Highlighting Rhetorical Structure through Syntactic Analysis: An Illustrated Meskwaki Text by Alfred Kiyana

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1. Introduction. The study of Algonquian languages and their Algic relatives in California has traditionally involved not only face-to-face elicitation with speakers but also the collection of texts, as the chapters in this volume attest. For the Plains dialect of Cree, for example, we are fortunate to have not only Bloomfield's two published volumes (Bloomfield 1930, 1934) but also the recent series of volumes edited by H.C. Wolfart and Freda Ahenakew (e.g. Wolfart and Ahenakew 2000). For Meskwaki (Fox) there is the enormous corpus of texts written early in the twentieth century in the Meskwaki syllabary, now stored in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. About half the corpus of approximately twenty thousand pages was produced by Alfred Kiyana, an extremely accomplished writer, as the discussion of syntactic and rhetorical features below demonstrates.[1] The text presented here is by Kiyana and includes ten illustrations drawn by him.[2]

Despite the textual resources available for at least some of the languages of the family, it can be daunting for scholars to make use of this material. Bloomfield's Cree volumes, for example, present pages of Cree on the left, arranged into paragraphs, with paragraphs of English translation on the opposing pages, with no glossing of individual words. A linguist investigating a specific issue (e.g., is there a basic, unmarked word order for Cree?) cannot easily see the patterns of interest. Moreover, questions of artistry and rhetorical style, the sorts of issues explored by Hymes's work on ethnopoetics (e.g. Hymes 1981) are masked by the denseness of the paragraphs. In the text presented here, therefore, I have chosen to present the Meskwaki in

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1. Thomason's chapter in this volume presents a text by another Meskwaki writer, Bill Leaf, who was evidently less skilled in storytelling.

2. The text is National Anthropological Archive manuscript number 2664–2. The late Adeline Wanatee provided insight in the meaning of numerous items in the text, for which I am very grateful. Many thanks also to Ives Goddard for extensive discussion of all aspects of this text and to Lucy Thomason for shedding light on some of the remaining lexical puzzles.

short lines of roughly a clause apiece, with glosses of stems, inflectional material, and uninflected words. Segmenting the text in this way throws into relief a number of formal patterns, both syntactic and rhetorical. The discussion below gives a sense of the richness of information that can be gleaned from the text, once its patterns are brought to light.

The Meskwaki syllabary does not write vowel length or *h*, two phonemic features of the language. Nor does the syllabary make use of punctuation other than a word boundary symbol. In editing the text I have therefore indicated the contrast between long and short vowels and inserted *h* where needed; all punctuation marks are likewise supplied by me. A syntactic issue that arises in editing texts written with no punctuation is how to determine clause boundaries—how does one know whether a given noun should be taken to be an argument of the preceding verb or of the following verb? I have discussed this question and other related issues elsewhere (Dahlstrom 2006), as well as the puzzle of determining what sort of clause each clause is— whether it is a main clause, an adverbial clause, a relative clause and so on. These problems are not only practical ones, for the editor of a text, but also problems with real theoretical consequences, for the syntactic analysis of the language itself and for crosslinguistic typological comparison.

The text under examination here is *me·hkate·wi·ta našawaye neniwa* 'A man who fasted long ago' (Kiyana 1912) and is presented in full at the end of this chapter. Briefly, the story tells of a young man who fasts for a vision and who receives a blessing from the thunderers. He gains the ability to predict the weather and to know when someone will die; he furthermore is protected in war by the thunderers. After ten years of traveling with a friend he sets out alone to fast again. He ends up stranded on an iceberg, from which he is rescued by an eagle. Back home he fasts again, and this time has an encounter with an evil spirit (*mači-maneto·ha*) who offers him a staff which will allow him to kill people, to succeed in war, and to have any woman that he desires. Just as the hero accepts the staff, the thunderers appear and kill the evil spirit with lightning. The thunderers tell the hero to stop fasting, get married and to make a drum with which to cure people. The hero does these things, but his story ends badly. Women are envious of his wife; a woman causes the hero's death by violating a menstrual taboo; then their son also meets an early death, apparently caused by people who know bad medicine. Finally an evil spirit causes the grief-stricken widow to go insane: the formerly morally upright woman exposes herself in public and is an object of ridicule before she herself dies. Though Kiyana does not explicate the reasons for the tragedies which

befall the hero and his family, we may speculate that it is the hero's acceptance of the staff which brings about the later events. The story thus manifests a larger theme, seen in other stories by Kiyana, of the hazards of fasting too long: one needs to know when to cease from the pursuit of mystical powers lest one encounter malevolent, dangerous spirits (cf. the texts presented in Dahlstrom 1996, 2003, among others).

A striking feature of this text is Kiyana's ten illustrations. See below for discussion of how Kiyana's comments about the drawings differ linguistically from his narration; much more could be said about the illustrations themselves but that is beyond the scope of the present chapter.

2. Syntactic phenomena. I turn now to a consideration of some of the syntactic constructions found in the text which the clause-by-clause presentation allows us to observe. Most clauses in the text exhibit very simple structure: some consist only of a verb, others of a verb plus a single argument. Such clauses may also have a conjunction or adverb (or both) appearing clause-initially. Consider, for example, the passage in (1).[3]

(1)   *e·hso·kihto·či oči·ma·ni, e·hašike·či. o·ni ki·šike·či, e·hni·sa·wata·soči.*

     e·h-so·kiht-o·či   *o-či·ma·n-i,* *e·h-ašike·-či.*   *o·ni*
     AOR-tie-3>0/AOR 3-canoe-SG AOR-build.house-3/AOR and

     IC-*ki·šike·-či,*   *e·h-ni·sa·wata·so-či.*
     IC-finish.build.house-3/CH.C AOR-take.down.one's.things-3/AOR

     He tied up his canoe, and built a house. And after he built his house, he unloaded his things. [12V–13C]

The subject of all four clauses is the young man who is the hero of the story. Since the character has already been introduced, the agreement morphology on the verbs functions as a pronominal subject in all four clauses. The only noun in this passage is *oči·ma·ni* 'his canoe', which appears to the right of the verb in the first clause of (1) in the canonical position for overt noun phrase (NP) objects which are neither topic nor focus, as discussed further below.

Additional examples of clauses containing only a single argument are seen in the sections below. It is worth noting here, however, that an NP in construction with a verb can be used to indicate only a portion of a plural argument, as in 28F and (2).

   3. See the "Abbreviations and conventions" at the end of this chapter for the format of examples and for abbreviations used in grammatical glosses. All examples in this chapter are from the text; their locations are indicated in brackets at the end of examples.

(2)   *o·ni e·ha·mi·wa·či owi·hka·nani*

   o·ni e·h-a·mi·-wa·či   ow-i·hka·n-ani
   and.then AOR-move.camp-3P/AOR 3-friend-OBV

   And then he and his friend moved camp. [10I]

Note that *owi·hka·nani* 'his friend' is singular and obviative while the verb is inflected for a third person proximate plural subject, resulting in a gloss of 'he and his friend'. Since the plural set includes the proximate third person, the hero of the story, the plural inflection on the verb is proximate as well. (Obviation is discussed further below.)

  Another frequently encountered construction in this and other Meskwaki texts is an equational sentence with a zero copula. Within the present text, the explanations of the various illustrations typically take this form, as in (3).

(3)   *ma·haniča·hi e·yohayo·čini*

   ma·hani=ča·hi IC-*ayoh-ay-o·čini.*
   these.INAN=so IC-REDUP-use-3>0/PART/0P

   And these are the things that he used. [6B]

The demonstrative pronoun on the left side is equated to the headless relative clause on the right side.

2.1. Overt topics. In Meskwaki, as in many other languages, a new or shifted discourse topic may be announced with an overt NP at the very beginning of a sentence. For example, in (4) the hero introduces a new topic in his conversation with the evil spirit, departing from the previous topic which was the thunderers who had blessed him earlier:

(4)   *na·hka ketiwa, meneseki e·hawiya·ni, nepye·nekwa.*

   na·hka ketiw-a, menes-eki e·h-awi-ya·ni,
   also eagle-ANIM.SG island-LOC AOR-be.there-1/AOR

   ne-pye·n-ekwa.
   1-bring-3>1/IND

   And also an eagle, when I was on an island, he brought me back.
   [20A–C]

The topic position is outside the clause proper, as can be seen from the fact that a temporal adverbial clause containing no reference to the eagle (*meneseki e·hawiya·ni* 'when I was on an island') intervenes between the topic and the main clause in (4).

  Topic shifts sometimes co-occur with a shift in proximate status, as in (5).

(5)   *i·nikike·hi, "aya·pami·yakwe ki·hnawači-memekwatahwa·pena,"*
       e·hiyowa·či.

       i·niki=ke·hi,   "aya·pami·-yakwe
       those.PROX.ANIM=moreover   go.back-21/SUBJNCT

       ke-i·h-nawači–memekwatahw-a·pena," e·h-iy-owa·či.
       2-FUT-stop.to–beat.up-21>3/IND   AOR-say.thus-3P/AOR

       And those [Sioux]: "When we go back we'll stop to beat him up," they
       said. [13L–M]

Earlier in the story this group of Sioux is referred to with obviative
NPs but here, where their speech and point of view are represented,
they gain proximate status.

     Obviative NPs, however, may also appear as overt topics;
a·hkwamataminičihi 'those (obv.) who were sick' in 5E is an example.

2.2. Focused elements. Another discourse function associated with
material to the left of the verb is focus.[4] An NP in focus appears to the
right of a negative word, if there is one, and to the left of an oblique
argument, if present. The clearest examples of focused elements are
found when two participants are contrasted with each other. For
example, in (6) the emphatic pronoun *ni·na* 'I' is in focus position,
expressing the contrast between the father's view that the hero is
already a good warrior (expressed earlier in 17A) and the hero's own
assessment.

(6)   *a·kwiča·hni·na pašimeko-we·ta·se·we·netama·nini ni·yawi.*

       a·kwi=ča·hi=ni·na paši–=meko   –we·ta·se·we·net-ama·nini
       not=so=I   at.all–=EMPH   –consider.O.warrior-1>0/NEG

       ni·yawi.
       myself

       But I don't even consider myself a warrior at all. [17C]

Another example can be seen in (7), where the hero is contrasted with
his friend.[5]

(7)   *wi·na e·hpwa·wi-owi·wiči*

       wi·na e·h-pwa·wi–owi·wi-či
       he   AOR-not–have.wife-3/AOR

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     4. More specifically, the discourse function associated with the position between
negative elements and oblique arguments is argument-focus, in the typology of
Lambrecht 1994.
     5. Independent personal pronouns such as *ni·na* 'I' and *wi·na* 'he/she' are
exclusively used for the discourse functions of topic and focus (Dahlstrom 1988).

[One of the two young men got married] but the other didn't marry . . . [12D]

Also frequently found in focus position are indefinite pronouns such as *owiye·ha* 'someone, anyone', as in (8).

(8)   . . . *a·kwi owiye·hani ki·wi-wi·te·ma·wa·čini.*

   . . . *a·kwi   owiye·h-ani   ki·wi–wi·te·m-a·wa·čini.*
   not   someone-OBV   around–accompany-3P>3′/NEG

   . . . they didn't travel with anyone else. [11G]

Similar examples may be found in 20P, 21M, 22Q, and 23P.

2.3. Position of obliques. Oblique arguments in Meskwaki nearly always appear immediately to the left of the verb. There are numerous examples of this pattern in the text excerpt considered here, exemplifying a range of semantic types of obliques. For example, (9) and (10) each contain an oblique argument expressing stationary location.

(9)   *mešemeko·nahi taši-nesekwihkapa i·ni mehtekwi, . . .*

   meše=meko=i·nahi taši–nes-ekwihkapa i·ni   mehtekwi, . . .
   any=EMPH=there   there–kill-0>2/POT   that.INAN stick-SG

   That staff could kill you, just any place, . . . [24O]

(10)   *ahpemekiča·hi awiwaki ke·teminawičiki.*

   ahpemeki=ča·hi   awi-waki   IC-keteminaw-ičiki.
   up.above=so   be.there-3P/IND IC-bless-3P>1/PART/3P

   For the ones that blessed me live up above. [19J]

Obliques are often associated with a "relative root" initial or preverb, such as *taši-* 'there' in 24O (the initial form of this relative root is *tan-*). However *awi-* 'be (there)' in 19J demonstrates that it is also possible for verbs to be subcategorized for an oblique argument without containing a relative root morpheme.

Other semantic types of obliques may be seen in 11I with an oblique expressing goal of motion (relative root *in-* as initial, *iši* as preverb), 15B with a source oblique (relative root *ot-*/*oči*), 1E and all other clauses with quoting verbs, which take the quote as an oblique argument of manner (the manner relative root is homophonous with the goal of motion relative root: *in-*/*iši*), 8L, which contains an oblique expressing extent (relative root *ahpi·ht-*), 20M, with an oblique expressing length (*ahkw-*), 12Q, with an oblique of number (*tasw-*), and 12T, with an oblique of size (*inekihkw-*).

As stated above, obliques nearly always appear immediately to the left of the verb in Meskwaki, but see the discussion below of chiastic word order for an instance of an oblique appearing to the right of the verb.

2.4. Postverbal constituents. In contrast to the oblique arguments, whose unmarked position is to the left of the verb, the unmarked position for all nonoblique arguments—subject, object, second object, and complement clauses—to the right of the verb. Numerous examples of this pattern can be found in this text excerpt, such as (11) which contains a verb followed by a direct object.

(11) *ašemeko e·hki·wi-wa·patamowa·či kehčikami·wi.*

   aše=meko e·h-ki·wi–wa·pat-amowa·či   kehčikami·w-i.
   just=EMPH AOR-around–look.at-3P>0/AOR   great.lake-SG

   They just went around looking at the great lake [probably Lake Michigan]. [11H]

In the examples discussed above we have also seen a postverbal object in 12V and 17C and postverbal subjects in 10I, 24O, and 19J.

Example (12) demonstrates the preference for complement clauses to follow the matrix verb. Within the complement clause, we see a transitive subject following the verb.

(12) *. . . e·hkehke·netama·ni e·hkemo·temiwa·tehe aša·haki.*

   . . . e·h-kehke·net-ama·ni e·h-kemo·tem-iwa·tehe
       AOR-know-1>0/AOR   AOR-steal.O2.from-3P>1/PAST.AOR

   aša·h-aki
   Sioux-PL

   . . . I realized that the Sioux had stolen it from me. [15J]

The generalization that the unmarked position for nonobliques is after the verb thus accounts for both levels of this embedded structure.

Note, however, that if a matrix verb contains the manner relative root *in-*/*iši* 'thus' the clausal argument bears the oblique grammatical function and therefore appears to the left of the verb, as in (13).

(13) *ašemekopi wi·ha·čimoniči e·hine·nema·či*

   aše=meko=ipi   wi·h-a·čimo-niči   e·h-ine·nem-a·či
   just=EMPH=HRSY FUT-narrate-3′/AOR   AOR-think.thus.of-3>3′/AOR

   because, it's said, he just wanted him to tell the story [7H]

Clauses with two lexical arguments appearing to the right of the verb are much less frequent than those with one or zero lexical

arguments but a few instances may be found in our text. For example, in (14) the verb is followed by a subject and what I classify as a second object: the nonsubject argument of an AI+O (animate intransitive plus object) type verb (cf. Dahlstrom 2009).

(14) *e·howi·wiči nekoti e·škimeko-ki·šiki·hiničini*

   e·h-owi·wi-či   *nekoti* IC-*aški–=meko*
   AOR-have.O2.as.wife-3/AOR   one   IC-for.first.time–=EMPH

   –ki·šiki-·hi-ničini
   –mature-DIM-3′/PART/3′

   one of them got married to a young girl who had just come of age
   [12B–C]

See also the discussion below of copying to object for an example of a verb followed by an object and a complement clause. In the text, note line 27K, an unusual example of a proximate second object preceding an obviative first object.

2.5. Discontinuous NPs and discontinuous preverb-verb compounds. Another stylistically marked construction in Meskwaki and other Algonquian languages is the separation of a demonstrative, quantifier, or relative clause from the head noun it modifies, creating a discontinuous structure. This text contains numerous examples of this construction, including the two adjacent lines reproduced in (15). The portions of the split NPs are in bold type.

(15) *"še·ški mani ki·hawato·pena či·ma·ni," e·hiyowa·či we·či- i·ni -awatawoči oči·ma·ni.*

   *"še·ški **mani**   ke-i·h-awat-o·pena   **či·ma·n-i**,"*
    only   this.INAN 2-FUT-take.along-21>0/IND   canoe-SG

   e·h-iy-owa·či   IC-*oči–*   ***i·ni***
   AOR-say.thus-3P/AOR   IC-from–   that.INAN

   –awataw-eči   ***o-či·ma·n-i***.
   –take.O'S.O2-X>3/PART/OBL   3-canoe-SG

   Because they said, "We'll take only this canoe," is why his canoe was taken from him. [13N–O]

13O not only contains a discontinuous NP but also exhibits the phenomenon of a preverb appearing syntactically separated from the remainder of its verb. (See Dahlstrom 1995, 2000 for discussion.) The combination of two types of discontinuity in 13M creates a wonderfully complex structure.

2.6. "Copying to object" matrix verbs. Algonquian languages display a syntactic construction labeled "copying to object" (Frantz 1978, Dahlstrom 1991) or "long distance agreement" (Branigan and MacKenzie 2002), in which a verb requiring a clausal complement, such as 'think' or 'know', is inflected for an object that agrees with one of the arguments of the lower clause. An excellent example of this construction is seen in (16).

(16) *ke·hke·nema·ta owiye·hani na·hina·hi wi·hnepeniči*

    IC-*kehke·nem-a·ta*   *owiye·h-ani*   *na·hina·hi* *wi·h-nep-niči*
    IC-know-3>3′/PART/3 someone-OBV when   FUT-die-3′/AOR

    the one who knew when someone would die [12E–F]

Here *owiye·hani* 'someone (obv.)' is both object of the matrix verb 'know' and subject of the lower verb 'die'. Note that the position of the NP suggests that it is indeed the object of the matrix verb: it is to the right of the matrix verb and to the left of the clause-initial adverb *na·hina·hi* 'when', which belongs to the lower clause. In other words, it is not just that the features of *owiye·hani* have been copied to be realized as object agreement in the higher clause, but rather that the NP itself occupies the object position.

3. Rhetorical and narrative structure. The discussion so far has considered word order at the clause level and pointed out some of the factors which determine the placement of lexical NPs in relation to the verb of the clause. We turn now to an examination of some of the stylistic features of this text which contribute to its rhetorical or narrative structure. The phenomena discussed below range over more than a single clause, helping to cohere the clauses into episodes, or exhibiting variation between clauses.

3.1. Chiasmus. Elements which ordinarily appear near the left edge of the clause, such as oblique arguments or adverbs, may also in some contexts appear to the right of the verb. The presentation of the text given here highlights such marked word orders. In some cases the unusual position of the adverb or oblique gives rise to *chiasmus*—so-called because if lines are drawn connecting the recurring elements of each clause the lines will form an X, the Greek letter chi. An example is seen in (17).

(17)   *. . . ke·htenameko e·hpwa·wi-nepo·hiniči e·hne·se·ničimeko ke·htena.*

       . . . ke·htena=meko e·h-pwa·wi–nep-o·hi-niči,
          truly=EMPH   AOR-not–die-DIM-3′/AOR

> *e·h-ne·se·-niči=meko   ke·htena*
> AOR-live.on-3′/AOR=EMPH truly
>
> . . . and sure enough, they did not die, they recovered indeed. [5G–H]

In the first clause of (17) the adverb *ke·htena* 'truly' is in the typical clause-initial position, while in the following clause it is repeated clause-finally. Note too that the verbs of the two clauses are near-synonyms: the effect of the chiastic pattern is to highlight the slight difference of the verb of the second clause. Both clauses also contain the emphatic enclitic *=meko,* which attaches to the first phonological word of each clause: the adverb in 5G and the verb in 5H.

Another example of chiasmus, involving oblique arguments and verbs, can be found in the text in 15C–D.

3.2. Lexical families. Other stylistic patterns observable in the text are similar to chiasmus in that they present a configuration of similarity and contrast. The repeated material serves to make the portion of the text cohesive; the part that is different is highlighted and emphasized. We can observe this device at a lexical level, with verb stems containing the same final being used in close proximity. For example, the final *-aho* 'paddle' occurs in *pemaho-* 'paddle' or 'paddle along' in 10J and elsewhere, *ki·waho-* 'paddle around' in 11C, *inaho-* 'paddle thither' in 11I, *we·paho-* 'start paddling' in 12P, and *anemaho-* 'paddle yonder' or 'continue paddling' in 12Q. These verb stems not only contribute specific lexical meaning to the clauses they appear in but also knit these passages of the text together with the repetition of the final.

It is not only finals which may be reiterated for cohesive purposes. The classificatory medial *-a·hkw-* 'wood' appears in 24S, 24U, 25A, and 25D in a passage discussing sticks and trees. Furthermore, the elements manifested as initials or preverbs, depending upon what they combine with, may serve this function as well. Note, for example, the initial *ki·w-* 'around' in 11C, the same initial in 11E two lines down, the preverb *ki·wi* in 11G and again in 11H. As observed for the finals, repetition of initials and preverbs serves a dual role, providing specific lexical information for each clause and also creating cohesion at the rhetorical level.

3.3. Reduplication. Cohesion may be achieved not only by the repetition of specific lexical elements but also by the repeated use of formal devices, such as reduplication. Meskwaki exhibits two formally distinct reduplicative strategies expressing aspectual notions such as continuing, iterated, or distributed actions (Dahlstrom 1997).

Reduplication often occurs in clusters of lines, serving the same sort of cohesive function that we observed with the repetition of finals, medials, and initials. See, for example, 24DE, describing the death throes of the bad spirit, and 31F–H, describing men's efforts to court the hero's widow.

3.4. Obviation strategies.   A well-known feature of Algonquian languages is the distinction within third person of proximate and obviative: in contexts containing more than one third person referent the third person most central to the discourse is referred to with unmarked third person forms (proximate) while the more peripheral third persons are referred to with marked obviative forms. In certain syntactic contexts (e.g., transitive verbs, nouns possessed by a third person) obviation marking is obligatory; in other contexts the speaker or writer has more choice in how to deploy obviation as a stylistic resource. I have discussed in Dahlstrom (1996) and elsewhere that obviation strategies seem to correlate with episode structure: some episodes, at least in Kiyana's texts, maintain a single character as proximate throughout. Other episodes exhibit multiple proximates, with multiple characters gaining proximate status if the syntax permits it. In the text under discussion here we can observe that the hero's friend, the one he travels with early on, is nearly equal in proximate status with the hero. In line 8C, which presents the friend's thoughts, the friend is proximate. Line 12B, which reports the marriage of the hero's friend, likewise has the friend as proximate. In contrast, the eagle who rescues the stranded hero is introduced as obviative in line 14A and remains obviative throughout (last mentioned in 15D).

It is interesting to look at the treatment of the enemy Sioux in terms of obviation. In the account of the hero's battle exploits (6A–10F) the Sioux are uniformly obviative. The Sioux who steal the hero's canoe are likewise first mentioned as obviative in 13E. But in 13L—the example of an overt topic discussed above—the Sioux are promoted to proximate status, when the narrator presents what the Sioux must have said. The intransitive verbs of speaking in lines M and N are inflected for proximate subjects; in line O, Kiyana chooses to inflect the verb as having an unspecified subject rather than having the verb agree with the Sioux as subject. The motivation here must be that the object of the verb is the proximate hero: using the unspecified subject form of the verb avoids putting the Sioux back in obviative status at this point in the story.

The hero also enjoys proximate status throughout most of the episode in which he encounters the evil spirit, but the assignment of proximate and obviative status shifts briefly at two points: in 19M and

20N the hero is obviative and the evil spirit is proximate. The verbs in these clauses are quoting verbs, and the preceding quote in each instance conveys important information. In the first instance the hero informs the evil spirit that he has already been blessed by the thunderers; a few pages later, the thunderers bring about the death of the evil spirit. The second point at which there is a brief shift in proximate-obviative status is when the evil spirit begins to tell the hero about the magical powers of the staff he is offering the hero. The hero ends up accepting the staff and the evil spirit's blessing, which evidently is the cause of the tragedies which later befall the hero and his family. Other brief shifts in proximate-obviative status are described in Dahlstrom (1996) for a different text by Kiyana, functioning in a similar way to draw attention to crucial points in the plot of a story.

The last section of the story, about the hero's marriage and the deaths of the hero and his family, displays some structural differences from the earlier sections, as discussed below. In terms of obviation, multiple characters appear in proximate status: first the hero (27G–28I), then the wife (28J–29D), then the couple together (29E–30E). In 30G–L the women who hate the wife are proximate; from 30M to 31E the woman, or the woman and man, are proximate. Men trying to court the widowed woman are proximate in 31F–H, the woman returns as proximate in 31I–J, then her son is proximate in 31K–32D. The last lines of the story, 32E–M, have the woman as proximate.

3.5. Textual constituents and narrative voice. Section 2 investigated the arrangement of the constituents of a clause: the position of elements such as subject and oblique with respect to the verb. Stories themselves can be viewed as having constituent structure, with distinct opening and closing formulae and episode structure within the story proper. In the text under consideration here lines 1A–E may be taken as the introduction, with the cluster of particles in 1F, *i·niča·hipi* 'So then, it's said,' marking the beginning of the story proper. The end of the story is announced simply by *i·ni* 'That's it' in 32O. The story itself seems to fall into four sections: the hero's first fasting and the powers he gains thereby; his journey to the iceberg; his encounter with the evil spirit; his marriage and untimely death. This four-part structure reflects the importance of the culture-number four, evident throughout the story (see 2G, 12G, 22B–D, 27D, etc.) Note that the first three sections end with the thunderers rescuing the hero: first from the Sioux surrounding him, then from the iceberg where he is stranded, then from the evil spirit. In the last section, however, there is no rescue: the hero and his loved ones all die.

Crosscutting the episode structure of the story itself is a different opposition: Kiyana's commentary on the illustrations he provides versus clauses advancing the plot. The explanations of the drawings use the proximal demonstratives *mani* 'this (inanimate)' or *mana* 'this (animate)' to refer to the depictions placed below the explanation (e.g. 1I, 2G); when referring back to a picture Kiyana uses *i·ni* 'that (inan.)' (3AB, referring to the picture on the preceding page of Kiyana's manuscript). These demonstratives reflect Kiyana's orientation to the drawings as he was producing the text: they are not oriented to the deictic center of the world of the story.

Within the story itself there is naturally a distinction between the utterances presented as direct quotations versus the narration: the quotations display the full range of verbal inflection found in face-to-face conversation (imperatives, prohibitives, potential verbs, etc.), while the narrative clauses are typically in the aorist conjunct, used for stories that are not one's own direct experiences. However, at times in the narrative portion of the text Kiyana seems to step out of the role of narrator and provide a more direct comment on the plot. That is, there are clauses within the text that are neither direct quotes attributed to a character in the story nor comments on one of the illustrations, but which nevertheless depart from the convention of using the aorist conjunct to narrate the story. This can be seen most clearly with negated clauses. In the narrative mode, clauses are negated with the negative preverb *pwa·wi* 'not'; verbs containing this preverb are inflected in the aorist conjunct (e.g. 8Q). In face-to-face conversation, on the other hand, main clauses are negated with *a·kwi* 'not' plus the negative mode of inflection on the verb. In the earlier portions of the text Kiyana occasionally departs from the narrative voice to speak more directly, using *a·kwi* for negation rather than *pwa·wi* (e.g. 11G).

The last portion of the text, describing the hero's marriage and the deaths of the hero and his family, is markedly different from the earlier portions of the story. Most of the instances of clauses containing *a·kwi* are found on lines 28A–32O of the manuscript; this portion is also noteworthy for the frequent appearance of the hearsay evidential =*ipi*. In contrast, =*ipi* is used quite sparingly in the earlier portions of the story, with its evidential function having scope over the entire episode which follows. Together with the multiple-proximate obviation strategy found in this portion of the text, the effect here is to make the last section less like a traditional story and more like face-to-face conversation.

4. Conclusion. The strategy of presenting a text in lines of roughly a clause apiece throws into relief any syntactic deviation from the typical

pattern of an adverb, verb, and perhaps one argument; moreover, such a presentation points up the instances where the narrator adopts a different voice in the recounting of the story. The juxtaposition of short lines also makes visible the narrator's use of chiasmus and facilitates the recognition of other rhetorical structures, from the cohesive repetition of elements smaller than a full verb stem to patterns of obviation that may span many clauses. I hope that the commentary above on a sampling of syntactic and discourse-pragmatic issues demonstrates the rich potential of texts for increasing our understanding of the marvelously complex Algonquian languages.

Abbreviations and conventions

Abbreviations. Grammatical abbreviations used here are: 0 inanimate, 0′ inanimate obviative, 1 first person, 2 second person, 21 first person inclusive plural, 3 third person animate, 3′ (third person) animate obviative, ABSENT absentative, ANIM animate, AOR aorist prefix (on left of word) or aorist conjunct verbal mode (on right of word), AOR.INTERR aorist interrogative, CH.C changed conjunct, CH.INTERR changed interrogative, DIM diminutive, EMPH emphatic, EXCL exclusive (in first person plural), EXPL expletive, FUT future, HRSY hearsay evidential, IC initial change (ablaut of vowel in initial syllable), IND independent indicative, INTERR interrogative, INT.PART interrogative participle, ITER iterative, LOC locative, NEG negative, O object, O2 second object, OBL oblique, OBV obviative, P plural (in glosses of pronominal categories), PART participle, PAST.AOR past aorist conjunct, PERF perfective, PL plural, POT potential, PROHIB prohibitive, PROX proximate, REDUP reduplication, SG singular, SUBJNCT subjunctive, VOC vocative, X unspecified subject. On transitive verbs, subject and object features are separated by ">": e.g., "1>3" indicates a first person singular subject acting upon an animate third person singular object. Following the indication of subject (and object) agreement, the inflectional mode of the verb is indicated after a slash (e.g., "/CH.C" changed conjunct). Participles, the verb form used in relative clauses, have a further indication of the head of the relative clause (e.g., "3/PART/3"—a participle inflected for a third person singular subject and a third person singular head of the relative clause).

Conventions and symbols. In the line numbering of the text as presented here, numerals (1, 2, etc.) correspond to pages of the original manuscript; roughly clause-level units are identified by letters (1A, 1B, etc.) Kiyana's descriptions of his illustrations are set off here by extra indentation and spacing (not in the manuscript). These descriptions are sometimes separated from the illustrations, as is the case for figures 7 and 8 in this text. Possibly in such cases he first drew the picture and then went back and filled the space remaining above it with text.

In the lines of text, the italicized first line is essentially the syllabic text transliterated with roman orthography, with vowel length and *h* indicated, and with punctuation supplied. The word boundary symbol of the syllabic text is rendered by a space between words, or a hyphen between preverb and verb (or between prenoun and noun). No technical linguistic symbols (e.g., = for clitic boundary) appear in the first line, in order to keep it as readable as possible for native speakers.

The second line of each clause provides a full indication of boundaries for affixes (the hyphen -), clitics (=), and preverbs and prenouns (the dash –), as well as philological information. An underline _ means that Kiyana wrote no word boundary symbol between words or between a preverb and verb. The pipe symbol | indicates the end of a line if no word boundary symbol was written (an environment in which Kiyana often omits word boundaries). The end of a page is indicated by a double pipe ||. (The underline and pipe symbols are omitted from examples cited in the discussion above.)

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Meskwaki text

A Man Who Fasted Long Ago

Written by Alfred Kiyana, ca. 1912. National Anthropological Archives manuscript 2664–2.

[TITLE]   *me·hkate·wi·ta našawaye neniwa.*

  IC-*mahkate·wi·-ta   našawaye   neniw-a.*
  IC-fast-3/PART/3   long.ago   man-SG

  A man who fasted long ago.

1A   *našawaye neno·te·wa e·hma·mahkate·wi·či.*

  našawaye   neno·te·w-a| e·h-ma·-mahkate·wi·-či.
  long.ago   Indian-SG   AOR-REDUP-fast-3/AOR

  Long ago an Indian was fasting.

1B   *e·hpwa·wimeko-kehke·netaki*

  *e·h-pwa·wi–=meko   –kehke·net-aki_*
  AOR-not–=EMPH   –know-3>0/AOR

  Because he had no idea

1C   *na·hina·hi wi·hahkwi-mehtose·neniwikwe·ni,*

  na·hina·hi   wi·h-ahkwi–mehtose·neniwi-kwe·ni,
  time   FUT-so.long–be.person-3/INT.PART/OBL

  when the end of his life would be,

1D   *na·hka mehto·čimeko na·no·make·we e·hmehtose·neniwiniči mehtose·neniwahi.*

  na·hka| mehto·či=meko   na·-no·make·we
  also   like=EMPH   REDUP-for.short.time

  e·h-mehtose·neniwi-niči   mehtose·neniw-ahi.
  AOR-be.person-3′/AOR   person-OBV.PL

  and also because it seems as if people are alive only for a short time each,

1E   *"we·nahi! awita maneto·wa ki·šihiwe·sa!"e·hišite·he·či.*

  "we·nahi!   awita   maneto·w-a ki·šihiwe·-sa!"
   I.see.now   not.POT   spirit-SG   create.people-3/POT

e·h-išite·he·-či.
AOR-think.thus-3/AOR

he thought, "It couldn't be the spirit who created us!"

1F   *i·niča·hipi e·hma·mahkate·wi·či we·pi.*

i·ni=ča·hi=ipi   e·h-ma·-mahkate·wi·-či_   we·pi.
then=so=HRSY   AOR-REDUP-fast-3/AOR   begin

So then, it's said, he started to fast.

1G   *atehčimeko e·hmawi-owi·kiči,*

atehči=meko   e·h-mawi–owi·ki-či,
away=EMPH   AOR-go.and–dwell-3/AOR

He went to live in some lonely place,

1H   *nye·wawahi·me atehči e·howi·kiči.*

nye·wawahi·me   atehči   e·h-owi·ki-či.
four.years   away   AOR-dwell-3/AOR

and for four years he lived by himself.

1I   [Description of figure 1:]

mani me·hkate·wi·ta e·howi·kiči mahkate·wi·wika·ni;

mani_   IC-mahkate·wi·-ta| e·h-owi·ki-či
this.INAN   IC-fast-3/PART/3   AOR-dwell-3/PART/LOC

mahkate·wi·wika·n-i;
fasting.house-SG

This is the fasting-house where the one who was fasting lived;

1J   *manihi kenwe·ši me·hkate·wi·čiki e·šikeniki e·howi·kiwa·či.*

manihi   kenwe·ši   IC-mahka‖te·wi·-čiki
this.INAN   long.time   IC-fast-3P/PART/3P

IC-išiken-niki| e·h-owi·ki-wa·či.
IC-be.thus-0′/PART/OBL   AOR-dwell-3P/PART/LOC

this is the kind in which people who fast for a long time live.
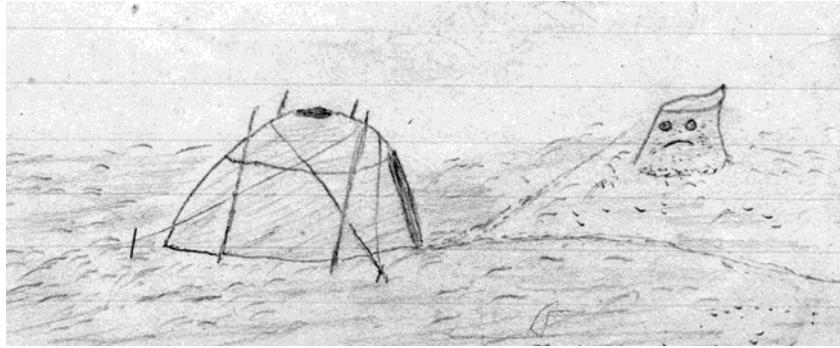
Figure 1. Illustration at the bottom of p. 1 of Kiyana's manuscript.

2A   *pe·po·nikini*

     IC-*pepo·-nikini*
     IC-be.winter-0′/ITER

     In the wintertime

2B   *a·kwi nana·ši pwa·wi-mahkate·wi·wa·čini.*

     a·kwi   nana·ši   pwa·wi–mahkate·wi·-wa·čini.
     not   ever   not–fast-3P/NEG

     they never fail to fast.

2C   *o·ni na·hina·hi maneto·wani e·hketemina·koči,*

     o·ni   na·hina·hi   maneto·w-ani   e·h-keteminaw-ekoči,
     and time   spirit-OBV   AOR-bless-3′>3/AOR

     And at the time when a spirit blessed him,

2D   *e·ha·hpawa·wa·či e·hketemina·koči maneto·wani.*

     e·h-a·hpawa·w-a·či   e·h-keteminaw-ekoči   maneto·w-ani.
     AOR-dream-3>3′/AOR   AOR-bless-3′>3/AOR   spirit-OBV

     he had a dream that he was blessed by the spirit.

2E   *na·hina·hi e·hmenwimeko-ketemina·koči,*

     na·hina·hi   e·h-menwi–=meko   –keteminaw-ekoči,
     time   AOR-well-=EMPH   –bless-3′>3/AOR

     At the time when [the spirit] blessed him in a good way,

2F   *e·šimeko-natawe·netaki e·hiši-ketemina·koči.*

     IC-*iši–=meko   –natawe·net-aki   e·h-iši–keteminaw-ekoči.*
     IC-thus–=EMPH   –seek-3>0/PART/OBL   AOR-thus–bless-3′>3/AOR

     [the spirit] blessed him just the way he wanted.

2G   [Description of figure 2:]

   manaha nye·wawahi·me pe·mi-mahkate·wi·ta;

   manaha_   nye·wawahi·me   IC-*pemi|–mahkate·wi·-ta;|*
   this.ANIM   four.years   IC-along–fast-3/PART/3

   This is the one who fasted for four years;

2H   *manaha kekimesimeko maneto·wahi ke·temina·kota.*

   manaha   kekimesi=meko   maneto·w-ahi ||
   this.ANIM   each.one=EMPH   spirit-OBV.PL

   IC-*keteminaw-ekota.*
   IC-bless-3′>3/PART/3

   this is the one who was blessed by each one of the spirits.
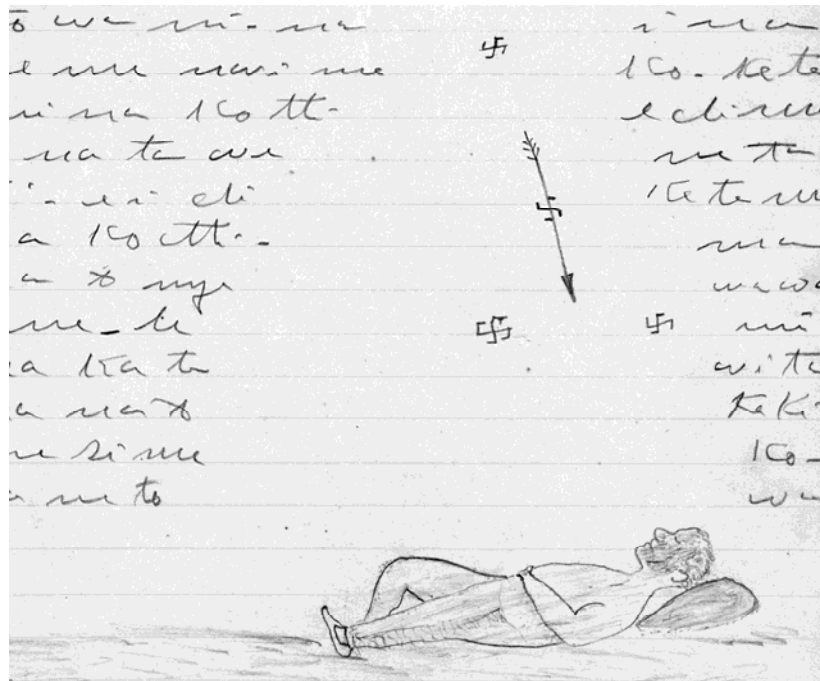
Figure 2. Illustration at the bottom of p. 2 of Kiyana's manuscript.

3A   *i·ni nekotimeko maneto·wa,*

   i·ni   nekoti=meko   maneto·w-a,|
   that.INAN   one=EMPH   spirit-SG

   That [illustration on the previous page of Kiyana's manuscript (figure 2)] was of one spirit,

3B   *me·yakikeno·hiki aša·ti·hi i·ni.*

   IC-*mayakiken-o·hi-ki   aša·ti·h-i_   i·ni.*
   IC-be.strange-DIM-0/PART/0   headed.arrow-SG   that.INAN

   and that was kind of a strange arrow.

3C   *kehči-maneto·wa o·ni kotakaki i·nini otahi·hemwa·wani,*[1]

   kehči–maneto·w-a| o·ni_   kotak-aki   i·nini
   great–spirit-SG   and   other-ANIM.PL   those.INAN

   o-ta·hi·hem-wa·w-ani,
   3-thing-3P-INAN.PL

   They are things that belong to the Great Spirit and other spirits,

3D   *a·kwi aša·ti·hiwinikini.*

   a·kwi| aša·ti·hiwi-nikini.
   not   be.headed.arrow-0′/NEG

   they aren't really arrows.

3E   *pe·hkimeko e·hča·ki-ketemina·koči maneto·wahi ma·makekineničihi:*

   pe·hki=meko   e·h-ča·ki–keteminaw-ekoči   maneto·w-ahi
   really=EMPH   AOR-all–bless-3′>3/AOR   spirit-OBV.PL

   IC-*mama·kekin-ničihi:*
   IC-REDUP.be.big-3′/PART/3′P

   All of the great spirits really blessed him:

3F   *menwi-maneto·wahi me·nwikiničihi,*

   menwi–maneto·w-ahi   IC-menwiki-ničihi,
   good–spirit-OBV.PL   IC-be.good-3′/PART/3′P

   the good spirits who are good,

3G   *mya·tesiničihi a·kwi mači-maneto·he·hahi.*

   IC-*mya·tesi-ničihi   a·kwi| mači–maneto·h-e·h-ahi.*
   IC-be.bad-3′/PART/3′P   not   bad–spirit.DIM- DIM-OBV.PL

   not the little evil spirits who are bad.

---

   1. Kiyana wrote ⟨o te i e mwa wa ni⟩.

3H   *kehči-maneto·wameko owi·hka·nahi i·nihi ke·hkinawa·čikiničihi*

      kehči_maneto·w-a=meko   ow-i·hka·n-ahi   i·nihi|
      great–spirit-SG=EMPH   3-friend-OBV.PL those.OBV

      IC-*kehkinawa·čiki-ničihi*
      IC-be.marked-3′/PART/3′P

      The friends of the Great Spirit himself are the ones who are marked

3I   *kehči-maneto·wa e·no·hka·na·čihi.*

      kehči_maneto·w-a   IC-ano·hka·n-a·čihi.
      great–spirit-SG   IC-give.job.to-3>3′/PART/3′P

      as being sent by the Great Spirit.

3J   *a·kwi ke·ko·hi iši-wa·waneška·hi-maneto·wiwa·čini i·niki*
      ke·hkinawa·čihčika·sočiki.

      a·kwi   ke·ko·hi| iši–wa·waneška·hi–maneto·wi-wa·čini
      not   any.way   thus–immoral–be.spirit-3P/NEG

      i·niki   IC-kehkinawa·čihčika·so-čiki.
      those.ANIM   IC-be.made.with.such.markings-3P/PART/3P

      The ones who are made with such markings are not immoral spirits, in
      any way.

3K   *kehči-maneto·wa taswi e·no·hka·na·či i·nimeko e·šihčika·soniči.*

      kehči_maneto·w-a   taswi   IC-ano·hka·n-a·či
      great–spirit-SG   as.many IC-give.job.to-3>3′/PART/OBL

      i·ni=meko   IC-išihčika·so-niči.
      that.way=EMPH   IC-be.made.thus-3′/PART/OBL

      All of the ones that the Great Spirit sends, that's how they are made.

3L   *wi·sahke·hana·hkači e·no·hka·na·čihi,*

      wi·sahke·ha=na·hkači ‖ IC-ano·hka·n-a·čihi,
      W=also   IC-give.job.to-3>3′/PART/3′P

      And also the ones that Wisahkeha sends,

4A   *i·nimeko e·ši-kehkinawa·čiha·soniči*

      i·ni=meko   IC-iši_kehkinawa·čiha·so-niči
      that.way=EMPH   IC-thus–be.marked-3′/PART/OBL

      they are marked in the same way

4B   *o·ni wi·sahke·ha aša·ti·himeko e·ye·ki.*

      o·ni_   wi·sahke·ha   aša·ti·h-i=meko| e·ye·ki.
      and⎯   W   headed.arrow-SG=EMPH   as.well

      as is Wisahkeha, and the arrow as well.

4C   *i·niča·hipi·na te·kwimeko-ketemina·kočini kehči-maneto·wani.*

      i·ni=ča·hi=ipi=i·na   IC-*takwi–=meko*
      that.INAN=so=HRSY=that.ANIM   IC-join.with–=EMPH

      –keteminaw-ekočini   kehči̱_maneto·w-ani.
      –bless-3′>3/PART/3′   great–spirit-OBV

      So, it's said, it was the Great Spirit who blessed him together with that
      [arrow].

4D   *i·nike·hi asenimeko e·pehkwe·hiči.*

      i·ni=ke·hi   *asen-i=meko*   IC-*apehkwe·hi-či.*
      that.INAN=moreover   stone-SG=EMPH   IC-place.head.on.O2-3/PART/0

      And that stone is what he used as a pillow.

4E   *o·ni e·howi·ke·hiči ki·škitepe·hikani e·hneno·te·wina·kwateniki.*

      o·ni   e·h-owi·k-e·hi-či| *ki·škitepe·hikan-i*
      and   AOR-dwell-DIM-3/PART/LOC   stump-SG

      e·h-neno·te·wina·kwat-niki.
      AOR-look.like.Indian-0′/AOR

      And at the place he was living there was a stump that looked like a
      person.

4F   *e·hnahimeko-kakano·neti·hekwiči,*

      e·h-nahi–=meko   *–kakano·neti·h-ekwiči,*
      AOR-know.how–=EMPH   –converse.with-0>3/AOR

      It was able to talk to him,

4G   *e·hnahimeko-a·čimohekwiči*

      e·h-nahi–=meko   *–a·čimoh-ekwiči|*
      AOR-know.how–=EMPH   –inform-0>3/AOR

      and it was able to tell him

4H   *ni·ka·ni wi·hanemi-išikeniki,*

      ni·ka·ni   IC-*wi·h-anemi|–išiken-niki,*
      ahead   IC-FUT-go.on–be.thus-0′/PART/OBL

      what will happen in the future,

4I   *na·hkači wi·hanemiši-wa·se·ya·niki.*

      na·hkači| IC-*wi·h-anemi̱_'ši–wa·se·ya·-niki.*
      also   IC-FUT-go.on–thus–be.light-0′/PART/OBL

      and also the way the days will be.

4J   *e·hkehke·netakimeko wi·hanemiši-ki·šekateniki.*

      e·h-kehke·net-aki=meko   IC-*wi·h-anemi‒'ši‖-ki·šekat-niki.*
      AOR-know-3>0/AOR=EMPH   IC-FUT-go.on–thus–be.day-0/PART/OBL

      He knew exactly what the day would be like.

4K   *na·hkači na·hina·hi wi·hnepeniči owiye·hani e·hkehke·nema·čimeko,*

      na·hkači   na·hina·hi wi·h-nep-niči   owiye·h-ani
      also   time   FUT-die-3′/AOR   someone-OBV

      e·h-kehke·nem-a·či=meko,
      AOR-know-3>3′/AOR=EMPH

      He also knew exactly when someone was going to die,

4L   *wi·hihpene·ničina·hka.*

      IC-*wi·h-ihpene·-niči=na·hka.*
      IC-FUT-die.thus-3′/PART/OBL=also

      and what they would die of.

4M   *e·ha·čimoha·čimeko,*

      e·h-a·čimoh-a·či=meko,
      AOR-inform-3>3′/AOR=EMPH

      He would tell them outright,

4N   *e·hpwa·wi-nahi-pašitowe·či,*

      e·h-pwa·wi–‖nahi–pašitowe·-či,
      AOR-not–be.given.to–tell.lie-3/AOR

      he never lied,

5A   *ke·htenameko e·hanemi-te·pwe·či.*

      ke·htena=meko   e·h-anemi‒te·pwe·-či.
      truly=EMPH   AOR-go.on–speak.truth-3/AOR

      and surely he always turned out to be right.

5B   *i·nimeko e·hanemišawiniči e·na·čini owiye·hani.*

      i·ni=meko   e·h-anemi‒'šawiniči
      that=EMPH   AOR-go.on–fare.thus-3′/AOR

      IC-*in-a·čini*   *owiye·h-ani.*
      IC-say.thus.about 3>3′/PART/OBL someone-OBV

      The things he said about someone happened to them, just as he said.

5C   *"mani·nina·hča·h wi·hnepo·hiči," e·hina·či,*

      "mani=i·nina·hi=ča·hi‒ wi·h-nep-o·hi-či,"
      this=that.time=so   FUT-die-DIM-3/AOR

e·h-in-a·či,|
AOR-say.thus.about-3>3′/AOR
"This is the time when he will die," he said about them,

5D   *i·nina·hmeko e·hnepo·hiniči.*
    i·nina·hi=meko   e·h-nep-o·hi-niči.
    at.that.time=EMPH   AOR-die-DIM-3′/AOR
    and just at that time they would die.

5E   *a·hkwamataminičihina·hkači,*
    IC-*a·hkwamat-aminičihi=na·hkači,*
    IC-be.sick-3′>0/PART/3′P=also
    Also, regarding those who were sick,

5F   *a·neta, "a·kwiča·h wi·hnepo·hičini," e·hina·či,*
    a·neta, "a·kwi=ča·h_   wi·h-nep-o·hi-čini,"
    some   not=so   FUT-die-DIM-3′/NEG
    e·h-in-a·či,
    AOR-say.thus.about-3>3′/AOR
    about some he would say, "He will not die,"

5G   *ke·htenameko e·hpwa·wi-nepo·hiniči,*
    ke·htena=meko   e·h-pwa·wi–nep-o·hi-niči,
    truly=EMPH   AOR-not–die-DIM-3′/AOR
    and sure enough, they did not die,

5H   *e·hne·se·ničimeko ke·htena.*
    e·h-ne·se·-niči=meko_   ke·htena.
    AOR-live.on-3′/AOR=EMPH   truly
    they recovered indeed.

5I   *"mani·nina·hi wi·hne·se·či," e·hina·či,*
    "mani=i·nina·hi   wi·h-ne·se·-či,"
    this.INAN=that.time   FUT-live.on-3/AOR
    e·h-in-a·či,
    AOR-say.thus.about-3>3′/AOR
    "This is the time when he will recover," he would say,

5J   *i·nina·hmeko e·hne·se·niči.*
    i·nina·hi=meko   e·h-ne·se·-niči.
    at.that.time=EMPH   AOR-live.on-3′/AOR
    and right at that time they recovered.

5K *na·hkači e·hpwa·wimeko-paši-a·hkwamataminiči,*
 na·hkači e·h-pwa·wi–=meko –paši–a·hkwamat-aminiči,|
 again   AOR-not—=EMPH   –at.all–be.sick-3′>0/AOR
 And again, when someone was not sick at all,

5L *e·ha·čimočipa·pehe,*
 e·h-a·čimo-či=ipi=a·pehe
 AOR-narrate-3/AOR=HRSY=usually
 he would say, it's said,

5M *"mani·nina·hi wi·hnepo·hiči," e·hiči*
 "mani=i·nina·hi   wi·h-nep-o·hi-či,"   e·h-i-či,
  this.INAN=that.time FUT-die-DIM-3/AOR AOR-say.thus-3/AOR
 "This is when he will die,"

5N *i·nina·hmeko e·hnepo·hiniči.*
 i·nina·hi=meko   e·h-nep-o·hi-niči.
 at.that.time=EMPH   AOR-die-DIM-3′/AOR
 and right then they would die.

6A *o·ni e·hmi·ka·ti·či aša·hahi.*
 o·ni e·h-mi·ka·ti·-či || aša·h-ahi.
 and   AOR-fight(.O2)-3/AOR   Sioux-OBV.PL
 And he fought against the Sioux.

6B   [Description of figure 3:]
 ma·haniča·hi e·yohayo·čini.
 ma·hani=ča·hi| IC-ayoh-ay-o·čini.
 these.INAN=so   IC-REDUP-use-3>0/PART/0P
 And these are the things that he used.
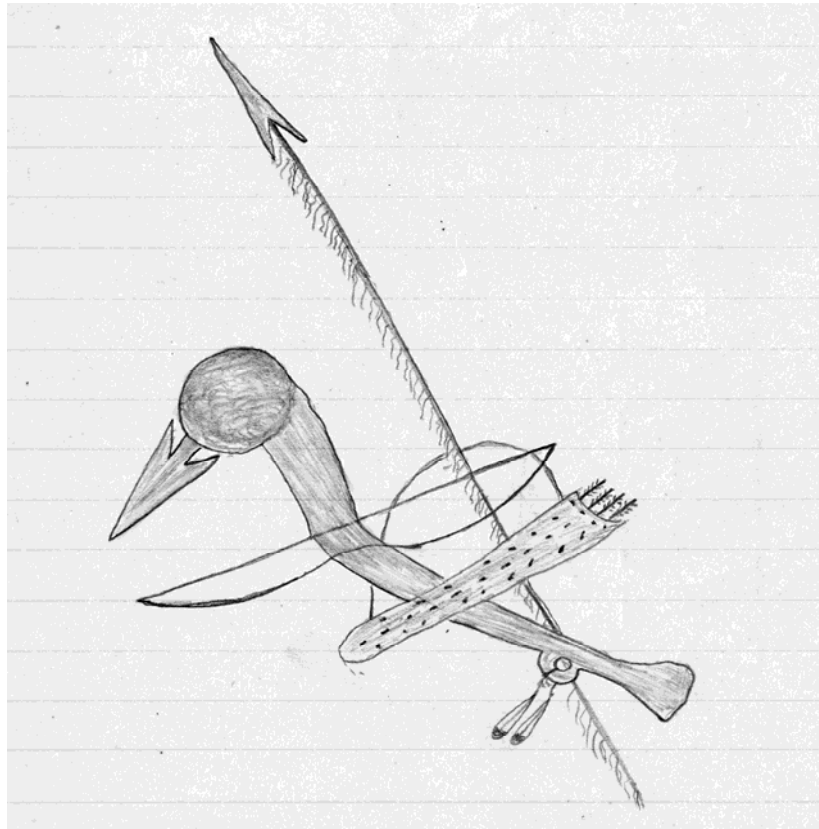
Figure 3. Illustration on p. 6 of Kiyana's manuscript (placed between the two words of line 6B).

6C   *mama·nemeko e·hnesa·či*

     ma-ma·ne=meko   e·h-nes-a·či
     REDUP-many=EMPH AOR-kill-3>3′/AOR

     He killed many of them each time

6D   *ma·hani e·hayo·či.*

     ma·hani   e·h-ay-o·či.|
     these.INAN AOR-use-3>0/AOR

     using these things.

6E   *mani taswi.*

      *mani_*   *taswi.*
      this.INAN   so.much

      This was all.

6F   *mama·nemeko e·hča·katahwa·či owi·či·škwe·hahi.*

      ma-ma·ne=meko   *e·h-ča·katahw-a·či*   *ow-i·či·‖škwe·h-ahi.*
      REDUP-many=EMPH   AOR-thrash-3>3′/AOR   3-enemy-OBV.PL

      He thrashed many of his enemies each time.

7A   *a·kwike·hipimekowi·na nahi-mešokočini,*

      a·kwi=ke·hi=ipi=meko=wi·na   *nahi_mešw-ekočini,*
      not=moreover=HRSY=EMPH=he   be.given.to–shoot-3′>3/NEG

      But, it's said, he himself was never shot by them,

7B   *e·hnekoti·hiči e·hmi·ka·ti·či.*

      e·h-nekoti-·hi-či   *e·h-mi·ka·ti·-či.*
      AOR-be.one-DIM-3/AOR   AOR-fight-3/AOR

      although he was fighting alone.

7C   *nekotenwimeko nekoti e·hkehekwiči.*

      nekotenwi=meko   *nekoti*   *e·h-kehekwi-či.*
      one.time=EMPH   one   AOR-lose.O2.as captive-3/AOR

      There was just one time when one of the enemy slipped away from him.

7D   *nekoti kehči-ma·wa·kani e·hma·nwikamikesiniči aša·hahi,*

      *nekoti_*   *kehči_ma·wa·kan-i*   *e·h-ma·nwikamikesi-niči*
      one   great–winter.camp-SG   AOR-have.many.houses-3′/PART/LOC

      aša·h-ahi,
      Sioux-OBV.PL

      It was at a big winter camp, where the Sioux had many houses,

7E   *nekotimeko e·hkehekwiči.*

      nekoti=meko   *e·h-kehekwi-či.*
      one=EMPH   AOR-lose.O2.as captive-3/AOR

      and he had one of them get away.

7F   *i·nimeko iši-nekoti.*

      i·ni=meko   *iši_nekoti.*
      that=EMPH   thus–one

      That was the only one.

7G   *oškinawe·he·hanipi ke·hekwičini.*

      oškinawe·h-e-h-ani=ipi   IC-*kehekwi-čini.*
      young.man-DIM-OBV=HRSY   IC-lose.O2.as.captive-3/PART/3′

      It was a young teenage boy, it's said, who gave him the slip.

7H   *ašemekopi wi·ha·čimoniči e·hine·nema·či*

      aše=meko=ipi   *wi·h-a·čimo-niči|*   *e·h-ine·nem-a·či*
      just=EMPH=HRSY   FUT-narrate-3′/AOR   AOR-think.thus.of-3>3′/AOR

      Because, it's said, he just wanted him to tell the story,

7I   *we·či-pwa·wi-mawi-nesa·či.*

      IC-*oči|–pwa·wi–mawi_nes-a·či.*
      IC-from–not–go.and–kill-3>3′/PART/OBL

      is why he didn't go and kill him.

7J   *e·hkwi·čimeko, e·hmašamašahkwa·šike·či,*

      IC-*ahkwi·-či=meko,*   *e·h-maša-mašahkwa·šike·-či,*
      IC-reach.end-3/PART/OBL=EMPH   AOR-REDUP-do.scalping-3/AOR

      He took scalps to his heart's content,

7K   *meše·nahmeko nekoto·wane,*

      meše=i·nahi=meko   *nekoto·wane,*
      as.may.be=EMPH   one.bag

      maybe one bagful,

7L   *e·hawato·taki owi·šehkwayani.*

      e·h-awato·t-aki   *owi·šehkway-ani.*
      AOR-take.O.away.on.back-3>0/AOR   scalp-INAN.PL

      and carried the scalps home on his back.

7M   *e·hma·mata·nahki·wihto·wa·či,*

      e·h-ma·mata·nahki·wiht-o·wa·či,
      AOR-celebrate-3P>0/AOR

      They had a big celebration,

7N   *kenwe·šimeko e·hna·ni·miwa·či.*

      kenwe·ši=meko   *e·h-na·-ni·mi-wa·či. ||*
      long.time=EMPH   AOR-REDUP-dance-3P/AOR

      and were dancing and dancing for a very long time.

8A   *we·wi·či·škwe·hičihi e·hkepoška·koči mehtose·neniwahi.*
      IC-*owi·či·škwe·hi-čihi*   *e·h-kepoškaw-ekoči*
      IC-have.O2.as.enemy-3/PART/3′P   AOR-surround-3′>3/AOR

mehtose·neniw-ahi.
person-OBV.PL
The people who were his enemies surrounded him.

8B   *"me·me·čikimeko wi·hnesa·pi!"*

    "me·me·čiki=meko   wi·h-nes-a·pi!"
  I'm.sure=EMPH   FUT-kill-X>3/IND.IND
    "Surely he will be killed!"

8C   *e·hišite·he·či we·wi·hka·nita.*

    e·h-išite·he·-či   IC-*owi·hka·ni-ta.*
    AOR-think.thus-3/AOR   IC-have.O2.as.friend-3/PART/3
    thought his friend.

8D   *we·pi-kanakanawiči,*

    IC-*we·pi–kana-kanawi-či,*
    IC-begin–REDUP-speak-3/CH.C
    He began to make a speech,

8E   *kenwe·šimeko e·hkanakanawiči,*

    kenwe·ši=meko   e·h-kana-kanawi-či,
    long.time=EMPH   AOR-REDUP-speak-3/AOR
    speaking for a very long time,

8F   *maniwi·na: e·htaši-pi·pemoči*

    mani=wi·na: e·h-taši–pi··-pemw-eči
    this.INAN=but AOR-be.engaged.in–REDUP-shoot-X>3/AOR
    But here's the thing: as he was being shot at

8G   *wa·natohkameko e·htana·naketone·moči.*[2]

    wa·natohka=meko   e·h-tana·naketone·mo-či.
    nonchalantly=EMPH AOR-be.engaged.in.talking-3/AOR
    he continued with the speech as if nothing were wrong.

8H   *ki·šetone·moči,*

    IC-*ki·šetone·mo-či,*
    IC-finish.talking-3/CH.C
    When he finished his speech,

---

2. Kiyana wrote ⟨e ta na ne ke to ne mo tti⟩.

8I *e·hwe·pimeko-kemiya·niki.*
e·h-we·pi–=meko –kemiya·-niki.
AOR-begin–=EMPH –rain-0′/AOR
right away it started to rain.

8J *e·hapa·sete·nikike·hwi·na,*
e·h-apa·sete·-niki=ke·hi=wi·na,
AOR-be.sunny-0′/AOR=moreover=but
It was even a sunny day,

8K *šewe·na e·hkemiya·nikimeko.*
šewe·na e·h-kemiya·-niki=meko.
but AOR-rain-0′/AOR=EMPH
but it was raining indeed.

8L *e·škamimeko e·hanemi-ahpi·hči-kemiya·niki,*
e·škami=meko e·h-anemi_ahpi·hči|–kemiya·-niki
increasingly=EMPH AOR-go.on–to.such.extent–rain-0′/AOR
It began to rain harder and harder,

8M *kapo·twemeko e·hkehči-kemiya·hiniki.*
kapo·twe=meko e·h-kehči_kemiya·-·-hi-niki.
at.some.point=EMPH AOR-greatly–rain-DIM-0′/AOR
and at one point there was a brief downpour.

8N *wi·nake·hi če·winehki e·hawihawiči.*
wi·na=ke·hi če·winehki e·h-awih-awi-či.
he=moreover in.middle AOR-REDUP-be.there-3/AOR
But as for him, he stayed right in the middle.

8O *e·hkosekočike·hwi·nameko owi·či·škwe·hahi,*
e·h-kos-ekoči=ke·h=wi·na=meko ow-i·či·škwe·h-ahi,
AOR-fear-3′>3/AOR=moreover=but=EMPH 3-enemy.OBV.PL
His enemies, though, were afraid of him,

8P *e·hkosekočimeko,*
e·h-kos-ekoči=meko,
AOR-fear-3′>3/AOR=EMPH
they were really afraid of him,

8Q   *e·hpwa·wi-mačina·koči.*

      e·h-pwa·wi‖–mačinaw-ekoči. ‖
      AOR-not–dare.with.regard.to-3′>3/AOR

      and they didn't dare go against him.

9A   [Description of figure 4:]

      e·šina·kwateniki e·hana·hpawa·či.

      IC-išina·kwat-niki   *e·h-ana·hpawa·-či.*
      IC-appear.thus-0′/PART/OBL   AOR-recite.one's.dream-3/AOR

      The way it looked when he summoned his dream-power.

9B   *e·hča·katahama·koči nenemehkiwahi kotwa·šikenwi.*

      e·h-ča·katahamaw-ekoči‖   *nenemehkiw-ahi.‖* *kotwa·šikenwi*
      AOR-thrash.O2.for-3′>3/AOR   thunderer-OBV.PL   six.times

      The thunderers blasted them for him six times.

9C   *mani e·ši-pa·pa·hketoniči*

      mani   *IC-iši–pa·-pa·hketon-niči*
      this.INAN IC-thus–REDUP-open.mouth-3′/CH.C

      As the lightning flashed

9D   *e·hča·ki-nepeniči ke·poška·kočihi aša·hahi.*

      e·h-ča·ki‖–nep-niči   *IC-kepoškaw-ekočihi*   *aša·h-ahi. ‖*
      AOR-all–die-3′/AOR IC-surround-3′>3/PART/3′P Sioux.OBV.PL

   all of the Sioux who were surrounding him died.
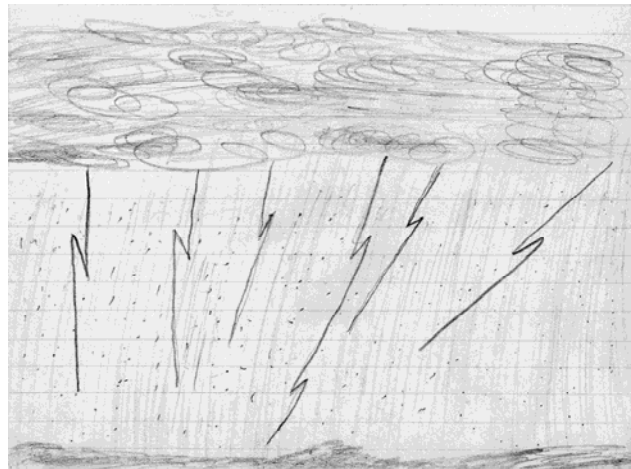
Figure 4. Illustration at the bottom of p. 9 of Kiyana's manuscript.

10A   *aya·pami e·hpya·či owi·hka·nani e·hawiniči,*

      aya·pami e·h-pya·-či   ow-i·hka·n-ani
      back   AOR-come-3/AOR   3-friend-OBV

      e·h-awi-niči,
      AOR-be.there-3′/PART/LOC

      He came back to where his friend was staying,

10B   *e·hmi·ša·te·nemoniči.*

      e·h-mi·ša·te·nemo-niči.
      AOR-be.pleased-3′/AOR

      and [his friend] was glad.

10C   *e·ha·čimoči e·šawiči,*

      e·h-a·čimo-či   IC-išawi-či,
      AOR-narrate-3/AOR   IC-fare.thus-3/PART/OBL

      He explained what happened to him,

10D   *e·ha·totamawa·či e·ši-ana·hpawa·či.*

      e·h-a·totamaw-a·či
      AOR-inform.about-3>3′/AOR

      IC-iši–ana·hpawa·-či.
      IC-thus–recite.one's.dream-3/PART/OBL

      and told him about the way he had summoned his dream-power.

10E   *nenemehkiwahi e·hana·hpawa·na·či*

      nenemehki-wahi   e·h-ana·hpawa·n-a·či
      thunderer-OBV.PL   AOR-recite.one's.dream.of.O-3>3′/AOR

      He summoned the thunderers by reciting his dream of them,

10F   *e·hča·katahwa·niči.*

      e·h-ča·katahw-a·niči.
      AOR-thrash-3′>3″/AOR

      and they blasted the others.

10G   *"šepawi·hta nemešo·mesaki neča·katahama·ko·ki,"*

      "šepawi·hta   ne-mešo·mes-aki   ne-ča·katahamaw-eko·ki,"
       fortunately   1-grandfather-PL   1-thrash.O2.for-3P>1/IND

      "It's fortunate that my grandfathers blasted them for me,"

10H   *e·hina·či.*

      e·h-in-a·či.
      AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR

      he said to him.

10I   *o·ni e·ha·mi·wa·či owi·hka·nani.*

        o·ni   e·h-a·mi·-wa·či   ow-i·hka·n-ani.
        and.then AOR-move.camp-3P/AOR 3-friend-OBV

        And then he and his friend moved camp.

10J   *aškači e·hpemahowa·či,*

        aškači e·h-pemaho-wa·či,|
        later   AOR-paddle-3P/AOR

        Later they started canoeing,

10K   *ašemeko e·ha·mi·wa·či.*

        aše=meko e·h-a·mi·-wa·či.
        just=EMPH AOR-move.camp-3P/AOR

        they would move on whenever they felt like it.

10L   [Description of figures 5 and 6:]

        manike·hi e·yo·wa·či či·ma·ni,

        mani=ke·hi   IC-ay-o·wa·či   či·ma·n-i,
        this.INAN=moreover IC-use-3P>0/PART/0 canoe-SG

        This is the canoe they used,
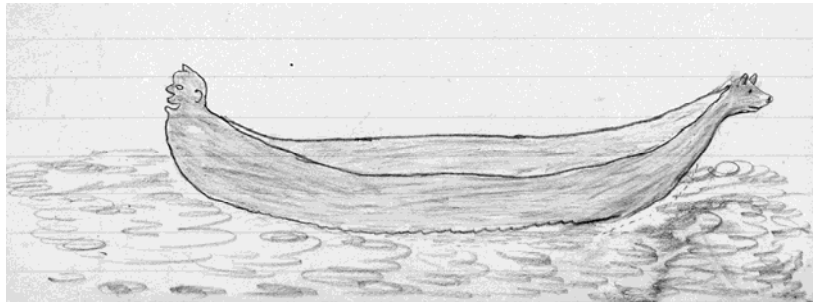
Figure 5. Illustration at the bottom of p. 10 of Kiyana's manuscript.

11A   *o·ni ma·hani apwi·hani.*

        o·ni_ ma·hani   apwi·h-ani.
        and   these.INAN paddle-PL

        and these paddles.

11B   *mani ahkowi pe·mahota e·šikeniki, manihi.*

           mani   ahkowi IC-*pemaho-ta_*   IC-*išiken-niki,*
           this.INAN behind IC-paddle-3/PART/3 IC-be.thus-0′/PART/0

           manihi.
           this.INAN

           This is the kind for the person paddling in back, like this.
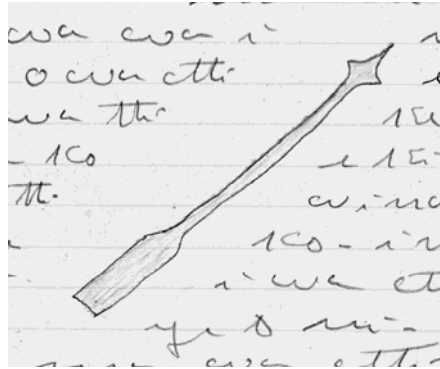
Figure 6. Illustration on p. 11 of Kiyana's manuscript (lines 11C–11G are written around it).

11C   *meta·swawahi·me e·hki·wahowa·či.*

           meta·swawahi·me| e·h-ki·waho-wa·či.
           ten.years   AOR-paddle.around-3P/AOR

           For ten years they traveled around by canoe.

11D   *e·hoškinawe·hiwa·čike·hi,*

           e·h-oškinawe·hi-wa·či=ke·hi,
           AOR-be.young.man-3P/AOR=moreover

           And they were young men,

11E   *mešemeko e·hki·waki·wahowa·či.*

           meše=meko   e·h-ki·wa-ki·waho-wa·či.
           freely=EMPH AOR-REDUP-paddle.around-3P/AOR

           they kept on paddling around, just any place.

11F   *wi·nwa·wake·hmeko i·ni e·hiši-ni·ši·hiwa·či,*

           wi·nwa·wa=ke·hi=meko i·ni   e·h-iši–ni·ši-·hi-wa·či,
           they=moreover=EMPH   that.INAN AOR-thus–be.two –DIM-3P/AOR

           But it was just the two of them, by themselves,

11G *a·kwi owiye·hani ki·wi-wi·te·ma·wa·čini.*

a·kwi_ owiye·h-ani ki·wi–wi·te·m-a·wa·čini.|
not someone-OBV around–accompany-3P>3′/NEG
they didn't travel with anyone else.

11H *ašemeko e·hki·wi-wa·patamowa·či kehčikami·wi.*

aše=meko_ e·h-ki·wi–wa·pat-amowa·či kehčikami·w-i.
just=EMPH AOR-around–look.at-3P>0/AOR great.lake-SG
They just went around looking at the great lake [probably Lake Michigan].

11I *ahpene·čimeko či·ki-kehčikami·we e·hpeminahowa·či,*

ahpene·či=meko| či·ki–kehčikami·we|
every.time=EMPH by–great.lake

e·h-pemi_inaho-wa·či,
AOR-along–paddle.thither-3P/AOR
Every time they would paddle over to the next place on the shore,

11J *ahpene·čike·hmeko e·ha·mi·wa·či.*

ahpene·či=ke·hi=meko e·h-a·mi·-wa·či.
every.time=moreover=EMPH AOR-move.camp-3P/AOR
and then they would move on again.

11K *me·ta·swawahi·makateniki*

IC-*meta·swawahi·makat-niki*
IC-be.ten.years-0′/CH.C
After ten years

11L *aya·pami e·hpya·wa·či we·či·wa·či.*

aya·pami_ e·h-pya·-wa·či| IC-oči·-wa·či.
back AOR-come-3P/AOR IC-be.from-3P/PART/OBL
they came back to where they were from.

11M *aye·niwemeko e·hahpihahpi·hčina·kosiwa·či,*

aye·niwe=meko e·h-ahpih-ahpi·hčina·kosi-wa·či,
unchanged=EMPH AOR-REDUP-appear.to.such.extent-3P/AOR
Each of them still looked exactly the same,

11N *e·hpwa·wi-kehtesiwa·či,*

e·h-pwa·wi–kehtesi-wa·či,
AOR-not–be.old-3P/AOR
they hadn't aged,

11O   *e·haškiki·hiwa·čimeko.*

      e·h-aškiki-·hi-wa·či=meko. ||
      AOR-be.young-DIM-3P/AOR=EMPH

      they were very young.

12A   *aya·pami pye·ya·wa·či,*

      aya·pami_   IC-pya·-wa·či,|
      back   IC-come-3P/CH.C

      When they came back,

12B   *e·howi·wiči nekoti*

      e·h-owi·wi-či_   nekoti
      AOR-have.O2.as.wife-3/AOR   one

      one of them got married

12C   *e·škimeko-ki·šiki·hiničini,*

      IC-*aški–=meko   –ki·šiki·-hi-ničini,*
      IC-for.first.time–=EMPH   –mature-DIM-3′/PART/3′

      to a young girl who had just come of age,

12D   *wi·na e·hpwa·wi-owi·wiči,*

      wi·na   e·h-pwa·wi|–owi·wi-či,
      he   AOR-not–have.wife-3/AOR

      but the other didn't marry,

12E   *ke·hke·nema·ta owiye·hani*

      IC-*kehke·nem-a·ta| owiye·h-ani*
      IC-know-3>3′/PART/3 someone-OBV

      the one who knew

12F   *na·hina·hi wi·hnepeniči.*

      na·hina·hi| wi·h-nep-niči.
      when   FUT-die-3′/AOR

      when someone would die.

12G   *o·ni nye·wawahi·makateniki*

      *o·ni| *IC-*nye·wawahi·makat-niki*
      and.then IC-be.four.years-0′/CH.C

      And then, after four years,

12H   *e·ha·mi·či.*

    e·h-a·mi·-či.

    AOR-move.camp-3/AOR

    he moved.

12I   *i·niyemeko e·hayo·či či·ma·ni.*

    i·niye=meko   *e·h-ay-o·či*   *či·ma·n-i._*

    that.INAN.ABSENT=EMPH   AOR-use-3>0/AOR   canoe-SG

    He used the same canoe.

12J   *e·ha·čimoči,*

    e·h-a·čimo-či,

    AOR-narrate-3/AOR

    He explained,

12K   *"nahi, me·mečine·hi ni·hmawi-mahkate·wi*

    "nahi,_   me·mečine·hi   ne-i·h-mawi–mahkate·wi-Ø

     well   for.last.time   1-FUT-go.and–fast-1/IND

    "Well, I'm going to fast for the last time,

12L   *ayo·hi kehčikami·ki meneseki," e·hiči.*

    ayo·hi   kehčikamiw-eki   menes-eki," e·h-i-či.

    this.LOC   great.lake-LOC   island-LOC   AOR-say.thus-3/AOR

    on an island in this great lake," he said.

12M   *"i·nimeko wi·htahitane·nemiye·kwe,"*

    "i·ni=meko   wi·h-tahi-tane·nem-iye·kwe,"

     that=EMPH   FUT-REDUP-think.of.O.there-2P>1/AOR

    "You should think about me being right there,"

12N   *e·hina·či či·nawe·ma·čihi.*

    e·h-in-a·či   *IC-či·nawe·m-a·čihi.*

    AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR   IC-be.related.to-3>3′/PART/3′P

    he said to his relatives.

12 O   *"hao," e·hineči.*

    "hao,"   e·h-in-eči.

     all.right   AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR

    "All right," he was told.

12P   *e·hwe·pahoči,*

     e·h-we·paho-či,
     AOR-start.paddle-3/AOR

     He started paddling,

12Q   *šwa·šika tasokoni e·hanemahoči.*

     šwa·šika   tasokoni   e·h-anemaho-či.
     eight   so.many.days   AOR-continue.to.paddle-3/AOR

     and continued paddling for eight days.

12R   *šwa·šika e·tasokonakateniki,*

     šwa·šika   IC-*tasokonakat-niki,*
     eight   IC-be.so.many.days-0′/CH.C

     After eight days,

12S   *e·hpya·či i·nahi meneseki.*

     e·h-pya·-či   i·nahi   menes-eki.
     AOR-come-3/AOR   that.LOC   island-LOC

     he came to that island.

12T   *mešemeko e·hinekihkwa·niki,*

     meše=meko   e·h-inekihkwa·-niki,
     freely=EMPH   AOR-be.such.size-0′/AOR

     It was of fair size,

12U   *a·kwike·hipi meša·nikini.*

     a·kwi=ke·hi=ipi | *meša·-nikini._*
     not=moreover=HRSY   be.big-0′/NEG

     but not big, it's said.

12V   *e·hso·kihto·či oči·ma·ni,*

     e·h-so·kiht-o·či   o-či·ma·n-i, ||
     AOR-tie-3>0/AOR   3-canoe-SG

     He tied up his canoe,

13A   *e·hašike·či.*

     e·h-ašike·-či.
     AOR-build.house-3/AOR

     and built a house.

13B   *o·ni ki·šike·či,*

   o·ni   IC-*ki·šike·-či,*
   and   IC-finish.build.house-3/CH.C
   And after he built his house,

13C   *e·hni·sa·wata·soči.*

   e·h-ni·sa·wata·so-či.
   AOR-take.down.one's.things-3/AOR
   he unloaded his things.

13D   *o·ni pe·hkote·niki,*

   *o·ni_*   IC-*pehkote·-niki*
   and.then   IC-be.night-0′/CH.C
   And then, that night

13E   *e·hpemahonitehe ne·topa·hahi aša·hahi,*

   e·h-pemaho-nitehe   *ne·topa·h-ahi|*
   AOR-paddle.along-3′/PAST.AOR   people.on.warpath-OBV

   aša·h-ahi,
   Sioux-OBV.PL
   a Sioux war party had paddled by,

13F   *e·hawata·kotehe oči·ma·ni.*

   e·h-awataw-ekotehe| *o-či·ma·n-i.*
   AOR-take.along.O'S.O2-3′>3/PAST.AOR   3-canoe-SG
   and they had taken his canoe.

13G   *ma·mayameko e·hmawa·pataki,*

   ma·maya=meko   e·h-mawa·pat-aki,
   early=EMPH   AOR-go.to.look.at-3>0/AOR
   When he went to check on it early in the morning,

13H   *e·hašenonikiči·hi oči·ma·ni!*

   e·h-ašeno-niki=či·hi   *o-či·ma·n-i!*
   AOR-be.gone-0′/AOR=it.was.discovered 3-canoe-SG
   why, his canoe was gone!

13I   *e·hmayo·či,*

   e·h-mayo·-či,|
   AOR-weep-3/AOR
   He cried

13J   *e·hpwa·wimeko-kehke·netaki e·šikenikwe·ni,*

       e·h-pwa·wi–=meko   –kehke·net-aki   IC-išiken-nikwe·ni,
       AOR-not–=EMPH   –know-3/AOR   IC-fare.thus-0′/INT.PART/OBL

       because he had no idea what could have happened to it

13K   *e·hpwa·wiyoke·hi-mamaka·hkwihkiwiniki i·nini mehteko·ni.*

       e·h-pwa·wi–=iyo=ke·hi   –mama·ka·hkwihkiwi-niki   i·nini
       AOR-not–=for=moreover   –REDUP.be.big.tree-0′/AOR   those.INAN

       mehtekw-ani.
       tree-PL

       and, besides, there weren't any big trees there.

13L   *i·nikike·hi, "aya·pami·yakwe*

       i·niki=ke·hi,   "aya·pami·-yakwe|
       those.PROX.ANIM=moreover   go.back-21/SUBJNCT

       And those [Sioux]: "When we go back

13M   *ki·hnawači-memekwatahwa·pena," e·hiyowa·či.*

       ke-i·h-nawači–memekwatahw-a·pena,"   e·h-iy-owa·či.
       2-FUT-stop.to–beat.up-21>3/IND   AOR-say.thus-3P/AOR

       we'll stop to beat him up," they said.

13N   *"še·ški mani ki·hawato·pena či·ma·ni," e·hiyowa·či*

       "še·ški_   mani   ke-i·h-awat-o·pena   či·ma·n-i,"
        only   this.INAN   2-FUT-take.along-21>0/IND   canoe-SG

       e·h-iy-owa·či
       AOR-say.thus-3P/AOR

       Because they said, "We'll take only this canoe,"

13O   *we·či- i·ni -awatawoči oči·ma·ni.*

       IC-oči–   i·ni   –awataw-eči   o-či·ma·n-i.
       IC-from–   that.INAN   –take.O'S.O2-X>3/PART/OBL   3-canoe-SG

       is why his canoe was taken from him.

13P   *i·nimeko e·hpwa·wi-wi·seniči i·na neno·te·wa.*

       i·ni=meko| e·h-pwa·wi–wi·seni-či| i·na   neno·te·w-a.
       then=EMPH   AOR-not–eat-3/AOR   that.ANIM   Indian-SG

       Then that Indian didn't eat a thing.

13Q   *"meše·nahmeko na·hina·hmeko wi·hpahkihte·pene·wa·ne·ni*

       "meše=i·nahi=meko   na·hina·hi=meko
        as.may.be=EMPH   time=EMPH

wi·h-pahkihte·pene·-wa·ne·ni
FUT-pass.out.from.hunger-1/AOR.INTERR
"Whenever I pass out from hunger,

13R   *ni·hpahkihte·pene," e·hišite·he·či.*
ne-i·h-pahkihte·pene·-Ø," ‖   e·h-išite·he·-či.
1-FUT-pass.out.from.hunger-1/IND   AOR-think.thus-3/AOR
I'll pass out," he thought.

14A   [Description of figure 7:]
o·ni e·hawanekoči me·kekineničini ki·šekoki e·piničini ketiwani,
o·ni   e·h-awan-ekoči   IC-makekin-ničini
and.then   AOR-take.along-3′>3/AOR   IC-be.big-3′/PART/3′

ki·šekw-eki   IC-api-ničini| ketiw-ani,
sky-LOC   IC-be -3′/PART/3′   eagle-OBV
And then a big sky-dwelling eagle took him,

14B   *we·či·čimeko e·hišiwenekoči.*
IC-*oči·-či=meko*   *e·h-išiwen-ekoči.*
IC-be.from.there-3/PART/OBL=EMPH   AOR-carry.thither-3′>3/AOR
and carried him right to where he came from.

Figure 7. Illustration at the bottom of p. 14 of Kiyana's manuscript.

14C   *"a·kwi, noši·he, wi·hnepeyanini,"*

       "a·kwi,_   ne-oši·he,   wi·h-nep-yanini,"

      not   1-grandchild.VOC FUT-die-2/NEG

      "You will not die, grandson,"

14D   *e·hikoči.*

      e·h-Ø-ikoči.

      AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR

      it told him.

14E   *"ki·hne·wa·wakimeko kemeso·ta·naki,"*

      "ke-i·h-ne·w-a·waki=meko   ke-meso·ta·n-aki,"

      2-FUT-see-2>3P/IND=EMPH 2-parent-PL

      "You will indeed see your parents,"

14F   *e·hikoči.*

      e·h-Ø-ikoči.

      AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR

      it told him.
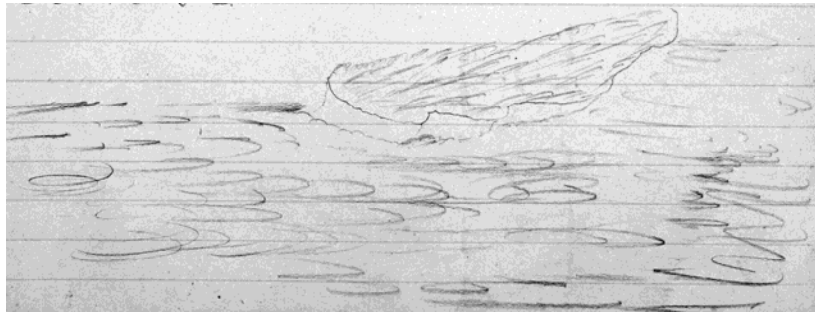
Figure 8. Illustration at the bottom of p. 15 of Kiyana's manuscript.

14G   [Description of figure 8:]

      i·niča·hmani kehčahpemeki we·čiwenekoči menesi,[3]

      i·ni=ča·hi=mani   kehč'_ahpemeki ||

      that=so=this.INAN   great–up.aloft

      IC-*očiwen-ekoči*   *menes-i,*

      IC-carry.O.from.there-3′>3/PART/ OBL   island-SG

      So this is the island from which it carried him way up into the sky,

3. Kiyana wrote ⟨me se si⟩.

15A   *nanawimeko menesi kehčikami·ki.*

     nanawi=meko_   menes-i   kehčikami·w-eki.

     isolated=EMPH   island-SG   great.lake-LOC

     an island way out in the middle of the great lake.

15B   *meneseki e·hočiwenekoči,*

     menes-eki| e·h-očiwen-ekoči,

     island-LOC   AOR-carry.O.from.there-3′>3/AOR

     It carried him from the island,

15C   *we·či·čimeko e·hpye·nekoči,*

     IC-*oči·-či=meko*   *e·h-pye·n-ekoči,*

     IC-be.from.there-3/PART/OBL   AOR-bring-3′>3/AOR

     and brought him right where he came from,

15D   *e·hmenwimeko-pye·nekoči i·ya·hi.*

     e·h-menwi–=meko   –pye·n-ekoči   i·ya·hi.

     AOR-well–=EMPH   –bring-3′>3/AOR   yonder

     and brought him there very comfortably.

15E   *ke·htenameko e·hne·wa·či omeso·ta·nahi i·ya·hi,*

     ke·htena=meko   e·h-ne·w-a·či   o-meso·ta·n-ahi   i·ya·hi,

     truly=EMPH   AOR-see-3>3′/AOR   3-parent-OBV.PL   yonder

     Sure enough, he saw his parents there,

15F   *e·ha·čimoči e·šawiči.*

     e·h-a·čimo-či   IC-*išawi-či.|*

     AOR-narrate-3/AOR   IC-fare.thus-3/PART/OBL

     and he told what had happened to him.

15G   *"netakihto neči·ma·ni,"*

     "net-akiht-o·   ne-či·ma·n-i,"

      1-lose-1>0/IND   1-canoe-SG

     "I lost my canoe,"

15H   *e·hina·či o·sani,*

     e·h-in-a·či   o-o·s-ani,

     AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR   3-father-OBV

     he said to his father,

15I   *"šewe·na ayo·hmeko ki·hpya·ya·ni,*

      "šewe·na   ayo·hi=meko   IC-ki·h-pya·-ya·ni,
       but   here=EMPH   IC-PERF-come-1/CH.C

      "But after I came back here,

15J   *e·hkehke·netama·ni e·hkemo·temiwa·tehe aša·haki."*

      e·h-kehke·net-ama·ni   e·h-kemo·tem-iwa·tehe   aša·h-aki."
      AOR-know-1>0/AOR   AOR-steal.O2.from-3P>1/PAST.AOR Sioux-PL

      I realized that the Sioux had stolen it from me."

15K   *keye·hapake·hipi·ni menesi e·šite·he·či mesihkwanimeko.*

      keye·hapa=ke·hi=ipi=i·ni || menes-i
      it.turned.out=moreover=HRSY=that.INAN   island-SG

      IC-išite·he·-či| mesihkw-ani=meko.
      IC-think.thus-3/PART/OBL   ice-OBV=EMPH

      And, it's said, what he thought was an island was in fact an iceberg.

16A   *e·ye·kimeko ki·hpya·či*

      e·ye·ki=meko   ki·h-pya·-či,
      as.well=EMPH   PERF-come-3/CH.C

      It was also after he had arrived

16B   *e·hkehke·nema·či i·nini mesihkwani.*

      e·h-kehke·nem-a·či| i·nini   mesihkw-ani.|
      AOR-know-3>3'/AOR   that.ANIM.OBV   ice-OBV

      that he realized that it was an iceberg.

16C   *ača·hmeko e·hse·kesiči.*

      ača·hmeko   e·h-se·kesi-či.
      only.then   AOR-be.frightened-3/AOR

      Then he felt frightened.

16D   *"penaya·pi ki·na.*

      "pena=ya·pi   ki·na|
       please=here.I/we.go   you

      "Here, I want to talk to you.

16E   *ma·mahka·či nano·pehka·čina·hi wi·hmawi-tanahkate·wi·yani ketešite·he?"*

      ma·mahka·či   nano·pehka·čina·hi   wi·h-mawi_tanahkate·wi·-yani|
      necessarily   a.great.distance   FUT-go.and–fast.there-2/AOR

ket-ešite·he-Ø?"
2-think.thus-2/IND
Did you think it was necessary to go very far away to fast?"

16F   *e·hineči, e·hikoči o·sani.*

 e·h-in-eči,   *e·h-Ø-ikoči*   *o-o·s-ani.*
 AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR 3-father-OBV
 he was asked, his father asked him.

16G   *"ke·htenakohi," e·hina·či,*

 "ke·htena=kohi," e·h-in-a·či,
  truly=certainly AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR
 "That's right," he said to him

16H   *"i·nokiča·hi a·kwina·hka nekotahi wi·hmawi-taši-mahkate·wi·ya·nini,"*

 *"i·noki=ča·hi a·kwi=na·hka nekotahi_*
  now=so   not=again   somewhere

 wi·h-mawi_taši_mahkate·wi·-ya·nini,"
 FUT-go.and–there–fast-1/NEG
 "But now, I won't go off again to fast someplace,"

16I   *e·hina·či.*

 e·hina·či.
 AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR
 he said to him.

16J   *"penani·hka natawi-owi·wino!"*

 "pena=ni·hka   natawi–owi·wi-no!"
  please=man's.expl. seek.to–have.wife-2/IMP
 "Darn it, why don't you try to get married?"

16K   *e·hineči.*

 e·h-in-eči.
 AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR
 he was asked.

16L   *"ši·! a·kwiya·pini·hka kana·kwa!" e·hina·či,*

 "ši·! a·kwi=ya·pi=ni·hka kana·kwa!"
  say! not=here.I.go=man's.expl. possible

 e·h-in-a·či,
 AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR
 "Hell no! That's impossible!" he said to him,

16M   *"ke·wakimeko nenatawe·neta*
        "ke·waki=meko   ne-natawe·net-a
         still=EMPH   1-seek-1>0/IND
        "I still really want

16N   *wi·hwe·ta·se·wiya·ni," e·hina·či o·sani.*
        wi·h-we·ta·se·wi-ya·ni,"   e·h-in-a·či   o-o·s-ani.
        FUT-be.warrior-2/AOR   AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR   3-father-OBV
        to be a warrior," he said to his father.

16O   *e·hnekotihekočiyoke·hi.*
        e·h-nekotih-ekoči=iyo=ke·hi. ||
        AOR-have.one-3′>3/AOR=for=moreover
        He was their only child, you see.

17A   *"kemenwima·hmeko-ahpi·hči-we·ta·se·wi,"*
        "ke-menwi–=ma·hi=meko   –ahpi·hči_we·ta·se·wi-Ø,"|
         2-good–=you.see=EMPH   –to.such.extent–be.warrior-2/IND
        "Come on, you're already a very good warrior,"

17B   *e·hikoči.*
        e·h-Ø-ikoči._
        AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR
        he said to him.

17C   *"a·kwiča·hni·na pašimeko-we·ta·se·we·netama·nini ni·yawi,"*
        "a·kwi=ča·hi=ni·na   paši–=meko   –we·ta·se·we·net-ama·nini
         not=so=I   at.all–=EMPH   –consider.O.warrior-1>0/NEG
        ni·yawi,"
        myself
        "But *I* don't even consider myself a warrior at all,"

17D   *e·hina·či.*
        e·h-in-a·či.|
        AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR
        he said to him.

17E   *"o·ho·. ke·htena, nekwi·hi," e·hikoči.*
        "o·ho·.   ke·htena, ne-kwi·hi," e·h-Ø-ikoči.
         so.that's.it   truly   1-son.VOC   AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR
        "So that's it. All right, son," he said to him.

17F *i·niča·hipi e·hmawi-mahkate·wi·či.*

i·ni=ča·hi=ipi e·h-mawi–mahkate·wi·-či.
then=so=HRSY AOR-go.and–fast-3/AOR

So then, it's said, he went to fast.

17G *menwina·hmeko e·howi·kihekoči o·sani,*

menwina·hi=meko   e·h-owi·kih-ekoči
some.distance.away=EMPH AOR-cause.to.dwell-3′>3/AOR

o-o·s-ani,
3-father-OBV

His father made a place for him some distance away,

17H *mešemeko e·htaši-ma·mahkate·wi·či.*

meše=meko e·h-taši–ma·-mahkate·wi·-či.
freely=EMPH AOR-be.engaged.in–REDUP-fast-3/AOR

and he just kept on fasting.

17I *a·yahpi·hčina·hi e·hpye·či-wa·pamekoči o·sani,*

a·yahpi·hčina·hi   e·h-pye·či_wa·pam-ekoči   o-o·s-ani,|
every.now.and.then AOR-come.to–look.at-3′>3/AOR 3-father-OBV

Every now and then his father came over to check on him,

17J *e·hnana·tohta·koči e·na·hpawa·kwe·ni.*

e·h-nana·tohtaw-ekoči IC-ina·hpawa·-kwe·ni.
AOR-ask-3′>3/AOR   IC-dream.thus-3/INT.PART/OBL

and to ask him what he had dreamed.

17K *e·hanemimeko-a·čimoha·či,*

e·h-anemi–=meko –a·čimoh-a·či,
AOR-go.on–=EMPH –inform-3>3′/AOR

He told him each time,

17L *e·hpešikwimeko-a·čimoha·či.*

e·h-pešikwi–=meko –a·čimoh-a·či.
AOR-straight–=EMPH –inform-3>3′/AOR

he told him straight out.

17M *o·ni meše nekotenwi pye·ya·niči o·sani,*

o·ni meše_ nekotenwi IC-pya·-niči   o-o·s-ani,
then just   one.time   IC-come-3′/CH.C 3-father-OBV

And then once, when his father came,

17N   *"ni·hne·wa·wapi maneto·wa," e·hina·či,*

     "ne-i·h-ne·w-a·wa=ipi   maneto·w-a," e·h-in-a·či,
      1-FUT-see-1>3/IND=HRSY spirit-SG   AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR

     he said to him, "I was told that I will see a spirit."

17O   *"pe·hkipimeko meši-maneto·wa," e·hina·či.*

     "pe·hki=ipi=meko   meši_maneto·w-a," e·h-in-a·či. ||
      really=HRSY=EMPH big–spirit-SG   AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR

     It will be a really big spirit, I was told," he said to him.

18A   [Description of figure 9:]

     e·hne·wa·či.

     e·h-ne·w-a·či.
     AOR-see-3>3′/AOR

     When he saw [the spirit].

18B   *e·hnehtama·koči omešo·mesahi.*

     e·h-nehtamaw-ekoči   o-mešo·mes-ahi.|
     AOR-kill.O2.for-3′>3/AOR 3-grandfather-OBV.PL

     His grandfathers killed him for him.

18C   *wi·hpwa·wi-wanimekoči*

     wi·h-pwa·wi_wanim-ekoči
     FUT-not–trick.by.speech-3′>3/AOR

     So that [the spirit] would not fool him

18D   *we·či-pakamemeči.*

     IC-*oči_pakamemeči.*
     IC-from–hit-X>3′/PART/OBL

     was the reason why he [the spirit] was struck by lightning.

18E   *e·hnehtama·koči nenemehkiwahi.*

     e·h-nehtamaw-ekoči   nenemehkiw-ahi.
     AOR-kill.O2.for-3′>3/AOR thunderer-OBV.PL

     The thunderers killed him for him.

Figure 9. Illustration at the top of p. 18 of Kiyana's manuscript.

18F   *"ke·htena maneto·wiyane,*

      "ke·htena   maneto·wi-yane, ||
       truly   be.spirit-2/SUBJNCT

      "If you really are a spirit,

19A   *manimeko aša·ti·hi nete·heki ahtawihkapa,"*

      mani=meko   aša·ti·h-i| ne-te·h-eki
      this.INAN=EMPH   headed.arrow-INAN   1-heart-LOC

      ahtaw-ihkapa,"
      place.for-2>1/POT

      you would put this same arrow through my heart,"

19B   *e·hina·či.*

      e·h-in-a·či.
      AOR-say.thus.to-3>3'/AOR

      he told him.

19C *"maniwi·na: a·kwi me·kwe·he⁴ maneto·wiyanini,"*
     "mani=wi·na:| a·kwi_ me·kwe·he maneto·wi-yanini,"
      this.INAN=but not   I.believe be.spirit-2/NEG
     "But here's the thing: I don't think you're a spirit,"

19D *e·hina·či.*
     e·h-in-a·či.
     AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR
     he told him.

19E *"a·kwi! nema·wačikohmeko-makekine ayo·hi ahki·ki"*
     "a·kwi! ne-ma·wači–=kohi=meko –makekin-e| ayo·hi
      no   1-of.all–=certainly=EMPH –be.big-1/IND this.LOC
     ahky-eki!"
     earth-LOC
     "No! I'm obviously the very biggest on this earth!"

19F *e·hikoči.*
     e·h-Ø-ikoči.|
     AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR
     he said to him.

19G *"nema·wačimeko-meši-maneto·wi!" e·hikoči.*
     "ne-ma·wači–=meko –meši–maneto·wi-Ø!"
      1-of.all–=EMPH   –big–be.spirit-1/IND
     e·h-Ø-ikoči.
     AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR
     "I'm the biggest spirit of all!" he said to him.

19H *"a·kwiča·hmeko aka·wa·nena·nini*
     "a·kwi=ča·hi=meko| aka·wa·n-ena·nini
      not=so=EMPH   desire-1>2/NEG
     "Well, I don't want you

19I *wi·hketeminawiyani," e·hina·či.*
     wi·h-keteminaw-iyani," e·h-in-a·či.
     FUT-bless-2>1/AOR   AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR
     to bless me," he said to him.

4. Kiyana wrote ⟨me ge . e⟩.

19J *"ahpemekiča·hi awiwaki ke·teminawičiki,"*

"ahpemeki=ča·hi awi-waki   IC-keteminaw-ičiki,"|
 up.above=so   be.there-3P/IND IC-bless-3P>1/PART/3P

"For the ones that blessed me live up above,"

19K *e·hina·či.*

e·h-in-a·či.
AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR

he said to him.

19L *"o· we·newe·ne·haki?" e·hikoči.*

"o·_ we·ne-we·ne·h-aki?" e·h-Ø-ikoči.|
 oh REDUP-who-PL   AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR

"Oh, who are they?" he asked him.

19M *"o· nenemehkiwaki nemešo·mesaki," e·hikoči.*

"o·_ nenemehkiw-aki ne-mešo·mes-aki," e·h-Ø-ikoči.
 oh thunderer-PL   1-grandfather-PL   AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR

"Oh, my grandfathers the thunderers," he said to him.

19N *"o· me·kwe·he awita ketemino·nesa.*

"o·_ me·kwe·he awita_ keteminaw-enesa.
 oh I.believe   not/POT bless-3(P)>2/POT

"Oh, I don't think they could bless you.

19O *a·kwima·hi·niki ke·ko·hi kehke·netamowa·čini,"*

a·kwi=ma·hi=i·niki   ke·ko·hi_ kehke·net-amowa·čini,"
not=you.see=those.ANIM something know-3P>0/NEG

After all, those guys don't know anything,"

19P *e·hikoči.*

e·h-Ø-ikoči.
AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR

he said to him.

19Q *"a·kwi! neketemina·ko·kikohi!" e·hina·čimeko.*

"a·kwi! ne-keteminaw-eko·ki=kohi!" ||
 no   1-bless-3P>1/IND=certainly

e·h-in-a·či=meko.
AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR=EMPH

"No! They obviously blessed me!" he insisted to him.

20A   *"na·hka ketiwa,*
      "na·hka_   ketiw-a,
       also   eagle-ANIM.SG
      "And also an eagle,

20B   *meneseki e·hawiya·ni,*
      menes-eki| e·h-awi-ya·ni,
      island-LOC   AOR-be.there-1/AOR
      when I was on an island,

20C   *nepye·nekwa,"*
      ne-pye·n-ekwa,"|
      1-bring-3>1/IND
      he brought me back,"

20D   *e·hina·či.*
      e·h-in-a·či.
      AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR
      he told him.

20E   *"ahpemeki nepye·či-išiwenekwa,"*
      "ahpemeki| ne-pye·či_išiwen-ekwa,"|
       up.above   1-come.to–take.thither-3>1/IND
      "He brought me up into the air,"

20F   *e·hina·či.*
      e·h-in-a·či.
      AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR
      he told him.

20G   *"a·kwihwe·na mani nemehtekomi wi·hnahkonamawiyanini?"*
      "a·kwi=ihi=we·na| mani   ne-mehtekom-i
       not=NEG=in.fact   this.INAN   1-stick-SG
      wi·h-nahkonamaw-iyanini?"
      FUT-accept.O2.from-2>1/NEG
      "Aren't you going to accept this staff from me?"

20H   *e·hikoči.*
      e·h-Ø-ikoči.
      AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR
      he asked him.

20I   *"a·kwikohmeči menwe·netamo·na·nini.*

       "a·kwi=kohi=meči   menwe·netamaw-ena·nini.
       not=certainly=really   like.O's.O2-1>2/NEG

       "Certainly not, I really don't like [that staff] of yours.

20J   *asa·m-ahkonwi," e·hina·či.*

       asa·m–ahkon-wi,"   e·h-in-a·či.
       too.much–be.so.long -0/IND   AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR

       It's too long," he said to him.

20K   *"neni·ške·netameko ta·taki," e·hina·či.*

       "ne-ni·ške·net-a=meko   ta·taki,"
       1-consider.clumsy-1>0/IND=EMPH sort.of

       e·hina·či.
       AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR

       "I think it's kind of clumsy," he said to him.

20L   *"nahkonamane,*

       "nahkon-amane,|
       accept-2>0/SUBJNCT

       "If you accept it,

20M   *e·šimeko-natawe·netamowane·ni wi·hahkonwi,"*

       IC-*iši–=meko   –natawe·net-amowane·ni   wi·h-ahkon-wi,"*
       IC-thus–=EMPH –desire-2>0/INT.PART/OBL FUT-be.so.long-0/IND

       it will be as long as you want it to be,"

20N   *e·hina·či mači-maneto·ha.*

       e·hina·či   mači|–maneto·h-a.
       AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR bad–spirit.DIM-ANIM.SG

       the evil spirit told him.

20O   *"ča·kike·hmeko- mani -išikenwi.*

       "ča·ki–=ke·hi=meko_   mani   –išiken-wi.|
       all–=moreover=EMPH this.INAN –be.thus-0/IND

       "And what's more, this has all kinds [of power].

20P   *meše·nahmeko owiye·ha mya·ne·nemate,*

       meše=i·nahi=meko   owiye·h-a| mya·ne·nem-ate,
       you.can.go.ahead.and someone-SG dislike-2>3/SUBJNCT

       You may, if you like, if you think ill of someone,

20Q   *i·tepi ki·hiši-nemenamawa·wa,*

      i·tepi_   ke-i·h-iši–nemenamaw-a·wa,
      to.there   2-FUT-thither–point.O2.at-2>3/IND

      you should point it at them there,

20R   *wi·hkehkahamawači*

      wi·h-kehkahamaw-ači
      FUT-designate.O2.for-2>3/AOR

      and say

20S   *na·hina·hi wi·hnepeki.*

      na·hina·hi_   wi·h-nep-ki.
      time   FUT-die-3/AOR

      when they would die.

20T   *i·nina·hmeko wi·hnepeki.*

      i·nina·hi=meko   wi·h-nep-ki. ‖
      that.time=EMPH   FUT-die-3/AOR

      Right at that time they will die.

21A   *na·hina·hmeko ke·hkahikawa·wate·ni,*

      na·hina·hi=meko   IC-kehkahikaw-a·wate·ni,
      time=EMPH   IC-designate.for-2>3/CH.INTERR

      Just at whatever time you designate for them,

21B   *i·nina·hmeko wi·hnepo·hiči,"*

      i·nina·hi=meko   wi·h-nep-o·hi-či,"
      at.that.time=EMPH   FUT-die-DIM-3/AOR

      right then they will die,"

21C   *e·hinekoči.*

      e·h-in-ekoči.
      AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR

      he said to him.

21D   *"o·nina·hka ihkwe·wa natawe·nemate,*

      "o·ni=na·hka ihkwe·w-a   natawe·nem-ate,
       and=also   woman-SG   want-2>3/SUBJNCT

      "And another thing, if you want a woman,

21E   *manimeko mehtekwi wi·hayo·yani*

      mani=meko   *mehtekw-i*   IC-*wi·h-ay-o·yani*
      this.INAN=EMPH   stick-SG   IC-FUT-use-2>0/PART/0
      this same staff is what you will use

21F   *wi·haya·winenikawači.*

      wi·h-aya·winenikaw-ači.
      FUT-signal.to.with.gesture-2>3/AOR
      to wave at her.

21G   *i·nimeko i·tepi wi·ha·či.*

      i·ni=meko   *i·tepi|*   *wi·h-a·-či.*
      then=EMPH   to.there   FUT-go.there-3/AOR
      Right away she will go there.

21H   *na·hina·hmeko e·hpakamika·pa·winotawa·wate·ni,*

      na·hina·hi=meko   *e·h-pakamika·pawinotaw-a·wate·ni,*
      time=EMPH   AOR-arrive.and.stand.facing.O-2>3/AOR.INTERR
      At whatever time you go and stand in front of her,

21I   *i·nina·hmeko wi·ha·htawa·nači,"*

      i·nina·hi=meko   *wi·h-a·htawa·n-ači,"*
      at.that.time=EMPH   FUT-place.O.on.back-2>3/AOR
      is the time when you will lay her down on her back,"

21J   *e·hinekoči.*

      e·h-in-ekoči.
      AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR
      he told him.

21K   *e·he·niki·kwe·ška·či e·hapane·niči.*

      e·h-e·niki·kwe·ška·-či   *e·h-apane·ni-či.*
      AOR-show.amusement.on.face-3/AOR   AOR-laugh-3/AOR
      [The young man] smiled slightly and laughed.

21L   *"na·hkači, 'ni·hwe·ta·se·wi,' išite·he·yane*

      "na·hkači, 'ne-i·h-we·ta·se·wi-Ø,'_ išite·he·-yane
      also   1-FUT-be.warrior-1/IND   think.thus-2/SUBJNCT
      "Also, if you want to be a warrior

21M *owiye·ha maya·wose·te,*
owiye·h-a   maya·wose·-te,
someone-SG   lead.war.party-3/SUBJNCT
when someone is leading a war party,

21N *manimeko wi·hawato·yani.*
mani=meko_   wi·h-awat-o·yani.
this.INAN=EMPH   FUT-take.along-2>0/PART/0
this same thing is what you should take along.

21O *mo·hki·htawate ki·či-mehtose·neniwa*
mo·hki·htaw-ate| ke-i·či–mehtose·neniw-a|
attack-2>3/SUBJNCT   2-fellow–person-SG
When you attack your fellow man

21P *ašičimeko pye·hpahoyane wi·kiya·peki,*
ašiči=meko   pye·hpaho-yane   wi·kiya·p-eki,
near=EMPH   come.running-2/SUBJNCT   house-LOC
and come running close to the house,

21Q *i·tepi ki·hiši-nemena.*
i·tepi| ke-i·h-iši–nemen-a.
to.there   2-FUT-thither–point-2>0/IND
you should point it there.

21R *i·nimeko wi·hpo·ni-kehke·netamowa·či,*
i·ni=meko   wi·h-po·ni–kehke·net-amowa·či,
then=EMPH   FUT-cease–know-3P>0/AOR
Right away they will lose consciousness,

21S *mešemeko·ni wi·hpematahwači," e·hineči.*
meše=meko=i·ni || wi·h-pematahw-ači,"
freely=EMPH=then   FUT-club.along-2>3(P)/AOR
e·h-in-eči.
AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR
and you can just club one after another," he was told.

22A *ke·htenameko e·hkatawi-wanimekoči.*
ke·htena=meko   e·h-katawi–wanim-ekoči.
truly=EMPH   AOR-almost–trick.by.speech-3′>3/AOR
Sure enough, he had almost fooled him.

22B   *"o·ni nye·wenwi ki·hmešenahkye,*

       "o·ni nye·wenwi ke-i·h-mešenahkye·-Ø,
        and   four.times 2-FUT-capture.people-2/IND

       "And four times you will take a captive,

22C   *na·hka nye·wenwi ki·hwe·ta·se·wi,*

       na·hka| nye·wenwi ke-i·h-we·ta·se·wi-Ø,
       again   four.times 2-FUT-be.warrior-2/IND

       four other times you will be a warrior,

22D   *na·hkači nye·wenwi ki·hmaya·wose," e·hineči.*

       na·hkači nye·wenwi ke-i·h-maya·wose·-Ø,"
       again   four.times 2-FUT-lead.war.party-2/IND

       e·h-in-eči.
       AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR

       and also four times you will lead a war party," he was told.

22E   *e·hki·šimeko-wanimekoči.*

       e·h-ki·ši–=meko   –wanim-ekoči.
       AOR-PERF–=EMPH –trick.by.speech-3′>3/AOR

       He had completely fooled him indeed.

22F   *mani e·ši-awatenamawoči,*

       mani IC-iši–awatenamaw-eči,
       now   IC-thus–hand.O2.over.to-X>3/CH.C

       As soon as it was offered to him,

22G   *e·hnahkonahkonaki.*

       e·h-nahko-nahkon-aki.
       AOR-REDUP-accept-3>0/AOR

       he took it.

22H   *e·hmenwimeko-inekihkwa·hkwato·hiniki,*[5]

       e·h-menwi–=meko –inekihkwa·hkwat-o·hi-niki,
       AOR-good–=EMPH –[wood].be.such.diameter-DIM-0′/AOR

       It was just the right size around,

22I   *na·hka e·hmenwimeko-ahkono·hiniki.*

       na·hka e·h-menwi–=meko –ahkon-o·hi-niki.
       also   AOR-good–=EMPH –be.so.long-DIM-0′/AOR

       and it was just the right length.

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  5. Kiyana wrote ⟨i ne kwa kwa to i ni ki⟩.

22J   *e·hpešeke·netaki.*
       e·h-pešeke·net-aki.
       AOR-admire-3>0/AOR
       He admired it.

22K   *"ši·hče·! we·nah ke·htenawe·meko maneto·wa!"*
       "ši·hče·!_ we·nahi_ ke·htena=we·=meko maneto·w-a!"
        oh.my   I.see.now truly=in.fact=EMPH   spirit-SG
       "Oh my! I see now. He truly is a spirit!"

22L   *e·hišite·he·či.*
       e·h-išite·he·-či.
       AOR-think.thus-3/AOR
       he thought,

22M   *e·hki·wi-so·kenaki i·ni mehteko·hi.*
       e·h-ki·wi—so·ken-aki   i·ni   mehtekw-e·h-i.
       AOR-around–hold-3>0/AOR   that.INAN stick-DIM-SG
       and he carried the little staff around in his hand.

22N   *"wa·wi·tawimeko, noši·he, ki·hoči·mi·škawesi,"*
       "wa·wi·tawi=meko,   ne-oši·he,
        both.sides=EMPH   1-grandchild.VOC
       ke-i·h-oči—mi·škawesi-Ø,"
       2-FUT-from–be.powerful-2/IND
       "Grandson, you will have power from both sides,"

22O   *e·hikoči.*
       e·h-Ø-ikoči.
       AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR
       he told him.

22P   *e·hte·pwe·htawa·či.*
       e·h-te·pwe·htaw-a·či.
       AOR-believe-3>3′/AOR
       He believed him.

22Q   *"owiye·hake·hi a·nemihehke,*
       "owiye·h-a=ke·hi   a·nemih-ehke,
        someone-SG=moreover   press.O.hard-3>2/SUBJNCT
       "Moreover, if anyone is about to get the better of you,

22R *mani wa·patano nesowa·nowi.*

    mani   wa·pat-ano ‖   ne-sowa·now-i.
    this.INAN look.at-2>0/IMP 1-tail-INAN.SG

    look at this tail of mine.

23A *manimeko wi·hnesekwiči.*

    mani=meko   IC-wi·h-nes-ekwiči.
    this.INAN=EMPH IC-FUT-kill-0>3/PART/0

    This same thing is what will kill him.

23B *a·kwimeko nana·ši wi·hwa·wane·nemena·nini,*

    a·kwi=meko   nana·ši   wi·h-wa·wane·nem-ena·nini,
    not=EMPH   ever   FUT-fail.to.know-1>2/NEG

    And I will never fail to know about you,

23C *e·hpemi-ki·wita·wane·ni,*

    e·h-pemi_ki·wita·-wane·ni,
    AOR-along–stay.around-2/INT.PART/LOC

    wherever you are,

23D *i·nike·hi nekotahi iši-ketema·kesiyane,*

    i·ni=ke·hi   nekotahi   iši–ketema·kesi-yane,
    then=moreover somewhere thither–be.miserable-2/SUBJNCT

    and if you are miserable anywhere,

23E *i·ya·hmeko ki·hpye·noto·ne,"*

    i·ya·hi=meko   ke-i·h-pye·notaw-ene,"
    yonder=EMPH 2-FUT-come.to-1>2/IND

    I will come to you right there,"

23F *e·hikoči.*

    e·h-Ø-ikoči.
    AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR

    he told him.

23G *"'o· kete·pwe·hto·ne,' išiyane,*

    "'o·_ ke-te·pwe·htaw-ene,' | in-iyane,
    O, 2-believe-1>2/IND   say.thus.to-2>1/SUBJNCT

    "If you say to me, 'O, I believe you,'

23H   *i·ni·ni wi·hišawiyani,"*

      i·ni=i·ni   IC-wi·h-išawi-yani,"
      then=that.INAN   IC-FUT-fare.thus-2/PART/OBL

      then that is what will happen to you,"

23I   *e·hikoči.*

      e·h-Ø-ikoči.
      AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR

      he told him.

23J   *kapo·twe neniwa, "o· kete·pwe·hto·ne," e·hina·či.*

      kapo·twe_   neniw-a,| "o·_   ke-te·pwe·htaw-ene,"
      at.some.point   man-SG   O,   2-believe-1>2/IND

      e·h-in-a·či.
      AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR

      At this point the man said to him, "O, I believe you."

23K   *"i·nikohi!*

      "i·ni=kohi!
       that.INAN=certainly

      "That's the idea!

23L   *i·nikohi e·hmenowe·yani,*

      i·ni=kohi   e·h-menowe·-yani,
      that.INAN=certainly   AOR-say.something.good.to.people-2/AOR

      You certainly said the right thing,

23M   *pe·hkimeko kemenowe,"*

      pe·hki=meko   ke-menowe·-Ø,"|
      really=EMPH   2-say.something.good.to.people-2/IND

      you really said the right thing,"

23N   *e·hikoči.*

      e·h-Ø-ikoči.
      AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR

      he told him.

23O   *"ni·nakoh noši·he,*

      "ni·na=kohi_   ne-oši·he,
       I=certainly   1-grandchild.VOC

      "As for me, grandchild,

23P   *a·kwi owiye·ha mačinawičini ayo·hi ahkwitahkamiki maneto·waki.*

a·kwi   owiye·h-a   mačinaw-ičini   ayo·hi
not   someone-SG   dare.in.regard.to-3>1/NEG   this.LOC

ahkwitahkamiki   maneto·w-aki.
on.top.of.earth.LOC   spirit-PL

none of the spirits on this earth would dare challenge me.

23Q   *ni·nameko nema·wači-meši-maneto·wi,"*

ni·na=meko   ne-ma·wači–meši–maneto·wi-Ø,"
I=EMPH   1-of.all–big–be.spirit-1/IND

I myself am the biggest spirit,"

23R   *e·hiniči.*

e·h-i-niči.|
AOR-say.thus-3′/AOR

he said.

23S   *"nahi, noši·h, i·ni wi·hna·na·kwa·yakwe," e·hiniči.*

"nahi, ne-oši·h,   i·ni   wi·h-na·-na·kwa·-yakwe," ||
 well, 1-gr.child-VOC   then   FUT-REDUP-leave-21/AOR

e·h-i-niči.
AOR-say.thus-3′/AOR

"Well, grandson, now is the time for us to go our separate ways," he said.

24A   *manimeko e·ši-kohkika·pa·niči,*

mani=meko   IC-iši–kohkika·pa·-niči,
now=EMPH   IC-thus–turn.around.from.standing.position-3′/CH.C

Just as he turned from where he was standing,

24B   *e·hpemi-sesekeše·niki,*

e·h-pemi–sesekeše·-niki,
AOR-along–be.sparks-0′/AOR

there was a series of sparks,

24C   *e·hpakamemeči omešo·mesani.*

e·h-pakam-emeči   o-mešo·mes-ani.
AOR-hit-X>3′/AOR   3-grandfather-OBV

and his grandfather was struck by lightning.

24D *apinameko e·hme·me·menatesomeči,*[6]

    apina=meko   e·h-me·-me·menatesw-emeči,
    even=EMPH   AOR-REDUP-cause.to.vomit.by.heat-X>3′/AOR

    The lightning struck him so hard he was even vomiting

24E *e·hma·mi·si·homeči.*

    e·h-ma·-mi·si·hw-emeči.
    AOR-REDUP-cause.to.defecate.by.blow-X>3′/AOR

    and defecating.

24F *e·hkwe·hta·nihemeči.*

    e·h-kwe·hta·nih-emeči.
    AOR-kill.in.an.awful.way-X>3′/AOR

    He was made to die a horrible death.

24G *ki·ši-nesemeči,*

    IC-*ki·ši–nes-emeči,*
    IC-PERF–kill-X>3′/CH.C

    After he had been killed,

24H *e·hkehke·nema·či.*

    e·h-kehke·nem-a·či.
    AOR-know-3>3′/AOR

    [the young man] found out about him.

24I *e·ha·čimoheči,*

    e·h-a·čimoh-eči,
    AOR-inform-X>3/AOR

    It was explained to him:

24J *"šina·kwa, meše·nahmeko kewanimekwa!*

    "šina·kwa,   meše·='nah=meko   ke-wanim-ekwa!
     well,   as.may.be=EMPH   2-trick.by.speech-3>2/IND

    "Well, he just went ahead and fooled you!

24K *mači-maneto·he·hama·hi·na,*

    mači_maneto·h-e·h-a=ma·hi=i·na,
    bad–spirit.DIM-DIM-SG=you.see=that.ANIM

    That was a little evil spirit, after all,

---

6. Kiyana wrote ⟨e me me me na te so tti⟩; I conjecture that he omitted a penultimate syllable ⟨me⟩ and that the verb should be *e·hme·me·menatesomeči* with inflection for unspecified subject acting on obviative object, to match the preceding and following lines, rather than a brief proximate shift to the *mačimaneto·ha.*

24L   *a·kwi menwi-maneto·wičini.*

      a·kwi_   menwi–maneto·wi-čini.

      not   good–be.spirit-3/NEG

      he wasn't a good spirit.

24M   *we·pesi·hiwihkapake·hmekoyo·we!"*

      we·pesi·hiwi-hkapa=ke·hi=meko=iyo·we!"

      be.crazy-2/POT=moreover=EMPH=PAST

      You must have been crazy!"

24N   *e·hineči.*

      e·h-in-eči.

      AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR

      he was told.

24O   *"mešemeko·nahi taši-nesekwihkapa i·ni mehtekwi,*

      "meše=meko=i·nahi   taši–nes-ekwihkapa i·ni   mehtekwi,

      any=EMPH=there   there–kill-0>2/POT   that.INAN   stick-SG

      "That staff could kill you, just any place,

24P   *amonesake·hmekoyo·we·na,*

      amw-enesa=ke·hi=meko=iyo·we=i·na,

      eat-3>2/POT=moreover=EMPH=PAST=that.ANIM

      and, moreover, that one would have even eaten you,

24Q   *pwa·wike·hni·na·na-ki·sa·či-ketemino·na·kehe,"*

      pwa·wi–=ke·hi=ni·na·na   –ki·sa·či–keteminaw-ena·kehe,"

      not–=moreover=we.EXCL   –with.difficulty–bless-1P>2/IRREALIS

      if *we* hadn't gone to the trouble of blessing you,"

24R   *e·hineči.*

      e·h-in-eči.

      AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR

      he was told.

24S   *"ki·hwa·pata e·nekihkwa·hkwahki,"*

      "ke-i·h-wa·pat-a

       2-FUT-look.at-2>0/IND

      IC-*inekihkwa·hkwat-ki,"*

      IC-[wood].be.so.big.in.diameter-0/PART/OBL

      "Look at how big that tree is,"

24T   *e·hineči.*

    e·h-in-eči.
    AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR

    he was told.

24U   *nano·pehka·čimeko e·hinekihkwa·hkwateniki ani·pi.*

    nano·pehka·či=meko || *e·h-inekihkwa·hkwat-niki*
    great.size=EMPH   AOR-[wood].be.so.big.in.diameter-0′/AOR

    ani·py-i.
    elm-SG

    There was a huge elm.

25A   *"'kešehkeki pemina·hkwiseto·no,'*

    "'ke-šehk-eki   pemi‗'na·hkwiset-o·no,'
     2-stomach-LOC   along–place.[wood].thither-2>0/IMP

    "'Lie down and lay the staff on your stomach,'

25B   *i·nike·hi wi·hinenekehe.*

    i·ni=ke·hi   wi·h-in-enekehe.
    that.INAN=moreover FUT-say.thus.to-X>2/IRREALIS

    is what you would have been told.

25C   *i·ni išiseto·yanehe,*[7]

    i·ni   išiset-o·yanehe,
    that.way   place.thus-2>0/IRREALIS

    If you had done that,

25D   *i·ni mani wi·hinekihkwa·hkwahkehe,"*

    i·ni‗   mani| wi·h-inekihkwa·hkwat-kehe,"
    that.INAN   this.INAN FUT-[wood].be.such.diameter-0/IRREALIS

    that [staff] would have become as big as this tree,"

25E   *e·hineči.*

    e·h-in-eči.
    AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR

    he was told.

25F   *"i·nokiča·hi ka·tana·hka mahkate·wi·hkani,"*

    "i·noki=ča·hi ka·ta=na·hka mahkate·wi·-hkani,"
     now=so   don't=again   fast-2/PROHIB

    "So now, don't fast again,"

---

  7. Kiyana wrote ⟨i di de to ya ne e⟩.

25G *e·hikoči pe·hki ke·temina·kočini.*

　　e·h-Ø-ikoči|　　　　　　　pe·hki IC-*keteminaw-ekočini._*
　　AOR-say.thus.to-3′>3/AOR　really　IC-bless-3′>3/PART/3′

　　the one who really blessed him told him.

25H *"ki·hpo·nimeko-ma·mahkate·wi,*

　　"ke-i·h-po·ni–=meko　–ma·-mahkate·wi-Ø,
　　2-FUT-cease–=EMPH　–REDUP-fast-2/IND

　　"You should stop fasting altogether.

25I *keki·šikoči-a·ya·čimohenepena*

　　ke-ki·ši–=koči　　–a·y-a·čimoh-enepena
　　2-PERF–=of.course　–REDUP-inform-1P>2/IND

　　You know, we have already explained to you

25J *e·ši-ketemino·na·ke," e·hineči.*

　　IC-*iši|–keteminaw-ena·ke,"　e·h-in-eči.*
　　IC-thus–bless-1P>2/PART/OBL　AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR

　　what we bless you to do," he was told.

25K *"i·niča·hmeko wi·hišawiyani," e·hineči.*

　　"i·ni=ča·hi=meko　wi·h-išawi-yani,"
　　that=so=EMPH　　FUT-do.thus-2/PART/OBL

　　e·h-in-eči.
　　AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR

　　"So that is exactly what you should do," he was told.

25L *"ki·howi·wike·hmo·hči natawi," e·hineči.*

　　"ke-i·h-owi·wi-Ø=ke·hi=mo·hči　　　　natawi,"
　　2-FUT-have.wife-2/IND=moreover=even　seek.to

　　e·h-in-eči.
　　AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR

　　"You should even try to get married," he was told.

25M *"i·ya·hmeko pya·yane*

　　"i·ya·hi=meko　pya·-yane|
　　yonder=EMPH　come-2/SUBJNCT

　　"When you get back,

25N *ki·howi·wi," e·hineči.*

　　ke-i·h-owi·wi-Ø,"_　e·h-in-eči.|
　　2-FUT-have.wife-2/ind　AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR

　　you should get married," he was told.

25O *"ki·hašiha·wača·hi*
　　　"ke-i·h-aših-a·wa=ča·hi
　　　 2-FUT-make-2>3/IND=so
　　　"And you will make

25P *wi·hotahkohkwiyana, o·ni ši·ši·kwani nekoti,*
　　　wi·h-otahkohkwi-yana,　　　o·ni| ši·ši·kwan-i_　nekoti,
　　　FUT-have.O2.as.drum-2/PART/3 and rattle-SG　　　one
　　　that which you will have as your drum, and one rattle,

25Q *mi·hkečihiwe·yanini*
　　　IC-*mi·hkečihiwe·-yanini*
　　　IC-doctor.people-2/ITER
　　　which, whenever you doctor people,

25R *wi·hanwe·we·hwata," e·hineči.*
　　　wi·h-anwe·we·hw-ata," ||
　　　FUT-make.O.sound.by.beating-2>3/PART/3
　　　e·h-in-eči.
　　　AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR
　　　you will beat," he was told.

26A *e·hašiha·či.*
　　　e·h-aših-a·či.|
　　　AOR-make-3>3′/AOR
　　　He made it [the drum].

26B　　　[Description of figure 10:]
　　　ma·haniča·hi i·nini, na·hka na·tawino·ni:
　　　ma·hani=ča·hi_ i·nini,|　　na·hka_ na·tawino·n-i·|
　　　these.INAN=so those.INAN also　　medicine-SG
　　　So these are those things [drum and rattle], and also the medicine:

Figure 10. Illustration on p. 26 of Kiyana's manuscript (between lines 26B and 26C).

26C   *e·hmi·hkečihiwe·či e·nwe·we·hwa·čini,*

       e·h-mi·hkečihiwe·-či
       AOR-doctor.people-3/AOR

       IC-*anwe·we·hw-a·čini,*
       IC-make.O.sound.by.beating-3>3′/PART/3′

       The one that he drummed on when he doctored people,

26D   *i·nina·hka ši·ši·kwani.*

       i·ni=na·hka   ši·ši·kwan-i.
       that.INAN=also rattle-SG

       and also the rattle.

26E   *mehteno·hmeko ki·ši-ne·se·ha·čini,*

       mehteno·hi=meko IC-*ki·ši–ne·se·h-a·čini,*
       only=EMPH   IC-PERF–cure-3>3′/ITER

       Only after he had cured someone

26F   *i·nini e·hayo·či e·hni·miha·či.*

       i·nini   *e·h-ay-o·či*   *e·h-ni·mih-a·či.|*
       those.INAN AOR-use-3>0/AOR AOR-cause.to.dance-3>3′/AOR

       did he use those things and have them dance.

26G   *ki·šipimeko-ne·se·ha·čini e·hni·miniči.*

       IC-*ki·ši–=ipi=meko*   *–ne·se·h-a·čini*   *e·h-ni·mi-niči.*
       IC-PERF–=HRSY=EMPH –cure-3>3′/PART/3′ AOR-dance-3′/AOR

       The person who had been cured by him, it's said, danced.

26H   *nehkike·hmekopi pe·mi-mi·hkečihiwe·či*

     nehki=ke·hi=meko=ipi   IC-*pemi‿mi·hkečihiwe·-či*
     so.long=moreover=EMPH=HRSY IC-along–doctor.people-3/PART/OBL
     For exactly the length of time he was doctoring, it's said,

26I   *i·ninehki i·ya·hi wi·kiya·peki e·pihapiči i·na te·we·hika·ha,*

     i·ni=nehki   *i·ya·hi*   *wi·kiya·p-eki*
     for.that.length.of.time yonder house-LOC

     IC-*apih-api-či ||*   *i·na*   *te·we·hika·h-a,*
     IC-REDUP-be.there-3/PART/OBL that.ANIM drum.DIM-ANIM.SG
     was as long as that small drum would be there in the house,

27A   *na·hka i·ni ši·ši·kwani,*

     na·hka‿ i·ni   *ši·ši·kwan-i,*
     also   that.INAN rattle-SG
     and also that rattle,

27B   *na·hka i·ni ana·ka·hi,*

     na·hka‿ i·ni   *ana·ka·h-i,*
     also   that.INAN dish.DIM-SG
     and also that small bowl,

27C   *na·hka i·ni na·tawino·ni.*

     na·hka‿ i·ni| *na·tawino·n-i.*
     also   that.INAN medicine-SG
     and also that medicine.

27D   *na·hka wi·na nye·wokonimeko i·ya·hi e·hnepe·wowe·či.*

     na·hka wi·na nye·wokoni=meko i·ya·hi| e·h-nepe·wowe·-či.[8]
     also   he   four.days=EMPH   yonder AOR-sleep.at.X's-3/AOR
     And also he himself, for exactly four days, would spend the night
     there.

27E   *nye·wokonakatenikini*

     IC-*nye·wokonakat-nikini*
     IC-be.four.days-0′/ITER
     After four days,

    8. The stem of the verb in 27D means 'spend the night at [an unspecified person's]
house'.

27F   *e·hna·kwa·či.*
   e·h-na·kwa·-či.
   AOR-leave-3/AOR
   he would leave.

27G   *kaho·nipi e·howi·wiči.*
   kaho·ni=ipi   *e·h-owi·wi-či.*
   so.then=HRSY   AOR-have.wife-3/AOR
   So then, it's said, he got married.

27H   *pe·hkimeko e·hkaškima·či i·nini owi·wani,*
   pe·hki=meko e·h-kaškim-a·či   *i·nini*   *ow-i·w-ani,|*
   really=EMPH   AOR-persuade-3>3′/AOR   that.OBV   3-wife-OBV
   He easily won the consent of that wife of his,

27I   *e·hpwa·wi-mi·neči,*
   e·h-pwa·wi‒mi·n-eči,
   AOR-not‒give-X>3/AOR
   she wasn't given to him,

27J   *ašemeko pe·hki e·hkaškima·či.*
   aše=meko pe·hki e·h-kaškim-a·či.
   just=EMPH   really   AOR-persuade-3>3′/AOR
   he just convinced her to say yes.

27K   *koči·hipi ma·nemeko e·ha·šimemeči owi·yawi ihkwe·wahi,*
   koči·hi=ipi   *ma·ne=meko e·h-a·šim-emeči*   *owi·yawi*
   although=HRSY   many=EMPH   AOR-urge.O2.on-X>3′/AOR   him
   ihkwe·w-ahi,
   woman-OBV.PL
   Although, it's said, many women were being urged to go after him,

27L   *ašewe·na e·hsa·kwe·nemočimeko*
   ašewe·na e·h-sa·kwe·nemo-či=meko
   but   AOR-be.unwilling-3/AOR=EMPH
   still he had no desire

27M   *i·nihi wi·howi·wiči.*
   i·nihi   *wi·h-owi·wi-či.*
   those.OBV   FUT-have.O2.as.wife-3/AOR
   to marry any of them.

27N   *o·niča·hipi e·hpi·nešimeko-kaškima·či i·nini,*

  o·ni=ča·hi=ipi| e·h-pi·neši–=meko   –kaškim-a·či
  then=so=HRSY AOR-of.own.accord–=EMPH –persuade-3>3′/AOR

  i·nini,
  that.OBV

  So then, it's said, he made the first move in talking to that other one,

27O   *e·howi·wičimeko.*

  e·h-owi·wi-či=meko.
  AOR-have.O2.as.wife-3/AOR=EMPH

  and he married her indeed.

27P   *mama·neke·hipi[9] še·škesi·he·hahi,*

  ma-ma·ne=ke·hi=ipi|| še·škesi·h-e·h-ahi,_
  REDUP-many=moreover=HRSY young.woman-DIM-OBV.PL

  And, it's said, there were many young teenage girls,

28A   *šewe·napi i·nimeko iši-nekoti we·wi·wiči.*

  šewe·na=ipi i·ni=meko iši_nekoti
  but=HRSY that.INAN=EMPH thus–one

  IC-owi·wi-či.
  IC-have.O2.as.wife-3/PART/OBL

  but, it's said, that was the only wife he took.

28B   *na·hka a·kwipi nahi-mi·hkemehkwe·we·čini,*

  na·hka a·kwi=ipi nahi_mi·hkemehkwe·we·-čini,
  also not=HRSY be.given.to–court.women-3/NEG

  Also, it's said, he never chased women,

28C   *i·ninipimeko mi·hkema·čini,*

  i·nini=ipi=meko   IC-mi·hkem-a·čini,
  that.OBV=HRSY=EMPH IC-court-3>3′/PART/3′

  that one was the only one he courted,

28D   *a·kwipi kotakahi nahi-mi·hkema·čini.*

  a·kwi=ipi| kotak-ahi nahi–mi·hkem-a·čini.
  not=HRSY other-OBV.PL be.given.to–court-3>3′/NEG

  and he never courted others.

---

9. Kiyana wrote ⟨na ma ne⟩.

28E *i·nimeko e·šipi-nekotiha·či owi·wani,*

i·ni=meko IC-*iši–=ipi* –*nekotih-a-či* *ow-i·w-ani,*
that=EMPH IC-thus–=HRSY –have.one-3>3′/PART/OBL 3-wife-OBV

That was the only wife he had, it's said,

28F *e·hnešike·wa·či owi·we·hani.*

e·h-nešike·-wa·či *ow-i·w-e·h-ani.*
AOR-dwell.alone-3P/AOR 3-wife-DIM-OBV

and he and his dear wife had their own place.

28G *a·kwike·hipi ma·mahka·či mana·či-išawi·hiničini,*[10]

a·kwi=ke·hi=ipi| *ma·mahka·či* *mana·či–išawi·-hi-ničini,*
not=moreover=HRSY necessarily be.rich–be.thus-DIM-3′/NEG

And, it's said, she wasn't demanding or haughty,

28H *mešemeko·nahi e·hmya·šimeko-ketema·ki-išawi·hiniči i·nini
we·wi·wičini.*

meše=meko=i·nahi *e·h-mya·ši–=meko*
freely=EMPH=with.that AOR-sort.of–=EMPH

–*ketema·ki–išawi·-hi-niči* *i·nini*
–poor–be.thus-DIM-3′/AOR that.ANIM.OBV

IC-*owi·wi-čini.|*
IC-have.O2.as.wife-3/PART/3′

on the contrary, his wife was fairly unassuming, in everything.

28I *mahkwa·čike·hmeko e·howi·wiči,*

mahkwa·či=ke·hi=meko *e·h-owi·wi-či,*
quietly=moreover=EMPH AOR-have.O2.as.wife-3/AOR

He was married to her very quietly,

28J *na·hka i·na ihkwe·wa, mahkwa·čimeko e·hona·pe·miči.*

*na·hka_* *i·na_* *ihkwe·w-a,* *mahkwa·či=meko*
also that.ANIM woman-SG quietly=EMPH

e·h-ona·pe·mi-či.
AOR-have.O2.as.husband-3/AOR

and the same for that woman, she was married to him quietly.

28K *ašepimeko i·na ihkwe·wa mahkwa·tesi·hiwameko.*

aše=ipi=meko *i·na_* *ihkwe·w-a* *mahkwa·tesi-·hi-wa=meko.*
just=HRSY=EMPH that.ANIM woman-SG be.quiet-DIM-3/IND=EMPH

That, it's said, was just the way that woman was, she was very quiet.

10. Kiyana wrote ⟨me na tti⟩.

28L   *a·kwipi wa·waneška·hičini,*
       a·kwi=ipi wa·waneška·‖hi-čini,
       not=HRSY be.immoral-3/NEG
       She wasn't immoral, it's said,

29A   *e·hmahkwa·čimeko-mehtose·neniwiči.*
       e·h-mahkwa·či–=meko –mehtose·neniwi-či.
       AOR-quiet–=EMPH   –be.person-3/AOR
       she was a very quiet person.

29B   *a·kwimekopi paši-konepa·či-išawičini.*
       a·kwi=meko=ipi paši–konepa·či–išawi-čini.
       not=EMPH=HRSY at.all–stirred.up–do.thus-3/NEG
       She wouldn't ever do anything wild, it's said.

29C   *na·hka e·hketeškesi·hičimeko,*
       na·hka| e·h-keteškesi-·hi-či=meko,
       also   AOR-be.busy-DIM-3/AOR=EMPH
       Also, she was a very industrious person,

29D   *e·hpemenetisočimeko,*
       e·h-pemenetiso-či=meko,_
       AOR-take.care.of.self-3/AOR=EMPH
       and she really took care of herself,

29E   *e·hmenwiča·hmeko-owi·weti·wa·či.*
       e·h-menwi–=ča·hi=meko –owi·weti·-wa·či.
       AOR-well–=so=EMPH   –be.married.to.each.other-3P/AOR
       so they had a very good marriage.

29F   *o·nipi mi·hkečihiwe·wa·čini,*
       o·ni=ipi   IC-mi·hkečihiwe·-wa·čini,
       and.then=HRSY IC-doctor.people-3P/ITER
       And then, it's said, whenever they doctored someone,

29G   *ihkwe·wa e·hanwe·we·sahto·či ši·ši·kwani*
       ihkwe·w-a e·h-anwe·we·saht-o·či ši·ši·kwan-i
       woman-SG AOR-rattle-3>0/AOR   rattle-SG
       the woman would shake the rattle

29H   *o·nipi neniwa e·hanwe·we·hwa·či ahkohko·ni.*
       o·ni=ipi   neniw-a e·h-anwe·we·hw-a·či
       and=HRSY man-SG AOR-make.O.sound.by.beating-3>3′/AOR

ahkohkw-ani.
drum-OBV

and the man, it's said, would beat the drum.

29I   *aniwe·we·kesiniwanipi pe·hki i·nini ahkohko·ni,*

    aniwe·we·kesi-niwani=ipi| pe·hki i·nini   ahkohkw-ani,
    have.loud.sound-3′/IND=HRSY really that.ANIM.OBV drum-OBV

    That drum really had a loud sound, it's said,

29J   *omi·hkečihiwe·w-ahkohko·ni.*

    o-mi·hkečihiwe·w_ahkohkw-ani.
    3-doctor.people–drum-OBV

    his doctoring drum.

29K   *mo·hčimekopi e·hsesotaminiči,*[11]

    mo·hči=meko=ipi e·h-sesot-aminiči,
    even=EMPH=HRSY AOR-cough-3′>0/AOR

    Even when people were coughing, it's said,

29L   *e·hne·se·ha·čimeko se·sotaminičihi.*

    e·h-ne·se·h-a·či=meko   IC-sesot-aminičihi.
    AOR-cure-3>3′/AOR=EMPH IC-cough-3′>0/PART/3′P

    he cured the people who had a cough.

29M   *e·ye·kike·hmeko e·hkehtwe·wesiči i·na neniwa.*

    *e·ye·ki=ke·hi=meko_*
    as.well=moreover=EMPH

    e·h-kehtwe·wesi-či   i·na   neniw-a. ||
    AOR-have.the.knack.of.getting.game-3/AOR that.ANIM man-SG

    And also that man was a very good hunter.

30A   *mešemeko·nahi e·hno·hkiha·či mi·čipe·hahi.*

    meše=meko=i·nahi[12] e·h-no·hkih-a·či   mi·čipe·h-ahi.
    any   AOR-kill.easily-3>3′/AOR game.animal-OBV.PL

    He could kill any kind of game easily.

30B   *te·kwa·kinikini*

    IC-*takwa·ki-nikini*
    IC-be.autumn-0′/ITER

    In the fall

    11. Kiyana wrote ⟨e sa so ta mi ni tti⟩.
    12. The clitic group *meše=meko=i:nahi* is idiomatic and can be glossed simply
'any'.

30C   *mešemeko na·hina·hi e·hinote·wa·či.*

   meše=meko   na·hina·hi   e·h-inote·-wa·či.
   any   distance   AOR-move.camp.thither-3P/AOR
   they moved a little ways away.

30D   *a·kwike·hipi ma·mahka·či peno·či nahi-inote·wa·čini,*

   a·kwi=ke·hi=ipi   ma·mahka·či   peno·či
   not=moreover=HRSY   necessarily   far.away

   nahi‒inote·-wa·čini,
   be.given.to‒move.camp.thither-3P/NEG
   They never had to go very far away, it's said,

30E   *kehčine·hemeko.*

   kehčine·he=meko.
   nearby=EMPH
   just nearby.

30F   *mi·škotake·hmekopi owi·wani menwihkwe·winiwani,*

   mi·škota=ke·hi=meko=ipi| ow-i·w-ani
   what's.more=moreover=EMPH=HRSY   3-wife-OBV

   menwihkwe·wi-niwani,
   be.good.woman-3′/IND
   But there's more to the story, it's said: his wife was a very good
   woman,

30G   *e·hasipimeko-neškinawa·či ihkwe·waki*

   e·h-asipi‒=meko   ‒neškinaw-a·wa·či   ihkwe·w-aki
   AOR-all.together‒=EMPH   ‒hate-3P>3′/AOR   woman-PL
   but she was hated by all of the women

30H   *a·wasimeko e·hpihahpi·hči-we·wenesičiki.*

   a·wasi=meko   IC-ahpih-ahpi·hči‒we·wenesi-čiki.
   more=EMPH   IC-REDUP-to.such.extent‒be.pretty-3P/PART/3P
   who were prettier than she was.

30I   *e·hme·nešihekowa·či.*

   e·h-me·neših-ekowa·či.
   AOR-shame.by.act-3′>3P/AOR
   She had put them to shame.

30J   *a·netapi e·hki·šimeko-a·we·nemowa·či,*

     a·neta=ipi   e·h-ki·ši–=meko   –a·we·nemo-wa·či,
     some=HRSY AOR-PERF—=EMPH –be.confident.of.success-3P/AOR

     Some of them, it's said, had assumed their success was assured,

30K   *e·hmawi-mi·wihekowa·či i·nini mači-še·škesi·he·hani.*

     e·h-mawi–mi·wih-ekowa·či   i·nini
     AOR-go.and–push.aside-3′>3P/AOR that.ANIM.OBV

     mači|–še·škesi·h-e·h-ani.
     bad–young.woman-DIM-OBV

     but that little bitch went and pushed them aside.

30L   *i·nipi e·šawiwa·či.*

     i·ni=ipi   IC-išawi-wa·či.
     that.way=HRSY IC-be.thus-3P/PART/OBL

     That's how they felt, it's said.

30M   *mi·škotake·hipi,*

     mi·škota=ke·hi=ipi,|
     what's.more=moreover=HRSY

     And what's more, they say,

30N   *e·hnahi-no·še·hčike·či i·na ihkwe·wa ona·pe·mani ne·hi-*
     mi·hkečihiwa·nita.

     e·h-nahi–no·še·hčike·-či| i·na   ihkwe·w-a ||
     AOR-know.how–serve.as.midwife-3/AOR that.ANIM woman-SG

     o-na·pe·m-ani   IC-nahi–mi·hkečihiwe·-nita.
     3-husband-OBV IC-know.how–doctor.people-3′/PART/3

     the woman whose husband was a doctor was a midwife.

31A   *aškači i·na neniwa e·hwi·hpomekowa·či mya·no·ta·ničini.*

     aškači i·na   neniw-a e·h-wi·hpom-ekowa·či
     later   that.ANIM man-SG AOR-eat.with-3′>3P/AOR

     IC-mya·no·ta·-ničini.|
     IC-menstruate-3′/PART/3′

     Much later someone who was having her period ate with her and the man.

31B   *no·makemekopi e·ha·hkwamataki e·hnepo·hiči i·na neniwa.*

     no·make=meko=ipi   e·h-a·hkwamat-aki   e·h-nep-o·hi-či
     short.time=EMPH=HRSY AOR-be.sick-3>0/AOR AOR-die-DIM-3/AOR

i·na   neniw-a.
that.ANIM   man-SG
Soon after, it's said, the man got sick and died.

31C   *ihkwe·wa meta·swawahi·me e·hpemi-ši·ka·wiči,*

ihkwe·w-a   meta·swawahi·me|
woman-SG   ten.years

e·h-pemi_ši·ka·wi-či,
AOR-along–be.in.strict.mourning-3/AOR

The woman spent ten years in mourning,

31D   *e·hpwa·wimeko nana·ši -ona·pe·miči.*

e·h-pwa·wi–=meko_   nana·ši   –ona·pe·mi-či.
AOR-not—EMPH   ever   –have.husband-3/AOR

and she never married again.

31E   *e·hnano·čimeko-nepo·hiči i·na ihkwe·wa.*

e·h-nano·či–=meko   –nep-o·hi-či   i·na   ihkwe·w-a.
AOR-persist—EMPH   –die-DIM-3/AOR   that.ANIM   woman-SG

The woman went on like that until she died.

31F   *e·ha·naha·nawiha·wa·čimeko neniwaki,*

e·h-a·nah-a·nawih-a·wa·či=meko| neniw-aki,
AOR-REDUP-fail.to.get-3P>3′/AOR=EMPH   man-PL

The men couldn't get anywhere at all with her,

31G   *e·hkokwe·či-mi·hkema·wa·či,*

e·h-kokwe·či–mi·hkem-a·wa·či,
AOR-REDUP.try–court-3P>3′/AOR

though they tried repeatedly to court her,

31H   *e·hpwa·wimeko-we·tewe·te·wiha·wa·či.*

e·h-pwa·wi–=meko   –we·te-we·te·wih-a·wa·či.
AOR-not—EMPH   –REDUP-able.to.succeed.with-3P>3′/AOR

they didn't have any success with her at all.

31I   *kwi·yese·hanike·hi e·honi·ča·nesiči,*

kwi·yese·h-ani=ke·hi   e·h-oni·ča·nesi-či,
boy-ANIM.OBV=moreover   AOR-have.O2.as.child-3/AOR

And she had a little boy,

31J   *e·hki·wesi·hiniči,*
       e·h-ki·wesi·hi-niči,
       AOR-be.orphan-3′/AOR
       who was now an orphan,

31K   *e·hma·wačimeko-we·wenesiči i·na e·tašiwa·či apeno·hahi.*
       e·h-ma·wači–=meko   –we·wenesi-či   i·na
       AOR-of.all–=EMPH   –be.pretty-3/AOR   that.ANIM
       IC-*taši-wa·či* ‖   *apeno·h-ahi.*
       IC-be.so.many-3P/PART/OBL   child-OBV.PL
       and he was the prettiest of all the children.

32A   *mi·škotameko e·hneškina·koči a·neta mehtose·neniwahi.*
       mi·škota=meko   e·h-neškinaw-ekoči a·neta   mehtose·neniw-ahi.
       what's.more=EMPH   AOR-hate-3′>3/AOR some   person-OBV.PL
       On top of everything else, he was hated by some of the people.

32B   *a·netake·hi e·htepa·nekoči,*
       a·neta=ke·hi   e·h-tepa·n-ekoči,
       some=moreover   AOR-love-3′>3/AOR
       But some loved him,

32C   *taswiwe·meko mači-ke·ko·hi ke·hke·netaminiči e·hneškina·koči.*
       taswi=we·=meko   mači‖–ke·ko·hi   IC-kehke·net-aminiči
       as.many=in.fact=EMPH   bad–something   IC-know-3′>0/PART/OBL
       e·h-neškinaw-ekoči.
       AOR-hate-3′>3/AOR
       rather, just as many as knew about bad medicine hated him,

32D   *kapo·twemeko e·hnepo·hiči na·hka i·na kwi·yese·ha.*
       kapo·twe=meko   e·h-nep-o·hi-či   na·hka_ i·na‖
       at.some.point=EMPH   AOR-die-DIM-3/AOR also   that.ANIM
       kwi·yese·h-a.
       boy-SG
       and some time later that boy died too.

32E   *o·ni ihkwe·wa e·hwe·pi-mayomayo·či,*
       o·ni   ihkwe·w-a e·h-we·pi–mayo-mayo·-či,
       and.then   woman-SG AOR-begin–REDUP-weep-3/AOR
       And then the woman started crying and crying,

32F *o·ni mači-maneto·hani e·hketemina·koči.*

   o·ni mači‒maneto·h-ani e·h-keteminaw-ekoči.

   and bad‒spirit.DIM-OBV AOR-bless-3′>3/AOR

   and the evil spirit blessed her.

32G *no·make·wimeko-mahkate·wi·či,*

   IC-*no·make·wi‒=meko ‒mahkate·wi·-či,*

   IC-short.time‒=EMPH ‒fast-3/CH.C

   After she had fasted for a little while,

32H *e·hwe·pesi·hiwiči.*

   e·h-we·pesi·hiwi-či.

   AOR-be.crazy-3/AOR

   she went crazy.

32I *a·kwipi kehke·netakini,*

   a·kwi=ipi| kehke·net-akini,

   not=HRSY know-3>0/NEG

   She didn't know what she was doing, it's said,

32J *e·hmeškemeškehka·či.*

   e·h-meške-meškehka·-či.

   AOR-REDUP-expose.self-3/AOR

   she would expose herself repeatedly.

32K *meše·nahmeko neniwahi e·hpa·pi·tanwa·pamekoči,*[13]

   meše=i·nahi=meko neniw-ahi

   just.go.ahead.and man-OBV.PL

   e·h-pa·-pi·tanwa·pam-ekoči,

   AOR-REDUP-look.in.(the.door).at-3′>3/AOR

   The men even went so far as to keep looking in at her.

32L *e·hmešameša·pamekoči.*

   e·h-meša-meša·pam-ekoči.

   AOR-REDUP-see.O's.privates -3′>3/AOR

   They would look at her private parts.

32M *ke·keya·hmeko e·hpahkihte·wi-we·pesi·hiwiči*

   ke·keya·hi=meko e·h-pahkihte·wi‒we·pesi·hiwi-či

   eventually=EMPH AOR-unconscious‒be.crazy-3/AOR

   Eventually that woman became so insane that she lost consciousness

  13. Kiyana wrote ⟨e ba bi na ba me ko tti⟩; the emendation to *e·hpa·pi·tanwa·pamekoči* 'they (obv.) looked in (the door) at her' is a guess.

32N   *e·hnepo·hiči i·na ihkwe·wa.*

       e·h-nep-o·hi-či| i·na_   ihkwe·w-a.
       AOR-die-DIM-3/AOR that.ANIM woman-SG

       and died.

32O   *i·ni.*

       i·ni.
       that.INAN

       That's it.