



these various word orders? Voegelin (1935a: 151) only made this comment about word order in the grammar: "... this, like word order in general, is stylistic rather than obligatory".

Unfortunately, this is not sufficient in explaining these word order variations. Therefore, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

- A. What is/are the most frequent word order(s) in the texts?
- B. What seems to be motivating factors for the most frequent word order(s) (e.g. grammatical relation and syntax, topicalization, backgrounding, new information)?

This study is organized into multiple sections: Section 2 provides an overview of the problem at hand; Section 3 explains the texts used in the corpus and methodology used to analyze word order; Section 4 provides the typological examination of word order and various forces which have been shown to impact it; Section 5 presents the frequencies of differing word orders in the corpus; Section 6 elucidates the possible discursive phenomena shaping the word order tendencies of the corpus; and Section 7 summarizes these phenomena and concludes further inquiries in the field.

## **2. Background**

In addition to argument position relative to the verb, word order can be relabeled by the grammatical relations of the subjects in both intransitive and transitive clauses and the object (see Section 4.1). Similarly, word order can be influenced by the type of information presented by the arguments in the clause through discourse, and can also be influenced by the uses of particular information and how they are structured are in accordance to the knowledge of the interlocutor/reader: this is known as information structure (Lambrecht 1994: 5).

The types of information are distinguished by their exposure and familiarity to their audiences: this is determined by their presence in discourse, and therefore can be indicated by their discourse age. Information that has not been introduced prior to the current utterance is

labeled as NEW, and information that the audience has already been exposed to in discourse is labeled as OLD (Chafe 1987: 26, 31). Information can also be marked as ACCESSIBLE – those either that is stemmed via relatedness after the use of new information and does not require an explicit introduction into discourse (e.g., house invokes the uses of kitchen, bedroom, and bathroom), or that is also old information but has long been mentioned that it is not in the consciousness of the audience before its next usage (Chafe 1987: 28-30). For the purposes of this study, ACCESSIBLE is considered as OLD, and thus only OLD and NEW are examined.

Chafe (1987: 22, 37) primarily associates old and accessible information with the term TOPIC, and new information with the term COMMENT. These terminology are held in agreement by Lambrecht: TOPIC is associated with the predictable proposition of an element in discourse, and COMMENT is associated with unpredictable proposition (1994: 6). This predictability characteristic can be related to discourse age: the more familiar that an entity is in discourse to the audience, the more predictable it is to be referenced. In other words, old (with accessible) information tend to be more predictable than new information, and therefore the terms TOPIC and COMMENT are designated appropriately.

Information structure can then be redefined as the ordering of Topic and Comment in order to better reflect the consciousness of the audience in discourse. Consider the following example:

(2) 1 *patsaawa-l=gitc hal-üt patsaawa-l-a'ang paadzii-n pitcoogic-t*  
 Bat-NCM.A=REP live-DUR Bat-NCM.A-GEN older.brother-3SG.POSS Horsefly-NCM.B  
 'Bat is living (with) Horsefly, the older brother of Bat...'

2 *pic=kite=ta toha-t pini'ik taa-l*  
 then=REP=3PL.NOM hunt-DUR every day-NCM.A  
 'So they are hunting every day.'

**TOPIC COMMENT**

3 *patsaawa-l mü'üg-at tohii-l-a*  
 Bat-NCM.A kill-DUR deer-NCM.A-ACC  
 'Bat is killing deer.'

4 *pi=gija=ta ümbü' toha-ala*  
 then=REP=3PL.NOM again hunt-GO<ACT

‘Then they take leave and hunt again.’

	<b>TOPIC</b>		<b>COMMENT</b>		
5	<i>pic=kitc</i>	<i>pitcoogic-t</i>	<i>miy-ak-ca</i>	<i>tohii-l-a</i>	<i>aa~dawüüik</i>
	then=REP	Horsefly-NCM.B	go-INTER-SS	deer-NCM.A-ACC	MOM~see
	‘Then Horsefly, being interrupted in going, saw the deer.’				
	(Voegelin 1935b: <a href="#">Bat and Horsefly, lines 1-5</a> )				

In line 1, Bat and Horsefly are introduced in the text. By line 2, Bat and Horsefly are established participants, so they are referred to by the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person plural enclitic /=da/ (see Section 4.3), which is evident of their familiarity in discourse. In line 3, Bat is mentioned again, and a new participant (deer) is introduced, so Bat is rendered as the Topic and deer is the Comment of the clause. Like line 2, line 4 points back to Bat and Horsefly, and in line 5, another deer is introduced with Horsefly’s further mentioning, so similar to line 3, deer is the Comment, and Horsefly is the Topic of the clause. In both instances where Topic and Comment exist (lines 3 and 5), Topic occurs before Comment in the clause (Topic-Comment). It appears that for information structure, old information is preferred to be processed first since it is more familiar, and therefore new information is processed last due to its unpredictable nature in the proposition.

This discursive order of Topic-Comment contradicts those in other Uto-Aztecan languages: Papago has a tendency of positioning new information (Comment) before old information (Topic), and Ute similarly is analyzed to have a Comment-Topic order as its neutral order (Payne 1987: 798; Givón 1983: 33).

Information structure can be shaped and presented through multiple techniques. Topic shift, for example, “represents a new topic, a new point of view” (Mithun 1992: 34). New information does not necessarily have to be the only type of information that is positioned earlier in the clause, but rather a different discursive proposition that is not the previous Topic is uttered before other information. A type of topic shift can syntactically position an argument toward the beginning of the clause which otherwise would occur after another argument, and this is known

as topicalization (Givón 1983: 20; Mithun 2015: 32). This is functionally very similar to focus constructions, but these constructions influence the standard position of new information in order to highlight it as important, which is typically associated with Comments (Lambrecht 1994: 14; Mithun 2015: 33).

Another technique used is the concept of newsworthiness: the positioning of all new or old information in a particular clause (Mithun 1992: 31-32). This can extend to verbs as well. Like topic shift, it is invoked to refer to the important information first. Consider the following example:

(3) 1 *tang-at=kite tciitcwana'ac*  
 rain-DUR=REP all.the.time  
 'It is raining all the time.'

2 *pic paa-l üm~büm ii cuwaa-l-a*  
 then water-NCM.A MOM~be.full here earth-NCM.A-ACC  
 'Then the water filled this earth.' (Voegelin 1935b: [How the Earth was Made, lines 1-2](#))

In line 2, the verb 'be full' and its arguments 'water' and 'earth' are all newly mentioned in the text. Their positions in the clause then is not based on different discourse age. Their positions are then pragmatically structured: the positioning of 'water' before the verb 'be full' and the other participant 'earth' is impacted by the important factor of newsworthiness in shaping the word order.

Thus, word order cannot be determined by syntax alone. Pragmatic and discursive pressures like the ones above motivate how speakers produce an utterance (e.g., uttering "Beans I like" to a question "What do you like: beans or lentils?"). Dryer (1989) claims that although basic word order should not be considered in determining the pragmatic word order of such languages, frequency should be considered in tandem with the aforementioned pressures to fully capture this phenomenon. Additionally, word order focused on one core argument and the verb (e.g. VO) can

be coupled with relative frequencies of other phrasal orderings (e.g. noun-adjective) to produce the dominant word order, but this is more useful across language families (Dryer 2011).

As aforementioned, Pahka'anil is analyzed for its word order characteristics. Even though Dryer (1989: 78; 2011: 369) and Langacker et al. (1977: 24) have discussed about other Uto-Aztecan languages reflecting OV/VO word orders, not much is known about the word order of Pahka'anil. Ahland and Lycan (2019) conduct a preliminary study on word order in Pahka'anil analyzing 11 texts (none of the texts are used in this current study). SVO is the most frequent word order with both a subject and object, SV with only a subject, and VO with only an object by a slight margin (21). Another Uto-Aztecan language in particular, Papago, was analyzed through numerous factors (e.g., the orders and types of verbal arguments per aforementioned pragmatic/discursive pressures) in uncovering its word order (Payne 1987). This study implements a similar approach, incorporating the focus of syntactic roles with a corpus of texts tagged appropriately (as in Robinson (2002)'s analysis of Tenejapa Tzeltal, a Mayan language).

### **3. Methodology**

A corpus of 15 texts are used in this study. Most are part of 27 texts that originated from Voegelin (1935b). Since Ahland and Lycan (2019) have analyzed 10 texts from the same work, 14 of the 17 remaining texts are chosen to expand on the previous findings of word order in Pahka'anil. The texts are controlled for gender as the speakers are all male, of which there are four: Joe Wells, Steban Miranda, John Tungate, and Mike Miranda. The texts are of different genres, which are categorized in Voegelin (1935b). However, the corpus did not control for genre influence on word order.

Word order was marked and counted only for main clauses that included an overt verb and the use of one full noun phrase as the subject and/or object. Not all of these clauses in the text

were counted for word order, but they were included in the total clause count in the corpus (see Section 3). Clauses with nominalized verbs were not accounted in order to eliminate the influence of nominalization on word order:

- (4) *pic anghanii-l aa~hya-t piniyu tüüb-ii*  
 then people-NCM.A MOM~leave-DUR every gamble-NMLZ.PAT  
 ‘Then the people quit all their own gambling.’ (Voegelin 1935b: [The Clown, line 6](#))

Similarly, clauses with imperfective marking and relativizers were excluded:

- (5) *wüing=gite ogon miy-äpüün omhombi-t-ng*  
 be=REP on.and.on go-IPFV Mud.Diver.Bird-NCM.B-GEN  
 ‘Mud-Diver had been gone a long time.’  
 (Voegelin 1935b: [How the Earth was Made, line 17](#))

Due to the unclear function of tan ‘if’ below in identifying non-main clauses from main clauses, all clauses containing tan were excluded:

- (6) *tan-ima=lulu tooil-aa uudiilam tani=l ha'-üh*  
 if-JUSS=2PL.ACC think-IMP boys if=2PL.IMP listen-IMP  
 ‘Let me teach ye, boys, and ye listen.’ (Voegelin 1935b: [Speech to Boys, line 1](#))

Clauses that have a verb that requires a quotation as an argument (e.g., say, ask, yell), and the quotations themselves (typically denoted by the suffix /=güt/) were not counted for word order:

- (7) *pic mügütih im~pingg wica-bee=güt mügütih*  
 then Blood-Clot.Boy MOM~say later.on-after.a.while=QUOT Blood-Clot.Boy  
 ‘Then Migütih said, "Just a moment," Migütih says.’ (Voegelin 1935b: Blood-Clot Boy, line 37)

Similarly, clauses with only the quotation were not counted:

- (8) *haalala=kü=kite ic-t*  
 bravo!=QUOT=REP Coyote-NCM.B  
 ‘"Bravo," says Coyote.’ (Voegelin 1935b: [Coyote Freezes, line 7](#))

The texts used in this study are as follows (genre; speaker) (JW: Joe Wells; SM: Steban Miranda; JT: John Tungate; MM: Mike Miranda):

1. Bat and Horsefly (Myths; JW)
2. War with the Yokuts (Myths; SM)
3. Visit to the Land of the Dead (Myths; MM)
4. Coyote Freezes (Myths; MM)

5. How the Earth was Made (Myths; MM)
6. Coyote's Mother-in-law (Myths; MM)
7. Blood-Clot Boy (Myths; MM)
8. Jimsonweed Dream (Dreams; MM)
9. Requested Dream (Dreams; MM)
10. Deer Dream (Dreams; MM)
11. Speech to Boys (Misc.; SM)
12. Concerning Bears (Misc.; MM)
13. The Clown (Misc.; MM)
14. Trip to Isabella (Anecdotes; MM)
15. Coyote and Wolf (Misc.; SM)

A chi-square test for independence was ran between the positions of the verb arguments and their grammatical relations (see Section 4.1) to find if the most frequent word order(s) concerning two full noun phrases in main clauses is/are statistically significant based on these factors. This excluded the same types of clauses listed in (4-8). Clauses containing person clitics (see Section 4.3) were also excluded because intransitive clauses with one full noun phrase and no person clitics were not syntactically identified differently from those with one full noun phrase and a person clitic in this study. In other words, the statistical test concerns only transitive main clauses.

#### **4. Typological overview of Pahka'anil**

Voegelin (1935b) discusses the grammatical overview of Pahka'anil concerning systems of available sounds and distinct contrasts (phonology) and of the smallest unit conveying meaning (morphology) – particularly verbs, pronouns, nouns, and other grammatical elements. In this section, relevant syntactic and morphological factors are presented to be used in the analysis of word order. Section 4.1 introduces the concept of grammatical relation in Pahka'anil, which shapes the forms of different arguments in a clause. Section 4.2 explains the varying noun classes in the language to distinguish their roles in the clause through case marking. Section 4.3 identifies how the language refers to 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons in the clause. Finally, Section 4.4



concludes with the concept of headedness and its seeming tendencies of shaping syntactic constructions relative to word order.

#### 4.1. Grammatical relation

Grammatical relation refers to the role of subjects and objects in the clause. In particular, it focuses on the relationship between transitive subjects (usually denoted as A), intransitive subjects (usually denoted as S), and objects (usually denoted as O/P). The grammatical relation is reflective on the forms used for these arguments.

Pahka'anil employs almost differing forms for A, S, and O/P:

- |      |  |                      |                        |                |
|------|--|----------------------|------------------------|----------------|
|      | <b>A</b>   |                      |                        |                |
| (9)  | <i>ü-tük</i>   | <b><i>uuna-l</i></b> | <i>wal</i>             | <i>koim-ii</i> |
|      | MOM~eat  | <b>Bear-NCM.A</b>    | DIST:ACC               | woman-ACC      |
|      | 'Bear ate that woman.' (Voegelin 1935b: Blood-Clot Boy, line 7)  |                      |                        |                |
|      | <b>S</b>   |                      |                        |                |
| (10) | <i>pic</i>   | <b><i>uuna-l</i></b> | <i>a-aak</i>           | <i>tuwubül</i> |
|      | then   | <b>Bear-NCM.A</b>    | MOM~open.one's.mouth   | fast           |
|      | 'Bear ran far away' (Voegelin 1935b: Blood-Clot Boy, line 40)    |                      |                        |                |
|      |  | <b>O/P</b>           |                        |                |
| (11) | <i>ü-mü'üg</i>   | <i>mügütih</i>       | <b><i>uuna-l-a</i></b> |                |
|      | MOM~kill   | Blood-Clot.Boy       | <b>Bear-NCM.A-ACC</b>  |                |
|      | 'Migitih killed Bear.' (Voegelin 1935b: Blood-Clot Boy, line 44) |                      |                        |                |

In (9) and (10), Bear share the form 'uunal', but in (11), Bear differ in the form 'uunala'. Since A and S have the same form, yet O/P differ in form, this is an indication of a nominative-accusative alignment system: A and S are marked by the nominative case, and O/P is marked by accusative case.

#### 4.2. Case marking and noun classes

Ahland and Lycan (2019: 6) provide a table of the possible forms of the subject, object, and genitive case markers for the noun classes in the language separated by absolute ("not specified for any possessor") and relative (specified for possessor) cases.

Class	Absolute Case Marking			Relative Case Marking					
	Subject	Object	Genitive	Subject	Object		Genitive		
					Possessed by Non-Subject (ejus)	Possessed by Subject (suus)			
A1	-∅	-a	-ing	-∅	-yi	-∅, -i	-in		
A2			-a'ang					-∅	
B1			-ing						-tsi
B2								-ts	
B3						-∅		-nini	-∅
B4								-dzi	
B5						-i, -yi, -iyi		-∅-i	-in
C1						-i, -ni, -iyi		-i, -∅	-in
C2	-a	-ayi	-ai, -∅	-a'in					

Table 1: Case Marking in Pahka'anil (from Ahland and Lycan 2019)

According to Voegelin (1935a: 140), there are three classes of nouns: nouns with /-l/ (class A), nouns with /-t/ (class B), and nouns with zero marker, which convey required meaning but are not realized in use (class C):

- (12) *muwaa-l*                      *tün-t*                      *waatam-∅*  
 mountain-NCM.A                  rock-NCM.B                  soldier-NCM.C

These noun classes differ in the forms of accusative marking they receive:

- (13) *tohii-l-a*                      *uu-t-a*                      *koim-∅-i*  
 deer-NCM.A-ACC                  tree-NCM.B-ACC                  woman-NCM.C-ACC

Classes A and B share the same accusative marker /-a/ while class C takes the suffix /-i/.

For marking nominative case, all noun classes share the same suffix:

- (14) *patsaawa-l mü'üg-at tohii-l-a*  
**Bat-NCM.A** kill-DUR **deer-NCM.A-ACC**  
 'Bat is killing deer.' (Voegelin 1935b: [Bat and Horsefly, line 3](#))
- (15) *anaawic-pi-t uu~muug-umin*  
**girl-DIM-NCM.B** MOM~die-ACT>GO  
 'The little girl died momentarily.' (Voegelin 1935b: [Requested Dream, line 10](#))
- (16) *wahaai=gija=tii koim ii~miy*  
 DIST:LOC:from=REP=CONJ **woman** MOM~go  
 'From there the woman went.' (Voegelin 1935b: Visit to the Land of the Dead, line 26)

Classes A, B, and C receive a zero marker (or are not overtly marked) in the nominative case.

The suffix used to mark accusative case is not exclusive to marking objects in the language:

- (17) *wahaai=gite*                      *ic-t*                      *ing~gim*  
 DIST:LOC:from=REP Coyote-NCM.B MOM~come  
 [**Prep**                      **NP**                      ]  
*wo-kiik*                      *hanii-l-a*  
 DIST-toward **house-NCM.A-ACC**  
 ‘From there Coyote came toward the house.’

*wah=kite*                      *ic-t*                      *iiü~bül-iiüla*                      *ku-t-a-p*  
 DIST:LOC=REP Coyote-NCM.B MOM~arrive-GO<ACT **fire-NCM.B-ACC-LOC**  
 ‘There Coyote went and arrived by the fire.’  
 (Voegelin 1935b: [War with the Yokuts, lines 47-48](#))

In (14), ‘deer’ is marked in the accusative case to differentiate its role in the sentence from ‘Bat’ which is the subject. This distinction is important because other nouns that are not subjects can be marked by the same accusative marker such as in the two instances of (17): ‘house’ in a prepositional phrase which contains a preposition (Prep) and a noun phrase (NP) in the first clause, or ‘fire’ in a location construction denoted as a locative (LOC) in the second clause. Pahka’anil therefore deems it necessary to differentiate between subjects and non-subjects: the accusative category is functionally unmarked, and the seeming accusative marker is essentially a non-nominative marker.

Nouns can also be marked for the relationship between possessor and possessed, but only when used as objects:

- (18)                      [                      **S**                      ]  
*pic=gija*                      *tciitc*                      *taatwa-l-a’ang*                      *so’yii-n*                      *ü~üniühyü*  
 then=REP one **man-NCM.A-GEN** **wife-3SG.POSS** MOM~be.sick  
 ‘Then the wife of one man got sick.’ (Voegelin 1935b: Visit to the Land of the Dead, line 2)
- (19)                      [                      **O**                      ]  
*iciina-l*                      *pic*                      *oiwa-l-a’ang*                      *pom-iyi-n*  
 hail-NCM.A then **chicken-NCM.A-GEN** **egg-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS**  
 ‘The hail then (was the size of) chicken's eggs.’ (Voegelin 1935b: [Jimsonweed Dream, line 4](#))

If the possessor occurs in the same noun phrase as the possessed noun, the possessor is marked by the genitive case marker (GEN) such as ‘man’ in (18) and ‘chicken’ in (19). The

difference lies in the argument status of the possessed nouns: ‘egg’ in (19) differ in form compared to ‘wife’ in (18) due to its object status. Possessed nouns used as objects can be further categorized:

- (20) *pic=kite ic-t paa-l-ing*  
 then=REP Coyote-NCM.B **water-NCM.A-GEN**

*puma-tsi-n kim-at*  
**edge-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS** come-DUR  
 ‘Then Coyote is coming on the edge of the water.’ (Voegelin 1935b: [Coyote Freezes, line 1](#))

- (21) *pic=gija=wa' taatwa-l hoona-ts i~wilaagin*  
 then=REP=DIST man-NCM.A **life-REFL.POSS.ACC** MOM~take.off  
 ‘Then that man took out his amulet.’  
 (Voegelin 1935b: Visit to the Land of the Dead, line 39)

- (22) *mügütih pingg-üt utsuu-i*  
 Blood-Clot.Boy say-DUR **grandmother-REFL.POSS.ACC**  
 ‘Migüti says to his own mother's mother...’ (Voegelin 1935b: Blood-Clot Boy, line 49)

The marker attached to the possessed noun depends on the role of the possessor in the sentence: if the possessor is the subject, the possessed noun takes a reflexive marker (REFL) such as ‘life’ in (21) and ‘grandmother’ in (22); otherwise, the possessed nouns takes a nonreflexive marker (NREFL) such as ‘egg’ in (19) and ‘edge’ in (20). Like the absolute case marker, the forms of the reflexive and non-reflexive markers depend on the noun class they are attaching to. For this reason, the nonreflexive markers in (19) and (20) are different, and so are the reflexive markers in (21) and (22). However, even though the forms of the GEN marker are different, they belong to the same noun class.

#### 4.3. Enclitics

Pahka’anil employs the use of clitics to mark for first, second, or third person in the clause.

Subject		Object	
1SG.SBJ	-gi	1SG.OBJ	-ni
1DU.SBJ	-gila		
1PL.INCL.SBJ	-giluuts	1PL.OBJ	-dzii, -dzüing
1PL.EXCL.SBJ	-gila'ang		
2SG.SBJ	-bi	2SG.OBJ	-düing, -ding, -lüing
2PL.SBJ	-buumu	2PL.OBJ	-dulu
3SG.SBJ	-Ø	3SG.OBJ	-Ø
3PL.SBJ	-da	3PL.OBJ	-dapü

Table 2: Person clitics in *Pahka'anil* (from Ahland and Lycan 2019)

Clitics are morphemes (smallest unit that conveys meaning) that attach to the end of a phrase.

In the breakdown of morphemes, clitics are denoted following an equal sign:

- (23) *pic=kila'ang wahai o~noo-giim*  
 then=1PL.EXCL.NOM DIST:LOC:from MOM~turn.back-COME<ACT  
 'Then we came back from there.' (Voegelin 1935b: [Trip to Isabella, line 3](#))

The clitics in the language are positioned after the phrase it is attaching to. These kinds of clitics are known as enclitics. All person-marking clitics in the language are enclitics (Voegelin 1935a: 134).

There appears to be an order of attachment of subject and object clitics in the clause:

- (24) *ma'inüc=bi=ni timalaaw-t=güt=gija*  
 why=2SG.NOM=1SG.ACC follow-DUR=QUOT=REP  
 "'Why are you following me?'" (Voegelin 1935b: Visit to the Land of the Dead, line 30)

In (24), the subject enclitic /=bi/ is attached to *ma'inüc* before the object clitic /=ni/, so there is an order of subject-object enclitic attachment in a clause.

From the previous two examples, it would appear that the person enclitics exclusively attaches to the first element of the clause, but this may not be necessarily the case:

- (25) *pic wah taatwa-l pingg-üt=ni*  
 then DIST:LOC man-NCM.A say-DUR=1SG.ACC  
 'Then there the man says to me...' (Voegelin 1935b: [Jimsonweed Dream, line 13](#))

- (26) *pic wahaai=da* *o'~op*  
 then DIST:LOC:from=3PL.NOM MOM~dive  
 'Then from there they dived...' (Voegelin 1935b: [How the Earth was Made, line 8](#))

In (25), the enclitic /=ni/ is attached to the verb *pinggüt* instead of the first element *pic*. Furthermore, in (26), the enclitic /=da/ attaches to the second element *wahaai* even though in (23), which contains the same sequence of morphemes *pic wahaai*, the enclitic in the clause is attached to *pic*. This questions the permissible placements of these person enclitics, but an exploration of person enclitics is beyond the scope of this study.

#### 4.4. Headedness

Greenberg (1963) discusses the universal tendencies of headedness in regard to word order. Headedness is the order of elements in a phrase with respect to the head or main element of the phrase. For example, in a noun phrase, the head of the phrase is the noun, and headedness concerns whether the noun is the first element of the phrase with all other elements in the phrase afterwards (Nx) or the last element with all other elements before it (xN). One of the main points of the relationship between headedness and word order posited by Greenberg is this: if the language places its verb before the object, then the head of each phrase tends to be the first element in the phrase; if the language places its verb after the object, then the head of each phrase tends to be the last element in the phrase.

Ahland and Lycan (2019) provide a table of occurrences in the language that are preferred over a particular word order.

Greenberg's Universal	Parameter	Attested Patterns in Pahka'anil	
		Head Initial Patterns	Head Final Patterns
1	main clause	VO	OV
3, 4	adposition	preposition?	postposition
2	genitive (possessor) and head noun	N – Genitive	Genitive – N
17	modifier and head noun		Modifier – N
24	relative clause and head noun	N – Relative Clause	Relative Clause – N?
22	comparatives	Quality-Marker-Standard	
9	question particles	Sentence Initial	
27	affixes		Suffixing

Table 3: Greenberg's Universals in Pahka'anil (from Ahland and Lycan 2019)

Pahka'anil employs the verb before its object as in (27). Based on this, Greenberg expects the head of each phrase to be the first element in the phrase as in (28):

(27) *pic=gi*                                      **V**                                      [                                      **O**                                      ]  
*üü~düw-aala*                                      *tohii-l-a*                                      *yoowi*  
then=1SG.NOM MOM~find-GO<ACT deer-NCM.A-ACC many  
'Then I went and found many deer.' (Voegelin 1935b: [Deer Dream, line 5](#))

[**Prep**                                      **NP** ]  
(28) *pic=gija*    *ü~pütüta*                                      *wo-kiik*                                      *so'yii*  
then=REP MOM~turn.over **DIST-toward** wife  
'Then he turned toward his wife.' (Voegelin 1935b: Visit to the Land of the Dead, line 83)

However, Pahka'anil also employs the verb after its object as in (29). Greenberg then expects the head of each phrase to be the last element in the phrase as in (28): it is similar to the prepositional phrase in (26) except the head element is at the end of the phrase which is known as a postposition (Post), and therefore the phrase is called a postpositional phrase. Prepositional and postpositional phrases are considered to be types of adpositional phrases where the adposition in these cases is either a preposition or postposition:

**O**                                      **V**  
(29) *wa=kitc=ta*                                      *anghanii-l-a*                                      *ool-iin*  
DIST:LOC=REP=3PL.NOM people-NCM.A-ACC get.up-CAUS  
'There they mauled the people.' (Voegelin 1935b: [War with the Yokuts, line 11](#))

- (30) *soobi-t*                    *a~maha*      *aali-t-a*                    **[NP**                    **Post**      **]**  
 old.lady-NCM.B    MOM~give    bow-NCM.B-ACC      *paahuu-l-a*                    *aamaaiyu*  
 'The old woman gave him the bow with arrows.'  
 (Voegelin 1935b: Blood-Clot Boy, line 28)

The order of elements in a noun phrase can also vary:

- (31) *mügütih*                    *i~wila'l*  
 Blood-Clot.Boy    MOM~climb  
**[N**                    **Mod**                    **]**  
*tün-t-a*                    *egeewün-yi-n*  
**rock-NCM.B-ACC**    **big-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS**  
 'Migitih climbed a big rock.' (Voegelin 1935b: Blood-Clot Boy, line 31)
- (32)                    **[Mod**                    **N**                    **]**  
*ü~wük*                    *egeewün-yi-n*                    *hom'mo-l-a*  
 MOM~grab    big-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS    **cooking.basket-NCM.A-ACC**
- wah*  
 DIST:LOC  
 'She grabbed a big basket there.' (Voegelin 1935b: Blood-Clot Boy, line 15)

In respect to the modifier (Mod), the head of the noun phrase can either be positioned before (31) or after it (32). Therefore, the relationship between headedness and word order cannot solely be used to determine the word order tendencies of Pahka'anil.

## 5. Findings

Similar to Ahland and Lycan (2019), a table of the total clauses in the corpus by text is provided. Within each text, clauses were counted for the following orders: if the clause only has one full noun phrase, the subject occurs before the verb (SV), the subject occurs after the verb (VS), the object occurs after the verb (VO), and the object occurs before the verb (VO); if there are at least two full noun phrases, the subject occurs before the verb and the object after the verb (SVO), both subject and object occur before the verb and the object occurs after the subject (SOV), the object occurs before the verb and subject occurs after the verb (OVS), and both subject and object occurs after the verb and the object occurs after the subject (VSO). The total



occurrences of each order (N) and percentage of the total clause in the corpus (%) are provided in bold.

	#Clauses	<b>SV</b>	<b>VS</b>	<b>VO</b>	<b>OV</b>	<b>SVO</b>	<b>SOV</b>	<b>OVS</b>	<b>VSO</b>	<b>VOS</b>
Bat and Horsefly	98	18	2	5	4	7	2	1	0	0
War with the Yokuts	88	12	3	3	2	6	1	0	0	0
Visit to the Land of the Dead	168	23	3	4	4	0	2	0	1	0
Coyote Freezes	40	15	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0
How the Earth was Made	39	11	1	0	0	3	1	0	0	0
Coyote's Mother-in-law	70	8	1	0	0	5	2	0	0	0
Blood-Clot Boy	134	15	9	9	3	7	0	1	3	0
Jimsonweed Dream	31	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
Requested Dream	36	4	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Deer Dream	14	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Speech to Boys	26	2	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Concerning Bears	19	4	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
The Clown	22	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Trip to Isabella	15	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coyote and Wolf	55	6	5	4	1	2	1	0	0	1
<b>TOTAL (N)</b>	<b>855</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>TOTAL (%)</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>14.3%</b>	<b>3.2%</b>	<b>4.7%</b>	<b>2.1%</b>	<b>3.9%</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>0.6%</b>	<b>0.1%</b>

Table 4: Word orders and frequencies of each text in the corpus

Between the word orders involving two full noun phrases, SVO appears the most frequent (3.9%) — more than twice as much as the other orders. Between the word orders involving one full noun phrase, for subjects, SV appears more frequent (14.3%) — more than four times as much as VS — and for objects, VO appears roughly twice as frequent as OV. These frequencies show that there is much variability within the differing word orders, and that a position from the verb is not restricted to only subjects or objects. This suggests that the interplay between

arguments of the verb and their positions from the verb is not primarily (nor solely) dictated by the rules of syntax.

Below are the instances of grammatical relations categorized by their preverbal or postverbal status in transitive main clauses.

### position \* relation Crosstabulation

		relation		Total
		A	O	
position	preverbal	46	15	61
	postverbal	8	39	47
Total		54	54	108

Table 5: Counts of transitive subjects (A) and objects (O) by positions from the verb

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	36.201 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	33.903	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	38.785	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	35.866	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	108				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 23.50.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 6: Results of the chi-square test

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.579	.000
	Cramer's V	.579	.000
N of Valid Cases		108	

Table 7: Effect sizes of the chi-square test

A chi-square test for independence with Yates' Continuity Correction was conducted between grammatical relation and position from the verb in transitive main clauses. There was a statistically significant association between the two,  $\chi^2(1, 108)=33.903$ ,  $p<0.001$ ,  $\phi=0.579$  [large effect size].

Since the effect size (which denotes the magnitude of the association) is large and that the association between grammatical relation and position from the verb in transitive main clauses is most unlikely to occur by chance, there then appears to exist strong motivation for the positioning of full-noun-phrasal subjects and objects from the verb that contributes to SVO being the most frequent word order in the corpus.

## 6. Discussion

The discourse age and position of participants in sampled texts are explored and investigated. Section 6.1 tracks the participants in a discursive excerpt in order to better visualize their varying positions in the clauses and any discursive phenomena that influence these positions. Section 6.2 and 6.3 concern the potential motivation(s) for Topic-Comment and Comment-Topics orders respectively. Section 6.4 questions the event of the argument positions to be next to one another in a transitive main clause.

### 6.1 Participant tracking

- (33) **V** **S**  
*hal-t=gija* *mügütih* *tii* *tcii* *soobi-t* *utsuu-n*  
 live-DUR=REP Blood-Clot.Boy also one old.lady-NCM.B grandmother-3SG.POSS
- V**
- mügütih-ng* *wooyo-o=da* *hal-t*  
 Blood-Clot.Boy-GEN both-oh=3PL.NOM live-DUR  
 'Migitih is living, and one old woman, the grandmother of Migitih; they are both living.'
- [ **S** ] [ ]QUOTE **V**  
**2** *mügütih-ng* *abuu-n* *honokang=gii* *im~pingg*  
 Blood-Clot.Boy-GEN mother-3SG.POSS pregnant=1SG.NOM MOM~say
- O** [ **V** ]  
*soobi-t-a* *tük-la-ba'-t=gii*  
 old.lady-NCM.B-ACC eat-GO<ACT-want.to-DUR=1SG.NOM

- O ]QUOTE  
*wah pangwa-l-a*  
 DIST:LOC red.clover-NCM.A-ACC  
 'The mother of Migitih said to the old lady, "I am pregnant" (for Migitih is in her womb).  
 "I want to go there and eat red clover."  
 [ ]QUOTE S [ ]QUOTE [ V  
**3** *tuuwu=güt soobi-t miy-'=güt has=bi tük=hi*  
 good=QUOT old.lady-NCM.B go-command=QUOT NEG=2SG.NOM eat=IMP.FUT  
 V  
*mi'itcu kin=hi=bi eh=hi=bi*  
 DIST:LOC:from bring=IMP.FUT=2SG.NOM there=IMP.FUT=2SG.NOM  
 V ]QUOTE S  
*tük=hi=güt soobi-t*  
 eat=IMP.FUT=QUOT old.lady-NCM.B  
 "Good," says the old woman, "go," she says, "(but) you must not eat it (where it grows);  
 you fetch it from there (and) eat it here," says the old woman.'  
 V [ V O ]SUB  
**4** *ii~miy tük-la-s pangwa-l-a*  
 MOM~go eat-GO<ACT-SS red.clover-NCM.A-ACC  
 V [ O ]  
*in yoowi pangwa-l-a*  
 gather many red.clover-NCM.A-ACC  
 'She went, going to eat the clover; she gathered much clover.'  
 V S V  
**5** *pic ü~tük mi'itcu pic uuna-l ing~kim*  
 then MOM~eat DIST:LOC:from then Bear-NCM.A MOM~come  
 V [ O ]  
*ü~mü'üg wal koim-ii*  
 MOM~kill DIST:ACC woman-ACC  
 'Then she ate it right there and Bear came. He killed that woman.'  
 V S [ O ] V O  
**6** *ü~tük uuna-l wal koim-ii aa~ya'awa pini'ik*  
 MOM~eat Bear-NCM.A DIST:ACC woman-ACC MOM~finish everything  
 'Bear ate that woman; he finished everything.'  
 [ S V ]SUB V  
**7** *uuna-l ya'awa-s ii~miy muwaa-l-a-p*  
 Bear-NCM.A finish-SS MOM~go mountain-NCM.A-ACC-LOC  
 'When Bear had finished, he went in the mountain.'  
 V S  
**8** *pic=has ing~kim koim*  
 then=NEG MOM~come woman  
 'Then the woman did not come (home).'  
 S V [ V S ]QUOTE  
**9** *soobi-t pingg-üt ü~mü'üg weedu uuna-l*  
 old.lady-NCM.B say-DUR MOM~kill so Bear-NCM.A  
 'The old woman says, "So Bear killed her."' (Voegelin 1935b: Blood-Clot Boy, lines 1-9)

Saving the first two participants (Blood-Clot Boy, old lady) for a latter discussion, the third participant (mother of Blood-Clot Boy) is introduced in the text before the verb (SVO) in line 2. The next reference with a full noun phrase is through the use of the argument ‘woman’ after the verb (VO) in line 5. Since the positions between the two references are different, their occurrences could be associated with discourse age: newer referent tends to be placed earlier, and older referent tent to be placed later (Mithun 1992: 30). Another participant in the text illustrates this phenomenon (Bear): in line 5, the first reference occurs preverbally (SV), and the next full-noun-phrasal reference occurs postverbally (VSO) in line 6. Even in the same line 6, the further established reference of ‘mother’ (woman) share the same side of the verb with ‘Bear’, and remain postverbal (VS) in line 8.

In particular, between the first two full-noun-phrasal references of ‘mother of Blood-Clot Boy’ (lines 2 and 5), the participant remain persistent in discourse through the employment of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person-singular null enclitic. After the first reference in line 2, the referent in form progressively reduces to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-person enclitic /=bi/ in line 3 in the interaction with ‘old lady’, and finally to the null enclitic in description for lines 4 and 5. This reduction in form of the referent is representative of topic accessibility: more continuous topics require less coding materials (Givón 1938: 17-18). The references of ‘mother of Blood-Clot Boy’ reduced phonologically and syntactically from free to bound morpheme. This phenomenon is also illustrated through the use of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person-plural enclitic /=da/ to refer to both ‘Blood-Clot Boy’ and ‘old lady’.

Returning to the first participant (Blood-Clot Boy), since the occurrences of postverbal arguments has been attributed to an older discourse age, the first instance of Blood-Clot Boy in the text could then instead be indicative as part of a syntactic construction whose function is to

introduce a referent in discourse (i.e., presentational). The second participant (old lady) undergoes the same environment. For the next reference, ‘old lady’ is positioned after the verb (SVO) in line 2, which reflects its establishment in the text. However, in line 9, the subsequent reference of ‘old lady’ occurs before the verb. This instance affirms that multiple discursive phenomena can be attributed to the argument positions from the verb. In this case, since line 8 references a different participant (woman), topic shift utilizes the reemergence of ‘old lady’ preverbally (Mithun 1992: 34).

The only entity that remains in the same position after the verb is ‘red clover’. In line 2, the first reference is acted on by the verb ‘eat’. In line 3, ‘red clover’ is referenced by the null enclitic with the immediate utterances of ‘bring’ and ‘eat’. In line 4, the full noun phrase is once again used as the affected entity of the verb ‘gather’. In all instances, since it has occurred with an additional verb argument that is more animate or more agentive, it has become less topical and therefore would be mentioned after the other verb arguments. This can be illustrated by the first clause in line 5: the arguments of the verb ‘eat’ are both represented by 3<sup>rd</sup>-person-singular null enclitics, yet based on the discourse, it is presumed that the more agentive participant (mother of Blood-Clot) is acting upon the less agentive one (red clover).

### *6.2 Topic-Comment order*

Excluding any clauses in the beginning of the texts (to remove any uncertainty if a beginning clause is a continuation to another story) and clauses with a reflexive pronoun (since there is only one participant), transitive main clauses with two full noun phrases have the following breakdown from the perspective of Comment and Topic.



line 1, so the syntactic construction of line 3 reflects the topic continuity of ‘Bat’. The remaining word orders (SOV and VSO) share argument positioning as SVO, and are more frequent in Topic-Comment than Comment-Topic, so all three word orders contain similar information structure (Givón 1983: 19). This may account for the fewer occurrences of OVS and similarly VOS in transitive main clauses.

### 6.3 Comment-Topic order

In (33), there are two instances where a clause contains two full noun phrases used as arguments of the verb: SVO (mother of Blood Clot, old lady) in line 2 and VSO (Bear, woman) in line 6. Using Comment and Topic terminology, for line 2, as ‘mother of Blood-Clot Boy’ is introduced into the text, it is the Comment, and since ‘old lady’ has been mentioned previously, it is the Topic, so the discursive participant order is Comment-Topic. For line 6, since ‘woman’ is a more established participant than ‘Bear’, ‘Bear’ is the Comment, and ‘woman’ is the Topic, so the discursive participant order is Comment-Topic.

In Table 8, the varying word orders of transitive main clauses have relatively the same frequencies, so there is no initial impression toward a particular construction. The answer then lies in the discursive phenomenon shaping the argument positions:

- (35) 1 *ii-miy*    *mügütih*            *üü-pül-la*            *hanii-l-a-p*  
 MOM~go    Blood-Clot.Boy    MOM~arrive-GO<ACT    house-NCM.A-ACC-LOC
- 2 *hal-t*    *tciite*    *soobi-t*            *tii*    *ic-t*            *tii*    ***aamah***  
 live-DUR    one    old.lady-NCM.B    and    Coyote-NCM.B    and    **Cannibal.Woman**  
 ‘Migith went; he arrived; in the house are living one old woman,  
 and Coyote, and the Cannibal Woman.’
- 3 ***aamah-ii***                            **V**            **S**  
*ü~mü'üg*    *mügütih*  
**Cannibal.Woman-ACC**    MOM~kill    Blood-Clot.Boy  
 ‘Migith killed the Cannibal Woman.’ (Voegelin 1935b: Blood-Clot Boy, lines 52-53)

In (35), the argument positions in line 3 is influenced by newsworthiness: ‘Blood-Clot Boy’ and ‘Cannibal Woman’ have been mentioned prior, so the reference of ‘Cannibal Woman’ in the



beginning of the clause marks its principalship. With similar reasoning, the clause also implemented a focus construction (Mithun 2015: 33).

Due to the low frequency of Comment-Topic constructions, the clause-initial position of Comment would then be primarily realized by pragmatic means.

#### 6.4 Preferred non-adjacency of subject and object

According to Table 4, based on the examined word order concerning two full noun phrases in the corpus, word orders with subject and object on different sides of the verb (SVO, OVS) is almost twice as frequent as those with the subject and object on the same side of the verb (SOV, VSO, VOS). There then appears to be a tendency or preference for a distinction of old and new information to be separated by position. Subject and object can be separated by other elements in the clause:

- |      |  |  |                  |                  |   |                  |
|------|--|--|------------------|------------------|---|------------------|
|      | S  |  | Adv              | O                |   | V                |
| (36) | <i>pic=kitc eemeedata-l</i>  |  | <i>hac</i>       | <i>uuna-l-a</i>  |   | <i>alaauw-at</i> |
|      | then=REP old.timer-NCM.A   |  | NEG              | Bear-NCM.A-ACC   |   | talk-DUR         |
|      | ‘Then Old-Timers do not talk of Bear.’ (Voegelin 1935b: <a href="#">Concerning Bears, line 9</a> ) |  |                  |                  |   |                  |
|      | S  |  | [                | ]SUB             | O | V                |
| (37) | <i>pic=kitc pitcoogic-t</i>  |  | <i>miy-ak-ca</i> | <i>tohii-l-a</i> |   | <i>aa~dawüük</i> |
|      | then=REP Horsefly-NCM.B  |  | go-INTER-SS      | deer-NCM.A-ACC   |   | MOM~see          |
|      | ‘Then Horsefly, being interrupted in going, saw the deer.’   |  |                  |                  |   |                  |
|      | (Voegelin 1935b: <a href="#">Bat and Horsefly, line 5</a> )  |  |                  |                  |   |                  |

The examples above have non-verbal constituent separating subject and object adjacency: an adverbial phrase in (36) and a subordinate clause in (37). However, in the current corpus, these are very rare instances in transitive main clauses (3/855 or 0.4%), so the very frequent separation of subject and object via the verb represents the clear identification of Topic and Comment in the clause to the consciousness of the audience.

## 7. Conclusion

The study explored word order in fifteen Pahka’anil texts for (1) the most frequent word order(s) in the texts, and (2) motivating factors for these word order(s). The most frequent word

orders are SVO with two arguments, SV with only a subject argument, and VO with only an object argument. Although all possible word orders are available in the language, the tendencies for particular word orders are motivated by discursive and pragmatic pressures — primarily information separation, newsworthiness, and topic shifts. The examination of clauses excluded in the study (i.e., those with nominalized, relativized, and imperfective verbs, with *tan* ‘if’, with verbs licensing a quotational argument, with QUOT clitic /=*güt*/) for word order tendencies and motivations will expand the current findings. Furthermore, an analysis of the distinction between intransitive clauses with and without clitics will elucidate their pragmatic pressures. These findings on word order will in hopes assist in the ease of acquisition and communicative use of the language, and contribute to the field of word order in Pahka’anil and in the Uto-Aztecan language family.

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**Appendix A: List of linguistic abbreviations**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
1	1 <sup>st</sup> person
2	2 <sup>nd</sup> person
3	3 <sup>rd</sup> person
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ACRS	across from
AG	agent
AWAY	location of action: do action away from deictic center (directional < from)
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
COME<ACT	associated motion: ‘come there and then’
COMPL	completive (the action of the subordinate verb is completed before the action of the matrix verb)
CONJ	conjunction
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal (demonstrative)
DS	different subject subordinator (subject of subordinate verb is different from subject of matrix verb)
DU	dual
DUR	durative (as the aspectual opposition to momentaneous)
EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GO<ACT	associated motion: ‘go and then’
IMM	immediate
IMP	imperative
IMPR	impersonal (non-referential)
INS	instrumental
INTER	interrupted (the action of the subordinate verb is interrupted by the action of the matrix verb)
IPFV	imperfective
ITR	iterative
JUSS	jussive mood: command 1 <sup>st</sup> or 3 <sup>rd</sup>
LOC	locative
MOM	momentaneous (as the aspectual opposition to durative)
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer (e.g., NMLZ.AG – nominalizer that creates a noun that fills the role of agent of the erstwhile verb – and NMLZ.PAT – nominalizer that creates a noun that fills the role of patient of the erstwhile verb)
NOM	nominative
NREL	non-reflexive (objects possessed by referent other than the subject)

PASS	passive
PAT	patient
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
QUOT	quotative: direct quotation (< 'say')
REFL	reflexive (objects possessed by subject reference)
REP	reportative (evidential)
SG	singular
SS	same subject subordinator (subject of subordinate verb is the same as subject of matrix verb)
TEMP	temporary (NMLZ.AG.TEMP – the noun is temporarily the agent of the erstwhile verb)

## Appendix B: 12 online texts

(Many thanks to Dr. Ahland, Lindsay Marean, Tina Guerrero, Robert Gomez, Cem Demir, [CSULB scholars](#), and the Pakanapul Language Team for the curation of these texts online)

Bat and Horsefly:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/bat-and-horsefly>

War with the Yokuts:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/war-with-the-yokuts>

Coyote Freezes:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/coyote-freezes>

How the Earth was Made:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/how-the-earth-was-made>

Coyote's Mother-in-law:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/coyote's-mother-in-law>

Jimsonweed Dream:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/jimsonweed-dream>

Requested Dream:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/requested-dream>

Deer Dream:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/deer-dream>

Speech to Boys:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/speech-to-boys>

Concerning Bears:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/concerning-bears>

The Clown:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/the-clown>

Trip to Isabella:

<https://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/text/trip-to-isabella>

**Appendix C: Visit to the Land of the Dead (Voegelin 1935b; Marean 2018)**

(ABS refers to NCM.A, NCM.B, and NCM.C. See Appendix A for updated abbreviations.)

1. eemeedatal-kitc yoowi halüpüganan.

eemeedatal-kitc yoowi

eemeedata-l=gija yoowi

old-timer-ABS=REP many

halüpüganan.

hal-püganana-n

sit-REL-own:3SG.POSS-3SG.POSS

1. Many are the Old-Timers who lived.

2. pic-kitc tciitc taatwala'ang cooyin ü'ünühüi.

pic-kitc tciitc taatwala'ang

pic=gija tciitc taatwa-l-ng

then=REP one man-ABS-GEN

cooyin ü'ünühüi.

so'yii-n ü~ünühyü

wife-3SG.POSS MOM~be.sick

2. Then the wife of one man got sick.

3. pic-kitc uumuuk.

pic-kitc uumuuk.

pic=gija uu~muug

then=REP MOM~die

3. Then she died.

4. pic-kitc-ta oowohaala.

pic-kitc-ta oowohaala.

pic=gija=da oo~wooh-la

then=REP=3PL.NOM oo~bury-GO&lt;ACT

4. Then they went to bury her.

5. kuungan-kitc tuwubil anangat.

kuungan-kitc tuwubil anangat.

kuunga-n=gija tuwübül anang-t

husband-3SG.POSS=REP fast cry-DUR

5. Her husband is crying very much.

6. pic-kitc-ta oonoola woohaminiya'awac.



pic-kitc-ta                   oonoola  
 pic=gija=da               oo~noo'o-la  
 then=REP=3PL.NOM       MOM~turn.back-GO<ACT

woohaminiya'awac.  
 wooh-min-ya'aw-ac  
 bury-ACT>GO-COMPL-SS

6. Then they went back when they had finished burying her.

7. wa'a-gitc kuungan anangat ogon.  
 wa'a-gitc       kuungan                   anangat  
 wa'a=gija       kuunga-n                   anang-t  
 DIST=REP       husband-3SG.POSS       cry-DUR

ogon.  
 ogoon  
 on.and.on

7. That one, her husband, is still crying.

8. pic-kitc wahaai oonoogim tuucigaałamiik taawügügimac  
 cooyi.  
 pic-kitc       wahaai  
 pic=gija       wahaai  
 then=REP       DIST:LOC:from

oonoogim  
 oo~noo'o-giim  
 MOM~turn.back-COME<ACT

tuucigaałamiik  
 tuucigaa-l-a-miik  
 burial.place-ABS-ACC-toward

taawügügimac               cooyi.  
 taawüg-giim-s           so'yii  
 see-COME<ACT-SS       wife

8. Then from there he came back to the burial place, coming to see his own wife.

9. wah-kitc halüt tuugawüt tuucigaałap.  
 wah-kitc halüt tuugawüt  
 wah=gija hal-t tuugawüt  
 DIST:LOC=REP sit-DUR all.night

tuucigaałap.  
 tuucigaa-l-a-p  
 burial.place-ABS-ACC-LOC

9. There he sits all night on the burial place.

10. wahi'i-gitc meedak haniiminiik iimi.  
 wahi'i-gitc meedak haniiminiik  
 wahaai=gija meedaak hani-miik  
 DIST:LOC:from=REP morning house-toward

iimi.  
 ii~miy  
 MOM~go

10. From there he went in the morning toward his own home.

11. pic-kitc-tii üülü'üng ciuba inggim tuucigaałamiik  
 wah-kitc-tii tuugawüt aahał'.  
 pic-kitc-tii üülü'üng ciuba  
 pic=gija=tii üülü'üng süübaa  
 then=REP=CONJ evening back.again

inggim  
 ing~kim  
 MOM~come

tuucigaałamiik  
 tuucigaa-l-a-miik  
 burial.place-ABS-ACC-toward

wah-kitc-tii tuugawüt aahał'.  
 wah=gija=tii tuugawüt aa~hał  
 DIST:LOC=REP=CONJ all.night MOM~sit

11. Then in the evening also he came back again toward the burial place; there also he stayed all night.

12. wahaai-gitc-tii iimi meedak haniiminiik.  
 wahaai-gitc-tii iimi meedak  
 wahaai=gija=tii ii~miy meedaak  
 DIST:LOC:from=REP=CONJ MOM~go morning

haniiminiik.  
 hanii-miik  
 house-toward

12. From there also he went toward his own house in the morning.

13. pic-kitc-tii wahaai üülü'üng ciiuba inggim  
 tuucigaałamiik.  
 pic-kitc-tii wahaai üülü'üng  
 pic=gija=tii wahaai üülü'üng  
 then=REP=CONJ DIST:LOC:from evening

ciiuba inggim  
 süübaa ing~kim  
 back.again MOM~come

tuucigaałamiik.  
 tuucigaa-l-a-miik  
 burial.place-ABS-ACC-toward

13. Then also from there, in the evening, he came back again toward the burial place.

14. pic-kitc mi'ipil wahaakinang wa'a-gitc.  
 pic-kitc mi'ipil  
 pic=gija miipitc  
 then=REP close

wahaakinang wa'a-gitc.  
 wahaakin-ng wa'=gija  
 approach-DS DIST=REP

14. Then that one approached very close.

15. cooyin ipcakin wah-kitc üwün taawügüc wal kuungai  
kimang.

cooyin  
so'yii-n  
wife-3SG.POSS

ipcakin  
i~pic-kin  
MOM~come.out-ACT>COME

wah-kitc	üwün	taawügüc
wah=gija	üwün	taawüg-s
DIST:LOC=REP	stand.up	see-SS

wal	kuungai
wal	kuunga-i
DIST:ACC	husband-REFL.POSS.ACC

kimang.  
kim-ng  
come-DS

15. His wife came out there; she stood there when she saw that one, her own husband, was coming.

16. pic-kitc-wah kuungan taawügüc wal cooyi ipcakinang  
oo'oobüüla-kitc wa'kiik.

pic-kitc-wah		kuungan
pic=gija	wah	kuunga-n
then=REP	DIST:LOC	husband-3SG.POSS

taawügüc	wal	cooyi
taawüg-s	wal	so'yii
see-SS	DIST:ACC	wife

ipcakinang  
i~pic-kin-ng  
MOM~come.out-ACT>COME-DS

oo'oobüüla-kitc	wa'kiik.
oo~oobüüla=gija	wahkiik
MOM~hasten=REP	toward

16. Then there, when her husband saw his own wife coming out, he hastened toward that one.

17. pic-kitc-wa' kooim iimi ikiik.

pic-kitc-wa'	kooim	iimi	ikiik.
pic=gija=wa'	koim	ii~miy	ikiik
then=REP=DIST	woman	MOM~go	this.way

17. Then that woman went the other way.

18. tuuci-gitc wa' kuungan oobüülat apciiba'ac wal cooyi.
tuuci-gitc                      wa'              kuungan
tuusi=gija                      wa'              kuunga-n
straight.on=REP              DIST              husband-3SG.POSS

oobüülat	apciiba'ac	wal
oobüüla-t	apcü-ba'-s	wal
hasten-DUR	catch.up.to-want.to-SS	DIST:ACC

cooyi.  
so'yii  
wife

18. Her husband hastened to catch up to that one, his own wife.

19. mi'ipil-gitc miyat.
mi'ipil-gitc              miyat.
miipitc=gija              miy-t
close=REP              go-DUR

19. He is going close.

20. hac-kitc a'apc.
hac-kitc              a'apc.
has=gija              a~apcü
NEG=REP              MOM~catch.up.to

20. He did not overtake her.

21. meeta-gitc uuduugu wah-kitc.
meeta-gitc              uuduugu              wah-kitc.
meeda=gija              uu~tuugu              wah=gija
already=REP              MOM~be.dark              DIST:LOC=REP

21. Already, it got dark there.

22. wah kuungan ataxkin.
wah              kuungan              ataxkin.
wah              kuunga-n              a~tahkin
DIST:LOC              husband-3SG.POSS              MOM~sleep

22. There her husband slept.

23. pic-kitc meedal ool met taalabiicüng.

pic-kitc	mededal	ool	met
pic=gija	meeda-l	ool	met
then=REP	morning-ABS	get.up	already

taalabiicüng.

taalabic-ng

be.bright-DS

23. Then in the morning he got up when it was already getting light.

24. wah-kitc cooyin üwünüt.

wah-kitc	cooyin	üwünüt.
wah=gija	so'yii-n	üwün-t
DIST:LOC=REP	wife-3SG.POSS	stand.up-DUR

24. There his wife is standing.

25. wahi-gitc-tii kuungan iimi wa'kiik.

wahi-gitc-tii	kuungan
wahai=gija=tii	kuunga-n
DIST:LOC:from=REP=CONJ	husband-3SG.POSS

iimi wa'kiik.

ii~miy wahkiik

MOM~go toward

25. From there her husband went toward her.

26. wahi'i-gitc-tii kooim iimi.

wahi'i-gitc-tii	kooim	iimi.
wahai=gija=tii	koim	ii~miy
DIST:LOC:from=REP=CONJ	woman	MOM~go

26. From there the woman went.

27. pic-kitc-tii indimalaau.  
 pic-kitc-tii indimalaau.  
 pic=gija=tii in~tuumilaau  
 then=REP=CONJ MOM~chase

27. Then he followed her.

28. wanaang-gitc-ta üübülüüla paa'iwüting pumapan.  
 wanaang-gitc-ta üübülüüla  
 wanaang=gija=da üü~pül-la  
 far.away=REP=3PL.NOM MOM~arrive-GO<ACT

paa'iwüting pumapan.  
 paa'iwü-t-ng pu'uma-p-n  
 ocean-ABS-GEN edge-LOC-3SG.POSS

28. Far away they arrived at the edge of the ocean.

29. wah-kitc wa'a kooim üüwünüla.  
 wah-kitc wa'a kooim üüwünüla.  
 wah=gija wa' koim üü~wün-la  
 DIST:LOC=REP DIST woman MOM~be-GO<ACT

29. There that woman went and stood.

30. wahi-gitc a'alaau maa'ic-pi-n timalaawat-kü-kija wal  
 kuungai tüc-ki-kü-kija.  
 wahi-gitc a'alaau  
 wahaai=gija a~alaauw  
 DIST:LOC:from=REP MOM~talk

maa'ic-pi-n  
 ma'inüc=bi=ni  
 why=2SG.NOM=1SG.ACC

timalaawat-kü-kija wal  
 timalaaw-t=güt=gija wal  
 follow-DUR=QUOT=REP DIST:ACC

kuungai  
 kuunga-i  
 husband-REFL.POSS.ACC

tüc-ki-kü-kija.  
 tüs=gii=güt=gija  
 bad=1SG.NOM=QUOT=REP

30. From there she talked. "Why are you following me?" she says to that one, her own husband. "I am bad," she says.

31. wah-kitc-wa' kuungan üwünü pinggüng wal cooyi.  
 wah-kitc-wa' kuungan üwünü  
 wah=gija=wa' kuunga-n üwün  
 DIST:LOC=REP=DIST husband-3SG.POSS stand.up

pinggüng wal cooyi.  
 pingg-ng wal so'yii  
 say-DS DIST:ACC wife

31. There that one, her husband, stood when that one, his own wife, is saying (this).

32. tüwü-kü-kitc wa' cooyin tani-p mii'iba'at amaai'-ni kuu  
 aahatdaawica-gila paa'iwüta.  
 tüwü-kü-kitc wa'  
 tuuwu=güt=gija wa'  
 good=QUOT=REP DIST

cooyin tani-p  
 so'yii-n tan=bi  
 wife-3SG.POSS if=2SG.NOM

mii'iba'at amaai'-ni  
 miy-'-ba'-t aamaaiyu=ni  
 go-command-want.to-DUR with=1SG.ACC

kuu aahatdaawica-gila  
 kuu aa~hadaaw-caa=gila  
 and MOM~wade-FUT=1DU.NOM

paa'iwüta.  
 paa'iwü-t-a  
 ocean-ABS-ACC

32. "Good," says that one, his wife, "if you want to go with me, then we will cross the ocean."



33. tüwü-kü-kija kuungan.  
 tüwü-kü-kija kuungan.  
 tuuwu=güt=gija kuunga-n  
 good=QUOT=REP husband-3SG.POSS

33. "Good," says her husband.

34. ku ani-p taawügüt eei muwaala wah-kil ipcaalica kuu  
 bicaalang-ji pic akapict inggimca taawügüc tii picaalang  
 ooyaminica akapict mi'ipil pundziyüts kaak-küminat  
 wüküminat pundzila.

ku ani-p taawügüt  
 kuu an=bi taawüg-t  
 and yes/no.question=2SG.NOM see-DUR

eei muwaala wah-kil  
 eh muwaa-l-a wah-gila  
 there mountain-ABS-ACC DIST:LOC=1DU.NOM

ipcaalica kuu  
 i~pic-la-caa kuu  
 MOM~come.out-GO<ACT-FUT and

bicaalang-ji  
 pic-la-ng=dzii  
 go.out-GO<ACT-DS=1PL.ACC

pic akapict inggimca  
 pic akapic-t ing~kim-caa  
 then crow-ABS MOM~come-FUT

taawügüc tii picaalang  
 taawüg-s tii pic-la-ng  
 see-SS and go.out-GO<ACT-DS

ooyaminica  
 ooy-min-caa  
 pass.by-ACT>GO-FUT

akapict mi'ipil pundziyüts  
 akapic-t miipitc pundzi-yi=ts  
 crow-ABS close eye-NREFL.ACC.POSS=1PL.POSS

kaak-küminat	wüküminat	pundzila.
kaak=güt-min-t	wük-min-t	pundzi-l-a
caw=QUOT-ACT>GO-DUR	grab-ACT>GO-DUR	eye-ABS-ACC

34. "And do you see that mountain? We will go out there, and when we get on top then Crow will come to us when he sees (us) going out; Crow will pass by very close to our eyes; 'Caw,' he says here, and goes away; he takes an eye out here and goes away."

35. wahi'i-gitc-ta	iimi	apapuluwala	paaling	watangaaban.
wahi'i-gitc-ta	iimi			
wahai=gija=da	ii~miy			
DIST:LOC:from=REP=3PL.NOM	MOM~go			

apapuluwala  
apapuluwa-l-a  
dustspout-ABS-ACC

paaling	watangaaban.
paa-l-ng	watangaa-p-n
water-ABS-GEN	top-LOC-3SG.POSS

35. From there they went on top of the water; in a dustspout.

36. wanaang-gitc-ta	üübülüüla	wah	muwaalap.
wanaang-gitc-ta	üübülüüla		
wanaang=gija=da	üü~pül-la		
far.away=REP=3PL.NOM	MOM~arrive-GO<ACT		

wah	muwaalap.
wah	muwaa-l-a-p
DIST:LOC	mountain-ABS-ACC-LOC

36. Far away they arrived there on the mountain.

37. pic-kitc-ta	ipicaala.
pic-kitc-ta	ipicaala.
pic=gija=da	i~pic-la
then=REP=3PL.NOM	MOM~go.out-GO<ACT

37. Then they went out on top.

38. pic-kitc akapict inggim.  
 pic-kitc akapict inggim.  
 pic=gija akapic-t ing~kim  
 then=REP crow-ABS MOM~come

38. Then Crow came.

39. pic-kitc-wa' taatwaḷ hoonats uulaagin.  
 pic-kitc-wa' taatwaḷ  
 pic=gija=wa' taatwa-ḷ  
 then=REP=DIST man-ABS

hoonats uulaagin.  
 hoona-ts i~wilaagin  
 life-REFL.POSS.ACC MOM~take.off

39. Then that man took out his amulet.

40. pic-kitc ko'ommp umbun.  
 pic-kitc ko'ommp umbun.  
 pic=gija ko'o-p um~puun  
 then=REP head-LOC MOM~tie

40. Then he fastened it on his own head.

41. pic-kitc akapict ooyamin kaak ooyaminac üwükümin  
 hoonatsin.  
 pic-kitc akapict  
 pic=gija akapic-t  
 then=REP crow-ABS

ooyamin kaak  
 ooy-min kaak  
 pass.by-ACT>GO caw

ooyaminac  
 ooy-min-s  
 pass.by-ACT>GO-SS

üwükümin  
 ü~wük-min  
 MOM~grab-ACT>GO

hoonatsin.  
 hoona-tsi-n  
 amulet-NREFL.POSS.ACC-3SG.POSS

41. Then Crow passed by here and went away; "Caw"; when passing by here (Crow) took (the man's) amulet (instead of his eye).

42. waihai-gitc-ta iimi tcoomiik.  
 waihai-gitc-ta iimi tcoomiik.  
 wahaai=gija=da ii~miy tsoomiik  
 DIST:LOC:from=REP=3PL.NOM MOM~go down

42. From there they went downward.

43. pic-kitc-wa' cooyin imbingk ani-p taawügüt eii  
 yüta-kü-kija.  
 pic-kitc-wa' cooyin imbingk ani-p  
 pic=gija wa' so'yii-n im~pingg an=bi  
 then=REP DIST wife-3SG.POSS MOM~say  
 yes/no.question=2SG.NOM

taawügüt eii yüta-kü-kija.  
 taawüg-t eh yü-t-a=güt=gija  
 see-DUR there valley-ABS-ACC=QUOT=REP

43. Then that one, his wife, said, "Do you see that valley?" she says.

44. haa-kü-kitc wa' kuungan.  
 haa-kü-kitc wa'  
 haa=güt=gija wa'  
 yes=QUOT=REP DIST

kuungan.  
 kuunga-n  
 husband-3SG.POSS

44. "Yes," says that one, her husband.

45. pic-kitc-ta üübülüüla mi'ipil.  
 pic-kitc-ta üübülüüla  
 pic=gija=da üü~pül-la  
 then=REP=3PL.NOM MOM~arrive-GO<ACT

mi'ipil.  
 miipitc

close

45. Then they arrived very close.

46. pic-kitc-wa' cooyin pinggüt miyah unduuga' haniilap  
egeewan-gitc haniil ku-nik wandzil ikiik iimca yoowi-gitc  
wah haniil kuu üülü'üng-gi-ling aadawüügica-kü-kija wa'  
cooyin.

pic-kitc-wa'        cooyin  
pic=gija=wa'        so'yii-n  
then=REP=DIST      wife-3SG.POSS

pinggüt        miyah                unduuga'  
pingg-t        miy-'                unduga  
say-DUR        go-command        right.there

haniilap  
hanii-l-a-p  
house-ABS-ACC-LOC

egeewan-gitc        haniil                ku-nik  
egeewün=gija        haniil-l              kuu=nik  
big=REP              house-ABS            and=1SG.NOM

wandzil        ikiik                iimca                yoowi-gitc        wah  
wandzil        ikiik                miy-caa              yoowi=gija        wah  
that            this.way            go-FUT                many=REP        DIST:LOC

haniil            kuu                üülü'üng-gi-ling  
hanii-l            kuu                üülü'üng=gii=düng  
house-ABS        and                evening=1SG.NOM=2SG.ACC

aadawüügica-kü-kija  
aa~taawüg-caa=güt=gija  
MOM~see-FUT=QUOT=REP

wa'            cooyin.  
wa'            so'yii-n  
DIST        wife-3SG.POSS

46. Then that one, his wife, says, "Go in that house; the house (is) a big one; and I will go the other way. (There are) many houses there, and in the evening I will see you," says that one, his wife.

47. tüwü-kü-kija wa' kuungan wah-kitc üübülüüla haniilap  
wa' kuungan.

tüwü-kü-kija      wa'  
 tuuwu=güt=gija    wa'  
 good=QUOT=REP    DIST

kuungan            wah-kitc  
 kuunga-n          wah=gija  
 husband-3SG.POSS DIST:LOC=REP

üübülüüla  
 üü~pül-la  
 MOM~arrive-GO<ACT

haniilap            wa'  
 hani-l-a-p         wa'  
 house-ABS-ACC-LOC DIST

kuungan.  
 kuunga-n  
 husband-3SG.POSS

47. "Good," says that one, her husband. There that one, her husband, arrived in the house.

48. wah-kitc halüt taatwal timiwal  
 lohooma'lohoomah-kü-kija.  
 wah-kitc            halüt            taatwal  
 wah=gija            hal-t            taatwa-l  
 DIST:LOC=REP      live-DUR        man-ABS

timiwal            lohooma'  
 timiwa-l          lohoom-'  
 chief-ABS        enter-command

lohoomah-kü-kija.  
 lohoom-'=güt=gija  
 enter-command=QUOT=REP

48. There a man, the chief, lives. "Come in, come in," he says.

49. wah-kitc taatwal aayants.  
 wah-kitc taatwal aayants.  
 wah=gija taatwa-l aa~yandz  
 DIST:LOC=REP man-ABS MOM~sit.down

49. There the man sat down.

50. pic-kitc-wa' timiwal imbingk haainda-p inügiimat ih wanaang.

pic-kitc-wa' timiwal  
 pic=gija=wa' timiwa-l  
 then=REP=DIST chief-ABS

imbingk haainda-p  
 im~pingg haainda=bi  
 MOM~say what.object=2SG.NOM

inügiimat ih wanaang.  
 in-giim-t ih wanaang  
 do.something-COME<ACT-DUR this far.away

50. Then that chief said, "What are you coming to do here (so) far away?"

51. cooyi'i-gi timilaawat-kü-kija.  
 cooyi'i-gi  
 so'yii=gii  
 wife=1SG.NOM

timilaawat-kü-kija.  
 tuumilaau-t=güt=gija  
 chase-DUR=QUOT=REP

51. "I am following my own wife," he says.

52. hac pinggüh tüc cooyi'ing hacats ümbüü noola kuu aadawüügica-p wo'okan üülü'üng muuluwat anghaniil.

hac pinggüh tüc  
 has pingg-' tüs  
 NEG say-command bad

cooyi'ing hacats  
 so'yii='Vng has-ha=dza  
 wife=2SG.POSS NEG-may=3SG.NOM

ümbüü noola kuu  
 ümbü' noo'o-la kuu

again      turn.back-GO<ACT      and

aadawüügica-p                  wo'okan  
 aa~taawüg-caa=bi              wookan  
 MOM~see-FUT=2SG.NOM        pretty.soon

üülü'üng      muuluwat      anghaniil.  
 üülü'üng      muuluw-t      ahani-l  
 evening        dance-DUR     people-ABS

52. "Don't say (that), your wife is bad. She may not go back again, but you will see her pretty soon in the evening. People dance (then)."

53. pic-kitc-met tuugung tciitc taatwał tsaaiyaau  
 wet-kitc-wan hili'idats poo'a-l-biic poo'ah-kü-kija wa'  
 hili'idats kima-l-biic kimah-kü-kitc hili'idats.  
 pic-kitc-met  
 pic=gija=met  
 then=REP=already

tuugung                  tciitc  
 tuugu-ng                tciitc  
 be.dark-DS              one

taatwał                  tsaaiyaau  
 taatwa-l                ajauw  
 man-ABS                yell

wet-kitc-wan              hili'idats  
 wet=gijawa-n              hili'idats  
 oh=REP-3SG.POSS        clown

poo'a-l-biic  
 poo'- '=lu-biic  
 kindle.a.fire-command=2PL.IMP-IMM

poo'ah-kü-kija              wa'  
 poo'- '=güt=gija            wa'  
 kindle.a.fire-command=QUOT=REP    that



hili'idats kima-l-biic  
 hili'idats kim-'=lu-biic  
 clown come-command=2PL.IMP-IMM

kimah-kü-kitc hili'idats.  
 kim-'=güt=gija hili'idats  
 come-command=QUOT=REP clown

53. Then already when it became night one man yelled--this one (is) a clown--"Make ye fire immediately, make fire," says that clown. "Come ye immediately, come," the clown says.

54. pic-kitc anghaniil pini'iyu inggim.  
 pic-kitc anghaniil pini'iyu  
 pic=gija ahani-l piniyu  
 then=REP people-ABS every

inggim.  
 ing~kim  
 MOM~come

54. Then all the people came.

55. pic-kitc-ta uumuuluw tuugawüt tüpiimil-kija ku-di-kitc-ta  
 muuluwat ku-di'i-gitc tüübiil.  
 pic-kitc-ta uumuuluw tuugawüt  
 pic=gija=da uu~muuluw tuugawüt  
 then=REP=3PL.NOM MOM~dance all.night

tüpiimil-kija  
 tüpiim-i-l=gija  
 play.hand.game-NMLZ.PAT-ABS=REP

ku-di-kitc-ta muuluwat  
 kuu=tii=gija=da muuluw-t  
 and=CONJ=REP=3PL.NOM dance-DUR

ku-di'i-gitc  
 kuu=tii=gija  
 and=CONJ=REP

tüübiil.  
 tüüb-i-l  
 gamble-NMLZ.PAT-ABS

55. Then they danced all night; (there is) handgame, and also they are dancing, and also, (there is) gambling.

56. pic-kitc-ta meedak aix.  
 pic-kitc-ta meedak aix.  
 pic=gija=da meedaak aaihy  
 then=REP=3PL.NOM morning quit

56. Then they quit in the morning.

57. wahaai'i-gitc-ta pini'iyu aabaaiyüu.  
 wahaai'i-gitc-ta pini'iyu aabaaiyüu.  
 wahaai=gija=da piniyu aa~payiiuw  
 DIST:LOC:from=REP=3PL.NOM every MOM~be.scattered

57. From there they all scattered.

58. wahi'i-gitc wa' taatwal iimi ciuba timiwalaap.  
 wahi'i-gitc wa' taatwal  
 wahaai=gija wa' taatwa-l  
 DIST:LOC:from=REP DIST man-ABS

iimi ciuba  
 ii~miy süübaa  
 MOM~go back.again

timiwalaap.  
 timiwa-l-a-p  
 chief-ABS-ACC-LOC

58. From there that man went back again to the chief.

59. pic-kitc timiwal pinggüt ani-p cooyi kuuyü'at-kü-kija.  
 pic-kitc timiwal pinggüt  
 pic=gija timiwa-l pingg-t  
 then=REP chief-ABS say-DUR

ani-p cooyi  
 an=bi so'yii  
 yes/no.question=2SG.NOM wife

kuuyü'at-kü-kija.  
 kuy-t=güt=gija  
 want-DUR=QUOT=REP

59. Then the chief says, "Do you desire your own wife?" he says.

60. haa-kü-kitc taatwal.

haa-kü-kitc        taatwal.  
 haa=güt=gija      taatwa-l  
 yes=QUOT=REP     man-ABS

60. "Yes," says the man.

61. yuu wo'okan-gi a'aayalica wal cooyi'ing ku  
 iimica'a-ding-kü-kija.  
 yuu                wo'okan-gi  
 yuu                wookan=gii  
 oh.well            pretty.soon=1SG.NOM

a'aayalica                wal  
 a~aai-la-cao             wal  
 MOM~call-GO<ACT-FUT    DIST:ACC

cooyi'ing                ku  
 so'yii='Vng             kuu  
 wife=2SG.POSS        and

iimica'a-ding-kü-kija.  
 ii~miy-cao-düng=güt=gija  
 MOM~go-FUT=2SG.ACC=QUOT=REP

61. "Well, pretty soon I will call that one your wife and she will go with you," he says.

62. pic-kitc timiwal tciitc taatwala a'aai kimah-kü-kija.  
 pic-kitc        timiwal        tciitc  
 pic=gija        timiwa-l        tciitc  
 then=REP        chief-ABS      one

taatwala                a'aai  
 taatwa-l-a             a~aai  
 man-ABS-ACC        MOM~call

kimah-kü-kija.  
 kim-'=güt=gija  
 come-command=QUOT=REP

62. Then the chief called one man. "Come here" he said.

63. pic-kitc taatwal inggim.  
 pic-kitc        taatwal        inggim.  
 pic=gija        taatwa-l        ing~kim  
 then=REP        man-ABS        MOM~come

63. Then the man came.

64. pic-kitc timiwal imbingk aaiyalah i'iding taatwala'ang  
cooyin.

pic-kitc	timiwal	imbingk
pic=gija	timiwa-l	im~pingg
then=REP	chief-ABS	MOM~say

aaiyalah	i'iding
aai-la-'	ih-ng
call-GO<ACT-command	this-GEN

taatwala'ang	cooyin.
taatwa-l-ng	so'yii-n
man-ABS-GEN	wife-3SG.POSS

64. Then the chief said, "Call the wife of this man."

65. pic-kitc-wa' taatwal iimi wah-kitc inggim miyah  
'aamaaiyu kuunga'ang-kü-kija timiwal.

pic-kitc-wa'	taatwal
pic=gija=wa'	taatwa-l
then=REP=DIST	man-ABS

iimi	wah-kitc	inggim
ii~miy	wah=gija	ing~kim
MOM~go	DIST:LOC=REP	MOM~come

miyah	'aamaaiyu
miy-'	aamaaiyu
go-command	with

kuunga'ang-kü-kija  
kuunga='Vng=güt=gija  
husband=2SG.POSS=QUOT=REP

timiwal.  
timiwa-l  
chief-ABS

65. Then that man went; there he brought her. "Go with your husband," says the chief.

66. tüwü-kü-kitc kooim.  
tüwü-kü-kitc kooim.  
tuuwu=güt=gija koim  
good=QUOT=REP woman

66. "Good," says the man. [should be woman]

67. pic-kitc timiwal imbingk wal taatwala tani'i-bum  
ataxkinica amang' ku-hac-pi ma'ai cooyi.

pic-kitc	timiwal	imbingk
pic=gija	timiwa-l	im~pingg
then=REP	chief-ABS	MOM~say

wal	taatwala
wal	taatwa-l-a
DIST:ACC	man-ABS-ACC

tani'i-bum	ataxkinica
tan=buumu	a~tahkin-cao
if=2PL.NOM	MOM~sleep-FUT

amang'	ku-hac-pi
amaang-'	kuu=has=bi
beg-command	and=NEG=2SG.NOM

ma'ai	cooyi.
ma'=hi	so'yii
touch=IMP.FUT	wife

Then the chief said to the man, "If you sleep don't touch your wife." [translation missing from text]

68. tüwü-kü-kitc taatwal.  
tüwü-kü-kitc taatwal.  
tuuwu=güt=gija taatwa-l  
good=QUOT=REP man-ABS

"Good," says the man. [translation missing from text]

69. ku paaita'ang pic-pi cooyi ma'ai-kü-kitc timiwal.  
 ku paaita'ang pic-pi  
 kuu pai-taa-ng pic=bi  
 and three-day-GEN then=2SG.NOM

cooyi ma'ai-kü-kitc  
 so'yii ma'=hi=güt=gija  
 wife touch=IMP.FUT=QUOT=REP

timiwal.  
 timiwa-l  
 chief-ABS

69. "But after three days, then you will touch your own wife," says the chief.

70. tüwü-kü-kitc taatwal.  
 tüwü-kü-kitc taatwal.  
 tuuwu=güt=gija taatwa-l  
 good=QUOT=REP man-ABS

70. "Good," says the man.

71. wahi-gitc-ta inggim.  
 wahi-gitc-ta inggim.  
 wahaai=gija=da ing~kim  
 DIST:LOC:from=REP=3PL.NOM MOM~come

71. From there they came.

72. pic-kitc-ta wanaang üübülüügim.  
 pic-kitc-ta wanaang  
 pic=gija=da wanaang  
 then=REP=3PL.NOM far.away

üübülüügim.  
 üü~pül-giim  
 MOM~arrive-COME<ACT

72. Then they arrived far away.

73. pic-kitc-tii apapulwa'agim paaling watangaaban.  
 pic-kitc-tii  
 pic=gija=tii  
 then=REP=CONJ

apapulwa'agim

apapuluwa-'-giim  
dustspout-wear-COME<ACT

paaling	watangaaban.
paa-l-ng	watangaa-p-n
water-ABS-GEN	top-LOC-3SG.POSS

73. Then also (they) came in a dustspout on top of the water.

74. pic-kitc-ta ipic paa'iwüta wün-gitc-ta ogon kimat.

pic-kitc-ta	ipic
pic=gija=da	i~pic
then=REP=3PL.NOM	MOM~come.out

paa'iwüta	wün-gitc-ta
paa'iwü-t-a	wün=gija=da
ocean-ABS-ACC	be=REP=3PL.NOM

ogon	kimat.
ogoon	kim-t
on.and.on	come-DUR

74. Then they emerged from the water; they are still coming.

75. wah-kitc-ta uuduugu.

wah-kitc-ta	uuduugu.
wah=gija=da	uu~tuugu
DIST:LOC=REP=3PL.NOM	MOM~be.dark

75. There they returned in the dark.

76. wah-kitc-ta ataxkin.

wah-kitc-ta	ataxkin.
wah=gija=da	a~tahkin
DIST:LOC=REP=3PL.NOM	MOM~sleep

76. There they slept.

77. pic-kitc taatwal ü'ülüük tuuganaawidami.

pic-kitc	taatwal
pic=gija	taatwa-l
then=REP	man-ABS

ü'ülüük	tuuganaawidami.
ü~ülüüg	tuuganaawidami
MOM~wake.up	in.the.middle.of.the.night

77. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night.

78. pic-kitc taatwal cooyi aama'.  
 pic-kitc taatwal cooyi  
 pic=gija taatwa-l so'yii  
 then=REP man-ABS wife

aama'.  
 aa~ma'  
 MOM~touch

78. Then the man touched his wife.

79. pic-kitc ciiuba üpütütamin.  
 pic-kitc ciiuba  
 pic=gija süübaa  
 then=REP back.again

üpütütamin.  
 ü~pütüta-min  
 MOM~turn.over-ACT>GO

79. Then he turned away back again.

80. pic-kitc-ta waihai ii meedak inggim.  
 pic-kitc-ta waihai ii meedak  
 pic=gija=da wahaai ih meedaak  
 then=REP=3PL.NOM DIST:LOC:from this morning

inggim.  
 ing~kim  
 MOM~come

80. Then they came in the morning from there.

81. wanaang-kitc-ta uuduugiwagim wah-kitc-ta tii ataxkin.  
 wanaang-kitc-ta  
 wanaang=gija=da  
 far.away=REP=3PL.NOM



uuduugiwagim  
 uu~tuugu-w-gim  
 MOM~be.dark-PASS-COME<ACT

wah-kitc-ta	tii	ataxkin.
wah=gija=da	tii	a~tahkin
DIST:LOC=REP=3PL.NOM	also	MOM~sleep

81. Far away they came as it got dark; there again they slept.

82. pic-kitc taatwał ü'ülüük tuuganaawidami.  
 pic-kitc taatwał  
 pic=gija taatwa-ł  
 then=REP man-ABS

ü'ülüük	tuuganaawidami.
ü~ülüüg	tuuganaawidami
MOM~wake.up	in.the.middle.of.the.night

82. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night.

83. pic-kitc üpütüta wa'kiik cooyi.  
 pic-kitc üpütüta wa'kiik cooyi.  
 pic=gija ü~pütüta wahkiik so'yii  
 then=REP MOM~turn.over toward wife

83. Then he turned toward his own wife.

84. pic-kitc cooyi wila'ala cooyi'i-gitc yoom. S  
 pic-kitc cooyi wila'ala cooyi'i-gitc yoom.  
 pic=gija so'yii wila'ł so'yii=gija oyoom  
 then=REP wife climb wife=REP have.sex

84. Then he touched his own wife; right away he climbed on his own wife; he copulated with his own wife.

85. pic-kitc ooyomiiya'awac utsulum.  
 pic-kitc ooyomiiya'awac  
 pic=gija ooyom-ya'aw-ac  
 then=REP copulate-COMPL-SS

utsulum.  
 u~tsulum  
 MOM~sleep

85. Then when he had finished copulating, he slept.

86. pic-kitc taalabiicüng ü'ülüük.  
 pic-kitc taalabiicüng  
 pic=gija taalabic-ng  
 then=REP be.bright-DS

ü'ülüük.  
 ü~ülüüg  
 MOM~wake.up

86. Then, at daylight, he woke up.

87. pic-kitc aadawüük umbuubüül-gitc müühü'at hawaaban.  
 pic-kitc aadawüük  
 pic=gija aa~taawüg  
 then=REP MOM~see

umbuubüül-gitc müühü'at  
 umuubü-l=gija müühaa-t  
 yucca-ABS=REP lie.down-DUR

hawaaban.  
 hawaaba-n  
 next.to-3SG.POSS

87. Then he saw (something); (a stalk of) yucca is lying alongside of him.

88. wah-kitc taatwal ool.  
 wah-kitc taatwal ool.  
 wah=gija taatwa-l ool  
 DIST:LOC=REP man-ABS get.up

88. There the man got up.

89. wah-kitc üüwünüt.  
 wah-kitc üüwünüt.  
 wah=gija üwün-t  
 DIST:LOC=REP stand.up-DUR

89. There he is standing.

90. ma'ica-k wet tü'hawa'-kü-kija timiwal-ni omok a'awiin  
tüwü hac-ki wal üwük.

ma'ica-k wet tü'hawa'-kü-kija  
ma'inüc=gii wet tü'haw-aa'=güt=gija  
why=1SG.NOM oh ???-iterative=QUOT=REP

timiwal-ni omok a'awiin  
timiwa-l-ni omok a~aauw-in  
chief-ABS=1SG.ACC almost MOM~gossip-CAUS

tüwü hac-ki wal üwük.  
tuuwu has=gii wal ü-wük  
good NEG=1SG.NOM DIST:ACC MOM~have.sex.with

90. "I can't help it now," he says; "the chief told me rightly  
(that) I should not take that one."

91. wahi'i-gitc iimi haniip.

wahi'i-gitc iimi haniip.  
wahaai=gija ii~miy haniip  
DIST:LOC:from=REP MOM~go home

91. From there he went to his own house.

92. üübülüüla-gitc wah haniip.

üübülüüla-gitc wah haniip.  
üü~pül-la=gija wah haniip  
MOM~arrive-GO<ACT=REP DIST:LOC home

92. He arrived there, at home.

93. pic-kitc aawinat wal anghaniila wanaang-gi  
tooyüpügünan akadziibatsu paa'iwüta cooyi-gi timalaawac  
wah üübülükin ku inggina-k omok wal cooyi-kü-kija.

pic-kitc aawinat wal  
pic=gija aauw-in-t wal  
then=REP gossip-CAUS-DUR DIST:ACC

anghaniila wanaang-gi  
ahani-l-a wanaang=gii  
people-ABS-ACC far.away=1SG.NOM

tooyüpügünan  
tooy-pü-gana  
travel.about-REL-own:3SG.POSS

akadziibatsu

akadzii-p-atsu  
across-LOC-AWAY

paa'iwüta	cooyi-gi
paa'iwü-t-a	so'yii=gii
ocean-ABS-ACC	wife=1SG.NOM

timalaawac	wah
timalaaw-s	wah
follow-SS	DIST:LOC

üübülükün	ku
üü~pül-kin	kuu
MOM~arrive-ACT>COME	and

inggina-k	omok	wal
ing~kin=gii	omok	wal
MOM~bring=1SG.NOM	almost	DIST:ACC

cooyi-kü-kija.  
so'yii=güt=gija  
wife=QUOT=REP

93. Then he tells those people, "I am one who has been a traveler when I followed my own wife far away across the ocean; I arrived there and I brought that one, my own wife, back in vain," he says.

94. pic-ni wa' timiwal a'awiin omok tüwü ku-hac-ki wal  
aaiyann pinggiyin paaita'ang-bi aamaai cooyi  
tsuluumai-küt-ni omok timiwal-kü-kija kuu wooma-k wal  
cooyi üwük hac paai'ida'akang.

pic-ni	wa'	timiwal
pic=ni	wa'	timiwa-l
then=1SG.ACC	DIST	chief-ABS

a'awiin	omok	tüwü
a~aauw-in	omok	tuuwu
MOM~gossip-CAUS	almost	good

ku-hac-ki	wal	aaiyann
kuu=has=gii	wal	aai~yahn
and=NEG=1SG.NOM	DIST:ACC	MOM~believe

pinggiyin  
pingg-i-yi-n  
say-NMLZ.PAT-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS

paa'ita'ang-bi	aamaai	cooyi
paa'ita'ang=bi	aamaaiyu	so'yii
three.days=2SG.NOM	with	wife

tsuluumai-küt=ni  
 tsulum=hi=güt-t=ni  
 sleep=IMP.FUT=QUOT-DUR=1SG.ACC

omok	timiwal-kü-kija
omok	timiwa-l=güt=gija
almost	chief-ABS=QUOT=REP

kuu	wooma-k	wal
kuu	wooma=gii	wal
and	right.away=1SG.NOM	DIST:ACC

cooyi	üwük	hac
so'yii	ü~wük	has
wife	MOM~have.sex.with	NEG

pai'ida'akang.  
 pa'idaa-'-ak-ang  
 three.days-wear-INTER-DS

94. "Then that chief told me rightly, but I did not believe him when he says, 'After three days you sleep with your own wife,' the chief says to me in vain, and right away I took that one, my own wife, before three days."

95.	pic	umuubüül	aabaiyu.
	pic	umuubü-l	aa~paaiw
	then	yucca-ABS	MOM~turn.into

95. "Then she was turned into yucca."

96.	wahai'i-gi	tciitcu	inggim.
	wahai'i-gi	tciitcu	ing~kim
	DIST:LOC:from=1SG.NOM	alone	MOM~come

96. "From there I came alone."

97.	wün	wo'okan.
	wün	wo'okan.
	wün	wookan

be pretty soon

97. It stood (ended) pretty soon.

**Appendix D: Blood-Clot Boy (Voegelin 1935b; Marean 2018)**

(ABS refers to NCM.A, NCM.B, and NCM.C. See Appendix A for updated abbreviations.)

1. halü-kija mügütih tii tciitc co'ibit utsuun mügütihing  
wooyooda halüt.

halü-kija	mügütih	tii	tciitc
hal-t=gija	mügütih	tii	tciitc
live-DUR=REP	Blood-Clot.Boy	also	one

co'ibit	utsuun
soobi-t	utsuu-n
old.lady-ABS	grandmother-3SG.POSS

mügütihing	wooyooda
mügütih-ng	wooyo-o=da
Blood-Clot.Boy-GEN	both-oh=3PL.NOM

halüt.  
hal-t  
live-DUR

1. Migitih is living, and one old woman, the grandmother of Migitih; they are both living.

2. mügütihing aabuun honokang-gi imbingk co'ibita  
tükaliiba'a-ki wah pangwala.

mügütihing	aabuun
mügütih-ng	abuu-n
Blood-Clot.Boy-GEN	mother-3SG.POSS

honokang-gi	imbingk
honokang=gii	im~pingg
pregnant=1SG.NOM	MOM~say

co'ibita  
soobi-t-a  
old.lady-ABS-ACC

tükaliiba'a-ki	wah
tük-la-ba'-t=gii	wah
eat-GO<ACT-want.to-DUR=1SG.NOM	DIST:LOC

pangwala.  
pangwa-l-a  
red.clover-ABS-ACC

2. The mother of Migitih said to the old lady, "I am

pregnant" (for Migitih is in her womb). "I want to go there and eat red clover."

3. tüwü-güt co'ibit miyah-küt hac-pi tükai mi'itcu kinai'i-bi ehai'i-bi tükai-güt co'ibit.

tüwü-güt co'ibit  
 tuuwu=güt soobi-t  
 good=QUOT old.lady-ABS

miyah-küt hac-pi  
 miy-'=güt has-bi  
 go-command=QUOT NEG=2SG.NOM

tükai mi'itcu  
 tük=hi mi'itcu  
 eat=IMP.FUT DIST:LOC:from

kinai'i-bi  
 kin=hi-bi  
 bring=IMP.FUT=2SG.NOM

ehai'i-bi  
 eh=hi-bi  
 there=IMP.FUT=2SG.NOM

tükai-güt co'ibit.  
 tük=hi=güt soobi-t  
 eat=IMP.FUT=QUOT old.lady-ABS

3. "Good," says the old woman, "go," she says, "(but) you must not eat it (where it grows); you fetch it from there (and) eat it here," says the old woman.

4. iimi tükalac pangwala in yoowi pangwala.

iimi tükalac  
 ii~miy tük-la-s  
 MOM~go eat-GO<ACT-SS

pangwala in yoowi  
 pangwa-l-a in yoowi  
 red.clover-ABS-ACC gather many



pangwala.  
 pangwa-l-a  
 red.clover-ABS-ACC

4. She went, going to eat the clover; she gathered much clover.

5. pic ütük mi'itcu pic uunał inggim ümü'ük wal kooimi.  
 pic ütük mi'itcu pic  
 pic ü~tük mi'itcu pic  
 then MOM~eat DIST:LOC:from then

uunał inggim ümü'ük  
 uuna-l ing~kim ü~mü'üg  
 Bear-ABS MOM~come MOM~kill

wal kooimi.  
 wal koim-ii  
 DIST:ACC woman-ACC

5. Then she ate it right there and Bear came. He killed that woman.

6. ütük uunał wal kooimi aayawa pini'ik.  
 ütük uunał wal  
 ü~tük uuna-l wal  
 MOM~eat Bear-ABS DIST:ACC

kooimi aayawa pini'ik.  
 koim-ii aa~ya'awa pini'ik  
 woman-ACC MOM~finish everything

6. Bear ate that woman; he finished everything.

7. uunał ya'awac iimi muwaalap.  
 uunał ya'awac  
 uuna-l ya'awa-s  
 Bear-ABS finish-SS

iimi  
 ii~miy  
 MOM~go

muwaalap.  
 muwaa-l-a-p  
 mountain-ABS-ACC-LOC

7. When Bear had finished, he went in the mountain.

8. pic-hac inggim kooim.  
 pic-hac inggim kooim.  
 pic=has ing~kim koim  
 then=NEG MOM~come woman

8. Then the woman did not come (home).

9. co'ibit pinggüt ümü'ük weedu uunał.  
 co'ibit pinggüt  
 soobi-t ping=güt  
 old.lady-ABS say=QUOT

ümü'ük weedu uunał.  
 ü~mü'üg weedu uuna-ł  
 MOM~kill so Bear-ABS

9. The old woman says, "So Bear killed her."

10. pic anangat co'ibit pic uuguyi'alaa üübülüüla wah haaiyi  
 wah kooim pülüülang co'ibita.  
 pic anangat co'ibit pic  
 pic anang-t soobi-t pic  
 then cry-DUR old.lady-ABS then

uuguyi'alaa  
 uu~kuy-la  
 MOM~look.for-GO<ACT

üübülüüla wah haaiyi wah  
 üü~pül-la wah haaiyi wah  
 MOM~arrive-GO<ACT DIST:LOC no DIST:LOC

kooim pülüülang  
 koim pül-la-ng  
 woman arrive-GO<ACT-DS

co'ibita.  
 soobi-t-a  
 old.lady-ABS-ACC

10. The old woman is crying; then she went to look for her;

she arrived there; no woman (is) there when the old woman arrived.

11. co'ibit-küt mügütihi maa-bii-güt.  
 co'ibit-küt mügütihi maa-bii-güt.  
 soobi-t=güt mügütihi-ii ma'-bi=güt  
 old.lady-ABS=QUOT Blood-Clot.Boy-ACC where=2SG.NOM=QUOT

11. The old woman says, to Migitih, "Where are you?" she says.

12. mügütihi icikuun.  
 mügütihi icikuun.  
 mügütihi i~cikuun  
 Blood-Clot.Boy MOM~whistle

12. Migitih whistled.

13. co'ibit aaha cikuunang iimi taawügüülac.  
 co'ibit aaha  
 soobi-t aa~ha'  
 old.lady-ABS MOM~hear

cikuunang iimi  
 cikuun-ng ii~miy  
 whistle-DS MOM~go

taawügüülac.  
 taawüg-la-s  
 see-GO<ACT-SS

13. The old woman heard him when he whistled; she went, going to see him.

14. aadawüük co'ibit ükwayin macilaap üwük ükwayin iimiin  
 haniip.  
 aadawüük co'ibit  
 aa~taawüg soobi-t  
 MOM~see old.lady-ABS

ükwayin  
 ükwa-yi-n  
 blood-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS

macilaap  
 masi-l-a-p  
 grass-ABS-ACC-LOC

üwük	ükwayin	iimiin
ü~wük	ükwa-yi-n	ii~miin
MOM~grab	blood-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS	MOM~take

haniip.  
haniip  
home

14. The old woman saw his blood in the grass; she grabbed the blood; she brought it to her own house.

15. imbinaala üwük egeewayin hom'mola wah paala  
ümbümiin.  
imbinaala                                      üwük  
im~ping-la                                      ü~wük  
MOM~bring.it-GO<ACT                      MOM~grab

egeewayin  
egeewün-yi-n  
big-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS

hom'mola	wah
hom'mo-l-a	wah
cooking.basket-ABS-ACC	DIST:LOC

paala  
paa-l-a  
water-ABS-ACC

ümbümiin.  
üm~püüm-in  
MOM~be.full-CAUS

15. She went and took it; she grabbed a big basket there; she filled (the basket with) water.

16. hom'molaap ükwayin ütüp pic amaca homola.  
hom'molaap  
hom'mo-l-a-p  
cooking.basket-ABS-ACC-LOC

ükwayin	ütüp	pic
ükwa-i-n	ü~tüb	pic
blood-ACC-3SG.POSS	MOM~put	then

amaca                      homola.

a~maca            hom'mo-l-a  
MOM~cover        cooking.basket-ABS-ACC

16. She put his blood in the basket and then covered the basket.

17. pic tuuganaawidami co'ibit aaha naxpa'adüng mügütihi  
pic co'ibit ipicamin pic mügütihi naxpa'adüt hom'molaap pic  
co'ibit oonokin ciuba.

pic            tuuganaawidami                            co'ibit  
pic            tuuganaawidami                            soobi-t  
then        in.the.middle.of.the.night            old.lady-ABS

aaha            naxpa'adüng  
aa~ha'        naxpa'ad-ng  
MOM~hear     make.noise-DS

mügütihi                                    pic        co'ibit  
mügütihi-ii                                pic        soobi-t  
Blood-Clot.Boy-ACC            then        old.lady-ABS

ipicamin                                    pic  
i~pic-min                                    pic  
MOM~come.out-ACT>GO            then

mügütihi                                    naxpa'adüt  
mügütihi                                    naxpa'ad-t  
Blood-Clot.Boy                    make.noise-DUR

hom'molaap                                    pic  
hom'mo-l-a-p                                pic  
cooking.basket-ABS-ACC-LOC            then

co'ibit  
soobi-t  
old.lady-ABS

oonokin	ciuba.
oo~noo'o-kin	süübaa
MOM~turn.back-ACT>COME	back.again

17. Then, in the middle of the night, the old woman heard Migitih when he made a noise and she went out and Migitih is making a noise in the basket and the old woman went from there back in again.

18. pic	yeewang	aadawüük	mügütihi	halüt	hom'molaap.
pic	yeewang	aa~taawüg			
then	next.day	MOM~see			

mügütihi	halüt
mügütihi-ii	hal-t
Blood-Clot.Boy-ACC	sit-DUR

hom'molaap.  
 hom'mo-l-a-p  
 cooking.basket-ABS-ACC-LOC

18. The next day she saw Migitih; he is sitting in the basket.

19. co'ibit	üwük	mügütihi	ku'ujubitcwayin	uuwaabita
mügütihi	umbun	mupipiiding	poomban.	
co'ibit	üwük			
soobi-t	ü~wük			
old.lady-ABS	MOM~grab			

mügütihi
mügütihi-ii
Blood-Clot.Boy-ACC

ku'ujubitcwayin  
 ku'ujubitcwa-yi-n  
 little.one-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS

uuwaabita  
 uwaabi-t-a  
 baby-ABS-ACC

mügütihi	umbun
mügütihi-ii	um~puun
Blood-Clot.Boy-ACC	MOM~tie

mupipiiding

mupipii-t-ng  
bobcat-ABS-GEN

poomban.  
poon-p-n  
hide-LOC-3SG.POSS

19. The old woman grabbed Migitih, a little baby; she wrapped up Migitih in the skin of a wildcat.

20. pic wiihüt co'ibit.  
pic wiihüt co'ibit.  
pic wiihü-t soobi-t  
then watch.over-DUR old.lady-ABS

20. Then the old woman takes care of him.

21. pic mügütih a'ayaau imbingk coobita maa-nü'üng  
aabuun-güt maa-no'üng aanaan-güt mügütih.  
pic mügütih a'ayaau  
pic mügütih a~ayaau  
then Blood-Clot.Boy MOM~grow

imbingk coobita  
im~pingg soobi-t-a  
MOM~say old.lady-ABS-ACC

maa-nü'üng  
ma'=nü'üng  
where=1SG.POSS

aabuun-güt maa-nü'üng  
abuu-n=güt ma'=nü'üng  
mother-3SG.POSS=QUOT where=1SG.POSS

aanaan-güt mügütih.  
aanaa-n=güt mügütih  
father-3SG.POSS=QUOT Blood-Clot.Boy

21. Then Migitih grew up; he said to the old woman, "Where is my mother?" he says; "where is my father?" says Migitih.

22. co'ibit pinggüt hac pinggüüi-güt co'ibit.  
 co'ibit pinggüt hac  
 soobi-t ping=güt has  
 old.lady-ABS say=QUOT NEG

pinggüüi-güt co'ibit.  
 pingg=güt soobi-t  
 say=QUOT old.lady-ABS

22. The old woman says, "Don't say (that)," says the old woman.

23. mügüti pinggüt maagiba'a-ki.  
 mügüti pinggüt  
 mügüti pingg-t  
 Blood-Clot.Boy say-DUR

maagiba'a-ki.  
 maag-ba'-t=gi  
 know-want.to-DUR=1SG.NOM

23. Migiti says, "I want to know."

24. co'ibit tüwü-güt aabuuying ümü'ük uunał.  
 co'ibit tüwü-güt  
 soobi-t tuuwu=güt  
 old.lady-ABS good=QUOT

aabuuying  
 abuu-yi='Vng  
 mother-NREFL.ACC.POSS=2SG.POSS

ümü'ük uunał.  
 ü~mü'üg uuna-ł  
 MOM~kill Bear-ABS

24. The old woman says, "Good; Bear killed your mother."

25. mügüti pinggüt maa uunał-güt.  
 mügüti pinggüt maa  
 mügüti pingg-t ma'  
 Blood-Clot.Boy say-DUR where



uuna1-güt.  
 uuna-1=güt  
 Bear-ABS=QUOT

25. Migitih says, "Where is Bear?" he says.

26. hac pinggüü-güt co'ibit yuumuugiiwal uuna1  
 ümü'ügicaa-ding.

hac	pinggüü-güt	co'ibit
has	pingg=güt	soobi-t
NEG	say=QUOT	old.lady-ABS

yuumuugiiwal	uuna1
yuumuugiiwa-1	uuna-1
mythical.class.of.animals-ABS	Bear-ABS

ümü'ügicaa-ding.  
 ü~mü'üg-caa=düng  
 MOM~kill-FUT=2SG.ACC

26. "Don't say (that)," says the old woman, "Bear (is) a Yumugiwal; he will kill you."

27. mügütih pinggüt ümü'ügicaa-gi mahaa-ni aalit paahuula  
 aamaak.

mügütih	pinggüt
mügütih	pingg-t
Blood-Clot.Boy	say-DUR

ümü'ügicaa-gi  
 ü~mü'üg-caa=gi  
 MOM~kill-FUT=1SG.NOM

mahaa-ni	aalit
maha-'-ni	aali-t
give-command=1SG.ACC	bow-ABS

paahuula	aamaak.
paahuu-1-a	aamaaiyu
arrow-ABS-ACC	with

27. Migitih says, "I will kill him; give me the bow with arrows."

28. co'ibit amha aalita paahuula aamaak.  
 co'ibit amha  
 soobi-t a~maha  
 old.lady-ABS MOM~give

aalita  
 aali-t-a  
 bow-ABS-ACC

paahuula aamaak.  
 paahuu-l-a aamaaiyu  
 arrow-ABS-ACC with

28. The old woman gave him the bow with arrows.

29. tüwü-güt mügütiH yeewang-gi aadawüügülica uunala.  
 tüwü-güt mügütiH yeewang-gi  
 tuuwu=güt mügütiH yeewang=gii  
 good=QUOT Blood-Clot.Boy next.day=1SG.NOM

aadawüügülica  
 aa~taawüg-la-cao  
 MOM~see-GO<ACT-FUT

uunala.  
 uuna-l-a  
 Bear-ABS-ACC

29. "Good," says MigitiH, "tomorrow I will see Bear."

30. mügütiH iimi muwaałap üübülüüla ukubaan muwaałing.  
 mügütiH iimi  
 mügütiH ii~miy  
 Blood-Clot.Boy MOM~go

muwaałap  
 muwaa-l-a-p  
 mountain-ABS-ACC-LOC

üübülüüla  
 üü~pül-la  
 MOM~arrive-GO<ACT

ukubaan  
 uku-p-n  
 top-LOC-3SG.POSS

muwaaling.  
 muwaa-l-ng  
 mountain-ABS-GEN

30. Migitih went in the mountains; he arrived on the top of the mountains.

31. mügüti*h* iwilaala tünd*a* egeewayin.  
 mügüti*h* iwilaala  
 mügüti*h* i~wila'l  
 Blood-Clot.Boy MOM~climb

tünd*a*  
 tün-t-a  
 rock-ABS-ACC

egeewayin.  
 egeewün-yi-n  
 big-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS

31. Migitih climbed a big rock.

32. mügüti*h* üüwünüt ukubaan tünding.  
 mügüti*h* üüwünüt  
 mügüti*h* üwün-t  
 Blood-Clot.Boy stand.up-DUR

ukubaan tünding.  
 uku-p-n tün-t-ng  
 top-LOC-3SG.POSS rock-ABS-GEN

32. He is standing on the top of the rock.

33. pic imbingk kimah uuna*l* taawügiiba'a-ki-ling.  
 pic imbingk kimah  
 pic im~pingg kim-'  
 then MOM~say come-command

uuna*l*  
 uuna-l  
 Bear-ABS

taawügiiba'a-ki-ling.

taawüg-ba'-t=gii=düng  
see-want.to-DUR=1SG.NOM=2SG.ACC

33. Then he said, "Come, Bear, I want to see you."

34. pic uunał coobatsu ipic.  
pic uunał coobatsu  
pic uuna-ł so'lo-p-atsu  
then Bear-ABS hole-LOC-AWAY

ipic.  
i~pic  
MOM~come.out

34. Then Bear came out from his own hole.

35. pic aadawüük mügütihi.  
pic aadawüük mügütihi.  
pic aa~taawüg mügütihi-ii  
then MOM~see Blood-Clot.Boy-ACC

35. Then he saw Migitih.

36. uunał üwükiba' mügütihi amalaawin wükiba'ac.  
uunał üwükiba'  
uuna-ł ü~wük-ba'  
Bear-ABS MOM~grab-want.to

mügütihi amalaawin  
mügütihi-ii a~malaawin  
Blood-Clot.Boy-ACC MOM~extend.one's.arms

wükiba'ac.  
wük-ba'-s  
grab-want.to-SS

36. Bear began to grab Migitih; he extended his arms, wanting to grab him.

37. pic mügütihi imbingk wiicaa-bee-güt mügütihi.  
pic mügütihi imbingk  
pic mügütihi im~pingg  
then Blood-Clot.Boy MOM~say

wiicaa-bee-güt mügütihi.  
wica-bee=güt mügütihi  
later.on-after.a.while=QUOT Blood-Clot.Boy

37. Then Migitih said, "Just a moment," Migitih says.

38. pic uunał ii'iiyau.  
 pic uunał ii'iiyau.  
 pic uuna-ł ii~iiyauw  
 then Bear-ABS MOM~be.still

38. Then Bear stood stock still.

39. pic mügütiḥ pinggüt aagah-küt.  
 pic mügütiḥ pinggüt  
 pic mügütiḥ pingg-t  
 then Blood-Clot.Boy say-DUR

aagah-küt.  
 aak-'=güt  
 open.one's.mouth-command=QUOT

39. Then Migitih says, "Open your mouth."

40. pic uunał a'ak tuwubił.  
 pic uunał a'ak  
 pic uuna-ł a~aak  
 then Bear-ABS MOM~open.one's.mouth

tuwubił.  
 tuwubül  
 fast

40. Then Bear opened his mouth very far.

41. tsuluumah uunał-küt mügütiḥ.  
 tsuluumah uunał-küt mügütiḥ.  
 tsuluum-' uuna-ł=güt mügütiḥ  
 sleep-command Bear-ABS=QUOT Blood-Clot.Boy

41. "Close your eyes, Bear," says Migitih.

42. mägütiḥ ipiciin uugicta capucpatsu üüdüü'üt tuwubil  
kuta-binü apalak to'ogomban uunala'ang.

mägütiḥ ipiciin  
mägütiḥ i~piciin  
Blood-Clot.Boy MOM~take.out

uugicta  
uugic-t-a  
arrow.straightener-ABS-ACC

capucpatsu üüdüü'üt  
sapus-p-atsu üüdüü'-t  
belly-LOC-AWAY be.hot-DUR

tuwubil kuta pinü  
tuwubül ku-t-a pinü  
fast fire-ABS-ACC like

apalak  
a~palaak  
MOM~throw

to'ogomban  
to'go-n-p-a-n  
mouth-3SG.POSS-LOC-ACC-3SG.POSS

uunala'ang.  
uuna-l-ng  
Bear-ABS-GEN

42. Then Migitiḥ took out the arrow-straightener from next  
to his belly; it is very hot, just like fire; he threw it in the  
mouth of Bear.

43. pic olhoomamin capucpan uunala'ang.  
pic olhoomamin  
pic o~lohoom-min  
then MOM~enter-ACT>GO

capucpan  
sapus-p-n  
belly-LOC-3SG.POSS

uunala'ang.  
 uuna-l-ng  
 Bear-ABS-GEN

43. Then it went in the stomach of Bear.

44. aamaaigüla wanaang uunał uumuuk uunał ümü'ük  
 mügütiḥ uunala.

aamaaigüla	wanaang	uunał
aa~maigüla	wanaang	uuna-l
MOM~run	far.away	Bear-ABS

uumuuk	uunał	ümü'ük
uu~muug	uuna-l	ü~mü'üg
MOM~die	Bear-ABS	MOM~kill

mügütiḥ	uunala.
mügütiḥ	uuna-l-a
Blood-Clot.Boy	Bear-ABS-ACC

44. Bear ran far away. . . . Bear died; Migitiḥ killed Bear.

45. mügütiḥ andanakin tündabatsu aadawüügüla uunala.

mügütiḥ  
 mügütiḥ  
 Blood-Clot.Boy

andanakin  
 an~tana-kin  
 MOM~get.down-ACT>COME

tündabatsu  
 tün-t-a-p-atsu  
 rock-ABS-ACC-LOC-AWAY

aadawüügüla  
 aa~taawüg-la  
 MOM~see-GO<ACT

uunala.  
 uuna-l-a  
 Bear-ABS-ACC

45. Migitiḥ got down from the rock; he went to see Bear.

46. mügütiḥ iciigin üwükümin poonin üübülüüla haniip.  
 mügütiḥ                    iciigin

mügütiḥ	i~ciigin
Blood-Clot.Boy	MOM~skin.something

üwükümin	poonin
ü~wük-min	poon-i-n
MOM~grab-ACT>GO	hide-ACC-3SG.POSS

üübülüüla	haniip.
üü~pül-la	haniip
MOM~arrive-GO<ACT	home

46. Migitiḥ skinned him; he grabbed the skin; he arrived at his own house.

47. co'ibict aadawüük uunala'ang poonin mügütiḥ pinggüt  
üwünü poon uunala'ang.

co'ibict	aadawüük
soobic-t	aa~taawüg
old.woman-ABS	MOM~see

uunala'ang	poonin
uuna-l-ng	poon-n
Bear-ABS-GEN	hide-3SG.POSS

mügütiḥ	pinggüt	üwünü	poon
mügütiḥ	pingg-t	ü~wün	poon
Blood-Clot.Boy	say-DUR	MOM~be	hide

uunala'ang.  
uuna-l-ng  
Bear-ABS-GEN

47. The old woman saw the skin of Bear; Migith is saying, "There is the skin of Bear."

48. co'ibict tüwü-güt.  
co'ibict tüwü-güt.  
soobic-t tuuwu=güt  
old.woman-ABS good=QUOT

48. "Good," says the old woman.



49. mügütiḥ pinggüt utsuui muwaalap ḥalüt ümbü  
yuumuugiwal taawügüüliba'a-ki.

mügütiḥ	pinggüt
mügütiḥ	pingg-t
Blood-Clot.Boy	say-DUR

utsuui  
utsuu-i  
grandmother-REFL.POSS.ACC

muwaalap  
muwaa-l-a-p  
mountain-ABS-ACC-LOC

ḥalüt	ümbü
ḥal-t	ümbü'
live-DUR	again

yuumuugiwal  
yuumuugiwa-l  
mythical.class.of.animals-ABS

taawügüüliba'a-ki.  
taawüg-la-ba'-t=gii  
see-GO<ACT-want.to-DUR=1SG.NOM

49. Migitiḥ says to his own mother's mother, "More Yumuugiwal are living in the mountains; I want to go to see (them)."

50. co'ibict pinggüt wah ḥalüt yuumuugiwal.  
co'ibict pinggüt wah  
soobic-t pingg-t wah  
old.woman-ABS say-DUR DIST:LOC

ḥalüt	yuumuugiwal.
ḥal-t	yuumuugiwa-l
live-DUR	mythical.class.of.animals-ABS

50. The old woman is saying, "The Yumuugiwal live there."

51. yeewang-gi aadawügülica.  
yeewang-gi  
yeewang=gii  
next.day=1SG.NOM

aadawügülica.

aa~taawüg-la-caa  
MOM~see-GO<ACT-FUT

51. "Tomorrow I will go to see (them)," (says Migitih).

52. iimi mügütih üübülüüla haniilap halüt tciitc co'ibit tii  
ict tii aamah.  
iimi mügütih  
ii~miy mügütih  
MOM~go Blood-Clot.Boy

üübülüüla  
üü~pül-la  
MOM~arrive-GO<ACT

haniilap	halüt
hanii-l-a-p	hal-t
house-ABS-ACC-LOC	live-DUR

tciitc	co'ibit	tii	ict
tciitc	soobi-t	tii	ic-t
one	old.lady-ABS	and	coyote-ABS

tii	aamah.
tii	aamah
and	Cannibal.Woman

52. Migitih went; he arrived; in the house are living one old woman, and Coyote, and the Cannibal Woman.

53. aamahi ümü'ük mügütih.  
aamahi ümü'ük mügütih.  
aamah-ii ü~mü'üg mügütih  
Cannibal.Woman-ACC MOM~kill Blood-Clot.Boy

53. Migitih killed the Cannibal Woman.

54. tüwü-güt ict aamah yuumuugiwal mü'ügat anghaniila.  
tüwü-güt ict  
tuuwu=güt ic-t  
good=QUOT coyote-ABS

aamah                    yuumuugiiwal  
 aamah                    yuumuugiiwa-l  
 Cannibal.Woman        mythical.class.of.animals-ABS

mü'ügat            anghaniila.  
 mü'üg-t            ahani-l-a  
 kill-DUR            people-ABS-ACC

54. "Good," says Coyote; "the Cannibal Woman (is) a Yumugiiwal; she kills people."

55. pic inggim mügüti haniip.  
 pic        inggim        mügüti            haniip.  
 pic        ing~kim        mügüti            haniip  
 then      MOM~come    Blood-Clot.Boy    home

55. Then Migitih came to his own house.

56. co'ibit pinggüt ani-p ümü'ük yuumuugiiwala-güt co'ibit.  
 co'ibit                    pinggüt  
 soobi-t                    pingg-t  
 old.lady-ABS            say-DUR

ani-p                                    ümü'ük  
 an-bi                                    ü~mü'üg  
 yes/no.question=2SG.NOM        MOM~kill

yuumuugiiwala-güt  
 yuumuugiiwa-l-a=güt  
 mythical.class.of.animals-ABS-ACC=QUOT

co'ibit.  
 soobi-t  
 old.lady-ABS

56. The old woman is saying, "Did you kill Yumugiiwal?" says the old woman.

57. haa-güt mügüti.  
 haa-güt        mügüti.  
 haa=güt        mügüti  
 yes=QUOT      Blood-Clot.Boy

57. "Yes," says Migitih.

58. wo'okan wünü yuumuugiiwal-güt co'ibit.  
 wo'okan                    wünü

wookan            wün  
pretty.soon      be

yuumuugiwal-güt  
yuumuugiwa-l=güt  
mythical.class.of.animals-ABS=QUOT

co'ibit.  
soobi-t  
old.lady-ABS

58. "Yumugiwal are finished," says the old woman.

59. tüwü-güt mügütih.  
tüwü-güt        mügütih.  
tuuwu=güt      mügütih  
good=QUOT      Blood-Clot.Boy

59. "Good," says Migitih.

60. oowok meeda.  
oowok            meeda.  
wook             meeda  
be.ended        already

60. Already it got ended.