci-ci-u mawisi-pugay-kw-'uru, ka-pa'ava-ci-wh-tu-my...  
 ute-DIM-PL appear-REM-SUB-that NEG-tall-NOM-NEG-NOM-PL  
 when the little Utes came... they were short...

mani-wh-pugay-ku 'uwas, ca'a-pugay-ku 'uwas,  
 do/like-ASP-REM-it he catch-REM-it he  
 he did like this ((gesture)) with it (the bag), he caught it,

núci-u 'umu ka-'ava'na piya-'wa-xw, mani-wh-puga...  
 ute-PL those/GEN NEG-many remain-NEG-SUB do/like-REM  
 when only a few people (Utes) remained (in the bag),  
 he caught it...

"núci-u kác... ka-piya-ka-vaa-wh-tu-my,  
 ute-PL NEG NEG-remain-PL-FUT-NEG-NOM-PL  
 "The Utes, no... there'll be only a few left,

ka-'ava'na-ağay-way-sapa" máy-puga 'uwas...  
 NEG-many-have-NEG-MOD say-REM he  
 there'll be very few of them" Sinawav (had) said...

'umş-'ura... ka-'ava'na... pa'a-manu-x...  
 they-be NEG-many complete-all-OBJ  
 they... not many... all of...

manu-x-tu((-my)) núci-u-s... toğo-sapa-'ura 'áavü  
 all-OBJ-NOM-PL/OBJ person-PL-CONJ right-MOD-be now  
 all the peoples... for this reason now

mámy manu-x-ty((my)) núuci-u-s 'ura-vaci;  
 those all-OBJ-NOM-PL/OBJ person-PL-CONJ be-BKGR  
 there are all those different kinds of peoples (living on the  
 earth; it is all because Coyote opened the bag prematurely);

'uru-s ka-'ura-vaa-py-wa-ty 'ura-vaci 'uru-s,  
 that-CONJ NEG-be-FUT-NOM/MOD-NEG-NOM be-BKGR that-CONJ  
 it should have never happened that way,

mamy-ty-aa-s núuci-u 'ura-vaci-my; 'uwas-'ura-'uru...  
 those-NOM-PART-CONJ person-PL be-BKGR-PL he-be-that  
 there would have been only a few of them (if he had not done it);  
 it was all because of him...

maci-pyka-pugay-ku yogovuci...  
 mess-up-REM-it coyote  
 Coyote messed it all up...

pina-xw-'ura pavici-'u 'uwa-vaa-cux: "máa-y-cy-ux-aa?  
 later-go-be older-brother-his him-LOC-go/to that-OBJ make-it-Q  
 afterwards (Coyote's) older brother (Sinawav) came to him  
 (and asked): "Did you do it?"

'u-vvaa-tugwa-xw-aa 'uni-'wa?"; ka-'apaga-pya 'uwas;  
 there-LOC-go/to-go-Q do-ASP NEG-speak-REM/NEG he  
 Did you really do it (dump them) over there?" but Coyote didn't  
 reply;

"'inia-taa-vaa-py-u-na-'ura?" máy-pugaa-ni,  
 WH/OBJ-be-FUT-NOM/MOD-ASP-REL-be say-REM-like  
 "I wonder what it would be like (if I told him what really  
 happened)" he thought,

"tyvuci-sapa... 'i-vaa-tugwa-s nú  
 real-MOD here-LOC-go/to-CONJ I  
 "really..."; (so finally he told him:) "Right here I began

pa'a-manu-x-ty-my-s mani-ucaa-ni-ky...  
 complete-all-OBJ-NOM-PL/OBJ-CONJ do/like-INCEP-like-EMPH  
 doing like this ((gesture)) with all of them (I let them out)...

mani-kwa-xw-'ura" máy-ky a, "xw-'u-nuxwa-'ura  
 do/like-ASP-SUB-be say-ANT then-there-TOP-be  
 right when I did like this" he said, "and right there

pa'aa-manu-x-tu-mu-s 'u-vvaa-tu-mana-kway... civu'a-y"  
 complete-all-OBJ-NOM-PL-CONJ there-LOC-DIR-away-go escape-IMM  
 all of them ran away from (the bag)... escaping"

máy-kya-'ura, "'ava'na-y... pa'a-manu-x-tu-mu-s";  
 say-ANT-be many-IMM complete-all-OBJ-NOM-PL-CONJ  
 he said, "many... the whole lot of them";

x-'ura 'uwas 'áy-puga: "túvuci-sapa-ni-aa 'uru-'ay  
 then-be he say-REM true-MOD-like-Q be-IMM  
 so Sinawav said: "It is indeed remarkable

'úmy ka-tusu'a-wa-tu-my" 'áy-puga 'uwas; x-'ura:  
 you NEG-smart-NEG-NOM-AN say-REM he then-be  
 how dumb you are!" he said; then he added:

"'úvvs-'ura, 'uu-ry-gwa!" 'áy-puga, "'úvvs  
 end-be arrow-make-go/IMP say-REM end  
 "Well, now go and make arrows!" he said, "then go

'áa-ry-gwa! 'áavy-'ura támi nagukwi-kw-ta-vaani"  
 bow-make-go/IMP now-be we/II fight-go-PASS-FUT  
 make bows too! Now we'll have to fight"

máy-puga-'ura, "nagukwi-kw-ta-vaani-amy támi"  
 say-REM-be fight-go-PASS-FUT-them we/II  
 he said, "we'll have to fight them (all)"

máy-puga;  
 say-REM  
 he said;

'uwas-'ura pina-xw... 'úmy-'ura máa-pa-s...  
 he-be later-go they-be there-DIR-CONJ  
 so later he... they (went) that-a-way...

kumaci-u 'ura-qa-puga, 'ava'na-tu-my kumaci-u  
 comanche-PL be-PL-REM many-NOM-PL comanche-PL  
 they were Comanches, there were many Comanches there...

'ura-qa-puga... 'úmy-'ura ka-'asti-kya-wa-tu-my  
 be-PL-REM they-be NEG-like-PL-NEG-NOM-PL  
 and they didn't like

núuci-u-'ura, 'ini-wh-kwa-tu-my...  
 ute-PL-be WH-PL-MOD-NOM-PL  
 the Utes, whoever...

'áav̄y-'ura k̄ymaci,  
 now-be comanche  
 now one Comanche,

ta'waavi-am̄y 'ura-vaci, 'ic̄ay t̄yv̄v̄p̄y ta'waavi...  
 chief-their be-BKGR this/OBJ country/GEN chief  
 he was their chief, their chief around these parts...

"'áav̄y-n̄ym̄y nagukwi-kya-paani-'u" máy-p̄yga-'ura;  
 now-we/EXCL fight-PL-FUT-him say-REM-be  
 "Now I'll have to fight him" Sinawav told Coyote;

'uwas-'ura... pina-xw... wáy-ci-gya-na-am̄y  
 he-be later-go two-NOM/OBJ-have-REL-they  
 so then he... later on... the two of them (Sinawav and the  
 chief)

nagukwi-kw-ta-p̄yga; 'úv̄way-aḥ... 'um̄y k̄ymaci-u;  
 fight-go-PASS-REM then-it those/OBJ comanche-PL  
 fought; then... (Sinawav fought) the Comanches;

x-'ura... pina-xw-'ura kukwi-p̄yay-aḡay-'u, túu-taa-y-'u...  
 then-be later-go-be shoot-REM-CONC-him black-coat-OBJ-his  
 then... later he was shot, through his top-coat...

túu-taa-y-'u-waḡa-rux, saḡwaḡa-r̄y túu-taa-y-'u;  
 black-coat-his-through-to blue-ADJ/OBJ black-coat-OBJ-his  
 through his top-coat, his blue top-coat;

pina-xw-'uru ((-'uwas yoḡov̄uci)) 'úu-pa-p̄yga 'uwas:  
 later-go-that he coyote there-DIR/pass-REM he  
 afterwards Coyote passed that way, (wondering):

"'aḡa-ni-gyay-kucaḥ-am̄y-kway?" máy-p̄yga((-ni));  
 WH-do-GER-INCEP-they-MOD say-REM-like  
 "I wonder what they are up to?" he thought;

ka-pucucugwə-p̄ya 'uwas, nagukwi-kyay-kw-am̄y-'uru;  
 NEG-know-REM/NEG he fight-ANT-SUB-they-that  
 he did not know when they fought;

"'áaa..." máy-pyga; 'i-vaa-ni-'uru... wacy-ka-pyga,  
 INTJ say-REM here-LOC-like-that put-ANT-REM  
 "'aaa..." he exclaimed; right there in front of him... it was

pavici-a-'u túu-taa-y-gay-kya-na; 'uvys...  
 older-brother-GEN-his black-shirt-OBJ-have-ANT-REL end  
 lying, his older-brother's top-coat; well...

kuy-kya-ta-ux... 'uvys cqa-pyay-agay-ku...  
 take-PL-PASS-it end pick-up-REM-CONC-it  
 it had been taken away (from him)... so Coyote picked it up...

paʒa-xw-pyay-agay-'ura, pavici-gyay-kya-na 'uway...  
 kill-ASP-REM-CONC-be older-brother-have-ANT-REL that/OBJ  
 they had killed him, his older brother (Sinawav)...

'ú-vwaa-tu-mana-kwa-yis-'ura táwi  
 there-LOC-DIR-away-go-CONJ-be we  
 from those days onward we

ka-'ava'na-wa-tumy 'ura-vaci, táwi, núuci-u;  
 NEG-many-NEG-NOM-PL be-BKGR we ute-PL  
 have always been few, we, the Utes;

x-'ura... (((gap)))  
 then-be  
 well then...

'úru-'ura 'ura-'ay 'urus; 'i-vaa-tugwa-sapa  
 that-be be-IMM it here-LOC-go/to-MOD  
 so that's it; that's as far as it goes,

'ura-'ay 'uru; 'uvys-kwa-pyga núgway... 'uni-pyga-tu,  
 be-IMM that end-ASP-REM TOP do-REM-NOM/REL-it  
 it ended there... the one who did it,

núuci, sinawavi caʒaci 'ura-'ay...  
 person sinawav/GEN younger-brother be-IMM  
 that person, Sinawav's younger brother..

sinaavi-ra-ʒa-tu-my  
 wolf-be/like-ANT-NOM-AN  
 Sinawav is like "wolf",

'ura-'ay, Jfisi si 'uway máy-kya-tu-mu; 'uwas-'ura máay  
 be-IMM Jesus/OBJ that/OBJ say-PL-NOM-PL he-be that/OBJ  
 they (also) call him Jesus; that's his

'uwas-'ura nfaa-ga-tu 'ura-vaci, sinawavi; 'uwas-'ura  
 he-be name-have-NOM be-BKGR sinawav he-be  
 name, Sinawav;

sinawavi máy-gya... 'uwas-'ura... Jfisi s 'uway((as)) nfaa  
 sinawav say-GER he-be Jesus his name  
 they call him Sinawav... he... Jesus, his name

sinawavi; 'uvvʌs, máy-kya-nu-s;  
 sinawav end say-ANT-I-CONJ  
 is Sinawav; well, I've spoken;

NOTES: According to other accounts, a number of traditional details are missing from both versions of the creation story we recorded here. Among those details are:

1. Sinawav was killed during the battle with the Dakota, during which both he and Coyote were destroyed;
2. The Red Ants gathered up all of Sinawav's remains and put him back together;
3. Sinawav taught the Utes the skill of shooting many people with a single arrow;
4. Following Coyote's bungling of the Creation plan, Sinawav cursed him for being a meddler; he then made him into a night-prowler, doomed to wander about, homeless forever.

## THE STEALING OF THE FIRE

Told by: Julius Cloud  
 Date recorded: 10-17-76  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

wfitys 'ura-pyga-vaci, tɔvɔci wfitys,  
 past be-REM-BKGR very past  
 it was long ago, long time ago,

mámy-'uru wɔ-wɔsiaa-ga-tɔ-my, mámy-'uru  
 those-that RED-feather-have-NOM-PL those-that  
 the feathered ones, when they

núuci-u-gway-amy-'uru; miyá-vɔrɔ-pyga((-vaci));  
 person-PL-be/have-they-that move/PL-walk/PL-REM-BKGR  
 were people; they used to migrate;

miyá-vɔro-xw... kani-gya-mi-kway... 'uwas-'ura 'uway,  
 move/PL-walk-SUB house-have-HAB-MOD he-be that/OBJ  
 when they used to migrate... they used to live (at one place,  
 then move on to another)... (at that time) that one,

sinawavi 'uway... 'ú-'uway-kway ta'waavi-gya-mi...  
 sinawav that/OBJ RED-that/OBJ-MOD chief-have-HAB  
 Sinawav... he used to be their chief...

miyá-'ni-ci-my 'umɔ 'úvway-aɔ...  
 move/PL-INT-NOM/SUB-PL/GEN they/GEN then-it  
 when they were still wanderers...

'úvway-aɔ-'ura-'uru-s... tugwa-xw-pyga, 'úru tavici  
 then-it-be-that-CONJ night-ASP-REM that sun  
 then once, suddenly... it became dark as night, the sun

tumay-kwa-u-pyga-ni; 'umɔs-'ura 'ú-vwaa yugwi-pyga,  
 dark-ASP-INCEP-REM-like they-be there-LOC sit/PL-REM  
 turned dark just like that; and they were all sitting there,

pa'a ka-p<sub>u</sub>ni-ta-na-t<sub>u</sub>-pa, p<sub>u</sub>aa-y-'u 'uway sinawavi;  
 complete NEG-see-PASS-NOM-LOC kin-GEN-his that/GEN sinawav/GEN  
 not being able to see, Sinawav's relatives;

'úvway-a<sub>x</sub>-'ura 'uwas: "'a<sub>g</sub>a-ni-gya-paani-'ura?  
 then-it-be he WH-do-GER-FUT-be  
 so finally Sinawav said: "What shall we do?"

'i-v<sub>aa</sub>-tux tavaci pana-'ni-na-p<sub>u</sub>ga,  
 here-LOC-to sun shine-INT-HAB-REM  
 The sun used to shine brightly this way,

pana-mani-kya-na-p<sub>u</sub>gaa-ni 'ú-vwaa-t<sub>u</sub>" ((má-y-p<sub>u</sub>ga)),  
 shine-do/like-ANT-HAB-REM-like there-LOC-DIR say-REM  
 it used to shine just like that" ((he told them)),

'uru yugwi-kwa-am<sub>u</sub>... yugwi-na-p<sub>u</sub>ga 'um<sub>u</sub>s...  
 that sit/PL-SUB-they sit-PL-HAB-REM they  
 as they were sitting (around there)... they just kept sitting...

'úvway-a<sub>x</sub>-'ura-'uru 'uwas 'á-y-p<sub>u</sub>ga: "m<sub>u</sub>ni-aa-t<sub>u</sub>-'uru  
 then-it-be-that he say-REM you-PART-NOM-that  
 so finally Sinawav said: "Some of you

kuna-ci 'ini-kwa-gup<sub>u</sub>... kuna-ci 'ini-kwa-gup<sub>u</sub>...  
 fire-NOM/OBJ make-go-MOD fire-NOM/OBJ make-go-MOD  
 will have to go and make a torch... go and make a torch...

m<sub>u</sub>ni 'f-'iy<sub>u</sub>y<sub>i</sub>-kwa-gup<sub>u</sub> x-'ura...  
 you/GEN RED-steal-go-MOD then-be  
 and then you'll have to go and steal (fire)...

(('úvway-a<sub>x</sub>-'ura)) 'uway m<sub>u</sub>tataci 'uway... k<sub>u</sub>mas  
 then-it-be that/OBJ humming-bird/OBJ that/OBJ other  
 so ((they chose)) the hummingbird...  
 it was a different (kind)...

'ura-vaci-s... 'uwa-ra-t<sub>u</sub>-m<sub>u</sub>-s<sub>u</sub>-ni... p<sub>u</sub>ka-y<sub>u</sub>ci-r<sub>u</sub>-m<sub>u</sub>,  
 be-BKGR-CONJ him-be/like-NOM-AN/PL-CONJ-like fast-fly-ADJ-AN/PL/GEN  
 one very much like him... the kind that flies real fast,

p<sub>u</sub>ka-manay-r<sub>u</sub>-m<sub>u</sub>...  
 fast-move-ADJ-AN/PL/GEN  
 that moves very fast...

((The narrative here omits a section about the two hummingbirds flying over into enemy country and approaching a group sitting around a fire.))

'úvway-aḵ-unu-xw-'ura-'uru 'uni-'a-puga, 'u-vwaa-cawī..  
 then-it-TOP-go-be-that do-ASP-REM there-LOC-toward  
 so then the (first) humminbird did it (he fluttered his wings  
 real fast to attract the group's attention);

'umys-'ura... 'úvway-aḵ-'ura 'u-vwaa picu-gway-kya-puga  
 they-be then-it-be there-LOC come-go-ANT-REM  
 so they... the other humminbird had arrived there

toḡo-su-ni-av-'ura, kuna-ci 'f-'iyuyi-pḡḡ-ru,  
 right-CONJ-like-OWN-be fire-NOM/OBJ RED-steal-walk-ADJ  
 in good time, so he flew in and snatched the fire (with his torch),

ta-tamu'way-kyay((-kw))-'ura... máy-kya-puay-aḡay-'u..  
 RED-watch-PL-SUB-be say-PL-REM-CONC-him  
 while they were all watching his friend... they were talking about  
 him...

kumas 'ura-vaci((-u)), 'úy-'u picu-gway-kya-tu-'u..  
 other be-BKGR-he INTJ-he come-ASP-ANT-NOM-he  
 it was the other one (who snatched the fire), he had arrived  
 earlier (and hid himself)...

pina-xw-'uru 'umys-'uru... na'a-ti-mi-tu-my 'uru  
 later-go-that they-that fire-CAUS-HAB-NOM-PL that/OBJ  
 so then they... the fire-makers

kyu-puga-xw.. tugu-tugwa-amu kwáa-u-paci-my..  
 take-REM-it sky-to-they run-INCEP-BKGR-PL  
 snatched the fire... and they took off sky-ward...

'úy... nava-yugwi-amu wunyu-gwa-vaci-my,  
 INTJ RECIP-sit/PL-they stand-go-BKGR-PL  
 eeeh... they flew in close together,

kyu-kwa-ci-kw-amu... 'úy..  
 take-ASP-NOM-SUB-they INTJ  
 as they snatched the fire... eeeh...

pa'a-mayi-ti-kya-paci-umu, kacu-my..  
 complete-lost-CAUS-PL-BKGR-they NEG-them  
 and they got the enemy completely lost, they didn't...

ka-muana-xwa-ḵa-t<sub>u</sub>-m<sub>u</sub>...  
 NEG-succeed-ASP-PL-NOM-PL  
 they didn't succeed (in catching them)...

'uv<sub>u</sub>s, 'u-vwa-am<sub>u</sub>-'ura-'uru 'um<sub>u</sub>-as t<sub>u</sub>v<sub>u</sub>pu-va-av  
 end there-LOC-they-be-that their/OBJ country/OBJ-LOC-OWN  
 well, so then the two of them arrived back in

pi-pic<sub>u</sub>-kwa-p<sub>u</sub>ga... 'úvway-a<sub>ḵ</sub>-'ura-'uru...  
 RED-come-ASP-REM then-it-be-that  
 their own country... and then...

na'a-ti-kya-ri-p<sub>u</sub>ga... na'a-ti-gway-p<sub>u</sub>ga... 'úvway-a<sub>ḵ</sub>...  
 fire-CAUS-PL-INC-REM fire-CAUS-ASP-REM then-it  
 the started the fire... they started the fire... then...

p<sub>u</sub>ni-ta-p<sub>u</sub>ga 'uv<sub>u</sub>s 'úvway-a<sub>ḵ</sub>... p<sub>u</sub>ni-ta-ḵa-p<sub>u</sub>ga...  
 see-PASS-REM end then-it see-PASS-PL-REM  
 one could finally see then... everybody could see...

p<sub>u</sub>pa 'uni-kya((-mia)-na...  
 way do-PL-HAB-REL  
 the way the used to (before the eclips)...

'um<sub>u</sub> wáy-ku 'um<sub>u</sub>... 'um<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub>v<sub>u</sub>-vi  
 they/GEN two-OBJ/GEN they/GEN they/GEN take-NOM/OBJ  
 the two of them... they were the ones who snatched

yugwi-kya-na 'ura-p<sub>u</sub>ga, kunaci 'uru... m<sub>i</sub>iyh-t<sub>u</sub> núci-u  
 sit-ANT-REL be-REM torch/OBJ that/OBJ far-DIR person-PL  
 the fire while (the enemy were) sitting around, with torches...

'um<sub>u</sub> na'a-t<sub>u</sub> yugwi-kya-na...  
 those/OBJ fire-NOM/OBJ sit/PL-ANT-REL  
 when those far-away people were sitting around the fire...

máy-'uru... máy-kya-mi-'uru... w<sub>i</sub>it<sub>u</sub>s-'uru  
 say-that say-PL-HAB-that past-that  
 they say... that's what they say... it was

'ú<sub>u</sub>m<sub>u</sub>-'uru miy<sub>u</sub>-ni-p<sub>u</sub>-'uru  
 they-that move/PL-INT-NOM/REL-that  
 long time ago

'úvway-aǰ 'ura-puga-tu 'ura-vaci-'uru;  
 then-it be-REM-NOM be-BKGR-that  
 that they lived;

máy-kya-aǰ-'uru, pɨsari-niya-ǰa-tu-my-'uru,  
 say-PL-it-that story-tell-PL-NOM-PL-that  
 they tell this, the (old) story-tellers,

'ú-vway tugwa-sapa-xwa-s 'áa'way-ni...  
 there-LOC go/to-MOD-go-CONJ clear-like  
 that's as far as it is clear...

## SINAWAV AND THE SEVEN STARS

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 9-7-83  
 Recorded by: T. Givón  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uwas 'ura-puga sinawavi... 'umu caquura-y-u  
 he be-REM Sinawav those/OBJ crane-OBJ-PL  
 this is about Sinawav... and those cranes, they...

'umu-kway... 'umu-aa pu-paay-amy ya-yaga-kwa-y-pu...  
 those/OBJ-MOD them-Q REL-LOC-they RED-cry-ASP-IMM-NOM/REL  
 wherever it was, they kept crying around...

'uwas-'ura 'avi-puni-gya... 'umu sinawavi-u yúaa-va-tu  
 he-be lie-look-GER those/GEN sinawav-PL plain-LOC-DIR  
 he had been lying (on his back) looking (at the sky)... and they

tavi-navici-puga, 'umu caquura-u,  
 step-MASS-REM those crane-PL  
 landed in a great flock on the country of his clan, those cranes,

'uwa-vaa-cu... 'uwas-'ura: "'aga-ni-ucaa?" 'áy-puga-amy,  
 him-LOC-DIR he-be WH-do-INCEP say-REM-them  
 just next to him... so he asked them: "What are you fixing to do?"

"'iyā-na mūni-'ura 'aga-paa pōro-xwa-ga 'ani-kh?"  
 here-LOC you/PL-be WH-DIR walk/PL-go-GER do-IMM  
 he said, "Where are you going, flocking through here?"

máy-puga 'uwas; "'i-vāā-nūmu 'ani-kh pōro-xwa-y  
 say-REM he here-LOC-we do-IMM walk/PL-go-IMM  
 he said; "We are flocking through here

nagukwi-kya-ta-mia-ga" máy-kya-puga 'ura-'umús caquura-u;  
 fight-PL-PASS-HAB-have say-PL-REM be-they crane-PL  
 (because) there's going to be a war" the cranes told him;

"m̄ni-'ara n̄n̄ay kác 'u-vwaa-t̄ n̄o'wa-y-'ura...  
 you/PL-be me NEG there-LOC-DIR carry-IMM-be  
 "Won't you please carry me there (with you)..."

n̄y-aa m̄ni ka-ta'wa-p̄ari-n̄y-wa-t̄y?" máy-p̄yga  
 I-Q you/PL/GEN NEG-man-help-IMP-NEG-NOM say-REM  
 Can't I be your helper?" he pleaded,

n̄gway, caquura-y-u 'um̄y yaḡa-x̄way-mia-am̄y máy-p̄yga  
 TOP crane-OBJ-PL those/OBJ cry-go-HAB-them say-REM  
 as the cranes (flocked and) cried (above him);

'uwas; x-'ura 'um̄s-'uru 'áy-kya-p̄yga: "táa-ḡa"  
 he then-be they-that say-PL-REM EXHORT-PL  
 so they told him: "Alright, come along!"

x-'ura-'uru 'uni-'a-p̄yga, whsiaavi  
 then-be-that do/go-ASP-REM feather/OBJ  
 so Sinawav went along with the cranes,

ma-maḡa-p̄yay-aḡay-'u, nani s̄úkus, ȳuci-'a-p̄yga-'ura  
 RED-give-REM-CONC-him RECIP one/OBJ fly-ASP-REM-be  
 and they gave him feathers, each gave him one, so now he

'uwas; 'uwas x-'ura ka-'aȳ-mi-wa; resti-kya-x̄ay-kw-'ura,  
 he he then-be NEG-good-HAB-NEG rest-PL-ANT-SUB-be  
 could fly (with them); but then he misbehaved; whenever they  
 stopped to rest,

s̄y'i-mi qova-m-am̄y tugwa-am̄y, yúaa-vaa-t̄y-am̄y  
 pee-HAB face-LOC-them go/to-them plain-LOC-DIR-they  
 he would pee in front of them facing them, whenever they landed

tavi-navici-kw((-uru)); x-'ura-'uru... kác...  
 step-MASS-SUB-that then-be-that NEG  
 on open grounds; so then...no...

s̄úwiini 'áy-p̄yga: "kaci-n 'ásti-wa máaa-y 'uni-'a-vaa-ku,  
 one/SUBJ say-REM NEG-I want-NEG that-OBJ do/go-ASP-FUT-SUB  
 one (of them) said: "I don't want him to come along (with us),

tawi-aa máy-((u))caa-vaa" máy-p̄yga; x-'ura-'uru:  
 we-Q say-INCEP-FUT say-REM then-be-that  
 he might get us into trouble" he said, then:

"to<sup>o</sup>go-y-nugwa maru whsiaavi tu-tuvu-ca'a-nu"  
 well-IMM-TOP that/OBJ feather/OBJ RED-pluck-catch-IMP  
 "It is better that we pluck the feathers off him"

máy-puga;  
 say-REM  
 he said;

x-'ura qwáyvi-'aa-ga-amy tu-tuvu-ca'a-pugay-ku  
 then-be lie/PL-INCH-GER-they RED-pluck-catch-REM-it  
 so while (everybody) was asleep, they plucked the  
 feathers off Sinawav;

'umu; "whsiaa-y maru núnay 'uni-aa 'ura-'ay"  
 they feather-OBJ that/OBJ my POSS-GEN be-IMM  
 "This feather is mine!" they told

'áy-puga súwiini; 'uwas 'u-vwaa-s pu-pui-puga;  
 say-REM another he there-LOC-CONJ RED-sleep-REM  
 each other; and all the while Sinawav kept sleeping;

x-'ura-'uru 'uwas pu-pui-gya((y-kw-'uru)),  
 then-be-that he RED-sleep-ANT-SUB-that  
 finally after sleeping (through it all),

tapu'ni-puga; 'umu-aa-tu ya-yağa-puga 'avaa-amy  
 wake-up-REM them-PART-NOM RED-cry-REM far-they  
 he woke up; one of the cranes kept crying on and on

yáasi-u-kw; 'ú-vwaa-s pa'a-'uwa-vq̄r̄q̄-puga,  
 fly/PL-ASP-SUB there-LOC-CONJ complete-jump-walk-REM  
 as they flew away; so Sinawav started jumping up and down  
 (in total frustration);

su-supaa-y-kya-puay-ağay-'u; 'uwayas pa'a-'uwa-vq̄r̄q̄-xw-'uru,  
 RED-leave-PL/ANT-REM-CONC-him he/GEN complete-jump-walk-SUB-that  
 they had left him behind; and while jumping up and down,

'áy-puga: "'ağaa-ni ta-tapi-u-nay-kw núnay?"  
 say-REM WH-do RED-step-ASP-REL-SUB me  
 he cried: "Why have you left me behind?"

'áy-puga; "'u-vwaa-caa-n-'ura-'uru nq̄oğwa-tu  
 say-REM there-LOC-ASP-me-be-that pregnant-NOM/OBJ  
 he said; "Will you at least kill a pregnant woman for me?"

pa-paʔa-kʉ-gwa-tʉ?" máy-pʉga; "'uni-kya-paaci-mʉ  
 RED-kill-BEN-go-NOM say-REM do-PL-FUT-PL  
 he begged them; "We'll do that"

'uru" máy-kya-pʉga 'umʉs; "'ú-vwaa-caa-n-'ura-'uru  
 that/OBJ say-PL-REM they there-LOC-ASP-me-be-that  
 they said; "And will you please

'uway nʉʉgʉwa-kya-na-'u yáa'wa-nʉ nʉ-vwaa-cux?"  
 that/OBJ pregnant-ANT/PASS-REL-him carry-IMP me-LOC-to  
 bring me the foetus she carried?"

máy-pʉga; "'ʉʉ" 'áy-kya-pʉga 'umʉs;  
 say-REM yes say-PL-REM they  
 he begged them; "Alright" they said;

pʉʉʉ-xwa-pʉga-s-'ura;  
 walk/PL-go-REM-CONJ-be  
 and then they took off (going to their battle);

... 'umʉs-'ura 'i-vʉʉ-cʉ nʉʉgʉwa-tʉ  
 they-be here-LOC-DIR pregnant-NOM/OBJ  
 ...and indeed (during the war) the Cranes did kill

pa-paʔa-xw-pʉga; 'uwa-nukwa-'uru 'ura-pʉga-mia-'u,  
 RED-kill-ASP-REM her-TOP-that be-REM-HAB-she  
 a pregnant woman; and it was indeed that one,

kʉ-nʉʉ-pʉʉʉ-pʉ-amʉ, 'ú nʉu-ruaci, 'ava'na-pa  
 mouth-carry-walk/PL-NOM/REL-they that person-child much-DIR  
 (the one) they carried along in their mouths, the foetus,

nʉʉ-gʉwa-tʉ pʉyuuuvʉ-naaʒa... nʉu-ruaci 'u,  
 carry-ANT/PASS-NOM cloth/OBJ-in person-child that  
 (the one) who was carried bundled in lots of cloth... the baby,

caquura-y 'uway 'uni-'wa-pʉ;  
 crane-GEN him do-ASP-NOM/REL  
 that the crane(s) brought Sinawav;

x-'ura-'uru 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-s-'u supaa-pʉga;  
 then-be-that him-LOC-go/to-CONJ-her leave-REM  
 so they left the baby-girl with Sinawav;

'u-vwaa-s 'uwas paḡa-'ni-pḡga,  
 there-LOC-CONJ he walk-INT-REM  
 he was parading himself there,

whsiaa-y-'u tu-tuvḡ-ca'a-ḡa-pḡa-vaa-y-av;  
 feather-OBJ-his RED-pluck-catch-PL/ANT/PASS-REM/REL-LOC-OBJ-OWN  
 where they had plucked all the feathers off him;

'uwa-nukwa-'uru nana-ti-pḡ-'u 'ura-'ḡay;  
 her-TOP-that grow-CAUS-NOM/REM/REL-he be-IMM  
 it was her that he raised (as his daughter);

x-'ura-'uru pina-xwa, nana-ḡa-kwa-ci-'ura, paḡy-av  
 then-be-that later-go grow-ANT-SUB-NOM-be older-daughter-OWN  
 later on, after she grew up, Sinaway told his daughter:

'uway máy-pḡga: "'ḡvḡs-aa, 'ḡmḡ-'ara  
 that/OBJ say-REM end-EMPH you-be  
 "Enough now,

pḡaa-u-gwa-tḡ 'ura-'ḡay, máa-pa kwá  
 kin-PL-have-NOM be-IMM there-LOC INTJ  
 you have relatives, so go on that-a-way

pḡaa-u-vwa-cugwa-av páyu-xwa!" máy-pḡay-aḡay-'u,  
 kin-PL-LOC-go/to-OWN return-go/IMP say-REM-CONC-her  
 and return to your relatives!" he told her,

nana-ḡay-kwa-'u; 'uwas-'ura payu-kwa-pḡga 'ú mamaci 'u;  
 grow-ANT-SUB-she she-be return-go-REM that woman that;  
 when she grew up; so she returned home (to her relatives);

náaavi-gya-'ḡay;  
 teenage-girl-have-IMM  
 she was a teenager (by then);

pina-xw-'ura-'uru 'uwas... 'ina-xwa-pa'aḡa  
 later-go-be-that he there-go-around  
 so after that he... he ran

taru-xwa-pḡga-s  
 run-go-REM-CONJ  
 (sneaking) around,

k $\bar{u}$ ma-rux, sinawavi; x-'ura 'um $\bar{u}$  s $\bar{u}$ uva-t $\bar{u}$ -m $\bar{u}$ -aa-ni  
 other-through sinawav then-be those/OBJ other-NOM-PL-OBJ-like  
 Sinawav did; ((and, preceding the girl to where she was heading,  
 he devised a way of marrying her, though he raised her like a  
 daughter)); once there he told them, those other ones

'um $\bar{u}$  nana-cigya-x $\bar{a}$ -na-av 'áy-p $\bar{u}$ ga: "'uvwiya...  
 them race-PL-REL-OWN say-REM EXHORT  
 that (were going to) race him: "Let's...

ma-vaa-tugwa-s $\bar{u}$ -ni mawisi-v $\bar{a}$ ani mama-'ayh-p $\bar{u}$ -ci"  
 there-LOC-to-CONJ-like appear-FUT woman-child-DIM  
 Right over there there's going to appear a young woman"

'áy-p $\bar{u}$ ga-s, "'ú kwáa-t $\bar{u}$ -m $\bar{u}$ -s 'u;  
 say-REM-CONJ that run-NOM-AN-CONJ that  
 he told them, "and she's a real fast runner;

namu ca'a-v $\bar{u}$ -s $\bar{u}$ -'a piwa-g $\bar{a}$ aa-vaani" máy-p $\bar{u}$ ga;  
 first catch-NOM/REL-CONJ-her spouse-have-FUT say-REM  
 the first one to catch her will wed her" he said;

x-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'um $\bar{u}$  kwá-navici-t $\bar{u}$ -m $\bar{u}$ -'uru 'um $\bar{u}$   
 then-be he-that them run-MASS-NOM-PL/OBJ-that them  
 so then he indeed raced those fast runners;

nana-cigya-p $\bar{u}$ ga-am $\bar{u}$ , x-'ura-'uru k $\bar{u}$ ma-u 'ava'na-t $\bar{u}$ -m $\bar{u}$   
 race-REM-them then-be-that different-PL many-NOM-PL  
 it was all those many different ones that raced (him),

manu-ni kwá-navici-'uru, x-'ura m $\bar{u}$ tataaci 'ura-p $\bar{u}$ ga-s...  
 all-SUBJ run-MASS-that then-be humming-bird be-REM-CONJ  
 there was the humming bird...

'ura-yis... sa $\bar{g}$ wa-ri-p $\bar{u}$ -ci 'ura-p $\bar{u}$ ga-s, yo $\bar{g}$ ov $\bar{u}$ ci-u  
 be-also blue-INCH-DIM be-REM-CONJ coyote-PL  
 and also... the blue jay, and the coyotes,

'ura-p $\bar{u}$ ga-s, kwá-navici-r $\bar{u}$ -m $\bar{u}$ ; 'um $\bar{u}$ -'ura-'uru  
 be-REM-CONJ run-MASS-ADJ-PL those/OBJ-be-that  
 all the fast runners; it was (all of) them that

nana-cigya-qa-p $\bar{u}$ ga 'uwas;  
 race-ANT-REM he  
 he raced;

'umys-nukwa-'ura-'uru suwa-kwaa-xw-puyay-agay-'u 'uwayas  
 they-TOP-be-that almost-win-ASP-REM-CONC-him him  
 and they almost beat Sinawav (in the race);

sinawavi; x-'ura 'uwas-'uru whcy-paga-puga;  
 sinawav/OBJ then-be he-that overtake-walk-REM  
 but finally he was beginning to catch up;

"ma-mani-mia-s-'ara wycarypuna-py 'uru tyka-mia-kw"  
 RED-do/like-HAB-CONJ-be calf-muscle-NOM/OBJ that/OBJ eat-HAB-SUB  
 "It always happens when you eat calf-muscles"

máy-paga-puga-amy-'ura; 'umys x-'ura  
 say-walk-REM-them-be they then-be  
 he kept telling them; so soon they

wycarypy'na-xa-mi; 'áaga-kwa-xw-puga-amy-'ura  
 calf-muscle-crampl-PL-HAB quiet-win-ASP-REM-them-be  
 were having calf-muscle cramps; and thus he beat them

'uwas;  
 he  
 by trickery

x-'ura 'u-'uwa-nukwa 'ura-puga, ((náavi 'u)),  
 then-be RED-she-TOP be-REM teenage-girl that  
 so finally only she was there, ((the young woman)),

piwa-ri-py-'u, tua-py-'u-'ura-'uru, pina-xw;  
 spouse-CAUS-NOM/REM/REL-his bear-NOM/REM/REL-be-that later-go  
 the one he married, the one who bore his children, later on;

pay-kunani pacu-u-gwa-puga... súu-ku-s 'áapaci-gya-puga,  
 three-OBJ daughter-PL-have-REM one-OBJ-CONJ boy/OBJ-have-REM  
 (they) had three daughters... (they also) had one son,

'ivi-puy-aa-ga-ci nfaa-ga-ty...  
 wood-fur-GEN-have-NOM name-have-NOM/OBJ  
 his name was "Wood-fuzz"...

x-'ura 'uwas tyna-xwa-puga... tyna-xwa-pugay-kw-'ura-'uru  
 then-be he hunt-go-REM hunt-go-REM-SUB-be-that  
 one day Sinawav went hunting... as he was hunting around,

yu'u-'u qopoxi-kwa-pyga; x-'ura-'uru pacu-u-a-ty-'u  
 leg-his break-ASP-REM then-be-that daughter-PL-PART-NOM-his  
 his leg broke; so one of his daughters

nqo'wa-pugay-'u... kuy-vi-u-pugay-'u,  
 carry-REM-him take-ASP-ASP-REM-him  
 carried him (home)... she picked him up,

qopoxi-kyay-kwa-'u; 'uwas-'ura-'uru...  
 break-ANT-SUB-he he-be-that  
 when (his leg) broke; so he...

nqo'wa-vi-u-pugay-'u,  
 carry-ASP-ASP-REM-him  
 she carried him,

pacu-'u 'u x-'ura-'uru 'uwas; x-'ura-'uru 'uwas  
 daughter-his that then-be-that she then-be-that he  
 his daughter did; so (while being carried,) he

'uwa-rykwa-aqa-ty sici'ni-pyga, pacu-av 'uway;  
 her-under-have-NOM/OBJ peek-REM daughter-OWN that/OBJ  
 peaker under her (skirts, to see her private parts), his own  
 daughter;

pina-xw-'ura 'asti-u-na-pugay-'u, ma'a-ci-'u;  
 later-go-be want-INCEP-HAB-REM-her see-SUB-her  
 and as a result he began to crave her, having seen her (there);

x-'ura-'uru, 'uwas-'uru, pina-xw-'uru, 'u-'uway-'uru,  
 then-be-that he-that later-go-that RED-her-that  
 so then, he, later on,

'asti-pugay-'u, pacu-av namu-ty-my;  
 want-REM-her daughter-OWN first-NOM-AN/OBJ  
 he developed a crave for her, his own first-born daughter;

x-'ura-'uru kani-vaa-tugwa-xwa-pyga;  
 then-be-it house-LOC-to-go-REM  
 so he went back home;

kani-vaa-tugwa-xwa-xay-kw-'ura-'uru...  
 house-LOC-to-go--ANT-SUB-be-that  
 after returning home...

naḡami-kwa-pṡay-aḡa, nava-kway-pṡga-'uru; x-'ura-'uru  
 sick-ASP-REM-CONC just-go-REM-that then-be-that  
 he became sick, just like that;

naḡa-'avi-na-pṡga, x-'ura-'uru pina-xw ya'ṡy-kw-pṡga,  
 cover-lie-HAB-REM then-be-that die-ASP-REM  
 so he was lying there all covered up, he was dying,

'uru-'ura ya'ṡy-kwa-vaa-ci 'áy-pṡga: "'uru-'ura nṡnṡy  
 that-be die-ASP-FUT-SUB say-REM that-be I/GEN  
 so when he was about to die, he said: "After I

ya'ṡy-kw-ḡay-kwa-n, 'uru kukwapi-pṡ-tugwa-n wṡnṡy-kya-n"  
 die-ASP-ANT-SUB-I that/OBJ firewood/OBJ-LOC-to-LOC throw-PL-me  
 have died, throw me on (a pile of) firewood (and burn me)"

máy-pṡga-'ura... 'úvway-aḡ-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'ura:  
 say-REM-be then-it-TOP-be-that he-be  
 he said (to his relatives)... so then (after they did that,  
 he told them):

"pṡro-xwa-nṡ!" máy-pṡga-'ura... "'uru  
 go/PL-go-IMP say-REM-be that  
 "Go away now!" he told them... "When

ya'ṡy-kw-ḡa((y-kwa))-n" máy-pṡga; 'uni-kya-pṡga 'umṡs  
 die-ASP-ANT-SUB-I say-REM do-PL-REM they  
 I've died" he said; so they did

'uru, ya'ṡy-kwa-ḡa(y-kwa))-u;  
 that/OBJ die-ASP-ANT-SUB-he  
 that, after he died;

x-'ura 'ú 'áapaci 'u pini-vṡni-paḡay-kya:  
 then-be that boy that backward-look-walk-GER  
 now (Sinawav's) boy, looking backward while going away,  
 (said:)

"'ú múaa-ḡapṡ-n kúupṡnu-kwa!" máy-pṡga; x-'uru-'ura  
 that father-DEFUN-my roll-ANT say-REM then-that-be  
 "My dead father has just rolled over!" he said; so

'uwas súwiini pṡa-'u máy-vṡci: "kacṡ-'a  
 he another kin-his say-BKGR NEG-he  
 one of his relatives told him: "He

pini-v̄ni-kya-paa-'wa-ni máy-kya-na-ux 'uwas" máy-p̄ga;  
 backward-look-PL-FUT-NEG-FUT say-ANT-REL-it he  
 had told us not to look back" he said;

"'uru x-'ura pini-v̄ni-kyay-kw, 'q̄av̄-ti-kwa-vaa-t̄y  
 that then-be backward-look-ANT-SUB salt/OBJ-CAUS-go-FUT-NOM  
 "so whoever looks back, they'll turn into salt"

'ura-'̄y" máy-kya-p̄ga-'ura 'um̄s, máy-kya-p̄gay-'u  
 be-IMM say-PL-REM-be they say-PL-REM-him  
 they said, they told

'uway 'áapaci;  
 that/OBJ boy/OBJ  
 the boy;

'úv̄way-āx-unuv-'ura-'uru pina-xwa-s-'uru 'uwas x-'uru  
 then-it-TOP-be-that later-go-CONJ-that he then-that  
 earlier on, ((before all that, Sinawav)) had

'áy-p̄ga, 'uru ȳ'̄y-kwa-vaa-ci: "m̄a-y-'ura pac̄-aa-n,  
 say-REM that die-ASP-FUT-SUB that-OBJ-be daughter-GEN-my  
 told them, when he was dying: "That daughter of mine,

piwa-ri-n̄y s̄á-ḡa-r̄y puku-gwa-t̄y 'ura-vaci...  
 spouse-INC-IMP white-have-ADJ/OBJ house-have-NOM/OBJ be-BKGR  
 marry her to a man who ((will come riding)) a white horse...

tuku-sa'map̄-ga-t̄y 'ura-vaci" máy-p̄ga kw̄áy;  
 mountain-lion-spread/OBJ-have-NOM/OBJ be-BKGR say-REM INTJ  
 with a mountain-lion blanket on it" that's what he told them;

x-'ura 'um̄s-'uru 'uni-kya-p̄ga, p̄upa máy-p̄-na-'u,  
 then-be they-that do-PL-REM way say-REM/NOM-REL-his  
 so then they did the way he told them,

kani-gya... kani-v̄q̄-tugwa-s-av miȳ-p̄ga 'um̄s,  
 house-have house-LIC-go/to-CONJ-OWN walk/PL-REM they  
 homes... they went back home,

kani-yugwi-ci-aa-paa-tux; x-'ura 'um̄s-'uru p̄oro-xwa-p̄ga,  
 house-sit/PL-NOM-OBJ-LOC-to then-be they-that walk/PL-go-REM  
 to where their houses were clustered together; so they went,

'u-vwaa-tux porq-xwa-puga-vaci, miya-'uwa-puga-vaci;  
 there-LOC-to walk/PL-come-REM-BKGR move/PL-come-REM-BKGR  
 they all went back there, they all came back (home);

'uwas-'uru punikya-vorq-na-puga-vaci 'apaci 'u,  
 he-that see-walk-HAB-REM-BKGR boy that  
 in the mean time the boy kept looking about,

tysapa tava-mawisi-mana-kwa-tux, 'uway may-puyay-'u  
 always sun-appear-move-go-to him say-REM/REL-his  
 always moving east, the way Sinawav had told him...

sinawavi... sa-ga-ru-my puku-gwa-tu 'uway  
 sinawav/GEN white-have-ADJ-AN/OBJ horse-have-NOM/OBJ that/OBJ  
 he was looking for the man on the white horse,

pysagay-porq-na-puga-vaci, paci-ci-'u  
 searchwalk-HAB-REM-BKGR older-siter/OBJ-his  
 the one who would marry

piwa-ri-vaa-na;  
 spouse-INCH-FUT-REL  
 his older sister;

pina-xwa-na-'uru 'uni-puga, 'uwas picu-puga,  
 later-go-REL-that do-REM he arrive-REM  
 so finally he did ((see him)), he arrived,

'uwas-'ura 'ura-puga, 'u sinawavi sa-ga-ru-my  
 he-be be-REM that sinawav white-have-ADJ-AN/OBJ  
 it was him, Sinawav, riding a white horse!...

puku-gway-'ay!... 'uvway-ax-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru  
 horse-have-IMM then-it-TOP-be-that he-that  
 so the boy

may-puga: "'avv-ux-'ura picu-i 'uway  
 say-REM now-it-be arrive-IMM that/GEN  
 told (his people): "Here he is coming now, the one

may-puyay-'u mua-gapu-aa-n" may-puga-'ura 'uwas  
 say-REM/REL-his father-DEFUN-GEN-my say-REM-be he  
 that my late father told us about" the boy said,

'áapaci 'u, "'uwa-cugwa-ǰa-ku" máy-puga; 'uwas-'ura  
 boy that him-go/meet-PL-EMPH say-REM she-be  
 "Let's all go meet him" he urged them; so

pfá-'u 'áy-puga: "'uvus-'u cika-ǰwa" máy-pugay-'u,  
 mother-his say-REM end-him fetch-go/IMP say-REM-him  
 his mother said: "Alright, go fetch him" she told him,

"tyna-ti-kway-'a tatawayvi-m" máy-puay-aǰay-'u;  
 hunt-CAUS-go/IMP-him in-law/OBJ-your say-REM-CONC-him  
 "Go take your in-law hunting" she told him;

cika-vi-u-pugay-'u 'áapaci 'u; 'uwas-'uru 'u-vwa karu-puga;  
 fetch-ASP-ASP-REM-him boy that he-that there-LOC sit-REM  
 so the boy went over to fetch him; and all the while Sinawav was  
 sitting there (on his horse);

'uru x-'ura-'uru ya'ǰay-kwa-ǰay-kw-'uru, 'uwas-'uru  
 that then-be-that die-ASP-ANT-SUB-that he-that  
 now, when Sinawav was dying, the boy

tawa-tunii-kya-pugay-'u... pa'a-manu-ni pacu-u-'u,  
 tooth-drill-out-PL-REM-him complete-all-SUBJ daughter-PL-his  
 pulled out ((one of)) his teeth... all (of Sinawav's) daughters  
 did,

'fi-pa kwá tawa-y-'u, ya'ǰa-kwa-ǰay-kw-'uru,  
 here-DIR INTJ tooth-OBJ-his die-ASP-ANT-SUB-that  
 just like that, they pulled his teeth out, when he was dying,

múa-y-av  
 father-OBJ-OWN  
 their own father;

'uwas-'uru tyna-ti-kwa-pugay-'u; x-'ura 'ipu-sapa-aǰ  
 he-that hunt-CAUS-ASP-REM-him then-be WH/OBJ-MOD-it  
 so now the son took Sinawav hunting; then, wherever

'ura-vaci, paaǰaci, pu-paa-tu-amy  
 be-BKGR hole REL-LOC-DIR-they  
 it was, a hole, where they

káaya-na-pu... 'úru-'ura 'uwas 'u-vwaa-tu  
 stash-HAB-NOM/REM/REL that-be he there-LOC-DIR  
 used to stash (food)... so Sinawav peeked

cici'ni-puga; x-'ura-'uru 'áapaci 'u punikya-pugay-'u,  
 peek-REM then-be-that boy that see-REM-him  
 in there, and that's when the boy saw him,

'uwas-'ura tyna-xw ta'q-kysi-kya-puga; x-'ura (('uwas))  
 he-be down-go pale-grin-ANT-REM then-be say-REM  
 he was grinning toothlessly; so the boy

máy-puga: "'úmy-'ura núnay pacici-aa-n  
 say-REM you-be my older-sister-GEN-my  
 said: "You are the one to whom my older sister

'uni-puga-pu 'uru, maru-sa pfa-y-aa-n, maru-sa  
 do-REM-NOM/REL that/OBJ that/OBJ-TOP mother-OBJ-GEN-my that/OBJ-TOP  
 did that (pulling this tooth), and that one my mother (did), and  
 that one

súu-kunani, maru-sa núnay" máy-puga-'ura;  
 other-OBJ/GEN that/OBJ-TOP I/GEN say-REM-be  
 someone else (did), and that one I (did)!" he said;

pucucugwa-pugay-'u 'uru kysii-kyay-kw-'uru;  
 know-REM-him that grin-ANT-SUB-that  
 he recognized him when he grinned;

'úvway-añ-'ura-'uru qáary-puga; x-'ura-'uru  
 then-it-be-that run-REM then-be-that  
 so the boy ran away (in fear); (but before he ran,) he

'ivici 'áy-puga: "súu", 'áy-puga, "'icay 'uru...  
 stick/OBJ say-REM hey say-REM this/OBJ that/OBJ  
 told a stick (lying there): "Hey" he said, "this here..."

'ica 'úru... "sh-sh-sh" máy-vaçi" 'áy-pugay-ku  
 this that sh-sh-sh say-BKGR say-REM-it  
 this one... Say "sh-sh-sh" he told the stick (in order to

'uru 'ivici... 'ivici 'uru 'avi-gya máy-puga,  
 that/OBJ stick/OBJ stick that lie-GER say-REM  
 distract Sinawav)... so the stick, lying (there), said

qáary-kw-'u 'uway 'áapaci;  
 run-SUB-he that/GEN boy/GEN  
 (just that), when the boy ran away;

x-'ura máy-puga, pağa-nukwi-puga 'uwas...  
 then-be say-REM go-run-REM he  
 so the stick said that, and the boy took off running...

qǎáru-puga, 'áağa-nukwi-kwa-puga  
 run-REM quiet-run-go-REM  
 he ran, he sneaked quietly and ran

kani-vaą-tugwa-av; x-'ura-s mfiyh-tu-aa-s tavi-'wa-ğa  
 house-LOC-to-OWN then-be-CONJ far-DIR-GEN/PART-CONJ step-ASP-GER  
 home; and as he was trotting, still some distance away,

'áy-puga... 'áy-puga... pacici-aa-'u-'ura nfaa 'ura-puga,  
 say-REM say-REM older-sister/Obj-GEN-his-be name/Obj be-REM  
 he called... he called... it was his older sister's name,

"tuvu-sigi-pu"... 'úyú múa-y-av piwa-ğa-tu...  
 Crumbling-Shale INTJ father-GEN-OWN spouse-have-NOM/REL  
 "Crumbling Shale"... yeah, the one that mated with her  
 own father...

"tuvu-sigi-pu" máy-pağa-puga 'uwas picu-'wa-ğa,  
 Crumbling-Earth say-walk--REM he come-ASP-GER  
 "Crumbling Earth" the boy kept calling as he approached home,

"tuvu-sigi-pu" 'áy-pağa-puga 'uwas;  
 Crumbling-Earth say-walk-REM he  
 "Crumbling Earth" he kept calling;

"'ini-aa 'áy-kya-'u?" 'áy-puga-'ura 'uwas pi-via-amy;  
 WH/Obj-Q say-ANT-he say-REM-be she RED-mother-their  
 "What did he say?" asked their mother;

"núu-nfaa-ğa-tu-aa, tuvusigi-pu máy-kya núgway"  
 Indian-name-have-NOM/Obj-Q Crumbling-Earth say-ANT TOP  
 "I think he called a name, Crumbling-Earth maybe"

((máy-puga-'ura 'uwas)); 'uvus; úyú...  
 say-REM-be she end INTJ  
 ((one of the daughters replied)); well, heeeee....

'úvway-aǎ-unuv-'ura 'umys nawi-wyra-ǎa-puga;  
 then-it-TOP-be they get-ready-PL-REM  
 so then they (the whole family) got ready;

'uwas-'ura 'u-vwaa-s 'uni-'ni-v̄aci-'uru,  
 he-be there-LOC-CONJ do-INT-BKGR-that  
 and all the while Sinawav was hanging around there,

kāaya-na-kwa-p̄u-av; x-'ura pina-xw s̄uti-p̄aci 'uwas  
 stash-LOC-go-NOM/REM/REL-OWN then-be later-go know-BKGR he  
 near his old food-stash; so finally he discovered

'uru "sh..." máy-ci-'uru 'ivici 'uru; 'úniguni 'u-vwaa-t̄u  
 that/OBJ "sh" say-NOM/REL-that stick/GEN that/GEN lo there-LOC-DIR  
 the "shshsh" noise made by the stick; lo! he peeked in there,

s̄ici-kya-vaci, 'úniguni 'ivici 'áy-v̄aci 'úru;  
 peek-ANT-BKGR lo stick say-BKGR that  
 and lo! it was the stick making the noise;

pina-xw-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru... 'um̄s 'áy-kya-p̄uga:  
 later-go-TOP-be-that he-that they say-PL-REM  
 so then finally he... they said:

"'uvwiya-rawi p̄oro-x̄wa-vaa" máy-kya-p̄uga,  
 HORT-we go/PL-go-FUT say-PL-REM  
 "Let's get going" they said,

"m̄iya-xwa-u-paa-s-'ura"; 'úniguni-'ura m̄am̄y  
 far-go-INCEP-FUT-CONJ-be lo-be those  
 "It's time we escape far away from here"; and indeed it was

'ura-p̄uga... s̄uniaa-u 'ura-p̄uga m̄am̄y; 'u-vwa-t̄u-'ura  
 be-REM seven-sisters-group-PL be-REM those there-LOC-DIR-be  
 they... they were the Seven Sisters constalation; they

tugu-tux 'uni-wh-p̄uay-āga 'úvway-āx̄;  
 up-to do/go-ASP-REM then-it  
 went up there (to the sky) right there and then;

'uwas-'ura-'uru pina-xw 'u-vwaa-tugwa-p̄uga, pic̄u-xwa-p̄uga;  
 he-be-that later-go there-LOC-go/to-REM come-ASP-REM  
 so finally Sinawav turned to go home, and indeed arrived

x-'ura 'áy-v̄aci.. tava-ȳakwi-xw-'uru...  
 then-be say-BKGR sun-sink-SUB-that sun-sink-SUB-that  
 there; and then ((she, the mother)) said, at sunset...

tava-yáakwi-xw-'uru... 'umys-'u... pi-viãamy máy-v̄aci:  
 sun-sink-SUB-that they-that RED-mother-their say-BKGR  
 at sunset... they, she... their mother said:

"yağa-v̄oꝛo-v̄ãã-t̄y", máy-p̄uay-ağay-'u,  
 cry-walk-FUT-NOM say-REM-CONC-him  
 "You'll wander about crying" she now told him,

"tava-yaakwi-xw yağa-v̄oꝛo-v̄ãã-t̄y"  
 sun-sink-SUB cry-walk-FUT-NOM  
 "When the sun sets, you'll wander about crying"

máy-p̄uay-ağay-'u, "tava-yaakwi-kw; sinaãvi-p̄ãã-t̄y,  
 say-REM-CONC-him sun-sink-SUB wold-LOC-DIR  
 she told him, "When the sun goes down; like a wolf,

máy-kya-paa-p̄y" máy-v̄aci-'ura, "tava-yaakwi-kw  
 say-PL-FUT-NOM say-BKGR-be sun-sink-SUB  
 that's what they'll call you" she said, "When the sun goes down

yağa-v̄oꝛo-v̄ãã-t̄y" máy-p̄uay-ağay-'ura;  
 cry-walk-FUT-NOM say-REM-CONC-be  
 you will wander about crying" she told him;

"m̄ȳni-gya-s̄y-ni s̄ȳnia-u-v̄waa-t̄y" 'á̄y-p̄yga  
 you-TOP-CONJ-like seven-sisters-PL-FUT-NOM say-REM  
 "And you will become the Seven Sisters constellation"  
 she said (to her children) then;

'uwas 'úv̄way-aã-'u; "tava-yaakwi-xw 'a-v̄aa-t̄y t̄ȳv̄wa  
 she then-it-she sun-sink-SUB there-LOC-DIR down  
 "When the sun sets, you too

p̄oꝛo-v̄aa-t̄y-m̄y-s t̄ȳv̄wa-s"; nana-whcuwa-qa-p̄yga-'u  
 walk/PL-FUT-NOM-PL-CONJ down-CONJ RECIP-argue-ANT-REM-him  
 will go down"; she had sure told him off,

sinawavi 'uway;  
 Sinawav/OBJ that/OBJ  
 that Sinawav;

pina-rugwa-n 'ura-p̄yga, 'ú-v̄way máy-p̄yga  
 next-night-LOC be-REM there-LOC say-REM  
 and indeed the following night he was down there crying

máy-kya-pii-py-av; 'umysy-gaa-ni sɯnia-u  
 say-ANT-NOM/ASP-NOM/REL-OWN they-TOP-like seven-sisters-PL  
 just the way she had said; and they too, the Seven Sisters,

pa-pa'a-yugwi-'a-pyga-sy-ni; 'umys-'ura 'ura-'ay  
 RED-tall-sit/PL-ASP-REM-CONJ-like they-be be-IMM  
 they were sitting way up there too; it was them

sinawavi nɔoŋwa-py, 'umy sɯnia-u 'ú-vwa  
 sinawav/GEN bear-NOM/GEN those seven-sisters-PL there-LOC  
 that Sinawav had sired, the Seven Sisters that

yugwi-'a-mi-tu-my, súu-pa mani-'a-mi-tu-my, súu-pa  
 sit/PL-ASP-HAB-NOM-PL one-LOC do-like-ASP-HAB-NOM-PL one-LOC  
 sit up there, clustered together like this ((gesture)),

mani-'a-mi-tu-my; máy-kya-ny-s 'ura-sapa; 'uvys;  
 do-like-ASP-HAB-NOM-PL say-ANT-I-CONJ be-MOD end  
 clustered together like this ((gesture)); this is all I can say;  
 enough;

## SINAWAV NAMES THE TREES AND BUSHES

Told by: Bertha Groves  
 Date recorded: 9-29-85  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Bertha Groves  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

wlitys 'ura-puga, sinawavi 'u 'ura-puga, sinawavi  
 past be-REM sinawav that be-REM sinawav  
 it was long time ago, there was Sinawav, there was

'u 'ura-qa, pōq-pa paḡay-kwa-puga; x-'ura pūc'aci  
 that be-ANT road-DIR walk-go-REM then-be mouse  
 Sinawav, he was walking down the road; and then there was

'ura-puga-s; sica'wa-miḡ-kway, kwasi-a-'u povi'wi-kwa-mi,  
 be-REM-CONJ trick-HAB-MOD tail-GEN-his pull-at-HAB  
 Mouse too; now, Mouse always plays tricks, he pulls Sinawav's tail,

manu-xw-tu mani-miḡ-s, qḡaxary-mi x-'ura 'uni-gya;  
 all-OBJ-NOM/OBJ do-like-HAB-CONJ run-HAB then-be do-GER  
 he always does things like that, then he runs away, having done it;

'uwas-'ura ka-puka-manay-pōq-'a-tu 'ura-puga-vaci,  
 he-be NEG-hard-move-go-have/NEG-NOM be-REM-BKGR  
 now Sinawav was never a very fast runner,

ka-tuusapa-mani-'wa-na-pua-vaci... ka-qomo'na-pua-vaci;  
 NEG-hurry-do-like-ASP-HAB-REM/NEG-BKGR NEG-turn-REM/NEG-BKGR  
 he could never do this ((gesture)) fast... he could never turn  
 ((fast));

pina-xw-'ura 'uwas tūvūci na'ay'a-puga,  
 later-go-be he very angry-REM angry-BEN-him  
 finally Sinawav got real angry,

na'ay'a-ku-'u 'uni-puga-vaci; 'úvway-aḡ  
 angry-BEN-him do-REM-BKGR then-it  
 he got angry at what mouse did; so then

na'ay'a-x̣ay-kw... sica'wa-p̣uga-vaci-'u x-'ura  
 angry-ANT-SUB trick-RM-BKGR-him then-be  
 when he got angry... Mouse had once again tricked him and

q̣x̣ax̣aru-p̣uga, p̣ax̣aci-naaḡa ỵuga-xw-p̣uga;  
 run-REM hole/OBJ-in enter-ASP-REM  
 then ran away, jumping into a hole;

p̣ax̣aci-naaḡa 'uru ỵuga-xw-p̣ugay-kw 'uwas,  
 hole/OBJ-in that/OBJ enter-ASP-REM-SUB he  
 so when he got into the hole,

'úỵỵ... 'iỵa-kwa-p̣uga ṭfi p̣ax̣aci-naaḡa;  
 INTJ there-go-REM high hole/OBJ-in  
 eeee... he went way up high inside;

'uwas-'ura 'áy-p̣uga: "'ip̣y-sapa-'uru 'ura-gup̣y  
 he-be say-REM WH/OBJ-MOD-that be-MOD  
 so Sinawav said (to himself): "What would be

pa'a-toḡwa-ṭy x-'ura ṇú 'u-ma 'uni-kw  
 complete-right-NOM then-be I there-LOC do-it  
 long enough so that I can use it there

c̣ykur'a-gup̣y... piyoḡẉa-kw 'uway pana-xwa...?";  
 poke-MOD pull-it that/OBJ back-go  
 to poke it in there... and pull him back out...?"

manu-xw-ṭy-aa-s 'uni-p̣uga, 'ivici ḳỵu-p̣uga,  
 all-OBJ-NOM-OBJ-CONJ do-REM stick/OBJ take-REM  
 so he tried all that, he picked up a stick

c̣ykur'a-p̣uga, 'úu-pa-ṭy ṭfi, kacu-'u sap̣igỵa-p̣ua;  
 poke-REM there-DIR-DIR high NEG-him can-REM/NEG  
 and poked it in there, way up high, but he couldn't (get) him;

p̣úuc'aci 'u kiỵa-ḳy-kwa-p̣ugay-'u 'ina-xwa-pa ṭfi,  
 mouse that laugh-BEN-ASP-REM-him there-go-DIR high  
 and Mouse laughed at him (sitting) way up (in) there,

'ini-'a-p̣ugay-'u-kway; "'avaty-my" sica'wh-qa-'u,  
 do-ASP-REM-him-MOD big-AN tease-ANT-him  
 he did that to him; "Big-One" he had teased him,

'uwas 'uru 'áy-na-puga, nâga... "'avatu wa'a-qa-ty"  
 he that/OBJ say-HAB-REM INTJ big/OBJ penis-have-NOM  
 he used to call him that, neeee... he used to call him

máy-na-pugay-'u; 'uwas-'ura 'ú-ra-ky,  
 say-HAB-REM-him he-be that-be/like-EMPH  
 "Big-Penis"; Sinawav was indeed like that,

'áy-na-puga-vaci; 'fi-pa-kwa-s-'ura... 'uru 'ura-qa...  
 say-HAB-REM-BKGR here-DIR-go-CONJ-be that be-ANT  
 mouse used to call him that; it was like this ((gesture))...

'ura-ty 'uru 'uni-aa-ga-y wfitys-'uru,  
 be-NOM that/OBJ POSS-GEN-have-IMM past-that  
 it was... it was, that (thing) he had long ago,

pa'a-toğwa-puga-vaci 'urusy-ga; 'fi-pa x-'ura 'uwas  
 complete-right-REM-BKGR that-TOP here-DIR then-be he  
 it was truly long, that thing; he used to carry it this way  
 ((gesture))

wacy-voro-na-puga-vaci 'ava-ty-kwa na-va'ağa;  
 put-walk-HAB-REM-BKGR shoulder-DIR-go REFL-over  
 slung over his shoulder;

'ú-ra-ky-'u sica'wa-qa-na-puga-vaci-'u;  
 that-be/like-EMPH-he tease-PL-HAB-REM-BKGR-him  
 they used to tease him for being like that;

x-'ura 'uwas pina-kwa-s na'ayh-puga 'uwas: "'ica-s-aa-'ura?"  
 then-be he later-go-CONJ angry-REM he this-CONJ-Q-be  
 so finally Sinawav got real angry: "How about this one?"

'áy-puga-'ura 'uwas; mani-xw-pugay-ku pana-xwa-'ura,  
 say-REM-be he do-like-ASP-REM-it back-go-be  
 he said to himself; so he did like this with it ((gesture)),  
 pulling it down,

'u-ma-m cükur'a-xwa-pugay-ku; 'uwas-'ura mana-xwa-pa puuc'aci  
 there-LOC-with poke-ASP-REM-it he-be back-go-DIR mouse  
 and began to poke with it into the hole; now Mouse, hidden way back

'u 'ağa-ni-puga-kway, tųy-kwipa-puga-s-ux,  
 that WH-dō-REM-MOD well-hit-REM-CONJ-it  
 there, did whatever, he hit it real hard,

'ú-'atų pa'a-toǵwa-tų tųgaay-pųga; pina-xw 'uwas  
 real-well/OBJ complete-right-NOM/OBJ become-REM later-go he  
 so it became even longer; finally Sinawav

'áy-pųga... na'ayh-pųga 'uwasų-ga 'úvway-aǵ,  
 say-REM angry-REM he-TOP then-it  
 said... he got real angry then,

pi-piyogwa-pųgay-kw, pi-piyogwa-y nǵǵǵ...  
 RED-pull-REM-SUB RED-pull-IMM INTJ  
 when Mouse was pulling on it, he kept pulling neeee...

pa'a-toǵwa-tų tųgaay-xw-pųga... "nų-'ura 'aǵa-ni-aǵ  
 complete-right-NOM/OBJ become-ASP-REM I-be WH-do-it  
 it was becoming quite long... "How am I going

'iya-vǝrǝ-vaani?" 'áy-pųga; 'u-vwa karų-pųga;  
 carry-walk-FUT say-REM there-LOC sit-REM  
 to carry it around?" he wondered; so he sat there  
 ((thinking));

pina-xw 'áy-pųga... wiici-av mani-kyarų-pųga:  
 later-go say-REM knife-OWN do-like-sit-REM  
 finally he said... he sat there doing like this  
 ((gesture)) with his knife:

"ka-'ay-wa marų-sų-ga, sica'wa-qa-mia-n, tųsapa-n  
 NEG-good-NEG that-CONJ-TOP tease-PL-HAB-me always-me  
 "It's no good, this one, they tease me, they have always

sica'wa-qa-na-pųga; marų-s mǝpų-ci-gyǝ-y  
 tease-PL-HAB-REM that-CONJ small-NOM-be-IMM  
 teased me (about it); now if it were small

toǵoy-guupų 'ura-'ay"; kuvua-y-aǵ mani-xw-pųga,  
 well-MOD be-IMM tip-OBJ-its do-like-ASP-REM  
 it would be much better"; so he (cut off) its tip like this  
 ((gesture)),

tųravi-pųga: "'ica-'ara "yųvųpų"  
 throw-REM this-be pine  
 and he threw it off: "This one they'll call

máy-kya-paapų" máy-pųga; tųravi-kyay-kw yųvųpų  
 say-PL-MOD say-REM throw-ANT-SUB pine  
 "pine"" he said; and having thrown it, indeed a pine

nana-kwə-pyga; pina-xw-'ura cikəvi'nə-pyga-s-ux:  
 grow-ASP-REM later-go-be cut-REM-CONJ-it  
 grew (of it) there; so he cut it once again:

'ica-sa "sɬavi" máy-kya-paapu... 'ica-sa...  
 this-TOP aspen say-PL-MOD this-TOP  
 "And this one they'll call "aspen"... and this one..."

'ini-kway... "pawapu" máy-kya-paapu...";  
 WH-MOD "cedar" say-PL-MOD  
 what-cha-ma-call-it.. they'll call it "cedar"...";

çukur'a-kway-gyay-ku, çukur'a-kwa-pağay-pygay-ku,  
 cut-ASP-GER-it cut-ASP-walk-REM-it  
 he was cutting it, he kept on cutting it,

tũy-tapi-pağay-pygay-kw, manu-xw-tũ-aa-s 'áy-pyga:  
 well-throw-walk-REM-SUB all-OBJ-NOM-OBJ-CONJ say-REM  
 and as he kept throwing (the pieces) off, he named everything:

'ica-'ara "kwiyaɣvi" máy-kya-paapu, 'ica-sa  
 this-be oak say-PL-MOD this-TOP  
 "This one they'll call "oak", and this one

'ú-ra-tũ-ni, 'ica-sa 'ú-ra-tũ-ni..." máy-gw-'u,  
 that-be-NOM-like this-TOP that-be-NOM-like say-SUB-he  
 like that, and this one like that..." and as he called (them),

'urusy-ga 'úu-pa 'ura-navici-pyga, na-nana-pyga  
 it-TOP there-DIR be-MASS-REM RED-grow-REM  
 each one became just that and then grew;

'urusy-ga; mfi-py-ci tykaa-xw-pyga 'urusy-ga;  
 it-TOP small-DIM become-ASP-REM it-TOP  
 and his penis became small;

'u-vwaa-s kary-pyga 'uwasy-ga 'úvway-aɣ,  
 there-LOC-CONJ sit-REM he-TOP then-it  
 so Sinawav sat there like that,

'ú-'uni-aɣ-'ura nfaa-ri-pyga-aɣ 'uru; 'ú-'uway  
 RED-be-it-be name-CAUS-REM-it that/OBJ RED-that/OBJ  
 doing that ((to all the plants)), he gave them their names; and

'uru wa'a-qa-py 'ura-pyga-vaci marysy-ga;  
that/OBJ penis-have-NOM be-REM-BKGR that-TOP  
it was that penis (that was used to do all that);

## SINAWAV THE COPYCAT

Told by: Harry Richards  
 Date recorded: 9-1-76  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uwas 'fni-kway... Sina((w))avi (('ura-puga))...  
 he WH/SUBJ-MOD sinawav be-REM  
 it was what's-his-name... it was Sinawav...

sina((w))avi pága-kwa-puga, 'úu-pa-puga...  
 sinawav walk-go-REM there-pass-REM  
 he took off, he took off that-a-way...

'úu-pa-puga, sina((w))avi... 'i-vaa-ni  
 there-pass-REM sinawav here-LOC-like  
 he took off that-a-way, Sinawav did... and as he

puni-'wa-xw-'uru, kary-puga kucu, kucu 'u,  
 look-INCH-SUB-that sit-REM buffalo buffalo that  
 was looking about him, there was Buffalo sitting there, Buffalo,

máy-na-av kucu, 'u-vwaa kary-puga, qoyoquci-naaga  
 say-REL-OWN buffalo there-LOC sit-REM hollow/OBJ-in  
 that's what they call him, he was sitting there, sitting inside

kary-puga; 'uvys, 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-puga 'uwas;  
 sit-REM end him-LOC-go/to-REM he  
 a hollow; well, so Sinawav went toward him;

púka-sq'á-kuy-puga, máy-puga: "whooff, whooff"  
 hard-breathe-take-REM say-REM INTJ INTJ  
 and Buffalo was breathing hard, saying: ":Whooffff, whooooff"

máy-puga; 'uwas-'ura puni... 'uwa-va wunú-puga,  
 say-REM he-be look him-LOC stand-REM  
 he was saying; so Sinawav watched... he stood next to him,

p̄uni-w̄uñy-i 'uwa-vaa-cy; máy-p̄yga 'uwas: "Whooff"  
 look-stand-IMM him-LOC-DIR say-REM INTJ  
 standing and watching him; and Buffalo said: "Whooff"

máy-p̄yga;  
 say-REM  
 he said;

x-'ura 'áy-p̄yga: "táa, wága" 'áy-p̄yga,  
 then-be say-REM EXHORT enter/IMP say-REM  
 then finally Buffalo said: "Come on in" he said,

"máy-miḡ-sapa-n̄y-ku" máy-p̄yga-'ura, "'uway s̄u-ku  
 say-HAB-MOD-I-EMPH say-REM-be that/GEN one/GEN  
 "I always make this noise" he said, "whenever someone,

'ini-a-sapa p̄-paa-cugwa-xw, máy-miḡ-sapa,  
 WH-GEN-MOD REL-LOC-go/to-SUB say-HAB-MOD  
 whoever it be, comes over, I make this noise,

nar̄v̄y-n-aḡ-'uru" máy-p̄yga; "táa wága" máy-p̄yga;  
 habit-my-it-that say-REM EXHORT enter/IMP say-REM  
 it is my habit" he said; "Step right in" he said;

'uwas 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-p̄yga; "kar̄y, ma-vaa" máy-p̄yga;  
 he him-LOC-go/to-REM sit/IMP there-LOC say-REM  
 so Sinawav approached him; "Sit down, right there" said Buffalo;

'u-vwa kar̄y-p̄yga 'uwas; x-'ura w̄li-tava-ci-yuxwi  
 there-LOC sit-REM he then-be old-sun-NOM-sit  
 so Sinawav sat down there; and then, after a long time,

manay-'ni-kwa-p̄yga; x-'ura-s 'i-vḡḡ-ci yaḡa-vaa-t̄y-av...  
 move-INT-INCEP-REM then-be-CONJ here-LOC-NOM side-LOC-DIR-OWN  
 Buffalo began to stir; then right there at his side...

yaḡa-vaa-t̄y-av, t̄ȳp̄ȳci k̄ȳy-p̄yga, 'i-vḡḡ-t̄y  
 side-LOC-DIR-OWN rock/OBJ take-REM here-LOC-DIR  
 at his side, he picked up a rock, right there

pa'a-toḡwa-t̄y t̄ȳp̄ȳci; maraci n̄fḡḡ-ḡa-t̄y;  
 long-NOM/OBJ rock/OBJ pestle name-have-NOM  
 a long rock; it is called "pestle";

'ú-ra-tū k̄ū-p̄ūga, t̄áa-y-av ta-tavi-u-p̄ūga,  
 that-be/like-NOM/OBJ take-REM knee-OBJ-OWN RED-hit-INCEP-REM  
 so he picked up one like that and started hitting his knee,

t̄ūp̄ūci-m 'uru ta-tavi-u-p̄ūga; 'ip̄ū-sapa 'ura-vaci,  
 rock-with that/OBJ RED-hit-INCEP-REM WH-MOD be-BKGR  
 he began hitting it with the rock; whatever it was,

qoyoqu-ci 'ura-vaci 'ú-naaḡa-tux 'u-vwaa-tux  
 hollow-NOM be-BKGR there-in-to there-LOC-to  
 it was a hollow in his knee, and into it there,

'i-vḡḡ-aḡ-'uru wac̄u-ka-y; t̄áa-mana-xw-'uru  
 here-LOC-it-that put-ANT-IMM knee-from-go-that  
 it was right there; then it poured

'ḡḡ-xwa-p̄ūga, t̄ykuavi, t̄ykuavi,  
 pour-ASP-REM meat meat  
 from the knee, meat, meat,

whco-ḡwa-p̄ū máy-na-'u núuci  
 pound-ANT/PASS-NOM say-REL-he Ute/OBJ  
 they call it pounded meat in Ute,

'ú-ra-tū; kuwi-kwa-p̄ūgay-kw, 'uwa-rugwa-p̄ūgay-ku,  
 that-be/like-NOM fill-ASP-REM him-give-REM-it  
 that kind; when (the bowl) filled up (with meat), Buffalo gave  
 it to Sinawav,

maḡa-p̄ūgay-'u, "t̄yka-aḡ" 'áy-p̄ūgay-'u;  
 feed-REM-him eat/IMP-it say-REM-him  
 he fed him, "Eat it" he told him;

'uwas-'ura t̄yka-p̄ūga;  
 he-be eat-REM  
 so Sinawav ate;

wfi-tava-ci-xw kary-ga-s, páḡa-kwa-p̄ūga;  
 old-sun-NOM-SUB sit-GER-CONJ walk-go-REM  
 finally, after sitting for a long time, Sinawav took off;

ȳū-pa: "páḡa-kwa-caa-n" ((má-y-p̄ūga));  
 door-DIR walk-go-INCEP-I say-REM  
 at the door he said: "I'm leaving" he told Buffalo;

(( 'uwas-'ura )) 'uu-xwa-puga-s 'uu-xwa-puga;  
 he-be assent-ASP-REM-CONJ assent-ASP-REM  
 so Buffalo assented, he assented;

'uvus 'ura-puga;  
 end be-REM  
 and that was that;

'úvway-aǎ-'ura 'uwas 'u... 'fni-kway...  
 then-it-be he that WH-MOD  
 so then later on that one... what's-his-name...

'qq-gwa-yqqvi, 'qq-gwa-yqqvi  
 yellow-have-crane yellow-have-crane  
 yellow-crane, his name is

nfaa-ga-tu, 'fni-kwa((y)) 'ura-mi, wici  
 name-have-NOM WH-MOD be-HAB bird  
 yellow-crane, it's what's-his-name, that

páa-vawi-tu, pa'a-tu kura-ga-tu,  
 water-come-NOM long-NOM/OBJ neck-have-NOM  
 water-bird, it has a long neck,

'uwa-ra-tu-mu-ni 'ura-puga...  
 that-be/like-NOM-AN-like be-REM  
 it was that kind...

(( 'úvway-aǎ 'uwas-'ura )) pága-kwa-puga karu-ga-s,  
 then-it he-be walk-go-REM sit-GER-CONJ  
 so Sinawav took off (after sitting there),

pága-kwa-puga...  
 walk-go-REM  
 he took off...

((Note: The first part of the story was repeated here.))

x-'ura 'áy-puga: "súu, kani-vaǎay-kwa-nu, máa-pa  
 the-be say-REM EXHORT house-walk-go-IMP there-DIR  
 ((but before leaving Buffalo,)) Sinawav said: "Say,  
 do come and visit my place, over that-a-way,

nŭ-vwaa-cux, 'áa-vaya-vaa-cugwa-av, kani-vaḡay-kwa-nŭ"  
 me-LOC-to new-side-LOC-to-OWN house-walk-go-IMP  
 (come visit) your new neighbor, come visit"

máy-pŭga; "'ŭŭ" 'áy-pŭga 'uwas; 'ŭvŭs,  
 say-REM yes say-REM he end  
 he said; "Alright" said Buffalo; well,

páḡa-kwa-pŭga, 'ŭvŭs 'ura-pŭga;  
 walk-go-REM end be-REM  
 Sinawav took off, that was that;

'úvway-aḡ-'ura páa-vḡ-'uru, páa-vḡ-'uru...  
 then-it-be water-LOC-that water-LOC-that  
 so then at the river, at the river...

sŭŭvŭpŭ wŭnŭ-vaci, 'ipŭ-sapa 'ú-ra-tŭ-ni,  
 cottonwood stand-BKGR WH-MOD that-be/like-NOM-like  
 there were cottonwoods standing there, whatever, that kind,

máa-xwa-'uru... wŭnŭ-vaci pa'a-tŭ, wŭnŭ-vaci;  
 there-go-that stand-BKGR tall-NOM stand-BKGR  
 that-a-way over there... standing tall, standing;

'ú-vwa kani-cŭ-pŭga, 'ivici-m tŭusapa kani-cŭ-pŭga,  
 there-LOC house-build-REM stick-WITH hurry house-build-REM  
 so he built a house there, he built a house in a hurry from  
 (cottonwood) sticks,

'ini-pŭga, pa'a-mani-pŭgay-ku; 'uwas 'ú-naaḡa  
 make-REM complete-do/like-REM-it he there-in  
 he made it, made it completely like this ((gesture)); and then

karŭ-pŭga... karŭ-pŭga...  
 sit-REM sit-REM  
 he sat inside there... he sat...

pina-xwa-s 'uwas 'u kŭcu 'u karŭ-gaa-s-'uru:  
 later-go-CONJ he that buffalo that sit-GER-CONJ-that  
 later on Buffalo, sitting (back home),

"'aḡa-ni-vḡa-ci-'u-kway 'áy-vŭ?" máy-pŭgaa-ni,  
 WH-do-FUT-SUB-he-MOD say-NOM/OBJ say-REM-like  
 (said): "I wonder what he' really up to?" he thought,

karu-ga, "'aga-ni-vaag-ci-'u may-vu?" may-pugaa-ni;  
 sit-GERe WH-do-FUT-SUB-he say-NOM/OBJ say-REM-like  
 sitting there, "I wonder what he's up to?" he thought;

paaga-kwa-puga... tyvwa-tux paa-pa; 'uniguni-'ura  
 walk-go-REM down-to water-DIR lo-be  
 so he took off... (going) down toward the river; and lo --

'i-vaag-ni kani-gya-puga wugaa-m, sūvūvū  
 here-LOC-like house-have-REM hillside-LOC cottonwood/GEN  
 there was a house right there on the slope, in a stand of

wūvū-ry-m, 'u-vwaa (('uwas)) karu-puga, 'uvvū;  
 stand-ADJ-LOC there-LOC he sit-REM end  
 cottonwood trees, and Sinawav was sitting in there, just like that;

'uwas-'ura wūvū... tyvūsikwa-puga pūni-wūvū-puga  
 he-be stand stop-REM look-stand-REM  
 so Buffalo stood... he stopped and stood there looking

'uwa-vaa-cū karu-puga 'uwas; wfi-tava karu-ga-s,  
 him-LOC-DIR sit-REM he old-sun sit-GER-CONJ  
 at Sinawav sitting; he was sitting for a long time,

manay-'ni-kwa-puga karu-ga-s 'uwas: "whooff" may-puga,  
 move-INT-ASP-REM sit-GER-CONJ he INTJ say-REM  
 then he began to stir, (still) sitting: "Whooff" he said,

mani-puga whsīaa-y-av, "whooff" may-puga mani-gya; "tāa  
 do/like-REM feather-OBJ-OWN INTJ say-REM do/like-GER EXHORT  
 doing like this with his feathers ((gesture)), "Whooff" he said  
 doing like this ((gesture)); "Do come

tūna-xw" may-puga, "māy-miā-sapa-nū-kū, 'ini-a-sapa  
 climb-go/IMP say-REM say-HAB-MOD-I-EMPH WH-GEN-MOD  
 on up" he said, "I always make this noise, whenever

'uway pū-paa cugwa-xw, narūvū-n-ux-'uru" may-puga;  
 that/GEN REL-LOC come-SUB habit-my-it-that say-REM  
 anybody comes visiting, it is my habit" he said;

'uvvū; "'aga-ni-vaag-ci 'āy-vū?" may-puga 'ū  
 end WH-do-FUT-SUB say-NOM/OBJ say-REM that  
 just like that; "I wonder what he's up to?" Buffalo thought,

kúcu, "'ağa-pa-'ura mana-tarugwa?"; "máa-pa tyna-xw!"  
 buffalo WH-DIR-be other-side-climb there-DIR climb-go/IMP  
 "I wonder how one could get up there?"; "Come on up this-a-way!"

máy-puga-'ura 'uwas, "mana-xwa-s pǝǝ-ağa máa-pa"  
 say-REM-be he other-side-go-CONJ path-have there-DIR  
 Sinawav urged him, "There's a path coming up on the other side"

máy-puga; 'uvvʉs x-'ura-puga, 'ini-kya...  
 say-REM end then-be-REM do-ANT  
 he said; well, so that was that; he had made...

... 'ivi-mani-kya-puga, nawa 'ini-kya-puga, nawa-s...  
 stick-do/like-ANT-REM together make-ANT-REM together-CONJ  
 ...he had built the house this way ((gesture)) from sticks,  
 he had put it together, together...

'uvvʉ-'ini-kyǝ-ty, qoy'oqu-ca'a-ti-kya-puga,  
 bad-make-ANT/PASS-REM hollow-catch-CAUS-ANT/PASS-REM there-LOC-to  
 it was badly made, he had hollowed it,

'u-na-tux...  
 there-LOC-to  
 that way...

(('uvvʉs, 'uwas-'ura)) taruxwa-puga 'uwas...  
 end he-be climb-REM he  
 well, so Buffalo climbed up there...

'ivici 'ǔ-vwa 'uni-kya-puga... "má-vaa karʉ" máy-puga;  
 stick/OBJ there-LOC do-ANT-REM there-LOC sit/IMP say-REM  
 Sinawav had made (his house) on sticks... "Sit down right there"  
 he told him;

'uwas karʉ-xw-puga; 'uwas 'uwa-vaa-cʉ pʉni-kyarʉ-puga;  
 he sit-ASP-REM he him-LOC-DIR look-sit-REM  
 so Buffalo sat down; and Sinawav was sitting there watching him;

"'ağa-ni-vǝǝ-ci-'u 'áy-vʉ?" máy-pugaa-ni karʉ-ga,  
 WH-do-FUT-SUB-he say-NOM/OBJ say-REM-like sit-GER  
 "I wonder what he's up to?" Buffalo thought, sitting there,

"'ağa-ni-vǝǝni-aa?" máy-pugaa-ni; 'uwas  
 WH-do-FUT-Q say-REM-like he  
 "I wonder what he's going to do?" he thought; and Sinawav

manay-'ni-puga, 'uru tųpųyci kųp-puga, taa-y-av  
 move-INT-REM that/OBJ rock/OBJ take-REM knee-OBJ-OWN  
 was stirring there, he grabbed the rock and began hitting

ta-tavi-u-puga...  
 RED-hit-INCEP-REM  
 his knee...

'uwas pųni-kyarų-puga 'uwa-vaa-cų; 'ųvųs,  
 he look-sit-REM him-LOC-DIR end  
 and Buffalo sat there watching him; well,

tųkuavi 'úru páapų-maku hit-navici-kwa-puga  
 meat that blood-with fall-MASS-ASP-REM  
 a whole mass of meat with blood dropped

'ağoci-naağa-tux 'uru, kuwi-kw-puga; "'fi" máy-puga,  
 dish-in-to that/OBJ fill-ASP-REM INTJ say-REM  
 into the bowl, and it filled up (with it); "'ii" said Sinawav,

'uwa-rugwa-pųgay-ku; "kác" máy-puga 'uwas, "nų-kų-'ara  
 him-give-REM-it NEG say-REM he I-EMPH-be  
 and gave the meat to Buffalo; "No" said Buffalo, "truly I

tųka-řa-y 'uni-'wa-y, pųni-kya-n" 'áy-puga, "tųka-y  
 eat-ANT-IMM do-ASP-IMM full-ANT-I say-REM eat-IMM  
 have already eaten enough, I'm full" he said, "I have just eaten

nų-kų 'áavų" 'áy-puga; 'ųvųs; "'úvway"  
 I-EMPH now say-REM end alright  
 really, just now" he said; well; "Alright"

'áy-puga 'uwas, "'áa-vaya-n" 'áy-puga;  
 say-REM he new-side-my say-REM  
 said Sinawav, "You are my new neighbor" he said;

'ųvųs, wfi-tava karų-ga, páğa-kwa-puga,  
 end old-sun sit-GER walk-go-REM  
 so, after sitting there for a while, Buffalo took off,

páğa-kwa-puga, ka-tųka-pų; 'uru 'uwas-'uru  
 walk-go-REM NEG-eat-REM/NEG that/OBJ he-that  
 he took off, he did not eat; Sinawav had made that

páa((pυ))-'ini-kȳ-t̄... páap̄-m 'ura-'̄ay,  
 blood-make-ANT/PASS-NOM/OBJ blood-with be-IMM  
 out of blood... it was with blood,

t̄ykuavi 'uru; 'uway máy-p̄ya 'uway, kúcu 'u máy-p̄ya,  
 meat that him say-REM/REL he/GEN buffalo that say-REM/REL  
 the meat; the way he had told him, Buffalo had done (that),

'uni-'wa-p̄ya... 'ȳv̄ys 'ura-p̄ya; 'ú-vwa-tugwa-sapa  
 do-ASP-REM end be-REM there-LOC-go/to-MOD  
 (that's the way) he did it... that was the end; this is as far

x-'ura-yis;  
 then-be-CONJ  
 as it goes;

## SINAWAV THE COPYCAT

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 10-17-76  
 Recorded by: Neil Cloud  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

((NOTE: The beginning of this story is missing;  
 it can be found in the preceding version.))

"... 'fi-pa nŭ-kŭ karŭ-ga" máy-pŭga-'uru 'ú  
 here-DIR I-EMPH sit-GER say-REM-that that  
 "...I'm sitting this way" said Buffalo,

kúcu, "táa, wága, kac-i 'iya-vağa"  
 buffaló EXHORT enter NEG-IMP fear/IMP  
 "Come on in, don't be afraid"

máy-pŭay-ağa-'u 'uway sinawavi; x-'ura-'uru  
 say-REM-CONC-him that/OBJ sinawav/OBJ then-be-that  
 he told Sinawav; so Sinawav

'uwa-vaa-cugwa-pŭga, 'íyā-m-sapa, 'uwa-va karŭ-xw-pŭga;  
 him-LOC-go/to-REM fear-with-MOD him-LOC sit-ASP-REM  
 came toward him, somewhat fearful, and sat next to him;

x-'ura 'uwas 'u, kúcu 'u, kŭy-pŭga... 'ivici  
 the-be he that buffaló that take-REM stick/OBJ  
 so he, Buffalo, picked up... a sharp

kuvua-ri-kyā-tŭ... x-'ura mŭvŭt'ŭpŭ-tŭ-av  
 point-CAUS-ANT-NOM/OBJ then-be nose/OBJ-DIR-OWN  
 stick... and he started picking his nose

ci-cikur'a-pŭga; x-'ura mŭvŭt'ŭpŭ-a-'u  
 RED-pick-REM then-be nose/OBJ-GEN-his  
 (with it); then from his nose

tavi-navici-kw-puga 'uru... 'ipy-kway... kuco-gwa-py...  
 hit-MASS-ASP-REM that/OBJ WH-MOD pound-ANT/PASS-NOM  
 began to drop (pieces of) that... what-cha-ma-call-it...  
 pounded meat...

tykuavi... x-'ura sinawavi-xw 'uru mağa-pųay-ağay-'u;  
 meat then-be sinawav-it that/OBJ feed-REM-CONC-him  
 meat... and he fed it to Sinawav;

'uwas tųka-pųgay-ku sinawavi; tųka-maku-ci-'ura,  
 he eat-REM-it sinawav eat-finish-SUB-be  
 so Sinawav ate it all up; when he finished eating,

'áy-pųga... karų-ka-pųga 'uwa-vaa-cawi-tux...  
 say-REM sit-ANT-REM him-LOC-go-to  
 he said... he had been sitting facing Buffalo...

ka-pa'a-toğgo-'aa-pų... x-'ura 'uwas-'uru karų-ga-s-'uru  
 NEG-long-right-have/NEG-NOM then-be he-that sit-GER-CONJ-that  
 not for a long time... then sitting there,

sinawavi 'áy-pųga: "máa-pa-kwa-n-'uru 'ataci-n  
 sinawav say-REM there-DIR-go-LOC-that kin-my  
 Sinawav said: "Come that-a-way my kinsman

nų-vwaa-cux kani-vağay-kwa-nų" máy-pųga-s-'uru 'uway  
 me-LOC-to house-walk-go-IMP say-REM-CONJ-that that/OBJ  
 and visit my house" he told

kucu;  
 buffalo/OBJ  
 Buffalo;

'uwas-'ura-'uru 'uwa-vaa-cux kwá-pųga-s pina-xw-'uru;  
 he-be-that him-LOC-to go-REM-CONJ later-go-that  
 so later on Buffalo went to visit Sinawav;

'i-vąą-ni karų-pųga-s 'u, sinawavi, kucu-gwa-y,  
 here-LOC-like sit-REM-CONJ he sinawav buffalo/OBJ-have/be-IMM  
 and right there Sinawav was sitting, being Buffalo,

kucu tųka-xw-kwa-y; máy-pųga 'uwas,  
 buffalo/OBJ become-ASP-ANT-IMM say-REM he  
 he had become Buffalo; and he said,

kucu púpa máy-py-'uru  
 buffalo/GEN way say-NOM-that  
 the way Buffalo had before,

'úu-pa:... "whwhwh..." máy-pyga, 'uwas, kucu-gwa-y,  
 that-DIR INTJ say-REM he buffalo/OBJ-have/be-IMM  
 that way:... "Whwhwh..." he said, acting like Buffalo,

qxaxa-ti-pyga, púpa 'uni-kyá-na 'uwayas, kucu;  
 crouch-CAUS-REM way do-ANT-REL he/GEN buffalo/GEN  
 he lowered his head, just the way Buffalo had done;

pina-xw-'ura "máy-miá-sapa nú-ky" máy-pyga-s  
 later-go-be say-HAB-MOD I-EMPH say-REM-CONJ  
 then, later, Sinawav said: "I always make this noise" he said,

'uwas, navu-tigi-gya 'apağa-pyga; máy-mi-xw-'ura 'ú  
 he imitate-GER speak-REM say-HAB-it-be that  
 speaking in imitation of Buffalo; he always does that,

sinawavi 'u;  
 sinawav that  
 Sinawav does;

'uwas-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru... máy-pyga... 'uwa-va  
 he-be-that he-that say-REM him-LOC  
 so then Sinawav... he said... he sat down next to him,

kary-xw-pyga, 'uwas sinawavi... 'uwas 'u sinawavi 'u...  
 sit-ASP-REM he sinawav he that sinawav that  
 Sinawav did... then he, Sinawav...

məvət'əpə-tə-av ci-cikur'a-pyga-s, 'úu-pa-tə  
 nose/OBJ-DIR-OWN RED-pick-REM-CONJ there-LOC-DIR  
 he started picking his nose, and right there

tavi-navici-kwa-pyga kycaxwasipy...  
 hit-MASS-ASP-REM clotted-blood  
 a whole bunch of clotted blood dropped

páa-'ini-kwa-py... 'iyá-py-ni...  
 blood-make-ASP-NOM bad-NOM-like  
 out... blood-stuff... ugly...

kucaxwasi-'ini-kwa-pu... 'uru-'ura-'uru  
 clotted-blood-make-ASP-NOM that-be-that  
 blood-clot stuff... that's what

kucu maḡa-pway-aḡay-'u; 'uwas x-'ura 'áy-kh: "tuka-xa-yi-n  
 buffalo/OBJ feed-REM-CONC-him he then-be say-IMM eat-ANT-IMM-I  
 he served to Buffalo; but Buffalo refused: "I've already

nḡ-kḡ 'uni-'wa-y", kacu-'u-kway tuka-wa; nanqs-'u-xu  
 I-EMPH do-INCH-IMM NEG-he-MOD eat-NEG alone-he-it  
 eaten" he said, and ate nothing; so Sinawav ate it

tuka-y-ux, sinawavi-'uru kucu-gwa-y... 'uni-kya((-na))-av,  
 eat-IMM-it sinawav-that/OBJ buffalo-have/be-IMM do-ANT-REL-OWN  
 all himself, acting like Buffalo... what he had produced,

(('uru)) navu-tigi-kya-na-av; kác-kway tuka-xa-ta-mi-wa  
 that/OBJ imitate-ANT-REL-OWN NEG-MOD eat-PL-PASS-HAB-NEG  
 ((what he made)) by imitating ((buffalo)); people usually  
 don't eat stuff coming

'uwa-vaa-cḡ; 'uvḡs 'ura-'ay, pḡy-kwa-yi-s 'ú kucu;  
 him-LOC-DIR end be-REM return-go-IMM-CONJ that buffalo  
 from Sinawav; well, that was that, so Buffalo went home;

x-'ura 'uwas-'uru pina-xw 'ura-pḡga-s, 'uwas 'u sinawavi...  
 then-be he-that later-go he-REM-CONJ he that sinawav  
 then, it was later on, he, Sinawav...

pina-xw-'ura-yis x-'ura-'uru sḡni-gani-cḡ-pḡga...  
 later-go-be-CONJ then-be-that cedar-bark-house-build-REM  
 so later on he built himself a cedar-bark house...

'ini-a-kway... 'aqa-qonavi kani-vḡḡ-cugwa-pḡga-s;  
 WH-OBJ-MOD red-flicker/GEN house-LOC-go/to-REM-CONJ  
 that kind... then he went to visit Red-Flicker's house;

'u-vwaa x-'ura sḡni-gani... 'aqa-qonavi  
 there-LOC then-be cedar-bark-house/OBJ red-flicker  
 and right there was a cedar-bark house... Red-Flicker

sḡni-gani-gḡ-pḡga; marḡ-'ura-'uru mani-xw-'uru,  
 cedar-bark-house/OBJ-have-REM that/OBJ-be-that do-like-SUB-that  
 had a cedar-bark house; and whenever he would do like-this  
 ((gesture)),

pana-ta-xwa-na-puga, pana-ti-ta-xwa máy-kh 'ura-puga...  
 light-PASS-ASP-HAB-REM light-CAUS-PASS-SUB say-IMM be-REM  
 it would all light up, it was all made to light up...

pina-xw-'ura-'uru 'uwas 'u sinawavi 'uwa-vaa-cawi-tux  
 later-go-be-that he that sinawav him-LOC-come-to  
 so the later on Sinawav was sitting ((in there))

kary-puga 'uni-xw-kwa-'uru, pana-ta-xw máy-kh kani-'u...  
 sit-REM do-ASP-SUB-that light-PASS-SUB say-IMM house-his  
 facing Red-Flicker when he did that, when his house lighted up...

'uway 'aqa-qonavi káni... x-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru  
 his red-flicker/GEN house then-be-that he-that  
 Red-Flicker's house... so then Sinawav,

'uwa-vaa-cawi-cy kary-ga-s, pága-kwa-puga-s 'ú  
 him-LOC-come-DIR sit-GER-CONJ walk-go-REM-CONJ that  
 he was sitting in front of Red-Flicker, he was leaving, Sinawav was;

sinawavi; x-'ura máy-puga-s: "'ataci-n,  
 sinawav then-be say-REM-CONJ kin-my  
 so he said: "My kinsman,

kani-vağay-kwa-n-'uru" máy-puay-ağay-'u 'aqa-qonavi;  
 house-walk-go-me-that say-REM-CONC-him red-flicker/OBJ  
 you should come and visit me" he told Red-Flicker;

'úvway-ağ-'ura 'uwas 'uni-'a-puga-s,  
 then-it-be he do-ASP-REM-CONJ  
 and Red-Flicker indeed did just that,

kani-vağay-kwa-puga-s; x-'ura 'i-vağ-ni-'u kary-puga-s  
 house-walk-go-REM-CONJ then-be here-LOC-like-he sit-REM-CONJ  
 he went visiting (Sinawav); and right there Sinawav was

'ú sinawavi; 'aqa-qonavi tuka-wi-kyay, kani-'u  
 that sinawav red-flicker/OBJ become-INCH-ANT-IMM house-his  
 sitting; he had become (like) Red-Flicker, his house

pana-puga... sɔni-kani-'u... 'úvway-ağ-'ura naguc'a-y-ku,  
 light-REM cedar-bark-his then-it-be burn-IMM-it  
 was lighted up... his cedar-bark house... then it burst in flame,

sɔni-gani-gyay-kya-na-'u, 'uway sinawavi; naguc'ay-kw-puga,  
cedar-bark-house-have-REL-he that/GEN sinawav/GEN burn-ASP-REM  
his cedar-bark house, Sinawav's; it burned down,

'uvvʊs 'ura-'ay, pa'a-naguc'ay-kw-puga; kác-kwa 'úu-pa  
end be-IMM complete-burn-ASP-REM NEG-MOD there-DIR  
that was the end, it burned down completely; it was not (made)

'ura-wa, ka-'aqa-qonavi kani-pani 'ura-wa, navu-tigi-kya-na-'u;  
be-NEG NEG-red-flicker/GEN house/OBJ-like be-NEG imitate-ANT-REL-he  
the same way, it wasn't like Red-Flicker's house, the one Sinawav  
had imitated;

'ú-'uni-miɔ-'ura-'u sinawavi;  
RED-do-HAB-be-he sinawav  
that's the way Sinawav always does things;

pina-xw 'ura-puga-s kuma-ya-s kani-vaa-tux...  
later-go be-REM-CONJ other-GEN-CONJ house-LOC-to  
later on Sinawav went to someone else's house...

tɔiyu kani-vaa-tux kani-vaɔay-kwa-puga-s; 'i-vaa  
deer/GEN house-LOC-to house-walk-go-REM-CONJ here-LOC  
he went visiting Deer's house; and right there was

'ini-kway wɔny-i, tɔiyu, tua-pu-ci-u-gwa-y wáy-kunani;  
WH-MOD stand-IMM deer child-DIM-NOM-PL-have-IMM two-OBJ  
what's-his-name standing, Deer, he had two young ones;

x-'ura tɔiyu 'u 'úu-gwa-puga, 'áaci-gya-puga-s;  
then-be deer that arrow-have-REM bow/OBJ-have-REM-CONJ  
he had an arrow with him, and also a bow;

(('uwas)) 'u sinawavi 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-ɔa; x-'ura-'uru (( 'uwas))  
he that sinawav him-LOC-go/to-ANT then-be-that he  
so Sinawav approached him; and Deer then

'úu-av 'uru ty'ma-puga-s, kutupu-ty-av 'uru  
arrow-OWN that/OBJ pick-REM-CONJ rectum/OBJ-DIR-OWN that/OBJ  
picked up his arrow and shot it up his own

kwípa-puga; tugu-tugwa-xw kwá-ti-ci, 'u-rukwa  
hit-REM up-go/to-go go-CAUS-NOM there-back  
rectum; he first made it go up there, then he backed up

picu-'a-xw-puga; togo-kutupu-ty-av-'u  
 come-ASP-ASP-REM right-rectum/OBJ-DIR-OWN-he  
 to it; he shot it clear up his own rectum;

kwipa-puga 'uru-s; x-'ura 'u-vwaa-ty piyogwa-puga-s...  
 hit-REM that/OBJ-CONJ then-be there-LOC-DIR pull-REM-CONJ  
 and then he pulled it right out of there...

'uniguni x-'ura kwica-'napu-'u 'ura-puga! x-'ura 'uwas  
 lo then-be defecate-INSTR-his be-REM then-be he  
 and lo -- there was his colon! then he

sinawavi x-'ura 'uway 'uwa-rugwa-puga, maga-puay-agay-'u;  
 sinawav/OBJ then-be that/OBJ him-give-REM feed-REM-CONC-him  
 gave it to Sinawav, he fed it to him;

tyka-puga-s-ux 'uwas;  
 eat-REM-it-CONJ-it he  
 and Sinawav ate it;

pina-xw-'uru 'ura-puga-s, tyka-maku-pugay-kw,  
 later-go-that be-REM eat-finish-REMSUB  
 later, having finished eating,

paqa-nukwi-puga-s 'u sinawavi, x-'ura 'ay-puga:  
 walk-run-REM-CONJ that sinawav then-be say-REM:  
 Sinawav took off, telling Deer:

"'ataci-n, kani-vagay-kwa-n-'uru" may-puga-s;  
 kin-my house-walk-go-me-that say-REM-CONJ  
 "My kinsman, do come and visit me" he said;

kani-vagay-kwa-puga-s, 'uwas 'fni-kway tuiyu 'u;  
 house-walk-go-REM-CONJ he WH-MOD deer that  
 and indeed he came visiting, what's-his-name, Deer;

'i-vaa-ni wuni-puga-s 'uwas, tuiyu-ga-y, way-ku  
 here-LOC-like stand-REM-CONJ he deer/OBJ-have/be-IMM two-OBJ  
 and right there Sinawav was standing, like Deer, he had

tuaci-gya-puga-s, tuiyu-ryka-xw-puga;  
 child/OBJ-have-REM-CONJ deer/OBJ-become-ASP-REM  
 two children with him, he had become just like Deer;

pina-xw 'úu-gwa-pyga-s 'uwas, t̥iy̥y púupa 'ura-qa-na  
 later-go arrow-have-REM-CONJ he deer/GEN way be-ANT-REL  
 and later he had arrows, just the way it was with Deer;

'ura-pyga; 'uni-pyga-s, 'uni púupa-'u kutupy-ty-av  
 be-REM do-REM-CONJ do way do way-he rectum/OBJ-DIR-OWN  
 and he acted the same way exactly, shooting (the arrow) through

kúukwi-pyga; 'u-vwaa-ty̥ piyoḡwa-pyga-s,  
 shoot-REM there-LOC-DIR pull-REM-CONJ  
 his own rectum; then he pulled it out,

kwica-'ini-ky̥-py, kwica-'napy-av 'uwas t̥iy̥y-yaakwi  
 feces-make-ANT-NOM/OBJ defecate-INSTR/OBJ-OWN he deer/OBJ-sink  
 the feces, and his own colon, and fed them

maḡa-pyay-aḡa; kac-ux ty̥ka-pya-s 'uwas: "ty̥ka-yi-n  
 feed-REM-CONC NEG-it eat-REM/NEG-CONJ he eat-IMM-I  
 to Deer; but Deer didn't eat it: "I've already eaten"

n̥y̥-ky̥" máy-pyga-s...  
 I-EMPH say-REM he  
 he said...

...wáy-ku-kway tuaci-gy̥-s, púupa-'uru 'ura-py,  
 two-OBJ-MOD child/OBJ-have-CONJ way-that be-NOM/REL  
 ...Sinawav also had two children with him, the way it was,

'uway t̥iy̥y 'ura-pyay-kw, navu-tigi-kyay-kw-'ura 'uwas,  
 he/GEN deer/GEN be-REM-SUB imitate-ANT-SUB-be he  
 the way Deer was, when he had imitated him,

navu-tigi-na-pyga 'uwas, sinawavi;  
 imitate-HAB-REM he sinawav  
 he used to imitate (people), Sinawav did;

x-'ura-'uru 'y̥v̥s-pyga-s 'úru, páḡa-kwa-pyga;  
 then-be-it end-REM-CONJ that walk-go-REM  
 so it ended then, Sinawav took off;

súuva-ty̥-m̥y̥-aa-ni kani-v̥ḡ-tugwa 'uni-'a-pyga-s,  
 other-NOM-AN/PL-OBJ-like house-LOC-go/tō do-ASP-REM-CONJ  
 he went on to someone else's house,

'ini-'a-kway, wici-giigici kani-vaa-tugwa-puga-s;  
 WH-OBJ-MOD pinyon-jay/GEN/OBJ house-LOC-go/to-REM-CONJ  
 to what's-his-name's, he went to Pinyon-Jay's house;

'i-vaa-ni karu-puga-s, wici-giigici;  
 here-LOC-like sit-REM-CONJ pinyon-jay  
 and right there he was sitting, Pinyon-Jay;

maġa-puay-aġa-s-'u,  
 feed-REM-CONC-CONJ-him  
 so he fed Sinawav,

tāa-y-av tavi-puga-s 'ú wici-giigici, tɔvɔaci  
 knee-OBJ-OWN hit-REM-CONJ that pinyon-jay pinyon-nut  
 he hit his own knee, and pinyon-nuts

'qa-xwa-puga 'u-vwaa-tux, 'ú-ra-'u maġa-puay-aġay-'u,  
 pour-ASP-REM there-LOC-to that-be/like-he feed-REM-CONC-him  
 poured out, and with those he fed him,

'uway sinawavi; tɔka-puga-s-ux, tɔka-maku-puga-s-ux, pina-xw  
 that/OBJ sinawav/OBJ eat-REM-CONJ-it eat-finish-REM-CONJ-it later-go  
 fed Sinawav; so Sinawav ate them, he finished eating them, and then

páġa-kwa-puga-s, payu-kw-puga-s 'ú sinawavi;  
 walk-go-REM-CONJ return-go-REM-CONJ that sinawav  
 he took off, he went back home;

((NOTE: The second half of this episode is missing here,  
 with the story moving on directly to the next  
 episode.))

x-'ura pina-xw-'uru 'ura-puga; kɔma-y-a-s  
 then-be later-go-that be-REM other-OBJ-GEN-CONJ  
 so then, it was later on, Sinawav went to

kani-vaa-tugwa-kwa-puga-s, pawici kani-vaa-tux...  
 house-LOC-go/to-go-REM-CONJ beaver/OBJ/GEN house-LOC-to  
 someone else's house, to Beaver's house...

pa-guaa-va kani-gyā-puga-s, tuaci-u-gwa-puga-s,  
 water-edge-LOC house-have-REM-CONJ child-PL-have-REM-CONJ  
 he had a house on the river-bank, he had children too,

'ú pawici, tuaci-u-gwa-pyga; kwavi-vq̄r̄q̄-pyga,  
that beaver child-PL-HAVE-REM lie/PL-go/PL-REM  
Beaver did, he had children; they were swimming around,

pa-ḡa-ry-ti-kya-t̄y kúaa-va... 'ú-naaḡa  
water-have-ADJ-CAUS-ANT-NOM/GEN edge-LOC there-in  
at the edge of the pond... they were swimming around

kwavi-vq̄r̄q̄-pyga, tuaci-u; 'ú pavici páaay-pyga-am̄y,  
lie/PL-go/PL-REM child-PL that beaver call-REM-them  
in there, the children; so Beaver called them over,

'um̄y tuaci-u-av, 'uwa((y)) sinawavi p̄y-pa cugwa-x̄ay-kw;  
those/OBJ child-PL-OWN that/GEN sinawav/GEN REL-LOC come/to-ANT-SUB  
his children, when Sinawav came over to visit;

'u-vwaa-tugwa-am̄y 'um̄y tuaci-u-av ci-cik̄ȳr̄'a-pyga-s,  
there-LOC-go/to-them those/OBJ child-PL-OWN RED-cut-REM-CONJ  
and right there and then he cut his own children up,

sa'a-xw-p̄yay-aḡa-am̄y, x-'ura 'uway sinawavi-aḡ-am̄y  
boil-ASP-REM-CONC-them then-be that/OBJ sinawav/OBJ-it-them  
and he boiled them up, then fed them to Sinawav,

maḡa-pyga-am̄y, tuaci-u-av 'um̄y... x-'ura 'uwas:  
feed-REM-them child-PL-OWN those/OBJ... then-be he  
his own children... then he said (to Sinawav):

"t̄yka-pi 'át̄y-sugwi-ny-aḡ-'ura"  
food-NOM/OBJ well-pick-clean-IMP-it-be  
"Pick your food clean"

m̄áy-p̄yay-aḡay-'u-'ura, "'ḡḡ-a-y-am̄y mar̄y"  
say-REM-CONC-him-be bone-GEN-OBJ-their that/OBJ  
he told him, "their bones too"

m̄áy-pyga; 'uwas-ux 'úu-pa 'uni-pyga, 'át̄y-t̄yka-pyga,  
say-REM he-it there-DIR do-REM well-eat-REM  
he said; so Sinawav did just that, he ate well,

'ḡḡ-a-s-am̄y piya-xw-pyga; 'uwas 'u pawici  
bone-GEN-CONJ-their remain-ASP-REM he that beaver  
only their bones remained; then Beaver

ty'uma-pyga-s 'uru pá-vawi-tux ca-caa'mi-pyga;  
 pick-up-REM-CONJ that/OBJ water-go/to-to RED-throw-REM  
 picked up (the bones) and threw them all in the water;

'u-vwaa-s-'uru kwavi-vqro-xw-pyga-s, tuaci-u-'u, 'uwa((y))  
 there-LOC-CONJ-that lie/PL-go/PL-ASP-REM-CONJ child-PL-his that/GEN  
 and there they were swimming again, his children, those that

sinawavi kaca'na-xa-na;  
 sinawav/GEN chew-ANT-REL  
 Sinawav had chewed up;

pina-xw-'ura 'uwas 'áy-pyga: "payu-kwa-ucaa-ni-gya"  
 later-go-be he say-REM return-go-INCEP-do-GER  
 so after a while Sinawav said: "I'm going back home now"

máy-pyga-s; 'úru-'ura payu-xw-xay-kw, pawici gani-av  
 say-REM-CONJ that-be return-go-ANT-SUB beaver/GEN house/OBJ-OWN  
 he said; after returning home, he built himself a beaver

cyu-pyga-s, sinawavi 'u, púpa... 'uway pawici púpa  
 build-REM-CONJ sinawav that way that/GEN beaver/GEN way  
 house, Sinawav did, he did it the way... the way Beaver's (house)

'ura-qa-na 'uni-pyga-s, tuaci((-u)) cyu-pyga-s;  
 be-ANT-REL do-REM-CONJ child-PL build-REM-CONJ  
 was, he even made children;

x-'ura 'ú pawici 'ú kani-vağay-kwa-pyga-s 'uwa-vaa-cux;  
 then-be that beaver that house-walk-go-REM-CONJ him-LOC-to  
 then Beaver came over to visit him;

'i-vağ-ni-kway karu-yi-s pawici-gyay  
 here-LOC-like-MOD sit-IMM-CONJ beaver/OBJ-have/be-IMM  
 and there he was sitting acting like Beaver

tuaci-u-gwa-y, kani-ta-xa-pyga-s, pa-guaa-va,  
 child-PL-have-IMM house-PASS/be-ANT-REM-CONJ water-edge-LOC  
 with the children, having a house, at the edge of the water,

pa-ğa-ry-ti-kyat-tu 'u-guaa-va... 'ğğğ...  
 water-have-ADJ-CAUS-ANT-NOM/OBJ there-edge-LOC INTJ  
 right at the pond's edge... oooooo...

pawici pŭ-pa cugwa-xw-'u, tuaci-u-av 'umŭ páay-paci-s,  
 beaver/GEN REL-LOC come-to-ASP-him child-PL-OWN call-BKGR-CONJ  
 so when Beaver came visiting, Sinawav called his children over,

'uni pŭpa 'uway pawici 'uni-((-kyŭ-na)); kura-y-amŭ  
 do way that/GEN beaver/GEN do-ANT-REL neck-OBJ-their  
 the way Beaver had done; and he slit their

cŭ-cykur'a-vaci-s, x-'ura maŭa-vaci-sŭ-kŭ-amŭ,  
 RED-cut-BKGR-CONJ then-be feed-BKGR-CONJ-EMPH-them  
 throats, and then he offered them (to him),

pawici-yaakwi maŭa-vaci; kác 'uwas tŭka-na-wa-tŭ;  
 beaver/OBJ-sink feed-BKGR NEG he eat-ANT/NEG-NEG-NOM  
 he fed them to Beaver; but Beaver refused to eat;

"nŭ-kŭ tŭka-y" máy-pŭga-s, kac-ux tŭka-pŭa-s;  
 I-EMPH eat-IMM say-REM-CONJ NEG-it eat-REM/NEG-CONJ  
 "I've already eaten" he said, he didn't eat any;

'uwa-tŭ-s-ux nanŭs tŭka-pŭga, 'uwas sinawavi;  
 he-DIR-CONJ-it alone eat-REM he sinawav  
 so Sinawav ate it all by himself, he did;

'u-vwaa-tux 'uru 'ŭŭ-a-vi ca-caa'mi-pŭga-s-kway...  
 there-LOC-to that/OBJ bone-GEN-NOM/OBJ RED-throw-REM-CONJ-MOD  
 then he threw away the bones...

'u-vwaa 'umŭs kwavi-vŭŭŭ-pŭga-s; sŭuyis ka-'ipŭ-'a-pŭa,  
 there-LOC they lie/PL-go/PL-REM-CONJ one NEG-WH-have/NEG-REM/NEG  
 and lo,((the children)) were swimming about there;  
 but one was missing,

'umŭ-aa-tŭ... 'ú-vway yaŭa-vŭro-xwa-pŭga 'uwas,  
 them-PART-NOM/GEN there-LOC cry-walk-ASP-REM he  
 one of them... so right away Sinawav burst up crying,

kacu-'u 'ipŭ-'a-y-kw...  
 NEG-he WH-have/NEG-IMM-SUB  
 when the child was not there...

'ú-'uni-mi-kway sinawavi 'u, paŭa-'ni-xw-'uru,  
 RED-do-HAB-MOD sinawav That walk-INT/IMM-SUB-that  
 Sinawav always acts this way, when he wanders around,

súuva-ty-mu-kway navu-tigi-mi... nyka-xáy-kw-n 'uway-'a  
 other-NOM-AN/PL/OBJ-MOD imitate-HAB hear-ANT-it-I that/GEN-his  
 he always imitates others... I heard about it, how he does it...

'uni-kh... 'áavy-'ura 'úru 'ura-'ay 'úru...  
 do-IMM now-be that be-IMM that  
 now that's the way it is...

## HOW SINAWAV GOT HIS YELLOW EYES

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 9-3-76  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Neil Cloud, Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uwas-kway 'ini-kway 'ura-puga, sinawavi 'u,  
 he-MOD WH-MOD be-REM sinawav that  
 there was that one, what's-his-name, Sinawav,

sinawavi 'ura-puga; 'úu-pa-puga-'ura, 'i-vaa-ni x-'ura,  
 sinawav be-REM there-DIR/pass-REM-be here-LOC-like then-be  
 it was Sinawav; he was passing through there, and right there,

qovaa-va-na-'u-'ura... qovaa-vay-'u pu'i-av-kway  
 face-LOC-LOC-him-be face-LOC-him eye-OWN-MOD  
 in front of him... in front of him there were

ty-turapi-kya-puga, pfisci-u, wa'apu wuni-ry-ma-tux;  
 RED-throw-PL-REM children-PL cedar/OBJ stand-ADJ/OBJ-LOC-to  
 children juggling their eyes, into a clump of pinyon trees;

'uwas-'ura 'umy-vwaa-cugwa-puga, x-'ura 'áy-puga:  
 he-be them-LOC-go/to-REM then-be- say-REM  
 so he went to them and said:

"'ağa-ni-gya mani-kyay 'ataci-u-n?" máy-puga, "ny-aa  
 WH-do-GER do/like-PL-IMM kin-PL-my say-REM I-Q  
 "Why are you doing this, my kinsmen?" he said, "May I

ka-muni-wa kiyá-gu-wa-ty?" máy-puga, 'uwas-kway;  
 NEG-you/PL-with play-MOD-NEG-NOM say-REM he-MOD  
 play with you?" he said;

x-'ura-s: "'uvvusa-ğa" 'áy-kya-puga;  
 then-be-CONJ end-GER say-PL-REM  
 so they said: "Alright";

x-'ura 'uwas p̄y'i-av t̄up̄na-p̄yga, 'u-ma-tugwa-āx̄  
 then-be he eye-OWN pull-out-REM there-LOC-to-it  
 so he pulled his eye out and threw it there (into the  
 pinyon stand);

t̄yravi-p̄yga; 'u-rukwa m̄ukwi-p̄yga, 'úu-pa-taa-s,  
 throw-REM there-under stick/head-REM there-DIR-TOP-CONJ  
 and he stuck his head under there, right through there,

tavi-p̄yga, s̄ykwá-naāga-t̄y; ((x-'ura)) 'uni-'wa-p̄yga-s;  
 step-REM socket-in-DIR then-be do-ASP-REM-CONJ  
 and the eye dropped back, right into its socket; so he did it again  
 (with the other eye);

x-'ura 'um̄y-aa-t̄y s̄yq̄'na-paci-'u: "kaci-s̄y-āx̄  
 then-be them-PART-NOM wish-BKGR-him NEG-CONJ-it  
 but then one of them wished him bad, (saying):

kwá-n̄y, ma-vaa kwá-n̄y, paca'a-gup̄y wa'ap̄y-m"  
 go-IMP there-LOC go-IMP stick-MOD pinyon-LOC  
 "Don't go (back), go there, get stuck in the pinyon tree"

máy-p̄yga; 'uru-s-'ura 'uni-'wa-p̄yga, paca'a-p̄yga;  
 say-REM that-CONJ-be do-ASP-REM stick-REM  
 he said; and that's what happened, it got stuck there;

'ú-vway 'uwas p̄y'i-av... pa-paāxa-p̄q̄q̄-xwa-p̄yga...  
 there-LOC he eye-OWN RED-scream-walk-go-REM  
 so Sinawav, his eye... he ran about screaming...

p̄y'i-av ma'ay-ti-ci... nana-na-kwa-t̄y-s 'uwas x-'ura  
 eye-OWN lost-CAUS-SUB RECIP-LOC-go-NOM-CONJ he then-be  
 having lost his eyes... he did (juggle) both of them,

'uni-((kya))-p̄yga, ma-vaa x-'ura nawa-s paca'a-̄xa-p̄yga;  
 do-ANT-REM there-LOC then-be RECIP-CONJ stick-ANT-REM  
 so both had gotten stuck in there;

'um̄ys-'ura m̄q̄t̄oni-v̄aci-m̄y, 'úmy p̄fisci-u,  
 they-be scatter-BKGR those children-PL  
 now they scattered, those children,

'uni-kya-̄xa-s-um̄y-'uru; x-'ura 'uwas 'úu-pa 'uwa-vaci...  
 do-PL-ANT-CONJ-they-that then-be he there-DIR follow-BKGR  
 having done that (to him); so now he was groping his way there...

'ú sinawavi... núuci-gya... 'úu-pa 'uwa-vaci-'ura;  
 that sinawav person/OBJ-have there-DIR follow-BKGR-be  
 Sinawav... he was on foot... groping his way through there;

'úvway-aḡ-'ura tḡpḡy-paya-aḡa-tḡ 'ura-vaci,  
 then-it-be rock-side-have-NOM be-BKGR  
 there was a rocky cliffside right ahead,

tḡpḡyci-aḡa-tḡ payaa-aḡa-vaci, ((pḡ-pa x-'ura))  
 rock/OBJ-have-NOM cliff-have-BKGR REL-LOC then-be  
 a rocky cliffside, where he then

wfi-kya-vaci-na, 'ú-raa-unuv-'ura 'u-na wfi-xwa-pḡga 'uwas,  
 fall-ANT-BKGR-REL that-like-TOP-be there-LOC fall-ASP-REM he  
 fell over, just like that, he fell over,

ka-maay-wa-'uru;  
 NEG-see-NEG-that  
 being totally blind;

x-'ura pa'a-qovic'a-kwa-xa-pḡga, 'icatwa-'u, manu-xw  
 then-be complete-break-ASP-ANT-REM organs-his all-OBJ  
 now he was all broken up, his body-parts, and all

'ḡḡ-aa-ḡapḡ-'u; 'u-vwaa-n-'ura 'avi-na-pḡga 'uwas  
 bone-GEN-DEFUN-his there-LOC-LOC-be lie-HAB-REM he  
 his poor useless bones; so he was lying there

kiyaa-'awi-tava-pḡ; x-'ura wáa-mamaci-u 'úmy 'ura-pḡga,  
 certain-long-day-NOM then-be two-woman-PL those be-REM  
 for quite a long time; finally those two women came along,

'inii-u-sapa 'ura-pḡay-vaci, 'úmy-'ura 'uu-pa-amy  
 WH-PL-MOD be-REM/REL-BKGR they-be there-DIR-they  
 whoever they were, they were walking through there;

paḡay'wa-pḡga-vaci; paḡay'wa-kw-amy-'ura-'uru,  
 walk-REM-BKGR walk-SUB-they-be-that  
 so as they were walking,

tḡpḡyci 'uru kanḡgaa-rux 'uni-'wa-pḡga-amy,  
 rock/OBJ that/OBJ foothill-along do/go-ASP-REM-they  
 they proceeded along the foot of the cliff,

paḡay'wa-kw-amy-'ura-'uru... 'i-vḡḡ-ci  
 walk-SUB-they-be-that here-LOC-NOM  
 and as they were walking... right there

piki-kwana-pḡga, wḡgaa-ma-ty,  
 rotten-smell-REM hillside-LOC-DIR  
 there was a rotten smell, off the hillside,

ma-vaa-ty, 'aḡa-ra-ty-paa-ty-sapa  
 there-LOC-DIR WH-be/like-NOM-LOC-DIR-MOD  
 right there, whatever it was like,

'ura-pḡga-vaci, piki-kwana-pḡga; 'umḡs-'ura  
 be-REM-BKGR rotten-smell-REM they-be  
 it smelled rotten; so they

'ugwi-'ni-pḡga-amy: "'aḡa-vaa-ty kwana-yi?"  
 smell-INT-REM-they WH-LOC-DIR smell-IMM  
 sniffed around: "Where is the smell coming from?"

máy-pḡga-amy; súwiini máa-pa-ty pḡni-'ni-pḡga:  
 say-REM-they other/SUBJ there-LOC-DIR look-INT-REM  
 they wondered; then the other one looked right there:

""uwa-na-'u 'avi!" máy-pḡga; 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-pḡga-amy;  
 there-LOC-he lie/IMM say-REM him-LOC-go/to-REM-they  
 "There he is lying!" she called; so they approached him;

'uuuniguni-'ura! 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-amy, 'apaḡa-pḡga;  
 lo-be him-LOC-go/to-they speak-REM  
 and lo! (he was in such a bad shape); so they approached him and  
 spoke to him;

'apaḡa-pḡga 'uwas:  
 speak-REM he  
 and he spoke (to them):

"'i-vḡḡ-nḡ-s 'avi-mi" máy-pḡga, "nava-xw-kway,  
 here-LOC-I-CONJ lie-HAB say-REM just-ASP-MOD  
 "Here I am lying helpless" he said, "I had an accident,

ka-pḡ'i-'ḡ-y" máy-pḡga, "nḡḡḡ pḡ'i-vi  
 NEG-eye-have/NEG-IMM say-REM my eye-NOM/OBJ  
 I've become blind" he said, "I've lost my eyes"

ma'ay-xwa-puga-tu 'ura-'ay" máy-puga 'uwas;  
lose-ASP-REM-NOM be-IMM say-REM he  
he told them;

'úniguni-kway-amy pu'i-gyapū-naaga-y,  
lo-MOD-they eye-DEFUNC-inside-IMM  
and lo (they now saw), inside his dead eye-sockets,

múupuvwi'aaci-u, ka-pa'ay-wa-s; "'úru-'ura-'uru  
maggot-PL NEG-count-NEG-CONJ that-be-that  
maggots, countless ones; "That's what

kwana-xa-vaci" 'áy-vaci, "múupuvwi'aaci-u" máy-puga;  
smell-ANT-BKGR say-BKGR maggot-PL say-REM  
has been giving the bad smell" he said, "the maggots" he said;

"'unuuu..." máy-puga 'umys, "'aga-ni-na-'ara?"  
INTJ say-REM they WH-do-HAB-be  
"Wow..." they said, "How did that happen?"

máy-puga-amy; "qoroc'ay-ku-kucaa-nu-s" máy-puga 'uwas;  
say-REM-they break-BEN-INCEP-I-CONJ say-REM he  
"I've been suddenly broken up" he said;

"'úniguni sinawavi-gyapū!" 'áy-vaci; x-'ura  
lo sinawav-DEFUNC say-BKGR then-be  
"Wow, poor Sinawav!" they said; then

'áy-vaci-my: "'uvwiya-nūmy, musutkwi-gya-tu  
say-BKGR-PL HORT-we/EXCL medicine-have-NOM/OBJ  
added: "Let's hurry now, we'll call you a doctor!"

páy-ku-vaa-my!" máy-vaci-my; "musutkwi-gya-tu  
call-BEN-FUT-you say-BKGR-PL medicine-have-NOM  
they said; "The doctor

'icā-rux 'i-vāā-ni-'uru paā-'ni-vaci!  
this/OBJ-to here-LOC-like-that walk-INT-BKGR  
lives right this way!

'aga-vaa-sapa-'u musutkwi-gya-tu?"  
WH-LOC-MOD-he medicine-have-NOM  
Where exactly is the doctor?"

máy-váci-my-'ura;  
say-BKGR-PL-be  
they asked;

"nŭmy-'ura pi-picŭ-vaa-tŭ-my-s"  
we/EXCL-be RED-come-FUT-NOM-PL-CONJ  
"We'll return (as soon as we find him)"

máy-pŭga-amŭ-'ura; "'uvwiya-ga!" máy-pŭga-'ura 'uwas;  
say-REM-they-be EXHORT-GER say-REM-be he  
they said; "Please do!" he said;

'úvway-aŭ-'ura 'umŭs paŭa-nukwi-pŭga-amŭ,  
then-it-be they go-run-REM-they  
so they took off,

'ú-pa-pŭga-amŭ 'umŭs,  
pŭsagá-pagay-ky-pŭga-amŭ  
there-DIR-/pass-REM-they they search-walk-BEN-REM-they  
going that-a-way ((gesture)), searching around

musutkwi-((gya))-tŭ... doctor 'ura-pŭga-váci-'u-'uru...  
medicine-have-NOM/OBJ doctor be-REM-BKGR-he-that  
for a doctor... he was indeed the doctor...

maay-pŭgay-'u-amŭ, doctor-i 'uway; 'uwas x-'ura 'ini-kway  
find-REM-him-they doctor-OBJ that/OBJ he then-be WH/SUBJ-MOD  
and they found him, the doctor; it was what's-his-name,

'ura-váci, yŭpŭci; 'ú-'uru 'ura-váci doctor-bag-i-av  
be-BKGR porcupine that-that be-BKGR doctor-bag-OBJ-OWN  
Porcupine; it was him, carrying his doctor's bag along;

yáa'wa-váci; 'umŭs maay-váci-'u,  
carry-BKGR they see-BKGR-him  
so they saw him,

'uwa-vaa-cugwa-páci-my;  
him-LOC-go/to-BKGR-PL  
they went toward him;

kani-vaa-cugwa-av 'uwas 'uni-'a-váci... pŭ-paa-tŭ-xw  
house/OBJ-LOC-go/to-OWN he do/go-ASP-BKGR REL-LOC-DIR-it  
he was on his way home... to wherever it was

karu-mi-paa-tux; bag-i yaa'wa-ru-'u... may-puga-amy:  
 sit-HAB-DIR-to bag-OBJ carry-ADJ-he say-REM-they  
 that he hangs around; he carries a bag with him... so they said:

'ma-vaa-ku núci-gyapy 'avi, pu'i-naagay-'u 'icə  
 there-LOC-EMPH person-DEFUNC lie/IMM eye-inside-his thic/OBJ  
 "There's a sick person lying there ((gesture)), inside his eyes

'inih-kway múpvwi'aaci-u" 'áy-vəci-'ura; "'ağaaa-va?"  
 WH/OBJ-MOD maggot-PL say-BKGR-be WH-LOC  
 there's what-cha-ma-call-em, maggots" they said; "Where?"

'áy-vəci-'ura 'uwas; "'uwa-na, 'úu-pa"; mui-ku-vaci-mu  
 say-BKGR-be he there-LOC there-DIR lead-BEN-BKGR-PL  
 he asked; "There, that-a-way ((gesture))"; and they led him

'uwa-vaa-cux; 'uwa-vaa-cux pəpə-puga, 'i-vəə-ni 'avi-puga  
 him-LOC-to him-LOC-to walk/PL-REM here-LOC-like lie-REM  
 toward Sinawav; they all approached him together; he was lying  
 right there;

'uwas; 'uwas pūni'ni-pugay-'u: "'u-nūūū..."  
 he he look-INT-REM-him INTJ  
 so Porcupine examined him carefully: "Wow..."

máy-puga, "'ağa-ni-aa-'ura kaci-n 'u-vwa maay-wa-y?  
 say-REM WH-do-Q-be NEG-I there-LOC see-NEG-IMM  
 he said, "How come I can't see in there?"

'uni-ku" 'áy-((puga));  
 do-BEN/IMP say-REM  
 (I must) do something for him" he said;

x-'ura 'umu-tu-s 'uru 'umu-'ura múupivwi'aaci-u  
 then-be them-PART/NOM-CONJ that/OBJ those/OBJ-be maggot-PL  
 so one of the ladies scooped out those maggots,

cicini-puga, túyrava-amy taci-pyka-puga;  
 scoop-out-REM out-them turn-loose-REM  
 and they turned them loose outside;

'umys x-'ura waa-mamaci-u paruxi-puyay-ağa-su-ku,  
 they then-be two-woman-PL wash-REM-CONC-CONJ-it  
 then the two ladies washed it out (his eye-sockets),

'átu clean-upu-puay-aḡay-ku;  
well clean-up-REM-CONC-it  
they cleaned it up real good;

'umu-'ura wáa-mamaci-u 'áy-puay-aḡay-'u:  
those/OBJ-be two-woman-PL say-REM-CONC-he  
now Porcupine told the two ladies:

"'uvwi" máy-puay-aḡa-amy, "'i-vaa-ci-m 'uru  
alright say-REM-CONC-them here-LOC-NOM-LOC that/OBJ  
"Alright" he told them, "Now isn't there some

kác-'uru-aḡ 'ḡa-qa-ru tɔvɔpu 'ura-wa, mfici  
NEG-that-it yellow-have-ADJ/OBJ earth/OBJ be-NEG little  
yellow clay around here, with just a little

'ḡa-siya-qa-ru-ni?" máy-puga-'ura;  
yellow-mix-have-ADJ-like say-REM-be  
yellow mixed in it?" he said;

"'u-ra-tɔ mɔni-'uru 'uni-nɔ tɔvɔpu";  
that-be/like-NOM/OBJ you/PL-that do-IMP earth/OBJ  
"(Get me) that kind of clay" he told them;

'umɔs-'ura 'uni-kw-puga-sapa-amy, tɔvɔpu  
they-be do-ASP-REM-MOD-they earth/OBJ  
so the two of them started to do it,

'ura-puga, 'ḡa-siya-qa-ru, 'uwa-vaa-cux 'uni-puga;  
be-REM yellow-mix-have-ADJ him-LOC-to do-REM  
there was clay there, with yellow mix, so they brought it to him;

'uwas-'ura páa-vawi-tux 'uni-puga, máavuraci-pani-'ura  
he-be water-to-to do-REM marbles-like-be  
and he proceeded to put the clay into the water,

pḡḡtɔ-xwa-tɔ 'uni-puga, doctor 'u,  
round-have-NOM/OBJ do-REM doctor that  
he made marble-like balls out of it, the doctor did,

pu'i-naaḡa-kwa-'u yuna-puga, maay-puga 'uwas;  
eye-in-go-he put-REM see-REM he  
and he put them into Sinawav's eye (sockets), so now he could see;

'úvway-aǎ-'ura-'uru 'ǫǫ-a-'u 'ura-pyga-vaci-s,  
 then-it-be-that bone-GEN-his be-REM-BKGR-CONJ  
 then there remained (the matter of) his bones,

qoruc'ay-kw-((kwa-pyga)) 'aǫa-ni-ya-sapa-'u... yu'u-'u...  
 break-ASP-ANT-REM WH-do-ASP-MOD-he leg-his  
 they had been broken, whatever of his... his legs...

'ú-'ura 'uni-pyga-s 'uwas; py'i-'a namu 'uni-'ni-ký-pyga;  
 that-be do-REM-CONJ he eye-his first di-INT-BEN-REM  
 he fixed those too; but first he did his eyes;

x-'ura-'uru máy-pyga-s 'uwas: "'uvwi" máy-pyga-s,  
 then-be-that say-REM-CONJ he alright say-REM-CONJ  
 then he said: "Alright" he said,

"'i-vǫǫ-caa-my 'uru 'ipy-kway, 'uni-'wa-na-my...  
 here-LOC-ASP-you that/OBJ WH/OBJ-MOD do-ASP-REL-you  
 "Now bring here that what-cha-ma-call-it that I prepared...

kypy-'uru mary sunflower..." má-ra-ty-aa-ni-amy  
 sunflower-that that/OBJ sunflower that-be/like-NOM-OBJ-like-they  
 those sunflower seeds..." so the two ladies brought him the like,

'uni-pyga-s, máy-na-'u 'uru; 'u-vwaa-s cýkыр'a-pyga,  
 do-REM-CONJ say-REM-his that/OBJ there-LOC-CONJ cut-REM  
 the kind he said; so he cut them there

'úru-'ura 'uru 'ǫǫ-aa-pa-'u yuna-pyga-s,  
 that-be that/OBJ bone-GEN-DIR-his put-REM-CONJ  
 and fit them into Sinawav's bones,

pfi-gya-ci-mi nari'aa-pa-tux, 'úru-'ura túu-a-'u 'ura-'ay,  
 fiber-have-NOM-LOC core-DIR-to that-be marrow-GEN-his be-IMM  
 the fiber (went) into the core, that's what became his bone marrow,

máy-kya-mi... 'úvway-aǎ-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'úu-pa-ux  
 say-PL-HAB then-it-be he-that there-DIR-it  
 they call it that... and then he

yuna-pyga-s 'uru, 'ǫǫ-a-ǫapý-'u, nana-cugwi-na((-pyga));  
 put-REM-CONJ that/OBJ bone-GEN-DEFUN-his RECIP-stick-HAB-REM  
 put it all in there, through Sinawav's useless bones, he pressed it  
 together;

yuci-xwa-puga-s 'urus, ma-macugwa-puga-s-'u-'ura,  
 move-ASP-REM-CONJ it RED-squeeze-REM-CONJ-he-be  
 it all moved into place, so he squeezed it tight together,

qoruc'ay-kw-kwa-tu cica-wuna-puga-s; toḡoy-puga;  
 break-ASP-ANT-NOM/OBJ throw-REM-CONJ well-REM  
 and he threw away the broken bones; it was done well;

(('uwas-'ura-'uru)) ma-mani-na 'avi-puga;  
 he-be-that RED-do-like-REL lie-REM  
 and Sinawav was lying there like this ((gesture));

"'áavv-s-'ura 'i-vḡḡ 'avi-vḡḡni, nḡ-'ara  
 now-CONJ-be here-LOC lie-FUT I-be  
 "Now you're going to lie here quietly, and I

pḡ-pḡni-vḡḡ-tḡ-mḡ, sḡu-kus tumiiku-paa-tugwaa-ni"  
 RED-look-FUT-NOM-you one-OBJ week-DIR-go/to-like  
 will come and check you up within one week"

'áy-pḡgay-'u-'ura, "'úvway-aḡ-'ura nḡ 'ḡmḡḡ  
 say-REM-him-be then-it-be I you/OBJ  
 Porcupine told him, "only then I will let you

kḡḡki-ti-pḡḡ-tḡ-'ara-yis" máy-puga;  
 get-up-CAUS-FUT-NOM-be-only say-REM  
 get up" he said;

'uwas 'u-vwa-s 'avi-puga; 'átḡ-paa wa-wacḡ-ka-puga;  
 he there-LOC-CONJ lie-REM good/OBJ-LOC RED-put-ANT/PL-REM  
 so Sinawav lay there; they had put him in a good spot;

'ḡmḡḡ-gaa-ni pḡ-pḡni-vḡḡ-tḡ-'u-amḡ 'ura-puga-s,  
 they-TOP-like RED-look-FUT-NOM-him-they be-REM-CONJ  
 the two ladies too were going to come and check on him,

máy-pḡay-aḡa-s-ḡmḡ... "nḡ-gaa-ni" máy-puga-s-'u...  
 say-REM-CONC-CONJ-them I-TOP-like say-REM-CONJ-he  
 Porcupine had told them to... "Me too" he had told him...

doctor, yḡḡpḡci-'uru 'ura-puga 'u...  
 doctor porcupine-that be-REM that  
 the doctor, it was that Porcupine...

pɔɔɔ-xwa-pɔɔɔ-'ura, toɔɔoy-u-kwa-'u; 'u-vwaa-s 'uwas  
 walk/PL-go-REM-be well-INCEP-SUB-he there-LOC-CONJ he  
 so they took off, when he was beginning to get well; and he

'avi-na-pɔɔɔ; pina-xw manay-'ni-pɔɔɔ; "manay-'ni-'ura,  
 lie-HAB-REM later-go move-INT-REM move-INT/IMP-be  
 was lying there; later he started shifting around; "Move around,

mani-'ni-nɔɔ" mɔɔy((-kya))-pɔɔɔ (('uwas)); pina-xway  
 do/like-INT-IMP say-ANT-REM he later-go  
 shift like this" Porcupine had told him; later

'ɔɔyh-tɔɔɔɔ-pɔɔɔ; pina-xw pɔɔnikyaa-miya-pɔɔɔ-s-'u,  
 well-become-REM later-go see-walk/PL-REM-CONJ-him  
 he got well; and later on they came to see him,

pina-ravay;  
 next-day/OBJ  
 the following day;

'u-vwaa 'uwas 'uni-'ni-pɔɔɔ, karɔɔ-pɔɔɔ; pɔɔɔɔɔ-ci-s  
 there-LOC he do-INT-REM sit-REM three-NOM-CONJ  
 so he hung around there, he sat around; for three

tugwa-ri-kwa-xw-pɔɔɔ, 'avi-gya-'uru; 'i-vɔɔɔ-'ura-'uru 'uwas  
 night-INCH-go-ASP-REM lie-GER-that here-LOC-be-that he  
 nights he stayed like that, lying around; it was only then

manay-'ni-u-kwa-pɔɔɔ; pina-xw kɔɔɔɔki-kwa-pɔɔɔ,  
 move-INT-INCEP-ASP-REM later-go get-up-ASP-REM  
 that he started moving around; finally he got up

'u-vwaa pɔɔɔɔ-pɔɔɔ-pɔɔɔ;  
 there-LOC walk-go-REM  
 and began to walk around;

pɔɔ-pɔɔni-kya-pɔɔɔy-'u-'ura, pɔɔ-pɔɔni-kya-pɔɔɔy-'u,  
 RED-look-ANT-REM-him-be RED-look-ANT-REM-him  
 they had come to check on him, they had,

ma-maɔɔa-na-pɔɔɔ-s-'u; 'ɔɔvɔɔs;  
 RED-feed-HAB-REM-CONJ-him end  
 they kept feeding him too; well;

pina-xw-'ura 'uwas toḡoy-puḡa-xw-'u, páḡa-kwa-puḡa  
 later-go-be he well-REM-SUB-he walk-go-REM  
 so finally when he got well, he took off,

'úvway-aḡ, toḡoy-puḡa; 'úvway-aḡ-'ura  
 then-it well-REM then-it-be  
 he was well then; thus (the Porcupine and the two ladies)

maruvi((-kya-ḡa))-puḡay-'u sinawavi 'uway;  
 press-together-PL-ANT-REM-him sinawav/OBJ that/OBJ  
 had pressed him back into shape;

toḡo-sapa-'ura-'uru sinaḡvi 'ḡa-qa-ry-aa-ni  
 right-MOD-be-that wolf yellow-have-ADJ-OBJ-like  
 for this reason the wolf has yellow

pu'i-gyḡ-tu 'ura-'ay; máaa wolf paḡa-'ni-ci  
 eye-have-NOM be-IMM that wolf walk-INT-NOM  
 eyes; that wolf is a wanderer

'áavḡ; 'ú-'uway 'uni-pu-vway; máy-kya-mia núḡway,  
 now RED-that/OBJ do-REM/REL/NOM-LOC say-PL-HAB TOP  
 nowadays; that's because (Porcupine) re-made him (that way);  
 that's what they say,

pusari-niya-ḡa-tu-my; 'uru-sapa-'ura 'ura-'ay,  
 story-tell-PL-NOM-PL that-MOD-be be-IMM  
 the story-tellers; so that's the way it is,

'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa;  
 there-LOC-go/to-MOD  
 that's as far as it goes;

NOTE: While the story is clearly about Sinawav in his Copy-Cat role, the story-teller chose to interpret the end as if it was about the wolf (sinaḡvi) and how he got his yellow eyes.

## PORCUPINE, BUFFALO-COW AND SINAWAV

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 9-3-76  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Neil Cloud, Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

x-'ura-'uru 'uwas y<sup>u</sup>y<sup>u</sup>p<sup>u</sup>ci 'ura-p<sup>u</sup>ga,  
 then-be-that he porcupine be-REM  
 there was once a Porcupine,

x-'ura tuaci-u-gwa-p<sup>u</sup>ga, wáay-kunani; x-'ura tuaci-u-av  
 then-be child-PL-have-REM two-OBJ then-be child-PL-OWN  
 he had children, two of them; then one time he

supay-kw-p<sup>u</sup>ga; "'i-v<sup>u</sup>q<sup>u</sup>-sapa-'uru m<sup>u</sup>ni pa<sup>u</sup>ga-'ni-n<sup>u</sup>"  
 desert-ASP-REM here-LOC-MOD-that you/PL walk-INT-IMP  
 deserted his children; "You hang around here"

máy-p<sup>u</sup>ga, "n<sup>u</sup> 'áy-kw t<sup>u</sup>na-xwa-vaa-ci" máy-p<sup>u</sup>ga-'uru;  
 say-REM I say-SUB hunt-go-FUT-SUB say-REM-that  
 he told them, "while I go hunting" he said;

'ú-'uni-ci-'ura 'ura-vaci 'ú y<sup>u</sup>y<sup>u</sup>p<sup>u</sup>ci, tuaci-u-av  
 RED-do-NOM/REL-be be-BKGR that porcupine child-PL-OWN  
 it is the custom of the Porcupine, he deserts his children

'i-v<sup>u</sup>q<sup>u</sup>-ci-ci-m<sup>u</sup> supay-xwa-ry, 'um<sup>u</sup>s-'ura 'u-vwaa-s  
 here-LOC-DIM-NOM-PL desert-ASP-ADJ they-be there-LOC-CONJ  
 when they are this small ((gesture)); then they

miy<sup>u</sup>-ni-gya, na-nana-kwa-vaci-m<sup>u</sup>;  
 walk/PL-INT-GER RED-grow-ASP-BKGR-PL  
 wander around there and grow up (on their own);

'uwas-'ura t<sup>u</sup>na-xwa-p<sup>u</sup>ga; t<sup>u</sup>p<sup>u</sup>y<sup>u</sup>ci-'ura...  
 he-be hunt-go-REM rock/OBJ-be  
 so he went hunting; and the rock...

mənqəq-vəq-tu-aa-s tɔvɔyɪ-paḡa-puḡa  
 all-LOC-DIR-OBJ-CONJ ask-walk-REA  
 he kept asking all over the place

paḡay'wa-ḡa: "'fi-pa-a kucu-my paḡa-y?"  
 walk-GER here-DIR-Q buffalo-PL walk-IMM  
 as he walked: "Has the buffalo passed through here?"

máy-paḡa-puḡa; tɔpɔyɪ-'u...: "wfitɔs-'uru"  
 say-walk-REM rock/OBJ-she past-that  
 he kept asking around; he (asked) the rock; "It was long time ago"

máy-puḡa-'ura 'uwas, "'úu-pa páḡa-kwa-puḡa-s";  
 say-REM-be he there-DIR there-DIR walk-go-REM-CONJ  
 the rock said, "they went that-a-way";

"'u-vwaa, 'úvway" máy-puḡa, "'ɔvɔs, 'úvway",  
 there-LOC alright say-REM end alright  
 "There, I see" Porcupine said, "well that's it then";

paḡa-nukwi-puḡa;  
 walk-run-REM  
 and he hurried on;

'u-vwaa-tɔ 'ivici, 'ivi-kutupɔ-gapɔ maay-puḡa-s;  
 there-LOC-DIR stick/OBJ stick-stump-DEFUN/OBJ see-REM-CONJ  
 further on he saw a stick, a useless old tree-stump;

"'fi-pa-a kucu-my paḡa-y?" máy-puḡa-s; "'áavɔ  
 here-DIR-Q buffalo-PL walk-IMM say-REM-CONJ now  
 "Have the buffalo passed through here?" he again asked; "It's  
 just a short time ago

'u-na-xwa-tux-'uru" máy-pɔay-aḡa-s-'ura;  
 there-LOC-go-to-that say-REM-CONC-CONJ-be  
 that (they) went that way ((gesture))" (the stump) said;

paḡa-nukwi-puḡa-s;  
 walk-run-REM-CONJ  
 so Porcupine hurried on;

'u-vwaa-tɔ sɔvɔvɔpɔ tɔvɔyɪ-puḡa-s; "'ɔɔ,  
 there-LOC-DIR cottonwood/OBJ ask-REM-CONJ  
 further on he asked the cottonwood; "Yes,

namu-kúaw-'uru" máy-púga-s 'uwas, "'fi-pa pağa-y"  
 before-yesterday-that say-REM-CONJ he here-DIR walk-IMM  
 it was the day before yesterday" he said, "they passed through here"

máy-púga-s; "'úvway" máy-púga-s (('uwas)),  
 say-REM-CONJ alright say-REM-CONJ she  
 he told him; "Alright" said Porcupine,

páğa-púga-s;  
 walk-go-REM-CONJ  
 and went on;

'u-vwaa-tú kanavi tųvųyi-púga-s; kanavi 'ura-vaci,  
 there-LOC-DIR willow/OBJ ask-REM-CONJ willow be-BKGR  
 further on he asked the willow; it was a willow,

sóq̄h-púga, páa-nukwi-púga; 'ųų, kanavi  
 rustle-REM water-run-REM yes willow  
 rustling (there, along where) the river was flowing; yes,

'ura-púga; "'áavų-m-kų, súu-'áavų 'fi-pa p̄ri"  
 be-REM now-LOC-EMPH almost-now here-DIR walk/PL/IMM  
 is was a willow; "Just now, just this minute they've passed  
 through here"

máy-púga, "'u-vwaa-n-'ura-kų"; "'úvway" máy-púga-s  
 say-REM there-LOC-LOC-be-EMPH alright say-REM-CONJ  
 he told him, "right that-a-way"; "Alright" said porcupine,

+ páğa-nukwi-púga-s 'uwas;  
 walk-run-REM-CONJ he  
 and hurried on;

toğ̄o-'a-'ura-'uru kwáa-xw-'ura, kwá -- kucu-puku-u  
 right-she-be-that go-SUB-be INTJ buffalo-domestic-PL  
 as Porcupine moved right on, lo -- the buffalo-cows

pağay-púga, kucu-mų pağaa-va civuxw-púga; "'ağa-ni-aa  
 walk-REM buffalo-PL ford-LOC climb-REM WH-do-Q  
 were walking, the buffalos were crossing at the ford; "How come

'ųųų... súuyis tųvųci pina-wųnų-xwa((-y))?"  
 INTJ one very follow-stand-go-IMM  
 hey... one (of them) is so far behind?" (he asked)

kucu-puku-raa-p<sub>u</sub>-ci, kucu-taa-p<sub>u</sub>ci... "'a<sub>g</sub>a-ni-aa-'ura?"  
 buffalo-domestic-child-DIM buffalo-child-DIM WH-do-Q-be  
 it was a small young cow, a baby-buffalo... "Why is it?"

máy-p<sub>u</sub>ga; 'uv<sub>u</sub>s 'ura-p<sub>u</sub>ga;  
 say-REM end be-REM  
 he asked; well, that was that, ((the buffalos were crossing the  
 river));

'uwas-'ura kwáa kar<sub>u</sub>-xw-p<sub>u</sub>ga, 'u-vwaa-kway pa-guaa-va  
 he-be INTJ sit-ASP-REM there-LOC-go water-edge-LOC  
 so Porcupine sat down just like that, he sat down at the edge

kar<sub>u</sub>-xw-p<sub>u</sub>ga; "paa-n n<sub>o</sub>q-g<sub>u</sub>wa-n<sub>u</sub>" máy-p<sub>u</sub>ga;  
 sit-ASP-REM easily-me carry-go-IMP say-REM  
 of the water; "Would you carry me across?" he asked;

"n<sub>u</sub>-aa?" máy-p<sub>u</sub>ga kucu-puku-raa-ci; "kác" ((máy-p<sub>u</sub>ga  
 I-Q say-REM buffalo-domestic-child NEG say-REM  
 "Who, me?" said the small buffalo-baby; "No" he said;

'uwas; "paa-n n<sub>o</sub>q-g<sub>u</sub>wa-n<sub>u</sub>" máy-p<sub>u</sub>ga((-s)); "n<sub>u</sub>-aa?"  
 he easily-me carry-go-IMP say-REM-CONJ I-Q  
 (then he asked again): "Would you carry me across?" he said;  
 "Who, me?"

máy-p<sub>u</sub>ga ((súwiini)); "káaac" máy-p<sub>u</sub>ga-s 'uwas;  
 say-REM another NEG say-REM-CONJ he  
 asked ((another one)); "Noooo!" he said;

máy-kya-p<sub>u</sub>ga, 'uv<sub>u</sub>s; pina-xw-'uru-'ura 'avat<sub>u</sub> p<sub>l</sub>a-pi  
 say-PL-REM end later-go-that-be big/GEN female-NOM  
 and likewise many others offered their help ((but he likewise  
 rejected them)); finally a big cow

'áy-p<sub>u</sub>ga: "n<sub>u</sub>-aa?" máy-p<sub>u</sub>ga; "paa-n n<sub>o</sub>q-g<sub>u</sub>wa-n<sub>u</sub>"  
 say-REM I-Q say-REM easily-me carry-go-IMP  
 said: "Who, me?" she said; (("Yes,)) would you carry me across?"

'áy-kh-'u-'uru; "'úvway" máy-p<sub>u</sub>ga 'uwas;  
 say-IMM-her-that alright say-REM she  
 he asked her; "Alright" she said;

'úvway-a<sub>x</sub>-unuv-'uru kutup<sub>u</sub>-'a y<sub>u</sub>ga-p<sub>u</sub>ga 'uwas...  
 then-it-TOP-that asshole/OBJ-her enter-REM he  
 so it was then that Porcupine entered her rectum...

'ú-'uway 'avatɔ-mɔ pɪ̄-pi... pina-xw-'ura-'uru:  
 RED-that/OBJ big-AN/OBJ female-NOM/OBJ later-go-be-that  
 that big cow... after ((she agreed to carry him, she asked)):

"'aḡaa-va karɔ-'wa-vaani?" máy-pɔḡay-'u, "nɔka-va-aa?...  
 WH-LOC sit-ASP-FUT say-REM-him ear-on-Q  
 "Where are you going to ride?" she asked, "On my ears?..."

taci-v'ḡ-n-aa?"; "mugucii-kwa-kwaa-m wi'i-vici-gwa-vaa"  
 head-on-my-Q shake-head-ASP-SUB-you fall-descend-ASP-FUT  
 On my head (maybe)?"; "If you shake you head I'll fall off"

máy-pɔḡa-s 'uwas; "nú-v'ḡn-aa toḡoy?" máy-pɔḡa-s  
 say-REM-CONJ he me-on-Q well say-REM-CONJ  
 he said; "How about on top of me?" she offered;

'uwas; "paḡa-nukwi-kyay((-kwa))-m-'uru wi'i-vici-gwa-vaa"  
 she walk-run-ANT-SUB-you-that fall-descend-ASP-FUT  
 "When you take off running I'll fall off"

máy-pɔḡa-s; "ta-sɔɔ-vɔ-vwan-aa-n toḡoy?" máy-pɔḡa-s  
 say-REM-CONJ foot-toe-NOM/ONJ-LOC-Q-my well say-REM-CONJ  
 he said; "How about between my hooves?" she offered;

'uwas; "pa-rukwa-n ta-yaakwa-kwa-vaa" máy-pɔḡa-s 'uwas;  
 she water-under foot-squash-ASP-FUT say-REM-CONJ he  
 "But then you'd squash me under water" he protested;

"kwasi-ma-n-aa toḡoy?" máy-pɔḡa; "kác,  
 tail-LOC-my-Q well say-REM NEG  
 "How about on my tail then?" she offered; "No,

kwasi-wɔnɔy-kyay((-kwa))-m-'uru, wi'i-vici-gwa-vaa"  
 tail-throw-ANT-SUB-you-that fall-descend-ASP-FUT  
 when you swish your tail, I'll fall off"

máy-pɔḡa-s 'uwas; "nú-pa-aa toḡoy?"  
 say-REM-CONJ he me-DIR-Q well  
 he said; "Well how about inside me then?"

máy-pɔḡa-s 'uwas; "'úvway!" máy-pɔḡa 'úvway-aḡ;  
 say-REM-CONJ she alright say-REM then-it  
 she finally offered; "Alright!" he immediately accepted;

'uwa-naaḡa-'ura-'uru yuḡa-puḡa 'úvway-aḡ,  
her-in-be-that enter-REM then-it  
he entered into her,

puḡ-a-y-av 'uru 'átu mani-kya; x-'ura-'uru paḡay-xw-puḡa;  
fur-GEN-OBJ-OWN that/OBJ well do-like-ANT then-be-that walk-ASP-REM  
he smoothed up his quills just like this ((gesture; in order to enter  
her)); then she started to walk;

"nḡ-'ura-'ara-'uru" máy-puḡa-'ura 'uwas, "'uru kwayaa-tux  
I-be-be-that say-REM-be she that out-to  
"Now" she said, "when I start climbing out (of the river),

cipi-u-ci, káatu tḡḡvaḡa-vaa-tu" 'áy-puḡa  
climb-INCEP-SUB river-rock/OBJ rumble-FUT-NOM say-REM  
I will make rumble-like noise like river-rock" she said,

'uwas, "'úvway-aḡ-'ura pini-tux wi'iyu-paa"  
she then-it-be off-go/to alight-FUT  
"At that very moment you should hop out"

máy-puḡay-aḡay-'u;  
say-REM-CONC-him  
she told him;

'uwa-pa karu-xw-puḡa, 'uwa-naaḡa karu-xw-puḡa;  
her-DIR sit-ASP-REM her-in sit-ASP-REM  
so Porcupine entered Buffalo-Cow's intestines, he sat  
down inside her;

'uvvus, káatu tḡḡvaḡa-puḡa 'uwas;  
end river-rock/OBJ rumble-REM she  
so finally she made the rumble-noise with the river-rock;

'uvway-aḡ-'unuv-'uru 'uwas puḡapḡ'ḡ-'a tyka-paḡa-puḡa;  
then-it-TOP-that he kidney-her eat-walk-REM  
immediately he began to devour her kidneys;

'uwa-naaḡa-tu suwa-paḡa-puḡa;  
her-inside-NOM/OBJ devour-walk-REM  
and he kept devouring her innards;

'úvway-aḡ-unuv 'uwas mani-vḡḡḡ-puḡa, ya'ay-gya  
then-it-TOP she do-like-walk-REM die-GER  
so then Buffalo-Cow began meandering in her walk like this  
((gesture)) as she was dying;

'uni-puga-vaci; x-'ura-'uru kwipə-tɥ mani-kw-puga,  
do-REM-BKGR then-be-that hit-NOM/OBJ do-like-ASP-REM  
so then ((it seemed to him)) she was about to hit the ground,

sagoy-aa-'u... cici-gyā-ry... cici-mani-xw-puga;  
stomache-GEN-her hard-have-ADJ hard-do-like-ASP-REM  
her stomache... it was hard... it became real hard;

x-'ura, pina-xw wii-tavay-kyay-kw((-uru)), pini-tux cipi-puga  
then-be later-go old-day-ANT-SUB-that out-to climb-REM  
after a long time, Porcupine climbed out;

'úniguni yā'ay-kwa-pɥ-u-puga;  
lo die-ASP-NOM-INCEP-REM  
and lo -- she was dead;

'úvway-aḵ-unuv-'uru 'úmy kucu-u súuva-tɥ-my  
then-it-TOP-that those buffalo-PL other-NOM-PL  
in the meantime the other buffalos

yāga-kwa-y miya-ḡa miya-tɥ tɥgay-puga; 'uwas-'uru 'ú-vwa  
cry-go-IMM leave/PL-GER far-NOM/DIR become-REM he-that there-LOC  
went on bawling and moving away; and Porcupine remained

'uni-'ni-puga; :''aḡa-ni-vāḡ-pɥ 'ura-nɥ  
do-INT-REM WH-do-FUT-MOD be-IMP  
behind there; "What shall I do

ma-raa-pɥ-u-ni?" 'uwas-'ura máy-puga,  
that-be/like-NOM-AN-like he-be say-REM  
(with such a big one) like this?" he wondered,

''aḡa-ni-vāḡ-pɥ 'ura-nɥ?" máy-gyā-ni, máy-puga;  
WH-do-FUT-MOD be-IMP say-GER-like say-REM  
"What shall I do?" he thought;

'ɥvɥs, 'ɥvɥs 'ura-puga;  
end end be-REM  
well, that was that;

'úvway-aḵ-unuv-'uru páḡa-kwa-puga 'uwas,  
then-it-TOP-that walk-go-REM he  
so he took off,

'u-vwaa-n-'ura t̄fi-p̄yga, maav̄y-aaḡa-rux, s̄ȳv̄v̄y  
 there-LOC-LOC-be high-REM brush/OBJ-have-through red-berry/OBJ  
 he went way up through the brush, through where there were

'ú-aaḡa-rux, s̄ȳv̄v̄y 'ura-vaci, ta-tap̄uni-kȳa-t̄y,  
 there-have-through red-berry/OBJ be-BKGR RED-bunch-ANT-NOM  
 red berry bushes, it was red-berry bushes, bunched up together,

'úru-aaḡa-rux 'uni-xw-p̄yga; x-'ura máy-pağay-p̄yga:  
 that-have-through do/go-ASP-REM then-be say-walk-REM  
 he went through that place; and as he walked, he kept saying:

"'ipy-m-s-aa-xu 'inay t̄yaani((-vaa-t̄y))-s 'inay?"  
 WH-with-CONJ-Q-it this/OBJ skin-FUT-NOM-CONJ this/OBJ  
 "What shall I skin this one with?"

máy-pağay-p̄yga, "'ipy-m-s 'inay t̄yaani((-vaa-t̄y))-s  
 say-walk-REM WH-with-CONJ this/OBJ skin-FUT-NOM-CONJ  
 he kept saying, "What shall I skin this one with?"

'inay?" máy-pağay-p̄yga 'ú ȳp̄p̄uci, "'ipy-m-s  
 this/OBJ say-walk-REM that porcupine WH-with-CONJ  
 he kept saying, "What shall I skin

'inay t̄yaani((-vaa-t̄y))-s 'inay?" máy-kh-'u-'ura-'uru  
 this/OBJ skin-FUT-NOM-CONJ this/OBJ say-IMM-he-be-that  
 this one with?" he kept saying

'i-v̄āa-ci; "s̄ȳv̄v̄y-aaḡa-vaci!" 'áy-p̄yga,  
 here-LOC-NOM berry-bush/OBJ-have-BKGR say-REM  
 there; "(Look) in the berry-bushes!" said a voice,

"'iya-naaḡa, n̄n̄ay s̄ȳ-wiici!" 'áy-p̄yga,  
 there-in my strong-knife say-REM  
 "Right in there is my strong-knife!" the voice said,

'áy-p̄yga-'uru;  
 say-REM-that  
 that's what it said;

x-'ura-'uru 'uwas 'áy-p̄yga: "'ipy-m-s 'inay 'urus  
 then-be-that he say-REM WH-with-CONJ this/OBJ it  
 so then Porcupine said: "I was thinking "How can I

'i-v̄āa?" máy-kya-ni-k̄u" máy-p̄uga; "kác" 'áy-p̄uga  
 here-LOC say-ANT-like-EMPH say-REM NEG say-REM  
 skin this one here?" he said; "No", said the voice...

'uwas,... sinawavi... sinawavi 'ura-p̄uga; ""'ip̄u-m-s  
 he sinawav sinawav be-REM WH-with-CONJ  
 Sinawav... it was Sinawav; "What you really said was

'in̄ay t̄uga-s 'in̄ay?" máy-kya-k̄u!" máy-p̄uga; "kác"  
 this/OBJ skin-CONJ this/OBJ say-ANT-EMPH say-REM NEG  
 "What shall I skin this one with?" he said; "No"

máy-p̄uga 'uwas; 'ú-vwaay-am̄u máy-p̄uga; ""'ip̄u-m-s  
 say-REM he there-LOC-they say-REM WH-with-CONJ  
 said Porcupine; so they argued there about it: "What I really said

'in̄ay 'urus 'i-v̄āa?" máy-kya-ni-k̄u, kaci-n-k̄u máy-wa"  
 this/OBJ it here-LOC say-ANT-like-EMPH NEG-I-EMPH say-NEG  
 was "How can I skin this one here?", not the other way"

máy-p̄aga-p̄uga 'uwas; "'uv̄us, 'úvway-āx máy-gwa-ús!"  
 say-WALK-REM he end then-it say-go-CONJ/IMP  
 Porcupine kept saying; "Alright then, say it once again now!"

máy-p̄uay-āgay-'u; "'ip̄u-m-s 'in̄ay t̄uga-s 'in̄ay?"  
 say-REM-CONC-him WH-with-CONJ this/OBJ skin-CONJ this/OBJ  
 Sinawav finally told him; so Porcupine repeated once more: "What  
 shall I skin this one with?" he said;

"máy-kya-k̄u!" máy-p̄uay-āgay-'u; 'uv̄us;  
 say-ANT-EMPH say-REM-CONC-him end  
 "You said it!" Sinawav told him; and that ended it;

'úvway-āx-'ura-'uru 'uwas máy-p̄uga: "'i-v̄āa-k̄u  
 then-it-be-that he say-REM here-LOC-EMPH  
 then Porcupine said: "Right here

t̄ywa kucu p̄l̄api 'avi" máy-p̄uga, "kac-ux-'ura n̄u  
 below búffalo/GÉN female lie/IMM say-REM NEG-it-be I  
 below a buffalo-cow is lying" he said, "and I don't

wiici-'a" máy-p̄uga, "t̄ygaani-v̄āa-ci-'u-'uru"  
 knife/OBJ-have/NEG say-REM skin-FUT-SUB-her-that  
 have a knife" he said, "to skin her, that is"

máy-puga; "'iya-naaga-ağa nūṅay sūy-wiici"  
 say-REM there-in-have my strong-knife  
 he said; "Well, right in there is my strong-knife"

máy-puga, "'uvwiyaa-rami 'uwa-vaa-cux kwáa-vaa"  
 say-REM HORT-we/II her-LOC-to go-FUT  
 said Sinawav, "Why don't we (take it and) go to her then?"

máy-puay-aḡay-'u...  
 say-REM-CONC-him  
 he told him...

'úniguni-'u x-'ura-puga sinawavi ma... sinawavi...  
 lo then-be-REM sinawav that sinawav  
 and lo, it was Sinawav... Sinawav...

nūuci-gyā... 'uwas 'uwa-vaa-cux... 'uwas, 'uwa-vaa...  
 human/OBJ-have/be he her-LOC-toward he her-LOC  
 he was like a human (then)... he went toward her... he, her...

'inay-xwa-pa-cy tavi-ci... 'áy-puga-s, má sinawavi:  
 this/OBJ-go-DIR-DIR step-SUB say-REM-CONJ that sinawav  
 and as he stepped toward her... he said, Sinawav did:

"má-aḡa-vaa-s 'uwa-u-ty tygaani-vaa" máy-puga-s;  
 that-have-LOC-CONJ jump-INCEP-NOM/REL skin-FUT say-REM-CONJ  
 "The one who jumps over her will skin her" he said;

'úvway-aḡ-unuv 'ú yūpūci paya-'uwa-'a-xw-puga,  
 then-it-TOP that porcupine side-jump-ASP-ASP-REM  
 so right away Porcupine tried to jump over her side,

'i-vāḡ-ty-aa-s... wi'i-na-puga; 'úvway-aḡ 'úniguni  
 here-LOC-DIR-OBJ-CONJ fall-HAB-REM then-it lo  
 just like this... but he kept falling; so finally, lo --

(('uwas)) náavas 'uwa-vaa-ḡa 'uwa-'a-puga;  
 he just her-LOC-over jump-ASP-REM  
 Sinawav jumped over her just like that, in a flash;

'u-vwaa-n-'ura-'uru tygaani-pugay-'u 'uwas; sinawavi 'u  
 there-LOC-LOC-be-that skin-REM-her he sinawav that  
 so then he was the one who then skinned her; it was Sinawav

tɔ̃gaani-pɔ̃gay-'u;  
 skin-REM-her  
 who skinned her;

'uwas-'ura-'uru... 'uwa-vaa-cɔ̃  
 he-be-that her-LOC-DIR  
 so now he... he was sitting in front of her,

karɔ̃-vɔ̃ci, pãxa-x̃a-tɔ̃ 'u... x-'ura 'áɔ̃-vɔ̃ci...  
 sit-BKGR kill-ANT-NOM/REL that then-be say-REM  
 the one who killed her (Porcupine)... so he said...

'úvway-ã-'ura-s 'áɔ̃-vɔ̃ci: "'fiiii..."; x-'ura  
 then-it-be-CONJ say-BKGR INTJ then-be  
 so he said: "'fiii..." (in frustration); then

paay-ta-vaci-'u... 'uru 'uwa-naãga-tɔ̃ 'uru...  
 call-PASS-BKGR-him that/OBJ her-inside-NOM/OBJ that/  
 Sinawav called him... the cow's innards...

sãgoyvɔ̃ 'uru... yuuvɔ̃ pacãxa-qa-mi 'ɔ̃-nukway-aa  
 intestine/OBJ that/OBJ fat stick-ANT-HAB just-TOP-Q  
 the intestines... there was fat stuck around them, that kind,

'u-ra-tɔ̃-aa-ni... "'icɔ̃ɔ̃ 'uru 'umɔ̃  
 that-be/like-NOM-OBJ-like this/OBJ that/OBJ them  
 like that... "Take this and feed it to

pa-vaa-vuku-u-n mãga-xwa-nɔ̃" máɔ̃-pɔ̃ga, "'ɔ̃mɔ̃y-saa-'uru  
 water-LOC-domestic-PL-my feed-go-IMP say-REM you-TOP-that  
 my pet water-bugs" Sinawav told Porcupine; "And as for you,

kwicapɔ̃ tɔ̃ka-nɔ̃!" máɔ̃-pɔ̃ay-ãgɔ̃-'u, 'uway yuupɔ̃ci...  
 feces/OBJ eat-IMP say-REM-CONC-him that/OBJ porcupine/OBJ  
 eat the feces!" he told him, he told Porcupine...

pina-xw-'ura 'uwas-'ura 'umɔ̃ pa-vaa-buku-ci-u  
 later-go-be he-be those/OBJ ewater-LOC-domestic-NOM-PL  
 but later, instead, Porcupine himself ate all the fat

yuuvi-aa-s 'uwas tɔ̃ka-xw-pɔ̃ga; 'umɔ̃-'ura  
 fat/OBJ-GEN-CONJ he eat-ASP-REM those/OBJ-be  
 (intended for the pet water-bugs); and he fed

pa-vaa-vuku-ci-u kwicapu maḡa-puḡa, máy-kya-xwa-ta-sapa...  
 water-LOC-domestic-NOM-PL feces/OBJ feed-REM say-ANT-ASP-PASS-MOD  
 the pet water-bugs feces, even though he was told (otherwise)...

pina-xw-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru  
 later-go-TOP-be-that he-that  
 later on, Sinawav

tuvvuyi-xw-puay-aḡa-amu, 'umu pa-vaa-vuku-ci-u:  
 ask-ASP-REM-CONC-them those/OBJ water-LOC-domestic-NOM-PL  
 asked them, his pet water-bugs:

"'ipu-amu muni maḡa-ta-'ay?"; "'uwas 'u-nukwa 'uwas  
 WH/OBJ-you you/OBJ feed-PASS-IMM he that-TOP he  
 "What has he fed you?"; "Well, he

numuy-aa-ku kwicapu maḡa-kwa-y, 'uwas ma-vaay-'ura  
 us-OBJ-EMPH feces/OBJ feed-ASP-IMM he there-LOC-be  
 fed us the feces, while he over there

yuuvi kutu((-pu))-av yuu-tsaḡoy-'ni!"  
 fat/OBJ butt-NOM/OBJ-OWN fat-knead-INT/IMM  
 is kneading his own butt with fat!"

máy((-kya))-puay-aḡay-'u; 'uvvus, na'ay'a-puḡa 'uwas  
 say-PL-REM-CONC-him end angry-REM he  
 they told him; well, Sinawav got real angry;

sinawavi; 'u-vwaa-'u karu-xw ta-tavi-puay-aḡay-'u  
 sinawav there-LOC-he sit-SUB RED-pelt-REM-CONC-him  
 so he sat there and pelted Porcupine with the bones;

'qa-maku-'u; "'aḡa-ni-gya 'uru 'ini-kh?" máy-gya-'uru;  
 bone-with-his WH-do-GER that/OBJ do-IMM say-GER-that  
 "Why are you doing this?" protested Porcupine;

"'aḡa-ni-gya-'uru 'umu kwicapu maḡa-y?" máy-puḡa;  
 WH-do-GER-that those/OBJ feces/OBJ feed-IMM say-REM  
 "And why have you fed them feces?" Sinawav demanded;

tṷ-tṷravi-puay-aḡay-'u 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s,  
 RED-throw-REM-CONC-him there-LOC-go/to-CONJ  
 and he pelted him to death right there,

yɔpɔci-kɔ-tɔ...  
 porcupine/OBJ-EMPH-DIR  
 that poor Porcupine...

'u-vwaa-'u 'uwayi-pɔay-aɣay; 'áavɔ-'ura-'uru  
 there-LOC-him hang-REM-CON now-be-that  
 then Sinawav hung Porcupine up; and now

tɔkuavi 'uru yɔvɔpɔ-maku-'uru 'ú-'uwayi-pɔga;  
 meat/OBJ that/OBJ pine/OBJ-with-that RED-hang-REM  
 he hung all the meat in small portions all over the pine tree;

tɔgaani-maku-caay-'u, 'uway yɔpɔci 'ina-xwa-paaga  
 skin-finish-ASP-her that/OBJ porcupine/OBJ there-go-side  
 he first finished skinning the cow, then he hung Porcupine

'uwayi-kya-pɔga, 'uwa-rukwa-tux kwica-xw-pɔay-aɣa;  
 hang-ANT-REM him-under-to defecate-ASP-REM-CONC  
 alongside there (next to the meat) ((gesture)), and he  
 defecated right underneath him;

x-'ura-'uru kwicapɔ-av 'áy-vaci: "'iya-na-caa mana-xw,  
 then-be-that feces/OBJ-OWN say-BKGR here-LOC-ASP move-SUB  
 then he told his feces: "The minute he moves,

máy-nɔ-'uru" 'áy-vaci-s-'u, sinwavi 'u...  
 say-IMP-that say-BKGR-CONJ-him sinawav that  
 tell me!" he instructed it, Sinawav did...

pága-kwa-vaci-'uru 'úvway-aɣ; x-'ura-'uru  
 walk-go-BKGR-that then-it then-be-that  
 then he took off; he went

pɔa-u-vwaa-cugwa-xwa 'uni-'wa-vaci;  
 kin-PL-LOC-go/to-go do/go-ASP-BKGR  
 to visit his relatives;

x-'ura, pina-xw-'ura, 'ɔvɔs, 'uwas ma-mana-'wi-vaci;  
 then-be later-go-be end he RED-move-INCH-BKGR  
 after a while, later on, Porcupine began to stir;

"'iya-na-caa mana-xwa!" máy-na-pɔay-aɣay-'u (('urus));  
 here-LOC-ASP move-ASP say-HAB-REM-CONC-he  
 "Here he starts moving!" the feces called out;

'úvway-aǎ-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'ura 'úu-pa pfcu-puga,  
 then-it-be-that he-be there-DIR come-REM  
 so Sinawav hurried back that way,

tɥ-tɥravi-pugay-'u, pi-piya-gwa-na-pugay-'u;  
 RED-throw-REM-him RED pull-go-HAB-REM-him  
 and stoned him again and again, and dragged him around  
 (to make sure he was dead; then he hung him back on the tree);

'áa-miya-tuga-pugaa-ni; pina-xw-'ura yáakwa-puga;  
 gradually-away-become-REM-like later-go-be disappear-REM  
 then he gradually moved away, until he finally disappeared;

pina-xw-'u ma-mana-'wi-puga 'uwas 'u; "máa 'iya-na-caa  
 later-go-he RED-move-INCH-REM he that that here-LOC-ASP  
 after a while Porcupine began to stir again; "There he is

mana-xw!" máy-puga-s 'urus; 'uwas ka-'iya-na-pua-s,  
 move-ASP say-REM-CONJ it he NEG-here-LOC/be-REM/NEG-CONJ  
 stirring again!" cried the feces; but he wasn't there anymore,

'ini-kway, 'uwas sinawavi; pina-xw-'ura 'urus-kway  
 WH/SUBJ-MOD he sinawav later-go-be it-MOD  
 what's-his-name, Sinawav; so after a while the feces just kept

tɥravisɥ 'ánu-'apaǎa-y 'ú-vway;  
 uselessly just-talk-IMM there-LOC  
 talking uselessly there;

'uwas((- 'ura yuɥpuci)) 'ini-xwa-paci-ux pú-m-av  
 he-be porcupine do-ASP-BKGR-it REL-with-OWN  
 now Porcupine gradually undid that thing with which

'uway-kya-na; 'ipɥ-vi-ci 'áy-vɥ súukɥpɥ 'apaǎa-y;  
 hang-ANT/PASS-REL WH/OBJ-NOM-NOM say-NOM/REL/OBJ trouble talk-IMM  
 he wastied; what (the feces) kept saying was trouble;

"kwicapɥ máy-kya-paa-pɥ!" ((máy-pugay-'u)),  
 feces say-PL-FUT-MOD say-REM-him  
 (so Porcupine said:) "Your name shall be shit!" he told it,

yɥ-kwipa-pugay-ku, mana'waa-m-av-'uru kwipa-puga;  
 porcupine-hit-REM-it quill-with-OWN-that hit-REM  
 and he porcupine-whipped it, he whipped it with his quills;

páaʔa-pqro-xw-puga 'urus; 'uwas 'ú kwica-puga-ty-ux  
 cry-walk-REM it he that defecate-REM-NOM/REL-it  
 and the feces kept crying; but the one who defecated it

'uvʏs 'ura-'ay;  
 end be-IMM  
 was nowhere within earshot;

x-'ura picʏ-xw-puga, kani-vʔʔ-av, x-'ura máy-puga:  
 then-be come-ASP-REM house-LOC-OWN then-be say-REM  
 in the meantime Sinawav had arrived home and said:

"i-vʔʔ-kʏ tʏvwa tʏkuavi, yʏvʏpʏ-m 'ú-'uway-kya"  
 here-LOC-EMPH down meat pine/OBJ-on RED-hang-ANT/PASS  
 "Right down here there's meat, hanging all over a pine-tree"

máy-vʔci, "yʏpʏ-gyapʏ 'ura-yis" 'áy-puga x-'ura;  
 say-BKGR porcupine-DEFUN be-also say-REM then-be  
 he announced, "And also a dead porcupine" he said;

"yʏpʏci! hái!..." tuaci-u-'u páaʔa-pqro-xw-puga,  
 porcupine INTJ child-PL-his cry-walk-ASP-REM  
 "Porcupine! Hurray!..." his children started shouting,

"'áavʏ-s-'ura múa-n yʏv-vaca 'uni-kʏ-pʔʔni-n!"  
 now-CONJ-be father-my porcupine-shoe/OBJ make-BEN-FUT-me  
 "Now my father's going to make me porcupine shoes!"

'áy-kya-puga, "yʏv-vaca 'uni-pʔʔni!" 'áy-kya-puga,  
 say-PL-REM porcupine-shoe/OBJ make-FUT say-PL-REM  
 they said, "make porcupine-shoes!" they said,

su-súwaay-kya-puga;  
 RED-happy-PL-REM  
 they were all happy;

'uwas-'ura-'uru 'úvway-aʔ-'uru kʏrʏki-ci 'ú  
 he-be-that then-it-that rise-NOM/SUB that  
 in the mean time he had gotten up, Porcupine did,

yʏpʏci, 'áy-pugaa((-ni)): "u-na tarugwa-s  
 porcupine say-REM-like there-LOC up-CONJ  
 and thought to himself: "I should climb

cipi((-v̄āa)), 'ip̄u-m-av  
 climb-FUT WH/OBJ-with-OWN  
 up there, with that (rope) with which

'uway-kyaay-kya-na-av..."; 'uru-'ura t̄ykuavi  
 hang-PASS/PL-ANT-REL-OWN that/OBJ-be meat/OBJ  
 I was hung"; so he carried all

yáa'wa-vaci máa-pa ȳv̄v̄p̄ȳ kuvua-ma-tux, 'u-vwaa  
 carry-BKGR there-DIR pine/GEN tip-LOC-to there-LOC  
 the meat up to the top of the pine-tree, and there

'ú-'uway((-v̄aci))... x-'ura 'áy-v̄aci: "ȳv̄v̄p̄ȳ  
 RED-hang-BKGR then-be say-BKGR pine/OBJ  
 he hung it up in bunches... then he said: "Pine-tree

nana-n̄y!" máy-v̄aci; 'urus-'ura nana-vaci, 'u-vwaa-n-'ura  
 grow-IMP say-REM it-be grow-BKGR there-LOC-on-be  
 grow!" he said; and the pine-tree indeed grew,

pa'at̄ȳ t̄yga-xwa-vaci;  
 tall become-BKGR  
 and soon became real tall;

(('ȳv̄v̄s-'ura,)) 'u-vwaa-n kuvua-maku kar̄y-p̄yga;  
 end-be there-LOC-on tip-finish sit-REM  
 so he was sitting ((hidden)) at the very top;

'uwas-'ura 'u-vwaa-tux mawisi-p̄yga; p̄ynikya-p̄ygay-'u  
 he-be there-LOC-to appear-REM see-REM-him  
 and now Sinawav appeared on the scene; Porcupine saw him,

'uwas, 'u-vwaa-tux x-'ura pana-xwa mawisi...  
 he there-LOC-to then-be toward-go appear/IMM  
 as he approached there from the other side...

Sinawavi, t̄aa-'inih-kway náāḡa-pāga-y...  
 sinawav regular-WH/OBJ-MOD fornicate-walk-IMM  
 Sinawav isa used to mating with whomever while travelling...

'uwas 'uu-pa x-ura p̄ōr̄ō-i... 'uwas x-'ura-'uru pāga-y-xw-'u  
 he there-DIR walk-IMM he then-be-that walk-IMM-SUB-he  
 so he was going through that-a-way... and as he was walking,

'uway sinawavi, pağa-y-xw, sağwa-ri-ṭy-ağa-vaa-ṭy  
 that/GEN sinawav/GEN walk-IMM-SUB green-INCH-NOM/OBJ-have-LOC-DIR  
 that Sinawav, as he was walking, as he was walking through

pağa-y-xw: "sinawavi paç̣y-av yoğ̣o-ğ̣wa-ṭy!"  
 walk-IMM-SUB sinawav daughter-OWN mate-ASP-NOM  
 the heavy greenery, ((a voice said)): "Sinawav makes it with his  
 own daughter!"

(('áy-p̣yga)); 'uwas x-'ura 'u-vwaa-ṭy ta-ta'a-u-mi,  
 say-REM he then-be there-LOC-DIR RED-kick-INCEP-HAB  
 so he began to kick (at the bushes),

kacu-'u-kway maay-wa; 'uwas-'ura mataci 'áy-ṿaci,  
 NEG-him-MOD see-NEG/IMM he-be tick say-BKGR  
 but he couldn't see the speaker; it was a tick who said it,

sağwa-ri-ṭy-ağa-va paca'a-kyay-ṿaci:  
 green-INCH-NOM/OBJ-have-on stick-ANT-BKGR  
 he was stuck in the greenery;

"sinawavi paç̣y-av yoğ̣o-ğ̣wa-ṭy!" máy-u-miya-kway;  
 sinawav daughter-OWN mate-ASP-NOM say-INCEP-HAB-MOD  
 "Sinawav makes it with his own daughter!" he kept saying;

"'ini-'u máy-vi "mataci" máy-kya-paa-p̣y" máy-ṿaci  
 WH/SUBJ-he say-NOM/GEN say-PL-FUT-MOD say-BKGR  
 "Whoever it is that says this, your name shall be "tick"" said

'uwas, 'u-vwaa-ṭy ta-ta'a-u-ci;  
 he there-LOC-DIR RED-kick-INCEP-NOM/SUB  
 Sinawav, as he kept kicking at the bushes;

'ú-'uni-pağa-y x-'ura 'uwa-va ṭyğay-'wi, ỵỵp̣ỵci  
 RED-do-walk-IMM then-be him-LOC approach-INCH/IMM porcupine/GEN  
 and he kept doing it as he approached him, the place where

'uway 'u-vwaa 'uru ẉyga-m kary-xw; pina-xw-'ura máy-p̣yga:  
 he/GEN there-LOC height-LOC sit-SUB later-go-be say-REM  
 Porcupine was sitting ((hidden)) up the tree; at last he said:

"'áy-gwa!..." p̣ysağ̣ay-kw-p̣yga 'u-vwaa-ṭy...  
 say-go search-ASP-REM there-LOC-DIR  
 "Hey!..." and he searched through there...

kacu-'u pucucugwa-pya... 'urus pa'atɥ (('ura))-pɥga...  
 NEG-him know-REM/NEG it tall be-REM  
 but he didn't know who it was... it was way up high...

'urus-'ura pa'atɥ 'ura-pɥga;  
 it-be tall be-REM  
 the pine-tree was tall;

pina-xw-'ura-'uru 'uwas: "máa-pa kwávi, kanɥga-rugwa-xw!"  
 later-go-be-that he there-DIR lie/IMP lower-go/to-go/IMP  
 finally Porcupine said: "Go lie down that-a-way, go down!"

máy-pɥay-aɣay-'u; "'aɣaa-pa-'ura 'uni-'a-mi-kya?"  
 say-REM-CONC-him WH-DIR-be do/go-ASP--HAB-ANT  
 he told him; "Well how did you get up there?"

máy-pɥga; uwas-'ura: "táay, máa-pa kwávi,  
 say-REM he-be EXHORT there-DIR lie/IMP  
 Sinawav asked; so Porcupine urged him on: "Go on, lie down there,

mɥni-rugwa-paa-ci-n...  
 you/PL-give-FUT-SUB-I  
 so that I can give you-all...

'qɔvɥ-ci-sapa..." máy-pɥga-'ura 'uwas; x-'ura  
 bone/OBJ-DIM-MOD say-REM-be he then-be  
 some little bones..." he said; then

'u-vwaa-tugwa-xw 'qɔvɥ cawɥna-pɥga, tɥvwa,  
 there-LOC-go/to-go bone/OBJ throw-REM down  
 he threw down the bones,

kuvuaa-ri-kyɔ-tɥ 'ura-vaci... 'uni-mi-na-'u 'uway  
 point-CAUS-ANT/PASS-NOM/OBJ be-BKGR do-HAB-REM-he he/GEN  
 they had been sharpened to a fine point... he did it,

yɥɥɥɥci;  
 porcupine/GEN  
 that Porcupine;

'umɥ-'ura kwfimpi... Sinawavi pa'a-paɣa-xw-pɥga,  
 them-be slaughter sinawav/OBJ complete-kill-ASP-REM  
 so he slaughtered them... he did away with Sinawav,

pacu-u-'a pa'a-qoʔoy-puga; 'uwas-'ura súuyis piya-xw-puga,  
daughter-PL-his complete-slaughter-REM he-be one remain-ASP-REM  
and slaughtered his daughters; only one remained (alive),

'áapaci, 'ú-'ura 'ivipipinaraḡaci 'ura-'ay; 'uwa-xw-puga  
boy that-be 'ivipipinaraḡaci be-IMM jump-ASP-REM  
a boy, named 'ivipipinaraḡach; he had jumped

'imi-tux, x-'ura 'u-vwaa-yis yaḡa-vqʀq-puga; x-'ura 'uwayas  
this-side-to then-be there-LOC-CONJ cry-walk-REM then-be him  
out of the way, and he kept crying around; finally he asked

'áy-puay-aḡa: "'aḡaa-pa-'ura tʃi-mi?"; "kac-aḡ-'ura  
say-REM-CONC WH-DIR-be high-HAB NEG-it-be  
Porcupine: "Where are you up there?"; "Why don't you

'úu-pa tʃna-xw wi-wiya nawa'a, púupa cipi-mi-na-n"  
there-DIR up-go RED-mud/GEN tracks way climp-HAB-REL-I  
come up along the mud-tracks, the way I did?"

máy-puga-s 'ú yuʃpuci; 'uwas 'úu-pa tʃi-puga,  
say-REM-CONJ that porcupine he there-DIR high-REM  
Porcupine told him; so the boy climbed that way,

'áa... 'uwa-vaa-cux; tʃguy-naru'a-xw-puga, piyaa-ky  
INTJ him-LOC-to hunger-buy-ASP-REM strong-EMPH  
eeh... toward him; he was hungry, he was very

tʃguy-naru'a-xw-puga, tʃkua-rʃguy-naru'a-xw-puga;  
hunger-buy-ASP-REM meat-hunger-buy-ASP-REM  
hungry, had a developed a great meat-hunger,

'uwas tʃkuavi (('u-vwaa tʃi)) yuna-qa-puga;  
he meat/OBJ there-LOC high put-ANT-REM  
Porcupine had put the meat way up there;

pina-xw-'ura... tʃkua-rʃguy-naru'a-xw-puga... 'ú-vway  
later-go-be meat-hunger-buy-ASP-REM there-LOC  
so later on... the boy was meat-hungry... so Porcupine

maḡa-xw-pugay-'u, supu-'u 'avaty tʃ-tʃgay-xw-puga;  
feed-ASP-REM-him stomach-his big RED-become-ASP-REM  
kept feeding him, and his stomach grew real big;

"'áy... kwica-u-paani-aa-n!" 'áy-pųga-s 'uwas, "'áy,  
 INTJ defecate-INCEP-FUT-Q-I say-REM-CONJ he INTJ  
 "Hey... I may have to relieve myself soon!" he said, "Hey,

ma-vaa-tugwa-nų-ky-kway kwica-ġwa-mi 'uru branc-i-vaa-tux";  
 there-LOC-go/to-I-EMP-MOD defecate-go-HAB that/OBJ branch-OBJ-LOC-to  
 I always go to relieve myself that-a-way, up that branch there";

branc-i-aġay-kw-ky... x-'ura 'úu-pa-'u kwaa-kw: "'áy,  
 branch-OBJ-have-SUB-EMPH then-be there-DIR-he go-SUB INTJ  
 and indeed there was a branch there... so as the boy moved up  
 there, Porcupine said: "Hey,

mana-xwa-paa-ci-ux, mana-xwa-paa-ci-ux!"  
 move-ASP-FUT-SUB-it move-ASP-FUT-SUB-it  
 move further out, move further out!"

karų-paġa-pų-ci-gya 'uwas; "toġoy, pigya-guvuaa-va  
 sit-walk-NOM/REL-SUB-GER he well very-tip-LOC  
 so the boy crawled further up the branch; "Fine, go on to the

tugwa-xwa" 'áy-pųga, "máa-pa-tux!" 'áy-pųga;  
 go-go/IMP say-REM there-DIR-to say-REM  
 very tip!" Porcupine urged him, "Go on that-a-way!" he said;

'uwas-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaa-'u tųka-wi-xw, 'uwas-'uru yųvųpų  
 he-be-that there-LOC-he reach-INCH-SUB he-that pine/OBJ  
 finally as the boy was just reaching the tip of the branch,

mani-paci-s, yųpųci; 'ġaa...  
 do-like-BKGR-CONJ porcupine INTJ here-LOC  
 Porcupine ((shook it vigorously)) like this ((gesture)); eehh...

'i-va yáakwi-vaci, 'ú 'áapaci, wi'i-vaci-'u  
 here-LOC disappear-BKGR that boy fall-BKGR-he  
 the boy disappeared, he fell

kwá-vaci, sųpų-'u tųqvaġa-paci yúaa-va-tų-'u  
 go-BKGR stomache-his explode-BKGR ground-LOC-DIR-he  
 and was gone, and his stomach burst as he hit

kwípų-xw;  
 hit-SUB  
 the ground;

máy-kyá-ta-mia-na-ux 'uru, p̄sari-niyá-ḡa-qa  
 say-PL-PASS-HAB-it that/OBJ story-tell-PL-ANT  
 that's what they say, they told the story,

'úmy, wfi-nuuci-u-gwapu; máy-kyá-nu-s 'úru,  
 they old-person-PL-DEFUN say-ANT-I-CONJ that  
 the Old People; I have spoken,

'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa, 'uv̄v̄s;  
 there-LOC-go/to-MOD end  
 that's as far as it goes, it's finished;

## SINAWAV RACING THE BIRDS AND BETTING

Told by: Julius Cloud  
 Date recorded: 10-17-76  
 Recorded by: Neil Cloud  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

wfitys 'ura-na-pyga-vaci 'uru... 'úmy-'uru  
 past be-HAB-REM-BKGR that those-that  
 it was long time ago...

pa'avi-u núci-u 'ura((-qa))-paci 'uru...  
 insect-PL human-PL be-PL-REM that  
 insects were just like humans then...

'úvway-aḡ-kw-tu-my... 'ic((ay)) núnay  
 then-it-SUB-NOM-PL this/OBJ I/GEN  
 at that time... this is the story I'm

pysari-niya-paa-na... 'uru tųvuci-'uru 'ava'na-tų  
 story-tell-FUT-REL that/OBJ very-that many-NOM  
 going to tell... it is one many story-tellers

pysari-niya-ḡa-qa-tu-my...  
 story-tell-ANT-PL-NOM-PL  
 (used to tell)...

sinaḡvi 'uway máy-kya... 'uway... sinawavi-'uru 'uwas  
 wolf that/OBJ say-PL that/PL sinawav-that he  
 they called him wolf... him... that is Sinawav...

'ura-'ay... sinaḡvi... 'apaḡa-ḡa 'uwas... 'uru  
 be-IMM wolf talk-GER he that/OBJ  
 wolf... he, talking...

máy-na-pyga-vaci, 'apaḡa-na-pyga-tų 'ura-vaci;  
 say-HAB-REM-BKGR talk-HGAB-REM-NOM be-BKGR  
 that's what they used to say, he used to talk in those days;

manu-xw-ty-my-s... p̄isiavi-u... manu-xw-ty-my-s  
 all-SUB-NOM-PL-CONN species-PL all-SUB-NOM-PL-CONJ  
 the same as all of them... the species... all of those

miya-v̄qr̄q-r̄y-my... n̄uci-u-gwa-y-'uru...  
 move/PL-walk/PL-ADJ-PL human-PL-have/be-IMM-that  
 that move about... they were like humans...

'úvway-aḵ-'ura-'uru sinawavi 'u... navu-tigi-gya-ty  
 then-it-be-that sinawav that imitate-ANT/have-NOM  
 well then, Sinawav always

x-'ura 'ura-mi... súuva-ty-my-aa-ni, 'uni-na-xw,  
 then-be be-HAB other-NOM-PL-OBJ-like do-HAB-SUB  
 imitates... others, whenever they do something,

ka-'uu-pa t̄ȳgay-mi-wa náaḡa-ty-py-vwaa-ty;  
 NEG-that-DIR approach-HAB-NEG seldom-DIR-NOM-LOC-DIR  
 (but) he seldom ever gets it quite right;

'uni-mi... (('uru)) 'uni-kya-na-xw-'uru, 'úu-pa 'uni-mi 'uwas;  
 do-HAB that/OBJ do-PL-REL-it-that that-DIR do-HAB he  
 whatever others do, he (tries to) do exactly the same;

navu-tigi-gya-'uru; 'uni-na-p̄ȳga-ty 'u...  
 imitate-GER-that do-HAB-REM-NOM that  
 imitating, that is; that's what he used to do...

'úvway-aḵ-'ura, 'icay-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'ura-p̄ȳga-vaci;  
 then-it-be this/OBJ-be he-that be-REM-BKGR  
 this is the way he used to be then;

'úvway-aḵ-'uru ty-tyḡaa-p̄ȳga-vaci 'uwas,  
 then-be-that RED-bet-REM-BKGR he  
 so one time he challenged (some people) (to a race),

kava nana-cigya-py ty-tyḡaa-p̄ȳga; 'úvway-'ura  
 horse/GEN recip-race-NOM RED-race-REM then-be  
 he bet with them on a horse-race; it was (with)

m̄amy... 'umy wy-wysiaa-ḡa-ty-my, 'umy 'u-vwaa-n  
 those those/OBJ RED-feather-have-NOM-PL/OBJ those/OBJ there-LOC-LOC  
 those... the feathered-ones (birds), it was with them

'áy-pɔ́ga 'uwas; "nǔmɔ́-'ura..." manu-xw-tɔ́-mɔ́  
 say-REM he we-be all-SUB-NOM-PL/OBJ  
 that he made the bet; "We..." he told all

wicici-u 'umɔ́-'u máy-pɔ́ga; "páy 'uway-və" máy-kya-pɔ́ga  
 bird-PL those/OBJ-he say-REM INTJ that/OBJ-LOC say-PL-REM  
 the birds; "Never mind him" they said,

'umɔ́s, "'uwa-rukwa navas 'áy-ci-'u" máy-kya-pɔ́ga-amɔ́;  
 they him-to just say-NOM-he say-PL-REM-they  
 "he's just talking" they said;

náaǵa-ruxwa-tɔ́-mɔ́ ka-'uni-kya-pɔ́a, súuva-tɔ́-mɔ́-s  
 some-to-NOM-PL NEG-do-PL-REM/NEG other-NOM-PL-CONJ  
 so some of them did not race him, while others

'uni-kyə-pɔ́ga;  
 do-PL-REM  
 did;

'úvway-aǵ-'ura-'uru kava nana-cigya-ǵa-pɔ́ga, nanɔ́s  
 then-it-be-that horse/GEN RECIP-race-PL-REM each  
 so they held a horse-race; each one

puku-vwan-av... 'uwas sá-ǵa-rɔ́-mɔ́ puku-gwa-tɔ́ 'ura-pɔ́ga,  
 horse-on-OWN he white-have-ADJ-AN/OBJ horse/OBJ-have-NOM be-REM  
 (betting) on his own horse... he had a white horse,

sinawavi 'u... súuva-tɔ́-mɔ́-ni 'ura-pɔ́ga-vaci-mɔ́-s;  
 sinawav that other-NOM-PL-like be-REM-BKGR-PL-CONJ  
 Sinawav did... and there were others in the race as well;

'úvway-aǵ-'ura 'umɔ́s-'u kwa'a-xw-pɔ́ay-aǵay-'u  
 then-it-be they-him win-ASP-REM-CONC-him  
 well, they beat him

'u-vwaa-tugwa-y-a-s... máy-kya-paa-tugwa-'uru...  
 there-LOC-go-OBJ-GEN-CONJ say-PL-LOC-to-that  
 badly... in the bet he made (with them)...

kiyə-qa-ǵa-pɔ́ay-aǵay-'u... kwa'a-qa-ǵay-'u;  
 laugh-PL-ANT-REM-CONC-him win-PL-ANT-him  
 and they laughed at him... they beat him;

pa'a-manu-xw-tugwa-s kwa'a-xa-pyga; 'uwas-'ura  
 complete-all-OBJ-to-CONJ win-PL-REM he-be  
 and they won everything (he had); he

kúsawa-ga-ty 'ura-pyga-vaci, núu-'uni-aaga-ty,  
 leggings-have-NOM be-REM-BKGR indian-POSS-have-NOM  
 used to have these leggings, Indian style,

'ipy-a-sapa 'ú-maku-kw 'uni-pyga;  
 WH-OBJ-MOD/OBJ that-with/finish-SUB do-REM  
 whatever it was, they won it from him;

'úvway-aḵ-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'ura 'u-vwaa  
 then-it-TOP-be-that he-be there-LOC  
 well, there was this one wandering

paḡa-'ni-pyga, mútata-vy-ci 'u;  
 walk-INT-REM hummingbird-DIM-NOM that  
 around there, Hummingbird;

puku-gwa-pyga, suty... mīpyci 'u,  
 horse-have-REM INTJ small that  
 he had a horse, a eh... a small one,

sḡ'acaa-ci-ci-my 'ura-pyga, 'avu-kway-pyga, 'iyā-vini;  
 buckle-knee-DIM-NOM-AN be-REM prance-go-REM bad-turn  
 it was buckle-kneed, it pranced sideways, recklessly;

"'aḡa-ni-vāci-aa máa-y 'uni-vāḡani 'avu-kwa-ry-my-aa?  
 WH-do-BKGR-Q that-OBJ do-FUT prance-go-ADJ-AN-Q  
 "Why bother racing this horse that runs sideways?" (Sinawav  
 asked Hummingbird),

má 'aḡa-ni-vāḡani?... má 'aḡa-ni-vāḡani?..."  
 that WH-do-FUT that WH-do-FUT  
 "Why are you racing that one?... Why (should one) race that one?"

"nūḡay púku 'uni-vāḡani" máy-kya-sapa-'u;  
 my horse do-FUT say-ANT-MOD-him  
 "My horse can do it" Hummingbird told him;

"kaca-'a! kaca-'a 'uni-vāḡa-wa má" máy-pyay-aḡay-'u  
 NEG-he NEG-he do-FUT-NEG that say-REM-CONC-him  
 "Not him! He can't do it" Sinawav told him

puku-vwaa-cy-'u... (('yvyʂ)) 'ura-pyga, kava-'u  
 horse-LOC-DIR-his end be-REM horse-his  
 about his horse... well, he made him run his horse

'avu-kwa-ti-pyga 'ú-vway... kava-'u 'avu-kwa-ti-pyga,  
 prance-go-CAUS--REM there-LOC horse-his prance-go-CAUSE-REM  
 sideways there... he made him run his horse sideways,

puku-av 'uni-vaa-ku máy-gya; pina-xw-'ura  
 horse-OWN do-FUT-SUB say-GER later-go-be  
 he told him to get his horse to do it (so everybody could see  
 it was no good); later on,

kwa'a-mui-ta((-ʂay-xw)): "'úvway" máy-pyga  
 win-lead-PASS-ANT-SUB alright say-REM  
 after he had been beaten, he said: "Alright"

'uwas sinawavi, "táa-sapa 'uni-paani";  
 he sinawav HORT-MOD do-FUT  
 Sinawav told Hummingbird, "let's do it";

'úvway-aʂ ka-tyvvyçi 'ava'naty  
 then-it NEG-very many  
 by that time there were not many there

túu-xwa-ʂa-pyga, 'úmy súuva-ty-my-ni;  
 bet-PL-ANT-REM those other-NOM-PL-like  
 who would bet (on Hummingbird's horse), among those others;

"kwa'a-ti-ta, kwa'a-ʂa-paa-rawi, tǵaani-ci-aa  
 win-CAUS-PASS/IMP win-ASP-FUT-we/INCL poor-NOM-Q  
 "He can be beaten, let's beat him, hasn't he already become

tyka-xw-kwa-paci?" máy-kya-pyga,  
 become-ASP-ANT-BKGR say-PL-REM  
 poor (from losing)?" they said,

"kwa'a-ti-ta-paa-sapa-rawi-'u, ka-tyvvyçi  
 win-CAUS-PASS-MOD-we/INCL-he NEG-very  
 "We'll get him beaten, that slow-running (horse)

toǵo-xwa-wa-ty-my, 'uni-u-paa" máy-kya-pyga;  
 right-go-NEG-NOM-AN/OBJ do-INCEP-FUT say-PL-REM  
 can be beaten" they said;

'áa-gá máy-kya-púgay-kw, 'u-vwaa pağa-'ni-púga 'uwas;  
gentle-GER say-PL-REM-SUB there-LOC walk-INT-REM he  
and as they whispered among themselves, he paced around there;

"'áavú-n-'ura kúma-van-aa-s 'úúú... 'uni-váani?";  
now-I-be other-on-Q-CONJ INTJ do-FUT  
"Now, maybe I should bet on... another horse?" (he kept saying);

kác-'ura 'uni-((váa-ci)) 'ásti-pya, puku-'a  
NEG-be do-FUT-SUB want-REM/NEG horse-his  
he (gave the impression that he) didn't like betting on his

túgvú-av;  
friend-OWN  
friend's horse;

'u-vwaa-tux túkwaa-púga, 'u-vwaa-tux  
there-LOC-to descend-REM there-LOC-to  
so they all went down there, to where

qáxáaa-ta-na-paa-tugwa-av; "kaci-n x-'ura miyá-tux  
run-PASS-REL-DIR-to-OWN NEG-I-be far-to-OWN  
they were going to run the race; "I can't race (my horse)

'uni-paa-wa-ni" máy-púga (('uwas)), "pa'a-toğo-ci-n  
do-FUT-NEG-FUT say-REM he long-straight-NOM-my  
very far" Sinawav told them, "my long-distance runner

ka-'i-váa-tugwa-pya, ka-miyá-tux kwáa-wa-tú-my  
NEG-here-LOC-go/to-REM/NEG NEG-far-go/to run-NEG-NOM-AN  
did not come here, my horse (here) cannot run very far"

puku-n" máy-púga;  
horse-my say-REM  
he said;

'úvway-aá-'ura 'uwas 'u-vwaa-tux  
then-it-be he there-LOC-to  
and indeed (when they started racing), the horse didn't

ka-suu-qáxáaary-kwa-pya, kúma-xw-tux  
NEG-straight-run-go-REM different-go-to  
run straight forward, it kept running in a different

q̣x̣ạạaṛy-na-p̣yga, ka-suu-q̣x̣ạạaṛy-wa-ṭy  
 run-HAB-REM NEG-straight-run-NEG-NOM  
 direction, it was a crooked-running

'ura-p̣yga, puku-'u; 'úyy... nu-nukwi-na-p̣yga,  
 be-REM horse-his INTJ RED-run-HAB-REM  
 horse; eeh... it kept running,

na-rukwa nu-nukwi-na-p̣yga, ḳỵma-xw-tux  
 REFL-under RED-run-HAB-REM different-go-to  
 it kept running with his head bent, it kept running

q̣x̣ạạaṛy-na-p̣yga; "m̄áy-kya-'u!" m̄áy-p̣yga 'uwas,  
 run-HAB-RAM say-ANT-him say-REM he  
 in the wrong direction; "I told you (about) him!" Sinawav cried,

"n̄ú m̄á-y n̄ú-ḳy ka-'uni((-v̄aci)) 'ásti-wa!  
 I thet-OBJ I-EMPH NEG-do-SUB want-NEG  
 "I don't like racing this one!

"n̄ú 'āga-ni-v̄aci-aa 'uni-xw-kwa?" m̄áy-p̣yga 'uwas,  
 I WH-do-BKGR-Q do-ASP-ANT say-REM he  
 "Oh, why have I done it?" he lamented,

"'āga-ni-v̄aci-n 'uni-kya? pa'a-kaca-'a s̄úu-q̣x̣ạạaṛy-wa!"  
 WH-do-BKGR-I do-ANT complete-NEG-he straight-run-NEG  
 "Why have I done it? He cannot run straight at all!"

pina-xw-sapa-'ura-'uru 'uwa-vaa-yuxwi ṭỵṛỵsi-ci-m̄y,  
 later-go-IOD-be-that him-LOC-along stop-SUB-AN  
 finally, when (the other guy in the race) stopped alongside  
 (Sinawav's horse, thus falling for his trickery),

q̣x̣ạạaṛy-m̄yi-kwa-y ḳỵma-xw-tux; pina-xw-sapa  
 run-lead-go-IMM other-go-to later-go-MOD  
 the horse surged into the lead (running) in the other direction;

q̣x̣ạạaṛy... kw̄áaa-y... (('uwas-'ura)) pina-w̄nȳ-p̣yga;  
 run run-IMM he-be last-stand-REM  
 finally it really ran... woosh... so the other rider lost;

"m̄áy-kya-'u" m̄áy-p̣yga 'ú sinawav̄m;  
 say-ANT-him say-REM that sinawav  
 "I warned him, didn't I?" said Sinawav;

pa'a-ka-'atɥ-tɥsu'a-pɥa;  
 complete-NEG-well-feel-REM/NEG  
 and the other guy felt really bad (about loosing);

'úvway-aɣ-'unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwas caɣa-civi  
 then-it-TOP-be-that he near  
 it was indeed a fact that Sinawav used to race only

tyɣaa-ɣa-ty 'ura-pɥa-vaci, pɥ-paa-tugwa 'uni-na;  
 reach-have-NOM be-REM-BKGR REL-LOC-go/to do-REL  
 short distances, whenever he raced (at all);

'u-vwaa-'u wacuwi-pɥa; puku-'u... 'úɥɥ... 'uwa-pa  
 there-LOC-him overtake-REM horse-his INTJ him-DIR/pass  
 so (his horse) overtook the other guy's; his horse... eeeeh...

qɣaɣaary-pɥa, nani-kwa'a-xw-pɥa;  
 run-REM REFL-win-ASP-REM  
 it ran past the other guy, and so he won;

'úɥɥ... sinawavi pa'a-'uwa-vɔrɔ-pɥa:  
 INTJ sinawav complete-jump-walk-REM  
 eeeeh... Sinawav was jumping with joy:

"tɥɥvɥ-n nani-kwa'a-'u, 'ataci-aa-n púku!"  
 friend-my REFL-win-him kin-GEN-my horse  
 "My friend himself beat him, my kinsman's horse!"

máy-pɥa, "nani-kwa'a-xw-'u!" máy-pɥgay-'u; 'uwa-rugwa-aɣ  
 say-REM REFL-win-ASP-him say-REM-he him-give-it  
 he said, "He beat him all by himself!" he said; so they gave him

cica-wɥnay-'uru 'uni-aa-s-'u 'uru, 'uni-aa-s-'u  
 throw-that POSS-GEN-CONJ-his that/OBJ POSS-GEN-CONJ-his  
 all his possessions, all his possessions

kwa'a-ɣa-qa-na-amy-'uru, 'uni-aa-ɣay-kya-na-'uru,  
 win-PL-ANT-REL-they-that POSS-GEN-have-ANT-REL-that  
 that they had won from him before, all he owned before,

'úru-'uru 'uwa-rukwa cica-wɥnay-xw-pɥay-aɣa;  
 that-that him-give throw-ASP-REM-CONC  
 they gave it all back to him;

'uru kwá'a-xw-py-ci-gyā-ty, 'uvv̄s;  
 that/OBJ win-ASP-DIM-NOM/OBJ-have-NOM end  
 so Sinawav was the winner in the end;

"'uvv̄s-unuv" máy-kya-pyay-aḡa-am̄y,  
 end-TOP say-ANT-REM-CONC-them  
 "Far enough" he had told them (before the race),

"'i-vāḡ-tugwa-sapa-'ara 'uni-kyā-paani" máy-kya-pyga  
 here-LOC-go/to-MOD-be do-PL-FUT say-ANT-REM  
 "We'll do it (only) this far" he had said;

'uwas; "'aḡa-ni-gya?" máy-kya-pyga 'um̄s; "n̄y-'ura  
 he WH-do-GER say-PL-REM they I-be  
 "Why?" they asked; "I'm the one who has the

máy-kh, n̄y-gy-s-'ura kwa'a-ta-sapa; ka-'apaḡa-wa-ty  
 say-IMM I-EMPH-CONJ-be win-PASS-MOD NEG-talker-NEG-NOM  
 say, since I am the one who was beaten; I am not a talker

'ura-'ay, púka-'uni-ci" máy-pyga; "n̄m̄y-ga-'ura  
 be-IMM hard-do-NOM say-REM we-TOP-be  
 myself, (only) a doer" he said; "But we

kác, ka-'uni-kyā-paa-wa-ni, pina-xw-sapa-'ara 'uni-kyā-paa"  
 NEG NEG-do-PL-FUT-NEG-FUT later-go-MOD-be do-PL-FUT  
 won't, we won't do it (your way), perhaps we'll do it later"

máy-kya-pyay-aḡay-'u; (('uwas-'ura)) ka-'at̄y-t̄ysu'a-pya,  
 say-PL-REM-CONC-him he-be NEG-well-feel-REM/NEG  
 they told him; but he didn't like that,

púka-ryga-pyga 'uwas 'uni-vāḡ-ci-s, 'uni-kyā-ta-vaa-ci-s;  
 hard-persist-REM he do-FUT-SUB-CONJ do-PL-PASS-FUT-SUB-CONJ  
 so he persisted in trying to do it, for them to do it (his way);

nani-kwa'a-xwa-ci-'uru, t̄ygyvq-av 'uway  
 REFL-win-ASP-NOM-that friend-OWN he/GEN  
 and indeed he was the winner, when his friend

nani-kwa'a-k̄y-x̄ay-kw;  
 REFL-win-BEN-ANT-SUB  
 won for him;

'úvway-aḥ mútatataci 'uway púku 'ura-púga...  
 then-it hummingbird/GEN his horse be-REM  
 it was Hummingbird's horse (that won)...

ka-piya-kwaa-wa-tu-my má 'ura-púga...  
 NEG-very-run-NEG-NOM-AN that be-REM  
 he was not a fast runner...

caḡa-civḡḡ-'uru 'uwas-'ura 'uwa-pa  
 near-that he-be him-DIR/pass  
 it was in a short-distance (race) that it

qḡḡaary-púga-'uru...  
 run-REM-that  
 passed the other racer...

túvuci... pú-paa-tugwa 'uni-pḡḡ-tugwa-na-'uru...  
 very REL-DIR-go/to do-pass-go-REL-that  
 truly... (it was in a short distance) that he did it...

'úvḡs, pa'a-yugwi-púga, 'úvḡs 'ura-púga,  
 end complete-sit/PL-REM end be-REM  
 well, it was all done, it was finished,

pḡḡ-navici-púga; 'u-vwaa-yis miyḡ-'ni-púga 'umḡs;  
 walk/PL-MASS-REM there-LOC-only move/PL-INT-REM they  
 everybody took off; only (the two of) them remained behind  
 (Sinawav and Hummingbird);

(('uwas-'ura)) 'uni-av 'úu-pa-s kwa'a-xw-kwa-púga 'ú sinawavi,  
 he-be possession-OWN there-DIR-CONJ win-ASP-ANT-REM that sinawav  
 he won back all his possessions that way, Sinawav did,

'ipḡ kwa-kwa'a-qa((-ḡa))-na-amy, nanḡs-av 'uni-aa...  
 WH/OBJ RED-win-PL-ANT-REL-they REFL-OWN possession-GEN  
 whatever they had won from him earlier, his own things...

ka-kwa'a-na-pḡa máy-kyḡ-ni (('uwas))... 'ú-'uni-kya-mi  
 NEG-win-ANT/NEG-REM/NEG say-ANT-like he RED-ḡo-PL-HAB  
 he thought he couldn't win... they always do

'uway-'uru... 'uway... 'uway túsu'a-pḡ 'uwa...  
 his-that his his feel-NOM/REL his  
 his... his... his feelings...

'uwa((y)) sinawavi-v̄āa-c̄y máy-kȳa-na-amȳ...  
 that/OBJ sinawav/OBJ-LOC-DIR say-PL-REL-they  
 that's what they say about Sinawav...

'ú-'uway-kway sinawavi 'uway máy-ta 'uni-kȳa-mi...  
 RED-h̄im-MOD sinawav/OBJ that/OBJ say-PASS/NOM do-PL-HAB  
 that's the story of Sinawav...

súuva-t̄y-m̄y-ni... ta'wavi-amȳ 'ura-mi; 'úvway-āx-'ura  
 other-NOM-PL-like chief-their be-HAB then-it-be  
 those others... he used to be their chief... but then

kác 'úu-pa-tugwa-mi-wa; navu-tigi-t̄y x-'ura-mi 'uwas,  
 NEG there-DIR-go/to-HAB-NEG imitate-NOM then-be-HAB he  
 he never gets it right; he is an imitator,

navu-tigi-gya 'uru... púupa-ni-'uru mani-kȳa...  
 imitate-GER that/OBJ way-like-that do/like-PL  
 imitating what... the way other people do it...

súuva-t̄y-m̄y-aa-ni; púupa mani-kȳa-mi-na, 'fi-pa-kway  
 other-NOM-PL-OBJ-like way do/like-PL-HAB-REL here-DIR-MOD  
 ((he imitates)) others; whichever way they do it,

'uni-mi 'uwas; manu-xw-t̄y-aa-s-'uru 'uni... 'ip̄y-sapa,  
 do-HAB he all-SUB-NOM-OBJ-CONJ-that do WH/OBJ-MOD  
 he does the same; everything... whatever,

m̄y-i-w̄n̄y-v̄ōr̄ō-miȳa-s-kway;  
 lead-stand-walk-go/far-CONJ-MOD  
 he tries to push himself to the head of the line;

máy-kȳa-n̄y((-s))... 'ura-n̄y-s 'áy-kȳa-y,  
 say-ANT-I-CONJ be-me-CONJ say-PL-IMM  
 I've spoken... (this is what) they told me,

p̄ysari-niȳa-qa-t̄y-m̄y;  
 story-tell-PL-NOM-PL  
 the (old) story-tellers;

## SINAWAV BURNING HIS OWN HOUSE

Told by: Bertha Groves  
 Date recorded: 9-29-76  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Bertha Groves  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

wfítʉs 'ura-pʉga sinawavi 'ura-pʉga, sinawavi  
 past be-REM sinawav be-REM sinawav  
 it was long time ago, there was Sinawav, there was

'ura-pʉga x-'ura... mʉi-tʉ-a-s 'úmu ((pʉfisiavi-u))  
 be-REM then-be first-NOM-PART-CONJ those species  
 Sinawav then... at the beginning the living species

núuci-u 'ura-pʉga; wicici-u 'ura-pʉga... manu-xw-tʉ-mʉ-s  
 person-PL be-REM bird-PL be-REM all-OBJ-NOM-PL-CONJ  
 were (like) humans the birds were... all of them

'ura-pʉga... x-'ura sinawavi máy-kyʉ-na-pʉga-vaci-'ura,  
 be-REM then-be sinawav say-PL-HAB-REM-BKGR-be  
 were (like humans)... they used to call him Sinawav,

súu-ku-s sinawavi x-'ura... navu-tigi-mi súuva-tʉ-mʉ-aa-ni  
 one-OBJ-CONJ sinawav then-be imitate-HAB other-NOM-PL-GEN-like  
 that one Sinawav... he imitates what

'uni-kyʉ-na, 'úu-pa-aʃ 'uni-mi-'u 'ú...  
 do-PL-REM that-DIR-it do-HAB-he that  
 others do, that's the way he does it...

x-'ura-s kani-vaʒay-kwa-na-pʉga-vaci,  
 then-be-CONJ house-walk-go-HAB-REM-BKGR  
 well he used to go around visiting,

kani-vaʒay-kwa-na-pʉga-vaci 'uwasʉ-ga; 'aqa-qonavi  
 house-walk-go-HAB-REM-BKGR he-EMPH red-flicker  
 he used to go around visiting people; and Red-Flicker

kani-gyā-pūga-vaci-'ura, sūu-pa ka-gāni-gyā-mi-na-kw  
 house-have-REM-BKGR-be one-DIR RED-house-have-HAB-REL-SUB  
 had a house the, together with some (other)

nāāgā-tū-my, 'ūu-pa-ni 'aqa-qonavi-u  
 some-NOM-PL there-DIR-like red-flicker-PL  
 Red-Flickers, just the way Red-Flickers do

kani-gyā-pūga-vaci; caḡaci-vāḡ-cy 'u-vwaa-kwa-pūga,  
 house-have-REM-BKGR near-LOC-DIR there-LOC-go-REM  
 he had a house; so Sinawav was approaching that way,

x-'ura 'uwas-'ura caḡaci-vāḡ-cy-'u tavi-pūga,  
 then-be he-be near-LOC-DIR-he step-REM  
 he was coming near then,

'ūu-pa-'ura 'umys ka-gāni-gyā-pūga-vaci-my...  
 there-DIR-be they RED-house-have-REM-BKGR-PL  
 they had their houses that way...

whsia-ni-amy... kani-gyāy-kw-amy-'ura... 'aqa-gā-ry  
 feather-like-they house-have-SUB-they-be red-have-ADJ  
 with feathers... when they had their house... it was

'uru-saa-ni... māa-pa 'uni-kyā-pūga-vaci-s 'urusy-ga  
 that-TOP-like there-DIR do-PL-REM-BKGR-CONJ it-EMPH  
 those (feathers)... they fixed them that way ((gesture))

kani-m-amy 'uni-kyā-pūga-vaci-s,  
 house-LOC-they do-PL-REM-BKGR-CONJ  
 on their houses, they did that,

'ū-naguc'a-pūga-vaci-ni, 'ū-na'a-pūga-vaci-ni...  
 real-burn-REM-BKGR-like real-fire-REM-BKGR-like  
 as if they were burning, as if they were on fire...

caḡaci-va-'uru tūka-wi-ci 'uwasy-ga 'iyā-na,  
 near-LOC-that approach-INCH-SUB he-EMPH there-LOC  
 when Sinawav came close,

pfiyh-pūga 'umy-vwaa-cux; x-'ura 'uwas 'āy-pūga:  
 run-REM them-LOC-to then-be he say-REM:  
 he hurried toward them and said:

"'áaci-u-n, kani-amu 'ú-'uway muni naguc'a-y!"  
 kin-PL-my house-your RED-that/OBJ your burn-IMM  
 "My kinsmen, your house is on fire!"

máy-puga, "naguc'a-y-kway nu-vway kani-amu" máy-puga;  
 say-REM burn-IMM-MOD I-TOP house-your say-REM  
 he said, "Your house is really truly on fire!" he said;

túu-vuni-vorq-puga-ni 'uwasu-ga 'úu-pa; 'umuş  
 dark-look-walk-REM-like he-EMPH there-DIR they  
 and he kept looking about him with wild eyes that way; so they

máy-kyā-pugay-'u: "'áaa-ru, 'áa-ru! kac-aş  
 say-PL-REM-him gentle-ADJ gentle-ADJ NEG-it  
 told him: "Take it easy, take it easy! They are not

naguc'ay-wa, mani-ta-sapa-aş-'ura"; "'uy" 'áy-puga 'uwas,  
 burn-NEG do-like-PASS-MOD-it-be yes say-REM he  
 burning, it just looks that way"; "Alright" he said,

"tuyuci-n nayava-caa-na nu-ga, 'úu-civi-'ura-amu  
 true-my err-INCEP-REL I-EMPH that-exit-be-your  
 "I must have been mistaken in thinking that your (house)

naguc'ay-vi-u";  
 burn-NOM-his  
 were burning";

kani-gyary-puga 'umu,  
 house-sit-REM-them those/OBJ  
 so he visited with them,

x-'ura mağa((-qa))-puyay-ağay-'u; pina-xw-'ura 'uwas  
 then-be feed-PL-REM-CONC-him later-go-be he  
 and they fed him; and later he

payu-xwa-puga, payu-xwa-ucaay-puga;  
 return-go-REM return-go-INCEP-REM  
 went back home, he started to go back;

"punikya-vaa-ci-amu-'ara, kani-vağay-kyā-n-'uru"  
 see-FUT-SUB-you-be house-walk-PL-me-that  
 "I'll be seeing you, come visit me"

((máy-púga-amú)); "'úú" máy-kyá-púga 'umús,  
say-REM-them yes say-PL-REM they  
he told them; "Alright" they said,

"kani-vaḡay-kyá-paa-tú-mú-'ara";  
house-walk-PL-FUT-NOM-PL-be  
"We will definitely come and visit";

'úúú... 'anḡ-xwa-sapa 'ura-púga-vaci,  
INTJ WH/when-go-MOD be-REM-BKG  
eeee... it was who-knows-how-long (afterwards),

'úvúy-na-xwa-paci-ux; 'umúsú-ga 'úvway-aḡ-'ura  
elapse-HAB-go-BKGR-SUB they-EMPH then-it-be  
when some time went by; then the Red-Flickers

kani-miyá-púga: "tawi-aa ḡwa-na-kway paa-tay-kw  
house-walk/PL-REM us-Q go-IMP-MOD call-PASS-SUB  
went visiting: "Since he seems to have invited us

kani-vaḡa-miyá-vaa-ku-'ura" máy-kyá-púga;  
house-walk-go/PL-FUT-SUB-be say-PL-REM  
to visit his house" they said;

'uwas-'ura pyni-na-púga-vaci; kukwa-y-'ura... kukwa-pi  
he-be look-HAB-REM-BKGR firewood-OBJ-be firewood-NOM/OBJ  
and Sinawav kept watching for them; firewood... he kept

magu'na-na-púga-vaci, kani-waḡa-tugwa-av; manu-xw-pa  
pile-HAB-REM-BKGR house-around-to-OWN all-OBJ-DIR  
piling up firewood around his house; the firewood

kukwa-pi magu'na-ta-ḡa-púga, kukwa-pi ma-magu'na-na-púga;  
firewood-NOM/OBJ pile-PASS-ANT-REM firewood-NOM/ONJ RED-pile-HAB-REM  
had been piled up, he kept piling up (more and more) firewood;

x-'ura qḡaḡary-na-púga wúgaa-ma-tux,  
then-be run-HAB-REM hill-LOC-to  
and he kept running up and down the hill,

pynikya-'avi((-vḡḡ-ci)) 'umú-ah-kway...  
see-lie-FUT-SUB those-OBJ-MOD  
in order to see them (coming)...

'ú-'uni-na-puga-kway, nuwa-'ni-na-puga-amy;  
 RED-do-HAB-REM-MOD wait-INT-HAB-REM-them  
 he kept doing that, waiting for them (to come)...

pina-xw-'ura 'úu-pa-kwa qǎǎary-puga,  
 later-go-be there-DIR-go run-REM  
 finally he ran that-a-way,

wyga-ma-tux p̄uni-w̄ny-puga, 'u-vwaa-tux p̄r̄r̄-puga  
 hill-LOC-to look-stand-REM him-to there-LOC-to walk/PL-REM  
 standing and looking on the hill, and indeed they were coming

'um̄sy-ga; 'úu-pa-s 'uwasy-ga ka-sari-v̄ani-kwa-pya  
 they-EMPH there-DIR-CONJ he-EMPH NEG-delay-go-REM/NEG  
 that way; so Sinawav right there, without delay

kukwa-pi 'uru ma-magu'na-ta-ǎa-na-av na'a-ti-puga;  
 firewood-NOM/OBJ that/OBJ RED-pile-PASS-ANT-REL-OWN fire-CAUS-REM  
 he set on fire the firewood that he had piled up;

'yȳ... 'um̄s caǎaci-v̄ǎǎ-cux  
 INTJ they near-LOC-to  
 eeee.... the Red-Flickers came walking

p̄r̄r̄-puga... kani-av 'aqa-qoya-pugaa-ni; 'um̄yas 'uwas  
 walk/PL-REM... house-OWN red-flame-REM-like them he  
 closer... he made his house flaming red; he had been

navu-tigi-kya 'uwas, 'uni-puga-vaci; caǎaci-v̄ǎǎ-cy  
 imitate-ANT he do-REM-BKGR near-LOC-DIR  
 imitating them, he did that; as they stepped

tavi((-kya))-ci: "'ǎǎǎ!" 'ay-kyǎ-puga, "kani-m  
 step-PL-SUB INTJ say-PL-REM house-your  
 close to him ((they said)): "Hey!! they said, "Your house

naguc'a-y, 'iȳp̄y-aa-n!" 'áy-kyǎ-puga 'um̄sy-ga;  
 burn-IMM kin/female-GEN-my say-PL-REM they-EMPH  
 is burning, my kinswoman!" they told him;

"ma-mani-ta-sapa-'ara máry" máy-puga 'uwas,  
 RED-do-like-PASS-MOD-be that say-REM hw  
 "It always does like this" he told them,

"ma-mani-ta-sapa-'ara máry, púuupaa-ga 'ura-ci-na"  
 RED-do-like-PASS-MOD-be that way-EMPH be-SUB-REL  
 "It always does like this, the way it is ((burning))"

máy-puga 'uwas; puka-may-kyá-puga 'umys-'u: "kani-m  
 say-REM he hard-say-PL-REM they-him house-your  
 he said; so they kept urging him: "Your house

naguc'a-y!"; ka-naru-suwa-'ni-pya 'uwas; "ma-mani-ta-sapa-'ara  
 burn-IMM NEG-attend-INT-REM/NEG he RED-do-like-PASS-MOD-be  
 is burning!"; but he wouldn't pay attention: "It always does

máry" máy-puga 'uwas, "táa, pana-xwa,  
 that say-REM he EXHORT come/PL-go/IMP  
 like this" he kept saying, "Come on in,

tuka-xa-paani-'ara";  
 eat-PL-FUT-be  
 we're going to eat";

'umys 'u-vwaa-s yu'wi-kyá-puga; pina-xw 'uwas  
 they there-LOC-CONJ stand/PL-ANT-REM later-go he  
 so the Red-Flickers had been standing there; finally Sinawav,

mani-xw-puga, punikya-puga kani-'u naguc'a-puga, 'urusy-ga  
 do-like-ASP-REM see-REM house-his burn-REM it-EMPH  
 doing like this ((gesture)), watched his house burn down,

'iyá-na, 'uwasy-ga 'u-vwaa-s wunú-puga;  
 there-LOC he-EMPH there-LOC-CONJ stand-REM  
 right there, he stood there;

"'ağa-ni-a-aḡ-amy-kway 'uni-kyá-y 'umysy-ga?...  
 WH-do-Q-it-they-MOD do-PL-IMM they-EMPH  
 "How do they do it?..."

'ağa-ni-a-aḡ-amy x-'ura muni marý-s 'uni-kyáy-kw  
 WH-do-Q-it-you then-be you/GEN that/OBJ-CONJ do-PL-SUB  
 How do you do it

ka-naguc'ay-wa?" máy-puga 'uwasy-ga; "kac-aḡ 'urus 'ura-wa  
 NEG-burn-NEG say-REM he-EMPH NEG-it it be-REM  
 without burning (the house)?" he asked; "It's not that,

((ka-))naguc'ay-wa, 'urus x-'urus nym̃ whsia-ni-aa-nym̃  
 NEG-burn-NEG it then-it our feather-like-GEN-our  
 it didn't burn, it was our feathers

'uni-kya 'urus, na'a-ti-ni s̃ti-ty 'urus" m̃y-kya-p̃ga  
 do-ANT it fire-CAUS-like resemble-NOM that say-PL-REM  
 that did it, they resemble fire" they told him;

'um̃s; 'ṽṽs;  
 they end  
 and so it ended;

## HUNGRY COYOTE RACES SKUNK FOR PRAIRIE DOGS

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 9-3-76  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

yoğovuci 'u, pağa-'ni-na-puga-'ura; kac 'inii-sapa  
 coyote that walk-INT-HAB-REM-be NEG WH/OBJ-MOD  
 'That Coyote, he was wandering about; he had not killed

pağa-na-pua, 'oq-'ay-kw-puga, ka-'inii-sapa  
 kill-ANT/NEG-REM/NEG bone-be-ASP-REM NEG-WH/OBJ-MOD  
 anything for a long time, he had become skin-and-bones, he had not

pağa-na-pua, tuğuy-whqay-vorq-na-puga-'ura;  
 kill-ANT/NEG-REM/NEG hungry-search-walk-HAB-REM-be  
 killed anything for a while, he kept walking about hungry searching  
 for food;

'úvway-ağ-'ura 'u-vwaa-tu-'ura 'fnh-kway 'ura-puga...  
 then-it-be there-LOC-DIR-be WH/SUBJ-MOD be-REM  
 then right there, there was what's-his-name...

mukwapi maay-puga, paca'ay-kyay-kw; 'úvway-ağ-'ura 'uwas  
 spider-OBJ find-REM stuck-ANT-SUB then-it-be he  
 he found a spider, when it had become stuck there; so he

maguni-puga, tuka-vaa-ci-'u; 'úvway-ağ-'ura 'uwas-'uru  
 pounce-REM eat-FUT-SUB-him then-it-be he-that  
 pounced on him, aiming to eat him; so the spider

'áy-puga: "'úm-'ura núnay 'anų-pa'a-tugwa-ni  
 say-REM you-be me-OBJ WH/QUANT-long-go/to-like  
 told him: "Now, how long do you think

pəni-kya-vaani?" 'áy-pugay-'u, "nų-nuvway tuvuci  
 full-ANT-FUT say-REM-him I-TOP very  
 you will stay full eating me?" he told him, "I am very

mfipų-vų-ci 'ura-'ay" 'áy-pugay-'u...  
 small-DIM be-IMM say-REM-him  
 small" he told him...

'áy-pųay-ağay-'u... "kaci-n-'ura núnay  
 say-REM-CONC-him NEG-me-be me-OBJ  
 that's what he told him... "You won't be able

põni-'a-vaa-'wa-ni-'uru paḵa-kw-ci-n"; "'úvway" máy-pųga-s  
 full-INCH-FUT-NEG-FUT-that kill-SUB-SUB-me alright say-REM-CONJ  
 to fill up with me if you kill me"; so Coyote said "Alright"

'uwas, páğa-kwa-pųga-s 'uwas;  
 he walk-go-REM-CONJ he  
 and left;

'ú-vwaa-n tųgųy-whqay-pağay-kya, 'i-vaa-ni 'ú  
 there-LOC-LOC hungry-search-walk-GER here-at-like that  
 and he went that-a-way hungrily searching about, and lo,

súwiini yoğovųci 'u, 'qa-qa-ci-mi-tų-'ura...  
 another coyote that yelloq-ADJ-NOM-HAB-NOM-be  
 right there, there was that other coyote, that yellow one...

"fox" 'áy-kyā-mi-pų... 'uwa-ra-tų-mų-ni... tavaycaci...  
 fox say-PL-HAB-NOM him-be-NOM-AN-like yellow-fox  
 they call it "fox"... one like that... yellow-fox...

mani-wųny-pųga-s 'ivici 'u-ma-tux, 'ú-'ura-'uru  
 do/like-stand-REM-CONJ stick/OBJ there-LOC-to that-be-that  
 he was standing like that ((gesture)) against a pole, it was he

'áy-pųgay-'u... 'ú'uway-'ura-'uru 'uwas paḵa-vaa-ci...  
 say-REM-him him-be-that he kill-FUT-SUB  
 who told him... it was him that Coyote intended to kill...

'uwa-vaa-cux qḵáru-pųga-s... "kac" máy-pųga-s 'uwas...  
 him-LOC-to run-REM-CONJ NEG say-REM-CONJ he  
 so Coyote ran toward him... "Don't" said the Fox...

'ú-'ura 'uway yoğovųci 'uwa-ağaa-pani tųsu'a-ci-mų  
 that-be him coyote/OBJ him-over-like smart-NOM-AN  
 he was smarter than Coyote...

'ura-vaci... 'úvway-aḵ-'ura 'uwas 'áy-pųga:  
 be-BKGR then-it-be he say-REM  
 so he said to Coyote:

"'aḡa-ni-guni-'ura núnay paḡa-vaani?" máy-puga-s,  
 why-do-lo-be me kill-FUT say-REM-CONJ  
 "Why do you want to kill me?" he said,

"nú-'ura 'umuy maḡa-vaa-ci-mu" máy-puga-s,  
 I-be you-OBJ feed-FUT-SUB-AN say-REM-CONJ  
 "I would surely feed you" he said,

"'uru tuḡuy-naru 'a-xway-kw-mu máy-gwa-n" máy-pugay-'u  
 that hunger-buy-ANT-SUB-you say-SUB-me say-REM-him  
 "if you only tell me that you are hungry" he told him

kwáy-'uru, "'úvway-aḡ-'ura-'uru 'aḡa-ni-gya núnay  
 MOD-that then-it-be-that why-do-GER me  
 that one, "so why should you want to kill me

paḡa-vaani nú-nugway pṇi-wṇu-ry 'ura-'ay?"  
 kill-FUT I-TOP look-stand-ADJ be-IMM  
 when I myself can look around for food for you?"

máy-puga-s, "nú-nugway 'icay tuvṇu-vwaa-aḡa-tu  
 say-REM-CONJ I-TOP this-OBJ land-OBJ-LOC-over-DIR  
 he said, "when I myself am standing and looking all over this land?"

pṇi-wṇu-ry 'ura-'ay?" máy-puga-s;  
 look-stand-ADJ be-IMM  
 he said;

"'úm-aa-'ura ka-'uni... navas 'uni... navas pṇi-wṇu-ry  
 you-Q-be NEG-do just do just look-stand-ADJ  
 "So you don't do... you just do... you'll just be standing and

'ura-'uru, tuḡa-vaa-na-av-'uru pṇaḡay-gya?"  
 be-that eat-FUT-REL-OWN-that/OBJ search-GER  
 looking, searching for something for me to eat?"

máy-puga-'ura 'ú-'u;  
 say-REM-be he-him  
 Coyote asked him;

((x-'ura)) 'ú-'u "Fox" máy-pugay-'u; "'uvṇs 'úm  
 then-be he-him "Fox" say-REM-him end you  
 so Fox told him that was indeed the case; "Well, you go ahead

pṇi-wṇu" máy-pṇay-aḡay-'u;  
 look-stand/IMP say-REM-CONC-him  
 and stand and look" Coyote told him;

"'úm-'ura maay-v̄āa-t̄y-'u  
 you-be see-FUT-NOM-him  
 "Now watch out, you'll see him any minute now,

'uway t̄yka-vaa-na-av-paa-t̄y" máy-p̄yay-āḡay-'u;  
 him eat-FUT-REL-OWN-LOC-DIR say-REM-CONC-him  
 the one you are going to eat" Fox assured Coyote;

'uwas 'u-vwaa-s mani-w̄ȳny-p̄yga-s; 'uwas "Fox"  
 he there-LOC-CONJ do/like-stand-REM-CONJ he "Fox"  
 so Coyote stood there just like this ((gesture));

q̄x̄áry-vaci, máy-gya-s...  
 run-BKGR say-GER-CONJ  
 while Fox ran away, that is to say...

'uwas 'u-vwaa-s mani-w̄ȳny-vaci...  
 he there-LOC-CONJ do/like-stand-BKGR  
 he was standing there just like this ((gesture))...

ka-t̄ysu'a-wa-t̄y-my... 'ura-aaḡa... 'uv̄ys;  
 NEG-smart-NEG-NOM-AN be-have end  
 he was not very smart, that Coyote... so then... that was that;

pina-xw-'ura 'awi-tava-xw-p̄yga, 'uwas:  
 later-go-be long-day-ASP-REM he  
 so then, after a long time, Coyote said:

"'āga-ni-ci-aa 'u-kway  
 WH-do-NOM-Q that-MOD  
 "I wonder how that Fox

t̄yga-xw-kwa?" máy-p̄yga; ka-maay-p̄yay-'u... "'ip̄y-āx-'ura  
 come-ASP-ANT say-REM NEG-see-REM/NEG-him WH-it-be  
 is coming along?" he asked himself; he couldn't see him... "What  
 was it

'áy-kh?" máy-p̄yga; pina-xw p̄nykya-p̄yga...  
 say-IMM say-REM later-go see-REM  
 that he said?" he wondered; so finally he looked around...

"nú-'ara 'i-v̄āa m̄yayh-ky-vaa-t̄y-my"  
 here-LOC wait-BEN-FUT-NOM-you  
 "I'll be waiting for you right here"

máy-kya-puga... 'ura-'uwas...  
 say-ANT-REM be-he  
 Fox had told him... he had...

'u-vwaa-tu punikya-puga, ka-'ipü-'a-puga;  
 there-LOC-DIR see-REM NEG-WH-have/NEG-REM  
 so he looked there and indeed Fox wasn't anywhere;

'úy t̄rav̄is̄y mani-w̄nȳ-ka-puga;  
 just in-vain do/like-stand-ANT-REM  
 Coyote had been standing there in vain all along;

'uv̄ȳs, pāga-nukwi-puga 'ú-vway-āx̄;  
 end walk-run-REM there-LOC-it  
 well, so he finally took off then;

x-'ura 'u-vwaa-tu-'ura-'uru 'ini-ah-kway maay-puga-s,  
 then there-LOC-DIR-be-that WH-OBJ-MOD see-REM-CONJ  
 so then after a while he saw what's-his-name there,

tav̄uci... 'ú-'uway-'ura-'uru... "'áav̄ȳ-n-'ura-'uru...  
 rabbit-OBJ RED-him-be-that now-I-be-that  
 Rabbit... that's the one... "Well now

tu-tuka-vaani" máy-puga-ni 'uwas; tav̄uci 'uway  
 RED-eat-FUT say-REM-like he rabbit-OBJ that-OBJ  
 I'm going to eat some" he thought; and

máy-puga-s 'uwas; 'uv̄ȳs; 'úvway-āx̄-unuv-'uru t̄v̄v̄uci  
 say-REM-CONJ he end then-it-right-that very  
 he said it aloud to the Rabbit; well, right there he had become

t̄v̄v̄ȳ-narua-xw-puga; "'an̄ȳ-pa'a-tugwa-ni n̄n̄ȳ  
 hunger-buy-ASP-REM WH-long-go-like me  
 very hungry; "For how long do you think

p̄ni-kya-vaani? 'uru t̄ȳka-ḡa-n pāxa-xw-kwa-yin?"  
 fill-ANT-FUT that eat-GER-me kill-ASP-SUB-me  
 you'll stay full on me? If you kill me and eat me?"

máy-puga-s 'ú tav̄uci 'u-vwaa-tu,  
 say-REM-CONJ that rabbit there-LOC-DIR  
 Rabbit asked him then,

"n̄n̄ȳ-nuvway kac p̄ni-na-vaani" máy-puga;  
 me-TOP NEG fill-ANT/NEG-FUT say-REM  
 "I surely will not keep you full" he said;

"'aru'a" máy-puga,  
INTJ say-REM I-EMPH know-HAB  
"Now you hold it a bit" he said,

"nú-kú pucucugwa-mi  
I-emph know-HAB  
"it so happens that I know

'umú tɔcɔy-'a-u 'ipɔ-paa-na" máy-puga-'ura...  
they-OBJ prairie-dog-OBJ-PL WH-be/LOC-REL say-REM--be  
where there are prairie-dogs" he said...

tavúci 'u máy-puga, "'uvwiya-rami-'u" máy-puga,  
Rabbit that say-REM EXHORT-we-II-he say-REM  
Rabbit did... "So let's you and I go there" he said,

"'úvway-aɣ-unuv-'uru-'ura-tɔ-mú 'ava'na-mú  
then-it-that-be-NOM-you much-you  
"and then you'll eat plenty"

tɔka-vaa-tɔ-mú" máy-puga... 'áy-puga 'ú tavúci;  
eat-FUT-NOM-you say-REM say-REM that Rabbit  
he said...that Rabbit said;

'umɔs-'ura-'uru 'uni'a-puga-sɔ-mú,  
they-be-that do/go-REM-CONJ-PL  
so then they took off together,

páǵa-kwa-puga-sɔ-mú;  
walk-go-REM-CONJ-PL  
they went away together;

'ú-vwaa-tugwa-xw-'ura  
there-LOC-go/to-go-be  
so then Rabbit led the way

mú-i-kwa-puga: "'i-vaa-tɔ nɔkú 'áy-kh" máy-puga,  
lead-go-REM here-LOC-DIR I-EMPH say-IMM say-REM  
in that direction: "This way, I tell you" he said,

tavúci 'u... "pɔnikya-aɣ!" 'úniguni, tɔcɔy'a-u!  
rabbit that see-it lo prairie-dog-PL  
Rabbit did... "Look at that now!" and lo, the prairie-dogs!

ka-pa ay-pua-s! má-ra-puu-ni! waǵay-kw-puga,  
NEG-count-REM/NEG-CONJ that-be/like-NON/PL-like enter/PL-ASP-REM  
a whole bunch of them! huge, like this ((gesture))!.they  
(immediately scampered into their holes),

'umy-as 'uru maay-ci... 'úvway-aḵ-unuv-ura 'uwas-'uru,  
 them-OBJ that see-SUB then-it-TOP-be he-that  
 the minute they saw the two of them coming... so right then he,

tavuci 'u: "nḷ 'íi-pa-g̃wa-vaa-ci" máy-puga-s;  
 rabbit that I here-DIR-go-FUT-SUB say-REM-CONJ  
 that Rabbit, said: "I'll go that-a-way" he said;

'u-vwaa-tugwa-s-'u, supaay-puga-s 'uwas;  
 there-LOC-go/to-CONJ-he leave-REM-CONJ he  
 and he took off that way, leaving Coyote behind;

'úvway-aḵ-'ura pḡniyu 'ú-'uway maay-puga 'uwas;  
 then-it-be skunk/OBJ RED-him see-REM he  
 then, on his way, who should Rabbit see but good ol' Skunk;

"'úm-aa... 'úm-aa 'ara-'ay... kacu-'u 'uway yogovuci  
 you-Q you-Q NEG-him that-OBJ coyote-OBJ  
 "Now you... it's you... would't you like to help that poor Coyote

p̃arikyaa-gw-wa-tu?" 'áy-pugay-'u, pḡniyu 'uway;  
 help-MOD-NEG-NOM say-REM-him skunk/OBJ that/OBJ  
 over there...?" he asked him, he asked that Skunk;

"nḷ-gus 'ara-'ay... eh... 'umy-nugway t̃u-'uni-mi...  
 I-EMPH be-IMM eh you-TOP good-do-HAB  
 "I myself am... eh... you are always such a do-gooder...

nḷ-sa ka-pucucugwa-wa..." 'áy-puga;  
 I-EMPH NEG-know-NEG say-REM  
 but I myself can't..." he said;

"'úvway" máy-puga 'uwas 'u pḡni, x-'ura  
 alright say-REM he that Skunk then-be  
 "Alright" said the Skunk, and then he

paḡa-nukwi-puga 'uwa-vaa-cux; x-'ura maay-pugay-'u;  
 go-run-REM him-LOC-to then-be see-REM-him  
 took off looking for Coyote; and soon he saw him;

'úvway-aḵ-unuv-'uru 'uwas 'uni-puga 'uwas:  
 then-it-TOP-that he do-REM he  
 then Skunk began to act out:

"'aḡa-ni-ṽḡ-ni-aa, p̃nikyaay-ku" máy-puga  
 WH-FUT-Q see/IMP-it say-REM  
 "Now see what happens next, now watch it" said

'ú p̄oni, "ma-vaa-ty-'uru 'ugwiv̄u çuk̄ur'a-n̄u,  
that skunk there-LOC-DIR-that hay/OBJ cut-IMP  
the Skunk, "Over there, go cut that grass,

'uru 'i-v̄āa-taa-ni, 'uru pa'avi-ni, 'um̄u  
that-OBJ here-LOC-be/like-like that-OBJ insect-like  
just like this here, like insects, like those

'inii-wh-kway... m̄upuvwi'aaci-u nana-s̄uti-ty" m̄áy-p̄uga,  
WH-PL-MOD maggot-PL RECIP-resemble-NOM say-REM  
what-cha-ma-call-em... like maggots" he said,

"'úvway-āx-'uru-rami m̄áy-kh 'uwa-ti-p̄āa-ci"  
then-it-that-we/II say-IMM rain-CAUS-FUT-SUB  
"and then the two of us will make rain"

m̄áy-p̄uga;  
say-REM  
he said;

'úvway-āx-unuv-'uru 'uwa-qar̄u-p̄uga,  
then-it-TOP-that rain-sit-REM  
so then the rain began to settle in,

'úvway-āx-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwa-ti-ki-p̄uga,  
then-it-TOP-be-that rain-CAUS-INCH-REM  
then the clouds rolled in,

'uni-p̄ugay-ku-am̄u;  
do-REM-it-they  
the two of them did it;

'úvway-āx-'ura-'uru 'uwa-ti-p̄uga, 'unu'ni-pāga-p̄uga;  
then-it-be-that rain-CAUS-REM thunder-walk-REM  
so then it became cloudy, and the thunder kept rolling;

"'uv̄us-'ura, ma-vaa 'avi-ḡwaa!" m̄áy-p̄ugay-āgay-'u,  
end-be there-LOC lie-go/IMP say-REM-CONC-him  
"That's it, now hurry and lie down over there" Skunk told Coyote,

"'uru-'ura 'fi-pa-'uru... 'ugwiv̄u 'ini-kȳa-ty  
that/OBJ-be here-DIR-that/OBJ straw/OBJ do-ANT-NOM/OBJ  
"and take that there... the grass that we fixed up earlier,

tȳpaa-pa-m̄u 'uni-v̄ani, p̄u'i-naāga-m̄u  
mouth-DIR-your do-FUT eye-in-your  
and put it in your mouth, and in your eyes

whcu'mi-'avi-nu-'ura, 'ivici-'ura 'fi-pa wacy-'avi-nu"  
 close/eyes-lie-IMP-be stick/OBJ-be here-DIR put-lie-IMP  
 and lie down with your eyes closed, and put a stick this way  
 and lie down"

máy-puga;  
 say-REM  
 he told him;

'uru-sa-'ura wli-kw... 'umu tōcay'a-u ruyvuy  
 that-TOP-be flood-ASP those-GEN prairie-dog-PL land/OBJ  
 and then all of a sudden it started flooding... all over the  
 prairie-dogs' land,

pa'a 'u-naaga-tux nu-nukwi-xw; 'umys-'ura-'uru yq̄r̄q̄-xw,  
 complete there-in-to RED-flow-ASP they-be-that get-up/PL-ASP  
 it flooded completely; so they all got up in a hurry

tūyura-rux ci-civux-kwa-vaci-my, paa-vay-aḵ-'uru  
 out-to RED-exit-go-BKGR-PL water-on-it-that  
 and ran outside, and they swam through the floodwater,

kwavi-vq̄r̄q̄-xw-'uru, paa-aḡa-rux... kác-kway...  
 lie/PL-walk-ASP-that water-have-through neg-MOD  
 all over where there was water... not like...

whcu'mi-vq̄r̄q̄-kwa-y-'ura, mani-vq̄r̄q̄-kwa-y...  
 closed-eyes-walk-go-IMM-be do-like-walk-go-IMM  
 they were swimming with their eyes closed, going like this...

'uwas-'ura-'uru, 'inh-kway, yoḡovuci, kuryuki-paci,  
 he-be-that WH-MOD coyote get-up-BKGR  
 so then he, what's-his-name, Coyote, got up

'áavty-my-aa-s muparaa-paḡa-paci,  
 big-PL/OBJ-PART-CONJ club-walk-BKGR  
 and clubbed down the bigger ones of them,

kwa'ay-paḡa-paci-my;  
 slaughter-walk-BKGR-PL  
 he went around slaughtering them;

'uwas tūyuvy-'u 'ina-kwa-py 'uwa-kary-vaci;  
 he friend-his this-side-go-NOM rain-sit-BKGR  
 and all the while his friend, Skunk, was sitting out the rain;

'úvway-aḵ-unuv-'ura-'uru máy-puga 'uwas: "'fi-pa kwá  
 then-it-TOP-be-that say-REM he here-DIR INTJ  
 so then Skunk said: "Right over here

paca'a-qa-ǰa, múpuyvwi'aaci-u-gwa-pu-u";  
 stick-PL-ANT maggot-PL-DEEFUNC-PL  
 they are stuck, those dead maggots";

'úvway-aǰ-unuv-'ura-'uru 'umys 'uni-puga,  
 then-it-TOP-be-that they do-REM  
 so the two of them sprang into action,

cq'a-paǰa-puga-amy; wli-tu-'uru mani-puga-vaci,  
 gather-walk-REM-them flood-NOM-that do-like-REM-BKGR  
 they went around and gathered them; and in the meantime the flood

tu-paǰa-puga-vaci; 'úvway-aǰ-'umy-'ura-'uru  
 seep-down-REM-BKGR then-it-they-be-that  
 was seeping down; and the Prairie Dogs

'úu-pa-amy kwavi-xw-'ura, 'avaana-tu-my-'umy  
 there-DIR-they lie/PL-ASP-be many-NOM/OBJ-PL-they  
 were lying all over there, the two of them had

qo-qo'ay-vaci-my, 'úvway-aǰ-unuv-'uru 'uni-puga-'ura...  
 RED-slaughter-BKGR-PL then-it-TOP-that do-REM-be  
 slaughtered so many of them, that's what they did there...

'icáy máy-kya-mi...  
 this/OBJ say-PL-HAB  
 that's what they say...

"tu'ma-vaani-rami-ys" máy-puga 'uwas; napa-y-amy  
 roast-FUT-we/II-CONJ say-REM he foot-OBJ-their  
 "Now let's roast them" said Coyote; so they did,  
 and they left their feet

sǰǰci-kya-puga; "nana-cigya-vaani-rami-ys"  
 stick-out-ANT-REM RECIP-race-FUT-we/II-CONJ  
 sticking out (of the coals); "And now let's race"

máy-puay-aǰay-'u; 'ú yǰpǰci... pǰni-yu 'uway...  
 say-REM-CONC-him that porcupine skunk-OBJ that/OBJ  
 Coyote proposed; so Porcupine... I mean Skunk...

'u-vwa-su-'umy 'uni-puga;  
 there-LOC-CONJ-they do-REM  
 so they did it right there;

'uwas-'u pɔni ka-paɣay-ci-wa-tɥ-my, 'ú pɔni-ci...  
 he-that skunk NEG-walk-NOM-NEG-NOM-AN that skunk-DIM  
 now Skunk, he's not a very fast runner, that Skunk...

'úvway-aɣ-'uru sɔniavɥ 'uru kwasi-m-av paca'a-ti-pɥga  
 then-it-that cedar-bark/OBJ that/OBJ tail-LOC-OWN stick-CAUS-REM  
 so then Coyote took some cedar-bark and stuck it to his tail;

'uwas; "marɥ-rami-'u pɔtɔ'ni-ci máa-waɣa-tux  
 he that/OBJ-we/II-he hump-OBJ there-around-to  
 "Let's run around that hump over that-a-way"

qɣáru-vaani" máy-pɥga,  
 run-FUT say-REM  
 he said,

"mɥi-wɥnɥ-ga-tɥ-sɥ-rami-'ura, namu tɥka-vaani"  
 lead-stand-GER-NOM-CONJ-we/II-be first eat-FUT  
 "and the one who makes it back first will eat first"

máy-pɥga-'uru; 'uwas-'u yoɣovɥci  
 say-REM-that he-that coyote  
 he said; that Coyote

tɥɥɥ-narua-xw-kwa-rɥ 'ura-vaci; 'uvɥs;  
 hunger-buy-ASP-ANT-ADJ be-BKGR end  
 was sure hungry; so that was that;

'úvway-aɣ-unuv-'uru máy-pɥga:... 'uni-pɥgay-ku-amɥ  
 then-it-TOP-that say-REM do-REM-it-they  
 so right there and then he said:... so they did it,

máy-na-av 'uru; nana-cigya-pɥga-amɥ; 'uwas pɔni,  
 say-REL-OWN that/OBJ RECIP-race-REM-they he skunk  
 what Coyote had proposed; they had a race; so Skunk

'i-vɥɥ-s tɥi páaqɣaci-naaɣa yɥga-xw-pɥga;  
 here-LOC-CONJ high hole-in enter-ASP-REM there-DIR-CONJ  
 went up there and hid in a hole;

'uwas 'uwa-va-aɣa kwasi-av piyoɣwa-ɣa-pɥga;  
 he him-LOC-over tail/OBJ-OWN drag-GER-REM  
 and Coyote went over him dragging his tail behind;

'ú-pa-s pana-xw-puga 'ú pɔni,  
 there-DIR-CONJreturn-ASP-REM that skunk  
 but then Skunk came right back that-a-way,

ka-miyh-'a-pu tɔcay'a-u 'umu  
 NEG-far-NEG-NOM prairie-dog-PL those/OBJ  
 not far from where the prairie-dogs

tu'm-qa-na, ka-miyh-'a-pu 'ura-puga; piya-puga-amu  
 roast-ANT/PASS-REL NEG-far-NEG-NOM be-REM dig-out-REM-them  
 had been roasting, it was not very far; and he dug them out

'uwas, 'imi-tugwa-amu nɔ'wa-puga,  
 he away-go-them carry-REM  
 and carried them away,

tɔpuyci karu-ru-paa-tux;  
 rock/OBJ sit-ADJ/OBJ-LOC-to  
 to where there was a tall sitting rock;

'áavɔ-ni 'u-vwaa-tux sɔqa-'avi-gya 'u-vwaa-kwa  
 now-like there-LOC-to smoke-lie-GER there-LOC-go  
 and now here comes back Coyote with his smoking tail,

na'a-xwa-tux paɣa-'ni; "maay-gu-pu sɔtɔ'na-y-in"  
 back-and-forth-go-to walk-INT/IMM see-MOD-NOM wish-IMM-I  
 parading back and forth; "I wish that he could see me now"

máy-puga-sɔ-ni, "'ú pɔni...". tɔna-kwa-tɔ pɔnikya...  
 say-REM-CONJ-like that skunk up-go-DIR see  
 he thought, "that Skunk..." so he looked up...

'áaa... 'u-vwaa-tugwa-puga kwáa-'uru, tu'ma-xa-paa-tux,  
 oh there-LOC-go/to-REM go-that roast-ANT-LOC-to  
 and lo!... he went up there, to where the prairie-dogs had been  
 roasted,

kwiya-xw-kwa-pu... napavi-gya-pu pivi-xw-kwa-puga...  
 burn-ASP-ANT/PASS-NOM leg-DEFUNC/OBJ pull-ASP-ANT-REM  
 they had been burnt up... he pulled out only the useless legs...

ka-'ipɔ-'a-tɔ... 'úvway-aɣ-unuv-'uru 'qɔvia-'u  
 NEG-WH-have/NEG-NOM then-it-TOP-that bone/OBJ-him  
 there was nothing left there... so it was only the bones

maḡa-p̄ḡay-aḡa-'uru;  
 feed-REM-CONC-that  
 that Skunk left there to feed him;

'ú-vwa-tugwa-sapa-'ura-yis-'uru; máy-kya-'u;  
 there-LOC-go/to-MOD-be-CONJ-that say-ANT-he  
 so that's the way it went; that's what they say';

NOTE: This story was contributed in order to fill in the missing detail at the beginning of Julius Cloud's version (see below). For that reason, the end was not elaborated in detail.

## HUNGRY COYOTE RACES SKUNK FOR PRAIRIE-DOGS

Told by: Julius Cloud  
 Date recorded: 9-3-76  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Neil Cloud, Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

NOTE: The beginning of this story is missing, but can be found in Mollie Cloud's version (above).

((...)) tuka-vaa-ci-amy 'ásti-puga; x-'ura 'uwas  
 eat-FUT-SUB-them want-REM then-be he

"uni-nu-amy-'ara" máy-puga; 'fi-pa 'uru 'u-vwaa  
 do-IMP-them-be say-REM here-DIR that/OBJ there-LOC  
 (Skunk) said: "Go ahead, do them like this"; so right there that

wáa'wi-ci múpuvwiyaaci-ni nasuti-tu,  
 stand-NOM maggot-like resemble-NOM  
 (plant) stood, resembling maggots,

'fi-pa pa-paca'a-wi-ti-puga; máy-kya-puga-amy  
 here-DIR RED-stick-INCH-CAUS-REM say-ANT-REM-them  
 so Coyote took it and stuck the pieces to his eyes;

'uwas: "túvuci yá'ay-kw-xay-ku-'u,  
 he truly die-ASP-ANT-BEN-he  
 and Skunk had told the prairie-dogs: "He's quite dead,

'iyavağa-qaa-na-amy-'u" máy-puga; "túvuci-sapa-'ara  
 fear-PL-REL-you-him say-REM true-MOD-be  
 the one you are afraid of" he told them; "Is it really true

'áy-kh?"; "'úú"; punikya-xwa-pugay-'u; 'u-vwaa-'ura  
 say-IMM yes see-go-REM-him there-LOC-be  
 what you're saying?" they asked him; "yes" he told them; so one of  
 them went to look at Coyote, and indeed Coyote

'avi-puga; "túvuci-sapa-n 'áy-kh, 'u-vwaa-na-ku 'avi,  
 lie-REM true-MOD-I say-IMM there-LOC-EMPH lie/IMM  
 was lying there; "It is indeed true, he's lying down there,

múpuvwi'aa-ri-kwa-pu";  
 maggot-INCH-ASP-NOM/OBJ  
 all covered with maggots" the scout reported back;

'úu-pa-puga... 'uwas-'ura... 'uni-kya-puga-s...  
 there-pass-REM he-be do-PL-REM-CONJ  
 and then he went that-a-way... so he... so they did...

nhka-vaa-ci-my su-súuparh-puga-s;  
 dance/PL-FUT-SUB-PL RED-gather-REM-CONJ  
 so then the prairie-dogs all gathered together to dance, (happy  
 that their enemy, Coyote, had died);

'úvway-aǵ-'ura 'uwa-ti-puga, 'u-'uwa-xw-puga,  
 then-it-be rain-CAUS-REM RED-rain-ASP-REM  
 then it got cloudy, and suddenly it began to rain,

pa-va-ya-xwa-puga, 'umy-'ura tɔçay'a-u  
 RED-water-OBJ-go-REM them-be prairie-dog-PL  
 water flooded all over, and the prairie-dogs

pa'a-qoǵoy'a-xw-puga; 'uvvys, toǵoy-kwa-puga,  
 complete-slaughter-ASP-REM end good-ASP-REM  
 all got slaughtered; well, so that was that,

'uvvys-puga, tɔçay'a-u-gwa-py-my máa-pa  
 end-REM prairie-dog-PL-DEFUNC-PL there-LOC  
 the dead prairie-dogs

kwa-xwayvi-puga;  
 RED-lie-REM  
 were lying all over the place there;

'u-vwaa-tugwa-s tygay-puga-amy 'umys...  
 there-LOC-go/to-CONJ pick-up-REM-them they  
 so the two of them walked around there and picked them up...

'uway pɔniyu-wa 'imi-tugwa-amy-'ura nõq'wa-puga,  
 that/OBJ skunk/OBJ-with this-way-go-them-be carry-REM  
 with Skunk's help, Coyote carried them this-a-way,

"tyka-xwa-vaani-rami-ys" máy-puga; 'ú-vwaa-amy-'ura  
 eat-go-FUT-we/II-CONJ say-REM there-LOC-they-be  
 "now we'll go and eat them" Coyote said; so they

karu-xw-puga; "'á-aǵa?" máy-puga... "'áavy-'ura  
 sit-ASP-REM WH-have say-REM now-be  
 sat down; "who's there?" he asked ((unclear reference))...

"nana-cigya-xw-paani-rami-us, kwáu-tu-s-amu tuka-vaani"  
 RECIP-race-go-FUT-we/II-CONJ win-NOM-CONJ-them eat-FUT  
 "Now we'll have a race, and the winner will eat the prairie-dogs"

máy-puga-s 'uwas; kác 'uwas... ka-'iyavağa-puga 'uwas;  
 say-REM-CONJ he NEG he NEG-fear-REM he  
 said Coyote; but Skunk... he was not afraid;

"'úvway" máy-puga 'ú pōni, 'uway máy-puga: "toğoy";  
 alright say-REM that skunk him say-REM fine  
 so he said: "Alright, fine";

'uwas: "máa-pa tųvway-paani, ma-vay-sapa  
 he there-DIR descend-FUT there-LOC-MOD  
 so Coyote told Skunk: "We will go down that-a-way, then

qǎáru-nu máa-pa 'uni-'a-paani, maru karu-ru  
 run-IMP there-DIR do-go-FUT that/OBJ sit-ADJ  
 let's run over there, going through that-a-way,

máa-wağa-tux pi-picu-vaani; 'áa-sapa kwáu-xw-paani"  
 there-around-to RED-arrive-FUT WH-MOD win-ASP-FUT  
 coming back around that sitting hump; and whoever wins"

máy-puga, "kwá... mamu-as pa'a-manu-xw  
 say-REM win them-OBJ complete-all-OBJ  
 he said, "whoever wins... will gather

maguni-kyay-amu,  
 pile-ANT-them  
 all those piled-up prairie-dogs

tuka-vaani-amu" máy-puga; 'uwas-'ura na'a-ti-puga,  
 eat-FUT-them say-REM he-be fire-CAUS-REM  
 and eat them" he said; and then he proceeded to light a fire,

qomō'na-ta-xa-puga...  
 roast-PASS-ANT-REM  
 and the prairie-dogs got roasted...

((here follows a repetition of an earlier passage;))

'u-vwa-s 'umus 'áy-kh... tųcay'a-u-gwa-pu  
 there-LOC-CONJ say-IMM prairie-dog-PL-DEFUNC  
 so they said... so the poor dead prairie-dogs

kwíni-kya-puga;; 'uwas-'ura na'a-xw-tux pağa-'ni-puga,  
 lie/PL-ANT-REM he-be back-go-to walk-INT-REM  
 were lying there in a heap, and he kept pacing back and forth,

yoğovuci; 'uwas-aa-'ura máa-pa tıvway-puga...  
 coyote he-TOP-be there-DIR descend-REM  
 Coyote did; so Skunk went down there too...

"máa-vay-'ura qǎáru-nı" máy-puga, "'uni-'a-paani,  
 there-DIR-be run-IMP say-REM do-go-FUT  
 "we'll run that-a-way" Coyote said, "we'll go there,

karı-rı marı máa-wağa-tux" máy-puga 'uwas;  
 sit-ADJ/OBJ that-OBJ there-around-to say-REM he  
 around that sitting hump" he said;

"'úvway" máy-puga 'uwas; máa-pa tıvway-puga 'uwas,  
 alright say-REM he there-DIR descend-REM he  
 "Alright" said Skunk; and he went down that way,

'uni-kya-tı-vaa-tı, 'u-vway qǎáru-puga,  
 do-ANT-NOM/OBJ-LOC-DIR there-LOC run-REM  
 toward where as prospective runner he should have started,  
 and he started running there,

míci-'ura 'u-vway qǎáru-puga, kác-'ura  
 little-be there-LOC run-REM NEG-be  
 but he ran only a little that way, he didn't

qǎáru-puga, ka-pa'a-tux qǎáru-puga;  
 run-REM NEG-long-to run-REM  
 run, he didn't run very far;

'ú-vwa-s-'ura 'áağa-muusi-u-puga;  
 there-LOC-CONJ-be hide-ASP-REM  
 and then he hid himself there;

pina-xw-'ura 'uwas ka-soğori-kya-puga, 'uwas mani-gya...  
 after-go-be he NEG-ready-INCH-ANT-REM/NEG he do/like-GER  
 so later on Coyote had not gotten ready, he was doing like  
 this (procrastinating deliberately, trying to throw Skunk  
 off pace)...

"pöni... nı-'ura-kway... 'ú-'uway...  
 skunk I-be-MOD that-that/OBJ  
 "Oh, Skunk... I myself am surely... Oh, that one..."

ka-kwa-xw-wa-tu-my 'ura-'ay" máy-puga;  
 NEG-run-ASP-NEG-NOM-AN be-IMM say-REM  
 he's not much of a runner" he told himself;

'u-vwa mani-puga; pina-xw-'ura sonyavy mani-puga,  
 there-LOC do/like-REM later-go-be cedar-bark/OBJ do/like-REM  
 so he kept pacing back and forth there; later on he did  
 like this ((rubbing gesture)) with cedar-bark

x-'ura na'a-ti-pugay-ku, kwasi-m-av x-'ura na'a-ti-puga,  
 then-be fire-CAUS-REM-it tail-with-OWN then-be fire-CAUS-REM  
 and set it on fire, he set his own tail on fire,

qǎáry-puga; mmm... púnikya-puga, mani-kya-puga;  
 run-REM INTJ see-REM do/like-ANT-REM  
 and then he took off running; woosh... and he looked (at his  
 tail), doing like this ((swishing gesture));

(('uwas-'ura póni)) púka-vağa-ci-kya-puga;  
 he-be skunk hard-hide-ASP-ANT-REM  
 and Skunk had in the meantime hidden himself well;

((x-'ura 'uwas-'ura yoğovuci)) cağa-civā-cy  
 then-be he-be coyote near-DİR/AN  
 so Coyote then stepped very close to him

tavi-puga; kwasi-vağ-tu-'u kuwi-'avi-puga,  
 step-REM tail-LOC-DIR-his smoke-lie-REM  
 (as he was running); smoke was trailing from his tail,

káasų-pani-'uru máy-gya; x-'ura 'uwa-pa qǎáry-puga,  
 train-like-that say-GER then-be him-past/DIR run-REM  
 just like a train; and he ran past Skunk

narivų mani-xw-puga; kacu-'u maay-pya, pağa-kyay-kw-'u,  
 still do/like-ASP-REM NEG-him see-REM hide-ANT-SUB-he  
 still doing like this (with his smoking tail); he didn't see him,  
 because Skunk had hidden himself,

púka-vağa-ci-kya-puga 'uwas; 'fiiii... yáakwi-kya-'u;  
 hard-hide-ASP-ANT-REM he INTJ disappear-ANT-he  
 he had really hidden himself well; so woosh... Coyote rounded  
 the corner and disappeared;

(('uwas-'ura póni)) tfi wųny-xw-puga; x-'ura 'umų  
 he-be skunk high stand-ASP-REM then-be those/OBJ  
 so then Skunk got up; by then the prairie-dogs

tɔ'ma-ʔa-tɔ-mɔ... 'umɔs 'ura-pɔga, kucapɔ-naaga;  
 roast-ANT/PASS-NOM-AN/PL/OBJ they be-REM ashes-in  
 they had been roasted... they had, in the ashes;

mani-pɔga-amɔ, pa'a-kusɔ-xw-kwaa-pɔga;  
 do/like-REM-them complete-roast-ASP-ANT-REM  
 so he did like this ((gesture of removing the ashes), they had indeed  
 been completely roasted;

nɔ-nɔɔ-pɔga-amɔ maa-pa wɔga-ma-tux,  
 RED-carry-REM-them there-DIR hill-LOC-to  
 and he carried them way up there on the hill,

tɔpɔyɔci-vwɔn-amɔ-'ura 'u-vwaa-tux maguuni-pɔga,  
 rock-on-them-be there-LOC-to pile-REM  
 and there he piled them up on a rock,

pa'a-manu-xw; 'úu-pa-s-'ura-'uru kwasi-amɔ 'uru  
 complete-all-OBJ there-DIR-CONJ-be-that tail-their that/OBJ  
 all of them together; and then he took their tails that-a-way  
 ((back to the fire))

nana-wɔnɔ-ti-pɔga, púpa-amɔ-'uru tɔ'ma-ʔay-kya-na;  
 RECIP-stand-CAUS-REM manner-they-that roast-PL-ANT-REL  
 and stacked them together there, the way they were when they  
 were still roasting;

'uɔway-aʔ-'ura 'uɔwas 'u-vwaaaaaa-tux káasɔ-pani  
 then-it-be he there-LOC...-to train-like  
 finally Coyote, swooshing there like a train,

'uɔwas mawisi-pɔga, mani-pɔga, kutupɔ-'a-tɔ-av  
 he appear-REM do/like-REM butt-GEN-NOM/OBJ-OWN  
 reappeared on the scene, doing like this ((gesture)),

yaɔaa-pɔnikya-pɔga;  
 side-see-REM  
 looking sidewise at his own butt;

'u-vwaa-tɔ 'fiii-pa qʔáru-pɔga,  
 there-LOC-DIR here...-DIR run-REM  
 he ran right through there,

'fiii-pa ma-vaa-tɔ tɔrɔskwa-pɔga, pana-xwa-xwa-pɔga;  
 here-DIR there-LOC-DIR stop-REM down-go-ANT-REM  
 and right there he stopped, having come all the way down;

"ka-'iyə-na-wa 'áááá" máy-púga, "'aḡa-vaa-s 'icə-n  
 NEG-here-be/LOC-NEG INTJ say-REM WH-LOC-CONJ this-I  
 "He's not here yet, wow" he said, "I wonder where I

'uwa-paa-'u?" máy-púga, "'uwa-paa-u-xwa-tu-ni súti'i"  
 him-pass/LOC-him say-REM him-pass-ASP-ANT-NOM-like seem/IMM  
 passed him?" he said, "I surely must have passed him"

'uwas-'ura 'u-vwaa karu-púga, nuka-ḡaru-púgay-kwa  
 he-be there-LOC sit-REM hear-sit-REM-SUB  
 and Skunk was sitting there, sitting and listening all along,

máy-kh; 'uwas-'ura wunu-púga, túu-sə'a-xw-púgaa-ni;  
 say-IMM he-be stand-REM hard-breathe-ASP-REM-like  
 that is; so Coyote stood there, breathing hard;

((x-'ura-s)) máy-púga: "'aḡaa-va-s 'icə-n 'uwa-paa-'u?"  
 then-be-CONJ say-REM WH-LOC-CONJ this-I him-pass/LOC-him  
 so he said again: "I wonder where I passed him?"

máy-púga 'uwas;  
 say-REM he  
 he wondered;

pina-xw-'ura tuka-xwa-púga 'uwas, təçay'a-u  
 later-go-be eat-go-REM he prairie-dog-PL  
 so after a while he decided to go and eat,

tuca-xwa-púga, náavas; pina-xw-'ura mani-gya-s  
 eat-go-REM alone later-go-be do/like-GER-CONJ  
 to go and eat the prairie-dogs, all by himself; so later,  
 doing like this ((gesture of craning one's head)),

punikya-púga, 'u-vwaa tfi karu-púga... pəni...  
 see-REM there-LOC high sit-REM skunk  
 he saw, sitting way up there... Skunk...

'u-vwaa tfi karu-púga, wugaa-ma, pəni-xyaru-púga;  
 there-LOC high sit-REM hill-LOC look-sit-REM  
 sitting way up high there, on the hill, sitting and watching;

"'aḡa-ni-caa-n kwá-u?" máy-púga, "'umy-na-kway piya  
 WH-do-ASP-me win-ASP say-REM you-TOP-MOD fast  
 "Now how come you beat me?" he asked him, "you

ka-kwaa-wa-ṭy-ṃy-sapa 'ura-qa?" máy-p̣yga 'uwas;  
 NEG-run-NEG-NOM-AN-MOD be-ANT say-REM he  
 had never been much of a fast runner" he said;

"'ura-yin-̣y" máy-p̣yga, ṭyka-̣g̣aṛy-p̣yga;  
 be-I-CONJ say-REM eat-sit-REM  
 "I am indeed!" said Skunk, sitting there and eating;

"'úvway" máy-p̣yga, "pana-xwa ṇy-gya '̣q̣oṿy-ci-sapa,  
 alright say-REM downward-go me-EMPH bone-DIM-MOD/OBJ  
 "alright" said Coyote, "now please, some little bones,

'ini-ah-sapa ca-caẉyna-ḳy, 'uru ka-ṭyka-p̣ya-ṃy";  
 WH-OBJ-MOD RED-throw-BEN that/OBJ NEG-eat-REM/NEG/REL-you  
 whatever scraps, throw them down to me, whatever you haven't eaten";

'uru '̣q̣oṿy-gap̣y ca-caa'mi-p̣yga 'uwa-va-cux;  
 that/OBJ bone-DEFUNC/OBJ RED-throw-REM him-LOC-to/AN  
 so Skunk threw down to him one by one the leftover bones;

'ú-vway 'uwas ṭyka-pi ṭyka-̣x̣ay-kw,  
 there-LOC he eat-NOM/OBJ eat-ANT-SUB  
 and so, with Skunk having eaten all the food,

yọgoṿy-ci kwáa-ux... kwáay-kwa-ta;  
 coyote/OBJ beat-ASP beat-go-PASS  
 Coyote was finally beaten;

máy-kya-'ura, 'ú-'uru-sapa 'ura-'ay;  
 say-PL-be RED-that-MOD be-IMM  
 so that's what they say, that's how it is;

## HUNGRY COYOTE, RABBIT, AND THE WHITE-MAN'S CHICKEN

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 10-17-76  
 Recorded by: Neil Cloud  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uwas-'ura tavuci 'u, tuguy-naru'a-xw-kwa-na...  
 he-be rabbit that hunger-buy-ASP-ANT-HAB  
 Now Rabbit, he used to get hungry...

'áy-may... yogovci (('u 'ura-'áy))...  
 say-say coyote that be-IMM  
 oops... it was Coyote...

tuguy-naru'a-xw-kwa-na-puga; 'úvway-ax-'ura 'uway  
 hunger-buy-ASP-ANT-HAB-REM then-it-be that/OBJ  
 he used to get real hungry all the time; so then

tavci-vag-cugwa-puga; x-'ura-'uru máy-pugay-'u:  
 rabbit-LOC-go/to-REM then-be-that say-REM-him  
 he finally went over to Rabbit and told him:

"nú-ku tuguy-n tuguy-naru'a-xw-kwa"  
 I-EMPH friend-my hunger-buy-ASP-ANT  
 "My friend, I am so hungry"

máy-pugay-'u; "'uu" máy-puga 'ura-'uwas, tavci-ci 'u;  
 say-REM-him yes say-REM be-he rabbit-DIM that  
 he told him; "I see" said little Rabbit;

"nú-ku pucucugwa-mi 'uway murykaci kani  
 I-EMPH know-HAB that-GEN white-man-GEN house  
 "Now, I know it for fact that that White-Man's house over there

qxáar-vukuu-gwa-tu-'uru" 'áy-puga,  
 chicken-domestic-have-NOM-that  
 has chicken" he said,

"murykaci 'u qxáar-vuku-gwa-tu, togwa-'aka-garu  
 white-man that chicken-domestic-have-NOM right-red-ADJ/OBJ  
 "That White-Man has chicken, they have purple eyes,

pɣ-pɣ'i-gyɔ-tɣ-mɣ-'ura, 'umɣ qɣ́áarɣci-u"  
 RED-eye-have-PL/OBJ-be those/OBJ chicken-PL  
 those chicken"

máy-pɣga; "nú-ky 'u-vwaa págá-'ni-mi" máy-pɣga;  
 say-REM I-EMPH there-LOC walk-INT-HAB say-REM  
 he said; "Now, I myself wander around there often" he said;

'úu-pa-amɣ-'ura págá-kwa-pɣga;  
 there-DIR-they-be walk-go-REM  
 so the two of them proceeded to go there right away;

"tava-yaakwi-xw-rami-ɣs 'uni-'a-vaani" máy-pɣga,  
 sun-set-SUB-we/II-CONJ do/go-FUT say-REM  
 "We should do it at sunset" said Rabbit,

"'umɣ qɣ́áarɣci-u yugwi-vɔɔ-tɣ-mɣ 'ura-'ay"  
 those chicken-PL sit/PL-FUT-NOM-PL be-IMM  
 "that's when those chicken settle down for the night"

máy-pɣga; "'u-vwaa-cawi mɣɣkaci kani-vɔɔ-cawi"  
 say-REM there-LOC-toward white-man-GEN house/OBJ-LOC-go/to/IMP  
 he said; "So let's proceed toward the White-Man's house"

máy-pɣga; 'úvway-aɣ-unuv-'uru 'uwayas cika-xwa-pɣga 'uwas;  
 say-REM then-it-TOP-that him lead-go-REM he  
 he said; and then he proceeded to lead Coyote there;

'úvway-aɣ-'ura 'u-vwaa tugwa-pɣga-amɣ  
 then-it-be there-LOC go/to-REM-they  
 so they went there,

qɣ́áarú-gani-vɔɔ-tux; tɣvɣci-sapa-ni  
 chicken-house-LOC-to true-MOD-like  
 to the chicken-coop; and sure enough,

qɣ́áarɣci-aagá-tɣ 'ura-pɣga;  
 chicken-have-NOM be-REM  
 there were chicken in there;

x-'ura cawɣ'nay-pɣgay-kwa-amɣ,  
 then-be open-REM-SUB-they  
 so then when they opened the door,

x-'ura páaxa-ti-pugay-kwa-amy, 'úni-guni  
 then-be hole-CAUS-REM-SUB-they lo  
 when they broke in, why -- lo --

'aka-gary-my pu-pu'i-gya-tu-my 'ura-puga;  
 red-ADJ-AN/PL RED-eye-have-NOM-PL be-REM  
 there were indeed red-eyed chicken in there!

"'uvys-'ura, má-naağa yúxa, 'umy-a-tu-'ura  
 end-be there-in enter-IMP them-PART-NOM/OBJ-be  
 "Well, now go ahead and get in there,

piyoğwa-nu" máy-pugay-'u-'ura, "nu 'áy-kw-'ura  
 pull-IMP say-REM-him-be I say-SUB-be  
 and pull out one of them" Rabbit told Coyote, "while I

pyni-wynu-vaci" máy-vaci-'ura 'ú tavuci;  
 see-stand-BKGR say-BKGR that rabbit  
 will stand watch" that Rabbit said;

"'umy-nugway-kw núnay tuwa-xw-paaci má-naağa?"  
 you/GEN-TOP-SUB me lock-ASP-FUT there-in  
 "So that you may lock me in there?"

máy-puga-s 'uwas 'u yoğovuci; "kac" máy-puga 'ura-'uwas,  
 say-REM-CONJ he that coyote NEG say-REM be-he  
 asked Coyote; "No, I won't" said Rabbit,

"túusapa-nu 'úni" máy-puga 'ura-'uwas;  
 hurry-IMP do-IM say-REM be-he  
 "now you hurry up and do it" he told him;

'uwas-'ura túusapa-ni 'ú-naağa yuga-xw-puga;  
 he-be hurry-like there-in enter-ASP-REM  
 so Coyote hurried and entered the Chicken-Coop;

'any 'ú-naağa tugwa-xw-kwa-'u, 'uwas-'uru tuwa-xw-paci-uk,  
 just there-in go/to-ASP-SUB-he he-that lock-ASP-BKGR-it  
 no sooner had he entered there that Rabbit locked it up,

pana-tuwa-xw-paci-uk;  
 metal-lock-ASP-BKGR-it  
 he locked him in there with a lock;

'u-vwaa-yis 'uwas 'ú-naaǵa 'uni-v̄aci,  
 there-LOC-ONLY he there-in do/be-BCKG  
 so now Coyote was in there all alone,

'umy qǵáar̄ȳci-u ȳq̄r̄q̄-xw-kwa-vaci-m̄y,  
 those/OBJ chicken-PL wake-up/PL-ASP-ANT-BKGR-PL  
 and those chicken have all woken up and started

páaǵa-p̄q̄r̄q̄-kwa-am̄y; 'uwas-'ura tav̄ȳci...  
 scream-walk-PL-they he-be rabbit  
 running around screaming; and all the while Rabbit...

"hé, hé, hé..." su-sukwi-p̄q̄r̄q̄-kwa-vaci;  
 INTJ INTJ INTJ RED-whistle-walk-go-BKGR  
 he was running around outside the coop whistling  
 "Hé, hé, hé..."

'uwa m̄ȳr̄ȳkaci kani-m-tugwa-paci-s,  
 that/GEN white-man/GEN house-LOC-go/to-BKGR-CONJ  
 and he ran over to the White-Man's house

m̄ȳ-kȳ-u-paci-s: "'uwa-na yoǵov̄ȳci  
 say-BEN-ASP-BKGR-CONJ there-LOC coyote  
 and told him:"There's a coyote right there

kani-aa-m!... qǵáar̄ȳci-vuku-aa-m 'ini-kh" m̄ȳ-v̄aci-'u;  
 house-GEN-your chicken-domestic-GEN-your do-IMM say-BKGR-him  
 in your chicken-coop!... he's devouring your chicken!"  
 he told him;

'úv̄way-aǵ-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'avat̄ȳ n̄ȳkava-ǵa-t̄ȳ-m̄y  
 then-it-be he-that big/OBJ ear-have-NOM-PL/OBJ  
 now, that White-Man had a pair of big-eared

sari-vukuu-gwa-t̄ȳ 'ura-vaci, 'ú m̄ȳr̄ȳkaci;  
 dog-domestic-have-NOM be-BKGR that white-man  
 dogs, the White-Man did;

'úu-pa qǵáar̄ȳ-paci... 'úȳȳȳ... p̄ȳni...  
 there-DIR run-BKGR INTJ see  
 so he ran over there to investigate... and eeeh... he saw...

'án̄ȳ caw̄ȳ'na-ǵa-'u 'uwas yoǵov̄ȳci 'úu-pa-s  
 sudden open-ANT-he he coyote there-DIR-CONJ  
 as soon as he opened the door, Coyote

túu-paci náaaa...  
 leap-BKGR INTJ  
 leaped out of there and woooosh...

sarici-u 'uni-miyá-xwa-vaci-my... 'úyy...  
 dog-PL do-run-go-BKGR-PL INTJ  
 and the dogs chased after him... eeeeh....

kacu-'u wa-wacy-wyny-wa-tu-my...  
 NEG-him RED-catch-up-stand-NEG-NOM-PL  
 but they couldn't catch up with him...

'uway-'ura ((tavuci)): "tuyuci 'atu ta'waci  
 him-be rabbit/OBJ very good man  
 and Rabbit was then told: "You are a good fellow"

'úmy 'ura-'ay' máy-ta-vaci-'u, "máy-'u-tu"  
 you be-IMM say-PASS-BKGR-him say-him-NOM  
 the White-Man told him, "for telling on Coyote"

máy-ta-vaci-'u; tuyuci puki-ta-vaci-'u 'uway  
 say-PASS-BKGR-him very grateful-PASS-BKGR-him him  
 he was told; the White-Man was very grateful to him,

ka-tysu'a-wa-tu-my máy-gya-'u;  
 NEG-smart-NEG-NOM-AN say-GER-he there-LOG-go/to-MOD  
 that dumb White-Man;

'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa-'ura 'ura-'ay 'uru;  
 there-LOC-go/to-MOD-be be-IMM that  
 well that's as far as it went there;

'ú-'ura-'uru ka-'ay-wa-tu-my-sapa 'ura-'ay,  
 that-be-that NEG-good-NEG-NOM-AN-MOD be-IMM  
 he wasn't any good,

'ú tavuci; 'uway myrykaci káavaci 'ú'a-y-a  
 that rabbit that/GEN white-man/GEN cabbage/OBJ plant-OBJ-GEN  
 that Rabbit; he used to eat the White-Man's cabbage plants

tyka-xwa-ry 'ura-pyga; 'ya-'napu 'úru-'uru 'uwas  
 eat-ASP-ADJ be-REM trap-INSTR that-that/OBJ he  
 all the time; the White-Man used to place traps

'úu-pa yuna-na-puga-s ca'a-vaa-ci-'u... pina-xw-'ura  
 there-DIR put-HAB-REM catch-FUT-SUB-him later-go-be  
 there in order to catch him,... so then finally

ca'ay-kw-pugay-'u, 'uway tavuci... 'úni-guni-'ura tavuci  
 catch-ASP-REM-him that/OBJ rabbit/OBJ lo-be rabbit  
 he did catch him, that Rabbit... and lo, it was indeed Rabbit

'uni-na-puga, 'ú'a-y-aa-'u pa'a-súwa-kwa-na-puga;  
 do-HAB-REM plant-OBJ-GEN-his complete-devour-ASP-HAB-REM  
 who had been doing it, who had been devouring his plants;

'uvvvs-'ura 'úvway-aǎ ca'a-ta-vaci-'u;  
 end-be then-it catch-PASS-BKGR-him  
 so finally he was caught;

takwi'ni-ta-vaci-'u; na'ay'a-vaci 'uwa-'aaǎa-va  
 remove-PASS-BCKR-him angry-BKGR him-over-LOC  
 the White-Man removed him from the trap; he was sure mad at him,

'ú murykaci, tavuci 'uway; 'úu-pa-s-'u  
 that white-man rabbit/OBJ that/OBJ there-DIR-CONJ-him  
 the White-Man was, at that Rabbit; so right there

'uni-'wa-ta-vaci, kutupy-aa-'u pana-qa-ry  
 do-INCH-PASS-BKGR butt-GEN-his metal/OBJ  
 he did it to him, a metal rod was inserted

cúu'ni-ki-ta-vaci;  
 insert-ASP-PASS-BKGR  
 into his butt;

"kaci-n núṅay paǎa-vaa-'wa-tu"  
 NEG-me me kill-FUT-NEG-NOM  
 Please don't kill me!" he pleaded;

máy-vaci 'uwas; 'u-'uni-gya-sapa manu-xw-tu  
 say-BKGR he RED-do-GER-MOD all-OBJ-NOM/PBJ  
 while the White-Man was telling him about all the things  
 he was going to do to him;

máy-vaci-s-'u 'ú murykaci; "'u-'uni-gya-na  
 say-BKGR-CONJ-jim that white-man REDE-do-GER-REL  
 "(If) you do those things to me,

paʰa-xw-paani" máy-puʒa;  
 kill-ASP-FUT say-REM  
 you'll kill me" he told him;

'úvway-aʰ-'ura-'uru: "'áavʉ-mʉ-'ura nʉnʉy  
 then-it-be-that now-you-be me  
 so then finally Rabbit said: "You're not going to  
 kill me now,

ka-paʰa-vaa-'wa-tʉ?" máy-puʒay-aʒa-paci-s  
 NEG-kill-FUT-NEG-NOM say-REM-CONCL-BKGR-CONJ  
 are you?" he asked

yá'wa-ta-vaci-'u; "'áavʉ 'ʉmʉ-as-'ura  
 carry-PASS-BKGR-him now you-OBJ-be  
 as he was being carried away; "Now I will pitch you

payaa-na-pawi wʉna-paani  
 hillside-LOC-to throw-FUT  
 over the cliffside

'uru wʉ-wʉcaa-ri-ci-mʉ" máy-ta-vaci-'u;  
 that RED-twist-INCH-NOM-you say-PASS-BKGR-him  
 so that you'll get all twisted out of shape" he was told;

"'úvway-aʰ-xw-sapa-ni yʉ'ʉ-kwa-vaani" máy-vaci-s  
 then-it-SUB-MOD-like die-ASP-FUT say-BKGR-CONJ  
 "I see you really truly want me to die" said

'uwas tavʉci, "'uru mani-kwa-n-'uru paya-na-pawi!"  
 he rabbit that do/like-go-me-that side-LOC-throw/to/IMP  
 Rabbit, "well then, go ahead and throw me over the cliffside!"

máy-puʒa; yaʒa-paʒay-puʒa; "'áavʉ-sʉ-mʉ-'ura  
 say-REM cry-walk-REM now-CONJ-you-be  
 he said; and he kept crying and moaning; "Now I will

'i-vʉʉ-tugwa-mi paya-na-pawi wʉnʉy-kwa-vaani"  
 here-LOC-go/to-LOC side-LOC-to throw-go-FUT  
 throw you down the cliffside"

máy-puʒay-'u, 'uni-puʒay-aʒay-'u; 'ʉʉʉ...  
 say-REM-him do-REM-CONCL-him INTJ  
 the White-Man told him, and then he did just that; eeeh.....

náavas-u-pyga, 'ú tavyci tavi-'ni-vicy-xw-pyga;  
 in-vain-ASP-REM that rabbit step-INT-arrive-ASP-REM  
 it was all in vain, that Rabbit landed right on his feet;

'éééé... myrykaci 'u ka-tysu'a-wa-ty-my...  
 INTJ white-man that NEG-smart-NEG-NOM-AN  
 eeeeh... that White-Man wasn't very smart...

qǎáry-kwa-pyga;  
 run-go-REM  
 so Rabbit ran away;

máy-kya-ta-ni-ya-s-'ura... pȳsari-ni-ya-ǎa-ty-my...  
 say-PL-PASS-HAB-CONJ-be story-tell-PL-NOM-PL  
 that's what they say... the story-tellers....

'áy-kya-ny-s-'ura-sapa;  
 say-ANT-I-CONJ-be-MOD  
 that's all I can say;

## COYOTE AND THE ROCK CHILDREN

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 10-17-76  
 Recorded by: Neil Cloud  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uwas x-'ura-p̄ga yoḡov̄ci; 'q̄a-taa-ḡa-p̄ga  
 he then-be-REM coyote yellow-shirt-have-REM  
 This is about Coyote; he had him a yellow shirt

x-'ura; 'úu-pa-p̄ga x-'ura... pa-guaa-rux;  
 then-be there-pass/DIR-REM then-be water-edge-along  
 in those days; so he went once that-a-way ((gesture))...  
 along the water edge;

'q̄a-taa-ḡa-t̄-'u, moḡoyv̄-raa-ḡa-p̄ga,  
 yellow-shirt-have-NOM-he buckskin/OBJ-shirt-have-REM  
 so he had him a yellow shirt, he had a buckskin shirt,

'q̄a-taa-ḡa-p̄ga; 'úu-pa-p̄ga x-'ura, t̄fi...  
 yellow-shirt-have-REM there-pass/DIR-REM then-be high  
 he had a yellow shirt; so then once he went that-a-way  
 ((gesture)), way up high...

t̄fi 'uni-'ni-p̄ga; 'i-v̄ḡḡ-ni núu-ci-u, yugw̄i-p̄ga,  
 high do-INT-REM here-LOC-like person-PL sit/PL-REM  
 he kept moving way up high; and right there (he saw) some people,  
 sitting,

p̄ḡḡ-ni, t̄p̄p̄ci tuaci-u;  
 two-SUBJ rock/GEN child-PL  
 two of them, Rock-children;

'um̄v̄waa-cugwa-p̄ga x-'ura, 'u-v̄waa-tugwa-s-'ura  
 them-LOC-go/to-REM then-be there-LOC-go/to-CONJ-be  
 so he approached them, and right there and then

'um̄v̄waa-tux sf'i-p̄ga; "'ip̄-am̄-uru 'ivi-ti-mi  
 them-LOC-to urinate-REM WH/OBJ-you-that drink-CAUS-HAB  
 he peed on them; "What does she let you drink,

pf̩a-ci-am̩y?" 'áy-p̩yga-am̩y, s̩f'i-v̩ç̩i  
 mother-NOM/DIM-your say-REM-them urinate-BKGR  
 your dear mother?" he asked them, as he proceeded to pee

'um̩y-vwaa-tux; "n̩y-aam̩y-aa ka-'ivi-ti-guu-'wa-ty?"  
 them-LOC-to I-you-Q NEG-drink-CAUS-MOD-NEG-NOM  
 on them; "Why shouldn't I let you drink too?"

'úvway-a̩x-'ura-'uru 'um̩y-vwaa-tux s̩f'i-p̩yga 'uwas,  
 then-it-be-that them-LOC-to urinate-REM he  
 so (having said that) he proceeded to pee on them,

'um̩y-pa-tux s̩f'i-p̩yga k̩y̩-paa̩x̩ay-kw-am̩y...  
 them-LOC-to urinate-REM receive-open-SUB-they  
 he peed on them as they stood there open-mouthed...

t̩y̩p̩y̩ci 'uway tuaci-u...  
 rock/GEN his child-PL  
 (on the) Rock-children...

p̩na-xw-'ura p̩á̩g̩a-kwa-p̩yga, 'uni-'wh-ci-m̩y;  
 later-go-be go-go-REM do-INCH-SUB/NOM-them  
 and then he took off, having done that to them;

p̩na-xw p̩ciy-p̩yga p̩f̩a-am̩y; "a̩g̩a-ni-a-am̩y  
 later-go come-REM mother-their WH/why-do-Q-you  
 so later on their mother came back; "How come you're

kwa-kwana-y?" 'áy-p̩yay-a̩g̩a-am̩y; 'um̩y-k̩y-s  
 RED-smell-IMM say-REM-CONC-them they-EMPH-CONJ  
 smelling so bad?" she asked them; so they

m̩áy-k̩y-p̩yga-'ura 'um̩y: "yo̩g̩ov̩ç̩i 'u  
 say-BEN-REM-be they coyote that  
 told her, they did: "Coyote

n̩m̩y̩-pa-tux s̩f'i-kwa-y" m̩áy-p̩yga, "'fi-pa x-'ura  
 us-LOC-to urinate-ASP-IMM say-REM here-DIR then-be  
 peed on us" they said, "and he's just gone up this-a-way"

t̩fi y̩áakwi" 'áy-p̩yay-a̩g̩ay-'ura;  
 high disappear/IMM say-REM-CONCL-be  
 they told her;

'uwas-'ura na'ayh-puga, pfa-amy, 'uwa-vina-xwa  
 she-be angry-REM mother-their him-after-go  
 so she got real angry, their mother, and she took off after  
 him,

tfi-m mupa-paga-puga... 'úyú...  
 high-LOC roll-walk-REM INTJ  
 rolling up the hill... eeeeeh...

piya-xwa kwá-xw-puga, whcu-xw-pugay-'u 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s;  
 fast-go go-ASP-REM catch-up-ASP-REM-him there-LOC-go/to-CONJ  
 she went real fast, and she caught up with him way up there;

'u-vwaa-tugwa piyo-gwa-puga, páa-vawi-tux wyna-puga,  
 there-LOC-to pull-go-REM water-to-to throw-REM  
 so she dragged him over there and threw him in the water,

'qá-taa-gay-kyá-tú wyna-puay-ağa;  
 yellow-shirt-have-ANT-NOM/OBJ throw-REM-CONC  
 she threw his yellow shirt into the water;

'úvúy 'ura-puga;  
 end be-REM  
 and that was that;

'uwa-va-yis 'ağa-puga-vaci-s 'ipú-'ura-s 'uwás;  
 him-LOC-CONJ WH/OBJ-REM-BKGR-CONJ WH/REL-be-CONJ he  
 you never know about that Coyote, whatever he's up to;

'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa nú pucucugwa-y, toğoy-ci-aş;  
 there-LOC-go/to-MOD I know-IMM well-NOM-it  
 that's as far as I know, it's alright;

## COYOTE COOKS THE BEAR'S CUBS

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 10-17-76  
 Recorded by: Neil Cloud  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uwas 'ura-pyga yoḡov̄ci, pa-guaa-va 'avi-pyga,  
 he be-REM coyote water-edge-LOC lie-REM  
 This is about Coyote, he was once lying at the edge of the  
 water,

p̄ni-pyga; x-'ura 'uwas-'uru tap̄ni-ci-'uru, tugu-tugwa-ty  
 sleep-REM then-be he-that wake-up-SUB-that sky-to-DIR  
 he was sleeping; so then when he woke up,

p̄ni-'avi-pyga; 'uwa-va-n t̄ḡnapi,  
 look-lie-REM him-over-LOC cherries/OBJ  
 he lay there looking; and right above him (he saw) some cherries,

túu-yoḡoḡwa-pyga-ni; x-'ura-'uru kyryki-pyga 'uwas;  
 black-loaded-REM-like then-be-that rise-REM he  
 (a branch) loaded with black ones; so he got up;

'uwas-'ura-'uru caqxo-ri-p̄ci-ux 'uru t̄ḡnapi,  
 he-be-that snap-CAUS-BKGR-it that/OBJ cherry/OBJ  
 and then he snapped the cherry-branch off,

'uru-a-ty ca-caqxo-ri-pyga, páḡa-kwa-pyga,  
 that-PART-NOM/OBJ RED-snap-CAUS-REM go-go-REM  
 he snapped some of them off, then left,

'úu-pa-pyga-'ura;  
 there-pass-REM-be  
 he took off that-a-way ((gesture));

káava-y kanygaa-vaa-tux t̄fi 'i-v̄ḡḡ-ni 'uni-'ni-pyga,  
 mountain-OBJ foothill-LOC-to high here-LOC-like do-INT-REM  
 then way high there at the foot of the mountains there was  
 someone, a person (he thought),

'úniguni kwiyağaṭ mamaci 'ura-p̣uga;  
 lo bear/GEN woman be-REM  
 and lo, it was a She-bear;

'uwa-rugwa-p̣ugay-ku; "'aṇu..."' máy-p̣uga kwiyağaṭ  
 her-give-REM-it INTJ say-REM bear/GEN  
 so he gave her some cherries; "Wow..." said the She-bear,

mamaci, "'ağa-vaa-ṭ 'ara-'ay, caḡaci-n?"  
 woman WH/LOC-LOC-DIR be-IMM younger-brother-my  
 "Where does this come from, my little brother?"

máy-p̣ugay-ağay-'u; "ma-vaa-ṭ ṭvwa" máy-p̣uga 'uwas,  
 say-REM-CONC-him there-LOC-DIR down say-REM he  
 she asked him; "Down there that-a-way" he told her,

ma-vaa-ṭ 'ura-'ay, ṭvwa" máy-p̣uga 'uwas;  
 there-LOC-DIR be-IMM down say-REM he  
 "It is that-a-way, down" he said;

"ṇ-'ura 'u-vwaa-cawi-kw-paani, pi-piyağwa-xw-paani"  
 I-be there-LOC-toward-go-FUT RED-pick-ASP-FUT  
 "Well, I'll go there and pick me some"

máy-p̣uga; "'iṃ-'uru ṣnaci-u-av tamu-xw-xaa-ṇ"  
 say-REM these/OBJ-that nephew-PL-OWN watch-ASP-ANT-IMP  
 she said; "Now, please stand watch over your nephews here"

máy-p̣uga; 'úniguni p̣áy-ku tuaci-gyaa-p̣uga;  
 say-REM lo three-OBJ child-have-REM  
 she told him; and indeed, she had three cubs (with her);

'uṿs, pağa-nukwi-p̣uga, kwiyağaṭ mamaci,  
 end go-run-REM bear/GEN woman  
 and so, she took off, the She-bear did,

pi-piyağwa-xw-ci;  
 RED-pick-ASP-SUB  
 going to pick berries;

'uwas pina-xwa 'u-vwaa-s kaṛ-p̣uga, 'úmu-'ura  
 he later-go there-LOC-CONJ sit-REM those-be  
 so later on he was sitting there, and they

yaḡa-kwa-puḡa 'úmy tuaci-u 'u-vwaa-yis; na'ayh-puḡa  
cry-ASP-REM those child-PL there-LOC-CONJ angry-REM  
began to cry, those cubs did; so he got angry...

'uwas... kwiyaḡatɥ... 'inh-kwa... yoḡovɥci...  
he bear WH/SUBJ-MOD coyote  
the bear... what's-his-name... Coyote...

'u-vwaa-tugwaa-sɥ-my x-'ura ci-cikɥr'a-puḡa,  
there-LOC-go/to-CONJ-them then-be RED-chop-REM  
so right there and then he copped them up one by one,

'u-vwaa-tugwa-sɥ-my sa'a-xarɥ-puḡa,  
there-LOC-go/to-CONJ-them boil-sit-REM  
and right there and then he sat and boiled them up,

tuaci-u-gway-kyaa-na-'u;  
child-PL-have-ANT-REL-she  
those cubs that the She-bear had;

pina-xwa 'uwas picɥ-puḡa, tḡonapi  
later-go she return-REM cherry/OBJ  
so later the She-bear came back, bringing back cherries;

nḡḡ'wa-ḡa; 'ɥvɥs 'ura-puḡa;  
carry-GER end be-REM  
well, it was done;

"'aḡaa-ni!..." máy-puḡa-s-'u,  
WH/why-do say-REM-CONJ-him  
"Now how about that!..." she said to him,

kwiyaḡatɥ 'u, "caḡay... 'aḡaa-vaa-tɥ tɥkuavi  
bear that younger-brother WH-LOC-DIR meat/OBJ  
the She-bear did, "Little brother... Where (did you get) this meat

sa'a-karɥ-i?" máy-pɥay-aḡa-s-'u; "'fi-pa-ci-amɥ  
boil-sit-IMM say-REM-CONC-CONJ-him here-DIR-NOM-they  
you're sitting and boiling there?" she asked him; "Right this-a-way

x-'uru 'uni-'wa naḡaci-u" máy-puḡa-s 'uwas, "nḡ-'ura  
then-that do/be-INCH bighorn-sheep-PL say-REM-CONJ he I-be  
there are bighorn sheep" he said, "so here I am

maru sa'a-karu-i" máy-puga; mağa-xw-puay-ağay-'u,  
 that/OBJ boil-sit-IMM say-REM feed-ASP-REM-CONC-her  
 sitting and boiling it (the meat)" he said; and then he fed it  
 to her,

tukua-mağa-puay-ağay-'u, 'uwa kwiyağatı;  
 meat-feed-REM-CONC-her that/OBJ bear/OBJ  
 he fed the meat to her, to the She-bear;

'uwas 'uni-puga 'u yoğovuci;  
 he do-REM that coyote  
 he did that, Coyote did;

pina-xwa: "nú-caa-ga páğa-kwa" máy-puga  
 later-go I-ASP-TOP go-go say-REM  
 so later on he said: "I must go now"

'ú yoğovuci; "táa-ga" máy-puga-s 'uwas;  
 that coyote EXHORT-GER say-REM-CONJ she  
 Coyote said; "Do go right ahead" she told him;

miya-tı tavi-ci, 'áy-puga 'ú yoğovuci  
 far-DIR step-SUB say-REM that coyote  
 so when he had gone far enough, Coyote called

'uway kwiyağatı: "tuaci-u-av tuka-xa-tı" máy-puay-'u;  
 her bear/OBJ child-PL-OWN eat-ANT-NOM say-REM-her  
 to the She-bear: "You've just eaten your own children" he told her;

'áavy 'uwas... tuaci-u-av 'umı 'ipı-paa  
 now she child-PL-OWN those/OBJ WH-LOC  
 so she... she looked around for her children, wherever they had  
 been lying,

kwinh-kya-na-paa-tı pınikya-puga, ka-'ipı-'a-paa...  
 lie/PL-ANT-REL-LOC-DIR see-REM NEG-WH/LOC-have/NEG-REM/NEG  
 and they were not there...

na'ayh-puga, qáarı-puga 'uwa-vina-kwa, 'úıı...  
 angry-REM run-REM him-after-go INTJ  
 so she got mad and chased after him, eeeh...

tapi-wınaa-pugay-'u 'uwas, páaxaci 'úu-pa yuga-xw-puga;  
 run-win-REM-her he hole/OBJ there-DIR enter-ASP-REM  
 but he beat her at it and jumped into a hole;

'u-vwaa-t̄y 'q̄ra-p̄yga, p̄y-paa  
 there-LOC-DIR dig-REM REL-LOC  
 so the She-bear started to dig there, where

ȳyga-xw-kwa-na-paa-t̄ya-'u; 'uwas-'ura ma-vaa k̄ȳma-va  
 enter-ASP-ANT-REL-LOC-DIR-he he-be there-LOC other-LOC  
 he had entered; but he popped out through a different

c̄fiyo-ḡwa-vaci 'úu-pa-paci-'ura, 'ina-xwa-pa'aḡa  
 pop-out-go-BKGR there-pass-BKGR-be other-way-go-away  
 hole and escaped that-a-way, going the other way

miȳa-maa-ḡa;  
 go/far-LOC-GER  
 far away from there;

'u-vwaa-t̄y-'ura sanap̄y 'uni-v̄aci,  
 there-LOC-DIR-be pitch/OBJ do-BKGR  
 and there he made up (his face) with pitch,

sana-p̄y'i-c̄ȳy-v̄aci-'ura, yoḡoov̄aci, tuaci-u  
 pitch-eye-make-BKGR-be coyote child-PL  
 he applied pitch to his own eyes, Coyote did,

qoḡoy-kyay; 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-paci-s; "'ip̄y 'ini-kh 'q̄ra-ḡa?"  
 slaughter-ANT her-LOC-go/to-BKGR-CONJ WH/OBJ do-IMM dig-GER  
 having slaughtered the cubs; then he went back to the She-bear;  
 "What are you doing here digging?"

m̄áy-v̄aci-'u 'ura-'uwas; "'fi-pa núu-gway yáakwi,  
 say-BKGR-her be-he here-DIR person-TOP disappear/IMM  
 he asked her; "Right here that person had disappeared,

'iȳy-pa núu-gway ȳyga-xwa, 'ú tuaci-u-n  
 there-LOC person-TOP enter-go that child-PL-my  
 he entered right through there, the one who slaughtered

qoḡoy-kȳa-t̄y" m̄áy-v̄aci-'ura,  
 slaughter-ANT-NOM say-BKGR-be  
 my cubs" she said,

"'úru-'ura 'uwayas 'q̄ra-ḡa 'ini-kh"  
 that-be him dig-GER do-IMM  
 "So I am digging after him"

'uwayas 'áy-ta-vaci; "'úmy-aa ka-'u-'uwa-py  
 him say-PASS-BKGR you-Q NEG-RED-him-NEG-NOM  
 she told him; "Say, aren't you the one?"

'ura-'áy?"; "háaaa..." 'áy-puga 'ura-'uwas,  
 be-IMM INTJ say-REM be-he  
 "Well now..." he said,

yoğovuci 'u;  
 coyote that  
 that Coyote;

'suna-raa-ci-ci-my-'ura 'ura-'áy, sana-py'i-ci-gya-ty"  
 nephew-DIM-NOM-PL-be be-IMM pitch-eye-NOM/OBJ-have-NOM  
 "They were your own nephews, you little pitch-eyed fellow!"

'áy-vaci 'ura-'uwas; "nú-ga ka-'uni-na-ty 'ara-'áy,  
 say-BKGR be-she I-EMPH NEG-do-ANT/NEG-NOM be-IMM  
 she said; "But I'm not the one who did it,

kumas 'ura-vaci" 'áy-vaci 'ura-'uwas, "'uwa-sapa  
 other be-BKGR say-BKGR be-he him-MOD  
 it was someone else" he said, "It was surely him"

'ura-qa" 'áy-vaci, sana-py'i-ci-kway;  
 be-ANT say-BKGR pitch-eye-NOM-MOD  
 he said, the little pitch-eyed one;

'uwas-'ura-'uru yuga-xw-kway-kwa-'uru paañaci,  
 he-be-that enter-ASP-ANT-SUB-that hole/OBJ  
 Earlier, when he had entered the hole,

'uway tuku-nay 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-puga-vaci, 'ú yoğovuci,  
 that/OBJ mountain-lion-OBJ him-LOC-meet-REM-BKGR that coyote  
 he met this Mountain-lion, Coyote did,

yuga-xw-kway-'uru; x-'ura 'ú túku 'áy-vaci:  
 enter-ASP-SUB-that then-be that mountain-lion say-BKGR  
 on entering the hole; and that Mountain-lion told him:

"'uru-'ura pina-'uni-xw-kwa-s-'uru 'fi-pa qáary-nu"  
 that/OBJ-be follow-do-ASP-SUB-CONJ-that here-DIR run-IMP  
 "When you come down here next time, run this way"

máy-v̄aci-'u, "nú-r̄ukwa-xwa" máy-v̄aci-'u;  
 say-BKGR-him me-under-go say-BKGR-him  
 he told him, "Go under me" he told him;

"'úvway" máy-v̄aci-'u 'ura-'uway, yogôv̄uci 'u;  
 alright say-BKGR-him be-him coyote that  
 "Alright" Coyote told him;

x-'ura-'uru 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-p̄yga, sana-p̄y'i-ci-kway,  
 then-be-that her-LOC-meet-REM pitch-eye-SUB-MOD  
 and so, (when) he went to the She-bear later, with his  
 pitch-covered eyes,

kacu-'u 'iȳavaḡa-p̄ya-s; pina-xwa-'ura-'uru 'uru  
 NEG-her fear-REM/NEG-CONJ later-go-be-that that/OBJ  
 he was not afraid of her; so later on

miȳa-t̄y tavi-ci-'uru, máy-p̄yga-s-'u:  
 far-DIR step-SUB-that say-REM-CONJ-her  
 when once again he had gone far enough, that he taunted her:

"tuaci-u-av t̄yka-ḡa-t̄y" 'áy-p̄yga-s-'u;  
 child-PL-OWN eat-ANT-NOM say-REM-CONJ-her  
 "You've eaten your own children!" he told her;

'úu-pa-s-'u 'uni-wh-paci-s, 'ú kwiyaḡat̄y;  
 there-DIR-CONJ-him do/go-BKGR-CONJ that bear  
 so she chased him that-a-way, the She-bear did;

'uru máy-kya-pi-pa-av (('uni-p̄yga)), 'uwas-'ura tuku 'uway  
 that say-ANT-NOM/REL-LOC-OWN ((do-REM)) he-be mountain-lion/OBJ him  
 so Coyote did what Mountain-lion had told him, ran

'uwa-r̄ukwa-aḡa; "'uȳy..." wacu-wi-ti-ta-vaci-'u...  
 him-under-LOC INTJC overtake-ASP-CAUS-PASS-BKGR-him  
 (he ran) right under him; "Eeeh..." he was almost caught...

wacu-wi-kwa-sapa-na-'ara, 'uwa tȳyvȳ-av  
 overtake-ASP-SUB-MOD-REL-be that/OBJ friend/OBJ-OWN  
 but just when the She-bear was about to catch him,

'uwa-r̄ukwa-aḡa q̄ḡáary-vaci 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s;  
 him-under-LOC run-BKGR there-LOC-go/to-CONJ  
 he ran under his friend and escaped that way;

'uwa-va-tux 'uwaa-wh-paci, túku 'u; paʔa-xw-ta-vaci-'u  
 her-on-to jump-ASP-BKGR mountain-lion that kill-ASP-PASS-BKGR-her  
 and Mountain-lion then pounced on her and killed her

'u-vwaa-tugwa-s; 'qʔ-pa-kw-'u... 'qʔ-y-'u  
 there-LOC-go/to-CONJ back-LOC-go-her back-OBJ-her  
 right there and then; her back... her back

caʔo-pina-ta-vaci; 'ú-vwaa-tugwa-s 'ura-yis-'uru;  
 break-PASS-BKGR there-LOC-go/to-CONJ be-CONJ-that  
 was snapped broken right there and then; so that's what happened;

## COYOTE, WOLF AND HORNED-TOAD

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 9-4-76  
 Recorded by: Neil Cloud  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uwas 'úu-pa-puga-s, 'ính-kway... saḡwa-ry  
 he there-pass-REM-CONJ WH/SUBJ-MOD green-ADJ/OBJ  
 he was passing by that way, what's-his-name... good ol'

'ini-kyā-tū-'uru... kumy 'ya-pi-'uru waḡa-rux...  
 make-ANT-NOM-that corn plant-NOM/OBJ-that sneak-through  
 Green-stuff, that is... sneaking through the cornfields...

'uwas-'ura 'ú... yoḡovūci 'ura-puga...  
 he-be that coyote be-REM  
 it was that... Coyote, it was...

yoḡovūci 'ura-puga-s... yoḡovūci 'uway...  
 coyote be-REM-CONJ coyote/OBJ that/OBJ  
 it was Coyote... and with him...

'uwas-'ura-'uru 'uway... sinaḡvi 'ura-puga-vaci náaḡa...  
 he-be-that that/OBJ wolf be-REM-BKGR maybe  
 it was that one... it was Wolf maybe...

'uway yoḡovūci-wa 'apaḡa-puga-amū nawa-amū;  
 that/OBJ coyote/OBJ-with talk-REM-they RECIP-they  
 he was talking with Coyote;

'uway maḡac'aci-vāḡ-cū 'apaḡa-y; 'uway núu-gway  
 that/OBJ horned-toad/OBJ-LOC-DIR talk-IMM that/OBJ person-TOP  
 they were talking about that Horned-toad; now that one's

nīya((-ḡa-tū)) saḡwa-ry 'ini-kyā-tū 'ura-'ay;  
 name-have-NOM green-ADJ/OBJ make-ANT-NOM be-IMM  
 name is Green-stuff;

'uwas-'ura máy-pugay-'u... pusa-ri-niya-ky-gay-'u,  
 he-be say-REM-him story-tell-BEN-GER-him  
 so Wolf was telling him... he was telling Coyote a story:

'uway yoğovuci: "sağwa-ru 'ini-kyā-tu-ku máa-pağa-y"  
 that/OBJ coyote/OBJ green-ADJ/OBJ make-ANT-NOM-EMPH there-walk-IMM  
 "01' Green-stuff was walking over there"

'áy-puga, "kumuy 'ya-pi maru ma-ğa-rux,  
 say-REM corn plant-NOM/OBJ those/OBJ there-have-across  
 he said, "over there across the corn-field,

wáa-mamaci-u 'iyonna-pağa-y" máy-puga-'ura,  
 two-woman-PL hug-walk-IMM say-REM-be  
 hugging two women" he said,

'uway yoğovuci 'uwa-rux;  
 that/OBJ coyote/OBJ him-to  
 he told Coyote;

'uwas-'ura yoğovuci 'uway 'áy-puga:  
 he-be coyote him say-REM  
 so Coyote asked him:

"súu nú-'ara-tu ta'waci-n-aa 'ura-'ay,  
 strong me-be-DIR man-I-Q be-IMM  
 "Is he stronger than me,

cika-vog-tukwa-ğa-pu-'u, 'ú sağwa-ru  
 scale-round-ANT-NOM-that that green-ADJ/OBJ  
 that scaly round one, the one

'ini-kyā-tu máy-na-amy-'u?" máy-puay-ağay-'u,  
 make-ANT-NOM say-REL-they-him say-REM-CONC-him  
 they call Green-stuff?" he asked Wolf,

"'uway-'ura cika-vog-tukwa-ğa-pu 'u"  
 that/OBJ-be scale-round-ANT-NOM that  
 "that scaly round one"

'áy-puay-ağay-'u;  
 say-REM-CONC-him  
 he asked him;

x-'ura-'uru máy-na-av-'uru 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s-'uru,  
 then-be say-REL-OWN-that there-LOC-go/to-CONJ-that  
 so then, (right after) what he had said to him there,

siyā-pūga, yoḡovūci 'u, siyā-pūga,  
chilly-REM coyote that chilly-REM  
Coyote became very cold, he became quite chilly,

cika-nōq-vi-gyā-tū máy-kya-pūa-na-av-'uru...  
scale-carry-NOM/OBJ-have-NOM/OBJ say-ANT-REM-REL-OWN-that  
just like he had described Horned-toad earlier...

'uway saḡwa-rū 'ini-kyā-tū... máay-'u-'ura  
that/OBJ gree-ADJ/OBJ make-ANT-NOM/OBJ that/OBJ-he-be  
(like) that Green-stuff... it was that (name)

nfiya-ḡa-pūga... x-'ura tugwa-na-'aa-vaa-kw-'uru  
call-ANT-REM then-be night-LOC-be/INCH-MOD-SUB-that  
that he called him... well then later at night

siyā-xw-pūga; 'uway-'ura... 'uway sinaḡvi piwa-y  
chilly-ASP-REM that/OBJ-be that/OBJ wolf/GEN spouse-OBJ  
he became very cold... so her... he crawled under

'uwa-rūkwa-aḡa yuga-vōqō-pūga...  
her-under-have enter-go-REM  
Wolf's wife...

tāa-rūkwa-aḡay-'u...  
skirt-under-have/OBJ-her  
he crawled under her skirt...

wfickus-'ura-'uru 'áy-pūga-s... siyā-xw-pūga 'uwas,  
morning-be-that say-REM-CONJ cilly-ASP-REM he  
so in the morning he said... he had become chilly,

máy-kya-pūa-na-av-'uru... 'u-vwaa-tugwa-sapa-aḡ  
say-ANT-REM-REL-OWN-that/OBJ there-LOC-go/to-MOD-it  
just like he had said (about Horned-toad)... well that's

nū pucucugwa-y 'úru-'u;  
I know-IMM that-EMPH  
as far as I know;

NOTE: It is assumed that Horned-toad knew that Coyote was talking about him, so with the use of Bad-Medicine Power he made Coyote chilly. Presumably, Coyote's slighting description of Horned-Toad hinted at his having cold-blood.

## HOW COYOTE AND BOBCAT GOT THEIR SHAPES

Told by: Harry Richards  
 Date recorded: ca. 1973  
 Recorded by: Arlene Millich  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uwas-kway musutukwici, musutukwici 'ura-puga;  
 he-MOD bobcat bobcat be-REM  
 now speaking of Bobcat, there was Bobcat;

x-'ura kani-vagay-kwa-mi-kway tɔcay'a-u-vwaa-cux;  
 then-be house-walk-go-HAB-MOD prairie-dog-PL-LOC-to  
 he used to go visit the Prairie-dogs;

x-'ura-'uru ma-maay-gya-kw-'uru, 'umy-a-ty ya-yağa-mi,  
 then-be-that RED-see-GER-SUB-that them-PART-NOM RED-cry-HAB  
 and then when they would see him, one of them would cry out,

ya-yağa-mi-kway: "Pit-pit-pit!..." máy 'umuyh-kway;  
 RED-cry-HAB-MOD INTJ-INTJ-INTJ say they/OBJ-MOD  
 he'd keep crying out: "Pit-pit-pit!..." the way they do, you know;

x-'ura 'umys pa'a-mɔtɔni-mi-kway, kani-vaa-tux  
 then-be they complete-escape-HAB-MOD house-LOC-to  
 and so they would all escape,

wagay-kwa-mi, kác x-'ura 'uwas 'ini-vaa-cux 'apağa-mi-'wa;  
 enter/PL-go-HAB NEG then-be he WH/OBJ-LOC-to speak-HAB-NEG  
 they'd scamper into their holes, so that he could never talk  
 with any of them;

'úvway-aɣ-'ura pina-xw, pina-kwa-s sumay-puga púpa  
 then-it-be later-go later-go-CONJ think-REM way  
 so then, finally, he figured out how

mani-vaañi; x-'ura-'uru 'uwas ma-vaa-ty pusağa-puga...  
 do/like-FUT then-be-that he there-LOC-DIR search-REM  
 to do it (approach them); he started searching that-a-way  
 ((gesture))...

yúaa-rývwa-tý pýsağay-pýga; 'úvway-aǎ-'ura-'uru  
ground-down-DIR search-REM then-it-be-that  
he searched down on the ground; finally

'uwas-'ura... 'u-vwaa-tý maay-pýga, whsúvú taci-vi-gya-pý;  
he-be there-LOC-DIR see-REM thorn/GEN-head-NOM-DEFUNC/OBJ  
he... he found an old dried-up cactus-head;

'úru-'ura-'uru pýu-a-y-ux 'uru kýu-pýga,  
that-be-that fur-GEN-OBJ-its that/OBJ take-REM  
so he removed its stickers

'úvway-aǎ-'ura-'uru 'ivici-m-aǎ ciki'wa-pýga;  
then-it-be-that stick/OBJ-LOC-it hoist-REM  
and hoisted it on a stick;

'úvway-aǎ-'ura kani-vağa-kwa-pýga;  
then-it-be house-walk-go-REM  
then he went visiting once again;

'úvway-aǎ-'ura 'umýs-'uru pý-púnikya-pýgay-'u,  
then-it-be they-that RED-see-REM-him  
so once again they saw him,

'úvway-aǎ-'ura-'uru ka-mqtõni-pýa,  
then-it-be-that NEG-escape-REM/NEG  
but this time they did not run away,

'úy pý-púni-kya-pýgay-'u; 'úvway-aǎ-'ura 'uwas  
just RED-look-PL-REM-him then-it-be he  
they just kept looking at him; so he

'umý-vway cugwa-pýga; 'úvway-aǎ-'ura-'uru 'áy-pýga:  
them-LOC go/to-REM then-it-be-that say-REM  
approached them slowly and said:

"tý-týgaa-ka-vaa-ci-amý 'ani-kh  
RED-race-PL-MOD-COMP-yõu/PL do-IMM  
"Say, let's have a contest,

nhka-tý-týgaa-kwaa-ny-aa,  
dance-RED-race-go-IMP-Q  
a dance contest, alright?

ma-vaay wɔgaa-ma-tɔ, tɔpɔy-wɔgaa-ma-tɔ?"  
 there-LOC hillside-LOC-DIR rock-hillside-LOC-DIR  
 over there on the hillside, on that rocky hillside?"

x-'ura-'uru 'ura-xw-pɔga, máy-kya-xw-pɔga: "'ɔɔɔ!..."  
 then-be-that be-ASP-REM say-PL-ASP-REM INTJ  
 so that's what took place then, they all said: "Wow!..."

x-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaa-cawɪ miyɔ-xw-pɔga;  
 then-be-that there-LOC-toward walk/PL-go-REM  
 and then they began to walk down toward him;

'úvway-aɔ-'ura-'uru: "'iyɔ-nɔ-s" 'áy-pɔga...  
 then-it-be-that here-I-CONJ say-REM  
 so he called out: "Here I am" he said...

'úvway-aɔ-'ura 'uwas-'uru pɔni-'ni-pɔga-amɔ;  
 then-it-be he-that look-INT-REM-them  
 and all the while he was watching them closely;

"káava-y mu-muuci-'ini-kya-vaani-amɔ,  
 head-OBJ RED-lower-do-PL-FUT-you/PL  
 "You must all keep your heads down,

mɔni-'ura ka-pɔ-pɔni-kya-vaa-'wa-ni!" máy-pɔga;  
 you/PL-be NEG-RED-look-PL-FUT-NEG-FUT say-REM  
 don't look up!" he said;

x-'ura-'uru mani-kya-pɔga 'umɔs;  
 the-be-that/OBJ do/like-PL-REM they  
 so they did (as he told them);

'úvway-aɔ-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'ura pɔni-'ni-pɔga-amɔ;  
 then-it-be-that he-be look-INT-REM-them  
 and all the while he kept watching them closely;

tɔvɔci yɔu-gwa-tɔ 'ura-vaci 'umɔ-a-tɔ,  
 very fat-have-NOM be-BKGR them-PART-NOM  
 there was one of them who was very fat,

'úvway-aɔ 'uwas-'uru cigisi-tɔɔna-pɔgay-'u,  
 then-it he-that spear-poke-REM-him  
 so he speared him

páaya-nh-pa-'u wɔnaa-pɔga; 'ú-'uni-pɔga-amɔ-'ura,  
 side-LOC-DIR-him throw-REM RED-d̄o-REM-them-be  
 and pitched him off the hillside; he did that to all of them,

súu-ku 'uni-pɔga-s, súu-ku 'uni-'h-pɔga-s,  
 one-OBJ do-REM-CONJ one-OBJ do-ASP-REM-CONJ  
 one after the other,

'ú-'uni-amɔ-'ura-'uru qoxoy-pɔga 'uwas;  
 RED-d̄o-them-be-that slaughter-REM he  
 and doing that repeatedly, he slaughtered them;

'úvway-aɣ-'ura-'uru 'ɔvɔs-pɔga, 'ava'na-tɔ-mɔ  
 then-it-be-that end-REM many-NOM-PL/OBJ  
 finally it ended, he had slaughtered a whole bunch,

x-'ura 'ɔvɔs-pɔga;  
 then-be end-REM  
 then it was all over;

'úvway-aɣ-'ura-'uru páǵa-kwa-pɔga 'uwas;  
 then-it-be-that go-go-REM he  
 so then he took off;

'úvway-aɣ-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaa tugwa-pɔga,  
 then-it-be-that there-LOC go/to-REM  
 but presently he came back there,

pɔ-paa-amɔ-'uru kwa-kwayvi((-na))-pɔɔ-tux;  
 REL-LOC-they-that RED-lie/PL-REL-LOC-to  
 to where they had been scattered all over;

'ú-vwaa-tugwa-amɔ cɔɔ-pɔga, tɔcɔy'a-y  
 there-LOC-to-them pick-REM prairie-dog-OBJ  
 and he picked them up there and,

nɔɔ'wa-ǵa páǵa-kwa-pɔga, páa-va-cawɔ tɔvwa;  
 carry-GER go-go-REM water-LOC-toward down  
 carrying the dead prairie-dogs, he took off going down toward  
 the river;

'ú-vwa páa-va'o karɔ-xw-pɔga, saǵoy'a-pɔga-amɔ;  
 there-LOC water-LOC sit-ASP-REM butcher-REM-them  
 and he sat near the water and butchered them;

x-'ura-'uru 'ú-vway na'a-ti-pyga pina-xwa, x-'ura 'u-vwa-amy  
 the-be-that there-LOC fire-CAUS-REM later-go then-be there-LOC-them  
 then he made fire and

tfi tɔ'ma-pyga; tɔka-vaani-amy 'uwas 'úvway-aɣ,  
 high roast-REM eat-FUT-them he then-it  
 roasted them above (the fire); he was going to eat them right  
 away,

x-'ura-'uru... 'imi-tux kwáa-pyga; 'ú-vwaa 'avaa-vi-pa  
 then-be-that away-to go-REM there-LOC shade-NOM/OBJ-LOC  
 but then... he moved a bit out of the way; and there

'avi-xw-pyga, pyi-pyga... pyi-kwa-vaci;  
 lie-ASP-REM sleep-REM sleep-go-REM there-LOC-be  
 he lay down and slept... he went to sleep;

'ú-vwaa-'ura 'avi-pyga, pyi-pyga,; 'uvvɔs x-'ura  
 there-LOC-be lie-REM sleep-REM end then-be  
 so he was lying there, sleeping; well then

pyi-kw-'u... pyi-pyga;  
 sleep-SUB-he sleep-REM  
 while he was asleep... so he slept;

x-'ura pina-xwa-s-'u yoɣovɔci 'u máa-pa  
 then-be later-go-CONJ-that coyote that there-LOC  
 then, later on, Coyote

paɣay'wa-pyga, ((púupa)) paɣay'wa-pɔ-av;  
 walk-REM way walk-NOM-OWN  
 walked by there, the way he usually walks around;

'úru-'ura 'aɣa-mi-tugwa-sapa púupa kwana-vaci...  
 that-be WH-LOC-go/to-MOD way smell-BKGR  
 whichever way he was going, the way he smells...

miyɔ-pyga-vaci; x-'ura-'uru 'ugwi-vaci-'u,  
 move-REM-BKGR then-be-that smell-BKGR-he  
 he was moving about; then suddenly he picked up a smell,

kwanaa-na-kw 'uru 'ugwi-vaci; 'úvway-aɣ-'ura-'uru  
 smell-REL-it that/OBJ smell-BKGR then-it-be-that  
 he smelled ((those roasting prairie-dogs)) that were producing  
 the smell;

natʉnay-vəci-uk, 'ugwi-natʉnay-vəci-uk,  
 track-BKGR-it smell-track-BKGR-it  
 so he started following it, he tracked it down by smell,

'ugwi-'a-vaci-uk; x-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaa-tugwa-'u maay-puga,  
 smell-ASP-BKGR-it the-be-that there-LOC-to-him see-REM  
 he smelled his way toward it; finally he looked in Bobcat's  
 direction and saw him,

'u-vwaa 'ura-puga, 'i-vəq-ni; 'úvway-aʃ-'ura 'ina-kwa-pu  
 there-LOC be-REM here-LOC-like then-it-be near-go-NOM  
 he was right there; and right there, near by,

núuci 'avi-puga, pu-pui-puga;  
 person lie-REM RED-sleep-REM  
 there was a person lying, fast asleep;

'uwas-'ura 'u-vwaa tugwa-puga, pʉni-'ni-pugay-'u;  
 he-be there-LOC go/to-REM look-INT-REM-him  
 so Coyote approached and examined the sleeper carefully;

'úniguni tʉqəy'a((-u)) tʉ'ma-ʃa-ʃa-puga;  
 lo prairie-dog-PL roast-PASS-ANT-REM  
 then (he saw that) someone had been roasting prairie-dogs there;

'u-vwaa-tugwa 'umqas 'qra-pu 'uni-pugay-ku,  
 there-LOC-go/to their dig-NOM/OBJ do-REM-it  
 so he went down there and dug out their roasting-pit,

'ipʉ-a-xw-'uru 'ini-kya-na, 'imi-tugwa-ux mani-puga;  
 WH-OBJ-it-that do-ANT-REL away-go/to-it do/like-REM  
 whatever it was he did, he took them out of the pit;

'úvway-aʃ-'ura-'uru tʉ'uma-puga-amy,  
 then-it-be-that take-REM-them  
 then he took them all

x-'ura 'imi-tux pága-kwa-puga; 'úvway-aʃ-'ura-'uru  
 then-be away-to go-go-REM then-it-be-that  
 and went some distance away from there; and then

karʉ((-xw))-puga, tʉka-puga 'ú-vway;  
 sit-ASP-REM eat-REM there-LOC  
 he sat down there and ate them;

x-'ura t̄yka-xw-p̄yga-am̄y, pa'a-s̄qwa-xw-p̄yga-am̄y;  
 then-be eat-ASP-REM-them complete-swallow-REM-them  
 he ate them, he gobbled them all up;

x-'ura-'uru 'uni-maku-ci-am̄y-'uru, 'uru taci-am̄y  
 then-be-that do-finish-SUB-them-that that/OBJ head-their  
 when he had finished eating them,

'uru 'úu-pa-s yáa'wa-xw-p̄yga, 'u-vwaa-s̄y-kw  
 that/OBJ there-DIR-CONJ carry-ASP-REM there-LOC-CONJ-it  
 he carried their heads away

sōgo'mi-p̄yga; 'ivici 'uu-pa yuna-'a-p̄yga; x-'ura-'uru  
 bury-REM stick/OBJ there-DIR put-ASP-REM then-be-that  
 and buried them there; and then he replaced them (in the pit)  
 with sticks;

sōgo'mi-x̄a-p̄yga 'um̄ys; x-'ura 'uwas núuci 'u  
 bury-ANT/PASS-REM they then-be he person that  
 so the prairie dogs were buried; and all the while that person

ma-vaa 'avi-p̄yga;  
 there-LOC lie-REM

(Bobcat) was lying there (asleep);

x-'ura-s 'uwa-vaa cugwa-p̄yga, ka-tav̄y'ni-p̄ya 'uwas;  
 then-be him-LOC go/to-REM NEG-wake-up-REM/NEG he  
 so Coyote went to him, Bobcat had still not woken up;

x-'ura nykava-y-'a 'uru 'uni-'wa-p̄yga, pana-xwa-ux  
 then-be ear-OBJ-his that/OBJ do-ASP-REM down-go-it  
 so he did this to his ear,

ma-yaakwa-xw-p̄yga; m̄qv̄t'q-'a 'imi-tux  
 hand-sink-ASP-REM nose-his toward-him-go  
 he pressed them down (into the ear-hole) with his hand;

ma-yaakwa-xw-p̄yga... sināq((-m̄qv̄t'a))- 'u...  
 hand-sink-ASP-REM wolf-nose-his

and he pressed his nose down with his hand... his wolf-like nose...

'uwa-vaa-caw̄i; m̄fi-p̄y-ci-'a qova-ta-p̄yga; kwasi-'a 'uru,  
 him-LOC-toward small-DIM-NOM-his face-PASS/be-REM tail-his that/OBJ  
 he pushed it into his face; so his face became quite small;  
 then his tail,

pa'a-toḡo-t̄y kwasi-gya-p̄yga((-vaci)) 'uwas  
 complete-straight-NOMN/OBJ tail-have-REM-BKGR he  
 he used to have a long tail,

musutukwici; 'uru kwasi-'a 'uru ma-rukwa-na-p̄yga-s,  
 bobcat that/OBJ tail-his that/OBJ hand-turn-HAB-REM-CONJ  
 Bobcat did; so he swisted his tail with his hand backwards,

'úu-pa-s t̄fi 'imi-tux; m̄fi-p̄y-ci kwasi-ta-p̄yga;  
 there-DIR-CONJ high toward-him-go small-DIM-NOM/OBJ tail-PASS/be-REM  
 that-a-way high toward him; so his tail became quite small;

x-'ura 'avi-p̄yga, p̄y-p̄yi-p̄yga; 'uwas-'ura  
 then-be lie-REM RED-sleep-REM he-be  
 and all the while Bobcat was lying there, fast asleep;

t̄yka-x̄ay-kw-'uru, p̄áḡa-kwa-p̄yga, máa-pa 'imi-tux  
 eat-ANT-SUB-that go-go-REM there-DIR away-to  
 finally, having eaten, Coyote took off, (going) that-a-way

k̄yma-rux;  
 other-toward  
 toward other parts;

pina-xw-'ura 'uwas tav̄y'ni-p̄yga; 'úvway-a<sup>̄</sup>x-'ura-s  
 later-go-be he wake-up-REM then-it-be-CONJ  
 finally Bobcat woke up; and

tav̄y'ni-kw-'uru, m̄fi-p̄y-v̄y-ci m̄qv̄t'ḡ-ci-gya-p̄yga,  
 wake-up-SUB-that small-DIM-NOM/OBJ nose-DIM/OBJ-have-REM  
 when he woke up, he (saw that he) had a tiny little nose,

kwasi-gya-p̄y-'u ka-pa'a-toḡo-p̄yga, m̄fi-p̄y-v̄y-ci  
 tail-DEFUNC-his NEG-long-straight-REM/NEG small-DIM-NOM/OBJ  
 his poor tail was not long any more,

kwasi-gya-p̄yga; ((x-'ura)) máy-p̄yga: "toḡoy-k̄y  
 tail-have-REM then-be say-REM well-EMPH  
 he had a tiny little tail; so he said: "Well and good,

'úu-pa-saa-pani" máy-p̄yga; 'úvway-a<sup>̄</sup>x-'ura-s  
 there-DIR-TOP-like say-REM then-it-be-CONJ  
 this is the way it is" he said; then

'u-vwaa-tugwa-puga, tuka-vaa-ci, tqçay'a-u 'umų;  
 there-LOC-go/to-REM eat-FUT-COMP prairie-dog-PL those/OBJ  
 he went down, to eat, the prairie dogs;

'u-vwaa-tų mani-pugay-kw, 'u-vwaa taci-gya-pų-sų-mų  
 there-LOC-DIR do/like-REM-SUB there-LOC head-DEFUNC-CONJ-PL/OBJ  
 well, once there he started doing like this ((gesture; sifting  
 in the ashes)), and (he saw) their dead heads

'úu-pa yu-yugwi-puga; ka-'iyā-na-pya  
 there-DIR RED-sit/PL-REM NEG-there-LOC/be-REM/NEG  
 scattered all over there; there was nothing left of

núu-aagay-kya-na-amų; 'ųvųs...  
 body-have-ANT-REL-their end  
 their bodies (that had been there); well...

"'ini-sapa-amų-'ura 'uni-'wh, 'ini-caa-amų-'ura 'ini-'wh"  
 WH/SUBJ-MOD-them-be do-ASP WH/SUBJ-ASP-them-be do-ASP  
 "Now who the deuce could have eaten them? Who could have possibly  
 done it?"

máy-puga 'uwas; "'ú-aa kac-'aa-pų-'u yoğovųci-'aa-pų?"  
 say-REM he that-Q NEG-be-MOD-that coyote-be-MOD  
 he said; "Couldn't it possibly be that Coyote?"

máy-puga; "'ağa-pa 'ú-vway páğa-kway-kya-vų?"  
 say-REM WH/LOC-DIR there-LOC go-go-ANT-NOM/MOD  
 he asked himself; "I wonder which way he has gone?"

máy-puga; 'úvway-ađ-'ura-'uru na'ayh-puga,  
 say-REM then-it-be-that angry-REM  
 he said; and now he got real mad,

natq'na-vqrq-pugay-'u; 'úniguni: "'úu-pa-đa-puga!"  
 track-walk-REM-him lo there-DIR/go-ANT-REM  
 and started tracking him around; and then suddenly: "He went  
 that-a-way! ((gesture))".

máy-puga, "'úu-pa-đa-puga 'ura-'uwas!";  
 say-REM there-DIR/go-ANT-REM be-he  
 he said, "He went that-a-way! ((gesture))".

'uwas natq'na-xw-pugay-'u; x-'ura pqtq'ni-ci-paa-tux  
 he track-ASP-REM-him then-be hill-NOM/OBJ-LOD-to  
 so Bobcat went on tracking Coyote; and then on the hillside,

'uwas-'uru núuci 'u-vwaa 'avi-pyga qovaa-va-'u,  
 he-that person there-LOC lie-REM face-on-his  
 there was a person lying down on his face,

'avaa-vi-túkwa kúyh-pa 'avi-pyga,  
 shade-NOM/OBJ-under agape-LOC lie-REM  
 down in the shade with his mouth open,

tqçay'a-ryka-x̄a-t̄y 'u; x-'ura 'uwas 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-pyga,  
 prairie-dog-eat-ANT-NOM that then-be he him-LOC-go/to-REM  
 the one who ate the prairie-dogs; so Bobcat approached him slowly

'uwa-vaa-cawi-tux w̄nȳ-pyga; m̄qv̄t'q-aa-'u  
 him-LOC-go-to stand-REM nose-GEN-his  
 and stood over him;

piyq̄gwa-xw-pyga, pana-xwa, m̄qv̄t'q-aa-'u  
 pull-ASP-REM down-go nose-GEN-his  
 and he pulled his nose, downward, so it became

pa'a-toḡo-t̄y m̄qv̄t'q-ta-pyga; nykava-y-'a-'uru  
 long-straight-NOM/OBJ nose-become/PASS-REM ear-OBJ-his-that/OBJ  
 a very long nose; and he also pulled

t̄fi ta-tukwa'a-xw-pyga-s; kwasi-'a-'uru  
 high foot-stretch-ASP-REM-CONJ tail-his-that/OBJ  
 his ears up; and also his tail,

ta-tukwa'a-pyga-s; 'ȳv̄ȳs, pa'a-toḡo-t̄y kwasi-ta-pyga;  
 foot-stretch-REM-CONJ end long-straight-NOM/OBJ tail-become/PASS-REM  
 he stretched it; well, so it became a very long tail;

'ȳv̄ȳs, 'uni-gya-s, páḡa-kwa-pyga;  
 end do-GER-CONJ go-go-REM  
 and having done all that, Bobcat took off;

x-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'u-vwaa-s 'avi-pyga; pina-xwa-s-'ura  
 then-be he-that there-LOC-CONJ lie-REM later-go-CONJ-be  
 and all the while Coyote was lying there ((asleep));

tav̄ȳ'ni-pyga, ka-'uway-'a-kwa-py; x-'ura-'uru  
 wake-up-REM NEG-aware-have/NEG-SUB-NOM then-be-that  
 finally he woke up, unaware (of what had happened to him);

pynikyay-kwa-'u, na'a-pa'a-toḡo-tu kwasi-gya-puga,  
 see-SUB-he very-long-straight-NOM/OBJ tail-have-REM  
 so then when he looked, (he saw that) he had a very long tail,

mḡvḡt'ḡ-gwa-pu-'u ciya-pu-vu-ci-'a, nḡkava-'u-'ura  
 nose-DEFUNC-his narrow-NOM-DIM-he ear-his-be  
 and his nose was real narrow, and his ears

pa'a-toḡo-puga-s; x-'ura 'uwas-'uru pḡni-'ni-puga,  
 long-straight-REM-CONJ then-be he-that look-INT-REM  
 were real long; so he looked carefully around,

na-vḡni-'ni-puga, x-'ura-yis 'áy-puga: "toḡoy-kwa,  
 REFL-look-INT-REM then-be-CONJ say-REM well-ASP  
 he examined himself carefully, and then said: "Well now,

'úu-pa-sa-pani, tḡpḡy-ci páaxaci-paa-tu 'ivi-ta"  
 there-DIR-TOP-like rock/GEN hole/OBJ-LOC-DIR drink-NOM/PASS  
 that's the way it goes, it (the nose) will do for drinking out  
 of holes in the rock"

máy-puga; x-'ura-'uru páḡa-kwa-puga 'úu-pa;  
 say-REM then-be-that go-go-REM there-DIR  
 he said; then he took off that-a-way;

x-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaa-tu tḡpḡy-mi-tu...  
 then-be-that there-LOC-DIR rock-LOC-DIR  
 so later on, in the rocks...

tḡpḡy-ci 'úru 'ḡvaagá-caa-puga; 'uwas 'úu-pa  
 rock that holey-ASP-REM he there-DIR  
 there was that hole-poked rock there; so he

tḡvwa mu-mukwi-'ni-puga: "toḡoy-kwa-'u-pu tḡy-'ay"  
 below RED-stick-nose-REM well-ASP-he-NOM good-IMM  
 stuck his nose repeatedly in the holes: "It works well, it's good"

máy-puga, "'uru 'uwa-'wi-kway-kw-'uru páa-aḡa-kw-aḡ-'uru,  
 say-REM that rain-INCH-ANT-SUB-that water-have-SUB-it-that  
 he said, "and when it rained and there's water (in the holes),

'ivi-vaa-ci, máa-pa mu-mukwi-kya-vaa-ci  
 drink-FUT-SUB there-DIR RED-stick-nose-ANT-MOD-SUB  
 I may drink, I'll be able to stick my nose

má-naaga tɔvwa" máy-pɔga;  
 there-in down say-REM  
 down in there" he said;

'ɔvɔs 'ura-pɔga; 'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa 'úru  
 end be-REM there-LOC-go/to-MOD that  
 well that's it; that's as far as it went;

'ura-pɔga; 'ú-vwaa-sapa-'ura thpɔy-kw-pɔga, púupa  
 be-REM there-LOC-MOD-be end-ASP-REM way  
 that's where it ended, the way

'ura-qa-na; 'ɔvɔs-'ura;  
 be-ANT-REL end-be  
 it was; that's the end;

## RABBIT GETTING MAD

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 10-17-76  
 Recorded by: Neil Cloud  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

tav̄ci 'uwas 'ura-p̄ga, w̄it̄ys-'uru; kác...  
 rabbit he be-REM past-that NEG  
 there was Rabbit once, long time ago; no...

c̄fi-magu'na-p̄gay-'u 'uway tav̄ci, p̄-p̄i-ḡw-'u...  
 sharp-poke-REM-him that/OBJ rabbit/OBJ RED-sleep-SUB-he  
 ((the Sun)) kept poking him sharply ((in the eye)), when he was  
 sleeping...

ka-p̄-p̄i-na-p̄a; 'uwas-'ura-'uru mar̄y tav̄ci mar̄y  
 NEG-RED-sleep-HAB-REM/NEG he-be-that that/GEN sun/GEN that/GEN  
 so he could never sleep ((late)); whenever the Sun

mawisi-kw-'uru, c̄fi-magu'na-mia-'u-kway;  
 appear-SUB-that sharp-poke-HAB-him-MOD  
 rose, it would poke him sharply, just like that;

x-'ura-'uru 'uwas na'ayh-kwa-p̄ga; 'uwas 'u tav̄ci 'uway  
 then-be-that he angry-ASP-REM he that rabbit/GEN that/GEN  
 finally he got real mad; his name is "Rabbit" ((nowadays)),

n̄fya-'a 'úru-'ura, 'ḡḡḡv̄-p̄ca-v̄-ci  
 name-his that-be hard-leather-shoe-DIM-NOM  
 ((but in those days)) it used to be "Little Hard-Leather Shoe";

(('ura-na-p̄ga)); máa-y n̄fya-a-ḡa-ty 'uwas-'uru...  
 be-HAB-REM he-GEN name-GEN-have-NOM he-that  
 it was his name ((in those days))...

'uwas-'ura na'ayh-kwa-ci-'uru, páḡa-kwa-p̄ga,  
 he-be angry-ASP-SJB-that walk-go-REM  
 so when he got mad, he took off,

'u-vwaa-cawi 'uru tavaci mawisi-mi-tux; na'ayh-kwa-puga,  
 there-LOC-toward that/GEN sun/GEN appear-LOC-to mad-ASP-REM  
 toward where the Sun rises; he got real mad,

maru tavaci, ma-vaa-cawi 'uni-'a-puga,  
 that/OBJ sun/OBJ there-LOC-toward do-ASP-REM  
 at the Sun, so he took off that-a-way,

pağay-'wa-puga-'ura;  
 walk-ASP-REM-be  
 he was walking;

pağay-'wa-kw-'ura-'uru, 'i-vaa-ni wáy-ni... wáy-ni  
 walk-ASP-SUB-be-that here-LOC-like two-SURJ two-SUBJ  
 as he was walking along, ((he saw)) two... two

'uni-'ni-puga tųpųyci 'u-rųkwa... 'úniguni-'ura  
 do-INT-REM rock/OBJ there-under lo-be  
 ((creatures)) were there under a rock... and lo,

'ayqoci-vų-u 'ura-puga, waa-mfi-pų-vų-ci-u;  
 dove-DIM-PL be-REM two-small-NOM-DIM-NOM-PL  
 they were small doves, two baby doves;

'úmu-'ura-'uru tųpųyci-amų 'u-rųkwa-xwa...  
 they-be-that rock/OBJ-they there-under-go  
 they were under the rock there...

'u-rųkwa-xwa-tų cųkur'a-puga, 'u-vwaa-tų-amų  
 there-under-go-DIR poke-REM there-LOC-DİR-they  
 they were poking there underneath, they were

ku-kuci-piyogwa-puga; 'úru-'ura 'uru tųpųyci  
 RED-suck-pull-REM that-be that/OBJ rock/OBJ  
 pulling something out down there; and there under the rock

'u-rųkwa-xwa 'avi-puga pfa-ci-gyapų((-amų));  
 there-under-go lie-REM mother-NOM-DEFUN-their  
 their dead mother was lying;

tuguu-vų-'uru, tųpųyci 'úru 'upağa-kwa-puga  
 stash-NOM/SUB-that rock that roll-ASP-REM  
 when she was stashing (something there), the rock rolled

'uwa-va-tux; 'u-rykwa-'ura 'uwas 'avi-vi-ci-s;  
 her-on-to there-under-be she lie-NOM-NOM-CONJ  
 on top of her; she was lying down there;

x-'ura-'uru 'umy-vaa-cugwa-puga: "'ipy-amy 'ini-kh?"  
 then-be-that them-LOC-go/to-REM WH/OBJ-you/PL do-IMM  
 so Rabbit approached the two little doves; "What are you

"'i-vaa-nymy-s tyka-pysagay-ci-mi"  
 here-LOC-we/EXCL-CONJ eat-search-NOM/ASP-HAB  
 doing?" (he asked them); "We are looking for food here"

((máy-pugay-'u)), cükür'a-ci-miya-amy;  
 say-REM-him poke-SUB-go/PL-they  
 they told him, as they went on poking;

pikyaa-vyni-kya-py-my x-'ura 'umys 'ura-puga;  
 sore-look-ANT-NOM-PL then-be they be-REM  
 they were covered with sores all over;

'umys-'ura-'uru... 'uwas-'ura-'uru 'úvway-aǎ 'áy-puga:  
 they-be-that he-be-that then-it say-REM  
 so then they... so then he said:

"'uvwiya-ga ma-vaa-kwa karu-gwa" 'áy-puga, "kacy-my-'ura  
 EXHORT-TOP there-LOC-go sit-go/IMP say-REM NEG-you-be  
 "You two go sit over there" he said, "and don't

nú-vwaa-cy pyni-vaani-py-a-y" 'áy-puga-'ura 'uwas,  
 me-LOC-DIR look-FUT-MOD/NOM-NEG-OBJ say-REM-be he  
 look in my direction" he warned them,

"kwáa-ty-gwa-my karu-nu!" máy-puga-'ura;  
 turn-DIR-go-you sit-IMP say-REM-be  
 "Keep your backs turned!" he said;

kwáa-ty-gwa-sy-my 'umys karu-py-ci-gya, x-'ura-'uru  
 turn-DIR-go-CONJ-PL they sit-NOM-SUB-GER then-be-that  
 so when they turned their backs (on him),

tavuci 'u 'uru tųpųyci 'imi-tux tųravi-puga;  
 rabbit that that/OBJ rock/OBJ away-to throw-REM  
 Rabbit rolled the rock off ((their dead mother));

kutu-'u-kway 'a-'aka-kusi-'ni s̄u-ri-kw-'u;  
 butt-his-MOD RED-red-glow-INT/IMM s̄trong-INCH-SUB-he  
 his butt turned glowing red from the effort;

'ú s̄w-iini p̄nikya-p̄ga; "'úúú!" 'áy-p̄ga;  
 that one-SUBJ see-REM INTJ say-REM  
 but one of them ((looked and)) saw it; "Wow!" he said;

s̄u-ci-ni: "toḡoy-ni, kutu-kway-gya-na-'u  
 other-NOM-SUBJ well-like butt-MOD-have-REL-his  
 and the other then ((looked and said)): "Wow, his ol' butt

'a-'aka-kusi-'ni!" 'áy-p̄ga; x-'ura s̄w-iini 'áy-p̄ga:  
 RED-red-glow-INT/IMM say-REM; then-be other-SUBJ say-REM  
 is glowing red!" he said; so the first one said:

"kaci-'a p̄ni-n̄-vaa-'wa-ni máy-kya n̄gway" 'áy-p̄ga  
 NEG-he look-IMP-FUT-NEG-FUT say-ANT TOP say-REM  
 "He told us not to look" he said,

suwa-'ava-ci-ci-m̄y;  
 almost-big-NOM-DIM-AN  
 the one who was a bit bigger;

'ú-am̄y-'ura-'uru t̄ka-pi-am̄y nawi-na-mi-tux  
 that-them-be-that eat-NOM/OBJ-their open-LOC-LOC-to  
 so that way Rabbit got their food out into the open

'ini-k̄y-p̄ga 'ú tav̄ci; 'u-vwa-s 'úvway-'ura  
 do-BEN-REM that rabbit there-LOC-CONJ then-be  
 for them; and then,

p̄ḡ-am̄y 'uway 'avi-kw-'uru, naci-t̄ḡ-'nap̄-m-av  
 mother-their that/GEN lie-SUB-that walking-cane-INSTR-with-OWN  
 with their mother lying there (under the rock), he began

kwi-kwip̄-u-p̄ga-s; 'uwas-'ura k̄ȳki-p̄ga,  
 RED-hit-INCEP-RED-CONJ she-be get-up-REM  
 hitting her with his walking cane; and she got up,

pi-viḡ-am̄y 'u; x-'ura p̄ḡ-ta-p̄ga;  
 RED-mother-their that then-be mother-be/PASS-REM  
 their mother did; so they had a mother again;

toḡoy-kw-am̄y-'uru, páḡa-kwa-pyga-s;  
 well-SUB-they-that walk-go-REM-CONJ  
 now all being well with them, Rabbit took off again;

'úȳȳ... máa-pa 'uni-'a-pyga, ta-tavaci  
 INTJ there-DIR do-ASP-REM RED-sun/GEN  
 eeee... he went that-a-way ((gesture)), toward where the

mawisi-mi-tux; manu-xw-t̄y-aa-s t̄yvȳyi-paḡa-na-pyga:  
 appear-HAB/LOC-to all-OBJ-NOM-OBJ-CONJ ask-walk-HAB-REM  
 Sun rises; he kept going and asking everybody:

"'úmȳ 'aḡa-ni-paa-t̄y?" máy-paḡa-na-pyga;  
 you WH/OBJ-do-FUT-NOM say-walk-HAB-REM  
 "What will you do ((when the Sun comes scorching))?" he kept  
 going and asking;

'uru ma'av̄ȳ 'uwa-vaa-c̄y... 'áa-'u-vwaa-ni t̄yḡay-pyga...  
 that/OBJ bush/OBJ him-LOC-DIR very-there-LOC-like approach-REM  
 ((he asked)) that bush.... he was getting very close there ((to  
 where the Sun rises))...

x-'ura s̄úw-iini 'u... 'uwas-'ura-'uru... ma'av̄ȳ-ci 'ura-mi...  
 then-be other-SUBJ that he-be-that bush-DIM be-HAB  
 it's another one... it's that one... it's a small bush...

ka-pa'a-ci-wa-t̄y... k̄ȳ-gwana-v̄i máy-kya-mi-py...  
 NEG-tall-NOM-NEG-NOM gum-smell-NOM say-PL-HAB-NOM  
 not a tall one... they call it "Gum-bush"...

'úru-'ura-'uru 'áy-pyga: "n̄ȳ-n̄ȳ n̄ȳ-vwaa-aḡa-t̄y  
 that-be-that say-REM I-I I-LOC-over-DIR  
 so the Gum-bush replied: "It will pass over me

"ts̄ȳȳ-k̄ȳȳ" máy-paa-t̄y na'a-ci" 'áy-pyga;  
 INTJ-INTJ say-FUT-NOM burn-SUB say-REM  
 saying "tsss-keee" as it burns" he said;

'úru-'ura-'uru 'uwas 'u k̄ȳtu-a-'a-m t̄ȳna-vaa-t̄y  
 that-be-that he that butt-GEN-his-with root-LOC-DIR  
 so Rabbit dug ((a shelter hole)) with his butt at the root

'ḡra-pyga; 'ḡra-pyḡay-kw-'uru... x-'ura-'uru  
 dig-REM dig-REM-SUB-that then-be-that  
 ((of the Gum-bush)); and when he had dug... then

'qra-maku-caa-kw-'uru, páǵa-kwa-pyga...  
 dig-finish-ASP-SUB-that walk-go-REM  
 when he finished digging, he went on...

'ǵǵǵ... 'uni-'wa-pyga... "pa'a-kutupy  
 INTJ do-ASP-REM complete-stump/OBJ  
 eeee... he went on... "(everything) will burn down to the

na'a-vaa-tu" máy-kya-na-py 'urus manux-ty-s; ma'avu  
 burn-FUT-NOM say-PL-REL-NOM it all-NOM-CONJ/SUBJ bush  
 stump" everybody (had) warned him ((about the Gum-bush));

((máy-kya-pyga)): "tupuyci yáqxi-pǵǵ-tu  
 say-ANT-REM rock/GEN crack-FUT-NOM  
 but the Gum-bush (had) told him: "The rock will crumble down

kuturuuci-'aa-ci" máy-pyga, 'ú-'uru-sapa máy-pyga,  
 hot-ASP-SUB say-REM that-that-MOD say-REM  
 once it got real hot" that's what he told him,

kúy-gwana-vi 'u; 'úru-'ura-'uru  
 gum-smell-NOM that that-be-that  
 the Gum-bush did; so that's how Rabbit,

kani-cy-ci-'uru, páǵa-kwa-vaci;  
 house/OBJ-build-SUB-that walk-go-REM  
 having built his shelter (there), took off;

'ǵǵǵ... 'áa-vaa-ni-'a tǵgay-pǵaci tavaci  
 INTJ very-LOC-like-he approach-BKGR sun/GEN  
 eeee... he went that-a-way coming real close to where

maru mawisi-mi-pa; 'u-vwaa-tugwa-xw-kwa-vaci, 'uwas-'ura-'uru  
 that/GEN rise-HAB-LOC there-LOC-go/to-ASP-SUB-BKGR he-be-that  
 the Sun rose; when he arrived there, the Sun

tavaci mawisi-vaci, cfi-mukwi-ty-'u x-'ura-mi 'uway,  
 sun rise-BKGR sharp-poke-NOM-him then-be-HAB that/OBJ  
 was just rising, so it poked him sharply ((in the eye)),

tavaci, mawisi-kw-'uru; 'uwas-'ura 'ǵǵ-xwa-paci-ux  
 rabbit/OBJ appear-SUB-that he-be back-go-BKGR-it  
 poked Rabbit, when it rose; so Rabbit sneaked behind

'uru tavaci... 'uru-'ura 'uru kwip̄-paci-uk,  
that/OBJ sun/OBJ that-be that/OBJ hit-BKGR-it  
the Sun... and right there he hit it,

yáxi-ti-p̄aci-uk 'uru tavaci; "tavaci máy-kya-paa-p̄y,  
crack-CAUS-BKGR-it that/OBJ sun/OBJ sun say-PL-FUT-MOD  
and he cracked the Sun; "They'll call you "Sun" ((from now on)),

ka-tuu-'a-vaa((-wa))-t̄y!" 'áy-p̄ygay-xw-'ura;  
NEG-mean-have/NEG-FUT-NEG-NOM say-REM-it-be  
so that you won't be so mean!" he told it;

'urus-'ura kuna-tavi-navici-kwa-p̄yga manu-xw-paa-tux;  
it-be fire-step-MASS-INCEP-REM all-OBJ-DIR-to  
so then the Sun began to splash fire all over everything;

'uwas-'ura q̄x̄āaary-p̄y-ci-gya...  
he-be run-DIM-NOM/ASP-GER  
and little ol' Rabbit took off running...

'úȳȳ... 'uru k̄ȳ-gwana-vwaa-tux; 'uru-kway t̄yga-xw...  
INTJ that/OBJ gum-smell-LOC-to that/OBJ-go arrive-SUB  
eeee... toward the Gum-bush; when he arrived there...

má-raa-sapa... 'uru-kway t̄ygay-p̄yga, 'uwa-vaa-xw-t̄y  
that-be/like-MOD that/OBJ-go arrive-REM him-LOC-go-DIR  
that kind... so he arrived there, and the Sun splashed

tavi-navici-p̄yga 'urus; 'úru-'ura-'uru 'q̄t̄q̄-xwa-ȳ  
step-MASS-REM it that-be-that brown-have-ADJ  
((fire)) all over him; that's why his fur is brown,

'ura-vaci 'úru p̄ȳ-aa-'u, kwiya-p̄yga-t̄y;  
be-BKGR that fur-GEN-his burn-REM-NOM  
it got burned;

(('uwas-'ura)) kar̄y-p̄yga, pa'a-manuxw-t̄y-s  
he-be sit-REM complete-all-OBJ-NOM-SUBJ  
so Rabbit was sitting there, everything

na'ayh-kwa-p̄yga; x-'usa pága-kwa-p̄yga-s 'úvway-āx̄;  
burn-ASP-REM then-be walk-go-REM-CONJ then-it  
was burning ((all around him)); finally he took off again;

'áaaaaa-ni 'uni-'wa-puga; x-'ura 'i-vaa-ni  
 very-like do-ASP-REM then-be here-LOC-like  
 lo -- he kept going; then right there

'uni-'ni-puga kwiyaḡat̩, 'uru payuki-u-kwa-'u;  
 do-INT-REM bear that return-INCEP-SUB-he  
 there was a Bear, when Rabbit had just come back;

x-'ura 'áy-vaci: "mácaa" 'áy-vaci, "'ip̩-aa 'ani-kh  
 then-be say-BKGR hi say-BKGR EH-Q do-IMM  
 so Rabbit said: "Hi" he said, "What are you doing

'ora-ḡa?" máy-vaci; 'úniguni-'ura kani-c̩-ga  
 dig-GER say-BKGR lo-be house/OBJ-build-GER  
 diggin?" he asked; and lo -- the Bear was busy building

'uni-vaci 'ú kwiyaḡat̩; "'uway ((tavaci))-aa?"  
 do-BKGR that bear that/OBJ sun/OBJ-Q  
 a shelter; "How about the sun?"

máy-vaci-'ura; "'fi-pa, 'i-vaa-'a paḡay'wa-y, tavaci,  
 say-BKGR-be here-DIR here-LOC-he walk-IMM sun  
 Rabbit asked him; "It's been through here, it came through here,  
 the Sun did,

núu-m̩-s suwa-paḡay-gya" máy-ta-vaci-'ura; "máy-ta-n̩-s,  
 person-PL-CONJ swallow-walk-GER say-PASS-BKGR say-PASS-me-CONJ  
 gobbling up people" the Bear told him; "I was told (about it),

'ani-kh 'u-t̩kwa 'áa-ḡa paḡay-kya-vaa-ci 'ora-ḡa  
 do-IMM there-under quiet-GER huddle-ANT-FUT-SUB dig-GER  
 so I am busy digging and building a shelter in order

kani-c̩-vwaa"; máy-vaci-'uru 'ú kwiyaḡat̩;  
 house/OBJ-build-FUT say-BKGR-that that bear  
 to hide"; that's what the Bear said;

"'aḡa-ni-u-paani-aa-'uru 'iy̩-q̩x̩aary-ci?"  
 WH/OBJ-do-INCEP-FUT-Q-that fear-run-SUB  
 "And what will you do when you have to run scared?"

máy-vaci-'ura 'uwas, "'aḡa-ni-tugwaa-ni tyḡay-u-vaani,  
 say-BKGR-be he WH/OBJ-do-to-like approach-INCEP-FUT  
 asked Rabbit, "Where will you go

'uru tavaci 'uway ma'ay-ci, máy-ta 'uru nuka-ta-xw?"  
 that sun/OBJ that/OBJ see-SUB say-NOM that/OBJ hear-PASS-SUB  
 when you see the Sun, when you can hear its voice?"

máy-vaci-'ura, "'uvvus-'ura 'uni-'wa!" máy-vaci-'ura;  
 say-BKGR-be end-be do-ASP/IMP say-BKGR-be  
 he asked, "Well, go ahead and ((show me and) do it now!"

'uru má-naağa yuga-xw-paci (('ú kwiyağatı));  
 that/OBJ there-in enter-ASP-BKGR that bear  
 he told him; so the Bear hurried into his hole;

'uwas-'ura kuvuaa-ğa-tı yaa'wa-vorq-vaci, cigisi-av,  
 he-be tip-have-NOM/OBJ carry-walk-BKGR spear/OBJ-OWN  
 now Rabbit was carrying along a sharp ((stick)), his spear,

tavıci 'u; "mani-paani-nı-s" máy-vaci'ura 'uwas,  
 rabbit that do-like-FUT-I-CONJ say-BKGR-be he  
 that Rabbit was; "I will do like this ((gesture))" the Bear

'ú-pa tıvwayi-kwa-pıga, 'ú kwiyağatı,  
 there-DIR descend-go-REM that bear  
 had told him, then hurried down that-a-way, the Bear did,

"'uvvus-'ura qıağaarı! 'úru-'ura cigisi-av 'uru  
 end-be run/IMP that-be spear/OBJ-OWN that/OBJ  
 "Now you go ahead and run too! Place your spear standing

kani-tıkwa-naağa-'uru wı-wıni-ti-paci-ux pana-kwa-tux!"  
 house-down-in-that RED-stand-CAUS-BKGR-it away-go-to  
 down there inside the hole ((pointing)) the other way!"

máy-pıga; 'uwas-'ura 'ú-naağa yuga-xw-paci...  
 say-REM he-be there-in enter-ASP-REM  
 he told him; then Bear hurried inside...

'úıı... 'uru cigisi-mi-ta-'u kwipa-u-paci,  
 INTJ that/OBJ spear/OBJ-LOC-be/PASS-he hit-INCEP-BKGR  
 eeee... he sure hit that spear,

'iyaa-qıağaarı-ci máy-gya; 'u-vvaa-tugwa-'u  
 fear-run-SUB say-GER 'here-LOC-go/to-him  
 that is, as he was running scared; and that way

pa<sup>h</sup>xa-xw-paci; máy-p<sup>h</sup>u-tugwa-'u... "tav<sup>h</sup>ci"  
 kill-ASP-BKGR say-NOM/OBJ-to-him rabbit  
 Rabbit killed him; ((because)) he had called him ((by his  
 Mad-name))...

máy-p<sup>h</sup>u-tugwa-'u, 'uni-paci; 'urus n<sup>h</sup>ya-a-'u 'urus  
 say-NOM-to-him do-BKGR it name-GEN-his it  
 because he called him "Rabbit", he did that; Rabbit's real name is

"'ḡoṭo-paca-v<sup>h</sup>ci" 'ura-'ay;  
 dry-leather-shoe-DIM-NOM be-IMM  
 "Little Hard-Leather Shoe";

'<sup>h</sup>v<sup>h</sup>ys páḡa-kwa-vaci, cukwi'na-vaci-'u, 'uway  
 end walk-go-BKGR skin-BKGR-him that/OBJ  
 well, so Rabbit took off, ((first)) skinning the

kwiyaḡat<sup>h</sup>; p<sup>h</sup>u-a-y-'a k<sup>h</sup>u-vaci, 'úu-pa-s s<sup>h</sup>ny<sup>h</sup>  
 bear/OBJ fur-GEN-OBJ-his take-BKGR there-DIR-CONJ bark/OBJ  
 Bear; he took his hide and stuffed it with

ma-yaḡoca-vaci, c<sup>h</sup>ka-u-vaci-ux, x-'ura 'uni-'a-vaci,  
 hand-stuff-BKGR lead-INCEP-BKGR-it then-be do-ASP-BKGR  
 cedar-bark, then he led it ((behind him with a rope)), going

t<sup>h</sup>py<sup>h</sup>-paya-aḡa-t<sup>h</sup>-pa; 'ááá... 'uni-'a-vaci  
 rock-side-have-NOM-DIR INTJ do-ASP-BKGR  
 along the rocky cliff; eeee... ((and as)) he went on

'i-v<sup>h</sup>ci paya-ma-t<sup>h</sup>, (('um<sup>h</sup>s-'ura))  
 here-LOC-NOM side-LOC-DIR they-be  
 right there along the cliff, ((there were))

t<sup>h</sup>py<sup>h</sup>-kiya-s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>ci((-u)): "Tav<sup>h</sup>ci! 'um<sup>h</sup>...  
 rock-swallow-PL rabbit you/OBJ  
 Rock-Swallows ((nested there, and they called)): "Rabbit, you..."

kwiyaḡat<sup>h</sup>-m<sup>h</sup> whci-y!..." máy-ta-vaci-'ura,  
 bear-you catch-up-IMM say-PASS-BKGR-be  
 The Bear is catching up with you!..." they shouted at him,

"'um<sup>h</sup>-vina-kwa-'a!" máy-kya-paci-m<sup>h</sup>-'ura-'u,  
 you/OBJ-behind-go-he say-PL-BKGR-PL-be-him  
 "He's right behind you!" they told him,

tɔpɔy-kia-sɔɔci((-u)), pa-paya-ma-y, wicici-u;  
 rock-swallow-PL RED-side-LOC-OBJ bird-PL  
 the Rock-Swallows, all over the cliff, those birds;

kia-'ni-kya-mi-tɔ-mɔ-'uru 'ura-vaci-mɔ 'úmɔ;  
 laugh-INT-PL-HAB-NOM-PL-that be-BKGR-PL those  
 they always laugh at (people);

'uwas-'ura 'u-vwaa-tɔ pɔni-wɔni-vaci:  
 he-be there-LOC-DIR look-stand-BKGR  
 well Rabbit stood there & looked around:

"'aɔa-vay-amɔ?" máy-kh, máy-kya-ni-'uru; "'uwa-na-amɔ  
 WH-LOC-they say-IMM say-ANT-like-that there-LOC-they  
 "Where are they?" he said, he wondered; "There they have

kani-gya((-y))!" 'áy-vaci-'ura 'uwas-'uru; ((x-'ura)):  
 house-have-IMM say-BKGR-be he-that then-be  
 their nests!" he finally called; then:

"mɔni-aa nɔnɔy piyá-musutkwivi  
 you/PL-Q my sweet-medicine/OBJ  
 "Would you like to smell

'ugwi-kya-ni-váani?" máy-vaci-s-'ura 'uwas 'úvway-aɔ;  
 smell-PL-like-FUT say-BKGR-CONJ-be he then-it  
 my sweet medicine?" he asked them;

"tɔna-kwa-ux tɔravi!" máy-kya-paci-mɔ-'ura 'umɔs;  
 up-go-it throw/IMP say-PL-BKGR-PL-be they  
 "Throw it right up here!" they said;

'úniguni-'ura taɔa-vaya-vaa-tɔ 'ura-vaci-'uru;  
 lo-be crotch-side-LOC-NOM be-BKGR-that  
 and lo, ((he kept)) that medicin ((stashed)) in his crotch;

ma-vɔɔtɔxwa-vaci-ux-'ura 'uwas, 'u-vwaa-n  
 hand-bundle-BKGR-it-be he there-LOC-LOC  
 so he bundled it up, and he threw it

'umɔ-vwaa-cɔvwa((-vaci))-ux; "'átɔ pɔ-pɔni-kya-nɔ  
 them-LOC-throw/up-BKGR-it well RED-look-PL-IMP  
 up to them; "You watch it real good

x-'ura!" máy-puga, t̄rav̄i-paci-ux 'um̄y-na-t̄arugwa  
 then-be say-REM throw-BKGR-it them-LOC-climb  
 now!" he called, and he threw it up high

t̄fi... 'úȳȳ... k̄ȳȳ((-ka))-vaci-m̄y 'um̄y;  
 high INTJ pick-up-PL-BKGR-PL they  
 to them... eeee... they caught it;

"pa'a-manu-ni-āx̄ 'ugwi-kya-ni-n̄y!" máy-v̄aci-'ura 'uwas,  
 complete-all-SUBJ-it smell-PL-like-IMP say-BKGR-be he  
 "Now you all smell it!" he told them,

"'úu-pa-s-āx̄-'ura t̄y-t̄rav̄i-n̄y pana-kwa-yis!"  
 there-DIR-CONJ-it-be RED-throw-IMP backward-go-CONJ  
 "Then throw it back down to me!"

'úu-pa-s-āx̄-'ura t̄rav̄i-kya-paci 'um̄y, pa'a-manu-ni  
 there-DIR-CONJ-it-be throw-PL-BKGR they complete-all-SUBJ  
 so they ((smelled it and)) threw it back down, then

'uwa((-x̄a))-kwa-vaci-m̄y 'um̄y;  
 fall-PL-ASP-BKGR-PL they  
 they all fell down ((off the cliff));

'u-vwaa-tugwa-am̄y 'um̄y  
 there-LOC-go/to-them those/OBJ  
 that way Rabbit slaughtered those

t̄ȳp̄ȳ-kiya-s̄q̄q̄-maamaci-u qo-x̄oy-paci-s; 'úv̄ȳs  
 rock-swallow-women-PL RED-kill-BKGR-CONJ end  
 Rock-Swallow women; well,

'ura-vaci, 'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa-xw 'ura-vaci-s-'uru;  
 be-BKGR there-LOC-go/to-MOD-it be-BKGR-CONJ-that  
 that's the end, that's as far as it goes;

((NOTE: Rabbit killed both the Bear and the Rock-Swallow women in anger because they called him by his "Mad-name" (tuu-niya-vi), tav̄aci. In the old days, calling someone by their "Mad-name" was cause enough for such violent reaction. In those days, a young man would be given his "Mad-name" upon entering the Warrior Society. Using that "Mad-name" in addressing him would then goad him into fighting. Rabbit's re-naming the Sun "tav̄aci" was perhaps also an act of giving it a "Mad-name", thereby inciting a violent reaction)).

## HOW RABBIT GOT HIS BROWN SPOTS

Told by: Bertha Groves  
 Date recorded: 2-29-76  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Bertha Groves  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uwas 'ura-puga, tavuci; kacu-'u "tavuci"  
 he be-REM rabbit NEG-him rabbit  
 there was Rabbit; they didn't call him "Rabbit"

máy-kya-na-puga wlitus; 'uwas-'ura pui-na-puga;  
 say-PL-HAB-REM past he-be sleep-HAB-REM  
 in those old days; he used to sleep ((late)) then;

tavaci-'ura, máru... tavaci mawisi-na-puga,  
 sun-be that sun appear-HAB-REM  
 and the sun... the sun used to rise and

sica'wi-na-pugay-'u, kwásu-na-pugay-'u,  
 tease-HAB-REM-him burn-HAB-REM-him  
 tease him, it would burn him,

mani-na-pugay-'u; 'uwas-'ura na'ay'a-na-puga, túsapa  
 do-like-HAB-REM-him he-be angry-HAB-REM always  
 it would do like this to him ((gesture)); so he'd get mad,

tavaci 'u mawisi-gyã, sica'wi-na-pugay-'u;  
 sun that appear-GER tease-HAB-REM-him  
 with the sun always rising and teasing him;

pina-xw 'uwas na'ay'a-kwa-puga, na'a'a-ci 'uwas  
 later-go he angry-ASP-REM angry-SUB he  
 finally he go real mad, and in his anger he

máy-puga: "'ağa-ni-guuy-sapa-nu 'ura-'ay?" máy-puga;  
 say-REM WH-do-MOD-MOD-I be-IMM say-REM  
 said: "I wonder what I can do about it?" he said;

páǵa-kwa-pǵa 'uwa-vaa-cux; paǵay'wa-na-pǵa 'uwas,  
walk-go-REM her-LOC-to walk-HAB-REM he  
so he took off toward the sun; he kept walking,

paǵay'wa-ǵa 'uwas, 'áy-na-pǵa: "'ǵmy-'ara  
walk-GER he say-HAB-REM you-be  
and as he walked, he kept asking ((whoever he met)):

'aǵa-ni-u-paa-ty-'uru naguc'ay-kw-aǵ 'icay tǵvǵpǵ?"  
WH-do-INCEP-FUT-NOM-that burn-SUB-it this/GEN earth/GEN  
"What would you do if this earth started burning?"

máy-paǵa-na-pǵa;  
say-walk-HAB-REM  
he kept asking ((whomever he met));

tǵpǵyici((-ura)) tǵvǵyi-pǵa 'uwas:  
rock/OBJ-be ask-REM he  
first he asked the rock:

"'aǵa-ni-u-paa-ty naguc'ay-kw-aǵ?"  
WH-do-INCEP-FUT-NOM burn-SUB-it  
"What would you do if it started burning?"

"paǵac'ay-kw-kwaa-vaa-ty" máy-pǵa-'ura 'uwas;  
crack-ASP-ANT-FUT-NOM say-REM-be he  
"I would immediately crack up" said the rock;

"'ǵmy-s-aa?" máy-pǵa-'ura 'uwas, máavǵ wǵnǵ-ry  
you-CONJ-Q say-REM-be he bush/OBJ stand-ADJ/OBJ  
"And how about you?" he asked, he asked

'uwas 'áy-pǵa; "nǵ-s-aa naguc'a-kwa-vaa-ty"  
he say-REM I-CONJ-Q burn-ASP-FUT-NOM  
a standing bush; "Me? I'd probably burn"

máy-pǵa-'ura 'uwas; páaǵaci-naaǵa yǵga-pǵa-s:  
say-REM-be he hole-in enter-REM-CONJ  
said the bush; next Rabbit entered a hole:

"'ǵmy-s-aa 'aǵa-ni-u-paa-ty?"; "nǵ-s-aa,  
you-CONJ-Q WH-do-INCEP-FUT-NOM I-CONJ-Q  
"And what would you do?" he asked it; "Me?"

paḡac 'ay-kwa-vaa-tu-s, tuvvyu kɨturuuci-'aa-ci,  
 crack-ASP-FUT-NOM-CONJ earth/GEN hot-ASP-SUB  
 I'd crack up, when the earth got real hot,

yoḡoc 'ay-kwa-vaa-tu"; "'umuy-s-aa?" máy-puga páa-y;  
 crumble-ASP-FUT-NOM you-CONJ-Q say-REM water/OBJ  
 I'd crumble"; "Now how about you?" Rabbit asked the water;

"nú-s-aa ni-niyogwa-kwa-vaa-tu, tavasv-vwaa-tu";  
 I-CONJ-Q RED-boil-ASP-FUT-NOM dry-FUT-NOM  
 "Me? I'd just boil and boil till I dry up" (the water said);

máy-paḡa-na-puga 'uwas, manu-xw-tu-aa-s  
 say-walk-HAB-REM he all-OBJ-NOM-OBJ-CONJ  
 well, Rabbit kept going around and asking everybody

tuvvyi-paḡa-na-puga; pina-xw-'ura-'uru  
 ask-walk-HAB-REM later-go-be-that  
 ((the same question)); finally

kúy-gwana-vu... kucogwa-'napu  
 rubber-smell-NOM/OBJ chew-INST  
 ((he asked)) the gum-bush... they call it

máy-kya-mi-na nugway... ma'avu-ci wunv-ru,  
 say-PL-HAB-REM TOP bush-DIM stand-ADJ/OBJ  
 chewing-gum... a standing bush,

'q̄-si'i-ci: "'umuy-s-aa 'aḡa-ni-u-paa-tu?";  
 yellow-flower-NOM you-CONJ-Q WH-do-INCEP-FUT-NOM  
 with yellow flowers: "And what would you do?"

"ka-'aḡa-ni-v̄a-'wa-tu" 'áy-puga 'uwas, ""Whhhh..."  
 NEG-WH-do-FUT-NEG-NOM say-REM he INTJ  
 "I will do nothing" said the gum-bush, "It will make this

máy-v̄a-tu nú-vwa-aḡa-tu, 'uruvuu  
 say-FUT-NOM me-LOC-over-DIR still  
 "whhhh..." noise going over me, and I'll still

wunv-vwaa-tu" máy-puga 'uwas; 'uwas-'ura "núy..."  
 stand-FUT-NOM say-REM he he-be INTJ  
 be standing" he said; so Rabbit said: "Neeee..."

'áy-púga, páǵa-kwa-púga 'uwas;  
 say-REM walk-go-REM he  
 ((in disbelief)) and moved on;

tavaci mary mawisi-vaa-kw muwa-'ni-na-púga; tyvuci  
 sun/GEN that/GEN appear-FUT-SUB wait-INT-HAB-REM very/OBJ  
 he kept waiting for the sun to rise; having picked up

pa'a-toǵwa-ty kuvuaa-ǵa-ty (('ivici)) kyy-ka-y,  
 complete-right-NOM/OBJ tip-have-NOM/OBJ stick/OBJ pick-ANT-IMM  
 a very long, sharp ((stick)),

'avi-púga; 'uwas-'uru-s mawisi-púga, púsagay-púgay-'u:  
 lie-REM he-that-CONJ appear-REM search-REM-him  
 he lay (in wait); finally the sun rose, looking for Rabbit:

"'aǵa-vaa-'u?" máy-púga, "'aǵa-pa-u-kwa-y-'u?";  
 WH-LOC-he say-REM WH-DIR-INCEP-go-IMM-he  
 "Where is he?" it roared, "Where has he gone?"

mawisi-púga tfi: "'aǵa-pa-u-kwa-y-'u?" 'áy-pagay-púga;  
 appear-REM high WH-DIR-INCEP-go-IMM-he  
 and it rose higher: "Where has he gone?" it kept asking;

púsagay-pagay-púgay-'u, kacu-'u maay-pya; 'uwas 'i-vaa  
 search-walk-REM-him NEG-him find-REM he here-LOC  
 it kept going around looking for Rabbit, but couldn't find him;  
 Rabbit was lying

'avi-púga caǵaci-va; (('uwas-'ura)) mawisi-púga:  
 lie-REM near-LOC he-be appear-REM  
 Rabbit was lying right there, near by; and the sun kept rising:

"'aǵa-ni-ucaa-'u? 'aǵa-pa-'u pagay-kway-kya?" 'áy-púga;  
 WH-do-INCEP-he WH-DIR-he walk-go-ANT say-REM  
 "What's he up to? Where has he gone?" it said;

sici'ni-púga; toǵo-sici'ni-gw-s-'u, 'uwas-'ura  
 peek-REM right-peek-SUB-CONJ-he he-be  
 now the sun peeked ((over the hump)); and right as it peeked,

'uni-uca-'u; "'úyy!..." máy-púga 'uwas tavaci,  
 do-INCEP-him INTJ say-REM he sun  
 Rabbit ((poked)) it ((with his stick)); "Eeeee!..." cried the sun,

'uwa-vina-xwa-tu kwiya-xwa-puga, naguc'a-puga 'uvway-aʔ  
 him-after-go-DIR scorch-go-REM burn-REM then-it  
 and it went after Rabbit scorching everything in its way;

manu-xw-tu-s; 'uu... moʒo-ti-paʒay-kwa-puʒay-'u  
 all-OBJ-NOM-CONJ INTJ chase-CAUS-walk-go-REM-him  
 Eeeee... it went chasing after Rabbit...

'urus 'uru... kunaci 'uru; naguc'a-paʒa-puga  
 it that fire that burn-walk-REM  
 the fire did; and it kept burning everything

manu-xw-tu-s;  
 all-OBJ-NOM-CONJ  
 in its way;

'uu... qaxary-puga 'uwas, 'uu...  
 INTJ run-REM he INTJ  
 Eeeee... Rabbit ran, eeee...

qaxary... pfiyu-qa-puga, nukwi-kya-na-puga...  
 run... run-ANT-REM run-ANT-HAB-REM  
 he ran... he sure ran, he kept on running...

tuvcy-ci-sapa-ni... tuvcy-ci-vaʒ-tux tuʒa-xw-puga,  
 true-MOD-like rock/OBJ-LOC-to reach-ASP-REM  
 he really ran... then he reached the rock,

paʒa'ay-puga, caʒaci-va... kuturuuci-caa-ci,  
 hide-REM near hot-INCEP-SUB  
 and he hid there, near by... when it became hot,

paʒac'ay-kw-puga; qaxary-pu-ci-gya-s 'uwas 'u;  
 crack-ASP-REM run-DIM-NOM-DEFUN-CONJ he that  
 the rock began to crack; so poor little Rabbit ran on;

'uniguni, wa'apy 'u-rykwa paʒa'a-pu-ci-gya-s,  
 lo pinyon/OBJ there-under hide-DIM-NOM-DEFUNC-CONJ  
 next poor little Rabbit hid under a pinyon tree,

naguc'a-puga-s 'urus, qaxary-puga 'uwas;  
 burn-REM-CONJ it run-REM he  
 but it burned too, so he ran on;

páa-naaga múusi-pya-s, ni-niyogwa-pya,  
 water-in hide-REM-CONJ RED-boil-REM  
 next he hid in the water, but soon it boiled over,

qxaxary-pya; 'urus 'uni-navici-pya;  
 run-REM it do-MASS-REM  
 so he ran on; they all did that (succumbed to the sun's power);

'úyu... 'uwa-na tya-xw-pya, 'u-vwaa-sapa-ni  
 INTJ there-LOC reach-ASP-REM there-LOC-MOD-like  
 Eeeee.... finally he arrived there, right where that one

'ura-'u-s wyn-pya, máy-kya-na-'u 'úru;  
 be-that-CONJ stand-REM say-PL-REL-him that  
 was standing, what's-his-name ((gum-bush));

'u-rykwa 'uwas paxa'a-pya, mani-xw-pya; 'ica-'ura  
 there-under he hide-REM do-like-ASP-REM this-be  
 so he ran and hid underneath, just like that ((gesture));

'uwa-va-aga "Whhhh..." mx-u-pya... 'uru-ty-aa-s 'úru;  
 him-LOC-over INTJ say-INCEP-REM that-NOM-GEN-CONJ that  
 and the fire went over him hissing "Whhhh..."... it sure did;

'u-vwa-aga-ty-s kucapy 'úru mani-xw-pya pana-xw,  
 there-LOC-over-DIR-CONJ ashes that do-like-ASP-REM down-go  
 and the ashes fell all over there,

'ica-ty-aa-vaa-ty-aa-'u, 'oto-'ini-u-pya 'urus,  
 this-NOM-PART-LOC-DIR-GEN-him brown-make-INCEP-REM it  
 (it fell) on parts of his (fur), so it became (spotted) brown,

kwiya-pygay-'u; 'úru-'uru 'ura-pya, 'úru...  
 burn-REM-him that-that be-REM that  
 he got burned; that's what happened, it...

'úru ka-naguc'ay-wa-ty 'ura-vaci 'uru-sapa 'ura-pya,  
 that NEG-burn-NEG-NOM be-BKGR that-MOD be-REM  
 the fire didn't burn him completely,

'ú-'uni-kya-u-pya-ty-'ara; 'ú-'u togo-sapa-'ura  
 RED-do-ANT-INCEP-REM-NOM-be that-he right-MOD-be  
 it only did it here and there, in spots; so for this reason

'q̣ṭq̣((-qwa-ry))-ṃy 'ara-ṭy-ṃy 'ura-vaci;  
 brown-ADJ-NOM-AN be-NOM-AN be-BKGR  
 he is brown-spotted;

"'fita-paca-ṿy-ci" ṃáy-kya-na-p̣yga((y-'u)) x-'ura,  
 upside-down-shoe-DIM-NOM say-PL-HAB-REM-him then-be  
 they used to call him "Little Upside-Down Shoe" then,

"taṿuci" ṃáy-kya-mi 'áaṿy;  
 rabbit say-PL-HAB now  
 but now they call him "Rabbit";

((NOTE: Rabbit's old name, "Little Upside-Down Shoe", was not a mad-name; but "Rabbit" indeed was. When the things he met on his way greeted him, they used his mad-name, "Rabbit". For that reason he got mad at them. Bringing the sun back to burn them was, at least in part, his revenge. Only the gum-bush survived that punishment.))

## HOW THE PINYON-JAYS GOT THEIR CURSE-NAME

Told by: Bertha Groves  
 Date recorded: 9-29-76  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Bertha Groves  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

pa'ac'aci 'ura-na-puga; wlitus-'uru wicici-u  
 bat be-HAB-REM past-that bird-PL  
 there was Bat; it was long time ago when the birds

núuci-gyā-y 'ura-qa-'uru; súu-ku-my-a-tu-s  
 person-have/be-IMM be-PL-that one-OBJ-PL-GEN/PART-NOM-CONJ  
 were (like) humans; Bats used to belong to another

'ura-na-puga pa'ac'aci 'u, 'uwa-vqqsaci-u  
 be-HAB-REM bat that night-hawk-PL  
 clan, they were members of the Night-Hawk

'ura-puga-vaci-my, 'úmy tugwa-yağa-vi-u 'úmy  
 be-REM-BKGR-PL those night-cry-NOM-PL those  
 clan, those Night-Criers;

'ura-na-puga-vaci-my; kani-gyā-na-puga-vaci-my-'uru  
 be-HAB-REM-BKGR-PL house-have-HAB-REM-BKGR-PL-that  
 the Pinyon-Jays used to be house-dwellers in those days,

'umy-ga; 'q99...  
 those-TOP INTJ  
 they did; oooo...

tugwa-n-'uru, pa'ac'aci 'u nhka-ry-my 'umy  
 night-LOC-that bat that dance/PL-ADJ-PL those/GEN  
 now at night, Bat would, when the ((Pinyon-Jay men)) dancers

'ina-kwa-paa-m tuka-wi-kw, 'umy súuva-tu-my-aa-ni  
 there-go-DIR-LOC approach-INCH-SUB those/OBJ other-NOM-PL-OBJ-like  
 had moved the other way ((gesture)), he would come and join

'umy-aḡa-vaa-cy páḡa-kwa-na-pṽga-vaci kwáaa...  
 them-have-LOC-DIR walk-go-HAB-REM-BKGR INTJ  
 ((their women)) in the dance just like that...

pa-paḡa-nukwi-ta-ḡa-miḡ-'u-kway, kṽma-y-a-s-'u  
 RED-beat-run-PASS-ANT-HAB-him-MOD stranger-OBJ-GEN-CONJ-he  
 and ((the men)) would then beat him up real bad, for

piwa-a-y 'uni-kyḡay-kw; 'u-vwaa-tux 'uwas mawisi-mi wflickṽs  
 spouse-GEN-OBJ do-ANT-IMM-SUB there-LOC-to he appear-HAB morning  
 messing with someone else's wife; then the next morning he would

x-'ura, 'uroḡwani-mi; pṽka-rṽḡaa-mi x-'ura  
 then-be hurt-HAB hard-persist-HAB then-be  
 appear hurting all over; but then he would persist

'ú-'uni-gya-sapa x-'ura 'uwas, 'ú-'uni-ta-sapa;  
 RED-do-GER-MOD then-be he RED-do-PASS-MOD  
 in doing the same thing again, he just kept doing it;

pina-xw-'ura-s pa-paḡa-kway-kya-pṽay-aḡay-'u; x-'ura  
 later-go-be-CONJ RED-beat-go-PL-REM-CONC-him then-be  
 well, finally one night they beat him up again real bad;

wflickṽs pṽḡ-'u kṽṽki-pṽga: "kṽṽki!"  
 morning mother-his get-up-REM get-up/IMP  
 the next morning his mother got up: "Get up!"

'áy-pṽḡay-'u-'ura, 'uwas ka-kṽṽki-pṽay-'u;  
 say-REM-him-be he NEG-get-up-REM/NEG-he  
 she said, but he wouldn't get up,

'ú-'avi-pṽga 'uwas; pina-xw pṽit'ani-pṽga 'uwas,  
 just-lie-REM he later-go vomit-REM he  
 he just lay there; then he began to vomit,

páapṽ pṽit'ani-pṽga, 'ḡḡ-aa-ḡay-kya-na-av  
 blood/OBJ vomit-REM bone-GEN-have-ANT-REL-OWN  
 he threw up blood, he threw up his own

pṽit'ani-pṽga; 'uwas-' ra pṽḡ-'u sṽri'aa-pṽga...  
 vomit-REM she-be mother-his scared-REM  
 bones; so his mother got scared...

'úyú... 'uni-aa-'u máy-púga, súnaci-u-'u  
 INTJ POSS-GEN/OBJ-his say-REM uncle-PL-his  
 eeee... so she told his kinfolks ((the Night-Hawks)),  
 they were

'ura-púga-vaci-mú 'úmy-ga: "'iyá-na-yi-ni  
 be-REM-BKGR-PL they-TOP there-LOC/be-IMM-like  
 his ucles: "Right there is

súnaci-amú ka-'ay-wa!" máy-púga, "máasú-nuvway  
 nephew-your NEG-well-NEG say-REM he-TOP  
 your nephew (lying) sick!" she said, "and he

yá'ay-kwa-vaani, pa-paxá-kway-kyay-kw-'uru";  
 die-ASP-FUT RED-beat-ASP-ANT/PASS-SUB-that  
 will surely die, having been beaten so badly";

'umús-'ura pu-vuwaa-gá-tú-mú 'ura-púga-vaci-mú,  
 they-be RED-medicine-power-have-NOM-PL be-REM-BKGR-PL  
 now those ((two uncles)) were medicine-men,

x-'ura-s 'uwa-vaa-cux 'uni-kw-púga, x-'ura: "'ağa-ni-kway-kya?"  
 then-be-CONJ him-LOC-to do-go-REM then-be WH-do-ASP-ANT  
 so they came and asked him: "What happened?"

máy-púga; "'úyú... 'umú-nugway 'uni-wi-ky  
 say-REM INTJ those-TOP do-ASP-EMPH  
 they said; "Eeeee... it's those ones who did it to me,

'úmy... 'úyú... wicici-u nú-ky 'umú...  
 those INTJ bird-PL I-EMPH those  
 those... eeee... birds... me... those...

kani-gyá-tú-mú ma-vaa-kwa..." máy-púga-amú,  
 house-have-NOM-PL there-LOC-go say-REM-them  
 those with houses way over there..." he told them,

"sağwa-gá-qa-tú-mú, 'umú-wa nú-ky nhka-kw-amú,  
 blue-have-PL-NOM-PL them-with I-EMPH dance/PL-SUB-them  
 "those blue ones, when I danced with them..."

'umú-wa pağa-'ni-mi... 'umú-ky núñay nú-vwaa-cux  
 those-with walk-INT-HAB they-EMPH me me-LOC-to  
 I hang around with them... it was they who jumped me

'uwa-navici" máy-puga-'ura 'uwas, "pa-paxa-qa-nukwi  
 jump-MASS/IMM say-REM-be he RED-beat-PL-run/IMM  
 he said, "and they beat me up

núnay, ta-ta'a-qa-kwa-'ay, nú-'ura máa-ra-sapa  
 me RED-kick-PL-go-IMM I-be that-be/like--MOD  
 real bad, they kept kicking me, I just barely

picu-i" máy-puga 'uwasu-ga;  
 come-IMM say-REM he-TOP  
 managed to come back here" he said;

'umus-'ura puwa-mani-kya-na-pugay-'u 'umusu-ga;  
 they-be medicine-do-like-PL-HAB-REM-him they-TOP  
 so they kept treating him with their medicine;

kác, kacu-'u sapixya-qa-pua, puwa-'ini-kya-xa...  
 NEG NEG-him can-PL-REM/NEG medicine-make-PL-ANT  
 but they couldn't fix him, having doctored him...

yá'ay-kw-puga 'uwas-'u pa'ac'aci;  
 die-ASP-REM he-that bat  
 and so he died, Bat did;

x-'ura 'ú 'uwa-vosaci na'ayh-puga 'úvway-ax,  
 then-be that Night-Hawk angry-REM then-it  
 then Night-Hawk go real mad,

'uvu-puwa-ga-ty 'ura-puga-vaci-'u 'u,  
 bad-medicine-have-NOM be-REM-BKGR-he that  
 he was a bad-medicine-man,

'ú-'u-kway na'ayh-puga: "'úúú!" máy-puga-'ura 'uwas,  
 that-that-MOD angry-REM INTJ say-REM-be he  
 so he got real mad: "Eeee!" he said,

"toğoy-nugway!" 'áy-puga, "'úúú-n-aa núnay  
 well-TOP say-REM INTJ-I-Q my  
 "Very well then!" he said, "Eeee, my nephew is

sunaci-n yá'ay-kwa, pa paxa-xw-kway-amu;  
 nephew-my die-ASP RED-beat-ASP-ANT-they  
 indeed dead, they have killed him;

'áavų-nų-s-'ara nú puwa-na'ay-'ay!"; 'i-vąą((-ni)  
 now-I-CONJ-be I medicine-angry-IMM here-LOC-like  
 now I am medicine-angry!"; so he began to dig

cq-cq'a-pųga... sigyąpų-aa-'u... puwa-sigyąpų-aa-'u  
 RED-dig-REM sash/OBJ-GEN-his medicine-sash/OBJ-GEN-his  
 around right there... he had put on his sash...

tawa-ąa-pųga, 'uwi-tapq'na-ąa-pųga 'u-ma-m 'urus;  
 put-on-ANT-REM hang-bundle-ANT-REM there-LOC-with it  
 his medicine sash, he had hung his medicine-bundles with it too;

"toğoy-nugway" 'áy-pųga, yųci-pųga tugwa-n-'uru:  
 well-TOP say-REM fly-REM night-LOC-that  
 "Very well now" he said, and he took off flying at night:

"mámų-'uru 'ura-pųga, mamųy-ga 'iyą-n... (('áavi-u))  
 those-that be-REM those-OBJ-TOP there-LOC pinyon-jay-PL  
 "It's those ones, those over there... the ones

máy-kya-na-pųay-ąa-amų"; kani-gyąy-kw-amų-vwaa-ąa  
 say-PL-HAB-REM-CONC-them house-have-go-they-LOC-have  
 called "Pinyon-Jays"; so he went flying at night to

yųci-vqřq-pųga tugwa-n, 'ųvų-puwa-y-av 'umų-vwaa-cux  
 fly-walk-REM night-LOC bad-medicine-OBJ-OWN them-LOC-to  
 where their house were, and he spread his bad-medicine

ca-caa'mi-pųga-vaci 'ąa-ni-pųga-vaci-sapa;  
 RED-spread-REM-BKGR WH-do-REM-BKGR-MOD  
 all over them, whatever it was;

pina-xw-'ura 'umų pqqsavi tųpųy-kya-xw-pųga,  
 later-g-be they epidemic perish-PL-ASP-REM  
 so then they all perished in an epidemic,

nağami-kyay-kwa-na-pųga, pqsasa-ta-paa-kuca-amų,  
 sick-PL-ASP-HAB-REM epidemic-PASS/NOM-pass-INCEP-they  
 they became sick, they succumbed to an epidemic,

máy-kya-pųay-ąa-amų; 'uwas-'ura máy-pųga  
 say-PL-REM-CONC-them he-be say-REM  
 that's what they say about them; so then Night-Hawk

'uwa-v̄oqsaci 'u: "'úȳȳ! m̄ñi-'ara  
 night-hawk that INTJ you/PL-be  
 said: "Eeee! You shall be

m̄y-kya-paap̄y-u "p̄ȳȳ-v̄ȳra-ci-u"; m̄áa-pa  
 say-PL-MOD-PL fur-arm-NOM-PL there-DIR  
 named "Furry-Arms"; you'll wander that-a-way

yaḡa-kwa'ay-v̄oḡo-vaa-t̄y-m̄y wa'ap̄y-aḡa-rux,  
 cry-go-walk-FUT-NOM-PL pinyon/OBJ-have-along  
 crying among the pinyon-trees,

sú-pa mani-v̄oḡo-ḡwa" m̄y-p̄ȳga;  
 one-DIR do-like-walk-GER say-REM  
 flocking together like this ((gesture))" he told them;

toḡo-sapa-'ura 'um̄y-s-'uru  
 right-MOD-be they-that  
 for this reason the Pinyon-Jays

'ú-'uni-v̄oḡo-kwa-t̄y-m̄y 'ura-vaci,  
 RED-do-walk-PL-NOM-PL be-BKGR  
 flock together like that,

"p̄ȳȳ-v̄ȳra-ci" m̄y-v̄oḡo-kwa-mi 'um̄y-s̄y-ga,  
 fur-arm-NOM say-walk-PL-HAB they-TOP  
 and they go around saying "Furry-Arm",

'ú-ra-am̄y n̄íaa-ri-p̄ȳay-aḡa toḡo-sapa,  
 that-be/like-they name-CAUS-REM-CONC right-MOD  
 that's why they are named like that,

"p̄ȳȳ-v̄ȳra-ci" m̄y-kya-p̄ȳay-aḡa-am̄y,  
 fur-arm-NOM say-PL-REM-CONC-them  
 they named them "Furry-Arms",

'ú-vwaa-tugwa-am̄y-'uru 'uni-kya-p̄ȳay-aḡa, 'um̄y-s̄y-ga;  
 there-LOC-go/to-they-that do-PL-REM-CONC they-TOP  
 ((because of what)) they did,

pa'ac'aci 'uway pa-paḡe-u-xw-paa-tux; 'uwa-t̄y-s toḡoy  
 bat/OBJ that/OBJ RED-beat-ASP-SUB-DIR-to he-DIR-CONJ well  
 because they killed Bat; though in fact he himself

namu-'uni-puga, piwa((-y))-u-amy 'uni-na-puga-vaci-s,  
 first-do-REM spouse-OBJ-PL-their do-HAB-REM-BKGR-CONJ  
 started it, he used to mess with their wives,

tugwa-nhka-amy-'uru; máy-kya-miạ-núgway;  
 night-dance-their-that say-PL-HAB-TOP  
 during the night-dance; that's what they say;

((NOTE: To be given a "curse-name", by someone practicing bad-  
 medicine, is considered a grave injury in the old tradition. As  
 can be seen further below in Rabbit's story, being addressed by  
 one's "curse-name" (also called "mad-name"), is considered  
 a grave offense indeed.))

## BEAR RUNNING AWAY WITH MOUNTAIN-LION'S WIFE

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 10-17-76  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uwas x-'ura-puga, kwiyağatı... kwiyağatı  
 he then-be-REM bear bear/GEN  
 there was once a bear... it was

mamaci... kwiyağatı ta'waci 'ura-puga-vaci; 'uway-'ura  
 woman bear/GEN man be-REM-BKGR that/OBJ-be  
 a she-bear... it was a he-bear; he ran away with

tuku piwa-y cyka-xw-puga... 'ini((-kya))-na-puga-vaci-'u...  
 lion/GEN spouse-OBJ lead-away-ASP-REM do-ANT-HAB-REM-BKGR-her  
 Mountain-Lion's wife... he had been courting her...

x-'ura 'uwas 'u tuku-a-y piwa-y cyka-xwa-u-puga pina-xw,  
 then-be he that lion-GEN-OBJ lead-away-ASP-INCEP-REM later-go  
 so finally he ran away with Mountain-Lion's wife,

kwiyağatı ta'waci 'u... x-'ura 'áy-puga...  
 bear/GEN man that then-be say-REM  
 that he-bear did... then he said...

'uwas-'ura tuku-ra'waci piwa-y-av 'uway 'úu-pa-s  
 he-be lion-man spouse-OBJ-OWN that/OBJ there-DIR-CONJ  
 well, Mountain-Lion searched all over

pysağay-vaci... 'uwa(y)-'ura 'áy-puga...  
 search-BKGR him-be say-REM  
 for his wife... he told him...

kacu-'u ma'ay-na-'wa-tı...  
 NEG-her find-ANT/NEG-N G-NOM  
 but he couldn't find her...

((x-'ura 'um̩s-'ura)) p̩y-p̩y-i-kwa-vaci-m̩y-'ura;  
 then-be they-be RED-sleep-go-BKGR-PL-be  
 well, so Bear and Mountain-Lion's wife went to sleep;

"'úmy-'ura 'aḡa-ni-u-paa-ci tuku 'uway 'i-v̩ḡḡ-tux  
 you-be WH-do-INCEP-FUT-SUB lion/GEN that/GEN here-LOC-to  
 "What will you do if Mountain-Lion suddenly

mawisi-xw?" 'áy-p̩ḡa-'ura-'u... kwiyaḡat̩y tuku mamaci  
 appear-SUB say-REM-be-him bear/OBJ lion/GEN woman  
 appear right here?" Mountain-Lion's wife asked Bear;

'u; "mani-xw-ta-vaa-ci 'uru" máy-p̩ḡa-'ura 'uwas 'u  
 that do-like-ASP-PASS-FUT-SUB that/OBJ say-REM-be he that  
 "I'll do just like this" said

kwiyaḡat̩y, wa'ap̩y t̩úpana-p̩ḡa, "mani-xw-ta-vaa-ci-'u"...  
 bear pinyon/OBJ pull-out do-like-ASP-PASS-FUT-SUB-him  
 Bear, and he pulled out a pinyon tree, "I'll do to him like this"...

wa'ap̩y-kway t̩úpana-mi...  
 pinyon/OBJ-MOD pull-out-HAB  
 he always uproots pinyon trees like that...

pina-xw-'ura-'uru máy-gya-s p̩y-p̩y-i-kwa-y 'úmy;  
 later-go-be-that say-GER-CONJ RED-sleep-go-IMM they  
 so having said that, they went to sleep;

pina-xw-'ura 'uwas-'uru máy-v̩ḡci... tas̩ya-xw...  
 later-go-be he-that say-BKGR dawn-SUB  
 later on Bear said... when it was about to dawn...

wficku-t̩y paḡay-kw... 'áy-v̩ḡci: "'iya-tugwa-ka  
 morning-NOM walk-SUB say-BKGR here-go/to-ANT  
 when morning was breaking... he said: "Here he's come

'iya-'u... kwiyaḡa... 'ini-kway... tuku ta'waci!..."  
 here-he bear WH/SUBJ-MOD lion/GEN man  
 here he is... Bear... what's-his-name... Mountain-Lion-Man!..."

'áy-v̩ḡci; 'uwas-'ura: "'uni-n̩y-'ara!" 'áy-v̩ḡci-'uru  
 say-BKGR she-be do-IMP-be say-BKGR-that  
 he called; so Mountain-Lion's wife said: "Hurry up, do it!"

tuku mamaci; 'uwas 'iyā-xw-'ura 'úvway-aḵ-'u...  
 lion/GEN woman he here-go-be then-it-he  
 she urged him; so Bear right there and then he...

kyryki, paca-av x-'ura ta-rawa-g̃a, k̃y-k̃yuma-xw-tugwa-xw  
 rise/IMM shoe-OWN then-be RED-pull-on-GER RED-other-go-go/to-it  
 he got up, and pulling his shoes on, he stepped into them the

ta'ny-kh... 'u-vwaa-tux-'ura 'uni-kwa-ta-vaci...  
 step-in-IMM there-LOC-to-be do-ASP-PASS-BKGR  
 wrong way... and he rushed over there...

paḵa-xw-u-ta-vaci-'u,  
 kill-ASP-INCEP-PASS-BKGR-him  
 and then ((Mountain-Lion)) killed him,

'q̃a-a-y-'u c̃yḵo-pina-ta-vaci;  
 back-GEN-OBJ-his break-PASS-BKGR  
 ((he)) snapped his back;

((NOTE: Here a section is missing where Mountain-Lion demanded to know if any damage had been done to his wife's virtue after she spent the night with Bear; she assures him that nothing happened, since Bear was a creature of habit.))

"'a-ni-'ay-mi-'ura?" máy-vaci-'ura 'ú tuku; "uwas 'u  
 WH-do-say-HAB-be say-BKGR-be that lion he that  
 "What does he do?" Mountain-Lion demanded;

kwáaa-s 'áy-mi... ((laughter))... tama-na-s náaḡa-mi...  
 INTJ-CONJ say-HAB spring-LOC-CONJ horny-HAB  
 "Oh, he just acts up like this... ((laughter))... he only get's  
 horny in the spring-time...

((laughter))... 'uni-'a-kwa-s" 'áy-puga-s-'u... 'áy-puga-s,  
 do-ASP-SUB-CONJ say-REM-CONJ-him say-REM-CONJ  
 ((laughter))...that's when he mates" she told him... she said,

tuku mamaci 'u... máy-na-pugay-'u...  
 lion/GEN woman that say-HAB-REM-him  
 Mountain-Lion's wife d.d... she used to tell him ((things,  
 every time she'd run away))...

'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa-xw pucucugwa-yi-s;  
 there-LOC-go/to-MOD-it know-IMM-CONJ  
 that's as far as I know;

## THE ORIGIN OF THE UTE BEAR-DANCE

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 12-16-76  
 Recorded by: T. Givón  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'icay 'iya-nu-s máy-vaa-su-ni mama-xwa-nhka-pi,  
 this/OBJ here-I-CONJ say-FUT-CONJ-FUT woman-go-dance/PL-NOM  
 I'm going to tell now about the Bear-Dance,

púupa 'ura-pu-vaa-tu; 'umys 'ura-puga-vaci,  
 way be-NOM/REM-FUT-NOM/OBJ they be-REM-BKGR  
 about the way it was supposed to be; there were those,

\* wíitys, wíi-nuuci-u-gwapy... namu-nuuci-u-gwaapy, *nuuci u gwapy*  
 past old-Ute-PL-DEFUN first-Ute-PL-DEFUN  
 long time ago, the Old Utes... the First Utes,

'icay tuvupu-vwa-n miya-'ni-puga-tu-my...  
 this/OBJ earth/OBJ-on-LOC walk/PL-INT-REM-NOM-PL  
 who used to roam this earth...

ka-mama-xwa-nhka-na-pua-tu-my 'ura-vaci-my;  
 NEG-woman-go-dance/PL-HAB-REM/NEG-NOM-PL be-BKGR-PL  
 they were not Bear-Dancers then;

x-'ura 'umys wá-ini 'ura-puga, 'áyh-pu-ci-u,  
 then-be they two-SUBJ be-REM young-man-DIM-NOM-PL  
 now, there were these two young men,

navaavi-ci-my, pağa-'ni-gya-amy-'uru, 'ağa-vaa-tu  
 brother-NOM-PL walk-INT-GER-they-that WH-LOC-DIR  
 brothers, they were roaming about, through whatever

ka-núu-'wa-tu-paa-tu, ka... navasú-my pağa-'ni-gya,  
 NEG-person-have/NEG-NOM-LOC-DIR/OBJ NEG just-they walk-INT-GER  
 uninhabited country, not... just roaming about,

tuna-vqro-gwa-amy, 'ipɥ-sapa-amy 'uni-vqro-gwa,  
 hunt-walk-GER-they WH-MOD-they do-walk-GER  
 hunting around, doing whatever,

'uni-pɥga-vaci-mɥ;  
 do-REM-BKGR-PL  
 they were doing that;

toɔgo-paya-m-'uru karɥ-pɥga, wɥgaa-m...  
 right-side-LOC-that sit-REM hill-LOC  
 they were sitting on a steep slope, on the hillside...

pɥni-kyarɥ-gw-amy-'uru ma-vaa yúaa-va... núuci...  
 look-sit-SUB-they-that there-LOC plain-on person/OBJ  
 and as they were sitting and watching right there on flats...  
 someone...

'ini-s-kway... núu-aɔa-ty 'uni-'ni-pɥga;  
 WH/OBJ-CONJ-MOD person-have-NOM do-INT-REM  
 whoever it was... there was a person down there;

'úniguni-'ura kwiyagatɥ 'ura-pɥgay-'u;  
 lo-be bear be-REM-he  
 and lo, it was a Bear;

x-'ura 'áy-pɥga, 'umɥ wáa-'ayh-pɥ-ci-u:  
 then-be say-REM they two-young-man-DIM-NOM-PL  
 so then they said, the two young men:

"úu... 'uvwiya-rami máa-y-va-cux kwáy-vɔɔ..."  
 INTJ EXHORT-we/II/INCL that-OBJ-LOC-to go-FUT  
 "Hey... let's go (down) to that one..."

máy-pɥga-'ura; "nú máa-y-va-cux kwáy-vɔɔ"  
 say-REM-be I that-OBJ-LOC-to go-FUT  
 they said; "I will go (down) to that one"

máy-pɥga-'ura; "'ini 'ara-'ay? pɥni-kyarɥ-vaa-nɥ-s"  
 say-REM-be WH/SUBJ be-IMM look-sit-FUT-IMP-CONJ  
 one of them said; "Well, who is it? Let's sit and watch"

máy-pɥga, 'ú caɣaci-'u; 'áy-pɥga: "kacɥ  
 say-REM that younger-b other-his say-REM NEG/IMP  
 said the other, his younger brother; and he said further:

'uni-'wa-pu!" 'áy-puga, "paḵa-xw-ta-vaa-my-ni!"  
do-NEG-MOD say-REM kill-ASP-PASS-FUT-you-FUT  
"Don't do it!" he said, "You might get killed!"

'áy-puga; "kác" 'áy-puga, púka-ruga-puga;  
say-REM NEG say-REM hard-persist-REM  
he said; "No" said the other, and persisted in his plan;

'úvway-aḵ-unuv-'ura taa-y-av tukwi-ca'a-puga,  
then-it-TOP-be clothes-OBJ-OWN remove-catch-REM  
so right there and then he took off his clothes,

kác-'ura-'uru taa-'a-y 'uni-'a-puga; 'ú-'ura caḵaci-'u  
NEG-be-that clothes-have/NEG-IMM do/go-ASP-REM that-be brother-his  
he went down there with no clothes on; and his younger brother

puni-kyaru-puga 'uru wugaa-m;  
look-sit-REM that/OBJ hill-LOC  
remained sitting and watching from the hillside;

'úniguni-'ura-'uru caḵaci-vaa-'uru tugay-xw 'uway...  
lo-be-that near-LOC-that approach-SUB he/GEN  
now, when he got near there...

'uwas ka-taa-'a-tu... 'uwas-'uru tugu-tux wu-wuny-puga;  
he NEG-clothes-have/NEG-NOM she-that up-to RED-stand-REM  
he had no clothes on... the Bear suddenly got up;

'úniguni mamaci 'ura-puga-'u, mamaci... 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-puga,  
lo woman be-REM-she woman her-LOC-go/to-REM  
and lo, it was a she-bear, a female... so he went to her,

nava-cugwa-puga, mḡ'ḡ-ca'a-puga, na'ayna-vḡḡ-puga;  
RECIP-go/to-REM hand-grab-REM embrace-walk-REM  
they approached each other, shook hands and walked around embraced;

'uwas-'ura kwiyaḡatḡ mamaci 'ásti'i-pugay-'u;  
she-be bear/GEN woman like-REM-him  
and the She-Bear liked him;

'úvway-aḵ-'ura-'uru kani-vaa-tugwa-'uru... 'u-vvaa-av  
then-it-be-that house-LOC-go/to-that there-LOC-OWN  
so then they went on to her cave... to where

py-pyi-mi-paa-tux; cuka-xw-xwa-puga, 'u  
 RED-sleep-HAB-DIR-to lead-ASP-ANT-REM that  
 she used to sleep; she had led him there, the

kwiyağatı mamaci 'u, 'uway 'ayh-py-ci;  
 bear/GEN woman that that/OBJ young-man-DIM-NOM/OBJ  
 She-Bear did, that young man;

'uwas-'ura cañaci-'u nanqqs piya-'wa-puga;  
 he-be younger-brother-his alone remain-ASP-REM  
 and his younger brother remained all alone;

'úvway-añ-'ura-'uru-'u 'áy((-kya))-puga, kwáy-'uru:  
 then-it-be-that-him say-ANT-REM there-that  
 earlier on his brother had told him, pointing that-a-way:

"'uru-'ura núnay... kuma-wa-n páğa-kway-kw,  
 that-be I/GEN other-with-I walk-go-SUB  
 "When I take off with that other one (the She-Bear),

'úmy payu-kwa-nu-sapa, 'ica-y-'ura yaa'wa-nu"  
 you return-go-IMP-MOD this-OBJ-be carry-IMP  
 you should go back home, and carry these back with you"

'áy-puga x-'ura, kaci-s-'uru 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-'wa-y; "x-'ura  
 say-REM then-be NEG-CONJ-that her-LOC-go/to-NEG-IMM then-be  
 he told him, before he had gone to meet her; "Then

'umy púa-u-av máy-nu: "'iya-na-xu-s taa-'u,  
 those/OBJ kin-PL-OWN say-IMP here-LOC-it-CONJ clothes-his  
 tell our kinsmen: "Here are his clothes,

'uwas-ky kwiyağatı piwa-ri-'u" máy-nu-'ura...  
 he-EMPH bear/OBJ spouse-INCH/IMM-he say-IMP-be  
 he's married the Bear" you tell them...

máy-nu-amy-'ura 'uru picu-xw-kwa-y"  
 say-IMP them-be that/OBJ arrive-ASP-SUB-OBJ  
 you tell them that when you get there"

'áy-pugay-kw-'ura-'uru "'úvway-añ-'ura-'uru  
 say-REM-SUB-be-that then-it-be-that  
 that's what he had told him; "Then

manu-xu-caa-ni tugwa-ri-yuxwi, 'úmy picu-nu-aa-s"  
 five-OBJ-ASP-like night-INCH-sit you arrive-IMP-CONJ  
 after five nights had passed, you come back here"

máy-puay-aḡay-'u-s 'uway-a-s; "máas-'ara  
 say-REM-CONC-him-CONJ he-OBJ-CONJ she-be  
 he told him; "Now, the She-Bear

'ini-'a-paa-tu-sapa 'ara-vaci" 'áy-puga kwáy;  
 do-ASP-FUT-NOM-MOD be-BKGR say-REM INTJ  
 may do (with me) whatever she wish" he said;

'úvway-aḡ-'ura 'uwas 'uru 'uni-'a-puga,  
 then-it-be he do/go-ASP-REM  
 so he went away then,

'ú caḡaci-'u; "mámy 'umuy púaa-u-my  
 that younger-brother-his those your kin-PL-your  
 the younger brother did; "Now, those kinsmen of yours

'uni-'a-ḡa-paa-tu-my-sapa; "paḡa-xw-kwa-kway-'a-ḡs  
 do-ASP-PL-FUT-NOM-you-MOD kill-ASP-ANT-MOD-him-CONJ  
 may do anything to you; they may say: "We think you killed him

'áy-kh!" máy-kya-ta-vaa-tu-my 'uru 'umuy"  
 say-IMM say-PL-PASS-FUT-NOM-you that/OBJ you/OBJ  
 yourself!" they may tell you that"

máy-puga-s-ux-'ura, caḡaci-'a-'u 'uway; "'icay-amy-'ura  
 say-REM-CONJ-it-be younger-brother-his-him him this/OBJ-them-be  
 he had told him, told his younger brother; "So you must

puni-ti-nu, 'icay nuḡay táa-y" 'áy-puga-s x-'ura  
 see-CAUS-IMP this/OBJ my clothes-OBJ say-REM-CONJ then-be  
 show them these, these clothes of mine" he told him;

'uwas; ""'iya-na-xu-s táa-'u!" máy-nu-amy"  
 he here-LOC-it-CONJ clothes-his say-IMP-them  
 ""Here are his clothes!" you must tell them"

máy-puga-'ura 'uwas; 'uru kacis-'uru 'uwa-vaa-cugwa-kwa-y,  
 say-REM-be he that/OBJ NEG-CONJ-that her-LOC-go/to-ANT-IMM  
 he had told him; it was before he had gone down to her,

'uway kwiyagaṭ mamaci;  
 that/OBJ bear/GEN woman/OBJ  
 to the She-Bear;

'úvway-aḵ-'ura páḡa-kwa-p̣ḡa máy-gya-s-'u;  
 then-it-be walk-go-REM say-ANT-CONJ-he  
 so then he took off, saying that;

x-'ura-'uru 'u-'uni-p̣ḡa-'ura-'uru, púpa cugwa-xwa-'u  
 then-be-that RED-do-REM-be-that way go/to-SUB-him  
 and this is what they did then, the way the She-Bear went

kwiyagaṭ mamaci, 'fina-ṿṛḡ-p̣ḡay-'u, x-'ura  
 bear/GEN woman/GEN embrace-go-REM-him then-be  
 to him, she put her arms around him, then

'uni-gya-ṣ-ṃ-'uru, páḡa-kwa-p̣ḡa,  
 do-GER-CONJ-PL-that walk-go-REM  
 doing that, they left together,

kani-ṿḡ-ṭ-a-'u... 'aḡa-ry-ṭ-sapa kani-gỵ-ṭ  
 house/OBJ-LOC-DIR-her WH-OBJ-DIR-MOD house/OBJ-have-NOM  
 towards her house... to wherever it was she had her

'ura-vaci... páaḵaci-'ura kani-gỵ-ṭ 'ura-p̣ḡa;  
 be-BKGR hole-be house-have-NOM be-REM  
 house... she lived in a cave;

'úvway-aḵ-unuv-'ura 'uwas-'uru púpa máy-na-'u-'uru,  
 then-it-TOP-be he-that way say-REL-he-that  
 so then the younger brother, the way his brother had told him,

maṇ-xu-caa-ni tugwa-ri-yuxwi-'uru... 'ava'na-aḡa-y-'uru...  
 five-OBJ-ASP-like night-INCH-sit-that many-have-IMM-that  
 after five nights had passed... with many of them (his kinsmen)...

'awa-ỵḡay-ni... 'u-vwaa-ṭ paḡay-p̣ḡa, kani-ṿḡ-ṭ  
 long-arrive-like there-LOC-DIR walk-REM house-LOC-DIR  
 arriving from afar... he went there, to the (She-Bear's)

'uru; 'úniguni-kway ṭp̣ỵci kaṛ 'u-rukwa  
 that/OBJ lo-MOD rock/GEN sit there-under  
 house; and lo, she had her house sitting down there

kani-gyā-tu 'ura-puga, páaxaci;  
 house-have-NOM be-REM hole  
 in the rock, it was a cave;

'uwas-'ura cañaci 'u 'uwa-vaa-cux  
 he-be younger-brother that him-LOC-to  
 so the younger brother called his

'apağa-puga, 'uway, ni-niya-pugay-'u; 'uwas-'ura-'uru  
 speak-REM that/OBJ RED-name/call-REM-him he-be-that  
 brother, he kept calling him by name; finally his brother

'u-vwaa-tu mawisi-puga, 'uwa-vaa-cux mawisi-puga;  
 there-LOC-DIR appear-REM him-LOC-to appear-REM  
 appeared there, he appeared before him;

'uwas 'u 'ú-gway-'ura-'uru 'umy-vaa-cux 'apağa-puga:  
 he that that-TOP-be-that those/OBJ-LOC-to speak-REM  
 and then he spoke to them:

"muni-gy-s ka-nhka-wa-tu-my 'ura-'ay, máy-kya-ky  
 you/PL-EMPH-CONJ NEG-dance/PL-NEG-NOM-PL be-IMM say-ANT-EMPH  
 "You-all don't dance the Bear-Dance, so she says"

máa" máy-puga-'ura 'uwas 'uway kwiyağatú,  
 that say-REM-be he that/OBJ bear/OBJ  
 he said referring to the Bear,

"'uru-y-aa-s-'uru muni tama-n-'uru, pa'a-toğwa  
 that-OBJ-GEN-CONJ-that you/PL spring-LOC-that long/OBJ  
 "Therefore next Spring you-all, in the (month of the) long

mya-toğo-ci-m-'uru, 'úvway-añ-'ura muni nhka-vaani;  
 moon-NOM-LOC-that then-it-be you/PL dance/PL-FUT  
 moon, you'll dance then;

súu-pa mani-vāā-ci, kwiya'a-ñ-a-paani" 'áy-puga-kway  
 one-LOC do-like-FUT-SUB fence-PL-FUT say-REM-MOD  
 you should do it this way together, you'll make a corral" that's

'uru; "wa'apū-m kwiya'a-ñ-a-paani; 'úvway-añ-'ura-'uru  
 that/OBJ cedar-with fence-PL-FUT then-it-be-that  
 what he told them; "You'll make the corral out of cedar; then

'ivici 'uru 'uni-kya-paa-sɔ-ni, wɔny-xw-ʒa-tɔ"  
stick/OBJ that/OBJ do-PL-FUT-CONJ-FUT stand-ASP-ANT-NOM/OBJ  
you'll do it with those sticks, those upright ones"

máy-pɔga-s x-'ura; "'úvway-aʒ-'ura 'ú-naaʒa  
say-REM-CONJ then-be then-it-be there-in  
he also told them then; "And then you'll sit

yugwi-vaʒani" máy-pɔga-s-'ura; "nɔ-'ura-s 'umɔy  
sit/PL-FUT say-REM-CONJ-be I-be you/OBJ  
in there" he told them; "Then I myself will sing

káa-kɔ-vaani 'uru 'ugwiyavi" 'áy-pɔga-s x-'ura;  
sing-BEN-FUT that/OBJ song/OBJ say-REM-CONJ then-be  
you the (Bear-Dance) songs" he said;

'úvway-aʒ-'ura-s, x-'ura, káa-pɔgay-ku-'ura;  
then-it-be-CONJ then-be sing-REM-it-be  
so, right then, he sang it (for them);

"máy-kya: "káa-ʒa-paani x-'ura, 'uru kwiyaʒatɔ  
say-ANY sing-PL-FUT then-be then-be that/OBJ bear/GEN  
"She had said: "You'll sing then, these Bear((-Dance))

'ugwiyavi" máy-pɔga-s-'u x-'ura, "'áy-kya-kɔ"  
song/OBJ say-REM-CONJ-he then-be say-ANT-EMPH  
songs" he said, "that's what she said"

máy-pɔga-s-'ura; "'úru-'ɔ" máy-pɔga-s-'u  
say-REM-CONJ-be that-EMPH say-REM-CONJ-he  
he said; "This way" he said

káa-pɔga-s-ux-'ura 'uwas, káa-kɔ-pɔgay-ku-amɔ  
sing-REM-CONJ-it-be he sing-BEN-REM-it-them  
and sang it again, he sang it for them,

'umɔ pɔa-u-av; 'umɔs-'ura-'uru pu-pucucugwa-pɔgay-vaci-ux  
those/OBJ kin-PL-OWN they-be-that RED-know-REM-BKGR-it  
for his kinsmen; so they learned it,

'uru, púuupa-aʒ 'ura-na-'uru 'ugwiyavi;  
that/OBJ way-it be-REL-that song/GEN  
the way the songs were ((sung));

"'úvway-aḵ-'ura-'uru kwiy'a-ḵa-ḵay-kw, yugwi-vḵani,  
 then-it-be-that fence-PL-ANT-SUB, sit/PL-FUT  
 "Then, after making the corral, you will sit (inside),

súu-wi-sapa káa-vaa-ci-ux 'uru, sumay-gyay-kw" 'áy-puga  
 one-SUBJ-MOD sing-FUT-SUB-it that/OBJ remember-GER-SUB say-REM  
 and one (of you) should then sing it, if he remembers"

x-'ura; "númy-'uru, 'úvway-aḵ-'uru,  
 then-be we/EXCL-that then-it-that  
 he told them then; "And then we two, right then,

'uni-kya-paa-xw-amy-'uru, picḵ... 'ú-naaga-amy-'uru  
 do-PL-FUT-SUB-you-that come there-in-you-that  
 while you-all do this, (we) arrive... while you-all

yugwi-kw, númy picḵ-'wa-vaa-tḵ-my 'ara-'ay;  
 sit/PL-SUB we/EXCL come-ASP-FUT-NOM-PL be-IMM  
 are sitting in there, we'll arrive;

x-'ura púpa-amy-'uru wi'i-kya-paa-na-'uru  
 then-be way-you-that dance-PL-FUT-REL-that  
 the we will demonstrate (for you) the way

'uni-vaa-tḵ-mḵ-s 'ara-'ay" máy-puga-s x-'ura;  
 do-FUT-NOM-PL-CONJ be-IMM say-REM-CONJ then-be  
 you should dance it" he said;

"'úvway-aḵ-'ura-'uru tyga-ta-paa-tḵ-aḵ-amy  
 then-it-be-that become-PASS-FUT-NOM-it-you  
 "So then (the Bear-Dance) will be demonstrated to you"

'ura-'ay" máy-puga-kway, "púpa-amy-'uru  
 be-IMM say-REM-MOD way-you-that  
 he said, "the way you

'uni-kya-paa-na; máy-kya-nḵ-s 'uru-'ḵ;  
 do-PL-FUT-REL say-ANT-I-CONJ that/OBJ-just  
 should do it; now I have told you this;

'uni-kya-na-aḵ-'ura-'uru  
 do-PL-REL-it-be-that  
 now, the time you do it will be

tama-n-'uru, tama-ri-kwa" máy-puga-s x-'ura;  
 spring-LOC-that spring-INCH-SUB say-REM-CONJ then-be  
 in the Spring, when Spring comes" he told them;

"na'a-'u!" máy-kya-puga x-'ura 'umʷs,  
 INTJ-he say-PL-REM then-be they  
 "He's right!" they all said then,

"'uni-kya-paa-tʷ-mʷ-ux-'ura"; "nʷmʷ-'ura 'úvway-aʷ  
 do-PL-FUT-NOM-PL-it-be we/EXCL-be then-it  
 "We'll do it"; "And we-two will come then

káa-kʷ-vaa-ci-amʷ-'uru" máy-puga x-'ura,  
 sing-BEN-FUT-SUB-you-that say-REM then-be  
 and sing for you" he said,

"púupa-amʷ-'uru wi'i-kya-paa-nʷ-y" máy-puga; x-'ura  
 way-you-that dance-PL-FUT-REL-OBJ say-REM then-be  
 "(We will show you) the way you should dance" he said; then

'uwas-'uru 'ʷvʷs 'ura-puga 'uwas;  
 he-that end be-REM he  
 he was (finally) done;

tama-ruga-puga-vaci-'u kwiyaʷgatʷ 'uwa-wa,  
 spring-arrive-REM-BKGR-he bear/OBJ her-with  
 well, ((until)) the Spring came, he stayed with the

kani-vʷʷ-'u (('uni-'ni-vʷci)); x-'ura-'uru máy-kya-puga:  
 house-at-her do-INT-BKGR then-be-that say-PL-REM  
 She-Bear at her cave; then they (his kinfolk) said:

"'uvwiya-rawi-kway, kwiy'a-ʷa-paa, ka-tʷvʷci  
 EXHORT-we/INCL-MOD fence-PL-FUT NEG-very  
 "Let's get going, let's make the corral, it should

'avatʷ-sapa-pʷ 'ura-wa-vaa-ci, kwiy'a-pʷ"  
 big-MOD-NOM be-NEG-FUT-SUB fence-NOM  
 not be very big, the corral"

máy-kya-puga x-'ura... máy-kya-pʷay-aʷay-amʷ  
 say-PL then-be say-ANT-REM-CONCL-them  
 they said then... he had told them that

x-'ura-'uru; 'úru-'uru kwiy'a-ǰa-puga, wa'apɔ((-m)...  
 then-be-that that-that fence-PL-REM cedar/OBJ-with  
 before; so they made the corral, with cedar wood...

pɔ-paa-y-av-'uru ((má-y-kya-na)); 'úru-'ura-'uru  
 REL-LOC-OBJ-OWN-that that-be-that  
 where ((he told them)); that's the way

'ura-vaci; 'ɔra-ǰa-tɔ 'úru tɔvɔpɔ,  
 be-BKGR dig-ANT/PASS-NOM that ground  
 it was; and they dug up earth ((for the drumming)),

pɔ-paa-y-aǰ-'uru... "na'ay-xya-tɔ-aǰ 'uru 'u-vwa-n,  
 REL-LOC-OBJ-it-that fire-ANT/PASS-NOM-it that/OBJ there-LOC-LOC  
 wherever it was... "You should put a fire

wacɔ-ka-vaani-'uru, tɔvɔpɔ 'ɔra-qa-tɔ  
 put-PL/PASS-FUT-that earth/OBJ dig-PASS-NOM/OBJ  
 over there, and the dug-out earth

qoy'oxwa-ti-kya-tɔ" má-y-puga-s-'ura, "pacavi-'uru  
 hollow-CAUS-ANT/PASS-NOM say-REM-CONJ-be rawhide-that  
 ((shoul be)) hollowed" he said, "it should be

'ura-vaa-ci... kwa-nay-kwa... mani-vaa..." 'á-y-puga-s  
 be-FUT-SUB side-LOC-go do-like-FUT say-REM-CONJ  
 ((covered with)) rawhide... that-a-way... do it like this  
 ((gesture))...

x-'ura-'uru;  
 then-be-that  
 he had told them;

'úvway-aǰ-'ura-'uru kwiy'a-ǰa-puga 'umɔs,  
 then-it-be-that fence-PL-REM they  
 so then they made the corral,

má-y-ta-paa-y-av 'úu-pa-'uru, kwiy'a-ǰa-pugay-ku,  
 say-PASS-REM-OBJ-OWN there-DIR-that fence-PL-REM-it  
 the way he told them, they made it,

tama-n-'uru; 'úvway-aǰ-amy-'ura-'uru 'ú-naaǰa  
 spring-LOC-that then-it-they-be-that there-in  
 in the Spring; and they all got inside there,

'umys 'uni-'a-qa-pyga, núu-aa-u-aǎ; x-'ura-'uru  
 they do-ASP-REM person-GEN-PL-it then-be-that  
 the whole crowd; then

káa-vaa-tu-ux 'u, wunú-ruguy-paa-tu 'u...  
 sing-FUT-NOM-it that notch-rub-FUT-NOM that  
 the one who was to sing, the one who was to rub the notched  
 sticks...

'uwas-'ura wunú-ruguy-'napu 'uru máy-pyga-vaci...  
 she-be notch-rub-INSTR/OBJ that/OBJ say-REM-BKGR  
 she had called it the notched-stick instrument...

máy-pyga-vaci-'u kwiyaǎtu 'u...  
 say-REM-BKGR-she bear that  
 the She-Bear had called it that...

'úvway-aǎ-'ura 'umys-'uru 'u-vvaa-tugwa-amy  
 then-it-be they-that there-to-they  
 so then the Older Brother and the She-Bear

mawisi-pyga, 'uni-kya-ǎay-kw-amy-'uru; 'úvway-aǎ-'ura  
 appear-REM do-PL-ANT-SUB-they-that then-it-be  
 appeared there, after (the people) had done all that;

'ú kwiyaǎtu 'u púupa-'uru wi'i-paǎa-paa-na-'uru  
 that bear that way-that dance-walk-FUT-REL-that  
 and the She-Bear, the way she was to dance,

'uni-pyga x-'ura 'uwas, wi'i-paǎa-pyga-amy;  
 do-REM then-be she dance-walk-REM-they  
 she did that, the two of them danced around;

'uwas sú-iini 'u káa-pyga; x-'ura  
 he other-SUBJ that sing-REM then-be  
 and the other ((brother)) sang; then

'uni-maku-ci-my-'uru, 'umy-a-tugwa supay-pyga 'uru,  
 do-finish-SUB-PL-that them-OBJ-to leave-REM that/OBJ  
 after they finished ((dancing)), they left it to them,

púupa-'uru 'uni-kya-na-av, 'umy pya-u-av;  
 way-that do-ANT-REL-OWN those/OBJ kin-PL-OWN  
 ((to dance)) the way they-two had done, to his kinsmen;

x-'ura 'úu-pa-su-my páğa-kwa-puga;  
 the-be there-DIR-CONJ-PL walk-go-REM  
 and then the two of them took off that-a-way;

'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa-aḥ nú pucucugwa-miḥ-s 'uru;  
 there-LOC-go-MOD-it I know-HAB-CONJ that/OBJ  
 this is as far as I know about it;

'umys 'ağa-ni-puga-vaci-sapa-amy;  
 they WH-do-REM-BKGR-MOD-they  
 whatever ((else)) they may have done ((I don't know));

máy-kya-nu-s-'ura-sapa, púpa-aḥ 'icay...  
 say-ANT-I-CONJ-be-MOD way-it this/OBJ  
 I have told ((it)), the way this...

mama-xwa-nhka-pi 'uni-kya-na-y; máy-kya-nu-s-'ura-sapa;  
 woman-go-dance/PL-NOM/OBJ doPASS-REL-OBJ say-ANT-I-CONJ-be-MOD  
 Bear-Dance is ((was)) done; I have spoken;

((NOTE: The traditional Ute name for the Bear-Dance is  
 "mama-xwa-nhka-pi", literally "woman-step-dance")).

## THE WAY THE BEAR-DANCE USED TO BE DONE

Told by: Ralph Cloud  
 Date recorded: 5-7/8-81  
 Recorded by: T. Givón  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'uru wfitʏs-'uru... wfitʏs-'uru mama-xwa-nhka-mi;  
 that past-that past-that woman-go-dance/PL-HAB  
 it is since long time ago... long time ago, that we do the

nʉnʉy 'áapaci-xw, 'ú-vwaa-tʏ-mana-kway, narʏvʏ  
 I/GEN boy-SUB there-LOC-DIR-from-go since  
 Bear-Dance; when I was a boy; from then onward

'ú-vwa 'uni-kyʌ-tʏ 'ara-'ʌy; 'umʏ mama-xwa-nhka-rʏ-mʏ  
 there-LOC do-ANT-NOM be-IMM those/OBJ woman-go-dance/PL-NOM-PL/OBJ  
 I've been doing it; those Bear-Dancers

ka-'iyʌ-na-wa-tʏ-mʏ, náana-pʏ-ci-u-gwapʏ...  
 NEG-here-LOC/be-NEG-NOM-PM/OBJ. RED-old-man-DIM-NOM-PL-DEFUN  
 who are not with us any more, the departed old men...

'umʏ-wa 'áapaci-gyʌ-rʏ wi'i-mi, mama-xwa-wi'i-mi;  
 those/OBJ-with child-have/be-ADJ/GEN dance-HAB woman-go-dance-HAB  
 I used to dance with them as a child, do the Bear-Dance;

pina-xw-'ura 'úvway-aʃ-'uru ta'waci tʏka-'wi-ci-'uru  
 later-go-be then-it-that man become-INCH-SUB-that  
 then later on, when I became a man,

káa-y, káa-y-'uru 'úvway-aʃ, mama-xwa-'ugwiyavi 'uru,  
 sing-IMM sing-IMM-that then-it woman-go-song/OBJ that/OBJ  
 I'd be singing, I'd sing then, the Bear-Dance songs,

súuva-tʏ-mʏ-aa-ni 'áayh-pʏ-ci-u ka-'iyʌ-na-wa-tʏ-mʏ  
 other-NOM-PL-OBJ-ADJ RED-young-man-PL NEG-here-LOC/be-NEG-NOM-PL  
 (with) the other young men who are not here any more,

'umy-wa káa-x̂a-mi; 'umy-wa kary-ga wɔny-rugwa-y;  
 those/OBJ-with sing-PL-HAB those/OBJ-with sit-GER notch-rub-IMM  
 I would sing with them; I would sit with them, rubbing the notched  
 sticks;

ka-kaa-tɔvvy-'wa-y-sapa; 'úvway-aɣ-'ura pucucugwa-'wa-y,  
 NEG-sing-very-NEG-IMM-MOD then-it-be know-INCH-IMM  
 I didn't sing very well at first; but then I learned,

'umy-wa káa-x̂a-na-pyga-tɔ-mɔ-wa, wfitɔs, 'umy-wa;  
 those/OBJ-with sing-PL-HAB-REM-NOM-PL/OBJ-with past those/OBJ-with  
 with those old-time singers, long tome ago, with them;

'umɔs-'ura káa-x̂a-xw-'uru, 'ugwiyavi 'uru-ri-kya-mi,  
 they-be sing-PL-SUB-that song/OBJ that/OBJ-CAUS-PL-HAB  
 those guys when they'd sing, they'd make up the song,

nfiya-ti-kyɔ-tɔ, súu-ku-aa-ni púpa 'ani-kyɔ-nɔ-y,  
 name-CAUS-ANT-NOM/OBJ one-OBJ-OBJ-ADJ way act-ANT-REL-OBJ  
 making up the words, according to how the dancer acted,

'aɣa-vaa-tugwa-sapa-'u pɔnikya-vaci-'u; káa-mi-tɔ 'u,  
 WH-LOC-go/to-MOD-he see-BKGR-him sing-HAB-NOM that  
 whatever they saw (that he did); the singer,

pɔnikyaay-kw, 'ipɔ-a-sapa 'ú-'uni-vaci,  
 see-SUB WH-OBJ-MOD RED-do-BKGR  
 when he saw (it), whatever it was (the dancer) did,

'úvway-aɣ-'uru 'ugwiyavi tɔka-'wa-mi, 'úvway-aɣ-'u;  
 then-it-that song/OBJ become-ASP-HAB then-it-he  
 right away it would turn into a song, right then;

mámy náanh-pɔ-ci-u-'uru 'úu-pa-ni-amɔ-'uru  
 those RED-old-man-DIM-NOM-PL-that there-DIR-like-they-that  
 when those old men would sing,

káa-x̂a-kw-amɔ-'uru, 'ugwiyavi 'uru 'uni-kya-mi;  
 sing-PL-SUB-they-thet song/OBJ that/OBJ do-PL-HAB  
 they'd make up the songs just like that;

'úniguni-'ura 'úu-pa-ni-aɣ 'uni-kyay-kw,  
 lo-be there-DIR-like-it do-PL-SUB  
 and lo, when they'd do it like that,

'ini-a-sapa-kway mamaci káa-vaci, nfiya-'u ni-niya-paci...  
 WH-OBJ-MOD-MOD woman/OBJ sing-BKGR name-her RED-name-BKGR  
 they'd sing about whichever woman, they'd call her name...

'uvvʊs, wfitʊs-'uru kác... kác na'ay-'a-mi-'wa,  
 end past-that NEG NEG angry-ASP-HAB-NEG  
 and well, in those old days she wouldn't... wouldn't get mad,

'uru máy-ta-'uru, 'ugwiyavi 'uru máy-ta ka-na'ay-'a-mi-'wa,  
 that/OBJ say-PASS-that song/OBJ that/OBJ say-PASS NEG-angry-HAB-NEG  
 at the words, she wouldn't get mad at the song's words,

'ini-a-sapa-'u, mamaci, ta'waci, káa-ta 'uru;  
 WH-OBJ-MOD-he woman/OBJ man/OBJ sing-PASS that/OBJ  
 be it a woman or a man that the song was about;

ka-ti'i-kya-mi-'wa-s;  
 NEG-jealous-ANT-HAB-NEG-CONJ  
 and they wouldn't get jealous either;

'úru-nugwa 'ura-'ay, púupa-aʔ 'ura-na,  
 that-TOP be-IMM way-it be-REL  
 that's what it was, how it used to be,

ka-ti'i-kya-'way-sapa-'uru, piwa-'u 'aḡa-ni-wa-sapa  
 NEG-jealous-ANT-MOD-that spouse-his WH-do-NEG-MOD  
 they wouldn't get jealous, whatever their spouse did,

wi'i-paḡa-paci; ta'waci kác-'ura cicigyʌ-ry-my-'uru  
 dance-walk-BKGR man NEG-be strong-ADJ-AN-that  
 dancing around ((with others)); men are not strong any more,

púupa 'uni-kya-na-py-'ura; cicigyʌ-ry-'uru  
 way do-PL-REL-NOM-be hard-ADJ-that  
 the way they act nowadays; it is hard

tʊsu'a-ḡa-'uru, nfiyaa-vi-gyʌ-y-'uru 'uni-na-py,  
 wisdom-GER/have-that name-NOM/OBJ-have-IMM-that do-REL-NOM  
 to have wisdom, and to act the way the famous ones

púupa-amy 'uni-kya-na-py; 'áavy-sapa ka-'uu-pa-ni  
 way-they do-PL-REL-NOM now-MOD NEG-that-DSIR-like  
 used to act; nowadays it is not like that

'ura-'wa-tu 'ura-'ay, kac-ux 'úu-pa-ni ma-maay-'wa-tu,  
 be-NEG-NOM be-IMM NEG-it that-DIR-like RED-see-NEG-NOM  
 any more, one doesn't see it like that any more,

púupa-aǎ-'uru 'ura-na-pu;  
 way-it-that be-REL-NOM  
 the way it used to be;

'úniguni-'ura mama-xwa-nhka-y 'uru... mama-xwa-nhka-y  
 lo-be woman-go-dance/PL-IMM that/OBJ woman-go-dance/PL-IMM  
 well, the Bear-Dancing... the Bear-Dance

káa-ǎa-y, súu-ku-na-ni, 'u-vwa-n-'ura tuvwa  
 sing-PL-IMM other-OBJ-OBJ-ADJ there-LOC-LOC down  
 singing, it used to be at a different location, down there

kwipǎ-ti-aa-vaa 'uru, múaa-ǎani 'u-rukwa, 'ú-vway-'uru  
 hit-CAUS-OBJ-LOC that/OBJ father-house/OBJ there-over there-LOC-that  
 where the ball-park is, over by the BIA building, right there

mama-xwa-nhka-mi; 'áavu-'ura pa'a-kuma-s 'ura-'ay  
 woman-go-dance/PL-HAB now-be complete-different-CONJ be-IMM  
 is where the Bear-Dance used to be; nowadays this country is

tuvupu-vwaa-tu; pú-paay-amy 'uni-kyǎ-na-pu,  
 country/OBJ-LOC-NOM REL-LOC-they do-PL-REL-NOM  
 completely different; the place where they used to do it,

'úru súvupu-aaǎa-mi súvupu wunu-ru,  
 that cottonwood/OBJ-have-HAB cottonwood/OBJ stand-ADJ/OBJ  
 where there are those cottonwood trees, those standing cottonwoods,

x-'ura 'ú-vway mama-xwa-nhka-mi;  
 then-be there-LOC woman-go-dance/PL-HAB  
 that's where they used to hold the Bear-Dance then;

sinawavi nhka-mi-'ura, 'uni-kyǎ-maku-ci;  
 God/GEN dance/PL-HAB-be do-PL-finish-SUB  
 they'd dance the Worship-Dance too, after finishing

tawa-xwa-nhka-miǎ-s; 'úvway-aǎ-'ura manu-xw-pa  
 war-go-dance/PL-HAB-CONJ then-it-be all-OBJ-LOC  
 (the Bear-Dance); and they'd War-Dance too; in those days

'uni-kyā-mi; 'i-vāā-wa-aḥ pū-paay-amy-av  
do-PL-HAB here-LOC-LOC-it REL-LOC-they-OWN  
they'd do it all over the place; they'd do it right here

mama-xwa-nhka-mi-na-y 'uni-kya-yi-s; ma-vaa tfi  
woman-go-dance/PL-HAB-REL-OBJ do-PL-IMM-CONJ there-LOC high  
where they do the Bear-Dance now; and up there ((gesture))

'aka-puuri-gyāpy kani-gyāpy-vay 'uni-kya-yi-s,  
red-bent-DEFUN house-have-NOM/REM-LOC do-PL-IMM-CONJ  
where old Red-Bent's house used to be they'd do it too,

mama-xwa-nhka-y-is 'u-vwaay; 'aā-vaa-sapa-'uru  
woman-go-dance/PL-IMM-CONJ there-LOC WH-LOC-MOD-that  
they'd Bear-Dance there; wherever it was

mama-xwa-nhka-mi;  
woman-go-dance/PL-HAB  
they'd Bear-Dance;

nū-'uru-'y 'āa'wi-sūti-ni 'umys-'ura-'uru 'ú-vway  
I-that-EMPH fresh-feel-ADJ they-be-that there-LOC  
I myself remember well how they

'uni-kya-ḥa, suway-kya-xw; 'u-vwaa-tū sumay-kya-y 'uru  
do-PL-ANT proud-PL-SUB there-LOC-DIR think-PL-IMM that/OBJ  
used to do it then, when they still had their pride;  
they'd start planning for it

tama-ri-xw-'uru; māy-kh-'ura ta'wavi-amy: "'uvwiya-kway  
spring-INCH-SUB-that say-IMM-be chief-their EXHORT-MOD  
in the Spring; their Chief would say: "Now let's

nawiira-ḥa-kwa-y 'u-vwaa-tū, 'u-vwaa-tū-'ara  
prepare-PL-ASP-IMM there-LOC-DIR there-LOC-DIR-be  
get ready for it, let's plan

sumay-kya-ny"... 'uru... tawi-'uru... mama-xwa-nhka-mi-na;  
think-PL-IMP that/OBJ we/INCL/GEN-that woman-go-dance/PL-HAB-REL  
for it... for that... our... for our Bear-Dance;

'uvys, 'uni-tay-'ura 'u-vwaa-tū; 'āayh-py-ci-u,  
end do-PASS-be there-LOC-DIR RED-young-man-DIM-NOM-PL  
well then, it would be done that way; the young men,

'ini-a-sapa, máamaci-u, 'u-vwaa-t̥y p̥ka  
 WH-OBJ-MOD RED-woman-PL there-LOC-DIR hard  
 and whoever, the young women, they'd be really

t̥y-t̥ysu'a-ʒa-y; t̥áa-ri-kwa-y, 'ini-kya-vaa-na-av 'uru,  
 RED-feel-PL-IMM clothes-CAUS-ASP-IMM do-PL-FUT-REL-OWN that/OBJ  
 looking forward to it; they'd make clothes, the stuff they'd

mama-xwa-wi'i-kwa-ci-'uru; mámy t̥áata'waci-u  
 woman-go-dance-ASP-SUB-that those RED-man-PL  
 wear, when they danced; and the men

'úu-pa-s̥y-ni 'ura-yi-s; 'úmy 'avaaci-u miya-'ni-mi-yis;  
 there-DIR-CONJ-like be-IMM-CONJ those Apache-PL go/PL-INT-HAB-CONJ  
 would do the same; and those Apaches would be wandering

'áapaci-xwa-n-'uru p̥nikya-mi-yis, n̥ka-kwasa-ḡa-mi,  
 boy-SUB-I-that see-HAB-CONJ bead-shoe-have-HAB  
 around; when I was a boy I used to watch (them), with their beaded  
 moccasins,

n̥ka-'ini-kya-mi; núuw-aḡa 'úmy,  
 bead-make-ANT/PASS-HAB person-have those  
 their beaded outfits; there was quite a crowd of them,

mama-xwa-nhka-ḡa-'uru, s̥ú-roḡoy-mi;  
 woman-go-dance/PL-GER-that very-well-HAB  
 Bear-Dancing, it was very good;

múusa-ḡapi-taa-ci 'u-vwaa paḡa-'ni, 'uru  
 cat-man-DIM-NOM there-LOC walk-INT/IMM that  
 the Cat-Man would be parading around there, and while

yuni-gw-am̥y-'uru, máamaci-u 'um̥y t̥áapar̥v̥y  
 dance/PL-SUB-they-that RED-woman-PL those/GEN shawl/OBJ  
 they were all dancing, the women's shawls would be

c̥ḡa-paḡa-ta, 'um̥y t̥áata'waci-u k̥áacoḡop̥y-am̥y,  
 snatch-walk-PASS those/GEN RED-man-PL hat/OBJ-their  
 snatched ((by the Cat-Man)), and the men's hats too,

ka-kaacoḡop̥y-'a-y yuni-mi; 'um̥s-'ura...  
 NEG-hat-have/NEG-IMM dance/PL-HAB they-be  
 so they'd dance hatless; and the

múusa-xapi-taa-ci-u 'úu-pa pağa-'ni-mi; 'ú  
 cat-man-DIM-NOM-PL there-DIR walk-INT-HAB that  
 Cat-Men would be moving through there; that

nana-py-ci-gyapy, máa-y Willie Monte múaa-gapy  
 old-man-DIM-NOM-DEFUN that-GEN Willie Monte father-DEFUN  
 old man, Wille Monte's late father

piraasi-gyapy, 'ú-'u 'ura-gu, súuva-t<sub>y</sub>-m<sub>y</sub> 'ura-gu-s;  
 Blas-DEFUN that-he be-MOD other-NOM-PL be-MOD-CONJ  
 old Blas, he was (a Cat-Man), and others too;

'áav<sub>y</sub>-na'ağa-tugwa-sapa-'uru, 'úvway-a<sub>x</sub>-'uru  
 now-maybe-go/to-MOD-that then-it-that  
 now later on, not long ago,

m<sub>y</sub>rukaci 'u pağa-'ni-mi, núuw-ağa-va  
 white-man that walk-INT-HAB person-have-LOC  
 there was that White-Man, he'd always wander around in the

'um<sub>y</sub>-ağa-va núuci-u pağa-'ni-mi t<sub>ú</sub>sapa; Jim  
 those/OBJ-have-LOC indian-PL walk-INT-HAB always Jim  
 crowd among the Indians; his name was Jim

Bradshaw máy-kya-py-'u; 'ú-vwaa 'um<sub>y</sub>-ağa-va  
 Bradshaw say-PL-NOM/REM-him there-LOC those/OBJ-have-LOC  
 Bradshaw; he'd wander around among them,

pağa-'ni-mi, múusa-xapi-taa-ci-miya-s, núuci-u-wa  
 walk-INT-HAB cat-man-DIM-NOM-HAB-CONJ indian-PL-with  
 he'd be a Cat-Man too, he'd do it with the

'uni-mi, pağa-'ni-mi 'ú-'u; súuva-t<sub>y</sub>-m<sub>y</sub> 'ura-yi-s;  
 do-HAB walk-INT-HAB that-he other-NOM-PL be-IMM-CONJ  
 Indians, he'd walk around (the corral); and there were others too;

'úvway-'ura-'uru nhka-mi, kwáa-'uru, 'uru  
 then-be-that dance/PL-HAB there-that that  
 they used to Bear-Dance over there, way there, where

kwipa-ti-gy<sub>y</sub>-y 'u-rukwa t<sub>y</sub>vwa; núuw-ağa-mi t<sub>y</sub>vwa,  
 hit-CAUS-have-OBJ there-over down person-have-HAB down  
 the ball-park is now down there; there was always a be big crowd  
 down there,

'uru naru'a-gani-gyapu wli-kyaru-ry;  
 that/OBJ buy-house-DEFUN old-sit-ADJ  
 where the old trading-post used to be;

Roy Hall-gyapu naru'a-gani-gyapu, Roy Hall... 'uru-'u  
 Roy Hall-DEFUN/GEN buy-house-DEFUN Roy Hall that-EMPH  
 old Roy Hall's old trading-post, Roy Hall... that's where

'u-rukwa tyvwa, múaa-gani 'uru, núu-múaa-gani  
 there-over down father-house that/OBJ indian-father-house/OBJ  
 it was down over there, (where) the BIA building is now,

'uru, ta'wavi-múaa-gani 'áavu;  
 that/OBJ chief-father-house/OBJ now  
 the Ute-Agency building, it is the Government building now;

'u-vwaa-tux pqrq-navici-gw, púupa-amy  
 there-LOC-to walk/PL-MASS-SUB way-they  
 when they would march toward (the Bear-Dance corral),

'uni-kya-na-pu 'ura-'ay, 'uru 'ugwiyavi 'ura-'ay,  
 do-PL-REL-NOM/REM be-IMM that song be-IMM  
 the way they used to do it, it was with songs,

'ugwiyavi 'ura-navici 'ura-'ay; kacu-ku-n sumay-wa...  
 song be-MASS/IMM be-IMM NEG-it-I remember-NEG  
 with many songs; I don't remember them...

ka-sumay-wa... káa-xa-na-pu-amy... 'ava'naty-'ura  
 NEG-remember-NEG sing-PL-REL-NOM/REM-they many-be  
 I don't remember... what they used to sing... there were many

'uru-'ay, 'ugwiyavi-'uru;  
 that/be-IMM sing-that  
 of them, those songs;

'úvway-aḵ-unuv-'ura ma-vaay 'uni-kya-yi-s, 'áavu-aḵ  
 then-it-TOP-be there-LOC do-PL-IMM-CONJ now-it  
 then later on they did (the Bear-Dance) over there,

pú-paa-aḵ 'ura-na, ma-vaay-aḵ miya-vaḡa tfi;  
 REL-LOC-it be-REL there-LOC-it far-walk high  
 where it is now, way up there;

máry-'ura tųvųpy-aa-va pŭ-paay-'ura mama-xwa-nhka-mi;  
 that-be country-OBJ-LOC REL-LOC-be woman-go-dance/PL-HAB  
 over that ground where they Bear-Dance nowadays;

máry mfi-pų-ci-ci-gyā-kwa-y 'icay núu-aḡa  
 that small-DIM-DIM-NOM-have/be-ASP-IMM this/OBJ person-have  
 it is shrinking down, there are too many

'ava'natų tųga-y, kác-'ura... kác...  
 many become-IMM NEG-be NEG  
 people, it's not... not...

'ava'na-kw-amų... kác... pa'ayva-tų-mų-s 'ura-'ay,  
 many-SUB-they NEG few-NOM-PL-CONJ be-IMM  
 there's just too many ((in the tribe))... not... only few of them  
 ((are full-blooded)),

'áavų manuxu-tų-mų-s ciki-kyā-tų-mų;  
 now all-NOM-PL-CONJ mix-ANT/PASS-NOM-PL  
 nowadays all are mixed;

'úvway-aḡ-'ura 'umų-a-tų-aa-s núuci-u 'ura-'ay;  
 now-it-be those-PART-NOM-GEN-CONJ Ute-PL be-IMM  
 so only a few of them are Ute;

'áavų-nugway paḡa-wiici-u 'ura-yi-s, manuxu-tų-mų-s  
 now-TOP walk-knife-PL be-IMM-CONJ all-NOM-PL-CONJ  
 nowadays we are Navajos too, all (of us)

ciki-kyā;  
 mix-ANT/PL  
 have gotten mixed;

'uru 'uni-kyā-ḡay-kw-'uru 'uru mama-xwa-nhka-ḡa-'uru...  
 that do-PL-ANT-SUB-that that woman-go-dance/PL-GER-that  
 when they used to do the Bear-Dance then,

'úniguni-'ura sŭ-roḡoy-sapa-'ura; 'áavų-'ura  
 lo-be very-well-MOD-be now-be  
 wow, it was real good; nowadays

'áayh-pų-ci((-u)) 'imų 'áa-ḡa-rų-mų kác-aḡ  
 RED-young-man-DIM-NOM-PL these new-ADJ-ADJ-PL NEG-it  
 the young men, these young ones don't

pucucugwa-wa, su-supay-kwa-vaani-aḥ-'ura 'anq-xwa-sapa;  
 know-NEG RED-leave-ASP-FUT-it-be WH/time-go-MOD  
 understand it, they'll quit it one of these days;

kac-aḥ káa-ḥa-'wa-y, 'icay mama-xwa 'ugwiyavi, ka-'u-vwaa  
 NEG-it sing-PL-NEG-IMM this/OBJ woman-go song/OBJ NEG-there-LOC  
 they don't sing them, these Bear-Dance songs, not ((the way

'uni-na-y; "nú-gu-s-'ura núuci!" máy-gya-sapa,  
 do-REL-OBJ I-EMPH-CONJ-be Ute say-GER-MOD  
 it should be)) done; "I'm Ute!" they may say,

"kac-ux púpa-aḥ 'ura-na-y!" 'áa-aḥ-'ura máy-vaani,  
 NEG-it way-it be-REL-OBJ WH/SUBJ-it-be tell-FUT  
 and who's going to say: "This is not the way it is (done)!",

nanapuci? "muni-gya-'u 'ú-'uni-kya-paa-tu  
 old-man you/PL-TOP-he RED-do-PL-FUT-NOM  
 an old man? "This is how you should do it..."

'ura-'ay..." ka-máy-wa, kác-'ura... 'icay máy-ta-wa...  
 be-IMM NEG-say-NEG NEG-be this/OBJ say-PASS-NEG  
 nobody says that, nobody... says this any more...

nunuy-sa máy-ta-mia-xw, ta'wayvi-mu 'u 'apaḡa-ry;  
 we/OBJ-TOP say-PASS-HAB-it chief-you that speak-ADJ  
 we ourselves used to be told that, the Chief would tell you;

'u-vwa... nana-pu-ci-gyapy pivi-gya nana-pyga-py  
 there-LOC old-man-DIM-NOM-DEFUN Pivi-gya grow-old-REM-NOM  
 there... Old Man Pivi-gya (John Dale) grew old

káa-ḡa-'u, nana-pu-ci 'u-ma-tugwa-s nana-pu-ci  
 sing-GER-he old-DIM-NOM there-LOC-go/to-CONJ old-man-DIM-NOM/OBJ  
 singing (Bear-Dance songs), that Old Man grew old (doing

tugay-kwa-y, pivi-s... súuva-tu-mu 'ura-yi-s,  
 become-ASP-IMM Pivi-CONJ other-NOM-PL be-IMM-CONJ  
 that), John Dale... and there were others too,

káa-ḥa-tu-mu; súu-ci-s paḡa-'ni 'áavú,  
 sing-PL-NOM-PL one-NOM-CONJ walk-INT/IMP now  
 singers; there's only one of them left now,

t̥v̥v̥ci s̥ú-ci-s piy̥a-xw-kwa 'um̥y-a-t̥y, 'ú  
 very one-NOM-CONJ remain-ASP-ANT those-PART-NOM that  
 the only one that's left out of those, that

piya-kwana-p̥y k̥áa-na-p̥yga-t̥y 'ú-vway; 'ú-'ura  
 sweet-smell-NOM sing-HAB-REM-NOM there-LOC that-be  
 Sweet-Smell (Harry Richards) used to sing there; he's

'áav̥y to̥g̥o-pḁga-'ni-yi-s 'uwas; n̥ú-'ura 'ásti'i  
 now right-walk-INT-IMM-CONJ he I-be want/IMM  
 the only one still alive now; I myself would like it

'ú-pa-ni-ḁx̥ 'ura-vaa-ku, 'um̥y p̥fisci-u, kac-ḁx̥-am̥y  
 there-DIR-like-it be-FUT-SUB they/OBJ children-PL NEG-it-them  
 to be like that ((again)), so that the children would not

su-supay-ta-xw 'uru, ((p̥úupa)) 'uni-kya-na-av 'uru, 'ic̥ay  
 RED-leave-PASS-it that/OBJ way do-PL-REL-OWN that/OBJ this/OBJ  
 quit it, the way (we) used to do it, this

mama-xwa-nhka-na-av, n̥úu-mani-kya-na-av;  
 woman-go-dance/PL-REL-OWN UTE-do-like-REL-OWN  
 Bear-Dance, the Ute way of doing things;

'áav̥y-'ura k̥y̥ma-ni t̥y̥gay-kwa-y, kac-ḁx̥...  
 now-be different-like become-ASP-IMM NEG-it  
 but nowadays things have become quite different, not...

p̥úupa-ḁx̥-'uru wac̥y-ka-na-y, kac-ux pucucugwa-wa,  
 way-it-that put-ANT/PASS-REL-OBJ NEG-it know-NEG  
 the way things are now, nobody knows ((any more)),

p̥úupa-ḁx̥-'uru máy-ti-kya-na-y; su-sumuay-kway-kw t̥áw̥i;  
 way-it-that say-CAUS-ANT-REL-OBJ RED-forget-ASP-it we  
 ((nobody knows)) how it was supposed to be done; we forget;

máy-gya-ra-n̥y-s 'áy-kh;  
 say-ANT-be-I-CONJ say-IMM  
 I've spoken;

## THE ORIGIN OF THE UTE SUNDANCE

Told by: Mollie Cloud  
 Date recorded: 12-16-76  
 Recorded by: T. Givón  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

'urus 'ura-puga, tagu-nhka-paa-tu 'uru wlitus;  
 it be-REM hunger-dance/PL-LOC-DIR that past  
 this is about the Sundance, it was long time ago;

'umys wa-ini 'ura-puga, nanapuci, mama-sagoy-ci,  
 they two-SUBJ be-REM old-man woman-belly-NOM  
 there were two of them, an old man and an old woman,

pi-a-av-'ura 'uway, pi-a-ri-kya-na-'u 'ura-puga-vaci;  
 mother-OWN-be his mother-INCH-ANT-REL-him be-REM-BKGR  
 she was his mother, the one who acted as his mother;

x-'ura 'uwas-'uru nasqt'a-xw-puga, ta'waci 'u,  
 then-be he-that lonely-ASP-REM man that  
 and he was lonely, the ((young)) man was,

ka-pya-u-'wa-y, tapyyu-kwa-puga-vaci-my;  
 NEG-kin-PL-have/NEG-IMM perish-ANT-REM-BKGR-PL  
 without relatives, they had all perished ((in an epidemic));

x-'ura-'uru tyna-vqrq-ry 'ura-puga-vaci 'uwas,  
 then-be-that hunt-walk-ADJ be-REM-BKGR he  
 so he would just hunt maround,

tyna-xw-puga-'ura, pagay-kwa-puga,  
 hunt-go-REM-be walk-go-REM  
 he went hunting, wandering around,

wa'apy-naaga-tu-paa, Mancos Creek-i-va  
 cedar/OBJ-in-NOM/OBJ-DIR Mancos Creek-OBJ-LOC  
 through the cedar-grown country, it was around Mancos Creek

'ura-puga-vaci wfitys-'uru;  
 be-REM-BKGR past-that  
 long time ago;

x-'ura-'uru tyna-vqro-xw-'uru, kác paḡa-pya,  
 then-be-that hunt-walk-SUB-that NEG kill-REM/NEG  
 so as he hunted around, he didn't kill (anything),

ka-tuyiyu paḡa-pya; x-'ura-'uru pina-ravay  
 NEG-deer/OBJ kill-REM/NEG then-be-that next-day  
 he didn't kill any deer; so the next day

'uni-'a-puga-s, ((ka-))tuyiyu paḡa-nay-'uru,  
 do/go-ASP-REM-CONJ NEG-deer/OBJ kill-ANT/NEG-that  
 he went out again, having killed no deer (the day before),

tyna-xw-puga-s; x-'ura-'uru pa-payu-xw-puga-s;  
 hunt-go-REM-CONJ then-be-that RED-return-ASP-REM-CONJ  
 he again went hunting; and once again he returned  
 ((empty handed));

x-'ura-'uru... nasqt'ay-xw-puga; 'uwas-kway-'uru...  
 then-be-that lonely-ASP-REM he-MOD-that  
 so then... he became very lonely; he...

ka-pya-'wa-y-'uru; x-'ura-'uru 'úvway-aḡ-'ura pina((-xw))  
 NEG-kin-have/NEG-IMM-that then-be-that then-it-be later-go  
 having no relatives; so then later on

sumay-'ni-puga, nasqt'ay-xw-puga; x-'ura nanqs  
 think-INT-REM lonely-ASP-REM then-be self  
 he brooded, and he became lonely; so he decided

na-vaḡa-vaa-ci-'uru ((sumay-'ni-puga)), taci-av 'uru  
 REFL-kill-FUT-SUB-that think-INT-REM head-OWN that/OBJ  
 to kill himself, to shoot himself

kukwi-vaa-ci, tųpyy-paya-aḡa-tų-paa;  
 shoot-FUT-SUB rock-side-have-NOM/OBJ-DIR  
 in the head, right there on the rocky slope;

tųpyy-wųgaa-m kary-puga, na-vaḡa-vaa-ci-'ura;  
 rock-hill-LOC sit-REM REFL-kill-FUT-SUB-be  
 he was sitting on a rocky hillside, he was going to kill himself;

x-'ura-'uru kaci-s-ux-'uru 'uri-'wa-y-'uru tɔpɔy-'u,  
 then-be-that NEG-CONJ-it-that load-NEG-IMM-that rock-his  
 so then, having not yet loaded his gun,

'úvway-aʔ-'ura-'uru múpɔci yaǵa-pɔga 'uway  
 then-it-be-that owl cry-REM him  
 all of a sudden an owl hooted right

'ina-xwa-paay; kava-yi 'uway tapi-ca'a-ʔa-y...  
 back-go-LOC horse-OBJ his heel-catch-ANT-IMM  
 behind him; he had hobbled his horse...

tapi-ca'a-ʔa-na-'u... 'ú-'uway 'ina-xwa-pɔ  
 heel-catch-ANT-REL-him RED-him back-go-NOM  
 where he had hobbled it... right behind it there

yaǵa-pɔga;  
 cry-REM  
 (the owl) cried;

na-vaʔa-vaa-ʔa-na-'ura-'uru 'vɔvɔsa-pɔga,  
 REFL-kill-FUT-ANT-REL-be-that end-REM  
 so he quit trying to kill himself,

tɔpɔy-paya-m 'uru karɔ-xw, tɔpɔy-wɔgaa-aǵa-tɔ-m  
 rock-side-LOC that/OBJ sit-SUB rock-hill-have-NOM-LOC  
 sitting there on the slope, sitting on the rocky

karɔ-xw; 'úvway-aʔ-'ura-'uru 'aǵa-ni-aa na'ayh-pɔga 'uwas,  
 sit-SUB then-it-be-that WH-do-Q angry-REM  
 hillside; then all of a sudden, for whatever reason, he got angry;

"'aǵa-ni-vaʔ-ci?" 'áy-pɔga, "núnay  
 WH-do-FUT-SUB say-REM me  
 "Why is it" he said, "that

yaǵa-kɔ-vɔrɔ-ǵa 'ú múpɔci,  
 call-BEN-walk-GER that owl  
 the owl is calling me?

paʔa-xw-paa-'wa-n!" 'áy-pɔga-'ura, máy-pɔgaa-ni;  
 kill-ASP-FUT-NEG-I say-REM-be say-REM-like  
 So that I shouldn't kill myself!" he said, he thought;

'úvway-aǎ-'ura-'uru puku-a-'u... puku-a 'uway  
 then-it-be-that horse-GEN-his horse-GEN his  
 then his horse... (the owl) kept hooting

'uwa-mi-tux yaǵa-paǵa-puǵa, 'ú múpuci;  
 him-LOC-to cry-walk-REM that owl  
 toward where his horse was, the owl did;

kary-xw-'uru, kary-xw-'uru, 'uwa-'ina-kwa-pu yaǵa-puǵa  
 sit-SUB-that sit-SUB-that him-back-go-NOM cry-REM  
 when he was sitting, when he was sitting, right behind him

'uwas; 'úu-pa-'ura-'uru múpuci 'u kava-vaa-cugwa-'u  
 he there-DIR-be-that owl that horse-LOC-to-him  
 it hooted; and it kept leading him toward the horse,

múi-ky-paǵa-puǵa, yaǵa-paǵa-puǵa; súu-miya-'ura  
 lead-BEN-walk-REM cry-walk-REM very-far-be  
 it kept hooting; he had hobbled his horse

'uwas kava-yi tapi-ca'a-puǵa-vaci;  
 he horse-OBJ heel-catch-REM-BKGR  
 quite a distance back;

'úvway-aǎ-'ura-'uru, kary-xw-'uru... 'áy máy...  
 then-it-be-that sit-SUB-that say say  
 so then, while he was sitting... I mean...

puku-a-ty-av 'y-tavi-puǵa; 'úvway-aǎ-unuv-'ura-'uru  
 horse-GEN-NOM-own just-step-REM; then-it-TOP-be-that  
 he stepped (up on) his horse; then all of a sudden

'uwayas-'uru... 'uwa-v'ǎn cipi-xw-puǵa, payu-xw-puǵa,  
 his-that him-on mount return-ASP-REM  
 his... he mounted it and turned to go back,

kani-vǵǵ-tugwa-av; súu-miyǵa 'uni-vǵǵ-puǵa; x-'ura  
 house/OBJ-LOC-to-OWN very-far be-walk-REM then-be  
 going home; it was very far; then

kaguci-av 'uway picu-gwa-ci 'áy-puǵa: "nasqta'ay-xwa-y  
 grandmother-OWN that/OBJ arrive-ASP-SUB say-REM lonely-SUB-IMM  
 when he arrived, he told his Grandmother: "Being so lonely,

suwa-na-vaṅa-xw" 'áy-puga, "nasota'ay-xwa-y-'uru"  
 almost-REFL-kill-ASP say-REM lonely-ASP-IMM-that  
 I almost killed myself" he said, "because I was so lonely"

'áy-puga; "nasota'ay-xwa-y 'aḡa-ni-gya?"  
 say-REM lonely-ASP-IMM WH-do-GER  
 he said; "Why are you so lonely?"

máy-puga-'uru 'ú kaguci-'u, "nú-nugway paḡa-'ni,  
 say-REM-that that grandmother-his I-TOP walk-INT/IMM  
 asked his Grandmother, "I'm still around,

kác-'uru 'ú-'uni-nṅ-pṅa-y!" máy-pugay-'ura-'uru;  
 NEG-that RED-ḏo-IMP-MOD/NEG-IMM say-REM-be-that  
 you shouldn't do it!" she said;

'úvway-aḡ 'uwas-'ura-'uru pina-ravay 'uni-'a-puga-s;  
 then-it he-be-that next-day do/go-ASP-REM-CONJ  
 well, the next day he went out again;

nanṅsi((-kya))-puga pṅi-gya-'uru, 'u-pa-aḡ  
 dream-ANT-REM sleep-GER-that there-DIR-it  
 he had a dream in his sleep (that night),

tṅi 'áy-puga, tṅpṅy-sipa'ni-ci-pṅṅ-tux 'uru...  
 deer say-REM rock-flat-NOM/OBJ-DIR-to that/OBJ  
 of a deer going that way, across the rocky mesa...

tṅpṅy-sipa'ni-ci 'ura-'ay...  
 rock-flat-NOM be-IMM  
 it was a flat rocky mesa...

'úvway-aḡ-'ura-'uru tṅvṅci-sapa nawa-aḡa-puga,  
 then-it-be-that true-MOD tracks-have-REM  
 so ((going across that country)), there were indeed tracks,

tṅiyṅ tṅpṅy-sipa'ni-ci-pṅṅ-tux-'uru; x-'ura-'uru  
 deer/GEN rock-flat-NOM/OBJ-DIR-to that/OBJ then-it-be  
 of a deer going across the rocky mesa; then, the young man

máy-pugaa-ni, 'i-vṅṅ-ci su-sukwi-puga;  
 say-REM-like here-LOC-NOM RED-whistle-REM  
 thought, someone was whistling right there;

wfiya-ci-gya-puga-'ura, 'úniguni mana-xwa-tugwa-vaa-tu  
 arroyo-NOM/OBJ-have-REM-be lo away-go-to-LOC-DIR  
 there was a small arroyo there, and suddenly from across it

su-sukwi-puga; 'u-vwaa-tu-kwa punikya-puga 'uwas,  
 RED-whistle-REM there-LOC-DIR-go see-REM he  
 there was whistling; so he looked that way,

natyna-vorq-gwa-s 'uway tuiyu, nawaa-y; 'úniguni  
 track-walk-GER-CONJ that/OBJ deer/OBJ tracks/OBJ lo  
 he kept tracking the deer, its spoor; and right there

'u-vwaa wunu-puga, murykaci,  
 there-LOC stand-REM white-man  
 ((in front of him)) there was a White-Man standing,

sá-ga-ry-my puku-gwa-tu,  
 white-ADJ-ADJ-AN/OBJ horse-have-NOM  
 on a white horse,

sá-ga-ry táa-ga-tu; murykaci 'ura-pugay-'u;  
 white-ADJ-ADJ/OBJ clothes-have-NOM white-man be-REM-he  
 all dressed in white; it was a White-Man;

"'ağa-ni-'ara táa-ga((-y))?" máy-puga-su-ni 'uwas,  
 WH-do-be clothes-have-IMM say-REM-CONJ-like he  
 "What manner of dress is that?" the Young Man thoughts,

"murykaci-sapa 'fna 'ara-ga" 'áy-puga; 'uwa-vaa-cu  
 white-man/GEN-MOD this be-GER say-REM him-LOC-to  
 "It must be the White-Man's way" he thought; so he stood and

puni-wunu-puga, páay-puay-ağay-'u "pəy-ki!"  
 look-stand-REM call-REM-CONC-him come-ASP/IMP  
 lookd at him, and the White-Man called him: "Come here!"

'áy-puay-ağay-'u; 'úniguni-'ura cağaci-va  
 say-REM-CONC-him lo-be near-LOC  
 he told him; so the Young Man

tugay-pağay-puga 'uwas; (('uwas-'ura)) 'uwa-vaa-cux  
 approach-walk-REM he he-be him-LOC-to  
 approached slowly; and the White-Man spoke

'apaḡa-puay-aḡa;  
 speak-REM-CONC  
 to him then;

manu-xw-tu-aa-s 'apaḡa-puḡa... x-'ura-'uru...  
 all-OBJ-NOM-OBJ-CONJ speak-REM then-be-that  
 he spoke in all languages... then...

\* 'úyú... muryka-'apaḡa-puḡa,) pina-xw ✕  
 INTJ English-SPEAK-REM later-go  
 eeee... he spoke English (first), next

kukwa-'apaḡa-puḡa-s, ka-nuḡa-puḡa; pina-xw... manu-xw-tu  
 Spanish-speak-REM-CONJ NEG-hear-REM/NEG later-go all-OBJ-NOM/OBJ  
 he spoke Spanish, but the Young Man didn't understand... he then

tuḡuḡu-aa 'uni-kyḡ-tu-mu núu-a-u-aḡa 'apaḡa-na-y  
 earth-GEN do-PL-NOM-PL/GEN/OBJ person-GEN-PL-have speak-REL-OBJ  
 spoke (in the languages of) all the people who live

'apaḡa-puḡa, manu-xw-tu 'apaḡa-puḡa...  
 speak-REM all-OBJ-NOM/OBJ speak-REM  
 on earth, he spoke all of them;

pina-xw 'úru-'uru núu-'apaḡa-na-av-'uru, pina-xw,  
 later-go that-that Ute-speak-REL-OWN-that later-go  
 finally he spoke to him in his own Ute language, finally,

núu-a-xw namu-tu 'áy-vaa-xw-'uru paḡa-wii-'apaḡa-puḡa  
 Ute-GEN-SUB first-DIR say-FUT-SUB-that walk-knife-speak-REM  
 but before that he spoke to him in Navajo...

kwáy... 'úru-'u nuḡa-puḡa-s-('uwas));  
 INTJ that-EMPH hear-REM-CONJ he  
 and that the Young Man understood;

pina-máy-na-av-'uru núu-'apaḡa-puḡa,  
 last-say-REL-OWN-that Ute-speak-REM  
 what the White-Man spoke last was Ute,

pucucugwa-puḡay-ku;  
 know-REM-it  
 and the Young-Man understood it;

'úvway-aḵ-'ura-'uru p̄ni-ti-p̄yay-aḡay-'u...  
 then-it-be-that see-CAUS-REM-CONC-him  
 now the White-Man showed him...

p̄ni-ti-p̄yay-aḡay-'u... p̄ni-ti-p̄yay-'uru...  
 see-CAUS-REM-CONC-him see-CAUS-REM-that  
 he showed him... he showed him

m̄q'q-av 'uru ((p̄m-'uru))  
 hand-OWN that/OBJ REL-LOC-that  
 his hand where he

tap̄ḡa-ḵa-p̄ya-na-av-'uru... 'awata-p̄y p̄-paa-t̄y  
 nail-ANT/PASS-REM-REL-OWN-that rib-NOM/OBJ REL-LOC-DIR  
 had been nailed... and his ribs where

t̄ona-ta-p̄yay-'u; "'aḡa-ni-'ara ma-ra-'ay-s̄y-ni?"  
 stab-PASS-REM-him WH-do-be that-be/like-IMM-CONJ-like  
 he had been stabbed; "How come you are like that?"

'áy-p̄yga-s 'uwas; 'uwas x-'ura pa'a-nuuci 'ura-p̄yga...  
 say-REM-CONJ he he then-be complete-person be-REM  
 the Young Man asked; he was indeed a whole person...

ka-'ip̄y-sapa... ka-'ip̄y-sapa 'ura-wa-t̄y-m̄y  
 NEG-WH-MOD NEG-WH-MOD be-NEG-NOM-AN  
 there was nothing... there was nothing missing

'ura-p̄yga;  
 be-REM  
 about him;

(('uwas-'ura)) taḡa-pu-ci 'ú-ra-sapa-'ura...  
 he-be orphan-DIM-NOM that-be/like-MOD-be  
 the Young Man himself was sort of an orphan...

nyka-t̄y 'ura-p̄yga paḡa-wii-'apaḡa-vaa-na-av,  
 hear-NOM be-REM walk-knife-speak-FUT-REL-OWN  
 he understood (only) when the White-Man spoke in Navajo,

n̄u-'apaḡa-vaa-na-av; ka-m̄yryka-nyka-t̄y  
 Ute-speak-FUT-REL-OWN NEG-English-hear-NOM  
 or in Ute; he didn't understand any

'ura-puga; 'úniguni-'uru 'uwas-'uru kac-ux pucucugwa-pua-s  
 be-REM lo-that he-that NEG-it know-REM/NEG-CONJ  
 English; and he didn't know anything about it,

'uru, 'uway murykaci payaa-m 'uru  
 that/OBJ he/OBJ white-man/OBJ side-LOC that/OBJ  
 that this was the White-Man who had been nailed ((to the cross))

tapaga-ta-xa-puga-tu; máy-kya-na-'uru  
 nail-PASS-ANT-REM-NOM/OBJ say-ANT-REL-that  
 on the hillside; of what the White-Man told him

ka-pucucugwa-pua-s; "'ina-uv 'ura-'wa-aa?"  
 NEG-know-REM/NEG-CONJ this-TOP be-ASP-Q  
 he knew nothing; "Who is this one?"

máy-puga-su-ni; 'úniguni-'ura 'uwas 'u Jesus 'ura-puga,  
 say-REM-CONJ-like lo-be he that Jesus be-REM  
 he wondered; and indeed, it was Jesus,

'ú-'u 'ura-puga, moço-gwa-tu 'ura-puga,  
 that-the be-REM beard-have-NOM be-REM  
 it was him, he was bearded,

páagi-gya-tu...  
 hair-have-NOM  
 he had long hair...

'úvway-aḵ-'ura-'uru... pṣari-niya...  
 then-it-be-that story-tell  
 well then... the story goes...

"'umuy-vaḥ-cugwa-n 'apaga-vaani" 'áy-puga,  
 you/OBJ-LOC-to-I speak-FUT say-REM  
 "I will talk to you now" Jesus said,

"'icay-'uru kṣaw 'icay taci-av kukwi-vaḥ-ci  
 this/OBJ-that yesterday this/OBJ head/OBJ-OWN shoot-FUT-SUB  
 "about this business yesterday of your wanting to shoot

máy-kya-tu-ni 'ura-'ay" 'áy-puga-'ura;  
 say-ANT-NOM-like be-IMM say-REM-be  
 yourself in the head" he said;

"'úmy-'ura ka-'uni-nu-wa-tu  
 you-be NEG-do-IMP-NEG-NOM  
 "You shouldn't do it,

taḡapuci-gya-y-sapa" 'áy-puga x-'ura,  
 orphan-have/be-IMM-MOD say-REM then-be  
 even though you may be an orphan" he said then,

"'umuy-vaḡ-cugwa-nu-s 'apaḡa-vaani 'áavy"  
 you/OBJ-LOC-to-I-CONJ speak-FUT now  
 "I will talk to you now"

máy-puga; "'úmy-'ura-'uru máay-'uru tusu'aa-py  
 say-REM you-be-that his-that conscious-NOM  
 he said; "It is because of his influence

'uni-kyḡ-tu 'ura-'ay" 'áy-puga-s-'ura;  
 do-ANT-NOM be-IMM say-REM-CONJ-be  
 that you did it" he said;

'úniguni-'ura-'uru 'uwa-vaa-yuxwi wunyu-puga-sapa  
 lo-be-that him-LOC-sit stand-REM-MOD  
 and lo, just next to Jesus there was a Dark Man

túu-nigic, mugwi-kyḡ-tu, káavuyysi-pani, máa-pani  
 black-negro hook-nose-have-NOM cowboy-like that-like  
 standing, with hook nose, like a cowboy, just like

'ara-tu-my, 'avaty káacogopy-ga-tu,  
 be-NOM-AN big/OBJ hat/OBJ-have-NOM  
 that type, wearing a big hat,

táanapy-ga-tu, 'átu 'ini-aa-ḡa-tu, 'atu  
 spurs-have-NOM good/OBJ POSS-GEN-have-NOM good/OBJ  
 with spurs, decked up in his finery, riding a

kary-'napy-ga-tu; 'ú-'ura puku-'u ka-'aa-ry  
 sit-INSTR-have-NOM that-be horse-his NEG-gentle-ADJ/OBJ  
 well-made saddle; and his horse had fierce

py'i-'ḡ-tu 'ura-puga, túu-xwa-ry-my-'ura  
 eye-have/NEG-NOM be-REM black-ADJ-ADJ-AN-be  
 eyes, it was pitch black;

'ura-puga 'ú-'u; 'úniguni-'ura tiavuru 'ura-puga,  
 be-REM that-that lo-be Devil be-REM  
 and lo, it was the Devil himself,

'ú 'ura-puga; 'uwas-'ura puni-wunu-puga; máay-'uru  
 that be-REM he-be look-stand-REM his-that  
 it was him; so the Young Man stood and watched (him);

tusu'aa-pa taci-av kukwi-vaa-xa-tu 'ura-'ay;  
 conscious-DIR head/OBJ-OWN shoot-FUT-ANT-NOM be-IMM  
 it was because of his power that he was going to shoot himself

'áy-puay-ağa-'ura 'uru ((Jesus 'u));  
 say-REM-CONC-be that/OBJ Jesus that  
 in the head ((the day before)); that's what Jesus told him;

'uwas-'ura suri'aa-puga, 'uwa-vaa-cu punikya-y,  
 he-be scared-REM him-LOC-to see-IMM  
 the Young Man was scared, watching the Devil,

puni-ti-puay-ağay-'u (('uwas 'u Jesus)); 'úvway-aḡ-unuv  
 see-CAUS-REM-CONC-him he that Jesus then-it-TOP  
 Jesus showed him to him; then ((he said)):

"nú-'ura 'umuy taxovayaḡi-kyā-tu-'uru  
 I-be you/OBJ prevent-ANT-NOM-that  
 "I am the one who stopped you ((from killing yourself)),

múpuçi-gyā-y-'uru, 'umuy-vaa-cu yağa-puga-tu  
 owl-have/be-IMM-that you/OBJ-LOC-to cry-REM-NOM  
 disguised as an owl, I'm the one who hooted at you,

'ura-'ay, nú mui-kü-pağay-kyā-tu-mu"  
 be-IMM I lead-BEN-walk-ANT-NOM-you  
 I'm the one who led you away"

'áy-puay-ağa-s-'ura; 'úvway-aḡ-'ura-'uru: "'uy"  
 say-REM-CONC-CONJ-be then-it-be-that yes  
 he told him then; so the Young Man said: "Yes"

'áy-puga-'ura 'uwas, "nú-gu-s-'ura tųvüçi  
 say-REM-be he I-EMPH-CONJ very  
 he said, "I was feeling very

nasot'a-xway-gya-'uru 'uni-'wa-xwa-tu 'ura-'ay"  
 lonely-ASP-ANT-that do-ASP-SUB-NOM be-IMM  
 dejected when I did it"

máy-puga-'ura 'uwas, "'uni-kyá-tu 'ara-'ay"  
 say-REM-be he do-ANT-NOM be-IMM  
 he said, "that's why I ((tried to)) do it"

máy-puay-ağay-'u, 'áy-puga 'uwas núci;  
 say-REM-CONC-him say-REM he ute  
 he told him, the Young Ute man told Jesus;

(('uwas-'ura)): "'umuy-aa-nu-s máy-vañani"  
 he-be you/OBJ-OBJ-I-CONJ say-FUT  
 so Jesus told him: "I will now tell you"

'áy-puay-ağa-'ura, "'umuy-'uru... 'umuy-gya  
 say-REM-CONC-be you/OBJ-that you-TOP  
 he said, "you... you..."

"nasot'a-xwa-y" máy-kya-na-uk 'umuy' 'áy-puga;  
 lonely-ASP-IMM say-ANT-REL-it you" say-REM;  
 "I'm lonely" that's what you said" he said;

"nú-'ura pñi-ti-paani-umuy 'umuy pua-u-aa-muy;  
 I-be see-CAUS-FUT-you those/OBJ kin-PL-GEN-your  
 "Now I'll show you your relatives;

pua-muy 'umuy miyá-'ni-ci-muy 'ura-'ay,  
 kin-your those move/PL-INT-NOM-PL be-IMM  
 your relative are indeed alive,

pavici-muy" máy-puga-'ura, "iyá-na-'u-s wñi"  
 older-brother-your say-REM-be here-LOC/be-he-CONJ stand/IMM  
 your older brother" he said, "is standing right there"

máy-puga, "cika-xw-xay-ku-n" máy-puga-'ura;  
 say-REM carry-ASP-ANT-EMPH-I say-REM-be  
 he said, "indeed I've brought him here" he said;

'úniguni-'ura 'uwa-vaa-yuxwi wñny-kaa-puga-sapa  
 lo-be him-LOC-sit stand-ANT-REM-MOD  
 and lo, right alongside Jesus there was a person standing,

núuci, pavici-'u; 'uwa-vaa-cy p̄uni-w̄un̄y-p̄uga 'uwas;  
 person older-brother-his him-LOC-to look-stand-REM he  
 his older brother; so the Young Man stood there looking at him;

"'ūy" 'áy-p̄uga, "'ú̄m̄y-aa p̄ucucugwa-y-'a?"  
 yes say-REM you-Q know-IMM-him  
 "Alright" asked Jesus, "do you recognize him?"

'áy-p̄uay-āga-s-'ura; "'ūy, 'ú pavici-n"  
 say-REM-CONC-CONJ-be yes that older-brother-my  
 he asked; "Yes, he's my older brother"

'áy-p̄uay-āga-s-'ura, "'uru w̄it̄y 'ūv̄y-s-kwa-p̄uga-s";  
 say-REM-CONC-CONJ-be that past end-ASP-REM-CONJ  
 said the Young Man, "and he's been dead for a long time";

"kác" máy-p̄uay-āga-s-'u, "kác 'ūv̄y-s-p̄ya-t̄y,  
 NEG say-REM-CONC-CONJ-him NEG end-REM/NEG-NOM  
 "No" Jesus told him, "he's not dead,

pāga-'ni-ci 'u, tugu-paya-payaa-va, t̄ȳv̄ȳp̄ȳ ma-v'an"  
 walk-INT-NOM that sky-side-side-LOC earth/OBJ there-on  
 he's alive, up in heaven, up there above the earth"

máy-p̄uga, "'u-vwaa pāga-'ni-ci 'ura-'ay,  
 say-REM there-LOC walk-INT-NOM be-IMM  
 he said, "he's alive there,

'ava'na-t̄y-m̄y núuci-u" máy-p̄uay-āga-s-'u-'ura,  
 many-NOM-PL person-PL say-REM-CONC-CONJ-him-be  
 ((together with)) many others"; that's what he told him,

máy-p̄uay-āga-s-'u;  
 say-REM-CONC-CONJ-him  
 he told him;

'úv̄way-āx̄-y-s-'ura: "'ūy" máy-p̄uga-s, "navas  
 then-it-CONJ-be yes say-REM-CONJ just  
 then Jesus continued: "Yes" he said, "he just

'ūm̄y m̄aas p̄unikyay-gȳ-y, 'ūm̄y-'uru  
 you/OBJ he see-GER-IMM you/OBJ-that  
 came to see you, because you

nasqt'a-xway-kw, máy-kwa-my-'uru; 'áavų-'ura mñas  
lonely-ASP-SUB say-ASP-you-that now-be he  
were lonely, you said so yourself; now he

pucucugwa-y 'uru 'ųmy pų-paa pağa-'ni-ną((-y))"  
know-IMM that/OBJ you/GEN REL-LOC walk-INT-REL-OBJ  
knows where you live"

'áy-pųga-'ura; x-'ura: "'ųų" 'áy-pųga 'uwas,  
say-REM-be then-be yes say-REM he well/IMM  
he said; so the Young Man said: "Alright" he said,

toğoy-núgway" 'áy-pųga;  
well-TOP say-REM  
"it's alright by me" he said;

'uwas-'ura: "'áavų-n pųsari-niyą-xwa-vaani" máy-pųga,  
he-be now-I story-tell-ASP-FUT say-REM  
then Jesus said: "Now I am going to tell you the story" he said,

"'icąy tųvųpų ma-vaa-ağa-tų púupa 'ura-vaa-na"  
this/GEN earth/GEN there-LOC-NOM way be-FUT-REL  
"of this land, the way it is going to be in the future"

máy-pųga; "'áavų-nų-s nú... 'áavų-nų-s-ux  
say-REM now-I-CONJ I now-I-CONJ-it  
he said; "Right now I... right now all this land is

núu-ağa manu-xw-tų tųvųpu-vwa-n; mani-xwa-u-paani  
Indian-have all-OBJ-DIR land/OBJ-on-LOC do-like-ASP-INCEP-FUT  
full of Indians; but just like that ((it will fill with))

mųrųkaci-u" máy-pųga-'ura; "manu-xw-tų  
white-man-PL say-REM-be all-OBJ-NOM/OBJ  
Whites" he said; "They'll speak all ((kinds of))

wáygyą-vaa-sų-ni, na-naağa-ni 'ura-vaani" máy-pųga-'ura,  
speak/PL-FUT-CONJ-FUT RED-mixed-like be-FUT say-REM-be  
language, it will all be mixed" he said,

pųsari-niyą-kų-gay-'ura; "'fmy  
story-tell-BEN-GER-be these  
telling him the story; "And these

churchi-kya-mi-tu-my, manu-xw-tu-s, manu-xw-tu-s  
 church-PL-HAB-NOM-PL all-OBJ-NOM-CONJ all-OBJ-NOM-CONJ  
 church goers, there'll be all kinds, there'll be

'ura-vaa-tu, na-naaḡa-ni nīya-ti-kyā-tu  
 be-FUT-NOM RED-mixed-like name-CAUS-ANT-NOM/GEN  
 all kinds, a jumble of congregations with all kinds

churchi-kya-tu-my... churchi-kya-mi-tu-my"  
 church-PL-NOM-PL church-PL-HAB-NOM-PL  
 of names... church-goers..."

'áy-pūga-'ura; "nīya-aḡa-vaa-tu 'ura-'ay,  
 say-REM-be name-have-FUT-NOM be-IMM  
 he said; "They'll have ((different)) names,

churchi-kya-tu-my-'uru" 'áy-pūga; "'imū-gaa-ni  
 church-PL-NOM-PL-that say-REM these-TOP-like  
 those congregations" he said; "And as to these

nūuci-u, nūu-my-aḡa, nūuci-u, 'fi-pa-ni  
 Indian-PL Indian-PL-have Indian-PL here-LOC-like  
 Indians, the ones here now, the Indians, they'll

tuḡa-xw-kwa-vaa-tu 'ura-yi-s 'icay; 'iyā-na-ḡs  
 become-ASP-ANT-FUT-NOM be-IMM-CONJ this/OBJ here-LOC-CONJ  
 become this way too; now, here standing ((next to you))

wūni 'ina nasot'a-xwa-na-my" 'áy-pūga-'ura;  
 stand/IMM this lonely-ASP-REL-you say-REM-be  
 is the one you were longing for" he said;

"'ūmy-aa 'ara-'ay? 'imū-gū-s nūuci-u 'ara-'ay,  
 you-Q be-IMM these-TOP-CONJ Indian-PL be-IMM  
 "So what will become of you now? These Indians ((around you)),

kác... nūka-wa-tu-my 'ara-'ay" 'áy-pūga-s-'ura;  
 NEG hear-PL-NEG-NOM-PL be-IMM say-REM-CONJ-be  
 they don't... understand ((about all this))" Jesus continued;

"'uru... 'ūmy-gū-s... 'ūmy-ku-nūmy  
 that you-EMPH-CONJ you/OBJ-EMPH-we/EXCL  
 "So... you... we-two will now

máy-v̄āa-t̄u-ni 'ara-'áy" máy-p̄uga-'ura, "núuci-u  
 say-FUT-NOM-FUT be-IMM say-REM-be Indian-PL  
 tell you about the way the Indians

púupa 'uni-kya-paa-na; p̄aȳori t̄uka-̄xa-paani-am̄y,  
 way do-PL-FUT-REL peyote/OBJ eat-PL-FUT-they  
 will practice ((religion)); they will eat Peyote,

tagu-nhka-vaani-am̄y; 'ic̄ay-'ura 'āga-'ara 'ásti'i?"  
 hunger-dance/PL-FUT-they this/OBJ-be WH-be want/IMM  
 or they will Sundance; of the two, which one do you choose?"

"tagu-nhka-pi... 'ú-raa-na-̄ys n̄ú 'ásti'i"  
 hunger-dance/PL-NOM/OBJ that-be/like-REL-CONJ I want/IMM  
 "The Sundance... that's the kind I choose"

máy-p̄uga-'ura 'uwas, "'uru tagu-nhka-pi; n̄ún̄ay p̄a-u  
 say-REM-be he that/OBJ hunger-dance/PL-NOM/OBJ my kin-PL  
 said the Young Man, "the Sundance. But my relatives

ka-'ip̄u-a-sapa 'uni-kya-'wa-t̄u-m̄y 'ura-'áy" 'áy-p̄uga,  
 NEG-WH-OBJ-MOD do-PL-NEG-NOM-PL be-IMM say-REM  
 don't practice any of it" he continued,

"ka-tagu-nhka-'wa-t̄u-m̄y; máy-na-m̄y 'uru  
 NEG-hunger-dance/PL-NEG-NOM-PL say-REL-you that/OBJ  
 they don't Sundance. Of what you describe,

ka-'uni-kya-'wa-t̄u-m̄y; 'ú-raa-na-̄ys-'uru n̄ú  
 NEG-do-PL-NEG-NOM-PL that-be/like-REL-CONJ-that I  
 they practice nothing. But I will practice that

'uni-v̄āani" 'áy-p̄uga-'ura;  
 do-FUT say-REM-be  
 kind" he said;

"n̄ú-ky... 'ȳy" 'áy-p̄uga-'ura 'uwas;  
 I-EMPH yes say-REM-be he  
 "Now I... Alright" said Jesus;

"'um̄y-ky ta'wavi-gȳa-vaani, manu-xw-t̄u-aa-s-'ura  
 you-EMPH chief-have/be-FUT all-OBJ-NOM-OBJ-CONJ-be  
 "You yourself will be the (Sundance) Chief, and I will

n̄ 'um̄y-rugwa-paani 'uru p̄-aa-m 'uni-vaa-na,  
 I you/OBJ-give-FUT that/OBJ REL-OBJ-with do-FUT-REL  
 then give you the things with which you'll do it,

'ini-w̄n̄y-vaa-na, 'ini-kya-vaa-na" 'áy-p̄ga-'ura...  
 POSS-stand-FUT-REL do-ANT/PL/PASS-FUT-REL say-REM-be  
 what you'll Sundance with, what will be done" he said...

'áy-p̄ga x-'ura-'uru...  
 say-REM then-be-that  
 that's what he told him...

'uwas-'ura-'uru "'ȳ" 'áy-p̄ga, 'ú-raa-nugwa 'uru  
 he-be-that yes say-REM that-be/like-TOP that/OBJ  
 so the Young Man agreed, and he did exactly that

'uni-p̄ga 'uwas, practice-p̄gay-kw-'uru pina-raca; navas-'uru  
 do-REM he practice-REM-SUB-that next-summer just-that  
 way, when he practiced the next summer; when they did it then,

'uni-kya-ǰay-kw practice-kya-p̄ga, ka-'ava'nap̄-aǰa-y;  
 do-PL-ANT-SUB practice-PL-REM NEG-many-have-IMM  
 they just did it for practice, with only a few people;

pina-raca-'ura-'uru t̄v̄ȳci 'avat̄ȳ 'ura-vaani-ux  
 next-summer-be-that very big be-FUT-it  
 the following summer it was supposed to be very big,

'úru 'ura-p̄ga, 'ava'na-amy 'uru 'uni-kya-paa-na;  
 that be-REM many-they that/OBJ do-PL-FUT-REL  
 with many people doing it;

'úmy x-'ura tagu-wi'i-kya-t̄-my  
 those then-be hunger-dance-PL-NOM-PL  
 and then the Sundancers

toǰo-na-ra-t̄-aa-s 'ini-aǰa-vaa-t̄-my  
 right-RECIP-be/like-NOM-OBJ-CONJ POSS-have-NOM-PL  
 were to be all dressed up exactly the

'ura-p̄ga-vaci; 'uwas-'ura 'uni-aǰa-p̄gay-kw,  
 be-REM-BKGR he-be POSS-have-REM-it  
 same way; the Young Man also had the same outfit,

'ivi-yukwi manu-xw-tu-s papu'ni...  
 eagle-whistle all-OBJ-NOM/OBJ-CONJ drum  
 with an Eagle-Whistle and all, and drums...

púpa-amy-'úru... 'uni-kya-vaa-na...  
 way-they-that do-PL-FUT-REL  
 the way they were going to do it...

máy-puga-na-'uru 'uwas,  
 say-REM-REL-that he  
 that's what Jesus told him,

toġo-sapa-aġ-'ura 'uwas 'uni-puga-vaci-ux; 'ú-raa  
 right-MOD-it-be he do-REM-BKGR-it that-be/like  
 so that's why the Young Man did it (that way); and when

practice-kyay-kw-amy-'uru káa-ġa-puga;  
 practice-PL-SUB-they-that sing-PL-REM  
 they practiced, they did it with the singing;

'úvway-aġ-'ura-'uru 'uni-kya-maku-kway-kw-amy,  
 then-it-be-that do-PL-finish-ANT-SUB-they  
 now then, after having finished the practice,

'uwas... 'uwas., núuci 'u, tu'a-yaġa-ry,  
 he he person that envy-cry-ADJ  
 he... he, one Indian, an envious one,

'ina-kwa-xw-puga, 'uru káacoġopu-m-av-'uru... 'ivici 'uru  
 across-go-ASP-REM that/OBJ hat-with-OWN-that stick/OBJ that/OBJ  
 came over across, with his hat... the center pole

súu-tu-aa-s 'ura-puga-vaci, súu-pa'a-toġwa-tu;  
 very-NOM-OBJ-CONJ be-REM-BKGR very-complete-right-NOM  
 was very, it was very tall;

'ú-m-'ura-'uru káacoġopu-av 'uway-puga-vaci  
 there-LOC-be-that hat/OBJ-OWN hang-REM-BKGR  
 so he hung his hat up there ((on the center pole))

practice-kya-ġay-kw-amy; 'ú-'ura-'uru 'unupu  
 practice-PL-ANT-SUB-they that-be-that madness  
 after they had practiced; that person went mad

tɥgaay-pɥga pina-xw-'uru, q̣x̣ạaary-pɥga;  
 become-REM later-go-that run-REM  
 afterwards, and he ran away;

'úniguni-'ura-'uru, kani-'u... káacogopu-naaga 'uru  
 lo-be-that house-his hat/OBJ-in that/OBJ  
 and lo, his house... inside his hat

'ɔa-tapɥna-x̣a-tɥ-'uru wacy-ka-tɥ 'ura-pɥga;  
 yellow-bundle-ANT-NOM-that put-ANT/PASS-NOM be-REM  
 there was a yellow ((cloth)) bundle ((of bad medicine));

'ú-'u máy-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru 'uni-wh-pɥga;  
 that-that that-be he-that do-ASP-REM  
 he's the one who put it there;

tɥ'a-yağa-'apaga-pɥga-'ura, ka-'ay-wa-tɥ-my 'u,  
 envy-cry-speak-REM-be NEG-good-NEG-NOM-AN that  
 he was bad-mouthing ((the Sundance)), he was a bad one,

'ú 'uni-pɥga... 'ɥnɥpɥ tɥgaay-pɥga;  
 that do-REM madness become-REM  
 he did it... so he went mad;

'úvway-ạx̣-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru... 'ú-'uwayas-kway  
 then-it-be-that RED-him-MOD  
 then the Young Man... Jesus had also

'áy-pɥay-ağa-s-'u: "'uru... kacɥ-m-'uru..."  
 say-REM-CONC-CONJ-him that NEG-you-that  
 told him: "That... don't..."

tɥ'a-yağa-x̣a-pɥay-ağa 'uwa-vaa-cɥ 'uru  
 envy-cry-PL-REM-CONC him-LOC-DIR that  
 (some people) were bad-mouthing the Young Man

'uni-kyay-kw; 'úru-'u x-'ura-s-'uru...  
 do-ANT-SUB that-hē then-be-CONJ-that  
 when he practiced the Sundance; so then he...

'u-'uni-kyay-ky-kw-'uru, 'úmy núu-a-u-ağa  
 RED-do-PL-BEN-SUB-that those person-GEN-PL-have  
 when they kept doing that to him, that crowd

ka-'átu wáygya-wa-kway; pina-xw-'uru: "kac-amu 'átu  
 NEG-well speak/PL-NEG-MOD later-go-that NEG-they well  
 spoke ill of him; so later: "When they

wáygya-wa-xw-'uru, 'umu núu-a-u-ağa, nú 'umu  
 speak/PL-NEG-SUB-that those/GEN person-GEN-PL-have I you/OBJ  
 speak ill of you, I myself will (come and)

kuy-vi-u-vaa-su-ni 'áav-s" máy-puga-s-kway 'uru...  
 take-ASP-INCEP-FUT-CONJ-FUT now-CONJ say-REM-CONJ-MOD that/OBJ  
 take you away (to me)" that's what Jesus had told him...

"'uru practice-kyay-kw-my 'uru/OBJ,  
 that practice-ANT-SUB-you that/OBJ  
 "When you had practiced it (the Sundance),

kuy-vi-u-vaa-su-ni-my-'uru, kacu-my  
 take-ASP-INCEP-FUT-CONJ-FUT-you-that NEG-you  
 I will take you away (to me), if they speak

'átu-waygya-wa-kw, 'umu núu-a-u-ağa..."  
 well-speak/PL-NEG-SUB those/GEN person-GEN-PL-have  
 ill of you, that crowd..."

'uwas-'ura 'úu-pa-ni-'uru 'uwas-'uru 'uni-kyay-kw-'u,  
 he-be that-LOC-like-that he-that do-ANT-SUB-he  
 so then when the Young Man practiced that way,

ka-'átu-waygya-pua; wítus-ux máy-puay-ağa  
 NEG-well-speak/PL-REM/NEG past-it say-REM-CONC  
 those people indeed bad-mouthed him; Jesus had told him  
 (about it) long before that;

'uwa-rux; 'úvway-aḡ-unuv-'uru 'uwas-'uru... 'ava'na-tu-'ura  
 him-to then-it-TOP-that he-that many-NOM/OBJ-be  
 at that time he had also told him many

'uru-'ay máy-pugay-'u...  
 that/be-IMM say-REM-him  
 (other) things...

'úvway-aḡ-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'icay súu-kus taca-ta...  
 then-it-be he-that this/OBJ other-OBJ summer-NOM/PASS  
 so then the next summer...

pina-ravay... pina-taca-xw 'ura-vaa-xay-kw-'uru,  
 next-day next-summer-SUB be-FUT-ANT-SUB-that  
 the next day... the next summer when (the Sundance) was  
 supposed to take place,

'u-gway-a-na-kwa-s 'uwas ya'ay-kw-puga... 'ú...  
 there-LOC-OBJ-LOC-go-CONJ he die-ASP-REM just  
 he died then... just...

núuci 'u, tų'a-yaga-xay-kw-amu-'uru; 'umųs-'ura  
 person that envy-cry-PL-SUB-they-that they-be  
 they Young Man died, after they bad-mouthed him; there

pa'a-manu-ni-'uru 'uni-'wa-kw-'uru, pa'a-manu-ni  
 complete-all-SUBJ-that do-ASP-SUB-that complete-all-SUBJ  
 were quite a few there when he practiced, and they all

togo-na'a-pų-sų-ni dressi-kya-vaa-puga-tų-my  
 right-pretty-NOM-CONJ-ADJ dress-PL-FUT-REM-NOM-PL  
 were dressed exactly the same fine style;

'ura-vaci-my; 'ú-'ura mamaci máa 'ú-naaga  
 be-BKGR-PL that-be woman that there-in  
 well, there was that woman inside there

núu-aga-vaa-puga-tų, wá-ini mamaci-u;  
 person-have-FUT-REM-NOM two-SUBJ woman-PL  
 where the crowd ((of Dancers)) was supposed to be, two women;

nani-guaa-va-amų karų-vwaa-tų-my; kac-umų  
 RECIP-edge-LOC-they sit-FUT-NOM-PL NEG-they  
 they were supposed to sit across ((from the Sundancers)); they

wųny-vwaa-wh-tų-my, karų-vwaa-tų-my; máy-'uru  
 stand-FUT-NEG-NOM-PL sit-FUT-NOM-PL say-that  
 weren't supposed to Sundance, only to sit; that's how

'ura-puga, tųri'aaw;  
 be-REM supposedly  
 it was to be, supposedly;

'úvway-ax-unuv 'uwas-'ura máy-puga... 'ú sinawavi  
 then-it-TOP he-be say-REM that God/GEN  
 and he had also said... the Son of

tuaci 'u... "'ú-ra-qs 'uni-vãani máy-kh-'ura"  
 sun that that-be/like-CONJ do-FUT say-IMM-be"  
 God... "You must also do like this, I tell you"

máy-kyay-'uru; pa'a-manu-xw-ty-aa-s  
 say-ANT-that complete-all-OBJ-NOM-GEN-CONJ  
 he said; he told him about

pʊsari-ni-niya-pʊga, 'icay tʊvʊpʊ ma-vaa-aḡa-tʊ  
 story-RED-tell-REM this/OBJ earth/OBJ there-LOC-have-NOM/OBJ  
 everything, about what will become of everything on this earth,

tʊgaay-paa-tʊ, púpa-aḡ 'ura-vaani, 'uru, máy-pʊga;  
 become-FUT-NOM way-it be-FUT that/OBJ say-REM  
 the way it will all happen, about that, he told him;

'úmʊ núuci-u tʊpʊyʊ-kwa-vaa-tʊ-mʊ,  
 those Indian-PL disappear-PL-FUT-NOM-PL  
 The Indian will disappear,

máy-pʊga, ka-'ava'na-ci-gya-wh-paay-'uru piyaay-kwa-ḡa,  
 say-REM, NEG-many-NOM-have/be-NEG-FUT-that remain-ASP-GER  
 he said, with only a few surviving,

núu-vaḡa-'ni-ci 'u; pʊa-y-avʊ-y-sapa  
 person-walk-INT-COM that kin-OBJ-OWN-OBJ-MOD  
 alive; they will have to marry their

piwa-ḡaa-vaa-tʊ 'ura-'ay, máy-pʊga x-'ura, 'uru  
 spouse-have-FUT-NOM be-IMM say-REM then-be that  
 own kin, he said then, because

ka-nuu-'wa-y tʊgaay-kwa-ḡa, 'áy-pʊga x-'ura;  
 NEG-person-have/NEG-IMM become-ASP-GER say-REM then-be  
 they would have become so few, he said;

'úu-pa-'ura 'ura-'ay 'áavʊ, 'úru púpa  
 that-DIR-be be-IMM now that way  
 that's how it is nowadays, just as

máy-pʊ, 'umʊas mʊrʊkaci-u 'ava'na  
 say-NOM/REM/REL they/GEN white-man-PL many  
 he said, with the White-Men having become

tɔgaa-y-kya-xay-kw-amu-'uru; mamu-'ura-'uru  
 become-PL-ANT-SUB-they-that those-be-that  
 so numerous; they

church-i-vaa-tux-'uru, nawa-tux waygya-vaa-tu-my  
 church-OBJ-LOC-to-that RECIP-to speak/PL-FUT-NOM-PL  
 all go to churches, and (Jesus said that) they'd all

'ura-puga-s-'uru manu-xw-tu church-i-a-s 'uru;  
 be-REM-CONJ-that all-OBJ-NOM/OBJ church-OBJ-GEN-CONJ that/OBJ  
 be arguing with each other, all those religions,

máy-ky-xa; mamu-'ura-'uru... 'u-vwaa-tux-'ura  
 say-BEN-ANT those-be-that there-LOC-to-be  
 he told him; they... all over their churches

church-i-vaa-tux nana-kukwi-kwa-vaa-tu-my 'ura-puga-s;  
 church-OBJ-LOC-to RECIP-shoot-ASP-FUT-NOM-PL be-REM-CONJ  
 they would be shooting each other;

'u-pa-'ura tɔgaa-y 'áavɔ, máy-pugay-'u,  
 there-DIR-be become-IMM now say-REM-him  
 that's what has happened now, Jesus told him (about it),

máy-pua-'uru 'uway Jesus-i...  
 say-REM/REL-that that/GEN Jesus/GEN  
 that's what Jesus said...

nɔ ma-vaa-tu sumay-kyary-ry 'ura-'ay,  
 I that-LOC-DIR think-sit-ADJ be-IMM  
 I myself often sit and think about it,

'uru-'u pucucugwa-ga; tɔsu'a-'ni-ci 'ura-'ay,  
 that-just know-GER feel-INT-SUB be-IMM  
 knowing all this; I keep thinking,

'u-vwaa-tu; 'uru-'uru pucucugwa-ga...  
 there-LOC-DIR that-that/OBJ know-GER  
 about that; knowing all this...

x-'ura 'uwas-'uru manu-xw-tu-aa-s máy-puga-s,  
 then-be he-that all-OBJ-NOM-GEN-CONJ say-REM-CONJ  
 so Jesus told him about everything,

'icay tɨvɨpɨ-vwaa-aḡa-tɨ; 'úru-'uru 'ura-yi-s  
 this/OBJ earth/OBJ-LOC-have-NOM/OBJ that-that be-IMM-CONJ  
 about all that is on this earth; that's how it is,

púpa tɨḡay-paḡay((-pɨa)); 'umɨ núuci-u  
 way become-walk-REM/REL those/OBJ Indian-PL  
 the way it has become; they even called-up

pa'ay-pɨay((-amɨ)) kwaya-tux; 'úru 'úu-pa tɨḡaay...  
 call-REM-them over-to that there-DIR become/IMM  
 the Indians ((to serve)) overseas; it has become that way...

włitɨs... 'úu-pa-'ura-'u... włitɨs páas-'úru,  
 past that-DIR-be-he past past-that  
 long time ago... that way he... it was long ago,

'íca súuva-tɨ-ni piyḡ-yi-s, máy-pɨ-'u; tɨvɨpɨ  
 this other-NOM-SUBJ remain-IMM-CONJ say-NOM/REL-he earth/OBJ  
 there remain other things, that he also said; this

'íca paḡa-xw-kwa-vaa-tɨ, máy-pɨ-'uru, páa-'ura  
 this break-ASP-ANT-FUT-NOM say-NOM/REM/REL-that water-be  
 earth would break open, he said, and the water

'úu-pa cipi-kwa-u-paa-tɨ, máy-pɨ-'uru;  
 there-DIR rise-ASP-INCEP-FUT-NOM say-NOM/REM/REL-that  
 would begin to rise, he said;

'úu-ci-s-aa-'uru tagu-nhka-paa-amɨ-'uru, 'átɨ  
 that-NOM-CONJ-Q-that hunger-dance/PL-FUT-they-that well  
 unless they do the Sundance, unless

kwa-a-ti-kyay-kw-'uru, 'uway súu-kw-'uru 'átɨ kwa-a-ti-kw;  
 run-CAUS-ANT/PASS-SUB-that he/GEN very-go-that well run-CAUS-SUB  
 they run it real good and proper, unless he run it real well;

máry-'ura puwavy-sapa 'ura-pɨḡa-vaci,  
 that-be medicine-power-MOD be-REM-BKGR  
 that Sundance is powerful Medicine, (that's)

puwa-ḡa-vaa-na-'u 'uway núuci wɨny-'wa-ry;  
 medicine-power-have-FUT-REL-he that/GEN Indian/GEN stand-ASP-ADJ  
 where the Sundancing Indian would get his Medicine-power;

'úru 'úu-pa-ni-amu-'uru tɔgaay-xw-kway-kw;  
 that there-DIR-like-they-that become-ASP-ANT-SUB  
 it's that way that they've come ((to have Medicine-Power));

'uru mɔ-mɔ'ɔ-vwa-sapa-aʔ-'uru, mani-tux,  
 that/OBJ RED-hand-LOC-MOD-it-that away-to  
 and with it in their hands, like this ((gesture)),

taʔo-vaya-ɔa-paa-tɔ 'ura-pɔga-vaci;  
 ward-off-PL-FUT-NOM be-REM-BKGR  
 they would always ward off ((bad-medicine));

'uru 'átɔ 'uni-gway-kw-'uru tagu-nhka-pi;  
 that/OBJ well do-ASP-SUB-that hunger-dance/PL-NOM/OBJ  
 that is, if one does the Sundance well;

máy-pɔ-'u-'ura, tɔ-'atɔpaa-tux 'uru 'uni-kyay-kw;  
 say-NOM/REM/REL-he-be real-well-LOC-to that/OBJ do-ANT/PASS-SUB  
 that's what (Jesus) said, if one does it real well;

'uwas núu-vaɔa-'ni-ci 'u puwa-ɔa-vaa-pɔga-tɔ;  
 he Ute-walk-INT-NOM that medicine-power-have-FUT-REM-NOM  
 that wandering young Ute was to become a Medicine-Man;

'áavɔ-'ura nú ma-vaa-tɔ tɔsu'a-ʔarɔ-ru  
 now-be I that-LOC-DIR think-sit-ADJ  
 nowadays I often sit and think about all this,

'ura-'ay, pa'ayh-toɔo 'uni-kyatɔ-my 'ura-'ay,  
 be-IMM wrong-way do-PL-NOM-PL be-IMM  
 (about how) they do it the wrong way,

'úmu-'uru 'uni-kyatɔ-my, tagu-nhka-pi  
 those-that do-PL-NOM-PL hunger-dance/PL-NOM/OBJ  
 those who do it, those who do

'uni-kyatɔ-my; pa'ayh-toɔo-ni 'urus 'ura-tɔ  
 do-PL-NOM-PL wrong-way-like it be-NOM  
 the Sundance; it is the wrong way,

'ura-'ay;  
 be-IMM  
 it is;

'uwayas-'úru máy-py; máy-ci-ni-aǰ-'ura nú  
 he-GEN-that say-NOM/REM/REL say-SUB-like-it-be I  
 it is Jesus who said it; when I think about it

'áavü... 'ava'na-tü-ux-'uru 'ura-'ay, núñay  
 now much-NOM-NOM-it-that be-IMM I/GEN  
 now... there's much more to it, what I

máy-vaa-na, 'ava'na-tü 'ura-'ay máy-pųay-'uru;  
 say-FUT-REL much-NOM be-IMM say-REM/REL-that  
 will say, there's much more to it that (Jesus) had said;

ka-pa'ay-sapa 'ura-'ay, púpa-aǰ 'icay tųgaay-navici-na;  
 NEG-count-MOD be-IMM way-it this/OBJ become-MASS-REL  
 there's no end to it, the way this (the Sundance) has become;

marų máy-pųga-tü 'ura-'ay... 'ura-vaci, 'uwas 'u  
 that/OBJ say-REM-NOM be-IMM be-BKGR he that  
 he's the one who said that... it's him,

sinawavi tuaci; 'ava'na-tü 'ura-vaci 'urus, nú-'ura  
 God/GEN son much-NOM be-BKGR it I-be  
 the Son of God; there's much more to it, I myself

waǰa-rux-tü-aa-s pucucugwa-y, kac-aǰ manu-xw((-tü))  
 part-to-NOM-PART-CONJ know-IMM NEG-it all-OBJ-NOM/OBJ  
 know only some of it, I don't know all

pucucugwa-wa-y, máy-pųa-y kac-ux sumay-wa, 'uru-xw  
 know-NEG-IMM say-REM/REL-OBJ NEG-it remember-NEG that-it  
 of it, I don't remember ((all of)) what he said, what

máy-pųay-'u; 'ura-yi-s-sapa-'ura, 'úu-pa  
 say-REM/REL-he be-IMM-CONJ-MOD-be there-DIR  
 he said; whatever it be, it has become

'úu-pa tųgaay-navici-sapa, púpa máy-pųay-'uru,  
 there-DIR become-MASS-MOD way say-REM/REL-that  
 like that, the way (Jesus) said it,

'uwayas, núuci, máy-py 'ura-'ay, puwa-ǰa-tü;  
 him Ute/OBJ say-REM/REL be-IMM medicine-power-have-NOM/OBJ  
 to him, to the Ute man, it's what he said, to the Medicine-Man;

máy-kya-n̄-s 'úru-'u, 'ú-ra-sapa-aḥ-'uru  
 say-ANT-I-CONJ that-just that-be/like-MOD-it-that  
 I've said it now, this is just about as far as

n̄ pucucugwa-ry 'ara-'ay, ka-t̄v̄ci 'ava'na-t̄...  
 I know-ADJ be-IMM NEG-very/OBJ much-NOM/OBJ  
 I know, not very much...

'uwaya-'ura-'uru máy-p̄ay-aḡa-s, 'uwayas, n̄uci:  
 him-be-that say-REM-CONC-CONJ him Ute/OBJ  
 Jesus told him this, to him, to the Ute man:

"'úmy-'ura-'uru payu-gwa-xw-'uru... payu-xwa-xw-'uru...  
 you-be-that return-go-SUB-that return-go-SUB-that  
 "When you return... when you go back home..."

payu-xwa-xw-'uru, s̄u-kus kava-yi 'úmy-rugwa-paani"  
 return-go-SUB-that one-OBJ horse-OBJ you/OBJ-give-FUT  
 when you go back, I'll give you one horse"

máy-p̄ay-aḡa-s-'uru 'uway-'uru; 'úvway-aḥ-'ura 'uwas-'uru  
 say-REM-CONC-CONJ-that that/OBJ-that then-it-be he-that  
 he told him then; so then later the Young Man

payu-xwa-p̄ga-s, kani-v̄ḡ-cawi-av...  
 return-go-REM-CONJ house-LOC-to-OWN  
 went back, back home...

"wh̄cuu-paa-t̄-my-'uru 'ura-vaci 'ú kava"  
 catch-up-FUT-NOM-you-that be-BKGR that horse  
 "That horse will catch up with you"

máy-p̄ga-s-'ura; "t̄u-siḡ-ḡa-ry-my,  
 say-REM-CONJ-be black-spotted-ADJ-ADJ-AN  
 he had told him; "It'll be a black-spotted one,

\* m̄i-p̄-v̄-ci 'u, ka-t̄v̄ci 'ava-ci-ci-my-'a-p̄"; \*  
 small-ADJ-DIM-NOM that NEG-very big-DIM-NOM-AN-have/NEG-NOM  
 a small one, not very big";

'ura-p̄ga-s 'úru;  
 be-REM-CONJ that  
 and indeed that happened;

'uwas<sub>y</sub>-ga-'ura kác-'uru, payu-xwa-xw-'uru kacu-'u  
 he-TOP-be NEG-that return-go-SUB-that NEG-him  
 but then he couldn't, when he was going back home he

ca'ay-p<sub>y</sub>a; 'uwa-vaa-yuxwi whcuu-caa-ni, p<sub>á</sub>a-caa-ni,  
 catch-REM/NEG him-LOC-sit four-ASP-ADJ three-ASP-ADJ  
 couldn't catch it; he came along it four, three (times),

'úvway-a<sub>x</sub>-'u 'uwas 'úu-pa-s-'u; ma'a-ti-na-p<sub>y</sub>ga,  
 then-it-he he there-DIR-CONJ-he chase-CAUS-HAB-REM  
 but it took off that-a-way; the Young Man kept chasing it,

'úu-pa-s 'uwas yáakwi-na-p<sub>y</sub>ga; pina-xw-kway  
 there-DIR-CONJ disappear-HAB-REM later-go-MOD  
 but it kept disappearing that-a-way; and then afterwards

pi-pic<sub>y</sub>-m<sub>y</sub>ya-s, kac-ux-'uru 'ip<sub>y</sub>-a-sapa  
 RED-come-HAB-CONJ NEG-it-that WH-OBJ-MOD  
 it would come back, but the Young Man didn't carry

yáa'wa-v<sub>o</sub>r<sub>o</sub>-wa, ka-'ip<sub>y</sub>-a-sapa-'a-'ura,  
 carry-walk-NEG NEG-WH-OBJ-MOD-have/NEG-be  
 anything ((to catch it with)), he didn't have anything,

ka-yatap<sub>y</sub>-a-sapa yáa'wa-v<sub>o</sub>r<sub>o</sub>-wa, kacu-'u-'ura  
 NEG-twine-OBJ-MOD carry-walk-NEG NEG-him-be  
 he wasn't carrying a rope with him, so he didn't

'úvway-a<sub>x</sub> ca'ay-wa; 'ááá... whcu-caa-ni  
 then-it catch-NEG INTJ four-ASP-ADJ  
 catch it then; heeee... circling around

qo-<sub>x</sub>oma-na-<sub>g</sub>a 'uwa-wa, whcuwi-na-p<sub>y</sub>gay-'u  
 RED-circle-HAB-GER him-with catch-up-HAB-REM-him  
 four times with the horse, he kept coming up to it

'uru payu-xwa-xw-'u; kác x-'ura 'uwas-'uru... 'ip<sub>y</sub>-m-sapa-'u  
 that return-go-SUB-he NEG then-be he-that WH-with-MOD-him  
 as he was returning home; but he didn't have... anything with which

ca'ay-wa; 'ú-'u... 'úru-'ura kava 'u... 'ic<sub>y</sub> t<sub>y</sub>v<sub>y</sub>p<sub>y</sub>  
 catch-NEG that-that that-be horse that this/OBJ earth/OBJ  
 to catch it; that one... that horse... that's the one that the

ma-vaa-aḡa p̄y-paa-n kary-v̄oḡo-vaa-qa-na 'ura-vaci;  
 there-LOC-over REL-LOC-LOC sit-walk-FUT-ANT-REL be-BKGR  
 Young Man was supposed to ride going all over this land;

máy-p̄yay-aḡay-'ura-'uru, máy-p̄yay-'u 'uwas 'u  
 say-REM-CONC-be-that say-REM-him he that  
 he had said that, he had told him,

sinawavi... sinawavi tuaci; 'uwas-'ura p̄nyikya-p̄yay-'u;  
 God God/GEN child he-be see-REM-him  
 God... the Son of God; the Young Man saw him;

payu-xwa-xw-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru... 'úvway-aḡ...  
 return-go-SUB-be-that he-that then-it  
 then when he returned home he... then...

'úwa-taa-ni-'ura-'uru... kacu-'u ca'ay-p̄ya,  
 him-be/like-like-be-that NEG-him catch-REM/NEG  
 it was like that... he didn't catch it,

toḡo-xwa-p̄yga-'ura 'uwas 'u kava, 'úu-pa-s;  
 right-go-REM-be he that horse there-DIR-CONJ  
 the horse ran away, that-a-way;

'áa-ra-vaa-qa-ty-'ura 'ura-vaci 'uwas, puku-gway-'uru,  
 gentle-be-FUT-ANT-NOM-be be-BKGR he horse-TOP-that  
 it was supposed to be gentle, that horse,

'áy-u-vaa-qa-ty;  
 good-INCEP-FUT-ANT-NOM  
 it was supposed to be a good one;

máy-kyar̄y-ni-'ura nú; 'úru-'ura-'uru núḡay  
 say-sit-like-be I that-be-that me  
 I sit and think about it; this is the story

p̄sari-niȳ-a-qa-na-p̄yga 'ura-'ay,  
 story-tell-PL-ANT-HAB-REM be-IMM  
 they used to tell me,

'um̄yas p̄ya-u-gwap̄y-a-n; toḡo-sapa-aḡ-'ura nú  
 they/GEN kin-PL-DEFUN-GEN-my right-MOD-it-be I  
 my long-gone relatives; that's how come I

pucucugwa-mia-xw, tagu-nhka-paa-ty 'anq-xw 'ura-na...  
 know-HAB-it hunger-dance/PL-LOC-DIR WH/time-it be-REL  
 know it, about how the Sundance used to be...

((Here the speaker digressed into a critical discussion  
 of how the Southern Ute Sundance is currently done)).

'uwas-'ura-'uru... 'uwas-'ura payu-kwa-puga-'uru,  
 he-be-that he-be return-go-REM-that  
 so the Young Man... he returned home then,

pağa-'ni-na-puga-s; pina-xw-'ura-'uru ya'ay-kw-puga;  
 walk-INT-HAB-REM-CONJ later-go-be-that die-ASP-REM  
 and he lived on; but later he died;

'uwas máy-puga-ty-aḡ 'icay tagu-nhka-pi; kaci-s  
 he say-REM-NOM-it this/OBJ hunger-dance/PL-NOM/OBJ NEG-CONJ  
 he is the one who told ((his people)) about the Sundance;

'uni-'wa-y-aḡ, tagu-nhka-pi, ya'ay-kwa-puga-ty  
 do-NEG-IMM-it hunger-dance/PL-NOM/OBJ die-ASP-REM-NOM  
 but he did not do it himself, he died ((before that));

ya'ay-kw-ḡay-kw-'ura-'uru, 'avi-gw-'uru,  
 die-ASP-ANT-SUB-be-that lie-SUB-that  
 after he died, when he was lying in state,

pa-rogoḡ-wyny-ti-kya-puga, toḡo-tugwa-tuxu;  
 water-snake-stand-CAUS-ANT/PASS-REM right-go-up  
 a rainbow appeared, right above;

pa'a-manuxw-ty-s 'ura-puga-s, manuxw-ty-s 'uru,  
 complete-all-NOM-CONJ be-REM-CONJ all-NOM-CONJ that  
 and everything was there ((on the funeral pyre)), everything,

'ini-wyny-vaa-qa-na-'u 'uway núuci, wyny-ry,  
 POSS-stand-FUT-ANT-REL-he he/GEN Ute/GEN stand-ADJ/GEN  
 what the Ute man would have worn dancing, Sundancing,

'ura-puga-vaci, wu-wutapu-vaa-qa-puga, 'ivi-yuxwi,  
 be-REM-BKGR RED-bundle-HAB-ANT-REM eagle-whistle  
 it was all there, the bundle he would have ((carried)),  
 his eagle-whistle,

'ini-yaa'wa-vaa-qa-na-'u, 'uru 'aḡa-vaci-sapa-'u;  
 POSS-carry-FUT-ANT-REL-he that WH-BKGR-MOD-he  
 what he was supposed to wear, and whatever else he had;

toḡoy-ti-py 'ura-pyga-vaci, 'ura-sa taa...  
 well-CAUS-NOM/REM be-REM-BKGR be-TOP INTJ  
 he had done it all properly, it was like that...

pa'a-nūuci 'uwas 'ura-'ay;  
 complete-Indian he be-IMM  
 he was a real Indian;

máy-kya-na... máy-miḡ-ḡa-ky núnay  
 say-ANT-REL say-HAB-GER-EMPH my  
 that's what she said... she used to tell me this,

piḡ-ḡapy, pṡsari-niya-ḡay-kw...  
 mother-DEFUN story-tell-ANT-SUB  
 my late mother, when she told me stories...

máy-kya-nṡ-s-'ura-sapa, pṡ-paa-tṡ-mana-kway-aḡ  
 say-ANT-I-CONJ-be-MOD REL-LOC-DIR-from-go-it  
 I have told it now, where it all

tyḡaay-py; 'uru-sapa-'ura 'uru-'ay,  
 become-NOM/REM/REL that-MOD-be be-IMM  
 comes from; this is as far as it goes,

núnay pucucugwa-na;  
 I/GEN know-REL  
 what I know;

((NOTE: The Ute name for the Sundance, "tagu-wṡny-vaci", means literally "standing-hungry". In this text it is referered to most often as "tagu-nhka-pi" ("hunger-dance"). Sometimes it is also referred to simply as "wṡny-vaci" ("standing"). Some speakers say that the name of the young Ute man who received the Sundance from Jesus was "túu-naci-tḡḡ-py" ("Black-Cane"). He is said to have been the older brother of Peter Spencer, and thus the son of a Ute man named "núu-saaqaci" ("Ghost-Person"))).

## THE BATTLE WITH THE CHEYENNE

Told by: Harry Richards  
 Date recorded: 9-1-76  
 Recorded by: Pat Rael  
 Translated by: Sunshine Smith  
 Transcribed by: T. Givón

pú-paay na-gukwi-kya-na-pu, 'aḡa-ry-kway  
 REL-LOC RECIP-shoot-PL-HAB-REM/REL WH-ADJ-MOD  
 wherever it was that they fought, whatever

níyaa-ḡa-ty, káaca'ay níyaa-ḡa-ty,  
 name-have-NOM Kaac'aay name-have-NOM  
 ((the place's)) name was, its name was Kaac'ay,

túvupy 'úru káaca'ay; pətəni-ci  
 country that Kaac'aay bulge-NOM  
 that country (was called) Kaac'ay; it was a low

x-'ura-'ay, karu-ry pa'a... túyura-va,  
 then-be-IMM sit-ADJ completely bare-LOC  
 hill, sitting there completely... out in the open,

túyura-va pətə'ni-ci wɣgaaa-va,  
 bare-LOC bulge-NOM hill-LOC  
 on a bare bulge, a low hill,

túpy-wɣgaa-va, túyura-va, ka-ma'a-'a-ty;  
 rock-hill-LOC bare-LOC NEG-bush-have/NEG-NOM  
 on a rocky hill, out in the open, with no vegetation;

mani-tugwa-tux-'ura-s 'ava'na 'ura-'ay, 'u-vwaa-ty  
 away-go-to-be-CONJ much be-IMM there-LOC-NOM  
 but across on the other side there's lots (of it),

ma'a-aḡa-ty-sapa wɣgaa-aḡ 'uru, mani-tux nava-cux  
 bush-have-NOM-MOD hill hill-it that away-to RECIP-to  
 there're brush-covered slopes over there, there are two

wá-ini-'ura 'ura-'ay; nari'aa-va-av 'úu-pa kwá,  
 two-SUBJ-be be-IMM middle-LOC-OWN there-DIR there  
 ((ranges)) facing each other; and right there in the middle,

máry 'i-vaa-ty Antonito-vwaa-ty,  
 there here-LOC-NOM Antonito-LOC-NOM  
 it's right here ((gesture)) near Antonito,

Antonito-vwaa-ty-mana-xwa-paa-ty kwá,  
 Antonito-LOC-NOM-away-go-DIR-NOM there  
 over there on the other side of Antonito,

tava-mawisi-na-kwa-paci, páa-gúaa-va-ty kwá,  
 sun-appear-LOC-go-BKGR water-edge-NOM there  
 to the east, right there toward the river-bank,

Rio Grande-gúaa-vaa-ty kwá; 'ú-rykwa 'u-vwaa-ty  
 Rio Grande-LOC-NOM there there-down there-LOC-NOM  
 toward the bank of the Rio Grande; down there is where it

'ura-'ay; pqtq'ni-ci-'ura 'áa-sú-ni karu-ry,  
 be-IMM bulge-NOM-be neat-CONJ-ADJ sit-ADJ  
 took place; there's a neat little bulge sitting there,

ma-vaa tuvwa yúaa-va, nari'aa-vaa-xw-'uru 'avaty  
 there-LOC down plain-LOC middle-LOC-go-that big/OBJ  
 right down in the open plain, between those ((two)) big

pqtq'ni-ci 'uru, nari'aa... ma-vaa tuvwa; 'úvway-ax-'ura  
 bulge-NOM/OBJ that/OBJ middle there-LOC down then-it-be  
 hill ((ranges)), in the middle... down there; well,

'áa-sú-ni tupuy-wugaa-ağa-ty 'ura-'ay;  
 neat-CONJ-like rock-hill-have-NOM be-IMM  
 there's a neat rocky hill right there;

'úvway-ax-'uru na-gukwi-kya-puga wlitus-'uru 'úmy  
 then-it-that RECIP-shoot-PL-REM past-that those  
 that's where they fought that time, long time ago, those

núuci-u-gwapy;  
 Ute-PL-DEFUN  
 long-gone Utes;

'úmy núuci-u 'aḡa-vaa-sapa  
 those Ute-PL WH-LOC-MOD  
 wherever it was that the Utes

kani-gya-puga-vaci, ma-vaa tfi Alamosa-na-kwa-py,  
 house-have-REM-BKGR there-LOC high Alamosa-LOC-go-NOM  
 had their camp, up there towards Alamosa,

Alamosa tɣvɣpy-na-kwa-py 'u-vwaa  
 Alamosa country/OBJ-LOC-go-NOM there-LOC  
 they had their camp over there

kani-gya-puga-vaci-my;  
 house-have-REM-BKGR-PL  
 toward that Alamosa country;

'úvway-aḡ-'ura mámy kɣmaci-u... 'úmy,  
 then-it-be those Comanche-PL those  
 well then, those Comanches... those,

kác... Sayaḡana-u, mámy x-'ura-'ay, Sayaḡana-u,  
 NEG Cheyenne-PL those then-be-IMM Cheyenne-PL  
 no... it was the Cheyennes, Cheyennes,

mámy x-'ura-'ay, Sayaḡana-u mámy;  
 those then-be-IMM Cheyenne-PL those  
 it was them, those Cheyennes;

mámy-'ura-s-'uru paḡay-puga-vaci-my,  
 those-be-CONJ-that walk-REM-BKGR-PL  
 they were roaming around,

miya-'ni-puga-vaci-my, marɣ tɣvɣpy-ay  
 walk/PL-INT-REM-BKGR-PL that/OBJ country-OBJ  
 they were roaming about, roaming about

miya-'ni-puga-vaci-my;  
 walk/PL-INT-REM-BKGR-PL  
 that country;

paḡay((-kya))-puga-vaci((-my)) núuci-u...  
 search-PL-REM-BKGR-PL Ute-PL  
 they were looking for the Utes...

na-gukwi-kya-paa-ci-my-'uru, 'ú-cigyaa-ni kava-yi  
 RECIP-shoot-PL-FUT-SUB-PL-that that-add-ADJ horse-OBJ  
 in order to fight them, and also in order to steal

'fiyh-kya-paa-ci, puku-u-amy 'umy  
 steal-PL-FUT-SUB horse-PL-their those/OBJ  
 their horses, to round up

taḡovaya-xwa-ḡa-paa-ci; 'ú-may-'uru  
 round-up-go-PL-FUT-SUB that-say-that  
 their horses; for that reason

'uni-vqro-xwa-puga-vaci-my; 'u-vwaa-'ura-'uru máy-na-n-'uru,  
 do-walk-PL-REM-BKGR-PL there-LOC-be-that say-REL-I-that  
 they were roaming around; and over there where I've just told you,

máy-paa-na-'uru, 'u-vwaa núu-aḡa-puga-vaci-my;  
 say-FUT-REL-that there-LOC Indian-have-REM-BKGR-PL  
 where I'll tell you, right there is where those Indians  
 ((Cheyenne)) were ((camped));

'úmy-'ura-'uru núuci-u ma-vaa tfi  
 those-be-that Ute-PL there-LOC high  
 now the Utes had their camp

kani-gya((-ty-my)); x-'ura kukwaci 'umy-wa paḡa-'ni-ci  
 house-have-NOM-PL then-be Mexican them-with walk-INT-NOM  
 way up there ((toward Alamosa)); well, there was a Mexican man

'ura-vaci; x-'ura kukwaci (('u)) 'i-vḡa-ky  
 be-BKGR then-be Mexican that here-LOC-EMPH  
 living with them; and that Mexican when he used to live

paḡa-'ni-miḡ-xw, 'áavy-naaḡa-tux paḡa-'ni-miḡ-xw,  
 walk-INT-HAB-SUB now-in-to walk-INT-HAB-SUB  
 right around here, when he lived around here more recently,

'i-vḡa paḡa-'ni((-mi)); ma-v'an-uv paḡa-'ni-mi  
 here-LOC walk-INT-HAB there-on-TOP walk-INT-HAB  
 he used to live right here ((in Ignacio)); he used to live  
 he lived right here ((in Ignacio)); he lived right there  
 ((gesture)) on ((the mesa))

kani-gyay-kwa-n, 'u-vwaa karu-mi-na-uv, kukwaci 'u,  
 house-have-SUB-I there-LOC sit-HAB-REL-TOP Mexican that  
 where I had my house, he used to live right there, that Mexican,

'u-vwaa kani-gya-x̄a...  
 there-LOC house-have-ANT  
 he had his house right there ((gesture))... ((and he's the one  
 who told me this story));

'ura-s-'uru... tugwa-n 'úmȳ kumaci-u, Sayaana((-u))  
 be-CONJ-that night-LOC those Comanche-PL Cheyenne-PL  
 well so... in the night the Comanches, the Cheyennes

'áy-kya-puga: "'aḡa-vaay-'ura 'uni-kya-paani?..." ma-vaa  
 say-PL-REM WH-LOC-be do-PL-FUT there-LOC  
 wondered: "Where shall we set up ((the ambush))?"

súw-iini ta'waci 'ura-vaci: "ma-vaa wugaa-m, maru  
 one-SUBJ man be-BKGR there-LOC hill-LOC that/OBJ  
 well, there was one man there who said: "On the hill right there,

tupuy-wugaa-m, ma-vaa túy-'a-y; x-'ura-'uru  
 rock-hill-LOC there-LOC good-good-IMM then-be-that  
 on that ((big)) rocky hill ((to the north)), it's good

'fi-pa-'uru mani ku-kukwi-kya-paani,  
 here-DIR-that away RED-shoot-PL-FUT  
 right there; then we'll keep shooting at them this way across,

ku-kukwi-kya-paani-amu pana-xwa, ku-kukwi-gya  
 RED-shoot-PL-FUT-them down-go RED-shoot-GER  
 we'll be shooting down at them, and shooting ((that way))

qo-ḡo'ay-paani-amu..."; súw-iini-'ura 'áy-vaci:  
 RED-slaughter-FUT-them other-SUBJ-be say-BKGR  
 we'll slaughter them..."; then another one then said:

"pqtḡ'ni-ci-ci 'i-vaḡa tḡvwa yúaa-va, kac-ux-'ura  
 bulge-DIM-NOM here-LOC down plain-LOC NEG-it-be  
 "This little hill down here in the open, the one without any

ma'a-'a-tḡ 'ura-'ay, 'u-vwaa..."; súw-iini 'áy-vaci:  
 bush-have/NEG-NOM be-IMM there-LOC other-SUBJ say-BKGR  
 vegetation on it, right there..."; and another one agreed:

"ma-vaa-rawi 'uni-kya-vaa! 'uru 'fi-pa 'úu-pa-ni-'u  
 there-LOC-we/INCL do-PL-FUT that/OBJ here-DIR there-DIR-like-he  
 "We should do it right there! This-a-way right about there,

'fi-pa 'iyā-n máa-waḡa-tux, núuci-u, 'úyú...  
 here-DIR here-LOC there-around-to Ute-PL INTJ  
 this way right about here, the Utes ((will come)), eeee...

kukwi-ta-vaani-'u paḡa-xw-paani-'u...  
 shoot-PASS-FUT-him kill-ASP-FUT-him  
 we'll shoot them and kill them...

ku-kukwi-kya-paani-amú... qo-ḡo'oy-kya-paani-amú,  
 RED-shoot-PL-FUT-them RED-slaughter-PL-FUT-them  
 we'll shoot them... and we'll slaughter them,

máa-vay!" 'áy-pṷga; 'uvvṷ;  
 there-LOC say-REM end  
 right over there!" he said; so it was settled;

x-'ura kukwaci 'u nṷka-ḡarṷ-pṷga; 'áa-ḡa  
 then-be Mexican that hear-sit-REM quiet-GER  
 and all the while the Mexican was sitting there and listening  
 ((on the sly)); then

qḡaḡarṷ-pṷga, 'aḡa-ni-sapa 'uni-'wa-pṷga-vaci,  
 run-REM WH-do-MOD do/go-ASP-REM-BKGR  
 he quietly ran off, whichever way he went,

qḡaḡarṷ-pṷga; 'úyú... máa-pa-rux tfi núuci-u  
 run-REM INTJ there-DIR-to high Ute-PL  
 he took off running; eeee... he went up that-a-way

'umṷ kani-vaḡ-tugwa-pṷga, tugwa-n; 'úyú...  
 those/OBJ house/OBJ-LOC-go/to-REM night-LOC INTJ  
 where the Utes had their camp, at night; eeee...

núuci-u si'a-ḡa-kani-gya((-pṷga-vaci-mṷ)), kani-av  
 Ute-PL shade-RED-house-have-REM-BKGR-PL house/OBJ-OWN  
 the Utes had shade-houses, their tipis had

yúaa-va ka-ḡani-gya-pṷga; 'u-vwaa-tugwa-pṷga,  
 door-LOC RED-house-have-REM there-LOC-go/to-REM  
 shaded doorways; so he went there,

'úyú... karṷ-pṷga 'ú-naaḡa, tṷniya-paa-ci-ux  
 INTJ sit-REM there-in inform-FUT-SUB-it  
 eeee... and he sat there in ((the doorway)), meaning to tell

'uru, pʊsari-niyʌ-paa-ci: "'iyʌ-n-amʊ!"  
 that/OBJ story-tell-FUT-SUB here-LOC-they  
 ((them)) about it, aiming to warn them: "Here they are!"

má-y-vaa-ci-'uru; 'ú-may-'ura 'uni-vʊri; 'ʊvʊs,  
 say-FUT-SUB-that that-that-say-be do-walk/IMM end  
 aiming to tell them; that's why he went there; but then,

x-'ura kwa-kwayi-gw-amʊ-'uru, kác 'umʊ-va tʊgaay-pʊa,  
 then-be RED-sleep/PL-SUB-they-that NEG them-LOC approach-REM/NEG  
 since they were asleep, he didn't come near them,

'iyʌvaʒa-pʊga mfici; "'aʒa-ni-guu-pʊay-'ara-'u  
 fear-REM little WH-do-MOD-REM/REL-be-he  
 he was afraid just a bit; "What would they do ((to me))

núnay... 'uru... 'ánʊ-'apaʒa((-vaa))-qa-na?..."  
 I/GEN that openly-speak-FUT-ANT-REL  
 I... that is... if I spoke to them openly?"

má-y-pʊgay-ni; toʒo-sapa-'ura mfici 'iyʌvaʒa-pʊga,  
 say-REM-like right-MOD-be little fear-REM  
 he thought; for that reason he was a bit afraid,

'ʊʊʊ... ka-'apaʒa-pʊa 'uwas, 'awi-tava 'u-vwaa  
 INTJ NEG-speak-REM/NEG he long-day there-LOC  
 eeee... so he didn't speak up, and for a long time he just

kary-pʊga 'uwas;  
 sit-REM he  
 sat there;

x-'ura pina-xwa-s páʒa-kwa-pʊga, 'umʊ-vaa-cawi-ʊs  
 then-be later-go-CONJ walk-go-REM those/OBJ-LOC-go/to-CONJ  
 so then finally he took off, going down back that-a-way

tʊvwa máa-pa; máa-pa tʊvway-pʊga 'umʊ-vaa-cugwa-pʊga  
 down there-DIR there-DIR descend-REM those/OBJ-LOC-go/to-REM  
 toward the Cheyenne; he went down that-a-way to them

'ú-vwa; 'umʊs sʊu-pa mani-kya-pʊga, 'aʒa-vaa-sapa-'uru  
 there-LOC they one-DIR do/like-PL-REM WH-LOC-MOD-that  
 there; and they were all gathered like this ((gesture)),  
 wherever it was

súu-pa mani-kya-pyga-vaci; 'ava'na-tu-my 'ura-pyga,  
 one-DIR do/like-PL-REM-BKGR many-NOM-PL be-REM  
 that they were all gathered; there were many of the there,

núuci-u-gwa-y, 'ú-va-'ura yugwi-pyga;  
 Indian-PL-have/be-IMM there-LOC-be sit/PL-REM  
 Indian fashion, all sitting together there;

x-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'ú-vwa mani-gya-yi-s  
 then-be he-that there-LOC do/like-GER-IMM-CONJ  
 so then, doing like this again ((sneaking gesture)),

q̄x̄ax̄ary-pyga-s, kuma-xw-tux, ma-vaa 'āga-vaa-sapa  
 run-REM-CONJ other-go-to there-LOC WH-LOC-MOD  
 he ran off again, he went to the other place ((the Utes' camp)),

pāga-'ni-pyga, 'āga-ni-tugwa-sapa 'uni-'a-pyga-vaci,  
 walk-INT-REM WH-do-go/to-MOD do/go-ASP-REM-BKGR  
 wandering wherever, whichever way he went,

'ú-va-'ura-'uru kary-pyga-vaci;  
 there-LOC-be-that sit-REM-BKGR  
 and there he sat around ((and waited));

((NOTE: He went back then to the Utes' camp and,  
 perhaps, told them of the Cheyennes' ambush plans)).

x-'ura-'uru w̄iick̄y-vaa-xwa, tas̄y'aa-xw-'uru,  
 then-be-that morning-LOC-go dawn-SUB-that  
 toward morning, when it dawned,

w̄iick̄y-ta-xw-'ura 'um̄ys-'uru máy-ci-my 'úmy  
 morning-PASS/be-SUB-be they-that say-NOM-PL those  
 when it became morning those who planned ((the ambush)),

p̄á-ini p̄q̄ro-xwa-pyga, t̄ȳp̄y-wȳgaa-ma-tux 'uru;  
 three-SUBJ walk/PL-go-REM rock-hill-LOC-to that/OBJ  
 those three took off, toward the rocky hill;

'u-vvaa-s-'uru t̄ȳp̄yyci kwiy'a-x̄a-pyga-s,  
 there-LOC-CONJ rock/OBJ fence-PL-REM-CONJ  
 and there they erected rock barricades,

'áava-t<sub>y</sub>-ux-'uru, 'áava-t<sub>y</sub> t<sub>y</sub>p<sub>y</sub>yci  
 RED/big-NOM-it-that RED/big-NOM/OBJ rock  
 big ones, there are big flat rocks

s<sub>y</sub>pani-ci 'ura-mi, yunay-kya-p<sub>y</sub>ga m<sub>á</sub>ni; 'avat<sub>y</sub>  
 flat-NOM be-HAB put-PL-REM do/like big  
 all over there, so they piled them up like this ((gestures));

'ura-vaci, s<sub>ú</sub>uva-t<sub>y</sub>-paa-t<sub>y</sub> m<sub>l</sub>i-p<sub>y</sub>-ci 'ura-vaci;  
 be-BKGR other-NOM-DIR-NOM small-DIM-NOM be-BKGR  
 they are big, and there are also some small ones;

'ú<sub>y</sub><sub>y</sub>... 'an<sub>o</sub>-xwa-k<sub>y</sub>-ni-'ura...  
 INTJ WH/QUANT-go-EMPH-like-be  
 eeee... who knows how many ((of those barricades))...

'an<sub>o</sub>-a-vaa-sapa 'ura-t<sub>y</sub>... na'a<sub>g</sub>a-aa to<sub>g</sub>oy  
 WH/QUANT-OBJ-LOC-MOD be-NOM maybe-Q well  
 how many of them there are... maybe there're up to

man<sub>y</sub>gi-v<sub>g</sub>g-ini 'ura-'wa, man<sub>y</sub>gi-v<sub>g</sub>g-ini 'ura-t<sub>y</sub>;  
 five-LOC-SUBJ be-ASP five-LOC-SUBJ be-NOM  
 five, maybe about five;

p<sub>ú</sub>upa 'uni-kya-p<sub>y</sub>... 'úu-pa-s-ux 'uni-kya-mi; ((n<sub>y</sub>-'ura))  
 way do-PL-REM/REL there-DIR-CONJ-it do-PL-HAB I-be  
 the way they did it... they did it that way; ((I myself))

'u-vwaa-xwa-k<sub>y</sub> pa<sub>g</sub>a-'ni-mi, 'uru máa-pa pa<sub>g</sub>a-'ni-gya,  
 there-LOC-go-EMPHI walk-INT-HAB that/OBJ there-DIR walk-INT-GER  
 used to visit that place, wandering around that-a-way,

'u-vwa pa<sub>g</sub>a-'ni... 'úv<sub>y</sub>s...  
 there-LOC walk-INT/IMM end  
 wandering around there... well...

x-'ura-'uru 'u-vwa 'uni-kya-p<sub>y</sub>ga; 'úvway-a<sub>x</sub>-'ura-'uru  
 then-be-that there-LOC do-PL-REM then-it-be-that  
 so ((the Cheyenne)) were all gathered there; then

n<sub>ú</sub>uci-u s<sub>y</sub>-s<sub>y</sub>ti-p<sub>y</sub>gay-kw, x-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaa-caw<sub>i</sub>  
 Ute-PL RED-aware-REM-it then-be-that there-LOC-toward  
 the Utes found out about it, and they moved toward there

mani((-kya))-puga wficky... 'úyy... 'i-vaa-tu  
do/like-PL-REM morning INTJ here-LOC-DIR  
((gesture)) in the morning... eeee... down this way,

tuvwa, 'u-vwaa-tux; máamaci-u-a-s 'u-vwaa-s  
down there-LOC-to RED/woman-PL-PART-CONJ there-LOC-CONJ  
going that way; some of the women too

'uni-kya-puga; x-'ura 'úmy kukwaci-u, Antonito 'u-vwaa-tu  
do/go-PL-REM then-be those Mexican-PL Antonito there-LOC-DIR  
went there; and the Mexicans, those Mexicans who lived

tuvvupu-ağa-puga-vaci kukwaci-u kani-gya-tu-my,  
country/OBJ-have-REM-BKGR Mexican-PL house-have-NOM-PL  
in the country around Antonito,

'úmy-'ura 'uni((-kya))vaci-s 'u-vwa-xwa, 'umy-aağa-rux  
those-be do/go-PL-BKGR-CONJ there-LOC-go those/OBJ-have-along  
they too went there, walking that way

táata'waci-u pqrq-vaci((-my)) 'u-vwaa-tux,  
RED/man-PL walk/PL-BKGR-PL there-LOC-to  
alongside the ((Ute)) warriors,

na-gukwi-kya-paa-ci-my, Sayana-y 'umy  
RECIP-shoot-PL-FUT-SUB-PL Cheyenne-OBJ those/OBJ  
aiming to fight, marching there

na-gukwi-kya-paa-ci 'u-vwa 'uni-kya-puga;  
RECIP-shoot-PL-FUT-SUB there-LOC do/go-PL-REM  
to fight the Cheyenne;

'umys-'ura pana-xwa 'uni-vqrq-xwa-puga  
they-be down-go do-walk/PL-go-REM  
well, they all went down there

kava-yi-u-vwa'n; 'ava'na-tu tuvvupu-ağay-kya-ky,  
horse-OBJ-PL-on much-NOM/OBJ country/OBJ-have-ANT-EMPH  
on horseback; it was indeed a wide-open country,

'ava'na-tu, 'úu-pa; 'i-vaa-amy-'ura yugwi-puga,  
much-NOM there-DIR here-LOC-they-be sit/PL-REM  
lots of it, that-a-way; so they sat there ((on their horses)),

p̄uni-yugwi-p̄uga 'um̄u-vaa-c̄u;  
 look-sit/PL-REM those/OBJ-LOC-DIR  
 sitting and watching the Cheyenne;

x-'ura-'uru 'áa-mani-'wa-paci-m̄u 'um̄s 'ú̄m̄u  
 then-be-that quiet-do/like-ASP-BKGR-PL they those  
 eventually they all quieted down,

'áa-mani-'wa-paci-m̄u, 'uni-kya-ǰa-s;  
 quiet-do/like-ASP-BKGR-PL do-PL-ANT-CONJ  
 they quieted down, they had already done that;

'ina-xwa-'ura-am̄u kukwaci-u, kwá 'u-vwaa-tux  
 this-side-go-be-that-they Mexican-PL there there-LOC-to  
 and the Mexicans too, on this side, they had also

'ú̄'mi-u-ǰwa-vaci-s, 'ú̄-vwa ka-pa'ay-na-wa-t̄u-m̄u  
 gather-INCEP-ANT-BKGR-CONJ there-LOC NEG-count-ANT/NEG-NEG-NOM-PL  
 gathered there, there were quite a few

kukwaci-u 'u-vwa; x-'ura 'um̄s yugwi-vaci-m̄u,  
 Mexican-PL there-LOC then-be they sit/PL-BKGR-PL  
 Mexicans there; so they were all sitting ((on their horses)),

'um̄sy-gaa-ni má-vaa 'áa-mani-kya-vaci-m̄u;  
 they-TOP-like there-LOC quiet-do/like-PL-BKGR-PL  
 they were all keeping very quiet there, like this ((gesture));

'ú̄v̄us...  
 end  
 well...

(('um̄s-'ura-'uru Saȳana-u)) káa-ǰa-p̄uga 'um̄s,  
 they-be-that Cheyenne-PL sing-PL-REM they  
 and all the while the Cheyenne were singing,

káa-ǰa-p̄uga... Saȳana-u káa-ǰa-p̄uga...  
 sing-PL-REM Cheyenne-PL sing-PL-REM  
 they kept singing... the Cheyenne kept singing...

káa-ǰa-p̄uga... káa-ǰa-p̄uga... 'apa-c̄ipi-p̄uga,  
 sing-PL-REM sing-PL-REM yell-REM  
 they kept singing... they were singing... and yelling,

wa-wacigi-kya-pyga; 'uvvys... mani-kya-pyga...  
 RED-whoop-PL-REM end do/like-PL-REM  
 they kept whooping and hollering; well... they kept doing  
 like that ((gesture))...

qo'a-tyka-xa-pyga... 'ina-xwa-s-'ura, paa-mana-xw,  
 smoke-eat-PL-REM this-side-go-CONJ-be water-away-go  
 and they were smoking ((the pipe))... on this side, away from

ma-ra-'ay tfi, ma-ra-'ay, 'imi-na-kwa-s-'ura  
 there-be-IMM high there-be-IMM this-side-LOC-go-be  
 the water, it was right up there, right there, on this side

wyгаа-aга-ty pa'a-ma-ra-'ay tyvwa,  
 hill-have-NOM complete-there-be-IMM down  
 of the water, down from the steep hill up this way,

pa'a-wyгаа-'ara-'ay, 'u-waga-tux 'asy-ni mani;  
 complete-hill-be-IMM there-around-to easy-ADJ do/like  
 that steep hill, around there it was an easy  
 ((location for an ambush));

pa'a-ty karu-ry-xw 'ura-'ay, 'anq-paa-y-sapa-ni  
 tall-NOM sit-ADJ-it be-IMM WH/QUANT-LOC-OBJ-MOD-like  
 it's a tall sitting ((hill)), however tall

'ura-vaci... 'awa'na-ty maru automobil-i yugwi-ci-paay-ni  
 be-BKGR wide-NOM that/OBJ automobil-OBJ sit/PL-NOM-LOC-like  
 it was... just as wide maybe as those cars that are sitting

tyvwa na'aga... karu-ry pa'a-toqwa 'imi-tux;  
 down maybe sit-ADJ complete-right this-side-to  
 down there... sitting length-wise way down there;

'uvvys;  
 end  
 well;

'u-vwaa-s-'ura yugwi-pyga 'umys ((Sayana-u)),  
 there-LOC-CONJ-be sit/PL-REM they Cheyenne-PL  
 so the Cheyenne were sitting there,

kaa-xa-ga: "nu-y-y, nu-y-y, nu-y-y..."  
 sing-PL-GER INTJ INTJ INTJ  
 singing: "Ne-e-e, ne-e-e, ne-e-e..."

x-'ura 'um̩y-a-t̩y, núuci-u, núuci-u-a-t̩y, moḡoy...  
 then-be them-PART-NOM Ute-PL Ute-PL-PART-NOM blanket  
 so then one of them, the Utes, one of the Utes, blanket...

'aqa-moḡoy-gya-vaci, 'ú-'u 'i-v̩ʌʌ-ux tapi-ca'a-vaci,  
 red-blanket-have-BKGR that-he here-LOC-it heel-catch-BKGR  
 he had a red blanket, so he tied it right there

puku-vaa-aḡa-y-av 'fi-pa t̩vwa 'avi-v̩ʌʌci...  
 horse-LOC-over-OBJ-OWN here-DIR down lie-BKGR  
 around his horse and stretched himself down ((under the  
 horse's belly, saying))...

"nú 'fi-pa 'úu-pa máa-waḡa-tux mana-xwa  
 I here-DIR there-DIR there-around-to away-go/IMP  
 "I'm going right there around on the other side

mam̩y-vaa-cuxwa; 'ina-xw-nugway ma-ra-'ay t̩fi, máa-pa  
 those/OBJ-LOC-go/to/IMP here-go-TOP that-be-IMM high there-DIR  
 toward them. On this side, in my opinion, it is real steep,

máa-waḡa-tux mana-xw mam̩y-vaa-cuxwa" 'áy-p̩yga;  
 there-around-to away-go those/OBJ-LOC-go/to/IMP say-REM  
 but on the other side going around I should be able to reach  
 them" he said;

"'áa-ry, 'áa-ry" máy-kya-p̩yga súva-t̩y-m̩y,  
 gentle-ADJ gentle-ADJ say-PL-REM other-NOM-PL  
 "Take it easy, slow down" others told him,

"'áa-ry, 'áa-ry, kukwi-ta-vaa-m̩y-ni",  
 gentle-ADJ gentle-ADJ, shoot-PASS-FUT-you-FUT  
 "Take it easy, easy, ((or)) you'll be shot"

máy-kya-paci-m̩y, "'áa-ry, 'áa-ry,  
 say-PL-BKGR-PL gentle-ADJ gentle-ADJ  
 they told him, "Easy, easy,

kukwi-ta-vaa-m̩y-ni"; "kác" máy-v̩ʌʌci 'uwas,  
 shoot-PASS-FUT-you-FUT NEG say-BKGR he  
 ((or)) they'll shoot you"; "No" he said,

p̩ka-'ura-vaci; x-'ura súw-iini 'áy-v̩ʌʌci,  
 hard-be-BKGR then-be other-SUBJ say-BKGR  
 and he persisted; then another one said,

súuva-t<sub>y</sub>-m<sub>y</sub> máy-kya-paci: "tawasi 'úu- ma  
 other-NOM-PL say-PL-BKGR gallop/IMP there-on  
 and others told ((him)) too: "Gallop there

puku-m<sub>y</sub>! tawasi 'úu máa-waḡa-tux! 'u-vwaa x-'ura  
 horse-your gallop/IMP that there-around-to there-LOC then-be  
 on your horse! Run around that-away! Then

máa-pa 'úu-pa-ni!" 'uwas<sub>y</sub>-ni 'u paḡay-kwa-vaci;  
 there-DIR there-DIR-like he-like that walk-go-BKGR  
 that-a-way like that!" but he ((deliberately)) walked slowly;

'áa-pə'nəy-vaci kava-'u, pə-pə'nəy-kwa-vaci,  
 gentle-canter-BKGR horse-his RED-canter-go-BKGR  
 his horse cantered slowly, it kept going at a canter,

'úu-waḡa-t<sub>y</sub> máa-pa; ma-vaa tfi  
 there-around-DIR there-DIR there-LOC high  
 going around that-a-way; and as he approached high up

t<sub>y</sub>raa-gwa-vaa-cawi-xw tavi-gya, kukwi-ta-vaci-'u,  
 open-go-LOC-toward-SUB step-GER shoot-PASS-BKGR-him  
 there, stepping out in the open, he was shot,

paḡa-xw-ta-vaci-'u, puku-s-'u qḡaḡar<sub>y</sub>-vaci,  
 kill-ASP-PASS-BKGR orse-CONJ-his run-BKGR  
 and killed, and his horse ran away,

'uv<sub>y</sub>s 'ura-vaci;  
 end be-BKGR  
 and that was the end ((of him));

'úvway-aḡ-'ura súw-iini ta'waci 'ura-vaci,  
 then-it-be other-SUBJ man be-BKGR  
 so then there was another man there,

pa'a-t<sub>y</sub> páagi-gy<sub>a</sub>-t<sub>y</sub>, wht<sub>y</sub>pina-ḡa-vaci 'i-v<sub>a</sub>  
 long-NOM/OBJ hair-/OBJ-have-NOM bundle-ANT/PASS-BKGR here-LOC  
 he had long hair, he had it bundled high up ((on his back)),

tfi, mani-tux wht<sub>y</sub>pina-ḡaa-vaci, páagi 'uru; 'ú  
 high do/like-to bundle-ANT/PASS-BKGR hair/OBJ that/OBJ that  
 bundled like this ((gesture)), his hair; that's

'ura-yi-s... 'ú-'ura-s 'áy-v̄aci: "'uvwiya-n  
 be-IMM-CONJ that-be-CONJ say-BKGR EXHORT-me  
 the one... so that one said: "Now you-all look

p̄u-p̄uni-kya!" máy-v̄aci, "'fi-pa 'úu-pa-ni  
 RED-look-PL/IMP say-BKGR here-DIR there-DIR-like  
 at me!" he said, "I'm going this way like that,

mana-taruxwa marȳ p̄ot̄o'ni-ci 'uru, má-ra  
 away-climb that/OBJ bulge-NOM/OBJ that/OBJ that-be/like  
 climbing up on the other side of that hill, like that

t̄up̄uy-ci-v̄āa-t̄y... t̄up̄uy-ci 'uru...  
 rock-NOM/OBJ-LOC-NOM rock-NOM/OBJ that/OBJ  
 over those rocks... those rocks...

kiya-miya-paya, 'an̄o-paay-sapa-ni 'ura-v̄aci, kiya-miya-t̄y  
 very-far-side WH/QUANT-LOC-MOD-like be-BKGR very-far-NOM  
 on the very far side, whatever the distance is, that far slope

t̄uv̄wa w̄ȳgaa 'uru, payaa 'uru, máa-vaa-tux"  
 down hill that/OBJ side that/OBJ  
 down below, on that slope, this-a-way"

máy-v̄aci-'ura; "máa-vaa-tux w̄fiy-u-paani máa-va-tux  
 say-BKGR-be there-LOC-to fall-INCEP-FUT there-LOC-to  
 he said; "And right over there I'll get off this horse

puku-av 'in̄ay, máa-va s̄o'āa-paani...";  
 horse-OWN this/OBJ there-LOC crouch-FUT  
 of mine, and I'll crouch there";

'uv̄v̄s... p̄u-p̄uni-kya-v̄aci-m̄y 'um̄v̄s tawasi...  
 end RED-look-PL-BKGR-PL they gallop/IMM  
 well... so they all watched him gallop...

puku-av 'uway tawasi-xw... tawasi-u-paci;  
 horse-OWN that/OBJ gallop-SUB gallop-INCEP-BKGR  
 as he raced his horse... he began galloping it;

ka-kiya-pa'a-na-wa-t̄y 'úru p̄ot̄o'ni-ci, 'una-taruxwa  
 NEG-very-tall-be-NEG-NOM that bulge-NOM there-climb  
 it was not a very tall hill, so his horse ran

kava-'u togo-xwa-paci, 'una-taruxwa tųpyy-ağa-rux  
 horse-his there-climb rock-have-through  
 right up there, he raced up the rocky

mani-pağay-kwa-vaci; ma-vaa tųpyy-ci tųnaa-va tavi-ci  
 do/like-walk-go-BKGR there-LOC rock-NOM/OBJ root-LOC step-SUB  
 slope just like that; and when he reached the base of the cliff,

'imi-tux wi'i-vaci nūuci 'u; tųpyy tųnaa-va  
 off-to fall-BKGR Ute that rock/GEN root-LOC  
 that Ute man dropped off his horse; he crouched

sə'ağa-vaci, x-'ura-s puku-s-'u maa-pa-u-paci;  
 crouch-BKGR then-be-CONJ horse-CONJ-his there-LOC/pass-INCEP-BKGR  
 at the base of the cliff, and his horse went that-a-way;

'úvway-ağ-'ura-s 'umųs-'uru 'ú-vwa kani-ağa-vaci  
 then-it-be they-that there-LOC house-have-BKGR  
 now, the Cheyenne had their camp

'uru pų-paa-tų-'u 'uni-'wa-pų, kani-gya-vaci  
 that/OBJ REL-LOC-NOM-he do/go-ASP-REM/REL house-have-BKGR  
 right there where he had landed, they had made their

'uni-kya-vaci, 'ú-vwa-s súuva-tų-mų-ni yugwi-vaci-mų  
 do-PL-BKGR there-LOC-CONJ other-NOM-PL-ADJ sit/PL-BKGR-PL  
 camp there, and some of them were sitting there

'umų-a-tų-mų; 'umų-a-tų 'ú-vwa tugu-tux  
 them-PART-NOM-PL them-PART-NOM there-LOC up-to  
 ((right above that spot)); so one of those

'uway-u-paci, pa'a-'uway-u-paci tfi; 'ú marų 'icay  
 jump-INCEP-BKGR complete-jump-INCEP-BKGR that that/OBJ this/OBJ  
 dashed up, he dashed up right above ((that spot)); and he did

ma-ra-tų-mų-ni, mani-tux tųpyyci 'uru  
 that-be/like-NOM-AN-like this-side-to rock/OBJ that/OBJ  
 just like this, dislodging a boulder this way ((gesture)) and

'una-pa-tux kukwi-vaci-ux; 'i-vaa-'uru kary-ux-paci  
 there-DIR-to shoot-BKGR-it here-LOC-that sit-ASP-BKGR  
 rolling it down; then he sat right there

kukwi-vaci; x-'ura 'uru páagi-a-'u whtópina-x̄a-t̄y  
 shoot-BKGR then-be that/OBJ hair-GEN-his bundle-ANT-NOM/OBJ  
 and ((started)) shooting ((at the Ute man)); right away

'úru-'u t̄y-kukwi-vaci, 'i-v̄a-a-x̄ 'iȳ-na,  
 that-he well-shoot-BKGR here-LOC-it here-LOC  
 he shot off his bundled hair, right here ((gesture)),

toḡo-'i-v̄a-a-x̄-'uru-'ura 'u-vwaa waḡa-rugwa-paci-sapa,  
 right-here-LOC-it-that-be there-LOC through-go-BKGR-MOD  
 so ((the bullet)) went right through his hair just about here  
 ((gesture)),

t̄y-wa, s̄u-miici-'ura 'anḡ-paay-sapa-ni 'i-v̄a-a-sapa-ni  
 down very-little-be WH-QUANT-MOD-like here-LOC-MOD-like  
 going down, very little, however far, right about here

na'aḡa, 'içay t̄y-kua-y-'u má-naaḡa w̄ny-kwa-vaci;  
 maybe this/OBJ flesh-OBJ-his there-in stand-ASP-REM  
 maybe ((gesture)), and it lodged in his flesh;

'úv-way-a-x̄-'ura s̄w-iini 'á-y-v̄aci:  
 then-it-be other-SUBJ say-BKGR  
 then another Ute man said:

"n̄-gaa-s̄y-ni!" má-y-u-paci-s; puku-av 'uway  
 I-TOP-CONJ-like say-INCEP-BKGR-CONJ horse-OWN that/OBJ  
 "It's my turn now!" he said; and he started racing

tawasi-u-paci-s, 'u-vwaa-t̄y 'uwa-na-pa-'u  
 gallop-INCEP-BKGR-CONJ there-LOC-DIR him-LOC-DIR-he  
 his horse, galloping toward the ((wounded))

q̄x̄ax̄ar̄y-vaci; ma-vaa kw̄aa t̄y-kaa-'wa-ci,  
 run-BKGR there-LOC there reach-ASP-SUB  
 man; and when he reached right there,

wi'i-u-paci;  
 jump-INCEP-BKGR  
 he jumped down;

x-'ura s̄w-iini 'uni-'wa-paci-s, nana-pa... 'anḡ-ii-sapa  
 then-be other-SUBJ do/go-ASP-BKGR-CONJ RECIP-DIR WH-QUANT-MOD  
 then another one did it, and together... however many

'uni-'wa-pyga-vaci-my, 'u-vwaa-'ura yugwi-vaci-my...  
do/go-ASP-REM-BKGR-PL there-LOC-be sit/PL-BKGR-PL  
of them did it, and they all crouched there...

x-'ura 'úmy kukwaci-u máa-pa-tu-my... 'ú...  
then-be those Mexican-PL there-DIR-DIR-PL INTJ  
then the Mexicans, right that-a-way ((gesture))... ee...

múu-'napu-m 'uru... múu-'napu-m 'u-vwaa-tu  
sling-INSTR-with that/OBJ sling-INSTR-with there-LOC-DIR  
with their sling-shots... with their sling-shots

ta-tapi-ta-vaci tupy-cí-m ta-tapi-ta-vaci-my;  
RED-throw-PASS-BKGR rock-NOM/OBJ-with RED-throw-PASS-BKGR-PL  
they kept pitching rocks there ((at the Cheyenne));

'umy-gaa-ni núuci-u-'uru 'ipy-a-sapa-'uru mani-ukwa,  
those-TOP-ADJ Ute-PL-that WH-OBJ-MOD-that do/like-INCEP  
now the Utes started doing whatever,

tupyi-gwa-tux kukwi-miyá-kwa-y taḵapina-miyá-kwa-y,  
rock-LOC-to shoot-walk/PL-go-IMM cut-walk/PL-go-IMM  
they started shooting into the rocks and mowing down the Cheyenne,

taḵapina-miyá... 'uru mani-'wa-na-'u, 'uru-pa'aḡa  
cut-walk/PL that do/like-ASP-REL-him that-over  
they kept mowing them down... they'd do like this to a Cheyenne,

'uwaay-xw, kukwi-miyá-s-'u, paḵa-xw-myya-s-'u-kway...  
jump-SUB shoot-walk/PL-CONJ-hím kill-ASP-HAB-CONJ-him-MOD  
whenever one would jump up ((to escape)), they'd shoot him  
and kill him just like that...

kac-ux kiyá-miyá-wa-tu, Rio Grande...  
NEG-it very-far-NEG-NOM Rio Grande  
well, the Rio Grande is not very far from there...

'anḡ-paay-sapa-ni 'ura-vaci, 'anḡ-paay-sapa...  
WH-QUANT-MOD-like be-BKGR WH-QUANT-MOD  
whatever distance it is, however far...

na'aḡa... na'aḡa... suwa-two-miles 'i-vḡa-ni,  
maybe maybe almost-two-miles here-LOC-like  
maybe... maybe... almost two miles right here ((gesture)),

na'aḡa-t̄y 'ura-vaci; 'u-vwaa-t̄y puku-'u... Rio Grande  
 maybe-NOM be-BKGR there-LOC-DIR horse-his Rio Grande  
 it was maybe that far; that-a-way his ((the Ute man's)) horse...

nukwi-na 'ura-vaci... q̄x̄ax̄ary-vaci 'ú-'u;  
 run-REL be-BKGR run-BKGR that-he  
 where the Rio Grande flows... it ran that way;

'úvway-aḡ-'ura-am̄y 'úmy s̄úva-t̄y-my-ni  
 then-it-be-they those other-NOM-PL-ADJ  
 so those other Indians ((the Cheyenne))

núuci-u m̄q-m̄q̄t̄q̄ni-vaci-my, x-'ura nana-ma  
 Indian-PL RED-escape-BKGR-PL then-be RECIP-LOC  
 kept escaping one by one, then they

'uni-u-paci-my, m̄q̄t̄q̄ni-vaa-ci-my; 'úȳȳ...  
 do-INCEP-BKGR-PL escape-FUT-SUB-PL INTJ  
 would band together in order to escape; eeee...

t̄ȳvwa p̄fiya-qa-paci-my p̄aa-va-caw̄i; 'um̄ys-'ura  
 down run-PL-BKGR-PL water-LOC-toward they-be  
 they ran down toward the river; so they

m̄aa-pa 'u-'uni-v̄aci-my, núuci-u; 'um̄ys-'ura  
 there-DIR RED-do/go-BKGR-PL Ute-PL they-be  
 followed that-a-way, the Utes did; they would

'uni-kya-paci-my-'u t̄ȳvwa, 'ivici-m-kway, 'ivici-m  
 do-PL-BKGR-PL-him down stick-with-MOD stick-with  
 chase each Cheyenne down, and just with sticks,

t̄aci-maku-'u kwip̄a-mi, 'um̄y k̄ȳmaaci... saȳaḡana-y,  
 head-with-his hit-HAB those/OBJ Comanche/OBJ Cheyenne-OBJ  
 they'd hit them on the head with sticks, those Comanche...

t̄ȳ-t̄ȳravi-miḡ-'u-kway;  
 RED-throw-HAB-him-MOD  
 Cheyenne, they clobbered them just like that;

'ú-'uni-xw x-'ura 'uni-kya-y, ((qo-))ḡo'a-na-y;  
 RED-do-SUB then-be do-PL-IMM RED-slaughter-ASP-HAB-IMM  
 so that's what they did then, they kept slaughtering them;

súva-ṭy-ṃy-ni-'ura-'uru mani-tux  
 other-NOM-PL-ADJ-be-that other-side-to  
 now, some other ((Cheyennes)) ran the other way

kwiya-navici-kya-ṭy-paa-tux 'uni-'wa-paci  
 fence-MASS-ANT-NOM/OBJ-DIR-to do/go-ASP-BKGR  
 toward the rock barricades ((on the hill)),

súva-ṭy-ṃy-ni; x-'ura 'umy-a-ṭy... 'umy-a-ṭy...  
 other-NOM-PL-ADJ then-be them-PART-NOM them-PART-NOM  
 those others did; then one of them... one of them...

'umy-a-ṭy... qoy'o-xwa-p̣y'i-gȳa-ṭy  
 them-PART-NOM hole-ANT-eye-have-NOM  
 one of them... he had an empty hole for one

'ura-p̣ȳga-vaci... 'uway-'ura p̣y'i-ci-a-'u  
 be-REM-BKGR his-be eye-NOM-GEN-his  
 eye... his eye had been

tayu'ni-ta-ḡa-vaci ṭȳp̣ȳci-m, 'uv̄v̄s; 'ú-'ura  
 smash-PASS-ANT-BKGR rock/OBJ-with end that-be  
 gouged out by a rock, so; well, he

'ú-naaḡa 'avi-v̄aci, 'umy-naaḡa 'avi-v̄aci,  
 there-in lie-BKGR them-in lie-BKGR  
 was lying in there ((inside the barricades)), he was lying  
 among the ((other trapped Cheyennes)),

wiici-gya-p̣ȳga-vaci-'uru-'u n̄ay-vi-v̄ḡa-cukw̄a; x-'ura  
 knife/OBJ-have-REM-BKGR-that-he hand-NOM/OBJ-LOC-to then-be  
 he held a knife in his hand; so then

núuci-u-a-ṭy-ṃy, 'áayh-p̣y-ci 'ura-vaci ta'waci...  
 Ute-PL-PART-NOM-PL young-man-DIM-NOM be-BKGR man  
 some of the Utes, it was a young man...

kác... ka-ṭȳv̄ȳci toḡo-maku-ṭy ma-ra-wa-ṭy-ṃy  
 NEG NEG-very right-finish-NOM that-be/like-NEG-NOM-AN  
 no... he ((the blind Cheyenne)) was not well positioned, not like

'ura-vaci, 'uv̄v̄y-kȳr̄y-ry ma-ra-ṭy-ṃy...  
 be-BKGR bad-sit-ADJ that-be/like-NOM-AN  
 that one ((gesture))... he was badly positioned, like that...

'ú... 'uru wfit̩ 'q̩ra-q̩a-t̩y-naaḡa-tux  
INTJ that past dig-ANT-NOM/OBJ-in-to  
eee... so he ran into an old

'ú-naaḡa-tux q̩ḡaḡar̩y-vaci; 'u-vwa núuci  
there-in-to run-BKGR there-LOC Ute  
trench; and in there a Ute man ((that young one))

'avi-vaci; mag̩y'na-vaci-'u 'uwas;  
lie-BKGR jump-BKGR-him he  
was lying; so the blind Cheyenne jumped him;

'ú-'uni-'wa-kw-'u, 'uwas-'uru wii-t̩ḡna-vaci-'u,  
RED-do-ASP-SUB-he he-that knife-stab-BKGR-him  
and as he did that, the Ute stabbed him with a knife,

'aḡa-vaa-xwa-sapa... 'avi-ci 'u wii-t̩ḡna-vaci-'u;  
WH-LOC-go-MOD lie-SUB/NOM that knife-stab-BKGR-him  
wherever it was... the one lying there stabbed him with a knife;

'uv̩y̩s, 'úy̩y̩... "ka-t̩y̩v̩y̩ci-gya-wa!"  
end INTJ NEG-believe-GER-NEG  
so that was that, eeee... "You didn't believe us!" the other

máy-kya-paci-my s̩úva-t̩y-my-ni;  
say-PL-BKGR-PL other-NOM-PL-ADJ  
Cheyennes said; ((he was the one who suggested the rocky  
hill as ambush site));

paḡa-xw-ta-vaci-'u 'uway, 'uni-'wa-t̩y; 'uv̩y̩s;  
kill-ASP-PASS-BKGR-him that/OBJ do-ASP-NOM end  
so he was killed, the one who did that; and that was that;

'um̩y̩s-'ura s̩úva-t̩y-my-ni t̩y̩v̩wa máa-na  
they-be other-NOM-PL-ADJ down there-LOC  
well, the other Cheyennes went down

páa-ma-tux Rio-Grande-ma-tux t̩y̩v̩wa páa-ma 'uni-kya-paci,  
water-LOC-to Rio-Grande-LOC-to down water-LOC do/go-PL-BKGR  
toward the Rio Grande, toward the water,

pa'a-qo-ḡo'ay-paci-my, pa'a-qo-ḡo'ay-paci-my;  
complete-RED-slaughter-BKGR-PL complete-RED-slaughter-BKGR-PL  
where the Utes killed them off, they slaughtered all of them;

'úvway-aḵ-'ura súu-yis-amy tapi-wúnay-paci,  
 then-it-be one-SUBJ-their heel-throw-BKGR  
 except for one of them who outran them all,

toḡo-xwa-tṽ-my 'ura-vaci'ú-'u; ma-vaa-ini  
 right-go-NOM-AN be-BKGR that-he there-LOC-like  
 he was a very fast runner; he paused right there on the

wúnay-'wa-vaci, páa-va-cawi-'uru, páa-va-cawi-'uru  
 stand-ASP-BKGR water-LOC-toward-that water-LOC-toward-that  
 river-bank, facing the water, then disappeared

yáakwi-vaci, 'uvvṽ; "'áa-ry, 'áa-ry!"  
 disappear-BKGR end gentle-ADJ gentle-ADJ  
 into the river; "Take it easy, take it easy!"

máy-kya-paci, "páa-y 'ara-vaa!" máy-kya-paci,  
 say-PL-BKGR let-go/IMP be-FUT say-PL-BKGR  
 the Utes shouted, "Let him go!" they said,

"pṽsa-niyá-paa-tṽ-'ara!";  
 story-tell-FUT-NOM-be  
 "So he could tell ((his people)) about it!"

x-'ura-s má-vaa-tṽ yaḡa-vaci 'ina-xwa-pa-tṽ  
 then-be-CONJ there-LOC-NOM cry-BKGR here-go-DIR-NOM  
 then there was someone crying, sitting on this side

karṽ-i pa'a-pṽtṽ'ni-ci((-uru)); 'u-vvaa-tṽ  
 sit-IMM complete-bulge-NOM-that there-LOC-DIR  
 of the tall hill; he was crying

yaḡa-vaci, núuci 'ú-vway yaḡa-vaci 'ú súw-iini;  
 cry-BKGR Ute there-LOC cry-BKGR that other-SUBJ  
 that-a-way, that other Indian ((Cheyenne)) was crying there;

'ú-'ura kukwaci ma-vaa súuva-tṽ-paa-ni karṽ-vaci,  
 that-be Mexican there-LOC other-NOM-DIR-like sit-BKGR  
 and the Mexican ((who told me this story)) was sitting  
 right there facing the other way,

pṽni-kyarṽ-vaci-my; kukwaci 'u 'ú-vwa karṽ-vaci;  
 look-sit-BKGR-PL Mexican that there-LOC sit-BKGR  
 sitting and watching ((the Cheyenne)); the Mexican was sitting  
 there;

'i-v̄ā-ura yāga-vaci, ma-vaay, 'umy-a-ty;  
 here-LOC-be cry-BKGR there-LOC them-PART-NOM  
 and right there he cried, right there, one of them;

'ú-'ura 'āga-ni-sapa q̄x̄ax̄ar̄y-pyga-vaci; x-'ura  
 that-be WH-do-MOD run-REM-BKGR then-be  
 that person had somehow managed to escape; so

'umys-'ura 'fi-pa t̄v̄way-ci-'uru, 'uway-'ura:  
 they-be there-DIR descend-SUB-that him-be  
 while the Utes were going down ((toward the river,  
 they told whoever was chasing the sole escapee)):

"'áa-ry, 'áa-ry! páay 'ara-vaa!  
 gentle-ADJ gentle-ADJ let-go/IMP be-FUT  
 "Easy, easy! Let him go!

pȳsa-niya-paa-ty-'ara payu-xwa-x̄ay((-kw))!"  
 story-tell-FUT-NOM-be return-go-ANT-SUB  
 So he may tell the story ((to his people)) when he returns!"

'uv̄ys, yu-yuxwi-paci-my 'ú-v̄waa-s;  
 end, RED-sit/PL-BKGR-PL there-LOC-CONJ  
 so that was that, they quit ((fighting));

'ú-'uway-'ura núuci 'i-v̄a-yaakwa  
 RED-him-be Ute here-LOC-down  
 well, there was one Ute man down there

t̄q̄na-ta-x̄a-vaci, 'āga-vaa-kwa-sapa; 'uv̄ys,  
 stab-PASS-ANT-BKGR WH-LOC-go-MOD end then-be-CONJ  
 who had been stabbed, wherever it was;

x-'ura-s... 'ipy-a-sapa 'ini-āga-ty 'ura-vaci,  
 then-be-CONJ WH-OBJ-MOD POSS-have-NOM be-BKGR  
 well, so then... whatever it was he had in his possession,

'āga-ra-ty-my puwa-ḡa-ty 'ura-pyga-vaci  
 WH-be/like-NOM-AN medicine-have-NOM be-REM-BKGR  
 whatever kind of medicine-man he may have been,

na'āga, 'āga-ni-sapa ma-ra-ty-my...  
 maybe WH-do-MOD that-be/like-NOM-AN  
 whatever, that kind ((of a person))...

'ú-'ura-s-'uru... 'ú-'uway... páa-y 'ini-a-kway...  
 that-be-CONJ-that RED-him water-OBJ WH-OBJ-MOD  
 it was him... so it was him... whatever potion...

pari-yu-y kucia-vi 'i-vaḡ-tu-ni x-'ura-mi,  
 elk-NOM/OBJ-GEN tooth-NOM/OBJ here-LOC-DIR-like then-be-HAB  
 out of elk-tooth right there, it was like this,

'ú-ra-tu-aa-ni 'uni-aḡa-tu 'ura-puḡa-vaci;  
 that-be/like-NOM-OBJ-ADJ POSS-have-NOM be-REM-BKGR  
 that kind that he must have had with him;

'úru-'ura kypu-ry 'ura-qa-vaci-ux...  
 that-be hold-in-mouth-ADJ be-ANT-BKGR-it  
 he held it in his mouth...

pari-yu yaḡa-tu... pari-yu 'uway yaḡa-mi-na-pani,  
 elk-NOM/OBJ cry-NOM elk-NOM/OBJ he/GEN cry-HAB-REL-like  
 and he cried like an elk... he kept crying the way an elk cries,

ya-yaḡa-vaci mani-vaci-ux; páapu 'úru mani-vaci  
 RED-cry-BKGR do/like-BKGR-it blood that do/like-BKGR  
 doing just like this ((gesture)); and his blood ((kept oozing out))

'úu-pa, tara'wa-ḡa-vaci páapu 'úru, máy-gya-'uru...  
 there-DIR puncture-ANT/PASS-BKGR blood that say-GER-that  
 like this all over, he had a vein punctured, that is...

'uvus, ka-ya'ḡa-na-wa-tu-'uru máy-gya-'uru,  
 end NEG-die-ANT/NEG-NEG-NOM-that say-GER-that  
 well, he didn't die, that is...

ka-ya'ḡa-na-wa-tu;  
 NEG-die-ANT/NEG-NEG-NOM  
 he didn't die;

'uru súuva-tu-my-ni, suuva-tu musutkwi-vi  
 that other-NOM-AN-ADJ other-NOM/OBJ medicine-NOM/OBJ  
 and some of the others, there was other kinds of medicine

'uni-aḡa-tu 'ura-vaci; 'umu-a-tu, 'anḡ-ii-sapa,  
 POSS-have-NOM be-BKGR them-PART-NOM WH-QUANT-MOD  
 that they had with them; one of them, who knows how many,

na'aḡa manu-ni 'ura-x̄a-paci-my, tap̄q-ti-na-x̄a-vaci,  
 maybe all-ADJ/SUBJ be-PL-BKGR-PL bundle-CAUS-HAB-ANT-BKGR  
 perhaps all of them had some, they used to keep it bundled,

'an̄q-paay-sapa-ni, musutkw̄i-vi 'ura-'ay; 'ú-'ura-'uru  
 WH-QUANT-MOD-like medicine-NOM be-IMM that-be-that  
 however much, it was medicine; so that ((old man did it))

ma-vaa-ty 'ipy-sapa 'ura-vaci 'ivici, 'ivi-taa-ci((-m))  
 there-LOC-NOM WH/INAN-MOD be-BKGR stick, stick-DIM-NOM/OBJ  
 over there ((with)) whatever stick, with a little stick

'ipy-a-sapa; 'uru k̄ȳci'a-maku mani-u-ci 'ú-naaḡa  
 WH-OBJ-MOD that sliva-with do/like-INCEP-SUB there-in  
 or whatever; so while ((mixing it)) like this with saliva,

mani-'wa-paci; x-'ura-'uru mani-vaci p̄q'q-vaci  
 do/like-ASP-BKGR then-be-that do/like-BKGR mark-BKGR  
 he put it like this in ((the wound)); then he drew a mark  
 like this

'úu-waḡa-tux, 'uru-m-'ura 'úu-pa-s-ux c̄nȳgi-paci-s;  
 there-around-to that-with-be there-DIR-CONJ-it insert-BKGR-CONJ  
 around ((the wound)), then stuck ((the stick)) into ((the wound))

x-'ura-s t̄ȳpa-va-'u-xw ma'a-na-vaci-s, 'u-ma-ty;  
 then-be-CONJ mouth-LOC-his-it wipe-HAB-BKGR-CONJ that-LOC-DIR  
 again; then he wiped it in his mouth, that way;

'úru-'ȳ musutkw̄i-vi 'ura-vaci; 'úru-'ura  
 that-EMPH medicine-NOM be-BKGR that-be  
 that was real medicine; so since he

'uni-'wa-kw-'u, ka-ȳḡa'ḡa-na-wa-ty 'uwas, tavii-vaci;  
 do-ASP-SUB-he NEG-die-ANT/NEG-NEG-NOM he recover-BKGR  
 did that, he didn't die, he recovered;

'úru-'ura 'ura-'ay...  
 that-be be-IMM  
 that's the way it was...

'uwas-'uru máy-vaci-s, pari-ȳȳ ya-ȳḡa-ti-vaci  
 he-that say-BKGR-CONJ elk-NOM/OBJ RED-cry-CAUS-BKGR  
 so it was he who made that sound, he kept crying like elk

'awi-tava, paḡay-'wa-ḡa-'uru, nana-pḡḡ-xw-amu-'uru,  
 long-day walk-ASP-GER-that RECIP-walk/PL-go-they-that  
 for a long time, walking, while they were all moving on,

páapy-'ura-'uru mani-'wa-paci, 'áa-mani-'wa-paci;  
 blood-be-that do/like-ASP-BKGR gentle-do/like-ASP-BKGR  
 and his blood kept oozing out like this, oozing out slowly  
 like this;

ka-'uni-na-wa-tu-s, 'ú-'ura-s 'avi-vaci, 'avi-vaci,  
 NEG-do-ANT/NEG-NEG-NOM-CONJ that-be-CONJ lie-BKGR lie-BKGR  
 but later it stopped, ((when)) he was lying down, he was  
 lying down,

kukwi-puay-aḡay-kw-tu-'a, 'avi... naḡami-paci  
 shoot-REM-CONC-SUB-NOM-him lie/IMM sick-BKGR  
 after they shot him, he was lying down... he was sick

'ú-mana-xwa; 'úy...  
 that-away-go INTJ  
 from that; eeee...

'ú-'uni 'ura-puḡa-vaci 'ú núuci wfitu-s,  
 RED-do be-REM-BKGR that Ute past  
 that's how a Ute person did it long time ago,

'úru-'u musutkwi-gyḡ-tu wtopina-xa-tu,  
 that-he medicine-have-NOM bundle-ANT/PASS-NOM  
 that way, a medicine-man ((with)) a medicine bundle,

'ipḡ-sapa 'ura-vaci, 'uru-vwayi-s; ka-pucucugwa-ta-puḡa  
 WH-MOD be-BKGR that-TOP-CONJ NEG-KNOW-PASS-NOM/REM/NEG  
 whatever it was, who knows about that, nobody knows

'ura-yi-s; 'úru-'uru na-gukwi-musutkwi((-vi))-u  
 be-IMM-CONJ that-that/OBJ RECIP-shoot-medicine-NOM/OBJ-he  
 about it any more; that's what they used to call

máy-na-'u, 'úru 'ura-puḡa-vaci... 'ura-puḡa-vaci  
 say-REL-he that be-REM-BKGR be-REM-BKGR  
 War-Medicine, that's what it was... it used to be

wfitu-s-'uru; toḡo-sapa-'ura na-gukwi-na-puḡa-vaci...  
 past-that right-MOD-be RECIP-shoot-HAB-REM-BKGR  
 long time ago; because they used to fight...

'úru-'ura-'uru... máy-kya-mia-ağa-na-ku...  
 that-be-that say-PL-HAB-CONC-REL-EMPH  
 that's it... what they used to say...

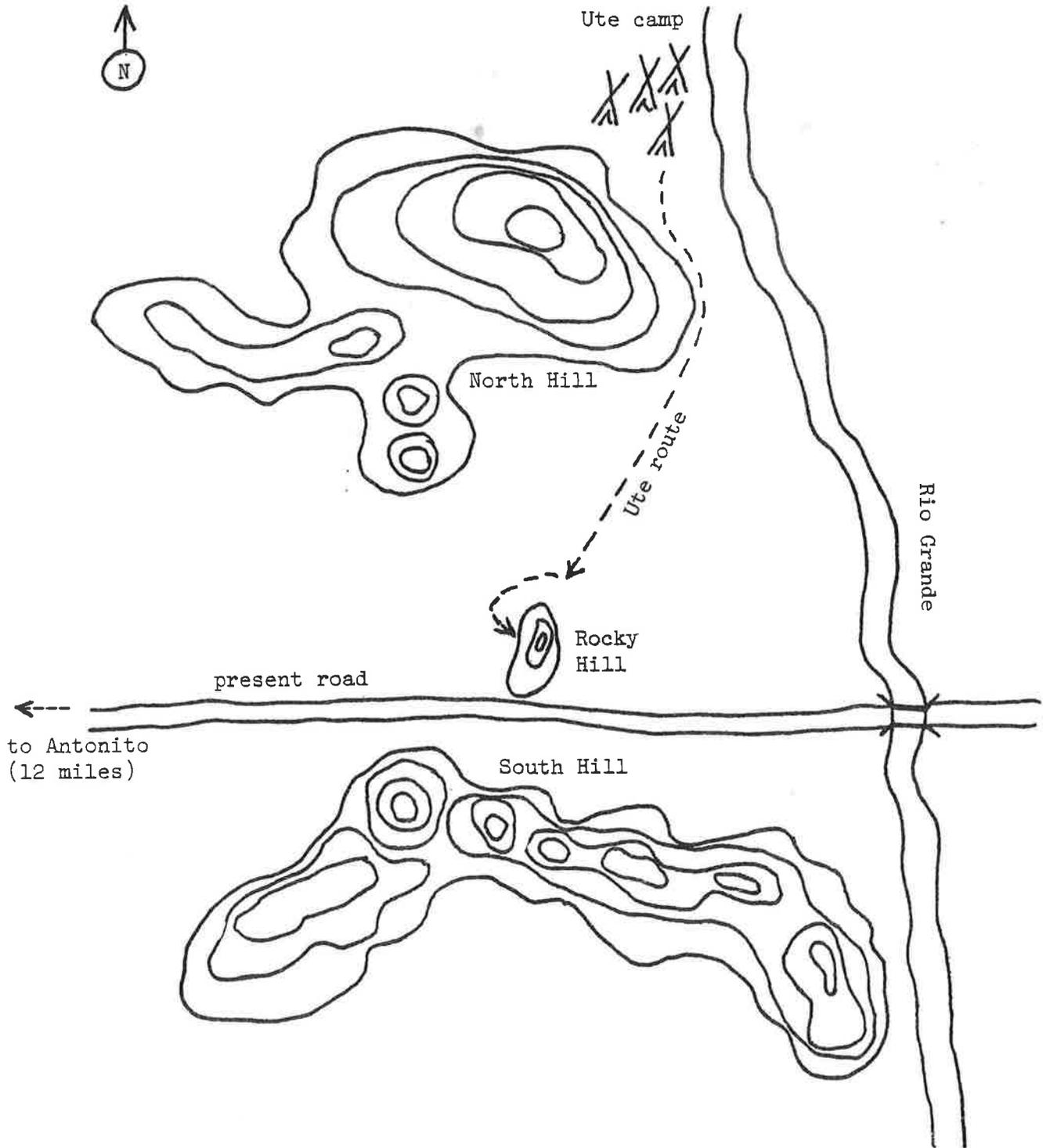
p̄sari-niya-ḡa-qay-kw-'uru-'u... 'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa  
 story-tell-PL-ANT-SUB-that-EMPH there-LOC-go/to-MOD  
 when they told the stories... that's as far

'ura-'ay 'úru;  
 be-IMM that  
 as it goes;

((NOTE: During a site-visit on 9-8-82, the following details were noted:

- (a) The Ute camp was 3-4 miles up the Rio Grande from the current bridge; the rocky hill is about 2 miles west of the Rio Grande and 12 miles east of Antonito.
- (b) The Cheyenne's presence was discovered accidentally, when at 3:00 or 4:00 AM some Utes went to retrieve a herd of horses that had been picketed near the rocky hill.
- (c) It may be that the Mexican man had never warned them, though he said he had intended to.
- (d) The two Cheyenne war-chiefs argued about the best location for an ambush. One argued for the slope of the tall wooded range to the north; the other -- who won the argument -- pushed for the rocky hill; he is the one who was blinded by a rock and later killed in the trench. The "We told you so!" when he died may have referred to that argument.
- (e) Historical records, including Comanche oral history, suggest that the war-party fighting the Utes was Comanche rather than Cheyenne.
- (f) We enclose two charts of the battleground (below), prepared during our site-visit)).

MAP 1: GENERAL AREA OF THE BATTLE  
(approx. scale: 1" per mile)



MAP 2: ROCKY HILL BATTLEGROUND



---> final Ute approach

 rock barricades

 cliff

