

NUWÄ ABIGIP  
KAWAIIISU LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL CENTER

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In 2011 the Kawaiisu Language and Cultural Center (KLCC) initiated a documentation project for nuwä abigip (ISO 639: xaw), also known as Kawaiisu. Today two first-language speakers remain: Luther Girado (born 1941) and his sister, Lucille Girado-Hicks (born 1945). Revitalization efforts began in 2003. Five adult additional-language learners can converse with Luther and Lucille and have begun to teach others. One hundred thirty people can understand and use the language within KLCC lesson plans.

The nuwä homeland sits at the southern end of the Sierra Nevada in Kern County, California. Between 2012 and 2014, siblings Luther Girado, Betty Hernandez (deceased 2014, age 69) and Lucille Girado-Hicks guided the documentation team to places historically significant to the nuwä community. Sixty hours of conversations were recorded at these locations during *Kawaiisu Conversations and Landscapes*, an 18-month project (Award BCS-1160669) funded by the National Science Foundation's Documenting Endangered Languages Program. The narrative below was videotaped on November 6, 2012, at the old saw-mill site on Piute Mountain. In the 1950s the Girado siblings camped in the nearby forest for the summer, living in a tent with their parents, Gladys and Rafael, as their father worked the timber. The elders shared childhood memories of climbing trees to hang above the outgoing logging trucks, picking berries, finding bear tracks, hauling water, and cooking potatoes. Julie Turner and Laura Grant ran simultaneous video cameras and sometimes participated in the conversations along with assistant Jon Hammond. Initials indicate who is speaking.

Prior to 2009 nuwä abigip was primarily an oral language. The orthography used now was created by KLCC's community team between 2009 and 2011 with guidance from linguist Justin Spence. Texts from recorded conversations serve as core resources for teaching both the language and history of the nuwüm. They are kept by the KLCC and archived in the California Language Archives at the University of California at Berkeley.

Below is a limited pronunciation guide. Double vowels indicate that a vowel sound is held longer. (Many readers of this volume do not require this type of explanation, but some readers from the nuwä community will.)

**a** (*/a/*) *cha'a* 'tea' As in English **father**.

**ä** (*/ʌ/*) *Amerikanä* 'American' As in English **bus** or **cut**.

- e** (/ɛ/) *lamesa* ‘table’ As in English **bet**.  
**g** (/g/ or /ʎ/) *havagüd(ü)* ‘shade’ Sometimes as in English **goat**.  
**i** (/i/) *müniḡi* ‘five’ As in English **sit**.  
**ii** (/i/) *Shi'im apüüdüm*. ‘They are sleeping.’ As in English **seat**.  
**o** (/o/) *po'o* ‘water’ As in English **both**.  
**ö** (/ɔ/) *tögonäweenä* ‘animal track’ As in English **caught**.  
**r** (/r/ or /ʀ/) *Cha'a tarugid*. ‘The tea is hot.’ A trill or flap as in Spanish burrito or English **water**.  
**ts** (/ts/) *eewuts* ‘squirrel’ As in English **cats**.  
**u** (/u/) *pugüz* ‘dog, domestic animal’ As in English **boot**.  
**ü** (/i/) *hü'ühüü* ‘yes’ No English equivalent.  
**x** (/x/) *aaxkid* ‘red’ No English equivalent.  
**zh** (/ʒ/) *neezh* ‘girl’ As in English **pleasure**.  
**'** /(?/) *po'o* ‘water’ As in English **uh-oh**.

### Vowel combinations

- ai** (/ay/) *wahai* ‘two’ As in English **Thailand**.  
**oi** (/oy/) *sü'ivois* ‘and then’ As in English **oil**.  
**iaa** (/iyaa/) *puiaatü* ‘blind’ As in English **triage**.  
**üa** (/iya/) *üapügüda* ‘used to be a garden’ No English equivalent.  
**ui** (/uwi/) *mümisui* ‘ten’ As in English **gluey**.  
**üi** (/iwi/) *tühüü* ‘deer’ No English equivalent.  
**ei** (/ey/) *pahei* ‘three’ As in English **hey**.  
**ae** (/æ/) *narawaekweneek* ‘it became dark’ As in English **cat**.

A few brief comments on nuwä abigip, which is a verb-final language. Verbal morphology can encode a wide range of meanings, which we will not describe in detail here. Every verb (with rare exceptions) must be marked with one of two verbal suffixes: *-n* or *-d*. Their distribution and use are complex and appear to be largely dependent on discourse-level factors that have not yet been fully analyzed; that is, verbs can take either *-n* or *-d* depending on the context within a conversation. The documentation that the Kawaiisu team is creating analyzes the way the *-n* and *-d* verb suffixes are used by speakers today rather than how they might have been used or analyzed in the past. Subject and object enclitic pronouns are attached to verbs and are optional. The form of the enclitics is the same for both subjects and objects; if both appear attached to a verb, the object appears before the subject.

### SAWMILL AT PIUTE MOUNTAIN

LUTHER GIRADO, BETTY HERNANDEZ, AND LUCILLE GIRADO-HICKS

- (1) JH: *Okay, are we ready?* (to begin videotaping)

- (2) Hu'u.  
 hu'u  
 yes  
 LH: 'Yes.'
- (3) Nu ka'akarä *mansana'a*.  
 Nu ka'a-karä mansana'a  
 1SG.SBJ.PRO eat-abide apple  
 BH: 'I'm sitting and eating an apple.'<sup>1</sup>
- (4) Im kuusübigüd *mansana? Here*.  
 Im kuu-sübi-gü-d mansana here  
 2SG.SBJ.PRO grab-want-HAB-D.VERB apple here  
 'You want the apple? Here.' [Puts the apple in Jon's outstretched hand.]
- (5) Hu'u'hu.  
 hu'u'hu  
 yes  
 JH: 'Yes.'
- (6) Ka'akwenaakaam.  
 ka'a-kwe-n=aak=aam  
 eat-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:PROX.OBJ=2SG.SBJ  
 BH: 'You go ahead and eat it.'
- (7) Hü'kama shid *mansana*.  
 hü'-kama shid mansana  
 good-taste 3SG:INAN:PROX.DET apple  
 'This apple tastes good.'
- (8) *Oh, he put it in the bag!* [Laughs. Jon puts Betty's apple away.]
- (9) Shi'idä meeävaanünä.  
 shi'idä meeä-vaa-n=ünä  
 3SG:INAN:PROX.OBJ.PRO say-INTENT-N.VERB=1SG.SBJ  
 LH: 'I'm going to say this.' [Lucille is about to pray.]
- (10) Im tugubiyaav karüd.  
 im tugu-biyaav karü-d  
 2SG.SBJ.PRO sky-surface abide-D.VERB  
 'You abiding in the sky.'

<sup>1</sup> *Mansana* is a Spanish loanword.

- (11) Hü'ütiivaadaak tam iitüb äbigivaad im iva'anä.  
 hü'ü-tii-vaa-d=aak  
 good-CAUS-INTENT-D.VERB=3SG:INAN:PROX.OBJ  
 iitü-b  
 old-PFV  
 tam  
 1DU.SBJ.PRO  
 äbigi-vaa-d im iva'anä  
 talk-INTENT-D.VERB 2SG.OBJ.PRO here  
 'It's going to be good when we talk in the old way to you here.'<sup>2</sup>
- (12) Subihiin hü'ütiivaadaak.  
 subí-hiín hü'ü-tii-vaa-d=aak  
 every-what good-CAUS-INTENT-D.VERB=3SG:INAN:PROX.OBJ  
 'It's going to make everything better.'
- (13) Tam paikwets keevovaanä kahniva'anä.  
 tam pai-kwets keevo-vaaná  
 1DU.SBJ.PRO return.home-COMPL mountain-LOC  
 kahni-va'anä  
 house-LOC  
 'We have returned home to the mountains.'
- (14) Hü'ü pidegwevaadä yuwaat hiin haganikwevaad.  
 hü'ü pidegwe-vaa-dä yuwaat hiin  
 good arrive-PROG-INTENT-D.VERB no what  
 hagai-kwe-vaa-d  
 to.do.something-PROG-INTENT-D.VERB  
 'It's good that we have arrived without anything happening.'
- (15) Süvoisä tam tuniävaadä shi'idä iitübä.  
 süvoisä tam tuniä-vaa-dä  
 and.then 1DU.SBJ.PRO tell-INTENT-D.VERB  
 shi'idä iitü-bä  
 3PL:INAN:PROX.DET old-IMPV  
 'And so we are going to tell about these old ways.'
- (16) Neezhigai karüpün iva'n.  
 neezh-igai karü-p=ün iva'n  
 girl-when abide-PFV=1SG.SBJ here  
 'When I was a girl I stayed here.'

<sup>2</sup> Lucille uses *tam*, the first-person dual 'we', for both the first-person dual and the first-person inclusive *töwä*.

- (17) Süvois tama karapa hinigenüm iva'an eween sü'ürä.  
 süvois tama kara-pa  
 and.then 1DU.SBJ.PRO abide-PFV  
 hini-ge-n=üm iva'an eween  
 what-have-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ here over.ther  
 sü'ürä  
 3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ.PRO  
 'And we had a tent here, over there it was.' [Lucille points.]
- (18) Yuwaat iva'an, äween sü'ürä, chagachiv iva'an.  
 yuwaat iva'an äween sü'ürä  
 no here over.there 3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ.PRO  
 chagachiv iva'an  
 next.to here  
 'Not here, it was over there, nearby here.'
- (19) Karapä hinigenümä kahniziichä.  
 kara-pä hini-ge-n=ümä kahni-ziichä  
 abide-PFV what-have-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ house-DIM  
 'We had a tent like a little house.'
- (20) Kapaanä havinümä. Tazä tazä ineneek süvois tam pidentüm iva'anä.  
 kapaanä havi-n=ümä  
 inside lie.down-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ  
 ine-n=eek süvois  
 do-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ.PRO and.then  
 tam pide-n=üm  
 1DU.SBJ.PRO arrive-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ  
 tazä tazä  
 summer summer  
 iva'anä  
 here  
 'We laid down inside. It was summer, when we came here.'
- (21) Muwünä wiihaidineekä shi'idä *timber* ünäwe'e Joe Tartif su'un.  
 muw-ünä wiihaidi-n=eekä  
 father-1SG.POSS work-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.OBJ  
 shi'idä timber  
 3SG:INAN:PROX.DET timber  
 Joe Tartif  
 Joe Tartif  
 ünä-we'e  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.PRO-with  
 su'un  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.DET  
 'My father worked this timber with Joe Tartif.'

- (22) Suutä tazä ä tam yeah tazä inen wiihaidinaam iva'an.  
 suutä tazä ä tam yeah  
 one summer uh 1DU.SBJ.PRO yeah  
 tazä ine-n  
 summer do-N.VERB  
 wiihaidi-n=aam iva'an  
 work-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ here  
 'Every summer, uh, we, yeah, summer it was, they worked here.'
- (23) Süvois karünüm iva'an, suutä suu tazä.  
 süvois karü-n=üm iva'an suutä  
 and.then abide-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ here one  
 suu tazä  
 one summer  
 'And then we lived here, every summer.'
- (24) Uutsäküs meeneenä muwünä pikeen ivaanä müüts äveetä nabiin pögütä!  
 uutsäküs mee-n=eenä muw-ünä  
 morning say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ father-1SG.POSS  
 pikee-n ivaanä müüts  
 see-N.VERB here very  
 pögütä  
 grizzly.bear  
 äveetä nab-iin  
 big foot-3SG.POSS  
 'In the morning my father said, "Look here! A huge grizzly bear track!"'
- (25) Pögüt ivaanä paganiineenä tugünä meeneenä.  
 pögüt ivaanä  
 grizzly.bear here  
 tugünä mee-n=eenä  
 night say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 paga-nii-n=eenä  
 walk-MOT-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 "The grizzly was wandering around here in the night," he said.'
- (26) Su'unä wuukidä hini'iv ka'aguup shi'in meenen.  
 su'unä wuuki-dä  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO look.for-D.VERB  
 hini'iv ka'a-guup  
 something eat-POT  
 mee-n=en  
 say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 shi'in  
 3SG:ANIM:PROX.SBJ.PRO  
 'He was looking for something he could eat,' he said.'

- (27) Süvois tamä ivaaxkwedümä.  
 Süvois tamä ivaax-kwe-d=ümä  
 and.then 1DU.SBJ.PRO to.be.scared-PROG-D.VERB=1PL.SBJ  
 ‘And then we got scared!’
- (28) Tam kiiyäd ivaanä meeneenä.  
 tam kiiyä-d ivaanä  
 1DU.SBJ.PRO play-D.VERB here  
 mee-n=eenä  
 say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 ‘We were to play here, he said.’
- (29) Yuwaat meyürkwevaanaam!  
 yuwaat meyür-kwe-vaa-n=aam  
 no go.far-PROG-INTENT-N.VERB=2PL.SBJ  
 ‘“Don’t go far off!”’
- (30) Mu kiiyävaaanaam iva’an meeneen muwün.  
 mu kiiyä-vaa-n=aam  
 just play-INTENT-N.VERB=2PL.SBJ  
 mee-n=een muw-ün  
 say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ father-1SG.POSS  
 ‘“Just play here,” my father said.’
- (31) Uusä.  
 Uusä  
 Proceed  
 ‘Go.’ [Lucille pokes Betty, but then Luther starts to talk instead.]
- (32) Äweenä wünänek iitüb kahne.  
 Äweenä wünä-n=eek iitü-b kahne  
 over.there stand-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ old-IMPV house  
 LG: ‘Over there stood an old house.’ [Gesturing about the site.]
- (33) Puva’anä wiidhaginaamä tanüm ka’anaam.  
 puva’anä wiidhagi-n=aamä  
 in.this.area work-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ  
 tan-üm ka’a-n=aam  
 man-PL eat-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ  
 ‘In this area the working men ate.’
- (34) Muva’anä äween tübivaan töwä karäpägüdümä uususä unäwe’e  
*maamaan paapaan.*  
 muva’anä äween  
 just.there over.there  
 karä-pägu-d=ümä uususä

abide-used.to=D.VERB-1PL.SBJ long.ago  
 maam-aan paap-aan  
 mom-1SG.POSS papa-1SG.POSS  
 tübi-vaan töwä  
 rock-LOC 1PL.INCL.SBJ.PRO  
 unä-we'e  
 3:ANIM:DIST.OBJ.PRO-with

'Just over there at that rock we all used to live long ago with my mom and dad.'

- (35) *Sawmill* ivaan karüneekä.  
 sawmill ivaan karü-n=eekä  
 sawmill here abide-N.VERB =3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 'The sawmill sat here.'
- (36) Ko'äneekaamä kukupä.  
 ko'ä-n=eek=aamä kukupä  
 cut-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.OBJ=3PL:ANIM.SBJ wood  
 'They cut logs.'
- (37) Suunä *Benny Girado* yoi'ineen iveet makina.  
 suunä Benny Girado yoi'i-n=een  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.DET Benny Girado drive-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 iveet makina  
 big truck  
 'That Benny Girado drove a big truck.'<sup>3</sup>
- (38) Suun noo'ineen kukup *Bakersfield*vaanä.  
 suun noo'i-n=een kukup  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO haul-N.VERB-3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ wood  
 Bakersfield-vaanä  
 Bakersfield-LOC  
 'He hauled the logs to Bakersfield.'
- (39) Yoi'inen inekwenei.  
 yoi'i-n=en  
 drive-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 ine-kwe-n=ei  
 do-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.OBJ  
 'He drove and it went along.' [Luther points to where the road used to go.]
- (40) Suumä tanüm ivaan wiidhaginaam.  
 suumä tan-üm ivaan wiidhagi-n=aam  
 3PL:ANIM:DIST.DET man-PL here work-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ  
 'Those men worked here.'

<sup>3</sup> *Makina* is a Spanish loanword.



- (41) *Benny make papel po'ineen.*  
 Benny make papel po'i-n=een  
 Benny make paper mark-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 'Benny wrote a note.'<sup>4</sup>
- (42) *Aä ta'napüz said nü'ü two <ca> two cases hivüp hivi hinegüdä.*  
 ää ta'napüz said nü'ü two cases hivü-p  
 uh man said 1SG.SBJ.PRO two cases drink-PFV  
 hivi hine-gü-dä  
 drink what-have-D.VERB  
 'Uh, a man said, "I'll have two cases of beer."'
- (43) *Suvä ineneenä inäroo ää Benny hiibä.*  
 suvä ine-n=eenä inä-roo  
 and.then do-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ 3SG:ANIM:PROX.OBJ.PRO-to  
 Benny hiibä  
 Benny money  
 'And then he gave Benny money.'
- (44) *Paapan said nü'ü waihai ää paapas ää paan kuusübigüd.*  
 Paap-an said nü'ü waihai paapas paan  
 Paap-1SG.POSS said 1SG.SBJ.PRO two potato bread  
 kuu-sübi-gü-d  
 grab-desire-HAB-D.VERB  
 'Papa said, "I want two (sacks of) potatoes and two (loaves of) bread."' <sup>5</sup>
- (45) *Paapan inäroäneen Benny hiibä.*  
 Paap-an inä-roä-n=een  
 Paap-1SG.POSS 3SG:ANIM:PROX.OBJ.PRO-to-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 Benny hiibä  
 Benny money  
 'Papa gave Benny money.'
- (46) *Maanikweneen Bakersfieldvaan Benny.*  
 maani-kwe-n=een Bakersfield-vaan  
 do.thus-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ Bakersfield-LOC  
 Benny  
 Benny  
 'Benny went like this to Bakersfield.' [Indicating the road by the sawmill.]

<sup>4</sup> *Papel* is a Spanish loanword.

<sup>5</sup> *Paapas* and *paan* are Spanish loanwords.

- (47) Suuu tuuve yuwai'ineen.  
 suuu tuuve yuwai'i-n=een  
 one day to.be.absent-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 'All day he was gone.'
- (48) Narawaikweneek ivaan pideneen. Tuu tuu tuu *honkinaam*.  
 narawai-kwe-n=eek ivaan  
 dark-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ here  
 pide-n=een tuu tuu tuu  
 arrive-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ tuu tuu tuu  
 honki-n=aam  
 honk-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ  
 'It was getting dark here when he arrived. Tuu, tuu, tuu, they honked.'
- (49) Maanineen *makina'a*.  
 maani-n=een makina'a  
 do.thus-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ truck  
 'He did like that with the truck.' [Showing where Benny pulled up.]
- (50) Maaman *said ä Benny uus ivaan*.  
 Maam-an said ä Benny uus ivaan  
 Mama-1SG.POSS said uh Benny proceed here  
 'Mama said, "Benny's here.'"
- (51) Mänois towä ivaan pidedäm.  
 mänois towä ivaan pide-d=äm  
 all 1PL.INCL.SBJ.PRO here arrive-D.VERB=1PL.SBJ  
 'All of us came over here.' [Pointing.]
- (52) Ä *Benny inäroänen paan paapis ä hivi inäroänen asaaraged uususä*.  
 Benny inä-roä-n=en  
 Benny 3SG:ANIM:PROX.OBJ.PRO-to-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 paan paapis  
 bread potatoes  
 hivi-p  
 drink-PFV  
 inä-roä-n=en  
 3SG:ANIM:PROX.OBJ.PRO-to-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 asaa-ra-ge-d uususä  
 elderly-INCH-have-NMLZ long.ago  
 'Benny gave bread, potatoes, and beer to the elderly long ago.'
- (53) Han suun asaaraged?  
 han suun asaa-ra-ge-d  
 who 3SG:ANIM:DIST.DET elderly- INCH-have-NMLZ  
 LH: 'Who was that elderly one?'

- (54) i Tanüm ivaan wiidhaginaam *sawmillävaanä*.  
 tan-üm ivaan wiidhagi-n=aam sawmill-ävaanä  
 man-PL here work-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ sawmill-LOC  
 LG: ‘The men here who worked at the sawmill.’
- (55) Oo, tanüm wiidhaidinaam ikiva’an, *oh yeah*.  
 tan-üm wiidhaidi-n=aam iki-va’an  
 man-PL work-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ 3:INAN:OBJ.PROX.PRO-LOC  
 oh yeah  
 oh yeah  
 LH: ‘Oh, the men who worked around here, oh yeah.’
- (56) Äweenä ä mosüb ineneekä.  
 äweenä mosüb ine-n=eekä  
 over.there tree do-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 LG: ‘Over there, uh, was a tree.’
- (57) Nü’ü chipinünä äween karünün kapaan.  
 nü’ü chipi-n-ünä  
 1SG.SBJ.PRO climb-N.VERB-1SG.SBJ  
 äween karü-n=ün kapaan  
 over.there abide-N.VERB=1SG.SBJ inside  
 ‘I climbed up over there and sat in it.’
- (58) *Logging truck* ükärük masüb inänee.  
 logging truck ükärük masüb inä-n=ee  
 logging truck under tree do-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 ‘Logging trucks were (going) under it.’
- (59) Maamün müüts nahai’ineen!  
 Maam-ün müüts nahai’i-n=een  
 Mama-1SG.POSS very to.get.angry-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 ‘My mama got really angry!’
- (60) Yuwaat chipivaad nü kapavidä!  
 yuwaat chipi-vaa-d nü kapavi-dä  
 no climb-INTENT-D.VERB 1SG.SBJ.PRO fall-D.VERB  
 ‘Don’t go climbing, or I (would) fall!’
- (61) Nü’ü chipineen aweee kartünün.  
 nü’ü chipi-n=een aweee  
 1SG.SBJ.PRO climb-N.VERB=1SG.SBJ over.there  
 karü-n=ün  
 abide-N.VERB=1SG.SBJ  
 ‘I climbed waaay up there and sat.’

- (62) *Suvu logging truck iveet ukäruk manäkwenekä.*  
 suvu logging truck  
 and.then logging truck  
 veet ukäruk  
 big under  
 manä-kwe-n=eekä  
 do.thus-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 ‘And then a big logging truck would go under like that.’
- (63) BH: *Oooh!*
- (64) *Eepizhägaiä iween inänekä tugüb kahne.*  
 eepizh-ägaiä iween inä-n=eekä  
 little.boy-when over.there do-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 tugü-b kahne  
 metal-IMPFV house  
 LG: ‘When I was a little boy over there was a tin house.’<sup>6</sup>
- (65) *Puva’anä ä inänekä kukupä.*  
 Puva’anä ä inä-n=eekä kukupä  
 in.this.area uh do-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.SBJ wood  
 ‘In this area were the logs.’ [Gesturing nearby.]
- (66) *Suu tuuvä manineekä ne’etiinünekä.*  
 suu tuuvä  
 one day  
 mani-n=eekä  
 do.thus-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 ne’e-tii-nü-n=eekä  
 burn-CAUS-MOT-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.OBJ  
 ‘All day it did that, burned them on and off.’
- (67) *Suun hinegenaam ukäre’ed ukäre’enekä nukätiigüda eviäpiich  
 nukätiigüid.*  
 suun hine-ge-n=aam  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO what-have-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ  
 ukä-re’e-d  
 3:INAN.OBJ.PRO-similar.to-D.VERB  
 ukä-re’e-n=eekä  
 3:INAN-similar.to-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.OBJ  
 nukä-tii-gü-dä eviä-p-iich nukä-tii-gü-d  
 run-CAUS-HAB-D.VERB small-PFV-DIM run-CAUS-HAB-D.VERB  
 LH: ‘He, they had, it was like, it was like a train, a tiny little train.’

<sup>6</sup> ‘Tin house’ refers to a charcoal kiln.

- (68) Eviäpiichä hinegeneekä yu'uviikä, watsui hinegeneekä müüts aho  
 kusus.  
 eviä-p-iichä hine-ge-n=eekä  
 small-PFV-DIM what-have-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 yu'uv-iikä watsui  
 leg-3PL:INAN:DIST.DET four  
 hine-ge-n=eekä müüts aho  
 what-have-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ very with.force  
 'This little thing had its legs (wheels); it had four and went really fast.'
- (69) LG: *Mmhmm.*
- (70) Süvois tam chipinüm ka'apaanä nükid <äho> ähokweneek idoo.  
 süvois tam chipi-n-üm ka'apaanä  
 and.then 1DU.SBJ.PRO climb-N.VERB-1PL.SBJ inside  
 nüki-d äho-kwe-n=eek  
 run-D.VERB with.force-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 idoo  
 that.way  
 LH: 'And then we climbed in, and it ran fast, really fast in that  
 direction.'
- (71) Ähookweneek suur.  
 ähoo-kwe-n=eek suur  
 with.force-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ 3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ.PRO  
 BH: 'It went really fast.'
- (72) Shü'üvoish wünäneek.  
 shü'üvoish wünä-n=eek  
 and.then stand-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 LH: 'And then it stopped.' [Her gestures show it stopped suddenly.]
- (73) Süvois äween sü'ürä hini'vä wünäneek.  
 süvois äween sü'ürä hini'vä  
 and.then over.there 3SG:INAN:DIST.OBJ something  
 wünä-n=eek  
 stand-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 'And then over there something stopped it.' [Shaping with her hands a  
 thing that looked like a post or a bumper.]
- (74) Süvois manikweneek tama.  
 süvois mani-kwe-n=eek tama  
 and.then do.thus-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ 1DU.SBJ.PRO  
 'And then it and we did like that.' [Gesturing a sudden stop.]

- (75) Süvois kiiyänüm kaapaan.  
 süvois kiiyä-n=üm kaapaan  
 and.then laugh-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ inside  
 ‘And then we laughed inside.’
- (76) LG: *Uh-huh*.
- (77) Nü pätsugüdä eviäpiichägai tam kiiyäd kaapanä shi’idä puigüdä.  
 nü pätsugü-dä  
 1SG.SBJ.PRO remember-D.VERB  
 small-PFV-DIM-when 1DU.SBJ.PRO  
 eviä-p-iich-ägai tam  
 kiiyä-d kaapanä shi’idä pui-gü-dä  
 play-D.VERB inside 3PL:INAN:PROX.DET green-HAB-D.VERB  
 LH: ‘I remember when we were small we played inside of this greenery.’<sup>7</sup>
- (78) LG: *Mmhhh*.
- (79) Kaapan, Betty nü’ü kiiyänüm.  
 kaapan Betty nü’ü kiiyä-n=üm  
 inside Betty 1SG.SBJ.PRO play-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ  
 LH: ‘Inside Betty and I played.’
- (80) Müts ööwütä mosübä.  
 müts ööw-ütä mosübä  
 very many-large.quantity tree  
 ‘A whole lot of trees.’
- (81) Kaapan nükänüm kaapan shi’idä.  
 kaapan nükä-n=üm kaapan shi’idä  
 inside run-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ inside 3PL:INAN:PROX.OBJ.PRO  
 ‘Inside we would run, inside these.’
- (82) BH: *Mmhhh*.
- (83) Tam kaadüm nukanüm kaapan.  
 Tam kaa-d=üm nüka-n=üm  
 1DU.SBJ.PRO sing-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ run-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ  
 kaapan  
 inside  
 LH: ‘We would sing and run inside.’

<sup>7</sup> Lucille later described how they would run and drag their arms through a maze of soft, low-hanging boughs of densely spaced pines.

- (84) Im, hin imä pätsugüdü?  
 im hin imä pätsugü-dä  
 2SG.SBJ.PRO what 2SG.SBJ.PRO remember-D.VERB  
 ‘You, what do you remember?’
- (85) Oo, e, nümä tügid <tügi> tügidümä *gooseberry* unäwee Maama.  
 Oo e nümä  
 Oh eh 1PL.EXCL.SBJ.PRO  
 gooseberry unä-wee Maama  
 gooseberry 3SG:ANIM:DIST.OBJ.PRO-with Mama  
 tügi-d tügi-d=ümä  
 pick-D.VERB pick-D.VERB=1PL.SBJ  
 BH: ‘Oh, eh, we picked, we picked gooseberries with Mama.’
- (86) Marookwenüm.  
 maroo-kwe-n=üm  
 in.this.direction-PROG-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ  
 ‘We went over this way.’ [Gesturing toward the site.]
- (87) Maarookwenüm ü tügüged.  
 maaroo-kwe-n=üm ü tügü-gwe-d  
 in.this.direction-PROG-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ uh pick-PROG-D.VERB  
 ‘We went way over that way, uh, to go pick.’
- (88) Suvoish maapüz su’un karüpügüd mava’an . . .  
 suvoish maapüz su’un  
 and.then old.woman 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO  
 karü-pügü-d  
 abide-used.to-D.VERB  
 mava’an  
 in.that.area  
 ‘And then an old woman who used to live in that area . . .’ [Gesturing.]
- (89) su’unä pükeedüm.  
 su’unä pükee-d=üm  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO see-D.VERB=1PL.OBJ  
 ‘she sees us.’
- (90) Süvois meenenä, nü’ü pükegwevaad han shi’inä nuwä hagar  
 hagarokwed shi’im.  
 süvois mee-n=enä nü’ü  
 and.then say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ 1SG.SBJ.PRO  
 püke-gwe-vaa-d han shi’inä nuwä  
 see-PROG-INTENT-D.VERB who 3SG:ANIM:PROX.DET person

hagaro-kwe-d                      shi'im  
to.where-PROG-D.VERB              3PL:ANIM:PROX.OBJ

'And then she said, "I'm going to go see who that person is and where they are going."'

- (91) Süvoish manikweneen ma'apüz marookweneen nügäroo nümäroä.  
süvoish      mani-kwe-n=en                                              ma'apüz  
and.then    do.thus-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ    old.woman  
maroo-kwe-n=en  
in.this.direction-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
nügä-roo                      nümä-roä  
1SG.OBJ.PRO-to    1PL.EXCL.OBJ.PRO-to

'And then she did like this, the old woman moved this way toward me, toward us.' [Pointing out the way the old woman walked.]

- (92) Süvoishä masüb manineekä.  
süvoishä    masüb    mani-n=eekä  
and.then    tree        do.thus-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.OBJ

'And then the trees did like this.' [Showing how the trees shook.]

- (93) Mam meenen uus *black bear*! Uus, *black bear*!  
Mam        mee-n=en  
Mom        say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
uus        black bear    uus        black bear  
proceed   black bear    proceed   black bear

'Mom said, "Go, a black bear! Go, a black bear!"'

- (94) Süvois äho nükänüm.  
süvois    äho                      nükä-n=üm  
and.then   with.force    run-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ

'And we ran really fast.'

- (95) Ma'apüz peezenen *hey! hey!*  
ma'apüz      peeze-n=en                                              hey    hey  
old.woman   yell-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ    hey    hey

'The old woman yelled, "Hey! Hey!"'

- (96) *And next she* maapüz meenen haga im haga ha im hin ined iva'an.  
and next she maapüz      mee-n=en  
and next she old.woman say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
haga im                      haga im                      hin  
where 2SG.OBJ.PRO    where 2SG.OBJ.PRO    what  
ine-d                      iva'an  
do-D.VERB    here

'And next she, the old woman, said, "Where are you going? What are you doing here?"'



- (97) Maama meenen süvois nümä tügüdüm *gooseberries*.  
 Maama mee-n=en süvois  
 Mama say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ and.then  
 nümä tügü-d=üm gooseberries  
 1PL.EXCL.SBJ.PRO pick-D.VERB=1PL.SBJ gooseberries  
 ‘And then Mama said, “We’re picking gooseberries.”’
- (98) Su nuvo süvois nu’u ku ku ä kusineruvaadä *gooseberry*.  
 süvois nu’u kusineru-vaa-dä gooseberry  
 and.then 1SG.SBJ.PRO cook-INTENT-D.VERB gooseberry  
 ‘And then I’m going to cook the gooseberries.’
- (99) Manhagavaada *jelly*.  
 manhaga-vaa-da jelly  
 make-INTENT-D.VERB jelly  
 ‘Going to make jelly.’
- (100) Maapüz meenaam yuwaat nu pätsugänaak im <ka’a> ka’aguup  
*gooseberry*.  
 maapüz mee-n=aam yuwaat nu  
 old.woman say-N.VERB=2SG.OBJ no 1SG.SBJ.PRO  
 pätsugä-n=aak im  
 know-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:PROX.OBJ 2SG.SBJ.PRO  
 ka’a-guup gooseberry  
 eat-POT gooseberry  
 ‘The old woman said, “I didn’t know that you could eat  
 gooseberries.”’
- (101) Maamaam meeneen <su> *yeah* hü’ü’hü shi’id hü’üt imiroä meeneen.  
 maam-aam mee-n=een  
 mama-3PL:ANIM.POSS say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.OBJ  
 yeah hü’ü’hü shi’id hü’üt imi-roä  
 yeah yes 3PL:INAN:PROX.SBJ.PRO good 2SG.OBJ.PRO-to  
 mee-n=een  
 say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 ‘Our mama said, “Yeah! Yes, these are good for you,” she said.’
- (102) Süvois paikwenüm.  
 süvois paikwe-n=üm  
 and.then return.home-N.VERB=1PL:SBJ  
 ‘And then we went home.’
- (103) Ma’apüz su’un paikweneen su’un karapagüid mava’an.  
 ma’apüz su’un paikwe-n=een  
 old.woman 3SG:ANIM:DIST.OBJ.PRO return.home  
 N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ

su'un                                      kara-pagü-d                                      mava'an  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO      abide-used.to-D.VERB      in.that.area  
 'The old woman went home, the one that used to live over that way.'

- (104) Süvois marookweneen!  
 süvois      maroo-kwe-n=een  
 and.then    in.this.direction-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 'And then away she went!' [Pointing in the direction the woman went.]
- (105) *And then* nüm pagi pagikwed mava'an kahnevaanüm iviapiich  
 kahnenüm.  
 And then      nüm                                      pagi      pagi-kwe-d  
 And then    1PL.EXCL.SBJ.PRO      walk      walk-PROG-D.VERB  
 kahne-vaa-n=üm                                      ivia-p-iich  
 house-PROG-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ      small-PFV-DIM  
 kahne-n=üm  
 house-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.POSS  
  
 mava'an  
 in.that.area  
 'And then we walked over that way homeward to our little house.'
- (106) *And, süvois* Maam kusineruken kusineruneekeenä *gooseberry*.  
 And      süvois      Maam  
 and      and.then      Mom  
 kusineru-n=eek=eenä                                      gooseberry  
 cook-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.OBJ=3SG:ANIM:DIS.SBJ      gooseberry  
 'And, and then Mom cooked those gooseberries.'
- (107) Masubiish.  
 masubiish  
 finished  
 'The end.'
- (108) Äween keevovaanä po'o inenen.  
 äween      keevo-vaanä      po'o  
 over.there      mountain-LOC      water  
  
 ine-n=en  
 do-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 LG: 'Over there on the mountain he did the water.' [He points.]
- (109) Hügäriikweneekä tantäbüz ivaanä wiidhaginaam.  
 hügä-rii-kwe-n=eekä  
 evening-INCH-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 tantäbüz      ivaanä      wiidhagi-n=aam  
 man      here      work-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ  
 'As evening came on, there was a man here where they worked.'

- (110) Makinä inenaam äween wünänaam.  
 makinä ine-n=aam äween  
 truck do-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ over.there  
 wünä-n=aam  
 stand-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ  
 ‘The trucks were parked over there.’ [He gestures toward the spot.]
- (111) Meeneen Rafael ime ä po’o kusibigüdü?  
 mee-n=een Rafael ime po’o  
 say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ Rafael 2SG:PRO:SBJ water  
 ku-sibi-gü-dä  
 grab-desire-HAB-D.VERB  
 ‘He said, “Rafael, you want to get water?”’
- (112) Hü’ü’hüü, nü’ü po’o kusibigüd!  
 hü’ü’hüü nü’ü po’o ku-sibi-gü-d  
 yes 1SG.SBJ.PRO water grab-desire-HAB-D.VERB  
 ‘“Yes, I want to get water!”’
- (113) So paapün kaapan wüzineenä ä . . .  
 so paap-ün kaapan wüzi-n=eenä  
 so papa-1SG.POSS inside put-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 ‘So my papa put inside, uh . . .’
- (114) . . . po’ono’inüba kaapan *makina*.  
 po’o-no’i-nüba kaapan makina  
 water-haul-INSTR inside truck  
 ‘. . . a water tank in the truck.’
- (115) LH: *Mmm*.
- (116) BH: *Oh*.
- (117) Mänois, nü’ü, paapün, chibinikweneek *kaama’a makinä*.  
 mänois nü’ü paap=ün  
 all 1SG.SBJ.PRO papa=1SG.POSS  
 chibi-ni-kwe-n=eek  
 climb-MOT-PROG-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.OBJ  
 kaama’a makinä  
 bed truck  
 LG: ‘We all, me, my papa, climbed up all over into the bed of the truck.’<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Kaama’a* is a Spanish loanword derived from *cama*.

- (118) Äweeeen inenaam po'o.  
 äweeeen ine-n=aam po'o  
 over.there do-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ water  
 'Waaaay over they did the water.'
- (119) Su'u po'o maamün kusineruneen<sup>9</sup> mahaneen ikäwe'e.  
 su'u po'o  
 that water  
 maam-ün kusineru-n=een  
 mama-1SG.POSS cook-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 maha-n=een ikä-we'e  
 wash-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:DIST.SBJ 3:INAN:PROX.OBJ.PRO-with  
 'That was the water my mama cooked and washed with.'
- (120) BH: *Ah-hah. Oh.*
- (121) Noo'inaam po'o?  
 noo'i-n=aam po'o  
 haul-N.VERB=2SG.SBJ water  
 LH: 'You hauled water?'
- (122) Po'o, ah-hah.  
 po'o ah-hah  
 water yes  
 LG: 'Water, ah-hah.'
- (123) Noo'inaam äweenä?  
 noo'i-n=aam äweenä  
 haul-N.VERB=2SG.SBJ over.there  
 LH: 'You hauled from over there?'
- (124) Äween.  
 Äween  
 over.there  
 LG: 'Over there.'
- (125) LH: *Oh.*
- (126) Manoish nuwüm ivaan ä wiidhaginaam unawe'e Joe Tartif.  
 manoish nuw-üm ivaan wiidhagi-n=aam  
 all person-PL here work-N.VERB=3PL:ANIM.SBJ  
 una-we'e Joe Tartif  
 3sg:anim:dist.obj.pro-with Joe Tartif  
 LG: 'All the Indigenous people here, uh, worked with Joe Tartif.'

<sup>9</sup> *Kusinerru* is a Spanish loanword.

- (127) LG: *Mmhmm.*
- (128) *Joe Tartif ä ä waakidä?*  
 Joe Tartif waaki-dä  
 Joe Tartif big-NMLZ  
 JT: ‘Joe Tartif, uh, uh, was a big shot?’
- (129) LH: *Ah-hah.*
- (130) BH: *Ah-hah.*
- (131) JT: *Oh.*
- (132) Suunä . . .  
 suunä  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO  
 LH: ‘He . . .’
- (133) Suun *patron.*  
 suun patron  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO patron  
 BH: ‘He was the big boss.’<sup>10</sup>
- (134) JT: [laughs]
- (135) Suunä meenenä muwünä su’unä *Joe Tartif kusineruneenä.*  
 suunä mee-n=enä  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 muw-ünä  
 father-1SG.POSS  
 su’unä Joe Tartif kusineru-n=eenä  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.DET Joe Tartif cook-n.verb=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 LH: ‘My father said that Joe Tartif cooked.’
- (136) Äshaidineen *paapasa.*  
 äshaidi-n=een paapasa  
 äshaidi-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ potato  
 ‘He fried potatoes.’
- (137) Müts tsastaagüd mo’iin meeneen.  
 müts tsastaa-gü-d mo’-iin  
 very dirty-HAB-D.VERB hand-3SG.POSS  
 mee-n=een  
 say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 BH: ‘He said his hands were always very dirty.’

<sup>10</sup> *Patron* is a Spanish loanword.

- (138) *Paapas* su suvois müts tsatsaagüd.  
 paapas suvois müts tsatsaa-gü-d  
 potato and.then very dirty-HAB-D.VERB  
 LH: 'And so the potatoes were always very dirty.'
- (139) Tuhukweneek *paapas*.  
 tuhu-kwe-n=eek paapas  
 black-PROG-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.SBJ potato  
 BH: 'Those potatoes got black.'
- (140) Su su'uvoi su'uvois *Joe Tartif* mo'iin.  
 su'uvoi su'uvois Joe Tartif mo'-iin  
 and.then and.then Joe Tartif hand-3SG.POSS  
 LH: 'And Joe Tartif's hands.'
- (141) *Joe Tartif* kusineruneen?  
 Joe Tartif kusineru-n=een  
 Joe Tartif cook-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 JT: 'Joe Tartif cooked?'
- (142) BH: *Yeah!*
- (143) *Yeah*, su'ün mo'oiinä yuwaa mahaneekenä.  
 yeah su'ün mo'o-iinä yuwaa  
 Yeah 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO hand-3SG.POSS no  
 maha-n=eek=eenä  
 wash-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.OBJ=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 LH: 'Yeah, he didn't wash his hands.'
- (144) Suvoishä *paapas* müts ta ä tatsaagüdä.  
 suvoishä paapas müts tatsaa-gü-dä  
 and.then potato very dirty-HAB-D.VERB  
 'And so the potatoes were always very, uh, dirty.'
- (145) Ta tatsaagäneekä.  
 tatsaa-gä-n=eekä  
 dirty-HAB-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.SBJ  
 BH: 'Those things were dirty.'
- (146) Sü'üvois ko'oneeken wineeneeken kaapan *sarteenä*.  
 Sü'üvois ko'o-n=eek=een  
 and.then cut-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.OBJ=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 winee-n=eek=een kaapan  
 throw-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.OBJ=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ inside  
 sarteenä  
 frying.pan  
 LH: 'And then he cut them and threw them into a frying pan.'

- (147) Sü'üvois müts hü'ü kaamaneeken meenen muwün.  
 sü'üvois müts hü'ü  
 and.then very good  
 kaama-n=eek=een  
 taste-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.OBJ=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 mee-n=een muw-ün  
 say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ father-1SG.POSS  
 'So my father said he made them very tasty.'
- (148) Ää, piyaam, ä, <kusineru> kusineruneen?  
 piy-aam kusineru kusineru-n=een  
 mother-2SG.POSS cook cook-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 JT: 'Uh, did your mother, uh, cook?'
- (149) BH: *Ah-hah.*
- (150) *No, Joe Tartif kusineruneen.*  
 no Joe Tartif kusineru-n=een  
 no Joe Tartif cook-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 LH: 'No, Joe Tartif cooked.'
- (151) Nahagaan suun *kusineruneen.*  
 nahagaan suun  
 sometimes 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO  
 kusineru-n=een  
 cook-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 'Sometimes he cooked.'
- (152) Suun *kusinerud paapisä, tatsaagüd paapis.*  
 suun kusineru-d paapisä  
 3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ.PRO cook-D.VERB potato  
 tatsaa-gü-d paapis  
 dirty-HAB-D.VERB potato  
 'He cooked potatoes, dirty potatoes.'
- (153) JT: [laughs]
- (154) Suvois muwün meeneena hü'üt kamaneeka *Joe Tartif kusineruneen.*  
 suvois muw-ün mee-n=eena  
 and.then father-1SG.POSS say-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 hü'üt kama-n=eeka Joe Tartif  
 good taste-N.VERB=3PL:INAN:DIST.OBJ Joe Tartif  
 kusineru-n=een  
 cook-N.VERB=3SG:ANIM:DIST.SBJ  
 LH: 'And my father said they tasted good when Joe Tartif cooked.'

- (155) laughs *Okay*, masubiish, *Laura*?
- (156) okay masubiish Laura  
 okay finished Laura  
 BH: 'Okay, are we done, Laura?'
- (157) Masubiish, *Laura*.  
 masubiish Laura  
 finished Laura  
 LH: 'The end, Laura.'
- (158) Pishawinaakaam abiginüm?  
 pishawi-n=aak=aam abigi-n=üm  
 like-N.VERB=3SG:INAN:PROX.OBJ=2SG.SBJ talk-N.VERB=1PL.SBJ  
 'Do you like the way we talk?'



## QUERY TO THE AUTHOR

**Q1.** Should this be “gooseberries” (plural), as in (97)? See also (100).