Pic, Topicality, and Discourse in Pahka'anil (Tübatulabal)

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1. Introduction

Pahka'anil, otherwise known as Tübatulabal, is an Uto-Aztecan language originating

from Southern California. While there are currently no native speakers of Pahka'anil, there is a

revitalization project underway based in the Pahka'anil offices in Lake Isabella, CA, and classes

are currently taught to the community by tribal leaders at Owens Valley Career Development

Center (OVCDC) in Lake Isabella, CA[1]. The foundation for these classes is a pedagogical

grammar developed by Lindsay Marean and others at OVCDC[2]. This grammar is mostly based

on three published works by linguistic anthropologist Charles Voegelin: a descriptive grammar of

the language (1935a), 27 transcriptions of oral narratives (1935b), and a working lexicon (1958).

Voegelin's grammar is invaluable to the revitalization effort and linguistic research. It

has a very detailed phonology section along with morphology and syntax sections and one

complete text ("The Power of Jimsonweed" see Appendix D) with detailed notes and some

parsing of morphemes. While this grammar has been the building blocks for the revitalization

effort as well as my own understanding of the language, the glaring omission of any section

dedicated to discourse presents an important gap. This is especially true for learners of the

language when considering the need to speak the language conversationally and the possibilities

of developing more narratives in the language. Luckily, Voegelin's (1935b) collection of 27

more texts (besides "The Power of Jimsonweed") is a good place to start to ameliorate the lack

of discourse research on Pahka'anil.

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[1] http://www.ovcdc.com/blog/locations/lake-isabella/

[2] Unpublished manuscript unavailable for research use at this time.

In the Pahka'anil texts (Voegelin, 1935b), there are some noticeable patterns that immediately strike the reader. One of these patterns is the use of the word *pic* (in Pahka'anil orthography, IPA: /piʃ/); *pic* is immediately recognizable as starting most utterances in the narratives. In the text "The Deer Dream" (Appendix A) alone, which is a transcription of a spoken narrative recounting a dream by Steban Miranda, *pic* begins 7 of the 11 lines. Since this word is suspiciously ubiquitous, the possibilities of it being a crucial component of discourse structures is high. Voegelin glossed the word as the English *then*. If *pic* is functioning beyond the clausal level and related to discourse patterns, then its function is likely more complicated than the lexical meaning and function of the English *then* which is primarily used for connecting sequences of utterances and as a conditional in if/then type constructions. Besides connecting speech as *then*, *pic* also seems to function within the narrative of the story. Similar to other distinctions between main line and background information in narratives involving syntactic changes (Longacre, 1996 & Payne, 2015), there seems to be a change in the type of information being conveyed when *pic* begins an utterance both in terms of "topic" and "focus" elements (Chafe, 1987) as well as in differentiating between certain types of events in the narrative. Furthermore, in some instances *pic* is the host of other clitics such as *-gitc* (IPA: /-gitʃ/ which Voegelin (1935a) glosses as a quotative marker) such as in the story "Concerning Bears" (Appendix B). In yet other places, it even hosts other adverbs ("The Power of Jimsonweed" Appendix D). It could also be functioning to show some kind of relation to the previous utterance such as the English discourse marker *so*.

In order to identify and explore the general usage of *pic,* three research questions will guide the current study: (1) What is the relationship between *pic* and topic elements? (2) Which

functions does *pic* have as a discourse marker in the texts? and (3) Is there a direct relationship between the use of *pic* and narrative structure or narrative events? In order to develop hypotheses for these questions, a look at the relevant literature regarding topicality, discourse markers, main event lines, and previous research on *pic* is necessary (Section 2). This will be followed by preliminaries on Pahka'anil morphosyntax (3), the research methodology (4), sections on *pic* and topicality (5), *pic* and sequences of events and main event lines (6) and a conclusion (7).

2. Literature Review

In order to begin the exploration of Pahka'anil discourse, we must first consider a number of particularly relevant concepts in light of the previous literature. We will begin with discourse literature before looking at Voegelin's (1935a) statements on *pic*.

2.1 Discourse markers

Voegelin's (1935a) original glossing of *pic* as the time adverbial *then* could be an indication of its use as a discourse marker since time adverbials are likely candidates to be grammaticalized as discourse markers (Maschler & Schiffin, 2015). Before evaluating the significance of this classification, an overview of discourse markers and their functions is necessary. Maschler and Schiffrin (2015) give an outline of multiple approaches to understanding and classifying discourse markers. They define discourse markers as "nonobligatory utterance-initial items that function in relation to ongoing talk and text" (191). Such items can perform a variety of functions, all of which have an extra-clausal relationship.

The most influential research on these functions can be divided into three subgroups: discourse, pragmatic, and interactional. For examining the potential functions of *pic* within discourse and narrative, Schiffrin's discourse based approach is the most relevant. Schiffrin's discourse based approach examines potential discourse markers based on their distribution and the context to determine function. Items as diverse as adverbs, lexicalized phrases, conjunctions and interjections are all commonly functioning on a discourse level. She divides these functions into local and global functions which either relate propositions on the same plane (two adjacent utterances) or on different planes (non-adjacent utterances). Perhaps most importantly, she describes discourse markers as multifunctional or as operating at multiple levels at once; this includes discourse markers also performing functions related to their semantic meanings as well as purely discourse related functions. An example of this multi-functionality in English can be found in the discourse marker *so* operating as a sequence-connecting discourse marker (local), an episode-initial discourse marker (global), and as a result construction based on its lexical meaning.

2.2 Relational propositions

Relational propositions, as outlined by Mann and Thompson (1986), are locally functioning propositions that have a relationship to each other which cannot be reduced to either proposition and, therefore, their function lies on the discourse level rather than the clausal level. Determined completely by the context and semantics of the sentences, Mann and Thompson call this type of connection of clauses relationship predicates. There are fifteen different ways that a clause can predicate a preceding clause: solutionhood, evidence, justification, motivation, reason,

sequence, enablement, elaboration, restatement, condition, circumstance, cause, concession, background, and thesis-antithesis. While all of these types of relationship predicates will be considered as clauses are examined, sequence is of a priori importance for this study since Voegelin's gloss of *pic* as *then* implies it creates a sequential relationship with the previous clause. Mann and Thompson (1986) define sequence as being established "when the two parts of the text convey events, where the second is understood to follow the first" (63). When examining a sequence of events, we should see a clear temporal relationship between two consecutive lines in the text.

2.3 Main and non-main event lines in narrative

Beyond a simple sequence of events, if the events that follow each other temporally are connected by *pic,* then there is a possibility that they are crucial for telling a narrative since all narratives involve events unfolding over time. Events in a narrative are commonly organized by main events and non-main events. If *pic* is connecting events in a clausal sequence, then it could have some relationship to main-event lines and narrative development within the text. In order to determine this, Payne (2015) provides an effective methodology. While examining clause combining and main event lines in Maa (Nilotic), Payne acknowledges the problematic nature of distinguishing main event lines from non-main event lines by the common imperfective (non-main event lines) and perfective (main event line) distinction; when main event lines are defined by aspect, then the rationale that a line is a main event line is based on the fact that it has a verb with that particular aspect in the line. This argument is circular and not very enlightening on the off chance that a main event line does not happen to be in the previously determined perfective

aspect for main event lines. Rather than define main events grammatically and then search

through texts for particular grammatical features and label the lines that carry them main event

lines, Payne develops a methodology based on the structure of events themselves. While non-

main events can overlap and give background information or descriptions, main events for a

single story do not overlap with other main events; they form a coherent thread occurring in

single file from the beginning to the end of the narrative. Payne acknowledges that there may be

some sub-narratives that overlap, but these are, in a way, part of a different story and these events

also do not seem to overlap with events in their own story. Connecting main event lines is a

global function beyond the local sequencing function because being marked as a main event can

relate clauses to each other that are many lines apart rather than just connecting a clause with its

preceding clause. When examining the sequencing of clauses that utilize *pic*, attention must be

given to whether these lines are main event or non-main event lines based on Payne's

methodology.

     2.4 Topicality

     Besides the utterance-initial position of *pic* indicating its use as a discourse marker and its

potential narrative functions, there may be other reasons for placing *pic* in such a position. Chafe

(1987) shows that we have cognitive limitations on why certain words are placed at the

beginning and end of utterances cross-linguistically; the beginning of the utterance is reserved

for familiar or topicalized content in order to establish a link to earlier discourse and common

ground with the listener. This is because there is a certain set of "active" concepts at any given

time that can be used as "given" information which relate either to a schema activated by the

content of the discourse ("teacher" and "homework" would be activated if the content of the

discourse was "school") or something that is always activated in discourse, namely the first and

second person engaged in the discourse. After the established "given" content, an utterance may

contain one "new" element which will then become activated from either an inactive or semi-

active state based on how recently it was uttered or how closely it is related to the active schema.

More than one new element and the cognitive load becomes too burdensome to facilitate an

effective discourse. Hence, the tendency for sentences and utterances to start with a topic and

have only one focus is cognitively necessary. Therefore, since topics and *pic* are both mostly

utterance initial, particular attention must be given to whether *pic* is a topic marker in Pahka'anil.

2.5 Statements on *pic* in Voegelin's grammar and texts

Pic noticeably starts most utterances in the Pahka'anil texts (Voegelin 1935b). Despite its

ubiquity, *pic* is only described once in Voegelin's grammar (1935a) in section 40 "Independent

Particles" part 6 "Modal and Nexus Particles." Of this grouping of words, Voegelin says, "The

particles of this group are characterized by a vague meaning; when no translation is possible, the

particle is termed an 'empty word'" (177). Luckily, *pic* is not glossed as an "empty word" and

we have a starting point for our endeavor. Instead, Voegelin glosses *pic* as the English *then*.

This glossing has its reason; like *then*, *pic* appears to connect two lines of discourse sequentially.

Even from glancing at texts, connecting sequences appears to be at least among its functions.

Although, that is where the comparisons end since *pic* does not seem to have the functions of a

time adverbial that *then* does but only the sequential function. Furthermore, since *pic* is always

utterance initial and has a vague lexical meaning, we can hypothesize that it is a discourse

marker and possibly multi-functional on local and global levels. In order to examine *pic* and

determine how it could be related to discourse in general and topicality, sequences and main

event lines in particular, first we must outline some basic Pahka'anil morphosyntax.

3. Preliminaries on Pahka'anil

Besides an overview of the discourse concepts relevant to this research, some

preliminaries on the morphosyntax of Pahka'anil are necessary to outline. After the

morphological and syntactic structure of Pahka'anil is explored, some hypotheses about the

functions of pic will be postulated.

3.1. Morphological and syntactic overview

Voegelin (1935a) describes Pahka'anil with a strict nominative/accusative alignment.

Also, due to the high amount of morphemes per word the language is polysynthetic rather than

analytic. While some morphemes exhibit more fusional meanings such as pronominal forms

expressing number and person, most Pahka'anil morphology can be classified as agglutinative as

most morphemes have only one meaning per form. In terms of word order, while Voegelin

(1935a) states that word order can vary and head initial utterances exist (134), he identifies verb

final patterns as being the most common. For example, both of the following utterances from

Voegelin (1935a) are acceptable in Pahka'anil but the second is much more common (IPA and

interlinearization are mine):

      V -S   O

1.   1. tɨka-ki³   tapɪʃiː-l-a

        eat.ATEL-1SG.SBJ   bread-ABS-OBJ

      'I am eating the bread'

       O   -S   V

      2. tapɪʃiː-l-a-gi   tɨka-t

       bread-ABS-OBJ-1SG.SBJ   eat-ATEL

      'I am eating the bread'

Neither number 1.1 nor 1.2 from this example show a free subject and since Voegelin never

mentions where a free subject is typically found in an utterance, the common word order is

difficult to determine with both OV and VO word orders being present. Since the objects are

marked differently from the subjects, it appears, at least at the time of this research, that the

subject is as variable in its placement as the object.

      But while the verb, object, and presumably the subject can vary in their placements,

Voegelin describes subject clitics as often attaching to the first element of an utterance (134).

This structure is very common throughout all of the texts analyzed here. While the subject clitic

is the most common pronoun to attach to the first element of an utterance, it is possible for a

pronominal object clitic to attach to the first element as well. The first two lines from "The

Power of Jimsonweed" (Voegelin 1935a, see Appendix D) show the subject pronominal clitic

attaching to the first element in the first line (2.1) and the object pronominal clitic in the second

(2.2) (IPA and interlinearization mine; all line numbers are marked for the specific example. The

Appendix letter and the line numbers within that text are listed after the examples):

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³ While the subject markers on the verb in 1.1 and the noun in 1.2 are clitics, I've elected not to mark
them for this particular study as they are not crucial to my analysis.

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              -S                V                        O
2.    1. pɪʃ-ki          tumuːga    wa-l          aːdzowaː-l-a
         then-1SG.SBJ    dream.TEL  DEM-OBJ   shaman-ABS-OBJ
         'So I dreamt of that shaman'

              -O                V
      2. pɪʃ-nɪn         alaːw-in-at    maʃ-pi          hal-it      ɪh     ɨg-it
          then-1SG.OBJ   talk-VI-ATEL   INTER-2SG.SBJ   sit-ATEL    here   say-ATEL
         'Then, talking to me, she says, why are you sitting here?'
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(From Appendix D: 1-2)

Taking note that a pronoun attaching to the first element is very common, for the most part word

order seems variable, and pronouns can clearly be dropped since the subject (/aːdzowaːla/) of the

first verb (/alaːwinat/) in example 2.2 is absent; there are likely discourse purposes for the

arrangements of words and whether a subject or object is first in an utterance or omitted entirely.

3.2. *Pic*, discourse marking, and topicality: Some initial hypotheses

Considering Voegelin's grammar (1935a), Chafe (1987) on given and new information

and topicality, previous work on discourse markers (Maschler & Schiffrin, 2015), relational

propositions (Mann & Thompson, 1986), and main event line distinctions (Payne, 2015), I

attempt to develop hypotheses to the following research questions: (1) What is the relationship

between *pic* and topic elements? (2) Which functions does *pic* have as a discourse marker in the

texts? and (3) Is there a direct relationship between the use of *pic* and narrative structure or

narrative events? As stated above, time adverbials often become multifunctional discourse

markers. Besides a potential history as a grammaticalized time adverbial, *pic* would clearly fit

Schiffrin's description of a discourse marker since it is non-obligatory, always utterance initial,

and relates utterances in an extended discourse; it's purpose seemingly can only be defined beyond the scope of the clause, i.e. within discourse. The most salient relationship that *pic* establishes between two clauses, is shown by its gloss of *then* which is one of sequence; *pic* appears to connect a line sequentially to the previous utterance. However, a close look at the texts will determine if there are global functions in addition to this local function, and, preliminarily, I hypothesize that *pic* may have global functions in regards to main event lines as well as the local sequential function. Furthermore, from examples of both subject clitics and object clitics (examples 2.1 and 2.2 above, respectively) being hosted by *pic* in the utterance initial position, it seems likely that pic could be hosting "given' concepts (Chafe, 1987) and thus be a topic marker in Pahka'anil.

4. Methodology

In order to examine the functions of *pic* and develop a more nuanced understanding of its functions as well as acquire an explanation for its ubiquity, the current study approaches the problem in a variety of ways. For the first research question (1) What is the relationship between *pic* and topic elements?, two methods are employed. Firstly, I created a corpus by manually entering in 26 Tübatulabal texts from Voegelin (1935b) and the one full text from Voegelin (1935a). This corpus contains 6104 word tokens and 1379 word types. Using AntConc, I conduct a word count to see how frequent *pic* is in the texts. I utilize the regex search \.\s+pic to find all instances where *pic* is utterance initial. The remaining instances (only 17) are easy to isolate. Next, I use the regex search pic[-\s]\S+ to find all instances of *pic* and the word directly after it (including clitics which are not separated from *pic* by a space but by a hyphen). Each word that

follows *pic* is categorized by part of speech. The results are examined in terms of discourse

possibilities to develop possible hypotheses about the topicality functions of *pic* apparent through

its distribution and the parts of speech of the subsequent words. Next, each individual occurrence

of *pic* in the texts "The Deer Dream" (Appendix A), "Concerning Bears" (Appendix B), "How

the Earth was Made" (Appendix C), and "The Power of Jimsonweed" (Appendix D) is

examined. These texts were chosen because they vary in content from recounting a dream to

myths to autobiography and were short enough to analyze every line and occurrence of *pic*. The

texts are analyzed in terms of how each utterance introduced by *pic* relates to previous clauses,

which parts of speech come immediately after *pic*, and whether or not the word after *pic* is

topical. Topicality is determined by strictly following Chafe (1987) in equating topical content

as that which is given or assumed in the schema of a discourse. For the next two questions (2)

Which functions does *pic* have as a discourse marker in the texts? and (3) Is there a direct

relationship with *pic* and narrative structure or narrative events?, I continue the textual analysis

of *pic* by analyzing the events that come after *pic* in two ways. Firstly, whether or not the lines

are sequential or contain any other apparent discourse relationship using Mann & Thompson

(1986) as a guide for local relational functions within a discourse. The second examination is

following Payne (2015) as discussed in the literature review in examining main event lines and

determining whether or not the lines containing pic are overlapping or strictly in a single time

line to determine if *pic* is related to main line events. My analysis, results, and hypotheses are

presented in two sections: *Pic* and Topicality (5) and *Pic*, Sequence of Events, and Main Event

Lines (6). All references to texts are numbered based on the example number within this study

with the appendix letter and line numbers within the original texts underneath the example. See

the appendices for the full interlinearized texts.

5. *Pic* and Topicality

5.1 Corpus analysis of *pic* and subsequent words' parts of speech

After performing the word count, *pic* is the second most used word in the texts after the

quotative/evidential marker -*gitc* (which is understandable since most of these texts are myths

and therefore use the -*gitc* marker on most utterances). Of the 6104 word tokens, *pic* appears 446

times or once every 13.7 words. Of these 446 times, the utterance initial regex search showed

that it begins an utterance 429 times. Furthermore, for each of the 17 other times, it still begins

an independent clause; since the lines are based on a spoken text, Voegelin's distinction between

lines could be less useful than counting independent clauses as utterances. If we follow this

criterion, *pic* could be said to always be utterance initial. A word this frequent and ubiquitous

across the different contexts of the texts is likely used more for its functionality than its

semantics. These first statistics give us strong evidence that *pic* is indeed a discourse marker in

Pahka'anil.

However, while we can likely determine that *pic* is a discourse marker, the relationship

between *pic* and topic is harder to discern from the corpus searches; the results of the word

search for the part of speech directly after *pic* are more complicated. Chart 1 shows the raw data

from this search. The most common word after *pic* is the clitic -*gitc* which follows *pic* 325 out of

the 446 occurrences or 73% of the time. Since -*gitc* is the most common word in the corpus (it

appears 772 times), this is not surprising, but it does not provide us with any insight into how *pic*

-gitc ● DEM ● NOUN ● NEG ● ADV ● VERB ● PRO

Chart 1

1SG ● DEM ● NOUN ● NEG ● PRO (not 1SG) ● ADV
VERB

Chart 2
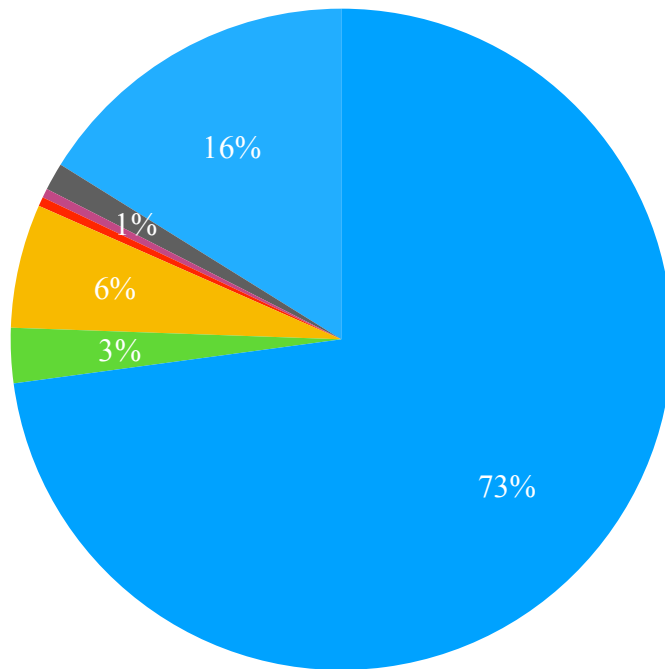
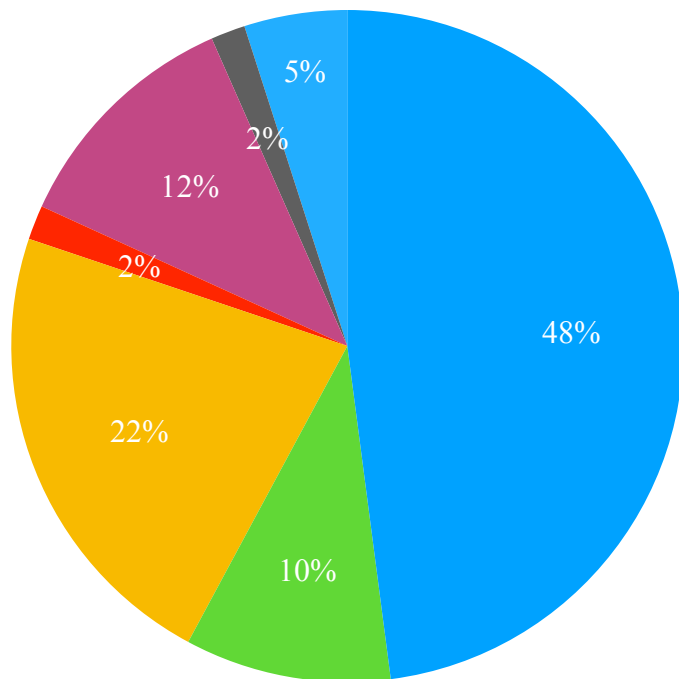could be related to topicality. The next most common word class to follow *pic* are personal pronouns which occur 72 out of the 446 times. However, if we divide the category of personal pronouns into first person and the rest, we can see that the first person pronouns occur 58 of those 72 times. Next common are the nouns with 27 times, then the rest of the pronouns with 14, demonstratives with 12, verbs with 6, and lastly negative

particles and adverbs with 2 each. Chart 2 shows the percentages of the parts of speech (other

than -*gitc*) with the first person pronouns separated from the others.

From the results, we can see that the most frequent word following *pic* is -*gitc*. This

actually provides us with considerable evidence that *pic* cannot be a topic marker since a

quotative/evidential marker cannot be topicalized[4]. There are a few reasons why *pic* and -*gitc*

could be appearing together so frequently. Firstly, *pic* and -*gitc* both (almost) always appear at

the beginning of an utterance with or without the other. And while *pic* is the first word of its

utterance and can host clitics, -*gitc* is a clitic that always attaches to the first word of an

utterance. Besides -*gitc*, when we consider the other words that follow *pic*, we can see that

virtually every part of speech follows it. Like the quotative/evidential marker, verbs are likely

not topicalized either and thus add to the evidence that *pic* is not related to topicality. One

component of the data that could provide evidence that pic is a topic marker is the fact that the

majority of words besides -*gitc* that follow it are pronouns followed by nouns. Pronouns and

nouns are often agents which are usually topicalized. This is compounded by the fact that most of

those words are the first person pronoun which is inherently topical[5] (Chafe, 1987). However,

when considering the fact that pronouns in Pahka'anil are usually in their clitic form and attach

to any first element of an utterance, the coincidence of *pic* and pronouns is far from evidence for

pic being a topic marker.

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[4] Function words such as -*gitc*, verbs, and adverbs are not typically topicalized due to the fact that a topic usually refers to some entity that is "given" information within a particular schema that should be understandable to the speaker and the listener; words without particular referents are rarely topicalized since they do not relate to the entities within that schema but rather describe the entities or their actions.

[5] While topicality is dependent on a schema that makes the discourse intelligible to a listener, the fact that the schema is something that is mutually understood system of references between interlocutors means that the speaker (the first person) and the listener (the second person) are also "given" information and thus inherently topical.

Besides providing clarity to the potential arbitrariness of *pic* and topics coinciding, the results from the test to see how often *pic* is word initial are potentially more informative about its functions. The fact that *pic* is utterance initial 96% of the time and begins an independent clause every instance shows that it most likely a discourse marker. Furthermore, while *pic* is very common, it is clearly nonobligatory because there are many lines in the text that do not start with *pic* which fulfills Schiffrin's (2015) second criterion. There are many possible functions of *pic* as a discourse marker, but considering the fact that it was glossed as the sequential *then*, constructing a sequence of events is almost certainly one of them. However, from this data, the reasons that it would only present certain events rather than others is unclear. This relationship between pic and events will be revisited in section 6. As for topicality, a closer look at the texts can perhaps provide more insight into the possibility of topic marking functions of *pic*.

5.2 Pic and Topicality: Textual Analysis

Besides the corpus analysis, there is already good evidence that *pic* is not simply the topic marker in Pahka'anil. Chart 3 shows each of the 42 times pic appears in these texts along with the following word.

Chart 3

Text and Line	Personal Pronouns		Text and Line	Pic-kitc		Text and Line	Pic and Others	
A.4	pic ki	1SG.SBJ	D.7	pic-kitc ict	'Coyote'	B.9	pic wahaai	'from there'
A.5	pic ki		D.15	pic-kitc ict		D.8	pic wahaai	
A.8	pic ki		D.22	pic-kitc ict		B.4	pic mi'ipil	'close'

Text and Line	Personal Pronouns		Text and Line	Pic-kitc		Text and Line	Pic and Others	
A.9	pic ki		C.10	pic-kitc eemeedatal	'old-timers'	D.12	pic omhombit	'Mud-diver'
A.10	pic ki		C.8	pic-kitc kima'i	'someone'	D.2	pic paal	'water'
B.1	pic ki		D.16	pic-kitc omhombit	'Mud-diver'	A.7	pic tciitc	'one'
B.6	pic ki		D.5	pic-kitc ta	3PL.SBJ	B.21	pic tüwü	'good'
B.10	pic ki		D.12	pic-kitc ü'ülü	'after a while'	B.11	pic ütsühkatnü'ing	'prickling'
B.12	pic ki		C.2	pic-kitc uunala	'Bear'	D.9	pic haaiyihaaint	'nothing'
B.13	pic ki		C.3	pic-kitc wa' uunal	'that Bear'	B.5	pic hayi	'nothing'
B.14	pic ki		D.23	pic-kitc wahaai	'from there'	B.8	pic ih	'here'
B.15	pic ki							
B.16	pic ki							
B.17	pic ki							
A.6	pic ta	3PL.SBJ						
C.5	pic ta							
D.3	pic ta							
D.14	pic ta							
B.2	pic nin	1SG.OBJ						
B.7	pic nin							

Of the 42 times that *pic* appears in the four texts, 11 instances are directly followed by *-kitc*[6].

That would be almost 25% of the instances that a topic marker does not mark topic. However,

there does appear to be a connection between utterance initial particles (such as *pic*) and topic; it

is not as simple as a single topic marker in Pahka'anil, but rather there are reasons for the

coincidence of these particles and topic. First, I will show the relationship between *pic*, parts of

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[6] *-kitc* or /kit͡ʃ/ in IPA is the phonetic realization of the morpheme *-gitc* when the last consonant of its host is voiceless.

speech and topics before looking at these utterance initial particles in general in order to develop

a hypothesis about how *pic* is actually a discourse marker that precedes the topic in these texts.

5.2.1 Pic as host for subject-as-topic

Consider the two following lines from "The Deer Dream". In the story, all subjects are

first person until line 6 (example 3.2):

3.   1.piʃ-ki   ɨ:-dɨwa:-la   tohi:l-a   jowi
        then-1SG   TEL-find-GO+ACT   deer-OBJ   many
        'Then I went and found many deer'

        2. piʃ-ta   e-ʔela   ɨ:ʃɨwana-mi:k
        then-3PL   TEL-jump   different.branches-TO
        'Then they jump about in every direction'

        (From Appendix A: 5-6)

Up until line 6 (3.2) of "The Deer Dream", only the first person pronominal clitic (*-gi* but

phonetically realized as *-ki*) is attached to *pic*. If the first and second person are always topical

as mentioned above (Chafe, 1987), then this would be an apt place for a first person pronominal

clitic. However an interesting component of example 3.2 is that the third person plural pronoun

is attached to *pic* for the first time in the story. Since *pic* has taken clitic pronouns thus far, this is

not an inappropriate place for such a pronoun. The change is that it is the first time that anything

other than a first person clitic attached to *pic* or any other word in the narrative and it occurs in

the line directly after the noun phrase of which it is a pronoun (tohiila or IPA: /tohi:la/ "deer") is

first mentioned. This looks like a new concept being introduced and subsequently topicalized.

Yet another change occurs in the following line:

4.   piʃ-t͡ʃiːt͡ʃ iːwini-t   egeːewan
        then-one stand-ATEL big
        'Then a big one stands still'

        (From Appendix A: 7)

In this line, a personal pronoun does not appear but the word *tciitc* (/t͡ʃiːt͡ʃ/, meaning "one") is

attached to *pic*, referring to "one of the deer". This is another example of something that was

introduced in the previous line functioning as a topic in the next line. Rather than only taking a

pronominal clitic, it appears that "Active Concepts" or "Given Information" (Chafe 1987) are

able to attach to *pic* based on the fact that in each occurrence the coinciding word with *pic* was

mentioned more specifically in the line before (except for the first person pronoun since it is

likely implied due to the fact that the narrative is first person). And its position as utterance

initial is exactly where Chafe shows given information appearing.

          5.22 Pic as host for object-as-topic

        However, from the data from this text alone, one could argue that *pic* is merely presenting

the grammatical subject of the utterance and not related to the given-new distinction as described

by Chafe (1987). In each of the examples above, there does not need to be a reference to topic at

all; *pic* could easily be explained as marking subject. One look at another text shows this not to

be the case. Here is an example from "The Power of Jimsonweed":

5.   1. pɪʃ-ki   wa-h   haɬ:-ɨ:ʔ-at
        then-1SG DEM-LOC sit-ITER-ATEL
        'then I am sitting and sitting (shifting about)'

      2. pɪʃ-nɪn   wɨtsiʔaʃ   iŋgɨ-i   iʔ-ig-ɪn
        then-1SG.OBJ   with   foot-REFL   TEL-swing.up-VI
        'swung up at me with her foot.'

      3. pɪʃ   ɪh   a-hat:ap: a:-agɪm   pɔ:ʃɨ-pɨ:-l
        then   here TEL-stuck   TEL-COME   to be white-NMLZR-ABS
        'Then a white thing came and stuck here (on my knee)'

      (From Appendix D: 6-8)

In example 5.1, the first person subject clitic (*-ki*) is attaching to *pic* followed by the first person

object clitic (*-nin*) in 5.2. This seems to emphasize the topic over the grammatical subject even

though the topic is the object of the clause of 5.2 rather than the subject such as we have seen in

most other examples thus far. Furthermore, example 5.3 shows the deictic locative (*ih)*

appearing right after *pic*. Again, the most topical element is appearing right after *pic* even

though it is not the subject nor the object of the utterance because the grammatical subject is new

information (*poocüpül,* IPA: /pɔ:ʃɨpɨ:l/ "a white thing") and there is no direct object.

          5.23 Complicating factors for *Pic* as Topic Marker

      While these examples all provide evidence for *pic* as a topic marker, there is other

evidence that complicates the issue. The first five lines of "Concerning Bears" show a different

relationship between *pic*, other particles, and topic:

6. 1. eːmeːedata-l-kɪt͡ʃ   taʔag-iːjukaŋ   uːna-l-a
  old.timer-ABS-QUOT meet-PST.HBT bear-ABS-OBJ
  '*Old-Timers were in the habit of meeting bear*'

  2. pɪʃ-kɪt͡ʃ uːna-l-a   ala:w-in-at haːinda-p-nɨʔɨŋ ɪnɪ-t
   then-QUOT bear-ABS-OBJ talk-VI-ATEL what-2SG-1SG.POSS do-ATEL

  pɔh-p-an   kuː-wɪmʃi-h   ɪkiːk kɨ-kɪt͡ʃ wa-l
  trail-LOC:IN-3SG.POSS CONJ-make.room-IMP this.way AND-SAY DEM-OBJ

  uːna-l-a
  bear-ABS-OBJ
  '*Then (they) talk to Bear: "What are you doing in my trail?" and, "Give me room this way," (they) say to that Bear*'

  3. pɪʃ-kɪt͡ʃ wa-ʔ   uːuna-l jand͡zɨ-t
   then-QUOT DEM-SBJ bear-ABS sit-ATEL
  '*Then that Bear sits down*'

  4. wa-hai-gɪt͡ʃ   wɪmʃin-at-ɨpɨ
   DEM-ABL-QUOT make.room-ATEL-3PL:OBJ
  '*From there he makes them move aside*'

  5. pɪʃ-ta   ɔːja-t
   then-3PL:SBJ pass.by-ATEL
  '*Then they pass by, those people*'

  (From Appendix B: 1-5)

Firstly, *eemeedatal* (/eːmeːedatal/ "Old-timers") are the topic of the narrative and while not yet

established as a topic, they are not preceded by *pic* or any other particle in example 6.1.

Considering this is the first line of the text, it would be strange for a topic marker to be absent

when establishing a topic is crucial; it would be missing from the most ideal time its function

could be utilized: establishing a topic in the narrative. Furthermore, *eemeedatal* is utterance

initial which is where we would expect a topic. Next in lines 6.2 and 6.3, *pic* is utterance initial,

but it is immediately followed by the quotative/evidential marker *-gitc*. Furthermore, the topic of

"Bear" is immediately after the quotative marker. This would indicate that it might not be as

much that *pic* or any other particle is marking topic but precedes topic due to discourse markers

being utterance-initial and cognitive constraints requiring the topic to usually be towards the

beginning of the utterance (Chafe, 1987). In line 6.4, *pic* is not present but we have the ablative

demonstrative (*wahai* "from there") and the quotative/evidential marker again with no explicit

topic. Lastly, in line 6.5 *pic* is attached to the pronominal subject.

"How the Earth was Made" shows more instances of these patterns:

7.   1. piʃ-kitʃ   omhombi-t   o-ʔop   imbɨ
          then-QUOT Mud.Diver-ABS   TEL-dive   again
          'Then Mud-Diver dived again'

         2. wɨŋ-gitʃ   ogon   mija-pɨː-n   omhombi-t-iŋ
            be-QUOT   on.and.on go-REL-3SG.POSS Mud Diver-ABS-GEN
          'Mud-Diver had been gone a long time'

         (Appendix C: 16-17)

Again, the topic does not seem to be marked by these particles, but has a tendency towards the

beginning of the utterance. And since *-gitc* cannot be word initial, it is even attached to an

utterance initial copula in line 7.2. For this language, the trend seems to be that *pic* often (but not

always) starts utterances, and topics, both generally and specifically for this language, tend to be

towards the beginning of utterances as well (again, not always, see line 7.2 where the topic is at

the end of the utterance). There are enough other examples of particles and other words being

utterance initial and next to the topic for no clear relationship between *pic* and topic to be

established. This can be seen clearly at the end of "The Power of Jimsonweed":

8.   1. wah-aːi-gi   ɔgɔn   wɨn   ɨːdɨwɨ
           DEM-LOC-AWAY-1SG   on.and.on   COP   better
        '*I am better after that*'

        2. haʃ-ki   ɨmbɨ   haːjiʃa   ɨ-ʔɨnːɨhɨi
           NEG-1SG   again   never   TEL-become.sick
        '*I never got sick again*'

        3. mɔːɔmɔːh-t   tɨwːɨwa-n   tiːboːh-ɪʃ-t
           jimsonweed-ABS   good-GEN   treat-NMLZ-ABS
        '*Jimsonweed is good medicine*'

        4. haʃ-wa-l   aːʤowaː-l   ɨʔ-tːɨʃtːɨp
           NEG-DEM-OBJ   shaman-ABS   TEL-spoil
        '*Shamans cannot spoil that*'

        (Appendix D: 22-25)

In this section, *pic* is not uttered once yet topics abound. And while there are particles that

precede the topic in some of the lines (*hac,* IPA: /haʃ/ in lines 8.2 and 8.4; *wahaai,* IPA: /wahaːi/

in line 8.1), line 8.3 starts with the topic itself (*moohmooht*, IPA: /mɔːɔmɔːht/ "Jimsonweed")

without a particle. Thus, while *pic* is potentially a multi-functioning discourse marker, based on

these texts, it does not appear to have any direct relationship with topics except for coinciding

next to them as do many particles in Pahka'anil. Furthermore, it appears that there is no singular

topic marker in Pahka'anil discourse, but that topics are often inferred through their placement

within the utterance.

6. *Pic*, Sequence of Events, and Main Event Lines

While *pic* and topic have a coincidental relationship, there is more conclusive evidence

for drawing connections between *pic* and sequence of events and main event lines. In all four

texts, *pic* often appears at the beginning of an utterance that is sequentially after another event

that described in the previous line in the narrative. Hence, the reason that Voegelin (1935a)

glossed it as *then* is apparent. Here are lines from "The Deer Dream" showing this particular

function:

9. 1. akatd͡zi:-p muwa:-l-a-p muwa:-l-a-k ɨ-mɨhɨi
  across-LOC:IN mountain-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN mountain-ABS-OBJ-1SG TEL-mtn.climb
  'On the other side in the mountains, I ascend the mountains'

  2.piʃ-ki piʃa:-l-ibaʔ-aʃ   ɨ-wɨgi:jau tohi:l-iŋ
    then-1SG go.out-GO+ACT-want-SS:SUB TEL-track deer-GEN

  wɨ:gi:-j-in
  tracks-NREFL:OBJ-3SG:POSS
  'Then, when I wanted to go out, I tracked the deer in his tracks'

  3. piʃ-ki ɨ:-dɨwa:-la tohi:-l-a jowi
  then-1SG TEL-find-GO+ACT deer-ABS-OBJ many
  'Then I went and found many deer'

  4. piʃ-ta e-ʔela ɨ:ʃɨwana-mi:k
    then-3PL TEL-jump different branches-TO
  'Then they jump about in every direction'

  (Appendix A: 3-6)

In these examples, there is a clear temporal sequence of events in lines 9.2, 9.3, and 9.4, and *pic*

seems like it could be translated literally with the English sequence-connecting discourse marker

then. However, looking at the other texts complicates this interpretation of *pic* as only

connecting sequences. Consider the first two lines of "The Power of Jimsonweed":

10.   1. pɪʃ-ki   tumu:ga   wa-l   a:dʒowa:-l-a   i:-bɨl: i:-ɨ-la
            then-1SG dream.TEL DEM-OBJ shaman-ABS-OBJ TEL-arrive TEL-GO+ACT
            wa-h
            DEM-LOC
            'So I dreamt of that shaman. She came and arrived there'

         2. pɪʃ-nɪn   ala:w-in-at   maʃ-pi   hal-it   ɪh   ɨg-it
            then-1SG.OBJ   talk-VI-PRS   INTER-2SG   sit-ATEL here say-ATEL
            'Then, talking to me, she says, why are you sitting here?'

         (Appendix D: 1-2)

Clearly *pic* cannot only connect an utterance to an earlier utterance, since it can be used

in the first line of a narrative (10.1). Even glossing *pic* as *then* becomes problematic at this

point. It seems that *pic* potentially relates more to connecting events in general rather than a

simple sequence of events. If we follow Payne (2015) and define main event lines (MEL) as

"sequential events that do not overlap" (16), then perhaps *pic* is attaching to MEL, connecting

them together into a coherent narrative. This interpretation would solve the issue with "The

Power of Jimsonweed" and elucidate why *pic* starts the first utterance. Furthermore, there is

evidence of it in the other texts as well. Here are the first three lines from "How the Earth was

Made":

11.   1. taŋa-kitʃ   tʃi:tʃwanaʔaʃ
            rain.ATEL-QUOT   all.the.time
            'It is raining all the time'

2. piʃ   pa:-l   ɨm-bɨm   i: ʃuwa:-l-a
   then water-ABS   TEL-be.full DEM earth-ABS-OBJ
'Then the water filled the earth'

3. piʃ-ta   piniju a-waʔat   muwa:-l-a-mi:k
then-3PL.SBJ every   TEL-run.away   mountain-ABS-OBJ-TO
'Then everyone ran away toward the mountain'

(Appendix C: 1-3)

And also consider a few lines later when *pic* suddenly does not start line 6 (12.2) of "How the

Earth was Made":

12.   1. piʃ-kitʃ-ta   muwa:-l-iŋ   ukuba:-n   ɨ-bɨl-ɨ:la
         then-QUOT-3PL.SBJ   mountain-ABS-GEN peak-3SG.POSS   TEL-arrive-GO+ACT
         'Then they went and arrived on top of the mountain'

       2. me:da-gitʃ   iʃ-t   tɨʃwaha-t   ha:iji-ha:in-t tɨki-n
          already-QUOT Coyote-ABS ready.to.die-ATEL not-thing-ABS food-3SG.POSS
          'Coyote is ready to die; his food (is) nothing'

       (Appendix C: 5-6)

In both of these instances where *pic* is not used, there is an overlapping event and thus not a main

event; in line 1 (11.1) it is raining while all of the other events in the narrative take place and in

line 6 (12.2), Coyote is preparing for death and has no food while the water fills the Earth and

they run to the mountain. This pattern of *pic* only appearing in events that are not overlapping is

evident in all four texts. Here are some examples from the other texts. In "The Deer Dream",

the last line is a reflection on the whole dream and thus overlaps with every other event;

therefore, *pic* is omitted:

13.   1.piʃ-ki   ɨ-ʔɨ:lɨka.
           then-1SG TEL-wake up
         'Then I woke up with a start'

         2. tɨʃ-tohi:-l   un-dumu:gi-wa-ʃ   nɨmɨʔɨga-pi-gi-d͡ʒa.
           bad-deer-ABS   ATEL-dream-PASS-SS:SUB   kill.humans-2SG-say-3PL
         'It is bad to be dreaming of deer; you kill human beings (as a result), so they say'

         (Appendix A: 10-11)

In "The Power of Jimsonweed", *pic* is omitted in the exact same way when the narrator is

philosophizing about the story and the efficacy of Jimsonweed; but it also happens when there

are descriptions such as in example 14.2:

14.   1. pɪʃ-nɪn   ala:w-in-at   maʃ-pi   hal-ɨt   ɪh   ig-ɨt
           then-1SG.OBJ   talk-VI-ATEL   INTER-2SG sit-ATEL here say-ATEL
         'Then, talking to me, she says, "why are you sitting here?" '

         2. maʃi:-n   pʊnd͡zi-i   witsɨʔaʃ   tsɔmɔ:-i
           cover-GEN   eyes-3SG.REFL   with   hair-3SG.REFL
         'with her eyes covered with her hair'

         3. pɪʃ   miʔipɪl   ɨ:ʔ-ɨ:wɨn   ɨ:-ɨgɪm
            then   close   TEL-stand TEL-COME
         'She then came and stood close'

         (Appendix D: 2-4)

While the shaman is talking to the narrator (14.1) and when she comes and stands close (14.3),

pic is present. However, it is not present when the narrator describes the shaman's appearance

(14.2). Lastly, the relationship between *pic* and MEL is evident in the first two lines of

"Concerning Bears":

15.   1. eːmeːedata-l-kɪt͡ʃ   taʔag-iːjukaŋ   uːna-l-a
        old.timer-ABS-QUOT   meet-PST.HBT   bear-ABS-OBJ
        '*Old-Timers were in the habit of meeting bear*'

        2. pɪʃ-kɪt͡ʃ   uːna-l-a   alaːw-in-at   haːinda-p-niʔiŋ   ɪni-t
        then-QUOT   bear-ABS-OBJ   talk-VI-ATEL   what-2SG-1SG.POSS do-ATEL

        pɔh-p-an   kuː-wɪmʃi-h   ɪkiːk   kɨ-kɪt͡ʃ   wa-l
        trail-LOC:IN-3SG.POSS CONJ-make room-IMP   this.way   and-SAY DEM-OBJ

        uːna-l-a
        bear-ABS-OBJ
        '*Then (they) talk to Bear, "What are you doing in my trail?" and, "Give me room this*
        way," (they) say to that Bear'

        (Appendix B: 1-2)

Being in the habit of doing something is clearly overlapping with all of the events that take place

while doing that thing. Therefore, we do not have *pic* in example 15.1, but it is then present in

the main event of talking to Bear in example 15.2.

        Pic is clearly connecting two utterances that otherwise do not have much to do with each

other, not just by showing a sequence of events, but also by often marking main events from

background events. However, it is not simply a main event marker; while it only appears on

MEL, it is not the only discourse marker to appear on MEL. In these two lines from "The Power

of Jimsonweed", there is a clear sequence of MEL while *pic* only appears on the first line

(example 16.1):

16.   1. pɪʃ   tɨwɨ   gɨ-tː   tahambɪ-l
           then good   say-ATEL   old man-ABS
         ' "Then good," Old Man says'

         2. wah-aːi-gi   ɔgɔn   wɨn   ɨːdɨwɨ
         DEM-LOC-AWAY-1SG on.and.on COP   better
         '*I am better after that*'

         (Appendix D: 21-22)

Example 16.2 has the ablative demonstrative *wahaai* (IPA: /wahaːi/) start the utterance. This is

one of many times that *wahaai* starts an utterance and every time it also introduces MEL.

Perhaps there are more discourse markers besides *pic* and *wahaai* that are marking MEL.

However, for the purpose of this research, it appears that *pic* is at least one discourse marker that

is marking MEL and connecting sequences of events.

7. Conclusion

This study set out to answer three research questions: (1) What is the relationship

between *pic* and topic elements? (2) Which functions does *pic* have as a discourse marker in the

texts? and (3) Is there a direct relationship between the use of *pic* and narrative structure or

narrative events? For the first question, it appears that while *pic* and topicalized elements often

cooccur, this is coincidence. Evidence for this is based on the fact that *pic* occurs often without

topicalized elements. Furthermore, topicalized elements are likely to be near the beginning of utterances which is where discourse markers such as *pic* are expected to be found.

The answer to the second question is still incomplete as the many potential functions of *pic* are still undetermined and would require separate analyses of *pic* in regard to each particular function. However, it can now be hypothesized that *pic* is a multi-functional discourse marker that connects events sequentially and is perhaps a way (if not the only way) that main event lines are marked from non-main event lines. Furthermore, the relationship between *pic* and main event lines answers the third question as well. Specifically, it appears that the function of *pic* in a narrative is explained by its functions; it moves the narrative along sequentially while highlighting main events over non-main events.

However, these are merely preliminary hypotheses about the functions of *pic*. Since there are many more texts to consider, other functions may emerge or the functions outlined here may need to be refined. The next step in this research is to examine the usages and functions of *pic* in every text. Furthermore, a closer look at main line events and non-main line events and their relationship to *pic* and other discourse markers must be considered in other texts as well. However, this is a more developed starting place for research on *pic* than the glossing of it as *then*, and, hopefully, it will add some data to the virtually non-existent information on Pahka'anil discourse and further the Pahka'anil revitalization effort by offering a more nuanced understanding of narrative construction.

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Appendix A, B and C adapted from texts in Voegelin (1935b) and Appendix D adapted from

Voegelin (1935a) with interlinearization and translation added for this research by the author

with the help and input of Dr. Michael Ahland, Sergio Sandoval, Bethany Lycan, Muhammad

Damanhuri, and Lindsay Marean.

Appendix A (Voegelin, 1935b)

"The Deer Dream"

1.un-dumuːg-aʃ-kiː-mij-at
ATEL-dream-SS:SUB=1SG-GO-ATEL
'While dreaming, I am going along'

2. oholaː-l-a-k   a:-hatdaːu   tugaːwa-j-in
canyon-ABS-OBJ-1SG   TEL-cross   deep-NREFL:OBJ-3SG:POSS
'I cross the deep canyon'

3. akatd͡ziː-p   muwaː-l-a-p   muwaː-l-a-k   i-mɨhɨi
across-LOC:IN   mountain-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN mountain-ABS-OBJ-1SG TEL-mtn.climb
'On the other side in the mountains, I ascend the mountains'

4.piʃ-ki   piʃaː-l-ibaʔ-aʃ   i-wɨgiːjau   tohiːl-iŋ
then-1SG   go.out-GO+ACT-want-SS:SUB TEL-track   deer-GEN

wɨːgiː-j-in
tracks-NREFL:OBJ-3SG:POSS
'Then, when I wanted to go out, I tracked the deer in his tracks'

5.piʃ-ki   ɨ:-dɨwaː-la   tohiː-l-a   jowi
then-1SG   TEL-find-GO+ACT   deer-ABS-OBJ many
'Then I went and found many deer'

6. piʃ-ta   e-ʔela   ɨ:ʃɨwana-miːk
then-3PL   TEL-jump   different branches-TO
'Then they jump about in every direction'

7. piʃ-t͡ʃiː͡t͡ʃ ɨːwɨnɨ-t   egeːewan

then-one   stand-ATEL   big
'Then a big one stands still'

8. piʃ-ki   u-ːumuː   a-waiʔwaiʔa-giːm
then-1SG   TEL-shoot   TEL-fall.down.dead-ACT>COME
'Then I shot him; he came and fell down dead'

9. piʃ-ki   aː-dawɨ-gɨ-la   ʃuːna-baːn-gi   u-ːmuː
then-1SG   TELsee-GO+ACT   inside-in.its.heart-1SG   TEL-shoot
'Then I went and saw him; I shot him in his heart'

10. piʃ-ki   ɨ-ʔɨːlɨka.
then-1SG   TEL-wake up
'Then I woke up with a start'

11. tɨʃ-tohiː-l   un-dumuːgi-wa-ʃ   nɨmɨʔɨga-pi-gi-d͡ʒa.
bad-deer-ABS   ATEL-dream-PASS-SS:SUB   kill.humans-2SG-say-3PL
'It is bad to be dreaming of deer; you kill human beings (as a result), so they say'

Appendix B (Voegelin, 1935b)

"Concerning Bears"

1. eːmeːedata-l-kɨt͡ʃ   taʔag-iːjukaŋ   uːna-l-a
Old.timer-ABS-QUOT   meet-PST.HBT   bear-ABS-OBJ
'Old-Timers were in the habit of meeting bear'

2. pɪʃ-kɨt͡ʃ   uːna-l-a   alaːw-in-at   haːinda-p-niʔɨŋ   ɨni-t
then-QUOT   bear-ABS-OBJ   talk-VI-ATEL   what-2SG-1SG.POSS   do-ATEL

pɔh-p-an   kuːwɪmʃɨ-h   ɨkiːk   kɨ-kɨt͡ʃ   wa-l
trail-LOC:IN-3SG.POSS   CONJ-make room-IMP   this.way   and-SAY   DEM-OBJ

uːna-l-a
bear-ABS-OBJ
'Then (they) talk to Bear, "What are you doing in my trail?" and, "Give me room this way," (they) say to that Bear'

3. pɪʃ-kɨt͡ʃ   wa-ʔ   uːuna-l   jand͡zɨ-t
then-QUOT   DEM-SBJ   bear-ABS   sit-ATEL
'Then that Bear sits down'

4. wa-hai-gɪt͡ʃ   wɪmʃin-at-ɨpɨ
DEM-ABL-QUOT make.room-ATEL-3PL:OBJ
'From there he makes them move aside'

5. pɪʃ-ta   ɔ:ja-t   wan-da   aŋhani:-l   haʔi-kɪt͡ʃ   wa-ʔ   u:una-l
then=3PL:SBJ pass by-ATEL   DEM-3PL people-ABS   hear-QUOT DEM-SBJ bear-ABS

ala:wi-l-a
language-ABS-OBJ
'Then they pass by, those people; that Bear hears the talking (as Old-Timers pass by)'

6. pɪni:-ʔi:-kɪt͡ʃ   ɪndama: a:w-in-at   maʃɪ-l   tɨn-t   pɨniʔi:yu ɔgɔn   u:ʔʊ-t
every-SBJ-QUOT someone tell-VI-ATEL weed-ABS rock-ABS every   anyway   tree-ABS

a:w-in-at
tell-VI-ATEL
'Everything tells (Bear)--the brush, the rocks, the trees tell him everything'

7. tanaha-p-kɪt͡ʃ   u:na-l-a   a:-na:ju:ma   ku:u-gɪt͡ʃ   wɔ:ma
COND.AUX-2SG-QUOT   bear-ABS-OBJ   TEL-disrespect   CONJ-QUOT right.away

ma:aga-t   mi:ʔi:m-gɪt͡ʃ   wa-h   u:ʔʊ-t   a:w-in-at
know-ATEL because-QUOT DEM-LOC tree-ABS   tell-VI-PRS
'And if you speak disrespectfully of the Bear, he knows it immediately; the tree right there tells him'

8. pɪʃ-kɪt͡ʃ   kimaʔ-i   ala:aw-aŋ   tɨwɨ-gi-kɪt͡ʃ   u:una-l
then-QUOT someone-OBJ   talk-DS:SUB good-say-QUOT bear-ABS

a-taʔagɪ-ʃa:-gi-lɪŋ   kɨ-kid͡ʒa   wɔhɪʃ-kɪt͡ʃ   ɔgɔn taʔaga-t   wa-l
TEL-meet-FUT-1SG-2SG.OBJ say-QUOT   surely-QUOT anyway meet-ATEL   DEM-OBJ

ala:awa-t
speaker-ABS
'Then he is mad when somebody talks (of him). "Good," Bear says, "I will meet you," he says. Surely he meets that talker'

9. miʔɨga-kɪt͡ʃ wa-l   wɔ:ɔma
kill-QUOT   DEM-OBJ   right.away
'He kills that one right off'

10. pɪʃ-kɪt͡ʃ   e:me:edatal haʃ   u:na-l-a   ala:wa-t
then-QUOT   Old.timers NEG bear-ABS-OBJ   speak-ATEL

'Then Old-Timers do not talk of Bear'

Appendix C (Voegelin, 1935b)

"How the Earth was Made"

1. taŋa-kitʃ   tʃiːtʃwanaʔaʃ
rain.ATEL-QUOT all.the.time
'It is raining all the time'

2. piʃ paː-l   ɨm-bɨm   iː   ʃuwaː-l-a
 then water-ABS   TEL-be.full DEM earth-ABS-OBJ
'Then the water filled the earth'

3. piʃ-ta   piniju a-waʔat   muwaː-l-a-miːk
then-3PL.SBJ every   TEL-run away   mountain-ABS-OBJ-TO
'Then everyone ran away toward the mountain'

4. a-katahwaː-giluːts-kɨ-t   iʃ-t
TEL-slaughtered-1PL.INCL.SBJ-say-ATEL Coyote-ABS
' "We get slaughtered," says Coyote'

5. piʃ-kitʃ-ta   muwaː-l-iŋ   ukubaː-n   ɨː-bɨl-ɨːla
then-QUOT-3PL.SBJ   mountain-ABS-GEN peak-3SG.POSS   TEL-arrive-GO+ACT
'Then they went and arrived on top of the mountain'

6. meːda-gitʃ   iʃ-t   tɨʃwaha-t   haːiji-haːin-t   tɨki-n
already-QUOT Coyote-ABS ready.to.die-ATEL not-thing-ABS food-3SG.POSS
'Coyote is ready to die; his food (is) nothing'

7. piʃ-kitʃ   iʃ-t   im-biŋk oba:-ma-lu:ts   amaŋata-l   ogon wa-h
then-QUOT Coyote-ABS TEL-say dive-HORT-1PL.INCL.SBJ anyone-ABS   again DEM-LOC

ʃuwaː-l-a   aː-baːiʔiw-ini-ʃa   agiː-ogon   wa-h   ʃuwaː-l-a
earth-ABS-OBJ TEL-turn.into-VI-FUT   who-again DEM-LOC   earth-ABS-OBJ

aː-baːiʔiw-ini-ʃa
TEL-turn.into-VI-FUT
'Coyote then said, "Let someone dive there; he will make earth appear; who will make earth appear there?" '

8. piʃ wa-h-aːi-da   oʔ-op   ku-gitʃ   omhombi-t   halɨ-t   ikiːk
then DEM-LOC-FROM-3PL.SBJ TEL-dive and-QUOT Mud.Diver-ABS sit-ATEL aside
'Then from there they dived, but Mud-Diver is sitting to one side'

9. piʃ haːijihaːin-t   kinip
then not-thing-ABS bring
'Then they have brought up nothing'

10. a-katahwaː-giluːts   weːdu-kɨ-kitʃ   iʃ-t
TEL-slaughtered-1PL.INCL.SBJ so-say-QUOT   Coyote-ABS
' "So we get slaughtered," says Coyote'

11. wetʃu imbi-kɨ-kidʒa   omhombi-t-a
    next   2SG.SBJ-say-QUOT Mud.Diver-ABS-OBJ
'"You (are) next," (Coyote) says to Mud-Diver'

12. piʃ omhombi-t   o-ʔop   piʃ-kitʃ   iʔili   omhombi-t
 then   Mud.Diver-ABS TEL-dive then-QUOT after.a.while Mud.Diver-ABS

i-piʃa-kin
TEL-come.out-ACT>COME
'Then Mud-Diver dived and, after a while, Mud-Diver came out from there to here'

13. igiʃpitʃ-kitʃ   jɨwɨː-gim-at   omhombi-t
little.bit-QUOT   hold-COME+ACT-ATEL Mud.Diver-ABS
'Mud-Diver is coming and holding very little (earth)'

14. piʃ-ta-gitʃ   piniju   aː-dawɨːk
then-3PL.SBJ-QUOT   every   TEL-see
'Then everyone saw it'

15. piʃ-kitʃ   iʃ-t   ɨmbɨ ɨmbɨ tʃiːdʒami-kɨ-kitʃ   iʃ-t   tuːʃi-gitʃ
then-QUOT   Coyote-ABS again again   once-say-QUOT   Coyote-ABS   straight.on-QUOT

iʃ-t   humugiːhwɨ-t
Coyote-ABS   be.in.a.hurry-ATEL
'Then Coyote says, "Again, once again." Coyote is in a hurry'

16. piʃ-kitʃ   omhombi-t   o-ʔop   ɨmbɨ
then-QUOT   Mud Diver-ABS TEL-dive   again
'Then Mud-Diver dived again'

17. wɨŋ-gitʃ ogon   mija-pɨː-n   omhombi-t-iŋ

be.PST   again   go-REL-3SG.POSS   Mud.Diver-ABS-GEN
'Mud-Diver had been gone a long time'

18. tuːʃi-gitʃ   iʃ-t   taluːʔi-niːnɨm-ut
straight-QUOT Coyote-ABS encircle-DISTBV-ATEL
'Coyote is circling about'

19. meːda-gitʃ   ɨːliʔɨŋ   omhombi-t   i-piʃa-kin
already-QUOT evening   Mud Diver-ABS TEL-come.out-ACT>COME
'Already, in the evening, Mud-Diver came out from there to here'

20. tuːʃi-gitʃ   iʃ-t   peːwelaːŋ   aː-maːigɨ-gim
straight-QUOT Coyote-ABS first   go.ahead-COME+ACT
'Coyote came and ran first'

21. omhombi-t-kitʃ   jɨwɨː-gim-at   ʃuwaː-l-a   maː-p
Mud Diver-ABS-QUOT hold-COME+ACT-ATEL earth-ABS-OBJ   hand-LOC:IN
'Mud-Diver is coming holding earth in his own hand'

22. piʃ-kitʃ   iʃ-t   winɨ-ʔ   winɨ-ʔ   winɨ-ʔ-ki-kitʃ   iʃ-t
then-QUOT Coyote-ABS be-IMP.SG be-IMP.SG be-IMP.SG-say-QUOT   Coyote-ABS
'Then Coyote says, "There it is, there it is, there it is." '

23. piʃ-kitʃ   wa-h-aːi   omhombi-t   ɨ-tɨp   ʃuwaː-l-a   paː-l-a
then-QUOT   DEM-LOC-from Mud Diver-ABS TEL-put   earth-ABS-OBJ water-ABS-OBJ

naːwidami
between
'Then from there Mud-Diver put the earth in the middle of the water'

24. omhombi-t-kitʃ   ʃuwaː-l-a   aː-baːiʔiw-in
Mud.Diver-ABS-QUOT earth-ABS-OBJ turn.into-VI
'Mud-Diver made the earth appear'

25. wa-h   oː-wok
DEM-LOC   TEL-be end
'There it is ended'

Appendix D (Voegelin, 1935a)

"The Power of Jimsonweed"

1. pɪʃ-ki   tumu:ga   wa-l   a:ʣowa:-l-a   ɨ:-bɨl: ɨ:-ɨ-la   wa-h
then-1SG dream.TEL   DEM-OBJ   shaman-ABS-OBJ   TEL-arrive TEL-GO+ACT DEM-LOC
'So I dreamt of that shaman. She came and arrived there'

2. pɪʃ-nɪn   ala:w-in-at   maʃ-pi   hal-it   ɪh ig-it
then-1SG.OBJ talk-VI-PRS   INTER-2SG   sit-ATEL here say-ATEL
'Then, talking to me, she says, why are you sitting here?'

3. maʃɨ:-n   pʊnʣi-i   wɨtsiʔaʃ   tsɔmɔ:-i
    cover-GEN   eyes-3SG.REFL   with   hair-3SG.REFL
'with her eyes covered with her hair'

4. pɪʃ   miʔipɪl   ɨ:ʔ-ɨ:wɨn   ɨ:-igɪm
 then   close   TEL-stand TEL-COME
'She then came and stood close'

5. pɪʃ   haj:i   wɔŋgɔ-n   waʔad-ɪŋ   kɔ:im-ɪŋ
 then   NEG   shoes-GEN   DEM-GEN   woman-GEN
'not (having) that woman's shoes'

6. pɪʃ-ki   wa-h   hal-ɨ:ʔ-at
then-1SG DEM-LOC sit-ITER'-ATEL
'then I am sitting and sitting (shifting about)'

7. pɪʃ-nɪn   wɨtsiʔaʃ   ɨŋgɨ-i   iʔ-igɪn
then-1SG.OBJ   with   foot-3SG.REFL   TEL-swing.up.at
'swung up at me with her foot'

8. pɪʃ   ɪh   a-hatap   a:-agɪm   pɔ:ʃɨ-pɨ:-l
then   here TEL-stuck   TEL-COME   to.be.white-NMLZR-ABS
'Then a white thing came and stuck here (on my knee?)'

9. pɪʃ   wa-h-a:i   ɨ:-mi
then   DEM-LOC-AWAY   TEL-go
'She then left from there'

10. piʃ-ki   ɨ-ʔɨlɨk   tu:ga-n:awidam:i
then-1SG   TEL-wake up dark-middle

'*Then I awoke in the middle of the night*'

11. piʃ i͡tsɨxk-at-niʔ-ɨŋ   tɔŋɔ-n   ɨlɨg-aŋ-ni
    then   prick-ATEL-1SG.OBJ-GEN   knee-GEN   wake.up-DS;SUB-1SG.OBJ
'*And my knee is pricking me while I am waking up*'

12. piʃ-ki   ʃiːuba   ɨ-ʔɨnɨhɨi
    then-1SG   back.again   TEL-be sick
'*Then I got sick again*'

13.piʃ-ki ɨmbɨ   mɔːɔmɔh-tː-a   iː-ʔɨ
    then-1SG again   jimsonweed-ABS-OBJ   TEL-drink
'*So, again, I drank jimsonweed*'

14. piʃ-ki   wa-l   pɪni-ʔik aːd͡zowaː-l-a   wuba   wi͡tsːɨ'ʔaʃ wa-l
    then-1SG   DEM-OBJ   all-OBJ   shaman-ABS-OBJ whip.TEL   with   DEM-OBJ

    aːlɪ-t͡ʃ
    bow-REFL
'*Then I whipped all those shamans with my bow*'

15. piʃ-ki   wa-l   tuha-tː-a   pɪni-ʔik   i-wɪk
    then-1SG DEM-OBJ   water snake-ABS-OBJ all-OBJ   TEL-throw out

tuha-t-a   joːwi
water snake-ABS-OBJ many
'*And I threw out all of those many water snakes*'

16. piʃ-ki   wah-aːi   a-taːtwɨ
    then-1SG   DEM-LOC-AWAY TEL-sober up
'*And after that I sobered up*'

17. piʃ-ki   wah-aːi   tahambɪ-lː-i   a-ʔaw-in
    then-1SG   DEM-LOC-AWAY old man-ABS-OBJ   TEL-tell-VI
'*From there, I then told Old Man*'

18. pɪnːi-ʔik   'wa-l   'aːd͡zo'waː-'l-a   wu'baː   gɨ-'ki
    all-OBJ   DEM-OBJ   shaman-ABS-ACC   whip.TEL   say-1SG
' *"I whipped all those shamans," I am saying*'

19. wi͡tsiʔaʃ wa-l   aːlɪ-t͡ʃ   kɨ-ki
    with   DEM-OBJ   bow-REFL say-1SG
' *"with my bow," I am saying*'

20. ti: wa-l   tuha-t:-a-gi   ɔ:noːo-ba-n   i-wɨk
   and DEM-OBJ water.snake-ABS-OBJ-1SG back-LOC-GEN TEL-threw away

kɨ-ki
say-1SG
' *"and I threw away those water snakes outside," I am saying*'

21. pɪʃ tɨwɨ   gɨ-t: tahambɨ-l
   then good say-ATEL old man-ABS
' *"Then good," Old Man says*'

22. wah-aːi-gi   ɔˈgɔn   wɨn   iːdɨwɨ
DEM-LOC-AWAY-1SG on.and.on COP   better
'*I am better after that*'

23. haʃ-ki   ɨmbɨ   haːjiʃa i-ʔinːihɨi
NEG-1SG again   never   TEL-become.sick
'*I never got sick again*'

24. mɔːɔmɔːh-t: tɨwːɨwa-n   ti:boːh-ɪʃ-t
   jimsonweed-ABS good-GEN   treat-NMLZ-ABS
'*Jimsonweed is good medicine*'

25.haʃ-wa-l   aːdʐowaː-l   iʔ-t:ɨʃt:ɨp
NEG-DEM-OBJ shaman-ABS   TEL-spoil
'*Shamans cannot spoil that*'

26. tɨwːɨlːiːi-baʔ-a-kɪt͡ʃ-ta   ɔmːɔk ku-haʃ-kɪt͡ʃ-ta   munːuːg-in-at
tamper-want-ATEL-QUOT-3PL in.vain but-NEG-QUOT-3PL be.able-VI-ATEL
'*It is said that they want to tamper (with Jimsonweed) in vain, but it is said that they are not able to*'

27. mɔːɔmɔːh-t-kɪt͡ʃ   ɔːbʌwɨ-kaŋ   ɔjanːaʃ   aːdʐowaː-l-a
jimsonweed-ABS-QUOT power-VBLZ   more.than shaman-ABS-OBJ
'*Jimsonweed, it is said, is more powerful than the shamans*'

28. pɪni-ʔik-kɪt͡ʃ-ta ɪndamai   i-tɨʃtɨp   ti:boːh-ɪʃ-t-a
   all-OBJ-QUOT-3PL sometimes   TEL-spoil   treat-NMLZ-ABS-OBJ
'*They sometimes spoil all the medicines, it is said*'

29. mɔːɔmɔːh-t:-a   haːʔɪʃ
jimsonweed-ABS-OBJ NEG

'*but not Jimsonweed*'

30. mɔːɔmɔːh-t   wɨn   mapːɪl   tɨwːɨwa-n   tiːboːh-ɪʃ-t
jimsonweed-ABS COP   now   good-GEN   treat-NMLZ-ABS
'*Jimsonweed is, today, a good medicine*'