

wolf and coyote an upland yuman text

Martha B. KENDALL

Indiana University

Introduction.

The following text is a Hualapai story told in Yavpe, one of the Yavapai dialects of Upland Yuman, an Amerindian language spoken in Arizona. The Hualapai and Yavapai Indians are generally considered distinct ethnic units although they speak mutually intelligible dialects, share many cultural objects and practices, and intermarry frequently. (Cf..KENDALL 1975b for a sketch of linguistic differences among Upland Yuman tribes, and GIFFORD 1932a, 1936, and KROEBER 1935 for ethnographic differences).

Ernest McGee, a Hualapai Indian, recounted this story for me in the summer of 1977. At that time I was collecting Yavapai "coyote stories" on the Yavapai-Apache reservation at Prescott, Arizona, where Mr. McGee lives with his Yavapai wife. I acknowledge his contribution with gratitude.

For other examples of Upland Yuman stories, see GIFFORD's "Northeastern and Western Yavapai Texts" (1932a); KENDALL's "Five Coyote Anecdotes" (forthcoming); WINTER's "Wolf's Son - a Walapai Text" (1966); SPIER's "Comparative Vocabularies and Parallel Texts in Two Yuman Languages of Arizona" (1946); and LANGDON's NATS volume, *Yuman Texts* (1976).

1. Procedures in presenting the text; outline of phonology and syntax.

The grammatical and orthographic conventions used in this study are approximately those explained in KENDALL 1976a and 1976b. The native text is presented in numbered sentences with hyphens indicating morpheme boundaries within words. Numbered sentences in the free translation correspond to numbered sentences in the native text; superscript numbers refer to the Grammatical notes.

1.1. The phonemic inventory of Yavpe Yavapai includes the following segments

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|---|----|---|---|----------------|----------------|---|----------------|---|----------------|
| | p | | t | č | k | k ^Y | k ^w | q | q ^w | ʔ | |
| β | | θ | s | š | | | | | | h | h ^w |
| | m | | n | ɲ | | | | | | | |
| | | | r | | | | | | | | |
| | | | l | | | | | | | | |
| | w | | | y | | | | | | | |
| i | i: | u | u: | | | | | | | | |
| e | e: | o | o: | | | | | | | | |
| | | a | a: | | | | | | | | |

For the purposes of the present study, orthographic **c** represents phonetic [č], orthographic **ñ** represents phonetic [ɲ], and orthographic **v** represents phonetic [β].

1.1.1. In Upland Yuman stress is predictable, falling on the final vowel of the stem. Vowel length is phonemic or morphophonemic.

1.1.2. Consonant clusters resulting from derivational or inflectional processes are interrupted phonetically with an epenthetic vowel [ə]. For example, the word "moose", represented phonemically /q^wa·qvte/, is actually pronounced [q^wà·qəvəté] since it is a compound word /q^wa·q/ "deer" plus /vte/ "big, large". The word /vte/ is itself complex, being composed of the *stative* prefix /v-/ and the verb /te/ "to be big". Since [ə] is predictable, it is not transcribed.

1.1.3. Morphophonemic alternations are not complicated or frequent in Yavapai, although a few are represented in this text. In most of these instances change in vowel quality signals change in grammatical number, e.g.

| SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| vce "daughter" | vca·y "daughters" |
| ma· "to eat" | ma "to eat" |
| pi "to die" | puy "to die" |

A small number of verb stems behave irregularly when prefixed for person of subject, for example, /ʔi/ "to say", /hikó/ "to carry" and /him-/ "to dance". All these verbs lose their initial consonant (i.e. [ʔ] or [h]) when prefixed with /m-/ *second person*. Additionally, the [h]-initial verbs lose their first consonant when prefixed with /ʔ-/ *first person*, as the examples below show

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ʔikó "I carry" [ʔəhikó] | ʔʔi "I say" |
| mikó "you carry" [*məhikó] | mi "you say" [*məʔi] |
| hikó "he carries" | ʔi "he says" |

Normally, personal prefixes attach directly to verb stems with no phonetic consequences for stem vowels or consonants, as in the following paradigms:

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ʔoh "to cough" | ma "to eat" |
| ʔʔoh "I cough" [ʔoʔoh] | ʔma "I eat" [ʔma] |
| mʔoh "you cough" [məʔoh] | mma "you eat" [məma] |
| ʔoh "he coughs" [ʔoh] | ma "he eats" [ma] |

1.2. Yavapai is an SOV language where the main verb of a sentence may be followed by an auxiliary or set of auxiliaries identically inflected for person and optionally inflected for number. The most frequently appearing auxiliaries in this text are /wi/ *active*, /yu/ *stative*, /ʔi/ *vocal* or *cognitive*, /nu/ *future*, /ʔum/ *negative*, /war/ "also", and /ʔik/ or /ʔim/ *inchoative-irrealis*. A typical verb-auxiliary sequence is illustrated by the following forms:

1) ʔ-ma-h ʔ-nu-k ʔ-war-km

// 1-eat-IRR 1-will-SS 1-also-INC//

"I will eat too"

2) m-ma-h m-nu-k m-war-km

// 2-eat-IRR 2-will-SS 2-also-INC//

"You will eat too"

3) ma-h nu-k war-km

// eat-IRR will-SS also-INC//

"He will eat too"

1.3. Reference switching is a property of Yuman languages in general. The general rule for this in Yavpe is as follows: if two verbs in the same sentence have the same subject and if the second member of the pair is not an irrealis verb, then the first verb will take a *same-subject* suffix /-k/. If the two verbs have different subjects, the first will take a *different-subject* suffix /-m/. If the verbs have the same subject and the second is an irrealis verb, then the first will take an *irrealis* suffix /-h/ or /-ha/. For more information on this see KENDALL 1975a.

1.4. Most Yavpe affixes are suffixes. In prefix position only a limited set of morpheme types may appear: (1) personal prefixes (/ʔ-/ *first person*, /m-/ *second person*, (2) *relative clause* marker /k-/, (3) *temporal-relational* marker /ñ-/, and (4) *causative-stative-instrumental* markers /t-/, /c-/, /s-/ and /k-/.

Abbreviations for the glosses found in the text are as follows

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------|---------|----------------------------|
| 1. ABS | <i>noun absolutive suffix</i> | 14. IND | <i>indefinite particle</i> |
| 2. BENE | <i>benefactive</i> | 15. IRR | <i>irrealis</i> |
| 3. CAU | <i>causative</i> | 16. MOD | <i>modal</i> |
| 4. CMP | <i>completive aspect</i> | 17. NEG | <i>negation marker</i> |
| 5. COND | <i>conditional</i> | 18. OBJ | <i>object</i> |
| 6. CONJ | <i>conjunction</i> | 19. PL | <i>plural</i> |
| 7. DEM | <i>demonstrative</i> | 20. REL | <i>relativiser</i> |
| 8. DS | <i>different subject</i> | 21. SBJ | <i>subject</i> |
| 9. EVI | <i>evidential modal</i> | 22. SS | <i>same subject</i> |
| 10. EXIST | <i>existential-temporal</i> | 23. TMP | <i>temporal</i> |
| 11. HAB | <i>habitual</i> | 24. TNS | <i>tense</i> |
| 12. IMP | <i>imperative</i> | 25. 1 | <i>first person</i> |
| 13. INC | <i>incompletive aspect</i> | 26. 2 | <i>second person</i> |

2. Text, interlinear translation and free translation

1) **?hat?k^wil-c kθarq^war-m¹ hwa·k-k va·m-k² ?pe·m-k³ vtwa·ym-k ?pe·m-k**

// wolf-SBJ coyote-with two-SS go+PL-SS leave-SS journey-SS leave-SS//

Wolf and Coyote, the two of them, went off on a journey.

2) **?pa kav?ic-c⁴ vke· wa·yo-m pa·?u·c-k**

// men *indef-PL* where *live+PL-DS* them-see-PL-SS//

The wanted to find where some people lived.

3) **vam ?pe·m-t-k ?kwe·ma·v-a⁵ wi·y-c-a tma·r-c-k tma·r-m wi-c-c-t-m⁶**

// Along the way leave-TMP-SS food-ABS their-PL-ABS bury-PL-SS bury-DS do-HAB-PL-TMP-DS//

As they went along the way they kept caching their food, burying it.

4) **vmaro-h im-m⁷ ?c-ma-c-h hi· ?hat?k^wil-c kθarq^war-m hlo ma-c-h hi·**

// evening-IRR come-DS IND-eat-PL-IRR MOD wolf-SBJ coyote-with rabbit eat-PL-IRR MOD//

When evening came and they wanted to eat, Wolf and Coyote would eat rabbits.

¹ Committative noun phrases in subject position have the form NP-c NP-m, glossed in the interlinear translation (NP-SBJ NP-with). Since -c is the subject marker and -m is a subordination marker, I could have rendered these phrases in the free translation in a similar fashion, translating **kθarq^war-c ?hat?k^wil-m**, for example, as "Coyote with Wolf...". However committative noun phrases are generally accompanied by numerical appositives such as **hwa·ki** "those two" or **tye·vk** "all together", which makes an English committative translation awkward. Hence, I represent these phrases as *co-agent* noun phrases even though the two head nouns have different grammatical rank.

² The addition sign indicates a portmanteau morpheme. Thus, in the instance at hand, **va·m** is to be understood as the plural form of the verb "to go".

³ The verb **?pe·m** actually means something more like "to be out of sight, to dim appear from view".

⁴ Words beginning with **kav** and including one of the auxiliaries **wi**, **yu** or **?i** are translated in a number of different ways in this text. They are all indefinite forms indication speaker's attitude of uncertainty about some information he is giving. I have chosen the nearest English equivalent in all cases in the free translation, but for the interlinear translation I have sometimes translated literally and sometimes translated freely, depending on whether one alternative would make more sense to non-natives than the other.

⁵ Like the indefinite word **kav**, the word **?kwe·** occurs in a number of compounds and seems to mean something like "something". In this case it appears in a compound with a medio-passive form of the verb "to eat" and means "something to be eaten". Hence the translation "food".

⁶ The habitual-distributive construction in Yavapai (and in all of Upland Yuman) has the form $v-k$ $v-m$ AUX-C-final affix. It is not at all clear why the second verb has a subordination marker (-m) since the following auxiliary must necessarily have the same subject. I try to offer an explanation of this construction in my paper "The /-k/, /-m/ problem in Yavapai syntax" (1975a).

⁷ The auxiliary **?im** is actually an inchoative-irrealis compound, at least historically. Synchronically it is used in temporal constructions such as "when morning comes", "when the stars come out", as well as in inceptive constructions like "he began to grind corn", "he began to work" and so forth. I have usually translated it "come" or "go", but it should be understood in the idiomatic senses of these expressions in English rather than as a verb of motion.

- 5) **hlo ñ-ʔu-c-a⁸ ʔhatʔk^wil-c chu-y-m hlo-v-c pi**
 // rabbit when-see-PL-TNS wolf-SBJ whistle-DS rabbit-DEM-SBJ die//
 When they saw a rabbit, Wolf whistled and the rabbit died.
- 6) **yum ñθa-ha⁹ ma-c-km**
 // then that-OBJ eat-PL-INC //
 Then they ate it.
- 7) **ʔhatʔk^wil-c kθarq^war-a kna-v-k ʔiñk hlo ma-t-ñu¹⁰ m-ma**
 // wolf-SBJ coyote-ABS tell-SS say rabbit meat-that 2-eat//
 Wolf told Coyote "You eat the rabbit's flesh".
- 8) **cya-k-ñu vha-ñu m-ma-h m-ʔum-é¹¹**
 //bones-those entrails-those 2-eat-IRR 2-not-IMP
 "Don't eat the bones or the entrails"
- 9) **ññu ʔ-tma-r-c-ñu ʔi-k**
 // that 1-bury-PL-that say-SS//
 "We'll bury that stuff" he said.
- 10) **ññu ke ʔ-ma-c-h ʔ-ʔum-i ññu ñ-ʔ-ma-c-k-θo ʔkwe-kav-ʔ-wi-c-m ke kav ʔi-h ʔum-i**
 // that NEG 1-eat-PL-IRR 1-not-TNS that when-1-eat-PL-SS-COND whatever-1-do-PL-DS NEG what come-IRR not-TNS//
 "We won't eat it, because if we do eat it, our luck will run out".
- 11) **tuñu-k ʔpe-m-i**
 // always-SS leave-TNS//
 So on they went.

⁸ The gloss *TNS* is a cover term for two poorly understood affixes *-i*, which seems to be roughly equivalent to English *present tense*, and *-a*, which has no direct English equivalent. The former seems to be etymologically traceable to the auxiliary *ʔi*, "to say, show the qualities of, manifest".

⁹ The object marker *-ha* is etymologically related to the demonstrative *θa*, "that one formerly mentioned, that one no longer visible". It appears sporadically on object nouns which are being emphasized.

¹⁰ The demonstrative affix *-ñu* is not generally marked for number in Yavapai, although I translate it as if it were. The glosses "those" and "that" are given to accord with the English number system rather than the native American one.

¹¹ Since stress is predictable in Upland Yuman, falling as it does on the last vowel of a verbal or nominal root, I have indicated stress only in those *instances* where a word receives additional stress, either because it is part of a compound or because it takes one of a small number of stressed affixes, e.g. the imperative suffix.

- 12) **hlo ñ-ʔu-c-k yuñk ʔhatʔk^wil-c chu-y-m ñθa ma-c-h hi**
 // rabbit when-see-PL-SS then wolf-SBJ whistle-DS that *eat-PL-IRR* MOD//
 When they saw a rabbit, Wolf would whistle and then they would eat it.
- 13) **vluwi**
 // that's what they did//
 That is what they did.
- 14) **tu vye-k-k ʔi-k wi-c-a ʔc-ma-c-ñe wi-c-a hlo k-pic-v-a tho-t-c-i tma-r-c-i**
 //just morn-SS come-SS do-PL-TNS IND-eat-PL-CONJ do-PL-TNS rabbit REL-
 left over-DEM-ABS hide-PL-TNS bury-PL-TNS//
 Every day they did that, eating part of the rabbit and burying the remains.
- 15) **yutm kθarq^war-c makl vom-k yuñk ʔk^we tma-r-c-θa tho-t-c-θa ñθa θo¹² ma**
 // then coyote-SBJ back return-SS then thing bury-PL-that hide-PLthat that
 eat eat//
 Then one day Coyote sneaked back and ate the parts that they had hidden.
- 16) **mature ʔhatʔk^wil-c hlo ʔu-t-k chu-y-t-m hlo-c tu vya-m-k tu vya-m-i ke ña-ñ-h ʔum-i**
 // After that wolf-SBJ rabbit *see-TMP-SS* whistle-TMP-DS rabbit-SBJ just run-SS
 just *run-TNS NEG stop-ERR not-TNS*//
 Soon after that, Wolf saw a rabbit and whistled, but the rabbit just ran on
 without stopping.
- 17) **ʔhatʔk^wil-c chu-y-h yitè hlo-c tu vya-m-k ya-m-i**
 // wolf-SBJ whistle-IRR but rabbit-SBJ just run-SS *go-TNS*//
 Wolf whistled but the rabbit kept running.
- 18) **ʔhatʔk^wil-c spo kθarq^war-a kav-wi-ha**
 // wolf-SBJ understand coyote-ABS what-do-IRR//
 So Wolf understood what Coyote had done.

¹² Yavpe recognizes a lexical distinction between the eating of meat and the general activity of eating. The verb **θo** makes specific reference to the consumption of meat; the verb **ma** is the general verb "to eat".

19) **tu vlyowo-k pica ?sit-m ?u-c-m yítè tuñu va-m ?pe-m-k war-t-m kmca·ym pu·y-km**¹³

//just infrequently-SS only one-D5 see-PL-DS but always go off leave-SS still-TMP-DS hunger die+PL-INC//

Once in awhile they would see one, but it always got away and thus they were dying of hunger.

20) **yuñk ?ha -v-c vam ?hel-m ?u-c-t-k ?k^we· q^wa·qvte vskwi-m ha-k-k**
// then water-DEM-SBJ there flow-DS see-PL-TMP-SS thing moose stand-DS see in distance-SS//

Eventually they saw a river where a moose was standing, and they regarded it from a distance.

21) **θak vsk^wi-m ?u-c-k**
// there stand-DS see-PL-SS//

They watched it standing there.

22) **yuñk ?hat?k^wil-c ?i-k ?iñk ?pa-k^wirva-ñu m-t-k^wir m-wi ?i-km ?ha-n-k mirmi-m m-wi· ?i-km**

// then wolf-SBJ say-S5 say arrow-wrapped-those 2-CAU-sharp 2-do say-INC good-S5 straight-DS 2-do say-INC//

Then Wolf said "Sharpen these arrows up, good and straight".

23) **?hat?k^wil-c kθarq^war-a kna·v-k ?i-k ?i-km ?ha-ñu-l ?-qe-m-k yuñk q^wa·qvte k-vsk^wi-h ?-?u-h l-nu-km**

// wolf-SBJ coyote-ABS tell-S5 say-SS say-INC water-that-into 1submerge-SS then moose REL-stand-OBJ 1-see-IRR 1-will-INC//

Wolf spoke to Coyote and said "I'm going to submerge myself and see about that moose standing there".

¹³ The verb **kmca·ym pi** is a compound meaning "to die of hunger, to starve".

24) **kθarq^war-a wa+mi-k¹⁴ ?k^we hlo cya·ka m-ma·k paya m-wi-o-km**

// coyote-ABS scold-SS thing rabbit bones 2-eat-S5 all 2-do-EVI6INC//

He scolded Coyote, saying "You evidentially ate all the rabbit bones".

25) **yuha ?-ya·m-k ?-yuñk q^wa-qvte ?-?u·ha ?-nu-km**

//so 1-go-SS 1-then moose 1-see-IRR 1-will-INC//

"So I will go and see to the moose".

26) **?ha -ñu-l ?-qe·m-k ?i-km**

// water-that-into 1-submerge-SS say-INC//

"I will submerge myself in the water".

27) **?ha -l vsk^wi·m**

¡I water-in stand^{DS}//

He stood in the water.

28) **ñ-c?alk-k-θo ?pa· k-?ha·ñ-ñu-m m-k^ya·h m-yi·km ?i-km**

// when-come out-SS-COND arrow REL-good-those-with 2-shoot-IRR 2-MOD-INC say-INCH //

"When it (the moose) comes out of the water, you must shoot it with those good arrows" he said.

29) **?k^we-kav?ica ?-ma-c-h ?-nu-km**

// something 1-eat-PL-IRR 1-will-INC//

"We'll have something to eat".

30) **kθarq^war-c ?i-k ?iñk ?e? ?i-km**

// coyote-SBJ say-SS say yes say-INCH //

The Coyote said "ok."

31) **?hat?k^wil-c ?ha -l ya·m-i**

// wolf-SBJ water-into go-TNS //

So Wolf went into the water.

¹⁴ Many Yuman languages include disjunctive verbs such as **wa+mi** "to scold". The first element is etymologically from **hiway** the word for "heart". The second element is an inflected verb form. Person-of-subject prefixes occur on the second unit of the compound rather than on the first, as would be expected, e.g. **way lay** "to be angry".

way ?lay "I am angry"

way mlay "You are angry"

way lay "He is angry"

32) **?hat?kwil-c ?ha –l qem-m**

// wolf-SBJ water-into submerge-DS //

Wolf submerged himself in the water.

33) **ñ-?u-t-k ?pa· k-?ha·ñ-ñu pa-yok wiñk ?ha ttmalúθa k^ya-c-i**

// when-see-TMP-SS arrow REL-good-those them-take then water bubbles shoot-HAB-TNS //

When he saw that, Coyote took the good arrows and shot repeatedly at the water bubbles.

34) **hnu-t-m ?pa· k-?ha·n-c paya ?pe·m-i**

// while-TMP-DS arrow REL-good-SBJ all leave-INCH //

While doing that, Coyote wasted all the good arrows.

35) **q^wa·qvte-c c?al k-km ?hat?k^wil-c ?k^wa-k yak-i**

// moose-SBJ come out-INC wolf-SS antler-on lie-TNS //

Moose came out (of the water) with Wolf lying in his antlers.

36) **yum kθarq^war-c ?pa·k^wirva ql^ye-v-a ñθa-m q^wa·qvte k^ya-c-m**

// Then coyote-SBJ arrow wrapped bad-DEM-ABS those-with moose shoot -HAB-DS //

At this time, however, Coyote had only bad arrows left, so he shot at the moose with them.

37) **pa·y-t-k ca·m-i**

// all-TMP-SS miss-TNS//

All of them missed.

38) **ke vra·v-h ?i-o-ñu-h ?um-i**

// NEG hurt-IRR become-MOD-that-IRR not-TNS //

They did not even hurt him.

39) **q^wa·qvte-c ñulya·m-k ?hat?k^wil-c ?kwa-k yak-m vya·m-k θam ya·m-m ñiv-k kovya·vi t-yu-o-k kovya·vi ?pe·m-i**

// moose-SBJ ran off-SS wolf-SBJ antler-on lie-DS run-SS there go -DS back direction PL-be-E VI-SS direction leave-TNS //

Away ran Moose, running along with Wolf lying in his antlers - going back the way they (Wolf and Coyote) had come.

- 40) **ke mat ʔomiyá·y-k ʔica-h ʔum-ha ʔwi-l k-wa-c-a ñθak ke hipé-h ʔum-i ʔhatʔkwil-c nalk-h hì-m-è·**
 // NEG land high-SS sort-IRR not-IRR trees REL-sit-PL-ABS there NEG approach-IRR not-TNS wolf-SBJ descend-IRR MOD-DS-EXIST //
 He avoided high places and trees, so that Wolf could not get down.
- 41) **yum tu ʔk^wa-k ca·k tu yak-k war-i¹⁵ tu ñvam wa·m-i ʔhatʔk^wil-c kθarq^war-m hwa·k-k yuñk ñvam t-yu·y-o ʔpe·m-i**
 // so just antler-on top-on just lie-SS still-TNS just there cari *ry off-TNS* wolf-SBJ Coyote-with two-SS then there PL-come-place leave-TNS//
 Wolf just lay there on top of his antlers while he carried him back along the way that Wolf and Coyote had come on their journey.
- 42) **kθarq^war-c pa·tk^wi·v-k vam ya·m-ñ-k yutk kmca·ym pi-k**
 // coyote-SBJ them-chase-SS there *go-CONJ-SS* and hunger die-SS//
 Coyote chased them, starving to death.
- 43) **vam ya·m-o-m ʔk^we·kavʔic-m ʔ-tho·t-k ʔ-yi·wa ʔi-k**
 // there go-place-along something-DS *1-hide-SS* 1-MOD-former sayss//
 Along the way, he wanted to~eat what they had formerly hidden.
- 44) **ñθa ma·k**
 // that eat-SS //
 But he had already eaten it.
- 45) **vak pa·pe·v-k ya·m-ñ-m**
 // there them-right behind-SS *go-CONJ-DS* //
 He ran along right behind them.
- 46) **ʔpe·m-t-m kθarq^war-c ñθak vqot ʔi-t-k tu ma·k-a ra·v-a yu·ñ-i**
 // *leave-TMP-DS* coyote-SBJ there fall *become-TMP-SS* just behindTNS *very-TNS* become-TNS//
 As they ran along the way Coyote fell further and further behind them.
- 47) **ñvam ya·m-o-m kθye· ma·k tu ʔk^we·kavʔic ma·km**
 // there go-place-along berries eat-SS just whatever *eat-INC*//
 Along the pathway he ate berries and whatever (he could find).

¹⁵ The verb **war** has the meaning "still" and "yet" in addition to its more frequent meaning "also".

48) **q^wa·qvte-c vam ya·m-i ?hat?k^wil-c kmca·ym pi-ñ-k war-i**
// moose-SBJ there *go-TNS* wolf-SBJ hunger *die-CONJ-SS* still-TNS//

Moose ran on and Wolf continued to starve.

49) **nal-h ?um-k nal-h ?um-km**
// down-IRR not-SS down.-IRR not-INC//

He could not get down.

50) **yutm ?ha k-vte q^wa·qvte-c ?ha -l ya·m-i**
// then water *REL-big* moose-SBJ water-in *go-TNS*//

Then they came to the ocean and Moose went into the water.

51) **?hat?k^wil-c nal-h ma+yi-k¹⁶ ?ha -l ya·m-t-m**
// wolf-SBJ down-IRR think-SS **water-in** *go-TMP-DS*//

Wolf thought he would get off in the water.

52) **?ha -v-l pi ma+yi-k**
// water-DEM-in die think-SS//

Moose thought he would drown him.

53) **?ha k-t-yu·y-v-o-k ?pa-v-c wa·yò**
// water REL-PL-come-DEM-place-at *people-DEM-SBJ* live+PL//

Beside the water lived some people.

54) **?hat?k^wil-ha hona·l-c-o¹⁷**
// wolf-OBJ down-PL-BENE//

They helped Wolf down.

55) **ñva pahmi-v-c vcay-m hwa·i**
// **there** *man-DEM-SBJ* **daughters**-with *two-TNS*//

A man lived there with his daughters.

¹⁶ The meaning of **ma** and its etymology as well, are unclear. As way mentioned in note (14), most Upland Yuman disjunctive verbs include the particle **wa** (**way**), from the word for heart, **hiway**. The particle **ma** may be related to the verb **ma·t**, "to believe without real certainty or conviction, to think possible", but I have no convincing argument that this hypothesis is true.

¹⁷ For reasons which are, again, unclear, verbs inflected with *benefactive* suffixes frequently also take what may be a *benefactive* prefix as well. In the present instance, the verb "to descend, get down" is inflected with the *benefactive* suffix **-o-**, yielding "to help down, to help descend". But notice that it also appears with some unaccountable phonological material in prefix position, i.e. **ho-**. The only other instances of this 'prefix' in my corpus are also in benefactive verbs, or verbs inflected to become benefactive, e.g. **hoθma·km**, "he lent him (money)", from **θma·**, "to lend", and **?-o-m-ma·o·** (*1-BENE-2-eat-BENE IMP*) "Feed me!".

- 56) **tyac ta·h honu wi yo·k ma·wi·c·o**
 // corn grind-IRR begin do take-SS eat-do-PL-BENE//
 They began to grind corn and then took it and fed him.
- 57) **ma·wi·c·o·me· pe· ya?pe·**
 // eat-do-PL-BENE-EXIST CONJ alive//
 They fed him and he revived.
- 58) **yutm pa·kna·v·k ?i·k ?ña ?hwa·k·c·yu·k·θo makl ñθe ?nomak·kñ vke kovya·vi ?wi·h ?wi·m**
 // then them-tell-SS say-SS my 1-two-SBJ-be-SS-COND back there 1-leave-CMP where direction 1-do-IRR 1-do-DS//
 Then he told them "I left my partner back there somewhere that direction".
- 59) **pi·ha mi· kavyukyu ?i·k**
 // die-IRR or something say-SS//
 "I don't know if he is dead or alive", he said.
- 60) **ya?pe·ha mi· pi·ha kav·?·yu·k·?·yu ?i·k**
 // alive-IRR or die-IRR what-1-be-SS-1-be say-SS//
 "Alive or dead – which, I don't know", he said.
- 61) **?k^w·e· tyac ta·v·ha ikó·k wiñk yam ?ya·m·i ñvam ?yu·w·k ?yi·wa ?yi·km**
 // thing corn ground-OBJ carry-SS then there 1-go-TNS there 1-come-SS 1-MOD-former 1-think-INC//
 "I will carry corn meal and go back the way I came", he said.
- 62) **kθarq^w·ar·c θak yak·k yu·o·m kmca·ym pi·k θak yak·i**
 // coyote-SBJ there lie-SS be-EVI-DS hunger die-SS there lie-TNS//
 And Coyote was lying there, lying there starving to death.
- 63) **?ic±rav·i celqa ?ha· pira**
 //sick-TNS feces water only//
 He had diarrhea.
- 64) **yum ?hat?kwil·c tyac ta·v·a hikó·θa ñva·m cwam wi·o·m**
 // so wolf-SBJ corn ground-ABS carry-there it-with plug do-EVIDS//
 So Wolf took the corn real he had carried and plugged him up.

65) **ñθa-c tyac ma·v-c tu cʔalk-k war-m**

// that-SBJ corn eaten-SBJ just come out-SS still-DS//

The corn meal just came running out again.

66) **ma·-o-k wiñk ñθak ʔhan-k yu-m**

// eat-GENE-SS then there good-SS be-DS//

Wolf fed him and then he was well.

3. Commentary

If the present text seems pointless or fragmentary, it is because Upland Yuman story-tellers in general presume that their audiences know the stories, and thus can fill in elipsed parts. Coyote stories are, or were, extremely popular winter folktales; and virtually any adult Yavapai or Hualapai who had contact with a traditionally-reared parent or grandparent can recall hearing enormous numbers of such stories. The majority of Coyote tales revolve around the same theme of course Coyote's wickedness or stupidity leading to Coyote's downfall, with or without consequences for human beings who came into the world after Coyote had made it imperfect. To tell a Coyote story, it seems, one must mention an act of betrayal (eating the rabbit bones) or an act of stupidity (shooting all the good arrows at the water bubbles), and the audience can then take over and fill in the consequences: Coyote will suffer or die - or if his transgression is minor, he will be ridiculed.

For people familiar only with Western narrative conventions, such tales are frustratingly incomplete. We want to require the storyteller to tell us everything; we feel he is abdicating his responsibility if he tells us part of a story, and we have this feeling even if we already know how the story will turn out. A very different set of expectations and presuppositions govern the construction of narratives in dative North America.

I do not wish to claim that Upland Yuman Indians cannot or will not tell complete and well-formed (from the Western point of view) tales. They are just as capable of including detail as anyone else. The point is that they are not *obliged* to do so. Their societies are so small and their experiences so commonly shared that they can afford to leave many things unspecified. The essence of their Coyote stories is didactic and simple: *honnei soit qui mal y pense*.

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