THE NORTHERN PAIUTE LANGUAGE OF OREGON

BY

W. L. MARSDEN
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EDITOR'S NOTE

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is that employed by Professor Waterman in his phonetic investigation, except that the characters ü and ty have been replaced by e and ts.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

PREFIXES

Instrumental, on verb stems:

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

Grammatical, on verbs:

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

Pronominal, on verbs and nouns:

L. i-\textsuperscript{i}, me, my
M. s-i-\textsuperscript{i}, s-e-\textsuperscript{i}, my, your, on subjective nouns
N. ki-\textsuperscript{i}, my, on oblique nouns
O. e-\textsuperscript{i}, you, your, singular
P. te-\textsuperscript{i}, his, her; proclitic, does not affect the accent
Q. te-\textsuperscript{i}, him, indefinite object, making transitive; incorporated element, drawing the accent
R, S, T. a-\textsuperscript{i}, o-\textsuperscript{i}, u-\textsuperscript{i}, third person objective; a-\textsuperscript{e}, o-\textsuperscript{e}, third person possessive.

These elements are of demonstrative origin.

U. mi-\textsuperscript{i}, us, our, inclusive
V. ta-\textsuperscript{i}, us, our, exclusive
W. me-\textsuperscript{i}, third person plural, second person singular, objective and possessive.

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

Tense, Mode, Aspect, Derivation:

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

*No suffix is limited to any part of speech. Any suffix or enclitic can be attached to any stem, apparently, if the meaning warrants. In the same way stems which we should classify as substantival, verbal, etc., are indiscriminately compounded, verb with verb, noun with noun, noun with verb, pronoun with adverb.*
“Suffixes” of position and motion (evidently verb stems):

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

Suffixes primarily of nouns

Formative:

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

Number:

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

Adverbial “Cases”:

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

Possession:

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

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

SUFFIXES PRIMARILY OF PRONOUNS

Personal:

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

Demonstrative:

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

1. Eme isa tekwaña no onazu miana yipuwaitu yaisi onazu patehetsa maiyihuna yaisi idza’a oka maiyihu ne patehetsa ya’a tsagi’i.
2. Yaisi pabi’i nedza’a mi’i nedza’a kwati mi’i. 3. Yaisi oka kwañaa nano ta mi’i. 4. Yaisi ya’atu mia yaisi tsagi’i yaisi ogwati nano.

TRANSLATION

1. THE CAVE MYTH

1. They, Gray-Wolf and his brother, yonder were going, in the valley, and yonder an elk finding, then Coyote: ‘‘That found I an elk there close-by.’’ 2. Then the older-brother: ‘‘I am going,’’ he said, ‘‘I am going to shoot,’’ he said. 3. Then that the younger-brother: ‘‘Both we,’’ said. 4. Then there-to (they)-went, then, close; and that shot both. 5. Then it was, the elk having killed, then yonder went to the house. 6. Then yonder the older-brother (he)-asked, ‘‘How-do-you, my brother, the deer manage not you-cause-them-to-escape?’’ he said. 7. ‘‘Yonder I go; those rocks I remove, then the deer there come out,’’ so his older-brother him-told, him Coyote. 8. ‘‘Then-it-is I kill,’’ he said, ‘‘(when)-one have killed, it is well,’’ he said to him, to him, Coyote, told. 9. ‘‘Then-it-is I in there (the rocks)-throw,’’ so it was to him, his younger-brother, telling. 10. ‘‘Then good,’’ so he was telling. 11. Then his younger-brother went. 12. ‘‘I that will see,’’ he said. 13. Then yonder that saw. 14. ‘‘Here (it is)!’’ he said, he, Coyote. 15. Then, ‘‘Good I feel,’’ he said, he, Coyote; this talking. 16. Then having thrown away (the rocks), close by sat down. 17. Then the deer came; then he them shot at, he, Coyote; them missing. 18. Then every one (he)-threw away that door, and then the deer many of them came; some-things, mountain-sheep; some-things, antelope; some-things, elk; some-things, bear; some-things, bear cubs; some-things, black bear; some-things, brown bear. 19. Then these mountains dust showing (?), then he, the older brother, that seeing, that dust, then well understood. 20. ‘‘He, Coyote, no sense-having, has opened-(the door),’’ this he thought, he, the older brother. 21. Then it was (he)-was angry. 22. Gray-Wolf in house (went and)-lay down. 23. Then he, Coyote, the deer having come out, many had to shoot at; not them hit. 24. Then it was he this talked: ‘‘What now, not it smelling?’’ so it was he was talking; then he rose up; then membra virile in this way doing, shaking. 25. Then it was his fire drill with a fawn having killed, there to his older brother with in the house went. 26. Then his older brother’s home at arrived. 27. His older brother was lying covered with a wolf skin. 28. Then he, Coyote, came. 29. ‘‘Here I a deer fawn I with come,’’ so he talked. 30. This it was he, Coyote, was talking. 31. ‘‘Here, we eat,’’ he said, after -(you)-get up,’’ he said. 32. Then he, Gray-Wolf, yonder lay, angry being.
33. Otnozupina panitogokwa tokayu setayu hitui nemedzohotitui hitui pa’oha’atu i mihu nanatenitsuiba. 34. Otnozu iwayu ibitu tipogiwaitu tibiwagayu no’oko zu hitui. 35. Pabayu nana hitu’i manimutu togokwatu’i hitui panitogokwatu himatui kutsunatu hitui pa’oha’atu i uniyuhupina usu neme na.


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

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

55. Patepogi pa’oha’a tipewa mihu nania otnozu patipogi mi’i otnozu umu mumuka imade. 56. Iwayu mi’i obunina owihu kai isaya’i. 57. Mihupina usu pa’oha’a titanobina o’otui tikuyuana.
33. Of-old-it-was the-lake-rattlesnake a-hole-had; bad something, Indian-crushers-(Giants); something, Water-babies (water-imps); so-are the-traditions. 34. Of-old many-(there-were) in-there in-Malheur-Cave lived; all-of (these)-things. 35. The-Great Man things created: snakes; something, the-lake-rattlesnake; some-things, the-buffalo; something, the-Water-babies; this-kind-it-was he, the-people's Father.

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

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

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

55. The-Water-Cave-(Malheur-Cave), the-Water-babies' country, this-was named of-old; the-water-cave, so of-old they, first-comers-(fore-fathers). 56. Many they-said them-seeing in-there no lie. 57. So-it-is they, the-Water-babies, build-with-rocks; somewhere piling-up-rocks.
58. Obinakwa tipetawaga obihupina isu kuma’azu neme mihupina nanatenitsui. 59. Iwayu pukugayu mi’i iwayu tehetsagayu mi’i. 60. Mihu usu nememanimutute usuhu mihu tetu’ame tenitsui. 61. Nemewatnizu tabe’a mi’i tetu’ame tenitsui. 62. Kuma’azu mi’i obituzu neme mi’i kai nega tu’ame mi’i. 63. Mihupina oka tetu’ame tenitsui otnozu neme manimutu. 64. Kai tepagayu mi’i onitama okwitakina odeka mi’i ohutui odekanasapa uniyuhu mi’i usu nememanimutute. 65. Ibitu katohu pa mi’i pabayu pa katohu mi’i ibitu pizayu pahutu mi’ipina patsona mi’i pizayu. 66. Usu nega tepe imayigwina. 67. Mihu oka tetu’ame tenitsui. 68. Owituhu ne oga setaku tayabibu’a.

2. THE THUNDER BADGER

1. Usu niniaba sakwaiina ka oka tapi pasape oka kai osogokaku osogokakukwesi oka pa pasape.
2. Usu niniaba paumaba pabu’i kumiba pidakwabatu tibiwagayu.
3. Husiabagayu usu niniaba mataiti hunakwatnizu tabe’ada paumaba temataiti usu niniaba. 4. Tihwisi tugupa’atu anuna otnohu ka kumiakina yaisi paumakina oka tipe nasagwai’ikukina niniabakina tukwukwitsikina seda enikina.

3. THE SACRED WOLF-TRACKS

1. Yaisi ka nememanimutute mia kwaia’a oka mogotnino onat kwaia’at pamanapatu. 2. Mihu nanatenitsui.
3. Yaisi ka kamuazu isu maiyupana nai’i yaisi isu tipe kutyuma mihu.
58. Inside the-earth-hole inside-there-are these different people; so-are the-traditions. 59. Many horses-have, they-said; many deer-have, they-say. 60. This he, the-Indian-Creator, he-was this-was to-his-children taught. 61. "People-like (they)-appear," so his-children taught. 62. "Different," he-said, those-in-there people," he-said, "Not my children," he-said. 63. This-it-is them, his-children, taught, of-old (after)-the-people were-created. 64. "No mouths-(they)-have," he-so told-them; "through-their-nostrils they-eat," he-said; "there they-are-used-to-eat; (they)-are-this-kind," he-said, he, the-Indian-Creator. 65. "Inside-there there-is-no-water," he-said; "great water there-is-none," he-said; "in-there good river," so-it-is, "springs," he-said, "good-(ones)." 66. "That, my earth, I-made." 67. This his his-children taught. 68. "Into-that-place I those evil-things sent."

2. THE THUNDER BADGER

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

2. He, the-Thunder, the-Rain Chief, the-cloud surface-on lives.

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

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

3. THE SACRED WOLF TRACKS

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

3. Then he of-old this everything-in-the-world burned; then this earth was-burned-to-ashes; thus.
4. Yaisi usu isa ka neme nana oka tabano yaduana isusakwa pasakwa apatazopaka mi’i. 5. Yaisi otno isu pa ka yu’u mani mi’ipina. 6. Yaisi pasaka yaisi usu taba ka ono isano aha usakwatui eme tuameku mi’i masu taba oka isa nitama. 7. Yaisi aha mi’i. 8. Yaisi otno hu itsa wogopitu itsa wapitu itsatui suñabitui himatui, sobitui, himatui, subitui, hima patsonatui teheteatui; hima ho’oko’o patsugutui himatui kohi’itui hima no’oko’o agaitui nookozu kaipatui hima sonaatui.


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


4. THE COYOTE AND THE DOG

1. Idza’a yadua e inanakwe e pehe igia e itsa nega pehe etsata’a kosoi kadenemikwe. 2. E pehe igia inanakwe. 3. Yaisi tepehe ogia oka teatsi. 4. Usu sade’e oantsdzayu oka idzaa. 5. Oka tepehe nabidogayegwi. 6. Nebina edzetsetukwai nemikwe kwaia kaibama onayu ne yagakwé. 7. Usa’ a nakatua. 8. Kame ne tekakwesi yagakwe upina ne tekakweski ne yagakwe tsia’Tina. 9. Himasakwa ne teka miwu ne sunamina.
4. Then he, the-Gray-Wolf, the Indian man, him the-Sun-with
 talked: "This-should, dry-place, flood," he-said.  5. Then at-that-time
 this water it in-this-way was, it-is-said.  6. Then dried; then he, the-
 Sun, he him-with Gray-Wolf-with: "Yes; you-should those children-
 cause-to-be," so he, the-Sun, to-him, Gray-Wolf, declared.  7. Then:
 "Yes," he-said.  8. Then at-that-time these created: these, pine-trees;
 these, juniper-trees; these-things, aspen-tree-things, some-things, cot-
 tonwood-tree-things; some-things, willow-things; some-things, springs;
 deer-things; things (of)-all-kinds; otter; some-things, beaver; things,
 all trout; all mountain-sheep; things, bear.
 9. Then the-creation completed, then-it-was they, the-children,
 they wrong did; among-themselves fought with-bows.  10. Then he,
 their-father, being-angry, at-that-time them apart them kicked-out.
 11. So-it-is-said.  12. At-that-time the Indian-tribes they were-many.
 13. Then at-that-time-it-was he went there to-the-south.  14. Then
 he cried: "Not I my-children am-going-to-see," so having-said, then
 she, the-woman-too cried: "My-children are-here!" so saying.  15.
 Then yonder into-the-water descended, so the-reports.  16. Then they
 on-the-surface-of-the-water went, it-is-said (in)-the-traditions,
 17. He these having-created, this mountain, pine-covered-summit,
 then: "In-there I am-going; there these my-tracks-after-awhile my-
 children will-see," so saying.  18. "That there I have-tracked; that
 these Indians see.  19. You-too, white-men, that-see."  20. So-it-was.
 21. This country-in here created, so also the-teachers, these buffalo,
 real buffalo, this-with horses-with here created.
 22. He, the-Sun, Gray-Wolf-with were-creating.  23. This they-
 are this country's traditions.  24. At-that-time these mountains cov-
 ered-with-water, they-said; no mountains-had; not-any land.  25.
 Then gradually-dried; then the mountains were-like-that.  26. Then
 this water there banks-had; not water-being-like.

4. THE COYOTE AND THE DOG

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


5. HOW COYOTE LOST HIS EYES

1. Tibuitsitsi tepui tsutsayibahu\(^3\) tugupa’atu obibuahu aizu yeg-wihu pitehu. 2. Usu idza’apeno’o mihusi enisi tepui tsutsayibahu tugupa’a obibuahu. 3. Yaisi onadedehaku otibitsi nadedehaku.


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

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

5. HOW COYOTE LOST HIS EYES

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

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

15. Coyote two was wives having. 16. Yonder went in the rocks mountain sheep, there were to feed come. 17. Those two women then talked: 'There close by mountain sheep,' this talked by them, women. 18. Then Coyote talked: 'Yes,' so talked, 'I them see,' so talked. 19. Then Coyote talked: 'You may sit here,' so talked. 20. Yonder went Coyote on the lee side close by; them smelling; then them heard in his ear, he, Coyote, this direction (in) mountain sheep a noise made, there then was shooting, many times was shooting, many times missing, he not clear seeing. 21. Yonder then one killed. 22. Then that dressed. 23. Then that one, his woman, talked: 'Why you thus that cut?' so talked. 24. Then that Coyote talked: 'Because you two are I that way am,' so talked. 25. 'One in this direction; one also in this direction.' 26. Then Coyote to house went the women with two with. 27. In house arrived, Coyote yonder day slept. 28. Then
Yaisi mogotni oka puni oka idza'a yaisi oka mayihu. 30. Aha setako puidzaiyu mi'i. 31. Yaisi oka tehama tekwi'i setayu mi'i oka idza'a pui setayu mi'i. 32. Yaisi hama yadua wadzimimiahu ta mia mi'i. 33. Yaisi ohama otepitu yawikisi ya'a okuba otsotegekuti yaisi wadzimimiahu.

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

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

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

37. So are the-stories.