

nikotwâsik iskwâhtêm, pâskihtêpayih!
Studies in Honour of H.C. Wolfart

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Fletcher Argue Building

28 Trueman Walk

Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2

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Narrative Structure of a Fox Text

Amy Dahlstrom

It's a great pleasure to contribute a paper to this volume in honor of H.C. Wolfart.¹ Through his grammar of Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973), he was my first teacher of Algonquian linguistics: I spent countless hours as a graduate student poring over texts from Bloomfield's Plains Cree collections (Bloomfield 1930, 1934) with Wolfart 1973 always open close at hand. Wolfart's detailed and lucid description of Cree morphology in that volume not only enabled me to see what was going on in Bloomfield's texts, but he also got me hooked on Algonquian linguistics for good, for which I am eternally grateful.

H.C. Wolfart is also well known for stressing the importance of texts as the foundation for linguistic description and analysis. In his own work this emphasis can be seen in his editions of Plains Cree texts (e.g. Ahenakew and Wolfart 1992) and in his work on stylistic issues (e.g. Wolfart 1986). As my contribution to his festschrift, I have therefore chosen to present a new text in Fox, fully glossed and translated, along with a discussion of some linguistic devices sensitive to the narrative structure of the text. The text, *oškinawe·ha me·hkate·wi·ta* 'A young man who fasted', was written in the Fox syllabary around 1912 by Alfred Kiyana, at the Mesquakie Settlement near Tama, Iowa.² The Fox syllabary indicates all phonemic distinctions except vowel length and *h*. The edition of the text printed here transliterates the Fox syllabic symbols into roman orthography, with vowel length, *h*, and punctuation supplied. I have also divided the text into sections as discussed in the section on narrative structure below.

Recent years have seen the development of a new field of study: the ethnopoetics of Native American discourse (see, for example, Hymes 1981, the papers in Sherzer and Woodbury 1987, and the references cited there). Work in this field seeks to simultaneously bring out the art and power of Native American literature by attending to the linguistic details of the original text, and to increase our understanding of the grammatical oppositions within the language by investigating their use in the context of verbal art (Sherzer and Woodbury 1987:2). In this spirit, the discussion of the Fox text presented here is intended, first, to help readers appreciate

the verbal artistry of Alfred Kiyana and the rich tradition of Mesquakie oral literature, and second, to elucidate the functions of obviation and other features of Fox grammar. (Obviation is defined in its own section below.) Below I give an overview of the plot, and then turn to a discussion of the linguistic devices used in the story. The text itself is given in full in the appendix, prefaced by a survey of the various inflectional paradigms in Fox (to aid readers who want to work through the Fox version of the text).

Briefly, what happens in the story is the following. A man sends his son out to fast for a vision, and the son indeed has a vision in which the spirits bless him and tell him that it is time to stop fasting. His father, however, refuses to believe that the son has had a vision and tells him to continue his fast. The son then reports a dream he had in which he was eaten by a bear. The father disregards this omen, interpreting it instead as a good dream, and leaves his son there to keep fasting.

Back home, his wife tells him that their daughter dreamt that a bear came and ate their son. Still the father is heedless of the imminent disaster, and believes that he is doing the right thing by leaving his son there. The next day, the father again goes to check on his son. He finds an empty camp, and sees his son's footprints in the snow. He follows the footprints, sees that suddenly his son started running fast, sees the tracks of some creature join those of his son, and finally sees evidence that his son was killed and eaten by the creature. He realizes too late that the dream his son and daughter had was true.

The grieving parents promise rewards to whoever can kill the bear, but no one is able to. Finally, a homely, good-for-nothing young man nicknamed Lazybones tells his father that he could kill the bear. Lazybones's father gets angry at him for making such a ridiculous claim, but word gets around and Lazybones is sent to do it. The parents of the dead young man again promise rewards: fancy clothing and their daughter in marriage.

Before setting out, Lazybones announces to the rest of the people the time and place at which he will kill the bear. He chases the bear, who heads for a lake, intending to dive under water (we learn at the end of the story that this is not an ordinary bear, but rather an underwater-spirit bear). Lazybones orders the lake to freeze, thus cutting off the bear's escape route, chases him back to the designated place and kills him. The grateful parents receive Lazybones as a son-in-law, but he abruptly goes home. When he is called back, he finally agrees to accept the clothing as a reward, but not their daughter.

The plot contains a number of interesting parallels, especially concerning the two young men. The first young man in the story is the one who is fasting, who gets killed by the bear. The second is Lazybones, introduced in the middle of the story, who is the only person able to kill the bear. Neither is taken seriously by his father: the fasting young man cannot convince his father that he has succeeded in his quest for a vision, nor can he make his father understand the significance of the dream about the bear. In a similar manner, Lazybones first announces his ability to kill the bear to his father, who reacts angrily, scolding him for saying such a ridiculous thing. Luckily, Lazybones's claim is overheard and reported by someone else, circumventing the opposition of the father. In both cases, it is the young, inexperienced men who are able to recognize spiritual power and signs, while their fathers, who ought to be guiding them in such matters, misunderstand the signs and thus obstruct or endanger the young men. Given the parallels between the two, it is noteworthy that at the end of the story Lazybones literally takes the place of the young man who was killed. Instead of taking the dead man's sister as a wife, he declares that he will be related to her as brother and sister.

Another aspect of the story worth pointing out here is the description of Lazybones in lines 134 through 139. As Goddard 1990b observes, descriptive passages are rare in Fox narratives; when they do occur they are always significant. Here Lazybones is described as not knowing how to do anything, as never having hunted, and as going barefoot all the time, even in winter. What is the significance of this description? The statement about his imperviousness to cold foreshadows his mystical ability to cause the lake to freeze, thus preventing the bear from going back underwater. Moreover, his uselessness at everyday skills makes his feat of chasing and killing the underwater-spirit bear all the more remarkable. But his ordinary self returns, to humorous effect, when the grateful family of the dead young man tries to reward him. He rejects their daughter out of laziness: he would rather be related to her as brother and sister, so that her future husband would hunt for him and give him fresh meat. The diminutive suffix on the verb of line 255 seems to signal the point at which Lazybones returns to his former good-for-nothing self: the diminutive is used to express smallness, cuteness, or pitifulness. It is also used in line 208, when his sisters are spreading the news about him.

NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

The first step in considering how this story is structured is to separate the story proper – the sequence of events recounted by the narrator – from the brief introduction and coda which frame the story. In the introduction (lines 1–8) and the coda (lines 304–307) the reference time to which verbs and temporal adverbs are oriented is the moment of telling (or writing) the story. An example of this is the use of the adverb *našawaye* ‘long ago’ to describe the time when the events of the story proper take place. *našawaye* occurs in both the introduction (line 1) and in the coda (line 305), and is appropriate here because in these framing sections the narrator is speaking to his audience. The coda, in fact, contains two verbs referring to the act of narration itself. From the vantage point of the storyteller and his listeners, the events of the story proper happened long ago. In contrast, once we get into the story proper, all references to time are contained within the world of the story: no reference to the time of the storytelling is necessary.

Another function of the introduction is to give us the necessary background to understand the events of the first part of the story: we are introduced to a man, his son, and his daughter, and learn that the man is making his son fast. With this information, we are able to interpret the quote at the beginning of the story proper as what the son is told in his vision. The coda, on the other hand, functions not only to bring the audience back to the present time (cf. Labov 1972:365), but also to clear up any points that may remain unclear. In the present text, we are told in the coda that the bear killed by Lazybones was in fact an underwater-spirit bear. Such explicit identification or naming of characters is often postponed until the coda in Fox narratives.

Turning now to the analysis of the story proper, we may first of all divide it into eight major sections, each beginning with the conjunction *o-ni* ‘and then’.³ All but one of the eight major sections may be subdivided further; I will borrow some of the terminology of Hymes 1987 for hierarchical structure in narrative texts and call the major sections of the narrative ACTS, and the components of acts SCENES. Roman numerals are used to number the acts, and capital letters identify scenes. Figure 1 gives an outline of the narrative structure of the text under consideration here, identifying the specific devices marking off acts and scenes. Note that acts sometimes begin with an introductory sentence giving background information, separate from the action of the first scene. Nearly all of these introductory sentences contain the evidential enclitic *=ye-toke* ‘it seems’.

In terms of the rhetorical development of the story, the beginning of a new scene typically corresponds to a shift in setting, time, or topic. These rhetorical shifts are linguistically indicated in Fox narratives by means of the following devices: topic shifts are marked by the use of overt topic NPs; temporal shifts are marked by an anaphoric temporal adverb (*i-ni* 'then', *i-nina-hi* 'at that time'), or by a clause containing a verb inflected in the changed conjunct paradigm, as explained below. Topic NPs and changed conjunct verbs may also be employed to indicate a change in location.

As can be seen in figure 1, the most common device for marking a new scene is a verb inflected in the changed conjunct (see also Goddard 1990a). Such verbs appear in temporal adverbial clauses and are glossed 'when [in the past]', or — if the verb includes a perfective preverb or initial — 'after'. The inflectional morphology of the changed conjunct paradigm is a combination of the ablaut rule known as INITIAL CHANGE applied to the vowel of the first syllable of the verb, plus conjunct suffixes encoding subject and object features. For example, the stem *mahkate-wi-* 'fast' would appear as *me-hkate-wi-či* 'when he fasted' inflected for a third person singular subject in the changed conjunct: initial change changes the vowel of the first syllable to long *e*, and the conjunct suffix *-či* expresses third person singular subject.

Changed conjunct clauses are preposed to the main clause of the first sentence of the scene, setting the time for the action of the remainder of the scene. More precisely, the changed conjunct specifies the time of the scene relative to other events of the narrative. Often the changed conjunct verb is an exact repetition of a verb from the previous scene: compare the verb of the last line of II.C. (*e-h=ča-kihkama-či* 'he smoked it up') with the first line of II.D. (*ki-ši-ča-kihkama-či* 'after he had smoked it up', with the perfective preverb *ki-ši-*). In other cases, a scene may begin with a verb in the changed conjunct that is the inferrable result of the last line of the previous scene. For example, II.E. ends with *e-h=na-kwa-či* 'he left'; II.F. begins with *i-ya-h pye-ya-či* 'when he came there'. Both verbs are motion verbs, but the previous scene ends with the father setting out on his journey, and the new scene begins with the end of his journey. The choice of 'come' as the first verb of the new scene implies elapsed time, changed location, and a shift in the deictic center (see Reynolds 1994 for more discussion). As can be seen from the above examples, the changed

Figure 1. Narrative structure of *oškinawe-ha me-hkate-wi-ta*.

(introduction)

- I. Fasting young man dreams of a bear. (*o-ni*)
 - A. His vision. (topic)
 - B. Father doesn't believe him. (cc)
 - C. Mother warns father. (cc, topic)
- II. Father discovers that son has been killed. (*o-ni*)

(introduction) (=ye-toke)

 - A. Father's prediction. (cc)
 - B. Son not there. (cc)
 - C. Father waits. (cc)
 - D. Father follows son's trail. (*i-nina-hi*)
 - E. Son evidently eaten by bear. (cc)
 - F. Father tells the news. (cc)
- III. Lazybones announces he could kill the bear. (*o-ni*)
 - A. People cannot catch the bear. (topic)
 - B. Lazybones says he could kill him. (cc, topic)
 - C. He is overheard by man flirting with his sister
[see discussion in text]
 - D. Lazybones's words are reported. (*i-ni*, topic)
- IV. Lazybones is given the job. (*o-ni*)

(introduction) (=ye-toke)

 - A. He is invited to a feast. (ant)
 - B. All the warriors are there. (cc)
 - C. He is promised clothing and a wife. (cc)
 - D. Lazybones tells his sisters. (*i-ni*)
- V. Lazybones predicts how he will kill the bear. (*o-ni*)
- VI. Lazybones makes the lake freeze. (*o-ni*)

(introduction) (=ye-toke)

 - A. Bear is flushed out. (cc)
 - B. The lake freezes. (cc)
- VII. Lazybones kills the bear. (*o-ni*)

(introduction) (=ye-toke)

 - A. Bear forced to turn back.
 - B. People go to watch. (cc, topic)
 - C. Bear and Lazybones come running. (cc)
 - D. Lazybones kills the bear. (cc)
 - E. Family of dead man invites Lazybones. (topic)
 - F. Lazybones accepts only clothes, not the woman. (cc)

VIII. Conclusion. (*o-ni*)

(introduction)

A. Bear is burned up. (topic)

B. Lazybones gives away the clothes. (cc)

(coda)

(*o-ni* 'and then'; =*ye-toke* 'it seems'; *i-ni* 'then'; *i-nina-hi* 'at that time'; topic = NP in topic position; cc = verb inflected in changed conjunct paradigm; ant = verb inflected in anticipatory paradigm.)

conjunct plays a dual role: not only does it identify the time at which the new scene occurs, but it also provides a cohesive link to previous scenes in the narrative.

Line 161 of the text contains an example of a verb inflected in the rare anticipatory paradigm: *me-h-ki-ši-wi-seniwa-kwe* 'before they had finished eating'. Like the changed conjunct, it occurs at the beginning of a scene (IV.A.), making the time of the action explicit, and identifies the time of the scene in relation to other events of the story. It differs from the changed conjunct in asserting that the time of the scene is *before* some other event, not simultaneous with or subsequent to the reference time.

The use of anaphoric temporal adverbs may also be seen as functionally equivalent to the changed conjunct clauses. *i-ni* 'then' or *i-nina-hi* 'at that time' begins a new scene at II.D., III.D., and IV.D. Like the changed conjunct, they identify the time at which the scene occurs by reference to the preceding events, but accomplish this anaphorically, rather than by repetition of the verb.

So far we have seen that a scene may begin by identifying the time or setting at which the action of the scene takes place. In the same way, the beginning of a new scene may orient us with respect to the characters involved in the scene, by means of topicalized NPs.⁴ A topicalized NP may be the first mention of a new character, or shift the topic back to a previously mentioned character. For example, consider the topic NP in line 52, *owi-wani* 'his wife (obv.)'. Syntactically, this NP is clearly a topic: it bears no syntactic relation to the verb of the following clause (an agentless passive). It signals the first mention of the wife in the story, and alerts the hearer that the wife will be one of the characters involved in the action of the scene. Notice that this topic NP occurs at the beginning of the scene, right after the changed conjunct verb. Another example of a topic NP introducing a new character may be seen in line 128, where Lazybones, the hero of the second half of the story, is introduced by a

proximate NP. Again, this topic is placed at the beginning of a scene, following a verb in the changed conjunct.

It was noted above that a changed conjunct clause may signal a shift in location as well as identifying the time of the new scene. Similarly, the use of an overt topic NP to shift back to a previously introduced character may also imply a change of location. See, for example, the topic *mehtose-neniwaki* 'the people' in VII.B. The topic of the previous scene was Lazybones, who is chasing the bear; in the new scene, the topic shifts back to the other people of the village, who are waiting at the place where Lazybones predicted he would kill the bear.

It is also worthwhile to examine the role played by EVIDENTIALS in Fox narrative. Evidentials are morphological or syntactic strategies for specifying the epistemological basis for an utterance (Chafe and Nichols 1986). Since we are dealing here with a narrative text which recounts events the narrator heard about but did not witness himself, it is not surprising that we find a number of evidentials in the text.

One area of Fox grammar in which evidentiality plays a role is verb inflection. In face to face conversation speakers may indicate a range of evidential distinctions by the choice of inflectional paradigm. This can be seen as well in the direct quotes within this story. We find, for example, the interrogative in line 111, when the father infers that his son must have been killed by the bear, and the dubitative in line 46, when the father ventures an interpretation of his son's dream. In the same way, there is a special pattern of verb inflection used when narrating a traditional story: verbs in the main clauses of the narrative portions of the text are inflected in the aorist conjunct. The aorist conjunct is otherwise used for verbs in subordinate clauses, in both narrative and nonnarrative contexts. As a result, the narrative portions of Fox texts largely contain verbs inflected in one of two inflectional paradigms: the changed conjunct at the beginning of a scene, and the aorist conjunct nearly everywhere else.

There is, however, a further phenomenon to be noted in Fox narratives. The narrator may occasionally inject a comment directed to his audience, in effect briefly stepping out of the narrative conventions. In making such asides, the narrator inflects the verbs in paradigms appropriate for face to face conversation, not in the special narrative use of the aorist conjunct. In our text a striking example of this may be seen in III.C., a curious digression on the attractiveness of the hero's sisters. Here every line except the last either contains a verb inflected in the independent indicative, or is an equational sentence with a zero copula. Both

constructions are typical of nonnarrative contexts. In the coda, when the narrator returns the audience to the present time, he again abandons the use of the aorist conjunct and instead uses equational constructions throughout.

In Fox, evidential distinctions may also be conveyed by means of enclitics, such as =*ye-toke* 'it seems' or =*ipi* 'it is said'. The distribution of =*ye-toke* 'it seems' was described above: it occurs with an introductory sentence giving background information at the beginning of an act. In contrast, the distribution of =*ipi* 'it is said' does not seem to follow the division of acts and scenes outlined above. For example, it is found on the last sentence of II.B., in the middle of II.C., at the beginning of II.D., and on the introductory sentence of act VIII. Note that the quotative enclitic is used throughout the digression of III.C., and appears as well in the coda: the same places where the narrator steps out of the convention of using the aorist conjunct for narrative main clauses.

I will end this discussion of the narrative structure of the text with some comments about other temporal adverbs. The use of the anaphoric temporal adverbs *i-ni* 'then' and *i-nina-hi* 'at that time' was identified above as functionally equivalent to the use of a changed conjunct clause. The distribution of other temporal adverbs in this text is also of interest. For example, *ke-keya-hi* 'finally' is used twice, in the final sentence of the introduction and in the final sentence of II.B., suggesting that it functions to mark the end of a scene. An adverb that appears several times in the middle of scenes is *kapo-twe* 'at some point'. It often introduces especially dramatic points in the story; see, for example, line 102, when the father sees that his son's footprints have been joined by the tracks of some unknown creature.

OBVIATION

Algonquian languages are famous for having a grammatical opposition within third person known as OBVIATION. In clauses involving more than one third person argument, the third person most central to the discourse is singled out as PROXIMATE and referred to by unmarked third person forms, while the more peripheral third persons are referred to by marked OBVIATIVE forms. Compare proximate *mahkwa* 'bear' in line 28 of the text with its obviative counterpart *mahkwani* in line 111. Note that NPs possessed by third person possessors are obviative (e.g. *okwisani* 'his son (obv.)' in line 1) while those possessed by nonthird persons need not be obviative (*nekwisa* 'my son (prox.)' in line 72).

In the characterization of obviation given above the discourse function of the proximate third person was intentionally stated in vague terms as 'most central to the discourse'. In practice, the proximate third person may correspond to the focus of the speaker's empathy (cf. Kuno 1987), to the source of point of view, or to what the sentence or passage is about (i.e., topic NPs are often proximate). This range of discourse functions available to the speaker makes the grammatical opposition of obviation an especially interesting area for ethnopoetic investigation.⁵

In fact, the speaker is faced with two different types of choices in employing obviation in a stretch of discourse. Consider the first few lines of the text in the appendix as an example. The first line of the story contains a transitive verb with two third person arguments: the system of obviation demands that one of the two third persons be obviative here. At this point, the speaker must choose which of the two third persons is more central to the discourse: the choice made by Kiyana in line 1 is to make the father proximate and the son obviative.

A second type of choice arises in subsequent sentences of the discourse: the speaker may either maintain the previous assignment of proximate and obviative status, or shift the proximate status to a different third person (either a newly introduced third person or a previously obviative third person). In the beginning of our text Kiyana maintains the father as proximate in lines 1 through 8 (the introduction), and then shifts the proximate status to the son in line 9 (the beginning of the story proper).⁶

In the translation of the text in the appendix I have indicated the proximate and obviative status of all third persons in the narrative portions of the text. A few examples will be discussed below to demonstrate the range of stylistic variation available with obviation.

Consider, first of all, two scenes within the story in which a single character is proximate all the way through the scene, and all other third persons are obviative. This pattern was labelled the single proximate strategy in Dahlstrom 1991. In I.I.E. it is the father of the fasting young man who is proximate (as he is for almost all of act II). He is the only character present in this scene, as he follows his son's footprints in the snow, finds where he turned back, and then sees the evidence of his son being killed and eaten by some creature. The references to his son and to the unknown creature are with obviative forms. The stylistic result is to convey all the information from the father's point of view, as he gradually realizes that his son's dream about being eaten by a bear had come true.

In VII.C., on the other hand, the people — the other Mesquakies — are proximate. Although they are relatively minor characters in the story the events of this brief scene are presented from their point of view: they have gone to the place where Lazybones predicted he would kill the bear to watch for him. In lines 249 and 250 first the bear comes running out and then Lazybones comes running out. Both Lazybones and the bear are referred to by obviative forms. Note also the use of the cislocative preverb *pye-či-* 'come' and the initial *ket-* 'out' on the verbs of 249 and 250: the location of the proximate character is the reference point for spatial deictics (cf. Reynolds 1994).

A different stylistic effect is achieved in II.F., where several characters enjoy proximate status. The father of the fasting young man is proximate in the changed conjunct clause of 108, while the mother is proximate in the main clause of the sentence (110). The father returns to proximate status in replying to his wife (112), and then the father and mother together are proximate in 113. Another man of the tribe is introduced in 114, as proximate, and remains proximate for the remainder of the sentence. The effect here is to make all three characters of equal status for this portion of the story, and to report the events of the scene neutrally, not from the point of view of a particular character. In fact, this scene does not contribute much new information: the father reports the son's death to the mother, and then another man announces the death to the rest of the people. But we (the audience) are already aware of the son's death.

Scene II.F. is striking not only in giving multiple characters proximate status, but also in that it avoids any syntactic context in which obviation is obligatory. For example, the quoting verbs in lines 110 and 112 are intransitive (*e-h=iči* 'he/she (prox.) said'). If the transitive form of the quoting verb had been used instead, either the subject or the object would have been made obviative. Likewise, the mother of the fasting young man is referred to by *mečemo-ka* 'old woman (prox.)', rather than by a kinship term such as *okye-ni* 'his mother (obv.)' or *owi-wani* 'his wife (obv.)', which would be obligatorily obviative.

Yet another stylistic effect may be achieved by shifting the proximate status to a different character, and putting the former proximate character into obviative status. An extremely interesting case of this may be seen in parallel passages of I.B. and I.C. Note that these two scenes are structured in a very similar way: in I.B. the father visits his son during the son's fast and they discuss his dreams and whether he should stop fasting; in I.C. the father returns home and has a conversation with his

wife about their son's fast, and about their daughter's dream. Both scenes are composed mostly of direct quotes back and forth between two characters. Now consider the assignment of proximate and obviative in the two scenes. In I.B. the fasting young man is proximate and his father is obviative, except at lines 26–32, when the father is proximate and the son is obviative. In I.C. the father is proximate and the mother is obviative throughout, except in lines 58–62, where the assignment of proximate and obviative is again briefly reversed, making the mother proximate and the father obviative. What is interesting here is that in both scenes the brief reversal of proximate and obviative occurs as the prophetic dream about the bear is reported. In I.B. the son recounts his dream to his father, who misunderstands the significance of the dream, and in I.C. the mother reports what their daughter said she had dreamed. Again the father disregards the warning. These two passages are highly significant for the story: not only do they foreshadow the son's death, but they also reveal the father's foolishness, which leads to tragedy for his son. The use of proximate shifts in these passages seems to highlight the dramatic impact of the two dreams being reported.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding sections I have outlined ways in which linguistic devices such as conjunctions, enclitics, changed conjunct verb inflection, and topic NPs may indicate the division of a narrative text into acts and scenes. I have also discussed some of the strategies in Fox for marking evidential distinctions, and described some of the stylistic uses to which the grammatical opposition of obviation may be put. There is, of course, much more that could be said about the linguistic and rhetorical aspects of this rich text. For example, the phenomena of chiasmus and parallelism discussed by Goddard 1990b for other texts by Kiyana are also present here: see lines 249–250 for an example of chiastic word order variation. Parallelism in the plot structure and in the use of obviation has already been noted; see also lines 262–268 for examples of repetition of specific verbs. I hope, however, that the phenomena discussed here may contribute to a deeper appreciation of the artistry of Mesquakie literature, and to a better understanding of the workings of Algonquian grammar.

APPENDIX

This appendix contains the text *oškinawe-ha me-hkate-wi-ta* 'A young man who fasted' by Alfred Kiyana. By way of introduction, I have included a survey of Fox inflectional paradigms, and a list of abbreviations used in the interlinear glosses (see Bloomfield 1925, 1927, Voorhis 1971 for more information on inflection). In the translation of the story, (P) and (O) indicate proximate and obviative third persons in the narrative portions of the text. A few writing errors by Kiyana have been corrected in consultation with Adeline Wanatee; each correction is marked by a footnote, with the original form given in the footnote.

SURVEY OF VERB INFLECTION

Verbs in Fox may be inflected in one of at least eighteen different inflectional paradigms. The choice of paradigms depends both upon syntactic factors (e.g. main vs. subordinate clause) and upon semantic/pragmatic factors, such as tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality. There are also clauses with no verb at all: equational sentences are formed with a zero copula (e.g. line 306), and verb ellipsis is possible in certain contexts (e.g. line 5). Each of the verbal paradigms employed in the text is listed below (with the label used in the interlinear glosses given in parentheses).

The independent indicative (ii) paradigm is used for main clause verbs which express positive assertions. An example is given below (taken from line 58 of the text).

nemya·na·hpawa·na·wa
 have.bad.dream.about 1-3/ii
 'I had a bad dream about him'

The interlinear gloss gives the gloss of the verb stem, the features of subject and object, and a label identifying the inflectional paradigm. Here, '1-3/ii' should be read as 'first person singular subject acting on animate third person proximate singular object, in the independent indicative paradigm'. In this verb the stem is *mya·na·hpawa·n-* 'have a bad dream about', which is surrounded by the affix combination *ne- -a·wa*.

The independent indicative is used frequently in direct quotes in this story. Within the narrative portions of the text, main clauses are inflected in the aorist conjunct, as discussed below. However, the narrator may sometimes insert an aside using the independent indicative (an example here may be seen in line 142 ff., where we learn that the character

Lazybones had very pretty sisters). Some main clause questions also take the independent indicative (e.g. lines 53, 69, but not 193).

Negative assertions in the main clauses of nonnarrative contexts are expressed by verbs inflected in the negative paradigm (neg). An example may be seen in line 44.

The aorist conjunct (aor) is the most frequently used paradigm in this and other narrative texts. It requires conjunct inflectional suffixes and a proclitic: either the aorist proclitic *e-h=* or the future proclitic *wi-h=*. The aorist conjunct has several functions: first, it is used for many types of subordinate clauses, in both narrative and nonnarrative contexts (e.g. line 180). Second, it is used for main clause verbs in narrative contexts; here, it functions as an evidential, marking the discourse as a traditional narrative, not a report of the narrator's direct experience.⁷ The very first line of the text contains an example of the main clause use of the aorist, and dozens of additional examples follow. The aorist may also be used as an adjunct clause (glossed variously as 'because ...', 'as ...', or 'when...' to suit the context; see line 40 for an example). Moreover, relative clauses with a locative head require their verbs to be inflected with aorist inflection, as in line 201: *e-h=owi-kiwa-či*, 'the place where they lived'.

The changed conjunct (cc) forms temporal adverbial clauses expressing 'when' in the past (e.g. line 14).⁸ (The function of the changed conjunct to mark the beginning of a new scene is discussed in detail in the section on narrative structure above.) To express 'when' in the future or a noncounterfactual 'if' clause, the subjunctive paradigm (sub) is used. Examples may be seen in the text on line 80 and line 283. The iterative paradigm (iter) is used to form temporal adverbial clauses with a gloss of 'whenever ...', as in line 242. Counterfactual 'if' clauses are formed with the irrealis paradigm (irr), as seen in line 22 of the text. The potential paradigm (pot) adds a modal sense of 'would, could' to the verb; it may be used on its own (line 130), or as the apodosis of a counterfactual 'if' clause (line 21). (The apodosis of a noncounterfactual 'if' clause usually contains an independent indicative verb with the future proclitic; cf. line 167.)

As mentioned in the section on narrative structure in this paper, Fox has a great many resources for expressing various types of evidential distinctions, including enclitics, independent particles, and choice of inflectional paradigm (see Goddard 1991a). The independent dubitative (dub) is used to express 'probably', as in line 46, where the father attempts to interpret his son's dream. The interrogative paradigm (int) is formed with inflectional suffixes from the interrogative order and no

initial change; it expresses 'must; must have', as in line 111, where the apparent death of the son is reported.

Participle inflection (part) is found on verbs in relative clauses (Goddard 1987). Participles may function as relative clauses modifying head nouns (as in the title of the story), as an NP argument on their own (line 116) and as half of an equational S (line 26, 306). Participles are inflected not only for the subject and object of the verb, but also for the head of the relative clause. The following example (from line 306 of the text) illustrates this, and the notational convention used in the interlinear glosses for participles:

ne-sa-čini
 kill 3-3'/part/3'
 'the one [obviative] that he [proximate] killed'

The stem of this participle is *nes-* 'kill'. It is inflected for a third person proximate singular subject (3) acting on a third person obviative object (3'); the head of the relative clause is obviative singular. (Participle inflection requires suffixation plus the ablaut rule of initial change, which here lengthens the short *e* of the initial syllable to long *e*.) In the interlinear glosses the gloss of the stem is followed by the features for subject and object, the label 'part' for participle, and then the features of the head of the relative clause.

Participles headed by an oblique argument are extremely common in Fox. Obliques are arguments expressing semantic notions such as goal, source, manner, location, extent, and duration. An example of an oblique-headed participle from line 26 is given below.

e-na-hpawa-ya-ni
 dream.thus 1/part/obl
 'what I dreamed'

The stem is *ina-hpawa-* 'dream thus', subcategorized for a subject and an oblique argument of manner (the content of the dream). The participle is formed with initial change (changing the vowel of the first syllable to long *e*.) plus two suffixes: *-ya-n-* for first person subject in the conjunct order, and *-i*, used for participles with oblique heads.⁹ Participles with oblique heads often function as complements of matrix verbs; see line 15 for an example.

As mentioned above, aorist inflection is required on participles headed by obliques expressing stationary location. Another example of this may be seen in line 266, *e-h=apiniči* 'where she (obv.) was sitting'.

Relative clauses headed by 'whoever' are expressed by interrogative participles (int.part). The formation of interrogative participles is like that of conjunct participles, except that the features of subject and object are expressed by suffixes from the interrogative order. An example of an interrogative participle may be seen in line 120. See also the use of the aorist interrogative (aor.int) in line 196 to convey the sense of 'at whatever time ...'.

There are separate paradigms for positive and negative commands: the imperative (imp) is used for positive commands (e.g. 240), and the prohibitive (proh) for negative commands (132).¹⁰

The suffix *-ehe*, found in the irrealis paradigm, may also be added to other conjunct forms to explicitly indicate past tense. For example, line 84 contains an example of the past aorist (past.aor), while line 103 contains a past conjunct participle (past.part). The future proclitic *wi-h=* may be used with forms inflected with the past suffix; the resulting gloss is 'X wanted to/was going to [verb] (but didn't)' (e.g. line 238)

Finally, two rare paradigms are exemplified in this text. The anticipatory paradigm (ant) is used for temporal adverbial clauses specifying that the action of the main clause happened before something else (line 161). The verb in line 98 is inflected in the emphatic present II paradigm (emp), used for 'assertion of definite conclusion' (Goddard 1991a). (The two emphatic present paradigms have only third person forms.)

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS IN THE INTERLINEAR GLOSSES

The above survey of verb inflection explained the notational conventions associated with verb inflection. Additional abbreviations and conventions are listed below.

0 = inanimate, 0' = inanimate obviative, anim = animate (on demonstrative pronouns), contr or contrast = contrastive enclitic, dim = diminutive, emph = emphatic enclitic, exclam = exclamation, fut = future proclitic, loc = locative case on nouns, obv = obviative (proximate nouns and demonstratives are unmarked), perf = perfective (initial or preverb), quot = quotative enclitic, red = reduplication (two formal types; cf. Dahlstrom 1993a), voc = vocative, X = unspecified subject.

Preverbs and prenouns are set off by hyphens. If an enclitic or independent word intervenes between preverb and verb, hyphens are used on both pieces of the discontinuous verb (Dahlstrom 1987). Examples in the text are lines 16 and 85.

Clitics are set off by =. An optional rule of encliticization frequently applies to attach demonstrative and personal pronouns to the first word of the clause. See Goddard 1991b for discussion of clitic sandhi.

The aorist proclitic *e·h=* is not glossed.

The gloss of '(obj's)' in lines 292 and 295 indicate that the first object is understood as the possessor of the second object.

oškinawe·ha me·hkate·wi·ta. Alfred Kiyana.
 young.man fast 3/part/3
 A young man (P) who fasted.

[Introduction]

- 1 našawaye nekoti neniwa okwisani
 long.ago one man his.son.obv
 e·h=mahkate·wi·na·či.
 make.fast 3-3'/aor
 Long ago a certain man (P) made his (P) son (O) fast.
- 2 e·h=nekotiha·či=ke·hi,
 have.one 3-3'/aor=and
 And he (P) only had one son (O),
- 3 nekoti·='nahi ihkwe·wani e·h=ota·nesiči.
 one=also woman.obv have.as.daughter 3/aor
 and he (P) also had one daughter (O).
- 4 o·ni i·nini okwisani e·h=ma·mahkate·wi·na·či,
 and that.obv his.son.obv red.make.fast 3-3'/aor
 And he (P) was making his (P) son (O) fast,
- 5 o·ni ota·nesani a·kwi,
 and his.daughter.obv not
 but not his (P) daughter (O),
- 6 še·ški=meko okwisani.
 only=emph his.son.obv
 only his (P) son (O).
- 7 ke·keya·h=meko atehči e·h=owi·kiha·či,
 finally=emph by.himself make.live 3-3'/aor
 Finally he (P) had him (O) live off by himself,

- 8 meše.='nah na·hina·hi.
 some distance away
 some distance away.

[I. Fasting young man dreams of a bear]

[A. He has a vision]

- 9 o·ni.='na oškinawe·he·ha,
 and.then=that.anim young.man.dim.
 And then that young teenage boy (P),
- 10 "nahi, natawi-po-ni-mahkate-wi·no,"
 okay, time.to-stop-fast 2/imp
 "Okay, it's time for you to stop fasting,"
- 11 e·h=ineči e·h=ina·hpawa·či.
 say.to X-3/aor dream.thus 3/aor
 he (P) was told in a dream.
- 12 "wi·kiya·peki=meko pe·hki ki·h=awi,"
 house.loc=emph really fut=be 2/ii
 "You should be in the main house,"
- 13 e·h=ineči.
 say.to X-3/aor
 he (P) was told.

[B. Father doesn't believe him.]

- 14 pye·ya·niči o·sani,
 come 3'/cc his.father.obv
 When his (P) father (O) came,
- 15 e·h=a·čimoha·či e·na·hpawa·či.
 tell 3-3'/aor dream.thus 3/part/obl
 he (P) told him (O) what he (P) had dreamed.
- 16 "ni·h=po-ni='pi -mahkate-wi,"
 fut=stop=quot -fast 1/ii
 "They said I should stop fasting,"
- 17 e·h=ina·či o·sani okwisani.¹¹
 say.to 3-3'/aor his.father.obv his.son.obv
 the son (O) told his father (O).
- 18 "wi·kiya·peki=meko pe·hki ni·h=awi='pi,
 house.loc=emph really fut=be 1/ii=quot
 "I should be in the main house,

- 19 neteko·pi netena·hpawa, "
 say.to X-1/ii dream.thus 1/ii
 I was told in a dream, "
- 20 e·h=ina·či o·sani.
 say.to 3-3'/aor his.father.obv
 he (P) told his (P) father (O).
- 21 "hao,' inenaka·ha=wi·na,
 all.right say.to 1-2/pot=contrast
 "I would tell you, 'All right,'
- 22 aye·me·h we·pi-mahkate·wi·yanehe, "
 a.good.while.back begin-fast 2/irr
 if you had started fasting a good while back, "
- 23 e·h=ikoči,
 say.to 3'-3/aor
 he (O) told him (P),
- 24 "asa·mi=ča·h ača·hmeko=meko keye·či·hi
 too.much=so first.time=emph short.time.ago
 kewe·pi-mahkate·wi, "
 begin-fast 2/ii
 "but you started fasting for the very first time
 too short a time ago, "
- 25 e·h=ikoči o·sani.
 say.to 3'-3/aor his.father.obv
 his (P) father (O) told him (P).
- 26 "mani=ke·hi e·na·hpawa·ya·ni, "
 this=but dream.thus 1/part/obl
 "But this is what I dreamed, "
- 27 e·h=ikoči okwisani,
 say.to 3'-3/aor his.son.obv
 his (P) son (O) told him (P),
- 28 "manahka oči·pye·wa we·ta·paniki mahkwa,
 yonder from-come 3/ii be.dawn.from 3'/part/obl bear
 "I dreamed that a bear came from over there in
 the east,

- 29 netamokwa=ča·hi, netena·hpawa,"
eat 3-1/ii=so dream.thus 1/ii
and he ate me,"
- 30 e·h=ikoči.
say.to 3'-3/aor
he (O) told him (P).
- 31 "na·hina·hi aški--meko -ki·šehpo·hike
when first==emph -perf.snow.dim 0/sub
"After the first little snowfall
- 32 i·nina·hi wi·h=amwiči," e·h=ikoči.
then fut=eat 3-1/aor say.to 3'-3/aor
is when he will eat me," he (O) told him (P).
- 33 "a·kwi=ma·h=ki·na!"
not=after.all=you
"Not you!"
- 34 e·h=ikoči o·sani.
say.to 3'-3/aor his.father.obv
his (P) father (O) told him (P).
- 35 "i·ni=ma·h=ki·na wi·h=išawiyani
that=after.all=you fut=do 2/part/obl
"That's actually what you will do
- 36 na·nate mehtose·neniwa,"
fetch 2-3/sub person
when you go after people,"
- 37 e·h=inekoči o·sani.
say.to 3'-3/aor his.father.obv
his (P) father (O) told him (P).
- 38 "o·ho·!" e·h=ina·či,
oh.I.see say.to 3-3'/aor
"Oh I see!" he (P) said to him (O),
- 39 "ni·na=koh=wi·na nese·kesi=meko ta·taki
I=certainly=contrast scared 1/ii=emph sort.of
"But you know, I was really kind of scared
- 40 i·ni e·h=ina·hpawa·ya·ni,"
that dream.thus 1/aor
when I dreamed that,"

- 41 e·h=ina·či o·sani.
say.to 3-3'/aor his.father.obv
he (P) told his (P) father (O).
- 42 "a·kwi=ma·hi i·ni wi·h=išawiyani,"
not=after.all that fut=have.happen.to 2/neg
"But that won't happen to you,"
- 43 e·h=ikoči.
say.to 3'-3/aor
he (O) told him (P).
- 44 "a·kwi wi·h=amohkini,
not fut=eat 3-2/neg
"He won't eat you,
- 45 ki·h=amwa·wa=ki·na.
fut=eat 2-3/ii=you
you will eat him.
- 46 i·tepi=ke·h=ye·toke nekotahi wi·h=a·yani
there=and=I.guess somewhere fut=go 1/aor
ota·hkwe we·ta·paki
direction be.dawn.from 0/part/obl
ki·h=maya·wose·petoke.
fut=lead.war.party 2/dub
And probably you will lead a war party
somewhere over there in the direction of the east.
- 47 a·kwi=meko kana·kwa."
not=emph at.all
It's impossible."
- 48 e·h=se·kesiči=meko.
be.scared.3/aor=emph
He (P) was really scared.
- 49 ki·hki·hki, "o·ho·," e·h=ina·či,
nevertheless oh.I.see say.to 3-3'/aor
Nevertheless, he (P) said to him (O), "I see,"
- 50 e·h=na·kwa·niči.
leave 3'/aor
and he (O) left.

[C. Mother warns father]

- 51 i·ya·h pye·ya·či,
there come 3/cc
When he (P) arrived there,
- 52 owi·wani,
his.wife.obv
his (P) wife (O),
- 53 "kašina·kwa, kaši=ča·h ina·čimowa?"
well.what.happened? how=so tell.thus 3/ii
"Well, what happened? What did he say?"
- 54 e·h=ineči.
say.to X-3/aor
he (P) was asked.
- 55 "ke·ko·h=ča·h=meko.
something=so=emph
"It is really something.
- 56 meči='h=ye·toke
quite=not=I.guess
 wi·h=ki·wi·a·totamawaki,"
 fut=around-tell.about.for 1-3/part/0
But I guess it's really not a thing I should
go around talking about for him,"
- 57 e·h=ina·či.
say.to 3-3'/aor
he (P) told her (O).
- 58 "mana=koh keta·nesena·na
this.anim=certainly our.daughter
 'nemya·na·hpawa·na·wa,' iwa.
 have.bad.dream.about 1-3/ii say 3/ii
"You know, our daughter said, 'I had a bad dream
about him.
- 59 'amokwa mahkwani,
eat 3'-3/ii bear.obv
A bear ate him,

- 60 we·ta·paniki oči·niwani,
be.dawn.from 0'/part/obl be.from 3'/ii
and it came from the east,
- 61 netena·hpawa,' ina·čimowa,"
dream.thus 1/ii tell.thus 3/ii
I dreamed,' she said,"
- 62 e·h=ina·či ona·pe·mani.
say.to 3-3'/aor her.husband.obv
she (P) told her (P) husband (O).
- 63 "ehe·he,
yes
"Yes,
- 64 i·ni=ča·h=meko=ne·h=wi·na e·na·čimoči.
that=so=emph=too=he tell.thus 3/part/obl
that's the same thing that he said too.
- 65 šewe·wi·na a·kwi i·ni wi·h=išawičini,"
but not that fut=have.happen.to 3/neg
But that won't happen to him,"
- 66 e·h=ina·či.
say.to 3-3'/aor
he (P) said to her (O).
- 67 "me·mešihka i·nina·h wi·h=na·kwa·či
one.possibility.is at.that.time fut=leave 3/aor
"Perhaps that's when he will leave to
- 68 wi·h=maya·wose·či," e·h=iči=meko.
fut=lead.war.party 3/aor say 3/aor=emph
lead a war party," he (P) declared.
- 69 "kaši=we·=ča·h
how=rather=so
keteši·pwa·wi·po·ni·mahkate·wi·na·wa?"
thus-not-stop-make.fast 2-3/ii
"So why don't you let him stop fasting, then?"
- 70 e·h=ineči pašito·ha.
say.to X-3/aor old.man
the old man (P) was asked.

71 "a·kwi, a·kwi.

no no

"No, no.

72 ni·na=ma·h=e·ye·ki e·h=tepa·naki nekwisa

I=after.all=also love 1-3/aor my.son

Because I also love my son

73 we·či-mahkate·wi·naki," e·h=iči.

from-make.fast 1-3/part/obl say 3/aor

is why I'm making him fast," he (P) said.

[II. Father discovers that son has been killed]

74 o·ni=ye·toke kotaki pe·hkote·niki

and.then=it.seems other be.night 0'/cc

And then, it seems, the next night (O)

75 e·h=mehponiki.

snow 0'/aor

it (O) snowed.

[A. Father's prediction]

76 ki·ši·seniči,

perf.eat 3/cc

After he (P) had eaten,

77 "o·ni=ya·pi, i·ni wi·h=na·ta·čimoya·ni,

here.we.go! then fut=fetch.story 1/aor

"Okay, here we go! Now is when I'll get a story,

78 ke·ko·h=meko·='ni wi·h=iši-kehči-'na·hpawa·či,

something=emph=then fut=thus-great-dream 3/aor

and when he will dream of something really great,

79 ke·ko·h=meko·='ni wi·h=ina·čimoya·ni,

something=emph=then fut=tell.thus 1/aor

and I will tell about something indeed,

80 pya·ya·ne," e·h=iči.

come 1/sub say 3/aor

when I come back," he (P) said.

81 oto·hpwa·kanani e·h=awana·či.

his.pipe.obv carry 3-3'/aor

He (P) took his (P) pipe (O) along.

[B. Son not there]

- 82 i·ya·h pye·ya·či,
there come 3/cc
When he (P) arrived there,
- 83 aye·n=a·kwi=meko.
still=not=emph
there was no one there.
- 84 e·h=ki·ši·na·kwa·nitehe e·h=išihkawe·niči
perf-leave 3'/past.aor tracks.be.thus 3'/aor
okwisani,
his.son.obv
His (P) son's (O) footprints showed that he (O)
had left,
- 85 e·h=aye·ši--ke·h=mani aškote·wi
still--but=now fire
-taši·aniweše·niki.¹²
-prog-burn.vigorously 0'/aor
but the fire (O) was still going strong.
- 86 meše·='nah e·h=aškači·hiwiniki.
a.while become.later 0'/aor
Some time (O) passed.
- 87 ke·keya·hi='pi oto·hpwa·kanani e·h=anaškenana·či,
finally=quot his.pipe.obv fill 3-3'/aor
Finally, it's said, he (P) filled his (P)
pipe (O),
- 88 meše·='nahi e·h=ča·kikhama·či.
go.ahead.and smoke.all 3/aor
and he (P) went ahead and smoked it up.

[C. Father waits]

- 89 ki·ši-ča·kikhama·či,
perf-smoke.all 3/cc
After he (P) had smoked it up,
- 90 e·h=apihapiči.
red.sit 3/aor
he (P) just sat there.

- 91 aškači.me.h=ča.hi='pi
later.dim.=so=quot
And a little later, it's said,
- 92 e.h=we.pi--na.hka -aneškenana.či oto.hpwa.kanani.
begin--again -fill 3-3'/aor his.pipe.obv
he (P) started to fill his (P) pipe (O) again.
- 93 aškači e.h=ča.kihkama.či.
later smoke.all 3/aor
After a while he (P) smoked it up.
- [D. Father follows son's trail]
- 94 i.nina.h=ča.hi='pi e.h=aškačipwi.ha.či,
at.that.time=so=quot tired.of.waiting 3-3'/aor
So then, it's said, he (P) got tired of waiting
for him (O),
- 95 e.h=na.kana.či e.nemi='šihkawe.niči
track 3-3'/aor away=tracks.go.thus 3'/part/obl
okwisani.
his.son.obv
and he (P) followed his (P) son's (O) trail
leading away.
- 96 meše.='nah=meko peno.či e.h=išihkawe.niči,
pretty.much far.off tracks.go.thus 3'/aor
His (O) footprints led pretty far away,
- 97 i.ya.h e.h=oči-pemi-kohkihkawe.niči.
there from-along-tracks.turn 3'/aor
and over there his (O) footprints turned back
and continued on.
- 98 "i.ya.h=ča.h=ye.hapa ki.ši-pye.hapa!"
there=so=I.conclude perf-come 3/emp
"He must have gotten back already!"
- 99 e.h=išite.he.či.
think.thus 3/aor
he (P) thought.

[E. Son evidently eaten by a bear]

- 100 i·ya·h=meko ašiči pye·čihkawe·niči
 there=emph near tracks.come 3'/cc
 e·h=owi·kiniči,
 live 3'/part/obl
 When his (P) son's (O) footprints came almost
 to the place where he (O) was camping,
- 101 kapo·twe e·h=kehči-penowi·hka·šiniči.
 at.some.point greatly-appear.to.go.fast 3'/aor
 at a certain point it looked like he (O) took off
 really fast.
- 102 kapo·twe e·h=pe-mi-takwihkawe·niči
 at.some.point along-tracks.together.with 3'/aor
 owiye·hani=meko,
 someone.obv=emph
 At a certain point his (O) footprints were joined
 by the tracks of some creature (O),
- 103 e·h=ne·taki e·h=tašihemetehē
 see 3-0/aor kill.there X-3'/past.part/obl
 okwisani,
 his.son.obv
 and he (P) saw where his (P) son (O) had been
 killed,
- 104 e·h=anemihkawe·niči,
 tracks.go.away 3'/aor
 as the tracks (O) went off,
- 105 e·h=ča·kamemetehē=meko.
 eat.all.of X-3'/past.part/obl=emph
 and where he (O) had been eaten up completely.
- 106 wa·natohka e·h=anemihkawe·niči.
 unconcernedly tracks.go.away 3'/aor
 The tracks (O) went off as if nothing was wrong.
- 107 e·h=na·kwa·či.
 leave 3/aor
 He (P) left.

[F. Father tells the news]

- 108 i·ya·h pye·ya·či,
there come 3/cc
When he (P) got there,
- 109 "kaši=ča·hi ina·čimowa?"
how=so tell.thus 3/ii
"So what did he say?"
- 110 e·h=iči wa·natohka mečemo·ka.
say 3/aor unconcernedly old.woman
the old woman (P) asked unconcernedly.
- 111 "nesekokwe·ni=ma·hi·='na mahkwani,
kill 3'-3/int=after.all=that.anim bear.obv
"He must have been killed by a bear,
- 112 ke·htena," e·h=iči.
true say 3/aor
it was true after all," he (P) said.
- 113 e·h=kehči·mayo·wa·či.
greatly-cry 3p/aor
They (P) cried bitterly.
- 114 e·h=a·čimoči nekoti,
tell.story 3/aor one
One person (P) told the news,
- 115 e·h=kwa·ko·ho·taki:
cry.out 3-0/aor
crying out:
- 116 "me·hkate·wi·ta='pi nesekokwe·ni mahkwani,"
fast 3/part/3=quot kill 3'-3/int bear.obv
"They say the one who was fasting
must have been killed by a bear,"
- 117 e·h=iči.
say 3/aor
he (P) said.

[III. Lazybones announces he could kill the bear]

[A. People cannot catch the bear]

118 o·ni mehtose·neniwaki e·h=ma·watenike·wa·či
and.then people gather.things 3p/aor
mi·ša·tesiweni,
finery

And then the people (P) got together some fancy clothes,

119 nano·pehka=meko e·h=ki·ši·ma·watenamowa·či.
large.amount=emph perf-gather 3p-0/aor
they (P) collected a very large amount.

120 "ne·sa·kwe·na mani wi·h=awiči,"
kill 3-3'/int.part/3 this fut=have 3-0/part/0
"Whoever kills him, this is what he will get,"

121 e·h=iyowa·či,
say 3p/aor
they (P) said,

122 e·h=mawi·na·kana·wa·či.
go-track 3p-3'/aor
and went to track him (O).

123 kapo·twe e·h=ašihkawa·wa·či
at.some.point flush.out 3p-3'/aor
At some point they (P) flushed him (O) out

124 o·ni e·h=peminehkawa·wa·či,
and chase 3p-3'/aor
and chased him (O),

125 e·h=pwa·wi==meko -we·te·wiha·wa·či.
not==emph -succeed.with 3p-3'/aor
but they (P) were far from getting him (O).

126 meše·='nah=meko nye·wokoni e·h=pemi·hkawa·wa·či.
about four.days keep.after 3p-3'/aor
They (P) kept after him (O) for about four days.

[B. Lazybones says he could kill the bear]

127 nye·wokonakateniki
be.four.days 0'/cc
After four days (O)

142 DAHLSTROM

- 128 nekoti oškinawe·ha,
 one young.man
 a certain young man (P),
- 129 "ano·se, kaši='yo·='na
 father.voc how=of.course=that.anim
 išī-sanakesiwa mahkwa?
 thus-be.difficult 3/ii bear
 "Father, why is that bear so hard to get?"
- 130 ni·na='yo·wi·na·='na nešiye·ka·ha,"
 I=of.course=contr.=that.anim kill 1-3/pot
 Why, I could kill that one,"
- 131 e·h=iči oškinawe·ha.
 say 3/aor young.man
 the young man (P) said.
- 132 "ka·ta·='ni='nowe·hkani!" e·h=ineči,
 don't=that=speak.thus 2/proh say.to X-3/aor
 "Don't talk that way!" he (P) was told,
- 133 e·h=ikoči o·sani.
 say.to 3'-3/aor his.father.obv
 his (P) father (O) told him (P).
- 134 e·h=pwa·wi-=ke·h=meko -nahi·ši·ša·či.
 not--and=emph -habit-hunt 3/aor
 He (P) had never even hunted.
- 135 še·ški=meko "pačane," e·h=ineči,
 only=emph Lazybones.voc say.to X-3/aor
 He (P) was just called "Lazybones,"
- 136 e·h=pwa·wi-=meko ke·ko·hi -ina·hpatesiči.
 not--emph anything -be.good.at 3/aor
 because he (P) wasn't good at anything at all.
- 137 mi·škota e·h=a·hpeči-mehtanasite·či,
 on.top.of.that always-be.barefoot 3/aor
 What's more, he (P) was always barefoot,
- 138 e·h=pwa·wi-nahi-pesehkaki
 not-habit-wear.shoes 3-0/aor
 he (P) never wore shoes

- 139 e·h=pepo·niki=ke·h=wi·na.
 be.winter 0'/aor=and=contrast
 even in winter (O).

[C. He is overheard by man flirting with his sister]

- 140 ne·tawi=-ča·hi='pi -kakano·neti·ta
 seek.to=-so=quot -converse.with 3/part/3
 še·škeši·hani
 young.woman.obv

So, it's said, a guy (P) who was trying to
 strike up a conversation with a girl (O)

- 141 i·na ka·škehtawa·ta.
 that.anim hear 3-3'/part/3
 was the one (P) who heard him (O).

- 142 na·htaswihe·wa='pi otehkwe·mahi,
 have.several 3-3'/ii=quot his.sisters.obv
 He (P) had several sisters (O), it's said,

- 143 mo·šaki=meko='pi we·wenesiniwahi.
 nothing.but=emph=quot be.pretty 3'p/ii
 and nothing but pretty ones (O), it's said.

- 144 na·nawe·ni-še·škeši·he·hahi='pi,
 red.pretty-young.women.dim.obv=quot.
 Good-looking young girls (O), it's said,

- 145 o·ni=wi·na e·h=ki·ša·koči·mačineniwiči.
 and=he extremely-ugly 3/aor
 though he (P) was as ugly as could be.

[D. Lazybones's words are reported]

- 146 i·ni='pi·='na oškinawe·ha i·tepi
 then=quot=that.anim young.man there
 e·h=mawa·čimoči.
 go.to.tell.story 3/aor

Then, it's said, that young man (P) went there
 to tell the story.

- 147 i·ya·h e·h=pya·či,
 there come 3/aor
 He (P) arrived there [and said],

- 148 "nešiye·ka·ha,' iwa=ma·hi·='na,
kill 1-3/pot say 3/ii=after.all=that.anim
"I could kill him,' that guy said,
- 149 'ni·na mahkwa,'
I bear
'I [could kill] the bear myself,'
- 150 ine·wa o·sani pačana,"
say.to 3-3'/ii his.father.obv Lazybones
Lazybones told his father,"
- 151 e·h=ineči.
say.to X-3(p)/aor
they (P) were told.
- 152 "e·h=kehči-neškimekoči,
greatly-scold 3'-3/aor
"He was scolded by him severely,
- 153 'a·kwi kana·kwa=meko!'
not at.all=emph
'It's absolutely impossible!'
- 154 ki·hki·hki=meko,
nevertheless=emph
Nevertheless,
- 155 'i·ni=ma·hi·='na a·mi-to·tawaki,'
that=after.all=that.anim can-do.to 1-3/part/obl
'But that's what I could do to him,'
- 156 ine·wa=meko o·sani,"
say.to 3-3'/ii=emph his.father.obv
he told his father confidently,"
- 157 e·h=iči i·na oškinawe·ha,
say 3/aor that.anim young.man
the young man (P) said,
- 158 e·h=a·čima·či.
tell.about 3-3'/aor
telling about him (O).

[IV. Lazybones is given the job]

- 159 o·ni=ye·toke e·h=wača·hetehe,
and.then=it.seems cook.for X-3/past.aor
And then, it seems, a feast had been prepared
for him (P),
- 160 o·sani e·h=takwi·natomeči.
his.father.obv together.with-call X-3/aor
and he (P) was summoned, together with his (P)
father (O).

[A. He is invited to a feast]

- 161 ma·maya=meko me·h·ki·ši·wi·seniwa·kwe
early=emph before-perf-eat 3p/ant
Very early in the morning before they (P) had
finished eating
- 162 e·h=natomeči wi·h=mawi·wi·seniwa·či.
call X-3(p)/aor fut=go-eat 3p/aor
they (P) were called to go and eat.
- 163 "i·ni=ma·h=ki·na we·či-neškimena·ni='yo·we!"
that=there.you.go! from-scold 1-2/part/obl=past
"There! That's why I scolded you before!"
- 164 e·h=ineči.
say.to X-3/aor
he (P) was told.
- 165 "kaši=ni·hka ketešihišiwē·pimi?"
how=exclam. red.mean.by.saying.to 2-1/ii
"Why are you saying these things to me?"
- 166 e·h=ina·či o·sani.
say.to 3-3'/aor his.father.obv
he (P) asked his (P) father (O).
- 167 "ni·h=nesa·wa=kohi,' nesi,
fut=kill 1-3/ii=certainly say 1/ii
"I said, 'I will certainly kill him,
- 168 'anohka·šike,'" e·h=ikoči.
give.job.to X-1/sub say.to 3'-3/aor
if I am told to,'" he (O) said to him (P).

169 "o.ho.", e.h=ina.či,
oh.I.see say.to 3-3'/aor
"Oh I see," he (P) said to him (O),

170 e.h=na.kwa.wa.či.
leave 3p/aor
and they (P) left.

[B. All the warriors are there]

171 i.ya.h.pye.ya.wa.či,
there come 3p/cc
When they (P) arrived there,

172 we.ta.se.wahi e.h=apihapiniči
warriors.obv red.sit 3'/aor
warriors (O) were there

173 na.hka.okima.wahi e.h=apihapiniči.
also chiefs.obv red.sit 3'/aor
and also chiefs (O) were there.

174 wi.na=či.hi.='na pačana e.h=kekhahoči
he=exclam.=that.anim L.B. be.designated 3/aor
Lazybones himself (P) had been chosen

175 e.h=wača.heči!
cook.for X-3/aor
and was being feasted!

176 e.h=wi.hpoma.wa.či mo.šaki=meko
eat.with 3p-3'/aor nothing.but=emph
ke.hči-'ne.neta.kosiničihi.
great-be.thus.thought.of 3'/part/3'p
They (P) ate with the important people (O),
no one else.

177 e.h=se.kesiniči o.sani.
be.scared 3'/aor his.father.obv
His (P) father (O) was scared.

[C. He is promised clothing and a wife]

178 ki.ši.seniwa.či,
perf.eat 3p/cc
After they (P) had eaten,

- 179 "nahi, pačane, i-ni=ya-pi wi-h=anohka-nena-ni
okay, L.B.voc now=may.I fut=give.job.to 1-2/aor
"All right, Lazybones, now, if I may, I will give
you the job
- 180 wi-h=nesači mahkwa," e-h=ineči.
fut=kill 2-3/aor bear say.to X-3/aor
of killing the bear," he (P) was told.
- 181 "ki-h=nesa-wa=ča-h=meko," e-h=inekoči,
fut=kill 2-3/ii=so=emph say.to 3'-3/aor
"So you should kill him indeed," he (O) told
him (P),
- 182 i-nini e-h=ikoči ne-po-hka-ničini.
that.obv say.to 3'-3/aor have.death 3'/part/3'
the one (O) who had had a death in his family
told him (P).
- 183 "nesate=ča-h=mani wa-patano,"¹³
kill 2-3/sub=so=this look.at 2-0/imp
"And if you kill him, look at this,"
- 184 e-h=ineči mača-hi-ni.
say.to X-3/aor clothing
he (P) was told about the clothes.
- 185 "mana=na-hka," e-h=ineči še-škesi-he-hani.
this.anim=also say.to X-3/aor y.woman.dim.obv
"And this one also," he (P) was told about
the girl (O).
- 186 "wi-h=owi-wiyana," e-h=ineči.
fut=have.as.wife 2/part/3 say.to X-3/aor
"She is the one you will marry," he (P) was told.
- 187 "eh," e-h=iči,
oh.gosh say 3/aor
"Oh gosh," he (P) said,
- 188 "ni-h=kočinehkawa-wa aše=meko," e-h=iči.
fut=try.chase 1-3/ii just=emph say 3/aor
"I would in any case try to chase him,"
he (P) said.

- 189 "nešiye·ka·ha,'
kill 1-3/pot
"I can kill him,'
- 190 netena·wa=koh=mana no·sa,
say.to 1-3/ii=certainly=this.anim my.father
I certainly told my father,
- 191 ni·h=nesa·wa=ča·h=meko
fut=kill 1-3/ii=so=emph
so I will kill him indeed
- 192 ahkawihake," e·h=iči.
find.tracks.of 1-3/sub say 3/aor
when I find his tracks," he (P) said.
- 193 o·ni, "ta·nina·h=ča·h ahpi·hčiike
and when=so be.so.long 0/sub
And, "How long
- 194 wi·h=na·kwa·yani?" e·h=ineči.
fut=leave 2/aor say.to X-3/aor
until you leave?" he (P) was asked.
- 195 "wa·pake,
be.dawn 0/sub
"Tomorrow,
- 196 na·hina·h=meko e·h=ki·ši·seni·hiwa·ke·ni
when=emph perf.eat.dim 1p/aor.int
whenever we get through eating
- 197 i·ni wi·h=na·kwa·ya·ni,"
then fut=leave 1/aor
is when I will leave,"
- 198 e·h=ineči pašito·ha.
say.to X-3/aor old.man
the old man (P) was told.
- [D. Lazybones tells his sisters]
- 199 i·ni=ke·hi='pi=meko e·h=anemi·nowi·či
then=and=quot=emph away-go.out 3/aor
And right then, it's said, he (P) went out

- 200 e·h=na·kwa·či.
leave 3/aor
and left.
- 201 i·ya·h e·h=pya·či e·h=owi·kiwa·či.
there come 3/aor live 3p/part/obl
He (P) came to the place where they (P) lived.
- 202 "kaši=ča·h keteko·pi, pačane?"
how=so tell X-2/ii Lazybones.voc
"What did they say to you, Lazybones?"
- 203 e·h=ikoči otehkwe·mahi.
say.to 3'-3/aor his.sisters.obv
his (P) sisters (O) asked him (P).
- 204 "netanohka·neko·pi=ča·h mahkwa wi·h=nesaki.
give.job X-1/ii=so bear fut=kill 1-3/aor
"I was given the job of killing the bear.
- 205 šewe·na, 'wa·pake,' nesi,"
but be.dawn 0/sub say 1/ii
But I said, 'Tomorrow,'"
- 206 e·h=ina·či.
say.to 3-3'/aor
he (P) told them (O).
- 207 "šohoho.,
listen.to.this
"Hey, listen to this,
- 208 anohka·ne·hi·ke·ni='h=we·na pačana!"
give.job.dim X-3/int=not=in.fact Lazybones
hasn't Lazybones been given a little job!"
- 209 e·h=ikoči otehkwe·mahi.
say.to 3'-3/aor his.sisters.obv
his (P) sisters (O) said about him (P).
- 210 "či·wana·či='h=iyo=ni·hka!"
no.way=not=of.course=man's.exclam
"That's impossible!"

- 211 e·h=iyowa·či a·neta neniwaki.
 say 3p/aor some men
 said some of the men (P).

[V. Lazybones predicts how he will kill the bear]

- 212 o·ni ma·maya=meko e·h=ki·ši-wača·heči.
 and.then early=emph perf-cook.for X-3/aor
 And then a meal was prepared for him (P) very
 early in the morning.
- 213 "anemya·ka
 downstream
 "Downstream
- 214 e·h=pye·či-ne·nekotwe·ya·hkwa·winiki anika·ne
 come-red.be.one.tree 0'/part/obl further
 on the other side of where the trees are sparse
- 215 wi·h=pye·či-tašihaki,
 fut=come-kill.there 1-3/part/obl
 is where I will come to kill him,
- 216 ana·kwike=ke·hi
 be.early.evening 0/sub=and
 and early evening
- 217 i·ni wi·h=pye·nehkawaki," e·h=iči.
 then fut=come.chasing 1-3/aor say 3/aor
 is when I will chase him back," he (P) said.
- 218 "anemi-ana·kwi·hike
 become-early.evening.dim 0/sub
 "When it gets to be early evening
- 219 i·ni wi·h=wa·pawa·patame·kwe," e·h=ineči.
 then fut=red.look.at 2p-0/aor say.to X-3/aor
 is when you will see it," they (P) were told.
- 220 "ki·h=wa·pamipwa nesake,"
 fut=look.at 2p-1/ii kill 1-3/sub
 "You will see me when I kill him,"
- 221 e·h=iči.
 say 3/aor
 he (P) said.

[VI. Lazybones makes the lake freeze]

- 222 o-ni=ye·toke e·h=nawači-wi·seniči.
and.then=it.seems stop.to-eat 3/aor
And then he (P) took time to eat, it seems.

[A. Bear is flushed out]

- 223 ki·ši-wi·seniči
perf-eat 3/cc
After he (P) ate
- 224 e·h=na·kwa·či.
leave 3/aor
he (P) left.
- 225 ma·ne=meko e·h=wi·te·ma·wa·či
many=emph go.with 3p-3'/aor
ma·čiwena·čiki oškinawe·haki.
lead 3p-3'/part/3p young.men
Many young men (P) who were showing him (O)
the way went with him (O).
- 226 kapo·twe·='nahi e·h=ašihkawa·wa·či
at.some.point=emph flush.out 3p-3'/aor
At some point they (P) flushed him (O) out
- 227 e·h=mawinana·wa·či.
attack 3p-3'/aor
and rushed after him (O).
- 228 ma·wač-ahkowi e·h=pye·hpahoniči pačanani.
most-behind come.running 3'/aor Lazybones.obv
Lazybones (O) came running last of all.

[B. The lake freezes]

- 229 ki·ši-ča·ki·ayi·kwiwa·či
perf-all-get.tired 3p/cc
After they (P) had all gotten tired
- 230 e·škami=meko e·h=anemi-ahpi·hta·ška·niči.
increasingly=emph become-run.so.fast 3'/aor
he (O) started running faster and faster.
- 231 e·h=kenwi-tepa·hki·niki
long-be.level.ground 0'/part/obl
On a long stretch of level ground (O)

- 232 mahkwani e·h=ne·wa·wa·či
 bear.obv see 3p-3'/aor
 they (P) saw the bear (O)
- 233 e·h=anemipahoniči.
 run.away 3'/aor
 as he (O) was running off.
- 234 "wi·h=te·patenwi," e·h=iči nepisi.
 fut=freeze.through 0/ii say 3/aor lake
 "It will freeze solid," he (P) said about the
 lake.
- 235 mahkwa e·h=na·či·hiwe·či nepisi.
 bear run.for.refuge 3/aor lake
 The bear (P) headed to the lake for safety.

[VII. Lazybones kills the bear]

- 236 o·ni=ye·toke e·h=te·patenikehe.
 and.then=it.seems freeze.through 0'/past.aor
 And then, it seems, it (O) had frozen solid.

[A. Bear forced to turn back]

- 237 e·h=a·noškaki,
 unable.to.break.by.foot 3-0/aor
 He (P) couldn't break through,
- 238 i·nahi wi·h=oči·kotawi·tehe.
 that.loc fut=from-go.underwater 3/past.aor
 when he (P) wanted to go into the water
 through it.
- 239 ohkiwaneki e·h=ki·škatahwa·či.
 his.nose.loc whip 3-3'/aor
 He (P) whipped him (O) on the nose.
- 240 "peteki iha·no!" e·h=ina·či.
 back go 2/imp say.to 3-3'/aor
 "Go back!" he (P) told him (O).
- 241 peteki e·h=ihpahoči mahkwa.
 back run.thither 3/aor bear
 The bear (P) ran back.

242 nekotahi e·ši-pye-mipahočini,
somewhere thither-run.twisting 3/iter
Whenever he (P) veered off to some place,

243 ohkiwaneki e·h=pakameči mehte·hani.
his.nose.loc hit X-3/aor bow.obv
he (P) was hit on the nose with a bow (O).

[B. People go to watch]

244 e·nemi-ana·kwi·hiniki
become-early.evening.dim 0'/cc
Toward sundown (O)

245 mehtose·neniwaki
people
the people (P)

246 waninawe=meko sa·kiči e·h=pehtawasowa·či,
all.over=emph outside build.self.fire 3p/aor
built themselves fires outside in all directions,

247 e·h=natawa·pama·wa·či.
watch.for 3p-3'/aor
and watched for them (O).

[C. Bear and Lazybones come running]

248 aškači e·nemi-meškošawe·niči ki·šeso·ni,
later become-glow.red 3'/cc sun.obv
Later when the sun (O) started to glow red,

249 e·h=pye·či-keta·ška·niči mahkwani,
come-run.out 3'/aor bear.obv
the bear (O) came running out into view,

250 ahkowi·me·h=meko pačanani
behind.dim=emph Lazybones.obv
e·h=pye·či-keta·ška·niči,
come-run.out 3'/aor
and Lazybones (O) came running out into view
just a little ways behind,

251 e·h=wa·pama·wa·či.
look.at 3p-3'/aor
and they (P) watched them (O).

[D. Lazybones kills the bear]

252 ne·nekotwe·ya·hkwa·ki pye·nehkawa·či,
 sparsely.wooded.place.loc come.chasing 3-3'/cc

When he (P) chased him (O) back to the
 sparsely wooded place,

253 e·h=kehči-mawinana·či,
 greatly-attack 3-3'/aor

he (P) attacked him (O) fiercely,

254 e·h=kekhahaki=meko e·h=tašiha·či.
 specify 3-0/part/obl=emph kill.there 3-3'/aor
 and killed him (O) right at the place he (P)
 had named.

255 e·h=oči-na·kwa·hiči.
 from-leave.dim 3/aor

The good-for-nothing guy (P) went away from
 there.

[E. Family of dead man invites Lazybones]

256 mehtose·neniwaki,
 people

As for the people (P),

257 i·tepi e·h=ina·waneti·wa·či me·wa·pama·čiki,
 there flock.thither 3p/aor go.see 3p-3'/part/3p
 the ones (P) who went to see him (O) flocked
 over there,

258 "pawenano·='nahi e·h=apiyani,"
 dust 2-0/imp=emph sit 3/part/obl
 and, "Clean up your place,"

259 e·h=ineči še·škesi·he·ha.
 say.to X-3/aor young.woman.dim
 the young woman (P) was told.

260 e·h=wi·ke·či·kwe·noči
 carefully.paint.face 3/aor
 She (P) painted her face carefully

261 e·h=mi·ša·tesiči.
 wear.fine.clothes 3/aor
 and put on her best clothes.

- 262 "natomi," e-h=ineči metemo·he·ha.
call 2-3/imp say.to X-3/aor old.woman.dim.
"Call him," the old woman (P) was told.
- 263 e-h=natoma·či metemo·he·ha i·nini pačanani.
call 3-3'/aor old.woman.dim that.obv L.B.obv
The old woman (P) called that Lazybones (O).
- 264 i·tepi e-h=a·či pačana,
there go 3/aor Lazybones
Lazybones (P) went there,
- 265 "nahi, anika·nahi nana·hapino," e-h=ineči.
okay, further sit.down 2/imp say.to X-3/aor
and was told, "Well, have a seat over there."
- 266 e-h=apiniči i·nini še·škesi·he·hani
sit 3'/part/obl that.obv young.woman.dim.obv
i·na e-h=nana·hapiči.
that.anim sit.down 3/aor
He (P) sat down where that young woman (O) was sitting.
- 267 "ašake·mono·='nahi," e-h=ineči ihkwe·wa.
feed.people 2/imp=emph say.to X-3/aor woman
"Serve the food," the woman (P) was told.
- 268 e-h=ašameči neniwa.
feed X-3/aor man
The man (P) was given food.
- 269 e-h=ki·wi·ne·ne·kwa·piči pačana.
around-red.look.from.top.of.eye 3/aor Lazybones
Lazybones (P) glanced around shyly, keeping
his head down.
- 270 "nahi·='ni," e-h=iči,
okay=that say 3/aor
"That's enough," he (P) said,
- 271 taka·wi=meko e-h=wi·seniči.
little=emph eat 3/aor
eating only a little.

[F. He accepts only the clothes, not the woman]

- 272 ki·ši·seniči,
perf.eat 3/cc
After he (P) had eaten,
- 273 e·h=na·kwa·či e·h=owi·kiwa·či.
leave 3/aor live 3p/part/obl
he (P) left for home.
- 274 "kašina·h na·kwe·wa!" e·h=iyowa·či ke·hkya·haki.
why! leave 3/ii say 3p/aor old.people
"Why, he left!" said the old folks (P).
- 275 e·h=natomeči.
call X-3/aor
He (P) was called back.
- 276 "nahi, ki·h=owi·wi=ma·h=mana!"
well! fut=have.as.wife 2/ii=after.all=this.anim
"Look, you're supposed to marry this girl,
you know!"
- 277 e·h=ineči,
say.to X-3/aor
he (P) was told,
- 278 "mani=na·hka ki·h=awato mača·hi·ni,"
this=also fut=take 2-0/ii clothing
"And also you should take this clothing,"
- 279 e·h=ineči.
say.to X-3/aor
he (P) was told.
- 280 "o·=mani=wi·na še·ški ni·h=awato,"
oh=this=contrast only fut=take 1-0/ii
"Oh, I will take only this,"
- 281 e·h=iči,
say 3/aor
he (P) said,
- 282 "mana=ča·h ni·h=otekwe·mi," e·h=iči.
this.anim=so fut=have.as.sister 1/ii say 3/aor
"and her I will have as a sister," he (P) said.

- 283 "na·pi ona·pe·mite
instead have.a.husband 3/sub
"That way, when she marries
- 284 ni·h=me·mena·škono"¹⁴ e·h=iči.
fut=eat.fresh.meat 1/ii say 3/aor
I will eat fresh meat," he (P) said.
- 285 "ni·na=wi·na=mani owi·wiya·ne
I=contrast=now have.as.wife 1/sub
"As for me, however, if I marry her now
- 286 awita ke·ko·hi ina·hpenašisa.
not any.way use.thus 3-1/pot
she wouldn't get any use out of me at all.
- 287 meči='h=we·na ke·ko·hi netena·hpatesi,"
quite=not=rather any.way be.thus.useful 1/ii
After all, I'm really not good at anything,"
- 288 e·h=iči.
say 3/aor
he (P) said.

[VIII. Conclusion]

- 289 o·ni='pi·='ni mača·hi·ni e·h=awato·či
and.then=quot=that clothing take 3-0/aor
And then, it's said, he (P) took those clothes
- 290 o·ni i·nini mahkwani e·h=sahkahwa·wa·či.
and that.obv bear.obv set.fire.to 3p-3'/aor
and they (P) set fire to that bear (O).

[A. Bear is burned up]

- 291 i·nini mahkwani,
that.obv bear.obv
Regarding the bear (O),
- 292 "ka·ta ke·ko·hi pešeke·netamawiye·ke·ko,"
don't anything admire.(obj's) 2p-3/proh
"Don't admire anything about him,"
- 293 e·h=ina·či.
say.to 3-3'/aor
he (P) told them (O).

- 294 "a·čipanakiči wi·h=ineše·wi,
all.kinds fut=burn.thus 0/ii
"It will burn with all kinds of colors,
- 295 ka·ta=ča·h mata·kwa·patamawiye·ke·ko.
don't=so enjoy.watching.(obj's) 2p-3/proh
but don't enjoy watching it.
- 296 ki·h=ča·keswa·pwa=meko,"
fut=burn.all 2p-3/ii=emph
You should burn him up completely,"
- 297 e·h=iči mehtose·neniwahi.
say 3/aor people.obv
he (P) said to the people (O).
- 298 wi·na=meko e·h=we·we·ne·netaki,¹⁵
he=emph be.in.charge 3-0/aor
He (P) was in charge,
- 299 e·nowe·či=meko e·h=išawiniči.
speak.thus 3/part/obl=emph do.thus 3'/aor
and they (O) did exactly what he (P) said.

[B. Lazybones gives the clothes away]

- 300 ki·ši-ča·keswa·wa·či,
perf-burn.all 3p-3'/cc
After they (P) had burned him (O) up,
- 301 e·h=na·kwa·wa·či,
leave 3p/aor
they (P) left,
- 302 o·ni či·nawe·ma·čihi
and be.related.to 3-3'/part/3'p
and to his relatives (O)
- 303 e·h=ča·ki·mi·na·či i·ni mača·hi·ni.
all-give 3-3'/aor that clothing
he (P) gave all that clothing.

[Coda]

- 304 i·ni e·na·čimekosiwa·či
that be.told.about.thus 3p/part/obl
That's what is told about

- 305 *našawaye=meko mehtose·neniwaki.*
 long.ago=emph people
 the people of long ago. (P)
- 306 *meši-kene·pikwi-mahkwani='pi*
 underwater.spirit-bear.obv=quot.
i·nini ne·sa·čini pačana.
 that.obv kill 3-3'/part/3' Lazybones
 The one (O) that Lazybones (P) killed was
 an underwater-spirit bear (O), it's said.
- 307 *i·ni e·nahina·čimeči*
 that red.tell.about.thus X-3/part/obl
mehtose·neniwaki.
 people
 That's what is told, over and over, about the
 people (P).

NOTES

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- 2 The manuscript is in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C; ms. 2984.
- 3 Goddard 1990a calls *o·ni* a paragraph initial marker. *o·ni* may also be used to mean simply 'and', conjoining two clauses, as in line 124, without signalling the beginning of a new act.
- 4 See Dahlstrom 1993b for the syntax of topicalized NPs.
- 5 See Goddard 1984, 1990a for discussion of obviation in Fox texts; Dahlstrom 1991 and Russell 1991 for obviation in Cree.
- 6 The newly proximate NP contains a demonstrative pronoun; see Goddard 1990a for this function of demonstratives.
- 7 Autobiographical narratives such as Anonymous 1925 use the independent indicative in main clauses.
- 8 Note that I'm restricting the use of the term 'changed conjunct' to verbs with this function. There are other paradigms in the conjunct

order which require the ablaut rule of initial change (iterative, conjunct participle), but they have distinct functions.

- 9 Except those explicitly marked as past tense with the suffix *-ehe*, as in line 103.
- 10 The prohibitive may also be used for unwelcome future events; there is also a paradigm for the future imperative, similar but not identical to the prohibitive paradigm. See Goddard 1985.
- 11 *okwisani* 'his son (obv.)' seems to be an error here; the verb is inflected for a proximate subject, not an obviative.
- 12 Kiyana wrote <a di di> for the first preverb.
- 13 Kiyana wrote <wa ba ta mo>.
- 14 Kiyana wrote <ni me me na ko no>.
- 15 Kiyana wrote <e we we ne ta ki>.

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