

Mosquito, who fasted too long and became a spirit

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(Title) *e-sa-mekwama-ta me-neto-wita sakime-wa*

IC-asa-mekwama-ta IC-maneto-wi-ta sakime-w-a
IC-fast.too.long-3/PART/3 IC-be.spirit-3/PART/3 mosquito-SG
Mosquito, who fasted too long and became a spirit

1A *o-ni nekotenwi e-hma-wa-seto-wa-či neno-te-waki,*

o-ni nekotenwi e-h-ma-wa-set-o-wa-či neno-te-w-aki,
and.then once AOR-have.a.village-3P>0/AOR Indian-PL
And then one time when the Indians had a village,

1B *atehči e-howi-kiheči me-hkate-wi-ta oškinawe-ha.*

atehči e-h-owi-kih-eči IC-mahkate-wi-ta oškinawe-h-a.
a.distance.off AOR-make.O.dwell.{there}-X>3/AOR IC-fast-3/PART/3 young.man-SG
a certain young man who was fasting was made to live off by himself.

1C *“nahi, ki-hpo-ni-mahkate-wi,”*

“nahi, ke-i-h-po-ni-mahkate-wi-Ø,”
well, 2-FUT-cease-fast-2/IND
“Well, you should stop fasting,”

¹ Kiyana’s text is manuscript number 2984 in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC; it was written around 1912 in the Meskwaki syllabary. The first line of each clause above transliterates the syllabary, supplying vowel length and /h/, not written in the syllabary, and adding punctuation. The word boundaries in the first line correspond to those written in the original syllabic text, with a space indicating a boundary between full words and an en dash (–) indicating a boundary between a preverb and verb stem or between a pre-noun and noun stem. The second line of each clause indicates morpheme boundaries (–), clitic boundaries (=), and the underlying form of morphemes. Abbreviations in the third line of each clause include: 21 1st person inclusive plural, 3’ obviative, 0 inanimate, 0’ inanimate obviative, ANIM animate, AOR aorist conjunct, CH.CONJ changed conjunct, DIM diminutive, EMPH emphatic, EXCLAM exclamation, FUT future, HRSY hearsay evidential, IC initial change (ablaut process required in some verbal paradigms), IMP imperative, INAN inanimate, IND independent indicative, LOC locative case (or locative head of relative clause), O (first) object, O2 second object, OBL oblique, OBV obviative, PART participle, PL plural, POSS possessor, REDUP reduplication, S subject, SG singular, SUBJUNCT subjunctive, VOC vocative, X unspecified subject. Notation such as 1>3 means a 1st person singular subject acting on a 3rd person singular object. The paradigm of verb inflection is indicated following a slash (/). Verbs in relative clauses are inflected in the participle paradigm and bear an additional suffix agreeing with the head of the relative clause. The head agreement is indicated after the “PART” notation, e.g. 3/PART/3 – relative clause with a 3rd person singular subject and a 3rd person singular head. Curly brackets in the gloss of a stem indicate a requirement for an oblique argument.

- 1D *e-hikoči maneto·wahi ke·temina·kočihi.*
 e·h-Ø-ekoči maneto·w-ahi IC-keteminaw-ekočihi.
 AOR-say. {so}.to-3'>3/AOR spirit-OBV.PL IC-bless-3'>3/PART/OBV.PL
 the spirits who blessed him told him.
- 1E *pye·ya·niči o·sani,*
 IC-pya·-niči o·o·s-ani,
 IC-come-3'/CH.CONJ 3-father-OBV
 When his father came,
- 1F *e·ha·čimoha·či,*
 e·h-a·čimoh-a·či,
 AOR-inform-3>3'/AOR
 he told him,
- 1G *“ano·se, ni·hpo·nipi—mahkate·wi,” e·hina·či.*
 “ano·se, ne·i·h-po·ni=ipi —mahkate·wi-Ø,” e·h-en-a·či.
 father.VOC 1-FUT-cease=HRSY —fast-1/IND AOR-say. {so}.to-3>3'/AOR
 “Father, they said I should stop fasting,” he said to him.
- 1H *“we·ne·hča·hi i·ni e·nehka?” e·hikoči.*
 “we·ne·h-a=ča·hi i·ni IC-en-ehka?” e·h-Ø-ekoči.
 who-SG=so that.INAN IC-say. {so}.to-3>2/PART/3 AOR-say. {so}.to-3'>3/AOR
 “Who was the one who said that to you?” he asked him.
- 1I *“i·niča·hi e·na·hpawa·ya·ni,” e·hina·či.*
 “i·ni=ča·hi IC-ena·hpawa·-ya·ni,” e·h-en-a·či.
 that.INAN=so IC-dream. {so}-1/PART/OBL AOR-say. {so}.to-3>3'/AOR
 “That's what I dreamed,” he said to him.
- 1J *“o·we·nahi·ni?” e·hikoči.*
 “o·=we·nahi=i·ni?” e·h-Ø-ekoči.
 oh=is.it=that.INAN AOR-say. {so}.to-3'>3/AOR
 “Oh, is that it?” he said to him.
- 1K *“ke·swiya·pi i·ni e·hketemino·hki maneto·waki?”*
 “ke·swi=ya·pi i·ni e·h-keteminaw-ehki maneto·w-aki?”
 how.many=here.we.go then AOR-bless-3(P)>2/AOR spirit-PL
 “Alright, tell me how many spirits blessed you then?”
- 1L *e·hikoči o·sani.*
 e·h-Ø-ekoči o·o·s-ani.
 AOR-say. {so}.to-3'>3/AOR 3-father-OBV
 his father asked him.

- 1M *e·ha·ya·čimoha·či,*
e·h-a·y-a·čimoh-a·či,
 AOR-REDUP-inform-3>3'/AOR
 He explained it to him,
- 1N *nano·pehka e·ha·totamawa·či maneto·wahi.*
nano·pehka e·h-a·totamaw-a·či maneto·w-ahi.
 a.great.many AOR-tell.of.O2.to-3>3'/AOR spirit-OBV.PL
 telling him about the large number of spirits.
- 1O “*meše nekoti me·mečine·hi ketemino·hke,*
 “*meše nekoti me·mečine·hi keteminaw-ehke,*
 just one for.the.last.time bless-3(p)>2/SUBJUNCT
 “When they bless you just one last time,
- 1P *i·ni wi·hpo·ni–mahkate·wi·yani,” e·hina·či okwisani.*
i·ni wi·h-po·ni–mahkate·wi·yani,” e·h-ena·či o-kwis-ani.
 then FUT-cease–fast-2/AOR AOR-say.{so}.to-3>3'/AOR 3-son-OBV
 that will be the time for you to stop fasting,” he told his son.
- 1Q *o·ni e·škimeko–mehpo·hiniki,*
o·ni IC-aški=meko –mehpo·hi-niki,
 and.then IC-first=EMPH snow-DIM-0'/CH.CONJ
 And then, when it had snowed a little for the very first time,
- 1R *e·hanawiwa·či.*
e·h-anawi-wa·či.
 AOR-hunt-3p/AOR
 they went hunting.
- 1S *osi·me·hani e·hwi·te·ma·či,*
o-si·m-e·h-ani e·h-wi·te·m-a·či,
 3-younger.sibling-DIM-OBV AOR-accompany-3>3'/AOR
 He went with his younger brother,
- 1T *anemya·ka e·hiši–anawiwa·či.*
anemya·ka e·h-eši–anawi-wa·či.
 downstream AOR-{thither}–hunt-3P/AOR
 and they went downstream to hunt.
- 2A *e·hahkawiha·wa·či e·sepa·hani,*
e·h-ahkawih-a·wa·či e·sepa·h-ani,
 AOR-see.the.tracks.of-3P>3'/AOR raccoon-OBV
 They found the tracks of a raccoon,

- 2B *e·hna·kana·wa·či.*
e·h-na·kan-a·wa·či.
 AOR-follow-3P>3'/AOR
 and they trailed him.
- 2C *ani·pi·kipi e·hako·si·hkawe·niči.*
ani·py-eki=ipi e·h-ako·si·hkawe·-niči.
 elm-LOC=HRSY AOR-S's.tracks.climb.up-3'/AOR
 His tracks, it's said, climbed up an elm.
- 2D *či·ka·hkiwe e·hnemate·ki i·ni meši–ani·pi,*
či·ka·hkiwe e·h-nemate·-ki i·ni meši–ani·py-i,
 beside.hill AOR-stand.{there}-0/PART/LOC that.INAN big–elm-SG
 Next to a hill is where that big elm stood,
- 2E *e·hwe·činowatenikike·hi.*
e·h-we·činowat-niki=ke·hi.
 AOR-be.easy-0'/AOR=moreover
 and it was easy [for them_p to climb it].
- 2F *“ako·si·htawi,” e·hina·či osi·me·hani.*
“ako·si·htaw-i,” e·h-ena·či o-si·m-e·h-ani.
 climb.up.after-2>3/IMP AOR-say.{so}.to-3>3'/AOR 3-younger.sibling-DIM-OBV
 “Climb up after him,” he told his younger brother.
- 2G *“hao,” e·hiči i·na atena·wi e·hpi·hčiki·hita,*
“hao,” e·h-i-či i·na atena·wi IC-ahpi·hčiki·-hi-ta,
 okay AOR-say.{so}-3/AOR that.ANIM less IC-be.{so}.old-DIM-3/PART/3
 “Okay,” that one who was younger said,
- 2H *e·hako·si·či.*
e·h-ako·si·-či.
 AOR-climb-3/AOR
 and he climbed up.
- 2I *i·ya·hi pye·ta·si·či,*
i·ya·hi IC-pye·ta·si·-či,
 over.there IC-come.{thither}.climbing-3/CH.CONJ
 When he came climbing up there,
- 2J *kaši, mya·nahi·waniči·hi i·nahi e·hšekišiniči!*
kaši, mya·nahi·w-ani=či·hi i·nahi e·h-šekišin-niči!
 why, catfish-OBV=MIRATIVE there AOR-lie.{there}-3'/AOR
 why, there was a catfish lying there!

- 2T *“šihihwi·! meše·nahmeko keča·kama·pena!” e·hiyowa·či.*
 “šihihwi·! meše=i·nahi=meko ke-ča·kam-a·pena!” e·h-iy-wa·či.
 gosh! go.so.far.as.to 2-eat.up-21>3/IND AOR-say.{so}-3P/AOR
 “Gosh! We just ate it all up!” they said.
- 3A *aškači·me·hi,*
 aškači·me·hi,
 later.DIM
 A little later,
- 3B *“nahi, nesi·hi, nepini·hka na·tawino!”*
 “nahi, nesi·hi, nepy-i=ni·hka na·taw-ino!”
 well, younger.sibling.VOC water-SG=MAN'S.EXPLETIVE go.after.O2.for-2>1/IMP
 “Hey, younger brother, go get me some water!”
- 3C *e·hina·či osi·me·hani.*
 e·h-en-a·či o-si·m-e·h-ani.
 AOR-say.{so}.to-3>3'/AOR 3-younger.sibling-DIM-OBV
 he told his younger brother.
- 3D *“hao,” e·hiniči.*
 “hao,” e·h-i-niči.
 all.right AOR-say.{so}-3'/AOR
 “All right,” he said.
- 3E *oše·šketo·he·hwa·wani e·hawana·či we·si·me·hemeta.*
 o-še·šketo·h-e·h-wa·w-ani e·h-awan-a·či IC-osi·me·hem-eta.
 3-kettle-DIM-3P-OBV AOR-take.away.with-3>3'/AOR IC-have.as.y.sib-X>3/PART/3
 The younger brother took their kettle.
- 3F *ke·keya·hi e·hayi·hkwiči*
 ke·keya·hi e·h-ayi·hkwi-či
 finally AOR-be.weary-3/AOR
 Finally he got tired
- 3G *osese·hani e·hawatawa·či nepi.*
 o-ses-e·h-ani e·h-awataw-a·či nepy-i.
 3-older.brother-DIM-OBV AOR-take.away.O2.for-3>3'/AOR water-SG
 from carrying water for his older brother.
- 3H *ke·keya·hi omatete·hani e·hketenaki*
 ke·keya·hi o-matete·h-ani e·h-keten-aki
 finally 3-legging-INAN.PL AOR-take.off-3>0/AOR
 Finally he took off his leggings

- 3I *e·htakwi–anaho·to·či.*
e·h-takwi–anaho·t-o·či.
 AOR-together.with.O2–fill-3>0/AOR
 and filled them up in addition.
- 3J *e·ha·hkowimeko–ča·kataminiči*
e·h-a·hkowi=meko –ča·kat-aminiči
 AOR-every.time=EMPH –drink.up-3'>0/AOR
 Again and again he [the older brother] drank all the water up.
- 3K *ke·keya·hipi, “ketešipwa·wini·hka–mawi–meno,*
ke·keya·hi=ipi, “ke-eši-pwa·wi=ni·hka –mawi–meno-Ø,²
 finally=HRSY 2-[thus]-not=MAN'S.EXPLETIVE –go.to–drink.O2-2/IND
 Finally, it's said, “Why don't you go and drink?”
- 3L *i·ya·hi pe·hki wi·hte·patamani, ” e·hina·či.*
i·ya·hi pe·hki wi·h-te·pat-amani,” e·h-en-a·či.
 over.there really FUT-drink.enough.of-2>0/PART/LOC AOR-say.{so}.to 3>3'/AOR
 Over there is where you could really drink all you want!” he said to him.
- 3M *“ke·htenama·hi, nesi·hi, ” e·hikoči.*
“ke·htena=ma·hi, nesi·hi,” e·h-Ø-ekoči.
 truly=you.see younger.sibling.VOC AOR-say.{so}.to-3'>3/AOR
 “Sure, younger brother,” he said to him.
- 3N *i·tepi e·ha·či*
i·tepi e·h-a·-či
 thither AOR-go.{thither}-3/AOR
 He went over there
- 3O *pe·hki e·hmenoči.*
pe·hki e·h-meno-či.
 really AOR-drink.O2-3/AOR
 and really drank.
- 3P *aškačimeko e·haškačipwi·ha·či osese·hani,*
aškači=meko e·h-aškačipwi·h-a·či o-ses-e·h-ani,
 after.a.while=EMPH AOR-await.impatiently-3>3'/AOR 3-elder.brother-DIM-OBV
 Much later he got tired of waiting for his older brother,

² The preverbs *eši-pwa·wi*– here form an idiom ‘Why don’t [you]...?’ as a suggestion.

- 3Q *i·tepi e·hmawa·pama·či.*
i·tepi e·h-mawa·pam-a·či.
 thither AOR-go.{thither}.to.see-3>3'/AOR
 and he went over there to check on him.
- 3R *ayo·hči·hi po·hkwi e·hsa·kišiniči!*
ayo·hi=či·hi po·hkwi e·h-sa·kišin-niči!
 here=MIRATIVE half AOR-be.sticking.out-3'/AOR
 Here he was lying sticking halfway out!
- 3S *ka·škihekoči,*
IC-ka·ških-ekoči,
 IC-become.aware.of.the.presence.of-3'>3/CH.CONJ
 When he [the older brother] realized he was there,
- 3T *e·haniwinawi·niči.*
e·h-aniwinawi·-niči.
 AOR-start/jump-3'/AOR
 he flopped around.
- 3U *e·hse·kiha·či osese·hani,*
e·h-se·kih-a·či o-ses-e·h-ani,
 AOR-frighten-3>3'/AOR 3-elder.brother-DIM-OBV
 He was frightening his older brother,
- 3V *e·hki·wi-ša·šo·škona·či.*
e·h-ki·wi-ša·-šo·škon-a·či.
 AOR-around-REDUP-have.O.slip.from.grasp-3>3'/AOR
 as he went around trying to get a grip on him.
- 3W *e·hneme·siwiniči osese·hani,*
e·h-neme·siwi-niči o-ses-e·h-ani,
 AOR-be.fish-3'/AOR 3-elder.brother-DIM-OBV
 His older brother had turned into a fish,
- 4A *po·hkwi e·hneme·siwiniči osese·hani.*
po·hkwi e·h-neme·siwi-niči o-ses-e·h-ani.
 half AOR-be.fish-3'/AOR 3-elder.brother-DIM-OBV
 half of his older brother was a fish.
- 4B *ke·keya·hmeko e·hmayo·či osese·hani,*
ke·keya·hi=meko e·h-mayo·-či o-ses-e·h-ani,
 finally=EMPH AOR-weep.(for.O2)-3/AOR 3-elder.brother-DIM-OBV
 Finally he was crying over his older brother,

- 4C *e·hki·ki·winehkawa·či osese·hani.*
 e·h-ki·-ki·winehkaw-a·či o-ses-e·h-ani.
 AOR-REDUP-chase.O.around-3>3'/AOR 3-elder.brother-DIM-OBV
 as he chased his older brother around and around.
- 4D *aškači e·hpe·we·nemoči,*
 aškači e·h-pe·we·nemo-či,
 after.a.while AOR-give.up-3/AOR
 After a while he gave up,
- 4E *e·hpwa·wi-kaški-mešena·či.*
 e·h-pwa·wi-kaški-mešen-a·či.
 AOR-not-able-catch-3>3'/AOR
 because he couldn't catch him.
- 4F *aškačimeko e·hpo·ni·hkawa·či.*
 aškači=meko e·h-po·ni·hkaw-a·či.
 after.a.while=EMPH AOR-cease.dealing.with-3>3'/AOR
 After a long while he left him alone.
- 4G *e·hwa·pawa·pataki i·ni nepise·hi,*
 e·h-wa·pa-wa·pataki i·ni nepis-e·h-i,
 AOR-REDUP-look.at-3>0/AOR that.INAN lake-DIM-SG
 He kept looking at the pond,
- 4H *e·škamimeko e·hpapi·sana·kami·niki.*
 e·škami=meko e·h-papi·sana·kami·-niki.
 gradually=EMPH AOR-make.bubbles.in.water-0'/AOR
 as more and more bubbles came up.
- 4I *aškači e·hpye·či-sa·keška·niči osese·hani.*
 aškači e·h-pye·či-sa·keška·niči o-ses-e·h-ani.
 after.a.while AOR-hither-emerge-3'/AOR 3-elder.brother-DIM-OBV
 After a while his older brother came up, sticking out of the water.
- 4J *“nahi, nesi·hi, pya·no,” e·hikoči.*
 “nahi, nesi·hi, pya·no,” e·h-Ø-ekoči.
 well, younger.sibling.VOC come-2/IMP AOR-say.{so}.to-3'>3/AOR
 “Hey, younger brother, come here,” he told him.
- 4K *i·nahči·hi po·hkwi e·hmya·name·kowi·niči osese·hani!*
 i·nahi=či·hi po·hkwi e·h-mya·name·kowi·niči o-ses-e·h-ani!
 there=MIRATIVE half AOR-be.catfish-3'/AOR 3-elder.brother-DIM-OBV
 There was his older brother, a half-catfish!

- 4L *e·ha·čimohekoči,*
e·h-a·čimoh-ekoči,
 AOR-inform-3'>3/AOR
 He told him,
- 4M “*ko·sena·na ki·ha·čimoha·wa,*” *e·hikoči.*
ke-o·s-ena·n-a ke-i·h-a·čimoh-a·wa, *e·h-Ø-ekoči.*
 2-father-21-SG 2-FUT-inform-2>3/IND AOR-say. {so}.to-3'>3/AOR
 “You should tell the story to our father,” he said to him.
- 4N “*po·hkwi neme·siwiwa nesese·ha,*’ *ki·hina·wa,*
 “*po·hkwi neme·siwi-wa ne-ses-e·h-a,*’ *ke-i·h-en-a·wa,*
 half be.fish-3/IND 1-elder.brother-DIM-SG 2-FUT-say. {so}.to 2-3/IND
 “You should say to him, ‘My older brother turned into a half-fish.’”
- 4O *maniča·hi me·kwahkiwiki*
mani=ča·hi IC-makwahkiwi-ki
this.INAN=so IC-be.a.large.hill-0/PART/0
 And as for this large hill,
- 4P “*sakime·watenwi*’ *ki·hita·pwa,*”
 “*sakime·watenw-i*’ *ke-i·h-et-a·pwa,*”
 mosquito.hill-SG 2-FUT-say. {so}.about-2>0/IND
 you should call it ‘Mosquito Hill’,”
- 4Q *e·hineči.*
e·h-en-eči.
 AOR-say. {so}.to-X>3/AOR
 he was told.
- 4R “*ki·nawi·na, ahpene·čimeko ki·hne·ne·wi,*”
 “*ki·na=wi·na, ahpene·či=meko ke-i·h-ne·ne·w-i,*”
 you=CONTRAST every.time=EMPH 2-FUT-REDUP-see-2>1/IND
 “But as for you, you will always be seeing me,”
- 4S *e·hina·či osi·me·hani.*
e·h-en-a·či o-si·m-e·h-ani.
 AOR-say. {so}.to-3>3'/AOR 3-younger.sibling-DIM-OBV
 he said to his younger brother.
- 4T “*i·nokiča·hmeko ki·hna·kwa,*” *e·hina·či.*
 “*i·noki=ča·hi=meko ke-i·h-na·kwa·-Ø,*” *e·h-en-a·či.*
 now=so=EMPH 2-FUT-leave-2/IND AOR-say. {so}.to-3>3'/AOR
 “So right now you should leave,” he told him.

- 5A *e·hna·kwa·či i·na oškinawe·he·ha.*
 e·h-na·kwa·-či i·na oškinawe·h-e·h-a.
 AOR-depart-3/AOR that.ANIM young.man-DIM-SG
 That young teenage boy left.
- 5B *i·ya·hi pye·ya·či,*
 i·ya·hi IC-pya·-či,
 over.there IC-come.{thither}-3/CH.CONJ
 When he came there,
- 5C *“nešihka kepya?” e·hineči.*
 “nešihka ke-pya·-Ø?” e·h-en-eči.
 alone 2-come-2/IND AOR-say.{so}.to-X>3/AOR
 he was asked, “Did you come alone?”
- 5D *“ehe·he, po·hkwikohi neme·siwiwa nesese·ha,”*
 “ehe·he, po·hkwī=kohi neme·siwi-wa ne-ses-e·h-a,”
 yes half=certainly be.fish-3/IND 1-elder.brother-DIM-SG
 “Yes, my older brother has turned into a half-fish,”
- 5E *e·hiči.*
 e·h-i-či.
 AOR-say.{so}-3/AOR
 he said.
- 5F *pašito·ha kete·nahi e·hkehči–mayo·či,*
 pašito·h-a kete=i·nahi e·h-kehči–mayo·-či,
 old.man-SG reversingly AOR-greatly–weep-3/AOR
 The old man, in a reversal of fortune, wept hard,
- 5G *“o·hwa·! nekwisa!” e·činimeko*
 “o·hwa·! ne-kwis-a!” IC-i-čini=meko
 oh.no! 1-son-SG IC-say.{so}-3/ITER=EMPH
 and whenever he said, “Alas, my son!”
- 5H *e·hče·če·keki.*
 e·h-če·če·k-ki.
 AOR-cry.out-3/AOR
 he sobbed bitterly.
- 5I *e·hma·čiweneči nešiwi taswi mehtose·neniwaki,*
 e·h-ma·čiwen-eči nešiwi taswi mehtose·neniw-aki,
 AOR-show.the.way.to-X>3/AOR terribly {so.many} person-PL
 An enormous number of people were led over

- 5J *e·hnešiwī–inekihkwa·niki meši–nepisi.*
 e·h-nešiwī–inekihkwa·-niki meši–nepis-i.
 AOR-terribly–be. {so}.big-0'/PART/LOC big–lake-SG
 to where the lake had become huge.
- 5K *šihihwi·! e·hnešiwina·kwateniki!*
 šihihwi·! e·h-nešiwina·kwat-niki!
 gosh! AOR-look.terrible-0'/AOR
 Gosh! It looked scary!
- 5L *e·hkehci–čapo·kisaha·wa·či neno·te·wi–nese·ma·wani.*
 e·h-kehci–čapo·kisah-a·wa·či neno·te·wi–nese·ma·w-ani.
 AOR-greatly–fling.O.into.water-3P>3'/AOR Indian–tobacco-OBV
 They threw a lot of Indian tobacco into the water.
- 5M *sakime·wapi i·na išisowa našawaye,*
 sakime·w-a=ipi i·na ešiso-wa našawaye,
 mosquito-SG=HRSY that.ANIM be. {so}.named-3/IND long.ago
 That [man] of long ago was named Mosquito, it's said,
- 5N *e·sa·mekwama·ta me·neto·wita našawaye.*
 IC-asa·mekwama·-ta IC-maneto·wi-ta našawaye.
 IC-fast.too.long-3/PART/3 IC-be.spirit-3/PART/3 long.ago
 the one who fasted too long and became a spirit long ago.
- 5O *o·ni i·na oškinawe·ha nešihka i·tepi e·ya·cini,*
 o·ni i·na oškinawe·h-a nešihka i·tepi IC-a·-cini,
 and.then that.ANIM young.man-SG alone thither IC-go. {thither}-3/ITER
 And then as for that young man, whenever he went there alone,
- 5P *e·hne·wa·čimeko osese·hani.*
 e·h-ne·w-a·či=meko o-ses-e·h-ani.
 AOR-see-3>3'/AOR=EMPH 3-elder.brother-DIM-OBV
 he would in fact see his older brother.
- 5Q *kapo·twe e·hpo·ni–ne·wa·či,*
 kapo·twe e·h-po·ni–ne·w-a·či,
 at.some.point AOR-cease–see-3>3'/AOR
 At some point he stopped seeing him,
- 5R *še·škipa·pehe mya·name·kwahi e·hkehči–mo·hki·niči.*
 še·ški=ipi=a·pehe mya·name·kw-ahi e·h-kehči–mo·hki·-niči.
 only=HRSY=usually catfish-OBV.PL AOR-greatly–emerge-3'/AOR
 there would only be a lot of catfish coming out of the water, it's said.