

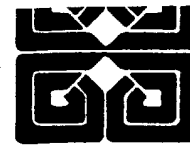
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Anthropological linguistics.

v. 45 no. 1 (2003: Spring)

Bib:2379101 Copy:47602 Rec'd:11/07/03



Anthropological Linguistics

VOLUME 45, NUMBER 1

SPRING 2003

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Cultural and Linguistic Aspects of
an Illustrated Meskwaki Text**

AMY DAHLSTROM

**Contact among Some Mayan Languages:
Inferences from Loanwords**

**SØREN WICHMANN AND
CECIL H. BROWN**

Review Essay

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Anthropological Linguistics (ISSN 0003-5483) (USPS 026980) is published quarterly at \$120.00 for institutions in the U.S., \$130.00 for institutions outside the U.S., \$45.00 for individuals in the U.S., and \$53.00 for individuals outside the U.S., by the Department of Anthropology and the American Indian Studies Research Institute, Indiana University, Bloomington. It is printed and bound by Western Newspaper Publishing Co., Inc., 537 East Ohio Street, Indianapolis, IN 46204. Periodicals postage paid at Bloomington, Indiana, and additional mailing offices.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Anthropological Linguistics*, Indiana University, Student Building 130, 701 E. Kirkwood Avenue, Bloomington, IN 47405-7100.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS

VOLUME 45, NUMBER 1

SPRING 2003

P25
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v. 45
2003
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CONTENTS

- Warrior Powers from an Underwater Spirit:
Cultural and Linguistic Aspects of
an Illustrated Meskwaki Text AMY DAHLSTROM 1
- Contact among Some Mayan Languages:
Inferences from Loanwords SØREN WICHMANN AND
CECIL H. BROWN 57
- Review Essay
- Morpheme Order and Semantic Scope: Word Formation
in the Athapaskan Verb* (Keren Rice) SHARON HARGUS AND
SIRI G. TUTTLE 94
- Book Reviews
- Relatively Speaking: Language, Thought, and Kinship
among the Mopan Maya* (Eve Danziger) NORA C. ENGLAND 117
- Tuscarora-English/English-Tuscarora Dictionary*
(Blair A. Rudes) CLIFFORD ABBOTT 118
- Himalayan Space: Cultural Horizons and Practices*
(Balthasar Bickel and Martin Gaenszle, editors) DAVID BRADLEY 120
- The Handbook of Language and Gender* (Janet Holmes
and Miriam Meyerhoff, editors) NANCY BONVILLAIN 124
- Talking about Treatment: Recommendations for Breast Cancer
Adjuvant Therapy* (Felicia D. Roberts) VILMA SANTIAGO-IRIZARRY 126

**Warrior Powers from an Underwater Spirit:
Cultural and Linguistic Aspects of an Illustrated Meskwaki Text**

AMY DAHLSTROM

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Abstract. A Meskwaki (Fox) text written around 1912 by Alfred Kiyana in the Meskwaki syllabary is presented here, with interlinear glosses and translation. Of particular interest are Kiyana's illustrations, depicting an underwater spirit and a winged spirit. A number of the cultural and linguistic features of the text are also discussed.

1. Introduction. The text presented below is offered here to make available primary data to linguists and anthropologists concerned with Algonquian topics. It is from the vast corpus of Meskwaki (Fox) material written in the Meskwaki syllabary at the Meskwaki Settlement near Tama, Iowa. These texts were collected starting in 1911 by Truman Michelson of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and are now stored at the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. The present text (NAA 1880) was written around 1912 by Alfred Kiyana (1877–1918). Kiyana was an extremely gifted storyteller and writer who provided Michelson with around 10,000 pages of material, approximately half of the entire corpus. Some of his texts, like the one below, include illustrations, frequently of spirits encountered by humans seeking a vision.

Michelson published portions of the material he collected (e.g., Michelson 1921, 1925, 1927, 1930; see Goddard [1984] for criticism of Michelson's editing procedures). There are, however, many texts in the Smithsonian corpus that remain untranslated and unpublished. The present text, for example, exists in the archives only in the syllabic original, untranslated except for the caption of figure 5. In the edition below I have supplied phonemic information not represented in the Meskwaki syllabary (i.e., vowel length and *h*) and added punctuation, interlinear glosses, and a translation. The text is presented here in short lines of roughly a clause per line, which brings into relief word order variation and other features of the language. The numbering reflects the page numbers of the original manuscript, while the letters identifying individual lines have been added for the sake of convenience.

At the same time that I have added information to help the reader, I have also been careful to preserve everything found in the original manuscript. The few instances of writing errors by Kiyana are corrected in the text, with an endnote giving the actual manuscript form. Moreover, the presence or absence of the word boundary symbol used in the Meskwaki syllabary is noted throughout. Meskwaki has a phonological process of optional cliticization of independent

words (Goddard 1991); it is of great interest in studying this phenomenon to know where a native speaker felt a word boundary did or did not exist.

2. Cultural notes. The basic theme of the story is a familiar one in the Meskwaki corpus—namely, the dangers that one may encounter in seeking a blessing from the spirits. The usual path by which a young person (typically, a young man) would receive a blessing is by fasting for a vision. The protagonist of this story, however, does not fast, for which he is teased by other boys (4F). Instead his father instructs him to plunge into the icy river during the winter. This seems to be equivalent to fasting in that in both practices the vision seeker is causing his body to suffer. The aim is to attract the notice of spirits who will take pity on the vision seeker and bless him in a certain way.

It is clear from Meskwaki stories that many things can go wrong in the quest for a vision. Both in the text included in Dahlstrom (1996b) and in Kiyana (1996), for example, the father of a fasting young man insists that his son continue to fast even after a blessing has been bestowed; the fathers' foolishness and greed lead in one case to the son's death, and in the other to the son's transformation into an underwater spirit, half catfish and half human. Another pitfall is that an evil spirit may try to trick the vision seeker. If a "blessing" from an evil spirit is accepted, the person will go on to have an evil sort of life. The task of the vision seeker in this case is to recognize the signs of bad spirits, refuse to accept a blessing from them, and continue to fast until receiving a vision of a good spirit. In the text given below, the young man fails to do this. He accepts a blessing from an underwater spirit; immediately afterwards he sees a winged spirit in the air carrying a sacred pack who scolds the young man for not waiting for the blessing the winged spirit would have given him.

A few comments are in order here about the class of underwater spirits. Underwater spirits in Meskwaki cosmology are related to the motif of horned serpents widespread among Native American peoples. Though often depicted as amalgams of various species (the one here has a buffalo head, a lizardlike body, a rattlesnake's rattle, and the scales of a fish), it seems that all Meskwaki underwater spirits have in common the traits of horns and scales. The general term for an underwater spirit in Meskwaki is *meši-kene-pikwa*. The form *meši-* means 'big, great'; the cognate of *kene-pikwa* means 'snake' in Cree, Ojibwa, Menomini, and Miami (Haas 1958:24). In Meskwaki, *kene-pikwa* has lost the meaning of '(ordinary) snake' and is apparently used in only two compounds: *meši-kene-pikwa*, denoting an underwater spirit, and *mači-kene-pikwa* (*mači-* 'bad') identified by Jones (1939:15) as an underground spirit living near sulphur springs or other undrinkable water. An ordinary snake is called in Meskwaki *maneto-wa*, which also means 'spirit, supernatural being'.

It is important to note that underwater spirits are often, but not always, malevolent. Michelson (1927:79–87) gives an account of a married couple blessed in a good way by an underwater panther and Brightman (1993:83) notes

the ambivalent nature of underwater spirits among the Rock Cree. In all cases, however, underwater beings are powerful and to be respected. The present text tells us that the hero always held tobacco in both hands when he did his ritual swimming, as an offering to the underwater spirits.

Since underwater spirits are not always malevolent towards humans, the reader may wonder why I label the one in this story as evil. After all, the powers that the spirit bestows upon the young man are not inherently bad; he is able to summon enemies by drumming and paralyze them, allowing the other warriors to club them to death. (Their paralysis is explicitly linked to the numbness the hero used to experience when he plunged into icy water as a boy [24D].) The hero uses this power only against enemies and only when provoked by an enemy attack. Similar powers are ascribed to Black Rainbow in the story of the origin of the Owl sacred pack (Michelson 1921:63); in the Owl story the drumming power is clearly viewed as one of many benefits derived from a blessing by a good spirit. In the present text, however, the evil nature of the underwater spirit is revealed at the end of the story, when he takes the lives of the young man's parents as payment for the powers he granted to the young man. This is common practice for evil spirits, as described in Michelson (1925:553), where a fasting boy is warned that an evil spirit would take the lives of the boy's future children. According to the winged spirit in the present story, who reappears after the death of the young man's parents to chase the evil spirit away, the underwater spirit would have next taken the life of the young man he blessed (29E). A further reason for considering the underwater spirit to be a bad one is found in line 27C, where the grieving young man refers to him as 'the one who knows about bad medicine'. 'Bad medicine' here perhaps specifically alludes to the eight human hearts that the underwater spirit directed him to collect as part of the medicine preparations (10P, 19N).

Having established that the underwater spirit in this text is an evil one, we may then ask what the signs were that the young man missed, regarding the nature of the spirit he had encountered. There seem, in fact, to be several indications that the underwater spirit is one to avoid. For one thing, the young man's first encounter with the spirit comes when he goes underwater in an emergency without the protection of tobacco. A second matter of concern has to do with the number of spirits involved. Most accounts of blessings by good spirits describe four or more spirits appearing to the vision seeker. A common pattern is for six spirits to participate in the blessing: the one who initially blesses the young person then escorts him to a spirit in the east, another in the south, another in the west, another in the north, and finally to the Great Spirit in the sky above (see, e.g., Michelson 1925:67–83). All but the last spirit end their speech by saying that the number of spirits blessing the young person is not yet enough, and that the vision seeker must now visit another spirit. Further evidence that blessings of the good sort involve multiple spirits may perhaps be found in Kiyana (1996:1K), where a father checking on his fasting son asks,

"How many spirits blessed you then?" In contrast, the underwater spirit in the present text is acting alone when he blesses the young man. In the initial encounter, the underwater spirit creates the illusion that there are four spirits in human form, but, in fact, as the young man is told, "we are not really four . . . I am just one" (6M-N).

A third suspicious circumstance is that the second encounter with the evil spirit, at which the actual blessing is bestowed, takes place in the summer. Summer is the time when spirits are most active; people do not fast in the summer for fear of the evil spirits (cf. Michelson 1927:79) and the hero of the present text stops his ritual swimming each year when the flowers bloom in the spring. Furthermore, "winter stories" (sacred stories about the culture hero and other spirits) are not to be told in the summer. These seasonal taboos are somehow connected to the nature of time in the world of the spirits, where a human year is equivalent to one day and winter is night, when the spirits sleep. There is an obvious parallel with the life cycle of snakes, who are dormant in the winter. (In fact, Kiyana was warned as a boy that garter snakes would come into his bed if he insisted on hearing winter stories in the summer [Kiyana ca. 1915:82].) The belief about time in the spirits' world, however, seems to apply to spirits of all types, while the practice of fasting only in the winter implies that the good spirits are awake or in some way more accessible to humans during that time than the malevolent spirits are.

A fourth difference between the blessing bestowed by the underwater spirit in this text and those bestowed by good spirits is pointed out to the hero by the winged spirit. The underwater spirit did not say that his blessing extended until the end of the earth, for the descendants of the one blessed. Rather, the powers given to the hero are for himself alone and will not persist after his death. Here the contrast seems to be between the personal power an individual may have for using medicine, and the sacred packs that are the basis for the clans and ceremonial societies.

We learn less in this story about the winged spirit than we do about the underwater spirit. There is, however, an antagonism between underwater spirits and the thunder beings that would have been well known to the audience for this story. (See Jones [1907:202-7] and Michelson [1930:119-21] for stories of battles between the two; Michelson [1930:54-56] discusses their opposition, with photographs of woven bags depicting a thunderbird on one side and an underwater panther on the other.) Though the winged spirit in this text is not explicitly so identified, the fact that he is a spirit of the air and the enemy of the underwater spirit may suggest that he is one of the thunderers. (See Jones [1907:175] for a story in which a thunderer appears to a married couple in human form.)

That the winged spirit points at the young man is significant (17C, figure 2), since pointing at people with the finger is avoided in Meskwaki culture. Kiyana's lengthy version of the origin myth (Kiyana 1913) contains several

references that shed light on the associations of pointing. For example, the culture hero, Wi'sahke'ha, has the ability to create objects, such as a lake, merely by pointing at a spot (p. 723). Moreover, Wi'sahke'ha informs the human beings of the Warchief clan that, if they point at someone they are quarreling with, that person will die (p. 791). Later in the same story, a spirit is pointed at by other spirits, as part of a scolding (p. 963). Pointing with the finger thus seems to be associated both with mystical power and with the expression of anger.

Finally, it may be noted that the description here of the defeat of the Sioux, the traditional enemies of the Meskwaki, matches other accounts of battle. Meskwaki stories of warfare frequently mention that one enemy would be spared in order for him or her to go home and tell what happened (e.g., Michelson 1921:63, 65). Since the aim of every warrior was to be talked about as a brave man, this practice guaranteed that one's reputation would become even more widespread. An added twist in this story is that once the news has been related to the other Sioux, the hero's power brings about the death of the temporarily spared enemy. (Such power is also attributed to the historical figure Wa'pasaya [Jones 1907:21].) Another feature typical of war stories is found in line 23C, where the Sioux is instructed to tell his people, "Next time a few more of you should come!" This is a frequent taunt directed against enemies (e.g., Jones 1907:9, 11, 21).

3. Linguistic notes. In this section I provide some background information about the linguistic features of the text. Obviation, the well-known opposition within third person, is amply illustrated here; the third person most central to the discourse, known as "proximate," is referred to by unmarked third-person forms, while more peripheral third persons are referred to by marked "obviative" forms of nouns, demonstratives, and verb agreement. The assignment of proximate status may shift in the course of a story. For example, in line 7E the hero's father is obviative, but in lines 7F to 7M the father is proximate. See Goddard (1984, 1990), Thomason (1995), and Dahlstrom (1996b) for discussion of obviation in other texts.

Word order in Meskwaki is determined by both discourse pragmatic and syntactic factors (Dahlstrom 1993). To the right of the verb is the unmarked position for subjects (3B), first objects (4C), second objects (10E, 28D), and complement clauses (2E, 18N). If two or more such elements appear to the right of the verb nearly any order is possible, except second object preceding first object. Material to the left of the verb, on the other hand, is arranged as follows:

Topic — Negative — Focus — Oblique — Verb — . . .

Examples of topic NPs may be seen in lines 5D and 23P, negative particles in lines 4M and 6M, and focused NPs in lines 24P, 26C, and 28C. Oblique arguments

include those expressing stationary location (6i), goal (7F, 7K), source (6F), and manner (23H). Meskwaki also allows discontinuous NPs (6F, 22E, 25J) and discontinuous compound verbs (4I, 11K). See Dahlstrom (1995) for a discussion of how discontinuous constituents fit into the word order template given above.

Many verbs of saying and thinking take the represented speech or thought as an oblique argument of manner (1D, 27D, 29E). The direct or indirect quote therefore appears immediately to the left of the verb, in the usual position for an oblique argument. A special use of verbs of thinking is found in this and other texts describing blessings by spirits. A spirit confers a blessing upon a human by thinking about him; a verb such as *ine:neme-wa* 'he thinks thus about him' is therefore often translated as 'he blesses him thus' if the subject is a spirit and the object is a human.

Another striking aspect of Meskwaki morphosyntax is the large number of paradigms of verb inflection. Verbs are inflected for subject and object in one of twenty-six paradigms sensitive both to syntactic information (e.g., main vs. subordinate clause) and to semantic-pragmatic factors, such as aspect and evidentiality. See Goddard (1994:190–207) for the inflectional forms; the functions of the various paradigms found in this text will be sketched briefly below. In the interlinear glosses for verbs, the gloss of the verb stem is followed by the features for subject and object (separated from each other by a colon), which in turn are followed by the label for the verb paradigm. The inflectional prefixes of the independent indicative and dubitative and the element *e'h=*, required in several paradigms as discussed below, are not given separate glosses.

The aorist conjunct is the most frequently used paradigm in this and other narrative texts. It requires conjunct inflectional suffixes and either the aorist proclitic *e'h=* or the future proclitic *wi'h=*. (I have here followed the convention of treating *e'h* and *wi'h* as proclitics, but these elements are perhaps best considered inflectional prefixes; see Dahlstrom [1996a] for discussion.) The aorist conjunct is used for many types of subordinate clauses in both narrative and nonnarrative contexts (2E, 18N). (The nonnarrative pattern is found here in direct quotes and in asides by the narrator, such as 1C.) In addition, the aorist conjunct is used for main-clause verbs in narrative contexts (1H); here it functions as an evidential, marking the discourse as a traditional narrative, not a report of the narrator's direct experience.

The independent indicative is used for main clause verbs that express positive assertions in a nonnarrative context, such as the direct quote in line 2D, or the aside by the narrator in line 2H. Negative assertions in the main clauses of nonnarrative contexts are expressed by verbs inflected in the negative, as in line 6M. The imperative is used for positive commands (1D), and the prohibitive for negative commands (11L).

Several inflectional paradigms are used in clauses expressing 'when' or 'if'. To express 'when' in the past, the changed conjunct is used (6E, 7I). The subjunctive is used to indicate 'when' in the future or a noncounterfactual 'if' clause

(7H, 28A). The iterative forms temporal adverbial clauses with a gloss of 'whenever . . .', expressing repeated action (1G). Clauses glossed 'whenever' in the sense of 'at whatever time . . .' are marked with the aorist interrogative (10M). Counterfactual 'if' clauses take the unreal (13H).

Other verb paradigms are specialized for evidential and modal notions. The potential adds a modal reading such as 'would, could, should', either used on its own (29C) or in the apodosis of a counterfactual 'if' clause (13I). The dubitative is used for suppositions (24C), while the plain interrogative indicates an inference made by the speaker (18D). The changed unreal (23A) is found in certain exclamations of surprise. The combination of future proclitic plus past aorist inflection (13M) expresses unrealized intentions.

Participle inflection is found on verbs in relative clauses. Besides the usual inflection for subject and object, participles bear an additional suffix agreeing with the head of the relative clause. (In the interlinear glosses, the gloss of the stem is followed by the features for subject and object, the label "PRT" for participle, and then the features of the head of the relative clause.) Verbs in ordinary relative clauses are inflected in the conjunct participle paradigm (1B); relative clauses headed by 'whoever', 'whatever', etc., are formed with interrogative participles (21L); past tense or irrealis mood (or both) in the relative clause may be expressed by past conjunct participles (14I).

Other linguistic phenomena worthy of mention include two types of reduplication (Dahlstrom 1997): bisyllabic reduplication generally indicates repeated or distributed action (4P, 8F), while monosyllabic reduplication generally indicates continuative aspect (22B, 26J). (See Appelbaum [1996] for Meskwaki aspect in general; many of her examples are from the text presented here.) Double reduplication (both types applying to a single verb stem) is illustrated in line 12A. Meskwaki has a large number of enclitics expressing mostly pragmatic notions such as evidentiality, emphasis, contrast, and speaker's attitude. In addition, as mentioned above, independent words may undergo optional cliticization. See Goddard (1991) for the rules of clitic sandhi. The text contains many examples of noun incorporation; one may be seen in line 19N, where the verb contains the medial *-ite'he-* 'heart'. Compare line 10P, where the unincorporated noun appears in focus position. Line 10P also illustrates possessor raising, where a transitive verb with a possessed object is made into a ditransitive taking the possessor as first object and the possessum as second object. An instance of the diminutive (here a suffix on the verb stem) used to express pity is found in line 23Q. Finally, Goddard (1990) points out that absentative demonstrative pronouns are used in narratives to re-introduce a previously mentioned character; examples in this text are found in lines 9F and 29L.

Text

- 1 A *ne·hi·pye·twe·ya·kahwa·ta* |¹ *owi·či·škwe·hahi*
 know.how-bring.by.drumming.3:3'.PRT.3 his.enemies.OBV
e·šawi·či | *našawaye_ neno·te·wa,*
 fare.thus.3.PRT.OBL long.ago Indian
 What happened to an Indian of long ago, who knew how to bring his enemies by drumming,
- B *ke·temina·kota neno·so·ni.*
 bless.3':3.PRT.3 buffalo.OBV
 and who was blessed by a buffalo.
- C (*po·hkwī=·'pi -ki·yo·te·neniwiniwani.*)
 broken.=QUOT -be.snake.3'.IND
 (It was half snake, it's said.)
- D *o·sani=·'pi ahpene·či=meko "ma·maya mawi·anenwi·no,"*
 his.father.OBV=QUOT always=EMPH early.morning go-swim.2.IMP
e·h=iko·či,
 say.thus.to.3':3.AOR
 His father, it's said, always told him, "Go swimming early in the morning,"
- E *na·hina·hi we·pi | -tahkepye·ya·nikini.*
 when begin-be.cold.water.0'.ITER
 every year when the water began to get cold.
- F *e·h=nano·či=·'pi=mek=a·pehe -kepateniki.*
 spontaneously.=QUOT=EMPH=always -freeze.shut.0'.AOR
 And eventually it would freeze over, it's said.
- G *ki·ši·ča·ki | -kepatenikini,*
 PERF-all-freeze.shut.0'.ITER
 Whenever it had frozen completely,
- H *e·h=po·ni | -anenwi·či.*
 stop-swim.3.AOR
 he stopped swimming.

- I *ahpene·či=ke·h=meko nye·wenwi e·h=kotawi·či.*
 always=and=EMPH four.times go.under.3.AOR
 And he would always go under four times.
- J *wa·wi·to·nehke=·'p=a·pehe e·h=so·kena·či neno·te·wi·ase·ma·wani. |*
 both.hands=QUOT=always hold.3:3'.AOR Indian-tobacco.OBV
 He always held Indian tobacco in both hands, it's said.
- K *ki·ši·ča·ki·ka·ki·watenikini,*
 PERF-all-REDUP.freeze.around.0'.ITER
 Whenever it had completely frozen all around,
- L *e·h=po·ni·anenwi·či.*
 stop-swim.3.AOR
 he stopped swimming.
- M *e·h=pwa·wi=·ke·hi=·'pi -mahkate·wi·či.*
 not.=but=QUOT -fast.3.AOR
 But he didn't fast, it's said.
- N *o·ni čaki·mahkwi·ki·šeso·hani e·ko·čini·čini,*
 and.then little-bear-moon.DIM.OBV hang.3'.ITER
 And then every January,
- O *i·ni na·hka·či nye·wokoni e·h=anenwi·ne·či. ||*
 then again four.days make.swim.X:3.AOR
 he was made to swim for four days again.
- 2 A *pe·hki=ke·hi=·'pi=·'nina·hi ako·na | e·h=papa·mi·opa·šiki,*
 really=and=QUOT=then snow about-blown.up.by.wind.3.AOR
 And at that time, it's said, the snow was really swirling about,
- B *e·h=ki·ša·ko·či·kesi·ya·ki.*
 as.much.as.possible-be.cold.0.AOR
 and it was extremely cold.
- C *i·ni=·'p=a·pehe e·h=nawa·či·mayo·či i·nina·hi.*
 then=QUOT=always stop.and-weep.3.AOR then
 Then, it's said, first he would weep at that time.

- D *ki·h=nawači* | *-no·ta·ko·ki* *maneto·waki*
 FUT=stop.and-hear.3P-2.IND spirits
 "The spirits must first hear from you"
- E *wi·h=anenu·yani*,
 FUT=swim.2.AOR
 that you are going to swim,
- F *maneto·waki*, " *e·h=ineči=p=a·pehe*.
 spirits tell.X:3.AOR=QUOT=always
 the spirits must," he was always told, it's said.
- G *ma·maya=p=i=mek=a·pehe* *tašina·ke·wa* *e·h=mayo·či*.
 early.morning=QUOT=EMPH=always PROG.sing.3.IND weep.3.AOR
 Very early in the morning, it's said, he would be singing and weeping.
- H *apina=p=a·pehe* *taši* | *-pekeše·wa·po·kateniwi* | *nepi*,
 even=QUOT=always PROG-steam.0'.IND water
 There would even be mist coming from the water, it's said,
- I *e·h=tahkepye·ya·niki*.
 be.cold.water.0'.AOR
 because it was cold water.
- J *ki·ši-mayo·čini*,
 PERF-weep.3.ITER
 Each time after he wept,
- K *e·h=čapo·kisa·ho·či*.
 jump.in.water.3.AOR
 he jumped in the water.
- L *nye·wenwi=meko* *e·h=kotawi·či*.
 four.times=EMPH go.under.3.AOR
 He went under exactly four times.
- M *apina=p=i=mek=a·pehe* *e·kwa·pye·ki·čini* *we·pa·ške·wa*, |
 even=QUOT=EMPH=always get.out.of.water.3.ITER fall.3.IND
 It was so bad, it's said, that whenever he would come out of the water, he would
 fall over,

- N *e·h=wi·wisaheči* *nenoswa·ki*
 wrap.quickly.X:3.AOR buffalo.skin.LOC
 and be quickly wrapped in a buffalo robe
- O *e·h=awaneči* *e·h=owi·kiwa·či*.
 carry.X:3.AOR live.3P.PRT.OBL
 and carried to his family's place.
- P *o·sani=ke·hi=p=i=mek=a·pehe* *wi·te·meko·čini*. ||
 his.father.OBV=and=QUOT=EMPH=always go.with.3':3.PRT.3'
 It was his father, you see, who would always go with him, it's said.
- 3 A *ki·ši-awaso·čini=p=a·pehe*, |
 PERF-warm.self.3.ITER=QUOT=always
 After he had warmed up,
- B *ača·hmeko* *e·h=kaški-ma·sehka·niki* *oni·si·pineča·kanani*.
 first.time able-move.0'.AOR his.fingers
 then for the first time his fingers were able to move.
- C *o·ni=na·hkači*, *na·hina·h=meko* *ki·ši-papakohanikini*,
 and.then=again when=EMPH PERF-break.up.0'.ITER
 And then another time, just after break-up each year,
- D *mesihkwani* *ki·ši-mi·wipokoničini* *si·po·ki*,
 ice.OBV PERF-float.away.3'.ITER river.LOC
 after the ice floated away into the river,
- E *i·ni=p=i* *očiwe·pi*.
 then=QUOT from.then.on
 starting then, it's said.
- F *o·ni=na·hina·h=meko* *ki·šikenikini*² *pe·škone·wi·he·hani*, |
 and.then=when=EMPH be.grown.0'.ITER flowers.DIM
 And just at the time when the little flowers come into bloom,
- G *i·ni=p=i* *e·h=po·ni-anenu·wi·či*. |
 then=QUOT stop-swim.3.AOR
 then, it's said, he would stop swimming.

- H *i'ni='pi še'ski=meko e'h=ki wita'ci.*
then=QUOT only=EMPH stay.around.3.AOR
Then, it's said, he just stayed home.
- I *mehteno'h=meko='pi | owiye'hani ne'po'hiničini,*
only=EMPH=QUOT someone.OBV die.3'.ITER
Only whenever someone died, it's said,
- J *nye'wokoni e'h=pemi | -anenwi'ci ma'maya.*
four.days in.succession-swim.3.AOR early.morning
he would swim for four days in a row early in the morning.
- K *e'h=pena'winiki,*
be.summer.O'.AOR
It was in the summer,
- L *šewe'na | ahpeneci=meko e'h=so'kena'ci neno'te'wi-ase'ma'wani.*
but always=EMPH hold.3:3'.AOR Indian-tobacco.OBV
but he always held Indian tobacco in his hands.
- M *nepi=ke'hi='pi te'pe'netaminičihi*
water=and=QUOT control.3'.PRT.3'P
And, it's said, the ones that are in charge of the water
- N *i'nihi se'hkahamawa'cihi, ||*
those.OBV offer.tobacco.to.3:3'.PRT.3'P
were the ones he gave tobacco to,
- 4 A *we'ci- ahpeneci=meko -keki-kotawi'ci ase'ma'wani.*
from- always=EMPH -with-go.under.3.PRT.OBL tobacco.OBV
that is why he always went underwater with tobacco.
- B *nehki=ke'h=meko pe'mi-anenwi'cini*
as.long=and=EMPH in.succession-swim.3.PRT.OBL.PL
For the length of time that he would swim
- C *ahpeneci=meko e'h=so'kena'ci ase'ma'wani. |*
always=EMPH hold.3:3'.AOR tobacco.OBV
he always held tobacco in his hands.
- D *ke'keya'h=meko e'h=kehci-kwi'yese'hiči.*
finally=EMPH great-be.boy.3.AOR
Eventually he was a big boy.
- E *owi'ci-kwi'yese'hahi='p=a'pehe*
his.fellow-boys.OBV=QUOT=always
The other boys, it's said, would call him,
- F *"pwa'wi-nahi-mahkate'wi'ta" e'h=ikoči,*
not-habit-fast.3.PRT.3 say.about.3':3.AOR
"The one who never fasts,"
- G *ke'ko'hi e'si-a'hkwe'hta'ti'cini.*
some.way thus-be.angry.at.RECIP.3.ITER
whenever they were angry at each other over something.
- H *i'ni='pi=mek=a'pehe e'simekoči,*
that=QUOT=EMPH=always say.thus.about.3':3.PRT.OBL
That's exactly what they would always say about him, it's said,
- I *oni wi'na e'h=pwa'wi=meko | ke'ko'hi -ina'ci*
and he not=EMPH anything -say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR
a'sitami. |
in.exchange
but he, on the other hand, wouldn't say anything at all back to them.
- J *e'h=wi'sikesi'ci=ke'hi,*
have.stamina.3.AOR=and
And he had stamina,
- K *na'hkači e'h=ki'sa'koči=meko -ši'pačiči.*
also as.much.as.possible=EMPH -impervious.to.cold.3.AOR
furthermore he was as impervious to cold as he could possibly be.
- L *mo'hci=meko='p=a'pehe e'h=ki'sa'koči-kesi'ya'niki,*
even=EMPH=QUOT=always as.much.as.possible-be.cold.O'.AOR
Even, it's said, when it was as cold as could be,
- M *a'kwi='pi=mek=a'pehe wi'h=iši-nepačikwe'ni.*
not=QUOT=EMPH=always FUT=thus-feel.cold.3.INTPRT.OBL
there was no way he could feel cold, it's said.

N *wi:na=meko e:h=ma:waci* | *-ši:pačiči*,
 he=EMPH most-impervious.to.cold.3.AOR
 He was the most impervious to cold,

O *e:h=iši-kehke:nemekoči mehtose:neniwahi*.
 thus-know.3':3.AOR people.OBV
 the people knew that about him.

P *šwa:šika='pi taswipew:nue* || *i:ni pe:mi- 'ši-anehanenwi:či*. |
 eight=QUOT so.many.years that in.succession-thus-REDUP.swim.3.PRT.OBL
 Eight years, it's said, is how long he swam over and over.

5 A *i:ni e:h=ši:pačiči*,
 that impervious.to.cold.3.AOR
 As for his being impervious to cold,

B *pe:hki=meko* | *e:h=wi:ke:te:nemekoči a:neta* | *ke:h:tesi:hiničihi*,
 really=EMPH consider.carefully.3':3.AOR some be.old.DIM.3'.PRT.3'P
 when some of the older people carefully considered it,

C *ke:ko:h=meko e:h=ki:ši-ine:nemekoči*.
 something=EMPH PERF-think.thus.of.3':3.AOR
 they thought he had really done something.

D *o:sani=ke:hi e:h=pwa:wi-=meko ke:ko:hi -iši-mi:na:we:nemekoči*.
 his.father.OBV=but not-=EMPH any.way -thus-take.notice.of.3':3.AOR
 But as for his father, he didn't realize that there was anything special about him.

E *e:h=ne:neškimekoči=ke:h=meko ki:ša:koči o:sani*.
 REDUP.scold.3':3.AOR=and=EMPH as.much.as.possible his.father.OBV
 And his father really used to scold him as much as possible.

F *e:h=kosa:či=ča:h=mekoho*,
 fear.3:3'.AOR=so=EMPH
 So he was really afraid of him,

G *ahpene:či* | *ke:ko:h=meko e:šawi:hičini*
 always something=EMPH do.thus.DIM.3.ITER
 because everytime he did anything

H *e:h=kehči-neškimekoči*.
 greatly-scold.3':3.AOR
 [his father] scolded him so harshly.

I *o:ni=kapotwe "nepi na:teno,"* |³ *e:h=ineči*.
 and.then=at.some.point water fetch.2:0.IMP tell X:3.AOR
 And then sometime later, "Go after water," he was told.

J *e:h=kepateniki='yo=ke:hi*.
 freeze.shut.O'.AOR=for=and
 Now, I should mention that it had frozen over.

K *i:ni='pi e:h=kwa:pahaki nepi*,
 then=QUOT dip.3:0.AOR water
 Then, it's said, he dipped the water up,

L *e:h=ma:no:če:haki*.
 dip.up.a.lot.3:0.AOR
 getting a lot.

M *ki:ši* | *-kwa:pahaki*,
 PERF-dip.3:0.CHCONJ
 After he had dipped it up,

N *kepanohikani* | *e:h=ayo:či wi:h=menoči*.
 lid use.3:0.AOR FUT=drink.3:0.AOR
 he used the lid to drink some.

O *i:ni='pi='ni e:h=panenaki kepanohikani*.
 then=QUOT=that drop.3:0.AOR lid
 Then, it's said, he dropped that lid.

P *anemya:ka* |⁴ *e:h=ahte:niki*.
 downstream be.there.O'.AOR
 It was downstream.

Q *e:h=te:pahkwa:pataki=meko e:h=ahte:niki*, ||
 reach.by.seeing.3:0.AOR=EMPH be.there.O'.PRT.OBL
 He could make out where it was,

- 6 A *e'h=nenye masoči.*
REDUP.stand.3.AOR
as he stood there.
- B *kapo'twe=meko='pi='ni e'h=ahkwiya'te'netaki*
at.some.point=EMPH=QUOT=then be.especially.worried.3:0.AOR
At some point, it's said, he got especially worried
- C *wi'h=neškimeči,*
FUT=scold.X:3.AOR
that he would be scolded
- D *e'h=peninawi'či.*
undress.3.AOR
and he undressed.
- E *ki'si-peninawi'či,*
PERF-undress.3.CHCONJ
After he had undressed,
- F *i'nahi e'h=oči-čapo'kisahoči mo'nepya'neki.*
that.LOC from-jump.in.water.3.AOR hole.in.ice.LOC
he plunged into the water through that hole in the ice.
- G *masa'či=ke'h=meko e'h=te'pičiki | mo'nepya'ni.*
barely=and=EMPH squeeze.through.3.AOR hole.in.ice
And he just barely squeezed through the hole.
- H *mani e'si | -kotawi'či*
this thus-go.under.3.CHCONJ
Just as he went under
- I *wi'kiya'peki e'h=awiči.*
house.LOC be.there.3.AOR
he was in a house.
- J *"i'na," e'h=ikoči neniwahi,*
that.ANIM say.thus.to.3':3.AOR men.OBV
"There he is," some men said about him,
- K *e'h=nye winiči.*
be.four.3'.AOR
there were four of them.
- L *"nahi, no'sisemena'te, ni'na'na=kohi | keketemino'nepena,"*
now, our.grandchild.VOC we=certainly bless.1P:2.IND
e'h=ikoči.
say.thus.to.3':3.AOR
"Now, grandchild, we certainly bless you," they told him.
- M *"a'kwi=ke'h=mani ke'h'tena nye'wiya'kini," e'h=ikoči.*
not=and=now truly be.four.1P.NEG say.thus.to.3':3.AOR
"But we are not really four now," they told him.
- N *"nenekoti'hi," e'h=iniči.*
be.one.DIM.1.IND say.thus.3'.AOR
"I am just one," he said.⁵
- O *"šewe'na i'ni=mehteno'hi e'si-nahikeki*
but that=only thus-be.proper.0.PRT.OBL
"But that's the only proper way
- P *wi'h=mehtose'neniwa'pamiyani. |*
FUT=see.O.as.person.2:1.AOR
for you to see me as a human being.
- Q *mehtahkamiki=koči | =wi'na ki'h=ne'wi, noši'hi," |*
on.bare.earth=you.know=CONTRAST FUT=see.2:1.IND grandchild.VOC
e'h=ikoči.
say.thus.to.3':3.AOR
"But you will, of course, see me on dry land, grandchild," he told him.
- R *"i'ni_ wi'h=we'pi-a'čimohena'ni || e'ne'nemena'ni anehki'hi. |*
then FUT=begin-tell.1:2.AOR think.thus.of.1:2.PRT.OBL a.little
"Then I will begin telling you a little about how I bless you.
- 7 A *ni'na, noši'hi, kemi'nene | wi'h=išawiyani.*
I grandchild.VOC give.1:2.IND FUT=do.thus.2.PRT.OBL
I, grandchild, grant you what you will do.

- B *i ni=meko | šeški e'nenani.*
that=EMPH only say.thus.to.1:2.PRT.OBL
That's all I'm telling you.
- C *i noki=ča:hi na wi=pena:wike i ni wi:h=ne:wiyani,*
now=so middle-be.summer.0.SUBJUNCT then FUT=see.2:1.AOR
So in the middle of next summer is when you will see me,"
- D *e'h=ikoči.*
say.thus.to.3':3.AOR
he told him.
- E *i ni=ke:hi='pi='na o:sani e'h=a:nawapwi:hekoči.*
then=and=QUOT=that.ANIM his.father.OBV fail.to.wait.for.3':3.AOR
And then, it's said, that [boy]'s father got tired of waiting for him.
- F *i:tepi e'h=a:či.*
there go.3.AOR
He went there.
- G *e'h=anemi=meke | -a:hkwe:wite:he:či,*
away=EMPH -feel.angry.3.AOR
He went off feeling angry,
- H *"ne:wake, ni:h=kehči | -neškima:wa," e'h=ina:či*
see.1:3.SUBJUNCT FUT=greatly-scold.1:3.IND say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR
owi:wani.
his.wife.OBV
telling his wife, "When I see him, I'm really going to scold him."
- I *ke:či:či wa:wočiamowa:či,*
come.out.3.CHCONJ REDUP.get.from.3P:0.PRT.OBL
When he came out at the place where they drew water,
- J *e'h=mayakite:he:či.*
feel.strange.3.AOR
he felt strange.
- K *i:ya:h=pye:ya:či,*
there=come.3.CHCONJ
When he arrived there,

- L *e'h=ne:taki okwisani oto:šehki:ta:kani,*
see.3:0.AOR his.son.OBV his.clothes
he saw his son's clothes,
- M *e'h=kehči-mayo:či.*
greatly-weep.3.AOR
and he wept hard.
- N *pe:hki='pi=meke='ni mehtose:neniwaki e'h=ame:wa:či,*
really=QUOT=EMPH=then people react.3P.AOR
Then, it's said, the people really responded,
- O *ta:ni wi:h=iyowa:či?*
how FUT=say.thus.3P.PRT.OBL
but what could they do?
- P *e'h=makinehpateniki='yo=ke:hi mehkwami.*
be.deeply.frozen.0'.AOR=for=and ice
The ice, you see, was frozen thick.
- Q *kapo:twē | i:na kwi:yesē:ha e'h=ki:ši-a:čimohēkoči*
at.some.point that boy PERF-tell.3':3.AOR
ke:temina:kočini.
bless.3':3.PRT.3'
Some time later the one who was blessing that boy finished instructing him.
- R *"nahi, na:kwa:no='nahi.*
now, leave.2.IMP=EMPH
"Well, now you can go.
- S *kese:kiha:waki=kohi mehtose:neniwaki | noši:hi,"*
scare.2:3.IND=obviously people grandchild.VOC
you are obviously frightening the people, grandchild,"
- T *e'h=ineči.*
say.thus.to.X:3.AOR
he was told.
- U *mehto:či=meke || mehtahkamiki e'h=ine:netaki. |*
like=EMPH on.bare.earth think.thus.of.3:0.AOR
It seemed to him as if he were on dry land.

- 8 A *e·h=mo·hki·či mo·nepya·neki_ oči*,
emerge.3.AOR hole.in.ice.LOC from
He went out through the hole in the ice,
- B *e·h=anemi·so·kenaki kepanohikani*.
away-hold.3:0.AOR lid
holding the lid.
- C *pe·hki=meko o·sani e·h=ki·ša·koči·mi·ša·te·nemoni·či*.
really=EMPH his.father.OBV as.much.as.possible-be.glad.3'.AOR
His father was really as happy as could be.
- D *e·h=mawinanekoči*,
ran.to.3':3.AOR
He ran to him,
- E *e·h=anemo·mekoči*,
carry.away.on.back.3':3.AOR
and carried him away on his back,
- F *e·h=penopenowa·či mehtose·neniwaki*.
REDUP.set.out.3PAOR people
while the people went their separate ways.
- G *o·ni='pi e·h=a·čimoha·či o·sani_ e·šawi·či*.
and.then=QUOT tell.3:3'.AOR his.father.OBV fare.thus.3.PRT.OBL
And then, it's said, he told his father what had happened to him.
- H *"maneto·wa=kohi neketemina·kwa," e·h=ina·či*.
spirit=certainly bless.3:1.IND say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR
"Certainly a spirit blessed me," he told him.
- I *"i·noki=ča·hi na·wi|·pena·wike i·ni wi·h=ne·waki,"*
now=so middle-be.summer.0.subjunct then FUT=see.1:3.AOR
"So in the middle of next summer is when I will see him,"
- J *e·h=ina·či*.
say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR
he told him.

- K *e·h=mi·ša·te·nemoni·či o·sani na·hka_*
be.glad.3'.AOR his.father.OBV again
His father felt glad again.
- L *e·šawi·či=meko e·h=a·čimoha·či*.
fare.thus.3.PRT.OBL=EMPH tell.3:3'.AOR
He told him exactly what had happened to him.
- M *"e·h=asa·mi|·kehči·ne·neškimi·yani=kohi,*
too.much-greatly-REDUP.scold.2:1.AOR=certainly
"Certainly because you always scold me too much,
- N *kekosene" e·h=ina·či o·sani*.
fear.1:2.IND say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR his.father.OBV
I am afraid of you," he told his father.
- O *i·ni='pi, "nahi, ki·h=po·ni=ča·h=meko -neškime·ne,"*
then=QUOT well FUT=stop=so=EMPH -scold.1:2.IND
Then, it's said, "Well, I will stop scolding you,"
- P *e·h=ina·či okwisani*.
say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR his.son.OBV
he told his son.
- Q *e·h=meno·hkami·hiniki*,
be.spring.DIM.O'.AOR
In early spring,
- R *e·h=we·pi·anehanenwi·či*.
begin-REDUP.swim.3.AOR
he began swimming.
- S *i·ni=ke·hi='pi|| e·h=po·ni=meko -nahi·nepačiči*.
then=and=QUOT stop=EMPH -habit-feel.cold.3.AOR
And then, it's said, he no longer ever felt cold at all.
- 9 A *mehto·či=meko='pi e·h=ki·šo·pye·ya·niki*.
like=EMPH=QUOT be.warm.water.O'.AOR
It was just as if the water were warm, it's said.

- B *mesihkwani=ke'h=wi'na='pi | e'h=pemipokoniči.*
ice.OBV=and=CONTRAST=QUOT float.by.3'.AOR
But there was ice floating by, it's said.
- C *o'ni na'wi-pena'winiki,*
and.then middle-be.summer.0'.CHCONJ
And then in the middle of summer,
- D *kapo'twe=meko e'h=ne'wa'či.*
at.some.point=EMPH see.3:3'.AOR
suddenly he saw him.
- E *e'ye'ši-=meko -pwa'wi-nenehke'nema'či wi'h=ne'wa'či,*
still-=EMPH -not-think.about.3:3'.CHCONJ FUT=see.3:3'.AOR
Before he was expecting to see him,
- F *e'h=ne'wa'či | i'niye'ne | omešo'mesani. ||*
see.3:3'.AOR that.ABSENT his.grandfather.OBV
he saw that aforementioned grandfather of his.

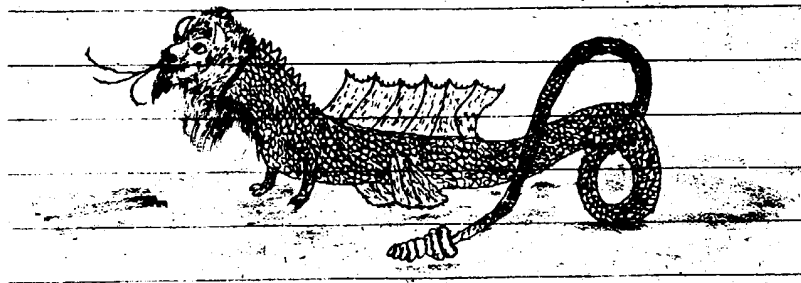


Figure 1.

- 10 A *i'ni=ke'hi='pi e'na'pata'niniči | e'h=ne'wa'či.*
that=and=QUOT look.thus.3'.PRT.OBL see.3:3'.AOR
And that, it's said, is how he looked when he saw him.
- B *pe'hki=meko e'h=mehci-ne'wa'či e'na'pata'niniči,*
really=EMPH plainly-see.3:3'.AOR look.thus.3'.PRT.OBL
He saw really clearly what he looked like,

- C *e'h=kano'nekoči:*
speak.to.3':3.AOR
and [the spirit] spoke to him:
- D *"noši'hi, | kewi'tamo'ne='yo'we pepo'noki'me'hi,*
grandchild.VOC tell.1:2.IND=PST in.winter.DIM
"Grandchild, I told you before, early in the winter,
- E *'kemi'nene ni'yawi,' ketene='yo'we.*
give.1:2.IND my.body say.thus.to.1:2.IND=PST
I said to you, 'I give you myself.'
- F *i'noki=ča'hi i'ni e'h=ne'wiyani. |*
now=so then see.2:1.AOR
So now is when you see me.
- G *mani=ča'hi neši'šikwani. |*
this=so my.rattle
And this is my rattle.
- H *wa'patano tasewi a'čihkya'ki.*
look.at.2:0.IMP so.many.times be.in.sections.0.PRT.OBL
Look how many sections there are.
- I *šwa'šikenwi a'čihkya'wi.*
eight.times be.in.sections.0.IND
There are eight sections.
- J *i'ni taswi wi'h=nesači ki'či'škwe'ha.*
that so.many FUT=kill.2:3.PRT.OBL your.enemy
That is how many enemies you will kill.
- K *mo'šaki=ke'h=meko e'nemi-a'čimekosita*
only=and=EMPH future-be.told.about.3.PRT.3
i'na wi'h=anemi-nesata,"
that FUT=future-kill.2:3.PRT.3
And only ones who are greatly renowned are who you will kill,"
- L *e'h=ineči. |*
say.thus.to.X:3.AOR
he was told.

- M *šewe·na, na·hina·h=meko | e·h=ki·šikiwane·ni.*
but when=EMPH be.grown.up.2.AORINT
"But, it will be whenever you are grown up.
- N *i·noki=wi·na ketasa·mi·kwi·yese·hi.*
now=CONTRAST too.much-be.boy.2.IND
Now you are too young a boy.
- O *e·nemi=meko | -nesačini,*
future=EMPH -kill.2:3(P).ITER
Whenever you kill them,
- P *ote·hwa·wani ki·h=anemi·ketešamawa·waki ki·či·škwe·haki, ||*
their.hearts FUT=future-cut.out.O's.O2.2:3P.IND your.enemies
you will cut out your enemies' hearts,
- 11 A *wi·h=ka·hkesamani, e·h=ikoči.*
FUT=dry.2:0.AOR say.thus.to.3':3.AOR
to dry them," he told him.
- B *na·hina·h=meko šwa·šika ki·ši·taseke*
when=EMPH eight PERF-be.so.many.0.SUBJUNCT
"And then, just when there are eight of them,
- C *o·ni wi·h=takwahamani,*
and.then FUT=grind.together.2:0.AOR
you are to grind them up.
- D *na·tawino·ni=na·hka ki·h=takwaha.*
medicine=also FUT=grind.together.2:0.IND
You will add medicine, too.
- E *i·ni='nini wi·h=wa·wiya·kenamani mete·hani.*
that=those.INAN FUT=mix.together.2:0.PRT.O hearts
That is what you will mix together with those hearts.
- F *i·ni ne·topanihkato·na·kwini*
then go.to.war.against.X:2P.ITER
Then whenever war is made against you and your people
- G *wi·h=na·na·twe·we·kahwači⁶ ki·či·škwe·haki.*
FUT=REDUP.bring.by.drumming.2:3(P).AOR your.enemies
is when you will bring your enemies by drumming.

- H *mehteno·h=we·na=še pye·či·nesena·kwini*
only=rather=just come-kill.3(P):2P.ITER
Only, in fact, whenever they come to kill you and your people
- I *i·ni='ni wi·h=to·tawači.*
then=that FUT=do.thus.to.2:3(P).AOR
is when you will do that to them.
- J *a·kwi pi·neši i·ni wi·h=to·tawačini,*
not of.own.accord that FUT=do.thus.to.2:3(P).NEG
You won't do that to them without provocation,
- K *ki·ši=meko mehteno·hi -pye·či·pi·nešihena·kwini.*
PERF=EMPH only -come-attack.O.of.own.accord.3(P):2P.ITER
only after they have come to make an unprovoked attack on your people.
- L *ka·ta=ke·h=wi·na nano·škwe i·ni inano·hkye·hkani,*
don't=and=CONTRAST blindly that work.thus.2.PROHIB
And don't perform this with no particular target,
- M *mehteno·h=meko me·ma·tomehkini ki·či·mehtose·neniwa*
only=EMPH pray.to.3:2.ITER your.fellow-person
only whenever other people ask you for help
- N *i·ni='ni wi·h=išawiyani.*
then=that FUT=do.thus.2.AOR
is when you should do that.
- O *i·ni e·ne·nemena·ni, noši·hi, || e·h=ikoči.*
that think.of.thus.1:2.PRT.OBL grandchild.VOC say.thus.to.3':3.AOR
That is how I bless you, grandchild," he told him.
- 12 A *o·ni='pi ki·h·ki·ši·a·yaha·ya·čimohekoči,*
and.then=QUOT PERF-finish-REDUP.tell.3':3.CHCONJ
And then, it's said, after [the spirit] had finished instructing him,
- B *e·h=apihapiči.*
REDUP.sit.3.AOR
[the boy] remained sitting.
- C *wi·na=ni·hka ki·ša·koci=meko -nešiwina·kosikwe·ni*
he=EXCLAM as.much.as.possible=EMPH -appear.terrifying.3.INT

ke'teminawita!"

bless.3:1.PRT.3

"The one who blessed me must really look extremely terrifying!"

D *e'h=išite'he'ci.*

think.thus.3.AOR

he thought.

E *"i'noki=wi'na neki'si'=meko -anehkawa'wa," e'h=išite'he'ci.*
now=CONTRAST PERF.=EMPH -get.to.know.1:3.IND think.thus.3.AOR

"But now I have gotten used to him," he thought.

F *ahpemeki e'h=ne'wa'ci=na'hka nekoti*
up see.3:3'.AOR=again one

Up above he saw one more

G *wi'na=meko e'h=kehta:pamekoči.*
he=EMPH look.fixedly.at.3':3.AOR

and he was staring at him.

H *e'h=onekwi'kaniniči:*
have.wings.3'.AOR

He had wings:



Figure 2.

13 A *"mani='yo'we mi'sa'mi pye'to'na'ni.*
this=PST sacred.pack bring.for.1:2.PRT.0

"This is the sacred pack which I had brought for you.

B *i'noki=ca'h=mani pe'hki=meko peno'ci keteši-panena,*
now=so=this really=EMPH far.away thus-miss.holding.2:0.IND

So now you are really far away from getting it,

C *e'h=te'pue'se'yani ki'na e'simeneki.*
believe.by.hearing.2.AOR you tell.thus X:2.PRT.OBL

because you believed what you were told.

D *ki'na=ke'h=meko ke'sipi='na keketemina'kwa,*
you=and=EMPH only=that.ANIM bless.3:2.IND

But that one blesses only you, by yourself,

E *a'kwi=ke'hi mani ahki e'h=nešiwana'tahkye'seniki ine'nemehkini,*
not=and this earth [earth].be.destroyed.0'.AOR think.thus.of.3:2.NEG

and he doesn't bless you till the end of this earth,

F *ki'na=meko | e'h=ahkwi_mehtose'neriwe'hiyani*
you=EMPH end-be.alive.DIM.2.AOR

just until your life ends

G *i'ni e'hkwe'nemehki. |*
that think.of.so.long.3:2.PRT.OBL

is as long as he blesses you.

H *mani=ke'hi='yo'we apwi'hto'yanehe,*
this=and=PST wait.for.2:0.UNREAL

But if you had waited for this,

I *pe'hki=meko peno'ci ine'neta'kosihkapa.*
really=EMPH far.away be.thought.of.thus.2.POT

you would have been blessed a really long way.

J *mo'hči=meko ki'si'_nepo'hiyanehe,*
even=EMPH PERF-die.2.UNREAL

Even after you had died,

- K *awiya·toke=meko=mani anemehke·mikatesa.*
still.the.same=EMPH=this continue.to.go.0.POT
this would have gone on the same way.
- L *meše='nah=meko nehki e·nemi-ahkiwikwe·ni'*
pretty.much=EMPH so.long future-be.earth.0.INTPRT.OBL
Pretty much as long as there continued to be an earth
- M *i·ni=mani wi·h=anemi- a·ya·nehko·či -pemenamowa·tehe* ||
then=this FUT=future- REDUP.in.turn take.care.of.3P:0.PSTAOR
ki·či-·neniwaki.
your.fellow-men
other men were going to take care of this, one after the other.
- 14 A *i·noki=wi·na ki·na=meko keke·sipe·nemeko·pi,*
now=CONTRAST you=EMPH think.only.of.X:2.IND
But now only you are blessed,
- B *kečahkwih̄ta·ko·pi=ke·hi e·ne·nemeneki.*
make.short.for.X:2.IND=and think.thus.of.X:2.PRT.OBL
and the way you are blessed is made short for you.
- C *koči·h ki·h=mi·škawesi=meko ke·htena,*
although FUT=be.strong.2.IND=EMPH truly
Although you will indeed be very powerful,
- D *šewe·na mani a·wasi=meko='yo·we a·mi-ahpi·h̄či-·mi·škawa·kehe* |
but this more=EMPH=PST would-such.extent-be.strong.0.PSTPRT.OBL
kemehtose·neniwiwenwa·wi:
your.PL.life
this is how much more powerful your lives would have been:
- E *e·hpi·h̄či=-meko -sanakihto·yani*
to.such.extent=-EMPH -find.O.difficult.2:0.PRT.OBL
the extent to which you're having a hard time
- F *i·ni=meko | a·mi-·ši-mi·škawa·kehe,* |
that=EMPH would-thus-be.strong.0.PSTPRT.OBL
is how powerful it would have been,"
- G *e·h=ikoči i·nini we·nekwi·kaniničini neniwani.*
say.thus.to.3':3.AOR that.OBV have.wings.3'.PRT.3' man.OBV
the man with wings told him.
- H *i·ni='pi- e·h=iši=-pe·hki meko -ki·wa·činawe·mekoči.*
that=QUOT thus=-really EMPH -make.O.feel.lonely.by.speech.3':3.AOR
With those words, it's said, he made him feel very sad.
- I *me·me·čiki=meko e·h=ne·taki mi·ša·mi a·mi | -mi·netehe='yo·we.*
[PROX].is.sure=EMPH see.3:0.AOR sacred.pack would-give.X:3.PSTPRT.0=PST
He was sure he saw the sacred pack that he would have been given.
- J *e·h=penoči,*
set.out.3.AOR
He set out,
- K *e·h=anemi-·nakapehkwē·wose·či,*
away-walk.with.head.down.3.AOR
walking away with his head down,
- L *i·ya·hi e·h=pya·či e·h=owi·kiwa·či.* ||
there come.3.AOR live.3P.PRT.OBL
and arrived at the place where they lived.
- 15 A *i·ya·h=pye·ya·či,*
there=come.3.CHCONJ
When he arrived there,
- B *o·sani, "pena | ma·hi apihapita·we- no·make·we,"*
his.father.OBV please, over.there REDUP.sit.21.IMP short.time
e·h=ina·či.
say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR
he said to his father, "Why don't we sit over there for a little while?"
- C *i·tepi e·h=a·wa·či*
there go.3P.AOR
They went there
- D *e·h=a·čimoči:*
tell.story.3.AOR
and he told his story:

- E *"nahi_ ano·se, maneto·wa neketemina·kwa.*
well father.VOC spirit bless.3:1.IND
"Well, father, a spirit blessed me.
- F *nenoswitepe·wa,*
have.buffalo.head.3.IND
He has a buffalo head,
- G *ohka·čiwa ni·ka·ni,*
have.feet.3.IND ahead
he has feet in front,
- H *o·ni e·h=neme·sinahake·či.* |
and have.fish.scales.3.AOR
and he has fish scales.
- I *nepi·ki=ke·hi taši·maneto·wa i·na.*
water.LOC=and there·spirit that.ANIM
And that one is a water spirit.
- J *e·ne·nemi·či=ča·hi mehtose·neniwani*
think.thus.of.3:1.PRT.OBL=so person.OBV

wi·h=na·na·twe·we·kahomaki,
FUT=REDUP.bring.by.drum.1:3'.AOR
And the way he blessed me is to bring people by drumming,
- K *i·ni e·ne·nemi·či.*
that think.thus.of.3:1.PRT.OBL
that's how he blessed me.
- L *ki·či·škwe·hena·nahi=ma·hi.*
our.enemies.OBV=to.be.sure
Our enemies, of course.
- M *o·ni ki·h·ki·ši·na·kwa·či,*
and.then PERF-finish-leave.3.CHCONJ
And then after he had gone,
- N *e·šiwe·pesiwa·ne·ni* |
have.situation.signify.thus.1.INTPRT.OBL
I didn't know what was happening to me.

- O *i·nahi netapihapi,*
there REDUP.sit.1.IND
I was sitting there,
- P *ahpemeki netenahina·pi.* |
up REDUP.look.thither.1.IND
and I was looking up.
- Q *kapo·twe nene·ta_ ke·ko·hi.* |
at.some.point see.1:0.IND something
After a while I saw something.
- R *nepo·si·wa·pata_*
very-look.at.1:0.IND
I looked at it hard.
- S *mehtose·neniwa=či·hi!*
person=EXCLAM
It was a person!
- T *ni·na=či·h=meko nepye·či·kehta·pamekwa,*
I=EXCLAM=EMPH come-look.fixedly.at.3:1.IND
He was staring this way right at me,
- U *ma·h=meko* || *menwina·hi ahpeme·heki e·h=pye·či·naka·ška·či,*
over=EMPH good.ways up.DIM come-stop.in.flight.3.AOR
and he flew over and stopped a good little ways up in the air,
- 16 A *e·h=a·či·mohi·či!*
tell.3:1.AOR
and instructed me!
- B *mi·ša·me·hi* | *ki·wi·so·kenamwa_*
sacred.pack.DIM around-hold.3:0.IND
He carried a little sacred pack.
- C *'pwa·wi=·yo·we me·si -te·pwe·še·yanehe*
not-=PST so.soon -believe.by.hearing.2.UNREAL
'If you had not believed so soon what you heard

- D *e'h=ketemino-neki*,
bless.X:2.AOR
when you were blessed,
- E *mani mi'nenaka'ha, netekwa.* |
this give.1:2.POT say.thus.to.3:1.IND
I would have given you this, 'he said to me.
- F 'čahkono'hiniwi=ke'hi='na e'ne'nemehki.
short.O'.IND=and=that.ANIM think.thus.of.3:2.PRT.OBL
'But the way that that one blessed you is short.
- G *a'kwi wi'h=iši- kenweši -nenehke'nemehki ine'nemehkini,*'
not FUT=thus- long.time -think.about.3:2.PRT.OBL think.thus.of.3:2.NEG
He doesn't bless you in a way where he'll think of you for a long time,'
- H *neteko'pi=či'hi!*
say.thus.to.X:1.IND=EXCLAM
I was told!
- I 'ki'na=meko ke'sipi keketemina'kwa.
you=EMPH only bless.3:1.IND
'He blesses only you, by yourself.
- J *na'hina'hi nepo'hiyane*
when die.2.SUBJUNCT
At the time when you die
- K *i'ni e'hkwe'nemehki e'h=ketemino'hki.*
then think.of.so.long.3:2.PRT.OBL bless.3:2.AOR
is when his blessing of you ends.
- L *koči'hi mi'škawa'niwi=meko e'ne'nemehki,*
although be.strong.O'.IND=EMPH think.thus.of.3:2.PRT.OBL
Although the way he blesses you is very powerful,
- M *šewena='ni awasi=meko='yo'we mi'škawa'sa.*
but=that more=EMPH=PST be.strong.O.POT
that other way would have been much more powerful.

- N *nehki=meko mani enemi | -ahkiwikwe'ni*
so.long=EMPH this future-be.earth.O.INTPRT.OBL
Just however long as this earth continues to exist
- O *i'ni=nehki a'mi-ahkwe'nemena'ni, neteko'pi.*
that=long would-think.of.so.long.1:2.PRT.OBL say.thus.to.X:1.IND
is as long as I would have blessed you, 'I was told.
- P 'i'ni=manih || *e'hpi'hči-mi'škawa'ki, neteko'pi.*
that=this to.such.extent-be.strong.O.PRT.OBL say.thus.to.X:1.IND
'That is how powerful this is, 'I was told.
- 17 A *i'ni=meko neteši | -me'nešite'he.*
then=EMPH thus-feel.shame.1.IND
Right then I felt ashamed.
- B *neniwa=ke'hi='na onekwi'kaniwa.*
man=and=that.ANIM have.wings.3.IND
And that one was a man and had wings.
- C *apina=meko neta'wino'hokwa |*
even=EMPH point.at.3:1.IND
He even pointed at me
- D *i'ni e'h=išiči.*
that say.thus.to.3:1.AOR
as he was saying that to me.
- E *nepo'ni=meko -nenehke'neta*
stop=EMPH -think.about.1:0.IND
I really stopped thinking about
- F *e'šiči ne'noswitepa'ta,*
say.thus.to.3:1.PRT.OBL have.buffalo.head.3.PRT.3
what the one with a buffalo head said to me,
- G *nepo'ne'neta=meko.*
stop.thinking.of.1:0.IND=EMPH
I forgot about it completely.

H *a:wasi=meko='yo:we mi:ša:mi nenenehke:neta'*
 more=EMPH=PST sacred.pack think.about.1:0.IND

I really thought more about the sacred pack,"

I *e:h=ina:či* *o:sani* |
 say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR his.father.OBV

he told his father.

J *"nahi,* *nekwi:hi,* *ni:na=ne:hi ne:tama:ne*
 well son.VOC I=also see.1:0.SUBJUNCT

"Well, son, if I see it too

K *i:ni wi:h=maneto:we:netama:ni," e:h=ikoči.* ||
 then FUT=consider.O.spirit.1:0.AOR say.thus.to.3':3.AOR
 then I will consider it a spirit," he told him.

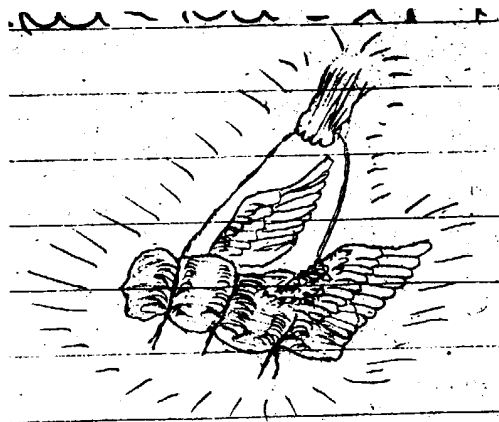


Figure 3.

18 A *e:h=ne:tamowa:či še:ški* | *menehki,*
 see.3P:0.AOR only hand
 They saw only a hand,

B *e:h=ne:tamowa:či* | *mi:ša:mi e:h=pemise mikateniki.*
 see.3P:0.AOR sacred.pack fly.by.0'.AOR
 and they saw the sacred pack as it flew by.

C *"we:nah=ke:h:tena,* | *nekwi:hi, kete:pwe," e:h=ina:či* |
 that's.it=truly son.VOC speak.truth.2.IND say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR

okwisani.

his.son.OBV

"It's really true, son, what you say is true," he told his son.

D *"ke:h:tena=meko maneto:wa wi:h=ketemino:hki* | *ine:nemenokwe:ni.*
 truly=EMPH spirit FUT=bless.3:2.AOR think.thus.of.3:2.IND

"It's really true that the spirit must have intended to bless you.

E *i:ni* | *mani we:či=ki:wi:ne:netamani* *maneto:wi* | *-mi:ša:mi,"*
 that this from-around-REDUP.see.2:0.PRT.OBL spirit-sacred.pack

That is why you keep seeing this spirit-sacred-pack in different places,"

F *e:h=ina:či* *okwisani.*
 say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR his.son.OBV

he told his son.

G *i:ni='pi e:h=penowa:či.* |
 then=QUOT set.out.3P.AOR

Then, it's said, they set out for home.

H *"i:ni=kohi we:či- 'i:ya:ma:hi apihapita:we'*
 that=obviously from- over.yonder REDUP.sit.21.IMP

we:či-'nena:ni, *ano:se,"*
 from-say.thus.to.1:2.PRT.OBL father.VOC

"That's why, obviously, I said, 'Let's go sit over there,' father,"

I *e:h=ina:či* *o:sani.*
 say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR his.father.OBV

he told his father.

J *"pe:hki=ča:h=meko=mani=ye:hapa:*
 really=so=EMPH=this=it.must.be

"So this is what it really seems to be:

K *kekehči- 'šawi=meko=ye:hapa,"*
 great-fare.thus.2.IND=EMPH=it.must.be

something really very great must have happened to you,"

- L *e h=ina·čī okwisani.*
say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR his.son.OBV
he told his son.
- M *"mo·hči=meko ni·na nekwi·hi, nemi·ša·te·nemo*
even=EMPH I son.VOC be.glad.1.IND
"Even I, my son, I am glad
- N *kemi·ša·mi e h=ne·tamakwe," e h=ina·čī okwisani.*
your.sacred.pack see.21-0.AOR say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR his.son.OBV
that we saw your sacred pack," he told his son.
- O *e h=me·nešite·he·čī || kwi·yese·ha.*
feel.shame.3.AOR boy
The boy felt ashamed.
- 19 A *o·ni='pi kapo·twe | ki·h₋ki·šikičī,*
and.then=QUOT at.some.point PERF-be.grown.up.3.CHCONJ
And then, it's said, at some point after he had grown up,
- B *e h=mo·hki·htawoči.*
attack.X:3(P).AOR
they were attacked.
- C *ta·ni='h=ičī?*
how=FUT=say.thus.3.PRT.OBL
What could he say?
- D *e h=pwa·wi | -ki·ših_{to}·čī na·tawino·ni.*
not-fix.3:0.AOR medicine
He hadn't prepared any medicine.
- E *kapo·twe='pi='ni e h=natopaniwenahkiwīki⁸*
at.some.point=QUOT=then be.a.war.party.0.AOR
Then at some point, it's said, there was a war party
- F *e h=wi·če·we·čī.*
go.along.3.AOR
and he went along.

- G *okima·wani=meko e h=nesa·čī,*
chief.OBV=EMPH kill.3:3'.AOR
He killed no less than a chief,
- H *na·hkačī okima·hkwe·wi·še·škesi·hani,*
also chief.woman-young.woman.OBV
and also the chief's teenage daughter,
- I *o·ni okima·wi·oškinawe·hani,*
and chief-young.man.OBV
and the chief's teenage son,
- J *o·ni okima·wapeno·hani,*
and chief.child.OBV
and the chief's child,
- K *o·ni | a·čimekosiničini | =na·hka=meko kehči·we·ta·se·wani,*
and be.told.about.3'.PRT.3'=also=EMPH great-warrior.OBV
and also a great warrior who was renowned indeed,
- L *o·ni meše=mekoho e šikiničīhi.*
and just.any.[kind] be.thus.3'.PRT.3'P
and some ordinary people.
- M *i·ni='pi e·ši·nesa·čī.*
that=QUOT thus-kill.3:3'.PRT.OBL
That was the number that he killed, it's said.
- N *kekimesi=meko e h=kečite·he·na·čī*
everyone=EMPH pull.out.heart.3:3'.AOR
He pulled out each one's heart
- O *e h=ka·hkesaki mete·hani.*
dry.3:0.AOR hearts
and dried the hearts.
- P *e h=ketešamawa·čī.*
cut.out.O's.O2.3:3'.AOR
He cut them out of them.

- Q *meše='nah=meko='nini šwa·šika mete·hani e·h=awato·či.* ||
pretty.much=those eight hearts carry.3:0.AOR
He took those eight hearts away.
- 20 A *i·ya·h=pye·ya·či,*
there=come.3.CHCONJ
When he arrived there,
- B *e·h=na·tawino·nehke·či.*
look.for.medicine.3.AOR
he looked for medicine.
- C *e·h=ne·taki e·h=nemate·niki*
see.3:0.AOR stand.0'.AOR
He saw some standing
- D *e·h=ketahaki na·tawino·ni.*
dig.out.3:0.AOR medicine
and dug the medicine up.
- E *e·h=ka·hkesaki=meko=ne·hi='ni.*
dry.3:0.AOR=EMPH=also=that
He dried that completely, too.
- F *ki·ša·hkate·niki=meko e·h=takwahaki.*
PERF.be.dry.0'.CHCONJ=EMPH grind.together.3:0.AOR
After it was completely dry, he ground it.
- G *ke·htena=meko e·h=ka·hka·weška·niki*
truly=EMPH be.crunched.up.0'.AOR
It really got all crunched up
- H *i·nini=na·hkači | mete·hani e·h=wa·wiya·kahaki.*
those.INAN=also hearts mix.together.with.3:0.AOR
and he mixed it with those hearts too.
- I *ki·šihto·či=meko, |*⁹
fix.3:0.CHCONJ=EMPH
Right after he prepared it,

- J *e·h=pye·či_natopanihkatawoči.*¹⁰
come-go.to.war.against.X:3(P).AOR
people came making war against them.
- K *ki·ši_neseči,*¹¹
PERF.kill.X:3(P).CHCONJ
After [the Meskwakis] got beat up,
- L *e·h=penoniči aša·hahi.*
set.out.3'.AOR Sioux.OBV.PL
the Sioux went off.
- M *oni='pi e·h=awihwe·či meši | -mehtekwina·kani*
and.then=QUOT borrow.3.AOR big-wooden.bowl
And then, it's said, he borrowed a big wooden bowl
- N *te·we·hikanani e·h=ašihā·či.*
drum.OBV make.3:3'.AOR
and made a drum.
- O [captions:] *te·we·hikani-mehtekwi / ase·ma·wa e·h=aseči ||*
drum-stick tobacco place.there.X:3.PRT.OBL
drumstick / where the tobacco is placed

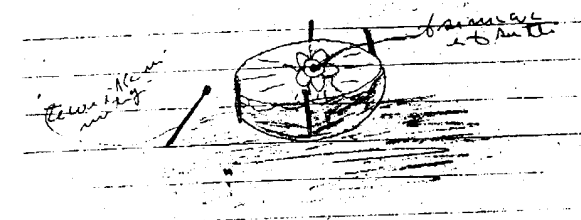


Figure 4.

- 21 A *nehkanitepehkwe e·h=anwe·we·hike·či.*
all.night drum.3.AOR
He drummed all night.
- B *na·hina·hi na·witepehki·niki,*
when be.midnight.0'.CHCONJ
When it was midnight,

- C *"nahi, a:hkwahki='nahi we:we:šiwisetoko.*
now, be.weapon.O.PRT.O=EMPH place.O.ready.2P:0.IMP
"Well, now you can put your weapons handy.
- D *ma:maya=meko ki:h=to:hki, | e:neniwiyane.*
early.morning=EMPH FUT=wake.up.2.IND be.man.2.PRT.VOC
You are to wake up very early, you men.
- E *ayo:h=meko wi:h=pema:kwasowa:či | i:niye:ka,*
here=EMPH FUT=lie.along.3P.PRT.OBL those.ABSENT
Right here is where those people will be lying along.
- F *nekoti=ča:h=meko ki:h=aškwihapwa, wi:h=a:čimota,"*
one=so=EMPH FUT=spare.2P:3.IND FUT=tell.story.3.PRT.3
e:h=ineči.
say.thus.to.X:3.AOR
So you will spare just one, who will tell the story," they were told.
- G *"i:ni=meko, wi:h=išawiye:kwe.*
that=EMPH FUT=do.thus.2P.PRT.OBL
"That's exactly what you will do.
- H *mani=meko iši-naha:pata:ne:hike*
this=EMPH thus-be.visible.DIM.O.SUBJUNCT
Just when it is first light
- I *i:ni wi:h=mo:hki:htawe:kwe.*
then FUT=attack.2P:3(P).AOR
is when you will attack them.
- J *še:ški=ke:h=meko ki:h=pematahwa:pwa*
only=and=EMPH FUT=club.along.2P:3(P).IND
And you will just go along clubbing them.
- K *a:kwi wi:h=ma:činehke:wa:čini, kaški |*
not FUT=move.arm.3P.NEG able
They won't be able to move their arms
- L *meše=meko e:nahinatahwa:we:kwe:ni.*
just.any.[way] REDUP.club.thus.2P:3(P).INTPRT.OBL
no matter how you strike them.

- M *ka:ta, košiyekeko," e:h=ineči.*
don't fear.2P:3(P).PROHIB say.thus.to.X:3.AOR
Don't be afraid of them," they were told.
- N *i:ni='pi | e:h=penopenowa:či.*
then=QUOT REDUP.set.out.3P.AOR
Then, it's said, they went to their homes.
- O *i:ne:ke=ke:hi,*
those.yonder.[far]=and
And as for those others,
- P *ne:topa:haki='pi='ni e:h=po:ni:wa:či ke:tawi-wa:paniki,*
members.of.warparty=QUOT=then camp.3P.AOR almost-be.dawn.O'.CHCONJ
it's said the warparty then camped when it was almost dawn,
- Q *e:h=nepa:wa:či. ||*
sleep.3P.AOR
and they slept.
- 22 A *wa:paniki, e:h=wa:wa:kahamawoči.*
be.dawn.O'.CHCONJ whoop.at.X:3(P).AOR
In the morning, they were whooped at.
- B *i:ni='pi še:ški=meko ke:h:tena e:h=ki:ki:watahwa:wa:či.*
then=QUOT only=EMPH truly REDUP.go.around.clubbing.3P:3'.AOR
Then, it's said, they really just went around clubbing them indeed.
- C *e:h=pwa:wi=meko ke:ko:hi -iši-kaški-we:pa:moniči,*
not=EMPH any.way -thus-able-begin.to.flee.3'.AOR
They [the Sioux] couldn't flee in any way at all,
- D *na:hkači e:h=nenyehpinehke:niči=meko.*
also have.paralyzed.arm.3'.AOR=EMPH
and also their arms were completely paralyzed.
- E *ma:ne=meko e:h=neseči aša:haki.*
many=EMPH kill.X:3(P).AOR Sioux.PL
Very many Sioux were killed.

F *o·ni='pi nekoti e·h=aškwihēči,*
and.then=QUOT one spare.X:3.AOR
And then, it's said, one was spared,

G *e·h=a·čimoheči_ wi·h=inowe·či.*
tell.X:3.AOR FUT=speak.thus.3.PRT.OBL
and he was told what to say.

H *e·h=nawači=ke·hi -kehči-ašameči*
stop.to.=and -greatly-feed.X:3.AOR
But first he was given a good meal

I *na·hkači | e·h=nawahpwa·heči wi·h=anemi-ma·mi·čiči owi·ya·si.*
also give.food.for.trip.X:3.AOR FUT=away-REDUP.eat.3:0.PRT.O meat
and also he was given meat to eat on his way.

J *o·ni='pi='na, "mani | wi·h=iyani*
and.then=QUOT=that.ANIM this FUT=say.thus.2.PRT.OBL
And then, it's said, that one [was told], "This is what you will say

K *aški-kanawiyane:*
first.time-speak.2.SUBJUNCT
when you first speak:

L *'ki·h=nawači | -kehči-menw-ašamipwa,' | ki·h=i,"*
FUT=stop.to-greatly-well-feed.2P:1.IND FUT=say.thus.2.IND

e·h=ineči.
say.thus.to.X:3.AOR

'You should first give me a lot of good food,' you will say," he was told.

M *"ki·ši-seniyane='ni*
PERF.eat.2.SUBJUNCT=then
"When you finish eating,

N *'neča·kihēko·pena,' | ki·h=i," e·h=ineči.*
kill.all.X:1P.IND FUT=say.thus.2.IND say.thus.to.X:3.AOR
then, 'We were all killed,' you will say, " he was told.

O *"aya·pami=meko pye·či-po·ni·wa·ke·ni,' ki·h=i," ||*
back=EMPH come-camp.1P.INT FUT=say.thus.2.IND

e·h=ineči.

say.thus.to.X:3.AOR

"We must have come right back again and camped,' you will say," he was told.

23 A *"keye·hapa=ke·hi na·twe·we·kahwi·namekehe.*
in.fact=and bring.by.drumming.X:1P.CHUNR
"And it turned out that we were made to come by drumming.

B *a·kwi | mo·hči_ nekoti_ nesakečini | i·nina·hi,' ki·h=i.*
not even one kill.1P:3.NEG then FUT=say.thus.2.IND
We didn't kill even one that time,' you will say.

C *'na·hka=ča·hi='pi a·wasi·me·h=taswi i·tepi ki·h=a·pena,'*
again=so=QUOT more.DIM=so.many there FUT=go.21.IND

ki·h=ina·waki. |
FUT=say.thus.to.2:3P.IND

'So next time a few more of us should go there, they say,' you will tell them.

D *ki·na=ke·h=wi·na ki·šetone·moyane=meko*
you=and=CONTRAST PERF.talk.2.SUBJUNCT=EMPH
But as for you, right when you finish talking

E *i·ni_ wi·h=nepo·hiyani," e·h=ineči,*
then FUT=die.2.AOR say.thus.to.X:3.AOR
is when you will die," he was told,

F *e·h=penoči._*
set.out.3.AOR
as he set out.

G *"meše='nah=ke·h=meko_ opye·ni ki·h=anehanemehka,"*
just.go.ahead=and=EMPH slowly FUT=REDUP.travel.away.2.IND

e·h=ineči.
say.thus.to.X:3.AOR

"But just go ahead and travel slowly," he was told.

H *"ka·ta_ ke·ko·h=meko iši-kohta·čihkani," e·h=ineči.*
don't any.way=EMPH thus-be.afraid.2.PROHIB say.thus.to.X:3.AOR

"Don't be afraid in any way," he was told.

- I *e'h=penoči.*
set.out.3.AOR
He set out.
- J *i'ya'h=pye'ya'či,*
there=come.3.CHCONJ
When he arrived there,
- K *e'h=a'čimoči.*
tell.story.3.AOR
he told the story.
- L *na'na'kači=meko e'šimeči e'h=inowe'či.*
exactly=EMPH say.thus.to.X:3.PRT.OBL speak.thus.3.AOR
He said exactly what he had been told.
- M *menehta=meko e'h=kehči-ašameči.*
first=EMPH greatly-feed.X:3.AOR
First of all he was given lots of food.
- N *ki'šiseniči, e'h=we'pi-a'čimoči.*
PERF.eat.3.CHCONJ begin-tell.story.3.AOR
After he had eaten, he began to tell the story.
- O *ki'ša'čimoči=meko,*
PERF.tell.story.3.CHCONJ=EMPH
After he had finished the whole story,
- P *"ni'na=ke'h=wi'na='pi | ni'h=nepo'hi," e'h=išiwēči.*
I=and=CONTRAST=QUOT FUT=die.1.IND declare.thus.3.AOR
"And as for me, they say I will die," he declared.
- Q *e'h=a'htawa'sa'hiči*
suddenly.fall.on.back.DIM.3.AOR
The poor guy keeled over backward
- R *e'h=nepo'hiči. ||*
die.3.AOR
and died.

- 24 A *i'ni='pi='na na'twe'we'kahika'ta |*
then=QUOT=that.ANIM bring.people.by.drumming.3.PRT.3
e'h=a'čimoha'či mehtose'neniwahi,
tell.3:3'.AOR people.OBV
Then, it's said, the one who makes people come by drumming told the people,
- B *"ašē=meko awita kaški-pemwiyamesa?"*
merely=EMPH not able-shoot.3(P):21.POT
"Was it by mere chance that they weren't able to shoot at us?"
- C *ketešihišite'he'pwa'toke.*
REDUP.think.thus.2P.DUBIT
you have probably been wondering.
- D *ni'n=a'pehe | i'ni e'šawiya'ni*
I=always that fare.thus.1.PRT.OBL
That is what always happened to me
- E *ki'šī | -akwa'pye'ki'ya'nini,*
PERF-get.out.of.water.1.ITER
every time I got out of the water,
- F *e'h=pepo'ni | -anenwi'ya'ni.*
winter-swim.1.AOR
when I swam in the winter.
- G *i'ni=ča'hi='niki we'či-pwa'wi'=meko ke'ko'hi -iši-amehame'wa'či:*
that=so=those from-not=EMPH any.way -thus-REDUP.react.3P.PRT.OBL
So that is why those people did not react in any way:
- H *e'h=nenye'hpaciwa'či.*
be.paralyzed.by.cold.3P.AOR
they were paralyzed by the cold.
- I *i'ni | we'či- meše=meko -pematahwakwe,"¹²*
that from- anyhow -club.along.21:3(P).PRT.OBL
That is why we clubbed them at will,"
- J *e'h=ina'či | mehtose'neniwahi.*
say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR people.OBV
he told the people.

- K *a:kwi=ke-h=mani ki-ke-noweniwikini.*
not=and=this be.clan.feast.0.NEG
"But this isn't a clan feast.
- L *mana_ menehta | neketemina:kwa ke-teminawita.*
this.ANIM first bless.3:1.IND bless.3.PRT.3
This one who blessed me *first* blessed me.
- M *i:ni we-či | -pwa-wi- mi-ša:mani | -ki-ših-to:ya-ni,*
that from-not- sacred.packs -fix.1:0.PRT.OBL
That's why I didn't make sacred packs,
- N *koči:hi | ki-ših-to:hka:ha=meko='yo:we. |*
although fix.1:0.POT=EMPH=PST
although I could have made one before.
- O *nene:ta=meko.*
see.1:0.IND=EMPH
I did see one.
- P *mo:hči_ no:sa ne:tamwa || mi-ša:mi we-nekwi:kani:mikateniki,*
even my.father see.3:0.IND sacred.pack have.wings.O'.PRT.0
Even my father saw the sacred pack which had wings,
- 25 A *e:h=pemise:mikateniki ne:tamwa," e:h=išiwē:či.*
fly.by.O'.AOR see.3:0.IND declare.thus.3.AOR
as it was flying by he saw it," he declared.
- B *"wa:wa:sete-wi=ke:hi.*
shine 0.IND=and
"And it was shining.
- C *mani=wi:na | mani e:ne-nemiči | maneto:wa.*
this=CONTRAST now think.thus.of.3:1.PRT.OBL spirit
But as it is, this is the way that the spirit blessed me.
- D *čahkono:hiwi=meko ta:taki.*
be.short.0.IND=EMPH sort.of
It's really kind of short.

- E *koči:hi | wi-šikya:wi ne:h=mani, |*
although be.strong.0.IND also=this
Although this way is also powerful,
- F *šewe:na ni:na=meko e:hpi:hči-ne-se:ya-ni*
but I=EMPH to.such.extent-be.alive.1.PRT.OBL
but only as long as I shall live
- G *i:ni=nehki i:ni wi:h=ine-nemiči.*
that.long that FUT=think.thus.of.3:1.PRT.OBL
is how long he blessed me that way.
- H *nepo:hiya:ne,*
die.1.SUBJUNCT
When I die,
- I *a:kwi='na | =na:hka i:ni wi:h=ine-nemičini.*
not=that.ANIM=again that FUT=think.thus.of.3:1.NEG
that one won't bless me that way again.
- J *i:ni=meko_ mani | wi:h=ahkwikeki na:twe:we:kahike:weni.*
that=EMPH this FUT=be.so.long.0.PRT.OBL bringing.by.drumming
That's just as long as this making people come by drumming will last.
- K *i:ni='yo=mehteno:h=mani wi:h=iši-ayo:yakwe,*
that=for=only=this FUT=thus-use.21:0.PRT.OBL
For that is the only way we will use this,
- L *na:twe:we:kahwakwini mehtose:neniwa.*
bring.by.drumming.21:3.ITER person
whenever we make people come by drumming.
- M *šewe:na i:ni=meko wi:h=iši | -pwa-wi-kaški-nesenakwe*
but that=EMPH FUT=thus-not-able-kill.3(P):21.AOR
na:twe:we:kaha:so:haki. ||
brought.ones
But the brought ones won't be able to kill us, just as we've seen.
- 26 A *šewe:na a:kwi=pi:neši wi:h=na:twe:we:kahwakwini,¹³*
but not=of.own.accord FUT=bring.by.drumming.21:3(P).NEG
But we should not make them come for no reason,

- B *mehteno:h=meko ki'si-pye'ci-nesenakwini*
only=EMPH PERF-come-kill.3(P):21.ITER
only whenever they have come to kill us
- C *i'ni ahkowi:me'h=na'hka=winwa:wa wi'h=nesakwe,"*
then later.DIM=again=them FUT=kill.21:3(P).AOR
e'h=ina'ci.
say.thus.to.3:3'.AOR
then a little later again is when we will kill *them*," he told them.
- D *"i'na:ma'h=ca'h=nepo:hiya:ne,*
at.that.far.time=so=die.1.SUBJUNCT
"So in the distant future when I die,
- E *meše='nahi='nahi e'sawiwe:kwe:ni,*
if.one.likes=EMPH do.thus.2P.INTPRT.OBL
whatever you may do at that point [you may do],
- F *meše=meko='nahi.*
just.anything
just anything at all.
- G *wi:pači=ke:hi nahikeke*
in.case=but be.proper.0.SUBJUNCT
But if it should be
- H *wi:h=na:twe:we:kahwe:kwe mehtose:neniwa*
FUT=bring.by.drumming.2P:3.AOR person
that you make people come by drumming
- I *wi:h=we:wenetwi," e'h=išiwē'ci.*
FUT=be.good.0.IND declare.thus.3.AOR
it will be good," he declared.
- J *o:ni='pi ki'si_a:ya'čimoči,*
and.then=QUOT PERF-REDUP.tell.story.3.CHCONJ
And then, it's said, after he had finished telling his stories,
- K *e'h=penopenowa'ci.*
REDUP.set.out.3P.AOR
they went their separate ways.

- L *če:wina:h=meko omeso:ta:nahi e'h=a'hkwamataminiči*
same.time=EMPH his.parents.OBV be.sick.3'.AOR
His parents got sick at the very same time
- M *na'hkači e'h=anemi==meko -če'če:wi|-na'hpene:niči.*
also become=EMPH -REDUP.same-be.thus.sick.3'.AOR
and they also got sick with the very same disease.
- N *menwinehki=ke:h=meko e'h=ne:se:niči,*
good.while=and=EMPH survive.3'.AOR
For quite a while they stayed alive,
- O *če:wina:h=meko e'h=nepo:hiniči*
same.time=EMPH die.3'.AOR
but they died at the very same time,
- P *e'h=ni:šo:šimemeči.*
place.as.two.X:3'.AOR
and were buried together.
- Q *e'h=ki:wa'čite:he'ci ki'sa:koči=mekoho. ||*
feel.lonely.3.AOR as.much.as.possible=EMPH
He really felt as sad as could be.
- 27 A *kapo:twe=meko='pi='ni, "nahi, ni:h=po:ni==meko=ne'h=ni:na |*
at.some.point=EMPH=QUOT=then now, FUT=stop=EMPH=also=I
ayo:h -ki:wita,"
here -stay.around.1.IND
Then at some point, it's said, "Well, I really shouldn't stay here any more either,"
- B *e'h=išite:he'ci.*
think.thus.3.AOR
he thought.
- C *"me:kwe:h=ca'hi mači-na:tawino:ni ke'hke:netaka*
probably=so bad-medicine know.3:0.PRT.3
"Probably the one who knows about bad medicine
- D *ke:ko:hi ine:neme:wa nemeso:ta:nahi," e'h=išite:he'ci.*
some.way think.thus.of.3:3'.IND my.parents.OBV think.thus.3.AOR
wanted my parents for something," he thought.

E *e'h=mayomayo'či=ke'h=mekoho.*

REDUP.weep.3.AOR=and=EMPH

And he really wept and wept.

F *o'ni_ mani e'h=ina'hpawa'či.*

and.then this dream.thus.3.AOR

And then he dreamed this [i.e., the figure].

G *"penono," e'h=inemeči menehta_ ke'temina'kočini.*
set.out.2.IMP say.thus.to.X:3'.AOR first bless.3':3.PRT.3'

"Go away," the one who first blessed him was told.

H [caption:] *nenote'wa nepata ||*
Indian sleep.3.PRT.3

Sleeping Indian.

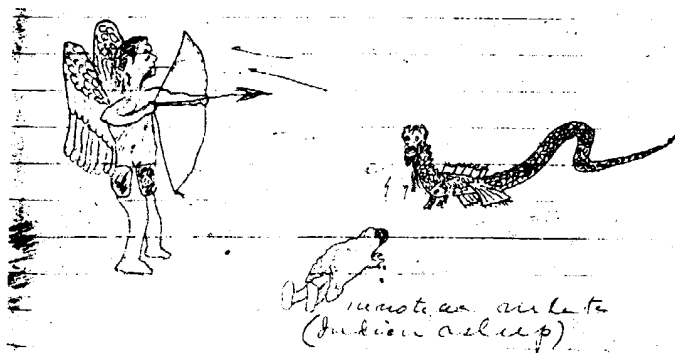


Figure 5.

28 A *"pwa'wi-penoyane, ki'h=nesene," e'h=inemeči.*
not-set.out.2.SUBJUNCT FUT=kill.1:2.IND say.thus.to.X:3'.AOR

"If you don't go away, I will kill you," he was told.

B *"e'h=keteminawoči=ma'hi owiye'ha*
bless.X:3.AOR=after.all someone

"After all, when someone is blessed

C *a'kwi omeso'ta'nahi wi'h=nehtamawoči_ ine'nemečini.*
not his.parents.OBV FUT=kill.O's.O2.X:3.AOR think.thus.of.X:3.NEG

he is not intended to have his parents killed on him.

D *ki'na=wi'na mani | mehto'či=meko kepo'nika'kwa*
you=CONTRAST now like=EMPH pay.debt.to.O.with.O2.3:2.IND

i'nihi.

those.OBV

As for you, however, now it's as if he paid his debt to you with them.

E *mani=meko | e'ši-ki'ši- i'ni_ -'šawiči_ e'ne'nemači,*
this=EMPH thus-PERF- that -do.thus.3.PRT.OBL think.thus.of.2:3.PRT.OBL

Just as he finished doing that which you blessed him to do,

F *i'ni=meko e'h=či'hči'kwamemači omeso'ta'nahi.*
then=EMPH eat.meat.off.bones.of.2:3'.AOR his.parents.OBV

right then you gnawed the bones of his parents clean.

G *ki'na=mana kemayo'ha'wa*
you=this.ANIM make.weep.2:3.IND

You made this guy weep

H *šewe'na ki'hki'hki=meko kepye'notawa'wa," e'h=inemeči*
but nevertheless=EMPH come.to.2:3.IND say.thus.to.X:3.AOR

omešo'mesani |
his.grandfather.OBV

but still you came to him," his grandfather was told

I *e'h=pema'moniči.*
flee.3'.AOR

and he fled.

J *"i'ni ni'na ma'hiya we'či | -šakwe'nemena'ni*
that I this.ABSENT from-be.unwilling.for.1:2.PRT.OBL

"That's why I didn't want this one

K *e'h=ki'wi_aya'wi_ -'šimehki_ noši'hi.*
around-advise.to.do.things.3:2.AOR grandchild.VOC

to go around advising you to do things, grandchild.

L *i'ni=wi'na e'ne'nemehki,*
that=CONTRAST think.thus.of.3:2.PRT.OBL

As for that way he blessed you,

- M *kemaniha:wa=meko*,
rob.of.2:3.IND=EMPH
you've taken it away from him completely,
- N *i'ni=meko=wi:na='ni ketesawi e'ne-nemehki='yo:we,* ||
that=EMPH=CONTRAST=then do.thus.2.IND think.thus.of.3:2.PRT.OBL=PST
even though you did just what he wanted you to do,"
- 29 A *e'h=ikoči i'nini we'nekwi:kaniničini.*
say.thus.to.3':3.AOR that.OBV have.wings.3'.PRT.3'
that one with wings told him.
- B *"aše=meko še'ski kepye:či-mi:winehkamo:ne* |
just=EMPH only come-chase.away.for.1:2.IND
"I just came to chase him away for you
- C *e'si-mya:neteniki wi:h=to:to'hki e'h=ine:nemehki,*"
thus-be.bad.0'.PRT.OBL FUT=do.thus.to.3:2.AOR think.thus.of.3:2.AOR
because he intended to treat you in a bad way,"
- D *e'h=ikoči.*
say.thus.to.3':3.AOR
he told him.
- E *"i:nah=meko wi:na=ne:hi wi:h=očiči-awanena:kwe ketene:nemekowa:wa.*
there=EMPH he=also FUT=from-carry.3:2P.AOR think.thus.of.3:2P.IND
"And he also intended to take all of you away through that same hole.
- F *wanimenesa=ke'h=meko='yo:we.*
deceive.by.speech.3:2.POT=and=EMPH=PST
And he would have fooled you completely.
- G *na:hka=ke:ko:h=meko išimenesa*
again=something=EMPH promise.thus.3:2.POT
He would have promised you something else
- H *awita=ke:hi nana:ši kehke:nemiye:kapa,* e'h=ikoči.
not=and ever know.about.2:3.POT say.thus.to.3':3.AOR
but you never would have known about him," he told him.

- I *i'ni,* "po:nite:he:ho | noši:hi.
then stop.feeling.agitated.2.IMP grandchild.VOC
Then, "Stop worrying about it, grandchild.
- J *ketaškiki ke:waki:mani,* e'h=ikoči.
be.young.2.IND still now say.thus.to.3':3.AOR
You are still young now," he told him.
- K *ke:hena='pi e'h=po:nite:he:či.*
truly=QUOT stop.feeling.agitated.3.AOR
Really, it's said, he stopped worrying.
- L *i'niye:ne=ke:hi e'h=a:čiha:či:ma:či=meko.*
that.ABSENT.OBV=and REDUP.tell.about.3:3'.AOR=EMPH
And he told the story of that aforementioned one, over and over.
- M *ahpene:či i'ni e'na:či:me:či* |
always that tell.thus.about.X:3.PRT.OBL
That is what is always told about him
- N *e'h=a:ya:či:me:či ne:hi-na:twe:we:kahika:ta.*
REDUP.tell.about.X:3.AOR know.how.to-bring.people.by.drumming.3.PRT.3
when stories are told about the one who knew how to bring people by drumming.
- O *e'hkwi:či.*
be.so.long.3.PRT.OBL
That's the end of his story.

Notes

Acknowledgments. I am indebted to the late Adeline Wanatee for discussing this text with me and clarifying many obscure words, and to Ives Goddard for his innumerable helpful suggestions regarding editing and translation. Thanks also to Anthony Buccini for comments on the introductory material.

Abbreviations. The following abbreviations are used: 0 = inanimate; 0' = inanimate obviative; 1 = first person; 1P = first-person exclusive plural; 2 = second person; 21 = first-person inclusive plural ('you and me'); 3 = animate third-person proximate; 3' = animate third-person obviative; ABSENT = absentative demonstrative pronoun; ANIM = animate; AOR = aorist conjunct; AORINT = aorist interrogative; CHCONJ = changed conjunct; CHUNR = changed unreal; CONTRAST = contrastive; DIM = diminutive; DUBIT = dubitative; EMPH = emphatic; EXCLAM = exclamation; FUT = future; IMP = imperative; IND = independent indicative; INAN = inanimate; INTPRT = interrogative participle; INT = plain interrogative; ITER = iterative; LOC = locative; NEG = negative; O = (first) object; O2 = second object; OBL = oblique (as head of relative clause); OBV = obviative; PERF = perfective aspect; P, PL =

plural; POT = potential; PROHIB = prohibitive; PROG = progressive aspect; PROX = proximate; PRT = conjunct participle; PST = past; PSTAOR = past aorist conjunct; PSTPRT = conjunct past participle; QUOT = quotative; RECIP = reciprocal; REDUP = reduplication; SUBJUNCT = subjunctive; VOC = vocative; X = unspecified subject or possessor.

Editorial conventions. In the Meskwaki syllabary, word boundaries are indicated with a dot or short dash. The following editorial conventions express the presence or absence of the word boundary symbol. Spaces between words indicate that a dot was written, as do dashes between preverb and verb, or between prenoun and noun. An equal sign (=) indicates a clitic boundary; no dot is written in the syllabary between clitic and host. A bottom ligature () following a word means a dot was not written between words, and a dash with a bottom ligature (-) means a dot was not written between preverb and verb, or between prenoun and noun. Meskwaki writers frequently omit the word boundary symbol when the end of a line coincides with the end of a word; such omissions are marked by a vertical line (|). Double vertical lines (||) indicate the end of a page.

1. The spelling of this verb is odd; one would expect *pye twe we kahwa ta*, with a medial *-we we k-* 'noise, sound', as in the related forms seen in lines 11G, 15J, 23A, 25J, 25L, and 26G.

2. Kiyana writes <ki di . ke ni ki ni>, with a misplaced word boundary.

3. The noun *nepi* 'water' is so frequently used with *na't-* 'go after' that the combination is sometimes treated as a single word, with verbal inflectional prefixes attached to the left of *nepi* 'water'. The absence of a word boundary symbol after *nepi* in line 5I may suggest that in this instance, too, the combination is considered a single word.

4. Kiyana writes <a ne nya ka>.

5. In much of the system of verb inflection, obviate third-person subjects are not specified for number. It is therefore left vague on the quoting verbs of lines 6L-7D whether the underwater spirit who is speaking is singular or plural. I have translated the subject of these verbs as 'they' in lines 6L and 6M to match the use of 'we' inside the quotes, and as 'he' from line 6N on, when the spirit starts referring to himself as 'I'.

6. Kiyana writes <wi na ne tve we ka wa tti>.

7. Kiyana writes <a ne mi . a ki wi ge ni>, with no initial change.

8. Kiyana writes <e na to ba ni we ki wi ki>.

9. Kiyana writes <ki di . to tti>, with a misplaced word boundary.

10. Kiyana writes <ma to ba ni ka ta wo tti>.

11. The word *nes-* 'kill' is used idiomatically to mean 'beat up'.

12. Kiyana first wrote *pematahwe kwe* [2P:3(P)].

13. Kiyana writes <wi na tve we wa gi ni>.

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Contact among Some Mayan Languages: Inferences from Loanwords

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Abstract. Evidence is assembled showing lexical interference in three Mayan languages (Ixhil, Q'eqchii', and Chicomuceltec) from other Mayan languages. Inferences are made concerning sociolinguistic contexts possibly underlying borrowings. This entails attention to semantic domains into which loanwords group. It is difficult to determine detailed circumstances for loans into Ixhil, but a possible explanation for them is marriage among Ixhilar men and Q'anjob'alan women. Loans into Q'eqchii' mostly relate to influence from neighboring Lowland Mayan languages, in particular Ch'olti'. Borrowings into Chicomuceltec indicate cultural influence from immediately neighboring groups.

1. Introduction. In the 1970s and 1980s, several studies of contact among Mayan languages¹ were published (e.g., Kaufman 1976; Justeson et al. 1985; Campbell 1988). Since then, the amount of available descriptive materials for Mayan languages has increased significantly so that now the time is ripe to take a new look at the dynamics of Mayan linguistic diffusion. An important objective for undertaking such research is to determine patterns of linguistic interaction among various groups in order to augment knowledge of their histories and prehistories. Ultimately, this work will contribute to the general historical linguistics of the Mayan family by helping to sort diffused linguistic features from inherited ones, an essential step in language reconstruction.

The scope of the present study is modest. It focuses on only three of the thirty-one recorded Mayan languages—Ixhil (Mamean subgroup), Q'eqchii' (K'ichee'an subgroup), and Chicomuceltec (Huastecan subgroup)—determining for each which words of their lexicons may have been loans from other Mayan languages. This limited approach is not intended to suggest that diffusion has been less significant for other Mayan languages. Rather it should be viewed as an early stage in dealing with Mayan linguistic diffusion in general. At this point in our research, inter-Mayan linguistic diffusion appears to be substantial.

Certainly the best-known case of Mayan language interference to date is that involving Ch'olan and Yucatecan languages of the Maya Lowlands. These languages, which are not particularly closely related genetically within the Mayan family, have been shown to share a very large number of lexical items