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Narrative Structure in Pahka'anil (Tübatulabal): A Uto-Aztecan Language of California

1. Introduction: Importance of Narrative Study

The various genres and social contexts of spoken discourse heavily influence our linguistic experience and the connections we build between structure, form, and meaning. As a result, genres tend to be marked by specific grammatical constructions that emerge in their respective discourses. Across many of the world's languages, the genre of narrative, in particular, exhibits a type of information structuring in which chronologically sequenced events tend to be marked distinctly from those that overlap in their occurrence (Hopper, 1979; Payne, 2015). Narrative event structuring, therefore, involves a process known as *grounding* in which foregrounded events (i.e., those that do not overlap and occur in chronological sequence) are marked distinctly from backgrounded material (i.e., those events that temporally overlap with the main event line). Typological comparisons concerning narrative event structuring strategies have been carried out across Indo-European, Meso-American, and African languages (Hopper, 1979; Payne, 2015; Shirtz & Payne, 2015). Findings have revealed that languages often use different strategies to mark main versus non-main material. In hopes of developing a more complete typology of this particular narrative discourse function, studies continue to be conducted across more and more languages. Pahka'anil (Tübatulabal) is an endangered Uto-Aztecan language of California. To the best of my knowledge, there has not been any research on Pahka'anil discourse.

1.1 The Pahka'anil Language

1.1.1 Classification

Pahka'anil (Tübatulabal) is a Northern Uto-Aztecan language spoken by the Pakanapul of Kern County, California (Campbell, 1997; Voegelin, 1935). Although subgrouping and higher-level groupings of the Uto-Aztecan languages continues to be a controversial topic in the field, eight branches in the family have been identified: Numic, Takic, Pahka'anil, Hopi, Pimic, Taracahitic, Cora-Huichol, and Aztecan (Campbell, 1997). According to Campbell, Pahka'anil is part of the Northern branch which includes Numic, Takic, and Hopi.

1.1.2 Geographical location

The Pakanapul inhabit an area which is located in the upper Kern River northeast of Bakersfield, California (*see Figure 1*). The area extends from the North Fork of the Kern River through the Kern Valley and into the South Fork Valley (Golla, 2011). Neighboring tribes include Owens Valley Paiute (Western Numic) to the northeast, Koso Panamint (Central Numic) to the east, Kawaiisu (Southern Numic) to the south, and the Kumachisi (Poso Creek Yokuts) to the south west (Golla, 2011). Due to extensive contact with the Yokuts, early ethnographers such as Kroeber (1925) noted how many Pakanapul were bilingual speaking both Pahka'anil and Yokut (as cited in Golla, 2011).

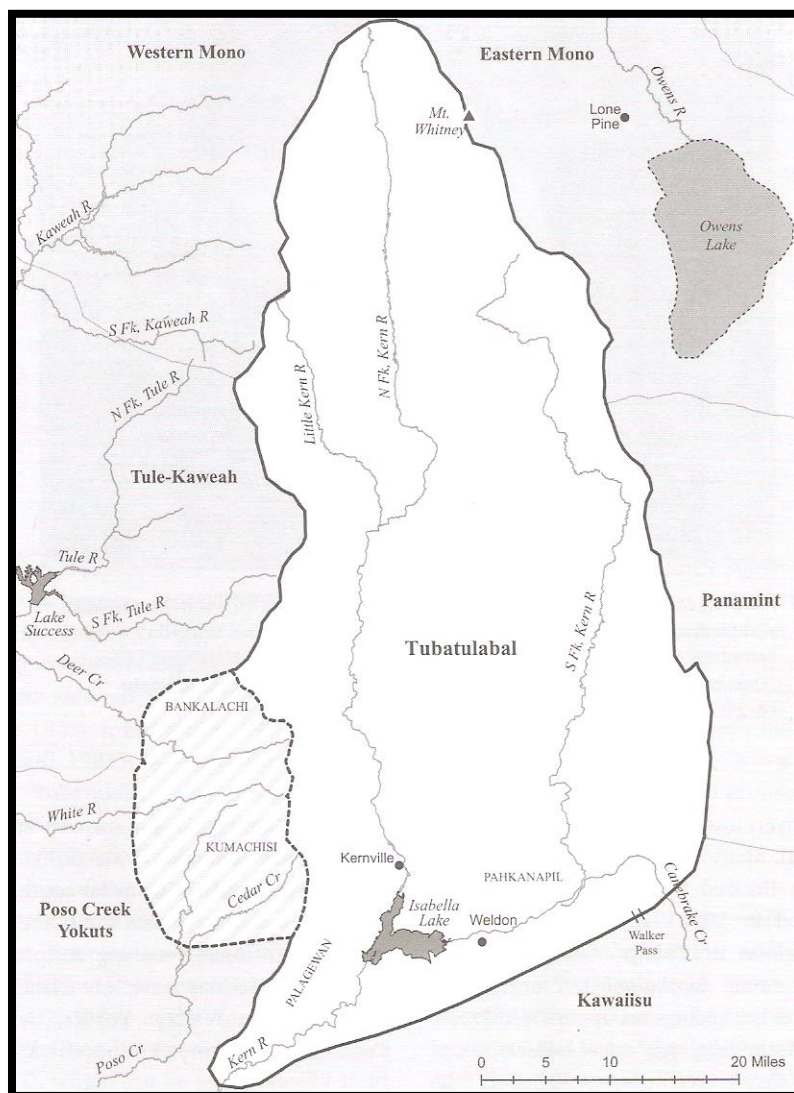


Figure 1. Map of Tübatulabal Territory (Golla 2011: 185)

1.1.3 Documentation

When Voegelin’s grammatical sketch of the Pahka’anil language was published, there were an estimated 100 native speakers (1935: v). At the time, the language was spoken along the North and South Fork of the Kern River. Dialectical variation was attested early on by Voegelin (1935). There were three main communities sometimes referred to as the Pakanapul tribelet: Palagewan (North Fork Tübatulabal), Pahka’anil (South Fork Tübatulabal), and Bankalachi (Upper Deer Creek) (Golla, 2011). Vocabulary of Pahka’anil was first collected by Merriam in 1902 (Golla, 2011). In 1906, Kroeber collected vocabularies of both Pahka’anil and Bankalachi and was the first scholar to publish on the language (Golla, 2011). Between 1910 and 1916, Waterman and Harrington also collected ethnographic and linguistic data (Golla, 2011). However, the most extensive documentation was carried out by Voegelin between 1931-1933. His field work on the Pahka’anil variety produced a published grammar (1935), a collection of

texts (1935), and a short dictionary (1958) (Golla, 2011). Mike Miranda (Pahka'anil Chief) was Voegelin's primary language consultant. Chief Miranda's son and three other speakers of the South Fork area also contributed to the work. The same year Voegelin (1935) published his Pahka'anil grammar, a collection of 27 texts was also compiled and published. Each text was represented using a very detailed orthography that attempts to reflect the sounds and other phonological features present in connected speech. English translations for each text were also done. Myths and personal narratives make up the majority of the corpus followed by five dreams. Even though this corpus was transcribed, the texts were never interlinearized, annotated, or analyzed.

1.1.4 Current status and ongoing work

A group Pakanapul (Tübatulabal) established the Pakanapul Language Program (Mount Mesa, California) in October of 2004 (Golla 2011: 187). One of the primary goals of this program led by Tribal Chair Robert Gomez, Vice Tribal Chair Tina Guerrero, and program coordinator Betsy Johnson is to develop language learning resources for the current language revitalization curriculums taking place in areas where other Pakanapul descendants are concentrated. Collaboration with a group of researchers under the direction of Dr. Michael Ahland (California State University, Long Beach) has also helped move the project forward as more analyses on the language are being conducted and Pahka'anil language resources are now being made available to the community online.¹ Ongoing work on behalf of the Pakanapul language team continues as revitalization efforts remain strong.

1.2 Research questions

The goal of this study is to identify the grammatical strategies and devices that are employed to distinguish main from non-main event lines in Pahka'anil narratives. This will be done by addressing the following questions: 1) How is the main event line composed in Pahka'anil narratives? 2) What are the structural features that distinguish main event from non-main event lines? 3) To what degree does *telicity* (a basic verbal distinction in Pahka'anil according to Voegelin's research) determine a verbal aspectual category concerned with boundedness of events?²

1.3 Scope and organization of the present study

The main components of this present analysis are presented in the following sections. The discussion begins with a review of previous literature concerning discourse studies on narrative structure across the world's languages (§2). This section is then followed by an outline of Payne's (2015) methodology which was employed in this study (§3). Section 4 presents an overview of relevant grammatical preliminaries of Pahka'anil. This section begins with a

¹ <http://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/>

² Hopper (1979) argues that aspect (i.e., perfectivity) is directly associated with the sequencing of events in narratives. According to Hopper, perfective and imperfective aspect are used to show temporal relationships between main versus non-main events in narratives. This research question will therefore help highlight any potential correlations between narrative event structuring and the verbal aspectual category Voegelin (1935) has defined as *telicity*.

discussion on aspect and telicity (§4.1) followed by a section on alignment, case-marking, and bound pronominal morphology (§4.2). The overview of Pahka'anil preliminaries ends with a section on word-order variation in transitive and intransitive constructions (§4.3) and a short discussion on the discourse marker /pic/ (§4.4). The results and analysis (§5) is broken down into five subsections. The first subsection (§5.1) provides a preview of the analysis regarding main versus non-main event structuring and presents a summary of the number of main versus non-main events that were found for each of the nine texts (Table 2). The structures and features relevant to main and non-main events are then discussed and illustrated in §5.2 and §5.3. Exceptions and other common structures are presented in §5.4. The summary of the results and analysis (§ 5.5) focuses on the intersection of structure, narrative function, and aspectual marking which together distinguish main from non-main material. The discussion (§ 6) addresses the limitations of the present study and provides suggestions for future research based on questions that still remain.

2. The Development of Narrative Discourse Analysis: Previous Research

Discourse analysts have found strong correlations between narrative event structuring and the use of specific grammatical forms and devices. Whatever the strategy may be, languages often find a way to organize events in a narrative so that there are those events which advance the plot forward and those that provide background material (Shirtz & Payne, 2015). This discourse function is known as *grounding*. Although this concept has been defined and used in different ways by different scholars, Shirtz and Payne (2015) argue that *grounding* in narrative event structuring should be understood in the following way.

2.1 Grounding

Events that are foregrounded compose the main event line, or frame of the narrative and they occur sequentially without any overlap (Hopper, 1979; Payne, 2015). They continue the plot and move the story forward in chronological sequence (Shirtz & Payne, 2015). Backgrounded events, on the other hand, provide descriptive and supportive material that co-occur with main events (Hopper, 1979; Payne, 2015). Non-main events can provide information about participants, time, and locations, as well as introduce topic shifts and new information (Hopper, 1979; Shirtz & Payne, 2015). Furthermore, backgrounded events can also be reiterations of previously established events in the main event line (Eaton, 2015). If two or more events overlap temporally, only one of them is considered part of the main event line. Because temporality and chronological sequencing are expressed through verb forms in some languages, there are those scholars who have considered the role of aspect and tense in narrative event structuring. According to Hopper (1979), there is an intimate connection between aspect (i.e., perfectivity) and the sequencing of events in narratives. The argument is that chronologically sequenced events tend to be marked with perfective aspect while temporally overlapping events are marked as imperfective. Although it is not uncommon for languages as different as French, Russian, Polish, and Swahili to have specific tense-aspect morphology that distinguishes main from non-main event lines, languages can employ other grammatical strategies and devices such as word order, tone melody, and voice (Hopper, 1979; Shirtz & Payne, 2015). On the other hand, the same grammatical strategies used in composing the main event line in a narrative can also be multifunctional in that they perform more than one job in discourse.

2.2 Multifunctionality

An important premise underlying recent discourse and grammar studies in the genre of narrative is that in most languages, there is not a one-to-one correlation between a grammatical structure or feature (e.g., aspect) and a specific discourse function such as marking events as main or non-main (Shirtz & Payne, 2015). In fact, because discourse functions in general are usually not achieved by a single grammatical means, the morphemes and structures typically associated with foregrounding and backgrounding events in narratives tend to be multifunctional. Moreover, current evidence suggests that foregrounding is not always correlated with grammatical aspect and that the same devices that are used in foregrounding can also fulfill other jobs in discourse.

2.3 Relevant Narrative Studies

In Hopper's (1979) original framework, the main event line of a narrative was defined as non-overlapping temporally sequenced events which are bounded or marked with perfective aspect (Payne 2015: 26). Hopper (1979) emphasized that establishing the main event line is achieved through the use of grammatical aspect. Perfective and imperfective forms, therefore, help organize and establish the main event line along with overlapping backgrounded material. Based on this line of argumentation, aspect is the discourse structuring device that is responsible for composing the main event line in a narrative. Specific verb forms are, therefore, associated with the narrative function of either foregrounding or backgrounding events. The structural feature indicates the event type and the event type is determined by the presence of a particular structural feature. The circular nature of Hopper's (1979) argument, however, has led researchers to reevaluate and refine the methodologies being implemented in narrative discourse analysis.

Previous studies on Maa (Maasai, Eastern Nilotic) narratives had proposed that the narrative tense marker n[HL]- (prefix /n-/ + a HL tone) was a foregrounding device that marked the main event line (as cited in Payne, 2015). A so called "perfective" aspectual category was also thought to be associated with a foregrounding role in discourse (Payne 2015: 39). However, extensive discourse analysis conducted by Payne (2015) showed that although the narrative morpheme n[HL]- could occur on perfective main events, its use and function was not exclusively associated with foregrounding. Moreover, Payne (2015) provides evidence that the perfect category in Maa, which had previously been described as a "Past/Perfective" form, is neither distributed like a perfective aspectual category nor restricted to narrative events (p. 49-50). Even though the narrative tense marker n[HL]- and the Maa perfect category are not dedicated narrative markers, they are both grammatical devices that perform important roles in discourse such as structuring relationships between utterances and marking thematic continuity (Payne 2015: 23, 49). While Payne's (2015) study on Maa highlights the multifunctional dimension of verbal markers used in narrative discourse, discourse analyses conducted on other African languages have also revealed how narrative event structuring can be achieved by grammatical and lexical devices that do not necessarily involve specific verb forms or aspect morphology (Eaton 2015: 53).

The Sandawe language of central Tanzania is unique amongst African languages in that it does not exhibit specific verb morphology that is used to make aspectual distinctions (Eaton

2015: 53-54). In her study entitled *Main event line structure and aspect in Sandawe narratives*, Eaton (2015) identifies three strategies that the language employs in establishing chronological relations between non-main events and the main event line: 1) object marking, 2) verb conjunction constructions with ‘finish’, ‘stop’, or ‘stay’, and 3) lexical and grammatical morphemes such as /-wa/ ‘pluractional verb suffix’, /hia/ ‘usually’, or the durative suffix /=yoo/ (p. 77). These three strategies are what essentially mark aspect and in narrative discourse they are used to show how non-main events stand in relation to the chronologically sequenced main events. Although these strategies play a crucial role in narrative event structuring, they are used together with other grammatical devices that also become essential structural features.

Sandawe is a verb final language that exhibits a phenomenon known as clause chaining (Eaton 2015: 56-58). Clauses in Sandawe narratives are, therefore, combined using a series of conjunctions that agree with the subject of the clause (Eaton 2015: 58). These conjunctions (termed “Narrative” and “Repetitive”), together with the strategies discussed above, become salient structural features in Sandawe narratives that are used to distinguish main versus non-main material. For example, the repetitive conjunction can occur with either main or non-main events. However, if the aspect marking strategy (whether it is just one or a combination of the three) signals perfective aspect meaning, then only this event will be considered the next one in sequence. If the clause containing the repetitive conjunction is marked with habitual aspect meaning, then interpreted as overlapping and not part of the main event line (Eaton 2015: 77). Eaton (2015) discusses how both conjunction types can be used to advance the main event line but only those clauses that are marked with a strategy signaling perfective aspect will be considered main. In addition, syntactically independent clauses outside the main event line can also be marked by the absence of the “Narrative” conjunction (Eaton 2015: 76). The adverbial marker /hiisii/ ‘time’ is another device used to indicate that event is not the next event in sequence but rather one that overlaps temporally with the main event. According to Eaton (2015), the “Temporal Subordinate Clause” was the most common structural feature of dependent clauses associated with non-main material in narratives (p. 77). These events were typically reiterations of previously mentioned events. In another verb final (OV), clause chaining language from Africa, Ahland (2015) highlights the how three types of non-final verbs together with aspectual marking are used in structuring not only main versus non-main events, but larger temporal sections in discourse.

Narrative event structuring in Northern Mao involves three non-final verb constructions which are used in clause chains featuring a temporally-integrated construction, and the two most common constructions in Northern Mao narratives which are same- and different-subject constructions (Ahland 2015: 82). The two aspectual verbal categories that interact with these constructions in narrative discourse are *perfect* and *progressive*. Together with perfect or progressive aspectual marking, the three non-final verb constructions express temporal relationships between events. Ahland (2015) groups the three non-final verb types according to the temporal relationship they express between events. The first category includes same- and different-subject constructions which indicate the chronological sequencing of one clause with the preceding one (Ahland 2015: 94). The second category is that of the temporally-integrated construction which indicates temporal overlap between clauses. Ahland’s (2015: 112) analysis reveals how same-subject and different-subject constructions correlated with the main event line in a narrative while the temporally-integrated construction was seen to mark non-main events that provided background material concerning main events. Perfect and progressive aspect, as well as zero aspectual marking, also plays a role in structuring the main event line of narratives.

Although progressive aspect was typically associated with background non-main material, it did not always indicate temporal overlap (Ahland 2015: 112). Moreover, while perfect aspect usually correlated with main line material, it was used more specifically for dividing narratives into temporal sections which consisted of clause chains with both same- and different-subject non-final verb constructions. The evidence presented by Ahland (2015) is consistent with the premise that there is not a one-to-one correlation between a grammatical structure or feature (e.g., aspect) and a specific discourse function such as marking events as main or non-main (Shirtz & Payne, 2015). In addition to the discourse studies on narrative discourse in the African languages mentioned above, analyses have also been carried out in native languages of the Americas.

In Jones and Jones' (1979) study of narrative structure in Meso-American languages, there was a clear association between aspect and the composition of the main event line. For example, in Cajonos Zapotec (Oto-Manguean), the *Completive* aspect is used to indicate main line events while backgrounded material is usually associated with other aspectual categories such as *Stative/Habitual*. According to Jones and Jones' (1979) analysis, however, verbs that are marked with Completive aspect are also preceded by the particle /na'a/. The structure /Completive verb + na'a/ was seen to mark main events that were understood as turning points in the narrative plot. The study further revealed that the general function of the particle /na'a/ is to indicate any material salient to the speaker. The distribution of this particle was also not limited to main events marked with the Completive aspect. The particle /na'a/ could therefore be used to highlight backgrounded material that may present crucial information concerning the main topic or character of the narrative. Jones and Jones' (1979) study contributes to the typological framework for discourse analysis in that it demonstrates how there is no one-to-one correlation between a specific morpheme or grammatical strategy and a particular discourse function.

In order to build a more complete typology of the grammatical strategies employed in event structuring across narrative discourse as well as other genres, more languages need to be included in the discussion. The importance of the present analysis is that it hopes to contribute to these typological studies by addressing gaps in our understanding of narrative discourse across Native American languages. As of now, this is one of the first studies being conducted on Pahka'anil (Tübatulabal) discourse.

3. Methodology

The methodology used in this study has been adopted from Payne (2015) in her analysis of aspect and main event sequences in Maa (Maasai, Eastern Nilotic) narratives (as mentioned in §2.3 above). According to Payne (2015), the main event line simply includes non-overlapping sequential events that are organized in the order in which they temporally occur in "the conceptual story world" (Payne 2015: 26). In order to avoid a circular argumentation for how grammatical aspectual categories and other narrative sequence markers are used to establish the main event line of a narrative, Payne (2015) introduces a non-circular methodology which defines the main event line of a narrative as sequential events that do not overlap (Payne 2015: 26). This non-circular methodology uses a discovery procedure that does not begin the assumption that certain grammatical structures or items have a specialized function in narrative event structuring in discourse. The criteria that Payne (2015) uses to determine the main event line is that it can only include sequential events that do not overlap. The following is Payne's (2015) methodology for identifying the main event line and dealing with overlapping backgrounded material.

The most basic premise is that if event A is completed before the beginning of event B in the “discourse world”, then both event A and B are considered part of the main event line of the narrative (Payne 2015: 26):

- (I) (A) I drove home and (B) fed the cat.

If two events partially or wholly overlap, then only one can be considered a main event (Payne 2015: 26). In the following examples, only event A would be considered main line material while event B overlaps temporally with event A in some way:

- (II) (A) I drove home (B) looking for the dog on every corner.
(III) (A) I drove home. (B) We came from the country side.
(IV) (A) I drove home. (B) We left the country side and made many stops along the way.
(V) (A) We stopped by the waterfall (B) after we had left the cabin.

In example (V) above, event B occurs earlier than event A even though A is reported prior to B. The main event line, therefore, does not include “backflash” utterances such as event B in example (V) which occurs earlier than A in the discourse world, but is not reported first (Payne 2015: 27). Since event A in example (V) is reported first, only A is operationally considered main line material (Payne 2015: 27). In general, any reiteration of a previous event is not considered main line material in that it does not advance the narrative along the chronological timeline.

Using Payne’s (2015) methodology, a total of nine Pahka’anil narratives were analyzed. The texts used in this present analysis form part of a larger corpus of 27 texts which were collected, phonetically transcribed, and translated into English by Voegelin (1935). Out of the nine texts used in this study, six of them were provided by Pahka’anil chief Mike Miranda. The remaining three texts were given by speakers of the South Fork area including Chief Miranda’s son, Steban Miranda. Although the texts were phonetically transcribed and translated, they needed to be interlinearized and annotated before the analysis could be conducted.

4. Grammatical preliminaries of Pahka’anil

The following sections provide an overview of relevant grammatical preliminaries that will be necessary in understanding the discussion on narrative event structure in Pahka’anil in §5. The overview below begins with a discussion on aspect and telicity (§4.1). This section is followed by a discussion on the alignment system, case-marking, and bound pronominal morphology (§4.2). Section 4.3 highlights word-order variation in both intransitive and transitive constructions, as well as the marking of core participants. Finally, we end with a discussion concerning the discourse marker /pic/ (§4.4.). Each section presented in this overview is essential for understanding the results and analysis which aims at identifying the grammatical strategies, structural features, and aspectual (telic/atelic) categories that are employed in main and non-main events.

4.1 Aspect and Telicity

According to Voegelin (1935), Pahka’anil verbs have two forms: *telic* and *atelic*. Telic verbs are formed through partial reduplication of the initial syllable or vowel of an atelic stem.³ For example, the telic form /i:~mi/ ‘go’ is formed by reduplicating the vowel /i/ in the first syllable of the atelic stem /mij-at/ ‘go-ATEL’. Each verbal stem can take any number of suffixes or infixes. However, there are morphemes that are assigned exclusively to one verbal stem. For instance, nominalizing, subordinating, and imperative suffixes occur only after the atelic form (Voegelin, 1935, p. 96). In addition, only atelic verbs take permissive and past habitual suffixes. Pronominal marking only occurs on atelic stems as well. Other medial suffixes such as causative, benefactive, and passive can occur with either telic or atelic verbs.

There are semantic restrictions that can influence the presence or absence of any given suffix and the presence of a certain suffix can also change the role of the verb. For example, the causative suffix will only very rarely attach to transitive verbs and when the same suffix is attached to an intransitive or impersonal verb, the verb becomes transitive. Pahka’anil also has a set of what Voegelin (1935) calls *suffixes of movement* which can occur with either verbal stem. These suffixes provide additional information regarding a movement of coming or going that takes place while a certain action is being carried out.

The essential difference between a telic and atelic verb has to do with aspect. Telic verbs are considered “perfective without tense commitment” while the aspectual meaning of the *atelic* forms is not clear (Voegelin, 1935, p. 94). The following example illustrates how the telic and atelic forms of the verb ‘go’ are used in discourse:

- (1) *picki* *wahai* *iimi* *oholaalamiik*
 piʃ-ki wah-ai i:~mi ohola:-l-a-mi:k
 TOP-1SG:SBJ DEM-from **TEL~go** canyon-ABS-OBJ-to
 ‘Then from there I went to the canyon.’

tsoomiikki *oholaala* *miyat*
 tso:mi:k-ki ohola:-l-a **mij-(a)t**
 down-1SG:SBJ canyon-ABS-OBJ **go-ATEL**
 ‘I am going down the canyon.’ (App. B: 6)⁴

One may be inclined to propose a perfective/imperfective system in Pahka’anil given that 1) telic and atelic are obligatory categories, 2) very specific morphology is assigned to each stem, and 3) the difference in meaning usually has to do with the boundedness or duration of an event. Nevertheless, Voegelin (1935) is cautious in making any strong claim that Pahka’anil verbs exhibit a clear perfective/imperfective split. The aspectual meaning of the atelic, in particular, is unclear although it is commonly associated with actions that indicate some kind of duration.

The presence of *tense* is also problematic. There are two tenses presented in Voegelin’s (1935) grammar: *present* and *future* (p.121). The *present tense* suffix associates exclusively with

³ Although this process is quite regular, there are cases when there is reversed formation (the atelic is formed via partial reduplication of the telic stem) and zero formation (both verb forms are the same) (Voegelin 1935: 95-96).

⁴ The appendix letter for each text followed by the number of the line(s) is included in parenthesis for every example.

atelic verb forms. It is not clear whether this supposed present tense is distinct from atelic since it is the same marker as the atelic /-t/ and is distributed in much the same way that atelic is.⁵

4.2 Alignment: Case and Bound Pronominal Marking

The subsections presented below discuss the alignment pattern found in Pahka'anil and the case marking system along with patterns concerning bound pronominal morphology. Section 4.2.1 focuses on the syntactic cases and illustrates how they occur and how they are distributed in discourse. The second subsection (§4.2.2) provides an overview of the ways in which reduced enclitics (bound pronominal morphology) attach to a variety of forms.

4.2.1 Case marking system

Pahka'anil exhibits syntactic features of a nominative-accusative system. There are three syntactic cases that are clearly marked in the language: subject, object, and genitive (Voegelin, 1935). The citation form of the noun, called *absolute* by Voegelin (1935), is marked with either /-l/ or /-t/. The absolute marker is found on both subjects and objects:

- (2) *yoowi anghaniil üüciüwanamiigatsu anghaniil inggim*
 jo:wi **anhani:-l** i:ʃiwanami:g-atsu **anhani:-l** iŋ~gim
 many **people-ABS** different.directions-from **people-ABS** TEL~come
 ‘(there are) many people. From every place people came.’ (App. E: 4)

- (3) *angaangitc amaca muwaala*
 aŋa:-n-gitʃ a~maca **muwa:-l-a**
 wing-3SG:POSS-QUOT TEL~cover **mountain-ABS-OBJ**
 ‘His wing covered the mountain.’ (App. H: 6)

We most often find the object marker /-a/ (and occasionally /-i/) attached to both animate and inanimate objects. These markers are especially of high-frequency in locative constructions. Locatives with object marking can come after (example 4) or before (example 5) a verb:

- (4) *nik wandzil oodooica yütap*
 nik wandzil o:~do:i-fa yi-t-**a-p**
 1SG:SBJ that TEL~travel.about-FUT valley-ABS-**OBJ-LOC:IN**
 ‘Indeed, I shall wander in the valley.’ (App. D: 12)

- (5) *nik wandzil cübapüülap aahalica*
 nik wandzil ʃibapi-l-**a-p** a:-hal-(i)ʃa
 1SG:SBJ that sagebrush-ABS-**OBJ-LOC:IN** TEL~live-FUT
 ‘Indeed, I shall live in the sagebrush.’ (App. D: 16)

⁵ The tense/aspect system in the language is not entirely clear. Voegelin (1935) claims that Pahka'anil verbs are unable to express a past tense that is not mixed with aspect or other verbal categories. This results in there being no “pure past tense” (p.121). These claims, of course, still remain to be understood.

While word order for these specific locative constructions is not so rigid, object marking on patient-like arguments in transitive constructions almost always take place after the verb. It is possible for objects to appear before both atelic and telic verbs. However, objects often do not appear before the verb, and when they do, they tend to occur before atelic and non-telic verbs such as the imperative. The most consistent basic word order pattern in Pahka'anil is therefore subject-verb-object (SVO). However, to better understand word order and case marking patterns, the following discussions in §4.3 highlight the structural features that are found in intransitive and transitive constructions.

4.2.2 Bound pronominal marking

Although subject pronouns can occur as both full and reduced morphemes (*see Table 1*), the use of independent full forms is limited to questions and other interrogative constructions. Subject marking, therefore, most often occurs as bound pronominal morphology that can be attached to both telic and atelic verbs and pre-verbal material such as nouns, temporal phrases, demonstratives, interrogatives, and discourse markers.

		Full/Free	Reduced/Bound
1st Person	Singular	/nik/	/-gi/
	Dual	/iŋgila/	/-gila/
	Plural Exclusive	/iŋgila'ang/	/-gila'ang/
	Plural	/iŋgilu:ts/	/-giluuts/
2nd Person	Singular	/imbi/	/-bi/
	Plural	/imbuumu/	/-buumu/
3rd Person	Singular	/in/	zero, (-dza)
	Plural	/inda/	/-da/

Table 1. Subject Pronoun Paradigm (Voegelin 1935: 135)

Object pronominal marking on verbs, however, is not as common. Nevertheless, when object pronominal marking does occur, it can be attached to either a telic verb stem, subordinated or nominalized verbs, or non-atelic forms such as the hortative:

- (6) *indimalaawani*
 in~dimala:wa-**ni**
 TEL~chase-**1SG:OBJ**
 'He followed me.' (App. A: 20)

- (7) *wüngaala* *tsüliwac* *miyakangni*
 wüŋa:-l-a tsiliw-af mij-ak-**aŋ-ni**
 summit-ABS-OBJ cross.mountain-SUB:SS go-INT-SUB:DS-1SG:OBJ

e'eelamin *apabaa'aniiganan*
 eʔ-e:la-min apaba:ʔani:ganan
 TEL~jump-ACT>GO three.year.old.deer
 'while I was crossing the summit; the three-point buck jumped in front of me,
 interrupting me as I was going.' (App. C: 8)

- (8) *wa'ogon* *tüwü* *miinamaaling*
 waʔ-ogon tiwi mi:n-(a)**ma:-ling**
 DEM-anyway good take-HORT-2SG:OBJ
 'Better to let me take you there.' (App. I: 28)

4.3 Word-order variation and the marking of core participants

Voegelin suggests that in Pahka'anil, "word order in general, is stylistic rather than obligatory" (1935: 151). Although there is cross-speaker variation with respect to word order, there are certain word-order patterns that are more consistent than others. The following sections highlight some of the basic word-order patterns that are found across intransitive (§4.3.1) and transitive constructions (§4.3.2).

4.3.1 Intransitive constructions

Apart from telicity, voice is the only other obligatory feature of verbs according to Voegelin (1935). According to both their semantic and syntactic properties, Pahka'anil verbs can be grouped in the following way: intransitive, stative, or transitive (Voegelin 1935: 94). Depending on the type of structure, word order can vary along with how core participants are marked. The following examples illustrate how basic constructions with intransitive or stative verbs can be formed:

- | | S | V |
|-----|---|--------------|
| (9) | <i>yüpal</i> | <i>lecat</i> |
| | jüpa-l | lef-(a)t |
| | door-ABS | open-ATEL |
| | 'The door is opening.' (Voegelin 1935: 149) | |

- | | S | V |
|------|--|----------------|
| (10) | <i>taatwal</i> | <i>hamacat</i> |
| | ta:twa-l | hamaf-(a)t |
| | man-ABS | be.sad-ATEL |
| | 'The man is sad.' (Voegelin 1935: 149) | |

We notice that single arguments in intransitive and stative constructions (i.e., S) occur before the verb (i.e., V) and can take the absolute marker /-l/. In other constructions, however, we find the absolute marker on material occurring after the verb while SV order is maintained⁶:

- | | | | | |
|------|---|----------------|----------------------|---------------|
| | S | | V | |
| (11) | <i>nik</i> | <i>wandzil</i> | <i>oodooica</i> | <i>tuugal</i> |
| | nik | wandzil | o:~do:i-fa | tu:ga-l |
| | 1SG:SBJ | that | TEL~travel.about-FUT | night-ABS |
| | ‘Indeed I shall wander at night.’ (App. D: 8) | | | |

In Pahka’anil discourse, it is not uncommon to find material before both the grammatical subject and the verb as in the following example:

- | | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------|--|---------------|
| | | S | | V |
| (12) | <i>pic-kitc</i> | <i>aabuun</i> | | <i>etehma</i> |
| | piʃ-kitʃ | a:bu:-n | | e~tehma |
| | TOP-QUOT | mother-3SG:POSS | | TEL~be.silent |
| | ‘Then her mother became silent.’ (App. I: 41) | | | |

Depending on the flow of the discourse, it is also possible for SV order to be maintained although bound pronominal marking can occur on various types of preverbal material. This can include adverbial (example 13) and temporal phrases (example 14), objects (example 15), and demonstratives (example 16):

Adverbial:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|-------------|
| (13) | <i>tuucik</i> | <i>iimi</i> |
| | tu:ʃi-k | i:~mi |
| | straight.on-1SG:SBJ | TEL~go |
| | ‘Straightway I went.’ (App. A: 26) | |

Temporal:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| (14) | <i>paatwanaap</i> | <i>üüülü'üing</i> | <i>meedagila'ang</i> | <i>taamuugut</i> | <i>tuwubic</i> |
| | pa:twanap | i:li?iŋ | me:da- gilaʔaŋ | ta:mu:g-(u)t | tuwubiʃ |
| | three.o'clock | evening | already-1PL:EXCL | be.thirsty-ATEL | very |
| | ‘At three o’clock in the afternoon we are already very thirsty.’ (App. F: 9) | | | | |

Object:

- | | | |
|------|---|----------------|
| (15) | <i>aalitcki</i> | <i>yüwulat</i> |
| | a:li-tʃ-ki | yiw-(u)la-t |
| | bow-REFL:OBJ-1SG:SBJ | hold-GO+ACT |
| | ‘I go and hold my own gun.’ (App. B: 3) | |

⁶ The use of the absolute marker in these types of data suggests that it is not a core case marker that marks grammatical relations.

Demonstrative:

- (16) *wahaaigi* *ogon* *wün* *üüdiüwü*
wah-a:i-gi ogon wün i:-diwi
there-from-1SG:SBJ on.and.on COP TEL~get.better
'I am better after that.' (App. G: 22)

4.3.2 Transitive constructions

Basic word order in transitive constructions is, for the most part, subject-verb-object (SVO). The following examples illustrate this word order pattern in various transitive constructions with full noun phrases (examples 17, 18, 19) and bound pronominal subjects (examples 20 and 21):

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|----------|-----------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|----------------------|--|-----------------------|
| | S | | V | | O | | | | |
| (17) | <i>taatwal</i> | | <i>leciinat</i> | | <i>yiipala</i> | | | | |
| | ta:twa-l | | lef-(i)in-(a)t | | jipa-l-a | | | | |
| | man-ABS | | open-CAUS-ATEL | | door-ABS- OBJ | | | | |
| | 'The man is opening the door.' (Voegelin, 1935: 149) | | | | | | | | |
| | | S | | V | | O | | | |
| (18) | <i>pickitc</i> | | <i>ict</i> | | <i>pinggüt</i> | | | | |
| | pi:f-kitf | | if-t | | piŋg-(i)t | | | | |
| | TOP-QUOT | | coyote-ABS | | say-ATEL | | | | |
| | | | | | eagle-ABS- OBJ | | | | |
| | 'Then Coyote says to Eagle,' (App. D: 2) | | | | | | | | |
| | | | S | | V | | O | | |
| (19) | <i>ku-dii-gitc</i> | | <i>wah</i> | | <i>cooyin</i> | | <i>unungaalat</i> | | <i>wa'anda</i> |
| | ku-di:-gitf | | wah | | fo:ji-n | | unuŋ-(a)la-t | | waʔan-d-a |
| | and-also-QUOT | | DEM | | wife-3SG:POSS | | pound-GO+ACT-ATEL | | acorn-ABS- OBJ |
| | 'and also his wife there goes and pounds acorns.' (App. I: 3) | | | | | | | | |
| | | S | | V | | O | | | |
| (20) | <i>wahaaigi</i> | | <i>üwügiyau</i> | | <i>tohiila</i> | | | | |
| | wah-a:i-gi | | i~wigi:jau | | tohi:-l-a | | | | |
| | DEM-from-1SG:SBJ | | TEL~track | | deer-ABS- OBJ | | | | |
| | 'From there I tracked the deer.' (App. C: 3) | | | | | | | | |
| | | S | | V | | O | | | |
| (21) | <i>peewelanggi</i> | | <i>tumuuga</i> | | <i>bicipatsu</i> | | <i>uunala</i> | | |
| | pe:welaŋ-gi | | tumu:ga | | biʃip-atsu | | u:na-l-a | | |
| | first-1SG:SBJ | | dream | | bishop-from | | bear-ABS- OBJ | | |
| | (It was) 'the first time I dreamt of the bear from Bishop.' (App. A: 14) | | | | | | | | |

VO word order is also maintained when there is zero-marking for 3rd person singular subjects:

- | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------|
| | V | O |
| (22) | <i>ii'üt</i> | <i>paal</i> |
| | i:ʔ-(i)t | pa:l-a |
| | drink-ATEL | water-ABS- OBJ |
| | 'He is drinking the water.' (Voegelin, 1935: 149) | |

- | | | |
|------|--|----------------------|
| | V | O |
| (23) | <i>undumuugat</i> | <i>unala</i> |
| | undumu:g-(a)t | una-l-a |
| | dream-ATEL | bear-ABS- OBJ |
| | 'He is dreaming [about] the bear.' (Voegelin, 1935: 150) | |

Although this word order pattern in transitive constructions occurs often, there are instances when subject-object-verb (SOV) order is used:

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| | S | O | V |
| (24) | <i>picki</i> | <i>tooro'i</i> | <i>aadawüük</i> |
| | piʃ-ki | to:roʔ-i | a:~daw:i:k |
| | TOP-1SG:SBJ | bull- OBJ | TEL~see |
| | 'Then I see the bull.' (App. B: 4) | | |

- | | | | |
|------|---|-------------|----------------------------|
| | S | O | V |
| (25) | <i>picki</i> | <i>ümbü</i> | <i>moomohta</i> |
| | piʃ-ki | imbi: | mo:moh-t:-a |
| | TOP-1SG:SBJ | again | jimsonweed-ABS- OBJ |
| | | | TEL~drink |
| | 'So again I drank jimsonweed.' (App. G: 13) | | |

Object marking on nouns in transitive constructions is the most common use of the object case. As was discussed in §4.2, both subject and object pronominal morphemes can be attached to verbs as well as any word or phrase preceding the verb that has some reference to the subject or object. In the following examples, the pronominal object marker is attached to /pic-/ (example 26), a high-frequency discourse marker usually signaling a shift in topic (see §4.4), and the interrogatives /mac-/ 'why' (example 26) and /maala-/ 'where' (example 27):

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--|--------------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| (26) | <i>picnin</i> | <i>alaa'winnat</i> | <i>macpi</i> | <i>halüit</i> | <i>ih</i> | <i>ügüt</i> |
| | piʃ-nin | ala:ʔw-in:-(a)t | maf-pi | hal-(i)t | ih | ig-(i)t |
| | TOP-1SG:OBJ | talk-CAUS-ATEL | INTER-2SG:SBJ | sit-ATEL | here | say-ATEL |
| | 'Then, talking to me, she says, "why are you sitting here?"' (App. G: 2) | | | | | |

- | | | | | |
|------|---|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| (27) | <i>aacawüt</i> | <i>icta</i> | <i>maalapi</i> | <i>aahalica</i> |
| | a:fawi-t | iʃ-t-a | ma:la-pi | a:~hal-(i)ʃa |
| | eagle-ABS | coyote-ABS- OBJ | where-2SG:SBJ | TEL~live-FUT |
| | 'Eagle (asks) Coyote', "Where will you live?"' (App. D: 17) | | | |

If the subject of the transitive verb is 3rd person singular, there is zero marking for the subject and the verb often occurs in initial position. Whenever there is zero subject marking, bound

pronominal marking tends to occur in the second position following verbs or any other forms that occur initially:

- (28) *tükanattüpi* *tapicila*
 tikan-(a)t-**tipi** tapiʃi-l-a
 feed-ATEL-**3PL:OBJ** bread-ABS-OBJ
 ‘He feeds them the bread.’ (Voegelin, 1935: 138)

- (29) *tükaniibülni* *anangat*
 tikan-i:-bi-l-**ni** anaŋ-(a)t
 feed-NMLZ-REL-ABS-**1SG:OBJ** cry-ATEL
 ‘The one who feeds me is crying.’ (Voegelin, 1935: 138)

Although object marking is seen in a number of constructions, it is not obligatory. Depending on the content of the discourse, if the patient has already been mentioned or topicalized in a previous utterance, it can be elided. In the following example, ‘deer’ is topicalized very early on in the narrative (example 30) and therefore omitted repeatedly afterwards (example 31):

Topic:

- (30) *wahaagi* *üwügiyau* *tohiila*
 wah-a:i-gi i~wigi:jau **tohi:-l-a**
 DEM-from-1SG:SBJ TEL~track **deer-ABS-OBJ**
 ‘From there I tracked **the deer**.’ (App. C: 3)

Ellipsis:

- (31) *wahki* *iciigin*
 wah-ki i-ʃi:gin
 DEM-1SG:SBJ TEL~skin
 ‘There I skinned **him**.’ (App. C: 14)

4.4 The Discourse Marker /pic/

The most frequently occurring discourse marker is /pic/ ‘then’. In the beginning of narratives, we often find the theme being established with /pic/ (line 2) after backgrounded material is introduced (line 1):

- (32)
 1 *peewelang* *taahawacki* *otohaala* *yütiyaamibatsu*
 pe:welaŋ ta:hawaʃ-ki o~toha:-la jitiya:m-i-b-atsu
 first summer-1SG:SBJ TEL~hunt-GO+ACT yitiyam-OBJ-LOC:IN-AWAY
 ‘Last summer I went and hunted from Yitiyam,’

<i>muwaalap</i>	<i>egeewanaap</i>
muwa:-l-a-p	ege:wan-a:-p
mountain-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN	big-OBJ-LOC:IN
‘in the big mountains.’	

2 <i>picki</i>	<i>ukubaan</i>	<i>muwaaling</i>	<i>üübüüüüla</i>
pij -ki	uku-b-a:n	muwa:-l-ij	i:~bili:-la
TOP -1SG:SBJ	top-LOC:IN-3SG:POSS	mountain-ABS-GEN	TEL~arrive- GO+ACT
‘Then I went and arrived on top of the mountain.’ (App. C: 1-2)			

It is common for narratives to begin with backgrounded material providing information about time, participants, and locations. Subject pronominal marking can occur on temporal adverbial phrases (as in line 1 above), but when subject marking appears on /pic/ ‘TOP’, saliency is attached either to the grammatical subject or event. The form /pic/ can also occur on its own, especially when a new topic or theme is being mentioned for the first time:

(33)

1 <i>tciidamgi</i>	<i>bicip</i>	<i>halüpügan</i>
tʃi:dam-gi	biʃip	hal-(i)pi-ga-na-n
once-1SG:SBJ	bishop	live-REL-own-3:POSS-3SG:POSS
‘Once in Bishop I (am) the one who lived.’		

2 <i>pic</i>	<i>muuhyil</i>	<i>üüdiwüüli</i>
pij	mu:hj-i-l	i~diwili
TOP	make.fiesta-NMLZ-ABS	TEL~make
‘Then the fiesta got fixed.’ (App. E: 1-2)		

5. Results and Analysis

The following sections discuss the results of the discourse analysis conducted on nine Pahka’anil narratives. The goal of this present study was to determine how the main event line is composed and to identify the grammatical strategies and devices that are employed to distinguish main from non-main event material in Pahka’anil narratives. The structural features presented in the following sections are by no means an exhaustive list of what was attested in the data. Only those strategies that were most consistent in indicating main versus non-main material are highlighted here. Before beginning the discussion, a brief summary of the statistics concerning main versus non-main events is provided (§5.1). Section 5.2 highlights the features associated with main event line material in two subsections. Each of these subsections (§5.2.1 and §5.2.2) is dedicated to highlighting two strategies employed in marking main events. Features associated with non-main events are discussed in §5.3. This section is organized into three subsections each of them illustrating the various strategies employed in backgrounding non-main material. The next section of the analysis (§5.4) provides an overview of the exceptions and additional patterns that were of high-frequency. Section 5.5 includes a summary and discussion which aim at addressing research question (3): to what degree does *telicity* determine a verbal aspectual category concerned with boundedness of events?

5.1. Main and Non-main event analysis

The first step in the analysis was to isolate the main event line from backgrounded material using Payne's (2015) methodology discussed in §3 above. Table 2 presents the number of main versus non-main events that were found in each text:

Texts	Main events	Non-main events
Bear Dream	21	12
Bull Dream	7	4
Deer Hunt	15	9
End of the Mythical Age	10	2
Fiesta near Bishop	6	8
Journey from Tejon	15	12
The Power of Jimsonweed	19	5
The Winged One	4	4
Yihawal Steals Girl	46	8

Table 2. Total count of Main and Non-main events for each text.

Structures that emerged in dialogue contained a ranging number of features pertaining to both main and non-main events. However, since dialogue itself is not considered part of the backbone of the narrative, structures used in dialogue were not included in the numbers presented in Table 2. Two additional tables presented in §5.2 and §5.3 will highlight the frequency percentages for each of the structures that were found while making reference to the numbers illustrated in Table 2.

5.2 Features of Main events

The analysis revealed two main strategies that correlate with the main event line in Pahka'anil narrative discourse. For each main strategy, there are two constructions (*see Table 3*) depending on the type grammatical or topicalized subject and the presence of telic versus atelic verb forms:

Text	Strategy 1		Strategy 2		Exceptions
	Construction 1: pic + bound pronominal marking + telic verb	Construction 2: pic + full noun phrase /elided subject + telic verb	Construction 3: pic + QUOT + atelic verb	Construction 4: pic + QUOT + telic verb	
Bear Dream	14/21	0/21	0/21	0/21	7/21
Bull Dream	6/7	0/7	0/7	0/7	1/7
Deer Hunt	4/15	1/15	0/15	0/15	10/15
End of the Mythical Age	0/10	0/10	1/10	0/10	9/10
Fiesta near Bishop	3/6	1/6	0/6	0/6	2/6
Journey from Tejon	5/15	0/15	0/15	0/15	10/15
The Power of Jimsonweed	10/19	3/19	0/19	0/19	6/19
The Winged One	0/4	0/4	0/4	1/4	3/4
Yihawal Steals Girl	0/46	2/46	10/46	12/46	22/46
Total	42/143	7/143	11/143	13/143	70/143

Table 3. Frequency percentages of main event patterns.

The most common strategy for marking main events exhibited the structural features topic marker /pic/ + bound pronominal marking + telic verb (§5.2.1). In the absence of bound pronominal marking, the structural features topic marker /pic/ + telic verb also occurred with full noun phrase subjects, zero third person subjects, and other elided subjects. The second strategy that was identified in the analysis (topic marker /pic/ plus + quotative) is highlighted in §5.2.2. This strategy also contains two constructions; one for each verb form.

5.2.1 Topic marker /pic/ + bound pronominal marking + telic verb

Out of the four constructions that were identified as associating with main events, the one that occurred with most frequency across the texts was construction 1 (42/143): topic marker /pic/ + bound pronominal marking + telic verb. In the following examples, these structural features occur in both intransitive (example 34) and transitive (example 35) constructions:

- (34) *picki* *ü'ülüük*
pij-ki **i?~ili:k**
TOP-1SG:SBJ **TEL~wake.up**
‘Then I woke up.’ (App. B: 9)

- picki* *ü'ülüüik*
pij-ki **i?~ili:k**
TOP-1SG:SBJ TEL~wake.up
 'Then I woke up.'
- 2 *picki* *woocamaana'ang* *undumuugapiüüi* *iimi* *bicipminiik*
pij-ki **wo:-ʃama:na-(ʔa)ŋ** **un~dumu:g-(a)pi:-i** **i:~mi** **bifip-mini:k**
TOP-1SG:SBJ two-week-GEN TEL~dream-REL-3SG:REFL TEL~go bishop-to
 'Then, two weeks after my own dream, I took leave toward Bishop.'
- 3 *picki* *wüngaalap* *üübülüüla*
pij-ki **wiŋa:-l-a-p** **i:~bil-(i:)la**
TOP-1SG:SBJ summit.of.mountain-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN TEL~arrive-GO+ACT
 'Then I went and arrived on the summit.'
- 4 *picki* *amagamin* *undumuugapiüüi* *uunala*
pij-ki **a~magamin** **un~dumu:g-(a)pi:-i** **u:na-l-a**
TOP-1SG:SBJ TEL~remember TEL~dream-REL-3SG:REFL bear-ABS-OBJ
 'Then I remembered my own past dream (of) the bear.' (App. A: 21-24)

In the absence of bound pronominal marking, the structural features topic marker /pic/ + telic verb occurred with full noun phrases and elided topicalized subjects. The following example illustrates how the /pic/ + telic verb construction is used with the nominalized verb 'make fiesta':

- (38) *pic* *muuhyil* *üüdiwülü*
pij **mu:hj-i-l** **i~diwili**
TOP make.fiesta-NMLZ-ABS TEL~make
 'Then the fiesta got fixed.' (App. E: 2)

The data also exhibited instances when the main event was marked with /pic/ + telic verb in the absence of a grammatical subject due to either zero marking of the third person singular or ellipsis:

- (39) *pic* *wahai* *iimi* *wooyo*
pij **wah-ai** **i:~mi** **wo:jo**
TOP DEM-from TEL~go both
 'From there, then, they both went.' (App. I: 14)
- (40) *pic* *üübülüüla* *haniip* *oonooban*
pij **i~bil-(i:)la** **hani:-p** **o:no:ban**
TOP TEL~arrive-GO+ACT house-LOC:IN outside
 'Then she went and arrived outside her own house.' (App. I: 34)

5.2.2 Topic marker /pic/ plus quotative

The second strategy associated with marking main event material interacts with both atelic and telic verbs. Constructions 3 and 4 consist of the topic marker /pic/ + QUOT (quotative) + atelic/telic verb. The following examples demonstrate how this construction is used to indicate main event line material with atelic verbs:

- (41) *pickitc* *ict* *pinggüt* *aacawiüta*
pij-kitf ij-t piŋg-(i)t a:cawi-t-a
TOP-QUOT coyote-ABS say-ATEL eagle-ABS-OBJ
 ‘Then Coyote says to Eagle,’ (App. D: 2)

- (42) *pic-kitc* *taatwal* *tohaalat* *ku-dii-gitc* *wah cooyin*
 piŋ-kitf ta:twal toha:-la-t ku-di:-gitf wah fo:ji-n
TOP-QUOT man-ABS hunt-GO+ACT-ATEL and-also-QUOT DEM wife-3SG:POSS

unungaalat *wa'anda*
 unuŋ-(a)la-t waʔan-d-a
 pound-GO+ACT-ATEL acorn-ABS-OBJ

‘Then the man goes and hunts, and also his wife there goes and pounds acorns.’ (App. I: 3)

The same construction also occurred with main events that included a telic verb:

- (43) *pickitc* *anghaniil* *piniyu* *awa'at* *tsungguc*
pij-kitf aŋhani:-l piniju a~waʔat tsuŋg-(u)f
TOP-QUOT people-ABS every TEL~run.away be.scared-SUB:SS
 ‘Then all the people, being frightened, ran away.’ (App. H: 3)

- (44) *pickitc* *wahai* *aamaaigüla* *ciuba* *aabuun*
pij-kitf wah-ai a:~ma:igila ʃi:uba a:bu:-n
TOP-QUOT DEM-from TEL~run back.again mother-3SG:POSS
 ‘Then from there, her mother went and ran back again.’ (App. I: 10)

Although three out of the four constructions associated with main events (see Table 3 above) include telic verb forms, the /pic/ + QUOT (quotative) construction allows for there to be overlap between atelic and telic verbs. In other words, main events can contain atelic verb forms, as well, when the /pic/ + QUOT (quotative) is present. This particular feature, therefore, overrides telicity and is not restricted to telic verbs exclusively as are the two constructions for the first strategy discussed in §5.2.1 above. Events that contained the form /pic/ + bound pronominal marking/full noun phrase subject + atelic verb were rare, and when they did occur, they were almost always reiterations and therefore did not advance the main event line (see Appendix A: line 2, 7 and Appendix G: line 6). Out of the total number of main events distributed throughout the nine texts, there were only two which contained a construction with the topic marker /pic/ + atelic verb:

(45) *picnin* *alaawinat* *macpi* *haliit* *ih* *ügiit*
piʃ-nm ala:w-in-at maʃ-pi hal-it ih ig-it
TOP-1SG:OBJ talk-CAUS-ATEL INTER-2SG:SBJ sit-ATEL here say-ATEL
‘Then, talking to me, she says, “why are you sitting here?”’ (App. G: 2)

(46) *pic* *tiiwügiit* *tahambil* *taawügiic*
piʃ tiwi-git tahambi-l ta:wig-iʃ
TOP good-say old.man-ABS see-SUB:SS
‘Then, “Good,” says the old man, when he sees it.’ (App. C: 18)

Main events with the form /pic/ + QUOT (quotative) are, therefore, unique in that they can take either telic or atelic verb forms. It is also worthwhile noting that the topic marker /pic/ + QUOT (quotative) construction is only distributed in three of the nine texts. These three texts (i.e., Yihawal Steals Girl, End of the Mythical Age, and The Winged One) happen to fall under the genre of myth. The distribution of this structural feature, therefore, is a result of its specific function in the genre of myth in Pahka’anil. Although it is beyond the scope of this present study, it is important to note the ways in which genre influences the grammatical structures that emerge in discourse. The function and distribution of the quotative /gitc/ or /gija/, more specifically, is still unclear.⁸

5.3 Features of Non-main events

In the nine narratives analyzed in this study, several structural features marking non-main events were identified. The following table presents the frequency percentages for each of the constructions associated with non-main material:

⁸ According to Voegelin (1935: 171), “sentences in indirect discourse differ from normal narrative sentences only in that the quotative conjunctive particle, -gidža, is attached to some word in the sentence for indirect discourse.” Voegelin’s (1935) description here is somewhat unclear. Bethany Lycan’s (2018) work on /gija/, however, provides strong evidence suggesting that based on its distribution across the genres of the Pahka’anil texts and Mike Miranda’s autobiography, the primary function of /gija/ is that of an evidential hearsay marker that could have been grammaticalized from the verb /pinngüt/ ‘to say’.

Text	Construction 1: Temporal/ Adverbial phrase + bound pronominal marking + telic/atelic verb	Construction 2: Temporal/ Adverbial phrase + QUOT + telic/atelic verb	Construction 3: /wün/ copula or zero copula	Construction 4: Subordinate clauses	Exceptions
Bear Dream	2/12	0/12	1/12	4/12	5/12
Bull Dream	1/4	0/4	0/4	1/4	2/4
Deer Hunt	2/9	0/9	2/9	4/9	1/9
End of the Mythical Age	0/2	0/2	1/2	0/2	1/2
Fiesta near Bishop	0/8	0/8	4/8	3/8	1/8
Journey from Tejon	6/12	0/12	2/12	3/12	1/12
The Power of Jimsonweed	0/5	0/5	0/5	0/5	5/5
The Winged One	0/4	2/4	0/4	1/4	1/4
Yihawal Steals Girl	0/8	1/8	1/8	2/8	4/8
Total	11/64	3/64	11/64	18/64	21/64

Table 4. Frequency percentages of non-main event patterns.

The discussion below is a summary of the most consistent grammatical strategies employed in the process of backgrounding (the arrow → will be used in the following examples to indicate all backgrounded material). The first section (§5.3.1) discusses one of the most common structural features of non-main events; namely temporal/adverbial phrase + bound pronominal marking. In addition, the temporal/adverbial phrase + QUOT construction is also analyzed in this section. The next section focuses on the role of the copula /wün/ and its absence in zero copula constructions (§5.3.2). Constructions containing nominalized, subordinated, and relativized verbs are presented in §5.3.3. This summary, again, is not exhaustive and only reflects patterns that occur with the most frequency.

5.3.1 Temporal and other adverbial phrases plus subject marking

One of the structural features of backgrounded that occurred in almost every text was the Temporal/Adverbial phrase + bound pronominal marking + telic/atelic verb (11/64):

(47)

1	<i>tcijamgila'ang</i>	<i>tehonbatsu</i>	<i>inggim</i>	<i>ku'utcanaap paalap</i>
	tʃi:dʒami-gilaʔaŋ	tehon-b-atsu	iŋ~gim	kuʔutʃana:p.pa:lap
	once-1PL:EXCL	tehon-LOC:IN-from	TEL~come	south.fork

‘Once we came from Tejon to South Fork.’

2	<i>meetakila'ang</i>	<i>inggim</i>	<i>napaatwanaap</i>	<i>meetak</i>
	meeta-kilaʔaŋ	iŋ~gim	napa:twanap	me:da:k
	already-1PL:EXCL	TEL~come	six.o'clock	morning

‘Already we (began to) come at six o'clock in the morning.’ (App. F: 1-2)

This construction is especially common in the beginning of narratives where background information is usually given. With respect to telicity, both atelic and telic verb forms can be included in events marked by a temporal or adverbial phrase. Much like the structure /pic/ plus quotative (see §5.2.3), this particular construction also overrides telicity as a more salient structural feature marking backgrounded information.⁹ The following example exhibits the same construction but with an atelic verb:

(48)	<i>paatwanaap</i>	<i>üülü'üing</i>	<i>meedagila'ang</i>	<i>taamuugut</i>	<i>tuwubic</i>
	pa:twanap	i:liʔiŋ	me:da-gilaʔaŋ	ta:mu:g-(u)t	tuwubiʃ
	three.o'clock	evening	already-1PL:EXCL	be.thirsty-ATEL	very

‘At three o'clock in the afternoon we are already very thirsty.’ (App. F: 9)

The temporal/adverbial phrase plus subject marking construction is one of two strategies (the other being /pic/ plus quotative) that interact with both telic and atelic verbs.

5.3.2 Copula and zero copula constructions

Throughout the texts, the copula /wün/ was a structural feature that consistently marked backgrounded events (11/64). Its distribution and meaning were varied.¹⁰ For example, the copula /wün/ can occur word initially together with subject pronominal morphology as in line 3 of the following example:

(49)

1	<i>wahaiyu</i>	<i>piga'ac</i>	<i>wo'omhaijing</i>	<i>miya</i>	<i>aaiyamuts</i>	<i>mi'ickats</i>
	wah-aiyu	pigaʔaʃ	woʔomhaidʒiŋ	mija	a:iyamuts	mi-(ʔi)ʃka-ts
	DEM-from	perhaps	twenty	mile	1PL:POSS	go-INST+ACT-1PL:POSS

‘From there, we had to go about twenty miles.’

⁹ It is important to note that although this is a common feature in backgrounded events, there are exceptions in which an adverbial phrase plus subject marking construction can mark a main event (see Appendix #, Journey from Tejon, line 3). In these exceptions, the presence of a telic verb tends to override the saliency of this particular construction.

¹⁰ Although it is beyond the scope of the present study, there seems to be a case of grammaticalization with the copula /wün/. Its form is almost identical to the verb /üüwün/ ‘stand up’ and in Veogelin’s (1935) translations, it seems to still have some of those semantic elements. Perhaps an argument can be formed proposing that the copula /wün/ has been grammaticalized from the form /üüwün/ ‘stand up’ through phonological reduction and semantic bleaching.

- 2 *meedagila'ang paabiüt*
 me:da-gilaʔaŋ pa:b-(i)t
 already-1PL:EXCL be.tired-ATEL
 ‘Already, we are getting tired.’
- 3 *wüingila'ang ogon kimat*
wün-gilaʔaŋ ogon kim-(a)t
COP-1PL:EXCL anyway come-ATEL
 ‘In spite of this, we are going.’
- 4 *pickila'ang üübülüügim kali'ente*
 piʃ-kilaʔaŋ i~bil-(i:)gim kaliʔente
 TOP-1PL:EXCL TEL~arrive-COME+ACT caliente
 ‘Then we came and arrived at Caliente.’
- *amhaijing ti tciitcwanaap tuugalgila'ang üübülüügim*
 amhaidzing ti tʃi:ʃwana:p tu:gal-gilaʔaŋ i~bil-(i:)gim
 ten and one-o'clock night-ABS-1PL:EXCL TEL~arrive-COME+ACT
 ‘at eleven o'clock at night we arrived.’ (APP. F: 22-25)

The copula /wün/ also occurs without any bound pronominal morphology in constructions with independent pronouns and other grammatical subjects:

- (50) *nik üwün tuumu'ung*
 nik (i)**wün** tu.mu-ʔ(u)ŋ
 1SG:SBJ **COP** offspring-2SG:POSS
 ‘I stand (here), your child.’ (App. I: 39)
- (51) *moomooht wün mapil tiwüwan tiiboohict*
 mo:mo:h-t: **wün** mapil tiwiwan ti:bo:hiʃ-t
 jimsonweed-ABS **COP** now good medicine-ABS
 ‘Jimsonweed is, today, a good medicine.’ (App. G: 30)

Moreover, telicity can sometimes be assigned to a copula verb as in the following example:

- (52)
- 1 *muuluwakila'ang pini'ik tuugit*
 mu:luw-(a)t-gilaʔaŋ piniʔik tu:gi-t
 dance-ATEL-1PL:EXCL all night-ABS
 ‘We are dancing every night.’
- 2 *yoowi okogooim yoowi ooyomiil*
 jo:wi oko~go:im jo:wi o:jom-i:-l
 many PL~woman many copulate-NMLZ-ABS
 ‘(There are) many women. (There is) much copulation.’

→ napaaidaal muuluwiil ü'üwün
 napa:ida:l mu:luw-i:-l iʔi~win
 six.days dance-NMLZ-ABS TEL~COP
 'Six days of dancing occurred.'

3 *pic-ta* *aaih* *muuluwii* *wahaaida* *iimiyamiya* *anghaniil*
 piʃ-ta a:ih mu:luw-i: wah-a:i-da i:~mij(a)-mij(a) aŋhani:-l
 TOP-3PL:SBJ quit dance-NMLZ DEM-from-3PL:SBJ TEL~go-go people-ABS
 'Then they quit their own dancing. From there they went and went, the people.' (App. E: 7-9)

Despite any correlations with telicity, the /wün/ copula on its own is one of the most consistent features of backgrounded events. Its semantic dimensions and grammatical functions, however, are not entirely clear. Zero copula constructions were another consistent feature of non-main material. The following examples provide instances in which the copulas for first and third person are omitted:

(53) haayigitc wah anaawicpit
 ha:ji-gitʃ wah ana:wif-pi-t
 NEG-QUOT DEM girl-DIM-ABS
 'The little girl (**is**) not there.' (App. I: 11)

(54) tüwüwan ücü-n
 tiwiwan iʃi-n
 good blanket-3SG:POSS
 'His blankets (**are**) good.' (App. I: 26)

(55) cooyigi amaaiyu
 fo:ji-gi ama:iju
 wife-1SG:SBJ with
 'I (**am**) with my wife.' (App. F: 6)

Overall, both copula and zero copula constructions were consistent in marking non-main material. Their frequency, however, was rather low in light of the nine texts that were analyzed (see Table # above). Constructions with the copula /wün/ occurred a total of nine times throughout the nine narratives. In addition, zero copula constructions occurred a total of eleven times.

5.3.3 Subordinate clauses

The most common strategy for marking non-main events was subordinate clauses (18/64). Non-matrix verbs that were part of backgrounded material found outside the main event line included nominalized and subordinated verbs, and relative clauses. Section 5.3.3.1 provides an overview of some of the primary characteristics of nominalized constructions. Subordinated clauses are discussed and presented in §5.3.3.2. The last sub-section presented here (§5.3.3.3) discusses the form and distribution of relative clauses.

5.3.3.1 Nominalized verbs

According to Payne (1997), operations that enable a verb to function like a noun are called nominalizations. Major types of nominalizations include action and participant nominalizations (Payne, 1997). Agent, patient, instrument, location, and manner nominalizations are all included in the participant nominalization category. Wherever possible, examples in the following section are labeled with respect to the nominalization type. In Pahka'anil, nominalized verb forms occurred in a variety of constructions. Once a verb was nominalized, it could take noun morphology such as absolute and object marking. The nominalized form in the example below expresses a location:

- (56) *miyanghiikki* *wa'awiila*
 mijanhi:k-ki waʔaw-i:-l-a
 this.way-1SG:SBJ come.down-NMLZ-ABS-OBJ
 'This direction I (am) on the steep place.' (App. A: 12)

It was also common to find backgrounded material embedded within a main event. In such cases, it was possible for nominalization to take place on the verb within the subordinate clause creating a manner nominalization as in the following example:

- Non-Main**
- (57) *picki* [*miim* *ayandzütap*] *wooma-k*
 piʃ-ki mi:m a-jandz-(i)t-a-p wo:ma-k
 then-1SG:SBJ right.here TEL~sit.down-ATEL-NMLZ-LOC:IN right.away-1SG:SBJ
- Main**
- üümü'üginaan*
 i~miʔiginaan
 TEL~aim
 'Then I, in a sitting position, aimed at him right away (and shot).' (App. C: 9)

A noticeable pattern among nominalized verb forms was the zero-copula construction. The following examples illustrate how nominalized verb forms are used in existential constructions with zero copula:

- Main** **Non-Main**
- (58) *pic-ta* *uumuuluw* [*tii* *tüpiimil*
 piʃ-ta u:~mu:luw ti: tüpi:m-i-l
 TOP-3PL:SBJ TEL~dance also play.hand.game-NMLZ-ABS
- tii* *tüübiil* *yoowi*]
 ti: ti:b-i:-l jo:wi
 also gamble-NMLZ-ABS many
 'Then they danced, and (**there is**) hand-game, and (**there is**) much gambling.' (App. E: 5)

- (59) *yoowi okogooim yoowi ooyomiil*
 jo:wi oko~go:im jo:wi o:jom-i:-l
 many PL~woman many copulate-NMLZ-ABS
 ‘(there is) much copulation.’ (App. E: 8)

5.3.3.2 Subordinated verbs

Voegelin (1935) identifies two subordinating morphemes in the language: 1) /-(a)c/ ‘same subject subordinator and 2) /-(a)ng/ ‘different subject subordinator’. Unlike nominalized constructions which are able to stand on their own (see example #1 in 5.3.3.1), subordinated verbs are usually embedded within a main event. Backgrounded material with subordinated verb forms can occur in several positions with respect to the grammatical subject and the matrix verb(s). For example, if the subordinated construction occurs before the matrix verb, it was typical for subject pronominal marking to take place on the subordinated verb indicating the grammatical subject of the matrix verb:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| | Non-Main | | |
| (60) | <i>pic-ki</i> | [<i>wiingaalap</i> | |
| | <i>pij-ki</i> | <i>wiŋa:-l-a-p</i> | |
| | TOP-1SG:SBJ | summit.of.mountain-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN | |
| | | | Main |
| | <i>püüügimiiba'acki</i>] | <i>aadawüük</i> | <i>uunala</i> |
| | <i>pil-(i:)gim-(i:)ba?-af-ki</i> | <i>a:~dawi:k</i> | <i>u:na-l-a</i> |
| | arrive-COME+ACT-want-SUB:SS-1SG:SBJ | TEL~see | bear-ABS-OBJ |
| | | ‘Then, while I was wanting to arrive at the summit, I saw bear.’ (App. A: 5) | |

On the other hand, if there are two verbs and the grammatical subject becomes the object for the second verb, object marking will occur on the subordinated verb form instead:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| | Main | | Non-Main | |
| (61) | <i>wahki</i> | <i>üüdiwaagim</i> | [<i>wiingaalap</i> | |
| | <i>wah-ki</i> | <i>i~di-wa:-gim</i> | <i>wiŋa:-l-a</i> | |
| | DEM-1SG:SBJ | TEL~find-DEM-COME+ACT | summit-ABS-OBJ | |
| | | | | Main |
| | <i>tsüliwac</i> | <i>miyakang-ni</i>] | <i>e'eelamin</i> | |
| | <i>tsiliw-af</i> | <i>mij-ak-aŋ-ni</i> | <i>e?e:la-min</i> | |
| | cross.mountain-SUB:SS | go-INT-SUB:DS-1SG:OBJ | TEL~jump-ACT>GO | |
| | <i>apabaa'aniiganan</i> | | | |
| | <i>apaba:ʔani:ganan</i> | | | |
| | three.year.old.deer | | | |

‘There I came and found him while I was crossing the summit; the three-point buck jumped in front of me, interrupting me as I was going.’ (App. C: 8)

Other examples in the data revealed that subordinated forms did not require bound pronominal morphology. This was common in instances where the backgrounded subordinated material was used to provide more information concerning the grammatical subject:

	Non-Main	Main
(62) <i>picki</i>	[<i>miya'awahakinac</i>]	<i>üwüniik</i>
<i>piʃ-ki</i>	<i>mijaʔawahap-kin-af</i>	<i>i~wini:k</i>
TOP-1SG:SBJ	appear.to.go-ACT>COME-SUB:SS	TEL~look.back
‘Then I, while appearing to go away from there, looked back.’ (App. A: 10)		

In very few instances, subordinated constructions were able to stand on their own as a non-main event:

(63)

1 <i>wanaanggila'ang</i>	<i>üübülüüla</i>	<i>yütap</i>
<i>wana:ŋ-gilaʔaŋ</i>	<i>i:~bil-(i:)la</i>	<i>ji-t-a-p</i>
far.away-1PL:EXCL	TEL~arrive-GO+ACT	valley-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
‘(It was) far away (before) we went and arrived in the valley.’		

→ 2 *met tuugung*
met tu:g-(u)ŋ
 already be.dark-SUB:DS
 ‘Already it is getting dark.’

3 <i>wahaagila'ang</i>	<i>inggim</i>	<i>tcali'entaaminiik</i>	<i>wanaang</i>	<i>woogami</i>
<i>wah-a:i-gilaʔaŋ</i>	<i>iŋ-gim</i>	<i>tʃaliʔenta-a-mini:k</i>	<i>wana:ŋ</i>	<i>wo:gami</i>
DEM-from-1PL:EXCL	TEL~come	caliente-OBJ-to	far.away	yet
‘From there, we came to Caliente, (which was) still far away.’ (App. F: 19-21)				

5.3.3.3 Relativized verbs

Relativized constructions often occurred right in the beginning of a narrative where speakers tend to provide background information on participants and locations. The following example is the first line for its respective narrative:

(64) *tciidamgi* *bicip* *halüpiüganan*
tʃi:dam-gi *biʃip* *hal-(i)pi-ga-na-n*
 once-1SG:SBJ bishop live-REL-own-3:POSS-3SG:POSS
 ‘Once in Bishop I (am) the one who lived.’ (App. E: 1)

In §5.3.3.1 and §5.3.3.2 we noticed that both nominalized and subordinated constructions could be embedded within a matrix clause containing a more finite verb. It is also not uncommon to find relativized constructions embedded inside of a matrix clause that depicts a main event:

Non-Main

- (65) *picki* [*woocamaana'ang* *undumuugapüüü*]
 piʃ-ki *wo:-ʃama:na-(ʔa)ŋ* *un~dumu:g-(a)pi:-i*
 TOP-1SG:SBJ two-week-GEN TEL~dream-REL-3SG:REFL

Main

- iimi* *bicipminiik*
i:~mi *biʃip-mini:k*
 TEL~go bishop-to
 ‘Then, two weeks after my own dream, I took leave toward Bishop.’ (App. A: 22)

Relativized verb forms associate with non-main material in that they tend to provide background information about participants as in the following examples:

- (66) *maala-pi* *tooi'üpügan*
 ma:lap-(b)i *to:j-(ʔi)pi-ga-na-n*
 where-2SG:SBJ travel.about-REL-own-3:POSS-3SG-POSS
 ‘Where (were) you, you who have traveled? (they ask).’ (App. I: 44)

- (67) *wahki* *halipünankükija*
 wah-ki *hal-(i)pi-na-n-ki(t)-gidʒa*
 there-1SG:SBJ live-REL-3:POSS-3SG:POSS-say-QUOT
 ‘“I (am) the one who lived there,” she says.’ (App. I: 48)

5.4 Exceptions

The primary goal of this study was to identify the grammatical strategies and devices that are employed to distinguish main from non-main event lines in Pahka’anil narratives. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to address every pattern that was an exception to the constructions that were identified in §5.2 and §5.3, it will be worthwhile to discuss additional patterns that associate with both main and non-main events but are not part of the constructions illustrated in Tables 3 and 4 above. Section 5.4.1 presents a discussion on the structural features /wah-/ ‘there’ (glossed as DEM ‘demonstrative’) and /wah-ai-/ ‘from there’ and the way in which they correlate with the main event line as they move the narrative forward. In the second subsection (§5.4.2), additional patterns attested in non-main events are presented. The purpose of these subsections will be to provide a basis for further research on narrative event structuring in the language.

5.4.1 Additional patterns attested in Main events

There was a total of 70 exceptions out of the 143 main events that were identified in the nine Pahka’anil texts. Amongst these 70 exceptions, 23 of them included /wah-/ ‘there’ or /wah-ai-/ ‘from there’ in initial position. Main events marked with these structural features occurred in seven out of the nine texts. It was especially common to see this construction in narratives where participants moved around to different locations. *Journey from Tejon* (see appendix F) is a prime example of this type of narrative. We notice in the following excerpt how main events marked with /wah-/ ‘there’ or /wah-ai-/ ‘from there’ indicate movement from one location to the next:

(68)

- 1 *wahaagila'ang* *iimi* *ooholaalamiik*
wah-a:i-gilaʔaŋ i:~mi o:hola:-l-a-mi:k
DEM-from-1PL:EXCL TEL~go canyon-ABS-OBJ-to
'From there we went toward the canyon.'
- 2 *wahkila'ang* *iiübülüüla* *utuhulaap*
wah-kilaʔaŋ i:~bil-(i:)la u~tuhu-l-a:-p
DEM-1PL:EXCL TEL~arrive-GO+ACT PL~cottonwood.tree-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
'We arrived there by the cottonwood trees.'
- 3 *haaiyi* *paal* *waagüt*
ha:iji pa:-l wa:g-(i)t
NEG water-ABS get.dry-ATEL
'Nothing; the water is dried up.'
- 4 *wahaagila'ang* *iimi*
wah-a:i-gilaʔaŋ i:~mi
DEM-from-1PL:EXCL TEL~go
'From there, we went.' (App. F: 14-17)

Similar to construction 1 in Table 3 (viz., topic marker /pic/ + bound pronominal marking + telic verb), this structural feature also occurred with subject pronominal marking + telic verb. Moreover, the same structural features also occurred with the quotative /gitc/ in much the same way as the topic marker /pic/:

- (69) *wahaigite* *aabuun* *iimi* *haniilamiik*
wah-ai-gitf abu:-n i:~mi hani:-l-a-mi:k
DEM-from-QUOT mother-3SG:POSS TEL~go house-ABS-OBJ-to
'From there, her mother went toward the house.' (App. I: 7)

The fact that the structural features /wah-/ 'there' and /wah-ai-/ 'from there' indicate main event line material in very much the same way as the topic marker /pic/ could be evidence suggesting that because of their frequency and function, these structural features could have gone through some form of grammaticalization becoming a discourse marker like /pic/. More evidence and analyses are still required, nevertheless.

5.4.2 Additional patterns attested in Non-main events

Based on the results of the present analysis, there were 21 non-main events (out of the 64 total) that did not employ any of the four constructions outlined above in Table 4. Amongst these exceptions, various patterns were attested. Reiterations and other non-main event types often contained atelic verbs:

- (70) *hacwan* *tooro aadzowal* *wünü* *tciitcnün* *oolügiimiba'at*
 haf-wa-n to:ro a:dzowa-l wini tʃi:tʃ-nin o:ligi:m-(i)baʔ-(a)t
 NEG-PRT1-3SG:POSS bull shaman-ABS COP one-1SG:OBJ come.after-want-ATEL
 ‘There is not a bull, (but) a shaman (assuming the form of a bull); (this) one is wanting to come back to me.’ (App. B: 5)
- (71) *maagügiimat*
 ma:gigi:m-(a)t
 run.here-ATEL
 ‘He is coming running.’ (App. A: 6)
- (72) *picki* *wah* *halüü’at*
 piʃ-ki wah hal-i:-(ʔa)t
 TOP-1SG:SBJ DEM sit-ITR-ATEL
 ‘Then I am sitting and sitting (shifting about).’ (App. G: 6)
- (73) *üxkowa'akite* *ooyang* *tuwubil*
 ixkowaʔ-a(t)-gitʃ o:j-(a)ŋ tuwubil
 blow-ATEL-QUOT pass.by-SUB:DS fast
 ‘The wind is blowing very much when he passes by.’ (App. H: 5)

Although these patterns may suggest that atelic verbs are correlating with non-main material, the distribution of atelic versus telic in narrative discourse and their function in narrative event structuring is not entirely clear. In general, analyses on more texts could help us better understand the tense/aspect system found in Pahka’anil, but until then, no precise conclusions can be drawn.

5.5 Summary of findings with respect to telicity

Throughout several of the texts, there is a clear distinction between the use and distribution of telic versus atelic verbs. For example, in *Deer Hunt* (see appendix C), all backgrounded material contains atelic, subordinated, and nominalized verbs. Main events, on the other hand, are marked with telic verbs and can occur in a series of closely linked events as in the following example:

- (74)
- 1 *picki* *wahai* *iimi* *taawügülac*
 piʃ-ki wah-ai i:~mi ta:wig-(i)la-ʃ
 TOP-1SG:SBJ DEM-from TEL~go see-GO+ACT-SUB:SS
 ‘Then from there I went when I saw him.’
- 2 *wahki* *iciigin*
 wah-ki i~ʃi:gin
 DEM-1SG:SBJ TEL~skin
 ‘There I skinned him.’

3 picki eleewin
 piʃ-ki e~le:win
 TOP-1SG:SBJ TEL~pack
 ‘Then I packed him.’

4 wahaai gi inggim haniiminiik
 wah-a:i-gi iŋ~gim hani:-mini:k
 DEM-from-1SG:SBJ TEL~come house-ACT>GO
 ‘From there I came toward home.’ (App. C: 13-16)

In addition to having a telic verb, every main event in this series also begins with either the topic marker /pic/ or demonstrative /wah/ plus the same subject pronominal marking (i.e., 1st person singular subject). Although this was for the most part consistent in this text, there were two backgrounded events that did contain telic verbs. These two events, however, are marked with a more salient structural feature of non-main events; namely the temporal/adverbial phrase + pronominal subject marking:

(75) peewelang taahawacki otohaala yütiyaamibatsu
pe:welaŋ **ta:hawaf-ki** o~toha:-la jitiya:m-i-b-atsu
first **summer-1SG:SBJ** TEL~hunt-GO+ACT yitiyam-OBJ-LOC:IN-AWAY
 ‘Last summer I went and hunted from Yitiyam’

muwaalap egeewanaap
 muwa:-l-a-p ege:wan-a:-p
 mountain-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN big-OBJ-LOC:IN
 ‘in the big mountains.’ (App. C: 1)

(76) wooma-k uumuu tüwü cuunabaan-gi
wo:ma-k u:-mu: tiwi fu:na-b-an-gi
right.away-1SG:SBJ TEL~shoot good heart-LOC:IN-3SG:POSS-1SG:SBJ

uumuu
 u:-mu:
 TEL~shoot
 ‘Right away I shot well; in his heart I shot him.’ (App. C: 11)

In a series of closely linked events associated with the same theme, we sometimes find verb marking patterns in which every sequenced event will be marked with a specific verb form. In the following excerpt from *Yihawal Steals Girl* (see appendix I), there is a thematic shift that takes place when the setting changes to Yihawal’s house. The main event containing the telic verb ‘take’ initiates the beginning of a new theme and setting in which a series of closely linked events takes place:

(77)

New Theme:

- 1 *yüha'awal-gitc* *iimiin* *haniip*
jiha?awa-l-gitf *i:~mi:n* *hani:-p*
 mythical.creature-ABS-QUOT **TEL**~take house-LOC:IN
 ‘Yihawal took her to his own house.’

Sub Narrative:

- 2 *pickitc* *yüha'awal* *tohat* *pini'ik* *taal*
pij-kitf *jiha?awa-l* *toha-t* *pini?ik* *ta:-l*
 TOP-QUOT mythical.creature-ABS hunt-ATEL everything day-ABS
 ‘Then Yihawal hunts every day.’

- 3 *yoowogitc* *tuuhta* *pina* *üüliü'üing*
jo:wo-gitf *tu:h-t-a* **pin-a** *i:li?iŋ*
 many-QUOT mountain.quail-ABS-OBJ **bring.it-IMP:SG** evening
 ‘He brings many mountain quail in the evening.’

- 4 *pickitc* *waa'at* *tuuhta* *kaalukp*
pij-kitf *wa:ʔ-(a)t* *tu:h-t-a* *ka:luk-p*
 TOP:QUOT broil-ATEL mountain.quail-ABS-OBJ armpit-LOC:IN
 ‘Then he roasts the mountain quail in his own armpits.’

- kudiigitc* *paaciila* *haaiyat*
ku-di:-gitf *pa:ʃi:-l-a* *ha:j:-(a)t*
 and-also-QUOT chia.seeds-ABS-OBJ stir.with.fingers-ATEL

- hom'molaap*
hom?mo-l-a-p
 cooking.basket-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 ‘And he also stirs chia seed in the cooking basket.’

- 6 *pickitc* *wah* *cinggüt* *hom'molaap*
pij-kitf *wah* *ʃiŋg-(i)t* *hom?mo-l-a-p*
 TOP-QUOT DEM blow.one's.nose-ATEL cooking.basket-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 ‘Then he blows his nose there in the cooking-basket.’

- 7 *walgitc* *kooim* *tükat*
wa-l-gitf *ko:im* *tik-(a)t*
 DEM-ABS-QUOT woman eat-ATEL
 ‘That woman eats (the contents of the cooking-basket).’ (App. I: 18-23)

The series presented as the “Sub Narrative” above consists of main events that all take place at Yihawal’s house. Almost every event that takes place in this new setting contains an atelic verb

with the exception of one event (line 3) which contains an imperative form. After a few more events, there is a shift back to the main narrative when Yihawal initiates a dialogue:

- (78) *pickitc* *yüha'awal* *imbingk*
 piʃ-kitʃ jihaʔawa-l im~ping
 TOP-QUOT mythical.creature-ABS TEL~say
 ‘Then Yihawal said,’

Dialogue

- [“*met* *aṅhamuumü'üing* *muuhyiiba*
 met aṅhamu:mi-ʔ(i)ŋ mu:hj-(i:)ba
 already relatives-2SG:POSS make.fiesta-want
 ‘ “Already your relatives begin to make fiesta.” ’

Dialogue

- wa'ogon* *tüwü* *mīinamaaling”]*
 waʔ-ogon tiwi mi:n-(a)ma:-ling
 DEM-anyway good take-HORT-2SG:OBJ
 ‘ “Better to let me take you there.” ’ (App. I: 28)

In this main event, we notice that the subject (i.e., Yihawal) is reestablished and that the verb is telic. It was noted in the summary illustrated above (*see Table 3*) that main events can be marked with topic marker /pic/ + bound pronominal marking + telic verb. There is evidence in the data that shows how telicity may override these and other structural features associated with main events. There were cases, for example, when the topic marker /pic/ + bound pronominal marking occurred in a non-main event together with an atelic verb:

- (79)
 → 1 *picki* *ogon* *tuwubilgimat*
 piʃ-ki *ogon* *tuwubil-gim-(a)t*
 TOP-1SG:SBJ anyway fast-come-ATEL
 ‘Then I, contrary to will, am coming very fast.’

- 2 *met* *mi'ipil* *uunal* *awahaagim*
 met miʔipil u:na-l a~waha:gim
 already close bear-ABS TEL~appear to come
 ‘Already very close the bear appeared to come.’ (App. A: 7-8)

It is worthwhile noting that the main event in this example (line 2) does not have the structural features associated with main events. What it does have, however, is a telic verb that is moving the narrative forward (i.e., it is part of the main event line). We know that line 1 in example (73) above is non-main because it is a reiteration of a previously stated event; namely ‘coming’:

- (80) wahai-gi inggim wüngaalamiik
 wah-ai-gi iŋ~**gim** wiŋa:-l-a-mi:k
 there-from-1SG:SBJ TEL~**come** summit.of.mountain-ABS-OBJ-to
 ‘From there, I came toward the summit.’ (App. A: 4)

Figure 2 provides a visual summary of the most consistent patterns that were attested in the data. Structural features for both main and non-main events are grouped together based on the verb form that is found in the construction:

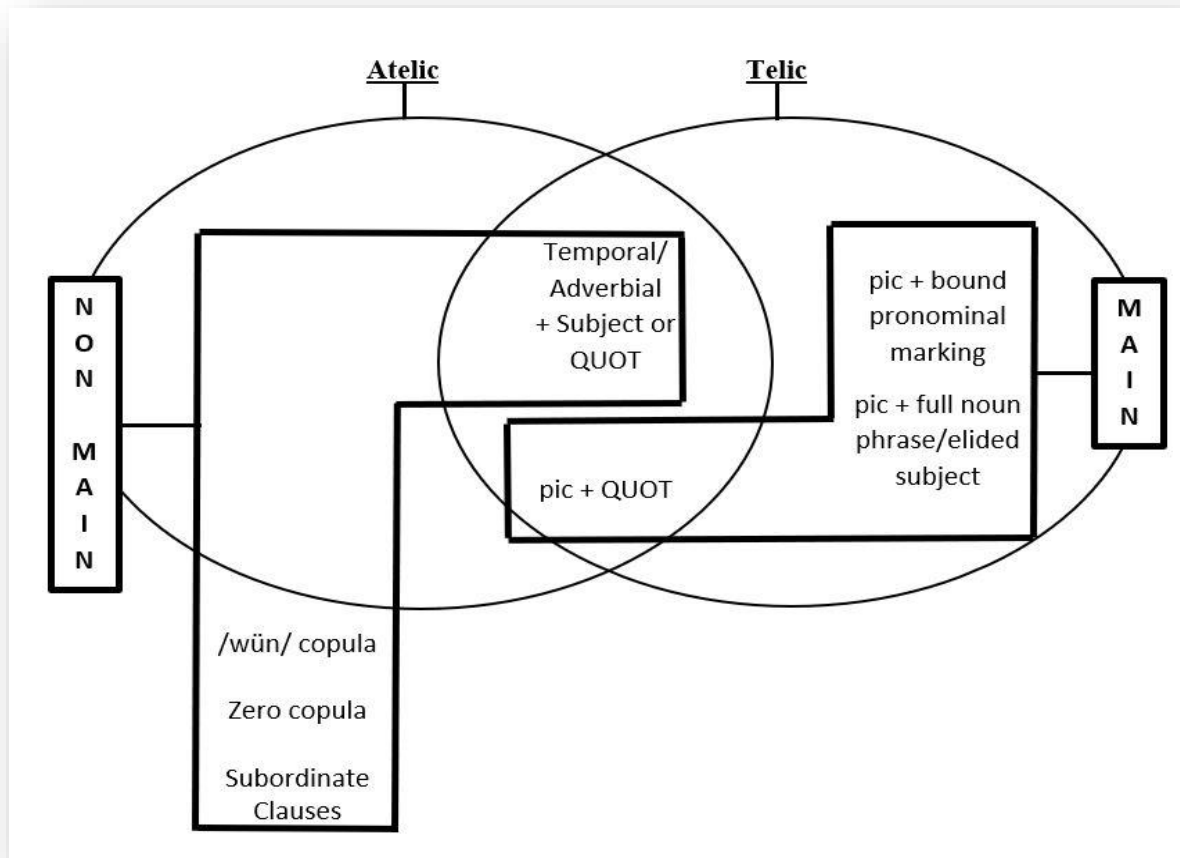


Figure 2. An interactional schematic for structure, narrative function, and telicity.

As illustrated in Figure 2, there are three construction types (viz., /wün/ copula, zero copula, and subordinate clauses) associated with non-main events that stand outside of telicity in that telicity is not obligatory in those constructions. The construction Temporal/Adverbial + Subject/QUOT (quotative) can occur with either a telic or atelic verb in backgrounded material. With respect to main events, the topic marker /pic/ + QUOT (quotative) construction also occurred with both telic and atelic verbs when indicating main event line material. The only constructions associated with main events that occurred exclusively with telic verbs were the topic marker /pic/ + bound pronominal marking and /pic/ + full noun phrase/elided subject. Although the tense/aspect system in Pahka’anil remains to be defined, the results presented here begin to shed light on the distribution and narrative function of telicity in discourse. In addition to the strategies

summarized in Figure 2, there were also a variety of other patterns that occurred throughout the texts that should be acknowledged (see §5.4).

6. Discussion

The goal of this study was to identify the grammatical strategies and devices employed in the process of distinguishing main from non-main event lines in Pahka'anil narrative discourse. The three research questions that guided this present study were: 1) How is the main event line composed in Pahka'anil narratives? 2) What are the structural features that distinguish main event from non-main event lines? 3) To what degree does *telicity* determine a verbal aspectual category concerned with boundedness of events? The discourse analysis that was conducted on nine Pahka'anil narratives revealed a number of grammatical constructions and structural features that correlated with main event lines and backgrounded material. These findings can now provide the groundwork for more analyses to take place on the rest of the texts in the Pahka'anil language corpus. The exceptions and additional patterns discussed §5.4 will need to be considered as more and more work is carried out on the language. The tense/aspect system also remains to be understood and redefined.

Abbreviations

Complex glosses are formed by combining two abbreviations with a colon (e.g., 1PL:POSS, first person plural possessive). The /~/ (tilde) represents instances of reduplication.

1SG	first person singular	GEN	genitive
1DU	first person dual	HORT	hortative
1PL	first person plural	IMP	imperative
2SG	second person singular	IN	inessive
2PL	second person plural	INS	instrumental
3SG	third person singular	INT	interrupted
3PL	third person plural	ITR	iterative
ABS	absolute	LOC	locative
ACT>COME	perform distally then come	NEG	negative
ACT>GO	perform at deictic center then go	NMLZ	nominalizer
COME+ACT	come there and then	NREFL	non-reflexive
GO+ACT	go to perform	OBJ	object
ATEL	atelic	PASS	passive
AWAY	action away from deictic center	PL	plural
BEN	benefactive	QUOT	quotative
CAUS	causative	REFL	reflexive
COMPL	completive	REL	relativizer
CONJ	conjunction	SBJ	subject
COP	copula	SUB	subordinator
DEM	demonstrative	SUB:DS	different subject sub.
DIM	diminutive	SUB:SS	same subject sub.
FUT	future	TEL	telic
		TOP	topic

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7. *picki* *ogon* *tuwubilgimat*
 piʃ-ki ogon tuwubil-gim-(a)t
 TOP-1SG:SBJ anyway fast-come-ATEL
 ‘Then I, contrary to will, am coming very fast.’
8. *met* *miʔipil* *uunal* *awahaagim*
 met miʔipil u:na-l a~waha:gim
 already close bear-ABS TEL~appear to come
 ‘Already very close the bear appeared to come.’
9. *aahyakinaa-gi*
 a:~hja-kin-(a:)gi
 TEL~leave-ACT>COME-1SG:SBJ
 ‘I left him there and went away.’
10. *picki* *miyaʔawahakinac* *üwüniik*
 piʃ-ki miʔaʔawahap-kin-aʃ i~wini:k
 TOP-1SG:SBJ appear.to.go-ACT>COME-SUB:SS TEL~look.back
 ‘Then I, while appearing to go away from there, looked back.’
11. *haiyi* *uunal*
 haiji u:na-l
 nothing bear-ABS
 ‘No bear.’
12. *miyanghiikki* *waʔawiila*
 mijanhi:k-ki waʔaw-i:-l-a
 this.way-1SG:SBJ come.down-NMLZ-ABS-OBJ
 ‘This direction I (am) on the steep place.’
13. *picki* *üʔüülüka*
 piʃ-ki iʔ~i:lika
 TOP-1SG:SBJ TEL~wake.up
 ‘Then I woke up suddenly.’
14. *peewelang-gi* *tumuuga* *bicipatsu* *uunala*
 pe:welaŋ-gi tumu:ga biʃip-atsu u:na-l-a
 first-1SG:SBJ dream.TEL bishop-from bear-ABS-OBJ
 (It was) the first time I dreamt of the bear from Bishop.”

15. *picki* *wahai* *inggim* *bicipatsu* *undumuugiya'awac*
 piʃ-ki wah-ai iŋ~gim biʃip-atsu un~dumu:g-(i:)jaʔawaf
 TOP-1SG:SBJ there-from TEL~come bishop-from TEL~dream-COMPL

wal *uunala*
 wa-l u:na-l-a
 DEM-ABS bear-ABS-OBJ

‘Then I from there came away from Bishop, having finished dreaming (of) that bear.’

16. *picki* *üübülüügimih* *kumuup*
 piʃ-ki i:~bil-(i:)gim-ih kumu:-p
 TOP-1SG:SBJ TEL~arrive-COME+ACT-DEM father-LOC:IN
 ‘Then I came and arrived here to my own father.’

17. *picki* *aahali* *woopaai* *müüiyal*
 piʃ-ki a:~hal(i) wo:-pa:i mi:j-(a)l
 TOP-1SG:SBJ TEL~live two-three month-ABS
 ‘Then I lived here two or three months.’

18. *picki* *tumuuga* *ümbü* *wal* *uunala*
 piʃ-ki tumu:g(a) imbi wal u:na-l-a
 TOP-1SG:SBJ dream again DEM-ABS bear-ABS-OBJ

undumuugapiüüi
 un~dumu:g-(a)pi:-i
 TEL~dream-REL-3SG

‘Then I dream again (of) that bear, my own past dream.’

19. *wah* *wüngaalap-ki* *aadawüük* *undumuugac*
 wah wiŋa:-l-a-p-ki a:~dawi:k un~dumu:g-af
 there summit.of.mountain-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN-1SG:SBJ TEL~see TEL~dream-SUB:SS
 ‘There on the summit I see him when dreaming.’

20. *indimalaawani*
 in~dimala:wa-ni
 TEL~chase-1SG:OBJ
 ‘He followed me.’

21. *picki* *ooyamin* *wal* *uunala*
 piʃ-ki o:jamin wal u:na-l-a
 TOP-1SG:SBJ pass.by-ACT>GO DEM-ABS bear-ABS-OBJ
- picki* *ü'ülüük*
 piʃ-ki iʔ~ili:k
 TOP-1SG:SBJ TEL~wake.up
 'Then I passed the bear; then I woke up.'
22. *picki* *woocamaana'ang* *undumuugapiüüi* *iimi* *bicipminiik*
 piʃ-ki wo:-ʃama:na-(ʔa)ŋ un~dumu:g-(a)pi:-i i:~mi biʃip-mini:k
 TOP-1SG:SBJ two-week-GEN TEL~dream-REL-3SG:REFL TEL~go bishop-to
 'Then, two weeks after my own dream, I took leave toward Bishop.'
23. *picki* *wüngaalap* *üübülüüla*
 piʃ-ki wiŋa:-l-a-p i:~bil-(i:)la
 TOP-1SG:SBJ summit.of.mountain-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN TEL~arrive-GO+ACT
 'Then I went and arrived on the summit.'
24. *picki* *amagamin* *undumuugapiüüi* *uunala*
 piʃ-ki a~magamin un~dumu:g-(a)pi:-i u:na-l-a
 TOP-1SG:SBJ TEL~remember TEL~dream-REL-3SG:REFL bear-ABS-OBJ
 'Then I remembered my own past dream (of) the bear.'
25. *hacki* *ü'iwün* *wüngaalap*
 haʃ-ki iʔ~iwin wiŋa:-l-a-p
 NEG-1SG:SBJ TEL~stand.up summit.of.mountain-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 'I did not stand for a moment on the summit.'
26. *tuucik* *iimi*
 tu:ʃi-k i:~mi
 straight.on-1SG:SBJ TEL~go
 'Straightway I went.'
27. *undzunggi* *tuwubil*
 un~dzuŋ-gi tuwubil
 TEL~be.scared-1SG:SBJ fast
 'I became very frightened.'
28. *wahaagi* *iimi*
 wah-a:i-gi i:~mi
 there-from-1SG:SBJ TEL~go
 'From there I took leave.'

Appendix B

Bull Dream

1. *undumuugacki* *miyat* *yütak* *miyat*
 undumu:g-(a)ʃ-ki mij-(a)t yi-t-a-k mij-(a)t
 dream-SUB:SS-1SG:SBJ go-ATEL valley-ABS-OBJ-1SG:SBJ go-ATEL
 ‘While dreaming, I am going along the valley.’
2. *picki* *aabaaga'igi* *aadawüük*
 piʃ-ki a:~ba:gaʔ-(i)gi a:~dawi:k
 TOP-1SG:SBJ PL~cow-1SG:SBJ TEL~see
 ‘Then I see cattle.’
3. *aalitcki* *yüwulat*
 a:li-tʃ-ki yiw-(u)la-t
 bow-REFL:OBJ-1SG:SBJ hold-GO+ACT
 ‘I go and hold my own gun.’
4. *picki* *tooro'i* *aadawüük*
 piʃ-ki to:roʔ-i a:~dawi:k
 TOP-1SG:SBJ bull-OBJ TEL~see
 ‘Then I see the bull.’
5. *hacwan* *tooro* *aadzowal* *wünü* *tciitcnün* *oolüigimiba'at*
 haʃ-wa-n to:ro a:dzowa-l wini tʃi:tʃ-nin o:ligi:m-(i)baʔ-(a)t
 NEG-PRT1-3SG:POSS bull shaman-ABS COP one-1SG:OBJ come.after-want-ATEL
 ‘There is not a bull, (but) a shaman (assuming the form of a bull); (this) one is wanting to come back to me.’
6. *picki* *wahai* *iimi* *oholaalamiik*
 piʃ-ki wah-ai i:~mi ohola:-l-a-mi:k
 TOP-1SG:SBJ DEM-from TEL~go canyon-ABS-OBJ-to
 ‘Then from there I go to the canyon.’
- tsoomiikki* *oholaala* *miyat*
 tso:mi:k-ki ohola:-l-a mij-(a)t
 down-1SG:SBJ canyon-ABS-OBJ go-ATEL
 ‘I am going down the canyon.’
7. *picki* *tooro'i* *aadawüük* *mückip*
 piʃ-ki to:roʔ-i a:~dawi:k miʃki-p
 TOP-1SG:SBJ bull-OBJ TEL~see front-LOC:IN
 ‘Then I see the bull in front (of me).’

8. *picniin* *taawügiic* *a'awaat*
 piʃ-nin ta:wi-giʃ aʔ(a)~wa:t
 TOP-1SG:OBJ be.blind-supposing TEL~run.away
 ‘Then he runs away supposing not to see me,’

mii'im-gi *aalitic* *yüwut*
 mi:ʔim-gi a:li-tʃ yiw-(u)t
 because-1SG:SBJ bow-REFL:OBJ hold-ATEL
 ‘because I am holding my gun.’

9. *picki* *ü'ülüük*
 piʃ-ki iʔ~ili:k
 TOP-1SG:SBJ TEL~wake.up
 ‘Then I woke up.’

Appendix C

Deer Hunt

1. *peewelang taahawacki otohaala yitiyaamibatsu*
 pe:welaŋ ta:hawaŋ-ki o~toha:-la jitiya:m-i-b-atsu
 first summer-1SG:SBJ TEL~hunt-GO+ACT yitiam-Obj-LOC:IN-AWAY

muwaalap egeewanaap
 muwa:-l-a-p ege:wana-a:-p
 mountain-ABS-Obj-LOC:IN big-Obj-LOC:IN
 ‘Last summer I went and hunted from Yitiam in the big mountains.’

2. *picki ukubaan muwaaling üübülüüla*
 piŋ-ki uku-b-a:n muwa:-l-iŋ i:~bili:-la
 TOP-1SG:SBJ top-LOC:IN-3SG:POSS mountain-ABS-GEN TEL~arrive- GO+ACT
 ‘Then I went and arrived on top of the mountain.’

3. *wahaagi üwügiyau tohiila*
 wah-a:i-gi i~wigi:jau tohi:-l-a
 DEM-from-1SG:SBJ TEL~track deer-ABS-Obj
 ‘From there I tracked the deer.’

4. *iimi wanaang ütsülüü ooholaalap*
 i:~mi wana:ŋ i~tsili: o:hola:-l-a-p
 TEL~go far.away TEL~cross.mountain canyon-ABS-Obj-LOC:IN
 ‘He went far away; he crossed the ridge in the canyon.’

5. *wüinggi ogon wügiyin miyat*
 wiŋ-g:i ogon wigi:-ji-n mij-at
 COP-1SG:SBJ on.and.on tracks-NREFL:Obj-3SG:POSS go-ATEL
 ‘I am going (after) his tracks standing (there).’

6. *wanaang ipcaagim wüngaalap*
 wana:ŋ i~piŋ-(a:)gim wiŋa:-l-a-p
 far.away TEL~come.out-COME+ACT summit-ABS-Obj-LOC:IN
 ‘Far away he came out in the summit.’

7. *wüinggi ogon wügiyin kimat*
 wiŋ-g:i ogon wigi:-ji-n kim-(a)t
 COP-1SG:SBJ on.and.on tracks-NREFL:Obj-3SG:POSS come-ATEL
 ‘I am coming (after) his tracks standing (there).’

8. *wahki* *üüdiwaagim* *wüngaala*
 wah-ki i~di-wa:-gim wiŋa:-l-a
 DEM-1SG:SBJ TEL~find-DEM-COME+ACT summit-ABS-OBJ

tsüliwac *miyakang-ni* *e'eelamin*
 tsiliw-af mij-ak-aŋ-ni eʔ-e:la-min
 cross.mountain-SUB:SS go-INT-SUB:DS-1SG:OBJ TEL~jump-ACT>GO

apabaa'aniiganan

apaba:ʔani:ganan

three.year.old.deer

‘There I came and found him while I was crossing the summit; the three-point buck jumped in front of me, interrupting me as I was going.’

9. *picki* *miim* *ayandziitap* *wooma-k*
 piʃ-ki mi:m a-jandz-(i)t-a-p wo:ma-k
 then-1SG:SBJ right.here TEL~sit.down-ATEL-NMLZ-LOC:IN right.away-1SG:SBJ

ümü'üginaan

i~miʔiginaan

TEL~aim

‘Then I, in a sitting position, aimed at him right away (and shot).’

10. *wanaang* *ayandziila* *woobapan* *miya'ang*
 wana:ŋ a~jandz-(i)la wo:bapan miʃa-(ʔa)ŋ
 far.away TEL~sit.down-GO+ACT half mile-GEN
 ‘Far away he went and sat down half a mile (away).’

11. *wooma-k* *uumuu* *tüwü* *cuunabaan-gi*
 wo:ma-k u:-mu: tiwi ʃu:na-b-an-gi
 right.away-1SG:SBJ TEL~shoot good heart-LOC:IN-3SG:POSS-1SG:SBJ

uumuu

u:-mu:

TEL~shoot

‘Right away I shot well; in his heart I shot him.’

12. *awai'wai'agim*

a~waiʔwaiʔ-(a)gim

TEL~fall.down.dead-COME+ACT

‘He came and dropped down dead.’

13. *picki* *wahai* *iimi* *taawügülac*
 piʃ-ki wah-ai i:-mi ta:wig-(i)la-ʃ
 TOP-1SG:SBJ DEM-from TEL~go see-GO+ACT-SUB:SS
 ‘Then from there I went when I saw him.’
14. *wahki* *iciigin*
 wah-ki i-ʃi:gin
 DEM-1SG:SBJ TEL~skin
 ‘There I skinned him.’
15. *picki* *eleewin*
 piʃ-ki e~le:win
 TOP-1SG:SBJ TEL~pack
 ‘Then I packed him.’
16. *wahaaigi* *inggim* *haniiminiik*
 wah-a:i-gi iŋ~gim hani:-mini:k
 DEM-from-1SG:SBJ TEL~come house-ACT>GO
 ‘From there I came toward home.’
17. *leewinakanangi* *tohiila*
 le:win-a-kana-n-gi tohi:-l-a
 pack-NMLZ-owner.of-3SG:POSS-1SG:SBJ deer-ABS-OBJ
 ‘I (am) the one who packs the deer.’
18. *pic* *tüwügiit* *tahambil* *taawügiic*
 piʃ tiwi-git tahambi-l ta:wig-iʃ
 TOP good-say old.man-ABS see-SUB:SS
- woʔokangil* *uubuuigiit* *tahambil*
 woʔokan-gil u:~bu:i-git tahambi-l
 pretty.soon-1DU:SBJ TEL~be.full-say old.man-ABS
 ‘Then, “Good,” says the old man, when he sees it, “pretty soon we get full,” says the old man.’

Appendix D

End of the Mythical Age

1. *yoowigitc* *anghaniil* *halüt*
 jo:wi-gitʃ aŋhani:-l hal-(i)t
 many-QUOT people-ABS live-ATEL
 ‘Many people are living.’
2. *pickitc* *ict* *pinggüt* *aacawüta*
 piʃ-kitʃ iʃ-t piŋ-(i)t a:cawi-t-a
 TOP-QUOT coyote-ABS say-ATEL eagle-ABS-OBJ
 ‘Then Coyote says to Eagle,’
- wo'okanaagiluuts* *aabaai'iu* *cüüwan* *anghaniil*
 woʔokana:-gilu:ts a:~ba:iʔiu ʃi:wa-n aŋhani:-l
 pretty.soon-1PL:SBJ TEL~scattered different.one-3SG:POSS people-ABS
- inggimicakükic* *ict*
 iŋ~gim-(i)ʃa-ki-kitʃ iʃ-t
 TEL~come-FUT-say-QUOT coyote-ABS
 ‘“Pretty soon we get scattered. Different people will come,” he says.’
3. *tüwükükitcta* *pinggüŋ*
 tiwi-ki-kitʃ-ta piŋ:-(i)ŋ
 good-say-QUOT-3PL:SBJ say-SUB:DS
 ‘“Good,” they (the people) say when he says (this).’
4. *ict* *timiwal*
 iʃ-t timiwa-l
 coyote-ABS chief-ABS
 ‘Coyote (is) chief.’
5. *maalapi* *aahalicakükic* *aacawüta*
 ma:lap-bi a:~hal-(i)ʃa-ki-(t)-gitʃ a:fawi-t-a
 where-2SG:SBJ TEL~live-FUT-say-ATEL-QUOT eagle-ABS-OBJ
 ‘“Where will you live?”, he says to Eagle.’
6. *leleedap*
 lele:d-a-p
 Nichols.Peak-OBJ-LOC:IN
 ‘“On Lelet” (a mountain peak south of Weldon).’

7. *kuu imbi-kü-kitc patsaawala*
 ku: imbi-ki(t)-gitʃ patsa:wa-l-a
 and 2SG:SBJ-say-QUOT bat-ABS-OBJ
 ‘ “And you?” Coyote says to Bat.’

8. *nik wandzil oodooica tuugal*
 nik wandzil o:~do:i-fa tu:ga-l
 1SG:SBJ that TEL~travel.about-FUT night-ABS
 ‘ “Indeed I shall wander at night.” ’

9. *kumbikükite cikola*
 ku-mbi-ki(t)-gitʃ ʃiko-l-a
 and-2SG:SBJ-say-QUOT lizard-ABS-OBJ
 ‘ “And you?,” Coyote says to Lizard.’

10. *nik wandzil aahalica tündap*
 nik wandzil a:-hal-(i)fa tin-d-a-p
 1SG:SBJ that TEL~live-FUT rock-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 ‘ “Indeed, I shall live on rocks.” ’

11. *kuu imbikükite ka'awüüda*
 ku: imbi-ki(t)-gitʃ kaʔawi-d-a
 and 2SG:SBJ-say-QUOT grasshopper-ABS-OBJ
 ‘ “And you?” (Coyote) says to Grasshopper.’

12. *nik wandzil oodooica yütap*
 nik wandzil o:~do:i-fa yi-t-a-p
 1SG:SBJ that TEL~travel.about-FUT valley-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 ‘ “Indeed, I shall wander in the valley.” ’

13. *kuu imbi-kü-kitc kuyuula*
 ku: imbi-ki(t)-gitʃ kuju:-l-a
 and 2SG:SBJ-say-QUOT fish-ABS-OBJ
 ‘ “And you?” (Coyote) says to Fish.’

14. *nik wandzil paalap aahalica-kü-kija*
 nik wandzil pa:-l-a-p a:~hal-(i)fa-ki(t)-kidza
 1SG:SBJ that water-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN TEL~live-FUT-say-QUOT

kuyuul
 kuju:-l
 fish-ABS
 ‘ “Indeed, I shall live in the water,” Fish says.’

15. *kuu imbi-kü-kitc paawucaki*
 ku: imbi-ki(t)-gitʃ pa:wuʃaki
 and 2SG:SBJ-say-QUOT sage.hen-OBJ
 ‘ “And you?” (Coyote) says to Sage Hen.’

16. *nik wandzil cüübapiüülap aahalica*
 nik wandzil ʃibapi-l-a-p a:-hal-(i)ʃa
 1SG:SBJ that sagebrush-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN TEL~live-FUT
 ‘ “Indeed, I shall live in the sagebrush.” ’

17. *aacawüt icta maalapi aahalica*
 a:ʃawi-t iʃ-t-a ma:la-pi a:~hal-(i)ʃa
 eagle-ABS coyote-ABS-OBJ where-2SG:SBJ TEL~live-FUT
 ‘Eagle (asks) Coyote, “Where will you live?” ’

18. *nik wandzil yüütap aahalica*
 nik wandzil ji-t-a-p a:-hal-(i)ʃa
 1SG:SBJ that valley-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN TEL~live-FUT
 ‘ “Indeed, I shall live in the valley.” ’

ütükicak cidoohi kudi ka'awüüda
 i~tik-(i)ʃa-k ʃido:h-i ku-di kaʔawi:-d-a
 TEL~eat-FUT-1SG:SBJ beetle-OBJ and-also grasshopper-ABS-OBJ
 ‘ “I will eat beetles and also grasshoppers.” ’

19. *wah oowok*
 wah o:wok
 DEM be.ended
 ‘There it is ended.’

<i>napaaidaal</i>	<i>muuluwiil</i>	<i>ü'üwiin</i>
napa:ida:l	mu:luw-i:-l	iʔi~win
six.days	dance-NMLZ-ABS	TEL~COP

‘Six days of dancing occurred.’

9. <i>pic-ta</i>	<i>aaih</i>	<i>muuluwii</i>	<i>wahaaida</i>	<i>iimiyamiya</i>	<i>anghaniil</i>
piʃ-ta	a:ih	mu:luw-i:	wah-a:i-da	i:~mij(a)-mij(a)	aŋhani:-l
TOP-3PL:SBJ	quit	dance-NMLZ	DEM-from-3PL:SBJ	TEL~go-go	people-ABS

‘Then they quit their own dancing; from there they went and went, the people.’

10. <i>wahaagi</i>	<i>iimi</i>	<i>bicipminiik</i>
wah-a:i-gi	i:~mi	bijip-mini:k
DEM-from-1SG:SBJ	TEL~go	bishop-ACT>GO

‘From there I went toward Bishop.’

11. <i>wiin</i>	<i>wo'okan</i>
wiin	woʔokan
COP	pretty.soon

‘It is all.’

Appendix F

Journey from Tejon

1. *tcijamgila'ang* *tehonbatsu* *inggim* *ku'utcanaap paalap*
 tʃi:dʒami-gilaʔaŋ tehon-b-atsu iŋ~gim kuʔutʃana:p.pa:lap
 once-1PL:EXCL tehon-LOC:IN-from TEL~come south.fork
 ‘Once we came from Tejon to South Fork.’
2. *meetakila'ang* *inggim* *napaatwanaap* *meetak*
 meeta-kilaʔaŋ iŋ~gim napa:twanap me:da:k
 already-1PL:EXCL TEL~come six.o'clock morning
 ‘Already we (began to) come at six o'clock in the morning.’
3. *tuucigila'ang* *inggim* *muwaala*
 tu:ʃi-gilaʔaŋ iŋ~gim muwa:-l-a
 straight.on-1PL:EXCL TEL~come mountain-ABS-OBJ
 ‘Straightway we came to the mountains.’
4. *hacpum* *miyahai* *wah* *muwaalap*
 haʃ-pum mi(j)-(a)hai wah muwa:-l-a-p
 NEG-2PL:SBJ go-IMP:FUT DEM mountain-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN

utuduuwanaap *yoowi* *uunal-gü-ta*
 u~tudu:-wa-n-a-p jo:wi u:na-l-git-da
 PL~long-PRT1-3SG:POSS-OBJ-LOC:IN many bear-ABS-say-3PL:SBJ
 ‘“Don’t you go there in the tall mountains, (there) are many bears,” they say.’
5. *tüwügükila'ang* *pinggiuwac*
 tiwi-git-gilaʔaŋ piŋg-(i:)w-aʃ
 good-say-1PL:EXCL say-PASS-SUB:SS
 ‘“Good,” we say when it is being said.’
6. *cooyigi* *amaaiyu*
 ʃo:ji-gi ama:iju
 wife-1SG:SBJ with
 ‘I (am) with my wife.’
7. *inggübatsugila'ang* *inggim*
 iŋgi-b-atsu-gilaʔaŋ iŋ~gim
 foot-LOC:IN-from-1PL:EXCL TEL~come
 ‘We came on foot.’
8. *pickila'ang* *muwaala* *naawidam* *inggim*
 piʃ-kilaʔaŋ muwa:-l-a na:widam iŋ~gim
 TOP-1PL:EXCL mountain-ABS-OBJ between TEL~come
 ‘Then we came to the middle of the mountains.’

9. *paatwanaap üüülü'üng meedagila'ang taamuugut tuwubic*
 pa:twanap i:liʔiŋ me:da-gilaʔaŋ ta:mu:g-(u)t tuwubiʃ
 three.o'clock evening already-1PL:EXCL be.thirsty-ATEL very
 'At three o'clock in the afternoon we are already very thirsty.'

10. *wahkila'ang üüwüüüt haaiyi paal aaiyamuts*
 wah-kilaʔaŋ i:win-(i)t ha:iʃi pa:-l a:iʃamuts
 there-1PL:EXCL stand.up-ATEL NEG water-ABS our

kinitc

kin-i-tʃ

bring-NMLZ-1PL:POSS

'There we are standing; (there is) no water (of) our bringing.'

11. *pickila'ang wawai aadawüük tsoomiik ooholaalap*
 piʃ-kilaʔaŋ wah-ai a:~dawi:k tso:mi:k o:hola:-l-a-p
 TOP-1PL:EXCL DEM-from TEL~see down canyon-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 'Then from there, we looked down the canyon.'

12. *picki aadawüük utuhula ooholaalap*
 piʃ-gi a:~dawi:k u~tuhu-l-a ohola:-l-a-p
 TOP-1SG:SBJ TEL~see PL~cottonwood.tree-ABS-OBJ canyon-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 'Then I saw cottonwood trees in the canyon.'

13. *picki cooyi imbingk*
 piʃ-ki ʃo:ʃi im~piŋk
 TOP-1SG:SBJ wife TEL~say
 'Then I said to my wife,'

paal too wah wüüütküki
 pa:-l to: wah win-(i)t-kit-gi
 water-ABS I.don't.know there COP-ATEL-say-1SG:SBJ
 '“I don't know but that water is standing there,” I say.'

14. *wahaagila'ang iimi ooholaalamiik*
 wah-a:i-gilaʔaŋ i:~mi o:hola:-l-a-mi:k
 DEM-from-1PL:EXCL TEL~go canyon-ABS-OBJ-to
 'From there we went toward the canyon.'

15. *wahkila'ang üübülüüüla utuhulaap*
 wah-kilaʔaŋ i:~bil-(i:)la u~tuhu-l-a:-p
 DEM-1PL:EXCL TEL~arrive-GO+ACT PL~cottonwood.tree-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 'We arrived there by the cottonwood trees.'

16. *haaiyi paal waagiit*
 ha:iji pa:l wa:g-(i)t
 NEG water-ABS get.dry-ATEL
 ‘Nothing; the water is dried up.’
17. *wahaaigila'ang iimi*
 wah-a:i-gilaʔaŋ i:~mi
 DEM-from-1PL:EXCL TEL~go
 ‘From there, we went.’
18. *metkila'ang tuwubil taamuugut*
 met-kilaʔaŋ tuwubil ta:mu:g-(u)t
 already-1PL:EXCL fast be.thirsty-ATEL
 ‘We are already very thirsty.’
19. *wanaanggila'ang üübüüüla yüütap*
 wana:ŋ-gilaʔaŋ i:~bil-(i:)la ji-t-a-p
 far.away-1PL:EXCL TEL~arrive-GO+ACT valley-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 ‘(It was) far away (before) we went and arrived in the valley.’
20. *met tuugung*
 met tu:guŋ
 already be.dark-SUB:DS
 ‘Already it is getting dark.’
21. *wahaaigila'ang inggim tcali'entaaminiik wanaang woogami*
 wah-a:i-gilaʔaŋ iŋ-gim tʃaliʔenta-a-mini:k wana:ŋ wo:gami
 DEM-from-1PL:EXCL TEL~come caliente-OBJ-to far.away yet
 ‘From there, we came to Caliente, (which was) still far away.’
22. *wahaiyu piga'ac wo'omhaijing miya aaiyamuts mi'ickats*
 wah-aiyu pigaʔaʃ woʔomhaidziŋ mija a:iyamuts mi-(ʔi)ʃka-ts
 DEM-from perhaps twenty mile 1PL:POSS go-INST+ACT-1PL:POSS
 ‘From there, we had to go about twenty miles.’
23. *meedagila'ang paabiit*
 me:da-gilaʔaŋ pa:b-(i)t
 already-1PL:EXCL be.tired-ATEL
 ‘Already, we are getting tired.’
24. *wüingila'ang ogon kimat*
 win-gilaʔaŋ ogon kim-(a)t
 COP-1PL:EXCL anyway come-ATEL
 ‘In spite of this, we are going.’

25. *pickila'ang* *üübülüügim* *kali'ente* *amhaijing* *ti*
 piʃ-kilaʔaŋ i~bil-(i:)gim kaliʔente amhaidzing ti
 TOP-1PL:EXCL TEL~arrive-COME+ACT caliente ten and

tciitcwanaap *tuugalgila'ang* *üübülüügim*
 tʃi:tʃwana:p tu:gal-gilaʔaŋ i~bil-(i:)gim
 one-o'clock night-ABS-1PL:EXCL TEL~arrive-COME+ACT
 'Then we came and arrived at Caliente; at eleven o'clock at night we arrived.'

26. *wahkila'ang* *atahkin*
 wah-kilaʔaŋ a~tahkin
 DEM-1PL:EXCL TEL~sleep
 'There we slept.'

Appendix G

The Power of Jimsonweed

1. picki tumuuga wal aadzowaala
 piʃ-ki tumu:ga wa-l a:ɔzowa:-l-a
 TOP-1SG:SBJ dream.TEL DEM-OBJ shaman-ABS-OBJ
- übül üüla wah
 i:-bil i~ila wah
 TEL~arrive TEL~Move DEM
 ‘So I dreamt of that shaman. She came and arrived there.’
2. picnin alaawinat macpi halüt ihh ügüt
 piʃ-nin ala:w-in-at maʃ-pi hal-it ih: ig-it
 TOP-1SG:OBJ talk-CAUS-ATEL INTER-2SG:SBJ sit-ATEL here say-ATEL
 ‘Then, talking to me, she says, “why are you sitting here?” ’
3. maciin pundzii wütsü’ac tsomooi
 maʃ-i:-n pundzi-i witsiʔaʃ tso:mo:-i
 cover-NMLZ-3SG:POSS eyes-3SG:REFL with hair-3SG:REFL
 ‘with her eyes covered with her hair.’
4. pic mi’ipil üü’üüwün üügim
 piʃ miʔipil i:ʔ~i:win i~igim
 TOP close TEL~stand TEL~Move
 ‘She then came and stood close.’
5. pic hayi wonggon wa’ading kooiming
 piʃ haji woŋgo-n waʔ-(a)d-iŋ ko:im-iŋ
 then NEG shoes-3SG:POSS DEM-ABS-GEN woman-GEN
 ‘not (having) that woman’s shoes’
6. picki wah halüü’at
 piʃ-ki wah hal-i:-ʔat
 TOP-1SG:SBJ DEM sit-ITR-ATEL
 ‘then I am sitting and sitting (shifting about).’
7. picnin wütsü’ac ünggüüi i’igin
 piʃ-nin witsiʔaʃ iŋgi-i iʔ~igin
 TOP-1SG:OBJ with foot-3SG:REFL TEL~swing.up.at
 ‘swung up at me with her foot.’

8. pic ih ahatap aagim poocüpül
 piʃ ih ah-atap a~agim po:ʃi-pi:-l
 then here TEL~stuck TEL~come be.white-REL-ABS
 ‘Then a white thing came and stuck here (on my knee?).’
9. pic wahaai iimi
 piʃ wah-a:i i:~mi
 then DEM-from TEL~go
 ‘She then left from there.’
10. picki ü’ülük tuuganawidami
 piʃ-ki i~ʔilik tu:ga-nawidami
 then-1SG:SG TEL~wake.up dark-middle
 ‘Then I awoke in the middle of the night.’
11. pic ütsüxkatnü’üng tongon ülügangni
 piʃ itsixk-at-niʔiŋ toŋo-n ilig-aŋ-ni
 then prick-ATEL-1SG:POSS knee-3SG:POSS wake.up-SUB:DS-1SG:OBJ
 ‘And my knee is pricking me while I am waking up.’
12. picki ciuba ü’ünühüi
 piʃ-ki ʃi:uba i~ʔinihii
 TOP-1SG:SBJ back.again TEL~be sick
 ‘Then I got sick again.’
13. picki ümbü moomohta ii’ü
 piʃ-ki imbi: moomoh-t-a i:~ʔi
 TOP-1SG:SBJ again jimsonweed-ABS-OBJ TEL~drink
 ‘So, again, I drank jimsonweed.’
14. picki wal pini’ik aadzowaala wubaa
 piʃ-ki wa-l piniʔik a:dzowa:-l-a wuba:
 then-1SG:SBJ DEM-ABS all shaman-ABS-OBJ whip.TEL
 wütsü’ac wal aalitic
 witsiʔaʃ wa-l a:li-tʃ:
 with DEM-ABS bow-REFL:OBJ
 ‘Then I whipped all those shamans with my bow’

15. picki wal tuhata pini'ik iwik
 piʃ-ki wa-l tuha-t-a piniʔik i~wik
 then-1SG DEM-ABS water.snake-ABS-OBJ all TEL~throw.out

tuhata yoowi
 tuha-t-a jo:wi
 water.snake-ABS-OBJ many
 'And I threw out all of those many water snakes.'

16. picki wakai ataawü
 piʃ-ki wah-ai a~t:a:twi
 TOP-1SG:SBJ DEM-from TEL~sober.up
 'And after that I sobered up.'

17. picki wahaai tahambili a'awiin
 piʃ-ki wah-a:i tahambi-l-i aʔ~aw-i:n
 then-1SG:SBJ DEM-from old man-ABS-OBJ TEL~tell-CAUS
 'From there, I then told Old Man.'

18. pini'ik wal aadzowaala wubaa güki
 piniʔik wa-l a:dzowa:-l-a wuba: gi-ki
 all DEM-ABS shaman.PL-ABS-ACC whip.telic say-1SG:SBJ
 '“I whipped all those shamans,” I am saying.'

19. wütsü'ac wal aalitcküki
 wütsiʔaf wa-l a:li-tʃ-ki-ki
 with DEM-ABS bow-REFL:OBJ-say-1SG:SBJ
 '“with my bow,” I am saying.'

20. tii wal tuhatagi
 ti: wa-l tuha-t-a-gi
 and DEM-ABS water.snake-ABS-OBJ-1SG:SBJ

oonooban iwik küki
 o:no:ban i~wik ki-ki
 outside TEL~threw.away say-1SG:SBJ
 '“and I threw away those water snakes outside.” I am saying.'

21. pic tüwügüt tahambil
 piʃ tiwi-git: tahambi-l
 TOP good-say old.man-ABS
 '“Then good.” old man says.'

22. wahaagi ogon wün üüdüwü
wah-a:i-gi ogon win i:~diwi
DEM-from-1SG:SBJ on.and.on COP TEL~get.better
‘I am better after that.’

23. hacki ümbüü haayica ü’ünühüi
haf-ki imbi: ha:jifa i?~inihi
NEG-1SG:SBJ again never TEL~become.sick
‘I never got sick again.’

24. moomoht tüwüwan tüüboohict
mo:mo:h-t tiwiwan ti:bo:hif-t
jimsonweed-ABS good medicine-ABS
‘Jimsonweed is good medicine.’

25. hacwal aadzowaal ü’tüctüp
haf-wa-l a:dzowa:-l i?~ti?tip
NEG-DEM-ABS shaman-ABS TEL~spoil
‘Shamans cannot spoil that.’

26. tüwüliiba’akitca omok kuhackitcta
tiwili:-ba?-a(t)-kif-ta omok ku-haf-kif-ta
make-want-ATEL-QUOT-3PL:SBJ almost and-NEG-QUOT-3PL:SBJ

munuuginat
munu:gin-at
be.able-ATEL

‘It is said that they want to tamper (with Jimsonweed) in vain, but it is said that they are not able to.’

27. moomohtkitc oobuwükang oyanac aadzowaala
mo:mo:h-t-kif: o:buwikaŋ ojanaŋ a:dzowa:-l-a
jimsonweed-ABS-QUOT power more.than shaman-ABS-OBJ
‘Jimsonweed, it is said, is more powerful than the shamans.’

28. pini’ikitcta indamai ütuctüp tiiboohicta
pini?ik-gif-t:a indamai i-ti?tip ti:bo:hif-t-a
everything-QUOT-3PL:SBJ sometimes TEL~spoil medicine-ABS-OBJ
‘They sometimes spoil all the medicines, it is said.’

29. moomohta haa’ic
mo:mo:h-t-a ha:ʔif
jimsonweed-ABS-OBJ NEG
‘But not Jimsonweed.’

30. moomoht wün mapil tüwüwan tiiboohict
mo:mo:h-t win mapil tiwiwan ti:bo:hif-t
jimsonweed-ABS COP now good medicine-ABS
'Jimsonweed is, today, a good medicine.'

Appendix H

The Winged One

1. *meedagitc* *aamaa* *ooi* *ih*
 me:da-gitʃ a:ma:
 already-QUOT mythical.animal pass.by DEM.PROX
 ‘Ama passed by here already.’

2. *tuucigitc* *üxkowa'at*
 tu:ʃi-gitʃ ixkowaʔ-(a)t
 straight.on-QUOT blow-ATEL
 ‘The wind is blowing.’

3. *pickitc* *anghaniil* *piniyu* *awa'at* *tsungguc*
 piʃ-kitʃ aŋhani:-l piɲju a~waʔat tsuŋg-(u)ʃ
 TOP-QUOT people-ABS every TEL~run.away be.scared-SUB:SS
 ‘Then all the people, being frightened, ran away.’

4. *piniyu'igitc* *uu'ut* *loogo'loogat*
 piɲjuʔi-gitʃ u:ʔ-(u)t lo:goʔlo:g-(a)t
 every-QUOT tree-ABS be.torn.out-ATEL
 ‘All the trees are pulled out.’

5. *üxkowa'akitc* *ooyang* *tuwubil*
 ixkowaʔ-a(t)-gitʃ o:j-(a)ŋ tuwubil
 blow-ATEL-QUOT pass.by-SUB:DS fast
 ‘The wind is blowing very much when he passes by.’

6. *angaangitc* *amaca* *muwaala*
 aŋa:-n-gitʃ a~maca muwa:-l-a
 wing-3SG:POSS-QUOT TEL~cover mountain-ABS-OBJ
 ‘His wing covered the mountain.’

7. *egeewangitc* *tuwubil* *ooi-gija*
 ege:wan-gitʃ tuwubil o:j-gidʒa
 big-QUOT fast pass.by-QUOT
 ‘The very big (Ama) passed by.’

8. *hackitcta* *ümbü* *aadawüük*
 haʃ-kitʃ-ta imbi a:~dawi:k
 NEG-QUOT-3PL:SBJ again TEL~see
 ‘They never saw him again.’

Appendix I

Yihawal Steals Girl

1. *hac* *tibiinugaadawal* *anghaniilgija* *peewelandal*
haʃ *tibiinuga:dawa-l* *aŋhani:-l-gidza* *pe:welanda-l*
 NEG myth-ABS people-ABS-QUOT pioneer-ABS

anghaniil *inggin* *ih*
aŋhani:-l *iŋ~gin* *ih*
 people-ABS TEL~come here

‘(This is) not a myth. People, the pioneers, (had already) come here.’

2. *tciitkitc* *taatwal* *kudii* *cooyin* *haliit*
tʃi:tʃ-kitʃ *ta:twa-l* *ku-di:* *ʃo:ji-n* *hal-(i)t*
 one-QUOT man-ABS and-also wife-3SG:POSS live-ATEL
 ‘Once a man and also his wife were living,’

tii *tuumupin* *anaawicpit* *kudii* *wacumbicn*
ti: *tu:mu-pi-n* *ana:wif-pi-t* *ku-di:* *waʃumbiʃ-n*
 and offspring-DIM-3SG:POSS girl-DIM-ABS and-also spouse’s.parent-3SG:POSS
 ‘and also her child, a little girl, and also her mother-in-law.’

3. *pic-kitc* *taatwal* *tohaalat* *ku-dii-gitc* *wah* *cooyin*
piʃ-kitʃ *ta:twa-l* *toha:-la-t* *ku-di:-gitʃ* *wah* *ʃo:ji-n*
 TOP-QUOT man-ABS hunt-GO+ACT-ATEL and-also-QUOT DEM wife-3SG:POSS

unungaalat *wa'anda*
unuŋ-(a)la-t *waʔan-d-a*
 pound-GO+ACT-ATEL acorn-ABS-OBJ

‘Then the man goes and hunts, and also his wife there goes and pounds acorns.’

4. *pickitc* *tuumupin* *anangat* *tcitwana'ac*
piʃ-kitʃ *tu:mu-pi-n* *anaŋ-(a)t* *tʃitwanaʔʃ*
 TOP-QUOT offspring-DIM-3SG:POSS cry-ATEL all.the.time

aabuui *unungaalang*
a:bu:-i *unuŋ-(a)la-ŋ*
 mother-3SG:REFL pound-GO+ACT-SUB:DS

‘Then her child is crying all the time when her mother goes pounding.’

5. *pickitc* *tii* *üülü'üing* *anangat* *anaawicpit*
piʃ-kitʃ *ti:* *i:liʔiŋ* *anaŋ-(a)t* *ana:wif-pi-t*
 TOP-QUOT and evening cry-ATEL girl-DIM-ABS

‘Then also in the evening the little girl cries.’

6. *pickitc* *aabuun* *aahyamin* *mii'iim*
 piʃ-kitʃ a:bu:n a:hjamin mi:ʔi:m
 TOP-QUOT mother-3SG:POSS TEL~leave-CAUS right.here
- wüküminah* *yüha'awal-kü-kija*
 wik(i)-min-(a)h jihaʔawa-l-ki(t)-gidʒa
 take-ACT>GO mythical.creature-ABS-say-QUOT
 ‘Then her mother left her. “Right here take her and go away, Yihawal,” (the mother) says.’
7. *wahaigic* *aabuun* *iimi* *haniilamiik*
 wah-ai-gitʃ abu:-n i:~mi hani:-l-a-mi:k
 DEM-from-QUOT mother-3SG:POSS TEL~go house-ABS-OBJ-to
 ‘From there, her mother went toward the house.’
8. *üübülüülagic* *haniip*
 i:~bil-(i:)la-gitʃ hani:-p
 TEL~arrive-GO+ACT-QUOT house-LOC:IN
 ‘She went and arrived at her own house.’
9. *pickitc* *wacumbicn* *ohtat* *maawüt* *anaawicpit*
 piʃ-kitʃ wafumbiʃ-n ohta-t ma:wi-t ana:wif-pi-t
 TOP-QUOT spouse’s.parent-3SG:POSS ask-ATEL where.is-ATEL girl-DIM-ABS
 ‘Then, her mother-in-law asks, “Where is the little girl?”’
10. *pickitc* *wahai* *aamaaigüla* *ciuba* *aabuun*
 piʃ-kitʃ wah-ai a:~ma:igila ʃi:uba a:bu:-n
 TOP-QUOT DEM-from TEL~run back.again mother-3SG:POSS
 ‘Then from there, her mother went and ran back again.’
11. *haayigic* *wah* *anaawicpit*
 ha:ji-gitʃ wah ana:wif-pi-t
 NEG-QUOT DEM girl-DIM-ABS
 ‘The little girl is not there.’
12. *yüha'awalgic* *üwükümin*
 jihaʔawa-l-gitʃ i~wik(i)-min
 mythical.creature-ABS-QUOT TEL~take-ACT>GO
 ‘Yihawal took her here and went away.’
13. *ciuba* *aamaaigügim* *haniilamiik*
 ʃi:uba a:~ma:ig(i)-gim hani:-l-a-mi:k
 back.again TEL~go.ahead-COME+ACT house-ABS-OBJ-to
 ‘Back again (the mother) came and ran toward the house.’

haayi wah-kü-kija
 ha:ji wah-ki(t)-gidʒa
 NEG DEM-say-QUOT
 ‘“Nothing there,” she says.’

14. *pic waihai iimi wooyo*
 piʃ wah-ai i:~mi wo:jo
 TOP DEM-from TEL~go both
 ‘From there, then, they both went.’

15. *wahkitcta ata'aga taatwala*
 wah-kitʃ-ta a~taʔaga ta:twa-l-a
 DEM-QUOT-3PL:SBJ TEL~meet man-ABS-OBJ
 ‘There they met the man.’

16. *haaindahaaindabum kuuyü'at*
 ha:inda-ha:inda-bum ku:yü-(ʔa)t
 what.object-what.object-2PL:SBJ look.for-ATEL
 ‘“What is it you are looking for?” (he asks)’

17. *aaahyamina-k ih anaawicpita-kü-kitc*
 a:-hja(m)-min-a(t)-gi ih ana:wüʃ-bi-t-a-ki(t)-gitʃ
 TEL~leave-ACT>GO-ATEL-1SG:SBJ this girl-DIM-ABS-OBJ-say-QUOT
 ‘“I left the little girl here.”’

aabuun met üwükümin piga'ac yüha'awal
 a:bu:-n met i~wik(i)-min pigaʔaʃ jühaʔawa-l
 mother-3SG:POSS already TEL~take-ACT>GO perhaps mythical.creature-ABS
 ‘Her mother says; “perhaps Yihawal has already taken her here and gone away.”’

18. *yüha'awal-gitc iimiin haniip*
 jühaʔawa-l-gitʃ i:~mi:n hani:-p
 mythical.creature-ABS-QUOT TEL~take house-LOC:IN
 ‘Yihawal took her to his own house.’

19. *pickitc yüha'awal tohat pini'ik taal*
 piʃ-kitʃ jühaʔawa-l toha-t piniʔik ta:-l
 TOP-QUOT mythical.creature-ABS hunt-ATEL everything day-ABS
 ‘Then Yihawal hunts every day.’

20. *yoowogitc tuuhta pina üülü'üng*
 jo:wo-gitʃ tu:h-t-a pin-a i:liʔiŋ
 many-QUOT mountain.quail-ABS-OBJ bring.it-IMP:SG evening
 ‘He brings many mountain quail in the evening.’

21. *pickitc* *waa'at* *tuuhta* *kaalukp* *kudiigic*
 piʃ-kitʃ wa:ʔ-(a)t tu:h-t-a ka:luk-p ku-di:-gitʃ
 TOP:QUOT broil-ATEL mountain.quail-ABS-OBJ armpit-LOC:IN and-also-QUOT
 ‘Then he roasts the mountain quail in his own armpits, and also.’

paaciila *haaiyat* *hom'molaap*
 pa:ʃi:-l-a ha:j:-(a)t homʔmo-l-a-p
 chia.seeds-ABS-OBJ stir.with.fingers-ATEL cooking.basket-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 ‘he stirs chia seed in the cooking basket.’

22. *pickitc* *wah* *cinggüt* *hom'molaap*
 piʃ-kitʃ wah ʃiŋg-(i)t homʔmo-l-a-p
 TOP-QUOT DEM blow.one's.nose-ATEL cooking.basket-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 ‘Then he blows his nose there in the cooking-basket.’

23. *walgic* *kooim* *tükat*
 wa-l-gitʃ ko:im tik-(a)t
 DEM-ABS-QUOT woman eat-ATEL
 ‘That woman eats (the contents of the cooking-basket).’

24. *üicitsin-gic* *tüwülaanin*
 iʃi-t(s)i-n-gitʃ tiwül-a:n-in
 blanket-NREFL:OBJ-3SG:POSS-QUOT fix-BEN-CAUS
 ‘He fixes her blankets for her.’

25. *walgic* *üciüt*
 wa-l-gitʃ iʃit
 DEM-ABS-QUOT blanket
 ‘He blankets that (woman).’

26. *tüwüwan* *üciü-n*
 tiwiwan iʃi-n
 good blanket-3SG:POSS
 ‘His blankets (are) good.’

27. *oo'omingija* *tuuhting* *poonin*
 o:ʔ~omin-gidza tu:h-t-(i)ŋ po:n-(i)n
 TEL~string.beads-QUOT mountain.quail-ABS-GEN hide-3SG:POSS
 ‘He strung (them of) the skin of the mountain quail.’

28. *pickitc* *yüha'awal* *imbingk* *met* *anghamuumü'üing*
 piʃ-kitʃ jihaʔawa-l im~ping met aŋhamu:mi-ʔ(i)ŋ
 TOP-QUOT mythical.creature-ABS TEL~say already relatives-2SG:POSS

muuhyiiba *wa'ogon* *tüwü* *miinamaaling*
 mu:hj-(i:)ba waʔ-ogon tiwi mi:n-(a)ma:-ling
 make.fiesta-want DEM-anyway good take-HORT-2SG:OBJ
 ‘Then Yihawal said, “Already your relatives begin to make fiesta. Better to let me take you there.”’

29. *pickitc* *wah-ai* *iimiin*
 piʃ-kitʃ wah-ai i:~mi:n
 TOP-QUOT DEM-from TEL~take
 ‘Then from there he took her.’

30. *ütübükinaagija* *mi'ipil* *haniila*
 i~tib-kin-(a:)gidza miʔipil hani:-l-a
 TEL~put-ACT>COME-QUOT close house-ABS-OBJ
 ‘He put her there, close to the house.’

31. *hacpi* *aawaikükidza* *paaida'angkükija*
 haf-pi a:wai-ki(t)-gidza pa:i-daʔa-ŋ-ki(t)-gidza
 NEG-2SG:SBJ tell-IMP:FUT-say-QUOT three-day-SUB:SS-say-QUOT
 ‘“Don’t you tell (how you were brought up),” he says, “for three days,” he says.’

32. *pickitc* *tüwügüt* *kooim*
 piʃ-kitʃ tiwi-git ko:jm
 TOP-QUOT good-say woman
 ‘Then, “Good,” says the woman.’

33. *wahaigite* *iimi* *haniip*
 wah-ai-gitʃ i:~mi hani:-p
 DEM-from-QUOT TEL~go house-LOC:IN
 ‘From there, he went to his own house.’

34. *pic* *übülüüla* *haniip* *oonooban*
 piʃ i-bil-(i:)la hani:-p o:no:ban
 TOP TEL~arrive-GO+ACT house-LOC:IN outside
 ‘Then she went and arrived outside her own house.’

35. *anangiila-gite* *haa'üt*
 anaŋ-i:-l-a-gitʃ ha:ʔ-(i)t
 cry-NMLZ-ABS-OBJ-QUOT hear-ATEL
 ‘She hears the crying (of the fiesta).’

36. *pickitc* *aabuun* *ipicakin* *oonooban*
 piʃ-kitʃ a:bu:-n i-piʃ-(a)kin o:no:ban
 TOP-QUOT mother-3SG:POSS TEL~come.out-ACT>COME outside
 ‘Then her mother came out there outside (the house) (and),’

wahkitc *walkooimi* *üwüniin* *aadawüük*
 wah-kitʃ wa-l-ko:jm-i (i)win-(i)n a:~dawi:k
 there-QUOT DEM-ABS-woman COP-SUB:DS TEL~see
 ‘saw there that woman while she stands there.’

37. *pic-kitc* *wokiik* *iimi*
 piʃ-kitʃ wo-ki:k i:~mi
 TOP-QUOT there-to TEL~go
 ‘Then (the mother) went toward her.’

38. *agii-bi-kü-kija*
 agi:-bi-ki(t)-gidʒa
 who-2SG:SBJ-say-QUOT
 ‘“Who are you?” she says.’

39. *nik* *üwün* *tuumu'ung* *aahyakinaa-bi-ni*
 nik (i)win tu:mu-ʔ(u)ŋ a:-hja-kin-(a:)bi-ni
 1SG:SBJ COP offspring-2SG:POSS TEL~leave-ACT>COME-2SG:SBJ-1SG:OBJ

unungapiüü-p
 unuŋ-pi:-p
 pound-REL-2SG:SBJ
 ‘“I stand (here), your child. You left me and went away to your pounding.”’

40. *pickitc* *aabuun* *haniilap* *iimiin* *cuunabaan*
 piʃ-kitʃ a:bu:-n hani:-l-a-p i:~mi:n ʃu:naba:n
 TOP-QUOT mother-3SG:POSS house-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN TEL~take inside
 ‘Then her mother took her inside the house.’

41. *pic-kitc* *aabuun* *etehma*
 piʃ-kitʃ a:bu:-n e~tehma
 TOP-QUOT mother-3SG:POSS TEL~be.silent
 ‘Then her mother became silent.’

42. *pickitc* *anghaniil* *piniyu* *inggim* *taawügüügimac*
 piʃ-kitʃ aŋhani:-l piniju iŋ~gim ta:wig-(i:)gim-(a)ʃ
 TOP-QUOT people-ABS every TEL~come see-COME+ACT-SUB:SS
 ‘Then all the people came, when they came to see her.’

43. *alaawinakijata*
 ala:win-(a)t-gidʒa-ta
 talk.to-ATEL-QUOT-3PL:SBJ
 ‘They are talking to her.’

44. *maala-pi* *tooi'üpüganan*
 ma:lap-(b)i to:j-(?i)pi-ga-na-n
 where-2SG:SBJ travel.about-REL-own-3:POSS-3SG-POSS
 ‘“Where (were) you, you who have traveled?” (they ask).’
45. *hackitc* *aawat*
 haf-kitf a:w-(a)t
 NEG-QUOT tell-ATEL
 ‘She does not tell.’
46. *pickitcta* *tiigimat* *ohtaagimat*
 piʃ-kitf-ta ti:-gim-(a)t ohta:-gim-(a)t
 TOP-QUOT-3PL:SBJ and-come-ATEL ask-COME+ACT-ATEL
 ‘Then they also (more people) are coming; they are coming and asking her.’
47. *pickitc* *ülü'kitc* *a'au*
 piʃ-kitf iliʔ-kitf aʔ~au
 TOP-QUOT after.a.while-QUOT TEL~tell
 ‘Then after a while, she told.’
48. *wahki* *halüpiünankükija*
 wah-ki hal-(i)pi-na-n-ki(t)-gidza
 there-1SG:SBJ live-REL-3:POSS-3SG:POSS-say-QUOT
 ‘“I (am) the one who lived there,” she says.’
- yüha'awala'ang* *haniiban*
 jühaʔawa-l-(aʔa)ŋ hani:-b-(a)n
 mythical.creature-ABS-GEN house-LOC:IN-3SG:POSS
 ‘“in the home of Yihawal.”’
49. *pic-kitc* *wahai* *awai'awai'ala* *pinggiya'awac*
 piʃ-kitf wah-ai a-waiʔawaiʔ-(a)la piŋg:-(i:)jaʔawaf
 TOP-QUOT there-from TEL~fall.down.dead-GO+ACT say-COMPL
 ‘Then, from there, she went and fell dead when she had finished saying it.’
50. *pickitc* *wah* *tuumupin* *awa'at*
 piʃ-kitf wah tu:mu-pi-n a~waʔat
 TOP-QUOT there offspring-DIM-3SG:POSS TEL~run.away
 ‘Then there, her child runs away.’
51. *iimi* *iimikija*
 i:-mi i:-mi-kidza
 TEL~go TEL-go-QUOT
 ‘He went, he went, so they say.’

52. *wahoowook*
wah-o:~wo:k
there-TEL~be.ended
'There it got ended.'