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## Owls and Cannibals Revisited: Traces of Windigo Features in Meskwaki Texts

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In 1969 Ives Goddard gave a paper at the Algonquian Conference entitled 'Owls and cannibals: Two Algonquian etymologies.' I have reproduced one of Goddard's sets of cognates under (1):<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Proto Algonquian \**wi-nteko-wa*  
Ojibwa *wi-ntiko*, Cree *wi-htiko-w* 'cannibal monster';  
Fox *wi-teko-wa* 'owl', Kickapoo (*w*)*iitekoa* 'owl';  
Illinois *mentico* 'hibou', Miami *mindikwamāšia* 'screech owl';  
Cheyenne *méstaaʔe* 'bogyman, spook, ghost, owl',  
*méstahke* [=dim.] 'screech owl';  
Arapaho *biitēi* 'ghost'; also Atsina. (Goddard 1969)

In the present paper I am interested in looking at the contrast between the Cree and Ojibwa forms, on the one hand, and the forms in Meskwaki (Fox), Miami-Illinois, and Cheyenne, on the other.<sup>2</sup> In Meskwaki, Miami-Illinois, and Cheyenne, the reflexes of Proto-Algonquian (PA) \**wi-nteko-wa* mean 'owl', but in Cree and Ojibwa this term denotes a WINDIGO; that is, either a mythological giant who is a cannibal or a human who becomes a cannibal through winter starvation, sorcery, or dreams (cf. Brown & Brightman 1988:159).

We can imagine two different hypotheses, as sketched in (2), to account for the disparity of meaning among the languages: either the

1. The Cheyenne forms in (1) were supplied to Goddard later in a personal communication from Wayne Leman and do not appear in this form on the 1969 handout. Also note that I will not discuss Goddard's other set: PA \**mya-θwe-wa*, meaning 'owl' in Menominee, Shawnee, Miami-Illinois, Arapaho-Atsina but 'cannibal monster' in Munsee.

2. Thanks to Robert Brightman, Richard Preston, John Nichols, Rand Valentine, and Rich Rhodes for answering questions about windigos among the Cree and Ojibwa, to John Koontz, Robert Rankin, Jimm Good Tracks, and Ray DeMallie for information about Ioway and Dakota, to Fred Gehlbach for explaining aspects of owl behavior to a nonspecialist, and to Anthony Buccini for many discussions of diachronic and other issues. Special thanks go to Ives Goddard for his 1969 handout and countless helpful comments on owls, cannibals, and the accompanying text; I am also very grateful to the late Adeline Wanatee for her insights into the meaning of the Meskwaki text.

'owl' sense is older or the 'cannibal' sense – which I will call the 'windigo' sense from here on – is the older one:

- (2) a. \**wi-nteko-wa* originally meant 'owl'; Cree and Ojibwa shifted the sense to 'windigo', supplying onomatopoeic terms instead to name the owl (Cree *ôhow* (Wolfart & Ahenakew 1998:140), Ojibwa *gookooko 'oo* (Nichols & Nyholm 1995:62)).
- b. \**wi-nteko-wa* originally meant 'windigo' as in Cree and Ojibwa; Meskwaki, Miami-Illinois, and Cheyenne shifted this term to 'owl'.

As I understand it, in 1969 Goddard left the question open regarding which sense was the older one. What I will do in the present paper is, first, argue in favor of hypothesis B, that the 'windigo' sense is the older one; second, suggest a context in which the semantic shift of 'windigo' to 'owl' might have been motivated; and finally discuss some aspects of a Meskwaki text in which the hero's name is a derived form of the owl or windigo word. The text itself appears in full as an appendix to this paper.

#### SOME MESKWAKI EVIDENCE FOR AN OLDER SENSE OF *wi-teko-wa*

The Meskwaki passage in (3) is taken from the second page of Alfred Kiyana's autobiography and is the beginning of a long discussion about owls. Note the line in boldface (supplied): "Their kettles are bristling with owl-awls."

- (3) *pwa-wi-nenoše-yanini, neky=a-pehe,*  
*"i-ni=ya-pi wi-teko-wa wi-h=kwa-ko-ho-maki*  
*wi-h=si-kenahohki,"*  
*i-n=a-pehe e-h=išiki.*  
*nekosa-waki=ča-h=wi-teko-waki.*  
***"oše-šketo-hwa-ki wi-teko-wi-mekosani sa-sa-kiseniwani.***  
***na-hkači nepi a-hpeči-ki-wi-kekesiwaki te-hkepye-ya-niki,"***  
*neteko-p=a-pehe*
- 'Whenever I didn't behave, my mother would always [say],  
 "Now I'm going to call an owl  
 to pour water on you,"  
 she would always say that to me.  
 So I was afraid of the owls.  
**"Their kettles are bristling with owl-awls.**  
 And they always go around with cold water,"  
 she would always tell me.' (Kiyana c1915:2)

Ten pages later, in the passage in (4), kettles are mentioned again: the owls go around with big kettles on their backs:

- (4) "... *a-hpeči-ki-yo-me-waki=ke-hi memye-ši-še-šketo-hahi,*  
*nepi= 'nahi te-kepye-ya-niki.*  
*e-h=anemi-kotawepye-na-wa-či apeno-hahi wa-waneška-hiničihi.*  
*na-hkači pešekesiwi-owi-wi-nahi ki-nesiničihi*  
*okokwe-nakoše-hikaniwaki.*  
*konakoše-hohke,*  
*kenwe-ši=meko ki-h=a-hkwamata kehtawakayani,"*  
*neteko-p=a-pehe.*

"... And they [owls] always go around carrying big kettles on their backs,  
 also water which is cold.  
 They will dip children who are bad into the water.  
 And they have sharp deer-antlers  
 for ear-piercers.  
 If they pierce your ears,  
 you will be sick in your ears for a very long time,"  
 I was always told.' (Kiyana c1915:12-13)

Owls have a variety of associations in Algonquian stories, as we will see in the next section, but the references to kettles here seem a little peculiar for owls. Kettles are, however, prominent in Ojibwa and Cree stories about windigos; for example, a Montana Cree story mentions a windigo carrying a big kettle (Dusenberry 1962:156), and the Ojibwa windigo story told by Buffalo (1971) features large kettles filled with boys caught by the windigo. Among the Wisconsin Chippewa, a sign of an approaching windigo is that the kettles in camp start to move (Barnouw 1977:120, 122), and in one of Bloomfield's Plains Cree stories kettles are among the objects which fall out of a burned up windigo (Bloomfield 1930:311).<sup>3</sup>

The array of kettle references allows us to make two observations. First, if we consider only the Cree and Ojibwa stories, the variations on how the single motif of 'kettle' is incorporated into windigo stories bespeaks a great antiquity, both for the windigo concept itself and for the link to the kettle. Such a time depth favors hypothesis B, that the 'windigo' sense is the older one for PA \**wi-nteko-wa*. Second, the inclusion of kettles in a Meskwaki story about owls provides even stronger evidence

3. Awls (if they are something other than the sharpened antlers identified in (4)) might correspond to the metal staff or copper cane carried by windigos in Ojibwa stories (Jones 1917.2:175, 655); a Rock Cree story also mentions a staff (Brightman 1993:138).

that the 'windigo' meaning is old. It cannot be a coincidence that the specific detail of kettles, so closely linked with windigos in Cree and Ojibwa, is associated with the Meskwaki cognate *wi-teko-wa* 'owl'.

As a final observation, consider the Kickapoo form in (5), from Goddard's 1969 handout:

- (5) Kickapoo *iitekoohkwa* 'Scary (name of a bitch)' (informant's gloss).  
(Goddard 1969)

Here we can see a further echo of windigo associations: the name of the dog would be literally 'windigo woman', evoking a whole class of stories about the female variety of cannibal.

#### SCENARIO FOR 'WINDIGO' > 'OWL'

Claiming that the 'windigo' sense is the older one does not, however, answer the question of how the word *wi-teko-wa* (and its cognates) came to mean 'owl' in Meskwaki and elsewhere. In this section I suggest that two factors were involved: first, a pre-existing association between owls and windigos, and second, a move south, out of the subarctic.

#### *Prior connections between windigos and owls*

Regarding the connotations of owls, the first thing that must be said is that there is a widespread association between owls and death, owls and the souls of the dead, and owls and sorcery. This is true not only for Algonquian peoples but also for North American Indians generally and in Europe as well. Some Algonquian examples include the Meskwaki belief that if an adoption feast is not held after a death, the dead person comes back as an owl (Michelson 1925:384, 410), and the many Ojibwa accounts of people who know bad medicine transforming themselves into owls (e.g. Barnouw 1977:142, Hilger 1951:121, Landes 1968:43). It is easy to find a motivation for such associations in the owl's nocturnal habits and human-like eyes and face. But precisely because the associations between owls and death and sorcery are so common, these properties are not particularly helpful in understanding how a semantic shift from 'windigo' to 'owl' might have occurred.

Another characteristic of owls may be more enlightening: owls are cannibalistic (cf. Gehlbach 1994:116-119 on the eastern screech owl, for example; Preston 1980:129 also refers to the cannibalistic behavior of

owls and other large carnivores). That is, in the nest younger hatchlings are sometimes killed and eaten by older siblings, or a parent kills the younger offspring and feeds them to the others. The cannibalism is sometimes but not always prompted by food scarcity and occurs with all species of owls (F. Gehlbach, personal communication). Perhaps observation of the cannibalistic behavior of owls prompted a specific association between owls and windigos. Evidence for such an association can be found in modern Cree and Ojibwa texts; I suggest that such an association was also present for Proto-Algonquian as well.

For example, in a discussion of witikos among the Tête-de-Boule Cree, the witiko is described as having "big bloodshot eyes, something like owls' eyes" (Guinard 1930:70, cited in Preston 1980:113). For Ojibwa, Densmore describes and gives a song for the sending of an owl skin to a lodge to induce starvation (Densmore 1910:105-6; 1929:114). This is of interest here since windigos are linked to winter starvation. Related to the connection between owls and starvation may be the Ojibwa belief that seeing an owl was a bad omen on a hunt (Hilger 1951:121).

Paul Buffalo from Leech Lake in a 1971 interview (Buffalo 1971:ch. 34) makes a distinction between species of owls: the hoot owl means trouble, while the screech owl means death. Baraga (1880:180) reports a similar belief about the screech owl.) A reason to think that the account given by Buffalo is more than the typical association between owls and misfortune is the detail of the season: it is only in winter – the time when windigos are active – that the owls' cries foretell doom. A final link between owls and windigos is that both are used to scare children into behaving. We have already seen an example with owls above in (3); another Meskwaki example comes from the long text about the culture hero *Wi-sahke-ha*'s birth and growing up:

- (6) *kapo-twe wi-sahke-ha e-h=nahose-hiči.*  
*wi-teko-wahi e-h=kosa-či;*  
*na-hina-hi='pi=meko ka-škehtawa-čini e-h=nepa-či.*

'Soon *Wi-sahke-ha* learned how to walk.  
He was afraid of the owls;  
whenever he heard them he went right to sleep.' (Kiyana 1913a:34)

Other instances of owls used to scare misbehaving children are cited in Hilger (1951:58) for Ojibwa, and Robert Brightman (personal communication) reports similar practices among the Rock Cree. Densmore

(1910:135) gives an Ojibwa song 'I am afraid of the owl,' which had been composed by the singer when he was a young boy home alone. But in the Paul Buffalo transcript a child is warned that the windigos will carry him off if he does not behave (Buffalo 1971:ch. 22), and Preston (1978:65) mentions that witiko stories are used by the East Cree to get children to go to sleep.

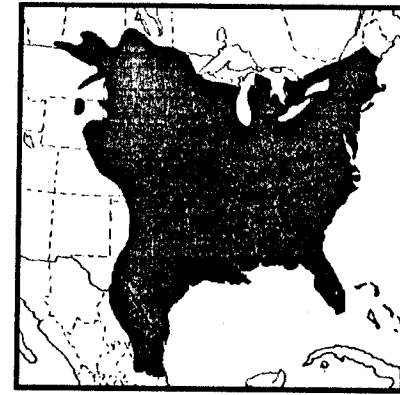
### *Ecological factors*

Even with a pre-existing connection between owls and windigos, however, there must have been further factors involved in shifting the sense of the word *wi-teko-wa* to 'owl' and in (mostly) losing the sense of 'windigo'. Regarding the loss of the earlier sense, we can note that Meskwaki, Miami-Illinois, and Cheyenne are all located in the southern portion of Algonquian territory. If we hypothesize that these groups moved south from a more northerly Proto-Algonquian area, then the loss of the 'windigo' sense may have been a consequence of the reduced risk of winter starvation in the south.

Perhaps another relevant factor is that by moving south they entered the range of the screech owl. The map below shows the current range of the Eastern screech owl; the range has moved north in historic times due to climatic warming (F. Gehlbach, personal communication). In this regard we can note that the dialectal variation seen in present-day Ojibwa words for 'screech owl' must mean that this species of owl was encountered relatively recently by the Ojibwa: Nichols & Nyholm (1995:51): *gaakaabishiinh* Minnesota Ojibwe; Rhodes (1985:534): *mwinaans* Curve Lake, *ningbinwenh* Walpole Island, *waagbinwenh* Manitoulin Island (obsolete on Walpole Island), all meaning 'screech owl'.

What is unusual about screech owls? One striking property is that some screech owls are red while others are gray, which might have caught the eye of a people for whom red is a culturally significant color. But surely the most salient characteristic of the screech owl is its call, which the Audubon guide describes as "a tremulous, descending wail" (Bull & Farrand, Jr. 1977:634). It is unlike the hooting familiar from other owl species.

Returning now to the other side of our equation, we can note a recurring feature in the descriptions of windigos: their voice. Among the Severn Ojibwa, the scream of a windigo is said to be able to paralyze a man



Range of Eastern screech owl.  
(Lockshaw 2001)

(Ray & Stevens 1971:122); a description from the Tête-de-Boule says, "The voice is strident, reverberating, and drawn-out into howls, ..." (Guinard 1930:70, cited in Preston 1980:113); and Plains Cree speaker Alice Ahenakew (in Wolfart & Ahenakew 2000:34) remarks on the wailing of a windigo.

There are four stages by which the semantic shift of 'windigo' to 'owl' might have occurred:

1. *wi-teko-wa* means 'windigo'; general association between owl and windigo [= Cree, Ojibwa]
2. new species of owl encountered; *wi-teko-wa* extended to name the screech owl
3. old meaning of 'windigo' largely forgotten; 'screech owl' sense is primary
4. [in Meskwaki] *wi-teko-wa* becomes the generic term for 'owl'

In the first stage, *wi-teko-wa* means 'windigo' and there is a cultural association between owls and windigos. This initial state is comparable to what we see in Cree and Ojibwa today. In the second stage, the Meskwaki have moved into the territory of the screech owl. Since there is already an association between owls and windigos, and since the screech owl's call may have resembled Meskwaki conceptions of the windigo's voice, I conjecture that the word *wi-teko-wa* was semantically extended to name

the new species of owl. In time, the older sense of 'windigo' was largely forgotten, giving stage 3, and the final stage is the broadening of *wi-teko-wa* to be the generic term for 'owl'.<sup>4</sup>

Stage 4 is a separate development, of course; the Miami-Illinois cognate *miintikwa* is glossed 'screech owl' by Costa (1992:24), which suggests that the Miami-Illinois stopped at stage 3.

If this account of the shift from 'windigo' to 'owl' is right, it has an interesting consequence for the question of the Proto-Algonquian homeland: the homeland should be north of the screech owl range, since the earliest stage listed under (7) is one with no contact with screech owls. This fits Goddard's (1994:207) characterization of the Proto-Algonquian homeland as "somewhere immediately west of Lake Superior" better than Siebert's (1967:36) view that the homeland lay between Georgian Bay and Lake Ontario.

#### A MESKWAKI TEXT

I now turn to the Meskwaki text which led me to look into the owl and cannibal problem in the first place, Kiyana (1913b). The text is given in full, with facing translation, in the Appendix. In working on the translation of this story by Alfred Kiyana, I experienced the frustration of not knowing how to translate several key words, words which are no longer known to present-day speakers of Meskwaki. Foremost among these mysterious words is the name of the hero, used in lines 16K and 17H, which is also the title of the story.

The syllabic rendering of the name is <wi te ko ka a a>. Since the Meskwaki syllabary does not indicate vowel length or *h*, at least two different readings are possible. Adeline Wanatee suggested that the name meant '[the one who] sounds like an owl', with the form *wi-teko-hka-ha-ha*. Another reading suggested to me by Ives Goddard (personal communication) is *wi-teko-hkaha-ha*, with a short vowel in the antepenultimate syllable, meaning 'the one who is caused to make [i.e. hunt] owls'. It is hard to decide between these possibilities since the story contains no obvious reference to owls. Given what we have said above,

4. The specific word for screech owl in Meskwaki is *nenekapeno-ha*, literally 'shivering child', cognate with the Ojibwa form given by Rhodes (1985) for the Walpole Island dialect (Ives Goddard, personal communication).

however, perhaps we should also consider glosses of 'the one who sounds like a windigo' and the 'the one who is caused to make/hunt windigos'. (As we will see below, there is no clear answer as to how the name should be translated.)

Let me here give a brief synopsis of the story. The hero is a man seemingly useless in battle, and for this he is mocked by his father, a great warrior. The son then spends years by himself preparing arrows with deer antler tips (*owi-wi-škanwa*<sup>5</sup> [animate]). The son leads his father and others on a war party against the Sioux, and causes a dense fog to appear long enough for them to set up a house in the middle of the Sioux camp. They place the deer antler arrows through the walls of matting so that the house is bristling with arrows. When the fog lifts, the Sioux see the house and attack it, but the hero pounds on the walls from inside and the Sioux fall dead. Some of the Sioux trying to flee are paralyzed. The hero calls out four times, and the young men with him go out to scalp the paralyzed Sioux.

After the battle, the hero's father is discovered in the disgraceful act of copulating with the corpse of the Sioux chief's daughter. The hero's nephew is sent to pretend to be a corpse come back to life: he scares the old man and chases him back home, where he is then whipped and humiliated by his son.<sup>6</sup>

Later on, the father expresses a wish to eat a certain kind of food and smoke a certain kind of tobacco, apparently available only in the Sioux country. The son then leads another war party to the Sioux, creates fog, and sets up his house as before. At this point the hero's name is used for the first time; both here (16K) and in the other instance (17H) the name is in a direct quotation or represented speech/thought attributed to the Sioux. The Sioux invite the hero to watch them dance and try to kill him there with an axe the blade of which has been painted red. But the hero left instructions with his companions to pound on the walls of their house; he is able to overcome the Sioux, rejoin his companions, and they are finally left alone.

5. Note that in 3F, Kiyana wrote <o wi wi ska na i> for *wi-wi-škanohi*.

6. *e-h-tanaha-kapiyani* (12L), literally, 'where you sit as a son-in-law'. The son is mocking his father further by using the term for a married man who must live with his wife's parents because he cannot establish his own household.

What connections, if any, can we find in this story to owls or to windigos? The fact that the hero makes arrows with deer antler tips evokes the owl passage given in (4) where the owls carry sharpened deer antlers, and indeed the arrangement of the arrows through the walls of matting is reminiscent of the line in example (3) where the kettles of the owls are bristling with awls.<sup>7</sup> Another connection between owls and deer may be seen in Kiyana's (1914) text of the Owl Sacred Pack: the name of the young woman who receives the owl vision is *pešekesiwi-owi-wi-na* 'Deer-Horn'.

Perhaps the calls of the hero during the enemy's paralysis are akin to the paralyzing wails of a windigo, which would argue for the name being glossed 'the one who sounds like a windigo'. Notice that the name in question is used only by the Sioux, and only after the first battle, so the name likely reflects some aspect of the hero's power which defeated the Sioux. If the Sioux view the hero as a windigo himself, perhaps we can link the detail of the red-painted axe here as well: a Montana Cree story has a woman prepare to kill a windigo by taking a small axe and painting the blade red (Dusenberry 1962:158).

The above comments are all tentative suggestions for preferring the gloss 'sounds like an owl/windigo'. What about the gloss 'the one who is caused to make/hunt windigos'? Here we might point out that the episode (9G-10Q) in which the hero's nephew pretends to be a corpse come back to life and chases the hero's father is not too far removed from the "windigo games" played by Ojibwa and Cree children (Densmore 1929:70, Preston 1978:65). Note that the hero is using his power – pounding on the walls stuck with arrows – when his father is humiliated.

Although the precise translation of the name of the hero remains elusive, I will now briefly comment on other lexical items of special interest.

*či-kohamwa* 'he pushes (something) out of place with (an ax)' (18D, L). This action happens twice in the scene in which the Sioux braves dance before the hero. Glosses offered for this verb in other contexts are 'shaving the end of a stick' or 'pushing up on the roof' (Ives Goddard, personal communication). In a 1767 description of a war dance performed at Lake Pepin, between present-day Minnesota and Wisconsin, Carver reports:

7. See Skinner (1923:149) for the Sauk form of the arrow word *wiwishkūnon*, apparently inanimate, and for the gloss of 'deer antler tipped arrow'. Note that Skinner used plain vowels to indicate long vowels and the circumflex to indicate a short vowel.

They entered and soon began their dance, each one of them having a tomehawk in his hand or a club called breakhead which every now and then they would strike upon the tent poles over head and make a short speech on something extraordinary that they have done before, either in war or hunting, after which they gave a loud coohoop with their hands on their mouths interrupting the sound with a sort of tremour attended with such postures and motions of body as appeared both hostile & terrible, which I was informed by the French with me was their constant custom when they gave a dance to any strange chief that came among them. (1776 [1766-70]:121)<sup>8</sup>

From Carver's journal, it appears that the dancers he observed were Ojibwa, but the area around Lake Pepin was one of intense contact and conflict between the Sioux and the Ojibwa. The striking of the tent poles could perhaps have been a feature of Sioux dances in the area as well; in any event, it seems likely that this striking of poles is what is referred to in the Meskwaki text by the verb *či-kohamwa*.<sup>9</sup>

*katonoha* [length of first two vowels not known, and there may be an *h* before the *t*; *-o-* diminutive suffix; *-a* animate singular] (13M). This is the item of food which the hero's father wants to eat, prompting a second journey to the Sioux. This word is not known to present-day speakers of Meskwaki, and has no obvious cognate in other Algonquian languages. I suggest that it may be a borrowing of the Ioway word for snapping turtle, *khe:thaN* or *khe:thaNna*.<sup>10</sup> The Ioway are a Siouan people who have long been in close cultural contact with the Meskwaki, but who were at times allied with the eastern Dakota against the Meskwaki. Since Meskwaki has a native word for snapping turtle (*mešihke-ha*), this loanword might have referred to a specific food preparation associated with the Ioway or the Sioux.<sup>11</sup> Lowie (1954:17) states that the Eastern Dakota ate "quantities of turtles."

8. Many thanks to Raymond DeMallie for providing this reference.

9. It is interesting to note that the other gloss for *či-kohamwa*, 'shaving the end of a stick', could also correspond to a Siouan practice of coup-counting. In Skinner's ethnography of the Ioway he describes a chief's baton with bundles of shavings; each shaving represented a coup (Skinner 1926:199). In our text, perhaps an alternative translation would be that the Sioux braves are recounting their coups and making shavings on a stick as they name their exploits.

10. The N in the Ioway forms indicates that the preceding vowel is nasal and the colon indicates a long vowel. For 'snapping turtle', Skinner (1926:291) gives *kelton 'a*; I thank John Koontz and Robert Rankin for their help in phonemicizing Skinner's form.

11. I thank John Koontz for this suggestion.

*na:towe:pakwa* 'leaf tobacco' (130). In the request made by the hero's father he not only wants to eat *katono-ha* but also to smoke *na:towe:pakwa*, elsewhere glossed as 'leaf tobacco' (Michelson 1925: 464.1). Since this is part of the request that leads to another trip to Sioux country, perhaps the tobacco which is sought is the species *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*, rather than the more usual *N. rustica*. Gilmore (1919:62) reports: "It is said that the woodland tribes eagerly accepted presents of prepared tobacco of the species *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* from the tribes of the plains region and sought to obtain seed of the same, but the plains tribes jealously guarded against allowing the seed to be exported to their neighbors."

If *na:towe:pakwa* is tobacco associated with the Sioux, then this word may provide an interesting example of the stem *na:towe-* 'massauga snake; Iroquois' (cf. Siebert 1996) referring to the Sioux rather than to the Iroquois. (The second element in the compound, *-pakwa*, is 'leaf'.) In Meskwaki ethnonyms *na:towe-* always refers to Iroquois groups, but in Ojibwa (Baraga 1880:264) *nâdowe* means 'A kind of big serpent; Iroquois Indian' [*sic*] and the (Ottawa) diminutive *nâdowessi* means 'Siou Indian' [*sic*].<sup>12</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This paper has two parts: the first arguing for a semantic shift in Meskwaki (and elsewhere) by which the word for 'windigo' came to mean 'owl', and the second discussing aspects of a text about a hero whose name is somehow connected to owls or to windigos. Although the first part has a clear conclusion – that the 'windigo' sense of Proto-Algonquian *\*wi-nteko-wa* is the older one and that Meskwaki and other southern languages have innovated the 'owl' meaning – the second part of the paper is unfortunately inconclusive. No clear answer can be given at this point in time as to the original sense of the hero's name, since the name is no longer known to present-day speakers of Meskwaki and since the text itself contains no unambiguous references to either owls or windigos.

12. Another possibility is that the Meskwaki compound *na:towe:pakwa* is extremely old, dating from the days when the Iroquoian Petun nation supplied tobacco to neighboring tribes (cf. Garrad & Heidenreich 1978), and that the noun survived as a name for prized tobacco long after the disintegration of the Petun as a tribal entity.

For the second portion of this paper, therefore, perhaps the only conclusion is a methodological one, regarding the rewards and the limitations of working with texts written nearly a century ago: much of what Alfred Kiyana wrote in 1913 can be translated with confidence today; some words, such as the apparent loan word *katono-ha* 'snapping turtle', can be plausibly guessed at, and some words, such as the eponymous hero's name, remain mysterious. Such mysterious words may suggest a number of hypotheses which can be profitably explored, as we have done here with owls and windigos, but a full understanding of the connotations of this name is perhaps out of reach. Yet, while we must accept the possibility that the significance of some linguistic and cultural aspects of older texts is forever lost to us, we can also take heart in the fact that, through methods of linguistic and cultural reconstruction, many obscure elements can be elucidated and understood. In the present instance we have been able to connect allusions to actions with an axe to details of dances performed in the territory of the Dakota and Ojibwa, and found suggestive evidence that the Meskwaki valued the tobacco of the Sioux along with some food item, perhaps a way of eating snapping turtles. In short, attending to seemingly small matters of lexical translation leads to a much fuller picture of both the Meskwaki and their Siouan neighbors in earlier times.

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The following Meskwaki text was written in 1913 by Alfred Kiyana (National Anthropological Archives ms. 2984, Washington). The original is a manuscript of 19 pages written in the Meskwaki syllabary, without translation, and without punctuation except for the word boundary symbol of the Meskwaki syllabary. In this critical edition, I have segmented the text into short lines of roughly a clause each, supplied punctuation, indicated vowel length and *h* (which are not written in the Meskwaki syllabary), and provided a translation into English.

The following conventions have been used in the Meskwaki version to indicate features of the manuscript original: an underlined space indicates that no word boundary symbol was written in the Meskwaki syllabary where one might have been expected; an underlined hyphen indicates that no word boundary symbol was written between a preverb and a verb; a single straight line indicates the end of a line; double straight lines indicate the end of a page. The numbers indicate the page numbers of the manuscript original; the letters have been added for convenience in referring to lines.

## Wi·teko·hka·ha·ha

## The one who sounds like an owl

- 1A *o·ni\_neniwa:*  
 B *o·sani e·h=wi·čihekoči, e·h=ni·šwiha·či kwi·yese·he·hahi,*  
*owi·wani = 'nahi.*  
 C *ne·topaninicini mehtose·neniwahi, |*  
 D *wi·na=ke·hi\_e·h=wi·če·we·či.*  
 E *še·ški=meko e·h=neniwiči e·h=pwa·wi\_*  
*ke·ko·hi – iši\_keh·kinawa·či·wi·tekosiči.*
- And then there was a man:  
 His father lived with him, and he had two little boys,  
 and his wife, also.  
 Whenever people went on a war party,  
 he would go along also.  
 But he hadn't made a name for himself in any way for  
 being a man.

- F *meše = 'nah=meko ma·nenwi e·ši·a·čimekosiniči|*  
*neni·wahi,*  
 G *e·h=pwa·wi·išawiči. |*
- What other men were reported to have done  
 many times,  
 he hadn't done.
- H *aškači\_meše=nekotenwi e·h=nesapiwa·či\_*  
*o·sani,*  
 I *"kaši = 'yo| keteši·pwa·wi·po·ni·wi·če·we?" e·h=ikoči.*  
 J *"a·kwi=meko=mani| me·h=pe·we·nemoyanini?"*  
*e·h=ikoči.*  
 K *e·h=katawi = 'yo=ke·h=meko |*  
*-we·patopaniwenahkiwiniki. |*  
 L *"ni·na=ča·h ni·h=wi·če·we.*  
 M *ki·h=wa·pami wi·h=ahpi·hči·neniwa·čimekosiyani,"*  
*e·h=ikoči || o·sani.*  
 2A *"ki·h=nesapi=ča·hi," e·h=ikoči.*
- Later on, one time when he and his father were at  
 home alone,  
 "Why don't you stop going?" his father asked him.  
 "Haven't you given up yet?"  
 he asked him.  
 A war party, you see, was just on the point of  
 going out.  
 "I myself will go along.  
 You will see how much I will be talked about, for being a  
 man," his father said to him.  
 "So you should stay home," he said to him.
- B *aškači=ye·toke e·h=we·patopaniwenahkiwiniki,*  
 C *o·sani e·h=wi·če·we·niči.*  
 D *aškači e·h=pya·niči ne·topa·hahi,*  
 E *o·sani=ke·hi | e·h=pya·niči.*  
 F *o·sani e·h=panesihto·niči.*  
 G *"i·ni=ma·h=ki·na wi·h=ina·čimekosiyanehe,"*  
*e·h=ikoči, |*
- Later, it seems, when the war party set out,  
 his father went along.  
 And later when the members of the war party came back,  
 his father came back.  
 His father had won the war honors.  
 "You see! That's what you should have been talked about  
 as doing!" his father said to him.

H *e·h = nakanakapehkwe·piči.*

I *mi·ša·tesiničini*

J *kenaho·čikani | e·h = na·pito·niči.*

K *meše = we = meko | we·ta·se·wi·mi·ša·tesiwani |*  
*e·h = ča·ki·ošehki·taminiči o·sani,*

L *e·h = kehči = meko -we·ta·se·winiči.*

M *"we·tesiwane·ni = ni·hk = a·pehe, nekwi·hi,*

N *'mahkate·wi·no,' | e·h = inena·ni!" e·h = ikoči,*

O *"na·pi = wi·n = a·pehe a·neta ihkwe·waki |*  
*we·ta·se·hkwe·wiwaki," e·h = ikoči.*

P *"še·ški = meko || ne·topaniyanini*

3A *e·h = wi·če·we·yani = ye·toke," e·h = ikoči.*

B *aškači | ki·mo·či = meko e·h = we·pi·ašišašihā·či*  
*owi·wi·škano·hi. |*

C *meše = 'nah = meko na·htaswawahi·me e·h = pemi-*  
*ašišašihā·či.*

D *nano·pehka = meko\_taso·škene e·h = ki·šihā·či,*

E *ma·no·škene = meko.*

F *i·nihi = meko = 'pi ki·wiwanehka·sočihi \_*  
*owi·wi·škano·hi.*

He sat with his head down.

Whenever the father dressed up,  
he draped a prisoner tie around his neck.  
His father wore all kinds of  
warrior regalia,  
because he was a very great warrior.  
"I don't know what you are up to, son,  
since I told you to fast!" he said to him.  
"Instead, even some of the women are becoming warrior-  
women," he told him.  
"But whenever you join a war party,  
it seems you just tag along," he told him.

Later the son secretly began making arrows with  
deer antler tips.  
He spent several years just making more and  
more of them.  
He made numerous bagsful of them,  
many bagsful indeed.  
Those arrows, it's said, were made into bundles in different  
places.

G *e·h = keno·tawe·či = ke·h = meko ahpene·či*  
*e·h = pemi | -owi·kičini,*

H *ahpene·či = ke·h = meko | pepehči·me·hi e·h = owi·kiči.*

I *mo·hči = 'pi e·h = ma·wa·seto·niči | mehtose·neniwahi,*

J *atehči·me·h = meko meše = na·hina·hi e·h = owi·ke·hiči.*  
*e·škami = ke·h = meko nano·pehka e·h = anemi·taswiha·či.*

K *ke·keya·hi = 'pi a·pehtawapahkwe e·h = inehpa·kwate·niki*  
*maškimote·hani.*

4A *"kaši = 'yo = ye·toke = mana i·nihi wi·h = to·tawa·či?"*

B *e·h = ikohikoči = 'p' = a·pehe owi·či·mehtose·neniwahi. |*

C *aškači e·h = natopaniči, aški = meko.*

D *e·h = ča·ki·wa·či = meko:*  
*owi·wani, o·sani, oni·ča·nese·hahi,*

E *o·ni oškinawe·haki, | ma·ne = meko.*

F *kekimesi = meko | e·h = anemo·ma·wa·či apahkwayahi.*

G *na·hka waninawe = meko | wa·natohka*  
*e·h = anemi·'ši·ši·ša·wa·či\_ši·ša·čiki.*

H *o·ni\_aškači e·h = pye·notamowa·či |*  
*e·h = nešiwī·'nekihkwa·niki kehči·ma·wa·kani.*

And he had a big longhouse where he lived  
all the time,  
and he always lived some distance away.  
Even, it's said, when the people gathered for winter camp,  
he would live some ways off, by himself.  
And he continued to make increasingly many of them.  
Finally, it's said, the bags were piled  
halfway up the wall.  
"I wonder what he is going to do with those things?"  
the other people often said about him, it's said.

Later on he led a war party, for the first time.  
In fact, they all went:  
his wife, his father, his children,  
and the young men, many of them indeed.  
Every single one of them carried reed mats on their backs.  
And the hunters calmly went off in all directions  
to hunt along the way.

And then later on they came to where there was  
a terribly big village.

I o·ni=ye·toke, "wi·h=awanwi,"  
 e·h=itehe,  
 J e·h=pekeše·ki.  
 K a·neta=wi·na\_aša·haki|  
 e·h=mi·na·we·netamowa·či=meko\_  
 L kapo·twe e·h=pekeše·niki.||  
 5A "kaši=ča·h=mani išikenwi?" e·h=iyowa·či.

B wi·nwa·wa=ke·hi='pi|  
 C i·ni\_če·winehki e·h=po·ni·wa·či. |  
 D sese·si=meko e·h=nana·ha·kwana·wa·či owi·wi·škano·hi,  
 E apahkwa·ki e·h=patahka·hkona·wa·či.  
 F kwi·yena=meko ča·ki| ki·šišima·wa·či  
 G e·h=pa·hkawaniki.

H aša·haki wi·nwa·wa,\_  
 I pa·hkawaniki,  
 J ayo·h=či·hi| kehči·ke·no·te·hi!  
 K e·h=menwipya·kotamowa·či  
 L e·h=kepoškamowa·či nano·pehka  
 e·h=inekihkwi·pa·wa·či.\_  
 M e·h=pakapahkwe·hamawoči  
 N waninawe\_e·h=a·htawa·sa·wa·či

And then, it seems, because he had said,  
 "There will be fog,"  
 it became hazy.  
 Some of the Sioux, indeed,  
 really tried to figure it out,  
 because it suddenly got hazy.  
 "What is happening with this?" they asked.

But they themselves, it's said,  
 they made their camp in the middle of that Sioux village.  
 They hurriedly put the antler-tipped arrows in place,  
 sticking them into the walls of matting.  
 Just as they got them all fixed,  
 the fog lifted.

And as for the Sioux,  
 when the fog lifted,  
 lo and behold, there was a great longhouse!  
 They shouted eagerly at it  
 and surrounded it  
 in great numbers.  
 The walls were pounded on from the inside at them,  
 and all around they keeled over backward.

O waninawe e·h=ki·wi·ta·takeška·ti·wa·či  
 ki·wina·čiki\_

All around there were people in their death throes, writhing  
 around kicking at each other.

P e·h=taswi=-meko -pakapahkwe·hamawoči<sub>ni</sub>\_  
 Q ača·wasi·me·h=meko || taswi e·h=nepowa·či.\_  
 6A ke·keya·h=meko e·h=ča·ka·mowa·či,|  
 B waninawe e·h=ina·mowa·či|aša·haki.  
 C ki·ši·ča·ka·moniči,  
 D e·h=wa·wi·šikatahaki owi·kewa·wi.  
 E a·neta mya·šisa·čiki\_e·h=te·pahkwi=-meko -  
 matanekowa·či.  
 F še·ški='p'=a·pehe e·h=wa·pati·wa·či.

Each time the walls were pounded on at them,  
 a few more of them died, indeed.  
 Finally all of them fled,  
 the Sioux fled in all directions.  
 After they had all fled,  
 he kept on beating their house hard.  
 Some of the slow ones were overtaken by  
 the arrows.  
 All they could do, it's said, is just look at each other.

G kapo·twe, "nahi, mešahkwa·šike·ko.  
 H nahi, ma·wači\_menehta ayo·h=mani |  
 e·h=owi·kiya·ni pi·čipaho·to·kwe·na\_mi·šehkwayi  
 I i·na wi·h=panesihto·ta.  
 J a·nehko·či na·hka|  
 K i·na=mek'=e·ye·ki wi·h=panesihto·ta.  
 L nye·wi\_taki\_mi·šehkwayani wi·h=pi·čipaho·to·pi,"  
 e·h=ina·či.  
 M "nye·wo·nameki kwa·ko·ho·tama·ne  
 N i·ni\_wi·h=mawinahkye·ye·kwe," || e·h=ineči neniwaki.

Then he said to them, "Now, go take scalps.  
 Whoever is the very first to run inside this house of  
 mine bringing a scalp  
 he will win the war honors.  
 And the next one also,  
 he will win the war honors in the same way.  
 Probably four scalps will be brought in,"  
 he told them.  
 "When I call out for the fourth time  
 then you should charge off," the men were told.

- 7A *nye·wo·nameki\_kwa·ko·ho·taminiči*  
 B *e·h=mawinana·wa·či.*  
 C *e·h=ma·ma·neti·hiwa·či me·šahkwa·šika·čiki,*  
 D *e·h=nenye·hpesiwa·či.*  
 E *a·yaškači=meko e·h=pye·hpaho·to·niči,*  
 F *e·h=nye·wiwa·či\_pe·nesihto·čiki.*
- G *o·ni\_me·nwikeniki wi·seniweni*  
 H *e·h=natone·hamowa·či\_ni·šwi,\_*  
 I *aškači=meko\_e·h=mehkamowa·či.*
- J *o·ni ki·ši·ki·hpoče·či\_pašito·ha*  
 K *e·h=nowi·či.*  
 L *e·h=kwa·pa·kwasowa·či ne·pekiki*  
 M *e·h=ki·wa·pama·či.*  
 N *i·kiya·peki=ke·h a·neta pi·tike e·h=ki·wa·kwasowa·či.*
- O *o·ni ni·šwi owi·hka·neti·haki,*  
 P *"ni·h=ki·wa·pama·pena=ča·hi?" | e·h=ina·wa·či i·nini neniwani. |*  
 Q *"še·ški=meko\_ki·wa·pamehko," | e·h=iniči. ||*

When he called out for the fourth time they attacked them. The scalpers were competing with one another, and the Sioux were paralyzed. At intervals someone would come running with a scalp. There were four who received war honors.

And then two people went looking for the good food, and much later they found it.

And then, after the old man had eaten his fill, he went out. The dead were lying scattered around and he went around looking at them. And in the houses, there were some lying around inside.

And then two friends: "May we go around and look at them?" they asked that man. "Don't do anything but look at them, as you go around," he said.

- 8A *"ka·ta ke·ko·h=to·tawiye·ke·ko |*  
 B *ka·ta\_anemi·takeškawiye·ke·ko," e·h=ineči.*  
 C *"hao," e·h=iyowa·či.\_*  
 D *"ka·ta\_ke·ko·hi iši·wapawapašimiye·ke·ko,*  
 E *še·ški=meko\_mahkwa·či*  
 F *ki·h=ki·wa·pama·pwa,"\_e·h=ineči.*  
 G *"hao,"\_e·h=iyowa·či.|*  
 H *e·h=na·kwa·wa·či,*  
 I *e·h=anemi·hkamowa·či wi·kiya·pye·ni.*
- J *i·ya·h=meko kataw'·-aškwe·yawī*  
 K *wi·kiya·pi\_e·h=we·wenina·kwateniki,*  
 L *e·h=menwina·kwateniki.*  
 M *"mani=ye·toke | me·mešihka aša·h'·okima·wa | owi·ki,"*  
 N *e·h=iyowa·či.\_*
- O *mani | e·ši·pa·hkenamowa·či,*  
 P *i·nah=či·hi pašito·hani e·h=taši·wi·hpe·ma·niči či·payani!*  
 Q *e·škiki hinikwe·ni= 'pi*  
 R *me·me·čiki=meko | še·škesi·he·hinikwe·ni.*  
 S *e·h=pwa·wi·-ke·h=meko·ne·wokowa·či, ||*  
 T *še·ški aškwa·te·mi e·h=pa·hkisetawa·wa·či*  
 U *e·h=na·kwa·wa·či.\_*

"Don't do anything to them. Don't go along kicking them," they were told. "All right," they said. "And don't make fun of them in any way, just go around and look at them quietly," they were told. "All right," they said. They left, and they went along checking the houses.

At almost the very end there was a house that looked beautiful, a good-looking one. "I guess this is probably the Sioux chief's house," they said.

Just as they opened the door, why, there was the old man, sleeping with a corpse! It must have been a young person, it's said, in fact I'm sure it must have been a young teenage girl. But he didn't see them at all, and they just left the door open on him, and left.

C *i ya·h = pye·ya·wa·či*  
 D *e·h = a·čima·či\_nekoti,*  
 E *"ma·h = wi·na· = 'niya | kepašito·hemena·na\_tashi-*  
*wi·hpewi·hpe·wa!"*  
 F *e·h = ina·či we·yo·siničini.*  
 G *o·ni we·šise·hita = ye·toke | i·tepi*  
*e·h = ihpahoči.*  
 H *i ya·h = pye·ya·či, |*  
 I *ke·htena = či·hi!*  
 J *wa·natohka = meko | e·h = ki·ši·peniwe·ši·nitehe*  
 K *omahkese·hani = 'pi\_pemito·pahkwe\_e·h = ako·to·tehe,*  
 L *aka·mete·ki e·h = nana·hišiki.*  
 M *aškači, "e," e·h = iči\_e·h = wi·šikowe·či.*  
 N *e·h = ome·siniči.*  
 O *e·h = pasekwi·či\_*  
 P *e·h = we·pa·ška·či*  
 Q *e·h = tanehkwe·šiniči e·h = pakišiki\_*  
 R *pašito·ha e·h = pasekwi·či\_e·h = se·kesiči,*  
 S *taka·wi = meko e·h = paneneči, |*  
 T *"a·pesi·wa = meko!"\_e·h = išite·he·či |*  
*ne·peničini, ||*

When they got back,  
 one of them told about him:  
 "That old man of ours is over there sleeping with  
 someone!"  
 he told the old man's son.

And then, it seems, the old man's nephew ran over  
 there.

When he got there,  
 sure enough!

The old man had even casually taken his shoes off.  
 The nephew, it's said, hung those shoes up on the wall  
 and lay down across from him, playing dead.

Later the nephew said, "Ehhhhh," in a loud voice.

The old man gave a start.

The "corpse" got to its feet,  
 staggered,  
 and fell down by his head.

The old man jumped up in fright,  
 because it missed him by only a little.

"It's really come back to life!" he thought about the dead  
 person.

10A *e·h = pemi·nowa·ška·či\_*  
 B *e·h = pye·či·nowa·ška·niči\_*  
 C *peno·či·me·hi ki·š'·anemipahoči*  
 D *e·h = mawinaneči.*  
 E *mān = e·na·piči peteki |*  
 F *e·h = peminehka·koči = či·hi!*  
 G *o·ni | pe·hki e·h = kehta·moči.*  
 H *na·hka = petek = e·na·piči,*  
 I *kehčine·h = či·h = meko e·h = pye·hpahoniči,*  
 J *šama·kani e·h = pye·či·kekipahoniči! |*  
 K *kehčine = meko e·hte·niki e·h = owi·kiwa·či*  
 L *e·h = če·če·kinehkawoči,*  
 M *okwisani e·h = mama·toma·či.*  
 N *e·h = we·pa·ške·hka·noči na·hka,*  
 O *na·hka = meko e·h = pasekwi·čisa·či.*  
 P *e·h = te·pi·pi·čisa·či\_*  
 Q *kwi·yena = meko e·h = ki·ši·ča·ki·nahišimemeči*  
*owi·wi·škano·hi. |*  
 R *e·hpi·hči·či = meko e·h = pa·pakapahkwe·hike·či,*  
*opye·ni = meko.*

He staggered out of the house  
 and it came staggering out after him.  
 After he had run a little distance away,  
 it went after him.  
 Just as he looked back,  
 why, it was chasing him!  
 And then he ran really hard.  
 When he looked back again,  
 why, it had come up very close,  
 carrying a spear!  
 When their house was near  
 he was in tears from being chased,  
 and he prayed to his son for help.  
 The "corpse" pretended to fall again,  
 and once again jumped to its feet.  
 He just made it, running inside,  
 right after all the antler-tipped arrows had been  
 set in place.

The son was pounding the walls as hard as he could,  
 and very slowly.

S "peškipe·h=na·teno  
 T a·šo·mya·ki, ||  
 11A me·nwi- 'nekihkwa·hkwato·hiki|  
 B ka·ta=ke·h e·sa·mi·čaka·hkwato·hiki|  
 C ka·ta=na·hka me·ka·hkwahki  
 D me·nwi- 'nekihkwa·hkwato·hiki=meko," e·h=ineči.  
 E e·h=na·teki nekoti oškinawe·ha  
 F e·h=pye·to·či.

G pašito·ha=ke·hi|  
 H me·h=meko po·ni·ne·ne·sokwe,  
 I kapo·twe| e·ye·ši·šekišekišiki,  
 J e·h=ki·ški·škatahokoči okwisani.\_  
 K kenwe·ši=meko e·h=ki·ški·škatahoči.|

L aškači e·h=po·ni·ki·ški·škatahoči,  
 M "kenenwamata?" e·h=ineči.  
 N "ši·meše=we·na e·h=ki·ški·škatahwiyani!" e·h=išiwē·či.\_  
 O "meči='hi='yo=ke·hi pi·neši keki·ški·škatahone.  
 P apeno·heki=ma·hi e·h=iši|·wa·waneška·hiyani,  
 Q we·či|·to·to·na·ni."  
 R e·neči,  
 S neniwa| e·h=nakapehkwe·sa·či.

"Go get a hickory branch,  
 one that's flexible,  
 and a good thickness.  
 Not too little a branch  
 and also not too big,  
 but a really good thickness," they were told.  
 A certain young man went after it  
 and brought it.

And as for the old man,  
 even before he stopped panting,  
 at some point while he was still lying down,  
 he got a whipping from his son.  
 He was whipped for a very long time.

Later on when his whipping stopped,  
 he was asked, "Did you feel it?"  
 "Well, you did whip me!" he said.  
 "It's not like I whipped you for no reason, you know.  
 You were bad, after all, like a little child,  
 that's why I treated you that way."  
 Being so addressed,  
 the man hung his head.

T "ma·hani wa·patano!" e·h=ineči  
 U ote·hte·kwa·ki || ne·mate·nikini owa·pitepa·kanani  
 pašito·ha,  
 12A e·h=kwe·hta·nisahoči.\_  
 B e·h=mo·naškisahtawoči|  
 C e·na·samapiči e·h=pakitamawoči.  
 D "mehto·či='yo=wi·na=mani| kewa·pitepe!"  
 E e·h=pwa·wi-=meko nana·ši·kanawiči.  
 F "kakata·ni=ča·h|=ma·haki e·škiki·haki,  
 G a·kwi nekotahi iha·wa·čini," e·h=ineči.  
 H "ka·ta=ča·h=na·hka nekotahi iha·hkani,"| e·h=ineči  
 pašito·ha.\_

I i·ni=ke·h=meko| e·h=we·pi·nana·hawiwēči  
 wi·h=a·mi·niči,

J wi·na=ke·hi e·h=ki·wi·mehtanasite·ka·pa·či.  
 K "nekwi·hi, nemahkese·hani ni·h=nawači·na·te?"  
 e·h=ina·či.  
 L "ta·nahi? e·h=tanaha·kapiyani?" | e·h=ineči.  
 M "kekeni na·teno," e·h=ineči.\_

"Look at these!" the old man was told about his hair,  
 which was white and standing on end  
 at the temples,  
 because he had received a terrible shock.  
 His hair was pulled out  
 and thrown in front of him.  
 "You seem to have white hair now!"  
 He never spoke a word.  
 "Even though these folks are young people,  
 they don't go anywhere," he was told.  
 "So don't you ever go anywhere again," the old man was  
 told.

And right then preparations were underway for  
 them to move camp,

but he was standing around barefoot.  
 "Son, may I go after my shoes first?"  
 he asked him.  
 "Where? At your in-laws?" he was asked.  
 "Go after them quickly," he was told.

- N *e·h=pye·to·či*  
 O *aya·pami e·h=inote·wa·či.*  
 P *kekimesi=meko=na·nano·pehka ||*  
*e·h=a·ya·taswihto·wa·či mi·šehkwayani.*
- 13A *i·ya·h=pye·ya·wa·či*  
 B *na·hka=ke·h|nekotahi e·h=oči·natomeči,*  
 C *še·ški=meko e·h=wa·wi·seniwa·či|*  
 D *e·h=na·natomeči.*  
 E *me·nwikeniki=meko owi·ya·si e·h=wača·heči,|*  
 F *e·h=menwi·to·ta·koči*  
*ki·ši·we·tawe·ta·se·wiha·čihi.*
- G *o·ni=ye·toke kapo·twe*  
*aškači\_o·sani,*  
 H *"o·ho·ya·hi·hi·ya·o·ho·ya·i·hi·ya," e·h=inihiniči.\_*  
 I *ke·keya·h=meko e·h=we·pi·neškima·či.*  
 J *"nesanakite·he=kohi e·šite·he·ya·ni,"*  
*e·h=ikoči.*
- K *kapo·twe, "kaši='yo ketešite·he?"*  
*e·h=ina·či\_o·sani.*  
 L *"meči='h=ča·h=wi·h=we·čino·watwi,"| e·h=ikoči.*

He brought them  
 and they moved back.  
 Everyone had taken a large number  
 of scalps.

And, when they came back,  
 they received invitations from various places.  
 They just kept on feasting  
 and getting invited.  
 The very best meat was cooked for them,  
 because the ones he had made warriors  
 treated him very well.

And then, it seems, some time later his father would  
 sing over and over,  
*"o·ho·ya·hi·hi·ya·o·ho·ya·hi·hi·ya."*  
 Finally the son started scolding him.  
 "What I am wishing for certainly seems hard to me," his  
 father said to him.

Then he asked his father, "What are you  
 wishing for?"  
 "Well, it won't be easy," he said to him.

- M *"mani=ča·h'ta·ni='nahi | katono·haki amwake,'*  
*netešite·he=kohi.*  
 N *na·hka ki·š·amwake, |*  
 O *'na·towe·pakwa atama·yane,' | netešite·he=kohi' ||*  
 14A *"o·we·nah=i·ni?"*  
 B *a·kwi=ča·h=i·ni sanakahkini\_tatki," e·h=ina·či|\_o·sani.*
- C *o·ni e·h=wača·nota·či. |*  
 D *ihkwe·wahi=meko e·h=natoma·či|*  
 E *ne·htawi e·h=ano·hka·na·či*  
 F *apahkwayahi wi·h=ašita·koči.*  
 G *nekoti|\_wa·se·ya·we=meko e·h=ča·ki·ki·ših·tawoči,*  
 H *na·htaswi=meko na·hka| e·h=awana·či i·nah=oči.*  
 I *kekimesi=meko e·h=taso·ke·wa·či| e·h=na·kwa·wa·či,*  
 J *o·ni=kotakaki| na·taswi ne·wasehkawoči, |*  
 K *o·ni kotakaki e·h=na·wana·wanone·hčike·wa·či.*  
 L *meše=meko='nahi e·h=ma·ne·wa·či, \_*  
 M *ma·ne=meko\_e·h=na·wanone·hokowa·či.*  
 N *še·ški=meko\_ihkwe·wa| e·h=wača·nota·či,*  
 O *neniwa|\_še·ški=meko e·h=anemi·atahatama·či. ||*  
 15A *apina='pi=meko anehaneškenatawa·pi oto·hpwa·kanani,|*  
 B *še·ški=meko e·h=pahte·hpwa·či. |*

"This is it: if only I could eat some  
*katono·ha.*  
 And after eating them  
 if only I could smoke some leaf tobacco."  
 "Oh, is that it?"  
 That's not so hard," he told his father.

And then he cooked for people.  
 He summoned only the women  
 and commissioned them as a group  
 to make mats for him.  
 In just one day all of his mats were made.  
 And also he took several people from there along.  
 As many as lived in his house went,  
 and several others who had been asked to come along,  
 and some others followed along.  
 There were pretty many of them,  
 and many people followed them.  
 The women did nothing but cook,  
 and the men, all they did was smoke, day after day.  
 Their pipes, it's said, were even filled for them,  
 all they had to do was get them going with a puff.

- C aškači e·h=pya·wa·či e·ya·wa·či,  
 D "ane=nešiwī!" e·h=iyowa·či, |  
 E wi·kiya·pye·ni e·h=ma·ne·teniki.  
 F "nahi, i·noki=mani\_ki·ši|-na·wahkwe·ke  
 wi·h=we·pi·pekiški·ya·wi," e·h=iči.  
 G "wa·pake=ča·hi\_ki·ši-na·wahkwe·ke  
 wi·h=pa·hkawanwi," | e·h=iči.  
 H tepehki e·h=po·ni·wa·či. |  
 I wa·natohka e·h=we·pi·wača·howa·či  
 J e·h=nepa·wa·či=ke·h=wa·natohka.  
 K ma·maya=meko e·h=to·hkinehkawoči neniwaki,  
 L "sa·kisa·kiči·ko,"  
 e·h=ineči,  
 M e·h=sa·kisa·kiči·ha·wa·či.  
 N wa·natohka=meko\_  
 e·h=taši·wača·howeči.  
 O o·ni=wi·nwa·wa\_owi·wi·škano·hi e·h=mesiwe·wi- ||  
 -patahkišima·wa·či apahkwa·ki.  
 16A kwi·yena=meko\_ki·šese·hkwe·weči\_  
 B e·h=ki·šišima·wa·či.  
 C waninawe=meko | e·h=tanetone·moniči aša·hahi, |

Later on they came to the place they were going.  
 "It's too much!" they said,  
 because there were many houses.  
 "Now, after noon today the weather will start to turn bad,"  
 he said.  
 "And after noon tomorrow it will clear off,"  
 he said.  
 That night they camped.  
 They calmly started cooking  
 and slept peacefully.  
 Very early the men were awakened.  
 "Go out [to relieve yourselves] one by one,"  
 they were told.  
 They had them go out one by one,  
 and the cooking was taking place as if nothing were  
 out of the ordinary.

And then they stuck the antler-tipped arrows into  
 the walls, all around.  
 Just as the cooking was done,  
 they finished fixing them.  
 The Sioux were talking all around

- D apeno·hahi=ke·hi waninawe=meko e·h=tanetone·moniči, |  
 E e·h=taši·pesepesetawa·wa·či. |  
 F ki·ši- taka·wi -na·wahkwe·niki | e·h=pa·hkawaniki  
 G e·h=po·ni·pekeše·niki.  
 H i·nah=či·h wi·nwa·wa | aša·haki,  
 I ke·no·te·hi e·h=pema·pye·seniki!\_  
 J sese·si=meko\_e·h=ma·wačiti·wa·či,  
 K "wi·teko·hka·ha·h=ke·h=ye·toke·mana|  
 we·wi·kita!" e·h=iyowa·či.  
 L e·h=tepowe·wa·či wi·h=nesa·wa·či=meko,  
 M wi·h=koči·nesa·wa·či e·h=inowe·wa·či. |  
 N wi·kiya·pi || e·h=ašihito·wa·či,  
 17A e·h=sakwapašiwē·wa·či.  
 B ne·htawi=meko\_kekye·hči·we·ta·se·waki e·h=natoti·wa·či  
 C wi·h=nesa·wa·či=meko.  
 D e·h=meškwa·pite·namowa·či papakye·hi  
 E nanakote·ki e·h=patahka·pite·seto·wa·či.  
 F ki·ši·ma·wači·wa·či  
 G e·h=natoma·wa·či\_

and children too, they could be heard all around.  
 They kept on listening to them.  
 A little after noon the fog lifted  
 and it was no longer hazy.

And those Sioux saw  
 there was a longhouse stretched out right there!  
 They hurriedly called one another together.  
 "The one who lives there must be  
 Wi·teko·hka·ha·ha!" they said.  
 They agreed in council that they would kill him indeed  
 and announced to the people that they would try to kill him.  
 They prepared a house,  
 putting the beams close together.  
 A group of great warriors was summoned  
 to be sure to kill him.  
 They painted the blade of an axe red  
 and sank the axe, blade first, in the middle of the lodge.  
 After they had assembled,  
 they went to invite him.



- H *ke·htena=či·wi·teko·hka·ha·hani!*  
 I *"ki·h=aye·kwa·mi·pwa=meko*  
 J *wi·h=pakapakapahkwe·hike·ye·kwe," e·h=ina·či.*
- K *i·ya·h=e·h=pya·či·wi·kiya·peki*  
 L *ke·htena=či·hi·neniwahi\_nano·pehka e·h=tašiniči!*  
 M *wi·na=ke·hi|kepiškwa·te e·h=nana·hapiči|*  
 N *e·h=we·pi·wa·pama·či.*  
 O *nekoti=meko mehteno·hi e·h=ne·wa·či\_neniwani, ||*  
 18A *"mana\_mehteno·h=neniwa," e·h=išite·he·či.*  
 B *kotakani=na·hka,*  
 C *taka·wi=meko e·h=neniwina·kosiniči.*  
 D *e·h=we·pi·či·kohaminiči.*
- E *kapo·twe='ni e·h=pye·tešite·niki\_*  
 F *nekoti\_neniwani ke·htena=meko e·h=pemi·we·peka·niči*  
 G *e·h=pye·či·ašahašawe·hkwe·nota·koči*  
 H *e·h=nahiseto·niči|.*  
 I *wi·na=ke·hi\_še·ški=meko\_e·h=taši·na·katawe·nema·či.|*

Sure enough, it was *Wi·teko·hka·ha·ha!*  
 "As hard as you can,  
 pound on the walls over and over," he told his companions.

As he came there into the house,  
 there were certainly a lot of men there!  
 He himself sat down by the door  
 and began to look at them.  
 He saw only one brave.  
 "This one is the only brave," he thought.  
 And there was also another one  
 who looked a little bit like a brave  
 and who began striking a pole with the axe as he recounted  
 his war exploits.  
 Later the time came  
 when the one brave started dancing in earnest.  
 He came at him tilting his head towards him over and over,  
 and threw down the axe.  
 But he himself did nothing but keep an eye on him.

- J *aškači=na·hka me·mečine·h=meko wi·h=ni·miničini*  
*i·nini neniwani,*  
 K *ke·htena=meko e·h=pemi·pasekwi·niči,*  
 L *e·h=we·pi·či·kohaminiči.*
- M *ke·htena\_neniwani=meko\_*  
 N *wi·na=ke·hi\_še·ški=meko|e·h=we·we·šiwawiči.*  
 O *mani=meko || e·ši·pye·či·we·pa·hke·niči|*  
 19A *e·h=nahkonamawa·či*  
 B *e·h=maniha·či i·ni papakye·hi|*  
 C *i·nah=meko\_e·h=taši·pa·pakama·či,*  
 D *kekimesi=meko\_i·nahi e·h=taši·ča·katahwa·či,*  
*ne·htawi=meko\_we·ta·se·wahi.*
- E *o·ni=ke·hi='pi e·h=mawinatamoweči*  
*owi·kewa·wi*
- F *e·h=mawinataki\_e·hpi·čisa·či*  
 G *wi·na\_oto·wi·wi·škano·hi e·h=pwa·wi·mehtahokoči.|*  
 H *wa·natohka=meko e·h=nakinakiškawa·či*  
 I *e·h=mesiwe·ya·ška·niči=ke·h=wi·na*  
 J *šewe·na e·h=anemi\_=meko -tawa·niki e·nemi-'šisa·či.*

Again later, when that brave was about to dance for  
 the very last time,  
 he stood up indeed  
 and began striking the pole with the axe as he recounted his  
 war exploits.

He was truly a great brave.  
 But he himself just stayed ready.  
 As soon as the brave came to throw the axe,  
 he caught hold of it  
 and took it away from him.  
 Right on the spot he clubbed him to death,  
 and he clubbed every one of them there, of the group of  
 warriors.

And then, it's said, there was a rush made at the  
 Meskwakis' house.

He ran at it at top speed.  
 His own antler-tipped arrows didn't hit him,  
 they didn't faze him as he encountered one after another.  
 Even though they were flying all over,  
 a space for him would appear as his running route.

Much later they called out  
that they should be left alone.  
And they were left alone there.

K *aškači = meko e h = kwa·ko·ho·tamowa·či |*  
L *wi·h = po·ni·hkawoči*  
M *e·h = po·ni·hkawoci i·tepi. ||*

## Algonquian Perspectives on Social Cohesion in Canadian Society

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For several years now, I have been attempting to think ethnographically about Canadian national identity. The first stage of the argument defined Canada, or at least Anglophone Canada, as an intersection of standpoints that together constituted something larger than the sum of their parts (Darnell 2000). From my location in the heart of British Empire Loyalist country, the Anglo-Saxon values placed on moderation and reasonable compromise were captured effectively by the image of the Canadian chicken crossing the road to get to the middle. This model of what John Ralston Saul has called "civic" nationalism (Saul et al. 2002) easily incorporates Canadian multiculturalism policies of immigrants maintaining their heterogeneous cultural mosaics within a benign albeit somewhat paternalistic governmental umbrella of Canadian Confederation. This perspective also fits well with the experience of my twenty-one years on the Prairies, where the official bilingualism of French and English founding nations was met with distinct skepticism.

In this initial phase of theorizing, however, I was actually more interested in the how the First Nations might be understood as a third founding nation with considerable influence in mediating the uneasy confluence of the English and French settler nations. Following a train of thought suggested by John Ralston Saul (1997), I mused that the First Nations, whether accurately characterized in public discourse or not, had come to occupy a substantial position in the balance of forces that maintained Confederation. British North America, then, differs from Europe in great part because of the Aboriginal presence (cf. Philip Deloria's 1998 discussion of "playing Indian" as the core of American New World identity). Saul goes on to discuss distinctive features (or "mythological propositions") of Canadian identity that he believes come from, or at least are consistent with, Aboriginal traditions: for example, animism, balance, oral tradition, nomadism.

That these distinctive features are mythological is crucially important. *Any* national identity is based necessarily on what Benedict Ander-